GUIDE TO THE NR10 KLAMATH FILE

[The NR10 file is concerned with the Klamath of southeastern Oregon. The Klamaths called themselves Maklaks. The Klamath were closely related to the Modoc, and both spoke the Lutuami language, a somewhat anomalous language which is part of the Klamath-Sahaptin family of the Penutian phylum. The position of the Klamath in relationship to other western peoples has been the subject of extensive debate. Elements of Californian, Great Basin, and Plateau culture types were all present among the Klamath. The Klamaths were a riverine people, their dietary staples were fish, pond lily seeds, and roots. Winter settlements were located on river banks. In the spring and summer these settlements broke up into small nomadic groups. The Klamath were noted for their use of tule and marsh grasses and they wove very fine basketry. In spite of the richness of the environment, it did not support a large population. The aboriginal population is estimated to have been 800-1,400. There were four to six subdivisions of the population, the largest residing in the area of Klamath Marsh and constituting half of the population. Warfare, feuds, and raids for slaves were conducted between these subdivisions as well as between Klamath and foreigners. Village headmanship was weak, the shamans were the most important people in the community. Every Klamath sought supernatural power in spirit quests. Shamans were those people who had accumulated vast amounts of spirit power. Shamanic performances constituted the primary ceremonialism among the Klamath.

In 1864 the Klamath ceded most of their land and with the Modoc and Paiute were placed on Klamath Reservation which was located in Klamath County, Oregon. Due to extensive intermarriage and migration, the Klamath constituted an

" ... ethnic minority in the communities where they resided, even within the reservation." (3: Stern, p. 185) In 1955 there were 2,118 members of the Klamath tribe and 40% of them lived off the reservation. As of 1963, 70% of the members were less than one-half Indian and less than one-sixth were full-bloods. In 1954 the membership voted for termination of federal administration of the reservation, but most of the tribe's assets were held in private trust until 1974. Stern feels that termination has put an end to the Klamath as a people, although some are maintaining a sense of ethnic identity through greater involvement in pan-Indianism.

There are nine sources in the Klamath file. The basic descriptive ethnographies are 1: Spier, 3: Stern, and 7: Gatschet. 1: Spier also includes a typically Wisslerian trait by trait comparison with neighboring tribes to determine the origin and affiliations of the Klamath. 3: Stern is a culture history from the first half of the nineteenth century through termination in 1954. 7: Gatschet is based on fieldwork done in 1877. It contains texts of myths but the grammar and dictionary of the original source have not been processed for the files. 2: Voegelin is a culture element distribution study which compares the Klamath with 15 northern California tribes in terms of 5,263 culture elements. More specialized sources in the file include 4: Pearsall on childhood and socialization, 5: Barrett on material culture, 6: Clifton and Levine on Rorschach tests among the modern Klamath, 8: Spencer on the integration of aboriginal mythology with Christianity, and 9: Barker, which is a collection of linguistic texts. This is a well rounded file with good information on many subjects considering the literature available. It should be noted that mythology has been heavily studied while social structure and religion have been relatively neglected. There are two temporal foci, the period from about 1880-1930 (although 7: Gatschet is the only source based on primary data, the others are memory ethnographies), and the period 1950-1960. The file was processed between 1970 and 1974.]

KLAMATH ETHNOGRAPHY

BY

LESLIE SPIER

I. KLAMATH SOCIAL LIFE

THE KLAMATH AND THEIR TERRITORY

Tribal Relations and Population

The Klamath are the northern of the two major dialectic groups 101 197 of the Lutuami linguistic stock, the other, the Modoc. Dialectically there is little difference, but of the two the Klamath have the richer, more specialized culture.

The Klamath recognize a number of local autonomous subdivisions 101 but consider themselves a social unit. They call themselves ma'klaks, men;[1] all other tribes are known by directional or locality names. The origin of the designation Klamath is obscure; incidentally they pronounce this klă'mĕt, much as the early travelers wrote it. It is not a native name and evidently differs so much from native forms that none of my informants even attempted an etymology. Curiously enough, all the Klamath reserve the name for the Klamath marsh-Williamson river subdivision (ă'ukckni); others are "Klamath" only by courtesy. The reason may be that this is not only the numerically [114] strongest subdivision, but the reservation on which they are now concentrated is little more than the old ă'ukckni territory. Gatschet suggested that the name is a Yurok word.

Its earliest use is perhaps that of Ogden in 1826. He uses the name "Clammitte" before reaching the country, possibly learning it among the Columbia river tribes. Yet members of his party had visited the Klamath country the year previous and may have learned it there. Elliott suggests an origin in "French Clair-metis, meaning a light mist or cloud."[2] Incidentally there is now no good reason for

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[1] Gatschet states that the form ma'klaks (ma'kʟaks in my orthography) means one of themselves, máklaks, any other Indian (Gatschet, 1, xxxiii). My informants denied the existence of any such distinction, and indeed of the first form.

[2] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 202.

101 114 using the name for others on the Klamath river, whatever the local usage in northern California. It will save the need for cumbersome titles like "the Klamath Lake Indians" if the name is reserved for the people described in this paper.

The Klamath are called dak'-ts!aᵋm-al-a'ᵋ or dak'-ts!aᵘw-an-a'ᵋ, "those above the lakes," by the Takelma of middle Rogue river[3] and wols by the Hanis or Upland Takelma of the Medford-Ashland district.[4] The Kalapuya call them Athlámeth,[5] which Kroeber suggests as a possible origin of Klamath.[6] Gatschet states that

> the Warm Spring and other Sahaptin Indians possess a generic name for all the Indians living upon this reservation and its vicinity: Aígspaluma, abbr. Aígspalo, Aíkspalu, *people of the chipmunks,* from the innumerable rodents peopling that pine covered district. This term comprises Snake, Payute, and Modoc Indians, as well as the Klamath Lake people.[7]

This appeals to me much as a folk etymology from a hybrid "people of ă'ukci' (Klamath marsh)." The same authority gives as Shasta designations makai'tserk and au'ksiwash. This Kroeber reproduces in the form auk-"siwash," as if compounded from the Chinook jargon word for Indian, but the first part also suggests ă'ukci. To the Pit river Indians (Achomawi and Atsugewi) they are ala'mmimakt ish, from ala'mmig, upper Klamath lake.[8] Curiously enough none of my informants knew what the Northern Paiute call them; Gatschet gives sa'yi, which is suspiciously like the name they give the Paiute, sat.

101 The Klamath make little distinction between tribes at a distance, naming them indiscriminately by direction. Thus the Modoc are mo'adŏk ma'klaks, south people, or mo'adŏkkni, southerners, the Pit river tribes, moă'tuwas, all derived from mo'as, south. At least one group of Modoc, gu'mbatwas, is distinguished by dialect.[9] No distinction is made between the several tribes of the upper Pit river (Achomawi, Atsugewi, etc.). A southern people called ķadŏ'kiwŏs is known but probably only since the white advent. They lived thirty or forty miles west of Mount Shasta, near the Shasta, and

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[3] Sapir, Takelma Texts, 257; Notes on the Takelma, 255.

[4] This is Klamath information. By this word (wülx, meaning enemies, Upland Takelma, or Shasta in Takelma proper) I identify the Hanis or Wa'lümskni with Sapir's Upland Takelma (Notes, 252).

[5] Gatschet, 1:xxxiv.

[6] Handbook, 319.

[7] *Op cit.*, 1:xxxiii.

[8] See also Merriam, 48.

[9] "The Kámbatuash lived on southeastern [illegible] of Tule (or Rhett) Lake, California." (Gatschet, 1:14.)

hunted on the Klamath river above them. This seems to be the Shasta name for the Wintun of Trinity river, hatukwiwa or hatukeyu, which agrees with Gatschet's ascription, Sacramento Valley Indians.[10] The Shasta themselves are known only as cā'sti. This might be taken as the long sought origin of the name Shasta, was there not the suspicion that its use may be only recent, displacing another and older application of "southerners" to them. Their principal seat near Yreka is cā'stikān, Shasta place. 101

Similarly all northern tribes are ya'mŏkkni, northerners (from ya'mŏt, north). By exclusion of the Indians at Warm Springs and the Dalles, however, this has come to mean the half Plains-like tribes farther up the Columbia. The Warm Springs people and those at Celilo near the Dalles are wătā'nkkni, a form which indicates that they are named for their locality. Gatschet gives wăitāngi'sham and lókuashtkni.[11] The linked tribes at the Dalles, Wasco and Wishram, are the ŏ'mpkānkni, those of the locality ŏ'mpkān, which by description must be in the neighborhood of Wasco, Oregon. This suggests that the word is from a'mbɛ, water (with a common locative suffix, cf. cā'stikān, tcŏkān, service berry tract), hence is a translation into Klamath of the name Wasco. This, according to my own Wishram information, means "like a pan" (wasḳ'o) and refers to a spring at or near the present town of that name. [114]

Since I completed field work with the Klamath, there has appeared Teit's paper defining the original occupation and the extensive tribal movements in northern Oregon and eastern Washington.[12] Had this been available, it would undoubtedly have been possible to render more exactly the meanings of ya'mŏkkni and wătā'nkkni. 101 114

It appears from Teit's conclusive evidence that at the opening of the eighteenth century all of eastern Washington was Salish territory as far as the Dalles. South of the Columbia was a band of Waiilatpuan territory, with the Molala on the middle Deschutes and in the mountains to the west, and with the Cayuse eastward of them nearly to the Snake river. South of these again were the Sahaptin peoples with the Cascade range and the Klamath on their west, the Nez Percé to the northeast, and the Snake groups on their other boundaries.

A series of movements beginning in the eighteenth century resulted in the withdrawal of the Salish to north of Priest Rapids because of the occupation of their territory by Sahaptins and the Cayuse. The Molala also withdrew into

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[10] Kroeber, Handbook, 355; Gatschet, 1:393.

[11] *Op. cit.*, 1:lvi, 18. My informants ascribed to them painted tipis (se'klŏks) of buffalo skin, long dance lodges made on a foundation of tipis, but no earth-lodges.

[12] The Middle Columbia Salish.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

101 114 the mountains and westward even beyond the Willamette valley, the Sahaptin Tyighpam settling in part of their country and the Tenino joining the Wasco. The immediate cause of these movements seems to have been the pressure of Snake raids, at their height about 1800–30. This is consonant with the very early acquisition of the horse by the Snake and their known warlike relations with the Plains tribes, which Wissler has demonstrated.[13]

This would explain the wide expanse of vacant country between the Klamath and the Dalles or at least as far as Warm Springs. In addition, Teit writes: "For a number of years the south side of the Columbia between Wallawalla and The Dalles was practically devoid of inhabitants" for fear of Snake raids. My informant, Coley Ball, stated that about 1865–70 there were no settlements between Klamath marsh and the Wasco villages at the Dalles. There were no Molala east of the Cascades. How recently the mixed group of Wasco-Tyighpam-Tenino occupied the Warm Springs country, I do not know. This would also explain the anomalous position of a Molala group on the very headwaters of the Rogue river where presumably they represent the final southerly drift along the western crest of the Cascade range.

101 West of the Cascades are Upland Takelma in the region from Ashland to Table Rock. They are wa'lümakni; Mount Pitt is wa'lümayaina (yaina, mountain); the name then is regional, not directional. They are called ha'nis quite as frequently, but this name, which is properly that of the Coos group at Coos bay, has evidently been extended to them and others since the remnants of these tribes were collected at Siletz reservation.[14] In the extreme upper Rogue valley are Molala, tcökä'nkni, those of the service berry (tcök) patch.[15]
[114] Gatschet gives mókai or móke as the Klamath name for the Kalapuya.[16] Beyond these groups none of the western Indians are known. Those of the lower Rogue river are now called soljo'ḳkni, those of the salt water, but this is from the Chinook jargon, saltchuck.[17]

All the Shoshoneans to the east are called sat; no distinctions are made. The actual neighbors are those groups known to us variously as Northern Paiute (Paviotso) and Snake. The Snake proper and Bannock may not have been in Oregon prior to the acquisition of the horse.

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[13] The Influence of the Horse, 13.

[14] Frachtenberg, Coos and Siuslawan (Lower Umpqua), 306, 441. One informant told me that the last of the wa'lümakni, three old women, are still to be found at Siletz.

[15] My informants insisted this name was given because the Molala eat service berries. On the other hand one gave me as a Molala tale an incident in which the culture hero makes people of service berry bushes. One way or the other this looks like folk etymology. Their winter town was bü'ḳstubü'ḳs, a little below Prospect.

[16] *Op. cit.*, 2:217.

[17] See my Tribal Distribution in Southwestern Oregon.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

[facing p. 8] [A]

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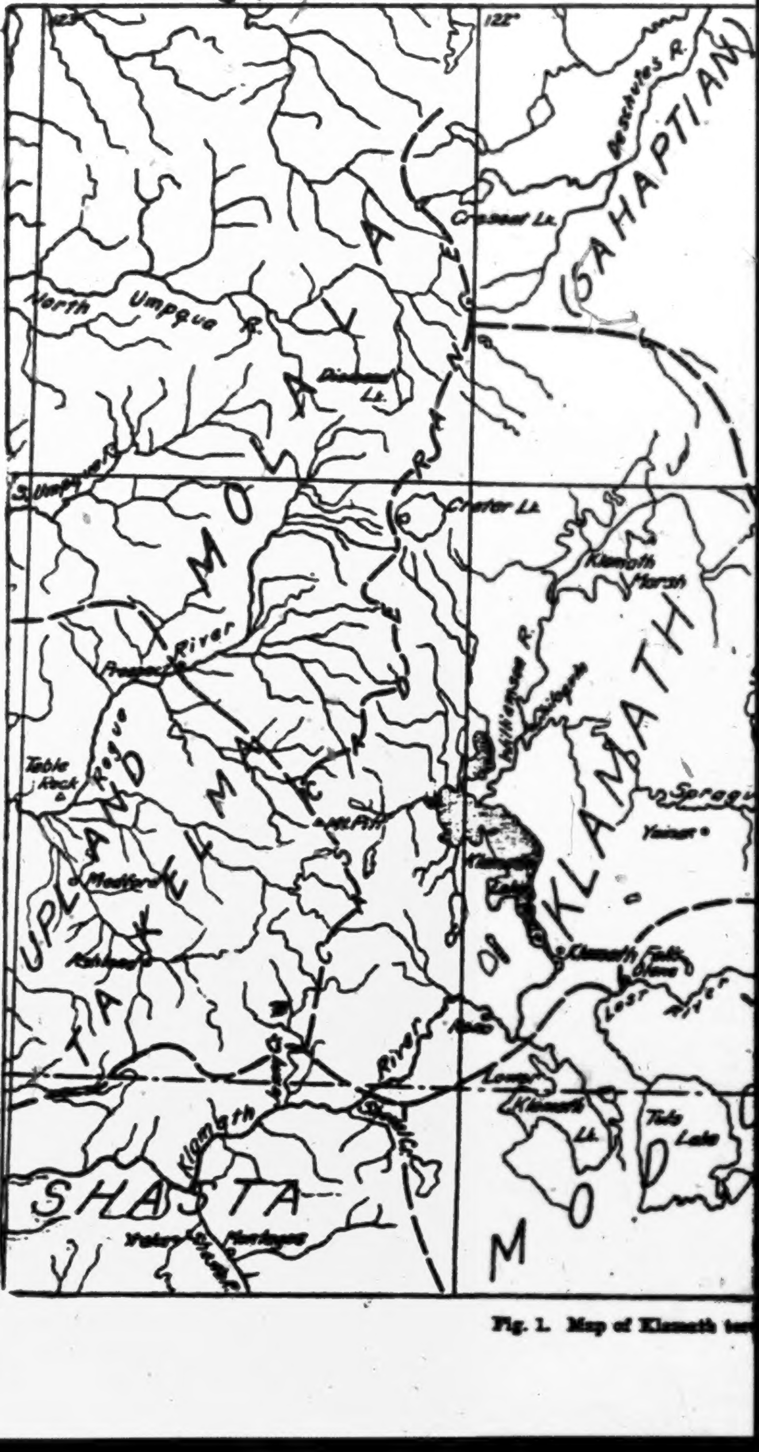
123°
122°
Deschutes R.
(SAHAPTIAN)
Crescent Lk.
North Umpqua R.
Diamond Lk.
S. Umpqua
Crater Lk.
Klamath Marsh
KLAMATH
Williamson R.
Sprague
Yainax
Klamath Falls
Lost River
Lower Klamath Lk.
Tule Lake
Prospect
River
Rogue
Table Rock
Mt. Pitt
Medford
Ashland
UPLAND TAKELMA
River
Klamath
SHASTA
Yreka
Montague
M O D

Fig. 1. Map of Klamath ter

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

[facing p. 8] [B]

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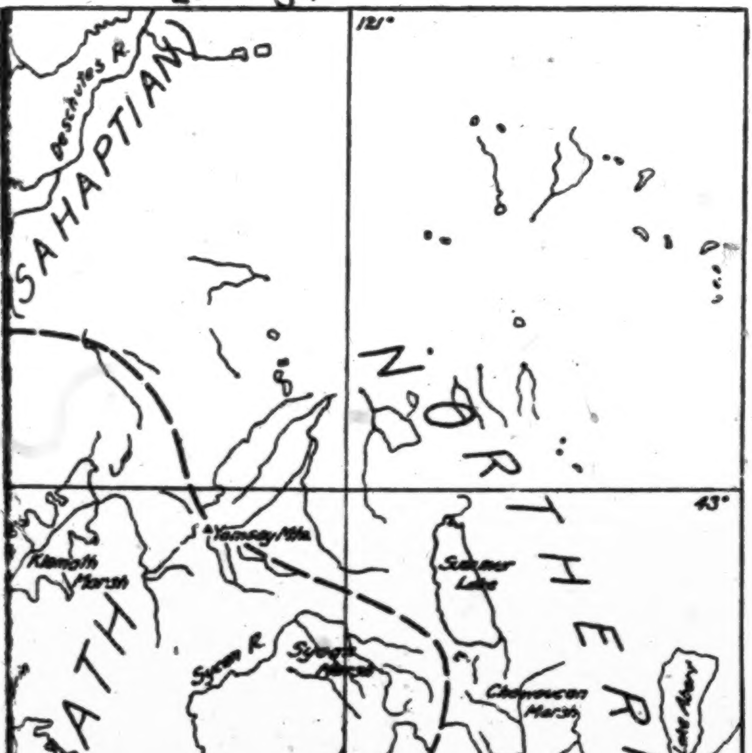
Deschutes R.
SAHAPTIAN
121°
NORTHERN PAIUTE
43°
Yamsay Mtn.
Klamath Marsh
Summer Lake
LAMATH
Sycan R.
Sycan Marsh
Chewaucan Marsh
Lake Abert
Sprague River
Yainax
Klamath Falls
Olene
Lost River
ODOC
42°
Tule Lake
Lk.
Goose Lake

Map of Klamath territory.

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The western and southern limits of the range are easiest to define
because of the topography and the proximity of other tribes. To the 131
east and north the open deserts and broken country extend indefinitely. 133
The nearest of the shifting settlements of Northern Paiute on the east
at Goose and Summer lakes are sixty and more miles from Klamath
lake. Those of the Warm Springs tribes are one hundred and fifty
miles distant, more than halfway across Oregon. Teit's data show [175]
that more than a century ago the neighbors of the Klamath in this
direction were the Sahaptins at no great distance and beyond them
Molala and Cayuse.

The wide plain south of Klamath Falls seems to have been unoc- 101
cupied. The Modoc lived south of the Lost River hills about Tule lake
and on lower Klamath lake. My Klamath informant doubted that 131
they lived on Miller lake, or had permanent settlements on Lost river. 174
Both tribes congregated at one place only for the early spring fishing,
namely on Lost river, a mile or more below the buttes at Olene. The [226]
Klamath camp site is on the north bank, the Modoc on the south.

The southern boundary of Klamath territory skirts the Klamath
valley from this place as far downstream as Spencer creek, near the 101
California-Oregon line, below the canyon of the Klamath. Below this 131
on the river are the Shasta, whose northernmost outposts are on Shovel
creek and north of the river on Jennie creek. The Klamath have no [226]
settlements on the river, but fish, hunt, and gather roots at such points [224]
as Keno, Spencer creek (ma'lbuḳ'is), and at laik'ĕlmi, five or six miles [222]
upstream from Dorris (?).

The western boundary is the Cascade watershed, including, however, territory on the northwest side of Mount Pitt (Mount McLoughlin) and again southwest of Crater lake. The Klamath hunt northwest of this conspicuous mountain in a region of many streams called la'ndjli (possibly an American name). Fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake is Huckleberry mountain (iwumkă'ni, huckleberry place) where the Klamath meet the Molala similarly engaged in berry picking. The latter regularly occupy the highlands of the upper Rogue river drainage above Trail creek or some point below Prospect. These Molala form a southern extension of that tribe from the upper Umpqua drainage.

The northern and eastern boundaries are somewhat indefinite. Palmer stated:

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> East of the Cascade mountains, and south of the 44th parallel, is a country not attached particularly to any agency. That portion at the eastern base of this range, extending twenty-five or thirty miles east, and south to the California line, is the country of the Klamath Indians.[26]

This is essentially correct although the boundary might better be set somewhat farther south to exclude the headwaters of the Deschutes, in earlier times the home of Sahaptin peoples. The country north of Klamath marsh is considered too open and cold for settlement. On the eastern border are a series of lakes (Silver, Summer, Abert, Goose) and rims which give on the desert to the east. There are Northern Paiute settlements on the eastern sides of Summer and Goose lakes, perhaps those of the Walpahpas mentioned by Meacham.

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> The meeting with the Klamath and Snakes was one of interest to all parties, from the fact that they had been enemies, and the chiefs had not met in person since peace was restored. Living in the country intervening [presumably Summer to Goose lakes] was a small tribe of Wal-pah-pas, who are half Snake and half Klamath. They were mediators, though sometimes fighting on alternate sides, as interest or affront gave occasion.[27]

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Sycan river, Sycan marsh, and Yamsay mountain are summer resorts of the Klamath, who had their easternmost settlement (hiedle-luĕ'luke) somewhere west of Gearhart mountain. Chewaucan marsh, between Summer and Abert lakes, was probably also visited, although I was not told so. Its name is Klamath, probably tcuwa'kăn, arrowhead place, derived from the abundance of arrowhead or wappatoo roots (tcuwa') gathered there.[28]

SETTLEMENTS

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The occupation of this territory is determined by the manner of life. The fixed villages are the winter residences to which people return year after year. Early spring finds them leaving for favorable fishing stations where there are successive fish runs. Through the summer they move to the prairies to gather edible roots and berries or to the mountain and desert to hunt. During most of this time families are widely scattered and the winter villages quite deserted, but with the ripening of pond lily seeds in the marshes during August [262] and September they again congregate. The pond lilies grow in enormous quantities, the seeds (wo'kas) constituting a staple second only in importance to fish.

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[26] Palmer in Report, Comm. Indian Affairs, 262, 1854.

[27] Meacham, Wigwam and War-path, 232.

[28] Coville, Notes, 90.

through the rock, had only a narrow way between them to allow 103
passage along the shore. On a point of rocks on the hill above stands 131
a cremation pile. A hillock west of the bay is called lalau'ḳ!ōt, flat, 361
for the many flat rocks on top. The opposite point of the river mouth
also has a settlement, called tc!a'tc!ŏmai, for some unidentified bird.

57, wĕḳă'ĕls, fallen tree, is a settlement of moderate size on the shore a mile west of the river mouth, now intersected by the road.

58, wut!ana'kŏḳs, a low gap, and 59, iup!a'tŏna, end place, are summer sites respectively at the ends of a little marsh (now drained) on the west side of the lake.

60, woḳsa'lks, lily seed (wokas) picking place, is a summer camp [222]
on the north shore of Wokas marsh. When leaving in the fall it is
customary to sink the canoes at the edge of the marsh, hide the grinding [501]
slabs in the juniper thicket, and pack by a regular trail to [415]
dĕ'ktcŏŋks, whence they return to the winter villages.

61, dĕ'ktcŏŋks, netting place, is a camp site on the west shore of [226]
Klamath lake opposite Buck island. Midway between this site and
the island is a favorite place for catching fish at night with a triangular
scoop net. The point Skillet Handle is called iuwa''lᴇ, end of
a point, and a flat-topped mountain west of Wocus bay, seolŏpgĭls.

62, sa'stītḳa'wals, Shasta stand on end, is Squaw point where a few [823]
Klamath falls people might be found in winter. There are holes in
the rocks here in which they pound to make the wind blow, pounding
in those on the south side, for instance, to bring a south wind.

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS

The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or 101
possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct dis- 619
trict, and practically autonomous. This is separatism of the familiar
Californian order. Nevertheless, the cohesion rising from a common
dialect, common culture, and a uniform reaction against all non-
tribesmen, which on occasion leads to jointly taking the field against
them, produces a tribal solidarity resembling that of the Plains people.

The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the modern name Klamath for the Klamath marsh—Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they

101 619 occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of any sharp geographic division, rivers or ranges, such as we should expect to figure in political separatism. There are only three or four miles of open, unoccupied country between the middle Williamson river group and that at the river mouth, for instance, or between the latter and the northernmost outposts of the Klamath falls people about Modoc point. The cases of doubtful divisions really stress this point. Kowa'edi on the lake shore may belong with the middle Williamson division; though only three miles away over a low range of hills, it is somewhat isolated. Similarly the Sprague river settlements toward Yainax, usually included in the same group, are in quite a different district.

721 619 [171] The third feature pointing to their separatism is the frequent feuds between them. It is quite clear that these involve the tribelets; they never occur between the settlements of a single division. The point will be clearer if we contrast Yurok sentiments. There feuds are between the towns or with only a group of kinsmen within a town, and at most when several towns are involved in a joint cause, it appears rather that kinsmen and their friends have been drawn in.[84]

[567] Further, feuds are carried on much as warfare with foreigners; property is destroyed, women and children enslaved. Such slaves can be retained indefinitely or sold again. We may wonder however if they are not restored when a settlement is bought, or at most retained only to even the score in lives.

The identity of these groups resolves itself solely into such aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. [621] At the other extreme, the towns are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large part a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole.

115 197 184 Only one informant, Pat Kane, suggested dialectic and cultural differentiation. The dialect groupings he gave are purely geographic. He also assigned shamanistic tricks, medical practices, and games to the several divisions, which all other informants emphatically denied. I could observe no linguistic differences and Gatschet recorded none.

000 The subdivisions or tribelets are:

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[84] Kroeber, Handbook, 49.

The subdivisions or tribelets are:

I. ă'ukekni, the people of Klamath marsh and middle Williamson river, the Klamath proper. Evidently the Sprague river people are included here; there is some doubt, but I am even more doubtful whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague river as Yainax in pre-reservation times. 101 • 131 619

II. kowa'edikni, those of a village of that name on Agency lake. They may be ă'ukekni.

III. du'kwakni, on the delta of Williamson river. These are more closely affiliated with the Pelican bay people than with ă'ukekni.

IV. gu'mbötkni, those of Pelican bay and the marsh to the north.

V. iu"laloŋkni, the people of Klamath falls (Link river) and the eastern shore of Klamath lake.

The names are those of the districts they occupy with the suffix -kni, those of, people of: ă'ukei, Klamath marsh; du'kwa, the district about the mouth of Williamson river; gu'mböt, Pelican bay, possibly taking its name from Rocky point; iu"laloŋᴇ, on the end, the village at the outlet of the lake into Link river.

It is now difficult to get a true estimate of the size of these groups. 361 The ă'ukekni count twenty-nine or more settlements, half of the total; 162 of the others iu"laloŋkni have thirteen, gu'mbötkni seven or more, du'kwakni five, and kowa'edikni, one. The towns vary considerably in size, yet this mere count agrees closely with the populational proportions as my several informants phrased them. The ă'ukekni are by far the largest group, perhaps as large as all the others together. Nancy Phillips recalls the large number of children who played [115] together at gu'mböt, Pelican bay. At this place the settlements do form a large compact group. Next in order she places the du'kwa group, then those clustering about iu"laloŋᴇ at Klamath falls, and goyᴇmske'ᴇgls on Williamson river. The settlements on Williamson river are small and scattered, but she places their joint population above the gu'mbötkni. The iu"laloŋkni were comparatively few despite their large territory. Of the ă'ukekni more lived at Klamath marsh even in winter than on Williamson river. The huge size of a single site, du"llkŭt, bears this out.

Consonant with their unequal size is it that the principal chief, at 619 least in early reservation days, was the principal chief of the ă'ukekni; 622 all others were distinctly subordinate in prestige. According to one informant, himself a du'kwa man, the ă'ukekni are the highest people. [829] Kᴇmū'kūmps, the culture hero, made them first, best, and strongest; later he made the others.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

IV. THE KLAMATH AND WESTERN CULTURE

THE PLACE OF KLAMATH CULTURE

• 101 128 The place of the Klamath in western culture has been obscure and has, I think, been mistakenly appraised. In this section I have gone beyond the immediate task of defining it in order to build out on its northern border the synthesis of Californian cultures furnished by Kroeber.

101 114 Any attempt at placing the Klamath is rendered difficult by the paucity of information for large areas in the northwestern states. There is little enough on western Washington, but even less for the region east of the Cascade range, and practically nothing for the whole of Oregon. The southern Plateau is unknown save for the Nez Percé; its eastern section (Kutenai to Flathead) is another complete blank. Satisfactorily complete accounts now available can be numbered on the fingers: Gunther's Klallam, Haeberlin and Gunther's southern Puget Sound groups, Olson's manuscript notes on the Quinault, another manuscript on the Wishram by Sapir and the present writer, Teit's slight but highly suggestive notes on the Middle Columbia Salish, Spinden's Nez Percé, and the valuable collection of historical references gathered by Lewis. The situation is better for the Fraser river section of the Plateau, thanks to Teit's several accounts of the interior Salish. The stock of information on the Basin is slender and that for northern California none too voluminous. Nevertheless it seems possible to place the Klamath by a cautious use of these fragmentary data.

The present section will attempt to summarize the situation, with particular reference to material culture. The sections that follow analyze the shamanistic complex, social organization, and the girls' rites in greater detail.

* 171 101 The food habits of the Klamath, and in fact their general material culture, places them squarely with the Plateau peoples. They are as much a river people as the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap, although the river in their instance is a minor stream (the Williamson river) and substituted in part by flooded marshes. As a river people, their primary foodstuff is fish; vegetal foods, water-lily seed, roots, and the like, form a considerable part of their provender, yet a lesser one.

*171 understanding of the place of the Klamath in western culture. Specific
105 tribal reference is made in only a few instances; principally where it
• is necessary to define the distribution in the neighborhood of the
*171 Klamath somewhat more closely than the names of culture areas
105 allow.* It does not seem desirable to cite specific references beyond
•101 this, since my notes are far from exhaustive.

By far the majority of linkages are with the Plateau, particularly with its southern section. Northeastern and northwestern California are close seconds, but the general impression is that when details of specific form are emphasized, the relationship with the mountain tribes of northeastern California is much closer. The southern Northwest Coast, that is, largely western Washington, is a bad third, and, as is readily intelligible, central California and the Basin are culturally even more remote. Southern California and the Plains have only a third as many elements in common with the Klamath as have the Plateau peoples, and the Southwest very few. The total impression might be considerably modified if we knew more of Oregon cultures, but I do not believe this would change the verdict of basic resemblance to the Plateau.

House forms are Plateau, both earth-lodge and mat-lodge. Mat-covered lodges are widely used, but the specific type here, resembling the earth-lodge structure, is a localized type of the southern Plateau. Plains dress and hairdress have come in through the same region; the older fringed skirt is typical of the whole area west of the Rockies or at least west of the Cascades and Sierras. Of personal adornment, the basket hat and tattooing are Californian, frontal flattening is from the Northwest Coast by way of the Columbia. Fishing habits are those of the larger northwest: northern California, the Northwest Coast, and the Plateau as a whole. The shovel-nose canoe is characteristic of the southern half of the same area. The preponderant use of basketry and the almost complete absence of wooden utensils affiliate with California, the Basin, and Plateau, rather than with Northwest Coast. However the prevailing technique, twining, is that of the northern coast. The manifold use of mats again seems characteristic of the north. Cradles show a nice combination of the basketry sitting type of northwesterly California and the wooden flat forms of the Plateau. Arms and armor are northern: the round shield is a Plains feature, probably transferred across the Plateau.

Things less grossly material, such as games, affiliate in all directions. The Californian four-stick game is balanced by the eastern hand

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game; beaver-teeth dice are northwestern. Rattles are Californian, the hand drum and notched rasp, eastern. The ritual number five is known in a swathe of territory from Vancouver island to the Basin. The war or incitement dance links the Columbia river with northwestern California. More important is the practice of cremation which is partly followed in northeastern California and was, according to archaeological evidence, the earlier practice of the southern Plateau. This links the Plateau, northeastern and central California in one vast area which formerly at least was given to cremation.

Specifically local elements beyond those already noted, that is, those of northeastern California and the southern Plateau, are pipes of several forms, tule slippers and three-piece moccasins, perhaps the bundle form of ring-and-pin game, and the porcupine-tail comb; none of them more than superficial details.

There are a number of features characteristic of near-by culture areas, which in their distributions are quite within the range of influences impinging on the Klamath, and yet in which the Klamath do not share. Some of these are enumerated below. It must be understood that no attempt has been made to list all the items characteristic of each of the adjacent areas. The list includes only those features whose known distribution is close to the Klamath and which might have been expected among them.

It is rather surprising to find that the several methods of deer hunting, the seed beater, rabbit-skin blankets, and tubular pipes are not present among the Klamath. All would fit well into Klamath culture and their habitat imposes no difficulties. On the other hand, fishing stages are not needed on their relatively quiet streams choked with rocks and with low banks. Pulverizing of salmon may be absent because comparatively few salmon are taken, and possibly other dried fish do not crumble like the flakes of dried salmon. Cocoons from which rattles can be made probably do not occur in Klamath territory. Why the Klamath do not beat seeds directly from the bushes is not clear; they make considerable use of them but prefer to gather the plants whole and shake out the seeds. Similarly the absence of tubular pipes and the tanning frame is inexplicable. Parfleches are not manufactured but are traded from the Columbia. This explains the absence of their manufacture, for the tribes with whom they come in contact do not make them either. This is certain for the Wishram and undoubtedly so for Wasco; the Klickitat and Yakima make them but seldom;[417] all trading from the Nez Percé and their neighbors.

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[417] Haeberlin *et al.*, Coiled Basketry, 357, 360.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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The fashioning of utensils from wood may well have been inhibited by the development of basketry substitutes and the recency of direct contact with a woodworking culture on the Columbia.

Other features are perhaps too distant to suggest their imitation: the plank house and blanket weaving of the Northwest Coast, the tipi, even in its mat-covered form on the Plateau, the dance-sweat-lodge of central California. Yet even here some influence of these may be seen among the Klamath. Riven planks for earth-lodge timbers were derived from Shastan and lower Klamath river forms of the plank house. The central Californian dance lodge did indeed reach the Klamath as part of the Ghost dance of 1870, but too late to influence their culture before its disintegration.

FEATURES OF ADJACENT AREAS NOT SHARED BY THE KLAMATH

Houses, plank	Coastal from n. Alaska to n.w. California (e.g., Shasta, Takelma, and Wishram).
tipi	s. (and n?) Plateau, n. and e. Basin, Plains, Mackenzie, n. Eastern Woodlands.
Dance-sweat-house	Central California.
Fishing stages	Northwest Coast to n.w. California, Plateau s. to Columbia river.
Fashioned salmon club	Northwest Coast to Columbia river.
Pulverized salmon	Plateau s. to Wishram (not Nez Percé) (links with Plains pemmican and Californian pounded-meat?).
Hunting, impounding	Nez Percé, Plateau?, Basin, n. Plains, Mackenzie?
deer snares	n.w. California, Takelma (Northwest Coast for mountain goat).
pits	n.e. California (and elsewhere?).
rabbit nets	Nez Percé, n.e. and s. California, Basin, w. Southwest.
Seed beater	California, Arizona, Basin, occasional in Plateau.
Canoe sails	Northwest Coast (aboriginal?).
Rabbit-skin blankets	California, Southwest, Basin, Oregon (Modoc, Wishram: not Klamath and Nez Percé), w. Plateau, Mackenzie.
Blanket weaving	Northwest Coast to Columbia river, w. Plateau.
Parfleche	s. Plateau, n. and e. Basin, e. Southwest, Plains.
Wood carving	Northwest Coast to Columbia river.
Ladles and spoons	Northwest Coast to Columbia river.
Tanning frame	Wishram, Plateau, Plains.
Toothed comb	Quinault, Twana, Nez Percé, Molala, Northern Maidu.
Trough cradle	Northwest Coast s. to Tillamook (links with n.w. California sitting type?).
Cocoon rattle	n.e. and central California.
Tubular pipe	Takelma, Wasco, Sahaptins at Celilo, Nez Percé; California, Southwest.
Tobacco cultivated	Yurok, Hupa, Wintun, Maidu, Takelma, Wishram?; Northwest Coast, s. California, Southwest and southward, Plains and eastward.
Names, inherited and received at puberty	Northwest Coast, Plateau s. to Columbia river.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Southeast Salish NR19

This is undoubtedly true equally of all the tribes lying in the Columbia K 262
drainage from the Rockies to the Cascades. It is known to be so of
tribes as far apart as the Wishram and the Lower Kutenai,[413] and of 171*
others lying between, as the Middle Columbia Salish and the Nez Percé
in their original condition.

The Nez Percé case calls for explanation. The present culture of K 171*
the Nez Percé is Plains-like. But there can be little doubt that much, 105
if not the overwhelming part of the Plains traits among them, dates
only from the introduction of horses into the Snake-Columbia basin, 177
sometime between 1750 and 1800. With the horse came not only horse
gear and all the elements of Plains nomadism, but the opportunity for
buffalo hunting and trading on an extensive scale in the Plains. Many
of the Snake-Columbia tribes began to make periodic visits beyond
the Rockies from this time. Teit's account of the Middle Columbia SS
Salish makes it quite clear that prior to the coming of the horse, 114
typical Plateau culture, practically devoid of Plains elements, pre- 105
vailed over the entire area. Even the picture of life among the Nez
Percé and their neighbors presented to Lewis and Clark as late as 177
1804-6 was far more that of the Plateau at large than it is in our own K
day. The earlier situation is largely obscured by the fact that the 171*
Yakima and Klickitat in their eastern Washington location have many
Plains-like features. Teit's investigations make it reasonably certain, 105
however, that the situation prior to the end of the eighteenth century 177
was quite different. At that time eastern Washington to south of the
Columbia river was occupied by Salish tribes with typical Plateau
culture. Subsequently the Yakima-Klickitat moved northward, prob-
ably from east central Oregon, to their historic habitat.[414] It seems
reasonable to assume that up to that time they, like the Nez Percé, had
little in the way of Plains culture.

Even today the food habits of the Sahaptins are not those of the K 171*
Plains. What I am suggesting here is that the balance of vegetal 177
products and fish, now nearly even, rather favored fish in the days 178
before hunting was so readily followed. 262

So far as general habits of life go, the river culture of the Klamath K
links them also with the tribes on the lower reaches of the Klamath 101 •
river. But their food habits do not quite coincide. Yurok, Hupa, and K
Shasta all make a larger use of acorns than of fish, although observers 171*

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[413] Chamberlain, Kootenay, 183.

[414] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish; a map showing the early distribution is included in Haeberlin, *et al.*, Coiled Basketry in British Columbia.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

Taken as a whole Klamath material culture is of Plateau type with 171*
strong leanings toward northeastern California. But their social and 101 •
religious culture has a different aspect. While basically of the
extremely simple Basin-Plateau type, social habits reflect the Northwest 105
Coast, religious ones rather those of northern California and
western Oregon.

The basis of Klamath religious experience is that of the northern 171*
interior, the Basin, and the Northwest Coast, in distinction to California
and the Southwest. The experience is deliberately sought and 771
the power obtained is of a generalized, unspecialized nature. In this
they resemble as well the generality of North Americans. Even their
spirits are of the sort universal east of the Pacific coast. Specific
Northwest Coast influence appears in the circumscription of general
spirit repossession to the midwinter month. On the other hand, the
shaman novice's inaugural dance, which gives at least as much color
to Klamath shamanism, is characteristic of northern California and
western Oregon. The Klamath form of it is, rather, Oregonian.
Details of shamanism, on the other hand, link more firmly with
northern, especially northeastern, California.

Social organization is extremely simple, and it is quite patent that 171*
as late as the end of the eighteenth century, it resembled that of the
Basin and Plateau in every particular. Even now social stratification
is only weakly developed. Chiefs were only recently set off from the
mass, their functions vague and their influence slight. At the very 171*
moment that Klamath society began to break down with the coming of 177
the whites, they first imported from the Columbia river judicial functions
for the chiefs. Chiefs are the wealthiest individuals, but they 622
are not chiefs because they are wealthy. Their selection is still based
on principles of personal ability. The basis of this differentiation,
wealth, came from the same direction, but the accompanying principle
of the Northwest Coast, caste stratification, never reached here; nor
did the chief's adjunct, a speaker or advocate, although this functionary
is known in the Plateau and Basin as well as in the Northwest.
At the other end of the scale, slavery is apparently an old institution, 171*
but was of little importance until wealth began to figure among them. 567
The Northwest Coast concept of status based on wealth appears again
in marriage, here regularly by purchase. But social estimation did 171*
not rest on the amount paid, which was in fact very little. With so
slight an emphasis on rank and wealth, those northwestern corollaries, 556
local exogamy to maintain the one and the family compact following 584

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
174 Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[622] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
[721] carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-
[567] holding existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their dis-
177 tribution established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kin-
ship terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
[622] southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[619] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctive-
• 101 ness from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
105 to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some north-
western influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

Plateau admixture. Since the introduction of the horse, the Lutuami mode of life has evidently been modified analogously to that of the Plateau peoples of the Columbia, although less profoundly; and with the horse came a number of cultural elements from the Plateau, or even from the Plains; of which some went on to the Shasta and Achomawi. This recent modification appears to have given Lutuami culture a more un-Californian aspect than it originally possessed. Neither the Kalapuya nor the Klamath-Modoc were a numerous enough people to have possessed a truly distinctive civilization. The Kalapuya are gone, but nearly a thousand Lutuami remain, and as soon as their society and religion are seriously inquired into, their precise cultural affiliations will no doubt become clear.''[439] 101 105 114

The fidelity of this characterization to the situation as it is now known is considerable, but the scantiness of information has permitted the supposition that the local culture is sufficiently distinctive to be given the dignity of a separate subprovince.

The impression is that Kroeber has been led astray by the paucity and false balance of the materials on which he had to rely. Barrett's Material Culture of the Klamath does indeed present a picture of a culture in which the use of tule is accentuated. The predominant rôle given to wokas, the water-lily seed, is a readily intelligible inference from Coville's detailed description of the specialized technique of its preparation. The brief and disjointed texts recorded by Gatschet allow only a puzzling insight into Klamath religious life. At the same time the true character of the southern Plateau, or at least the picture of several generations ago, is obscured by the half-Plains-like culture established for the Nez Percé by Spinden.

Klamath technology is emphatically not one based on tule, with the limitations or suggestions of form it imposes. Nothing is clearer than that tule was in almost every case a substitute for more desirable material. Basketry techniques and forms are one with those of the Basin and northern California, and, we might hazard, the Plateau, despite the frequent use of this substitute material. Barrett's paper, which allows the inference of a developed tule industry basic in their material culture, is strictly speaking not an exposition of their material culture at all, but a description of a collection of objects, which in his day had already degenerated to the use of convenient substitute material. What further inference may rest on the Klamath occupation of a tule marsh is false. Klamath culture is not a marsh culture, but one of a river people. The norm of Klamath material culture is 101 105 [171]* seen in their river home, not in the marsh which occupies a distinctly secondary place in their life.

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[439] Kroeber, California Culture Provinces, 163; Handbook, 334-35.

Correspondingly, while the place of wokas and the intricacies of its preparation are impressive, it must be recognized that their staple food is fish. There can be no doubt of this. They are far more a fish-using people than those on the lower Klamath. And in this they link without question with the Plateau people. The use of wokas does indeed distinguish them from others of the area, but we recognize that this is no more than the utilization of a local food source readily available and abundant, quite in harmony with the tendency in the whole area to emphasize one or another seed supply as the environment dictates.

It must now be apparent that Gatschet's textual material presents the peculiarities of Klamath phrasing of things religious without adequate explanation of their oneness with the Plateau and northeastern California. There is little that he gives besides the songs, but their abundance and their nature can be duplicated among the Wishram and, I believe, were they known, among the Nez Percé and Achomawi. I am not in a position to say how far their mythology is peculiar.

Teit's paper on the Middle Columbia Salish makes it clear that Plains elements in this area are not older than the end of the eighteenth century. Prior to that southern Plateau characteristics prevailed with fair uniformity among the Upper Chinook of the Dalles, the Interior Salish of eastern Washington, and, we infer, the Waiilatpuan and Sahaptins of eastern Oregon and central Idaho. Such Plains characteristics as the Klamath display are demonstrably late and they are themselves aware that much of Northwest Coast practice came to them only after the opening of direct contact with the Columbia tribes barely a hundred years ago.

The final placing of Klamath culture is, perhaps, with the Modoc, as the southernmost outpost of Plateau life. Kroeber's supposition of a distinctive subprovince is excusable in the light of the misleading character of the available descriptions and the absence of Teit's epoch-making contribution. We do not yet know much of the southern Plateau but it does not seem likely that this perspective will be seriously disturbed.[421]

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[421] Now that a Lutuamian culture province fades away, we may hope to see an end to that barbarism, the word Lutuami, itself. No Klamath or Modoc would recognize it, and should it prove that Klamath-Modoc, Molala-Cayuse, and Sahaptin form a single linguistic group, as has been suggested, we may hope to hear the last of it.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

[p.251]

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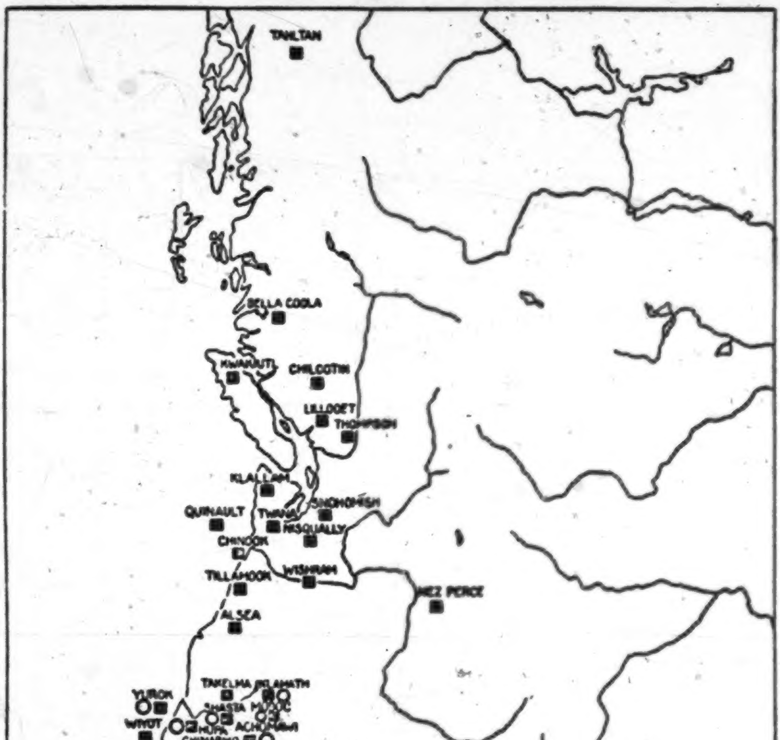
TAHLTAN
BELLA COOLA
KWAKIUTL
CHILCOTIN
LILLOOET
THOMPSON
KLALLAM
SNOHOMISH
QUINAULT
TWANA
NISQUALLY
CHINOOK
TILLAMOOK
WISHRAM
NEZ PERCE
ALSEA
TAKELMA
KLAMATH
YUROK
SHASTA
MODOC
WIYOT
HUPA
ACHOMAWI
CHIMARIKO
SINKYONE
WAILAKI
N.E. MAIDU
YUKI
FOOTHILL MAIDU
PAVIOTSO
POMO
VALLEY MAIDU
SO. MAIDU
WIND RIVER SHOSHONI
YOKUTS
SHIVWITS
SO. UTE
KAWAIISU
HAVASUPAI
LAGUNA
JUANENO
LUISENO
CAHUILLA
MOHAVE
W. APACHE
COCHITI
N. DIEGUENO
S. DIEGUENO
YUMA
PIMA
AKWAALA

Fig. 22. Distribution of the quest and dream as sources of spirit power in western North America. Squares indicate the quest; circles, the dream.

*171 567 southward of the Klamath there was no slavery; this is certain for Northern and Southern Maidu,[581] and very probably Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northern Paiute. This seems generally true of California with the exception of the northwest (Yurok and probably their neighbors), where there was debt slavery, but where slaves were not measurable articles of wealth.

Summary

101 105 174 The general position of the Klamath in relation to surrounding tribes was in earlier days the simple social structure of the Basin peoples. Since the opening of the last century they have borrowed from the Columbia tribes some sense of social stratification based on wealth, slave-holding, and trading, enhanced importance for their chiefs coincident with a change in the basis of selection from war to wealth, and quite recently judicial functions for the chiefs. There was thus a shift in social dominance from shaman to chief.

GIRLS' PUBERTY RITES AND WOMEN'S OBSERVANCES

*171 562 881 787 It is characteristic of western America that adolescence ceremonies were held for girls rather than boys. This is not to ignore the wide extension of the guardian spirit quest, more regularly performed by boys than girls, nor the boys' initiation ceremonies of southern California and the Southwest, but the boys' activities were less commonly ritualized save in the southwestern sector. The boys' quest among the Klamath has been discussed in connection with shamanism.

*171 841 The girls' rites in the west can best be understood with reference to a background of women's observances throughout the continent. Certain features of women's behavior had a well-nigh universal distribution. The general conception was that woman during her periodical illnesses was a source of contamination to others or a peril to herself. A series of restrictions ensued; she was secluded or her movements restricted during the period. For her own well-being she must fast or at least refrain from fresh meat or fish, but the latter proscription was also rationalized as avoiding damage to the food supply, especially fishing. She must not touch hands to face or hair, using instead a scratching stick, must not wash nor arrange her hair, and must dispose of her garments before resuming her normal life.

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[580] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, esp. 122.

[581] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 200; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 44.

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PREFACE

114 121 The following comparative ethnographic study of fifteen northeastern California groups and one group in southern Oregon is based on approximately three and one-half months' field work (July-October, 1936), undertaken while serving as Research Assistant in the Department of Anthropology at the University of California. During the six months' period which the appointment covered I incurred numerous obligations for assistance.

000 To Dr. A. L. Kroeber, director of the culture-element survey, I am indebted for much sound advice, never-failing coöperation, and many courtesies extended throughout the term of appointment. To Professor E. W. Gifford, Dr. Robert H. Lowie, and Dr. Harold E. Driver I am likewise under obligations for their coöperation and numerous courtesies.

I also wish to thank those authors who have written the detailed and pioneer monographs on many of the groups covered in this study; these include Drs. Leslie Spier, A. L. Kroeber, Ralph L. Beals, Isabel T. Kelly, Cora Du Bois, Edwin M. Loeb, and Mr. E. W. Gifford. Many of these authorities, and also the late Professor Edward Sapir, of Yale, supplied the names of reliable informants for the groups I was to study, and otherwise oriented me concerning field conditions. To all these scholars I am greatly indebted, both for their personal coöperation and for their valuable publications on various tribes in or near the area surveyed. Since I worked with both the Shasta and the Maidu, it is almost needless to mention how often I leaned on the late Dr. Roland B. Dixon's ethnographic studies of these two tribes, and how delighted I was to obtain western Shasta data from Sargent Sambo who, some thirty years before, had been Dr. Dixon's chief informant.

114 The difficulties of living on an extremely mobile field trip were lightened by virtue of having with me three interested companions. My husband, Dr. C. F. Voegelin, and our daughter, Gail, spent July and August in the field. To Dr. Voegelin I am deeply grateful for frequent linguistic aid and for encouragement in the pursuit of a new ethnographic field technique. To Gail, and likewise to my father, Mr. Roscoe Wheeler, who proved an ever-cheerful companion during the latter half of the trip, I wish to express a happy appreciation of their comradeship and their responsiveness to informants and informants' families.

115 Many kindnesses were extended to me during field work. Mrs. John Perry and her late husband, of Greenville, offered the hospitality of their home and were helpful in suggesting suitable informants. Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Barton, of Horse Creek, temporarily released Sargent Sambo from their employ so that I might work with him. Mrs. Lucy Thomson, my informant for the Southern Nisenan, had my father and me as guests in her home during our stay at Stanfield Hill. Mrs. Winnie Shiffbauer, Modoc; Ben Bridge, Achomawi informant, and his wife; and Mrs. Amanda Wilson, Valley Maidu informant, were likewise generous in hospitality. The interest and cooperative spirit I met with among these and many others of my informants puts me under a debt which cannot easily be acknowledged, but which will always be a pleasure to recall.

122 Assistance in the preparation of field material for publication was furnished by the personnel of Works Projects Administration Official Project No. 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

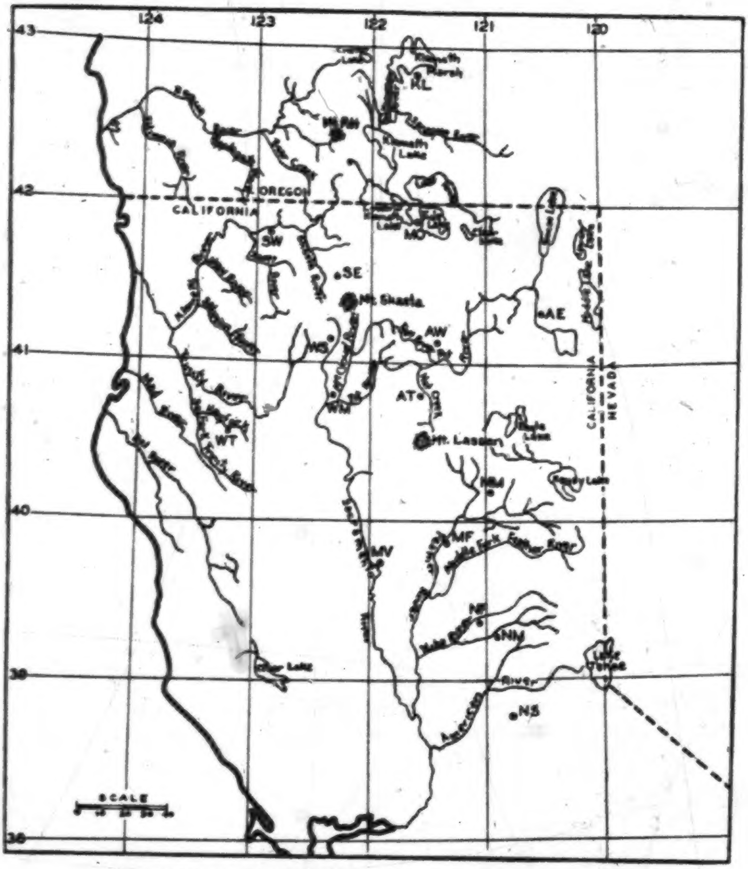
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Klamath Marsh
KL
Klamath Lake
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
SW
SE
Mt. Shasta
MO
AE
AW
HS
AT
WM
WT
Mt. Lassen
MV
MF
Middle Fork Feather River
NF
NM
Lake Tahoe
American River
NS
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
SCALE

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Map 1. Area surveyed and localities to which cultural data from the several tribal groups refer.

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172 the eruption of Mount Mazama created Crater Lake and strewed
133 its pumice in thick beds over the countryside, some 6,500 years
ago, they had long been in occupation.[3]

K Here, with the passage of time, the peoples later to receive
M the names of Klamath and Modoc began to take on their present
• 101 way of life. Their cultural position was at once peripheral and
172 strategic, for they lay at the boundaries of the emergent cultural
provinces of the Great Basin, the Plateau, and California, and though they stemmed fundamentally from the Great Basin, they were also subject to influences flowing from California and the Plateau. Consistent with their relative geographical position and ecological resources, the Modoc diverged toward California and the Klamath toward the Plateau; and when in turn the influences of the North Pacific Coast—extending from southern Alaska to northern California—reached them, it was again the Klamath who were somewhat more receptive. Despite their differences, the
K two peoples retained a substantial common base: they spoke
M dialects of the same language and felt their political separation
101 to have been a recent event.[4]

197 Indeed, the linguistic evidence is consonant with a long autochthonous development within this region. Klamath-Modoc finds its closest linguistic congeners within the Plateau, in Cayuse, Molala, and the northern Sahaptin Tenino, Klickitat, Yakima, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Nez Percé. Taken together, these languages are seen as more distantly related to others spoken in Western Oregon and in the Sacramento-San Joaquin drainage of California, and like them are assigned to the Penutian phylum.[5] (See Map of Tribal Distribution in Oregon.)

K For the Klamath, the dominant features of their landscape were
133 the marshes and streams, with their rich resources of fish, mussels,
226 and waterfowl. Their winter settlements, fringing the shores in
361 settled places, were located where fish could be caught most of
433 the year, clustered densely upon Klamath Marsh and the eastern
shore of Agency and Upper Klamath lakes, extending down to Link River. They lay as well upon the Williamson River which runs in a bow some sixty miles, passing through the Marsh to
M empty into Upper Klamath Lake, and upon its eastern tributary,
133 the Sprague. In their more open country to the south, the Modoc
226 were less favored and less open to influences from fishing peoples,
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and they tended to retain a greater concern with hunting, a condition M 133
which archeology tells us was characteristic of the early 226
Klamath, but which the latter came somewhat to relinquish with 224
their concentration upon the product of the waters. Likewise, 433
the Modoc seem to have placed a somewhat greater premium M
upon the gathering of wild seeds, in a typically Basin-California [222]
manner. Nonetheless, fishing was by no means neglected, and [361]
their villages lay principally about Lower Klamath, Tule, and Clear lakes, as well as upon Lost River which roughly parallels the Sprague in its westward course, until it bends south to empty its waters into Tule Lake.

Protected by relatively inhospitable land to the north, by K
broken hills to the east and south, and by the Cascades on the M
west, the Klamath-Modoc homeland fostered a culture somewhat 131
provincial in character, owing to its remoteness from major 101 •
centers of development, yet distinctive in style. Neither people occupied, for any distance, the Klamath River, which drains the Klamath Lakes and falls through its canyon to the Pacific; and neither seems to have been directly affected by the culture that emerged along its lower reaches among the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa.

Favored though they were by contrast to the Great Basin, the K
Klamath uplands did not support a large aboriginal population. M
The Klamath and Modoc together have variously been estimated 161
to have totaled between twelve hundred and two thousand, the Klamath having about double the numbers of their southern kinsmen. Population densities provide a further perspective. Those for the Shasta immediately to the southwest and for the Oregon Coast were roughly ten times as great as that of the Klamath-Modoc. The Kalapuya of the Willamette Valley and the Takelma of the Upper Rogue furnished figures about twice as great, and the Achomawi and Atsugewi of the Pit River drainage south of the Modoc had densities four times the value for our tribes. Within the Plateau, the Sahaptin-speaking peoples of the middle Columbia and the Blue Mountains approximated their figure. In the Great Basin and the Southern Plateau, the Shoshonean Bannock, Northern Paiute, and Shoshone provided figures only one quarter as great. If the figure is taken to reflect the intensity of land use, the Klamath Basin was on a par with the

TWO

[P.22]

The Frontier Condition

726 FOR MANY YEARS THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WILLAMETTE AND CO-
648 lumbia valleys bypassed the tribes of the Klamath Basin.[1] In-
175 directly, however, they felt the first remote influences, as the
Sahaptin-speaking tribes of the middle Columbia, equipped with
the superior weapons of the trading posts and mounted on horses
acquired from the Shoshonean bands to the south, began to raid
up the Deschutes Valley to take Klamath slaves.[2] The Klamath
[231] were at a disadvantage: in 1826 Peter Skene Ogden, of the
Hudson's Bay Company, found them with but a single horse
[411] and uneasily awaiting raids by joint parties of Cayuse and Nez
Percés; and even by midcentury they had only one firearm
among them.[3] The scantiness of the local beaver made their
territory of little interest to the company, however, and they came
to enjoy a reputation as fierce warriors which preserved them
for some time from settlers. Nonetheless, they were known even
[101] then to the tribes of the Columbia, for Ogden applied to them
a name, "Clammite," that was not their own and seems to stem
from Chinookan.[4]

648 Some ten years after Ogden passed through, a party of French-
175 Canadian trappers made their way into the region and on their
return to The Dalles took along some Klamath.[5] From that time
on, contact with the tribes at that great Indian trading center in-
creased. Klamath parties moved down the Deschutes Valley,
making their way either to The Dalles itself, or branching west-
ward down the north fork of the Santiam along what came to
be known as the Klamath Trail, through the settlement of the
northern Molala, thence to the Kalapuya on the outskirts of
648 Oregon City. There, in 1843, one missionary recorded the visit
567 of "a large party of the Clamath tribe, fierce and warlike . . .
439 with about twenty slaves, [who] sold most or all of them. Some,
435 I was informed, were sold for three horses each,
175 some cheaper."[6]

> *657 *648 692 A large number of Indian offences come before this Court for trial, consisting mainly of family quarrels, disputes about the ownership of property and acts of licentiousness.[illegible]

With the accidental death of Crain, Jesse Kirk was appointed in his stead.[60]

Thus, within a generation the administration had replaced the popular leaders with those among them who were Agency employees, and in turn had supplanted them with the products of its schools. Legally constituted authority was administered through the Agency, at first through a customary court of chiefs and later [625] through a Court of Indian Offenses. The Indian police, who took their orders directly from the Agent, were satisfactory to him as the instrument of his hand. Not so the courts, which tended instead to constitute seats of power alternative to that of the Agent. The result was to be that Agents tended to strengthen the police while circumscribing the functions of the courts.

*657 *648 622 571 Meanwhile, beyond the administrative structure thrived an unacknowledged informal leadership, based as in former days upon wealth and accomplishment. Unlike that of the Agency, it was not restricted in position nor limited narrowly in function. This was a leadership in which employees could also participate; and it was presently to see such diverse men as the old chiefs, Monchnkasgitk, Henry Blow, and Allen David, make cause with Dave Hill, and he with young Jesse Kirk, and he in turn with Jeff Riddle, son of Frank Riddle and Winema, the heroine of the Modoc War, and with Henry Jackson, the wealthy exslave. In this sense at least E. L. Applegate was right when he observed:

> [179] [178] • [101] The tribal distinction among the Indians on this Reservation is practically disregarded by the Indians, and the ancient prejudices are rapidly fading away. The general name of Klamath People seems to be superseding all other distinctions.[illegible]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P.279]

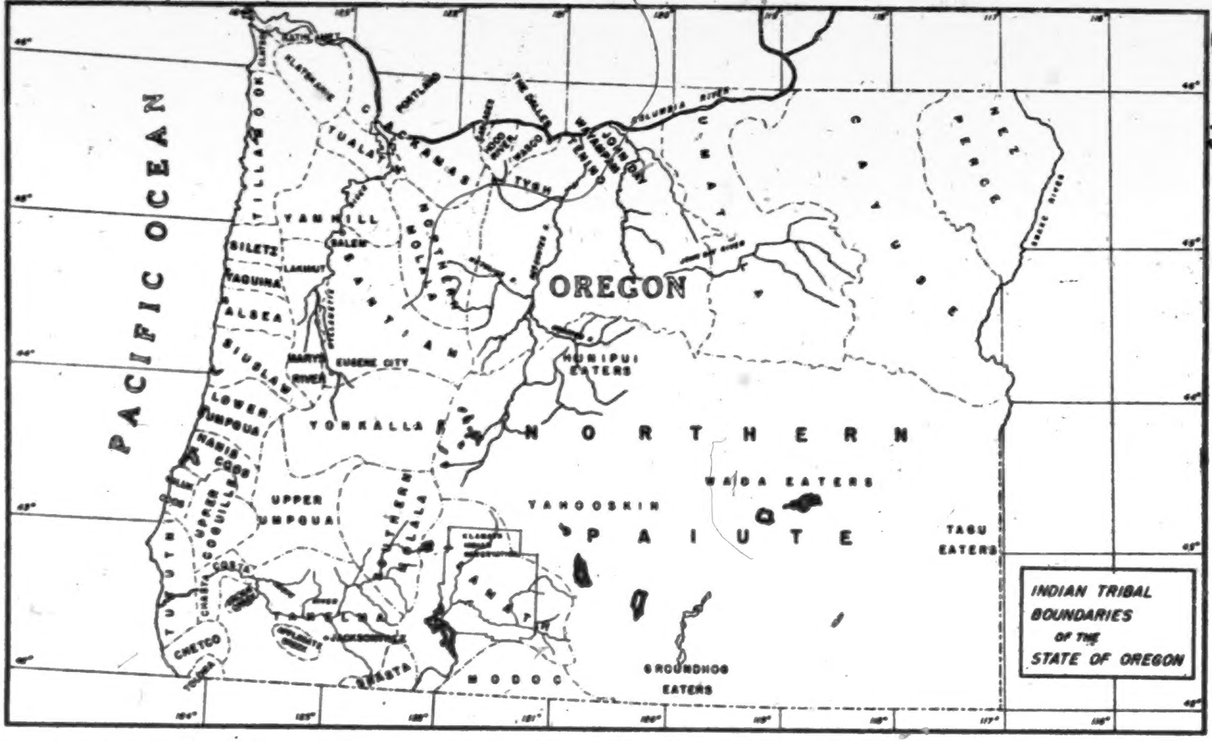
PACIFIC OCEAN
OREGON
CLATSOP
CLATSKANIE
TILLAMOOK
PORTLAND
TUALATY
CLACKAMAS
THE DALLES
WASCO
TYGH
TENINO
JOHN DAY
COLUMBIA RIVER
UMATILLA
CAYUSE
NEZ PERCE
SNAKE RIVER
JOHN DAY RIVER
YAMHILL
SALEM
SILETZ
YAQUINA
ALSEA
SIUSLAW
SANTIAN
NORTHERN MOLALA
EUGENE CITY
HUNIPUI EATERS
LOWER UMPQUA
HANIS COOS
YONKALLA
NORTHERN
WADA EATERS
YAHOOSKIN
PAIUTE
TAGU EATERS
UPPER UMPQUA
UPPER COQUILLE
SOUTHERN MOLALA
TUTUTNI
CHASTA COSTA
TAKELMA
JACKSONVILLE
CHETCO
SHASTA
KLAMATH
MODOC
GROUNDHOG EATERS
INDIAN TRIBAL BOUNDARIES OF THE STATE OF OREGON

Adapted from "Indian Tribes and Languages of the Old Oregon Country" (Portland, Ore.: Oregon Historical Society, 1958). Data compiled by Claude Schaeffer. (Used by permission of the Oregon Historical Society.)

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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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[P. 280]

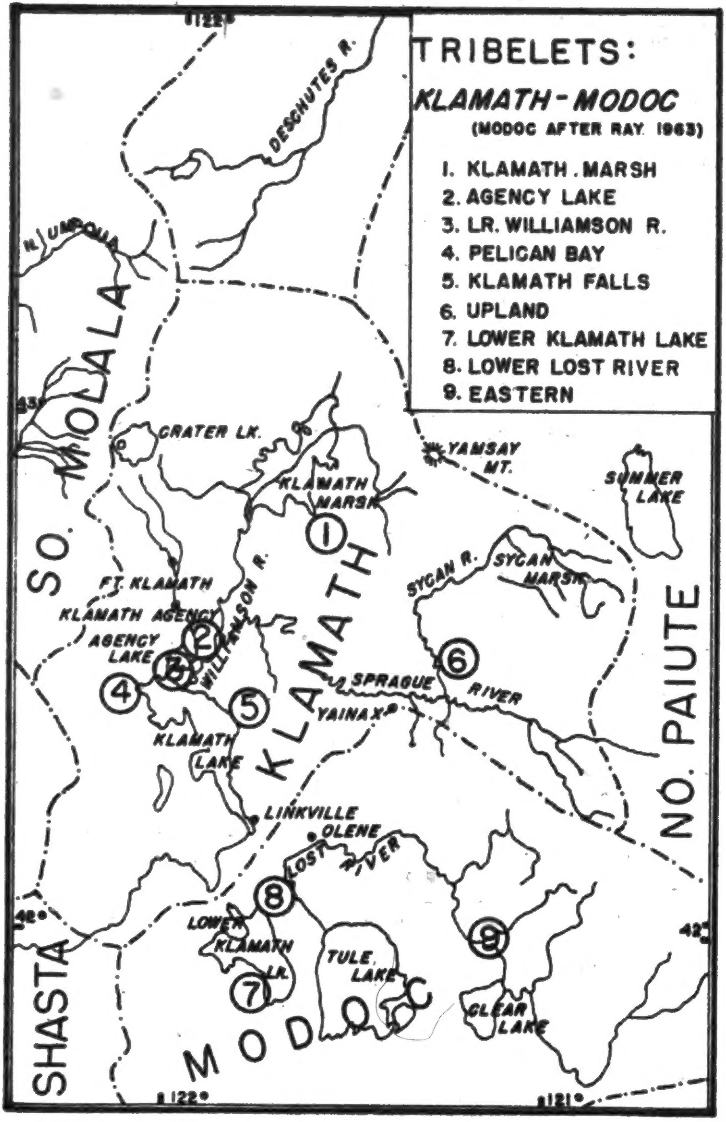
TRIBELETS:
KLAMATH - MODOC
(MODOC AFTER RAY 1963)
1. KLAMATH MARSH
2. AGENCY LAKE
3. LR. WILLIAMSON R.
4. PELICAN BAY
5. KLAMATH FALLS
6. UPLAND
7. LOWER KLAMATH LAKE
8. LOWER LOST RIVER
9. EASTERN
122°
DESCHUTES R.
N. UMPQUA
SO. MOLALA
43°
CRATER LK.
KLAMATH MARSH
YAMSAY MT.
SUMMER LAKE
SYCAN R.
SYCAN MARSH
KLAMATH
FT. KLAMATH
KLAMATH AGENCY
AGENCY LAKE
WILLIAMSON R.
SPRAGUE RIVER
YAINAX
KLAMATH LAKE
NO. PAIUTE
LINKVILLE
OLENE
LOST RIVER
42°
LOWER KLAMATH LK.
TULE LAKE
CLEAR LAKE
SHASTA
MODOC
122°
121°

The northern corridor should be understood to extend to 44° N. The Modoc area extends in the southwest to the base of Mount Shasta, not shown on the map. Based for the Klamath on Spier, 1930, and for the Modoc on Ray, 1963.

[P.283]

Notes

ONE. THE ABORIGINAL KLAMATH-MODOC 000

1. "Nolis Gaeni" (The Afterworld), narrated in Klamath by Lula Lang. Stern (1962), p. 112, original footnotes omitted.

2. There is now mounting evidence, even from the Northwest itself, suggesting that man may have been in western America for perhaps three times as great a period.

3. Cressman (1956), pp. 470, 463 ff. This work is the principal source for the archeological summary. It may be remarked that Clark (1953), pp. 53-55, records a Klamath legend of what purports to be this eruption.

4. The cultural position of the Klamath-Modoc has been variously assessed. Kroeber (1925), pp. 334-35, initially saw their position as essentially Californian; later (1939), p. 51, he removed the Northeastern Californian segment, including those tribes and the Achomawi-Atsugewi, to the Great Basin. Spier (1930), p. 233, saw Klamath material culture of Plateau type, with strong leanings toward northeastern California, their social system as of Northwest Coast, and their religious institutions of Northern California-Western Oregon, form. In his view, the Modoc inclined somewhat more toward California. Driver and Massey (1957), Map 2, place both peoples in the Plateau.

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Ray alone has seen the differences between the two peoples as so great as to justify passing the California-Plateau boundary between them. Thus (1939), p. 148, he treats the Klamath as the southernmost of the tribes of the American Plateau, although one that exhibits variations stemming from California and the Basin; and again (1963), pp. v, xii, while conceding that the Modoc are highly divergent from the tribes of California, asserts that the Modoc "shared fewer culturally diagnostic traits with the Klamath than they did with the Achomawi." The latter statement seems at odds with the culture element survey of Wheeler-Voegelin (1942), p. 250, and remains to be sustained. Nonetheless, Ray has performed a useful service in correcting the view that Modoc culture was merely an offshoot of that of the already specialized Klamath.

M K 101 131 M K 128

situated about upper Klamath Lake and in the mountains to the east; except for a part of the Modoc in Oklahoma. It is the object of the present paper to discuss briefly the conditions of aboriginal life among these people, due consideration being given their natural environment and the influence of surrounding peoples upon them.

TERRITORY.

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The territory occupied by the Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians lies chiefly in the drainage basins of Upper and Lower Klamath lakes and Tule or Rhett lake. From a point near the confluence of Keen creek with Klamath river the western boundary of their territory probably extended along the watershed separating the Klamath lake and Rogue river drainages, to the

K 823

foothills of the mountain in which Crater lake is situated. It should be noted, however, that the Klamath, while they feared Crater lake, did go upon certain occasions to the lake and seem not to have been molested there by other Indians. It would seem that the lake was looked upon as a sort of territory of mutual rights by the peoples in its vicinity. They visited it when they desired to acquire great merit in hunting or other pursuits in which supernatural power was necessary. To go and bathe in this wonderful lake was a brave thing to do, and made a man lucky for hunting or other similar pursuits and made him very

K 131 648

strong for war. It would appear that the relations formerly existing between the Klamath and the people of the Rogue river drainage were not at all friendly, so that the Klamath seldom ventured as far west as the crest of the range. They did on occasion make up large parties and go up to the crest of the range for the purpose of hunting, but small parties rarely ventured so far. The region for some distance to the west and northwest of Crater lake was also visited by the Klamath for the purpose of gathering berries in season.

K 101 131 133

On the north the boundary extended as far as to the headwaters of Deschutes river, thus including the whole drainage basin of Klamath marsh.[1] On the east the boundary probably

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K [101] [114]

[1] The Bureau of Ethnology's map in Bulletin 30 gives to the Lutuami territory as far north in the Deschutes drainage as latitude 44. See also volume I of this Bulletin, 779, 1907.

extended far enough to include the drainage into Sycan marsh, K 101
and thence on toward the south, passing several miles east of the 131
town of Bly and including the whole of the Sprague river drainage.[2] 133
The southern part of the eastern boundary probably
passed somewhat east of Clear lake and around the head of Lost
river. The southern boundary was probably the divide between
the drainage of Klamath and Rhett lakes and that of Pitt river.

The Lutuami[3] are divided into two slightly different dialectic M
divisions: the Klamath Lake, usually known simply as Klamath, K
occupying a comparatively large territory about Upper Klamath 101
lake, the northern part of Lower Klamath lake, Klamath marsh, 197
and the region to the east; and the Modoc, occupying the region
about Rhett lake and the southern end of Lower Klamath lake.
One informant mentioned a third dialect, which he said was
spoken by the people formerly living on Link river and about
Linkville or what is now known as Klamath Falls. In view of
the slight lexical differences between the Klamath and Modoc
dialects, it seems very probable that if a third linguistic division
did exist it was inconsiderable and not more than a sub-dialectic
variation. At any rate the only linguistic units recognized by
the people themselves are the two dialects spoken by the Klamath
and the Modoc. The fact that the two divisions speak slightly
differently, does not seem to appeal to the people themselves so
much as the fact that they were in former times politically disunited,
and were in fact, upon certain occasions at least, at war.

As nearly as could be determined the boundary between the M
Klamath and Modoc territories extended through the northern K
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[2] This is the boundary generally claimed by the Klamath. One Paiute informant, however, claimed that the territory of his people extended as far west as Yam Say peak and the Black hills, thus including Sycan marsh in the Paiute country. Like Klamath informants he stated that the boundary passed a few miles east of Bly.

[3] Gatschet, Contrib. N. A. Ethn., II, gives Lutuami as meaning lake, *i.e.*, Tule lake, in the Achomawi or Pit River language. The people have no name for themselves other than maklaks, person, Indian. Maklaks is possibly the source of our word Klamath, the origin of which is unknown. The Klamath Lake people are called in their own language Eukshikni maklaks or Euksknì maklaks, at the lake people, from Eukshi, which denotes specifically Klamath marsh, but also the adjoining country, including the eastern shore of Upper Klamath lake. Eukshi appears to be derived from eush, lake. The Modocs are called Montokni maklaks or Modokni maklaks, in the south people, from moatak, Tule lake. Moatak is a derivative from muat, south. [114] [113]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

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end of Horse Fly valley and Lockey Flat, passing in the vicinity of Keno Spring, and thence westward through, or in the vicinity of. the village of Dairy. It passed a short distance north of Bale's lake and Olene and appears to have left the whole of Lost River valley in the territory of the Modoc. It passed either along the eastern shore of, or through, Lower Klamath lake. Further than this no definite information was obtained concerning this secondary boundary.

ENVIRONMENT.

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The natural environment of the Lutuami, a high, mountainous and volcanic region, filled with lakes and marshes, influenced their culture in many ways. The two lakes, Upper Klamath and Tule or Rhett lake, formed the centers of population for the two divisions, the Klamath and the Modoc. Along the western shore of these lakes, and of Lower Klamath lake, as well as along the high plateau to the east of Upper Klamath lake, there were considerable forests of conifers which provided material for canoes and houses as well as a part of the food supply. In fact the whole western portion of the territory is well forested. The eastern part, however, notably about Yainax agency and eastward, is to a great extent a semi-desert, sage-brush country. In this eastern region there are many fertile valleys, as for instance, along Sprague and Sycan rivers, but on the whole the territory is by no means so desirable for habitation as that about Upper Klamath lake and Klamath marsh, where the soil is very rich and productive. The old fault line in which Upper and Lower Klamath lakes and Klamath marsh are situated has existed so long that a large area has silted in and formed a very fertile country, which provided in aboriginal times an abundance of various tubers, seeds, and other vegetable foods. Among the most important natural features of this region are the great tracts of marshy land. These marshes are covered constantly with water from a few inches to several feet in depth. In these, particularly in Klamath marsh, is found the staple article of food among the Klamath, and to a certain extent also among the Modoc, the yellow water-lily, *Nymphia polysepala.* Large areas of marsh are completely covered with this water-lily to the ex-

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

fish basket, and one or two others. Twining is the only technique M K
used, all coiled baskets coming from this region being extraneous
to the true native culture. The majority of the conical burden 285
baskets made of willow or hazel which are in use among the [139]
Klamath are made by themselves, though they do purchase from
the Shasta to the southwest a burden basket which is more nicely
finished than their own.

Together with this very specialized tule culture, resulting M K
from the life of the people upon the immediate lake shore, go 105
water foods, particularly wokas and fish, and the special imple- 22
ments devoted to the gathering of the wokas and to the capture 415
of various animals, birds, and fish. Such for instance are the [133]
peculiar duck arrow, the large dip-net, the net used at night in [184]
connection with a light in the canoe for catching ducks and other
water birds, the many-pointed fish spear, the two forms of bone [501]
hooks, the dug-out canoe, and the forked pole for propelling it
in shallow water. The peculiar stone implements, such as the [276]
two-horned muller, L-shaped and discoidal pipes, and triangular
net-sinker, are also noteworthy.

The specialization of culture in this region is very striking M
indeed when it is compared with the culture of surrounding K
peoples, as for instance, the Paiute to the east, where coiled
basketry predominates and tule work is almost unknown, and 105
with that of the Indians of the Upper Columbia river region to 101
the north, whose culture was very largely influenced by the 171
buffalo or plains Indian culture. A comparison with the Oregon Indians is difficult not only because the Oregon cultures are comparatively little known, but because the majority of Oregon Indians, owing to their habitat, showed either a coast or a desert culture, which is not readily comparable with the inland lake environment and culture of the Klamath and Modoc. The Indians in certain respects most similar to the Lutuami in culture lived down the Klamath river in the northwestern part of California. Here are found such things as the stone maul and the large triangular fish net. Here also the basketry is entirely twined and in a large measure of comparatively soft materials; and the willow or hazel burden baskets are very similar in their general appearance, form, and particularly in the border finish.

Modoc NS17

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Dug-out canoes, though of a somewhat different form, are also made in northwestern California, and in general the art of working wood is well developed there. In fact, it is so well developed that the most characteristic wooden implements of northwestern California are not paralleled among the Klamath and Modoc or any of the California Indians. The Klamath and Modoc also have the earth house and the tule mat house, the tule raft, and the tule moccasin, and they also burn the dead, in all which respects they differ from the Indians of northwestern California. In these respects they agree with the Indians of a large part of the great Central California culture area, sometimes more closely with peoples that are near-by, such as the adjacent Achomawi, sometimes, especially in single characteristics, with those more distant. On the whole, however, the Lutuami must be placed in a class by themselves, at least as regards their material culture, with their specialized tule and stone objects, and implements for use on the water, and their characteristic foods. In large part this specialization is the outcome of habitat in a restricted and unusual environment of large, shallow, inland lakes.

[p. 261 is blank]

[p.1]

Section I. Introduction

This is a report on the personality dynamics of a highly acculturated American 121
Indian population, the Klamath of south-central Oregon. The report consists 125
of blind, idiographic assessments of ten selected cases. The subjects are
male and female Klamath of various age groups who occupy different status positions [101]
and who perform widely divergent social roles in the context of Klamath
reservation culture.

As is the case with similar culture and personality research, one aim of this
report is descriptive, that of recording variant attributes of personality,
attributes which are not frequently observable in the usual clinical or research
settings of western culture. Thus some mental health and social science personnel 121
may find the report of value because of the unusual character structure of the
subjects, but those who serve reservation populations in clinical settings and
those who observe for research purposes will find these ten Klamath subjects
familiar. In addition to the objective of description we hope that the analysis
of these cases will contribute to an understanding of the psychological— particularly
the interpersonal aspects of Klamath reservation life. Beyond these
goals, the synthesis of psychological and cultural data drawn from observations
of the contemporary scene may throw some additional light on the psychological
consequences of acculturation.

The ten case studies in this report were drawn from a sample of fifty four 125
collected in 1958-59 by the Anthropologist during two periods of field research. 114
The original research was aimed at collecting psychological test data so as to [101]
make a contribution to a larger study of Klamath Reservation Culture, which involved
both a historical or acculturational study of processes of change and 121
a study of the contemporary reservation community. The larger Klamath study is
being supervised by Dr. Theodore Stern, of the Department of Anthropology,
University of Oregon. The results of the original personality study have been
reported elsewhere (Clifton 1960). This early research effort was predicated
upon a loose statistical model, and the aim was to correlate personality types
with types of socio-cultural adjustment. It was assumed that the very great
range of kinds of behaviors and types of adjustment apparent among the Klamath
reservation population could be associated with variations in personality attributes
as measured by projective tests.

Two distinct variants of this statistical model were attempted and discarded
before a third was developed. The first aim was to collect a random sample
of a target population composed of persons recognized as members of the Klamath [125]
Tribe, who currently maintained a residence on or near the reservation, and who
had lived all or most of their lives in that area. One of the two models had
this population stratified by criteria which supposedly isolated clusters of
types of socio-cultural adjustment. Here the form of thought was essentially
historical or evolutionary and was quite similar to the model employed in the
Menomini study (Spindler 1955). The second stratified sample was drawn along [125]
somewhat different lines, and attempted to isolate significant variations in
type of family organization (both of orientation and procreation) and patterns
of family activity. Because of certain developments in the larger study of
Klamath Reservation Culture, and especially because of a very high refusal
rate, neither of these formal approaches to sampling could be utilized.

The growing understanding of Klamath Reservation Culture gave cause to suspect the several tentative analyses of the situation upon which these formal models

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 101
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's 177
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the
reservation's population. 162

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological [184]
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy, [224]
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly 648
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties:
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an ar- [829]
tificial construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet 178
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-resi-
dence with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been trans- 648
ferred to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural [241]
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber indus- [511]
try has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

TRIBAL NAMES AND SUBDIVISIONS.

101 [197] The two bodies of Indians forming the subject of the present report are people of the same stock and lineage through race, language, institutions, customs, and habitat. In language they radically differ from the neighboring peoples called Snake, Rogue River, Shasti, and Pit River Indians, as well as from the other inhabitants of Oregon, California, and Nevada.

For the *Klamath people* of Southwestern Oregon there exists no general tribal name comprehending the two principal bodies, except Mák̲laks, *Indian*. This term when pronounced *by themselves* with a lingual k̲ has a reflective meaning, and points to individuals speaking their language, Modocs as well as Klamath Lake Indians; when pronounced with our common k it means *Indian* of any tribe whatsoever, and *man*, *person* of any nationality. The derivation of mák̲laks will be found in the Dictionary. I have refrained from using it in the title and body of my work to designate these Oregon Indians because it would be invariably mispronounced as mä'kläks by the white people, and the peculiar sound of the k̲ would be mispronounced also. To call them simply *Klamath Indians* or *Klamaths* would lead to confusion, for the white people upon the Pacific coast call the Shasti, the Karok or Ara, the Hupa, the Yurok or Aḷíkwa Indians on Klamath River of California, the Shasti upon the Siletz Reservation, Oregon, and our Mák̲laks all Klamaths. It was therefore necessary to select the compound appellation, "the Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon." The Warm Spring and other Sahaptin Indians possess a generic name for all the Indians living upon this reservation and its vicinity: Aígspaluma, abbr. Aígspalo, Aíkspalu, *people of the chipmunks*, from the innumerable rodents peopling that pine-covered district. This term comprises Snake, Payute, and Modoc Indians, as well as the Klamath Lake people. The name of Klamath or Tlámat, Tlamet River, probably originated at its mouth, in the Alíkwa language.

The two main bodies forming the Klamath people are (1) the Klamath Lake Indians; (2) the Modoc Indians.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., June 25, 1890.

121 SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you my report upon the Klamath
Indians of Southwestern Oregon, the result of long and patient study. It
deals with their beliefs, legends, and traditions, their government and social
life, their racial and somatic peculiarities, and, more extensively, with their
126 language. To this the reader is introduced by numerous ethnographic
124 "Texts," suggested or dictated by the Indians themselves, and accompanied
by an interlinear translation and by "Notes," a method which I regard as
the most efficient means of becoming acquainted with any language. In
121 this report I have given prominence to the exposition of the language,
128 because I consider language to be the most important monument of the
American Indian. Archæology and ethnography are more apt to acquaint
us with *facts* concerning the aborigines, but language, when properly investigated, gives us the *ideas* that were moving the Indian's mind, not only
recently but long before the historic period.

Repeated and prolonged visits to the people of the northern as well as
of the southern chieftaincy have yielded sufficient material to enable me to
classify the language of both united tribes as belonging to a distinct family.
101 In their territorial seclusion from the nearer Indian tribes they show anthropologic differences considerable enough to justify us in regarding them as
a separate nationality.

197 There is probably no language spoken in North America possessed
of a nominal inflection more developed than the Klamath, although in
this particular, in the phonetic elements and in the syllabic reduplication
pervading all parts of speech, it shows many analogies with the Sahaptin

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

THE KLAMATH INDIANS OF SOUTHWESTERN OREGON.

By Albert S. Gatschet.

ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF THE PEOPLE.

INTRODUCTION.

101 The Klamath people of North American Indians, the subject of this
131 descriptive sketch, have inhabited from time immemorial a country upon
the eastern slope of the Cascade Range, in the southwestern part of the
133 territory now forming the State of Oregon. That territory is surrounded
134 by mountain ridges and by elevations of moderate height, and watered by
streams, lakes, marshes, and pond-sources issuing from the volcanic sands
covering the soil. The secluded position of these Indians within their
mountain fastnesses has at all times sheltered them against the inroads of
alien tribes, but it has also withheld from them some of the benefits which
only a lively intercourse and trade with other tribes are able to confer.
132 The climate of that upland country is rough and well known for its sudden
changes of temperature, which in many places render it unfavorable to
137 agriculture. But the soil is productive in edible roots, bulbs, berries, and
136 timber, the limpid waters are full of fish and fowl, and game was plentiful
before the white man's rifle made havoc with it. Thus the country was
capable of supplying a considerable number of Indians with food, and they
never manifested a desire to migrate or "be removed to a better country."

128 The topography of these highlands, which contain the headwaters of the Klamath River of California, will be discussed at length after a mention of the scanty literature existing upon this comparatively little explored tract of land.

THE KLAMATH LAKE INDIANS.

101 The Klamath Lake Indians number more than twice as many as the
[197] Modoc Indians. They speak the northern dialect and form the northern
chieftaincy, the head chief residing now at Yá-aga, on Williamson River.
[361] Their dwellings are scattered along the eastern shore of Upper Klamath
[103] Lake (É-ush) and upon the lower course of Williamson (K̲ók̲etat) and
Sprague Rivers (P'laí). They call themselves É-ukshikni mák̲laks, abbreviated into É-ukshikni, É-ukskni, 'Á-uksni *people at the lake*. The Shasti near Yreka, Cal., call them Aúksiwash, some western Shasti: Makaítserk; by the Pit River Indians they are called Alámmimakt ísh, from Alámmig, their name for Upper Klamath Lake; by the Kalapuya Indians, Athlámeth; by the Snake Indians, Sáyi.

According to locality the Klamath Lake people may be subdivided into the following groups: The people at the agency; the people at Koháshti, at Yá-aga, at Modoc Point and upon Sprague River. Their settlements at Klamath Marsh, at Nílaks and at Linkville are now abandoned; the last named (Yulalóna) was held by them and the Modocs in common.

THE MODOC INDIANS.

000 The Modoc Indians speak the southern dialect, and before the war of 1872–1873 formed the southern division or chieftaincy, extending over Lost River Valley (K̲ók̲etat) and the shores of Little Klamath and Tule Lake. Of their number one hundred and fifty or more live on middle course of Sprague River; some have taken up lands in their old homes, which they cultivate in their quality of American citizens, and the rest are exiles upon the Quapaw Reservation, Indian Territory. They call themselves Móatokni mák̲laks, abbreviated Móatokni, Mō'dokni, Mō'dokish, *living at Moatak*, this being the name of Modoc or Tule Lake: "in the extreme south." A portion of the Pit River Indians calls them Lutuámi, "*lake*," by which Tule Lake is meant; another, through a difference of dialect, Lutmáwi. The Shasti Indians of Yreka call them Pχánai, the Sahaptins upon and near Columbia River call them Mówatak, the Snake Indians, Saidoka.

The more important local divisions of this people were the groups at Little Klamath Lake (Agáweshkni), the Kúmbatwash and the Pásχanuash

000 one in a series of similar butcheries. Apparently it occurred in 1852, and the particulars are all given in Texts, pages 13 and 14.

175 One of the earliest reports upon these tribes made to the Bureau of
101 Indian Affairs at Washington is that of Joel Palmer, Superintendent of
131 Indian Affairs for Oregon, dated Dayton, Oregon, September 11, 1854. Palmer states that the lands of the Klamath Indians extend upon the eastern base of the Cascade range for about thirty miles east, and that east of them live the "Mo-docks," who speak the same language as the Klamaths; and east of these again, extending farther south, are the "Mo-e-twas" (Pit
175 River Indians). These two last-named tribes have always evinced a deadly
649 hostility to the whites, and the Modocs boasted of having within the last four years murdered thirty-six whites. Palmer entered into an agreement with the Klamath Indians to keep the peace with the white people, and also sent messengers to the Modocs and Pit Rivers, believing that henceforth
[161] the immigrants would be spared from their attacks. The Klamath Lakes were then enfeebled by wars with the surrounding tribes and by conflicts among themselves, and were said to number but four hundred and fifteen souls. He counted seven villages on Upper Klamath Lake, two on Pliock Creek (P'laíkni or Sprague River), three on Toqua Lake (Túkua), and one
175 on Coasto (Koháshti) Lake.* The Indians had some guns, horses, camp
411 equipage, and the aboriginal war-club and "elk-skin shield" (kaknō'lsh).
231 Little Klamath Lake he calls An-coose, a corruption of Agáwesh.

714 Neither Klamath Lake nor Modoc Indians have taken any part in the great Oregon war of 1854–'56, although their sympathies were of course strongly in favor of the aboriginal cause.

000 For the year 1854 Powers records a battle fought by Captain Judy against Modoc and Shasti Indians on the Klamath River, north of Yreka, in which some women of the Shasti were killed.

The Report of 1859 speaks of continued hostilities on the side of the Modocs against passing immigrants and of the murdering of a party of five white men in Jackson County, Oregon. Two of the murderers belonged to the tribe of Chief Lelékash, and three of the perpetrators were seized and killed by the Klamath Indians (page 392).

---

* This would make only six, not seven, villages.

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

BY ROBERT F. SPENCER

773 IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians
177 of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of
178 aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among
179 other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in
the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of
interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of
their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way
and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching
Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer
182 can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the
folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common
economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies
combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising
to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations.
A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to
find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal
myth.

175 Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation
177 from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal
to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its
culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which
222 it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In
226 its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent
gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes
631 of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic
621 economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separatistic
771 hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly
791 developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest
and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points
to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

---

101 [1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949,
122 on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund, 1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

113 [2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

[facing p. 8] [A]

• 102
133
101

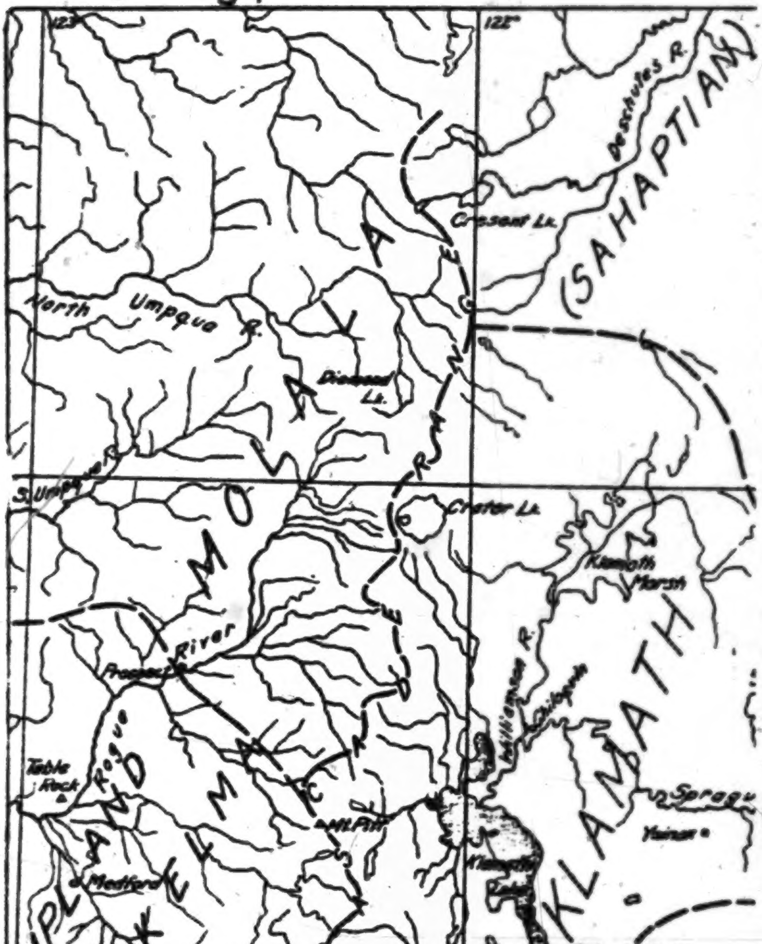
123°
122°
Deschutes R.
(SAHAPTIAN)
Crescent Lk.
North Umpqua R.
Diamond Lk.
S. Umpqua R.
Crater Lk.
Klamath Marsh
Williamson R.
Prospect
River
Rogue
Table Rock
Sprague
Yainax
Mt. Pitt
Medford
Klamath Lake
KLAMATH
Klamath Falls
Ashland
Lost River
Keno
River
Lower Klamath Lk.
Tule Lake
Klamath
SHASTA
Yreka
Montague
Shasta R.
UPLAND TAKELMA
CASCADE RANGE
MODOC

Fig. 1. Map of Klamath ter

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

[facing p.8] [B]

102
133
101

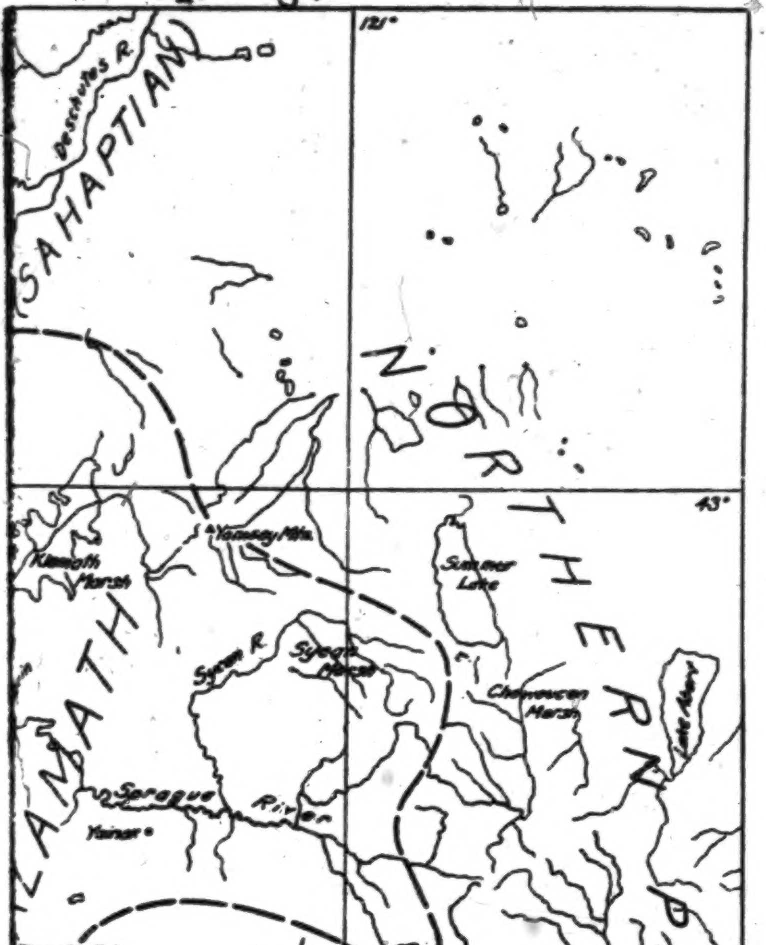

SAHAPTIAN
Deschutes R.
121°
NORTHERN PAIUTE
43°
Yamsay Mtn.
Klamath Marsh
Summer Lake
Sycan R.
Sycan Marsh
Chewaucan Marsh
Lake Abert
KLAMATH
Sprague River
Yainax
Klamath Falls
Lost River
MODOC
42°
Lk.
Tule Lake
Goose Lake

Map of Klamath territory.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

• 102
103
133
343
361

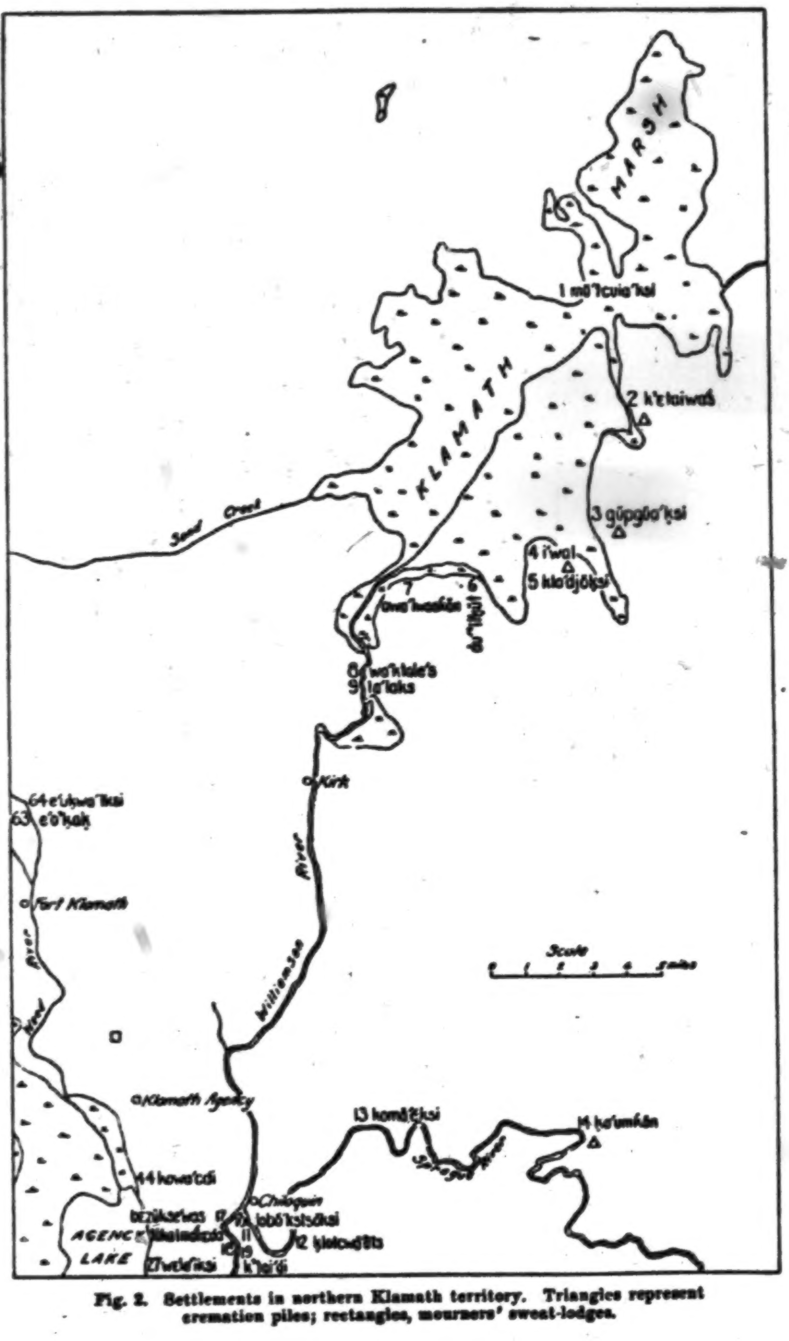
MARSH
KLAMATH
1 mō'icuia'kai
2 k'ɛlaiwaš
3 gūpgūa'kai
4 i'wal
5 kla'djōksi
6
7
8 wa'klale's
9 la'laks
Sand Creek
Kirk
64 e'ukwa'ksi
63 e'o'kak
Fort Klamath
Wood River
Williamson River
Klamath Agency
13 komā'ǐksi
14 ka'umkān
Sprague River
44 kowa'tdi
Chiloquin
bezūkse'was
17
10 lobō'kstsōksi
11
12 klolcwdīts
16
15
k'loi'di
27 wtelkaksi
AGENCY
LAKE
Scale
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles

Fig. 2. Settlements in northern Klamath territory. Triangles represent cremation piles; rectangles, mourners' sweat-lodges.

[p. 12]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

102 ●
103
133
361
343
764

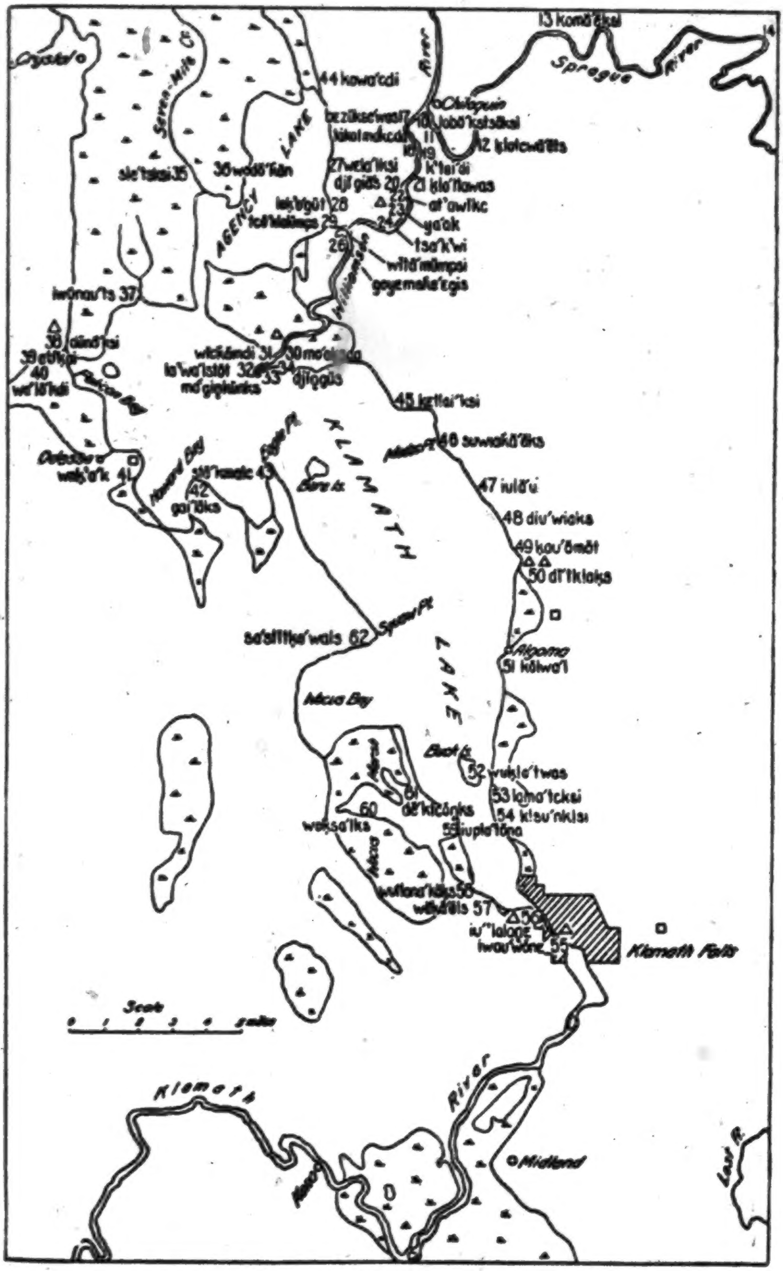
13 komö'tkal
Sprague River
44 kowa'cdi
Seven-Mile Cr.
AGENCY LAKE
Chiloquin
River
bezüksa'was17
lobö'ketsökal
12 ksiotcwa'lits
ste'tskal35
36 wodö'lkän
27 wda'lksi
k'tei'di
21 ksio'flawas
djigids 20
at'awikc
lekbgöt 28
yaak
tca'klaimps 29
tsa'k'wi
26
wltö'mümpai
goyemala'egis
Williamson
iwönaits 37
38
39 atikai
40
wikäändi 31
30 mo'ataka
ta'wa'istöt 32
33 34
mö'giplänks
djiggis
45 kotlai'ksi
46 suwaküliks
47 iulö'ui
48 diu'wicks
49 kau'ömöt
50 dl'lklaks
KLAMATH
LAKE
Howard Bay
Eagle Pt.
Bare Is.
41
stö'kaalc 43
42
gai'lks
sa'siltka'wals 62
Squaw Pt.
Algoma
51 köiwa'l
Moore Bay
Buck Is.
52 wukie'twas
53 lama'tcksi
54 kisu'nklsi
61
de'kicänks
60
waksa'iks
55 iuple'löna
wuflana'läks 56
wiltsöls 57
58
iu''lalone
iwaulwöne 59
Klamath Falls
Scale
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles
Klamath
River
Midland
Lost R.

Fig. 3. Settlements in southern Klamath territory. Triangles represent cremation piles; rectangles, mourners' sweat-lodges.

[p.17]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[p.251]

101
102 •
133
787
171*

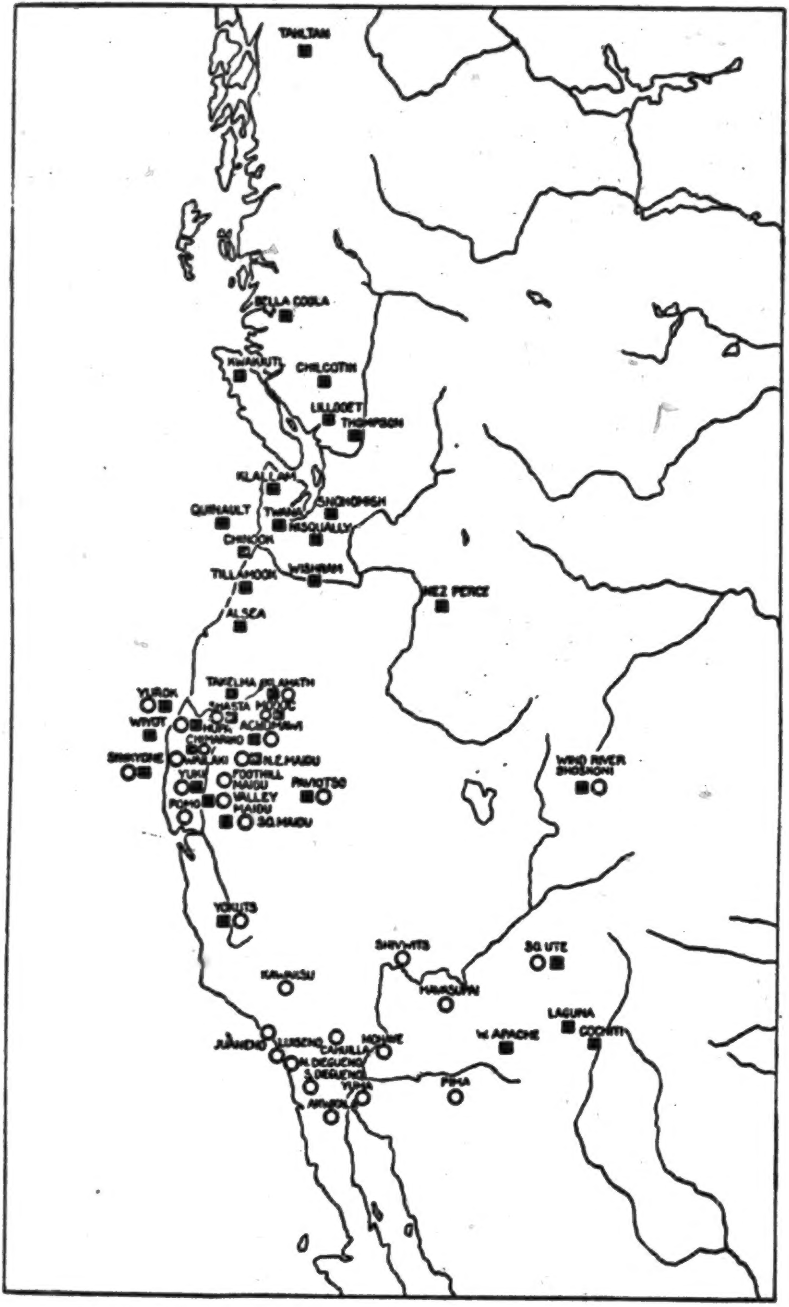
TAHLTAN
BELLA COOLA
KWAKIUTL
CHILCOTIN
LILLOOET
THOMPSON
KLALLAM
QUINAULT
TWANA
SNOHOMISH
NISQUALLY
CHINOOK
WISHRAM
TILLAMOOK
ALSEA
NEZ PERCE
TAKELMA
KLAMATH
YUROK
SHASTA
MODOC
WIYOT
HUPA
ACHOMAWI
CHIMARIKO
SINKYONE
WAILAKI
N.E. MAIDU
YUKI
FOOTHILL MAIDU
PAVIOTSO
POMO
VALLEY MAIDU
SO. MAIDU
WIND RIVER SHOSHONI
YOKUTS
SHIVWITS
SO. UTE
KAWAIISU
HAVASUPAI
LAGUNA
W. APACHE
COCHITI
JUANEÑO
LUISEÑO
MOHAVE
CAHUILLA
N. DIEGUEÑO
S. DIEGUEÑO
YUMA
PIMA
AKWA'ALA

Fig. 22. Distribution of the quest and dream as sources of spirit power in western North America. Squares indicate the quest; circles, the dream.

101
102 ●
131
133

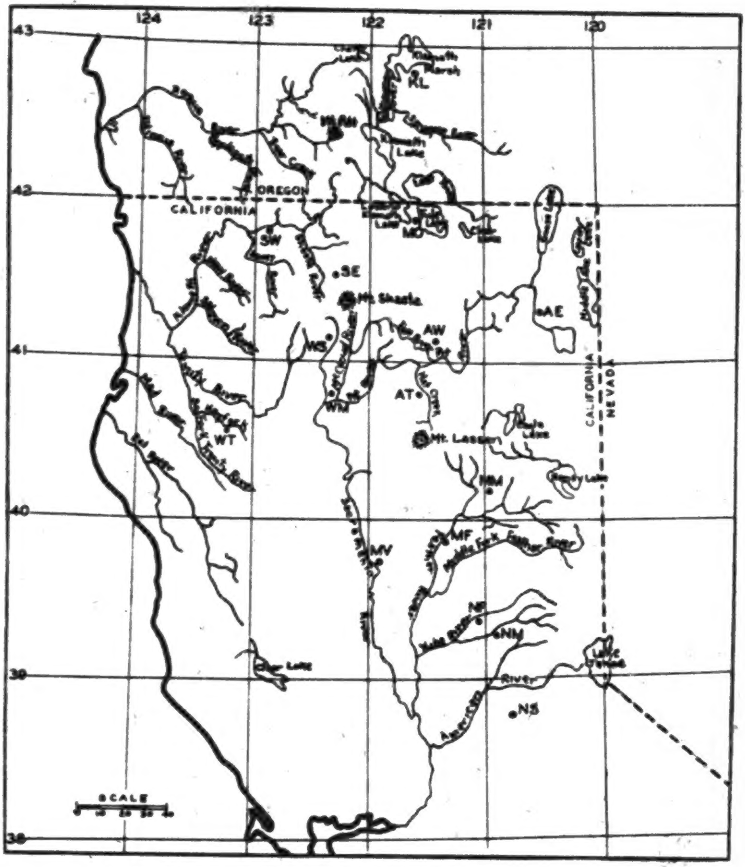
124
123
122
121
120
43
42
41
40
39
38
Klamath Marsh
KL
Klamath Lake
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
SW
SE
Mt. Shasta
AE
AW
MS
WM
AT
Mt. Lassen
WT
Trinity River
Eel River
Mad River
Honey Lake
MM
MF
Middle Fork Feather River
MV
Sacramento River
Yuba River
NF
NM
Lake Tahoe
River
American
NS
Clear Lake
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
SCALE
0
10
20
30
40

Map 1. Area surveyed and localities to which cultural data from the several tribal groups refer.

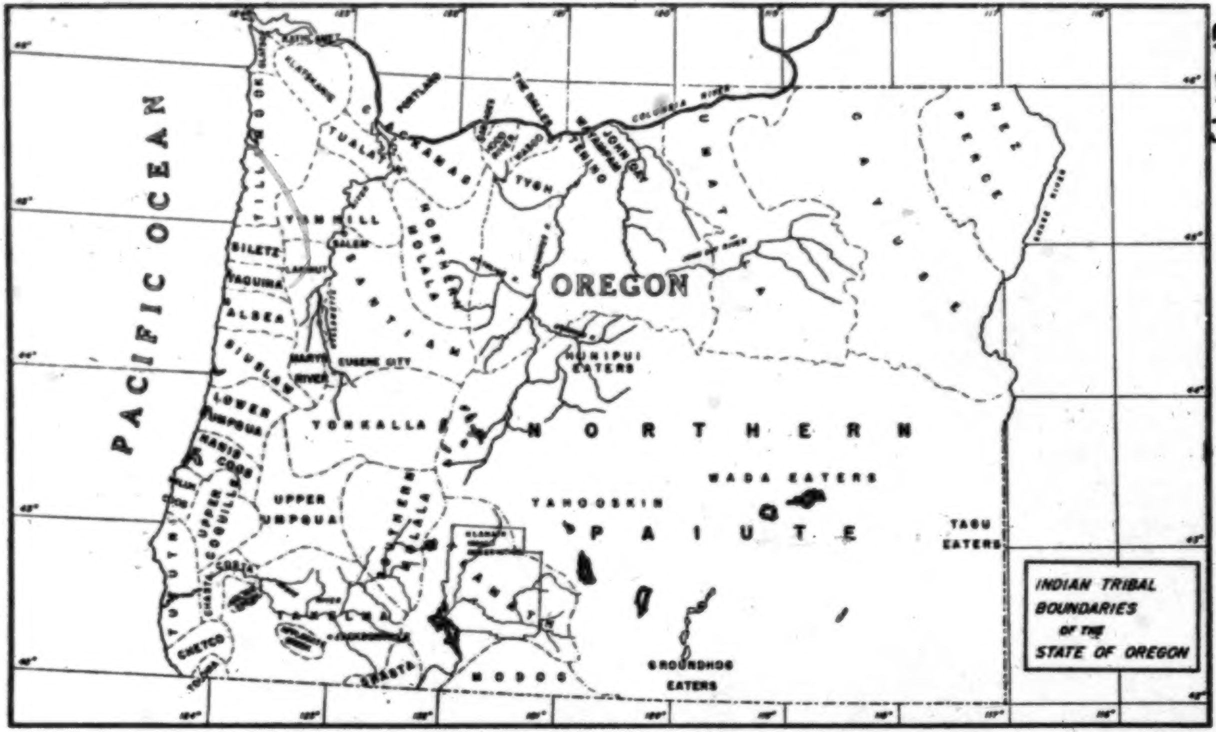

PACIFIC OCEAN
OREGON
CLATSKANIE
PORTLAND
THE DALLES
COLUMBIA RIVER
TILLAMOOK
TUALATIN
CLACKAMAS
TYGH
TENINO
JOHN DAY
YAMHILL
SALEM
SILETZ
YAQUINA
ALSEA
SIUSLAW
NORTHERN MOLALA
SANTIAM
MARYS RIVER
EUGENE CITY
LOWER UMPQUA
HANIS COOS
UPPER COQUILLE
UPPER UMPQUA
YONKALLA
SOUTHERN MOLALA
TUTUTNI
CHETCO
TAKELMA
SHASTA
KLAMATH
MODOC
UMATILLA
CAYUSE
NEZ PERCE
HUNIPUI EATERS
NORTHERN PAIUTE
WADA EATERS
TAGOOSKIN
TAGU EATERS
GROUNDHOG EATERS
INDIAN TRIBAL BOUNDARIES OF THE STATE OF OREGON

Adapted from "Indian Tribes and Languages of the Old Oregon Country" (Portland, Ore.: Oregon Historical Society, 1958). Data compiled by Claude Schaeffer. (Used by permission of the Oregon Historical Society.)

[P.279]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

101
102
131
133
657

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K
M
101
• 102
103
131
133

[p. 280]

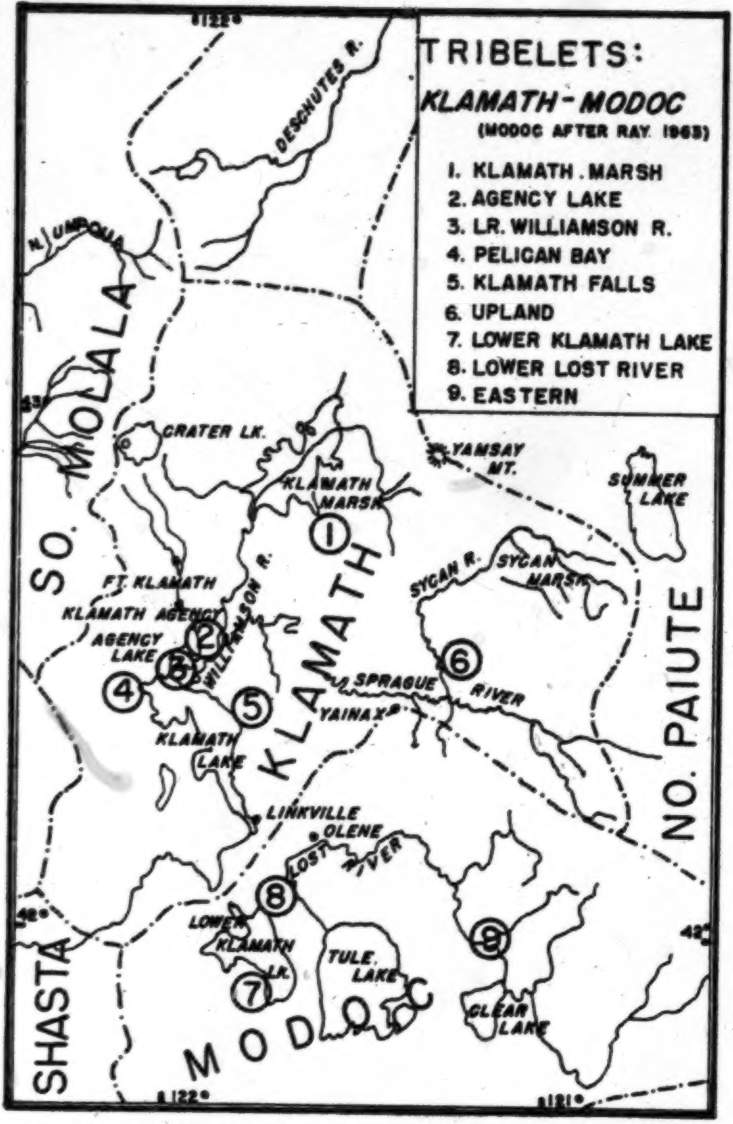
TRIBELETS:
KLAMATH - MODOC
(MODOC AFTER RAY 1963)
1. KLAMATH MARSH
2. AGENCY LAKE
3. LR. WILLIAMSON R.
4. PELICAN BAY
5. KLAMATH FALLS
6. UPLAND
7. LOWER KLAMATH LAKE
8. LOWER LOST RIVER
9. EASTERN
122°
DESCHUTES R.
N. UMPQUA
MOLALA
SO.
43°
CRATER LK.
KLAMATH MARSH
YAMSAY MT.
SUMMER LAKE
SYCAN R.
SYCAN MARSH
FT. KLAMATH
KLAMATH AGENCY
AGENCY LAKE
WILLIAMSON R.
KLAMATH
SPRAGUE RIVER
YAINAX
NO. PAIUTE
KLAMATH LAKE
LINKVILLE
OLENE
LOST RIVER
42°
LOWER KLAMATH LK.
TULE LAKE
CLEAR LAKE
SHASTA
MODOC
122°
121°

The northern corridor should be understood to extend to 44° N. The Modoc area extends in the southwest to the base of Mount Shasta, not shown on the map. Based for the Klamath on Spier, 1930, and for the Modoc on Ray, 1963.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

[p.281]

102 •
103
131
133
423
619

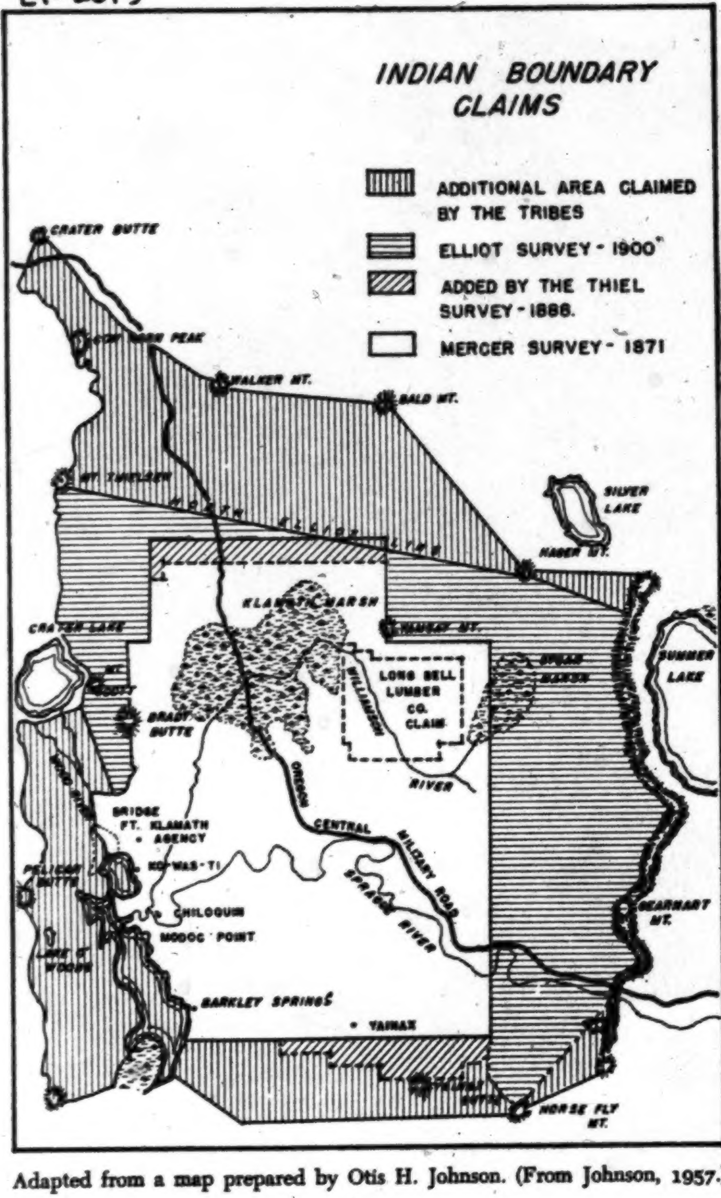
INDIAN BOUNDARY CLAIMS
▥ ADDITIONAL AREA CLAIMED BY THE TRIBES
▤ ELLIOT SURVEY - 1900
▨ ADDED BY THE THIEL SURVEY - 1888.
☐ MERCER SURVEY - 1871
CRATER BUTTE
PEAK
WALKER MT.
BALD MT.
MT. THIELSEN
NORTH
LINE
SILVER LAKE
HAGER MT.
KLAMATH MARSH
CRATER LAKE
MT. SCOTT
BRADY BUTTE
LONG BELL LUMBER CO. CLAIM
WILLIAMSON
RIVER
SUMMER LAKE
OREGON CENTRAL MILITARY ROAD
SPRAGUE RIVER
BRIDGE
FT. KLAMATH
AGENCY
KO-WAS-TI
PELICAN BUTTE
CHILOQUIN
MODOC POINT
LAKE OF WOODS
BARKLEY SPRINGS
YAINAX
GEARHART MT.
HORSE FLY MT.

Adapted from a map prepared by Otis H. Johnson. (From Johnson, 1957.)

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P.282]

102
103
131
133
361
657

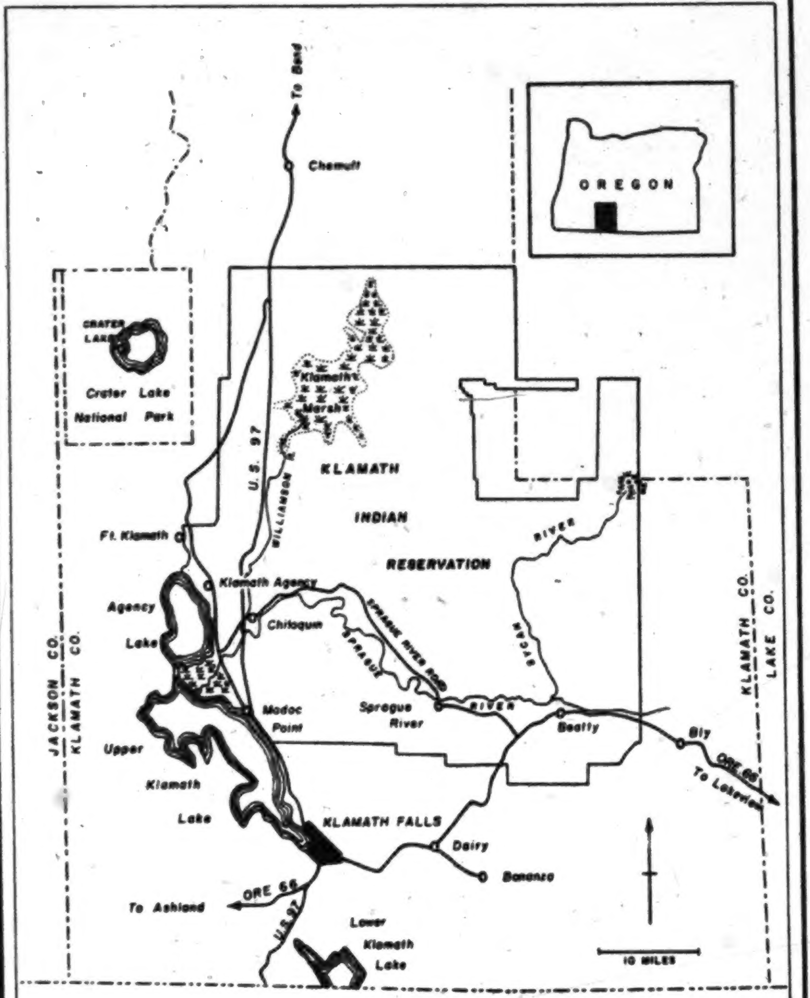

To Bend
Chemult
OREGON
CRATER LAKE
Crater Lake National Park
Klamath Marsh
U.S. 97
WILLIAMSON R.
KLAMATH INDIAN RESERVATION
Ft. Klamath
Klamath Agency
Agency Lake
Chiloquin
SPRAGUE
SPRAGUE RIVER ROAD
SYCAN
RIVER
Modoc Point
Sprague River
RIVER
Beatty
Bly
ORE 66
To Lakeview
JACKSON CO.
KLAMATH CO.
KLAMATH CO.
LAKE CO.
Upper Klamath Lake
KLAMATH FALLS
Dairy
Bonanza
ORE 66
To Ashland
U.S. 97
Lower Klamath Lake
10 MILES

KLAMATH INDIAN RESERVATION
AND
KLAMATH COUNTY, OREGON

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

102
103
133
361

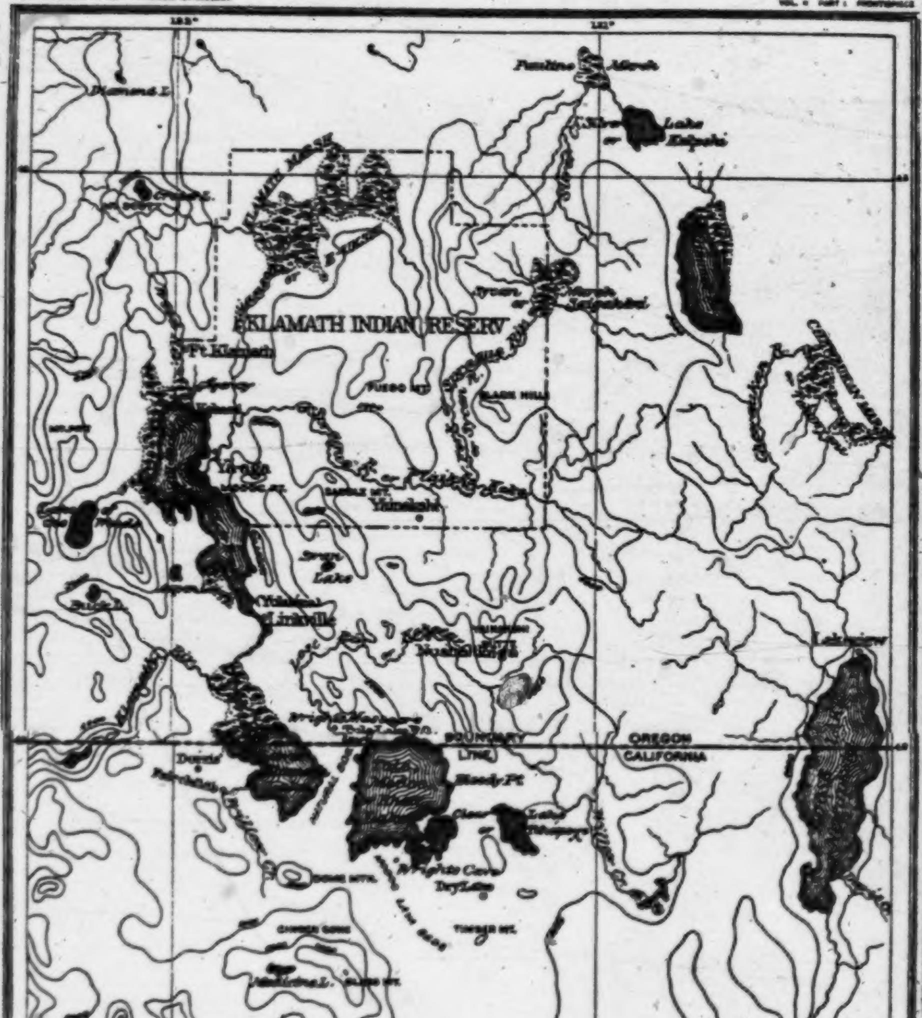
122°
121°
Diamond L.
Pauline Marsh
Silver Lake or Kalpshi
Crater L.
KLAMATH INDIAN RESERV
Ft. Klamath
Agency
Sycan Marsh
Fuego Mt.
Black Hills
Yainakshi
Spring Lake
Linkville
Nushaltkaga
Lost R.
BOUNDARY LINE
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
Dennis'
Bloody Pt.
Clear Lake
Wright's Cave
Dry Lake
Timber Mt.
Lakeview
Pit River
122°
121°

Scale: 15 miles to 1 inch.

/facing p. 111/

MAP OF THE HEADWATERS OF THE KLAMATH RIVER.

BY ALBERT S. GATSCHET.

[P.190]

102
103
133
127

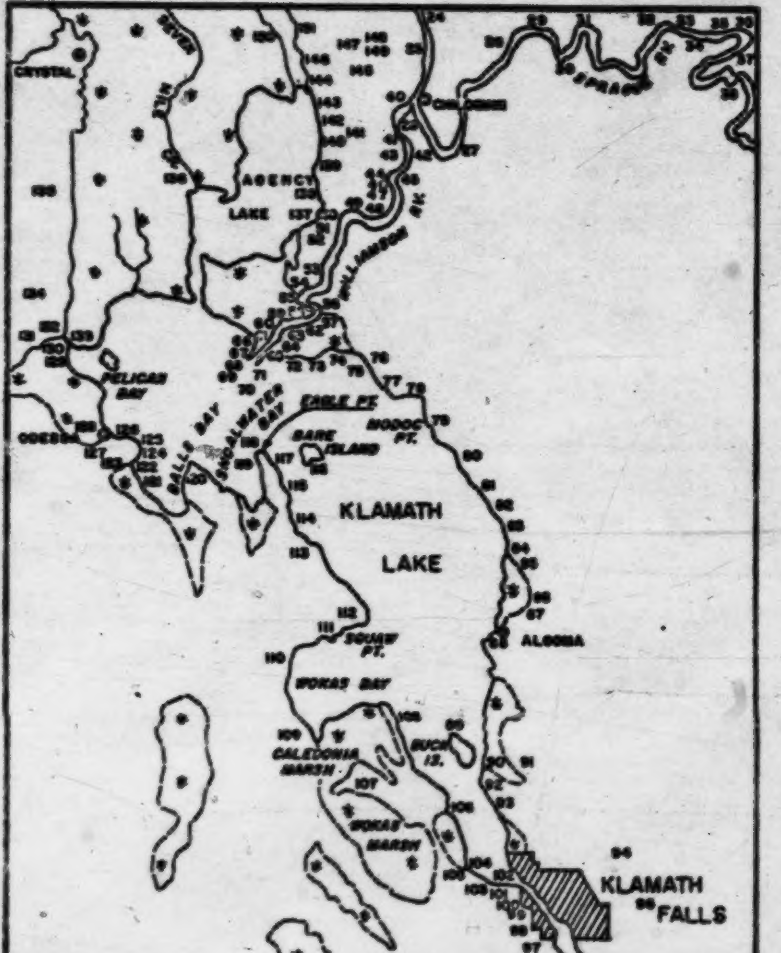
CRYSTAL
AGENCY
LAKE
CHILOQUIN
SPRAGUE RIV.
WILLIAMSON RIV.
PELICAN BAY
ODESSA
BALLE BAY
SHOALWATER BAY
EAGLE PT.
MODOC PT.
BARE ISLAND
KLAMATH
LAKE
SQUAW PT.
WOKAS BAY
ALGOMA
CALEDONIA MARSH
BUCK IS.
WOKAS MARSH
KLAMATH
FALLS
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 5 MILES
KLAMATH RIVER
KENO
KLAMATH RIV.
MIDLAND
LOST RIV.

[Legend for above map appears on pp. 192-197--Analyst]

[P. 191]

102 •
103
133
127

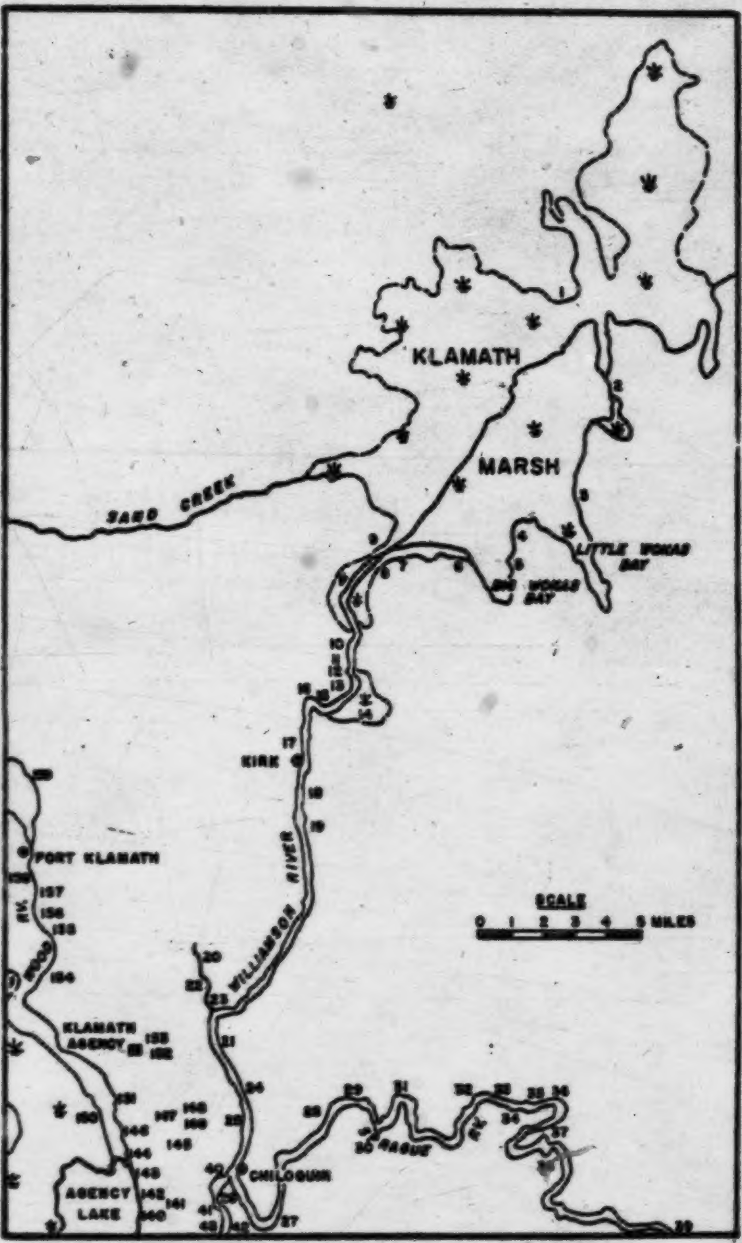
KLAMATH
MARSH
SAND CREEK
LITTLE WOKAS BAY
BIG WOKAS BAY
KIRK
WILLIAMSON RIVER
FORT KLAMATH
WOOD RIV.
KLAMATH AGENCY
AGENCY LAKE
CHILOQUIN
SPRAGUE RIV.
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 5 MILES

[Legend for above map appears on pp. 192-197--Analyst]

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
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133

KEY TO THE MAP OF PLACE NAMES

1. /moc̓o·y̓a·ks/. Spier 1.
2. /qdaywa·s/ "Rock-Nest." Spier 2.
3. /gapgaʔa·kksi/ "Little-Pine-Place." Spier 3.
4. /ʔiWʔa·l̥a/ "On-the-End." Spier 4.
5. /q̓la·jaksi/ "Blueberry-Place." Spier 5.
6. /doyl̓kat/. Spier 6.
7. /ʔawalwaage·ni/ "Island-Place." Spier 7.
8. /ga·qs ksawalye·ks/ "Carry-Crow-up-the-Hillside."
9. /c̓ikas waLaqk̓is/ "Bird-Lookout." A hill across from /ʔawalwaage·ni/.
10. /waktali·s/ "Lodgepole-Pine-Place" (?). Spier 8.
11. /lalʔa·ks/ "Little-Hill-Place." Spier 9.
12. /wisingam dinwas/ "Snake's-Lying-in-Water." A campsite for wokas-pickers.
13. /čaba·ni/ "Herd-Going-to-the-End." A dwelling.
14. /l̓kom ʔews/ "Charcoal-Lake." The name of the small marsh shown on the map.
15. /somdi/ "Mouth-Place." A campsite where the river enters the forest.
16. /c̓omsʔam gotq̓aks/ "Sucker's-Going-up-out." A campsite near /somdi/.
17. /n̓oksi/ "Head-Place." Small village site near Kirk.
18. /sniWa·tgalsi/ "Eat-First-Place." A campsite.
19. /ʔeqčsalk̓is/ "Sharpening-Instrument." A traveller's campsite.
20. /sqamdiwa·s/ "Sqamdi's-Den." The home of a dangerous mythological being. See Text 19.
21. /gosʔam gotq̓aks/ "Swan's-Going-up-out."
22. /yalyalʔant/ "Where-It-Is-Clear." Spring Creek.
23. /weq sqatq̓aks/ "Limbs-Stick-out-of-Water." A large spring.
24. /qbolWiʔamge·ni/ "Plant (sp.)-Place." A large village on both sides of the river.
25. /dali·ks/ "Standing-on-the-Bank." A village site.
26. /lobaqsksaksi/ "Chalk-Place." Spier 10.
27. /q̓ac̓we·č/. Spier 12.

28. /ʔoqsosʔam sloqtis/ "Cough's-Spitting-on." Also called /yawqsalks/ 103
"Medicine-Getting-Place." A rock on which consumptives spat 127
to gain a cure.
29. /gome·ksi/ "Cave-Place." Spier 13. 102
30. /goqṁa·kksi/ "Little-Caves-Place." 133
31. /hehǰi·ʔasamksi/ "Hehǰi·ʔas'-Place." The home of a mythological being. See Text 8.
32. /goqq́a·kksi/ "Little-Rivers-Place." A spring.
33. /kiwi·ki·ns/ "Taking-out-of-Water-with-a-Pointed-Instrument." A spring.
34. /wačksi/ "Horse-Place."
35. /ṅa·ĺaksi/ "Snipe-Place." A spring.
36. /kolsʔamksi/ "Badger's-Place."
37. /gawamge·ni/ "Spring-Place." Spier 14.
38. /goksi/ "Swan-Place." P.O. gave /ngoksi/.
39. /daqṅi/ "Sharp-One."
40. /mbosaksawa·s/ "Flint-Place." Spier 17.
41. /tgalmaksĺa/ "West-Side." Spier 18.
42. /qdaydi/ "Rock-Place." Spier 19.
43. /gle·čṕaḱi·s/ "Clam-Eating." Small settlement.
44. /ǰigyes/. Spier 20.
45. /q̇oLtʔam wa·s/ "Otter's-Den." Spier 21.
46. /ʔsĺa·wiks/ "Long-Object-in-the-Sun-Place." Spier 22
47. /yaʔa·k/. Spier 23.
48. /č́aq́wi/. Spier 24.
49. /kols tgews/ "Badger-Standing-in-Water."
50. /wiĺe·mʔamksi/ "Bear's-Place." Spier 25.
51. /goýalam sgeyqs/ "Crawfish-Crawling-up." Spier 26.
52. /sa·yḱaʔa·k neq́i·s/ "Little-Plain-Lying-in-the-Way."
53. /qi·ʔa gitLas/ "Lizards-Poured-out-on." Williamson River Church.
54. /slanḱoksi/ "Bridge-Place." The bridge near Williamson River Church.
55. /ya·s kselwis/ "Willow-Beside-the-Edge."
56. /čoḱalwas/.
57. /wiẃapĺa·ks/ "Little-Alders-Place."
58. /qdawaldi/ "Cut-on-Top-Place." A village site.
59. /ṕnanksi/ "Burying-Place." An ancient burial ground.
60. /woqsdi/ "Cache-Place."
61. /loltḿalʔaqḱa/ "Little-Winter-House." A village on the east side of the river.

103 62. /bečmi/.
127 63. /spino·ksi/ "Grave-Place." A burial ground.
102 64. /mo·waksl̓a/ "On-the-South-Side." Spier 30.
133 65. /č̓ink̓os/ "Going-Across-with-the-Fin-Showing." Spier 34.
66. /sč̓olksi/ "Bubble-up-Place." A spring bubbles up here.
67. /wisgandi/ "Blow-Through-Place." Spier 31.
68. /law̓a·l̓sdat/ "At-Round-Object-on-the-End." Spier 32.
69. /mo· ginkanks/ "Big-Space-Around." Spier 33.
70. /dokwa/. The mouth of Williamson River.
71. /yaw̓q̓lamksi/ "Bald-Eagle's-Place."
72. /č̓iya·l̓sʔamksi/ "Salmon's-Place."
73. /yay̓a·k̓a liwi·ki·na/ "Little-Willows-in-a-Group-along-the-Edge."
74. /ba·go·lsam bani·gis/ "Muledeer's-Wading-out."
75. /hiwwas/ "Spread-out-in-Water." A swampy island just offshore.
76. /toq̓asksi/ "Willow-Place."
77. /ya·s ksaw̓a·l̓s/ "Willow-on-the-End."
78. /qdayksi/ "Rock-Place." Spier 45.
79. /sohi·yagye·ks/ "Jumping-Over-for-Fun." Spier 46.
80. /ʔiwli·wa/ "On-the-Very-Edge." Spier 47.
81. /čalčal̓a·ks/. A spring near /diwi·ʔa·ks/.
82. /diwi·ʔa·ks/ "Little-Rapids-Place." Spier 48.
83. /wilwaldi/. A spring north of /gawammat/.
84. /gawammat/ "In-the-Spring." Spier 49.
85. /ditq̓aks/ "Boiling-out." Spier 50.
86. /ni·Laqs/ "Sunrise." A place near Barclay Springs.
87. /w̓awʔa·qk̓alamksi/ "Little-Ears-Place." A cove that has the shape of an ear.
88. /kalw̓a·l̓/ "Sharp-on-the-End." Spier 51.
89. /w̓q̓ol̓was/ "Knotted-in-Water." Buck Island; Spier 52.
90. /lam̓a·č/ "Round-Object-on-the-End." Spier 53.
91. /watanks/. A hill east of /lam̓a·č/.
92. /ʔiWLi/ "Is-Inside." A cove north of /ksonksi/.
93. /ksonksi/ "Grass-Place." Spier 54.
94. /wl̓i·č/. A hill north-east of Klamath Falls.
95. /mp̓aq̓wals/ "Dry-on-Top." A hill northeast of Klamath Falls.
96. /diwi·ʔa·ks/ "Little-Rapids-Place."
97. /ʔiWawn̓a/ "Propped-up-against." Spier 55.
98. /gitba·tanks/ "Poured-up-on-Shore." A narrow channel where the wind was reputed to blow the water back upstream.
99. /qday ginqis/ "Hole-Through-Rocks." A camping ground and a village site.

100. /ˀiWLaLLo·nˀa/ "All-along-the-Top." Klamath Falls; Spier 56. 103
101. /lalawq̓at/. 127
102. /c̓ews hollamnas/ "Yellowhammer-Flying-along-the-Side." 102 •
103. /weqwe·Las/ "Falling-Downhill." Spier 57. 133
104. /lewsi/ "Round-Object-in-Water-Place." A small hill.
105. /tańaq̓aksi/. Spier 58.
106. /ˀiWba·tanˀa/ "Right-up-against." Spier 59.
107. /woksalks/ "Wokas-Getting-Place." Spier 60.
108. /dekčanks/ "Netting-Place." Skillethandle Point; Spier 61.
109. /hesle·ks/ "Apparition-Place." A place where spirit-otters appear and swim around one's canoe.
110. /c̓ayankadi/ "Berry (sp.)-Place."
111. /nǰaqǰaqk̓is/ "Ringing-Instrument." A large rock with a depression in it. When this depression was pounded with another rock, a wind arose.
112. /sesti tgaẃa·ĺs/ "Shasta-Standing-on-the-End." Squaw Point; Spier 62.
113. /no·ǥalks/ "Roasting-Place." Roots were roasted in pits here.
114. /c̓a·q̓ýa·k ksalamnas/ "Little-Boy-Lying-on-the-Hillside."
115. /qe·Yqe·Yĺant/ "Where-It-Is-Rough." A campsite.
116. /ˀawsmi/. Bare Island.
117. /c̓eqs dawals/ "Blackbird-Standing-on-Top."
118. /stakḿa·č/ "Projecting-on-the-End." Eagle Point; Spier 43.
119. /qčo·lˀam ńiwĺaqs/ "Star's-Fall." A place on the beach near Eagle Point where a meteor fell. The informants reported that a glow was visible at the spot for some time afterwards.
120. /ǥe·lalks/ "Land-Place." Spier 42.
121. /čak lali·ks/ "Serviceberry-on-the-Bank." A serviceberry patch.
122. /q̓aǰi/. A small settlement.
123. /waq̓a·qksi/. Spier 41.
124. /wačksi/ "Horse-Place."
125. /c̓a·q̓ýa·k̓lamksi/ "Little-Boy's-Place." The home of /c̓a·q̓ýa·k/, a mythological character.
126. /ĺeqĺeqsdi/ "Twinkle-Place."
127. /qawk̓at/. A good cold spring. Said to be named after a mythological character who lives there.
128. /tiaqs ṕak̓i·s/ "Mullet-Eating." A small spring where /tiaqs/ fish are caught.
129. /molsi/. Said to mean "Black-Swan-Place," but not certain. A spring.

103
127 130. /gawamkeaksi/ "Spring-Place." Rocky Point. An old campground during the wokas-picking season.

102 131. /ʔiWqa·y̌a/ "Among-the-Bushes." Spier 30.

133 132. /dinne·kksi/ "Sunset-Place." Spier 38.

133. /śkawacks lakʼwis/ "Wild-Parsnips-among-(Rocks)."

134. /sqoywas/ "Mound-in-Water." A spring back in the forest.

135. /ma·damaksi/. A spring three miles south of Crystal Spring at the head of Crystal Creek.

136. /sle·tksi/ "Nettle-Cord-Place." Spier 35.

137. /čak lalamnas/ "Serviceberry-on-the-Hillside." Spier 39.

138. /ĺoqo·gat/. Spier 28.

139. /wlalksi/ "Cottonwood-Place." Also called /wlawlʔa·ks/ "Little-Cottonwoods-Place." Spier 27.

140. /go·s liwli·ks/ "Trees-Standing-in-a-Group-on-the-Edge." A settlement.

141. /wele·ǵa·ǩlam sʔilks/ "Little-Old-Lady's-Well."

142. /glaẃa·kksi/ "Little-Sand-Place." A sandy beach.

143. /yay̌a·ǩaksaksi/ "Little-Willows-Place."

144. /goWasdi/. Spier 44.

145. /qʔis yakńas/ "Rattlesnake-Cut-in-Two." A draw in the hills.

146. /toǵasksi/ "Willow-Place." A small settlement.

147. /so·qetmi/. A place near where the highway from Williamson River to the north meets the highway from Chiloquin to the west.

148. /y̌ayńaʔa·ks/ "Little-Mountain-Place." A small bluff east of /so·qetmi/.

149. /gwempĺe·gis/ "Tracking-Over." A hollow gap just below /y̌ayńaʔa·ks/.

150. /wawc̕a·ǩlamksi/ "Dogs'-Place." A marshy place where spirit-dogs could be seen.

151. /čayankadat/ "In-the-Berries (sp.)." A spring and village.

152. /tgoĺo·tsʔam ksews/ "Tgoĺo·ts'-Lying-in-Water." A place near the Klamath Agency where oily clay gives an iridescent effect to the water.

153. /yanaldi/. Agency Hill.

154. /ʔiWq̓a·qńi goge/ "Around-the-Neck-River." Wood River.

155. /tgoĺo·tsʔam ksodi·lks/ "Tgoĺo·ts'-Lying-Underneath." A place about half a mile from Collier Park where two small creeks come together and make a waterfall and whirlpool.

156. /wa·ko ʔiwli·wa/ "Lodgepole-Pine-on-the-Very-Edge."

157. /qawdo·gi·sam či·s/ "Bird's (sp.)-Home." A small plain south of Fort Klamath. See Text 11.

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188. /homhomedi/. 103

189. /ʔiWq̓a·q/ "Around-the-Neck." Fort Klamath. Spier 63. 127

The following place names are not numbered, but may be found on the map by their English translations. 102 133

Little Wokas Bay /paksa/.
Klamath Lake /ʔewa/. (The generic term for "lake.")
Klamath Marsh /ʔewksi/.
Pelican Bay /gombat/.
Shoalwater Bay /d́ilkoydi/.

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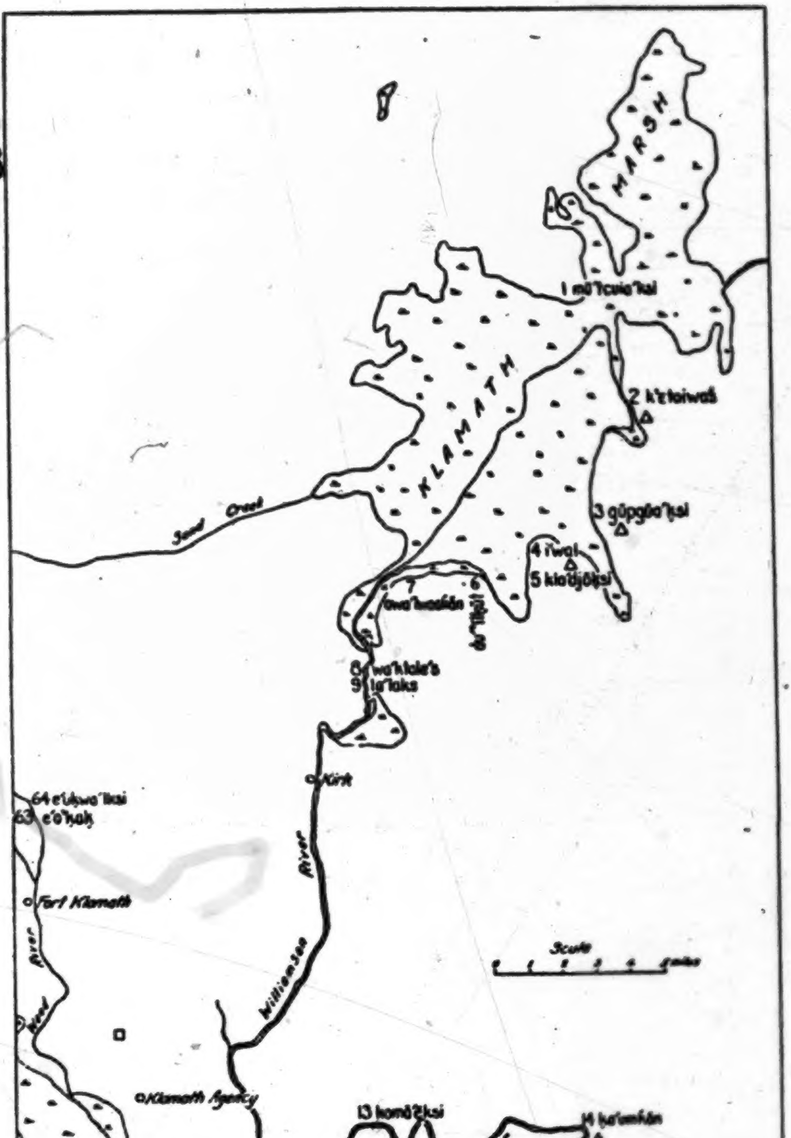
MARSH
1 mū'tcuia'kai
KLAMATH
2 k'ɛtaiwaš
Sand Creek
3 gūpgūa'tkai
4 ī'wal
5 kla'djōksi
7 lowa'lwaslān
6 djōlīk'
8 wa'klala's
9 la'laks
Kirk
River
64 e'ukwa'lksi
63 e'o'ksk
Fort Klamath
River
Wood
Williamson
Scale
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles
Klamath Agency
13 komō'tksi
14 la'amlān
Sprague River
44 kowa'cdi
Chiloquin
bezūksewas 17
10 Jobō'kstsōksi
15 tlalandaki
11
12 lalaowā'lts
16 19
AGENCY LAKE
27 wtle'ikai
k'lai'is

Fig. 2. Settlements in northern Klamath territory. Triangles represent cremation piles; rectangles, mourners' sweat-lodges.

[p 12]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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The towns listed below are mostly winter settlements. Each held one or more earth-lodges. There may be more than are listed on Sprague river, the only part of the region I did not visit. With this exception I think none have been overlooked.[29] The towns are grouped in the list according to tribal subdivisions. 361

I. *Klamath marsh—Williamson river group* (ă'ukckni).—Settlements are in two principal groups: along the southern margin of Klamath marsh and on the lower Williamson river. Although a few more were indicated in the latter region, I was told that the winter population at the marsh is the larger. They do not live on the western side of the marsh, as the snow-fed streams there are too cold for fish. The upper part of Williamson river, a rugged canyon, is unoccupied, but the towns are practically continuous from above the Sprague river junction down to the point where the river leaves the hills. Several others are on the lake front near-by. Evidently the middle Sprague river settlements should be included with this subdivision, but there is some doubt. Towns there are widely separated and extend a considerable distance up the river; the easternmost is somewhere west of Gearhart mountain. I am not certain that Sycan river is regularly occupied; roots are dug there. Sycan marsh is not occupied; it is a summering place for ă'ukckni, for those of Yainax in particular. 131 361

1, mū'tcuia'ksi, near the bridge toward the eastern end of Klamath marsh. 131 361 103

2, k'ᴇtaiwa's, along the eastern side of the marsh. A cremation pile lies south of this town.

3, gūpgūa'ḳsi, houses stretching for perhaps two miles here, with a cremation pile near-by.

4, i'wal, and 5, kla'djōḳsi, houses for some distance along this tongue extending into the marsh. A third cremation pile is east of i'wal.

6, du"ïlḳūt, a very large town, perhaps a hundred house pits in an area thrẹe hundred yards by one hundred. Others extend along the marsh to the east.[30] All the tribelets congregated at this spot in the summer to gather lily seeds.

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[29] Gatschet lists sites (1:xxviii footnote, 142, *passim*). Many of his items are only place names; no permanent town is included that is not also in my list. In a *few* instances he has misinterpreted his information. [114]

[30] This would be an excellent site for archaeological exploitation. House pits here are more distinct than any others I have seen; elsewhere they have been leveled by the plow. [172]

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103 131 361 7, awa′lwaskän, at least five earth-lodges here. Houses scattered between this site and the last.

8, wa′ktale′s, and 9, la′laks, slope steps,[21] two settlements on the higher ground where Williamson river leaves the marsh. The second had twenty houses on both sides of the stream.

[226] [114] 10, lobŏ′kstsöksi, on the bluff on the left bank of the Sprague river at the railroad bridge, with a few houses on the opposite side. There is a dam for salmon here. Gatschet gives the locality name as ktaí-tú-pakshi, standing rock.[22]

11, A site on the south side of Sprague river below the dam.

12, k̦!ötewä′ēts is a large winter settlement about two miles above the dam on the south bank of this river.

[823] [226] 13, komă′ēksi is a site on both sides of the river south of Braymill, four miles from Chiloquin. There is a cave here which was the home of Kᴇmŭ′kŭmps, the culture hero. Near-by is wo′kstat, the site of the only first-fish rites among the Klamath.

14, k̦a′umkăn is about six miles above this cave. Many people lived on both sides of the river there. A cremation pile is there, probably the only one on Sprague river. The place takes its name from a spring (k̦a′ŭm) on the western bank.

Whether there were permanent settlements above this on the river is difficult to say. At least there were settlements (15) of some sort on the river near Yainax before the co[illegible] of the whites.

16, hledleluĕ′luke, a settlement we[illegible]rhart mountain.

[226] 17, bᴇzŭkse′was (from bᴇzŭks, obsid[illegible]here are many people in this town on the right bank which extends for a mile below the Sprague river mouth. On the opposite side, ha′potgŭs, is a dam in which spring fish are caught; near-by are a few summer houses.

[251] [226] 18, tákalma′keda, a town half a mile long on the right bank. The houses are on the bottomland along the river with quite a number on the opposite flat (19), called k′tai′di, lava. A little south is a part of this settlement, called glă′tspak′is. Of the distinct pits at tákalma′keda, four are about twenty-five feet in diameter, one, fifteen feet. Northward from the town are a considerable number of storage pits and a fish dam.

20, djlgiă′s, houses on the river level on both banks and on a higher bench on the right. There is a ford here.

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[21] Gatschet, 1:74. Several other camping places in the vicinity on upper Williamson river are also mentioned.

[22] *Op. cit.*, 1:76.

21, ķ!o'ltawas, a town of ten or fifteen earth-lodges on the left bank, with houses on the right bank extending to the next settlement downstream. There are otter (ķ!olt) holes in the right bank, hence the name. A mythical otter that lived here is seen in a rock standing in the water; on his back are his children, smaller rocks. 103 131 361 [823]

22, at'awikc, "to catch fish in still water," six to a dozen houses on the right bank; a few on the left. The water here is quiet; fish are caught with the trolling net. [226]

23, ya'ak (ya'ac, willows), two dozen or more houses on the right bank. This was the largest river site in early reservation days, the road from Link river (Klamath falls) fording the river here. Of three house pits together, with their margins nearly in contact, two are twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter, the other fully five feet more. A cremation pile stands on the hill above this town. It is now leveled by marauders, as are all the others in this country, but it apparently covered an area forty feet in diameter.

24, tsa'k'wi, houses on the right bank with a few on the left.

25, wită'mŭmpsi, bear's place (wită'm, black bear). This is a high bluff on ~~the right~~ bank above an eddy in the sharp bend in the river; the scene of vision questing. A large shaman's earth-lodge is located here. Fish are caught all year long above this town. [823] [756]

26, goyʀmake'ʀgis, crawfish crawl out, or kiʀke'trŭs, small lizard, a town half a mile long beginning a quarter-mile above the highway bridge. The houses are on the abrupt slope right to the river's brink, and some on the little bluff above. There are pits of perhaps forty or more houses here, but at least half are dome-shaped cooking houses, for they are for the most part only six to ten feet in diameter, with few as much as fifteen feet. One of eighteen feet has its dome-shaped kitchen lodge clearly indicated on the north side. [226] [343]

27, wʀla'lksi, named for a big quaking-aspen (wʀla'l) there, is on the eastern shore of Agency lake. A few ă'ukckni live here in winter, in five or six small houses.

28, loķ'o'gŭt, warm, a little warm spring near which are two houses on the higher land near Agency lake. [133]

29, teŏ'klalŭmps, service berry, which grows here abundantly, is a town of one or two small houses overlooking the lake where the Chiloquin road meets the lake highway.

Other towns may have been at ya'mʀi, on the western side of Yamsay mountain, and ķoķenă'okʀ, Spring creek, a large northern affluent of Klamath marsh.

103 131 361 II. *Agency lake group (kowa'cdikni).*—The winter home of these people is on Agency lake, the northern arm of Klamath lake. My questioning did not make it wholly certain that this group is independent of ă'ukckni. In fact they join them at k'ᴇtai'di (19) on Williamson river for the spring fishing.

[756] [226] 44, kowa'cdi is close to the mouth of Wood river. The site is a quarter-mile long. One informant stated that it contained twenty houses, another two earth-lodges (one a shaman's), not incompatible statements. A spring here permits fish to remain all winter. A few houses are at another spring a quarter-mile east.

[133] III. *Lower Williamson river group (du'kwakni).*—These settlements are close to the mouth of Williamson river. This region, du'kwa, is one of marsh, separated by a considerable section of open and higher plain (pᴇnŏ'ŋs) from the nearest ă'ukckni settlements. Pᴇnŏ'ŋs seems not to have been occupied in pre-reservation days, although du'kwakni and ă'ukckni now live there. Du'kwa people seem also to live across the lake at Pelican bay, the home of the gu'mbŏtkni. But whether this is a regular thing, or only a matter of my du'kwa informant's [222] personal history, I am not sure. At any rate they go to dig roots in the marshes of the western and northern sides of Klamath lake in summer, not to Klamath marsh. Their winter settlements are on the isolated bits of higher ground within a mile of the river mouth, and on the marsh front immediately south. Most of these settlements, too, are on the right bank of the river.

30, mo'aḳsda, five or seven earth-lodges on the left bank nearly a mile above the mouth. Five more houses stood on the opposite bank with numerous springs behind them and the du'kwakni cremation pile a half-mile above.

31, wickămdi, four or five houses on the right bank below this, one or two a little below, then a cluster of four and another of two farther downstream.

32, la'wa'lstŏt, three houses on the point forming the right side of the river mouth.

33, mo'giŋkünks, the largest settlement in this district with five or six earth-lodges and as usual a number of small structures. This is on the left bank a quarter-mile above the mouth. One or two houses are on this side immediately at the river mouth.

34, djiŋgŭs, four or five houses at a spring on the lake front to the east of the mouth, with one or two more farther in the marsh.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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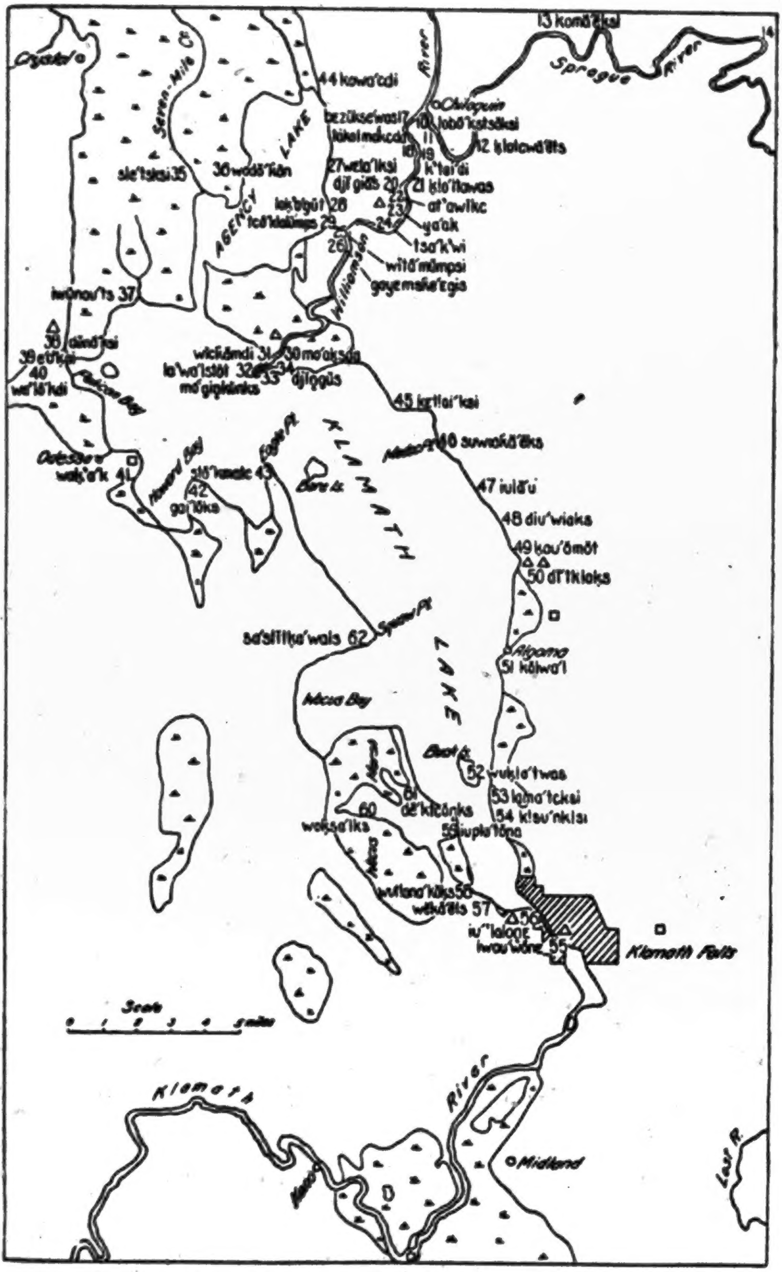
Crystal o
Seven-Mile Cr.
44 kowa'cdi
River
13 komä'tkai
14
Sprague
River
o Chiloquin
bezüksé'was 17
10 lobö'ksts̈kai
lükolmäkcdi
11
12 kiolcwä'its
18
19
k'tei'di
27 wela'iksi
djï'giäs 20
21 kio'itawas
36 wodä'kän
sle'tskai 35
LAKE
AGENCY
lak'bgüt 28
22
23
at'awlkc
tcä'ktalimps 29
24
ya'ak
26
tsa'k'wi
Williamson
wiiä'mümpsi
gayemske'tgis
iwönaits 37
38 üind'tai
39 et'kai
40
wa'lä'kdi
Pelican Bay
wicläimdi 31
30 mo'aksda
la'wa'lstöt 32
34
33
djï'ggüs
mó'gigkinks
45 kaitai'kai
Modoc Pt.
46 suwakä'ëks
Odessa o
wakia'k 41
Howard Bay
stö'kwalc 43
42
gai'löks
Eagle Pt.
Bare Is.
KLAMATH
47 iuläu
48 diu'wiaks
49 kau'ömöt
50 dï'ïkiaks
sa'sïlkia'wals 62
Shoalwater Pt.
LAKE
Algoma
51 kölwa'l
Moore Bay
Bird Is.
52 wukia'twas
53 lama'tcksi
54 kisu'nkisi
61
dë'kicönks
60
woksa'iks
59 iuplu'töna
wutlana'löks 58
wëkä'ëits 57
56
iu'talaqe
iwau'wöne
55
Klamath Falls
Scale
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles
Klamath
River
Keno
Midland
Lost R.

Fig. 3. Settlements in southern Klamath territory. Triangles represent cremation piles; rectangles, mourners' sweat-lodges.

[p. 17]

• 103
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361 IV. *Pelican bay group (gu'mbötkni).*—This includes the Pelican bay district (gu'mbŏt) on the west side of the lake, the settlements along Four Mile creek, and those on the marsh north of the lake. Runs of fish are plentiful on Wood river in the spring when the snow [222] melts on the mountains. People come up along the river in the summer digging camas. But above Fort Klamath there is too much snow [132] to live during the winter.

35, sle'tsksi, a group of two or three earth-lodges on the west side of Seven Mile creek near its mouth. A little spring here keeps the water warm enough for fish even in winter.

36, wudö'kăn is a settlement in the marsh a mile from the last, and east of Seven Mile creek.

37, iwŭnau'ts, two earth-lodges on the western side of a little creek emptying into the lake two miles east of Recreation P. O. Houses are scattered along the marsh shore to the northern side of Pelican bay.

38, dŭnŏ'ksi, an open space overlooking the northern end of Pelican bay and containing many earth-lodges. Others are on the lower level, [823] lɛlă'ksti, close to the bay. This is immediately north of the mouth of Four Mile creek. A cremation pile stands a hundred yards north of [756] this town on the slope above the bay, beyond an outcrop of rocks said to be transformed shamans. A big lodge of a shaman on the lower level has a pit twenty-eight feet in diameter; another earth-lodge pit is nearly twenty feet across.

39, e'o'ḳai, four or five earth-lodges a few hundred yards up Four Mile creek on the left bank.

[756] 40, wa'lŏ'kdi, four to eight earth-lodges, one a shaman's, somewhat farther up the creek on the opposite side.

41, Waḳ'a'k, a winter settlement south of the high ridge south of Odessa. North of the settlement is a sweat-lodge used by mourners.

42, gai'lŏks or gaila'lḳs is on the point south of Odessa or more probably between Howard and Shoalwater bays. No winter settlements here but a camping place where du'kwakni and gu'mbötkni roasted camas in the spring.

[136] 43, stŏ'kmatc, Eagle point, is a similar spring camp site. In the hot springs here are harmless black snakes (kamdila'k) which crawl over the swimmers. Curiously, in view of the Klamath tendency to localize their tales, there is no story concerning this locality.

Two other localities may belong to this group: 63, e'o'ḳaḳ, gulch, on Wood river toward the mountains, and 64, e'uḳwa'lksi on the east

side of Wood river in much the same locality. These may be the same site. 103

131 361

V. *Klamath Falls group (iu" laloŋkni).*—All the people of the lake from Modoc point southward are named for their principal locality, iu" laloŋᴇ, Klamath falls. Despite the large area, they are relatively few in number. In summer they resort to the marshes west of the lake or fish on Lost river. The district along the eastern shore of the lake from Modoc point nearly to Algoma is called ne" lu̧ksi (ne" lu̧ks, a late sunrise), from the circumstance that a low mountain here cuts off the morning sunlight.

45, kᴇt!ai'ksi, point of rock, a promontory two miles or so northwest of Modoc point, is their northernmost settlement.

46, suwiakă'ĕks, jump over, is a large village at Modoc point. It extended on both sides of the headland and for three-quarters of a mile south. The place takes its name from a large rock (about three and a half feet high) which stands a half-mile south of the point. It was a trial of skill to run uphill and jump over the rock. Bare island (au'cmi) opposite is their camp site, and has no permanent settlements.

47, iulă'u, promontory, is a fishing village occupied in early spring. Pictographs are painted on the rock slide north of this.

48, diu'wiaks (named for its little spring, di'wik) is a winter settlement at the railroad point Ouxy. Little fish ran in the spring early in the year. [226]

49, ķau'ŏmŏt, a half-mile south, is, like all these lake sites, crowded along the foot of the mountain on the lake shore. There are many earth-lodges about a large spring here. The lodge rings are so clear that this would be a good place for archaeological excavations. Its name is from ķau'ŏm, a place where fish run. [172]

50, dɪ'tk!aķs, boiling spring, is now known as Barclay spring. [133] There are many earth-lodges north and south of this. Two cremation piles are to the north on the highway, one distant a hundred yards on a rock slide, the second twice as far and directly on the southern boundary of the reservation. Unlike the cremation piles on Williamson river, no glass beads or iron was to be found at this second site. South of Barclay spring by three hundred yards is a deep nameless spring into which pups are thrown to train them for hunting. [231] A large sweat-lodge used by mourners is situated at the foot of the slope near the angle of the marsh east of Algoma. [343]

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361
51, kōlwa'l, a point, is Rattlesnake point at Algoma. Only a few live here during the winter but it is a favorite resort in the autumn when chokecherries and wild plums ripen.

[222] 52, wuḳ!o'twas, wood knot, Buck island, is so called because the island in the lake is likened to a knot in a piece of wood. In addition to old house pits here not occupied by any group of the historic period, there are a few winter houses on the southern end and summer camps at the northern end where plums could be gathered. It was a favorite sport to dive from the rocks (called sohowā'ēks, diving) on the northern shore.

53, lama'tcksi, a place on top of the end of something, is on the point east of Buck island, and 54, k!su'nk!ai, grassy place, is three-fourths of a mile south on the shore. Many people are at both localities during the winter. There may be old house sites here like those on Buck island. Wa'toŋks is a hill a half-mile east where wild plums are [823] picked. There is an outcrop of white rock high on the hillside above iu'li (meaning deep in), the end of the marsh east of these settlements. This is said to be the net of Kᴇmū'kūmps, the culture hero, spread to dry.

[764] [726] 55, iwau'wōnᴇ, meaning against the side hill, is a large settlement on both sides of Link river at the highway bridge. A crematory is on the hilltop on the east side a quarter-mile north. Shasta sometimes swam the river south of the village or crossed by the islet below the little lake Ewauna to attack the group on the east bank. This settlement is at the lower end of the falls (Klamath falls) that constitute [226] [823] Link river in its brief passage through its gorge. This is one of the principal fishing places of the region and advantage is taken of the ledges that form the falls for the construction of fish dams. But these, like all others in Klamath territory, are attributed to the culture hero, Kᴇmū'kūmps.[33]

56, iu"laloŋᴇ, meaning on the end, is the largest village of the southern lake people and gives its name to the whole group. There are earth-lodges on both sides of the falls but particularly on the western bank from the river mouth to within half a mile of the present power dam. There are many at the point at the river mouth (hence the name of the site) and thence extend westward about a little bay. A group of tall upstanding rocks at the point, called ḳ!taigī'ŋkls, hole

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[114] [33] Gatschet's reference (1:94, 97) to the Indians scooping up fish from the dry bed of the stream when a strong south wind drives back the waters in the lake seems like a purely mythical reference, but is confirmed by Clarke (Rock Piles, 41).

through the rock, had only a narrow way between them to allow 103
passage along the shore. On a point of rocks on the hill above stands 131
a cremation pile. A hillock west of the bay is called lalau'ḳ!ŏt, flat, 361
for the many flat rocks on top. The opposite point of the river mouth
also has a settlement, called tc!a'tc!ŏmsi, for some unidentified bird.

57, wĕḳă'ēls, fallen tree, is a settlement of moderate size on the shore a mile west of the river mouth, now intersected by the road.

58, wut!ana'kŏḳs, a low gap, and 59, iup!a'tŏna, end place, are summer sites respectively at the ends of a little marsh (now drained) on the west side of the lake.

60, woḳsa'lks, lily seed (wokas) picking place, is a summer camp [222]
on the north shore of Wokas marsh. When leaving in the fall it is
customary to sink the canoes at the edge of the marsh, hide the grind- [501]
ing slabs in the juniper thicket, and pack by a regular trail to [415]
dĕ'ktcŏŋks, whence they return to the winter villages.

61, dĕ'ktcŏŋks, netting place, is a camp site on the west shore of [226]
Klamath lake opposite Buck island. Midway between this site and
the island is a favorite place for catching fish at night with a tri-
angular scoop net. The point Skillet Handle is called iuwa'"lɛ, end of
a point, and a flat-topped mountain west of Wocus bay, seolŏpġls.

62, sa'stītḳa'wals, Shasta stand on end, is Squaw point where a few [823]
Klamath falls people might be found in winter. There are holes in
the rocks here in which they pound to make the wind blow, pounding
in those on the south side, for instance, to bring a south wind.

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS

The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or 101
possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct dis- 619
trict, and practically autonomous. This is separatism of the familiar
Californian order. Nevertheless, the cohesion rising from a common
dialect, common culture, and a uniform reaction against all non-
tribesmen, which on occasion leads to jointly taking the field against
them, produces a tribal solidarity resembling that of the Plains people.

The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the modern name Klamath for the Klamath marsh—Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit and compelling in its demands.

K M 756 796

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers.

K M 221 261 [356]

K M [574] [685] [756] [796] [789]

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

K M 261 22

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already, in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and Sprague.

K M 221 361

K M [501]

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers

K 226 823

K M 226 103 648

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K
M draws upland Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute and gives to the
226 nearby settlement, the easternmost of the permanent villages of
• 103 the Klamath, the name, "Sucker-fishery." Others make their way
648 to stone weirs, built, it is said, by Gmukamps himself, or to the
K
M lakes to fish with a variety of dip nets, gill net baskets, the two-
226 pronged harpoon and the multibarbed spear. At night, men set
forth in canoes upon the lake to fish by torchlight. Set lines are
K put out infrequently. While the men catch the fish—suckers,
M
[261] salmon, and trout—their wives work ceaselessly, splitting them
and laying them in the sun to dry.

K Released from the protracted confinement to the winter settle-
M ments, tribesmen eagerly renew bonds with relatives and friends
221 from other villages. Related families may rendezvous to travel
222 together down to the fisheries and set up their lodges side by
[571] side. Then, as spring advances and the runs of suckers and
[602] salmon abate, the fishing settlements break up and parties of
[226] two or three families fan out along the flats and meadows to dig
[103] roots: the succulent camas, the nutlike ipos, yans, and the arrow-
root for which Chewaucan Marsh is named. In the watery flats
they seek the roots of tule and cattail; elsewhere they pick wild
K celery and mosses. There are the eggs of swan and other water-
M fowl to gather; trout in the streams to be caught; and for the
22 Modoc, antelope and mountain sheep to hunt. At this time, some
[361] areas are occupied that at other times are too cold or barren.

K If there is danger of hostile attack, the parties coalesce; and
M
22 under all circumstances they maintain a wary lookout. In the
726 north small bands make cautious excursions into the upper valley
of the Deschutes, watchful for raiding parties of Cayuse, Nez
K Percés, Warm Springs, and Paiute. Toward the east, Sycan and
M Chewaucan marshes are dug over by Klamath and Paiute. Fré-
222 mont once found the latter tract furrowed as if it had been
252 plowed. In many places the stone-lined earth ovens in which
camas and other vegetal foods were baked for winter storage
can still be seen.

K As the long summer days wear on, the pond-lily seeds, known
M as wokas, begin to ripen on the marshes, and once more the
221 people draw together. The Modoc congregate especially along
222 Tule and Lower Klamath Lake, while some join the Klamath
648 on Wokas Marsh. Many Klamath, together with a few Modoc

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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[P. 280]

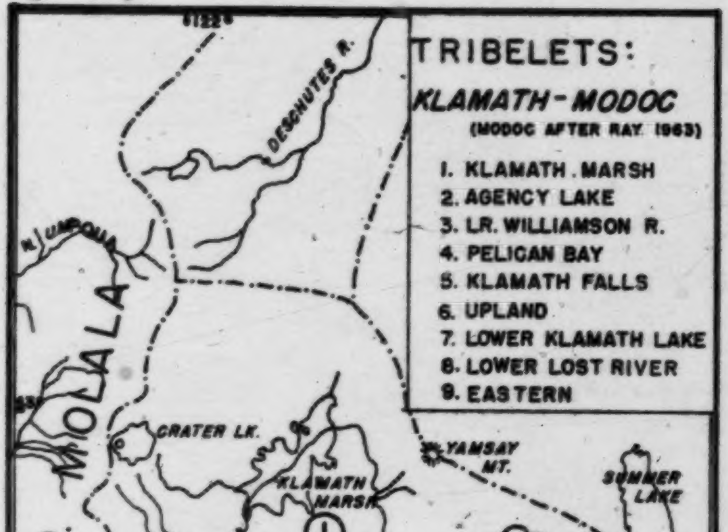
TRIBELETS:
KLAMATH-MODOC
(MODOC AFTER RAY 1963)
1. KLAMATH MARSH
2. AGENCY LAKE
3. LR. WILLIAMSON R.
4. PELICAN BAY
5. KLAMATH FALLS
6. UPLAND
7. LOWER KLAMATH LAKE
8. LOWER LOST RIVER
9. EASTERN
122°
DESCHUTES R.
N. UMPQUA
SO. MOLALA
CRATER LK.
KLAMATH MARSH
WILLIAMSON R.
FT. KLAMATH
KLAMATH AGENCY
AGENCY LAKE
KLAMATH
YAMSAY MT.
SUMMER LAKE
SYCAN R.
SYCAN MARSH
SPRAGUE RIVER
YAINAX
KLAMATH LAKE
LINKVILLE
OLENE
LOST RIVER
NO. PAIUTE
42°
LOWER KLAMATH LK.
TULE LAKE
CLEAR LAKE
SHASTA
MODOC
122°
121°
1
2
3
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9

The northern corridor should be understood to extend to 44° N. The Modoc area extends in the southwest to the base of Mount Shasta, not shown on the map. Based for the Klamath on Spier, 1930, and for the Modoc on Ray, 1963.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

[p.281]

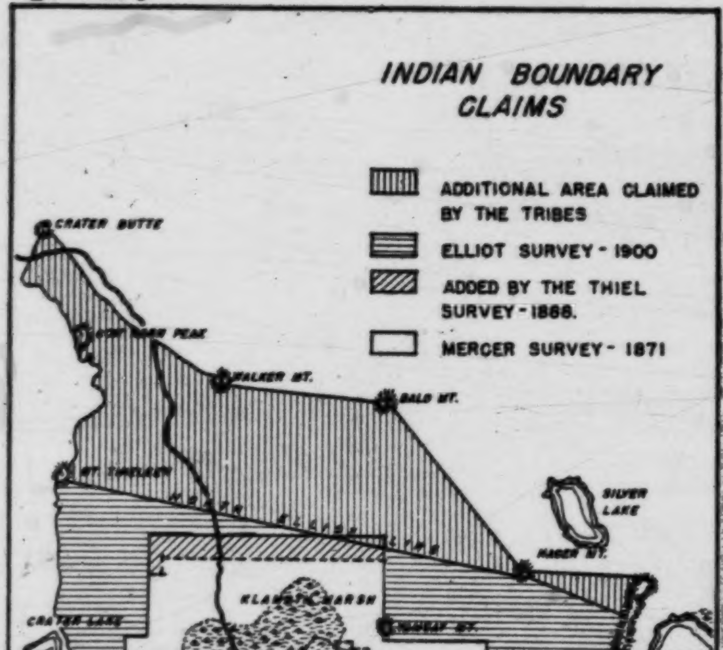
INDIAN BOUNDARY CLAIMS
▥ ADDITIONAL AREA CLAIMED BY THE TRIBES
▤ ELLIOT SURVEY - 1900
▨ ADDED BY THE THIEL SURVEY - 1888.
☐ MERCER SURVEY - 1871
CRATER BUTTE
COW HORN PEAK
WALKER MT.
BALD MT.
MT. THIELSEN
SILVER LAKE
HAGER MT.
KLAMATH MARSH
CRATER LAKE
YAMSAY MT.
SYCAN MARSH
SUMMER LAKE
BRADY BUTTE
LONG BELL LUMBER CO. CLAIM
WILLIAMSON
RIVER
OREGON
CENTRAL
MILITARY ROAD
SPRAGUE RIVER
BRIDGE
FT. KLAMATH
AGENCY
CHILOQUIN
MODOC POINT
BARKLEY SPRINGS
YAINAX
GEARHART MT.
HORSE FLY MT.

Adapted from a map prepared by Otis H. Johnson. (From Johnson, 1957.)

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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P.282]

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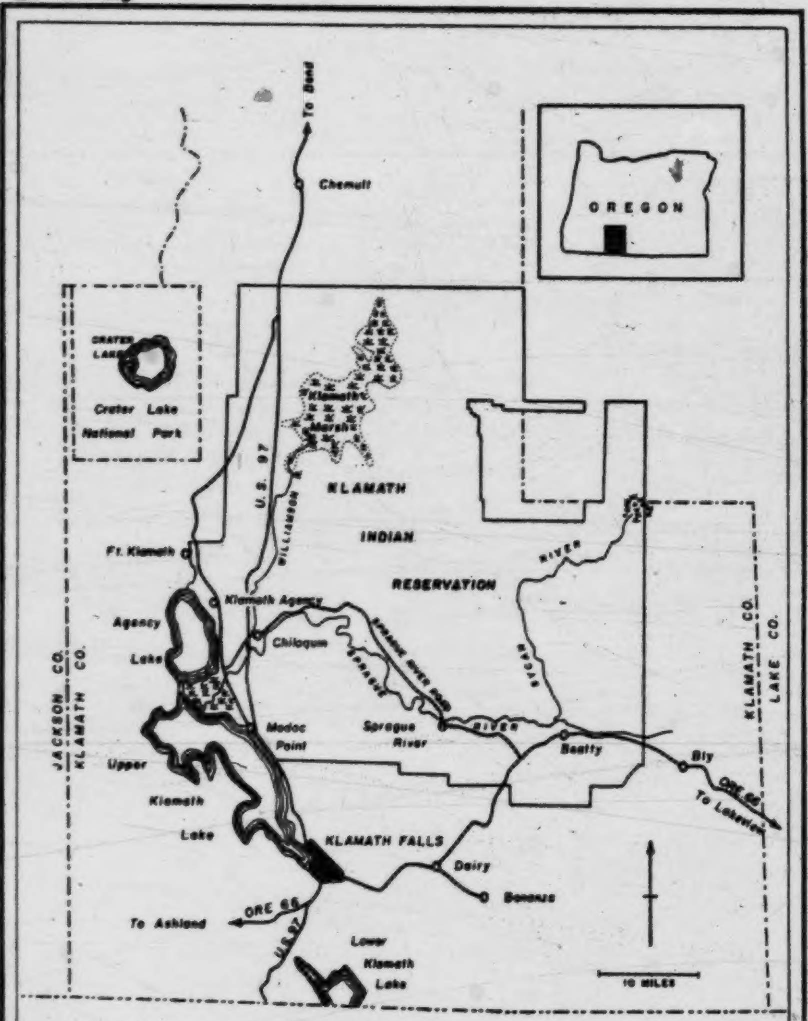
To Bend
Chemult
OREGON
CRATER LAKE
Crater Lake National Park
U.S. 97
Klamath Marsh
KLAMATH INDIAN RESERVATION
WILLIAMSON
RIVER
SYCAN
Ft. Klamath
Klamath Agency
Agency Lake
Chiloquin
SPRAGUE RIVER ROAD
SPRAGUE
Sprague River
RIVER
Modoc Point
Beatty
Bly
ORE 66
To Lakeview
JACKSON CO.
KLAMATH CO.
KLAMATH CO.
LAKE CO.
Upper Klamath Lake
KLAMATH FALLS
Dairy
Bonanza
ORE 66
To Ashland
U.S. 97
Lower Klamath Lake
10 MILES

KLAMATH INDIAN RESERVATION
AND
KLAMATH COUNTY, OREGON

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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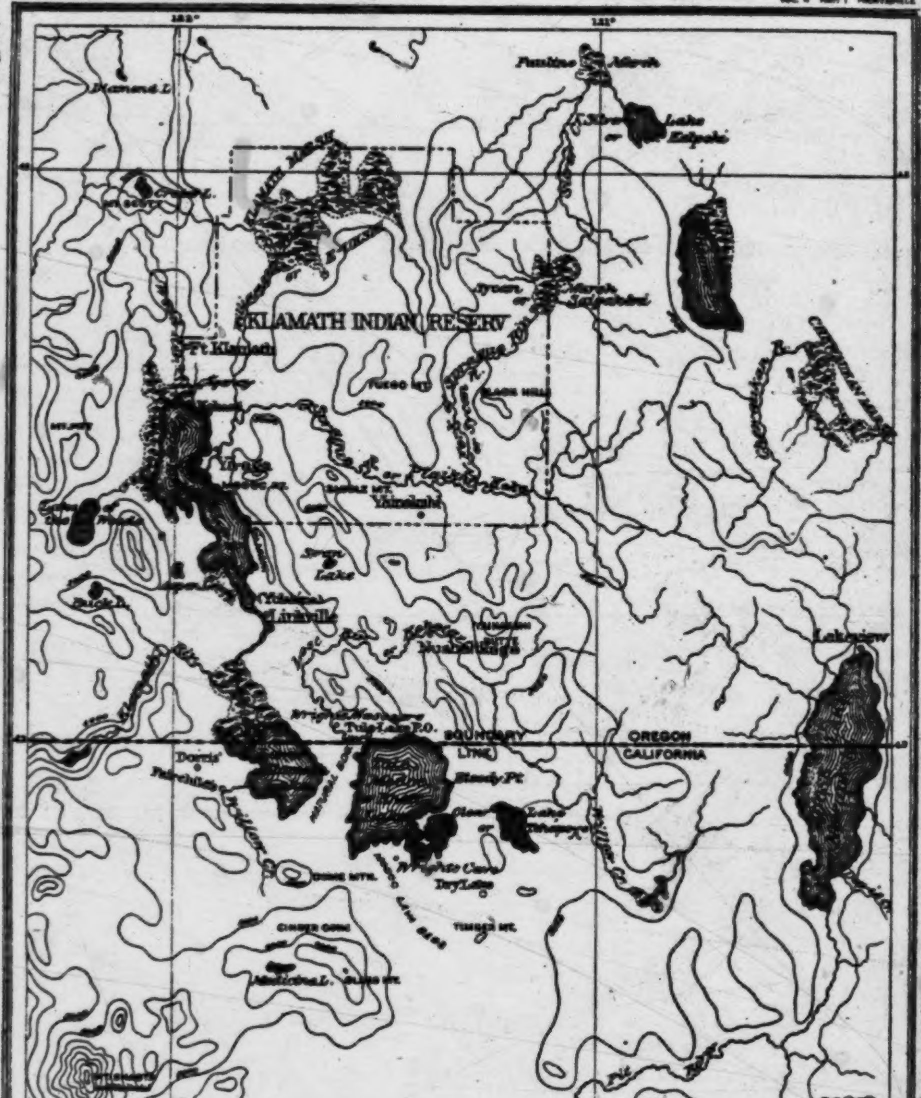
122°
121°
Diamond L.
Crater L.
Fuslino Marsh
Lake or Kalpsh
Marsh
KLAMATH INDIAN RESERV
Ft Klamath
Fuego Mt.
Black Hills
Yaneks
Yainakshi
Lake
Linkville
Lost R.
Bloody Pt.
Lake
Tule Lake P.O.
BOUNDARY LINE
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
Dorris'
Wright's Cave
Dry Lake
Dome Mts.
Cinder Cone
Medicine L.
Timber Mt.
Lakeview
Pit R.

Scale: 15 miles to 1 inch.

MAP OF THE HEADWATERS OF THE KLAMATH RIVER.

By Albert S. Gatschet.

/facing p. iii/

133 water's surface was found to be 6,300 feet; and this remarkable lake is but a short distance south of the forty-third degree of latitude. Capt. C. E. Dutton, of the U. S. Geological Survey, has made an examination of the lake and its surroundings, and gave a short sketch of it in the weekly "Science" of New York, February 26, 1886, from which an extract was published in the "Ausland" of Stuttgart, 1887, pp. 174, 175.

On the west side of Mount Scott and Crater Lake rise the headwaters of the North Fork of Rogue River, which run down the western slope, and a narrow trail crosses the ridge south of the elevation. Northeast of it and west of Walker's Range lies a vast level plain strewed with pulverized pumice-stone, and forming the water-shed between the affluents of the Klamath and those of Des Chutes River, a large tributary of the Columbia.

Upper Klamath Lake, with its beautiful and varied Alpine scenery, verdant slopes, blue waters, and winding shores, is one of the most attractive sights upon the reservation. Its principal feeder is Williamson River, a water-course rising about thirty miles northeast of its mouth. After passing through Klamath Marsh it pursues its winding course south through a cañon of precipitous hills, six miles in length; then reaches a wide, fertile valley, joins Sprague River coming from Yáneks and the east, and after a course of about sixty miles empties its volume of water into Upper Klamath Lake near its northern end. The elevation of this lake was found to be about eighty feet higher than that of Little Klamath Lake, which is 4,175 feet. Wood River, with its affluent, Crooked River, is another noteworthy feeder of the lake, whose shores are partly marshy, partly bordered by prairies and mountains. The lake is embellished by a number of pretty little islands, is twenty-five miles long in an air-line, and varies between three and seven miles in width. On the eastern shores the waters are more shallow than on the western.

103 The waters of the lake first empty themselves through Link River (I-ulalóna), and after a mile's course fall over a rocky ledge at the town of Linkville. From there onward the stream takes the name of Klamath River. Passing through a marsh, it receives the waters of Little Klamath Lake, then winds its circuitous way towards the Pacific Ocean through a hilly and wooded country, cañons, and rapids, innavigable for craft of any

133 considerable size.* Hot springs of sulphuric taste flow westward ~~east~~ of Linkville, one of them showing a temperature of 190° Fahr.

The Klamath Reservation is studded with a large number of isolated and short volcanic hill ridges, with a general direction from northwest to southeast. South of Klamath Marsh there are elevations culminating at 5,650 and 6,000 feet, and in Fuego Mountain 7,020 feet are attained. Yámsi Peak, between Klamath Marsh and Sykan Marsh (5,170 feet) reaches an altitude of not less than 8,242 feet, thus rivaling many peaks of the [657] Cascade Range. The Black Hills, south of Sykan (Saikéni) Marsh, rise to 133 6,410 feet, but are surpassed by several elevations south of Sprague River, 103 near the middle course of which the Yáneks Agency (4,450 feet) is situated. Sprague River (P'laíkni k̲ók̲e), the most considerable tributary of Williamson River, drains a valley rich in productive bottoms and in timber.

The basaltic ridge, which forms a spur of the Cascade Range and passes east of Fort Klamath (I-ukák), slopes down very abruptly toward the Quaternary lake basin, now forming a low marshy prairie and watered by Wood River (E-uk̲alkshíni k̲ók̲e), which enters upper Klamath Lake near Kohásbti and by Seven Mile Creek, nearer the Cascade Range. This basaltic spur, called Yánalti by the Indians, represents the eastern side of a huge fault-fissure. Its altitude constantly decreases until it is crossed by a rivulet one-eighth of a mile long, called Beetle's Rest (Tgúlutcham Kshutē'lsh), which issues from a pond, drives a mill, and then joins Crooked River (Yánalti k̲ók̲e, or Tutashtalíksini k̲ók̲e). This beautiful spring and stream were selected by the Government as the site for the Klamath Agency buildings. The old agency at Kohásbti (Guhuáshkshi or "Starting-place") on the lake, three miles south, was abandoned, and a subagency established at Yáneks. The agency buildings are hidden in a grove of lofty pine trees. South of these the ridge rises again and culminates in an elevation, called Pítsua (4,680 feet). The junction of Sprague and Williamson Rivers is marked by a rock called Ktái-Tupákshi, and described in Dictionary, page 149, as of mythic fame. South of Sprague River the ledge rises again, and, approaching close to the lake shore, forms Modoc Point, a bold head-

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[119] * I have not been able to visit *personally* other parts of the Klamath highlands than the eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake, from Fort Klamath to Linkville.

103 land, which culminates in an elevation east of it, measuring 6,650 feet, in
133 Nílaks Mountain (Nílakshi, "Daybreak"), on the lake shore, and in Swan Lake Point (7,200 feet), about eight miles from Klamath Lake. A deep depression south of this height is Swan Lake Valley (4,270 feet), and a high hill north of the two, near Sprague River, is called Saddle Mountain (6,976 feet). Yáneks Butte, with a summit of 7,277 feet, lies midway between the headwaters of Sprague River and the Lost River Valley. A long and steep ridge, called the Plum Hills, rises between Nílaks and the town of Linkville.

We now arrive at what is called the "Old Modoc Country." The main seat of the Modoc people was the valley of Lost River, the shores of Tule and of Little Klamath Lake. Lost River follows a winding course about as long as that of Williamson River, but lies in a more genial climate. The soil is formed of sandstone interstratified with infusorial marls. Nushaltkága is one of its northern side valleys. At the Natural Bridge (Tilhuántko) these strata have been upheaved by a fault, so that Lost River passes underneath. The sandstone is of volcanic origin, and contains pumice and black scoria in rounded masses, often of the size of an egg. The largest part of Tule Lake, also called Rhett Lake and Modoc Lake (Móatak, Móatokni é-ush), lies within the boundaries of California. It is drained by evaporation only, has extinct craters on its shores, and the celebrated Lava Beds, long inhabited by the Kómbatwash Indians, lie on its southern end.

Clear Lake, also called Wright Lake (by the Modocs, Tchápaχo), is a crater basin, with the water surface lying considerably below the surrounding country. Its outlet is a tributary of Lost River, but is filled with water in the cooler season only. Little or Lower Klamath Lake (Aká-ushkni é-ush) is fed by Cottonwood Creek, and on its southern side had several Indian settlements, like Agáwesh. It has an altitude of 4,175 feet, and belongs to the drainage basin of Klamath River. South of these lakes there are considerable volcanic formations, which, however, lie beyond the pale of our descriptive sketch.

133 Peculiar to this volcanic tract is the frequent phenomenon of the pond sources (wélwash, nushaltkága). These sources are voluminous springs of limpid water, which issue from the ground at the border of the ponds with

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

133 a strong bubbling motion, without any indication of other springs in the vicinity. They are met with in soil formed of volcanic sands and detritus, have a rounded shape with steep borders, and form the principal feeders of the streams into which they empty. Ponds like these mainly occur in wooded spots. Some of them have a diameter of one hundred feet and more, and are populated by fish and amphibians of all kinds.

The lake region east of the Reservation was often visited in the hunting and fishing season by the Klamath Lake, Modoc, and especially by the Snake Indians. Goose Lake was one of the principal resorts of the Snake and the Pit River Indians; and even now the numerous rivulets flowing into it make its shores desirable to American stockmen and settlers. Warner [103] (or Christmas) Lake, fully thirty-five miles in length, was once enlivened by the troops camping at Fort Warner, on its eastern side.* Chewaukan Marsh (Tchuaχē'ni) has its name from the tchuá or "water potato", the fruit of *Sagittaria*, and is by its outlet connected with Abert Lake.

The Indians of the Reservation annually repair about the month of June to Klamath Marsh (É-ukshi) to fish, hunt, and gather berries and wókash or pond-lily seed, which is one of their staple foods. Its surface is somewhat less than that of Upper Klamath Lake. Its shores are high on the southeastern, low and marshy on the northwestern side. Water appears at single places only, insufficient to warrant the marsh being called, as it often is, a lake.

137 The Oregonian portions of the country described belong politically to Klamath and to Lake Counties, the county seats of which are Linkville and Lakeview, on the northern end of Goose Lake. The latter place also contains a United States land office.

FLORA AND FAUNA.

Vegetation usually gives a characteristic stamp to a country, but in arid districts, as those of the Klamath highlands, it is rather the geological features which leave an impress on our minds. The further we recede from

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[113] * Goose and Warner Lakes are described in Lieutenant Wheeler's Report, Annual Report of Chief of Engineers, 1878 8°. Appendix N N, pp. 113–120. Goose Lake, by Stephen Powers, in "A Pony Ride on Pit River," Overland Monthly of San Francisco, October, 1874, pp. 342–351.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

361 [342] transitory camps are marked by frail willow lodges (látchash, stinā'sh) or other light structures. Indian camps are as a rule located near rivers, brooks, marshes, springs, or lakes. Hunters generally erect their lodges in convenient places to overlook a considerable extent of territory.

In the lists below the order in which the localities are mentioned indicates the direction in which they follow each other. I obtained them from the two interpreters of the reservation, Dave Hill and Charles Preston; and as regards the old Modoc country, from Jennie Lovwer, a Modoc girl living in the Indian Territory, who remembered these places from her youth. The grammatic analysis of the local names will in many instances be found in the Dictionary.

CAMPING PLACES ON KLAMATH MARSH.

103 361 The permanent dwellings upon this marsh have all been abandoned; but the Modocs and Klamath Lakes, together with some Snake Indians from Sprague River, resort there annually, when the pond-lily seed and the berries ripen, for a period of about six weeks. Its shores were permanently inhabited in 1853, when visited by the United States exploration party under [133] Lieutenants Williamson and Abbott, and even later. Dave Hill's list below follows the localities in their topographic order from northeast to southwest and along the southeastern elevated shore of the marsh, which at some places can be crossed on foot. A few rocky elevations exist also on the northeast end of the marsh.

Katā'gsi "stumpy bushes."
Táktaklishkshi "reddish spot."
Yaúkēlam Láshi "eagle wing."
Yásh-Lamā'ds "projecting willow."
Spúklish Láwish "sweat lodge on promontory."
Mbákualsi "at the withered tree."
Kmutchuyáksi "at the old man's rock;" a man-shaped rock formation near the open waters of the marsh and visible at some distance.
Lalawasχē'ni "slaty rock."
Taktχísh "cricket noise."
Tsásam Péwas "skunk's dive."
Ktaí-Wasi "rocky hollow."
Snálsχēni "at the rock-pile."
Lúlpaḵat "chalk quarry."
Kapgā'kai "dwarf-pine thicket."
Wáptasχāni "water moving through ponds perceptibly."
Tchókeam Psísh "pumice-stone nose."
Ḵáḵai "raven's nest."
Íwal "land's end."
Luyánsti "within the circle."
Yaúkēlam Snólash "eagle nest."
Tchíkas-Walákish "bird-watch;" secreted spot where hunters watch their feathered game.
Tuílkat "at the small rail pyramid."
Awaluashχē'ni "at the island."

103 361 Tχalamgiplis "back away from the west;" probably referring to a turn of the shoreline.

Wák-Talíksi "white pine on water-line."

Wíshiukam Tinuash "drowned snake;" place where a garter snake was found drowned in the open waters of the marsh.

Lgû'm-Ā-ushi "coal lake," with waters looking as black as coal.

Súmde "at the mouth or outlet."

Núskal "skull-place;" a human skull was once found there. This is one of the spots where the natives submerge their dug-out canoes in the mud or sand at the bottom of the lake for the wintry season.

Some of the above places near the outlet are also mentioned in Pete's Text on the "Seasons of the Year," and the following additional may be inserted here from it (74, 15–17):

Lĕmé-isham Nută'ks "impression of thunderbolt."

Lál'lăks "steep little eminence."

Stópalsh-tamă'ds "peeled pine standing alone."

K̲ák̲-Kaháwaliăksh "raven on the pole."

CAMPS ALONG WILLIAMSON RIVER.

[133] In this list Dave Hill enumerated old camps and present locations of lodges (1877) on both sides of Williamson River, from the lower end of Klamath Marsh (4,547 feet) to Upper Klamath Lake. The river runs for six miles or more through a ravine about two hundred feet deep, and the road follows it on the east side, leading over the hills. The wigwams are built in proximity to the river course. At its outlet Williamson River forms a delta, projecting far out into the lake, and filled with bulrushes.*

Kakagô'si "at the ford."

Samka-ushχă'ni "cliffs in the river;" a fishing place.

Yále-alant "clear waters."

Tánua-Lutílsh "flat rocks under the water."

K̲ă'k̲-Talíksh, or K̲ă'k̲-Talísh "twin rocky pillars."

Awalokáksaksi "at the little island."

Mbúshaksham Wă'sh "where obsidian is found."

Tχálmakstant (supply: Ktái-Tupáksi) "on the west side of (Standing Rock)."

Tchpinóksaksi "at the graveyard;" cemetery and ancient cremation ground of the Ē-ukshikni.

Ktá-iti "place of rocks."

Tchikĕsi "at the submerged spot."

Kúltam Wă'sh "otter's home."

Stílakgish "place to watch fish."

Yá aga "little willows." Here the road from Linkville to Fort Klamath crosses Williamson River on a wooden bridge built by the United States Government; here is also the center of the Indian settlements on Williamson River.

Kúls-Tgé-ush, or Kúlsam-Tgé-us "badger standing in the water."

Wită'mamtsi "where the black bear was."

Kuyám-Skă-íks "crawfish trail."

Slánkoshksŏksi, or Shlankoshkshû'kshi "where the bridge was."

Kok̲áksi "at the brooklet."

Kuyága, a former cremation place in the vicinity of Yá aga.

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* Compare Professor Newberry's description, pp. 38, 39, and Lieutenant Williamson's report (part I), p. 68.

CAMPING PLACES AND OTHER LOCALITIES AROUND UPPER KLAMATH LAKE.

103 Places situated on the lake are as follows:

361 **Skohuáshki**, commonly called Kobáshti, Kuhuáshti by Americans and Indians, "starting place of canoes, boats." Formerly location of the United States Agency; now numbering four or five Indian lodges.

Tulísh, fishing place near the outlet of Williamson River: "spawning place."

Tókua or **Túkua**, near the outlet of Williamson River. From this the neighboring part of the lake is sometimes called Túkua Lake.

Nilakshi: lit. "dawn of day;" is now used to designate Modoc Point also, though it properly refers to the Nílaks mountain ridge only.

Á-ushmē, an island in the lake near Modoc Point.

Shuyakĕ'ksi or "jumping place."

I-ulalóna, or **Yulalóuan**, Link River above the falls at Linkville; lit. "rubbing, moving to and fro." The name was afterwards transferred to the town of Linkville, which is also called Tiwishχĕ'ni "where the cascade noise is."

Uχótuash, name of an island near Linkville.

Wákaksi Spúklish, a ceremonial sweat-lodge on west side of the lake.

Kúmbat "in the rocks." Locality on western side of lake, called Rocky Point.

Lúkuashti "at the hot water." Name for the hot sulphuric springs about half a mile east and northeast of the town of Linkville, and of some others west of that town.

EMINENCES AROUND UPPER KLAMATH LAKE.

Of the majority of these names of hills and mountains I could not obtain the English name, the usual excuse being that they had only Indian names.

In Cascade Range:

Gíwash, or **Géwash**, Mount Scott; Gíwash ó ush, Crater Lake, in a depression west of Mount Scott.

Kukumĕ'kshi "at the caves or hollows;" northwest of the Agency.

Kak̲ásam Yaina "mountain of the great blue heron;" northwest of Agency.

Mŏ'dshi Yaína or Long Pine; lit. "on the large mountain;" mŏ'dshi or mŭ'nptchi is a compound of the adjective múni, great, large.

Mbá-ush Shnékash "bosom burnt through," legendary name of a mountain located west southwest of the Agency; mbá-ush here refers to a piece of buckskin serving to cover the bosom.

Kĕ'sh yaínatat, Mount Pitt, a high mountain lying southwest of the Agency. The Modocs call it Mĕlaiksi "steepness;" the Klamath Lake term signifies "snow on the mountain," snow-capped peak. Only in the warmest months Mount Pitt is free of snow.

Tilχo-it, an eminence south of Mount Pitt; lit. "drip water."

Wákakshi, **Kă'kăshti**, **Tchiutchiwăsamtch**, mountains bordering the southwestern portion of Upper Klamath Lake.

On the east shore of the lake:

Wátanks, a hill on southeastern side of the lake.

Kálalks, hill near Captain Ferree's house, south of the Nílaks ridge. A ceremonial sweat-lodge stands in the vicinity.

103 361 Nílaksi, lit. "daybreak;" a point of the steep ridge of the same name extending from Modoc Point, on east side of lake, along the shore, and thence in the direction of Lost River Valley.

Wálpi, Múyant, Tóplamĕni, Láχit: other elevations of the Nílaksi hill ridge.

Pítsua, hill ridge extending north of Williamson River.

Yánalti or Yánaldi, a steep volcanic range stretching due north from the Agency to Fort Klamath and beyond it. It is the continuation of the Pitsua ridge.

E-uḳalksíni Spŭ'klish is an ancient ceremonial sweat-lodge near Wood River, and not very distant from Fort Klamath (I-ukák).

CAMPING PLACES IN SPRAGUE RIVER VALLEY.

Of this portion of the reservation I submit two separate lists of local nomenclature. The more extensive one I obtained from Charles Preston, who remembered more place names because he then was employed at the Yáneks subagency, which lies near the center of the Sprague River settlements. Both lists follow the course of the river from east to west. Both Sprague River and the settlements above Yáneks are frequently called P'laí, "above".

Charles Preston's list:

Tsuitiákshi "dog-rose patch," near headwaters.

Ulálkshi "cottonwood."

Pálau É-ush "dry lake;" a large flat rock is near the river.

Welékag-Kouklĕkshákshi "at the stooping old woman," called so from a rock suggesting this name.

Aísh Tkalíks "column rock."

Tsáχeak Tkáwals "standing boy," from a rock of a boy-like shape.

Suítstis.

Wúksi "fire-place;" at same place as Suítstis.

Tchă'kĕle Taíwish "running with blood;" a little spring with reddish water; a settlement of Snake Indians.

Kŏs Tuĕta "standing pine;" settled by Snake Indians.

Kawamkshí'ksh "eel fishery."

Suawáti "ford, crossing-place."

Lúldam Tchí'ksh "winter village."

Spawañksh, on bank of Sprague River.

Yaínaga "Little Butte," a hill at the subagency.

Yaínakshi, Yáneks, "at the Little Butte;" location of subagency buildings, two miles from Sprague River, on left-hand side.

Tatátmi, a butte or hillock in the vicinity.

Lámkosh "willows;" name of a creek, called by Americans "Whiskey Creek."

Skŭwashkshi, or Skŭ'wash, "projecting rocks"

Kă'tsi, name of a little water spring.

Lúlukuashti "at the warm spring."

Tchákawĕtch.

Káwa "eel spring;" inhabited by Modocs.

Yétkash.

Uχáshksh "in the coomb."

Káktsamkshi, name of a spring and creek at the subagency.

Té-unŏlsh "spring running down from a hill."

Uχadé ush "planting a willow." (?)

Shlokópashkshi "at the house cavity."

103 **Awalókat** "at Little Island," in Sprague River.

361. **Né-ukish** "confluence."

Dave Hill's list:

Híshtish Luélks "Little Sucker Fishery," on headwaters.

Kailu-Tálam, for **Ktă'lu Tkálamnish** "juniper tree standing on an eminence."

Hópets "passage" to the timber.

Láldam Tchĭ'ksh "winter houses."

Tsănódanksh "confluence."

Yaínakshi "at the Small Butte."

Stáktaks "end of hill."

Kĕmútcham Látsaskshi "at the old man's house," name of a hill; kĕmútcham is said to stand here for K'mukámtsam.

Káwamχăui "eel spring."

Kók̲aχăui, or **Kókăksi** "at the creek."

Kumă'ksi "at the cave."

Kátsuăts "rocks sloping into the river."

Nakóeksiks "river dam, river barrage," established for the capture of fish.

Ktaí-Túpaksi, or **Ktá-i-Tópoka**, "standing rock," situated near junction of Sprague with Williamson River.

CAMPING PLACES OF THE MODOC COUNTRY.

000 On Lost River, close to Tule Lake, were the following camping places: Wá-isha, where Lost River was crossed, three or four miles northwest of the lake, and near the hills which culminate in Laki Peak; Wátchamshwash, a village upon the river, close to the lake; Nakōshχē'ni "at the dam," at the mouth of Tule Lake.

On Tule Lake, also called Modoc Lake, Rhett Lake: Páshχa, or Pásχa, name of a creek and a little Modoc village on the northwest shore, whose inhabitants were called Páshχanuash; Kálelk, camp near Pásχa, on northern shore; Lé-ush, on northern shore; Welwashχē'ni "at the large spring," east side of the lake, where Miller's house is; Wukaχē'ni "at the coomb," one mile and a half east of Welwashχē'ni; Kē'sh-Láktchuish "where ipo grows (on rocks)," on the southeastern side of the lake; Kúmbat "in the caves," on the rocky southern side of the lake, once inhabited by about one hundred Kúmbatwash, who were mainly Modocs, with admixture of Pit River, Shasti, and Klamath Lake Indians.

On Little or Lower Klamath Lake: Agáwesh, a permanent Modoc settlement upon what is now called "Fairchild's farm," southwestern shore; Ke-utchishχē'ni "where the wolf-rock stands," upon Hot Creek; Sputuishχē'ni "at the diving place," lying close to Ke-utchishχē'ni, where young men were plunging in cold water for initiation; Shapashχē'ni "where sun and moon live," camping place on the southeastern shore, where a crescent-shaped rock is standing; Stuikishχē'ni "at the canoe bay," on north side of the lake.

THE KLAMATH LAKE INDIANS.

101 The Klamath Lake Indians number more than twice as many as the
[197] Modoc Indians. They speak the northern dialect and form the northern
chieftaincy, the head chief residing now at Yá-aga, on Williamson River.
[361] Their dwellings are scattered along the eastern shore of Upper Klamath
[103] Lake (Ê-ush) and upon the lower course of Williamson (K̲ók̲etat) and
Sprague Rivers (P'laí). They call themselves Ê-ukshikni mák̲laks, abbreviated into Ê-ukshikni, Ê-ukskni, Ă-uksni *people at the lake.* The Shasti near Yreka, Cal., call them Aúksiwash, some western Shasti: Makaítserk; by the Pit River Indians they are called Alámmimakt ísh, from Alámmig, their name for Upper Klamath Lake; by the Kalapuya Indians, Athlámeth; by the Snake Indians, Sáyi.

According to locality the Klamath Lake people may be subdivided into the following groups: The people at the agency; the people at Koháshti, at Yá-aga, at Modoc Point and upon Sprague River. Their settlements at Klamath Marsh, at Nílaks and at Linkville are now abandoned; the last named (Yulalóna) was held by them and the Modocs in common.

THE MODOC INDIANS.

000 The Modoc Indians speak the southern dialect, and before the war of 1872–1873 formed the southern division or chieftaincy, extending over Lost River Valley (K̲ók̲etat) and the shores of Little Klamath and Tule Lake. Of their number one hundred and fifty or more live on middle course of Sprague River; some have taken up lands in their old homes, which they cultivate in their quality of American citizens, and the rest are exiles upon the Quapaw Reservation, Indian Territory. They call themselves Móatokni mák̲laks, abbreviated Móatokni, Mō'dokni, Mō'dokish, *living at Moatak*, this being the name of Modoc or Tule Lake: "in the extreme south." A portion of the Pit River Indians calls them Lutuámi, "*lake*," by which Tule Lake is meant; another, through a difference of dialect, Lutmáwi. The Shasti Indians of Yreka call them Pχánai, the Sahaptins upon and near Columbia River call them Mówatak, the Snake Indians, Saidoka.

The more important local divisions of this people were the groups at Little Klamath Lake (Agáweshkni), the Kúmbatwash and the Pásχuaash

173 28, 2. gépkapsh, formed by syllabic elision from gepkápkash; cf. 29, 19.

*539 28, 2. sákatla, to come up, to arrive by the trail.

726 28, 3 and 4. wéwalüks pí'la, the old women only; the younger ones, on whom prin-
648 cipally devolves the work of wókash-gathering, found time to escape in their canoes
[193] from the raiders.

[192] 28, 4. ḵ'lewidshápka. The men had gone fishing to distant places, leaving their
[222] females in the camp, not apprehensive of any hostile attack.

[192] 28, 8. kilŏ's, or ḵilû's, is the epithet given to "Dry-Leg", the Snake chief; it means
a bold fighter, leader of a fighting band; literally: "irate, wrathful", and may be here
taken as an equivalent to "war-chief" (sesaclólish laḵí).

[193] 28, 13. Moadokí'sh, apocopated for Moadokíshash; also 28, 1: wéwanuish (wé-
[192] wan'sh) for wewanuishash (shlüá gépkapsh). Nä'lsh tchí'sh, *us* also; that is, we of the
[657] Klamath Lake tribe, were gathered by Mr. Perit Huntington into one district, the newly
established Klamath Reservation. A large number of the Lake People were then scattered about Klamath Marsh, which is visited by them now in summer only for fishing, gathering wókash and berries, and for hunting.

[657] 28, 14. Dave Hill, now interpreter (lúldatkish) at the Klamath Lake Agency, took
[175] a part in this short but interesting expedition, in the capacity of an Indian scout. He
fixes himself the date of it by the words "tína illolólatko", or a *full* year after the Indians had been gathered on the Reservation by Mr. Perit Huntington. The treaty was concluded on October 14, 1864, and the campaign was undertaken in 1866 by a small body of American troops for the purpose of bringing back to the Reservation a band of Snake Indians who had run away from it. This unruly tribe, jealous of its former independence, has left the Reservation even since then, and could only after much exertion be induced to return. The fights took place west of Warner Lake, and north of the border-line between California and Nevada, within the former haunts of these western Shoshonis.

[175] The Report of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867, page 99 sq.,
mentions this expedition in the following laconic terms: "October 27, 1866, troops consisting of 21 men, First Oregon infantry, and five Indian Klamath scouts, under Lieutenant Oatman, and 27 men, First Oregon cavalry, under Lieutenant Small, had a fight with a band of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [should read: Abert], in the Klamath country, Southern Oregon. The Indians had so chosen their position that the troops were obliged to dismount to attack them. The fight lasted one and a half hour, and 14 Indians were killed and many wounded."

On page 100 of the same Report, another fight against Snake Indians is spoken of: "Late in November, 1866, in a conflict between the troops and Snake Indians near Fort Klamath, 10 Snake Indians were killed by the troops, and three more by the friendly Klamath and Moadocs who accompanied them." This may have been the same fight as the one above, reported with much less accuracy of detail.

[103] 29, 3. Spá-ish Valley, name corrupted from Surprise Valley. This valley is situated in the northeastern angle of California, and on the shore of its two alkali lakes several American settlements have sprung up. A few Snake Indians live peaceably around Fort Bidwell, which is located at the northern extremity of the valley.

29, 10. tálaat tχalamtí'tal, consonantic assimilation for tálaak tχalamtí'tal, due west.

[192] 29, 17 and 19. nū'ts, natch, for nā'ls, nā'lsh, nā'lash, *us*; náts a gépkal, for nā'lash a gépkash í.

000 **37, 21.** gúta means: came near (them); hence gutámpka: attacked (them).

37, 21. shéllual. The battle of Jan. 17, 1873 was the result of a combined attack of the troops on the lava beds from two sides. Owing to a thick fog, which prevailed through the whole day, the troops had to retreat with heavy losses and without gaining any advantages.

38, 1. tánkt, although adverb, has here the force of a pre- or postposition in connection with génnish.

38, 4. shutánktgi. The Peace Commission, as appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. C. Delano, consisted of A. B. Meacham, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon; of Jesse Applegate and Samuel Case. They met in Linkville on Feb. 15, and were rejoined there by Brigadier-Gen. Edward R. S. Canby, commanding the Department of the Columbia, as the representative of the army in this commission. O. P. Applegate was appointed clerk of the commission.

[103] **38, 6.** Vúlálkshi. The Klamath Lake Indians call that rivulet Kawé-utchaltko k̲ok̲ága, or: Eel Creek.

38, 7. nä'lám käilätat: on Californian territory; the place being a few miles south of the Oregon State border.

38, 12. hassasnakitámpka. This interview had not the desired result, and no other authority mentions the conclusion of an armistice. From the second peace-meeting Steele, Fairchild, and the Riddles returned on March 1; they had been in Jack's headquarters in the cave and found the chief sick. No result could be obtained then nor by any of the subsequent negotiations.

38, 13. Squire, or Judge Elijah Steele, a pioneer, and citizen of Yreka, Siskiyou Co., Cal., in 1864 Superintending Indian Agent for the Northern District of California, a steady protector of the interests of the Indians, and therefore most popular among the Klamath Lakes, Modocs, Pit Rivers, Shastis and Wintoons.—Mr. William Atwell, of Sacramento, Cal., correspondent of the "*Sacramento Record*" at the time of the Modoc war.

38, 15. The term palpal-tcholcks-gítko is very little in use among the Klamath Lakes and Modocs, for the Americans are most generally named by them Bóshtin, Bóshtin máklaks.

38, 17. k̲ópa for the Klamath Lake term hushkánka.

38, 18. Other forms for ktáyat are: ktá-itat, distributive: ktaktíyat, ktaktíyatat; in the Klamath Lake dialect: ktaiksáksi, distributive: ktaktiksáksi.

39, 1. gékish or gékiash k̲'lewinápka: until you will yield to his entreaties; until you will give yourself up to him.

39, 3. Yamakíshash: "The wicked Oregonians" are the white settlers on Lost River. **40, 17,** they are called Óreginkni Bóshtin. Yamakíshash, being the subject of shuénktgi, has to stand in the objective case.

39, 10. pálla. The location of the possessive case *after* the governing substantive (here: wátch, *horses*) is rather unfrequent. The horses, 34 in number, were captured during a raid or reconnaissance, which Capt. Biddle, of Camp Halleck (Nevada), made with fifty men of Troop K, First Cavalry, on March 13, 1873. His men met four Indians herding the horses. While bringing the horses to Van Bremer's ranch, on Willow Creek, the troops were not attacked.

39, 11. shewanapélitki. The language likes to form inverted sentences like this,

*539 221 192 All these different kinds of sacks or bags were originally made of bulrush-stalks (tule) and the táyash was made of straw.

415 74, 11. k̲aítua nû kä'ila. The sense is incomplete. Probably sháyunkta is left out: "I do not know of any in the whole country", käíla often standing for käílatat.

192 74, 14. áwalues. There are several islands in the shallow waters of the vast extent of Klamath Marsh, but only *one* is meant here.

103 74, 15. wŭ'ns ílktsat. They submerge their dug-outs at several places on the beach, where they are certain to find them in the next wókash-season.

501 103 74, 17. pí'la wí'hla (or píla wíllash) contains perhaps a proper name of a locality, or stands in connection with Tóilkat, "at the Rail-Pyramid"; wílhaslash means top, apex. The stations from the "Ford" to "Bird's Lookout" are passed by the tribe when they return home with the lily-seed harvest-crop. "They drop the rifle" is: they take a rest. All these localities are either on the open waters of Klamath Marsh or on Williamson River, which forms its outlet.

484 492 75, 1. iwí-idaha wókash. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Williamson River is from 20 to 25 miles, and horses carrying wókash can make it in one day. The next day they return to carry another load.

482 75, 2. nátoks waítuapk: we will lie over one day to let our horses rest, or recover from the swellings on their backs. Nátoks stands for nát toks.

824 75, 5. klá-ads is probably a kind of wild prunes. See Dictionary: kĕlátch.

192 75, 8. wídsika íwam. "Some are economical with their own berries, and prefer not to scatter them in the hands of others"; íwam, huckleberry, has become the generic term for all berries, and i-umä'mi is "*berry-season*".

316 75, 11. spû'klish here means the large communal sweat-house; it is used frequently for dances and kahiuwálχishtat, contr. kahiû'lχishtat might stand instead of spúklishtat.

75, 11. papiä'na, vocalic dissimilation for papa-éna; derived from pán, to eat.

193 75, 13. atí'sh etc. "Heap ye up that hay in two stacks, which must have a lengthy, long-stretching, and not a high, cone-shaped form!" For heaping up long stacks one verb is here used, and another for making the high, round ones.

PŬ'LAM SHUMSHE-ÉLSHTAT SHASHAPKÉLÉASH.

A SKETCH OF BALL'S MARRIED LIFE.

115

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 593 Póluk k̲ä'liak snáwäds t'shín. Tsúi snawä'dshla Pámpiam pä'-ia lupí';
Ball he without a wife grew up. Then he married Pámpi's daughter at first;
tsúi wä'kala, tsúi tatá mántsak mbusä'lan gī. Tsúi kä'tsa, tsúi mbusä'-
and she had a babe, and then quite a while he lived with (her). Then he left (her), and lived with
alpēli pän, tsúi pän kétsa sissû'kuk tsû'ssak. Násh wä'ka sham k̲läká, nä'sh
(her) again, and again left (her) quarreling continually. One babe to them died, another
tchía; at sa sipí'tχa, tsúi nä's shnawä'dshla pän Látsam pä'-ia; wáts säwána
lived; still they separated, then one (woman) he married after (this) Látchash's daughter; horses he gave

*539 593 77, 1. The name Púl is pronounced in very different ways, and most people think it is the English name Ball; Pólnk is Pū'l hū'k; tchía, "lived", would be preferable to t'shin in this connection.

[192] 77, 2. 3. kā'tsa, kétsa properly means to cast away; here: to abandon, leave; almost identical with wutódsna occurring below, 78, 2.

77, 4. sāwána sas: he did not give many horses for her to her parents.

78, 8. púllank sás. This shash properly refers to Pámpi and his family, for Púl's wife took the dug-out canoe of Pámpi and rowed with it to the soldiers. This was in the northeastern part of Upper Klamath Lake, and occurred in the winter of 1876–'77.

[103] 78, 13. É-ustat is the location of the old agency buildings at Koháshti, in northeast corner of Upper Klamath Lake.

[192] 78, 14. hí'-i. On that occasion Ball left his wagon in the midst of the woods; hi, hí-i means "on the ground".

657 692 697 78, 15. nā'ulχa sha pā'n. About the middle of September 1877 a strong escort of Indians brought Ball and his wife to the "law-house" at the Klamath agency to be tried by the chiefs. A delay of several days occurred before he was confronted with the judges, and during the time he was imprisoned at the "skúkum-house", a strong log cabin at the agency serving as jail. He is still a very young man, and on being brought there he was allowed to ride on horseback with a rifle on his shoulders. His father is an Indian from the Spokane tribe, and Spúkān is his name.

[192] 78, 16. sχókta, to pay a fine; to be fined (by the chiefs). See: "Legal Customs", 82, 5.

GAMES OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROBEN.

I.

*539 525

É-ukshikni	shákĕluk	shí-í'χaga	yámnash,	wátch,	skútash	tchish.
The Lake people	in gambling	win from each other	beads,	horses,	blankets	also.

Vû'nip	shulshéshlank;	láp	mû'mĕni,	sχû'tash	tchish	lápi	ndshekáne.
With four (sticks)	they play the stick-game;	(there are) two	thick (sticks),	skin-covered sticks	also	two	slender.

Ndshékansh	sha	sχétchashtka	shlín,	mû'mĕnish	toksh	a	yû'shakĕnank
At the slender (sticks)	they	with index and middle finger	guess,	at the thick (ones)	however	(they)	with index finger

shlín;	vû'ish	sha	klátchnank	shlín,	tχopowátka	tch	lénank	shlín.	Wû'ishtka
guess;	at the vûish	they	moving hand sideways	guess,	with the thumb	also	making a side move	they guess at.	By the vûish

toks	sha	nā'shak	kshē'sh	wí-uka;	sχétchashtka	sha	láp	wí-uka	kshē'sh,
	they	only one	counting-stick	(can) win;	with index and middle finger	they	two	win	counting-sticks,

yû'shχish	spélshisht.	Tchúi	sa	k̲ĕléwi	udúiwisham	í'χaguk	nánuk.
the index	having put forward.	Then	they	stop,	from the losers	when they have won	all (stakes).

*539 94, 4. I-ulalónan or Yulalóna is the Indian name of the cascade of Link River
773 above the town of Linkville, and for that town itself. The origin of this name is ex-
192 plained in 94, 5. 6, for the verb i-ulalóna means to move forth and back, referring here
193 to the waters of the river receding under the pressure of the south wind.

● 103 94, 6. itklank, partic. pres. of ítkal, means here: obtaining by basketfuls.

137 94, 9. The kĕnáwat is a plant growing high in the warm climate of Northern California, especially in the ancient habitat of the Shasti Indians, and in this myth it suggested itself to the Indians on account of its property of growing very fast.

95, 3. gĕ'hlapka: he swung himself into the nest by climbing over the rim. Cf. *Note* to 66, 13.

95, 10. kaiχema K'mukámtchish for the regular form K'mukámtchash. Cf. 91, 8.

95, 15. skáyamtch etc. More plainly expressed this sentence runs as follows: sha skáyamna pásh tchish ámbu tchish; the first tchish being placed before pásh and appended to the apocopated skáyamna.

95, 16. shéwana here used differently from tchíya, which applies to liquids only.

95, 17. p'lû' ítchuank seems to be a quite modern interpolation, for it smells of pomade and hair-oil; but it is as ancient as the myth itself.

765 95, 23. 96, 2. 3. 4. Tchíka. I have rendered this bird-name elsewhere by "Chaffinch," and Klétish by "Sandhill Crane".

551 96, 3. shlámia, to feel insulted. She resented it as an insult that the child called her deceased husband by name; for it was a capital crime among the ancestors of the present Klamaths to call a dead person's name for many years after his demise.

96, 5. hû'tna is changed to hû'tan on account of being followed by a word commencing with k.

765 96, 6. stíya. The custom of widows to put pitch or resin on their heads at the death of their husbands was abolished only at the time when cremation became a thing of the past.

178 96, 6. galdsha-íyank is a more explicit form of the participle; the verb gáldshui being the contracted form of galdsháwi.

96, 8. yámnashla. He used the bristles of porcupines to make necklaces of.

96, 11. unakáka m'na was the son of Aíshish and of the above mentioned Tchíka.

96, 11. 12. K'mukámtcham qualifies pä'ks, not lúluksh̦tat.

96, 14. pakakóleshtka, verbal desiderative of pakakóla, to jerk away from. The suffix -óla indicates that K'múkamtch wore his tobacco-pipe tied to his body; he wore it on his neck.

96, 15. tchitchiks is used when speaking to children. It signifies *so, so!* and means: be quiet, shut up, stop!

96, 17. tchĕ'k kĕléwi. In similar connections this phrase very frequently ends a whole narrative in Modoc and Klamath. Here it means that Aíshish ceased to poke the pipe into the fire. Cf. 85, 10. 89, 7.

96, 18. medshá: he removed from that spot with all his wives and children. Ancient customs forbid the offspring to stay where the father had breathed his last.

96, 20. Gén húnk nánuk etc. This portion of the myth describes the destruction of all the living organisms on earth by a general conflagration caused by K'múkamtch. Myths of this kind are suggested by intense heat experienced in summer. This mode of destroying life on earth is less frequently met with in myths than the drowning in a general flood.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 773 shlí'n K'mukámtsäm hû'nk únakag; tchúi sa híshlan. Tsaskayákalam
shot of K'múkamtch the little son; then they shot at each other. Little Weasel's

vúnak hûnk shlín lû'pi K'mukámtcham vunáka; tchúi hû'nk hû'tkalpalank
boy shot first at K'múkamtch's son; then (that one) jumping up again

shlín Tchashgáyam únaka, tchúi tsóka lápuk.
shot Weasel's son, then perished both.

At sáläki ptíssísap sham. Tsashgái at káyaktsa, K'mukámts ká-i
Then missed (them) fathers their. Weasel went searching, (but) K'múkamtch not

káyaktcha, skû'lχa tä'dsh sá-utamank; slä'bopk hû'nitak tû' sas hishö'kst.
searched (for them), laid himself on bed but, wrapped up; he knew by himself, out there them to have killed each other.

NOTES.

Compare with this myth the first part of the "Mythic Tale of Old Marten" (Skélamtcham shashapkéléash), which contains the same subject-matter.

[103] 107, 1. Yámsi, contraction of Yámashi. This is the name given at present to a mountain North of Klamath Marsh; from this direction the cold winds (yámash) blow over the highlands on Upper Klamath Lake.

*539 773 107, 1. 3. 9. Tcháshgai sometimes occurs in the diminutive form Tchashgáyak, because the Weasel is regarded as the *younger* brother of the Marten.

192 193 107, 2. saíkän, a contraction of saigaχë'ni: they went *to* the prairie, where the women were digging the edible roots.

107, 3. Skä'lamts. I have given this myth elsewhere in a longer relation, where the part played here by K'múkamtch is played by Skélamtch. Even in Dave Hill's relation the Marten is called, but once only, by its real name Skélamtch; K'múkamtch and Skélamtch are mentioned *here* as identical. The term skë'l, when not employed in its mythologic sense, means a long piece or strip of tanned otter or marten skin, used for tying the hair, or for other purposes.

107, 3. 4. í'ktchatki snáweds etc. One woman only is mentioned here, instead of the two, whom Weaslet was ordered to bring home as wives for his brother K'múkamtch and himself.

107, 5. wéwans a very common elision for wéwanuish.

107, 9. kaní ná-asht? ellipse for kaní ná-asht gi?

107, 10. nû ä'pkolatkik. Instead of this may be said also, ä'pkatki gíula nû: "I strictly told (you) to bring in."

107, 13. sa waslalá. The two boys went together hunting chipmunks.

[411] 107, 14. sháwala to adjust stone-heads; shawalta, sa-ulia to adjust stone-heads for or in the interest of somebody. Flint-, obsidian- or iron heads are placed only on war-arrows or on arrows used in killing large game (ngé-ish, ngä'-ish); but the táldshi or lighter arrow, used in hunting birds, and the taldshiága, arrow used as boy's plaything, are usually provided with wooden points only.

107, 15. K'mukámts stûli sht pi'ts stands for K'mukámtchash stuli'sht pi'sh, the pronoun referring to the little son of K'múkamtch.

107, 15. shli'sht. In this sentence m'nálah is the subject of shli'sht, and the direct object of shlín is not expressed.

107, 16. lä-udsha: they went out to play, from léwa, lä'wa to play.

III.

*539 K'múkamtch hû'nk nákosh hû'nk táplalash né-ulχa shne-uyalátki
K'múkamtch a dam the loon ordered to destroy
773 shash. K'múkamtch hû'nk pí tpä'wa táplalash shnewí'tki gíug, pí ká-i
to them. K'múkamtch he ordered the loon to destroy (it), (but) no
tuá kiä'm lúeluak. Hû'ksha hû'nk nakushkshákshni kú-idsha kiä'm
fish to kill. These who dwelt at the dam rotten fish
nutuyakía nákosh gä'tant, K'mukámtchish shl'uguk, kú-idsha kiä'm pátki
threw over the dam to the other side of, (for) K'múkamtch to kill, rotten fish (be) go-
gíug. Tchúi K'múkamtch sháwiguk kú-i sham nákûsh shû'ta; tchúi
ing to eat. Then K'múkamtch in wrath their dam spoiled; upon this
nákushχēnkni shlámiuk shtí'ya shishí'dsha shû'ktaldshank lák. Tchúi
the dam-neighbors in mourning pitch put on head, cutting off (their) hair. Then
*539 Ká-ag wétanta shash, ktá-i sha k'léka. Tchúyunk K'mukámtch lúpaksh
the Raven laughed at them, rocks they became. Hereupon K'múkamtch chalk
773 192 shna-ulámna tapl lálash.
spit over the loon.

NOTES.

[823] I. This myth intends to explain the existence of the large number of rocks found at the locality called Shúyuχalkshi.

[196 / 193] 131, 2. Ká-akamtch. The adjectives -amtch, -ámtchiksh appended to animal names designate mythologic characters. Adjectives of an equal meaning occur in all the western languages, as far as these have been studied. *Cf. Note* to 126, 11. 12.

[825] II. In this myth, as well as in other grizzly bear stories recorded in this volume, this bear is always killed, conquered or cheated by his quicker and more cunning adversaries. Nevertheless his clumsy form and narrow, ferocious intellect are very popular among the tribes, who have invented and still invent numerous stories to illustrate his habits and disposition.

[103] 131, 5. Kíuti is the name of an Indian camping-place situated a short distance north of Modoc Point, on eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake.

[193] 131, 6. hátkok qualifies shkû'lχa and yámnash is the indirect object of shûlû'tamantk. Shkû'lχa, nánuk yámnash shûlû'tamantko, wawakshnátko tchish: "he lay down to sleep, keeping all his neckwear on himself, and not taking off his moccasins." Shûlû'tamna can in other connections refer to the clothing, but here it has special reference to the beads.

131, 11. ktí'ukuela. Tradition reports, that Old Grizzly was pushed over some of the high rocks at Modoc Point.

[173] 131, 13. Yámakishash etc. In these words may be recorded the reminiscence of an ancient fight between the Klamath people and some Northern tribe which had come South on a hunting expedition. A Klamath song-line given in this volume also recalls
*539 an ancient inroad made by the "Northerners". The grizzly bear represented the
773 Klamath tribe, the wolf the Northern Oregonians, perhaps as ancient totem signs; the
825 bear having been killed by an intruder, the Klamaths had to take revenge for the insult.

823 III. The object of this myth is to explain, among other things, the origin of the white spots on the head and back of the loon (táplal). But the myth as given in the

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141, 11. gi-uga for the more common giuga, giug.

141, 12. léwapka to play in the distance, out of sight, or unseen by us; but here this term is more probably a synizesis of léwuapka, the future tense of léwa.

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● 103

NAMES BESTOWED ON UPPER KLAMATH LAKE LOCALITIES.

Given by Dave Hill in the Klamath Lake Dialect.

K'mukámtch mat kä́fla shû'ta. Tsúyunks ä'-alk kä́fla shutólan:
K'múkamtch, as they say, the country made. The following names gave he, the country after creating:
Tulí'sh kä́fla E-ukskí'shash shúta K'mukámts kiäm-luelkalí'a; Tulí'sh tsí-
"Tulish" place for the Lake people made K'múkamtch to be their fish-killing place; Tulish,
hunk ä'lχa. "At hû'nk kä́fla gît ktaíksi Shúyakēksh tchín ä'lχa; gíti
thus he named it. "And that spot there where the rocks are, "Jumping-Rocks" so I name; here
shuyéakēks gi-uápka". E-ukskísas K'mukámts né-ulχank heméχe:
a leaping place shall be". To the Lake people K'múkamtch ordering said:
"Tû'kua ná-asni kä'la nä'sni élχa gí'ta Tû'kua; Gû'mbat nä'sni gît élχa;
"Túkua so I a spot, so I name here Túkua; Kúmbat so I there give name;
gíta Kä'lalksi nä'sni élχa gí'ta. Wakákai spû'klishtat gí't i spû'kle-uapk;
there Dirt-hauling place, so I give name there. At Wáka in the sweat-house there you shall sweat;
hä' me wéash k̲'lä'kuapk gí't i spû'kle-uapk, hä' mi snáwedsh k̲ēlákuapk
if your child should die, there you shall sweat, if your wife should die,
gít i spû'kle-uapk túnepni gitá; túnepni spû'kle-uapk snawédsh, hä' mi
there you shall sweat five (days) there; five (days) shall sweat (you) wife, if your
hishuáktch k̲ēlä'kuapk. Túnepni spû'kle-uapk, tsúi k̲ílitk tsulä'ks gí-
husband should die. Five (days) you shall sweat, then strong (your) body will
uapk, k̲á-i pálak i kēmútchuapk."
become, not fast you will become old."

"Näsht ni ne-û'lχa Á-usmi shéshuapk; nä'sni élχa gēn kä́fla.
"Thus I ordain Á-ushmi to be called; thus I give name to this spot.
Koháshti nú-ast ni élk̲a gí'ta. É-uk̲alkshi nä'sni élχa gí'ta; gí'tats spû'kle-
"Set out" thus I call that place. E-ukalkshi so I name this place; here also you shall
uapk, tuní'pni i spukle-uápka wéas k̲'lekáluk, tû'nipni snawédshēsh k̲ēle-
sweat, five (days) you shall sweat a child after losing, five (days) a wife after
káluk hishuáksh tchish; k̲á-itoks mi sa-ámoks k̲ēlékst k̲á-i i spû'kle-uapk,
losing, a husband also; but not, your relatives having died not (then) you shall sweat,
hä' mi sa-ámoks nánuktua tsók̲uapk. Ká-i i gitá spû'kle-uapk ndännántak:
if your kinsmen of all degrees shall have died. Not you there will sweat but for three:
snawédshtat, hishuákshtat, wéashtat."
for wife, for husband, for child."

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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"Nakótk	Wí'tlas	koḵétat	hí	tchí'sh	luélks-kiäm	gi'-uapk;	na-ást	shé-
"By (its) dam	Witlash	in Williamson River	there	also	a fish-killing place	shall be;	thus	

shash	élχa	nî:	Ktá-i-Tupáksi.	Mbû'saks	nä'st	shéshatk	máḵlaks	gi'-uapk;
name	give	I:	Rocks-where-stand.	"Obsidian"	so	called	a people	shall exist;

Smä'k	nä'st	sésatk	gi'-uapk	máḵlaks	gi'ta.	Kä'katils	nä'st	sésatk	gí-uapk
"Hairy"	so	named	shall exist	a people	there.	"Armpit-hairy"	so	called	shall exist

gi'ta	máḵlaks."
there	a people."

NOTES.

All Máḵlaks admit that K'múkamtch created their country, the earth and the universe, but as to the special process by which he created them they seem to have no definite idea, though they possess a multitude of myths for special creations.

Most of the places mentioned in this item are situated around Upper Klamath Lake. That they are localities inhabited for centuries past, and identified with the history of the tribe is proved by the fact that their naming is ascribed to K'múkamtch. The most noticeable of them are no doubt the three sweat-houses, all of which are of remote antiquity, and were put to use only when families were mourning the loss of one of their members. Two of them are quoted here: Wakáksi or Kiiilalkshíni spúklish on west side of Lake and Ê-ukalksi, a short distance south of Fort Klamath. The third lies about three miles south of Modoc Point; it is called Ká-ashkshi spúklish.

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142, 1. käíla. About the meaning of this term in creation myths, cf. *Note* 96, 23. In other connections, in the present text, käíla or kä'la means spot, locality.

142, 2. 3. Tulish. To enable the Indians to catch fish at that place, K'múkamtch built for them, as tradition has it, an obstruction resembling a beaver-dam. Cf. nakótk, 143, 1.; gítl for gita hi.

142, 3. 5. Túkua and Koháshti are camping- and fishing-places on the eastern shore of the Lake. At Shuyakë'kish the Indians leap over rocks for amusement.

142, 5. ná-asni, nä'sni stands for ná-asht ni: "thus I".

142, 5. 11. Gúmbat is called Rocky Point by the white population, and lies on the western shore of Upper Klamath Lake. A-usmi is an island of the Lake.

142, 6. Wakáksi or Wáka is named after the tuákish-fowl whose cry is wáka wáka.

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142, 6–10. 12–16. These mourning customs are gradually disappearing at the present time. One reason for this is the progressive assimilation of the tribes to American customs, another is the circumstance, that all of the three ancient sweat-houses are situated outside of the reservation limits.

142, 15. ndânnántak is composed of ndánnanti or ndánnantat ak: "only for three (kinds of relatives)".

[193]

143, 1. Nákotk is the instrumental case of nákôsh, lumber-dam: "on account of its dam Witlas will be a fish-killing locality." A loon destroyed that dam by forcing its way under it; one of our texts gives this myth. Cf. 132, 1–8 and *Note* to 74, 2.

[829]

143, 2. 3. Mbû'saks, Smä'k and Kä'katils are names given in contempt or derision of the respective tribes; the latter to Indians living at the Dalles of Columbia River, Smä'k to a tribe living south of that locality. Cf. 103, 2. 3. Mbû'saks is a name for the Snake Indians.

(23) PO: nen hay ʔi dič ʔat sʔabwapk, naʔas gi, wolasttańsam? (24) neńs ʔa hon ho·t sańa·Wawli, ge·.[63] čoy naʔas nis ge· wola·, ni·ya, "waq sa honk giwk ho·t sĺoqo·ps domi·, ʔewksi? (25) dam mat sa dank hi·t či·ya·, loldam gin?" (26) čoy ni naʔas, "q̓ay ʔan sʔaywakta." (27) dam sa loldam či·ya· hi·t ʔewksi?

(28) AC: ʔi···, na·nok. (29) na·nok dak sa či·ya·. (30) domi· do· čis ʔewksi, domi· či·ya· ginḱi·ḿank. (31) na·nok waytas či·ya·, loldam gin. (32) čoy gida·na ge· maqlaqs či·ya·, domi·, ge· čis hoḿas hak blay, na·nok tompga goge.[64] (33) ge· či·ḱis ho·t do·tanna, ho·t sĺoqo·ps. (34) čoy naʔas hok nis dank (Proper name), "dwa· ge· waq giWi·s?" (35) čoy ni naʔas gi, "na·ĺam lis hok hi·t bloksisap či·ya· gida, ho·t—gome·kši ho·t.[65] (36) ho·t hok gina· pelwi dank sĺoqo·ps hok, gew bloksam mat." (37) naʔas nis hok (Proper name of famous early chief) sʔabi·ya. (38) ho·t ʔa gida gi. (39) čoy sa honk naʔas ʔelga ʔiwli·wakni·—ho·t sĺoqo·ps hampga hi·t, naʔas nis.[66] (40) čoy hok hompči hak (Family name) hok na·ĺam bloksisap, či ʔan honk gist. (41) čoy či naʔas, "ʔi·, hoḿas dal hok? (42) q̓ay ʔans kani sʔabi·ya," naʔas či honk. (43) "ʔi·, ge· lis hok či·kankḱis gida·na gi, gen, ge· q̓ačẃe·č ho·t, ge· nen y̓ayńa—ho·t y̓ayńa naʔas se·setk q̓ačẃe·č."[67]

(44) PO: dwa· čik hok q̓ačẃe·č gi?

(45) AC: dwa· hak hok ga·ni hok dwa·—sʔasʔapgle·ʔas dwa·. (46) na·nok dwa· lis hok y̓ayńa waq hak ʔelgatk. (47) naʔas hok dank (Another person's name) ga·ʔa·k, "dwa· hok ne· čniWi·ĺs gi? (48) čniWi·ĺs lis, dwa· hok?"[68] (49) q̓ay ʔa na·t honk sʔaywakta. (50) q̓ay ʔa na·t ʔeʔalga y̓ayńa. (51) naʔas hak hok ge·t ʔeʔalgatk y̓ayńa ginkanga. (52) ʔeḾka honk sʔotĺok hok blaydalkni· gen, naʔas ʔeʔalga y̓ayńa, naʔas čik. (53) dome·ńs ʔas honk wola·, gmočapks, čoy honk q̓ay sʔaywakta honk. (54) qadak hak honk q̓ay sʔaywakta, no·č honk q̓ay sʔaywakta. (55) ʔeʔalgatk hok na·nok

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[192] [63] /ge·/ "this, this one" here refers to the investigator, whom Mrs. Chloe indicated by a gesture.

[103] [64] Mrs. Cowan may have been referring to the town of Bligh (Klamath (blay)) or using the form in its meaning of "above, up." The river mentioned is probably the Williamson River, but may refer to some other stream.

[103] [65] /gome·kši/ "Cave-place" was a large settlement in aboriginal times. See no. 29 on the accompanying map in the appendix.

[66] /ʔiwli·wa/ "on the edge" was a village site. It seems to be the same as that mentioned by Spier, op. cit., on his map as no. 47 (no. 60 on the accompanying map in the appendix).

[67] The lexical meaning of /q̓ačẃe·č/ could not be determined. For its location, see no. 37 on the accompanying map in the appendix.

[68] /čniWi·ĺs/ also was not analyzable. Mrs. Cowan did not give its location.

(23) PO: Would you tell something good, do thus (?) [at our] asking? 539*
(24) That's what he wants, this one, and he asked me thus, a little while 124
ago, "Why are there so many house-pits, on the Marsh? (25) Did they 173
live there at that time, even in the winter?" (26) And I said, "I do not
know." (27) Did they live there on the Marsh in the wintertime? [361]

(28) AC: Yes, all. (29) They lived everywhere. (30) Many there on
the Marsh too, many lived all around it. (31) They lived [there] every
day, even in winter. (32) And these Indians lived around here, many,
the same way these [people lived] also up above, all the length of the
river. (33) These living places were over there, those house-pits. [342]
(34) Thus (Proper name) said to me long ago, "What did this used to be?"
(35) So I said, "Our grandfathers used to live there, that—at that Ģome·kai.
(36) The house-pit was on this side long ago, that of my Grandfather
(father's father)." (37) Thus that (Proper name) told me. (38) It was
there. (39) And they called [them] "ʔiwli·wakni·" that house-pit lies
there, he told me. (40) And in that same way those (Proper name) are
our grandfathers, as I told [her, i.e., the questioner mentioned above in
Sentence (34)]. (41) So [she] said, "Yes, was it thus? (42) No one told
me," [she] said. (43) "Yes, these were living places all around here, [103]
this, this was Q̓ačẃe·č, this mountain—the mountain was called Q̓ačwe·č."

(44) PO: What is that Q̓ačwe·č?

(45) It is something from the old times—some myth. (46) All of the
mountains were named some way. (47) Thus said (Another proper name)
long ago, "What is that Č̓niWi·ls? (48) Č̓niWi·ĺs, what is it?" (49) We
do not know. (50) We did not name the mountains. (51) Thus mountains
were named thus around. (52) Perhaps when God made this, He named
the mountains, thus. (53) I asked many, old persons, and they did not
know it. (54) Truly they did not know it, [and] I also do not know.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 161]

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ge· gini·ganča. (56) čoy nis le·bi danḱa·k wola· naʔas, "dat mat hok komčewi·s gi?" naʔas nis, "hadakt hak maqlaqs gitk, dat hok gi?" (57) čoy nis danḱa·k (Woman's name) ćis glegatk, "dat mat hok ni·Laqksi gi?"

(58) PO: dwa· hok komčewi·s?

(59) AC: ʔi·, naʔas hak lis hok se·satk ʔewksi. (60) ʔiwʔa·ĺa. (61) čoy či naʔas, "ge· lis ginYapga ni·Laqksi. (62) ho·t na·nok maqlaqsam či·ḱis, ho·t ge· sohi·yagye·ks—na·nok ginYapga. ʔiWLaLLo·ńakni·, domi· maqlaqs či·ya·."

(63) PO: dam mat ʔi ʔewksi se·sas sʔaywakta? (64)—waq sa se·sapks gist. (65) no· dak honk bil ho·skanga, dada·t ni ḱičḱa·ni do·st na·t ĺoho·salča ćosak—ĺkom ʔews. (66) čoy ʔan honk geega gaẃals, pačit. (67) čoy sgotq̓aks, geega ʔan honk pačit gaẃals. (68) čoy basdin honk ha·g krik či ʔelgank, do·st na·t dank q̓la·číá.[69] (69) čoy q̓e·gi hokt. (70) naʔas ni ge·ks sʔabi·ya, "q̓e·gi hok q̓la·č ʔat." (71) čoy dwa· bas hon si·p ẏa, wo·ťa·?[70]

(72) AC: ʔi·, hompči·mat hon lis na·nok wqeĺigank. (73) gen lis gew dank haswa·s gida—mo· lbogapks, taktak sĺaslbis ge·t—čoy honk hok go·t na·nok honk ṗan.[71] (74) ho·t čik geye·kblitk do· siapga, kat hok dwa· taktak lotantk, hompčat honk.

(75) PO: dam mat ho·t se·satk go·t?

(76) AC: q̓ay ʔan ho·skanga.

PB: What is a "q̓wi·l"?

(77) AC: si·p dak hon naʔas ʔelga. (78) ge·tkni· maqlaqs mo·waĺa·kni· q̓wi·l či.

PB: And one more, what is "swa·ya"?

(78) AC: dwa· mat?

(79) PO: swa·ya.

(80) AC: hok ẏaʔ—sʔasʔapgle·ʔas, kańs sa neu swa·yaʔa·k či. (81) swa·y—dwa· bas hok, q̓ay dak ni sʔaywakta. (82) sʔasʔapgle·ʔas ne·

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[103] [69] /ha·g krik/ "Hog Creek" might well have been put into quotations. The final /g/ is slightly unvoiced, however, more than an English /g/ in a comparable environment. Its location was not identified.

[194] [70] /si·p/ is English "sheep." Phonemically, it is Klamath.

[192] [71] /go·t/ is similarly English "goat." The flowering plant Mrs. Cowan referred to was blooming just outside her window. /do·/ "there" was explained with a gesture.

(55) It was named all up [the river]. (56) So two p[illegible]] asked me a little while ago, "Where was that Komčewi·s?" he as[illegible]e, "where there were Indians, where was it?" (57) And (Woma[illegible]me) [who is] deceased, said to me too, "Where is that Ni·Laqksi[illegible] 539* 124

(58) PO: What is that Komčewi·s?

(59) AC: Yes, it is called thus on the Marsh. (60) At the end. (61) And [I] said, "This along the hillside is Ni·Laqksi. (62) They are all people's dwellings, that was this Sohi·yagye·ks—all along the hillside, Klamath Falls, many people lived [there]."

(63) PO: Do you know the names [of places] on the Marsh? (64)—How they are called. (65) I only remember, when I was little where we always used to go gathering mudhen eggs—at Charcoal Lake. (66) And now I can't find it. (67) And Sgotq̓aks, I cannot find it now. (68) And what the white people called "Hog Creek," where we used to go and gather blueberries. (69) So they are gone. (70) Thus I told this one, "Those blueberries are gone now." (71) And I wonder if maybe those sheep, ate them up? [103]* [222]

(72) AC: Yes, having trampled it all down in that way. (73) [Just like] this of mine [which I] had planted here awhile ago—very big around, with red blooms there—and that goat ate it all up. (74) However, it has grown back and shoots are coming there, which have something red on them, that kind.

(75) PO: What was a "goat" called?

(76) AC: I don't recall.

PB: What is a "q̓wi·l"? [192]

(77) AC: They called a "sheep" that. (78) Those Modoc Indians [called it] a "q̓wi·l."

PB: And one more, what is "swa·ya"?

(78) AC: What?

(79) PO: swa·ya.

(80) AC: Is it?—a myth, which they called little "Swa·ya." (81) Swa·y—whatever he was, I do not know. (82) There is a myth thus.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 163]

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#539 naʔas hook. (83) čoy honk ge·ks q̓ay kani sʔasʔapgle·ʔi·ya ge·tála, hokt hok dič́i· sʔasʔapgle·ʔas. (84) ge· gi·waskni· hok.[78]

(85) PO: q̓ay ʔakÿa kani. (86) no· lis q̓ay sʔaywakta.

(87) AC: ʔi·, dič́i· hok doʔotáli ho·t sʔasʔapgle·ʔas hok. (88) gitgo sa nis honk nen sʔabe· hak nen naʔas, dič́i··· hok sʔasʔapgle·ʔas hok giwk. (89) q̓ay da·ts honks sʔaywaks, ge· lis q̓e·gyok, gmočatk.[79] (Interruption.)

(90) AC: hompča ʔa mat nis honk wola·, waq sa honk či·ye·ga dank homas gi.

(91) PO: dam či sʔabat?

(92) AC: ʔat ʔa hosakÍya.[80]

(93) PO: ʔat ʔa gitgo gi—be·n ʔa snoye·ga. (94) ʔat hay ʔi sʔabye·kt, he· ʔi saña·Wawli, dwa· gin. (95) dwa· hakt ʔi ho·skanga, honkt sʔabi·. (96) ʔat mis ni nen sʔabi·ya, čoy ho·t hi·t ʔitanwapk. (97) ʔat ho·t—gitgo?—gena·—ʔat ho·t waki·č́a.[81]

(98) AC: dič́i· lis hok maqlaqs, dankáli na·t maqlaqs. (99) dič́i· na·t honk maqlaqs. (100) čoy sʔabi·ya ʔan hon gen gew[82]—dič́i· ʔa na·t dank maqlaqs. (101) kinka·ńs gin na·t p̓as ʔeni·ya. (102) čoy, ma·ms hok q̓e·gi p̓as gida, čoy na·t ʔeni·ya, dwa·. (103) čoy hokt gi. (104) čoy hokt homas hak giWi·s ne· naʔas se·sa, "kolas gin ʔa sa segwatga." (105) ʔat hok naʔas hok homas giWi·s m[illegible]qsʔam. (107) homas honk nen ʔelga naʔas. (108) kaňs hak honkt, kinka·ńs gin p̓as ʔeni·ya do·. (109) ʔi·, Na·ÿe·ńs, čoy sʔewanʔa sa dwa·č p̓as, kinka·ÿanti· gin, ma·ms q̓e·gi p̓as, q̓a yoÿalqs sitk dankt hok. (110) mo· ge·ǰigank či·yank, čoy p̓as snoga·. (111) ʔi·, gempči gin wele·q̓atk goWaskča meyčok. (112) gempča haslanča, čoy honk yaNWa·ni gin, ʔat honk sʔaywakta q̓ay dwa· p̓awapgok loldam. (113) čoy homas giwk, honk ʔilga p̓as dwa·.

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[103] [78] /gi·waskni·/ "from Crater Lake" refers to the myth by Mr. David (Text 10), or some version of it.

[196] [79] /ge·/ in the sequence /ge· lis q̓e·gyok/ "because this is gone" refers to Mrs. Cowan's brains. She made a humorous gesture at her head and added /gmočatk/ "old."

[196] [80] [hosahoŋkya] : /hosakÍya/ "caused it to jump shut" is usually used in Klamath for "locked (a door), shut tightly," but here Mrs. Cowan refers to the tape recorder, which she thought the investigator had turned off.

[81] Mrs. Chiloquin was searching for a word to describe the operation of the tape recorder. She first used /gena·/ "goes," but decided that this was wrong and so employed /waki·č́a/ "revolves" (lit. "falls around"?)

[82] Mrs. Cowan omitted the word for "son" here and instead indicated him by a gesture of her head.

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(290) čoy bloksip. pé·wip—ʔat ho·t ḱanni gi. (291) ge·ksíedaĺ lalʔa·bi hok gi.

PB: And what is a "pḱo·nip"?

(292) PO: pḱo·nip, dwa· hok? (293) waq hok nen hasʔa·Mḱa, kańs sa pḱo·nip naʔas ʔelga?

(294) AC: pḱo·nip dak ho·t pʔa·nip gi. (295) ho·t ʔa gew ḱoḱo·nip gi. (Great Uncle.)

(The conversation was carried on in English at this point, mostly about friends from the old days.)

(296) PO: . . . čoy waq dal hok se·satk gi, kańsíst honk dola či·ya·—kańs honk dola či·ya·?

(297) AC: q̇ay, wiḱa· bańi ʔa mat honk hok sq̇olligo·ta. (298) mna da·k dwa·, waq da·k sa gin—mna da·k honk sʔa·Maks dwa· hak. (299) čoy ho·t sa hon hoḿas gyank ʔat hasʔa·Maḱatk. (300) ptisa· honk blogo·člank, honkĺam honk q̇e·gitk.[109]

(301) PO: ʔi·, honk hay ni ho·skanga.

(The conversation reverted to English and drifted to a recollection of a personal experience from Mrs. Ohles' childhood. The machine was turned off during this time and was only turned on again when she returned to Klamath.)

(302) PO: . . . čoy dank ḿa·sʔa dwa·. (303) čoy ma·ns q̇e·gi, ma·ns q̇e·gi. (304) čoy ndanni waytas q̇e·giwapgatk, čoy ma·ns na·ĺ q̇e·gi, ḿa·sʔok. (305) čoy honk hokt ʔat woaga na·ta, hokt (Proper name). (306) čoy hok gembli, čoy honk ḿa·sis gota·, honkčgas. (307) čoy ma·ma gatbamblyank na·ĺs be·n blay ʔembli, blaydaĺ.[110] (308) waq dal sa blay maqlaqsyalank ʔelga?

(309) AC: blay, či. (310) ge· dak nen gina·t ýayńa.

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[192]
[551]
[576]
[103]
[193]
[194]

[109] The form /q̇e·gitk/ is used for respectful mention of a dead person. It was considered impolite to mention the names of the other person's deceased relations in a conversation, and this was extended often to refer to the names of deceased friends and acquaintances. Compare the English "the dear departed."

[110] Mrs. Ohles uses the form /blay/ here to mean only the town of Bligh. It may be that the vowel of the two repetitions of /blay/ in this sentence is somewhat longer than is usual for the Klamath morpheme (blay) "up, above." It is certainly longer than Mrs. Cowan's /blay, či/ in Sentence 309. If so, this may account for Mrs. Ohles' failure to recognize "Bligh" as Klamath (blay).

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(36) ʔat ʔn sa gelwipga. čoy sa wawa·li·kča. q̇ay da·ts sa sẃewča, q̇elẏak sa sẃewo·ts. čoy ge· dinne·ga, ʔakẏa, dinne·kiapga. —o···, gen ʔan q̇ay sleʔa·. komal gičo·kankt.[113]

(37) domi··· go·s. dwa· bas ge·? "peaches" ẏa ʔiḱa·ẏa? waq bas sa giwk q̇ay sʔaba·. čoy ni sʔaywaktantk dwa· ʔelgwapgok. ge· waqĺaq tončńa—kaĺam ʔa ge· ge·la? ge· lis waqĺaq tončńa.

(38) ʔat hok ge· mo·m goča·. kant sa ʔilgo·la. ʔisalq̇i. q̇ay ni dwa· be·n sleʔa·. q̇ay kani loyḱa dwa·. q̇aẏo· čis ʔisalq̇i no·ga.

(39) go·s dali·ks.[114] ho·t lis Na·čyak go·s dali·ga. ho·t ẏayńa do·ksĺant—"Mount MacLoughlin" ʔakẏa?

(40) ńep bil hay ni sleʔa·. tq̇opo·. q̇oyči ńep. ge· ʔaMḱa q̇aLgaltk, q̇aLgaltk ńep gitk. Na·s mo· blitk, Na·s q̇ay.

(41) waq čik ge·? Jeglela? dilga ʔaMḱa ʔambo, wage·nha Jegle. ʔaMḱa sa gen lo·lča lis. wage·nha sasjaqwo·lank, ʔambotdat. q̇ay ni sʔaywakta.

(42) ge· sńewe·ts teybaldaĺ gena·, dwa· bas honk sʔo·wal—sʔapLas ʔakẏa nekčok.

(43) gen ʔa honk sʔo·čńa, wage·nha nembli dwa·, do·tantdaĺ. ge· lis neyyamnatk sʔapLas dwa·.

(44) ge· čik ʔanko ʔawal gida. dwa· ge· waq giwk, ʔanko gida? dam lis ge· kańs wĺiĺwapk?

(45) ʔo··, wĺiĺwapgok ʔa kańs ʔeqanča. ge· lis ʔoyyamnatk gena·. ʔaMḱa gańi· kańs ho·t wĺiĺwapk. ʔaMḱa mna sńewe·ts wdopgwapk.

(46) ge· čik sa "church" giča, spispi·yamnatk mna·ĺam ĺaĺakẏas, dič sle·s. ʔi·, dič slielči·q̇atk na·nok, čoy sa ḿomatčočo·ẏapga. ḿomatčočo·ẏapgank sa gena·, q̇ay dak sa wLo·Laqẃe·ĺapga.

(47) ge· čik kakni? "Lone Ranger and Tonto"? q̇ay ni sʔaywakta dwa· ʔa gen, gitgo—Wali·sdat sa lẃolo·datga. lalʔa dak hok q̇ay gemas. ge· dak Wali·s gi.

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[113] This last sentence refers to Picture Number 35. She had glanced back at it, while laying it aside, and suddenly noticed the silhouette of a bird against the sky.

[114] /go·s dali·ks/ may be an alternate form of the place name /go·s liwli·ks/ (no. 148 on the accompanying map in the appendix) or possibly of /dali·ks/ (no. 35 on the map).

[192]
[103]

APPENDIX

KLAMATH PLACE NAMES WITH MAP

128

The accompanying map of place names has been largely adapted from 127
Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography" (University of California Publications 103
in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, 1930. The present 114
writer has checked and retranscribed most of Spier's forms: only seven [124]
of Spier's place names could not be obtained from the author's informants. No attempt was made to recheck Spier's supporting geographical and ethnographic data, however.

Ninety-two new place names have also been added to the map. Many of these are not settlements (as Spier specifies for his list), but are places used for food gathering, places named for some outstanding natural feature, places named after some mythological person or event, etc. The author has appended what descriptive material he could obtain to each new place name in the list.

Forty-five additional place names are not shown on the map but are 128
included in the Dictionary. These are either uncertain as to location or 103
are places not found within the limits of the map.

The map has been renumbered to accomodate the new place names, [127]
but Spier's original numbers are given after each entry for purposes of comparison. It must be noted that geographical locations on the map are [124]
only approximate and in some cases quite hypothetical (e.g., where the informant could only recall that a given place was "about two or three miles over that way").

Forms are given in phonemics only and are translated wherever possible. The morphophonemic forms of these names are listed under "place names" in the English-Klamath section of the Dictionary, along with some indication of their morphemic content.

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102
● 103
133
127

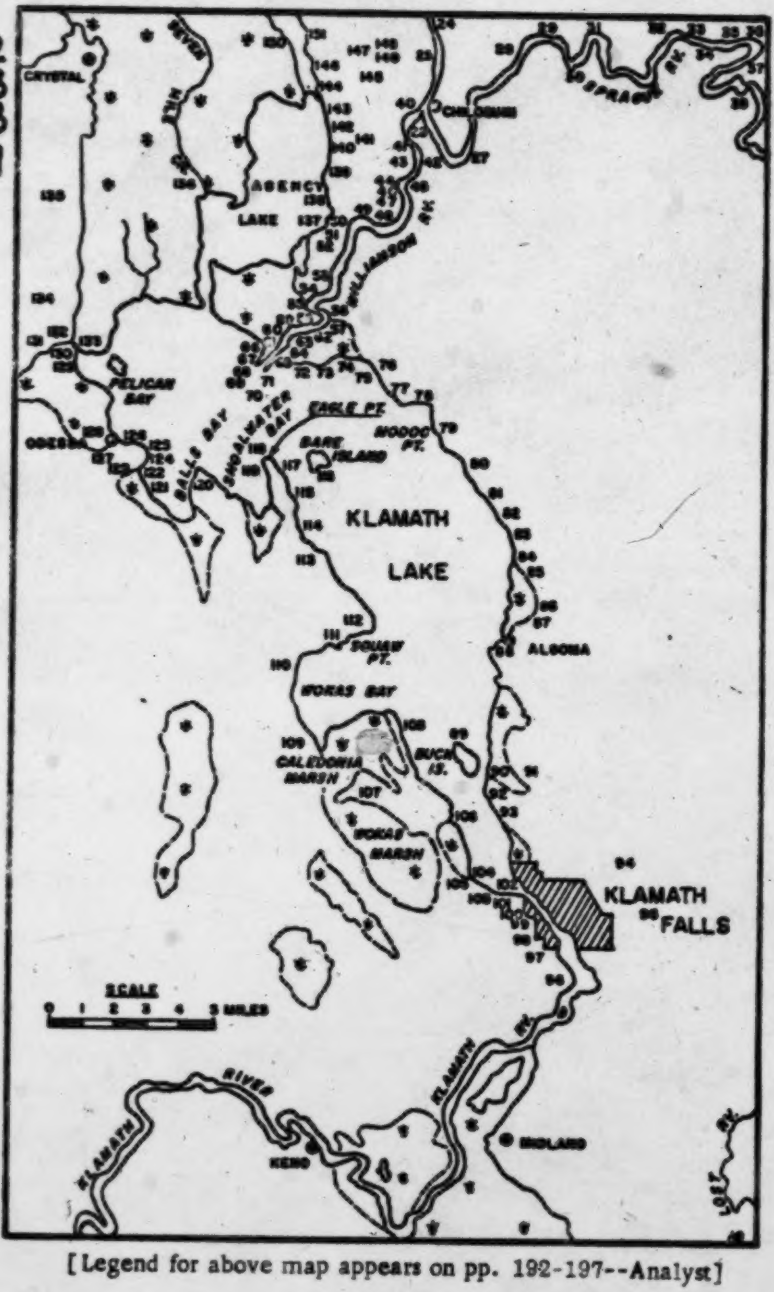
CRYSTAL
SEVEN MI.
AGENCY LAKE
CHILOQUIN
SPRAGUE RV.
WILLIAMSON RV.
PELICAN BAY
ODESSA
BALLS BAY
SHOALWATER BAY
EAGLE PT.
BARE ISLAND
MODOC PT.
KLAMATH LAKE
SQUAW PT.
HOWARD BAY
ALGOMA
CALEDONIA MARSH
BUCK IS.
WOKAS MARSH
KLAMATH FALLS
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 5 MILES
KLAMATH RIVER
KLAMATH RV.
KENO
MIDLAND
LOST RV.

[Legend for above map appears on pp. 192-197--Analyst]

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[P. 191]

102
103•
133
127

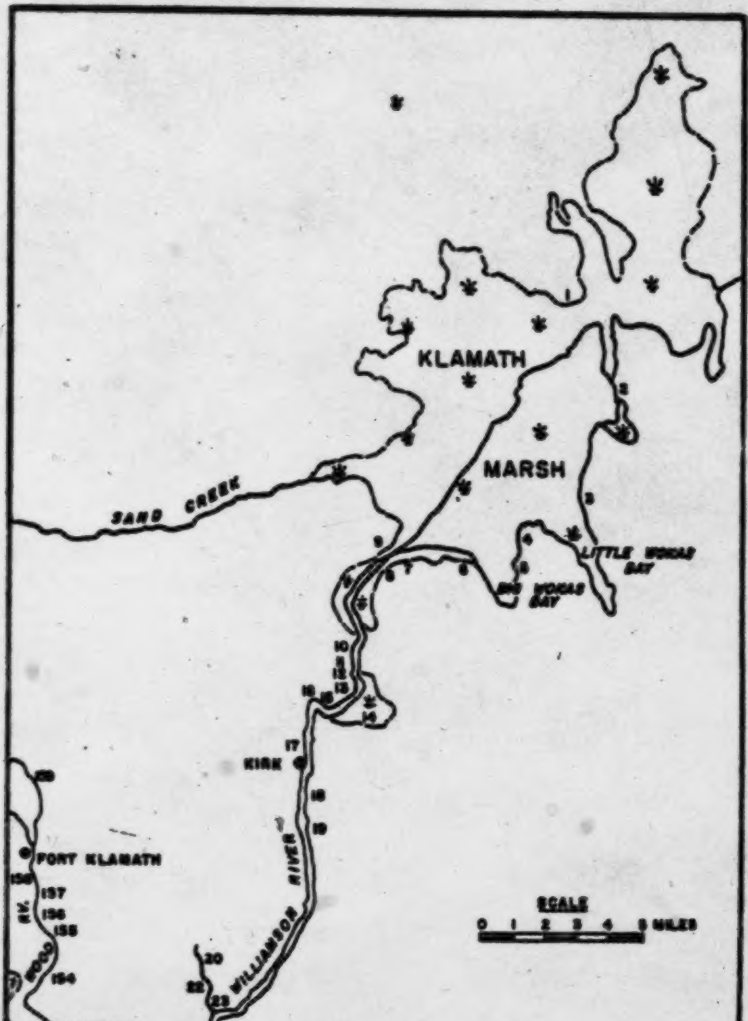
KLAMATH
MARSH
SAND CREEK
LITTLE WOKAS BAY
BIG WOKAS BAY
KIRK
WILLIAMSON RIVER
FORT KLAMATH
WOOD RV.
KLAMATH AGENCY
AGENCY LAKE
CHILOQUIN
RAGUE RV.
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 5 MILES

[Legend for above map appears on pp. 192-197--Analyst]

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963

NR10 Klamath NR10

102
103
127
133

KEY TO THE MAP OF PLACE NAMES

1. /moč̓o·ẏa·ks/. Spier 1.
2. /qdaywa·s/ "Rock-Nest." Spier 2.
3. /gapgaʔa·kksi/ "Little-Pine-Place." Spier 3.
4. /ʔiWʔa·l̇a/ "On-the-End." Spier 4.
5. /q̇la·jaksi/ "Blueberry-Place." Spier 5.
6. /doylḱat/. Spier 6.
7. /ʔawalwasge·ni/ "Island-Place." Spier 7.
8. /ga·qs ksawalye·ks/ "Carry-Crow-up-the-Hillside."
9. /č̓ikas waLaqḱis/ "Bird-Lookout." A hill across from /ʔawalwasge·ni/.
10. /waktali·s/ "Lodgepole-Pine-Place" (?). Spier 8.
11. /lalʔa·ks/ "Little-Hill-Place." Spier 9.
12. /wisingam dinwas/ "Snake's-Lying-in-Water." A campsite for wokas-pickers.
13. /čaba·ni/ "Herd-Going-to-the-End." A dwelling.
14. /lḱom ʔews/ "Charcoal-Lake." The name of the small marsh shown on the map.
15. /somdi/ "Mouth-Place." A campsite where the river enters the forest.
16. /č̓omsʔam gotq̓aks/ "Sucker's-Going-up-out." A campsite near /somdi/.
17. /ṅoksi/ "Head-Place." Small village site near Kirk.
18. /sniWa·tgalsi/ "Eat-First-Place." A campsite.
19. /ʔeqčsalḱis/ "Sharpening-Instrument." A traveller's campsite.
20. /sqamdiwa·s/ "Sqamdi's-Den." The home of a dangerous mythological being. See Text 19.
21. /gosʔam gotq̓aks/ "Swan's-Going-up-out."
22. /yalyalʔant/ "Where-It-Is-Clear." Spring Creek.
23. /weq sqatq̓aks/ "Limbs-Stick-out-of-Water." A large spring.
24. /qbolWiʔamge·ni/ "Plant (sp.)-Place." A large village on both sides of the river.
25. /dali·ks/ "Standing-on-the-Bank." A village site.
26. /lobaqsksaksi/ "Chalk-Place." Spier 10.
27. /q̓ačẃe·č/. Spier 12.

C

103
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133

28. /ʔoqsosʔam sloqtis/ "Cough's-Spitting-on." Also called /yawqsalks/ "Medicine-Getting-Place." A rock on which consumptives spat to gain a cure.
29. /gome·ksi/ "Cave-Place." Spier 13.
30. /goqḿa·kksi/ "Little-Caves-Place."
31. /behǰi·ʔasamksi/ "Hehǰi·ʔas'-Place." The home of a mythological being. See Text 8.
32. /goqq́a·kksi/ "Little-Rivers-Place." A spring.
33. /kiwi·ki·ns/ "Taking-out-of-Water-with-a-Pointed-Instrument." A spring.
34. /wačksi/ "Horse-Place."
35. /ńa·t́aksi/ "Snipe-Place." A spring.
36. /kolsʔamksi/ "Badger's-Place."
37. /gawamge·ni/ "Spring-Place." Spier 14.
38. /goaksi/ "Swan-Place." P.O. gave /ngoaksi/.
39. /daqńi/ "Sharp-One."
40. /mbosaksawa·s/ "Flint-Place." Spier 17.
41. /tgalmakst́a/ "West-Side." Spier 18.
42. /qdaydi/ "Rock-Place." Spier 19.
43. /gle·čṕaḱi·s/ "Clam-Eating." Small settlement.
44. /ǰigyes/. Spier 20.
45. /q́oLtʔam wa·s/ "Otter's-Den." Spier 21.
46. /ʔat́a·wiks/ "Long-Object-in-the-Sun-Place." Spier 22
47. /yaʔa·k/. Spier 23.
48. /ćaq́wi/. Spier 24.
49. /kols tgews/ "Badger-Standing-in-Water."
50. /wit́e·mʔamksi/ "Bear's-Place." Spier 25.
51. /goýalam sgeyqs/ "Crawfish-Crawling-up." Spier 26.
52. /sa·yḱaʔa·k neq́i·s/ "Little-Plain-Lying-in-the-Way."
53. /qi·ʔa gitLas/ "Lizards-Poured-out-on." Williamson River Church.
54. /slanḱoaksi/ "Bridge-Place." The bridge near Williamson River Church.
55. /ya·s kselwis/ "Willow-Beside-the-Edge."
56. /čoḱalwas/.
57. /wiẃapt́a·ks/ "Little-Alders-Place."
58. /qdawaldi/ "Cut-on-Top-Place." A village site.
59. /ṕnanksi/ "Burying-Place." An ancient burial ground.
60. /woqsdi/ "Cache-Place."
61. /loltḿalʔaqḱa/ "Little-Winter-House." A village on the east side of the river.

103 62. /bečmi/.
127 63. /spino·ksi/ "Grave-Place." A burial ground.
102 64. /mo·waksĺa/ "On-the-South-Side." Spier 30.
65. /činḱos/ "Going-Across-with-the-Fin-Showing." Spier 34.
133 66. /sč́olksi/ "Bubble-up-Place." A spring bubbles up here.
67. /wisgandi/ "Blow-Through-Place." Spier 31.
68. /laẃa·ĺsdat/ "At-Round-Object-on-the-End." Spier 32.
69. /mo· ginkanks/ "Big-Space-Around." Spier 33.
70. /dokwa/. The mouth of Williamson River.
71. /yawq́lamksi/ "Bald-Eagle's-Place."
72. /čiya·ĺsʔamksi/ "Salmon's-Place."
73. /yaẏa·ḱa liwi·ki·ns/ "Little-Willows-in-a-Group-along-the-Edge."
74. /ba·go·lsam bani·gis/ "Muledeer's-Wading-out."
75. /hiwwas/ "Spread-out-in-Water." A swampy island just offshore.
76. /toq́asksi/ "Willow-Place."
77. /ya·s kaaẃa·ĺs/ "Willow-on-the-End."
78. /qdayksi/ "Rock-Place." Spier 45.
79. /sohi·yagye·ks/ "Jumping-Over-for-Fun." Spier 46.
80. /ʔiwli·wa/ "On-the-Very-Edge." Spier 47.
81. /čalčaĺa·ks/. A spring near /diwi·ʔa·ks/.
82. /diwi·ʔa·ks/ "Little-Rapids-Place." Spier 48.
83. /wilwaldi/. A spring north of /gawammat/.
84. /gawammat/ "In-the-Spring." Spier 49.
85. /ditq́aks/ "Boiling-out." Spier 50.
86. /ni·Laqs/ "Sunrise." A place near Barclay Springs.
87. /ẃawʔa·q́ḱalamksi/ "Little-Ears-Place." A cove that has the shape of an ear.
88. /kalẃa·ĺ/ "Sharp-on-the-End." Spier 51.
89. /wq́oĺwas/ "Knotted-in-Water." Buck Island; Spier 52.
90. /laḿa·č/ "Round-Object-on-the-End." Spier 53.
91. /watanks/. A hill east of /laḿa·č/.
92. /ʔiWLi/ "Is-Inside." A cove north of /ksonksi/.
93. /ksonksi/ "Grass-Place." Spier 54.
94. /wĺi·č/. A hill north-east of Klamath Falls.
95. /mṗaq́wals/ "Dry-on-Top." A hill northeast of Klamath Falls.
96. /diwi·ʔa·ks/ "Little-Rapids-Place."
97. /ʔiWawńa/ "Propped-up-against." Spier 55.
98. /gitba·tanks/ "Poured-up-on-Shore." A narrow channel where the wind was reputed to blow the water back upstream.
99. /qday ginqis/ "Hole-Through-Rocks." A camping ground and a village site.

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100. /ʔiWLaLLo·nʔa/ "All-along-the-Top." Klamath Falls; Spier 56. 103
101. /lalawq̓at/. 127
102. /č̓ews hollamnas/ "Yellowhammer-Flying-along-the-Side." 102
103. /weqwe·Las/ "Falling-Downhill." Spier 57. 133
104. /lewsi/ "Round-Object-in-Water-Place." A small hill.
105. /tan̓aq̓aksi/. Spier 58.
106. /ʔiWba·tanʔa/ "Right-up-against." Spier 59.
107. /woksalks/ "Wokas-Getting-Place." Spier 60.
108. /dekčanks/ "Netting-Place." Skillethandle Point; Spier 61.
109. /hesle·ks/ "Apparition-Place." A place where spirit-otters appear and swim around one's canoe.
110. /č̓ayanksdi/ "Berry (sp.)-Place."
111. /nJaqJaqk̓is/ "Ringing-Instrument." A large rock with a depression in it. When this depression was pounded with another rock, a wind arose.
112. /sesti tgaw̓a·l̓s/ "Shasta-Standing-on-the-End." Squaw Point; Spier 62.
113. /no·galks/ "Roasting-Place." Roots were roasted in pits here.
114. /č̓a·qy̓a·k ksalamnas/ "Little-Boy-Lying-on-the-Hillside."
115. /qe·Yqe·Y̓lant/ "Where-It-Is-Rough." A campsite.
116. /ʔawsmi/. Bare Island.
117. /č̓eqs dawals/ "Blackbird-Standing-on-Top."
118. /stakm̓a·č/ "Projecting-on-the-End." Eagle Point; Spier 43.
119. /qčo·lʔam n̓iwl̓aqs/ "Star's-Fall." A place on the beach near Eagle Point where a meteor fell. The informants reported that a glow was visible at the spot for some time afterwards.
120. /ge·lalks/ "Land-Place." Spier 42.
121. /čak lali·ks/ "Serviceberry-on-the-Bank." A serviceberry patch.
122. /q̓aJl/. A small settlement.
123. /waq̓a·qksi/. Spier 41.
124. /wačksi/ "Horse-Place."
125. /č̓a·qy̓a·k̓lamksi/ "Little-Boy's-Place." The home of /č̓a·qy̓a·k/, a mythological character.
126. /l̓eql̓eqsdi/ "Twinkle-Place."
127. /qawk̓at/. A good cold spring. Said to be named after a mythological character who lives there.
128. /tlaqs p̓aki·s/ "Mullet-Eating." A small spring where /tlaqs/ fish are caught.
129. /molsi/. Said to mean "Black-Swan-Place," but not certain. A spring.

103 130. /gawamksaksi/ "Spring-Place." Rocky Point. An old campground during the wokas-picking season.
127
102 131. /ʔiWqa·ẏa/ "Among-the-Bushes." Spier 39.
133 132. /dinne·kksi/ "Sunset-Place." Spier 38.

133. /sḱawanks lakč́wis/ "Wild-Parsnips-among-(Rocks)."

134. /sqoywas/ "Mound-in-Water." A spring back in the forest.

135. /ma·dameksi/. A spring three miles south of Crystal Spring at the head of Crystal Creek.

136. /sle·taksi/ "Nettle-Cord-Place." Spier 35.

137. /čak lalamnas/ "Serviceberry-on-the-Hillside." Spier 29.

138. /ĺoqo·gat/. Spier 28.

139. /wlalksi/ "Cottonwood-Place." Also called /wlawlʔa·ks/ "Little-Cottonwoods-Place." Spier 27.

140. /go·s liwli·ks/ "Trees-Standing-in-a-Group-on-the-Edge." A settlement.

141. /wele·q́a·ḱlam sʔilks/ "Little-Old-Lady's-Well."

142. /glaẇa·kksi/ "Little-Sand-Place." A sandy beach.

143. /yaẏa·ḱaksaksi/ "Little-Willows-Place."

144. /goWasdi/. Spier 44.

145. /qʔis yakĺas/ "Rattlesnake-Cut-in-Two." A draw in the hills.

146. /toq́aaksi/ "Willow-Place." A small settlement.

147. /so·qetmi/. A place near where the highway from Williamson River to the north meets the highway from Chiloquin to the west.

148. /ẏayńaʔa·ks/ "Little-Mountain-Place." A small bluff east of /so·qetmi/.

149. /gwemṕle·gis/ "Tracking-Over." A hollow gap just below /ẏayńaʔa·ks/.

150. /wawč́a·ḱlamksi/ "Dogs'-Place." A marshy place where spirit-dogs could be seen.

151. /č̇ayankadat/ "In-the-Berries (sp.)." A spring and village.

152. /tgoĺo·tsʔam ksewa/ "Tgoĺo·ts'-Lying-in-Water." A place near the Klamath Agency where oily clay gives an iridescent effect to the water.

153. /yanaldi/. Agency Hill.

154. /ʔiWq́a·qńi goge/ "Around-the-Neck-River." Wood River.

155. /tgoĺo·tsʔam ksodi·lks/ "Tgoĺo·ts'-Lying-Underneath." A place about half a mile from Collier Park where two small creeks come together and make a waterfall and whirlpool.

156. /wa·ko ʔiwli·wa/ "Lodgepole-Pine-on-the-Very-Edge."

157. /qawdo·gi·sam či·s/ "Bird's (sp.)-Home." A small plain south of Fort Klamath. See Text 11.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

158. /homhomedi/.

159. /ʔiWq̓a·q/ "Around-the-Neck." Fort Klamath. Spier 83.

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The following place names are not numbered, but may be found on the map by their English translations.

Little Wokas Bay /paksa/.
Klamath Lake /ʔewa/. (The generic term for "lake.")
Klamath Marsh /ʔewksi/.
Pelican Bay /gombat/.
Shoalwater Bay /ćilkoydi/.

1: Spier

NR10 Klamath NR10

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[For vocabulary associated with games, see category 524, pp. 76-86; included in curing songs, see category 755, pp. 123-125; used in reference to various named parts of the house, see category 342, p. 201; used for numerals, see category 802, pp. 222-223.]

000 age ca. 80, and Jake Smith of Hornbrook, a western Shasta aged ca. 95. Johnson, Mrs. Hedricks, and Smith were each interviewed for a few hours, but an attempt to cover an entire element list with any one of them did not seem feasible.

ORTHOGRAPHY

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ḏ, implosive "d"	ɔ, as in all
ḇ, implosive "b"	ɛ, as in met.
č, ch as in charm	ɪ, as in it
š, sh as in shall	ü, unrounded "u"
ŋ, ng as in sing	·, denotes length
L, t followed by voiceless l	' glottal stop

TRIBAL ABBREVIATIONS

The groups covered in this study are as follows:

Kl	Klamath, of Klamath Marsh
Mo	Modoc, of Tule Lake
SE	Shasta, Eastern, of Shasta Valley
SW	Shasta, Western, of Klamath and Rogue rivers
At	Atsugewi (Hat Creek)
AW	Achomawi, Western (Achomawi proper)
AE	Achomawi, Eastern (Hammawi)
WT	Wintu, Trinity River or Hayfork
WM	Wintu, McCloud River
WS	Wintu, Sacramento River (upper)
MM	Maidu, Mountain (NE), Indian Valley
MF	Maidu, Foothill (NW), Dogwood, Cherokee, Yankee Hill
NF	Nisenan, Foothill, Stanfield Hill or Yuba River
NM	Nisenan, Mountain, northerly
NS	Nisenan, Southern (of mountains)
MV	Maidu, Valley (NW), vicinity of Chico

For each of the groups listed above further localization for the information obtained is indicated in the section "Informants."

For a map of the area surveyed and locations of informants see page vi. Initials on the map correspond to the group abbreviations listed above; the black dots to the location of informants.

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he "believe(s) they referred to themselves as Maidu (people) rather than as Nisenan" (K. Kukau, 176). As far as concerns his inf'ts. Henry Thomson and George Nigh (ibid., 137), he is probably correct, for neither was born Stanfield Hill. Thomson, the deceased husband of

	NF	NM	NS
	pokelulu	pokelulu	počuko
sokum	tumbo	tumbo	tumbɔ
	sa	ša	sa
	čüp	dupɛ	la·pɛ
ɔ	sɪmi	šim	sɪm

my inf't., was born in Butte Co.; Nigh belongs to the "mt. people," according to my inf't.; this mt. group comprises the people living at Dobbins, 3 mi. beyond Stanfield Hill, above Moorstown, Cherokee, etc." Probably both Thomson's and Nigh's own groups refer to themselves as Maidu.

[50-B]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

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CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS LIST

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element affirmed by informant.	*	Further information concerning item is contained in the section "Ethnographic Notes on the Element List."
−	Element denied by informant.	Blank	Element not enquired for by ethnographer.
(+)	Element affirmed, but some doubt concerning it on part of informant or ethnographer.		The following symbols precede element numbers:
(−)	Element denied, but with qualifications as in the preceding.	†	For statistical computations, the number or letter entries under this element have been read as plus.
.	Element enquired about, but informant uncertain regarding it.	‡	For statistical computations, the element has been broken into two or more (e.g., 1 foot or less; more than 1 foot).
o	Absent because lacking or impossible in the environment. (Not to be confused with the symbol o preceding an element number, and which is explained below.)	o	For statistical computations, the element has been eliminated.
R	Element said to be of comparatively recent introduction.		

ELEMENTS	OCCURRENCE																
	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
BASIC ECONOMY																	
Hunting																	
Driving and Pursuing																	
1. Driving game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	224
2. Into enclosure	−	+	−	+	+	−	*+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3. Circular	−		−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	
4. With pit	−	+	−	−	+	+	[illegible]	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	
5. With V-shaped wings	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	*+	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	
*6. Along fence, hunters in pits				*+							+	+	+	−	−	−	
7. Over cliff	−	+	+	−	+	*+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	
*8. Into water or mud	+	+	+	*+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+		−	+	−	(−)	
*9. To or past concealed hunter	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
10. Into trap, net or snare	+	*−	+	*−	*+	*+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	
11. Surround by hunters	*−					+	+	−	−	+	−						
12. Surround by fire	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	
13. Dog used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	[231]
14. Pursuing game	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
15. Wounded animal only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	*+	+	
16. Single hunter	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	
17. Group of hunters	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
18. In relays	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
19. Race: swiftest kills deer	−		+			+	+	−	+	−		.		−	−	+	
20. Shout to frighten quarry	−	+	+								+	.	−	−	−	+	
21. Hunters on snowshoes	+	+	+			+	*+	+	+	+	+	−	o	−	o	o	
22. Dog used	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	[231]
23. Trailing or tracking game	−	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Snares, Nets, Traps																	
24. Fence with nooses in gaps	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	*−	
25. For deer	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
26. For rabbits	*−	*−	−	+	+	−	−	+	o	+	*−	+	−	−	−	−	
27. For quail	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		[223]

194 The pronunciation of the *diphthongs* may be easily inferred from their component vowels; it is as follows:

ai	as in *life, mine, sly, die, dye.*
au	as in *mouse, loud, arouse.*
ei	a combination of *e* and *i* resembling the vowel sounds in the word *greyish*, united into a diphthong.
yu *or* iu	as in *pure, few, union.*
oi	as in *loin, groin, alloy.*
wa *or* ua	as in *watch, wash;* French, *loi, roi.*
wi *or* ui	as in *squid, win, switch.*

All the diphthongs being of an adulterine character, they can generally be separated into two vowels, and then are hyphenized, as in *i-u, o-i, á-i, a-ú.*

GRAPHIC SIGNS.

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ˡ	arrested sound: skóˡhs, *spring time;* tchúˡka, *to swim up stream.*
'	apostrophe marking elision of a vowel, of ĕ or any other sound: heshuámp'li for heshuámpĕli, *to recover one's health.*
-	hiatus, separating two vowels as belonging to two different syllables: pála-ash, *flour;* lĕmé-ish, *thunder;* or two consonants: tsiāls-hă'mi, *at salmon-time.*
·	separates the parts of compound terms: skúks·kiă'm, *spirit-fish* or *letiferous fish.*
´	acute; the only accent used for marking emphasized syllables.
¯	vowel pronounced long: mū'ni, *large, great.*
˘	vowel pronounced short, except ĕ, to which a distinct sound is given: yúmăltkă, *to return from berry-harvest.*

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Southeast Salish NR19

This is undoubtedly true equally of all the tribes lying in the Columbia K
drainage from the Rockies to the Cascades. It is known to be so of 262
tribes as far apart as the Wishram and the Lower Kutenai,[413] and of 171*
others lying between, as the Middle Columbia Salish and the Nez Percé
in their original condition. K

The Nez Percé case calls for explanation. The present culture of 171*
the Nez Percé is Plains-like. But there can be little doubt that much, 105 •
if not the overwhelming part of the Plains traits among them, dates
only from the introduction of horses into the Snake-Columbia basin, 177
sometime between 1750 and 1800. With the horse came not only horse
gear and all the elements of Plains nomadism, but the opportunity for
buffalo hunting and trading on an extensive scale in the Plains. Many
of the Snake-Columbia tribes began to make periodic visits beyond
the Rockies from this time. Teit's account of the Middle Columbia SS
Salish makes it quite clear that prior to the coming of the horse, 114
typical Plateau culture, practically devoid of Plains elements, pre- 105
vailed over the entire area. Even the picture of life among the Nez
Percé and their neighbors presented to Lewis and Clark as late as 177
1804-6 was far more that of the Plateau at large than it is in our own K
day. The earlier situation is largely obscured by the fact that the 171*
Yakima and Klickitat in their eastern Washington location have many 105
Plains-like features. Teit's investigations make it reasonably certain,
however, that the situation prior to the end of the eighteenth century 177
was quite different. At that time eastern Washington to south of the
Columbia river was occupied by Salish tribes with typical Plateau
culture. Subsequently the Yakima-Klickitat moved northward, probably from east central Oregon, to their historic habitat.[414] It seems
reasonable to assume that up to that time they, like the Nez Percé, had
little in the way of Plains culture. K

Even today the food habits of the Sahaptins are not those of the 171*
Plains. What I am suggesting here is that the balance of vegetal 177
products and fish, now nearly even, rather favored fish in the days 178
before hunting was so readily followed. 262

So far as general habits of life go, the river culture of the Klamath K
links them also with the tribes on the lower reaches of the Klamath 101
river. But their food habits do not quite coincide. Yurok, Hupa, and K
Shasta all make a larger use of acorns than of fish, although observers 171*

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[413] Chamberlain, Kootenay, 183. 262

[414] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish; a map showing the early distribution is included in Haeberlin, et.al., Coiled Basketry in British Columbia.

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105

Their material culture at large follows the general alignment of their basic economy with the Plateau peoples. This can be made clear by the following tabulation of material culture traits shared by tribes in adjacent culture areas. A few items of social culture not discussed elsewhere are also entered. Only those traits for which comparative data could be readily found are included, which makes the list random rather than truly representative. It must be understood that the reference is only to the specific form in which the Klamath hold to the trait. Thus, the compound fire-drill stick is entered, and not the simple fire drill. In fact, traits of this sort, having a distribution over the whole continent, have been excluded as adding nothing to our

KLAMATH TRAITS SHARED BY TRIBES IN ADJACENT AREAS

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Houses	Earth-lodge	Plateau (Chilcotin to Middle Columbia and Wishram), N.E. California (where it merges into central Californian forms).	[342]
	Mat-lodge	Wishram, Nez Percé, Middle Columbia?	[343]
Sweat-lodges	Dome-shaped	N.E. California, Basin, Plateau, Southwest rancherias, Plains, and eastward.	
	Earth-covered	Washington, Oregon (merges with central Californian type).	
Fishing	Dip nets	California, Plateau, Northwest Coast.	[227]
	Dam; weir	N. California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
	Two-prong spear	California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
Digging stick	Cross-handle; curved point	Northwest Coast, Plateau?	[412]
Insect foods	Slight use	Oregon, S. Plateau, Basin, California.	[262]
Metate	Extensive use	California (late in N. California?), Basin, Plateau?, Southwest and southward.	[412]
Mortar	Stone	S. and central California (prehistoric in N. California); wooden mortars in Plateau.	
Canoe	Shovel nose	Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Columbia basin to N. California.	[501]
Baskets	Considerable use	California, Basin, Plateau.	[415]
	Twine	Northwest Coast S. into N. California.	
	Minor use of coil	Plateau, Basin, central and S. California.	
Bags	Woven	Made east of Cascades, S. to Klamath.	[286]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 230]

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		Klamath form	*Links with:*
[285]	Mats	Extensive use	Oregon?, Northwest Coast to Columbia r., Plateau.
		Mat needle	s. Northwest Coast (and northward?), Washington, Oregon?
[281]	Tanning	Smoke-tan	Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, Wishram, Nez Percé; Basin, Plateau, Plains (and elsewhere?—probably not Northwest Coast).
[372]	Fire drill	Compound	Puget sound, Takelma, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi, Wind R. Shoshoni, Crow, Navaho, Hopi.
[415]	Spoon	Paddle	California s. to n. Miwok.
[411]	Bow	Sinew-backed	Arctic, Northwest Coast, Plateau, Washington, Oregon, California s. to Tehachapi, Basin, Southwest, w. Plains.
		Flat; constricted grip	n. w. California, Northwest Coast.
	Arrows	Stone heads	(Not the bone heads of Northwest Coast and w. Washington, where stone heads are scarce.)
[714]	Armor	Tunic	Northwest Coast, Plateau, Oregon, n. California, Basin, Southwest (and southward?).
		Slat or rod	Alaska to Maidu (Tlingit, Plateau, Oregon, Washington, n. California).
	Shield	Round	Plateau, Basin, Plains (not California).
[291]	Dress	Fringed skirt	Coast area west of Cascades-Sierras, probably Basin.
		Men: Plains shirt	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.
		Women: Plains dress	Plateau, Basin, Plains.
		Decorated band on robe	Plateau? (Wishram, Nez Percé), Plains.
		Tule slippers	Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Paviotso.
		Three-piece moccasin	Plateau (moccasins are also n. and central California, Basin, Southwest, Plains, and eastward).
		Basket hats	n. California (=Plateau type?; other types, Northwest Coast, Basin, s. California).
[302]	Hairdress	Braids for both sexes	Plateau, Plains.
	Combs	Porcupine tail	Achomawi, Northern Maidu.
[304]	Head deformation	Fronto-occipital	s. Northwest Coast to Alsea, Siuslaw, and Klamath.
	Tattooing	Women: chin lines	w. Arizona, California, Takelma (Oregon in general?). (Not Plateau? and Northwest Coast.)

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	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Dentalium shells	Ornament	Ultimate source, coasts of Washington and British Columbia.	105 *
Cradles	Sitting	N.W. and N. central California.	[301]
	Board	N. Basin, Plateau.	[854]
Games	Beaver teeth dice	Oregon, Washington, British Columbia.	[524]
	Four stick	N.E., central, and S. California (and elsewhere?).	
	Hand game	Some central Californians, Basin, S. Northwest Coast, Plateau, Plains.	
	Modified hoop-pole	Minor game of coast from Alaska to Oregon (not N.W. California).	
	Ring-and-pin; rush ball	Modoc?, Wishram.	
Pipes	Spherical; discoidal	S. Plateau (Nez Percé to Okanagon).	[276]
	Angular	Wasco, Wishram, Middle Columbia, Nez Percé (links with Plains calumet?).	
Musical instruments	Hand drum	Recent in Plateau; Basin, Plains, (Northwest Coast?).	[534]
	Deerhoof rattle in girls' rites	N. California.	
	Notched rasp	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.	
	Clap stick	N. and central California.	
	Open flute	California, Southwest; Takelma, Nez Percé (and probably general in the west).	
Numerals	Finger names	Takelma.	[802]
Ritual number	Five	S. Northwest Coast, Washington, Oregon, California S. to Sinkyone and Northern Maidu, Basin.	[801]
Calendar	Numerical names	N.W. California, Fraser r., N. Northwest Coast.	[805]
Scalping	Whole scalp	California, W. Southwest, Wishram (no scalping in N.W. California E. to Shasta, and Northwest Coast).	[726]
Head trophy	Unusual	California, Northwest Coast.	
Scalp dance		General (except N. W. California) (over head trophies on Northwest Coast).	[727]
War dance	With notched rattle	Upland Takelma?, Wasco, Wishram, Nez Percé; without rattle, Chinook, N.W. California.	
Disposal of dead	Cremation	Modoc; some cremation in N.E. California; central California; formerly in E. Washington; N. Plateau.	[764]

*171 understanding of the place of the Klamath in western culture. Specific
• 105 tribal reference is made in only a few instances; principally where it
• is necessary to define the distribution in the neighborhood of the
*171 Klamath somewhat more closely than the names of culture areas
105 allow.[6] It does not seem desirable to cite specific references beyond
101 this, since my notes are far from exhaustive.

By far the majority of linkages are with the Plateau, particularly with its southern section. Northeastern and northwestern California are close seconds, but the general impression is that when details of specific form are emphasized, the relationship with the mountain tribes of northeastern California is much closer. The southern Northwest Coast, that is, largely western Washington, is a bad third, and, as is readily intelligible, central California and the Basin are culturally even more remote. Southern California and the Plains have only a third as many elements in common with the Klamath as have the Plateau peoples, and the Southwest very few. The total impression might be considerably modified if we knew more of Oregon cultures, but I do not believe this would change the verdict of basic resemblance to the Plateau.

House forms are Plateau, both earth-lodge and mat-lodge. Mat-covered lodges are widely used, but the specific type here, resembling the earth-lodge structure, is a localized type of the southern Plateau. Plains dress and hairdress have come in through the same region; the older fringed skirt is typical of the whole area west of the Rockies or at least west of the Cascades and Sierras. Of personal adornment, the basket hat and tattooing are Californian, frontal flattening is from the Northwest Coast by way of the Columbia. Fishing habits are those of the larger northwest: northern California, the Northwest Coast, and the Plateau as a whole. The shovel-nose canoe is characteristic of the southern half of the same area. The preponderant use of basketry and the almost complete absence of wooden utensils affiliate with California, the Basin, and Plateau, rather than with Northwest Coast. However the prevailing technique, twining, is that of the northern coast. The manifold use of mats again seems characteristic of the north. Cradles show a nice combination of the basketry sitting type of northwesterly California and the wooden flat forms of the Plateau. Arms and armor are northern: the round shield is a Plains feature, probably transferred across the Plateau.

Things less grossly material, such as games, affiliate in all directions. The Californian four-stick game is balanced by the eastern hand

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game; beaver-teeth dice are northwestern. Rattles are Californian, the hand drum and notched rasp, eastern. The ritual number five is known in a swathe of territory from Vancouver island to the Basin. The war or incitement dance links the Columbia river with northwestern California. More important is the practice of cremation which is partly followed in northeastern California and was, according to archaeological evidence, the earlier practice of the southern Plateau. This links the Plateau, northeastern and central California in one vast area which formerly at least was given to cremation.

Specifically local elements beyond those already noted, that is, those of northeastern California and the southern Plateau, are pipes of several forms, tule slippers and three-piece moccasins, perhaps the bundle form of ring-and-pin game, and the porcupine-tail comb; none of them more than superficial details.

There are a number of features characteristic of near-by culture areas, which in their distributions are quite within the range of influences impinging on the Klamath, and yet in which the Klamath do not share. Some of these are enumerated below. It must be understood that no attempt has been made to list all the items characteristic of each of the adjacent areas. The list includes only those features whose known distribution is close to the Klamath and which might have been expected among them.

It is rather surprising to find that the several methods of deer hunting, the seed beater, rabbit-skin blankets, and tubular pipes are not present among the Klamath. All would fit well into Klamath culture and their habitat imposes no difficulties. On the other hand, fishing stages are not needed on their relatively quiet streams choked with rocks and with low banks. Pulverizing of salmon may be absent because comparatively few salmon are taken, and possibly other dried fish do not crumble like the flakes of dried salmon. Cocoons from which rattles can be made probably do not occur in Klamath territory. Why the Klamath do not beat seeds directly from the bushes is not clear; they make considerable use of them but prefer to gather the plants whole and shake out the seeds. Similarly the absence of tubular pipes and the tanning frame is inexplicable. Parfleches are not manufactured but are traded from the Columbia. This explains the absence of their manufacture, for the tribes with whom they come in contact do not make them either. This is certain for the Wishram and undoubtedly so for Wasco; the Klickitat and Yakima make them but seldom;[417] all trading from the Nez Percé and their neighbors.

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[417] Haeberlin *et al.*, Coiled Basketry, 357, 380.

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The fashioning of utensils from wood may well have been inhibited by the development of basketry substitutes and the recency of direct contact with a woodworking culture on the Columbia.

Other features are perhaps too distant to suggest their imitation: the plank house and blanket weaving of the Northwest Coast, the tipi, even in its mat-covered form on the Plateau, the dance-sweat-lodge of central California. Yet even here some influence of these may be seen among the Klamath. Riven planks for earth-lodge timbers were derived from Shastan and lower Klamath river forms of the plank house. The central Californian dance lodge did indeed reach the Klamath as part of the Ghost dance of 1870, but too late to influence their culture before its disintegration.

FEATURES OF ADJACENT AREAS NOT SHARED BY THE KLAMATH

Houses, plank	Coastal from N. Alaska to N.W. California (e.g., Shasta, Takelma, and Wishram).
tipi	S. (and N?) Plateau, N. and E. Basin, Plains, Mackensie, N. Eastern Woodlands.
Dance-sweat-house	Central California.
Fishing stages	Northwest Coast to N.W. California, Plateau s. to Columbia river.
Fashioned salmon club	Northwest Coast to Columbia river.
Pulverized salmon	Plateau s. to Wishram (not Nez Percé) (links with Plains pemmican and Californian pounded-meat?).
Hunting, impounding	Nez Percé, Plateau?, Basin, N. Plains, Mackenzie?
deer snares	N.W. California, Takelma (Northwest Coast for mountain goat).
pits	N.E. California (and elsewhere?).
rabbit nets	Nez Percé, N.E. and S. California, Basin, W. Southwest.
Seed beater	California, Arizona, Basin, occasional in Plateau.
Canoe sails	Northwest Coast (aboriginal?).
Rabbit-skin blankets	California, Southwest, Basin, Oregon (Modoc, Wishram: not Klamath and Nez Percé), W. Plateau, Mackenzie.
Blanket weaving	Northwest Coast to Columbia river, W. Plateau.
Parfleche	S. Plateau, N. and E. Basin, E. Southwest, Plains.
Wood carving	Northwest Coast to Columbia river.
Ladles and spoons	Northwest Coast to Columbia river.
Tanning frame	Wishram, Plateau, Plains.
Toothed comb	Quinault, Twana, Nez Percé, Molala, Northern Maidu.
Trough cradle	Northwest Coast s. to Tillamook (links with N.W. California sitting type?).
Cocoon rattle	N.E. and central California.
Tubular pipe	Takelma, Wasco, Sahaptins at Celilo, Nez Percé; California, Southwest.
Tobacco cultivated	Yurok, Hupa, Wintun, Maidu, Takelma, Wishram?; Northwest Coast, S. California, Southwest and southward, Plains and eastward.
Names, inherited and received at puberty	Northwest Coast, Plateau s. to Columbia river.

Taken as a whole Klamath material culture is of Plateau type with 171 *
strong leanings toward northeastern California. But their social and 101
religious culture has a different aspect. While basically of the
extremely simple Basin-Plateau type, social habits reflect the Northwest 105 •
Coast, religious ones rather those of northern California and
western Oregon.

The basis of Klamath religious experience is that of the northern 171*
interior, the Basin, and the Northwest Coast, in distinction to California
and the Southwest. The experience is deliberately sought and 771
the power obtained is of a generalized, unspecialized nature. In this
they resemble as well the generality of North Americans. Even their
spirits are of the sort universal east of the Pacific coast. Specific
Northwest Coast influence appears in the circumscription of general
spirit repossession to the midwinter month. On the other hand, the
shaman novice's inaugural dance, which gives at least as much color
to Klamath shamanism, is characteristic of northern California and
western Oregon. The Klamath form of it is, rather, Oregonian.
Details of shamanism, on the other hand, link more firmly with
northern, especially northeastern, California.

Social organization is extremely simple, and it is quite patent that 171*
as late as the end of the eighteenth century, it resembled that of the
Basin and Plateau in every particular. Even now social stratification
is only weakly developed. Chiefs were only recently set off from the
mass, their functions vague and their influence slight. At the very 171*
moment that Klamath society began to break down with the coming of 177
the whites, they first imported from the Columbia river judicial functions 622
for the chiefs. Chiefs are the wealthiest individuals, but they
are not chiefs because they are wealthy. Their selection is still based
on principles of personal ability. The basis of this differentiation,
wealth, came from the same direction, but the accompanying principle
of the Northwest Coast, caste stratification, never reached here; nor
did the chief's adjunct, a speaker or advocate, although this functionary
is known in the Plateau and Basin as well as in the Northwest.
At the other end of the scale, slavery is apparently an old institution, 171*
but was of little importance until wealth began to figure among them. 567
The Northwest Coast concept of status based on wealth appears again
in marriage, here regularly by purchase. But social estimation did 171*
not rest on the amount paid, which was in fact very little. With so
slight an emphasis on rank and wealth, those northwestern corollaries, 556
local exogamy to maintain the one and the family compact following 584

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177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
174 Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[622] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
[721] carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-
[567] holding existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their dis-
177 tribution established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kin-
ship terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
[622] custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[619] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
[583] has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctive-
ness from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
101 the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
105 to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some north-
western influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

Plateau admixture. Since the introduction of the horse, the Lutuami 101
mode of life has evidently been modified analogously to that of the 105 •
Plateau peoples of the Columbia, although less profoundly; and with 114
the horse came a number of cultural elements from the Plateau, or even from the Plains; of which some went on to the Shasta and Achomawi. This recent modification appears to have given Lutuami culture a more un-Californian aspect than it originally possessed. Neither the Kalapuya nor the Klamath-Modoc were a numerous enough people to have possessed a truly distinctive civilization. The Kalapuya are gone, but nearly a thousand Lutuami remain, and as soon as their society and religion are seriously inquired into, their precise cultural affiliations will no doubt become clear."[438]

The fidelity of this characterization to the situation as it is now known is considerable, but the scantiness of information has permitted the supposition that the local culture is sufficiently distinctive to be given the dignity of a separate subprovince.

The impression is that Kroeber has been led astray by the paucity and false balance of the materials on which he had to rely. Barrett's Material Culture of the Klamath does indeed present a picture of a culture in which the use of tule is accentuated. The predominant rôle given to wokas, the water-lily seed, is a readily intelligible inference from Coville's detailed description of the specialized technique of its preparation. The brief and disjointed texts recorded by Gatschet allow only a puzzling insight into Klamath religious life. At the same time the true character of the southern Plateau, or at least the picture of several generations ago, is obscured by the half-Plains-like culture established for the Nez Percé by Spinden.

Klamath technology is emphatically not one based on tule, with the 101
limitations or suggestions of form it imposes. Nothing is clearer than 105
that tule was in almost every case a substitute for more desirable [171]*
material. Basketry techniques and forms are one with those of the Basin and northern California, and, we might hazard, the Plateau, despite the frequent use of this substitute material. Barrett's paper, which allows the inference of a developed tule industry basic in their material culture, is strictly speaking not an exposition of their material culture at all, but a description of a collection of objects, which in his day had already degenerated to the use of convenient substitute material. What further inference may rest on the Klamath occupation of a tule marsh is false. Klamath culture is not a marsh culture, but one of a river people. The norm of Klamath material culture is

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[438] Kroeber, California Culture Provinces, 163; Handbook, 334–35.

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seen in their river home, not in the marsh which occupies a distinctly secondary place in their life.

Correspondingly, while the place of wokas and the intricacies of its preparation are impressive, it must be recognised that their staple food is fish. There can be no doubt of this. They are far more a fish-using people than those on the lower Klamath. And in this they link without question with the Plateau people. The use of wokas does indeed distinguish them from others of the area, but we recognize that this is no more than the utilization of a local food source readily available and abundant, quite in harmony with the tendency in the whole area to emphasize one or another seed supply as the environment dictates.

It must now be apparent that Gatschet's textual material presents the peculiarities of Klamath phrasing of things religious without adequate explanation of their oneness with the Plateau and northeastern California. There is little that he gives besides the songs, but their abundance and their nature can be duplicated among the Wishram and, I believe, were they known, among the Nez Percé and Achomawi. I am not in a position to say how far their mythology is peculiar.

Teit's paper on the Middle Columbia Salish makes it clear that Plains elements in this area are not older than the end of the eighteenth century. Prior to that southern Plateau characteristics prevailed with fair uniformity among the Upper Chinook of the Dalles, the Interior Salish of eastern Washington, and, we infer, the Waiilatpuan and Sahaptins of eastern Oregon and central Idaho. Such Plains characteristics as the Klamath display are demonstrably late and they are themselves aware that much of Northwest Coast practice came to them only after the opening of direct contact with the Columbia tribes barely a hundred years ago.

The final placing of Klamath culture is, perhaps, with the Modoc, as the southernmost outpost of Plateau life. Kroeber's supposition of a distinctive subprovince is excusable in the light of the misleading character of the available descriptions and the absence of Teit's epoch-making contribution. We do not yet know much of the southern Plateau but it does not seem likely that this perspective will be seriously disturbed.[431]

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[431] Now that a Lutuamian culture province fades away, we may hope to see an end to that barbarism, the word Lutuami, itself. No Klamath or Modoc would recognize it, and should it prove that Klamath-Modoc, Molala-Cayuse, and Sahaptin form a single linguistic group, as has been suggested, we may hope to hear the last of it.

THE SHAMANISTIC COMPLEX

However simple and consistent a picture the religious practices of the Klamath may appear, there can be no doubt that they represent an amalgam of historically diverse elements. It is not necessary to indicate the exact sequence in which they were accreted in order to prove this. We can show that these elements have different distributions among neighboring tribes and that they enter into combinations different from that of the Klamath. The Klamath complex is best interpreted as a function of their geographic position, without ignoring the fact that the peculiar form in which the Klamath have these ideas is duplicated nowhere else. 105

The characteristics of Klamath religious practices and beliefs may be briefly recapitulated. 776 There are a host of weakly defined but sharply localized spirits from whom power is sought. These are chiefly birds and animals, some natural phenomena, and a few anthropomorphic supernaturals. The powers they bestow give success in all things difficult. 787 Power is deliberately sought, it rarely comes involuntarily, and always according to a rigid formula. It is sought by almost every Klamath, perhaps by all, and the majority seem successful in their quest. Shamans are then set off from the laity only in the possession of a greater number of powers. [756] It is better to make the distinction by their acts: those who cure or practice weather control or clairvoyance, no matter how few their powers or the nature of their familiar spirits, are shamans. The quest is undertaken at any time of life, although usually at puberty. [881] [765] The most propitious times in later life are at periods of stress, as in distress or on the death of an immediate relative. The formula prescribes fasting for a number of nights on the mountains, continually running about and piling up rocks, combined with diving into lonely pools, or following the latter plan alone by diving beneath whirlpools in the river or lakes which spirits are known to haunt. The suppliant loses consciousness and wakes to find himself on the shore bleeding profusely from the mouth and nose. He does not ordinarily have a vision, but success is manifested in a song heard in a dream on a night soon following. The dream experience is essential. So closely is the spirit identified with the song, that but a single word indicates both. The song is the embodiment of the spirit, which hardly exists apart from it. The spirit is not the suppliant's guardian and later quests are not necessarily for renewed

If we look for elements peculiarly Klamath, they are difficult to 171*
find. At best there is only the regularity with which seances occur at 756
midwinter, and even here we do not know with certainty that this
does not occur elsewhere. Further, if we feel that this regularity is
due to recurrent possession, this merges with general Northwest Coast
practice, and its uniqueness disappears. The peculiarity of the Klamath complex, then, rests only in the specific combination of widely
distributed elements that they have effected, a combination known
nowhere else in exactly this form.

THE MARRIAGE COMPLEX

Social relations among the Klamath, even more than the shamanistic practices, are clearly explicable as a function of their geographic 105 •
position. They are most clearly crystallized in the matters of chieftainship, slaveholding, concepts of wealth, and the relative social standing of shaman and chief, but especially in their marital relations. Household and village groupings, puberty rites and analogous customs, have much less definite or peculiar form among them. For this reason, the discussion which follows will be confined largely to the earlier group of topics. As the most complex situation is that surrounding marriage, I will analyze this first.

While marriage among the Klamath is contracted by purchase, it 583
is not a negotiated transaction. Payment is socially obligatory. It is
a seal of respectability and in a rough way the amount changing hands [554]
is a measure of the social pretensions of the families involved. Hence
clandestine matches are severely frowned on. No obligation may be
assumed for which payment is not forthcoming. Yet such payment
does not fix the status nor the value of an individual with any precision. For example, the purchase price of a murdered man's mother
or that of his bride never enters consciously in assessing his blood
price. Failure to pay for a bride is a blot not easily erased.

It must be remembered that the reciprocal gifts from the bride's 583
family frequently outweigh the purchase price. Further, the bride is 431
in no sense a chattel, but free to leave her husband at will, he having
but slight recourse to recover his gifts. Nor is a wife obligated to 581
bear children to her husband, nor does their birth cancel the marriage
debt. In adultery it is clear that a man has no eye to the monetary 837
value of his wife's affections. He kills the lover; to take payment is
unthinkable. It does not appear that a marriage brings about a con- 000

*171 567 southward of the Klamath there was no slavery; this is certain for Northern and Southern Maidu,[561] and very probably Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northern Paiute. This seems generally true of California with the exception of the northwest (Yurok and probably their neighbors), where there was debt slavery, but where slaves were not measurable articles of wealth.

Summary

101 105 174 The general position of the Klamath in relation to surrounding tribes was in earlier days the simple social structure of the Basin peoples. Since the opening of the last century they have borrowed from the Columbia tribes some sense of social stratification based on wealth, slave-holding, and trading, enhanced importance for their chiefs coincident with a change in the basis of selection from war to wealth, and quite recently judicial functions for the chiefs. There was thus a shift in social dominance from shaman to chief.

GIRLS' PUBERTY RITES AND WOMEN'S OBSERVANCES

*171 562 881 /787 It is characteristic of western America that adolescence ceremonies were held for girls rather than boys. This is not to ignore the wide extension of the guardian spirit quest, more regularly performed by boys than girls, nor the boys' initiation ceremonies of southern California and the Southwest, but the boys' activities were less commonly ritualized save in the southwestern sector. The boys' quest among the Klamath has been discussed in connection with shamanism.

*171 841 The girls' rites in the west can best be understood with reference to a background of women's observances throughout the continent. Certain features of women's behavior had a well-nigh universal distribution. The general conception was that woman during her periodical illnesses was a source of contamination to others or a peril to herself. A series of restrictions ensued; she was secluded or her movements restricted during the period. For her own well-being she must fast or at least refrain from fresh meat or fish, but the latter proscription was also rationalized as avoiding damage to the food supply, especially fishing. She must not touch hands to face or hair, using instead a scratching stick, must not wash nor arrange her hair, and must dispose of her garments before resuming her normal life.

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[560] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, esp. 122.

[561] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 206; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 44.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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fish basket, and one or two others. Twining is the only technique K
used, all coiled baskets coming from this region being extraneous
to the true native culture. The majority of the conical burden 285
baskets made of willow or hazel which are in use among the [139]
Klamath are made by themselves, though they do purchase from
the Shasta to the southwest a burden basket which is more nicely
finished than their own. M

Together with this very specialized tule culture, resulting K
from the life of the people upon the immediate lake shore, go 105
water foods, particularly wokas and fish, and the special imple- 22
ments devoted to the gathering of the wokas and to the capture 415
of various animals, birds, and fish. Such for instance are the [133]
peculiar duck arrow, the large dip-net, the net used at night in [184]
connection with a light in the canoe for catching ducks and other
water birds, the many-pointed fish spear, the two forms of bone [501]
hooks, the dug-out canoe, and the forked pole for propelling it
in shallow water. The peculiar stone implements, such as the [276]
two-horned muller, L-shaped and discoidal pipes, and triangular
net-sinker, are also noteworthy.

The specialization of culture in this region is very striking M
indeed when it is compared with the culture of surrounding K
peoples, as for instance, the Paiute to the east, where coiled
basketry predominates and tule work is almost unknown, and 105
with that of the Indians of the Upper Columbia river region to 101
the north, whose culture was very largely influenced by the 171
buffalo or plains Indian culture. A comparison with the Oregon Indians is difficult not only because the Oregon cultures are comparatively little known, but because the majority of Oregon Indians, owing to their habitat, showed either a coast or a desert culture, which is not readily comparable with the inland lake environment and culture of the Klamath and Modoc. The Indians in certain respects most similar to the Lutuami in culture lived down the Klamath river in the northwestern part of California. Here are found such things as the stone maul and the large triangular fish net. Here also the basketry is entirely twined and in a large measure of comparatively soft materials; and the willow or hazel burden baskets are very similar in their general appearance, form, and particularly in the border finish.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

M
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101
• 105
171

Dug-out canoes, though of a somewhat different form, are also made in northwestern California, and in general the art of working wood is well developed there. In fact, it is so well developed that the most characteristic wooden implements of northwestern California are not paralleled among the Klamath and Modoc or any of the California Indians. The Klamath and Modoc also have the earth house and the tule mat house, the tule raft, and the tule moccasin, and they also burn the dead, in all which respects they differ from the Indians of northwestern California. In these respects they agree with the Indians of a large part of the great Central California culture area, sometimes more closely with peoples that are near-by, such as the adjacent Achomawi, sometimes, especially in single characteristics, with those more distant. On the whole, however, the Lutuami must be placed in a class by themselves, at least as regards their material culture, with their specialized tule and stone objects, and implements for use on the water, and their characteristic foods. In large part this specialization is the outcome of habitat in a restricted and unusual environment of large, shallow, inland lakes.

[p. 261 is blank]

1: Spier, Leslie. Klamath ethnography. California, University, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1930.

10, 338 p.; 18 text figures, 4 maps.

Yale: E51 C32 30.

[The first part of this monograph is a description of Klamath culture and society as the author found it in 1925 and 1926, and as he could reconstruct it from the accounts of the old people of the tribe. A great number of Klamath words are given throughout the descriptive part of the text. In the second part, Klamath culture is compared trait by trait with the surrounding cultures of the Great Basin, California and the Northwest Coast, and also with various other North American Indian groups. According to the author, certain traits like the significance of wealth, importance of chiefs, slavery, and the dependence of social standing on the mother's bride price are not original to Klamath culture but have been accepted from the Northwest Coast and California Indian cultures not too long before the reservation period. A glossary was kept.]

Field date: 1925, 1926
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Sarah Bridges, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 4, 5
Processed in 1970-1973

2: Voegelin, Erminie Wheeler. Culture element distributions: XX, northeast California. California, University, Publications, Anthropological Records, 7, no. 2. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1942.

vi, 47-251 p.; tables; map.

HRAF copy.

[This source is a comparative ethnographic study of 15 northeastern California groups and one group in southern Oregon (the Klamath), based on fieldwork during 1936 and analysis of the published record. The study is based on a list of about 5500 elements on which the various informants were questioned. Voegelin worked with a single Klamath informant from Klamath Marsh during July 17-July 22, and September 27, 1936. There is a great deal of information here gathered together in a form which makes it easy to compare with other sources in the Klamath file. The other major groups studied were NS5 Achomawi, NS15 Maidu, NS17 Modoc, NS21 Shasta and NS26 Wintun. A list of tribal abbreviations for use with the tables is given on page 50-B, and explanation of the symbols used is given on p. 51.]

Field date: 1936
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Timothy J. O'Leary, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1971-1975

3: Stern, Theodore. The Klamath tribe; a people and their reservation. American Ethnological Society, Monograph 41, Seattle and London, University of Washington Press, 1965.

16, 356 p; 4 maps; 8 plates; 2 documents; appendix; notes; bibliography; index.

HRAF copy. DLC card no.: 65-23911.

[This book presents in detail the history of the Klamath people from the first, more intense contacts with white people during the first half of the 19th century until the termination of the reservation in 1954. During the long reservation period the tribe failed to form a politically effective unit. Factions based upon kin grouping and presenting different degrees of acculturation, as well as disinterest in political activity by part of the tribe, seem to have been responsible for this situation. The author claims that with the reservation coming to an end, the Klamath tribe has also come to an end. However, with the termination of the reservation the Klamath became more and more interested in the pan-Indian movement.]

Field date: 1949-1951, 1956-1957
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1970-1973

4: Pearsall, Marion. Klamath childhood and education. California, University, Anthropological Records, 9 (1950): 339-351. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1950.

(Double column; repaginated by HRAF as pp. i-iii, 339A-351B).

Yale: NK10 C24 9.

[This account of education and childhood amongst the Klamath is based on the reports of several old people who themselves experienced traditional tribal life as children. According to the informants no formal way of teaching children existed; instead skills and knowledge were transmitted in a rather informal way. Boys were trained for enduring physical hardships. Emphasis was placed upon quiet behavior of children when in adult company.]

Field work: 1947
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Sarah Bridges, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1971-1973

5: Barrett, Samuel Alfred. The material culture of the Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians of northeastern California and southern Oregon. California, University, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 5 (1907/1910): 239-293. Berkeley, University Press, 1910.

16 plates.

Yale: E51 C32 5.

[The article is a general account on the material culture of the Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians. Basketry is the outstanding feature in this material culture. Utensils, housing material, clothing and rafts are woven from the various kinds of reeds of the marshlands which are in the territory of these Indians. From the text of this article it can not be seen which objects come from which of the two Indian groups.]

Field date: 1907
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Sarah Bridges, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1970-1973

6: Clifton, James A. and David Levine. Klamath personalities: ten Rorschach case studies. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 1963.

3, 80 p.

HRAF copy.

[In this report on the highly acculturated Klamath Reservation Indians of south-eastern Oregon the results of Rorschach tests on ten different persons are discussed. Test results as well as general observation indicate a marked reservedness and restraint in interpersonal relations - with fellow Indians as well as with Whites - as characteristic for these Indians. In the course of acculturation the extended family household with shared property and division of labor has given way to the nuclear family household with a strictly individualized property system and minimal cooperativeness. Personal relations between the members of the generally rather unstable nuclear family are also marked by considerable restraint.

The authors make it clear that present-day Reservation culture bears extremely little resemblence to the original Klamath culture, and that the present-day Klamath personality type can not be equated with the personality types of pre-contact Klamath society.]

Field date: 1958-1959
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Sarah T. Bridges, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist 4, 5
Psychologist 4, 5
Processed in 1971

7: Gatschet, Albert Samuel. The Klamath Indians of southwestern Oregon. U. S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. 2, pt. 1. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1890.

106, 711p.: map.

Yale: Se8 023 21.

[Only pp. i-cvi, 1-197 have been processed for the NR10 Klamath file. The remainder is a grammar and a dictionary.]

[This source represents a valuable contribution to the ethnography of the Klamath Indians, written as it was prior to the reservation period during early Indian-White contacts period. Contained in this source are data on geography, settlements, traditional folk-lore and culture history, linguistics, mythology, the spirit world, and a large collection of native texts and songs in Klamath with English transliterations illustrating some of the above cultural aspects (e.g., traditional history, mythology, etc.). Much comparative information is also presented on the Modoc Indians (NS17), a linguistically related but culturally distinct group. This information will be found only in category 116.]

Field date: 1877
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Dubravka Schmalzbauer, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1971-1974

8: Spencer, Robert F. Native myth and modern religion among the Klamath Indians. Journal of American Folklore, 65 (1952): 217-226. Philadelphia, American Folklore Society, 1952.

Yale: Nkg10 J82 65.

[This brief article is a discussion of the relationship between aboriginal ideas about mythology and religion and how they are integrated with current Christian ideas. Kemu'kemps, the Klamath culture hero, essentially a trickster figure similar to Coyote, is frequently associated with the Christian God. However, many feel he is more similar to Satan. Hence there is a confusion about the relationship, but some kind of syncretism is common.]

Field date: Summers, 1948, 1949
Analysts: Martin Malone, marker
Marlene Martin, checker

Evaluation: Ethnographer-5
Processed in 1974

9: Barker, M.A.R. Klamath texts. Foreword by Mary R. Haas. California, University, Publications in Linguistics, vol. 30. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1963.

8, 197 p.; 2 maps; 3 plates.

Yale: F12 C12 30.

[The first part of this book contains myths; the second part contains interviews with informants about various subjects, primarily about the times before intense contact with Whites. The Klamath text is printed on the pages with even numbers, the English translation on the ones with odd numbers.]

Field date: summers of 1955, 1956, and 1957
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Linguist-5
Processed in 1971-1972

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MM-NS	874	706	421	2330
MM-MV	724	848	624	2075
MF-NF	941	759	473	2177
MF-NM	747	616	415	1778
MF-NS	683	917	404	2182
MF-MV	761	887	530	2028
NF-NM	749	386	445	2062
NF-NS	682	684	431	2472
NF-MV	742	637	309	2312
NM-NS	629	474	358	1993
NM-MV	665	493	481	2004
NS-MV	512	399	559	2702

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Abbreviations:

AA	American Anthropologist.
AMNH-AP	American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers.
-B	Bulletin.
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin.
JAFL	Journal of American Folk-Lore.
SI-MC	Smithsonian Institution Miscellaneous Collections.
UC-AR	University of California Anthropological Records.
-PAAE	Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
UW-PA	University of Washington Publications in Anthropology.

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AA	American Anthropologist
BAE-R	Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Reports
CNAE	Contributions to North American Ethnology
UC	University of California Publications
-AR	Anthropological Records
-PAAE	American Archaeology and Ethnology

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extended far enough to include the drainage into Sycan marsh, K 101
and thence on toward the south, passing several miles east of the 131
town of Bly and including the whole of the Sprague river drainage.[1] The southern part of the eastern boundary probably 133
passed somewhat east of Clear lake and around the head of Lost river. The southern boundary was probably the divide between the drainage of Klamath and Rhett lakes and that of Pitt river.

The Lutuami[2] are divided into two slightly different dialectic M
divisions: the Klamath Lake, usually known simply as Klamath, K
occupying a comparatively large territory about Upper Klamath 101
lake, the northern part of Lower Klamath lake, Klamath marsh, 197
and the region to the east; and the Modoc, occupying the region about Rhett lake and the southern end of Lower Klamath lake. One informant mentioned a third dialect, which he said was spoken by the people formerly living on Link river and about Linkville or what is now known as Klamath Falls. In view of the slight lexical differences between the Klamath and Modoc dialects, it seems very probable that if a third linguistic division did exist it was inconsiderable and not more than a sub-dialectic variation. At any rate the only linguistic units recognized by the people themselves are the two dialects spoken by the Klamath and the Modoc. The fact that the two divisions speak slightly differently, does not seem to appeal to the people themselves so much as the fact that they were in former times politically disunited, and were in fact, upon certain occasions at least, at war.

As nearly as could be determined the boundary between the M
Klamath and Modoc territories extended through the northern K 101

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[1] This is the boundary generally claimed by the Klamath. One Paiute 131
informant, however, claimed that the territory of his people extended as far west as Yam Say peak and the Black hills, thus including Sycan marsh in the Paiute country. Like Klamath informants he stated that the boundary passed a few miles east of Bly.

[2] Gatschet, Contrib. N. A. Ethn., II, gives Lutuami as meaning lake, [114]
i.e., Tule lake, in the Achomawi or Pit River language. The people have
no name for themselves other than maklaks, person, Indian. Maklaks
is possibly the source of our word Klamath, the origin of which is un- [13]
known. The Klamath Lake people are called in their own language Eukshikni maklaks or Eukskni maklaks, at the lake people, from Eukshi, which denotes specifically Klamath marsh, but also the adjoining country, including the eastern shore of Upper Klamath lake. Eukshi appears to be derived from euah, lake. The Modoc are called Moatokni maklaks or Modokni maklaks, in the south people, from moatak, Tule lake. Moatak is a derivative from muat, south.

M clusion of almost everything else. The seeds of this plant,
K gathered and preserved in three different manners, as described
13 in detail by Coville,[a] form the staple article of food and thus
correspond to acorns used over the greater part of California.
About Tule or Rhett lake and the smaller lakes of that vicinity
there are fewer marshes and consequently a smaller supply of
the water-lily. Thus the Modoc were much less abundantly supplied with this staple than were the Klamath, who are said to
have had on Klamath marsh alone over ten thousand acres of
these plants. The chief vegetable food of the Modoc seems to
have been tubers and bulbs, notably camass and ipos.

M The extensive lakes of this region naturally bring great num-
K bers of water birds of various kinds, including swans, geese,
136 ducks, and wading birds, the majority of which were used by the
Indians as food and in various ways. The skins of swans, geese,
and other birds with especially fine down, were made into
feather blankets, swaddling clothes, etc. Fish were abundant in
the lakes, salmon and salmon trout being especially esteemed by
M the Indians. The presence of this large supply of water birds
K and fish developed certain specialized implements for their cap-
223 ture. For taking birds there were what may be termed a ring-
M pointed arrow, and a special net. There were several methods
K of taking fish, the most important being by the large triangular
226 dip-net used in the dug-out canoe, as shown in pl. 10.
501 The country provided also an abundance of the usual animals,
M such as deer, elk, antelope, and others used for food; and coyotes,
K gray wolves, foxes, badgers, wildcats, rabbits, and various fur-
136 bearing animals furnishing blankets and clothing.
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BUILDINGS.

M The houses of the Klamath and Modoc were of two kinds. In
K this region where the snow on the higher peaks is always in
342 sight, and where it often reaches a depth of several feet in winter,
[133] a warm and durable house is necessary. This was provided by
[132] the semi-subterranean earth lodge, which was of the usual central
California form, and had a pit from a foot to three or four feet

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● [113] [a] Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians, Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Institution, 1902, 727-739.

Another stone implement is the single-grooved, flat-bottomed arrow straightener, such as is shown in pl. 21, fig. 9. A perforated wooden arrow straightener, of the form shown in fig. 5 of the same plate, is still used.

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Implements of obsidian and of flint are common. Arrowheads and large spear points, as also knives which were formerly fitted into wooden handles, are yet to be found. These points are found by the Indians in various parts of the country where they have been used and left by former inhabitants. They are chiefly employed at present as charms in medicine and gambling. A gambler may take a large obsidian knife or spear point and, after singing the proper song, place it under the large tule mat upon which the game is being played, to insure good luck. In addition to their use in medicine as charms they are also employed for purposes of scarification.

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Stone pipes of several forms (pl. 22, figs. 8, 9, 10) are still used. The discoidal form shown in figure 10, which is quite unusual for the Pacific slope, appears to have been less used in aboriginal times than the obtuse-angled form shown in figure 8.

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GAMES.

The Lutuami, like most aboriginal peoples, had many games for both adult and young. It will not be necessary to go into details here, as the subject has been treated by Dr. George A. Dorsey[a] and Mr. Stewart Culin.[b]

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BASKETRY.

The basketry of the Klamath and Modoc, which is always twined, may be classified under two heads: soft or pliable basketry and stiff or rigid basketry. The former predominates very largely and all the finer baskets are made in this manner. The materials used for this sort of basketry are as follows. The skin of the leaves of the cat-tail tule forms the white material which is used as the groundwork of almost all of the finer baskets. The

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[a] Certain Gambling Games of the Klamath Indians, Amer. Anthr., n. s. III, 14-27, 1901.

[b] Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., 136, 247, 291, 328, 479, 550, 659, 740, 1907.

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GEOGRAPHY OF THE KLAMATH HIGHLANDS.

121 The first part in the historical and social study of a tribe or nation must be a thorough examination of the country and of the climate (in the widest sense of this term) in which it has grown up, for these two agencies give character to peoples, races, languages, institutions, and laws. This principle applies equally to the cultured and to the ruder or less developed populations of the globe, for none of them can possibly hold itself aloof from the agencies of nature, whether acting in a sudden manner or gradually, like the influences of climate. The races inhabiting coasts, islands, peninsulas, jungles, plains, prairies, woodlands, foot-hills, mountains, and valleys differ one from another in having distinguishing characteristic types indelibly impressed upon their countenances by their different environments. That upland and mountaineer tribes have made very different records from those of nations raised in plains, lowlands, on coasts and islands is a fact of which history gives us many well-authenticated instances.

133 eruption, the series of the principal peaks, as the Three Sisters, Mount Jefferson, and Mount Hood, marking the general direction of the ridge.

The formation consists of a dark and hard basaltic and andesitic lava, which also forms numerous extinct volcanic cones and basins lying on the east side of the range (Mount Scott, Crater Lake, craters in Sprague River valley, etc.). This formation underlies the whole of the Klamath River headwaters, but stratified deposits cover it at many places, consisting of sandstone, infusorial marls, volcanic ashes, pumice-stone, etc. Prof. J. S. Newberry* describes this volcanic rock as "a dark vesicular trap".

East of the basin of the Klamath Lakes and south of the Columbia River water-shed lies an extensive territory extending to the east towards Owyhee River, and having its largest area in Nevada and Utah. It has been called the Great Basin of the Interior, and has an average altitude of 5,000 feet. The numerous fault-fissures intersecting it from north to south form its principal geologic feature. In the Quaternary period long and narrow lakes marked those faults on the obverse side of their dip; and even now, when evaporation has left these depressions almost dry, small bodies of water mark the site of the fissures even where erosion has obliterated most traces of a fracture of the earth's crust. The most conspicuous of these fissures in the basaltic formations are in Oregon, northern California and Nevada: the valley of Quinn River, Alvord Valley with Pueblo Valley, Guano Valley, Warner Lake with Long and Surprise Valley, Abert, Summer, and Silver Lake Valley. A geologic reconnaissance of the country west of this northwestern portion of the Great Basin, the central parts of which were once filled by the Quaternary Lake Lahontan, with its enormous drainage basin, would probably prove a similar origin for the two Klamath Lakes with Klamath Marsh, and for Goose Lake Valley.

These two secondary basins lie nearest the base of the great mountain wall of the Cascade Range, and therefore receive a larger share of the rain precipitated upon it than the more distant ones. The supply of water received during the year being thus larger than the annual evaporation, the excess flows off in the streams which drain the basin. There is much analogy between the basin of the Klamath Lakes and that of Pit River;

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* Pacific Railroad Reports, 1854-'55, vol. 6, part 2, pp. 34-39.

133 a strong bubbling motion, without any indication of other springs in the vicinity. They are met with in soil formed of volcanic sands and detritus, have a rounded shape with steep borders, and form the principal feeders of the streams into which they empty. Ponds like these mainly occur in wooded spots. Some of them have a diameter of one hundred feet and more, and are populated by fish and amphibians of all kinds.

The lake region east of the Reservation was often visited in the hunting and fishing season by the Klamath Lake, Modoc, and especially by the Snake Indians. Goose Lake was one of the principal resorts of the Snake and the Pit River Indians; and even now the numerous rivulets flowing into it make its shores desirable to American stockmen and settlers. Warner [103] (or Christmas) Lake, fully thirty-five miles in length, was once enlivened by the troops camping at Fort Warner, on its eastern side.* Chewaukan Marsh (Tchuaχē'ni) has its name from the tchuá or "water potato", the fruit of *Sagittaria*, and is by its outlet connected with Abert Lake.

The Indians of the Reservation annually repair about the month of June to Klamath Marsh (É-ukshi) to fish, hunt, and gather berries and wókash or pond-lily seed, which is one of their staple foods. Its surface is somewhat less than that of Upper Klamath Lake. Its shores are high on the southeastern, low and marshy on the northwestern side. Water appears at single places only, insufficient to warrant the marsh being called, as it often is, a lake.

137 The Oregonian portions of the country described belong politically to Klamath and to Lake Counties, the county seats of which are Linkville and Lakeview, on the northern end of Goose Lake. The latter place also contains a United States land office.

FLORA AND FAUNA.

Vegetation usually gives a characteristic stamp to a country, but in arid districts, as those of the Klamath highlands, it is rather the geological features which leave an impress on our minds. The further we recede from

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[113] * Goose and Warner Lakes are described in Lieutenant Wheeler's Report, Annual Report of Chief of Engineers, 1878 8°. Appendix N N, pp. 113–120. Goose Lake, by Stephen Powers, in "A Pony Ride on Pit River," Overland Monthly of San Francisco, October, 1874, pp. 342–351.

000 give us graphic sketches of these intertribal broils. Some of the eastern Pit Rivers seem to have lived on friendly terms with the Modocs; but the bands farther south, especially the Hot Spring and Big Valley Indians, were the principal sufferers by these incursions. In a raid of 1857 fifty-six of their women and children were enslaved and sold on the Columbia River for Cayuse ponies, one squaw being rated at five or six horses and a boy one horse.*

The Pit River Indians were a predatory tribe also, and very dangerous to the immigrants passing through their country to northwestern Oregon. Their continued depredations made it a duty of the Government to inflict upon them a heavy chastisement, and Maj. Gen. George Crook, commanding the Colorado Department of the United States Army, was intrusted with its execution. This campaign of 1867 is described by him as follows:†

> I continued the campaign into the Pit River country with Company H, First Cavalry, Lieutenant Parnelle; Company D, Twenty-third Infantry, Lieutenant Madigan, First Cavalry, commanding; and Archie McIntosh, with his twenty Fort Boisé Indian scouts. We found on Pit River a party of warriors in camp. They fled. The next day we discovered a large party of warriors in the bluffs on the river. We had a severe fight, lasting two days and nights. They effected their escape by means of holes and crevices in the ground. A great many were killed, among whom were some of note; how many could not be ascertained. Our loss was Lieutenant Madigan and three men killed, and eight soldiers and one citizen wounded.

The more unruly portion of these Indians were subsequently removed to the Round Valley Reservation, California, and about two hundred are still in their old homes.

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Between the Klamaths and the neighboring Snake tribes there was always a sort of disaffection, based upon difference of race, language, and habits; but whether their earlier relations were always those of open hostility or not is past finding out.‡ The wording of the treaty makes it probable that the hunting grounds north and east of their present seats on Sprague River were shared in common by both, and that the Snake Indians frequently

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* Alex. S. Taylor, "California Farmer," May, 1850.

† Report of the Secretary of War, 1868–'69, Part I, p. 69, dated August 22, 1867. Stephen Powers refers to this fight in Contributions III, p. 268.

‡ One of the Texts, p. 28, shows that the Snakes in one instance attacked and massacred in a very cowardly way some women near the outlet of Williamson River.

175 changed their settlements, as hunting nations are in the habit of doing.
648 Thus Pauline Marsh, near Silver Lake, and Pauline Lake, on one of the head springs of Des Chutes River, were both named after the Snake chief Panaína of our Texts. The bands established upon the Reservation since the treaty was concluded are called Walpapi and Yahushkin. At first they ran off and committed depredations in the vicinity, whereupon the Government was compelled to force them back. General Crook made several expeditions in the execution of the task. These campaigns were short and decisive, and the Klamath Lake scouts engaged in them did good service, as evidenced by General Crook's reports* and Dave Hill's Text, pages 28–33. Upon the defeat and killing of Panaína, the Walpapi chief, the tribe finally quieted down and remained neutral in the commotion caused by the Modoc war of 1872–'73.

175 No indications are at hand of the number of Indians formerly inhabit-
161 ing the headwaters of the Klamath River. Before the first census was
164 taken estimates deserving no credence were made, varying from one thousand to two thousand Indians. In those times the scourges of small-pox, syphilis, and whisky did not inflict such terrible ravages as they do now among the Indians; but instead of these the continual tribal quarrels, family vengeance, the ordeals of witchcraft, dearth of food, and the inhuman treatment of the females must have claimed many more victims than at
[563] present. Emigration and intermarriages with other tribes were rather the
[167] exception than the rule, and are so even now.

THE TREATY OF 1864.

175 During the ten years following Wright's massacre the country began
648 to assume a somewhat different aspect through the agricultural and stock-raising settlements of white people that sprung up in Lost River Valley, around Little Klamath Lake and in other places. The cession of lands to the "Oregon Central Military Road Company" from Eugene City, in Willámet Valley, through the Cascade range, across the Klamath Marsh, to

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1[illegible] [13] * Contained in the Report of the Secretary of War, 1868–'69, Part I, pp 69, 70, dated September 2, 1867, and March 19, 1868. The troops killed twenty-four Snake Indians in the expedition of 1867. See also Texts, Note to 28, 14.

114 ment sent out in different directions army officers and engineers to survey the proposed routes, and to publish the results in a series of volumes.* For this purpose the Thirty-second Congress appropriated, by an act passed May 3, 1853, the sum of $150,000, which was by two later appropriations in 1854 increased to a total of $340,000. A branch of this railroad was to run up the Sacramento Valley to the Columbia River. In this portion the Klamath headwaters were principally concerned, and it is that which was surveyed by Lieut. Robert Stockton Williamson,† assisted by Lieut. Henry Larcom Abbot, both of the Corps of Topographical Engineers. Their joint report, together with the reports of specialists on zoölogy, botany, geology, etc., is contained in Vol. VI (1855).‡ These reports are valuable and on a level with the condition of science as it was in those days; but the use of the volumes is inconvenient when reference has to be made to the bulky maps, all of which are contained in other volumes than the reports themselves. Lieutenant Williamson, assisted by Lieutenant Crook, when on the border of Klamath Marsh (August 22, 1855), obtained one hundred and two terms of the Klamath Lake dialect, which are published in Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 71, 72. This vocabulary is brimful of mistakes, not through any want of attention of these officers, but because they questioned their interpreter through the imperfect mediums of gestures and the Chinook jargon.

The vocabulary taken in 1864 by Dr. William M. Gabb at Koháshti shows the same defects, and was obtained through the "jargon" also; other collections were made by Dr. Washington Matthews, W. C. Clark, and Lewis F. Hadley. The words of Modoc as quoted in the publications of A. B. Meacham are misspelt almost without exception. From Stephen Powers we possess a short Modoc vocabulary, as yet unpublished.

Whosoever inspects these word collections will see at once that the study of the Klamath language had never gone beyond the vocabulary

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113 * Reports of explorations and surveys to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, made in 1853 and years following. Washington, 1855–1860. Quarto; illustr. with plates and maps. Thirteen volumes.

† Williamson was born 1824 in New York, and died 1882 in San Francisco. Abbot, a native of Beverly, Massachusetts, was born in 1831.

‡ The first part of Vol. VI contains Abbot's report, and is chiefly topographical.

773 noontime, would alone suffice to show that he represents the *sun*, the most
776 potent, we may say unique factor in giving life, nourishment, and health
772 to living organisms, the most important of the sky-gods, and the great center of myth production among all nations of the world. In one of the Modoc myths it is stated that "at the call of the morning star K'músh sprang from the ashes (of the fiery sky or aurora) as hale and as bright as ever, and so will he continue to live as long as the (solar) disk and the morning star shall last, for the morning star is the 'medicine' (múluash?) of the disk." In other myths he appears in the form of the golden or bright *Disk*, inhabiting the higher mountain ridges and becoming the suitor of females afterwards deified. Thus, like Hor, Rā, and Atum, he appears sometimes as the morning sun, at other times as the noonday and evening sun, and in the myths referring to weather he is either the summer or the winter sun. The burning pipe which Aíshish's son takes from his grandfather and destroys in the camp-fire represents the sun setting in a glowing red evening-sky. As the summer sun with his gigantic power he brings on a conflagration of the world and as a cloud-gatherer he causes an inundation. In the warm season he appears wrapt up in haze and fogs, which the myth in its imagery represents as "a smoky camp-fire," almost impenetrable to the sun-rays: "his arrows fall to the ground before they reach the mark."* To typify his sagacity and omniscience, K'múkamtch appears under the symbolic mask of a quadruped, the *pine-marten* or Skō'l, in Modoc Tchkē'l, which changes its black winter fur to a brown coating in the hot months of the year, and thereby became a sort of portent to the Indian. Similar changes occur with all the fur animals, but with the marten the difference in the color appears to be greater than with others. Skō'l sends his brother Tcháshgai, or *Weasel*, to obtain one-eyed women for both, these being sun and moon, which the Eskimos also represent as one-eyed, deified persons.† The North wind, which is blowing in alternation with the South
821 wind, is attacked and killed by Skō'l. Here Skō'l represents the sun of the summer months, for the summer's heat defeats the cold blasts of the wintry

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113 * Texts, pp. 99, 4 (shláyaks ak), and 5.

† Cf. the Maidu myth of Kodo-Yampē in Stephen Powers's "California Tribes;" Contributions to North American Ethnology, III, 293.

NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

BY ROBERT F. SPENCER

773 IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians
177 of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of
178 aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among
176 other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer
182 can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations. A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal myth.

175 Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation
177 from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which
222 it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In
226 its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes
631 of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic
621 economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separatistic
771 hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly
791 developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

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101 [1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949,
122 on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund, 1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

113 [2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

771 To treat aboriginal Klamath religion under three headings of shamanism,
791 power quest, and cosmology is patent oversimplification. In nature and
551 content these features formed an integrated configuration reflecting a major
cultural preoccupation. It is true that the shaman in each community played
a dominant role and in his capacity as curer, magician, and entertainer commanded
787 the utmost in social prestige. On the other hand, as was common in
western North America, every individual, at puberty and thereafter, deliberately
and repeatedly sought contact with a variably defined spirit world.
Thus Klamath culture had a variation of the American Indian guardian-spirit
773 theme. Less specifically formalized, and so perhaps, less well integrated,
776 were the elements of myth and tale, the rationalizations for the presence of
various natural phenomena, for eschatology, and for the general conception
of the universe. Like adjacent tribes, the Klamath interested themselves in
animal spirits. These were of particular importance in providing shamanistic
power. In the individual power quest, however, the sources from which spiritual
forces emanated were less specifically defined. A rather wide range of supernatural
powers was recognized, some being animals, some vaguely anthropomorphic,
others relating to such natural features as mountains, streams,
rocks, or even landmarks like Crater Lake. In respect to these forces an
involved folklore has arisen which allows some classification of the Klamath
775 concepts of the supernatural. In this realm, for example, are views about
the abode of the dead and the nature of ghosts and souls, these being carefully
differentiated from nonhuman spirits.[3] Here too is a body of myth relating
to superhuman dwarf men and women, to the forces in specific places or
natural phenomena in the Klamath terrain, and finally, the most important
for this discussion, to the culture hero, the anthropomorphic Kemu'kemps.[4]

171 Kemu'kemps, while not usually identified with an animal spirit, has many
characteristics suggesting the folklore regarding Coyote in the Plateau-Basin.
He is at once creator and trickster, angrily forbidding in some contexts,
indifferent in others, and in still others a ludicrous buffoon.

825 Essentially human in conceptualization (a myth complex relating to a
821 human hero also occurs in adjacent regions), Kemu'kemps is sometimes
identified with the marten, whose younger brother is weasel, and with the
winds.[5] In the myths assembled by Gatschet, he constantly rivals his magically
born son 'Ayšiš, whose destruction he repeatedly plans, often with the result
821 of encompassing his own. Weather, such as rain or heat, was also attributed
to him. Kemu'kemps is also the creator, and there are numerous folktales
which tell how he brought various locations into being. At his instigation,

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113 1939), cf. 145-149; Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distributions: Northeastern California* (Anthropological Records, 7: 2, Berkeley, 1942).

[3] Spier, 1930, pp. 100 ff.

113 [4] Cf. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (U. S. Geological Survey, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Washington, 1890), pt. 1, lxxix-lxxxv, and pt. 2, 138-140. A summary is also given by Spier, 1930, loc. cit.

[5] Gatschet, 1890, pt. 1, lxxxii-iii.

773 Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6]
776 the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath
823 Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

177 To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifi-
175 cations in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroach-
721 ment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon.
791 An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result
797 proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and
182 patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

175 Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western
668 American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

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825 [6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'akemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

113 [7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

113 [9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

Here Christian
175 elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath
668 traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The
177 acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost
Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather
[578] than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the
pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

175 By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had
177 burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with
[668] essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic
competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so
[797] lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values
[791] were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic
practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One infor-
[533] mant tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power) have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important
771 movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the
175 Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with
177 longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused
slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orienta-
795 tion, the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology; but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements
[755] also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are employed (for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil,
178 and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult,
771 too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some
years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services.
795 The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

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[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kemps was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

[113] [11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

[113] [12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

[113] [13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.

773 is Mu·natul'kni· ("The One Below"). They say Kemu'kemps is everywhere
776 and that's like God. I think about that sometimes."

177 Undoubtedly, a confusion arises because of the adoption by missionaries,
[797] years ago, of terms for the Christian God which the Klamath had applied to the culture hero. The overlapping of Christian and native concepts is readily seen and provides a basis for debate and doubt.[15] It may be profitable to note some of the views and to determine how variable present attitudes are. There is scarcely any standardization except a very prevalent view that Kemu'kemps is somehow real.

The statements which follow were made by Klamath in response to the general question: What is Kemu'kemps? One man, aged about seventy-four, remarked to Hiroto Zakoji, University of Oregon: "Kemu'kemps disappears when he wants to. He tells what will happen and it happens exactly. He gives power to the Indian doctors [shamans] and sends them their songs. But I heard in stories that Kemu'kemps does bad things; he does tricks. I think he is mean, too. God in the Bible is mean sometimes, too. In the Bible it says that God is a jealous god. That's in the first Genesis [sic] and the Ten Commandments says that, too . . . . Sometimes I think Kemu'kemps is the Devil himself. There is a place near the dam over near Chiloquin on this side of the river. There is a big rock sticking out over there near a cave. Kemu'kemps tricks people to go there and dance when a girl reaches the age [puberty]. He misleads people. But God sometimes does bad things; he made Adam and Eve, but he also made the apple."

Two older male informants told separately versions of a myth about Kemu'kemps as a trickster. In the tale, the culture hero set what appeared to be venison up on poles. When the people present asked for some, he at once welcomed them to a feast. To their horror, they found that they were eating Kemu'kemps' feces. The hero laughed and disappeared. The remarks of a man, aged sixty-two, are of interest: "Can you imagine him doing a thing like that? I think that's just a disgusting old Indian story. God wouldn't do a thing like that, so Kemu'kemps must be Devil. But God made plagues in Egypt and maybe that's what this was like."

Although some informants conclude that the culture hero is an older revelation of the Christian God, others, as may be seen, are equally convinced that he is allied with or is the Christian Satan. But the ambivalent attitude appears to be most characteristic. H. Zakoji, of the University of Oregon, reports the following statement from a 74-year-old male informant: "I don't know what he is, God or Devil or what he is. According to the Bible, we worship one God. Nobody ever saw God and white people say that. That's what gets me. Kemu'kemps dealt with the Indians only. He must be before Christ came and he must have disappeared when Christ came." In another connection, he said to me: "If Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came, then Christ conquered him. They say when Christ died, he conquered sin and the Devil.

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[113] [15] These statements suggest the views of Father Wilhelm Schmidt and their implications as given in his *High Gods of North America* (Oxford, 1933), especially chap. 8.

PART TWO: ETHNOGRAPHIC TEXTS

Introductory Note to Text 22

"Wokas" is the generic term for the seed of the common pond lily 824
(Nymphaea polysepala). In the old days much of the Klamath Marsh [133]
(estimated by some early writers at about 10,000 acres) was covered with
these plants, and there were long, shallow bays filled with them on both
sides of Klamath Lake. Much of Klamath economic life was concerned with [433]
the gathering, preparation, and cooking of this plant.

It is not proposed here to give a complete description of the various pro- 252
cesses involved in "wokas"-manufacture. Good explanations of this economic [114]
complex will be found in Coville,[69] Gatschet,[70] and Spier.[71] The following text
(and the two shorter ones by Mrs. Pompey which come after it) are intended [128]
only to illustrate Klamath narrative style and to indicate those features of
"wokas"-making which were salient in the view of the informants.

22. Wokas Preparation

(Mrs. Aggie Butler) 539*

222

(1) Long ago the Indians used to gather wokas, with a canoe. (2) And stand- 501
ing up on it they gathered wokas. (3) They bent down to pull them off, that wokas. (4) And they pulled off only the good ones, and some were unripe. (5) And having punctured it [with a fingernail] they saw [whether it was ripe or not]. (6) And they picked the yellow ones. (7) On becoming ripe it looks good, big. (8) And having picked those only, they threw them on the canoe and went. (9) And some were termed "snonʼapĺaqs." (10) And one was called "sbokẃas." (11) It was ripe. (12) And they put them down [in the canoe] apart.

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[69] Coville, Frederick V., "Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians," Report of the United States National Museum for 1902, pp. 727-739, Washington, 1904. [113]•

[70] Gatschet, op. cit.

[71] Spier, Leslie, "Klamath Ethnography," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, Berkeley, 1930. [113]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 129]

INTRODUCTION

The present study is based on information gathered among the Klamath for the University of California during two visits, each for a month, in 1925 and 1926. Klamath material culture was partly known from Barrett's description of his collection made twenty years ago. The immediate need appeared to be a study of their religion and social organization. Gatschet's account of The Klamath Indians published in 1890 contains many data on shamans' songs and allied topics, but it does not provide any systematic notion of their meaning. 114

The Klamath still live in their old home in southern Oregon, but their ancient culture exists only in their memories, save as the older people keep up domestic pursuits. Yet even middle-aged people have a very good knowledge of it. My elderly informants had all participated in the old life in their youth. These were Nancy Phillips, Pat Kane, and Coley Ball, all three about seventy, and Thomas Lang, about fifty-five. With the exception of Mrs. Phillips they gave information in English: in her case (the most valuable material) Mr. Lang and his son Delford acted as interpreters. 131 178 115

The social life of the Klamath is so much a thing of the past that only its formal aspects can now be recovered. An intimate picture is impossible. But to avoid a stilted expression I have written the account in the historical present. The description of material culture and economic life is not complete. It is still partly extant among the Klamath and well worth investigating. 128

In a final section I have attempted to place the Klamath in a setting of western cultures as a whole. This has been difficult because of the lack of comparative data from much of the northwest; further, only a fraction of the published accounts is available to me at this writing (in Norman, Oklahoma).

The phonetic scheme is the simpler system of the Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages (Smithsonian Misc. Coll., 66, no. 6, 1916), modified as:

ä as in *Allen*, pronounced more like *Ellen*.
ŋ as in *sing*.
ᴇ indefinite, obscure vowel; very short duration.
ḳ very far back.
ʀ cerebral; tongue tip probably turned back as Gatschet states (the sequence kr also occurs).
g̣ cerebral; may be the same sound.

KLAMATH ETHNOGRAPHY

BY

LESLIE SPIER

I. KLAMATH SOCIAL LIFE

THE KLAMATH AND THEIR TERRITORY

Tribal Relations and Population

The Klamath are the northern of the two major dialectic groups of the Lutuami linguistic stock, the other, the Modoc. Dialectically there is little difference, but of the two the Klamath have the richer, more specialized culture. 101 197

The Klamath recognize a number of local autonomous subdivisions but consider themselves a social unit. They call themselves ma'klaks, men;[1] all other tribes are known by directional or locality names. The origin of the designation Klamath is obscure; incidentally they pronounce this klă'mĕt, much as the early travelers wrote it. It is not a native name and evidently differs so much from native forms that none of my informants even attempted an etymology. Curiously enough, all the Klamath reserve the name for the Klamath marsh-Williamson river subdivision (ă'ukckni); others are "Klamath" only by courtesy. The reason may be that this is not only the numerically strongest subdivision, but the reservation on which they are now concentrated is little more than the old ă'ukckni territory. Gatschet suggested that the name is a Yurok word. 101 [114]

Its earliest use is perhaps that of Ogden in 1826. He uses the name "Clammitte" before reaching the country, possibly learning it among the Columbia river tribes. Yet members of his party had visited the Klamath country the year previous and may have learned it there. Elliott suggests an origin in "French Clair-metis, meaning a light mist or cloud."[2] Incidentally there is now no good reason for

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[1] Gatschet states that the *form* ma'klaks (ma'Elaks in my orthography) means one of themselves, máklaks, any other Indian (Gatschet, 1, xxxiii). My informants denied the existence of any such distinction, and indeed of the first *form*.

[2] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 202.

101 using the name for others on the Klamath river, whatever the local
114 usage in northern California. It will save the need for cumbersome titles like "the Klamath Lake Indians" if the name is reserved for the people described in this paper.

The Klamath are called dak'-ts!aᵉm-al-a'ᵉ or dak'-ts!aᵉw-an-a'ᵉ, "those above the lakes," by the Takelma of middle Rogue river[3] and wois by the Hanis or Upland Takelma of the Medford-Ashland district.[4] The Kalapuya call them Athlámeth,[5] which Kroeber suggests as a possible origin of Klamath.[6] Gatschet states that

> the Warm Spring and other Sahaptin Indians possess a generic name for all the Indians living upon this reservation and its vicinity: Aígspaluma, abbr. Aígspalo, Aíkspalu, *people of the chipmunks*, from the innumerable rodents peopling that pine covered district. This term comprises Snake, Payute, and Modoc Indians, as well as the Klamath Lake people.[7]

This appeals to me much as a folk etymology from a hybrid "people of ă'ukci' (Klamath marsh)." The same authority gives as Shasta designations makai'tserk and au'ksiwash. This Kroeber reproduces in the form auk-"siwash," as if compounded from the Chinook jargon word for Indian, but the first part also suggests ă'ukci. To the Pit river Indians (Achomawi and Atsugewi) they are ala'mmimakt ish, from ala'mmig, upper Klamath lake.[8] Curiously enough none of my informants knew what the Northern Paiute call them; Gatschet gives sa'yi, which is suspiciously like the name they give the Paiute, sat.

101 The Klamath make little distinction between tribes at a distance, naming them indiscriminately by direction. Thus the Modoc are mo'adŏk ma'klaks, south people, or mo'adŏkkni, southerners, the Pit river tribes, moă'tuwas, all derived from mo'as, south. At least one group of Modoc, gu'mbatwas, is distinguished by dialect.[9] No distinction is made between the several tribes of the upper Pit river (Achomawi, Atsugewi, etc.). A southern people called ḳadŏ'kiwŏs is known but probably only since the white advent. They lived thirty or forty miles west of Mount Shasta, near the Shasta, and

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[3] Sapir, Takelma Texts, 257; Notes on the Takelma, 255.

[4] This is Klamath information. By this word (wŭlx, meaning enemies, Upland Takelma, or Shasta in Takelma proper) I identify the Hanis or Wa'lŭmskni with Sapir's Upland Takelma (Notes, 252).

[5] Gatschet, 1:xxxiv.

[6] Handbook, 319.

[7] *Op cit.*, 1:xxxiii.

[8] See also Merriam, 48.

[9] "The Kúmbatuash lived on southeastern end of Tule (or Rhett) Lake, California." (Gatschet, 1:14.)

hunted on the Klamath river above them. This seems to be the Shasta 101
name for the Wintun of Trinity river, hatukwiwa or hatukeyu, which agrees with Gatschet's ascription, Sacramento Valley Indians.[10] The Shasta themselves are known only as că'sti. This might be taken as the long sought origin of the name Shasta, was there not the suspicion that its use may be only recent, displacing another and older application of "southerners" to them. Their principal s[illegible] near Yreka is că'stikăn, Shasta place.

Similarly all northern tribes are ya'mŏkkni, northerners (from ya'mŏt, north). By exclusion of the Indians at Warm Springs and the Dalles, however, this has come to mean the half Plains-like tribes farther up the Columbia. The Warm Springs people and those at [114]
Celilo near the Dalles are wătă'nkkni, a form which indicates that they are named for their locality. Gatschet gives wäitängi'sham and lókuashtkni.[11] The linked tribes at the Dalles, Wasco and Wishram, are the ŏ'mpkănkni, those of the locality ŏ'mpkăn, which by description must be in the neighborhood of Wasco, Oregon. This suggests that the word is from a'mbɛ, water (with a common locative suffix, cf. că'stikăn, tcŏkăn, service berry tract), hence is a translation into Klamath of the name Wasco. This, according to my own Wishram information, means "like a pan" (wasḳ'o) and refers to a spring at or near the present town of that name.

Since I completed field work with the Klamath, there has appeared Teit's 101
paper defining the original occupation and the extensive tribal movements in 114
northern Oregon and eastern Washington.[12] Had this been available, it would undoubtedly have been possible to render more exactly the meanings of ya'mŏkkni and wătă'nkkni.

It appears from Teit's conclusive evidence that at the opening of the eighteenth century all of eastern Washington was Salish territory as far as the Dalles. South of the Columbia was a band of Waiilatpuan territory, with the Molala on the middle Deschutes and in the mountains to the west, and with the Cayuse eastward of them nearly to the Snake river. South of these again were the Sahaptin peoples with the Cascade range and the Klamath on their west, the Nez Percé to the northeast, and the Snake groups on their other boundaries.

A series of movements beginning in the eighteenth century resulted in the withdrawal of the Salish to north of Priest Rapids because of the occupation of their territory by Sahaptins and the Cayuse. The Molala also withdrew into

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[10] Kroeber, Handbook, 355; Gatschet, 1:393.

[11] *Op. cit.*, 1:lvi, 18. My informants ascribed to them painted tipis (so'ḳlŭkṣ) of buffalo skin, long dance lodges made on a foundation of tipis, but no earth-lodges.

[12] The Middle Columbia Salish.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

101 114 the mountains and westward even beyond the Willamette valley, the Sahaptin Tyighpam settling in part of their country and the Tenino joining the Wasco. The immediate cause of these movements seems to have been the pressure of Snake raids, at their height about 1800–30. This is consonant with the very early acquisition of the horse by the Snake and their known warlike relations with the Plains tribes, which Wissler has demonstrated.[13]

This would explain the wide expanse of vacant country between the Klamath and the Dalles or at least as far as Warm Springs. In addition, Teit writes: "For a number of years the south side of the Columbia between Wallawalla and The Dalles was practically devoid of inhabitants" for fear of Snake raids. My informant, Coley Ball, stated that about 1865–70 there were no settlements between Klamath marsh and the Wasco villages at the Dalles. There were no Molala east of the Cascades. How recently the mixed group of Wasco-Tyighpam-Tenino occupied the Warm Springs country, I do not know. This would also explain the anomalous position of a Molala group on the very headwaters of the Rogue river where presumably they represent the final southerly drift along the western crest of the Cascade range.

101 West of the Cascades are Upland Takelma in the region from Ashland to Table Rock. They are wa'lūmskni; Mount Pitt is wa'lūmsyaina (yaina, mountain); the name then is regional, not directional. They are called ha'nis quite as frequently, but this name, which is properly that of the Coos group at Coos bay, has evidently been extended to them and others since the remnants of these tribes were collected at Siletz reservation.[14] In the extreme upper Rogue valley are Molala, tcōkā'nkni, those of the service berry (tcōk) patch.[15] [114] Gatschet gives mókai or móke as the Klamath name for the Kalapuya.[16] Beyond these groups none of the western Indians are known. Those of the lower Rogue river are now called soljo'kkni, those of the salt water, but this is from the Chinook jargon, saltchuck.[17]

All the Shoshoneans to the east are called sat; no distinctions are made. The actual neighbors are those groups known to us variously as Northern Paiute (Paviotso) and Snake. The Snake proper and Bannock may not have been in Oregon prior to the acquisition of the horse.

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[13] The Influence of the Horse, 13.

[14] Frachtenberg, Coos and Siuslawan (Lower Umpqua), 306, 441. One informant told me that the last of the wa'lūmskni, three old women, are still to be found at Siletz.

[15] My informants insisted this name was given because the Molala eat service berries. On the other hand one gave me as a Molala tale an incident in which the culture hero makes people of service berry bushes. One way or the other this looks like folk etymology. Their winter town was bū'kstubū'ks, a little below Prospect.

[16] *Op. cit.*, 2:217.

[17] See my Tribal Distribution in Southwestern Oregon.

The towns listed below are mostly winter settlements. Each held one or more earth-lodges. There may be more than are listed on Sprague river, the only part of the region I did not visit. With this exception I think none have been overlooked.[29] The towns are grouped in the list according to tribal subdivisions. 361

I. *Klamath marsh—Williamson river group* (ă'ukckni).—Settlements are in two principal groups: along the southern margin of Klamath marsh and on the lower Williamson river. Although a few more were indicated in the latter region, I was told that the winter population at the marsh is the larger. They do not live on the western side of the marsh, as the snow-fed streams there are too cold for fish. The upper part of Williamson river, a rugged canyon, is unoccupied, but the towns are practically continuous from above the Sprague river junction down to the point where the river leaves the hills. Several others are on the lake front near-by. Evidently the middle Sprague river settlements should be included with this subdivision, but there is some doubt. Towns there are widely separated and extend a considerable distance up the river; the easternmost is somewhere west of Gearhart mountain. I am not certain that Sycan river is regularly occupied; roots are dug there. Sycan marsh is not occupied; it is a summering place for ă'ukckni, for those of Yainax in particular. 131 361

1, mŭ'tcuia'ksi, near the bridge toward the eastern end of Klamath marsh. 131 361

2, k'ᴇtaiwa's, along the eastern side of the marsh. A cremation pile lies south of this town. 103

3, gŭpgŭa'ḳsi, houses stretching for perhaps two miles here, with a cremation pile near-by.

4, i'wal, and 5, kla'djŏḳsi, houses for some distance along this tongue extending into the marsh. A third cremation pile is east of i'wal.

6, du"lḳŭt, a very large town, perhaps a hundred house pits in an area three hundred yards by one hundred. Others extend along the marsh to the east.[30] All the tribelets congregated at this spot in the summer to gather lily seeds.

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[29] Gatschet lists sites (1:xxviii footnote, 142, *passim*). Many of his items are only place names; no permanent town is included that is not also in my list. In a few instances he has misinterpreted his information. [114]

[30] This would be an excellent site for archaeological exploitation. House pits here are more distinct than any others I have seen; elsewhere they have been leveled by the plow. [172]

103 7, awa'lwaskän, at least five earth-lodges here. Houses scattered
131 between this site and the last.

361 8, wa'ktale's, and 9, la'laks, slope steps,[31] two settlements on the higher ground where Williamson river leaves the marsh. The second had twenty houses on both sides of the stream.

10, lobŏ'kstsöksi, on the bluff on the left bank of the Sprague river
[226] at the railroad bridge, with a few houses on the opposite side. There is
a dam for salmon here. Gatschet gives the locality name as ktaí-tú-
[114] pakshi, standing rock.[32]

11, A site on the south side of Sprague river below the dam.

12, ķ!ötewă'ēts is a large winter settlement about two miles above the dam on the south bank of this river.

13, komă'ĕksi is a site on both sides of the river south of Braymill,
[823] four miles from Chiloquin. There is a cave here which was the home
[226] of Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero. Near-by is wo'kstat, the site of
the only first-fish rites among the Klamath.

14, ķa'umkän is about six miles above this cave. Many people lived on both sides of the river there. A cremation pile is there, probably the only one on Sprague river. The place takes its name from a spring (ķa'üm) on the western bank.

Whether there were permanent settlements above this on the river is difficult to say. At least there were settlements (15) of some sort on the river near Yainax before the coming of the whites.

16, hiedĭeluē'luke, a settlement west of Gearhart mountain.

17, bᴇzŭkse'was (from bᴇzŭks, obsidian); there are many people
in this town on the right bank which extends for a mile below the
[226] Sprague river mouth. On the opposite side, ha'potgŭs, is a dam in
which spring fish are caught; near-by are a few summer houses.

18, tákalma'keda, a town half a mile long on the right bank. The
houses are on the bottomland along the river with quite a number on
the opposite flat (19), called k'tai'di, lava. A little south is a part
[251] of this settlement, called glä'tspak'is. Of the distinct pits at tákal-
ma'keda, four are about twenty-five feet in diameter, one, fifteen feet.
[226] Northward from the town are a considerable number of storage pits
and a fish dam.

20, djĭgiă's, houses on the river level on both banks and on a higher bench on the right. There is a ford here.

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[31] Gatschet, 1:74. Several other camping places in the vicinity on upper Williamson river are also mentioned.

[32] *Op. cit.*, 1:76.

103
131 51, kölwa'l, a point, is Rattlesnake point at Algoma. Only a few
361 live here during the winter but it is a favorite resort in the autumn
when chokecherries and wild plums ripen.

[222] 52, wuķ!o'twas, wood knot, Buck island, is so called because the
island in the lake is likened to a knot in a piece of wood. In addition
to old house pits here not occupied by any group of the historic period,
there are a few winter houses on the southern end and summer camps
at the northern end where plums could be gathered. It was a favorite
sport to dive from the rocks (called sohowă'ĕks, diving) on the
northern shore.

53, lama'teksi, a place on top of the end of something, is on the
point east of Buck island, and 54, k!su'nk!si, grassy place, is three-
fourths of a mile south on the shore. Many people are at both localities
during the winter. There may be old house sites here like those on
Buck island. Wa'toŋks is a hill a half-mile east where wild plums are
[823] picked. There is an outcrop of white rock high on the hillside above
iu'li (meaning deep in), the end of the marsh east of these settlements.
This is said to be the net of Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero, spread
to dry.

55, iwau'wŏnᴇ, meaning against the side hill, is a large settlement
[764] on both sides of Link river at the highway bridge. A crematory is on
[726] the hilltop on the east side a quarter-mile north. Shasta sometimes
swam the river south of the village or crossed by the islet below the
little lake Ewauna to attack the group on the east bank. This settlement
is at the lower end of the falls (Klamath falls) that constitute
[226] Link river in its brief passage through its gorge. This is one of the
principal fishing places of the region and advantage is taken of the
[823] ledges that form the falls for the construction of fish dams. But
these, like all others in Klamath territory, are attributed to the culture
hero, Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps.[33]

56, iu"laloŋᴇ, meaning on the end, is the largest village of the
southern lake people and gives its name to the whole group. There
are earth-lodges on both sides of the falls but particularly on the
western bank from the river mouth to within half a mile of the present
power dam. There are many at the point at the river mouth (hence
the name of the site) and thence extend westward about a little bay.
A group of tall upstanding rocks at the point, called ķ!taigī'ŋKls, hole

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[114] [33] Gatschet's reference (1:94, 97) to the Indians scooping up fish from the dry bed of the stream when a strong south wind drives back the waters in the lake seems like a purely mythical reference, but is confirmed by Clarke (Rock Piles, 41).

connection the Sahaptins of the Columbia and the Cayuse seem 648
meant.[36] Both Ya'mŏkni and Shasta made slaves among the Klamath. 721
How infrequent were these raids may be judged by the circumstance [567]
that my informants independently mentioned the half-dozen recorded
years ago by Gatschet, and no others.

The Pit river people, possibly only the Achomawi, may alone be
raided with impunity. Reciprocity on their part would lead them
only into the intervening territory of the hostile Modoc, who may well
have served the Klamath as a buffer. For their part the Klamath were [567]
stimulated by the lucrative traffic in slaves established with the Colum-
bia river tribes, and the majority of captives were by all accounts Pit
river people. Gatschet writes of these raids as a regular occurrence. 114
"In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround 437
the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their
homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place 567
at The Dalles"; and again, "the Lake men enslaved many every
spring time."[37] To be sure, consonant with Kroeber's view,[38] raiding [231]
was undoubtedly accelerated by the appearance of the horse in the
north. Contacts were then more rapid, and the beast itself became
an important and desirable article to possess. But there can be no 567
doubt that the practice of taking slaves on Pit river was already
established. This is not only implied in the informants' statements,
but it must be kept in mind that slaves were an important element in
the society of the Wishram, Wasco, and their down-river neighbors.
This means that the Klamath were not only turning to slave-taking
as a lucrative traffic, but that slave-holding as indicative of social
distinction was becoming their habit by imitation.[39]

How frequently the Klamath made war as a whole is unknown. It 721
seems doubtful that concerted action was frequent. Perhaps large- 567
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[36] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of such a raid up the Deschutes about 1876.

[37] *Op. cit.*, 1:lix, 19.

[38] Handbook, 319.

[39] While the Klamath do not distinguish among the Pit river peoples raided, Kniffen's recent account of the Achomawi (Achomawi Geography) makes it clear that Klamath and Modoc descended most frequently on Achomawi settlements north of the Pit and also crossed it to Atsugewi territory in Hat Creek and Dixie valleys. The Achomawi proper about Fall river were subject to continual attack; the Hewisedawi, south of Goose lake, and the Astariwawi, near them on the Pit, bore the brunt. The Atsugewi divisions, Atsuge (Hat creek) and Aporige (Dixie valley), were also freely raided. The Atwamsini, on the middle Pit, and the Kosalektawi, on the extreme headwaters of the river, were reached much less frequently. The other groups of Achomawi were free from attack probably by reason of their inaccessibility; the Ilmawi, Itsatawi, and Madesi at the western end of their range, and the Hammawi on the extreme east.

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411 the shaft is withdrawn. The tips are not poisoned.[48] However they
726 believe that those made of obsidian obtained on a mountain west of
Klamath lake are poisonous. A tale has it that an Upland Takelma
[539] shot a presumably mythical man, called Tcewis hu'lūms (alighting
flicker), there. Crow laughed and he turned into the pillar of rock
still standing. This is presumably the widely known tale of the shattered
701 rock-monster. A war leader, a rich man, carries several quivers;
one under each arm and a third across his back. The short stabbing
411 lance is stone headed; the club simply a straight stick or one bearing
714 a knot for a head. Armor is the familiar long skin tunic and wooden
slat armor of waistcoat shape. The round hand shield is used, but not
the curtain shield, i.e., a skin hung before the body. Sock-like skin
gloves sometimes protect the forearms.

726 It is planned to arrive in enemy territory at the end of the day.
Several good runners are sent forward as scouts (gau'ulū'ḳdja) to
[191] look for smoke from enemy fires. Scouts do not use animal cries like
those of the Northern Paiute. The camps are surprised at dawn, for,
[171] in addition to the confusion, there is the advantage of a long day in
which to make good an escape. Yet the fight may last several days, I
was told, but it is more likely that the raiders withdraw at once unless
beset by a rallied foe. One thing sets off the intensity of this conflict
from that of the Arizona Havasupai as I found it; there never occurs
here the gesture of bravado of drawing off for refreshment before
[554] returning to the attack. Yet there is something formal about these
fights too; the leaders make a point of engaging with men of like rank
in the forefront of battle, although they do not disdain lesser men.
Warriors do not pat the mouth as they charge (go'lgi); this is done
727 only in the scalp dance. The foray usually ends with the fleeing of the
ablebodied among the enemy, the killing of the infirm, and the capture
of women, children, and such property as beads and quivers.

[114] These are kept by their captors; perhaps some division of the spoil
is made. Disputes are inevitable: Gatschet's informant describes how
he wantonly shot down a girl whom he claimed as his due rather than
let another have her.[49] Pat Kane told me that all the booty is carried
to the principal chief who asks for an accounting of the dead and
slaves. The leader enumerates how each man took slaves or scalps and
how the opposing chiefs were killed. The trophies of these chiefs are
exhibited. I doubt his statement, unless he had in mind the prestige

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[48] Gatschet's informant credits the Modoc with poisoned arrows (*op. cit.*, 1:90).

[49] *Op. cit.*, 1:23.

peculiar to the chief Lɛle'ks, to whom they were accustomed to trade 727 their slaves for transportation to the north. On the other hand this may be a reflection of the Plains custom of reciting coups.

Scalps are of liberal size, including the whole skin above the ears and brows, as is generally the case among western Indians. Bodies are dismembered for trophies; hands, feet, ears, heart, the lips cut away as one piece, genitals, and the whole head. (One informant denied that the head is taken entire.) Trophies are never taken from women nor from any men except leaders, the best fighters. There [114] may then be some truth in the statement of Gatschet's informant that they disdained scalping Pit river people.[50] Kroeber has pointed out [171] that the northwestern Californians as far east as the Shasta neither scalp nor hold a victory (scalp) dance.[51] Klamath practice is in accord with more general custom.

The scalp dance (sa'tca) is one of rejoicing over vengeance 727 achieved. Hence the invitation issues from a relative of the avenged, not of necessity from a chief. Dancing begins immediately on the 535 return of the war party and lasts two to five nights depending on the size of the group that collects. A minor raid is of course a matter of only local concern, but an affair of consequence brings everyone to a celebration for the full five days dictated by tribal pattern. Gatschet's informant recounted how on one occasion they made their captives dance before them at the first camp on their homeward journey.[52]

Older people of both sexes take part in the dance as well as the returned warriors. The young are barred and children especially must be kept at a distance. Quiet, decorous conduct is expected of those who do not dance, else they would be shot, for at this time the dancers are violent. Faces are painted white or red; hair is tied as for the war dance. They fast or at least eat no meat nor fish. This is the taboo that the Klamath impose during every crisis. There is no special purification for those who have slain an enemy.

The dance takes place in an open place, the very one on which the war dance was held, according to one informant. A huge fire is kept burning at the middle, where captured bows and quivers hang on a pole. The captives are huddled at its base, the older ones with their wrists tied before them.

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[50] *Op. cit.*, 1:19.

[51] Handbook, 844.

[52] *Op. cit.*, 1:20.

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727 535 The dance begins in the evening. The women are provided with sticks a meter long from which the scalps are pendant. As instanced above, one carried her enemy's heart in her teeth. Two women commence a sinistral circuit; others, men and women alike, fall in behind them two by two until everyone is engaged. They step forward slowly, the body swaying from side to side as they stamp in unison with the right foot, bend forward with sticks thrust rigidly and obliquely before them, drag the left foot up, and stamp forward again with the right. [533] All the while they are singing a meaningless refrain, wiha'ho wiha. From time to time someone leaves the ranks for a moment to shake the pole, crying aloud. The captives are sometimes made to dance inside the circle with the same step; forced to rejoice over their own defeat. A big boy may be struck with a club, a little one is carried on a man's back. They are whipped with the scalp sticks as they dance. When the song ends the women jump about with feet together, crying a'ho, a'ho, and whipping the huddled slaves with the scalp sticks, they cry alalalala, as they pat their mouths (a practice called gababa'a). During the intervals of rest the sticks are set upright in the ground.

Pat Kane drew a slightly different picture. The dancers form a circle, each with his hands on the shoulders of the one in front; first the leader of the war party, then a file of men, followed by the women. They begin by crying even though no Klamath have been killed, but soon begin to sing.

Scalps are sometimes set on the central pole. On one occasion they had taken the scalp and the store-bought shoes of a Shasta which they hung on the pole and danced around.

[114] Gatschet describes a dance, perhaps for the Modoc, with the implication that it is the scalp dance, but it seems identical with the Ghost dance. "A peeled tree, sometimes twenty feet high, was planted into the ground, otter and rabbit skins fastened on or near the top, and below them the scalps of the enemies killed in battle. Forming a wide ring around this pole (w'alash) the tribe danced, stood or sat on the ground, looking sometimes at solitary dancers, moving and yelling (yä'ka) around the pole, or at others, who tried to shake it, or at fleet horses introduced to run inside of the ring. Circular dances are of course performed by joining hands."[33]

The last dance was held on Williamson river about 1865. Two old women, wives of a Paiute named ķ!oilā'wōkt, were the captives. After the dance they were freed.

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[33] *Op. cit.*, 1:196.

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After the dance, scalps and trophies are usually preserved by those who called the dance, relatives of the avenged man. They are dried and stored far from their homes to be brought out and danced over at each new scalp dance. Sometimes bits of the scalp are sewn in rows down each breast of a woman's dress, a Plains custom impossible, of course, before the introduction of these Plains-like garments. Both practices are un-Californian. 727 535 [177] [291]

There is a question whether the notched rattle (ulo'ks) is played in the war and scalp dances. Neither drums, which the Klamath formerly lacked, nor rattles are used. Only one man, Ma'gai', whose day was well before the middle of the last century, knew the notched rattle. He knew all about war. He had overheard the Upland Takelma singing to it, according to one informant, and always used their songs when the Klamath made war on them. No resonator is used; the notched stick is rested directly on the ground and rasped with another stick.[84] 727 535 534

CHIEFTAINSHIP

Chiefs are of but minor significance in Klamath life. In contrast my informants invariably stressed the importance of the shamans. As an instance the largest house pits pointed out were always those of shamans. This relative unimportance of the chiefs was true at least until just before reservation days. At that time contact with the Columbia river tribes, whose concepts of chieftainship were sharp and deeprooted, coupled with the developing trade which began to make considerable differences in wealth among the Klamath, operated to enhance the position of the chiefs, the rich men. It is significant that Lɛle'ks, their most prominent chief, had spent several years of continuous residence at the Dalles. All this was sharply accentuated on the establishment of the reservation by the government's recognition of lay leaders while frowning on the shamans. It must be distinctly understood that the picture Gatschet draws of chiefly powers is nonaboriginal.[85] In fact, his principal informant, David Hill, was one of the newly raised chiefs who, we must believe, was not inclined to underrate his new importance. Both my best informants, Nancy 622 756 622 [114] [115]

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[84] The familiar association of this rasping sound with the voice of the frog and its use in a social dance (the Bear dance of the Basin Shoshoneans) are both unknown to the Klamath.

[85] Gatschet, 1:58-62.

622 Phillips and Tom Lang, doubted that there had been anyone who could properly be called chief in pre-reservation days.

756 As good a test of this as might be was the difficulty I had in getting the names of pre-reservation chiefs, let alone their functions. Shamans on the other hand were freely named and the many cited came far from exhausting the list. Gatschet encountered the same difficulty. "Many times I attempted to obtain a list of the former head chiefs of the two chieftaincies [Klamath and Modoc]. I succeeded only in learning the names of two chiefs recently deceased, and no biographic details were obtainable." This he explains was due to their strong repugnance to name the dead,[88] but I found hardly a trace of a name taboo.

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622 This situation seems much like that of the Great Basin tribes and the particular functions of chieftainship reenforce the view.

Some settlements have chiefs, others do not. It is very doubtful that they feel that political solidarity demands a chief for each subdivision. The three chiefs alone named with some certainty were all ă'ukckni men (Klamath marsh-Williamson river division): Tcĭ'lokĭn who lived at the site of the present town Chiloquin, Lɛle'ks at bezŭkse'was across the river, and Motcŭnkă'sḳɛt at Yainax. Others of this subdivision were Lĭ'lu at ḳa'umkăn on Sprague river and Dŏ'tklɛm sa'rdjĕnt (literally middle sergeant) at about the same place. In other tribelets were my informant's grandfather at mo'giŋkŭnks, and Kŏ'ḳdIŋks, both du'kwakni; a chief and another unnamed war leader at gu'mbŏt. It is quite in accord with this that none were named for iu'"laloŋkni, southern lake people. One informant suggested Link River Jack (nĕlo'lŏtk) for this group, but Tom Lang, himself one of them, was certain that this man was a post-reservation leader and doubted that his people had ever had a chief. All these chiefs were contemporaries of the period 1850 to 1870. Their predecessors, if they had any, are unknown. It proved quite fruitless to enquire for which groups or districts these men were chiefs. Tcĭ'lokĭn was chief for the towns about the mouth of Sprague river (lobŏ'katsŏksi, taka'lmakeda, etc.); Lɛle'ks for the whole middle Williamson valley, which includes these towns, and for Klamath marsh as well. In other words, each was a chief so far as people of his subdivision chose to follow his leadership.

Such is the separatism among the subdivisions that there can hardly be a tribal chief. How far any of the above functioned as such

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[88] *Op. cit.*, 1:xii.

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567 frequent and had slave-taking as a primary object. It is probable that the introduction of the horse stimulated predatory habits and made possible frequent trading visits to the Columbia river people. From them they adopted for themselves the practices of slave-holding on an enlarged scale and of measuring wealth in terms of slaves, and were encouraged to raid more frequently, and to carry their spoil to the river to exchange for the highly desired horses. Prior to the coming of the horse, we may suppose the very mild interest in holding captives found in any Basin or Californian tribe.

567 721 Most slaves (loks) are from Pit river (Achomawi and Atsugewi); others are Northern Paiute and Shasta, with a few Upland Takelma from the Rogue river drainage. A few of these Takelma are known to have been made captive on a raid into Klamath territory. The Klamath sporadically raid the Pit river people in spring or summer when the latter are scattered. Young children, women, and even men are taken.[60] Other plunder (du'ta) consists of blankets, bows and arrows, dentalia, and other beads. Captives are similarly taken in the course of feuds among the tribal subdivisions, and perhaps as freely sold. One informant had it that they are not sold but grow to manhood as foster children and visit back and forth with their own people on the friendliest terms. This view implies that they are taken and cherished as recompense for a loss by murder.

567 437 Slaves are commonly traded to individuals who make a practice of taking them to Warm Springs and the Dalles to sell again. Such was Lεle'ks in his day, who, having got three or four together, would set out for the north to trade for horses and blankets. Some he would keep to treat much as his own relatives.

567 It is quite likely that a slave's life is much like that of any poor Klamath. They commonly live in dome-shaped mat-lodges set up beside the family's earth-lodge, and there the women are visited by their masters. How far they are abused or suffer from uncertainty, I do not know. Gatschet records the escape of Pit river captives while their captors were hurrying back from a raid.[61] When the agency was established by the government all slaves were freed, but most elected to stay, and of those who returned to their own people, some came back. Evidently they had not suffered from too harsh treatment; at any rate, by my informant's account, those who had

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[114] [562]

[60] Gatschet says adult men were not enslaved but killed if captured. The instance he cites bears him out (*op. cit.*, 1:24, 25).

[61] *Op. cit.*, 1:20.

recognize that the marriage is consummated by a series of gift exchanges and inasmuch as it was said that in the long run the man and his relatives have the advantage, it is clear that this is no outright bride purchase. 583

Giving a girl in marriage is sometimes a means of paying off a social obligation. Considerable property is destroyed at a cremation. This is normally furnished by the relatives of the deceased but in order to do honor a non-relative may contribute beads and other valuables to be consumed on the pyre. The recipient family is under obligation to reciprocate. Should one of the contributing family later want a wife from among them, they must acquiesce. The groom must make payment at the time of marriage, however. That no payment had been made in the case cited above undoubtedly explains why the runaway bride was not forced to return to her husband. 583 764

Possibly the sum must be repaid in the event of separation, at least if the wife leaves the husband. Probably the time element is important; a marriage soon terminated means restoring the *status quo;* in one of long duration this is impossible. 586

A man sends a friend to sound the girl's people on their willingness and the price expected. This man is chosen for his forwardness; he may be a relative but never a brother or father. He carries a bundle of sticks representing the gifts offered, which if successful he leaves, though they are not used further. The girl's father consults his wife before agreeing. Next day or as soon as the girl's people can get ready their gifts and contributions of food they take their daughter to the groom.[66] The groom's relatives have gathered meanwhile, collecting their gifts in the groom's home. The exchange takes place within the lodge, each party putting down its gifts beside the other seated opposite. The gifts from the bride's side, at least, commonly include clothing (presumably the Plains type), pond-lily seed, and roots of various sorts. The payment now made on behalf of the groom includes the promised articles. Speeches are made by the parents of both, admonishing them to live in harmony. Payment for a bride is called woḳo'wi, the reciprocal gifts, i'wi. 584 584 585

It is difficult to say just how formal are the visits that follow marriage; at least one or two are usual, if not prescribed for the well-to-do among whom further payments by the groom are expected.

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[66] In a Modoc (or Klamath?) song recorded by Gatschet (Songs of the Modoc Indians, 27, 29) a bride is carried on her brother's back. As Gatschet points out, carrying the bride is a custom of northerly tribes.

[114]

In the matter of adultery it is quite clear that a man has no 837 recourse but to kill the lover; demanding payment for the wrong is unthinkable. He waits his opportunity to ambush the other. A man of no consequence may have to put up with the situation, but at least he would never think of turning to a chief for help.[74] The husband may send his guilty wife away, may beat or even kill her. Sometimes [586] he will send someone to demand the return of the bride price, and her people return what still remains. The woman is then free to marry her lover who must pay for her in regular fashion. Nothing goes to the former husband. If a woman finds her husband unfaithful, she may beat (satŏ'mdoḳa) the other woman; her final recourse is to return home.

TRANSVESTITES

Transvestites or berdaches (tw!innă'ĕk) are found among the 838 Klamath as in all probability among all other North American tribes. These are men and women who for reasons that remain obscure take on the dress and habits of the opposite sex. Their number is small. Five men who lived as women were cited by an informant, two women who lived as men, and others are known. One of the former was from the Dalles. This is a very minor fraction in a population numbering upward of two thousand. Kroeber has assumed that such (114) individuals are invariably psychologically abnormal, homosexual;[75] I am not sure. The case of Lɛle'ks below rather argues against it. At any rate their abnormality is socially canalized: they are permitted to live as they desire despite the distaste of the normal Klamath for the practice, and the scorn and taunting to which he subjects them.

It is to the point to note that the men who turned women adopted woman's dress, pursuits, personal habits, and speech, and in one case at least married. Neither of the two women affected male garb; one married and made some pretense of men's habits, the other is rather simply a case of an irregular sex life. The cases of two of the transformed men which follow seem to turn on adolescent experiences. While these are phrased with relation to esoteric situations, they are more adequately explained as states of psychological disturbance rationalized in these terms. A third of the men-women turned shaman, [756] but I do not know that this followed directly from the transformation.

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[74] Punishment of adultery and other torts by a chief, as described by Gatschet (1:58 *et seq.*), are post-reservation customs.

[75] Handbook, 46, and elsewhere.

six short loops on each side. A carrying band goes over the mother's 854 forehead.

Frontal flattening is customary but not universal. No reason is 856 given. Hrdlička was informed "that the Klamath regard a long head, [114] • i.e., a non-deformed head, with derision. They say it is slave-like, that their slaves had such, and that a man with such a head is not fit to be a great man in the tribe. Deformed heads are called 'good heads.'"[33] A buckskin sack, somewhat larger than the forehead, stuffed with dry cat-tail down, is tied to holes in the cradle. Hrdlička was told that this was filled with seeds, such as water-lily seeds. This lies across the forehead but is not tied so tightly that the child cannot turn his head. Pressure is begun at birth and continued as long as the child continues in the cradle. According to my informant's representation [171]* the Molala flatten foreheads, some Pit River Indians do, while the Upland Takelma do not practice deformation of any sort.

The cradle receives ornaments symbolic of the child's future, in the shape of a tiny digging stick for a girl and a bow and arrow for a boy, tied to the edge of the board. Possibly they have more than ornamental significance. These are no longer than the finger; the single arrow is as long as the bow. These are tied to the proper side of the board; the bow and arrow to the child's left, for a man holds his bow in that hand, the root digger to the right.

Use of the cradle continues until the child can walk well. It is not [766] discarded but kept for the use of another baby, unless the child dies, when it is burned with his body.

NAMES

The name is usually given in early infancy; always by the time the 553 child talks. It is the choice of the parents, given without ceremony. Sometimes it is changed in later life, but there is no set occasion for this. Seemingly names change less frequently than their nickname character would give opportunity for. Perhaps these are always additional names, for I learned of several men known by more than one name; perhaps this holds as true for women as men. But it was said that the first name (hlcwa'ska) is the most important.

There is considerable reluctance to the use of names, kinship terms 551 being substituted. This does not mean that there is a taboo; merely

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[33] Head Deformation Among the Klamath.

601

is important in the parents' and grandparents' generation, sex is of no consequence among grandchildren, nephew-niece, or grandnephew-niece. The status is determined as a brother or sister of some connecting relative, or through a brother or sister, and in the latter cases the sex of the person addressed cannot matter.

There are some particulars in which this system is not consistent. Thus one would expect from the above that there would be only four terms for siblings, a division only on the basis of the sex of the speaker and that of the person addressed. But in addition age distinctions are made although not consistently. Thus a single term means a younger sibling, but it is not applied to a man's younger sister. Nor is this distinction reflected in the correlative groupings.

For the rest, there are terms for father, mother, son, and daughter, and all cousins (parallel and cross) of the speaker's generation are siblings. Hence parents' parallel and cross-cousins are avuncular relatives. Relatives beyond this all in the collateral lines are indiscriminately "cousins."

X

Among relatives by marriage, we note a single term for a sibling-in-law of the opposite sex. Men and women use different terms for siblings-in-law of the same sex. The husbands of two sisters and the wives of two brothers have a term in common: this reflects the sororate and levirate. The levirate appears again in a single term for *step-mother and father's brother's wife.* Correlative groupings which might follow from these forms of marriage do not occur.

[114] The list of kinship terms follows. All are vocative so far as I know. This list was obtained independently of Gifford's and Gatschet's published lists; cases of conflict were later resolved by discussion with the informants.[91]

p'tī'sōp, father.
p'gī'sōp, mother.
ko'elga, step-father (Gifford, a man's step-child. He also gives as meanings, mother's sister's husband and wife's sister's child, for both of whom I found no terms).
p'aa'sip, step-mother; mother's co-wife; father's brother's wife (Gifford adds a woman's step-child and husband's sister's child, but the latter is doubtful).

These groupings follow from the sororate and levirate which are practiced.

wēnō'k, son.
bā'ēp, daughter.

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[91] Gifford, Kinship, 41–43.

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525 variety and one longer one are stuck into the ground before each group of players. These are called kee'ie, which, according to Gatschet, is derived from ksh'ena, to carry off.[116] Three of the sets described by Culin have each six counters.

The hider rattles the four sticks against the under-side of the hiding basket which rests on the ground before him and allows it to drop over them as he leaves them on the ground. The guesser must specify the order in which the sticks are arranged, which he does with a very characteristic gesture. If he is correct the sticks are thrown to him to hide. If he is wrong, the hider draws one or two small counters from his opponent's stock. The longer counter is taken last. For two arrangements, B and C below, he takes two counters; for A or D he takes one. The game is won when one side has all fourteen (no'ga, to win all the stakes; go'le, to win).

Each arrangement of the sticks has a name and a definite gesture which the guesser uses to describe it. He claps his hands once when his decision is made and brings his hand down or across in front as may be.

Name	*Arrangement*	*Gesture*
A. sḳo'tōs (?)	██||	Moves right hand to the right.
B. *yo'sḳis*	|██|	Moves right index finger down the center.
C. sḳĕ'tc!ōs	█||█	Moves first and second fingers of the right hand down the center.
D. woi'ls (or bōḳe?)	█|█| (or |█|█)	Moves right thumb to the right to point out the thin sticks or the forefinger to the left for the thick sticks (reversing the movements for the second arrangement).

[114] Dorsey gives a somewhat different procedure. First, he is probably right in stating that for the opposite arrangement of A (with the slender sticks to the left) the hand is moved to the left. But he states that the guess for this position does not matter, since whether right or wrong, the sticks do not change hands and the hider gains no counters. Further, by his account, after a wrong guess is made and one counter forfeited, the hider arranges only one stick of each kind for the next guess. Both Dorsey and Gatschet give the name vuish, vŭ'ish to arrangement A.

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The hand game is of recent introduction; of this all were in agreement. It was brought from the far north by a man called Spo'kăn, possibly one of that Salish tribe, before the Modoc war. He came from Warm Springs and married a Klamath. He introduced the accompanying songs as well and its name nai'ătia.[117]

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[116] *Op. cit.*, 1:79.

[117] My informant had never heard the name léipas recorded by Dorsey (*op. cit.*, 22).

This is also a man's game played by about six in a row on each side. Two men are each provided with two short bones, one of each pair marked with a black band. These two change the bones from hand to hand as they sway from side to side crossing and uncrossing their arms, their companions accompanying them with swaying and song the while. The opponents guess the hands which hold the unmarked bones. Twelve sticks for counters are stuck upright between the contenders. As with the four-stick game the successful guess wins the right to hide the bones; at each failure the hiding party takes counters from the neutral pile and, when this is exhausted, from the opponent's winnings. Here too the guess is indicated by a particular and characteristic gesture. In the diagram below the bones are represented as in the hands of two men seated side by side; the crosses indicate the marked, circles the plain bones.

Name	*Arrangement*	*Movement*	*Counters taken by hiders*
yo'sḳls	xoox	Hand edgewise down middle	2
sḳĕ'tclōs	oxxo	Prone hand forward	2
woi'ls[118]	xoxo (or oxox)	Forefinger to right (or left for the second arrangement).	1

When each side has six stick counters, it is called ōtano'ga, now cooked. The side getting all twelve wins.

Dorsey describes the bones as three inches in length, two wound about the middle with buckskin. The wound pair are called skútash, tied around, or hl'cwōks, men, the others solsas, female (?). The counters he renders kshesh.[119]

My informant reported that the Pit river people have short bones which they roll in grass between their hands, and toss into the air. [184]

The beaver-tooth dice game (sko'sĕ) has its usual simple form. It is played perhaps more frequently in winter than in summer, and while primarily a woman's game, both men and women play together. The dice are the four crescentic incisor teeth of a beaver, ground hog, or ground squirrel, or bits of wood.[120] The upper teeth (called hlc-

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[118] These names, which are identical with those for the four-stick game, were given by the same informant but on a different occasion. The names given here are probably correct for both games, hence Dorsey, Gatschet, and my own doubtful alternative for D above, are evidently all wrong. Arrangement A cannot occur in the hand game, of course, since each man must have an assorted pair. [114] •

[119] Dorsey, *op. cit.*, 22. In 1930 I collected two sets in which one pair was encircled by a carved and painted fillet. [126]

[120] The Northern Paiute use long sticks for this game, according to this informant. [171]*

524 wŏ'ka, men) are ornamented along one face with zigzag lines; the lower pair (gu'lu, women) bear a row of dots or parallel cross-lines. The hollow ends are plugged with something red for decoration. They are swept up off the thigh and scattered on a flat stone, such as a grinding slab. If they lie so that the marked faces of two "men" or two "women" are uppermost, the player wins one counter; if the cast shows all blanks, he gains two, and if all marked faces, he wins the game. When he throws one blank, the dice pass to another player. [114] This is called ķ'ai'dwa snī'kăl, to win no counters. The first three of these scores agree with Gatschet's information.[121] Another of my informants said that any two marked faces count one, all of a kind, marked or unmarked, two. The counters (snī'kăl) are twelve (ten?) sticks, which are used in the usual fashion; each player draws from a central pile, then from his opponent's, until he has all. I am not certain, but they may play as two opposing sides.

524 114 Both Culin and Gatschet describe the use of woodchuck teeth as well. Gatschet writes of all four marked with parallel lines or crosses on one side. Dorsey describes stick dice for this game, seven and three-quarter inches long, flat on one side, rounded on the other, and tapering at the ends. Gatschet's information is that the game is played by women only, by two persons or two partners to the side.[122]

A form of the stick game from the Klamath at Siletz reservation is described by Culin[123] under the name *tuckinaw*. This, the familiar game of northwestern California, must have been learned at Siletz, since it is unknown on the Klamath reservation. Of a bundle of thirteen sticks, two are marked differently from the others. The bundle is divided into groups each wrapped in a wisp of grass. Evidently the guesser must avoid choosing the bundle containing the two special sticks.

Double ball shinny (djima') is a woman's game played in summer. [561] The "ball" (djima') consists of two bones or hardwood billets, eight inches long, and somewhat more than an inch in diameter, fastened at their middles by a nine-inch length of buckskin.[124] Each player [114] has a fathom-long straight stick (so my feminine informant states, but Gatschet says two) with which the ball is struck or rather thrown. The stick is called swĕ'kos. The object is to drive the double ball between the opponents' goal posts (Gatschet gives yúash; yo''a is to

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[121] *Op. cit.* 1:80.

[122] Culin, *op. cit.*, 137; Gatschet, 1:80, 81; Dorsey, 28, 26.

[123] Culin, *op. cit.*, 247. These may be Klamath river people, not the Klamath of Oregon.

[124] Gatschet describes the string as two to three feet long connecting two sticks or pieces of cloth (*op. cit.*, 1:81). Culin figures a ball in which the cord passes through the center of each billet (Games, 650).

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win). Carrying it beyond the line of the posts but not between them does not count. They start by throwing it into the air with a stick; this is called salḳ!wē'tka. The players, five or six to the side (Dorsey says two to ten play[128]) are scattered over the field. Chasing one another is called swă'tsna. The ball must not be touched with the hands nor kicked. 524 [114]

Shinny (sᴇo'tᴇ) is a man's game played in the summer. Six men take part on each side and attempt to drive the ball between the goal posts, arranged as above. The same provisions apply here. In addition tripping, holding, and hitting one another are not permitted; there is in fact a functionary, a non-participant, who sees to this. He also throws the ball up between the contestants at the center of the field to start the game. The ball is of hard wood, two inches in diameter. The sticks are about an arm's length, three fingers broad more or less, and crooked at the lower end. These are made of willow roots or other wood.

Football is not played by the Klamath, but is played, according to my informant, by Modoc and Northern Paiute.[129] [171]*

The usual form of the hoop and pole game is not known to the Klamath, i.e., hurling poles at a rolling ring.

Analogous to this, however, is a game (cl'ḳclḳa) of shooting or throwing darts at a hoop, played in several ways. It is also called ho'saḳo¬ḳs from hosa'tcna, to roll. A ring (cl'rḳclḳa) of tules is made fourteen inches in diameter or sometimes much larger. One informant described a ring of willow branches as thick as one's arm and thirty inches in diameter. Dorsey describes a ring of six inches used by boys. A ground is prepared by burning the grass on a course seventy-five to one hundred feet long. At each end four or five archers take their positions. One rolls the ring by an overhand throw; the others attempt to make their arrows stick in it. One who misses is penalized by the others filliping him on the back of his hand or punching him in the small of his back. They always fillip the same spot until the hand swells.

Another informant gave a variant in which the ring is propped up so that its edge faces the opposing side, who attempt to shoot it. If they miss, their opponents win; if they hit it, it must be rolled toward them while they shoot again. The stakes are bows and arrows. My informant's account of this game was not clear; I may have confused two games. A better informant denied that they shot at the edge of the ring but Dorsey records this.[127] Two rings are used according to his account, one beside each party. These rings are peculiar in that each has a bar across its diameter.

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[128] Dorsey, *op. cit.*, 19.

[129] Cf. Culin, *op. cit.*, 704.

[114] In another form of the game recorded by Dorsey, two boys seated indoors roll a three or four-inch ring between them. The arrow shot into the ring must be dislodged by a shot of the one who rolled the ring. If the latter fails, the other receives one of the stakes, an arrow; if he succeeds, the trial does not count. In still another variety of the game the ring is only half an inch in diameter and the dart is a bone point set in a wooden handle. This is also played indoors by anyone. The player attempts to pierce the rolling ring with his dart. If he pierces one rim it counts one, both sides two.

A dart game (sïkne'ăs, dart) is played by men in summer. The dart is a pointed willow pole, eight to ten feet long, or, according to a second informant, of fathom length, feathered at one end, and sharpened or provided with a bone point at the other. Two targets are set up some distance apart, perhaps one hundred feet. These are bundles of tules four inches across and three feet tall, or smaller bundles mounted on sticks. When one man has made his javelin stick in the bundle, the whole party proceeds to that mark and throws at the other target. No stakes are wagered, but the man who wins can punch the others over the kidneys or fillip with his middle finger the backs of their hands or their foreheads five times or more. Another informant had it that the players are paired; one on each side throwing his dart in turn. He fixed the stakes as horses, blankets, and beads. [114] A variant of the game described by Dorsey[128] involves forked sticks as targets. If the javelin rests in the crotch, it counts five, otherwise the nearest throw counts one, the total to win being ten. Kɛmū'kŭmps, the culture hero, played this game between Buck and Bare islands at the opposite ends of Klamath lake.

Other athletic contests are frequent. Foot races (so'ina) are indulged in by men or women, but not mixed groups. The race is to a nearby goal (without returning) or over a circular course. Boulders are lifted to see how far the contestants can stagger with them. There are several large spherical stones, up to eighteen inches in diameter, at the village du"ilķŭt on Klamath marsh where various groups gather in summer. Men, and even strong women, of the various set-

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[127] Dorsey's data are also confessedly poor (*op. cit.*, 17, 18).

[128] *Op. cit.*, 19.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

524 vided with notches at the narrow end in which the cord is tied. It is not ornamented.

The sling (ske'wlc) is used only in sport. It is wholly of buckskin; a wide piece to which thongs are attached. One is provided with a loop to slip over the finger. This is an aboriginal device.

As a mere plaything hummingbirds (p'i'sas) are fashioned from the hard interior of the tule. These are hung up in the earth-lodge.

String figures or cat's cradles (sōpk̦ō'ptculē'as, from k̦!ō'ptc!a, little finger ?) are for amusement. Yet if played in winter the months will grow longer. Their number is legion. I was told of a few; the stolen baby, Tca'k̦iak̦, sunrise, owl's nest, sick Coyote's knees, the girl who fetches water, a bundle of arrows, the abandoned boy who grows, and two coyotes who run from each other. The interesting feature of these figures is that they depict moving scenes; thus sick coyote sticks up his knees; the girl goes to fetch water crying ōmdja, ōmdja, water, until she spies an Indian when she cries mak̦laks, human, and flees to the other hand to begin again. Three of the figures were recorded.

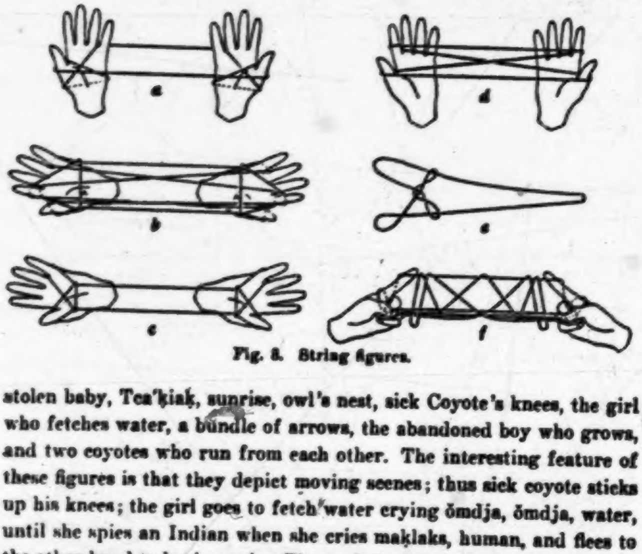

Fig. 8. String figures.

The figure of the stolen baby is called swĕnsowa'tkeas, taking from the cradle. Put each hand through the loop so that it lies on the back of each wrist. Lift the radial[131] string with each little finger from the ulnar side and the ulnar string from the radial side with each thumb, so as to form a loop on these four fingers (fig. 8a). Insert each

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[131] Following the terminology of Rivers and Haddon (String Figures, 147) the thumb-side of the hand or finger is called radial, the little finger-side ulnar. Hence strings on these sides are called radial and ulnar strings. A loop near the butt end of a finger is proximal, near the tip distal. Loops may lie on the palmar or dorsal side of each finger.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

524 Children imitate not only the daily activities of their elders, but their games as well. Little girls build little dome-shaped lodges. Their dolls are made of clay with modeled eyes, nose, and mouth, but are not dressed.[133] Both these clay images and those made of wood are called a'm'ös, but the wooden figures, representing the spirit Tca'ķiaķ, Little Boy, are not played with. Children play at shinny and double ball, and make cat's cradles. They play a game called wo'yīlītas wherein they run crying wo'yi wo'yī . . . . as long as their breath holds out and stand at the spot where they fail. The object is to see who can go farthest. Or they cry doŋgliu doŋgliu . . . . . Similarly, girls squat on their heels with hands on knees and jump up and down, singing la'masi, to see who can do it longest. They bet on this. A favorite spot to play this game, called salmasi'a, is at dūna'ksi on Pelican bay, where the ground resounds when they jump.

[114] It is worth noting that the number of counters used in the guessing and dice games is always twelve. In the four-stick game—I so recorded it—the counters are thought of as twelve plus two. Another of my informants spoke only of the twelve and this is the number recorded by Culin and Dorsey.[134] This number is unexpected because the pattern number of the Klamath is five. It may be that these games came to the Klamath in a form with twelve units and have not been reduced to the normal five or its multiple. How the pattern operates is illustrated by the informants' statements that five or six on a side play double ball shinny, that the perfect score in the dart game is five, and the penalty there five or more blows. On the other hand, it may be significant that I was told of six men to a side in the hand game and six in shinny. There are three possibilities; six and its multiple may be an indigenous pattern number for games, it may have been acquired as part of the game complex from other tribes, or it may be only a chance reference of the informants.

SMOKING

276 [755] Smoking is a pastime with little to suggest ceremonial usage. To be sure, the shaman smokes in the interludes of the curing ceremonies, using a special form of pipe, special tobacco mixed with reputedly poisonous roots, and prepared for him by his speaker, but he does not

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*[171] [133] The Northern Paiute make clay figurines representing horses and other animals, corrals, etc., according to my informant. The Klamath do not.

[532] [134] Even the form of the dice game described for the "Klamath" of Siletz, involving thirteen sticks, two of which are marked, may really be intended for twelve plus one, since elsewhere only one stick of such a set is marked.

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cure by blowing smoke on the patient nor blow it to the distant spirits 276 as an offering. The impression gained was that this is a matter only [755] of self-indulgence during his periods of rest. Gatschet translates a song as "The smoking pipe is my medicine-tool (mūlwas), the implement for tobacco," but the word also means any esoteric paraphernalia of the shaman.[135] The lay use of tobacco is at any time that convenience dictates, e.g., when resting in the evening. Women use [562] tobacco as freely as men. The custom of passing the pipe from one to another is probably absent though I made no specific inquiry.

Tobacco (ko'tcka)[136] is smoked, never eaten. A boiled decoction of it is sometimes taken for bowel disorders.

The plant (*Nicotiana attenuata* Wats.) is not cultivated, but commonly grows in dry places.[137] A bundle of these plants together with kinnikinick is hung to dry in the top of the sweat-lodge until the leaves turn brown. Coville states that the dried leaves of manzanita, also, are mixed with the tobacco.[138] According to an informant the seed pods (which are sticky when fresh) and the adjacent parts of the flower are smoked; according to another the leaves and stem. The several plants are ground with any convenient little stone.

The pipe (p!ōks) is commonly clay with a spherical bowl and a 276 short wooden stem, but is sometimes of stone and discoidal. The more 323 common stone bowl is elbow-shaped with the arms at an obtuse angle, made of soft sandstone, shaped and hollowed by pecking. Barrett [114] states that the discoidal form is less used than the angular but my information is to the contrary.[139] The stem is elder with the pith pushed out; Coville mentions the wood of the wild rose.[140] The manu- [524] facture of clay pipes by a non-pottery making people seems unusual; the only other use of clay is for making dolls. Yet the ease with which clay can be manipulated as against the difficulty of drilling and shaping stone must have favored its use.

A shaman's pipe (which has no special name) is the common clay 276 bowl fitted with a long stem, eighteen inches or more, wrapped with 756

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[135] 1:167.

[136] No word correspinding to the Shasta ôp, tobacco, Takelma ô'p, Crow ôp, etc., is known.

[137] Coville, Notes, 104. One of Powers' correspondents states that the Klamaths (Klamath river people?) cultivated it (Tribes of California, 426).

[138] Coville, Notes, 102. What is here called kinnikinick is probably Coville's bearberry (kā-mä-ml, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray); the common kinnikinick of northern latitudes does not grow so far south as Klamath lakes.

[139] Barrett, Material Culture, 253, pl. 22.

[140] Coville, Notes, 99.

516 Sitting positions are of wide latitude; of course they sit directly on
the ground. Almost any position is assumed except sitting on the
crossed ankles. Both sexes sit with their legs crossed before them,
[291] Turk-fashion, or with the legs extending straight before them, in
which case women cross their ankles. It must be remembered that the
[501] common dress of both sexes is the string skirt. They kneel while
paddling, both sexes alike, sitting on their heels. This is quite possible
because the gunwale of a laden canoe is only a few inches above the
water.

201 The Klamath sometimes use the lips for unostentatious pointing,
but they more commonly point with the forefinger. In a common
516 position of rest, a seated individual places one hand on the other over
the abdomen.

758 To curse a man his dead are mentioned, not necessarily by name;
[539] in fact the reference may be quite indirect. In a tale the skunks say
to Coyote, "You are the son of a person always on the lake," knowing
full well that his father was dead. I was told of two men jocularly
calling each other tc!ima'ntk, widower. One named the dead wife of
the other and was covered with embarrassment because the grandson
of that woman, who was present, was provoked. An old man may be
called wa'köntk, adolescent boy, or skotc, a man with a first child, in
[114] derision. This is nearly equivalent to a curse. Gatschet gives the
expression skö'ksam käíla gén î, go to hell! (or more literally, go to
the ghosts) which may well be aboriginal. But watchágalam wéash,
you son [child] of a bitch! and watchágalam pé-ip, you old bitch!,
strike me as apt translations from frontier vernacular.[144]

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[144] Gatschet, 2:319, 477.

(swi'is) as we have seen are beings that live in the mountains, in river eddies, and in lakes, where they are sought by those in quest of power. Souls are personal and after death go to the land of the dead, No'lìskăn. The soul leaves only at death; illness is not ascribed to its loss. Ghosts (skuks) wander from the land of the dead where souls have gone. It was not said that ghosts are souls in other guise nor were the ghosts referred to those of particular persons. The juxtaposition is rather like that of our own folk thought. 774 775

One word hoki's means soul, breath, and life. It is intelligible then why one of my informants said that all animals as well as men have souls. It is the quickening of life rather than spiritual personality that is implied by the word. They say of death, hoki no'tana no'lìskăn, the life leaves for the land of the dead. Its seat is within the heart (staii'nas); outside is the flesh (djolĕ'ks). When the body is cremated, the soul goes to the land of the dead. The flesh is destroyed; the ashes and smoke blown into the air are carried back to earth by rain, to the country of which the body is a part. Everything grows well then. But the soul never returns.[181]

Ghosts return from the land of the dead because they want to live again. They are constantly about seeking to catch someone's soul to take to the land of the dead. (So I w[illegible]old; but there was never a hint when they told me of curing th[illegible]s is due to loss of the soul.) It makes no difference that one [illegible]rit power, his life may be taken. This is most likely to happen to one in mourning as he sits alone weeping in his house at night, for ghosts usually come at night. Next day he will die. This happens commonly enough; even little boys at play see them and die at once. Shamans can discover this. Whatever they are like in the land of the dead, ghosts that return neither resemble humans exactly nor are they skeletons. Today some people talk without fear with ghosts, formerly they would have died. Possibly my informant meant by this that members of his own Shaker sect or adherents to the Ghost dance cult could talk to them with impunity, but he may have had in mind only the prohibition of the folk-tales against talking to the dead as they are being transformed to living creatures. 775 [753] [761]

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[181] Gatschet records an obscure statement which he interprets: "The Maklaks [Klamath] believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances" (1:130). The word used is however skuks, ghost. I received no information of this sort. [114]

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825 as the most prominent and powerful of spirits, one on whom all
shamans call, and whose presence is necessary before they can begin
[755] their curing ritual. This confirms Gatschet's information.[184] The
Frog spirit is interesting on its own account. It is conceived as a big
woman and so closely associated with pond-lily seed (wo'kas) as to
lead to the suspicion that these are interchangeable concepts in the
Klamath mind. It should be noted that the preparation of this staple
is peculiarly woman's work among these people. In their mythology
*[171] too, Frog figures as a woman. The last association is so widespread,
perhaps universal, in North America, that the only special Klamath
elements in the triple association are with wo'kas. While I am not
certain, it is probable that this is the spirit which was described by
Pat Kane as djᴇdje'lïstcl, whereas the common word for frog is ko'wᴇ.

776 Gatschet credits a similarly important rôle to another spirit.[185]
"Another class of spirits embodies the spirits of those animals which
755 have to be consulted by the ki'uks or conjurer when he is called to
• 114 treat a case of disease. Such persons only who have been trained
during five years for the profession of conjurers can see these spirits,
but by them they are seen as clearly as we see the objects around us.
To see them they have to go to the house of a deceased conjurer, and
at night only. He is then led by a spirit called Yayayá-ash appearing
in the form of a one-legged man toward the spot where the animal
spirits live; this specter presides over them; there the conjurer notices
that each appears different from the other, and is at liberty to consult them about the patient's case. Yayayá-ash means 'the frightener,' and by the myth-tellers is regarded as the Thunder or its spirit." I received no suggestion confirming any part of this.

776 The mythical beings are also probably genera rather than individuals; to'kĕ, a horned water snake, Wïle'ᴇkạkạ, a dwarf old woman, Tcakịa'kạ, a little boy, and Gŏga'nᴇ, a dwarf man. There is also a nameless wild man (the spirit for the trick in which blood is magically produced) and a woman spirit (for curing). Wawiwŏ'kạ!os, a monster-killing hero of a tale, figures in a shaman's song and hence may be a spirit.

Wïle'ᴇkạkạ is a dwarf old woman whose name is derived from wïlă'ĕkạs, old woman. She is about thirty inches high, and wears a basket hat and long buckskin dress. In one form she appears as a rock on the northeastern slope of Mount Pitt. She controls the west

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[184] Gatschet, 1:ci, 180.

[185] 1:xcviii.

One method for forecasting the recovery of the patient is to tie thin nettle cords around his head, each thigh, and upper arm, the free ends being held by as many men. The shaman strikes each cord with a basket. Unless they are all broken the patient is lost.

A patient who has suffered a relapse is cured with the spider song, according to Gatschet's informant. To paraphrase his text slightly:

> Then the spider treats him; a piece of deer skin is the spider's curing tool. Then by means of that deer skin he treats him; he cuts out a piece of the deer skin just the size of the spot where the suffering is located. Then the spider song is started while applying that piece of skin. Then he stretches a blanket over it and they strike it with shaman's arrows (hänä'sish) so that it enters the body. First a particle enters, then it becomes part of the body and now that piece of skin looks dark. Then after so many days that black thing at last looks like flesh.[180]

In the interludes of curing the shaman tells everyone to leave. He remains sitting in the lodge with the patient, silent, eyes closed, and smoking. His pipe has an unusually long wooden stem wrapped with a rattlesnake skin; the bowl is the usual clay or stone affair. (Possibly some shamans use tubular pipes.) It is lit by the speaker who is warned not to inhale the smoke else a spirit will hurt him.

The shaman may also go into a sweat-lodge for communion with his spirits, probably only when curing in the daytime. The shaman and his speaker are alone in the lodge; others wait outside to sing with him. When he comes out, he sucks the patient.

How long the shaman continues his exertions is indeterminate. If the patient is very sick, he sings until midnight or morning. Sometimes the shaman announces that his spirit has told him that the patient must be "doctored" for two nights; otherwise the sick man's relatives must decide. Payment is made only if the cure proves a success; should he die within a month or two the shaman must return the whole amount. While I received no hint that a shaman is mercenary, the size of the proffered fee must figure in his decision. Fifty years ago the usual payment was twenty or twenty-five dollars in cash or an equivalent of clothing, blankets, beads, or horses. Ten or twenty fathoms of beads is the amount. Twenty dollars or one good horse secured his services for one or two nights. A man who has none of these gives a canoe, a suit of elk-skin armor, or even food, and if his only riches are marriageable daughters, he presents one of these to the shaman.

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[180] Gatschet (1:72–73) assumes that the buckskin is actually inserted under the patient's skin but I do not understand this to be the case from the text.

Coville noted the use of lodge-pole pine pitch as a remedy for sore eyes, a very small fragment being placed inside the lid, and the leaves of a shrub (ba-bäk'-bak-lha'-näm, *Eriogonum stellatum* Benth.) placed on burns to protect the surface from the air. He also observed that the roots of buck-brush (chäk'-lō, *Kunzia tridentata*), steeped in water, is frequently drunk as a remedy for coughs and other lung and bronchial troubles. The dry ripe bitter fruits of the same, mashed in cold water, are sometimes drunk as an emetic. Cascara (sär'-um-bäk-ish, *Rhamnus purshiana* DC.) is made into a tea for an emetic; foliage, twigs, bark, and berries are all used. Wild parsnip roots (pöd'-chō, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.) are used medicinally. "In medicine a decoction of the herbage [of sage-brush (ghät or bōl'-whē, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt.)] is used internally to check diarrhea, externally as an eyewash, while the mashed herbage is used as a substitute for liniment." The roots of stä'-mäk (*Wyethia mollis* Gray) are mashed and used as a poultice for swellings. The mashed herbage of wäl'-wäl (*Chondrophora nauseosa* (Pursh) Britton), aromatic and resinous, is used to raise blisters. A poultice of the mashed leaves of wä'-mi (*Chrysothamnus bloomeri* (Gray) Greene and related shrubs), similar in principle to the preceding, is used for the same purpose.[166] 278

THE SONGS

With the aid of the large body of texts recorded by Gatschet it is possible to point out some general features of the shamanistic songs. 533 756 [114]

The form of the song is as fixed as its subject. In the first place, the burden of a song is always brief and always invariably consists of words with meaning, not syllables inserted for euphony's sake. If Gatschet's translations are to be trusted, the great preponderance of the songs are in the first person, the spirit speaking. I doubt it. My knowledge of Klamath is very limited but I suspect that such a phrase as Ké-utchish ai nû shuí'sh gî which he renders "I am the gray wolf magic song" is as likely to mean "The wolf is my spirit." A very large number of songs mention the spirit by name and are otherwise not especially esoteric but easily intelligible to one with only a slight knowledge of Klamath beliefs.

Certain song patterns recur with some frequency in Gatschet's collection. Four of these have simple forms.

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[166] Coville, Notes, 89, 95, 98, 100, 102, 105, 106.

"limbs and organs of certain animals which were supposed to exercise supernatural powers, and therefore were made the subject of a shui'sh, shuinótkish, or incantation. They are as follows: of the *black bear*, the head, snout, paws, fur, and heart; of the *dog*, the head, hair, fur, ears, tail, and paws; of the *weasel* (tchåshgai), the head, eyes, snout, fur, tail, and heart; of the *mink*, the paws, snout, fur, tail, and heart; of the *shné-ish-duck* [black-jack duck], the head and legs; of the *salmon*, the head and fins; of the *fly*, the wings (lás, black or white) and legs."[188] The ears of the young antelope also form the subject of a song. In many cases reference is also made to the female and the offspring of the animal and even of the earth.

The references to the spirits mentioned in Gatschet's song collection are not random but center in some particular characteristic, habit, or association of the animal. Thus, the swimming of the mink, the underground habits of the weasel, woodchuck, and snake, the soaring of certain birds, the standing shitepoke, the position or movement of the reptiles, are signaled for song. The ducks figure as disease bringers. (These may be curing songs in which the birds are taxed with causing the sickness.) A number of birds control the storm and wind. (These may be songs used in changing the weather.)

Some of Gatschet's songs may have mythical reference. For instance, the dog straying in the north wind, Weasel as a trickster, the skunk dancing in the north wind, and the frog woman. The grizzly and his springs may refer to a tale paralleling that of the brown bear and the spring. There may be others which I do not recognize. One of the songs I recorded refers to the mythical character Wawiwŏ'k!os.

It also seems significant that the shaman's songs referring to himself are not introspective, do not refer to his bodily state or experiences, but to his paraphernalia, or objectively to the disease.

The norm for Klamath songs seems to be a brief statement, explicitly naming some spirit or object and its characteristics or associations, rather devoid of esoteric reference, and couched in one of half a dozen simple forms.

The following spirit songs are taken from Gatschet's collection. I do not know which of these are curing songs and which pertain to the performances. I have grouped together those that seem to refer to the same practice or group of spirits, and I have taken considerable liberty in retranslating those that stood in obvious need thereof. [114]

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[188] Gatschet, 1:178, 179.

533 114 I feel that many of his translations are far from the point, but I do not know enough to correct them. The numbers in parentheses refer to the page and number in Gatschet's work.

539 *Fire dance (wa'hla) songs?*

In flames I am enveloped (154, 8).
I am now wrapped in flames (166, 26).

Songs referring to various items of the shaman's outfit (mā'lwas).

This scoop is my instrument, that tool used on the lake[189] (167, 34).
This is my medicine arrow (164, 3).
The pipe is my instrument, that tool used for tobacco[190] (167, 33).
I the shaman's pole [wa'' las] am shaking to and fro (170, 66).
Planks [covering the lodge?] are rattling (155, 18).
This is my song, that of the sweat-lodge stick-hole[191] (168, 45).
So looks the yellowhammer medicine-decoration;
The otter is my equipment; the otter skin neckband is my equipment (167, 30).
I the neckband am medicine-equipment; I the neckband am a spirit [or song] (168, 40).
Thus I walk when I tie up the hair (165, 9).
I will pull a rope from my entrails[192] (165, 11).

Songs referring to anthropomorphic spirits.

I the shai'kish [tcạkia'ḳ] tramp[193] (169, 52).
Tcạkia'ḳ is my song [or spirit]; thunder is my song [or spirit] (169, 53).
I the ghost lean on a staff (168, 38).
Bones only I rattle (157, 44).
I the woman am painted black on the body[194] (158, 51).
My dew claws are rattling (166, 17).
Dew claws are my medicine-outfit[195] (166, 21).
In quill-fringed buck-skin dressed (154, 6).
I search the ground with my hands, find there the feathers of the yellowhammer and devour them (154, 10).
Quick! make ye eyes for me! (154, 11).
In the fog I am straying blind; all over the earth I am wandering[196] (157, 40).

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[189] Or the lake is my instrument.

[190] Or tobacco is my instrument.

[191] I do not know what Gatschet means by the "stick-hole."

[755] [192] "Feigning to draw a rope or string from their posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear" (Gatschet, 1:171). I was not told of this and it sounds more like a shamanistic trick than a curing practice.

[114] [193] Gatschet says "shai'kish is another name given to the tch'akiuks" and this is a "song of a gray aquatic fowl, called tch'akiuka." The following song, wherein he translates tc'aking as little boy clearly indicates that the reference here is to Tcạkia'ḳ, the little boy spirit which lives in water.

[194] Gatschet implies that this refers to a woman dancer, but it is as likely that it is a woman spirit.

[114] [756] [195] Gatschet says of these two songs "Conjurer's rattles are made of deer's claws" and "this song of a female conjurer or 'doctress' . . . ." (1: 172). But deer-claw rattles are used only in a girl's puberty dance; shamans use none at all. I interpret these songs to be those of a woman spirit, like the one which precedes them and perhaps the one to follow.

[534] [196] The first two of these three songs are those of "the blind medicine-girl" according to Gatschet and the third that of "the blind girl." I assume a spirit is referred to.

Songs of cosmic phenomena.

I the earth resound[197] (158, 48).
My lake is glittering in azure colors (164, 1).
Who, I wonder, is blowing out of my mouth? The disease is emanating from my mouth[198] (153, 3).
I am shivering! the wind blows down on me! (156, 27).
I am the north wind who stalked (164, 4).
The north wind blows around me from the distance (155, 20 and note).
Southeast, southeast, southeast, southeast[199] (165, 7).
I am indeed the south wind spirit [or song]; I sweep over the earth (167, 29).
The storm gust dashes right on me (155, 25).
I the storm wind I wind around (168, 42).
My disease has indeed arrived; I am the sleet spirit (164, 2).
Heavy hailstones I possess[200] (156, 26).
Fog followed drifting after me (158, 57).

Songs referring to animal spirits.

I have five springs and my springs are dry[201] (157, 46).
I am scratching up the ground (157, 42).
On the mountain top I am peeping out; of the grizzly bear I am the child (156, 36).
I am the wolf song [or spirit] (165, 12).
I, the she-wolf, am rolling against (a tree?) (157, 37).
Long and slim I am (154, 7).
Crazed I am wandering[202] (155, 22).
The red fox's child I follow up[203] (156, 30).
I am blowing air from my flanks (156, 32).
Everything I can devour (158, 53).
I the dog am straying; in the north wind I am straying (155, 24).
I [the weasel] am squealing, I am squalling (155, 23).
From under the ground I [the weasel] am singing (162, 5).
Fooling, fooling I [the weasel] run around (158, 52).
While walking I [the weasel] shine in multiple colors (169, 55).
Mine is this ground, the weasel's; muddy is my ground, the weasel's (169, 56).
I [the marten) go up and stick fast to the tree (168, 37).
I [the mink] am swimming out while the south wind blows (156, 29).
Ripples in the water sheet I [the mink] am spreading far and wide (162, 6).
Shaman: The smallpox brought by me, the otter, is upon ye

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[197] "This is sung when water is poured over the patient."

[198] "Song of the wind."

[199] Ye'was is southeast and the southeast wind, not east as Gatschet has it. [114]

[200] "Probably refers to one of those birds to whom the power is attributed to bring about storms, fog, snow, or any change of the weather."

[201] This and the following are songs of the grizzly, according to Gatschet.

[202] These two are songs of the "washpálaks-fox" according to Gatschet. This is a fox, he says. But the translation elsewhere (2:476) "the emaciated prairie-wolf" rather indicates that these refer to the coyote. [114]

[203] This song and the two that follow refer to one or both species of fox. Of the first Gatschet says, "This is probably a song of the wind, not of the young silver-fox (as I was told), and I have translated it as such."

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539 *Chorus:* The otter's tread has whirled up the dust (166, 24).
I the marmot, I travel around this land[204] (154, 15).
I [the woodchuck] am descending into the ground (154, 5).
In the north wind I [the skunk] dance gaily around (155, 16).
With shortened steps I [the skunk] am dancing (162, 7).
Through what do I [the black mouse] pass with my paws? My paws glide over the hair of the disease (155, 21).
Down in the dark ground I [the black ground-mouse] am singing (165, 10).

Songs referring to bird spirits.

Blown off! I blew off the feather crest (153, 2 and note).
As a head only, I roll around (154, 12).
I flutter along the ground (while walking) (158, 49).
I [bald eagle] am screaming high up in the skies (162, 4).
High up in the skies I [bald eagle] circle (165, 5).
I am the eagle feather, I am going down, hö! (163, 11).
High up in the skies I [fish hawk] circle; through the clear skies I carry my prey (169, 50).
I [fish hawk] am pinching hard (162, 3).
North wind is my [fish hawk's] song [or spirit] (170, 58).
This is my head crest; the crest of the wī'tgötgis hawk (171, 71).
I [sparrow hawk] carry my offspring with me (166, 18).
I the buzzard circle in the air (170, 62).
I [the shkä' bird][205] am a song [or spirit] and circle high above the earth (167, 36).
I [the female shkä bird] am snapping (or scolding) at the ground (168, 44).
This is my sickness, the wa'-u'htuash-duck (170, 67).
Belly-ache is the disease I [the butterball duck] am bring on (167, 28).
Belly-ache is the disease which I[206] carry along with me (166, 27).
The núta-duck is now singing about itself (167, 31).
I the fish duck would like to fly over the country (169, 51).
I the mallard float on the water's bosom (170, 68).
In my lake ripples I [the kilídshiksh-duck] am spreading (165, 15).
I [the shitepoke] stand upon the rim of my nest (154, 9).
I [the shitepoke] crouch on the water's edge (170, 63).
The disease brought on comes from me, the young shitepoke (170, 64).
Noisily I [the pelican] am blowing around (166, 19).
By me, by the swan, this storm has been produced (166, 20).
This tempest is my[207] work (170, 69).
I am the loon and my waves follow me (168, 46).
I the kingfisher am eating up the salmon (169, 54).
High-crested I (the bluejay) sing my song (or am a spirit) (170, 61).
I the young woodpecker have brought on sickness (168, 39).
I, the woodpecker, am holding fast the tree stem (170, 65).
I [the woodpecker] am picking hard at the bark of a pine tree (162, 2).
The disease brought on by me, the lark, spreads everywhere (168, 43).

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[114]

[204] Gatschet gives wálzatchäka as the long-tailed black marten, but this is the marmot.

[205] If its name is in imitation of its cry, this would seem to be a hawk.

[206] The ma'maktsu duck: by my information má'mákis means waterfowl in general.

[207] The wei wash goose, the snow goose; by my information the white brant.

This is the kála-bird's fog (166, 22).
This is the *female* kala-bird's fog (166, 23).
I [the tchikass-bird] am wafted off from the mountain (157, 43).
I am the póp-tchikas-bird's song [or spirit] (167, 35).
Fearfully the wind blows underneath here[208] (157, 39).
The snow made by me, the talutaí wash-bird is ready to arrive (170, 60).
A flint-headed arrow I [the gáwi-bird] am ready to dispatch (163, 10).
White chalk is my [the nû'sh-tilansné ash-bird's] medicine-tool (167, 32).
I the little black *female* bird[209] am lost and strayed (163, 16).
I [the tsíaxixi-bird] am singing about myself (170, 59).
I [the wipĕlí'wash *forest*-bird] am singing my song [or am a spirit] (171, 70).
Of the axib-bird I am the song [or spirit] (168, 41).

Songs referring to frogs, lizards, fish, and bugs.

An old *frog* woman I sit down at the spring[210] (163, 9).
I the slow speckled snake [wû'mxnûks] am hanging here (157, 47).
This is mine, the black snake's, gait (165, 8).
Lo! thus I the lizard stick my head out (155, 19).
When I the [male] lizard am walking, my body is resplendent with colors (165, 14).
The land on which I, the female lizard, am treading, belongs to the lark (165, 13).
Which game did you play with me [the turtle]? (159, 58).
Now the wind gust sings about me, the little sucker fish (165, 6).
I the tsáwas-fish am singing my own song [or am a spirit] (169, 57).
Here I [the yellow jacket] am buzzing around (165, 16).
I the bug,[211] I bite and suck (156, 28).

Other songs.

I the song [or spirit] am walking here (156, 31).
I am the song of evil (ko'idsi) (166, 25).

Songs referring to sickness and curing.

I the disease am meandering through the skies (162, 1 and note).
The pangs of hunger I carry about (169, 48).
I feel too bad for dancing (163, 12).
I carry pains about (168, 47).
What thing do I blow around? The disease I am blowing around in the air (156, 35).
Breath I am emitting[212] (157, 45).
What do I remove *from* my mouth; the disease I extract *from* my mouth.
What is the thing I take out; it is the disease I am taking out (153, 4).

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[208] "Song of the tchiwititikaga-bird."

[209] Shaixish-bird; elsewhere (169, 52) shaíkish is given as a name for Tcaķia'ķ, the little boy spirit.

[210] "Songs by a companion of the old *frog*," but the *frog* spirit is an old woman herself.

[211] Shaixish; but elsewhere Gatschet translates this as a little black *female* bird (163, 16) and as a bird called tchákiuks (169, 52) which is Tcaķia'ķ, the little boy spirit (see note above).

[212] "Sung by the disease, found to live in water."

Yet the most laborious wood- 462
working task, the making of canoes, is sometimes undertaken by
women. I do not know who tans skins, but since the manufacture [501]
of all garments and moccasins is done by women, this suggests that [281]
they prepare the skins as well. Mats and baskets are made by women
and in considerable quantity. This is a sedentary pursuit which
dovetails nicely into leisure moments of household duties. Mortars, [285]
metates, and their adjuncts are fashioned by women, though I suspect
that men may lend a hand. Nets are manufactured by men, but by [415]
a few women also. Ropes and cords are made by women. All these [284]
suggest a somewhat heavier share borne by women.

There is a further factor which must be kept in mind. In winter, [283]
movement is impeded by intense cold and heavy snowfall, so that all
members of the family must stay close at home. Hence the men might 211
be thought to have enforced inactivity thrust upon them during this
season. But the facts are probably otherwise. This is a period of
great scarcity, even famine, especially at the end of a long winter,
and it behooves the men to act and act quickly in search of food.
The ardors and perils then forced on them surely make demands upon
whatever leisure they may have at this time.

FOOD AND ITS ACQUISITION

Klamath life is not that of a lake people, but a river and marsh 262
culture, for the simple reason that their primary food is fish. The large lakes of this region are solidly frozen in winter, and fish, which are not abundant there at the best, can hardly be had in winter. It is otherwise with the swift rivers and creeks; these are always open and fish are always present in abundance.[218]

Fish is the staple; after this ranks water-lily seed (wokas) and to 262
a lesser extent other roots; deer and other game are only of minor
importance. It is difficult at this late date to know whether fish or 224
lily-seed was eaten in greater quantity, but there is no doubt that, of 226
necessity, more attention was given the year round to fishing, since 222
the seed is harvested only from the middle of August to the end of
September.

Winter villages, the permanent settlements, are located where fish 361
may be had at that time, beside running streams and near springs

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[218] In view of the excellent descriptions of Klamath environment given by Gatschet, Barrett (pp. 240-243), and Coville (Wokas, A Primitive Food, 727-728) it is unnecessary to add another here. (See also pp. 8-10 of the present work.) [114]

roasted and allowed to burn to ashes. Those that follow must not be taken home but roasted there, else no more will come. If the rite is observed, suckers will be plentiful. Wo'katat is the only place where the rite is held, the only place "where Kᴇᴍū'kūmps made this law."

> Kᴇᴍū'kūmps was living at komā'čaki. He made a dome-shaped mat-lodge [the cave] using stĕholas mats to cover it [the poorest mats]. That is why it leaks. Right at his home he killed fish. The fish had great difficulty in swimming up there, so Kᴇᴍū'kūmps killed the first he saw. He roasted it right at the river bank. He did not take it; let it burn to ashes. He said, "This is the way the pasā'odiwas [humans, in mythical terminology] will do." After he did this, fish came in great numbers. [539]

There is no individual ownership of fishing places, as with dams. Nor, for that matter, are there proprietary rights to hunting territories, berry or seed patches. A chief has no control, no ownership of fishing rights. Even those whose permanent dwellings are near the dams have no particular claim to them. To be sure, one might ask those who live near-by to fish in the spot for him, but solely because they know best how to use the nets there.

One reason for this is that the fish dams date from remote antiquity. They are, in fact, said to have been built by Kᴇᴍū'kūmps.[226] These are quite common in the rivers wherever a shelf of rock in the stream bed favors their construction. Their purpose is to create an eddy of still water in which the fish can be netted when they take refuge from the swift current. Most of these have been destroyed by the loggers who have cleared the channels of obstructions to float their logs. Gatschet seems to doubt that these are artificial constructions, but it is clear that only the foundation is a natural configuration. [114] These are short dams (sa'mḳauūs) or wings of rocks extending out from one bank. One such in the low falls of middle Williamson river at tākalma'kcda takes advantage of a bend in the river bank to enclose a pool thirty-five feet across.[227] Weirs are not used in connection with dams; in fact they are unknown to the Klamath.

Fish are taken mostly with nets (wītco'lhus).[228] As among professional fishermen everywhere, line fishing is hardly sufficiently profit- 227 able to be trifled with. Yet lines are sometimes used, as well as the spear, and there is some sporadic use of traps. There are several kinds of dip net as well as a gill net.

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[226] See Gatschet, Mythologic Text, 161.

[227] Other dams on Lost river are mentioned by Clarke (Rock Piles, 40).

[228] The Klamath do not poison fish. Gatschet has a curious reference to kūlχamsh and slē'ds as "fish-killing-articles" put in the nets, but these are respectively flax and nettles used for net cordage! (1:150). [114]

127 formerly it was not set on stakes. He referred to mention in a myth of its use as a hand net. At any rate, of recent years it is set on stakes in the lake or rivers. It has a small mesh, is forty or more feet in length, three feet in width, and provided with sticks or dry tule stems in order to float the upper edge, and sinkers in order to weight down the lower. The sinker (łĕ'mdi'as) is a pebble three to four inches long, grooved about its middle through peeking it with a hard pointed stone.

284 462 Nets are manufactured by men, although a few women also make them. They have meshes of several sizes. A net gauge (tŏŋks) of bone or wood is used with a slender shuttle (tcŏ'mdlīkŭs) wound end over end.[230] Nettle bark cord is used, from either brown or gray nettles (slĕ'ēts). Coville notes the use of Rocky mountain flax fibers.[231]

The fish traps used by the Klamath are strictly speaking not traps at all, since there is no closing device to prevent the escape of the fish. They are very little used. I was told of only one place where the device is used, a little stream above Spring creek on Williamson river, where the water is so clear that the actions of the fish can be watched in detail. There it is used only in winter to take trout. The trap (spuwᴇm) is a cylindrical basket of willow branches, woven in open twine, six feet long and two in diameter, closed at one end. The opposite end is open and not provided with reversed barbs or other device to prevent the fish leaving the trap. Cords are tied to it so [114] that it may be hauled up when the fish is seen to enter. A trap of this sort figured by Barrett,[232] but of only half this length, has one side extending somewhat beyond the mouth. Meacham describes a trap of somewhat different shape:

> 226 The Klamath mode of taking fish is peculiar to the Indians of this lake country. A canoe-shaped basket is made, with covering of willow work at each end, leaving a space of four feet in the middle top of the basket. This basket is carried out into the tules that adjoin the lakes, and sunk to the depth of two or three feet. The fishermen chew dried fish eggs and spit them in the water over the basket, until it is covered with the eggs, and then retire a short distance, waiting until the whitefish come in large numbers over the basket, when the fishermen cautiously approach the covered ends, and raise it suddenly, until the upper edge is above the water, and thus entrap hundreds of fish, that are about eight inches in length. These are transferred to the hands of the squaws, and by them are strung on ropes or sticks and placed over fires until cured, without salt, after which they are stored for winter use.[233]

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[230] Illustrated by Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 22.

[231] Coville, Notes, 99.

[232] *Op. cit.*, pl. 19.

[233] Meacham, Wigwam and Warpath, 283.

Even more simple is the taking of a variety of thick-skinned minnow (t!ĕă'bᴇ). When the marshes begin to freeze, these congregate among the tules, when they may be scooped up with a basket. 226

Fish spears are not much used; even salmon are ordinarily taken in nets. For one thing, Williamson river and Klamath lake outside of Pelican bay are much too dark for spearing. Salmon are sometimes speared from the river bank, which is quite low, or from the rocks at Klamath falls. No staging is needed as on the swift Columbia or the lower Klamath. The salmon spear (k'Ic) is the usual two-pronged Northwest Coast-Californian variety; a shaft bearing two divergent prongs provided with detachable points. The shaft is fir; the lashed-on prongs of mountain mahogany[234] or service berry wood are of equal length. Each prong fits into a socket in the base of a bone point. The three-inch point is barbless. A cord tied through a hole in the middle of each point is fastened some distance back on the shaft.[235] Thus the head driven through the fish is detached from the prong, but the salmon is held fast to the shaft by the cords. A special club is not manufactured for killing salmon. 227

Fish are also speared through the ice of the lake with this instrument. A wall of snow or tules is built about a little hole cut through the ice and covered with a tule mat to exclude the light. The fisherman lies at full length on a bed of grass or rushes with his head under this cover, protected from the cold by a blanketing of mats. 226

A second type of spear, called ḳa"lᴇks, is used for suckers and other fish whose habit it is to swim near the lake bottom. This is a long pole having a conical bundle of hard wood prongs (eighteen inches long) bound to one end. Their points are spread to a circle of five inches by a wooden hoop thrust down and bound among them. There are said to be twenty such prongs in a bundle; Barrett however notes half a dozen to fifteen;[236] and a spear with iron points which I saw had nine. This spear is used in dark, still waters. Poised above the spot where bubbles rise and jabbed down into the mud at a venture, it may pin a fish among the prongs. Another spear provided with a single barbed point is thrust into the fish to haul it up. The barb is made by binding a splinter of bone at an angle to the point of the foreshaft, which is of mountain mahogany. 227 [114]

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[234] Coville, Notes, 98.

[235] Illustrated by Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 22, fig. 4; also p. 251.

[236] *Op. cit.*, 251.

224 The Klamath are evidently catholic in their tastes, excluding among larger animals only the out-and-out carnivores.

Most land animals are taken with the bow. Snares are not used, even for birds, and the deadfall trap finds only occasional use. Snares (knĕs) for deer, an important hunting device of northwestern California,[266] are said to be used by the Molala. Several hunting methods which might have been expected here are unknown: driving deer or antelope into an enclosure (chute-and-pound) or over a cliff, and the use of nets for taking rabbits.[267] The first is a Great Basin practice; the latter used both there and in California. Nor are pits dug on deer trails.

Deer driving of an alternative nature is practiced in at least one locality. At Pelican bay tongues of land extend into the marsh from the toe of the timbered mountains. The deer are driven onto these, where they can be readily shot, or pursued into the water where women wait in canoes to slay them. The humming sound of a buzzer made of a deer astragalus bone is a "sign of this."

The Klamath do not stalk the deer in disguise, but my informant ascribed this to the people at Yainax, i.e., Modoc or Paiute. They stuff the head skin of a deer to wear over their own heads, but add no horns; the body is covered by the attached deer hide.[268]

231 Dogs are used in hunting, but not to the same extent as with the
[224] Molala, who employ them to track deer or drive game toward the hunter. The dogs are described as small, slim, with short legs, the hind legs crooked. They were short-haired, had erect ears, short faces, with sometimes black marks on the upper eyelids, called ķ!au'li. A rock south of Barclay spring is famous as a place to train hunting dogs. The puppy is thrown into a near-by spring while the master
[552] hides behind the rock. A dog's name is given for individual markings or happenings, as wano'mgoķs, marten bites him. One received the name of a man, ķoi'yăs, because the dog was brown(?). Dogs are called by name, or tc!lsk, tc!lsk. They are chased away, cccc gĕ'ka, get out. To encourage them to fight, one says, kŭc, kŭc, kŭc.

• [114] [266] Kroeber, Handbook, 817. Barrett (Material Culture, 246) states that Klamath and Modoc took deer in snares, but I am certain he is mistaken.

* [171] [267] Despite a myth referring to this, my informant did not know whether the Northern Paiute use it.

[268] There is, however, an antelope headdress in the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 61678) which is ascribed to the Klamath. It is formed of the whole head skin of the animal, but is hardly more than a cap. Pendant from the rear is a bunch of hawk(?) feathers.

A deadfall trap (sna'ndōtslōks) is set in the Cascades or along their foot to take such animals as marten, fisher, fox, and coyote. This is constructed of logs, with the entrance blocked in such a fashion that the animal entering must spring the trap. I was unable to get a description of the trigger. 224

Waterfowl are shot, caught in nets, or hunted with a jack-light. 223 The arrows used for these birds are of cane with foreshafts of wood sufficiently light to float. Near the tip, to serve as a barb, the foreshaft has a wad or ring of pitch, or of pitch and sinew, or carved from the shaft, as described by Barrett.[269]

The long nets (nut) for waterfowl are set up in the marshy margins of the lakes where ducks commonly congregate. These are fifty or sixty feet long by three wide. They are set under water, reaching quite to the bottom and hardly appearing above the surface, for the purpose is to catch the birds as they dive. The net is watched day and night. People may even sleep and cook in a canoe to be near it. While my information is that flying birds are not caught in these, Barrett is probably correct that they have such use. The net is stretched upright above the surface and dropped on the birds as they fly or swim into it.

The birds are also caught with the aid of a jack-light and net as they rest on the water at night. This method (slū'mta) is used with success where they flock in warm, unfrozen spots such as the mouth of Williamson river and Pelican bay. A fire is built in the prow of a canoe; a triangular scoop net, commonly used for fishing, is held upright behind it.[270] Pitchy wood is used to provide a bright light; the canoe is protected by a thick layer of dirt. The ducks flying toward the light are caught in the net or fall into the canoe where they are clubbed. Four or five men armed with clubs and bows sometimes go together in a large canoe.

Diving birds are sometimes taken with the many-pointed fish spear, according to Barrett. But a curious variant of it has been described by Meacham. [114]

> The young fowls are captured in nets. The arrangement is quite cunning, and, although primitive in construction, evinces some inventive genius. A circular net is made three feet in diameter, and to the outer edge are attached eight or ten small rods of half-inch diameter, and about fifteen inches in length; three inches

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[269] Material Culture, 247. My informant denied Barrett's statement that the primary purpose of the ring is to cause the arrow to skip over the surface and strike in the flock, though this undoubtedly happens. [114]

[270] Barrett (*loc. cit.*) has the fire behind the net.

along the lake borders. It was estimated that Klamath marsh alone contained 10,000 acres of the plant in 1902. This seems an exceptionally abundant food supply, but the difficulty is that a day's harvest is relatively small. A woman may pick from four to six bushels of pods in a day, but the seed content is only one-fourth as great. Gatschet's informant implies that the season's activities netted an individual seven to ten sacks of ground seed, each of fifty pounds content.[373] The season is from the middle of August to the end of September. 222

So complete an account of the wokas industry has been given by Coville[374] that only a summary is needed here. [114]

The preference is for the fully ripened, open seed pods, but as these constitute only a fraction of the day's harvest, the partly ripened pods are subjected to a special process to force maturity, with a variety of further treatments depending on the stage they reach. The various grades of seeds, in the order of preference and maturity, are known, according to Coville, as spokwas, stontablaks, lowak, nokapk, and chiniakum. This is truly the order of maturity, but the native preference as foods, as stated by Nancy Phillips, differs: spo'ķwas, the fully matured seed, loll'nc, cooked and ground seed, snŏps, ground and parched, and si'wullnc, the cleaned seed of rotted pods.

It must be borne in mind that the hard-shelled kernels are found in a mucilaginous mass within the pod. The fully ripened pods, called spo'ķwas, are fermented in a pit for one to five weeks, the mucilaginous matter washed out, and the seeds drained. When the process must be hurried, the pods, mature or otherwise, are steamed in a fire. These steamed pods are called a'wal; separated into two grades, the better is known as no'gŏtk, the inferior, tc!lni'zķum. The seeds of these pods are freed of their sticky coating by mixing them with absorbent pulverized rotten wood, charcoal, or ashes. Like spo'ķwas, these two grades of seed are prepared by parching in a tray basket with live coals, grinding them lightly to remove the shells, which are then winnowed out, leaving the free, fresh kernels called loll'nc. This is either dried and stored, or parched to make snŏps. The latter is eaten dry, or mixed with water, whole kernels or ground, to make a mush called shlotish. The greater part of the harvest consists of 251

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[373] 1:74, 76.

[374] Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians. I have enquired concerning his description, but have nothing substantial to add.

222 262 251 Camas is abundant; it is sometimes eaten raw at the time it is gathered, but is usually baked and stored.[279] Coville states that it is gathered about April 1. It will keep indefinitely.

Ipos is one of the earliest spring plants gathered for food, according to Coville, "the roots being dug about the 1st of May, at which time the contents are soft and milky. The root is commonly dried and eaten raw." A closely related tuber (the yampa of the Utes) is an equally common article of food.[280] A tuber called yanteh (*Calochortus?*) is eaten, which resembles camas and is described by Gatschet as cylindrical and in size as large as the thumb.[281] While the onion-like roots of *Peucedanum* are a staple of the Modoc, they are occasionally used by the Klamath. The roots are strung on cords or kept in sacks. The mealy interior is soft enough to be eaten when dry or they may be mashed and boiled.

Young tules are pulled up from canoes, the lower white portion being retained. These are palatable only when fresh.[282] The tuberous base, called khā-äls′, of a sedge is eaten. The short rootstocks of the cat-tail are eaten late in the season, when full of stored food, under the name ktöks. Similarly the young rootstocks of the common burreed late in summer develop at their ends tubers which have a sweetish taste and are used for food. The bulbous expansion at the base of the stem, similar in its qualities, is likewise eaten, and is called klop′-ā.

[114] Undoubtedly other roots are used, the only poisonous one according to the Indian's account being the wild parsnip. Coville lists at least another, "poison camas," scā′-ō or scou (*Zygadenus venosus* Wats).[283]

The nutlets of ḳ!ol (*Valeriana*) are pit-roasted. Coville gives the following account of the procedure: "In cooking, a hole perhaps a meter or more (about 3 or 4 feet) in diameter and half as deep is dug in the ground and lined with stones. A fire is then built in the hole, and after burning for a sufficient time is cleared out. Fresh grass is next laid over the hot stones, then k-öl′, then more grass, and the whole covered with earth. The mass is then allowed to cook and steam the rest of the day and over night, when the pit is opened and the cooked roots are ready for eating." Gatschet adds that they are

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[279] Gatschet, *op. cit.*, 76.

[280] Coville, Notes, 101.

[281] Gatschet, 1:146; Coville, Notes, 93.

[282] Gatschet, 1:148.

[283] Notes, 93.

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262 practice. Gatschet notes the use of bone implements to peal off the bark.[287] In April the cambium layer of the lodgepole pine is similarly scraped off and eaten.

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824 A few additional food plants are mentioned by Gatschet, which seem not to be included in Coville's extensive list. Klápa is evidently a cylindric root; klû, a rounded root growing in the Modoc country. A large bulb of a low plant (tsuni'ka) is eaten. Wátksăm is presumably a root. Páwash is a plant said to resemble k!ol (*Valeriana*), hence it may be that the nutlets are used. It grows chiefly at Yainax. They are baked, pounded, and dried. Kĕla'tch is a small blue berry, gathered after the wokas season; it is dried and boiled. Another is wáshlalam íwam, squirrel's huckleberries. The white buds of ktû'ks, growing on a straight stalk, are eaten, as well as those of wi'wi, a similar plant. No description is given of the edible portions of other plants: kû'ktû, kăs, ta'ksish, tók, tsi'kal (*Phragmites ?*), and tsuák.[288]

The native and scientific names of these plants follow, mainly as given in Coville's paper. These are listed in the order of mention above.

Seeds

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Goosefoot, ḳotca'nīks, *Chenopodium fremonti* Wats.
Rye-grass, glä'bi, *Elymus condensatus* Presl.
Lbö, *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt. and *B. deltoides* Nutt.
Kăp'-i-önks, *Polygonum douglasii* Greene.
Marsh grass, kăm'-chö-dă''-lis, *Panicularia fluitans* (L.) Kuntze.
Tarweed, gö'-ē-whă, *Madia glomerata* Hook.
Lö'-lăs, *Mentzelia albicaulis* Dougl.
A low grass, nö'-tăk, *Agrostis perennans* (Walt.) Tuckerm.
Slew grass, chăp'-tö, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) Host.
Sugar pine, kta'-lö, *Pinus lambertiana* Dougl.
Common cane, *Phragmites phragmites* (L.) Karst.
Tule, mä'-i, *Scirpus lacustris occidentalis* Wats.
A small amaranth, *Amarantus blitoides* Wats.
Dock, gö'-klaks, *Rumex salicifolius* Weinm.
Western tansy mustard, te!i'pus, *Sisymbrium incisum* Engelm.
A rush-like perennial, gil-lĕn'-ä, *Triglochin maritima* L.

Herbage

Ken-ä'-wăt, *Rumex geyeri* (Meisn.) Trelease.
Wild parsnip, pöd'-chö, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.
Wä'-kăm, *Sium cicutaefolium* Gmel.
Mint, măch-ăs'-săm, *Mentha canadensis* L.

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[287] Gatschet, 1:148. See also Barrett, Material Culture, pl. 22, fig. 5.
[288] Gatschet, 1:146-150, 75.

throw to the ground and the stones. I am not sure that this formula is a prayer. If they neglect this grace, the ground (ġe'lᴇ) will harm the little children.[290]

It is customary to take a mouthful of water to wash out the mouth before eating. [515]

CANOES

501 The Klamath canoe is a clumsy-looking, trough-like affair, with blunt ends, heavy and long. But I have seen an old woman guide a fully laden twenty-foot canoe upstream through a log jam in a manner to awaken considerable respect for their riding qualities. They look unwieldy, but with the load and paddler set well aft so that the prow rides out of the water they can be spun about on the stern as a pivot and driven through the still waters of much of Klamath territory with considerable ease.[291]

The shape of the canoe (wünte) is exactly that of the peeled log, hollowed to a thin shell, and the ends beveled upward from the waterline quite sharply. They vary much in length but are remarkably uniform in width, eighteen to twenty-four inches, which is the diameter of the majority of the firs used for canoes in this country. Most of the canoes are made relatively short, ten to twenty feet, to wind about in the narrow crooked channels of the marshes. One canoe measured eighteen feet long, twenty inches in greatest width, and sixteen or eighteen inches from gunwale to keel. Another old example was fifteen feet long, seventeen inches wide, eight inches deep at the waist rising to twelve inches at the ends, which were somewhat pointed, with the under surface of the nose and stern rising at an angle of about thirty-five degrees. Larger canoes for transport on the open lake measure up to thirty-five feet in length, three feet wide, and thigh-deep inside, I was told.

Fir is the most suitable wood, pine makes a canoe that is too heavy to handle, and the cedars in this region are too small for canoes.[292] Besides this, cedar readliy cracks when it is dry, especially in such thin shells as these. One of my informants even said that cedar canoes are too light to handle properly! Fir also checks and cracks but not

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[290] For further notes on utensils and the etiquette of meals, see below.

[291] For illustrations, see Barrett, Material Culture, pl. 10; Coville, Wokas, pls. 3, 4, 5.

[292] My informants probably meant by "fir" the yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.) and by "pine" the sugar pine (*Pinus lambertiana* Dougl.). Coville does not list fir in this region (cf. Notes, especially p. 89). [114]

501 badly because of its somewhat twisted grain. The worst cracking occurs of course in the cross-grain at the ends of the canoe. Minor cracks are filled with pitch alone. A good fir canoe will last from fifteen to twenty years or more. A canoe that is properly dried before it is put into water will remain white indefinitely, but a green canoe soon blackens.

Fire is the active agent in hollowing the dugout. It takes about a week to complete a fair-sized canoe by this method. The fire is started in a long notch cut along the upper face of the log. Stones are placed at each end to confine the flame. The ends are cut off on a flat bevel at an upward angle of thirty to forty degrees with its axis. Barrett states that the angle at the prow is considerably more acute than that at the stern.[293] The gunwales are quite parallel for nearly the full length of the canoe and less than its full width, so that the sides curve inward at the top, giving a crescentic cross-section to the craft. The fire is allowed to cut the gunwales slightly wider and lower at the center so that the canoe curves upward a little at each end. And depending on how far the gunwales are cut down into the log at the ends, these are either squared across or, as is more usual, somewhat rounded. The shell is cut quite thin, a thickness of about half an inch at the gunwale and not much more in the bottom and ends. The exterior is hardly trimmed after the bark is removed, so that the whole canoe is quite cylindrical. Nevertheless the canoe has not much roll and rarely capsizes, especially if well laden, for then the flat underends steady it. The finish is quite rough, especially when compared with canoes of the lower Klamath river and those of the Northwest coast.

There are no thwarts; they are unnecessary to the paddler who sits or kneels in the bottom. But crosspieces (behō'ŋkwls) are used to spread the gunwales while the canoe is still green or to keep them from spreading after the wood has dried.[294]

The paddle (kɛts'ek) to be light is made of cedar, four and a half to five feet long. Half its length is blade, widest near the tip which is pointed, tapering to the long thin handle which is without any sort of grip at the upper end.[295] The paddler, who sits near the stern in order to lift the prow, paddles for a time on one side, then

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[293] Material Culture, 247.

[114] [294] Gatschet has an obscure reference to "ti'lhash as a 'swimming-sucker'-wood on canoe they stick up" (1:150), by which he may have meant a piece of wood carved to represent a swimming fish attached to the canoe.

[532] [295] Kroeber illustrates an excellent example (Handbook, pl. 67b).

313 fire built in the notch quickly eats into the dry heart wood but will
372 not spread in the green wood. Sometimes a lazy man will attempt
to cut off the dry top of a standing tree by cutting all around with
the horn pick. This is attended with considerable danger, since the
top may drop straight down on the workman perched in the branches.

412 Stone axes and adzes are unknown, although Barrett speaks of
114 adzing the canoe.[298] In their place, every man had several elk-horn
picks (to'kë) and hardwood mauls. The picks are the unworked tines
412 of elk antlers, not made wedge shape. These are cut off by laying a
fire at the appropriate spot on the antler. Yew wedges are not
321 known. The maul is only a knotty club of oak or mountain mahogany;
[372] a knot with the limb attached. Barrett describes a conical stone maul,
but I was not told of this.[299]

[114] The fire drill is the familiar stick rotated between the palms on a
wooden hearth, so that the flowing wood dust falls on the tinder. The
372 wood selected for the drill (slī'kwis) is preferably the dry tip (ha'bɛ)
of the bull pine; alternatively a willow or sage-brush branch is used.
[114] It is two feet long, a half inch diameter. Coville was told that "for
a twirling stick a dry, dead twig of yellow pine, about 6 mm. (one-fourth inch) in diameter, seasoned and somewhat softened by the weather, is often employed; but the best stick is made of sage-brush, *Artemisia tridentata.*"[300] The hearth (k'ts!īk) is of indifferent wood, commonly a paddle blade, but the best wood[301] for the purpose is cedar (wo'lwüms). The size and shape of the hearth is not standardized, and curiously it lacks pits for the drill to rotate in[302] and notches to carry the wood dust to the tinder. The tinder is black sage-brush bark. Although one of my informants denied the use of the compound drill it was described by another and a specimen is figured by Hough.[303] Such a drill has a willow-root point, three inches long, spliced to a shaft of any sort. While this suggests the possible use of a cane arrow and foreshaft as a makeshift drill, I was told this was not used. Men carry the drill in the quiver, women in the cradle. They coax the drill while twirling it, "I want to kill all kinds of animals, to put them in the fire to cook, when I get flame."[304]

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[298] P. 247.

[299] P. 252.

[300] Notes, 88, 105.

[301] Confirmed by Coville, who states that the bark is not used for this purpose.

[302] Barrett says otherwise (*op. cit.*, 257).

[303] Fire Making Apparatus, 536, 538.

[304] For the method of laying a fire, see below.

alternately tule and a small cat-tail (watcŏ'k), the wefts are cords made of the rolled outer layer of the tule (called ḳ!o'sgi). These wefts are placed in pairs in simple tabby weave at intervals of one to three inches; they are not twined. The wefts are so thin and so tightly drawn that they barely show in the finished mat, but they produce a checkerboard effect (sölümtai') which gives this variety of mat its name. Possibly there is a fourth variety called ak!a'lŏks, an open twined mat, but of this I am not certain. All these mats are provided with a border of twisted strands of the same material caught in the weft cords. K 285

Blankets woven of strips of rabbit skin are made by Modoc, not by Klamath. M 281

Coville states that "a long time ago the bark [of the cottonwood, kō-osh', *Populus balsamifera* L.], when peeled and split, was used in the manufacture of an Indian cloth."[313] What this fabric can be I do not know, unless bags are meant. K 114 285 173

Ropes are made of three braided strands. The material is grass or the outer husk of the tule for such rough work as carrying wood. Strips of hide are sometimes used, but little elk hide is available for pack ropes. Finer cords, such as those for fish lines and nets, are made of nettle (slets) bark fibers, of which there are three or four varieties (or perhaps phases). Other plant fibers, such as the Rocky Mountain flax (kōl'-ä-käms, *Linum lewisii* Pursh.)[314] make stronger cords. Brown and gray nettles are most commonly used because of their strength.[315] Swamp-grass cords are used for sewing mats. Barrett notes that string made of brown milkweed is but little used and that all string is formed of two strands twisted together.[316] The latter point is confirmed by my own observations. Cords are made by placing two strands, or a doubled strand, side by side on the bare thigh; rolling them separately under the palm by a movement up the thigh, and by a quick reverse movement down the thigh, without raising the palm, rolling one around the other. Cord-making is a woman's art. A rope is called pĕḳ!os and cord gᴇnū'ḳs; braiding is k!ᴇbŏ'k!a and rolling p'tc!Iŋ. K 283 K [462]

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[313] Notes, 94.

[314] Coville, Notes, 99.

[315] Coville (Notes, 95) lists only one species, "the native species," *Urtica breweri* Wats.

[316] *Op. cit.*, 250. Coville indicates that milkweed (not, *Apocynum cannabinum* L.) does not occur in Klamath territory, but on Lost river where it is used by the Modoc (Notes, 103). K M [137]

At the juncture of base and side a ridge is produced by substituting three-strand twining for simple twine for two or more rounds. This is not only decorative but adds materially to the rigidity of these otherwise flexible baskets. Three-strand twining consists in the use of three wefts, each of which passes back of a warp and crosses the face of the two adjoining. The three wefts are so inserted that each in turn passes back of successive warps.[337] On the face of the basket the effect is that of a raised diagonal twine crossing two warps; on the interior, of simple twining. Similar bands of three-strand twine may be introduced on the sides or near the rim for decorative effect and strength. Mason figures two Klamath baskets woven entirely in three-strand twine.[338]

Designs are introduced in contrasting color. This is done either by substituting two colored wefts for the neutral colored (white to buff) cat-tail strands over the design area, or using the peculiar twine stitch described below. Both methods may appear on the same basket, even in the same area of decoration, without affecting the surface appearance in any way. In placing the decoration only the stitches of the designs are counted, not those of the background space between them. Care is thus taken to have each design symmetrical on itself; the spacing between them is merely estimated. The common material used for designs is tule root (called mai'omlōķ, the tule's hair), reddish brown in color.

To finish the edge a round of diagonal twine crossing warps in pairs is woven; the ends of the warps are caught in this in the following way. Alternate warps are left standing, ultimately to be trimmed off close under the rim. The other warps are each carried to the right and forward over the edge of the rim where they are caught under the next succeeding twine stitch. As they pass forward they are twisted around the succeeding warp but one, passing back into the interior of the basket. The ends of these are then trimmed short. (Thus in my diagrammatic sketch, figure 14, warps 2, 4, 6, etc., are ultimately cut short. Warp 1 is brought forward, passed around warp 3, and carried back into the web between warps 3 and 4, being caught under the twine stitch marked A. For the sake of simplicity, the warps are shown as single strands; they are however each comprised of two strands twisted together.) This imparts stiffening to the rim.[339]

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[337] For a further explanation of this and other stitches, see O. T. Mason, Aboriginal American Basketry, 230 *passim*.

[338] *Op. cit.*, 462, pl. 174.

[339] This is somewhat in the manner of the turned-down warp edging described by O. T. Mason, *op. cit.*, 270.

strand as wefts.[284] Designs, at least, are formed with wefts of cane (t'k!ŏp) and dyed tule (mo'ḳwas). Only the outer layer of the cane is used; this is yellowish-white. This strip is flat, and being stiff, cannot be twisted; the tule weft being fully flexible, wraps around both warp and cane weft. The effect is unique; at alternate warps the cane weft appears passing horizontally, at the others the tule weft makes a wrapped stitch over warp and cane weft (fig. 15). Due to the technique the tule weft lies flat like a ribbon. Women's hats bear designs. Men's hats have none, but when the hat is completed the part covered by nettle weft (the central portion of the top) is painted. The brim of a man's hat is entirely woven with wefts of dyed tule (and cane?). 285 291

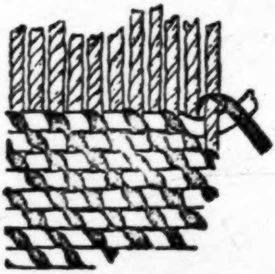

Fig. 15. Modified simple twine stitch of basket hats.

The several structural parts of such twined baskets are named. 285
The area of weaving at the center of the base, with which the basket is begun, is called dɛle'lŭḳs; the base of the basket, tse'lalwĭs; the rounding margin of the base as it merges into the side, sto'li; and the turned-back warps of the rim, wo'lgŏtk. Twining in general is lĕtca'; specifically this is simple twine. A twine stitch over two warps is la'pwiŏmnŏtk (lap, two); over three, skĭ'tgaltantk; over four, wuni'bäntka lĕtc!a (wuni'p, four). It is possible that skĭ'tgaltantk means three-strand twining rather than three-warp diagonal twine. There is no name for open twine construction, so far as I know. It may be called gĭga'ŋka, many holes (from gĭ'nḳa, hole). Cat-tail cord for wefting is solŏ'tepas; such cord is wrapped around the hand to make a roll for storage. Warps (of the tule only?) are called twăch.[285]

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[284] Coville (Notes, 94) states that in former times the bark of the aspen (vō'-lāl, *Populus tremuloides* Michx.) was used to make hats. [114]

[285] Coville (Notes, 92) also notes the use of the rush (tsin-ă-ō, *Juncus balticus* Willd.) in the weaving of light baskets. [174]

same as that described above; several fundamental warps bent into elliptical form, a few additional warps turned back over the proximal edge of these, with the remaining warps doubled over the first few rows of twining. The wefting is done with continuous strands. The butt ends of the warps are merely held in place by the last rows of wefting. A willow rod is bound at intervals to the rim of the basket to stiffen it; the ends of the rod do not meet at the distal end. 285

Triangular fans (wīliu'ks) used in conjunction with the parching trays are also described by Barrett as platters "used for serving food, particularly broiled or otherwise cooked fish and roasted meat."[345] As plates they may be called sa'plüs. No details of their construction were obtained, but from Barrett's illustrations it appears that these are made by doubling a bundle of tules so that their free ends diverge, serving as warps. The bundle is roughly tied about at the joint to hold it together. The wefting is of tules in open simple twine. This is a continuous strand, apparently commencing at the joint or apex; where the wefts leave the web to enter for another row the weft elements are twisted around each other. The loose ends of the warps of one of the three baskets he figures protrude beyond the last twine row; in the other two the warps may have been turned back and caught in this row of stitches. [114]

Circular baskets made with coarse tule warps and wefts in close simple twine are more rarely found, according to this author. "Occasionally they are bound around the rim with a hoop." [114]

A vessel in the Field Museum (no. 61758), made in this fashion, is peculiar in that it is elliptical. It is about seven inches long, five wide, and three deep. A round of three-strand twine appears midway of the base, and again at the juncture of the base and side. Stiffening is also provided by a doubled strand of tule sewed lengthwise to the inside of the base.

Several other forms are found, among them a two-handled tray of tule. This is in open twine; a series of parallel warps bound together at each end, and wefted in simple twine stitch with a continuous strand. Similar to the last mentioned is a "large canoe-shaped basket of tule, in openwork plain twining, used as a receptacle in gathering wokas pods," which closely agrees in construction. A pouch of plain twined tule is of similar manufacture.[346]

A fish trap, with willow rod warps, and quivers of tule, are made in open twine, according to Barrett. The cradle for a newborn infant is also manufactured in open twine construction.[347] [227] [854]

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[345] *Op. cit.*, 256, pl. 13, figs. 1, 4, 6.

[346] Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 13, figs. 3, 5; pl. 19, fig. 3; pl. 14, fig. 1.

[347] *Op. cit.*, pl. 19, fig. 1; pl. 20, fig. 1; pl. 14, fig. 3.

HOUSES AND HOUSE LIFE

Houses are for the most part so closely crowded in the settlements that their peripheries nearly touch. At least this is the evidence of the house pits, which my informants would have me believe were occupied at the same time. Some of them are small structures, used for cooking or to house slaves, crowded between the large earth-lodges. 361 342 [343]

House-building seems to be one of the most considerable occupations of the year. Earth-lodges are frequently torn down in the spring to be rebuilt when snow flies in the autumn. In the second month, September, everyone is busied with house-building, commencing with the preparation of the tule mats that cover all the lodges. The houses are all completed in the fourth month (December) by the time full winter arrives, when the shamanistic performances begin. New timbers have to be prepared, as those from the razed structure are commonly used for firewood. Gatschet implies that occupancy of the winter house is always inaugurated by a feast.[366] The mat-covered summer houses are built anew in the spring. It is quite likely that the covering mats are thoroughly rotted and dilapidated after standing through a hard Klamath winter. The timbering of houses is man's work; women place the grass and dirt covering. [462]

The characteristic house is a circular, conical-roofed affair. It is essentially of the same shape and construction whether merely mat-covered or set over a pit and roofed with planks and earth. The Klamath definitely distinguish the two types however, the earth-lodge, lu″ltᴇmalŏks, and the mat-covered summer house, wu'kŏ'plŏkᴀs. In addition a small dome-shaped mat-lodge (sti'nă'c) is used in summer, when traveling, or for cooking.[367] Poor families who cannot afford the larger earth-lodge, build dome-shaped lodges for winter use, setting them over pits for the sake of the added warmth.

The earliest descriptions of these houses are by Ogden (1826) and Frémont (1843–46). Ogden's account of what are probably earth- 114 ● 342

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[366] 1:75.

[367] Barrett describes a summer house possibly of different form. This is elliptical or rectangular in ground plan, with "sides which slope very abruptly to the ground and a comparatively flat top. The framework is of willow poles stuck into the ground and brought together along the ridgepole, to which they are bound securely." This suggests in part the structure of the dome-shaped lodge, but implies the presence of at least two posts bearing a ridgepole, a type of construction which my informants specifically denied. The photograph Barrett figures belies his description: the form seems to be the regular structure having four posts with the side poles resting on the rafters joining these (Material Culture, 244, pl. 11, fig. 1). [114]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

lodges is curious. "It [a Klamath marsh village] was composed of
342 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents
[361] built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or
gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. . . . . Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defense against arrows but not balls."[368] Frémont notes "they were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams." At another place "the huts . . . . were made of tall rushes and willows."[369]

342 There is considerable variation in the size of houses, even those of
184 one type. Earth-lodges range in diameter from twelve to thirty feet
or more, the larger accommodating several families. The largest pit I saw measured thirty-five feet in diameter. The largest earth-lodges are invariably those of shamans, larger even that those of chiefs. This is not only the statement of my several informants, but on every site
[756] I visited the largest pits were pointed out to me as the former residences of shamans. The shaman's lodge, to be sure, houses the winter
[622] performances, but this also implies that shamans are the wealthiest
individuals, or were so at least before the ascendancy of the chiefs during the last century. Winter houses are commonly larger than the corresponding summer mat-covered forms.

342 The semi-subterranean earth-lodge is erected over a shallow pit (sloko'ps). This is commonly but knee deep, but the thirty-five-foot pit mentioned above had been excavated waist deep or even more. All the clearly defined house pits that I saw were circular, but I got the impression from one informant that the house might be somewhat squared. This is probably the case only with the summer mat-lodge: wu'kĕ'plōks. The circle is not measured in any way. The pit is dug with digging sticks, the earth thrown back all around the excavation with storage baskets (tlŭks) or slabs of pine bark.

The roof has the form of a truncated, wedge-shaped cone, resting as it does on the circular periphery of the pit but with its upper truncated surface an elongated rectangle. The main frame is formed by four central posts, set to form the corners of this rectangle.[370] The tops of these are connected by stringers. Poles extending obliquely

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[368] Elliott, The Ogden Journals, 210.

[369] Frémont, Narrative, 122; Memoirs, 494.

[417] [370] Barrett implies a single center post ("climbs down . . . . by means of
steps cut into the center pole itself," p. 244), but this was denied by my informants.

291
177 hood of my elderly informant. This is a simple one-piece affair, shown diagrammatically in figure 21*b*. The upper is cut to form a long tongue. It is sewn along the toe and one side, and up the heel.[385]

481 Snowshoes may be conveniently described at this place. The snowshoe (ni') is the circular Californian form; a hoop of tough service berry wood, about twelve inches long by six wide.[386] Within the hoop is a net of thongs on which the foot is placed; tie strings are drawn up about the ankle. My woman informant drew a sketch showing five parallel longitudinal thongs crossed transversely by five others, [114] also parallel, thus forming a simple rectangular web. This may well have been merely diagrammatic, since five is the pattern number. Kroeber illustrates a more intricate pattern of webbing, a central lozenge filled by transverse lashings and connected with the frame by others.[387] Barrett illustrates a snowshoe with still a third style of web. This seems to be a single longitudinal strip of skin, crossed by three others.[388] Such shoes are also used when wading in the marshes.

291 Mittens (wăkă'pks) of coyote or other fur are worn in cold weather, possibly by men alone. They are also used for protection in war. [714] These are sock-like, without fingers, and of arm or elbow length. A muffler (sau'k̇aks) is also made of skin.

291 The woman's skin dress (gokc) is the long woman's garment of the Plains tribes, completely covering the body to the mid-calf.
177 Unlike the corresponding man's shirt, these are worn most of the time, especially in winter. In summer the lighter unbeaded dresses are [535] used. This is not essentially a dance costume, although worn at the war and scalp dances. [756] But these are held outdoors at night; and during the shaman's dances in the earth-lodge, the fringed skirt only is worn because of the great heat. It is possible, of course, that this is a rationalization of etiquette, for if the shaman's dance is older than the forms of war and scalp dance now in use, there may be an association of the older fringed skirt with one and the newer skin dress with the other. There can be little doubt that the fringed skirt is the antecedent form. Plains influences appear to be recent, and

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*[171] [385] This has been redrawn from a sketch made by my informant. On the Yakima reservation moccasins of this type have a tab at the heel, which my informant may have omitted.

[386] Coville (Notes, 94) states that "the frames of snowshoes are usually made of willow wood. The mesh in old times was commonly made of the Rocky Mountain flax, *Linum lewisii*, less commonly of nettle fiber, *Urtica breweri*."

[387] Handbook, fig. 68*a*; evidently taken from Mason, Aboriginal American Basketry, 215.

[388] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17.

the Klamath use of the typical Plains woman's costume is an extreme marginal case in the west. 291 177

Being of buckskin, not of elk hide, two skins are necessary for the dress. These are sewn together across the shoulders, leaving a short space for the insertion of the head. The neck ends of the skins are always across the shoulders, since this is the widest part of the skin. The contour of the dress is the familiar one, the natural contour of the dressed skin with the legs lopped off. Cape-like extensions, formed by the skin of the forelegs, hang loosely over the arms. All the edges are slit into fringes and the front and back are tied together by these under the arms and down the sides. These are not belted in Plains style.

A woman's belt made of strips of bark fiber is illustrated by Barrett; others are made of human hair.[339] While Barrett is probably right in stating that these are part of everyday dress, I was told that the belt (k'ai'lis) is worn at the puberty dance, when a first child is born, or when an infant dies. 291 114

The dress of earlier times had no ornamentation, but it now has the yoke-shaped decoration of Plains type and rows of pendants. The yoke is not a separate piece, but the quill-work design, and in more recent days the beadwork, is applied directly on the dress. Formerly rows of elk teeth were sometimes used. There is no special name for the yoke; like any beadwork, this part is called Iti's or Ita'ntḳos. The yoke of one dress seen dipped below each armpit and again markedly at the middle of breast and back. It was comprised of a series of horizontal stripes in beads of contrasting colors which paralleled this wavy lower margin of the yoke. Three horizontal rows of pendants crossed front and back; one following this lower margin, another just above the knees, and the third near the bottom of the dress. These pendant strings, which hang in pairs, are wound with colored porcupine quills; thimbles and Chinese cash are sometimes threaded on them. A deep fringe (bowi's) is sometimes made to fasten along the lower margin of the yoke, at the bottom of the dress, and around the short sleeves. This is fabricated from a piece of buckskin, nine or more inches deep, slit into fine fringes so as to leave them connected by only a half-inch strip of skin. Beads may be strung on these. Similar strips of fringe are attached to a man's shirt. Hair that is cut off in mourning is tied in little rolls all over the dress; a man uses 291 531 [177]

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[339] *Op. cit.*, 256, pl. 17.

*302 [171] [765] long and in two braids, but parted in the middle. This again is reminiscent of the Plains. Their braids may be looped up to hang only to the shoulder; these are not fur wrapped. The hair is cut short in mourning, especially that of the women, daubed with black pitch, and generally neglected.

A man who kills a rattlesnake ties the rattles to his hair; women do not do this.

The hairbrush (slitcī'ik̦s) is a porcupine tail, stuffed with dry grass or sage-brush bark. A thong draws the ends together so that it dries in an arc. This thong fits over the back of the hand when the brush is in use. The open, underside of the tail is closed with a thong lacing. The ends of the quills are burned off evenly, so that only the stiffer body of the quill is left. Barrett notes that the longer quills are removed.[394]

My informant described the comb used by the Molala as a true double-edge comb. It is fashioned of a thin stick bent double. Little pointed sticks, as fine as our toothpicks, are inserted between the halves of this doubled stick, so that they protrude equally on each side, and are bound in place.

The hair is greased; ordinarily with fish oil, but with deer tallow or that of skunk, otter, beaver, or mink, when they can get it.

304 ● [114] Frontal flattening, the only form practiced, is not universal among the Klamath, although it is general. My information differs at this point from Hrdlička's who was told that non-deformed heads are derided as slave-like.[395] I was told that it was merely "so that they would look pretty; they have nice round eyes because the forehead is flattened."[396] A deformed head is called lĕplĕ'pli nos, flattened head.

304 301 The septum of the nose is pierced and the ear lobes, the latter twice or even more frequently. Both sexes insert dentalium shells horizontally through the septum. These are placed so that the butt ends meet in the septum, the points of this curved conical shell projecting on each side. If the septum hole is large, two may be placed side by side in it. Sometimes the point of one shell is thrust into the hollow butt of a second. The root of a mountain plant, called yayo'k̦ak̦, may be used in place of a dentalium shell. I was told that Molala women choose boldly curved dentalia, placing them so that the points

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[394] *Op. cit.*, 258.

[395] Hrdlička, Head Deformation among the Klamath.

[396] The informant who stated this may have rationalized her own case, an undeformed head. My other principal informants, two men, had flattened heads. Flattening is not noticeable among some of the older Indians, so that the statement that some escape the treatment may be true.

IV. THE KLAMATH AND WESTERN CULTURE

THE PLACE OF KLAMATH CULTURE

101 128 The place of the Klamath in western culture has been obscure and has, I think, been mistakenly appraised. In this section I have gone beyond the immediate task of defining it in order to build out on its northern border the synthesis of Californian cultures furnished by Kroeber.

101 114 Any attempt at placing the Klamath is rendered difficult by the paucity of information for large areas in the northwestern states. There is little enough on western Washington, but even less for the region east of the Cascade range, and practically nothing for the whole of Oregon. The southern Plateau is unknown save for the Nez Percé; its eastern section (Kutenai to Flathead) is another complete blank. Satisfactorily complete accounts now available can be numbered on the fingers: Gunther's Klallam, Haeberlin and Gunther's southern Puget Sound groups, Olson's manuscript notes on the Quinault, another manuscript on the Wishram by Sapir and the present writer, Teit's slight but highly suggestive notes on the Middle Columbia Salish, Spinden's Nez Percé, and the valuable collection of historical references gathered by Lewis. The situation is better for the Fraser river section of the Plateau, thanks to Teit's several accounts of the interior Salish. The stock of information on the Basin is slender and that for northern California none too voluminous. Nevertheless it seems possible to place the Klamath by a cautious use of these fragmentary data.

The present section will attempt to summarize the situation, with particular reference to material culture. The sections that follow analyze the shamanistic complex, social organization, and the girls' rites in greater detail.

*171 101 The food habits of the Klamath, and in fact their general material culture, places them squarely with the Plateau peoples. They are as much a river people as the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap, although the river in their instance is a minor stream (the Williamson river) and substituted in part by flooded marshes. As a river people, their primary foodstuff is fish; vegetal foods, water-lily seed, roots, and the like, form a considerable part of their provender, yet a lesser one.

177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
174 Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
[622] The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
[721] carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-
[567] holding existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their distribution
177 established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kinship
terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
[622] southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[619] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctiveness
101 from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
105 to which the Klamath country lies open.

• 114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some northwestern
influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

Plateau admixture. Since the introduction of the horse, the Lutuami 101
mode of life has evidently been modified analogously to that of the 105
Plateau peoples of the Columbia, although less profoundly; and with 114
the horse came a number of cultural elements from the Plateau, or even from the Plains; of which some went on to the Shasta and Achomawi. This recent modification appears to have given Lutuami culture a more un-Californian aspect than it originally possessed. Neither the Kalapuya nor the Klamath-Modoc were a numerous enough people to have possessed a truly distinctive civilization. The Kalapuya are gone, but nearly a thousand Lutuami remain, and as soon as their society and religion are seriously inquired into, their precise cultural affiliations will no doubt become clear."[430]

The fidelity of this characterization to the situation as it is now known is considerable, but the scantiness of information has permitted the supposition that the local culture is sufficiently distinctive to be given the dignity of a separate subprovince.

The impression is that Kroeber has been led astray by the paucity and false balance of the materials on which he had to rely. Barrett's Material Culture of the Klamath does indeed present a picture of a culture in which the use of tule is accentuated. The predominant rôle given to wokas, the water-lily seed, is a readily intelligible inference from Coville's detailed description of the specialized technique of its preparation. The brief and disjointed texts recorded by Gatschet allow only a puzzling insight into Klamath religious life. At the same time the true character of the southern Plateau, or at least the picture of several generations ago, is obscured by the half-Plains-like culture established for the Nez Percé by Spinden.

Klamath technology is emphatically not one based on tule, with the 101
limitations or suggestions of form it imposes. Nothing is clearer than
that tule was in almost every case a substitute for more desirable 105
material. Basketry techniques and forms are one with those of the [171]*
Basin and northern California, and, we might hazard, the Plateau, despite the frequent use of this substitute material. Barrett's paper, which allows the inference of a developed tule industry basic in their material culture, is strictly speaking not an exposition of their material culture at all, but a description of a collection of objects, which in his day had already degenerated to the use of convenient substitute material. What further inference may rest on the Klamath occupation of a tule marsh is false. Klamath culture is not a marsh culture, but one of a river people. The norm of Klamath material culture is

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[430] Kroeber, California Culture Provinces, 163; Handbook, 334–35.

*171 776 avian characteristics. The really unique group may be the Kwakiutl, for there supernaturals alone appear.[429]

A second specialized concept is found in northern California among Shasta, Yuki, and Maidu, at least. Shasta guardians are described as human in form, but "rather shorter than the ordinary stature." The Yuki "personal spirits are small, like boys, with gray hair." One of the Klamath guardians, which every shaman apparently has, is probably related to these. It is Tcaķia'ķ, "little boy," which frequents the water, is no bigger than a baby, and has hair falling to its waist. A Maidu may have various animal spirits, but the truly important ones are in appearance like people. To the Pomo there appears "a being, human and speaking one's own language but a stranger." Similarly some among Achomawi and Atsugewi spirits are "disease persons" or spirits in human form.[430] These concepts fall in with the animal and bird spirits. For although these supernaturals are human, they are not particularized like those of the Northwest Coast and are not restricted in numbers: on the contrary, they constitute an apparently large, undifferentiated class.

The feeling cannot be avoided that these manikin spirits are related in some way to the beings that appear to others of northern California. The Yurok dreams of a dead person, usually, if not always, a shaman; the Sinkyone sometimes of a dead relative. Yokuts spirits have quite another phrasing, but we should not overlook that among them are dead relatives.[431] These cases are rather obviously related to the inheritance of power by a visitation from a dead relative, but there seems also a continuum from the Shasta manikin to the Sinkyone ghost.

• [114] Kroeber has pointed out that there is a Yurok-Hupa substitute for the familiar spirit in the so-called "pains." This will be discussed below.

A note may be appended on certain Klamath spirits. Mention was made above of Tcaķia'ķ, a water dwarf. Dwarfs figure commonly enough among the mythological concepts of western Indians, but this [114] one is specific: a dwarf living in or about the water. Gifford has remarked their presence in the mythology of various Shoshonean groups (Western Mono, Northern Paiute of central Oregon, Northern Shoshoni, and Serrano), pointing out their absence in typical central Californian groups.[482]. But they are not confined to Shoshoneans: the Yurok believe in dwarf-like spirits that haunt overgrown spots in the creeks, the Hupa speak of little beings resembling men in the water in remote places, and the foothill group of Northern Maidu of one-legged dwarfs found in or about water.[483] So far as these data go, the concept is largely north Californian and Basin in distribution. 171 * 776 [114] •

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[429] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl, 394 f.; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 291 f.; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 58 f.; Olson, Quinault field notes; Boas, Chinook Texts, 220, 230.

[430] Dixon, Shasta, 470, Northern Maidu, 265, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218; Kroeber, Handbook, 198; Freeland, Pomo Doctors and Poisoners, 63, 58. The spirits that help Quileute shamans restore souls are usually dwarfs (Frachtenberg, Eschatology, 335–7).

[431] Kroeber, Handbook, 63, 149, 514.

Klamath Dwarf-Old-Woman, who figures in one form as a rock on Mount Pitt, may be identifiable with Takelma Rock Old Woman, associated with a rock north of Rogue river.[484]

Inheritance of Spirit Power

On the Northwest Coast proper there is a tendency to fixed inheritance of experiences with ancestral guardians. Among the Tlingit, e.g., there is some tendency for men to be blessed by spirits according to their clan affiliations; the spirits descending from uncle to nephew. Among the Kwakiutl, inheritance is rigidly fixed, for a youth expects to find only those spirits that gave powers to his clan.[485] 171 * 756 787

Something of this prevails southward but in dilute form. A Quinault seeks the spirit his ancestor acquired, and we are told that the guardians of the Chinook are hereditary, like the Kwakiutl. A Nootka may also inherit a spirit with whom an ancestor had an experience.[486] The southern Puget Sound Salish hold that human social organization is reflected among the spirits; that a powerful spirit would appear only to a man of high rank. While this does not define the system as one of strict inheritance, it must approximate this because both the number of persons of high rank and of powerful spirits is small.

Inheritance of a guardian and of the particular guardian thus prevails generally north of the Columbia river. Elsewhere inheritance is present but in less fixed form. There is for the Thompson seeker

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[482] Gifford, Western Mono Myths, 304; Marsden, 183; Lowie, Northern Shoshone, 234; Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 297.

[483] Kroeber, Handbook, 67; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 64; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 265.

[484] Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 45.

[485] Swanton, 465; Boas, Secret Societies and Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 393, 418.

[486] Boas, *op. cit.*, 393; Sapir, Vancouver Island Indians, 593.

*171 guardians or familiars can be spoken of, they pertain to shamans
756 alone, since they alone conjure up their familiars to their aid. But
theoretically, every Klamath who has had an experience could call on
787 his spirit for aid.

The Klamath concept apparently holds for all tribes of the Pacific coast. There does not appear anywhere the Plains type of quest for particular sanctions. The spirits of the experiences are not guardians, they are not invoked for assistance (save by shamans), and they give continuing powers to perform the arts and professions or for success and wealth.

*171 Accordingly, shamans are differentiated as a class more by their
acts and the possession of powers to perform the shamanistic arts,
756 than by the unique possession of helpers. This statement does not
apply, however, to California, for there this is precisely the difference
between shamans and laity.

787 The Klamath deliberately seek power by self-isolation and mortifying acts. Their attitude is that it is to be had by a voluntary quest, save in those rare instances which may be described as inheritance and in occasional involuntary dreams.

The terms quest, vision, and dream have commonly been used as though they were fully interchangeable. It is preferable to distinguish the voluntary quest and the involuntary acquisition of power; to confine the term vision to sensory experiences including seeing and hearing a spirit, and the dream to its everyday significance. These are, to be sure, by no means mutually exclusive.

*171 The quest and the involuntary dream as sources of power have
different distributions in western America. The quest is general over
787 eastern North America and in the Plains. But as Kroeber has pointed
out for California and Benedict for the Southwest the deliberate quest
• [114] is absent and its place is usually taken, so far as individual acquisi-
tion of power is concerned, by the dream.[443] I will attempt to define
their respective areas of distribution somewhat more precisely.

From this point of view a distinction must be made between the eastern and western sections of the Southwestern area. Personal powers figure only in a minor way among the Pueblos, where priestly craft functions in place of shamanism. Yet at Laguna and Cochiti, at least, there is some occasional questing for powers in isolated spots.

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[443] Kroeber, Religion of Indians of California, 327 f.; Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit, 36 f.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 252]

The Conduct of the Quest

Basically the manner of seeking power is the same throughout this area. This is necessarily so because it means simply fasting and praying in lonely spots in the mountains, beside pools, etc. There are more specific details having definite distributions. 171 * 787

For example, the Klamath youth isolated on his quest runs constantly about piling up rocks: so does the Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Wishram, and Nez Percé. This is a wholly arbitrary and pointless procedure, unless it be thought that any arduous task will heighten the seeker's immolation and thus hasten the benefaction. The Thompson have rationalized this type of activity (it does not include piling rocks specifically) as training for later life. The same point of view appears more widely in the comparable puberty rites for girls. Possibly related to these rock piles is the seat or little monument to which the Yurok retires to acquire luck in gambling or power to bewitch.[459]

More significant than this, the Klamath dives into the water, where he is drawn below by a spirit. He loses consciousness to wake on the shore with blood streaming from nose and mouth. Diving for a spirit is a practice widespread north and south. The Wishram sometimes dives to reach certain under-water caves where spirits dwell. A Kwakiutl shaman's song tells of being carried under the sea where he received power. In several Chinook tales the hero swims, is carried under by a supernatural to its house, and wakes on the shore. Precisely the same formula is recorded in an experience of a Klallam; here too, blood flowed from the man's mouth. The Snohomish and Nisqually youth regularly dives into whirlpools, carrying in his hands a rock on which he spat, to weigh himself down, and wakes on the shore. I recorded exactly this curious procedure in a tale of the Kalispel. Boas obtained a legend of the mainland Cowichan [114] • which suggests the same form: an orphan went swimming and diving every day in order to get strong. "One day he made a fire near a lake and accidentally spat into the water." He lost consciousness, visited the supernaturals below, and obtained power.[460] While I think

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[459] Dixon, Some Shamans, 24; Sapir, Wishram Texts, 187; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247; Kroeber, Handbook, 63, 64.

[460] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1294, Chinook Texts, 220, 230; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 294, 302; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 57–8; Boas, Lower Fraser River, 2.

*171 established shaman calls various spirits until the tutelary is discovered.
756 This is repeated for five nights. The novice then goes to the mountains
to seek further power. On his return he dances during a month,
535 aided by others, to prepare for his profession. This terminates in
another ceremony under the shaman's direction.

In the opposite direction the Wishram also have an inaugural dance for a shaman novice which, unlike these southern examples, occurs at any time he receives power. As in the Klamath affair, he performs in the characteristic manner of a shaman of his tribe, even demonstrating a cure. When he dances to call his spirits, others perform to help him acquire strength. There is a difference, however; the lad is overcome by his power so that a shaman must dance to relieve him and help him regain control. While this is foreign to Klamath-Shasta thought, it is characteristically Wishram. There everyone on returning from an experience is overpowered by it and must be restored by a shaman.

● [114] As Kroeber justifiably points out, the unique characteristics of the Californian control dances center among the Yurok and Hupa, and gradually diminish in number [illegible] far as the Maidu.[470] It may be profitable to reexamine the data.

There are two distinctive features of these complexes: the "pains" by which the novice is possessed and the dance for control. It is obvious that there is no inherent connection between this particular type of possession and such a dance. Among the Yurok, Hupa, and
Shasta "pains" take the place of spirit familiars among the Klamath,
*171 for example. Among the tribes to the east and south (Achomawi,
Atsugewi, the several Maidu groups, Wintun and Yuki) the shamans
756 operate with spirits, but "pains" appear as causes of disease. All
these have the dance, which is far wider in its distribution than
"pains" as sources of shamanistic power.

The concept of the "pain" has interesting variations among the several tribes. It is everywhere animate, sometimes with personality, and while ordinarily immaterial, has sometimes a material form. When its material characteristics are described, it is commonly a clear double-pointed object, like an obsidian arrowpoint. Thus the Shasta "pain" is a small, clear double-pointed object; they are the same as spirits, yet each spirit possesses one. The Chimariko disease object is small, double-pointed, and animate; the Achomawi like a little

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[470] Kroeber, Handbook, 852.

*171 755 756 Elsewhere in the area from the Columbia river into northern California the shaman is provided with an assistant of this type. He participates, however, only in curing ceremonies. At the southern fringe of the area his functions fuse with those of the clown attendant in secret society performances. On the other hand, in western Washington he is not an interpreter or repeater of speeches, but serves purely as a lay assistant.

The Modoc assistant comes nearest to the Klamath in type. [114] Meacham refers to him as an orator who repeats loudly the shaman's speeches and who supports the shaman novice while dancing. Since the specific reference to him is in connection with the novice's dance, we may presume that he regularly accompanies the shaman in all his operations.[482]

Takelma, Wishram, and Achomawi assistants function during a cure like those of the Klamath, repeating the shaman's incoherent speech. A shamanistic dance, purely for display, occurs among the Wishram, but I did not learn that an assistant of the Klamath type had any part in it. This appears, however, among the foothill group of Northern Maidu, where, while a shaman shows his ability to commune with the spirits, a layman "apes the shaman in everything, repeats after him everything he says, and in every way tries to make the spectators laugh. It is considered a compliment to laugh, and a sign of appreciation." This "clown" has also full rein at the ceremonial for the dedication of a new dance house. Powers reports for the Southern Maidu a boy who repeats every utterance of a shaman during his performance. This may refer to a clown like that of the Northern Maidu or to an assistant who helps at a cure.[483] There is no trace of the clown in the dances of the Northeastern Maidu, but he appears again in the performances of the Sacramento valley branch. He is speaker for the dance leader, mimics the words and actions of the dancers, and attempts to make the spectators laugh by his antics. Such clowns appear regularly in Kuksu cult dances among other Sacramento valley peoples and are known as far south as the central and southern Yokuts.[484]

In the region west and north of the Wishram, shamans have assistants of a sort but they are not speakers. For example, the Chinook

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[482] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 129–136.

[483] Powers, Tribes of California, 334.

[484] Sapir, Religious Ideas of Takelma, 43; Angulo, Religious Feeling, 356, Psychologie religieuse, 568–569, 574–577; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 271, 286, 295, 311–318, 322; Kroeber, Handbook, 383.

shaman who seeks to recover the soul of a sick man uses "a manikin 171*
made of wood and cedar bark. When a conjurer wants to make use of
this manikin he gives it to a person who has no guardian spirit, who 755
shakes it for him, and they two go to the country of the ghosts." 756
Boas states that this type of cure was derived by the Chinook from the Chehalis. Such sticks, carved and painted with reference to their guardians, and here described as manikins, are common property to those with spirit helpers from Oregon northward. When a Quinault shaman goes to cure, he is regularly accompanied by an aid who holds and rattles his carved stick. Here again illness is due to soul loss but there is no journey to the land of the dead.[485]

In quite another direction the Pomo appear with an assistant for
the curing shaman. He shakes the shaman's rattle and sings his
songs. As Kroeber remarks, the appearance of an assistant in this [114]
quarter is unusual, and in the present state of our knowledge not connected by distribution with the instances cited above.[486]

One cannot escape the impression that this provision of a speaker for the shaman is linked with the chief's spokesman of many tribes of the west. The Northwest Coast type of spokesman is known as far south as the Wishram on the Columbia and perhaps in coastal Oregon. In the Basin, from eastern Washington to northern Arizona, there is word-for-word repetition of formal speeches. There is no chief's speaker in the intervening area from Wishram to Maidu, but there is for the shaman. When we realize that in this region, chiefs are socially eclipsed by shamans, we may well argue that a substitution has taken place. Objection may be made, however, that this is equally true in the Basin, where, so far as we know, shamans do not have speakers.

Accessory Elements

The distribution of analogues of the Klamath shamans' feats is 128
quite irregular, to judge by the few notes I have collected, but this is
undoubtedly due to incompleteness of information. Merely to put 756
these on record, I present them here.

The Klamath shaman swallows fire; so does the Lillooet and 171*
Thompson. Live coals are eaten by Quinault secret society performers, 756

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[485] Boas, Doctrine of Souls, 40, Chinook Texts, 207; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[486] Handbook, 258.

which their assistants hold or with which they dance. In fact, the use 171*
of special dance staffs is general among all Quinault who have spirits, 532
as it is among the southern Puget Sound Salish. It is strange that 756
neither Dr. Sapir nor I learned of either type of carving among the 535
Wishram, but our information is not full.[492] [114]

A tall painted pole is erected in front of the Klamath shaman's 171*
lodge from which dangles a cord bearing at intervals bunches of
feathers, a piece of wood, and a miniature gambling tray, all these 756
representative of spirits. There are analogues of this southward to the 778
Maidu. Such a pole is also erected outside a Modoc shaman's dwelling; it is painted and bears the skins and feathers of various spirit animals. It is used earlier at the novice's dance. This is described as some three or four meters high and decorated with paint and a few feathers. Such a pole is set up when a Shasta shaman rids a locality of disease: it has baskets hung from it. Again when an Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman cures, a pole is sometimes set up near the house, to which is tied a bunch of feathers (*qaqu*). The *qaqu* has a significant function; it is obtained with difficulty on his spirit quest and has the power to tell him where the disease is located. The poles used for a Northeastern Maidu shaman novice are somewhat different. They are set up on the roof of the house in which the inaugural dance takes place, and inside above the spot where he stays; others are carried to the mountains where novices go on their quests. These are short wands, a meter to a meter and a half long, variously painted, with pendent strings of feathers and acorn shells, or bunches of feathers. These have some obscure but intimate relation to his spirits. Similar wands are set up at the dedication of a new dance house by the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento valley.[493]

Among the items of a Klamath shaman's costume are a forehead 171*
band or neckband of woodpecker scalps mounted on a buckskin founda- 756
tion and a bunch of yellowhammer feathers worn on hat or neck. 292
The feathers of both these birds have value and ceremonial usage in California but not to the north.

Woodpecker scalps attain the status of money among the Yurok 171*
and perhaps their neighbors. Not only have they value in themselves,
but they are worked into ceremonial headdresses over most of northern 292
California. The Yurok and Hupa use forehead headbands like those 435

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[492] Boas, Notes on Tillamook, 10, Doctrine of Souls, 40; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[493] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130, 136; Dixon, Shasta, 475–476, 487, Notes on Achomawi, 218, Some Shamans, 24, Northern Maidu, 275–278, 312.

The marriage of those of lower rank is doubtless analogous but on a smaller scale.[309] 171*

I shall trace the elements of this marriage complex from this area 583
southward, in order to make clear their relation to the customs of the 585
Klamath. At the outset I will deal with the interrelated attitudes toward wealth and rank, marriage as an expression of it, and local exogamy dictated by it. Later I will return to a comparison of the marriage ceremony itself, to the levirate and sororate as expressions of family contracts, and to related phenomena such as reactions to adultery.

Purchase, Rank, and Exogamy

The marital customs of other Vancouver island tribes duplicate 171*
those of the Kwakiutl in all essentials. Their divergence is in a less
sharp definition of rank and prerogative and diminished elaborateness 582
of marriage ceremonialism. This diminution can be traced by successive steps to the Klamath and beyond. Not only are the attitudes of the island tribes respecting rank and wealth analogous to the Kwakiutl, but marriage is the same kind of mechanism for their transfer. We may also assume here the kind of local exogamy implied for the Kwakiutl. As marriages with relatives are normally prohibited, and mates of suitable rank and wealth are not to be found in the same tribe or village, a practice of local exogamy follows. While there is no prohibition against marriage within the community, the vast majority of alliances must be outside, since pretension to rank sinks deep in the several strata of society. There is at least some studied exogamy on the part of those of highest rank for whom foreign alliances mean increased prestige.

As expressed by Sapir "among the more southern tribes inter- [114] •
marriage is prohibited only between such as are demonstrably related by blood, even if fairly remotely so. Owing to the structure of the village community, this would in many cases mean that there are few persons in a village that one is legally entitled to marry; but it is important to note that the village community as such need not be exogamous, that is, does not specifically prohibit intermarriage among its members."[310]

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[309] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 358, 421, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 776, 1344, Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 116.

[310] Sapir, Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes, 367.

*171 The alternative to this exogamic practice was marriage with blood
582 kindred. While it was generally frowned on, an exception was permitted if no other mate was available. This is an attitude different from that of the Kwakiutl, who, desiring to keep privileges within the family, married his niece or cousin. When there is no available mate
(114) outside the blood group, a Klallam may marry his first cousin. Eells implies that a Twana (and Klallam?) always sought a wife first "within a certain circle of his relatives."[511]

There is no adequate information for western Washington tribes save from the Klallam and more moderately from the Chinook. Inasmuch as their attitudes and practices coincide in large degree, it is safe to assume that they are representative of the intervening territory.

Both Klallam and Chinook view wealth as a criterion of rank and its lavish display in the wedding ceremonial as an index of social pretension. Marriage with a person of lower rank is unthinkable.
*171 It is apparent that most Klallam brides are paid for, yet elopements occur and slave alliances are formed. Once such marriages are con-
556 tracted the parents make no effort to separate the couple, but a girl who
583 marries in this way is not highly respected. Whether payments are
585 made following elopements to legitimatize them, we are not told. Upper-class Klallam have a definite preference for extra-tribal mar-
*171 riages, especially with the people of Vancouver island. Local exogamy is even more general, holding for all ranks, for in a record of fifty-
582 seven marriages only five were with co-villagers.[512] Purchase, or its
*171 simulation, is so obviously the normal Chinook procedure also that even a successful elopement will be nullified unless a small sum is
583 paid. And these sticklers for form go through the orthodox ritual on this occasion as though the marriage was not yet consummated. For a man too poor to pay, there is no recourse but in matrilocal residence with bride service.[513]

There are but scattered observations on the tribes of the intervening territory but they suggest conformable practices. Since we learn that common people among the Makah paid a small amount for a bride without any ceremony, purchase must have been the regular form for all classes of society. Yet as elopements were frequent and are said always to have ended amicably, this suggests an approxima-

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[511] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 241; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 655.

[512] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 241 f.

[513] Boas, Chinook Texts, 251; Franchère, Narrative, 254.

*171 583 Poorer men offer the bride price directly, or may serve their parents-in-law in lieu of payment.[529]

[582] [554] [114] Purchase appears again among the Sinkyone, and perhaps prevailed in the intervening region. By no means so wealthy as their northern neighbors, values were correspondingly less. Nevertheless we observe something of the Yurok attitude in a definite value attached to a man's life. A wife was seemingly paid for, although Kroeber suggests that this may have been in the nature of a gift to be reciprocated rather than a formal purchase price. If this is so, it suggests only the practice of the generality of more southerly Californians. [848] But inasmuch as illegitimate children were paid for, the suggestion is rather of an approximation to the northwestern norm. Something of the same regularity of purchase, with reciprocal giving, is implied by Yuki statements.[530]

*171 554 The Huchnom and Pomo attitude toward marriage did not differ appreciably from more southerly Californians. The exchange of marriage gifts can hardly be described as true purchase, but appears rather "an expression of good will and dignified but affectionate etiquette." Loeb observes, however, that the man's family gave more than it received in return. It would therefore not be possible to see in it certain affiliation with northwestern customs, were it not that both people prescribed a series of gift-bearing visits of the northwestern type to consummate the marriage. I shall subsequently trace such formal visiting from the Kwakiutl southward to this point. As to exogamy, there was none; marriages were contracted indifferently within the community, outside it, or with foreigners. In neither group were there serious rankings based on wealth which might prescribe a studied attitude toward maintaining it in marriage.[531]

The typical central Californians (Wintun, Miwok, Yokuts, and Costanoan) register negative to the characteristics of northwest marriage. Social stratification of any range and rigidity was absent, wealth unimportant, marriage gifts were presents of friendship however much formality demanded their bestowal, formal visiting seemingly unknown, and exogamy casual, certainly not for the express purpose of maintaining social position. In a word marriage does not function to uphold social stratification nor do the northwestern rites appear.[532]

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[529] Dixon, Shasta, 261 f.

[530] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 146, 179.

[531] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 210, 254; Gifford, Clear Lake Pomo Society, 310; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 277.

[532] Compare Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 357, 456, 469, 493.

Marriage practices of the Northwest Coast type can be traced into the northern Plains. At least this appeals to me as the most rational explanation for the similarities which Crow, Hidatsa, and Assiniboin show and for their divergence from the general Plains custom. It will be well to define the latter again. Such typical tribes as Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Blackfoot viewed with favor marriages in which the son-in-law was chosen for his capacity as a man of honor, of war-like prowess, and a good provider. The father-in-law's desire was commonly to secure his services. Gifts were exchanged, but rather for the honor of the act than with thought of definite purchase and the return of an investment. 171* 581 583

The anomaly of Crow attitudes is most intelligible, in view of their geographic position in the northwestern Plains, as ultimately derived from the Northwest Coast. The most honorable form of marriage for the Crow was by purchase, which gave to the woman a position of respect beyond that of any of her unpurchased sisters whose matches were in contrast mere elopements. The young man presented horses to her male relatives and meat to her mother. There was no band exogamy here, although marriages may have occurred outside the group almost as frequently as among the Nez Percé.[333] 171* 582 583

It will be observed that the Crow attitude is appreciably like that of the Nez Percé. That the Nez Percé placed a higher value on a marriage contracted because of a groom's capabilities, the Crow on purchase, is no argument against historic connection between the two. Both tribes recognize marriages of both forms; wherein they both differ from the majority of Plains peoples, is that they have marriage by purchase, and even stress it. As a matter of fact, the difference may be really one of formulation on the part of the ethnographers. Lowie's account of the Crow is so circumstantially detailed as to leave no doubt of their attitudes, but Spinden's description of Nez Percé marriage is of the briefest. If he was impressed by the Plains-like character of the culture of this Plateau tribe, his formulation may well have stressed this non-northwestern marriage form. It may also be that the history of marriage in the two tribes has taken opposite directions. Possibly the Crow, recently acquiring the purchase habit, stressed the novel form as giving distinction to marriage; the Nez Percé, possibly with purchase as the original form, took over Plains marriage regulations with a deal of other culture and stressed what was the novelty from their viewpoint. 171* 583 [114]

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[333] Lowie, Social Life of the Crow, 220, Notes on the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, 74.

*171 582 583 It is also conceivable that purchase among the Crow is not related to the Northwest Coast forms, but that it is a derivative of their matriliny. That is, the desire to become affiliated with a particular matrilinear lineage may have been met by insistence on purchase, the groundwork for this being present in the common Plains custom of exchanging gifts. But there is nothing otherwise in Crow life to suggest that lineage as such was important.

*171 583 Among other Plains tribes possible analogies to northwestern practice are found only among Hidatsa and Assiniboin. "The Hidatsa and Crow agree in considering marriage by purchase as the most honorable form from the woman's point of view; but among the Hidatsa I got the impression, which I did not receive among the Crow, that it was somewhat discreditable for a man to have to buy a wife," for it implies a lack of personal qualifications. This attitude disposes of the suggestion made in the last paragraph, for the Hidatsa are also matrilinear. This is a duplication of the Nez Percé case; in contrast to the Crow, it may be said that here the novelty, purchase, if indeed it is a novelty, has not acquired the prestige found among the Crow. [114] There is nothing in Lowie's brief account to suggest formality in purchase, and in fact such procedure would appear quite at odds with their attitude. Matthews' statement confirms the absence of formal purchase. Nor is the Assiniboin case one of outright purchase. There are however features which suggest the Northwest Coast. As with other Plains tribes the marriage is accompanied by an exchange of gifts. Here the gifts of the bride's family were distributed among the groom's relatives, who return next day "returning to the donor some gifts of superior value to those received," these then being carried to the girl's group. This is faintly reminiscent of the potlatch. Further, the first gift-bearing party was that of the bride, whereas the Plains habit at large is for the young man's party first to make contribution. The impression gleaned from the account of the Assiniboin is a certain formality in the terms of settlement and in the marriage processions somewhat at variance with the generality of Plains marriage habits.[534] Typifying these, Beckwith's brief statement concerning the Dakota implies only the exchange of gifts, although in one form of marriage the groom offers horses until the bride's father is satisfied with the amount.[535]

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[534] Lowie, Notes on the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, 46, The Assiniboine, 40; Matthews, Ethnology of the Hidatsa, 52.

[535] Beckwith, Customs of the Dakotahs, 255.

*171 587 [114] they did not practice it).[547] Kroeber states that levirate and sororate were followed everywhere in California except among the Colorado river tribes.[548] I have found specific statements to except from the levirate the Yuma, Akwa'ala, Cupeño, and perhaps Luiseño.[549] Further the Huchnom, in an area where it generally held, avoided the levirate. In the Great Basin it was customary among Paviotso, Moapa, Shivwits, and Wind River Shoshoni; in the Plains, Crow, Assiniboin, and Hidatsa.[550] How frequently the practice was indulged in these cases is not clear. The Hidatsa, for example, held the levirate proper but marriages of this sort were uncommon.

Curiously enough these practices seem to be absent on the Northwest Coast precisely where one would expect contractual relations of the families to be strongest. I find no mention of them among the Tsimshian and Kwakiutl. Boas recorded only one Tsimshian tale where wives were sisters.[551] The Chilcotin will have nothing of the levirate, for the widow "is still regarded as his own sister" by the brother-in-law.[552] On the other hand, the levirate was common among the interior Salish.[553] Certain of the Plains tribes apparently lack it: Blackfoot[554] and Gros Ventre.

The sororate occurred throughout much the same areas. In California, I note specifically the Northeastern Maidu, Northern and Eastern Pomo, Northern Costanoan, and Southern Diegueño; in the Basin, Paviotso, Southern Paiute, Uintah Ute, and Wind River Shoshoni; in the Plains, it was the regular practice, commonly taking the form of polygamous marriage with sisters, viz., Crow, Blackfoot, Assiniboin, Hidatsa, and Iowa.[555] Again no mention appears in the account of the Gros Ventre.

Levirate and sororate are customs so widespread in North America as to give us little concern here, were it not that they acquire special significance in connection with marriage by purchase. I have tried here to make out a case that in the coastal region from the strait of Juan de Fuca to northern California they have been absorbed in a

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[547] Clear Lake Pomo Society, 319.

[548] *Op. cit.*, 839.

[549] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, 254.

[550] Matthews, 53.

[551] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, 535, 422.

[552] Farrand, Chilcotin, 18.

[553] Boas, *Salish Tribes*, 222.

[554] Wissler, Social Life, 12, 13.

[555] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 469; Spier, Southern Diegueño Customs, 311; Matthews, 53; Skinner, Societies of the Iowa, 739.

PREFACE

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114 121 The following comparative ethnographic study of fifteen northeastern California groups and one group in southern Oregon is based on approximately three and one-half months' field work (July-October, 1936), undertaken while serving as Research Assistant in the Department of Anthropology at the University of California. During the six months' period which the appointment covered I incurred numerous obligations for assistance.

000 To Dr. A. L. Kroeber, director of the culture-element survey, I am indebted for much sound advice, never-failing coöperation, and many courtesies extended throughout the term of appointment. To Professor E. W. Gifford, Dr. Robert H. Lowie, and Dr. Harold E. Driver I am likewise under obligations for their coöperation and numerous courtesies.

I also wish to thank those authors who have written the detailed and pioneer monographs on many of the groups covered in this study; these include Drs. Leslie Spier, A. L. Kroeber, Ralph L. Beals, Isabel T. Kelly, Cora Du Bois, Edwin M. Loeb, and Mr. E. W. Gifford. Many of these authorities, and also the late Professor Edward Sapir, of Yale, supplied the names of reliable informants for the groups I was to study, and otherwise oriented me concerning field conditions. To all these scholars I am greatly indebted, both for their personal coöperation and for their valuable publications on various tribes in or near the area surveyed. Since I worked with both the Shasta and the Maidu, it is almost needless to mention how often I leaned on the late Dr. Roland B. Dixon's ethnographic studies of these two tribes, and how delighted I was to obtain western Shasta data from Sergent Sambo whok some thirty years before, had been Dr. Dixon's chief informant.

114 The difficulties of living on an extremely mobile field trip were lightened by virtue of having with me three interested companions. My husband, Dr. C. F. Voegelin, and our daughter, Gail, spent July and August in the field. To Dr. Voegelin I am deeply grateful for frequent linguistic aid and for encouragement in the pursuit of a new ethnographic field technique. To Gail, and likewise to my father, Mr. Roscoe Wheeler, who proved an ever-cheerful companion during the latter half of the trip, I wish to express a happy appreciation of their comradeship and their responsiveness to informants and informants' families.

115 Many kindnesses were extended to me during field work. Mrs. John Perry and her late husband, of Greenville, offered the hospitality of their home and were helpful in suggesting suitable informants. Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Barton, of Horse Creek, temporarily released Sargent Sambo from their employ so that I might work with him. Mrs. Lucy Thomson, my informant for the Southern Nisenan, had my father and me as guests in her home during our stay at Stanfield Hill. Mrs. Winnie Shiffbauer, Modoc; Ben Bridge, Achomawi informant, and his wife; and Mrs. Amanda Wilson, Valley Maidu informant, were likewise generous in hospitality. The interest and cooperative spirit I met with among these and many others of my informants puts me under a debt which cannot easily be acknowledged, but which will always be a pleasure to recall.

122 Assistance in the preparation of field material for publication was furnished by the personnel of Works Projects Administration Official Project No. 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

Preface

THIS BOOK IS THE PRODUCT OF MANY MINDS. IN 1949, SHORTLY AFTER 114 coming to the University of Oregon from fieldwork with the Chickahominy and other "remnants" of the Virginia Tidewater, I was introduced to the Klamath by Dr. Luther S. Cressman, who was then in the midst of archeological research upon the reservation. That summer, with three graduate students. Eleanor Ribbans, Patricia Marks, and Hiroto Zakoji, I began a study of Chiloquin, a reservation town. The next summer, I resumed work, joined by Miss Ribbans, Mr. Zakoji, and by Barbara Davidson, Virginia Hastings, Michal Lowenfels (Cane), Thomas and Ann Dutelle, and Leonard Turner. In 1951, we turned to matters of folklore, linguistics, and ethnography: the force that summer comprised Mr. Zakoji and Richard Pope. Subsequently, I was retained by the tribal attorneys as an expert witness in issues before the Indian Claims Commission, in which capacity I became the student of my colleagues, Drs. Verne F. Ray and Omer C. Stewart.

After an interim spent in launching a comparison study on the Umatilla reservation and a year in Burma, I returned in 1956 to resume linguistic work. The following year, Dr. Vincent Ostrom 114 and I initiated a study of the termination of federal supervision 122 over the Klamath reservation, under a grant from the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian. We were assisted by Mr. Jack Pierce and Dr. Bert E. Swanson, as well as by Mrs. Marilyn Gerber Livingstone. In the field, we received many courtesies and much enlightenment from Mr. Zakoji, then Director of the Klamath Information and Education Program, under the Oregon Department of Education, operating by contract under the Termination Act. Dr. James A. Clifton soon began to do psychological re-

114 122 search under a separate grant, and provided facilities for other students, Miss Deanne Rasmussen, who studied child-rearing practices, and Dr. and Mrs. Brian A. DuToit, who made a brief survey of the small community of Beatty, to amplify our observations in Chiloquin.

000 In addition to all of these, others who were carrying on studies at the same time provided many insights. Here may be mentioned Dr. and Mrs. Robert F. Spencer, Dr. William N. Fenton, and Dr. M. A. R. Barker. Similarly, my colleagues in the department of anthropology have been an unfailing source 128 of stimulation. Among them, Drs. Luther Cressman, H. G. Barnett, and Vernon Dorjahn have made the greatest contribution. Drs. Cressman, Dorjahn, and Martin Schmitt, during my temporary absence from the country, undertook to oversee the drawing of several of the maps and the assembly of photographs.

127 Archival materials have come from several sources. I am indebted to officials of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, for certain manuscripts in the Bancroft Collections; to the Robert H. Lowie Museum, of that University, for use of materials from the collection of C. Hart Merriam; to Dr. Thomas Vaughan and the Oregon Historical Society for use of the typescript copy of Joel Palmer's pocket diary; and to Martin Schmitt, Elizabeth Findley, and the Library of the University of Oregon for use of the Lindsay and O. C. Applegate Papers, and for many kindnesses.

The General Services Administration Records Center in Seattle provided archival materials from Klamath Agency reports, while the Portland Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, under Don C. Foster and Martin B. Holm, placed at our disposal many official files. Likewise, officials of the Klamath General Council and the Tribal Executive Committee gave us every courtesy and made available back files of tribal minutes. Finally, it would be 000 remiss not to acknowledge the assistance given the study by the Klamath Management Specialists, the city officials of Chiloquin, and officers of Klamath County agencies.

128 Above all, the Klamath people and the residents of Chiloquin have provided us with the individual perspectives which here I have sought to place within a larger frame. Several have kindly read the resultant manuscript on Chiloquin and have suggested

Those same traits others[13] had held to be conservatively Ojibway; 648*
and marking their counterparts among Menominee and other 657*
peoples the Spindlers[14] propose to see in them a common survival 177
of psychological characteristics shared widely by American 156
Indians. Underhill,[15] by contrast, accounts for the commonalty by 171
reference, like James, to experience in a shared situation, the reservation.

These differences of interpretation are by no means irreconcilable. The writer would agree with James[16] that "the genesis of [114]
the modern Indian self lies in the social processes that constitute reservation life," but he would include among those processes such relationships as may have survived in the peculiar cultural
environment furnished by the reservation.[17] Favored in persis- 648*
tence at Klamath have been generalized characteristics, rather 657*
than complex and specific traits. They have survived in part 156
because they are inculcated during childhood;[18] and the family, 177
within which child-rearing takes place, is one of the structures 178
that has retained distinctive qualities. They are sustained in the [571]
quality of primary relationships and are rooted in the individual, often at an unconscious level.[19] As Spencer observes, "The diffuseness of the social structure may be regarded as a survival from the heritage of the past, while individual activity continues to be couched in essentially aboriginal terms."[20] Reservation existence has provided, however, an ever changing context—albeit somewhat sheltered from the rapidly changing environs—in response to which enduring features have undergone modification.

To take the quality of guarded restraint, which Clifton regards 648*
as characteristic of the personality configuration of modern Kla- 657*
math, one can indeed trace continuities with the past. In the 156
myths there are present themes of watchful waiting and the use 177
of subterfuge in dealing with strangers and foes, and a wary 178
reserve in conflict with affinals.[21] In traditional relationships, as 571
Spencer has shown, sub-rosa patterns of aggression characterized [538]
"hostility . . . driven underground" by public disapproval.[22] That covert revenge has persisted is evidenced by historic records of several murders, of such acts as the firing of a haystack in 1897, attributed by the victim in part to the perpetrators' "envy of his prosperity . . .";[23] and to modern incidents of the same nature. Today jealousy is frequently attributed to unspecified others,

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

[P.283]

Notes

ONE. THE ABORIGINAL KLAMATH-MODOC

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1. "Nolis Gaeni" (The Afterworld), narrated in Klamath by Lula Lang. Stern (1962), p. 112, original footnotes omitted.

2. There is now mounting evidence, even from the Northwest itself, suggesting that man may have been in western America for perhaps three times as great a period.

3. Cressman (1956), pp. 470, 463 ff. This work is the principal source for the archeological summary. It may be remarked that Clark (1953), pp. 53-55, records a Klamath legend of what purports to be this eruption.

4. The cultural position of the Klamath-Modoc has been variously assessed. Kroeber (1925), pp. 334-35, initially saw their position as essentially Californian; later (1939), p. 51, he removed the Northeastern Californian segment, including those tribes and the Achomawi-Atsugewi, to the Great Basin. Spier (1930), p. 233, saw Klamath material culture of Plateau type, with strong leanings toward northeastern California, their social system as of Northwest Coast, and their religious institutions of Northern California-Western Oregon, form. In his view, the Modoc inclined somewhat more toward California. Driver and Massey (1957), Map 2, place both peoples in the Plateau.

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Ray alone has seen the differences between the two peoples as so great as to justify passing the California-Plateau boundary between them. Thus (1939), p. 148, he treats the Klamath as the southernmost of the tribes of the American Plateau, although one that exhibits variations stemming from California and the Basin; and again (1963), pp. v, xii, while conceding that the Modoc are highly divergent from the tribes of California, asserts that the Modoc "shared fewer culturally diagnostic traits with the Klamath than they did with the Achomawi." The latter statement seems at odds with the culture element survey of Wheeler-Voegelin (1942), p. 250, and remains to be sustained. Nonetheless, Ray has performed a useful service in correcting the view that Modoc culture was merely an offshoot of that of the already specialized Klamath.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
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[Klamath Reservation]

000 For the recency of separation of the Modoc, see Gatschet (1890), Pt. 1, pp. 13, 14, n.13, 1.

5. See Sapir, reprinted in Mandelbaum (1951), pp. 169-78.

K M [114] [161] 6. Mooney (1928), p. 18, gives a value for the Klamath of 800 and for the Modoc, 400 persons. Kroeber (1925), p. 320, sets the combined figure at 2,000 and estimates that the Klamath have always numbered more than twice the Modoc population. Spier (1930), p. 5, reaches total figures in agreement with Kroeber. Kroeber (1939), pp. 136-38, reverts to Mooney's values in estimating tribal densities.

7. For the latter, chiefly Barrett (1910), Coville (1897, 1904), Curtin (1912), Curtis (1924), Dorsey (1901), Gatschet (1890), Kroeber (1925), Powers (1877), Ray (1963), and Spier (1930), the last two being the most important sources, respectively, for Modoc and Klamath.

8. Anastasio (1955). The changing societal constellations each directed toward a common task also resemble the "structural poses" described by Gearing (1962), for the eighteenth-century Cherokee, with the difference that the social groups entering into the constellations among the Klamath and Modoc are, by comparison, far more diffuse and less well defined.

9. Spier (1930), p. 13, site 6.

10. See Spier (1930), p. 15, site 23. The settlement size follows Spier.

11. As the Klamath pungently express it, "They even divide up a flea." Barker (1963), pp. 162-63.

K [648] [625] 12. An Agent once requested waiver of the stipulation that Indian police must stand five feet eight inches in height, since few Klamath men could qualify.

13. Dorsey (1901), p. 21.

14. Quoted in Pearsall (1950), pp. 348 ff. For details of wokas preparation, see Coville (1904).

15. Spencer (1956), pp. 77 ff. From time to time, I heard much the same speech directed by this woman to the boy, aged twelve. As Spencer remarks, at no time did his immediate actions give occasion for her harangue. She was, however, much concerned over some of his associates.

K M [594] 16. The term "natal family" is employed as a more graceful alternative to the conventional "family of orientation," to denote the nuclear unit into which the individual is born and within which he is reared. For similar reasons, I have preferred the term "marital family" to denote the "family of procreation," a similar entity seen from the vantage of the married partners who stand at its head. See Murdock (1949), p. 13, for a discussion of the original terms.

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3. See, for example, the population given for 1877 by Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, lxxv: on Williamson and near the Agency, 450; Modoc Point and vicinity, 92; middle Sprague, 23.

4. J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Oct. 31, 1870), report for October. An earlier commanding officer of the Fort himself had maintained an Indian mistress. Zakoji (1953), p. 82, n.l. See also letter, Lindsay Applegate to Lucien B. Applegate (Dec. 3, 1869). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

5. L. S. Dyar to Maj. J. Green, Commanding Fort Klamath (Oct. 30, 1872). See also Fort Klamath Post Orders, No. 54 (July 12, 1876), on the same subject.

6. *Agent's Report*, Roll 26 (July 2, 1870), cited by Zakoji (1953), p. 82.

7. William M. Turner to Lindsay Applegate (April 1, 1869). Lindsay Applegate *Papers*.

8. Meacham (1876), p. 37.

9. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 49th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1885–86), Vol. 12, Pt. 5, 574.

10. Zakoji (1953), pp. 238 ff.

11. Wheeler-Voegelin (1955), p. 121, n.17.

12. See n.20 below.

13. *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 57th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1902–03), Vol. 19, 309.

14. Spencer (1952), pp. 5 ff.

15. T. L. in Zakoji (1953), p. 243. This man is distinct from a slave of the same name, a brother of the next man mentioned, who was sold at Warm Springs and returned in later days.

16. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Oct. 17, 1881).

17. See the general discussion by Hallowell (1963).

18. For one, see H. N. in Zakoji (1953), p. 207.

19. Lindsay Applegate *Papers*, Special Collection, University of Oregon Library. The pages, three in number, are from an account book. One overlaps the other two pages in the individuals named and seems to represent another issue. Although they bear no date, internal evidence places the latter two pages, dealing with issues at Yainax, in the winter of the Modoc War (1872–73).

20. O. C. Applegate *Papers*. Listed for the same band are 69 horses, 5 axes, and 16 boats (canoes).

21. A count of houses in early autumn might overlook temporary shelters, and thus produce a distorted household size. The figure drawn by O. C. Applegate to illustrate the house and aid the chief in his enumeration is the temporary mat lodge, *wukeplaks*. It should be noted

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000 [114] that the ration issues for which the main lists were drawn up were made in midwinter, when all were in winter lodges.

22. But Ocheho's household is not below the average for his own band (9).

23. O. C. Applegate to M. F. Holland, Supervisor Ind. Schools (Dec. 27, 1904).

24. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Dec. 1, 1884), report for November.

25. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price (Feb. 3, 1883), report for January.

26. *Agent's Report*, Roll 26 (Jan. 6, 1870), cited in Zakoji (1953), p. 80; Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 63, n.60, 17.

27. Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 60 ff. Note that the Paiute did not at that time subject themselves to the jurisdiction of the court. P. 62, footnote.

28. T. L. in Zakoji (1953), p. 260, describes one feature: the [556] mother of the groom poured a basket of beads, a form of wealth, upon the head of the seated bride.

29. Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 78.

EIGHT. SCHOOL

1. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 43d Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1873–74), Vol. 4, Pt. 5, 692.

2. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 41st Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1869–70), Vol. 3, Pt. 3, 619, 618.

3. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 42d Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1871–72), Vol. 3, Pt. 5, 715.

4. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 42d Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1872–73), Vol. 3, Pt. 5, 757; 43d Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1873–74), Vol. 4, Pt. 5, 692.

5. John Meacham to A. B. Meacham (July 31, 1871), report for July.

6. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Jan. 1, 1874), report for preceding December.

7. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Jan. 13, 1881).

8. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (June 1, 1874), report for May.

9. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Nov. 1, 1874), report for October.

10. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (July 31, 1875), report for July.

11. L. S. Dyar to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 13, 1875). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

[p. 339-A]

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION[1]

By

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

The communication of knowledge from one generation to another is a subtle process in any culture, and especially so among primitive groups with no clearly defined and well formulated educational system. Any study of primitive education is, therefore, difficult to demarcate. In its broadest sense, education might be defined as the formation of manners and habits by means of instruction, by both physical and moral discipline. The acquisition of all attitudes, knowledge, and skills can be included in education. A thorough investigation would have to answer the question of where, when, and how the individual acquires each item of his adult personality. 121

Obviously, no complete picture of education in any primitive group can be drawn after a single season in the field. The present study makes no pretense of being definitive. It is our intent to show the gradual development of the Klamath child from infancy to adulthood as he receives physical, religious, and moral training, as well as instruction in the food gathering techniques and skilled crafts of his culture. Undoubtedly many phases of the culture have been slighted, but we have tried to show in a general way the type of instruction and encouragement given the maturing child. 114 Klamath ethnography has been well known for years through the works of Gatschet (1890), Coville (1898, 1904), Dorsey (1901), Barrett (1910), Spier (1930), Voegelin (1942), and others. 128 For that reason, the details of language, material

[text continues on top of p. 339-B]

BIRTH AND INFANCY

581 Parenthood with its attendant responsibilities is not taken lightly by the average Klamath. 593 One gets married for the express purpose of raising a large family, and the couple with several strong sons and hardworking daughters is highly respected in the community. 842 A childless couple, on the other hand, is looked upon with contempt and pity. Barrenness is sometimes con-

[text continues on bottom of p. 339-B]

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[1] The present study is based on data collected for the University of California during a two-month stay on the Klamath Indian reservation in southern Oregon in the summer of 1947. Much of the material presented in this paper was gathered by Mrs. Betty T. Dasey, and the research represents our joint efforts. [122]

842 hopes to have many sons; but the inevitable is accepted philosophically.

843 The sex of the child is not entirely left to chance, for certain traditional precautions are taken. A man does not cut wood while his wife is pregnant lest she have a girl. He may also hang a tiny bow and arrow in his house to assure the birth of a boy. If a girl is born, the opposite sex may be assured for the next child by turning over the afterbirth.

844 The arrival of the first child is of spe-
cial significance. It is said that at this time
[821] there will be strong winds and thunder.[2] This
is also a propitious time for a man to seek
[787] supernatural power in the mountains. In spite
of the great importance attached to the birth of
[593] the first child there is nothing to indicate
that he will be shown any favoritism. On the
contrary, he will probably learn adult activities at an earlier age than his younger siblings and will be expected to assume a certain amount of responsibility in caring for younger children in the family.

At delivery, a soft pad is arranged to receive the child.[3] The umbilical cord is tied with the mother's hair and cut with an obsidian knife. The cord is buried when it drops off, or sometimes kept and wrapped in a piece of buckskin to be worn around the child's neck for luck. The navel is anointed with squirrel grease to hasten healing. As a general rule the afterbirth is disposed of at once by burial. Occasionally a woman throws the afterbirth away carelessly because she wishes to prevent future pregnancies.

846 The newborn baby is sponged off immediately with water, and the face and body are massaged and molded for the first time to conform to Klamath standards of beauty. He is kept beside the mother in the birth lodge during the four or five days of her seclusion. Once each day during this period the child is held over the heated rocks on which the mother lies, to insure his future health.

The infant is put to the breast a few hours
after birth. The mother's nipples are squeezed
and a hair worked around in them to start the
853 flow of milk. Thereafter the child is nursed
whenever he cries. If the mother is unable to nurse her child, a wet nurse is called--generally a relative, but apparently any neighbor woman will do.

852 In many families presents are brought to the newborn child. A boy receives a tiny bow and arrow or small quiver, a girl a small digging stick or basket. These gifts are later hung from the hood of the child's cradleboard. As the presents are brought, a prayer or blessing is said "to encourage the child." Over a

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[2] Spier (1930), p. 55. None of our informants mentioned this.

[114] [3] The practices surrounding pregnancy, birth, and the care of the mother are described in detail by Spier, pp. 55 ff., and Voegelin (1942), elements 3007-3262.

[p.340-B]

852 boy one says, "May this one be a good hunter." For a girl the hope is expressed that "this one will be a good worker and dig many ipos [a root used as food]." These statements are amplified in many ways, according to the sentiments of the individual donor.

854 The infant is first placed in a willow or tule cradle,* usually prepared by the maternal grandmother. Several informants asserted that it would be bad luck to prepare the cradle before the child's birth; others seemed not to share this belief. The child remains on the basketry cradle for a fortnight to a month and is thereafter placed on a rigid cradleboard.

It is generally the father who makes the cradleboard although, once it has been made, it may be handed down from one child to the next or [764] even from one generation to the next. It is destroyed only in the event of the child's death, in which case the board and all other objects prepared for the child are burned with the body. After the father makes the cradleboard, the maternal grandmother fixes it for the child. She shows her daughter how to arrange the bedding on the board and place the infant on it with his legs straight and arms extended at his sides.

The child remains on the cradleboard for at [856] least the first year of his life. Even after he can walk he is placed there to sleep; for "if you don't use a cradleboard, the child gets humpbacked." When the child no longer requires a cradleboard, he may still be tightly wrapped in a blanket at night to make him lie straight.

For the first few months of his life the child is cared for almost entirely by his mother with the occasional help of the grandmother. The father would be considered unmanly if he helped with the baby very much. The child is never left alone for more than a few minutes at a time, and then only if the mother knows he is sound asleep. At night the cradleboard lies beside the mother where she can reach out and nurse the child if he cries. During the day the board is propped up in the dwelling, or, if the mother is working elsewhere, she carries the cradle with her and sets it up near her work. While working in a canoe, the woman arranges the cradleboard in one end with a willow shade to protect the child from the sun. If she is busy digging roots or gathering berries or seeds, she sets the cradle against a near-by tree. At such times the child's hands may be unbound so that he is free to play with beads or other objects [853] suspended from the hood of the cradle. Often he is given a bit of camas root to chew on.

The infant seldom receives physical demonstrations of affection, nor does the mother carry him in her arms. However, he is watched continually; and the mother or other adults often pause in their work to talk to the child. They tell a boy to be strong and brave and grow

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[114] *Cradling practices are described by Barrett (1910), pp. 257 ff., Spier, pp. 57-59, and Voegelin, elements 3265-3286.

[p.341A]

854 up to be a good hunter, whereas a girl is admonished to be a good worker. Both are advised to do right, to help other people, and never to quarrel. Stereotyped phrases of advice are used, and it is felt that "the baby listens just as if he understood everything."

At least once a day the child is taken off the cradle to be bathed. When the child is first unbound, he is allowed to stretch as much as he wishes. For bathing, the mother holds the child on her knee and sponges him in cold water. The cold water is supposed to make the child [114] fearless and strong. Gatschet mentions the application of insects to the infant's arms for [856] the purpose of making him fearless and unmoved by sudden fright;[5] we found no confirmation of this practice.

After the bath the mother rubs the child with warm ashes and finally powders it with 854 finely ground chalk. Throughout the entire process she talks to the child and expresses her 856 desire that he may grow to be strong and good. At the same time she massages the child's limbs to make them straight and molds his ears, nose, lips, and brows to make him more beautiful. The daily massaging continues till the child is five or six months old. After that it is believed that the bones are too hard to be changed. Frontal flattening by means of a pad tied across the forehead continues as long as the child is on the cradleboard, but not all children undergo this process. According to some informants, the flattening is simply incidental to the manner of cradling. Others claim it is done for beauty. "After all," they say, "a basket hat would never fit a square head."

As the child gets older he is allowed to remain away from the cradleboard for longer and longer periods. He cries to be taken off the board at times, but also to be put back when tired. By the time he is a year old he remains off the board all day, though he may still be placed on it to sleep.

Teething is not considered a difficult process.[6] The gums are massaged if the child becomes fretful. Otherwise he is simply given something to chew on--the inside layer of certain barks or a bit of camas. Later, when the child begins to get his permanent teeth, no special significance is attached to the deciduous set. They are pulled out as they become loose and thrown away or buried.

When a child is five or six months old, he is encouraged to sit up. He is placed on a mat or blanket, and his arms are held on either side of his head as he is taught to rock back and forth while uttering the meaningless sound "aam aam." Parents are proud when the child is able to sit up by himself; and they tell visitors, "See, he can sit up now." The child is allowed to crawl around the dwelling as he pleases. If

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[5] Gatschet (1890), p. [illegible].

[6] Voegelin, elements 3369-3377.

[p.342-B]

553 coins it, and soon all are using it.

Personal names are freely used at all times, but within the family kinship terms are more commonly applied. There are also age status terms for direct address or in reference to an individual as "newborn baby," "infant," "child," "youth," and so forth.[10]

855 757 Throughout infancy the health of the child is a matter of considerable concern. Whenever he cries and cannot be pacified by feeding, the parents fear that he is ill. For certain obvious physical ailments there is a variety of simple home remedies known to most adults. For stomachaches, warm ashes are held over the abdomen, and sagebrush tea may be administered orally. For a fever, sagebrush bark is mashed, mixed with warm water, and rubbed on the child to produce sweating. Deer grease is applied to burns. Pine pitch is rubbed on chapped faces and is also used to heal sore eyes. These and similar remedies serve for both children and adults.[11]

75 [841] Ailments not so readily diagnosed require the services of a shaman, who then demands a large fee. Shamans are believed to send diseases to individuals, particularly through the medium of bad dreams. A child's nightmares are, therefore, taken as an indication that some shaman is trying to sicken the child. A curing ceremony must then be held either by the suspected shaman or another of equal power. Some women try to prevent children's nightmares by placing a cloth or piece of fur stained with menstrual discharge under the sleeping child. Shamans fear the contamination of a menstruating woman and are unable to use their powers in the presence of one.

EARLY CHILDHOOD

857 [865] simple amusements for themselves. They erect piles of dirt, mark in the sand with sticks, or make neat rows of sticks on the ground. Older children are punished if they try to bother the youngsters at play.

[864] Until the age of six or seven, boys and girls play together as much as they wish. When a bit older they will be warned not to be intimate with members of the opposite sex, but young children often play at "man and wife" in imitation of their elders, using the proper status terms for husband and wife and pretending to keep house. The boys go off to hunt, and the girls wait for them to bring meat home to cook. Such play is not discouraged, nor is it apparently encouraged.

Small children also enjoy pretending to be very old people. In this game they hobble around on canes. One old lady of eighty laughed as she recalled playing in this manner:

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[10] Spier, pp. 61-68.

[11] Therapeutic knowledge and beliefs of the Klamath are mentioned in Voegelin, elements 4469-4511.

5: Barrett E-5 / (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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K situated about upper Klamath Lake and in the mountains to the
101 east; except for a part of the Modoc in Oklahoma. It is the
131 object of the present paper to discuss briefly the conditions of
M aboriginal life among these people, due consideration being given
K their natural environment and the influence of surrounding
128 peoples upon them.

TERRITORY.

M The territory occupied by the Klamath Lake and Modoc
K Indians lies chiefly in the drainage basins of Upper and Lower
101 Klamath lakes and Tule or Rhett lake. From a point near the
131 confluence of Keen creek with Klamath river the western boundary
of their territory probably extended along the watershed
separating the Klamath lake and Rogue river drainages, to the
K foothills of the mountain in which Crater lake is situated. It
823 should be noted, however, that the Klamath, while they feared
Crater lake, did go upon certain occasions to the lake and seem
not to have been molested there by other Indians. It would seem
that the lake was looked upon as a sort of territory of mutual
rights by the peoples in its vicinity. They visited it when they
desired to acquire great merit in hunting or other pursuits in
which supernatural power was necessary. To go and bathe in
this wonderful lake was a brave thing to do, and made a man
lucky for hunting or other similar pursuits and made him very
K strong for war. It would appear that the relations formerly
131 existing between the Klamath and the people of the Rogue river
648 drainage were not at all friendly, so that the Klamath seldom
ventured as far west as the crest of the range. They did on
occasion make up large parties and go up to the crest of the
range for the purpose of hunting, but small parties rarely ventured
so far. The region for some distance to the west and
northwest of Crater lake was also visited by the Klamath for the
K purpose of gathering berries in season.

101 On the north the boundary extended as far as to the headwaters
131 of Deschutes river, thus including the whole drainage
133 basin of Klamath marsh.[1] On the east the boundary probably

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[101] [1] The Bureau of Ethnology's map in Bulletin 30 gives to the Lutuami
territory as far north in the Deschutes drainage as latitude 44. See also
[114] volume I of this Bulletin, 779, 1907.

5: Barrett **E-5** **(1907)** **1910**
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

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extended far enough to include the drainage into Sycan marsh, and thence on toward the south, passing several miles east of the town of Bly and including the whole of the Sprague river drainage.[2] The southern part of the eastern boundary probably passed somewhat east of Clear lake and around the head of Lost river. The southern boundary was probably the divide between the drainage of Klamath and Rhett lakes and that of Pitt river.

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The Lutuami[3] are divided into two slightly different dialectic divisions: the Klamath Lake, usually known simply as Klamath, occupying a comparatively large territory about Upper Klamath lake, the northern part of Lower Klamath lake, Klamath marsh, and the region to the east; and the Modoc, occupying the region about Rhett lake and the southern end of Lower Klamath lake. One informant mentioned a third dialect, which he said was spoken by the people formerly living on Link river and about Linkville or what is now known as Klamath Falls. In view of the slight lexical differences between the Klamath and Modoc dialects, it seems very probable that if a third linguistic division did exist it was inconsiderable and not more than a sub-dialectic variation. At any rate the only linguistic units recognized by the people themselves are the two dialects spoken by the Klamath and the Modoc. The fact that the two divisions speak slightly differently, does not seem to appeal to the people themselves so much as the fact that they were in former times politically disunited, and were in fact, upon certain occasions at least, at war.

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As nearly as could be determined the boundary between the Klamath and Modoc territories extended through the northern

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[2] This is the boundary generally claimed by the Klamath. One Paiute informant, however, claimed that the territory of his people extended as far west as Yam Say peak and the Black hills, thus including Sycan marsh in the Paiute country. Like Klamath informants he stated that the boundary passed a few miles east of Bly.

[114] ●
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[3] Gatschet, Contrib. N. A. Ethn., II, gives Lutuami as meaning lake, i.e., Tule lake, in the Achomawi or Pit River language. The people have no name for themselves other than maklaks, person, Indian. Maklaks is possibly the source of our word Klamath, the origin of which is unknown. The Klamath Lake people are called in their own language Eukshikni maklaks or Euksknì maklaks, at the lake people, from Eukshi, which denotes specifically Klamath marsh, but also the adjoining country, including the eastern shore of Upper Klamath lake. Eukshi appears to be derived from eush, lake. The Modoc are called Montokni maklaks or Modokni maklaks, in the south people, from moatak, Tule lake. Moatak is a derivative from muat, south.

K 412 Another stone implement is the single-grooved, flat-bottomed arrow straightener, such as is shown in pl. 21, fig. 9. A perforated wooden arrow straightener, of the form shown in fig. 5 of the same plate, is still used.

K 411 [172] K [755] [525] [304] Implements of obsidian and of flint are common. Arrowheads and large spear points, as also knives which were formerly fitted into wooden handles, are yet to be found. These points are found by the Indians in various parts of the country where they have been used and left by former inhabitants. They are chiefly employed at present as charms in medicine and gambling. A gambler may take a large obsidian knife or spear point and, after singing the proper song, place it under the large tule mat upon which the game is being played, to insure good luck. In addition to their use in medicine as charms they are also employed for purposes of scarification.

K 276 Stone pipes of several forms (pl. 22, figs. 8, 9, 10) are still used. The discoidal form shown in figure 10, which is quite unusual for the Pacific slope, appears to have been less used in aboriginal times than the obtuse-angled form shown in figure 8.

GAMES.

M K 524 114 The Lutuami, like most aboriginal peoples, had many games for both adult and young. It will not be necessary to go into details here, as the subject has been treated by Dr. George A. Dorsey[a] and Mr. Stewart Culin.[b]

BASKETRY.

M K 285 The basketry of the Klamath and Modoc, which is always twined, may be classified under two heads: soft or pliable basketry and stiff or rigid basketry. The former predominates very largely and all the finer baskets are made in this manner. The materials used for this sort of basketry are as follows. The skin of the leaves of the cat-tail tule forms the white material which is used as the groundwork of almost all of the finer baskets. The M K [113]

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[a] Certain Gambling Games of the Klamath Indians, Amer. Anthr., n. s. III, 14-27, 1901.

[b] Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., 136, 247, 291, 328, 479, 550, 659, 740, 1907.

Foreword

114 I shall not comment in this Foreword, which Dr. Clifton graciously asked me to write, on the technical qualities of these studies in the Culture and Personality tradition. It is of particular significance to me that this study of personalities should be added to the impressive series on the life history of a people, a series of studies, of a single people, probably unique in anthropology. The prehistory, the ethnography, the ethno-history, the linguistics, the period of white contact on the reservation and its vicissitudes, and the termination of the reservation have all been studied in detail and comprehensively. Dr. Clifton's study, while not a specific part of the series of studies directly relating to the processes involved in implementing the federal legislation terminating the reservation, was closely related to them. From the point of view of those of us who hope that Social Science will provide the information on which public policy is based it would have been fortunate to have used the rich fund of actual and potential information on the Klamath Indians to provide a sound demonstration of the use of scientific knowledge to formulate public policy. The results of the kind of study made by Dr. Clifton added to the other information available would have provided the basic data for a significant demonstration of how wise planning in the use of scientific knowledge might be used to formulate a policy, humane, significant in terms of human values and as an expression of enlightened democratic government. The political arm of the government, however, ignored completely the scientific [m] resources at its disposal. The analysis of personalities so effectively set forth in this study makes it quite clear to all except the most naive that the problems of adjustment which have been so apparent during the period of the Klamath Reservation were not automatically solved by the final act of Termination. But that will be another story.

L.S. Cressman

Eugene, Oregon
June 30, 1961

[p.1]

Section I. Introduction

This is a report on the personality dynamics of a highly acculturated American 121
Indian population, the Klamath of south-central Oregon. The report consists 125
of blind, idiographic assessments of ten selected cases. The subjects are
male and female Klamath of various age groups who occupy different status posi- [101]
tions and who perform widely divergent social roles in the context of Klamath
reservation culture.

As is the case with similar culture and personality research, one aim of this
report is descriptive, that of recording variant attributes of personality,
attributes which are not frequently observable in the usual clinical or research
settings of western culture. Thus some mental health and social science personnel 121
may find the report of value because of the unusual character structure of the
subjects, but those who serve reservation populations in clinical settings and
those who observe for research purposes will find these ten Klamath subjects
familiar. In addition to the objective of description we hope that the analysis
of these cases will contribute to an understanding of the psychological-- par-
ticularly the interpersonal aspects of Klamath reservation life. Beyond these
goals, the synthesis of psychological and cultural data drawn from observations
of the contemporary scene may throw some additional light on the psychological
consequences of acculturation.

The ten case studies in this report were drawn from a sample of fifty four 125
collected in 1958-59 by the Anthropologist during two periods of field research. 114
The original research was aimed at collecting psychological test data so as to [101]
make a contribution to a larger study of Klamath Reservation Culture, which in-
volved both a historical or acculturational study of processes of change and 121
a study of the contemporary reservation community. The larger Klamath study is
being supervised by Dr. Theodore Stern, of the Department of Anthropology,
University of Oregon. The results of the original personality study have been
reported elsewhere (Clifton 1960). This early research effort was predicated
upon a loose statistical model, and the aim was to correlate personality types
with types of socio-cultural adjustment. It was assumed that the very great
range of kinds of behaviors and types of adjustment apparent among the Klamath
reservation population could be associated with variations in personality attri-
butes as measured by projective tests.

Two distinct variants of this statistical model were attempted and discarded
before a third was developed. The first aim was to collect a random sample [125]
of a target population composed of persons recognized as members of the Klamath
Tribe, who currently maintained a residence on or near the reservation, and who
had lived all or most of their lives in that area. One of the two models had
this population stratified by criteria which supposedly isolated clusters of
types of socio-cultural adjustment. Here the form of thought was essentially
historical or evolutionary and was quite similar to the model employed in the
Menomini study (Spindler 1955). The second stratified sample was drawn along [125]
somewhat different lines, and attempted to isolate significant variations in
type of family organization (both of orientation and procreation) and patterns
of family activity. Because of certain developments in the larger study of
Klamath Reservation Culture, and especially because of a very high refusal
rate, neither of these formal approaches to sampling could be utilized.

The growing understanding of Klamath Reservation Culture gave cause to suspect
the several tentative analyses of the situation upon which these formal models

Because it is for several reasons considered important, the fact that each 125
Klamath subject was, in general terms, made aware of the intentions of the 123
examiner and the logic of the test procedure should be emphasized. Recently, 125
Hauck has described a different approach used for research among the Unitah-
Ouray Ute, where he modified the usual Rorschach procedure by concealing the 114
purposes of the test beneath a supposedly innocuous "cover story" (Hauck 1955: 10).

This approach to field testing is subject to criticism on several grounds. In 125
the first place, it is somewhat less than ethical to conceal the purposes of a 123
test so as to facilitate cooperation, and then to publish results in line with
original intentions. Occasionally, this approach has been used in culture and [114]
personality research. It entails the assumption of a kind of mechanical meaningfulness of any responses to projective tests, however administered, and whatever the test taking attitude of the subject. At a minimum, the subject has the right of knowing what he is involved in and the privilege of refusing. Secondly, where clinical methods of interpretation are to be employed, it is essential that field research using projective tests as closely as possible approximate the clinical situation. This assumes that the cooperating research subject is more apt to reveal important aspects of himself if he clearly understands the
intentions of the examiner. Indeed, one purpose of projective testing is to 12
facilitate communication about difficult topics, not to unduly impede it with artificial barriers.

Another aspect of this issue is that most American Indian populations include 12
some members with higher education, or, like the Klamath, others with some 177
awareness of the "ink-blot" or the "picture" test via spectatorship in the mass [171]
media. Because of this awareness, any subterfuge or concealment of test objectives may be publically revealed and further distorted. The consequence of this can only be a confused or negative appraisal of field research and field researchers. Given the existing wariness and suspicion of many American Indian populations and their concern with their status as "Guinea Pigs," such an outcome is not very desirable. Finally, it is quite conceivable that another field worker might want to pursue similar research in a situation where the purposes of a test have been concealed. If so, he will have to support the original lie, either by accepting it or by expanding upon it.

Quite frequently, the success of field research in the area of culture and 12
personality studies turns upon obtaining an adequate sampling of a population in a very limited period of time. Perhaps, as is suggested by the extensive sampling of Hallowell and the Spindlers in repeated field sessions, it is the time factor which is crucial. In terms of the ethics of research, the validity of results, the richness of materials collected, the possible consequences of distorting objectives so as to obtain cooperation, and the implications for future field work, the alternative approach of using a "cover story" to obtain quick results is not desirable.

The Klamath personality research grew out of Clifton's participation in a larger 114
study of Klamath reservation culture. The initial, unpublished, evaluation of the test and life history data was intended to improve understanding of the psychological consequences of acculturation in the Klamath case and to give additional depth to other studies of styles of Klamath behavior. This first approximation, although suggestive, did not prove entirely satisfactory, largely because of too mechanical a utilization of what are, in the trade, called "standard interpretative hypotheses." In short, the initial report was too cookbookish. At the same time the possibility of bias had to be considered,

114 for the field researcher and analyst were one and the same person. It then
[121] seemed potentially fruitful and appropriate to organize a collaborative effort with an experienced psychologist, and it was at this juncture that David Levine began participating in the research. The result of that effort is this report, with its markedly inductive and qualitative approach.

121 Aside from an assessment of the attributes of Klamath personalities, we are, thus, concerned with several somewhat broader questions. Because of the former, the Psychologist has set one task as the idiographic analysis of each subject's Rorschach record, but because of the latter concern this analysis must be considered doubly idiographic. We are at one and the same time concerned with two kinds of wholes, each Klamath person, and the total socio-cultural setting. On the one hand, the Anthropologist's interest lies in the relations between personality factors and the configurations of Klamath Reservation Culture, and, thus, in Redfield's terms, in contributing to an understanding of the reservation
[125] tion as a "unique analysed system" (Redfield 1955). On the other hand, the Psychologist became interested in this setting because of his concern with using the Rorschach as one measure of Ego-development, or the level of psychological maturity. In this respect, and aside from the intrinsic interest of each, the ten case studies are seen as a possible means of bringing to bear certain portions of psychoanalytic theory and Werner's genetic psychology theory upon the task of explaining some aspects of the styles of behavior prevalent in the peculiarly stifling environments of American Indian reservations. We are, therefore, interested in developing useful approaches to larger problems and in building hypotheses.

12 With respect to the division of labor, Clifton collected the original data and was responsible for writing Sections I and II and the introductions to the case studies, while Levine gave his attention to the analysis of each case. The concluding section is a joint effort. Levine's analysis of the Rorschach records has been without extensive foreknowledge of the characteristics of life on or the history of the Klamath reservation, and without foreknowledge of the particular experiences or cultural status of the subjects. The collaboration of Anthropologist and Psychologist, the inductive, case-study approach, and this "blind" analysis thus put this report in the culture and personality tradition most recently represented by Gladwin and Sarason's Truk study. Indeed, this report was partly prompted by Gladwin and Sarason's recent complaint that "...studies which would refine and carry forward this or other systematic methods
121 of case analysis have not been forthcoming." (1959: 175). While we agree that analyses of comparative data should be made available, in all modesty we cannot lay claim to a refinement of the case study method. Again, we are concerned with developing useful theoretical ideas, or in finding a place to transplant an existing idea, rather than with methodology.

122 We are indebted to Zygmunt Piotrowski for his approach to Rorschach analysis and for suggesting the possibility of our collaborating, to Luther Cressman of the University of Oregon for providing facilities for publication and for initial support of the field work, and to Theodore Stern, also from the University of Oregon, for continuing assistance and encouragement in and out of the field.
[121] Section II of this report draws heavily upon Dr. Stern's published and unpublished Klamath materials, for which we are particularly grateful. During 1958, James Clifton's field work was supported by a Social Science Research Council Fellowship for Training in Social Anthropology, while support for the 1959 research was provided by the National Institute of Mental Health in the form of a pre-doctoral fellowship and research grant. The National Institute of Mental Health has, additionally, financed publication costs of this report.

121 the emphasis is on the unique adjustment of the individual subject to the specific life conditions he encounters and helps create.

121 125 114 The present approach to the projective tests is, then, radically different from much of the work of Hallowell, Spindler, Kaplan and other writers who at times have utilized a rigid and mechanical approach to the test data, one which often entailed group comparisons of mean scores. Their methodology makes at least three assumptions. Firstly, that single scores may be interpreted meaningfully out of the context of the rest of the record; secondly, that individual variability is not important enough to obscure group differences; and finally, that the general area under investigation has been thoroughly enough explored to justify hypothetico-deductive research methodologies. These assumptions may be warranted in some instances, but our impression is that too often this rigid methodology has been employed prematurely.

Our use of the projective tests, on the other hand, is similar to Gladwin and Sarason's in that we are unwilling, at this point, to go beyond a case-oriented, inductive methodology. However, important differences between their interpretive procedures and ours are obvious on even the most superficial inspection. While we have attempted to base as much of our interpretation as possible on Piotrowski's explicit principles of interpretation Sarason does not feel that his interpretations would be facilitated by computing a scoring summary. His position rests on the conclusion that the available "evidence" (a term he defines explicitly and rigidly) is insufficient to justify most Rorschach interpretations based on scores. However, Sarason's goals in the Trukese study included an attempt to make explicit the process by which he, as a clinician, transformed the raw data into personality descriptions. Sarason might have come closer to achieving this particular goal had he paid more explicit attention to the scoring categories. In his analyses he used extensively the initial reaction times, the number of responses, and the level of form accuracy of the responses. However, he was also acutely and continuously aware of the manner in which the subject dealt with the colored and shading aspects of the blots, as well as the extent to which movement was involved. Although we agree with Sarason that the validity of much of the interpretation based on Rorschach scores has not been demonstrated scientifically, we take the position that explicit utilization of Rorschach scores and specific interpretive principles will enable us to approach more quickly the goal of understanding the process by which the clinician goes from the raw data to the personality interpretation. In addition, there has been a considerable amount of scientific research — much of it done by Sarason and his students — which suggests that some Rorschach scores do have behavioral concomitants. Our hope is that by being explicit we can move ever closer to the goal of determining the validity of the Rorschach, while at the same time using the test for whatever inductive value it does have.

121 125 Since the focus of this study is on the subject's adaptive mechanisms, the Rorschach interpretations have been carried out in a theoretical framework which emphasizes Ego Psychology, rather than the exploration of specific instinctual energies. Scientific research and clinical opinion both indicate that this approach — emphasizing ego functions, not the probing of unconscious depths — is likely to be of greater ultimate value and rests on a surer foundation. (Klopfer, 1954; Sarason, 1954; Schafer, 1954, to mention but a few). Thus, we are less concerned with what the subject sees in the blot than in how he sees it.

[114] Piotrowski's principles of interpretation (1957), as well as his interpretive "definitions," are in accord with this orientation and generally were followed.

121 125 114 Piotrowski's stress on analyzing the percept, rather than the verbalized response (hence, perceptanalysis) is an example of his emphasis on a careful scrutiny of the manner in which the subject is approaching the task presented by the Rorschach examination. The errors resulting from a too hasty reliance on the subject's verbal report range from assuming the response "bat" to Card I is a W, when it might have been a rare detail to scoring an F- for any statistically infrequent response when a careful inquiry might have revealed an accurate, original, and well-organized percept. Ultimately, of course, we are dependent on the subject to tell us what he sees and how he is seeing it, but a sensitive, careful inquiry can help the subject communicate in words the images he has created. When our goal is an understanding of the adjustment of an individual Klamath, this attempt to see the blot as the subject sees it enables us to approach — with empathy, if you will — the subject's own manner of perceiving the blot stimulus.

However, Piotrowski's method of interpretation rests on firmer footing than this perhaps vague statement that an attempt is made to empathize with the subject. Piotrowski has stated, in explicit principles and definitions, the interpretive significance which he attaches to the various kinds of responses. Although these principles were used as guidelines, they were not adhered to in a dogmatic fashion.

125 128 For example, the Rorschachs were scored carefully, but not rigidly. An illustration of this distinction is the scoring of form level. Much has been written about this pseudo-problem; the Beck-Klopfer controversy concerning a statistical versus an evaluative basis for form-level scoring has generated much heat. The present approach may seem at first blush to beg the question, but a moment's analysis indicates that the scoring is always done keeping in mind that the ultimate purpose of the test is interpretation. Thus, if a response is clearly an F+ response, i.e., the form of the image corresponds without question to the blot area, there is no scoring difficulty. However, if the subject gives a response which is neither clearly F+ nor F- (and for Beck, is statistically infrequent), but rather gives a response which might almost be justified, but not quite, the scorer need not sit in a quandary; to my way of thinking he need indicate merely that the subject has produced a response with this kind of borderline form level. (More detailed analyses of various approaches to form level have been described by Phillips & Smith, 1954; Klopfer, 1954). If the subject produces this kind of response often, we conclude that he often responds to life in a manner which does not include a careful evaluation of the situation, but that he does not behave in an obviously idiosyncratic manner. More precise interpretations may be formulated in the specific instance, of course. Piotrowski's scoring F± for vague responses such as "clouds," "rocks," or "bays," is an example of his attempt to formalize this approach to scoring borderline responses.

121 125 [128] As a corollary to the emphasis on Ego interpretations, an attempt was made to evaluate the adequacy of the subjects' adjustment, and in the attempt, to uncover the person's strengths and assets, as well as his flaws and weaknesses. The task consisted, in part, of gauging the extent to which his particular adaptive mechanisms enable him to cope adequately with his impulses and feelings in the context of his environment — to what extent his life style meshed satisfactorily with his life space. Since the Rorschachs were interpreted by the psychologist initially without information concerning the subject's life history, this entailed a careful examination of the balance of components in the protocols themselves. In this process much emphasis was placed on the organizational quality of the responses. The research on genetic-level scoring of the Rorschach

121 (Levine, 1960) has indicated that this may be an extremely important measure
125 of ego strength. Whether this is supported in cross-cultural work remains to
[114] be determined.

121 The emphasis throughout this phase of the research has been on the functioning
15 individual — how he adapts to his environment in general and, whenever possible,
how he behaves in interpersonal situations. In this regard Piotrowski's hypothesis that the movement responses reflect prototypal roles has been exploited extensively. By prototypal roles, Piotrowski means, "definite tendencies, deeply embedded in the subject and not easily modified, to assume repeatedly the same attitude or attitudes in dealing with others when matters felt to be important and personal are involved." (Piotrowski, 1957, p. 141). He makes it clear that he is referring to "psychological tendencies" only; in order to predict whether these tendencies will be expressed in overt behavior it is necessary to take into account many other variables (Principle of Interdependence of Components).

Piotrowski has written further that the FM (animal movement responses) reflect the subject's prototypal roles as they were prominent in the subject's past or as they influence his behavior in "states of lowered integration and in states of diminished consciousness and defective self-control," and, finally, that the m (inanimate movement responses) "indicate prototypal roles in life which the individual feels to be desirable and pleasant but unrealizable."

Thus, for example, if a subject gives only very active or aggressive human movement responses (e.g., "two boxers slugging it out") it is hypothesized that his prototypal role is of this nature. If his FM are passive and his M are aggressive, we conclude that his present prototypal role is aggressive, but that when drunk, for example, he is more likely to become docile.

In actual Rorschach interpretation the complexities of multiple roles, the influence of other Rorschach variables, the inconsistency of role patterns, and so on, must all be evaluated very carefully in order to arrive at a meaningful
121 and valid personality description. Although considerable care must be taken to
181 avoid oversimplifying these interpretive principles, their judicious application is often very helpful and may have led to the most important conclusion of the
156 present investigation: that the Klamath are characterized by a guarded and
[171] restrained approach to life and interpersonal relations. This guarded restraint is different from the Trukese blocking and from the dull apathy of the Alorese. The Klamath initial reaction times are not nearly as long as the Trukese, nor are their dark shading responses as primitive and poorly organized. On the contrary, their initial reaction times are only slightly longer than would be expected from a U.S. White group and their dark shading responses are almost as well organized. The guarded restraint of the Klamath seemed to be neither the result of marked blocking nor apathy. A more detailed discussion of this hypothesis will be appropriate, however, after the case studies have been presented.

157 the characteristics of the blot been organized intellectually and to what extent
125 is he unable to accomplish this analysis? If he cannot accomplish this, there is a disorder of thinking present. Also, his response to Card II: the whole looks like an island, and the red looks like fire, therefore it looks like "fire on an island." At best it is a fabulized combination; at worst it is a contamination. Only a blatant schizophrenic would have gone to the pathological extreme and said "Fire Island." In addition there are no movement responses, there are only three popular responses and the F plus percent is only 56. Where are the control factors? The sum of color responses is 6; the sum of dark shading responses is 5; and there are not the indications of sufficient controls for this amount of emotional energy.

157 On the other hand, there are a few responses which suggest that his intellectual
153 ability has been greater than average. His knowledge of the word "obsidian," for example, bespeaks this ability,[1] as does the nature, although perhaps not the feasibility, of his "plans." This is not inconsistent with the statements made previously, but it does suggest a situation marked by increasingly greater interference with intellectual functioning.

157 The absence of any human responses in his Rorschach suggests his lack of concern
* 159 with genuine interpersonal relationships; all his talk of future plans and business suggests that he is interested in using people for his own gain rather than in having meaningful and warm interpersonal relationships. His reaction times are quick, supporting the notion that he is likely to act in an impulsive manner. Two of his FM (R2, R7) are "flying," reflecting perhaps his tendency to try to escape from the present situation in an unrealistic manner. His other FM response (R1) may be an indication of his view of human relations: aggressive, cold-blooded, eat or be eaten.

In summary, then, the test reflects an elderly man, whose intellectual and emo-
[156] tional control appear inadequate. One wonders about the possibility of this man having been a chronic alcoholic and now suffering the effects of diffuse organic brain damage. He "talks big" but he probably doesn't "deliver the goods." There are indications that at one time in his life he may have had better than average intellectual ability and now is going downhill.

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[114] [1] This is, perhaps, the one place in these ten cases where a lack of knowledge concerning Klamath culture led the analyst astray. The Klamath are astride the western volcanic belt and one of the most frequent kinds of materials used in
[823] their tool manufacture was obsidian. Hence Sparrow's use of the word reflects his interest in and awareness of an important local raw material.

On the face of these parallel descriptions it would seem that the Klamath are 121
similar, as regards guarded restraint, to a variety of differently situated, 156
differentially acculturated North American Indian populations, populations with 157
diverse cultural heritages. These similarities are, of course, susceptible to
different explanations. It would be a simple matter, for example, to explain 171
away the similarities as false, that is, as being a function of unreliable techniques of assessment and highly ambiguous descriptive constructs or constructs 177
lacking in validity. Aside from being no explanation at all, this approach would [114]
involve discarding most of the available cross-cultural psychological data as
well as existing assessments of the personality dynamics of North American Indians.
Although this is the course advocated by many methodological puritans in the area
of culture and personality research we choose to accept the similarities as valid.

A second way of explaining these similarities might invoke the assumption of an underlying "North American Indian" character structure or basic personality analogous to Devereux's delineation of a core personality type for the Plains (Devereux 1951). Accepting this assumption the persistence of core traits must then somehow be accounted for. In the instance of the Plains, Devereux presents one possibility, namely that acculturation has resulted in a "stripped-down" and impoverished personality type (Devereux 1951: 25). Somewhat differently, Hallowell and his followers have argued that basic personality somehow manages to weather the vicissitudes of history and acculturation (Hallowell 1955: 309;
Spindler 1955: 151). The common feature of both of these explanations is the [114]
assumption of an underlying, basic set of psychological characteristics linked to aboriginal prototypes and common to the population occupying a given culture area.

In the instance of the Klamath there is very little evidence to suggest, un- 121
equivocally, that guarded restraint was a dominant component of aboriginal char- 156
acter structure. The information is scanty and points to the definite presence 157
of great reserve and considerable suspicion, but only as one mode of interper-
sonal relations among others. Moreover, the Klamath reservation situation does 177
not allow a comparison of differentially acculturated groups after the model
used by Hallowell for the Ojibwa, and the effort to apply Spindler's technique [657]
of an internal comparison raised more problems than it resolved in this setting. [171]
Finally, the evidence from the Klamath psychological data indicates that, if
anything, older members of the tribe are less reserved and suspicious. In short,
we cannot assert from available evidence that guarded restraint was basic or
dominant in aboriginal Klamath character structure. We suggest that at minimum
this characteristic was present, but that it did not receive the emphasis it
now gets.

Aside from this difficulty, there are a great many conceptual problems associated 121
with the postulation of an underlying, basic trait of guarded restraint for the 156
North American Indians generally. We feel that it is stretching the point to
attempt to account for present similarities among unrelated cultures of such 157
different cultural heritages with a construct so broad. Due to the absence of 171
firm measures of aboriginal character structure this approach to explanation also
involves substantial methodological problems which are not easily resolved.

Instead of explaining contemporary similarities in either of these ways it is 121
possible to view modern Indian populations in the light of common acculturative 156
experiences and their status as dependent wards, as enclaved minority groups,
and as persons who have been promised much but who have attained little. Spindler 157
has suggested that when acculturation conditions permit both a ready identification 171
177

133 considerable size.* Hot springs of sulphuric taste flow westward east of Linkville, one of them showing a temperature of 190° Fahr.

The Klamath Reservation is studded with a large number of isolated and short volcanic hill ridges, with a general direction from northwest to southeast. South of Klamath Marsh there are elevations culminating at 5,650 and 6,000 feet, and in Fuego Mountain 7,020 feet are attained. Yámsi Peak, between Klamath Marsh and Sykan Marsh (5,170 feet) reaches an altitude of not less than 8,242 feet, thus rivaling many peaks of the
[657] Cascade Range. The Black Hills, south of Sykan (Saikéni) Marsh, rise to
133 6,410 feet, but are surpassed by several elevations south of Sprague River,
103 near the middle course of which the Yáneks Agency (4,450 feet) is situated. Sprague River (P'laikni k̲ók̲e), the most considerable tributary of Williamson River, drains a valley rich in productive bottoms and in timber.

The basaltic ridge, which forms a spur of the Cascade Range and passes east of Fort Klamath (I-ukák), slopes down very abruptly toward the Quaternary lake basin, now forming a low marshy prairie and watered by Wood River (E-uk̲alkshíni k̲ók̲e), which enters upper Klamath Lake near Kohásbti and by Seven Mile Creek, nearer the Cascade Range. This basaltic spur, called Yánalti by the Indians, represents the eastern side of a huge fault-fissure. Its altitude constantly decreases until it is crossed by a rivulet one-eighth of a mile long, called Beetle's Rest (Tgúlutcham Kshutē'lsh), which issues from a pond, drives a mill, and then joins Crooked River (Yánalti k̲ók̲e, or Tutashtalíksini k̲ók̲e). This beautiful spring and stream were selected by the Government as the site for the Klamath Agency buildings. The old agency at Koháshti (Guhuáshkshi or "Starting-place") on the lake, three miles south, was abandoned, and a subagency established at Yáneks. The agency buildings are hidden in a grove of lofty pine trees. South of these the ridge rises again and culminates in an elevation, called Pítsua (4,680 feet). The junction of Sprague and Williamson Rivers is marked by a rock called Ktái-Tupákshi, and described in Dictionary, page 149, as of mythic fame. South of Sprague River the ledge rises again, and, approaching close to the lake shore, forms Modoc Point, a bold head-

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[114] * I have not been able to visit *personally* other parts of the Klamath highlands than the eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake, from Fort Klamath to Linkville.

177 cemetery was inaugurated between the Williamson River and Modoc Point,
764 one mile and a half south of the bridge.

175 President U. S. Grant's peace policy in regard to the Indians was
648 inaugurated by act of Congress dated April 10, 1869. The supervision of
657 the Indian agencies was placed in the hands of the authorities of religious
[797] denominations, a board of commissioners appointed,* and the spiritual interests of that reservation turned over to the Methodist Church.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCHES ON THESE INDIANS.

● 114 The study of the ethnography of a tribe usually precedes that of its language; sometimes both are pursued simultaneously, and this is undoubtedly the correct method. In the case of the Mák̲laks, Horatio Hale,† the linguist of Ch. Wilkes's United States Exploring Expedition (1838–1842), and still holding forth as a pioneer in his lines of research, took down a vocabulary from a Klamath Lake Indian whom he met on the Columbia River in 1841. No ethnographic remarks upon the tribe accompany this vocabulary, probably because information obtained from interpreters, who speak the Chinook jargon only, is notoriously unreliable.

Next in time follow the extensive explorations of John Charles Frémont‡ of the interior basin west of the Rocky Mountains and of the Pacific coast from 1843 to 1844, and again from 1845 to 1846, during which the Klamath Lakes and Klamath Marsh were visited and explored. His reports contain graphic sketches of all that was seen and observed by his parties; but scientific accuracy is often wanting, and many countries are described without giving the Indian local names, which are indispensable to identification.

The acquisition of the Pacific coast by the United States (California in 1846, Oregon in 1848) naturally suggested projects of connecting the two oceans by a transcontinental railroad, starting from the Mississippi River and reaching to the Bay of San Francisco. The Central Government sent out in different directions army officers and engineers to survey the proposed routes, and to publish the results in a series of volumes.* For this purpose the Thirty-second Congress appropriated, by an act passed May 3, 1853, the sum of $150,000, which was by two later appropriations in 1854 increased to a total of $340,000. A branch of this railroad was to run up the Sacramento Valley to the Columbia River. In this portion the Klamath headwaters were principally concerned, and it is that which was surveyed by Lieut. Robert Stockton Williamson,† assisted by Lieut. Henry Larcom Abbot, both of the Corps of Topographical Engineers. Their joint report, together with the reports of specialists on zoölogy, botany, geology, etc., is contained in Vol. VI (1855).‡ These reports are valuable and on a level with the condition of science as it was in those days; but the use of the volumes is inconvenient when reference has to be made to the bulky maps, all of which are contained in other volumes than the reports themselves. Lieutenant Williamson, assisted by Lieutenant Crook, when on the border of Klamath Marsh (August 22, 1855), obtained one hundred and two terms of the Klamath Lake dialect, which are published in Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 71, 72. This vocabulary is brimful of mistakes, not through any want of attention of these officers, but because they questioned their interpreter through the imperfect mediums of gestures and the Chinook jargon.

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* Cf. Revised Statutes of the United States, second edition, 1878, p. 359.

† Born in Newport, New Hampshire, in 1817.

‡ Born at Savannah, Georgia, January 21, 1813; candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1856; died in New York City, July 13, 1890.

The vocabulary taken in 1864 by Dr. William M. Gabb at Koháshti shows the same defects, and was obtained through the "jargon" also; other collections were made by Dr. Washington Matthews, W. C. Clark, and Lewis F. Hadley. The words of Modoc as quoted in the publications of A. B. Meacham are misspelt almost without exception. From Stephen Powers we possess a short Modoc vocabulary, as yet unpublished.

Whosoever inspects these word collections will see at once that the study of the Klamath language had never gone beyond the vocabulary

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* Reports of explorations and surveys to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, made in 1853 and years following. Washington, 1855–1860. Quarto; illustr. with plates and maps. Thirteen volumes.

† Williamson was born 1824 in New York, and died 1882 in San Francisco. Abbot, a native of Beverly, Massachusetts, was born in 1831.

‡ The first part of Vol. VI contains Abbot's report, and is chiefly topographical.

11✓ stage before the publication of the present volume. Even the author experienced considerable difficulties before he could pass beyond that limit.
[191] When he reached the reservation agency he found not over three or four individuals who were able to speak a tolerable English, and the knowledge of this tongue is absolutely necessary to any one who aspires to the position of an interpreter of his own language in those parts. The Indians were nearly all pure bloods, and most of them knew scarcely more than a dozen English terms. Many could converse in Chinook jargon, but the majority, especially the females, were not acquainted even with this precarious means of intercourse. Indeed, these people must be slow in acquiring an Aryan language like English, for it presents so many character-
[193] istics entirely opposite to those of Klamath. English is not provided with reduplication, prefixes of form, nor with the multiple suffixes of Klamath; it differs from it also by its more complex syntactic structure, its imperfect nominal inflection, by its distinctive form for the nominal plural, the gradation of the adjective and adverb effected by suffixation, its personal inflection of the verb, and a long array of irregular and auxiliary verbs.

12✓ Thus it will be easily perceived that the obtaining of correct and reliable ethnographic and linguistic information in such a tribe is fraught with many difficulties. Sometimes it is practicable to get the terms for visible objects by making gesture signs or by pointing at the objects, but it just as often misleads; and if the investigator has to do with people who know no other language than their own, he must revise his notes with many of them before he can place any trust in what he has written down from dictation.
[191] The Indians and mixed bloods who have made some progress in the acquisition of English pronounce *f* as *p*, *v* as *b*, *r* as *l*—are modeling English after their own language, using *he* for our *he, she, it, they, him, her, them;* all this being hû'k, hû't, hû'nk for them. They do not know how to use our conjunctions, a defect which makes all the tales, myths, and other textual information unintelligible. The only means of obtaining results is to pick out the best people from the crowd and to train them for awhile for the purpose wanted, until they are brought so far as to feel or understand the scope of the investigator. Women will be found more useful than men to inform him about myths, animal stories, the gathering of vegetable food, house-

124 hold affairs, and terms referring to colors; men more appropriate than women in instructing him about their hunts, fishing, travels, their legal customs, wars and raids, house-building, and similar work. Omit asking them about the deceased, for it makes them angry and sullen. They do not as a rule willfully lead the investigator into error when they see that he is in earnest. Errors often originate in preconceived notions or theories and inappropriate questions of the investigator, sometimes also in the want of abstract terms in the interpreter's language. To insure correctness in an Indian myth, animal story, or any relation whatever, it should first be taken down in Indian, and of this a verbatim translation secured.

114 Ethnographic sketches of both tribes, but chiefly of the Modocs, were published in the newspapers of the Pacific coast at the time of Ben Wright's massacre, but they were not accessible to me; more circumstantial were those written at the time of the Modoc war (1872-'73), and specimens of these may be seen in A. B. Meacham's publications, in the "Overland Monthly" of San Francisco, and in Stephen Powers's "The Modok," in Contributions III, pp. 252-262.

126 Ethnographic objects manufactured by and in actual use among both tribes were purchased at different periods by collectors. The National Museum in Washington owns several of them; but the most complete collection is probably the one made in 1882 by the Swiss naturalist, Alphons Forrer, a native of St. Gall, which was partly sold to the Ethnographic Museum of St. Gall, partly (eighty-five articles) to that of Berne, the capital of Switzerland. Forrer lived several months among the Klamaths, and thus was enabled to secure the best specimens. There are two hānäsish or "magic arrows," an implement which has probably become very scarce now. The majority of these objects are manufactured from wood, fur-
134 skin, and basket material. There is no suitable clay found in the Klamath
323 River Highlands, hence these Indians never made any pottery.

114 The report of Lieutenants Williamson and Abbot contains a large array of astronomic positions and of meteorologic observations made during the expedition, which will prove useful to later observers. The zoölogic, botanic, and geologic reports made by different scientists were considered of high value at the time they were first published. It will be remembered

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath 'NR10

114 that these explorations were the starting-point of all further researches upon the Pacific coast, and as such they are creditable to the men with whom and the epoch at which they originated.

The topographic map of the Klamath headwaters is now being prepared by the U. S. Geological Survey. It is laid out upon a scale of 1 to 250,000, with contour intervals of 200 feet, the rivers and water sheets in blue. The sheets are named as follows: Ashland, Klamath,* Shasta, Modoc Lava Bed, Alturas—the last three belonging to California. The surveys were made from 1883 to 1887 by Henry Gannett, chief geographer, A. H. Thompson, geographer in charge; triangulation by the George M. Wheeler survey, by Mark B. Kerr; and topography, by Eugene Ricksecker and partly by Mark B. Kerr.

THE MODOC WAR OF 1872-1873.

175 648 657 The well-known maxim, "it is cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them," has forced itself upon the governments of all American countries in such indelible characters that it has become a rule for them to conclude treaties with the different "nations" to keep them at peace, feed them by rations or annuities, and confine them within the limits of certain territories. The treaty of 1864 was not attended by all the favorable results expected. The Snake Indians ran off from the Reservation during April, 1866, the Modocs in 1865. The latter tribe were not compelled to leave their old domain, now ceded to the United States, till 1869. Moreover, it always takes several years to gather straying Indians upon a reservation after a treaty has become an accomplished fact. 000 The Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, Mr. Meacham, on December 30, 1869, after a long and excited "talk," succeeded in bringing two hundred and fifty-eight Modocs to Modoc Point, upon the reservation allotted to them. On April 26, 1870, the supply of rations was exhausted, and the more obstinate half of the tribe left the Reservation again for the old domain upon Lost River and the lakes, whereas the other half, under Skóntchish, went to Yáneks, on Sprague River, where the Superintendent located them. All Modocs

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* The name for the sheet east of Klamath has not yet been determined.

121 witchcraft only, religious feasts are orgies, divine revelation is human hallucination, and the moral element, when present in religion, is not urged upon the community. While in the religions of the white man the gods originally representing nature's powers gradually become teachers or examples of morality and mental improvement, those of the other races remain the stern and remorseless deities of the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth, whose good will has to be propitiated by sacrifice.

As zoodemonism is the most appropriate form of religion for man in the animistic stage, the majority of the mythic characters in American religions are animals, especially quadrupeds; and even the fully anthropomorphized deities sometimes assume, in Oregon and elsewhere, the masks of animals. The earlier Indians firmly believed that such animals as were the prototypes of their own species had human faculties, and talked and thought as men do; in whatever tribe there are totemic gentes or clans the members of these are supposed to have descended from that prototype of a bear, deer, alligator, eagle, or whatever animal a gens is called after. Certain qualities of man, physical and intellectual, found their closest analogies in those of animals, and the animal world is much nearer akin to man in the mind of the Indian than in the white man's mind. Scurrilous and grotesque acts ascribed to so many Indian deities were not intended for derision, as with us, but for faithful portrayings of the habits of typical animals; and zoodemonism—not exactly zoolatry, as in Egypt—is the form of religion existing among the *wild* Indians of America.

The large amount of mythologic and transcendental material obtained among the Indians requires subdivision into several chapters. I present it under the following subdivisions: *a.* Elementary deities; *b.* Spirit deities; *c.* Animal deities.

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124 Of the mythologic data embodied in the present article the larger part were obtained by myself, but not all. The others were gathered by Messrs. Stephen Powers and Jeremiah Curtin, mainly by the latter, who obtained over one hundred Modoc myths in 1883 and 1884, now forming part of the unpublished collection of the Bureau of Ethnology.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

FOREWORD

The Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, 114
University of California, Berkeley, was fortunate to have Mr. M. A. R. 12
Barker as one of its field workers during the summers of 1955, 1956, and 1957. He had come to us from the University of Washington where he had had good training under Professors Melville Jacobs and Fang-Kuei Li and, after a year's further training at the University of California, he chose Klamath as his field language. Having located some good informants living in Chiloquin, Oregon, he was able to make an intensive study of the language and to obtain full materials for a grammar, a set of texts, and a dictionary.

Since 1957 Barker has been connected with the Institute of Islamic 114
Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, where he teaches Urdu, Arabic, and general linguistics. In the midst of these many other duties, 128
Barker has found time to write up and send to the Survey a series of Monographs on the Klamath language. The present work, Klamath Texts, was sent to us first, but after the morphemic analysis was complete and the dictionary had been prepared, he sent us a list of corrections which he wished to have inserted in the typescript of the Texts. Working under our direction, Mr. Haruo Aoki, advanced graduate student and research assistant in linguistics, has carefully incorporated the necessary corrections. A few other minor changes have been introduced by the Survey's unofficial editor. For the most part these were dictated by the necessity of presenting the Klamath materials in more than one volume—the typescript of the Dictionary alone is nearly a thousand pages long! The changes are as follows: (1) What was originally an appendix to the Dictionary, namely Klamath Place Names with Map, has been removed from that position and included as an appendix to the present, shorter volume, the Texts. (2) The first paragraph of the Introduction to the Texts has been rewritten to include the names of the Klamath informants for the texts, since these do not otherwise appear except in the Introduction to the Grammar. (3) Bibliographic references are given in full wherever needed, since the Bibliography does not appear in the present volume but is included with the Grammar.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

INTRODUCTION

114 The texts presented here were collected during the summers of 1955,
1956, and 1957 which were spent among the Klamath Indians at Chiloquin,
122 Oregon. The field work was carried out under the auspices of the Survey
of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of
115 California, Berkeley. The narrators of the myth texts were Mr. Robert
David, Mrs. Pansy Ohles, and Mr. Grover Pompey; the ethnographic
materials were obtained from the first two of these and from Mrs. Aggie
Butler, Mrs. Grover Pompey, and Miss Irene Skellock.

126 Most of these texts were recorded directly on tape, but some were taken down first in dictated form and were taped later. Of the myths, only Texts 1 and 7 were not recorded on tape. Of the ethnographic materials, Texts 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, and 35 were dictated only.

[124] No really exhaustive attempt was made to obtain a complete collection of Klamath myth texts. Instead, the author aimed at a representative collection of materials, including myths told by several informants, autobiographical experiences, ethnographic texts, historical incidents, conversation, and also the responses to a series of elicitation pictures (Text 39). It was felt that these texts would provide, on the one hand, good illustrative material for further linguistic studies in Klamath, and, on the other hand, a representative sampling of myths and ethnographic material of interest to the folklorist and ethnologist.

114 The collections of Klamath myths so far published are limited to A. S. Gatschet's "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. II, pts. 1 and 2, Washington, 1890) and some brief song and medicine texts in Leslie Spier's "Klamath Ethnography" (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, 1930). More recently, Dr. Theodore Stern of the University of Oregon has collected a large number of Klamath myths. The author understands that Dr. Spier also possesses a collection of myths. It is urgently hoped that both of these will be published in the near future.

128 The present collection is divided into two major parts: Myths, and
773 Ethnographic Texts. The former contains tales about the inhabitants of

#539 stilta ʔat honk ʔaysisas bla·ywa·sam sńoLas gaẃlok. (300) čoy honk naʔas gi. "čoy da·ts hok bla···y gi. (301) čoy no· gesga hadakt kčimnis, gmočatk giwk. (302) dam ʔi kčimničat?" (303) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·." (304) čoy da·ts naʔas gi, newĺaqs gyank, "na·nok če· ʔi solwapank hadakt kčimnit." (305) čoy honk homas honk ʔaysis kčimni hon. (306) čoy honk ʔat geča···, hok čnaw. (307) ʔa·di··· (—čoy maqlaqsam ʔakẏa "Jack in the Beanstalk"? ʔaMḱa.) (308) čoy do··· honk ʔat bla···y, čoy q̓e·gi weq—kčitgyo·ts, gotgyo·ts. (309) čoy honk ʔat do··· blay, ʔat honk gaẃal sqoĺelam sńoLas. (310) čoy honk či·ĺiĺiks ʔa honk wbetga, sqoĺelam či·ĺiĺiks. (311) ʔat hok ḱada·di hok geča, do· galo· bańi·. (312) čoy honk ʔat hadakt mo··· sʔoysʔa ʔaysis.

(313) hok dak gmoḱamč gemblyank, honkt honk sĺoḱwaʔa·k sńewe·ts sq̓ollgo·ta. (čoy ni q̓ay dič ho·skanga hadakt. hadaktkni· ni q̓ay dič ho·skanga, waq gist. čoy mi sʔasʔapgle·ʔas kant ʔi sʔaywakta—čoy ni hi·tkni· ʔat genwapk, do·st ʔi q̓ay sʔaywakta, do·s q̓ay sʔaba.[a])

(314) čoy honk ʔat weqweq sapĺa·laltk hohankanga. (315) dwa· hak sa honk waq giwk hadakt hohankanga? (316) čoy honk če···t hak sopasgank laq mna woĺo·tgi. (317) čoy honk hok sa naʔas gi, "ẏa···, čelčelatk bas ẏa laq! (318) datkni· ʔa ge·?" (319) čoy sa honk do··· ʔat gamniča, hok weqweq sapĺa·laltk. (320) čoy sa honk ʔat gaẃal ʔaysisas hadakt. (321) qaq̓o· bil. (322) sʔoysʔapks. (323) čoy honk gleḱapga hok, dye·mistga, q̓elẏak ʔambo. (324) čoy sa honk ʔat ksotgibli (—dwantga hak sa honks ksotgibli, q̓ay ni sʔaywakta. ʔi da·ts sʔaywakta. ʔaMḱa midant sʔasʔapgle·ʔasdat, ne· gi.) (325) čoy čik sa honk ʔat ksembli, mna·ĺamksi, datksi bas hok gi. (ʔaMḱa gentdat ge·latdat, q̓ay ni sʔaywakta.) (326) čoy da·ts hok ma·ns q̓e·gi, ʔaysis.

(327) čoy hok do·pga, čosak sneyĺaqsksaksi, hadakt sa honk do·pgank ʔibe·ĺa, hok sa. (328) čoy honk ʔat be·n honkĺam hadakt domi· we·ẃańs gi—weqweq sapĺa·laltk, ĺahĺa·hʔas, q̓iMa·č. (329) čoy kakni hak—danni hak sa—tońipńi, wage·nha tewńipńi we·ẃańs hadakt gi. (330) dam bas hok sasapĺa·laltk, q̓ay ni sʔaywakta.

(331) čoy honk hadakt hok—sgo·?—če·lis hok ʔat gatbnank sa·ča, na·nok waytas. (332) čoy hok boqboq̓atga na·nok sneyĺaqsti·, ge·la bil. (333) čoy honk naʔas gi, "waq dal ʔa·t gi? (334) waq hay hok sa ʔans sa·čatga? (335) kani hay? (336) če·lis lis—če·lis ʔans sa·ča."

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[a] The author had not completed his reading of Gatschet's myths to Mrs. Chiles at this time, and she supplied the incident of the Butterfly sisters from her own memory, although it is also found in Gatschet's version in almost identical form. Gatschet's myth does not contain the incident of ʔaysis and the Porcupines, however, nor any mention of ʔaysis's new wives.

Introductory Note to Text 5

#539 114 124 This text, like Text 4 above, seems to be only a fragment of a much longer myth cycle. Gatschet's published collection[35] does not contain a story about Swa·ya, but Curtin's "Myths of the Modocs"[36] includes one myth about this character. It seems worthwhile to record Mrs. Ohles' version here in hopes that future work among the Klamaths will fill in the gaps.

[128] The text has been edited somewhat to delete false starts, hesitation forms, and irrelevant material. In one or two places forgotten material was added later at the time of translation.

5. The Story of Swa·ya

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

#539

(1) dińa· hok swa·yaʔa·ḱlam ṕḱisap čoy ṕtisap datksi či·ya. (2) čoy honk koẃe hadakt sas wet́datga. (3) hiswaqḱa hok hadakt dič ǰle·ḱatk, dič sle·ḱa gitk. (4) čoy honk na·nok waytas honks snempatbli, hok koẃe. (5) čoy honk anaqtanč́a boḿas snempatčńank ǵoq́a·kḱatdat.[37] (6) snempatblidamnank čoy be·n spimnibli, be·n snempatčńa. (7) čoy honk kani hak naʔas, ṕḱisa honk, "dam dal ʔi hon boḿas gist we·ẃla?" (She said, "Do you trust her to do that?" And [his mother] said, "Yes, she's good. She'll keep my baby from crying, and she puts it to sleep that way.") (8) čoy honk ʔat na·nok waytas honk ʔa·di· nalk snempatčńa. (9) čoy honk be·n spimnibli. (10) čoy honk ʔat ṕalla, snempatčńank honk. (11) čoy honk dola mbaĺwank gena.

(12) čoy honk ʔat do· gatbambli, do· hak honk či·ya—dam ýayńatdat, wage·nha ʔewsdat, wage·nha dat hak honk či·ya. (13) čoy honk aʔa·Maks honk geli·danga honk, q́oyse·ẃok honk, do·st hok či·ya. (14) čoy honk

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[35] Gatschet, Albert S., op. cit. See p. 22 above.

[36] Curtin, Jeremiah, Myths of the Modocs, Boston, 1912.

[124] [37] Mrs. Ohles later elaborated upon the action described here. Frog takes baby Swa·ya and places him upon a leaf (or some such thing—Mrs. Ohles was not certain just what) and lets him float down the river, then pulls him back in again by a cord. This soothes Swa·ya and puts him to sleep. She gradually extends the cord until he is completely out of sight. Then she jumps in and swims off with him.

L

PART TWO: ETHNOGRAPHIC TEXTS

Introductory Note to Text 22

"Wokas" is the generic term for the seed of the common pond lily (Nymphaea polysepala). In the old days much of the Klamath Marsh (estimated by some early writers at about 10,000 acres) was covered with these plants, and there were long, shallow bays filled with them on both sides of Klamath Lake. Much of Klamath economic life was concerned with the gathering, preparation, and cooking of this plant. 824 [133] [433]

It is not proposed here to give a complete description of the various processes involved in "wokas"-manufacture. Good explanations of this economic complex will be found in Coville,[69] Gatschet,[70] and Spier.[71] The following text (and the two shorter ones by Mrs. Pompey which come after it) are intended only to illustrate Klamath narrative style and to indicate those features of "wokas"-making which were salient in the view of the informants. 252 [114] [128]

22. Wokas Preparation

(Mrs. Aggie Butler)

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222
501

(1) Long ago the Indians used to gather wokas, with a canoe. (2) And standing up on it they gathered wokas. (3) They bent down to pull them off, that wokas. (4) And they pulled off only the good ones, and some were unripe. (5) And having punctured it [with a fingernail] they saw [whether it was ripe or not]. (6) And they picked the yellow ones. (7) On becoming ripe it looks good, big. (8) And having picked those only, they threw them on the canoe and went. (9) And some were termed "snońtapĺaqs." (10) And one was called "sbokẃas." (11) It was ripe. (12) And they put them down [in the canoe] apart.

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[69] Coville, Frederick V., "Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians," Report of the United States National Museum for 1902, pp. 727-739, Washington, 1904. [113]

[70] Gatschet, op. cit.

[71] Spier, Leslie, "Klamath Ethnography." University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, Berkeley, 1930. [113]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 129]

APPENDIX

KLAMATH PLACE NAMES WITH MAP

128

The accompanying map of place names has been largely adapted from 127
Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography" (University of California Publica- 103
tions in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, 1930. The present 114
writer has checked and retranscribed most of Spier's forms: only seven [124]
of Spier's place names could not be obtained from the author's informants. No attempt was made to recheck Spier's supporting geographical and ethnographic data, however.

Ninety-two new place names have also been added to the map. Many of these are not settlements (as Spier specifies for his list), but are places used for food gathering, places named for some outstanding natural feature, places named after some mythological person or event, etc. The author has appended what descriptive material he could obtain to each new place name in the list.

Forty-five additional place names are not shown on the map but are 128
included in the Dictionary. These are either uncertain as to location or 103
are places not found within the limits of the map.

The map has been renumbered to accomodate the new place names, [127]
but Spier's original numbers are given after each entry for purposes of
comparison. It must be noted that geographical locations on the map are [124]
only approximate and in some cases quite hypothetical (e.g., where the informant could only recall that a given place was "about two or three miles over that way").

Forms are given in phonemics only and are translated wherever possible. The morphophonemic forms of these names are listed under "place names" in the English-Klamath section of the Dictionary, along with some indication of their morphemic content.

INTRODUCTION

The present study is based on information gathered among the Klamath for the University of California during two visits, each for a month, in 1925 and 1926. Klamath material culture was partly known from Barrett's description of his collection made twenty years ago. The immediate need appeared to be a study of their religion and social organization. Gatschet's account of The Klamath Indians published in 1890 contains many data on shamans' songs and allied topics, but it does not provide any systematic notion of their meaning. 114

The Klamath still live in their old home in southern Oregon, but their ancient culture exists only in their memories, save as the older people keep up domestic pursuits. Yet even middle-aged people have a very good knowledge of it. My elderly informants had all participated in the old life in their youth. These were Nancy Phillips, Pat Kane, and Coley Ball, all three about seventy, and Thomas Lang, about fifty-five. With the exception of Mrs. Phillips they gave information in English: in her case (the most valuable material) Mr. Lang and his son Delford acted as interpreters. 131 178 115

The social life of the Klamath is so much a thing of the past that only its formal aspects can now be recovered. An intimate picture is impossible. But to avoid a stilted expression I have written the account in the historical present. The description of material culture and economic life is not complete. It is still partly extant among the Klamath and well worth investigating. 128

In a final section I have attempted to place the Klamath in a setting of western cultures as a whole. This has been difficult because of the lack of comparative data from much of the northwest; further, only a fraction of the published accounts is available to me at this writing (in Norman, Oklahoma).

The phonetic scheme is the simpler system of the Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages (Smithsonian Misc. Coll., 66, no. 6, 1916), modified as:

ä as in *Allen*, pronounced more like *Ellen*.
ŋ as in *sing*.
ᴇ indefinite, obscure vowel; very short duration.
ḳ very *far* back.
ᴋ cerebral; tongue tip probably turned back as Gatschet states (the sequence kr also occurs).
ɢ cerebral; may be the same sound.

101 occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of
619 any sharp geographic division, rivers or ranges, such as we should
expect to figure in political separatism. There are only three or four
miles of open, unoccupied country between the middle Williamson
river group and that at the river mouth, for instance, or between the
latter and the northernmost outposts of the Klamath falls people about
Modoc point. The cases of doubtful divisions really stress this point.
Kowa'edi on the lake shore may belong with the middle Williamson
division; though only three miles away over a low range of hills, it is
somewhat isolated. Similarly the Sprague river settlements toward
Yainax, usually included in the same group, are in quite a different
district.

721 The third feature pointing to their separatism is the frequent feuds
619 between them. It is quite clear that these involve the tribelets; they
[171] never occur between the settlements of a single division. The point
will be clearer if we contrast Yurok sentiments. There feuds are
between the towns or with only a group of kinsmen within a town,
and at most when several towns are involved in a joint cause, it
appears rather that kinsmen and their friends have been drawn in.[34]
[567] Further, feuds are carried on much as warfare with foreigners;
property is destroyed, women and children enslaved. Such slaves
can be retained indefinitely or sold again. We may wonder however
if they are not restored when a settlement is bought, or at most
retained only to even the score in lives.

The identity of these groups resolves itself solely into such aspects
of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the
group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for
[621] itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns
are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large part a body
of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In
short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly
extends to the Klamath as a whole.

115 Only one informant, Pat Kane, suggested dialectic and cultural
197 differentiation. The dialect groupings he gave are purely geographic.
He also assigned shamanistic tricks, medical practices, and games to
184 the several divisions, which all other informants emphatically denied.
I could observe no linguistic differences and Gatschet recorded none.

000 The subdivisions or tribelets are:

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[34] Kroeber, Handbook, 49.

The subdivisions or tribelets are:

I. ä'ukekni, the people of Klamath marsh and middle Williamson 101
river, the Klamath proper. Evidently the Sprague river people are 131
included here; there is some doubt, but I am even more doubtful 619
whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague river as
Yainax in pre-reservation times.

II. kowa'edikni, those of a village of that name on Agency lake. They may be ä'ukekni.

III. du'kwakni, on the delta of Williamson river. These are more closely affiliated with the Pelican bay people than with ä'ukekni.

IV. gu'mbötkni, those of Pelican bay and the marsh to the north.

V. iu''laloŋkni, the people of Klamath falls (Link river) and the eastern shore of Klamath lake.

The names are those of the districts they occupy with the suffix -kni, those of, people of: ä'ukei, Klamath marsh; du'kwa, the district about the mouth of Williamson river; gu'mböt, Pelican bay, possibly taking its name from Rocky point; iu''laloŋᴇ, on the end, the village at the outlet of the lake into Link river.

It is now difficult to get a true estimate of the size of these groups. 361
The ä'ukekni count twenty-nine or more settlements, half of the total; 162
of the others iu''laloŋkni have thirteen, gu'mbötkni seven or more,
du'kwakni five, and kowa'edikni, one. The towns vary considerably
in size, yet this mere count agrees closely with the populational pro-
portions as my several informants phrased them. The ä'ukekni are
by far the largest group, perhaps as large as all the others together.
Nancy Phillips recalls the large number of children who played [115]
together at gu'mböt, Pelican bay. At this place the settlements do
form a large compact group. Next in order she places the du'kwa
group, then those clustering about iu''laloŋᴇ at Klamath falls, and
goyᴇmake'ᴇgls on Williamson river. The settlements on Williamson
river are small and scattered, but she places their joint population
above the gu'mbötkni. The iu''laloŋkni were comparatively few
despite their large territory. Of the ä'ukekni more lived at Klamath
marsh even in winter than on Williamson river. The huge size of a
single site, du''lkŭt, bears this out.

Consonant with their unequal size is it that the principal chief, at 619
least in early reservation days, was the principal chief of the ä'ukekni; 622
all others were distinctly subordinate in prestige. According to one
informant, himself a du'kwa man, the ä'ukekni are the highest people. [829]
Kᴇmū'kümps, the culture hero, made them first, best, and strongest;
later he made the others.

After the dance, scalps and trophies are usually preserved by those 727
who called the dance, relatives of the avenged man. They are dried 535
and stored far from their homes to be brought out and danced over at
each new scalp dance. Sometimes bits of the scalp are sewn in rows [177]
down each breast of a woman's dress, a Plains custom impossible, of
course, before the introduction of these Plains-like garments. Both [291]
practices are un-Californian.

There is a question whether the notched rattle (ulo'ks) is played in 727
the war and scalp dances. Neither drums, which the Klamath formerly
lacked, nor rattles are used. Only one man, Ma'gai', whose day was 535
well before the middle of the last century, knew the notched rattle. 534
He knew all about war. He had overheard the Upland Takelma
singing to it, according to one informant, and always used their songs
when the Klamath made war on them. No resonator is used; the
notched stick is rested directly on the ground and rasped with
another stick.[84]

CHIEFTAINSHIP

Chiefs are of but minor significance in Klamath life. In contrast 622
my informants invariably stressed the importance of the shamans. As 756
an instance the largest house pits pointed out were always those of
shamans. This relative unimportance of the chiefs was true at least
until just before reservation days. At that time contact with the 622
Columbia river tribes, whose concepts of chieftainship were sharp and
deeprooted, coupled with the developing trade which began to make
considerable differences in wealth among the Klamath, operated to
enhance the position of the chiefs, the rich men. It is significant that
Lele'ks, their most prominent chief, had spent several years of continuous
residence at the Dalles. All this was sharply accentuated on
the establishment of the reservation by the government's recognition
of lay leaders while frowning on the shamans. It must be distinctly [114]
understood that the picture Gatschet draws of chiefly powers is non-
aboriginal.[85] In fact, his principal informant, David Hill, was one of [115]
the newly raised chiefs who, we must believe, was not inclined to
underrate his new importance. Both my best informants, Nancy

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[84] The familiar association of this rasping sound with the voice of the frog and its use in a social dance (the Bear dance of the Basin Shoshoneans) are both unknown to the Klamath.

[85] Gatschet, 1:58–62.

PREFACE

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114 121 The following comparative ethnographic study of fifteen northeastern California groups and one group in southern Oregon is based on approximately three and one-half months' field work (July-October, 1936), undertaken while serving as Research Assistant in the Department of Anthropology at the University of California. During the six months' period which the appointment covered I incurred numerous obligations for assistance.

000 To Dr. A. L. Kroeber, director of the culture-element survey, I am indebted for much sound advice, never-failing coöperation, and many courtesies extended throughout the term of appointment. To Professor E. W. Gifford, Dr. Robert H. Lowie, and Dr. Harold E. Driver I am likewise under obligations for their coöperation and numerous courtesies.

I also wish to thank those authors who have written the detailed and pioneer monographs on many of the groups covered in this study; these include Drs. Leslie Spier, A. L. Kroeber, Ralph L. Beals, Isabel T. Kelly, Cora Du Bois, Edwin M. Loeb, and Mr. E. W. Gifford. Many of these authorities, and also the late Professor Edward Sapir, of Yale, supplied the names of reliable informants for the groups I was to study, and otherwise oriented me concerning field conditions. To all these scholars I am greatly indebted, both for their personal coöperation and for their valuable publications on various tribes in or near the area surveyed. Since I worked with both the Shasta and the Maidu, it is almost needless to mention how often I leaned on the late Dr. Roland B. Dixon's ethnographic studies of these two tribes, and how delighted I was to obtain western Shasta data from Sargent Sambo whok some thirty years before, had been Dr. Dixon's chief informant.

114 The difficulties of living on an extremely mobile field trip were lightened by virtue of having with me three interested companions. My husband, Dr. C. F. Voegelin, and our daughter, Gail, spent July and August in the field. To Dr. Voegelin I am deeply grateful for frequent linguistic aid and for encouragement in the pursuit of a new ethnographic field technique. To Gail, and likewise to my father, Mr. Roscoe Wheeler, who proved an ever-cheerful companion during the latter half of the trip, I wish to express a happy appreciation of their comradeship and their responsiveness to informants and informants' families.

115 Many kindnesses were extended to me during field work. Mrs. John Perry and her late husband, of Greenville, offered the hospitality of their home and were helpful in suggesting suitable informants. Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Barton, of Horse Creek, temporarily released Sargent Sambo from their employ so that I might work with him. Mrs. Lucy Thomson, my informant for the Southern Nisenan, had my father and me as guests in her home during our stay at Stanfield Hill. Mrs. Winnie Shiffbauer, Modoc; Ben Bridge, Achomawi informant, and his wife; and Mrs. Amanda Wilson, Valley Maidu informant, were likewise generous in hospitality. The interest and cooperative spirit I met with among these and many others of my informants puts me under a debt which cannot easily be acknowledged, but which will always be a pleasure to recall.

122 Assistance in the preparation of field material for publication was furnished by the personnel of Works Projects Administration Official Project No. 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

000 is working for possible informants in the group to which one next intends to go. Comments regarding the reliability of possible informants, their capabilities, honesty, interests, and other attributes are often made in connection with the mention of their names, and when one does move on, one goes forearmed with what proves to be extremely valuable information.

INFORMANTS

115 **Klamath, of Klamath Marsh**.--Antone Marrett, Modoc Point (Williamson River Bridge, Klamath Reservation), Oregon (address 1936). Age ca. 70. Health good; blind. Born at Klamath Marsh, spent boyhood in Klamath Marsh region, has lived on Klamath Reservation all his life. F Klamath, spoke Klamath; m half-Modoc, quarter-Klamath, quarter-Pit River (Achomawi), spoke Klamath; f's f, f's m Klamath, spoke Klamath. Informant spoke Klamath, English (fair). Worked with 43 hours, July 17-22, Sept. 27, 1936. Good informant; gave much information, mostly voluntarily, on recent Klamath culture borrowings.

000 **Modoc, of Tule Lake**.--Dolly Lawver, Chiloquin, Oregon, and Mrs. Jennie Clinton, Williamson River Bridge (near Modoc Point), Oregon. Ages ca. 70 and 78, respectively. Health, Mrs. Lawver, fair, Mrs. Clinton, poor; eyesight good and very poor, respectively. Both informants born on W side of Tule Lake, lived there until 1864, when removed to Oklahoma, where both married Modoc men. Mrs. Lawver returned to Klamath Reservation in 1926, Mrs. Clinton in 1903. Mrs. Lawver's f and m Modoc, born at Tule Lake, spoke Modoc, no English. Mrs. Clinton's f half-Modoc, half-Shasta, born on W side of Tule Lake, in pawašken band, spoke Modoc; m Modoc, half-paskanwas, half-gumbatwas Modoc, born at Paska, N side of Tule Lake, spoke Modoc. F's f Shasta, spoke Shasta and Modoc; f's m Modoc, born W side of Tule Lake, spoke Modoc. M's f paskanwas Modoc, born at Paska, spoke Modoc; m's m Modoc and Pit River (Achomawi), spoke Modoc. Both Mrs. Lawver, Mrs. Clinton spoke Modoc, good English. Worked with Mrs. Lawver, 24 hours, July 21-25, 1936; Mrs. Clinton, 14 hours, July 22-25, Sept. 26, 1936. Mrs. Lawver willing, but poorly informed; Mrs. Clinton well informed.

Shasta, Eastern, of Shasta Valley.--Emma Snelling, Yreka, Calif. (address 1936). Age 67. Health good; blind in 1 eye, eyesight fairly good in other. Born near Big Bogus, Calif., lived at Pine Flat and around Yreka all her life. F Shasta, born in Shasta Valley near Bogus, Calif., spoke Shasta; m Shasta, ki·katsik band, born near Horse Creek, Calif., spoke Shasta. F's f, f's m Shasta, of Shasta Valley. Informant spoke Shasta and English. Worked with 25 hours, Sept. 22-25, 1936. Intelligent, coöperative in-

[48-A]

4: Pearsall E-5 (1947) 1950 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1875)

[p. 339-B]

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION[1]

by

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

128 culture, social and political organization are
not described here except in their effect on
124 education. Wherever particular items are mentioned,
we specifically asked our informants for
a description, even though they had been described
in previous ethnographies. Such accounts
may thus be taken as corroborating
earlier evidence unless otherwise specified in
the text.

131 The Klamath reside in their old territory
178 in southern Oregon, but the aboriginal way of
life has long since disappeared. Today they are
241 farmers and ranchers, but a considerable part of
the earlier culture remains alive in the memories
233 of a few oldsters. Our seven informants
(4 men and 3 women) were all in their late
178 seventies or eighties and had participated in
the last phases of the aboriginal culture as
115 children. It is regrettable that it was necessary
to reconstruct childhood training from the
reminiscences of elderly individuals. Doubtless
much of the material represents the ideal rather
than the actual pattern of education. The
ideals do, however, give a definite insight into
what was considered important in the upbringing
of children, whether these standards were always
maintained or not. Since there is little or
nothing in the early literature on this subject,
there is no way of comparing impressions received
from old people who are admittedly looking
back to "the good old days" with impressions
of objective eyewitnesses to the old ways as
they were really practiced.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Barrenness is sometimes considered
cause for divorce. Since the blame
842 seems to fall most commonly on the woman, her
husband's parents may suggest that he send her
586 away and get a wife who can provide him with
children. Ordinarily, though, the parents-in-law
606 are more lenient with a barren woman.
Most Klamath express a preference for boys. A
842 variety of reasons are offered, the most common
being that boys are less bother than girls.
"Girls are always getting into trouble, and you
just raise them for someone else because they go
off to their husbands when they get married."
Once the child is born, however, there seems to
be no special favoritism shown to boys. One

115 The following is a list of the most important contributors:

1. *The Riddle family*, consisting of Frank Tazewell Riddle, a native of Kentucky, born about 1836; his wife Toby, a pure-blood Modoc woman, who was, as stated in her biographic notice, born in 1842, and their son Jeff. C. Davis Riddle, born about 1862. Among several texts of linguistic importance I obtained from them a circumstantial chronistic account of the Modoc war of 1873, in which Mr. and Mrs. Riddle had served as interpreters of the Peace Commission. Having been introduced to them in December, 1875, in New York City, by Mr. A. B. Meacham, late Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, when they travelled with him in the eastern States in connection with the Meacham Lecturing Company, I took down the contents first in English from Mr. Frank Riddle, then added the translation from the other members of the family. Mr. Riddle had no intention of giving a full and authentic account of that desperate struggle, but merely wished to render his own impressions, and to relate in the plainest words the events witnessed by himself. Here we have the opportunity of hearing also the Modoc side of the contest.

The wording of the other Modoc texts was the almost exclusive work of the boy Riddle, who speaks the language perfectly well, and only in the more difficult portions was he assisted by his mother. From the Riddles I obtained also several hundred sentences, over sixty songs, and about two thousand three hundred vocables, which were twice revised with their assistance in New York City, and twice again with the efficient help of such natives at the Klamath Lake Agency as were conversant with the Modoc dialect.

2. *Dave Hill*, a dusky, pure-blood Indian, subchief of the Klamath Lake tribe and interpreter, born about 1840. Having been a prominent warrior of his tribe up to the treaty of 1864 and a scout in subsequent expeditions against hostile Indians, he has also seen much of the white man's ways by staying for years in Northwestern Oregon and by traveling East with Mr. A. B. Meacham on his lecturing tour in 1875. How he was then kidnapped in New York City, confined in a cellar, restored to liberty, and how he worked his way home, is related with full particulars in Meacham's *Winema*, pages 95–102. In the Modoc war (1872–73) he was put in command of the auxiliary forces of his chieftaincy, which were detailed to observe the

115 belligerent Modocs and to check any dangerous movements which they might have undertaken against the settlers or the Indian Reservation. Hill's father, Skaítitko, or the "Left-Handed", was for some time a guide to General Frémont on one of his expeditions through Oregon, Nevada, and California.

Readers of Hill's texts will notice that his diction is very concise, pregnant and to the point, and so is the speech of these Indians generally. But since that conversational language, or popular jargon, as we may not improperly call it, moves along in contractions, elisions, metatheses and ellipses, I have had to revise his texts many times with him and other Indians before I could make them practically available. In the myths, Dave Hill is not so pictorial and graphic as Minnie Froben, but in narrating his feats of war he readily furnished all the points that could be expected. Concerning the conjurers' practices and national beliefs, he was more communicative than the majority of the Klamath Indians, whom superstitious awe still deters from revealing all that the investigator desires to know. Hill's list of topographic names is a very important addition to aboriginal topography, since he has added the correct etymology to the majority of these local designations.

3. *Minnie Froben*, born about 1860, the daughter of a pure-blood Klamath woman, who lives on the Williamson River, and of a (deceased) French settler Froben or Frobine, was, at the time of my visit, the assistant of Mrs. Nickerson, the matron of the boarding-school for native children at the Agency. She and the subchief Hill were the most important contributors to my mythic and other ethnologic anthology, and the pieces dictated by her excel all the others in completeness and perspicuity. Moreover, I obtained from her a multitude of popular songs, the names and uses of esculent roots and plants, the Klamath degrees of relationship, a large number of words and sentences, a good deal of grammatic information, and revised, with her assistance, the whole of the Modoc contributions, as well as the majority of Klamath Lake texts.

If any further books should be composed in or about the Klamath Lake dialect, her assistance would perhaps be preferable to any other native help to be found at present in the tribe; for during her stay with white people

115 she has succeeded in acquiring more mental training than Indians usually acquire on reservations.

4. *Charles Preston*, a pure-blood Klamath Lake Indian, born about 1840, is now stationed as interpreter at the subagency of Yaíneks. Preston had previously sojourned five years at Oregon City on the Willámet River and vicinity, and there he learned to converse in English quite fluently, acquiring also the idiom of the Wasco Indians, of which he has furnished me over three hundred of the most usual terms. During a stay of three weeks which he made at the Klamath Lake Agency, I obtained from him valuable grammatic and lexical information, texts, popular songs, and proper names, and revised with him the Modoc dictionary.

5. *Sergeant Morgan*, a pure-blood Indian, living at Koháshti, born about 1830, and jocosely called "*Sergeant*" on account of his wearing an old sergeant's uniform which he had obtained from soldiers at Fort Klamath. From this good-natured, intelligent old Indian I obtained a few short texts and some ethnologic information especially relating to mythologic and shamanic subjects.

6. "*The Captain*" or "*Captain Jim*", a pure-blood Indian, living at the junction of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, about five miles from the Agency buildings. When I saw him he was about fifty years old, and as he spoke but Klamath and Chinook jargon, all the mythology which he remembered was obtained through Minnie Froben. He received his nickname "*Captain*" from having been a help on a steamboat plying on the Willámet River, Oregon.

7–11. Other informants of whose assistance I have availed myself are mentioned at the head of the texts. They were *Johnson*, the head chief of the Modocs at Yaíneks; the conjurer *Ká̤kash* or *Doctor John*; and several young Indians then scarcely over twenty-five years of age: *Pete*, *Frank*, and *Long John's Ben*. All of them are pure-blood Indians.

128 To facilitate the study of the Klamath language, and to increase the popular interest in the acquisition of Indian languages in general, I have inserted with the texts an interlinear translation, and subjoined to them a variety of commenting notes of linguistic, ethnographic, and historic import. The large majority of the Indian words could be rendered in their literal meaning; but in some instances, where literal translation was nearly

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM MÁK̲LAKSAM NÉ-ULAKS.

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LEGAL CUSTOMS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

Given by Subchief Dave Hill in the Klamath Lake Dialect.

I.

E-ukskni nä'd tchí tchía gitá: P'lú lak̲í tútasχēnini, nû'ds Dave
Lake-people we thus live here: Blow is chief general, and I Dave
Hill lak̲í P'lúash tapí'tan, Lánk-Tchān Dávish tapí'tan, tchē'k tchish Link
Hill am chief to Blow second, Long John Dave after, then too Link
River Jack Lánk-Tchánash tapí'tan, Lílụ ts.
River Jack Long John after, and Lilu.

Pit River Charley Móatuasham lak̲í E-ukshí'.
Pit River Charley of Pit River people is the chief at the Lake.

Ben Littlejohn lálak̲i, Skóntchiesh lak̲í Yainakskíshăm mák̲laksam.
Ben (and) Littlejohn are the chiefs, Skóntchish is (sub-) chief of the Yáneks people.
Johnson lak̲í Moadokníșham Yaínakshi. George Kuatí'lak ts Módokni
Johnson is chief of Modocs at Yáneks. George Kuatilak also is Modoc
lak̲í tapí'tan Jóhnsonash.
chief after Johnson.

Tcháktot Sátam lak̲í.
Tcháktot of Snake Indians is chief.

II.

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[689]

Nánuk lalák̲i Ă'-uksi nä'dsant shiû'lgishtat tsí sa hémkank:
All the chiefs on Klamath Lake on one and same reservation thus they speak:

K̲á-i ĭ shlí-uapk shash: ksaggayuapká m's ní; k̲á-i ĭ palluápk sas
Not you shall shoot each other: would hang you I; not you seduce each other's
snáwedsh: spûlhi-uapká m's ní, hä' ĭ sas pálluapk. K̲á-i ĭ wátsam tchí'k-
wives: would imprison you I, if you them seduce. Not you a horse shall
luapk wänníkí'sham; hä'doks ĭ tchíkluapk, spulhi-uapká m's ní. K̲á-i ĭ
ride of another man; but if you should ride, would imprison you I. Not you
pálluapk sas nánuktua, hä'doks ĭ pálluapk sas spûlhi-uápka m's ní.
shall steal from each other anything, for if you should steal from each other would imprison you I.
(Nánuktua k̲á-i ĭ pálluapk; hä'doks ĭ yekä'-uapk nä'-ulaks, hunkantí'
(Nothing you must steal; for if you should break the laws, thereat
m's ní shetcháktanuapk.) Hä'doks ĭ snawä'dsh Bóshtinash shä'tolakuapk,
at you I would get angry.) If you, as a female, with a white man should sleep,
któtchkuapka m's ní. Hä'doks ĭ hä'sχalp'luapk nánuktua shéshatuish m'na,
will cut off hair to you I. If you should have returned to yourself the whole marriage fee his,

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

Húmasht laláḵi né-ulakta Ḵaḵáshash.

DOCTOR JOHN TRIED BY THE CHIEFS.

Obtained in the Klamath Lake Dialect.

I. ACCOUNT OF DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF.

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[115]

Shíllalsh hû't gû'ta. Tchúi sa tchû'ta nánka kukíaks, Tätĕmatchí'sh
A disease him invaded. Then they treated (him) several conjurers, (and) Aunt Susie

tchúta; tchúi sämtsálχa Doctor John a gén táwi; tû' táwipk, tatá Doctor
treated (him); then (she) discovered (that) Dr. John him bewitched; over there he bewitched (him), when Doctor

Johnam snáwedsh shí'la. Tánkt tawí'pk; tchí hûnk sémtsalχ Tétĕmatsis,
John's wife was sick. That time he had bewitched (him); so it found out Aunt Susie,

ná-ast sémtsalχ. Tsúi Doctor John: "ḵí-í-á a nen Tétĕmatsis", ná-ast
thus she discovered (it to be). And Doctor John (said): "this lies Aunt Susie"; so

Doctor John hémkank. Sákamka: "hû'nk ḵá-i mat pí'sh siúkat; ḵí'ya
Dr. John spoke. He denied it: "that man not him I killed; lies

mat hû'nk Tetĕmátsis!" ná-ashtak Doctor John hémkank.
this Aunt Susie!" so again Dr. John said.

[697]

Tsúi sa spû'lhí láp'ni illólash; nánuk hû'nk máḵlaks lóla Tetĕmatsíshash. Tsúi vûlá laláḵi, tsúi hémkank Doctor John, tû'm hémkank ná-asht:
Then they locked (him) up for two years; about all the Indians believed Aunt Susie. Then inquired of (him) the chiefs, and said Dr. John, at length he spoke thus:

"Tuá ní wák giug shíukuapk? Tídshi a hû't híshuaksh, ḵa-itualash shishtchákt'nish; wák lísh í'k lóli a nen Tetĕmatchíshash? At laláḵi hû'ntsak
"I wherefore should have killed (him)? Honest certainly that man (was), with nobody quarrelling; how is it ye all believe Aunt Susie? Now (ye) chiefs without reasons

í nen lóla, kĕlámtsank sí'tk lû'dshna; ḵá-i nû hû'nk siúgat. Kátak ní nen
ye believe, closing your eyes-alike walk along; not I him killed. With veracity I

hémkank, p'laítalkni nû'sh shlä'popk hä'mkankst. Tuá ní shutä'-uapk
speak, the Most High me sees, as I speak. What I would have profited

shiúgok? nû yá ḵá-i ní a kúkamtchish gí'-uapk shíugok; tuá ní tála í'shka?
by murdering (him)? I certainly never I an old man would become, had I killed (him); what I money made?

tuá ní a tála ya í'shka shíugok? Tidsä'wank tchía, ḵá-i ní kánts shíuksh
what I money ever made by killing (him)? I am glad to be living, not I anybody to kill

sanahō'li; hä' ní ḵlä'kuapk, húmashtak í tsóḵuapk ḵläkuí'sh gint nû'sh.
desire; if I shall perish, equally ye will perish as I have died.

Ḵá-i nä'd tchûssní'ni máḵlaks nánuk käíla-nákant. Hû'ndsak tchí ínsh
Not we (are) immortal men all world all over. For no cause thus me

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66, 13. gé'hlaptchapka. The verb gelápka means to step on, to mount, ascend; with 'h infixed, to mount upon something by using one's hands; ge'hláptcha is to perform this while on the way, while going or travelling; gé'hlaptchapka, to perform this at a distance from other people and unseen by them. Doctor John escaped, aided by his son, in the midnight hour.

66, 14. m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Gatpĕnóta is a derivative of gátp'na with a durative signification, the suffix -óta pointing to an action performed while another is going on. "His son having arrived close by, while he was imprisoned."

66, 16. shnû'ntatka, verbal intentional of shnû'nta, the suffix -tka being sometimes substituted for the usual -tki, -tki gíug.

PUNISHMENT OF MANSLAUGHTER THROUGH WITCHCRAFT.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

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Tína	mák̲laks	mā'ntch-gī'tk	ná-asht	gī:	"tû	salχī'ta	snawédsh	gé-u
Once	man	long ago	thus	spoke:	"over there	is bewitched	wife	my

shíllalsht!	ī	a-i	táwi!"	Tsúi	tchíkash	skúyui	suákitsatki gíug;	tsúi	géna
having fallen sick;	you		bewitched (her)!"	Then	an old man	he sent out	to call a conjurer;	and	he started

tchíka	suákitsuk,	tsúi	shuákiuk	ndéna,	tsúyuk	túmĕna	shuíshuk,	kíuksam
the old man	to fetch the conjurer,	and	to call him out	halloed,	and he	heard	the magic songs,	conjurers'

yaínatat	shuī'sh;	áti	ha shuíshuk.	Tsúi	géna	kíuks	tsutánsuk,	tû'shtaks	a
on the mountain	songs;	far away	(are) songs these.	Then	goes	the conjurer	to treat (her),	to the spot where	

salχíta.	At	shû'ta	hû'nk,	tchúi	hántsna.	Gétpa	mû'ns	súmmatka,	shuī'shuk
she lies bewitched.	Now	he works	on her,	and	sucks.	Comes out	a big thing	through (his) mouth,	to sing

tpéwa,	summátka	hántsantkiug.	Tsúi	hántchipka,	tsúi	putá,	tsúi	húsatchip-
he orders (those present),	with (his) mouth	while he would suck on.	Then	he sucks out,	and	feels choked,	and	throws up

gapēle	hánshish	m'na;	sχû'dχa	lútatkish.	At	hû'k	sχótka,	k̲ú-i	hukī'	tsutísh
again	sucked-out article	his;	swallows (it)	(his) expounder.	Now (after)	he	has swallowed (it),	worse	that (patient)	being treated

gī'ntak,	k̲ú-i	gī,	wigá	telsámpka	k̲'lä'ksh.	Kiúks	hû'k	tché-ulχa	shû'kpal-
in spite of,	worse (she)	is,	almost	she looks	towards the spirit land.	Conjurer	the	starts to leave	wanting to

takiug	k̲ú-i	gī'sht	k̲á-i	gī'lχisht	pásh;	tchúi	hû'k	ná-asht	gī	kálamtak
retire	worse	because she turned	(and) not	passing through (bowels)	the food;	hereupon	he	thus	speaks	whose own

snéwedsh	shī'la	shalχī'tnuk,	kíukshash:	"ī a-i	táwi	húnksh."	Tchúyuk	
wife	is sick	for being bewitched,	to the conjurer:	"you	have bewitched	her."	But	

sakámka	kíuks:	"k̲á-i	a	nû	táwit!	shī'laka	hût!"	kíuks	tchúi	nā'sht
opposes denial	the conjurer:	"not		I	did bewitch (her)!	had become sick (before)	she!"	conjurer	then	so

hémkank.	At	k̲'léka	snawédsh.
said.	Now	dies	the woman.

*539 755 70, 2. í'lks (from élχa, ílχa, *to lay down*) is the full dish, basket, or bucket (kála), on which the victuals are brought in; but it means also the food itself, and the dance-feast on which they are eaten. Locative case: í'lksat.

192 70, 3. shuína is often incorrectly pronounced tsuína.

194 70, 3. nutí'sh; verbally: while burning fivefold; while five fires are blazing.

70, 3. At tchí'sh: the young men, who strip themselves naked down to the hips during the performance, begin their dance after the women have had one turn.

192 70, 5. nă'bakuapk: see népka, in Dictionary.

193 70, 5. yayayá-as means a certain tamánuash witchcraft which inspires the conjurer: the conjurer tells the people just what (ná-ast) the yayayá-as said to him.

70, 6. 7. *s*, *sh* is here in three words doubled to *ss*: shíshalaluapka, shuashuáktcha, and wusóga; kû'tχaks forms the indirect object of the first of these verbs.

192 70, 7. wálok sápa. The kíuks gets the inspiration from the yayayá-as only after sweating; then he can tell (sápa) the people, *when* the disease will come.

70, 8. tánkĕni: after tánkĕni at í'lksh supply ítpa? (did ye bring in?).

70, 8. 9. shă'tu, să'tu for the more usual form shă'tua; pă'n after tá-unepanta is incorrect and unnecessary; this conjunction should stand there only after ta-unépni or tá-unep.

DETAILS OF A CONJURER'S PRACTICE.

115 GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY MINNIE FROBEN.

Máklaks	shuákiuk	kíuksash	ká-i	gû'l'hi	húnkĕlam	ládshashtat,	ndéna	
Indians	is calling	the conjurer	not	enter	his	into lodge,	they halloo	
sha'hmóknok;	kíuksh	toks	wán	kiukáyank	mû'luash	m'na	kaníta	pí'sh.
to call (him) out;	the conjurer		red fox	hanging out on a pole.	as sign	his	outside	"of him".

Kukíaks	tchû'tanish	gátp'nank	wigáta	tchélχa	mā'shipksh.	Lútatkish
Conjurers	when treating	approaching	close by	sit down	the patient.	The expounder

wigáta	kíukshĕsh	tcha'hlánshna.	Shuyéga	kíuks,	wéwanuish	tchīk	winóta
close to	the conjurer	sits down.	Starts choruses	the conjurer,	females	then	join in singing

liukiámnank	nadshă'shak	tchûtchtníshash.	Hánshna	mā'shish	hû'nk
crowding around him	simultaneously	while he treats (the sick).	He sucks	diseased	that

hishuákshash,	tátktish	í'shkuk,	hantchípka	tchī'k	kukuága,	wishinkága,
man,	the disease	to extract,	he sucks out	then	a small frog,	small snake,

mû'lkaga,	káko	gí'ntak,	káhaktok	nánuktua	nshendshkáne.	Ts'û'ks	toks
small insect,	bone	afterwards,	whatsoever	anything	small.	A leg	

ké-usht	tchékĕle	ítkal;	lúlp	toks	mā'shisht	tchékĕlitat	lgû'm	shû'kĕlank
being fractured	the (bad) blood	he extracts;	eyes	but	being sore	into blood	coal	mixing

kí'tua	lû'lpat,	kû'tash	tchish	kshéwa	lúlpat	pû'klash	tuiχámpgatk
he pours	into the eyes,	a louse	too	introduces	into the eye	the white of eye	protruding

ltúiχaktgi	gíug.
for eating out.	

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71, 1. shuákia does not mean "*to call on somebody*" generally, but only "*to call on the conjurer* or medicine man".

71, 2. wán stands for wánam nī'l: the fur or skin of a red or silver fox; kanita pī'sh stands for kanítana látchash m'nálam: "outside of his lodge or cabin". The meaning of the sentence is: they raise their voices to call him out. Conjurers are in the habit of fastening a fox-skin outside of their lodges, as a business sign, and to let it dangle from a rod stuck out in an oblique direction.

71, 3. tchélχa. During the treatment of a patient who stays in a winter-house, the lodge is often shut up at the top, and the people sit in a circle inside in utter darkness.

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[192] 71, 5. liukiámnank. The women and all who take a part in the chorus usually sit in a circle around the conjurer and his assistant; the suffix -mna indicates close proximity. Nadshä'shak qualifies the verb winóta.

[192] 71, 5. tchûtchtníshash. The distributive form of tchû't'na refers to each of the *various* manipulations performed by the conjurer on the patient.

71, 5. mä'shish, shortened from mäshípkash, mä'shipksh, like k'lä'ksh from k'läkápkash, 68, 8.

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[192] 71, 6. 7. There is a stylistic incongruity in using the distributive form only in kukuága (kúe, *frog*), káhaktok, and in nshendshkáne (nshekáni, ndshékani, tsékani, tchékĕni, *small*), while inserting the absolute form in wishinkága (wíshink, *garter-snake*) and in káko; mú'lkaga is more of a generic term and its distributive form is therefore not in use.

71, 7. káhaktok for ká-akt ak; ká-akt being the transposed distributive form kákat, of kát, which, what (pron. relat.).

[192] 71, 8. lgû'm. The application of remedial *drugs* is very unfrequent in this tribe; and this is one of the reasons why the term "conjurer" or "shaman" will prove to be a better name for the medicine man than that of "Indian doctor".

71, 9. kû'tash etc. The conjurer introduces a louse into the eye to make it eat up the protruding white portion of the sore eye.

KÁLAK.

THE RELAPSE.

[115] GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY DAVE HILL.

Hä	náyäns	hissuáksas	mā'shitk	kálak,	tsúi	kíuks	nä'-ulakta	tchután-
When	another	man	fell sick	as a relapse.	then	the conjurer	concludes	to treat

uapkuk.	Tchúi	tchúta;	tchúi	yá-uks	huk	shlää	kálak a gēk.	Tchí	huk
(him).	And	he treats;	and	remedy	this	finds out	(that) relapsed he.	Thus	the

3 shuí'sh	sápa.	Tsúi	nä'sh	shuí'sh	sáyuaks	hû'mtcha kálak,	tchúi	nánuk	hûk
song-remedy	indicates.	And	one	song-remedy	having found out	(that) of the kind of relapsed (he is).	then	all	those

shuí'sh	tpä'wa	hû'nksht	kaltchitchíkshash	heshuampĕlítki gíug.	Tchúi
remedies	indicate	(that) him	the spider (-remedy)	would cure.	Then

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THE MONTHS OF THE YEAR.

OBTAINED FROM "PETE" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

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Gáptsatka É-ukshikni mák̲laks páha udsáks; lúela kápto Yá-ag;
In the month of the small finger | the Lake | Indians | dry | the large sucker; | kill | gudgeons | at the Bridge;

Ktaí-Túpakshi tk̲álmakstant otí'lks lúela hō'ank. At sa kó-iχaktchuapka,
of Standing-Rock | to the westward. | fish-dam | kill | when jumping. | Now they | will leave home (soon),

at kámals pahá; kó-iχaga, k̲ä'shla sa, k̲olálsuapk mat sa, tawiksálsuapk
and | dry fish | they prepare; | they leave, | go after ipos they, | will gather kol | they, | will gather tawiks

mat s at, pō'ksalsuapk mat sa, at sa pópakuapk sátnalhuapka sa, suaítlaluapk;
they, | will dig camass | they, | they | will bake (it), | roast it (3 days) | they, | roast it (1 day);

saká a pō'ks.
eat raw | camass.

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Tχópowatka pahá at pō'ks iwídshat, at É-uksi génuapka woksalsuapkátki
In the thumb-month | dried | then | camass | they put under ground, | now | for Klamath Marsh | they will start | to gather lily-seed;

giug; káyudsh nû'k̲a wókash. At nû'ka wókash, wóksalsha at túnepni
not yet | is ripe | pond-lily seed. | Now | has ripened | lily-seed, | they gather (it) | for five

waítash, kánktak wókslat Eúkshikni. Sníkanua nadshgshaptánkni waítash;
days, | so long | may gather (it) | the Lake people. | They let it ripen | during six | days;

nadshgshaptánkni waítash wókash shutä'shlat, awō'lat, péksat, shiulína,
during six | days | the nuphar-seed | they grind, | cook, | rub fine, | winnow,

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lulína. Nā'sh willishik pálasham-wáχoksh láp tála, lχálχamnishti lulínash
make flour. | One | sack | of the flour-bags | two | dollars, | in a long, heavy sack | the ground-up wókash

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túnep tála. Nû'χatk wókash iwiχí'e k̲á-itua nû käíla. "Tánk a íwíχa í?
five | dollars. | Roasted | lily-seed | filled in sacks | none | in the country. | "How many | did fill | you?

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lápkshapta kán íwí'χa willíshik?" "nû té-unip willí'shik iwí'χa!" Wéwan'sh
seven | who | did fill | sacks!" | "I | ten | sacks | have filled up!" | Women

pí'la wō'kshla, hí'hassuaks gánkanka paχō'les, tchä'-u. At sa héwiuapk̲,
only | gather wókash, | the men | hunt | mule-deers, | antelopes. | Now they will haul (it) home,

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skúya wókash. At a sha í hí'wi-uapk; áwalues sk̲éna, máktsina
crush | lily-seed. | Just | they home | will bring it; | to the island | they row, | camp there

Nû'shkshi, wō'ns í'lktsat Lĕmé-isham Nutē'ks, Vushí'nkam Tínuash, Lál'lāks,
at Skull-place, | canoes | they put away in lake bottom | at Thunderbolt, | at "Snake-Drowned", | at "Slope-steps"

Lkō'm Ā'-ush; k̲ák̲okísh lóloksgísh ktélχa, Stópalsh-Tamā'dsh, Tó-ilkat
at Black Lake; | at the ford | the rifle | drop, | at Peeled-Pine, | at Rail-Pyramid

pí'la wí'hla; tchía nánuk K̲ák̲-Ksháwaliäksh; nánka tchía Tchíkass-Walákgishtat.
stops | every one | at Raven's Place; | some | (will) stop | at Bird's Lookout.

*539 221 [192] All these different kinds of sacks or bags were originally made of bulrush-stalks (tule) and the táyash was made of straw.

[415] 74, 11. kaitua nû kä'ila. The sense is incomplete. Probably sháyuakta is left out: "I do not know of any in the whole country", käila often standing for käilatat.

[192] 74, 14. áwalues. There are several islands in the shallow waters of the vast extent of Klamath Marsh, but only *one* is meant here.

[103] 74, 15. wō'ns ílktsat. They submerge their dug-outs at several places on the beach, where they are certain to find them in the next wókash-season.

[501] [103] 74, 17. pí'la wí'hla (or píla wíllash) contains perhaps a proper name of a locality, or stands in connection with Tóilkat, "at the Rail-Pyramid"; wílhaslash means top, apex. The stations from the "Ford" to "Bird's Lookout" are passed by the tribe when they return home with the lily-seed harvest-crop. "They drop the rifle" is: they take a rest. All these localities are either on the open waters of Klamath Marsh or on Williamson River, which forms its outlet.

[484] [492] 75, 1. iwí-idsha wókash. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Williamson River is from 20 to 25 miles, and horses carrying wókash can make it in one day. The next day they return to carry another load.

[482] 75, 2. nátoks waítuapk: we will lie over one day to let our horses rest, or recover from the swellings on their backs. Nátoks stands for nát toks.

[824] 75, 5. klá-ads is probably a kind of wild prunes. See Dictionary: kĕlátch.

[192] 75, 8. wídsika íwam. "Some are economical with their own berries, and prefer not to scatter them in the hands of others"; íwam, huckleberry, has become the generic term for all berries, and i-umă'mi is "*berry-season*".

[316] 75, 11. spû'klish here means the large communal sweat-house; it is used frequently for dances and kshiuwál χishtat, contr. kshiû'lχishtat might stand instead of spúklishtat.

75, 11. papiă'na, vocalic dissimilation for papa-éna; derived from pán, to eat.

[193] 75, 13. atí'sh etc. "Heap ye up that hay in two stacks, which must have a lengthy, long-stretching, and not a high, cone-shaped form!" For heaping up long stacks one verb is here used, and another for making the high, round ones.

PŪ'LAM SHUMSHE-ÉLSHTAT SHASHAPKĔLÉASH.

A SKETCH OF BALL'S MARRIED LIFE.

[115] GIVEN BY DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 593 Póluk kä'liak snáwäds t'shín. Tsúi snawä'dshla Pámpiam pä'-ia lupí';
Ball he without a wife grew up. Then he married Pámpi's daughter at first;
tsúi wä'kala, tsúi tatá mántsak mbusä'lan gi. Tsúi kä'tsa, tsúi mbusä'-
and she had a babe, and then quite a while he lived with (her). Then he left (her), and lived with
alpēli pän, tsúi pän kétsa sissû'kuk tsû'ssak. Násh wä'ka sham kläká, nä'sh
(her) again, and again left (her) quarreling continually. One babe to them died, another
tchía; at sa sipī'tχa, tsúi nä's shnawä'dshla pän Látsam pä'-ia; wáts säwána
lived; still they separated, then one (woman) he married after (this) Látchash's daughter; horses he gave

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PRESENT MODE OF INHUMATION.

GIVEN BY MINNIE FROBEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

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Hishuákshash snawédshash gíntak k̲'lĕ'ksht tchúi sha hû'nk bóxtka
Male or female upon having died then they (him or her) in a coffin
ísha húnkantka waítashtka ámpka waitólank tchísh. Pápkashti shû'tank
bury on the same day or one day past also. Of lumber they are making
box, shnutchlû'ktagiank k̲áyak tadsh tálakank Bóshtinam-shítko. Pú-
a coffin, planing (it). not however they are painting (it) in the American shape. Small
pakuak gí'ntak a sha nánuktua ílχóta, shulótish gíntak, kmă' tchí'sh,
drinking-cups thereupon they of every kind (him), bury with clothing hereupon, skull-caps too,
yámnash tchísh, tálatoks k̲á-i. Hä' nen wä'g'n kä'git, wátchatka sha hû'nk
beads too, but money not. If a wagon is not on hand, on horses they them
énank í'lχtcha. Tû'mi shashā'moks ílksχē'ni shash, túmi wéwanuish
carrying out bury. Many relatives to the grave them, many women
tchí'sh, hihassuáksh tchí'sh, k̲á-i tatáksni, gasháktsína shash ílksχē'ni.
too, men also, (but) no children, follow them to grave.
Ílksgish yépontk tû'nep nádshgshapt pē'tch atí gintégatk.
The graves are dug five (or) six feet deep into the ground going.

Wä'g'n a lû'pi géna ílksχēni, sháshamoks tchī'k kí'nshaksna; hû'd-
The wagon first goes to the grave, relatives hereupon walk in file; those
shatoks atíkni gátpa, wátchatka gátpa. Ilkshχē'ni a sha shnúka nē'p
who from afar come, on horses come. At the grave they seize by the hand
k̲'lākápkash, a tchíks hû'nk unégank kélua käfla ílχuk, tánktak tchíksh
the deceased, then him lowering fill up the earth to bury (him), simultaneously also
a hû'nk luátpishluk shúina. Gakiámnank tû'k sha tχálamtana gû''hliank
over him for mourning they sing. Forming a circle from it they through the middle passing
shnû'ka stélapksh nē'p, lupí'tal tchík sha gékampĕle; télishtoks wudámatko
shake (his) right hand, to the first place then they return; (his) face is covered
handkerchipátka: "Tchá shék̲ug mí'sh nû shnúka nē'p; tchá at tchí' m'sh
by a handkerchief: "Now to bid good bye to you I shake (seize) hand; now thus to you
nû shék̲a gēn waítash; géna mí at hukí'sh!"
I bid farewell this day; gone is your spirit!"

Títatnatoks flags mák̲laks kí'utchna ílksχēni wä'ginat; shashámoksh
Sometimes flags an Indian sticks up at the grave on the wagon; the relatives
láp kí'mbaks gasháktchna, wéwanuish násh kí'mbaks, híhashuaksh tchí'sh
in two files follow, the women in one file, the males too

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násh túnshish. Nā'sh käflatoks nādsháshak tchpí'nualank, nánuk titads-
in one row. On one ground all together they are burying, every provided
χátko pil ílktch spûshpaktchámpka, shushtedshχátko wáshash wuwatuáp-
with boards grave they make mound-shaped, fenced in prairie-wolves to keep
kasht ké-utchishash tchí'sh. K̲á-i mā'ntch gítko sha hû'nk spû'klitcha
off grey wolves also. Not long after this they go to sweat

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tútenäpni waítash. Wátch a lúluagsh tchí'sh k̲á-i tatá mā'ntch gínkanka
for five days. Horses slaves also no longer they bring there
luélkish, m'nátoks sha wátch shéshatui shkútashtat í'lχûtchlûk.
to kill, but his own they horses trade off for blankets to bury him in.

NOTES.

This short notice describes a funeral (ísha) of the Klamath Lake tribe in the mode as adopted from the Americans not long after the treaty of 1864, when cremation of bodies was abolished. Whatsoever of the ancient customs in disposing of the dead is still observed, the reader will easily gather from the present sketch.

87, 3. tálaka means to go forth and back with the hand; hence to rub with the palm of the hand, to rub paint on, to paint.

87, 5. Hä' nen wä'g'n. In this connection they can also say: hä' nem wä'g'n; and for wátchatka: wátchetka.

87, 11. tánktak, in this connection, is a compound of tánkt and ak, not of tánk and tak: "just at that time."

87, 17. láp kímbaks gasháktchna: they follow the corpse, which is placed on the wagon, in two files *on horseback;* kímbaks is apposition to shashámoks.

88, 1. Nā'sh etc. The appearance of their graveyard (tchpínû) near the Williamson River does not differ much from that of our cemeteries; it lies in the midst of the woods. For titadsχátko see Dictionary.

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FUNERAL OF WARRIORS.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY "SERGEANT" MORGAN, AN INDIAN FROM KOHÁSHTI.

[726]
[825]

Ní'shta hä'ma mû'kash tχû'tχuk: "mák̲laks k̲'lä'k̲!" Tsúi gátpa
All night long screeches the big owl presaging: "people die!" Then come
mák̲laks ktaklí'sh, tsúi shneshnalχō'ta hushtsóχok. Nā's wípka hû ámbotat,
men parflesh-cuirassed, and while burning down lodges murder they. One (man) escaped into the water,
tsúi shtí'ldshna tû' sa-amoksámkshi m'na; gená shtí'ldshnuk. Tsúi gépka
and reported over there at relative's house his; he went (there) to announce. Then came
tumí' mák̲laks wa-u'htákiug; tsúi shenótank gē'kshta túníp hushtsóχ shenó-
many people to disperse (them): and while fighting on one side five were killed in
tankok. Gē'kshta tchkash hushtsóχa túm, nánka géna kä'ktsnuk vû'shuk;
battle. On other side also were killed many, some started to run away from fear;

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

000 Nkā'kgiuga t'shi'shap p'ki'shap taúnäpni waíta k̲á-i tchû'leks pán,
After a childbirth the father (and) the mother ten days no meat eat,
shápēle mák̲lāksām tchi'sh pásh pán; túnepni wäíta lomkóka, nadshksap-
bread, the Indians also food eat; five days they sweat, sixth
tánkni at wäitólan shulótish p'nálām nánuk púedsha.
then day over, garments their own all cast away.

Tishiwápkash wä'k gítko shuentchága p'gi'shap hû'nkēlām wä'k tk̲uyá;
Crooked limbs having a babe mother its the limbs rubs;
hä lish kaá k̲alk̲álish lû'lp gítko hû'nkēlām p'gi'shap lû'lp tk̲uyá nepátka,
if too rounded eyes having its mother the eyes rubs with hand,
k̲ik̲annéga lû'lpût nepátka, tchúi shishatchēlō'tka; at tídsh tchēk shûtû'lan
applies to the eyes the hands, then spreads (them) apart; then well finally after arranging
k̲ēléwi. Húmasht taks hû Mō'dokni giúga ktaktanapátko shítko shlé-ish
she stops. Therefore the Modocs sleepy alike to look at
nánuki. Hä lish k̲ó-idshi wawákish gi suéntchām, p'ki'shap taks tídsh
all are. If misshaped the ears are of the babe, the mother aright
shû'ta, patádsha suéntchām wawákash, nenpága, peptchága. Naishlashlák-
shapes (them). she stretches the babe's both ears, little hands, little feet. Toads-
gish-gítko ktcháyash tchi'sh wéktat itá ni'sh tchi'sh.
horned beetles with fangs also on the arms she lays, on the neck also.

NOTES.

*539 With the exception of the first, these ethnographic notices concern the people composing the southern chieftaincy as much as those of the northern.

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I. The four items of section I are worded in the Klamath Lake dialect, and were obtained from Frank, a young Indian settled at Kuyamskä'-iksi, "the Crab's River-Trail," on the Williamson River.

90, 1 etc. The census figures given in the first paragraph refer to one of the latest counts made of the individuals in the tribe, probably to that of 1876.

90, 1. **vunépni lalák̲i gítko.** Correctly worded, this phrase would read vunepä'nash lalák̲iash, or vunépnish, or at least vunépni lalák̲iash gítko.

90, 2. **pé-ulatko** ought to be used only when units are mentioned after the decads of figures. If the relator wanted to say, 180 men were counted, the verb shä'tui, shétui would be the proper term. Cf. *Note* to 70, 8. 9.

90, 3. **Tumántka**, "by the many", by the crowd: by the majority of the men in the tribe.

90, 7. **hishuátchχash** is a form for the word *man, male*, common to Klamath Lakes and Modocs, but more frequently used among the latter. The reverse is true of the form híshuaksh.

90, 10–13. Part first of the fourth notice refers to dances at the communal dance-lodge, organized and directed by chiefs. The chief starts the songs; sometimes the men, sometimes the women sing in chorus; or a song may be sung by all present. When the chief sees one, who does not sing, he cries out: "i tchuín; túla shuín i!" All dances are accompanied by songs or other music.

90, 10 ul probably stands for ûn, û'n, û'na, a conjunction more frequently used in the Modoc than in the Klamath Lake dialect.

*539 829 192 193 439

93, 1. k̲á-i spûní vushúk: the subject of spûní, Ê-ukskni mák̲laks, is left out by inadvertence. Some Wascoes wanted to marry into another tribe; for "one Wasco man" stands here for "some men of the Wasco people."

93, 3. 4. Ampχā'ni, contraction of ambuχē'ni "thither, where the water is", where the waters rush down in a cataract, or in rapids. The rapids of the Columbia River at the Dalles impede navigation.

93, 7. sasságank i gi! ye are in peril, when going to the Dalles and being Indians, therefore take care of yourselves! i stands for ät; cf. 64, 10 and *Note;* 90, 13. 14.

93, 7. 9. Instead of k̲á-i nû shtínta may be said also, in this connection, k̲á-i nû shanáhole; instead of tánkt ni gēnt: gē'ntĕni, gē'nt a ni; instead of Tídshi hā'k: tídshāk, tídshi hā gi.

K'MUKÁMTCHAM AÍSHISHAM TCHÎSH SHASHAPKĔLÉASH.

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K'MÚKAMTCH ATTEMPTS THE DESTRUCTION OF HIS SON AÍSHISH.

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OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROBEN.

Lûpí	nā'lsh	hûnk	K'múkamtch	shutāyéga;	ná-asht	nā'lsh	hûnk	gá-ag
At first	us		K'múkamtch	began to create;	so	to us		long ago

kĕmûtchátk	shashapk̲ĕlî-î'a	génta	käflatat.	Tchía	hû'k	lā'pi	shá-ûngaltk
an old man	told the myth	this	world about.	Lived	the	two	related as son and father,

3	Aíshîsh	K'mû'kamtchish;	né-ulχa	hûnk	gē'n,	nánuktua	ká-akt	hû'k	gäg,
	Aíshish	(and) K'múkamtch;	resolved		this one, (that)	all things,	whichever	(are)	here, (and)

nánuktua	kiä'm	ámbutat	wá,	gítki	gíug.	Tchúyunk	pä'n	I-ulalónau
all kinds of	fish,	in the water	(which) live,	should come into	existence.	Then	again	at the outlet at Linkville

tchkash	né-ulχa	páplishash	gi'tki	gíug,	mû'	gînt	nk̲î'llipsh	tí'wish	ndû'l-
also	he caused	a dam	to come into existence,		very	there	rapidly	the rushing waters	running

6	shampksh	páltkí,	mû'ash	shlé-uyuk,	tchúyunk	mák̲laksash	kiä'm	í'tklank
	down	to leave dry,	the south wind	when blows,	and hereupon	the Indians	the fish	scooping up

pálshtat	pátki gî.
on the bottom left dry	should feed upon.

Tchúi	pän	húmasht	gíulank	K'mukámtch	únaka	tchkash	m'na	Aíshi-
Hereupon		having performed this		K'múkamtch	son	then	his	Aíshish

9	shash	shtílta	p'laíwasham	shnû'lash,	shléank	kĕnáwatat	shkúlelam	weweka
		sent after	an eagle's	eyrie,	perceiving	up on a kĕnáwat-stalk	of a lark	the young ones

hû'nk	shû'kayank,	shnepē'mpemuk	vunaká	m'na.	Snáwedsh	spû'utχashtka
	hanging (on it),	in order to entrap	son	his.	A wife	to abduct (from him)

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96, 21. kinyüga. Aíshish held the tray over himself, his whole family, and his lodge. The same prefix ki- reappears in a nasalized form in nχí'-uliga: 97, 1. It is nasalized there on account of the preceding -k in hû'uk.

96, 23. küfla. Where I have rendered this term by "world", as here and elsewhere in creation myths and myths of a similar character, it does not signify the whole surface of the earth as known to us, but only that section of country which is known to that tribe of Indians. Thus ancient creation myths only describe the creation of that part of country where these myths originated; the creation myths of coast tribes will include the ocean in their term for "world".

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96, 23. Túbush talpatkóla. Mud Hen, one of Aíshish's five wives, looked out from under the roof of Aíshish's lodge or shed to see what was going on. This fiction explains the round dark spot visible on the mud-hen's head; its *round* form is indicated by the prefix la- in laliga.

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AÍSHISHAM SHASHAPKĒLÉASH.

A MYTHIC TALE ABOUT AÍSHISH.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Shashapkēlo-uápkan Aíshishash:
I am going to tell a story about Aíshish:

Aíshish mat sákla tû'ma máklaks íyamnatko; shuédshnuk mat sha
Aíshish, they say, gambled many people having with him; when gambling on their way, so they say, they

shnéna lû'loks. Yámnashptchi mat lû'loks Aíshisham, Wanákalam kükü'kli
built fire. Purple-blue (was), as reported, the fire of Aíshish, of Silver Fox yellow

lû'loks, K'múkamtcham shláyaksak. Tsúi sa slō'kla; Aíshish shlín tálaak,
the fire (was), of K'múkamtch (it was) smoke only. Then they shot at the mark; Aíshish hit (it) straight,

Wanáka yû'tlansna. K'mukámts tû' hak yû'l'ka, nánka toks tû' hak a-áti
Little Silver Fox missed the mark. K'múkamtch this side of mark struck, the others but far the side of the mark

hak yû'l'ka; tuí sa húmasht gíulank sákaliága. Túm sa héshkû, tsúi sas
struck; right they then after so doing commenced gambling. Many things they bet on, then over them

Aíshish í'kak; séwatkashtka nánuk wátchpka, tsúi sa gü'mpēle. At tû'
Aíshish won; about noon all men had lost all they had, then they went home. Ever

tsússak í'χak nánuk sas.
since he won them all.

Tû'nipnish wéwan's gitk Aíshish: Tûhû'sh násh snáweds Aíshisham,
Five wives had Aíshish: Mud Hen (was) one wife of Aíshish,

Stókua násh snáwedsh, Klí'tish násh, Wü'ks násh, Tsí'ka násh snáwedsh.
Long-tail Squirrel one wife, Sand-hill Crane one, Mallard one, Chaffinch one wife.

*539 101, 8. p'tiså m'na for p'tisha m'nálam.

773 101, 10. k̲ak̲ó bělat for: k̲ak̲ó pil at.

192 101, 11. p'tissap sam. Sham, sam "their", is found standing instead of m'nálam,
493 p'nálam, or húnkělamsham in the conversational form of language. Cf. 107, 13. 103, 4.

101, 13. liwátkal. They lifted up the famished Aishish, almost reduced to a skeleton, and seated him upright in the nest; they imparted new strength and life to him by feeding him.

101, 16. k̲édsha, to grow, forms k̲édshna, kedshnúta; n's is: nû'sh, to me, with me, under me; a sort of *dativus commodi*.

ORIGIN OF HUMAN RACES. DURATION OF HUMAN LIFE.

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GIVEN BY "CAPTAIN JIM" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

K'mû'kamtch hû'nk at né-ulχa ṇá-asht gén: Hû'nk E-ukshikíshash
K'múkamtch ruled as follows: The Klamath Lake
tchák mák̲laks shû'ta; tchúi pén K̲ä'k̲akilsh tchágsh mák̲laks shû'ta;
from a service-berry bush people he made; hereupon the Kä̲kakilsh from skunks people made;
yámatală génûta shûshtédshna. E-ukshkíshash ktchálχishtat í'lχa, Bósh-
northwards while he had gone he created (them) on his way. The Klamath Lakes in the sun-heat he laid down, the white
tinash toks shûtólank máhieshtat í'lχa; húmasht gíug nä'd mák̲laks mû'-
people however after creating (them) in the shade laid down; therefore we Indians (are)
makmûkli, Bóshtin toksh papálpali. É-ush guní'gshta käilalí'a.
dark, the white race but light-complexioned. The sea beyond he made a world for them.

At sha pä'n ne-ulakiéga, K'múkamtch mû'nk tchí'sh shkíshkí'sh tchish
Then they began to legislate, K'múkamtch, mole also, fly-bug also,
wishí'nk tchish. Mû'nk häméχe: "Nû a gû'ggamtchíshash mák̲lakshash
garter-snake also. Mole said: "I of old age the human beings
gí'tki gi!" Húnkanti wíshink ná-asht häméχe: "nû'toks gémptcha
to become want!" On that subject garter-snake thus spoke: "and I thus-made
mák̲lakshash gí'tki gi!" Tchíhunk wí'shink shkíntchishχagóta: "gá-ash
the men to become older!" Thus garter-snake while shedding its skin: "this way
nû hû'nk mák̲lakshash k̲'léktgi: tí'dshok nétnäk gít k'mû'tchatk gíntak
I the men to become (want): having grown then to be of old age though
tchíltgipělétám'nûk." Húnkanti mû'nk ná-asht heméχe: "nû a gémptcha
always to grow young again." On that subject mole thus said: "but I thus-made
pshe-utíwashash gí'tki gi: gû'ggamtchishash!" Pí muimû'yuk: "gá-asht
the human beings to become want: decrepit by age!" (And) it shivering (said): "thus
nû pse-utíwashash gí'tki gi!" Skí'shkish tchish ná-asht tok nä'-ulχa
I the human beings to become want!" Fly-bug also thus voted

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the souls of all dead Indians continue to exist in the living fish, in all kinds of *living* fish only."

130, 2. tsóχatk. This refers to Indians who have perished by a violent death, as well as to those who died in the natural way.

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THE SPELL OF THE LAUGHING RAVEN.

GIVEN BY "CAPTAIN JIM" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

I.

Shúyuχalkshi tchúyunk É-ukshikni máklaks hátokt shuyúχĕla, túmi
At "dance-place" when the Klamath Lake people there pilpil-danced, many
hûk hátokt máklaks gí. K'múkamtch hátokt a géna. Tchúi Ká-akamtch
there people were. K'múkamtch there went. Then Old Raven
shash hátokt wétanta shúyûχalpksh, tchúi hû ktá-i k'lä'ka nánuk máklaks
at them there laughed when they danced, and rocks became all people
shúyukaltk hátokt.
dancing there.

II.

Yámakni hû'k Káyutchish gátpa Kí'uti kúitit; tchúyunk í'-uag
From the North Gray Wolf arrived Kiuti above; then he stopped
shkû'lχa káyak tchí'sh gátpĕnunk, nánuk shûlû'tamantk hátkok yámnash
(and) lay down (to sleep), not yet home having reached, in full dress at that spot beads
wáwakshnatk tchish; túla tchish hû'k gákatpantk í'uag sha hû'nk tû'kĕlχa.
with moccasins on too; together with (him) those coming stopped they (and) rested.
Tchúi Sháshapamtch hû'nk gáldsha-uyank Ké-utchiamtchash skû'lpkank
Then Old Grizzly approached Old Gray Wolf lying (and)
ktámpsh. Tchúi Sháshapamtch pálla Ke-utchíshash wákshna yámnash
asleep. And Old Grizzly stole from Gray Wolf the moccasins beads
tchish shûlû'dshnank wû'kshχēn génuapkug. Tchúi Ke-utchíamtch
also, (and) put them on, to the fishing-place for going. Upon this Old Gray Wolf
sχishû'lank ktí'ukuela Sháshapamtchash; vud'hitakuéla ktáyat pállapksh
waking up threw down hill the Old Grizzly; he rolled (him) down over the rocks for having robbed
pásh wákshna yámnash tchish. Tchúi hû'nk shíuga pí Sháshapamtchash,
him of moccasins neckwear also. Then killed he the Old Grizzly,
tchúi É-ukshikni máklaks shellualtámpka Yámakishash, Sháshapamtchash
whereupon the Klamath Lake people commenced fighting the Northerners, (because) Old Grizzly
hûnk Kä'-utchishash shíugsht. Tchúi Ká-akamtch wétanta shash shél-
by Gray Wolf had been killed. Then Old Raven laughed at them when
lualpksh, ktá-i sha k'léka.
fighting, and rocks they became.

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*539 171 is the elder sister, called so by or with reference to a younger brother. Two other terms exist for the relative age of sisters among themselves.

[601] 134, 11. pátkalp'le. The myth adds, that the eagle got up again at dinner-time and that after washing the face he took a nap before taking his sister home.

[525] [777] II. These items were all obtained in the Modoc dialect from J. C. D. Riddle. Many of the articles mentioned as gamblers' amulets are supposed to bring good luck to the gambler on account of their *scarcity*, which must have made them more interesting to the aboriginal mind than other objects of a brighter exterior.

[192] 134, 13. ntággal, ndákal: to find accidentally; shléa: to find, generally, after a search. vumí' is to hide away either on one's own person or in the ground.

134, 16. 18. tídsh tínχa is to succeed, to be lucky; without tídsh in: hútoks tínχantko gi, that man is lucky.

[411] 134, 17. shtáp is a black arrow-head made of obsidian, a volcanic rock found in several places in these highlands.

135, 1. hä'-atoks is formed from hä toks with intercalation of the declarative particle a.

[192] [193] [825] 135, 3. k̲'le-ugtki-uápkasht is a periphrastic conjugational form composed of gi-uápkasht, of the verb gi, and of k̲'lé-utka, the usitative of k̲'léwi, to cease, stop, terminate; -utka has turned into -ugt- by metathesis. Literally: "would habitually cease to be in the Pit River." mhû', the grouse, is called by the Klamath Lakes tmû'.

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REFLECTIONS OF EVERY-DAY LIFE

Monologues in the Klamath Lake Dialect by Johnson, Chief of the Modocs

K̲á-i	mish	nû	ó-it	nû	tidsä'wa	nté-ish,	shliútuk	mä'makla	pá-uk	shlínk
Not	you	I	to let have	I	like	(my) bow,	for shooting	ducks	to eat	killing (them)

ndektí'shtka.	Tidsä'wa	k̲á-i	mish	úya,	tû	génuapka	úyamnank	nté-ish
with arrows.	I like	not	to you	to give (it),	over there	I will go	taking along	bow and arrows

gé-u,	hishlátsanuapka.	Yó-ishi!	tatála	k̲ä'gi,	k̲á-i	shláa	tatákni	yû'lχ;
my,	(and) will amuse myself by shooting.	Are lost!	right (ahead)	they are not,	not	I found (them)	where	they went down;

yó-ishin,	mā'ns	k̲á-ika.	Ûnds	mbúsant	pēn	k̲áyakuapk.
they are lost,	for a long time	I searched.	Some-time	to-morrow	again	I will look out (for them).

Shikútchipk	tchiká	kĕmutsátk;	undsē'ks	séwanuapk	pátki	giúga
Walks on stick	an old	decrepit (man);	some time	I will give (him)	to eat	

méhiess;	yuyálks	tsi	pá-uk	hûn	tchē'k	tídsh	kí'-uapk.	Kí'shtchipk	huk
trout;	being poor	thus	through eating	of it	then	at ease	he will feel.	Comes to me	this

snéwedsh;	oní'sh	kíäm	shéwant i;	tû'm	nû'sh	shewantamnuápka	sáwalktko
woman;	to her	fish	you may give;	plenty	to me	she will continue to give	having received presents.

Kámp'kuk	k̲éliak	pásh	tiä'ma.	Undsē't	kátchkal	pa-uápk	gé-utala	steínash.
The indigent	without	food	is hungry.	By and by	tobacco	I will chew	to my heart's content.	

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WAILINGS AT THE APPROACH OF THE FATAL HOUR.

[115]

GIVEN BY DOCTOR JOHN, OR K̲ÁK̲ASH, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

"Ngä'-ish a ni tä'lχapksh, gé-u tä'lak, shlín antsa; shkék antsa nû'sh,
"An arrow me striking, my arrow, shot they; they broke (my) head,
shlín nish. K̲án ísh shlín? Tsuyä'sh ní shlín, gén ísh tsuyä'sh mpáta,
they shot me. Who me shot? Through the cap I was struck, this me cap kills,
3 másha n'sh, shlín ísh nû'sh, k̲á-a n's mā'sh', guhuá nísh, a nísh k̲á-a mā'sha!
it pains me, they shot me in the head, intensely me it pains, am swollen I, now me hard it pains!
Pásh ísh shéwan í; k̲'lékuapkan pánuk; pálak shéwan í, a nísh k̲á-a mā'sha,
Food me give you; I will die after eating; quickly give you, me very hard it pains,
tiä'matk k̲á-a, pálak shä'wan í." At shéwana nû, at pán; shnuk' át mí'dsû.
(I am) hungry very, quickly give you." And give (him) I, and he eats; he takes now the spoon.
6 "At k̲'léka, átĕni k̲'léka; taía at, k̲'leká taks nû; shlín nísh nû'shtat.
"Now I expire, now I die; I live yet, dying but (am) I; they shot me in the head.
[764] A ni k̲'léka, ā'tĕni k̲'lekála." At k̲'leká. Shû'dsha lúluksla sa lû'lokshtat
Now I die, now I am sinking fast." Then he dies. Kindle a fire (and) cremate they in the fire
hû'nk k̲'lékapksh.
the deceased man.

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This short incident of war is full of the most dramatic interest, and gives some idea of the oratorial powers of the average Indian. It was obtained from a man who undoubtedly had witnessed more than one similar scene during the numerous raiding expeditions made by his tribe before the conclusion of the treaty in 1864.

138, 1. ngä'-ish a ni tä'lχapksh shlín antsa, forms of the conversational language standing for ngä'-ish a nish tälχápkash shlín a sha. gé-u tä'lak "my arrow," a poetic symbolism for the arrow that causes my death.

138, 1. shkék antsa for shkéka a sha, but nasalized like shlín antsa. Shkéka properly means to pierce, but is used in a medial sense.

138, 2. mpáta properly means to dry up by heat. The cap or hat is said here to kill the man by exciting an intolerable fever heat within him.

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138, 3. mā'sha n'sh. Some impersonal verbs can also assume the personal form of intransitive verbs: mā'sha nû and mā'sha nish: "it pains me"; kédshika nû and nish: "I feel tired". The Modoc dialect prefers the personal form.

138, 6. 7. atĕni for at a ni. Cf. sĕ, 82, 4. tchä'lχet 90, 11. átĕnish, atĕni 90, 12. 13. gĕ'ntĕni, *Note* to 93, 7. 9.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON ANIMALS.

GIVEN BY JOHNSON, CHIEF AT YÁNEKS, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Nī'l	wéksa	pû'l'hka	mák̲laks	shû'lhashluk	sχō'lhok;	ktánuapkuk
The down	of mallard-duck	pull out	the Indians	to make pillows	to lie on;	for sleeping

sχō'lhank	nī'l	íkúgank	willishī'kat.
(and) resting	the down	they are putting into	pillow-cases.

Mbû'shant	nílaksht	wísχak	hä'ma.
In the morning	at dawn	the wisχak-bird	sings.

Wátsak	wáwa a	gulíndshísham;	le	génug	wáwa.
Dogs	howl	because left behind;	for not	going (with them)	they howl.

Yá-ukal	tchaggáya	ánkutat	ä'-unank;	untsä'g	ä-unólank	húndshan-
Bald eagle	sits	on tree	replete with food;	after a while	after depleting himself	he will

uapk,	tó-ugshtant	húndsanuapk	Ä'-ushtat.
fly off,	to the opposite shore	he will fly	of Upper Klamath Lake.

Tché-u	gankánkatchuapk;	tí'tnāk	mák̲lakuapk,	wakiánua	lápēni;
Antelopes	(people) are going to hunt;	once only	they will camp out,	or perhaps	twice;

shlíuk	gépgapluapka	pálak.	Úndsh	mbúshant	pä'-uapk	sχólăkok.
after shooting (antelopes)	they will return	at once.	Some time	next day	they will take a cold bath	to induce sleep.

K̲ó-i	shû'ta	wásh,	pálla	n'sh	wásh;	k̲ó-idshi	wásh.	Múatch	kpē'l
Wickedly	acts	prairie-wolf,	steals	from me	prairie-wolf;	mischievous (is)	prairie-wolf.	A long	tail

gí'tko,	tidsá	nē'l	gítko	wásh.	Kinkáni	wásh	É-ushtat.
(he) has,	delicate	fur	has	prairie-wolf.	Scarce (are)	prairie-wolves	at Upper Klamath Lake.

Kaí-udshish	nísh	k̲ópk̲a;	k̲ílōs	k̲é-udsis;	shlá-a	nísh	tslatskágantko
Gray wolf	me	bites;	impetuous	is gray wolf;	(when) sees	me,	jumps on my throat

k̲é-udshish.
gray wolf.

NOTES.

[192] 144, 1. nī'l wéksa stands for nī'l wéksam; pû'l'hka for púlχa or púlk̲a: -'h-, "by hand."

144, 9. 10. These characteristics of the prairie- or coyote-wolf, which is so highly reverenced by the California tribes, place him between the wolf and the fox. Nē'l stands for nī'l and múatch for múnish. Tidsá is tídsha a.

[192
193] 144, 11. tslatskágantko; the verbal adjective of tchlakága stands here in the distributive form: "each time when he sees me, he jumps on my throat." The *l* of the second syllable is suppressed.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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"reptile," "amphibian" or "plant." Even the English language had to borrow these terms from Latin. The Klamath Lakes often use kŏ'sh (pine) generically for "tree," and wishink, "garter snake" for "snake," the Modocs wáměnigsh (black snake) for the same order of reptiles, these species being the most frequent of their kind in their respective countries. Birds are hohánkankatk as well as quadrupeds, because they fly "in a straight line".

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ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES.

List obtained in the Klamath Lake Dialect from "Sergeant" Morgan and Minnie Froben.

Yántch kálkali, tχópo-pátpan, pakí'sh; kak tán: 18"; käílatat lû'sha,
cylindric, thumb so large as, eatable; so long: 18"; on ground it lies,
ktaíyatat lushá. Shláps pushpúshli, lā'pi shlápsh.
on rocks it lies. The flowers (are) dark. two flowers (to it).

Kápiunksăm k̲édsha saígatat; lû'k pûpashpúsh-tkani, lúiχitk tchí'pshash.
grows in the pra'rie; the seeds (are) blackish, larger than tchipsah.
Wéwanuish hûnk shtä'ila wékank yákitka páta-gíulshēmi. Pékshank sha hû'nk gápiunks shúta; tchilála sha títatna. Wû'kashshitk máshetk kápiunks.
The women gather (it) by beating (it) into seed-baskets at summer's end. By grinding they kápiunks prepare; boil (it) they sometimes. Wókash-like tastes kápiunks.

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Káshma k̲édsa walídsat, käílatat ushá; pálpal shlápsh, tsmō'k pí'luitk.
grows on rock cliffs, on the ground lies; white (is) flower, after fish smelling.

Kělátch k̲édsha wí-ukayant kěládshamat; kěládsh ntchekáni mämätchmä'tchli lálkaya. Wéwanuish kěládshla wâkslólank; shpahá sha tchúi ishkû'lank, í'lχa sha shpáhank í'lkshlûk lúldam, tchilálank tchēk sha pán.
grows on the low keládsh-bushes; keládsh-berry small blue grow on bushes. The females collect (it) after wókash-season; dry (it) they then after gathering, keep they (it) by drying to preserve (it) for winter, boiling (it) then they eat (it).

Kěnáwat k̲édsha saígatat, tsélas ka tánni 1', pakí'sh; p'lái shláps pushpúshli, tídsh piluítko.
grows on prairie, stalk so long 1', eatable; on top the flower is dark, good smelling.

Klána pálpalish shlápshaltk p'laí, k̲édsha k̲ók̲etat, pákish, tíds másitk; mák̲laks pán.
a white flower having on top, grows in rivers, is eatable, well tasting; the Indians eat (it).

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58. *Song of the turtle:*

Tuá ki nish lé-ula? ⏑⏑́|⏑⏑⏑⏑́|⏑

Which game did you play with me?

NOTES.

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124

This long series of shamanic songs in use on the Williamson River was obtained from *Mary*, a young pupil of the boarding school of Indian children at the Klamath agency. When living among the Indians on the Williamson River she had heard all these songs very frequently, and in an interesting evening entertainment she faithfully reproduced the manipulations of the male and female conjurers upon a little rag baby lying on the floor on a bed made up of old blankets, the figure representing some poor suffering Indian patient. The other Indian girls of the school joined in a lively chorus every time when she had fairly started any of these incantations, and given the signal by clapping hands.

On the day following these incantations were dictated, translated and explained to me by *Minnie Froben*, assisted by Mary, and though both persisted in the statement that the order in which the songs are sung was quite immaterial, I present them here in the order in which I obtained them.

Each of these song-lines is sung many times by the conjurer, then *repeated* by the chorus a dozen times or more. The chorus varies the melody somewhat each time, but this musical variation is so slight and insignificant that the general impression of monotony is not dispelled by it. Quite a number of these songs have very pretty melodies, but by long repetition even these must of course produce tediousness and disgust; other songs have weird and strange tunes, others are quaint, but almost repulsive by their shrill accents; these may be said to form the transition to the mere howls and imitations of animal voices, which are frequent also in doctoring ceremonies, but more frequent in the war-shouts and funereal cries and wailings.

The animal or object of nature to which the conjurer attributes each of the song-lines was not remembered in every instance. Where this reference was obtained, it was added at the head of the song or song-line. The animals mentioned in these songs are all supposed to have been sent out by the conjurer to look out for the whereabouts of the *personified* disease, from which the patient is suffering, and whatever the conjurer sings about the animals refers to what he sees them doing while on their errand. On the distinction made between shuí'sh and shuinō'tkish cf. *Note* to song 9.

Kiúksam shuí'sh is not merely a conjurer's song, but a mysterious agency connected with a spell of preternatural power. This spell is not exclusively attached to a song sung by a conjurer, but it may be borne also by a dream, disease, by some drug, or by that kind of witchcraft which is called elsewhere the evil eye. Kiúksam shuí'sh is therefore a beneficial or destructive tamánuash agency, which when applied to a patient can cure him or make him worse; when appearing under the shape of a dream, it is a dream of good or one of bad augury.

The conjurer sometimes diversifies his songs, all of which are sung in the *minor* keys, by inserting spoken words relating to the condition of the patient and the effects of his treatments; specimens of this are given in 38. 54. 55. Parts of them are also repeated by the chorus.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 158; 51. The paint was put on expressly for the dance and smeared across her breast or anywhere on body; gûn for kē nû, gē nû, vowel û inverted.

533 755 [302] [193] 158; 54. These spoken words are also repeated by the choristers. The repetition is very long and noisy and winds up in a howling. tutiχólatko, after having ceased to dream. This would imply, that after dreams fasting must be observed as a religious custom. k̲'lékshashtala for the correct form k̲'lekápkashtala. This phrase occurs in 68, 8., and is explained in *Note.*

158; 55. The meaning is rather obscure, probably owing to omissions.

Kiúksham shuí'sh.

CONJURER'S INCANTATIONS.

● [115] Obtained from Chief Johnson and Sub-chief Dave Hill.

1. *Song of the disease:*

Nä'pakshtka hínui nû; k̲aluáshtat nû

By sickness I am prostrate; I am (now) up in the clear sky.

2. *Song of the woodpecker:*

Kóshash ká-a nû piupiutánna –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am picking hard at the bark of a pine tree.

3. *Song of the túktukuash-hawk:*

Kuáta nû tchiliká nû ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑

I am pinching hard.

4. *Song of the white-headed eagle:*

K̲aluáshtat nû tchutchúa ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑

I am croaking high up in the skies.

5. *Song of the weasel:*

Käílash nû shuína a ni yána ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́

From under the ground I am singing.

6. *Song of the mink:*

Atín tchelä'wash géna ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́

Ripples in the water-sheet I am spreading far and wide.

7. *Song of the skunk:*

Té-i, té-i, ksiúlχa –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

With shortened steps I am dancing.

* 539 162; 4. Of the yaúyal, white-headed or bald eagle, Haliaetus leucocephalus, another
533 conjurer's song was obtained. Cf. 165; 5.

755 162; 5. The wording of this song could not be obtained with certainty.

192 162; 6. Stands for: atí tchelä'wash nû géna.

[825] 162; 7. té-i, té-i has no meaning, but simply serves to beat the measure when dancing with short steps.

163; 8. This song is said to be that of the quiver (tókanksh) and its purport the same as that of No. 7. Yáhiash is a kind of aquatic bird.

163; 9. A similarly worded song is in the Modoc collection, given by Toby Riddle.

163; 10. Sháwalsh is here lengthened into sháwallsh for metrical reasons.

163; 11. This is a favorite song of a kíuks on the Williamson River, called Skúkum Doctor (stout doctor). Given by Dave Hill, also 12 and 13.

[776] 163; 13. Foot-prints not larger than those of a baby are sometimes discovered in the higher mountains of the Cascade Range. The Indians refer them to a dwarf called na'hnias, whose body can be seen by the conjurers of the tribe only. The dwarf gives them his advice for curing the sicknesses of others and inspires them with a superior kind of knowledge.

163; 14–16 were dictated by an Indian whom I found at Linkville.

163; 15. The name of the animal, probably a bird, to which this conjurer's song refers was not obtained. Cf. shápsam ptchíwip in Dictionary.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSAM SHUI'SH.

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[115]

INCANTATIONS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE CONJURERS.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN.

1. *Song of the Lake:*

Ktsálui gé-u é-ush

My lake is glittering in azure colors.

2. *Song of the rain-storm:*

Gé-u a-i népaks népka,
gûlkásh gé-u hû shuísh.

The disease produced by me has arrived,
I am the storm and wind and this is my song.

3. *Song of the conjurer's arrow:*

Gé-u a hû't hänä'sish

This here is my long magic arrow.

4. *Song of the North wind:*

Yámsam gé-u gē'-ish kápa –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑

I am the North wind, and in my path I am irresistible.

000

173; 6. The wind, while entrusted with the search for the disease, is blowing through the skies and sweeping over the earth.

174; 7. The mythic elks who sang this were said to be endowed with human faculties. Allusions not traceable.

174; 8. This is an incantation which would seem to proceed rather from a duck or goose beating its wings while chasing another, than from a fisher. First line Modoc, second, Klamath Lake.

174; 9. The animal had found the *disease* in the water and chased it out to the shore; when there it set the shore on fire and the ground was shaken up under its destructive, ravaging steps.

174; 11. The weasel, returning from its errand, reports to the conjurer, that having found the cause of the patient's disease to be a wicked skû'ks's heart, this was brought by the weasel to the spirit land and breathed out, to be left there. This is the most probable interpretation of all those suggested, for song 11. is said to form a sequel to the weasel's song 10.

174; 13. The kíuks had sent the red headed woodpecker to prospect for his patient's disease in the atmosphere. Alliteration and assonance in profusion.

175; 14. *Meaning:* My eyes are well fitted for the discovery of the patient's disease, hovering in the air, for they are acute, being those of the owl; I am just stepping up my lodge-ladder, the speckled bark of a tree, on the search for the disease. Alliteration is a prominent feature in this incantation. Cf. *Note* to 122, 1. 2.

175; 15. Sent by the conjurer, the spider goes up in the web to prospect for the disease. The verb shows the prefix l-, because the body of the spider is round-shaped.

175; 16. On falling sick, a spirit orders the patient to sing and repeat this Earth-song line for hours.

175; 17. "I have recovered the use of my senses."

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● [115]

K̲ÁK̲ASHAM KÍUKSAM SHUÍSH.

INCANTATIONS.

GIVEN BY K̲ÁK̲ASH OR "DOCTOR JOHN" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Kálo. Kálo nû na shä'shatk, slä'wish nû na shä'shatk, nû k̲álo p'lái nû wítsa.

Käíla. Käíla ai nû shuí'sh gi; käíla ai ní wálta, käíla nû ai shawálta.

Lä'k. Sháshapsh na shä'shatk; sháshapsham génuish, gé-u génhuish nû géna.

Witä'm. Nû ai witä'm gi, nû ai shúina witä'm; nû ai na shä'shatk an, at an géna: géna an atí, gémpēle an.

*539 generation, while others contain words of the language actually in use but ground down
533 or defaced in such a manner as to make them unintelligible. The variations in which these songs are sung are infinite in number, since they are fancifully produced at the will of the singer. I thought it sufficient to give a few of these variations only, and took care to mark the higher pitch of the voice, a sort of musical arsis, by the accentuation. The majority of them form an accompaniment to the motions made while gambling.

[115] 194; 9–17 were obtained from a young Indian, Frank, living on the Williamson River. Cf. page 91, second *Note*.

194; 16. kalena tená is rendered by: "ye are all dead at once"; which means: all of you have lost in the game.

[171] 194; 18–195; 4. Playing tunes sung by Modoc and Klamath Lake Indians when sitting at a spélshna or other game, also while musing, travelling or working; given by Jeff. C. D. Riddle. The person who deals the sticks in the spélshna-game is the one who sings the tune.

[171] 194; 18 and 19. 20 and 21. 22. Melodious tunes sung by Modocs and recently introduced among these Indians.

195; 2. 3. These are among the most frequent tunes hummed while playing the spélshna-game. Like 3 and 4, 1 and 2 are often sung alternately.

195; 3. 4. These words are made up from the terms by which butterflies are called: walwilégash, yapalpuléash.

A. These dance-tunes, 195; 5–9, are in use among the Klamath Lake people and were obtained from Minnie Froben. The first of them sounds almost like 194; 4. 5. Little bells are often rung while dances are performed and dance-tunes are sung. Women and girls of the Modoc tribe end their songs with a protracted î-û, while the men habitually conclude them with a loud u-ŏ'hu.

B and D. Obtained from Dave Hill; sung among the Klamath Lake people.

C. Given by Long John's Ben. They begin with the sound h-, like the majority of the Shasti tunes.

E. All obtained from Jeff. C. D. Riddle.

196; 1. Repeated indefinitely, as soon as dancing assumes a *quicker* measure. Compare with it the song of the skunk 162; 7, that of the quiver, 163; 8, and *Notes*.

196; 3. stáni, *full*, seems to allude to the formation of a ring for dancing. Cf. stá hashámpka 23, 12. and what is said of 196; 7.

196; 4. 5. The last group in this tune, hoyó winnā'-ā', serves sometimes as a refrain, sometimes as a stop.

196; 7. Of foreign introduction, as shown by the sound r. Sung in alternation with stán, stán 196; 3 and said to come from Warm Spring Indians. 196; 2 sounds very much like: "how do you do, sir?"

196; 8. Probably contains the words: k̲'leká a hû, "he, she is dead"; kēlayá-a serves as a refrain, sometimes as a stop.

196; 9. The day before the funeral of Púkish, mentioned in Doctor John's trial, I heard his aged mother sing this tune. Other mourners in the funeral tent sang what is contained in 196; 8. 10.

196; 10. Funeral tune heard from Snake Indians at Yáneks, on Klamath reservation. They join hands and sing this melancholy tune for hours; the higher the deceased stood in his tribe, the longer lasts the wailing.

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INTRODUCTION

114 The texts presented here were collected during the summers of 1955,
1956, and 1957 which were spent among the Klamath Indians at Chiloquin,
122 Oregon. The field work was carried out under the auspices of the Survey
of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of
115 California, Berkeley. The narrators of the myth texts were Mr. Robert
David, Mrs. Pansy Ohles, and Mr. Grover Pompey; the ethnographic materials were obtained from the first two of these and from Mrs. Aggie
Butler, Mrs. Grover Pompey, and Miss Irene Skellock.

126 Most of these texts were recorded directly on tape, but some were taken down first in dictated form and were taped later. Of the myths, only Texts 1 and 7 were not recorded on tape. Of the ethnographic materials, Texts 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, and 35 were dictated only.

[124] No really exhaustive attempt was made to obtain a complete collection of Klamath myth texts. Instead, the author aimed at a representative collection of materials, including myths told by several informants, autobiographical experiences, ethnographic texts, historical incidents, conversation, and also the responses to a series of elicitation pictures (Text 39). It was felt that these texts would provide, on the one hand, good illustrative material for further linguistic studies in Klamath, and, on the other hand, a representative sampling of myths and ethnographic material of interest to the folklorist and ethnologist.

114 The collections of Klamath myths so far published are limited to A. S. Gatschet's "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. II, pts. 1 and 2, Washington, 1890) and some brief song and medicine texts in Leslie Spier's "Klamath Ethnography" (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, 1930). More recently, Dr. Theodore Stern of the University of Oregon has collected a large number of Klamath myths. The author understands that Dr. Spier also possesses a collection of myths. It is urgently hoped that both of these will be published in the near future.

128 The present collection is divided into two major parts: Myths, and
773 Ethnographic Texts. The former contains tales about the inhabitants of

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Mrs. Pansy Ohles

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Mrs. Jones starting a basket

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Robert David and granddaughter

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Billet Lobert

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Andrew Ortiz, Jr., opening wokas pods

[Pp. 124-125 contain no ethnographic material]

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[title page 1]

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KLAMATH ETHNOGRAPHY 000

BY

LESLIE SPIER

[title page 2]

[pi]

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

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A	Anthropos.
l'A	L'Anthropologie.
AA	American Anthropologist.
AAA-M	American Anthropological Association, Memoirs.
ArA	Archiv für Anthropologie.
AES-P	American Ethnological Society, Publications.
AGW-M	Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien, Mitteilungen.
AJPA	American Journal of Physical Anthropology.
AMNH	American Museum of Natural History—
-AP	Anthropological Papers.
-B	Bulletin.
-M	Memoirs.
-MA	Memoirs, Anthropological Series.
-MJ	Memoirs, Jesup Expedition.
BAE	Bureau of American Ethnology—
-B	Bulletins.
-R	(Annual) Reports.
CNAE	Contributions to North American Ethnology.
CU-CA	Columbia University, Contributions to Anthropology.
FL	Folk-Lore.
FMNH	Field Museum of Natural History—
-M	Memoirs.
-PAS	Publications, Anthropological Series.
IAE	Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie.
ICA	International Congress of Americanists (Comptes Rendus, Proceedings).
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics.
JAFL	Journal of American Folk-Lore.
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
MAIHF	Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation—
-C	Contributions.
-IN	Indian Notes.
-INM	Indian Notes and Monographs.
PM	Peabody Museum (of Harvard University)—
-M	Memoirs.
-P	Papers.
-R	Reports.
PMM-B	Public Museum (of the City) of Milwaukee, Bulletin
SAP-J	Société des Américanistes de Paris, Journal.
SI	Smithsonian Institution—
AR	Annual Reports.
CK	Contributions to Knowledge.
-MC	Miscellaneous Collections.
UC-PAAE	University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
UPM-AP	University of Pennsylvania (University) Museum, Anthropological Publications.
USNM	United States National Museum—
-R	Reports.
-P	Proceedings.
UW-PA	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology.
ZE	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.

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1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

INTRODUCTION

The present study is based on information gathered among the Klamath for the University of California during two visits, each for a month, in 1925 and 1926. Klamath material culture was partly known from Barrett's description of his collection made twenty years ago. The immediate need appeared to be a study of their religion and social organization. Gatschet's account of The Klamath Indians published in 1890 contains many data on shamans' songs and allied topics, but it does not provide any systematic notion of their meaning. 114

The Klamath still live in their old home in southern Oregon, but their ancient culture exists only in their memories, save as the older people keep up domestic pursuits. Yet even middle-aged people have a very good knowledge of it. My elderly informants had all participated in the old life in their youth. These were Nancy Phillips, Pat Kane, and Coley Ball, all three about seventy, and Thomas Lang, about fifty-five. With the exception of Mrs. Phillips they gave information in English: in her case (the most valuable material) Mr. Lang and his son Delford acted as interpreters. 131 178 115

The social life of the Klamath is so much a thing of the past that only its formal aspects can now be recovered. An intimate picture is impossible. But to avoid a stilted expression I have written the account in the historical present. The description of material culture and economic life is not complete. It is still partly extant among the Klamath and well worth investigating. 128

In a final section I have attempted to place the Klamath in a setting of western cultures as a whole. This has been difficult because of the lack of comparative data from much of the northwest; further, only a fraction of the published accounts is available to me at this writing (in Norman, Oklahoma).

The phonetic scheme is the simpler system of the Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages (Smithsonian Misc. Coll., 66, no. 6, 1916), modified as:

ä as in *Allen*, pronounced more like *Ellen*.
ŋ as in si*ng*.
ᴇ indefinite, obscure vowel; very short duration.
ḳ very far back.
ʀ cerebral; tongue tip probably turned back as Gatschet states (the sequence kr also occurs).
g̣ cerebral; may be the same sound.

[p. vii]

128 A number of observations were made by my Klamath informants on the cultural habits of Molala, Northern Paiute, Upland Takelma, Modoc, and Achomawi-Atsugewi. I have included these as they demonstrate the sort of resemblances and differences of interest to my informants, and also because so few data are in print concerning these peoples. They will be found on the pages indicated:

Molala, pp. 4, 9, 24, 41, 59, 107, 158, 194, 214, 215.
Northern Paiute, pp. 58, 79, 81, 86, 90, 105, 158, 188, 190.
Upland Takelma, pp. 4, 24, 28, 29, 32, 35, 58, 59, 71, 177, 217.
Modoc, pp. 41, 42, 58, 81, 120, 158, 164, 175, 178, 190.
Achomawi-Atsugewi, pp. 59, 79, 190, 194.

[p. viii]

[pp. ix and x are blank]

KLAMATH ETHNOGRAPHY

BY

LESLIE SPIER

I. KLAMATH SOCIAL LIFE

THE KLAMATH AND THEIR TERRITORY

Tribal Relations and Population

101 197 The Klamath are the northern of the two major dialectic groups of the Lutuami linguistic stock, the other, the Modoc. Dialectically there is little difference, but of the two the Klamath have the richer, more specialized culture.

101 The Klamath recognize a number of local autonomous subdivisions but consider themselves a social unit. They call themselves ma'klaks, men;[1] all other tribes are known by directional or locality names. The origin of the designation Klamath is obscure; incidentally they pronounce this klă'mĕt, much as the early travelers wrote it. It is not a native name and evidently differs so much from native forms that none of my informants even attempted an etymology. Curiously enough, all the Klamath reserve the name for the Klamath marsh-Williamson river subdivision (ä'ukckni); others are "Klamath" only by courtesy. [114] The reason may be that this is not only the numerically strongest subdivision, but the reservation on which they are now concentrated is little more than the old ä'ukckni territory. Gatschet suggested that the name is a Yurok word.

Its earliest use is perhaps that of Ogden in 1826. He uses the name "Clammitte" before reaching the country, possibly learning it among the Columbia river tribes. Yet members of his party had visited the Klamath country the year previous and may have learned it there. Elliott suggests an origin in "French Clair-metis, meaning a light mist or cloud."[2] Incidentally there is now no good reason for

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[1] Gatschet states that the form ma'klaks (ma'Elaks in my orthography) means one of themselves, máklaks, any other Indian (Gatschet, 1, xxxiii). My informants denied the existence of any such distinction, and indeed of the first form.

[2] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 202.

101 114 using the name for others on the Klamath river, whatever the local usage in northern California. It will save the need for cumbersome titles like "the Klamath Lake Indians" if the name is reserved for the people described in this paper.

The Klamath are called dak'-ts!a^{a}m-al-a'^{i} or dak'-ts!a^{a}w-an-a'^{i}, "those above the lakes," by the Takelma of middle Rogue river[3] and wols by the Hanis or Upland Takelma of the Medford-Ashland district.[4] The Kalapuya call them Athlámeth,[5] which Kroeber suggests as a possible origin of Klamath.[6] Gatschet states that

> the Warm Spring and other Sahaptin Indians possess a generic name for all the Indians living upon this reservation and its vicinity: Aigspaluma, abbr. Aigspalo, Aikspalu, *people of the chipmunks*, from the innumerable rodents peopling that pine covered district. This term comprises Snake, Payute, and Modoc Indians, as well as the Klamath Lake people.[7]

This appeals to me much as a folk etymology from a hybrid "people of ă'ukci' (Klamath marsh)." The same authority gives as Shasta designations makai'tserk and au'ksiwash. This Kroeber reproduces in the form auk-"siwash," as if compounded from the Chinook jargon word for Indian, but the first part also suggests ă'ukci. To the Pit river Indians (Achomawi and Atsugewi) they are ala'mmimakt ish, from ala'mmig, upper Klamath lake.[8] Curiously enough none of my informants knew what the Northern Paiute call them; Gatschet gives sa'yi, which is suspiciously like the name they give the Paiute, sat.

101 The Klamath make little distinction between tribes at a distance, naming them indiscriminately by direction. Thus the Modoc are mo'adŏk ma'klaks, south people, or mo'adŏkkni, southerners, the Pit river tribes, moă'tuwas, all derived from mo'as, south. At least one group of Modoc, gu'mbatwas, is distinguished by dialect.[9] No distinction is made between the several tribes of the upper Pit river (Achomawi, Atsugewi, etc.). A southern people called ḳadō'kiwōs is known but probably only since the white advent. They lived thirty or forty miles west of Mount Shasta, near the Shasta, and

---

[3] Sapir, Takelma Texts, 257; Notes on the Takelma, 255.

[4] This is Klamath information. By this word (wàlx, meaning enemies, Upland Takelma, or Shasta in Takelma proper) I identify the Hanis or Wa'lŏmskni with Sapir's Upland Takelma (Notes, 252).

[5] Gatschet, 1:xxxiv.

[6] Handbook, 319.

[7] *Op cit.*, 1:xxxiii.

[8] See also Merriam, 48.

[9] "The Kámbatuash lived on southeastern end of Tule (or Rhett) Lake, California." (Gatschet, 1:14.)

hunted on the Klamath river above them. This seems to be the Shasta 101 name for the Wintun of Trinity river, hatukwiwa or hatukeyu, which agrees with Gatschet's ascription, Sacramento Valley Indians.[10] The Shasta themselves are known only as cā'sti. This might be taken as the long sought origin of the name Shasta, was there not the suspicion that its use may be only recent, displacing another and older application of "southerners" to them. Their principal seat near Yreka is cā'stikān, Shasta place.

Similarly all northern tribes are ya'mōkkni, northerners (from ya'mōt, north). By exclusion of the Indians at Warm Springs and the Dalles, however, this has come to mean the half Plains-like tribes farther up the Columbia. The Warm Springs people and those at [114] Celilo near the Dalles are wātā'nkkni, a form which indicates that they are named for their locality. Gatschet gives wäitāngi'sham and lókuashtkni.[11] The linked tribes at the Dalles, Wasco and Wishram, are the ō'mpkānkni, those of the locality ō'mpkān, which by description must be in the neighborhood of Wasco, Oregon. This suggests that the word is from a'mbɛ, water (with a common locative suffix, cf. cā'stikān, tcōkān, service berry tract), hence is a translation into Klamath of the name Wasco. This, according to my own Wishram information, means "like a pan" (wask'o) and refers to a spring at or near the present town of that name.

Since I completed field work with the Klamath, there has appeared Teit's 101 paper defining the original occupation and the extensive tribal movements in 114 northern Oregon and eastern Washington.[12] Had this been available, it would undoubtedly have been possible to render more exactly the meanings of ya'mōkkni and wātā'nkkni.

It appears *from* Teit's conclusive evidence that at the opening of the eighteenth century all of eastern Washington was Salish territory as far as the Dalles. South of the Columbia was a band of Waiilatpuan territory, with the Molala on the middle Deschutes and in the mountains to the west, and with the Cayuse eastward of them nearly to the Snake river. South of these again were the Sahaptin peoples with the Cascade range and the Klamath on their west, the Nez Percé to the northeast, and the Snake groups on their other boundaries.

A series of movements beginning in the eighteenth century resulted in the withdrawal of the Salish to north of Priest Rapids because of the occupation of their territory by Sahaptins and the Cayuse. The Molala also withdrew into

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[10] Kroeber, Handbook, 355; Gatschet, 1:393.

[11] *Op. cit.*, 1:lvi, 18. My informants ascribed to them painted tipis (so'klōks) of buffalo skin, long dance lodges made on a foundation of tipis, but no earth-lodges.

[12] The Middle Columbia Salish.

101 114 the mountains and westward even beyond the Willamette valley, the Sahaptin Tyighpam settling in part of their country and the Tenino joining the Wasco. The immediate cause of these movements seems to have been the pressure of Snake raids, at their height about 1800–30. This is consonant with the very early acquisition of the horse by the Snake and their known warlike relations with the Plains tribes, which Wissler has demonstrated.[13]

This would explain the wide expanse of vacant country between the Klamath and the Dalles or at least as far as Warm Springs. In addition, Teit writes: "For a number of years the south side of the Columbia between Wallawalla and The Dalles was practically devoid of inhabitants" for fear of Snake raids. My informant, Coley Ball, stated that about 1865–70 there were no settlements between Klamath marsh and the Wasco villages at the Dalles. There were no Molala east of the Cascades. How recently the mixed group of Wasco-Tyighpam-Tenino occupied the Warm Springs country, I do not know. This would also explain the anomalous position of a Molala group on the very headwaters of the Rogue river where presumably they represent the final southerly drift along the western crest of the Cascade range.

101 West of the Cascades are Upland Taḳelma in the region from Ashland to Table Rock. They are wa'lümskni; Mount Pitt is wa'lümsyaina (yaina, mountain); the name then is regional, not directional. They are called ha'nis quite as frequently, but this name, which is properly that of the Coos group at Coos bay, has evidently been extended to them and others since the remnants of these tribes were collected at Siletz reservation.[14] In the extreme upper Rogue valley are Molala, tcōkä'nkni, those of the service berry (tcōk) patch.[15] [114] Gatschet gives mókai or móke as the Ḳlamath name for the Kalapuya.[16] Beyond these groups none of the western Indians are known. Those of the lower Rogue river are now called soljo'ḳkni, those of the salt water, but this is from the Chinook jargon, saltchuck.[17]

All the Shoshoneans to the east are called sat; no distinctions are made. The actual neighbors are those groups known to us variously as Northern Paiute (Paviotso) and Snake. The Snake proper and Bannock may not have been in Oregon prior to the acquisition of the horse.

---

[13] The Influence of the Horse, 13.

[14] Frachtenberg, Coos and Siuslawan (Lower Umpqua), 306, 441. One informant told me that the last of the wa'lümskni, three old women, are still to be found at Siletz.

[15] My informants insisted this name was given because the Molala eat service berries. On the other hand one gave me as a Molala tale an incident in which the culture hero makes people of service berry bushes. One way or the other this looks like folk etymology. Their winter town was bū'ḳstubū'ḳa, a little below Prospect.

[16] *Op. cit.*, 2:217.

[17] See my Tribal Distribution in Southwestern Oregon.

174
161

The Klamath numbered 3000 in the historic period, the Modoc not so many. This is the testimony of Tom Lang, yet the number is much too large. Palmer[18] put their number at 415 in thirteen villages in 1854, but his list of villages indicates that he counted only the ä'ukckni (Klamath marsh) division. This would be about eighty-three families, a reasonable average of six houses to a settlement. At the time, however, the Klamath were said to be considerably reduced, and I was told of twenty-nine or more ä'ukckni settlements dating from this period, and said to be all occupied at the time. Yet, as no great epidemic was reported, it is doubtful that the population had been diminished by half. Possibly the occupation of the sites was more seasonal than I was told: a movement to Klamath marsh in summer, returning to the warmer Williamson valley in winter. Assuming a partial reduction and some fluctuating occupation, we may arbitrarily set the ä'ukckni at half as many again, say 600. The ä'ukckni settlements numbered half of the total and my informants' impression was that in population they were as many as all the other divisions together. This would mean that the Klamath as a whole numbered only 1200. Palmer's figure would give a mere 800, and the evidence of the settlements, a possible 2000. Our twelve hundred is not far from that of Kroeber, who set the combined Klamath and Modoc population at 2000, two-thirds of them being Klamath.[19] Mooney's estimate of 800 seems low.[20]

Early Contacts with the Whites

175

Contacts with the whites date back to 1825 or somewhat earlier. In 1826–27 Peter Ogden spent two months among the Klamath.[21] His first meeting with them seems to have been on Klamath marsh.

[131]
[361]
[342]
[721]

> Wednesday, 30th Nov. [1826]. Course south to Clammitt River [Klamath marsh?] 25 miles from River of the Falls [Deschutes]. Mr. McKay proceeded ahead to an Indian village distant 3 miles. It was composed of 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. Their tents are constantly guarded. They regretted we had opened a communication from the mountains. They said "The Nez Percés have made different attempts to reach our village but could not succeed. Even last summer we discovered a war party of Cayuse and Nez Percés in search of us; but they did not find us. Now they will have yr. road to follow. We have no fire arms. Still we fear them not.

---

[18] Quoted by Gatschet, 1:lviii.

[19] Kroeber, Handbook, 320.

[20] Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 18.

[21] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

> [411] [231] They are well provided with bows and arrows. They have only one horse. Snow is so deep, horses perish for want of food. In winter, they live on roots. In summer on antelope and fish.
>
> December 1st. 30 Clammite Indians paid us a visit: fine men in good condition, but wretchedly clad. They say the river to the ocean is far distant and beaver they do not know. They say the Indians become more numerous as we advance to the ocean. . . . .
>
> [342] [161] [439] Tuesday 6th. Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defence against arrows but not balls. 200 of them collected about our camp and traded 4 days. The 2 chiefs delivered traps lost by Mr. McDonald last year with 8 beaver. This is much in favor of their honesty. On our march this day, we passed the camps from wh. Mr. McDonald turned back last year and are consequently strangers to the country in advance.
>
> [161] Thursday 8th. About 300 Indians around our camp. We advanced 6 miles south following the river south. I estimate the Clammitte nation 250 men.
>
> Monday 12th. Reached the lake [Klamath lake?] 1½ X 15 miles well wooded with maple and hazel; course S.

[361] The second visit on record is that of Frémont, who reached the northern shore of Klamath marsh on December 10, 1843. He saw smoke at what appeared to be the middle of the marsh and along the opposite shore. An unoccupied northern shore agrees with my own information. The following day he visited the village "in the middle of the lake (or savannah)," which appears to be one of those at the outlet of the marsh.

> [342] The huts were grouped together on the bank of the [Klamath] river, which, from being spread out in a shallow marsh at the upper end of the lake, was collected here into a single stream. They were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams.
>
> [226] [252] [285] [291] Almost like plants, these people seem to have adapted themselves to the soil, and to growing on what the immediate locality afforded. Their only subsistence at this time appeared to be a small fish, great quantities of which, that had been smoked and dried, were suspended on strings about the lodge. Heaps of straw were lying around; and their residence in the midst of grass and rushes had taught them a peculiar skill in converting this material to useful purposes. Their shoes were made of straw or grass, which seemed well adapted for a snowy country; and the women wore on their head a closely woven basket, which made a very good cap. Among other things, were parti-colored mats about four feet square, which we purchased to lay on the snow under our blankets, and to use for table cloths.
>
> [231] Numbers of singular-looking dogs, resembling wolves, were sitting on the tops of the huts. . . . .
>
> [648] They made us comprehend that they were at war with the people who lived to the southward and to the eastward; but I could obtain from them no certain information. . . . .
>
> This morning the camp was thronged with Tlamath Indians from the southeastern shore of the lake. . . . .

Frémont also remarked on the scarcity of their horses.[22]

Frémont reached Klamath lake again May 6, 1846. He commented [231]
on the outlet, Link river, "this is a great fishing station for the
Indians." His statement on the distribution of their settlements [226]
coincides with my information.

> They have fixed habitations around the shores of the lake, particularly at [361]
> the outlet and inlet [Williamson river], and along the inlet up to the swamp
> meadow [Klamath marsh], where I met the Tlamaths in the winter of '43–'44, [131]
> and where we narrowly escaped disaster. . . . . The Indians made me understand that there was another large river [Williamson river] which came from [133]
> the north and flowed into the lake at the northern end, and that the principal
> village was at its mouth, where also they caught many fish.

Frémont's party made a circuit of the lake. It is curious that he does not mention the settlements about Pelican lake on the western side, which he could hardly have avoided. On the other hand it is not clear how closely his memoirs follow his diary. Attacked while [726]
on the western side, his party reciprocated by raiding a village on the opposite side, perhaps one of those on Williamson river just above the present highway bridge.

> Behind the sage-bushes where they had taken their stand every Indian had spread his arrows on the ground in fan-like shape, so that they would be ready to his hand. . . . . Quantities of fish were drying, spread on scaffolds, or hung [252]
> up on frames. The huts, which were made of tall rushes and willows, like
> those on the savannah above [Klamath marsh], were set on fire, and the fish [342]
> and scaffolds were all destroyed.[23] [726]

The first invaders remembered by the Klamath came from the 173
north about 1835. The stories about them have now a legendary flavor.
The first group was mounted; the Klamath dubbed them mpĕ'tkoŋks 437
(from mĕtc!a', to pack about) from their roving habits. An alterna- 648
tive name, pásai'ŭks (French-Canadian in Chinook jargon), more surely identifies them. During their brief stay at the mouth of Williamson river they bought fat dogs of the Klamath, which to the latter's amazement, they ate. For these they gave buttons and metal disks with a central perforation (wika'lkal).

Almost as early was a white contingent moving northward on the 173
west side of Klamath lake. The Indians watched them unseen. They 648
were impressed with the horses, axes, and the food of the whites. 177

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[22] Frémont, Narrative, 122.

[23] Frémont, Memoirs, 483, 484, 494.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[facing p. 8] [A]

102
133
101

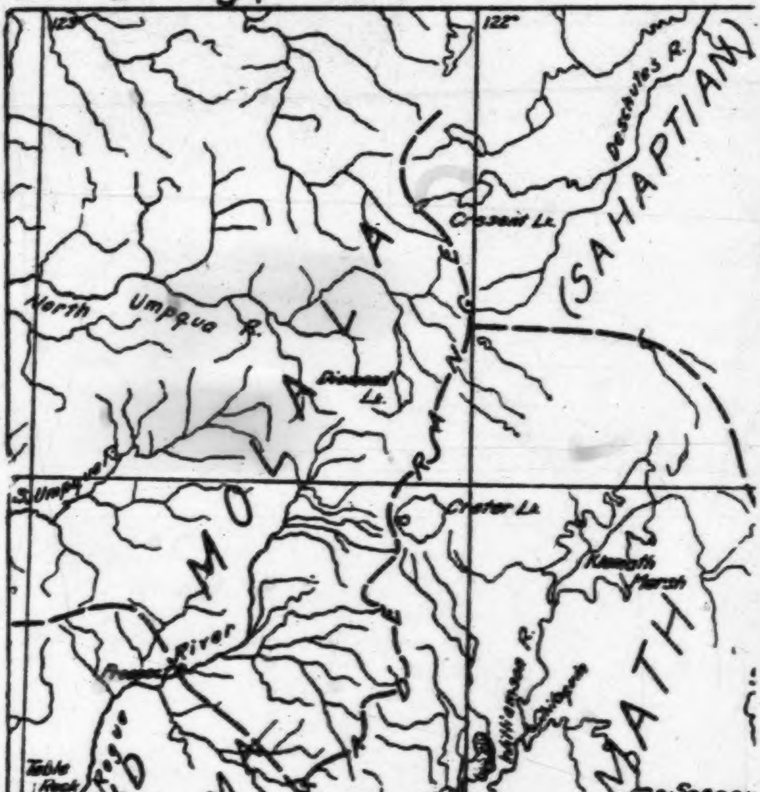
123°
122°
Deschutes R.
Crescent Lk.
(SAHAPTIAN)
North Umpqua R.
Diamond Lk.
S. Umpqua R.
Crater Lk.
Klamath Marsh
Williamson R.
Sprague
Yainax
Rogue River
Table Rock
Mt. Pitt
Medford
Ashland
KLAMATH
Klamath Lk.
Klamath Falls
Lost River
Keno
Lower Klamath Lk.
Tule Lake
UPLAND TAKELMA
SHASTA
Klamath River
MODOC

Fig. 1. Map of Klamath ter

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[facing p.8] [B]

102
133
101

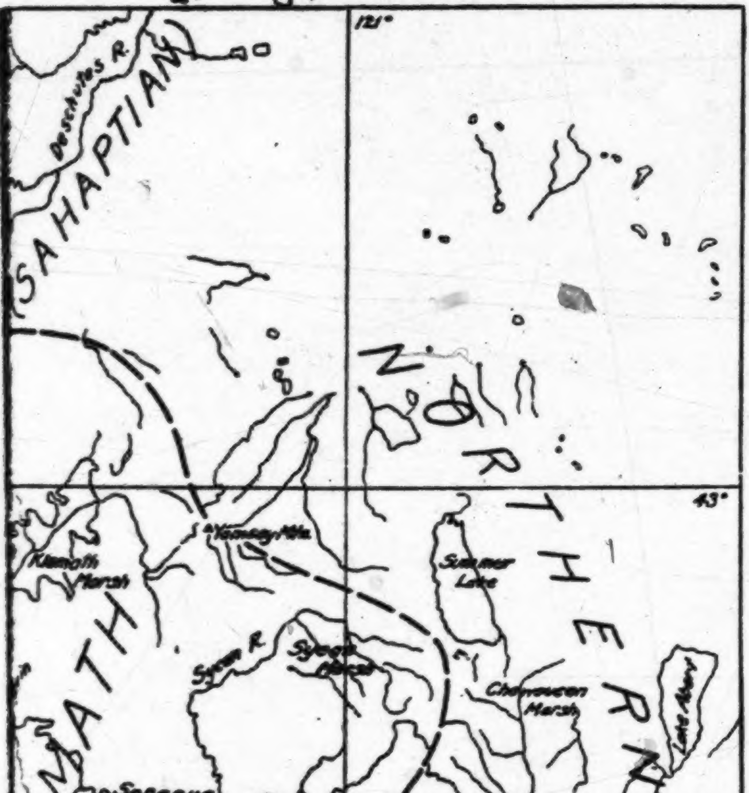
SAHAPTIAN
Deschutes R.
121°
NORTHERN PAIUTE
43°
Yamsay Mtn.
Klamath Marsh
Summer Lake
Sycan R.
Sycan Marsh
Chewaucan Marsh
Lake Abert
KLAMATH
Sprague River
Yainax
Klamath Falls
Olene
Lost River
MODOC
Tule Lake
Lk.
Goose Lake
42°

Map of Klamath territory.

173 177 [302] When the latter broke camp they left behind a little flour, which the Indians carried home and divided. They rubbed it on their palms and smeared their faces.[24]

648 648 Other early whites came from the southeast on horseback. This marked the beginning of the great migration by way of the Modoc country to the Pacific slope. On the whole the Klamath came off remarkably well in their relations with the whites. The full brunt of immigration was borne by Modoc and Pit River peoples. The Klamath were spared the Oregon wars of the fifties, which all but annihilated the tribes of western Oregon and northern California.[25] The earliest white settlements in the neighborhood were about the present Jacksonville, Medford, and Ashland. The first white settlement within Klamath territory was near the village of kowa'edi at the northern end of the lake. This was about 1860–65, hence may have reference to the first agency established there. Subsequent relations have been on the whole quite amicable. The Klamath took no part in the Modoc war of 1872–73.

Habitat

131 133 The territory of the Klamath is on the high plateau of eastern Oregon, in the shallow basin wherein lies the group of lakes that give rise to Klamath river. The southern half of this basin about lower Klamath and Tule lakes is Modoc territory, extending southward across the lava beds in the direction of Pit river. The northern half, which lies against the Cascade range, is the home of the Klamath.

[361] The Klamath properly reside on Klamath lake (or as it was formerly known, upper or middle Klamath lake), on Klamath marsh, and on Williamson river, which connects them. At least, most of the permanent winter settlements are on these three waters, with a scattering on their tributaries. Summer camps are established over a much wider territory, as far, it would seem, as the natural limits of this drainage area.

---

[263] [24] Salt was equally unknown to them at this time.

[174] [648] [25] A somewhat obscure account was given me of the inclusion of Klamath in the great round-up of western Oregon Indians on Siletz (?) reservation in the fifties. These had been wintering at the Dalles and were herded with the Indians there. The Upland Takelma and Molala were penned in together and fed by the soldiers. Some died every day; the Klamath suspected that they were poisoned. The Klamath were kept apart, and, thanks to the strenuous arguments of their chief Lale'ks, were not only freed but supplied with beef and an escort of soldiery to conduct them back to their own country.

The western and southern limits of the range are easiest to define 101
because of the topography and the proximity of other tribes. To the 131
east and north the open deserts and broken country extend indefinitely. 133
The nearest of the shifting settlements of Northern Paiute on the east
at Goose and Summer lakes are sixty and more miles from Klamath
lake. Those of the Warm Springs tribes are one hundred and fifty
miles distant, more than halfway across Oregon. Teit's data show [175]
that more than a century ago the neighbors of the Klamath in this
direction were the Sahaptins at no great distance and beyond them
Molala and Cayuse.

The wide plain south of Klamath Falls seems to have been unoc- 101
cupied. The Modoc lived south of the Lost River hills about Tule lake
and on lower Klamath lake. My Klamath informant doubted that 131
they lived on Miller lake, or had permanent settlements on Lost river. 174
Both tribes congregated at one place only for the early spring fishing,
namely on Lost river, a mile or more below the buttes at Olene. The [226]
Klamath camp site is on the north bank, the Modoc on the south.

The southern boundary of Klamath territory skirts the Klamath
valley from this place as far downstream as Spencer creek, near the 101
California-Oregon line, below the canyon of the Klamath. Below this 131
on the river are the Shasta, whose northernmost outposts are on Shovel
creek and north of the river on Jennie creek. The Klamath have no [226]
settlements on the river, but fish, hunt, and gather roots at such points [224]
as Keno, Spencer creek (ma'lbuk'is), and at laik'ělmi, five or six miles [222]
upstream from Dorris (*1*).

The western boundary is the Cascade watershed, including, however, territory on the northwest side of Mount Pitt (Mount McLoughlin) and again southwest of Crater lake. The Klamath hunt northwest of this conspicuous mountain in a region of many streams called la'ndjli (possibly an American name). Fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake is Huckleberry mountain (iwumkä'ni, huckleberry place) where the Klamath meet the Molala similarly engaged in berry picking. The latter regularly occupy the highlands of the upper Rogue river drainage above Trail creek or some point below Prospect. These Molala form a southern extension of that tribe from the upper Umpqua drainage.

The northern and eastern boundaries are somewhat indefinite. Palmer stated:

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

> 101 131 East of the Cascade mountains, and south of the 44th parallel, is a country not attached particularly to any agency. That portion at the eastern base of this range, extending twenty-five or thirty miles east, and south to the California line, is the country of the Klamath Indians.[26]

This is essentially correct although the boundary might better be set somewhat farther south to exclude the headwaters of the Deschutes, in earlier times the home of Sahaptin peoples. The country north of Klamath marsh is considered too open and cold for settlement. On the eastern border are a series of lakes (Silver, Summer, Abert, Goose) and rims which give on the desert to the east. There are Northern Paiute settlements on the eastern sides of Summer and Goose lakes, perhaps those of the Walpahpas mentioned by Meacham.

> 648 The meeting with the Klamath and Snakes was one of interest to all parties, from the fact that they had been enemies, and the chiefs had not met in person since peace was restored. Living in the country intervening [presumably Summer to Goose lakes] was a small tribe of Wal-pah-pas, who are half Snake and half Klamath. They were mediators, though sometimes fighting on alternate sides, as interest or affront gave occasion.[27]

101 131 221 Sycan river, Sycan marsh, and Yamsay mountain are summer resorts of the Klamath, who had their easternmost settlement (hledlelue'luke) somewhere west of Gearhart mountain. Chewaucan marsh, between Summer and Abert lakes, was probably also visited, although I was not told so. Its name is Klamath, probably tcuwa'kän, arrowhead place, derived from the abundance of arrowhead or wappatoo roots (tcuwa') gathered there.[28]

SETTLEMENTS

221 The occupation of this territory is determined by the manner of life. The fixed villages are the winter residences to which people return year after year. Early spring finds them leaving for favorable fishing stations where there are successive fish runs. Through the summer they move to the prairies to gather edible roots and berries or to the mountain and desert to hunt. During most of this time families are widely scattered and the winter villages quite deserted, but with the ripening of pond lily seeds in the marshes during August and September they again congregate. [262] The pond lilies grow in enormous quantities, the seeds (wo'kas) constituting a staple second only in importance to fish.

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[26] Palmer in Report, Comm. Indian Affairs, 262, 1854.

[27] Meacham, Wigwam and War-path, 232.

[28] Coville, Notes, 90.

in importance to fish. Summer is also the time of travel and trade, 221
taking people as far as the Dalles where they may elect to spend the
winter. Winters are exceptionally severe at this altitude (4000 feet), [132]
with deep snow and lakes, marshes, and even streams solidly frozen. [133]
Movement is stopped and unless a winter residence has been chosen
which gives some possibility of fishing, starvation may be faced before 221
spring. These winter sites are in sheltered, sunny spots on running
streams or at springs warm enough to prevent ice from forming. The 361
families return in the fall, rebuild the earth-lodges from the remains [226]
of the previous year's structure, and are all snugly housed by mid-December. The only permanent settlements are the winter villages.
The summer residences are shifting, and while reoccupied from year
to year, there is no feeling that particular camping localities belong
to certain groups. The summer camps are rather indiscriminate aggre- [628]
gations of any Klamath, but the winter locations are so fixed of habit
as to give a measure of political separatism to the several localities.

The case of Tom Lang's family is typical. Their permanent winter home is at iu'laloŋᴋ, a large village on the west side of Link river at the foot of Klamath lake, hence Tom is considered one of the southern lake people, iu''laloŋkai generically. His family is accustomed to move for the spring fishing to ditk!aḳs, Barclay spring, or to Modoc point, both on the east side of the lake, where they erect temporary lodges. Crossing the lake to dĕ'ktcoŋks they leave their canoes and travel overland to woḳsa'lks on the north shore of Wokas marsh. Here Tom was born in July. When the berry and wokas harvest is ended they retrace their steps and take canoe to Algoma to pick wild plums, berries, etc. From there they drift back to their winter home.

The towns for the most part lie along Williamson river, on the
southern side of Klamath marsh, and along the eastern shore of Klamath lake. As these are winter settlements, the open lake is avoided,
and occupied only where warm springs outweigh its disadvantages.
They cluster along Williamson river whose sheltered valley is dis- [133]
tinctly warmer than the lake front a few miles distant and where the [132]
running stream contains fish most of the year.

The towns are not isolated, compact groups of houses, but stretch
along the banks for half a mile or more. In fact, the settlements on 361
Williamson river below the Sprague river junction form a practically 342
continuous string of houses for five or six miles, the house pits being,
in many spots, crowded close together. Informants insisted that
many of these were occupied at the same time. When we consider
that these earth-lodges may have housed several families, there is
strong suggestion of a considerable population.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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343
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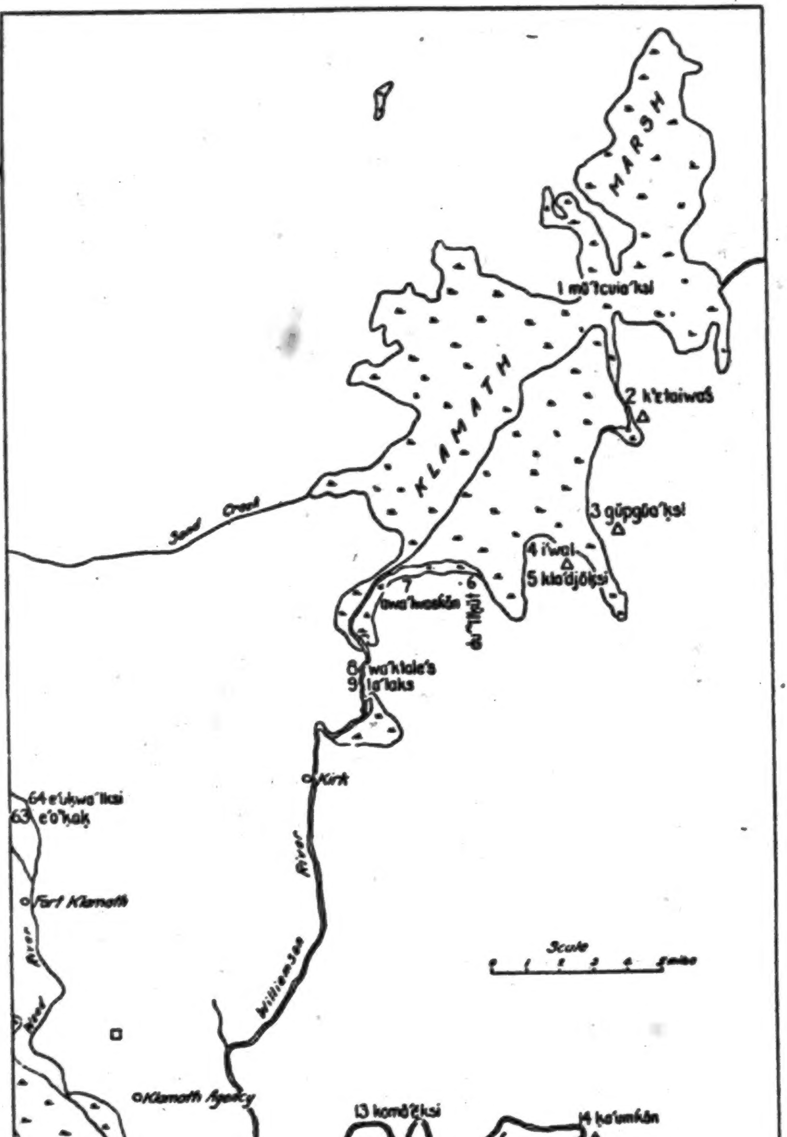
MARSH
1 mū'lcuia'ksi
KLAMATH
2 k'ɛtaiwaš
3 gūpgūa'kṣi
4 i'wal
5 kla'djōkṣi
6 iōlīdi
7
iwa'lwaskān
8 wa'ktale's
9 la'laks
Sand Creek
Kirk
River
Williamson
64 e'ukwa'lksi
63 e'o'kalṣ
Fort Klamath
Wood River
Klamath Agency
13 komā'lksi
14 ka'umkān
Sprague River
44 howa'cdi
Chiloquin
bɛzūkse'was 17
10 lalbō'kstsāksi
AGENCY
LAKE
tūkalmā'kodo
11
12 kiotcwālītts
16
19
27 wela'ksi
k'nai'di
Scale
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles

Fig. 2. Settlements in northern Klamath territory. Triangles represent cremation piles; rectangles, mourners' sweat-lodges.

[p. 12]

361

The towns listed below are mostly winter settlements. Each held one or more earth-lodges. There may be more than are listed on Sprague river, the only part of the region I did not visit. With this exception I think none have been overlooked.[29] The towns are grouped in the list according to tribal subdivisions.

131 361

I. *Klamath marsh—Williamson river group* (*ă'ukckni*).—Settlements are in two principal groups: along the southern margin of Klamath marsh and on the lower Williamson river. Although a few more were indicated in the latter region, I was told that the winter population at the marsh is the larger. They do not live on the western side of the marsh, as the snow-fed streams there are too cold for fish. The upper part of Williamson river, a rugged canyon, is unoccupied, but the towns are practically continuous from above the Sprague river junction down to the point where the river leaves the hills. Several others are on the lake front near-by. Evidently the middle Sprague river settlements should be included with this subdivision, but there is some doubt. Towns there are widely separated and extend a considerable distance up the river; the easternmost is somewhere west of Gearhart mountain. I am not certain that Sycan river is regularly occupied; roots are dug there. Sycan marsh is not occupied; it is a summering place for ă'ukckni, for those of Yainax in particular.

131 361 103

1, mŭ'teuia'ksi, near the bridge toward the eastern end of Klamath marsh.

2, k'ᴇtaiwa's, along the eastern side of the marsh. A cremation pile lies south of this town.

3, gŭpgŭa'ḳsi, houses stretching for perhaps two miles here, with a cremation pile near-by.

4, i'wal, and 5, kla'djŏḳsi, houses for some distance along this tongue extending into the marsh. A third cremation pile is east of i'wal.

6, du'"llḳŭt, a very large town, perhaps a hundred house pits in an area three hundred yards by one hundred. Others extend along the marsh to the east.[30] All the tribelets congregated at this spot in the summer to gather lily seeds.

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[29] Gatschet lists sites (1:xxviii footnote, 142, *passim*). Many of his items are only place names; no permanent town is included that is not also in my list. In a few instances he has misinterpreted his information. [114]

[30] This would be an excellent site for archaeological exploitation. House pits here are more distinct than any others I have seen; elsewhere they have been leveled by the plow. [172]

103 131 7, awa'lwaskăn, at least five earth-lodges here. Houses scattered between this site and the last.

361 8, wa'ktale's, and 9, la'laks, slope steps,[21] two settlements on the higher ground where Williamson river leaves the marsh. The second had twenty houses on both sides of the stream.

[226] [114] 10, lobŏ'kstsŏksi, on the bluff on the left bank of the Sprague river at the railroad bridge, with a few houses on the opposite side. There is a dam for salmon here. Gatschet gives the locality name as ktaí-tú-pakshi, standing rock.[22]

11, A site on the south side of Sprague river below the dam.

12, ḳ!ōtewă'ēts is a large winter settlement about two miles above the dam on the south bank of this river.

[823] [226] 13, komă'ēksi is a site on both sides of the river south of Braymill, four miles from Chiloquin. There is a cave here which was the home of Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero. Near-by is wo'kstat, the site of the only first-fish rites among the Klamath.

14, ḳa'umkăn is about six miles above this cave. Many people lived on both sides of the river there. A cremation pile is there, probably the only one on Sprague river. The place takes its name from a spring (ḳa'ŭm) on the western bank.

Whether there were permanent settlements above this on the river is difficult to say. At least there were settlements (15) of some sort on the river near Yainax before the coming of the whites.

16, hīcdīcluē'luke, a settlement west of Gearhart mountain.

[226] 17, bᴇzŭkse'was (from bᴇzŭks, obsidian); there are many people in this town on the right bank which extends for a mile below the Sprague river mouth. On the opposite side, ha'potgŭs, is a dam in which spring fish are caught; near-by are a few summer houses.

[251] [226] 18, tákalma'keda, a town half a mile long on the right bank. The houses are on the bottomland along the river with quite a number on the opposite flat (19), called k'tai'di, lava. A little south is a part of this settlement, called glă'tspak'is. Of the distinct pits at tákalma'keda, four are about twenty-five feet in diameter, one, fifteen feet. Northward from the town are a considerable number of storage pits and a fish dam.

20, djīgiă's, houses on the river level on both banks and on a higher bench on the right. There is a ford here.

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[21] Gatschet, 1:74. Several other camping places in the vicinity on upper Williamson river are also mentioned.

[22] *Op. cit.*, 1:76.

21, ḳ!o'ltawas, a town of ten or fifteen earth-lodges on the left bank, with houses on the right bank extending to the next settlement downstream. There are otter (ḳ!olt) holes in the right bank, hence the name. A mythical otter that lived here is seen in a rock standing in the water; on his back are his children, smaller rocks. 103 131 361 [823]

22, at'awike, "to catch fish in still water," six to a dozen houses on the right bank; a few on the left. The water here is quiet; fish are caught with the trolling net. [226]

23, ya'ak (ya'ac, willows), two dozen or more houses on the right bank. This was the largest river site in early reservation days, the road from Link river (Klamath falls) fording the river here. Of three house pits together, with their margins nearly in contact, two are twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter, the other fully five feet more. A cremation pile stands on the hill above this town. It is now leveled by marauders, as are all the others in this country, but it apparently covered an area forty feet in diameter.

24, tsa'k'wi, houses on the right bank with a few on the left.

25, wită'mŭmpsi, bear's place (wĭtă'm, black bear). This is a high bluff on the right bank above an eddy in the sharp bend in the river; the scene of vision questing. A large shaman's earth-lodge is located here. Fish are caught all year long above this town. [823] [756]

26, goyᴇmske'ᴇgis, crawfish crawl out, or kiᴇk̆e'trŭs, small lizard, a town half a mile long beginning a quarter-mile above the highway bridge. The houses are on the abrupt slope right to the river's brink, and some on the little bluff above. There are pits of perhaps forty or more houses here, but at least half are dome-shaped cooking houses, for they are for the most part only six to ten feet in diameter, with few as much as fifteen feet. One of eighteen feet has its dome-shaped kitchen lodge clearly indicated on the north side. [226] [343]

27, wᴇla'lksi, named for a big quaking-aspen (wᴇla'l) there, is on the eastern shore of Agency lake. A few ă'ukckni live here in winter, in five or six small houses.

28, loḳ'o'gŭt, warm, a little warm spring near which are two houses on the higher land near Agency lake. [133]

29, teŏ'klalŭmps, service berry, which grows here abundantly, is a town of one or two small houses overlooking the lake where the Chiloquin road meets the lake highway.

Other towns may have been at ya'mᴇi, on the western side of Yamsay mountain, and ḳok̆enă'okᴇ, Spring creek, a large northern affluent of Klamath marsh.

103 131 361 II. *Agency lake group (kowa'cdikni).*—The winter home of these people is on Agency lake, the northern arm of Klamath lake. My questioning did not make it wholly certain that this group is independent of ă'ukckni. In fact they join them at k'ᴇtai'di (19) on Williamson river for the spring fishing.

[756] [226] 44, kowa'cdi is close to the mouth of Wood river. The site is a quarter-mile long. One informant stated that it contained twenty houses, another two earth-lodges (one a shaman's), not incompatible statements. A spring here permits fish to remain all winter. A few houses are at another spring a quarter-mile east.

[133] III. *Lower Williamson river group (du'kwakni).*—These settlements are close to the mouth of Williamson river. This region, du'kwa, is one of marsh, separated by a considerable section of open and higher plain (pᴇnŏ'ŋs) from the nearest ă'ukckni settlements. Pᴇnŏ'ŋs seems not to have been occupied in pre-reservation days, although du'kwakni and ă'ukckni now live there. Du'kwa people seem also to live across the lake at Pelican bay, the home of the gu'mbŏtkni. But whether this is a regular thing, or only a matter of my du'kwa informant's
[222] personal history, I am not sure. At any rate they go to dig roots in the marshes of the western and northern sides of Klamath lake in summer, not to Klamath marsh. Their winter settlements are on the isolated bits of higher ground within a mile of the river mouth, and on the marsh front immediately south. Most of these settlements, too, are on the right bank of the river.

30, mo'aḳsda, five or seven earth-lodges on the left bank nearly a mile above the mouth. Five more houses stood on the opposite bank with numerous springs behind them and the du'kwakni cremation pile a half-mile above.

31, wlckămdi, four or five houses on the right bank below this, one or two a little below, then a cluster of four and another of two farther downstream.

32, la'wa'lstŏt, three houses on the point forming the right side of the river mouth.

33, mo'giŋkünks, the largest settlement in this district with five or six earth-lodges and as usual a number of small structures. This is on the left bank a quarter-mile above the mouth. One or two houses are on this side immediately at the river mouth.

34, djiŋgüs, four or five houses at a spring on the lake front to the east of the mouth, with one or two more farther in the marsh.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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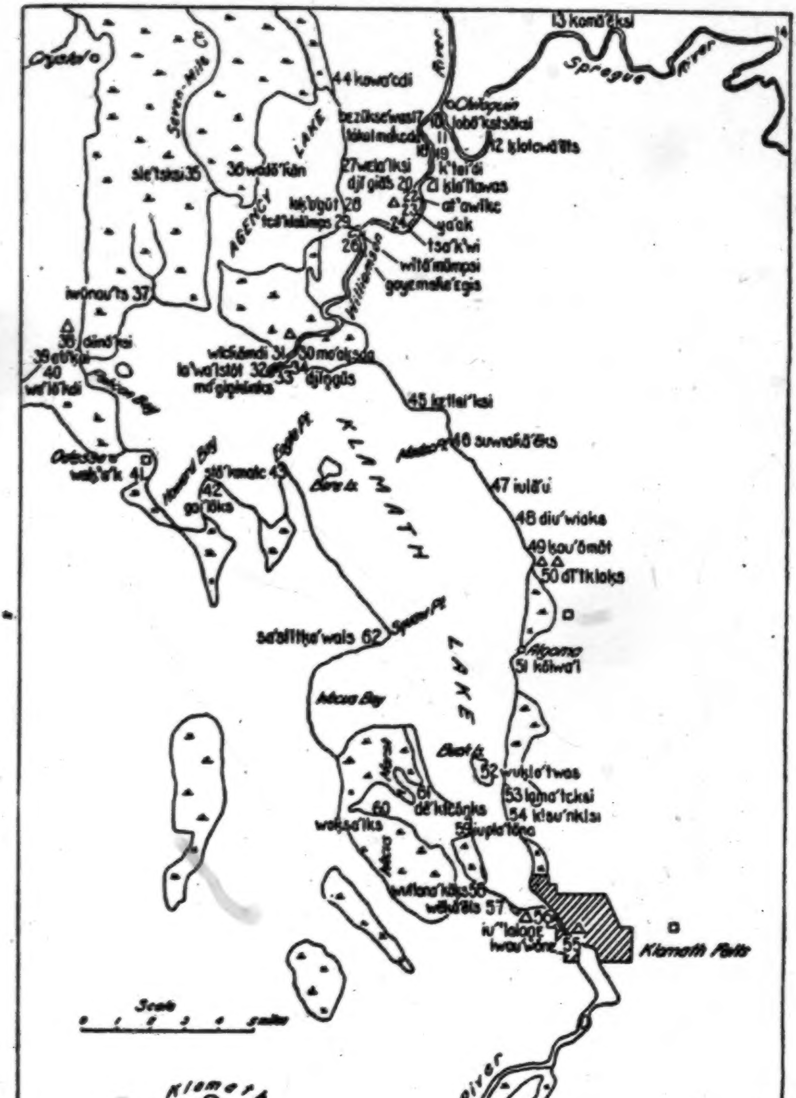
13 komō'ēksi
14
Sprague River
Ouxkkelo
Seven-Mile Cr.
44 kowa'cdi
River
Chiloquin
bezūksé'was17
10 lobō'kstsōkai
tōkelmákcdi
11
18
19
12 kïolcwā'lïts
27 wεla'iksi
k'teiʼdi
djī'gidīs 20
21 kle'ïlawas
22
23
at'awikc
24
ya'ak
tsa'k'wi
sle'tskai 35
36 wadō'kān
LAKE
AGENCY
kεkbgōt 28
tcā'kīalīmps 29
25
26
wïtō'mūmpsi
gayemaña'εgis
Williamson
iwōnau'ts 37
38 dīnō'tsi
39 gū'kai
40
we'lō'kdi
wicbāmdi 31
30 mo'aksda
la'wa'lstōt 32
34
33
djīggūs
mo'gipkāaks
45 kztlai'ksi
Modoc Pt.
46 suwaāā'ēks
KLAMATH
Odessa
wakb'a'k 41
Howard Bay
Eagle Pt.
stō'kmatc 43
42
go'lōks
Bare Is.
47 iulā'u
48 diu'wiaks
49 kau'ōmōt
50 dī'ïklaks
sa'slïltka'wals 62
Squaw Pt.
LAKE
Algoma
51 kōlwa'l
Moore Bay
Buck Is.
52 wukla'twas
53 lama'tcksi
54 klau'nklsi
61
dε'klcānks
60
wakss'lks
59 iupla'lōna
wuflana'kaks 56
wāwā'ēls 57
58
iu''lalone
iwau'wōne
55
Klamath Falls
Scale
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles
Klamath
River
Midland
Lost R.

Fig. 2. Settlements in southern Klamath territory. Triangles represent cremation piles; rectangles, mourners' sweat-lodges.

[p.17]

103

131 361 IV. *Pelican bay group* (*gu'mbŏtkni*).—This includes the Pelican bay district (gu'mbŏt) on the west side of the lake, the settlements along Four Mile creek, and those on the marsh north of the lake. Runs of fish are plentiful on Wood river in the spring when the snow [222] [132] melts on the mountains. People come up along the river in the summer digging camas. But above Fort Klamath there is too much snow to live during the winter.

35, sle'tsksi, a group of two or three earth-lodges on the west side of Seven Mile creek near its mouth. A little spring here keeps the water warm enough for fish even in winter.

36, wudŏ'kăn is a settlement in the marsh a mile from the last, and east of Seven Mile creek.

37, iwŭnau'ts, two earth-lodges on the western side of a little creek emptying into the lake two miles east of Recreation P. O. Houses are scattered along the marsh shore to the northern side of Pelican bay.

38, dŭnŏ'ksi, an open space overlooking the northern end of Pelican bay and containing many earth-lodges. Others are on the lower level, [823] [756] lɛlă'ksti, close to the bay. This is immediately north of the mouth of Four Mile creek. A cremation pile stands a hundred yards north of this town on the slope above the bay, beyond an outcrop of rocks said to be transformed shamans. A big lodge of a shaman on the lower level has a pit twenty-eight feet in diameter; another earth-lodge pit is nearly twenty feet across.

39, e'o'ḳai, four or five earth-lodges a few hundred yards up Four Mile creek on the left bank.

[756] 40, wa'lŏ'kdi, four to eight earth-lodges, one a shaman's, somewhat farther up the creek on the opposite side.

41, Waḳ'a'k, a winter settlement south of the high ridge south of Odessa. North of the settlement is a sweat-lodge used by mourners.

42, gai'lŏks or gaila'lḳs is on the point south of Odessa or more probably between Howard and Shoalwater bays. No winter settlements here but a camping place where du'kwakni and gu'mbŏtkni roasted camas in the spring.

[136] 43, stŏ'kmate, Eagle point, is a similar spring camp site. In the hot springs here are harmless black snakes (kamdila'k) which crawl over the swimmers. Curiously, in view of the Klamath tendency to localize their tales, there is no story concerning this locality.

Two other localities may belong to this group: 63, e'o'ḳaḳ, gulch, on Wood river toward the mountains, and 64, e'uḳwa'lksi on the east

side of Wood river in much the same locality. These may be the 103
same site. 131

V. *Klamath Falls group* (*iu" laloŋkni*).—All the people of the lake 361
from Modoc point southward are named for their principal locality, iu" laloŋᴇ, Klamath falls. Despite the large area, they are relatively few in number. In summer they resort to the marshes west of the lake or fish on Lost river. The district along the eastern shore of the lake from Modoc point nearly to Algoma is called ne" luḳsi (ne" luḳs, a late sunrise), from the circumstance that a low mountain here cuts off the morning sunlight.

45, kᴇt!ai'kᴀi, point of rock, a promontory two miles or so northwest of Modoc point, is their northernmost settlement.

46, suwiakă'ĕks, jump over, is a large village at Modoc point. It extended on both sides of the headland and for three-quarters of a mile south. The place takes its name from a large rock (about three and a half feet high) which stands a half-mile south of the point. It was a trial of skill to run uphill and jump over the rock. Bare island (au'emi) opposite is their camp site, and has no permanent settlements.

47, iulă'u, promontory, is a fishing village occupied in early spring. Pictographs are painted on the rock slide north of this.

48, diu'wiaks (named for its little spring, di'wik) is a winter
settlement at the railroad point Ouxy. Little fish ran in the spring [226]
early in the year.

49, ḳau'ŏmŏt, a half-mile south, is, like all these lake sites, crowded
along the foot of the mountain on the lake shore. There are many
earth-lodges about a large spring here. The lodge rings are so clear [172]
that this would be a good place for archaeological excavations. Its
name is from ḳau'ŏm, a place where fish run.

50, dI'tk!aḳs, boiling spring, is now known as Barclay spring. [133]
There are many earth-lodges north and south of this. Two cremation
piles are to the north on the highway, one distant a hundred yards on a
rock slide, the second twice as far and directly on the southern
boundary of the reservation. Unlike the cremation piles on Williamson river, no glass beads or iron was to be found at this second site.
South of Barclay spring by three hundred yards is a deep nameless [231]
spring into which pups are thrown to train them for hunting. A large
sweat-lodge used by mourners is situated at the foot of the slope near [343]
the angle of the marsh east of Algoma.

103 131 361 51, kölwa'l, a point, is Rattlesnake point at Algoma. Only a few live here during the winter but it is a favorite resort in the autumn when chokecherries and wild plums ripen.

[222] 52, wuk̦!o'twas, wood knot, Buck island, is so called because the island in the lake is likened to a knot in a piece of wood. In addition to old house pits here not occupied by any group of the historic period, there are a few winter houses on the southern end and summer camps at the northern end where plums could be gathered. It was a favorite sport to dive from the rocks (called sohowă'ĕks, diving) on the northern shore.

53, lama'teksi, a place on top of the end of something, is on the point east of Buck island, and 54, k!su'nk!si, grassy place, is three-fourths of a mile south on the shore. Many people are at both localities during the winter. There may be old house sites here like those on Buck island. Wa'toŋks is a hill a half-mile east where wild plums are [823] picked. There is an outcrop of white rock high on the hillside above iu'li (meaning deep in), the end of the marsh east of these settlements. This is said to be the net of Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero, spread to dry.

[764] 55, iwau'wŏnᴇ, meaning against the side hill, is a large settlement on both sides of Link river at the highway bridge. A crematory is on [726] the hilltop on the east side a quarter-mile north. Shasta sometimes swam the river south of the village or crossed by the islet below the little lake Ewauna to attack the group on the east bank. This settlement is at the lower end of the falls (Klamath falls) that constitute [226] Link river in its brief passage through its gorge. This is one of the principal fishing places of the region and advantage is taken of the [823] ledges that form the falls for the construction of fish dams. But these, like all others in Klamath territory, are attributed to the culture hero, Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps.[33]

56, iu"laloŋᴇ, meaning on the end, is the largest village of the southern lake people and gives its name to the whole group. There are earth-lodges on both sides of the falls but particularly on the western bank from the river mouth to within half a mile of the present power dam. There are many at the point at the river mouth (hence the name of the site) and thence extend westward about a little bay. A group of tall upstanding rocks at the point, called k̦!taigī'ŋkls, hole

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[114] [33] Gatschet's reference (1:94, 97) to the Indians scooping up fish from the dry bed of the stream when a strong south wind drives back the waters in the lake seems like a purely mythical reference, but is confirmed by Clarke (Rock Piles, 41).

through the rock, had only a narrow way between them to allow passage along the shore. On a point of rocks on the hill above stands a cremation pile. A hillock west of the bay is called lalau'ḳ!ŏt, flat, for the many flat rocks on top. The opposite point of the river mouth also has a settlement, called tc!a'tc!ŏmsi, for some unidentified bird. 103 131 361

57, wĕḳă'ĕls, fallen tree, is a settlement of moderate size on the shore a mile west of the river mouth, now intersected by the road.

58, wut!ana'kŏḳs, a low gap, and 59, iup!a'tŏna, end place, are summer sites respectively at the ends of a little marsh (now drained) on the west side of the lake.

60, woḳsa'lkṣ, lily seed (wokas) picking place, is a summer camp on the north shore of Wokas marsh. When leaving in the fall it is customary to sink the canoes at the edge of the marsh, hide the grinding slabs in the juniper thicket, and pack by a regular trail to dĕ'ktcŏŋks, whence they return to the winter villages. [222] [501] [415]

61, dĕ'ktcŏŋks, netting place, is a camp site on the west shore of Klamath lake opposite Buck island. Midway between this site and the island is a favorite place for catching fish at night with a triangular scoop net. The point Skillet Handle is called iuwa"lɢ, end of a point, and a flat-topped mountain west of Wocus bay, seolŏpġis. [226]

62, sa'stɪtḳa'wals, Shasta stand on end, is Squaw point where a few Klamath falls people might be found in winter. There are holes in the rocks here in which they pound to make the wind blow, pounding in those on the south side, for instance, to bring a south wind. [823]

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS

The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct district, and practically autonomous. This is separatism of the familiar Californian order. Nevertheless, the cohesion rising from a common dialect, common culture, and a uniform reaction against all nontribesmen, which on occasion leads to jointly taking the field against them, produces a tribal solidarity resembling that of the Plains people. 101 619

The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the modern name Klamath for the Klamath marsh—Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they

101 occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of
619 any sharp geographic division, rivers or ranges, such as we should
expect to figure in political separatism. There are only three or four miles of open, unoccupied country between the middle Williamson river group and that at the river mouth, for instance, or between the latter and the northernmost outposts of the Klamath falls people about Modoc point. The cases of doubtful divisions really stress this point. Kowa'edi on the lake shore may belong with the middle Williamson division; though only three miles away over a low range of hills, it is somewhat isolated. Similarly the Sprague river settlements toward Yainax, usually included in the same group, are in quite a different district.

721 The third feature pointing to their separatism is the frequent feuds
619 between them. It is quite clear that these involve the tribelets; they
never occur between the settlements of a single division. The point
[171] will be clearer if we contrast Yurok sentiments. There feuds are
between the towns or with only a group of kinsmen within a town, and at most when several towns are involved in a joint cause, it appears rather that kinsmen and their friends have been drawn in.[84]
[567] Further, feuds are carried on much as warfare with foreigners;
property is destroyed, women and children enslaved. Such slaves can be retained indefinitely or sold again. We may wonder however if they are not restored when a settlement is bought, or at most retained only to even the score in lives.

The identity of these groups resolves itself solely into such aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for
itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns
[621] are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large part a body
of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole.

115 Only one informant, Pat Kane, suggested dialectic and cultural
197 differentiation. The dialect groupings he gave are purely geographic.
He also assigned shamanistic tricks, medical practices, and games to
184 the several divisions, which all other informants emphatically denied.
I could observe no linguistic differences and Gatschet recorded none.

000 The subdivisions or tribelets are:

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[84] Kroeber, Handbook, 49.

The subdivisions or tribelets are:

I. ä'ukckni, the people of Klamath marsh and middle Williamson river, the Klamath proper. Evidently the Sprague river people are included here; there is some doubt, but I am even more doubtful whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague river as Yainax in pre-reservation times. 101 131 619

II. kowa'edikni, those of a village of that name on Agency lake. They may be ä'ukckni.

III. du'kwakni, on the delta of Williamson river. These are more closely affiliated with the Pelican bay people than with ä'ukckni.

IV. gu'mbŏtkni, those of Pelican bay and the marsh to the north.

V. iu"laloŋkni, the people of Klamath falls (Link river) and the eastern shore of Klamath lake.

The names are those of the districts they occupy with the suffix -kni, those of, people of: ä'ukci, Klamath marsh; du'kwa, the district about the mouth of Williamson river; gu'mbŏt, Pelican bay, possibly taking its name from Rocky point; iu"laloŋᴇ, on the end, the village at the outlet of the lake into Link river.

It is now difficult to get a true estimate of the size of these groups. 361 The ä'ukckni count twenty-nine or more settlements, half of the total; 162 of the others iu"laloŋkni have thirteen, gu'mbŏtkni seven or more, du'kwakni five, and kowa'edikni, one. The towns vary considerably in size, yet this mere count agrees closely with the populational proportions as my several informants phrased them. The ä'ukckni are by far the largest group, perhaps as large as all the others together. Nancy Phillips recalls the large number of children who played [115] together at gu'mbŏt, Pelican bay. At this place the settlements do form a large compact group. Next in order she places the du'kwa group, then those clustering about iu"laloŋᴇ at Klamath falls, and goyᴇmske'ᴇgls on Williamson river. The settlements on Williamson river are small and scattered, but she places their joint population above the gu'mbŏtkni. The iu"laloŋkni were comparatively few despite their large territory. Of the ä'ukckni more lived at Klamath marsh even in winter than on Williamson river. The huge size of a single site, du"lkŭt, bears this out.

Consonant with their unequal size is it that the principal chief, at 619 least in early reservation days, was the principal chief of the ä'ukckni; 622 all others were distinctly subordinate in prestige. According to one informant, himself a du'kwa man, the ä'ukckni are the highest people. [829] Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero, made them first, best, and strongest; later he made the others.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

WARFARE AND FEUDS

721 Klamath warfare is deserving of the name in contrast to the conflicts of the northern Californian tribes. Raids are carried into foreign parts for plunder, slaves, and revenge, and received in turn. No single town or tribelet is alone concerned: warriors are drawn [171] from the Klamath at large. This is in marked contrast to the Yurok and their neighbors, e.g., whose foreign wars seem but an extension of the private quarrels that set town against town, and in which the large body of Yurok may remain neutral. Warfare is here not mere retaliation, murder for murder, but is engendered by patriotic motive and tangible benefits.

There can be little doubt that the Klamath attitude is due to their contact with tribes of warlike habit to the north and east. Raids from that direction had to be met and countered. The interesting circumstance is that the Pit river people were under a similar compulsion but apparently made no effort to cope with the raids by reciprocating. So far as I can learn they never ventured against the Klamath despite their equivalence or even superiority of numbers. The cause for the difference seems to be that the Klamath had reason to raid; slaves and [437] plunder were important to them. There was a market for these articles at the Dalles with much-coveted horses to be had in return. [231] The Achomawi had no such outlet. I would not underestimate the difference in tribal solidarity, which may have been entirely lacking [619] among the Achomawi, but the suggestion is that such solidarity may in this instance be a function of a common cause against a common enemy. The Klamath had their share of internecine warfare.

648 Besides the close bond with the Modoc, normally friendly relations are maintained with the Molala across the Cascades, the Wätä'nkni (Warm Springs people) of the Deschutes, and the Wishram-Wasco 648 at the Dalles. Warfare is directed toward all other directions. Raids are exchanged with the Shasta several days' journey down the Kla- 721 math river, the Upland Takelma on the Rogue river, and the Northern [231] Paiute (Snake) of the desert to the east. The Klamath fight the Kalapuya and take horses from the Warm Springs Indians.[38] Since horses were obtained by them, raids may be expected of the Ya'mökni two hundred or more miles away; northerners generically, but in this

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[38] Gatschet, 1:18.

connection the Sahaptins of the Columbia and the Cayuse seem 648
meant.[36] Both Ya'mŏkni and Shasta made slaves among the Klamath. 721
How infrequent were these raids may be judged by the circumstance [567]
that my informants independently mentioned the half-dozen recorded
years ago by Gatschet, and no others.

The Pit river people, possibly only the Achomawi, may alone be
raided with impunity. Reciprocity on their part would lead them
only into the intervening territory of the hostile Modoc, who may well
have served the Klamath as a buffer. For their part the Klamath were [567]
stimulated by the lucrative traffic in slaves established with the Columbia
river tribes, and the majority of captives were by all accounts Pit
river people. Gatschet writes of these raids as a regular occurrence. 114
"In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround 437
the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their
homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place 567
at The Dalles"; and again, "the Lake men enslaved many every
spring time."[37] To be sure, consonant with Kroeber's view,[38] raiding [231]
was undoubtedly accelerated by the appearance of the horse in the
north. Contacts were then more rapid, and the beast itself became
an important and desirable article to possess. But there can be no 567
doubt that the practice of taking slaves on Pit river was already
established. This is not only implied in the informants' statements,
but it must be kept in mind that slaves were an important element in
the society of the Wishram, Wasco, and their down-river neighbors.
This means that the Klamath were not only turning to slave-taking
as a lucrative traffic, but that slave-holding as indicative of social
distinction was becoming their habit by imitation.[39]

How frequently the Klamath made war as a whole is unknown. It 721
seems doubtful that concerted action was frequent. Perhaps large- 567

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[36] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of such a raid up the Deschutes about 1876. 619

[37] *Op. cit.*, 1:lix, 19.

[38] Handbook, 319.

[39] While the Klamath do not distinguish among the Pit river peoples raided, Kniffen's recent account of the Achomawi (Achomawi Geography) makes it clear that Klamath and Modoc descended most frequently on Achomawi settlements north of the Pit and also crossed it to Atsugewi territory in Hat Creek and Dixie valleys. The Achomawi proper about Fall river were subject to continual attack; the Hewisedawi, south of Goose lake, and the Astariwawi, near them on the Pit, bore the brunt. The Atsugewi divisions, Atsuge (Hat creek) and Aporige (Dixie valley), were also freely raided. The Atwamsini, on the middle Pit, and the Kosalektawi, on the extreme headwaters of the river, were reached much less frequently. The other groups of Achomawi were free from attack probably by reason of their inaccessibility; the Ilmawi, Itsatawi, and Madesi at the western end of their range, and the Hammawi on the extreme east.

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1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

721 [619] [567] scale expeditions were undertaken only after the slave traffic was established on an extensive scale. On one occasion at least all the chiefs were at a dance preparatory to going to war: this implies that all the tribelets were engaged. All the tribelets joined similarly in a raid for revenge against the Upland Takelma. It is said that the Klamath marsh division (ă'ukekni), by far the largest group, always extended the invitation for war, but I doubt that this is literally so. It is true that they led in aggressions just prior to reservation days, but this seems because of the initiative of their chief Lele'ks, the most prominent ever known, who was singularly interested in the slave trade for his personal advantage.

726 628 Internecine warfare is probably as significant as that with foreigners, for quarrels and blood feuds are quite common. Feuds exist between the several subdivisions, not within them, evincing a solidarity which but rarely extends to the tribe. Thus the du'kwakni of the mouth of Williamson river are known to have taken action against members of each of the four other divisions, even the gu'mbŏtkni of Pelican bay with whom they are closely linked. There are cases of reciprocated action by each of the five against the others indiscriminately. Yet Pat Kane stated that the lesser divisions avoided conflict with the ă'ukekni. Yet there is the case of his own people, du'kwakni, fighting with an ă'ukekni settlement. Nancy Phillips said it was true that she knew of no cases involving gu'mbŏtkni or iu″laloŋkni (southern lake people) with ă'ukekni, but this does not mean they would not fight. I think it hardly likely that the others are awed by the numbers of the ă'ukekni, for the feuds are essentially between groups of relatives alone. Yet others besides relatives might be induced to join.

721 628 A characteristic circumstance initiating a feud is the murder of a man residing with a wife of another tribelet. Ten or twenty of his male relatives take canoe and demand the delivery of the murderer or satisfaction from his relatives in the form of women, slaves, beads, dentalia, etc. The parley (ndĕ'na) is held from a safe distance at the top of their voices. Instead of acceding, the offenders may offer fight. But an effort is usually made to reach an agreement by offering payment. They may forestall retaliation by dispatching as a go-between (gaḳō'ḳwa) a relative of the offended group who is paid for his trouble, a canoe, a shirt, net, skin armor, or a woman's dress. If they have neither women nor money to offer, they give nets, weapons, anything, even to the last things they have. If no amicable adjustment can be reached they resort to fight. Even though the score be evened

by the death of several on each side, the feud continues until payment 726
is made. Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried 628
out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery.

A chief may intervene; so I was told, though I doubt it. Chiefs do 728
accompany parleying parties and other men may echo their words. 622
Beyond that there seems to be nothing to their position but personal prestige which has been enhanced by developments since reservation days. Lɛle'ks and his successors among the ǩ'ukekni seem to have made much of their position. Pat's father and Te!i'wi, both du'kwakni, killed a iu"lalonɛ man at stö'kmatc, Eagle Point. They were taken to Klamath marsh and each beaten five times at the order of this chief. This was in pre-reservation days, or at least prior to the establishment of the agency in 1864 (?). Nevertheless this is not aboriginal, but, [177]
according to Nancy Phillips, these "laws" were brought by her cousin from the north.

The group that owes recompense, having lost fewer men, goes to 728
the other offering payment to even the score. The value of a man's life is not a fixed item, as it is for the lower Klamath river tribes; this despite the similarity of marriage payment and the slur on children not born of a purchased mother. My informants professed ignorance of what should be paid, yet it can hardly be doubted that recompense accorded with a man's wealth and prestige.

Children who are captured are kept; settling the score does not mean that they are restored, though this may well be only in case they have been sold. Their fate depends on their captors, who may elect to rear them as their own children. More commonly they are miserably treated, made to sleep with the dogs, fetch water, etc., and beaten if they are lazy. They are as quickly sold at Warm Springs and the [437]
Dalles as are foreign captives. With the latter at least there is an advantage in immediately disposing of them, that they do not grow up to carry back to their own people precise knowledge of the habits and topography of the Klamath world.

Kö'ǩdiŋks of du'kwa was a chief (lö'ǩi) in warfare. He would tell his tribes- 159
men to get ready to fight with the iu"laloŋkni, for instance. He was always 701
in the forefront of battle. When a youth he went out to seek power by bathing
and wandering through the mountains at night. His mother had told him that 721
long before those of iu"lalonɛ had slain his father, Lɛ̈"l'wis, a du'kwa shaman accused of poisoning one of them. He wanted to become a warrior to have

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701 revenge. While he was swimming in deep water at du'kwa he found a human
leg in his grasp; it had been given him by the ghosts.[40] Then he became
721 "mean," revengeful, and led his people down the lake to iuʷlaloŋʌ for vengeance.

He grew aggressive and attacked gu'mbŏt, kowa'edi, and other towns. He
was a hard man to hit; they could not kill him in open battle. His du'kwakni
159 band went up Williamson river to the á'ukekni town at bʌzūksə'was. Before
the fight opened, Po'moks, an á'ukekni from far up Sprague river, came
701 to him and announced that he would join him. Kŏ'ḳdiŋks agreed because he
was a relative. During the battle Po'moks slipped behind Kŏ'ḳdiŋks and shot
726 him. That was the only way they could beat him; since then there has been
no feud with du'kwa.

Quite in accord with Klamath custom, Kŏ'ḳdiŋks band was accompanied by a du'kwa shaman named čḳts'as. When one of his side was shot, this shaman ran to him, extracted the arrow, and sucked the wound.

726 Pat's uncle of gu'mbŏt and Nancy's father of du'kwa went to iuʷlaloŋʌ where they killed a man.

Some gu'mbŏt men went to Buck island and killed a man there. Immediately a party followed them back and killed a man at gu'mbŏt.

A brave man from du'kwa lived at gu'mbŏt. The gu'mbŏtkni traveled with him to kill iuʷlaloŋkni, á'ukekni, and kowa'edikni. He stole women everywhere, carrying them to gu'mbŏt as his wives. He tried to kill some gu'mbŏt men whom he accused of tampering with them, but they dispatched him. After he was cremated all these women returned to their homes.

An attack might be expected at any time. The Upland Takelma (Ha'nis or Wa'lŭmskni), for instance, raid the Williamson river district. Crossing by the ridges south of Crater lake, they travel down the ridge separating that river from Klamath lake. From this eminence they can see the smokes of a large part of Klamath territory. Gatschet describes such a raid, plausibly dating it between 1848
175 and 1855.[41]

726 The Takelma descended on bʌzūksə'was in the middle Williamson valley at salmon fishing time. Most of the warriors were away at Klamath marsh to welcome some northern Indians. Crossing the river the Takelma attacked at dawn, killing a few old people, but they were put to rout by the fierce onslaught of but five cuirassed Klamath, men of nilŭksi, the Modoc Point district. They were pursued by the whole force of Klamath, hastily summoned from the marsh. Some escaped, others were found dead of starvation or wounds where they had hidden in the mountains.

Five old women were once left behind at Klamath marsh to gather lily seeds. They brought their canoes down to the falls, as far as they could go. All they could not carry they buried there to leave through the winter. A Paiute lurking on the opposite bank followed them down to the falls. He killed all five with his arrows. When their relatives found them overdue, they went to search. The Paiute, having stayed in the neighborhood to steal horses, was tracked and killed.[42]

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[40] So my informant said, but she surely meant spirits.

[41] The Klamath Indians, 1:16–18.

[42] Gatschet records a similar Paiute raid on Williamson river or perhaps the same (1:28).

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Northern Paiute NR13

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The topography directs Shasta attacks against southern settlements. Coming by the open country along the Klamath river, they attack iwau'wōnᴇ at Klamath Falls, sometimes swimming the river there. Or they cross by the little island to the south to surprise the settlement on the east bank. Many years ago a large body of Ya'mŏkkni, northerners, descended on the Klamath on Sycan marsh in the northeastern corner of their territory. These may have been marauding bands of Shoshoni and Bannock, fought by the soldiery of Fort Klamath in the summer of 1864.[43] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of Indians coming south about 1876 or earlier by way of the Warm Springs country from the Snake river range east of Lewiston, Idaho. K [174] NP

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Northern Paiute scouts use various calls in order to keep contact with one another, imitating the crow by day, coyote in the evening, and owls at night; unlike Klamath scouts. When these are heard, women and children take to canoes, staying on the water until morning. The screech owl is thought to call, kŏkᴇdē'l sḳiu'ki'u, who sent me? A thrush (sḳo''lĕ) names who is coming, wī'mpis ᴇge'pkwa, they are coming. [191]

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Klamath hunting in the Cascades might meet Upland Takelma from across the range. On one occasion (perhaps about 1850) a party of five or six was wiped out with the exception of a boy who made his way at night, arriving footsore at Klamath marsh. Those who fetched the bodies for cremation found that the Takelma had taken scalps, hands, and feet as trophies. Two of those killed were brothers to the maternal grandfather of my informant, Coley. A wife of this grandfather was an Upland Takelma woman, perhaps a slave, who was a sister to the Upland Takelma chief Tōḳtō'ḳli 'red). They killed her in revenge. She had been living among them at the marsh for years but had no children. The reciprocal raid can be reconstructed from Gatschet's information[44] and my own. The expedition was undertaken at the call of Lᴇle'ks, the most prominent ă'ukckni chief and a distant relative of Coley's grandfather. Men of all the tribelets took part. Crossing the mountains on foot, they found the Takelma encamped in Molala territory at the head of Rogue river. They attacked as the Takelma rose at dawn, scalping many and carrying off women and children. Among those killed was Tōḳtō'ḳli, whose hands and heart they took. After the man was shot, Lᴇle'ks lanced him through the throat. Lᴇle'ks invited all the Klamath to a huge scalp dance at Klamath marsh. During the dances a wife of Coley's grandfather danced about with the heart in her teeth. The captives were dragged by their arms and forced to dance close to the fire. [727] K [727]

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A preparatory performance, called nī'ḳĕba, is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance,

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[43] Gatschet, 1:lxii.

[44] *Op. cit.*, 1:16.

726 535 as it is doubtful that it contains any true dance form. It is held in the open for from one to three nights depending on the size of the group engaged. It consists essentially of two things, mimicry of an onslaught by the warriors and prevision of their success by a shaman.

The men are dressed and armed for battle. Possibly they dance to the songs by jumping with both feet together. In their midst is a shaman who predicts their fate. Possibly only women sing and jump about, pretending to stab at imaginary foes with spears. Early on the morning that the war party sets out, the warriors rush at their women and children to show how they will act in the attack. This sham attack is called t'k!o'la.[43]

[756] The shaman exercises his clairvoyant powers before they set out or while encamped on the march. He jumps about in front of the men, "looking through them," and predicting who will be shot, and how the enemy will be slain. One informant had it that those for whom disaster was predicted would stay at home; another that they were too brave to do so.

714 562 They dance and go to war nearly naked, wearing breech clouts or the short fringed skirts, but not the more recently acquired skin shirt. Their hair, and that of the dancing women too, is drawn into a single loose bunch to fall down the back, wound close to the scalp with strips of skin: deer, otter, mink, or weasel. Only women shamans may use the last. Neither sex wears basket hats with this peculiar headdress. (Incidentally, quarreling men who come to blows seize one another by the long hair.) Their faces are painted; men's white, women's red, sometimes with blood from the nose. The shaman's garb is slightly more elaborate; his hair is tied with weasel or mink, around his neck a rattlesnake skin, and the skin of a bull snake across his chest as a bandolier. On the march with the war party, he wears skunk skin and eagle feathers.

726 756 Shamans accompany war parties not only to fight but especially to use their clairvoyant gifts in their behalf. Wounds and broken limbs are treated by them, a distinctly unusual practice for shamans, but so well attested by circumstantial detail in this case as to be beyond doubt. Wounds and fractures are sucked and the patient turned over to lay hands for further treatment.

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[43] Gatschet (1:196) describes this for the Modoc. "The whoops were chanted and howled while going round in a circle for one to two hours; even now they are heard on solemn occasions. This uniform performance was, however, interrupted sometimes by feigned attacks on a supposed hostile force lying in ambush or marching past. A scalp-dance tune is added, also battle cries."

726 562 Women also accompany a war party according to one informant, but this is denied by another. They cook or paddle; that is easily understood, but I am inclined to believe that they actually participate in conflict. Perhaps the solution is that they accompany feudists, but do not go on extended raids into enemy territory. Some are said to fight with the men, shouting and jumping about to add to the terrifying effect of the surprise. Armed with short spears by preference, they help to catch women and children and to slay the aged as they run to hide.

701 Leaders of the party are appointed by the chief, usually men of affluence and commonly his relatives. There may be four or five leaders of a single large party. The qualities expected of them are bravery, ability to maintain their good sense in the excitement, and to go without sleep. Chiefs became such largely by the prestige of successful leadership in battle.

726 [231] [171] The war party proceed well-nigh naked and afoot no matter what the weather. It is of some interest that even after the advent of the horse they prefer to go afoot. This is reminiscent of the Blackfoot, but in our case at least may indicate how recent is the acquisition of the horse. My information suggests the second quarter of the last century for the coming of the horse, and the wars were over by about 1865. The raid against the Upland Takelma mentioned above was undertaken afoot. But this is not really a case in point because it is doubtful that there were then horse trails across these timbered mountains. The introduction of the horse facilitated long-range raiding. Gatschet's informant describes its use against the Pit river tribes about 1848–50; even then it was a ride of three days and a night.[46] Canoe travel was of little importance in any but expeditions within their own territory. [501]

726 411 A warrior's armament includes bow, club, and sometimes spear, with shield and body armor. Fighting is wholly individual; there is no sort of battle array. After the first rush of a surprise attack, they fight by preference from cover. No line of bowmen ever fights in the open, nor do lancers make a concerted charge. The sinew-backed war bow is a powerful short-range weapon.[47] Arrow shafts are wooden, the heads of stone loosely affixed so as to remain in the wound when

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[46] *Op. cit.*, 1:19–27.

[47] Frémont observed that in 1846 he saw Indians behind the bushes with their arrows spread fan-wise so as to be ready at hand (Memoirs, 494).

411 the shaft is withdrawn. The tips are not poisoned.[48] However they
726 believe that those made of obsidian obtained on a mountain west of
Klamath lake are poisonous. A tale has it that an Upland Takelma
[539] shot a presumably mythical man, called Tcewis hu'lūms (alighting
flicker), there. Crow laughed and he turned into the pillar of rock
still standing. This is presumably the widely known tale of the shat-
701 tered rock-monster. A war leader, a rich man, carries several quivers;
one under each arm and a third across his back. The short stabbing
411 lance is stone headed; the club simply a straight stick or one bearing
714 a knot for a head. Armor is the familiar long skin tunic and wooden
slat armor of waistcoat shape. The round hand shield is used, but not
the curtain shield, i.e., a skin hung before the body. Sock-like skin
gloves sometimes protect the forearms.

726 It is planned to arrive in enemy territory at the end of the day.
Several good runners are sent forward as scouts (gau'ulū'kdja) to
[191] look for smoke from enemy fires. Scouts do not use animal cries like
those of the Northern Paiute. The camps are surprised at dawn, for,
(171) in addition to the confusion, there is the advantage of a long day in
which to make good an escape. Yet the fight may last several days, I
was told, but it is more likely that the raiders withdraw at once unless
beset by a rallied foe. One thing sets off the intensity of this conflict
from that of the Arizona Havasupai as I found it; there never occurs
here the gesture of bravado of drawing o[illegible] refreshment before
[554] returning to the attack. Yet there is some[illegible]ormal about these
fights too; the leaders make a point of engaging with men of like rank
in the forefront of battle, although they do not disdain lesser men.
Warriors do not pat the mouth as they charge (go'lgi); this is done
727 only in the scalp dance. The foray usually ends with the fleeing of the
ablebodied among the enemy, the killing of the infirm, and the capture
of women, children, and such property as beads and quivers.

(114) These are kept by their captors; perhaps some division of the spoil
is made. Disputes are inevitable: Gatschet's informant describes how
he wantonly shot down a girl whom he claimed as his due rather than
let another have her.[49] Pat Kane told me that all the booty is carried
to the principal chief who asks for an accounting of the dead and
slaves. The leader enumerates how each man took slaves or scalps and
how the opposing chiefs were killed. The trophies of these chiefs are
exhibited. I doubt his statement, unless he had in mind the prestige

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[48] Gatschet's informant credits the Modoc with poisoned arrows (*op. cit.*, 1:90).

[49] *Op. cit.*, 1:23.

peculiar to the chief Lᴇle'ks, to whom they were accustomed to trade their slaves for transportation to the north. On the other hand this may be a reflection of the Plains custom of reciting coups. 727

Scalps are of liberal size, including the whole skin above the ears and brows, as is generally the case among western Indians. Bodies are dismembered for trophies; hands, feet, ears, heart, the lips cut away as one piece, genitals, and the whole head. (One informant denied that the head is taken entire.) Trophies are never taken from women nor from any men except leaders, the best fighters. There may then be some truth in the statement of Gatschet's informant that they disdained scalping Pit river people.[30] Kroeber has pointed out that the northwestern Californians as far east as the Shasta neither scalp nor hold a victory (scalp) dance.[31] Klamath practice is in accord with more general custom. [114] [171]

The scalp dance (sa'tca) is one of rejoicing over vengeance achieved. Hence the invitation issues from a relative of the avenged, not of necessity from a chief. Dancing begins immediately on the return of the war party and lasts two to five nights depending on the size of the group that collects. A minor raid is of course a matter of only local concern, but an affair of consequence brings everyone to a celebration for the full five days dictated by tribal pattern. Gatschet's informant recounted how on one occasion they made their captives dance before them at the first camp on their homeward journey.[32] 727 535

Older people of both sexes take part in the dance as well as the returned warriors. The young are barred and children especially must be kept at a distance. Quiet, decorous conduct is expected of those who do not dance, else they would be shot, for at this time the dancers are violent. Faces are painted white or red; hair is tied as for the war dance. They fast or at least eat no meat nor fish. This is the taboo that the Klamath impose during every crisis. There is no special purification for those who have slain an enemy.

The dance takes place in an open place, the very one on which the war dance was held, according to one informant. A huge fire is kept burning at the middle, where captured bows and quivers hang on a pole. The captives are huddled at its base, the older ones with their wrists tied before them.

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[30] *Op. cit.*, 1:19.

[31] Handbook, 844.

[32] *Op. cit.*, 1:20.

727 535 [533] The dance begins in the evening. The women are provided with sticks a meter long from which the scalps are pendant. As instanced above, one carried her enemy's heart in her teeth. Two women commence a sinistral circuit; others, men and women alike, fall in behind them two by two until everyone is engaged. They step forward slowly, the body swaying from side to side as they stamp in unison with the right foot, bend forward with sticks thrust rigidly and obliquely before them, drag the left foot up, and stamp forward again with the right. All the while they are singing a meaningless refrain, wiha'ho wiha. From time to time someone leaves the ranks for a moment to shake the pole, crying aloud. The captives are sometimes made to dance inside the circle with the same step; forced to rejoice over their own defeat. A big boy may be struck with a club, a little one is carried on a man's back. They are whipped with the scalp sticks as they dance. When the song ends the women jump about with feet together, crying a'ho, a'ho, and whipping the huddled slaves with the scalp sticks, they cry alalalala, as they pat their mouths (a practice called gababa'a). During the intervals of rest the sticks are set upright in the ground.

Pat Kane drew a slightly different picture. The dancers form a circle, each with his hands on the shoulders of the one in front; first the leader of the war party, then a file of men, followed by the women. They begin by crying even though no Klamath have been killed, but soon begin to sing.

Scalps are sometimes set on the central pole. On one occasion they had taken the scalp and the store-bought shoes of a Shasta which they hung on the pole and danced around.

[114] Gatschet describes a dance, perhaps for the Modoc, with the implication that it is the scalp dance, but it seems identical with the Ghost dance. "A peeled tree, sometimes twenty feet high, was planted into the ground, otter and rabbit skins fastened on or near the top, and below them the scalps of the enemies killed in battle. Forming a wide ring around this pole (w'alash) the tribe danced, stood or sat on the ground, looking sometimes at solitary dancers, moving and yelling (yä'ka) around the pole, or at others, who tried to shake it, or at fleet horses introduced to run inside of the ring. Circular dances are of course performed by joining hands."[53]

The last dance was held on Williamson river about 1865. Two old women, wives of a Paiute named ḳ!oilä'wökt, were the captives. After the dance they were freed.

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[53] *Op. cit.*, 1:196.

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After the dance, scalps and trophies are usually preserved by those 535
who called the dance, relatives of the avenged man. They are dried
and stored far from their homes to be brought out and danced over at
each new scalp dance. Sometimes bits of the scalp are sewn in rows [177]
down each breast of a woman's dress, a Plains custom impossible, of
course, before the introduction of these Plains-like garments. Both [291]
practices are un-Californian.

There is a question whether the notched rattle (ulo'ks) is played in 727
the war and scalp dances. Neither drums, which the Klamath formerly
lacked, nor rattles are used. Only one man, Ma'gai', whose day was 535
well before the middle of the last century, knew the notched rattle. 534
He knew all about war. He had overheard the Upland Takelma
singing to it, according to one informant, and always used their songs
when the Klamath made war on them. No resonator is used; the
notched stick is rested directly on the ground and rasped with
another stick.[34]

CHIEFTAINSHIP

Chiefs are of but minor significance in Klamath life. In contrast 622
my informants invariably stressed the importance of the shamans. As 756
an instance the largest house pits pointed out were always those of
shamans. This relative unimportance of the chiefs was true at least
until just before reservation days. At that time contact with the 622
Columbia river tribes, whose concepts of chieftainship were sharp and
deeprooted, coupled with the developing trade which began to make
considerable differences in wealth among the Klamath, operated to
enhance the position of the chiefs, the rich men. It is significant that
Lɛle'ks, their most prominent chief, had spent several years of continuous
residence at the Dalles. All this was sharply accentuated on
the establishment of the reservation by the government's recognition
of lay leaders while frowning on the shamans. It must be distinctly [114]
understood that the picture Gatschet draws of chiefly powers is nonaboriginal.[35]
In fact, his principal informant, David Hill, was one of [115]
the newly raised chiefs who, we must believe, was not inclined to
underrate his new importance. Both my best informants, Nancy

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[34] The familiar association of this rasping sound with the voice of the frog and its use in a social dance (the Bear dance of the Basin Shoshoneans) are both unknown to the Klamath.

[35] Gatschet, 1:58–62.

622 Phillips and Tom Lang, doubted that there had been anyone who could properly be called chief in pre-reservation days.

756 As good a test of this as might be was the difficulty I had in getting the names of pre-reservation chiefs, let alone their functions. Shamans on the other hand were freely named and the many cited came far from exhausting the list. 114 622 Gatschet encountered the same difficulty. "Many times I attempted to obtain a list of the former head chiefs of the two chieftaincies [Klamath and Modoc]. I succeeded only in learning the names of two chiefs recently deceased, and no biographic details were obtainable." This he explains was due to their strong repugnance to name the dead,[44] but I found hardly a trace of a name taboo.

622 This situation seems much like that of the Great Basin tribes and the particular functions of chieftainship reenforce the view.

Some settlements have chiefs, others do not. It is very doubtful that they feel that political solidarity demands a chief for each subdivision. The three chiefs alone named with some certainty were all ä'ukekni men (Klamath marsh-Williamson river division): Tcī'lokīn who lived at the site of the present town Chiloquin, Lɛle'ks at bezūkse'was across the river, and Motcūnkā'skɛt at Yainax. Others of this subdivision were Lī'lu at ka'umkān on Sprague river and Dö'tklɛm sa'rdjënt (literally middle sergeant) at about the same place. In other tribelets were my informant's grandfather at mo'giŋkūnks, and Kö'kdīŋks, both du'kwakni; a chief and another unnamed war leader at gu'mböt. It is quite in accord with this that none were named for iu"laloŋkni, southern lake people. One informant suggested Link River Jack (nëlo'lötk) for this group, but Tom Lang, himself one of them, was certain that this man was a post-reservation leader and doubted that his people had ever had a chief. All these chiefs were contemporaries of the period 1850 to 1870. Their predecessors, if they had any, are unknown. It proved quite fruitless to enquire for which groups or districts these men were chiefs. Tcī'lokīn was chief for the towns about the mouth of Sprague river (lobö'katsöksi, taka'lmakeda, etc.); Lɛle'ks for the whole middle Williamson valley, which includes these towns, and for Klamath marsh as well. In other words, each was a chief so far as people of his subdivision chose to follow his leadership.

Such is the separatism among the subdivisions that there can hardly be a tribal chief. How far any of the above functioned as such must have been purely a matter of personality. Pat Kane had it that 622 the principal chief is always one of the ä'ukckni. This is by far the largest subdivision, hence chiefs in other divisions may well have less influence. Yet I believe he had the instance of Lɛle'ks in mind. He said further that the ä'ukckni invariably issued the invitation to war and their chief selected the leader and received the booty. I doubt it.

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[44] *Op. cit.*, 1:xli.

A chief is one who has acquired his position in war, with some background of spirit experiences, wealth, ability to talk, and a suggestion of hereditary interest; this beyond natural ability for leadership. As one informant summed up his qualifications: he must be brave and have property; he must have presence to meet and talk with anyone, must be competent to arrange matters without dispute, and must have the interest of all his people at heart. I have described above how one leader sought power to lead a party to war. Since power is implicit for undertaking all things difficult, it must be assumed to be part of every chief's make-up.

Several anecdotes of Tcl'lok̇in will make some of these qualities clear. 539 Tcl'lok̇in was a short man, deep-chested, powerful, and exceptionally hardy. It is related that he overtook a party camped in the deep snows atop the Cascades. Not being properly equipped, he lay beside a fire covered only with a single blanket. In the morning he was covered with frost but apparently had not suffered.

Somewhere in the north, possibly Warm Springs, was a man who owned a big slave who was very much a bully. While the slave was absent Tcl'lok̇in traded three horses for the master's best horse. When the slave returned he inquired for the horse and sent a man to demand it. That man went twice but each time Tcl'lok̇in sat quietly sewing and did not reply. Then the slave himself went out and demanded its return but Tcl'lok̇in paid no attention. When the slave went to untie it, Tcl'lok̇in tripped him. The former struck at him with his hatchet but missed. Then Tcl'lok̇in wounded the other and he retreated.

Tcauteau, a northerner, wanting Tcl'lok̇in's daughter, offered horses and other valuables. The latter refused. He came to Tcl'lok̇in at night and fought with him till daybreak. Tcl'lok̇in clung to the other's hair despite the beating he was receiving. He came again next night and again they fought. This performance kept up through the whole winter. When spring came, Tcauteau acknowledged his defeat "I, Tcl'lok̇in, k̇elo's; yes, Tcl'lok̇in, you are fierce," and they were again friends.

Again in the north some northern shamans went into a sweat-lodge. They wanted a shaman among their Klamath visitors to accompany them. None was present so the Klamath insisted on Tcl'lok̇in joining them. One after the other each northern shaman sprinkled water on the hot rocks as he sang his song, hoping to force the others out.[37] Some overcome by heat and steam had to be dragged out. Once outside they wondered what had become of Tcl'lok̇in;

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[37] This recalls the well-known test theme of western mythology.

539 he was nowhere to be seen. They thought he must have died. After a long time he began to talk, throwing water on the rocks. When he was quite ready he came out and walked to his own people. He had bested the shamans.

One informant completed the humorous tale of the lizard who killed five grizzlies with the comment, "He was braver than Tci'lokis."

622 Chiefs are wealthy. All informants gave the same term, lŏ'ki, for
rich man and chief, and when asked for the rich men named the chiefs.
556 They own many slaves; other people may have slaves, but many have
595 none. Some chiefs have a number of wives. Lᴇle'ks had seven at one
[567] time, not slaves, but one a Modoc, the others native. This, the largest
marrige group known, argues considerable wealth. Lᴇle'ks was accus-
[439] tomed to make frequent trips to northern tribes with captives to
exchange for horses. Everything points to the rise in wealth of these
men as dating only from the comparatively recent period of contact
[756] with the northern tribes. Up to that time at least shamans rivaled
chiefs in wealth.

622 A chief becomes such primarily by his leadership in war. When a group is gathered preparatory to war, chiefs address them and under their guidance war leaders, prominent, brave, and wealthy, are agreed on. Chiefs themselves are among the war leaders and no one alone captains the party. Chiefs make a point of engaging prominent adversaries in the forefront of battle. In addition to their other qualities, it is assumed that they are brave, unexcitable, and able to do without sleep.

Under the circumstances there can hardly be inheritance of chieftainship, largely because it is not an office to be regulated by definite succession. A chief's relative may be chosen as war leader, but not of necessity. Since wealth figures, it may be that at least the possibility of succession is heritable, but a man who is personally disqualified will not be considered. Pat Kane's paternal grandfather was a chief at du'kwa; further vision experiences had made him a good gambler but no shaman. But his son did not succeed because he was not competent and, in addition poor, nor has Pat any pretensions. On the death of Lᴇle'ks, his son Solomon was passed over as lacking caliber, and in reservation days Alan David, previously a minor figure, was recognized in his place. Their relationship is unknown. My informants did not know whether the fathers of any of the chiefs named above had been chiefs before them.

[565] The Klamath have no feeling of class stratification as on the Columbia river and northward. A chief is a leader and nothing more.

His wife and children are commoners and not known by distinctive 622
terms.

The emphasis among the chiefly functions is clearly on leadership [701]
in war and haranguing the people. Every morning before daylight he addresses them and again in the evening until the sun is well down. I am somewhat dubious that this procedure is as standardized as my informant had it. The address runs on fighting and acquiring spirit aid. He warns against hostile raiders; tells them to rise before daybreak; tells the young people to seek visions. "If you get a spirit, you cannot be killed; you will never fall sick; you will live to be old." But he has no word as to where they shall hunt or fish or carry on other routine activities.

A chief has no speaker as a shaman has. Such might have been [756]
expected here, for Paviotso, Wishram, and Nez Percé chiefs have. [171]

A chief is not looked to to preserve peace. Old men may interfere in quarrels, but these are no especial concern of a chief. Nevertheless the word of an influential chief might end a feud. Just prior to reservation days the practice was introduced of tieing up and lashing quarrelsome men at the word of a chief. This was brought from the [172]
north by the cousin of my informant Nancy. It has a decided un-aboriginal flavor. A chief is under no obligation to help his people pay blood money, nor to assist them when starving. These are matters for relatives alone; they may die for all he is concerned.

SLAVES, TRADE, AND WEALTH

Slaves are captives of war, some of whom are kept by the Klamath 567
but the majority are carried to the Dalles to be sold. They seem to have been numerous. Gatschet quotes a statement of Taylor in 1859 that in the raid on the Pit river people two years previously fifty-six of their women and children had been taken and sold on the Columbia river.[88] Doubt has been cast both on the number of slaves and the frequency of the raids as described by early writers. Kroeber, for instance, scouts the idea of yearly raids on the Achomawi and suggests that a few actual cases have been exaggerated.[89] Whatever the case be with regard to annual raids, I am certain that the evidences are too many and too circumstantial to permit of doubt that raids were

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[88] 1:lx.

[89] Handbook, 319.

567 frequent and had slave-taking as a primary object. It is probable that the introduction of the horse stimulated predatory habits and made possible frequent trading visits to the Columbia river people. From them they adopted for themselves the practices of slave-holding on an enlarged scale and of measuring wealth in terms of slaves, and were encouraged to raid more frequently, and to carry their spoil to the river to exchange for the highly desired horses. Prior to the coming of the horse, we may suppose the very mild interest in holding captives found in any Basin or Californian tribe.

567 721 Most slaves (loks) are from Pit river (Achomawi and Atsugewi); others are Northern Paiute and Shasta, with a few Upland Takelma from the Rogue river drainage. A few of these Takelma are known to have been made captive on a raid into Klamath territory. The Klamath sporadically raid the Pit river people in spring or summer when the latter are scattered. Young children, women, and even men are taken.[60] Other plunder (du'ta) consists of blankets, bows and arrows, dentalia, and other beads. Captives are similarly taken in the course of feuds among the tribal subdivisions, and perhaps as freely sold. One informant had it that they are not sold but grow to manhood as foster children and visit back and forth with their own people on the friendliest terms. This view implies that they are taken and cherished as recompense for a loss by murder.

567 437 Slaves are commonly traded to individuals who make a practice of taking them to Warm Springs and the Dalles to sell again. Such was Lele'ks in his day, who, having got three or four together, would set out for the north to trade for horses and blankets. Some he would keep to treat much as his own relatives.

567 It is quite likely that a slave's life is much like that of any poor Klamath. They commonly live in dome-shaped mat-lodges set up beside the family's earth-lodge, and there the women are visited by their masters. How far they are abused or suffer from uncertainty, I do not know. Gatschet records the escape of Pit river captives while their captors were hurrying back from a raid.[61] When the agency was established by the government all slaves were freed, but most elected to stay, and of those who returned to their own people, some came back. Evidently they had not suffered from too harsh treatment; at any rate, by my informant's account, those who had

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[114] [60] Gatschet says adult men were not enslaved but killed if captured. The instance he cites bears him out (*op. cit.*, 1:24, 25).

[562] [61] *Op. cit.*, 1:20.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Shasta NS21

K
grown up among the Klamath, Klamath in speech and custom, were 567
not tempted to begin life anew ~~elsewhere.~~ Some, at least, had con- K
siderable prestige. Pit River Charley, for instance, a freed slave, [786]
returned from his people in 1873 with novel rites which were engrafted [177]
on the Ghost dance then newly come to the Klamath.[62]

Trade is probably of no great consequence within the tribe although K
it figures intertribally. Contacts were few and frequently unfriendly 439
until after the coming of the whites. The exception is the neighboring 221
Modoc groups; others are too distant. Winters are too severe for 361
travel and trade, but summers find the Warm Springs people in residence with the Klamath. These similarly set out for Warm Springs and the Dalles when the grass begins to grow, camping there in the open during the summer, and building mat-covered structures of
earth-lodge shape (wakĕ'ploks) if they stay through the winter. K
Slaves, Pit River bows, and beads are taken there to trade for horses, 439
blankets, buffalo skins, parfleches, beads (probably dentalium shells), 436
dried salmon, and lampreys.[63] Two slave children are valued at five 567
horses, several buffalo skins, and some beads. This is not far from the values recorded by Taylor in 1859; one woman was worth five or six horses, a boy one horse.[64]

The Molala are also visitors and are met on the headwaters of the K
Rogue west of Crater lake. From them buckskins are obtained for 648
pond-lily seed and beads. Relations with the Shasta have not always [437]
been unfriendly; some of the Klamath Falls group and Modoc married S
with them, possibly only since the white advent. The nearest Shasta 131
settlements at Shovel and Jennie creeks can be reached afoot several K
days' journey down the Klamath. Laik'ĕlmi is a jointly occupied 648
fishing site somewhat upstream but below the Klamath canyon. Skins [226]
and skin blankets are traded for Shasta beads. Dixon states that [437]
Shasta trade with the Klamath is slight.[65]

In the period 1860–70 the few Shasta remaining in their territory congregated S
on the lower Shasta river and near the frontier town, Yreka. They were 131
reached by crossing the Black Mountain range. At that time this was a S
much mixed group, principally half-breeds. My informant Tom Lang, taken [302]
there as a youngster, remarked how he was afraid of their highly tattooed faces.

Intercourse and marriage went on freely with the Modoc. They K
were visited on Tule and Lower Klamath lakes, and joined for the 648
fishing on Lost River near Olene. 131
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[62] Spier, Ghost Dance of 1870, 45, 51.

[63] Cf. Gatschet, 1:93; 2:436.

[64] *Op. cit.*, 1:lx.

[65] The Shasta, 436.

648 fishing on Lost river near Olene. A shallow bowl-shaped twined
[439 basket, called ḳ!we'lu, is obtained from the Modoc, who in turn trade
it from Pit river. There is no direct trade with the latter people.

231 Horses were first acquired in any number about 1840. They had
177 been previously acquainted with them in the hands of whites who
crossed their country about this time; dates are uncertain. Ogden
in 1826 remarked on a single horse seen as though it was a rarity
231 among them.[66] The first sources were Warm Springs and perhaps
177 some group immediately east of that place. These were obtained by
chiefs; others were too poor in slaves to buy them. The name given
437 the new animal follows the common habit, wa'teag from wate, dog.
Saddles (pă'olăs) were first made of antelope hide. Here, as in the
Plains, horses served as a stimulator of contacts, especially with the
Columbia river peoples. As I have remarked, their introduction seems
responsible for the rapid increase in wealth, the flow of northern ideas
concerning social stratification, importance of wealth and of slave-
holding, Plains costume, and those predatory habits which furnished
the withal to maintain the new status.

237 Buffalo (yo'ho) skins are obtained at second hand; the Klamath
177 know that their origin is east of the Umatilla, that is, in Idaho.
Buffalo never ranged into this country, although they reached the
437 Harney Lake district. But very few skins ever make their way into
527 Klamath hands; only men with many slaves can afford them. They
are wanted to cover a gambler's hands in the stick game, an opportunity for ostentation.

177 Parfleches (sḳŏ'psŏli, folded up) are traded from Warm Springs
437 people and Sahaptins beyond them on the Columbia. They are not
made by Klamath.

415 Incidentally, many older people have fluent command of Chinook
*171 jargon. They, or somewhat doubtfully the Modoc, are the southern-
most people with whom this trade jargon is current. Kroeber remarks
437 on the fragments in use by Yuki and Shasta.[67] Naturally enough, it
191 served a purpose with the Columbia river peoples alone and was of but
small value with the whites coming from California.

556 It is interesting to know what constituted wealth among the Klamath, but with the old life now gone it is difficult to get direct evidence. However, certain things alone were spoken of when describing

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[66] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

[67] Handbook, 305, 319.

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wealthy individuals. In approximate frequency of mention are slaves, horses, beads—and not always dentalium—food, archers' equipment, furs and hides, especially elk hides, Plains type garments, armor, large houses, buffalo skins, canoes. It is just as interesting to observe what things were not mentioned as valuable, or so to a lesser degree: baskets, nets, mortars, etc. In a word, articles of value in foreign commerce, articles of dress and adornment, of war, ritual, and sustenance, have value; domestic utensils have not. Some of the phrases describing wealthy men are illuminating. A war leader is chosen in part for his riches: he would own five quivers (five is the pattern number); he goes into battle with a quiver under each arm and one on his back. If his bowstring is cut he has another. A rich man has fur blankets, coyote and wolf pelts.

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Dentalium shell beads do not function as money here as on the lower Klamath river. They are strung in fathom or half-fathom lengths, but neither length of string nor size of shell is standardized. The longer individual shells are more valuable but no one is known to haggle over the precise length as Yurok and their neighbors do.

MARRIAGE

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[171]*

A marriage payment is a social obligation. It is not a negotiated transaction as with the Yurok, Hupa, and Karok, for example, where indeed the social status of the family is measured in exact accord to the sum paid for the bride. Here failure to pay, which can be only a confession of inability, leads only to a lowering in social esteem. It is consonant with this that the bride is in no sense a chattel; she may leave her husband at will, and she certainly cannot be disposed of as a possession. Bride purchase is as inapplicable a term as can be found for the Klamath practice. In the interchange of presents which follows marriage the advantage lies most frequently with the husband's family. Payment constitutes an obligation, a seal of respectability. This is the well-nigh universal situation in North America if payments enter at all; it is a far cry from the commercial, contractual bride purchase of Africa, for example. The peculiarity of the Klamath is that failure to pay constitutes a social stigma. This is clearly explicable as a function of their geographic position, lying between the tribes to the west, with their clear-cut monetary evaluations of social relations, and the tribes of the Great Basin to the east, utterly devoid of any such sentiments.

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of any such sentiments. It also seems that the reciprocal visits by which the marriage is consummated, with their exchange of presents, is a reflection at a distance of the Northwest Coast potlatch, perhaps its most southerly extension.

582 Beyond the ability to pay, the choice of a mate is restricted only by kinship. No relative of any degree may be married; the children, they contend, will not survive. Common residence is for example no bar to marriage. Step-brothers and sisters, being unrelated, are free to marry even though they have grown up together. Several men now living here married their step-sisters. Sibling terms are not used between step-siblings, though they have half-brothers and sisters in common.

There is no village exogamy despite the relationship of most co-villagers. Yet there is a great deal of shifting residence especially among the several settlements of each division. Marriage within or without the tribelet is immaterial. Such evidence as exists however suggests that the tendency is for marriage within the subdivision. The data are few but summarize in this fashion:

Husband	Wife					
	ä'ukckni	du'kwakni	gu'mbötkni	iu''laloqkni	Modoc	Molala
ä'ukckni	8	1	......	1	1	1
du'kwakni	......	1	1	......	......	......
gu'mbötkni	......	......	1	......	......	2
iu''laloqkni	......	2	......	1	......	......

Of the ä'ukckni marriages among themselves, two above were with co-villagers, I have no data for other endogamous marriages.

Explicitly the data are the following: Pat Kane's father and his paternal grandparents were du'kwakni, his mother and her parents gu'mbötkni. These tribelets are more closely linked than with the others. His father lived at the time of his marriage at wudö'kän, a gu'mböt village north of Klamath lake; his mother with her people lived at sle'tsksi just across Seven Mile creek. Pat himself was born and grew up at mo'giqkünks, the du'kwa village at the mouth of Williamson river. His father's sisters married a man at iu''laloqs on Klamath falls.

Tom Lang's father was white; his mother lived at iu''laloqs. Both her parents were also iu''laloqkni; her mother was related to Modoc and Shasta.

Nancy Phillips is ä'ukckni, born at k'taidi on Williamson river. Her father was ä'ukckni although he lived at du'kwa. His mother was of the du'kwakni. Nancy's mother was ä'ukckni of k'taidi village; her parents in turn both ä'ukckni, the father from k'taidi also, the mother from glä'tepaX'is on the opposite river bank.

[595] The chief Lxle'ks had seven co-wives; four, ä'ukckni, one each, du'kwakni and Modoc, and one from ne''luksi hence probably iu''laloqkni. Two of the

ā'ukckni were sisters from his own settlement on Williamson river above 582
bæzŭkse'was, a third was from that town, and the fourth from glä'tspakʼis, a 595
mile or so down river. His daughter by the Modoc wife was counted ā'ukckni;
while living at k'taidi she married an ā'ukckni of Yainax.

A gu'mbŏt man, Wokau'k!alis, married two Molala sisters.

Girls usually marry within a year or so after puberty, which is 584
marked, at least among the well-to-do, by a big dance. Betrothals
may have been arranged while the couple were yet pre-adolescent,
presents having been exchanged by the families. They are expected
to carry out the agreement after the girl's dance, payments being
made again. Should one of them die another match may be arranged
with the same family, but not of necessity. Poor and rich alike
arrange such betrothals.

How far great disparity of age occurs I do not know, but it does [582]
happen that an older man marries a young girl. A shaman for
instance may be given a daughter by a man too poor to reward him [756]
otherwise.

But it must not be thought that there is no choice. On the contrary,
the majority of marriages follow the desire of the couples.
Elopements take place and although the levirate is the rule, much 583
depends on the widow's willingness. Yet a girl's consent is not necessary. 587
Despite her protests she may be carried to her husband's home.
If she runs home she is almost invariably taken back again. That she [762]
would be driven to suicide is doubtful; one informant never heard of
such a thing; another stated she would hang herself and in this event
her parents had to return the gifts of the groom.

An orphan girl of du'kwa lived with her mother's brother. She was married 583
against her will to a man of k'taidi. She clung to the ladder of the earth- 159
lodge but they pulled her away and dragged her up-river to k'taidi. Next
morning she ran home and never went back. Nothing had been paid for her
at the time but she was given in return for valuables contributed to the
cremation of a relative of hers some time before by her husband's relatives.
Immediately after this she married a man at Klamath marsh; whether payment
was then made is not remembered.

Elopements occur but payment is so much insisted on as a sign 583
of respectability that parents guard their daughters with great care.
This is at least true where the family wealth makes a suitable payment
imperative. It is unthinkable that a chief's daughter should be permitted
to enter an unceremonious, clandestine union. The poor and 834
forward have little to lose. Modest demeanor is expected of a girl.

834 836 [881] She dances with downcast eyes in her adolescent rite; she sits apart and does not talk with male visitors at home. A man seen prowling about the camp is shouted away. A girl who does not wish to be molested will go over to her mother to sleep. A father will whip a daughter who has clandestine visitors, and his son for misconduct. No obligations may be assumed for which no payment is made.

583 [836] Despite the fact that elopements are frowned on, clandestine visits and elopements are frequent. The girl's parents may follow a runaway couple and force her to return with them. It is usual however for the families to accept the fact and make gifts in proper form.

583 159 585 The most lavish marriage display ever known was that of Lʟlo'ks' only daughter, Go'solülb. They were living at tàka'lmakeda during the fishing season when Ski'lüls of Yainax eloped with her. They fled riding double; the horse fell with them while fording the river, but they escaped to Yainax. Soon after the girl returned alone. It took a month to get ready to conduct a proper marriage. Lʟlo'ks made the trip across the mountains to Jacksonville to get store goods. A great many people went with them to Yainax, the majority taking gifts of horses, blankets, clothing, or anything they had. One man with nothing better stripped himself of his only shirt. It must be remembered that such Plains shirts were then newly fashionable and hence valuable. They gave the horses they rode there, hoping for reciprocal gifts on which to return. Horses to a total of ten were given the groom's people. They gave horses and other gifts in return. Payment having been made the affair was considered as honorably ended, and as though the groom had sent an emissary in proper order.

583 554 Marriage without payment brings a slur on the children to be cast in the teeth by quarreling women. "Your children are worth nothing; you were not bought." Children taunt each other in the same way. They are respected in proportion to the amount changing hands at their parents' marriage, but this does not mean that a man's life is assessed at this sum. Nor is there any suggestion here that husband and wife are financially accountable to each other for injuries to their children. Marriage payment is prescribed not alone because it fixes social status in a general way but because, as one informant phrased it, it is decidedly unlucky not to make payment. So it is, for the couple have made an unsuccessful start of their social career.

583 The amount is not prescribed but varies with the wealth of the individuals. A chief gives a slave and more; a poor man buys with food. A chief will not give his daughter for nothing; the groom must continue to bring gifts even after marriage. The valuables customarily exchanged are slaves, horses, blankets, beads, food (pond-lily seed and roots), elk and other hides, and strings of beads. Pat Kane's father gave five fathoms of glass trade beads. It is important to

recognize that the marriage is consummated by a series of gift 583 exchanges and inasmuch as it was said that in the long run the man and his relatives have the advantage, it is clear that this is no outright bride purchase.

Giving a girl in marriage is sometimes a means of paying off a 583 social obligation. Considerable property is destroyed at a cremation. This is normally furnished by the relatives of the deceased but in 764 order to do honor a non-relative may contribute beads and other valuables to be consumed on the pyre. The recipient family is under obligation to reciprocate. Should one of the contributing family later want a wife from among them, they must acquiesce. The groom must make payment at the time of marriage, however. That no payment had been made in the case cited above undoubtedly explains why the runaway bride was not forced to return to her husband.

Possibly the sum must be repaid in the event of separation, at least 586 if the wife leaves the husband. Probably the time element is important; a marriage soon terminated means restoring the *status quo;* in one of long duration this is impossible.

A man sends a friend to sound the girl's people on their willingness 584 and the price expected. This man is chosen for his forwardness; he may be a relative but never a brother or father. He carries a bundle of sticks representing the gifts offered, which if successful he leaves, though they are not used further. The girl's father consults his wife before agreeing. Next day or as soon as the girl's people 584 can get ready their gifts and contributions of food they take their daughter to the groom.[66] 585 The groom's relatives have gathered meanwhile, collecting their gifts in the groom's home. The exchange takes place within the lodge, each party putting down its gifts beside the other seated opposite. The gifts from the bride's side, at least, commonly include clothing (presumably the Plains type), pond-lily seed, and roots of various sorts. The payment now made on behalf of the groom includes the promised articles. Speeches are made by the parents of both, admonishing them to live in harmony. Payment for a bride is called wok̦o'wi, the reciprocal gifts, i'wi.

It is difficult to say just how formal are the visits that follow marriage; at least one or two are usual, if not prescribed for the well-to-do among whom further payments by the groom are expected.

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[66] In a Modoc (or Klamath?) song recorded by Gatschet (Songs of the Modoc Indians, 27, 29) a bride is carried on her brother's back. As Gatschet points out, carrying the bride is a custom of northerly tribes. [114]

585 After a month of marriage the couple visits the bride's former home,
593 accompanied by the groom's relatives, for a further exchange of gifts. Soon after this, the girl's father and his family reciprocate. Beyond this it is a matter of mutual solicitude; undoubtedly the visits grow less frequent as the passing years bring diverging interests. Later visits are of some duration, the couple even staying through the winter.

591 Marriage is normally patrilocal, but if a man is poor, or has no close relatives, he may take up residence with his wife's people. When a young wife is about to have her first child the couple return to her mother to stay until she is strong again. This must be the circumstance of temporary matrilocal residence as it ordinarily occurs elsewhere. First marriages among primitive peoples usually follow closely on a girl's nubility. The need for advice and care during this trying period of pregnancy and delivery, the natural solicitude of the mother, are surely the reasons for the frequency with which residence is temporarily matrilocal. It will be observed that this is formally prescribed as the proper procedure almost solely in cases of first marriage. There is no need to search for a more esoteric reason such as the older writers had, matrilinear grouping, maternal authority, and the demand that the young husband prove himself to the wife's family. Among the Klamath this is the rule only on the birth of a first child.

591 A series of terms describes the facts of residence. A man and his
wife in matrilocal residence are non-vocatively wuko'bŏks and sḳa'bŏks
593 respectively.[69] A woman with her husband's people is t!e'niwas.[70]
601 On separation a woman who returns to her former home is ko'stbŏmbli, a man returning to his, wuko'tbŏmbli.

601 I was told at least that a child's spouse is treated like an own
child, that parent and child terms are used between them for there
606 are no parent-in-law taboos. This is the usage of intimacy; there are specific terms for parents-in-law. There is the familiar Indian usage of a term between the parents of a couple, "my child's parent-in-law."

582 Marriages occur any time during the year. There is no evidence suggesting their greater frequency during any season, nor any mating period[71]

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[69] The latter term was given me at another time as meaning a newly married woman (probably the form sḳa'bökak was intended). This comes to the same thing. These two words apparently correspond to Gifford's wapake and kapake, earlier and later co-wife (Californian Kinship Terminologies, 42). Gifford's record is doubtless due to a misunderstanding; I enquired about these words and found that there are no terms for particular co-wives.

[70] Gatschet (2:698) gives teina, a young woman. The meanings are not incompatible but I believe mine to be correct.

[71] As among the Yurok (Kroeber, Handbook, 44).

The number of plural wives depends on wealth; hence chiefs have 595 more than others. From my notes I glean two instances of two wives, [622] another of three. The wives in both bigamous cases were sisters. The greatest number known was the case of the chief Lɛle′ks, who had at one time seven wives, two of them sisters.[73] I have described their derivations above. These women bore him many children. Whether the wives are sisters is a matter of complete indifference. To have two wives is called la′bwewa′nagɪtkt (lit., two females), three ᴇnda′nwewa′nagɪtkt, and so on. Collectively the wives may be referred to as sɪpkska′ltk; they call each other p′tcɪki′p. Plural wives are paid for, but whether there is reciprocal visiting I do not know. Slaves [567] are also taken to wife. Polyandry is unthinkable to the Klamath; it would be adulterous.

Barrenness is as usual a reason for taking a second wife, but not 595 always. Pat's maternal uncle had a barren wife. He kept her 842 throughout his life and never took another. The case of three wives noted above was one in which there were no children; the children of this family always died in infancy, I was told. Whether this implied that two of the three were barren, I do not know. One word, ts′e′do, means a sterile man or woman.

The sororate is not obligatory on the death of a wife, nor is there 587 any notion that a girl must marry an older sister's husband when she comes of age.[74] It is thought better to marry a deceased wife's sister, and from her family's point of view it is evidence that they care for the husband when they provide another daughter. There is however no feeling that they are under compulsion to make good the loss he sustained because of his marriage payments. A bereaved person waits a year or more before remarrying. The second wife has to be paid for like the first, but the amount is less. Again this depends on the man's affluence. The sororate is called spɪno′la, the sister, [601] spɪ′nuwɪp, i.e., sibling-in-law when the spouse is dead (cf. spɪnu′, to cremate, spɪ′nuks, cremation place).

The levirate is customary but not obligatory. It is desirable to keep a woman in the family, especially one with children. This is perhaps nothing more than an expression of household solidarity, for

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[73] Gatschet states ten, but I am certain there were not more than seven, at least at one time (2:126).

[74] There is just a suggestion. When asked for the kinship term used by a [601] woman for her sister's husband, my informant gave the term for husband, but somewhat in confusion corrected herself with the woman's term for brother-in-law.

587 a woman with young children is as likely as not to be a member of a joint house group with her husband's immediate kin. We may also wonder if she would not ordinarily continue to reside with them even though she does not remarry in the group. It might be illuminating to know how residence with or apart from this family affects the practice. In default of a husband's brother, the widow should marry a nephew, either fraternal or sororal, or another of his kinsmen. A payment is made but not so large an amount as at her first marriage. Since only close relatives are paid, a widow may not be paid for if she has none. Much depends on the woman's willingness; she may not care to be a plural wife. Nevertheless, it is in some degree compulsory, for if she should marry another, her deceased husband's brothers may kill the man. While their objection is voiced loudly enough, they do not announce their purpose but await a favorable opportunity to surprise him.

586 Quarrels and adultery lead to separation, which is frequent;
there seems no compulsion to endure an unbearable situation. Incom-
patibility and jealousy (suki'ksle'a) bring on quarrels as frequently
as they do in any other group of human beings. Typical causes
837 of domestic friction cited to me are adultery, as with a slave
woman of the household, a woman's continual anger with her hus-
band, or her demand for sole attention in a polygynous household.
It is always the wife who leaves. My informants could imagine no
situation short of adultery which would lead a man to send his wife
away. Nevertheless he can force her to act. A good, stout-hearted
woman stays, so they said, no matter how badly she is treated; only a
mean-spirited one flies home. Inevitably the situation is complicated
by children. A wife may take all her children with her or only the
little ones. This seems a question of who is at fault, for a woman
taken in adultery may choose to submit to beatings by her husband
rather than be separated from her children. If a wife leaves of her
own volition and for just cause, her husband must pay again to have
her return, must assuage the feelings of her family by gifts. If he
does not desire her, he may ask for the return of the marriage gifts
but they are not automatically forthcoming. If the wife is at fault
he may choose to demand the return of the bride price. Its return
586 is called sĕldŏnga. If a man is impotent his wife may leave him for
842 another. But he cannot cast his wife aside because she is barren; he
adds another to the household.

In the matter of adultery it is quite clear that a man has no 837
recourse but to kill the lover; demanding payment for the wrong is unthinkable. He waits his opportunity to ambush the other. A man of no consequence may have to put up with the situation, but at least he would never think of turning to a chief for help.[74] The husband may send his guilty wife away, may beat or even kill her. Sometimes [586]
he will send someone to demand the return of the bride price, and her people return what still remains. The woman is then free to marry her lover who must pay for her in regular fashion. Nothing goes to the former husband. If a woman finds her husband unfaithful, she may beat (satŏ′mdoḳa) the other woman; her final recourse is to return home.

TRANSVESTITES

Transvestites or berdaches (tw!ínnă′ĕk) are found among the 838
Klamath as in all probability among all other North American tribes. These are men and women who for reasons that remain obscure take on the dress and habits of the opposite sex. Their number is small. Five men who lived as women were cited by an informant, two women who lived as men, and others are known. One of the former was from the Dalles. This is a very minor fraction in a population numbering upward of two thousand. Kroeber has assumed that such [114]
individuals are invariably psychologically abnormal, homosexual;[75] I am not sure. The case of Lᴇle′ks below rather argues against it. At any rate their abnormality is socially canalized: they are permitted to live as they desire despite the distaste of the normal Klamath for the practice, and the scorn and taunting to which he subjects them.

It is to the point to note that the men who turned women adopted woman's dress, pursuits, personal habits, and speech, and in one case at least married. Neither of the two women affected male garb; one married and made some pretense of men's habits, the other is rather simply a case of an irregular sex life. The cases of two of the transformed men which follow seem to turn on adolescent experiences. While these are phrased with relation to esoteric situations, they are more adequately explained as states of psychological disturbance rationalized in these terms. A third of the men-women turned shaman, [756]
but I do not know that this followed directly from the transformation.

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[74] Punishment of adultery and other torts by a chief, as described by Gatschet (1:58 *et seq.*), are post-reservation customs.

[75] Handbook, 46, and elsewhere.

756 838 As both sexes are shamans there was no need for the transformation had this been the goal.

Mūksamse'lapli, also called White Sindey, was the berdache shaman. He tried to laugh like a woman. He was twice married, first to a Molala man named Tcl'ptcl, later to a Klamath, Tc!o'mōks. The latter is known to me as a normal old man who has since raised a family of his own. White Sindey made considerable pretense to shamanistic powers, but was rather scouted. He performed and reacted like an ordinary shaman. 159

838 One of my informants now in his sixties had been a berdache in his youth. I had observed his general unmasculine behavior but it was not until my visit of the second year that another informant gave the reason. He lives alone, takes pride in his cooking and the care of his house, weaves baskets for sale as women do, and still wears a basket hat, which no Klamath man now will. He is fleshy, slow, and distinctly feminine in gait and gestures, and speaks with the higher pitch of women's voices. Yet his transvestite state was given up nearly half a century ago. He is shrewd enough, though mild mannered, yet I confess that I suspected no abnormality. When about sixteen years old he was at the Dalles where an old woman shaman of the place took a fancy to him. He however was afraid that she would harm him so he put on woman's dress. He wore his hair long, prepared lily seeds, wove mats and baskets; all typical women's pursuits. He has never married. After learning his history I brought up the subject of marriage with him. He claimed that he had once been married, his wife having died twenty years ago, and in answer to the question why he had not remarried replied: "Some men like it that way."

838 159 622 The most striking case is that of the chief Lɛlɛ'ks. As an adolescent he wore women's dress and performed the appropriate tasks. One day after returning from the lily seed harvest he lay down to sleep. They placed a bow and arrow and a punt pole by his side, the latter a symbol of women's work. They stood over him and shouted. As he jumped to his feet he grasped the bow, thus determining his future. He ran off to Mount Scott (t!u'msūmɛni), staying through the night on the mountain in quest of a supernatural experience. As he was returning he smelled the sweaty odor of running horses. He left off women's dress and actions from that time. He became lucky in every way, acquired wealth, especially in horses, and prestige, and became the foremost chief the Klamath have known. His

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subsequent career seems quite normal unless exception be made of his seven wives!

A woman named Co'pak lived like a man although she retained women's dress. She married a woman who lived with her a long time and finally died. She observed the usual mourning, wearing a bark belt as a man does at this time to prevent the back from growing bowed. She tried to talk like a man and invariably referred to herself as one.

Another woman still living has had relations with both women and men. She never adopted men's garb but told them that she was a man. She is today a common prostitute, an abnormal, irascible person. Those she lived with were all older women, not young girls. This practice is known as sawa'līnāa, to live as partners. They say of such: they have lots of partners, friends (anewă'ĕts doma' sawa' līnăa'sgītkt). Other Klamath of any standing have always avoided her and her women partners. She was never married to a man.

HOUSE GROUPS

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It is now difficult to get evidence on household composition. Houses vary in size, to judge by the existing pits, from twelve feet in diameter to as much as thirty-five feet. The larger houses must have held a number of families and as many as ten or twelve persons. One described below had five families, numbering twenty.

The majority of the inmates of a house can usually trace some relationship. This is also true of most of the inhabitants of a settlement. For example, the village mo'giŋkünks had half a dozen earth-lodges, of which three held the families of two brothers and their father's male cousin. Residence is normally patrilocal. In the cases which follow the connecting relatives are for the most part related in the first degree. [591]

An earth-lodge on the lower Williamson river built about 1870, and measuring thirty feet in diameter, contained five men, their wives and children, whose respective portions of the house are shown in figure 4. This was known as the home of the shaman Boke's; the others were related to his wife.

1. Boke's, wife, and two children.
2. Lek!o'c, wife and two children.
3. Wokau'k!alls, a widower, whose two wives had been Molala sisters.[76]

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[76] Their Molala names were Slewa' and A'li'nk.

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4. Lo'lŏklīs, wife, and seven children.
5. Tc!ŏntc!ŏn and his wife (childless).

The wives of Boke's (1) and Lo'lŏklīs (4) were sisters; Tc!ŏntc!ŏn (5) was their brother. Leķ!o'c and Woķau'ķ!allīs were distant cousins of this trio.

In front of this lodge stood another, a mat-covered house (wu'kĕ'plŏķs), housing the mother and three sisters of Woķau'ķ!allīs. This was only ten feet distant, measured about fifteen feet in diameter, and also had its entrance, this time at ground level, on the southeastern side facing the river. The inmates of both houses were gu'mbŏtkni from the western side of Klamath lake with the exception of Lo'lŏklīs, a du'kwa man, who alone properly belonged in this locality.

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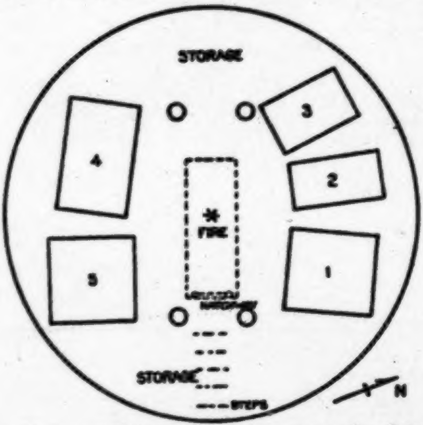

Fig. 4. Plan of an earth-lodge, showing the areas assigned to the beds of five families.

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One earth-lodge in the same district was known as wĕwalăĕķsumlo'ltmalŏķs, old woman's earth-lodge. Its inmates were an old woman, her two daughters each in early life, the younger with three children, and an elderly woman, first cousin to the daughters, hence called older sister by them. The house was built especially for them.

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Data on the arrangement of polygynous households are of the slightest. It is clear that all the wives occupy one house with their husband. Their beds are separate. This is true where their number is few, but in the case of Lzle'ks' seven wives, these were housed in two lodges. In one family of a man and three childless wives only one earth-lodge was used.

BIRTH

The birth of a first child is an especially significant occasion. If 844 it is the mother's first it will bring strong winds and thunder.[77] The [821] Klamath also hold that in at least one other crisis, on the death and cremation of a shaman, the wind will rage. For the father the coming [756] of the firstborn is one of those occasions on which to seek power in the mountains.

Birth (wiă'sla) must always take place outside the dwelling in a [343] dome-shaped lodge especially prepared by the mother of the expectant woman, her mother's sister, or cousin. This is not the menstrual lodge, for this is used only by women of a shaman's household. This proscription of delivery within the dwelling is shared by other tribes of [171]* this latitude (Shasta, Northwestern Maidu, Lemhi, and Wind River Shoshoni) but is unknown to the south.

A woman's first delivery is attended by four or five old women well-known for their skill as midwives and hence not of necessity her relatives. They are sometimes paid a fathom of beads. Men are excluded from the lodge. It may be that no man will chance contamination. I do not know whether shamans are called in difficult [756] cases. It would seem likely, since they have some genuine medical practice, were it not for this restriction.

The procedures surrounding parturition are almost wholly practical and physiologically well founded. The attendants press on the woman's abdomen and lift her repeatedly to hasten delivery. She lies on her back on a bed of grass with a soft pad (coyote or raccoon skin, or duck feathers) arranged to receive the baby. The umbilical cord is cut with an obsidian knife and the stump tied with the mother's hair. If anything else is used for the tie the child will continually cry. The afterbirth (yĕpĕno'ŋ ?) is deeply buried so that no animal may devour it and make the woman barren. Immediately 846 after birth she is seated in the lodge on a bed of hot stones, covered with leaves. On this she must remain blanket-covered for five days. She drinks warm water freely; she may not eat meat nor fish, and must use a scratching stick, just as during catamenia and mourning. At [292] the birth of a first child both parents wear sage-brush bark belts for

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[77] It is also the view of the Wishram that the weather is stormy or hot at the birth of a child, according to my information. [171]*

846 [292] five days. This is the belt also worn in mourning for a child and by a girl at puberty. I was not told of restrictions on the father's conduct, but if he is seeking a vision at this time he fasts of necessity for some days.[78]

856 The attending women pinch up the baby's nose and smooth its features to make it handsome. They are especially careful with a boy to straighten and massage his legs so that he may become a good runner.[79] A tight belt of buckskin is put on a girl baby so that she 853 will not become stout. The baby is put to breast immediately. Expectant mothers massage the breasts and squeeze out the first milk.

846 The stump of cord falling off after five days, the navel is greased in order to help it heal. The stump, wrapped in buckskin, is put away by the parents with those of other children. Some precaution is taken to preserve it, at least during the early years, else the baby will die, but it is certain to disappear by the time he is grown. Should the baby die the cord is replaced to be burned with the body.

801 The several references to five-day periods, and we may add the five-day monthly seclusion of women, deserve a word of comment. To be sure there is some basis in fact for this; menstruation, post-natal placental flow and hemorrhage, and the sloughing of the cord do commonly occupy some such period. However, in consideration of individual variation, it is clear that the stated five is but another application of the Klamath pattern number.

852 *[171] There is no formal celebration at the birth of a child, as among the Wishram.

856 Some other practices pertaining to childhood may also be noted here. Deciduous teeth are pulled out by the mother as they loosen so that the permanent teeth will erupt in their proper places. This has actually such an effect as well as stimulating the growth of the second dentition. There are no customs regarding these teeth; they are thrown away.

A little girl's hair is made to grow long and thick by singeing it with a lighted splinter of a lightning-struck tree. This is not done for boys.

845 There is no special attitude toward twins (Lubă'als) so far as I could discover. This is noteworthy because of the fear of twins mani-

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[78] Modoc parents abstain from meat for ten days after the birth, eating only roots. They sweat for five days and then throw away their garments (Gatschet, 1:91).

[79] The Modoc method is described by Gatschet (loc. cit.).

fested by several tribes of northern California and in view of their 845
association with the weather and salmon on the Northwest coast. [171]*
Neither of these attitudes appears among the Klamath. Nor is there any sympathetic bond between twins, nor is one of them destroyed at birth. Informants had never heard of triplets although they must occur in the usual biological proportions. Monsters are said always [766]
to be born dead—perhaps the midwives see to that. Like the stillborn, they are said to receive the universal cremation, but it is more likely that they are secretly disposed of, like abortions.

The child of an adulterous union, if not palmed off on the husband, 847
is aborted by pressing the abdomen heavily on a rock. Naturally this takes place in the seclusion of the brush. No medicines are in use for abortion. To abort is called hlso'ḳoga; infanticide, siu'ga.

How much of a disgrace barrenness is I do not know, but it does 842
not lead to separation. To aid conception women grind a white shell[80] (lö'ḳtäs) and drink it in water. Men do the same for impotence. A small dentalium shell (t'u'tas) is also used.

Klamath cradles show an interesting cultural amalgamation. The 854
cradle for the newborn is the northern California sitting type; the carrying board for later use is identical with the oval wooden forms of the northern Basin.[81] Through western Oregon and Washington, along the line of contact of the Basin board with the wooden trough cradle of the Northwest Coast, both forms are used or else a modification of one toward the form of the other.

The basketry cradle (ḳwäls) for the first month or two of the baby's life is a trough with one rounded end on which the child sits. It [593]
is made by the mother of the expectant woman; woven of willow twigs, it measures eighteen inches in length. Its purpose is said to be to prevent the infant scratching its navel, with consequent illness, and to support its weak back. Its usefulness ended, it is thrown away.

The carrying board (swĕns) is made by the baby's father or a near kinsman. It is a flat board of oval outline, carved from a single piece of wood. The lower end is rather pointed so that it can be stuck into the ground while the mother is occupied. An unexpected feature is [562]
that the sex of the infant is distinguishable from the shape of the

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[80] This is flat, two inches long, and spotted. It may have been got from the whites.

[81] Barrett has it that the first cradle is of soft tules, followed by the sitting type of more rigid materials, with occasional use of the board (Material Culture, 257, pl. 14).

854 562 *[171] cradle (fig. 5). Those for boys are relatively narrow and pointed, and with only one handle at the top, carved in one piece with the board. The girl's cradle is very wide, so that she will grow up broad, and is provided with two handles. Sex is distinguished in the cradles of some eastern California, Nevada, and Arizona peoples (Yokuts, Mono, Washo, Paviotso, Mohave, Maricopa) where it appears in the decoration of the hood. The angular board cradle of the Wishram and their neighbors is not used here.

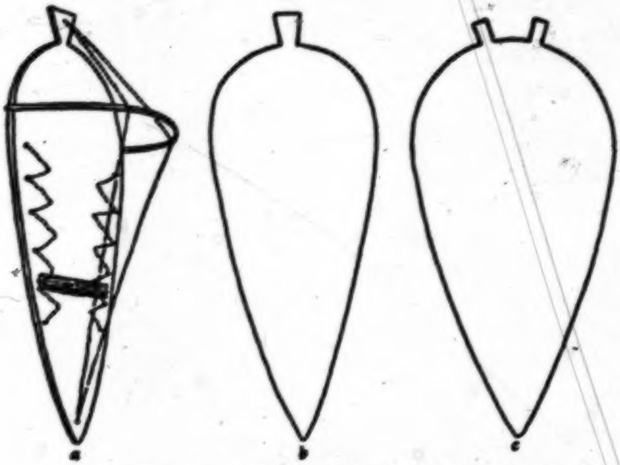

Fig. 5. Cradle boards; *b*, shape of boy's cradle; *c*, shape of girl's cradle. (Drawn from description.)

854 The arch (tsl'ells) is a single willow stick tied to holes on each edge of the board at its widest part. It is held rigid by two strings to a hole in the handle and two others to one near the point. There is no rest for the feet as in some cradles of this type, but a rest just below the buttocks permits the baby to half sit at times. This is of tules, possibly twined, placed transversely and in such a way that it can be turned down on the board and built over with padding so that the baby will lie flat.. It is called slotĕta's. *[171] There is no buckskin cover to the board; this is credited by my informants to the Modoc, Northern Paiute, and the Upland Takelma. Instead, soft tule bark rubbed up fine is heaped over the infant, who is wrapped in a fur by the wealthy. The single lacing string is drawn back and forth through the five or

six short loops on each side. A carrying band goes over the mother's 854 forehead.

Frontal flattening is customary but not universal. No reason is 856 given. Hrdlička was informed "that the Klamath regard a long head, [114] i.e., a non-deformed head, with derision. They say it is slave-like, that their slaves had such, and that a man with such a head is not fit to be a great man in the tribe. Deformed heads are called 'good heads.' "[33] A buckskin sack, somewhat larger than the forehead, stuffed with dry cat-tail down, is tied to holes in the cradle. Hrdlička was told that this was filled with seeds, such as water-lily seeds. This lies across the forehead but is not tied so tightly that the child cannot turn his head. Pressure is begun at birth and continued as long as the child continues in the cradle. According to my informant's representation [171]* the Molala flatten foreheads, some Pit River Indians do, while the Upland Takelma do not practice deformation of any sort.

The cradle receives ornaments symbolic of the child's future, in the shape of a tiny digging stick for a girl and a bow and arrow for a boy, tied to the edge of the board. Possibly they have more than ornamental significance. These are no longer than the finger; the single arrow is as long as the bow. These are tied to the proper side of the board; the bow and arrow to the child's left, for a man holds his bow in that hand, the root digger to the right.

Use of the cradle continues until the child can walk well. It is not [766] discarded but kept for the use of another baby, unless the child dies, when it is burned with his body.

NAMES

The name is usually given in early infancy; always by the time the 553 child talks. It is the choice of the parents, given without ceremony. Sometimes it is changed in later life, but there is no set occasion for this. Seemingly names change less frequently than their nickname character would give opportunity for. Perhaps these are always additional names, for I learned of several men known by more than one name; perhaps this holds as true for women as men. But it was said that the first name (hlewa'ska) is the most important.

There is considerable reluctance to the use of names, kinship terms 551 being substituted. This does not mean that there is a taboo; merely they do not like to name their own relatives now dead nor tell each other's appellations. On the other hand there was no hesitancy where reference was to things of the past. Children do not bear the names of dead relatives. As with most Indians, naming another's dead relative is the common curse.

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[33] Head Deformation Among the Klamath.

Most names are of the nickname type, given for personal characteristics such as appearance, gait, actions, habits. A few are named for their birthplaces, for birds and animals, or for some circumstance connected with themselves. Children may also be named for spirits; for instance, a little girl is named Sodŏ'tki for a woman spirit. Several men bear names of mythical characters, but given as nicknames.

The following names are those for which I was given a meaning:

Males

Kloklaʼndjamka, refers to its bearer's big knees.

K!ōk!a'as, great blue heron (a shaman's name).

Lōpa'ktcis, he rolls when walking.

Notco'ks, curled (as by singeing); given to a man as a curly-haired child.

Ta!Initpaks (meaning unknown), given this man as a baby; he is also called P!asai'wōks, big eater, because he was voracious as a boy.

K!ōmō's and Skē'lag, named respectively for the culture hero Kɛmū'kūmps and Skēlōm, marten, a similar trickster-hero of the myths. Both names were given because their bearers are liars—which gives some insight into their idea of the tricksters.[53] The man who bears the opprobrious name Skelag is more commonly called Ya'teus (meaning unknown).

Lɛle'ks, spotted, the chief named for the piebald horses he introduced to the Klamath, according to my informant and Gatschet's. My best informant denied that the name has this meaning, however. Gatschet gives a second name for him, Shmókaltko, bearded, for the little beard he wore.[54]

Kɛp!ētihas, short (?), the native name of the chief Tci'lokin, who was short. Tci'lokin is a name given by some northern tribe. One informant derived it from errors in his pronounciation, substituting kins in words, as another man "might put gi*s* in every word," but just what these substitutions are is anything but clear.

Females

Blaia'kai, so-called because one of the blai'kni, uplanders, of upper Sprague river; a shaman.

Ha'ntaklōtk, wide open, because she has a big mouth. Similarly she is called literally Mu'nsomgitk, mouth big.

Kokō'pli hole (kūpkūp), because she had small sunken eyes when a child. This is the only name my informant has ever had.

Līme'lak, mule colt, because the woman is strong and can carry heavy loads.

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[53] "To act like Skē'lamtch is to do something not meaning to do it apparently. . . . . In speaking of somebody who acts on the sly, and differently from what he proposes and means to do, the Klamath Lake people will say, 'He acts like Skélamtch' " (Gatschet, 1:cii, 115).

[54] *Op. cit.*, 2:335.

551

Mā'čka, crying. This is given to children of both sexes but I recorded it as a woman's name.

Pēpo'tewa, to put feet (pētc) in water, because she had done so, my informant surmised.

Woḳoi'ikōṣka, leaning over, because this old woman as a child walked leaning to one side.

Yatco'ksōp (a shaman), the mother (p'ḳi'sōp) of a man named Yatco's.

Another woman is called "greasy" but I failed to get the native word.

STATUS AND KINSHIP TERMS

Age Classification Terms

561

A series of terms are in current use to designate individuals at the various stages of their careers. Unlike kinship terms, these are not used in direct address except for an occasional usage like "old man." They are descriptive of status, as much as the term lō'ki, chief. There are exact equivalents for boys and girls, men and women. The outstanding features of the classification are: infants are sexless; thereafter discriminations turn on puberty, marriage, parenthood, bereavement, and old age. The curious category of a parent who has lost a child by death has real social significance. Like the loss of a spouse, the death of a child calls for a protracted period of mourning with special restrictions of conduct and is made the occasion of a vision quest. This is, of course, exactly comparable to our own bereavement within the immediate family but the idea of a terminological distinction is foreign to our thought. All the other distinctions have their counterpart among ourselves and are perhaps common to all mankind.

561
562

	Male[85]		*Female*
Newborn baby		muka'ḳ[86]	
Baby still at the breast		muks	
Child of two years to puberty	tcia'ḳi		ni'ṣkak
At puberty	wa'kōntk		stc'pwitk (lit., menstruant)
Youth after puberty	tcilī'loyak[86, 87]		siwa'k
Bachelor, spinster	tcilī'lwis		si'uōmpte
Young woman			tcina[88]
Newly married	sḳa'bōks[89]		sḳa'bōkak

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[85] Compare Gatschet, 2:140, 469, 509, 518, 560, 571, 602, 615, 697, 698.

[86] Diminutive of the following.

[87] Gatschet says before puberty.

[88] Forms from Gatschet: cf. my informants' tic'niwas, a woman living with her husband's family.

[89] On another occasion given me as the term *for* a woman in matrilocal residence.

561 After the birth of the first child	skote		sko'ksöp
562 Woman who has lost one child			K'lekála[28]
After the death of a child	tcló'kalatk		lé'pklā'ks
Widower, widow	tclimo'atk		wé'nultk
Old man, woman	tci'kla		wilá'ṭks
Old person		k'mátcha[28, 29]	

To misuse these terms disparingly is an insult; e.g., to call an old man wa'kóntk or skote.

Kinship Terms

601 The peculiarities of the Klamath kinship system are to be found in the groupings of relatives in the parental and grandparental generations with correlative terminology in the two descending generations. That is, the classification is made not only on the basis of generation but regularly according to the sex of the connecting relative. Thus grandparents are distinguished as they are father's or mother's parents, and the classification appears reciprocally distinguishing a son's from a daughter's children. Again great-grandparents are either a grandfather's or a grandmother's parents and these terms are used reciprocally. Father's siblings are distinguished from the mother's and correlatively fraternal from sororal nephews and nieces. Similarly grandfather's and grandmother's siblings are separately termed and correspondingly the grandchildren of brother and sister. The connecting relatives whose sex is significant in these classifications are father and mother for the avuncular relatives and grandparents, the grandparents in their generation and the one anterior, and brother and sister for the two descending generations derived from them.

It appears further that this whole scheme revolves about the use of separate terms for siblings by male and female speakers. By extension then a father's brother differs from a mother's brother just as a man's brother differs from a woman's brother, and so on. The nepotic relatives are thought of in terms of the siblings, the avuncular relatives as siblings of the parents, and the granduncle-aunt as siblings of the grandparents.

Add verbal reciprocity as the universal usage between those two generations apart and the Klamath have four kinds of grandparent-grandchild and four kinds of granduncle-aunt—grandnephew-niece. It is consistent with this that, while the sex of the individual addressed

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[29] Hence the name of the culture hero Kmú'kàmps, old one.

is important in the parents' and grandparents' generation, sex is of no consequence among grandchildren, nephew-niece, or grandnephew-niece. The status is determined as a brother or sister of some connecting relative, or through a brother or sister, and in the latter cases the sex of the person addressed cannot matter.

There are some particulars in which this system is not consistent. Thus one would expect from the above that there would be only four terms for siblings, a division only on the basis of the sex of the speaker and that of the person addressed. But in addition age distinctions are made although not consistently. Thus a single term means a younger sibling, but it is not applied to a man's younger sister. Nor is this distinction reflected in the correlative groupings.

For the rest, there are terms for father, mother, son, and daughter, and all cousins (parallel and cross) of the speaker's generation are siblings. Hence parents' parallel and cross-cousins are avuncular relatives. Relatives beyond this all in the collateral lines are indiscriminately "cousins."

Among relatives by marriage, we note a single term for a sibling-in-law of the opposite sex. Men and women use different terms for siblings-in-law of the same sex. The husbands of two sisters and the wives of two brothers have a term in common: this reflects the sororate and levirate. The levirate appears again in a single term for step-mother and father's brother's wife. Correlative groupings which might follow from these forms of marriage do not occur.

The list of kinship terms follows. All are vocative so far as I know. [114] This list was obtained independently of Gifford's and Gatschet's published lists; cases of conflict were later resolved by discussion with the informants.[91]

p'ti'sap, father.
p'ki'sap, mother.
ke'elga, step-father (Gifford, a man's step-child. He also gives as meanings, mother's sister's husband and wife's sister's child, for both of whom I found no terms).
p'ga'elp, step-mother; mother's co-wife; father's brother's wife (Gifford adds a woman's step-child and husband's sister's child, but the latter is doubtful).

These groupings follow from the sororate and levirate which are practiced.

wūnä'k, son.
bä'ēp, daughter.

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[91] Gifford, Kinship, 41–43.

blü'ksip, father's father; a man's son's child.
pt!ä'wip, father's mother; a woman's son's child.
pk!a'sip, mother's father; a man's daughter's child.
pk!o'lip, mother's mother; a woman's daughter's child.

Gifford obtained these forms with the diminutive suffix—pak for young grandchildren, Gatschet and I without.

teüteül, grandfather's mother; a woman's son's grandchild.
wa'wika, grandmother's mother; a woman's daughter's grandchild. (Gatschet gives this term as great-grandparent, Gifford as mother's grandmother and a woman's granddaughter's child, which are included in my meaning.)
p'tcoptcolip (from Gifford), father's grandmother; a woman's grandson's child.

p'ᴇ'yip, father's brother.
p'ko'djip, father's sister; a woman's brother's child.
bloko'tcip, mother's brother.
p'sa'kip, mother's sister.

All parents' parallel and cross-cousins and half-siblings are included in these avuncular terms.

p'a'ktis, a man's brother's child.
bötaga'lip, a man's sister's child.
mako'klöp, a woman's sister's child.

These apply as well to half-siblings' children and those of parallel and cross-cousins.

haba'kip, grandfather's brother; a man's brother's grandchild.
blülo'cip, grandfather's sister; a woman's brother's grandchild.
koko'i (Gifford gives p'kuyip), grandmother's brother; a man's sister's grandchild. (This was also obtained specifically as reciprocal between a man and his father's mother's brother.)
bligi'p, grandmother's sister, a woman's sister's grandchild.

Possibly there are separate terms for these granduncles and aunts corresponding to the distinctions of paternal and maternal relatives in other generations. It is evident that the cross and parallel cousins of the grandparents are included in these terms. For example, in the genealogy below, bligi'p is reciprocal between a man and his mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter, as well as between a man and his father's mother's sister.

tkĕ'unöp, a man's older brother.
tö'piyüp, younger brother; a woman's younger sister.
tobö'kcip, a man's sister.
p'a'nip, a woman's older brother.
p'ta'lip, a woman's older sister.

Half-brothers and sisters and all parallel and cross-cousins are called by these sibling terms, including the children of parents' half-siblings. It is possible that cousins in the nearest collateral lines are called siblings as well (that is, children of parents' parallel and cross-cousins, who are themselves called by avuncular terms), but it is more probable that the following term, p'o'mdjip, is used.

p'o'mdjip, cousin, i.e., any distant relative. (In the genealogy below this is used by a man for his maternal grandmother's sister's daughter's son.)

hi'ewöks, husband (lit., man). I also recorded a form tmbu'caip, which may mean something else.
snĕwä'ëtc, wife (lit., woman).

hosa'pk̦lōp (Gifford gives esplugict), a child's parent-in-law (i.e., mutual parents-in-law). (Gifford gives the usage of hosa'pk̦lōp as rare).
phāsip, son-in-law (note: this should not be confused with pk!a'sip).
pto'dōp (or wūnō'kgūmsnĕwā'ĕte, lit., son's wife), daughter-in-law.
ko'spōke, a man's parent-in-law.
pto'tk̦lōp, a woman's parent-in-law.

Gifford notes the suffix -gewitk used in reference to the parent-in-law and child-in-law, but not in address, when the connecting relative is dead.
mū'lgūp, a man's sister-in-law; a woman's brother-in-law.

My informant gave hī'ewōka, husband, for a woman's sister's husband, but in evident confusion hastened to correct herself. Such a usage would be consistent with the sororate which they practice.
p'tco'kūp, a man's brother-in-law.
p'ala'mip, a woman's sister-in-law.
p'te!īkip, wife's sister's husband; husband's brother's wife; co-wife.

This classification follows from the levirate and sororate. There seems to be no term corresponding to this for a wife's brother's wife and a husband's sister's husband.
spī'nuwip, sibling-in-law when the connecting relative is dead (cf. spīnu', to cremate). (I did not obtain this for a man's brother-in-law, but as no other term was recorded the use seems implied.)
ba'ocip, father's sister's husband; wife's brother's child.
p'k̦lo'mkip, mother's brother's wife; husband's sister's child (possibly mother's sister's husband but I doubt it because my informant at first denied that there is any term).

There are no corresponding terms for husband's brother's child nor, I presume, for wife's sister's child. The latter corresponds to the absence of a term for mother's sister's husband. The reciprocal of the first is p'sa'sip; this is given by Gifford for husband's brother's child. Evidently the feeling for verbal reciprocity is so strong that his informant gave the term, although, as will be seen by the genealogy below, there is no term for this child.

sza'mōks, relative.

GENEALOGY

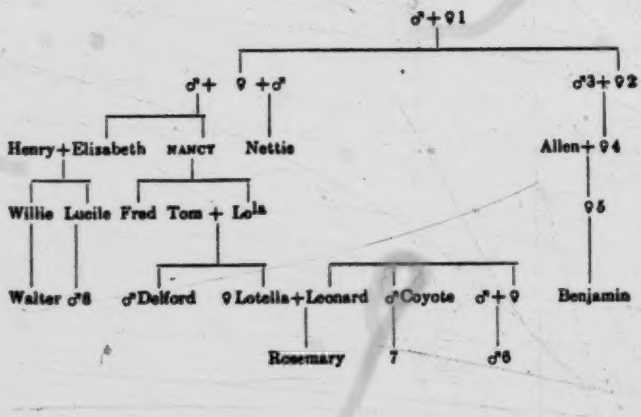

601 Nancy calls 1, p'ḳlo'lip; 2, p'sa'ḳip; 3, no term; Elizabeth and 4 (both older), p'ta'lip, who reciprocate with tö'piyûp; Nettie (younger), tö'piyûp, who reciprocates with p'ta'lip; Allen, Henry, mû'lgûp, who answer mû'lgûp; Henry (since Elizabeth died), spl'nuwip, and he calls her the same; Willie and 5, maḳo'ḳlöp, who call her p'sa'ḳip; Walter, Benjamin, bligi'p, and they call her the same; Rosemary, wa'wiks, and she reciprocates; Henry's siblings and father's brother's son, no terms.

Lola calls Elizabeth, p'sa'ḳip.

Delford calls Lucile, p'sa'ḳip; 8, p'o'mdjip.

Lotella calls 6, p'ḳlo'mkip; 7 (sex not stated), no term.

601 *171 The Klamath system resembles many others in this region, as I have previously pointed out.[92] In general structure it belongs to the class I have called the Mackenzie Basin type, the distinguishing feature of which is the classification of both cross and parallel cousins as siblings. This is common to a group of tribes extending from the lower Columbia river through eastern California and adjacent Nevada nearly to the Colorado river, and also in northwestern California. In the following table are listed all cases of the classification of relatives identical with that of the Klamath. This gives a somewhat different impression. The greatest number of identical categories are common to Achomawi, Atsugewi, Southern Maidu, Northern Paiute (Paviotso), and Washo; tribes lying consecutively southward of the Klamath, with only Northern Maidu omitted. There can hardly be any doubt of a common historic cause for this much of their terminologies.

The Klamath system is set off from these, however, by the peculiarities noted below. There is no exact parallel to the Klamath use of four separate terms for parent's siblings, with reciprocal usage between father's sister and a woman's brother's child. As Gifford has pointed out,[93] the use of four terms for these relatives is the most widespread type of grouping in California, but in the majority of cases these terms are not used for parent's siblings alone. Four individual terms not used for other relatives (save sometimes for step-parents and spouses of parents' siblings) are used by tribes on the Columbia, in northwestern and eastern California; Chinook, Wishram, Hupa, Whilkut, Wiyot, Atsugewi, Northern Yana, all Maidu groups, Northern Paiute, Washo, Northeastern Mono, Yauelmani, Yaudanchi, and Paleuyami. None of these have the peculiar reciprocal usage of the Klamath.

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[92] Spier, Distribution of Kinship Systems, 77. Numbers preceding tribal names in the table below refer to the maps of this paper.

[93] *Op. cit.*, 142.

As Gifford has also noted,[94] the Klamath use of four special self-reciprocal terms for grandparents' siblings is unique. The general custom is to class them with the grandparents.

RESEMBLANCES OF KLAMATH KINSHIP SYSTEM TO OTHERS

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	System as a whole	Cousins	Nephews and nieces	Parents and children	Grand-parents	Grand-children
71. Chinook	×	?	....	....	×	×
69. Wishram	×	×	....	....	×	×
70. Wasco	×	?	....	....	....	....
6a. Shasta	....	....	×	×	....	×
8. Karok	×	×	×	×	....	....
2a. Yurok	....	×	....	×	....	....
1b. Tolowa	....	....	....	....	×	....
1c. Hupa	×	×	....	....	×	....
1e. Whilkut	×	×	....	....	×	....
9. Chimariko	....	....	....	×	....	....
1h. Lassik	....	....	....	....	×	....
1i. Sinkyone	....	....	....	....	×	....
1j. Wailaki	....	....	×	....	×	....
1k. Kato	....	....	×	....	×	....
4c. Coast Yuki	×	×	....	....	....	....
4a. Yuki	×	×	×	....	....	....
4b. Huchnom	×	×	×	....	....	....
10a-g. Pomo	....	....	....	....	....	?
16a. Northern Wintun	....	....	....	×	....	....
6e. Achomawi	×	×	×	×	×	×
6f. Atsugewi	×	×	....	×	×	×
7a. Northern Yana	....	....	....	....	×	....
7d. Yahi	....	....	....	....	×	×
17a. Northeastern Maidu	....	....	....	×	×	....
17b. Northwestern Maidu	....	....	....	....	×	....
17c. Southern Maidu	×	×	×	×	×	....
21a-84. Northern Paiute (Paviotso)	×	×	×	×	×	×
11. Washo	×	×	×	×	×	×
21b. Eastern Mono	×	×	....	×	....	×
21c. Western Mono	×	×	....	....	....	×
87. Moapa Paiute	×	?	....	....	....	×
88. Shivwits Paiute	×	×	....	....	....	....
85. Uintah Ute	....	?	....	....	×	×

The Klamath terminology for siblings is exceptional: five terms, viz., man's sister, woman's older sister, woman's older brother, man's older brother, younger sibling (for all except man's sister). The usual grouping in this region is by four terms (older and younger brother, older and younger sister) regardless of the speaker's sex.

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[94] *Ibid.*, 134.

601 I have few data on kinship usages. A child's spouse is treated like an own child and freely called son or daughter. Reciprocally, parents-in-law are often addressed by parent terms. The spouses of grandchildren and of nephews and nieces are not related, nor are step-brothers and sisters. There is no joking relation.

593 The close bond between siblings and their families is attested by the opening of a tale:

> [539] Wiwi'aak had five fathers, who were the five sons of Wile'aḳaḳ. That is, one was his father, but the others were fathers because they were father's brothers. . . . .

PUBERTY AND MENSTRUAL CUSTOMS

881 [554] The puberty dance is held only for the daughters of chiefs and others of wealth. For a poor man's daughter the rites are curtailed to the most necessary observances. The celebration serves as an announcement of nubility: girls marry within a year or so of their dance.

881 535 The dance (yo'ḳ'ɛla) occupies five nights at the first menstruation and is repeated at the four subsequent periods. It seems doubtful that any but the socially pretentious carry out full five celebrations. During the day the girl goes alone to sleep in the brush at some distance, returning for the dance just before sundown. I am not certain that she then seeks supernatural power. At least the girl does not run about piling up rocks in lonely places as boys do.

The dancing may take place in the lodge or outside, perhaps according to the season. It is simple enough; the girl trots forward and backward in the same course facing the east all the while. She is supported on each side by a man or woman whose arms are linked in hers. As they tire others take their places but the girl must keep on throughout the night. These others are young or old, relatives or otherwise, as convenience dictates.

881 533 The singing is provided by a group of men and women who alone know the appropriate songs. These singers are in demand for every dance. They are paid by the girl's relatives, a horse apiece, a blanket for each man, a half-fathom of beads for the women, or an equivalent. Some are provided with rattles, poles to the upper ends of which bunches of dew claws are fastened, the butts of which they pound on the ground. At least the song leader has one; other informants spoke of two or three, of five men and five women, or of rattles for all.

Everyone is quiet during the singing, else the girl will die. My infor- 881
mant could not say what would be done to the one who broke this 533
rule. The singers are fed at midnight.

The choristers sing about one another, men about women, women about men.[88] The opening song is always:

iwũne' sken djidja'lwis djalye'djal'wa [539]
toward sundown bachelors making a noise (?)
The young men are having a jollification in the west.

Toward daylight they sing:

pe'ĕt keskä'ni dji'ḳla he'llidowga
Toward the dawn place a tiny brown bird came to meet us.

The girl herself is expected to dance with downcast eyes, although 881
there is no express prohibition against looking at the sky as among 535
the Shasta. Common girls, however, will laugh and look around as 576
they dance. There is no suggestion that the girl's glance is malignant. [171] *

She observes three precautions during these five days, as she will
at subsequent menstruations and during mourning. She must abstain 881
from meat and fish, eating only lily seed or roots. She may, however,
eat when she pleases and with the others. Should she eat the forbid- 784
den flesh, she will get "consumption" and die.[89] She must not touch
her hands to her face or head, using instead a scratcher (sadŏ'ktcuts). [302]
This scratching stick or bone is tucked under the left wristband or
hung about the neck. Every morning she runs toward the dawn.

In the Field Museum collections are several bone scratchers used during
the girl's rites (nos. 61633, 61692, 63632). These are of two types; lozenge-
shaped and oval. They are decorated with incised lines, set close together and
filled with black pigment. Each is provided with a thong (fig. 6). [531]

During the day the girl retires to sleep in the bushes or in a dome- 881
shaped mat-lodge a few hundred yards distant.

She wears an old, dirty, fringed skirt, a blanket of skin (coyote, [343]
wolf, raccoon, or deer), and buckskin moccasins. The long buckskin [291]
dress commonly worn at dances may be used, although one informant
stated otherwise. She does not wash nor comb her hair during this [302]
period. Her face is blackened with pitch and charcoal, but none is
put on her hair as it would be in mourning. Instead the hair, hanging as usual in two braids in front of the shoulders, is doubled on itself to form two clubs, which are bound with braided cords of buck-brush

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[88] Some of these songs are given by Gatschet, 1:182, 189.

[89] A bone drinking tube is not used.

881 [302] [301] or red sage-brush bark. Buck-brush bands are worn around the head, neck, wrists, ankles, below each knee, and wound perhaps twice around the waist. This waist band may be a woven belt (k'ai'Ils) of sage-brush.

[291] [783] At the close of the ceremony the girl purifies herself by swimming; she does not use a sweat-bath. Other participants need no purification. Her clothing and bark bands are burned. Sometimes the circlets are wrapped around the branches of trees near the sweat-lodge where they are left to rot unless they are earlier gathered by someone who wishes to use them for a cautery.

[302] [531]

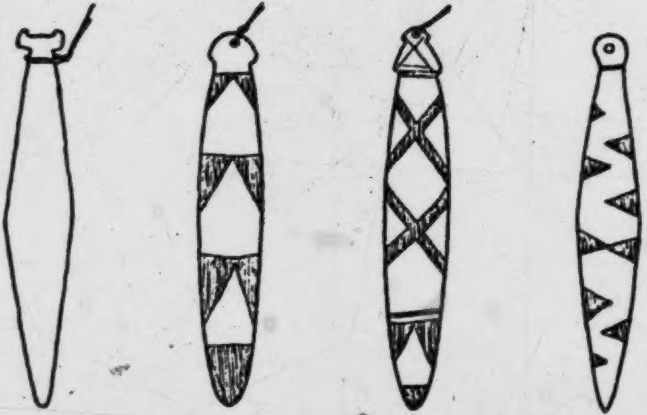

Fig. 6. Head scratchers, used by girls in puberty rites.

A girl for whom no dance is held stays within her home, dressed in this fashion and observing the taboos for the requisite period.

841 [756] Menstruant women stay at home during their illness (ata sto'pwi) unless they are members of a shaman's household. Shamans must avoid them; seemingly other men are indifferent. Women of a shaman's household occupy a little dome-shaped lodge near-by for five days. Menstruants eat only lily seed, camas, etc.; they permit themselves dried fish, but meat and fresh fish are taboo. Older women do not use the scratcher, nor wear the bands, nor burn their clothing.[97] So much from my feminine friend, but a male informant had it that all women make use of a menstrual lodge, wear dirty clothing, neither wash nor care for the hair, and use the scratcher. However, women

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[97] Nor do they keep knotted string records of these events as on Puget sound.

do keep up their ordinary occupation in part during this time. They 841
dig roots for instance, but others must care for the products further, else the women will never find any more.

There is no comparable rite for boys at puberty. Nevertheless the 881
time when a boy's voice deepens is recognized as propitious for seeking power. He is sent into the mountains for perhaps five days, to wander [787]
at night, running continually, piling up rocks, swimming in the mountain pools and eddies of the rivers, fasting the while until a song comes to him in a dream. He must use a head-scratcher. Preadolescent boys [866]
are tossed into the river or whipped while they sleep. If the boy whimpers he will be a weakling; he is expected to jump up and shout. I have cited above the case of Lzle'ks who was so treated at puberty, it seems, and thus lost his transvestite habits.

When I [Pat Kane] was a little boy of seven or ten, my father sometimes 866
threw me into the river while I slept. I did not ask why. Finally he told me, 159
"I do not want to kill you. I do it so that when you are grown you will not easily get sick, so that if you are shot you will recover quickly." I always bathed in the river as a boy and you see that I have never even had rheumatism until recently.

DEATH AND MOURNING

Klamath funereal observances are personal, non-ceremonial, and 764
somewhat unique in that they provide occasions for the seeking of power. There are no mourning anniversaries. [765]

Cremation is the universal practice, even for suicides, the newborn, and the stillborn. Only the bodies of secretly aborted infants are buried in the bush. The body of a man killed in war is brought [727]
home for cremation.[88]

Some Klamath men were trapping in the mountains west of Crater lake about eighty years ago when they were met by some Upland Takelma who killed four or five. One boy alone escaped and made his way back to Klamath marsh at night. The Takelma took scalps, hands, and feet of the dead, and held a dance. Many Klamath went to fetch the bodies, which they brought to Klamath marsh for incineration.

Near each group of settlements is a spot where all cremations take place. It is somewhat apart from the settlements but not isolated.

Three of these serve the Klamath marsh people; on the eastern side of the marsh near the towns k'ztaiwas (2, see maps, figs. 1–3), gūpgūa'ksi (3), and i'wal (4). For others of this division of the tribe, there is one on Sprague

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[88] Cremation was given up forty or more years ago ("in about 1868," Gatschet, 1:86). The first burial was that of a Molala man, married to a Klamath woman, who was killed by a Klamath. [177]
[178]

764

river at ḳa'umään (14) and one on middle Williamson river near ya'ak (23). The du'kwa division crematory is near the mouth of that river. The Pelican bay division has a crematory at dûnŏ'kai (38). The remaining division, the Klamath falls people, have two at dī'tklaḳs (50) on the east side of Klamath lake and two on either side of Link river. These eleven constitute the total for the Klamath territory.

The body is dressed, with such beads as the dead possessed tied around the neck, wrists, and ankles. It is then wrapped in a tule mat. For ease in transportation on a man's back, the legs of a small corpse are flexed and tied. A larger corpse is lashed between two poles so that four men may carry it. Canoe transportation is of course necessary in most cases since the settlements are strung out along the shores. The corpse is taken out of the house by the regular exit. Cremation takes place five days after death, according to Gatschet's Modoc informant.[99]

The pyre of green logs, three or four feet high, stands in a slight depression on the ash-heap (sĕkä'lgi) of preceding cremations. These heaps are said to have been ten or twelve feet high, "as high as a haystack," built up of the ashes scraped together after each burning (spīnu'). Gatschet states that the one north of the (middle?) Williamson river was twelve feet high in 1877.[100] White vandals have long since leveled these in search of plunder. All those I saw are now low mounds not more than a few feet in height nor more than thirty feet in diameter.

Property of the dead, such as his beads, arms, and skins, is piled on the body as it lies on the pyre. Other valuables are contributed [582] by relatives and others who wish to honor the dead. The recipient family assumes a peculiar obligation by accepting these; should the contributor later stand in need of a wife for himself or a relative, this family must provide the bride. The amount consumed is considerable, for even today the ash-heaps are littered with glass trade beads, iron halter rings, gun barrels, and fragments of obsidian blades that have withstood the flames.

When the fire has burned down, several of the male relatives who stir it with long poles, roll the remains out to be rewrapped in a mat and burned again. It is said that bodies are hard to burn; the fire must be renewed several times. The heart is the last portion to be destroyed. Poor people might not be able to burn the whole body.

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[99] *Op. cit.*, 1:85. The singing in the dead man's lodge described by Gatschet (1:90, 92) is apparently modern. I was not told of it.

[100] *Op. cit.*, 1:86.

The rewrapping of a man is done by male friends, of a woman by 764
women, but men alone tend the fire. They cover the remains as
quickly as possible, all those about crying loudly the while. Little
children are kept at a distance. By way of purification, those who [783]
tend the corpse leave their clothing out of doors for several days and
swim, or bathe in the sweat-lodge.

The house in which the death took place, even that of a child, is burned with its contents.[101] The survivors live elsewhere until, on a remarriage, for instance, a new lodge is built. If the house of a shaman is burned with the regalia it contains, a violent storm springs up in the night, hence they wait for calm weather before setting it afire. It is only safe for an old woman to fire it. When a shaman dies and again when he is cremated, storms rage for two days.

Strict mourning is enjoined on the spouse of the deceased and his 765
parents. It is quite clear that a son or daughter need not mourn so
deeply for a parent. Those who observe the fullest mourning cut their
hair short immediately on the death; this is called sla'mltk. After the 765
cremation they sweat for five days, go out in quest of a vision, and
observe the mourning restrictions throughout the following year. 783

The mourner fasts inside the sweat-lodge (spo'kliks) from early [787]
morning until sundown during these five days. There are only four
sweat-lodges proper to the use of mourners, or rather three. This
restriction is so inconvenient considering the scattering of Klamath
settlements that I would doubt it, had I not definite assurance from all
informants.[102] There are none in the territories of the Pelican bay
and Williamson river-mouth people. The three lodges are semi- [343]
subterranean, of timber and rock construction, and earth-covered.
These are said to be the gift of Kemŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero. A very
small one stands a mile and a half north of Klamath Agency.[103] A
second is on the south side of a point called wak̦a'k̦si, near Odessa on
the western side of Klamath lake.[104] The third and largest is on the
hillside at the angle of the marsh east of Algoma. The Klamath Falls
group have no mourners' lodge but make use of a hot spring at
hŏ'kewalks, a mile east of the present Klamath Falls railroad station.

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[101] I was not told of cairns of stones tossed on the spot by passers-by as described for the Modoc (Gatschet, 1:85).

[102] Gatschet also noted three alone (*op. cit.*, 1:xlii, 82, 142).

[103] This may be the one mentioned by Gatschet (*op. cit.*, 1:xxxi) although the name he gives resembles that recorded for site 64.

[104] This is referred to in a tale of Mink and Weasel.

765 783 343 There they place planks over the spring on which to lie. The common small sweat-lodges are not used in this connection.

The sweat-lodge near Algoma is now in ruins but it was always in need of repair, I was told (fig. 7). It is now a U-shaped wall of stones enclosing an area ten by twenty feet. The walls still stand five or six feet high, composed of thousands of small rocks. The roof was a rough gable covered with dirt. The lodge faces the east, uphill on a rather steep hillside. Stones were heated outside and carried just within the entrance. Air seeped in along the ground at the back or lower side of the lodge, so the mourner would retire there from the heat. A little spring is close by. There were no houses within several miles of this place. The little lodge north of Klamath Agency faces south.

765 343

Fig. 7. Mourners' sweat-lodge near Algoma. The nearest man stands in the mouth of the U-shaped structure; the middle figure on the far wall; that to the right beyond it.

765 [783] [787] At the end of the five days of sweating the mourner swims in the spirit places in quest of power or seeks it in the mountains. The reason seems to be not alone that he has lost power through his sorrow, but that this is an especially propitious occasion when the spirits will pity him for his grief. One such place is a pair of rocks, Wolf and his wife, north of Modoc point. A man will wrestle with the Wolf rock, his wife with Wolf's wife, in order to become strong and run well.

[301] During mourning women wear bands of buck-brush or sage-brush around the head, neck, waist, wrists, knees, and ankles like those worn during the puberty dance. The bands are disposed of by wrapping them around trees near the sweat-lodge where they are sometimes collected by those who wish to make cauteries of them. Both parents (or men alone) wear service berry or sage-brush belts like those of girls at puberty, so that the back will not become stooped. [302] For a year or longer, pitch is smeared over the face and hair, and black-

765 [302] ened with charcoal. This is strictly enjoined for mourning women; older men follow the custom and perhaps even children, except the little ones, but young men may be exempt. This pitch is not that exuding from the logs of the pyre as among the Modoc[105] but is gathered from any tree. [291] The hair cut off is later tied in little rolls all over the mourner's buckskin dress or shirt by way of decoration. (Enemy scalps serve the same end.) These garments are burned with their owners.

765 784 During the sweat-bath period and for perhaps a year longer, the mourner must abstain from fish for fear of sickness,[106] must not touch his hands to the face else it will wrinkle, nor may he touch his hair lest it turn gray. Instead, a bunch of grass is used when washing, and a scratching stick (wa'was), nine inches long, is suspended around the neck on a sage-brush band, or tucked under the wristband. The mourner spits into a hole dug with the scratcher. This may explain a song record by Gatschet: "This is my song [or spirit], that of the (sweatlodge) stick-hole."[107] These are the same taboos observed by a menstruating woman and by a boy at puberty.

After the loss of a wife or child, a man abandons the first fish or game that he takes, gives the second to another, and succeeding ones he keeps; a gambler gives away his gains. This is called sŭpu'tsa. A woman does similarly with the roots she digs after her husband or child dies. Something of the same attitude is shared by a gambler after receiving spirit aid, a novice hunter or root digger; all give away their first gains. Similarly no one who has recently lost a child may fish or even cross a river for fear the fish will go away. They must wait a year and then again use the mourner's sweat-house. These may all be viewed as rites of purification or attempts to reestablish oneself as a normal being.

> [539] Wolf lived opposite the cave at komă'ĕksi on Sprague river. When his wife died he brought his children to the river bank. The people shouted to him not to cross the river because fish were running. But Wolf said, "I did not come to catch fish. I brought my children because they wanted fish." They stopped there. Then Crow laughed at them and they turned into a row of rocks.[108]

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[105] Gatschet, 1:86.

[106] Gatschet (1:89) understood his informant to mean that after sweating for five days, a widow eats only fish and no meat.

[107] *Op. cit.*, 168.

[108] Told by Tom Lang.

765 The following myth brings out some of the mourning practices.[109]

539 Coyote's wife died. He set out to seek power. He burned up his house and all his belongings. He went along crying: he sang

hă'newa hă'newa bölükŏ'mhūkdino'lit
(a cry) It ought be dusk quickly.

He wanted the sun to go down quickly so that he could swim for power. There was a woman sitting by the road. He said, "I do not want a woman. I am crying because my wife died." Again he went on singing hă'newa. . . . .

Next he saw some moccasins on the road. He said, "I am not looking for moccasins. I burned mine when my wife died." He went on singing again hă'newa. . . . .

Now he saw a heap of food on the road ahead. He said, "I am not looking for food. I burned all my food when my wife died." He went on, singing hă'newa. . . . .

Then he came on a pile of ripe plums which had fallen to the ground. There was water there so he washed out his mouth with a handful [as is always done before a meal]. He had his scratching stick at his wrist. He stuck it into the ground and spat into the hole. He said, "This is the way the pse'odiwas (humans) will do."

So he ate, ate, ate the plums until his belly got big. Then he got sick and could not swim. Thus he made the rule that mourning Indians must not eat plums, else they will get sick.

GAMES

525 787 Gamblers seek spirit power for success, men and women alike, by swimming in spirit haunts in the river or in mountain lakes. The first of his gains after receiving this power must be given away, just as he must give them away the first time he plays after the death of his child. This is of a piece with a lad or girl destroying or giving away the first results of their efforts at hunting or root gathering.

777 Luck is also acquired by finding large obsidian blades and certain dead animals; mole, weasel, mink, or frog.[110] Finding the mole is luckiest. "To find anything like this is lucky, so it gives you luck." These must be found dead; there is no use taking a trapped animal, or a recently manufactured blade. The premium put on the obsidian blades is reminiscent of their exaggerated value as symbols of wealth among the tribes of the lower Klamath river.[111] All such lucky objects are bundled in white sage twigs and hidden some distance from the house. This may also be true of the gambling bones; at least Pat Kane keeps his at the crematory several miles from home. I was not

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[109] Told by Nancy Phillips.

[110] Gatschet lists as similar Modoc charms, a hummingbird's nest, the leg of a dead frog, a dead mole, a rare "fire-bug," and arrowheads (1:134).

[111] Kroeber, Handbook, 26, 54ff.

told that this had any connection with the possibility of contamina- 777
tion from women's presence in the house, but I did not enquire. A
gambler must fast if he wants success, and must begin the fast before 777
he goes to fetch his charm. The blade will disappear if not properly 525
cared for. The gambler carries the stuffed skin in his hand or places
the blade in water at his side as he plays, or wets it from time to time. [785]
The frog's foot, wrapped in an odoriferous leaf, or a mole's foot,[112] is placed under the blanket or mat on which they sit while playing. My informant had never heard of putting the blades under the mat, as Barrett noted.[113] Luck is called dite satwa'ya; ķ!ai dite satwa'ya is literally, indeed no good luck.

Gamblers paint their faces, put strings of beads around the wrist, and attach little feathers to their hair, when they play in all seriousness. They sing as they play. The stakes are piled beside them. The side that loses, bundles up its gaming sticks and articles, carries them off to bury at a crematory, and sets out to seek spirit power for luck.

The principal game is the four-stick game, called sö'kals, from 525
sö'kla, to gamble, hence the gambling game par excellence. Gatschet[114] 524
also calls it spe'lshna, to put the fingers forward (from speiluish, index finger) and shulshe'shla. It is played by men seated in two opposing rows. Two pairs of sticks are provided, with a circular mat or basket or a skin to hide them under. The sticks were described to me as nine inches long, two an inch in diameter, marked at the middle (these called cu'lsčs), and two only half as thick (sķo'tös). Culin describes a number of sets, of which the thicker sticks taper toward each end and are ornamented with parallel spiral lines at the middle, while the slender ones are closely wrapped with buckskin thongs for their whole length. From this they derive their name "wrapped up" according to Gatschet. The thicker sticks are made of mountain mahogany.[115] The hiding basket (p'a"la) is flexible and flat, hardly more than a circular mat; it is ornamented and has a bunch of deer dew claws attached to the center of the convex side. Blankets, mats, elk hides, or buffalo hides are sometimes used to hide the sticks; the last especially by rich men. Twelve short pointed sticks and two longer are provided for counters. These, contrary to the usual usage elsewhere, are not placed in a single group, but six of the shorter

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[112] The latter according to Gatschet (1:134).

[113] Material Culture, 253.

[114] *Op. cit.*, 1:79.

[115] Culin, Games, 328-332; Dorsey, Certain Gambling Games, 23.

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525 variety and one longer one are stuck into the ground before each group of players. These are called kee'ie, which, according to Gatschet, is derived from ksh'ena, to carry off.[116] Three of the sets described by Culin have each six counters.

The hider rattles the four sticks against the under-side of the hiding basket which rests on the ground before him and allows it to drop over them as he leaves them on the ground. The guesser must specify the order in which the sticks are arranged, which he does with a very characteristic gesture. If he is correct the sticks are thrown to him to hide. If he is wrong, the hider draws one or two small counters from his opponent's stock. The longer counter is taken last. For two arrangements, B and C below, he takes two counters; for A or D he takes one. The game is won when one side has all fourteen (no'ga, to win all the stakes; go'le, to win).

Each arrangement of the sticks has a name and a definite gesture which the guesser uses to describe it. He claps his hands once when his decision is made and brings his hand down or across in front as may be.

Name	*Arrangement*	*Gesture*
A. sḳo'tös (?)	▮▮||	Moves right hand to the right.
B. yo'sḳis	|▮▮|	Moves right index finger down the center.
C. sḳe'te!ös	▮||▮	Moves first and second fingers of the right hand down the center.
D. woi'ls (or bök̦e?)	▮|▮| (or |▮|▮)	Moves right thumb to the right to point out the thin sticks or the forefinger to the left for the thick sticks (reversing the movements for the second arrangement).

[114] Dorsey gives a somewhat different procedure. First, he is probably right in stating that for the opposite arrangement of A (with the slender sticks to the left) the hand is moved to the left. But he states that the guess for this position does not matter, since whether right or wrong, the sticks do not change hands and the hider gains no counters. Further, by his account, after a wrong guess is made and one counter forfeited, the hider arranges only one stick of each kind for the next guess. Both Dorsey and Gatschet give the name vuish, vû'ish to arrangement A.

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177 The hand game is of recent introduction; of this all were in agreement. It was brought from the far north by a man called Spo'kăn, possibly one of that Salish tribe, before the Modoc war. He came from Warm Springs and married a Klamath. He introduced the accompanying songs as well and its name nai'ătia.[117]

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[116] *Op. cit.*, 1:79.

[117] My informant had never heard the name lóipas recorded by Dorsey (*op. cit.*, 22).

This is also a man's game played by about six in a row on each side. Two men are each provided with two short bones, one of each pair marked with a black band. These two change the bones from hand to hand as they sway from side to side crossing and uncrossing their arms, their companions accompanying them with swaying and song the while. The opponents guess the hands which hold the unmarked bones. Twelve sticks for counters are stuck upright between the contenders. As with the four-stick game the successful guess wins the right to hide the bones; at each failure the hiding party takes counters from the neutral pile and, when this is exhausted, from the opponent's winnings. Here too the guess is indicated by a particular and characteristic gesture. In the diagram below the bones are represented as in the hands of two men seated side by side; the crosses indicate the marked, circles the plain bones.

Name	*Arrangement*	*Movement*	*Counters taken by hiders*
yo'skis	xoox	Hand edgewise down middle	2
skö'tc!ös	oxxo	Prone hand forward	2
woi'is[118]	xoxo (or oxox)	Forefinger to right (or left for the second arrangement).	1

When each side has six stick counters, it is called ötano'ga, now cooked. The side getting all twelve wins.

Dorsey describes the bones as three inches in length, two wound about the middle with buckskin. The wound pair are called skútash, tied around, or hl'cwöks, men, the others solsas, female (?). The counters he renders kshesh.[119]

My informant reported that the Pit river people have short bones which they roll in grass between their hands, and toss into the air. [184]

The beaver-tooth dice game (sko'së) has its usual simple form. It is played perhaps more frequently in winter than in summer, and while primarily a woman's game, both men and women play together. The dice are the four crescentic incisor teeth of a beaver, ground hog, or ground squirrel, or bits of wood.[120] The upper teeth (called hlc-

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[118] These names, which are identical with those for the four-stick game, were given by the same informant but on a different occasion. The names given here are probably correct for both games, hence Dorsey, Gatschet, and my own doubtful alternative for D above, are evidently all wrong. Arrangement A cannot occur in the hand game, of course, since each man must have an assorted pair. [114]

[119] Dorsey, *op. cit.*, 22. In 1930 I collected two sets in which one pair was encircled by a carved and painted fillet. [126]

[120] The Northern Paiute use long sticks for this game, according to this informant. [171]*

524 wö'ka, men) are ornamented along one face with zigzag lines; the lower pair (gu'lu, women) bear a row of dots or parallel cross-lines. The hollow ends are plugged with something red for decoration. They are swept up off the thigh and scattered on a flat stone, such as a grinding slab. If they lie so that the marked faces of two "men" or two "women" are uppermost, the player wins one counter; if the cast shows all blanks, he gains two, and if all marked faces, he wins the game. When he throws one blank, the dice pass to another player. [114] This is called ķ'ai'dwa snī'kăl, to win no counters. The first three of these scores agree with Gatschet's information.[121] Another of my informants said that any two marked faces count one, all of a kind, marked or unmarked, two. The counters (snī'kăl) are twelve (ten?) sticks, which are used in the usual fashion; each player draws from a central pile, then from his opponent's, until he has all. I am not certain, but they may play as two opposing sides.

524 114 Both Culin and Gatschet describe the use of woodchuck teeth as well. Gatschet writes of all four marked with parallel lines or crosses on one side. Dorsey describes stick dice for this game, seven and three-quarter inches long, flat on one side, rounded on the other, and tapering at the ends. Gatschet's information is that the game is played by women only, by two persons or two partners to the side.[122]

A form of the stick game from the Klamath at Siletz reservation is described by Culin[123] under the name tuckinaw. This, the familiar game of northwestern California, must have been learned at Siletz, since it is unknown on the Klamath reservation. Of a bundle of thirteen sticks, two are marked differently from the others. The bundle is divided into groups each wrapped in a wisp of grass. Evidently the guesser must avoid choosing the bundle containing the two special sticks.

Double ball shinny (djima') is a woman's game played in summer. [561] The "ball" (djima') consists of two bones or hardwood billets, eight inches long, and somewhat more than an inch in diameter, fastened [114] at their middles by a nine-inch length of buckskin.[124] Each player has a fathom-long straight stick (so my feminine informant states, but Gatschet says two) with which the ball is struck or rather thrown. The stick is called swĕ'kos. The object is to drive the double ball between the opponents' goal posts (Gatschet gives yúash; yo''a is to win). Carrying it beyond the line of the posts but not between them does not count. They start by throwing it into the air with a stick; this is called salḳ!wĕ'tka. The players, five or six to the side (Dorsey says two to ten play[128]) are scattered over the field. Chasing one another is called swă'tana. The ball must not be touched with the hands nor kicked. 524 [114]

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[121] *Op. cit.* 1:80.

[122] Culin, *op. cit.*, 137; Gatschet, 1:80, 81; Dorsey, 25, 26.

[123] Culin, *op. cit.*, 247. These may be Klamath river people, not the Klamath of Oregon.

[124] Gatschet describes the string as two to three *feet* long connecting two sticks or pieces of cloth (*op. cit.*, 1:81). Culin figures a ball in which the cord passes through the center of each billet (Games, 650).

Shinny (sᴇo'tᴇ) is a man's game played in the summer. Six men take part on each side and attempt to drive the ball between the goal posts, arranged as above. The same provisions apply here. In addition tripping, holding, and hitting one another are not permitted; there is in fact a functionary, a non-participant, who sees to this. He also throws the ball up between the contestants at the center of the field to start the game. The ball is of hard wood, two inches in diameter. The sticks are about an arm's length, three fingers broad more or less, and crooked at the lower end. These are made of willow roots or other wood.

Football is not played by the Klamath, but is played, according to my informant, by Modoc and Northern Paiute.[129] [171]*

The usual form of the hoop and pole game is not known to the Klamath, i.e., hurling poles at a rolling ring.

Analogous to this, however, is a game (el'ẋelḳa) of shooting or throwing darts at a hoop, played in several ways. It is also called ho'saḳoŋḳs from hosa'tcna, to roll. A ring (el'rḳelḳa) of tules is made fourteen inches in diameter or sometimes much larger. One informant described a ring of willow branches as thick as one's arm and thirty inches in diameter. Dorsey describes a ring of six inches used by boys. A ground is prepared by burning the grass on a course seventy-five to one hundred feet long. At each end four or five archers take their positions. One rolls the ring by an overhand throw; the others attempt to make their arrows stick in it. One who misses is penalized by the others filliping him on the back of his hand or punching him in the small of his back. They always fillip the same spot until the hand swells.

Another informant gave a variant in which the ring is propped up so that its edge faces the opposing side, who attempt to shoot it. If they miss, their opponents win; if they hit it, it must be rolled toward them while they shoot again. The stakes are bows and arrows. My informant's account of this game was not clear; I may have con-

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[128] Dorsey, *op. cit.*, 19.

[129] Cf. Culin, *op. cit.*, 704.

524 fused two games. A better informant denied that they shot at the edge of the ring but Dorsey records this.[127] Two rings are used according to his account, one beside each party. These rings are peculiar in that each has a bar across its diameter.

[114] In another form of the game recorded by Dorsey, two boys seated indoors roll a three or four-inch ring between them. The arrow shot into the ring must be dislodged by a shot of the one who rolled the ring. If the latter fails, the other receives one of the stakes, an arrow; if he succeeds, the trial does not count. In still another variety of the game the ring is only half an inch in diameter and the dart is a bone point set in a wooden handle. This is also played indoors by anyone. The player attempts to pierce the rolling ring with his dart. If he pierces one rim it counts one, both sides two.

A dart game (sĭkne'äs, dart) is played by men in summer. The dart is a pointed willow pole, eight to ten feet long, or, according to a second informant, of fathom length, feathered at one end, and sharpened or provided with a bone point at the other. Two targets are set up some distance apart, perhaps one hundred feet. These are bundles of tules four inches across and three feet tall, or smaller bundles mounted on sticks. When one man has made his javelin stick in the bundle, the whole party proceeds to that mark and throws at the other target. No stakes are wagered, but the man who wins can punch the others over the kidneys or fillip with his middle finger the backs of their hands or their foreheads five times or more. Another informant had it that the players are paired; one on each side throwing his dart in turn. He fixed the stakes as horses, blankets, and beads. [114] A variant of the game described by Dorsey[128] involves forked sticks as targets. If the javelin rests in the crotch, it counts five, otherwise the nearest throw counts one, the total to win being ten. Kʌmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero, played this game between Buck and Bare islands at the opposite ends of Klamath lake.

Other athletic contests are frequent. Foot races (so'ina) are indulged in by men or women, but not mixed groups. The race is to a nearby goal (without returning) or over a circular course. Boulders are lifted to see how far the contestants can stagger with them. There are several large spherical stones, up to eighteen inches in diameter, at the village du"Ilkŭt on Klamath marsh where various groups gather in summer. Men, and even strong women, of the various settlements are pitted against each other. Wrestling is a sport for men and boys. The village suwiakă'ēks, jump over, at Modoc point takes its name from contests of jumping over a rock there. This is about three and a half feet high and the approach is up a hillside. The Klamath are fond of diving; certain places on the lake are favorites, as the rocks on the northern shore of Buck island. Poles are balanced on the forefinger; this nameless sport is indulged in by boys alone. Ball juggling is unknown.[189] 524

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[127] Dorsey's data are also confessedly poor (*op. cit.*, 17, 18).

[128] *Op. cit.*, 19.

The so-called ring and pin or cup and ball game (coķ!o'ķ!os) among the Klamath consists of an elliptical or lozenge-shaped bundle of tule rushes to one end of which is fastened the cord which at its other end is attached to the butt of the pin. In a specimen I collected the bundle is very light, fashioned from the inner layers of tule stem into a mass an inch and a half long with a diameter half that dimension. The cord is a mere filament eight inches long, twisted of dried nettle bark. The pin is a porcupine quill (smai'ēm) as long as the ball. The ball is allowed to hang pendant; by a quick plunge of the pin straight down, an attempt is made to pierce the point of attachment of cord and ball. This "breaks the month" (shapashapatcha, according to Dorsey).[190] It is considered great luck, for it will shorten the month and hasten the coming of the spring. It is a pastime of young and old of either sex during the long winter nights spent in the earth-lodge.

Top spinning is not confined to any season nor any ages. The top (hēsta'lgeas) is a pointed stick thrust through a disk of wood or bark or a lump of pine gum. It is twirled between the palms. The contest is to see whose top spins longest.

A buzzer (ske'oķe'wis ?) is made of an astragalus bone of a deer 224
and a sinew from the deer's back. The looped cord passes through two holes in the bone. The loop is swung in the familiar fashion to twist it; pulling on it makes the bone spin. The buzzing sound produced says, poke'wŏt poke'wŏt, drive the deer out, evidently a charm. Near Pelican bay are tongues of land extending into the marsh from the foot of the mountain. Deer were driven out onto these and killed, or forced into the water where women in canoes waited to kill them. The buzzing is a "sign of this."

The bullroarer is a boy's plaything; it has no significance. This 524
is a paddle-shaped piece of wood, about fourteen inches long, pro-

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[189] Gatschet records the term shikukángŏtch for stilts (*op. cit.*, 2:307). I am sure I would have been told of stilts had these been aboriginal.

[190] *Op. cit.*, 21.

vided with notches at the narrow end in which the cord is tied. It is not ornamented.

The sling (ske'wle) is used only in sport. It is wholly of buckskin; a wide piece to which thongs are attached. One is provided with a loop to slip over the finger. This is an aboriginal device.

As a mere plaything hummingbirds (p'i'sas) are fashioned from the hard interior of the tule. These are hung up in the earth-lodge.

String figures or cat's cradles (sŏpḳō'ptculĕ'as, from ḳ!ō'ptc!a, little finger ?) are for amusement. Yet if played in winter the months will grow longer. Their number is legion. I was told of a few; the stolen baby, Tca'ḳiaḳ, sunrise, owl's nest, sick Coyote's knees, the girl who fetches water, a bundle of arrows, the abandoned boy who grows, and two coyotes who run from each other. The interesting feature of these figures is that they depict moving scenes; thus sick coyote sticks up his knees; the girl goes to fetch water crying ŏmdja, ŏmdja, water, until she spies an Indian when she cries maḳlaks, human, and flees to the other hand to begin again. Three of the figures were recorded.

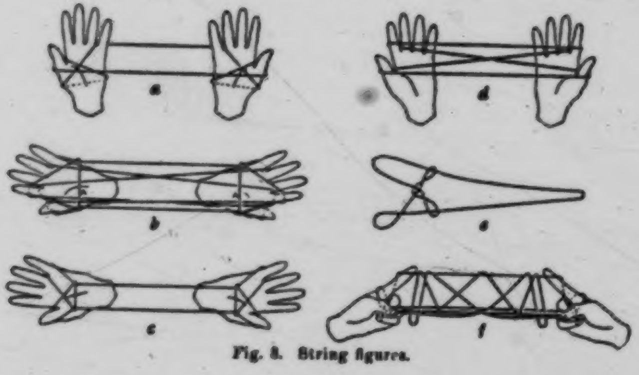

Fig. 8. String figures.

The figure of the stolen baby is called swĕnsowa'tkeas, taking from the cradle. Put each hand through the loop so that it lies on the back of each wrist. Lift the radial[131] string with each little finger from the ulnar side and the ulnar string from the radial side with each thumb, so as to form a loop on these four fingers (fig. 8a). Insert each index finger under the intersection on the opposite palm. Using the lips, lift the loop from the back of each wrist so that it rests in front of all the fingers (fig. 8*b*). With each index catch the strings at A and pull them through the loops on each index while allowing the latter to slip off the dorsal side of the index. This forms a horizontal rectangle at the center which represents the cradle. This is narrowed by bunching the fingers of each hand. A little stick is thrust through this with the lips; this is the baby. Let slip the loops from each index finger. Pull the hands apart and the stick will fly toward one of them. (The resulting figure is shown in fig. 8*c*.) The hands represent two Old [776] Women spirits (wile'aḳak) fighting over the baby; the one who gets the stick wins.

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[131] Following the terminology of Rivers and Haddon (String Figures, 147) the thumb-side of the hand or finger is called radial, the little finger-side ulnar. Hence strings on these sides are called radial and ulnar strings. A loop near the butt end of a finger is proximal, near the tip distal. Loops may lie on the palmar or dorsal side of each finger.

A second figure forms Tca'ḳiaḳ, Little Boy spirit. The loop is placed over the right thumb and the left thumb and index finger. Hold both strings against the palm with the three other fingers of the left hand. Insert the right index under the loop over the left thumb and index from the dorsal proximal side (i.e., from the direction of the wrist). Release the strings held by the other fingers of the left hand. This gives figure 8*d*.[138] . . . . The final figure showing Tca'ḳiaḳ is given by figure 8*e*.

The third figure, sunrise (sa'ḅandlni'gi), is shown in figure 8*f*. Pulling the hands apart makes the middle loop stand as a triangular figure, representing the appearance of a mountain peak gradually emerging against the dawn. This construction is begun with the loop passing across the dorsal side of the left thumb and little finger and the palmar sides of the other three. Give the loop one complete twist (so that the ulnar string, e.g., of the left hand, is on the ulnar side at the right) and insert the thumb and little fingers of the right hand similarly. Pick up the palm loop of each hand from the proximal side with the opposite index. Hold the radial string on each index against the palm with the middle and ring fingers. Insert each index under the ulnar strings of each thumb from the proximal side, lifting the thumb loops off onto the indexes. Care must be taken to keep these loops at the tips of the indexes. Release the strings held by middle and ring fingers. With each thumb carry the radial string of the proximal loop on each index under (past the proximal side) the ulnar string on the little fingers. Bring back the thumb bearing a loop of this ulnar string. Slip little fingers out of the loops. (At this point my notes fail.)

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[138] Unfortunately my field notes play me false: I cannot give the intermediate stages for either this or the following figure. [128]

524 Children imitate not only the daily activities of their elders, but their games as well. Little girls build little dome-shaped lodges. Their dolls are made of clay with modeled eyes, nose, and mouth, but are not dressed.[133] Both these clay images and those made of wood are called a'm'ōs, but the wooden figures, representing the spirit Tca'ḳiaḳ, Little Boy, are not played with. Children play at shinny and double ball, and make cat's cradles. They play a game called wo'yīlītas wherein they run crying wo'yī wo'yī . . . . as long as their breath holds out and stand at the spot where they fail. The object is to see who can go farthest. Or they cry doŋgliu doŋgliu . . . . . Similarly, girls squat on their heels with hands on knees and jump up and down, singing la'masi, to see who can do it longest. They bet on this. A favorite spot to play this game, called salmasi'a, is at dūna'ksi on Pelican bay, where the ground resounds when they jump.

It is worth noting that the number of counters used in the guessing and dice games is always twelve. In the four-stick game—I so
[114] recorded it—the counters are thought of as twelve plus two. Another of my informants spoke only of the twelve and this is the number recorded by Culin and Dorsey.[134] This number is unexpected because the pattern number of the Klamath is five. It may be that these games came to the Klamath in a form with twelve units and have not been reduced to the normal five or its multiple. How the pattern operates is illustrated by the informants' statements that five or six on a side play double ball shinny, that the perfect score in the dart game is five, and the penalty there five or more blows. On the other hand, it may be significant that I was told of six men to a side in the hand game and six in shinny. There are three possibilities; six and its multiple may be an indigenous pattern number for games, it may have been acquired as part of the game complex from other tribes, or it may be only a chance reference of the informants.

SMOKING

276 Smoking is a pastime with little to suggest ceremonial usage. To be sure, the shaman smokes in the interludes of the curing ceremonies,
[755] using a special form of pipe, special tobacco mixed with reputedly poisonous roots, and prepared for him by his speaker, but he does not

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*[171] [133] The Northern Paiute make clay figurines representing horses and other animals, corrals, etc., according to my informant. The Klamath do not.

[134] Even the form of the dice game described for the "Klamath" of Siletz,
[532] involving thirteen sticks, two of which are marked, may really be intended for twelve plus one, since elsewhere only one stick of such a *set* is marked.

cure by blowing smoke on the patient nor blow it to the distant spirits 276
as an offering. The impression gained was that this is a matter only [755]
of self-indulgence during his periods of rest. Gatschet translates a
song as "The smoking pipe is my medicine-tool (mūlwas), the implement
for tobacco," but the word also means any esoteric paraphernalia
of the shaman.[135] The lay use of tobacco is at any time that
convenience dictates, e.g., when resting in the evening. Women use [562]
tobacco as freely as men. The custom of passing the pipe from one
to another is probably absent though I made no specific inquiry.

Tobacco (ko'teka)[136] is smoked, never eaten. A boiled decoction of it is sometimes taken for bowel disorders.

The plant (*Nicotiana attenuata* Wats.) is not cultivated, but commonly grows in dry places.[137] A bundle of these plants together with kinnikinick is hung to dry in the top of the sweat-lodge until the leaves turn brown. Coville states that the dried leaves of manzanita, also, are mixed with the tobacco.[138] According to an informant the seed pods (which are sticky when fresh) and the adjacent parts of the flower are smoked; according to another the leaves and stem. The several plants are ground with any convenient little stone.

The pipe (p!ōks) is commonly clay with a spherical bowl and a 276
short wooden stem, but is sometimes of stone and discoidal. The more 323
common stone bowl is elbow-shaped with the arms at an obtuse angle,
made of soft sandstone, shaped and hollowed by pecking. Barrett [114]
states that the discoidal form is less used than the angular but my
information is to the contrary.[139] The stem is elder with the pith
pushed out; Coville mentions the wood of the wild rose.[140] The manufacture [524]
of clay pipes by a non-pottery making people seems unusual;
the only other use of clay is for making dolls. Yet the ease with which
clay can be manipulated as against the difficulty of drilling and shaping
stone must have favored its use.

A shaman's pipe (which has no special name) is the common clay 276
bowl fitted with a long stem, eighteen inches or more, wrapped with 756

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[135] 1:167.

[136] No word correspinding to the Shasta ôp, tobacco, Takelma ô·p, Crow ôp, etc., is known.

[137] Coville, Notes, 104. One of Powers' correspondents states that the Klamaths (Klamath river people?) cultivated it (Tribes of California, 426).

[138] Coville, Notes, 102. What is here called kinnikinick is probably Coville's bearberry (kā-mä-mi, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray); the common kinnikinick of northern latitudes does not grow so far south as Klamath lakes.

[139] Barrett, Material Culture, 253, pl. 22.

[140] Coville, Notes, 99.

276 rattlesnake skin. This may be used by the shaman only during the
756 ceremonies, but I think not. The tubular pipe is not Klamath. A
[177] long tubular pipe, with a small mouthpiece, found by the Indians at
Pelican bay, had been described to my informant as the probable
possession of a shaman who resided there. This is probably a trade
piece.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 The only true musical instrument known to the Klamath is the flute. This with three varieties of rattle and the hand drum make up the sum of their instruments. The musical bow is a plaything.

The flute (slo'lüs) is played for amusement and in courting;
[562] curiously enough it is played by women as well as men even when
courting. Its music is called su'lulu. Various sounds are imitated on
534 the flute, such as the noise of flying pelicans' wings. The melodies
include those of shaman's songs, although it is never used in shamanis-
533 tic rites. I do not know that song is ever accompanied by flute. It
[756] seems more probable that the melodies of certain songs are considered
appropriate flute music.[141] There are flute songs about the turtle and
deer. The song for the antelope is:

[539]

gaiyo'	gaiyo'wa	gaiyo'	gaiyo'wa
chewing			
tcĕwŏm	aiĕ'nol	tĕli'dŏŋga	
antelope	me	am browsing	
slewi's	aiĕ'nol	tĕli'dŏŋga	
wind	me	am browsing.	

He browses along (toward me?) when the wind strikes him (?).

A flute song for the mountain sheep is:

hotŭks	nis	sĕwă'ĕt	geoġe'lᴇ	wiĕ'sŏm
that	allows	me	that earth	mountain sheep
dostŏn	hoiha'nsᴇ	lall'adŏt		
where I	run on the ledge	on the steep hill.		

These are not magical songs for calling game but solely for amusement.

Another song referring to any bird is:

djĭkgasītgo	djĭkgasītgo	nenea
flutterer		flapping.

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[141] Gatschet gives the text of several songs, which, because they are neither appropriate to shamanistic or puberty rites, may belong to this category (1:189, 192).

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

This is the open flute, lacking tongue or reed, and played by blowing 534 across the open end while it is held vertically or horizontally. So I was told, but it is more probable that the vertical is the only position used. These are manufactured from branches of the ḳoḳo'dŏm bush or the elder (slo'lŭsɛm), from which the pith is easily removed, or from the long legs of cranes. The wooden flutes are three-quarters of an inch in diameter, one to two feet long, with three holes (or four or five ?) for finger stops burned at odd intervals.

The deer-hoof rattle (sŏ'ḳtsŏḳs) is probably the only one of the three Klamath rattles that is of any antiquity among them. It is used [881] exclusively in the girl's adolescence rites. The Klamath form is a slender pole four to seven feet long with a cord along the upper third to which bunches of deer dew claws (ḳ'o'djĭŋks) are tied at intervals. The butt is pounded on the ground to jar the hooflets.

Of the other two types, the clap rattle is the familiar cleft stick, the split end of which is struck against the palm. This was used in the Ghost dance of 1870 and in no other connection. It was derived [786] from the Pit river peoples. The notched rattle (ulo'ks) is known to [177] have been played by one man who learned it from the Upland Takelma. It may have been used in the war and scalp dances. This is the familiar notched stick set on the ground and rasped with another stick; no resonator is used.[143]

The hand drum has no great antiquity among the Klamath but was in use before the coming of the whites. It was derived from some northern tribe, probably those of Warm Springs. Its very name, [177] bŏ'mbŏm, is the common word in eastern Oregon and Washington. It is used only in the social dances, which are themselves of no great consequence. The drum is the familiar shallow tambourine affair, with only one head. Thongs crossed on the open face furnish a hand grip. Drums are constructed of a flattened juniper bough bent into a ring of one to two feet in diameter. Heads of badger and antelope hide are best; they yield the loudest sound. The drum was not decorated until lately, when stars were painted on the head. This is said [531] to have been learned of the whites, but is more likely derived from the modern version of the Smohallah cult, the so-called Pompom [177] religion of eastern Washington and Oregon. The drum stick (wo'tanotc) is a stick wrapped with mink hide to form a knob.

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[143] There is no association of the sound with the voice of the frog nor with the rain, nor is it used in social dances, as in the Great Basin area. [533] [171]*

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

534 Several instruments whose presence might have been expected
are unknown. Such are the cocoon rattle, the foot drum, or any other
form except the hand drum. As to the cocoon rattle I doubt that
there are any large cocoons in this region. It is rather surprising
that those who accompany the singers do not beat time on a plank with
*[171] clubs after the fashion of more northerly tribes. A peculiar Wish-
ram drum, a horizontal pole slung from the roof by a rope and
pounded against the wall, had been played at the Dalles by one of my
[342] informants, but it was never introduced among the Klamath. To be
sure, their houses do not have plank walls but alternatives might have
been substituted.

The musical bow should be mentioned here only for comparative purposes. The Klamath lack any special form but sometimes toy with an ordinary bow, holding the bow in the mouth and tapping the string with a stick. There is no name for this.

Whistles (stu'ta) are also playthings. These are made of willow, of a plant called wa'ḳŭm, or a jointed grass called watcōō'ḳwīs. The willow whistles are seven or eight inches long and provided with side holes like a flute. Whistles are blown direct into the open end.

533 Whistling with the lips was indulged in even before the coming of the whites.[148] Songs are not whistled.

SOCIAL DANCES

535 It is not clear whether there were any dances of purely social
intent in earlier times or whether they were so rare as to be negligible.
[534] Two good informants said that formerly there were none. Indeed the
use of the hand drum with social dances (yĕka') suggests their
[755] recency. Shamanistic performances, which were evidently frequent,
may have provided a substitute entertainment.

Some time during the year a good singer will busy himself arrang-
ing a dance solely for amusement, called k'si'ulūḳs. Men and women
form a circle with hands clasped, but the fingers not entwined. The
step is a sidewise jump, not a shuffling of feet as is usual in circling
dances among other tribes; the movement is in a counter-clockwise
direction, I think. The circling begins with the song; they do not wait
[534] to sing a phrase before moving. Formerly, according to an unreliable
informant, no musical instruments were in use but recently the hand
drum was introduced from the tribes to the north.

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*[171] [148] So, too, the Northern Paiute, according to my Klamath informant.

Another circling dance, called sko'tepŭs, may not be a social dance but may be used in the scalp and war dances in a way that is not clear. Here those in the circle do not hold hands and their step consists in shuffling along by moving the toes and heels alternately. 535

The headdress for dancers consists of long eagle feathers, or a bunch of small eagle and gull feathers may be kept in place on top of the basket hat by means of cord passing under the chin. Downy feathers are hung pendant at the back of the head. [292]

New Year's observances, or new fire ceremony, such as the Yurok and Karok know, are not found among the Klamath.[144] 796 171*

ETIQUETTE

The Klamath are on the whole a hospitable and friendly lot. 574 Good breeding demands that visitors be invited to share one's meal. There is no studied effort at ostentatious feasting, however, nor is food forced on a visitor in the manner of our eastern Indians. If visitors, men or women, arrive at meal time, the children of the household are sent out on the pretext, as they tell the children, that the food will stick in the visitors' gullets. A kind of grace is said before eating. Bits of food are cast toward the spirit places to feed them first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula[145] is a prayer. Good form does not demand that the visitors clean up their portions, nor does one hear the smacking of lips in appreciation. There is 264 among them no objection to noisy eating. Children are told not to talk while eating fish, for fear of their swallowing bones. It is usual to rinse the mouth with water before and after eating. Soiled fingers [515] are washed in a near-by stream after the meal. Children are definitely instructed in good behavior.

The common salutation to the visitor is i gŏtpi'iɛ, yes, have you 576 come?, followed by go'li, come in. On leaving, the guest announces i gă'mbīn, yes, I am going, which evokes the invariable response i gă'mbli, yes, go. One hears moī'nskăndītc, thank you, but rarely.

For a man to remove a woman's hat from her head is reprehensible; it is usually construed as a solicitation.

Certain behavior is not so much a matter of general good form as [481] of sex difference. Egress from the earth-lodge is by a ladder projecting through the hatchway overhead. Men mount the rungs facing the ladder, but women place their feet sideways, mounting crab-wise.

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[144] Kroeber, Handbook, 53, 102.

[145] See p. 168.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

516 Sitting positions are of wide latitude; of course they sit directly on
the ground. Almost any position is assumed except sitting on the
crossed ankles. Both sexes sit with their legs crossed before them,
[291] Turk-fashion, or with the legs extending straight before them, in
which case women cross their ankles. It must be remembered that the
[501] common dress of both sexes is the string skirt. They kneel while
paddling, both sexes alike, sitting on their heels. This is quite possible
because the gunwale of a laden canoe is only a few inches above the
water.

201 The Klamath sometimes use the lips for unostentatious pointing,
but they more commonly point with the forefinger. In a common
516 position of rest, a seated individual places one hand on the other over
the abdomen.

758 To curse a man his dead are mentioned, not necessarily by name;
[539] in fact the reference may be quite indirect. In a tale the skunks say
to Coyote, "You are the son of a person always on the lake," knowing
full well that his father was dead. I was told of two men jocularly
calling each other tc!ima'ntk, widower. One named the dead wife of
the other and was covered with embarrassment because the grandson
of that woman, who was present, was provoked. An old man may be
called wa'kŏntk, adolescent boy, or skotc, a man with a first child, in
[114] derision. This is nearly equivalent to a curse. Gatschet gives the
expression skō'ksam käfla gén I, go to hell! (or more literally, go to
the ghosts) which may well be aboriginal. But watchágalam wéash,
you son [child] of a bitch! and watchágalam pé-ip, you old bitch!,
strike me as apt translations from frontier vernacular.[144]

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[144] Gatschet, 2:319, 477.

II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

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Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be [756] permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices, the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance [881] in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps, some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance [721] of 1870. [727]

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These [585] are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, [786] and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however definitely localized in many instances and partly identified with the 776 figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart 775 from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living.

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are 776 times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. 787 The mode of seeking and the revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate.

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[622] [177] The shaman himself is, or was, the outstanding figure of Klamath society. He had no rival in the chiefs, the rich man, until the coming of the whites brought a redistribution of emphasis in Klamath life. Chiefs had previously been persons of little influence.

771 *171 All this is familiar enough among Indians; the Klamath differ only in particulars. In its several aspects, their religion, as well as its practice, is one with that of the Great Basin, Plateau, and Mackenzie tribes.

THE POWER QUEST

787 The quest for supernatural aid is open to everyone, men and women, boys and girls. It is a constantly recurring feature of their lives. Everyone, perhaps without exception, seeks the powers at least once during his lifetime and further experiences seem to be repeatedly sought.

[881] The first occasion is always puberty. I doubt that boys and girls are expected to be uniformly successful in securing aid at this time, because, it was said, at shamanistic performances those who had power might sing their songs. This may imply that the others either never [765] acquired power or had lost it. My informants' frequent emphasis on the period of mourning for a husband, wife, or child marks this, too, as a peculiarly pregnant period when power may be successfully sought. At least at such a time a man loses his power and must seek [844] again if he wishes to regain it. A man also seeks power at the birth of a first child. But it is not only the crises of life that provide [756] occasion; the quest may be undertaken at any time, and it is the practice of such as gamblers and shamans to renew and enhance their [525] powers by frequent attempts. The quest is called spŭ'tu.

The experience does not ordinarily include a vision, but is made manifest in a song heard in a dream. In some instances where a vision is had, a dream song follows, but it is clear that the latter is the essential experience. In the following case a man and a woman had identical visions but to the man alone fell the experience leading to power.

787 159 The grandfather of a Klamath Falls shaman went to stó'kmōte, the point of Eagle Ridge, in the evening. There is a spot in the lake where bubbles rise. Horses lived in this long ago (!). When this man reached the headland he saw two pinto horses, with long manes, rearing against each other from the water. He was not frightened but took off his clothes and plunged into the water in order to secure power. When he recovered consciousness he found himself again on land. From that time he was lucky; he began to get many pintos, large horses. Because of this experience his grandson, the shaman, also acquired, in his turn, spirit songs of all kinds.

An old woman, gathering wood at this place, also saw two horses in the water. Turning to her husband she said, "There are horses standing over there," but when they looked again, the horses had disappeared. Such a disappearance (tako'tka) is a sign that a relative will die; one of her relatives died after this. 787 [159]

Visions evidently follow one of two formulae. Either, as above, the spirit appears standing in the water and then disappears, or it drags the swimmer below the water for the purpose of devouring him, as instanced below.

One word swi'ls means song and spirit being. A certain dualism is involved here. Spirits are definite beings that dwell in the mountains and in the water. On the other hand all songs are called swi'ls, including those for amusement and non-shamanistic dancing, which bear no reference to spirits. That is, spirits and songs are certainly recognized as separate entities. Nevertheless, when it is said that a man has a Coyote swi'ls, for example, it means that he has the appropriate song or songs and that this animal is his supernatural helper. The spirit never manifests itself but in the song; the singer is the vehicle, the voice of the spirit. Song and spirit are one and the same thing. 787 776 533

Power is sought in lonely spots on the mountains, in mountain pools, in eddies in the rivers, in all places where spirits are known to dwell. A boy is sent into the mountains on a vigil of several days, perhaps five, at puberty, that is, when his voice changes. He seeks power that he may acquire property, be a good hunter, become rich, a chief, and be able to do all the things that are difficult. (One does not need power to be a fisherman, for instance.) He must fast and must not touch his hands to his face, but must use a scratcher instead. He must sleep without covering and warm himself only occasionally by a little fire. He runs about constantly throughout the night, piling rocks into high piles[147] (called sxwa'l) and swimming in the mountain pools. He prays, calling loudly to the spirits, and finally gets an answer. At night he may see a spirit with blood flowing from his mouth; then he faints and when he wakes he too will have a hemorrhage (djăkglĕkgĕ'ka). He "nearly dies" before he secures the song. 787 881

It is possible that girls also seek power at puberty. Their dance at this time takes place at night; during the day they sleep in the brush or on the near-by hills. Then a song may be dreamed. One informant had it that they spend the night piling rocks like boys, returning at daylight, but I consider it very unlikely that a girl [562]

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[147] Clarke, Rock Piles, 40, refers to the many piles of four or five boulders placed on one another which occur in this country.

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1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

787 would be allowed to go unattended. Women well along in years, how-
881 ever, follow the regular practice, at least as to bathing in the spirit
562 places.

787 The same method is pursued by the mourner, gambler, or shaman who seeks power, but swimming in the deep river eddies was more
756 frequently mentioned in this connection. These seekers are almost always men, but older strong-willed women will attempt it. Power
525 may be sought at any time during the year, but they do not dive for it until the first willow buds appear (in the seventh month, March or April). I presume that deep snows and ice in the mountains preclude earlier attempts.

787 During the day the seeker sweats and fasts, waiting in the brush until nightfall. He then goes to the river and dives to the bottom in search of the spirit. He must not be frightened even if he sees some-
[756] thing moving under the water. He prays before diving, "I want to be a shaman. Give me power. Catch me. I need the power." Sometimes he comes up unconscious, blood streaming from his mouth and nose. He must wait until the flow stops before going home.[144] This night he hears nothing because he has been frightened by the spirit, nor will he eat the following day for fear of falling ill. On the following night or soon after, he hears the song of the spirit as it sings beneath the water. He may dream of hunting deer, acquiring horses, of success in gambling or with women, and of marriage. One informant dreamed of being in an earth-lodge. When he wakes the
[539] seeker sings about the subject of his dream. One song dreamed by an old woman is

e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha
(repeated four times)
noai'meso spu'ŋgŏtgŏple' spŭ'ŋgŏtgŏple'
I am the one pursuing you.

It seems that, like a boy at puberty, this seeker, after swimming, may go to the mountains to fast and pile rocks. He may remain there for some time, but one exceptionally rapid quest was cited. Nancy's father having lost a child, he went swimming in Crater lake; before evening he had become a shaman.

787 A power quest under unusual circumstances is that of Lele'ks. This man, the most prominent and successful chief of the last century,
159 was a berdache in his youth. His people wanted him to give up woman's garb. One day when he lay asleep they placed a woman's

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[144] Gatschet also describes this (*op. cit.*, 1:82–84).

canoe pole and a bow and arrows beside him. Shouting suddenly, they 787
woke him and as he leaped up he seized the bow, thus determining his 159
future life. Running off to Mount Scott he spent the night there. As he was returning he smelled the sweaty odor of running horses. In later life he was lucky in everything; much wealth, especially horses, came to him.

Dreams of the same sort came to men or to old women without 787
being deliberately sought. Should a man have several such visions, he may decide to become a shaman, whereupon he undertakes the customary fire dance of the novice. But if he chooses to ignore them, the power and the opportunity slip away.

Last night I [Pat] dreamed a song: I am nearly a shaman. Yesterday I tried to catch fish but it rained too hard. I then went to town but I could not get what I wanted. So I returned home, ate, and lay down. I dreamed that my horses fell in the mire when I drove near the mountain. I wanted to save them but I could not raise them. I heard a woman's song behind me. [539]

dje'udjĭs snalwăs
feathers all over woman
Helen sna'wăs
[his daughter's name] woman

The fish did not like me; they did not let me catch any. They made the bad dream. This is the same way as a shaman dreams.

Another dream, though not of this type, may be inserted here.

Last night I (Coley) dreamed I was chased by a big, black man; not a Negro, just hard to distinguish. He had nearly caught me when I woke and heard the chickens squawking.

There is only a slight tendency to the inheritance of the shaman's 756
art. The case cited above where a shaman received spirit songs because his grandfather had an experience is hardly to the point, since these experiences are so common that every shaman must have had a close relative who obtained power. But my informant's statement that when a powerful shaman dies his child may become a shaman is borne out by her own case. His spirits and his clairvoyant powers (dodę'ŭks, dreaming) are released by his death and must go to someone else. If his relatives keep his pipe or other paraphernalia about, it is certain that his spirits will come to one of them.

Nancy's father, who died before she was born, was a shaman. When she was 159
quite small and could first understand, she began to dream of Frog, a big woman 756
spirit. Sometimes she would jump up at night and run, afraid of the dream. The spirits persisted in trying to make her accept until she was grown; finally she 787
heard their voices whispering close behind her. She was about twenty and had several children at the time. Her relatives did not want her to become a shaman.

159 756 787 Her older sister (i.e., mother's sister's daughter) gave her medicine so that the spirits would no longer bother her. Two of Nancy's children became sick. A shaman, Alec Wilson, diagnosed their case as due to Nancy's refusal to answer the spirits, to begin the shamanistic performance. Another shaman was called in to relieve her of the spirits. He did it very quickly; he had three or four spirits to lead each of Nancy's "to their side." He used the songs of these spirits immediately, for they were now his. These two spirits were Thunder (lᴇme'is) and Falcon (ᴇndo'gis). Had Nancy wanted to become a shaman she would have called the people together in order to demonstrate to them in a fire dance.

778 A partial list of spirit places (spŭ'tuks) in Klamath territory is gleaned from my notes. As I made little inquiry about the southern and eastern parts of their country, it happens that most of these lie in the north. They are about equally divided between localities in the Cascade mountains and deep eddies of Williamson river. Undoubtedly some of the rocks described as transformed people, animals, etc., are thought of as places where spirits reside, but as I was not told that power was sought there I have not included them in this list.

Ge'wŭs, Crater lake. People were stolen and taken down into Crater lake by beings there. Some say they have found no water in the lake. Instead there were rocks as big as trees and deep tunnels in the bottom. There are animals, snakes, and a sort of people who live at (or in) the ocean. Men swim in the lake at night to get spirit aid.

778 787 A second site is ma'kwalks, a point of rock projecting over Crater lake from the western cliff. The seeker clambers down and piles rocks on the point.

On the northwestern side of Ghost's Nest mountain, which lies southwest from Crater lake, is a saucer-shaped bed of rocks overlooking the whole countryside. Lads built their fires near-by and lie in this in order to see a spirit. On the eastern side of the mountain are piles of four or five large rocks, erected by seekers.

Ho'tkakōnks, Mare's Egg spring, is six miles north of Cherry creek on the western side of Agency Lake marsh. They swim here at night. Once men found no water in this pool but a big man, with hair covering his body, standing in it. When they returned he had disappeared and the pool again held water.

Pau'usnĕkăs, Harriman (?) mountain southeast of Mount Pitt. The Klamath say this is higher than Mount Pitt; indeed, being nearer, it appears higher. Two accounts pertaining to this mountain may refer to the same incident.

Long ago a Klamath climbed it, but he never returned, for he died of the cold wind although it was summer.

A Pelican bay man, who died long ago, once went to a lake on this mountain at sundown to seek power by swimming. He saw men in it, the backs of some,

the heads of others. He was frightened and did not swim but went home. As 778
soon as he started home the thunder began to roll; it pursued him all the way. 787
He was afraid of it, so he jumped into Klamath lake. He sat in the water for a long time before the thunder left him. He became a shaman because of this; he had the thunder spirit in him and sang the thunder song. Finally people killed him because he became so powerful that they feared he would kill them with his spirit.

Stö'kmöte, the headland of Eagle Ridge, is on the west side of 778
Klamath lake. Spirit horses live in the lake near the point, as instanced above.

North of Modoc point are two groups of rocks. The first, red
rocks on the hillside a half-mile from the station, represents a bear's
entrails. Two big rocks somewhat farther north and on the plain are
Wolf and his wife. When people mourn for a dead child, men go to 778
the Wolf rock to seek power, women to his wife. They seek to be 787
strong and to run well. They wrestle with these rocks.

There is an eddy in which they swim a mile and a half above the mouth of Williamson river, opposite the cremation pile on the right bank. An otter (k!olt), bearing stripes, is seen in this. Many spirit otters of this sort are seen at ķ!o'ltamtcis, north of Klamath Falls.

A channel cutting through a bend of this river several miles from
its mouth is called ķoķa'ķ'üt. A man saw a water snake (called
to'kĕ) in this place. It was as big as a tree and had two straight,
pointed white horns. He told a shaman, who said that, the snake
having caught him, he could not be cured. This man died in two days.
While this story suggests it, I am not sure that they swim for power
here. Another informant stated that at Tcoka'lwas, just above this,
is a huge horned snake (wisiņk, snake generically). Possibly the
same one is meant. In a tale the hero Wawiwö'ķ!os cuts the snake's [539]
head off.

Witä'mümpsi, black bear's place, is at a sharp bend in the lower Williamson river (a mile above the highway bridge) overlooked by a high bluff. Long ago when men came to this place to swim they found no water there. Standing on the bluff they saw several bears below. Another man came to swim at sunset. He saw a bear standing upright in the water. "That is what I like. I will swim there," he said. The bear disappeared. The man dived in but did not come up. He was found lying on the bank, blood flowing from his mouth. The bear had caught him and made him a shaman. So people try to get power there now.

778 K'tai'di, lava, is a cliff of that rock two miles below Chiloquin on
787 the left bank of Williamson river. Seekers slept on this.

Ska'mdi is an eddy in Williamson river above Chiloquin. This is a spirit place but it does not seem that they swim there.

Once I [Pat Kane] and my two brothers camped near there just before sunset. We were on our way to Klamath marsh to pick pond-lily seeds. My oldest brother started a fire while the younger fetched water. I went to tie the horses. When I returned, my brother who had been to the river said, "There are many beaver in there." We took our guns to the spot. Soon a beaver swam close to us, only a few yards away, but we could not hit it. Soon two more came swimming close by. We failed to kill these. Then five came and soon so many more that they completely filled the river. My brothers said, "We had better not stop here. Let us get away." We packed the horses and left at once. I saw the water shaking[180] and the sound of thunder. It took all night to get back. My oldest brother got sick; no shaman could cure him. He was sick all summer and in the winter he died. Neither my younger brother nor I were sick.

A man and boy were going to Klamath marsh afoot. The boy was six or seven. The man wanted to try swimming in Ska'mdi. He told the boy, "If those things bite and kill me, you go home." The man had lost his wife; the boy alone was left. "I do not want to stay here; I want to die," the man said. The boy cried to him not to swim there. He walked back from the river bank, ran and plunged in. Big animals reached up and bit him. They came up twice; then he appeared no more. The boy saw it and wept. He started home; it took all night for him to reach Bzūkse'was below Chiloquin. At this place the water boils and cannot move down the river. No one can swim there; something always bites and kills them.

SPIRITS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

776 There is hardly a mile of Klamath territory but has its mythical reference. Everywhere there are personages of the folk-tales, now transformed to rocks by Crow's laughter. Spirits are legion and in many cases are localized, so that one looking over the countryside finds it rich in religious connotation. But despite its comparative richness, Klamath religion is quite unsystematized. There are no deities and the spirits as such hardly figure in the tales. Most of the actors of the tales are not spirits and this is especially true of the principal ones. There is little suggestion of any fixed relation between such as do figure there. In other words, the Klamath lack all architectural feeling in conceiving their religious beings.

Spirits form a uniform class; no one of them can be said to be
774 especially more important than any other. Souls and ghosts are
775 separate entities, and again are sharply distinct from spirits. Spirits

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[180] It is conceivable that an earth tremor dislodged the beaver.

(swi'is) as we have seen are beings that live in the mountains, in river 774
eddies, and in lakes, where they are sought by those in quest of power. 775
Souls are personal and after death go to the land of the dead,
No'lĭskăn. The soul leaves only at death; illness is not ascribed to its
loss. Ghosts (skuks) wander from the land of the dead where souls
have gone. It was not said that ghosts are souls in other guise nor
were the ghosts referred to those of particular persons. The juxtaposition is rather like that of our own folk thought.

One word hoki's means soul, breath, and life. It is intelligible then why one of my informants said that all animals as well as men have souls. It is the quickening of life rather than spiritual personality that is implied by the word. They say of death, hoki no'tsna no'lĭskăn, the life leaves for the land of the dead. Its seat is within the heart (staii'nas); outside is the flesh (djolĕ'ks). When the body is cremated, the soul goes to the land of the dead. The flesh is destroyed; the ashes and smoke blown into the air are carried back to earth by rain, to the country of which the body is a part. Everything grows well then. But the soul never returns.[151]

Ghosts return from the land of the dead because they want to live 775
again. They are constantly about seeking to catch someone's soul to
take to the land of the dead. (So I was told; but there was never a [753]
hint when they told me of curing that sickness is due to loss of the
soul.) It makes no difference that one has spirit power, his life may [761]
be taken. This is most likely to happen to one in mourning as he sits
alone weeping in his house at night, for ghosts usually come at night. Next day he will die. This happens commonly enough; even little boys at play see them and die at once. Shamans can discover this. Whatever they are like in the land of the dead, ghosts that return neither resemble humans exactly nor are they skeletons. Today some people talk without fear with ghosts, formerly they would have died. Possibly my informant meant by this that members of his own Shaker sect or adherents to the Ghost dance cult could talk to them with impunity, but he may have had in mind only the prohibition of the folk-tales against talking to the dead as they are being transformed to living creatures.

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[151] Gatschet records an obscure statement which he interprets: "The Maklaks [Klamath] believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances" (1:130). The word used is however skuks, ghost. I received no information of this sort. [114]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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775 763 Last month an old woman, who was very sick, was left alone. As she lay there she saw ghosts. They caught her; she died. When her children returned she was dead. Her daughter and grandson rubbed her chest to revive her. She was soon restored except that one ear, which the ghosts had touched, was "closed." Her daughter asked, "What is the matter?" She answered faintly, "The ghosts caught me." Today she can barely talk; her sight and hearing are gone.

775 787 A Klamath Falls man met a ghost on the trail. It was short and had long white nails on hands and feet. The ghost said, "Let us trade nails." The man said that he could not take his off. The ghost said, "I can pull them out," and exchanged nails with him. The man went home with the long nails and went to bed. When he woke, he looked at his hands and feet, but he had his own nails again.

The same man saw ghosts dancing at the cremation place on the hill east of Link river (Klamath falls). He watched them dance all night. They gave him a pipe to smoke. Then they threw firebrands at him and he ran away.

About ten years ago I [Pat Kane] had been swimming in the river. I was returning to my home with some horses when I heard crying. I saw an immense fire at the cremation place on lower Williamson river. Men, women, and children were wailing there. I held my hat over my face and did not listen. I did not tell my wife. For three or four days I was sick, so I went into the sweat-lodge. Later I went down there but found no signs of a recent fire.

576 The names of the dead are mentioned rather freely, but no one likes to name his own relatives or hear another do so. In fact, such a reference is insulting. But this is not due to any fear of the dead; it is rather a matter of taste.

775 The land of the dead, No'liskăn,[182] lies in the west, the sunset. Everyone goes there. It was created by the culture hero, Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, who made the humans that figure in the tales (called psaudi'was) and ordained that they should go to this land when they died. Nothing is said of the road thither but the characteristics of the land and its people are tolerably well conceptualized.

Everything in the land of the dead is inverted from this living world. The ghosts sleep by day and live at night. In the day there is nothing to be seen but their houses and skeletons. At sundown they are clothed with flesh again; they rise and build fires. They dance through the night to fall asleep when dawn breaks. They feed on swan's eggs and perhaps they do not eat them in the manner of humans, since a tale suggests that Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps is fed in the manner of the ghosts; the eggs are thrown at him. Further, the eggs are [825] unnatural in that they are hot.[183] So far as the Klamath are concerned, swan's eggs themselves are mythical, for while swans cross the Klamath country in the winter, they never nest there. The eggs 775 can be gathered only in bottomless baskets. The ghost's elks are water- [825] bugs to mortal eye, and the flesh that they take is in reality bone. All their possessions are things that were destroyed with the dead, houses, baskets, beads, etc. Their hospitality also provokes them to throw firebrands at their visitors. Perhaps the very fact that Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps is called out of his name by them in a tale is an attempt at inversion.

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[182] I suggest that the word means, literally, land of the departed; compare no'tana, departed for ——; nutsnots, soul leaves; tcö'kän, service berry land; yá'stikan, country of the Shasta.

[262] [183] Perhaps the Klamath do not eat eggs at all. I neglected to inquire.

There is a wide variety of spirits from whom power is sought, 776 animals, birds, reptiles, fish, natural phenomena, and a handful of anthropomorphic and purely mythical beings. The animals, etc., are not individuals of living species, but mythical beings, either immensely large or very small. Such anthropomorphic spirits as are definitely conceptualized are also tiny. Although they speak of all of these as individuals—they say for example that a man's spirit is Weasel or it is Wīle'ᴇk̦ak̦, dwarf old woman—nevertheless there remains the suspicion that they are rather genera, for the same named spirit is described as dwelling in several localities and belonging to several shamans at the same time.

The number of spirits is indefinitely large; the following partial 776 list is made up from various data given by my informants. The 825 animals include grizzly and black bears, wolf, coyote, dog, mink, weasel, and fisher (ʔwa'lk̦ŏtcka). The birds are the horned owl, bald eagle, golden eagle, fish hawk, a smaller hawk (tcī'ktu), a little hawk (wī'tgŏtgis), falcon, crow, magpie, buzzard, pelican, red and white shitepokes, butterball duck, a small sea gull (k̦!ŏtya'was), flicker, prairie chicken, an unidentified black bird (năo'līns), a blue and brown one (gau'wi), and a tiny speckled bird (djīske'gᴇ). In the fish and reptile class are the rattlesnake, a big speckled sluggish snake (wŭ'mᴇnŭks), lizard, frog, a water snail (k!awi's), salmon, and trout. It is obviously the predatory animals that are chosen, with the omission of the cat tribe. The bird list also includes all the birds of prey and carrion eaters. Even though the list is incomplete, there are some significant omissions, such as deer, rodents, the song birds; and most fish are absent. The two fishes included are the largest representatives in Klamath waters.

There is little suggestion of differentiation of function and power [755] among these spirits. To be sure, it is only through certain spirits that curing and the various shamanistic tricks can be performed, but my informants never once volunteered the statement that these were especially powerful. The exception is Frog, described by Nancy Phillips

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825 as the most prominent and powerful of spirits, one on whom all shamans call, and whose presence is necessary before they can begin [755] their curing ritual. This confirms Gatschet's information.[184] The Frog spirit is interesting on its own account. It is conceived as a big woman and so closely associated with pond-lily seed (wo'kas) as to lead to the suspicion that these are interchangeable concepts in the Klamath mind. It should be noted that the preparation of this staple is peculiarly woman's work among these people. In their mythology *[171] too, Frog figures as a woman. The last association is so widespread, perhaps universal, in North America, that the only special Klamath elements in the triple association are with wo'kas. While I am not certain, it is probable that this is the spirit which was described by Pat Kane as djuxlje'llatel, whereas the common word for frog is ko'wᴇ.

776 Gatschet credits a similarly important rôle to another spirit.[185] "Another class of spirits embodies the spirits of those animals which 755 have to be consulted by the ki'uks or conjurer when he is called to 114 treat a case of disease. Such persons only who have been trained during five years for the profession of conjurers can see these spirits, but by them they are seen as clearly as we see the objects around us. To see them they have to go to the house of a deceased conjurer, and at night only. He is then led by a spirit called Yayayá-ash appearing in the form of a one-legged man toward the spot where the animal spirits live; this specter presides over them; there the conjurer notices that each appears different from the other, and is at liberty to consult them about the patient's case. Yayayá-ash means 'the frightener,' and by the myth-tellers is regarded as the Thunder or its spirit." I received no suggestion confirming any part of this.

776 The mythical beings are also probably genera rather than individuals; to'kĕ, a horned water snake, Wile'ᴇkak̹, a dwarf old woman, Teak̹ia'k̹, a little boy, and Gōga'nᴇ, a dwarf man. There is also a nameless wild man (the spirit for the trick in which blood is magically produced) and a woman spirit (for curing). Wawiwō'k̹!os, a monster-killing hero of a tale, figures in a shaman's song and hence may be a spirit.

Wile'ᴇkak̹ is a dwarf old woman whose name is derived from wilă'ĕk̹s, old woman. She is about thirty inches high, and wears a basket hat and long buckskin dress. In one form she appears as a rock on the northeastern slope of Mount Pitt. She controls the west wind; it is really that she breaks wind. They shout to her to stop the wind when it blows too hard, to give them a stern wind to drive their canoes along, or to blow the mosquitoes away from Pelican bay. She also lives at Rocky point on Pelican bay and at Kowa'cdi, at the mouth of Wood river, as the following tales[186] relate. 776

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[184] Gatschet, 1:xl, 180.

[185] 1:xcviii.

There were two young girls playing with pond-lily seed at Rocky point. This old woman came and spilled the seed all about. So they fought her, but while they were doing so, they fell over dead. When the two were found, shamans were called who cured them. These two told Nancy about this; they died only recently. 776 539

There was an old woman sleeping at the same place. She felt something very heavy sitting on her chest. She put her hand there and caught the wile'ʀkak̦. Still holding it she started to light a fire, but by the time she had the fire lighted, it had vanished from her grasp.

An old man at Kowa'cdi was going home. He saw the wile'ʀkak̦ sitting in his way, grunting. He was a shaman. He went right past it but it never harmed him. This sort of thing has happened many times.

Tcak̦ia'k̦ may be seen anywhere, probably most frequently in water. There is one, for instance, in lower Williamson river, above the cut-off channel. One of the upright rocks at the cremation place at Pelican bay is a tcak̦ia'k̦. The name is also derived from an age term, tc!a'ki, a small boy, but the spirit is said to be no larger than a baby. He has long hair which hangs to his waist in back and he is entirely nude. The wooden images of Tcak̦ia'k̦ set up by the shamans, however, have red-shafted flicker feathers around the neck. 776 [532] [754]

Gōga'nᴇ are dwarf men seen in many places but commonly frequenting the Cascade mountains. Their footprints are no longer than a baby's. While all my informants spoke of these beings, it happens that the following experiences (except the last tale) were told Nancy by an old Paiute resident of the reservation.

This man saw a gōgaa'nᴇ while hunting in a canyon near Snake Camp. The little man stood up, shaded his eyes with his hand, and looked around. There were some Paiute at Snake Camp who were going to dig Indian potatoes. They saw a baby walking around. One woman picked it up. The gōga'nᴇ carried her far off to a cave in the mountains. 776 539

A Paiute woman was cutting willows. She left her little baby near-by while she worked. A gōga'nᴇ came along and, devouring the baby, substituted himself in the cradle board. When the mother came back she thought it was her own. She picked it up and began to nurse it. The baby would not stop suckling. She pinched its mouth but it would not stop, it only smiled. When she got home she heated an iron and put it against the baby's mouth, but still it just smiled. They could not get the baby away from her. Then they built a big fire. They cut her breast off, but the woman immediately died. They threw the baby into the fire,

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[186] Told by Nancy Phillips.

776 but at once it jumped out and ran away. This happened after the whites arrived

539 in this country. There are other "bad stories" about the gŏga'nᴇ.

Two little men, gŏga'nᴇ, made a big pit and chased a deer into it. They saw the deer standing in it. One of the gŏga'nᴇ climbed down and held on with his arms around the deer's neck. The deer bounded out. The gŏga'nᴇ had a bow and arrows on his back, but he lost them when the deer jumped. The deer started running. The other gŏga'nᴇ followed. He found the first dwarf's hat, then his moccasins. He picked them up. The one who was following called, "The deer is carrying him." The one who was hanging on choked the deer to death.

Gatschet undoubtedly refers to Gŏga'nᴇ in the first of the following paragraphs, despite the apparent difference in name. That which he gives, na'hnias, was evidently known to him only from a song and sounds much like a form adopted for euphony's sake. The second dwarf, Gwinwin, is unknown to me, unless it is Gŏga'nᴇ; the manner of Gatschet's reference suggests that it was named in a myth.

"A miraculous dwarf is mentioned under the name of na'hnias, whose footprints, as small as those of a child, are sometimes seen upon the snow-clad slopes of the Cascade Range by the natives. But the dwarfish creatures who make them can be seen only by those initiated into the mysteries of witchcraft, who by such spirit-like beings are inspired with a superior kind of knowledge, especially in their treatment of disease. The name is derived either from néna, *to swing the body from one to the other side*, or from naináya, *to shiver, tremble.*

"Another dwarf genius, about four feet high, *Gwinwin*, lived on Williamson River, where he habitually sat on the top of his winter lodge and killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird."[137]

776 Various natural phenomena are spirits: clouds, thunder, lightning,

[821] the sun, moon, and stars, and each of the seven winds (one for each of the compass points except northeast). Rainbow is also a spirit, or rather it is Wile'ᴇḳaḳ's spirit, and, to add to this confusion, it is

[823] said that she swallows it like a conjurer's sword. Earth and earth's child, the snake, are also spirits.

It is not quite clear how certain other things are spirits. A piece of wood which is fastened to the pole that stands before a shaman's lodge is a spirit called wŏḳda'lls. I could not discover that it is anything but the stick itself. Hă'nowas is a pestle-shaped stone which stands at Dūnŏ'kai village on Pelican bay. It is about eighteen inches high and five in diameter with protuberances called breasts.

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[137] Gatschet, 1:xcix, 163.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

This is a spirit. Doubtful as spirits are certain other stones; yati's 776
which stands at I'wal, and nĕ'ḳnŭḳ, a group of stones back of
Du"Ilḳŭt, both towns on Klamath marsh. These are "shaman 776
stones"; evidently once living things, for it was said that they were 756
transformed when Crow laughed at them.

A Molala struck one of the nŏ'ḳnŭḳ stones with a basket, saying, "How can this rock have power?" He soon sickened and died. The nĕ'ḳnŭḳ is a shaman.

SHAMANISM

The shaman (ḳiu'ks) is one who has acquired more than usual 756
spirit power. This is a relative matter; some shamans have considerably more power than others, and everyone who has got power is in some degree capable of using it as a shaman does. One of my informants, for example, now avowedly a member of the pseudo-Christian Shaker sect, maintains that he too is a little qualified; he can make it rain. Shamanism is completely individualistic among the Klamath; there are no shamanistic organizations.

It is clear that the shaman is the most important individual in 756
Klamath society, taking precedence over rich men, the chiefs. Sha- 622
mans' houses are the largest in the village and they have at least as
much property as wealthy laymen. Invariably my informants spoke first of shamans in describing outstanding individuals. Their behavior and practices were readily formulated, whereas I experienced considerable difficulty in learning the functions and even the names of chiefs.
It is reasonably certain that the status of the chiefs, that is the rich [178]
men, was relatively unimportant until the introduction of horses in
the middle of the last century stimulated trading with the Columbia [177]
river tribes and perhaps brought in some of the northern view of the
importance of wealth and chieftaincy. There is no doubt that the position of chiefs was strengthened by the habit of the whites of dealing with chiefs and other prominent laymen.

Shamans are both men and women, but unlike the Shasta, the 756
majority are men. My informants mentioned many men shamans 562
during the course of my visits, and this probably did not exhaust
their memories; but on request they could muster only four women [170]*
shamans and one berdache. Women never acquire the prestige of men
for they are rarely credited with such unusual powers as men. They cannot wander in the mountains nor dive for power so well as men;

756 they are more easily frightened. Nevertheless two of my informants
562 said that women could cure more readily than men. All four women held the regular shamanistic winter performance, and cured as well, but only one of them had power to find out if another shaman had poisoned her patients, although all male shamans can do this.[188] The berdache White Sindey claimed to be a powerful shaman but no one believed her.

756 There are no specialized types of shaman. The weather shaman, the rattlesnake and bear shamans of Californian tribes are not known here. There is however a suggestion; wounds made by grizzly bears can be cured by songs of a huge spirit grizzly according to one informant, although this was scouted by another. Weather is controlled by the songs of a special group of spirits, but, as elsewhere, this power is exercised by shamans in addition to their usual curative capacity. There is no special power for curing snake bites. It may happen that some shamans have only the power to control the weather or to cure bear wounds, but I heard of none. It is clear, however, that the Klamath would not single them out.

756 A shaman has powers from many spirits and is always accumulating more. I could not get my informants to specify which powers
776 belonged to particular shamans. Beyond specifying what songs a shaman used in a particular instance, they implied that an experienced shaman knew an inexhaustible number or would doubtless claim to have them at his command. Hence several shamans have songs from a spirit at the same time. The songs are probably not identical. At the same time it is not likely that two shamans will be performing at once, so that the problem of conflicting claims to possession probably never arises. I am also uncertain whether spirits are thought of as individuals or genera; even in the case of anthropomorphic beings, I believe they imply a plurality. Hence they would doubtless resolve the difficulty by maintaining that they had the same songs from different spirit coyotes, dwarfs, winds, or whatever.

New spirits are always being sought or come unsolicited in dreams. A spirit, like that which gives the power to swallow fire, "comes stronger and stronger" until the shaman feels compelled to perform this trick. If he fails to obey the insistent spirit he will die.

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[188] This is the case described by Gatschet (1:64-68) and also cited by my informant.

> A shaman, ḳiu'ksmaɣ (Shaman Man), was working in a hayfield for some whites. He lay down saying he had a headache. His spirit, the buzzard, was making him sick because he did not heed it. He told his companions to fetch him a snake. He took the little watersnake by the tail and swallowed it. He said he was cured; the snake was no longer in him but had left his body immediately. 756 776

The shaman is possessed during his performances. He is the vehicle of the spirit; the spirit sings with his voice, sucks with his lips, and sees with his eyes. It is not in him at other times, but in its home in the mountains or under the water and must be called on to enter his body. The shaman's behavior was instanced as follows. 756

> A shaman, Alec Wilson, was singing of his coyote spirit during a winter performance attended by my informant Nancy, then a little girl. He chuckled for quite a time, saying, "There are lots of swamp mice here." Then he crawled across the lodge through the audience and stealing up behind Nancy bit her hard. He bit her because she was moving around.

A trance state is not part of the shaman's behavior, nor was a frenzy described. The stereotyped physiological disturbance, real or feigned, is blood gushing from the mouth while he falls unconscious. The absence of the trance state suggests that the shaman is not of necessity psychologically abnormal.

The shaman's house is always an earth-lodge and practically all performances take place within it. Not only larger than the ordinary dwellings, it differs from them in being decorated. It is the usual semi-subterranean structure with a conical earth-covered roof resting on four central posts. The entrance is by a hatchway in the roof with the ladder at the east end. The fire is kindled directly under this opening. The posts are painted with horizontal stripes, alternately red and white. They are not carved. According to one informant, men's faces, snakes, lizards, animals of all sorts, but not spirits, are painted on the posts; but I doubt this. The grass-stuffed skins of various animals and birds, probably all of them representing the shaman's spirits, are hung under the slanting roof beams; mink, skunk, crane, tcauwlō'ks (a duck-like bird), butterball duck, white shitepoke, rattlesnake a big speckled snake, and the dried skin of the lizard were mentioned. The birds have outstretched wings. Standing on the roof of the lodge, on the northern side of the hatchway, is a wooden image of tcaha'ḳ, the little boy spirit, made by the shaman. Head, trunk, and arms are rudely carved and painted. Red-shafted flicker (yellowhammer) feathers are fastened around its neck (only shamans wear the feathers of this bird). 756 342 [352] [532]

756 The Field Museum collection contains a carved wooden image (no. 61763) of a woman bearing a child on her back. This may be one of the figures set on a
532 shaman's house, although I was not told of such. It is about forty inches high. The carving is rudimentary; there is nothing to indicate how the child is carried. The ear lobes of the woman's figure have been pierced and a bit of cloth inserted.

756 The stuffed skin of a blue crane is also propped up outside. I presume these are placed there only when the boy and crane are the shaman's spirits.[159] Gatschet's informant mentioned a red fox skin hanging on an oblique rod set up outside the lodge.[160] A tall slim pole, called wa''lasdŭ'pka (wa''las, standing up), with horizontal bands of red, is erected in front of the house, that is to the east, about fifteen feet distant. A long cord pendant from the top bears at intervals mixed bunches of feathers from eagles and other spirit birds. A miniature gambling tray tied to it belongs to a woman spirit, and near the top is a piece of wood representing the spirit wŏķda'lls, which so far as I could learn is wood. Similar feather-bearing cords hang from the house posts inside the lodge, but here the gambling tray is one of standard size. All such articles, his special decorations, regalia, pipe, and baskets, are known as the shaman's mŭ'lwas, paraphernalia.

A shaman's outfit "used in certain curing rites" in the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 61564) consists of a cord at intervals on which are tied alternately short sticks and wooden tablets. The short sticks are reeds, nine in number, four to seven inches long. These have marks burned (?) transversely or spirally on them. The tablets are rectangular, with rounded corners and with a short handle at one end by which they are tied to the cord. These measure about five and a half inches long by two inches wide, and are painted red except for the section nearest the cord, which is black. The two-strand cord is also red.

756 The shaman's dress includes a band of woodpecker scalps worn on
the forehead or around the neck, or a bunch of red-shafted flicker
292 (yellowhammer) feathers attached to the top of the hat or worn as a
necklace. Shamans alone wear these. These are the familiar ornaments of northern Californian dancers. The forehead band reaches just behind the temples; the woodpecker scalps are fastened on a buckskin foundation. The quills of the flicker feathers are doubled
[302] over the cord on which they are strung. The shaman's body is painted
red during the winter performances, but not at all when he is curing. That he is barefoot emphasizes the recency of moccasins. The shaman puts on special dress to cure only if the case is urgent. He then dons a mink or weasel skin hat with feathers of all sorts attached, a special

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[159] The Modoc also place them on the lodge, I was told.

[160] Gatschet, 1:71–72.

(?) buckskin shirt, and wrist and neckbands of weasel. Some shamans wear a necklace of grizzly bear claws. (Other men never wear bear claws.) His face is painted black. Then he is powerful to cure, sawi'gan gi'na. Gatschet describes a band of otter skin worn round the neck and bearing various shells, feathers, bird scalps, etc.; hence it "must unite the magic powers of them all."[161] 756 292 [302]

Some articles of shaman's regalia are in the collections of the Field Museum. A bear-skin cap (no. 61563?) consists of the head skin, decorated on two or three sides with circular disks of buckskin ornamented with quillwork. These are one and three-quarters inches in diameter, and bear three concentric equidistant rings of quillwork, the most central containing a cross of the same.

A shaman's wand "used in curing ceremonies" (no. 61676) is a three-foot shaft bearing bunches of feathers bound on at two points, with a bundle of dew claws tied to the butt. The feathers are gray; they are bound at points about one-third of the distance from each end of the shaft. The bindings and the shaft have been painted red. The dew claws are pendant on individual thongs, each of which is wrapped with quills at two points.

The prescriptions affecting the dress of the laity at the shamanistic performances are illuminating. Everyday dress, at least for wealthier individuals, is of the Plains type; moccasins, skin shirt, long leggings, and breech clout for the men and long skin dress for women. Poorer people wear skirts of tule or buckskin and are barefoot. But the latter garb is obligatory at these dances. This is clearly another instance of conservatism in the field of religion, for the marginal position of the Klamath to the area in which Plains garments are worn, and the known recency of manifold contacts with the Plains-like tribes of the Columbia suggest that Plains dress is a recent acquisition. The hair hangs loosely down the back but is tied about close to the head. As usual basket hats are worn. Dancers, however, wear hats made of animals which are spirits. 291 292 [177]

Taboos and other restrictions on shamans are only feebly developed. A shaman must avoid a menstruant woman; in fact, women who live in a shaman's house must leave their homes at these periods, whereas otherwise this is not usual. Etiquette requires that anyone crossing the lodge must pass in back of a seated shaman, at least when he shows signs of communing with his spirits or is eating. This holds whether a performance is going on or not. Otherwise blood gushes from his mouth and he falls unconscious. One informant had seen this happen to the berdache shaman White Sindey while she was eating. The result is the same if anything falls in front of a shaman. There are 756 784

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[161] *Op. cit.*, 1:172.

756 no food taboos; shamans and others can eat their spirit animals. The
784 only taboo of conduct peculiar to any spirit known is the prohibition against wearing footgear by one who has a dog spirit. For example, a Molala-Klamath halfbreed, the wife of the chief Li'lu, who dreamed of this spirit, never wore any protection for her feet even in the winter snows.

756 The shaman is cremated and his house burned like other Klamath. Usually his regalia, feathers and skins, are destroyed with the house. This must wait for calm weather; then only an old woman dare burn them. Immediately a storm rises, with strong winds and thunder, but lasts only a night. When the shaman dies and again when his body is burned, storms rage for several days.

THE SHAMANISTIC PERFORMANCE

755 While curing of necessity takes place at any time, shamanistic performances are given at only one time during the year. This is a name-
221 less period, the fourth month (December–January), in midwinter,[162]
756 the coldest period when the lake is frozen and the timber cracks with the cold. By this time all the earth-lodges are reconstructed and the Klamath are settled in their winter quarters. This is a period of enforced inactivity, what with the intense cold, the deep snows, and their inability to hunt and fish. Furthermore, the seances cannot be held any later in the winter for then they begin to run short of provisions, I was told, which is undoubtedly true and yet may be a rationalization. This brings to mind the winter sacred period of the Northwest Coast tribes, with its quiet dictated by a fear of profanation. It is not sacred to the ordinary Klamath; spirits are sought at any time. It is significant only to shamans and others who have spirits.

Shamans make a point of giving their performances every winter. A number of them may join for the purpose. The novice waits for winter to prove the coming of his power and only after this does he attempt to cure. The advent of power is called dodi'kalgōt. Nonshamans who have a little power, perhaps a single spirit, may sing their own songs at a shaman's performance if the spirit impels them.

756 The shaman informally[163] invites the participants to his home for

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[805] [162] There is a discrepancy here in that the Klamath reckon a year of ten months, and these lunar periods begin with the lunation of August. My informants made it quite clear, however, that, although they specified the fourth month, they meant the period about Christmas.

[163] Knotted invitation strings, for instance, are unknown.

the winter dance. They bring food for a feast, especially pond-lily seed contained in large boiling baskets. This is left outside the lodge until the close of each night's dance and may not be touched for fear of sickness. Children are excluded except from some of the sleight-of-hand performances. The invitation includes men and women, not necessarily relatives, who know the songs and are willing to help. A man is chosen to shout during the performance, calling the spirits from their distant homes to help the shaman. Another is more carefully chosen to act as the shaman's interpreter.

This speaker or interpreter (lodŏ'tka) functions both at this performance and at curing practice. The shaman always asks the same man to act for him; obviously an important element in his success. Nancy's husband, for example, was always speaker for White Sindey, the berdache shaman. Older men are preferred and never women. The shaman holds his clenched fist over his mouth while talking with the spirit's voice, and while he talks no esoteric language but good Klamath, he shouts and whispers so rapidly and incoherently that his words must be repeated by the speaker. This assistant also prepares and lights the shaman's pipe. Evening and morning during the performance he stands atop the lodge and calls to the shaman's spirits in the mountains. He is paid in blankets and beads. Clownishness is not part of his rôle.

The audience sits close to the walls, each family by itself. The shaman reclines on his sleeping mats which are usually on the northern side of the lodge, but sometimes on the opposite side. This is his place on everyday occasions. His family is grouped back of him and his speaker is at his side. He dances on the northern side in front [535]
of his bed or rather in the central space between the four posts.[164] This is swept smooth and no one is allowed to cross it to reach the ladder, for instance, even when there is a lull in the singing. The singers are seated on the southern side.

The performance, called wa'hla, takes five days and nights, of which the first day and night are the most significant. They begin in the early morning with the fire dance. Five piles of dry non-resinous wood have been placed at intervals outside the central space. The pile to the south of the foot of the ladder is first used. The shaman dances [535]
on the south (?) side of the huge fire as close as he dares; the men who help him, dance on the opposite side.[165] Their step may be a [171]*

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[164] There is no dance platform, such as the stretched elk hide of the Wishram, which my informant had seen.

[165] Their positions are probably the reverse.

756 [535] [533] jump (sideways ?) with the feet together, but I am not sure. Women may dance if men are few, but all the audience joins in the singing. As the fire dies down it is replenished with each of the four remaining piles in sinistral order, the last being that north of the foot of the ladder. This occupies the whole day and is not repeated during the five-day period. Its purpose is to call the spirits to act through the shaman, to give him the strength to perform the feats of legerdemain that follow.[108]

The nights are given over to these shamanistic tricks. Two tricks, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are part of every shaman's stock in trade. They are performed by the novice during the first night, though they may never be repeated in any subsequent winter ceremony. Until the novice has made the ceremony to show that he can carry off these two feats, he is no shaman and cannot cure.

The fire-swallowing trick (ko'pgŭs p'an, torches eating) is performed with the aid of an old lake trout spirit (tewĭm or me"yăs), or rather they say the spirit eats the fire. Five men stand in a row each holding a bundle of resinous wood slivers, ten inches long and [535] two inches thick, called ko'pgŭs. The shaman dances in front of them, others dance vigorously with him while they sing,

[539] ko'pgŭs babi'a ġistsa'mpka
I eat fire while I walk.
gĕno gĭta ġistsa'mpka
This is where I have been walking.

The trout is represented as singing. The torches are lighted, the shaman snatches them in quick succession, puts out the fire with a gulp, and flings them aside.

The companion trick is swallowing arrowheads; this follows fire-swallowing after an interval. The fire has been allowed to die and is only rekindled as a little light is needed. Perhaps twenty obsidian arrowheads are tied at intervals on a cord, which one man feeds to the shaman as he dances. He swallows these with the aid of certain bird spirits, or rather the spirits eat the blades: gau'wi, a blue and brown bird, wĕ'tgŏtgis, a spotted hawk, and ķ!ŏţ'ia'was, a small sea gull (noisy, white, with forked tail and black spots on head). [533] A tule mat is arranged like a cape over the shaman who now seats himself. They sing the songs of the bear spirit, now represented in the shaman, to bring back the arrows. Soon they hear him cry out, "ha," as each blade flies back and sticks into the mat. This performance is called stŏpswa'lc.

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[108] Briefly described by Gatschet (1:70).

> A variant of this was ascribed by Coley Ball to a shaman of years' standing. He performed it on each of the five nights, which a novice would never do.
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> I saw a shaman dancing in an earth-lodge. Then two men swung him around head down through the hatchway, each holding by a leg. Two men below held the ends of a string to which five obsidian blades were attached at intervals of a foot. He swallowed the blades and cord, and became unconscious. They rolled him in a mat, bound it, and slung the bundle under the slanting beams at the north side of the lodge so that his head was to the east. Then the women sang. Suddenly he cried, "ha," five times and with each cry a blade appeared stuck in the mat. But the cord was not seen again. They took him down and laid him on his bed. Then he began to sing.

The morning following this dance everyone except the shaman goes to bathe in spite of the ice that may be in the water. When they return to the shaman's house the food is brought inside and eaten. The shaman, however, must fast through the whole five-day period. The food, or at least the pond-lily seed, which has stood outside the lodge for twenty-four hours, is thought to be eaten first by the frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one else may. A young woman once went out to steal some; when she touched it, the pond-lily seeds turned to blood. This frog spirit is a big woman who is the principal spirit of every shaman. [776]

When a novice performs, the following four nights are given over to singing and dancing like that of the first day. Experienced shamans, however, show their power by filling all five nights with such performances. Each morning there is bathing and feasting, and on the fifth morning they return home. One informant said that beside the speaker the dancers were paid for their assistance, but this was explicitly denied by others.

Pat Kane stated that the shaman's winter performance, which he called ba'pie'nᴇ, lasts only two nights and is solely occupied with singing. I probably misunderstood him.

Other shamanistic tricks are of the same order; various objects are swallowed, others are made to appear and vanish, or the stuffed animal skins in the lodge are brought to life. The tricks of plunging the bare arm into hot water and of walking on fire are unknown. During these performances no one walks about or talks except as he is directed by the shaman. These are all carried out in semi-darkness.

For the wood-swallowing trick, five, ten, or twenty small flat wooden splints, called wŏkda'lis (see above), shaped like arrowheads, are hung from as many strings. A circle of old men dance about the shaman each dangling one of these. The shaman goes to each in turn, swallowing the splint held above his mouth. Another night he brings the splints back as in the arrowhead trick, using a different song. He calls to them to build up the fire; they see the splints stuck into the mat with which he is wrapped.

Long sticks are swallowed with the aid of a sea gull (ķ!öt'ia'was) spirit. This is one of the regular winter performance tricks, but the details I have are those of a Fourth of July celebration. Pokëtdjö'tk, a shaman, was hired by some whites to do this. He had a flat stick, six or seven inches long, which was lowered into his gullet by another man. One old white man seized him by the throat, thinking he would choke. Pókëtdjö'tk asked the crowd, "Do you want it to come back?" and at their response it jumped out of his mouth.[187]

Shamans also have a trick of drinking huge quantities of water, four or five gallons, without stopping.

Corresponding to the series of swallowing tricks are several in which various things, fish, seeds, frogs, and blood are made to appear in a basket. For the fish trick the shaman has a man fill a small basket with water. They sing three songs of a big snake, those for male, female, and the young of the snake. The first song is that of the young snake. He then tells someone to look into the water. This man holds a light over it but there is nothing there. He sings another song, that of the male or female indifferently. When the same man looks again the water contains tiny fish (a'mpwăn yĕ'l'ăs). After the third song, they see five minnows or several varieties of fish. He then tells this man to throw the fish into the river. Throughout the affair the shaman remains on his bed; no one goes near the basket except the man who inspects it each time. It may be that this trick is an incidental magical means of increasing the fish supply. A shaman is called on to bring the fish if they are late in running in the early spring, but the informant who told me this had never heard of the trick just described.

The pond-lily seed trick is similar. The songs are those of the big frog spirit (djxdje'llatci). The shaman has an old woman half-fill a basket with water and cover it with a smaller one. He lies well back toward the wall during the performance, rising only to smoke. His speaker lights the pipe but is warned not to inhale the smoke. The shaman first sings the frog's child's (daughter's ?) song. One man

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[187] See also the snake-swallowing episode above.

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after another talks to the various spirits that fill the house. The shaman tells the old woman to hold a light over the basket; nothing is seen. Two (?) songs of the frog are next sung and when she looks again the basket is filled with pond-lily seeds. All the old men look at it. When he sings the frog's final song, she finds the seeds gone and a tiny frog in their place. No one touches the basket. This conjunction of seeds and frog is rather interesting because it suggests that there is an association of the two. It will be recalled that pond-lily seeds brought to the feast cannot be touched until the spirit frog has partaken. It may also be significant that the attendant here is an old woman, for the frog spirit is conceived as an old woman and a woman with spirit power is necessarily old.

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The spirit for the blood trick is nameless. It resembles a wild man, but was not described further. The shaman tells them to fetch a basket, part of the paraphernalia of another shaman. He sings this spirit's song. One man told to investigate finds the basket full of blood. When he sings again, the blood disappears. All the while the shaman lies covered up far from the basket. Only the most powerful shamans can perform this trick.

A trick of quite another sort is that of making the stuffed skins of animals which adorn the shaman's lodge move about as in life. A powerful Modoc shaman, Djŏ'ḳlonos (black sage-brush head), had little cottontail rabbits hanging in his earth-lodge. Sometimes they would run around as though alive; they were spirits. He had a stuffed butterball duck skin hanging on the south side. Sometimes this spirit made blood flow from the duck's bill and at other times it flew about in the lodge. His song was

[539]

gle'gŏtk ane'en
dead one flying about
nanĕ'mbŏmba'ktisnise'ĕn
butterball duck flying around.
Even though I am dead, I am butterball duck flying around.

Pat Kane described a performance which he saw when a little boy at Pelican bay. The shaman held a fire dance during the day. Then he told the people to place various stuffed skins on the floor of the lodge: mink, weasel, a shitepoke (tuwa'), and owl. He sang songs for each of the animals. He first sang one of the shitepoke's songs and told them to watch whether it moved. It did not. He sang its second song and the bird walked around pecking at the ground. It had been a dried skin for ten years or more. He sang the mink's song three times. The mink moved about holding a little minnow in its teeth.

756 He sang a song of the weasel spirit. The animal rose and danced, holding up his fore paws. That evening Pat's parents took him into the lodge again. The shaman sang the weasel song again. It danced as before; then it disappeared. No one moved. It was dark in the lodge; the shaman had two men standing on opposite sides with torches. He sang a weasel song, telling them to watch for the weasel's return. Suddenly its tail appeared from the ground, shaking. He sang a second weasel song for some time and its hind quarters appeared. A third song brought the trunk, and with the fourth the weasel lay there motionless. Everyone saw it. The shaman asked, "Did you find that the weasel came back?" "Yes." "Did everyone see it?" "Yes." After this they had spirit singing again, so Pat was sent out by his mother. There were bad spirits coming, which might catch and kill him for no one could cure him.[108]

WEATHER CONTROL AND CLAIRVOYANCE

The shaman's art is not confined to these winter performances, but is invoked during the year, not only for curing, but whenever his ability to manipulate conditions and to prophesy is needed. The weather is controlled, fish are made to run, lost articles and thefts discovered, the fate of a war party is foreseen, and the community protected against malignant spirits. It is easy to see why the shaman transcends the chief in the popular mind, for there is not only the recurring winter ceremony in which the shaman alone has a stellar part, but in every emergency they turn to him, not to the chief. Even in war, the one occasion for a layman to star, the shaman steps in to dim his prominence.

756
789 There are no special weather shamans and the practice is by both sexes. There is the limitation, however, that weather control is exercised only through certain spirits, which the novice does not have.

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[532] [108] There are three stone figurines in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California (catalogue nos. 1-14181, 1-14182, 1-14212) which were said to have been collected on the Klamath reservation and to have been used ceremonially. Two roughly resemble animals, one with a pack, and the third a human bust. Repeated inquiries brought only denials from my informants of any knowledge of their use. Nor have any figurines been found in their country. They may nevertheless have been the private medicine of some shaman. Somewhat similar stone figures from the Wasco are in the collection of the Field Museum of Natural History.

[292] In the Field Museum collection is also a pair of eye rings (no. 61533), resembling our spectacle frames, which were "worn by men with blackened faces to frighten children at certain ceremonies." I learned nothing of such articles. The rings and the cords to fasten them about the head are made of strands wrapped with bark.

The songs of these spirits bring southerly winds and storm or the cold north wind to clear the sky. There is the suggestion here that weather control is a winter practice; hence it falls in the period most suitable for shamanistic performances. Rain is brought with the songs of the flicker, a black bird (nŏo'lina), the horned owl, red shitepoke, and a big water snail (ḳ!awi's). Wile'aḳaḳ, Dwarf Old Woman, lying on Mount Pitt, controls the west wind; she can cause the heaviest downpour when the snow lies too deep. The prairie chicken makes the loudest thunder. Rattlesnake makes rain and thunder; the thunder is his rattling. To make it snow they use the songs of various white things, such as the pelican, which causes the greatest fall, and the white grizzly and brown bears. Clear weather is brought by a strong north wind; the songs for this are those of a hawk (tel'ktu), magpie, crow, and Gōga'nᴇ, a dwarf, who is most potent. Crow is thought to have cross-eyes; when he rolls them, it stops snowing. The songs of the winds are also used; there are seven of these, one for each of the compass points except northeast. Winds raised by shamans cause sickness and death. There are other spirits which control the weather but these are the principal ones.

The shaman lies alone singing in his earth-lodge or sweat-lodge. If he does not succeed in a single night or if he is only partly successful, he calls the people to help him with the regular performance (wa'hla), dancing and singing to invoke the aid of more spirits. Nancy's father could make the weather change. He had two spirits, crow to stop the falling snow and the water snail to bring rain when it grew too cold. While other shamans could make the wind blow, the snow drift, and cause it to thunder, Nancy does not know that her father could. His crow song was

ḳaḳ	kŏ'mᴇ	ge'o
crow		mine

bĕlis	galo'	holi'ta
cross-eyed	sky	cleared.

His second song made it rain immediately,

ḳ!awiḳ!a	ya'nu'
water snail	am I.

He sang these in his earth-lodge.

An exhibition of weather control of quite different character is described in the following incident. The shaman ḳiu'ksmag (Shaman Man) went to Ashland in the autumn to trade but he could not return because of deep snow on the Cascade range. He was challenged to make it rain. He melted a strip of lead in a frying pan and had some one pour it down his gullet. They could hear it hiss. In the middle of the night it rained so hard that the snow melted away.

756 789 226 The shaman is called on to exercise this art when the weather is unpropitious and the food supply in danger. If the ice stays late in the spring so that they cannot fish, they go to the shaman to get him to make it rain. If it rains but no fish come, they ask him again to bring the fish. The first catch is always divided so that everyone has something to relieve his hunger.

756 226 Should the fish disappear from the mouth of Williamson river, for example, an old man will ask a shaman to discover the cause. He invites them to assist in the singing-dancing performance in his lodge to call the spirits, which in this case is expedited to two nights instead of the usual five. It appears that a shaman above them on the river, growing jealous of their success in fishing, has sent a spirit mink under the water to drive the fish away or take them to some other people. The spirit that makes the fish run is a big sluggish snake. The shaman causes two female snakes to lie in the mouth of the river. Then he tells the fishermen to try their luck and to bring him a fish, male (ḳō'ktsials) or female ('lū'ksāls), from each net. This performance is called kie'rmalo'ᴇ, to make fish.

756 Rivalry among the shamans is glaringly apparent. It not only appears in the shamanistic tricks where the results are tangible and visible but extends for obvious reasons to superior claims of weather control and to the detection and conquest of other shamans' sickness-bringing spirits, with the dispatch of malignant spirits in turn. Contests in manipulating the weather are not a special form of shamanistic activity among the Klamath, and I doubt that they are among other American tribes where the practice has been described.

A Modoc put a spirit on Mount Shasta to make it snow. The spirit caused sickness as well. A Klamath shaman performed the usual dance-song ceremony and discovered that the Modoc shaman was at the bottom of the mischief. He sent one of his own spirits to catch the spirit on the mountain and enslave it. When it was caught the Modoc died.

A very powerful Modoc shaman, Black Sage-brush Head, had a stone pipe. Whenever he wanted to smoke, the pipe lit itself, or rather a spirit did it. He visited Ctai'is, a Klamath shaman living at the mouth of Williamson river, and exchanged pipes with him. After his return home, Ctai'is found the pipe missing. Later they had word from the Modoc that the pipe had returned to him.[100]

There is no question that the rivalry cuts deeper at times. A shaman accused of causing sickness stands in danger of his life, and the matter may turn on the relative personalities of the rivals. It is patent then why foreign shamans are accused, Modoc and Paiute for example, rather than local men whose secure position in the community may prove a boomerang to the accuser. No man would be called a witch (ḳoi'taᴇ) save one who is thought to possess scant ability to cure. Yet at least one instance was cited of the killing of a shaman of standing: he had repeatedly performed the fire-swallowing trick. Only one among the women shamans was credited with power to discover bewitching.[170] That they believe that only a shaman of great power can discover this or can send a spirit on a similar errand is a sure indication of the seriousness of the accuser's position.

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[100] This appealed to the humor of my informants enormously.

There is a well defined procedure for discovering whether a spirit has been sent into the mountains roundabout by a malevolent shaman. Following the customary five nights' performance, the shaman leaves his lodge in the forenoon. He takes a position in front of a group of women who are to sing his song. He rushes about in an effort to catch the spirit, followed at a distance by five or ten men whom he has chosen. He runs all day; it is very difficult to catch. When he has it, he falls, blood streaming from his mouth. The runners seize him, a man holding each arm while he holds the spirit between his cupped palms. He plunges it into a basket of water, holding it submerged for a long time. Then he exhibits it, a tiny lizard, for example. During all this time blood gushes from his mouth; he can neither sing nor speak. Soon after this some powerful foreign shaman will die, for they have caught his spirit.

Similarly a powerful Klamath shaman may send his spirit among the Modoc, the Pit river tribes, or into another local Klamath group. Warm Springs, my informant thought, is too far away. This is done during the winter performance. No minor shaman can do this, only [776]
those who have powerful spirits, animals that kill: for example, snakes, wolf, coyote, weasel, lizard, golden eagle, big black frogs (ko'wᴇ), smaller frogs (wá'ḳătás), and tiny ones with striped faces (le''eambŏ'tkls). The spirits of the sun, moon, stars, and the winds are of no use in this connection, although I was told that a magically produced wind causes sickness. Spirit poisoning (bewitching) is called tawi'.[171] Disease is népaks, according to Gatschet.

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[170] The case is described by Gatschet (1:64-68).

[171] There appears to be no word for poison, a noxious agent. Stŏ'tmus is the term applied to "poisoned" arrowheads, but these are obsidians from a certain magical source, and carry no venom. Spaws'ta is bait, such as fish bait and the bait used in traps, hence by extension it has come to include arsenic, for example, now used in poisoning bait. (Gatschet gives Modoc shpaátŭsh, 1:18.) One cannot say he has been poisoned by the wild parsnip (ska'wŏḳs), only that he has eaten it: ska'wŏḳs ot pŏ'pga.

756 787 Clairvoyance, at least the ability to see distant objects and events, lies within the power of any shaman. This is called dode'ŭks, to dream. My informant Nancy, who in her youth was on the way to becoming a shaman, had at least this power before she was deprived of her spirits (see above). The spirits talk to the clairvoyant; among her spirits was a bear.

Lost articles are found through the dog spirit. The people are lined up in two opposing rows—an excellent psychological expedient for discovering guilt—while the shaman passes along searching for the suspect. He sees the stolen object shine in the thief's upraised palm. This takes place in the open. My informant had seen this practiced once when some beads were stolen in a gambling group.

The shaman's prevision of what will happen in battle is decidedly more important. This ability is acquired through the eagle and weasel spirits, and perhaps others. During the war dance preparatory to setting out or at camp on the march, the shaman dances in front of the line of warriors, looking "through" them. He predicts who will be killed or wounded, and how the enemy will suffer. He sees them bleeding. One informant stated that those for whom disaster was predicted would not go to war, but others said this is not so and they are probably right. For example, while a mixed group of Klamath and Modoc were encamped on the way to Pit river, a Modoc shaman predicted, "If you are to be shot, then your bowstrings will snap," and the strings of two did snap.[172] Shamans accompany war parties, not only to fight, but to watch over them and cure the wounded.

CURING

755 Curing practice lacks the *mise en scène* of the winter performance held in the figure-decked shaman's lodge, for it always takes place in the patient's home. Nevertheless, it must be quite an impressive affair with its accumulating intensity as spirit after spirit is called to the assemblage, as one after the other they are charged with
[753] responsibility for the illness. Sickness in the Klamath view is due to spirit activity, the presence in the patient of an intrusive object rather than possession, and a cure (hĕswŏ'mbli or tco'ta) is effected by removing and destroying it. There is no suggestion here of soul loss as a cause of illness.

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[172] Gatschet, 1:21.

Curing is possible only through certain spirits, including the fish hawk, falcon, golden eagle, buzzard, magpie, crow, weasel, fisher (ʔwa'lkŏtcka), coyote, wolf, lizard, rattlesnake, a big sluggish snake (wŭ'mᴇɴŭks), and a woman spirit. Frog and her daughter, and the winds are necessary to the ceremony, but I do not know that they actually effect the cure. Other spirits were mentioned as non-curing: bear, bald eagle, clouds, thunder, lightning, sun, moon, and stars. 755 776

Shamans of standing are invited from a distance. When the services of a shaman are needed, it is likely that he is to be found at home. Shamans are expected to maintain a certain amount of reserve, to lie quietly at home, especially in winter. The summoner does not enter the shaman's earth-lodge but calls down from outside, asking if the shaman is there.[173] Some woman of the household answers in the affirmative, never the shaman himself. The messenger announces his errand. If the shaman is willing to cure, the messenger stands on the roof shouting to the spirits while the shaman is getting ready. This is a long harangue calling on the spirits in the distant mountains: 755

ya'mŏks	dakĕ'logis	tcŏmgi'as
north	earth	step forward.

[539]

He calls to all the directions, every region from which a wind blows:

mowa'ksda	mŭlwa'nki
south	get ready.

[539]

When the shaman feels that his spirits have come to him, that he is potent to cure, he is ready. Then he decks himself with his medicine outfit (mŭ'lwas),[174] flicker feathers or grizzly claws, for example, and sets out.

The shaman may refuse to go, "Do not ask me now. I have no spirit; it has gone back to the mountains." When a man loses a child, his spirit quits him when he grieves. "After a month I will talk to my spirit and get it back. I mourn now; I cry. I cannot sing and dance; my spirit has gone. Return in a month." When the messenger returns—presumably the patient holds his peace!—he asks again, "Is the shaman there? Then I come to ask you to cure as you promised." Now if the spirit does not answer the shaman, another (?) man, called saswa'kia, mounts on the lodge before sunrise and again after sunset to call to all the spirits to give their songs to the

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[173] Also described by Gatschet (1:68–69, 71).

[174] If Gatschet's derivation is correct the word means "what is prepared" (2:221).

755 shaman that he may again be powerful. The shaman tells the messenger to return that night, perhaps then the spirits will answer. At night the shaman sings several songs. "All my spirits have now returned. Go back; tell all the good singers and my speaker, for now I have strong power to cure."

The man returns to say that the shaman is coming. They hang the doctor's fee above the recumbent patient; a rope to represent a horse, or a blanket and beads. The shaman does not name his fee, but he doubtless gauges his efforts by what he sees offered. Before he begins he says that he will cure in two nights, or that they had better fetch another shaman for he is powerless to cure this patient, or that the patient has been poisoned by another shaman and he is not sure of a cure.

He brings his wife to sing, for a shaman's wife is generally a good, loud singer. If they want one or two more to help him besides such relatives as know the songs, they pay them blankets, etc. These are individuals who can sing and talk loudly to the spirits. There is one in particular, called hămto'mġis, who prompts the spirits, shouting to them to excite them to work for the shaman. If the shaman's speaker is not available, he will take anyone who is willing to serve.

The patient always lies with his head toward the east, the shaman sits or kneels at his feet, the speaker near his shoulders. The singers sit back of the shaman, the prompter near-by. There is no dancing during a cure. Children are excluded. Apparently the curing normally takes place at night, but it may continue into the following day. If it takes place in a dome-shaped mat-lodge during the day, the smokehole is covered to shut out the light. Baskets of parched and ground pond-lily seed in the form called enōps are provided.[175]

The general plan of the performance is first a series of songs to call the spirits to work through the shaman's person; these spirit helpers then tax other spirits with causing the sickness in a second set of songs; finally the shaman tells what he has seen and sucks out the sickness.

The prompter first commands the spirits to come to the shaman. The first he calls is Frog, for this is the principal spirit,[176] and Frog makes the shaman call all the other spirits.

[539] a'tikĕallke'wōp wasi e'itcōmgi's
Now you should stand there inside [the house].

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[175] Curing is briefly described by Gatschet (1:71-72).

[176] I am not altogether satisfied that other Klamath, besides my informants Nancy and Tom, would have said that Frog is the principal spirit.

Then the frog in the person of the shaman sings about the moving of the pond-lily seed upon the surface of the water as it boils.[177]

[539]

tĕnĕkoŋgi'so	tĕnĕkoŋ
moving (?)	

Frog's daughter is next called, singing:

stai'las	aino'liota'mpga
pond-lily seed mush	looking at it.
ko'lamwĕ'as	liota'mpga
Frog's child	looking at it.

These two spirits then step out ready; other spirits follow standing there behind them. They are thought of as standing with one foot forward ready for action.

The shaman sings all night. From time to time the prompter shouts to the spirits to help him. The shaman halloos to his distant spirits, throwing his head back and muffling his shouts with the back of his clenched hand. Whatever the shaman sings or says, the speaker repeats. The singers (wĭno'tnis) follow the spirit songs. There is no drumming or rattling with these songs.

Now a spirit talks through the shaman from far away:

[539]

tcŏkna'sĭsk	nasĭskwasi	galĕ'ḳs	ala'hi
Now tell me	tell me inside;	dying	show me.

Various spirits are named to find the offender.

tcaka'ni	igĕ'ngi	dakŏ'newis	i'adakŏ'newis
Now you	are the one,	this earth.	you, this earth [that gave the sickness].

As he talks the shaman covers his eyes with his hands, or rather the wrists cover the eyes, the hands are extended prone. This is called smĕtdŏ'nwa. Again the spirit challenges:

[539]

i'agĕngi	laḱi'wĭtcis
You are the one,	chief of the winds.

And again,

tca'	i'angĕngi	ḱe'lalŏmwe'as
Now	you are the one	Earth's child,

by which he means the spirit snake. So he runs through the gamut of suspected spirits. If it is this one, Earth's child, it will have to give up the patient so that he can recover. The shaman's spirit says:

[539]

ita'lgĕngĭ'pka	ḱe'lalŏmwe'as
You are the one who gave the sickness,	Earth's child.

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[177] This is an esoteric reference; it is not cooked during the ceremony.

If it is the shaman's fish hawk or buzzard spirit who discovers this, it threatens the snake. It tells him that he will be picked up from the ground and destroyed, unless he lets the patient go. The snake is frightened and gives him up.

The shaman begins to suck when he sees with spirit eyes where the sickness is located. He never asks for symptoms; he can see. As a matter of fact, he probably knows all about the case, for an illness sufficiently serious to call in a shaman is undoubtedly a standard subject of gossip. Before he sucks, he sticks his finger into water and sucks it. Then he bites the body hard and sucks, crying "wann . . . ." while another responds "haa . . . . " as long as he can hold his breath. He really sinks his teeth in, drawing blood as he sucks. (My informant Nancy's head was once bitten.) This is called ha'nsna. It is the spirit who bites with the shaman's mouth and only certain spirits can do this: fish hawk, buzzard, falcon, magpie, crow, and weasel. Magpie and crow in particular draw bad blood from the patient's body. On the other hand, the shaman does not suck when using a nameless female spirit, but cures by stepping over the patient. He interrupts the sucking from time to time to let the spirit talk. He utters his words rapidly and incoherently, while the speaker repeats and interprets.

When the shaman finally draws the sickness out, his head goes back, his eyes close, and blood streams from his mouth. If they want to know what it is, he lets someone feel it on his tongue or spits it into his own palm. The fish hawk spirit is stingy and sometimes refuses to let them see it. This is always something tiny: a bug, the nail of a frog, or the frog itself, a snake, a rattlesnake fang, or a red-shafted flicker feather. When they have felt it on his tongue, the shaman, representing the spirit, eats it.[178] I was told that after showing it, the shaman (especially a woman shaman) has someone strike him five times on the back with a basket, but I do not know what the point is. Instead of showing anything the shaman may simply tell what is the trouble. If a very young child is sick, the shaman may tell the parents that it is because they did not take care of themselves but dreamed of something evil. Gatschet records a shaman's statement, for example: "Therefore this patient was hurt because his mother ate too soon after dreaming. Then this patient turned his face to the spirit land."[179]

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[178] Gatschet says the shaman's speaker swallows it (1:68-69).

[179] *Op. cit.*, 1:158.

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One method for forecasting the recovery of the patient is to tie thin nettle cords around his head, each thigh, and upper arm, the free ends being held by as many men. The shaman strikes each cord with a basket. Unless they are all broken the patient is lost.

A patient who has suffered a relapse is cured with the spider song, according to Gatschet's informant. To paraphrase his text slightly:

> Then the spider treats him; a piece of deer skin is the spider's curing tool. Then by means of that deer skin he treats him; he cuts out a piece of the deer skin just the size of the spot where the suffering is located. Then the spider song is started while applying that piece of skin. Then he stretches a blanket over it and they strike it with shaman's arrows (hänä'sish) so that it enters the body. First a particle enters, then it becomes part of the body and now that piece of skin looks dark. Then after so many days that black thing at last looks like flesh.[180]

In the interludes of curing the shaman tells everyone to leave. He remains sitting in the lodge with the patient, silent, eyes closed, and smoking. His pipe has an unusually long wooden stem wrapped with a rattlesnake skin; the bowl is the usual clay or stone affair. (Possibly some shamans use tubular pipes.) It is lit by the speaker who is warned not to inhale the smoke else a spirit will hurt him.

The shaman may also go into a sweat-lodge for communion with his spirits, probably only when curing in the daytime. The shaman and his speaker are alone in the lodge; others wait outside to sing with him. When he comes out, he sucks the patient.

How long the shaman continues his exertions is indeterminate. If the patient is very sick, he sings until midnight or morning. Sometimes the shaman announces that his spirit has told him that the patient must be "doctored" for two nights; otherwise the sick man's relatives must decide. Payment is made only if the cure proves a success; should he die within a month or two the shaman must return the whole amount. While I received no hint that a shaman is mercenary, the size of the proffered fee must figure in his decision. Fifty years ago the usual payment was twenty or twenty-five dollars in cash or an equivalent of clothing, blankets, beads, or horses. Ten or twenty fathoms of beads is the amount. Twenty dollars or one good horse secured his services for one or two nights. A man who has none of these gives a canoe, a suit of elk-skin armor, or even food, and if his only riches are marriageable daughters, he presents one of these to the shaman.

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[180] Gatschet (1:72–73) assumes that the buckskin is actually inserted under the patient's skin but I do not understand this to be the case from the text.

[114]

755 Shamans never practice in concert. If one fails another is called. If the first discovers that another shaman is responsible for the illness, the relatives will insist on the accused making a cure, if they do not kill him forthwith, which is much more likely.[181] I was not told that a consistently unsuccessful shaman is killed, but it is very probable that he would be accused of witchcraft unless he retired from the field confessing his lack of power.

A shaman of du'kwa named Lŏ"l'wis was thought by the people of iu"laloŋx to have bewitched one of their people who died. Later when another was sick they sent for him pretending their need. They slew him with an axe.[182]

[276] Coville observes that "the dried root stocks [of the blue flag or iris (ghä'-gum läk'-ō, *Iris missouriensis* Nutt.)] are sometimes used by medicine men as a smoking material, mixed with white camas [wild parsnip?], *Zygadenus venenosus*, and a little tobacco, to give a person a severe nausea, in order to secure a heavy fee for making him well again."[183]

752 756 It is distinctly unusual to find that among the Klamath the shaman also figures in curing practice of a non-shamanistic, matter-of-fact variety. Blood is sucked from wounds and ostensibly from fractures; this is one reason for his accompanying a war party. The songs for this are those of buzzard and coyote, who eat carrion, of the wolf, mosquito, fly, horsefly, or any animal or insect that feeds on human blood and flesh. The patient is then usually turned over to a layman for further care. A fracture is treated by applying a cautery all around the spot, smearing the limb with pine pitch and wrapping it with wide strips of buckskin. Wooden splints are not used, nor sweating as a cure. Wounds are dressed with poultices of plants known to some of the older people. One informant said that only wounds in the limbs were dressed, but this is improbable.

Endjla'yakts (the father of my informant Nancy) received an arrow wound in an arm during a feud. Although he was himself a shaman, he did not attempt to treat himself, but called on Ëktsʼas, the shaman who was serving as the spiritual guardian of this war party. The latter pulled out the arrow, applied a poultice made of the leaves of an unidentified plant, and bound the arm. The wounded man eventually died of this wound.

Wounds made by a grizzly bear are treated by a shaman who has the songs of a huge spirit grizzly. The shaman prances about in imitation of the bear, palms raised in front of his shoulders to represent

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[181] Gatschet cites a case (1:68–69).

[182] The revenge taken by his son Kŏ'ḳdlaks is described above.

[183] Coville, Notes, 93.

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the fore paws. He wears neither a bear skin nor claws. This is the information of Pat Kane, but Nancy Phillips when asked about this scouted the idea. The only one wounded by a bear so far as she knew was a shaman, Pok̓etdjŏ'tk, who cured himself of a black bear bite. It is of course possible that he had the song of the black bear unknown to her.

There are no special rattlesnake shamans, but a shamanistic cure for the bite was described. While Jim Jackson was in the Modoc country a rattler struck him in the finger leaving a fang in it. He neither killed the snake nor cut open the wound as is customary. The fang traveled up into his arm, which swelled and began to be spotted like the snake. Pok̓etdjŏ'tk sang one or two songs and sucked out the tooth in a short time. He showed it to everyone after spitting it into his palm. It was minute and fine as a hair; one could not see it well. Next morning Jim, having recovered, paid a horse. This took place by day. This shaman also sucked a fang from the foot of another injured man. So far as Nancy knew, he was the only one who ever cured these bites and what spirit he used she did not know. The rattlesnake is the spirit of many shamans but they do not know how to cure snake bites.

There is a quasi matter-of-fact procedure for the bites, however. 752 The flesh is cut away around the wound or gashed to the bone. It is then wrapped with a fresh snake skin. Lo'lŏklls (Pat Kane's father) 9 saved his sister in this fashion, a rattler having struck her instep. She recovered immediately. No tourniquet is used. Men tie the rattles of snakes they kill to their hair, women do not.

There is a flat-topped mountain called seolŏpg̓ls, probably that 755 southwest of Wocus bay on the western side of Klamath lake, on which is a pond where persons ailing from skin trouble and other illnesses are brought. They are laid in the pond so that the water bugs may eat the disease.

A shaman's treatment for sore eyes described to Gatschet is putting a mixture of charcoal into the eyes, together with a louse "to make it eat up the protruding portion of the sore eye."[164]

It is desirable to record other medical practices here although no shaman is involved. The cautery is in frequent use; all my informants have deep burns on the temples or arms. Two or more sagebrush pellets (sīk·ō'xlūs) are lighted and placed on the spot that pains. For rheumatism, for example, they are placed beside the

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[164] *Op. cit.*, 1:71-72.

755 patella. One is allowed to burn completely; when the other is half-consumed the sufferer destroys it with a pinch and throws it away, telling it to carry off the pain. The dry bark of the black sage is used for this, chewed and shaped into conical pellets. One informant showed me some prepared from the sage-brush bands used by mourning women and deposited in the trees, which he had gathered. Another informant denied that such bands alone are used.

Rheumatism is also treated with skunk grease rubbed into the affected part and the flesh of the animal eaten.

Earache, deafness, and hemorrhage of the ear are treated by the application at night of poultices of cooked wild parsnip root.

Toothache is kima'dj p'an, ant eats, or literally dŭt ansma'sᴇ. It is so called because on breaking an extracted tooth they find in it a little worm with a black head, believed to be the larva of the ant, which has been eating the tooth. The sufferer rests his aching face on a stout stick, a paddle for instance, while he sleeps. Some one strikes the paddle a sharp rap; the sleeper is frightened and the aching gone. Pat Kane ascribed this to the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division (ă'ukekni) alone. The river-mouth people's (du'kwakni) method is to chew a bit of rotten fish, holding it on the aching tooth. The cure of the Pelican bay group (gu'mbŏtkni) is a cautery over the spot "breaking the tooth." Nancy denied the last two methods. Teeth are never extracted.

751 The Klamath used dog flesh in order to avoid smallpox (gotķ!ŏks, erupting) on at least one occasion. This was during a winter before the birth of my informants, now in their seventies. Many died because they had so few dogs. Ordinarily dog flesh is avoided, but on this [177] occasion the flesh was eaten and the grease rubbed on the body. Considering the date[188] it may well be that this was a cure learned from French half-breeds on the Columbia.

278 For mumps, the root of a plant called sķŏssķŏtkgla'ks is rubbed on the swelling. (This waist-high plant grows near the river, is blue topped, with large green leaves.) Mumps has no native name because of its recency.

For colds the root of the yayo'ķaķ plant, found in the mountains, is chewed and swallowed. A poultice of this is also applied to a swelling, then covered with pitch.

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[175]
[731]
[188] Powers states that about 1847 smallpox killed 150 Modocs (Tribes of California, 254). This is the widespread epidemic of that date which led to the Cayuse uprising against the Whitman mission in southeastern Washington (Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, 1:224). Taylor mentions its presence on the Humboldt and Bear rivers, Nevada, prior to 1853 (Taylor, Oregon Bound, 147, 155).

Coville noted the use of lodge-pole pine pitch as a remedy for sore eyes, a very small fragment being placed inside the lid, and the leaves of a shrub (ba-bäk'-bak-lha'-näm, *Eriogonum stellatum* Benth.) placed on burns to protect the surface from the air. He also observed that the roots of buck-brush (chäk'-lō, *Kunzia tridentata*), steeped in water, is frequently drunk as a remedy for coughs and other lung and bronchial troubles. The dry ripe bitter fruits of the same, mashed in cold water, are sometimes drunk as an emetic. Cascara (sär'-um-bäk-ish, *Rhamnus purshiana* DC.) is made into a tea for an emetic; foliage, twigs, bark, and berries are all used. Wild parsnip roots (pöd'-chō, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.) are used medicinally. "In medicine a decoction of the herbage [of sage-brush (ghät or bōl'-whē, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt.)] is used internally to check diarrhea, externally as an eyewash, while the mashed herbage is used as a substitute for liniment." The roots of stä'-mäk (*Wyethia mollis* Gray) are mashed and used as a poultice for swellings. The mashed herbage of wäl'-wäl (*Chondrophora nauseosa* (Pursh) Britton), aromatic and resinous, is used to raise blisters. A poultice of the mashed leaves of wä'-mi (*Chrysothamnus bloomeri* (Gray) Greene and related shrubs), similar in principle to the preceding, is used for the same purpose.[188] 278

THE SONGS

With the aid of the large body of texts recorded by Gatschet it is possible to point out some general features of the shamanistic songs. 533 756 [114]

The form of the song is as fixed as its subject. In the first place, the burden of a song is always brief and always invariably consists of words with meaning, not syllables inserted for euphony's sake. If Gatschet's translations are to be trusted, the great preponderance of the songs are in the first person, the spirit speaking. I doubt it. My knowledge of Klamath is very limited but I suspect that such a phrase as Ké-utchish ai nû shui'sh gî which he renders "I am the gray wolf magic song" is as likely to mean "The wolf is my spirit." A very large number of songs mention the spirit by name and are otherwise not especially esoteric but easily intelligible to one with only a slight knowledge of Klamath beliefs.

Certain song patterns recur with some frequency in Gatschet's collection. Four of these have simple forms.

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[188] Coville, Notes, 89, 95, 98, 100, 102, 105, 106.

533 1. ———— ai nû shui'sh gi
I am the (spirit's) magic song [or the ———— is my spirit].
756 2. ———— gé-u hû mû'luash
The ———— is my medicine object.
3. ———— gé-u népk
———— is the disease I bring.
4. ———— gé-u nä'paks
———— is my disease.

In these the appropriate name of the spirit, bit of paraphernalia, or disease is mentioned. There is a slight variability in the grammatical form, but ignoring this we find that these four patterns occur in a total of 145 songs, fifteen, seven, six, and three times respectively.[157]

Another common form has a second phrase practically identical with the first, and, if not a mere repetition, referring to an associated idea or characteristic. This scheme occurs twenty times in the collection. An example is

tunépni gé-u wélwash gi
páltko gé-u wélwash gi
I have five springs and (all) my springs are dry (p. 157, no. 46).

These five patterns make up a third of the whole collection.

533 The number of songs seems well-nigh boundless. The possibilities for inventing new ones are limited only by the number of spirits and all their parts and characteristics. Not only does one get this impression from Gatschet's array, but my own informants gave enough to indicate that it would require great effort to exhaust the supply. At the same time it is clear that once a song had been invented its form is fixed; it is known as so-and-so's song. It is not only that such a shaman has a song about the weasel, for example, but it is a particular song, and my informants would not hazard it unless they knew it.

The subjects of the songs are not only the anthropomorphic beings, spirits of animals, birds, etc., listed above, and others of the same sort, but Gatschet's informant listed others: gust of wind, sleet, mock sun (parhelion), cliff, rocks of various sorts and positions, springs, floating ice, smallpox and various pains, hunger, pond-lily seed and various plants, canoes and other objects, parts of the house, dress, and paint. This is a wide array of subjects, but the same omissions occur that I have noted above: the cats, deer, and most fish, while rodents and song birds hardly appear in Gatschet's collection. Not only do the songs refer directly to the animals but to their parts,

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[157] It should be noted that these occur randomly throughout the songs which Gatschet lists in the haphazard order he obtained them. Four informants were involved, so we may be sure that this recurrence of the same forms is not due to repetition on the part of a single informant.

"limbs and organs of certain animals which were supposed to exercise supernatural powers, and therefore were made the subject of a shui'sh, shuinótkish, or incantation. They are as follows: of the *black bear*, the head, snout, paws, fur, and heart; of the *dog*, the head, hair, fur, ears, tail, and paws; of the *weasel* (tchásbgai), the head, eyes, snout, fur, tail, and heart; of the *mink*, the paws, snout, fur, tail, and heart; of the *shné-ish-duck* [black-jack duck], the head and legs; of the *salmon*, the head and fins; of the *fly*, the wings (lás, black or white) and legs."[108] The ears of the young antelope also form the subject of a song. In many cases reference is also made to the female and the offspring of the animal and even of the earth.

The references to the spirits mentioned in Gatschet's song collection are not random but center in some particular characteristic, habit, or association of the animal. Thus, the swimming of the mink, the underground habits of the weasel, woodchuck, and snake, the soaring of certain birds, the standing shitepoke, the position or movement of the reptiles, are signaled for song. The ducks figure as disease bringers. (These may be curing songs in which the birds are taxed with causing the sickness.) A number of birds control the storm and wind. (These may be songs used in changing the weather.)

Some of Gatschet's songs may have mythical reference. For instance, the dog straying in the north wind, Weasel as a trickster, the skunk dancing in the north wind, and the frog woman. The grizzly and his springs may refer to a tale paralleling that of the brown bear and the spring. There may be others which I do not recognize. One of the songs I recorded refers to the mythical character Wawiwŏ'k !os.

It also seems significant that the shaman's songs referring to himself are not introspective, do not refer to his bodily state or experiences, but to his paraphernalia, or objectively to the disease.

The norm for Klamath songs seems to be a brief statement, explicitly naming some spirit or object and its characteristics or associations, rather devoid of esoteric reference, and couched in one of half a dozen simple forms.

The following spirit songs are taken from Gatschet's collection. [114] I do not know which of these are curing songs and which pertain to the performances. I have grouped together those that seem to refer to the same practice or group of spirits, and I have taken considerable liberty in retranslating those that stood in obvious need thereof.

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[108] Gatschet, 1:178, 179.

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533 I feel that many of his translations are far from the point, but I do
114 not know enough to correct them. The numbers in parentheses refer to the page and number in Gatschet's work.

539 *Fire dance (wa'hla) songs?*

In flames I am enveloped (154, 8).
I am now wrapped in flames (166, 26).

Songs referring to various items of the shaman's outfit (mü'lwas).

This scoop is my instrument, that tool used on the lake[189] (167, 34).
This is my medicine arrow (164, 3).
The pipe is my instrument, that tool used *for* tobacco[190] (167, 33).
I the shaman's pole [wa''las] am shaking to and fro (170, 66).
Planks [covering the lodge?] are rattling (155, 18).
This is my song, that of the sweat-lodge stick-hole[191] (168, 45).
So looks the yellowhammer medicine-decoration;
The otter is my equipment; the otter skin neckband is my equipment (167, 30).
I the neckband am medicine-equipment; I the neckband am a spirit [or song] (168, 40).
Thus I walk when I tie up the hair (165, 9).
I will pull a rope from my entrails[192] (165, 11).

Songs referring to anthropomorphic spirits.

I the shai'kish [tcakia'k] tramp[193] (160, 52).
Tcakia'k is my song [or spirit]; thunder is my song [or spirit] (169, 53).
I the ghost lean on a staff (168, 38).
Bones only I rattle (157, 44).
I the woman am painted black on the body[194] (158, 51).
My dew claws are rattling (166, 17).
Dew claws are my medicine-outfit[195] (166, 21).
In quill-fringed buck-skin dressed (154, 6).
I search the ground with my hands, find there the feathers of the yellowhammer and devour them (154, 10).
Quick! make ye eyes for me! (154, 11).
In the fog I am straying blind; all over the earth I am wandering[196] (157, 40).

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[189] Or the lake is my instrument.

[190] Or tobacco is my instrument.

[191] I do not know what Gatschet means by the "stick-hole."

[755] [192] "Feigning to draw a rope or string from their posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear" (Gatschet, 1:171). I was not told of this and it sounds more like a shamanistic trick than a curing practice.

[114] [193] Gatschet says "shai'kish is another name given to the tch'akiuks" and this is a "song of a gray aquatic fowl, called tch'akiuks." The following song, wherein he translates ts'akiag as little boy clearly indicates that the reference here is to Tcakia'k, the little boy spirit which lives in water.

[194] Gatschet implies that this refers to a woman dancer, but it is as likely that it is a woman spirit.

[114] [195] Gatschet says of these two songs "Conjurer's rattles are made of deer's claws" and "this song of a female conjurer or 'doctress' . . . ." (1: 172). But deer-claw rattles are used only in a girl's puberty dance; shamans use none
[756] at all. I interpret these songs to be those of a woman spirit, like the one which precedes them and perhaps the one to follow.

[534] [196] The first two of these three songs are those of "the blind medicine-girl" according to Gatschet and the third that of "the blind girl." I assume a spirit is referred to.

539

Songs of cosmic phenomena.

I the earth resound[197] (158, 48).
My lake is glittering in azure colors (164, 1).
Who, I wonder, is blowing out of my mouth? The disease is emanating from my mouth[198] (153, 3).
I am shivering! the wind blows down on me! (156, 27).
I am the north wind who stalked (164, 4).
The north wind blows around me from the distance (155, 20 and note).
Southeast, southeast, southeast, southeast[199] (165, 7).
I am indeed the south wind spirit [or song]; I sweep over the earth (167, 29).
The storm gust dashes right on me (155, 25).
I the storm wind I wind around (168, 42).
My disease has indeed arrived; I am the sleet spirit (164, 2).
Heavy hailstones I possess[200] (156, 26).
Fog followed drifting after me (158, 57).

Songs referring to animal spirits.

I have five springs and my springs are dry[201] (157, 46).
I am scratching up the ground (157, 42).
On the mountain top I am peeping out; of the grizzly bear I am the child (156, 36).
I am the wolf song [or spirit] (165, 12).
I, the she-wolf, am rolling against (a tree?) (157, 37).
Long and slim I am (154, 7).
Crazed I am wandering[202] (155, 22).
The red fox's child I follow up[203] (156, 30).
I am blowing air from my flanks (156, 32).
Everything I can devour (158, 53).
I the dog am straying; in the north wind I am straying (155, 24).
I [the weasel] am squealing, I am squalling (155, 23).
From under the ground I [the weasel] am singing (162, 5).
Fooling, fooling I [the weasel] run around (158, 52).
While walking I [the weasel] shine in multiple colors (160, 55).
Mine is this ground, the weasel's; muddy is my ground, the weasel's (160, 56).
I [the marten) go up and stick fast to the tree (168, 37).
I [the mink] am swimming out while the south wind blows (156, 29).
Ripples in the water sheet I [the mink] am spreading far and wide (162, 6).
Shaman: The smallpox brought by me, the otter, is upon ye

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[197] "This is sung when water is poured over the patient."

[198] "Song of the wind."

[199] Ye'was is southeast and the southeast wind, not east as Gatschet has it. [114]

[200] "Probably refers to one of those birds to whom the power is attributed to bring about storms, fog, snow, or any change of the weather."

[201] This and the following are songs of the grizzly, according to Gatschet.

[202] These two are songs of the "washpálaks-fox" according to Gatschet. This is a fox, he says. But the translation elsewhere (2:476) "the emaciated prairie-wolf" rather indicates that these refer to the coyote. [114]

[203] This song and the two that follow refer to one or both species of fox. Of the first Gatschet says, "This is probably a song of the wind, not of the young silver-fox (as I was told), and I have translated it as such."

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539 *Chorus:* The otter's tread has whirled up the dust (166, 24).
I the marmot, I travel around this land[204] (154, 15).
I [the woodchuck] am descending into the ground (154, 5).
In the north wind I [the skunk] dance gaily around (155, 16).
With shortened steps I [the skunk] am dancing (162, 7).
Through what do I [the black mouse] pass with my paws? My paws glide over the hair of the disease (155, 21).
Down in the dark ground I [the black ground-mouse] am singing (165, 10).

Songs referring to bird spirits.

Blown off! I blew off the feather crest (153, 2 and note).
As a head only, I roll around (154, 12).
I flutter along the ground (while walking) (158, 49).
I [bald eagle] am screaming high up in the skies (162, 4).
High up in the skies I [bald eagle] circle (165, 5).
I am the eagle feather, I am going down, hō! (163, 11).
High up in the skies I [fish hawk] circle; through the clear skies I carry my prey (169, 50).
I [fish hawk] am pinching hard (162, 3).
North wind is my [fish hawk's] song [or spirit] (170, 58).
This is my head crest; the crest of the wi'tgōtgis hawk (171, 71).
I [sparrow hawk] carry my offspring with me (166, 18).
I the buzzard circle in the air (170, 62).
I [the shkä' bird][205] am a song [or spirit] and circle high above the earth (167, 36).
I [the female shkä bird] am snapping (or scolding) at the ground (168, 44).
This is my sickness, the wa'-u'htuash-duck (170, 67).
Belly-ache is the disease I [the butterball duck] am bring on (167, 28).
Belly-ache is the disease which I[206] carry along with me (166, 27).
The náta-duck is now singing about itself (167, 31).
I the fish duck would like to fly over the country (169, 51).
I the mallard float on the water's bosom (170, 68).
In my lake ripples I [the killdshiksh-duck] am spreading (165, 15).
I [the shitepoke] stand upon the rim of my nest (154, 9).
I [the shitepoke] crouch on the water's edge (170, 63).
The disease brought on comes from me, the young shitepoke (170, 64).
Noisily I [the pelican] am blowing around (166, 19).
By me, by the swan, this storm has been produced (166, 20).
This tempest is my[207] work (170, 69).
I am the loon and my waves follow me (168, 46).
I the kingfisher am eating up the salmon (169, 54).
High-crested I (the bluejay) sing my song (or am a spirit) (170, 61).
I the young woodpecker have brought on sickness (168, 39).
I, the woodpecker, am holding fast the tree stem (170, 65).
I [the woodpecker] am picking hard at the bark of a pine tree (162, 2).
The disease brought on by me, the lark, spreads everywhere (168, 43).

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[114]

[204] Gatschet gives wálzatchâka as the long-tailed black marten, but this is the marmot.

[205] If its name is in imitation of its cry, this would seem to be a hawk.

[206] The ma'maktsu duck: by my information má'mûkls means waterfowl in general.

[207] The wei wash goose, the snow goose; by my information the white brant.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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539

This is the kála-bird's fog (166, 22).
This is the female kala-bird's fog (166, 23).
I [the tchikass-bird] am wafted off from the mountain (157, 43).
I am the póp-tchikas-bird's song [or spirit] (167, 35).
Fearfully the wind blows underneath here[308] (157, 39).
The snow made by me, the talutsi wash-bird is ready to arrive (170, 60).
A flint-headed arrow I [the gáwi-bird] am ready to dispatch (163, 10).
White chalk is my [the nū'sh-tilansné ash-bird's] medicine-tool (167, 32).
I the little black female bird[309] am lost and strayed (163, 16).
I [the taísxixi-bird] am singing about myself (170, 59).
I [the wipĕlí'wash forest-bird] am singing my song [or am a spirit] (171, 70).
Of the axíb-bird I am the song [or spirit] (166, 41).

Songs referring to frogs, lizards, fish, and bugs.

An old frog woman I sit down at the spring[310] (163, 9).
I the slow speckled snake [wū'mʌnūks] am hanging here (157, 47).
This is mine, the black snake's, gait (165, 8).
Lo! thus I the lizard stick my head out (155, 19).
When I the [male] lizard am walking, my body is resplendent with colors (165, 14).
The land on which I, the female lizard, am treading, belongs to the lark (165, 13).
Which game did you play with me [the turtle]? (159, 58).
Now the wind gust sings about me, the little sucker fish (165, 6).
I the tsúwas-fish am singing my own song [or am a spirit] (169, 57).
Here I [the yellow jacket] am buzzing around (165, 16).
I the bug,[311] I bite and suck (156, 28).

Other songs.

I the song [or spirit] am walking here (156, 31).
I am the song of evil (ko'idsi) (166, 25).

Songs referring to sickness and curing.

I the disease am meandering through the skies (162, 1 and note).
The pangs of hunger I carry about (169, 46).
I feel too bad for dancing (163, 12).
I carry pains about (168, 47).
What thing do I blow around? The disease I am blowing around in the air (156, 35).
Breath I am emitting[312] (157, 45).
What do I remove from my mouth; the disease I extract from my mouth.
What is the thing I take out; it is the disease I am taking out (153, 4).

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[308] "Song of the tchiwititikaga-bird."

[309] Shaíxish-bird; elsewhere (169, 52) shaíkish is given as a name for Tcakia'k, the little boy spirit. [776]

[310] "Songs by a companion of the old frog," but the frog spirit is an old woman herself.

[311] Shaíxish; but elsewhere Gatschet translates this as a little black female bird (163, 16) and as a bird called tchákiuks (169, 52) which is Tcakia'k, the little boy spirit (see note above). [114]

[312] "Sung by the disease, found to live in water."

539 What is coming out of my mouth? Black substance is hanging down from my mouth (158, 56).
What do I suck [bite] out? The disease I am sucking out[213] (155, 17).

I have recorded several songs the use of which I do not know. A shaman's song is about a mythical hero, Wawiwŏ'ḳ!os, who is represented as singing.

ga'no wawi'awŏk
I am Wawiwŏ'ḳ!os.

Nancy dreamed a song about the pole and pendant (wa"lasdŭ'pka) which stands before a shaman's earth-lodge.

wa" li'saaa nos nos
shaman's pole I I
nisowa'lis tu'ntani
shaman's pole hanging on.
I am the pole and the cord hangs from me.

[821] The rainbow is the spirit of Wile'aḳaḳ, Dwarf Old Woman. In a song she says that she swallows it like a sword.

wile'aḳakni	wile'aḳaḳni	stŏ'ngi	wi"teliŏḳ
Dwarf Old Woman	something long	swallowed	rainbow

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

128 In addition to omens and miscellaneous beliefs that have no proper place elsewhere in this account I have resumed below all cases of beliefs which have their setting in the social and economic life of these people. I have not repeated here beliefs touched on in other parts of this section on shamanism.

763 The omens of death or disaster are varied. The thrush tells of an approaching enemy: wi'mpis ᴇge'pkwa, they are coming. The horned owl also warns; mm, mm, mm, kŏkdᴇlŏ'n skiu'k̓iu, who sent me? Or he predicts: ma'ḳlaḳs gᴇlĕḳ gᴇlĕḳ gᴇlĕḳ, someone will die. Gatschet recorded similar constructions of the call of a crow, the howling of coyote or dog, a cat's mewing, or a hen's clamor just after sunset.[214] One may suggest that these associations are derived from the association of the sunset with the land of the dead which lies in the west. On the other hand the call of the loon at early dawn is a sign that someone will kill another. Yet this may really be a case in point, for then the general association would be with any night cry, since night is the time when the dead arise and roam.

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[213] Chorus while the shaman bites and sucks the patient.
[214] 1:88, 133.

"When the sun is environed by lamb-clouds, or a mottled sky, this is figuratively expressed by: 'K'múkamtch [Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps] has taken the beaded garments of Aíshish [his son] and dressed himself in them' A peculiar red smoke or haze appearing in the northwestern or western sky, shnúish, announces his arrival; he is also recognizable by his bulky posteriors, or as the Modocs say of him: 'K'múkamtch múnish kutúliah gítko.' By this they evidently refer to the white and heavy mountain-shaped summer clouds."[215] 821

Frogs come out before the rain, hence this is a sign that a storm is due. When the storm rises, old people cry to it, "You go back to the mountains. We do not want you here." The only precaution against lightning is a burden basket or sieve hung on a high pole outside the house.[216]

When a man sneezes or his ears ring, someone is talking about him, but not necessarily a woman, as elsewhere. If a door opens, someone is coming from a distance.[217] 787

To end the long winter months and hasten the coming of spring, the ring and pin game is played. A proper catch "breaks the month" Or little spears of the hard interior of the tule are thrown into the ground. On the contrary, playing cat's cradles in winter makes the months longer. These beliefs are not seriously held; they are more of the nature of manners of speech. 789

Gambler's luck comes not only through spirit power but by the possession of parts of dead moles, frogs, etc., or obsidian blades. These must have been found, and they are carried to the play, and are kept, like the gaming sticks, at crematories, or at least away from the house. 777

A series of beliefs surround birth and childhood. A storm always blows at a woman's first parturition. The child will cry if the umbilical cord is not tied with the mother's hair. If an animal eats the afterbirth the woman will become barren. She may not eat meat or fish after the birth, must use a head-scratcher and wear a bark belt. The baby is massaged so that it will grow well formed. A girl's cradle is wide so that she will grow broad. The navel cord is saved else the child will die. Sterility is cured by drinking a crushed shell. 844 [784]

A turtle head is hung about the neck to ward off rattlesnakes. It was said that this is the general custom but turtles are found only in 789

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[215] Gatschet, 1:lxxiv.

[216] Also recorded by Barrett, Material Culture, 257.

[217] This is said to be a pre-white belief, but the only doors of those days were mats over the earth-lodge hatchways and the flaps of the mat-lodges.

789 one part of Klamath territory, on the eastern shore of Klamath lake and southward. A bracelet made of the shed skin of a water snake (wĭ'sĭŋk) will make a little child swim well. Girl's hair is singed so that it will grow long.

881 Menstrual regulations prescribe that at first menstruation girls may not eat meat or fish else they will get sick. They must use a head-scratcher and run toward the dawn. Their clothing and bands must be burned. Older menstruants are permitted dried fish and
841 may do without the scratcher. Women must not care for the roots they gather while in this condition, else they will fail to find them in
[756] the future. Shamans must avoid menstruants else they lose their power.

765 The same food restrictions are imposed on mourners, who also use the head-scratcher. If they touch hands to face it will wrinkle, to hair it will turn gray. They must spit into a hole. Mourners must use special sweat-lodges. A woman's bands are hung on the trees near-by. Men wear bark belts so that their backs will not grow stooped. The house in which a death takes place must be burned with its contents. Mourners must abandon their first kill or harvest, or their gains at gambling, and give the second away. Similarly novice hunters and root-gatherers give away their first fruits, a gambler his first gains after acquiring power. Mourners must not fish nor cross a river else the fish will disappear. These mourners' observances have largely a purificatory intent.

821 A storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned.

823 Klamath marsh, which is now almost wholly dry, is known to have been in that condition on earlier occasions, for instance, about 1840 and again about 1860. On the former occasion it was so dry that its southern arm could be crossed on horseback between the settlements Du"ilkŭt and I'wal. They did not know what caused it. As a remedy a man would be dispatched to one of the spirit pools in the Cascade mountains (as Crater and Diamond lakes) to bring back water in a squirrel or chipmunk skin to pour into the marsh.

226 The first fish rite of these people is held at one place alone, Komă'ĕksi on Sprague river. Why at this point, is anything but obvious. The first sucker caught is burned to ashes, others must be roasted on the spot, otherwise no more will follow. The gall of fish caught with difficulty, as when speared through the ice, must be thrown back into the water else the fish will avoid the fisher.

Grace is said before eating; bits of food are cast toward the earth, the mountains, old house pits, and cremation places so as to feed them first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula is a prayer. If this is neglected, the earth would harm the little children. 264

An earthquake (ke'la t!ill'ŋgʀ, earth shakes) is caused by the hero Kʀmū'kūmps who moves the earth. It has no special significance. The only quake recalled by my informant occurred during the Ghost Dance of 1870; it was interpreted as a not unfavorable sign. 823

An eclipse is called łok̦ slo'ki, grizzly bear eats. They say that Grizzly Bear eats the sun or moon at this time. People gather to make a noise, crying k̦o, k̦o, Frog; they hire the Frog (k̦o'wĕ) in the moon to use her powers on the bear, because Frog is the moon's wife as the following tale explains. The frog can be seen in the moon. The sun is included in this explanation. Although sun and moon are called by the same word, sa'bas, they are known to be separate entities. 821

Moon had two sisters. When Frog went to visit, she went into Moon's house. Moon told his sisters, "You had better let her sleep with you." But they said, "No, you had better take her." Frog was angry at this and jumping on Moon, clung fast. Moon tried to cut Frog loose with a knife but he could not. So she is stuck fast, part of him, today. He said, "Well, I will keep her as my wife, so that whenever Bear eats me Frog can exercise her shamanistic power to drive him away." So they are living together today. [539]

There are several magical ways of making the wind blow, but they turn on the same notion. There is a rock in the water south of Bare island which is a mythical hero, and another on Eagle Ridge near-by is his dog. If the latter is struck the wind will blow a gale from the south. 789

My father told me [Pat Kane], "Do not hit this else a very strong wind will blow. Do not throw stones in the lake there or play there." I wondered what would happen. I was a big boy. I took a club and struck the rock. Next day a strong wind blew, the strongest wind I have ever seen. It thundered, snowed, and hailed for two days. My father asked, "Why did you hit it?" I could not answer. He said, "I told you not to hit it."

Similarly, poking in an eddy (sŭ'laŭks) near the mouth of Williamson river with a pole, pumping it up and down, will cause a strong wind to blow. Both localities are connected by the same tale; the eddy is where the hero disappeared under the water, the rock his resting place. There is another spot where the wind can be made to blow, the rocks at Squaw point. Pounding in the holes on the south side, for instance, will bring a south wind.

825 Some beliefs concern the nature of wild animals. The "cat" (da'slats, *Bassariscus* sp.) kills deer by wrapping his long tail around their necks. The mountain lion is very dangerous; it is afraid only of fire. One cannot escape it by climbing into a small tree, because the lion will dig it up. When bears fight, the female is always victor. She always buries the male. The grizzly bear during his hibernation sleeps a month on each side alternately. "I do not know who watched them," my informant remarked. The grizzly is a notorious thief, breaking into the winter stores buried near the villages. But to call him that is dangerous, for he then pursues you. The chipmunk or ground squirrel (ts!Il'as) hibernates like a bear from November until the spring, they believe. When boys shoot at this animal it changes into a frog.

212

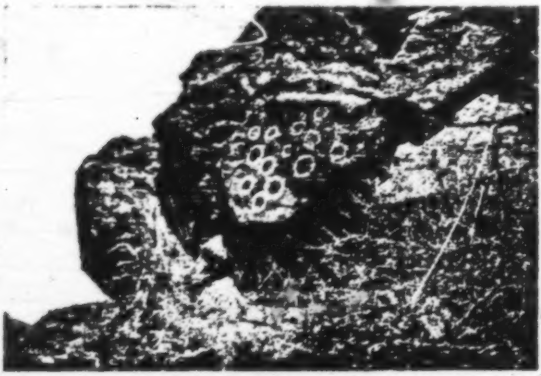

Fig. 9. Pictographs on the eastern side of Klamath lake.

824 Elder is supposed to grow on cremation piles; perhaps it does.

212 The Klamath do not make pictographs. There are however a few
756 in their country, said to have been made by Kᴇᴍū'kūmps, the culture
773 hero. They refer to them as shaman's mu'lwas, paraphernalia or,
better, objects pertaining to a shaman. They are repainted from time
to time by old men, "who work for a shaman," by which my informant
may have meant shaman's interpreters. They are all of simple
212 form. My informants knew of only two pictographs (sū'malo'ta) in
the whole Klamath country. Those on a rock slide on the eastern
shore of Klamath lake south of Modoc point are shown in figure 9.
This is near the former fishing village Iulă'u (47). There are a dozen
circles in white paint, the largest four or five inches in diameter.

Another set of graphs is on the rocks at the southern end of Buck island. A tale concerning one of these figures tells of a man shot in the eye with a straw so that the blood streamed down his face. This suggests the form of the figure, which I did not see. One informant said that the figure of a lizard was also sometimes drawn. 212

Klamath territory abounds in rocks conceived as petrified mythical beings. Where the tales provide no other explanation, it is held that the transformation was effected by Crow laughing at them. Back of the village Du''ilḳŭt on the southern side of Klamath marsh is a group of small boulders, called nĕ'ḳnŭḳ, "doctor" stones. Should a little child play among these he will become crazy. A similar group lies north of Dŭnŏ'ksi on Pelican bay. Another series of rocks is some twenty miles above Chiloquin on Sprague river. The westernmost is the house of Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps; to the north is a sharp mountain, blai'was, the golden eagle; the third is wĭkwĭks, magpie; the fourth, maiti'ḳtŏḳ, a person, the fifth ḳ!adjĭ'tcwatcwe'ĕs, a person; sixth, găo'djĭs, wolf; and the last, djĭ'ktu, mouse hawk. A cave at Komă'ĕksi (13) on Sprague river is another house of Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps. It is a stĭ'nas, a dome-shaped lodge. As he covered it with second-grade mats (stĕholas) it now leaks. Inside is a pile of rocks said to be his tunic armor. Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps' net spread out to dry is an outcrop of white rocks on the hillside a few miles north of Klamath Falls. 823

III. ECONOMIC LIFE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 At this late date it is difficult to define the sexual division of labor with precision. Some impression derives, however, from random observations let drop during the course of these inquiries.

One of my informants summarized the division of domestic activities in this wise. Women fetch wood and gather food. Old men as well as women grind and pound seeds. Men lie about all the time, working but once in a while. They hunt, fish, and in the winter build houses.

Undoubtedly he is justified in his view that man's work is spasmodic, woman's work in preparation of food and the care of the home a more continuous round of labor. Such in fact is the picture of native life in perhaps all parts of the continent. Yet a fairer view of their economic participation shows a more equal division of activities.

[226] These may be summarized as follows: Men, but women too, are
the fishers. Inasmuch as their primary dependence is on fish, the
men's activities in this direction constitute well-nigh a year-round
[224] pursuit. Men are hunters, but hunting is desultory. Even here
women participate, for it is noted at least that they occasionally lie
in wait in canoes to kill floundering deer driven into the water. Root
and seed-gathering is woman's work; I am not certain that men
[222] assist even in harvesting fruit. Seeds, especially pond-lily seeds, form
the second staple in Klamath life. Preparation of food is wholly
[252] woman's work, save as they are assisted by old men, perhaps only
those who have no women members of their families to undertake the
[251] task. Storing food and drying it may be wholly feminine occupations
as well. At least where foods are concerned the man's work is
sufficiently time-filling, but the woman's much more so.

[342] With manufactures, the division is somewhat more even. House-
building, one of the main activities, is a function of both sexes, and
[313] is no small part of the domestic routine. Timbers are prepared and
erected by men, grass and dirt spread over the structure by women,
[322] and the house pit dug by both. Woodworking and the manufacture
[411] of weapons are masculine activities. Yet the most laborious wood-

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Yet the most laborious wood- 462
working task, the making of canoes, is sometimes undertaken by
women. I do not know who tans skins, but since the manufacture [501]
of all garments and moccasins is done by women, this suggests that
they prepare the skins as well. Mats and baskets are made by women [281]
and in considerable quantity. This is a sedentary pursuit which
dovetails nicely into leisure moments of household duties. Mortars, [285]
metates, and their adjuncts are fashioned by women, though I suspect
that men may lend a hand. Nets are manufactured by men, but by [415]
a few women also. Ropes and cords are made by women. All these [284]
suggest a somewhat heavier share borne by women.

There is a further factor which must be kept in mind. In winter, [283]
movement is impeded by intense cold and heavy snowfall, so that all
members of the family must stay close at home. Hence the men might 211
be thought to have enforced inactivity thrust upon them during this season. But the facts are probably otherwise. This is a period of great scarcity, even famine, especially at the end of a long winter, and it behooves the men to act and act quickly in search of food. The ardors and perils then forced on them surely make demands upon whatever leisure they may have at this time.

FOOD AND ITS ACQUISITION

Klamath life is not that of a lake people, but a river and marsh 262
culture, for the simple reason that their primary food is fish. The large lakes of this region are solidly frozen in winter, and fish, which are not abundant there at the best, can hardly be had in winter. It is otherwise with the swift rivers and creeks; these are always open and fish are always present in abundance.[218]

Fish is the staple; after this ranks water-lily seed (wokas) and to 262
a lesser extent other roots; deer and other game are only of minor
importance. It is difficult at this late date to know whether fish or 224
lily-seed was eaten in greater quantity, but there is no doubt that, of 226
necessity, more attention was given the year round to fishing, since 222
the seed is harvested only from the middle of August to the end of September.

Winter villages, the permanent settlements, are located where fish 361
may be had at that time, beside running streams and near springs

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[218] In view of the excellent descriptions of Klamath environment given by
Gatschet, Barrett (pp. 240-243), and Coville (Wokas, A Primitive Food, 727- [114]
728) it is unnecessary to add another here. (See also pp. 8-10 of the present work.)

361 at the lake's edge, large and warm enough to prevent ice forming over a large area. Winter is severe at this altitude (4000 feet), snowdrifts [132] are deep, and Klamath lake freezes over to a depth of some ten inches [133] in late December. Such sheltered valleys as that of the Williamson river, while but a few miles from the open lake, are distinctly warmer.

221 The annual cycle of activities is dictated largely by the food habits. It is customary to leave the winter villages in April or May, when plant growth is well under way and the flat valleys have dried, not to return until the snow falls again and houses need refurbishing. When fish begin to run in the spring, the Klamath congregate at the fishing places to stay for two months or more. For example, some join the Modoc on Lost river for several weeks to catch and dry fish. The spring and early summer are spent on the marshes and prairies, gathering roots such as camas and ipos. When the camas has been dried and stored, they move to the marshes, especially to Klamath marsh, to harvest pond-lily seeds from mid-August to the end of September. While the women are busy with this harvest, men hunt mule deer, antelope, and other animals whose habitat is in eastern Klamath territory. Late summer and autumn, seeds, berries, and nuts are gathered, the Indians congregating where these are plentiful. Many of those at Klamath marsh, for example, move directly to Huckleberry mountain, southwest of Crater lake, to garner these [484] berries. Summer and autumn are the seasons for journeying to visit and trade, for raiding, and especially for laying up a store of fish [726] against the coming winter. It must be understood that the winter [251] locations are not completely abandoned during this season, for many of them are favorably situated for these very activities. But it is [361] customary for such a group as the ăukckni division, whose winter residences cluster thickly along the middle Williamson river, to scatter and meet again at Klamath marsh for the pond-lily harvest in [805] August and September. (This is the beginning of the Klamath year.) They begin to return to the winter sites in the latter month, to start [342] rebuilding the earth-lodges for the coming winter, a task completed in December, by which time full winter is at hand.[219]

501 The move to Klamath marsh of the people at the mouth of Williamson river, the du'kwakni, can be made by canoe only as far as ya'ak 221 on the middle river, where they join the ăukckni in packing afoot the rest of the distance. When the water is high, canoes can go upstream as far as bᴇzŭksᴇ'was at the mouth of Sprague river (see the maps,

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[219] See also Gatschet, 1:74–77.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

figs. 1–3). When returning in the fall, they take canoe as far as Kirk, storing the vessels in the lake bottom there until the next season, and packing the rest of the distance to their craft on the middle river, some twenty miles distant. 501 221

A similar seasonal migration of the Klamath falls group takes them to Barclay spring and Modoc point on the lake front for the spring fishing. Crossing the lake to dĕ'ktcŏŋks, they leave canoe and march by a well-defined trail to Wocus marsh for the lily-seed harvest. At the end of their stay, they sink the canoes used on the marsh in the water at woḳsa'lks, hide grinding slabs and similar articles in the juniper thickets, and retrace their way across the lake to Algoma. After gathering wild fruits there they return to the falls for the winter.[220]

When one considers that the countryside teems with a wide variety of animal life in summer, and the seeming abundance of seeds, roots, and fish, it is difficult to comprehend the change that winter brings. Yet outright starvation in winter must have been frequent. The constant refrain of Ogden, who visited the country in the winter of 1826, bears on the scarcity of game, the near approach to starvation, throughout the months his party was there.[221] Yet it is not incredible in view of the deep snows that cover the land, the thick ice on lake and marsh, when travel is at a minimum and fish can no longer be taken. Snow falls early, in November, and lies on the ground in exceptional years well into May. The early spring, when winter stores have run low, is the critical period. When the lake remains frozen unduly long and snow still falls, starvation sets in. Then horses are killed, and finally the hides or even dressed elk skins are roasted in their extremity. Nothing will induce them to turn to dog flesh.[222] When the snow leaves the prairies, they hasten to glean whatever roots have escaped the previous season's harvest. Then too a few trout may be had to eke out their subsistence. 221 731 [262]

Fishing

Fish, the primary food stuff, can be taken almost anywhere in Klamath territory, but the supply is more plentiful in some sections than in others. Williamson river is one; fish can be caught there the year round, but in many other streams they run only in the spring. 226

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[220] Compare Gatschet, 1:xxix.

[221] Elliott, The Peter Skene Ogden Journals.

[222] This has served as a specific against smallpox, however.

226 For this reason, the greatest number of settlements cluster on that river. The runs of fish there begin in the early spring, are at their height in March and April, and continue, one variety following another, into the fall. According to Coley Ball seven kinds of fish run in the spring, followed in the fall by the larger varieties. Mid-September marks the end of the sucker run. The time of the salmon run is not clear. Gatschet's statement is that salmon ascend the Klamath river twice a year, in June and again in the autumn.[223] This is in agreement with my information, that the run comes in the middle-finger month, May-June, and that the large fish run in the fall. Pat Kane did not know whether there is more than one variety of salmon, which he called tcia'lᴇm.[224] They ascend all the rivers leading from Klamath lake (save Wood river, according to Ball), going as far up Sprague river as Yainax, but are stopped by the falls below the outlet of Klamath marsh. Other fish live in the marsh, however.

There are not many special attitudes toward fish nor restrictions on their use. The principal restriction is that one bereaved of a
226
765
spouse or child may not fish nor even cross a river for fear the fish will flee. This must have been a serious curtailment of the mourner's activities, considering the high infant mortality which must have existed. At the expiration of a year, the mourner must use a special sweat-lodge a second time before he can resume his occupation. Throughout this period he may not eat fish for fear of sickness.

226 Respecting any fish that is caught with difficulty, for instance those speared through the ice, its gall (bls) must be thrown back into the water else others will cease to come. The fish are thought to turn away if this rule is neglected as children turn aside from a morsel of fish they think too small. The practice is called notowa'ble a'mbotŏt, to throw back into the water.

In place of the first salmon ceremony common among the Northwest Coast tribes,[225] the Klamath have an observance over the first sucker. The locale is wo'katat on the bank of Sprague river near the settlement komă'ĕksi, south of Braymill. Above this spot is a cave styled the home of Kᴇmū'kŭmps, the culture hero. The first sucker is

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[223] Gatschet, 2:436.

[224] Information from the lower Klamath river confirms these data. Salmon run through Yurok territory at the mouth of the river in April and in early autumn; the latter being perhaps the greater run, for at this time the Kepel dam rites are held (Kroeber, Handbook, 58, 60, 84).

[225] There is no first salmon ceremony, no prayers for salmon, no salmon heart magic like that of the Yurok, no prohibitions against speaking of the salmon, as among the Wishram, and no special relations or taboos connecting twins with the salmon.

226

roasted and allowed to burn to ashes. Those that follow must not be taken home but roasted there, else no more will come. If the rite is observed, suckers will be plentiful. Wo'kstat is the only place where the rite is held, the only place "where Kemŭ'kŭmps made this law."

[539]

> Kemŭ'kŭmps was living at komă'čski. He made a dome-shaped mat-lodge [the cave] using stĕholas mats to cover it [the poorest mats]. That is why it leaks. Right at his home he killed fish. The fish had great difficulty in swimming up there, so Kemŭ'kŭmps killed the first he saw. He roasted it right at the river bank. He did not take it; let it burn to ashes. He said, "This is the way the psză'odiwas [humans, in mythical terminology] will do." After he did this, fish came in great numbers.

There is no individual ownership of fishing places, as with dams. Nor, for that matter, are there proprietary rights to hunting territories, berry or seed patches. A chief has no control, no ownership of fishing rights. Even those whose permanent dwellings are near the dams have no particular claim to them. To be sure, one might ask those who live near-by to fish in the spot for him, but solely because they know best how to use the nets there.

One reason for this is that the fish dams date from remote antiquity. They are, in fact, said to have been built by Kemŭ'kŭmps.[226] These are quite common in the rivers wherever a shelf of rock in the stream bed favors their construction. Their purpose is to create an eddy of still water in which the fish can be netted when they take refuge from the swift current. Most of these have been destroyed by the loggers who have cleared the channels of obstructions to float their logs. Gatschet seems to doubt that these are artificial constructions, but it is clear that only the foundation is a natural configuration. These are short dams (sa'mḳauŭs) or wings of rocks extending out from one bank. One such in the low falls of middle Williamson river at tákalma'keda takes advantage of a bend in the river bank to enclose a pool thirty-five feet across.[227] Weirs are not used in connection with dams; in fact they are unknown to the Klamath. [114]

227

Fish are taken mostly with nets (wītco'lhus).[228] As among professional fishermen everywhere, line fishing is hardly sufficiently profitable to be trifled with. Yet lines are sometimes used, as well as the spear, and there is some sporadic use of traps. There are several kinds of dip net as well as a gill net.

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[226] See Gatschet, Mythologic Text, 161.

[227] Other dams on Lost river are mentioned by Clarke (Rock Piles, 40).

[228] The Klamath do not poison fish. Gatschet has a curious reference to kúlχamsh and slĕ'ds as "fish-killing-articles" put in the nets, but these are respectively flax and nettles used for net cordage! (1:150). [114]

226 In late September there are eddies in Klamath lake where small fish, called ḳ!ō'ptu, go round and round. These are caught in dip nets which are slid under the fish. Chub, plentiful in Williamson river in spring, are driven into the rectangular pouch nets. Driven all night long, I was told, sufficient chubs were caught to fill two canoes.

227 A triangular dip net is the principal device for use on the open lake. This was called de'owūs by one informant, hiksu'la by another. Barrett has given an excellent description of it, which I quote in full.[229]

> 226 One of the most interesting devices connected with fishing is the large triangular dip net used on the open water of the lakes or the larger deep streams. This net is used on a pair of poles held apart by a cross-bar near the vertex of the angle formed by them. The net itself is attached to the poles at the sides and to this cross-bar at the rear, the tips of the poles being connected by a strong string upon which the front of the net is fastened. . . . Usually two men go out to fish, one sitting in the stern of the canoe and paddling, the other in the prow and manipulating the net. While the net is being dipped, the fisherman in the stern paddles quite rapidly along and makes a great noise, swishing the water back and forth in order to scare the fish near the stern toward the prow. He also has a couple of short sticks with which, just before the net is to be raised, he drums upon the sides of the canoe in order to frighten as many as possible of the fish toward the prow. The fisherman in the prow finally raises the poles and brings up the net, placing the angle at which the poles meet under the prow of the boat, which, as has been stated, has a long, flat, upward slope. The cross-bar of the net poles is slipped over the top of the prow so as to prevent the points of the poles from falling back into the water. In this manner the points of the poles project from the prow like two great horns. Their tips are several feet from the surface of the water, so that the fish are prevented from jumping over the sides of the net and into free water. The man in the prow then hauls in the net, which tapers to a long pyramidal point. As he hauls the net in, it is laid over on the poles to the sides of the prow until finally the point of the net is reached. Here the fish are at last gathered together. It is then a simple matter to take them from the net and throw them either into the bottom of the boat itself or into coarse tule baskets made for the purpose. These baskets of tule are of two forms: a long canoe-shaped basket and the ordinary circular straight-walled basket. . . . . To manipulate a large net of this type, a canoe not less than sixteen or eighteen feet in length is required. Another net of this same type, but of smaller dimensions, is used in a similar manner on the more shallow streams or in the shallow water of the lake.

[227] The poles are of fir, twelve feet long and ten feet apart at their outer ends. The net, which is quite large, is fashioned of five rectangular sections, linked together by their long sides, and placed transversely to the main axis of the triangle. The mesh is an inch square. As an index of the value, Coley Ball gave a good milk cow for a single net. In using these nets it is usual to have other canoes approach from the front, splashing to frighten the fish into the net.

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[229] Material Culture, 249.

Several nets may be carried in as many canoes paddled side by side. 226
The fisherman in the prow, using the leverage of the poles over the gunwale, raises the net somewhat, but a heavy load will cause the prow to settle dangerously. The weight is relieved by those in the other canoes lifting out fish until he can manage the net alone. A favorite place for the use of this net by the southern lake people is above the riffles of Klamath falls. I probably misunderstood an informant who said that this net is used only in winter.

A rectangular net (lu'di'has) is much used, especially in the rivers. The net is a pouch nine feet long, its mouth threaded on a vertical pole at each side. The mouth is a rectangular opening, six feet wide and two high; fastened at the bottom to the pole, the sides can slip down and close the opening. Two men wade holding the poles erect, with the net floating behind them. Others drive the fish into the net. When it is filled, they move the poles into a horizontal position, dragging the net after them into quiet water; the weight causes the mouth to slide along the poles and close.

A circular scoop net (called lu'di'has like the last) is used from the bank. This is a hoop of service berry wood, three feet across, fastened at two points to a pole which crosses its diameter. The mouth of the net is fastened to the hoop; its bottom is closed in a line, not a point; it is three feet deep. The net is held with the hoop vertical while others scare fish into it. When full it is lifted out and dumped on the bank. There is no rope attached to the hoop to steady it such as is necessary in the swift waters of the Columbia.

There are several excellent places for the use of this net among the rocks of Klamath falls. In early spring high water flows through a channel into a pothole (gau'wam), some twenty feet in diameter. Fish are carried into it by the current. As they swim back, they are scooped up with the net from the mouth of the hole. In this manner, little white fish (ḳ!ö'ptu), suckers (tc!uwam), and trout (me'h!ăs) are taken. On the eastern side of the falls opposite the pothole the current is very swift. It plunges into a hole in the bed, boiling up with great force at the downstream end. Little white fish are thrown up in the whirlpool. A man stationed on a rock, armed with a circular net, watches. He must jump into the water as it surges, scoop up the fish, and jump back before the current catches him. This is exceedingly dangerous, as he may be carried down into deep boiling water. This is called ġe'tba'ksalks.

The gill net, called a set net (dĕkwa, or wItso'las dĕ'ḳolga), may 227
not be aboriginal, or rather, my informant may have meant that

127 formerly it was not set on stakes. He referred to mention in a myth of its use as a hand net. At any rate, of recent years it is set on stakes in the lake or rivers. It has a small mesh, is forty or more feet in length, three feet in width, and provided with sticks or dry tule stems in order to float the upper edge, and sinkers in order to weight down the lower. The sinker (ˀlĕ′mdi'as) is a pebble three to four inches long, grooved about its middle through pecking it with a hard pointed stone.

284 462 Nets are manufactured by men, although a few women also make them. They have meshes of several sizes. A net gauge (tŏŋks) of bone or wood is used with a slender shuttle (tcŏ′mdĭkŭs) wound end over end.[230] Nettle bark cord is used, from either brown or gray nettles (slĕ′ĕts). Coville notes the use of Rocky mountain flax fibers.[231]

[114] The fish traps used by the Klamath are strictly speaking not traps at all, since there is no closing device to prevent the escape of the fish. They are very little used. I was told of only one place where the device is used, a little stream above Spring creek on Williamson river, where the water is so clear that the actions of the fish can be watched in detail. There it is used only in winter to take trout. The trap (spuwᴇm) is a cylindrical basket of willow branches, woven in open twine, six feet long and two in diameter, closed at one end. The opposite end is open and not provided with reversed barbs or other device to prevent the fish leaving the trap. Cords are tied to it so that it may be hauled up when the fish is seen to enter. A trap of this sort figured by Barrett,[232] but of only half this length, has one side extending somewhat beyond the mouth. Meacham describes a trap of somewhat different shape:

> 226 The Klamath mode of taking fish is peculiar to the Indians of this lake country. A canoe-shaped basket is made, with covering of willow work at each end, leaving a space of four feet in the middle top of the basket. This basket is carried out into the tules that adjoin the lakes, and sunk to the depth of two or three feet. The fishermen chew dried fish eggs and spit them in the water over the basket, until it is covered with the eggs, and then retire a short distance, waiting until the whitefish come in large numbers over the basket, when the fishermen cautiously approach the covered ends, and raise it suddenly, until the upper edge is above the water, and thus entrap hundreds of fish, that are about eight inches in length. These are transferred to the hands of the squaws, and by them are strung on ropes or sticks and placed over fires until cured, without salt, after which they are stored for winter use.[233]

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[230] Illustrated by Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 22.

[231] Coville, Notes, 90.

[232] *Op. cit.*, pl. 19.

[233] Meacham, Wigwam and Warpath, 283.

Even more simple is the taking of a variety of thick-skinned *minnow* (t!ĕă'bɛ). *When the marshes begin to freeze, these congre*gate among the tules, when they may be scooped up with a basket. 226

Fish spears are not much used; even salmon are ordinarily taken in nets. For one thing, Williamson river and Klamath lake outside of Pelican bay are much too dark for spearing. Salmon are sometimes speared from the river bank, which is quite low, or from the rocks at Klamath falls. No staging is needed as on the swift Columbia or the lower Klamath. The salmon spear (k'le) is the usual two-pronged Northwest Coast-Californian variety; a shaft bearing two divergent prongs provided with detachable points. The shaft is fir; the lashed-on prongs of mountain mahogany[284] or service berry wood are of equal length. Each prong fits into a socket in the base of a bone point. The three-inch point is barbless. A cord tied through a hole in the middle of each point is fastened some distance back on the shaft.[285] Thus the head driven through the fish is detached from the prong, but the salmon is held fast to the shaft by the cords. A special club is not manufactured for killing salmon. 227

Fish are also speared through the ice of the lake with this instrument. A wall of snow or tules is built about a little hole cut through the ice and covered with a tule mat to exclude the light. The fisherman lies at full length on a bed of grass or rushes with his head under this cover, protected from the cold by a blanketing of mats. 226

A second type of spear, called ķa''lɛks, is used for suckers and other fish whose habit it is to swim near the lake bottom. This is a long pole having a conical bundle of hard wood prongs (eighteen inches long) bound to one end. Their points are spread to a circle of five inches by a wooden hoop thrust down and bound among them. There are said to be twenty such prongs in a bundle; Barrett however notes half a dozen to fifteen;[286] and a spear with iron points which I saw had nine. This spear is used in dark, still waters. Poised above the spot where bubbles rise and jabbed down into the mud at a venture, it may pin a fish among the prongs. Another spear provided with a single barbed point is thrust into the fish to haul it up. The barb is made by binding a splinter of bone at an angle to the point of the foreshaft, which is of mountain mahogany. 227 [114]

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[284] Coville, Notes, 93.

[285] Illustrated by Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 22, fig. 4; also p. 251.

[286] *Op. cit.*, 251.

227 They rarely fish with hook and line. These are either hand lines, no rod being used, or set lines. The hooks (o'tkis) are of several forms. The simplest is the tail bone of a sucker which is naturally provided with spines to serve as barbs (fig. 10). Baited with the liver of sucker or trout, this is used to catch minnows which in turn serve as bait, though they are also eaten. Two larger fish hooks are described by Barrett.[237] "The smaller is a straight piece of bone pointed at both ends and attached to the line by means of sinew and pitch at the middle. . . . . A small fish or some fish eggs are used as bait, being placed so as to completely cover the bar of bone. The other form of hook is a bone shank with two bone points. . . . . The two points form angles of twenty-five or thirty degrees with the shank. The three pieces of bone are secured one to another by means of sinew and pitch. This hook is used chiefly in fishing for large fish such as salmon and salmon trout, and is baited with minnows. . . . . The main part of the line is of the gray nettle string, but the brown milkweed string, which is said to be somewhat stronger and also less visible
226 in the water, is used as a sort of leader." My information is that the line (not or swe'us?) is nettle bark; brown or gray nettles are equally strong. Set lines (k'nau'us) are arranged to take trout at night; they are visited in the morning, a procedure called sokĕ'tcan. Some twenty long poles are set into the mud of the lake, each bearing a thirty-foot line with a single hook. The hooked fish are clubbed or speared. Only five or ten are caught in a night in this fashion.

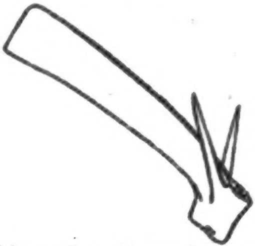

Fig. 10. Tail bone of a sucker used as a minnow hook.

262 For want of ability to identify them, no attempt was made to obtain a list of the food fishes. In addition to those mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, minnows (ḳ!o'tŏḳs) are eaten. There are several varieties: ḳ!a'am, blue minnows, ᴇndīls, a larger variety, and the thick-skinned minnows mentioned above. Crawfish are taken from the streams. These are simply boiled and are soft enough to eat in

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[237] *Op. cit.*, 250; pl. 22.

this fashion. To judge by the quantities of fresh-water clamshells 262 at the old house sites, clams are also an article of diet.

All varieties of fish are dried in the sun, not smoked.[238] The fish 251 is slit down the back, entrails and backbone removed, the head cut off, and the flanks opened. Of the drying of salmon, Coville observes "it was their custom, after a fish was split open, to lay in the body cavity a yarrow stem (läl-wäl'-säm, *Achillea millefolium* L.) with its leaves and flowers still attached. This treatment, by holding the fish open, hastens the drying process and prevents the decomposition that would be likely to follow if the walls were allowed to collapse. My informant knew of no special significance attached to the use of this particular plant and of no special adaptability it had for this purpose, except that it did not give the dried fish such a bad taste as some other plants."[239] A hole is cut through the fish so that they can be strung on poles, which are placed in rows on a high scaffold or set across branches of a tree. Sometimes the head is left on and the poles passed through a hole near the tail. The cache is covered with bits of board and bark. Dry fish are pounded up to make kámalsh.[240]

Parties returning from fishing excursions to Lost river in Modoc 252 country sometimes cook their catch in a hot spring east of the railway station in the present town of Klamath Falls.

Hunting

While game is varied and plentiful in the Klamath country, the 224 Klamath are not much given to hunting. As one informant phrased it, "We know very little about hunting deer." Their attitude is betrayed by the exaggerated value put on elk hides, although elk were plentiful. And while fish can be taken by anyone, success in hunting is assured only to one who has spirit power. In a word, the Klamath prefer the easier exploitation of stream, marsh, and prairie to invasion of the forest-clad mountains which invite only the solitary seeker after power.

They hunt outside their territory westward across the Cascades, but not so far as the valleys of the Rogue river system. That region is held by enemies, the Upland Takelma of the Ashland-Table Rock region. Antelope and mountain sheep are hunted in the lava beds south of Modoc territory. Mule deer are pursued in the desert to

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[238] Meacham refers to drying whitefish over fires (see above).

[239] Notes, 105.

[240] Gatschet, 1:76.

224 the east, which takes them to the border of hostile Northern Paiute country.

In their own territory, the larger game animals are abundant. Elk are everywhere, perhaps more numerous to the north in the Cascades. Deer and antelope are plentiful. Deer, as well as ducks and other game, abound in the open country south of Klamath Falls toward the Lost River hills. A small blacktail deer is found in the Cascade mountains. Wolves, coyotes, black and grizzly bears, and other predatory beasts are common. Game birds, especially waterfowl, are abundant about the marshy lakes.

224 The following list shows their discriminations among the game.[241]

262

825

Eaten

Deer, generically, li'lbúnks.

Blacktailed deer, mu'smūs.

Small red deer, swai'.[243] (The meat is very good and the tallow sweet.)

Mule deer, bargu'ls (lives in the east near the desert).

Elk, wūn (excellent meat).

Antelope, tcā'u (taken in Klamath marsh).

Mountain sheep, wi'ĕs.

Black bear, witā'm.

Grizzly bear, loḳ (paws and flesh eaten).

Porcupine, tce'lis (perhaps eaten only recently).[250]

Beaver, pum.

Ground hog, mu'i.

Mink, kli'p'a.

Otter, ḳ!ult (eaten by some).

Raccoon, wa'tekinx.

Not eaten

Wolf, ḳaio'tcis.[242]

Coyote, was.

Red fox, wan (found west of Klamath lake).

Black fox, be'hai.[244]

Marmot (?fisher), wa'lḳōtcka.[245]

Bob-cat (or lynx?), slowa' (or slĕt).[246]

Bassariscus (?), da'slata.[247]

Cougar, ḳoi'yaḳa'wās.[248]

Marten, pă'xp.[249]

Weasel, telōcgal.

Skunk, tca'sis (eaten only as a cure for rheumatism).

Badger, kols.

Mountain beaver, pum (or gitckani pum, small beaver, or puma'k, beaver cub).[251]

Chipmunk, wa'sla.

Larger chipmunk, tslī'l'as.

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[241] All identifications were made by my informants, except *Bassariscus*.

[242] The name suggests the English (< Aztec) word coyote, but repeated inquiry failed to reveal any other name for the animal.

[243] Having a black (or white?) tail; long straight horns with a slight hook at the tip, pointed *forward*; eats roots and leaves, not grass. Nancy Phillips says this has horns like other deer, and is identical with the black-tailed deer, save that the tail is slightly longer.

[244] My informant suggested that this is a Chinook jargon word.

[245] Black; larger than the last; can climb trees; whistles.

[246] Spotted; short tail; pendant cheeks; eighteen inches to two feet tall; seen but not often killed.

[247] Striped; long striped tail. This is not often killed, because they *fear* it.

[248] Larger than the last; screams like a woman and whistles; seen on the highest mountains, but not killed for fear of it.

[249] Red; like a mink but lives in the mountains.

[250] The Modoc eat porcupine and chipmunk, according to my Klamath information.

[251] Not killed.

* [171]

224
262
825

Eaten

Jack rabbit, kai.
Cottontail rabbit, k!oik!ois (or te!wŏ'gaax).
Ground squirrel, mxxa's (occasionally eaten).
Tree squirrel, giu'was.[252]
Larger tree squirrel, kă'nkŏn.[254]
Waterfowl, generically, mă'mŭklx.
Pelican, ku'mal.
Goose, los.
Swan, kos.
Brant, la"lŏḳ.[257]
China brant, lŏḳlŏḳ.[257, 258]
White brant, wai'was.
Sandhill crane, k!lĭti's.[259]
Blue crane, so.o'ks.
Loon, dŏpial.
Small loon, ḳo'ḳiuḳs (not eaten by children for fear of sickness).
————, ėngu'k.[257, 260]
Gull, ku'l'a.[261]
Smallest gull, ḳ!ŏt'la'was.[257, 262]
Mudhen, toho's.
Teal, tc!ăks.[257]
Mallard duck, wă'ĕks.[257]
Pintail (or Sprague) duck, goiks.[263]
Canvas-back duck, go'ls.
Butterball duck, bŏmba'ktis.
Wood duck, djĭkdjĭks.
Small duck, koḳa'swa.[264]
Blackjack duck, sne'ls.
Fishduck, tc!ŏ'kxnos.[265]
Blackbird, djŭ'ḳs (occasionally eaten).
Redwing blackbird, kŏkŏ'klaŭds.[257]

Not eaten

Wood rat, ḳotcs'.
Mouse, mŭḳ!o'kx.
Small mouse, blai'nxhŭtcnă's (or nŏnw'ŏ'kŭs).[253]
Shrew, cu'lsi.[255]
Small gull, ḳ!ă'ĕtc.[256]

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[252] Calls giu, giu.

[253] Very small; white; long tail; lives in the ground.

[254] A foot long, with long bushy tail; blue; lives in the mountains.

[255] Three inches long; long pointed black nose "like a grizzly bear's"; very scarce.

[256] Has swallow tail.

[257] Named in imitation of its call.

[258] Like a goose.

[259] Scarce.

[260] Black; long neck sticks out of water.

[261] Cf. English gull.

[262] Smaller than ḳ!ă'ĕtc; white; forked tail.

[263] Long white neck.

[264] A little duck with big head and neck.

[265] Red head.

224 The Klamath are evidently catholic in their tastes, excluding among larger animals only the out-and-out carnivores.

Most land animals are taken with the bow. Snares are not used, even for birds, and the deadfall trap finds only occasional use. Snares (knēs) for deer, an important hunting device of northwestern California,[266] are said to be used by the Molala. Several hunting methods which might have been expected here are unknown: driving deer or antelope into an enclosure (chute-and-pound) or over a cliff, and the use of nets for taking rabbits.[267] The first is a Great Basin practice; the latter used both there and in California. Nor are pits dug on deer trails.

Deer driving of an alternative nature is practiced in at least one locality. At Pelican bay tongues of land extend into the marsh from the toe of the timbered mountains. The deer are driven onto these, where they can be readily shot, or pursued into the water where women wait in canoes to slay them. The humming sound of a buzzer made of a deer astragalus bone is a "sign of this."

The Klamath do not stalk the deer in disguise, but my informant ascribed this to the people at Yainax, i.e., Modoc or Paiute. They stuff the head skin of a deer to wear over their own heads, but add no horns; the body is covered by the attached deer hide.[268]

231 [224] Dogs are used in hunting, but not to the same extent as with the Molala, who employ them to track deer or drive game toward the hunter. The dogs are described as small, slim, with short legs, the hind legs crooked. They were short-haired, had erect ears, short faces, with sometimes black marks on the upper eyelids, called ķ!au'li. A rock south of Barclay spring is famous as a place to train hunting dogs. The puppy is thrown into a near-by spring while the master [552] hides behind the rock. A dog's name is given for individual markings or happenings, as wano'mgoķs, marten bites him. One received the name of a man, ķoi'yās, because the dog was brown(?). Dogs are called by name, or tc!lsk, tc!lsk. They are chased away, cccc gĕ'ka, get out. To encourage them to fight, one says, kūc, kūc, kūc.

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[114] [266] Kroeber, Handbook, 817. Barrett (Material Culture, 246) states that Klamath and Modoc took deer in snares, but I am certain he is mistaken.

X [171] [267] Despite a myth referring to this, my informant did not know whether the Northern Paiute use it.

[268] There is, however, an antelope headdress in the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 61678) which is ascribed to the Klamath. It is formed of the whole head skin of the animal, but is hardly more than a cap. Pendant from the rear is a bunch of hawk(?) feathers.

A deadfall trap (sna'ndŏtslŏks) is set in the Cascades or along their foot to take such animals as marten, fisher, fox, and coyote. This is constructed of logs, with the entrance blocked in such a fashion that the animal entering must spring the trap. I was unable to get a description of the trigger. 224

Waterfowl are shot, caught in nets, or hunted with a jack-light. The arrows used for these birds are of cane with foreshafts of wood sufficiently light to float. Near the tip, to serve as a barb, the foreshaft has a wad or ring of pitch, or of pitch and sinew, or carved from the shaft, as described by Barrett.[269] 223

The long nets (nut') for waterfowl are set up in the marshy margins of the lakes where ducks commonly congregate. These are fifty or sixty feet long by three wide. They are set under water, reaching quite to the bottom and hardly appearing above the surface, for the purpose is to catch the birds as they dive. The net is watched day and night. People may even sleep and cook in a canoe to be near it. While my information is that flying birds are not caught in these, Barrett is probably correct that they have such use. The net is stretched upright above the surface and dropped on the birds as they fly or swim into it.

The birds are also caught with the aid of a jack-light and net as they rest on the water at night. This method (slū'mta) is used with success where they flock in warm, unfrozen spots such as the mouth of Williamson river and Pelican bay. A fire is built in the prow of a canoe; a triangular scoop net, commonly used for fishing, is held upright behind it.[270] Pitchy wood is used to provide a bright light; the canoe is protected by a thick layer of dirt. The ducks flying toward the light are caught in the net or fall into the canoe where they are clubbed. Four or five men armed with clubs and bows sometimes go together in a large canoe.

Diving birds are sometimes taken with the many-pointed fish spear, according to Barrett. But a curious variant of it has been described by Meacham. [114]

> The young fowls are captured in nets. The arrangement is quite cunning, and, although primitive in construction, evinces some inventive genius. A circular net is made three feet in diameter, and to the outer edge are attached eight or ten small rods of half-inch diameter, and about fifteen inches in length; three inches

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[269] Material Culture, 247. My informant denied Barrett's statement that the primary purpose of the ring is to cause the arrow to skip over the surface and strike in the flock, though this undoubtedly happens. [114]

[270] Barrett (*loc. cit.*) has the fire behind the net.

223 from the lower end, which is sharpened to a point, the net is attached. The upper end of the rods are beveled on one side, and inserted into a rude socket, in the end of a shaft ten feet long.

Armed with this trap, the hunter crawls on the ground until he is within safe distance of the mother-bird and her little flock, when, suddenly springing up, the old birds, geese or ducks, as the case may be, fly away, while the little ones flee toward the water. The Indian launches the shaft with the net attached in such a way that the net spreads to its utmost size, the sharpened points of the rods pierce the ground, and, the upper end having left the socket on the shaft, stand in a circular row, holding the net and contents to the ground.[271]

252 A few data were gathered on the manner of preparing game for food. The flesh of such animals as porcupine, beaver, badger, and raccoon is boiled. The viscera are not eaten. The skin is peeled from a beaver's tail after it is roasted. Mink and otter are also pit-roasted, but not boiled. The paws of the grizzly are baked in ashes and then skinned.

263 Salt was not known until the advent of the whites.

Insects are probably no regular article of diet, but Gatschet
222 records that women gather moth chrysalids in the month spe'lwis
252 (forefinger, i.e., late August and September). The ground is scraped up with a paddle to gather the chrysalids (pû'l$_\chi$uantch); they are pit-roasted between layers of grass, with a covering of bits of bark and earth.[272]

Seed and Root Gathering

222 In summer the Klamath congregate in several districts to gather pond-lily seeds, roots, and wild fruits: the great swamps and prairies of Klamath marsh, about northern Klamath lake (Agency lake) and Pelican bay, and Wocus marsh west of the lake. The prairie southwest of Fort Klamath is a meeting point for those from middle Williamson river, from its mouth, and from Pelican bay. The huckleberry patch some fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake (called iwumkā'ni, huckleberry place; iwum, huckleberry) is a favorite camping place. Here Molala from west of the Cascade range join them. Williamson river people (ăukckni) on Klamath marsh cross directly westward to this spot afoot.

[462] Root and seed gathering is woman's work. They tell of old women digging roots alone who were killed by grizzlies.

The principal seed supply of the Klamath is from the pods of the water lily (wo'kas), which grows extensively in the marshes and along the lake borders. It was estimated that Klamath marsh alone 222 contained 10,000 acres of the plant in 1902. This seems an exceptionally abundant food supply, but the difficulty is that a day's harvest is relatively small. A woman may pick from four to six bushels of pods in a day, but the seed content is only one-fourth as great. Gatschet's informant implies that the season's activities netted an individual seven to ten sacks of ground seed, each of fifty pounds content.[273] The season is from the middle of August to the end of September.

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[271] Meacham, Wigwam and Warpath, 282.

[272] 1:76, 148.

So complete an account of the wokas industry has been given by [114] Coville[274] that only a summary is needed here.

The preference is for the fully ripened, open seed pods, but as these constitute only a fraction of the day's harvest, the partly ripened pods are subjected to a special process to force maturity, with a variety of further treatments depending on the stage they reach. The various grades of seeds, in the order of preference and maturity, are known, according to Coville, as spokwas, stontablaks, lowak, nokapk, and chiniakum. This is truly the order of maturity, but the native preference as foods, as stated by Nancy Phillips, differs: spo'ḳwas, the fully matured seed, lolī'nc, cooked and ground seed, snōps, ground and parched, and si'wulīnc, the cleaned seed of rotted pods.

It must be borne in mind that the hard-shelled kernels are found 251 in a mucilaginous mass within the pod. The fully ripened pods, called spo'ḳwas, are fermented in a pit for one to five weeks, the mucilaginous matter washed out, and the seeds drained. When the process must be hurried, the pods, mature or otherwise, are steamed in a fire. These steamed pods are called a'wal; separated into two grades, the better is known as no'gōtk, the inferior, tc!īni'ᴇḳum. The seeds of these pods are freed of their sticky coating by mixing them with absorbent pulverized rotten wood, charcoal, or ashes. Like spo'ḳwas, these two grades of seed are prepared by parching in a tray basket with live coals, grinding them lightly to remove the shells, which are then winnowed out, leaving the free, fresh kernels called lolī'nc. This is either dried and stored, or parched to make snōps. The latter is eaten dry, or mixed with water, whole kernels or ground, to make a mush called shlotish. The greater part of the harvest consists of

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[273] 1:74, 76.

[274] Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians. I have enquired concerning his description, but have nothing substantial to add.

251 immature pods, which are spread in piles to dry. The fully dried pods are removed from the surface of the pile, pounded to break them open, and the dry seeds, known as lowa'k, collected and stored. The bits of pod with seeds adhering are also stored against famine. The pods in the interior of the pile rot; these are also pounded, dried, and winnowed. These seeds are sno'ntablöḳs. The dry lowa'k and sno'ntablöḳs seeds must be treated differently from the fresh moist seeds described above. These are parched, the shells cracked by pounding, and the kernels boiled to a mush called siwulīnc or ta'lᴇwa (the latter meaning stone-boiled). The shells may be winnowed before boiling, or they may be skimmed off. What remains in the vessel is called sti'līns.

> During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the women, and they go to work again in their canoes.[275]

272 A liquor derived from prepared wokas seed of any sort is called ḳau'wütᴇ. This is imbibed cold.

252 Boiling (ta'lᴇwa) is brought about by dropping hot stones into baskets of water. These are picked up with two green sticks, or the bare hands if not too warm. Split or bent sticks are not used for tongs.

Exceptional years have seen Klamath marsh so dry as to seriously affect this supply of food. It was dry when my elderly informant was quite small (about 1860), and even earlier (1840), in his grandmother's day, it had shrunk so that the pods could be picked from the ground. To restore the water little sacks of chipmunk and squirrel skin were carried to spirit places in the mountains, such as Diamond and Crater lakes, whence water was brought to pour into the marsh.

251 The Klamath make use of a wide variety of other seeds and roots. The seeds of goosefoot and rye grass, which mature in late summer, are beaten out with sticks over mats. The seeds of the first are ground on the metate and mixed with cold water to make a mush which is eaten with the fingers. Rye-grass seeds are parched in a tray basket, wherein they are tumbled about with live coals, then pounded in a mortar set on a large mat. Dry pinches of this are eaten.

Coville lists many other seed plants.[276] The seeds of the abundant *Balsamorrhiza* are gathered, roasted, and ground as a farinaceous

food. Gatschet adds that these are beaten from the plants with paddles early in autumn and pounded in a mortar. 251 Those of *Polygonum* are gathered, the hulls rubbed off by hand, and the seeds parched and often ground. Gatschet says the seeds are beaten off into baskets at the end of the summer. This meal is either eaten dry or mixed with water and boiled, a process which turns the material red. The seeds of a marsh grass, *Panicularia*, are a favorite food. Tarweed seeds are often used and those of *Mentzelia*. The minute seeds of a low grass, *Agrostis*, and those of slew grass are eaten. The seeds of the former at least are beaten from the plants by women in the familiar manner. Other seeds are used less frequently: those of the sugar pine, the common cane, tule (mä'-ĕm lă'-wäls), amaranth, and dock. There are three species of dock used for food, each with a native name. The seeds of *Sisymbrium* are parched, ground on a metate, and eaten as mush. This plant is more plentiful in the Modoc country. The seedlike carpels of *Triglochin* are parched and eaten, sometimes in a decoction.

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[275] Gatschet, 1:76. I was not told of this and am doubtful about it.

[276] Coville, Notes on the Plants Used by the Klamath Indians. See also Gatschet, 1:146–150.

The leaves and stems of *Rumex* are eaten fresh, and the seeds are 262
eaten when ripe. The young shoots of the wild parsnip are used and the aromatic leaves of *Sium* are eaten as a relish.[277] To these I can add that the leaves of koko'dom, a bush used for making flutes (not elder), are eaten green.

Roots constitute an important element of diet. Those most commonly gathered are those of marsh plants or of plants that grow in the open prairies: the roots of the water lily, tule, cat-tail, ipos, camas, arrowhead, etc.

Wild potatoes or arrowhead, a small sweet tuber, are plentiful 222
about the mouth of Williamson river, for example, and are procured by the canoe load. Coville observes that the plant (tcuwa') is so common on Chewaucan marsh (between Summer and Abert lakes) as to give its name to the locality. Frémont saw there that "large patches of ground had been torn up by the squaws in digging for roots, as if a farmer had been preparing the land for grain." Gatschet's information was that the plant was scarce in the neighborhood of the agency.[278] They are roasted in the ashes and eaten. When the [252]
intention is to store them, they are pit-roasted and set away in large tule sacks. For winter use these roasted roots are boiled long in water. [251]

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[277] The last is confirmed by my own information.

[278] Coville, Notes, 90; Gatschet, 1:149.

222 Camas is abundant; it is sometimes eaten raw at the time it is
262 gathered, but is usually baked and stored.[279] Coville states that it is
251 gathered about April 1. It will keep indefinitely.

Ipos is one of the earliest spring plants gathered for food, according to Coville, "the roots being dug about the 1st of May, at which time the contents are soft and milky. The root is commonly dried and eaten raw." A closely related tuber (the yampa of the Utes) is an equally common article of food.[280] A tuber called yanteh (*Calochortus?*) is eaten, which resembles camas and is described by Gatschet as cylindrical and in size as large as the thumb.[281] While the onion-like roots of *Peucedanum* are a staple of the Modoc, they are occasionally used by the Klamath. The roots are strung on cords or kept in sacks. The mealy interior is soft enough to be eaten when dry or they may be mashed and boiled.

Young tules are pulled up from canoes, the lower white portion being retained. These are palatable only when fresh.[282] The tuberous base, called khä-äls', of a sedge is eaten. The short rootstocks of the cat-tail are eaten late in the season, when full of stored food, under the name ktöks. Similarly the young rootstocks of the common burreed late in summer develop at their ends tubers which have a sweetish taste and are used for food. The bulbous expansion at the base of the stem, similar in its qualities, is likewise eaten, and is called klop'-ä.

Undoubtedly other roots are used, the only poisonous one accord-
[114] ing to the Indian's account being the wild parsnip. Coville lists at
least another, "poison camas," scä'-ō or scou (*Zygadenus venosus* Wats).[283]

The nutlets of k!ol (*Valeriana*) are pit-roasted. Coville gives the following account of the procedure: "In cooking, a hole perhaps a meter or more (about 3 or 4 feet) in diameter and half as deep is dug in the ground and lined with stones. A fire is then built in the hole, and after burning for a sufficient time is cleared out. Fresh grass is next laid over the hot stones, then k-ōl', then more grass, and the whole covered with earth. The mass is then allowed to cook and steam the rest of the day and over night, when the pit is opened and the cooked roots are ready for eating." Gatschet adds that they are

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[279] Gatschet, *op. cit.*, 76.
[280] Coville, Notes, 101.
[281] Gatschet, 1:146; Coville, Notes, 93.
[282] Gatschet, 1:148.
[283] Notes, 93.

then pounded.[384] "The odor of the root is very disagreeable to white 222
people, to such a degree, indeed, that the use of the plant about the 262
agency was formerly forbidden."[385] Because of its odor, it is placed 251
in storage pits to keep animals away.

Acorns are absent from the Klamath diet. The oak grows only 222
about Klamath falls—but the nuts are not used. The nuts of the
so-called chinquapin bush, growing in the higher mountains, are
sometimes gathered. The hazelnut, which grows along the Klamath
river north to Pelican bay, is occasionally used for food.

The principal fruit foods are huckleberries, service berries, choke-
cherries, currants, and wild plums. Huckleberries are gathered in
enormous quantities, especially at Huckleberry mountain, southwest
of Crater lake, where the Klamath congregate in the third week in
August. These are sometimes boiled so that the liquor may be drunk. [272]
Besides the common huckleberry, a low variety of the mountain slopes
is eaten fresh or dry. Service berries grow everywhere. The fruit
is gathered in large quantities in August, spread out on mats to dry, 222
and kept for winter use, a practice followed with all other berries 262
where practicable. The fruit of the chokecherry is gathered in large
quantities in September and dried. Yellow-flowered currant and com- 251
mon currant berries are frequently gathered. The gooseberry and the
raspberry, which grow at Modoc point, are eaten fresh or dried.
Blackberries, the green berries of manzanita, and elder-berries are
articles of food. The berries of a bush honeysuckle or "cranberry"
are always eaten fresh, but never to any extent. No attempt is made
to dry strawberries, which are not abundant. Wild plums are abund-
ant about the eastern shore of Klamath lake from Modoc point south-
ward and in the vicinity of Summer lake. These are eaten fresh or
dried, sometimes after being pitted. Wild rose haws, which ripen in
September, are dried and pounded to grind the seeds.

Bearded moss (k!al), which hangs from the boughs, is pit-roasted; the product is bo'ka. Coville states that "black moss," a lichen, probably the same, is a famine food.[386]

Pine gum is also eaten. In the spring, usually in May, a broad 222
strip of the bark of a young yellow pine is removed, and the sweet 262
mucilaginous layer of newly formed tissue (stop'-älch) between the
bark and the sap wood is scraped off and eaten. This is a frequent

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[384] 1:147.

[385] Coville, Notes, 105.

[386] Notes, 87.

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262 practice. Gatschet notes the use of bone implements to peal off the bark.[287] In April the cambium layer of the lodgepole pine is similarly scraped off and eaten.

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824 A few additional food plants are mentioned by Gatschet, which seem not to be included in Coville's extensive list. Klápa is evidently a cylindric root; klû, a rounded root growing in the Modoc country. A large bulb of a low plant (tsuni'ka) is eaten. Wátksăm is presumably a root. Páwash is a plant said to resemble k!ol (*Valeriana*), hence it may be that the nutlets are used. It grows chiefly at Yainax. They are baked, pounded, and dried. Kĕla'tch is a small blue berry, gathered after the wokas season; it is dried and boiled. Another is wáshlalam íwam, squirrel's huckleberries. The white buds of ktû'ks, growing on a straight stalk, are eaten, as well as those of wi'wi, a similar plant. No description is given of the edible portions of other plants: kû'ktû, kăs, ta'ksish, tók, tsi'kal (*Phragmites ?*), and tsuák.[288]

The native and scientific names of these plants follow, mainly as given in Coville's paper. These are listed in the order of mention above.

Seeds

222
824
Goosefoot, ḳotca'niks, *Chenopodium fremonti* Wats.
Rye-grass, glă'bi, *Elymus condensatus* Presl.
Lbă, *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt. and *B. deltoidea* Nutt.
Kăp'-i-önks, *Polygonum douglasii* Greene.
Marsh grass, kăm'-chö-dă"-lis, *Panicularia fluitans* (L.) Kuntze.
Tarweed, gö'-ĕ-whă, *Madia glomerate* Hook.
Lö'-lăs, *Mentzelia albicaulis* Dougl.
A low grass, nö'-tăk, *Agrostis perennans* (Walt.) Tuckerm.
Slew grass, chăp'-tö, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) Host.
Sugar pine, ktă'-lö, *Pinus lambertiana* Dougl.
Common cane, *Phragmites phragmites* (L.) Karst.
Tule, mă'-i, *Scirpus lacustris occidentalis* Wats.
A small amaranth, *Amarantus blitoides* Wats.
Dock, gö'-klaks, *Rumex salicifolius* Weinm.
Western tansy mustard, te!i'pas, *Sisymbrium incisum* Engelm.
A rush-like perennial, gil-lĕn'-ă, *Triglochin maritima* L.

Herbage

Ken-ă'-wăt, *Rumex geyeri* (Meisn.) Trelease.
Wild parsnip, pöd'-chö, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.
Wă'-kăm, *Sium cicutaefolium* Gmel.
Mint, măch-ăs'-săm, *Mentha canadensis* L.

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[287] Gatschet, 1:148. See also Barrett, Material Culture, pl. 22, fig. 5.

[288] Gatschet, 1:146–150, 75.

Roots

222
824

Wild potatoes or arrowhead, tcuwa', *Sagittaria arifolia* Nutt.
Camas, pö'ks, *Quamasia quamash* (Pursh) Coville.
Ipos, *Carum oregonum* Wats.
''Yampa,'' ndälk, *Carum gairdneri* (Hook. and Arn.) Gray.
Yantch, *Calochortus macrocarpus* Dougl (?).
An onion-like root, *Peucedanum canbyi.*
A tall sedge, wich'-pi, *Carex* sp.
Cat-tail, pö'päs, *Typha latifolia* L.
Bur-reed, pöd'chäk, *Sparganium eurycarpum* Engelm.

Nuts and Fruits

Klol, *Valeriana edulus* Nutt.
Chinquapin bush, *Castanopsis chrysophylla minor* (Hook.) A.DC.
Hazelnut, *Corylus californica* (DC.) Rose.
Huckleberry, iurum, *Vaccinium membranaceum* Dougl.
Low huckleberry, *Vaccinium scoparium* Leiberg.
Service berry, chäk'-äm (tclai'oŋks), *Amelanchier alnifolia* Pursh.
Chokecherry, de-wich'-käsh, *Prunus demissa* (Nutt.) Walp.
Yellow-flowered currant, chôms'-käm, *Ribes aureum* Pursh.
Common currant, chmâr'-läk, *Ribes cereum* Dougl.
Gooseberry, lhô-lö'-ëlö-ê-säm, *Ribes oxyacanthoides saxosum* (Hook.) Coville.
Raspberry, mäs'-lä, *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.
Blackberry, tö-tänk'-säm, *Rubus vitifolius* Cham. and Schlect.
Manzanita, shle-shläp-shäm, *Arctostaphylos patula* Greene.
Elder, elö'-lö-säm, *Sambucus glauca* Nutt.
Bush honeysuckle or ''cranberry,'' ö'-täm, *Lonicera conjugialis* Kell.
Strawberry, jö'-i-jiks, *Fragaria virginiana* Duschene.
Wild plums, to-mö-lö, *Prunus subcordata* Benth.
Wild rose, tewi'dl, *Rosa fendleri* Crepin.

Lichens

Black moss, *Alectoria fremontii* Tuckerm.

Gum

Young yellow pine, käp'-kä, *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.
Lodgepole pine, wä'-kö, *Pinus murrayana* Balf.

Food is stored in the ground. The only exception is fish placed to dry on scaffolds. The food is put into long tule sacks which are placed at the outer margin of the earth-lodge between the timbers, where they are buried in the earth covering of the roof. Large communal storage pits (pᴇnö'ŋks) are dug near the houses. Some of the Williamson river sites are surrounded by wide expanses of such pits. These are about fifteen feet in diameter, about three feet deep. A group of neighbors combine to dig and use such a pit. Tule mats are heaped over the sacks before the dirt covering. Caves are occa- 251

251 sionally used, the entrance blocked with stones. In all these cases, [824] an evil-smelling plant, called ḳ!ol (*Valeriana edulis* Nutt.) is buried with food in order to keep animals from digging it up. Grizzly bears are particularly destructive of caches, but even they avoid this plant. Gatschet's information was that they would even flee from one who carried the plant about him.[289] Human thieves are also known to ransack these hoards. A family commonly buries its extra stores in this fashion when temporarily away from home. Such storage is called p'nana.

222 224 The first fruits of a young hunter or root gatherer are looked upon as something altogether special. They must be abandoned if future success is to be assured. While I received conflicting versions of the young deerslayer's procedure, they agree that he cannot eat his kill. One informant had it that the first deer is abandoned by the hunter and never eaten. If he has companions, he does not even show it to them and must present the second one slain to one of them. Another informant agreed that he cannot partake of the flesh of the first deer, but his parents make a feast of it, giving away articles in honor of the occasion. Similarly a young woman destroys by burning the first roots she gathers alone, and does not exhibit her success to anyone. The second basketful is distributed among her companions, and only after this may she keep what she gathers. Analogously a man leaves the first fish or game he takes after the loss of a close relative, and a gambler gives away his first gains after reacquiring power following the death of a relative. The practice of abandoning such fruits is called săpu'tsa. Unlike the comparable case of the novice deer hunter, no celebration is held for a little girl who gathers roots under her elders' tutelage.

264 Meals are not eaten at regular intervals, I was told, but that they eat all day long "like horses." Of this I am doubtful: what may have been implied was that food was available at any time during the day. I was also told that a meal was eaten in the morning and again in the evening. Travelers at least made no regular stops for meals and if necessary cooked in their canoes over little fires built on protecting layers of dirt.

A sort of grace is said before eating. Morsels of food are cast all about, to the land, the mountains, the old house pits, cremation piles, stones that are transformed people, etc., so as to feed them before one feeds himself. They say bŭ'pwi'amᴇni gĕnige'lᴇ gĕnidelo'telpkᴇ, to

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[289] Gatschet, 1:147.

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throw to the ground and the stones. I am not sure that this formula is a prayer. If they neglect this grace, the ground (ġe'lᴇ) will harm the little children.[390]

It is customary to take a mouthful of water to wash out the mouth before eating. [515]

CANOES

501

The Klamath canoe is a clumsy-looking, trough-like affair, with blunt ends, heavy and long. But I have seen an old woman guide a fully laden twenty-foot canoe upstream through a log jam in a manner to awaken considerable respect for their riding qualities. They look unwieldy, but with the load and paddler set well aft so that the prow rides out of the water they can be spun about on the stern as a pivot and driven through the still waters of much of Klamath territory with considerable ease.[391]

The shape of the canoe (wüntc) is exactly that of the peeled log, hollowed to a thin shell, and the ends beveled upward from the waterline quite sharply. They vary much in length but are remarkably uniform in width, eighteen to twenty-four inches, which is the diameter of the majority of the firs used for canoes in this country. Most of the canoes are made relatively short, ten to twenty feet, to wind about in the narrow crooked channels of the marshes. One canoe measured eighteen feet long, twenty inches in greatest width, and sixteen or eighteen inches from gunwale to keel. Another old example was fifteen feet long, seventeen inches wide, eight inches deep at the waist rising to twelve inches at the ends, which were somewhat pointed, with the under surface of the nose and stern rising at an angle of about thirty-five degrees. Larger canoes for transport on the open lake measure up to thirty-five feet in length, three feet wide, and thigh-deep inside, I was told.

Fir is the most suitable wood, pine makes a canoe that is too heavy to handle, and the cedars in this region are too small for canoes.[392] Besides this, cedar readliy cracks when it is dry, especially in such thin shells as these. One of my informants even said that cedar canoes are too light to handle properly! Fir also checks and cracks but not badly because of its somewhat twisted grain. The worst cracking occurs of course in the cross-grain at the ends of the canoe. Minor cracks are filled with pitch alone. A good fir canoe will last from fifteen to twenty years or more. A canoe that is properly dried before it is put into water will remain white indefinitely, but a green canoe soon blackens.

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[390] For further notes on utensils and the etiquette of meals, see below.

[391] For illustrations, see Barrett, Material Culture, pl. 10; Coville, Wokas, pls. 3, 4, 5.

[392] My informants probably meant by "fir" the yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.) and by "pine" the sugar pine (*Pinus lambertiana* Dougl.). Coville does not list fir in this region (cf. Notes, especially p. 89). [114]

Fire is the active agent in hollowing the dugout. It takes about a week to complete a fair-sized canoe by this method. The fire is started in a long notch cut along the upper face of the log. Stones are placed at each end to confine the flame. The ends are cut off on a flat bevel at an upward angle of thirty to forty degrees with its axis. Barrett states that the angle at the prow is considerably more acute than that at the stern.[293] The gunwales are quite parallel for nearly the full length of the canoe and less than its full width, so that the sides curve inward at the top, giving a crescentic cross-section to the craft. The fire is allowed to cut the gunwales slightly wider and lower at the center so that the canoe curves upward a little at each end. And depending on how far the gunwales are cut down into the log at the ends, these are either squared across or, as is more usual, somewhat rounded. The shell is cut quite thin, a thickness of about half an inch at the gunwale and not much more in the bottom and ends. The exterior is hardly trimmed after the bark is removed, so that the whole canoe is quite cylindrical. Nevertheless the canoe has not much roll and rarely capsizes, especially if well laden, for then the flat underends steady it. The finish is quite rough, especially when compared with canoes of the lower Klamath river and those of the Northwest coast.

There are no thwarts; they are unnecessary to the paddler who sits or kneels in the bottom. But crosspieces (hehŏ'ŋkwɪs) are used to spread the gunwales while the canoe is still green or to keep them from spreading after the wood has dried.[294]

The paddle (kɛts'ek) to be light is made of cedar, four and a half to five feet long. Half its length is blade, widest near the tip which is pointed, tapering to the long thin handle which is without any sort of grip at the upper end.[295] The paddler, who sits near the stern in order to lift the prow, paddles for a time on one side, then on the other. The blade is turned parallel to the canoe at the end of each stroke. The size and shape of the blade are well adapted to his position so low in the water, for the stroke is effective and splashless. At intervals he dips his hands to prevent blistering them on the paddle handle. 501

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[293] Material Culture, 247.

[294] Gatschet has an obscure reference to "ti'llhash as a 'swimming-sucker'-wood on canoe they stick up" (1:150), by which he may have meant a piece of wood carved to represent a swimming fish attached to the canoe.

[295] Kroeber illustrates an excellent example (Handbook, pl. 67*b*).

A punt pole (lækō'k̦) is also used, especially in the shallow marsh. This is eight to ten feet long, with the lower end split and held open by an inserted wooden block. The punt pole is a young lodgepole pine (wä'-kō), stripped of bark, according to Coville.[396]

Sails are not used on canoes.

Anyone may make a canoe. Even a widow may fashion it for herself. One such had seen her father make them many times when she was a girl. Naturally skill varies very much.

Rafts or balsas, formed of large bundles of tules lashed together, were used, according to Barrett,[397] particularly by war parties. These were paddled with the hands.

Alternative methods for winter transportation may be noted here. It is customary to pack on the back through the snow, not to fashion a sled. But something of the sort is used over ice, a bundle of willows, called spi'klōs.

VARIOUS MANUFACTURES AND TOOLS

Woodworking is undeveloped among the Klamath, whereas it might have been expected that the expertness of the Yurok or the Wishram would have made itself felt here. The only noteworthy uses of wood are for dug-out canoes, rough planks for the earth-lodge roof, and carved figures set up by shamans. The planks are only rough segments of hollow trees; the canoes are without fineness of line and crude in craftsmanship. Northwest Coast social organization rather than craftsmanship has left its mark on the Klamath and their neighbors. 322 [177]

Fire is more rapid and effective in trimming large masses of wood than the stone and bone tools at their command. Hence it is generally used for felling trees, cutting logs to the desired length, and shaping canoes, but it is customarily used for smaller objects as well, such as pointing a digging-stick. When they wish to fell a tree, a deep notch is cut into it at the base with elk-horn pick and maul. A 313 372

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[396] Notes, 89.

[397] Material Culture, 256.

313 fire built in the notch quickly eats into the dry heart wood but will
372 not spread in the green wood. Sometimes a lazy man will attempt
to cut off the dry top of a standing tree by cutting all around with
the horn pick. This is attended with considerable danger, since the
top may drop straight down on the workman perched in the branches.

412 Stone axes and adzes are unknown, although Barrett speaks of
114 adzing the canoe.[298] In their place, every man had several elk-horn
picks (to'kĕ) and hardwood mauls. The picks are the unworked tines
412 of elk antlers, not made wedge shape. These are cut off by laying a
fire at the appropriate spot on the antler. Yew wedges are not
321 known. The maul is only a knotty club of oak or mountain mahogany;
[372] a knot with the limb attached. Barrett describes a conical stone maul,
but I was not told of this.[299]

[114] The fire drill is the familiar stick rotated between the palms on a
wooden hearth, so that the flowing wood dust falls on the tinder. The
372 wood selected for the drill (slī'kwīs) is preferably the dry tip (ha'bᴇ)
of the bull pine; alternatively a willow or sage-brush branch is used.
[114] It is two feet long, a half inch diameter. Coville was told that "for
a twirling stick a dry, dead twig of yellow pine, about 6 mm. (one-fourth inch) in diameter, seasoned and somewhat softened by the weather, is often employed; but the best stick is made of sage-brush, *Artemisia tridentata*."[300] The hearth (k'ts!īk) is of indifferent wood, commonly a paddle blade, but the best wood[301] for the purpose is cedar (wo'lwŭms). The size and shape of the hearth is not standardized, and curiously it lacks pits for the drill to rotate in[302] and notches to carry the wood dust to the tinder. The tinder is black sage-brush bark. Although one of my informants denied the use of the compound drill it was described by another and a specimen is figured by Hough.[303] Such a drill has a willow-root point, three inches long, spliced to a shaft of any sort. While this suggests the possible use of a cane arrow and foreshaft as a makeshift drill, I was told this was not used. Men carry the drill in the quiver, women in the cradle. They coax the drill while twirling it, "I want to kill all kinds of animals, to put them in the fire to cook, when I get flame."[304]

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[298] P. 247.

[299] P. 252.

[300] Notes, 88, 105.

[301] Confirmed by Coville, who states that the bark is not used for this purpose.

[302] Barrett says otherwise (*op. cit.*, 257).

[303] Fire Making Apparatus, 536, 538.

[304] For the method of laying a fire, see below.

A bit of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire about the village but 372
for an overnight journey a woman carries a spark in a long fuse. This is of black sage-brush bark, twisted into a rope thirty inches long and bound about at intervals.[305]

Knives are fashioned from stone blades or shells. These river 412
shells (ĕndj!ĕ'tc) are not ground to an edge but used as they are. 321
Forms ranging in size from arrowheads to large lance blades are 324
chipped from obsidian, flint, and similar stones. So far as I am aware these åre never ground into shape. Those intended for knives are sometimes wrapped around the butt to provide a handle.[306] Stone knives are intended for butchering rather than woodworking. Blades never figured in the display of wealth, as among the Yurok. Barrett figures a bone knife used for separating the inner and outer bark of pine.[307]

Sewing is done with awl and sinew. The awl (sŏ'ḳtᴇ) is a frag- 412
ment of the fore-leg tibia of a deer. Although the upper end of a tibia is nicely rounded to fit the hand, and is accordingly used elsewhere, the Klamath make no use of it. Instead a splinter sharpened at each end is inserted in a wooden handle. Old men carry these at the chest tied on a buckskin thong. The sinew used is that which lies along a deer's backbone. (Sinew is called ᴇmboi'itc; this particular
sinew bi'lhŏp.) Skin garments for either sex are sewn by women. 294
Women also make moccasins whether of skin or tule. 462

The smoking process is used when tanning. The skin is stretched
over a tipi-like frame of little willows set over a hole as deep as one's 281
forearm. The fire is made of rotten wood. Coville states that "the bark [of the white fir (bă, *Abies concolor* (Gord.) Lindl.)] is sometimes used to dye and tan buckskin, giving it somewhat the appearance of ordinary tan-colored leather."[308]

Neither bags of skin (k!o'wanᴇ) nor parfleches are made by the 415
Klamath. These are brought from the Dalles, I was told, and prob- 439
ably from Warm Springs, for cĕptŏk, parfleche, is clearly a loan word from Sahaptin (cf. Yakima căta'kai).

Mats are of four kinds, each designated by a name. Sewn mats 285
(st!ŏps) are used solely as the outer covering of mat-lodges; when

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[305] Illustrated by Barrett, pl. 22, fig. 1.

[306] Pitch was not used to fasten these. One type of knife, at least, found as far apart as Mexico and the Arctic, and consisting of stone fragments set into the sides of the handle, is unknown here.

[307] Pl. 22, fig. 5; cf. Gatschet, 1:148.

[308] Notes, 88.

285 the tules are placed vertically the mat sheds water admirably. These are made of tules (*Scirpus lacustris occidentalis* Wats.) placed side by side, through which cords of swamp grass are sewn at intervals. These are sometimes as much as four and a half feet wide, i.e., as long as the tules, and fifteen or more feet in length. The needle (st!ōpo'tka) is of hard wood or willow, seven or eight inches long, and provided with an eye. No wooden creaser is used as on the Northwest Coast, but the fingers are run along each side of the needle while it is still in place, so as to leave a crease when it is withdrawn.

Two other varieties of mats are twined. That in most common use is called slai'is, the best-made mat short of those with decorative effects. These serve primarily for bedding, and are made solely of flattened or split tules. The tule warps are twined at intervals of about three inches with fine nettle or flax[309] cords. A border or supplementary warp is placed on two edges, lying parallel to the tule warps. This is either a two-ply twisted rope of tules or a three-ply braid. It is caught in the twining cords, which form a continuous strand, i.e., on reaching the edge of the mat the cords are carried outside the mat to the next point where twining is to commence and there twined across the warps in the opposite direction. Warps are commonly twisted together where they are free of the mat.

285 A coarse mat (ste'holōs) is used to shingle the earth-lodge under its covering of dirt. This is usually made of bundles of swamp grass (bā'ēni, *Carex* sp.) twined at intervals of three to four inches with the same material, or with Rocky Mountain flax (*Linum lewisii*), according to Coville.[310] Tules, cat-tails, rushes(tsin-ā'-ō, *Juncus balticus* Willd.),[311] etc., are used for warp and weft. In order to hold such swamp grass warps in place before they are twined, one end of each is caught in a twined border weft, the short end of the warp is turned back into the twining and trimmed off. This twining weft is then carried continuously through the fabric as described above. Tule mats made in this fashion can of course be twined without the border weft. These coarse mats also have the extra marginal warps on two sides.[312]

A decorative mat called sōlūmtai'is, used for bedding, is infrequently made. This is a checkerboard weave; the warps are alternately tule and a small cat-tail (watcŏ'k), the wefts are cords 285 made of the rolled outer layer of the tule (called ḳ!o'sgi). These wefts are placed in pairs in simple tabby weave at intervals of one to three inches; they are not twined. The wefts are so thin and so tightly drawn that they barely show in the finished mat, but they produce a checkerboard effect (sŏlŭmtai') which gives this variety of mat its name. Possibly there is a fourth variety called ak!a'lŏks, an open twined mat, but of this I am not certain. All these mats are provided with a border of twisted strands of the same material caught in the weft cords. M

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[309] Coville, Notes, 99.

[310] Coville, Notes, 92.

[311] Coville, *loc. cit.*

[312] Mats illustrated by Barrett (Material Culture) are of the stlōps variety (pl. 24), slai'is (pl. 23), and ste'holōs (pl. 25).

Blankets woven of strips of rabbit skin are made by Modoc, not 281 by Klamath.

Coville states that "a long time ago the bark [of the cottonwood, K kō-osh', *Populus balsamifera* L.], when peeled and split, was used in 114 the manufacture of an Indian cloth."[313] What this fabric can be I 285 do not know, unless bags are meant. 173

Ropes are made of three braided strands. The material is grass or the outer husk of the tule for such rough work as carrying wood. K Strips of hide are sometimes used, but little elk hide is available for 283 pack ropes. Finer cords, such as those for fish lines and nets, are made of nettle (slets) bark fibers, of which there are three or four varieties (or perhaps phases). Other plant fibers, such as the Rocky Mountain flax (kōl'-ä-käms, *Linum lewisii* Pursh.)[314] make stronger cords. Brown and gray nettles are most commonly used because of their strength.[315] Swamp-grass cords are used for sewing mats. Barrett notes that string made of brown milkweed is but little used and that all string is formed of two strands twisted together.[316] The latter point is confirmed by my own observations. Cords are made by placing two strands, or a doubled strand, side by side on the bare thigh; rolling them separately under the palm by a movement up the thigh, and by a quick reverse movement down the thigh, without raising the palm, rolling one around the other. Cord-making is a woman's art. K A rope is called pĕḳ!os and cord gɛnŭ'ḳs; braiding is k!ɛbŏ'k!a and [462] rolling p'tc!Iŋ.

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[313] Notes, 94.

[314] Coville, Notes, 99.

[315] Coville (Notes, 95) lists only one species, "the native species," *Urtica breweri* Wats.

[316] *Op. cit.*, 250. Coville indicates that milkweed (not, *Apocynum cannabinum* L.) does not occur in Klamath territory, but on Lost river where it is used by the Modoc (Notes, 103). K M [137]

412 The root digging stick (a'mda) is made of a very hard wood, mountain mahogany (*Cercocarpus ledifolius*)[317] or service berry, three feet long and an inch and a half in diameter. One end is burned and rubbed on a stone to a point. Since modern examples made of iron are slightly bent at the lower end, it may be presumed that wooden examples were also. A cross-handle of the same wood, nine inches long, is set on the upper end, wedged and tied in place, the joint covered with pitch.

415 Wooden spoons (mitc!o') shaped like little paddles are used. Spoons are also cut from the breast bone of the swan, which is conveniently shaped for the purpose; these are called sh'o-kobh'.[318] Others are river shells, which are not provided with handles. But mushes are frequently scooped up by the handful.[319]

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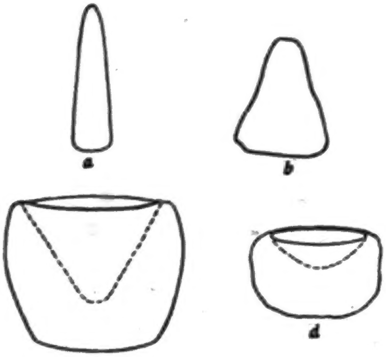

Fig. 11. Pestles and mortars. *a, c, d,* Klamath; *b,* Upland Takelma. Length of *a,* 9 inches.

415

Buckets or receptacles of the bark of lodgepole pine (*Pinus murrayana* Balf.) are mentioned by Coville. "Sections of bark from trunks of the proper size are often used to make buckets for gathering berries, particularly huckleberries. The cylinder of bark is sewed together on the slitted side and at one end, the bottom therefore being wedge-shaped. Huckleberries when placed in such receptacles and

properly covered with large leaves retain their freshness for a long time."[330] 415

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[317] Coville, Notes, 93, 98.

[318] Coville, Wokas, 733.

[237]

[319] In this connection we may note that turtle shells, which would have provided excellent utensils, are not used. Nor are they used for rattles. Turtles (mgŏ'k) are found only in the southern part of Klamath territory, on the western shore of Klamath lake from Modoc point to the falls.

Both metates and mortars are used for grinding seeds, mashing roots, and similar operations. The metate or grinding slab is however the favored utensil. The metate is a flat slab containing a little depression. The muller in use with it is unique in that it is commonly provided with two horns or knobs to serve as handholds and which project away from the user. This form is however not invariable, for any shape is used so long as it provides a flat grinding face and a narrower upper part that can be grasped with both hands. For light work, a hemispherical or conical stone is used. Barrett describes the grinding process: "the muller is held so that the horns or ears point from the operator and the grinding is done on the stroke of the muller from the operator, the stroke toward the operator being very light indeed."[331] A flat tray basket is tucked under the far end of the metate to catch the meal. 412

The mortar (ga'mŏḳs) is a lava block bearing a depression which deepens with use and whose form is thus largely determined by the manner in which the pestle is used. The exterior is frequently nicely finished. The stone pestle (aḳ!a) is elongate, and on the whole nicely reduced to form by pecking. Several mortars and pestles seen and sketched are shown in figure 11. The more nicely finished mortar (fig. 11*c*) has seen use over three generations. Figure 11*b* is a lava pestle obtained from Upland Takelma territory; its form is not that of Klamath pestles.[332]

BASKETRY

While no special study of Klamath basketry was undertaken, Barrett's notes on the subject can be amplified.[333] As with the Californian tribes, basketry provided most of the domestic utensils. Klamath forms are few, the technique simple, and decoration used but moderately. The vast majority of the baskets are of twine weave: there is but one type, the water basket, made by coiling. 285

The types recognized and named by the Klamath are the following:[334] hats (k!ᴇmŭ', women's; k!ane'o, men's), burden baskets (ya''gi

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[330] Notes.

[331] Material Culture, 252, pls. 12, 21.

[332] I venture that the stone maul figured by Barrett (*op. cit.*, pl. 21, fig. 8) is such a Takelma pestle set to a new use, for I was told of wooden, not stone, mauls.

[333] Material Culture, 253–257.

[334] See also Coville, Wokas, 738.

285 and sķötgüls), boiling baskets (ķa'la), small twined bowls (mŏ'ķas), parching or gambling trays (p'a'' la), triangular fans used with the parching trays (wiliu'ks), seed beaters (wĕķs, small; ti'a, larger, also used as a sifter), triangular plates (sa'plüs), storage bags (wa''klo and t'a'yis), storage baskets (tlŭķs), boat-shaped baskets used in harvesting pond-lily seed,[228] cradles for newborn infants and sifting baskets (both called ķwăls), water baskets (name unknown), and flat bowls (ķ!we'lu) traded from the Pit river peoples but not made by Klamath. The basket hopper attached to a mortar is used by Modoc, not by Klamath.

285 Despite the large number of named types, the actual number of technically different forms is small. Close twine or open twine, flexible or rigid, essentially the same technical features are used throughout. The methods of beginning the fabric, the kind of twining, addition of warps, and finishing the rim are practically identical in all. Minor variations give Klamath basketry a specious appearance of technical diversity.

There are really only four or five types of basket from a structural standpoint. Twined bowls, hats, gambling or sifting trays, and circular baskets, all in close twine weave; burden baskets of all forms and storage baskets, in open twine, are simply variations of one structural procedure. The second type, comprising seed beaters, ladles, and winnowing baskets, are open twine construction based on rigid warps bent into a loop. Triangular fans and trays, two-handled baskets, canoe-shaped receptacles, fish traps, and cradles, all of open twine, constitute a class differing but little from the last. The fourth group is the twined flat bag. Each of these groups merges structurally into the others, largely as variations in form demand. But the fifth type, the water basket, is built on an entirely different principle, namely, coiling.

Practically all baskets are made by plain twining, that is, of two weft elements crossing one warp at a time. Some use is made of diagonal twine, which differs from plain twine only in that the wefts pass over two, three, or four warps at a time. Three-strand twining is also used to add rigidity, as around the base or rim of a basket, and for decorative effect. As most twined wares are made with warps as well as wefts somewhat flexible, the fabric as a whole is not rigid.

The direction of weaving, at least for twined wares, is from left to right on the forward edge of the basket, held mouth up; that is, counterclockwise from the viewpoint of one looking into the basket.

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[228] Mentioned by Barrett, 255.

Bowls, gambling or sifting trays, hats, and all other solid twined wares are manufactured in the same way. The small twined bowls mŏ'k̦aɛ) have warps of two-ply tule cords (*Scirpus lacustris occidentalis*) and cat-tail (po'psam, *Typha latifolia*)[326] cords for wefts. Such cords are rolled on the thigh. The two-ply cords are made by doubling a length of material, rolling the strands side by side down the thigh under the palm, then, without raising the hand, rolling one strand around the other by a quick movement up the thigh.

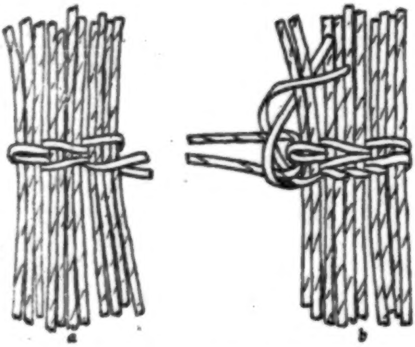

Fig. 12. Mode of commencing twined basket.

The method of beginning weaving is to lay an indeterminate number of warps side by side. A weft is doubled and the free ends twined through these warps, which are divided into convenient bundles for this purpose. Having caught the last of such bundles the weft is twined back across the bundles to the starting point (fig. 12*a*). Again the weft is carried across the warps, but this time in diagonal twine (passing over two single warps at a time). At the completion of this row, the ends of the warp at the margin are brought together so as to be caught in the next twine stitch (fig. 12*b*). At the appropriate point the opposite marginal warp is treated similarly. This has the effect of spreading the warps radially. From this point the weaving continues as regular diagonal twine, crossing the warps in pairs. This is continued for a short space, or quite until the edge of the base is reached, when it gives way to simple twining which is carried up the sides of the basket to the rim. Additional warps, necessary to give a flare to the sides of the basket, are added as needed. One end of the additional warp is simply caught in a twine stitch.

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[326] Merrill, Plants Used in Basketry, 236, 240.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

285 The base of the basket does not always pass into two-warp diagonal twining so early as just stated. The weaving of some baskets, perhaps the majority, proceeds by continuously halving the bundles of warps as successive rounds of twining are placed, until the warps

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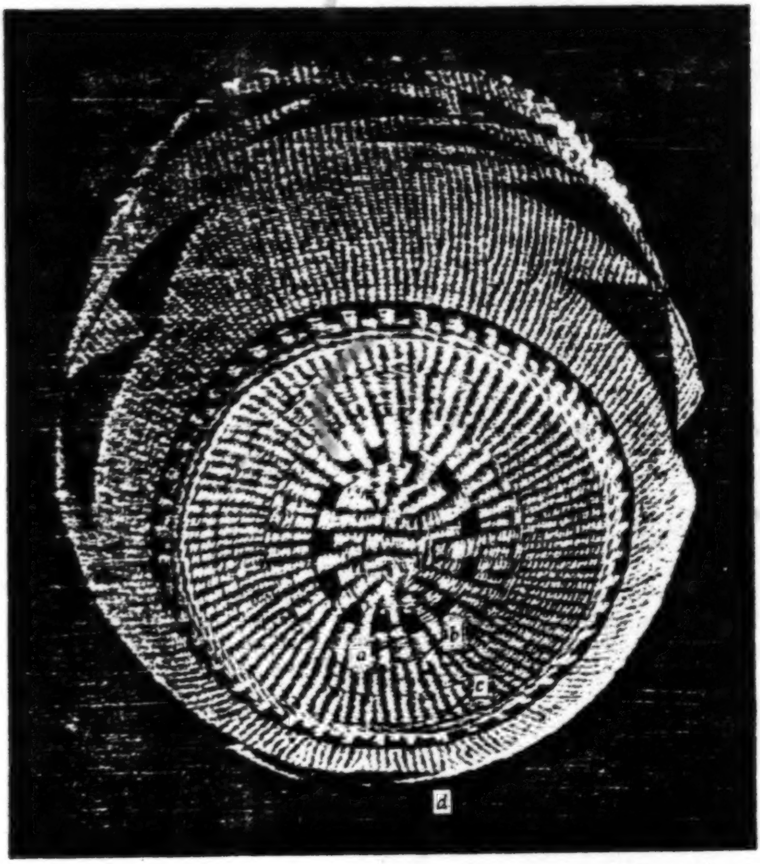

Fig. 13. Base of a twined basket. The points *a*–*d* lie on the same warp (*a*, beginning of diagonal twine crossing four warps; *b*, beginning of two-warp diagonal twine; *c*, begininng of three-strand twine; *d*, first stitch of design). The termination of the basket rim is on the same warp (not shown in the illustration).

285 may be treated singly in simple twine. One example, for instance (fig. 13), having a basal diameter of five inches, has the warps treated as large bundles for two inches, in fours with a diagonal stitch crossing four warps for a half inch, in pairs with two-warp diagonal stitch to beyond the edge of the base, thence simple twine for the remainder of the sides.

At the juncture of base and side a ridge is produced by substituting three-strand twining for simple twine for two or more rounds. This is not only decorative but adds materially to the rigidity of these otherwise flexible baskets. Three-strand twining consists in the use of three wefts, each of which passes back of a warp and crosses the face of the two adjoining. The three wefts are so inserted that each in turn passes back of successive warps.[237] On the face of the basket the effect is that of a raised diagonal twine crossing two warps; on the interior, of simple twining. Similar bands of three-strand twine may be introduced on the sides or near the rim for decorative effect and strength. Mason figures two Klamath baskets woven entirely in three-strand twine.[238]

Designs are introduced in contrasting color. This is done either by substituting two colored wefts for the neutral colored (white to buff) cat-tail strands over the design area, or using the peculiar twine stitch described below. Both methods may appear on the same basket, even in the same area of decoration, without affecting the surface appearance in any way. In placing the decoration only the stitches of the designs are counted, not those of the background space between them. Care is thus taken to have each design symmetrical on itself; the spacing between them is merely estimated. The common material used for designs is tule root (called mai'omlö̆ķ, the tule's hair), reddish brown in color.

To finish the edge a round of diagonal twine crossing warps in pairs is woven; the ends of the warps are caught in this in the following way. Alternate warps are left standing, ultimately to be trimmed off close under the rim. The other warps are each carried to the right and forward over the edge of the rim where they are caught under the next succeeding twine stitch. As they pass forward they are twisted around the succeeding warp but one, passing back into the interior of the basket. The ends of these are then trimmed short. (Thus in my diagrammatic sketch, figure 14, warps 2, 4, 6, etc., are ultimately cut short. Warp 1 is brought forward, passed around warp 3, and carried back into the web between warps 3 and 4, being caught under the twine stitch marked A. For the sake of simplicity, the warps are shown as single strands; they are however each comprised of two strands twisted together.) This imparts stiffening to the rim.[239]

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[237] For a further explanation of this and other stitches, see O. T. Mason, Aboriginal American Basketry, 239 *passim*.

[238] *Op. cit.*, 462, pl. 174.

[239] This is somewhat in the manner of the turned-down warp edging described by O. T. Mason, *op. cit.*, 270.

285 Merrill notes that the rims of fine cooking bowls and coarse burden baskets are bound with gray nettle-bark string (*Urtica breweri*).[330]

One peculiar and almost invariable feature of Klamath baskets is that all changes in rounds of stitch begin and end at the same warp. That is, at one particular warp occurs the point of change from diagonal to simple twine on the base, of beginning the first stitch of the design figures on the sides, of beginning and ending any bands of design on the sides, and the end of the rim finish (fig. 13). Where there are a series of independent figures on the sides, only the first stitch of one figure begins at this warp. I was told of no esoteric reason for this; it seems merely a technical habit.

This trait is usual, for example, in the large collection of Klamath baskets in the Field Museum of Natural History, but it is not invariable. On a typical tray basket, bearing a series of concentric bands, those nearest the center begin at the same radial warp, but nearer the margin they begin only in the same general sector of the surface. This trait also appears in certain rosettes of beadwork used as dress or blanket ornaments.

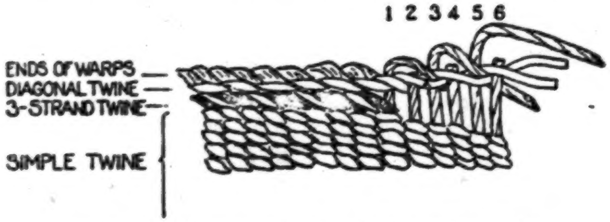

Fig. 14. Method of finishing the edge of a twined basket.

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291 Hats are made in this manner but differ in their appearance because of the different materials used. The shape of the woman's hat (k!ɛmū) is subconical, its sides lacking curvature, and rounding rather abruptly into a flattened top.[331] The man's hat (k!ane'o) is similar, but has a brim. This, I was told, existed prior to contact with whites. Hats have warps of twisted tule strands. Twining commences however with wefts of finely rolled nettle cords.[332] The sides of the hat are made in simple twine technique with a strip of cane (*Phragmites phragmites* (L.) Karst.)[333] and a tule (? or cat-tail)

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[330] Merrill, 222.

[331] Illustrated by Barrett, Material Culture, pl. 18. Modoc hats of similar shape are shown by O. T. Mason, *op. cit.*, pl. 107.

[332] Probably flax cords as well (Coville, Notes, 90).

[333] Coville, Notes, 91.

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strand as wefts.[234] Designs, at least, are formed with wefts of cane (t'k!öp) and dyed tule (mo'ḳwas). Only the outer layer of the cane is used; this is yellowish-white. This strip is flat, and being stiff, cannot be twisted; the tule weft being fully flexible, wraps around both warp and cane weft. The effect is unique; at alternate warps the cane weft appears passing horizontally, at the others the tule weft makes a wrapped stitch over warp and cane weft (fig. 15). Due to the technique the tule weft lies flat like a ribbon. Women's hats bear designs. Men's hats have none, but when the hat is completed the part covered by nettle weft (the central portion of the top) is painted. The brim of a man's hat is entirely woven with wefts of dyed tule (and cane?).

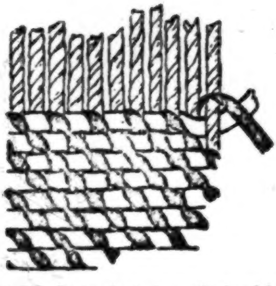

Fig. 15. Modified simple twine stitch of basket hats.

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The several structural parts of such twined baskets are named. The area of weaving at the center of the base, with which the basket is begun, is called dᴢle'lŭḳs; the base of the basket, tse'lalwIs; the rounding margin of the base as it merges into the side, sto'li; and the turned-back warps of the rim, wo'lgŏtk. Twining in general is lĕtca'; specifically this is simple twine. A twine stitch over two warps is la'pwiŏmnŏtk (lap, two); over three, skí'tgaltantk; over four, wuni'-băntka lĕtc!a (wuni'p, four). It is possible that skí'tgaltantk means three-strand twining rather than three-warp diagonal twine. There is no name for open twine construction, so far as I know. It may be called gIga'ŋka, many holes (from gí'nḳa, hole). Cat-tail cord for wefting is solŏ'tcpas; such cord is wrapped around the hand to make a roll for storage. Warps (of the tule only?) are called twăch.[235]

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[234] Coville (Notes, 94) states that in *former* times the bark of the aspen (vö'-läl, *Populus tremuloides* Michx.) was used to make hats.

[235] Coville (Notes, 92) also notes the use of the rush (tsin-ä-ö, *Juncus balticus* Willd.) in the weaving of light baskets.

[114]
[174]

285 The flat flexible tray (p'a'"la) differs from the twine bowl only in that it is made quite flat. This is used indiscriminately as a basket under which to hide the gaming sticks, or as a parching or winnowing tray. Those which are decorated are used in gambling; as they grow shabby they are put to other purposes. Barrett observes that the gambling tray is made of white material, the others of brown.[336] This is doubtless true, but the Klamath do not look on these as baskets of different type.

Specimens in the Field Museum collections have the crossed warps at the center twined with nettle (?) cord wefts. The edge finish is identical with that of twined bowls and hats; in other words, this is the general edge finish.

Carrying baskets (ya''gi and sķögüls) are made of rigid materials in open twine, with the warps at wide intervals. Possibly the name sķötgüls indicates conical forms; certainly the somewhat globular type is ya"gi. One globose basket stands sixteen inches high, its flat base is twelve inches in diameter, its well-rounded sides curving inward to a mouth two feet in diameter. The general construction of this basket is similar to the flexible twined bowls described above; the difference lies in its rigid warps and wefts and in its open construction. [824] Both warp and weft are peeled willow twigs (yă'-yăk, *Salix* sp.);[337] *on the sides of the basket the warps are comprised of two or* three willows placed together; the wefts are always single rods. The base is begun by crossing three warps at right angles with four others. These are caught in a plain twine stitch for several rounds, changing to diagonal twine crossing two warps at a time for some distance, and completing the base with four-warp diagonal twine. The base is thus fairly solid compared to the sides. New warps are inserted in the base as needed; near the edge of the base extra warps are added so that all warps on the sides of the basket lie in pairs. The edge of the base, like that of the twined bowl, has a round or two of three-strand twine. In this case, this gives considerable rigidity to the base as these willow wefts are quite stiff. On the sides of the basket the warps, each consisting of willows in pairs or threes, are spaced a half inch apart; the weft rounds are three-quarters of an inch apart. The edge of the basket is identical with that of the twined bowl, save that here every warp is turned down and caught in the last row of twining. In this case the turned-down end is not caught in the next stitch beyond this [824] warp but in the second succeeding. To stiffen the rim, a hoop of service berry wood (swītö'ķa) is bound inside the mouth by a wrap-
ping of willow bark.

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[336] *Op. cit.*, 254, pl. 11, figs. 2, 3; O. T. Mason, *op. cit.*, pl. 48.

ping of willow bark. The carrying band of deer hide is carried over the forehead for heavy loads, over the breast for lighter ones.

A conical wicker burden basket of this general type in the Field Museum (no. 61665) has a somewhat different edge finish. This is generically of the same "turn down and catch under" type, but the effect is that of a raised welt of diagonal twine both inside and outside of the rim. From the top, the edge has a braided appearance. (I was not able to analyze the stitch because of the stiffness of the material.) This also appears on bowls made in the same fashion of willow sticks (e.g., no. 61666).

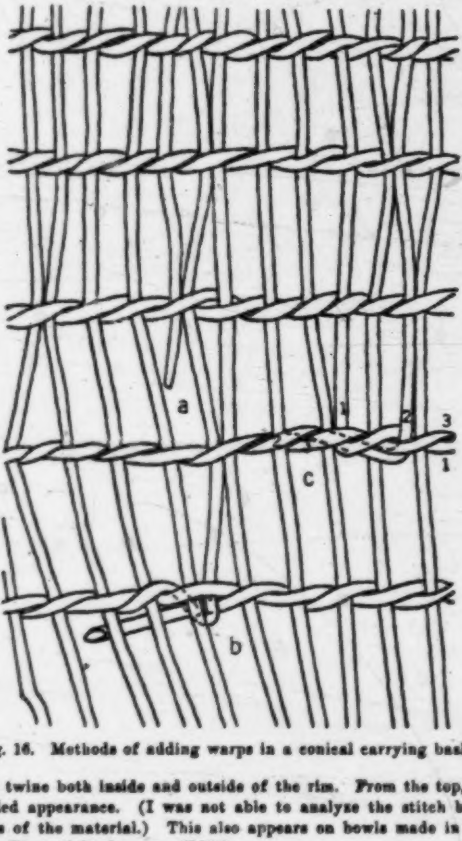

Fig. 16. Methods of adding warps in a conical carrying basket.

In the conical forms the base and sides are not separated, hence there is no necessity for the three-strand twining near the bottom.

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[337] Coville, Notes, 94.

285 The specimen figured by Barrett, however, shows three-strand twine at the rim where it serves as stiffening.[238] These baskets have but single willow warps, peeled and unsplit.[239] In one example, new warps are added as usual by inserting the butt end in a twine stitch so that the butt protrudes on the inside (fig. 16*a*). This is however rare in this basket. Ordinarily one end of a weft element is carried up to the rim as an additional warp, a new willow twig replacing it as a weft element, the latter having its butt end caught in the twine stitch (fig. 16*b*). Or the butt end of an additional warp does service as a weft (warp 1 at fig. 16*c*). Mason describes an old conical carrying basket made of rushes.[240]

> It is made of coarse stems of rushes. The warp begins with a few stems brought together to a point at the bottom and as the specimen widens out fresh warp stems are added. These are securely joined together by a continuous coil of weft, which is a three-strand braid. At the beginning these turns of the coil touch one another, but as the work progresses and the basket widens the distance from one row to the next increases until they are nearly an inch apart at the top. The braiding is done from the outside, two of the stems showing always there and only one on the inside, resembling common twined weaving. This is the only specimen in the [National] Museum in which the whole surface is braided. In many twined baskets of the Pomo an inch or so at the bottom is thus woven. The top is finished off in the following manner: Three warp ends are braided together for at least 2 inches, turned down and cut off. The hook-shaped ends are held in place by a row of common twined weaving at the top. Just below this and close to the ends is a row of three-strand braid. Another row of the same kind is made halfway between the upper edge of the solid weaving and the border. A hoop of wood is held in place on the inside by a wrapping of coarse twine. The appearance of three-strand braid in the drawing on the inside of the basket is given by the strands of twined weaving and the ends of the warp bent over. The basket is strengthened on the outside by five vertical rods [bound to it], and the carrying string is in three-strand braid, precisely as in the body and margin of the basket. Height 22 inches, diameter 23 inches.

The vertical rods are bound to the basket.

A number of conical burden baskets in the Field Museum collections have three or four supporting sticks (*e.g.*, no. 58493), of one-half to three-quarters of an inch in diameter. These extend considerably below the apex, where they cross and are bound with a two-strand tule cord. They extend beyond the rim, where they are tied to the rim hoop by tule cords.

All of these have the open space described for an inch or two below the rim. Those made with twisted tule warps have the warps gathered by twos and threes and then braided for this distance; those having coarse untwisted warps have their warps at this point twisted about each other, but not braided.

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[238] Material Culture, pl. 16, no. 2.

[239] Coville (*Notes*, 88) observed a basket apparently of split cedar.

[240] Aboriginal American Basketry, 241, fig. 33.

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Storage baskets (tlūḳs) are used to hold plums and other edibles, or as containers for smaller twined baskets in which small articles are placed. These are made in much the same manner as the globose burden basket previously described. The material for warp and weft is the large tule, and the weave is technically open twine; but the tule elements are so broad that there is little interstitial space. Barrett describes them as "more or less globose or flatly cylindrical rigid baskets . . . . used for general storage purposes."[541] One such I bought is nearly conical. Another I saw is roughly cylindrical but bulges two-thirds of the way to the top. It has a height of fifteen inches, both base and mouth diameters of that dimension, and a maximum diameter of eighteen inches a third of the distance from the rim. This is woven in simple twine throughout; on the sides the twine rounds are about one inch apart. The margin of the base has the familiar three-strand twine round to stiffen the structure. (Some baskets of this type lack this marginal reinforcement.) Additional warps are inserted in the manner described for the conical burden basket above. The border treatment is similar to that described by O. T. Mason for the conical burden basket. Like that, the turned-down warps are caught in a row of simple twine. It differs however in that this basket made in simple twine has its last round in the body of the basket of three-strand twine. Further, the upper ends of the warps are neither braided nor twisted together, but are gathered in pairs (or threes ?); each pair is then crossed with the adjacent pair, and the ends then turned back and caught in the simple twine row as noted. In the basket which I collected each warp consists of two tule strands. Its border finish is similar to that just described in that there is an open space immediately below the rim where each double warp crosses the adjacent double warp. However the ends are treated in the manner of the solid twined baskets; one element of a warp is cut short at the rim, the other turned down to be caught in the second twine stitch succeeding. A bail or handle provided for this basket is braided of three strands of tule.

[222]

The seed beater (wēḳs), the winnowing or sifting basket (ti′a), and the basketry ladle (näp or se′-ot äko′-olks),[542] although identical in method of manufacture, differ in size and function. These are shallow, oval baskets of rough open twine construction. The seed beater is used to beat seeds, etc., into a burden basket carried in the free hand. The

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[541] *Op. cit.*, 257.

[542] Coville, Wokas, 729. Coville also notes the use of rush (*Juncus*) in the manufacture of small spoons for temporary use (*Notes*, 92).

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[222] sifting basket is used to screen seeds such as wokas, "as a grater to remove the skins of roots and tubers,"[343] or as a larger beater. The ladle serves to scoop floating wokas seeds from the surface of the water. The seed beater and sifting baskets are made of willows, or of split juniper roots; the ladle of tules. Each of these is made of a group of warps bent into oval shape, the central portion filled in with additional warps, and the whole woven in open twine by a continuous weft passing back and forth across them. One example examined is eighteen inches long with a maximum breadth of nine. The three fundamental warps, which are bent in a loop, are each comprised of two willow rods. The first few additional warps are fastened in by doubling them and twining them over the proximal end of the three fundamentals. The weft, a doubled willow twig, is then twined across the warps now in place, beginning at one side of the proximal end of the basket. Reaching the edge warp it is brought back across the structure for a second row, and so on continuously. A second set of additional warps is inserted by doubling them around the second row of wefting. Where further warps are needed to fill a space, wefts are transformed into warps as described for the conical burden baskets. The loose ends of the warps at the distal (handle) end of the basket are bound into two bundles, which are further bound to each other, to provide a grip. Essentially this construction is in a basket figured by Barrett in which the two bundles of warp ends are bound together to form a loop handle.[344] When fine seeds are to be beaten, a pad of twined tules (later horse hide) was inserted in the bowl of the seed beater.

An example in the Field Museum collections (no. 61785) is peculiar in that the warps are not kept parallel, as in other specimens, but are bent in zigzag fashion from one weft round to the next, so that the final appearance of the fabric resembles diagonal wicker work.

[177] Recently the Klamath living at Yainax on the eastern part of the reservation have learned to make sifting baskets in imitation of their neighbors, the Northern Paiute. An example I collected is of the same general nature as the Klamath sifters, but broadly elliptical rather than ovate. This is woven in compact diagonal twine, regularly crossing the warps in pairs but occasionally carelessly slipping into three warp stitches. The warps are willow twigs set close together, the wefts split willow twigs. The underlying construction is the

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[343] Barrett, Material Culture, 274.

[344] Material Culture, pl. 16, fig. 2.

same as that described above; several fundamental warps bent into elliptical form, a few additional warps turned back over the proximal edge of these, with the remaining warps doubled over the first few rows of twining. The wefting is done with continuous strands. The butt ends of the warps are merely held in place by the last rows of wefting. A willow rod is bound at intervals to the rim of the basket to stiffen it; the ends of the rod do not meet at the distal end.

Triangular fans (wlliu'ks) used in conjunction with the parching trays are also described by Barrett as platters "used for serving food, particularly broiled or otherwise cooked fish and roasted meat."[345] As plates they may be called sa'plüs. No details of their construction were obtained, but from Barrett's illustrations it appears that these are made by doubling a bundle of tules so that their free ends diverge, serving as warps. The bundle is roughly tied about at the joint to hold it together. The wefting is of tules in open simple twine. This is a continuous strand, apparently commencing at the joint or apex; where the wefts leave the web to enter for another row the weft elements are twisted around each other. The loose ends of the warps of one of the three baskets he figures protrude beyond the last twine row; in the other two the warps may have been turned back and caught in this row of stitches. [114]

Circular baskets made with coarse tule warps and wefts in close simple twine are more rarely found, according to this author. "Occasionally they are bound around the rim with a hoop." [114]

A vessel in the Field Museum (no. 61758), made in this fashion, is peculiar in that it is elliptical. It is about seven inches long, five wide, and three deep. A round of three-strand twine appears midway of the base, and again at the juncture of the base and side. Stiffening is also provided by a doubled strand of tule sewed lengthwise to the inside of the base.

Several other forms are found, among them a two-handled tray of tule. This is in open twine; a series of parallel warps bound together at each end, and wefted in simple twine stitch with a continuous strand. Similar to the last mentioned is a "large canoe-shaped basket of tule, in openwork plain twining, used as a receptacle in gathering wokas pods," which closely agrees in construction. A pouch of plain twined tule is of similar manufacture.[346]

A fish trap, with willow rod warps, and quivers of tule, are made in open twine, according to Barrett. The cradle for a newborn infant is also manufactured in open twine construction.[347] [227] [854]

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[345] *Op. cit.*, 256, pl. 13, figs. 1, 4, 6.

[346] Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 13, figs. 3, 5; pl. 19, fig. 3; pl. 14, fig. 1.

[347] *Op. cit.*, pl. 19, fig. 1; pl. 20, fig. 1; pl. 14, fig. 3.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

K 285

Woven bags for storage purposes, such as holding wokas and other seeds, are called wa'klo and t'a'yis. The former are of the size and shape of our pillow cases and made with warp and weft of nettle cords; the latter are of tule. Barrett records that the latter were so large that, filled with wokas seed, one alone was sufficient load.[348] Gatschet names two sizes of sack, wi'llishik (the larger sacks generically) and w'aχoks. The former holds fifty pounds of seed, the latter twice that amount.[349] Perhaps these are made in the same fashion; my information applies to the former. These are flat bags. The warps are doubled at their midpoints, so that one end will form the warp on the nearer side of the bag with the other half as warp of the other side. The weft is a simple twine stitch woven continuously around the bag, i.e., first on the nearer side, then passing to the other, and so on. Weaving begins at the points of doubling of the warps so that the bottom of the bag is closed, a mere fold in the fabric. Modern examples of this type of bag are woven in diagonal twine, but this is in imitation of fabrics of the whites. One such specimen alternates rows of diagonal twine with wefts inserted in tabby-weave.

K *[171]

Certain flat bowls called ķ!we'lu are not made by the Klamath, but originate among the Pit river peoples who trade them to the Modoc. These are of solid twine weave and highly decorated.

Coiled basketry is rare among the Klamath. In fact, I was told it was never made, yet the same woman informant gave the following description of the water basket (name unknown to her). This is a bucket-shaped affair, possibly twelve inches high, with a mouth diameter of ten inches. It lacks a bail. The coil has a two-rod foundation of split tamarack twigs (wa'ku), sewn with tamarack roots (wa'ku zmwä'wŭk). Stitching is on the nearer face, proceeding from left to right, working from the outside. That is, the coil is counterclockwise to one looking into the mouth of the basket. This bears no designs, nor is it painted. It receives a coating of pitch on the outside to render it watertight. I suggest that this type of basket is of recent introduction in imitation of Northern Paiute technique, although their baskets have constricted necks, I was told. Coiling is called skĕ'nsis, sewing.

K [177]

NP 285

The Northern Paiute also make coiled bowls on a two-rod foundation, although they normally use a single rod. These rods are round willow twigs; split willow is used for the sewing. The foundation rods are so placed that the

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[348] *Op. cit.*, 256.

[349] 1:76.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern-Paiute NR13

two lie in the same vertical plane.[380] The split willow strands are flat and are so placed as to break joints, leaving uncovered sections of the foundation rods exposed between the coil stitches.

NP
285

In former days hats were the only baskets decorated by the introduction of designs. Today the majority of baskets are twined bowls, intended largely for sale to the whites, to which these decorations have been transferred. Or, one might legitimately say that the modern bowls are degenerate examples of the old hats, since the techniques are practically identical.

K
531
178

As to the materials used in decoration, Barrett observes that the "designs are usually worked out in the reddish brown roots of the tule, though the outer leaf skin of a certain jointed rush [*Phragmites?*] which provides a shiny, creamy white material is also used. For the finer baskets the quills of the porcupine, dyed yellow by means of a yellow moss, probably the widely used *Evernia vulpina*, are used,"[381] or more rarely, tule leaf, aged to yellow, according to Merrill. The latter also notes that rarely tule and porcupine quills are dyed a bright pink with the root of an unknown plant.[382] Alder bark (wip'-läm, *Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt.) furnishes an orange dye, according to Coville,[383] which may have been used for basket materials. The bark is peeled from the tree in spring or scraped at other seasons, and boiled in water. Coville also states that tule strands are dyed black, and called mŏk'-wäs. "Ordinarily this is accomplished by immersing the tule stems in the black mud of sluggish springs containing iron. A superior color, however, is obtained by the addition of a quantity of wokas hulls, which contain a large amount of tannin. The same result is now frequently secured by these Indians by prolonged soaking of the tule stems in an iron kettle, in water containing a liberal amount of the hulls."[384]

K
285
531
386

A number of designs placed on bowls and hats were recorded (fig. 17).[385] These bear names, and according to my information, the habit of naming them antedates the whites. Decoration is generically

K
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[178]

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[380] My notes not being altogether clear on this point, they have been corrected by Miss Isabel Kelly.

[381] *Op. cit.*, 254. Coville (Notes, 88) confirms this identification (native name, shwä'-wi-säm) and adds that the quills are obtained from the Modoc, but I see no reason why they should not obtain their own.

[382] P. 221.

[383] Notes, 94.

[384] Wokas, 737; Notes, 92.

[385] These are arranged so that the rim of the basket must be understood to be above the design, that is, in the order of their manufacture. My notes are uncertain whether figure 17i is correctly placed.

soma'lwas, to draw, to design. The Klamath gave me to understand that these figures are in no sense representative nor symbolical. The names are solely design names for convenience of reference.

Decoration consists ordinarily of large unconnected units, leaving much background space. A basket rarely has more than one kind of design on it, although these larger units may be combined with narrow bands around the base or rim. Simple decoration sometimes appears on the bottom of the basket where it cannot be seen, but this is intelligible if we remember that in former times this was the top of the hat.

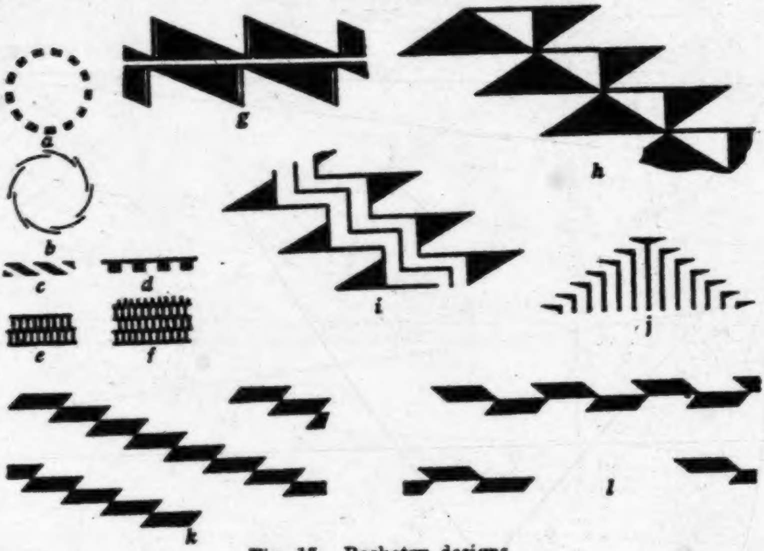

Fig. 17. Basketry designs.

Beside a few isolated self-symmetrical units, the majority of designs are arranged in bands extending obliquely upward to the left. Others are disposed as horizontal bands.

Rings around the margin of the base are called loga'ḳiomnŏtk. The solid ring is sometimes interrupted at frequent points (fig. 17*a*, *b*). Common border decorations, at either the lower margin of the side or the rim, are shown in figure 17*c*, *d*, *e*, and *f*. These are all called o'pk!ŏtk. Several designs are formed by a series of triangles laid as horizontal or oblique bands. One such is called motc!īks, ocean clams (fig. 17*g*), another (*h*) sawa'lsaltīs, arrowheads (from sawa'ls, arrowhead). The reason for the first name, at least, is obscure; the latter is more intelligible. One basket which carries the latter design has five triangular elements in each unit of decoration. Three such units are on the basket, so placed that the upper end of one overlaps the lower end of the next to the left. The units are of exactly the same 531 length, which suggests that the stitches were counted with some accuracy. But they are disposed somewhat irregularly around the basket. Figure 17*i*, which may be upside down, is Crow's knee, ga'kŭmk!o'lŏntc (from gak, crow; k!o'lŏntc, knee). The knee is represented by the angles in the median line. A design which does not occur in band form, but is isolated and symmetrical upon itself (fig. 17*j*) may be called sḳŏtco'ta, legs (tc!oks is the proper word for leg). This is properly the name for the vertical lines; the horizontal spur is pătc, foot. An old Klamath design is shown in figure 17*k*, but this is called mo'talta'ntk, because Pit river peoples (mo'ᴇtuwas) used designs of this sort. The Pelican bay division of the Klamath call it stŏ'kbunks a'ltantkc (stŏ'kbunks, leech). On one basket ten rhomboids form each unit of design: the unit extends diagonally nearly around the basket, and overlaps with two other units. A similar design (fig. 17*l*) has the units arranged as horizontal bands. There are four of these units disposed on the four quarters of the basket, so that their ends overlap. This represents a mountain flower: the name of the design is unknown.[334]

It is interesting to note that the number of elements in one design unit (*h*) is five, in another (*k*) is ten, in view of the frequent use of the significant number of the Klamath, five. On the other hand, the number of elements and units in other cases is not a multiple of five.

WEAPONS

The warrior's armament consists of bow, club, sometimes a spear, 411 with body armor and perhaps a shield. I have seen none of these; what follows is from descriptions.

Dependence rests primarily on the bow both in warfare and hunting. [726] Hand to hand fighting was not mentioned and the use of snares and traps is slight. Waterfowl are ordinarily shot with a reed arrow so light that it will float. The Klamath never shot fish although in many places the water is sufficiently clear.

Arrow poisoning was not mentioned to me, but Coville was given the following description:

> The root [of the water hemlock (skă'-wăks, *Cicuta maculata* L.)] mashed and mixed with poison from a rattlesnake's poison sacs or with the decomposed liver of a deer or some other animal, which has been buried in the ground a

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[334] Other designs are illustrated by Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. 11, 15, 18; O. T. Mason, *op. cit.*, pls. 48, 174. These conform in style.

411

few days, was used to poison war arrows, the heads of the arrows being dipped in the moist mixture and dried over a special kind of fire with a certain ceremonial. Circuta was sometimes used among Indians to poison people in very much the same way as arsenic or other well-known poisons are used in civilized communities. It was also stated that pieces of dead fish dried in a certain way (my informant did not know exactly how) are a deadly poison when taken in food.[337]

The bow (ĕnte'is) is normally three feet long or a little more, although longer bows are used by strong men. Bows are ordinarily made of juniper wood, which is very hard. Better bows, such as wealthy men might have, are of yew, which has only a moderate growth on the Cascades.[338] Boys' bows are made of juniper, according to Coville, men preferring the yew as superior. The Molala make theirs of yew (te!opI'nks). Juniper (k̦'ai'elo) grows on the deserts to the east and in the Modoc country, but may also be found on the high mesa above Modoc point on Klamath lake. War bows are backed with sinew: all are, according to another informant, who held that an unbacked bow will dry out and snap. His statement is borne out by Coville: "they are commonly about a meter in length, backed with sinew, the tips covered with fishskin and the string made of twisted sinew." On this sinew layer designs (me'ĕks) are drawn in green. Barrett figures an unbacked bow bearing a simple decoration on the inner, concave face.[339] A purple color derived from the seed coat of buck-brush (*Kunzia tridentata*) is sometimes used to give a temporary color to bows, arrows, and other objects.[340]

The bow is broad, flat, and with a constricted grip at the middle. The ends recurve toward the outer, convex face; these are notched to receive the string. The grip is wrapped with a strip of mink skin. The expanded part either side of the grip is three fingers wide, tapering to a single finger-width at the tips. How the bow length is measured was not known to my informant. Three bows figured by Barrett are forty to forty-three inches long. The bow string (na'"lis) is back sinew of a deer, rolled on the thigh. Bows taken from the Pit river peoples are reputed as of better manufacture; "they were very strict in the making of these."

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[337] Coville, Notes, 101. Gatschet (1:150) mentions this plant as poisonous, adding several others, among them the limbs of a young pine and wild parsnips.

[338] "Abundant on the western slope of the Cascades, occurring on the eastern slope in Union Creek and on Pelican Bay, Klamath Lake" (Coville, Notes, 89).

[339] Material Culture, pl. 20, fig. 5.

[340] Coville, Notes, 98.

In shooting, the bow is held not quite vertical, but with its upper tip somewhat to the bowman's left. The arrow rests on the right side of the bow. The arrow release is the simple primary, held between the bent forefinger and thumb only. The other fingers do not touch the string. The bow is carried in the quiver with the arrows. No bow guard is worn.

Arrows are both wood and reed-shafted. The wood is service berry or lŏķ (glŏķ?), a very tough wood growing in the southern Modoc country (probably currant, *Ribes cereum*). Coville also mentions *Philadelphus lewisii* Pursh., which grows at Wocus bay, and for light shafts wild rose wood.[881] Reeds of two kinds are used, cal (*Phragmites phragmites*) and wltci'vɛ, which must be provided with foreshafts (la') of light wood, currant wood (lŏķ, *Ribes cereum*),[882] or mountain mahogany (? temo'lŏķūm). War arrows (ķ!e'ls) have wooden shafts thirty inches long, are feathered for seven or eight inches of their length, and are provided with obsidian heads. The arrowhead (sa'wals) is not set in a split in the end of the shaft but tied on one side of the tip loosely so that it will remain in the wound. Other wooden arrows (dŏ'ldji) used in play or hunting small game are feathered but bear no heads. Arrowshafts are smoothed with a scouring rush (wă-chăk'-wis, *Equisetum hyemale* L.).[883] Reed arrows, used primarily for water fowl, are usually feathered. Barrett figures some, thirty-two to thirty-eight inches long. The end of the reed is wrapped with pitched sinew, so that it will not split when the foreshaft is driven in. The foreshaft is pointed by burning and often has a little wad of pitch near the point in lieu of a barb. My informants denied that the intention was to cause the arrow to skip on the surface of the water as recorded by Barrett.[884] Shafts are not painted nor are the wooden ones grooved.

Feathering (lalŏ'tk) is placed on most arrows. Wing plumes of eagles, mouse, and chicken hawks are used; said to be selected solely for their appearance. War arrows carry bald-eagle feathers. The quills are split and the narrower side of the feather discarded. Four vanes are mounted on the shaft; whether parallel to its axis or spiralled is immaterial. The vane is glued with pitch for its whole length and bound at each end by a sinew wrapping. At the butt end the terminal plumules are turned back and caught under the wrap-

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[881] Notes, 97, 99.

[882] *Ibid.*, 92, 97.

[883] *Ibid.*, 88.

[884] Material Culture, 247.

411 ping. The free edge of the vane is then notched throughout its length to give a servated appearance. The butt of the arrow is cut wedge-shaped transversely to the nock.

The quiver (do'kŏnks) is slung under the left arm by a cord over the opposite shoulder so that the mouth is at the breast. A war leader, a rich man, might carry one under each arm, and a third at his back. To put on a quiver is called sodo'k!ĕ. Quivers are commonly made of tules, well dried, and twined at intervals with sage-brush bark strings. Barrett figures one thirty-two inches in length. Wealthy men, as Barrett notes,[383] had quivers of skin: raccoon, marmot, or otter. The hide is stretched over a frame of sticks or stuffed with grass that it may dry in the proper shape.

The club (dĕ'kis, ḳ'ŏ'plĕs, or ḳŭ'pgŭs, perhaps several types) is a limb of a tree having a knot to serve as the ball-head. Others are simply long sticks.

The spear (yŏ'ḳmŏm) is a short stabbing lance, four to six feet long, bearing a large obsidian blade. The spear is rather the weapon [726] of a woman than a man. In the course of a raid on the Upland Takelma, the Klamath chief Lᴇle'ks stabbed their chief through the throat after he had been shot down.

714 Both the long skin tunic and slat armor ar[illegible]. The tunic (kŏḳ!no'ls) of elk hide, alternatively of bear or [illegible], hangs to the calf, has holes for the arms, and is tied together down the sides. This is a single layer of skin, except that a small separate piece of buckskin (called sĕpŏ'kdilᴇ) might be worn under it as additional protection for the front of the trunk. Slat armor (dă'lŏḳ) is the familiar waistcoat form; vertical wooden slats, two inches wide, split from any sort of tree, and twined with nettle cords. It is long front and back, but necessarily short under the arms, opens in the front, and ties over the shoulders with buckskin thongs.

The round hand shield (snoto'wĭtc) is but little used, to judge from my informants' ignorance of it. This is strange for it may well be suspected as of recent introduction among them from Plains-like tribes to the northeast. It was described as eighteen inches in diameter and of unknown material, but undoubtedly skin. These informants knew nothing of the use of a skin as a shield hung like a curtain in front of the body.

The arms are sometimes protected by mittens (wăkăpks) of arm or elbow length. These are sock-like affairs of coyote or other fur.

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[383] *Op. cit.*, pl. 20, fig. 1, 255.

HOUSES AND HOUSE LIFE

Houses are for the most part so closely crowded in the settlements that their peripheries nearly touch. At least this is the evidence of the house pits, which my informants would have me believe were occupied at the same time. Some of them are small structures, used for cooking or to house slaves, crowded between the large earth-lodges. 361 342 [343]

House-building seems to be one of the most considerable occupations of the year. Earth-lodges are frequently torn down in the spring to be rebuilt when snow flies in the autumn. In the second month, September, everyone is busied with house-building, commencing with the preparation of the tule mats that cover all the lodges. The houses are all completed in the fourth month (December) by the time full winter arrives, when the shamanistic performances begin. New timbers have to be prepared, as those from the razed structure are commonly used for firewood. Gatschet implies that occupancy of the winter house is always inaugurated by a feast.[386] The mat-covered summer houses are built anew in the spring. It is quite likely that the covering mats are thoroughly rotted and dilapidated after standing through a hard Klamath winter. The timbering of houses is man's work; women place the grass and dirt covering. [462]

The characteristic house is a circular, conical-roofed affair. It is essentially of the same shape and construction whether merely mat-covered or set over a pit and roofed with planks and earth. The Klamath definitely distinguish the two types however, the earth-lodge, lu'' ltᴇmalŏks, and the mat-covered summer house, wu'kĕ'plŏks. In addition a small dome-shaped mat-lodge (sti'nă'c) is used in summer, when traveling, or for cooking.[387] Poor families who cannot afford the larger earth-lodge, build dome-shaped lodges for winter use, setting them over pits for the sake of the added warmth.

The earliest descriptions of these houses are by Ogden (1826) and Frémont (1843–46). Ogden's account of what are probably earth- 114 342

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[386] 1:75.

[387] Barrett describes a summer house possibly of different form. This is elliptical or rectangular in ground plan, with "sides which slope very abruptly to the ground and a comparatively flat top. The framework is of willow poles stuck into the ground and brought together along the ridgepole, to which they are bound securely." This suggests in part the structure of the dome-shaped lodge, but implies the presence of at least two posts bearing a ridgepole, a type of construction which my informants specifically denied. The photograph Barrett figures belies his description: the form seems to be the regular structure having four posts with the side poles resting on the rafters joining these (Material Culture, 244, pl. 11, fig. 1). [114]

114 lodges is curious. "It [a Klamath marsh village] was composed of
342 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents
[361] built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or
gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. . . . . Reached Indian village of five huts, hut large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defense against arrows but not balls."[368] Frémont notes "they were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams." At another place "the huts . . . . were made of tall rushes and willows."[369]

342 There is considerable variation in the size of houses, even those of
184 one type. Earth-lodges range in diameter from twelve to thirty feet or more, the larger accommodating several families. The largest pit I saw measured thirty-five feet in diameter. The largest earth-lodges are invariably those of shamans, larger even that those of chiefs. This is not only the statement of my several informants, but on every site
[756] I visited the largest pits were pointed out to me as the former residences of shamans. The shaman's lodge, to be sure, houses the winter
[622] performances, but this also implies that shamans are the wealthiest individuals, or were so at least before the ascendancy of the chiefs during the last century. Winter houses are commonly larger than the corresponding summer mat-covered forms.

342 The semi-subterranean earth-lodge is erected over a shallow pit (sloko'ps). This is commonly but knee deep, but the thirty-five-foot pit mentioned above had been excavated waist deep or even more. All the clearly defined house pits that I saw were circular, but I got the impression from one informant that the house might be somewhat squared. This is probably the case only with the summer mat-lodge: wu'kē'plōḳs. The circle is not measured in any way. The pit is dug with digging sticks, the earth thrown back all around the excavation with storage baskets (tlŭḳs) or slabs of pine bark.

The roof has the form of a truncated, wedge-shaped cone, resting as it does on the circular periphery of the pit but with its upper truncated surface an elongated rectangle. The main frame is formed by four central posts, set to form the corners of this rectangle.[370] The tops of these are connected by stringers. Poles extending obliquely from this rectangular frame to the edge of the pit throughout its whole circumference form the conical roof. The whole is then covered with mats, grass, and dirt, leaving only a hatchway open in the center of the rectangle. The lodge is entered by walking up the sloping roof to the hatchway, through which a ladder from the interior protrudes.

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[368] Elliott The Ogden Journals, 210.

[369] Frémont, Narrative, 122; Memoirs, 494.

[417] [370] Barrett implies a single center post ("climbs down . . . . by means of steps cut into the center pole itself," p. 244), but this was denied by my informants.

The rectangle formed by the central posts (*A*, fig. 18) measures about fifteen feet from front to rear in a large house, with a width of five feet. These posts (studi'ls) are tree trunks, twelve inches in diameter, bearing forks nine or ten feet above the floor level. Stringers connect these in pairs; the first set (*B*) across the short ends with longer stringers (*C*) resting on these in the same forks. These are poles of ten inch diameter; the first pair is nameless, the second called sEō'nhls. On this frame rest four oblique rafters (*D*, stc'au'ns) let into holes at the brink of the pit. These are split logs. A supplementary rafter (*E*, swīkke'nis) is laid across each pair of these near its upper end. Planks or poles (*F*, etcau'ūs) are then laid close together along these supplementary rafters, with their lower ends resting on the brink, but not in holes. Similar poles are set obliquely around the corners and along each end, where they rest on *B*. The hatchway is formed within the rectangular roof frame by a series of long poles or planks (*G*, also called sEō'nhls) laid close together and resting on *B*. Its ends are blocked in by similar, shorter crosspieces (*H*) resting on these in turn. The hatchway is nearly as wide as the spacing of the long stringers (*C*), three to four feet; its forward end is quite close to the cross-member (*B*) at the front of the house, but the roof is decked over for several feet at the rear, leaving an opening some ten feet in length. Short sticks and bark are placed over any crevices still remaining in the superstructure.

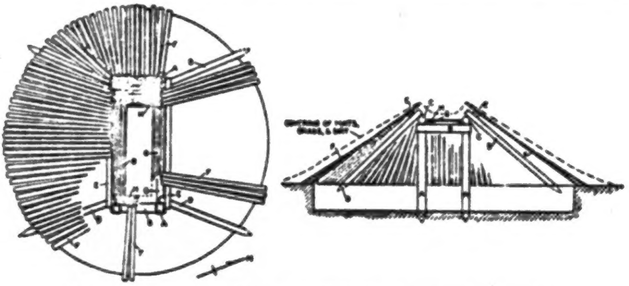

Fig 18. Plan and section of earth-lodge showing construction.

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The roof is shingled with long mats laid in horizontal courses. The variety used is a relatively poor twined mat, called ste'holōs, made of tule, swamp grass, or cat-tail rushes. Dry grass (not brush) is heaped on the mats halfway up the sides and the whole roof then covered with a thick layer of dirt. The grass is omitted from the upper part for fear sparks from the fire beneath the hatchway may catch in it. The mats are three and a half to four feet wide and so [352] long that they stretch more than halfway around the roof. Swamp-grass mats make a warmer structure than tule. No mats are placed [353] on the inner side of the roof, nor around the sides of the pit. The floor however is liberally carpeted with them. Food is commonly stored around the outer margin of the roof, buried under the dirt cover. The dirt is banked so thoroughly there that the lodge needs no circumscribing ditch to protect it from rain water.

The hatchway in the roof (giņk'a, hole) is of considerable size; about ten feet by three or four in a large house. At night a series of small sticks are laid transversely across it and a mat, called k'ai'ictls, which is rolled up at the rear end of the hatchway during the day, is stretched over the opening to close it. Any kind of ste'holōs mat may be used for the hatch, but swamp grass is preferable to tule which becomes brittle when dry. To keep the snow from drifting into the open hatchway, a mat may be set up to windward on sticks driven into the dirt covering.

Houses face the southeastern quarter, because the prevailing winds are from the west. The front of the house is the side having a set of steps leading up the sloping roof to the hatchway. It seems doubtful that a house on the east bank of a river, for instance, would have its entrance away from the stream, but so I was told. The circumstances is that along the Williamson river valley, the only narrow valley where this arrangement might prove awkward, the majority of settlements are on the west bank.

The outer steps (astōno'lūķs) are formed of two small tree trunks lying upright along the sloping roof. Short limbs left projecting [417] from these hold a series of cross-sticks serving as rungs (waķi's), with dirt packed behind them to make a set of solid steps. The ladder reaching the hatchway from within is made of similar poles (stě'stķls) with the rungs tied on. There were ten rungs, a foot apart, in a large house described to me.[271] This ladder is set at the southeastern end of the opening, that is the end opposite the rolled-up mat door. It is

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[271] This may well be the operation of the pattern number five.

342 417

nearly vertical and protrudes considerably above the roof level. Ladders are never made of a log with holes cut through it, nor were the central posts notched for this purpose.[373]

313 412

The rough planks used in roofing the structure are made by splitting hollow logs with elk-horn wedges. These are driven with a hardwood club, oak, or mountain mahogany. Every man has three or four such wedges; axes are wholly unknown and stone mauls not used. Obviously such timbers cannot compare with the broad planks of the Northwest peoples, but are rather of the crude Yurok type. Procuring the planks is quite a little expedition. They go in four to six canoes, spending a whole day splitting enough for a single house. The people of the du'kwa settlements at the mouth of Williamson river, for instance, cross Klamath lake to its timbered western shore for their supply.

342 35

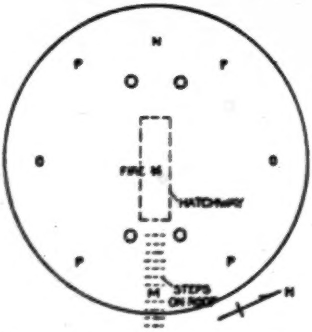

Fig. 19. Named parts of the house.

The several parts of the house interior as set off by the central posts are named. That portion at the front of the house directly under the outside steps is called stĕ'k̓is (*M*, fig. 19); the opposite end, tka'lŭm (*N*). These spaces are used for storage. The sides of the interior (*O*) are la'lɪstal and the corner sections (*P*) are stc!oka'ctal. These, the living quarters, are preferable to the end spaces presumably because the narrowness of the hatchway yields a greater extent of roof cover on each side, thus affording greater protection. The sleeping quarters of shamans are on the northern side of the lodges, hence I assume that this segment is always occupied by the head of the household. The shaman dances principally on this side of the central area. [756]

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[373] Compare Barrett, 244.

The summer house (wu'kĕ'plōḳs) differs from the earth-lodge only in the absence of the pit and of the dirt covering on the roof. It is circular and built on the same four-post frame. The covering is of mats alone. Dirt is banked around the base. Occasionally one is erected over a shallow pit, when it does not differ materially from an earth-lodge. These houses are smaller than the earth-lodges, ranging down to the dome-shaped houses in diameter. They have the height of the earth-lodge. No ladder is necessary with these houses, since the entrance is on the ground level. A space is left for a doorway between two of the slanting roof poles at the front of the house. A mat hung from a cross-stick halfway up these poles serves as a door. When it is not wanted, it is rolled up and tied above the opening. Sometimes a mat is hung from one of these poles inside the house as a partition (hoctŏ'ptls) to protect a bed from the opening.

The dome-shaped lodge (sti'nă'c) is in use the year round, standing beside the earth-lodge as a cook house. When the people are traveling, it may be hastily constructed of mats carried for the purpose. The more permanent structures are ten feet in diameter and eight or nine feet high—as high as one can reach to put things away overhead. Poor families intending these for winter use make them of heavy construction and dig out the interior to a depth of a foot for the warmth thus afforded. A heavy snowfall is shoveled off with canoe paddles.

The frame of this lodge is built up of a series of arches (stce'egŭe or stce'cɛlgá), each made of two willow poles stuck into the ground at opposite points of the circle and with their upper ends lashed together overhead. The two main arches are parallel and rise to the full height of the lodge. Another is set on each side of this pair, parallel to them, but rising to a lesser height. Then the other two quadrants are filled in with poles which are bent over and lashed to these four arches. These poles are set close together to form a firm structure. There are no horizontal ribs. A space is left on the southeastern side for the doorway.

The frame of both houses is shingled with mats; rarely these are also placed on the inside. Tule mats, or swamp-grass—which is warmer—are always placed with the stems vertical so that the rain and snow will run off readily. Sewn mats (st!ōps) are preferred to twined for this reason. The mats are tied on; two or three overlapping tiers reach to the top. They are sometimes so long that two will reach around the lodge. For winter use, two, three, or four thicknesses are

used;[373] then grass or pine boughs, covered with dirt, are heaped halfway 342
up the side. The outer mats are held in place by tying them along
the edges to poles propped against the side of the house. The rope
(pĕķ'os) used for this is three strand, braided of grass or the outer
layer of tule. In placing the mats, a space about two feet across is
left at the top for a smoke hole, and another only three and a half feet
high for a doorway. One has to stoop to enter. The door is a mat like
that of the summer house; it is not weighted nor tied down.

Drying racks are not placed inside the houses. All fish and meat [251]
are dried on racks near-by. [417]

Houses are not decorated, nor are the house posts carved or painted
except by shamans. These may paint them with horizontal stripes, 342
alternately red and white. One informant had it that men's faces,
snakes, lizards, and various other animals, not spirits, are painted on
the posts, but I am doubtful. Shamans also hung stuffed bird and [756]
animal skins about the interior. A wooden image and a stuffed crane
skin are set up outside on the northern side of the hatchway, i.e., above
the shaman's bed. Houses are not given individual names, Yurok 552
fashion, though the localizing tendency of the Klamath might have 171*
found an outlet in this.

The fireplace (sne'lūķs) in the earth-lodge is in the middle of the 354
floor, between the four center posts and under the open hatchway.
Neither a pit nor stones are used to confine the fire. Most of the time
there is no fire on the hearth, only in the morning and evening; at
other times the hatch is closed. A huge fire is built when it is nearly
sundown, and after the mat is drawn across the opening the heat is so
great that blankets may be dispensed with. This despite the severe [132]
winters; at this altitude (4000 feet) lakes and streams are frozen
solid. Fires are usually made by piling short lengths of wood in logcabin [133]
(crib-work) fashion to a height of eighteen inches. They cook
when this is reduced to a bed of coals. A piece of rotten wood is
ignited to carry fire from one place to another.

Cooking ordinarily takes place outside the dwelling in a domeshaped 343
house (sti'nā'c) erected near-by. An earth-lodge on lower 252
Williamson river, for example, set some fifty yards from the stream,
had its cooking lodge close to the bank. All the women of the household 592
prepare their food together, even where several families have
joint tenancy. It is carried to the earth-lodge and there passed about

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[373] Barrett gives the successive layers as made of "a kind of reed," triangular-stemmed tule, and circular-stemmed tule (*op. cit.*, 244).

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

343 as in "one big family." This is inevitably a matter of personal preference;
252 some dwellings have two cooking lodges attached, the families
eating separately and sharing food only as friendship dictates. The
592 mortars and grinding slabs are kept in the cooking-lodge. The introduction
[177] of flour has wrought a change in these habits. Loaves of
bread are baked in the ashes in the earth-lodge itself. Flour is always
[262] shared among the inmates. I was assured that there was no earlier
custom resembling this.

264 But two meals a day are eaten, morning and evening. I was also
told that there is no regular period for meals. Visitors are given
574 something on their arrival, such as a little pond-lily seed, but no stress
is placed on this phase of hospitality. A sort of grace is said before
eating.

352 The entire floor of the earth-lodge or summer mat-house is carpeted
with mats except for the space within the four central posts. Thicker
piles of these for beds are placed all around the walls, but the best
352 locations are at the sides (*O*, fig. 19). Children might sleep in the
corners. People always sleep with their feet toward the fire, no
513 matter in what direction their heads then lie.[374]

Beds (slai'is) are of mats of various sorts. Rich people use tule, the twined mats (slai'is) being preferred to the sewn (st!ōps). One or more of these laid on dry grass serves as a mattress, or they sleep directly on the grass. One or two more form the covering. The few who have them use grizzly bear, coyote, wolf, lynx (? slowa'), or deer pelts, or several *Bassariscus* (? slĕt) skins sewn together, for mattress and blanket (sa'walc). A blanket for a little child is made from the skin of a red fox, a stretched raccoon skin, or several marten skins sewn together. Blankets (called sŏlŭmtai') are also made of tule and cat-tail twined to produce a checkerboard decoration. Others are made of tules with the wing feathers of water fowl (pelicans, geese, swans, ducks, etc.) caught in one face. These are called lă'edălap'ō'tᴇ, wing feathers (lac) put together. Another type of feather blanket (called k̦'a'lyᴇ) is made of the dried skins of waterfowl twisted with a cord to form a fluffy rope. This is twined with cords inserted at intervals to form the blanket. Pillows (sᴇ'o'lhas) are a heap of grass, or anything else, even wood, but the wooden headrest of the lower Klamath river tribes is unknown. Gatschet records a sack stuffed with mallard duck down for a pillow.[375]

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[374] I could find no notion that a sleeper is affected by moonlight.

[375] 1:144.

513 It is customary to rise (bŏ'tgal) before the sun has risen, at least in winter. At that season when they sit late telling stories, they retire (k'ta'ndja) when Orion's belt has risen two-thirds of the distance to the zenith (lo'lalŏks, bedtime).

[887] Old people sun themselves on the roof tops. Those who are decrepit and cannot climb into the earth-lodge are housed in mat-houses near-by.

SWEAT-LODGES

343 The earth-lodge is so warm, at least at night, that it might well have taken the place of the smaller sweat-lodges. These however are regularly made, preferably beside a body of water into which the bathers can jump after sweating. The lodges (spo'klīks) are of two types, differentiated, it was suggested, for summer and winter use. There are now more of the former type in use than the latter, which suggests a case of substitution.

Fig. 20. Winter sweat-lodge. A portion of a summer sweat-lodge appears at the right.

The "summer" lodge is dome-shaped and mat-covered, hence sometimes called stī'na'c like the dome-shaped dwelling. Willows are set in the ground about a circle four to six feet in diameter, arched, and bound together at a height of three and a half feet. There are no horizontal ribs. Tule mats form the covering, with layers of green grass between to prevent the escape of the steam. When the summer lodge is kept for winter use, dirt is banked against the sides. The carpeting is of grass or leaves, green or dry according to season.

The "winter" lodge (ke'lowac, a descriptive term?) is built over an elliptical pit, eighteen inches or less in depth. It is smaller than the summer lodge, and up to five feet in length. The roof over this

343 is gable-shaped, the ridgepole being supported at each end on a pair of struts thrust obliquely into the margin of the pit. Sticks and bark resting on this form the roof; a layer of dry grass and dirt covers the whole. This stands three and a half feet above the ground. The entrance, which is quite small, is covered by a mat (fig. 20).

Stones, heated outside, are rolled into a hollow in the lodge. There does not seem to be any prescribed place for this, as among other peoples. The stones are said to be at the rear in the winter lodge, and anywhere in the summer affair, but in a winter lodge that I saw, the hollow was near the doorway to the right of one entering, and at the back in a summer lodge. For the use of five or ten men, I was [801] told, a large summer lodge has the stones at the center. Five is the Klamath pattern number, but it was said that there was no prescription of the number who may enter at one time, nor of the number of times they sweat. Water is thrown on the hot stones after they are somewhat cooled, otherwise the steam would scald the inmates. There is a certain amount of rivalry on the part of those who have the water to drive the others out by raising steam; sometimes four or five have it at one time.[376]

They talk to the stones when sprinkling them, asking to be cured, to live long, work well, to have luck in gambling, and to get spirits. This is the same as talking to the water when swimming on a vision quest. "The stones are 'doctor'; the water is 'doctor.'" They talk to [562] the wind, the mountains, the water. Everyone outside is quiet. Men and women go into these lodges together.

Coville observes that "the branches and twigs of the 'cedar,' (*Librocedrus decurrens* Torr.) are often used in administering a sweat bath to a sick person."[377]

343 The three sweat-lodges used solely by mourners closely resemble the "winter" lodge. In fact, the lodge just north of Klamath Agency does not differ in any respect. I have seen but one of the other two, that near Algoma. This is now a U-shaped wall of stones which once bore a rough gable roof covered with dirt. It is much larger than the [178] winter lodge, enclosing an area ten by twenty feet.[378] It may be suggested that conservatism has preserved the type for this use, while for secular uses it has been, or is being, supplanted by the dome-shaped lodge.

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[376] For a tale describing such rivalry, see p. 37.

[377] Notes, 88.

[378] For its description and use, see pp. 73 f.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Costume is scanty for both men and women. Poorer individuals 291 are equipped with simply a fringed skirt and nothing more beyond 291 basketry hats. The wealthier, however, affect a dress which strongly resembles that of the Plains tribes. Such men are clad in breech- 556 clout, leggings, moccasins, and on gala days buckskin shirts; women, in the long dress of Plains type, with short leggings and moccasins. 177 This Plains costume seems to be of recent introduction; traditional feeling to that effect is reflected in the proscription of its use during shamanistic performances and in the Ghost dance of 1870–73. This might also be inferred from the fact that the Klamath represent its most westerly extension, or nearly so, in this quarter. Plains influences have reached the Klamath through the Columbia river tribes, with whom direct contact dates only from the beginning of the last century. We may hazard the guess that this costume does not date back before 1800 among the Klamath, and is perhaps not so old.

The fringed skirt is a garment which completely encircles the 291 wearer's waist, not an apron nor two aprons. It is formed of tule, or sage-brush bark, or possibly of buckskin strips, braided in cords which hang thickly from the belt. These pendants are closely set at the front and back, and hang but scantily over the hips. Distinctive names for the front and back parts (respectively hlsci'sks, hangs between the legs, and histco'lic, hangs behind) suggest its relation to the familiar two-apron garment of California. Men's skirts do not reach the knee; women's hang below it.

The man's shirt (tculi's) is of the Plains poncho type. This is a large skin with a hole in the middle, put on over the head. It reaches to the upper thighs and hangs loosely over the arms, without any attempt at sleeves, but is tied together under the arms. When only small skins are to be had, two of these are sewed together along the shoulders. Front and back are the same, the neck hole is round, and they are indifferent as to which side hangs in front.[379]

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[379] A shirt illustrated in a photograph shown me had deep fringes along its lower border and on the seams joining the sleeves to the body of the garment. The sleeves indicate that this is a modern derivative of the old garment. I was told that a fringe is sometimes placed horizontally across the chest. A man's shirt in the collections of the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 67883) has a short fringed opening down the breast from the neck hole, and a border of beads on the low collar rising around the neck.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

291 [756] [531] [177] The familiar triangular flaps below the neck in Plains shirts are lacking. Shamans alone paint their shirts, others who attempt it would be poisoned by them. The designs are spots, circles, and lines, not pictures. While I do not know the character of these designs, this suggests the protective shirts of the Ghost dance of 1890. Inasmuch as we must assume that the shirt reached the Klamath from the east, and it is possible that Plains influences are quite recent, it is possible that the shirt, or at least its decoration, came only in Ghost dance days. Nor are shirts worn at all times; they are too valuable, "they might wear out"; which represents their unusualness in the view of the Klamath.

Breechclouts (haewi'skis) are made of buckskin, and nothing else. They are worn by women too, but not with the buckskin dress. It seems that the flaps which hang over the belt are short, for they are said to be long only if the skin happened to be long. The belt is only a thin string, presumably a leather thong, for poor people make it of the soft bark of the tule.

[184] Men's leggings are thigh-length or calf-length (called respectively snásni'ks and mídĕ's);[380] women wear only the latter. These are of buckskin or fur, but poor people make them of tules. Barrett illustrates one of the latter sort made in twined technique. The full-length leggings are tied to the belt at one point, the hips. In a photograph shown me, little deer dew claws were hung pendant from the front of the leggings just below the knees.

Moccasins are worn at all times by the men, at home or when traveling, whereas women sometimes go barefoot at home in the summer. For the most part, moccasins are woven of tule or swamp grass; very few are made of skin. Barrett observes that the buckskin moccasins are for summer wear, the winter ones of tule.[381] This is very probably the case, as the tule affair is intended primarily to hold a layer of dry grass next the foot.

[171] [531] Tule moccasins (wipgá') are made in open twine. The fabric is brought together over the toe, but is quite without a heel. A cord laced through the loops along each side draws it up around the foot. They resemble those of the Paviotso.[382] For traveling they make moccasins of this type of swamp grass, which is stronger than tule; those for home use are of tule and bear decorations.

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[380] Gatschet gives mítash, mítas, from Chinook jargon mimdash, derived from French mitasse (2:221).

[381] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17, 19.

[382] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 218, fig. 5*b*, *c*.

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[171]*

The skin moccasin (dümi'wE) differs from that of central and northwestern California, in being made of two pieces. Like the Californian affair, it is a one-piece moccasin in pattern, with a seam up the top from the toe and another up the heel, but it also has a D-shaped inset over the instep which is continued upward into a tongue. Some specimens have an additional strip around the ankle, sewed to the edge of the main piece, and which can be worn turned up or down. The drawstring passes around the ankle and across in front of the tongue.[303] Moccasins are made of deer or elk hide,[304] with the hair inside, or even of beaver or badger skin. The last is a very strong skin; the moccasins will last a year or two. (Otter and raccoon skins are not used.) Cut to pattern (fig. 21*a*), they are folded lengthwise, stitched up the instep, across the toe, across the heel, and up the heel. The tongue (stai'sköpk) is then sewed in over the instep. The procedure in connection with sewing the heel is peculiar. The slit *A–A* is first made; the sides brought together so that the points *A*, *B*, and *C* match; the cross seam (*A–A*) sewn, then the vertical one (*B–C*). This leaves a loop inside the moccasin at the heel. The moccasin is then turned inside out, so that the loop is on the outside. The corner of this is then cut off on the lines *D–D*. This forms a tab protruding at the heel. These seams are not lapped but sewn with a through-and-through stitch, hence when the moccasin is turned inside out, the seams at the heel, at least, are on the outside. Sewing is done with an awl and sinew.

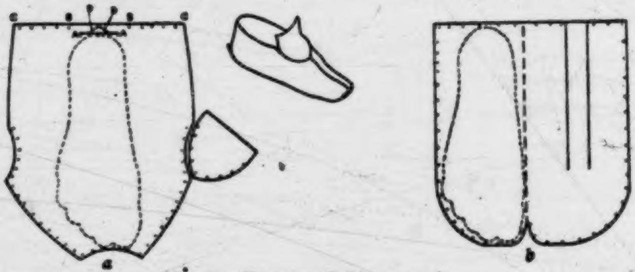

Fig. 21. Patterns of skin moccasins.

Another type of deer-skin moccasin (wökena') made in imitation of Warm Springs and Yakima style, has come into use since the boy-

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[303] Illustrated by Barrett, pl. 17.

[304] The same informant stated on another occasion that elk hide is not used for footgear.

291 177 hood of my elderly informant. This is a simple one-piece affair, shown diagrammatically in figure 21*b*. The upper is cut to form a long tongue. It is sewn along the toe and one side, and up the heel.[345]

481 Snowshoes may be conveniently described at this place. The snowshoe (ni') is the circular Californian form; a hoop of tough service berry wood, about twelve inches long by six wide.[346] Within the hoop is a net of thongs on which the foot is placed; tie strings are drawn up about the ankle. My woman informant drew a sketch showing five parallel longitudinal thongs crossed transversely by five others, [114] also parallel, thus forming a simple rectangular web. This may well have been merely diagrammatic, since five is the pattern number. Kroeber illustrates a more intricate pattern of webbing, a central lozenge filled by transverse lashings and connected with the frame by others.[347] Barrett illustrates a snowshoe with still a third style of web. This seems to be a single longitudinal strip of skin, crossed by three others.[348] Such shoes are also used when wading in the marshes.

291 Mittens (wăkă'pks) of coyote or other fur are worn in cold weather, possibly by men alone. They are also used for protection in war. [714] These are sock-like, without fingers, and of arm or elbow length. A muffler (sau'kaks) is also made of skin.

291 177 The woman's skin dress (goke) is the long woman's garment of the Plains tribes, completely covering the body to the mid-calf. Unlike the corresponding man's shirt, these are worn most of the time, especially in winter. In summer the lighter unbeaded dresses are [535] used. This is not essentially a dance costume, although worn at the war and scalp dances. But these are held outdoors at night; and [756] during the shaman's dances in the earth-lodge, the fringed skirt only is worn because of the great heat. It is possible, of course, that this is a rationalization of etiquette, for if the shaman's dance is older than the forms of war and scalp dance now in use, there may be an association of the older fringed skirt with one and the newer skin dress with the other. There can be little doubt that the fringed skirt is the antecedent form. Plains influences appear to be recent, and

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* [171] [345] This has been redrawn from a sketch made by my informant. On the Yakima reservation moccasins of this type have a tab at the heel, which my informant may have omitted.

[346] Coville (Notes, 94) states that "the frames of snowshoes are usually made of willow wood. The mesh in old times was commonly made of the Rocky Mountain flax, *Linum lewisii*, less commonly of nettle fiber, *Urtica breweri*."

[347] Handbook, fig. 68*a*; evidently taken from Mason, Aboriginal American Basketry, 215.

[348] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17.

the Klamath use of the typical Plains woman's costume is an extreme marginal case in the west. 291 177

Being of buckskin, not of elk hide, two skins are necessary for the dress. These are sewn together across the shoulders, leaving a short space for the insertion of the head. The neck ends of the skins are always across the shoulders, since this is the widest part of the skin. The contour of the dress is the familiar one, the natural contour of the dressed skin with the legs lopped off. Cape-like extensions, formed by the skin of the forelegs, hang loosely over the arms. All the edges are slit into fringes and the front and back are tied together by these under the arms and down the sides. These are not belted in Plains style.

A woman's belt made of strips of bark fiber is illustrated by Barrett; others are made of human hair.[389] While Barrett is probably right in stating that these are part of everyday dress, I was told that the belt (k'ai'lis) is worn at the puberty dance, when a first child is born, or when an infant dies. 291 114

The dress of earlier times had no ornamentation, but it now has the yoke-shaped decoration of Plains type and rows of pendants. The yoke is not a separate piece, but the quill-work design, and in more recent days the beadwork, is applied directly on the dress. Formerly rows of elk teeth were sometimes used. There is no special name for the yoke; like any beadwork, this part is called Iti's or Ita'ntḳos. The yoke of one dress seen dipped below each armpit and again markedly at the middle of breast and back. It was comprised of a series of horizontal stripes in beads of contrasting colors which paralleled this wavy lower margin of the yoke. Three horizontal rows of pendants crossed front and back; one following this lower margin, another just above the knees, and the third near the bottom of the dress. These pendant strings, which hang in pairs, are wound with colored porcupine quills; thimbles and Chinese cash are sometimes threaded on them. A deep fringe (bowi's) is sometimes made to fasten along the lower margin of the yoke, at the bottom of the dress, and around the short sleeves. This is fabricated from a piece of buckskin, nine or more inches deep, slit into fine fringes so as to leave them connected by only a half-inch strip of skin. Beads may be strung on these. Similar strips of fringe are attached to a man's shirt. Hair that is cut off in mourning is tied in little rolls all over the dress; a man uses 291 531 [177]

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[389] *Op. cit.*, 258, pl. 17.

291 his in the same way to decorate his shirt. Sometimes bits of captured
531 scalp are sewn in rows down each breast of a woman's dress.[290]

Two women's dresses of buckskin were observed in the collections of the Field Museum of Natural History. One of these (no. 61683) had a beaded yoke decoration that dipped downward sharply on the breast. This consisted of irregularly horizontal, parallel bands of small trade beads; the bands alternately black and white were about one inch wide. These were sewed directly to the body of the garment, there being no separate yoke-piece. The thread or sinew on which the beads were threaded passed through the buckskin only at each edge of the band, i.e., the rows of beads in each band formed taut loops an inch long. The shoulder seams were hidden by extra strips of skin. The fringes under the sleevelets and down each side of the body were twisted in pairs. Pendants on the front of the garment and on the right sleeve bore brass beads.

The second dress (no. 61981) was "said to be over 100 years old." It was decorated with glass beads, thimbles, coins, and other trade articles. "The Chinese brass coins are dated in the periods of Shun-chi (1644–61), K'ang-hi (1662–1723), K'ien-lung (1736–95), and Kia-k'ing (1796–1820)." Pendants below the yoke bore green glass beads and brass thimbles; those near the bottom of the dress had strings of black glass beads with a central blue bead. The beaded yoke-decoration did not dip so markedly on the breast as that described above. The bands of beads were of the same width as those mentioned above and sewed in the same fashion, except that a quarter-inch of bare space was left between the bands. These spaces were then painted red. A red band crossed horizontally below the yoke, again at the waist, and near the bottom. Each band of beads consisted of alternate rows of colored and white beads; in order from the top to bottom the bands bore colored beads as follows: red, green, black, (?), red, blue, blue, red, dark blue, red. The dress originally had two more bands below these but they have been replaced by rows of pendants. Excluding the second row (green) this looks like a symmetrical color scheme; red, blue-black, red, blue, and reverse.

291 Barrett observes that "the women also wore a cape or, more properly speaking, a blanket, made of shredded tule or of sage-brush bark, or of a combination of the two." We may hazard the guess that the technique is open-twine like the mats.[291]

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531 In the Field Museum collections are certain cloth bands (nos. 61985–86) bearing bead disks which are described as "dress ornaments" but which are probably ornaments attached to the middle of robes or blankets in Plains fashion. These are bands of red flannel, thirty inches long and about three wide. One bears four disks: one at each end, the other two equally spaced between. The second band has only two disks, both near one end but spaced like those of the first band. The beaded disks, four inches in diameter, were made up of spirally arranged rows of beads; the ground color was blue and white, with an outer row of yellow. It is noteworthy that each new colored

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[290] The general style of the women's dress is illustrated by a Klickitat specimen (Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians, 1:713).

[291] *Op. cit.*, 255.

row always began at the same radius, as in the manner of basket decoration. Pendants were attached to the periphery of each disk. These were formed of a continuous strand of black and white beads attached at intervals so as to hang in long loops. 291 531

Basket hats are worn by both sexes. That of women is called k!ʌmü, of men, k!ane'o. Women and old men wear them at all times, younger women more than the elderly, and the younger men only when they are needed as protection against the pack strap. The small, snug-fitting hats are quite decorative with their contrasting designs, and are clearly thought so. Gala hats are studded with beads. They come halfway down the forehead, are nearly hemispherical yet flat on top. These are made in twined weave of various materials. Women's hats bear woven designs, men's are painted. Men's hats are said to have had short brims even prior to the coming of the whites. Widows must wear old hats blackened with pitch, if they wear any; otherwise they are open to ridicule. [765]

Men wear a cylindrical hat or headdress (tc'uyäs) in war, ten or more inches high, and as low as the eyebrows. Made of cottonwood bark (wula'l), it is open at the top, but may be brought together in a point if made of skin; otter, coyote, beaver, skunk, or elk hide. Badger and raccoon skin is not used. These bear painted decorations: large zigzag lines around the hat; and several feathers are fastened in the top. Gatschet speaks of them as "wide brimmed."[388]

A cylindrical bark hat, said to have been worn by a chief, is in the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 61725). This is about seven inches in diameter, nine high. The ring of bark is lapped and sewn with a running stitch. The decoration on the light surface is by a series of triangles along the top and bottom margins, with circles at intervals between these. The triangles have their bases on the margins; each consists of a black line within a red line; there are no base lines. The circular decorations consist of a black spot within a red ring. A pendant is fastened on each side at the top, consisting of a bunch of long hair wrapped at the proximal end with fur.

Other hats are made of the scalp of deer or bear, including the ears, but not the face. Rawhide vizors, such as those used by other tribes are unknown, but Barrett mentions a similar sunshade of plain-twined tule.[389] 291

Hairdress is simple. Men wear the hair long, parted on the left side, with a braid lying in front of each shoulder or a single queue behind. The braids are wrapped with strips of otter fur. This is the style of the Plains and Plateau. Women and girls also wear their hair 302

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[388] 1:92. He may have had in mind the basket hat.

[389] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17.

* 302 long and in two braids, but parted in the middle. This again is
[171] reminiscent of the Plains. Their braids may be looped up to hang only to the shoulder; these are not fur wrapped. The hair is cut
[765] short in mourning, especially that of the women, daubed with black pitch, and generally neglected.

A man who kills a rattlesnake ties the rattles to his hair; women do not do this.

The hairbrush (slitcī'Tḳs) is a porcupine tail, stuffed with dry grass or sage-brush bark. A thong draws the ends together so that it dries in an arc. This thong fits over the back of the hand when the brush is in use. The open, underside of the tail is closed with a thong lacing. The ends of the quills are burned off evenly, so that only the stiffer body of the quill is left. Barrett notes that the longer quills are removed.[394]

My informant described the comb used by the Molala as a true double-edge comb. It is fashioned of a thin stick bent double. Little pointed sticks, as fine as our toothpicks, are inserted between the halves of this doubled stick, so that they protrude equally on each side, and are bound in place.

The hair is greased; ordinarily with fish oil, but with deer tallow or that of skunk, otter, beaver, or mink, when they can get it.

304 Frontal flattening, the only form practiced, is not universal among
[114] the Klamath, although it is general. My information differs at this point from Hrdlička's who was told that non-deformed heads are derided as slave-like.[395] I was told that it was merely "so that they would look pretty; they have nice round eyes because the forehead is flattened."[396] A deformed head is called lĕplĕ'pli nos, flattened head.

304 The septum of the nose is pierced and the ear lobes, the latter
301 twice or even more frequently. Both sexes insert dentalium shells horizontally through the septum. These are placed so that the butt ends meet in the septum, the points of this curved conical shell projecting on each side. If the septum hole is large, two may be placed side by side in it. Sometimes the point of one shell is thrust into the hollow butt of a second. The root of a mountain plant, called yayo'ḳak, may be used in place of a dentalium shell. I was told that Molala women choose boldly curved dentalia, placing them so that the points

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[394] *Op. cit.*, 258.

[395] Hrdlička, Head Deformation among the Klamath.

[396] The informant who stated this may have rationalized her own case, an undeformed head. My other principal informants, two men, had flattened heads. Flattening is not noticeable among some of the older Indians, so that the statement that some escape the treatment may be true.

almost meet, forming a ring. Ear pendants are a group of four 304
dentalia, hung in a bunch by their tips. Such an ornament is called 301
stöstö'mnis. Neither dentalia nor any other plugs are put directly through the holes in the ear. The labret is unknown. Men pluck out their beards.[387]

Nose and ears are pierced in early childhood, even while still in the cradle. But it is usually done by the mother when the child is five or six years old. Anyone may perform the service; a man or woman usually does it for an own child. Coley's mother pierced his ears and nose when he was ten or twelve years old. He was afraid to have the septum pierced, but finally summoned courage. Piercing is done with a small sharp bone awl (sö'ḳta); the lobe is massaged and the awl suddenly thrust through. A little charred sage-brush twig is put in the hole to keep it from closing and withdrawn when it is healed. There is no celebration of this event among the Klamath, although they are aware that this is the custom on the Columbia river. Holes are made solely for adornment; no esoteric significance attaches to the procedure.

Fighting women sometimes tear out their opponent's septa or ear holes. This is called p'ëta', to tear open a hole.

Necklaces are made of dentalia and other beads. Claws are not 301
used with the exception of grizzly claws (stëks) which are worn by shamans.

The Molala make necklaces of yayo'ḳaḳ root, mentioned above. This root has a length of eighteen inches. It is split, lengths are tied together, and braided with sinews from the back of a deer.

Three kinds of bead are in use; dentalia (t!u't!as), a small twisted shell, a half-inch long, called isëlḳa, and red stone beads (teöksᴇ b'djᴇ: teök is the service berry) flattened like a kernel of corn. In addition there is an abundance of old style, glass trade beads on the cremation piles. Two types of dentalia may be recognized, but I am not certain; large shells called sḳals, and those up to three-quarters of an inch in length, t!u't!as.

Dentalia are not marked with incised designs, as among the Yurok.[388] They are, however, wound with human hair for a space at the small end, according to one informant, although another denied it. As was common on the lower Klamath river, they are strung end to end on a cord in lengths somewhat under a fathom: the fathom

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[387] Gatschet, 1:90.

[388] Kroeber, Handbook, 24.

K
301 length is "a little too much." The unit, according to one informant, is the length of the extended left arm to the upper end of the humerus, or across the chest in addition to the point of the right shoulder. The other gave the unit as a doubled string from the extended left hand
K
[436] to the sternum; that is, a fathom. One thing is clear, that there is no great concern for dentalia as money, as among the lower Klamath tribes. The strings are not standardized either as to length or size of the individual shells. Long dentalia are more valuable than the short, but my informants never knew anyone to argue over the precise length of a shell. Both men agreed that the several kinds of beads, or at least the best, are not worked by the Klamath, but come from the
K
[721]
[439]
[177]
[174] south. They are either found in raided Achomawi-Atsugewi camps or are traded from these people or possibly the Shasta. Both were certain that the shells are not obtained from the north. This is something of a puzzle, because the Columbia river people have dentalia and use them extensively in trade. Furthermore, the ultimate point of origin of the shells is the coast of Washington and British Columbia. The discrepancy in the statement is further accentuated by the Yurok statement that the shells came to them both along the coast and down the Klamath river.[399]

K
[789] Finger rings are not made, nor bracelets, except for young children. The cast skin of a water snake is wrapped around their wrists so that they will swim well.

K
302
[756]
[822] Face painting is general, a daily usage, not confined to gala events, but more obvious at that time. The shaman's body is painted red during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use, white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white. I have pointed out elsewhere[400] that red paint is associated with warfare by the Basin tribes and their Californian and Arizonan neighbors. Here it may be added that black is used by Plains warriors. At dances white pigment, found along the creek banks, is smeared on the palms which are then pressed on the face or on a woman's smooth hair to
K
[317] form patterns. Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few localities in the mountains near Crater lake. The Northern Paiute
NP
[317] are said to have quantities of it, however.

K
751 In winter women smear their faces, hands, and arms with a mixture of charcoal and pitch, or deer grease, or of pitch and grease

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[399] Kroeber, Handbook, 22.

[400] Havasupai Ethnography, 207.

mixed, to prevent chapping and sunburn. Red paint mixed with this 751 grease is similarly used. Putting on a pitch coating is called sutlu'mx. The pitch is roasted and later scraped with knives.[401]

Simple tattooing (sl'tcpale'as) is common to both sexes. It has 304 no connection with puberty rites, although it is usually done in youth; nor any esoteric significance. Anyone may tattoo, even boys and girls tattoo their companions, but it is usually performed by women, who receive no payment. Charcoal is rubbed into incisions cut with fragments of stone. Women have the face tattooed, as well as breast and thighs. The face decoration is regularly a line down the center of the chin and one descending obliquely from each corner of the mouth. One Klamath woman has a line drawn horizontally from each corner to her cheeks. My female informant has a few random lines, including a poor cross, on the inside of her left forearm. A man's decoration is ordinarily confined to his arms. One man has a line running up the back of his hand and a T-figure on his wrist, each of its arms formed by several parallel lines. Another had short lines crossing the inside of his left arm just above the wrist. This is reminiscent of the lines on a Yurok's forearm to measure dentalia [171]* shells,[402] but has not that purpose here. A few men have a line across the nose ending in a circle beneath each eye, or the circles alone. This is the sum of face decoration; they lack the large black patches on chin and cheeks of the Shasta. Upland Takelma women, I was told, conform rather to the northwest California style. They tattoo the entire lower part of the face below a line drawn across the cheeks.

TIME RECKONING, DIRECTIONS, AND NUMERATION

As with most Indians whose ceremonials do not depend on the 805 exact recording of time, the Klamath have little development of time reckoning. The result is the confusion and conflict between native authorities familiar elsewhere.

Intervals of the day are of little importance. These are indicated by the position of the sun (sa''bas) for which a few names have been developed.

pá'ĕttkis, early dawn; "this is the time to attack."
ni'lḳa, sunrise.
ɛmbo'sant, early forenoon.

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[401] Gatschet, 1:150. He stated that pitch, "wákinsh grows on the pan-tree," by which I presume he meant the lodgepole pine.

[402] Kroeber, Handbook, 25.

dlnaˈlöpka, later forenoon.
siwöˈtkᴇ, midday.
gawiloˈla, mid-afternoon.
diˈntkᴇ saˈʼbas, sun nearly down.

The movement of the stars gives time at night. For instance, I was told that in winter, when they sit late telling stories, it is bedtime (loˈlalöks) when Orion's belt has risen two-thirds of the distance toward the zenith. This is about ten o'clock in mid-December. Midnight is literally (?) psindötklüm.

There is no year count, but these people have of course no difficulty in expressing spans of years. Similarly the seasons are of little significance. There are however four period names: sᴇ'aˈlüm, the beginning of fall, loˈldöm, winter, when snow begins to fall in the mountains, sķoˈw'a, the beginning of spring, pöˈtda, when roots, etc., begin to ripen. It was emphasized that these names refer properly to the opening of the seasons. There is no generic word for seasons; the year is called momoˈwatc or e'loˈla. Gatschet observes that as an alternative to the use of month names, they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as udsaksäˈmi, "in the big sucker time," i-umäˈmi, "in the berry season," etc.[463]

This seasonal count indicates that the year begins in early fall. It is marked by the end of the wild fruit season and the withering of the leaves. This corresponds to late August or early September.[464] The exact date is indefinite; it is marked by the appearance of a new moon, but bears no relation to the procession of the constellations.

Ten months are named which purport to pass for lunar months. That is, the Klamath month (saʼˈbas, month, moon, sun) is a period indefinitely fixed in the solar calendar, marked by the waxing and waning of the moon, and omitting the dark phases. These people are fully aware that ten named periods do not fit the twelve plus lunations of the year. No attempt is made to make them fit, to reckon an intercalary period. The ten months are merely ten roughly marked intervals of the year-round, whose beginning, duration, and end are left indefinite as of no particular concern, but which serve the convenient purpose of designating the several periods of the year. It is quite clear that while the Klamath are fully aware of the discrepancies of their calendar, they feel no need for correcting them. For instance, my most satisfactory informant, Nancy Phillips, named over the ten months when asked the number of lunations. When her attention was called to the true number, she agreed that there were more than ten, but exactly how many she did not know, for no one keeps track of them. She thought there were more than twelve, certainly she knows that there are more than ten.

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[463] Gatschet, 1:76.

[132]
[133]

[464] It must be remembered that winter comes very early at this altitude (4000 feet). By mid-September ice forms on the ponds during the night. Gatschet's information confirms that of my best informants that August-September marks the opening of the year (1:74). This disposes of mid-winter and February-March as opening dates as mentioned by my other informants below.

The months are named for the fingers and counted in their order commencing with the right thumb, according to Nancy Phillips, and passing to the thumb on the left hand. This brings it about that the five names are repeated.

1. tḳ!o'po, thumb (approximately August-September and March; the ground thaws and the grass grows a little under the snow).
2. spĕ'lwis, forefinger (September-October, the leaves fall; April, geese and fish return).
3. dōtklū'mĕni, middle finger (October-November; May-June).
4. ḳ!ō'ptc!alûm sinā'katla, ring finger (lit., partner of the little finger; December-January, the coldest month, the lake freezes and timber cracks with frost; June, fruits are fully ripened).
5. ḳ!ō'ptc!a, little finger (February; July-August, midsummer).

The moon, which was full on September 21, 1926, was the second month according to this informant. On a previous occasion she had given the months beginning with the left thumb, and February–March as the opening of the year. This is at least consistent with her later naming of the months. Which hand one begins with is evidently immaterial. A check on Nancy's data is given by her statement that Orion's belt appears on the horizon at dawn in the first month; this would be about August. She also stated that the winter solstice came in the fourth month, which is correct by her reckonings. But she added that the summer solstice was in the thumb month, which would be incorrect unless she began counting on the left hand, from the little finger, which stood for February–March.

Pat Kane placed the beginning of the year shortly before Christmas, the lunation in which the winter solstice occurs. He began the count with the little finger of the left hand and continued with the right thumb. This agrees with the procedure recorded by Gatschet.

A year of twelve months was recorded by Gatschet.[686] His informant noted the beginning of the year about August. He named the months first on one hand, followed with the other, in each case beginning at the thumb, and gave as eleventh and twelfth months the thumb

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[686] 1:74–77.

805 and index finger of the first hand again. Naturally Gatschet's twelve months and my ten do not correspond; the following tabulation shows that there is close agreement only in the earlier part of the year.

Finger	*Gatschet's description*	*Identifiable as*	*Nancy's dating*
Thumb	Berry gathering; dry the fruit; mares foal	Late September	August-September
Index	Inaugurate winter house by feast: stack hay	October	September-October
Middle	Leaves fall	October-November	October-November
Ring	Snows	November	December-January
Small	Snows heavily	November-December	February
Thumb	Lake frozen; snows	December	March
Index	Much rain; dances in dance house	December-January	April
Middle	Kill large suckers	March-April	May-June
Ring	Take large suckers; dig ipos	April	June
Small	Dry suckers; leave home to dig camas and ipos	April-May; Gatschet says about May	July-August
Thumb	Store camas; gather wokas	Mid-August to end of September	
Index	Return from wokas harvest; gather berries	Late August and September	

The Indians quarrel a great deal over the month reckoning. One old man, who is so deaf that he cannot be argued with, so I was told, held that September, 1926, was ḳ!ŏ'ptc!alŭm sĭnŏ'kstĭs, ring finger month, that is, either fourth or ninth. He was counting too fast, according to Nancy. If he meant the ninth month, he was in substantial agreement with Pat Kane in putting the beginning of the year at the end of our calendar year.

[841] In this connection we note that women do not reckon the intervals between menstruations, nor recognize their recurrence with the lunations.[406]

A tale, in which the number of months is fixed by a council of animals, follows.[407]

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> The animals each tried to make so many sticks to represent the number of months they wanted. One made ten sticks for a ten-month winter. Another objected that this was much too long: "*If you make a winter of ten months, people will freeze and starve to death before it ends.*" So he broke the ten sticks that stood for winter. *If he had left them there would have been twenty months in a year.*

The solstices are recognized but their exact dates not noted. They are unnamed but the apparent movement is called lo'ldŭm (or găpgŏ'pli), going away, and sḳowha' (or toḳa'lḳa), returning.

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[406] Knotted string records, such as are used on Puget sound, are not kept.

[407] Told by Nancy Phillips, who knew it only imperfectly. Cf. Gatschet, 1:105.

Both sun and moon are called sa'’bas, but they are clearly recognized as separate entities. There is a tale accounting for the confusion. 821

When Coyote was the sun at one time, daylight came so early that people did not get enough sleep. He shouted at them every morning, "It has been daylight a long time." The sunshine was too bright and hot. Coyote abused the people because he was sun. Finally they deposed him, putting the moon person in his place.[illegible] 821 539

The Klamath say that during an eclipse the Grizzly Bear devours the sun or moon, hence it is called loķ slo'ki, grizzly eats. They gather and shout, calling moon's wife, the Frog, to use her power on the bear. The Frog can be seen in the moon.[illegible] 821

The Klamath share the habit of most other Indians in distinguishing only the more obvious or isolated constellations. So far as I identify them these are Orion's belt, Gemini, Big Dipper, and Pleiades. It is notable that these are all winter constellations. Perhaps the Milky Way is named; I neglected to enquire. Polaris is known to be stationary; its name was unknown to my informant. The evening star is called pse'gěknis; the morning star has no significance. But I judge that other stars (k'tc!ol) are not signaled for naming; Cassiopeia, for instance, is not recognized.

The constellation slŭks (Orion's belt) comprises six stars; the three of the belt and those pendant forming the sword. The Gemini are twins (wiwi'saķ), boy and girl. When they barely appear on the eastern horizon in the evening, they look over the lake and it freezes (December). Later when they stand higher, it indicates that spring is coming. Their bow rises a considerable interval before them, a bent arc of six stars, with the string supposedly indicated. As nearly as I can discover this group includes the western part of the constellation Gemini, the stars Ξ, Γ, N, M, and another directly above them in Auriga. Rabbit (kai) is another star following these. He looks over the lake, making it freeze. Possibly this is Altair or Fomalhaut, although this does not well fit the time of its appearance: on the eastern horizon before dawn in dōtklŭ'měni (May-June), somewhat south of east. The Pleiades, called mdandŏ'ksni, are a group of little children who announce the dawn when they first appear on the morning horizon. Ursa Major (ķo'ķiuķs, the divers, i.e., loons) is a group of people in a row diving into the water one after the other, gambling to see who can dive farthest.

[illegible] Told by Nancy Phillips.

[illegible] For the appropriate tale see p. 141.

821
823
The Klamath notion is that they name their directions from the winds. This seems unusual until we realize that this is the habit of the peoples to the north, e.g., the Wishram by my own information. It is also intelligible from the rôle played by personified winds throughout this area, Shasta to Puget sound. Seven of the eight compass points are named, omitting northeast, from which quarter there is probably no wind.

lopi'tal, east.
ye'wal̥q!, southeast.
mo'atal, south.
ḳopa'stiskāni, southwest.
txka'lamdal, west.
tcōkï'nkadal, northwest (cf. tcōkāa, service berry region, lying to the southwest of Crater lake).
ya'mōkeda, north.

This is the order in which my informant, Nancy Phillips, gave the directions. She did not offer zenith and nadir, and, on direct questioning, held that these were not directions.

The numerals are as follows:

802
1, nas.
2, lap.
3, xnda'n.
4, wuni'p.
5, tu'nip.
6, nō'taksōpt.
7, la'pksōpt.
8, da'nksōpt.
9, nōtskā'ēks.
10, te'ēwūnip.
11, na'sial'x.
12, la'pial'x.
13, xnda'nial'x.
14, wuni'pial'x.
15, tu'nipial'x.
16, nō'taksōptial'x.
17, la'pksōtial'x.
18, da'nksōptial'x.
19, nōtskā'ēksial'x.
20, la'pūni te'ēwūnip.
21, la'pūni te'ēwūnip pe'ēnas.[410]
26, la'pūni te'ēwūnip pe'ēnōtaksō'pt.
30, xndani' te'ēwūnip.
40, wūnipni te'ēwūnip.
47, wūnipni te'ēwūnip pe'ēn lapksō'pt.
50, tunipni te'ēwūnip.

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[410] By analogy with twenty-six, forty-seven, etc., this looks as though the word for one should be suffixed, but the form given is consistent with one hundred and one.

802

60, nŏtaksŏpt dŏ'nkni te'ĕwŭnlp.
70, la'pksŏpt dŏ'nkni te'ĕwŭnlp.
80, da'nksŏpt dŏ'nkni te'ĕwŭnlp.
90, nŏtakă'ĕks dŏ'nkni te'ĕwŭnlp.
98, nŏtakă'ĕks dŏ'nkni te'ĕwŭnlp pe'ĕn da'nksŏpt.
100, te'ĕwŭnlpni te'ĕwŭnlp.
101, te'ĕwŭnlpni te'ĕwŭnlp pe'ĕnas.

The numbers eleven to nineteen are abbreviated forms, the full form for sixteen, for instance, is nŏ'taksŏptial'x ha te'ĕwŭnlp ŏnt.

Even without extended etymological analysis, which I am not prepared to make, the basis of this numeration is transparent. One to six, nine, and ten are individual stems; seven is based on two, and eight on three. This suggests a quinary and decimal basis. From twenty up the basic count is by tens. Intermediate integers are so many tens plus the units, as in English. The exception is such an integer as twenty-one which looks like "two tens plus." Why the form for sixty and above differs from the lower round numbers, I do not know.

These numbers are used in counting all classes of objects. Gatschet remarks that classifiers "are appended to the numeral to indicate the shape or exterior of the objects counted."[411] The only other number I found was a score, the ten fingers and toes together, na'sat. There are no similar collective terms for the fingers of one hand or of both. Only a circumlocution can be used, like lugawa'wals, the fingers, or pĕtcŏ'mnxlugawa'wals, the toes all together (pĕtc is foot). Ordinarily the ordinal numbers are not used in counting the fingers; one does not usually say one finger, but specifies it by name. The toes are enumerated like the fingers.[412]

822

The following list of colors was recorded:

tŏḳtŏ'kli, red.
t!o'tlalwi, green.
mĕtemĕ'teli, blue.
spa'lpteli, yellow.
kŏp'kauli' brown.
bŏ'ebŏeli, black.
ba'lbali, white.
ĝe'lŏpel, gray (English, gray ?), means dirty.

My informant said that the word for blue was in use before the coming of the whites; she denied that there was a single word for blue-green. This implies that the familiar blue-green confusion was lacking here. I did not test any of these people for their color sense with color-wools.

[177]

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[411] 1:523.

[412] For the finger names, see the list of months above.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

IV. THE KLAMATH AND WESTERN CULTURE

THE PLACE OF KLAMATH CULTURE

101
128 The place of the Klamath in western culture has been obscure and has, I think, been mistakenly appraised. In this section I have gone beyond the immediate task of defining it in order to build out on its northern border the synthesis of Californian cultures furnished by Kroeber.

101
114 Any attempt at placing the Klamath is rendered difficult by the paucity of information for large areas in the northwestern states. There is little enough on western Washington, but even less for the region east of the Cascade range, and practically nothing for the whole of Oregon. The southern Plateau is unknown save for the Nez Percé; its eastern section (Kutenai to Flathead) is another complete blank. Satisfactorily complete accounts now available can be numbered on the fingers: Gunther's Klallam, Haeberlin and Gunther's southern Puget Sound groups, Olson's manuscript notes on the Quinault, another manuscript on the Wishram by Sapir and the present writer, Teit's slight but highly suggestive notes on the Middle Columbia Salish, Spinden's Nez Percé, and the valuable collection of historical references gathered by Lewis. The situation is better for the Fraser river section of the Plateau, thanks to Teit's several accounts of the interior Salish. The stock of information on the Basin is slender and that for northern California none too voluminous. Nevertheless it seems possible to place the Klamath by a cautious use of these fragmentary data.

The present section will attempt to summarize the situation, with particular reference to material culture. The sections that follow analyze the shamanistic complex, social organization, and the girls' rites in greater detail.

*171
101 The food habits of the Klamath, and in fact their general material culture, places them squarely with the Plateau peoples. They are as much a river people as the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap, although the river in their instance is a minor stream (the Williamson river) and substituted in part by flooded marshes. As a river people, their primary foodstuff is fish; vegetal foods, water-lily seed, roots, and the like, form a considerable part of their provender, yet a lesser one.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Southeast Salish NR19

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This is undoubtedly true equally of all the tribes lying in the Columbia 262
drainage from the Rockies to the Cascades. It is known to be so of
tribes as far apart as the Wishram and the Lower Kutenai,[413] and of 171*
others lying between, as the Middle Columbia Salish and the Nez Percé
in their original condition. K

The Nez Percé case calls for explanation. The present culture of 171*
the Nez Percé is Plains-like. But there can be little doubt that much, 105
if not the overwhelming part of the Plains traits among them, dates 177
only from the introduction of horses into the Snake-Columbia basin,
sometime between 1750 and 1800. With the horse came not only horse
gear and all the elements of Plains nomadism, but the opportunity for
buffalo hunting and trading on an extensive scale in the Plains. Many
of the Snake-Columbia tribes began to make periodic visits beyond
the Rockies from this time. Teit's account of the Middle Columbia SS
Salish makes it quite clear that prior to the coming of the horse, 114
typical Plateau culture, practically devoid of Plains elements, pre- 105
vailed over the entire area. Even the picture of life among the Nez 177
Percé and their neighbors presented to Lewis and Clark as late as
1804–6 was far more that of the Plateau at large than it is in our own K
day. The earlier situation is largely obscured by the fact that the 171*
Yakima and Klickitat in their eastern Washington location have many
Plains-like features. Teit's investigations make it reasonably certain, 105
however, that the situation prior to the end of the eighteenth century 177
was quite different. At that time eastern Washington to south of the
Columbia river was occupied by Salish tribes with typical Plateau
culture. Subsequently the Yakima-Klickitat moved northward, prob-
ably from east central Oregon, to their historic habitat.[414] It seems
reasonable to assume that up to that time they, like the Nez Percé, had
little in the way of Plains culture. K

Even today the food habits of the Sahaptins are not those of the 171*
Plains. What I am suggesting here is that the balance of vegetal 177
products and fish, now nearly even, rather favored fish in the days 178
before hunting was so readily followed. 262

So far as general habits of life go, the river culture of the Klamath K
links them also with the tribes on the lower reaches of the Klamath 101
river. But their food habits do not quite coincide. Yurok, Hupa, and K
Shasta all make a larger use of acorns than of fish, although observers 171*

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[413] Chamberlain, Kootenay, 183. 262

[414] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish; a map showing the early distribution is included in Haeberlin, *et al.*, Coiled Basketry in British Columbia.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

*171
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all agree that salmon form a far larger share of their dietary than in central California.[415] Bulbs, roots, and seeds are eaten but seemingly to a less extent than among the Klamath. Deer and other large game are abundant, but curiously little used; an attitude toward this source of supply not only like that of the Klamath but exactly that of typical Northwest Coast tribes. Some of these northern tribes, in fact, will not touch venison. This non-usage is really not so strange when we recall that a plentiful supply of fish or fish and acorns renders the pursuit of deer unnecessary, and that the dense rainforests and steep slopes of both areas make it unprofitable.

To judge by the many references of Klamath informants to the habits of the Modoc, the latter must share much the same primary dependence on fish. It is just possible that roots, bulbs, and seeds play a slightly larger part in their economy, if the somewhat drier terrain they occupy has any influence. This is apparently the case so far as the Pit river tribes are concerned. Vegetal products seem to bulk larger than fish, although salmon is taken in abundance in the western sections, other fish in the east. Large game is abundant, but the Pit Rivers are not great hunters. Their general status is indicated in that, despite the availability of salmon, the western groups made much of the acorn. Southward the Maidu also place chief reliance on the acorn in the face of the considerable quantities of salmon taken and the abundance of other vegetal products and game.[416] This is the general situation throughout central California, primarily a region of bulb, root, and seed gathering, of large and small game and insects, yet where acorns are the staple.

It is of course obvious that the utilization of one or another food source will vary as they are available. Yet arbitrary habits and preferences enter. There is no reason why any foodstuff should have been completely excluded from the diet, as the Kwakiutl avoid venison, nor why a particular one should be exploited to the great exclusion of all others, as the acorn in most of California. From this point of view, the Klamath leaning toward fish as their staple is arbitrary and not dictated by geographic conditions. Their food habits are such primarily because they share the habits of the Columbia-Snake tribes as a whole.

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[415] Kroeber, Handbook, 84; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 21-27; Dixon, Shasta, 423, 424.

[416] Kniffen, Achomawi Geography, 300-2; Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 211-13; Northern Maidu, 181 f.

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Their material culture at large follows the general alignment of their basic economy with the Plateau peoples. This can be made clear by the following tabulation of material culture traits shared by tribes in adjacent culture areas. A few items of social culture not discussed elsewhere are also entered. Only those traits for which comparative data could be readily found are included, which makes the list random rather than truly representative. It must be understood that the reference is only to the specific form in which the Klamath hold to the trait. Thus, the compound fire-drill stick is entered, and not the simple fire drill. In fact, traits of this sort, having a distribution over the whole continent, have been excluded as adding nothing to our

KLAMATH TRAITS SHARED BY TRIBES IN ADJACENT AREAS

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Houses	Earth-lodge	Plateau (Chilcotin to Middle Columbia and Wishram), N.E. California (where it merges into central Californian forms).	[342]
	Mat-lodge	Wishram, Nez Percé, Middle Columbia?	[343]
Sweat-lodges	Dome-shaped	N.E. California, Basin, Plateau, Southwest rancherias, Plains, and eastward.	
	Earth-covered	Washington, Oregon (merges with central Californian type).	
Fishing	Dip nets	California, Plateau, Northwest Coast.	[227]
	Dam; weir	N. California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
	Two-prong spear	California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
Digging stick	Cross-handle; curved point	Northwest Coast, Plateau?	[412]
Insect foods	Slight use	Oregon, s. Plateau, Basin, California.	[262]
Metate	Extensive use	California (late in N. California?), Basin, Plateau?, Southwest and southward.	[412]
Mortar	Stone	S. and central California (prehistoric in N. California); wooden mortars in Plateau.	
Canoe	Shovel nose	Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Columbia basin to N. California.	[501]
Baskets	Considerable use	California, Basin, Plateau.	[415]
	Twine	Northwest Coast s. into N. California.	
	Minor use of coil	Plateau, Basin, central and s. California.	
Bags	Woven	Made east of Cascades, s. to Klamath.	[286]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 230]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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		Klamath form	*Links with:*
[285]	Mats	Extensive use	Oregon?, Northwest Coast to Columbia r., Plateau.
		Mat needle	s. Northwest Coast (and northward?), Washington, Oregon?
[281]	Tanning	Smoke-tan	Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, Wishram, Nez Percé; Basin, Plateau, Plains (and elsewhere?—probably not Northwest Coast).
[372]	Fire drill	Compound	Puget sound, Takelma, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi, Wind R. Shoshoni, Crow, Navaho, Hopi.
[415]	Spoon	Paddle	California s. to n. Miwok.
[411]	Bow	Sinew-backed	Arctic, Northwest Coast, Plateau, Washington, Oregon, California s. to Tehachapi, Basin, Southwest, w. Plains.
		Flat; constricted grip	n. w. California, Northwest Coast.
	Arrows	Stone heads	(Not the bone heads of Northwest Coast and w. Washington, where stone heads are scarce.)
[714]	Armor	Tunic	Northwest Coast, Plateau, Oregon, n. California, Basin, Southwest (and southward?).
		Slat or rod	Alaska to Maidu (Tlingit, Plateau, Oregon, Washington, n. California).
	Shield	Round	Plateau, Basin, Plains (not California).
[291]	Dress	Fringed skirt	Coast area west of Cascades-Sierras, probably Basin.
		Men: Plains shirt	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.
		Women: Plains dress	Plateau, Basin, Plains.
		Decorated band on robe	Plateau? (Wishram, Nez Percé), Plains.
		Tule slippers	Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Paviotso.
		Three-piece moccasin	Plateau (moccasins are also n. and central California, Basin, Southwest, Plains, and eastward).
		Basket hats	n. California (=Plateau type?; other types, Northwest Coast, Basin, s. California).
[302]	Hairdress	Braids for both sexes	Plateau, Plains.
	Combs	Porcupine tail	Achomawi, Northern Maidu.
[304]	Head deformation	Fronto-occipital	s. Northwest Coast to Alsea, Siuslaw, and Klamath.
	Tattooing	Women: chin lines	w. Arizona, California, Takelma (Oregon in general?). (Not Plateau? and Northwest Coast.)

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	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Dentalium shells	**Ornament**	Ultimate source, coasts of Washington and British Columbia.	[301]
Cradles	**Sitting**	N.W. and N. central California.	
	Board	N. Basin, Plateau.	[854]
Games	**Beaver teeth dice**	Oregon, Washington, British Columbia.	[524]
	Four stick	N.E., central, and S. California (and elsewhere?).	
	Hand game	Some central Californians, Basin, S. Northwest Coast, Plateau, Plains.	
	Modified hoop-pole	Minor game of coast from Alaska to Oregon (not N.W. California).	
	Ring-and-pin; rush ball	Modoc?, Wishram.	
Pipes	**Spherical; discoidal**	S. Plateau (Nez Percé to Okanagon).	[276]
	Angular	Wasco, Wishram, Middle Columbia, Nez Percé (links with Plains calumet?).	
Musical instruments	**Hand drum**	Recent in Plateau; Basin, Plains, (Northwest Coast?).	[534]
	Deerhoof rattle in girls' rites	N. California.	
	Notched rasp	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.	
	Clap stick	N. and central California.	
	Open flute	California, Southwest; Takelma, Nez Percé (and probably general in the west).	
Numerals	**Finger names**	Takelma.	[802]
Ritual number	**Five**	S. Northwest Coast, Washington, Oregon, California S. to Sinkyone and Northern Maidu, Basin.	[801]
Calendar	**Numerical names**	N.W. California, Fraser r., N. Northwest Coast.	[805]
Scalping	**Whole scalp**	California, W. Southwest, Wishram (no scalping in N.W. California E. to Shasta, and Northwest Coast).	[726]
Head trophy	**Unusual**	California, Northwest Coast.	
Scalp dance		General (except N.W. California) (over head trophies on Northwest Coast).	[727]
War dance	**With notched rattle**	Upland Takelma?, Wasco, Wishram, Nez Percé; without rattle, Chinook, N.W. California.	
Disposal of dead	**Cremation**	Modoc; some cremation in N.E. California; central California; formerly in E. Washington; N. Plateau.	[764]

*171 understanding of the place of the Klamath in western culture. Specific
105 tribal reference is made in only a few instances; principally where it
• is necessary to define the distribution in the neighborhood of the
*171 Klamath somewhat more closely than the names of culture areas
105 allow.* It does not seem desirable to cite specific references beyond
101 this, since my notes are far from exhaustive.

By far the majority of linkages are with the Plateau, particularly with its southern section. Northeastern and northwestern California are close seconds, but the general impression is that when details of specific form are emphasized, the relationship with the mountain tribes of northeastern California is much closer. The southern Northwest Coast, that is, largely western Washington, is a bad third, and, as is readily intelligible, central California and the Basin are culturally even more remote. Southern California and the Plains have only a third as many elements in common with the Klamath as have the Plateau peoples, and the Southwest very few. The total impression might be considerably modified if we knew more of Oregon cultures, but I do not believe this would change the verdict of basic resemblance to the Plateau.

House forms are Plateau, both earth-lodge and mat-lodge. Mat-covered lodges are widely used, but the specific type here, resembling the earth-lodge structure, is a localized type of the southern Plateau. Plains dress and hairdress have come in through the same region; the older fringed skirt is typical of the whole area west of the Rockies or at least west of the Cascades and Sierras. Of personal adornment, the basket hat and tattooing are Californian, frontal flattening is from the Northwest Coast by way of the Columbia. Fishing habits are those of the larger northwest: northern California, the Northwest Coast, and the Plateau as a whole. The shovel-nose canoe is characteristic of the southern half of the same area. The preponderant use of basketry and the almost complete absence of wooden utensils affiliate with California, the Basin, and Plateau, rather than with Northwest Coast. However the prevailing technique, twining, is that of the northern coast. The manifold use of mats again seems characteristic of the north. Cradles show a nice combination of the basketry sitting type of northwesterly California and the wooden flat forms of the Plateau. Arms and armor are northern: the round shield is a Plains feature, probably transferred across the Plateau.

Things less grossly material, such as games, affiliate in all directions. The Californian four-stick game is balanced by the eastern hand

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game; beaver-teeth dice are northwestern. Rattles are Californian, the hand drum and notched rasp, eastern. The ritual number five is known in a swathe of territory from Vancouver island to the Basin. The war or incitement dance links the Columbia river with northwestern California. More important is the practice of cremation which is partly followed in northeastern California and was, according to archaeological evidence, the earlier practice of the southern Plateau. This links the Plateau, northeastern and central California in one vast area which formerly at least was given to cremation.

Specifically local elements beyond those already noted, that is, those of northeastern California and the southern Plateau, are pipes of several forms, tule slippers and three-piece moccasins, perhaps the bundle form of ring-and-pin game, and the porcupine-tail comb; none of them more than superficial details.

There are a number of features characteristic of near-by culture areas, which in their distributions are quite within the range of influences impinging on the Klamath, and yet in which the Klamath do not share. Some of these are enumerated below. It must be understood that no attempt has been made to list all the items characteristic of each of the adjacent areas. The list includes only those features whose known distribution is close to the Klamath and which might have been expected among them.

It is rather surprising to find that the several methods of deer hunting, the seed beater, rabbit-skin blankets, and tubular pipes are not present among the Klamath. All would fit well into Klamath culture and their habitat imposes no difficulties. On the other hand, fishing stages are not needed on their relatively quiet streams choked with rocks and with low banks. Pulverizing of salmon may be absent because comparatively few salmon are taken, and possibly other dried fish do not crumble like the flakes of dried salmon. Cocoons from which rattles can be made probably do not occur in Klamath territory. Why the Klamath do not beat seeds directly from the bushes is not clear; they make considerable use of them but prefer to gather the plants whole and shake out the seeds. Similarly the absence of tubular pipes and the tanning frame is inexplicable. Parfleches are not manufactured but are traded from the Columbia. This explains the absence of their manufacture, for the tribes with whom they come in contact do not make them either. This is certain for the Wishram and undoubtedly so for Wasco; the Klickitat and Yakima make them but seldom;[417] all trading from the Nez Percé and their neighbors.

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[417] Haeberlin *et al.*, Coiled Basketry, 357, 360.

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The fashioning of utensils from wood may well have been inhibited by the development of basketry substitutes and the recency of direct contact with a woodworking culture on the Columbia.

Other features are perhaps too distant to suggest their imitation: the plank house and blanket weaving of the Northwest Coast, the tipi, even in its mat-covered form on the Plateau, the dance-sweat-lodge of central California. Yet even here some influence of these may be seen among the Klamath. Riven planks for earth-lodge timbers were derived from Shastan and lower Klamath river forms of the plank house. The central Californian dance lodge did indeed reach the Klamath as part of the Ghost dance of 1870, but too late to influence their culture before its disintegration.

FEATURES OF ADJACENT AREAS NOT SHARED BY THE KLAMATH

Houses, plank	Coastal from N. Alaska to N.W. California (e.g., Shasta, Takelma, and Wishram).
tipi	s. (and N?) Plateau, N. and s. Basin, Plains, Mackenzie, N. Eastern Woodlands.
Dance-sweat-house	Central California.
Fishing stages	Northwest Coast to N.W. California, Plateau s. to Columbia river.
Fashioned salmon club	Northwest Coast to Columbia river.
Pulverized salmon	Plateau s. to Wishram (not Nez Percé) (links with Plains pemmican and Californian pounded-meat?).
Hunting, impounding	Nez Percé, Plateau?, Basin, N. Plains, Mackenzie?
deer snares	N.W. California, Takelma (Northwest Coast for mountain goat).
pits	N.E. California (and elsewhere?).
rabbit nets	Nez Percé, N.E. and s. California, Basin, w. Southwest.
Seed beater	California, Arizona, Basin, occasional in Plateau.
Canoe sails	Northwest Coast (aboriginal?).
Rabbit-skin blankets	California, Southwest, Basin, Oregon (Modoc, Wishram: not Klamath and Nez Percé), w. Plateau, Mackenzie.
Blanket weaving	Northwest Coast to Columbia river, w. Plateau.
Parfleche	s. Plateau, N. and E. Basin, E. Southwest, Plains.
Wood carving	Northwest Coast to Columbia river.
Ladles and spoons	Northwest Coast to Columbia river.
Tanning frame	Wishram, Plateau, Plains.
Toothed comb	Quinault, Twana, Nez Percé, Molala, Northern Maidu.
Trough cradle	Northwest Coast s. to Tillamook (links with N.W. California sitting type?).
Cocoon rattle	N.E. and central California.
Tubular pipe	Takelma, Wasco, Sahaptins at Celilo, Nez Percé; California, Southwest.
Tobacco cultivated	Yurok, Hupa, Wintun, Maidu, Takelma, Wishram?; Northwest Coast, s. California, Southwest and southward, Plains and eastward.
Names, inherited and received at puberty	Northwest Coast, Plateau s. to Columbia river.

Taken as a whole Klamath material culture is of Plateau type with 171*
strong leanings toward northeastern California. But their social and 101
religious culture has a different aspect. While basically of the
extremely simple Basin-Plateau type, social habits reflect the Northwest 105
Coast, religious ones rather those of northern California and
western Oregon.

The basis of Klamath religious experience is that of the northern 171*
interior, the Basin, and the Northwest Coast, in distinction to California
and the Southwest. The experience is deliberately sought and 771
the power obtained is of a generalized, unspecialized nature. In this
they resemble as well the generality of North Americans. Even their
spirits are of the sort universal east of the Pacific coast. Specific
Northwest Coast influence appears in the circumscription of general
spirit repossession to the midwinter month. On the other hand, the
shaman novice's inaugural dance, which gives at least as much color
to Klamath shamanism, is characteristic of northern California and
western Oregon. The Klamath form of it is, rather, Or[illegible]nian.
Details of shamanism, on the other hand, link more firmly with
northern, especially northeastern, California.

Social organization is extremely simple, and it is quite patent that 171*
as late as the end of the eighteenth century, it resembled that of the
Basin and Plateau in every particular. Even now social stratification
is only weakly developed. Chiefs were only recently set off from the
mass, their functions vague and their influence slight. At the very 171*
moment that Klamath society began to break down with the coming of
the whites, they first imported from the Columbia river judicial functions 177
for the chiefs. Chiefs are the wealthiest individuals, but they 622
are not chiefs because they are wealthy. Their selection is still based
on principles of personal ability. The basis of this differentiation,
wealth, came from the same direction, but the accompanying principle
of the Northwest Coast, caste stratification, never reached here; nor
did the chief's adjunct, a speaker or advocate, although this functionary
is known in the Plateau and Basin as well as in the Northwest.
At the other end of the scale, slavery is apparently an old institution, 171*
but was of little importance until wealth began to figure among them. 567
The Northwest Coast concept of status based on wealth appears again
in marriage, here regularly by purchase. But social estimation did 171*
not rest on the amount paid, which was in fact very little. With so
slight an emphasis on rank and wealth, those northwestern corollaries, 556
local exogamy to maintain the one and the family compact following 584

*171 on the other, were entirely absent among the Klamath. Nevertheless
556 the mechanism of the Northwest Coast for the exchange of presents,
the potlatch, does appear here in the form of prescribed reciprocal
584 visits between the families of bride and groom. It has not been clearly
recognized that these features of Northwest Coast social life have
spread even farther from that focus into the northern Plains and to
north central California.

*171 Of the slender stock of Klamath ceremonials, the scalp dance is
widely known, the war or incitement dance is common to northwestern
535 California and perhaps all of Oregon. Kroeber has pointed out that
726 so far as California is concerned scalp and war dances are mutually
exclusive in their distributions.[418] But the Klamath, like all others
*171 of eastern Oregon, carry out both dances. The girls' adolescence rite
of the Klamath is one with those of western Oregon and northern
881 California. This is a local phrasing of similar rites known from
Alaska to the Southwest, but lacking east of the Sierra-Cascades.
Specific details of the Klamath affair are closer to northern Cali-
*171 fornian forms than to those of Oregon. The Ghost dance of 1870 was
evanescent among them. Its first form was that characteristic of the
original dance of Nevada; later it was overlaid by features char-
acteristic of central California.[419]

177 Some historical relief emerges in this survey. It is definitely
traceable in some details and can be established inferentially for more
basic elements. The most recent stratum of adopted traits is post-
[285] reservation, i.e., later than 1865. This includes two types of basketry
derived from the Northern Paiute settled on the reservation, a sifting
[668] basket and a coiled water bucket, and the Ghost dance. The earlier
form of the Ghost dance was instituted by the same group of Paiute
in 1870 or '71. This was the familiar circle of dancers, whose leaders
[343] dreamed new regulations; its ideology the return of the dead. In
1873 a Pit River introduced central Californian elements; a dance
[534] lodge, probably the clap-stick rattle, new songs, etc. To the same
[533] stratum belongs the imitation of the Warm Springs-Yakima one-piece
moccasin.

[291] Other elements are recognized as pertaining to pre-reservation
days, but probably not earlier than the middle of the last century:
177 the hand drum derived from the north, and perhaps the social dances
534 in which it is used; the hand game brought by a Spokane (?) man.

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535 [418] Kroeber, Handbook, 144, 844.

[419] Spier, Ghost Dance.

177 622 The judicial function of chiefs, dispensing fines and punishments, is known to have been derived from the Columbia river tribes at this time.

439 Some trade articles not manufactured by the Klamath also pertain to this era: parfleches, skin bags, and buffalo hides from Warm Springs and the Dalles, flat basketry bowls from Pit river through the Modoc, and beads, even dentalia, from the same southern source or from the Shasta.

177 231 The second quarter of the last century saw the coming of the horse. Ogden remarked on only one among them in 1826, but they began to be obtained in numbers, probably from Warm Springs, about 1840. There can be little question that with the horse came elements of Plains culture from the half-Plains tribes of the Columbia-Snake, the adoption of predatory habits, and the great stimulus to slave-raiding and to slave-trading with the people at the Dalles on the Columbia.

177 [291] Both tradition and inference assign Plains traits to this period. The relative newness of Plains style of dress is attested by the incompleteness with which it was adopted. It was never the universal garb, but confined to the wealthiest, and, most significantly, proscribed at the performances of shamans and the Ghost dance. [714] Further, men did not wear Plains costume to war and set out on their raids afoot, even after the acquisition of horses, which suggests that the new accouterment and habits had not taken firm root. The circular shield, which also was never in general use, may well have come in at this time. [291] [531] The earlier types of Plains garments here were only simply decorated or not at all. It is known that the elaborate beading of the yoke and the use of scalps, etc., for appendages on women's dress, and the painted designs on men's shirts, are much more recent than the first adoption of these garments. These local changes probably reflect a similar transformation in decoration in the southern Plateau. [343] Possibly the dome-shaped sweat-lodge was introduced at this early period. It seems to have been displacing the small earth-covered affair for some time. But the latter is also generically the eastern type, not the Californian, and is without doubt older than this incursion of Plains elements in the early nineteenth century. Finally, I cannot avoid the feeling that the sense of tribal solidarity, in which, even though but slightly developed, the Klamath differ from their Californian neighbors, dates from this contact with Plains-like peoples.

177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
174 Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[622] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
[721] carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-holding
[567] existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their distribution
177 established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kinship
terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
[622] custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[619] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctiveness
101 from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
105 to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some northwestern
influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

Plateau admixture. Since the introduction of the horse, the Lutuami 101
mode of life has evidently been modified analogously to that of the 105
Plateau peoples of the Columbia, although less profoundly; and with 114
the horse came a number of cultural elements from the Plateau, or even from the Plains; of which some went on to the Shasta and Achomawi. This recent modification appears to have given Lutuami culture a more un-Californian aspect than it originally possessed. Neither the Kalapuya nor the Klamath-Modoc were a numerous enough people to have possessed a truly distinctive civilization. The Kalapuya are gone, but nearly a thousand Lutuami remain, and as soon as their society and religion are seriously inquired into, their precise cultural affiliations will no doubt become clear."[430]

The fidelity of this characterization to the situation as it is now known is considerable, but the scantiness of information has permitted the supposition that the local culture is sufficiently distinctive to be given the dignity of a separate subprovince.

The impression is that Kroeber has been led astray by the paucity and false balance of the materials on which he had to rely. Barrett's Material Culture of the Klamath does indeed present a picture of a culture in which the use of tule is accentuated. The predominant rôle given to wokas, the water-lily seed, is a readily intelligible inference from Coville's detailed description of the specialized technique of its preparation. The brief and disjointed texts recorded by Gatschet allow only a puzzling insight into Klamath religious life. At the same time the true character of the southern Plateau, or at least the picture of several generations ago, is obscured by the half-Plains-like culture established for the Nez Percé by Spinden.

Klamath technology is emphatically not one based on tule, with the 101
limitations or suggestions of form it imposes. Nothing is clearer than 105
that tule was in almost every case a substitute for more desirable [171]*
material. Basketry techniques and forms are one with those of the Basin and northern California, and, we might hazard, the Plateau, despite the frequent use of this substitute material. Barrett's paper, which allows the inference of a developed tule industry basic in their material culture, is strictly speaking not an exposition of their material culture at all, but a description of a collection of objects, which in his day had already degenerated to the use of convenient substitute material. What further inference may rest on the Klamath occupation of a tule marsh is false. Klamath culture is not a marsh culture, but one of a river people. The norm of Klamath material culture is

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[430] Kroeber, California Culture Provinces, 163; Handbook, 334-35.

seen in their river home, not in the marsh which occupies a distinctly secondary place in their life.

Correspondingly, while the place of wokas and the intricacies of its preparation are impressive, it must be recognized that their staple food is fish. There can be no doubt of this. They are far more a fish-using people than those on the lower Klamath. And in this they link without question with the Plateau people. The use of wokas does indeed distinguish them from others of the area, but we recognize that this is no more than the utilization of a local food source readily available and abundant, quite in harmony with the tendency in the whole area to emphasize one or another seed supply as the environment dictates.

It must now be apparent that Gatschet's textual material presents the peculiarities of Klamath phrasing of things religious without adequate explanation of their oneness with the Plateau and northeastern California. There is little that he gives besides the songs, but their abundance and their nature can be duplicated among the Wishram and, I believe, were they known, among the Nez Percé and Achomawi. I am not in a position to say how far their mythology is peculiar.

Teit's paper on the Middle Columbia Salish makes it clear that Plains elements in this area are not older than the end of the eighteenth century. Prior to that southern Plateau characteristics prevailed with fair uniformity among the Upper Chinook of the Dalles, the Interior Salish of eastern Washington, and, we infer, the Waiilatpuan and Sahaptins of eastern Oregon and central Idaho. Such Plains characteristics as the Klamath display are demonstrably late and they are themselves aware that much of Northwest Coast practice came to them only after the opening of direct contact with the Columbia tribes barely a hundred years ago.

The final placing of Klamath culture is, perhaps, with the Modoc, as the southernmost outpost of Plateau life. Kroeber's supposition of a distinctive subprovince is excusable in the light of the misleading character of the available descriptions and the absence of Teit's epoch-making contribution. We do not yet know much of the southern Plateau but it does not seem likely that this perspective will be seriously disturbed.[421]

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[421] Now that a Lutuamian culture province fades away, we may hope to see an end to that barbarism, the word Lutuami, itself. No Klamath or Modoc would recognize it, and should it prove that Klamath-Modoc, Molala-Cayuse, and Sahaptin form a single linguistic group, as has been suggested, we may hope to hear the last of it.

THE SHAMANISTIC COMPLEX

However simple and consistent a picture the religious practices of 105 the Klamath may appear, there can be no doubt that they represent an amalgam of historically diverse elements. It is not necessary to indicate the exact sequence in which they were accreted in order to prove this. We can show that these elements have different distributions among neighboring tribes and that they enter into combinations different from that of the Klamath. The Klamath complex is best interpreted as a function of their geographic position, without ignoring the fact that the peculiar form in which the Klamath have these ideas is duplicated nowhere else.

The characteristics of Klamath religious practices and beliefs may 776 be briefly recapitulated. There are a host of weakly defined but sharply localized spirits from whom power is sought. These are chiefly birds and animals, some natural phenomena, and a few anthropomorphic supernaturals. The powers they bestow give success in all 787 things difficult. Power is deliberately sought, it rarely comes involuntarily, and always according to a rigid formula. It is sought by almost every Klamath, perhaps by all, and the majority seem successful in their quest. Shamans are then set off from the laity only in the [756] possession of a greater number of powers. It is better to make the distinction by their acts: those who cure or practice weather control or clairvoyance, no matter how few their powers or the nature of their familiar spirits, are shamans. The quest is undertaken at any time of [881] life, although usually at puberty. The most propitious times in later life are at periods of stress, as in distress or on the death of an imme- [765] diate relative. The formula prescribes fasting for a number of nights on the mountains, continually running about and piling up rocks, combined with diving into lonely pools, or following the latter plan alone by diving beneath whirlpools in the river or lakes which spirits are known to haunt. The suppliant loses consciousness and wakes to find himself on the shore bleeding profusely from the mouth and nose. He does not ordinarily have a vision, but success is manifested in a song heard in a dream on a night soon following. The dream experience is essential. So closely is the spirit identified with the song, that but a single word indicates both. The song is the embodiment of the spirit, which hardly exists apart from it. The spirit is not the suppliant's guardian and later quests are not necessarily for renewed

787 experiences with it. Power may also come involuntarily, when a dreamer hears a spirit song. There is no obligation to accept, but resistance brings illness.

796 756 The midwinter month (December-January) has a curious place in the Klamath calendar. While a shaman must of necessity evoke his spirit to cure or foretell at any time of the year, this is the period when every shaman feels called on to exhibit his powers. The novice shaman also waits for this time to give a public test of his possession, and only after this does he attempt to cure. These seances are solely for displaying power, manifested by the songs and a series of feats. During these performances, those among the audience who have spirits also sing their own songs if the spirit impels. In other words, the midwinter month is the period *par excellence* when spirits regularly resume contact with their communicants.

[535] [372] The essential of the winter seance is a dance by the shaman as close as possible to a huge fire in order to call his spirits to assist him in the feats that follow. These are stereotyped tricks, of which two, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are the test of the novice. Other tricks are of the type of making things appear and disappear.

A few other details should be mentioned here. There is an assistant at this performance, a layman, who repeats the shaman's words. Food brought to the seance is thought first to be eaten by a frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one may touch it. The performance takes place in the shaman's own dwelling.

[789] Weather control, like the display of powers at the midwinter seances, offers an opportunity for shamanistic rivalry. Clairvoyance appears in connection with the war dance preparatory to an expedition, and, curiously, the shaman accompanies the party to continue his clairvoyant function, and, what is still more unique, to serve as surgeon.

753 755 Illness is the result of the intrusion of something foreign, usually a spirit and commonly the spirit of a malignant shaman. A cure consists in extracting a tiny object which is either the disease itself or embodies it. The curing procedure is highly formalized: spirit after spirit is invoked to search the patient, beginning always with the Old Frog Woman, until the culpable spirit is found. The shaman's familiars are thought to stand beside him ready to assist. When he succeeds in sucking out the disease object he swallows it, while blood streams from his mouth.

*171 756 Very little of this is unique with the Klamath, as we may see by comparison with the shamanistic complex of neighboring peoples.

What is unique, however, is the peculiar conjunction of the elements affected by them. Even the closely related Modoc differ, to judge by what little we know of them. 171* 756

By way of orientation it is desirable to survey the situation north and south.[432] 171*

Among the Kwakiutl the guardian spirit is inextricably linked with the hereditary caste system. Rights to a particular guardian are fixed by inheritance, so that the spirits function essentially as badges of clan rank and secret society affiliation. Hence they are few in number. Apart from this, they have definite mythological character, unlike the bird and animal spirits and the few anthropomorphic supernaturals of the Klamath. Acquisition of a guardian is not the relatively random quest of the Klamath, but is definitely fixed with relation to the midwinter ceremonial. The novice, a lad, is sent at this period under the tutelage of an old woman in quest of the hereditary guardian. He returns to the village so strongly imbued with power as to be of danger to himself and others, hence the essential of the ensuing performance is to reduce his ecstasy to a normal state. A potlatch is offered on his behalf. Such individuals, men or women, may become shamans in this manner; only the dances they perform on their return apparently differ from the ancestral dance forms. In a Kwakiutl tale, a man wandering in the woods is initiated by the animals. On his return his overwhelming power is found dangerous and is dulled by contamination with menstruants.[433] During the midwinter sacred period, spirit repossession is general and at the ceremonies all are impelled to display their hereditary spirit songs and dances. The grouping at this time of those having the same spirits is of a piece with the grouping by clans during the remainder of the year. Both groupings rest essentially on names acquired in the one instance from spirits, in the other by clan inheritance, names throughout giving rank and privilege.[434] 756 776 787

The Kwakiutl form of quest, its relation to the midwinter ceremonies, and its social significance are peculiarities which do not prevail south of Vancouver island. Various elements of this complex, however, are found in the area to the south, such as the secret societies as far as the Quinault on the Washington coast, and the winter dance

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[432] See also the summaries of Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit, 10 f.

[433] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 733–749.

[434] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 393 f., 418 f., 501.

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period even to the Klamath. But this interrelation of spirit quest and secret society ritual, with the social grouping that rests on it, is lacking. The Kwakiutl must be looked on as a highly specialized form of the spirit quest-shamanistic complex, of which the more normal forms, in the sense that they are less differentiated and widely distributed, are found in western Washington and the interior.

As an example of the more common form, I will present that of the Thompson. The Thompson complex[433] is more nearly that of the Klamath but is even simpler. The vision quest, which takes place at puberty, is essentially the prerogative of boys, although girls may obtain some slight powers. Hence shamans are men and but few women. The vision is sought in the mountains where the boy remains praying, dancing, running about, and fasting. His training does not end with the vision, but continues after power has been acquired, the whole being directed toward magical training for adult life. In fact the powers bestowed by the spirits are specifically for particular professions and arts. The spirits are legion: natural phenomena, animals, birds, and a random collection of objects. The seeker sometimes receives power from the same spirit as his father and shamans sometimes directly inherit their powers. It does not appear that the shaman novice establishes himself by a performance of fixed kind, nor do the shamanistic seances, though they include feats like those of the Klamath, occur only in midwinter.

Shamanism in the area to the east of the Thompson must be of this type, and in the Basin southeast it is clearly so.

South of the Klamath the shamanistic complex takes quite another turn. In California power is not ordinarily sought, hence the blessing descends on the few, the shamans, and for the mass there is nothing. This is an about-face from the situation in Oregon and northward, or in the Plains. In other words, power is a thing that comes involuntarily. Further, the form of the complex has in the northern half of California two quite distinct phrasings.

In northwestern California the person destined to be a shaman is visited in a dream by a spirit or ancestor who inserts the power in his body. This power or "pain" is animate, has personality, and is conceptualized as a small spindle-shaped object. Such "pains" are disease objects, yet their possession by shamans gives the power to remove other malignant "pains" from a patient. Accordingly the shaman-to-be is made ill by the "pain" he has received, until he is

restored by an established shaman and learns to control the gift. The 171* dance in which this takes place is, as Kroeber remarks, essentially a 756 professional initiation.[456]

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[433] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 317 f.

For example, the Yurok novice dreams of a dead person putting a 787 "pain" in her body. (In northwestern California, shamans are most 776 frequently women.) A dance is made for her, when under the direction of established shamans, she withdraws the "pain" and having thus shown control of it, swallows it again. After a brief dance in the mountains, this rite is repeated and followed by one around a hot fire to further gain control of her "pains."[457]

The northwest California complex has its ramifications as far north as the Wishram on the Columbia and southeastward to the Southern Maidu. The novice dance is found over this whole area, although in the north being rather a demonstration of power than an occasion for acquiring control of it. The concept of the "pains" as embodiments of power or agents of disease extends eastward across the state. Yet the general aspects of shamanism in northeastern California are appreciably like those of the Klamath and Thompson.

The second form of shamanistic complex is central Californian. Here individual shamanism is overshadowed by group activities of the Kuksu cult ceremonies which are shamanistic at bottom. Some distinction is made between the sucking shaman, who cures in the common manner, and the outfit shaman, whose ability is, rather, clairvoyant. This distinction is also made to the northwest but is by no means impressive. The outfit shaman is usually the heritor of the necessary paraphernalia from a parent or brother who instructs him in their use. His power clearly lies in the objects themselves. On the other hand, the sucking shaman obtains his by a visitation in a dream. Not only are central Californian shamans overshadowed by Kuksu impersonators, to whom has accrued all elaborate display, but the shamanistic complex proper is strongly infiltrated from the northwest.

There is in California at large some further specialization among shamans beyond those who cure. Weather-control shamans seem most clearly differentiated in south-central California, according to Kroeber. The Klamath fall in with the majority of peoples beyond this [789] focus in looking on weather control as only a somewhat specialized function of any shaman. Similarly with rattlesnake shamans, who are general in California save in the northwest. Bear shamans, found in all but peripheral California, are not known to the Klamath.

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[456] Handbook, 862.

[457] *Op. cit.*, 63.

*171 From this perspective the Klamath complex takes its place with
756 the relatively simple shamanism of the northwestern interior and the
Basin, overlaid with elements shared by tribes of the northwestern
coast and those of northern, or better, northwestern California.

Shamanism bulks large in the social scheme of the Klamath as it
does in the interior Plateau and the Basin, for the reason that competing
[881] rituals are lacking. Beyond the girls' rite, the war and scalp
dances, and for a brief time the Ghost dance, the Klamath have nothing
[535] but shamans' performances. The winter ritual of the Northwest
Coast extends only to central coastal Washington, the potlatch only
to the Columbia river. The wealth display dances of northwestern
[726] California do not penetrate even to the Shasta; those of the central
[786] Californian Kuksu cult not beyond the head of the Sacramento. Elements
of these ritual systems do indeed appear among the Klamath,
*171 but the dances as such are absent.

The Klamath hold the acquisition of supernatural power within
796 the reach of anyone. In this they accord with the generality of North
*171 Americans and differ emphatically from the Californians for whom
power descends only on the few. The Klamath form of quest followed
787 by a dream in which power comes links the common quest of
America with the dream experience of California. The Northwest
Coast, its interior, and the Basin are a unit with the Klamath in that
the quest is for power of a general sort, not for visions yielding specific
sanctions as in the Plains. The spirits whose benevolence is sought
are birds and animals as in the interior, the Plains and eastward, not
the mystic supernaturals of the Northwest Coast. The source of
power and disease among the northwest Californians, the "pain"
*171 objects, do not appear among them in any form. The Klamath concept
of disease is the very general North American one of intrusion;
753 the soul-loss concept of the Northwest Coast and tribes to the Columbia
is unknown here.

*171 The Klamath novitiate dance for shamans is shared by groups from
the Sacramento to the Columbia. It is the northern demonstration of
756 ability rather than the initiation and mastery of power of the northern
Californians. The repeated dance of the Yurok prevails through
Shasta and Modoc, but the single Klamath dance is of the interior
type.

*171 The Northwest Coast winter ritual makes its appearance here only
in its general aspects. Klamath shamanistic seances are held only in
756 midwinter and this is also the time for repossession by spirits among
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the people at large as well as the shamans. Inasmuch as both these features are northwestern and non-Californian, they must be looked on as influences from the north.

The following sections attempt to substantiate these generalizations.

Spirits

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Those spirits of which the Klamath seek power are conceived as animals, birds, reptiles, fish, sometimes as natural phenomena, and in a few instances as supernaturals, anthropomorphic and akin to the characters of their mythology. Their number is indefinitely large. Each may be said to constitute a genus of spirits; e.g., "the Coyote spirit" is properly a group of coyote spirits. Members of the class are not singled out for individualization.

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The spirits of other tribes of the northwestern sector are of the same type. All the interior tribes on into California and all others of Oregon for whom we have information hold to this conception: Thompson, Lillooet, Wishram, Nez Percé, Takelma, Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Maidu, and Wintun. There are undoubtedly differences among them in the type of spirit most frequently sought; thus, natural phenomena bulk larger in the Thompson mind. Further, objects, some as trivial as the nipple of a gun, figure as spirits among the Thompson, Lillooet, Snohomish, Nisqually, Nez Percé, Achomawi, and Atsugewi.[428]

A concept of a different sort holds sway on the coast from Vancouver island to the Columbia river. There the principal spirits are supernaturals of mythological character. These are necessarily restricted in numbers since they are highly individualized, and correlatively the powers they bestow are particularized. Where information is available, these creatures are credited, as among the Klallam, with a social existence of human pattern: they live in houses, are provided with servants, and travel in canoes. This is the predominating spirit concept among the Kwakiutl, Klallam, Snohomish, Nisqually, and Quinault. The slight information on Chinook spirits suggests supernaturals of the same sort. This is not to deny that animals and birds figure among the Klallam and Puget Sound Salish, and that among the Quinault there are a few bird spirits that retain their

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[428] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 354; The Lillooet, 283; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247 f.; Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 35; Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130 (skins and feathers of spirits); Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218; Angulo, Religious Feeling, 356.

*171 avian characteristics. The really unique group may be the Kwakiutl,
776 for there supernaturals alone appear.[429]

A second specialized concept is found in northern California among Shasta, Yuki, and Maidu, at least. Shasta guardians are described as human in form, but "rather shorter than the ordinary stature." The Yuki "personal spirits are small, like boys, with gray hair." One of the Klamath guardians, which every shaman apparently has, is probably related to these. It is Tcaḳia'ḳ, "little boy," which frequents the water, is no bigger than a baby, and has hair falling to its waist. A Maidu may have various animal spirits, but the truly important ones are in appearance like people. To the Pomo there appears "a being, human and speaking one's own language but a stranger." Similarly some among Achomawi and Atsugewi spirits are "disease persons" or spirits in human form.[430] These concepts fall in with the animal and bird spirits. For although these supernaturals are human, they are not particularized like those of the Northwest Coast and are not restricted in numbers: on the contrary, they constitute an apparently large, undifferentiated class.

The feeling cannot be avoided that these manikin spirits are related in some way to the beings that appear to others of northern California. The Yurok dreams of a dead person, usually, if not always, a shaman; the Sinkyone sometimes of a dead relative. Yokuts spirits have quite another phrasing, but we should not overlook that among them are dead relatives.[431] These cases are rather obviously related to the inheritance of power by a visitation from a dead relative, but there seems also a continuum from the Shasta manikin to the Sinkyone ghost.

[114] Kroeber has pointed out that there is a Yurok-Hupa substitute for the familiar spirit in the so-called "pains." This will be discussed below.

A note may be appended on certain Klamath spirits. Mention was made above of Tcaḳia'ḳ, a water dwarf. Dwarfs figure commonly enough among the mythological concepts of western Indians, but this [114] one is specific: a dwarf living in or about the water. Gifford has remarked their presence in the mythology of various Shoshonean groups (Western Mono, Northern Paiute of central Oregon, Northern Shoshoni, and Serrano), pointing out their absence in typical central Californian groups.[482] But they are not confined to Shoshoneans: the Yurok believe in dwarf-like spirits that haunt overgrown spots in the creeks, the Hupa speak of little beings resembling men in the water in remote places, and the foothill group of Northern Maidu of one-legged dwarfs found in or about water.[483] So far as these data go, the concept is largely north Californian and Basin in distribution. 171 * 776 [114]

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[429] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl, 394 f.; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 291 f.; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 58 f.; Olson, Quinault field notes; Boas, Chinook Texts, 220, 230.

[430] Dixon, Shasta, 470, Northern Maidu, 265, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218; Kroeber, Handbook, 198; Freeland, Pomo Doctors and Poisoners, 63, 58. The spirits that help Quileute shamans restore souls are usually dwarfs (Frachtenberg, Eschatology, 335–7).

[431] Kroeber, Handbook, 63, 149, 514.

Klamath Dwarf-Old-Woman, who figures in one form as a rock on Mount Pitt, may be identifiable with Takelma Rock Old Woman, associated with a rock north of Rogue river.[484]

Inheritance of Spirit Power

On the Northwest Coast proper there is a tendency to fixed inheritance of experiences with ancestral guardians. Among the Tlingit, e.g., there is some tendency for men to be blessed by spirits according to their clan affiliations; the spirits descending from uncle to nephew. Among the Kwakiutl, inheritance is rigidly fixed, for a youth expects to find only those spirits that gave powers to his clan.[485] 171 * 756 787

Something of this prevails southward but in dilute form. A Quinault seeks the spirit his ancestor acquired, and we are told that the guardians of the Chinook are hereditary, like the Kwakiutl. A Nootka may also inherit a spirit with whom an ancestor had an experience.[486] The southern Puget Sound Salish hold that human social organization is reflected among the spirits; that a powerful spirit would appear only to a man of high rank. While this does not define the system as one of strict inheritance, it must approximate this because both the number of persons of high rank and of powerful spirits is small.

Inheritance of a guardian and of the particular guardian thus prevails generally north of the Columbia river. Elsewhere inheritance is present but in less fixed form. There is for the Thompson seeker

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[482] Gifford, Western Mono Myths, 304; Marsden, 183; Lowie, Northern Shoshone, 234; Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 297.

[483] Kroeber, Handbook, 67; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 64; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 265.

[484] Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 45.

[485] Swanton, 465; Boas, Secret Societies and Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 393, 418.

[486] Boas, *op. cit.*, 393; Sapir, Vancouver Island Indians, 593.

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K *171 756 787 the possibility of being visited by the spirit his father had met. Inheritance is apparently common among the Nez Percé; at least shamans inherited their status and one could hardly become a shaman save through inheritance. As the number of spirits that give shamanistic powers is small, it seems probable that the particular spirit is frequently inherited, although it is not so stated. Comparable to this, anyone among the southern Puget Sound Salish might involuntarily receive a blessing from a spirit acquired earlier by an ancestor. For instance, if one's forebear had been a great shaman there was a predisposition to acquire a shamanistic spirit. Rather different from these cases is the case of the Klallam shaman who, dying, may will some of his spirits to a younger man, yet it reflects the tendency toward transmission in this area.[437]

K NP *171 756 787 Inheritance occurs again in northern California, where children of shamans are rather automatically visited by their fathers' spirits. (It must be borne in mind that in this region acquisition of powers sets off shamans from the laity, who do not ordinarily acquire them.) It is intelligible why inheritance does not appear in northwestern California, where a shaman is made, not by the visitation of spirits, but by the insertion of "pains" by established members of the craft. The distribution of inheritance is in the interior: Klamath, Shasta, Chimariko, Pomo, Southwestern Wintun, Maidu, and Paviotso. Inheritance does not appear again, so far as present data show, in all of central and southern California until the Akwa'ala[438] are reached. Inheritance of position is by no means the only way one becomes a shaman even among these north Californian peoples, and the visitation by spirits of one's father is quite limited among them. In other words, there is here little of the rigidity of inheritance known in the northwestern sector.

*K 171 756 787 Shasta and Northeastern Maidu show the closest approximation to the northwest; if the parent is a shaman, the child becomes one, and the particular spirits are heriditary guardians of the family for generations. Among Northeastern Maidu the succession is inevitable, among Shasta there is some latitude. The Klamath situation resembles the Shasta: a shaman's child is the involuntary recipient of his father's spirits, which he may or may not accept. There is nothing to show that the same spirits continue with successive generations.[439]

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[437] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 56; Teit, The Thompson Indians, 320; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 297; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247, 256.

[438] Gifford-Lewis, Notes on the Akwa'ala, 345.

[439] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 274, 275; Shasta, 471, 477.

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The Sacramento Valley Maidu hold that inheritance is not necessary, 171*
while the foothill group of the same people have a greater tendency 756
to inheritance. Among the Chimariko, shamans similarly may
or may not inherit their positions. The Paviotso shaman's powers are 787
sometimes inherited from father to son. In these cases heredity is
simply one way of achieving shaman's status.[440] NP

In this second group of cases it seems that susceptibility to experience 787
with spirits is heritable, if not the inheritance of powers from 756
specific spirits, but in a third group the inheritance is that of position K
and paraphernalia alone. That is, the individual Pomo, or at least 171*
the Northern and Eastern Pomo, and the Southeastern Wintun shaman 756
instructs his son, brother, or some other relative and delivers 787
to him amulets and other objects necessary to him as successor. Among the Pomo this is the manner in which "outfit doctors," not "dreaming or sucking doctors," are made.[441] This affiliates with the general habit of instruction of shamans and secret society members in this quarter, where in general the hereditary element is absent.

It seems quite uncertain whether the northern Californian cases as a whole are linked historically with the northwest. Possibly they are, since the hereditary element is lacking in more southerly California. But as the data stand there is a hiatus of distribution in Oregon. On the other hand, there are few Oregonian data save for the nonhereditary Takelma. It seems significant, however, that the Wishram did not mention inheritance in this connection to either Dr. Sapir or myself.

The Power Quest

In a discussion of the vision in the Plains, Benedict points out that there is there a distinction between visions (quests in my terminology) from which sanctions are received, such as the success of a projected war party, and those by which a guardian is acquired. The former are of more frequent occurrence in the life of each individual.[442] Among the Klamath every quest that is successful brings power that abides, not a sanction for a particular project. Every quest corresponds to the specific guardian quest of the Plains, though a guardian in the sense of a familiar is not acquired. So far as

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[440] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 267, 269; Chimariko, 303; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 294.

[441] Freeland, Pomo Doctors, 59; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 320; Kroeber, Handbook, 261.

[442] The Vision in Plains Culture, 12 f.

*171 guardians or familiars can be spoken of, they pertain to shamans
756 alone, since they alone conjure up their familiars to their aid. But
theoretically, every Klamath who has had an experience could call on
787 his spirit for aid.

The Klamath concept apparently holds for all tribes of the Pacific coast. There does not appear anywhere the Plains type of quest for particular sanctions. The spirits of the experiences are not guardians, they are not invoked for assistance (save by shamans), and they give continuing powers to perform the arts and professions or for success and wealth.

*171 Accordingly, shamans are differentiated as a class more by their
acts and the possession of powers to perform the shamanistic arts,
756 than by the unique possession of helpers. This statement does not
apply, however, to California, for there this is precisely the difference
between shamans and laity.

787 The Klamath deliberately seek power by self-isolation and mortifying acts. Their attitude is that it is to be had by a voluntary quest, save in those rare instances which may be described as inheritance and in occasional involuntary dreams.

The terms quest, vision, and dream have commonly been used as though they were fully interchangrable. It is preferable to distinguish the voluntary quest and the involuntary acquisition of power; to confine the term vision to sensory experiences including seeing and hearing a spirit, and the dream to its everyday significance. These are, to be sure, by no means mutually exclusive.

*171 The quest and the involuntary dream as sources of power have
different distributions in western America. The quest is general over
787 eastern North America and in the Plains. But as Kroeber has pointed
[114] out for California and Benedict for the Southwest the deliberate quest
is absent and its place is usually taken, so far as individual acquisition of power is concerned, by the dream.[443] I will attempt to define their respective areas of distribution somewhat more precisely.

From this point of view a distinction must be made between the eastern and western sections of the Southwestern area. Personal powers figure only in a minor way among the Pueblos, where priestly craft functions in place of shamanism. Yet at Laguna and Cochiti, at least, there is some occasional questing for powers in isolated spots.

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[443] Kroeber, Religion of Indians of California, 387 f.; Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit, 36 f.

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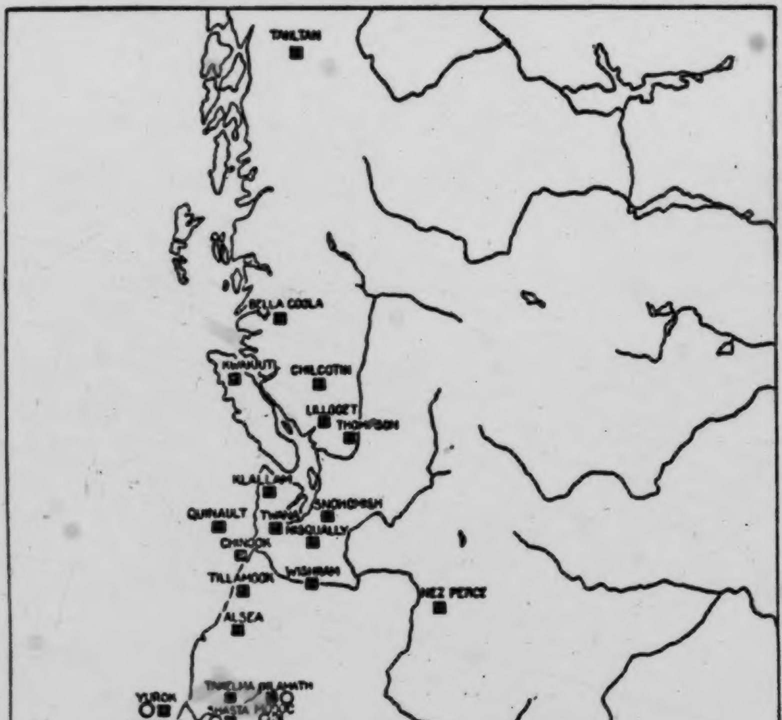
TAHLTAN
BELLA COOLA
KWAKIUTL
CHILCOTIN
LILLOOET
THOMPSON
KLALLAM
SNOHOMISH
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TWANA
NISQUALLY
CHINOOK
TILLAMOOK
WISHRAM
NEZ PERCE
ALSEA
TAKELMA
KLAMATH
YUROK
SHASTA
MODOC
WIYOT
HUPA
ACHOMAWI
CHIMARIKO
SINKYONE
WAILAKI
N.E. MAIDU
YUKI
FOOTHILL MAIDU
PAVIOTSO
POMO
VALLEY MAIDU
SO. MAIDU
WIND RIVER SHOSHONI
YOKUTS
SHIVWITS
SO. UTE
KAWAIISU
HAVASUPAI
LAGUNA
JUANENO
LUISENO
CAHUILLA
MOHAVE
W. APACHE
COCHITI
N. DIEGUENO
S. DIEGUENO
YUMA
PIMA
AKWAALA

Fig. 22. Distribution of the quest and dream as sources of spirit power in western North America. Squares indicate the quest; circles, the dream.

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At the same time, among the western Apache, who have shamanism full-fledged, those who do not become shamans by the instruction of established practitioners, seek power in the same way.[444]

West of the Apache the dream is the source of power: this is known at least for Havasupai and Pima. Havasupai shamans alone have familiars, which they acquire involuntarily in dreams, and even when they inherit the power it seems necessary that they dream. Pima shamans become such generally by heredity, or by being bitten by a rattlesnake, but they may also have persistent dreams in which they acquire power. Russell makes it clear that this involves no deliberate quest.[445]

Dreaming appears with the same function among the Shivwits, hence may have been general among other Southern Paiute. Prior to the introduction of the Sun Dance among the Southern Ute about 1900, shamans got their powers in dreams without fasting; since then they deliberately seek power in the Sun Dance.[446]

Dreams are the source of supernatural sanctions on the lower Colorado and in southern California alike, despite the difference of setting in the two areas. Mohave, Yuma, Akwa'ala, and Desert Cahuilla shamans derive their powers by dreaming of the great mythological characters, sometimes under the stimulation of jimsonweed, but not as part of adolescence rites. The Cahuilla, indeed, hold the boys' rite but it is reasonably clear that jimsonweed drinking at this, or at other times, does not furnish the setting for acquisition of power. On the other hand the boys' rites provide the proper setting for a majority of southern Californian peoples: the narcotic of jimson weed causing sensory disturbances which are interpreted as dreams of spirit beings, prevailingly animal in character. This is known for both Southern and Northern Diegueño, Luiseño, Juaneño, Kawaiisu, and may be inferred for others. The Kawaiisu, unlike their neighbors, administer jimsonweed regularly to girls as well as boys and with the same end in view. Inasmuch as the candidates for these rites do not present themselves but are selected, we have here a common basis of involuntary dreaming for the region as a whole. This is not to deny that the phrasing of the experience itself is markedly

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[444] Benedict, *op. cit.*, 39; Goldfrank, Organization of Cochiti, 58; Bourke, Medicine Men, 453.

[445] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, 276 *f.*; Russell, 257.

[446] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 291.

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different among Mohave-Yuma, Akwa'ala-Cahuilla, and the westerly southern Californians.[447]

The quest on the other hand is characteristic of the northwest. It is of course voluntary and the looked-for response probably always takes the form of a vision. The Klamath are a partial exception, which I will discuss later. The quest has been noted among all tribes for whom there is information: Klamath, Takelma, Alsea, Tillamook, Chinook, Wishram, Quinault, Twana, Nisqually, Snohomish, and Klallam. It is at the bottom of the initiation practices of the Kwakiutl and Bella Coola. In the interior, it is characteristic of Thompson, probably Lillooet, Nez Percé, Chilcotin, and Tahltan.[448]

As these data stand the areas of distribution are quite distinct. The voluntary quest is characteristic of the northwest and the Plateau, as well as the Plains; the dream, involuntary in its occurrence, of the western section of the Southwest, southern California, and the southern Basin. On the border common to the two areas they occur concurrently, namely in northern California, southern Oregon, and the northern Basin.

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In northern California the dream basis is clear for the Pomo and the Northern Maidu of the foothills, apart from Pomo shamans who are such by initiation alone.[449] There is a suggestion that the Wailaki are one with them.[450] All other groups have some kind of combination of dream and quest.

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Northeastern Maidu and Yokuts hold dream and quest equivalents; the Yokuts stressing the quest in contradistinction to the Maidu. Sinkyone, Yuki, and the Sacramento valley group of Northern Maidu differ from them only in that their alternative to the deliberate quest is an involuntary waking experience.[451]

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Of the Paviotso, Lowie remarks: "A shaman gets his song and regalia through a vision in a dream. Annie says in the Walker River District there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision."

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[447] Kroeber, Handbook, 604, 640, 775 f., 783, 793; Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave, 279; Gifford-Lewis, Akwa'ala, 344-5, 347, 348; Hooper, Cahuilla, 334-5, 340; Spier, Southern Diegueño, 312 f.; Waterman, Religious Practices, 296; Du Bois, Religion of Luiseño, 80.

[448] Farrand, Alsea, 245; Boas, Tillamook, 5, Third Report, 10, Chinook Texts, 214; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 674; Farrand, Chilcotin, 19; Emmons, Tahltan, 112.

[449] Freeland, Pomo Doctors, 58, 63, 64; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 269.

[450] "The Yuki state that the Wailaki shamans often dreamed of a spirit coyote" (Kroeber, Handbook, 154).

[451] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 267, 275, 278; Kroeber, Handbook, 149, 196-198, 514.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

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This may mean only that the quest is undertaken and that the vision appears in a dream at that time, but I interpret it as meaning that both dreaming without a quest and the deliberate quest occurred among them. His description of the Wind River Shoshoni ideas, is, I think, more convincing as to the simultaneous existence of dreaming and the quest.[482]

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Shaman candidates among Yurok, Hupa, and Shasta experience in dreams, but for the laity there are opportunities to acquire power of the quest type. "There are, however, [among the Shasta] one or two very simple ceremonials, whose purpose is merely to acquire luck. For example, on very dark rainy or windy nights, men go out alone, and naked, and walk all night, praying for luck, singing, seeing strange things pass them, and having strange voices calling. Or on very cold nights in the middle of winter, a man will go out just before dawn, and after praying for luck, will plunge into the river, and swim." "The [Hupa] men used to swim a certain course in the icy water [of Trinity river] and then lie on the frozen shore as long as possible that they might win great good luck." "A Yurok man who wishes to be brave and fierce . . . . . goes at night to a lonely mountain pond, swims, and is then swallowed or taken below the surface by a monster."[483]

The combination occurring among Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, and Chimariko is most interesting. The regular Klamath formula is that the seeker may have his quest rewarded by a vision, but the power is not obtained at this time. It comes some nights later, when in a dream he hears the spirit's song. I am impressed by the fact that the quest experience and the dream are separated. Indeed the seeker may not have a vision at all. Further, dreams of the same sort, conveying power, come to one unsought. The Klamath notions seem to me most intelligible when considered as the amalgamation of the two kinds of experience. Those of the Northeastern Maidu are explicitly the same: a man on his lonely quest experiences the presence of spirits and on his return they appear to him in dreams. The Achomawi-Atsugewi case seems to be the same: "While he is bathing during the night, he may find something in the water, or may dream of it later when he takes a little sleep." Again the Chimariko seeker is visited in a series of dreams, which were "often the result of solitary visits to remote mountain lakes." Modoc

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[482] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 294–296.

[483] Dixon, Shasta, 489; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 88; Kroeber, Handbook, 40, 68.

ideas are appreciably close to those of the Shasta in that the novice 171 *
has an involuntary seizure, apparently while at home, but following 787
his inaugural dance, he goes to the mountains in quest of power.[454]

Corresponding to the absence of sharp distinctions between shaman and layman in the northwest, the quest is open to everyone throughout that area. Yet there are some differences with respect to sex. This is measurable in part by the relative number of men and women shamans. 756

Men are more frequently successful in acquiring power than women and are accordingly more often shamans among the Thompson, Klallam, Quinault, Snohomish, Nisqually, Wishram, and Klamath. The evidence is quite definite on this point. Among the Tillamook and Nez Percé both sexes obtained powers: it is conceivable that men predominated. 171 * 787 756 562

The statement that Takelma shamans are equally men and women is perhaps significant in view of the situation to the south. Shasta, Yurok, and Wiyot shamans are chiefly women, with but few men. Goddard merely mentions both men and women shamans among the Hupa, and Dixon among the Chimariko, but Kroeber implies that they were normally women.[455]

Elsewhere in California it seems that men predominated as shamans; specifically Achomawi, Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu and those of the foothills region, Yuki, and Salinan. In southern California, where the equivalent of the shaman is one who has had visions induced by jimsonweed, this situation holds even more stringently because the narcotic is rarely administered to girls. Yet in northeastern California the northwestern emphasis on feminine shamanism is reflected. Dixon observes of the Northeastern Maidu: "There were women shamans as well as men; the former being, however, more numerous in Big Meadows, where the Maidu come nearest in contact with the Achomawi, among whom women shamans were very numerous."[456] Angulo[457] states that their number was about equal among the Achomawi, which is not a contradiction of Dixon. This implies that the Achomawi-Atsugewi and Big Meadows Maidu were both influenced by Shasta custom. Elsewhere here (Yuki and Foothill Maidu) women were rarely shamans.

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[454] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 279; Notes on Achomawi and Atsugewi, 216; Chimariko, 303; Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 129–136.

[455] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 66; Dixon, Chimariko, 303; Kroeber, Handbook, 111, 137.

[456] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 274.

[457] Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 564.

The Period of the Quest

*171 787 The Klamath deliberately seek power both in adolescence and in later life. In the discussion of the Plains vision referred to above, Benedict points out that it is there an affair of maturity and not of adolescence.[434] Everywhere in this area, on the other hand, the quest may take place in adolescence, at a time sometimes varying widely from actual puberty, and in the majority of tribes at any time in later life as well. This is consonant with the difference in the result accruing from the experience. This is as much characteristic of Klallam, Snohomish, Nisqually, and Modoc, for example, as it is of the Klamath. The absence of suitable specific data makes it difficult to judge how far this is true of others.

At least among the Wishram and Achomawi-Atsugewi there is a difference; power is sought in youth alone and should the seeker fail then, he has no opportunity in later life. Descriptively the Kwakiutl align with the Wishram, for the novices who acquire spirits at the winter ceremonial of the secret societies are adolescents. Powers are also acquired later but the few references indicate that this is not common. The situation is different, however, for the Kwakiutl does not freely seek the spirit, but automatically acquires it at a time fixed by the round of a predetermined social system. There is a suggestion that the Thompson, Lillooet (who are described as identical with the former), and Nez Percé have their experiences only at adolescence. The Tillamook evidence is equivocal: from the very brief account we learn only that a boy of twenty is sent out.

The situation is different in northern California because of the dream source of power in place of the quest. Nevertheless, this might have been restricted to adolescence, but that seems not to be the case. On the whole, data fail for the region, but our accounts read as though the shaman novices were always adult. To take the Shasta as an instance: it seems unlikely that the novices' experiences would occur to adolescent girls. Such at least is the impression, but we cannot be sure. The quest, open to the laity among Shasta, Yurok, and Hupa, is not restricted to any period in life.

[756] In southern California, where a shaman's career is initiated in the jimsonweed rites, this is an affair of adolescence.

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[434] The Vision in Plains Culture, 3.

The Conduct of the Quest

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Basically the manner of seeking power is the same throughout this area. This is necessarily so because it means simply fasting and praying in lonely spots in the mountains, beside pools, etc. There are more specific details having definite distributions.

For example, the Klamath youth isolated on his quest runs constantly about piling up rocks: so does the Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Wishram, and Nez Percé. This is a wholly arbitrary and pointless procedure, unless it be thought that any arduous task will heighten the seeker's immolation and thus hasten the benefaction. The Thompson have rationalized this type of activity (it does not include piling rocks specifically) as training for later life. The same point of view appears more widely in the comparable puberty rites for girls. Possibly related to these rock piles is the seat or little monument to which the Yurok retires to acquire luck in gambling or power to bewitch.[499]

More significant than this, the Klamath dives into the water, where he is drawn below by a spirit. He loses consciousness to wake on the shore with blood streaming from nose and mouth. Diving for a spirit is a practice widespread north and south. The Wishram sometimes dives to reach certain under-water caves where spirits dwell. A Kwakiutl shaman's song tells of being carried under the sea where he received power. In several Chinook tales the hero swims, is carried under by a supernatural to its house, and wakes on the shore. Precisely the same formula is recorded in an experience of a Klallam; here too, blood flowed from the man's mouth. The Snohomish and Nisqually youth regularly dives into whirlpools, carrying in his hands a rock on which he spat, to weigh himself down, and wakes on the shore. I recorded exactly this curious procedure in a tale of the Kalispel. Boas obtained a legend of the mainland Cowichan which suggests the same form: an orphan went swimming and diving every day in order to get strong. "One day he made a fire near a lake and accidentally spat into the water." He lost consciousness, visited the supernaturals below, and obtained power.[500] While I think

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[499] Dixon, Some Shamans, 24; Sapir, Wishram Texts, 187; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247; Kroeber, Handbook, 63, 64.

[500] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1294, Chinook Texts, 220, 230; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 294, 302; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 57-8; Boas, Lower Fraser River, 2.

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that it is hazardous to use incidents incorporated in tales as evidence of customs, it is at least suggestive in the absence of other information.

Southward of the Klamath the same practice of diving in mountain lakes, finding "something" in the water, and recovering on the shore is recorded for Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northeastern Maidu. The case of the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento valley differs only slightly in phrasing: the seeker is rescued by his friends. Again, the Yurok swims and is taken below by a monster.[461]

In view of this distribution it seems to me significant that the Shasta and Hupa seeker is described as swimming for luck; the Hupa man, at least, then lying as long as possible on the frozen shore. The Chimariko is briefly described as bathing at dusk in remote mountain lakes, and of the Wiyot we learn only that some people were pitied by powerful lake spirits.

The significance of all these cases lies in the recognition of a class of under-water spirits from whom power is to be had, and further that it is attained by diving to reach them. If we assume that Southern Maidu and Miwok shared the belief in under-water spirits (and our scant data do not deny it), the Yokuts case becomes intelligible as a southern outpost of the belief. These people sometimes derive their powers from animals or monsters inhabiting the water, and Kroeber, in fact, recorded the experience of one Yokuts who dreamed he was taken below the water by spirits.[462]

Not the least curious part of some of these experiences is the notion that the effect is so great as to cause hemorrhages at mouth and nose. This was referred to above among Klallam and Klamath as a result of diving. It is also the regular effect of other types of experience among the Klamath. The identical notion has been noted for a variety of other tribes of this area: Quinault, Modoc, Shasta, Sacramento Valley Maidu, Sinkyone, and Yuki.[463]

The Klamath are not at all reticent among themselves as to the nature of the experiences they have. Thus, one who has had a successful quest at once may sing what he hears in his dreams. On the other hand, a Wishram carefully guards his experience, betraying it only by songs at the spirit dances and by his personal taboos and behavior, and finally revealing it only at the point of death. These contrasting attitudes have different distributions. A number of Washington tribes align with the Wishram: the Puget Sound Salish does not reveal his experience until late in life, the Klallam and Nez Percé waits until the spirit dances are held, and there is a suggestion that the Chinook also maintains silence. Similar reticence crops up again in northeastern California: the Achomawi-Atsugewi never tells, the Sacramento Valley Maidu only as an old man.[464] Considering their geographic situation we might have expected similar reticence of the Klamath, but on the contrary they share the freedom of speech of the generality of Californians. 171 * 787

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[461] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 216, Northern Maidu, 267, 278; Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 157–158; Kroeber, Handbook, 40, 68.

[462] Dixon, Shasta, 489, Chimariko, 303; Goddard, Life and Culture of Hupa, 88; Kroeber, Handbook, 117, 514.

[463] Olson, Quinault field notes; Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 129; Dixon, Shasta, 473, Northern Maidu, 267–268; Kroeber, Handbook, 149, 197.

The Novice's Performance

It is obvious that there must always be an initial performance by a shaman to demonstrate his ability, such as a first cure. It does not follow, however, that this need be a performance of a special type, as it is among the Klamath. 756

The Klamath novice waits for winter to prove his power and only after this does he attempt to cure. The dance he then performs is much like those he will use in subsequent demonstrations of his power, but includes the demonstration of two feats; eating fire, and swallowing and disgorging arrowheads. He sings his spirit songs as he dances close to a huge fire, while an assistant calls on his spirits to help him perform the feats. It will be observed that this has nothing to do with curing.

An initiatory performance is by no means confined to the Klamath. Kroeber has previously pointed out that this is characteristic of northern California, centering in the northwest.[465] It has also a northward extension beyond the border of that state through western Oregon. Records are available for Wishram, Tillamook, Klamath, Modoc, Shasta, Tolowa, Yurok, Hupa, Chimariko, Sinkyone, Yuki, Northern Pomo, the northerly Wintun, the Sacramento valley branch of the Northern Maidu, the Northeastern Maidu, and the Southern Maidu. There is no reason for supposing that it was wholly lacking among other western Oregon and northwest Californian groups, for most of whom there is meager information. It is apparently absent among 171 * 756

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[464] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 66; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 290; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247 f.; Boas, Chinook Texts, 215; Dixon, Some Shamans, 24, Northern Maidu, 267.

[465] Handbook, 852.

*171 756 Achomawi, Atsugewi, more southerly Pomo, Miwok, and Yokuts, and in the north among Quinault, Klallam, and the Puget Sound Salish, which sets limits on the south and north. It appears again, however, among the Cahuilla.

*171 535 756 The dance has by no means everywhere the same function or form. For the Klamath and Shasta it is merely a demonstration of power; the same is implied for the Modoc and in our very brief note on the Tillamook.[466] The Wishram case belongs to this category in part: the novice demonstrates his power to cure, but there is this difference, that he must first be restored from his seizure. That is, from the Shasta northward the inaugural dance is primarily a demonstration.

The inaugural dance has quite another purpose in northwestern California: it is to enable the novice to acquire control over his powers, in this case the rather material "pains," which correspond to the spirit powers of other tribes. The dance is, as Kroeber remarks, essentially a professional initiation. The novice is aided by qualified shamans to retain in his body and control the "pains," which up to this point make him ill as they do any layman. Prior to the dance, he receives instruction from older shamans. This type of performance is credited to Yurok, Tolowa, presumably Hupa (and Karok?), Chimariko, Sinkyone, Yuki, Northern Pomo, northerly Wintun, Sacramento Valley and Northeastern Maidu, and the Southern Maidu.

There are then two types of inaugural dance, so far as function is concerned: the demonstration type of Oregon and the control type of northern California. Kroeber's designation of the dance as northwest Californian is not quite adequate in view of the Oregon data.

From a wider point of view, the control dance of northern California and the Wishram case link with the southern part of the Northwest Coast proper. A feature of repossession during the winter sacred period of the northern tribes is the overpowering strength of the spirit which makes its possessor "ill" until he is relieved by dancing. This is also described among a number of them as characteristic of the condition of the youth who has newly acquired a spirit. It is the essential point in the novice's part in the winter ritual of the Kwakiutl and Quileute: he must be relieved of his superabundant power. Similarly, among the Klallam a boy who has received a strong power must remain away from home for some months until he has learned to control or dull it.[467] I do not know how widespread in western Washington this idea is, but it crops up again among the Wishram. A lad who acquires a spirit is "sick"; a shaman is employed to relieve and restore him. This is one of the essentials of a Wishram novice shaman's inaugural dance. It must be noted that in all these instances the condition of the possessed is described in one way: he is "sick." This is precisely what is at the bottom of the north Californian control dances, although the sickness is due to an agent of another sort. It is altogether regrettable that there is no information on the coastal tribes of Washington and Oregon, since the similarity of the ideas suggests that there may have been a continuous distribution along the coast. At least in the interior, the "sickness" of the repossessed does not hold beyond the Wishram. Klamath and Shasta have the form of the recovery ceremony without the substance.

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[466] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 136; Boas, Notes on the Tillamook, 10.

[467] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 290.

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To turn to some comparisons of detail, the dance made by the Shasta immediately on the spirit seizure is not duplicated among the Klamath. When the Shasta novice revives, she dances and may be carried or swung over the fire. This is repeated on two nights following. At the last dance the spirit shoots a "pain" into her, which she masters, withdraws, and reinserts in her body. The later inaugural dance is, however, much like that of the Klamath. The novice waits until winter to demonstrate. This dance takes place in a dwelling just as among the Klamath. She dances and sings while an assistant calls on her spirits to help her.[468] What is lacking to complete the analogy are the tricks of legerdemain, but these among the Klamath are the stock in trade of all shamanistic performances and appear to be unknown to Shasta practice. There is just a possibility that the Klamath arrow-swallowing trick is related to the Shasta novice's demonstration of her ability to extract and replace the "pains," described as small clear objects pointed at each end. Another difference is that her dance is under the aegis of qualified shamans; a feature linking the Shasta with the typical north Californian performance.

The Modoc novice dance which Meacham described[469] is externally like that of the Shasta yet smacks of Klamath ideology. The spirit seizure takes place apparently at home. When this is manifested by hemorrhages, the novice is made to perform ten dances while an

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[468] Dixon, Shasta, 475.

[469] Wi-ne-ma, 129–136. As the original is difficult of access, it is reprinted below in an appendix. Despite Meacham's naïveté and his obviously faulty knowledge of the Modoc tongue, as evidenced elsewhere in Wi-ne-ma, all his descriptions of Modoc life ring true.

*171 established shaman calls various spirits until the tutelary is discovered. This is repeated for five nights. The novice then goes to the mountains 756 to seek further power. On his return he dances during a month, 535 aided by others, to prepare for his profession. This terminates in another ceremony under the shaman's direction.

In the opposite direction the Wishram also have an inaugural dance for a shaman novice which, unlike these southern examples, occurs at any time he receives power. As in the Klamath affair, he performs in the characteristic manner of a shaman of his tribe, even demonstrating a cure. When he dances to call his spirits, others perform to help him acquire strength. There is a difference, however; the lad is overcome by his power so that a shaman must dance to relieve him and help him regain control. While this is foreign to Klamath-Shasta thought, it is characteristically Wishram. There everyone on returning from an experience is overpowered by it and must be restored by a shaman.

[114] As Kroeber justifiably points out, the unique characteristics of the Californian control dances center among the Yurok and Hupa, and gradually diminish in number as far as the Maidu.[470] It may be profitable to reexamine the data.

There are two distinctive features of these complexes: the "pains" by which the novice is possessed and the dance for control. It is obvious that there is no inherent connection between this particular type of possession and such a dance. Among the Yurok, Hupa, and Shasta "pains" take the place of spirit familiars among the Klamath, *171 for example. Among the tribes to the east and south (Achomawi, Atsugewi, the several Maidu groups, Wintun and Yuki) the shamans 756 operate with spirits, but "pains" appear as causes of disease. All these have the dance, which is far wider in its distribution than "pains" as sources of shamanistic power.

The concept of the "pain" has interesting variations among the several tribes. It is everywhere animate, sometimes with personality, and while ordinarily immaterial, has sometimes a material form. When its material characteristics are described, it is commonly a clear double-pointed object, like an obsidian arrowpoint. Thus the Shasta "pain" is a small, clear double-pointed object; they are the same as spirits, yet each spirit possesses one. The Chimariko disease object is small, double-pointed, and animate; the Achomawi like a little needle of glass. The Wintun "pain" is a spirit missile, a flint or obsidian arrowpoint, and like its Yuki analogue, is dispatched to cause illness. The Yuki "pain" is an invisible obsidian point. The object which the Sacramento Valley Maidu shamans insert into the novice to see if he can get it out, is neither a disease object nor the embodiment of power, yet is obviously related to these; an invisible double-pointed object as long as the finger. The disease objects of the Northeastern Maidu are not described in this fashion, but they have the animate, personal character of the "pains" elsewhere. Southern Maidu initiates are "killed" with a "piece of medicine" a half inch long. No description is available from Yurok and Hupa.[471] 171* 756

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[470] Kroeber, Handbook, 852.

It is unfortunate that the term "pains" has crept into the literature to describe things which, it seems to me, are not related to these concepts. Thus, the "pains" of the Takelma are neither substitutes for spirits nor have they personality. Of the Sinkyone, it is recorded: "Ordinary disease was cured by sucking out of the body the *sinsing* or material 'pains.'" In neither case do these differ one whit from the disease objects of peoples outside this area. The case is somewhat different for Achomawi-Atsugewi: the "pain" is described as "a small black thing, like a bit of horse-hair" which a shaman sucks out in a cure, but "the 'pains' grow in size and strength by killing people. If the shaman does not catch the 'pain' when it returns to him after killing the person it has been shot into, he loses all control over it, and it goes about killing people of its own initiative. This is the cause of epidemics." This closely resembles the Northeastern Maidu concept.[472] 171* 755

The inaugural dance of California is of considerable proportions only among Yurok, Hupa, Shasta, and Northeastern Maidu, and as such is comparable to the Klamath affair. On the other hand those of the more southerly peoples seem relatively unpretentious: Sinkyone, Yuki, Northern Pomo, northerly Wintun, Maidu of the Sacramento valley, and Southern Maidu. 171* 756 535

The Shasta performance has been described above. The Yurok novice dreams of a dead shaman who puts a "pain" in her body. A dance is made in the sweat-house for ten days during which she dances under the direction of older shamans. The "pain" is induced to leave her body and is re-swallowed, thus demonstrating control. She

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[471] Kroeber, Handbook, 111, 197–199 302, 361; Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 562; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 268, 280; Gifford, Southern Maidu, 244.

[472] Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 42; Kroeber, Handbook, 150; Dixon, Some Shamans, 25, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218.

* 171 then goes to a seat or little monument on the mountain for reasons obscure. On her return the dance is repeated and followed by one 535 about a large fire to "cook the pains." The Tolowa dance is like that 756 of the Yurok. The Hupa dance is but barely described. "At night a dance is held in the sweat-house. The candidate dances around the fire as many times as possible. This is continued until the prospective doctor gets the desired clairvoyance, or the sucking doctor gets the 'pain' in his mouth. During the nightly dance the candidate makes the motion of catching the pain and putting it into his mouth. Sometimes the desired power is long in coming. The candidate goes in that case to a high mountain and dances in the rarer air." When dreams come to the Northeastern Maidu novice, or he has had an answer to his quest in the mountains, he becomes ill. A performance is then held at which older shamans attempt to appease his spirits. He then sings his spirit songs. This may continue through the winter, when, after his ear lobes are pierced, he sets off to the mountains to acquire more spirits.[478]

The southern performances are simpler. The Chimariko dance takes place out of doors, where an established shaman put a "pain" into the novice's mouth. Of the northerly Wintun, Kroeber writes: "Shamans are 'finished' in a dance held in the sweat-house at night. Older doctors suck the novices' bodies clean; then call the *yapaitu* or spirits, who enter the neophytes and render them temporarily unconscious or maniac"; of the Sinkyone: "A new shaman fasted and danced at nights [*sic*] for a period of some duration in a conical house erected or reserved for the occasion, while more experienced colleagues accompanied him, interpreting his symptoms and advising him in the gradual acquisition of mastery over the difficulties of his involuntary art." The Yuki dance takes place in summer; older shamans dance with the novices for five days. The novices' spirits come to the older shamans and instruct them how they can be made manageable. The spirits shoot the novice with spirit obsidians to make his heart light and clean. Among the Northern Pomo a shaman is called in to diagnose the novice who has had an experience. They dance together and the shaman sucks out a feather as a sign that the novice will become a shaman. The Maidu novice of the Sacramento valley division falls sick after his experience. Shamans sing over him and give instructions. They insert long spirit objects in his nose, over which he must demonstrate control by withdrawing them. Southern Maidu are initiated by established shamans. "They are placed in pits with 'medicine' and 'killed' with a piece of 'poison medicine' about a half inch long."[474]

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[478] Kroeber, Handbook, 63, 127; Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 65; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 274–279.

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It does not seem probable that the Cahuilla novice dance is related to these northern forms, since it is not only different but is not known in the intervening area. The Cahuilla youth gives a feast and then dances for three nights to gain ability to sing his songs.[475]

There are some rather interesting linkages in these data. Klamath and Shasta have the dance in winter. Possibly the Northeastern Maidu novice's dance through the winter is related but that is doubtful. Presumably summer is the dance time for others, as specifically the Yuki. Its duration is five days among Klamath; Shasta, three for each performance; Modoc, five in at least the first performance; Yurok, ten; Yuki, five. Klamath and Shasta hold it in a dwelling, others in the sweat-house (Yurok, Hupa, northerly Wintun) or special dance house (Sinkyone). The Klamath novice dances as close to a huge fire as he dares; so the Shasta in the earlier dance; the Yurok dances around a hot fire to "cook the pains," the Hupa around a fire. Shasta, Yurok, and Yuki believe the aspirant is shot with "pains" by his spirits; the Yurok draws them out and swallows them to show his control. The Hupa novice duplicates this by seizing and swallowing the "pains." The older shamans' part in the Yurok, Sinkyone, Yuki, and Northeastern Maidu dances is to show the novice how to gain mastery of his "pains" or spirits. Among the northerly Wintun, Northern Pomo, and Sacramento Valley Maidu they treat him for his disorder. They first suck his body clean; the Pomo suck out a feather. The Valley Maidu combine this with an opportunity for the novice to demonstrate his control by drawing out "pain"-like objects they put in him. The Yurok, Hupa, and Northeastern Maidu novice seeks further experiences in the mountains; the last after his ears are pierced. Ear piercing is the preliminary to a power quest among the neighboring Achomawi and Atsugewi.

There can be little doubt that the north Californian dance, which is essentially one of instruction and control, is related to the tutelage exercised over neophytes in the Secret Society-Kuksu complex centering farther south.

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[474] Kroeber, Handbook, 149, 197, 199, 361; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 326; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 267, Chimariko, 303; Gifford, Southern Maidu, 244.

[475] Hooper, Cahuilla, 334.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1860-1900)

The Winter Performance

756 Shamanistic performances among the Klamath could take place
787 only in midwinter (December–January). Every shaman made a point
of exhibiting his power at this time, several of them sometimes joining
796 for a performance. Midwinter was the most propitious moment to recall the spirits. In fact, it was at this time that laymen of the audience, who had some spirit power, would feel impelled by their own spirits to sing their songs.

*171 This is the essential element of the Kwakiutl secret society per-
formances in midwinter. The society members are those who are
756 repossessed by their spirits and the novices those who are newly pos-
787 sessed at this time. This is probably general among all adjacent
groups having secret societies. Boas remarks that "among all the
796 northwest coast tribes these ritualistic performances are confined to the winter months, and the season is set off from the rest of the year as the sacred season.[476]

Southward of here there are secret societies but they are not specifically connected with spirit repossession; such as those of the Quileute, whose performances take place in the winter months. The possession is general among all individuals. Again, among the Klallam the guardian spirits come to their owners once a year, generally in December or January. The person becomes "ill," calls on his friends to help him sing, and "when the guardian spirit is satisfied, it leaves the owner, who then becomes well again." Identically the same is recorded for the southern Puget Sound groups (Snohomish, Snoqualmi, Nisqually, etc.) as occurring from the middle of November to the beginning of January.[477] Both among the Klallam and on the Sound these dances take place at the winter potlatch, but they also occur at other potlatches through the year, merely as dance performances and without repossession. This renders Olson's observations on the Quinault intelligible: their potlatches are usually given about Christmas or New Year, and at these people sing their spirit songs. This suggests that here too repossession takes place at this time. On the other hand, his notes state specifically that spirit power is not stronger at this time. The spirit dances of the Wishram are very

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[476] Tribes of the North Pacific Coast, 244.

[477] Frachtenberg, Ceremonial Societies of Quileute, 322; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 290, 306; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 56, 59, 73.

similar to the Klallam-Sound Salish affairs. These likewise are held 171*
only or primarily in midwinter, that is, from December to March.
Potlatching on this occasion is represented by some trifling gifts made 756
by the singers. It is not clear that the man who rises to sing his spirit 787
song at this time is repossessed, but it is suggested by a statement I
recorded that when the auditors heard their songs sung, they "became 796
like fire inside, wild," offering bits of flesh to be cut off. The guardian
spirit dance of the Nez Percé closely parallels this performance. This
appears again among the Lillooet, and it may be that Teit's reference
to the "manitou dance" of the middle Columbia Salish refers to a
similar affair. (These people formerly occupied the territory between
the Wishram and Nez Percé.)[478] A Wasco analogue may be reflected
in a tale describing just such a singing and dancing festival among
the animals; each of the five nights they dance closer to the flames.[479]
This is similar to the Klamath practice of dancing as close as possible [535]
to the fire, which I know is also the custom among Puget Sound
groups, hence may have been universal in these performances.

There is a suggestive connection with these northern ideas in the Alsea custom of telling traditions in one month alone, January, and never again during the year.[480]

It is significant that the novice among Klamath and Shasta waits until winter for his inaugural dance. Among the latter this is the period in which the candidate is most likely to be possessed: "doctors generally begin their dreams and dancing early in the winter, as it is then that the Axeki [spirits] are always about the camp."[481]

If then the Klamath winter performance is construed as related to northern rites, by reason of its time, and the repossession of both shaman and layman, it is unique in one respect. I have been unable to find that elsewhere there are such regularly recurring opportunities for shamanistic display. To be sure, these occur elsewhere and quite widely, but not as regimented performances fixed as to time.

The Shaman's Assistant

The Klamath shaman regularly employs an assistant who serves as 756
interpreter of his rushing mumbled speech. Similarly, at both winter
performances and while curing, a second individual is selected to call 796
the spirits and prompt them to act. 755

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[478] Spinden, Nez Percé, 262–264; Teit, Lillooet, 286, The Middle Columbia Salish, 98, 128.

[479] Sapir, Wishram Texts, 311–312, cf. 95–99, 129–131.

[480] Farrand, Alsea, 245.

[481] Dixon, Some Shamans, 24.

*171 755 756 Elsewhere in the area from the Columbia river into northern California the shaman is provided with an assistant of this type. He participates, however, only in curing ceremonies. At the southern fringe of the area his functions fuse with those of the clown attendant in secret society performances. On the other hand, in western Washington he is not an interpreter or repeater of speeches, but serves purely as a lay assistant.

The Modoc assistant comes nearest to the Klamath in type. [114] Meacham refers to him as an orator who repeats loudly the shaman's speeches and who supports the shaman novice while dancing. Since the specific reference to him is in connection with the novice's dance, we may presume that he regularly accompanies the shaman in all his operations.[482]

Takelma, Wishram, and Achomawi assistants function during a cure like those of the Klamath, repeating the shaman's incoherent speech. A shamanistic dance, purely for display, occurs among the Wishram, but I did not learn that an assistant of the Klamath type had any part in it. This appears, however, among the foothill group of Northern Maidu, where, while a shaman shows his ability to commune with the spirits, a layman "apes the shaman in everything, repeats after him everything he says, and in every way tries to make the spectators laugh. It is considered a compliment to laugh, and a sign of appreciation." This "clown" has also full rein at the ceremonial for the dedication of a new dance house. Powers reports for the Southern Maidu a boy who repeats every utterance of a shaman during his performance. This may refer to a clown like that of the Northern Maidu or to an assistant who helps at a cure.[483] There is no trace of the clown in the dances of the Northeastern Maidu, but he appears again in the performances of the Sacramento valley branch. He is speaker for the dance leader, mimics the words and actions of the dancers, and attempts to make the spectators laugh by his antics. Such clowns appear regularly in Kuksu cult dances among other Sacramento valley peoples and are known as far south as the central and southern Yokuts.[484]

In the region west and north of the Wishram, shamans have assistants of a sort but they are not speakers. For example, the Chinook

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[482] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 129–136.

[483] Powers, Tribes of California, 334.

[484] Sapir, Religious Ideas of Takelma, 43; Angulo, Religious Feeling, 356, Psychologie religieuse, 568–569, 574–577; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 271, 286, 295, 311–318, 322; Kroeber, Handbook, 383.

shaman who seeks to recover the soul of a sick man uses "a manikin 171*
made of wood and cedar bark. When a conjurer wants to make use of
this manikin he gives it to a person who has no guardian spirit, who 755
shakes it for him, and they two go to the country of the ghosts." 756
Boas states that this type of cure was derived by the Chinook from the Chehalis. Such sticks, carved and painted with reference to their guardians, and here described as manikins, are common property to those with spirit helpers from Oregon northward. When a Quinault shaman goes to cure, he is regularly accompanied by an aid who holds and rattles his carved stick. Here again illness is due to soul loss but there is no journey to the land of the dead.[455]

In quite another direction the Pomo appear with an assistant for the curing shaman. He shakes the shaman's rattle and sings his songs. As Kroeber remarks, the appearance of an assistant in this [114]
quarter is unusual, and in the present state of our knowledge not connected by distribution with the instances cited above.[456]

One cannot escape the impression that this provision of a speaker for the shaman is linked with the chief's spokesman of many tribes of the west. The Northwest Coast type of spokesman is known as far south as the Wishram on the Columbia and perhaps in coastal Oregon. In the Basin, from eastern Washington to northern Arizona, there is word-for-word repetition of formal speeches. There is no chief's speaker in the intervening area from Wishram to Maidu, but there is for the shaman. When we realize that in this region, chiefs are socially eclipsed by shamans, we may well argue that a substitution has taken place. Objection may be made, however, that this is equally true in the Basin, where, so far as we know, shamans do not have speakers.

Accessory Elements

The distribution of analogues of the Klamath shamans' feats is 128
quite irregular, to judge by the few notes I have collected, but this is
undoubtedly due to incompleteness of information. Merely to put 756
these on record, I present them here.

The Klamath shaman swallows fire; so does the Lillooet and 171*
Thompson. Live coals are eaten by Quinault secret society performers, 756

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[455] Boas, Doctrine of Souls, 40, Chinook Texts, 207; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[456] Handbook, 258.

*171 756 Pomo ghost dancers, Cahuilla and Pima shamans. Perhaps the Nisqually trick of eating cold ashes is connected with these.[487]

Treading on fire or hot coals is no trick of the Klamath, but occurs I believe among the Modoc. It is also known from the Quinault, the Puget Sound Salish, Northeastern Maidu, and in the boys' rites of southern California. The Pomo can plunge his hands in fire; the Yurok shaman handles hot stones.[488]

The Klamath shaman can fill or empty at will a basket with live fish, pond-lily seed, or blood. The Thompson is credited with causing water to appear and disappear, the southern Yokuts with making fish appear in water, and the Pima with transforming water to wheat.[489]

The Klamath hold that food brought to the shamanistic performances is first eaten by the frog spirit. Until this spirit has partaken, the food may not be touched for fear of sickness. Similarly in a Shasta ceremonial in which a shaman frees a village of lurking disease, his guardian spirit is thought to eat food which has been brought for that purpose. If this is not forthcoming, the spirit may devour someone instead. The Takelma analogue takes a different form: a shaman must not eat before dancing, for, since the dance is reckoned food for his guardian spirit, he, the shaman, would be guilty of the impropriety of eating first.[490]

It may be that this is only a special construction put on the Klamath custom of throwing morsels of food to the spirits before one eats. Certainly the Kwakiutl who puts bits of food in the fire before the feasters eat is presenting them to the spirits of the fire.[491]

171 756 532 The Klamath, and probably Modoc, shaman has set up on the outside of his dwelling a carved image of a boy or dwarf spirit. To find a carved image here is distinctly unusual in a culture in which woodworking is minimal. This seems to me to be another evidence of influence from the woodcarving area to the north. While the analogy may not be proper, it may be pointed out that to the northward a shaman, in fact everyone with a guardian spirit, carves or represents that spirit on a stick which he carries during his performances. [535] Tillamook, Chinook, and Quinault shamans have such carved sticks, which their assistants hold or with which they dance. In fact, the use of special dance staffs is general among all Quinault who have spirits, as it is among the southern Puget Sound Salish. It is strange that neither Dr. Sapir nor I learned of either type of carving among the Wishram, but our information is not full.[492] 171 532 756 535 [114]

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[487] Teit, Lillooet, 289; Thompson Indians, 362; Olson, Quinault field notes; Kroeber, Handbook, 264; Hooper, Cahuilla, 331, 335; Russell, Pima, 259; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 68.

[488] Haeberlin-Gunther, *op. cit.*, 61; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 279; Kroeber, Handbook, 68.

[489] Kroeber, Handbook, 507; Russell, Pima, 258.

[490] Dixon, Shasta, 488; Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 42.

[491] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1331.

A tall painted pole is erected in front of the Klamath shaman's lodge from which dangles a cord bearing at intervals bunches of feathers, a piece of wood, and a miniature gambling tray, all these representative of spirits. There are analogues of this southward to the Maidu. Such a pole is also erected outside a Modoc shaman's dwelling; it is painted and bears the skins and feathers of various spirit animals. It is used earlier at the novice's dance. This is described as some three or four meters high and decorated with paint and a few feathers. Such a pole is set up when a Shasta shaman rids a locality of disease: it has baskets hung from it. Again when an Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman cures, a pole is sometimes set up near the house, to which is tied a bunch of feathers (*qaqu*). The *qaqu* has a significant function; it is obtained with difficulty on his spirit quest and has the power to tell him where the disease is located. The poles used for a Northeastern Maidu shaman novice are somewhat different. They are set up on the roof of the house in which the inaugural dance takes place, and inside above the spot where he stays; others are carried to the mountains where novices go on their quests. These are short wands, a meter to a meter and a half long, variously painted, with pendent strings of feathers and acorn shells, or bunches of feathers. These have some obscure but intimate relation to his spirits. Similar wands are set up at the dedication of a new dance house by the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento valley.[493] 171* 756 778

Among the items of a Klamath shaman's costume are a forehead band or neckband of woodpecker scalps mounted on a buckskin foundation and a bunch of yellowhammer feathers worn on hat or neck. The feathers of both these birds have value and ceremonial usage in California but not to the north. 171* 756 292

Woodpecker scalps attain the status of money among the Yurok and perhaps their neighbors. Not only have they value in themselves, but they are worked into ceremonial headdresses over most of northern California. The Yurok and Hupa use forehead headbands like those 171* 292 435

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[492] Boas, Notes on Tillamook, 10, Doctrine of Souls, 40; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[493] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130, 136; Dixon, Shasta, 475–476, 487, Notes on Achomawi, 218, Some Shamans, 24, Northern Maidu, 275–278, 312.

*171 292 435 of the Klamath in their Jumping dances, and the Hupa "roll-woodpecker hats" in their Brush Dance. Dixon figures what is probably a Shasta shaman's headband with a large woodpecker scalp affixed. Northern Maidu make use of a belt or bandolier of woodpecker scalps now mounted on buckskin, but formerly on a netted foundation. A headdress like a helmet, covered with these, is worn by the highest members of their secret society. A spirit impersonator of the Sacramento Valley Maidu wears a forehead band of these scalps, tapering at its ends. Pomo women wear "a woven band of woodpecker feathers" (scalps?) presumably in dances: this suggests a net foundation. In all the other cases cited above the foundation of the band is a buckskin strip. Kroeber has pointed out that the Yurok headband (and I would add here all northern analogues) have skin mounting, while those used in the Kuksu dances of the lower Sacramento valley are made on a close network. The Northern Maidu belt then represents an intelligible transformation of technique. Klamath and Shasta shamans' headbands, and the Takelma shaman's mere use of the feathers in his hair, are attenuated usages.[494]

Klamath use of yellowhammer feathers is only casual and would have no significance were these not regularly part of ceremonial regalia to the south. There the form is commonly a forehead band. Their use is primarily central and northern Californian and they are not found in most of southern California.[495] A search of the literature shows the use of such bands by shamans only among Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northeastern Maidu, and the feathers alone by Takelma shamans.[496] Elsewhere they are non-shamanistic dance regalia: Chilula, Sinkyone, Coast Yuki, Yuki, Pomo, Patwin, Northern and Southern Maidu, Yokuts, Koso, and Luiseño.[497] It will be observed that this distribution avoids the Klamath river tribes.

*171 756 Circumspection of action in the presence of a shaman is held necessary in a number of groups from Thompson to Maidu. His immediate presence is fraught with power, so that making contact with him by his shadow or one's own, startling him, or making a misstep in passing, are all potentially dangerous. A shaman of the Northern

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[494] Kroeber, Handbook, 26, 56, 433–434; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 19, 69, 86; Dixon, Shasta, 481; Northern Maidu, 149, 284; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 157; Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 264.

[495] Kroeber, Handbook, 140, 149, 508, 665.

[496] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 219, Northern Maidu, 283; Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 316; Sapir, *op. cit.*, 264.

[497] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 140, 149, 173, 216, 261, pls. 59 and 77, 508, 591, 665; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 152, 283; Faye, Southern Maidu, 48, 50.

Maidu of the Sacramento valley may kill merely by letting his shadow 171*
fall on his victim. A Klamath cannot pass in front of a shaman nor 756
drop something in front of him, else the shaman suffers a hemorrhage. Similarly a Kwakiutl apparently does not pass behind an eating shaman, else he too has a hemorrhage. The Wishram shaman, angry with one who endangers him by passing behind or startling him, may bewitch in revenge. A Cowichan of the mainland group will not let his shadow fall on a sick shaman, for the latter may seize the chance to replace his own lost soul. Similarly the Lillooet avoid letting their shadows fall on a shaman or standing in his, for fear of consequences. The Thompson, too, will not let his shadow fall on a shaman (the reverse is not harmful), and dares not startle him nor eat meat without inviting him to share it.[498]

Clairvoyance

Prediction is a widespread, if not universal, ability of shamans. 171*
A somewhat unique form among the Klamath is that at the dance pre- 756
ceding the departure of a war party. The shaman dances in front of
the warriors in order to discover those who will be wounded: he sees 787
them bleeding. He also accompanies the party to watch over them 726
and cure wounds. Something of the same sort is noted for the Modoc.
This also seems to take place among the Chinook: "before the people [535]
go to war they sing. If one of them sees blood, he will be killed in [755]
battle." Perhaps this is general in the northwest; at any rate Goddard observes of the Northwest Coast at large: "Every war party includes a shaman who by his supernatural knowledge warns of danger and points out favorable times and places for attacks. The shaman, by catching or destroying the souls of the enemy, makes the killing of their bodies an easy matter."[499]

As I have pointed out it is unusual that the Klamath shaman treats 171*
wounds and fractures by matter-of-fact methods. But this has also 755
been noted of the Achomawi. Angulo thinks this true only since the advent of the whites, but it is surely an old practice of the Klamath.[500]

The practice of freeing a locality or village of disease, dispatched there by a malevolent shaman, is probably more common than I have

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[498] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 269; Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 730; Lower Fraser River, 9; Teit, Lillooet 288; Thompson Indians, 361.

[499] Gatschet, 1:21; Boas, Chinook Texts, 270; Goddard, Indians of the Northwest Coast, 119.

[500] Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 571.

*171 been able to discover. At any rate, I note it for Achomawi-Atsugewi
755 and Shasta, as well as Klamath. Following the usual shamanistic seance the Klamath shaman searches the vicinity for the malevolent spirit. He rushes about until he falls, blood streaming from his mouth. Several men must support him by the arms and restrain him until he can destroy it in water. The Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman forces the disease out of the ground by his power and then seizes it. He staggers about in his effort to hold it until he can plunge it into water. He then swallows or burns it, or dispatches it to kill its sender. The Shasta erect a shaman's pole at the affected spot. The shaman dances, calling on her spirit to dislodge the disease "pains" from the ground. "If the shaman's guardian is successful, he succeeds in pushing the pains into the river, and drowns them." Certain features of a Chinook cure are like these. When their shaman has taken a disease from a sick man, he must be held by several men to overcome the strength of the disease spirit, until he can plunge it into water.[801] The destruction of an extracted disease by placing it in water is a common feature among Washington tribes. I have seen it, for example, as part of a cure by members of the pseudo-Christian sect of Shakers among the Skokomish and learned that it occurred among the Okanagon.

Various Beliefs

*171 I have a somewhat random series of analogues of Klamath beliefs.
763 The Klamath hold that a storm rages when a shaman dies, when he
756 is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned. The Northern Maidu hold that it thunders at once when a great man dies, and
821 inasmuch as the most important individuals of the Maidu are shamans, it is clear that this is a comparable belief. The Thompson have it that the death or burial of a person causes an immediate change in the weather; that of a shaman, a sudden and extreme change. The death of a Wind River Shoshoni causes a whirlwind.

*171 These beliefs are apparently a single expression of a more general
821 belief that both births and deaths are signaled by a change in the weather. For example, the Klamath also hold that it always blows
844 at a woman's first parturition. Analogous to this the Wishram say that extreme weather marks a birth. Further, a rainbow points to the spot where the birth takes place. The latter belief at least is

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[801] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 219, Shasta, 487; Boas, Chinook Texts, 208.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1860-1900)

shared by other Upper Chinook (Wasco, Cascades, and Clackamas) 171*
and the Eastern Pomo. Similar to their belief in respect to death, the 821
Northern Maidu say it thunders when a woman has a miscarriage, and 844
the people of Cochiti say the same of a Navaho woman when the wind
blows. Again, a sudden change of the weather accompanies a
Thompson birth.[802]

An association of the moon and frog is common to several tribes 171*
of this quarter. The Klamath say that the Moon is saved by his wife, 821
Frog, during an eclipse, from being eaten by a grizzly. The frog can be seen in the moon. The Quinault hold an identical belief. An eclipse is caused by the "upper fisher" (a spirit animal) biting the moon. "There is a lady frog up there who helps the most and really saves the moon." A tale describes this frog as married to the moon. According to the Northern Maidu, the spots in the moon are thought to be a frog. A Northern Paiute tale describes Moon as swallowing Frog.[803]

One of the few acts of outright magic among the Klamath relates 171*
to causing the wind to blow. This is accomplished by poking in the 789
hollows of a certain rock, striking another, or poking in a particular eddy. The Wishram also maintain that stirring about in a hole in the rocks near their village will raise a wind; the Quinault that thrusting a stick into a spot where gas bubbles rise in the water will bring a storm; and the Twana (or Klallam?) that shaking a certain rock will cause rain.[804]

Comparable to the Klamath belief that the "cat" *Bassariscus* kills 171*
deer by wrapping his long tail around their necks, the Northern Maidu 825
state this of the mountain lion.[805]

Summary

The general basis of Klamath shamanism is like that of other 171*
interior Plateau and Basin peoples. Social importance attaches to 756
shamans above even that accorded chiefs. Rituals are meager and throughout are crisis ceremonials. As with the generality of North American tribes, acquisition of power is free for all, shamans stand-

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[802] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266-7; Teit, The Thompson Indians, 374; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 297; Goldfrank, Cochiti, 83; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 316.

[803] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1926; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266 (the tale relative to this is not available to me); Natches, Northern Paiute Verbs, 257.

[804] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 674.

[805] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266.

*171 756 ing out only by their greater capacities. The voluntary quest in an isolated place and the formulation of spirits as birds, animals, and other things in nature are equally general North American.

There is, however, a local phrasing of shamanism in the interior, centering in southeastern Oregon and northeastern California, that is, from Klamath to Maidu. In part this is due to the presence of elements shared equally with the whole of northern California; in part to specific influences from two directions, northwestern California and the Northwest Coast. These have been caught up into complexes characteristic of this territory. Certain features are, further, peculiar to this locality alone.

*171 756 787 California and the western segment of the Southwest are characterized by the few individuals on whom supernatural grace descends and the dream as the means of its reception. Elsewhere east and north the voluntary quest is open to everyone and the vision its culmination. Northern California combines these variously; the Klamath by making the quest, permitting anyone to do so, and holding the quest a prelude to the dream.

Spirits are the source of power in northeastern California, as they are northward and eastward. The curious northwest Californian concept of "pains," alike sources of power and pathogenic in their action, infiltrates the beliefs of the northeastern quarter of the state but does not penetrate to the Klamath. Nor do the mythic supernaturals of the northwest coastal strip known as far south as the Columbia river make their appearance here. But the conceptualization of the shaman's spirits as dwarfs, localized in northern California, does appear among the Klamath.

There is also in the interior some inheritance of a predilection to acquire spirits: in this the Klamath share. But there is nothing of that rigid inheritance of particular spirits which focuses on the Northwest Coast, nor the inheritance of paraphernalia known to central California.

*171 787 The manner of conducting the quest has two local peculiarities. The curious practice of piling rocks in the mountains is known north and south of the Klamath from Nez Percé to Atsugewi. Diving for a spirit, swooning, and awakening with a hemorrhage has a far more widely extended range. In one form or another, it is found from the Kwakiutl through northern California. The emphasis on it links the Klamath definitely with the northern members of this group.

The time of life at which supernatural power may be gained is not limited among most western tribes. 171* Those of eastern Washington 787 and the interior of British Columbia, however, tend to restrict the quest to adolescence, and with them seem to link the secret society initiations of the Northwest Coast. One gains the impression that in northwestern California, where the acquisition is involuntary, it descends only on adults. The Klamath, like others of northeastern California, follow the more widespread habit of seeking power at any time.

Feminine shamanism is characteristic of northwestern California. 171* While this appears in the relatively large number of women practitioners as far east as Shasta and Achomawi, the Klamath are unaffected 756 by this influence. [562]

Specialization among shamans is not marked over most of western America. Such distinctions as are made between those who cure and mere clairvoyants, or the really powerful shaman and one with limited abilities, are very variable and never particularly impressive. Such distinctions do not appear among the Klamath at all. Neither do the common Californian specialists, the rattlesnake, bear, and weather shamans. Weather control is exercised by any Klamath shaman who has the requisite spirits.

Northern California and Oregon share an initial dance for the 171* novice: a performance of initiation and mastery in the south, a demonstration of ability in Oregon. The Klamath affiliate with the latter. 756 Its local form on the Klamath river below the Klamath (Yurok, 535 Shasta, and Modoc), a dance made immediately on the acquisition of power with a second somewhat later, has no counterpart among the Klamath. The general form of the Klamath novice dance is identical with all their shamanistic seances. In one particular they affiliate with the down-river tribes, namely in dancing over a hot fire, but even this is known on the southern fringe of the Northwest Coast proper, if not elsewhere.

Northwest Coast influences appear at two points: the time of 171* shamanistic seances and the woodcarvings representing spirits. Klamath seances are restricted to midwinter, the novice dance among 756 them. This is regularly the period at which all who have spirits are 796 repossessed and impelled to dance, shamans among them. The regimentation of the repossessed in the midwinter sacred period of the Northwest Coast is lacking, but a diminution of the idea and its forms is clearly traceable from that focus to Shasta and Klamath. Wooden 000

*171 Wooden images are unique in the non-woodworking culture of Klamath and
756 Modoc, yet this too is traceable southward from the same center.^ It is
far less certain that clairvoyance in connection with a war party is
532 derived from that source, yet the trait is shared by the northern
coastal people.

*171 Some elements are local in the Oregon-north California interior.
Such is the shaman's assistant, his mouthpiece and interlocutor. He
755 is present at cures from Wishram to Achomawi; present at seances
756 from Klamath to Southern Maidu. For some of the Maidu he is a
clown, which links him with the clown among the Kuksu impersonators
of central California. There is reason to think that this functionary
is historically connected with the chief's speaker known from the
Northwest Coast through the interior to the Southwest. Other local
elements are the pole having spirit reference (Klamath to Northern
Maidu), the notion that food is first eaten by the spirits (Takelma,
Shasta, Klamath), the ridding of a locality of disease (Klamath,
Shasta, Achomawi-Atsugewi).

*171 Other elements, while local, are somewhat more widely distributed.
There is the circumspection with respect to the shaman's shadow and
756 to startling him; the notion that weather changes at birth and death:
[821] all these are common from southern British Columbia to the Maidu,
largely through the interior.

*171 The Klamath shamans' dress bears some imprint of northern and
central Californian influence in the use of woodpecker scalp head-
756 bands and of yellowhammer feathers. Both are characteristic dance
292 regalia in the south; on the Oregon border they have passed over to
237 the shamans.

In broad perspective Klamath shamanism is of generalized,
*171 undifferentiated North American type, sharing some features that are
756 local, and but moderately influenced from the Northwest Coast and
the central and northwestern foci of California. Its general nature
is recognizable in the quest and the undifferentiated power it yields;
the most marked local elements are the predisposition to inherit power,
the novice dance, and the shaman's assistant. California at large
appears in the dream as a vehicle of acquiring power; northern California in the dwarfs that figure among Klamath spirits; central California in the shaman's headdress. Northwest Coast influences are no
stronger; repossession in midwinter and the use of carvings color
Klamath shamanism only mildly.

^ [i.e., the Northwest Coast.-Analyst]

If we look for elements peculiarly Klamath, they are difficult to 171*
find. At best there is only the regularity with which seances occur at
midwinter, and even here we do not know with certainty that this 756
does not occur elsewhere. Further, if we feel that this regularity is
due to recurrent possession, this merges with general Northwest Coast
practice, and its uniqueness disappears. The peculiarity of the Klamath
complex, then, rests only in the specific combination of widely
distributed elements that they have effected, a combination known
nowhere else in exactly this form.

THE MARRIAGE COMPLEX

Social relations among the Klamath, even more than the shamanistic 105
practices, are clearly explicable as a function of their geographic
position. They are most clearly crystallized in the matters of chieftainship,
slaveholding, concepts of wealth, and the relative social
standing of shaman and chief, but especially in their marital relations.
Household and village groupings, puberty rites and analogous
customs, have much less definite or peculiar form among them. For
this reason, the discussion which follows will be confined largely to
the earlier group of topics. As the most complex situation is that
surrounding marriage, I will analyze this first.

While marriage among the Klamath is contracted by purchase, it 583
is not a negotiated transaction. Payment is socially obligatory. It is
a seal of respectability and in a rough way the amount changing hands [554]
is a measure of the social pretensions of the families involved. Hence
clandestine matches are severely frowned on. No obligation may be
assumed for which payment is not forthcoming. Yet such payment
does not fix the status nor the value of an individual with any precision.
For example, the purchase price of a murdered man's mother
or that of his bride never enters consciously in assessing his blood
price. Failure to pay for a bride is a blot not easily erased.

It must be remembered that the reciprocal gifts from the bride's 583
family frequently outweigh the purchase price. Further, the bride is 431
in no sense a chattel, but free to leave her husband at will, he having
but slight recourse to recover his gifts. Nor is a wife obligated to 581
bear children to her husband, nor does their birth cancel the marriage
debt. In adultery it is clear that a man has no eye to the monetary 837
value of his wife's affections. He kills the lover; to take payment is
unthinkable. It does not appear that a marriage brings about a con- 000

It does not appear that a marriage brings about a con-

587 tractual union between the families. The levirate is customary but not obligatory, and the sororate only occasional. It is true that the husband's brothers may take exception to her marriage with another, but this may mean only that they look upon it as an affront to their brother's memory.

582 Marriage is denied only between blood relatives. There is no village exogamy nor trace of restrictions or preference of any other order. At best the evidence suggests some tendency to marry within the tribal subdivision, but this may mean only that contacts are less frequent outside of this group.

584 585 The formalities of marriage prescribe a series of visits with an exchange of gifts. The prospective groom sends a male emissary with a bundle of sticks representing his offering. The bride's family proceed to the groom's house where they exchange gifts with the family of the groom. In kind and in quantity these are modest indeed when measured by Northwest Coast standards. A month later the couple and the groom's family return the visit, when again gifts are exchanged. Beyond these two, further formal visits are made only by the social pretentious. These formalities may be frequently initiated while the couple are still pre-adolescent, the bride being carried to her husband's home after her puberty dance.

583 *171 The general nature of the Klamath marriage relation smacks strongly of the Northwest Coast. This is apparent in the premium attached to purchase, to a lesser extent in the weighting accorded the amount of the purchase price, in the reciprocal nature of the gifts, and the series of formal visits before the affair is considered terminated. What is absent here is the notion that rank and privileges of a tangible nature are acquired by a marriage purchase.

This can best be brought out by instituting a series of comparisons with other tribes. For this purpose I shall select only a limited number of cases. For one thing data from Oregon tribes are almost wholly lacking, and those for California and Washington are both scattered and scanty.

Throughout California, save on the eastern border of the state, there is an appearance of purchase. But in reality it is only a presentation of gifts of no great amount as an earnest of the son-in-law's good will, a matter of etiquette rather than a stipulated price. The formality of giving varies as much as its conventional expression. With some, bride service is in order; with others, the parents-in-law must reciprocate the gifts. It is everywhere little more than an

observance, far removed from the set contractual relations established by a Northwest Coast marriage. It is nowhere an occasion for the display of wealth, and social prestige is not fixed by it.[596] 171* 583

Among the Basin tribes there is not even this semblance of purchase. What these people desire in a son-in-law is a good provider, who normally takes up residence with his wife's people. His incidental services can hardly be construed as payment in any sense. The groom slips into their life as unobtrusively as possible. Ceremonial is almost wholly lacking; at most a feast in celebration.[597] 171* 581 585

The situation in the Plains is not far distant, resembling rather that in California. In general the approach to the northwestern concept consists only in an exchange of gifts. The groom's family bring gifts to the home of the bride, receiving an equivalent, sometimes to a greater amount. Married life begins at once with the bride's family to whom the son-in-law renders services. But it is doubtful that either the gifts or the services are looked on as specific payment. Rather they serve to establish friendly relations and no more. Large amounts of property might be given for the honor of the act, but it was equally common for an old man to marry his daughter to a suitable man to obtain a provider for the family, no compensation being thought necessary. While some ostentation is inevitable in a Plains ceremonial act, there is here no lavish display of wealth. Equally foreign to their thought is the idea of social status fixed by a transfer of property.[598] 171* 583 585

If we turn from these to the Northwest Coast tribes, a very different picture is presented. We need go no farther north than the Kwakiutl for a typical expression of attitudes. The rank of a family, the social status of a child, are clearly defined in a regimented series depending largely on primogeniture coupled with wealth. Marriage is a purchase conducted on the same plan as the purchase of all ceremonial symbols of exceptional value. Its mechanism is the potlatch, the ceremonious bestowal of wealth on a social rival to enhance one's own status, with the certainty of its return several fold if the rival is to maintain his rank undiminished. A man buys in this fashion the rank and social privileges of his bride's family for the children of this marriage or heirs or relatives whoever they be. When the bridal price is ultimately returned two or three-fold, the contractual relation is at an end. The groom has the obvious advantage in this transfer of

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[596] See for example, Dixon, Northern Maidu, 239; Kroeber, Handbook, 402.

[597] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 275.

[598] Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre, 18; McClintock, Old North Trail, 184; Grinnell, The Cheyenne, 137.

*171 wealth in addition to the privileges that accrue by his investment. So
583 little is the bride concerned and so great the emphasis on the acquisition of new prerogatives for his family, that a man may carry out the
585 fiction of a marriage where there is no bride.

In the desire to keep the privileges within the family, a man of high degree may even espouse his younger brother's daughter.

Normally in return for the huge purchase price, the wife is given him as a first instalment. The heraldic crests of her family, its social privileges, and a considerable amount of property are given later to members of the husband's family. This repayment annuls the marriage; the wife is now free to return to her people, but should she choose to stay it is customary to make a new payment to the father-in-law.

The chief who desires marriage for himself or his son invites the aid of his townsmen in a matter of mutual interest; "our bride" is to be acquired, "all the tribes [lineages] have married my daughter" is her father's phrase. Four men are dispatched to the bride's town to offer the huge bride price, four hundred blankets and more. When the groom's party arrive, their spokesmen with stereotyped speech measure out the blankets, which are carried into the father-in-law's house. Like most Kwakiutl ceremonies, the marriage ritual is interwoven with myth; at this point the son-in-law and his party are put to a test which has mythical background. They must rush through torches into the house, or they are tried by a great fire and shown the sea monster whose mask spews out the bones of unsuccessful suitors. The father-in-law now makes his first repayment in self-depreciatory manner, two hundred blankets, a gesture derogatory of his rival's lavish giving. These the groom promises his followers in the name of his future heir. Soon after, when the father-in-law is ready to make full repayment, he visits the other with his followers. He makes a symbolical gift indicating the wealth he returns, the copper plates, the house and carvings the son-in-law demands, his own title acquired in marriage, and his ceremonial office and dance in the secret societies, which are to go to his grandson. The bride is brought out to have her valuable finery placed on the shoulders of the groom. Next day the young man distributes the wealth among his tribesmen in recompense for their aid at the marriage, and to start the wealth on an interest-bearing round once more. In doing so he assumes the proud titles acquired from his wife's father and bestows them too on others.

The marriage of those of lower rank is doubtless analogous but on a 171*
smaller scale.[509]

I shall trace the elements of this marriage complex from this area 583
southward, in order to make clear their relation to the customs of the 585
Klamath. At the outset I will deal with the interrelated attitudes toward wealth and rank, marriage as an expression of it, and local exogamy dictated by it. Later I will return to a comparison of the marriage ceremony itself, to the levirate and sororate as expressions of family contracts, and to related phenomena such as reactions to adultery.

Purchase, Rank, and Exogamy

The marital customs of other Vancouver island tribes duplicate 171*
those of the Kwakiutl in all essentials. Their divergence is in a less
sharp definition of rank and prerogative and diminished elaborateness 582
of marriage ceremonialism. This diminution can be traced by successive steps to the Klamath and beyond. Not only are the attitudes of the island tribes respecting rank and wealth analogous to the Kwakiutl, but marriage is the same kind of mechanism for their transfer. We may also assume here the kind of local exogamy implied for the Kwakiutl. As marriages with relatives are normally prohibited, and mates of suitable rank and wealth are not to be found in the same tribe or village, a practice of local exogamy follows. While there is no prohibition against marriage within the community, the vast majority of alliances must be outside, since pretension to rank sinks deep in the several strata of society. There is at least some studied exogamy on the part of those of highest rank for whom foreign alliances mean increased prestige.

As expressed by Sapir "among the more southern tribes inter- (114)
marriage is prohibited only between such as are demonstrably related by blood, even if fairly remotely so. Owing to the structure of the village community, this would in many cases mean that there are few persons in a village that one is legally entitled to marry; but it is important to note that the village community as such need not be exogamous, that is, does not specifically prohibit intermarriage among its members."[510]

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[509] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 358, 421, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 776, 1344, Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 116.

[510] Sapir, Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes, 367.

*171 582 The alternative to this exogamic practice was marriage with blood kindred. While it was generally frowned on, an exception was permitted if no other mate was available. This is an attitude different from that of the Kwakiutl, who, desiring to keep privileges within the family, married his niece or cousin. When there is no available mate [114] outside the blood group, a Klallam may marry his first cousin. Eells implies that a Twana (and Klallam?) always sought a wife first "within a certain circle of his relatives."[611]

There is no adequate information for western Washington tribes save from the Klallam and more moderately from the Chinook. Inasmuch as their attitudes and practices coincide in large degree, it is safe to assume that they are representative of the intervening territory.

Both Klallam and Chinook view wealth as a criterion of rank and its lavish display in the wedding ceremonial as an index of social pretension. Marriage with a person of lower rank is unthinkable. *171 556 583 585 It is apparent that most Klallam brides are paid for, yet elopements occur and slave alliances are formed. Once such marriages are contracted the parents make no effort to separate the couple, but a girl who marries in this way is not highly respected. Whether payments are made following elopements to legitimatize them, we are not told. Upper-class Klallam have a definite preference for extra-tribal mar- *171 582 riages, especially with the people of Vancouver island. Local exogamy is even more general, holding for all ranks, for in a record of fifty-seven marriages only five were with co-villagers.[612] Purchase, or its *171 583 simulation, is so obviously the normal Chinook procedure also that even a successful elopement will be nullified unless a small sum is paid. And these sticklers for form go through the orthodox ritual on this occasion as though the marriage was not yet consummated. For a man too poor to pay, there is no recourse but in matrilocal residence with bride service.[613]

There are but scattered observations on the tribes of the intervening territory but they suggest conformable practices. Since we learn that common people among the Makah paid a small amount for a bride without any ceremony, purchase must have been the regular form for all classes of society. Yet as elopements were frequent and are said always to have ended amicably, this suggests an approxima-

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[611] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 241; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 655.

[612] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 241 f.

[613] Boas, Chinook Texts, 251; Franchère, Narrative, 254.

tion to the Klallam situation and perhaps the payments made in such 171*
cases by Chinook. Marriage occurred in or out of the tribe, but with
no near relative, which includes fourth cousins.[314] Caste stratification 583
was as strong among the Quinault as among their northern neighbors, 171*
and marriages had to be contracted with persons of equivalent status.
This brought it about that tribal or at least village exogamy was 565
insisted on for chiefs. The sentiment was nearly as strong for com- 582
moners as well, although in their case emphasis was on the fact that
all co-villagers, or nearly all, were related; marriage of relatives of
even remote degree being forbidden. Not only might a man normally
not marry in his own village, but for the same reason he could not
ordinarily marry in that from which his mother came. The upper [583]
class always purchased wives from other noble families; to marry
below one's rank was disgraceful in the highest degree. If a common
man wanted to marry a chief's daughter, the chief would pay someone
to kill him. In contrast to the Klallam desire in extra-tribal mar-
riages, the Quinault had no preference for northern tribes. All mar-
riages, of whatever rank, were made by purchase, that is by the
exchange of gifts of high value. Elopements were common, yet this 171*
was theft and therefore dangerous, for the girl's father might kill the
man, whose relatives could not retaliate. The bride who eloped must 583
be paid for, in fact the price then demanded was inclined to be
exorbitant. Legitimatizing of marriage was Quinault theory at least, [848]
yet illegitimate children were many and not looked on with contempt.[315]

Purchase of the same order appears among the Puget Sound tribes, 171*
at least for the wealthy, that is the upper classes. The interchange
of gifts was not compulsory, so that poor people married on agree- 565
ment alone or deferred payment until they were able. The general 583
impression obtained from the account of these people (Nisqually,
Snohomish, Snuqualmi, Skokomish, and Suquamish) is that class dis-
tinctions did not cut so deep as on Vancouver island and coastal
Washington. Differences of wealth were not so great, hence, com- 171*
paratively, wealth and its function in marriage were not emphasized
to the same degree. The exogamic habit is present however but
apparently confined rather to the upper class. Even fourth and fifth
cousins could not marry.[316] The Nisqually maintain that tribal
exogamy held for all; one who broke the rule was not only disgraced

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[314] Swan, Indians of Cape Flattery, 11 ff.

[315] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925, 1926.

[316] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 34–38; Spier, Nisqually field notes, 1922.

*171 but heavily fined. "Generally speaking, these Indians seek their wives
582 from among other tribes than their own. . . . . It seems to be a matter of pride, in fact, to unite the blood of several different ones in their own persons. . . . . With the chiefs, this is almost always the case."[517]

*171 Marriage by purchase was the usual form among the Nez Percé,
583 but it is said that a marriage by agreement because of the groom's
583 capabilities was a more desirable and honored form. This is a new
585 note, but it was characteristic of Plains tribes to the east. The purchase was effected with little ceremony. Bride and groom were not ordinarily members of the same village.[518] The exogamic habit here
*171 had not the same basis as among the tribes previously discussed. It
582 seems due solely to the Nez Percé habit of forbidding marriages to relatives of even remote degree, which necessarily resulted in village exogamy. I am unable to find evidence of exogamic practice farther to the east, but will return later to analogous forms of wife purchase.

*171 To return to the Columbia river: the Wishram had as strong a sentiment for caste and wealth as their down-river relatives, the Chinook
582 proper. Rank and wealth were here not quite synonymous, for chiefs
583 were not always the wealthiest individuals. Marriage was always
556 with one of the same rank, so that the children would have as high standing as their parents. Payment was insisted on in every case;
583 even in the case of marriage with a deceased brother's wife the
[587] procedure was gone through, else the children were as "nothing," i.e., not legitimate. The feeling was that the marriage must be regularized by payment, else the contractants were the subject of odium, and furthermore the marriage would not be permanent. So strong was the feeling, that a lower-class man guilty of adultery with a chief's daughter or other close relation would be killed; not for his crime as such, but because he was too poor to make proper recompense in marriage. Even constructive adultery, such as accidentally touching another man's wife, was heavily fined. The insistence seems to have been on the regularity of the form, for it was freely acknowledged that the gifts made on either side were about equal. The marriage of very young children was arranged and carried out in full form. Chiefs and wealthy men marry women of other tribes, but marriage within the village was prohibited to no one save a blood relative.[519] Much the same situation is implied for other Upper Chinook.

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[517] Gibbs, Tribes of Western Washington, 197.

[518] Spinden, Nez Percé, 250; Farrand, Notes on the Nez Percé Indians, 246.

[519] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

171* 582 583 From the Columbia river southward the exogamic practice extended among the coastal tribes as far as the Hupa and some form of the purchase feature to the Pomo. The caste sentiment of the northern tribes existed on the Oregon coast, with its concomitant local exogamy to maintain caste in marriage. This is implied for the Alsea, where there was "a decided preference for marriage with women from another tribe. This is explicitly stated of the nobility. At the same time there is evidence that the men did not care to go too far afield for their wives, for in such specific cases as could be cited, the favored tribes were the Yaquina and Siuslaw, whose languages are almost identical with Alsea and who regarded each other as closely akin. It is more likely that the exogamous tendency was local and extended to villages rather than to tribes."[330] In general culture the Coos resembled the Alsea, hence it may be presumed that the same exogamic sentiments prevailed. This is the more certain since the tribes to the south, the northwestern Californians, were also locally exogamous by habit. Coos marriages were apparently all made by purchase, often being those of children. The amount transferred was pitifully small in comparison with bride prices north and south. How far there was proprietary interest in the purchase, may be judged by the fact that the husband would demand the return of the bride price from the parents of an adulterous wife.[331]

[565] While caste sentiment was not so definitely crystallized among the Takelma, distinctions were drawn between rich and poor, freeman and slave. "There is no well-defined rule against marriage within the village, but as it must very often have happened that practically all the residents of a village were related [marriage of relatives being forbidden], it was customary to look beyond the village for a mate, and in many cases even to marry into some neighboring tribe of alien speech, like the Shasta or the Galice Creek Athabascans." But it was as true here as to the north that such extra-local marriages were dictated by the necessity of finding a wealthy mate, for "the social status of the children depended very largely, of course, on the price paid for the mother, so that poor people's children were looked down upon as not much better than dogs. . . . . The indebtedness of the husband to his father-in-law did not entirely cease with the initial purchase of the wife." He was obliged to visit him later with further gifts and to pay him again on the birth of the first child. "This pay-

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[330] Farrand, Notes on the Alsea, 242.

[331] St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 26.

*171 582 ment was considered as equivalent to the buying of the child." Here too childhood marriages often occurred.[532]

583 *171 582 583 565 East of the Cascades among the Klamath, social stratification was far more fluid. There were rich and poor but the caste feeling was only slightly developed. Indeed the sentiment may not be more than a century old, for the impression was derived that differences of wealth were slight and rank absent prior to the opening of direct contact with the Columbia river tribes. This does not date back of the opening of the nineteenth century. Marriage here was indifferently within or without the local community, but inasmuch as there was no sentiment dictating marriage with one of equivalent wealth and rank, such exogamy as does occur is random and without purpose. The only prescription is that some payment must be made. The amount was relatively small and no great weight attached to its size as indicative of rank, or pretension to rank.

*171 582 583 The Northern Maidu have no general rule of marriage within or without the village. Of the Sacramento valley division however it is observed that "there would appear to have been a slightly greater practice of local exogamy." The reason for this is not clear unless it be that co-villagers were commonly related, for these people have no feeling for distinctions of rank based on wealth.[533] Whether the Southern Maidu had a similar exogamic tendency does not appear. There is however some simulation of purchase, since the girl's father received more than the boy's in the exchange of gifts.[534]

*171 582 Local exogamy of a type affiliated with northwestern forms was not found in this direction beyond the Maidu. Exogamy did occur among the south-central Californians, but it was the exogamy of totemic moieties, which was local exogamy only to the extent that the totemic groups were localized. Thus it happened that the majority of Yokuts marriages were locally exogamic. The most northerly of such tribes were the Miwok.[535] Since the habit of local exogamy was so slightly developed among them, it is doubtful that the Maidu case should be interpreted as an imitation of their practice. I should rather hold that it is to be taken as a result of the prohibition of marriage with relatives, hence not a reflection of either northern or southern influences.

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[532] Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 268, 274.

[533] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 239, 240.

[534] Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 36.

[535] Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 141; Kroeber, Handbook, 457, 493.

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To return to the coastal groups of northern California, the Yurok and their neighbors had attitudes toward social standing, wealth, and marriage appreciably like those of the Northwest Coast tribes. For the Yurok every social relation was nicely valued and the basis of them all was the marriage settlement. Social status was proportionate to a man's wealth and the amount he was willing to pay for the mother of his children. His own life was valued at the amount paid for his mother. Partial payment or a small sum put him at the bottom of the social scale. The price itself was definitely fixed. Marriage was outside the kinship group and commonly outside the village, but not necessarily so. Kroeber represents the smaller villages as practicing exogamy by reason of kinship of their inhabitants, but it is at least as likely, in view of the exaggerated importance of wealth, that a sufficiently large bride price could be obtained in many instances only from men of other towns.[666] An analogous situation may be inferred for the Tolowa, whose little known culture closely resembled that of the Yurok. On one fundamental point we have the verdict of the Yurok, who "regard the Tolowa as rich, a distinction they accord to few others of the people known to them." Inference also places the Karok in the same category, for in all other known aspects of culture they were as one with Yurok and Hupa.[667] The Hupa attitudes in the matters we are concerned with here were so nearly identical with the Yurok that to cite them would be but to repeat the Yurok case. At one point there is some difference, yet one only of degree. Our authority states briefly that women went regularly to their husbands' villages on marriage, implying that this was a uniform practice, or nearly so.[668] Yet in actual practice it may mean no more than the Yurok habit, local exogamy based on kindred exclusion and the desire for a wealthy alliance. (If the marriages were as regularly exogamous as we are told, then I can see no reason why we should not describe this as a system of unnamed patrilineal local sibs.)

The lower Klamath attitude is also that of the Shasta. It is essential that a wife be paid for in order to fix the value of the children. Even elopements are condoned if the bride price is paid later. Blood money for death or injury is equal to the sum paid for a man's mother. The price varied widely but tends to be fixed at a value somewhat less than that of the Yurok. The wealthier families, who arrange infant betrothals, ordinarily choose the girl from another village.

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[666] Kroeber, Handbook, 28, 42.

[667] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 98, 108, 126.

[668] Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 54, 58.

*171 583 Poorer men offer the bride price directly, or may serve their parents-in-law in lieu of payment.[529]

[582] [554] [114] Purchase appears again among the Sinkyone, and perhaps prevailed in the intervening region. By no means so wealthy as their northern neighbors, values were correspondingly less. Nevertheless we observe something of the Yurok attitude in a definite value attached to a man's life. A wife was seemingly paid for, although Kroeber suggests that this may have been in the nature of a gift to be reciprocated rather than a formal purchase price. If this is so, it suggests only the practice of the generality of more southerly Californians. [848] But inasmuch as illegitimate children were paid for, the suggestion is rather of an approximation to the northwestern norm. Something of the same regularity of purchase, with reciprocal giving, is implied by Yuki statements.[530]

*171 554 The Huchnom and Pomo attitude toward marriage did not differ appreciably from more southerly Californians. The exchange of marriage gifts can hardly be described as true purchase, but appears rather "an expression of good will and dignified but affectionate etiquette." Loeb observes, however, that the man's family gave more than it received in return. It would therefore not be possible to see in it certain affiliation with northwestern customs, were it not that both people prescribed a series of gift-bearing visits of the northwestern type to consummate the marriage. I shall subsequently trace such formal visiting from the Kwakiutl southward to this point. As to exogamy, there was none; marriages were contracted indifferently within the community, outside it, or with foreigners. In neither group were there serious rankings based on wealth which might prescribe a studied attitude toward maintaining it in marriage.[531]

The typical central Californians (Wintun, Miwok, Yokuts, and Costanoan) register negative to the characteristics of northwest marriage. Social stratification of any range and rigidity was absent, wealth unimportant, marriage gifts were presents of friendship however much formality demanded their bestowal, formal visiting seemingly unknown, and exogamy casual, certainly not for the express purpose of maintaining social position. In a word marriage does not function to uphold social stratification nor do the northwestern rites appear.[532]

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[529] Dixon, Shasta, 261 f.

[530] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 146, 179.

[531] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 210, 254; Gifford, Clear Lake Pomo Society, 310; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 277.

[532] Compare Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 357, 456, 469, 493.

Marriage practices of the Northwest Coast type can be traced into 171* the northern Plains. At least this appeals to me as the most rational 581 explanation for the similarities which Crow, Hidatsa, and Assiniboin 583 show and for their divergence from the general Plains custom. It will be well to define the latter again. Such typical tribes as Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Blackfoot viewed with favor marriages in which the son-in-law was chosen for his capacity as a man of honor, of war-like prowess, and a good provider. The father-in-law's desire was commonly to secure his services. Gifts were exchanged, but rather for the honor of the act than with thought of definite purchase and the return of an investment.

The anomaly of Crow attitudes is most intelligible, in view of their 171* geographic position in the northwestern Plains, as ultimately derived from the Northwest Coast. 582 The most honorable form of marriage for the Crow was by purchase, which gave to the woman a position of 583 respect beyond that of any of her unpurchased sisters whose matches were in contrast mere elopements. The young man presented horses to her male relatives and meat to her mother. There was no band exogamy here, although marriages may have occurred outside the group almost as frequently as among the Nez Percé.[583]

It will be observed that the Crow attitude is appreciably like that 171* of the Nez Percé. That the Nez Percé placed a higher value on a marriage contracted because of a groom's capabilities, the Crow on purchase, 583 is no argument against historic connection between the two. Both tribes recognize marriages of both forms; wherein they both differ from the majority of Plains peoples, is that they have marriage by purchase, and even stress it. As a matter of fact, the difference [114] may be really one of formulation on the part of the ethnographers. Lowie's account of the Crow is so circumstantially detailed as to leave no doubt of their attitudes, but Spinden's description of Nez Percé marriage is of the briefest. If he was impressed by the Plains-like character of the culture of this Plateau tribe, his formulation may well have stressed this non-northwestern marriage form. It may also be that the history of marriage in the two tribes has taken opposite directions. Possibly the Crow, recently acquiring the purchase habit, stressed the novel form as giving distinction to marriage; the Nez Percé, possibly with purchase as the original form, took over Plains marriage regulations with a deal of other culture and stressed what was the novelty from their viewpoint.

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[583] Lowie, Social Life of the Crow, 220, Notes on the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, 74.

*171 582 583 It is also conceivable that purchase among the Crow is not related to the Northwest Coast forms, but that it is a derivative of their matriliny. That is, the desire to become affiliated with a particular matrilinear lineage may have been met by insistence on purchase, the groundwork for this being present in the common Plains custom of exchanging gifts. But there is nothing otherwise in Crow life to suggest that lineage as such was important.

*171 583 Among other Plains tribes possible analogies to northwestern practice are found only among Hidatsa and Assiniboin. "The Hidatsa and Crow agree in considering marriage by purchase as the most honorable form from the woman's point of view; but among the Hidatsa I got the impression, which I did not receive among the Crow, that it was somewhat discreditable for a man to have to buy a wife," for it implies a lack of personal qualifications. This attitude disposes of the suggestion made in the last paragraph, for the Hidatsa are also matrilinear. This is a duplication of the Nez Percé case; in contrast to the Crow, it may be said that here the novelty, purchase, if indeed it is a novelty, has not acquired the prestige found among the Crow. [114] There is nothing in Lowie's brief account to suggest formality in purchase, and in fact such procedure would appear quite at odds with their attitude. Matthews' statement confirms the absence of formal purchase. Nor is the Assiniboin case one of outright purchase. There are however features which suggest the Northwest Coast. As with other Plains tribes the marriage is accompanied by an exchange of gifts. Here the gifts of the bride's family were distributed among the groom's relatives, who return next day "returning to the donor some gifts of superior value to those received," these then being carried to the girl's group. This is faintly reminiscent of the potlatch. Further, the first gift-bearing party was that of the bride, whereas the Plains habit at large is for the young man's party first to make contribution. The impression gleaned from the account of the Assiniboin is a certain formality in the terms of settlement and in the marriage processions somewhat at variance with the generality of Plains marriage habits.[534] Typifying these, Beckwith's brief statement concerning the Dakota implies only the exchange of gifts, although in one form of marriage the groom offers horses until the bride's father is satisfied with the amount.[535]

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[534] Lowie, Notes on the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, 46, The Assiniboine, 40; Matthews, Ethnology of the Hidatsa, 52.

[535] Beckwith, Customs of the Dakotahs, 255.

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The Amount of the Bride Price

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Analogous comparisons may be made of the quantity and value of the bride price. This is somewhat difficult for lack of precise data, but such as exist make it clear that the largest amount was that of the Kwakiutl, with diminishing values toward the peripheries of the area. A further difficulty arises from the fact that from the Columbia river northward we know only the amounts paid by members of the chiefly class. We are concerned here not alone with the gifts made by the groom, but with those given in return by the bride's relatives.

It is not easy to give an adequate notion of the huge quantity of wealth which the Kwakiutl gave in the course of their marriage exchange. A few random observations make clear that it was a vast amount; four hundred blankets and other valuables were presented on the groom's behalf, and in return the bride's father made gifts of larger value, coppers valued at thousands of blankets, his house and carvings, "a large stock of food, blankets, boxes, dishes, spoons, kettles, bracelets, coppers, and the ceremonial box lids." In addition there were the intangibles, privileges, titles, and crests. Such were the valuables transferred on the marriage of the chiefly class, which represent of course an upper limit. The price to one of lesser rank was inevitably much smaller, but in any case a very real aggregation of wealth.[536]

Contrast with this the meager amount exchanged by the Coos, where the usual price was ten fathoms of beads, a couple of blankets, an otter hide or a canoe; and the Crow, horses to the bride's male relatives, meat to her mother.

It may be well to brief all relevant data. The Klallam gave blankets, shell money, and several canoe-loads of food; on Puget sound, gifts of like value, including a fine canoe in one instance, in another forty blankets, two slaves, and a canoe, and in a third, five horses and $50 in cash. The Twana gave money, blankets, guns, horses, etc., to a total value of $100 to $400. The same lavishness, although moderate in comparison with Kwakiutl, is implied for the Chinook. The Wishram gave horses, packs of blankets, etc., and kept the dishes of the marriage feast. In return they received baskets, beads, slaves, and a good horse. A trunk full of clothing and other finery was exchanged.

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[536] Professor Boas tells me that he was never able to get an account of a commoner's marriage.

*171 South of the Columbia river the quantity was quite moderate, even
583 where its value in native eyes was high. For the Tillamook, the price
622 was generally one adult and one child slave. The Coos value has been cited above. A chief's daughter came higher, being usually bought with woodpecker scalps, valuable for their use in dance caps. Such scalps formed valuables from this point to northern California. A Takelma paid dentalia and the like in moderation; the return was baskets, women's hats, camas, dried salmon, and other such household articles. The impression I derived among the Klamath was that the quantity was somewhat greater, approaching somewhat Wishram practice. A chief gave a slave, horses, blankets, beads, food, elk and other hides, but not nearly so much as my Wishram informant implied. One poorer man gave five fathoms of beads for his bride.

*171 Values drop appreciably among the Maidu; the northern groups
583 made a gift of beads, deer, or gave nothing; the southerner gave shell money or other valuables such as blankets, and in return obtained baskets and other property.

On the northern coast of California values rise high again. The Yurok price was standardized. For a wealthy girl, ten strings of beads, fifty woodpecker scalps, an obsidian blade, a boat, etc., up to $300 in value, were given, with a return of ten baskets of dentalia, otter skins, a canoe or two, several deerskin blankets, and other valuables. A poor girl was valued at eight strings of beads and a boat. Hupa values may have been the same or somewhat less; Karok certainly were, five to ten strings. The Hupa groom gave woodpecker scalps, several strings of shell money, to a value of $30 to $100. Presumably he also gave articles of the kind returned to him, dresses, weapons, baskets, and food. The average Shasta price is set at one or two deerskins, fifteen or twenty long dentalia, ten or fifteen strings of disk beads, and twenty or thirty woodpecker scalps. Values dwindled again markedly south of here; the Sinkyone price was less than that of Yurok or Hupa, shell beads alone are mentioned for the Huchnom, and presumably neither group gave more, or much more, than the Pomo. The Pomo gave beads and deerskin and in return received baskets, or, according to another account, gave food, beads, deerskin or rabbit-skin blankets, receiving in return baskets, belts, and food.

Eastward of the Columbia river values were again low, even if measured in terms of the lesser quantity of valuables possessed by

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those people. The Nez Percé gave a horse, elk teeth, and similar articles; the return gift comprised bags, food, and the like. Hidatsa and Assiniboin prices were similar to those of the Crow noted above. A Hidatsa man gave horses to the girl's parents, who reciprocated with as many or sometimes more; an Assiniboin gave one or more horses, received pemmican and twelve pairs of moccasins, and then gave somewhat more than he had received.

The impression derived from these data, despite their paucity, is that the bridal payments were made on a lavish scale as far southward and eastward as the Columbia river peoples. Beyond this they were meager in comparison. The region north of the Columbia was one in which material possessions bulked large. Wealth was a matter not alone of relative values but of quantity. To be sure the material wealth of the Washington tribes was by no means so great as that of the Kwakiutl. I get the impression that there the bride price was high, relatively as well as quantitatively, in comparison with the southerners. A second focal area of relatively high values appears again in northwestern California, as Kroeber pointed out, rising above those of coastal Oregon and the region to the south. It is not easy to define relative value, but it does appear when we realize that the material possessions of the Pomo and the Crow cannot have been far different from those of the Yurok. The higher values, both quantitatively and relatively, may be viewed as a corollary of a social structure dependent for its standards on wealth.

We note incidentally the articles that constituted valuables in bride purchase. Woven blankets (in the historic period, trade blankets) figure as far south as the Oregon coast, dentalium shells beyond to the south as far as Sinkyone and perhaps Huchnom, and southeastward to Klamath and Shasta. Woodpecker scalps are part of the marriage price in California, extending northward to Coos on the coast, to Shasta in the interior. The significance of this restricted distribution, for example, is that the Klamath made use of woodpecker scalps for headbands in California fashion but never mentioned them as having money value. Horses are of course associated with the Plains forms of purchase, but are mentioned as far northwestward as Klamath, Nez Percé, Wishram, and southern Puget sound. To be sure the horse was not carried beyond Puget sound, or there were few until after 1850.

Marriage Visits

*171 585 431 One of the most characteristic features of marriage in the northwest was a series of reciprocal visits. These visits were more or less formally prescribed as to number and were always the occasion for making gifts in fulfillment of the contract obligations. For the more northerly groups, they were avowedly potlatches. The peripheral groups, who did not participate in the potlatch system, had at least some approximation in the marriage ceremony. To be sure, visiting back and forth carrying gifts after marriage was the habit of the Californians at large, as well as others. The peculiarity of this series is, however, that the visits were more or less formally prescribed and stereotyped as to time and conduct.

Their number among the Kwakiutl is not described; it may not have been fixed. But it is clear that the father-in-law visited the groom's people on several occasions to return an equivalent of their payments and to deliver the privileges, honors, etc., due them. This was by their own account potlatching; indeed the emphasis is so much on this aspect that a fiction might be substituted for an actual marriage. The return of the property was several-fold; the groom distributed the articles among his followers who had previously lent him the amount needed to make the purchase, and so the property was once more started on an interest-bearing round.

Klallam marriage was just as clearly a potlatch. "After six months or a year the bride's family visits the groom's relatives, bringing food and gifts. They are expected to bring at least as much as the groom's people brought to the wedding. Generally they try to bring a little more."[587] We may presume the distribution of these in regular potlatch fashion. As potlatching is also the custom of other western Washington tribes, we may assume that it also appears in their marriage settlements. It is true that we are told that those of Puget sound were not potlatches, but they do not differ one whit from the Klallam case.[588] Further, after the exchange of gifts the parents of the couple loaned each other property, expecting to get it back some time. The reciprocating visit of the bride's parents took place a few weeks or months after the marriage.

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[587] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 244.

[588] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 35. Both authors, who had little experience with Northwest Coast culture, clearly misunderstood the implications of their information. What may have been meant was that this was not a potlatch for the sole purpose of getting a return.

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Whether the Chinook had an extended series of visits I do not know, but there is the same formal appearance of a gift-bearing messenger of the groom and the reciprocating visit of the bride's party conducting the bride to her new home. Boas' informant set their gifts at slightly less than the bride price, but Franchère would have it that even more was repaid, depending on the means and munificence of the bride's parents. The Wishram case was just as clearly one of potlatching; that is, the gifts must be reciprocated in superior amount else her parents lost caste; they were given with a lavish hand through the medium of a spokesman, participants were paid for their services, and the goods distributed among the members of the parties. The visits ran in this fashion: a messenger conveyed the groom's gifts, the groom's party proceeded to the bride's home where they were feasted, they distributed their further gifts and were recipients in turn. The same form was followed in transferring these later gifts. After matrilocal residence of a few weeks, a series of reciprocal visits began which ended in permanent residence among the man's people. Two visits apiece terminated the affair.

From this point southward we do not seem to be dealing with the same affair, rivalry in lavish giving, although the series of visits persists. The Klamath also sent an emissary, the bride's party appeared at the groom's house, and the exchange followed. After a month the couple, with the groom's relatives, proceeded to the bride's former home, when an exchange again took place. Soon after the bride's relatives repeated their visit. Beyond this point visiting in this fashion was not fixed but occurred as an expression of mutual solicitude. The Shasta procedure was much curtailed in contrast. The girl was taken to the groom immediately after her puberty ceremony. Some time later her relatives visited to exchange gifts; after several months they were recipients in turn. Below this on the Klamath river postmarital visiting did not appear as a fixed form. Something of the sort appears among the Huchnom. The kinsmen of the groom carried gifts to the bride's home, where the groom then stayed. "The return of the husband to his own people was made the occasion of gifts of food and beads to the pair, which they gave to the wife's parents, besides entertaining their kin. A return visit to the wife's people followed, after which the couple usually founded their own home. This was always among the group or in the town of the wife."[589] Precisely the same visits are noted for the Pomo, and in addition the procedure was repeated several times, particularly if the couple's original homes had

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[589] Kroeber, Handbook, 211.

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been at a distance. This sort of formal visiting did not occur to the southward so far as I know.

To return to Oregon, the Tillamook sent a messenger who brought back an equivalent gift. A week later the groom's party went to make the purchase, when they also received gifts. "Once every month this exchange of visits was repeated."[640] Something of the sort held among the Takelma, for the son-in-law was obligated to visit his parents-in-law with presents from time to time.

We must not believe that the potlatch sentiment was entirely extinguished in this direction. Farrand was impressed by the Alsea practice as suggesting "in certain ways the potlatch system of Vancouver island, for there was an apparent effort on the side of each family party to the contract to keep the other family in debt to it."[641] Coastal Oregon seems to be the limit to which such sentiment extended; it was certainly not the thought of the Klamath or the Californians.

In the direction of the Plains, potlatching did not appear unless we so construe the fact that among the Nez Percé the gifts made by the bride's people were somewhat greater than the groom's. The visits of these people consisted in conducting the bride to the groom's home, with a return visit a month later. Crow and Hidatsa know nothing of this formal visiting. The Assiniboin procedure however resembled that to the northwest. A messenger was dispatched with purchase presents, the girl's party went to the groom, and soon after the groom's people returned the visit.

It thus appears that the marriage ceremonial partook of the nature of a potlatch in the northwest, but that beyond the Columbia river the practice had dwindled to an attenuated copy of the potlatch visiting without its sentiment of rivalry.

One further point in this connection should be noted. The first gift-bearing party is sometimes the groom's, sometimes the bride's; the distribution of the practice is not random. Among the Kwakiutl, Klallam, Puget sound tribes, and Wishram, it is the groom's party who go to the bride. Among the Chinook, Klamath, Shasta, Hupa, Yurok, Nez Percé, and significantly the Assiniboin, the bride's party first approaches the groom's group. The data on the Tillamook are not clear and for others wanting. Huchnom and Pomo, Crow and Hidatsa, conform to the generality of Californian and Plains practices in that the groom carries his gifts to the bride's parents.

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[640] Boas, Notes on the Tillamook, 7.

[641] Farrand, Notes on the Alsea, 243.

Family Compacts

To revert to the nature of the marriage contract, this was in some instances avowedly a compact between families. It takes two forms. When a man had paid for a wife and her family had made a settlement on him, one of them had a grievance if the marriage was disrupted by the death or desertion of the other. It appears again in the assumption that children are a natural fruit of the union; that the husband must be indemnified if there were none or the woman's family absolved from payments for every child born. These features can best be brought out by considering the levirate, sororate, divorce, and other relevant data. 171*

It is exceedingly difficult to disengage the difference in meaning between the statements that the levirate, e.g., was compulsory or customary. So much must have depended on the precise personal circumstances (the lack of appropriate relatives, the ages of the persons concerned, their sentiments, antipathies, etc.) that even where the custom was so regular as to be styled compulsory, it may nevertheless have never been more than a customary practice. The best that can be done is to discriminate those cases where the sentiment was an obligation to marry from those where it was merely good form. 171* 587

It should also be borne in mind that while the levirate was always of one kind, namely the marriage with a deceased husband's brother (or cousin), there being no polyandry in North America, the sororate included two different social situations. In one form there was the analogue of marrying a deceased wife's sister; in the other, of taking sisters as plural wives, in particular taking them to wife as they came of age. While the two forms occurred together, it was not so by necessity. They should not be confused.

The sentiment of mutual obligation was perhaps strongest among the Yurok. If a wife died early in marriage and sometimes even in later life, a sister or kinswoman was due from her family; similarly she was obligated to marry his brother on her husband's death. A divorce was possible only if each party was willing to make full restitution. If the wife desired to take the children with her, it could only be done if the full marriage price was returned. Analogously "each child left with the husband reduced the repayment, and several cancelled it altogether." Such contractual relations appear as a function of the regularity of purchase. How far that sentiment held may be

*171 587 judged by the fact that the husband demanded payment for adultery or actions construed as adulterous, a practise unthinkable to the majority of Indians.[443] The attitudes of the Hupa were quite analogous.[444]

Mutual obligation of the same sort is described for the Chinook. Levirate and marriage with a deceased wife's sister were a matter of course. The widow may be taken to wife by her husband's father or another relative in default of a brother. A man must be indemnified if his deceased brother's wife is carried away or he would kill the abductor. Similarly a man was indemnified with many slaves if his wife was abducted, else he had revenge. Children were as much part of the bargain as among the Yurok; if a child died the wife's father was obligated to pay a slave or a canoe as indemnity.[445]

The family contract did not differ in kind among the Kwakiutl, but had another emphasis. The members of a chieftain's tribe were jointly concerned in the purchase; they speak of "our bride"; the father-in-law says, "All the tribes came to marry my daughter." These participants were relatives of the groom, of near or remote degree. I cannot find any reference to the levirate and sororate among them, although it ought to have followed from this attitude. Here, even more emphatically than among the Yurok, children were an essential part of the compact. What is bought is "the right of membership in her [the wife's] clan for the future children of the couple." Indeed the number of children fixes the rate of repayment by the father-in-law.[446]

The feature of the families as contractants appears in other cases but I doubt that the sentiment is so emphatically expressed as in those V
*171 587 cited above. The levirate was well-nigh compulsory among the Wishram, and the sororate in polygamous unions followed, but not always. The widow married the husband's brother or a cousin, unless he did not desire an additional wife. If she married any other, which was permissible, he had to make payment to her dead husband's kin, not to
*171 hers, so that they would look on him as one of themselves. While I received no suggestion from my informants that children were part of the marriage bargain, there is an analogue pointing in this direction. A few months after the birth of each child, the husband's people, with the couple and the newborn, visited the wife's parents bearing gifts.

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[443] Kroeber, Handbook, 30 f.

[444] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 55, 56, 58.

[445] Boas, Chinook Texts, 251, 252, 257.

[446] Boas, Social Organisation and Secret Societies, 358 f.

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The latter reciprocated by visiting with gifts for the husband's father. 171*
Here, too, indemnity was demanded for adultery or constructive adultery. Shasta data also indicate a contractual relation between the families; the levirate was compulsory and a sister must be furnished for a deceased wife or an adulteress. So firm is the contract conceived 171+
that a man who carries off a widow without compensating her husband's family stands in danger of his life. Parallel to the Yurok case, 587
the husband who made no payment for his wife had no redress for adultery. Perhaps the contractual relation was as strong among the Puget sound people but the data are insufficient to support the view. A Nisqually widow was obliged to marry her husband's brother or cousin, and a widower married his wife's sister. But if the widow did not marry among his relatives, she usually returned to her own people with her children. Among Snohomish and Snuqualmi, if a [586]
woman abandoned her husband or was divorced for good cause, her people had to return the bride price. Klallam expression is much the same; a widow was expected to marry her brother-in-law or a near relative, a woman's family to offer a sister or relative of hers on her death. Similarly a wife's parents were expected to offer repayment [586]
of the bride price if she left her husband, but it was bad form for him to accept it.

The Klamath attitude is at some remove from this one of mutual obligations. The levirate was customary but not obligatory, and the sororate permissible but no fixed custom. The widow was under some obligation to her husband's brothers, who might object should she marry another, but this seems rather a matter of sentiment than right. The feeling was that she, a member of their family and even an inmate of their house, should remain one. The reaction to a wife's adultery [837]
is the common one of revenge on the lover, but with no thought that the husband's rights to the wife had been damaged.

Throughout a wider area the levirate and sororate were both practiced, but nowhere do we find them of the obligatory nature described above. It will suffice to list these cases. The levirate was customary among the Tillamook. (Perhaps if we knew more of this people this would transpire to be another obligatory case, considering their proximity to the Chinook.) Among the Achomawi it was perhaps regular;[646] the Sacramento Valley Maidu, usual; the Northwestern Maidu, general; occurred sometimes among Yuki and Pomo (northern, southeastern, and eastern divisions, although of the latter Gifford says

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[646] Kroeber, Handbook, 313.

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they did not practice it).[547] Kroeber states that levirate and sororate were followed everywhere in California except among the Colorado river tribes.[548] I have found specific statements to except from the levirate the Yuma, Akwa'ala, Cupeño, and perhaps Luiseño.[549] Further the Huchnom, in an area where it generally held, avoided the levirate. In the Great Basin it was customary among Paviotso, Moapa, Shivwits, and Wind River Shoshoni; in the Plains, Crow, Assiniboin, and Hidatsa.[550] How frequently the practice was indulged in these cases is not clear. The Hidatsa, for example, held the levirate proper but marriages of this sort were uncommon.

Curiously enough these practices seem to be absent on the Northwest Coast precisely where one would expect contractual relations of the families to be strongest. I find no mention of them among the Tsimshian and Kwakiutl. Boas recorded only one Tsimshian tale where wives were sisters.[551] The Chilcotin will have nothing of the levirate, for the widow "is still regarded as his own sister" by the brother-in-law.[552] On the other hand, the levirate was common among the interior Salish.[553] Certain of the Plains tribes apparently lack it: Blackfoot[554] and Gros Ventre.

The sororate occurred throughout much the same areas. In California, I note specifically the Northeastern Maidu, Northern and Eastern Pomo, Northern Costanoan, and Southern Diegueño; in the Basin, Paviotso, Southern Paiute, Uintah Ute, and Wind River Shoshoni; in the Plains, it was the regular practice, commonly taking the form of polygamous marriage with sisters, viz., Crow, Blackfoot, Assiniboin, Hidatsa, and Iowa.[555] Again no mention appears in the account of the Gros Ventre.

Levirate and sororate are customs so widespread in North America as to give us little concern here, were it not that they acquire special significance in connection with marriage by purchase. I have tried here to make out a case that in the coastal region from the strait of Juan de Fuca to northern California they have been absorbed in a

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[547] Clear Lake Pomo Society, 319.

[548] *Op. cit.*, 839.

[549] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, 254.

[550] Matthews, 53.

[551] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, 535, 422.

[552] Farrand, Chilcotin, 18.

[553] Boas, Salish Tribes, 222.

[554] Wissler, Social Life, 12, 13.

[555] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 469; Spier, Southern Diegueño Customs, 311; Matthews, 53; Skinner, Societies of the Iowa, 739.

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special configuration of social relations most aptly described as a set of mutual obligations constraining the families of marriage contractants. The Klamath, by reason of their geographical position marginal to these, show the effects of this to only a moderate degree. 171* 587

Postnuptial Residence

Residence after marriage was prevailingly patrilocal in the northwest, the bride proceeding at once to her husband's home. This held from Alaska to northwestern California; Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, mainland Cowichan, Lillooet,[556] Klallam, Puget Sound Salish, Twana, Coos, Takelma, Hupa, and Yurok. The Yurok and Hupa cases indicate that this mode of residence is derived from the fact that brides were purchased; there if full payment could not be met, the husband had to be content with joining his wife who would not be given up by her people. I am not asserting that in general patrilocal residence following promptly on marriage is due to purchase; in these northwestern tribes this seems to be the case. It is conceivable that they might have held that a man must furnish services before they would release the bride to him, but this was contrary to their feeling respecting wealth. Services were a poor substitute for material wealth. Even in those cases where temporary matrilocal residence did occur this sentiment was absent; it was simply customary practice. The Klallam sometimes resided with the wife's people for a short time; among the Wishram it was apparently the regular practice. The Tillamook had a curious alternation; first matrilocal, then patrilocal, each for a few days, settling down to matrilocal residence, which however they might change later. 171* 591

The Klamath conformed to the northwestern practice. Residence was normally patrilocal, the bride being brought at once to her husband's home; but, as with the Yurok and elsewhere, a man too poor to pay tendered services while living at his bride's home. The patrilocal habit was by no means rigid; matrilocal residence might set in from the outset if it was desired.

The relation of the Klamath to the northern tribes can best be brought out by pointing out their contrast to those to the south. Temporary matrilocal residence was the custom of a large part of north central California; Achomawi, Atsugewi, Maidu (northeastern, south-

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[556] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, 421, 424, 441, 532, Third Report, 12, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 358 f., Lower Fraser River, 5.

*171 591 ern, and the foothill groups), Eastern and Northern Pomo. Thereafter it was not of necessity patrilocal, for residence might be continued with the woman's unit. Outright matrilocal habits appeared among the Sacramento Valley Maidu (although the majority of marriages were there patrilocal from the outset), Huchnom, and Yokuts. Southern California was again an area of patrilocal habits. Great Basin practice conformed with that of north central California; temporary matrilocal residence for Paviotso, Southern Paiute (?), Uintah Ute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni. Northern Plains tribes were generally patrilocal: Crow, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin. Matrilocal residence as well occurred among the last two. Hidatsa indulge in temporary matrilocal residence, after which there is no fixed rule.

Summary

*171 554 556 We may now review the data detailed above. Sharply crystallized distinctions of rank and the importance of wealth in establishing them, wealth itself assuming real proportions, center in this area in the Kwakiutl and other northern tribes. Similar caste distinctions are traceable southward on the coast to the Alsea and Coos, and eastward not beyond the Wishram. Social distinctions based on wealth to the almost complete exclusion of other factors extend beyond these limits; in attenuated form to the Sinkyone and Yuki and perhaps beyond to the south, to the Klamath and Shasta, to the Middle Columbia Salish of eastern Washington. *171 583 431 Marriage by purchase had an even more extended distribution; from the same center it is traceable southward perhaps to Huchnom and Pomo, to the Southern Maidu, and eastward into the northern Plains, if my interpretation of the Crow, Assiniboin, and Hidatsa cases is justified. In the northwestern portions of this territory marriage by purchase is a function of the caste-wealth system; in the outlying regions, as among the Maidu on the one side and Nez Percé, Crow, etc., on the east, it would seem that we witness the spread of the purchase factor with little of these underlying concepts. It must be borne in mind that nowhere in this area are the marriage payments justly described as purchase; there is always a reciprocation of the gift. The express point is that marriage is contracted only by the making of such gifts.

*171 583 556 Wealth was very real, huge in quantity, north of the Columbia, and a correspondingly high value set for a marriage settlement, at least among the upper classes. Valuables and marriage values dwin-

dle beyond this limit, with a notable recrudescence of the latter on the 171 *
lower Klamath river. Part of the mechanism of its exchange in 583
marriage was a series of reciprocal visits, of potlatch character south- 556
ward to the Columbia, a mere formal practice beyond.

Among the concepts underlying the practice of bride purchase 171*
was the sense of mutual obligations of the contractants' families.
This was avowed by the coastal tribes from British Columbia to
northern California. It assumed the express forms of compulsory
levirate and sororate and of the right to children. Further, the families were obligated to restore the marriage settlements if the marriage
terminated unfortunately. The man's financial interest in the wife he [837]
had bought was evidenced by his ability to mulct damages from an
adulterer or one even thought to be such.

The exogamy which appears in this area was not the prohibition 171*
of marrying within the community, but an exogamy of practice. To
maintain caste, marriage must of necessity have frequently been with 582
persons of the same rank and wealth outside the village or tribe. 554
This was undoubtedly more the circumstance in the upper strata of
society. It is obvious then that the distribution of this practice coincides closely with that of sharp distinctions of caste and wealth.
Beyond those tribes whose attitudes may be so characterized, there
was a fringe of peoples who had taken over the custom without its
antecedents. Such local exogamy has been noted as far southward as
the Hupa, the Sacramento Valley Maidu, and as far eastward as the
Nez Percé.

The habits of postnuptial residence seem to correspond closely 171*
with the sense of purchase. It was patrilocal, the bride being taken
at once to her husband, in the coastal area southward to northern 591
California. Some variability does indeed appear but this seems no
more than the common circumstance of residence according to preference. The Wishram instance of regular temporary matrilocal
residence is an anomaly.

The position of the Klamath with respect to this northwestern 171 *
marriage complex was that of a distinctly marginal group. Purchase to maintain social standing was present but the values not fixed; 583
the actual amount changing hands, relatively small. A series of for- 431
mal gift-bearing visits was prescribed, in which the bride's family
returned more than they received, but there was no intentional rivalry
in giving. The first visit was that of conducting the bride to the
groom as among all the southerly peoples. Residence was patrilocal 171 *
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*171 [591] [587] [583] in conformity with northwestern views. The sense of obligation was weakly developed; the levirate was a mere custom, the sororate rare; birth of heirs played no part in their scheme of things. In brief, the Klamath derived the sense of social standing based on wealth from the northwestern center, and the mechanism of marriage purchase to effect it, but no more.

174 I am not inclined to indulge in an historical reconstruction of the northwestern marriage complex. But if it be in order, it seems better to suggest that the ancient, undifferentiated custom was the practice of mutual giving, subsequently formalized with the growth of concepts of wealth and rank on the Northwest Coast. The alternative is to hold that these attitudes and practices diffused from that center only after they attained full flower there. If this were so we should expect to find the specific forms of Northwest Coast procedure at a greater distance. I am very doubtful that ideas and sentiments diffuse as such, though I may have given that impression in some of the summary statements above. It seems rather that particular practices are imitated, and if but imperfectly copied or made rational in their new context, then alone do we say that merely the underlying idea has been borrowed.

*171 174 583 554 556 In the present case social stratification based on wealth had spread over a wide area; wife purchase with it. I conceive that members of the imitating tribes observed the aggrandizement that went with wealth and took occasion among their fellows to insist on a similar, and in their eyes proper, respect for themselves and their wealth when opportunity offered. The spread of the marriage purchase custom must have been one of the most effective mechanisms for the spread of the sense of rank. Boas has already made such a case for the Kwakiutl and their neighbors. By marriage with the northern tribes among whom privilege concepts were highly developed, the Kwakiutl obtained these privileges through their wives.[557] The mechanism is clearly transparent in the Klallam preference for marriages to the north.[558] We are not told this of other tribes, to be sure, but it appeals to me that marriage into foreign tribes where payment for their women was demanded would inevitably bring in its train the notion that these women were in some way superior to those at home. This view is not drafted from thin air; among the tribes of Puget sound, e.g., the women of the more northerly tribes consider them-

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[557] Boas, Social Organization of North-Pacific Coast; Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 124.

[558] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 242.

selves the superiors of those among whom they are resident. Once the 171*
sentiment had become lodged in the group its fruition was made inev- 174
itable by the imitation of others. 583

With Kroeber, who has so expressed himself on the subject of the 554
Yurok,[333] I do not believe that the levirate and sororate were born of 556
this special development of purchase. Both customs have a nearly universal distribution in North America. It seems rather that such existing practices were drawn into the developing marriage complex of this area.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The background for a study of social stratification has been laid 128
in the preceding section. I will here deal with chieftainship, its relations to wealth and heredity, and related topics.

Social stratification was but weakly developed among the Klamath. 554
Social standing did not depend directly on heredity and there was
apparently little difference in wealth from richest to poorest. Since 556
wealth was inherited there was at least some stability to family standing. The marriage purchase gave respectability to the union; it did
not fix the standing of the couple by reason of the amount paid. Yet [56]
there was some differentiation based on wealth, a continuous gradation from the wealthiest to the slaves.

The wealthiest individuals were called lō'ki, rich men. This was 556
also the term by which chiefs were styled. My interpretation of the
Indian's statements is that those prominent individuals, who exer- 622
cised functions which would elsewhere have led to their being called chiefs, were at the same time the wealthiest. A chief became such primarily by successful leadership in war, coupled with some background of spirit power, wealth, personal qualities, especially ability as an advisor, with some suggestion of hereditary interest.

The chiefly functions emphasized were leadership in war and 622
haranguing the people. The chief could not issue injunctions, he re- [701]
ceived no tribute, and was in no way responsible for the conduct or debts of his people. Just prior to reservation days there was introduced from Columbia river the practice of chiefs sitting as judges.

While chiefs were set off from the mass, this did not imply any [565]
sense of caste stratification. Their wives and children were not known by a distinctive class term.

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[333] Handbook, 31.

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Every evidence points to the recency of the rise of chieftainship among these people. It is doubtful that material differences in wealth and slave-holding existed prior to the opening of direct contact with the Columbia river tribes after 1800. Even then chiefs were of relatively minor importance. The shamans were the great men and the wealthiest, easily eclipsing the chiefs. As an instance I have cited the difficulty of obtaining the names of chiefs of pre-reservation days, whereas shamans are well remembered. It is clear that some of the local groups did not have chiefs. The relative dominance of the shaman persisted until reservation days. Prior to this time chiefs were barely differentiated leaders of the Great Basin type.

Basis of Chieftainship

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The Northwest Coast tribes stood in sharp contrast to this simple social scheme. There existed a caste system, a division into aristocracy, commoners, and slaves. While the relative ranking was continuous from the noblest aristocrat to the meanest commoner, there was nevertheless a well defined consciousness of distinction between the grades. This aristocracy was based on lineage and wealth. Its highest members were the chiefs, ordinarily the wealthiest persons. Yet a chief might lose wealth but retain his rank by reason of his birth. Within each community were several chiefs of the first rank whose authority extended hardly beyond their immediate retainers. Their advice was followed rather than their dictates obeyed. They were, however, among the Kwakiutl, for example, the recipients of gifts from their followers, not so much by reason of right as to bespeak their future aid and to enrich them to the further glory of the whole group.[580]

A definite caste system of this type is traceable southward from British Columbia through coastal Washington and Oregon at least as far as the Alsea. It has been noted, for example, for Klallam, the Puget sound tribes, Chinook, Wishram, and Alsea. It did not appear in the interior among the upper Fraser river tribes, nor in eastern Washington as among the Okanagon and Middle Columbia Salish, nor in eastern Oregon among Klamath, Modoc, and Northern Paiute. At the southern extremity of this area of distribution a somewhat different situation prevailed. There was no rigid caste system, but differences of wealth were considerable and on these social standing

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[580] See Sapir, Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes, 360; Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 338, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1333 f., Social Organization of the Kwakiutl.

rested. This held at least for coastal Oregon and northwestern California 171*
(Coos, Yurok, Hupa) while inland among Takelma and Shasta 622
it was true to a lesser degree. The Klamath feeling for stratification 565
based on wealth is thus intelligible as an attenuated form.

It follows that chieftainship was hereditary in the area in which 554
ranking was fixed by birth as well as wealth, while it rested on wealth alone in the southern area. Merely to list the instances, it was hereditary among Klallam, Snohomish, Chinook, Wishram, Wasco, and Alsea (but see below). The richest men among the southern tribes were the equivalent: Coos, Yurok, Hupa, and Shasta, and, if we reverse this statement, the Klamath. It is thus intelligible why Sapir found among the Wishram that "being a chief did not necessitate being a particularly wealthy man. It often happened that the wealthiest people did not belong to the highest rank."[561] Similarly that a wealthy Coos could flout the orders of a chief, and among the Alsea "it was possible . . . . for a common man, by reason of extraordinary power or wealth, to rise to the dignity of a chief and thus raise his family in rank."[562]

There was in none of these tribes a governmental organization 171*
involving hierarchy of chiefs. The point is really that what we here 622
write of as tribes were rather dialectic and cultural units, not political entities. Political separation was carried to a high degree throughout the Pacific slope, the local communities being almost without exception autonomous, or at most grouped for common action within a quite restricted district. It followed from this that the number of chiefs was rarely or never fixed. Those who were entitled to leadership by virtue of birth or wealth were recognized as leaders. Thus it happened that while some communities had more than one of first rank, others had none. Yet other tribes did not always exhibit the haphazardness of the Klamath in this regard.

Where the feeling was strong that every wealthy man was entitled 171*
to consideration, as among the Hupa, "each village had a head-man 622
who was the richest there. . . . . The very fact of his wealth gave
him the power of a chief and maintained him in that power."[563] We 556
may presume this true of the Yurok as well and probably the Karok. The Shasta "chief was the head of the richest family in the district,"

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[561] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

[562] St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 25; Farrand, Notes on the Alsea, 242.

[563] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 58.

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*171 and "one family was recognized as preeminent in each of the four geographic divisions into which the Shasta are grouped."[564]

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622 The number of chiefs was definitely fixed only on the Oregon coast, where there were two for each local division or village. "There were two chiefs for every river, among the Tillamook as well as among the Alsea," one the principal chief.[565] "The Coos Indians lived in small villages, each of which had two chiefs. . . . . Of the two village-chiefs, one usually ranked higher." There was in addition a tribal head chief.[566] This is the multiple chief-wealthy-man situation of the whole coast reduced to definite form, and it is even conceivable that these people did not differ at all, particular cases where there were two chiefs having been cited as the general custom. It must be remembered that our accounts are of the slightest. It is possible however that there was a dual chieftainship prevailing on the Oregon coast. This might account for the curious fact that two chiefs of presumably equal rank are repeatedly referred to among the Rogue river Indians assembled at Table Rock about 1855 (possibly Takelma proper or Upland Takelma).[567]

Quite another basis for the recognition of chiefs existed in the northern Basin-Plateau and the Plains, namely, a war record coupled with generosity and other personal qualifications. The Klamath shared this sentiment as well as the northwestern recognition of wealth. The warlike character of chiefs extended as far west as the Middle Columbia Salish, including Nez Percé, Wind River Shoshoni,[568] and such typical north Plains tribes as Crow and Assiniboin.

In the southern parts of the Basin the characteristics of chiefs, their functions and powers, were vague. There were headmen or leaders for hunting, perhaps the only communal enterprises, among Paviotso, Washo, and Southern Paiute. These individuals were chosen [756] by their people.[569] In importance they were eclipsed by the shamans.

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[564] Kroeber, Handbook, 296.

[565] Boas, Notes on the Tillamook, 4.

[566] St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 25.

[567] See Walling, History of Southern Oregon, 182.

[568] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, 126; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 283.

[569] Lowie, *op. cit.*, 284–285.

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Chiefs' Functions

The functions of chiefs both to the northwest and in central California differed sharply from those of the Klamath. 171* 622

On the Northwest Coast proper the authority of a chief was by no means absolute. The commoners were subject to his admonition rather than his will, his direct authority extending hardly beyond his immediate following. Such gifts as they made him were free-will offerings, large as they were, dictated solely by traditional sentiment. While these include almost all articles of food among the Kwakiutl, to the south, as among the Klallam and Snohomish, they were rather such things as were difficult to procure, such as the products of the hunt, and were no more than were given to any respected old man.[570]

The situation on the Columbia river and in coastal Washington and Oregon was different. These chiefs had real authority. Wishram, Quinault,[571] and Coos chiefs were obeyed, their authority being challenged only by the rich. Commoners among Wishram and Coos gave largely from their gains and in return could expect the aid of their chiefs when in distress. The chiefs sat as judges in cases of witchcraft and murder, assessing heavy fines and ordering the culprit killed if he defaulted. Such fines were not theirs but went to the family of the murdered man. They also paid such fines for their followers. What little is known of the Tillamook suggests an identical situation. [692] [682]

This judicial function, with its meting of fines and punishment, made its appearance among the Klamath by way of the Dalles early in the middle of the last century.

Northwestern California shows considerable similarity to western Oregon, but the authority of rich men was slight in comparison and they did not sit as judges. Among the Hupa, Shasta, and presumably their neighbors, they were obeyed because they gave of their store in times of scarcity and paid fines for followers who were in difficulties. The headmen in more southerly Californian groups exercised more formal authority, as the Yuki and Patwin headmen, who may have made decisions of war and directed town activities. In northeastern California (Maidu, Achomawi, Atsugewi) chiefs were much like

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[570] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1333 f.; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 204; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 38.

[571] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1926.

*171 622 those of the Klamath; theirs was an advisory function and they led in war.[672]

A corollary of the chief rich man's position in California and Oregon was that he did not himself engage in war. By reason of his wealth he could terminate the conflict by paying the blood money necessary to balance the score. This has been observed of the Tillamook, Shasta, Hupa, Kato, Pomo, and was perhaps general.[673] [701] There is some suggestion of this in Klamath custom; a chief was not ordinarily a war leader but he certainly did not make good the blood-money payments. On the other hand this may have been nothing more than the common western attitude that a chief was not of necessity a war leader.

*171 683 One characteristic feature of the cultures from Columbia river southward, which has been touched on before, was a well developed system of fines for injuries. This did not appear on the Northwest Coast nor in western Washington, but was by no means confined to northwestern California as has been implied. It is quite characteristic of a larger area: Wishram, Alsea, Coos, Takelma, Yurok, Karok, Hupa, Shasta, Pomo.[674] Remuneration was often demanded for comparatively slight injuries; thus an Alsea shinny player who was hit exceptionally hard had to be compensated. The eastern groups (Klamath, Maidu, etc.) had no such sentiment, but it is worthy of note that they did compound a murder by a property settlement, a notion which may have been absent still farther east in the Basin.

Speaker

*171 622 537 [756] Chiefs' speakers occurred among many western tribes. There were none such among the Klamath, whose shamans had however assistants with comparable functions. These have been discussed with shamanism. The chief's speaker was eminently characteristic of the Northwest Coast, where his activity in the potlatch and other ceremonies has been often remarked. He not only repeated the words of his chief to the gathering but also served as his representative and advocate. In the Great Basin, on the other hand, the function of the speaker was merely to repeat verbatim after an orator or story-teller.

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[672] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 58; Kroeber, Handbook, 164, 296; McKern, Functional Families; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 223, Notes on the Achomawi, 215; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 41.

[673] Kroeber, A Kato War; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 202, 203, 236.

[674] Frachtenberg, Alsea Texts, 199; Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 270; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 297.

The northwestern type of speaker was known among Klallam, Quinault, and Wishram, and probably to all the intervening tribes.[575] 171* 537 622 Their presence may also be suspected in coastal Oregon, for their functions would have been quite consistent with the social sentiment there. Some positiveness is lent to this by the presence of what seems to have been a chief's speaker among the Rogue river tribes participating in the treaty negotiations of September 10, 1855. It is recorded that the chief spoke to a man who shouted his words to the assembled warriors.[576] Certainly the speaker was absent in northwestern California. On the other hand, Drake's description of the Coast Miwok in 1579 makes it certain that the speaker was a recognized functionary further south.[577] The Basin type of word for word repeater occurred over a wide area, having been recorded for the Nez Percé, the Sahaptins of Priest Rapids on the Columbia, Southern Maidu, Paviotso (Northern Paiute), Kaibab Paiute (?), and Havasupai.[578] Something of the sort might have been expected among the Klamath; they share, however, a substitute, the shaman's speaker, with the northern California groups.

Slavery

Slave-raiding and slave-holding may not have developed among 174 567 the Klamath until the coming of the horse and the opening of a slave traffic with the Columbia river tribes in the early nineteenth century. It is probable that prior to that time there was only the mild interest in holding captives found among their southern and eastern neighbors. Their slaves were captives of war. Slave-holding and the measure of wealth in terms of slaves were characteristic of all north- 171* 567 western people. These were everywhere taken in war and sold. Slave-holding of this type prevailed not only in western Washington to the Columbia but southward through Oregon (Tillamook, Alsea, Takelma, Upland Takelma,[579] and Shasta). Coos and others of western Oregon should undoubtedly be included. Slavery is not mentioned in Teit's account of the Middle Columbia Salish of eastern Washington, and does not appear consistent with their general mode of life.[580] Directly

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[575] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 306 f.; Olson, Quinault field notes; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

[576] Walling, History of Southern Oregon, 223.

[577] Kroeber, Handbook, 276.

[578] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, 255.

[579] Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 262, 267.

*171 southward of the Klamath there was no slavery; this is certain for
567 Northern and Southern Maidu,[581] and very probably Achomawi,
Atsugewi, and Northern Paiute. This seems generally true of California with the exception of the northwest (Yurok and probably their neighbors), where there was debt slavery, but where slaves were not measurable articles of wealth.

Summary

101 The general position of the Klamath in relation to surrounding
105 tribes was in earlier days the simple social structure of the Basin peoples. Since the opening of the last century they have borrowed
174 from the Columbia tribes some sense of social stratification based on wealth, slave-holding, and trading, enhanced importance for their chiefs coincident with a change in the basis of selection from war to wealth, and quite recently judicial functions for the chiefs. There was thus a shift in social dominance from shaman to chief.

GIRLS' PUBERTY RITES AND WOMEN'S OBSERVANCES

*171 It is characteristic of western America that adolescence ceremonies
562 were held for girls rather than boys. This is not to ignore the wide
881 extension of the guardian spirit quest, more regularly performed by boys than girls, nor the boys' initiation ceremonies of southern Cali-
787 fornia and the Southwest, but the boys' activities were less commonly ritualized save in the southwestern sector. The boys' quest among the Klamath has been discussed in connection with shamanism.

The girls' rites in the west can best be understood with reference to a background of women's observances throughout the continent.
*171 Certain features of women's behavior had a well-nigh universal dis-
841 tribution. The general conception was that woman during her periodical illnesses was a source of contamination to others or a peril to herself. A series of restrictions ensued; she was secluded or her movements restricted during the period. For her own well-being she must fast or at least refrain from fresh meat or fish, but the latter proscription was also rationalized as avoiding damage to the food supply, especially fishing. She must not touch hands to face or hair, using instead a scratching stick, must not wash nor arrange her hair, and must dispose of her garments before resuming her normal life.

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[580] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, esp. 122.

[581] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 206; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 44.

Restrictions to women's behavior at this time have a very different implication from elsewhere in the world, for on the whole in North America the Indian woman's social position was on a plane of equality with that of the man. At least women were not excluded from social and ceremonial participation merely because they were women, although they were commonly excluded during their illnesses. On the contrary, in almost all parts of the continent women did participate in ceremonies with men and in analogous ceremonies of their own. 171* 562

Such restrictions held throughout the major part of the continent; California, Northwest Coast, Basin, among the non-Pueblo Southwestern tribes, in the greater part of the Plains, and Eastern Woodlands. On the other hand very meager restrictions or none at all have been noted in the northern Plains (Gros Ventre, Blackfoot, Crow, Arapaho), in the Arctic (Copper and Central Eskimo), possibly among the Pueblos generally (Zuñi), and again among the Wishram.[562] 171* 841

Quite uniformly seclusion was in a hut apart, a scratcher was used, and fresh meat tabooed. Lowie has discussed the distribution of these features in the Basin and southern California, Kroeber in California at large.[563] They are however not confined to these areas. I will give here the distribution of these features so far as literature is available; our authorities are remarkably reticent on the whole subject.

Hut and the period of seclusion: Tlingit (1 or 3 days), Snohomish, Nisqually (5), Middle Columbia Salish, Nez Percé, Kutenai ?, Chinook ? (3 or 4), sometimes Klamath (5), Achomawi-Atsugewi (3 or 4), Sacramento Valley Maidu (3 or 4), Northeastern Maidu (4 or 5), Pomo ?, Northern and Southern Ute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Pima (4), Assiniboin, Dakota, Cheyenne, Omaha and Ponca (4), Menomini, Winnebago, Chickasaw (3).[564] To these should be

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[562] Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre, 181; Wissler, Blackfoot Social Life, 29; Lowie, Crow Social Life, 220; Kroeber, The Arapaho, 15; Jenness, The Copper Eskimo, 158; Boas, Central Eskimo, 590; Parsons, in American Indian Life, 157 f.; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

[563] Lowie, Cultural Connection, 145; Kroeber, Handbook, 861 f.

[564] Krause, Die Tlinkit-Indianer, 218; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 46, 47; Teit, Middle Columbia Salish, 114; Spinden, Nez Percé, 198; Chamberlain, 186; Boas, Chinook Texts, 247; Dixon, Notes on Achomawi-Atsugewi, 217; Northern Maidu, 233, 236; Kroeber, Handbook, 254, but cf. Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 273 f.; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 273 f.; Northern Shoshone, 214; Russell, Pima Indians, 183; Lowie, The Assiniboine, 80; Kroeber, The Arapaho, 15; Grinnell, Cheyenne Indians, I, 130; J. O. Dorsey, Omaha Sociology, 267; Skinner, Menomini Social Life, 53; Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, 136; Speck, Notes on Chickasaw Ethnology, 56. Modoc women "abstained from the use of all kinds of meat for five days in each moon" (Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 127).

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added cases where the menstrual hut was prescribed during the adolescence rites but not later (or at least is not so recorded): Tahltan, Tsimshian (10 days), Wishram (5), sometimes Klamath (5), Shasta (10), Coast Central Pomo (4), Eastern Pomo (5), Paviotso ? (5), Northern Saulteaux, Plains Cree. Seclusion within the house was also insisted on throughout the Northwest Coast and northern California, in the northern sector in a screened-off corner: Ten'a (about a week), Klallam, Northern Maidu of the foothills, and Pomo (?).[333] The distribution of the menstrual hut and this substitute was so general (save in the northern Plains, Arctic, Pueblos, and Wishram) that I think we may infer its presence in the majority of cases where it has not been recorded.

Scratcher: Klamath, Northeastern Maidu, Pomo, Havasupai, Dakota, Plains Cree; to which we may add the cases of its use in the adolescence rites: Tahltan, Nootka, Klallam, Snohomish, Sacramento Valley Maidu, Shasta, Yurok, Hupa, Yuki, Luiseño, Pima, White Mountain Apache, Winnebago, Menomini, probably Ojibway, Ottawa, Sauk-Fox, and Kickapoo. This again is so general a distribution that its presence may be suspected wherever restrictions were imposed. It was however definitely absent among the Klallam.

Fresh meat or fish tabooed: Kutenai (food taboos), Snohomish, Chinook, Klamath, Modoc (no meat), Achomawi-Atsugewi, Maidu (no meat or fish), Huchnom (deer meat), Pomo, Paviotso, Northern and Southern Ute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Southern Paiute, Havasupai, Pima, Central Eskimo (raw meat). The girls' rites usually involved a general fast, which, while it might be relieved by taking some food, uniformly maintained the meat taboo. The additional cases noted in this connection are Tahltan, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Nootka, Klallam, Nisqually, Tillamook, Shasta, Yurok, Hupa, Wiyot, Sinkyone, Yuki, Luiseño, White Mountain Apache, Cheyenne (boiled meat), Winnebago, Northern Saulteaux. The Klallam woman also fasted on the first day of her periods. The meat taboo was perhaps the single universal restriction in the areas where taboos were at all observed, for it even occurred among the Eskimo.

The distributions outlined are not quite complete even when the absence of data is noted. Lowie has pointed out that in some areas childbirth must take place outside the home, the menstrual lodge being sometimes used, and the same precautions against eating meat and using the fingers to scratch being observed.

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[333] Reed and Parsons, in American Indian Life, 346; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 241; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 235; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 273 f.

It will be observed that the Klamath conformed to the general usage in that meat and fresh fish were avoided and the scratcher used, but a woman need not leave her home unless she was a member of a shaman's household. 171* 841 [756]

There are certain other taboos which were by no means universal but occurred over considerable areas in the same form. For example, salt was taboo to menstruants in southern and central California (Mohave, Diegueño, Luiseño, and much to the north, Pomo and Yuki).

It was in the nature of the case that those regulatory prescriptions that surround women throughout their lives held with equal force at the first period. It was not inevitable however that the conduct of the girl at her first period should be further regimented, or that restrictions be applied to the first period and none other (as among the Wishram). As I noted at the outset of this discussion, ritualization of the first period was characteristic of the extreme west alone. 171* 881

The rites had everywhere a composite character as far as purpose went, although it was very much the same throughout their whole range, but differently weighted in the north and south. I think we can safely state that the general purposes of the rites were to announce the nubility of the girl and thus qualify her as a candidate for marriage, and to serve her well-being at this physiological crisis. In the north the inevitable wealth display served as well to fix her social status. In the central section the industry and modesty she was forced to display were intended to fix her habits for life. While this looks much like a magical procedure, it may well have been a more direct way of achieving that end. It is indeed probable that the acts of this period of emotional stress should retain a high degree of consciousness throughout her life or at least until her habits were stabilized. In the south her physiological well-being was accentuated to the extent that other ritualistic possibilities, such as dancing, were dwarfed.

Apart from those features described above that have a general distribution there were rites of a specific character which fall into a number of distinct geographic types:

1. In the Northwest the adolescent girl was secluded in a closed-off section of her home, squatting in a constrained position, her head covered by a hat or mat. At the expiration of this period of seclusion a potlatch, a feast with distribution of property, was given in her honor by her parents. A series of songs were sung, hereditary

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in her family and satirical in nature or relating to love affairs. The personal restrictions continued for a period upward to a year.

Observances of this type have been noted from Alaska to the strait of Juan de Fuca: Malemut and Unalit Eskimo, Ten'a, Tahltan, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Nootka, Klallam, Snohomish, Nisqually, and Quinault. Variations will be discussed later.[566]

2. In Oregon and northern California there was a dance in which the girl participated each night of her period of seclusion. During the day she lay quietly at home or in a hut, alternating this with periods of strenuous activity, gathering firewood or uselessly piling logs. At dawn she ran toward the east. She wore a feather visor or her head was covered to hold her gaze averted whenever she emerged. Two dance forms occurred together; a circling ring and a line abreast trotting to and fro. Their accompaniment was a deer-hoof rattle; the songs related to men and women or to food products. The duration of the rite was quite consistently five or ten days. In Oregon at least this was the occasion for a vision quest. Throughout the region the performance was repeated at one or more subsequent illnesses.

The Klamath observances belong here.

Wishram, Tillamook, Coos, Takelma, Klamath, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Northern Maidu, Shasta, Karok, Tolowa (?), Hupa, Wiyot, Sinkyone, Yuki, Huchnom.[567]

3. In central and southern California and in adjacent Arizona the rite was simple: the girl was placed on a heated bed, sometimes danced over or sung to. The period was somewhat variable but most commonly four days. Again her eyes were covered or averted. Added to her personal restrictions was the proscription of salt. These restrictions continued in force as in the north, but not for so long, a month or more.

Pomo, Miwok, Tübatulabal, Juaneño, Luiseño, Northern Diegueño, Cahuilla, Mohave, Havasupai.[568]

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[566] Nelson, Eskimo about Bering Strait, 291; Emmons, Tahltan, 104; Krause, Die Tlinkit-Indianer, 217; Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, 450, 531, Third Report, 12; Ethnology of Kwakiutl, 699 f.; Sapir, Girl's Puberty Ceremony; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 239; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 46; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1926.

[567] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Boas, Notes on Tillamook, 6; St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 26; Sapir, Notes on Takelma, 273; Dixon, Notes on Achomawi and Atsugewi, 216; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 232 f.; Kroeber, Handbook, 106, 119, 127, 148, 196, 205, 299; Goddard, Life and Culture of Hupa, 53.

[568] Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 271 f.; Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 452, 609, 641, 673, 707, 716, 748; Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, 325.

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4. Some of the non-Pueblo Southwestern tribes had a dance at this time, occupying four nights. "The essential features of this ceremony are numerous songs and prayers uttered by the priest hired for the occasion, dancing by the girl or girls for whom it is held, a foot race by the girl, and the painting of the girl and of the spectators, who expect good fortune as a result."[889]

White Mountain Apache, Navaho, Jicarilla, and perhaps Pima should be included here.[890]

In contrast to this definite ceremonializing of the first crisis in western America, all of the groups east of the Rockies and those in the Great Basin were one in ignoring this opportunity for ritualization. They confined themselves to prescribing only such restrictions as applied to women throughout their span of life. Some indeed lacked restrictions of any sort. At this writing I have access only to a scattering of accounts but they may be taken as random and representative.

In the Great Basin these included Paviotso (Northern Paiute), Shivwits, Northern and Southern Ute, and northward the Kutenai; in the Plains, Plains Cree, Assiniboin, Dakota, Cheyenne; in the Eastern Woodlands area, Winnebago, Menomini, Ojibway, Ottawa, Sauk-Fox, Kickapoo, Northern Saulteaux; in the Southeast, Chickasaw.[891] I have pointed out above that there are areas where restrictions to women in their periods were absent or almost nil; the Northern Plains, Arctic, and Pueblos. There were there no first rites, of course.

In pointing out these four types of ceremony it is not implied that there was no difference among the tribes holding to any one of them. It will be sufficient for my present purpose, the analysis of Klamath customs, to discuss the variations of the second type.

Wherever information is available it appears that the dance was held each night of the girl's seclusion. The exception is the Wishram, whose dance followed that period. In this the Wishram conform to the habit of the Northwest Coast tribes.

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[889] Goddard, Indians of the Southwest, 173.

[890] Goddard, White Mountain Apache Myths, 123; Goddard, in American Indian Life, 147 f.; Reichard, Navajo, 135-9; Goddard, Jicarilla Apache Texts, 266; Russell, Pima Indians, 182; Parsons, Notes on the Pima, 404.

[891] Lowie, Shoshonean Ethnography, 272 f.; Chamberlain, 186; Skinner, Plains Cree, 60; Lowie, Assiniboine, 39; Radin, Winnebago Tribe, 136; Skinner, Menomini Social Life, 53; Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux, 158; Speck, Chickasaw Ethnology, 57.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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The place of seclusion shows an interesting cleavage between coastal and interior tribes. The former confined the girl to her home (Tillamook?, Coos?, Yurok, Hupa, Wiyot); the latter to a hut (Wishram, Shasta, Sacramento Valley and Northeastern Maidu). The exceptional case here is the Northern Maidu of the foothills who used the dwelling. The Klamath, Achomawi, and Atsugewi conformed to the interior practice of excluding the girl from her home, sending her into the brush, and at least the Klamath specified that a hut was erected for her if shelter was needed. It will be observed that the seclusion within the home in coastal Oregon and northwestern California looks like an extension of Northwest Coast practice.

The duration of the period was quite uniformly five days or its multiple ten (five days: Takelma, Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Foothill Maidu, Sacramento Valley Maidu [5 days or a week]; ten days: Coos, Shasta, Karok, Yurok, Hupa). The Wishram seclusion was five days, followed by a five-day dance period. The Wiyot period is stated as five or ten days. Here again an antithesis is suggested between interior and coast, but with the line drawn further inland.

The fixing of the number of days at five or ten seems to me clearly an application of the pattern number five common to this area. This view is emphasized by the fact that elsewhere the number was different, most commonly four days. On the Northwest Coast, e.g., the number was quite variable, most commonly four days, and those cases there where a five-day period was prescribed lay toward the southern end of the area (Chinook, most commonly five days; possibly Nisqually, where the duration was of the same order, five to nine days, Quinault, ten days). This was true again in more southerly California and the Southwest where the number was most commonly four, with the Eastern Pomo in the north holding to five. Finally we note that in the Basin the period was five days for Paviotso, ten for Northern Ute. Kroeber was puzzled by the scarcity of the number four in the girls' ceremonies within the boundaries of the present California.[360] The majority of his cases were from northern California. But the situation is at once clear if we extend comparisons beyond its borders; five (and ten) was common to Oregon, northern California, and the northern Basin, four to the remainder of California (with certain exceptions in the south) and the Southwest.

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This is what it should be when we consider the distribution of pattern numbers in the west. Five was the pattern number of the

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[360] Handbook, 863.

southern Northwest Coast, Oregon, California as far south as the 171*
Sinkyone (and perhaps the Costanoan), and the Basin. The number 881
was variable in central and southern California, as Kroeber has
pointed out, but was as regularly four on the Colorado river as in the 801
Southwest.[306] The curious feature is that five as the pattern number
did not regularly make its appearance in the adolescence rites; it is
seemingly missing from them on the northern margin of its distribution
and again in the southern Basin. What we have to recognize is
that the pattern number does not operate automatically at every possible
opportunity; further, that there may be an appreciable lag before
a specified number of days, things, etc., is made to conform to the
standard number. Thus the Ghost dance of 1890 derived by the [668]
Walapai from the Southern Paiute, whose pattern number was five,
appeared among them as a five-day ceremony although their pattern
was four.

Characteristic of this local area was some device to hold the adolescent 171*
girl's gaze averted when she left her seclusion. It was a visor
of blue-jay feathers among the Takelma, Shasta, and Karok, an eye- 881
shade of skin among the Northern Pomo. Elsewhere her head must be covered in some fashion; it was so prescribed by Hupa, Wiyot, Sinkyone, Coast Central Pomo, Tübatulabal. The visor appeals to me as the local analogue of the large hat or mat prescribed by Northwest Coast tribes: Ten'a, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Nisqually, and Tillamook. The Nootka and Achomawi-Atsugewi headbands may also be analogues. In some instances the girl's head must be covered with a basket even as she rests: Takelma, Shasta, Yuki, Luiseño. This is, to be sure, only a specific form based on a more widespread view that the adolescent's glance was malignant and must be cast down. This notion prevailed as far south as the Colorado river (Yurok, Eastern Pomo, and Mohave in addition to those just cited), but was notably absent in the Basin and Southwest, and may not have been nearly so strongly emphasized on the Northwest Coast. It cropped up again in a far distant area, the southern Great Lakes (Winnebago, Menomini, and probably Ojibway, Ottawa, Sauk-Fox, and Kickapoo), where the menstruant might not look up or out of the lodge. The otherwise unintelligible prescription that the Klamath maiden must dance with downcast eyes—for I did not find that there was any belief that her gaze was malignant—is thus explicable as a bald imitation of neighboring types of behavior.

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[306] Handbook, 875.

*171 881 It was equally characteristic of this group of rites that the rest during the day, which was dictated as proper, was interrupted by strenuous activity, which took two forms, gathering firewood and racing at dawn. Gathering wood was the Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, Karok, and Yurok custom; the Northeastern Maidu girl went off piling up logs. This was not the Klamath habit, unless I misunderstood my informants, yet it is analogous to the activities of their adolescent boys. It does appear again among the adjacent Paviotso. There was an analogue among the Mohave, the equally useless picking of leaves. The race at dawn, or where it is specified in the accounts, toward the dawn, was common to the Hupa, Karok, Northeastern Maidu, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Klamath, and Takelma (at midday?). This particular form of enforced activity was apparently absent both on the Northwest Coast and in central to southern California, but appeared again in the Southwest (Havasupai, White Mountain and Jicarilla Apache, Navaho).

One feature of the Klamath rite, the bands worn about the joints by the girl, appeared again in almost precisely the same form among the Chinook and somewhat differently perhaps among the Nisqually and Kwakiutl. Further, these were disposed of in the same specific fashion, by placing them in trees. This suggests that their use was more general than these data indicate.

As to the girl's posture during her rest this is not always explicitly described, but the implication is that she lay rather than sat. We observe however that the Tillamook posture was like that uniform in the north, namely sitting. This is noted again for Sacramento Valley Maidu and Wiyot, although in these cases the statements may be only a fashion of speech rather than a precise statement. The Klamath conformed to the general practice of the area of having the girl lie.

*171 881 535 The dance itself was held at night, each night of the period, throughout this whole area from the Wishram to the Huchnom. The notable exception was the Yurok who held no dance. The precise sequence of events was somewhat variable, but the dance form was not, and the dance rattle was uniform. Likewise, unlike in the regions north and south, the girl herself danced. Two dance forms occurred together, a ring of dancers and a line trotting to and fro. Their distributions were as follows: ring, Takelma, Shasta, Karok, Foothill and Northeastern Maidu, with perhaps the Hupa ring of stationary men as a doubtful analogue; to and fro, Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, Karok, the Shasta form being

a line of men moving sideways. It was only in connection with 171*
the latter form of dance that the girl performed; to be specific it is 881
known that she danced among Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, North- 535
eastern Maidu, Shasta, Karok, and, though we do not know the dance
form, Sinkyone and Yuki. Inasmuch as it is specified in the case of
the last two that the girl was supported as she danced, we may well
suspect that they had the same dance form.

It should not be assumed that dancing during the puberty rite was confined to this area. Dancing may have occurred on the Northwest Coast in connection with the potlatch more commonly than recorded (Nootka and Ten'a?). There is nothing to suggest that it was the same form of performance, however. In southern California the dancing was about the girl as she lay on a hot bed (Luiseño, Juaneño, Miwok) and was apparently quite different in character and intent. Dancing was again characteristic of the Southwestern ceremonies (White Mountain and Jicarilla Apache, Pima), and again the White Mountain and Pima forms were lines moving to and fro, with the girl engaged with them in the case of the former. Even the Jicarilla girl herself danced. These specific features are suspiciously like those of northern California and Oregon. Perhaps we do not yet know all that can be learned of this rite in the Basin.

To revert to the dance rattle; it was prevailingly the deer-hoof 171*
jingler type, although handled somewhat varyingly. This has been 534
noted for Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, Shasta, Karok, and Tolowa, while the Hupa, Sinkyone, and again the Northeastern Maidu used the clapper rattle. This type of deer-hoof rattle was distinctively Californian and generally distributed in the state. So far as I know it does not occur north of the Klamath. The clapper rattle was on the other hand a central Californian type, as Kroeber has pointed out.[594] As he further remarks, rattles were used in northwestern California only in connection with adolescence ceremonies, but this was also true of the sector to the north and east apparently (Shasta, Achomawi-Atsugewi, certainly Klamath,[595] and perhaps Takelma and Coos).

There is little information on the songs, but the little existing 171*
suggests that these were of two types only; songs about foodstuffs and 533
about love affairs. Thus it is noted that the Sacramento Valley Maidu

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[594] Handbook, 833, 862.

[595] The Klamath acquired the use of the clapper rattle as well only with the Ghost dance of 1870.

*171 sang about foodstuffs gathered by women, the Yuki about acorns,
533 also a woman's food product. The Klamath sang about men and women; similar love songs have been noted for the Klallam and those of the Nootka were satirically sexual. This temptation to invoke the sexual implication of the occasion took another expression; a period of license during the dance among the Northeastern Maidu and the Yuki. It is highly probable that this attitude was widespread.

*171 How generally this crisis was made the occasion for a vision quest by the girl is not clear. This may have been a trait of Oregon and
787 Washington alone. To be sure, the guardian spirit concept was but little developed in California, at least among more typical tribes. The girl was sent out at night by Nisqually, Tillamook, Coos, and perhaps the Klamath, to seek a spirit in the manner stereotyped for boys, wandering on the mountains and bathing in lonely pools.

*171 The whole performance was repeated at the following monthly periods in this area. The number of subsequent performances brought
881 the total to five among the Klamath, conformable with their pattern number, to three among Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Karok, to two among Chinook, Northeastern Maidu, and Sinkyone, while it was repeated at monthly intervals throughout the winter among the Huchnom. While the number of performances was variable, the habit of their repetition was confined to a fairly consolidated area. The Mohave custom of imposing restrictions at successive periods for a reduced number of days at each period is not directly comparable. It is rather analogous to the continued restriction of a month's duration at first menstruation imposed by Shivwits, Luiseño, and Coast Central Pomo. There is no indication of such continuous restrictions in the Oregon-north Californian area, but this was characteristic again of the Northwest Coast tribes who imposed them for a period upward to a year (a year, Ten'a, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola; six months to a year, Tahltan; four to ten months, Nootka; six to eight months, Nisqually; five months, Quinault; fifty or one hundred days, Chinook).

*171 The place of the Klamath in all this is fairly clear. They have very
841 little concern with women's periodicity and its possible social or ceremonial significance. Women are not excluded from home at their
[756] periods save in the case of those living with shamans. The rigorous segregation that occurs on all sides of them, throughout the Pacific coast, the Plateau, and Basin, made practically no impression on the Klamath. It is surely not accidental that it is the near-by Wishram who also care nothing for such restriction. Such restrictions as do

occur among the Klamath are the well-nigh universal taboo of fresh 171*
fish and meat, and the use of the scratcher. On the other hand, the 841
Klamath share a rite at first menstruation with the Pacific coast
peoples. Their rite is of the local type known throughout western 171*
Oregon and northern California, and is only slightly distinguished 881
by peculiar detail. They follow the interior practice of sending the girl away from the dwelling and maintaining the dance for five days. They link with some of their neighbors and the northwest Californians in using the deer-hoof rattle only in this rite. Possibly they share with the tribes to the north some feeling that this is an appropriate time for the girl to secure spirit power. For the rest, the rite is generally like that of western Oregon and northern California, even to such specific details as having the girl recline at length during the day, running at dawn, and in the general practice of repeating the whole affair for some months subsequently. Other general features appear only in diminished or attenuated form: only one of the two dance forms, the line abreast, is known, and, while the gaze of girls of this area is averted by a visor, the Klamath demand only that she voluntarily keep her eyes cast down.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1860-1900)

APPENDIX

THE MODOC NOVICE DANCE[396]

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The medicine-man of the Indian is not selected in the same manner as are the medicine-men of the white race. He does not choose the profession as an easy way to make a living; he knows too well the fearful responsibility of his position. He has seen the medicine-man too often slain on account of his failure to cure. Hence, the position is one not sought, but as they believe is forced upon them by the Great Spirit. The indications of the selection appear at various ages; sometimes in childhood, sometimes in middle life, and again in old age. The first intimation of being tow-ed is by bleeding at the mouth, or by becoming crazed, with jerkings and twitchings of the muscles. When these manifestations appear, the tribe, or band, is notified and a council is called, on which occasions the older doctors officiate. It is one of great importance to all the people, inasmuch as the medicine-man has so much power. The candidate is very solicitous, because of the fearful responsibility involved in assuming the office. He dare not resist the spirit, as doing so would imperil his life forever, present and future. Hence he comes to the examining council with trepidation. . . . .

When the council is convened the preparations are completed by the older doctors making prayers, and offering sacrifices, killing white-haired dogs and hanging the skin upon a pole, which is raised above the council. On the top of the pole are placed the tail-feathers of the great Medicine Hawk, which is called the "king hawk," because of his mastery over all other birds.

The skins of the white weasel, the otter, the mink, and black-fox, all of which are said to be "sacred," are also hung upon the pole. These sacred skins are supplied by the older doctors, or the friends of the candidate, and they are his after the ceremony is over, if he shall be found to be a doctor of the right kind, for with these people, some of them are called of the good spirit and some of the bad spirit. The authority under which they act, is a matter of great concern to all parties and more especially to the candidate; himself; for should he prove to be called of the evil spirit, his ministry is of short duration, ending his life as soon as the authority is clearly recognized, unless he escapes. It may be easily understood why "The bringing out" of a medicine-man is a great event. That my reader may better understand the ceremony, I herewith present a full report of the "bringing out" of young Ut-ti-na, a half Modoc and half Pitt River Indian, who had found himself among the former, when he was called to the ministry, as related by an eye witness.

The candidate was not more than eighteen years of age. He was, however, a full-grown, well-developed man, of more than ordinary stature and physical strength. This fact made his "coming out" a matter of vast importance. For several days young Ut-ti-na had been bleeding at the mouth and nose, and otherwise showing by unmistakable signs that he was "tow-ed," by some great spirit; that is to say, he was "marked for a medicine-man." When this fact became known, the chief, Captain Jack, called the medicine-council. The medicine-pole of the tribe was brought out. The "watchmen" of the band appeared with the usual insignia of office—a cap made of fawn-skin. The chief gave the order, and the pole, surmounted by the feathers, skins, and the flag of the tribe was raised. The Modocs have long had a national flag. It consisted of two colors—red, and white, in separate parts. In peace, both colors are on the pole, when at war the red alone. The pole was raised, stakes were driven into the ground at short intervals, and a rope stretched round, forming a circle twenty feet in diameter. The men now formed round the rope, facing the pole; next, the women behind the men, (all standing). When all was in readiness the "curley-haired doctor" of Lava-bed fame, led the candidate into the circle. He was closely wrapped in a blanket, nothing but his face being visible. He was placed in position facing to the pole.

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[396] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 129–136.

The Doctor now retired to midway between the centre and the rope, and stood a few moments in silence, suddenly raising his hands and covering his face one of the watchmen fired a signal gun. The Doctor saying "we are here to test the power of the young Ut-ti-na who has been called to serve a Great Spirit." The orator of the tribe, rehearsed this speech in a loud voice. The response of "aye, aye," from the men forming the circle signified approval. The Doctor made choice of nine men to assist him in the services, the remainder sat upon the ground. The Doctor now called upon the Great Spirit to assist him in the work to be performed. Each sentence was repeated by the orator. Stopping suddenly he broke out in a medicine-song, in which the whole assembly joined. Clapping his hands the song was stopped as abruptly as it was begun. Another prayer was made and repeated, calling upon the Great Spirit. Then another song and another prayer. The Doctor went round the circle in a slow dance, mumbling in a low voice. When he had made the circuit three times, the candidate dropped the blanket and started round behind him, joining in the songs and prayers. The dance and song went on for half an hour, when the Doctor again clapped his hands, signifying that a spirit had come to him. It was the part of his assistants to guess the spirit. The first said, "a dove"; the Doctor who was standing with his face upturned and covered with his hands gave no response. "A fawn," said another; no motion came from the Doctor; so on through the line of assistants, all eyes watching the Doctor's hands. Had any one of them guessed the spirit seen by the Doctor, he would have clapped his hands as a signal that they were right. If they guessed any one of the sacred birds, or animals, such as are harmless and non-resisting, and it had been the spirit seen by the Doctor, it would have been to them proof that the candidate was called of good spirits, and he would have been put to other proofs. If of the vicious birds or animals, it would have indicated that he was called of bad spirits and was a dangerous man.

No one having named the right spirit, the dance and prayer and songs were renewed, and continued until the Doctor clapped his hands. Then each assistant guessed again, some one named the "wood-rat," the Doctor clapped his hands. Another song and prayer was begun, asking that some other spirit appear. Again the Doctor clapped his hands and an assistant said, a wolf," the Doctor gave the signal of assent. Thus the ceremony went on until ten dances had been performed, each with the same exactness and propriety; the candidate meanwhile dancing and praying with great fervor. He knew that his life was at the mercy of the Doctor, and dependent entirely upon his integrity. In this instance the candidate had been a favorite with the people and was in reality a nephew of the officiating Doctor, but he knew the Doctor would not swerve from what he believed to be the truth; indeed he dared not show the least partiality to his kinsman, for he would be held responsible for the young Ut-ti-na's success in the practice of medicine. When the ten dances had been celebrated, and the decision based upon the spirits as seen by the Doctor had declared that Ut-ti-na was called of "bad spirits" he was crestfallen, and hurried away. . . . .

Under favorable report the ceremonies would have been continued for five days and nights with short intermissions. At the end of that time the young doctor would have gone alone to the Sacred Mountains, where with praying, fasting, and bathing he would have sought wisdom from the great spirits who had called him to this high office, and after remaining seven days, performing numerous feats of physical strength, piling up rocks and logs while constantly murmuring prayers he would have returned to his tribe and assumed the official insignia of his office, beneath the medicine-pole which he would have brought with him from the mountains.

This pole would have been of mountain fir, as no other would have answered the purpose. It would have been carefully stripped of twigs and bark, polished very smoothly, and painted in several colors, white, red, blue, and sometimes black, with curious figures to suit his own fancy. Then, ornamenting it with the skins and feathers which were used upon his trial, the feathers of the sacred hawk being above the others, the pole would have been raised beside his own lodge. He would then have begun the month of probation, during which time he would have eaten no meat of any kind, dancing several hours each day round his own medicine-pole, sometimes supported by the women and the orator. At the end of that time the people would come again together, and with great circumstance he would have been admitted to the profession as a regular medicine-man.

This ceremony would have been conducted under the direction of the doctor who sat in judgment upon his election in the first place. The people would have made it the occasion for feasting and dancing. . . . .

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[For information on distributional evidence for cultural traits among the Klamath, see category 116, pp. 224-325.]

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[For vocabulary associated with games, see category 524, pp. 76-86; included in curing songs, see category 755, pp. 123-125; used in reference to various named parts of the house, see category 342, p. 201; used for numerals, see category 802, pp. 222-223.]

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ERMINIE W. VOEGELIN

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Vol. 7, No. 2

[p. i]

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Klamath Marsh

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1. Area surveyed and localities to which cultural data from the several tribal groups refer . . vi

PREFACE

101 114 121 The following comparative ethnographic study of fifteen northeastern California groups and one group in southern Oregon is based on approximately three and one-half months' field work (July-October, 1936), undertaken while serving as Research Assistant in the Department of Anthropology at the University of California. During the six months' period which the appointment covered I incurred numerous obligations for assistance.

000 To Dr. A. L. Kroeber, director of the culture-element survey, I am indebted for much sound advice, never-failing coöperation, and many courtesies extended throughout the term of appointment. To Professor E. W. Gifford, Dr. Robert H. Lowie, and Dr. Harold E. Driver I am likewise under obligations for their coöperation and numerous courtesies.

I also wish to thank those authors who have written the detailed and pioneer monographs on many of the groups covered in this study; these include Drs. Leslie Spier, A. L. Kroeber, Ralph L. Beals, Isabel T. Kelly, Cora Du Bois, Edwin M. Loeb, and Mr. E. W. Gifford. Many of these authorities, and also the late Professor Edward Sapir, of Yale, supplied the names of reliable informants for the groups I was to study, and otherwise oriented me concerning field conditions. To all these scholars I am greatly indebted, both for their personal coöperation and for their valuable publications on various tribes in or near the area surveyed. Since I worked with both the Shasta and the Maidu, it is almost needless to mention how often I leaned on the late Dr. Roland B. Dixon's ethnographic studies of these two tribes, and how delighted I was to obtain western Shasta data from Sargent Sambo whok some thirty years before, had been Dr. Dixon's chief informant.

114 The difficulties of living on an extremely mobile field trip were lightened by virtue of having with me three interested companions. My husband, Dr. C. F. Voegelin, and our daughter, Gail, spent July and August in the field. To Dr. Voegelin I am deeply grateful for frequent linguistic aid and for encouragement in the pursuit of a new ethnographic field technique. To Gail, and likewise to my father, Mr. Roscoe Wheeler, who proved an ever-cheerful companion during the latter half of the trip, I wish to express a happy appreciation of their comradeship and their responsiveness to informants and informants' families.

115 Many kindnesses were extended to me during field work. Mrs. John Perry and her late husband, of Greenville, offered the hospitality of their home and were helpful in suggesting suitable informants. Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Barton, of Horse Creek, temporarily released Sargent Sambo from their employ so that I might work with him. Mrs. Lucy Thomson, my informant for the Southern Nisenan, had my father and me as guests in her home during our stay at Stanfield Hill. Mrs. Winnie Shiffbauer, Modoc; Ben Bridge, Achomawi informant, and his wife; and Mrs. Amanda Wilson, Valley Maidu informant, were likewise generous in hospitality. The interest and cooperative spirit I met with among these and many others of my informants puts me under a debt which cannot easily be acknowledged, but which will always be a pleasure to recall.

122 Assistance in the preparation of field material for publication was furnished by the personnel of Works Projects Administration Official Project No. 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

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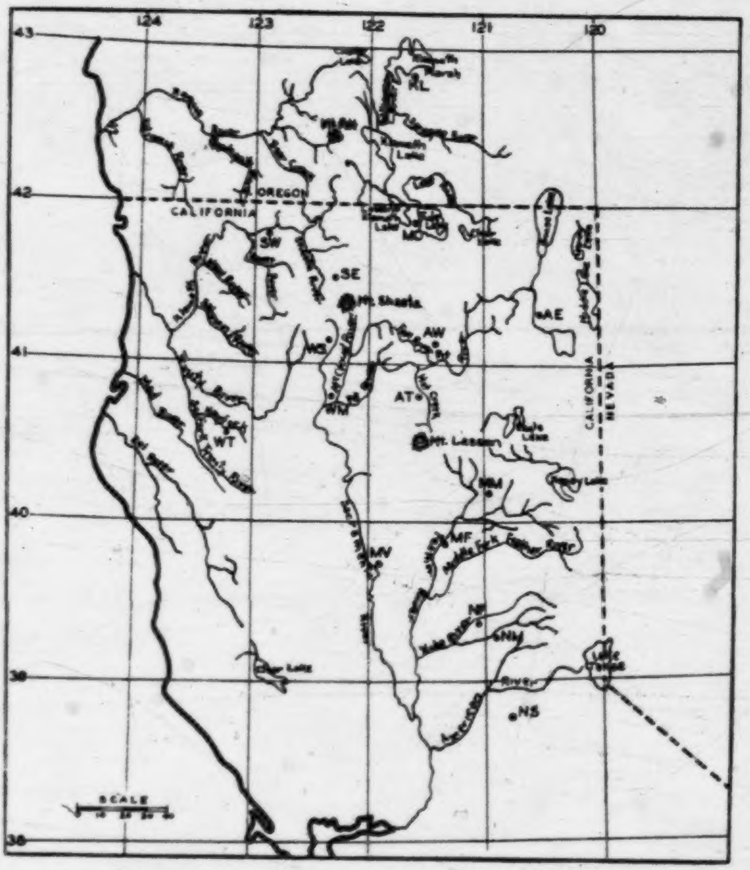
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MF
Middle Fork Feather River
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NM
Lake Tahoe
River
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CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
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Map 1. Area surveyed and localities to which cultural data from the several tribal groups refer.

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Klamath Marsh

CULTURE ELEMENT
NORTHEAST

BY

ERMINIE W

INTROD

121 The list of elements used in the field for this study was assembled from six other lists for adjoining areas which had been gathered by members of the culture-element survey and were still in manuscript form. Dr. Driver, Dr. Kroeber, and I collaborated in preparing the list which I was to use. It contained some 5500 elements. While working in the field I added and occasionally subtracted elements and often reorganized entire sections of the list; in the final preparation of the manuscript further reorganization was effected. I consistently attempted to keep complexes of elements together, in order to present a more intelligible picture of the patterns of the various cultures as wholes. This was not an easy task, since elements tended to be regrouped, in kaleidoscopic fashion, among the different peoples studied. To help solve this difficulty frequent use has been made of cross references in the ethnographic notes which accompany the lists.

124
125 With respect to field method, I found that working with an element list is a definite aid in making quick rapport with informants. Several of the sixteen informants interviewed repeatedly expressed both astonishment and respect when the questions I put to them from the list hit the cultural nail squarely on the head. Far from a list deterring informants from volunteering information, it obviously stimulated comments. All volunteered information, unless it came at too rapid a rate, was jotted down in a separate notebook which was kept open beside the element list itself.

I should like to emphasize here that while questioning informants I never used the element list in the rigidly mechanical "yes or no" fashion which some critics of element-list work take for granted as being a part of the field technique. The content of the ethnographic notes appended to the element list itself bears witness to the fact that informants were not only willing, but anxious to elaborate on the questions put to them. Some queries, such as whether the floor of a winter house is dug out or level with the ground, could be asked directly and a yes or no answer relied upon. But if the answer to this question was merely "Yes" the query "How deep?" always followed as a check. The answers to other questions, such as number of directions, month names, seasons, or whether the autonomous group consists of a single village, a group of closely adjacent villages, or a com-

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UCTION

124 munity of clusters of settlements, obviously
could not be given directly. For questions such
125 as these, specific data were collected, as for example, native names ~~for~~ directions, months, seasons, data on village groups and the headmen or chiefs of such. The same is true for questions relating to exogamy, marriage, and other social customs.

As one worked, intensively and rapidly, with a detailed orderly list of questions on which to rely, needless repetitions with the same informant and dawdling over data approached the vanishing point. In no other way can I explain how within the space of four or five days as much information as is contained in an element list is collected. Previous to working on the survey, I
000 had made three successive summer field trips to the Tübatulabal, spending in all some eleven weeks studying Tübatulabal ethnography, and three much longer trips to the Shawnee to collect material for a Shawnee ethnography. My chief regret concerning both the Tübatulabal and Shawnee field work is that so much time was squandered because the only sort of lists I carried were of the hit-and-miss variety that one generally makes up preparatory to and during field work. The longer trips naturally afforded more opportunity for collecting mythological and ethnobotanical data, for example, than it was possible to gather while doing survey work.

After completing this survey I had the opportunity to use part of my California element list for questioning one of my most reliable Shawnee informants. Although the list I used was not assembled for an eastern group, I was agreeably surprised on two points: (1) that the informant stuck to the point of the questions and often volunteered pertinent additional information, and (2) that by trying out the list I uncovered the presence, among the Shawnee, of a game concerning which I had never before been able to secure information, and also obtained data on several items of material culture that heretofore had been missing from my record. Among some eastern tribes, such as the Central Algonquians, for example, one difficulty might arise which was not of paramount importance in California; it might be hard, working on short notice, to secure cooperative and at the same time reliable informants. This difficulty could however be partly obviated, I believe, by using a technique which always worked well in California, namely, inquiring in advance from the informant with whom one

[47-B]

000 is working for possible informants in the group to which one next intends to go. Comments regarding the reliability of possible informants, their capabilities, honesty, interests, and other attributes are often made in connection with the mention of their names, and when one does move on, one goes forearmed with what proves to be extremely valuable information.

INFORMANTS

115 Klamath, of Klamath Marsh.--Antone Marrett, Modoc Point (Williamson River Bridge, Klamath Reservation), Oregon (address 1936). Age ca. 70. Health good; blind. Born at Klamath Marsh, spent boyhood in Klamath Marsh region, has lived on Klamath Reservation all his life. F Klamath, spoke Klamath; m half-Modoc, quarter-Klamath, quarter-Pit River (Achomawi), spoke Klamath; f's f, f's m Klamath, spoke Klamath. Informant spoke Klamath, English (fair). Worked with 43 hours, July 17-22, Sept. 27, 1936. Good informant; gave much information, mostly voluntarily, on recent Klamath culture borrowings.

000 Modoc, of Tule Lake.--Dolly Lawver, Chiloquin, Oregon, and Mrs. Jennie Clinton, Williamson River Bridge (near Modoc Point), Oregon. Ages ca. 70 and 78, respectively. Health, Mrs. Lawver, fair, Mrs. Clinton, poor; eyesight good and very poor, respectively. Both informants born on W side of Tule Lake, lived there until 1864, when removed to Oklahoma, where both married Modoc men. Mrs. Lawver returned to Klamath Reservation in 1926, Mrs. Clinton in 1903. Mrs. Lawver's f and m Modoc, born at Tule Lake, spoke Modoc, no English. Mrs. Clinton's f half-Modoc, half-Shasta, born on W side of Tule Lake, in pawašken band, spoke Modoc; m Modoc, half-paskanwas, half-gumbatwas Modoc, born at Paska, N side of Tule Lake, spoke Modoc. F's f Shasta, spoke Shasta and Modoc; f's m Modoc, born W side of Tule Lake, spoke Modoc. M's f paskanwas Modoc, born at Paska, spoke Modoc; m's m Modoc and Pit River (Achomawi), spoke Modoc. Both Mrs. Lawver, Mrs. Clinton spoke Modoc, good English. Worked with Mrs. Lawver, 24 hours, July 21-25, 1936; Mrs. Clinton, 14 hours, July 22-25, Sept. 26, 1936. Mrs. Lawver willing, but poorly informed; Mrs. Clinton well informed.

Shasta, Eastern, of Shasta Valley.--Emma Snelling, Yreka, Calif. (address 1936). Age 67. Health good; blind in 1 eye, eyesight fairly good in other. Born near Big Bogus, Calif., lived at Pine Flat and around Yreka all her life. F Shasta, born in Shasta Valley near Bogus, Calif., spoke Shasta; m Shasta, ki·katsik band, born near Horse Creek, Calif., spoke Shasta. F's f, f's m Shasta, of Shasta Valley. Informant spoke Shasta and English. Worked with 25 hours, Sept. 22-25, 1936. Intelligent, coöperative informant; had derived most of her information from her f's m, who had been captured by the Modoc, returned to her own people in later life when blind.

Shasta, Western, of Klamath and Rogue rivers.--Sargent Sambo, Horse Creek, Calif. (address 1936). Age 72. Health good; eyesight good. Born at Oak Bar, Calif. (on Klamath River), a member of kahošadi (Rogue River) band. Has lived around Oak Bar and Horse Creek all his life, among kiˊkatšɪk group. F Shasta, born on Rogue River, Oregon, member of kahošadi band; m Karuk, born at Happy Camp, spoke Karuk, Shasta. F's f Shasta, of Rogue River, Oregon; f's m Shasta, of Shasta Valley, Calif.; both spoke Shasta. Informant spoke Shasta, good English. Worked with 50 hours, July 29-Aug. 5, 1936. Excellent informant; intelligent, interested, very coöperative; had been shaman; is berdache; Roland B. Dixon's chief ethnographic informant for his Shasta monograph.

Atsugewi (Hat Creek).--Julie Bob, Cassel, Calif. (address 1936). Age 79. Health fair; eyesight good. Born on Hat Creek, near Cassel, Calif. Married Hat Creek man and has lived on Hat Creek all her life. F Atsuge, born on Hat Creek, spoke Atsuge dialect; m Madesi Achomawi, born at Round Mountain (Big Bend), spoke Achomawi and Atsuge. F's f, f's m Hat Creek Atsuge; m's f, m's m Madesi Achomawi, of Round Mountain, spoke Achomawi. Informant spoke Atsugewi, poor English. Worked with 48 hours, Aug. 7-13, 1936. Variable informant, rating from poor to fair. Is considered "queer" by other Indians in vicinity, and is definitely neurotic. Informant was, however, energetic, chattery, interested in basketmaking. Members of her family helped appreciably in clarifying some of her statements and insisting that she be accurate in her replies. She herself volunteered a good deal of gossipy information.

Achomawi, Western (Achomawi proper).--Ben Bridge (or Bainbridge), Glenburn, Calif. (address 1936). Age ca. 68-70. Health excellent; eyesight good. Born at Round Valley Reservation, Mendocino Co., Calif., brought to Glenburn when 2 or 3 yrs. old, has lived on own land near Glenburn all his life, except for trips made into Sacramento Valley in fall, winter to pick prunes, olives. F Achomawi proper, born near Glenburn, spoke Achomawi; m Ilmawi band of Achomawi, born on Pit River, spoke Achomawi. F's f, f's m Achomawi proper; m's f, m's m Ilmawi Achomawi. Informant spoke Achomawi, fair English. Worked with 44 hours, Aug. 17-22, 1936. Very good informant; intelligent, interested, talkative, well-informed.

Achomawi, Eastern (Hammawi).--Sam Fox, Alturas, Calif. (address 1936). Age ca. 70. Health poor; eyesight fair. Born at village of pačɪlomɪči, in

000 West's Valley, near Alturas, lived in West's Valley and Alturas all his life. F born, reared at pačĭlomĭči (West's Valley, in Hammawi area), spoke Achomawi dialect; m born, reared at Sugar Hill among Alumši (subgroup of Kosalektawi group of Achomawi), spoke Achomawi dialect. F's f, f's m Hammawi Achomawi (pačĭlomĭči village); m's f, m's m Kosalektawi Achomawi (Alumši village, Sugar Hill). Informant spoke Achomawi, good English. Worked with 35 hours, Aug. 24-29. Good informant; coöperative, willing; had worked with Omer Stewart on element list 2 weeks before I worked with him. Historical sense not so keen as that of informants for Kl and AW, but fairly good; often volunteered.

Wintu, Trinity River or Hayfork.--William (Whiskey Bill) George, Hayfork, Calif. (address 1936). Age ca. 70. Health only fair; eyesight fair. Born at Hyampom (Chimariko area), reared at Hayfork, has lived there all his life. F Hayfork Wintu, spoke Wintu; m Chimariko, born at Hyampom, spoke Chimariko, Wintu. F's f, f's m Hayfork Wintu; m's f, m's m Chimariko, of Hyampom. Informant spoke Wintu, some Chimariko, scant English. Worked with 39 hours, Sept. 4-10, 1936. Satisfactory informant, but volunteered little, perhaps because interpreter necessary. Interpreter: Mrs. Grace McKibben, of Hayfork, William George's w's b's d, age 38. F, m Wintu. English good; sympathetic with work, conscientious, intelligent.

Wintu, McCloud River.--Jennie Curl, Baird, Calif. (address 1936). Age given as 72 but probably between 60-65. Health good; eyesight fair only. Born on McCloud River, 10 miles N of Baird, has lived near Baird all her life. F McCloud Wintu, born on Pit River; m McCloud Wintu, born on McCloud River. F's f, f's m McCloud Wintu; m's f Upper Trinity Wintu, m's m McCloud Wintu. Informant spoke Wintu, good English. Worked with 41 hours, Sept. 11-16, 1936. Good informant; often volunteered; sympathetic toward work; had served as informant for Drs. Du Bois and Demetracopoulou.

Wintu, Sacramento River (Upper).--John Towndolly, Dunsmuir, Calif. (address 1936). Age 77. Health fair; eyesight good. Born on Sacramento River, in Shasta Co. When 3 or 4 yrs. old taken to Trinity Center and lived there until young man, then returned to Dunsmuir and has lived there ever since. F Trinity Center Wintu, born at Trinity Center; m Madesi Achomawi, born at Big Bend. F's f, f's m Trinity Center Wintu; m's f, m's m Madesi Achomawi. Informant spoke Wintu, good English. Worked with 27 hours, Sept. 17-21, 1936. Very good informant; intelligent, well-informed. Did not volunteer as much as some informants, not, apparently, because he was incapable of doing so but because he chose to stay with the matter at hand. His information relates to Upper Sacramento Wintu; he denied a complete enough knowledge of Upper Trinity Wintu culture in all the phases embraced by an element list.

Maidu, Mountain (Northeastern), Indian Valley.--Dick Smith, Greenville, Calif. (address 1936). Age 73. Health good; eyesight fair; hearing slightly impaired. Born and has lived all his life in Indian Valley. F Mountain Maidu, born, reared in Indian Valley; m Atsugewi, born at Hat Creek, spoke Atsugewi and Maidu. F's f, f's m Mountain Maidu of Indian Valley; m's f, m's m Atsugewi of Hat Creek. Informant spoke Maidu, good English. Worked with 32 hours, Oct. 2-5, 1936. Good informant; somewhat diffident, self-deprecatory, but fairly well informed; probably drew overly idealized picture of some aspects of Maidu culture, such as marriage and divorce customs.

Maidu, Foothill (Northwestern), Dogwood, Cherokee, Yankee Hill.--Kitty Williams, Cherokee, Calif. (address 1936). Age ca. 90. Health poor to fair; eyesight fair. Born at Dogwood, near Pulga, in Feather River canyon. Lived there ca. 80 years, then moved to Cherokee. F, m Foothill Maidu, kĭmsu or Dogwood group; born at Dogwood, spoke Maidu. Informant spoke Maidu, very little English. Worked with 29 hours, Oct. 7-10, 1936. Very poor informant; uncoöperative in main, too old, apparently stupid, or reticent, or both; worked with as forlorn hope; 3 other better informants interviewed, but services unprocurable. Interpreter: Leah Johnson Simmons, of Cherokee, age 33, born and reared on Round Valley Reservation, Mendocino Co., knowledge of Maidu scanty, served more as sponsor than interpreter.

Nisenan, Foothill, Stanfield Hill or Yuba River.[1]--Lucy Thomson, Stanfield Hill, Yuba Co. Calif. (address 1936). Age 86. Health fair only; eyesight fair. Born at settlement of yumaka, 1/8-mi. from Stanfield Hill, Calif.; married Henry Thomson, Butte Co. Maidu; has lived at Stanfield Hill all her life. F, m Yuba River Nisenan, born, reared near Stanfield Hill. Informant spoke Maidu, fair English. Worked with 25 hours, Oct. 20-23, 1936. Good informant; fairly well informed, shy at first but enjoyed work, often volunteered, knowledge limited on more esoteric phases of culture.

Nisenan, Mountain (northerly).--Polly Ann Hamburg, Nevada City, Calif. (address 1936). Age ca. 70. Health fair; eyesight fair. Born at Chicago Park, Calif., and has always lived in vicinity. F, m Northern Nisenan, born, reared vicinity of Chicago Park, Calif. Informant spoke Maidu, good English. Worked with 22 hours, Oct. 17-19. Fair only as informant; seemed intelli-

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[1] See page 50 for footnote 1.

000 gent, but none too well informed, not greatly interested in work. List for this group incomplete as informant too busy gathering acorns to finish work on final morning.

Nisenan, Southern (of mountains).--Susie Kessler, Placerville, Calif. (address 1936). Age 65. Health fairly good, but lame; eyesight good. Born near Camino, Calif., lived in same vicinity all her life. F White; m Nisenan, born, reared at Gold Hill; m's f, m's m Nisenan, of Gold Hill. Informant spoke Maidu, very good English. Worked with 28 hours, Oct. 12-15, 1936. Informant intelligent, honest, but knowledge of aboriginal culture limited; was, however, reared by m's m, full-blood Nisenan; married Nisenan man.

Maidu, Valley (NW), vicinity of Chico.--Mrs. Amanda Wilson, Chico, Calif. (address 1936). Age ca. 75. Health good; eyesight good. Born and reared at Chico, Calif. F White; m Maidu from vicinity of Oroville; m's f, m's m from same vicinity. Informant speaks Maidu, very good English. Worked with 38 hours, Oct. 24-28, 1936. Coöperative, intelligent informant; wife of former headman of mičopdo group of Sacramento Valley Maidu (this group originally lived near Dayton, Calif.; brought to Chico by Gen. Bidwell). Mrs. Wilson is, as far as I could learn, only remaining informant for Sacramento Valley Maidu; her knowledge of some aspects of Maidu life, as for instance warfare, is nil, but for many phases of the culture she is an excellent and sympathetic informant.

Supplementary information.--Slight amount information for AW, supplementing Ben Bridge's, obtained from Dexter Johnson at Fall River Mills. Johnson is about 50; his f belonged to Achomawi proper, his m was Atsugewi; he himself has lived in Achomawi area practically all his life. Any information obtained from him is specifically credited to him. The same is true of the small amounts of supplementary information derived from Maria Hedricks, a Quincy Mountain Maidu,

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[1] This group refers to itself collectively as čuyumum. Maidu my inf't. translated as "man," Nisenan as "relations" or "all kinds of people." Several words (listed below) in a 30-word vocabulary obtained from each Maidu and Nisenan group visited indicate that the Stanfield Hill

	MM	MF	MV
Star	lɛlum	lülü	lulu
Six	saitcok'om	----	sai·
Fire	sam	šam	sama
Deer	su·mim	sumi	sumi
Mouth	simim	k'umbɔ	kɔmb

dialect affiliates more closely with Nisenan than with Maidu. For this reason Nisenan is used for the Stanfield Hill group.

Loeb notes the dialectic correspondence for the numeral 6, but tentatively classifies the Stanfield Hill group as Yuba R. Maidu because

[footnote continues on p. 50-B]

000 age ca. 80, and Jake Smith of Hornbrook, a western Shasta aged ca. 95. Johnson, Mrs. Hedricks, and Smith were each interviewed for a few hours, but an attempt to cover an entire element list with any one of them did not seem feasible.

ORTHOGRAPHY

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ḏ,	implosive "d"	ɔ,	as in all
ḇ,	implosive "b"	ɛ,	as in met
č,	ch as in charm	ɪ,	as in it
š,	sh as in shall	ü,	unrounded "u"
ŋ,	ng as in sing	·,	denotes length
L,	t followed by voiceless l	'	glottal stop

TRIBAL ABBREVIATIONS

The groups covered in this study are as follows:

Kl	Klamath, of Klamath Marsh
Mo	Modoc, of Tule Lake
SE	Shasta, Eastern, of Shasta Valley
SW	Shasta, Western, of Klamath and Rogue rivers
At	Atsugewi (Hat Creek)
AW	Achomawi, Western (Achomawi proper)
AE	Achomawi, Eastern (Hammawi)
WT	Wintu, Trinity River or Hayfork
WM	Wintu, McCloud River
WS	Wintu, Sacramento River (upper)
MM	Maidu, Mountain (NE), Indian Valley
MF	Maidu, Foothill (NW), Dogwood, Cherokee, Yankee Hill
NF	Nisenan, Foothill, Stanfield Hill or Yuba River
NM	Nisenan, Mountain, northerly
NS	Nisenan, Southern (of mountains)
MV	Maidu, Valley (NW), vicinity of Chico

For each of the groups listed above further localization for the information obtained is indicated in the section "Informants."

For a map of the area surveyed and locations of informants see page vi. Initials on the map correspond to the group abbreviations listed above; the black dots to the location of informants.

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he "believe(s) they referred to themselves as Maidu (people) rather than as Nisenan" (K. Kuksu, 178). As far as concerns his inf'ts. Henry Thomson and George Nigh (ibid., 137), he is probably correct, for neither was born Stanfield Hill. Thomson, the deceased husband of

	NF	NM	NS
	pokelulu	pokelulu	počuko
sokum	tumbo	tumbo	tumbɔ
	sa	ša	sa
	čüp	dupɛ	la·pɛ
ɔ	sɪmi	šim	sɪm

my inf't., was born in Butte Co.; Nigh belongs to the "mt. people," according to my inf't.; this mt. group comprises the people living at Dobbins, 3 mi. beyond Stanfield Hill, above Moorstown, Cherokee, etc." Probably both Thomson's and Nigh's own groups refer to themselves as Maidu.

[50-B]

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2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS LIST

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element affirmed by informant.
−	Element denied by informant.
(+)	Element affirmed, but some doubt concerning it on part of informant or ethnographer.
(−)	Element denied, but with qualifications as in the preceding.
·	Element enquired about, but informant uncertain regarding it.
o	Absent because lacking or impossible in the environment. (Not to be confused with the symbol o preceding an element number, ~~and~~ which is explained below.)
R	Element said to be of comparatively recent introduction.
*	Further information concerning item is contained in the section "Ethnographic Notes on the Element List."
Blank	Element not enquired for by ethnographer.

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The following symbols precede element numbers:

†	For statistical computations, the number or letter entries under this element have been read as plus.
‡	For statistical computations, the element has been broken into two or more (e.g., 1 foot or less; more than 1 foot).
o	For statistical computations, the element has been eliminated.

ELEMENTS	OCCURRENCE																
	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
BASIC ECONOMY																	
Hunting																	
Driving and Pursuing																	
1. Driving game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	224
2. Into enclosure	−	+	−	+	+	−	*+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3. Circular	−		−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	
4. With pit	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	
5. With V-shaped wings	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	*+	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	
*6. Along fence, hunters in pits				*+							+	+	+	−	−	−	
7. Over cliff	−	+	+	−	+	*+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	
*8. Into water or mud	+	+	+	*+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+		−	+	−	(−)	
*9. To or past concealed hunter	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
10. Into trap, net or snare	+	*−	+	*−	*+	*+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	
11. Surround by hunters	*−					+	+	−	−	+	−						
12. Surround by fire	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	
13. Dog used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	[231]
14. Pursuing game	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
15. Wounded animal only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	*+	+	
16. Single hunter	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	
17. Group of hunters	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
18. In relays	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
19. Race: swiftest kills deer	−		+			+	+	−	+	−		·		−	−	+	
20. Shout to frighten quarry	−	+	+								+	·	−	−	−	+	
21. Hunters on snowshoes	+	+	+			+	*+	+	+	+	+	−	o	−	o	o	
22. Dog used	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	[231]
23. Trailing or tracking game	−	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Snares, Nets, Traps																	
24. Fence with nooses in gaps	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	*−	
25. For deer	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
26. For rabbits	*−	*−	−	+	+	−	−	+	o	+	*−	+	−	−	−	−	
27. For quail	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	[223]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
223 28. Noose above trail for deer, elk	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
224 29. Noose on bent sapling	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
30. For deer, other large game	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
31. For small mammals	•–	+	–	+	–	+	•R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
32. For birds	+	–	–	+	•+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
33. Noose on stick, hand held	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	.	+	+	.	+
34. For small mammals	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	.	+	+	.	+
35. For birds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	.	+	–	.	+
36. Cord with suspended nooses	+	+	–			+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	(+)
37. Long vertical net set in straight line	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
38. For deer	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
39. For rabbits	–	+	–	–	+	•+	+	–	o	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
40. For waterfowl	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	•o	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–
41. Set under water	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
42. Set above water	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
43. For land birds	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
44. Vertical net set in circle, no openings	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
45. For deer	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
46. For antelope	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
47. For rabbits, squirrels	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
48. Bag-shaped net	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
49. For small mammals	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
50. For birds	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
51. Woodpecker	–	–	•–	–	•–	–	–	–	+	–	•–	–	•–	–	•–	•–
52. Quail	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
53. Basket trap for birds	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–
54. Figure 4 trigger	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
55. Seed or meal bait	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
56. For woodpeckers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
57. For quail	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
58. For all variety winter birds	–	–		+	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
59. Slat or stick drop-box trap	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	•–	–	–	–
60. Figure-4 trigger	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–
61. Deadfall	–	–	–	+	+	+	R	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
62. Single stone	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–
63. Single log	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
64. Figure-4 trigger	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
65. Stone propped up with acorn	–		–						+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
66. Meat bait	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
67. Seed bait	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
68. For large mammals	–	–	–	+	•+	R	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
69. For small mammals	–	–	–	–	+	•+	R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–
70. For birds	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
71. Pitfall	•+	+	–	•+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
o72. Depth in feet	5	6	–	2	7	8	6	–	–	–	6	6	6	–	–	–
73. Covered with sticks and dirt	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
74. Water in bottom			–				+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
75. Stake in bottom for impalement	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
76. For carnivores	–	+	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
77. For artiodactyls	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
78. For rodents	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Booths and Blinds																
79. Booths and blinds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
80. Natural ambush	+	+	+	•+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
81. Brush fence or enclosure	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
82. Roofed	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
83. Peekhole to shoot, snare through	+	+							+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
84. For game shooting	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
85. Deer	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
86. Birds	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
87. Bird snaring, noose on stick	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
87a. Ambush on watercraft	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
88. On tule balsa	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
89. On dugout, run into tules	+	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
90. On log raft	-	-	-			-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
91. Ambush of plant material	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
92. Stone walls or enclosure, for deer	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	.	-	-	-
93. Hunter concealed in pit	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
94. At moonrise, at deer licks	+	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
Disguises, Decoys																
95. Animal head worn by hunter	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+
96. With horns	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
97. Without horns	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
98. Entire skin worn	+	+	•+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	.	-	-
99. Only horns worn	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	-
100. Hunter walks with two canes	-	-	+						+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
101. Brush worn or carried by hunter	-	-	+	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
102. For deer	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
103. For rodents	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
104. When driving birds toward nets	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
105. Stuffed bird-skin decoy, floating	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
106. Flares, jacklight to attract waterfowl	•+	+	-	-	•+	•-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	-
107. Leaf or grass calls for game	+	.	+	+	-	R	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Imitation of fawn crying	+	+	+	+	+	•R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
109. Whistling with lips for deer	-	•+	+	-	+	R	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
110. For rabbits	-	-	+		-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-		+	-
111. Shouting, for deer	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+		+	+
112. "Honking" so ducks will light	-	+	+			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other Hunting Techniques																
113. Large game shot in water	[illegible]	[illegible]	+			•+		-	.	-	+	.	-	+	-	(-)
114. Bear killed inside den	[illegible]	[illegible]	+			•+	•o				+	+	o	.	-	•-
115. Bear smoked out	[illegible]	[illegible]	±	+	•+	-	o	+	•+	+	+	+	o	.	+	-
116. Dipod at mouth of den	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	o	.	-	-
117. Vertical stakes at mouth of den	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	•+	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	o	.	-	-
118. Rodents smoked out	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
119. Pine needles used for fire	-	+	+	+	+	-	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
120. Fire blown with mouth	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	•-	-	+	+	+	+	+	•-
121. Basket fan used	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
122. Brush fan used	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
123. Feather fan used	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
124. Stick thrust down rodent's hole	-	+	+	-	+	•+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
125. Sharpened	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
126. Hooked stick or gaff	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
127. Rodents drowned out	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
128. Rats' nests burned	-	•+	-	+	.	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
129. Rats' nests prodded with stick	-	-	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
130. Jumped on	-	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
131. Duck fledglings clubbed	+	•+	+								-	+	-	-	.	•-
132. Insects caught	-	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
132a. In trench, pit	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	•+
133. Shaken down from trees, or picked off branches	-	-	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	-
134. Hand-gathered early in morning	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
135. Obtained by burning field	-	-	+	•+	+	-	+	+	•+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
136. "Whipped" into pack basket		+	-	-		•+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-

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2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

Hunting Observances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
224 o137. First kill taboo to youth	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
138. To youth's parents also	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
139. Kill taboo until marriage	–	–	–	–	•–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
140. Youth switched after first kill	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
141. Before he goes to kill first deer	+	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
142. Taboo to voice intent to hunt deer	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
o143. Hunter fasts morning or day of hunt	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	±	–	+
[934] 144. Sexual continence before hunt	–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[276] 145. Tobacco smoked ritually before hunt	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	•+	–	•+
146. Root incense before hunt	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
[783] 147. Weapons smoked over fire	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
148. Hunter smokes self over fire	.	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	•+	–	+	+	+	•–	+	–
149. Root chewed before hunt	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
[515] 150. Sweating before hunt	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
151. With scarification and bleeding	–	+	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
152. Hunter prays while sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	•–	–	•–	–	–	–
153. Shell bead burnt as offering	–										+	+	+	–	–	•–
[515] 154. Bathing before hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
155. Body swabbed with medicine	–	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	+	•+
156. Deer doctor charms game prior to hunt	–	+	+			•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
157. Antelope doctor charms game prior to hunt	–	+	.		o	o	+	–	o	o	o	–	o	–	o	–
158. Ceremony before group hunt	–	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
159. Singing	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Praying	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
161. Dancing	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
162. Hoof rattle	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	+	–
163. Cocoon rattle	–		–		–			–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–
163a. Split-stick rattle	–	–	R	–	–	R		+	–	–	–	–	.	–	.	•+
164. Headdress	–	–	+			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	.	–
165. Conducted by shaman	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
166. Acorn-soup dinner									•+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+
167. Ceremony after hunt	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	.	+	•+	–	+
[782] 168. Offerings made for success of hunt	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•.	•+
168a. Eagle down	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–
168b. Tobacco	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	–
[754] 169. Shaman goes on hunt to charm game	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	•–	+	–
170. Bear spoken to in den or woods	•–	•+	•+	+	•+	•–	o	–	+	.	+	•+	o	.	(–)	•+
171. Addressed by kin term	–	.	+	–	+	–	o	–	–	.	+	+	o	.	(–)	+
172. Apologetic speech after killing	–	–	+	•–	+	–	o	–	+	.	+	+	o	.	–	+
173. Meat eaten in one house	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	–	–	–	+	(+)	o	.	+	–
174. All who eat must wash, be continent	–	+	+	•–							+	+	o	.	+	–
175. Remains in tree or hidden in woods	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	–	–	–	+	–	o	.	–	–
176. Remains burnt	–	–	–			+	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	.	–	+
177. Killing pregnant bear causes death, misfortune	–	.	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	.	+	o	.	–	–
[202] 178. Smoke or fire signals when 2 or more hunt together	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
179. Shouting as signal	–	–							+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
180. To obtain aid in packing kill	+	•+	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+

Butchering of Large Game

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
181. Large game butchered in woods	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	•–	+	+
182. Lying	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
183. Eyes cut out	–	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
184. Given to child to eat raw	–	–	–	•–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
185. Nose cut or tied	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
186. Paunch cleaned, filled with blood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+
187. Carcass packed home whole	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
188. Deer bones, remains hidden in woods	-	+	•+	•+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	-	+
189. Thrown away in woods	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
Fishing																
Nets																
190. Long flat nets	+	+	-	+	+	+	•+	•+	(-)	+	-	-	•-	•+	•+	+
191. Gill net	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	+
192. Seine net	-	-	.	+	+	-	•-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	•+	+
193. Perforated stone sinkers	-	+	.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
194. Grooved stone sinkers	+	+	.	-	+	•-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
195. Wooden floats	-	-	.	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	-	-
196. Tule floats	+	+	.	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
197. Bag net, not dipped or scooped	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
198. Set	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
199. On A-frame	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
200. Tule floats	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
201. Small, dived with	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-
202. Dip or scoop net	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	+
203. On A-frame	•+	•+	+	-	-	•-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+
204. Kite-shaped frame	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
205. Circular mouth, 1 handle	•+	+	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
•206. Bow and arrow type	-	-				•+	•+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	.	+
207. Circular mouth, 2 handles	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
208. On semicircular pole, no other handle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
•209. Rectangular pouch net	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
210. For lampreys also	o	-	+	-	o	-	-	-	o	-	+	+	-	-	.	+
211. Roots put on set lines	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Weirs, Scaffolds, Pens																
212. Straight across stream	•(+)	+	+	+	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
213. Converging	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
214. Diagonal or semicircular	•+	-	-	+		-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
†215. Openings in weir	(3)	1	1	•2	1	•1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
216. Pen with each door	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
217. Door closed by hand	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
218. Net in opening	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
219. Trap in opening	-	-	-			-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
220. Movable weir of willow, etc., woven, dragged	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
221. Men form line across stream	-	+	.	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
•222. Fish driven into weir, net, or trap	(+)	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
223. Platform on weir	•(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+
224. Dipod supports for weir	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
225. Single-post supports for weir	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
226. Scaffold without weir	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
227. Floor or booth on scaffold for harpooning	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
•228. White rocks on bottom to increase visibility	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
•229. Stone pens or dams	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Traps																
230. Long basketry trap, cylindrical	•+	+	+	+	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
231. Conical basketry trap, inner cone	-	-	-	-	+	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
232. Conical, opening at apex	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
•233. Flat, rectangular base trap, open top	-	-	-					+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
234. Fish scooped up in basket	+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	•+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
227 **Angling**																
235. Acute-angled hook, 1 barb	•–	+	•+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–
236. Acute-angled hook, 2 barbs, bilateral	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
237. Gorge	•+	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
238. Meat, grasshopper on line; no hook	–		+	•+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
239. Several hooks on line	•+	+	+	–	+	–	.	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
Harpoons, Spears																
240. Harpoon, detachable point(s)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
241. Single toggle	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
242. Two toggles	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	+
243. Toggle of bone	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	.	+
244. Barbed toggle, three-piece	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	.	+
245. Simple toggle, one-piece	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–
246. Harpoon used infrequently				+	•+	•+	+	–	–	•–	–	–	•+	–	+	–
247. Fish spear, fixed point(s)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	.	.	–	+	–
248. One point	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
249. Two points	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	.	.	.	–	–	–
250. More than two points	+	+	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	.	–	–	–
251. Circular arrangement of points	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	.	–	–	–
252. Points spread by ring	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
253. Wooden point(s)	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	.	.	.	–	+	–
254. Bone point(s)	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	.	–	–	–
255. Flaked stone point(s)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
256. Fish "spear," 1 point fixed, 1 detachable	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
257. Landing gaff	R	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
258. Hooked at end	•R	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
259. Straight stick, pointed end	–	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other Fishing Techniques																
226 260. Fish shot with bow and arrow	–	–	.	•+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–
261. Infrequently	–	–	.	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
262. Fish poisoning with plant substance	–	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	•–	–	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+
263. Fish caught with bare hands	•+	•+	+	–	–	•–	•–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+
264. Flares at night for fish	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
265. Harpooning, dipping fish through ice	•+	+	–	–	+	–	•+	–	o	o	–	–	–	–	–	o
266. Fish killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	+
267. Manufactured club	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	•+	.	.	•+
268. Natural stone	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	–
269. Piece of stick	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	.	–
270. Biting neck of fish	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	–
271. Breaking neck or back	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	.	–
272. Striking head on ground, rock	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	.	.	–
273. Fish creel of basketry	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•(+)	–	–	•+	•+	+	.	•+	–
274. Fish carried on forked stick through gills or jaw	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
275. On string or withe	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	.	–	–
276. Fish carried in fish net, over shoulder												+	+	+	.	+
277. Fish laid head to tail, tied and packed on back	–	–							+	+	–	–	–	.	–	–
Fishing Observances																
[834] 278. Continence before fishing	+	+	•+	•–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–
[784] 279. 1st salmon, other fish taboo to youth	–	•+	+	–	•+	•+	•o	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+
280. 1st trout	+	+	+	–	+	+	o	–	–	–	•+	•–	•–	•+	•+	•+
281. 1st-fish rite or observance	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW'	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	226
282. 1st salmon	•–	•o	•+	•+	•–	•–	•o	•+	•+	•–	•o	•+	•+	•o	•+	•+	
283. 1st sucker	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
284. 1st steelhead trout	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	
285. Taboo to catch salmon before rite	–	o	–	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	–	.	+	o	+	+	[784]
286. Steelhead	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
287. Suckers	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
288. Taboo to eat salmon before rite	–	o	–	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	–	+	+	o	+	+	
289. Steelhead	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
290. Suckers	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
291. Spring of year	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
292. Priest prepares for rite	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	
293. Neighboring tribe holds (salmon) rite	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
294. Old man catches 1st fish	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
295. Anyone may catch 1st fish for rite	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	
296. Anyone may eat 1st fish	–	+	–	•–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
297. First (2) suckers burned	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
298. All of 1st catch eaten immediately	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
299. Punishment for removal of portion	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
300. Taboo against leaving in basket overnight	–								•+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	[784]

Gathering

Gathering Techniques and Observances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW'	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
*300a. Poles, staves for gathering acorns, pine cones	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	222
*300b. Shepherd's crook stave	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	
*301. Forked stick grapple	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
*302. Straight pole	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	
303. Straight pole with cross bar	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
304. Also used for wood gathering	–	–	+								–	+	+	+	–	+	
305. Limbs shaken with hands, feet	–	–	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*306. Sapling as ladder for climbing trees	–	–	+	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
307. Double-pole ladder, buckskin rungs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
308. Digging stick	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
309. Plain, pointed at one end	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	
310. Plain, bipointed	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	\	–	–	
311. Crutch handled	+	+	+	•R	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
312. Seed plants sometimes broken by hand		•+	+	–	+	–	–		+	–	–		–	–	–	–	
313. 1st-fruits rite	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
314. Observed for: acorns	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	–	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	
315. Pine nuts	–	–	–	–	–	–	–						+	–	+	–	
316. Wokus (water lily seeds)	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
317. Ipos bulbs (Calochortus sp.)		+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
318. Manzanita berries						o	o						–	+	+	•o	
319. Annual; observed in	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[221]
320. Springtime	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	
321. Midsummer	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
322. Fall of year	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
‡323. Number of days	10	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	1	1	1	
324. Dancing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	[535]
325. Praying	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[782]
326. Singing	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
326a. Feasting on 1st fruit	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[533]
327. 1st fruit gathered thrown away	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	•+	+	

Preagriculture (Other than Tobacco)

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW'	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
328. Burning for better wild-seed crops	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	•+	•+	•+	.	+	–	241

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

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	Kl	No	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
241 329. Seeds scattered to produce better crop	-	+	+				·+	-	-	-	-	(+)	(+)	·	+	-
312 329a. Irrigation	-	-	-	-	-	·-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·-
Domesticated Animals and Pets																
Dogs																
231 330. Dogs kept	·+	·+	·+	+	·+	·+	·+	+	·+	+	+	·+	·+	-	·+	-
331. By relatively few persons	+	+	+				·+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-
332. Bred	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
333. Bought from other localities	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-
334. Named	+	+	+	·+	+	·	+	·+	+	+	+	·	-	-	-	-
335. Used in hunting	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
336. Trained not to bark	·+	·+	·+				·+	·+	(-)	-	·(+)	-	-	-	-	-
o337. Kept inside dwelling	+	·+	+	-	-	-	-	-	·+	·+	±	+	+	-	-	-
[343] 338. Separate dog house	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
339. Semisubterranean, earth covered	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
340. Domed, thatched	-	-	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
341. Domed, bark covered	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
342. Conical, slab	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
[766] 343. Burned at death, or death of owner	-	+	-	-	·-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	-	-	-
344. Buried	-	-	+	·-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	(-)	-	-	-
345. Body thrown outside	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	(-)	-	-	-
346. Suspended in tree at death of owner	-	-	+	·+	-	-	-	·+	-	-	+	-	(-)	-	-	-
Birds, Bear Cubs, Etc.																
347. Birds kept	·-	-	-	·+	+	-	·+	·+	+	-	-	-	-	-	·+	·-
348. Caged	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
349. Tied up	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
350. Wings plucked or cut	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-
351. Bear cubs kept	·+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
352. Deer fawns kept	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	·-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
353. Small mammals kept	-	·+	·+	+	+	-	-	·+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Food and Its Handling																
Staple Foods																
262 354. Deer staple flesh food	-	-	-	·+	-	-	·+	-	-	·-	+	+	+	+	+	-
355. Fish staple flesh food	·+	+	-	-	+	·+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	·+
356. Deer and fish equally important	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
357. Acorns staple plant food	·o	·o	·+	·+	·+	·+	·o	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+
358. Sunflower seeds	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
359. Ipos or other bulbs	·+	·+	·+	+	·+	·+	·+	·+	-	·-	+	+	+	+	+	+
360. Water lily seeds	+	+	-	-			·+		-	-	-	·-	-	-	-	-
Animals Eaten																
361. Dog eaten habitually	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
[261] 362. Dog eaten during famines, epidemics	·+	-	-	-	·+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
363. Fox	-	·+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
364. Coyote	-	·+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
365. Wolf	-	+	-	-	·+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	o	-	-	-
366. Grizzly bear (Ursus horribilus)	+	·+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	o	o	-	o	-
366a. Brown bear (Ursus americanus)	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	o	-	+	(+)
367. Deer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
368. Elk (wapiti)	+	+	+	+	o	+	o	+	o	+	o	+	o	o	o	+
369. Antelope	+	+	+	+	o	·+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	+
o370. Puma	-	+	-	-	+	·+	+	+	+	+	-	-	(+)	+	-	-

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
371. Wildcat	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	R	+	–	–	–	262
o372. Beaver	•+	+	+	+	o	•+	+	–	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	
o373. Skunk	–	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	
374. Raccoon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
375. Porcupine	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
376. Rabbit	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
377. Badger	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	o	–	o	–	o	o	o	–	
378. Ground hog	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	o	o	–	–	+	+	+	–	
379. Gopher	–	+	–			+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	o	+	+	
380. Mole	–	–	o	+	–	•–	o	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
381. Eagle	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	
382. Owl	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	
383. Crow	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	.	+	–	–	–	o	–	
384. Raven	–	(+)	.	–	+	.	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	.	.	
385. Hawk	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	
386. Swan and crane		+	–			+	+	–	–	–	o	–	o	–	–	+	
387. Pelican	–	•+	–	–	o	+	+	–	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	
388. Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
389. Crawfish	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	o	o	o	–	o	o	–	o	
390. Freshwater mussel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	–	–	o	–	–	
391. Lamprey	–	+	+	–	o	+	o	+	–	–	•+	–	–	o	o	–	
o392. Turtle or tortoise	•–	+	+	–	•–	•+	o	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
393. Snake	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
394. Lizard	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
395. Cricket and grasshopper	–	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	•+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	
396. Caterpillar	–	•+	–	–	.	+	–	+	–	o	+	+	–	–	.	o	
397. Angleworm	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	•–	
398. Ant												•+	–	•+	–	–	
399. Ant eggs	–	+	+			+	+	–	–	o	+	+	–	+	–	–	
400. Yellow-jacket larvae	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	

Foods Taboo to Special Groups

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
401. Deer head or any part of	–	.	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	262
402. Deer heart	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	784
403. Heart-shaped meat in deer ham	–		–	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–		.	•+	–	•–	–	
404. Kneecap fat on deer	–		.	•+	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	
405. Deer fetus	•+	–	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	(+)	•+	•+	•+	•+	
406. Fetuses in general	•+	•.	•.	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
407. Deer fawn	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
408. Deer liver	•–	•–	•–	•–	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	
409. Wild-bird eggs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	
410. Bird eggs aid in human reproduction	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	•+	•+	•+	•–	
411. Ducks' feet		•+	–	•–	•+		•+	•+	–	–	–			–	–		
412. Certain combinations of food taboo	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	.	–	–	.	•+	

Food Preparation

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
413. Bone ground for eating	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	252
414. Fish	+	•.	+	•+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	•–	
415. Deer	•+	•+	–	•–	•+	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	
416. Boiled	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
417. Eaten dry	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
418. Marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
419. Small mammals roasted whole	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
420. Pounded after cooking	–	–	–						+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	
421. Broiling on frame	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
421a. Broiling on single stick	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	
422. Broiling directly on coals	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
423. Blood, lights, etc., cooked in paunch	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
252 424. On coals, in ashes	+	+	−	•+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	(+)	+	−
425. In pit oven	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
•426. Stone boiled	−	−	•+						+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
427. Meat boiled	•−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
428. Rarely	−		+		−						+	−	−	−	+	+
429. Blood boiled	−	+	+				+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
251 430. Mammal meat dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
431. Fish dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
432. Salted for drying	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	+	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	+
433. Drying frame	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	.
434. Four-post frame	•+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
435. Outdoors	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	.
436. Indoors	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
•437. Fish slit, strung on pole to dry	+	+	+								+	+	+	−	+	.
438. Smoke (fire) drying	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+
439. Sun drying	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
440. Dried meat or fish ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440a. Meat	+	+	−	−	+		+	+	−			+	+	+	+	
440b. Immediately before eating, cooking only	+	+	−	−	−		+	+	−			+	+	+	+	
441. Salmon, or other fish	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	(−)	−	−	−	+
441a. Made into meal, stored	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	(−)	−	−	−	+
442. Salmon eggs added	−	−	−	−	−	−	o		+	+		−	−	−	+	−
443. Seeds added	−	−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
444. Fat added	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
445. Bone awl for splitting fish	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	.	−
[343] 446. Special drying house	−	−	−	−	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
447. Thatch	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
448. Bark	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
449. Poles, conical	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
450. Double lean-to	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
252 451. Insects, insect eggs cooked	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	−
452. Parched with coals	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−
453. Baked in earth oven	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
454. Yellow-jacket larvae roasted beside fire	−	.	+						+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
•454a. Vegetable food pounded in mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
455. Acorn meal leached in sand, earth basin	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
456. Basin set in openwork basket	o	o	+			•+	o	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
457. Basin lined with grass or boughs	o	o	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
458. Basin set on sticks, pine needles	o	o	+	+	−	−	o	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
459. Water heated for leaching	o	o	+	+	+	•+	o	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
460. Water dripped through cedar sprigs	o	o					o				+	+	+	+	+	+
461. Acorns buried whole in mud	o	o	+	•+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+
462. Whole acorns not dried, allowed to mold	o	o	−	−	+	−	o	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
463. Acorn bread	o	o	•−	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
464. Earth added	o	o	−	−	+	+	o	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
465. Baked in ashes	o	o	−	−	+	+	o	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
466. Baked in earth oven	o	o	−	−	−	−	o	−	+	+	−	.	−	−	−	−
467. Baked on top of stone or coals	−	−	−	+	−	+	o	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
468. Roots made into bread	•+	•+	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
469. Acorn "biscuits" by chilling gruel in water	o	o	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
470. Stone boiling in baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•470a. Vegetable food ground on stone slab	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
•470b. Vegetable, flesh food pounded on stone slab	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•471. Parching seeds with coals	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+
472. Pounded fruit made into cakes, dried	+	+	[illegible]				+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
•473. Seeds ground or pounded	•+	•+	[illegible]	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
474. Made into mush	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
475. Made into bread	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
252 476. Eaten dry	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	−	+
477. Buckeyes eaten	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
478. Leached	o	o	o	−	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
479. Boiled whole	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	−	−	+	o
480. Earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
481. For flesh food	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
482. For vegetable food	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
483. Food sprinkled with water	−		+	+	−		−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
484. Food covered with leaves or grass	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
485. Water sprinkled into oven after closed up	−	+	−	−	−		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
486. Eggs cooked	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		+			+	+	+
487. Baked in earth oven	+	−	−		−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
488. Baked in hot ashes	−	+	+			−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
489. Stone boiled in basket	−	+	+								+	−	−	+	+	+
272 490. Berry "cider"	+	o	+	+	+	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
491. Sipped with deer tail	−	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−
263 492. Salt obtained in mineral form, dry	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
493. Salt from spring or marsh	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
494. Salt locally	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
[429] 495. Salt imported	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
496. Used little or not at all; disliked	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
497. "Salt" from burning grass	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
498. "Salt" clover eaten fresh	−	+	−					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262 499. Soaproot eaten	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	+	+	−
500. Top eaten	o	o	o	−	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	−	−	+	+	−
501. Root eaten	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	+	−	−
502. Cooked in earth oven	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	−	−	−
[272] 503. Root concoction drunk as medicine	o	o	o	−	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	−	−	.	−	−
[439] 504. Imported if not obtainable locally	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
[515] 505. Soaproot for washing	o	o	o	+	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	R	+
506. Milkweed chewing gum	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[264] 507. Pine pitch chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	o	+	+	+
508. Pine "sugar"	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
509. Honeydew from leaves eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
510. Inner bark of trees eaten.	+	−	+	−	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
511. Mushrooms and fungi eaten											+	+	+			+
512. Fresh or dried											+	+	+			+
Eating Customs																
264 513. Men served before women, if crowd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
[562] 514. All eat out of one basket	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
515. Men each have own basket	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
516. Women also have separate baskets	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
517. Man and wife eat from same basket	+	+	+						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
[855] 518. Children "piece" whenever hungry						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
519. Two main meals daily, usually	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
520. Three main meals daily	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−		−	−	−	−	−	+
[574] 521. Meal whenever visitor arrives	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[515] 522. Hands washed after eating deer, bear meat	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
523. Men's rule only	−	−	−			−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−
524. Wipe face, hands with grass, bark after eating	+	+	+						+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Storage of Food																
251 525. Outdoor granaries	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
526. Against tree	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
527. In burnt tree stump	−		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
528. On platform in tree; covered	−	+	+			+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
529. Thatched	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	251
530. Roughly coiled, in shape tubular bin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
531. Posts set upright in ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	(-)	+	•+	•+	•+	
532. Goods wrapped, hung from branch of tree	-	-	+				•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
533. Storage in pit outside	•(+)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	
534. Storage indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
534a. In baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
535. In twined tule "sacks"	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
536. Vegetable foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
537. Dried meat, salted or plain	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
538. Dried fish or salmon flour	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	
539. Storage in pit inside sweat house	-					•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Exchange of Food																	
540. Food sold	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	•+	262
541. Traded or borrowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	437
542. Mainly in time of famine	-	+	-	-	-	-	•-	+	-	-	+	+		+	+	-	
543. Mainly in winter, early spring	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
544. Game divided	(+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	224
545. Killer gets most or certain parts	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	
546. Meat equally divided among hunters	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
547. Large game divided among whole camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Ownership of Productive Areas																	
548. Fishing places privately owned	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	-	423
549. Fishing places jointly owned, owners unrelated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	226
550. Fishing places owned by village group	+	+	-	-		•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
551. Anyone may take some of owner's catch	-	-	-						+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
552. Fishing places rented for share of catch	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	.	-	
553. Fish weir privately owned	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	423
554. Hunting land or spots privately owned	-	-	+	•-	-	•-	•-	-	+	-	+	-	-	•+	+	-	[224]
555. Seed tracts privately owned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
556. Seed tracts owned by village group		+				+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
557. Trees privately owned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
558. Trees owned by village group	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
559. Trees claimed for single season only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
560. Only trees distant from village	-	-	-						+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
561. Tribal or group boundaries marked by topographic features	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
562. Tobacco plot privately owned	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	[276]
563. Land for single season only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
564. Tobacco plot owned by village	-	-	-			-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
565. Village site owned by group	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[361]
Division of Labor																	
Subsistence Pursuits																	
566. Hunting: men only	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
567. Rat and mouse catching: men and women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	[224]
568. Men	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	
569. Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
570. Gathering insects, grubs: men and women	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	[222]
571. Men	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	
572. Women	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
573. Fishing: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[226]
574. Men only net, spear fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	
575. Women use basket to catch fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	

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Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
576. Acorn gathering: men and women	•o	•o	+	+	-	•-	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
577. Men, youths climb trees	o	o	+	+	-	-	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[222]
578. Women gather, transport acorns	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
579. Pine-nut gathering: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
580. Men climb trees, knock down cones	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
581. Men and women gather cones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
582. Women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	
583. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
584. Men and women transport cones	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
585. Women only	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	
586. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
587. Men and women prepare pine nuts	-	.	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
588. Men only	+	.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
589. Women only	-	.	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	
590. Gathering of small seeds: women only	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(-)	+	+	
591. Cooking: men and women	+	+	-						+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	
592. Women prepare, cook plant foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
593. Men only, cook meat	-	+	-						-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	-	
594. Women only, cook meat	-	-	+						-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	
595. Men and women cook meat	+	-	-						•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
596. Carrying water near camp: men and women	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[312]
597. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
598. Women only	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	
599. Carrying water long distance: men and women.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
600. Men only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	
601. Women only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
602. Fire making: men and women	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[372]
603. Men only	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
604. Wood gathering: "kindling" wood, men and women	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
605. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	[313]
606. Women only	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	
607. Wood gathering: large logs, men and women	-	-	+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
608. Men only	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
609. Women only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Manufacturing Activities

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
610. Baskets: women only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
611. Skin, feather blankets: men and women make	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[291]
612. Men only or chiefly	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	(-)	+	+	-	+	
613. Women only or chiefly	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	[237]
614. Nets: men only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[284]
615. Cord: men and women make	+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
616. Men, generally	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[283]
617. Skin tanning: men and women	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[281]
618. Men only	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
619. Women only	+	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
620. Clothing: men and women make	-	-	+	•+	-	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	[294]
621. Men only	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	-	-	
622. Women only	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	
623. Moccasins: men and women make	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
624. Men only	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	
625. Women only	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
626. Fish traps: men make	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	[227]
627. Women	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	
628. Winter house: men and women build	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[342]
629. Men only	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
630. Summer house: men and women build	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
631. Men only	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	
632. Women only	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

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HOUSES AND SHELTERS

Assembly and Living Houses*

342 Semisubterranean Earth Lodge

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
633. Semisubterranean earth lodge	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
634. Circular ground plan	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
635. Elliptical ground plan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-
636. Rectangular ground plan	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
637. Trapezoidal ground plan	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
638. 1-pitch roof	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
639. 2 ridgepoles	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
640. Hip-roof, rectangular type	+	+	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	(+)	-
641. Hip-roof, conical type	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
642. Conical roof	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	-	-
643. Multipole foundation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
644. 4-pole foundation	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
645. 3-pole foundation	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
646. Center pole as foundation								+	-	•+	-	+	+	-	-	-
646a. Domed roof	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
647. Center posts	+	-	+	-	+	•+	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
648. 1	-	-	•+	-	+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
649. 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
650. 4	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-
651. Medial posts	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-
652. Side posts	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	•+	(-)	-	-	-
653. End posts	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	+	-	•+	-	•+	-	(-)	-	-	-
654. 4 corner posts	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+
655. Slope inward	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
656. Vertical walls	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	+	.	.	.
657. Entire floor excavated	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
658. 1-2 ft.	+	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	+	-	-
658a. 3-5 ft.	-	+	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	-	+	-	+	+
659. Plank covering	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	(+)	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
660. Planks vertical	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
661. Planks slope inward	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
662. Bark or slab covering	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	-	•+	•+	+	-	+	+	-	•+
663. Pole or bough covering	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	•+	•+	-	+	-	-	+	-
664. Thatch covering	+	+	-	-	-	•+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
664a. Pine-needle covering	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	+	.
665. Mat covering	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
666. Earth all over	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
667. Earth partial	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
668. Main entry: ground level	-	-	+	+	-	•+	-	-	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+
669. "Porch"	-	-	+	•-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
670. Flush	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
671. Oriented: E, SE	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	+	+
672. Oriented: S	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
673. Oriented: W	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+
674. In end of house	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	•+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-
675. In side of house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+
676. Rectangular	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
677. Converging toward top	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	(-)	+
678. Domed	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
679. Hide door	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
680. Mat door	-	-	+	+	•-	-	-	-	•-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	•+
681. Bark, brush, or slab door	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•-	•+	+	+	-	+	-
682. Main entry: roof	+	+	-	-	•+	•+	+	+	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	+	•+
683. Smoke hole	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
684. Separate hole	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	342
685. Hole rectangular or square	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	
685a. Secondary entry	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	(-)	·+	·+	·+	·(+)	-	-	+	·+	
686. Ground level	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	
687. Side or end of house	-	-	-	+	·+	·+	·+	(-)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	
688. For children	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	(-)	-	·+	+	-	-	-	-	+	
689. For deer, wood	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	·+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	
690. Draft hole	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
691. Smoke hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	-	
692. Ceremonial use only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
693. Single fireplace	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	
694. Center of house	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	·+	·+	-	-	+	+	+	+	
695. Between center and door	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	
696. Between draft hole and center post	-	-	-	-	+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
697. Beside main (ground) entrance	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-	-	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
698. On surface or in shallow depression	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	·+	+	+	-	+	+	+	·+	
699. In definite pit	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	·+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
700. Cooking fire outside dwelling	+	+	·+	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
701. Smoke hole	·+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
702. Draft hole in rear of house	-	-	-	+	+	·+	+	-	·+	·+	·+	·	-	-	-	·+	
703. House ladder	+	+	-	·-	+	·+	+	+	·-	·+	·+	·+	-	-	·-	·+	
704. Notched plank or log	-	-	-	·-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	
705. 2 poles, rungs tied between	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	
706. Center post as ladder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	·+	+	-	-	-	-	
707. Crosspieces lashed on	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
708. Interior wall coverings	-	-	-		+	·+	+		·+	·+	+	+	-	-	-	+	
709. Tule mats	-	-	-		-	·+	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
710. Hides	-	-	-		+	-	+		-	-	+	(+)	-	-	-	-	
711. Bark slabs to bank walls	-	-	-		-	-	-		·-	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	
712. Planks to bank walls	-	-	-		-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
713. Bed scaffolds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	
714. Floor coverings and pallets	+	+	+	·(-)	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
715. Mats	+	+	+	(-)	+	·+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	
716. Loose grass or boughs	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
717. Pine-needle pallet	+	+	-			·+	-	-	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
718. Wooden stool	-	-	-	·(+)	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
719. Individually owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	·	·+	[423]
720. Chief nominal owner	-	+	+	+	+	·+	+	-	+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	·	-	
721. Rich man	+	+	-	+	+	·+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	
722. Shaman	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
722a. Communally owned	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	·	·+	
723. Used as living house	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	-	·+	·+	+	+	·+	-	-	·+	
724. 1-family	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	
725. Multifamily	+	+	+	-	+	·+	·+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	
726. To sleep in, only	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
727. For sleeping, cooking	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	·+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	
728. Serves as sweat house	-	(+)	+	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	·-	·+	·+	·+	+	+	-	-	
729. Serves as assembly house	+	+	+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	+	·+	[562]
730. Open to both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	·+	+	+	+	+	-	-	
731. Open to men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	·+	-	-	-	-	+	+	
732. Women admitted only during ceremonies	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	[756]
733. Used for shamanistic activities	·+	·+	·+	·+	(-)	(-)	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	
733a. Winter use mainly	+	+	·+	-	+	-	·+	-	-	·+	+	·+	-	-	-	·+	[221]
734. Summer use mainly	-	-	-	-	·-	-	-	-	-	-	·-	·+	-	-	-	-	
735. Used throughout year	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	·+	-	-	+	+	+	·+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

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Domed Living House

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
736. Domed living house	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-
737. Elliptical ground plan	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
738. Circular ground plan	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
739. Domed roof	+	+	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
740. Pole or bough covering	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
741. Thatch covering	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
742. Mat covering	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
743. Earth covering partial	+	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
744. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
745. Oriented: E, SE	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
746. In end of house	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
747. In side of house	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
748. Rectangular	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
749. Domed	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
750. Mat door covering	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
751. Entire floor excavated	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[354] 751a. Single fireplace	•+	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
751b. Used as living house	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
752. 1-family	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
752a. Multifamily	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[252] 753. Used as cook house only	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Conical Hut and Lean-tos

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
754. Conical hut	-	-	(•+)	-	•-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+
754a. Bark covered	-	-	(•+)	-	-	•+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
755. Thatch covered	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
756. Mat covered	-	-	(-)	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
756a. 4-pole foundation	-	-	(•+)	-	-	•+	•+	+		+	-	-	-	-	+	-
757. Doorway flush	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	•+	+
757a. Doorway projecting	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-
757b. Oriented E, SE	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-
758. Living house	-	-	(+)	-	-	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
758a. Multifamily	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
758b. Used throughout year	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
758c. Used in winter	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
759. Used in summer	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
[252] 759a. Summer cook house	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
760. Single lean-to	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•-	-	-	-	-	-
761. Back wall	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
762. Lacking back wall	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
763. Double lean-to	-	-	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
763a. Lean-tos: plank covered	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
763b. Lean-tos: bark covered	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
764. Lean-tos: brush covered	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
765. Lean-tos: mat covered	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Sweat Houses and Sweating Customs

Earth-covered Sweat House

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
766. Earth-covered sweat house	•+	•+	(-)	•+	•+	•-	•-	•+	•+	•-	•-	-	•+	•-	-	•+
766a. Elliptical ground plan	+	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-
766b. Single ridgepole	+	+	-	+		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-
766c. Excavated	•+	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	•+
766d. Board floor	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
767. Pole, bough, or thatch covering	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
767a. Bark or slab covering	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	PM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
767b. Earth covering partial	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	343
768. Earth covering all over	·+	+	–	·+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
768a. Main entrance through roof	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
768b. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
768c. Flush	+	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
768d. In end of house	+	+	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
768e. Secondary entrance at ground level	–	–	–	·+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
769. Sliding wooden door	·–	·–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
769a. Stone paved "porch"	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
769b. Steam or hot-rock heat	·+	·(+)	–	–	–	–	·–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
770. Direct-fire heat	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	·+	·+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
770a. Small, for 1-4 persons	·+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
770b. Large, for group	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+	
770c. Used throughout year	·+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	·+	–	–	+	
771. Used in winter only	·+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
772. Used by both sexes	+	+	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[562]
773. Used by men only	–	–	–	·+	(+)	–	–	+	·–	·–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
774. Used by mourners only	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
775. Communally owned	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	+	–	–		
Plains-Type Sweat House																	
776. Plains-type sweat house	·+	·+	·+	·+	·R	·R	·+	(–)	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	·+	–	
777. Dome shaped	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
778. Mat covered	+	+	·+	+	R	–	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
778a. Hide covered	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
779. Brush, bough covered	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	(–)	·+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	
780. Small, for 1-3 persons	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	
781. Steam heat	+	+	+	·+	R	R	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	
782. Used throughout year	–	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)		–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
783. Used in summer only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Sweating Customs																	
784. Individual sweating	·+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	+	–	515
785. Sweating in groups of 2-4, or larger	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	–	+	
786. Women sometimes sweat with men	+	+	+	·+	·R	·+	·+	–	–	·+	+	+	·+	+	–	–	[522]
787. Women sometimes sweat separately	+	+	+	+	R	+	·+	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
788. Sweating daily or every 2-3 days	+	–	–	·+	+	R	·–	–	·+	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	
789. Sweaters sit or crouch	+	+	·+	+	+	R	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
790. Sweaters lie down	·+	·+	–	–	·+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	
791. Sweaters "dance around"	–	–	·+	·+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
792. Formalized sweat dance	–	–				–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	·(+)	[535]
793. Sweaters kneel	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
794. All men sleep in sweat house occasionally	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	·+	+	–	–	[513]
795. Male mourners sleep in sweat house	·+	·+		–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
796. Unmarried old men sleep, eat in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	·+	·–	–	+	
797. Men gamble in sweat house	–	–	–	·–	–	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	–	·–	·–	
798. Men work (handicrafts) in sweat house	–	–	+	–	–	·+	·+	·–	–	+	+	+	·+	–	·–	·–	
799. Youths gather fuel for sweating	–	–		+		·+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	·–	–	·–	[312]
800. Office of fire maker	–	·–	·+	·+	–	–	–	+	·+	·R	–	·	·+	+	·+	·+	
801. Competitive sweat groups	–	–	–	·+	–	·–	–	–	–	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	[372]
802. All sweators sing	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	[533]
803. 1 man sings for group	–	–				–	–	·(+)	·+	·+	–	+	·+	–	–	–	
804. Sweat for success in hunting	+	·+	·+	·+	+	–	+	–	·+	·+	–	+	·	–	–	–	[224]
805. Sweat for success in gambling	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	·	–	–	–	[525]
806. Sweat for general good luck	+	+		+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	[777]
807. Sweat as cure for disease	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	·+	–	–	·	+	+	–	
808. Scarify selves, let blood drip on hot rocks	–	+	+	·+				–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[757]
809. Sweat to cleanse body	–	–	+	+		+	·+	–	·+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	[304]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
515	810. Pray or wish while sweating	·+	·+	·(+)	+	R	·R	·+	+	·+	·+	+	(+)	–	–	–	–
782	811. Cold bath follows sweat	+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	+	(–)	+	+	–	+
	House Furnishings and Arrangement																
281	812. Blankets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	813. Elk and deerskin	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
513	814. Painted hides for fine blankets	–	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–
	815. Woven rabbitskin blankets	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	816. Patchwork skin blankets	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	817. Deerskin	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	818. Coyote skin	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
	819. Wildcat skin	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	820. Raccoon skin	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	821. Rabbitskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
	822. Blue-fox skin	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–
[429]	823. Buffalo hides, imported for blankets	–		+	+	·+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[237]	824. Feather blankets	+	·+	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	·+
	825. Loose tule, grass blanket covering	+	+	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	826. Pillows	+	+	+	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.
	827. Individual wooden pillow	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
	828. Pole pillow	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.
	829. Piece of wood or rock	+	–	–		–	–			+	+	+	.	–	–	+	.
	830. Rolled skin	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.
	831. Rolled tule mat	–	–	+	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
	832. Leaf or grass pillow	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.
584	833. Pine needles heaped up for pillow	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	–	(–)	+	–	–	–	.
	†834. Wooden foot drum	–	–	·R	–	–	–	–	–	·R	·R	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+
	†835. Hollow half log	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	+	.	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
	†836. In line with door	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
	†837. Over hole in ground	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	.	+
	†838. Post before drum	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	.	–	–	–	+
361	†838a. Houses in rows	–	–	–	–	–	·+	–	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	†838b. Houses in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	.	–	·+
	Shelters																
	Brush Enclosures and Shades																
417	839. Roofless circular brush enclosure	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
	840. Large, used for ceremonies	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
[574]	841. As camping place for visitors	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–
[764]	842. At cemeteries only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	+	+
	843. Fire in center	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
	844. Opening(s) oriented	–	·+	·+	·+	·+	–	·+	·+	·+	·+	–	·+	–	–	.	·+
	845. Same, but smaller, for summer shelter	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
	846. Partly roofed over	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
	847. Roofed circular brush enclosure	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	848. Shades	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	–	+	+	–	·+
	849. Horizontal roof	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
	850. Sloping roof	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
	851. 4 supporting posts	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
	852. 3 side walls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	853. Brush heaped around pit mortars, for shade	–	–	–		–	–	–		–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–
	854. Conical bark grinding house, 2 families	–	–	–		+	·+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Menstrual Huts																
343	855. Menstrual hut	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+
841	856. Similar to living house, but smaller	–	–	–	·+	–	+	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	·+	·+	+	–

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
857. Cook house used as menstrual hut	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	343 841

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

Boats and Ferriage

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
858. Dugout canoe	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•o	–	+	+	+	+	•o	•o	–	–	501
859. Sharp prow and stern	–	–	–	+	•+	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
860. Shovel prow and stern	+	+	+	–	–	+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
861. Carved gunwale, turned in	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
862. Ends rounded	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
863. Carved in seat	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
864. Carved in footbraces	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
865. Manufactured	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
866. Hollowed by burning	+	+	–	+	+	•+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
867. Commonly and frequently used	+	+	–	–	(+)	+	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
868. Log raft	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	o	+	+	
869. Used to transport goods only	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	+	o	–	–	
870. Tule balsa	–	–	+	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
871. Raised prow	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o872. Length in feet	–	–	15	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o873. Maximum number of passengers	–	–	2	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
874. Bundles lashed together	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
875. Towed by rope	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
876. Propelled with paddle	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
877. Tule raft	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o878. Length in feet	–	10	–	•6	–	–	8	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
‡879. Maximum number of passengers	5	.	–	2	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
880. Bundles lashed together	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
881. Bundles pinned together	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
882. Towed by rope	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
883. Poled	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
884. Paddled with hands	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
885. Single-bladed paddle	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
886. Blade end convex	+	+	.	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
887. Blade end squared	–	–	.	–	+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
888. Blade end pointed	+	+	.	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
‡889. Length in feet	4	4	5	–	3	•5	–	–	5	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
890. Poling rod	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
891. Plain or pointed end	–	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
892. Split base	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
893. Basket bailer	•+	•+	–	+	+	•–	–	–	+	+	.	–	o	o	–	–	
894. Grooved stone anchor	–	•–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	o	o	–	–	[465]
895. Boatman must ferry traveler free of charge	+	•+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	.	o	o	–	–	
896. Ferriage in baskets	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	
897. Children	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	[855]
898. Goods	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	
899. Ferriage by swimmers	+	+	+							+	+	+	+	o	+	+	481
900. Children ferried on swimmer's back	.	+	–							+	+	+	+	o	+	–	482
901. Swimmer lies on tule float; children cling to float	+	+	+								–	–	–	o	–	–	
902. Swimmer holds goods above water in 1 hand, swims with other	+	+	–					+		+	+	–	+	o	+	+	491
903. Bridges	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	o	o	+	+	
904. Single-log bridge	–	•+	+	–	+	•–	–	+	–	–	+	–	o	o	+	+	
905. 2 poles tied together	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
906. Several poles, spliced at end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	o	o	–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Swimming																
481 907. Pseudo breast stroke, arms and legs together	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	o	·	+
908. Side stroke	–	–	–	–	–		+	·+	–	+	+	+	·+	o	·	·
909. Dog fashion, arms under water	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	·+	·+	o	·	+
910. Double overhand, arms moving alternately	–	+	·	·+	–	+	–	·+	–	–	+	–	(+)	o	·	·
911. On back, frog stroke	·	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	o	+	+
912. Under water	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+
913. Jump in water, feet first	–	–						·+	·+	·+	+	–	–	o	–	+
914. Diving, head first	+	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	+	o	+	+
Land Transport																
Carrying Devices																
482 915. Pack strap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	+
916. Plain, of hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	–
917. Woven or braided pack strap	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·	–	+
918. Of 2-ply materials	+	–	·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·	–	+
919. Ends braided, narrower than rest	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·	–	+
920. Made from vegetable fiber	+	–	·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·	–	+
921. Pack strap of twisted rope	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
922. Root or bark headband for packing	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
923. Basketry hat for packing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
924. Net carrying bag or "sack"	–	·+	–	·–	·+	·+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	·	–
925. Small mesh	–	+	–	–	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	·	–
926. Approximately trapezoidal in shape	–	+	–	–	·+	+	(+)	+	·–	·–	+	·	–	–	·	–
927. Cased hide bag (exclusive of quivers)	–	+	+	+	+	–	·+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
415 928. Folded hide bag	·+	·+	–	–	·+	·+	·+	–	–	+	–	·+	·+	·+	–	·+
482 929. Buckskin	–	–	–	–	+	·+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
930. Rawhide	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
931. Sewn at edges	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
932. Tied at corners	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
933. Pinned together with stick	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
934. Opens at side	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	(+)	–	–	–	–
935. Opens at top		+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–		+	+	–	–
936. Load rolled up in mat	+	+	–		+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
937. Load rolled in hide	–		–					+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
938. Back carrier of hide on frame	–	–	–	(+)	–	·+	–	–	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–
939. Conical hide container used for back packing	–	·+	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
940. Pack basket (details under Basketry)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
941. Baby cradles (details under Basketry)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482 942. Litter	·	+	+	+	·	+	R	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+
943. Net or thongs bound to pole framework	·	+	+	+	–	+	R	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
944. Large skin used as litter													+	+		·
[493] 945. Sled	·+	·+	–	·–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	–	–	o
Methods of Packing																
946. Pack strap spreads over top of head	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
947. Pack strap spreads over forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
948. Pack strap spreads across chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
949. Women only use strap on head, forehead	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
950. Men, women use strap on head, forehead	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
951. Men only use strap across chest	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
952. Men, women use strap across chest	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	·+	+	–	–	+
[758] 953. Sick carried on litter	·	+	+	+	–	·+	R	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
954. Double, load between 2 or 4	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
955. Sick packed on back	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
956. Atop load	.	+	+			+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	482
957. In pack basket	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[758]
958. Loads carried on head	•+	•+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	(•+)	
959. Grass, tule, or bark ring	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	
960. Hands support load	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	(+)	
961. Liquids	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	
962. Loads carried on shoulder	+	+	−	−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	R	+	R	
963. Load suspended from pole, man at each end											•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
964. Liquids carried waiter style on upturned palm.	−	+	+	•−	•+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

Bows

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
965. Self bow	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	.		+	+	411
966. For rough or occasional use only	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	.		+	+	
967. Sinew-backed wooden bow	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
968. Made locally	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	−	
969. Imported	•+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	•−	+	.	−	−	−	[439]
970. Bow wood from N (shady) side of tree	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	−	.	−	
971. Recurved tips	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	+	−	
972. Middle recurve	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	+	−	
973. Slight	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	.	+	−	
974. Pronounced	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	
975. Constricted grip	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	+	
976. Sinew bowstring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
977. 2-ply	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
978. 1-ply, fine strands glued together	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
979. Vegetable-fiber bowstring	−	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	.	+	
980. Gut bowstring	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
980a. Hide-thong bowstring	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
981. Design(s) painted on bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	.	+	
982. Wristguard on left arm	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	+	

Arrows

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
983. Arrowheads of flaked stone	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
984. Stemmed, no definite barbs	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+	+	.
985. Concave base, notch in each side	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	•+	+	−	.	−	−	+	.
986. Concave base, no notches	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	.
987. Barbed and stemmed	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	•+	−	+	.	−	−	−	.
988. Toothed edges	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	.
989. Ground stone arrowheads	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	.	.
990. Bone arrowheads	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−
991. Awl-shaped	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−
992. Stemmed, no barbs		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
993. Barbed	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
994. Solid wooden shaft	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+
995. Cane shaft	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	−	.
996. Used for ducks	+	+				+	+	−	o	o	o	−	−	−	−	.
997. Single shaft, no head	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
998. Sharp	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
999. Blunt	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1000. For birds, squirrels, etc.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1001. For fish	−	−	−	+	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1002. Foreshaft, no other head	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	(+)	+	•+	+	+
1003. Foreshaft plus head	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
491 1004. Head, minus foreshaft	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	·	−	·
1005. Bird arrow with cross-stick tip	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	·	+	+	·	·
1006. Bird arrow, wrapped tip	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	·	−	·	−	·
†1007. Feathering tangential	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	·	·
1008. Feathering radial, 3 vanes	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+
1009. Spiraled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	·	−
[530] 1010. Arrows painted	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·	+
[424] 1011. For identification	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	·	−	+	+	−	−	·	·
1012. Pyrographic ornament	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	·
1013. Arrows grooved	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	(+)	·	·	·	·
[278] 1014. Arrow poison	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	·	−	+	−	−	·	+	+
1015. Liver or gall	·+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	·	·+	·
1016. Snake venom	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	·	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
1017. Red ants	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	·
1018. Flint from certain places poisonous	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	·	·	·	·	·
1019. Flint of certain varieties poisonous	−	+	+			·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	·	·

Arrow Straighteners and Smoothers

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1020. Abrasive stone smoother	+	+	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	+	·+	·+	·	·	−	+	+
1021. 1-piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	·	·	−	−	−
1022. 2-piece	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	·	·	−	+	+
1023. Longitudinal groove	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	·	·	−	+	+
1024. Made purposely			·				−	+	−	−	+	·	·	−	+	+
1025. Natural, worn down			·				+	−	+	+	−	·	·	−	−	−
1026. Scouring rush for smoothing	−	+	·	+	·	o	o	+	−	o	−	·	·	−	−	−
1027. 1-piece stone straightener	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1028. Transverse groove(s)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1029. Perforated straightener or wrench	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	·	·	−	·	−
1030. Of horn	−	−	·	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	·	·	−	·	−
1031. Of stone	−		·	+	·+	+	+	−	·+	−	+	·	·	−	·	−
1032. Of wood	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	·	·	−	·	−
1033. Forked wooden straightener	−	+	·	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	·	·	−	·	−
1034. Arrows warmed before straightening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1035. Straightened in hot ashes	−		+								−	+	+	+	·	+
1036. Straightening with hands and teeth	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1037. Straightening over knee	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	·	·	−	+	+
1038. Arrows	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	·	−	−	+
1039. Spear poles	+	+	+							+	+	·	·	−	+	+

Shooting Techniques

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1040. Primary arrow release	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	−	+	+	+
1041. Tertiary arrow release	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1042. Mediterranean arrow release	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−
1043. Bow held horizontally	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1044. Bow held at 45° angle from horizontal	·+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1045. Bow held vertically	−	−	+	−	−	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1046. Arrow to right of bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1047. Arrow to left of bow	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1048. Arrow rests on top of bow	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	·	+

Quivers

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
415 1049. Cased rawhide, fur left on	+	+	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1050. Buckskin, sewn	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1051. Bark	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1052. Twined tule	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1053. Carried on back	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1054. Carried at side under arm	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
Clubs																	
1055. Stone clubs	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	411
1056. "Slave killer" (animal figure)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1057. Paddle-shaped	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[532]
1058. Imported		.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1059. Natural cobblestone, cylindrical	-	-	-						+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1060. Wooden clubs	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
1061. Natural limb	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
1062. Used in brawls or to kill salmon only	+	+							+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1063. Ball- or knob-ended	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[illegible]	-	+	
1064. Stone or horn spike insert	-	°+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1065. Straight rabbit club	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	
1066. Stone head encased in buckskin	-	(+)	.	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Fighting Spears																	
1067. Spear used in war	°R	+	+	-	°-	°-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	[726]
1068. Thrust mainly	(+)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	
1069. Flaked stone point	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	
1070. Bone or horn point	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Daggers, Slings, Bola																	
1071. Obsidian knife or dagger	+	+	+	+	+	°+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1072. Center section buckskin-wrapped	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1073. Hafted wooden handle	-	-	-	-				+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
1073a. Bone dagger, awl-shaped	-	-	-					°+	°+	°+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1074. Sling	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	
1075. Used for war	-	+	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	
1076. Used for hunting	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1077. Used as toy	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	
1078. Clay shot	-	°+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1079. Rocks for shot	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	
1080. Bola	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	°+	°+		.	
Armor																	
1081. Rod jacket	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	714
1082. Hide tunic, no rods	°+	+	+	-	+	+	°-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
1083. Hide helmet	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1084. Circular rod shield		-				°+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1084a. Hide curtain as shield	-	+	(+)	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Household Implements																	
Mortars and Pestles																	
1085. Bedrock mortar	-	-	-	-	-	°+	°-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	°o	412
1086. Portable stone mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1087. Outside rough hewn	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1088. Outside shaped and smoothed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1089. Found locally, used commonly	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	
1090. Found locally, not used for grinding food	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	°+	
1091. Found locally, used by shaman	-	(+)	+	°+	-	°+	-	-	-	-	°+	-	-	-	-	-	[756]
1092. Regarded as animate object	-	-	+	+		+	-	-						-	-	°-	[774]
1093. Regarded as dangerous or poisonous	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	°+	-	°+	+	.	-	-	-	°+	
1094. Made by myth character	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	°+	.	-	-	-	-	°+	[773]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
412 1095. Made by recent humans	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	-
1096. Made locally	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1097. Wooden mortar	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	*+	-	+
1098. Shallow, in side of log	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+
1099. Deep, in end of log	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
*1100. Pounding slab	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+
1101. Stone	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1102. Wood	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
285 1103. Hopper basket	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
1104. Twined	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
1105. Made for purpose	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
1106. Old basket adapted	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-
412 1107. Stone pestle	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1108. Natural cobble	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1109. Cylindrical	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1110. Tapering	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
1111. Maul-shaped	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1112. Flanged	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1113. At top	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1114. At bottom	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1115. Long, slender for deep wood mortar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1116. Made	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
1117. Found	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1118. Wooden pestle	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1119. Metate or grinding slab	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	*+	-
1120. Natural, oval	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	+	-
1121. Squared on 4 sides	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-
1122. Smooth (used) on 1 side only	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
1123. Muller	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
1124. Natural, oval	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1125. Made, square	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1126. Made, rectangular	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	*+	-	-	*+	-
1127. Made, conical (1 horn)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1128. Made, 2-horned	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1129. Hammerstone and anvil	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1130. Hollowed anvil, for cracking acorns	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1131. Small natural rock used as anvil	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
*1132. "Green" acorns cracked with teeth	-	-	+					*-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
Brushes																
*1133. Soaproot	-	-	.	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1134. Cylindrical, bunched	-	-	.	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1135. Flat, like modern broom	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1136. Used for mealing	-	-	.	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1137. Porcupine quills glued together			-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
1138. Used for mealing			-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1139. Twigs or brush, bunched	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1140. Used for mealing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1141. Used for mashing wild fruit	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1142. Used for sweeping	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1143. Bird wing	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1144. Used for mealing	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1145. Used for sweeping	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stirrers, Stone Lifters																
o1146. Wooden paddle mush stirrer	-	-	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	(-)	-	+	+	+	+
1147. Carved	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1148. Plain	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1149. Also used to remove stones from basket	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+ 412
1150. 2 paddles	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1151. 1 paddle plus hand	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1152. Single stick used as stirrer	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
1153. 2 sticks (loose) for stone tongs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1154. Used to remove stones from basket	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1155. Used to remove stones from fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1155a. Split-stick stone tongs	−	−	−	−	(+)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Spoons

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1156. Horn spoon	•−	+	.	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	− 415
1157. Carved handle	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1158. Horn dipper	−	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1159. Wooden spoon	+	+	.	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1160. Carved handle	.	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1161. Wooden ladle	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1162. Bone spoon	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1163. Deer skull as spoon or dipper	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1164. Fawn forehead, carved	−	−	+					−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1165. Rodent scapula	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1166. Breast bone of duck, swan	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1167. Fish bone	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1168. Shell spoon	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1169. Ocean mussel shells, imported	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−							+
1170. Freshwater mussels	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1171. Used by men and women	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1172. Spatula for eating	−	+	.	−	−	•+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1173. Bone	−	+	.	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1174. Wood	−	+	.	−	−	+	+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1175. Deer tail for sipping fruit ciders	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−
1176. Handled basketry dipper	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
1177. Small basket, no handle, for dipper					•−	•−	•−					+	+	+	+	+

Knives

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1178. Stone, retouched; used for butchering	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ 412
1179. Obsidian	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	+
1180. Quartz											−	−	−	.	•+	−
1181. Buckskin wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
1182. Sinew wrapped	−		−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1183. Wooden handle	−	+	−	•−	+	−	+	•−	•−	•−	+	+	−	+	−	+
1184. Horn handle	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1185. Bone handle	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1186. Stone; split cobble or rough core	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	.	+	+
1187. Bone or horn knife	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1188. Horn knife used for butchering	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1189. Beaver tooth engraver	−	(−)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Manufacturing Implements

Awls

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1190. Bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1191. Upper foreleg of deer	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−
1192. Deer ulna	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	.	+	+	+	+	+
1193. Coyote, porcupine, etc., bone							+	−	−	•+	.	−	−	−	−	−
1194. Cactus spine	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1195. Handle pitch covered	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
412 1196. Awl handle wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
Needles																
1197. Eyed needle of bone for mats	-	+	+	-	+	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1198. Notched needle of bone	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1199. Wooden mat needle	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1200. Bone awl used to sew buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Shuttles and Spacers																
413 1201. 1-piece wooden net shuttle	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	-	-	.	-
1202. Flat stick, ends notched	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	•+	-	-	+	.	-	-	.	-
1203. Flat stick, ends pointed	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	.	-	-	.	-
1204. 2-piece shuttle of 2 sticks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	.	+
1205. String ball, no stick	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1206. Mesh spacer of wood	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	+	-	.	+
1207. Flat, squarish	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	.	-	-	.	-
1208. Flat, rectangular	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	.	-
1209. Mesh measured with fingers	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	+	.	+
Drills, Fire-making Implements																
372 1210. Composite drill, shaft and point	-	-	.	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	•+	+	.	-
1211. Stone point	-	-	.	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	.	-
1212. Bone or horn point	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	.	-
1213. For shell work, pipe making	-	-	.	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	.	-
1214. 1-piece bone or horn drill (awl)	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	.	-	-	.	-
1215. For shell work	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1216. Bow drill, to drill wooden pipes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	-	-
1217. 1-piece, held with buckskin in fingers	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	.	-	-	-	-
1218. Rotated, 1 hand, other holding object	.	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	.	-	.	-	+	-	-
1219. Rotated, both hands opposed	.	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	.	-	-	-	-
1220. Pipe wood soaked in oil: grub bores through	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	•-	•-	•-	-	.	.	-	-	-
1221. Small coal used to burn hole, wooden pipe	-	-	.		+	-	-	-	+	+	-	.	.	-	.	+
1222. Hand rotated fire-drill	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(-)
1223. 1-piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1224. Composite	+	•+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
1225. 2 stones struck together, for spark	-	-	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	+	-	.	-
1226. Slow match of bark to carry fire	•+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1227. Smoldering "torch" to carry fire		+						+	•+	-	-	-	•+	+	•+	+
1228. Live coals carried on stone, wooden slab	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
Wedges, Mauls, Axes																
412 1229. Horn wedge or "pick"	•+	.	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	•+	-	.	+	-	+
1230. Wooden wedge	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	+
1231. Natural cobble as maul	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	.	-	-	-
1232. Wooden maul	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-
1233. Wooden pounding club	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	.	-	-	+
1234. Grooved stone ax	-	•+	-	•R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Flakers																
324 1235. Flakers for retouching by pressure	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	.
1236. Of antler	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	.
1237. Of deer cannon bone	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	.	.
1238. Flaker hafted	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	.	.
1239. Flakers for retouching by percussion	+	+	.	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	.	+	+	.	.
1240. Of stone	+	+	•+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	.	+	+	.	.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1241. Of bone or horn	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–	.	.	324
1242. Buckskin wrapped	–		.			•+	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	.	.	
1243. Stone anvil	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	.	–	.	.	
1244. Obsidian heated before flaking	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	+	

MANUFACTURES

Textiles

Baskets: Weaves

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1245. Coiling	–	–	–	–	•R	•–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	285
1246. Number of rods	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	3	3	3	3	3	3	
1247. "Triangular" (bunched)	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1248. Clockwise, looking into basket	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	
1249. In bowl-type basket	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	
1250. In flat trays	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	+	–	
1251. Counterclockwise, looking into basket	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	+	
1252. In bowl-type basket	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	
1253. In flat trays	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	+	
1254. Weaving proceeds toward left of worker	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1255. Awl enters outside (bowl-type basket)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1256. Start coiled	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	
1257. Start a knot of weft material	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	
1258. Start piece of wood	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1259. Twining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1260. Clockwise (looking into basket)	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
1261. Counterclockwise	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
1262. Weaving proceeds toward right	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	.	.	.	.	–	+	
1263. Weaving proceeds toward left	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	–	
1264. Plain: 2-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1265. 3-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	
1266. Diagonal: 2-strand	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1267. 3-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1268. Closework	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1269. Single-rod stiff warp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1270. 2-ply flexible warp	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1271. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
1272. Lattice twining, for dress fringes only	+	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1273. Wrapped twining	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1274. Cross-warp twining	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1275. Ridge (V) bottom	–	+	–	–	.	•+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Baskets: Shapes and Uses

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1276. Seed beater	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1277. Plain twine	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	285
1278. Diagonal twine	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	415
1279. Radiating warp, circular	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1280. Parallel warp, oval or triangular	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1281. Hoop and sticks, unwoven	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
1282. Oval, hide covering stick framework			–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1283. Openwork-bottom sifting basket	+	+	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
1284. Used as seed beater also					–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
1285. Trays	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	
1286. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
1287. Diagonal twine	–	–	–	–	.	.	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	
1288. Closework	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

285
415

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1289. Parallel warp, oval or triangular													+	+	+	+
1290. Radiating warp, circular	+	+	+	−			+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1291. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1292. Parallel warp, oval or triangular	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
1293. Radiating warp, circular	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1294. Coiled, circular	−	−	−	−	•R	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1295. For winnowing, sifting, or parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1295a. Used as meat, fish platter	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1296. Boiling basket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1297. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1298. No decoration	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1299. Overlay designs	−	+	−	−	−	•−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1300. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1301. No decoration	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
1302. Designs	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+
1303. Necked water bottle	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1304. Diagonal twine	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1305. Pitched	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1306. Burden baskets	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1307. Plain openwork twine	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
1308. True cone, pointed bottom	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1309. Truncated cone, flat bottom	+	+	•+	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1310. Diagonal twine (at bottom only)	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	·	−	−
1311. Used mainly for packing wood, acorns	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1312. Plain closework twine	−	−	+	(−)	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1313. True cone, pointed bottom	−	−	•−	•−	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1314. Rounded bottom	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1315. Truncated cone, flat bottom	+	+	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1316. Diagonal twine (at bottom only)											+	+	·	·	·	·
1317. Used mainly for small seeds	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+
1318. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1319. True cone	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1320. Rare	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	·	−	−	−	−
1321. Coating	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
1322. Of soaproot	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1323. Of pitch	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1324. Circular storage basket, wide mouthed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1325. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1326. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Small round baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1328. Sides straight or flaring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1329. Globular	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1330. Close-twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	(+)	−	−	−	−	−
1331. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1332. Baskets used chiefly, as dishes and containers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Baskets: Decoration																
1333. Overlay twining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	·	−	−	−
1334. Banded woven ornament	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
1335. Sparingly used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	·	−	−
1336. Shell-bead decoration	−	+	+	R	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1337. Porcupine-quill decoration	•+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1338. Feather decoration	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	•+

285
531
[237]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
1339. On sides of basket	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	285
1340. Patterns in 2 kinds of feathers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	531
1341. Patterns in 3 colors besides background	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-	-	-	-	
Cradles																	
1342. Sitting type	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	854
1343. "Toe" (Hupa) type	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1344. Shallow type	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1345. Basketry, oval outline	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1346. Vertical warps	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1347. Rod rim	-	-	-	+	+			-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	
1348. Board	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1349. Y frame	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1350. Y-kite frame	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1351. Head covering	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1352. Bed or leg rest bar at bottom	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1353. Lying type	+	R	-	-	R	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1354. Board	+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1355. Y-kite frame	-	-	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
1356. Kite frame	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	
1357. Willows transverse across frame	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	
1358. Basketry	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1359. Oval outline	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1360. Rectangular or triangular outline	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1361. Vertical warp	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1362. Rod rim	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1363. Soft tule bed attached	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1364. Soft tule, grass bed separate	+	R	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	
1364a. Crossbar rest for child's legs	+	R	-		R												
1365. Cradle hood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
1366. Twined weave	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
1367. Parallel warp	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
1368. Radiating warp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1369. Hoop or sticks, across top of cradle.	R	R	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1370. Buckskin draped over hoop	R	R	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1371. Pendants from top or hood	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	R	-	+	+	+	-	
1372. Cradle lashing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1373. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1374. Woven vegetable fiber	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1375. Cradle entirely buckskin covered	-	R	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1376. Infant's sex indicated on cradle	+	R	+	+	R	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1377. By hood design	-		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[858]
1378. Diagonal lines: boy	-		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1379. Zigzag line	-		-	-	R	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1380. Boy	-		-	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1381. Girl	-		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1382. Diamond chain: girl	-		-	-	R	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1383. By lashing design	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1384. By position of rim rod	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	+	
1385. By shape of cradle	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1386. Girl's cradle wider at bottom	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1387. Girl's cradle wider at top.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Blankets																	
1388. Woven rabbitskin blankets, made locally	-	+	-	-	o	+	+	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	281 286

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
281 1389. Woven bird-skin blankets	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
286 1390. Woven skin blankets imported only	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1391. Warp 1-ply fur or bird skin	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	.
1392. Warp 2-ply fur or bird skin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	.	.
1393. String twisted in with warp	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	.
1394. Weft 2 strips of rabbit hide	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	.
1395. Weft of vegetable-fiber string	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.
1396. Weft of bird skins and string	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.
1397. Stick to twist fur strips	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	.
1398. Plain stick	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	.
1399. Hooked or notched stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	.
1400. Skin, fur strips twisted on thigh	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	.
1401. Frame vertical (perpendicular to ground)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
1402. Warp wrapped around 2 vertical posts	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	.
1403. Weaving starts upward	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	.
1404. Weaving starts downward	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	.
1405. Frame horizontal (parallel to ground)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.

Mats

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
285 1406. Tule	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1407. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1408. Sewn, stems pierced	+	+	+	–	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1409. With needle	+	+	+	–	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1410. Checker, string weft	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1411. Inner bark of trees	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1412. Twined	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1413. Checker	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1414. String weft	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	[illegible]	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1415. Unspun bark-strip warp	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1416. Wooden stick bark shredder	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

Cordage

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
283 1417. Iris	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1418. For deer snares	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1419. Milkweed	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
1420. Nettle	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1421. Indian hemp (Apocynum)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1422. For fish lines				+		+		–	–	–	+	+	+			.
1423. Human hair	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1424. Cordage 2-ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1425. Plain stick to comb out fibers		+	+								+	+	+		–	+
1426. Twisted on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1427. Down thigh, then up	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1428. Down thigh only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1429. Up thigh, then down	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1430. Thumb guard of shell for fiber drawing	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	+	.	–
1431. Braided cord	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)
1432. Rawhide thongs			+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
1432a. Withes of grapevine, willow, etc.	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Receptacles (Other than Baskets)

Wood, Bark, etc.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
415 1433. Wooden meat platter	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1434. Bark meat, fish platter	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1435. Pine-bark sifter			–		+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1436. Paunch water container	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Stone																	
1437. Stone vessels	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	415
1438. Shallow	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
1439. Manufactured	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
1440. Natural rock, found	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1441. "Fry-pan" type	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1442. Set near fire	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1443. Deep bowls	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	
1444. Used as water container	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
1445. Water heated by soapstone ring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
1446. Set directly on fire	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1447. Flat bottomed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
1448. Round bottomed	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1449. Fire to harden	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
1450. Grease to harden	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Leather Goods																	
Skin Tanning																	
1451. Green hide soaked	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	•	.	281
1452. Staked out in water	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	.	.	.	
1453. Ashes to aid in dehairing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	•–	+	.	.	
1454. Dehaired on pole set at 45° angle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1455. Bone dehairing tool	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	+	(+)	+	.	.	
1456. Wooden dehairing tool	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	
1457. Stone dehairing, fleshing tool	–	•+	–	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	.	.	
1458. Tanning agent rubbed on, soaked in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	
1459. Brain solution	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	
1460. Wild-bird egg yolks	–	+	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1461. Acorn soup													–	+		–	
1462. Spinal cord	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	.	.	
1463. Wet hide twisted around upright post, or tree	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1464. Short stick lever to wring out water.	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1465. Hide grained	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1466. With hands	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1467. With unworked cannon bone	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–	.	.	
1468. With wooden implement	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	.	
1469. On loose pole	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	.	
1470. On blunt post	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	.	.	
1471. On vertical frame, hide tied at 4 corners	–	–	–					+	+	+	–	.	–	.	.	.	
1472. Bear hide only			–					(–)	+	+	–	.	–	.	.	.	
1473. Pulled back and forth over foot	–	–	+			+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	.	
1474. Skins smoked, always	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1475. Skins smoked, occasionally	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	.	–	–	.	(+)	
Preparation of Tanning Agent																	
1476. Deer brains dried on vegetable-fiber "patty".	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	.	.	+	.	+	[237]
Adhesives																	
Glue																	
1477. Fish skin	+	+	.	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	.	.	.	–	–	381
1478. Fish internal organs	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	.	.	.	–	–	237

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
38| 1479. Plant bulb															•+	–
824 1480. Mountain balm and milkweed																+
1481. Pine pitch	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	.	.	.	•+
1482. Chokecherry tree pitch	+	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	.	•+	–	.	.	.	.	–
BODY AND DRESS																
Care and Adornment of Person																
Haircut																
302 1483. Long, past shoulders	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1484. Bobbed or shoulder length	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	•–	+
1485. Men	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1486. Women	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
[765] 1487. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1488. After death of relative only	–	+	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1489. Close crop	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1490. Men	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1491. Women	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1492. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
1493. Boys	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[765] 1494. Infants			+	+	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
1495. After death of relative only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1496. Bangs on forehead	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
1497. Temple locks, forelock	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1498. Scalp lock	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1499. Hair cut with knife	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1500. Hair singed	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+
Coiffure																
1501. Hair hangs loose	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1502. Men	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
1503. Women	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
1504. Boys	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1505. Girls	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
1506. Hair rolled or bunched on head	–	–	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	–	–	•+
1507. Men	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
1508. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1509. Hair combed up, 1 tie on top of head, ends up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1510. 1 tie around hair, nape of neck	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
1511. Men	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	.	+	+
1512. Women	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–
1513. Boys	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+
1514. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1515. Hair parted in middle	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	–	–	•+	–
1516. Part painted red	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
[754] 1517. Commonly	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1518. Doctors only	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1519. Hair braided, three strand	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
1520. 2 braids in front of shoulders, men	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
1521. 2 braids in front of shoulders, women	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
1522. 1 braid down back, men	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1523. 1 braid down back; women, girls	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1524. 2 full-length rolls in front of shoulders	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1525. Men	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1526. Women	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1527. Young women	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1528. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1529. 2 half-length clubs, front of shoulders or at sides of head	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	302
1530. Men	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1531. Women	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1532. Boys	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	–	–	–	
1533. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1534. 1 full-length roll down back	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1535. Men	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1536. Women	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1537. Girls	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1538. 1 half-length club down back, men	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1539. Hair tied above both shoulders; bangs down unrolled, men	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	
1540. Ribbons of fur or buckskin	+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1541. Buckskin strip with woodpecker scalp	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	301
1542. Strung shells	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1543. Shell pendants on end	–	–	.	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1544. Hairpins of bone	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1545. Flowers in hair	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	
Comb or Brush																	
1546. Soaproot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	302
1547. Twig bundle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1548. Roots, bound together for flat brush	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1549. Porcupine tail	•(–)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1550. Fishbone	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1551. Pine cone	–	–	+	+	+	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
1552. Pine needles	–	–	–						+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
1553. Single stick as comb	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	
1554. Hands to smooth hair	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Care of Hair																	
1555. Hair dyed	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•R	–	–	•R	[515]
1556. 2 persons delouse each other's heads	+		.			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	.	
1557. Hair greased	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
1558. Marrow or fat	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
1559. Otter oil	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1560. Burned pepperwood gourds	o	o	o	•+	–	–	–	o	–	o	o	o	–	–	o	–	
1561. Vegetable, mineral shampoo	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	+	
1562. Soaproot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	+	
1563. Manroot	–	–						+		–	–	–	–	–		–	
1564. Wild carrot (?) root	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1565. Seed decoction	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1566. Alkali dust	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1567. Hair "whipped" with stick to dry	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1568. Hair perfumed	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	
1569. Aromatic plant	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	
1570. Silver pine nuts, boys, girls								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	
1571. Beaver musk	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1572. Hunters only			–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Face and Body Paints and Powders																	
1573. Red paint	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	302
1574. Fungus	–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	
1575. Pine flowerets	–							•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	386
1576. Juice from plants	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	
1577. Alder sap	–	–	+								–	–	–	–	–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
302 1578. Mineral	.	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	(−)	+	+	−
386 1579. White paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	.	+	+
1580. Chalk	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	+	−
1581. Ashes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	+
1582. Ashes taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	−
1583. Yellow paint	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	(−)	+	−	−
1584. Pollen, from conifers			•+	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1585. Mineral	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−
1586. Blue paint: mineral	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	•+	+	−	−	.	−
1587. Green paint: mineral				−	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
1588. Black paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1589. Charcoal or soot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+
1590. Mineral	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1591. Mixtures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
1592. Grease or marrow mixed with pigment	−	+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−
1593. Pitch mixed with charcoal													+	+	+	+
1594. Water mixed with pigment	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1595. Saliva mixed with pigment	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1596. Paint base	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
1597. Grease or marrow	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
1598. Acorn cake														−	+	−
1599. Pitch	−	−				+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
302 1600. Paint applied with fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	•	−	•+	+
1600a. Water as mirror	.	•+	•+							.	.	.	.	.	.	−
1601. Grease or marrow on body to prevent chapping.	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	+	•+	.
1602. Pitch on arms for warmth	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1603. Pitch on body, bird feathers stuck on	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1604. Body powders	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1605. Chalk, powdered	+		−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1606. Acorn flour, finely ground	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1607. Oak balls, ground	o	o	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1608. Oak wood, rotten									+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
1609. Puff balls, inner powder	−		+								−	−	−	−	−	−
1610. Skin soothers								+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
1611. Cooked acorn mush								+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	•−
1612. Eyebrows blackened	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	−	−
Deformation, Mutilations on Living																
304 o1613. Head flattening	+	+	+	+	−	±	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1614. Nasal septum pierced	•R	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	•+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	−
1615. Men	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
1616. Women	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
1617. Ear lobes pierced	•R	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+
1618. Men	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	(−)	−	−	+	+
1619. Women	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+
1620. Ear rims pierced	−	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1621. Tattooing	•R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	R	R	(R)	−	−	−	+
1622. Men	R	+	−	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	−	R	−	−	−	−	−
1623. Women	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	R	(R)	−	−	−	+
1624. Chin, 3 wide stripes	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1625. Chin, 3 narrow stripes	−	−	−	−				•+	R	R	R	(R)	−	−	−	+
1626. Vertical lines	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1627. Cheeks, horizontal or radiating from mouth	R	+	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1628. Forehead, vertical line(s).	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1629. Arms	R	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1630. Hand		+										+	−	−	−	−
1631. Legs	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1632. Chest	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1633. Cut with stone knife	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	R	R	.	.	−	−	−	•+	304
1634. Cut with porcupine quill	−		−				+	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	−	−	
1635. Charcoal rubbed in	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	R	R	.	.	−	−	−	−	
1636. Soot rubbed in	−	−	.	•				+	−	−	.	.	−	−	−	−	
1637. Plant juice rubbed in	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	−	+	
1638. Burning	+	+	+		+				+	+	+	R	−		−	−	
1639. On arms	+	+	+						+	−	+	R	−		−	−	
1640. Depilation	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	
1641. Eyebrows	−	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	
1642. Beard	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	•+	+	
1643. Deer-bone tweezers		−					+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	
1644. Plucking with fingers	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	−	+	
1645. Ashes on fingers, for plucking	+	+	+								−	.	.	+	−	−	
1646. Plucking, stone flake opposed to fingernail	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	
1647. Shaving with obsidian or flint	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	
1648. Beard allowed to grow	−	−	•+	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	−	−	
Ear, Nose Ornaments; Necklaces, etc.																	
1649. Earrings	•R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	301
1650. Bone ring	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1651. Clamshell beads	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
1652. Buckskin string	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
1653. Dentalia pendant	R	−	+	+	(+)	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1654. Flat shell pendants	−	+	+				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	
1655. Haliotis pendant	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
1656. Ear stick: wooden	•R	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	•+	•+	
1657. Worn when hole healing, only	R	+	−			+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	•−	
1658. Worn during dances only						−	−	−					+	+	+	+	[535]
1659. Plain, 1/2-inch long						+	+	+			+	−	+	−	−	−	
1660. Painted design	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	+	[531]
1661. Burned design	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1662. Shell beads or pendant on end	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	•+	
1663. Ear tube: bone	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	(−)	+	+	−	+	
1664. Worn when hole healing, only	−	−	+			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1665. Applied decoration																•+	
1666. Feathers on end	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
1667. Shell beads or pendant on end	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	
1668. Ear tube: shell	R	−	+	−	(+)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	
1669. Solid-shell cylinder	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	
1670. Dentalium	R	−	+	−	(+)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1671. Feather in ear	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
1672. Quill alone in ear	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1673. Flowers in ear	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	(+)	−	
1674. Nosepins	R	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	
1675. Bone, bipointed	R	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	
1676. Solid-shell cylinder	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
1677. Dentalium through nose	R	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1678. Wooden nosepin	R	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	
1679. Feather	R	−	+	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1680. Nose pendants	R	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	
1681. Bone ring			−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1682. Strings of beads	R	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	
1683. Necklaces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1684. Deer hoofs or dewclaws	−	+	−	•+	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1685. Bear teeth	.	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	
1686. Elk teeth	(+)	+	+								−	+	−	−	−	.	
1687. Bear claws	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	
1688. Bird claws	.	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
301 1689. Dentalia	R	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1690. Olivella whole shells	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	.	.	+	.
1691. Clamshell disk beads	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1692. Haliotis pieces	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1693. Banjo-shaped haliotis pendant	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1694. Bone tubes	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1695. Deer, coyote, wildcat carpals	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1696. Pine nuts or shells	(+)	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
•1697. Braided sweet grass		o					+	o	+	+	–	–	o	–	–	–
1698. Wildflowers	R	–	–	•+		•–				+	–	+	+	+	+	–
•1699. Belts of hair	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1700. Worn by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
•1701. Worn continually	–	–	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1702. Worn on special occasions only	+	+	+	+					–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1703. Flower wreaths on head	.	–	–	•+		–		+	•+	+	–	–	•+	+	+	–
1704. Boys and girls, playing	.	–	–	+		–		+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
[881] 1705. Girls, at girl's puberty dance	R	–	–	–		–			+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
Cane or Staff																
481 1706. Straight stick	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1707. Sharpened at lower end	–	–	+					+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
1708. Used by old people	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1709. Old men																
1710. Old women	†	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1711. Single cane	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[758] 1712. 2 canes, if crippled		+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dress																
Headgear																
29/ 1713. Basketry cap	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•R	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1714. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
•1715. 3-strand diagonal twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1716. Coiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1717. Worn habitually, by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1718. Worn habitually, by men	+	–	–	–	–	•–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1719. Worn for packing, not worn habitually	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1720. Worn for dances, not worn habitually.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1721. Designs on cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1722. Men's undecorated	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
•1723. Fur cap	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1724. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1725. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1726. Buckskin cap	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1727. Solid buckskin	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1728. Buckskin pierced with holes	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1729. Worn habitually	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1730. Band around head	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	•+
1731. Buckskin	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1732. Fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
[756] 1733. Men only	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1734. Doctors only	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1735. Eyeshade	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[751] 1736. Charcoal around eyes for snow-blindness	+	•+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
Robes																
1737. Woven rabbitskin blanket	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	•+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1738. Woven bird-skin blanket	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	291
1739. Mat of whole tule or rush	·	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1740. Bark cape	–	+						+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1741. Cloak of shredded tule	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1742. Deer fur robes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1743. Single hide, tied at front of neck	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	
1744. Single hide, tied over shoulder	–	–	•+		•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	+	•+	·	–	
1745. 2 hides sewn together	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1746. Painted on bare side	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1747. Bear fur	–	–	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1748. Elkhide	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	
1749. Puma fur	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1750. Patchwork cape of small mammal hides	–	+	•+		+	+	+	–	–	•+	+	–	+	–	+	+	

Shirts and Gowns

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1751. Women's buckskin gown	R	+	R	•+	R	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1752. Imported	•+	·	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[439]
o1753. Number of skins	3	2	2	2	2	•2	3	•1	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	
1754. To knee or more	R	+	R	+	R	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1755. Tied at back of neck	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1756. Tied in back, at waist	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
•1757. Skins, front and back	–	+	–	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1758. Tied over 2 shoulders, at waist 2 sides	–	+	+	•+				–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1759. Belted around waist	–	–	–					–			+	+					
1760. Sleeveless	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1761. Flaps over upper arms	–	–	R	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1762. Sleeves, elbow length	R	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1763. Sleeves fringed	R	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1764. Porcupine-quill decoration	R	+	R			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[237]
1765. Poncho type, 1 skin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1766. Painted	–	–	R	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1767. Shell pendants	–	+	–	–	–	·	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1768. Clamshell beads	•–		–			+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1769. Tubular bone beads	–	–	–	–	R	·	+	–	–	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	
1770. Men's buckskin shirt	R	+	R	•+	•+	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1771. Imported	•+	·	•+	–													
o1772. Number of skins	2½	2	2	1	1	(1)	2	–	–	–	•1	2	–	–	–	–	
•1773. Skins, front and back	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1774. Tied at neck	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1775. Tied at both shoulders	–		–	–		·	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1776. Slipped over head	R	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1777. Open front, tied with thong	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1778. Knee length	R		R					–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1779. Sleeveless	–	+	R	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1780. Sleeves, elbow length	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1781. Sleeves, wrist length	R	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1782. Sleeves fringed	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
-1783. Painted	R	–	R	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1784. Bone-bead pendants	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1785. Poncho type, 1 skin	R	•+	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Loin Coverings

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1786. Breechclout (between legs)	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	(+)	+	+	–	+
1787. Buckskin	+	+	+	•+	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1788. Fur	·	+	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1789. Buckskin skirt, sewed sides	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1790. Wrap-around type skirt	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
291 1791. Men										+		+	+	–	–	+
1792. Women										+		+	+	+	–	+
1793. Buckskin	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–
1794. Bear hide												•+	–	–	–	–
1795. 1 or more buckskins	–	+	–			–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1796. 4 coyote skins																+
1797. Fringed	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
1798. Fur	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–
1799. Grass stems	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1800. Soaproot fiber, reaches to knee														+	–	–
1801. Bark	+	–	–	•–	(+)	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
1802. Tule	+	+	–	–	–	–	•(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1803. Single small apron or kilt, front only	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+
1804. Buckskin	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1805. Fur	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1806. Inner bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
1807. Tule	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1808. Double apron	–	+	+	–	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	+	–	–
1809. Buckskin	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
1810. Fringed or slit	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1811. Small skins, sewn together	–	+	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1812. Woven bird skins	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1813. Inner bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1814. Grass	–	–	+	–	(+)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
1815. Tules	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1816. String apron-skirts	–	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1817. On buckskin belt	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1818. Nut, seed, shell strings	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1819. Shell embroidery	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[292] 1820. Braids on cord, bottom of skirt	–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1821. Worn by women for dances, special occasions	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1822. Buckskin trousers	–	R	–	•+	R	R	R	R	–	–	R	–	R	R	–	–
Muffs and Mittens																
1823. Muff of cased fur	(–)	–	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1824. Sewed onto shirt, for sleeves	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1825. Single muff	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[415] 1826. Double, 1 on each arm	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1827. Quiver used as muff when hunting	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
1828. Mittens	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	•(+)	–	–	–	–
Footgear and Leggings																
1829. Barefoot around house	–		+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1830. Moccasins	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1831. Men	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1832. Women	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
[556] 1833. Rich people only										+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1834. Buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1835. Fur	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
†1836. Number of pieces	2	2	•	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	.	–	–	–
1837. Added sole	–	•+	R	+	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1838. Heel seam	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1839. Toe seam	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1840. Seam on outside	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	–
1841. Tongue	+	+	–	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–
1842. Ankle length	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1843. Boot length	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
1844. Shell embroidery	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	291
1845. Painted, top front	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[531]
1846. Painted, seams	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	
1847. Slippers	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1848. Woven bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1849. Tule, twined	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1850. Sandal	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1851. Hide	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1852. Bark	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1853. Leggings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1854. Tule, twined	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1855. Fur piece	(+)	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1856. Buckskin	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1857. Sewed	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1858. Fringed	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1859. Painted	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1860. Porcupine-quill decoration							+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[237]
1861. Tied at knee and ankle	–	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1862. Knee-to-ankle length	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1863. Hip-to-knee length	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1864. Snowshoes	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	o	
1865. Circular	•+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	(+)	–	o	481
1866. Oval	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	o	–	+	o	
1867. Kite-shaped	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1868. Lashing withes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	o	–	+	o	
1869. Lashing buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	o	+	–	o	
1870. Lashing rawhide	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	o	–	–	o	
1871. Lashing of fiber string	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	–	–	o	
Ceremonial Dress																	
1872. Feather garment on net foundation	–	–	–	–	⊕	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	292
1873. Half length	–	–	–	–	⊕	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	
1874. Tied over shoulders	–	–	–	–	⊕	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	237
1875. Held up by shoulder straps	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1876. Tied under arms	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
1877. Full length, neck to ankles	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
1878. Down-feather ropes or strings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	•–	•–	–	•+	•+	•	•+	•+	
1879. Yellowhammer-quill band	–	–	–	–	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1880. Feather tips at intervals	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
1881. Feathers solid, edge untrimmed	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1881a. Feathers solid, edge trimmed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
1882. Worn across forehead	–	–			+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1883. Ends extend, side of head	–	–	–	–		–					+	+	–	+	+	–	
1884. Worn as belt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1885. Worn as bracelet	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[301]
1886. Worn as necklace	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–	
1887. Worn as bandolier	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
1888. Worn over head and down back	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1889. Decorated with beads	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
1890. Used as dance ornament	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[535]
1891. Used by doctor	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	[756]
1892. Whole yellowhammer feathers solid on headband	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1893. All same direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1894. Worn across forehead	–	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1895. Worn as belt	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1896. Worn as bracelet	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[301]
1897. Worn as necklace	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1898. Worn in head net	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1899. Worn over head and down back	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

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		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
292 237	1900. Used by doctors only	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[756]	1901. Feathers notched at sides	+	+	.	+	+	•+	+	–	.	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1901a. Decorated with rattlesnake rattles		–	–						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1902. Woodpecker scalps on band	–	•–	+	•(–)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	1903. Buckskin band	–	–	+	(–)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
	1904. Fur band	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	1905. Woven-fiber band	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
	1906. Scalps sewn on	–	–	+	(–)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–
	1907. Scalps tied on	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–
	1908. Scalps glued on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–	–
	1909. Beaks left on scalps	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
	1910. Single row of scalps	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–
	1911. 2 or more rows of scalps	–	–	–	–	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1912. Headband	–	–	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
	1913. Belt	–	–	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
[301]	1914. Necklace	–	–	+	–		+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	1915. Bandolier	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	1916. Woodpecker scalps in feather headdress												+	–	+	–	+
	1917. Woodpecker scalps on head net	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
	1918. Mallard duck neck skins on band	–	–	–	–	–	•R	+	–	o	o	+	–	+	o	o	+
	1919. Headband	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
	1920. Belt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
	1921. Cap	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
	1922. Bunch of feathers, tied to top of hair	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1923. Topknot headdress	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
	1924. Whole feathers radiating from crown of buckskin cap	–	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
	1925. Feathers tipped with small white feathers	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1926. Buckskin strip down back, feathers attached	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1927. "Big head" feather-tipped radiating stick headdress	–	–	R	–	•–	R	–	R	–	R	–	+	–	+	–	+
	1928. Feather plumes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1929. Single primary or tail feather	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	1930. 2 primary or tail feathers			+						+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–
	1931. Woodpecker scalp on feather	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	1932. Shells, cedar, small feathers attached								+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1933. Used by doctor	–	–	–		+			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1934. Spliced	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+
	†1935. Forked ... times.	–	–	–	–	•2	•2	•2	–	–	–	2	2	–	2	.	2
	1936. Twisted sinew body	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	.	+
	1937. Stick base	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	+
	1938. Feathers bunched at fork or top of base	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	.	+
	1939. Yellowhammer-quill attachment	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	+
	1940. Yellowhammer feathers attached	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
	1941. Worn on head	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	–	+	+	–	+	.	+
	1942. Hand-held	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	R	R	–	–	–	–	.	–
	1943. Fur headband or blind	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	1944. Feathers suspended from lower edge	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
	1945. Visor	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1946. Head net	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	–	+
292	1947. Flowing down back	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	1948. Close woven	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	1949. Open woven	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1950. Feathers at bottom	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	1951. All on head	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
	1952. Bag type	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1953. Hammock type	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
	1954. Down-filled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
	1955. Down tied on back part	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1956. Down woven into	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	292
1957. For war, dances only	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	[535]
1957a. Worn habitually by some men	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[721]
CURRENCY, TREASURE																	
Currency																	
1959. Dentalia	R	+	+	+	•+	+		•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	436
1960. Standard of value	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	825
1961. Incised	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1962. Feathers on large end	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1963. Wrapped with sinew, painted like snake skin	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1964. Graded on finger creases	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1965. Counted	–	–	–							+							
1966. Measured in fathom and fractions of	+	+	•+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1967. Upper-arm tattoo for measuring whole string	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1968. Measured on arm, no tattoo	–	+	.	–	+	–		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1969. Cylindrical purse of horn	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[415]
1970. Purse of horn fork	–	–	–	–	+	–		•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1971. Buckskin purse	–	+	+					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1972. Cased fur purse	–	–	.	–	+	•–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1973. Shells rolled in fur	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1974. Shells kept in basket	+	+	+	–	+	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1975. Long dentalia preferred	–	–	+					•–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1976. Clamshell disks	R	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1977. Standard of value	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1978. Manufactured	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1979. Smoothing slab	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1980. Disks counted	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1981. Short strings only	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1982. Measured around neck												+	+	+	.	–	
1983. Measured on elbow	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1984. Measured in fathoms	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	+	–	
1985. Measured in half-fathoms	+	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	(+)	+	–	
1986. Cased-fur purse	–	–		•(+)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	
1987. Buckskin sack for purse	+	–	+			•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	[415]
1988. Basket for purse	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	
1989. Loans of shell currency without interest	–	•+	+		+	•–		+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	[426]
Treasure																	
1990. Olivella: whole shell	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	(+)	(+)	.	–	–	
1991. Shell cylinders or Columnella	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	
1992. Sizes distinguished	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	.	.	.	
1993. Bone cylinders		–	.		+	(–)	–	.	–	–	.	–	.	+	+	+	
1994. Magnesite cylinders	–	–	.	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[439]
1995. Imported	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1996. Haliotis-disk beads	–	–	+	+	–	+	.	–	+	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	
1997. Large obsidian blades, used for display	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1998. Manufactured, not used	–		–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1999. Charmstones	•–	–	–	+	(–)	•+	+	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•+	
2000. Natural shape	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	789
2001. Most effective if found by possessor.	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	823
2002. Used in doctoring	–	–	–	+		+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2003. Animated; can travel of own accord.				+												+	
2004. Doughnut stones	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
2005. Natural shape	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
SMOKING AND TOBACCO																
Pipes and Pipe Sacks																
276 Pipes																
2006. Tubular-type pipe	+	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
2007. 1-piece	+	−	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2008. Solid wood	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2009. Elder or other pithy stalk	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
2010. Stone	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
2011. Found, not manufactured	(+)	−		•+	−						+	−	−	−	−	.
2012. 2-piece	•+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
2013. Stone bowl	•+	−	.	+	−	•+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
2014. Cane stem	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2015. Elder stem	−	−	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2016. Solid wooden stem	•+	−	+	(+)	−	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	.	−
2017. Stem stuck into bowl	+	−	.	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
2018. Stem mortised into bowl	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2019. Optional use of stem	−												+	+	+	−
2020. Concave-shaped bowl	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2021. Convex-shaped bowl	•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2022. Bulb bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2023. Double-bulb bowl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2024. Obtuse-angled pipe	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2025. Stone bowl	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2026. Wooden stem	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2027. Right-angled pipe	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2028. Stone bowl	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2029. Wooden bowl	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2030. Wooden stem	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[415] Pipe Sacks																
2031. Pipe sack of cased fur	−	.	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
2032. Pipe sack of buckskin	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
2033. Pipe kept in small basket													+	+		−
2034. Pipe kept in ground, head of bed	+	.	+			+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	.	−
Tobacco																
Cultivation and Gathering																
[222] 2035. Gathered wild	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
[249] 2036. Cultivated or semicultivated	−	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2037. Sown	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2038. Log or brush burned, sown in ashes	−	−	+			−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2039. Log or brush burned, for volunteer crop	−	+	.	+	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2040. Seeds sown next year, same spot	−	−	.	+		+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2041. Ground cultivated with digging stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
2042. Plants thinned	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	(+)	−	−	−
2043. Pruned	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2044. Irrigated	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2045. Gathered when yellow	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	.
2046. Gathered when green	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	.
2047. Leaves only, or mainly, picked	−	.	−	+		+		+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
2048. Stalk occasionally pulled up	−	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−

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Preparation

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	NV	
2049. Stalk hung up to dry	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	276
2050. Leaves dried, whole	+	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	
2051. Leaves rubbed and hung to dry in sack												+	+	−	−	+	
2052. Leaves only, used	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
•2053. Leaves rubbed fine in palm, with fingertips	+	+	−	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2054. Dried leaves put in sack, pounded on slab		·	+								−	−	−	−	−	−	
o2055. Tobacco mixed for smoking	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	−	−	•±	−	−	−	−	−	−	
o2056. Kinnikinick, manzanita mixtures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2057. Grease added	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	

Tobacco Containers

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	NV	
2058. Basket	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	[415]
2059. Buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
2060. Cased-fur pouch	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	

Tobacco Substitutes

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	NV
2061. Plant substitutes used occasionally	−	−	+						•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2062. Manzanita	−	−	+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2063. Parched and ground	−	−	+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Uses

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	NV	
2064. Smoking at social gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2065. Pipe passed	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2066. Smoking after sweating	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	
2067. Bedtime smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2068. No smoking in dwelling house	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	
•2069. Men smoke, generally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[562]
2070. Smoking limited among women; shamans mainly	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	[756]
2071. Tobacco chewed	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
o2072. Tobacco as offering	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2073. Tossed or blown in air	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	[782]
2074. Burnt in fire	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	
2075. Smoked	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	

MUSIC AND DRAWING

Musical Instruments

Drums

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	NV	
2076. Hide drum	•R	+	•+	•+	+	•R	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	534
2077. Cylindrical	R	+	+	+	+	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2078. 2-headed	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2079. 1-headed	R	+	−	−	+	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2080. Tambourine type	R	+	−	−	+	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2081. Drumstick wrapped at head	R	+	−	+	+	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2082. Plain drumstick, knot for head	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
•2083. Footdrum	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
2084. Basket drummed	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•−	•+	

Rattles

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	NV
2085. Cocoon rattle	•−	−	−	•−	•+	•+	•+	•−	•−	•R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
2086. Stick handle	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	R	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
534 2087. Feathers on stick handle	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
o2088. Number of cocoons	–	–	–	–	•3	•5	6	–	–	•4	•5	5	•4	5	•3	•5
[755] 2089. Used by shaman in curing	•–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2090. Used by Big Head singers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	–	–	–	–
2091. Used for any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
[787] 2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										–	+	+	+	–	–	–
2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	–	–	–	•+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2094. Split-stick clapper	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2095. Single split	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2096. Multiple splits	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2097. Painted	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	•R	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[881] 2098. Burned decoration	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
[535] 2099. For girl's puberty dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2100. For war dance	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[720] 2101. For Ghost dance	·	–	R	–		R		•R	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
[796] 2102. For any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
2103. Snake rattles on stick	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•–	•+	–	–	–	–
2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2106. On cord or thong, no handle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2107. Worn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[881] 2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	•7	15	20	20	20	–	25	8	20	1	2	4	–	–
2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2111. Basket rattle	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[529] 2112. Child's toy	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	–	–
Rasp																
2114. Notched-wood rasp	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2115. Basket scraped.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
Bull-roarer, Musical Bow																
2116. Bull-roarer	•R	–	–	–	Ⓡ	–	+	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2117. Wood	R	–	–	–	Ⓡ	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
[789] 2118. Bone or horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[753] 2119. Produces storm or wind	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[756] 2120. Produces sickness	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2121. Only shamans use	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2122. Only boys, men use	–	–	–	–	R			+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2123. For amusement, boys	R	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2124. Musical bow	Ⓡ	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Hunting bow	Ⓡ	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Separate instrument	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2127. Played with finger	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2128. Played with stick	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2129. Boys only						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Whistles and Flutes																
2130. Whistle	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2131. Single hole	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–
2133. Bone	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2134. Bird or rodent	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	–	+	–	–	+
2135. Large mammal	–	·	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
2136. Elder	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	•R	–	–	–	+	+	–
2137. Cane	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2138. Sinew-wrapped at mouthpiece	–	+	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	534
o2139. End stopped	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	R	R	+	±	+	.	+	+	+	
2140. Partially stopped inside at hole	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2141. Stop of pitch	–	.	+	+	–	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	
2142. Stop of salmon glue	–	.	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2143. Stop of wood	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2144. Single whistle	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	
2145. 2 whistles bound together	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2146. Whistle worn, suspended from string around neck	–	–	+								+	+	+	+	.	+	
2147. Taboo to whistle around elderberry bush		•+	•+								+	–	+	+	–	•+	[784]
2148. Snake will strike whistler		+	+								+	–	+	+	–	•+	
2149. Flute	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2150. Bone	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	
2151. Elder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2152. Cane	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
‡2153. Number of holes	•3	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	–	6	
2154. Holes burnt in		+	+						R	R	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2155. Holes put in with awl									+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2156. Entire upper surface flattened			–						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2157. End blown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	.	–	–	+	
2158. Side blown	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	(–)	+	+	+	–	+	
2159. Mouth blown	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
2160. Nose blown	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2161. Used by shaman	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[756]
2162. Used for courting	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	
2163. Used for self-amusement	•+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	

Pictographs, Petroglyphs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2164. Pictographs, petroglyphs present in area	•+	•+	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	532
2165. Nonhuman origin	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	.	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2166. Made by tiny people	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2167. Made by mythological characters	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2168. Bring bad luck; charm viewer	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[777]
2169. Impress of feet, etc., on rocks	–	•+	•+							•+	–	•+	•+	–	•+		[823]

RECREATION

Games

Shinny

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2170. Shinny played	+	+	+	+	+	•R	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	526
2171. Men, youths play occasionally	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	[562]
2172. Women play	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2173. Each sex plays separately	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
2174. Both sexes play together	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2175. Children play	–	+	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2176. Single ball	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	[857]
2177. Wood	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2178. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2179. Oak gall	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2180. Double ball	–	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	
2181. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2182. 2 blocks on ends of cord	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2183. 2 grass balls on end of cord	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
•2184. Cord or hide strip only	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	

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[562]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
2185. Hoop or ring for ball	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2186. Shinny stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2187. Curved stick	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2188. Straight stick	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2189. Netted stick	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2190. Ball propelled with feet	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2191. Start: ball buried in center of field	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2192. Start: ball on ground, center of field	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2193. Start: ball thrown or dropped, center of field	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
2194. Attempt to keep ball on ground	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2195. Attempt to keep ball in air	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
2196. Grappling permitted	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
2197. Goal at each end of field	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
2198. 2 poles, ca. 4 ft. apart	+	+	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
2199. Marked line of ground	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
o2200. Number of players on each side	4	20	6	4	5	•8	•3	•10	6	•4	•3	5	2	4	–	•5
•2201. Sides local groups	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2202. Betting	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•+
2203. Referee	–	+	–	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	+
Ball Race																
•2204. Ball races	–	–	–	–	+	•R	•+	•–	–	•R	•+	R	+	+	+	+
2205. Men	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	R	•+	R	+	+	+	+
2206. Women play, occasionally	–	–	–	–	+	R	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–
2207. Each sex plays separately	–	–	–	–		R	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–
2208. Play along a course, not returning	–	–	–	–	+	•R	–	–	–	R	•+	–	–	–	+	–
2209. Along a course and return	–	–	–	–	–	•R	+	–	–	–	•+		+	+	–	–
2210. Single ball	–	–	–	–	+	•R	•+				•+	R	+	–	–	+
2211. Wood	–	–	–	–	–	•R	•–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–
2212. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	+	•R	•+	–	–	–	•+	R	–	–	–	+
2213. 2 balls, 1 for each side	–	–	–	–	–	•R	•+	–	–	R	•+	–	+	+	+	–
2214. Wood	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2215. Oak gall	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2215a. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	•R	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	+	–
2216. Curved stick to propel ball	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2217. Straight stick to propel ball	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2218. Feet to propel ball	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	R	–	+	+	+
2219. Wrestling permitted	–	–	–	–							•+	–	–	+	–	–
2220. Paired posts for goal(s)	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	R	–	+	+	+
2221. Arch of poles for goal(s)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	–	–
2222. 2 goals, 1 for each side	–	–	–	–	–	•R	•+	–	–	R	•+	R	–	–	–	+
2223. Speed wins	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	R	+	R	.	+	+	+
2224. Fewest number of strokes wins	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
o2225. Number on each side	–	–	–	–	5	6	•5	–	–	4	•4	10	2	•2	4	4
†2226. Number of sides	–	–	–	–	2	2	2	–	–	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
2227. Sides local groups	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	R	+	R	+	+	+	+
2228. 2 out of 3 games wins	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	.	(+)	(+)	–	–
2229. Referee	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	+	+
Hoop and Pole																
2230. Hoop-and-pole game played	+	+	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2231. Men	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2232. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2233. Hoop, wrapped	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2234. Pole, thrown overhand, 1 arm	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2235. Sides cast simultaneously	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2236. Sides cast in turns	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

C

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2237. Pole through hoop scores	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	− 526
2238. Pole over hoop or stick scores	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
o2239. Number of counters	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•10	−	−	−	−
o2240. Number on a side	2	•2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•10	−	−	−	−
†2241. Number of sides	2	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(2)	−	−	−	−
2242. Sides local groups	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−
2243. Referee	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−
2244. Betting	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−

Quoits

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2245. Quoits played	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2246. Quoit a ring, from limber rope or withe	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2247. Quoit a stone	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2248. Target: single stake	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2249. Target, 2 stakes, at each end of the field.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
‡2250. No. of throws for each player	10	12	−	−	−	−	−	1	1	1	−	2	−	−	−	−
2251. All players throw simultaneously	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
o2252. No. of points for ringer or strike	1	2	−	−	−	−	−	1	.	−	−	2	−	−	−	−
o2253. No. of points for closest throw	2	1	−	−	−	[illegible]	−	1	.	1	−	2	−	−	−	−
2254. Distance from pole measured with stick	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	−	.	−	−	−	−
‡2255. No. of points for game	10	12	−	−	−	−	−	1	.	1	−	4	−	−	−	−

Spear or Dart Throwing

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2256. Spear or dart-throwing games	+	+	•+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	−	.	+
2257. Men play	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	.	+
2258. Spear thrown	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	.	+
2259. Pole thrown	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
2260. Arrow thrown	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−
2261. Stationary target	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	.	−
2262. Tule or grass bundle	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
2263. 1 stake	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
2264. 2 stakes, small	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	.	−
2265. 2 targets; throw back and forth	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−
2266. Closest wins points	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	.	−
2267. Stuck in target, or between, 2 points	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2268. Players cast in turn	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
o2269. Number on each side	2	•5	−	−	3	−	−	•2	−	2	−	5	−	−	.	−
†2270. Number of sides	2	2	−	−	2	−	−	2	−	2	−	2	−	−	.	−

Stick Bouncing (Snow Snake)

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2271. Sticks bounced	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
2272. Men play	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	− [562]
2273. Children play	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	− [85]
2274. Plain stick bounced	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2275. Bounced off rise in ground	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2276. Bounced off pile of snow	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2277. Bounced for distance	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Archery

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2278. Target games played; men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ [562]
2279. Stationary target, above ground	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2280. Shoulder bone			+	−							−	−	−	+	−	−
2281. Brush bundle	−	−	−	−					+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−
2282. Single stake or bush	−	−	+	−				+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2283. Arrow, previously shot	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
526 2284. Small tule, willow target	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2285. Double, shoot back and forth.	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	.	−
2286. Buried target	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
2287. Bundle of tules	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
2288. Buried in circle of dug ground	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
2289. Buried in ground	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
2290. All contestants shoot into circle simultaneously	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2291. Contestants shoot individually	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2292. Person hitting buried target wins	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2293. Target rolled	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2294. Downhill	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2295. On level	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2296. Hoop	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2297. Disk	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2298. Target thrown in air	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+
2299. Pine cone													−	−	+	+
2300. Bark disk	−	+	+								−	+	−	−	−	+
2301. Closest wins	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	.	−	+
2302. Hitting target scores only	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	.	+	+
2303. Shooting for distance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
2304. Gambling for arrows in archery games	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	.	−

Ring and Pin

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 2305. Ring-and-pin game played	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
[562] 2306. Men	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
[857] 2307. Women	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2308. Children	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
‡2309. Number of rings	−	1	.	10	−	−	•1	10	•20	•7	−	−	−	−	−	−
2310. Fish vertebrae	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2311. Deer carpals	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2312. Tule bundle	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
†2313. Number of pins	−	1	1	1	−	−	1	1	1	1	−	−	−	−	−	−
2314. Outfit transferred at miss	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2315. Each player has 2 tries	−		+		−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2316. Each ring counts 1 point	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2317. Ring counts game	−		−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2318. All rings on for game	−		−		−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
†2319. Number of sides	−	2	−	−	−	−	2	−	2	2	−	−	−	−	−	−
o2320. Number on each side	−	•−	•−	−	−	−	•2	−	•4	1	−	−	−	−	−	−
†2321. No teamwork; number playing	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	15	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2322. Betting on game	−		−	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2323. Winner raps opponent's knuckles, forehead	−	+	+		−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2324. Winner pulls out opponent's eyebrows	−	+	−		−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2325. Played to make moon wane	−	+	.	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Many-Stick Game, 1 Marked

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
[562] 2326. Many-stick game played	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	•R	−	−	−	−	−	−
2327. Men play	−	−	−	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−
2328. Women play	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	•R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
o2329. Many small sticks	−	−	10	•15	20	20	−	20	20	30	−	−	−	−	−	−
2330. 1 marked	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
•2331. 1 specially made stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−
2332. "Marked" stick guessed for	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−

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Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2333. 2 sides	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2334. 1 player on a side holds sticks	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	'+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2335. 2 players on a side each hold set of sticks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	'R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2336. Sticks grass-wrapped, held in hand	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	'+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2337. Hide in bare hand only	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	'R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2338. Shuffle in front of body	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2339. In grass	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	'+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2340. Shuffle behind back	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2341. Sticks rolled in grass, set on ground	-	-	-			+	-	-	+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
‡2342. Number of counters	-	-	·	'12	10	10	-	10	'20	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
2343. Counters in 1 neutral pile at start	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	+	+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2344. Counters in 2 piles	-	-	·	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2345. Referee to hand out counters	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	'+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2346. Holder ("dealer") wins point, if guess incorrect	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2347. Correct guessing side takes over sticks	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2348. Played in winter only	-	-	-				-		'+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hand or Grass Game																
'2349. Hand or grass game played	'R	+	+	+	'+	+	'+	+	'+	'+	+	+	+	+	+	'+
2350. Men play	R	+	+	+	+	+	'+	+	+	'+	+	+	+	+	+	'+
2351. Women play	R	+	+	-	'R	+	'+	-	-	'+	-	+	-	-	+	'+
2352. 2 objects held by each player	R	+	+	+	+	+	'+	-	'R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2353. 1 wrapped or marked	R	+	+	+	+	+	'+	-	'R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2354. Wrapped or marked guessed for	-	+	+	-	'+	-	-	-	'R	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2355. Unwrapped guessed for	R	-	-	+	'R	+	'+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2356. Call tep and wei, when guessing	[illegible]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2357. "Bones" called by special terms	'R	-	-	-	+	-	'+	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	·	+
2358. Man and woman	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	·	+
2359. Black and white	R	-	-	-	-	-	'+	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	·	-
2360. Alive and dead		-				'+		-	-	-	-	-	·	-	·	-
2361. Bones called by own terms	-	·	+	+	-	-	'(-)	-	'R	'+	+	'+	·	-	·	-
2362. Made from solid wood	R	+	-	+	+	+	'+	-	'R	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
2363. Made from hollow bone	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2364. Made from solid bone or horn	R	+	+	-	'R	R	'R	-	'R	-	-	+	(+)	-	+	+
2365. 1 object held by each player	-	-	-	-	-	-	'+	+	'+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2366. Solid wooden object	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	'+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2367. String of shell beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	'+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2368. 1 player at a time holds objects	-	'+	-	-	'+	-	-	-	'+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2369. 2 players at a time hold objects	+	-	-	(+)	'R	+	+	+	'R	-	+	+	+	+	(+)	+
2370. Hide in bare hand only	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	'R	'+	-	-	-	-	-	'+
2371. Hide in grass in hand	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	'R	+	+	+	+	+	'+
2372. Shuffling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2373. Under mat	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2374. Under hide blanket	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2375. Under grass pile	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2376. Under basket	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2377. In front of body	+	+							+	'+	+	+	+	+	+	'+
2378. Behind back	+	+				+	+	-	'R	'+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2379. Grass bundles thrown up in air	-	-								'+	+	+	+	+	+	'+
2380. Counters sticks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
‡2381. Total no. of counters for 2 sides	10	12	·	·	10	10	10	10	'15	10	16	6	16	20	·	16
2382. Counters in 1 neutral pile at start	-	+	·	·	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2383. Counters in 2 equal piles at start	+	-	·	·	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2384. Holder wins point, if guess incorrect	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2385. Correct guessing side takes over "bones"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2386. Sides local groups	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2387. Played in summer only	-	-	+						'+	'+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2388. Played any time	+	+	·						'R	'+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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[562]

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
524 Objects Laid Down, Position Guessed																
2389. 4 sticks, 2 large, 2 small, laid down	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[562] 2390. Men play	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2391. 1 pair wrapped	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2392. Large sticks guessed for	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2393. Small sticks guessed for	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2394. Sticks covered with basket	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
‡2395. Number of counters	6	12	−	−	10	10	10	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2396. Counters in 1 neutral pile at start	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2397. Counters equally divided at start	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2398. Indefinite no. of players on each side	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Stick Hiding																
2399. Single small stick hidden between fingers	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	•(−)	−	−	•+	−	−
[562] 2400. Men, boys play	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2401. Women play	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2402. Hider wins point when opponent misses	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2403. Correct guesser hides	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2404. Betting	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
o2405. Number of counters	−	−	−	−	12	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
Dice Games																
2406. Dice, disk type	R	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	(−)	•+	(+)	−
[562] 2407. Men play	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−
2408. Women play	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	·	−
2409. Split acorn kernels	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	·	−
2410. Animal-teeth dice	•R	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−
o2411. Number of dice	4	4	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	2	−	3	·	−
2412. All same size	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	·	−
2413. 2 pairs, different sizes	(−)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−
2414. Each pair similarly marked.	(+)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−
o2415. Number of counters	10	12	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	−	•−	·	−
2416. Stick counters	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	·	−
2417. 1 neutral pile, at start	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−
2418. Referee to hand out counters.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	·	−
2419. Dice thrown on basket tray	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	·	−
2420. Dice thrown on flat stone	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−
o2421. Number of sides	2	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	2	−	2	·	−
o2422. Number on each side	1	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	2	−	2	·	−
o2423. 1 pair up, 1 pair down, scores ...(?)	1	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	·	·	−
2424. 2 unmatched up, 2 unmatched down, scores ...(?)	0	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	·	·	−
o2425. 0 up, all down, scores ...(?) or wins	0	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	·	·	−
2426. 1 up, 3 down, scores ...(?)	0	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	·	·	−
2427. 3 up, 1 down, scores ...(?)	0	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	·	·	−
o2428. 4 up, 0 down, scores ...(?)	2	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	·	·	−
2429. Bone dice	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	(−)	·	−
2430. Men play	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	·	−
2431. Carpal or tarsal bones	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	·	−
o2432. Number thrown	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	2	−	−	·	−
o2433. Number of counters	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	4	−	−	·	−
2434. Scoring	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	·	−
526 Objects Thrown in Air																
2435. Stick thrown up	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−
[562] 2436. Men	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2437. Women	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	526
2438. Children	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	[562]
2439. Stick sharpened at both ends	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•(−)	−	•+	−	−	
2440. Natural vestigial deer metapodial	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[857]
2441. 1 point when it lands erect in ground	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2442. Person who catches stick wins	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2443. Thrower scores	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2444. Unsuccessful thrower transfers	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
†2445. Number of counters	−	−	−	−	10	•10	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2446. Jacks	−	−	−	−	+	+	R	−	−	+	R	−	−	+	−	−	
2447. Men play	−	−	−	−	−	−	R	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	[562]
2448. Women play	−	−	−	−	+	+	R	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	[857]
2449. Children play	−	−	−	−	−	+	R	−	−	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	
2450. Stones	−	−	−	−	+	+	R	−	−	+	R	−	−	+	−	−	
†2451. Number of objects	−	−	−	−	10	10	−	−	−	−	5	−	−	3	−	−	
2452. Indefinite	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2453. Last object thrown up heaviest	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2454. For fun; no betting	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2455. Juggling	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2456. Rocks	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2457. Acorns	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
o2458. Number thrown up	−	−	−			•2	3	−	−	2	−	−	−	2	−	−	
2459. Thrown up in both hands, same time	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2460. Women	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	[562]
2461. Boys	−	−	−					−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	[857]
2462. For fun; no betting	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Gambling Taboos

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2463. Intercourse taboo before gambling	+	+	+	+	−			+	+	·	·	−	−	−	−	·	525
2464. Only if man has washed in sacred spot, for luck	−	−	−	−	−			+	+	·	·	−	−	−	−	·	834
2465. Intercourse taboo after gambling													•+	−	−	·	

Amusements

Toys

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2466. Tops	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	·	−	524
2467. Children play	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	·	−	[857]
2468. Adults play								+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	
2469. Acorn	−	−	−	•+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	·	−	
2470. Bark or wood disk, horizontal plane	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2471. Lump of pitch	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2472. Deer kneecap	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2473. Twirl with fingers	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	
2474. Twirl between palms	−	+	−				+		−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	
2475. Buzzer	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	−	−	R	·	•R	[857]
2476. Children play	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	·	R	
2477. Adults play			+					+	+	+	−	−	−	−	·	R	
2478. Wood or bark disk	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	·	−	−	−	·	−	
2479. Deer carpal	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	·	−	
2480. Shell disk	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	·	−	
2481. Acorns	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	·	−	−	−	·	−	
2482. Shoe-leather disk						R	−	−	R	R	R	−	−	R	·	R	
2483. To make snow	+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2484. String figures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	−	R	R	+	−	+	
2485. Old men, women play	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	[887]
2486. Men play	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	
2487. Women play	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	[562]

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2490. Moving figures	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	.	+	−	+
2492. Done in winter only	+	•+	−	−						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2493. Done any time, for fun	−	−	+							+	−	+	+	+	−	+
[481] 2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	−	•+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2494a. Stilts	−	•+	−	−	•+	R	−	−	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−
Contests																
526 2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. To throw man down	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. No tripping allowed	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	.	−
2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	−	+	+	.
2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								−	+	+	+	+	+
2502. Dodging	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	(−)	−	+	−	+
2503. Stones	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	−
2504. Hard objects inside geese	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2505. Sand bag	−	−	−					•+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2506. Tule, grass, balls	−	+	−					−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	+
2507. Two sides	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
o2508. Number on each side	−	•5	−			1	.	15	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[857] 2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	.	−
2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	.	+
2515. To mark and back	−	−	−			+	+	−	+	−	.	+	+	+	−	−
2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+			+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+
2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+
Storytelling																
518 2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2520. Myths told at night	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•		•+	•+
[516] 2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.		−	+
2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	•+	+	−			+		+	−	+	−	−	.		−	−
[784] 2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
2524. Rattlesnake will bite	−	+	.		+	+	+	+	−	.	+	−	.		.	−
2525. Winter will come quickly	+	−	.						+	.	+	−	.		.	−
[887] 2526. Narrated by old people only	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
[515] 2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	•−	+	+			+				+	−	+	.		+	+
2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	−	+	+			+				+	−	+	.		+	+
Social Dances																
Circle Dances																
535 2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	•R	•+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	−	R	−		−	−
[417] 2530. Performed in brush corral	−	−	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
[224] 2532. At fall rabbit hunt	−	−	−	−		−	+	−		−	−	−	−		−	−
[221] 2533. In springtime	−	−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
[226] 2535. During communal fishing periods	+	+	+							+	−	−	−		−	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2536. Any time	–	–	–	+		–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	535
2537. Several bands assemble together	+	–	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	
2538. Young people dance, mainly	–	+									–	–	–		–	–	
2539. Purpose mainly pleasure	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	[789]
2540. To make seeds grow	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2541. Dance around center post	–	+	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–	
2542. Juniper tree	–	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2543. Dance around fire	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2544. All dancers sing	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[533]
†2545. Special singers	–	–	–	–		–	2	–	4		–	1	–		–	–	
2546. Each local group sings own songs, in turn	+	–	+			+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2547. Split-stick rattle accompaniment	–	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2548. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	+			+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2549. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–		–		(+)	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[562]
2550. Men choose partners	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2551. Dance in 1 circle	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2552. Dance in 2 concentric circles	+	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
2553. Dance in 2 circles next to each other	–	–	–			+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2554. Sexes alternate	+	–	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2555. Sexes dance opposite each other in 1 circle	+	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2556. Quick shuffle step	+	(+)	+	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
2557. Hopping step	–	.	–	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2558. Stamp both feet, moving slightly									+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2559. Start: counterclockwise	+	(+)	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2560. Reverse: dance clockwise	–	.	–	+		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2561. When dance stops, all shout	+	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2562. Good singer dance leader	+	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2563. Band or district chief dance leader	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	[622]
2564. Clowns	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2565. Act of own accord; not appointed	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	[522]
o2566. Duration of dance, nights	1	+	1	1		1	1	3	1	2	–	2	–		–	–	
2567. Dance occasion for courting	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2568. Visitors camp in circular brush corral	–	–	+	–		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[574]
2569. Visitors feasted by hosts	–	–	+			+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	

Sweat "Dance"

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2570. Held inside sweat house											+	+	+		–	–	[515]
2571. At night											+	+	+		–	–	
2572. Any time of year												+	+		–	–	
2573. Both sexes participate											+	+	–		–	–	
2574. Hot fire in sweat house											+	+	+		–	–	
2575. 1 singer; hits center pole with stick											+	–	–		–	–	[533]
2576. Split-stick rattle used											–	+	–		–	–	
2577. Participants stand in 1 spot, dance until exhausted											+	+	+		–		
2578. Swim after dancing											+	+	+		–	–	[481]

Bear Dances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2579. Bear dance aboriginal	–	–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+	[177]
2580. Given for good time	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2581. Given to dress bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2582. Held in spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
2583. Held in winter	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
2584. Held any time, in good weather	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2585. Danced in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+	
2586. Danced in open	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	–	
o2587. Whole gathering lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	–		–	2	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
535 †2588. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	3	2	–		–	1
o2589. Actual dance lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–		–	1
o2590. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	2	1	2	–		–	–
2591. Dance begins near sundown	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
2592. Dance begins in morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
o2593. Number of singers, musicians	–	–	–	–	–	–	*2	–	–		*2	1	–		–	2
2594. Split-stick rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+
2595. Deer-hoof rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2596. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2597. Women, only, dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–
2598. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2599. Touch with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–
2600. Each person dances separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	+
2601. Dancers abreast	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
2602. Dancers in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2603. Stretch bear hide, as out to dry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[533] 2604. Male singer sits by hide and sings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2605. Women, or man, rub, hit bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2606. Man puts on bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+
2607. In morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	(+)
2608. Dances, walks with bearskin on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
2609. Impersonates bear, claws tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
2610. Dog set onto him	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	[illegible]	–		–	–
2611. Drops shell beads, which women pick up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2612. Killer of bear ultimately given bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[516] 2613. Impersonator, girl dancers wash at sacred spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2614. Performers from other groups	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–		–	+
2615. Feast follows performance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				+	–	–		–	+
[825] 2616. Held for black bear only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	*–	*–	–		–	–

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political Units

Sovereign Bodies

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
621 2617. Each village is autonomous unit	–	–	–	–	+	–	*+	*+	–	–	=	+	*+	+	–	+
2618. Community of closely adjacent villages forms autonomous unit	–	–	+		–	*+		–	*+	–	*+	–	–	–	*+	–
2619. Local group, embracing several communities is recognized, or is autonomous unit	+	+	–	+	–	*+	–	–	+	*+	*+	–	–	+	–	–
619 2620. Tribe, embracing all local groups, is recognized unit	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Chiefs and Other Officials

Number of Male Chiefs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
622 2621. 1 per autonomous unit	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+
[613] 2622. Multiple, of equal rank, per autonomous unit.	–	–	–	–	–	*4	–	–	*2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2623. Chiefly lineages	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2624. Tribal chief	R+	R+	–	(+)	–	*R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Basis for Selection

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
[611] 2625. Heredity, primary factor	–	+	+	+	+	*+	–	+	*+	+	*+	–	+	+	+	+
2626. Paternal only	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	*+	–	+	+	+	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2627. Both paternal, maternal	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	.	.	.	+	622
2628. Primogeniture	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	.	−	−	+	[611]
2629. Oldest member paternal lineage	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	
2630. Only if direct heir too young	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
2631. Brother of deceased chief	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	.	+	+	+	
2632. Only if direct heir too young			+						+	−	•+	−	.	−	−	−	
2633. Brother's son	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	.	−	+	+	
Qualifications for Appointment																	
2634. Character and knowledge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	
2635. Possession of wealth	−	−	+	.	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[556]
2636. Good speaker, and "talks to everyone"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
Appointment																	
2637. Chosen at assembly of elders.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	.	+	+	+	[623]
2638. Chosen at assembly of all males	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	−	.	−	−	−	
2639. Women sometimes attend and speak			−				+	−	−	−	.	+	.	−	−	−	[562]
2640. Incumbent may select successor	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	.	−	+	+	+	+	
2641. New leader may be appointed before incumbent dies	−	+	+				+	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	+	−	
2642. Headmen of other groups select or help select new leader	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	−	+	+	
2643. Approval of community required	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	.	−	−	−	
Tenure																	
2644. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2645. Dependent on satisfactory behavior	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	
2646. May be deposed by killing	−	−	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	.	•−	
Title																	
2647. Individual title	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2648. Title extended to children	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	
2649. To daughter only	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2650. Daughter called by special title													−	−	•+	−	
2651. Title extended to wife; "chief's wife"	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	.	−	+	
Insignia																	
2652. Wears "hairpin" with quail crest at ceremonies																+	[301]
2653. Chief only person who uses eagle feathers													−	−	+	−	[237]
Activities and Duties																	
2654. Hunts, fishes for self	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	
2655. Relatives hunt, fish for him	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2656. All give chief food free.	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	
2657. Food bought for chief	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2658. Feeds visitors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2659. Impoverished thereby	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[574]
2660. Provides most of food for ceremonies	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2661. Directs communal economic activities	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	[224]
2662. Deer drives	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
2663. Antelope, duck hunts, etc.	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
622 2664. Fishing	−	−	+					+	−	·+	+	+	−	−	+	−
2665. Vegetable-food quests	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2666. Pine-nut trips	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[587] 2667. Orates at public ceremonies	+	−	+	−	+	·+	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+
2668. Talks from sweat house, at dances	−		−					·+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2669. Talks morning and evening	·+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	·+	+	+	+	−	+
2670. Moral lectures to children	+	+	+					·+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	−
[627] 2671. Settles disputes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
2672. Pays or helps pay wergild	−		+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	−
2673. Sets price for wergild payments			−			+	+	+	+	−	.	(+)	−	−	−	.
2674. Sanctions killing of offenders	−	−	−					−	−	+	−	.	+	−	+	−
[721] 2675. Concerned with war	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	.	+	.
2676. Declares war	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	·+	+	+	.	+	.
o2677. Goes to war	+	−	−	−	+	±	+	+	+	−	·+	+	+	.	+	.
2678. Negotiates for peace	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	·+	−	−	.	+	.
Escort																
[574] 2679. Some 1 person accompanies chief on visit	−	−	−				+	·+	−	−	·+	+	·+	+	·+	−
2680. Several men, youths, accompany chief on visits	+	+	+				−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	·+
Female Chiefs and Titled Women																
[562] 2681. Female chiefs	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
2682. No male chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2683. Male chief also	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
2684. Sister, cousin of male chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2685. Daughter of male chief	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
2686. Wife of male chief	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	.
2687. Gives orders to men	−	−	+	·+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2688. Sends messengers with orders.	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2689. Substitutes for male chief in absence of latter	−	−	.	·+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2690. Supervises preparation of food for ceremony	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
2691. Titled women	−	−	−			(−)	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	+	+
2692. Sister, cousin of male chief	−	−	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+
2693. Daughter of male chief	−	−	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	+	−
Assistant to Male Chief																
2694. Assistant chief	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
o2695. Number per political unit	.	1	.	−	−	−	2	1	1	−	1	1	−	−	1	−
2696. Son or brother of chief	.	−	.	−	−	−		+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
2697. Advises chief	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
2698. Substitutes for chief in his absence.	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2699. Provides money for public gathering	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
2700. Supervises preparation, division of food for ceremony	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	+	−
2701. Lifelong office	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
Criers																
624 2702. Appointed by chief	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2703. Chosen at assembly of old men	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2704. Hereditary, paternal line	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
2705. Ability basis of selection	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
o2706. Number per chief or headman	−	1	2	−	−	−	1	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	1
o2707. Number per village	−		2	2	−	−	1	−	1	−	−	−	1	−	−	1

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2708. Speaks twice daily, from top of sweat house	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	624
2710. Moral lectures to children	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
2711. Stops disputes, chief's orders	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2712. Acts as dance manager	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
2713. Acts as messenger man	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[203]
2714. Talks at ceremonies	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
2715. Clowns and ridicules	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
Clowns																	
2716. Informal clowning, joking, only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	522
2717. Formal clowns	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•–	•–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	•+	
2718. Office distinct from crier's	–	–	–	–		–	–	+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	–	
2719. Hereditary	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
2720. Appointed by chief	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	
2721. Lifelong	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
2722. Clowns at ceremonies	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	•+	–	–	+	
2723. Wears acorn necklace	–	–	–							–	–	+	+	–	–	+	[445]
2724. Paid	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2725. Helps dreamer call spirits													+	–	–	–	
Messengers																	
o2726. No. male messengers per village or local group	–	–	(2)	2	–	–	1	•1	•3	2	•5	2	1	2	–	–	203
2727. No. variable for intratribal matters	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	•+	
2728. Individuals serve in temporary capacity only.	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	
2728a. Official messenger for war matters only	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2729. Competency and willingness chief criteria for selection of	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2729a. Must be good speaker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	–	
2730. Appointed by chief	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2731. Hereditary, paternal line	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	
2732. Lifelong tenure	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
2733. If incompetent, discharged	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2734. Paid if travels a distance	–	+	–		•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2735. Paid occasionally; given board	–	+	+				+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	
2736. Carries messages for chief or headman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	
2737. Travels about; gathers news	+	+	+								+	+	+	–	–	–	
2738. Welcomes guests	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	+		.	–	
2739. Orders hunt for chief	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+		+	–	
2739a. Attends to fire at ceremonies	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2740. Women messengers	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[562]
2741. Carry messages for anyone	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o2742. Number going together	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2743. Suitability only criterion	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2744. Travel only short distances	–	+	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2745. Act in temporary capacity only	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Fire Tender																	
†2746. No. per village or local group	•–	–	1	1	–	–	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	624
2747. Lifelong office	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	R+	–	+	+	+	–	+	372
2748. Temporary office only	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	R–	+	–	–	–	+	–	
2749. Hereditary in paternal line	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	+	[611]
2750. Appointed by chief	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	R+	+	–	–	–	+	–	
2751. Chief acts as fire tender	–	–	–									+	–	+	–	–	
2752. Clown acts as fire tender	–	–	–									–	+	–	–	+	[522]
2753. Attends to fire in assembly house	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2754. Keeps assembly house clean	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	+	+		–	+	
2755. Has 1 assistant	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(R)	+	+	–		+	+	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
624 2756. Attends to fire for sweating			−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
372 2757. Attends to fire for ceremonies				+	−	−	−	−	−	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2758. Builds fire for encamped visitors				+	−	−	−				−	−	+		−	−
Singers																
624 2759. No. male singers per village or local group	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	•2		−	3
533 2760. Variable number	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	(+)	−		+	−
2761. Office lifelong	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+		+	+
2762. Hereditary, in paternal line	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		+
2763. Any gifted individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+
2764. Appointed by chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+		+	+
[562] 2765. Female singers also	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+
2766. Sister, daughter of male singer	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	+
Dance Manager																
624 2767. Owner of sweat house (headman)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	+	+	+		+	−
535 2768. Hereditary office, paternal line	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		+	+
2769. Schedules dances	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		+	+
2769a. Urges people to dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+		+	+
2769b. Orders wood gathered for dance fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
2769c. Talks at intervals (prays) at dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−		+	−
WAR																
Nature and Causes																
Nature of Warfare																
726 2770. Intertribal wars	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+		+	•
721 2771. Intratribal raids and feuds	+	+	+	+	•−	•+	•+	•+	+	−	•+	•+	•+		+	.
Motivation																
721 2772. War for adventure or plunder	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	
2773. War for revenge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2774. Common	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−		−	
2775. Rare	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
2776. Intertribal murders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2777. Strangers from hostile tribes killed on sight	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2778. Intratribal murders, if uncompensated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+		+	
2779. Rape	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	
2780. Stealing women, young girls	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−		−	•
2781. Women, girls bought back, no war	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	.
2782. Insult or slight to chief	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	.		.	
2783. To avenge witchcraft against group.	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	−	+	+	+	+	.		−	
2784. Intratribally, for poisoning of girl by suitor			+	+		−	−				−	.			−	
2785. Poaching	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−		+	
2786. By alien tribe	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−		−	
2787. By another local group of same tribe	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−		−	
2788. No war; merely run off intruders	+		+	+		−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−		+	
2789. Stealing stored food	−	−	−	•−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS	
Participants															
Groups Involved															
*2790. Autonomous group alone	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	.	721
2791. Autonomous group plus allies	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	-	.	726
Combatants															
2792. All able-bodied men of group	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	•+	-	726
2793. Sometimes only limited number	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	701
2794. Some men stay to protect women	(+)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2795. Neighboring groups, tribes asked to give aid	•+	-	+	.	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	
2796. Warriors or neighboring tribes "hired" for war	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Leaders															
o2797. Chief or headman may lead war party	±	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	±	•-	•+	+	+	+	
o2798. Chief goes to war, neutral in battle	-	+	-	-	•+	-	±	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
o2799. Chief stays home	±	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	±	+	+	-	-	-	
o2800. War leader distinct official, not chief	±	±	+	+	+	-	+	-	±	-	+	-	-	-	
2801. Selected by chief	-	+	.	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	
2802. Chosen at popular assembly	+	+	.	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2803. Chosen on basis of competency	•+	+	.	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	
2804. Holds office until physically disabled	-	+	.	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	
2805. Appointed for 1 expedition, usually	-	-	.		+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2806. Shaman goes to war	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	.	+	+	+	-	[756]
2807. Occasionally only	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
Preparation															
Prognostication															
2808. Prediction of deaths in war	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	-	-	726
2809. By war leader, through dreams	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	[787]
2810. By shaman	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	-	-	.	-	-	[756]
2811. Dreams	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2812. Shaman tests contestants	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2813. If man falls during war dance, sign of death	-	-	+							+	+	.	-	-	
Shamanistic Activities Against Enemy															
2814. Shaman sings all night against enemy, prior to encounter	-	+	+	-	•+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	[756]
2815. "Charms" enemy	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	
2816. "Poisons" enemy	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2817. Formulas against enemy	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2818. Shaman sings during fighting					•			-	-	.	+	+	+	-	
2819. Shaman sometimes hired to kill enemy; no expedition	+	+	+	+		+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
Practice Fighting															
*2820. Combatants practice dodging arrows	+	(+)	.					•+	+	+	+	-	+	-	
2821. Night before fight	+	(+)	.					+	+	+	+	-	-		
2822. In daytime	-	-	.					-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
War Dance															
2823. War dance of incitement	•-	•+	+	+	+	-	+	•+	+	-	+	-	-	-	[535]

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
726 o2824. Held ... days before fight	-	-	2	-	-	-	•2	•2	1	•2	6	-	-	-
o2825. Lasts ... days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
535 o2826. Lasts ... nights	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	•2	-	5	-	-	-
2827. Part of night only	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
2828. At or near village	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2829. Outside in open	+	+	-			-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
2830. Inside in sweat house, around pole	-	-	+			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2831. Dancers abreast in row	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2832. Dancers in circle	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2833. Each person runs around	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
2834. Carry bow and arrows	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	-	-	-
2835. Talk to arrows	-	.	+					+	+	+	.	-	-	-
2836. Shoot at human effigy	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562] 2837. Men only dance	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2838. Men and women dance	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2839. Women carry feathers	-		-				+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-
[533] 2840. Women sing for men	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Painting, Headdress														
714 2841. Contestants paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	•+
2842. Red	-	-	+	+	.	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	.
2843. Black	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.
2844. White	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	.
2845. Face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.
2846. Arms	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	.
2847. Body and legs	-		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.
2848. Stripes	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	.
[776] 2849. Variable patterns	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	.	-	.
2850. According to guardian spirit	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-
2851. Head net	-	-	-								+	+	-	-
[30] 2852. Headband	-	-	-					+	+	+	+	+	•+	-
2853. Bone hairpins	-	-	-					•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-
Procedure														
Declaration and Manner of Fighting														
726 2854. Declaration of war	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-
[721] 2855. Prearranged encounters	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
2856. Surprise attacks	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
✓ 2857. Early morning, before dawn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2858. Scouts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	•-	+
2859. Use owl calls, etc.	•+	+	+	-	-	-	•+	+	+	+	+	.	-	.
2860. Hand-to-hand fighting	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2861. Shaman sings											+	+	+	-
2862. Men killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2863. Women killed	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2864. Children killed	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
Captives														
727 2865. Prisoners taken	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2866. Women: young	+	+	•+	+	-	-	+	+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-
2867. Children	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2868. Mainly	+	+	+	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2869. Women captives killed	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	+	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2870. Kept month or so before being killed	-	.	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2871. Abused, mistreated	-	.	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2872. Body left unburied, unburned	−	.	−	−				+	+	−	−	−	−	−	727
2873. Women captives enslaved	•+	(+)	+	•+	−	•−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2874. Violated	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[562]
o2875. Married	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	±	−	−	−	−	
2876. Child captives killed	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	[858]
2877. Kept for month or so	−	−	−	−				+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2878. Abused	−	−	−	−				+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2879. Body left unburied, unburned	−	−	−	−				+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
2880. Child captives enslaved	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2881. Adopted	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	[597]

Booty and Scalps

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
2882. Booty taken	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−
2883. Bows of slain kept	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	(+)	•+	−
2884. Scalps taken	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	•+	•−
2885. Scalp dried on frame	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	•+	−
2886. Special custodian for scalp	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2887. Scalp kept permanently	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2888. Scalp thrown away	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	(+)	−	−	−
2889. Scalp burnt	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	(+)	+	(+)	−	+	−
2890. Whole head taken	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2891. Fingers taken	+	−	+	−							−	−	−	−
2892. Heart cut out, taken	+	−	+	−					+	.	−	−	−	−

Behavior of Noncombatants

Women's Dance

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2893. Women dance while warriors away	−	+	+		•+	+	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	722
2894. Each day or night	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	
2895. Sing, pray to help men at war	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	535
2896. Each woman dances separately	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	562
2897. Round dance	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	.	−	.	−	−	
2898. Dance abreast	−	+	+		−		+	−	−	.	−	.	−	−	
2899. Outside	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	
2900. Woman singer	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	
2901. Male singer	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	
2902. Flint "rattle," on basket caps	−		+					−	−	−	−	.	−	−	
2903. Panther teeth, bear claws on stick rattle	−	−	+					−	−		−	.	−	−	
2904. No rattle used	−	(+)	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	
2905. Wear skirts of strung pine nuts	−	+	+		−		+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	
2906. Hold bow and arrow, or flint knife, in hand	−	−	+		•−			−	−	+	+	.	−	−	

Prognostications

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2907. If woman drops knife during dance, sign husband killed, hurt	−	−	.							+	+	.	−	−	[787]
2908. Shaman doctors to learn of warrior's progress	−	−	.						+	−	+	.	+	−	[552]

Return of War Party

Victory Dance

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2908a. Victory (scalp) dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	•+	−	727
2909. Held in or near village	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	535
2910. Held in brush corral	−	−	+								−	−	−	−	
2911. All men dance	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	[562]
2912. Warriors only, among men, dance	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2913. Women dance	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 535 2914. Dancing proceeds around fire and pole	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
2915. 2 circles, men and women separately	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
2916. 1 circle, men	–	–	+								–	–	+	–
2917. Dancers in row abreast	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2918. Each person dances separately	–	–			+						+	–	+	–
2919. Dancers stamp 1 foot	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2920. Dancers stamp both feet	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
2921. Scalp on center pole	+	•+	+	–	•+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	–
2922. Heart on top of center pole	+	–	+	–					•R	–	–	–	–	–
2923. Scalp(s) on small hand pol (s).	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
[532] 2924. Human effigy	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2925. Each warrior pantomimes his war deeds	–	.	–			+	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	–
2926. Each warrior dances singly, once around, with scalp	–	.	–	–		+	+	–	+	+	.	–	–	–
2927. Old women dance with scalps	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2928. Wipe themselves with bloody scalp	+	+	–	–					+	–	.	–	–	–
2929. Chew and bite scalp, heart	.	+	+	–		+	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
2930. Scalps dragged and rubbed in dirt	+	+	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2931. 1-2 women walk back and forth in front of dancers	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2932. Warriors carry bow and arrows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
2933. Shoot at scalp or heart	.	.	+	–				+	+	+	–	–	+	–
2934. Women dancers carry brush or pole	–		–						+	–	+	–	+	–
[302] 2935. Participants painted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2936. Black	+	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2937. Red	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2938. White	+		–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
[292] 2939. Participants wear brush, feather headdresses	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2940. Warriors wear fighting gear	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–

Purification of Killers; Treatment of Wounded

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 2941. Swims	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	.	+	–
783 2942. Sweats	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	–
2943. Steam type	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	.	–	–
2944. Direct-fire type	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–
[304] 2945. Scarification and bleeding	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–
2946. Aromatic plants rubbed on body	.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	–
2947. Women brush off men with plant	.	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	–
2948. Must stay outside	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–
2949. Stays awake mainly, or naps	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–
[782] 2950. Prays for luck	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	–
[262] ‡2951. Meat taboo ... days	–	–	.	+	•2	–	–	–	•4	–	28	.	6	–
2952. Warm food taboo	–											.	+	–
2953. Scratching stick used	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+
2954. Bath at end of taboo period	–	–	+	+							+	.	+	+
2955. Meat taboo to wounded	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	.	+	+
2956. Hot food taboo to wounded	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+
[752] 2957. Wash wounded with special decoction			–								+	.	+	+

Peace Negotiations

Compensation for Slain

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
728 2958. Intertribal wars: compensation	+	–	–	•–	–	R	•–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–
2959. Revenge only	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2960. Intratribal feuds or murders: compensation	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	−	−	728
2961. Revenge only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	
2962. Victims send envoy(s) to ask aggressors for pay	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	
2963. Chief or headman as envoy	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	[622]
2964. Paid for services by 1 side	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2965. Chief or headman makes peace	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2966. Compensation for slain, 1 side only	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2967. Compensation for all dead	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	
2968. If victims on both sides, no compensation	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
2969. Payment in beads, property	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	
2970. Payment in women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
2971. Customarily	+	+	.	(+)	.	+	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	
2972. Intratribally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
2973. Intertribally	+	−	−	−	(+)	R	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2974. Pay according to wealth, more for rich	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	[556]
2975. Pay according to status of victim	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	[554]
2976. Pay according to sex of victim	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	.	−	−	
2977. Pay according to age of victim	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	.	−		[560]
2978. If sufficient reason for killing, not much pay	−	−	+				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	[561]
2979. If kill "for meanness," pay large amount	−	−	+				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2980. Sticks of 1-string length for negotiation	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2981. Amount same as victim's mother's bride price	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−		[583]
2982. Amount (for women) same as usual bride price	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	
2983. Payment divided among all villagers	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2984. Most of payment goes to chief	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2985. Payment for woman goes to husband	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2986. Payment for woman goes to her family	•+	−	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	
2987. Payment for man goes to his family	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	−	−	
2988. Payment for slave goes to owner	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2989. Payment for slave goes to latter's family	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2990. Compensation for property destroyed	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Dance or Meeting for Settlement

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2991. Both groups present	−	−	+	+	+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	728
2992. Daytime	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2993. Night	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	535
2994. At certain localities outside village	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2995. Halfway between 2 villages	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2996. Dressed for war; armed	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2997. Dance in circle	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2998. Dance in row, abreast	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2999. 2 groups face each other	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3000. All dance together	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3001. Payment in beads	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
3002. During dance	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3003. Dancers disarm after money paid	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3004. Women dance with blood money	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3005. Blood money smoked over fire	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3006. Groups sometimes eat together	−	−	+			−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
CYCLE OF LIFE																
Birth Customs																
844 Preparations for Delivery																
3007. Delivery in special hut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	+
3008. Delivery in dwelling house	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
3009. Ground prepared for delivery	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3009a. Trench dug	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3010. Ground warmed	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
3011. Grass bed	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
3012. Pine needles, tules, leaves for bed	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Delivery																
3013. Parturient assisted during delivery	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[759] 3014. By professional midwife	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
3015. Midwife paid	+	+	–			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
3016. By female relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
[756] 3017. By husband	+	+	–	–	–	–	•–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
3018. By shaman	–	–	–	•–	–	•+	–	•+	•–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–
3019. By female herbalist	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	–
3020. Birth aided by medicine	–	•–	–	•+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
[278] 3021. Vegetable decoction drunk, sometimes	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	–	•+	+
3022. Decoction of ashes drunk	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3023. Water blown on parturient's head	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–
[516] 3024. Parturient kneels	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
3025. Parturient squats	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
3026. Parturient sits down, leaning backward	–	–	–			•+		+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	•–	–
3027. Parturient lies on back	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
3028. Grasps stakes	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
3029. Grasps cord	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3030. Steadies self with hands	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3031. Holding or handling of parturient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3032. Massaged	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
3033. Shaken	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
3034. Held by attendant, from behind	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3035. Abdomen pressed, if slow birth	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
3036. Held suspended, head down	•	•+	•+							•+	–	•+	•(+)		•–	–
3037. Attempts made to hasten birth	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
3038. Child "coaxed" by speech or songs	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	+	•+	•	–	–	–	•+	–
3039. Child "frightened" by noise	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3040. Child squeezed out	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	•+
3041. Child "shaken" out	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
Afterbirth																
3042. Assistance in expelling afterbirth	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3043. Husband aids; tries to shake it out	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
3044. Poor couples only	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3045. Parturient's abdomen pressed	–	–	–						•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
3046. Afterbirth sometimes taken out with hands	–	–	+								•	+	•	–	–	–
3047. Womb pushed back with heel													–	+	+	–
3048. Afterbirth disposed of immediately after delivery	+	+	–				–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3049. Afterbirth kept until navel cord drops off	–	–	+				•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3050. Afterbirth wrapped	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3051. Skin	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	+	+	+	–	–	–

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
3052. Grass	.	+.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	+	–	+
3053. Bark	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	–
3054. Relatives or midwife dispose of afterbirth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3055. Old women relatives	+	+	–.	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
3056. Male relatives of parturient	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3057. Husband of parturient	+	+	–					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3058. Midwife	–	+	–						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3059. Afterbirth buried, customarily	+	+	+	–	–	–	+.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3060. In ground	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+.
3061. Underneath bark, but not in ground	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3062. Afterbirth burned, customarily	–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–.	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–
3063. In fire, between 2 hot rocks	–	–	–	(+)	+	+.	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–
3064. Roasted, between 2 hot rocks; no fire			–						+.	.	–	–	–	–	–	–
3065. Afterbirth burned, only if infant dies	+	+	–	.	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3066. Afterbirth mutilated, destroyed	+	+.	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
3067. Turned inside out	+	+.	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
3068. Burned outside	–	–	+								–	–	–	–	–	–
3069. Buried	–	–	–				–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3070. Thrown outside	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3071. Thrown on ants' nest	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3072. Put in hole	.	+.	–			+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3073. Hole stopped with hot rock	.	–	–			+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3074. To change sex of child	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3075. To prevent future offspring	.	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
Navel Cord																
3076. Cord not cut until afterbirth expelled													+		+	+
3077. Cord twisted and cut below twist	–	–							+	.	+	+	+	+	.	+
3078. Cord cut with knife	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
3079. Obsidian or stone knife	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	–
3080. Shell knife	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	+
3081. Knife put away, or purified, after use	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	–	+.	.	+	–
3082. So infant will not sicken	+	+	–	–	–		+	+	+	.	.	–	+	.	+	+
3083. Knife thrown away, or destroyed	–	–	–							+	–	–	–	.	–	+.
3084. Cut by attendant	–	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3085. Cord tied	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
3086. With mother's hair	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–
3087. With vegetable-fiber string	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	+	–	–	–	+
3088. With sinew	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3089. With buckskin string	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
3090. Tied on itself	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	+	+
3091. Cord coiled: bound with rat or mouse gut	+.	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3092. Dressings applied to umbilicus, before cord drops off	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3093. Pitch	–	–	+	+.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3094. Deer grease	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3095. Pulverized shells and ashes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+.	–	–	–	–	–	+.
3096. Plant dressings	–	–	–	–	–	+.	–	+.	+.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3097. Charcoal and fingernail scrapings	–	–	–		+.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3098. Warm stone	–	–	–			+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
3099. Belly band used	+	.	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
3100. Navel cord preserved, after drops off	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	–	+
3101. For short time only	+	–	+	–	+.	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
3102. Until owner adult	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3103. Permanently	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3104. In small basket		–	–						–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3105. In bag	+	+	–	+	–		+	+	+.	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
3106. On first cradle	+	–	–		–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
844 3107. On second cradle	–	–	–		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
3108. On person, after child walks	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3109. Shown to owner, when adult	–	•+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3110. Disposal of cord	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	+	+	+
3111. Buried	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
3112. Burnt	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	+
3113. Thrown away, or "lost"	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Treatment of Infant																
844 3114. Bathing	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
846 3115. Immediately after birth	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
3116. 1 day after birth	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3117. Steamed on lap, 2-3 days after birth	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
3118. Steamed after cord drops off	–	•+	•+	•+							–	–	–	–	–	–
3119. Wiped with grass, skin, etc.	•+	•+	•+				•+	–	–	.	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–
3120. Rubbed with oil, grease, powder	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–
[851] 3121. Massaging	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3122. Torso shaped	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3123. Legs, arms shaped	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3124. Face, nose shaped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3125. Massaging, shaping after cord drops off, only	+	+	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3126. By maternal grandmother	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
3127. By mother	+	+	+					+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3128. By attendant											+	+	+	+	+	+
3129. Blow in baby's ears	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3130. Ceremonial; singing, praying over baby	–	–	•+	–	•–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–
Treatment of Mother																
3131. Isolated indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3132. In hut, dwelling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
‡3133. For ... days and nights	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	3	6	5	4	+
†3134. For ... months	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
3135. Until blood stops flowing	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3136. Until cord drops off infant	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3137. Leaves hut immediately after birth of child	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3138. Breaks wood	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3139. Packs wood	–	+	+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3140. Runs	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3141. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3142. To keep healthy	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3143. To keep blood flowing	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[515] 3144. Bathing or care of body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3145. Bathes in river	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	•–	–
3146. Bathed in hut, by attendant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+
3147. Takes steam bath in hut	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3148. Massaging	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	+
3149. Belt around abdomen for period of isolation	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
3150. Hair belt	–	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
[278] 3151. Medicinal drinks	+	+	•+	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
3152. Ordinarily	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
3153. Only if ailing	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3154. External application of heat	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3155. Warm rock strapped on abdomen, with belt	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+
3156. Lies on warm "bed"	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
○3157. For ... days	2	2	+	–				10	–	–	–	3	6	5	4	–
3158. Until blood stops running	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3159. Until cord drops off	–	–	–	–				–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	844
3160. Pit or trench dug	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	846
3161. Hot rocks, charcoal put in pit	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	
3162. Pit covered with grass, bark.	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	
3163. Fire direct on ground; lies beside it	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	
Treatment of Midwife																	
3164. Bathes, immediately after child born	+	+	+						+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	844
3165. Cuts arms, later	–	–	+						+	+	–	(+)	–	–	.	–	759
Restrictions on Mother																	
‡3166. Restrictions last for ... days	5	5	–	28	–	8	–	28	28	28	–	3	6	5	28	28	846
3167. Until blood stops flowing	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3168. Until navel cord drops off	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	784
o3169. Bathing taboo	+	+	±	±	+	+	±	+	+	+	+	±	+	+	+	±	
3170. In stream	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[515]
3171. Sweat bath	+	+	–	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3172. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3173. Eats alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3174. Fed by old woman	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[262]
3175. Uses separate receptacles	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176. Eats sparingly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176a. Fresh meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3177. Dried meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3178. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
3179. Dried fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	
3181. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3182. Salt taboo	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3183. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	
3184. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
3185. Combing hair taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	.	[302]
3186. Head, face scratcher used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
3187. Especially for first child.	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	
3188. Tabooed activities	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
3189. Making baskets taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3190. Preparing food taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
‡3191. Traveling taboo ... days	5	5	–	28	–	–	–	28	28	28	–	3	6	5	28	–	[484]
3192. Until blood stops flowing or cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	
o3193. Sees no men for ... days	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	[562]
†3194. Intercourse taboo for ... months	2	2	2						2	2	.	.	1	1	.	3	[834]
3195. Loud noise near child taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3196. Would make child deaf	–	+	+							–	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3197. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3198. Bathes	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3199. Midwife or mother assists	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	[515]
3200. Medicated bath	–	–	+	+		+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	–	[759]
3201. Sweats	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3202. Swims after sweating	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[481]
Restrictions on Father																	
3203. Required for all offspring	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
3204. For first child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
3205. Retirement period	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3206. Stays with mother in hut	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3207. Must stay in own dwelling house	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
846	3208. Merely stays indoors	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
784	‡3209. For ... days	5	5	–	5	–	–	–	·4	–	·4	–	–	6	·	28	28
	3210. Until child's cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3211. Sleeps little	–	+	+			+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	–	–	.	+
	3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535]	3212a. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481]	3213. Runs	+	+	+	–	·+	·+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3214. First child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3215. Breaks up wood		–	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3216. Brings back firewood	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3217. Piles up rocks	·+	·+	·+										–	–	–	–
[787]	o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	·–	–	–	+	±	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3220. First 4-5 children only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481]	3221. Swims	.	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	.	–
[252]	3222. In spring in mountains	–	+	–			–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–
	3223. Cooks for self and children	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3224. Bathing taboo	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
[515]	o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	–	–	·4	–	–	·4	–	·4	–	·4	+	3	–	–	.	–
	†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	–	5	·4	–	–	·4	–	+	·4	·4	+	–	–	–	–	–
	3227. Certain activities taboo.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[224]	‡3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	·4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
	†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	·4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
	†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	·4	·2	+	3	+	6	+	30
	3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[525]	†3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	–	28	·2	+	3	+	+	.	+
	3233. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
[276]	3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	.	–
[484]	†3235. Traveling taboo ... days	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	·2	+	3	+	+	+	40
	3236. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	†3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	–	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	·2	+	3	+	–	+	·28
[262]	†3238. Fresh fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	+	–	+	3	+	–	[illegible]	35
	†3239. Dried fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	–	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
[265]	†3240. Salt taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	5	+	–	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312]	3241. Cold water taboo	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3242. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	3243. Until child smiles first time													–	–	+	–
	3244. Eats with wife	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3245. Uses own receptacles	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
	3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
[292]	3247. Special belt worn	·(–)	+	–	–	+	–	·+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
	3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	·+	·+	+	–	–	–
	3249. Combing hair taboo	+	·+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3250. Until navel has healed	.	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3252. Bathes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·+	–	–	–	+	·+	+	+	–
	3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
	3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3255. Gives away old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	3256. Burns old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3257. Throws away old clothes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[526]	3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	+	+								+	–	–	–	–	–
[224]	3259a. Shoots at target	–	–	+	–	·+						–	.	–	–	–	–
	3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	–	+	+	–	·+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
[525]	3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	–	–	–		·+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	·+	–	.	–
	3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							·+	+	·+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Cradles																	
3263. 2 cradles used successively	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	854
3264. Both same shape	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3265. First lacks hood	+	-	-			+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
3266. Different shapes	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
‡3267. 1st cradle used for about ... days	.	28	28	5	+	+	+	28	28	28	+	.	˙28	28	+	-	
3268. Used until cord drops off	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	
3269. Made before baby born	-	-	-	+	-	˙+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	+	+	
3270. Presented to mother after child born														.	+	+	
3271. Made after baby born	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	+	-	-	
3272. Bad luck if made before birth	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	+	-	-	
3273. Tied on tree when discarded	-	+	˙+	˙+	+	+	+	-	˙+	˙+	-	-	˙-	-	-	-	
o3274. 2d cradle used for ... years	1+	1+	1+	˙1+	1+	˙1+	1+	˙2	˙2	˙1	1+	1+	1+	1+	˙1	1+	
3275. Made by maternal, paternal grandmother	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3276. Made by mother	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3277. Made by woman specialist	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
3278. Made by paternal grandfather	-	-	+								-	-	-	-	-	+	
3279. Man makes cradleboard	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3280. Cradle must be finished same day begun	-	+	-				+	+	-	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
3281. Discarded cradle tied on tree	-	-	-	˙+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3282. Discarded cradle kept in house	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3283. Used for several children	.	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	
3284. Vegetable diapering material	˙+	˙+	˙+	-	˙+	˙+	˙+	˙+	˙+	˙+	-	˙+	-	˙+	˙+	˙+	
3285. Skin diapering material	-	-	-	˙+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	
3286. Infant wrapped in skin	-	+	+	+	˙+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Nursing																	
o3287. Infant nurses after ... days	˙2	2	1	2	2	˙1	˙1	˙1	1	˙1	˙1	0	˙1	˙1	1	0	853
3288. Colostrum milked out	+	+	˙+	˙+	˙+	+	˙+	˙+	+	+	+	-	+	+	˙+	+	
3289. Milked onto hot rock or coals	˙+	˙+	+	+	˙+	+	˙+	-	˙-	˙-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3290. Denied to baby	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
3291. Infant fed gruel, first 2-3 days	-	-	˙+	-	-	-	˙+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3291a. Infant fed water, first 2-3 days	+	+	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	
3292. Nursed whenever cries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
o3293. No intercourse between parents for ... months	-	˙2	˙2	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	.	.	+	1	(1)	3	[834]
Weaning and Discipline of Children																	
3294. Weaning as soon as teeth appear, regularly	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	862
3295. Early weanings, occasionally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	
3296. Pregnancy cause of	+	+	+	+	+	˙+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	
3297. Sickness of mother cause of	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	+	+	+	+	
3298. Infant taken to mother's relatives	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	-	+	.	.	
3299. Mother keeps out of baby's sight	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	+	.	.	
3300. Mother puts bitter substance on nipples	.	.	˙+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	˙+	-	˙+	˙+	
3301. Mother frightens child	.	.	-						˙+	˙+	-	-	-	˙+	-	-	
3302. Child fed larger quantities solid food											+	+	+	-	+	+	
3303. Child usually nurses until he stops of own accord	+	+	+	-	+	˙+	+	+	˙+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3304. Night "cry babies" bathed	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	
3305. Infant's ears pierced, if cries excessively	-	-	-		˙+		+	˙-	+	-	˙+	-	-	-	+	-	[304]

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
Naming																
553 3306. Child named at, soon after, birth	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	.	-
3307. Child named up to 6 months after birth	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
3308. Child named after 1 year plus	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
3309. Child named around puberty	-	-	-					+	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
3310. Named by father	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+
3311. Named by mother	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+
3312. Girl baby named by mother's mother	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	.	-
3313. Boy baby named by father's father	+	+	+	+			+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	.	-
3314. Child named by any near relative	+	+	-	-				+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-
3315. Child named by relative or nonrelative	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
551 3316. Names meaningful	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+
3317. Names meaningless	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	.	+
3318. Names duplicated during lifetime 2 people	-	-	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+
3319. Name "given away"	-	-	+							+	-	-	-	-	.	-
[787] 3320. Names dreamt	-	+			+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
3321. Naming after grandparents, other relatives	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	.	+
3322. After death of relative only	-	-	-	+		-	-	+	+	+	-	+	(-)	+	.	-
Mutilations																
304 3323. Ears pierced	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
3324. Soon after birth	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
3325. Prepuberty	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	+
3326. Around or after puberty	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
3327. Obligatory for all boys and girls	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3328. Girls only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
3329. Virgins only	-	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3330. Done by older relative	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	+
3331. Done by skilled person	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	.	+	-
3332. Done by good or "powerful" person	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
3333. To make child good-tempered	-	+	+				+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
3334. For "fun" or style; to display wealth	+	-	+	+						+	-	-	-	+	+	.
3335. For good fortune	-	-	-								+	-	+	-	-	.
3336. Dance follows	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
3337. Nasal septum pierced	R+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
3338. Soon after birth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
3339. Prepuberty	R+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3340. At or around puberty	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
3341. Any time	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3342. Men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
3343. Obligatory for all	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3344. All girls only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3345. Done by relative	R+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
3346. Done by skilled person	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3347. Done by self	-	-	-					-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3348. Boy: sent on vision quest	-	-	-				+	-	[illegible]	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3349. Girl: dance follows								-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
3350. Tattooing	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	(-)	-	-	-	+
3351. Women: prepuberty	R	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
3352. Women: postpuberty, any time	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	R	(+)	-	-	-	+
3353. Obligatory for women	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3354. Rare among women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	R	R	+	-	-	-	+
3355. Men: when adult, any time	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
3356. Done by skilled person, usually women	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	R	R	R	.	-	-	-	+
3357. Done by "good" person	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3358. For style only	R	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	R	R	R	.	-	-	-	.
[755] 3359. As therapeutic measure	-	-	-						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3360. To insure longevity	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3361. Spirit of tattooed goes to good place	-	•+	-					+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	304
3362. Cranial deformation	+	•+	+	•+	-	•+	+	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3363. Male	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3364. Female	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
3365. Pads bound to head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3366. Back	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3367. Front	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3368. Mother attends to baby's head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Disposal of Milk Teeth																	
3369. Thrown away, no particular place	+	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3370. Thrown away, toward sun	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	856
3371. Thrown in river	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	826
3372. Buried in gopher hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	
3373. Buried in excrement	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3374. Hidden in grass clump	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3375. Buried, no special place	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3376. Exchanged with gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3377. Formula spoken	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	
Twins																	
3378. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	+	-	•+	+	+	+	•.	+	+	•.	845
3379. Considered unlucky	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	[777]
3380. Attempts made to prevent conception of twins	-	-	-						•+	-	+	•+	.	•+	•+	.	
3381. People "ashamed" for woman	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	.	
3382. No significance	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	
3383. Relative adopts 1	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	+	+	.	[547]
Adoption of Children																	
3384. Parents impoverished: relatives, only, adopt child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	-	+	+	+	547
3385. Orphan: adopted by paternal, maternal kin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
3386. Paternal relatives only	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
o3387. Childless couples given child by relatives	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	+	.	+	
3388. Anyone may adopt orphan	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Infanticide, Illegitimate Children																	
3389. Illegitimate children killed, occasionally	+	+	+	-	+	•-	+	•-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	847
3390. Legitimate children killed occasionally	-	-	•+						•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	•-	848
3391. To avert disaster	-	-	+						+	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	
3392. If mother dies in childbirth	-	-	+						+	•-	-	.	-	+	+	-	
3393. Infant buried alive with mother	-	-	+						•+	-	-	.	-	+	+	-	
3394. Infant put in badger hole	+	+	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	
3395. Infant smothered	-	-	•+						•+	•+	.	-	-	-	-	-	
3396. Mother keeps illegitimate child	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	-	.	+	+	+	
3397. Mother's mother takes illegitimate child	-	-	-	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	.	+	.	+	+	-	
3398. Father of illegitimate child provides for baby	-	-	+	+	.	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Impregnatives, Contraceptives, Abortion																	
3399. Measures taken to induce pregnancy	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	842
3400. Shell, vegetable decoction drunk	+	•+	•+	-	-	-	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	
3401. Doctor makes miniature baby cradle													-	-	•+	.	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
842 *3402. Measures taken to insure sex wanted, of child	+	•+	–			•+	+	–	•+	–	.	.	–	–	+	.
3403. 2 varieties shell used in decoction employed	+	+	–			+	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	.
3404. Different parts of plant used in decoction	–	–	–			–	–	–	•+	–	.	.	–	–	+	.
3405. Bow and arrow or basket hung up	–	–	–						•+	–	.	.	.	.	–	–
*3406. Measures taken to prevent pregnancy	.	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	+	–	–	R
3407. Decoction drunk	.	.	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	–	•+	–	–	R
847 3408. Abortion	.	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	.	–	+	–	–
3409. Pregnant woman lies on warm trench.	.	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	–
3410. Pregnant woman lies over log	.	–	+								.	.	–	–	–	–
3411. Exercise	.	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	–	.	.	–	–	–	–
3412. Blows or pressure	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	.	.	–	–	–	–
3413. Old woman helps	.	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	–
3414. Pregnant woman helps self, alone	.	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	.	–	+	–	–

Puberty and Menstrual Customs

Girls' Puberty Ceremony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 881 3415. Held for each girl separately	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3416. Private seclusion of menstruant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3417. In menstrual hut	–	–	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+
3418. In cook house	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3419. In dwelling, winter only	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
3420. In open	+	+	•–	•–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3421. Daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
3422. Night time	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
3423. Hut behind, near dwelling	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
[516] 3424. Girl not allowed in dwelling house.	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
3425. Girl sits, lies on pine needles, mat bed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3426. Girl sits, lies on heated trench	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•–	–
3427. Girl sits, lies on warmed ground	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3428. Bark pillow	–	–	–		•+	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3429. Stick, pine needle pillow	–	–	–			•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–
3430. Girl lies on back	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3431. Girl lies on side	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
3432. Girl lies in any position	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	(+)	–
3433. Faces east when lying down	.	+	+	+	•+	–	–	+	+	•–	–	(+)	–	+	–	–
‡3434. Seclusion lasts ... months, rich girl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•2	12	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
o3435. Seclusion lasts ... months, poor girl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	12	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
‡3436. Seclusion lasts ... days, all girls	5	5	•8	10	•3	•6	•3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	–
o3437. Seclusion lasts ... nights, all girls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	–	–	–	0	0	6	0	4	–
‡3438. Seclusion ... days subsequent periods	5	5	2	•1	•2	2	2	•1	11	1	–	1	–	5	–	1
3439. Attendants during seclusion	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3440. Father's mother or mother's mother attends girl	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3441. Father's father or mother's father attends girl												+	+	–	–	–
3442. Mother's mother attends girl	–	–	+	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3443. Mother attends girl	–	–	+		+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
3444. Female nonrelative attends girl	–	–	–				•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
[465] 3445. 2 or more attendants	–	–	–	–			–					+	+	+	–	•+
3446. All attendants paid	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
3447. Girl digs, pounds epos for attendant.	–	–	+				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3448. Attendant paid in beads	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
3449. Girl's clothes given attendant(s)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3450. Girl's basket given female attendant.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
†3451. Girl eats sparingly ... days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•6	•3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	28	84
†3452. Girl eats sparingly ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	88
3453. Meals limited to twice daily	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3454a. After sunrise, before sunset.	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3454b. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3455. Dried fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3456. Meat taboo	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3457. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3458. Salt taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3459. Berries taboo	+	+	–	+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	
3460. New crop acorns, seeds taboo	–		+						•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3461. Hot food taboo	•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3462. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
3463. River water taboo	–	+	–						•+		–	–	–	–	–		
‡3464. Food taboos extend over ... days	5	5	•8	10	3	•6	•3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	28	
†3465. Food taboos extend over ... yrs.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3466. Food taboos observed all subsequent periods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3467. Girl eats outside	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3468. Girl eats inside hut, dwelling	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
3469. Eats with woman attendant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	•+	
3470. Girl uses own baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3471. Baskets kept; left in hut			+		+						+	+	–	–	–	•–	
3472. Baskets destroyed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3473. Baskets hung on tree			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3474. Cane drinking tube used	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3475. Basket "cup" used for drinking	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	
3476. Ceremonial feeding by attendant	–	+	+	+	(–)	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	•+	
3477. Mother feeds girl, cleans teeth	–	–	+			+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	
3478. Girl's mouth wiped by attendant	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	
3479. Girl chews plant substance	+	•+	•+		•+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	
3479a. Plant substance stuffed in nostrils	–	–	–		•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	
3480. Girl sleeps little, fitfully	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	
3481. No daytime sleeping, first day	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
3482. Charcoal in ears, to avoid bad dreams	+	–	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[782]
3483. Bark burned above hut, to frighten evil spirits	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3483a. Menstruant must tell her bad dreams		(+)	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	
3483b. If dreams, doctored by special doctor		+	+	–		+	+	+	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	
3484. Girl rises early	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•–	•+	
3485. No talking during seclusion	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3486. Little talking	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3487. Must talk softly	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3488. Cannot laugh aloud	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
3489. Girl avoids all men in daytime	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	
3490. Avoids all hunters	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
3491. Old women visit girl	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[887]
3492. Old women instruct girl	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•+	
3493. Gazing at any fire taboo	.	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	[821]
3494. Gazing at sun taboo	.	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3494a. Weak eyes, if gaze at sun	.	–	+	–	–	.	–	•–	–	+	.	–	.	+	.	–	
3495. Gazing at moon taboo	.	+	+	+	•+	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3496. Gazing at sky taboo	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3497. Looking around taboo	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	
3498. Looking at acorns taboo	○	○	–	–	–	–	○	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3499. Looking at any wild crops taboo	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	
3500. Gaze would "kill" crops	.	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	+	+	•+	+	
3500a. Crossing streams taboo	.	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	
3501. Menstruant bathes daily	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	[575]
3502. Menstruant bathes after flow ceases	–	+	+						+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841	3503. Bathes last day of seclusion only	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
881	3504. Bathes outside, in stream	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
	3505. Bathes inside, house	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
[513]	3506. May wet, wash hair	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
	3507. Bathes alone	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3508. Mother, attendant helps girl bathe	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
[302]	3509. Girl uses head scratcher	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
	3510. Bone head scratcher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3511. Stick head scratcher	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	‡3512. Head scratcher used ... days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•6	•3	5	−	28	6	5	6	5	4	28
	†3513. Head scratcher used ... years	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3513a. Parents scratch girl's head	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
	3514. Delousing by attendant	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+
[292]	3515. Girl wears basket cap	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
	3515a. Girl wears flower crown	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3516. Head covered with bark "cape"	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3517. Head covered with deerskin blanket	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3518. Head inside basket when sleeping	+	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3519. Eagle down in hair	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3520. Feathers in hair	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[301]	3521. Braided bark forehead band	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3522. Fur forehead band	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3523. Feather visor	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3524. Head, face covered inside house	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3525. Head, face covered when going outside	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	•−	•+	−	•+	−	•+	−	•−	•+
	3526. Hair in 2 braids, over shoulders	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
	3526a. Hair in 1 braid, down back	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3527. Braid(s) wrapped with bark	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3528. Hair in 2 knobs, over shoulders, wrapped	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
	3529. Knobs wrapped with bark	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3530. Hair short, banged	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3531. Hair loose, tied at back	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
	3532. Mother combs, dresses girl's hair	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
	3533. Attendant dresses girl's hair	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+		−	+	+	−	−	+
	3534. Hair dressed once only, first day	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	3535. Hair dressed daily	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	(+)	+
	3536. Combings burned, buried	−	−	−	−		−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	·	−
	3537. Combings saved for belt	−	−	+								+	−	−	−	−	−
	3538. Girl's face painted black	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
	3539. Girl's face painted red	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
	3540. Special face pattern	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3541. Daily varied face patterns	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
	3542. Charcoal around eyes								+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3543. Arms painted	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
	3544. Girl painted daily	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
	3545. Girl painted by mother	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
	3546. Girl painted by attendant	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−
	3547. Girl wears old clothing	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
	3547a. Small skin over shoulders	(−)	(−)	+								·	−	−	−	−	−
	3548. Buckskin skirt or dress	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
	3549. Pine-nut string skirt			−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3550. Bark skirt	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
	3551. Short tule, grass skirt	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
	3552. Grass or skin breechclout	·	•+	•+	•+	•+	•·	+		•+	·	−	•+	•+	−	−	−
	3553. Buckskin leggings	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
	3554. Tule leggings	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3555. Tule, skin moccasins	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
	3556. Barefoot, preferred	+		−			+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
[301]	3557. Anklets	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) · 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3558. Wristlets	·+	·+	-	-	-	·+	·+	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	84]
3559. Special belt	-	·+	·+	·+	-	·+	·+	-	·+	-	·+	·+	·+	-	-	-	88]
3560. Nose stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3561. Earrings, optional	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[301]
3562. Necklaces	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	
3563. All labor taboo during isolation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	
3564. Preparing food taboo	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3565. Basketmaking taboo	-	+	+	+	·+	·+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3566. No labor taboo	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3567. Compulsory light labor	·+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	
3568. Compulsory heavy labor	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3569. Girl must carry firewood	+	+	·+	·+	·+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	·+	-	·+	
3570. Girl must carry water	+	-	+	-	·-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3571. Girl must pound roots	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3572. Girl must gather vegetable food	-		+	-	·+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	
3573. Girl gives roots she digs to old woman	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3574. Girl makes baskets	-	-	-	-	·-	·-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3575. Compulsory running, racing	+	-	-	-	·+	·+	·+	-	·+	-	+	+	-	·+	-	-	
3576. Girl runs each morning	-	-	-	-	+	·+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3577. Girl runs in evening	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3578. Girl runs at end of rite only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	
3579. Girl races with 2 girls	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
3580. Carries deer-hoof rattle when running	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	[787]
3581. Vision seeking during running, dancing	-	-	-	-	·+	+	+	-	+	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	
3582. Instruction by attendant during seclusion	-	(+)	-	-	·-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3583. Ears pierced during puberty ceremony.	-	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	[304]
3584. Ears pierced shortly after puberty rites	-	-	-	-	-	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3585. Dance follows ear-piercing	-	-	-	-	-	·+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
3586. Vision seeking after ear-piercing	-	-	-	-	+	·+	·(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3587. Ears pierced prepuberty	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	·+	-	-	-	
3588. Ears pierced postpuberty	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	
3589. Ceremonial purification at end of puberty ceremony	·+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	[783]
3590. Girl bathes to remove taboos	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3591. Mother, attendant wash girl	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	·-	+	
3591a. Girl bathes alone	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
3592. Sage decoction used for bath	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3593. Girl rubbed with pine needle, root medicine	-	-	+								-	+	·+	+	.	-	
3594. Girl rubbed with salt												+	-	-	.	-	
3595. Sweat bath to remove taboos	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3596. Girl jumps in stream after sweating	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3597. Girl changes clothes, end of rites.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3597a. Girl given new clothes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3598. Old clothes burnt	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+		
3599. Old clothes saved for limited no. menses	·+	·+	·-	-	·+	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3599a. Old clothes kept in hut; loaned, used by near relatives	-	-	+					+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3600. Old clothes washed	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3601. Old clothes given or thrown away	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	·+	
3602. Old clothes hung on tree			-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3603. Old clothes exchanged for new ones	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	·+	
3604. Sagebrush band kept	+	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3605. Anklets, wristlets burned	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3606. Belt kept permanently	-	-	·+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	

		Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
841 881	3606a. Belt given attendant	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3607. Belt hung on tree, end of last dance.	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3608. Public rites: major dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
841	3609. Night dance	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	−	•+	−	•+
881	3609a. Begins 1st night of girl's menstruation	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
535	3610. Day dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−
	3611. Given mainly for girls of rich families	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	(−)
[787]	°3612. Given to avert disaster to participant(s)	•+	•+	+	•−	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	.	+	+	•+	+	−	•−
	3613. Given to have girl get power in dreams	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	.	.	−	−	−	−	−	−
	‡3614. Lasts ... nights or days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•3	•3	5	•5	5	4	5	•1	5	−	1
	‡3615. Repeated for ... subsequent menses.	5	5	•1	•1	•2	•1	2	2	1	1	−	1	−	5	−	•−
	3616. Held in dwelling or cookhouse, winter	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3617. Held in sweat house, winter	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
	°3618. Held outside, summer or winter	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
	3619. Held outside, summer only	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
	3620. Rainy weather, no dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
	3621. Rainy weather, sing only, in girl's hut	−	−	−	−					+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
	°3622. Girl's family in charge	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	+
	°3623. Old man in charge	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	+	−	+	−	−
[756]	3623a. Singers in charge	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
	3624. Shaman in charge	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3625. Youths, men participate	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
	3626. Girls, women participate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	°3626a. Girl's suitor may participate	−	−	−				+	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	−	−
	3627. Neighbors notified by girl's sister, friend	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3628. Girl dances by self, near group	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3629. 1-2 persons "support" menstruant	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3630. Girl dances with group	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
	o3631. Girl dances each night	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	±	•−	+	−	+	−	−
	3632. Youths dance	−	−	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
	3633. Men dance	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
	3634. Old men dance	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
	3635. Betrothed dances with menstruant	−	−	−				•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3636. Women, girls dance	−	−	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
	3637. Menstruant dances beside fire	+	+	•+	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3638. Menstruant dances back and forth	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
	3639. Menstruant dances east to west	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	3640. Menstruant faces E continually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
	3641. Menstruant rests at intervals	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−
	3642. Men, women dance separately	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3643. Men, women dance together	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−
	3644. Men, women in 1 circle	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
	3645. Men, women in 2 circles	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3646. Men, women abreast, 1 line	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
	3647. Men, women abreast, 2 lines	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3648. Clockwise start	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+	−	+
	3649. Counterclockwise start	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	−	−
	3650. Dance proceeds around pit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	3651. Dance proceeds around fire	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
[533]	3652. Singers mainly women	+	•+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	•+	−	•+
[562]	3653. Singers mainly men	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3654. Volunteer singers, men and women	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3655. Professional singers	+	+	−					−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
	3656. 1 singer paid	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3657. 4-5 (all) singers paid	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	841
3658. Reciprocal obligations only	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	881
3659. Menstruant sings	-	-	-	-	•+	+	+	+	-	.	-	+	+	-	-	-	
3660. Participants join in singing	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	535
3661. Night singing, minus dancing	-	-	.	•+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	
3662. "Love" songs sung	•+	•+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	
3663. Enemy songs sung, final dance	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3664. Women's songs sung	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
3665. Special song cycle sung	•+	•+	.	•+	•(+)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	-	+	
3666. Joking by singers	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	-	-	+	[522]
3667. Multiple split-stick rattle used by menstruant, singers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3668. Deer-hoof rattle used by singers	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	-	
3669. Deer-hoof rattle used by menstruant	-	-	+	+	•+	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3670. Stick hit against board, as drum	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
3671. Whistle used	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	[533]
3672. Singing, dancing continues throughout night	+	+	-		•+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	(+)	
3673. Singing, dancing ends middle of night	-	-	+		-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
3674. Entire assembly fed, middle of night.	+	•-	+	+	•+	•+	R	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	
3675. Singers, dancers bathe daily	-	-	+					+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	[515]
3676. Girl's attendant(s) have eyebrows, face blackened	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	[292]
3677. Men wear eagle down plumes	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	•-	•-	+	+	-	+	-	-	[237]
3678. Men wear fur headband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	
3679. Men wear woodpecker scalp headband	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	[302]
3680. Men paint face red	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
3680a. Men paint face white	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
3680b. Men paint face black	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3681. Men wear bead necklaces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
3682. Men wear head net	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	
3683. Men wear yellowhammer bands	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3684. Menstruant wears braided grass fringed visor	-	-	-	-			•		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3685. Women wear basket cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
3686. Women wear yellowhammer bands													+	+	-	-	
3687. Women wear brush, flower crowns	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
3688. Women paint faces red	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3689. Women paint faces black	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3690. Women carry branches in hands	-	-	-					+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3691. Boys, girls wear flower wreaths	-	-	-					•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3692. Dress, headgear changed nightly	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	
3693. Public rites: minor day dances.	-	-	+	-	•+	•+	+	(+)	-	+	-	(+)	-	•+	-	-	
3694. Menstruant dances	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	
3695. Men dance	-	-	+	-	-	-		(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3696. Women dance	-	-	+	-	•+	•+		(+)	-	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	
o3697. Lasts ... days	-	-	•5	-	•3	•3		.	-	.	-	(5)	-	5	-	-	
3698. Lasts part of each day only	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	
3699. Held in open	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	
3700. Rain in winter, no dance	-	-	(+)	-	-	•-			-		-		-	-	-	-	
3701. Circle dance	-	-	-	-	+	+			-		-		-	-	-	-	
3702. Dancers abreast, 1 line	-	-	+	-	-	-			-				-	-	-	-	
3703. Special songs, female singers	-	-		-	+	+			-		-		-	-	-	-	
3704. Public concluding rites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3705. Held in daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3706. "War" dance	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3707. Round dance	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
3708. Dancers abreast, in 1 line	-	-	-	+				•+									
3708a. Women grasp men's belts	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3709. Feather visor lifted off menstruant	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 3710. Menstruant's ears pierced	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
881 3711. Girl dances in front of dancers	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
535 3712. Girl stands on view in finery	−	−	−	−				+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+
[304] 3712. Betrothed stands on view with girl	−	−	−	−						+	−	−	−	−	−	−
3714. Poor girl may stand with rich celebrant	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
[574] 3715. Visitors present food	−	−		+	+	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
3716. Visitors feasted after dance	−	−		+	•+	−	R	+	(−)	+	−	•(−)	+	−	−	+
3717. Visitors given return gifts of food	−	−		+	−	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
3718. Girl runs at daybreak	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	(−)	−
3719. Spectators throw lighted sticks at girl	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3720. Girl's anklets, wristlets burnt	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3721. Girl passes through fire	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−
3721a. Girls sing, escort menstruant to stream															+	−
881 Boys' Puberty Observances																
[575] 3722. Formal group rites	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
3723. Secret society initiation	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
3724. Individual vision questing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
[787] 3725. Optional, for all boys of group	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
General Menstrual Customs																
841 3726. Certain foods taboo to all menstruants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3727. Meat, fresh or dried	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3728. Fresh fish	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3729. Dried fish	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3730. Grease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3731. Salt	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
3732. Cold water	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3733. Menstruant eats alone	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
3734. Daughter may eat with mother								+	+	+	•	+	+	+	−	+
3735. Uses separate receptacles	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
3736. Menstruant stays in dwelling house	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
3737. Menstruant secluded	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
3738. In menstrual hut or cookhouse	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
o3739. For ... days and nights	5	5	5	5	5	−	−	5	•4	•4	•3	5	−	5	−	•3
3740. All women	•+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
3741. Shamans' wives only	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3742. Old women attend menstruant												+	−	+	−	−
3743. Certain activities taboo	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
3744. Basketmaking	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
3745. Wood gathering	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
3746. Preparing vegetable food	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
3747. Preparing vegetable food for family	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
3747a. Cooking meat	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3747b. If cook meat, give hunters bad luck													+	+	+	+
3748. Intercourse taboo	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
3749. Cannot sleep with back to man	−		−			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•	−
3750. Walking beside streams taboo			•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	•	+	−	+
3751. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3752. Hair left uncombed	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
o3753. Head scratcher used for ... periods after puberty	5	5	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	2	5	−	−
3754. Head scratcher obligatory all periods	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
3755. No bathing during period	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3756. Purificatory bath, end of period; obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3757. Bathes in stream	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	841
3758. Bathes in house												+	+	–	–	+	
3759. Sweat bath, optional	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3760. Sweat bath, obligatory	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3761. Avoids sick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	
3762. Avoids hunters	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3763. Avoids attending dances	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3764. Some menstruants "lucky" for husbands	–	–	·				+	+	+	+	·	–	–	–	–	+	
3765. Restrictions extend to menstruant's husband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	
3766. Husband eats sparingly	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	841
3767. Meat, fish taboo											+	+	+	+	–	+	562
3768. Smoking taboo	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	593
3769. Fishing taboo	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	
3770. Hunting taboo	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	
3771. Gambling taboo	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	
3772. Intercourse with wife taboo	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	
3773. Menopause: measures taken to induce	–	–	–					•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Marriage																	
Child Betrothal																	
3774. Child betrothal	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	584
3775. Boy's father starts negotiations	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
3776. Payment by boy's side	+	–	•–	+	–	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	
3777. Exchange of presents	–	•+	•–	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	
3777a. Taboo relationship between children	•–	•–	•+								–	–	–	–	–	–	
3778. Binding on children	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3779. Good-will pledge only, for parents	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
3780. Common	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3781. To pay debt	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	·	–	–	–	–	
3782. Usually chief's or prominent family	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[622]
3783. Payment in beads at time of marriage	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
3784. Gifts given at time of marriage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	
Bride Purchase																	
3785. Bride purchase, postpuberty	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	583
3786. Negotiated bride price	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	584
3787. Suitor's father makes offer; no negotiations	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3788. Intermediary acts	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
3789. Suitor's father acts	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	·	+	
3789a. Suitor himself acts	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3790. Money payment for bride	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
3791. Gifts by suitor's family in payment	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	·	+	
3792. Gifts by suitor	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	·	+	
3793. Additional presents from groom's family after marriage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		+	
3794. Bride's family gives groom's presents	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
3795. Mature daughter given, to pay debt to groom's family	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3795a. Payment made to establish children's status	–	(+)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Other Forms of Marriage																	
3796. Simple marriage, established by couple living together	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	585
3797. Disapproved by community	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	(+)	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
585 3798. Groom's family gives pay, presents to bride's family after marriage established	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	–	+	+	.	–
3799. Amount of gifts depends on approval of girl	+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	.	–
3800. No gifts if girl a "run around" (loose)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
583 3800a. Service for bride, no payment	–	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	–	.	+
3801. Poor man only	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	+
3802. May buy or work out	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	+	–	–	+
[591] 3802a. Temporary matrilocal residence	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	+	–	–	–
3803. Permanent matrilocal residence	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	+
3803a. Marriage by abduction tolerated	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
3804. Married women only	–	+	+						–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
3805. Woman won by contest	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–
3805a. Friends assist	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[556] 3806. Husband bought	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3806a. By wealthy man, for daughter	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3807. Girl sent to live with rich man, gratis	–	–	–						•+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
Marriage Observances																
585 3808. Groom goes to bride's house	+	+	•+	–	•–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	–
3808a. Groom stays at bride's house	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	–
3809. Groom takes bride to his father's house	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	–
[591] 3809a. Couple live at groom's father's house	+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	•+
3810. Short time only	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	.	•+
3810a. Indefinitely	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	–
3811. Bride returns to her parent's house	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•–	•–	.	–
3812. Groom's or bride's sister or family escort her to groom's home	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	.	•+
3812a. Groom and some friends go to bride's home	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	.	–
3813. Friends help groom hunt, fish	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	.	–
3814. Groom and family go to bride's house	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	–	•+	–	•+	.	–
†3815. Visiting family (either side) stays ... nights, days	•1	•1	•1	–	•3	•2	•+	–	•0	•5	–	.	–	.	.	•3
3816. Marriage feast given by hosts	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	.	•+	•+	•+	•+
3817. Both parties contribute	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	–	.	•+	•+	•+	–
3818. Bride and groom sit together on mat	•+	•+									–	–	–	–	–	–
3818a. Presents piled beside couple.	•+	•+									–	–	–	–	–	–
3819. Couple fed	•+	•+									–	–	–	–	–	–
3819a. Sleep together at spot where they sat	•–	•+									–	–	–	–	–	–
[537] [622] 3820. Speeches	•R	•+	•+	–	•+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
3820a. By heads of both families	•R	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+
3821. By headmen of group	–	•+	•+	–		–	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
Polygamy																
595 3822. Polygyny, wives unrelated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
‡3823. Maximum number paid for	1	1	3	5	1	1	1	3	1	0	1	1	–	0	0	2
°3824. Maximum number in same house	5	2	2	2	2	•10	2	1	10	2	•2	2	–	2	2	2
3824a. First wife outranks others	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	•+	+
3825. Wives live in separate houses	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	+	+	–	.	•+	–
3826. Wives live in separate towns	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–
3827. Concubines in separate towns	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
3828. Prominent men have greatest no. of wives	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	–	+	•+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3829. Polygyny prerogative of any man	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	595
3830. Polygyny rare in tribe	−	+	+			−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	
3831. Sororal polygyny	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	
3832. During life of sisters	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	
‡3833. Maximum number paid for	1	2	·	1	1	1	1	−	−	1	1	·	−	−	−	2	
o3834. Maximum number in same house	2	2	·	2	2	2	2	−	3	2	2	2	−	2	2	2	
3835. Because first wife barren	−	•+	·	+	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
3836. Without barrenness of first wife	+	+	·	−	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3837. Post-mortem sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	·	
3838. General	+	+	+	•−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	·	587
3839. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	−	+	−	•−	+	·	
3840. Especially if children	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	·	
3841. Obligatory for widower	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	−	
3842. Life endangered, if he does not comply	•+	•+	•+	−		•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	·	−	−	+	·	
3843. Stepdaughter marriage	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	587
3844. Simultaneous	•+	+	•+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	595
3845. Successive	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3846. Additional payment for daughter	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3847. Rare	+	+	−					+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3848. Disapproved	−	−	−						+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	
3849. Polyandry, husbands unrelated	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
o3850. Maximum no. of husbands	−	−	−	−	−	2	−	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	595
o3851. Maximum no. in same house	−	−	−	−	−	2	−	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3852. Polyandry, fraternal	•−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
o3853. Maximum no. of brothers in same house	−	−	−	−	−	−	2	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	•1	−	
3854. Wife lending	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
3855. Between any 2 men	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	837
3856. Levirate	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	587
3857. Obligatory for man	+	+	•−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
3858. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	−	+	−	
3859. Additional payment, gifts for woman	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	
3860. Brother-in-law can punish woman if she refuses	•+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	·	−	−	−	+	−	[686]
3861. Cut her hair, ear, nose	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	[607]
3862. Can kill her	+	+	+			+	+	+	•+	+	·	−	−	−	•+	−	[304]
3863. Killing common	−	+	+				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	
3864. Man may marry son's son's wife	−	+	−	−				+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3865. Common	−	−	−	−				+	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	
Marriage of Blood Relatives																	
3866. Cousins; man to any cross-cousin's daughter	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	582
3867. Sister exchange	·	•+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3868. 2 men exchange sisters	·	−	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3869. Simultaneously or nearly so	·	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3870. Successively	·	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3871. No payment or gifts for brides	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	
3872. Payment for both brides	·	−	+	+	−	·	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	
3873. 2 brothers marry 2 sisters	−	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
Exogamy																	
*3874. Local group exogamy	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	•+	+	+	
3875. Preferred	+	+	·	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	·	−	−	•+	
3876. Obligatory	−	−	·	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	
3877. Endogamy, if not related	•+	+	·	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	·	+	+	+	
*3878. Tribal exogamy optional	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*3879. Often practiced	•+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	

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	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
Postnuptial Residence																
591 3880. First residence patrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	+	+	−
3881. Husband's parent's house	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	+	−
3882. In own house, husband's village	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		•+	−	−	+	−	−
3883. First residence matrilocal	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	−	+
3884. Wife's parent's house	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	−	+
3885. Only if widow selected man for daughter	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3886. Only if some form bride service	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3889. Own house, wife's village	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)
‡3890. Time in months	−	−	−	−	−	1	12	−	1	1	1	−	2	·	−	−
3891. First residence alternating	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−
3892. First residence variable, no rule	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	·	−	−
3893. Final residence patrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
3894. Husband's parents' house	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
3895. Own house, husband's village	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
3896. Final residence matrilocal	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
3897. Own house, wife's village	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
3898. Final residence own house, another village	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3899. Final residence variable, no rule	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Kinship Avoidances																
602 3900. Parents-in-law taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
606 3901. Mother-in-law son-in-law	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
3902. Never speak together	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
3903. Speak little	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
3904. Plural address	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	·	+	−	−	−
3905. Convey messages through 3d person	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
3906. If talk together, someone between them	−	−	−	−					+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
3907. Cannot touch each other					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3908. Cannot look at each other														+	+	+
3909. Woman covers head	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
3910. Both turn aside on trail	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3911. Eat separately	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
3912. Receive objects through 3d person	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3913. Laughing together taboo	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
3914. Obscenity between taboo	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
[835] 3915. Intercourse between taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3916. Wash if any bodily contact	−	−	−					+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
3917. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3918. Obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3919. Penalty: bear might eat mother or son-in-law	−	−	−		•+			•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	•−
3920. Father-in-law daughter-in-law	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
3921. Similar to mother-in-law taboos	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
593 3922. Brother-sister taboos	+	+	·	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
602 3923. Play apart, near puberty and afterward	+	+	·	+	−	•+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
3924. Joking between taboo	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+
3925. Touching each other taboo	+	+							+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
3926. Eating together taboo	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
602 3927. Brother-in-law, sister-in-law taboos	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
607 3928. Joking relationship	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
3929. Respect each other	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Adultery																	
3930. Adultery rare	+	+	+	+	•+	+					+	−	•+	+	+	−	837
3931. Wife punished	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	R+	+	R+	+	+	−	684
3932. Beaten	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	R+	+	R+	+	+	−	
3933. Hair cut	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3934. Mouth burnt		−	•+								−	−	−	−	−	−	
3935. Sometimes killed	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	−	•+	•+	−	
3936. Wife's seducer punished	+	+	•+	+		+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	(−)	+	
3937. Killed	+	+	+	+		•+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	(+)	+	
3938. Fine paid by killer	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3939. No fine, if seducer instigated affair	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	
3940. No fine if wife instigated affair	−	−	−				+	+	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	
3941. Feud starts	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	
3942. Feud stopped by payment	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3943. Beaten, by husband	−	−	−					+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	
3944. Seducer pays fine	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3945. To husband	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3946. To woman's family	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3947. Wife sent home; let go; given to seducer	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	
3948. Husband punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	
3949. Beaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	(−)	−	
3950. Deserted	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	−	•+	−	+	−	−	•+	•+	
3951. Killed	−		•+											•+	−	−	
3952. Husband's paramour punished	−		−						•+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3953. Constructive adultery punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	−	−	.	−	
3954. Husband pays man, if wife proposes such	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	
3955. Woman beaten if she proposes such	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	−	−	.	−	
3956. Woman sent home, if she proposes such	−	+	+								−	−	−	−	.	+	
3957. Man fined for proposing adultery	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	
3958. Man killed for proposing adultery	+	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	
Divorce																	
3959. Divorces rare, especially if children	+	+	+		+	•+					+	+	.	+	+	+	586
3960. Adultery by wife grounds for divorce	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	−	+	+	+	
3960a. Adultery by husband grounds for divorce	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	.	+	
3961. Barrenness	−	•+	+	•−	+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	+		.	
3962. Jealousy	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	
3963. Fighting	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3964. Laziness	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•−	•−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	
3965. Maltreatment by husband	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•−	+	•+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	
3966. Divorce involves repaying bride price to husband's family	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3967. Children go to husband's family	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	.	+	+	−	
3968. Children divided	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	+	−	−	+	.	−	.	−	.	−	
3969. Children stay with mother	−	−	−					+	+	+	.	+	.	−	−	−	
3970. Wife keeps nursing baby	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	+	+	+	
3971. Grandparents, either side, take children	−	−	−							+	.	−	.	+	+	+	
3972. Wife keeps own property	•−	−	−	+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	.	−	.	+	+	+	
Nonaffinal Remarriage																	
3973. New husband pays widow's brother-in-law	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	+	−	.	+	−	.	−	587
3974. New husband asks widow's brother-in-law's consent	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	.	+	.	.	−	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
587 3975. New husband pays widow's parents-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
3976. New husband asks widow's parents-in-law consent	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	.	+	-	.	-
3977. New husband pays widow's sister-in-law	-	-	-	-		•+	+	+	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-
3978. New husband pays, gives gifts to widow's family	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	-	+
3979. Remarriage of widows rare, if husband good man	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 3980. Divorcee's former husband paid by new husband	-	-	-	•-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3981. Man sells wife to male bidder	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o3982. New husband pays divorcee's parents	-	-	+	+	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o3983. New husband asks divorcee's parents	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intercourse																
833 3984. Bride scratches at 1st intercourse	-	-	+	-	-	-		(+)	-	-	.	.	•+	.	.	.
3985. Natural position lying on side	.		+										•+			
3986. Kissing unknown	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
[152] [192] 3987. Exclamation of endearment for adults, children	+	+	-		+	•+	•+	+	+	+	.	-	+	+	-	-
3988. Virginity tests	.	.	•-				•+	•+	-	.	.	.	-	.	.	.
Promiscuity																
836 3989. Promiscuity any time	•-	-	+	+	-		+	+	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
3990. At dances chiefly	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	.	+	-	-	+	-
3991. Promiscuity denied by informant	•-	-	•-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
3992. Unchaste unmarried girl beaten, shaken, scolded	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
836 3993. Unmarried pregnant girl scolded, beaten		+	+			+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
848 3994. Father of bastard punished	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
3995. Killed by girl's relatives														+	+	-
3996. Obligated to marry girl	•+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
3997. Might marry girl, not obligated	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-
3998. Payment for girl	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transvestites																
Male																
838 3999. Male transvestites affirmed for group	+	•-	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•-	-	-	•-	.	•-
4000. Sweat with women	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4001. Perform women's work	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4002. Wear women's clothes	+	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4003. Live with normal man	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
4004. Special functions at funerals	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
[756] 4005. Some are shamans	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4006. Nursing in war		-	-			-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
4007. Regarded indifferently by community	+	-	+		+	+	-	+	+	+	-	.	-	-	.	-
4008. Turn berdache at puberty, prepuberty	-		+			(+)		+	+	+	-	.	-	-	.	-
[587] 4009. Turn berdache postpuberty, later in life	+	-	-		+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
4010. Act upon dream	-	.	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
Female																
4011. Female transvestites affirmed for group	+	-	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012. Live with woman	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012a. Live with man			-					+	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012b. Wear woman's clothes	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
[756] 4013. Some are shamans	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
4014. Perform man's work only	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	·	−	838
4015. Perform labors both sexes	−	−	+	−	+	−	·	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	
4016. Digs grave or helps at funerals	(−)	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	[764]
4017. Regarded disapprovingly		−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	
4018. Regarded indifferently		−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	

Death

Treatment of corpse

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
4019. Left in house until buried or burned	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	764
†4020. Left in house ... days or nights	−	−	1	1	1	−	−	−	−	−	1	2	−	−	−	−	
4021. Removed outside immediately after death	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	
4022. Body prepared for burial, burning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4023. Washed, in house	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	
4024. Washed, at grave	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
4025. Painted	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	
4026. Dentalia, bone tubes in nose, ears	−	+	+	+	−	+	+		+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
4027. Bead necklaces on wealthy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
4028. Wrapped in hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	
4028a. Flexed, to form round bundle	−	−	−	−	−				−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	
4029. Wrapped in mat	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4030. Put in basket, occasionally	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	+	−	
4031. Removed from house through regular entrance	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	
4032. Removed through wall of house	−	−	•+	•+	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	
4033. Removed through draft hole			−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	
4034. Removed from house head first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	−	−	+	+	·	+	
4035. Body outstretched, carried by 2 persons	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+		(−)	+	
4036. On pole stretcher	−	−	+	+	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4037. On double robe	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
4038. Body carried suspended from pole	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	(+)	−	
4039. Body carried in arms, on back by 1 person	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Funerary Procedure

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
†4040. Body kept outside for ... nights	1	−	•1	•1	−	−	1	−	−	1	−	2	−	+	−	−	
4041. For few hours only	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
4042. Large fire built beside corpse	+	−	+	+						+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4043. Relatives, friends assemble, wail	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4044. Mourning begins before death	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	·	+	+	+	−	
4045. Wailing by mourners at prefuneral dance	•−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	
4046. Mourners bring gifts to dead	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	
4047. Night dance by mourners	−	−	+	+	+	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	
4048. Prior to burial, cremation	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
4049. Mourners wear or carry boughs	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4050. 1 group of dancers follows another	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4051. Officiating woman piles boughs by corpse	−	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4052. Ashes, water sprinkled after corpse	•+	−	+			•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	·	−	
4053. Children not allowed at burial, burning	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	
4054. All avoid smoke from pyre											+	−	+	+	+	−	
4055. Widow attends husband's burial, burning		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4056. Speech at burial, burning	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	
4057. Widow(s) try to jump on pyre, in grave	·	+	·	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	−	−	764
4058. Restrained	·	+	·		+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	•+	•+	−	−	786
4059. Mourners jump about as they wail			−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	
4060. Throw dirt over themselves	·	+	−					+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	
4061. Roll in dirt	·	+	+					+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
766 4062. Chief, rich person's funeral differs from common man's	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	'+	−	−	+	+	'+	.	'+	'+
4063. Larger, better attended	+	+				+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
4064. Body kept 1-2 days	+	+									+	−	+	.	+	+
4065. Feast follows funeral	−	+	+								+	−	−	−	+	+
Assistants at Burials, Burnings																
764 †4066. One or more men in charge	1	'3	2			'1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	.	1
4067. Inherit position, paternal	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
‡4068. Number of pallbearers	1	1	'3	4	5	'1	'2	2	'2	2	2	−	2	'3	.	3
4069. Kinsmen of deceased	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
4070. Kinswomen of deceased	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4071. Nonrelatives	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4072. Any strong man	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
4073. Chosen by widow	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
4074. Paid	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
o4075. Number of gravediggers	−	−	'3	.	5	'1	.	2	'2	'3	2	3	2	'2	.	.
4076. Paid	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
4077. Herb in mouth when digging grave	−	−	−					−	−	−	'+	−	'+	−	−	−
4078. All help gather wood for cremation	−	'+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
4079. 1-4 persons gather wood	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4080. Relatives or nonrelatives	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	'+
Disposal of Corpse																
4081. Interment	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
4082. General	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	'−	−	'+	+
4083. Rare	+	'+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	'+	−	−	−
4084. Interred in earth	−	−	+	−	'+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
4085. Unlined hole, circular or rectangular	−	−	+	+	+	'+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	'+
4086. Round hole, brush or bark lined	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
4087. Inside house	[illegible]	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
4088. Winter only	−	−	−	−	'+	−	−	+	−	−	'+		−	−	−	−
4089. Interred among rocks	+	+	'+	−	+	−	−	−	−	'−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4090. Corpse rock-covered	−	−	−	−	+	'+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4091. Corpse extended supine	(−)	−	+	+	+	'+	−				−	−	−	−	−	−
4092. Corpse flexed	−	−	−	−	−	[illegible]	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	(+)
4093. Face or head toward east	−	−	+	'+	'+	'+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+
4094. Head toward west	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−
4095. Cord or withe to lower corpse	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	'+	−	'+	−	−	−	−	.	'+
4096. Corpse handed down into grave	−			−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	.	−
4097. String projecting from child's grave	−	−	−	−	−	'+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
4098. Basket of water set in grave	−	−	−			'+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
4099. Basket of water set on grave	−	−	−			−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4100. Food set on grave	−	−	−	'+	'+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	'+
4101. Sand put on top of grave	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4102. Pounded beads put on top of grave	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4103. Rock(s) set on top of grave	−	−	−	−	+	'+	−	'−	+	−	+	−	−	−	.	+
4104. Fire built near grave	−	−	−				−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4105. Grave marker, vertical pole	−	−	−	−	'+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
4106. Bark shed built over grave	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	(+)	−	−	.	−
°4107. Fence of sticks, rocks around grave	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
°4108. Secondary basket burial, occasionally	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
4109. Cremation	+	+	+	+	'−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	R
4110. General	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	'−	−
4111. Rare	−	−	'+	'+	'−	'−	.	'−	'−	'−	'−	−	−	−	'+	'R
4112. Corpse flexed	−	−	−	+	−	−			−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−

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	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4113. Corpse extended	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	(R)	764
4114. Body burned outside	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	
4115. Body on top of pyre	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	[illegible]	−	−	+	−	−	
4116. Body inside pyre	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	
4117. Body burned in house	+	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	R	
4118. Only if whole family dies, epidemic	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
o4119. Duration of burning, days	1	•1	1	·	−	·	•1	1	•1	−	1	−	•1	1	1	−	
4120. Partial cremation	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
4121. Bones entirely consumed by fire	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	
4122. Broken with sticks, rocks	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	
4123. Ceremonial eating of corpse	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	
4124. Secondary basket burial of ashes	−	•+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	•+	+	+	−	
4125. Ashes raked into pile after burning	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4126. Covered with rocks or dirt	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	1	−	
Cemeteries and Burning Places																	
4127. Cemeteries	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	[361]
4128. Less than 1/2 mile from village	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	
4129. 1/2 mile or more from village	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	
4130. No regular cemetery; burial 1/2 mile or more from village	−	−	+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4131. Grave plots	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4132. Definite grave plots, each family	−	[illegible]	+	+	−	+	−	+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
4133. Graves weeded, cleaned occasionally, in spring	−	−	+		+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	·	+	•+	•+	
4134. Wife buried at husband's plot	•−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	−	•+	
4135. Wife buried in own family plot	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	+	+	
4136. Husband occasionally buried at wife's plot	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4137. Wife buried near husband's village	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
4138. Regular burning places	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	+	+	−	
4139. Near village	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	
Treatment of Property																	
4140. Destruction of personal property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	768
4145. Burnt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	
4146. During cremation	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
4147. Following cremation	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	
4148. During, after burial	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	
4149. Buried	−	−	+		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	
4150. With corpse	−	−	+							+	+	+	−	−	+	+	
4151. Man's implements broken	−	−	+							+	+	+	−	−	+	+	
4152. Baskets smashed	−	−	+		•+					+	+	+	−	−	+	R+	
4153. Property set on top of grave	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
4154. Canoe broken, given away	•−	•+	−	•(+)	−	•+	•o	−	•+	−	•−	•−	•o	•o	−	−	
4155. Canoe of deceased burnt when worn out	+	+	−	+	•+	•+	o	−	−	+	−	+	o	o	−	−	
4156. Slave(s) killed	+	+	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4157. Deceased's dog disposed of	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	
4158. Killed	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
4159. Hung by neck	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4160. Given away	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
4161. Horse killed (recent)	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	·	+	+	−	
4162. Meat distributed and eaten	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	
4163. Hide or carcass burnt	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	·	−	−	−	
4164. Killed at grave; carcass left there	−	−	+										·	−	+	−	
4165. Preservation of personal property	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	R	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	

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	El	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
768 4166. Relatives take some personal property	+	+	+	-	+	+	·+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
4167. New unused possessions only	+	-	+	-	-		+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
4168. Outsiders take some personal property	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
4169. Destruction of real property (living houses).																
4170. House burned	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
4171. Only if man owns sweat house-living house	+	+	+	+	-	-	·+	·+		+	+	-	-	+	-	-
4172. House torn down or abandoned	·+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
4173. House torn down and rebuilt	·+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	·+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
4174. House deserted temporarily	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
4175. Only headman's house burned, deserted	-	-	-	·+	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-
4176. House of man killed in war burned	(+)	+	·						+	+	·	·	·	·	+	-
4177. Preservation of real property	+	·+			+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+
4178. House occupied constantly after death	-	-	-	-	+	+	·+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+
4179. Purification of house	+	+	+	-	+	·+	·+	-		+	-	+	+	+	+	·+
4180. With aromatic plants	·+	·+	·+	-	·+	·+	·+	-	-	+	-	·+	·+	-	·+	-
4181. Tobacco smoked inside house	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	·	-	+	+	·	-
4182. Deer hair burnt inside house.												+	-	-	+	·-
Taboos and Purification of Undertakers, etc.																
764 783 4183. Undertakers only contaminated, subject to taboos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+
‡4184. Mourners and undertakers contaminated, subject to taboos	-	-	·+	·+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
†4185. Use head scratcher for ~~...~~ days after funeral	-	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	5	-	-	·4	2	28	5	-	-
†4186. Eat alone for ... days after funeral	-	-	·10	·5	-	-	-	5	-	-	·4	2	28	5	4	-
†4187. Separate dishes	-	-	·4	·5	-	-	-	5	-	-	·4	2	28	5	4	-
†4188. Meat, meat products taboo ... days.	-	-	·4	5	1	-	1	5	12	-	·4	2	28	5	4	-
†4189. Fresh fish taboo ... days	-	-	·5	-	1	-	1	5	·5	-	·4	2	28	5	4	-
†4190. Dried salmon taboo ... days	-	-	·5	-					-	-	·4	2	28	5	4	-
†4191. Hunting taboo ... days	-	-	·10	·5	-	-	1	5	-	-	·4	2	-	-	4	-
†4192. For ... months	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	·2
†4193. Gambling taboo ... days	-	-	·10	·5	-	-	·5	5	-	-	·4	2	-	-	4	-
†4194. For ... months	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	4	·2
†4195. Smoking taboo ... days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	·4	2	28	5	4	-
†4196. Intercourse taboo ... days	-	-	·10	(-)	1	-	1	+	-	-	·4	2	28	5	4	-
4197. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
4198. All persons who attend funeral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
4199. By sweating	+	+	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	-	·+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4200. By swimming, washing hands, face	+	+	·+	·+	(+)	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+
4201. Immediately after funeral	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	-	·+	+	+	-	·	-	-	+
4202. Everyday	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
o4203. After ... days	-	-	-	·5		-	-	5	·1	-	-	2	·	·5	4	·+
4204. Scarification and bleeding	-	-	·+	-	+	-	-	-	·+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4205. Application of medicated water	-	-	·+	·+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
4206. Smoking body			+							+	-	-	+	+	-	-
4207. Plant rubbed on body	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	(-)	+
4208. Medicine drunk	-	-	+	·+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-
Taboos on Relatives																
764 765 4209. Widow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4210. Taboo to touch corpse	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
4211. Steps between legs as release from marriage tie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-
4212. Lies beside corpse	-	·+	·+	-	-	·+	·+	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	·+
4213. Outside, before corpse taken to grave	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
4214. At grave, pyre	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	765
4215. Hair cut, close crop, or burned off	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	(–)	•+	764
4216. Cuttings saved	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	[302]
4217. Cuttings kept in house	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
4218. Cuttings made into belt	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
4219. Cuttings burnt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4220. Cuttings thrown in river	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4221. Cuttings buried in grave	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4223. Mutilations	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[304]
4224. Arms cut soon after death	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4225. Beat breast	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4226. Beat head	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4227. Facial and head coatings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[302]
4228. Pitch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4229. Dirt, ashes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4230. Chalk, charcoal	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4231. Pounded shell									+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4232. White clay on bangs	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4233. Pitch on arms or legs, chest	–	+	+					•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	
4234. Touching face with fingers taboo	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4235. Face left unwashed	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4236. "Washed" with wet grass	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	.	
4237. Space around eyes washed	+	–	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
4238. Scratching stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4239. For head	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4240. For body	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	
4241. Worn tied around neck	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4242. Special attire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	[292]
4243. Mourning necklace	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	•+	•+	
4244. Basket cap, coated with pitch	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4245. Head covered with blanket													–	+		+	
‡4246. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	[262]
†4247. Meat ... days	•15	6	•14	•28	1	–	–	5	•86	–	–	2	–	5	–	•6	
†4248. Grease ... days	•15	6	•14	•28	1	–	–	5	•86	–	–	2	–	5	–	•6	
†4249. Fresh fish ... days	•15	6	•14	–	1	–	–	5	•86	–	–	2	–	5	–	•6	
†4250. Dried fish ... days	•15	6	–	–	1	–	–	5	–	–	–	2	–	5	–	•6	
4251. Cold water ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	
†4252. Salt ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	
4253. Seclusion	+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
4254. In house	•+	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
†4255. For ... days	5	•–	–	–	•2	–	–	5	28	–	–	3	+	+	•+	+	
†4256. For ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	+	1	
4257. For variable period	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
4258. Prescribed activities during taboo period	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	
†4259. Sweats for ... days or nights	5	6	5	5	1	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4260. Gathers wood for sweating	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4261. Goes to grave or cremation spot and wails	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	+	–	•+	+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	
4262. Walks around, wailing	+	+									+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	
4263. May go to mountains to seek power	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	[illegible]	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
4264. Making baskets taboo	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	•–	•–	•–	–	•–	
4265. Gathering food taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	
4266. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	–	[783]
‡4267. Sweats to remove taboos, after ... months	•12	12	12	–	–	12	•2	–	•+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4268. Washes head, face to remove taboos	–	–	–	+	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	.	–	
4269. Drinks medicine	+	.	+									(+)	–	–	–	–	
4270. Takes pitch off head, face at remarriage only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[587]

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		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
764 765	4271. Pitch wears off naturally	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
587	4272. Mourning necklace worn until remarriage	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	°–	–	+	°–
	o4273. Approximate no. yrs. before remarriage	°1	°2	°½	1	°2	°1	½	°½	1	°2	°1	–	°3	°3	°3	°[illegible]
	4274. Indefinite period; shorter for younger women	–	–	–								+	+	+	+	+	+
	4275. Older women often do not remarry	+	+	+									+	+	+	–	–
764	4276. Widower	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
765	4277. Cuts or burns hair, slightly	+	+	°+	°+	°+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	°+	–	°+
	4278. Pitches hair or face, or both	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
	†4279. Meat, fish, salt taboo ... days after funeral	56	10	10	5	1	–	1	5	28	–	–	1	–	5	–	–
	†4280. Hunting taboo ... days	+	10	10	5	–	+	–	10	+	–	–	1	+	+	–	+
	†4281. For ... months	12	–	–	–	–	°3	–	–	3	–	–	–	1	1	–	°4
	†4282. Fishing taboo ... days	5	10	5	5	–	+	–	10	+	–	–	1	+	+	–	+
	†4283. For ... months	–	–	–	–	–	°3	–	–	°3	–	–	–	1	1	–	°4
	4284. Gives away all or most of 1st kill	–	–	+				+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
	4285. Cannot "cry" before hunting	+	+	+										+			–
[787]	†4286. Spends ... nights in mountains	5	°5	10	–	–	1	1	1	1	1	°1	–	–	–	–	–
	4287. To obtain vision	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
	4288. Piles up rocks	+	+	+	–	–						–	–	–	–	–	–
	4289. Gathers or breaks wood	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	4290. Sleeps little or none	+	+									+	+	+	–	–	–
[787]	4291. Returns home wailing	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	4292. Obtains dream at home, night of funeral		–	+			+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	†4293. Sweats alone daily for ... days after cremation	5	5	–			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	4294. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	o4295. Sweats with other mourners ... days after funeral	–	–	°1	5	–	°+	°+	–	°2	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[304]	†4296. Swims ... days after funeral	–	–	°1	5	1	°+	°+	5	1	°+	–	3	2	5	–	°–
	4297. Cuts shoulder	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	4298. Children observe taboos for dead parent	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
[787]	4299. Son, daughter cut hair close; slight pitch	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	°+	–	–
	4300. Do not seek for power	+	+	–				+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
	°4301. Parents observe taboos for child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	4302. Cut hair slightly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	4303. Pitch on hair or face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	4304. Mother only	+	+	–		+					+	–	–	–	+	+	+
	†4305. Meat taboo ... days	5	5	10	5	3	–	1	5	+	–	–	1	–	5	–	–
	o4306. For ... months	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[787]	4307. Sweat or bathe	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
	4308. Man goes to mountains to seek power	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
	°4309. Loss of 1st child before cord drops off entails rigid taboos				°(+)					°(+)		°+	+	+	+	+	°–
	4310. Couple give everything away, start anew											+	+	+	+	+	–
	4311. Secluded for 1 month													+			–
	Taboos on Community																
	†4312. Foot travel stopped for ... days	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		4	°5	5	–	+
	4313. Until burial of corpse	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	+
[551]	4314. Uttering name of dead taboo	+	°+	+	+	–	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	4315. Indefinitely	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	4316. Until formally regiven	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	(+)	–	–
	4317. Only in presence of kin	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4318. Compensation to kin for uttering in presence	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	+	−	764
°4319. If no compensation paid, fight starts	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	+	−	765
4320. No rule of compensation: fight starts	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	[551]
°4321. Dances taboo	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
†4322. For ... years	−	−	1+	1	−	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	[illegible]	764
4323. Violent deaths in war excepted	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	765
4324. Girl's puberty rite taboo	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	535
4325. May be held 1/2 mi. from mourner's camp	−	−	+	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	
4326. No dance held; only sing for girl	−	−	−	−			−	−	+	+	+	.	−	+	−	−	
4326a. Brush dance taboo	−	−	−	+			−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	
4327. Doctor-making dance taboo	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4328. Scalp dance taboo	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4329. Social dances taboo	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	
4330. Must be held 10-15 mi. away	−	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	−		+	+	−	−	
4331. Mourners' consent obtained, before dance	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	
4332. Mourners paid	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4333. Choice food presented mourners	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	
Mourning Ceremonies																	
4334. Family mourning ceremony	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	765
4335. Informal; at assembly old people may cry	+	+	+		−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
†4336. Held ... yrs. following death	−	−	−		3	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4337. Held variable time following death	+	+	+		−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4338. Held only if child of deceased sick	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
o4339. Lasts ... day and night	−	−	−		1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
o4340. Lasts ... hour	1	1	1		−	−	−	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	
4341. For 1 dead	+	+	+		+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
4342. Chief sanctions					+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
4343. Fellow tribesmen only	+	+	+		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
4344. All close relatives of deceased assemble	+	+	+		.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
4345. Doctor sings over widow, sick child	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4346. All mourners cry	+	+	+		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
4347. Widow removes pitch from hair, face	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4348. Widow burns pitch necklace	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4349. Male undertakers sweat	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4350. Feast concludes ceremony	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4351. All eat	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4352. Mourners wash selves outside at end	−	−	−		+				+			−	−	−	−	+	
4353. Ceremony removes all taboos	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
°4354. Group mourning ceremony	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	
4355. Held by each village	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	
4356. Held by several villages together	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	
4357. For each dead separately	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
4358. For several dead together	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4359. For all dead together	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	
o4360. Held ... years after death	−	2	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	1	1	+	−	1	
o4361. Held ... months after death	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	2	−	−	−	−	−	5	−	−	
4362. Annually	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	
4363. Irregularly	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
4364. Fall	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	
4365. Any time of year, dry weather	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
765 4366. Other towns invited												+	+	+	+	+
[628] 4367. Other local groups sometimes invited	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
[622] 4368. Sanctioned by headman	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
4369. Headman in charge	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
4370. Headman attends, speaks	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4371. Ceremony lasts ... days, nights	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	3	2
4372. Daytime affair, entirely	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
4373. Mainly night affair, some daytime activities	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4374. Held outside	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4375. Unroofed brush fence, near cemetery	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
4376. Under trees, in summer	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
4377. In round brush enclosure	-	(-)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
4378. At cemetery, no enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
4379. Held inside	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
4380. Living house	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4381. Assembly house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
4382. Participants wail	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	7	+	+	+	+	+
4383. Participants dance													+	+	-	+
[537] 4384. Oratory	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4385. By headman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4386. By shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
4387. By orator	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
4388. Images used in ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4389. Made by relatives of deceased	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
4390. Made by chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
4391. Made by nonrelatives	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
4392. All images burnt at cemetery, at dawn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4393. Offerings in honor of dead	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4394. Food	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
4395. Baskets	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4396. Clothes	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4397. Offerings put on poles	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4398. Single pole for each variety of offering	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4399. Poles planted in ground	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
4400. Poles carried about	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
4401. Offerings burnt at cemetery at dawn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4402. Dance, holding baskets, before burning; wail													+	+	-	+
4403. Offerings put on graves	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4404. Ceremonial purification	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4405. All who cry wash own faces	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4406. All who cry swim at end	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4407. All change clothes												+	+	+	-	+
[525] 4408. Gambling in daytime, after burning	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
4409. Feast during daytime	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4410. Rich mourners all contribute food	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4411. Held at same spot where mourners wailed	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
4412. Held in village camp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
4413. Held day following burning	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4414. After eating, cry again	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
4415. Mourners return home at sundown	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS																	
Counting, Calendar, Directions																	
Counting																	
4416. Finger count for months	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	802
4417. Finger count for objects	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	805
4418. Begin counting on thumb	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	+	
4419. Begin count on 4th finger	–	+	+	.	+	–	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	.	–	
4420. End on 4th finger of other hand	–	+	+	.	+	–	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	.	–	
4421. Count on toes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
4422. Mnemonic devices	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4423. Knotted string for measuring time intervals	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4424. Knotted string for messages	–	–	–	•–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[211]
4425. Stick for 1, 5, 10, 100 objects	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
4426. Stick counters used in games	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4427. Rocks to count objects	–		.						+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	
4428. Marks on house to measure time intervals	+	–	+					+	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	.	–	
4429. Scratch on ground for 10 and 100	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	–	
4430. Stick poker burned to mark month's duration													+	–	•+	–	
4431. Sack with berries in it	–		–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Calendar																	
‡4432. Number of seasons	4	4	4	4	5	(3)	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	2	4	4	805
o4433. Number of names for moons	10	.	.	10	10	12	10	14	7	7	4	–	12	.	.	.	
4434. Names descriptive	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	.	.	
4435. Finger names	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	
4436. Winter solstice observed	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4437. Calendar begins winter solstice	•+	+	.	•+	(+)	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	.	(+)	.	+	–	
4438. Summer month counted	+	.	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	+	.	.	+	
4439. Month begins on new moon	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
4439a. Stars as month markers	•+	–	.	•+	–	.	•+	+	+	–	+	.	.	.	–	–	
4440. Month record kept	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
4441. Sticks put away													.	+	–	–	
4442. Stones put in sack	–	.	.	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	
4442a. Knots tied in string		.	.			+	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	
4443. Old man keeps record	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	
4444. By memory only	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	(–)	(–)	–	–	–	
4445. Old people argue which month	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	+	•+	[578]
4446. Fisticuffs	+	[illegible]	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	.	+	+	
4447. Solstices observed by marks or shadow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4448. Summer solstice	+	+	–	+	.	•+			+	•–	+	+	+	.	.	+	
4449. Winter solstice	+	+	+	+	+	•+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4450. In sweat house	–	.	•+	•+	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	.	.	
4451. Trees or mountains	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4452. Sunrise and sunset	+	+	–			–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•+	
4453. Sunrise only	–	–	+			+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	
4454. Sun's monthly position observed	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	–	•–	+	+	.	.	.	+	
4455. Marks on shadows from trees, mountains	+	.	–	+	.	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	.	.	.	+	
4456. Marks in sweat house	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	.	.	–	
4457. Daily sunrise, sunset observed	+		–	+					•+	+	–	+	.	.	–	+	

Directions

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
823 4458. 4 cardinal directions	(+)	+	+	+	.	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
4459. 6 cardinal directions	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
4460. 8 cardinal directions	−	−	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4461. Waterflow for directions	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4462. Directions indicated by place names	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4463. Sunrise, sunset terms for E, W	−		+	•+		+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
823 4464. Direction indicated by pursing lips	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
201 o4465. Plus twitching nose, glancing with eyes		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	±	−	−
4466. Plus hand against cheek, pointing	−	−				+	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
4467. Used for privacy, mainly		+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	.	−	−
4468. Direction indicated by pointing hand, finger.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs

Therapeutic Practices

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
757 4469. Practices for curing illnesses	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	+	+
4470. Piss ants, for rheumatism, tuberculosis	+	−	+						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4471. Drink boiled decoction of	+	−	+						−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4472. Sit on nest of, let "water" remain on body	−	−	−						+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[752] 4473. Cautery	•+	+	+		•+				+	•+	+	−	−		−	−
4474. If blister rises, cure will be effected	+	+	+						+	•−	+	−	−		−	−
[752] 4475. Blood letting			•+	•+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	+		+	+
4476. Cut made with flint knife			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		+	+
4477. Vapor baths, patient covered with robe	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	•+	−	+	−		−	+
4478. Steaming in small steam house, mud and ashes													−		+	−
4479. Poultices	+	+							+						+	+
4480. Sucker skin, for snake bites.	−	−	−						+	−	−	−	−		−	−
4481. Plant poultices with warm rock inside															+	+
4482. Smoking: wild parsnip, for headaches, colds	−		−						+	+	•+	•+	−		.	.
4483. Plant and root decoctions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4484. Datura (jimsonweed) root	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	•+
4485. Decoctions for wounds			•+								•+	.	•+		•+	.

Herb Doctoring; Beliefs Concerning Ailments

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4486. Herbalists	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
755 4487. Informal "doctoring" only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+		−	−
757 4488. Informal and formal doctoring	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−		+	+
278 4489. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	+
4490. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4491. Mostly women	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+		−	−
4492. Herbalist may also be sucking shaman.	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−		+	+
4493. Knowledge inherited	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−
4494. Dream	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−		−	−
4495. Taught free by older person	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+
4496. Taught free by doctor, to relation only													−		•+	−
4497. Formula spoken when gathering plants.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		.	•+
4498. Treatment private, at patient's house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4499. Formula recited, before taking medicine	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	•+	755 757
4500. Disease brushed off body	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	278
4501. Medicine administered internally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4502. Medicine administered externally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4503. Medicine sprayed from mouth	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+		+		
4504. Herbalist can cure any disease													−		+	+	
4505. Can kill disease objects	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4506. Can cure rattlesnake bites	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		+	+	
4507. Can only weaken, check natural diseases	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+		−	−	
4508. Precautions to ward off disease; incense burnt	(+)	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+		+	+	751
4508a. Breach of taboo causes illness	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	753
4509. Eating meat in taboo period causes tuberculosis		+	+							+	+	+	+		−	−	
4510. Worms in tooth cause toothache	−	−	+	•+	+	−	.	•+	+	+	+	+	+		•−	(+)	
4511. Ants, spider-like bug in teeth causes toothache	+	+	−	−	−	•+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	

Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena

Cosmogony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4512. World a disk, floating in water	.	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	+	.	.	.	773
4513. Supported by animal	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	−	.	.	.	
4514. Mythical age; animals persons	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4515. Chief for each species of animal	+	+	−				(+)	−	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	
4516. Flood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	(+)	.	.	.	+	
4517. Human beings created or appear	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	

Sun and Moon

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4518. Sun male human	+	+	.	+	−	•+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	(+)	.	821
4519. Sun female human	−	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	.	
4520. Moon male human	+	+	+	−	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	(+)	.	
4521. Moon female human	−	−	.	+	−	(+)	.	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	
4522. Sun and moon husband and wife	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	.	
4523. Frog mate of moon	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	•(+)	−	−	−	.	
4524. Figures in moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	.	+	−	−	.	
4525. Scar from bear's bite									+	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	
4526. Man	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	
4527. Tree	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	.	
4528. Frog	+	•+	+	−	•+	•+	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	

New Moon

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4529. Monthly birth-and-death theory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	+	•+	+
4530. All view new moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•−	+
4531. Each month	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
4532. In winter, only											•+	−	−	−	−	−
4533. In spring, chiefly	•+	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
4534. Speak, pray to moon	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+
4535. Address by kin term	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
4536. Old persons shake selves, clothes, bedding	−	+	•+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4537. Throw stones at moon	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
4538. Food prepared, guests invited								•	•	•	+	−	+	−	+	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
821 4539. Babies, children shown to moon	−	+	−	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
852 4540. Race, run, jump east	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
4541. "Spanked"	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4542. Tossed in air	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4543. Children raise arms to moon	−	+					+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
4544. Tell moon they are growing	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	(+)	−
4545. Face, body, arms rubbed	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−
4546. Address moon by kin term	−	+	−	−	−	•+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
4547. Done to make child grow fast	−	+	−			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
821 4548. Position of horns significant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
787 4549. Vertical; sign of death, sickness	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
4550. Vertical; sign of rain and snow	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4551. Vertical; sign of good weather, good fortune	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
4552. Horizontal; good weather, dry month	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
4553. Horizontal; full of water, rain or storm	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
4554. Horizontal; death, sickness !	−	−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	.	−
821 4555. Taboos concerning moon	−	+	+	+					+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
4556. If point at new moon, finger crooks, drops off	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
*4557. If sleep in moonlight, cross eyes, facial paralysis	−	.	+	+					+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Eclipses																
4558. Recognized	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4559. Sun, moon dying	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	−	.	−
4560. Bear, dog eating sun, moon	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−
4561. Lizard eating moon	−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
4562. Frog eating, passing over sun											+	−	−	−		+
4563. Frog doctoring, passing over moon	+	−	+								+	−	−	−	.	+
4564. Big snake giving birth to baby													−	+	.	−
4565. No explanation for eclipse of moon	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	−
4566. Special behavior during eclipses	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
4567. All shout, eclipse of sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	−
4568. All shout, eclipse of moon	+	•+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	−
4569. Pray and talk to sun, moon	−	−	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+
*4570. Beat dogs	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	−
4571. Shoot arrows in air	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	−
4572. Sprinkle water	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	.	+	.	−
4573. Cover all food	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	.	−	−	−	.	−
4574. Hide children	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	.	−	−	•+	.	−
4575. Bring in wood, or make fire	−	−	•+											•+	•+	−
[787] 4576. Eclipse portent of death	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
4577. Red moon portent of disaster	−	−	•+			•+	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	.	−
Falling Stars																
787 *4578. Evil sign	−	•+	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−
821 *4579. Sign man visiting woman, for intercourse	+	.	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−
4580. Presage good weather next day	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−
4581. No sign	−	−	−					+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
4582. Porcupine fallen star	−								+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4583. People clap hands, breathe loudly	−	−	+			+	.	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
4584. People pray for good luck	−	+	+					+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
Milky Way, Other Star Lore																
821 4585. Milky Way: creek or river	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	.	−	.	.	.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4586. Milky Way: dead persons', ghosts' road, trail	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	.	.	821
4587. Taboo for young boys to look at evening star.	−	.	−							·+	−	−	·+	−	·+	.	
4588. Girls forbidden to count stars													·+	−	·+	.	
4589. Single star, close to moon, evil sign	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	−	−	·+	−	.	.	−	−	−	.	
4590. 5 small stars, close to moon, sign children will die	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	.	[787]
Rainbow																	
4591. Menstruation sign	−	·−	−	−	−	·−	·−	+	+	+	−	.	·+	·+	·+	.	821
4592. Evil sign	−	·+	−	−	−	·+	·+	−	·+	·+		.	·+	(−)	(−)	.	787
4593. Sign of rain	+	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	
4594. Sign of good wild crops	−	−	−	−	·+	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	
4595. Sign connected with doctoring	−	·+	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	
4596. If point at, finger will be crooked, drop off	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	
4597. Children warned especially	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	.	
4598. If point at, makes child sick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	.	
4599. Dreaming of rainbow evil portent	−	·+	−						·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	.	
Thunder																	
4600. Old man	+	+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	−	−	·+	+	·+	+	·+	+	821
4601. Has wife	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	·+	+	−	−	+	
4602. Tree his wife	−	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4603. Boy	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
4604. Thunder and lightning twin boys	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4605. Thunder takes form of bird, when striking	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	·+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4606. No explanation of noise	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
4607. Noise, man and woman talking	−	−	−			−	+	+	−	−	−	+	·+	·−	−	·+	
4608. Noise, man moving or kicking things	−	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4609. Noise, man shouting angrily	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	
4610. Noise, bird ripping tree with claws, moving wings	−	−	−			·+		·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4611. Noise, twin boys back on earth	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4612. Thunder feared	+	+	+	−	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	−	+	+	
4613. Raccoon skin held up on stick	−	−	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4614. Dogs made to squeal	·+	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4615. Stick burned; old men walk in circle with it.											+	−	+	+	+	−	
4616. Thunder talked, prayed to; told to depart	−	+	+	·+	+	−	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
Lightning																	
4617. Power, weapon of Thunder person	+	+	−	+	+	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	.	.	
4618. From mouth, hand of Thunder person	−	.	−		·+	·+	.	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	
4619. From claws of Thunder or Lightning Bird	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	
4620. Takes shape of raccoon	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	
4621. Feared	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4622. Crawl under burnt trees or log	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	
4623. Run to open spot	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
4624. Jump into water	+	.	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4625. Cover head	·+										−	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	
4626. Talk to lightning	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	.	
4627. Hold up racooon skin	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	
4628. Keep quiet											−	−	+	+	+	.	
Whirlwind																	
4629. Evil associated with whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	·−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4630. In fall especially												+	+	+	+	−	
4631. Is dead shaman's dust	−	+	+	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·(−)	−	−	−	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
821 4632. Contains poison or doctor's pain inside it	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	.		−
4633. Contains spirit (or person?) inside it	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	•+	+	−	−	•+	.	+	•+
4634. Malignant activities of whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
4635. Sickens persons with bad dreams	+	•+	•+		+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	.	+	+
4636. Puts "pain" in person	+	+	+	−							+	+	−	.	−	−
4637. Catches person's shadow or spirit	−	+	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	.	−	−
4638. Causes person to have accident, die	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−
4639. Gives power for doctoring, occasionally	−	+				•+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	.	.	−
4640. Precautions against whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4641. Try to hide from, dodge it	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	+
4642. Throw dirt, water at it	−	+	+		•+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	•−	•+	•+	−
4643. Talk to it, informally	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	+
4644. Smoke when talking to it	−	+	+						+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
4645. Clap hands, stomp feet	−	+	+								−	−	−	.	.	−
4646. Smoke victim of whirlwind													+	+	+	−
4646a. Mourners who dream of whirlwind doctored	−	+	−				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	.	−
Rain and Storms																
4647. Nonshamanistic beliefs concerning rain	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	+
4648. Rolling rocks down hill causes rain				+	+	−	+	−	•−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4649. Shouting in mountains causes rain	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	(+)		−	−
4650. Sprinkles a little after funeral naturally	+	+	.		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		+	+
4651. Nonshamanistic measures for stopping rain	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
4652. Pinch dog's ear	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4653. Old men wave lighted brands	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
4654. Flies and yellow jackets burnt	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts																
Characteristics of Ghost or Spirit																
775 4655. Visible to anyone	+	+	•−	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
4656. Resembles person	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+	−	+	+	+
4657. Resembles skeleton, shadow, fog, or cloud	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4658. Audible to anyone	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
[756] 4659. Shamans chiefly	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4660. Wails, whistles	−	−	−	−						+	−	+	+	+	−	+
Activities of Ghosts or Spirits																
4661. Leaves body shortly before death	−	−	•−	•−			+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4662. Leaves body immediately after death	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
o4663. Leaves grave, pyre ... days after death	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	28	5	−	−	3	4	4	−
4664. Leaves pyre night of cremation	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4665. Turns back once after leaving body											+	.	−	+	−	−
4666. Retraces steps person has taken when alive												+	+	−	+	+
4667. Departs toward distant place	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4668. Toward west	•+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	+	.	−
4669. To assembly house in mountains, sky									•+					•+		•+
4670. Up to sky	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	+	+	+	−	+	−	.	−	+
4671. Along Milky Way	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	.	−	.
4672. Across water, river	+	+	−	−	+	−	.	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
4673. On bridge													+	+	+	−
4674. If get dizzy crossing, turn into coyote													+	+	+	−

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4675. Door keeper at land of dead	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	775
4676. One destination for all	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
4677. Good and bad different destinations	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	(+)	•−	−	−	−	
4678. All ghosts stay on earth	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
4679. Doctors, bad persons	−	.	−	.	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	
4680. Improperly buried, burned persons	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4681. Ghosts encountered around village	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	.	−	−	+	−	
4682. Ghosts encountered around cremation spot or burying place	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	
4683. In air	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	.	−	.	+	+	
4684. In whirlwind	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	
4685. Dead visit in dreams with living	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[787]
4686. Occasional dream may give person power	−	−	−	.	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	
4687. Constant dreaming of dead bad omen.	−	+	−	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	

Precautions to Keep Away Ghosts

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4688. Ghosts feared	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	769
4689. Offerings of food, if dream of dead	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	+	775
4690. Ghost feast	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	−	.	•+	
4691. Eat with dog	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4692. Shaman hired to sing for dreamer	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	
4693. Dreamer puts ashes, pitch on body							+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
4694. Talk to ghost	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	
4695. Throw ashes toward ghost	+	•+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
4696. Throw water toward ghost or grave								+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
4697. Bathe in plain or medicated water	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	
4698. Herbs rubbed on body	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	
4699. Roots chewed and spit	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	
4700. Tobacco smoked	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	
4701. Burn aromatic plant	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	
4702. After childbirth, to avoid bad dreams	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	.	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4703. Burn hair, skin	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	•+	−	•+	−	
4704. After childbirth, to avoid bad dreams	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4705. Hang small bow and arrow in door		.								+	−	−	+	−	−	−	
4706. Plant, feathers hung up	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	

Omens

Sneezing, etc.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4707. Sudden sneeze sign someone talking about sneezer	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	787
4708. Of opposite sex	−	−	+	−	.	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	827
4709. Relation	−	−	−	+				−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4710. At a distance	−	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4711. Sudden sneeze sign someone thinking of sneezer	−	−	−					+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4712. Invite such to come visit	−	−	−					+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4713. Ear buzzing sign someone deprecating person														+	−	−	

Bird, Animal Calls as Omens

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4714. Owl call before dawn omen death, war, rain.	+	+	+	•−	+	.	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
4715. Robin calling after dark bad omen	−	+	+	+	−	.	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	825
4716. Magpie calling after dark bad omen	−	+	−	−		.		+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
787 4717. Crow, quail calling, tells of enemy passing .	–	+	+	–		.	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+
825 4718. Dog howling, sign of war	+	–	–	–	+	.		+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
4719. Coyote, fox howling sign of war	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+
4720. Any animal calling out of time evil sign . .	–	+	+	–	.	.	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
4721. May be shaman, sending out spirit . .								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Vision Quest

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
787 4722. Vision questing to obtain guardian spirit(s).	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	•+		–	•–
4723. By individuals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–
4624. By group	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–		–	–
[562] 4725. Men, youths, boys	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+		–	–
4726. Women, girls	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	•–	•+	+	–	+		–	–
4726a. Optional, not obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4727. First quest, prepuberty	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+		–	–
4728. First quest at or around puberty . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	(–)		–	–
4729. Questing during adult life	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	•+	+	+	–	–		–	–
4730. Quest once only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	+		–	–
4731. Quest repeated, to gain power, or for successive powers	+	+	.		+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	–	–		–	–
4732. Some candidates never obtain vision	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4733. Undertaken in winter, annually . . .	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4734. Undertaken in spring, summer only . .	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	•+	–	–	–	+		–	–
•4735. Undertaken any time, after birth child, death of near relative . . .	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
4736. Vision quest general, may obtain any variety power	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
•4736a. Vision quest may yield all powers except those for doctoring	–	–	+	•+	–	•–	–	•–	•+	•+	–	–	–		–	–
4737. Vision quest yields doctoring powers only	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
4738. Youths prepared for quest	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4739. Lectured by father, father's brother	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
[304] 4740. Whipped with bowstring, stick	–	–	–			+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4741. Ears pierced	–	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4742. Go out naked, or with breech-clout only	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+				–		–	–
4743. Seeker quests at fixed localities in mountains	•+	•+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4744. Alone	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
4745. With older shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–
4746. Men or youths only	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
‡4747. For ... days, nights	5	5	•4	1	5	•1	•2	0	1	1	1	2	2		–	–
4748. Before doctor-making dance .	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	(+)	+		–	–
4749. After doctor-making dance . .	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–		–	–
[262] ‡4750. Complete food fast ... days .	5	5	(+)	–	5	•2	–	–	–	–	1	–	2		–	–
o4751a. Eats sparingly, or according to spirit's instructions ... days	–	+	28	5	2	–	•2	5	1	•2	–	2	•+		–	–
[262] 4752. Meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4753. Abstains from water	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4754. Drinks water with acorn meal in it			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
[834] 4755. Sexual continence during quest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
4756. Bathes to acquire power	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	−	+	+		−	−	787
4756a. In lake or stream	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	−	
4757. Complete immersion	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	−	[515]
4758. Washes hands in spring	+	−	−					+		+	−	−	−		−	−	
4759. Bathes each day	+	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	+	(−)	.		−	−	
o4759a. Bathes after ... days	−	−	−	−		•2	•2	5	5	•2	−	.	.		−	−	
4760. Rebuilds stone altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	
4761. Breaks branches, piles up wood	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4762. Builds fire	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	−	[372]
4763. Smokes self over fire	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		+	−	+	+		−	−	
4764. Catches glowworms	•+	−	•+					−	.	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4765. Sleeps on mountain at night	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	(+)	−	−		−	−	
4766. Prays for vision	−	−	−					+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
4766a. Scarification and bleeding	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	[304]
4767. Ants allowed to bite wounds	−	−	+	•+	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
•4768. To obtain "luck" only	−	−	(−)	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4769. Power comes by dreaming	−	•+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4769a. Power comes in trance or faint	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4770. Nose or mouth bleeds	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	−	
4771. Instruction by shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
4772. Guardian spirit communicates with seeker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4773. Spirit seen	−	−	.	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4773a. Spirit heard	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4774. Spirit felt	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	
4775. Gives song	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4776. Gives paint		+	−	−	−	−		(+)	−	−	+	+	+		−	−	
4777. Gives dance		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
4778. Instructs as to paraphernalia, methods.	+	•	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	
•4779. Doctor dance main or only form vision seeking for youths, girls		−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−		−	−	
4780. Successful seeker observes taboos on return	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
†4781. Is sick for ... days	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•1	•1	•2	1	+	+		−	−	
†4782. Continent			−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	[834]
4782a. For ... years			−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	1		−	−	
4783. Swims	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4784. Sweats and swims	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
†4785. Stays outside house ... days.	1	1	−	−	2	1	•2	5	0	•2	−	−	−		−	−	
†4786. Confined ... days in sweat house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(5)	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4787. Uses head scratcher	−	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4788. Eats sparingly or according to spirit's instructions.	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	[262]
4788a. Meat taboo	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4789. Fish taboo	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−					−	−	
4790. Salt taboo	−		−					+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4790a. Drinks water with acorn meal in it.	−	−	−						+	(+)					−	−	[511]
4791. Smokes tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−		−	−	[276]
4792. Gives first kill to old man			+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	

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Shamanism

756 Sucking Doctors: Personnel

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4792a. Sucking doctors recognized	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
[562] 4793. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		+	+
4794. Mainly men, few women	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
4795. Mainly women, few men	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4796. Both sexes, about equal	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
4797. Men can cure and sicken	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−
4798. Women's powers equal to male doctors'	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−		−	−
4799. Stronger	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4800. More limited	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+		−	−
4801. Can only cure; no sickening	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	•+	•+	+		−	−
4802. Mainly send illness	+	.	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−

Sucking Doctors: Acquisition of Power

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4803. Shamanistic power inherited	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	•+
4804. Before relative's death, paternal or maternal	+	•+	−	+	•+	•+	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+		•+	+
4805. After relative's death, paternal or maternal		•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	−	−		−	−
*4806. Dependent on power's or "pain's" willingness		•+			•+	•+	•+				•+	+	+		−	−
4807. Shamanistic power acquired unsought	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	•+
4808. While in conscious state	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	.		−	+
4809. While ill	−	−	−	(−)	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4810. During trance or faint	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+		−	+
†4811. Sick for ... days	−	−	−	•4	o	−	o	1	1	−	−	+	+		−	•+
o4812. Sick for ... years	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	[illegible]		−	[illegible]
4813. In dream when adult	−	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+		−	+
4814. In dream before puberty, anytime	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−
4815. Novice bleeds	−	+	•+	•−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	•+		−	+
†4816. Novice dances for ... nights after apparition	−		•2	5	−	−	−	1	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4817. Alone	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4818. Smokes when dancing	−	−	+								−	−	−		−	−
4819. Sings	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4820. Nonacceptance of power dangerous	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	−
4821. May involve sickness, death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	−
4822. Legitimate methods of refusing power.		+				•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	.		−	•+
4823. Eat fresh food			−					•+	•+	−	•+	−	.		−	−
4824. Put ashes on body	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4825. "Pain" may leave of own accord			−						+	−	−	−	−		−	−
4825a. Shaman sometimes cures sufferer			−				+	−	+	+	+	+	.		−	−
4826. Shamanistic power acquired during vision quest	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
4827. Shamanistic power acquired during group initiatory dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
4828. Held in open-fire sweat house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
4829. Novices instructed	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+		•+	+
4830. By older shaman	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	(+)	(+)	−	+	+	+		+	•+
4831. In sweat house	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−		−	+
4832. In open	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		+	+
4833. Novice acquires "pain" or poison object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
*4834. Animate; can move, talk	•−	•±	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
4835. Pain calls possessor "father" or "mother"	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	−		−	−

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
o4836. Number	2	−	1	−	−				1	1	1	2	−		−	−	756
4836a. Indefinite; many	−	+	−	+	+				−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4837. Kept outside shaman's body	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	
4838. Kept inside shaman's body	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−		−	−	
4839. Novice acquires guardian spirit helper from natural phenomena, fauna	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	[821]
4840. Sun	−	+	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		−	.	
4841. Moon	−	+	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−		−	.	
4842. Wind		+	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−		−	.	
4843. Thunder	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	.	+	−		−	.	
4844. Lightning								+	+	+	.	+	−		−	.	
4845. Fire		+	.	+		+	+	−	+	+	.	+	−		−	.	
4846. Animals, all kinds	+	+	.	•−	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	−	−		−	−	[825]
4847. Coyote mainly	−	−	+	+							+	+	−		−	−	
4848. Wolf, only or mainly	−	−	−	+				+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4849. Birds	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	(+)	
4850. Eagle				+	+		+	−	−	+	+	+	−		−	.	
4851. Chicken hawk	+	+	.	+	+		+	−	−	+	+	+	−		−	.	
4852. Small birds								+	+	−	+	+	−		−	.	
4853. Reptiles	+	+	.	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−		−	•+	
4854. Fish	+	+	.	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	.	+	−		−	.	
4855. Frog	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−		−	.	
4856. Favorite, best power	−	+	.	+	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	.	
4857. Insects								+	−	+	+	−	−		−	.	
4858. Ghosts or spirits	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	.	[775]
4859. Doctor gets power from several guardian spirits, successively	+	+	.		+	+	+	−	+	+	+	(−)	−		−	.	775
4860. After power from "pain" acquired											+	(−)	−		−	.	756
4861. Guardian spirits communicate with novice	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	
4862. Are visible to novice	−	−	.	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	
4863. Are audible	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	
4864. Can be felt	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	
4865. Give song	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	
4866. Novice, in training sings by himself	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−	
4867. Give paint		+	−	−	−	−		+	+	+	.	+	−		−	−	
4868. Give dance		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−		−	−	
4869. Instruct as to paraphernalia, curing methods	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	
4870. Novice acquires feathers, feather flags	.	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	−		.	−	
4871. Must be kept outside house		+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−		.	−	
4872. Kept in hollow tree when not in use		−	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−		.	−	
4873. Novice keeps fact he has power secret	−	−	−	−	•+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		+	+	756
Sucking Doctors: Doctor-Making Rites																	
4874. Doctor-making rites for sucking doctors	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	
o4874a. Rites last ... days and nights	(1)	−	−	−	1	−	−	1	−	−	−	−	2		4	−	
‡4875. For ... nights	+	5	3	5	−	−	−	+	1	1	1	1	+		+	−	
4876. Novices assisted by older shamans	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	
4877. Doctor dance	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	−	+	+	+	−	−	•+		(+)	−	756
4878. Held irregularly	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		(+)	−	535
4878a. Held immediately before, after vision attained	−	−	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−		−	−	
4879. After specified objects collected	−	−	•+	•+	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
*4880. Repeated yearly for ... yrs.	−	−	3	5	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4881. Given in winter only	+	+	−	•+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 4881a. Given in summer only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	+		-	-
535 4882. In open fire sweat house	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4883. In dwelling house	+	+	-	-	+	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4883a. In open	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	-
4884. Shaman in charge	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+		+	-
4885. Novice doctor dances alone	-	-	•+	•+	•+	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4886. All shamans dance	•+	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		(+)	-
4887. All men except novice dance	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4888. All prepubescent boys, girls, adults dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4889. One time only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
4890. Dance in 1 spot	•+	+	-	-			+	-	+	-	-	-	-		.	-
4891. Informal dance; jump around								+	+	+	-	-	-		.	-
4892. Room dark	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4893. Small fire for light	+	+	+	-		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-		+	-
[533] 4894. All or anyone sings	-	-	•+	•+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
4895. Men, women lie on back before dance; sing			-		-			+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4896. Women sing.	•+	+	•+	•+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
4897. Some men sing	+	+	•+	•+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+		(+)	-
4898. Singers kick on floor planks	+	+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4899. Sit on stools, pieces of wood	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4900. Outside speaker calls spirits to sweat house	+	+	•+		-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4901. Novice(s) bleed at mouth	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+		+	-
4902. Fall in trance	-	-	•+		+			+	+	+	-	-	+		+	-
4903. Not touched until next morning	-	-	-		-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4904. Grabbed	-	-	•+		-			-	-	-	-	-	+		.	-
4905. Older shaman may deprive novice of power	•+	.	•+	-	-				•+		-	-	-		-	-
4906. Disease organisms fly around in air	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4907. Novice enters house via regular entrance	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4908. Novice swallows and vomits up pains	•+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4909. Exhibits pains	+	+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4910. Novice or doctors handle fire, hot stones	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+		+	•+
4911. Eat fire	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	-	-	•-	+	-	-	-		.	+
4912. Novice or doctors eat pounded obsidian	(+)	+	•+	•+			-	-	-	-	-	-	-		.	-
4913. Novice can start curing immediately after dance	(+)	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	•+	•+	-	-	•-		(+)	-
[533] 4914. Novice sings in sweat house; no dancing	-	-	-	-	(+)	(+)	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
4915. Novice, in training, sings by himself	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-
4916. Novice trains outside in woods	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		+	-
4917. With older shamans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	-
4918. Small fire for light	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	-
4919. Bleeds at mouth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	-
4920. Falls in trance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	-
4921. Taught to handle fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	-
4922. Taught use of medicines	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	.
4923. For ... days and nights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	-
4924. Novice cures, helps cure patient, as part of training	+	+	(+)	•+	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
755 Sucking Doctors: Curing Techniques																
o4925. Treatment lasts ... nights.	1	•1	•1	•2	•3	•1	•2	1	2	•1	•1	2	•3		1	1
4926. Public, indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4927. Private, indoors	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		•+	−	755
4928. Doctor has ... assistants	1	2	1	2	•2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		−	−	
4929. "Interpreter" for doctor while doctoring, or in trance	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−	
4930. "Outside speaker" to call doctor's spirit(s)	−	•+	+	•+	+	•−	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
4931. Friend or relative of doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4932. Must know esoteric language	−	+	+					+	+	+	−	+	−		−	−	
4933. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	−	−	.	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	•−		−	.	[776]
4934. Assistant calls doctor's spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•−		−	−	[787]
4935. Spirit takes possession of doctor	•−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	.		−	−	
4936. Doctor diagnoses by singing	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		.	+	[533]
4937. Audience joins in songs	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	
4938. Doctor diagnoses by dancing	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		.	−	[535]
4939. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	[276]
4940. When trance coming on			−					+	+	+	−	+	−		−	−	
o4941. Blows tobacco smoke over patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	±	−	+		−	−	
4942. Assistant lights doctor's pipe	+	−	+	•−				+	+	+	−	+	−		−	−	
4943. Doctor drinks through bark tube	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	[391]
4944. Has basket cup of water beside him.	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−	
4945. Doctor uses feathers or stick	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		.	−	
4946. Bunch of supernatural feathers	−	+	•+	+	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		.	−	
4947. Eagle down	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	•−	−	−	−	−	−		.	−	
4948. Eagle wing	−	−	+					−	−	−		−	−		.	−	
4949. Stick	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		.	−	
4950. Doctor uses fire	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		.	+	[372]
4951. For light only: usually small	+	+	+	•+	•−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		.	•−	
4952. Doctor applies ashes, clay to patient	•+	•+	−	•−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		.	−	
4953. Doctor uses charmstone (pestle)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4954. Brushes or fans away disease	−	+	+	•+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4955. With feathers	−		+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4956. Sprays liquid from mouth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		.	•+	
4957. Administers herb medicines	−	−	−					•+	•−	−	•+	•+	−		•+	•+	[278]
4958. Doctor, assistant, or singers use rattle	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+	
4959. Cocoon rattle	−	−	−	−	+	•−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	•+	[534]
4960. Walking cane								+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4961. Beat on plank with board			−						+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
4962. Whistle	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−		.	−	
4963. Doctor's spirit or "pain" tells location of disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	+	
4964. Tells cause of sickness	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−	
4965. Doctor can see or feel disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	
4966. Disease object ("pain") sucked out	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	
4967. Directly into doctor's mouth	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4968. Vomited out of mouth	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		+	−	
o4969. Disease object removed with hand	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	±	−	−			−	−	
4970. Pus ("bad feelings") sucked out	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+	
4971. Women doctors use same technique as men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	−	[562]
4972. Disease object tells doctor who sent it	[illegible]	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−	
4973. Disease object exhibited	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4974. Put in basket cup of water	−	+	+	+		+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−			−	
4975. Invisible to all except shamans	−	−	−						+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
4976. Disease object disappears	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	
4977. By sleight of hand	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	+	+	+	−		−	−	
4978. Doctor bites it	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−		•−	•+	
4979. Doctor swallows it	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4980. Sent back to owner, for revenge, sometimes			+	•−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−	
4981. Buried	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+		−	+	
4982. Blown away			−					+	+	+	−	+	−		−	−	
4983. Burned	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
755 Sucking Doctors: Payment for Curing																
4983a. Shaman paid for curing	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4984. Negotiated fee	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4985. Patient, patients' relatives decide amount of fee	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4986. Fee paid to doctor before cure	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4987. Fee shown to doctor, who smells it			–			•+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4988. Fee paid after cure	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	•+	•+	+	+		+	+
4989. Fee set near patient during treatment	+	+	–	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
4990. Shaman's guardian spirit also "paid"	–	–	+	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4991. Demands skins, hides, baskets, etc.	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4992. Objects set up by patient during cure	–	–	•+	•+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4993. If treatment unsuccessful, doctor tries again	+					+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–		+	
o4994. Makes ... attempts only						3	3		3	–	–	2			.	
4995. If treatment unsuccessful, fee not offered or not taken	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–	–
4996. If treatment unsuccessful, fee returned	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	+
4997. Treatment deemed unsuccessful if patient dies	+	.	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	+
4998. Within 1 to 6 months.	–	.	+	+	.	.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–		–	–
†4999. Within ... days	10	.	–	–	.	.	10	10	10	–	–	–	20		20	•20
5000. Assistants paid same amount as doctor	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
5001. Assistants paid less than doctor	–	•(+)	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–		–	–
5002. Doctor pays assistant out of own fee.	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	?	–	–		–	–
[683] 5003. Doctor liable for refusing case	–	•–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
5004. May be accused of poisoning	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
5005. Liable to be killed	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
5006. Never decline case	–	–	–		+		+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
[681] 5007. Unsuccessful doctors killed	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–
Sucking Doctors: Beneficent Powers Other Than Curing																
756, 787 5008. Can capture "poison" sickening village			•+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
5009. Goes into trance			•+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
5010. 2 men support him, when poison captured			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	–
5011. Can locate lost, stolen objects	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	.	+	+		–	(+)
5012. Can see what is happening afar off	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–		–	–
5013. What will happen in future	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+		–	–
Sucking Doctors: Malevolent Practices																
756 754 5014. Shaman causes illness, death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		+	•–
5015. Talks to disease object (pain), sends it to victim			.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
5016. Disease object put in food	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+		+	–
5017. Disease object put under victim's doorstep			–		•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–		–	–
5018. Disease object sent to sicken entire village			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
5019. Disease object applied to person's body	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		+	–
5020. Scorpion's tail applied to body, or person's urine													–		•+	–
5020a. Ashes, water, dirt thrown toward victim			+								+	+	+		+	–
5021. Disease object pointed at victim	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
5022. Thrown at victim	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
5023. Blown off hand at victim	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
5024. Blown through pipe	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+		+	+	+	+		–	–	756
5025. Blown with smoke			+	–	+	•+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+		–	–	754
5026. Disease object put in pipe; pipe offered victim	+	+	–	–	–	–		+	.	+	+	+	+		–	–	
5027. Disease object, evil spirit may use tiny bow	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
5028. Shoots at victim	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–		–	–	
5029. Shaman talks to animal spirit, sends it to victim	•+	+	+		+						+		•–		–	–	
5030. Disease object injected by animal	+	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–		–	–	
5031. Dreaming of doctor may cause illness.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+		–	–	
5032. Dreaming of animal may cause illness.	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–		–	–	
5033. Shaman steals victim's soul	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+		–	–	
5034. Heavy fall may also cause soul loss	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+		–	–	
5035. Shaman causes minor injuries that lead to death	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
5036. Curing doctors hired to kill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	–	
5037. Malevolent doctor killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	–	756
5038. Burned to death	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5039. Jumped upon, neck broken											+	+	+		–	–	683
5040. Shot with bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	•+		+	–	
5041. Poisoned by another shaman	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–		–	–	
5042. Chief's consent necessary	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	•+	•+		–	–	
5043. Relative of victim kills doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+		+	–	
5044. Chief kills doctor	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–		(–)	–	
5045. Chief hires killers	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	.	+	+		–	–	
5046. Woman may hire killers	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+		+	–	
Sucking Doctors: Competitions																	578
5047. Competitions of sucking shamans	•+	•+	(+)	–	–	–	+	–	–	•–	+	–	(+)		–	–	756
5048. Male shamans only	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	[562]
5049. Sing, charm opponent	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
5050. Shaman sings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+		–	–	
5051. Shakes cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–	
5052. Is "shot" by sun	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–	
5053. Shamans boast of power	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–		–	–	
5054. Exchange pipes filled with tobacco.	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[276]
o5055. Inhale from pipes ... times	5	5	.	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5056. Overpowered shaman cures self	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
5057. Overpowered shaman cured by winner.	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–	
5058. Sometimes dies	–	•+	.	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
5059. Contest held publicly	+	(+)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–	
5060. Contest held privately	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
Singing Shamans																	
5060a. Singing shamans recognized	–	•(–)	+	•R	–	+	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•–	•–	756
5061. Men	–	–	–		–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	533
5062. Women	–	–	–		–	+	–	+	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–	
5063. Power acquired during sleep	–	–	.		–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–	
5064. Power acquired by vision, often unsought	–	–	.		–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+		–	–	
5065. Knowledge acquired by instruction	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5066. May also be sucking doctor	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	
5067. Limited power only	–	–	–		–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–		–	–	
5068. Use outfit bundle	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5069. Kept inside house	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5070. Buried with patient if latter dies.	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	

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		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
756	5071. Burned at owner's death	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
533	5072. Diagnosis by singing, rubbing patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
	5073. Singing, rubbing to cure patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
	5074. Brushes patient	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
	5075. Sprinkles water from feather on patient	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-
	5076. Sucks patient	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
	5077. Sprays water from mouth on patient	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
	5078. Can foretell future events											+	+	+		-	-
[775]	5079. Performs in round house, at night											+	+	·+	·+	-	-
	5080. Spirit comes and sings in dark													+	+	-	-
774 755	**Soul-Loss Doctors**																
756	5081. Soul loss doctors recognized	-	-	-	-	+	+	·+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
[562]	5081a. Men	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
	5082. Women	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
	5083. Is also sucking doctor	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
	5084. Inherit power	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+		-	-
	5085. Power through vision, dream	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
	5086. Instructed by older shaman, or in dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
	5087. Shaman sucks on head, neck	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	(-)		-	-
	5088. Shaman sends own soul after lost one	-	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		-	-
	5089. Shaman sends guardian spirit to catch soul	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		-	-
	5090. Shaman goes outside to coax soul back	-	-	-	-		-	-	·+	·+	+	-	+	-		-	-
	5091. Sings	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+		-	-
	5092. Dances	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
	5093. Has ... assistants	-	-	-	-	?	-	2	1	1	·1	-	1	-		-	-
	5094. Outside speaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
	5095. Interpreter	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
	5096. Spectators sing in house	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
	5097. Beat time with 1-2 sticks	-	-	-	-			-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
	5098. Doctor uses cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
	5099. Doctor uses bone "bull-roarer"	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[826]	5100. Soul returns through fontanelle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	-	+	(-)		-	-
	Weather Shamans																
756	5100a. Weather shamans recognized	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
821	5101. Men mostly	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
	5102. Both sexes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[562]	5103. Specialized profession	-	-	-	·+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
	5104. Weather shaman may also be curing shaman	+	+	-	·-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
	5105. Office inherited	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
	5106. Knowledge acquired by instruction	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-		-	-
	5107. Supernatural experience required	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-		-	-
	5108. Make rain by formula, song	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
	5109. Sing with spectators	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
	5110. Smoke pipe				-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-		-	-
	5111. Motion with hands, 4 directions											+	+	-		-	-
	5112. Contortions or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-		-	-
	5113. Can make fog, high winds	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
	5114. Make rain to remove snow	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+		+	+	-		-	-
	5115. Can make rain stop	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	·+	+	+	+	-		-	-
	5116. Performs whenever need arises	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
	5117. Paid for performance	-	-	-	·-	-	+	R	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	-
	5118. Bets made on outcome of	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
	5119. Rain doctors, competing, test powers										·+	-	-	-		-	-
	5120. When doctor cries, rain will ensue	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
	5121. At funeral	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[763]	5122. Thunders when doctor dies	·+	·+	.					+	+	+	±	+	+		-	-

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Rattlesnake Shamans																	
5123. Rattlesnake shamans recognized	+	+	+	•+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	•–		–	+	756
5124. Men only	+	(+)		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	+	825
5125. Mostly men, some women	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
5126. Mostly women	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[562]
5127. Berdache					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5128. May also be curing shaman	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–		–	+	[838]
5129. Hereditary	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–		–	–	
5130. Instruction given	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5131. Supernatural experience required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–		–	+	
5132. Power from thunder	·	·	·		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5133. Power from rattlesnake	·	·	·	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–		–	+	
5134. Dreams of buzzard	·	·	·	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
5135. Immune to snake bites	·	·	•	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–		–	+	
5136. Plays with snakes publicly	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
5137. Uses bone whistle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5138. Carries snake around neck	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
5139. Can skin snake alive								+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5140. Cures snake bites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	–	–		–	+	
5141. By sucking	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	·	+	+	–	–		–	–	
5142. Sucks out fangs, snakes	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	–	+	·	+	+	–	–		–	–	
5143. Rubs patient with buzzard wing	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5144. Rattlesnake ceremony	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5145. Songs sung to snakes	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
5146. In winter, by woman	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5147. Early in spring	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
5148. Privately	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	(+)	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
5149. Snakes emerge from holes	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–		–	–	
5150. Talked to, told not to molest villagers	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
5151. Rattlesnake shamans from other tribes, not local	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
Bear Shamans																	
5151a. Bear shamans	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	
5152. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	[562]
5153. Mostly men	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5154. Both sexes	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5155. Is regular curing shaman	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	
5156. Hereditary	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	
5157. Instruction given	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	–	
5158. Supernatural experience required	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
5159. Power obtained from bear	–	–	–	+	+	·	–	·	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
5160. Cure wounds made by grizzly bear	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–		·	–	
5161. Simulates bear's guise	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	
5162. Rubs self with snake	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	–	
5163. Transformation into bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–		•+	–	
5164. Wears bearskin, bear hair	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	
5165. Wears bear claws	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	
5166. Impersonator invulnerable	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	
5167. Can travel rapidly	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		+	–	
5168. Maliciously inclined	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		+	–	
Money Finders																	
5168a. Money finders recognized	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	756
5169. Any doctor capable of	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
5170. Only doctor with certain guardian spirits	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
756 5171. Instruction	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5172. Supernatural experience	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5173. Sings	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5174. Goes into trance	−	−	−	−	−			+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5175. Tells who hid or stole money	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5176. Tracks money, if hiding place changed	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5177. Talks to piece of money	−	−	−	−	−			−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
5178. Listens to hear money singing	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5179. Functions when money is lost	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5180. Performs at any public ceremony	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5181. Money hidden, to test shaman	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−

Witchcraft

Black Magic

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
791 754 5182. Love medicine	+	.	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
832 5183. Roots	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−
5184. Hair treated with formula, blood								+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
5185. Songs				•+		+	•+	•+	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−
5186. "Diamond" (charmstone)						+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
754 5187. Poisoners distinct from doctors	+	−	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	.	•+		+	−
791 5188. Men only	+	−	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	.	+		−	−
[562] 5189. Have power from various animals	−	−	.	−	−		−	−	−	+	−	.	−		−	−
5190. From evil spirit	−		−	−	−		−	−	−	+	−	.	−		−	−
5191. Have knowledge of herbs	(+)		•		−								+		−	−
784 5192. Shamans, poisoners practice contagious magic.	+		•+	+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•	•+	−
756 5193. Poisoner, curing shaman hired to revenge refusal of girl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	(−)
5194. Make girl crazy, or kill her outright	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	•+		•+	(−)
5195. Colored lights (transformed witches) cause illness	−	−	•+	•+				•+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
5195a. Epidemics caused by spirit creatures	−	−	−	−				•+	•+	+	−	−	−		−	−

Prayer, Offerings

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
782 5196. Prayers frequent by all	+	+	−	(−)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
264 5197. Offerings of food at meals	•+	+	•−	•−	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	+		+	+

Eagle Ceremony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
825 5198. Special observances connected with eagle.								(−)					−	−	+	−
5199. Eaglets captured alive													−	−	•+	−
5200. People eat acorn soup on spot													−	−	•+	−
5201. Eaglets kept tied by leg													−	−	+	−
5202. Killed when grown													−	−	+	−
5203. Feathers plucked out													−	−	+	−
[766] 5204. Beads put on body													−	−	+	−
5205. Eagle buried in basket, like person													−	−	+	−
5206. Owners cry at funeral, as for person.													−	−	+	−
5206a. Chief only uses eagle feathers								•−	•−				−		+	−

Kuksu

Initiation (Boys)

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
575 5207. Tossed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.		−	−
5208. Over fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	.		−	−
5209. Held over fire												(+)	.		−	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
5210. Shot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	-	575
5211. Hooked	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	.		-	-	
5212. In seclusion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	•+	
†5213. For ... months	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	•3		-	•4	
5214. Meat, salt taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
5215. Lie down, do not move	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	+	
5216. In dance house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
5217. Instructed, taught	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
Impersonated Spirits																	
5218. Moki (wûta)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	+	575
5219. Wholly covered feather net												+	-		-	+	
5220. Big-head (yohyo, t'uya)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	R	•+	-	+	776
5221. Woman (küla, dü, dadu)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	+	
5222. Sili (racer, in net)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.		-	+	
5223. Yat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5224. Sobe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5225. Yabe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5226. Koto	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5227. Grizzly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5228. Coyote	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5229. Deer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	•+	
5230. Kuksu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5231. Ghosts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	(+)	
Officials																	
5232. Moki: head of whole ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+		-	+	575
5233. Kuksu: leader of dancers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-		-	•+	
5234. Limo (wulu)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.		-	+	
5235. Temegu, doorkeeper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+		-	+	
5236. Fire tender, clown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+		-	+	
5237. Yomi (yomta) is curing doctor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
Ceremonies																	
5238. Hesi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	R	+	-	+	575
5239. Aki	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	+	796
5240. Weima	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•(+)	-		-	+	
5241. Grizzly bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-		-	+	
5242. Deer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	+	
Dances																	
5243. Coyote	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)		-	+	575
5244. Goose	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	+	535
5245. Condor (Moloko)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-		-	-	
5246. Wololok (yellowhammer)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	(+)		-	-	
5247. Eagle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	
5248. Thunder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	-	
5249. Lole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
5250. With feather ropes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
5251. Hilewe (hiwe?)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	-	
5252. K'aima	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				-	+	
5253. Toto	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•R		-	•R	
5254. Salalu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	+		-	+	
5255. Duck dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	+	
5256. Kenu, keni (sweat dance)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	
5257. Knee swinging from rafters	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	•+	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
575 5258. Head-first sliding down center post	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	*+	–		–	–
535 5259. In sweat dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–
Seating Arrangement in Dance House																
5260. Performers sit on 1 side	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+		+	+
5261. Spectators sit on other side	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		+	+
5262. Performers graded by classes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.		–	+
5263. Chief in middle of post side	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	.		–	+

ELEMENTS DENIED

BASIC ECONOMY

Hunting

223 *Snares, nets, traps, booths and blinds*.--Bag
net used for waterfowl. Poles with stones as
224 weights for deadfall. Pitfall with noose in
bottom of pit. Arrow with string attached. *Decoys,
disguises; other hunting techniques*.--
Wooden head used as visual decoy. Live birds
[178] used as decoys (At: recently only). Live mammals used as decoys (Kl: recently only). Hide
fan, to smoke out rodents. *Butchering of large
game*.--Deer's eyes eaten raw by hunter.

Fishing

226 *Nets; weirs, scaffolds, pens; traps*.--Tule-wrapped clay ball sinkers. Bag net dragged. Shell rattle on net. Stick pens, not associated with weirs. Basketry or pole trough. *Angling; other techniques*.--Feather "fly." Hair "fly." Hair string or ball. Knot or block on end of line. Shooting fish taboo. Lamprey gaff. Buckeye used for poisoning fish. *Fishing observances*.--Special disposal of salmon or other fishbones. First-fish rite: priest or chief catches first fish; only priest or chief eats first fish; similar rite for lampreys.

Gathering

222 *Gathering techniques and observances; pre-agriculture*.--Stone ring weighted digging stick. Digging stick with footrest. Bone or horn pointed digging stick. Stone pointed digging stick. Horn seed beater. Seed knife. Agriculture. Irrigation of wild-seed crops.

Domesticated Animals and Pets

231 *Dogs, birds, bear, etc*.--Domesticated animals, other than dog. Named after owner's totem. Separate dog house, conical, thatched. Own totem animal kept.

Food and Its Handling

262 *Animals eaten*.--Road runner (informants from
825 all groups except MF, NF, MV ignorant as to any
bird by this name, which indicates its probable
absence. MF, NF do not eat it, MV regard it as
poisonous.) Buzzard (WS, MM, NF, NM informants
stated buzzard absent from area). Crabs. Slugs.
252 Frogs. *Food preparation*.--Small mammals pounded
before eating. Dried meat or fish ground, berries added. Bone awl for lamprey splitting.
Acorns leached in openwork basket. Acorn "coffee" (NS: modern). Stone boiling in stone
bowls; in hide in ground; in paunch in ground.

BY ALL INFORMANTS

251 Storage of food.--Outdoor granaries on ground; on bedrock or multistone foundations; on platform.

Ownership of Productive Areas

423 Owner liable for injury of renter. Pens on communal weir privately owned. Seed tracts claimed for single season only. Private boundaries marked. "Tribal" boundaries marked.

Division of Labor

462 Formalized myth accounting for division of labor (cf. Voegelin, Tübatulabal). AW state division of labor according to "Coyote's law," but lack any detailed myth.

HOUSES AND SHELTER

Assembly and Living Houses

342 Entrances; uses and ownership; furnishings.--Entrance round, carved in plank. Partitions between families. House names. Windbreak before house. Flat plank for foot drum. Leader of hunters nominal owner. All men regularly sleep in sweat house.
372 Fireplace and heating.--Fuel-gathering ritual; fuel from top of tree; pair of limbs left on top.

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

501 Boats and ferriage.--Dugout canoe, ends peaked; carved-in "heart"; detachable prow ornament. Launching ceremony. Sails. Single-bladed paddle with crutch handle; compound paddle; blade end of
505 paddle concave. Ferriage by person in basket pulling across on rope (At: ascribe this to N Yana of Round Mountain).

Land Transport

482 Carrying devices.--Hammock-type carrying net. Painted decoration on folded hide bag. Cord and stick Mohave-type back frame. Snowshoe-type
492 carrying frame. Coolie yoke. Dog packing.

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

411 Bows and arrows.--Horn bow (AW: mentioned in myth, made by Butterfly). Laurel-leaf arrowheads. Arrows with 2 or more points. Arrow shaft of solid wood, split from log. Arrows with

[163-B]

411 single shaft, no head used for war. String attached
to arrow to retrieve. (AW: in myth Butterfly
shoots arrow with string attached; arrow-chain
motif.) Arrow poison made from blood.
[413] Arrow straighteners and smoothers.--1-piece
stone straightener with incised design, used
mainly for cane shafts; heated before using.
Shooting techniques.--Secondary arrow release.
Mongolian arrow release. Clubs and spears.--
Manufactured cylindrical stone club. Curved
rabbit club. Spear with wooden point. Spear
thrower. Daggers and armor.--Horn, wooden daggers.
[714] Bark armor. Rawhide shield, round or
rectangular.

Household Implements

412 Mortars and pestles.--Portable stone mortar,
outside natural. Coiled hopper basket; hopper
415 basket stuck fast to pounding slab with pitch.
Stone pestle with bulb end and slender body.
Metate used on both sides. Loop-handled muller.
Brushes.--Leaves glued to stick with pitch.
Porcupine tail, rodent tail for mealing. Stirrers,
lifters, spoons, knives.--Looped-stick
stirrer. 2 sticks, bound at 1 end, for stone
tongs. Horn spoon used by men only. Tortoise-shell
dipper. Gourd dipper. Rodent foot as
spoon. Cane knife.

Manufacturing Implements

413 Net shuttle, drills, fire making, mauls.--
Flat round stick, bone or horn 1-piece shuttle.
Vise for drilling: split stick, hide. Stone
bowl to carry coals. Pear-shaped stone maul;
partly shaped stone maul. Adzes, axes.--Curved-handle
adz; D-shaped-handle adz; elbow-shaped-handle
adz. Stone, bone, horn, shell blades.

MANUFACTURES

Textiles

285 Baskets: weaves.--Coiling: rods vertical;
rod-and-splint foundation; grass-bundle foundation.
Coiling toward right of worker. Awl
enters inside of basket. Start a piece of hide.
415 Baskets: uses and shapes.--Seed beater of wicker
weave. Deep sifter or winnower, pointed bottom,
Hupa type. Boiling basket in diagonal twine.
Necked water bottle in plain twine. Necked
water bottle with earth smeared over pitch.
Bell-shaped, Pomo-type burden basket; cylindrical
or barrel-shaped burden basket. Elliptical
coiled storage basket, Pomo type. Tulare "bottleneck"
baskets. Cylindrical side-opening
415 dance basket, Hupa type. Baskets: decoration.--
531 Break in banded woven ornament, to let soul out.
Feather decoration on rim or shoulder. Entire
basket feather covered. Patterns painted on
854 baskets. Cradles.--Deep, Pomo-type sitting

854 cradle. Y-frame, U-frame, hooked-ladder frame
lying-type cradle. Horizontal (double) warp on
basketry lying cradle. Wicker weave in cradle
hood. Loose basket over head of sleeping child.
Buckskin covering on cradle partial. Sex of
child indicated by bed design. Woven skin blan-
285 kets; mats.--Checker. Weft of buckskin thongs.
Perforated stick to twist fur strips. Suspended
warp. Thumb guard of bone for shredding mat ma-
283 terial. Cordage.--Stick for twisting (1 ply at
a time). Spindle whorl.

Receptacles Other Than Baskets

415 Wood, etc.; chests, boxes; pottery.--Wooden bowl. Wooden chest. Wooden box of bent and sewed boards. Pottery vessels.

Leather Goods; Adhesives

281 Skin tanning; glue.--Fleshing or dehairing:
hide staked out with several stakes; with single
stake, other end held; with 1 end tied to tree,
other end held. Fleshed on plank. Fleshing or
dehairing tool: blunt posts; horn; shell. Tan-
ning agent: liver; wood ashes. Graining: with
381 horn. Glue from horns or hoofs; from milkweed
gum.

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

302 Coiffure; comb; care of hair.--One tie around
head, forehead level. Wooden hairpins. Bone
head scratcher as comb. Hair dyed with eel blood.
White clay on head or to wash head. Mud plaster
against lice. Hair dye in mud plaster. Hair
greased with acorn oil. Nettle roots to wash
302 head. Paint; deformations and mutilations.--
304 Face, body paints according to totem. Paint ap-
plied with brush. Mud or pitch on body for
warmth. Nasal alae pierced; lip pierced. Tattoo-
ing with bone awl. Depilation of pubic hair.
Tweezers of split cane, wood, shell. Depilation:
pitch on fingers; bone knife opposed to finger-
nail. Beard burnt off if long. Ear, nose orna-
301 ments, necklaces, etc.--Wooden ear stick, feath-
ers on end. Bone ear tube, incised. Cane or
cane pipe in ear. Cane nose ornament. Sea-lion
teeth necklace.

Dress

291 Headgear; robes; loin covering; muff.--Basket cap, for fishing with large dip net only. Feathers on net foundation for robe. Inner bark mat robe. Buffalo-fur robe. Breechclout of woven bird skins; of woven rabbitskins; of grass stems; of inner bark. Single small front apron, of fringed buckskin; with braids on cord. Double apron of woven rabbitskins. Bird-skin muff.

291 Footgear and leggings.--Moccasin seam on inside. Yucca-fiber sandal. Milkweed-fiber sandal. Hip to ankle leggings. Snowshoe: "handled" shape; sinew lashing, stick "lashing." Ceremonial dress.--Eagle-down-rope skirt. 3-stick support for wide-band woodpecker scalps. Eagle-down-rope crown. Feather plumes: bird skin or mammal fur on body. Sea-lion tooth headband. Visor of yellowhammer feathers. Masks. Down stuck to face. Headdress of human hair. 292

CURRENCY

436 Dentalia, wrapped with snake skin; graded on forearm tattoo. Clamshell beads measured around palm; on arm tattoo; on thumb. Loans at interest. Olivella-disk beads. Steatite beads.

SMOKING AND TOBACCO

Pipes and Pipe Sacks

276 Pipes.--Tubular-type 1-piece pipe of cane; horn or bone; pottery. 2-piece tubular pipe; solid-wood bowl; pottery bowl; stone, bone stem or mouthpiece; stem mortised into bowl. Haliotis inlay.

Tobacco

Cultivation; preparation; uses.--Tobacco imported. Always sown on hill, not near river; transplanted; weeded. Ground in mortar; on metate. Mixed for smoking with bark, aromatic root. Kept in horn container. Tobacco eaten, drunk.

MUSIC AND DRAWING

Musical Instruments

534 Drum, rattle, rasp.--Rectanguloid drum. Cocoon rattle, feather (quill) handle, attached to arm, leg; child's toy. Gourd, deer's ear, rabbit's ear, rawhide, fish gill-sack rattles. Sheep horn(s) on stick as rattle; tortoise-shell rattle. Ornamented rasp. Bull-roarer, musical bow; flute.--Bull-roarer used to assemble people for ceremony; to stop storm; voice of thunder; used in curing; only men use. Musical bow separate instrument, hollow, of elder; perpendicular tuning peg. Flute flattened, squared around holes.

RECREATION

Games and Amusements

526 Shinny; ball race.--Shinny: basket racket or

526 seed beater to propel ball; carrying ball in
racket or stick permitted; picking up and bat-
ting ball permitted; goal a stake or post, hole,
circle on ground, rock, stakes or posts, arch,
circular hoop, row of stakes. Ball race: single
ball a hoop, stick, stone; carrying ball per-
mitted; goal a line on ground, a stake, hole;
home man catches ball on stick. *Hoop-and-pole
game; quoits*.--Hoop and pole: unwrapped hoop,
netted hoop, short stick as hoop; pole tossed
underarm, both arms, thrust into rolling hoop;
pole under hoop or stick scores; closest wins
point(s); win by elimination. Quoits: target a
stick lying loose; target a stone. *Spear or
dart throwing; snow snake; ring and pin*.--Spear
or dart throwing: specially made dart, feathered;
target buried hoop, previously thrown dart.
Snow snake: women play; arrow bounced. Ring and
pin: ring a rabbit skull, pine cone, brush ball,
piece of cane with 1 hole. *Many-stick game;
524 hand game; objects laid down*.--Many-stick: 3-
choice guess. Hand game: cane "bone"; finger
loops on "bones." Objects laid down: women play;
1 of each pair wrapped; unwrapped guessed; ob-
jects covered with mat, hide. *Dice games*.--Disk
dice: animal shell, half walnut shells, wooden
tablets, wooden hemispheres for dice; stone
counters; dice thrown on hide, mat, into hopper
basket, on hard ground, plank. Bone dice: women
play. Stick dice. *Jacks, tops, buzzer*.--Jacks
of foot bones of animal. Top of pepperwood nut;
twirled with string. Buzzer, edge of disk
notched; snake rattles used as buzzer. *Games
wholly absent*.--Catching dart in ring. Many-
stick game of take away, guess remainder. Guess-
ing marks on ground. Scoring circuit for dice.

Social Dances

535 *Circle dance; Bear dance*.--Circle dance: performed at fall pine-nut harvest, to make piñons grow, produce rain, bring deer; performed at mourning ceremony; at funeral; center post dry cottonwood tree, pine-nut tree; dance occasion for public mourning. Bear dance: held in brush corral; musical rasp, gourd rattle; dance in couples; whip to make dance; chief urges dancers with stick; stop dance at fall; rub fallen person with rasp; cover fallen person with blanket; held at mourning ceremony. *Dances wholly lacking*.--"South" dance or Exhibition dance. Crazy dance.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

622 Chief paid to settle disputes. Chief owns
all eagles, eyries; pays to have eagles released;
buys them from captors. Assistant cult chief.
Chief equated to birds. Totem for assistant
624 chief (screech owl, hawk). Boss for rabbit
drives; irrigating boss. Crier has totem bird.
Messenger has rod as symbol of office; builds

624 fire at [illegible]em. Female dance managers. Fire tender [illegible]d by crier. Judge. Moieties
615 lacking; lineages lacking, except possibly among
613 AE.

WAR

72 Leader has totem animal, bird. Painting of contestants according to totem. Men taken prisoners in war; enslaved. Compensation for slain amounts to more than victim's or victim's mother's bride price. Compensation paid before dance of settlement; at end of dance.

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth

844 Pit, small hole dug in preparation for childbirth. Animal medicine to aid childbirth. Navel cord cut with bone, cane knife. Cord buried in ashes. Cord thrown in bush, stream. Mother baked in pit. Mother uses drinking tube. Father lies down, after birth of child. Father uses drinking tube. Milk teeth thrown toward moon; backward; over pregnant woman; over house.
845 Twins liked; one killed, only if of opposite
847 sex, incest theory. Abortion accomplished by taking animal, vegetable medicines, massaging with hot stones. Infanticide practiced on all illegitimate, deformed children, twins; infant killed by sitting upon, drowning, abandoning.

Puberty and Menstrual Observances

881 Girls' puberty rites.--Private seclusion: held for group of related, unrelated girls. Held outside in ceremonial enclosure. Girl sits, lies on curtained couch, bed platform, heated pit. Girl sits, lies face down. Girl's blankets given attendant(s). Girl abstains from food completely. Meals limited to once a day; girl eats after others. All liquids taboo. 4-day increase in food taboos after first period. Food taboos enforced limited number of subsequent periods. Food taboos not enforced after first period. Girl chews deer-fat pellets. Girl fed in pit. Does own cooking. Uses bone drinking tube. No sleeping. Girl avoids all people. No visitors. Scratcher yew wedge, horn. Girl scratches head with fingers. Delousing by self. Mud plastered on hair. Girl makes flower garlands. All join girl in running. Girl travels at night. Girl uses blanket, rabbitskin blanket, mat wool head covering. Girl wears woodpecker scalp, shell, brush, flower crown headband; brush visor. Hair hangs over face. Girl stands at wall covered. Hair worn done up; braided with goat's wool. Hair dressed by self. Bangs cut at end of ceremony. Face painted white; all colors; sun painted on fore-

88 1 head; pollen on head. Legs, torso painted; white paint blown on with mouth; pollen blown on. Painting done by self; from own paint box. Painting before eating only. Tattooing. Nose pierced. Tattooing so girl can touch fire. Thighs, arms, breasts cut. Shell skirt for eating. Sage leggings. Chest band. Labret. Nose feather. Girl ducked in water during ceremonial bath. Belt, anklets, wristlets buried. Girl given new name.

Public rites (major or night dance): Given for group of selected girls. Poor girls excluded. Several girls together, only 1 menstruating. Dancers mill around menstruant. Men hold to wall. Dancers file out of house after each dance. Given during fixed season. Coincides with boys' initiation. Given in ceremonial enclosure. Conducted by chief, priest, clan. Single split-stick rattle. Deer-hoof headband. Deer-hoof anklets. Deer hoofs on moccasins. Cocoon, gourd, tortoise shell, pottery rattles. Masks worn. Attendants wear woolen fringed headdress; woolen fringed rattles. Male participants wear haliotis-rim horns; blind. Women paint face white; all colors. Sand paintings. Tobacco eaten. Haliotis gazing.

84 1 General menstrual customs.--Woman confined in penthouse against dwelling. Head, face covered when going outside. Bathes daily. Bathing optional.

Marriage

58 Service for bride: children belong to mother's family. Sororate obviated if children, payment rendered. Polyandry: lovers in separate towns. Marriage of man to first cousins, cross or parallel; to mother's sister. Mother-in-law, son-in-law taboos temporary, for newlyweds only; temporary up to first child; optional. Father-in-law, son-in-law taboos. Mother-in-law, daughter-in-law taboos. Husband punished for adultery by being fined, before wife will return. Woman's family pays husband fine for constructive adultery by woman. Repayment of bride price in event of divorce depends on number of children. Intercourse taboo inside dwelling. Lie on side to
54 8 prevent twins. Prostitution with compensation
to woman. Unchaste girl killed. Unmarried preg-
68 4 nant girl killed. Man fined for seduction.

Death

76 4 Treatment of corpse; taboos.--Body removed from house prior to death. Removed from house through roof; feet first; throw-out of animal after corpse; body carried on plank. Undertakers of opposite moiety; priest; shaman; chosen by chief; paid; gifts; one a scapegoat. Corpse's nose, ears pierced. Body buried with head uphill, upstream, downstream. Cremation for shamans especially. Pyre over pit. Urn burial. Any form scaffold burial. Undertaker(s) visit grave nightly; build fire at grave; put food out for ghost; wear brush on head. Widow's hair cut-

764 tings hidden in woods. Mutilations: scratching
soon after death; finger amputation. Sacrifice
of relatives. Widow pays parents-in-law before
eating. Mourner pays to waive taboos. Taboos
laid on community: boat travel stopped for ...
days; offender pays mourners. Name taboo for
... months; until mourning ceremony; change name
at death of namesake. Deerskin dance, Jump dance
taboo for ... days. Mourning ceremony.--Family
765 mourning ceremony: fixed number of days after
death; mourners washed; ceremony removes meat
taboo only. Group mourning ceremony: held for
prominent persons only; warriors only; spring
only; summer only. Other tribes invited; loans
by mourners; given under flat shade; fence and
flat shade. Dance inside structure, in open;
center pole. Formal seating allotments. Professional performers. Images made by another
tribe; some burnt; given to individuals, to
visiting tribes only, given irrespective of
tribe, to performers only; images thrown to
crowd. Offerings put in hut, hole; single stationary pole for all offerings. Sham battle.
Everyone in tribe washed; mourners only washed.
Post-washing activities: dancing; eagle sacrifice.

KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS

Counting, Calendar, Directions

802 Counting.--Count with twigs between fingers.
Beads over rod for messages; as calendar. Stick
805 mat for messages. Calendar.--Numeral names for
months; 2-solstice calendar. Months recorded on
sticks. Charcoal marks inside house for month
record.

Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs

75 Herb doctoring: knowledge purchased from older person; doctor sings or dances; doctor employs assistant.

Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena

821 Cosmography: world a person, tree, animal; multiple heavens. Sun and moon: sun an animal; moon an animal; figure in moon coyote, dog, river. New moon: children have hair cut, dance. Eclipses: any bird, condor, blue jay, bug, coyote, puma, raccoon, gopher, rattlesnake eating sun or moon; moon's husband lying on her; coyote's tail in front of; condor in front of sun, moon. At eclipse strike plank or canoe; hold raccoon skin on stick; men go to woods or mountains to make medicine; turn vessels over; throw out food, turn over canoe. Falling stars: explained as stars wanting to change place; stars dead man's eyes. Milky Way: is dust from running animals, birds, elk, deer, mountain sheep, bear, frog, prairie falcon, ducks, snakes;

821 is fire from dove, fire for driving rabbits; is pinole or piñon road, frame or back bone of sky. Rainbow: is man's penis, coyote's penis, childbirth sign; sign of dry weather, bad luck for hunting or fishing; get weak eyes from staring at. Thunder: is female, woman and 2 sons, coyote; noise explained as 2 fawns hiding in intercourse, hummingbird, eagle playing shinny, dancing, sliding on snow, sticks being beaten together, tules being broken, basket being rolled; food or water thrown out, food or water covered. Lightning: from mouth, eyes of Thunder person; from waving of ribbon, drilling, rubbing sticks, striking stones together; is fire from burning tules, birds flying fast; food, water thrown out, covered; dogs made to squeal. Whirlwind: war associated with, snake in it, wind playing; caused by charmstone; spit at to stop, offer beads to, point at, strike or pierce it with weapon; formula and bathing.

Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts

775 Spirit goes to definite underworld; to island; crosses water with boatman; rich and poor different destinations; warriors go to special heaven. Hang hopper basket, grass snare, bay leaves in door to keep away ghost.

ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Vision Quest

787 Jimsonweed (Datura) root drunk to obtain vision, by group or individuals. 824 Ant-fortitude ordeal; group or individuals swallow ants, to obtain vision.

Shamanism

756 Sucking doctors: women only; women can sicken only. Doctor-making rite held in circular brush enclosure; patient brought in for novice to cure; novice enters sweat house via exit hole, enters head first down ladder. Curing: shaman uses beads on stick, quartz crystals; brushes or fans away disease with skin; rubs Datura (jimsonweed) on eyes, drinks Datura; doctor or assistant uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper, flute. Doctor cuts before sucking; disease object sucked out through pipe. Doctor paid by installments throughout night. Sucking doctors: in competition, "bullets" shot; assistants for each contestant, performers paid; contests held at mourning ceremony only. Singing shamans: outfit bundle inherited, bought; shaman uses quartz crystals, portable mortar, charmstone; shaman dies if he loses outfit. Soul-loss doctor: is also singing shaman; uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper; mostly women. Soul recovered by snaring in noose, by refrightening patient. Weather shamans: make rain with aid of black rock, crystal,

756 charmstone; water sprinkled, blown on rock, dirt sprinkled, thrown; fence built across creek. Performs at mourning ceremony, any public ceremony; belongs to other tribe, not local. Rattlesnake shaman: gets power from sun; plays with snakes secretly. Public rattlesnake ceremony, annual, in spring, summer, at mourning ceremony; chief furnishes food; sham curing rite, stepping rite with snake in hole. Money finders: wear full-length feather cloak, carry 1 or 2 long sticks; whistle, shake cocoon rattle; function at mourning ceremony; member of another tribe, not local.

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Kuksu

575 Initiation: boys stabbed, drowned, go crazy; use scratching stick, drinking tube, bull-roarer. Impersonated woman spirit wears tarat woodpecker visor; tokoilulu, north spirits; spirits with contrasting stripes of paint, distorted faces, twigs in nostrils and mouth. Yomta is ceremonial director. Ceremonies: wai-saltu. Dances: kilak. Pole-climbing, diving in roof hole. Girls instructed with boys; women initiated (?).

[168-B]

Hunting

Driving and pursuing.--

000 2. AE: Antelope doctor sings (charms) antelope; animals come toward round tule corral, with single entrance. People stationed outside corral wave branches to frighten antelope, head them toward entrance. Woman inside corral kill (club?) antelope. Done in spring, for antelope only: not for deer.

5. WT: Noose hung at funnel end.

6. As described by Dixon, Maidu, 192-193. SW: Deer driven along straight-line fence, in winter; no pit.

7. AW: Over cliff into snow, on Pit River.

8. See also element 113. SW: Fat deer run down from mountains by hunters into river in autumn; other hunters shoot deer as it floats down-river.

9. E.g., in narrow canyon.

10. Mo: Net of this type mentioned in myth; not actually used. SW: Snares set on deer trails, but deer not driven down trails. See element 28. At, AW: Set net up above water, on long poles; approach net at night in canoe (no light on canoe) and birds fly into net. AW: Also drive rabbits into nets, but only occasionally.

11. Kl: See note 44.

[224] 12. Kl: Mountain encircled with fire in daytime; 30-40 men, some women, gather the deer. Mo: At night, for deer.

14. SW: Elk especially hard to kill; run elk down, in order to shoot it.

15. NS: 2-3 men or more pursue wounded deer 4-5 days sometimes.

21. AE: Hunters on snowshoes run herds of deer into narrow canyons; snow "has to have a crust on it, to hurt deers' legs."

23. AE: In fall only, when water scarce and big bucks fat, hunter tracks buck with dog; "he camps right on the deer's trail until he shoots it; usually it takes 2 days."

Snares, nets, traps.--

24. MV: Use bow and arrow chiefly in hunting; boys use sling. Eat deer mainly in fall; rest of year eat salmon, sucker, sturgeon, ducks, vegetable food. "The people didn't have a hard time getting a living here in the valley, so they didn't use so many snares, nets, traps, for game."

262
178
224
26. Kl: Informant stated several times that Klamath Marsh group did not eat rabbits, squirrels, other small mammals. "Lately they do, though; they eat ground hogs." He could give no reason for former nonuse of small mammals. Spier, Klamath, 156-157, lists porcupine, beaver, ground hog, mink, otter, raccoon, jack rabbit,

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ON THE ELEMENT LIST

CONOMY

224 cottontail rabbit, ground squirrel, tree squirrels [178] as having been eaten, but observes (p. 155) that [262] "the Klamath are not much given to hunting." Cp. elements 361-380. Mo: Secure rabbits only if chance upon them. MM: Rabbits scarce; kill 1 or 2 occasionally; no nets, surround.

28. Kl: Noose, k'nis; set up on sapling, or limb of tree, at night, for deer. Smaller nooses set on ends of poles on riverbanks at night for ducks. SE, SW: Deer snares used only at night; Mo, At, AW, AE, WT: day and night.

29. Kl: See note 28.

31. Kl: See note 26. AE: Twine snares suspended from clumps of sagebrush. This is a recent method of securing rabbits.

223 32. At: Woodpeckers; noose suspended over hole; end of noose tied to branch of tree.

36. For geese and duck; described by Dixon, Maidu, 195.

39. AW: See note 10.

40. WM: Ducks, geese, fly across McCloud area, but rarely light on McCloud River; do light on Upper Sacramento River; plentiful on Pit River. MM: Ducks obtainable occasionally in winter only; not many.

42. At, AW: See note 10.

224 44. Kl: Large net set on stakes in wide, closed circle, to surround herd of antelope. Brush fastened to top of net. Clumps of brush (within area encompassed by net) set afire at several spots, to frighten out antelope; when latter run out men stationed inside net wave the brush affixed to top of net, and others shoot antelope; women sometimes secure antelope barehanded, if animals exhausted. Surrounds (nel'qa) with nets such as these held in Williamson River, Klamath Marsh areas; "wherever they saw lots of antelope in valley."

000 47. WT: During mating season of gray squirrels, stretch nets around tree trunk, 2-3 ft. from base of trunk; no opening in net; as squirrels frolic from 1 tree to other, they are caught in nets.

51. SE, MM: Woodpeckers removed by hand from nest; eaten and topknot saved. At: See note 32. NF, NS: Woodpecker holes stopped with grass. MV: Shot with bow and arrow, in fall.

52. MV: Net draped over cascara bushes, where quail roost.

53. SW: Basket similar to platter shown in Dixon, Shasta, p. 400, fig. 76a, used. WM, WS: Long tubular basket, with small round mouth at 1 end, woven of willows, set inside brush double lean-to in winter. Snow on ground inside lean-to cleared off and acorn meal sprinkled on bare ground; when birds inside house eating meal man throws rocks at walls of lean-to; frightened birds fly into basket; man crawls into lean-to and secures birds in the basket. Same device

[169-B]

OOO used occasionally in summer also, on mountain near spring.

59. NF: Slender straight pieces of willow stuck in ground in circle; 3-4 openings left in circle; willow roof over top. Acorn meal scattered on ground inside trap; birds unable to find way out; removed by person watching trap.

62. NS: Used in winter.

65. Long slender acorns from live oaks used.

68. At: For bear; acorn bait.

69. AW, WT, WM, MM, MF, NF, NS: Single stone deadfall used for catching mice. MM, MF, NF, NS: Used for catching rats; WM, WS: not used for rats. MM, MF: Used for ground squirrels; WM, WS, NF, NS: not used for ground squirrels.

[224] 71. Kl: Pitfall (benč) used for deer; Spier says Kl did not use (Klamath, p. 158); 2 informants questioned, both denied pitfall a recent innovation. SW: Hole wider at bottom than at top; used for small animals only. AW: Dig pits with digging stick; if find ground to be too hard, leave pit unfinished.

76. AE: For coyotes.

Booths and blinds.--

80. SW: Hunters hide behind bushes in open country, where antelope found.

87a. WM: See note 40.

89. Mo: Tules matted over prow and sides of boat; hunter inside.

[224]
[417] 92. Kl: Pumice stone enclosures (wa'akkis) 6 ft. in diameter, no roof; built by single hunter.

94. SW: No pit, but bonfires built at deer licks, and deer shot as they come to fire. Also hunter conceals self at deer licks, on moonlight nights, to shoot deer.

Disguises, decoys.--

[224]
[184] 95. Deer head generally, but among some groups antelope heads also. Kl: Spier (Klamath, p. 158) says Kl did not use disguise, but my informant described it, said used by Kl of Klamath Marsh. NF: Hunter wears yellowhammer-band headdress to attract deer's attention.

96. AW: Prong horn head used only; none of neck skin left attached.

98. SE: Mink hides fastened over deerskin in summer, when deer shedding, to make disguise look more natural (Jake Smith, informant).

101. AW: Tules used for disguise; for ducks only, when driving them toward net (see note 10, also element 42).

[223]
[373] 106. Kl: Jack light. Put fire at 1 end of canoe; tule mats around fire. As canoe floats down-river ducks fly down to light; shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes ducks so thick they put out the fire. Done at night, in freezing weather. At: Fire set on 1 end of canoe, for ducks; flares not used but attributed by informant to Madesi Achomawi. AW: Small fire carried in 1 end of canoe, at night, over which boatmen warm hands only. "People at Big Bend (Madesi

[170-A]

000 Achomawi) use fire in canoe to get ducks." NS: Flares to attract geese.

107. Among all groups, for deer. NM, NS: For mountain quail also; NF, MV, for rabbits also.

108. AW: Paper whistle used for purpose.

109. Mo: Elderberry whistle also used, to call buck.

111. Done when hunter "wants to make deer stand, to shoot him."

112. When flock flying overhead.

Other hunting techniques.--

113. See also element 8. AW: In winter, when snow heavy, deer jump into lake; "nobody chases him, he just goes down to the water." 2 hunters in canoe pursue deer until near enough to shoot.

114. AW: Brown bear rarely killed. One AW (Dexter Johnson) stated that "bear is a person; people can't do anything with him. They can't kill him because they have no power to; flint doesn't do any good against bear." Grizzlies, according to same source, killed by mythical persons, who "live by themselves, in holes in the rim rock, on the mountains"; when one such kills a grizzly, the Achomawi get the grease (from carcass). AE: Very few bears in area. MV: See note 170.

115. At: Pine-pitch torches piled inside mouth of den and lit. WM: "If (brown) bear will not come out of den when talked to, smoked out."

[224] 116. Kl: 2 green poles, 6 ft. long, planted in ground on each side of entrance to bear den; 2 men stand beside poles; as bear, hearing noise outside, emerges growling from den each man grasps upper end of pole opposite him and bears down on it; poles are thus crossed to form dipod which presses down on bear's neck; other men then shoot bear. If 2 bears in 1 den, hunters ran off as second emerged. Bears killed in fall, winter.

117. SW: Grizzly bear "lives underground like ground squirrel; when people see grizzly den they hold war dance for 1 whole night, next day set up vertical poles outside mouth of den. Then smoke bear out; as he comes out of den he tries to pull the poles toward him, with his claws, instead of pushing against them to get out, as he is doing this, men shoot him in the neck."

120. WM, MV: See note 698.

124. AW: After rodents have been smoked to death in holes.

126. At: Pole with sharpened branch left on at 1 end; resembles gaff.

128. Mo: Nests burned, because rats steal winter food. Rats killed as they run out, and bodies thrown into fire, but not eaten; rats, mice "too nasty."

131. Mo: Men route out duck fledglings in tules, women club them with poles. MV: Young ducks caught by hand in tules; not clubbed.

132. SW: Yellow-jacket larvae obtained by building fire under nest, smoking out larvae.

132a. MV: Water sprinkled in hole and grasshoppers driven in.

[170-B]

000 133. SE: Picked off trees only. At, MM, MF, NM, NS: Shaken down from trees, or picked off. At: Pack basket held up under tree, early in morning, and crickets shaken into it.

135. SW: Crickets. WM: Grasshoppers obtained outside of home area, in vicinity of Stillwater; in fall Stillwater people invite McCloud people to burn flat for grasshoppers.

136. AW: Men, women form large circle; beat grasshoppers into large pack baskets with seed beaters; later roast them.

Hunting observances.--

[224] 137. Kl: "If youth eats that meat, he can't kill any more game. So he brought it home and gave it to his mother, and she gave it away (to nonrelatives). Neither she nor father of youth could eat it, because boy wouldn't kill any more game then." Mo: Same as for Kl. Also see note 279. AE: When boy 15 or 16 years old, piece size of trout taken out of lower leg of first deer he kills; this piece hung up, and youth given 2 arrows, to shoot at it. If he misses, he has to wait until he kills another deer before he can eat any of the meat; if he hits the target he can eat meat of first kill, and will not be crippled. MV: First kill taken into assembly house, prayed over by leaders of secret society, then eaten by them.

139. At: First time youth eats deer, eats neck part only. AW: Deermeat taboo to youth for 1 year after he makes his first kill, which is about time that he marries, also.

140. At: Youth switched: "Coyote told people to do this"; also smoked with tobacco by his father, who talks to him, then sends him out into mountains for 5 days at least to seek for power. Informant's husband (At man) had stayed out for nearly month at this time.

142. Mo: "Hunters don't talk about it much; just tell their relatives at home, so latter know where they are."

144. SW: For 5 nights. Rule applies to deer, bear hunting, but not to fishing.

145. WM: Young men (such as hunters) never smoke tobacco. NM, MV: Old man smokes for hunter.

147. At: Also talk to bow and arrows.

148. AW: Hunter smokes weapons and self, to kill human odor, before going hunting; cedar or fir used. WM: Pine. NM: Old man smokes for hunter; prays, blows smoke over hunter.

150. SW: Done frequently.

151. SE: Cuts calf of leg and arm with flint, rubs roots on cut, for hunting luck. SW: Only those hunters who have come in contact with menstruating woman cut themselves. Cut arm at shoulder; let blood run down arm onto hot quartz rocks in steam sweat house; blood, together with hunter's bad luck, burnt.

224 152. Kl: In evening before hunt, sweat, talk (pray) to rocks used in steam-type sweat house. No smoking. Night before hunt 2 hunters or more

[171-A]

224 "just talk to the mountains"; no shaman; no offerings. MM, NF: Hunter prays when offering shell
OOD bead; no sweating.

153. MV: Broken, so that rattlesnake will not bite hunters.

155. Mo: Large variety of sage. MM: Cedar. MV: Wormwood.

156. AW: No hunt; deer-calling ceremony described by Dexter Johnson. At sun up, shaman makes it sprinkle, then sings in back of line of tules stretched out in front of village. Deer come, 1 at a time, as he calls them, and jump into square pit about 6 ft. deep; people kill them, eat them. This doctor "had a strong power to do this; he did it for everybody in his tribe; he got people something to eat, this way." AE: Sings for several hours so he himself can kill deer. "After hunters leave, early in morning, to kill deer, deer doctor may sit around camp all morning and sing; in afternoon he goes to mountains, and kills 3-4 deer; returns and tells people to go get them. The other hunters return, unsuccessful." WM: Hunters give shaman deer bones painted with soot (yarmIt) and minkskin (bisus); he wraps skin on right wrist and ties deer bones strung on buckskin on his right hand, then sings all night previous to hunt, so hunters will see "the biggest buck." Next morning hunters go out and secure deer.

158. At: Shaman also sings half night for hunters in woods, after they go out camping. AW: Shaman sings all night, prophecies success of hunt. AE: In fall mainly, for group hunt (ca. 10+ men); deer doctor with power from weasel may sing all night before hunt. Hunters give him pieces of marrow from lower leg of deer; these he puts in small holes in ground; these holes have live coals in them. He is feeding his power so it will give the hunters whom he accompanies good luck. During winter each man usually goes hunting by himself. WT: All men who are going as group to hunt lie on their backs and sing all night prior to hunt; leader of hunt (who knows the songs best) leads the singing. Shaman also helps; it is he who does most of the "charming." Singers hold slender stick about 20 in. long in their hands and hit their chests with stick as they lie singing. NM: Singing by shaman at night after soup dinner, in assembly house; everyone attends; no fire in house. MV: Leaders of secret society pray that hunters will sight game, before men set out for fall deer hunt. Do not "talk to" or charm game.

159. SW: Sing deer song or mountain song.

163a. SE, AW: Split stick, struck against chest. MV: Split stick rattled in hand.

166. WM, WS: Acorn soup and venison dinner eaten after hunt, by men only (see note 545). NF, NM, NS, MV: Eaten night before hunt, in assembly house.

167. SE: When hunter brings deer home, takes branch of fir, burns it a little, and waves it over deer carcass. Significance of this unknown

[171-B]

000 to informant. See note 185, WM. At: Shaman assembles hunters in 1 spot when they return, and all sweat, to cleanse themselves under armpits; shaman sings. MM: "Do not eat meat, after big hunt, until some one prays, talks." NM: After hunt everyone dances; deer brought into assembly house whole; women make large basket acorn soup; feast, sing, dance.

168. SE, SW: Paint offered; denied for all other groups except NM and NS, where informants uncertain. At: See note 169. MM, MF, NF, MV: Shell bead offered (see element 153). NM, NS: Informants uncertain about shell bead as offering; not inquired for among other groups. SW: At certain spots in mountains paint and tobacco offered for luck; formula, "I will give you this, for you to smoke and paint," accompanies offering. NS: Before going hunting, men go to certain locality in mountains where there are 3 rocks, identical in appearance. "They gave thanks to these rocks, for good luck in hunting"; uncertain whether any offering made.

169. At: Shaman, during hunt, smokes and calls each mountain by name; speaks to each one, "Don't hide your children (deer); give my boys good luck; give them your children." Offerings of tobacco smoke and eagle down made; latter laid on ground, not put on sticks. NM: "Lucky" man (not a shaman: latter never hunts deer) walks ahead of hunters; able to sight deer quickly; other hunters follow behind him and shoot deer.

[825] 170. Kl, Mo, SE, MF, MV: If meet bear in woods, person must not run away, else bear will attack. Mo: Bear addressed when encountered outside (not in den); told "Don't harm us, we are not going to harm you." Bear stands up, right forearm raised, "wondering whether he should attack person; when latter speaks as above to him, bear stamps paw and goes away." SE: Song sung to bear outside den: "It comes spring now, grandfather, You want to come out, It comes spring now." At: 3-5 men go into den, "talk to bear, 'um um ughm,' meaning 'Look out,' and bear slowly emerges. Men tell him, 'You'd better come out here; I'd like to see you,' 'You'd better be careful,' etc. Bear looks around in every direction, then emerges further from den; men shoot him." After killing him, people pull his body entirely out of den, and smoke carcass with tobacco, talking to him at same time, telling bear he is going to follow his brother, that his sister is coming, etc. People then build large fire on spot and roast bear, unskinned, over it; scrape off skin after carcass is cooked, cut up latter and divide meat among group. AW: See note 114. MV: Bears killed only for revenge, if they have attacked, killed person. Relatives of slain person hire special man and his assistant to kill bear; this man uses bear paw for purpose; puts medicine on it, and lays it in certain direction, depending on wind; his assistant

[172-A]

000 climbs into tree and watches bear as it approaches the paw. Bear killer has special club, with medicine on it; bear walks up to man, and lies down; man clubs him. Carcass burned; meat not eaten, because bear has killed person. Informant added, "There were lots of bears at Marysville Buttes; that bear killer died rich; people paid him a lot of shell beads and other property. Once his assistant (son) tried to do this, although his father had warned him not to because he had no spirit to help him; the assistant was killed; when the father returned he hired another assistant and killed the bear that had killed his son. The guilty bear always came to him when he called it with the paw, because he had such a strong power."

172. SW: If kill rattlesnake (not bear) make apologetic speech and then throw snake in direction of tribe Shasta dislike.

174. SW: No rule concerning grizzly-bear meat; "some people didn't like the meat, because grizzly kills people."

179. MV: 4 times.

180. Mo: Also used as signal by persons who have lost way.

Butchering of large game.--

181. At: For treatment of bear carcass, see note 170. NF: Deer slit down belly and guts only removed. NM: Clean deer and cut it up in some old man's dwelling house or, occasionally, in assembly house; never take carcass into family dwelling. When butchering completed, all people are called to take away the pieces of meat, which are taken back to various dwellings, roasted and eaten with acorn soup.

182. SW: Lying on back; head must be toward sunrise. Slit made down belly.

183. AW: Cut out after deer is brought home.

184. SW: Eyes cut out and cooked. Children not allowed to eat fat behind eyes; impairs vision. At, AW: Eyes eaten raw, by boys especially, to make child farsighted.

185. WM: When kill deer in mountains, lay carcass on fir branches; deermeat, when brought into living house, always laid on fir branches. Deer's home is in N, "in a big place up there; when hunter kills deer, if he cannot bring head home, he leaves it facing N so deer's spirit returns to N. Deer does not stay in 1 place, as white people believe; he travels N on occasion."

186. MF, NS: Blood also drunk warm by hunters.

188. SE, SW, At: Pile bones under tree in 1 place; if woman steps on bones, hunter will lose his luck. SW: Lower section of large intestines (containing feces ?) must not be dropped in fire; if this happens, man who shot deer loses his hunting luck for 5 years, unless doctored. "Some jealous people watched and did this on a good hunter." MM: Jaw, hip, shoulder bones of deer hung up in tree; remaining bones thrown in brush.

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Fishing

Nets.--

000 190. AE: Streams small, consequently nets used not large. WT: 1 or 2 men, only, made fish nets: not everyone. WM: Du Bois, Wintu, p. 15, mentions use of net stretched across McCloud River, at Baird, for communal fish drive; my informant denied this; probably mistaken. NF: Except for Yuba River, streams in area small; high water in winter only. NM: See note 282. NS: A few of old men, only, make nets.

192. AE: Mentioned in myth, only; Owl had seine, but Weasel ran up and rolled log into it, tearing it up. NS: Net (bin), composed of several small flat nets fastened together for purpose, placed on and behind barrier of rocks, 2-3 ft. high, erected across stream at base of falls. As salmon attempt to leap barrier, fall into net; men stationed at each end of net lift it and fish taken out.

194. AW: Use natural stone for net sinker; no groove or perforation.

226 203. Kl: Used in springtime; dragged by 2 men,
227 in river. Mo: 2 men to operate. AW: Not used; Madesi group on Pit River use it. WT, WM, WS: 1 man to operate. (For sketch see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 127, fig. 5.) WT: Used under falls.

205. Kl: See note 265. At: Not used much.

000 206. See Dixon, Maidu, p. 142, fig. 13; Du Bois, Wintu, p. 127. AW: For trout and suckers. AE: 4-5 grooved stone sinkers attached to bottom of net.

209. See Spier, Klamath, p. 151.

Weirs, scaffolds, pens.--

226 212. Kl: Spier, Klamath, p. 149, says "weirs . . . are unknown to the Klamath"; possibly my informant misunderstood my repeated questioning on this point, but his account of weir with 3 openings, from top of which men speared fish, is too circumstantial to be overlooked. AW: Weirs built across stream on Pit River, below falls at Pit 1 power house; nowhere else in area.

213. AW: Circular "corral" built of rocks, with single opening in center on downstream side.

214. Kl: See note 229.

000 215. SW: 2-3 openings. AW: Refers to corral-shaped weir; see note 213.

219. WT, WM, WS: See Du Bois, Wintu, p. 128, on fishtrap. WT: Willows, as well as rocks, used for converging sides of weir. Trap walls 3 ft. high; back end 3 ft. high and elevated above water ca. 3 ft. WS: Trap of this sort used during midsummer salmon run (see fig., this page; note 282): "as salmon tired and went down-river, caught in this trap." Such trap might be made at Shasta Retreat; men would then proceed up-river to Mossbrae Falls (kenwinispom) near Shasta Springs and sometimes put a lot of green leaves in water, to frighten salmon down-river into trap.

221. SW: In Rogue River, but not in Klamath River.

OOD 222. By men, women wading, beating water with long poles.

226 223. Kl: At night men sit on top of weir, with circular nets (see element 205); net salmon as they try to jump through openings in weir. MV: Men stand on top of weir, and net or club fish.

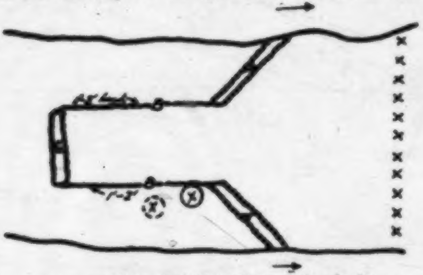

...., people frightening salmon downstream, spearing them; arrows point upstream; A, rock and brush dam; B, fir branches intertwined; C, brush piled up; Ⓧ, man clubbing fish; Ⓧ man to string up fish.

OOD 226. WT, WS: Salmon house (buki) lacking. WM have salmon house. For description see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 123. WS: Set 2 poles, in form of dipod, in river; rest 1 end of log in fork of dipod, other end on river bank; man stands on this log near dipod end and spears salmon; informant remembered 1 man "who could spear 2 salmon at a time; other men couldn't spear any." This type of scaffold referred to as tokmas.

228. Chalk, generally.

226
823 229. Kl: Stone dams attributed to mythical being. Consist of semicircle of rocks, curving out from bank, then in again toward bank, with opening on downstream end. 2 such semicircles, on opposite sides of Williamson River, W of Chiloquin (not in Klamath Marsh area proper). Men stand inside enclosure, netting fish, which other men frighten into nets. See Spier, Klamath, p. 149. Mo, AW, WT: Made by human beings.

Traps.--

227 230. Kl: Weighted with stone at each end. AE: 6-7 ft. long.

231. AW: Narrow and untied, to take out fish. Catch otters and minnows with this trap, also.

233. See note 219.

234. Mo: Willow pack basket used. NS: Seed beater (patai) used.

Angling.--

235. Kl: Hooks made of sucker's tailbone or of bone shank and 2 bone points (see Spier, Klamath, fig. 10, p. 154) denied by informant. SE: Sing while angling, to make fish swallow hook and keep on line. AW: Before fishing, man swallows food without chewing it, in imitation of fish swallowing hook and line. MM: Quincy MM informant (Maria Hedricks) stated bilateral

227 double-barbed bone hooks used; several tied on long string; 1 end of string tied to bush, other end which had hooks on it, tied around rock; rock thrown far out into stream. Indian Valley MM informant knew nothing of this.

237. Slender piece of bone, 2-3 in. long, ends pointed. Kl: Made of deer bone: baited with minnow; used at night.

238. SW: Meat tied on end of string for crawfish and catfish; line with fish on it drawn up slowly and flat basket shoved underneath fish when they get near surface of water. AW: Same technique used for crawfish. Fishlines dyed red with bark of tree (alder ?), so that fish cannot see line in water.

239. Kl: As many as 10 gorges fastened to line of native twine.

Harpoons, spears.--

241. SW: Rarely used.

246. At: Harpoon used for salmon, but due to scarcity of salmon in streams in area, harpoon used infrequently. AW, WS, NF: Harpoon used for salmon (see notes 219, 282). WS: Harpoon used in connection with scaffold (see note 226).

250. At: 4 points; used to spear trout, mainly, from boats.

253. Kl: Mountain mahogany wood.

258. Kl: Grapple or gaff recent; formerly raised end of spear slowly upward; impaled fish "sometimes came off" and escaped.

Other fishing techniques.--

000 260. SW: In still water of Modoc County; also in Klamath River; boys.

262. AE: Most of fish obtained, secured by this method. Women churn up water in stream after putting plants in it. NF, NS, MV: Soaproot used. AE, WT, MM, NM: Use of soaproot denied. MV: Also use horehound as fish poison. Data on use of turkey mullein (dove weed), manroot, ginsing too unreliable to include, as informants did not know common English names for plants used. WM: Soaproot used in Stillwater area as fish poison, but not in McCloud area, where "river runs too swiftly" to use fish poisons. WS: Soaproot obtained from vicinity of Redding, where plentiful; absent in Upper Sacramento region; not used for fish poison in latter area, although streams not so large as in McCloud area.

226 263. Kl: In spring only, when many fish running. Mo: By women. AW: Done frequently during salmon run at falls on Pit River at site of present Pit 1 power house; not done in any other streams within Achomawi area.

264. SW: Fires built alongside dams; pitch-pine torches used as flares also.

265. Kl: Round-mouthed net (see element 205) "just like a dipper" used in winter, only, to dip up fish through hole in ice. Men pound with poles on top of ice, dance, to frighten the fish. AE: Fish dipped up through hole in ice.

OOD 267. WS, MM, NF, MV: Club cut from limb of tree.

271. SE: When catching salmon in net, only.

[227] 273. Kl: Twined tule basket, 14 in. high, 24
[415] in. wide at top. Packed on back with pack strap; made, used expressly for carrying fish. Mo: Openwork twined conical willow pack basket used. WT: Willow basket, with small opening at top; widens out at bottom; bottom lined with leaves. Imitation of modern creel? MM, MF: "Use any sort of basket to pack home fish." NS: Pack basket.

Fishing observances.--

278. SE: When catching salmon in net, only. SW: See note 144. AW: Have "medicine" which counteracts any baneful effect. MV: When trapping salmon, do not eat any meat.

279. Mo: First of any species of fish or game youth secures taboo to him; if he ate it he would be "no account, have no luck in future." For salmon specifically, see note 282. At: First fish, game of any species taboo to youth and his parents. For salmon specifically, see note 282. AW: First deer, duck, fish boy kills taboo; also first deer, duck, fish youth catches after he has been sent out on vision quest and obtained vision should not be eaten by him. For salmon specifically, see note 282. At: See note 282. MV: First fish of any variety secured by youth treated same as first game (see note 137).

280. MM, NM, NS, MV: First sucker caught by youth taboo to him also; denied by MF, NF.

[226] 282. Kl: No salmon in Klamath Marsh, but abundant elsewhere in area; run in spring. Suckers, etc., abundant in marsh area. Mo: Mullet, trout chiefly, available in Tule Lake; no salmon. SE: Salmon plentiful in area; first salmon caught with line, after which salmon can be speared. SW: Salmon abundant in area. Shasta do nothing with first salmon they catch, but before they begin fishing, first salmon is caught down-river from them, by "a man who was raised at Hamburg [i.e., who belonged to Kammatwa group, a small buffer group between the Shasta proper and the Karuk, on the Klamath River; see Dixon, Shasta, p. 388, and Kroeber, Karok Towns, pp. 36-37]. Formerly he [Kammatwa man] caught this salmon in spring, at beginning of 'summer salmon' run; he used certain plants available at this season for rite. Perhaps he ate head, only, of this first salmon. Now, however, summer salmon run in September, and plants needed for rite are dried up by then." After this rite had been performed at Hamburg, the Shasta can catch summer salmon, dry and store them, but cannot eat them. Before they can eat fresh salmon, the Karuk down-river have to have given the White Deerskin dance (kuwarik - Shasta name). Shasta attend this dance as spectators; Shasta men avoid hunting at this time, so they will not see smoke from fire on mountains, which is built at beginning of dance. Previous to White Deerskin dance, the Shasta cannot catch or eat steelhead (rainbow

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000 trout); see note 284. At: Not many salmon in Hat Creek; occasionally a good run. AW: Salmon ascend Pit River as far as falls at site of Pit 1 power house, in Achomawi area (see Kniffen, Achomawi, map 1). Trout, suckers, catfish, bass also found within area. AE: No salmon; very few streams, creeks; fish scarce. WT: Salmon in area. When salmon begin running, if couple have pubescent daughter following rite held so couple can eat salmon. Young men catch salmon; take it to home of old man "who uses cane"; this old man may be adolescent girl's grandfather. Old man's wife cooks the first fish, then old man prays over it for short time, facing sun and leaning on his cane; after this everyone present, except girl(s) nearing puberty, eats this first fish. For other salmon caught after first run, no prayers of this sort. Rite restricted to parents of girls entering puberty, not general practice. WM: Salmon plentiful in area. If leave first salmon in basket overnight, will not catch any more. WS: Salmon in area. No rites over first salmon, but in middle of summer, during July, people start fishing at nodalčohipom (Castle Crag depot, 5 mi. S of Dunsmuir) and fish up Sacramento River to Shasta Retreat across river from Dunsmuir. At every village on the way they dance; stay 3-5 days at each place; young people dance, "just for a good time at night as they make this trip; old people sleep. It takes them 2-3 weeks to make this trip; there may be 200-300 people on it. Camp at 3-5 different locations on way." MM: Few salmon in area; other varieties fish more abundant. MF: Salmon in area, more abundant. NF: No salmon nearer than Yuba River; sometimes go there to spear, net salmon. First salmon cooked, eaten at "dinner" by all. Salmon plentiful in Feather River, but NF group never went there to fish as this was in "another country." NM: No salmon or suckers in area; never go to Yuba River or Sacramento Valley to fish. Small fish, only, found in creeks in area; no large rivers in area; little emphasis on fishing, which is pursued in main with small flat gill net. NS: Salmon obtainable within area, in American River. No salmon caught until certain time in summer; first fish cooked, divided and eaten by all members of community, "for good luck." No comparable rite for any other variety of fish. MV: Salmon plentiful; first-salmon rite similar to first-acorn rite (see note 313).

283. Kl: In spring old man (not shaman)
226 catches first 2 suckers with nets at certain
787 spot on Williamson River and throws them, alive, into fire which has been built on flat surface of deeply embedded rock near river. Fish burnt to foretell season's luck; "if they roll around when thrown in the fire, the people will have lots of fish; if they die quickly, quietly, there won't be many fish." Men, women, children gather at rock where rite held (only 1 place where this is done in whole of Kl area) and eat

226 787 first catch of suckers on spot. "If they don't eat it all up there, people won't catch any more suckers." After these observances, all suckers caught can be transported home to be eaten, dried.

284. SW: Wait until Karuk give White Deerskin dance at end of July before eating steelhead (rainbow trout); if any steelheads caught in salmon net before Karuk dance given, they must be thrown back into river. Fishermen who disregard this rule are in danger of being killed.

292. NF: "Dreamer" or singing shaman.

294. Kl: First 2 suckers.

296. SW: First run taboo to adolescent girls.

226 689 299. Kl: Old man in charge of rite tells youth, "Don't you pack those fish home on the first day; eat well; don't carry them around, or break their backbones." If youth disobeys, sticks bound from wrist to shoulder on boy's arms, and then bent upward and broken, thus breaking boy's arms at elbow; boy sometimes died. Any of old men present administer this punishment.

300. WM: See note 282.

Gathering

000 Gathering techniques and observances.--

300a. See note 357. AW: Pick up acorns from ground by hand; do not beat trees.

300b. Used to bend down limbs within hand's reach. MV: Obtained pine nuts at Lookout (in MF area); man intending to go for such, continent night before he starts. To obtain pine cones, he climbs tree, hooks branches with staff, cuts off cones.

301. Used to bend down limbs.

302. Used for whipping, knocking acorns and pine cones off limbs.

306. Branches left on pole, to serve as footholds. SW: Wrap grapevine around fir pole, or leave limbs on pole for footholds. AW: Native twine wrapped around sapling for foothold; limb left on sapling at upper end to serve as hook; pole hooked onto upper branches of tree, as climber progresses upward.

[222 824] 308. Kl, SW: Made of mountain mahogany.

311. SW: Iron bar across top end. AE: Use crutch-handled type mostly, but sometimes plain bipointed one as well.

312. Mo: Break or pull up entire plant of lamb's-quarters, pile plants on bare hard ground, and beat out seeds with long straight stick.

313. NS: Prepare meal for group, when first batch of any wild fruit gathered. Example, for manzanita berries, make large quantity of cider with first gathered berries, all drink. MV: Headman goes out and tests acorns for ripeness; tells people when they are ripe. His wife then goes out, secures 1 pack-basketful of acorns; dries them, and in about 6 days she is able to make 2 baskets of acorn mush from them. These she takes into assembly house; there members of secret society pray over mush and eat it; then everyone can go out and gather acorns.

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000 314. MM: Large group of people gather acorns, in fall; make large batch acorn soup out of first crop; shaman or old man prays; mush then distributed to all present, eaten. After this each family may cook its own acorn mush separately. (Custom still observed.) MV: See note 313.

222 316. Kl: When wokus ripe, shaman does not allow anyone to pick them at first; he tells all the women to gather wokus, cook them and bring them to him in daytime. Shaman then sings, and men, women join him in singing for 2-3 hours; he then eats some of the wokus first, then everyone else eats it. Shaman instructs people to gather wokus for 5 days following, after that to refrain from gathering any for 5 days; at end of 10-day period people can gather wokus whenever they wish (for about 1 month, until end of crop).

000 317. At: 3 types 1st-fruits rites for ipos roots described. (1) In May, first ipos roots gathered sung over by shaman. Latter examines some of roots; prophecies whether any women are going to be sick. If they are, tells all women to dig roots; they do so 1 entire day, then bring them home in evening and dump them in 1 spot. All female doctors sing over these roots for half night, to make women healthy. Each woman then takes home the roots she has dug, but leaves handful or so for shamans, who cook and eat them. (2) General feast, to which women bring ipos, men fish, after shaman has dug first roots; shaman in charge. (3) First ipos roots any woman digs, in spring, she throws away; says: "Don't make me poor; give me good luck; you may have this one," and throws root in back of her. Prayer addressed to (?). Informant herself never eats any of first day's digging of roots; this however is not a general rule. Woman throws away root thus "to make her healthy"; no similar observance for other roots, or for acorns.

318. MV: Foothill Maidu bring manzanita berries down to valley Maidu when they attend latter's dances, burnings.

327. Mo: First of any variety root, seed crop thrown on ground to "feed earth first." MF, NM, NS: First morsel of each prepared new-fruit product thrown in fire, as offering.

Preagriculture.--

328. MM, MF, NF: For better crop mushrooms, principally; sometimes for wild seeds also.

329. AE: When seeds begin to ripen in patches out on hill, 2-3 women take sticks 4-5 ft. long and walk "forward and back, forward and back," flaying plants with sticks; "next year there will be a big crop there because lots of seeds have been scattered."

[241] 329a. Responses negative throughout area, but a few comments made in connection with question are of interest. AW: "When they (want to) 'irrigate,' they sing for cloud!" MV: Large ponds in area dry up in summer; wild-seed plants grow plentifully in moist bottoms of these dried-up

000 ponds which form, in effect, natural irrigation system.

Domesticated Animals and Pets

Dogs.--

231 330. Kl: Single variety, prick ears, short tail, short hair, about 18 in. high; varicolored (?). Man or woman may own either male, female 000 dog; no rule. Mo: Single small variety, prick ears, short hair, brown and black. SE: Small variety; large prick ears. At: About size of fox, coyote; small prick ears; short hair and long hair, fawn or brown colored. AW: 2 varieties. Small dog, 12 in. high, short hair; not used for hunting, "just stayed around house." Large dog (qɔ´lɔha´), "pretty nearly as big as a calf," used for hunting. Both varieties enter into mythology; Butterfly (aponaha) "who had power and could do anything, made the big dogs. He had a little dog in his sack; he was going to fight Kowilla (a big lizard, a bad man), who had a big dog. Aponaha blew on his little puppy and told him to 'grow, grow,' so that he could fight Kowilla's big dog. The puppy grew, and whipped the big dog." AE: Single variety, similar to coyote in appearance; prick ears, short hair, tawny; small-to-medium size; females generally have only 1-2 pups. WM: Prick ears, short hair. MF, NF: Dogs imported; high priced; difficult to obtain. People go "to a sharp country (see below, NS), throw a round rock down a slope; bitch chases the rock, and while she is away, people steal her pups from her hole; never try to catch mother of the pups." NS: Mt. Diablo known as sukumyama (dog mountain); bitch has hole there; men roll large stone down mountain, bitch chases it; meantime men steal her pups from hole.

331. AE: Dogs scarce; owned by rich men only.

334. SW: Name dogs after animal; bad tempered dog named for grizzly, good hunting dogs for wolf, puma. WT: Names of nickname variety: "log," "'porch'--because dog was always lying on porch."

335. See 13, 22, note for 23.

[231] 336. Kl, Mo, SE, AE, WT, MM: Dogs "sniff" instead of barking, as signal of strangers' approach. SE: Huč, huč (sic 'em). AE: Never bark; "trained not to bark away back; hit them if they did."

337. Mo: Stay in "kitchen" or cook house. WM, WS: Stay in porch of dwelling house.

343. At: Widow keeps husband's dog.

344. SW: "Against the rule to bury dogs."

346. SW: Hung or given to relative of deceased. WT: Could give no reason for custom, except that "dogs like to be hung thus; it makes his spirit glad; if buried, dog's spirit is dissatisfied, because not treated right."

Birds, bear cubs, etc.--

[223] 347. Kl: Shoot eagles, to secure their feathers. SW: Eagles only; kept tied by leg, beside spring. When grown freed; dangerous. AE: Eagles; kept when young in heavy tule basket cage; later

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000 kept tied by leg. Fed squirrels, raw meat. Do not pluck, cut wings; ultimately freed. WT: Grouse kept. NS: Eagles kept. See elements 5198-5206a. MV: "Don't allow eagle to be kept." Eagle and swan feathers used chiefly for great variety of feather ornaments, etc., that MV make; eagle shot with bow and arrows when feathers needed.

348. AE: See note 347. WM: In basket, when young.

[231] 350. NS: After eagle killed.

351. Kl: When cub gets "mean," kill it.

352. WT: "Deer wish one bad luck, if one keeps fawn as pet; people die very shortly if they keep a pet fawn."

353. Mo: Skunk. SE: Mink. WT: Cottontail rabbits, squirrels.

Food and Its Handling

Staple foods.--

354. SW: In discussing horn utensils, informant said, "The Hupa, Karuk, Yurok bought horn from the Shasta for spoons. They didn't hunt much down-river; mostly fished, so they didn't use much deermeat. Fish is first, deermeat second, among down-river tribes; it's the other way around for the Shasta." AE: Deer and antelope; latter mentioned frequently by informant. WS: Deer hunted chiefly in winter; "best way to get them is in snow."

[261] 355. Kl: Starvation periods affirmed; "in winter whole families died, all around this [Williamson] River, 100 years ago." Good deal of deer, elk, antelope meat eaten although fish staple food. AW: Starvation periods denied; "people didn't know anything about starving here, in old times; they had plenty of fish, ducks, deer, acorns, roots; people from Alturas (AE) came down here in winter." (See also note 1747.) MV: "Plenty of food, year round; if 1 variety of acorn fails 1 year, have plenty of other varieties; not like people up in foothills, where have only 1 variety; if this fails, they starve. Also have plenty of game: fish, ducks, deer in fall."

[262] 357. Kl, Mo: Acorns not used. SE, SW: Acorns used extensively; pine nuts not used much. At, AW: Acorns used extensively; little use of sugar-pine nuts. AE: No oaks in area; a few pine nuts from piñon pine obtained in Hammawi area to E; parties camp there for 3-4 weeks in October, some years. WT: Acorns, digger and sugar-pine nuts gathered. WM, WS, MM, MF, NF: Acorns and pine nuts gathered. NM: Acorns and sugar-pine nuts gathered. NS: Acorns and pine nuts. MV: 4 varieties of acorns in area--live oak, white oak, tan oak, and valley oak; mountain-oak acorns imported, are richest in oil. Pine nuts obtained at Lookout (in MF area); see note 300b.

358. At: Important small seed food; 3 varieties. AW: Important seed food.

[222] 359. Kl, Mo, SE, At, AW, AE: Dig ipos roots;

000 [222] plentiful in Hat Creek (At) area; also rob gopher holes of stored roots. WT: "Wild potatoes [sp.?] about only root crop." WS: "No roots in area."

[222] 360. AE: Plentiful in area; in contrast to Kl, who still gather wokus to some extent, AE no longer "bother with them; people say now 'I'm not a bird.'" MF: Water lilies "poisonous."

Animals eaten.--

361. That is, as food, not merely during famines or epidemics.

261 362. Kl: "Long time ago [pre-White], when all people dying [in some sort of epidemic] and Indian medicines didn't work, man said he was going to try dog meat [as a cure]; he roasted a dog and ate it, and it cured him"; others followed suit, and also recovered. Kl ate dog meat only on such an occasion (cp. Spier, Klamath, p. 130). A long time after this, the White people purchased dogs from the Kl with shell beads, and ate them." At: "3 persons once ate dog, during epidemic; it made them well; dog is good medicine." Also eaten in time of famine.

000 363, 364. Mo: Eaten only during times of scarcity.

365. At: Eaten whenever procurable.

366, 366a. Mo: Grizzly bear eaten only by few people. AE: Grizzly and brown bears lacking in area but sometimes hunted to W.

369. AW: Antelope lacking in area; sometimes hunted to E.

370. AW: Eaten by some persons only.

[224] [262] 372. Tail eaten. Kl: Beavers shot in springtime, from canoe. AW: Eaten by some persons only.

373. AW, WS: Eaten by some persons only.

374. WM: Some persons eat, not all. Raccoons tracked to den in winter, and dug out.

375. Mo: Highly esteemed.

376. Kl: See note 26.

380. AW: Mole hide used, but mole not eaten.

382. At: Killed only in wintertime.

387. Mo: Flavor disliked, but eaten in times of scarcity.

391. MM: Caught in fish net.

[231] [262] 392. Kl: Catch and keep them, but do not eat them. At: Eaten by Goose Valley (Aporige) group of At. AW: "Goose Valley people (see above) very fond of turtle, eat lots of them."

394. SE: Lizard used for poison, "scalp of lizard and frog pounded together, put in food as poison."

395. SW: People of Shasta Valley and vicinity of Montague eat crickets, but crickets lacking in SW area. If SW people visiting in Shasta Valley at right time, they gather, eat crickets. Insects pounded into meal, stored. AW: Not many grasshoppers eaten; those that are, are boiled. Eaten by Dixie Valley (Aporige) people in large quantities. WM: Crickets lacking in area, but gathered on trips to S.

396. Mo: Eat 4 varieties.

397. MV: Angleworms made into soup are "good medicine."

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000 398. MF, NM: Roasted.

399. Eggs of red ant.

Foods taboo to special groups.--(M, men; W, women; Y, youths; y, young women; b, boys; g, girls.)

401. SE: Brains only taboo to Y, y, b, g. At: Head to M, Y, b. AE: Head to M, Y, y, b, g. AW: Head to Y, y, b, g. WT, WM: Head to Y, y, b, g. WS: Head to y. NM, MV: Head to Y, y, b, g.

402. Mo, AW: Taboo to all except old men, old women. At: To M, Y, b. AE, WT: To b, g. WM, MM, MF, NM: To Y, y, b, g. AE: If b, g eat deer heart, own heart will pound too fast.

403. SW: Taboo to Y, y. AW, AE: To b, g. WT: To y. WM, NF: To Y, y, b, g. NS: Eaten chiefly by b. NM, MV: Denied eaten chiefly by b.

404. SW: Taboo to b, g. AW, WM, NM, MV: To Y,. y, b, g. AW: If eaten by member of tabooed group, his or her knee joint will slip out when trying to run.

[262] 405. Kl, WT, MV: Taboo to all. SE, SW, At: To all except old men, old women; boiled, soup drunk. AW, AE, WM, MM, NM, NS: Taboo to Y, y, b, g. SW: Young boy made to shoot at fawn fetus, before latter eaten, to give boy luck.

[262] 406. Kl, AW, WT, NF, MV: Taboo to all. SW, AE, WM, MM, NM, NS: To Y, y, b, g. Kl, Mo: Afterbirth taboo to all. SE: Informant uncertain. WM: To Y, y, b, g. At: Bear fetus skinned, given to old women to eat, because meat tender.

407. At: To all except old men and old women. WT: To y. MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: To Y, y, b, g.

[262] [887] 408. Kl: Anyone may eat liver, but principally old people do, because it is easy to chew. Mo: "Old people eat it." SE, SW: Eaten raw by hunter, on spot. At: To Y, b. AW, NF, NM, NS, MV: To Y, y, b, g. WT: To b, g.

409. WM, NF, NM, NS: To Y, y, b, g.

410. NM, NS: Twin plums also taboo to y; would have twins. Denied for NF, where no wild plums in area, and for MV.

411. Mo, At: To Y, y, b, g. AE: To b, g. WT: To all. SW: Small children cannot eat grouse; if do, have yellow mark in eye, on neck. At: If eat duck's feet, cold weather will ensue.

412. SW: Grouse and fish. If eat these together, will not be able to catch either afterward. At: Fish and deermeat. WM: Salt and deermeat. MM: Salt and bear meat. MV: Venison and bear meat.

Food preparation.--

414. Mo, MV: Often burn fishbones, but "no rule about this; don't want children to step on the bones." SW: Fishbones saved, dried, pounded; ground salmon bones cased in salmon bladders or "floats" for storage.

[262] [252] 415. Kl, Mo, At, MM: Backbone of deer only and then only when it has dried meat on it. SW: Ground deer bone regarded as poisonous; persons eating marrow always careful not to swallow small flakes of bone, as this would cause death; no medicine known for such an accident.

252 419. Kl: Raccoons. Mo: Cleaned, hide left on;
several roasted underground, beneath hot rocks;
600 coals piled on top of rocks. At: Roasted, with
hide left on; when cooked hide peeled off, meat
pounded.

421. Frame consists of 2 upright sticks, forked at upper end; single pole laid parallel to ground, ends resting in 2 forks; fish, meat laid on horizontal pole, beside fire. Mo: Meat hung from crossbar and heated sufficiently "to draw watery juices out: then laid on live coals and really cooked."

[252] 423. Kl: Also make "sausage" from bear intestines; blood, grease put in; roasted in ashes for lengthy period.

424. SW: Paunch poked with stick every so often as it cooks, in order to let steam escape; blood inside paunch clots over hole, seals it up.

426. Usually, hot rocks put into paunch, after latter filled with blood; paunch tied up, set on coals. SE: Paunch with blood inside cooked in basketful of water kept hot with heated stones.

[252] 427. Kl: "Only wokus are boiled; meat is roasted." At: Red salmon stone-boiled.

430. WM: Not enough procured to dry; eaten fresh only.

433. AW: Used for drying meat. (See notes 438, 446, element 439.)

[251] 434. Kl: With small fire underneath.

437. Strung by tail; held open with small stick.

438. AW: In camp, smoke deermeat first, using black oak for purpose; finish drying it in sun.

439. AW: See note 438.

441. WT: "McCloud Wintu made sack after sack of salmon flour, but Hayfork Wintu didn't make it at all, although they had the salmon. The Hayfork traded deer hides, dried meat, shell money to the McCloud people for salmon flour." Why Hayfork Wintu did not make this flour informant could not say.

443. SW: Pine nuts added to salmon. At: Eat red salmon meal with whole nuts of sugar pine, however.

446. AW: Fish dried in sweat house or under shade where women make baskets.

454a. As acorns, roots, pine nuts.

456. AW: Sand basin made inside basket; basket rests on leaves.

459. AW, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Cold water used first; then progressively warmer water for each successive rinsing.

461. SW: White-oak, live-oak acorns. Meat black after being soaked. Acorns treated thus boiled whole, shelled or unshelled. MV: Very seldom; only sunburnt acorns.

463. SE: Very thick acorn mush made, but not baked; this product "could be carried a long way."

[252] 468. Kl, Mo: Cattail root bread baked in earth oven. Mo: Wild turnips ground fresh, made into loaves which are baked in ashes. At: Roots pounded, shaped into loaves, baked; each loaf wrapped in grass, dried, kept for winter use.

000 470a. With either rotary or back-and-forth motion.

470b. With up-and-down motion.

252 471. In flattish basketry tray, usually. Kl, Mo: Circular flat twined tule "mat" used. AW: Probably not done much; informant commented, "They know how to, but claim the seeds get dirty; they do this though at Likely" (among AE). MV: Sycamore coals only, used.

473. Smaller seeds, as sunflower, grass seeds, etc. Kl, Mo: Wokus and small seeds. At: Sunflower seeds.

477. Most of informants in areas where nonoccurrence of buckeye noted on list expressed ignorance of any tree, shrub called "buckeye" or "chestnut"; this fact, together with casual personal observations of flora in such areas, only basis for my notations concerning nonoccurrence of this tree. SW: Informant ignorant of term buckeye; used "chestnut"; no specimens seen.

482. SE: For roots (Indian potatoes). MM: Clover cooked in earth oven, saved, recooked in winter, for soup. MV: Clover and salt grass (see note 497).

485. Mo: Water sprinkled on grass which covers red-hot rocks, in order to steam food.

486. AW: Boys also suck eggs raw. WT: Grouse, quail eggs eaten; no information concerning method of cooking.

487. Kl: Duck eggs. Dig hole 10 in. in diameter, 8 in. deep, let fire burn in it, rake out coals and put eggs in; cover eggs with dirt and build fire on top of dirt, to roast eggs. AW: Roast, also boil eggs.

272 490. Absences noted relate to manzanita berries. Kl: Huckleberries made into drink. No manzanita berries in area. AW: No manzanita
000 berries in area; "Hat Creek [At] and Big Bend [Madesi Achomawi] people make this berry cider, and sip it with a deer's tail." [correct] MV: Manzanita berries absent from area; obtained in foothills or brought down by MF people.

492. SW: At deer lick, and from natural deposits on Shasta and Bogus rivers. No salt bought. WM: Obtained from Cow Creek. Salt never kept in house; "deer would not like it, when his meat was brought into same house"; kept outside in basket placed in hollow log. Practically only use made of it was to eat it with green grass, in spring; this eaten outside, not in house.

493. At: Salt obtained from Round Mountain, in N Yana territory; informant's father had "gone there and dug it for himself." AW: Salt obtained from alkali creek at Round Mountain, E of Woodmont in N Yana territory. AW refer to N Yana as tisaiči ("salt people").

494. NS: Salt from spring or marsh. Dry salt not obtainable locally; see 495.

495. NS: Dry salt stolen, from deposits near Auburn; fights ensue, as are "supposed to buy it."

000 496. At: Cook red salmon, deermeat with salt; also use salt as medicine; not used to season acorn mush. AW: Salt used sparingly; causes sore eyes; "the Yana pound up rabbits and put a little salt on them; we don't."

497. "Salt grass" (Distichilis spicata) probably absent in most of area covered, but unfortunately no check was made on its distribution. MV: What is apparently hitherto unrecorded method of making salt among MV, explained by informant. Men and women gather salt grass (sp. ?) in large quantities, wash it; grass is then cut up, put into large hole lined with rocks. Fire has been kept burning in this hole for 2 days, in order to thoroughly heat hole and rocks. Layers of hot rocks and grass are put into hole; on top of topmost layer of grass is put a layer of elderberry leaves, then another layer of hot rocks, a layer of coals, and, lastly, dirt. Pit is left sealed up thus for day and night; next day is opened; "the grass is burned into hard, gray, salty sheets, like a rock, but full of holes." This "salt" serves as article of trade; "Colusa people make it good." Specimen size of hen egg seen, tasted; accords with informant's description. Often used medicinally, for colds.

262 824 499. Majority of informants familiar with this plant,λ even though it is lacking in various parts of area surveyed. AE informant only person interrogated who did not know about plant, which seems to be lacking in AE area. AW: "Soaproot grows at Round Mountain, in N Yana territory." WT: "Soaproot grows at Hyampom, and in Shasta country, but not here." WM, WS: Soaproot imported from Redding. WS informant's wife had imported some bulbs, tried to raise them at Dunsmuir, but could not; "too cold."

000 505. For washing baskets, buckskins, hair. Mo: Pumice stone used to clean buckskin.

506. SW: Juice mixed with deer fat for gum; "too bitter by itself." Milkweed gum "crumbles after awhile"; superior gum made from a root (sp. ?) which is broken open and set in sun to let juice run out and congeal. This makes "an everlasting chewing gum." Young people not allowed to chew gum; old people chew it; "they pop it--you can hear it crack for a long way."

261 507. Kl: From sugar pine. SW: Pitch from older yellow pines. Recommended for persons who when traveling become weak with hunger or thirst; "chew it, or pound it up fine and swallow it; it stirs up the heart, and one can go on."

000 508. WT: Used sparingly, never given to children because of its laxative qualities. WS, MM: Used as physic. NM, NS: Children eat it.

509. AE: Bitten off willow leaves; no flaying of leaves to obtain it in any quantity. "If eat too much of it, gums get sore." Made by "little black bug" (pes·tui). MV: "Sugar" from leaves of valley oak, which forms in "large glassy drops," gathered from ground and added to pinole made from small seeds.

λ [i.e., soaproot.-Analyst]

[179-B]

262 510. Kl: Inner bark of yellow pine secured
824 in June; by July "too hard."

512. Eaten fresh, raw or cooked on coals;
000 dried, for winter, strung on willow withe. MM, NF: Ground burned for better crop; denied by MV. MV: Cooked with fish.

Eating customs.--

515. WT, WM, WS: For acorn soup.

516. WM: For acorn soup. WS: For acorn soup and deermeat.

[264] 519. Kl: Eat any time during day; sometimes men eat alone, sometimes men, women, children eat together.

521. Fresh food cooked and served. WT: Fresh batch food not cooked; "they dish out whatever they have on hand and set it before the visitors."

524. NF, MV: With buckskin.

Storage of food.--

525. AW: Acorns stored chiefly in pits; "too cold here in winter for outdoor granaries; have to bury acorns."

527. Bark used as cover for top; dirt piled up around stump.

528. Mo: Poles occasionally laid across boughs of cedar tree; tule sacks containing food stored on this pole platform. AW: Food stored on platform in oak tree; "poison" (animate) set on top of food; if any person, animal appears to steal food, poison shoots thief.

530. For illustration of this type, see Kroeber, Handbook pl. 38. WT: Informant, shown picture of granary just referred to, stated WT use similar granary, but that it is thatched (?) to some extent on sides.

531. NM, NS, MV: 4 upright posts only, for frame. NM: Hole in bottom, to take acorns out. MV: Hole in side.

532. AE: Food, hides hung up in branches of junipers; popular method of storage.

[251] 533. Kl: Recent custom; "may have done it
[178] formerly also." NS: Used for temporary purposes only.

539. AW: If leaving village for a time, bury acorns in pit dug inside sweat house; cover hole with tule mats, etc.

Exchange of food.--

262 540. Kl: "Whoever has no food, Indians give him some; they help each other, just like 1
437 family." MV: Informant emphasized fact that between villages food given as gift, but also mentioned that mountain varieties of acorns are purchased from MF, MM groups.

542. AE: Food divided in time of famine.

224 545. Kl: If 2 men hunting, meat divided equally; if more than 2, killer gets slightly larger share. Mo: Killer keeps deer hide. SW:
000 If 2 men, killer gets most; if meat cut up, cooked or dried and divided in camp, all receive equal share. If driving deer into river, driver gets head, hide, foreleg of deer. At: Killer

000 gets skin, 1 of his relatives gets head; all deer piled together in camp for distribution of meat, if large hunt. WT: Killer keeps 1 ham or tenderloin. WM: Killer keeps 2 hams and deerskin; but, upon his arrival home, after hams cooked hunter calls all his companions on hunt to eat these hams at a "big supper." No women attend this supper; each woman cooks and eats a small piece of meat her husband has brought home as his share from the hunt. WS: Killer gets ham and deerskin. On large hunt, after hunt all men foregather in headman's house; men cook the deermeat (hams especially) in this house, and proceed to eat their fill of meat and acorn mush (latter provided by women for this "dinner"). After men are through, each one takes home piece of meat, raw or cooked, for wife and children. MM, MF: Killer gets skin, of deer or bear. NF: Killer gets skin and 1 ham. NM: Killer gets hindquarter. NS: Killer gets skin.

262
437 546. Kl: See note 545. MV: Meat divided equally among hunters; each hunter divides his share again among his relatives. Acorn dough similarly divided.

Ownership of Productive Areas

000 548. SW: Upriver from Hamburg, on Klamath, falls not privately owned; this true also of falls on Shasta, Rogue rivers. At Hamburg and from thence down-river on Klamath through Karuk territory, falls privately owned.

550. AW: "Fishing places the people were more particular about [than hunting places]; they wouldn't let people from other villages come to get fish or ducks there. Trespassers would be hit with a paddle, if met in canoe, and made to get out."

554. SW: If man hunts over certain territory near spot where he lives, all his life, when this man dies no one can hunt in that territory for 1 year. During man's lifetime, however, anyone belonging to same local group as man does, may hunt there. AW: "Hunting places the people were not so particular about [as fishing places], although they would run out a big bunch of strangers, coming too near the settlements to hunt. Everyone would have to hunt together, though, when they used fire drives back in the mountains." AE: Informant had been born at small village, pačulomíči, in present West's Valley; this village group, through its headman, controlled West's Valley; "no one could go in there and hunt without first visiting headman and going out hunting with him. They took care of their land well; no hunting on it without permission." All men belonging to this village had right to hunt, fish in West's Valley, however. NM: By 3-4 men, jointly.

556. AE: "If too many ipos bulbs at pačulomíči [see note 554], and not enough at hammawi [another village], the hammawi people would be allowed to gather ipos at pačulomíči"; such privileges often reciprocal.

561. MM: See note 2619.

Division of Labor

Subsistence pursuits.--

000 566. SW: "A man could go out to help his wife gather food if he wanted to, but she couldn't go with him to hunt. She might camp with him [on hunt], but she had to stay in camp." AW: If girl 9-10 shoots bow and arrow, her forefinger will become sore and she will lose arm and hand. (Girls, then, precluded from doing much practicing with these weapons.) Does not make grown woman sick, though, if she handles bow and arrows. Women do not hunt much; they accompany husband, usually, and help pack home deer.

571. NM: Old men, chiefly.

222
462 576. Kl: Wokus (water lily seeds) main seed crop; men do not assist in gathering wokus, nor in digging roots or picking huckleberries. "In early days men didn't do any of women's work, and women couldn't do any of men's work, either." Mo: If man not good hunter, he helps gather
000 wokus, or dig roots; "he has to eat. But other men tease him, ask him, 'why don't you learn to hunt?'" AW: Coyote decreed "that women gather, pound acorns, and collect wood, and that men hunt--that's what Coyote said. But if a man isn't going hunting some mornings, and has time, he gathers wood."

579. MV: Men only go outside area to gather pine nuts; see note 300b.

590. At: Man, however, "sometimes goes out with wife, and packs home whatever she gathers; he's sorry for her, and the woman doesn't want to get them alone." AE: Men and women. NM: Few if any small seeds gathered.

593. MM: Permissible to bring deermeat into house where women stay, but men cook deermeat.

595. WM, WS: See note 545.

600. SW: Rarely necessary, as "always live, camp near water."

607. AW: Man's ability to obtain wood, important consideration in eyes of his future parents-in-law. In summer, woman packs wood in pack basket, in winter man packs it.

Manufacturing activities.--

614. MV: Some women make small nets.

615. SE: Men make heavy cord, women fine cord.

616. MV: Women assist.

619. Mo: "Men help; perhaps scrape hide, when not busy hunting. But women generally tan it."

620. SW: Men, women each make own clothing. AW: "Not many women tan buckskin or make clothes; just a few."

HOUSES AND SHELTERS

342 In this section two or more types of houses are sometimes entered under the same complex. Whenever this has been done, if no note is ap-

34 2 pended to the positive entry in the element list, the entry applies to all types. If a positive entry applies to one house type only, a note explains to which one the entry applies.

Assembly and Living Houses

Beside the house types covered by elements 633-765, some groups have in addition house forms which are not noted in element list. Notes on these additional house forms follow. Kl: Summer living house, wu'keploks; unexcavated, but otherwise similar in construction to Kl semisubterranean earth lodge; elements 634, 640, 647, 650, 654, 655, 659, 661, 663, 665, 667, 668, 670, 671, 675, 677, 680, 693, 696, 701, 703, 719, 723, 724, 727, 734 affirmed for this summer house; all other elements in series 633-735 denied. SW: Winter dwelling house, amma; used as eating, sleeping house by a few men, all women and children. Similar in construction to semisubterranean earth lodge (uk'kwamma) except that it is not earth covered and not excavated; elements affirmed for amma include 636, 638, 639, 653, 654, 656, 659, 660, 662, 668, 669, 671, 674, 676, 680, 681, 693, 694, 699, 701, 702, 714, 715, 719, 721, 723, 725, 727, 733a. WT: waipom krewel (see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 122 ff.) denied for this group, but see notes for WS. WS: In addition to 6 structures listed, WS have 1 other type, the modern Big Head and "Dream" dance house. This house is dug out, of plank construction, with rectangular hip roof, plank door. Accommodates ca. 200. Referred to as ɔltɛresLut, but differs in structure from older house form of that name described below. (See Du Bois, Wintu, p. 122.)

Semisubterranean earth lodge.--
633. Kl: lultɛmaloks. Mo: lač'as. SE: Uk'-kwamma. (See figure.) SW: uk'kwamma. At: yau'di.

000

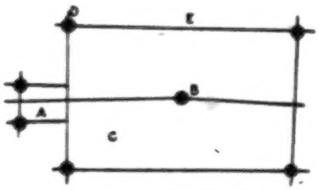

A, covered porch or entrance way; B, center pole; C, bark or slab roof covering with dirt over all; D, upright posts; E, pole stringers, resting on uprights.

AW: 2 types houses entered under this complex: (1) as´tui or large sweat house-living house-dance house, and (2) astu´i or 1-family winter dwelling. AE: Refers to as´tui, large winter

[181-B]

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living house (see figure). WT: Men's assembly

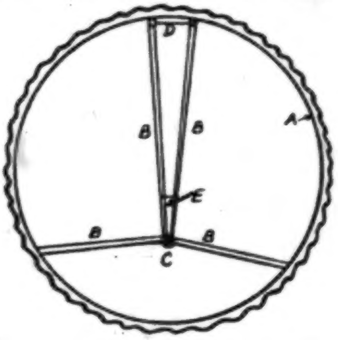

〰〰, ground; A, wall; B, pole stringers; C, center post; D, draft hole and door; E, roof entrance and smoke hole.

house (olterɛsLut). WM: 2 types of house entered: (1) living house (krewel or čararas krewel; latter term used for large house occupied by chief, several wives and boys, and referred to farther N as waipom krewel [cf. Wintu, p. 122]). (2) pomLut (?), doctor-dance house; not used at Baird, where informant lived, but used farther up McCloud River. WS: 4 types of house entered: (1) waipom krewel, chief's or multifamily living house. (2) krewel, bark living house, 1-family, used by widows, widowers, etc. (3) pomLut, doctor-dance house. (4) olterɛsLut or čɛmate, assembly-sweat-living house. For WT and WM groups the WS type (4) house has been entered under earth-covered sweat house, but as WS informant emphasized its use as a dwelling house for men, women and children, with occasional use for sweating, the WS form of this house is entered in present section. MM: 2 types entered: (1) ku'um, multifamily winter living house and assembly house (see fig.);

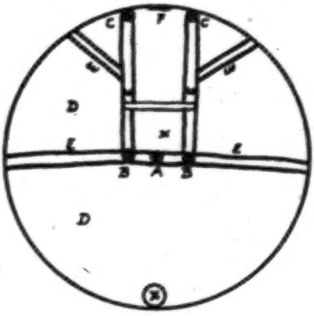

A, center post; B, posts; C, short posts; D, bark, dirt roof covering; E, log rafters sloping to ground level; F, hole for wood; X, fireplace; ⓧ, footdrum.

000 (2) kummɛnuwi, 1-family winter dwelling (see fig.). As my informant described type (1), it

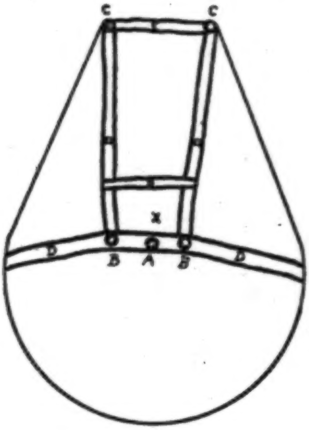

A, center post; B, posts;
C, short posts; D, log rafters;
E, lintel with rocks on top;
X, fireplace (below smoke hole).

differed somewhat from MM earth lodge described by Dixon (Maidu, fig. 40, p. 171, and p. 172). MF: 2 types of houses entered: (1) assembly-winter dwelling; (2) summer brush house. NF: kum, assembly-sweat house. NM: k'um or nɛmhü (informant gave both names; see Beals, Nisenan, p. 344), assembly house. NS: k'um, assembly-sweat house. MV: 2 house types entered: (1) kumi, secret society assembly house; (2) uyi, winter dwelling.

634. WS: Refers to doctor-dance house and assembly house. MM: Refers to multifamily dwelling.

635. WM: Refers to living house. MM: Refers to 1-family dwelling.

636. WS: Refers to multifamily and 1-family dwellings.

638. WM: Refers to living house. WS: Refers to multifamily and 1-family dwellings.

640. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house (see note 633).

641. AW: Refers to 1-family living house.

642. WM: Refers to dance house. WS: Refers to doctor-dance house and assembly house. MM: Rear half of both types of house has conical roof; front half is hip roofed, with 2 ridgepoles. Cf. Dixon, Maidu, fig. 40, p. 171. NF: Rear half of house conical, as among MM (above).

643. WS: Refers to doctor-dance house.

645. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house.

646. WS: Refers to assembly house.

647. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house. WS: Refers to assembly house.

648. SE: Painted red and black. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house.

000 650. NS: Depends on size of lodge.

651. MM: 2, 1 on either side of center pole, ca. 3 ft. distant.

652. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house; 2 side posts, two-thirds of way back from front end of house. WM: 2, in living house only. MF: 10 side posts, leaning inward to form conical roof of assembly house.

653. SW: 2 pairs of end posts, set in center of front and back ends of house, support the 2 ridgepoles which extend from front to back. AW: 2 posts in front end of sweat house-living house; 1-family house has 2 posts in front end, plus 1 post in center of back end. WM: 2, in living house only; serve to support single ridgepole. MM: 2 end posts, in 1-family house.

654. WS: Refers to multifamily and 1-family dwellings.

656. WM: Vertical walls ca. 2 ft. high on living house; walls surmounted on all sides by overhanging eaves. WS: Refers to multifamily and 1-family dwellings.

658. AW: Refers to 1-family living house. WS: Refers to 1-family living house.

658a. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house. WS: Refers to multifamily dwelling, doctor-dance house, and assembly house.

659. WM: Refers to living house. WS: Refers to multifamily dwelling. Both use cedar planks, split with elkhorn wedge, cobblestone maul.

662. SE, SW: Cedar bark used. At: Cedar-bark slabs which slope inward. AW: Cedar bark used mainly; "it's the best lumber." Brush used only occasionally. WM: Refers to living house. WS: Refers to 1-family dwelling. MV: Refers to assembly house.

663. WM: Refers to dance house. WS: Refers to dance house and assembly house.

664. AW: Refers to 1-family living house. AE: Rye grass frequently mentioned.

664a. AW: Refers to 1-family living house. WS: Refers to doctor-dance house and assembly house.

666. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house. WM: Refers to dance house. WS: Refers to doctor-dance house and assembly house.

667. AW: Refers to 1-family living house. WM: Refers to living house. WS: Refers to multifamily and 1-family living house; pine needles and earth banked around sides of house.

668. AW: Entries for elements 668-681 refer to 1-family living house. WS: Refers to multifamily, 1-family dwellings and doctor-dance house. MM: Refers to 1-family dwelling. MF: Refers to summer brush house. MV: Refers to assembly house.

669. SW: Overhanging porch extends across entire front of amma or winter dwelling house (see note for assembly and living houses, p. 181).

674. WM, WS: Refers to living house.

675. WM: Refers to dance house. WS: Refers to doctor-dance house.

00D 680. At: Mat door covering used for menstrual lodge (see note 855). WM, WS: Basket used to close entrance to living houses at night. MV: Mat, made of tule or wormwood, for assembly house.

681. WM: Living house, bark or slab covering; dance house, brush or bough door covering. If living house left vacant for several weeks, section of rotten pine used to close entrance way. WS: Secondary ground-level entry to assembly house closed with brush. Doctor-dance house has no door covering. MM: Bark door covering.

682. At: In N end of house. AW: All entries for elements 682-692 refer to sweat house-living house. WS: Refers to assembly house (see note 688). MM, MF: Refers to multifamily assembly-dwelling house. MV: Refers to winter living house.

[342] 683. Kl: Through hatchway, which is larger than ordinary smoke hole, but serves as such. See Spier, Klamath, fig. 19, p. 201.

685a. WM: Refers to living house. WS: Refers to multifamily dwelling and to assembly house. MM: Refers to multifamily assembly dwelling house. MF: Refers to 1-family dwelling. MV: Refers to winter dwelling.

687. At: Round entrance, on S side of house. AW: Rectangular, in broad end of house; bark or slab door covering. AE: Round.

688. WS: Refers to assembly house; women, children who are living in house use this entry, whereas men habitually use smoke-hole entry.

689. WM: Refers to living house; round hole, which is used to bring deermeat into house. Because menstruating woman may have entered house by main doorway, deermeat brought in through main door might be contaminated and hunter who has shot the deer, lose his luck.

693. WM: In living house, fire never allowed to die out while house is being occupied. (See fig.)

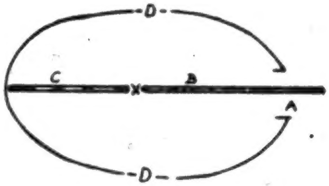

A, doorway of house; B,C, logs (shoved in toward fire as they burn); X, fireplace, coals in pit; D, house walls.

694. WM: Refers to living house. WS: Refers to multifamily and 1-family dwellings and to assembly house.

695. WM: Refers to dance house, where fire may be either beside main entrance or between center and door. In men's assembly sweat house (see 766 ff.) fire is also between center and door, and not beside center pole. MM, MF: Nearer center pole than doorway, however.

000 696. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house.

697. AW: Refers to 1-family dwelling. WM: Refers to dance house (see note 695). WS: Refers to doctor-dance house.

698. WM: In living house. In living houses, assembly house, piece of pine bark used as fire fan; "to blow fire with mouth makes one faint, dizzy"; young persons told not to do this. MV: Any article used which is handy, such as basket, to fan fire; in assembly house "don't need any fire fan."

699. WM: In dance house.

700. SE: If families occupy uk'kwamma (see note 633) during summer months, cooking fire is built outside, otherwise house becomes too hot. Ordinarily however all cooking is done inside uk'kwamma. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house. Usually cooking done within house, but in summer if it is too hot or noisy inside house, old women use communal conical cook house in which to pound acorns, cook, or weave baskets.

[342] 701. Kl: See note 683. AW: Sweat house-living house always has smoke hole, but 1-family house may or may not. WM: Refers to living house. Dance house lacks smoke hole, smoke escaping through door. WS: Refers to multifamily and 1-family dwellings and assembly house; doctor-dance house lacks smoke hole.

702. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house. WM: Refers to living house. WS: Refers to assembly house. MM: Refers to multifamily assembly-living house. MV: Refers to winter dwelling.

703. SW: Used in earth-covered sweat house, but not in semisubterranean earth lodge where entry is through sloping tunnel in front end of house. AW: Used in sweat house-living house-dance house. WM: Lacking in living house and dance house; present in earth-covered sweat house. Form: 2 poles with rungs tied between. WS: Used in assembly house. MM: Refers to multifamily assembly-living house. MF: Refers to assembly house. NS: Jump through smoke hole into assembly house. MV: Refers to winter dwelling.

704. SW: This type ladder used in earth-covered sweat house (see note 703).

706. MM: "Sometimes slide down center pole, if want to show off" when entering assembly house.

708. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house. WM: Refers to living house. WS: Refers to multifamily dwelling.

709. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house.

711. WM: Double lean-to bark house has interior walls banked thus.

713. MV: Refers to winter dwelling.

714. SW: Mats used as floor coverings; pallets used in unexcavated living house and in men's excavated sweat house, however. WM: Refers to living house. WS: Refers to multifamily and 1-family dwelling and assembly house.

715. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house; mats used by persons of better economic status.

000 717. AW: Refers to 1-family dwelling house; used by "common people" having lesser economic status. WM: Floor of house smoothed with stick, hollow made for bed, and pine needles laid in it for pallet.

718. SW: Resembles Karuk stool. Used more often in unexcavated winter dwelling house than in semisubterranean assembly house. At: "After large log had burned down to stump in fireplace, use this stump for a stool."

719. WM: Refers to living house. WS: Refers to multifamily and 1-family dwellings. MV: Refers to winter living house.

720-721. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house. WS: Refers to multifamily dwelling. MM, MF: Refers to multifamily house.

722a. WM: Refers to dance house. WS: Refers to assembly house. MV: Refers to assembly house.

723. SW: Used as sleeping quarters for men only. WM: Refers to living house. WS: Refers to 1-family and multifamily dwelling and assembly house. Assembly house may be utilized as living house by 6-8 families who lack any multifamily dwelling of type chief usually occupies. MF: Assembly house used by some members of village as regular quarters; also serves as guest house for visitors. MV: Refers to winter dwelling.

725. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house. AE: Accommodates 50-60, or, if very large, more.

727. WM: Refers to living house.

728. SW: Used as sweat house rarely; informant stressed point that "it never became so hot in the assembly house, that people couldn't dance in it." At: Used only occasionally as sweat house, in which event young children removed from house until sweating over. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house; not to 1-family dwelling. AE: Used frequently as sweat house; men, women sweat together at social gatherings, then both sexes dance, sing. During sweating anyone who wishes may leave; after dancing commences no one may leave until dance over. WM: Neither living house nor dance house serves as sweat house. WS: Refers to assembly house, which is used as sweat house occasionally, women vacating it at this time. MM, MF: Refers to multifamily house.

729. SW: Used mainly as assembly house in which indoor dances, attended by both sexes, are held. At: Chief's dwelling usually used for dances "because it is larger." AW: Refers to sweat house-living house. WM: Refers to dance house. WS: Refers to assembly house and to doctor-dance house. MM, MF: Refers to multifamily assembly-dwelling house. MV: Refers to secret society assembly house. This house used for initiation of boys into secret society; members of the secret society sleep in it; chief nominal owner; only 1 at village. When building assembly house, N and S "sides" race to see which can cover their half of house first with tule or grass, and wormwood coverings; this task completed during single day. New assembly or dance house opened with "sweat dance" (kenu).

OOD 730. WS: Refers to assembly house.

731. WS: Doctor-dance house open to men only, except when dancing going on; at this time women may also seek shamanistic power by dancing.

732. SW: Ceremonies consist largely of dances, attended by both men and women; however, prospective women shamans may also use this house to dance in, alone, while training for doctoring. WS: See note 731.

[342] [756] 733. Kl, Mo: Shaman dances publicly in house during training; later cures in house. SE, SW: Shaman dances, alone, in house during training. AE: Shaman cures in house. WT, WM, WS: Would-be shamans, when seeking power, hold dance in dance house. WS, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS: Shaman cures in assembly house. MM, MF, NF: Shaman also holds night séances in assembly house.

733a. SE: See note for assembly and living houses. AE: By end of December all people belonging to certain village gather, live in semisubterranean earth lodge; during summer, fall they "live scattered out in camps" of 1-2 households, "all over the hills." WS: Refers to multifamily living house and assembly house. MF: Refers to multifamily assembly house. MV: Refers to winter dwelling.

734. At: During summer "camp out, under 4-post shade." MM: During summer use flat-topped shades, circular brush enclosures ("corrals"). MF: Refers to 1-family brush house.

735. WS: Refers to 1-family living house. MV: Refers to assembly house.

Domed living house.--

[343] [342] 736. Kl: Cook house (sti'na'as). The following additional traits pertaining to this type house were noted as present, but are not included in element list: 668, 670, 701, 719, 721, 722, 733a. Mo: 2 varieties domed living houses used. (1) multifamily domed eating and sleeping summer house (stakimus), and (2) cook house for winter house (kaiya'da). Type 1 "could be occupied winter and summer; it often is, by ordinary persons. Shamans, headmen live in earth house in winter, and use domed houses only in summer, or when camping." AW: alo'li. Additional positive elements: 693, 694, 699, 701, 702, 714, 715, 717, 719, 721, 723, 727, 735. AE: pastilogi. Willow house, having additional positive elements: 668, 670, 693, 694, 698, 701, 714, 715, 716, 719, 723, 727. MV: Slightly excavated, partly earth-covered domed living house lacking, but it should be noted that the 2 types of semisubterranean earth lodges, and also the earth-covered sweat house have domed roofs.

737. Mo: Positive entry refers to winter cook house.

738. Mo: Positive entry refers to domed summer house.

739. AW, AE: Pair willow poles stuck in ground 8-10 ft. apart; upper ends arched and tied together near tips; second set of poles

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000 set in ground at right angles to first pair, and tips tied together over center section of first arch.

740. Mo: Positive entry refers to domed summer house.

743. Mo: Positive entry refers to winter cook house. Besides partial earth covering, both Kl, Mo bank pine needles, earth around outside base of house.

751. AE: Ca. 8 in.

[342] 751a. Kl: Near main entrance. Mo: In summer house, at center of house; in winter cook house, near main entrance.

751b. Mo: Positive entry refers to domed summer house.

753. Mo: Positive entry refers to winter cook house.

Conical hut and lean-tos.--

754. SE: All data regarding conical hut among SE obtained not from SE but from AW informant (see below). This informant stated that SE used this house type more frequently than did AW. At: Negative entry probably reliable, as informant quickly recognized the type and voluntarily attributed conical houses with bark or juniper coverings to AW (correct) and an AE group. AW: 2 types conical houses entered here. (1) plustoki, which was rarely used by AW, used more often by SE. (2) Conical cook house (apule waka). Entries, unless starred, refer to both types. AE: pu·le. Bark-covered, 2-family living house, used mainly in spring and fall. Additional positive elements: 657, 658, 662, 664, 665, 668, 675, 676, 678, 680, 681, 693, 694, 698, 701, 714, 716, 719, 723, 727. This type house "used a long time ago"; informant had not seen one for 50 years. WT: krewel. Additional elements include: 634, 657, 658, 668, 676, 681, 693, 694, 698, 714, 717, 719, 721. WM, WS: Du Bois (Wintu, 122) mentions conical hut for Wintu generally, refers to it by term my informants used for lean-to (see note 763). WM, WS, menstruants only use conical hut (see note 855). NP: hü, winter dwelling. Additional elements include: 634, 643, 657, 658, 663, 667, 668, 675, 677, 681, 693, 694, 698, 701, 714, 717, 719, 723, 724, 727. NM: hüpü, bark dwelling. Additional elements include: 635, 6-pole foundation, 3 poles being placed at each end of ellipsis, 668, 675, 676, 681, 693, 694, 698, 701, 714, 716, 719. (See fig.) NS: 2 types of houses

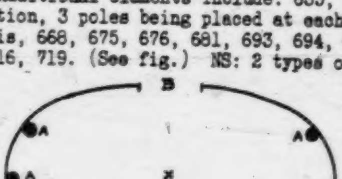

A, posts, leaning inward, tied together at top; B, entrance way; X, fireplace.

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000 entered. (1) hüpü, winter dwelling; (2) wiütu, summer dwelling. Winter dwelling slightly excavated (ca. 1 ft.), entirely covered with earth; summer dwelling unexcavated, not earth covered. MV: duwi, summer dwelling. Additional positive elements include: 634, 646, 647, 648, 668, 675, 677, 680, 693, 694, 701, 714, 716, 719, 723, 724, 727.

754a. SE, AW: Earth piled over bark, so entire house is, on outside view, earth covered. AW: Cook house only partly earth covered.

756a. SE: See note 754. SE, AW: 4 large poles tied together near top and pulled apart to make them stand firmly. AE: Willow poles used.

757. NS: Refers to summer dwelling.

757a, b. NS: Refers to winter dwelling.

758. AW: Refers to plustoki or living house.

758a. AE: 2-family house.

759a. AW: Refers to cook house.

760. Mo: Used when camping only. SE: Summer camp house, amma or čurrara amma. Cf. name for WS "camp shed" (čečararas krewel) and WM living house (čararas krewel). SW: 1-family summer or camp house. WS: 2 types. (1) čečararas krewel or "camp shed," multifamily camp with separate family fireplaces. (See fig.) Used for 3- or 4-day periods when men, accompanied by women and children, are deer hunting. This type camp built especially for shelter during summer thunder showers which are frequent and often violent in this area. (2) Simple lean-to, used in summer when camping out in open; fire built against log, and bark leaned against log to form a windbreak. MM: For summer shelters (see section on Shades, etc.).

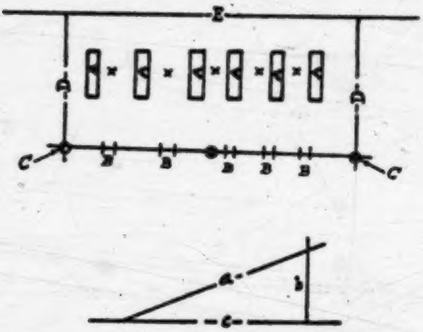

A, bed; B, entrance way; C, upright posts; D, stringers from upright to ground; E, ground; X, fireplace. Profile: a, bark roof; b, front wall; c, ground.

761. WS: Refers to summer lean-to.

762. WS: Refers to camp shed.

763. SE, At: Used as menstrual hut only; for additional elements see notes 855-856. WM:

000 lonikrewel. Used chiefly by widows. Additional elements include: 635, single ridgepole, 657, 658, 664a, 667, 668, 669, 674, 677, basket to close entrance at night, 685a, 686, 687, 693, 694, 698, 701, 702, 708, 711, 714, 717, 719, 723, 724, 735. Du Bois (Wintu, p. 122) describes krewel or lonikrewel as conical type; my informant described it as double lean-to, lacking side walls. See Du Bois' final remarks on waipom krewel type of house (Wintu, p. 123).

763b. WM: Pine needles and dirt banked halfway up exterior sides; bark slabs laid over this, "like shakes."

Sweat Houses and Sweating Customs

Earth-covered sweat house.--

[343] 766. Kl: 2 varieties earth-covered sweat house, essentially similar in construction, are included in entries 766-775. (1) winter sweat lodge, (2) mourners' sweat lodge, constructed by culture hero. Lodges of latter type located near Ft. Klamath, at Modoc Point, near Buckley Spring N of Algoma, at Pelican Bay. Mo: Have only 1 type of earth-covered sweat house; this is used by mourners only. SW: Men's sweat house (wak'wa). Resembles Yurok sweat house; in addition to elements noted, following elements also affirmed for this house by SW informant: 636, 638, 639, 647, 648, 682, 685, 685a, 687, 690, 693, 696, 699, 702, 703, 704. At: ts'maka (?). In addition to elements noted on list, following also affirmed: 668, 672, 676, 693, 699. AW, AE: All sweating done in winter living house (see 633-735) or (recently among AW) in Plains-type sweat house. WT: Lut. Additional elements include: 634, 638, 651, 668, 669, 671 (no secondary entrance), 676, 681, 693, 694. Interior wall coverings (708-712) not inquired about; floor coverings and pallets (714-717) denied. Among WT this house used as dance house and sweat house, but not as men's assembly house. WM: Lut. Used as men's sweat house-assembly house. Referred to farther up McCloud River as olterεsLut, being built from the white fir (olterεs) tree. Additional elements for this house, which is an important structure among WM, include: 634, 642, 643, 646, 647, 648, 664a, 668, 669, entrance oriented toward water, 675, 677, 681, 682, 683, 685, 685a, 686, 690, 693, 695, 699, 701, 702, 703, 705, 714, 717, 722a, 728, 729, 732, 733. It is a moot point whether this structure should not have been entered for WT and WM in section on Assembly and Living Houses, as was done for WS (see note 633). Among WT and WM, however, emphasis is placed on use of this type house as men's sleeping and sweat house whereas among WS house used mainly as a living house for men, women, and children. MM: Both earth-covered and Plains-type sudatories lacking, but informants frequently referred to sweating and sweat dance, which is held in multifamily assembly-living house. NF: taŋkum. Small, earth-covered sweat

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000 house, "used oftener than big sweat house (kum) for sweating." NM: All sweating done in semisubterranean earth lodge. MV: Built next to assembly house and used "like a bathhouse."

766a. NF: Circular ground plan.

766b. NF: Conical roof, multipole foundation.

343 766c. Kl, Mo: 1-2 ft. SW, WT, WM, NF, MV: 3-5 ft.

767. Kl, WM: Pole or bough. WT: Thatch.

768. Kl: Mourners' sweat lodge rock covered, with earth piled over rocks. SW: Rocks banked against outer wall under eaves of earth-covered sudatory.

768d. At: In S end of house.

768e. SW: Entrance round; used as draft hole mainly, but if prospective shaman uses this house to dance in, she must enter by this entrance.

769. Kl, Mo: Mat used as door covering. SW: Round door, carved from 2 planks, used for ground-level entrance.

765 769b. Kl: In mourners' sweat lodge (see note 766) attendant heats rocks in fire outside house 343 in morning; brings them into house; grass, brush piled on top of hot rocks and mourner lies on this brush bed throughout day; in evening attendant heats more rocks and removes cold ones. Mourner remains in lodge 5 days. In ordinary winter sweat lodge hot rocks brought in, water sprinkled over them for steam bath. Mo: In- 600 formant dubious; thought hot rocks brought in, but no water sprinkled on them. AE: Hot rocks used, without water only if sweat house (of Plains type) is too hot; if such is not the case, water is always sprinkled on the rocks.

770. WT: Men intending to sweat in either semisubterranean earth lodge or sweat house make large fire, close house entrances; when fire has died down, all dance and sweat. WM: Build large manzanita fire at night; men sleep in well warmed house. In morning dance and sweat.

343 770a. Kl: Entry applies to mourners' lodge.

770b. Kl: Entry applies to ordinary winter sweat house. MV: Accommodates ca. 40 men.

770c. Kl: Entry applies to mourners' lodge. NF: Entry applies to small sweat house. See note 766.

771. Kl: Entry applies to winter sweat house (see note 766).

000 773. SW: Used as sweat house by men only, but if no semisubterranean assembly house in village, prospective woman shaman may dance in this sweat house. Must enter house by round draft-hole, not by main entry through roof. All visitors, men, women, children, sleep in this house. WM: At Baird, women allowed in men's sweat house-assembly house only upon 3 occasions. (1) Mourning women may go into Lut, to seek power for doctoring; "an old doctor might tell them to do that. Such women, if lucky, would sing when doctoring, but not have any 'pain' to help them." (2) Girls and women may take part in doctor-making dance. (3) Virgin, whose father has lost

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000 his luck for gambling, may go into Lut and sit down while father is gambling. Girl remains silent; opposing side makes much of girl "hugs her, say they are going to have her for wife." WS: Women allowed in house during doctor-seeking dance only.

343 774. Kl, Mo: See note 766.

775. WM: Built by 2-3 unattached men; these "own" sweat house-assembly house, but all men of group may sleep in it or use it.

Plains-type sweat house.--

776. Kl: Said to be old type. Other elements noted for this type sweat house but not entered on list as part of complex are: 634, 668, 670, 000 719, 744, 745. Mo: spok'lis, said to be old type. Other elements noted for complex are: 634, 668, 670, 719, 744. SE: Said to be old type. Additional elements: 634, 719. SW: küstukhambi^k, said to be old type; used by women only. Other elements noted for this type sweat house are: 634, 668, 679, 719. At: Said to be of recent introduction, perhaps from "Big Valley" (Atwamsini group of Achomawi) Indians. AW: Introduced ca. 40 years ago from Klamath, Warm Springs Indians. Before this AW always sweated in semisubterranean living house; now sweat "whenever they feel like it, Warm Springs style; that's what makes those Indians able to fight so well." Informant commented further, "Bill Mechoch [an elderly Achomawi] likes to sweat this way; I told him 'you're going to die.' He's sickly now. I can't stand that kind of sweating, myself." AE: Dome-shaped steam-heated sweat house (temakami) "has been used here for a long time. Jamal [Coyote; trickster-culture hero] taught the people how to use it; they didn't learn this from any other tribe." WT: Used at Lewiston, in Upper Trinity Wintu subarea, "in early days"; informant ignorant concerning whether it was of recent introduction. Lewiston sweat houses covered with fir boughs; men pray to rocks as they sprinkle water on them; women never use this sudatory. Not used at Hayfork. (WS informant said steam sudatory used among WT at Hayfork.) WT informant also denied use of steam sudatory among Hyampom (Chimariko) people; mother belonged to this group. WM: Sudatory (Lidunas) used; informant had never heard that it was a recent innovation. WS: Recency of steam sweat house denied. NS: Small conical house of poles and bark, with earth and pine needle covering, used as "sweat house" for curing rheumatism, aching joints. Fire of oak bark built inside house, allowed to burn down; hot coals then mixed with wet earth; wormwood and spruce leaves put on top of steaming earth; patient lies on top of leaves and steams self thoroughly. Used by men, women.

778. SE: Pine bark banked around outside base of sudatory.

779. WM: Covered with fir boughs.

781. SW: Rocks heated outside and brought into sweat house; water sprinkled on rocks at intervals to maintain even temperature in sudatory.

Sweating customs.--

343 784. Kl: In Plains-type sweat house and mourners' lodge. WM, WS: In Plains-type sweat house.

785. Kl: In earth-covered winter sweat house and Plains-type sweat house. Mo: In winter living house (?), and in Plains-type sweat house. MM: See note 766.

000 786. Husband and wife, usually. SW: Women do not sweat with men in men's earth-covered sweat house; do occasionally in Plains-type sudatory. This latter type used chiefly by women after menstruating, childbirth, or during mourning. If woman's husband is also under taboos, he sweats with his wife in dome-shaped sudatory, but if sweating for "luck" he usually uses earth-covered sweat house. At: In Plains-type sweat house only. AW: Several men and women together; this general rule, but at large gatherings men sweat together while women are cooking outside; women sweat afterward. AE: In semisubterranean earth lodge (see note 728). WS: In Plains-type sudatory; when men use assembly house to sweat in, if women, children living in latter, they must vacate it temporarily. NF: In large assembly house.

787. AE: After men vacate Plains-type sweat house, women use house to sweat in. WS: In Plains-type sudatory.

788. SW: Applies to use of men's earth-covered sweat house. AE: Used fortnightly, or sometimes only once a month; "people don't think it's very lucky, if they sweat right along" (every day or so). WM: In sweat house-assembly house. NF: In small sweat house.

789. SE: When sweating in small Plains-type sweat house.

[343] 790. Kl, Mo: In mourners' lodge only (see note 769). At: In semisubterranean earth lodge.

791. SE: When sweating in large semisubterranean winter living house. SW: In men's sweat house.

792. MV: See note 729, mentioning kenu or "sweat dance" held to open new assembly house. There is some question whether, among MV, this dance was in any way a "sweat" dance, as it was among MM, MF.

794. NF: In large assembly house.

[765] 795. Kl: Also female mourners. Mo: Both
[562] male, female mourners may, but not obligatory, as among Kl.

796. NF: In large assembly house. MM: 2 old men sleep in round house each night; during large dances, feasts, all people sleep in round house.

797. SW: Men gamble, work, and sleep mainly in semisubterranean earth lodge, not in men's sudatory. AW, AE: In earth-covered sweat house-living house, not in Plains-type sweat house. NF: In large assembly house. NF, NS: Men gamble, work in large assembly house, which, among NS, does not serve as sweat house. MV: Men gamble, work in assembly house, not in sweat house.

000 798. AW, AE: In earth-covered sweat house-living house, not in Plains-type sudatory. WT: "Too dark in there." NF, NS, MV: See note 797.

799. Among various woods preferred as sweat-house firewood, Mo use red sage, dry willow only, because these "make good clean coals"; SW say chaparral "makes hottest fire; manzanita comes next." Among WT, WM, WS, MM, MF, NF, NS manzanita preferred wood. Manzanita absent from AW, AE, MV, areas; pitchless varieties of wood producing little or no smoke used. AW: Firewood gathered in morning; tell boys, youths, "Let the frost come down on you." NM: Old people gather firewood for assembly house. MV: Youths gather fuel for assembly-house fire however.

800. Mo: Informal office only; ask man who knows how to make good fire to attend to it. SE: In winter dwelling-sweat house. SW: Fire maker for semisubterranean assembly-house fire; no one person had such office for men's sweat house fire. WM: In assembly house. WS: In Dream dance house. NF, NS, MV: For assembly-house fire.

801. SW: In men's sweat house, informal competitive groups, of youths mainly. AW: Such competitive groups mentioned in mythology only. In myth, Buzzard wanted to be brave; in contest with Sun he stayed too close to fire and was burned. A shaman can make one side of house hot, the other cold; Sun did this to Buzzard.

803. WT, WM, WS: 1 man sings for group, during doctor-seeking dance. When sweating in men's house, all sweaters sing. NF: In large assembly house.

804. Mo, SE, WM: Entries 804-808 refer to use of Plains-type sweat house. SW: Entries 804-807 refer to use of men's earth-covered sweat house. WS: Entries 804-806 refer to sweating in assembly house.

807. WS: Entries 807-811 refer to Plains-type sudatory.

808. SW: In Plains-type sweat house.

809. AE: Women, when sweating in Plains-type sudatory. WM: Sweat for this purpose when using men's sweat house, chiefly.

[51 5]
[78 2] 810. Kl, Mo: Pray to hot rocks when sprinkling water over them. SE: Informant had never heard of praying to rocks, but medicine decoction sprinkled over rocks when sweating. AW: "Pray, talk to sun, rock, ground, water, when using [Plains type] sweat house. Tell sun, 'What do you think? I feel sore all over. What do you think, Sun? You ought to help me.' In other kind of sweat house [earth-covered type], don't pray; just jump up and dance around, as though crazy." AE: In Plains-type sweat house, "pray to the hot rocks; man who knows something, or is like a preacher, talks as he sprinkles the rocks; all the other [male] sweaters keep quiet. At intervals, when he stops, everyone says 'e-e-eh.' Then he gives the basket of water to someone else, and calls upon that person to pray and sprinkle the water; another man may prepare a smoke in there, with the pipe. Before they go

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000 to war they take these baths. When women sweat in this house they don't pray; they just sweat to wash themselves." WM: If man has had bad luck in hunting, or feels sick, or has lost relative, sweats in steam-heated sweat house; 2-3 men together, usually. Pray while sweating (informant emphatic); "they always talk about heaven; never heard of this being new." Women never use such house, because hunters go in there for purpose of securing deer. WS: "Some pray to hot rocks when sweating: white cedar leaves put on top of rocks." Sudatory used chiefly for curing ailments.

811. Mo: Jump in water if near steam; otherwise carry water in large, round, wide-mouthed basket (kala), and splash this water over sweaters. Mo, SE: Bathe only after sweating in Plains-type sweat house. SW, WM: Bathe after using either type sweat house. AE: Roll in snow in winter.

House Furnishings and Arrangement

823. At: "Man brought home buffalo hide from Oregon; he dressed the hide, made blankets of it.

824. Mo: Imported. AW: Mud-hen hides; "good; shed water." MV: Goose feathers.

834. SE: Used in semisubterranean dwelling house, for Big Head and Dream dances, both recent importations. WM: Recently used in Lut, men's assembly-sweat house. WS: Recently used in Dream and Big Head dance house. MM, MF: Used in assembly-winter living house. NF, NM, NS: Used in assembly-sweat house. MV: Used in secret society assembly house.

838a. AW: Refers to sweat house-living houses (as tui). WT: Refers to conical bark dwellings (krewel). Other houses scattered irregularly in woods near village. WM: Refers to living houses (krewel). MV: Refers to winter living houses, built approximately in circle, with assembly house and sweat house in center.

Shelters

Brush enclosures and shades.--

844. Mo, At: 2, N and S. SE, SW, AE, WM, WS, MF: 2, E and W or S. WT: 1, E, MV: 1, W.

847. WM: Summer shelter (tisas).

848. MM: Used jointly by 3-4 families. MV: Built with or without tule walls; used by 2-3 families as summer living quarters.

854. AW: See note 700.

Menstrual huts.--

855. SE: Menstrual hut, wapsa hamma. Double lean-to type; rectangular, with single ridgepole, 1-pitch roof, 2 upright posts for supports, 1 at each end of house. Entire floor excavated, ca. 3-4 ft. Bark or slab covering on roof; earth covering all over. No side walls. Entrance flush with ground, S end of house; mat door covering. Fire in pit in corner of house, by door;

[189-A]

000 1 smoke hole (?). Pine needles for floor covering. "At Happy Camp (Karuk) shaman sleeps in this kind of house, but not here." At: Menstrual hut, iwin kaiyu'di; rectangular, double lean-to type; single ridgepole, supported at both ends by dipods. Walls and ends of house bark-covered. Tule mat covers door in E end of house. Floor excavated 4-5 in., loose grass for covering. Fire in center of house in small pit, smoke hole above in roof. Dirt banked around sides of house; no dirt over roof. WM: Brush house unexcavated, made over conical foundation of poles tied together at top. Flat piece of oak bark set atop house, fire built on it, first 2 days of menstruation. Girl uses pine bark for fire and as pillow. No door covering. WS: Conical, 4-pole foundation; poles tied together at top. Unexcavated. Bark slabs for wall covering; horizontal binders lacking. Smoke hole at top center; fire in center.

856. SW: Menstrual hut on S ("dark side") of dwelling house; 8-10 ft. from latter, so women will not give men bad luck. Same form as dwelling house; rectangular, 1 post in center of each end; 4 corner posts; no center post; not excavated; fireplace in center; bark covered. AE: Similar to domed willow house; not excavated, however; fireplace at or near center, smoke hole above; covered with bark or, occasionally, tule mats. WT: Bark house; unexcavated. Occupied by 1 girl, occasionally by 2, for 1-2 years after first menstruation. NF: Unexcavated bark-covered hut. NM: manimhü.

[343
841] 857. Kl: Dome-shaped cook house. Mo: Winter cook house. AW: Conical house.

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

Boats and ferriage.--

858. SW: Dugout used as far up Klamath River as Gottville; tule raft used beyond this point, usually. AW: "Hat Creek (At), Pit River (Ilmawi), Achomawi, Kl, Mo all have canoe; Dixie Valley (Aporige) and Big Valley (Atwamsini) people don't have it." AE: No large streams in area. NF: No large streams in area, high water in creeks in spring only; sometimes go to Yuba River to catch salmon. NM: No large creeks, lakes, ponds in area; children, goods can be carried across small creeks in adults' arms.

859. At: Intermediate between Yurok and Klamath types (see Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 13 and pp. 329-330).

866. AW: Gouge out interior with elkhorn pick, then apply pitch to interior and burn it out deeper; smooth interior with pumice stone.

870: At: Used to ferry children across stream. AW: In myth, mention made of use of this sort of boat on lake; never used by AW, however.

875. At: Willow rope used; 1 end tied to boat,

[189-B]

000 Several layers of sinew glued, successively, to back of bow. AW: Young juniper used for bow; burnt or split; smoothed with pumice. AE: See notes 965, 969. WM: Sinew not used; salmon skin applied to back of bow, in 2 layers, "to make bow stronger." Skin warmed before applying; is sticky, so no glue needed.

968. AW: Made by male specialists; article of trade.

[411 439] 969. Kl: "Klamath and Modoc bought bows from the Shasta; also made own bows." AE: Proper woods for making sinew-backed bows lacking in area; "at Fall River Mills, and W of there, the farther W you go, the better the bows are." MM: Wood for bows imported; bows made locally.

975. SW: Grip more constricted, center bowed in more pronouncedly than bow in Dixon, Shasta, p. 437, fig. 106.

[411 227] 976. Deer sinew.

978. SW: Strips of sinew "fine as hair" taken from backbone of deer, chewed, stretched strand by strand on rock; several strands glued together with fish glue. No rolling of bowstring between palms. Bowstring of this type shown in Dixon, Shasta, fig. 106; in fig. 105, string should not be twisted. WM: Fine strands of sinew rolled together with salmon glue; long lengths of this stretched between 2 trees; when used as bowstring this sinew will not snap.

979. Mo: For boy's, poor person's bow. AW: For winter hunting use fiber bowstring; does not break as sinew does when wet. Same applies to arrow-point lashing material.

980a. AE: Used occasionally, but "breaks too easily."

[531 411] 981. Backed bows only. WM: Blue, with clay obtained in mountains.

Arrows.--

411 983. For shapes described by elements 984-987 see figures below. Within area surveyed, many

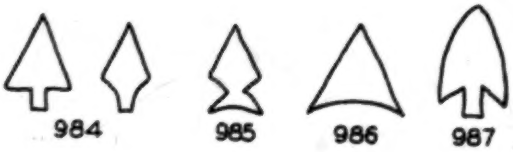

members of more northerly groups frequently mentioned Glass Mountain in Modoc territory as source of supply for obsidian arrowheads. At: "Old people brought pieces of obsidian home, and anyone bought it from them." AW: Obsidian-tipped arrows used chiefly for hunting deer, grizzly, other large game, and for war. WM: 2-3 men make trip to Glass Mountain; trip takes 2-3 days; men fast throughout period of absence, as obtaining flint is semireligious quest. WS: "Not every man had obsidian-tipped arrows; the obsidian was hard to get, and only 3-4 people

[191-A]

000 AE: Used for packing dried meat; ðu'wi. MF, NF, NM, MV: Rectangular strip of rawhide, folded long way, edges sewn together at both ends, top left open; buckskin thong attached for handle (?).

929. AW: Use tanned hide, but with hair left on; holes cut in flaps in order to lace bag together.

938. SW: Affirmed, but could not describe. AW: If person not too sick, or only 1 carrier available, make large frame resembling baby cradle; buckskin attached to frame, and person packed on back, "as one packs baby." WM, WS: Circular willow frame, with 3-4 parallel willow bars lashed across it. Salmon laid at right angles to these bars, with heads and tails tied to circular frame; whole carried flat against person's back, with aid of pack strap.

939. Mo: For fine seeds. Informant's mother, grandmother had used this type container. SE: Shape similar to pack basket; made on wooden hoop, of hide from which hair has been removed; atsori. "Can pack anything in it, from child to fine seeds." Mo, SW: Used principally for transporting small seeds.

4 92 943. Consists of 2 parallel poles, with net or thongs stretched between; borne by 2 or 4 men, using pack straps.

944. Outstretched skin borne by 4 men, 2 in front, 2 behind.

493 945. Kl: Bundle of willows (see Spier, Klamath, p. 171). Mo: Length variable, according to load; dragged by men or women, with rope. SW: Deer dragged home whole over snow, in winter; no sled.

000 Methods of packing.--

952. MF: For small loads only.

953. AW: Used chiefly for transporting sick.

[4 82] 958. Kl: In flat-bottomed basket; occasionally.
[415] Mo: Occasionally only. SW: Ascribed to Karuk. MV: Perhaps recently acquired habit, learned from Mexican fruit pickers? Colusa Indians (Patwin), in heart of fruit-picking district, characterized as "great to carry loads thus."

962. At, AW: Long, heavy pieces of wood.

963. MM, MF: Corpse, in flexed position for burial. NS: Deer.

964. SW: Ascribed to Karuk. At: "Some carry water thus." AW: Children, carrying small baskets of water. WS: Baskets of water carried thus; such also carried inside pack basket, on back. MV: Not only liquids; anything heavy.

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

Bows.--

965. AE: Generally used; made of white juniper. "Some men try to put sinew backing on these bows, but sinew always peels off." See note 969.

[531] 966. Unpainted, all groups.

967. Mo: Mountain mahogany used for bow. SW:

000 other end made into loop, passed around person's wrist. Balsa also pushed across stream by swimmer.

877. Mo: Used rarely; "generally borrow a boat." SW: See note 858. AE: Used for hunting ducks.

878. SW: 6-10 feet.

[501] 885. Kl: Of cedar (light).

[924] 887. AW: This type "good to bail water with, but slips too easily."

888. AW: Type chiefly used.

889. AW: 5-6 feet: if sitting in canoe, use 5-ft. paddle; if standing or kneeling, 6-ft. paddle.

[501] [415] 893. Kl: Tule basket, about size of basket cap; kept in canoe. Mo: Basket cap used. (Also use basket cap for drinking water.) AW: Broad side of paddle used to bail; denied by Kl, Mo, WM, WS.

894. Mo: Boat tied to water lily roots to "anchor" it. Large grooved stone anchors are found archaeologically at Tule Lake; specimens seen at Modoc Lava Beds National Monument museum.

895. Mo: Passenger sometimes gives boatman small gift; not obligatory.

904. Mo: As child, informant had seen logs cut down, put across Lost River. AW: "Have these across Pit River, at Burney Creek" (Ilmawi Achomawi area).

906. WM, WS: 2 ends anchored to trees (see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 126).

Swimming.--

908. WT: "Best way." NF: Used when swimming in deep water.

909. SE, SW: Women only. MF: "Only people who didn't know how to swim properly." NF: Used in shallow water.

910. SW: Men. WT: "Best stroke."

913. WT, WM, WS: When working. If swimming for pleasure, usually dive in head first (see element 914).

Land Transport

Carrying devices.--

[402] 916. Buckskin.

924. Similar to sack shown in Goddard, Hupa, pl. 6. Mo: "Knit" bag; used by men to carry home game. No carrying net used. SW: "The Kammatwa, at Hamburg [see note 282] have a knit bag to carry their fish in; Shasta don't use this." At: Use carrying net, bag type, with large meshes; men, women also use tule "bag," trapezoidal in shape, with buckskin handle, for packing goods. AW: Used by men; rather large mesh. AE: Used by men; imported only, recently (?).

926. At: See note 924. WM, WS: Round, with loop handle which is slung over 1 shoulder. "Made like a net, from twine."

927. AE: From small animals only.

[415] 928. Kl, Mo, At, AW, AE: Resembles parfleche.

[190-A]

411 went for it. When they got it, they wouldn't give it away." As a consequence, not all men secured deer, "because they needed obsidian-tipped arrows to kill deer." NF: Temper obsidian by heating. Professionals make arrow points.

984. See first 2 figures on left, above.

000 985. See center figure, above. WM: Small, white (quartz?) heads; poisonous variety.

986. See second figure from right, above.

987. See right hand figure, above. WM: Black, red obsidian heads.

990. SW: For boy's arrows only.

994. E.g., whole stem of bush. Mo: Serviceberry. NF: Smoke arrows to prevent them becoming water-soaked. NS: Elder used.

1001. AW: Small stick, used for shooting small bullheads.

1002. NM: Beyond point where foreshaft joins main shaft, 2 thorns from wild plum tree set into arrow, opposite each other and on slant so tips of each slant toward arrow head. When arrow penetrates small game, it stops at these thorns instead of passing through body of squirrel, bird, etc.

1007. MF: Entry should read: 1-3 vanes.

1008. SW: Grouse feathers for ordinary arrows. Chicken hawk also used. Feathers always taken "from a bird that sails in sky."

[278] 1015. Kl: Roast rattlesnake head, rub grease
[411] from it on arrow point. Roast deer liver in
ashes, add pitch of some variety; thrust arrow
point into this. Red ants used fresh, mashed.
[726] Arrows poisoned for war, not for hunting. NS:
Rattlesnake made to bite deer liver.

1019. AW: Chips from block of obsidian inspected by arrowpoint maker, who decides whether or not they are poisonous. Rejects from same block may not be considered poisonous; these arrowmaker gives friends to use. "As he splits pieces off and examines them he says, 'This for grizzly bear, this for coyote, this for big buck, this for war, etc.'; these pieces he keeps." See notes 1178, 1222.

Arrow straighteners and smoothers.--

1020. SE, SW, At, AW, WS, MM: Pumice, large deposits of which were noted in At, AW areas.

1027. WT: Informant shown pictures of 1-piece stone straighteners (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 49); said WT variety resembles these, made of soft stone. See, however, section, Elements Denied By All Informants.

1031. At: If man does not have rock with hole in it, "sometimes he ties 2 rocks together with a piece of sinew, so there will be a hole to run arrow through." WM: Natural; found in river.

Shooting techniques; quivers; clubs, spears.--

1042. At: For shooting with large bow.

[411] 1044. Kl: Stand or kneel to shoot; bow held at 45° angle for either position.

[516] 1045. AW: Vertical position generally used. Wailaki, who fought Achomawi, reputed to shoot

000 2 arrows simultaneously from bow in war; informant's father authority for this.

1048. NM: For shooting game. For shooting in war, arrow is underneath bow.

1049. SE, SW, At, AW: Rich man uses skin of gray fox, otter; ordinary man uses skin of raccoon, wildcat, kit fox, fawn. WT: Spotted fawnskin. WM: Rich man uses otter, fisher skin; sign of wealth. Ordinary man uses fawn, wildcat skin.

1064. Mo: Purchased or traded for; wealthy persons only.

[411] 1067. Kl: Denied for pre-white days; "now
[726] people use spears." At: Ascribed to Kl; denied
[178] for At. AW: "Yana used obsidian knife on an
8-ft. stick."

Daggers, slings, bola; armor.--

1071. AW: Obsidian "butcher knife"; jabbed.

1073a. WT, WM, WS: See 2853 and note.

1078. Mo: Natural clay balls, or moist clay picked up, rolled between hands.

1080. NP, NM: Single rock, shaped, 1 end heavier than other, tied to 1 end of string. A NP relative of informant, who had never seen any specimens of this implement but had heard it described, voluntarily likened it to bola.

714 1081. Kl: Made of split serviceberry stalks,
824 woven into form of tunic; tied together on right side, under armpit.

1082. Kl: 1-piece; no sleeves; 2 arm holes; tied together on 1 side and at top, over 1 shoulder. Arrow unable to penetrate such. AE: Ascribed to Kl; said to have been made "like an apron, lacking any back piece."

000 1084. AW: String in center, by which to hold shield. Used also against guns, in recent times, but "didn't work."

Household Implements

Mortars and pestles.--

[412] 1085. Among several groups bedrock mortar used chiefly for substances which require hard pounding, such as acorns. AW: Pit mortar in solid rock, used by shaman to pound his poison; regarded as "dangerous." AE: Informant stated pit mortars occur in vicinity of Fall River (AW area); used, according to him, to pound acorns in (see above). MV: No rocky outcrops suitable for this type mortar present in area.

1090. MV: "People did not want to have anything to do with objects which had been already made." See also note 1093.

1091. Mo: Small mortars used to keep paint in. SW: Not only mortar, but small stone pestle of "dangerous" variety (found, not manufactured) used by doctor. When treating patient, shaman sends this pestle upward; it travels by short cut to road which dead traverse, and blocks this road, so dead person cannot travel over it; "then there is a chance for the doctor to cure the person, since the road is blocked." Old

000 persons keep small pestle of this sort in house, also, to rub over body when in pain. AW: "Belong to shaman; common people dare not use, touch them. If someone sees large mortar, and powerful doctor using it, that person will die. When doctor hides these mortars, you cannot see them, but they sing; you can hear them." MM: Shaman puts poison object, which he sucks out of patient, into small mortar.

1092. MV: Ground stone pendants with perforation for suspension, such as Dixon figures (Dixon, Maidu, fig. 11b, p. 140), regarded as animate, however.

1093. WT: Found at Bridge Gulch, "but Indians wouldn't touch them; they didn't think they were poisonous, but dangerous, because they belonged to the dead." WS: Either dangerous or lucky. MV: Because made by dangerous supernatural creature (see note 1094).

1094. WS: By sucker-like creature. MV: By skunklike creature, yuima.

1097. MM: Portable.

1098. MV: 2 holes, in flat upper surface of split log.

1100. Used with up-and-down pounding motion for substances which require light pounding only, such as dried meat. MV: Beside flat pounding slab, have portable stone pounding slabs with shallow depressions, for harder pounding.

1107. SW: Grasp pestle with each hand, alternately, "never missing a beat"; do not hold pestle with both hands simultaneously.

1119. NS: Flat stone slab, 2 1/2 ft. long, ca. 1 1/2 ft. wide; informant's mother's mother used metate (cf. Beals, Nisenan, p. 352) with stone "rubber" or muller, ca. 12 in. long, cylindrical, flat on bottom. Name of metate unknown to informant; name of muller, bai (also name for large pestle used in pounding). Rubber used with downward motion, away from body; grasped with both hands; metate not tipped up, nor did it have basket set under it at farther end. Used to grind grass, birch seeds.

1126. MM, MF, NS: Ca. 5 in. long, 2-3 in. thick.

1132. That is, acorns not yet fully brown, or freshly gathered new-crop acorns. WT: Dried acorns only, cracked with teeth.

Brushes; stirrers; spoons; knives.--

1133. See elements 499 and 504 for presence or absence of soaproot in area, and importation of soaproot.

1146. AW: Paddle has longer, slenderer blade than Shasta paddle; blade smoothed with pumice stone.

[412] 1156. Kl: "Some tribes used elkhorn spoons, out not in this country." SW: Imported (?) (see note 354).

1172. AW: Used by few persons, but "too slow"; mainly eat with fingers.

1174. WT: Youth after return home from vision quest uses flat stick for eating; only time spatula used.

[192-B]

000 1177. At, AW, AE: Basket cap used for dipping up water, also to drink from. AW: "Sometimes put something pretty fine to eat in small basket cup."

1178. AW: Knife roughly triangular, with broad lower end (handle end) rounded; 1 side of knife dull, for half sawing, breaking bones; other side has rough, sharp edge. "Weak" (non-poisonous) piece of obsidian used for knife (see note 1019).

1180. NS: Prismatic quartz (? "crystal") used for knife. Obtained from ledges in vicinity. Not used for arrowheads, which are made of "pink" obsidian, imported.

1183. SW, WT, WM, WS: Not hafted if used to cut meat. WM, WS: Hafted knives used in war only (see element 1073).

Manufacturing Implements

Awls; shuttles; drills; wedges; flakers.--

1193. WS: Bear ulna.

1202. WT: Twine rolled on flat stick, notched at 2 ends; loops for net wrapped around piece of plain round stick. Informant had never seen netting shuttle of type figured in Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 4a, p. 126.

1203. WM, WS: Pointed stick, but no slit through center, as shown in Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 4a, p. 126; informants had never seen this type shuttle.

1210. NF: Pump drill (recent ?) for drilling beads, pipes.

1220. See Dixon, Shasta, p. 395; reaffirmed by my SW informant. WT, WM, WS: Informants had never heard of this procedure but method used by some Wintu groups (see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 128). For wooden pipes WT, WM, WS use ash, poking out soft heart with stick.

1222. AW: Drill of black oak. Drill selected from several pieces of black oak (much as arrow-maker selects pieces of obsidian; see note 1019); piece chosen that "will make fire quickly." Hearth of red fir bark. MV: Denied drill; described fire making as follows: Good-sized dry elder stalk split, pith removed; this hollow section held in 1 hand and rubbed back and forth with end of other half of split stalk, until fire produced. Informant had seen her cousin produce fire thus. NF informant also referred to similar method of fire making.

1224. Mo: Serviceberry shaft, cedar point.

1225. SE: Also stated softened chaparral bark rubbed between both hands until "spark" produced.

[372] 1226. Kl: Sagebrush.

[824] 1227. WM: Set end of oak stick afire, and carry it in pack basket. NF: Used when going on long trip. NS: For short distances only.

[412] 1229. Kl: Elkhorn pick. MM: Deerhorn wedge.

[237] 1234. Mo: Imported. "Important people bought such things." SW: Imported, in recent times only.

000 1240. SE: Ca.6 in. long.
1242. AW: Worker holds piece of obsidian he is retouching on piece of buckskin, in palm of hand; strikes off tiny flakes with flaker, which is held in other hand.

MANUFACTURES

Textiles

Baskets: weaves.--
1245. At: No coiling practiced until about 10 years ago; then some At "learned how to sew baskets from Big Meadows (local group of MM) people. Dave Brown's wife and Buckskin Jack's wife, Susie (At women) began doing it here; Susie has aunts at Big Meadows." Susie is Julie Bob's (informant's) cousin; Mrs. Bob saw Susie making coiled tray, so upon returning home she "studied how to do it, and finally made one" herself. Such tray not used by At for sifting acorn meal, as MM use it, however. AW: Aware that "Big Meadows (MM) Indians sew baskets," but no attempts made to borrow coiling technique.

[285] 1272. 2 wefts around slat.
1273. 1 weft around slat.
1274. As border of basket, usually.
1275. AW: Specimen seen; rectangular base 4 in. wide, 8 in. long; flaring sides, 12 in. across at top; said to be old shape.

Baskets: shapes and uses.--
See also elements 230-234; 1103-1106.
1277. NS: Beaters (patai) made in both close and open twine.
1282. SW: Oval, with handle; willow frame, with hide stretched over it. In seed beater, conical hide pack "basket" (element 939), men's buckskin cap (element 1726), it is noticeable that Shasta substitute leather articles for those which their neighbors make in basketry.
1285. MM: Three types sifter used: (1) closework twined sifter, (2) circular coiled sifter. Both these used for sifting acorn meal. (3) Openwork twined sifter, used for winnowing hulls from cracked acorns. NS: Two types sifter used: (1) triangular closework twined sifter (t'ele) for acorn meal; (2) openwork twined seed beater (patai) used as sifter also. Circular coiled sifter "used at Auburn (NW: correct) but not up here."
1287. AE: Triangular, diagonal-twined willow sifter used, but recognized as of Paiute origin; "pretty handy."
1294. At: Learned to make coiled trays from MM (see note 1245) but do not use them for sifting acorn meal, as MM do.
1295a. AW: Basketry platters "for rich men."
1298. SE: Plain, made of pine roots.
1299. AW: White material (Xerophyllum) that is used for overlay designs stains and "looks different" when hot water is put into basket

DDD decorated with this overlay; therefore boiling baskets not decorated.

1303. AE: Imported, mainly, from Paiute groups adjoining AE on E, but a few also manufactured by AE. Have used them "for many years; the Paiute got that jug from a little horntoad that lives out on the desert; he had one of these, so they learned from him. Then the AE learned from the Paiute, a long time ago."

1305. AE: Some dislike expressed for pitch coating; water tastes "bitter."

1306. AW: Three types used: (1) large basket, used for transporting fine seeds. (2) large, used for carrying wood, acorns, other large objects. (3) smaller than first type and made to sit flat on ground. Used in conjunction with beater, when collecting fine seeds; during day's gathering woman dumps contents of this seed basket into larger basket of first type, which is true pack basket, and carries seeds home in latter. Distribution of such a separate seed-collecting basket probably widespread in California, but as matter not enquired into fully enough among various groups, all conical seed baskets are classed herein as pack baskets, although seldom regarded as such by those making and using them. WT: Three types used: (1) Large basket with designs on it; used for packing. (2) Large basket, used as pack basket. (3) Smaller basket with designs; used to beat seeds into. Some question as to whether third type has rounded bottom or is truncated cone, but it sits by itself at any rate.

1307-1308. AW: Refer to large pack basket used for acorns only. WT: Refers to large plain pack basket.

1309. SE: Specimens of such, attributed to Shasta, seen in display at Lassen National Park Museum. AW: Refers to small seed gathering basket (type 3; see note 1306).

1311. AW: Refers to large pack basket (type 2; see note 1306).

1312. AW, WT: Entry refers to types (1) and (3); see note 1306.

1313. SE, SW: Specimens of close-twined conical burden baskets, attributed to Shasta, seen in collection of Lassen National Park Museum, however. AW, WT: Refers to type (1) only; see note 1306.

1314. WT: Entry refers to type (3) only; see note 1306.

1315. AW: Entry refers to type (3) only; see note 1306.

1317. AW, WT: Entries refer to types (1) and (3) only; see note 1306.

Baskets: decoration.--

285
531
237
178
1337. Kl: Formerly used in natural color, now dyed yellow. Kl, Mo: Used on "expensive" baskets only.

000 1338. At: "Shiny feathers from duck's neck; used sparingly. NS: Woman making feather-decorated basket remains indoors until basket

000 completed; reason unknown. MV: Small basketry disks, used as earrings, only variety feather-decorated basketry ware.

1340. NS: Woodpecker and quail crests used. MV: Woodpecker, quail, and mallard duck feathers used.

285 1341. Kl: Black, white, tan; porcupine quills
531 natural color formerly; now dyed yellow. Mo:
237 Yellow, black and white, plus tan background.
178 WM, WS: Red, black, white, yellow, plus tan.
NM, NS: Red, white ~~or tan~~, black. No specimens
of any 4-color baskets seen.

Cradles.--

854 1342-1352. Two types cradles entered under elements 1342-1352 for several groups. If entry refers to 1 of 2 types only, note records to which entry refers. Positive entry without note means entry applies to both types. For additional data on use of cradles see 3263-3286. Kl: Cradles of indeterminate type, between sitting and lying forms; have been somewhat arbitrarily entered as lying form (see 1353-1363). Mo: Indeterminate 000 type, like Kl, but apparently used more as sitting than lying cradles. Type (1) first cradle, for newborn babe; shallow tule basket cradle. Type (2) second cradle, for older infant; willow cradle with pointed bottom that can be stuck in ground. SE: (1) First cradle; board (see left figure). (2) Second cradle for older infant, Y-frame (see right figure). Informant emphatic infant sits in both types cradle, "with feet hanging down," although child could also lie down in both types. SW: Types (1), (2) for newborn infants, older infants differ only in size; both always used as sitting cradles. At: (1) soft tule cradle, used 2-3 months. (2) Same shape cradle, used for older infant. AW: (1) small cradle for newborn infant, twined, of wil-

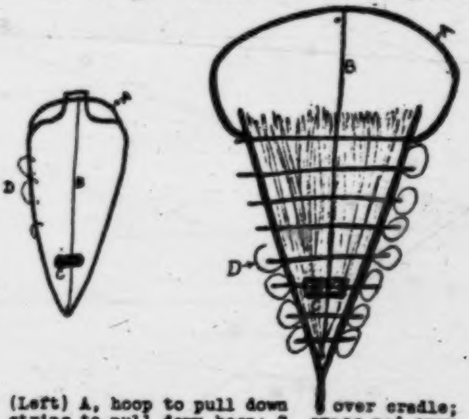

(Left) A, hoop to pull down over cradle; B, string to pull down hoop; C, grass pad over which child's legs dangle; D, lashings.

(Right) A, willow hoop; B, string to pull down hoop; C, rolled tule mat over which child's legs dangle; D, lashings.

[194-B]

000 lows, (2) larger cradle for older infant, same shape, material; with or without hood. WT, WM: (1) Cradle used for newborn infant. (2) Cradle for older infant. WT: Cradle slenderer than one sketched in Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 8j, p. 133. WS: Only 1 type sitting cradle used.

1343. SE: "Never have used basket toe-type cradle; that's Happy Camp (Karuk); in old days those Happy Camp people never came up around Yreka."

1344-1346. Mo: Refers to cradle for newborn infant (see note 1342-1352).

1348. Mo: Refers to cradle for newborn infant.

1349-1350. Mo: Refers to cradle for older infant (see note 1342-1352).

1351. Mo, SE: Refers to cradle for older infant.

1352. See note 1364a. Mo: Refers to cradle for older infant. SE: Cradles for newborn, older infants both have leg rest. Cradle for newborn infant has separate soft tule bed and leg rest of rolled grass. Cradle for older infant has piece of tule mat, rolled, as leg rest. "If you don't have that seat (roll) on, child will slip down and choke." At, AW, WM, WS: Bed on cushion at bottom for infant to sit on; no transverse-bar leg rest.

854 1353. Kl: Three types of lying cradle used: (1) Tule cradle for newborn infant. (2) Willow cradle for older infant. (3) Board cradle; said [17] to be of comparatively recent (pre-white?) introduction among Kl, but informant did not know from what tribe it was borrowed. Type (2) cradle only used if type (3) not available. Kl 000 refer to all their cradles as of lying type, but infant can also half-sit in them. Mo: See left figure. "The board is new, after Whites' time." At: See right figure. Specimen seen; adopted

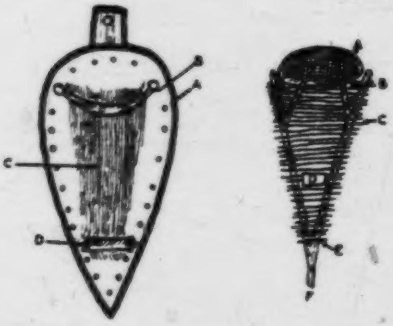

(Left) A, holes to pass lashing through; B, hoop for cradle hood; C, separate tule bed; D, cross-bar rest for infant's legs.

(Right) A, hood of basketry; B, basketry splints (?) to support hood; C, transverse rods, to form bed; lashed to frame with sinew; D, leg rest; E, forked stick frame; F, point to stick in ground.

000 by At during informant's lifetime. AE: Two types used: Type (1), for newborn infant, used for 2-3 weeks. Type (2) used for packing older baby on back.

854 1354. Kl: Refers to board cradle for older baby.

1355. AW: Attributed cradles this shape to Big Valley (Atwamsini Achomawi) group.

1358. Kl: Refers to types (1) and (2); see note 1353.

1359. Kl, AE: Refers to type (2); see note 1353.

1360. Kl, AE: Refers to type (1); see note 1353. AE: Approximately triangular; made from soft tules.

1361. Kl: Refers to types (1) and (2); see note 1353.

1362. AE: Refers to type (2); see note 1353.

1363. Kl, Mo: Refers to type (1) cradle; see notes 1353, 1342-1352. AE: Willow-stick bed.

1364. Kl: Refers to types (2), (3); see note 1353. Mo: Refers to board cradle; recent (see note 1353). At: Refers to Y-kite frame cradle, recent (see note 1353).

1364a. See Spier, Klamath, fig. 5a, p. 58. Kl: Refers to 3 types Kl cradles. Mo: Refers to board cradle, recent. At: Refers to Y-kite frame cradle, recent.

1365. Kl: Hood on both types cradle for older child (see note 1353). Mo: Hood on willow cradle for older child (see note 1342-1352) and on board cradle (see note 1353). SE: On cradles for newborn, older infants. At: Hood on sitting cradle for older infant, and on Y-kite lying cradle.

1366. Kl: For willow cradle for older child (see note 1353).

1367. WM: For hood on newborn baby's cradle (see note 1353).

1368. WM: For hood on cradle for older infant (see note 1353).

1369. Kl, Mo: Used on board cradles; recent.
000 SE: Used on first cradle (see note 1342-1352). SW: See figure. Used on cradle for older infant; see note 1342-1352. Frame made separate from cradle, not attached permanently to latter; buckskin draped over it.

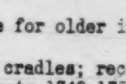

1375. Mo: "Rich people cover frame with buckskin. Poor people only make holes along edge, to thread lashing thongs through." Buckskin coverings used only on recent board-cradle type. AE: On lying-type cradle for older infant (see note 1353). Hole cut near bottom of buckskin covering, for girl baby to urinate. For boy, small woven willow apron put over lower end of cradle, to keep buckskin dry when infant urinates.

1376. Mo: Beads suspended from frame of cradle hood, on board cradle only, if infant a girl, and if family wealthy. Nothing suspended for male infant. Board cradle recent. At: Post-White. At, WM: Formerly boy baby's genitals

ODD left exposed, so he could urinate without wetting wrappings, girl baby's covered.

1383. SE, SW: Girl laced in cradle from waist upward, boy, from neck downward.

1384. MV: Transverse sticks lashed on top of rim rod for boy, underneath rim rod for girl, as latter's back is "bigger."

[854] 1384. Kl: Refers to willow cradle for older infant (see note 1353).

Blankets; mats; cordage.--

See also elements 812-825.

1390. At: Imported from Atwamsini Achomawi, of Big Valley, where manufacture of rabbitskin blankets flourishes. WM, WS: Imported from Keswick Wintu living in vicinity of Redding.

1394. AW: Weft not tied to warp.

1402. AW: After blanket finished, 2 vertical posts slipped out from ends, and ends of warp tied.

1410. AW: See figure.

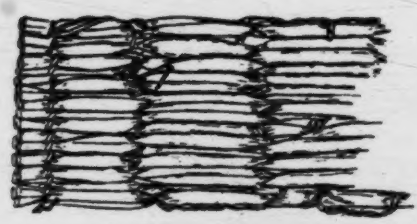

1413. WS: Maple-bark skirts, made with same technique AW use for tule mats (see element 1410 and AW note).

1424. AW: Also 3-ply, for heavier string; "roll 3 small strands together."

1429. AW: Informant's father rolled cord up thigh, then down, but "others went down, and then up, all the time." Fish lines dyed (see note 238).

1432. SE: Thongs stretched between 2 trees or stakes; drawn over oak limb to soften.

Receptacles (Other than Baskets); Leather Goods; Adhesives

1433. AW: Natural piece of smooth wood, not shaped; used for hot fish.

1443. NS: Soapstone bowl, ca. size large basket cap, used for bathing babies. Water put in bowl; soapstone ring, doughnut shape, which has been heated in fire, put into bowl to heat water; used in giving babies sponge bath if fretful. Informant's sons had found handleless soapstone "cup" in hills in vicinity; had capacity ca. 1 teacupful.

1451. Mo: Also bury hide in damp ground, to soften it, if stiff. WM, WS: For tanning of bear hide, see elements 1471-1472. MM: Bearskin soaked in water to which has been added pulver-

000 ized pieces of decayed log. Skin hung up to dry; resoaked; worked with hands, over feet, to soften. NS: Informant relieved "only certain people tanned buckskin, not everyone"; no knowledge of tanning. Beals, Nisenan, p. 345, observes: "Buckskin seems to have been little employed"; my information agrees.

1453. MM: For skins other than deerskin. NF: Hair plucked out by hand, after hide soaked.

1454. WT: Also fleshed on outstretched leg.

[281] 1455. Usually lower front leg bone of deer,
[237] which is sharp. SE: Elk shoulder blade or lower front leg bone of deer. WS: Deer rib.

1457. Mo: Obsidian knife. AW; WT: Sharp piece of rock.

1460. AW: Sometimes use wild duck egg yolks, but "deer brains best."

1463. As described in Spier, Havasupai, fig. 17, p. 141.

1470. AW: Least-used method. If stone, bone graining implement used, hide merely held with hands; if hide pulled back and forth over foot, it is held with hands only.

1476. SE, AW, AE: Grass. SW, At, WS: Moss; WS: of "poisonous" variety. WT: Bark.

1478. MM: Plus boiled roots and weeds.

1479. NS: For bows, arrows.

1481. MV: Plus plant.

1482. Usually "mixed with something." WS: Mixed with charcoal.

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

Haircut; coiffure; comb; care of hair.--

1487. WT: Occasionally only.

1488. SW: Mother, for child.

1489. SW: Woman, after death of husband.

1492. WM: Orphaned girls have hair cut, orphaned boys, hair burnt short.

1493. WM: See note 1492.

1494. Ca. 1 month after birth burn off hair with pine needles to make it grow in long. AE: If infant has thin hair, cut it close when baby 2-3 months old. MV: Girl babies only.

1495. WM: If hair cut at any other time, someone will die.

1496. At: Men, women. AE, WM, MV: Women, girls.

[302] 1497. Kl: Temple locks, men. AE: Forelock, men.
[56 2] 1498. Kl: Men. Mo: Shamans; braid scalp lock. AE: Boys; tie feathers, weasel hide, on scalp lock.

1500. MV: 2 women perform operation; 1 woman holds glowing brand, other holds hair, especially bangs.

1502. WM: Occasionally only.

1506. On top of, or at back of head. SW, WT, WM, WS, MM, MF: Hairpins in hair (see element 1544). AE, WS, MM, MF, MV: Roll or bunch hair when head net worn, only.

000 1507. SE, SW: Old men only.

1509. WM: Men.

[302] 1515. Kl: Men, women, boys, girls. Mo, SE, At, AW, AE: Men, women. WT: Women, girls. WM: Women, boys, girls. SW, MF, NS: Men, women, young men, young women, boys, girls.

1540. Mo: Shamans, others who can afford such ribbons. SW: Men, women, youths, boys. At, AW: Men, women.

[302] 1548. Kl: Wild rye grass.

[824] 1549. Kl: Ascribed to Mo by informant. Spier, Klamath, p. 214, states Kl also use it. AE: "Best kind of comb."

1555. SE: Alder sap, boiled. WS: Elderberry juice. NF, MV: Pepperwood.

1558. SW: Deer, bear fat "no good for hair, as deer's, bear's hair comes out yearly."

[302] 1560. Absences noted for distribution of pepperwood may be only partial; no specimens shown to informants. SW: Pepperwood gourds lacking in SW area; imported from near-by Karuk down-river. Distribution of pepperwood extends only as far as Happy Camp.

1562. For distribution of this plant, see element 499.

1568. AW: Hunters only.

Face and body paints and powders.--

1574. SE: Grows on knot or burl of white fir. WS: On bark of white fir. MM: Specimen seen; orange-colored fistules on spruce burl.

1575. WT: Yellow pine.

1576. WS, NM: Elderberry. MV: Wild rose (haws?).

1578. SE: Burnt, for paint.

1582. Because scattered to keep away ghosts at funerals, etc., therefore "no good" as paint.

1584. SE, SW: From pines; also, SE: from oaks. WM: From tamarack.

1586. MM: Imported.

1589. Mainly from charcoal, finely powdered. NF, NM, NS: From burnt acorn.

1592. SE, SW: Charcoal mixed with marrow, chewed into waxy substance, stored in deer bladder; squeezed out and used as pencil when needed. This mixture of charcoal and marrow denied for all other groups. AW, MF: Red paint only; mixed with marrow or grease.

1593. Made into black paste.

1600. AE, MF, NF: Pitchy mixtures, especially, applied with stick. NS: Black, red paint applied with fingers.

1600a. Mo, SE: Water in basket, or in spring, stream used as mirror when applying paint.

1601. NS: Lumps of yellow acorn meal, which leaching water did not penetrate when meal being leached, made into small cake which is baked on hot stone; this cake is oily, and is rubbed over face "like cold cream."

[302] 1603. Kl: Men, women pitch body, legs, arms
[292] and stick on duck feathers, to keep warm.

1604. Used for babies, especially.

[854] 1611. Used for babies, especially. MV: Alder tea used to wash babies who are chafed.

[197-A]

000 1612. NM: With burnt pepperwood gourds.

[301] [304] [177] 1614. Kl: "Nose plugs and earrings are new; the Klamath learned to use them from the Molala Indians and the S [California] Indians. They never made holes in their nose and ears in old times." SW: Awl used chiefly to pierce noses; sometimes point of quill, but latter makes too small a hole. WM: Male, female mourner if desirous of inflicting loss on others similar to that he has experienced, retires to small sweat house (Lut) and pierces nasal septum with small manzanita stick. Addresses bloody stick, telling it he wishes other persons to die; stays in sweat house 6-7 days, leaving stick in nose until hole has healed; then takes out stick and gives it to relative, shaman usually, to keep and use in poisoning people. WS: By sick persons only, occasionally.

Deformation, mutilations.--

[304] 1617. Kl: See note 1614. SW: Porcupine quill used; keeps ear lobes from becoming sore.

1620. At: Men, women. AE: Women.

[304] [177] 1621. Kl: Learned to tattoo from Shasta (Achomawi?) when informant boy (ca. 50 years ago). "Two Kl women went [S] to see Shasta; when they returned, 1 old woman tattooed herself" with 3 lines on chin radiating from mouth; "people saw it and liked it, and lots of old women did it then. The first old woman thought it made her look pretty." Informant had also seen 1 old man, with circles tattooed under eyes, and connecting line over nose, but "didn't like it; it looked funny." Men's tattooing on arms also recent custom. Mo informants confirmed slight use of tattoo by Kl; commented upon how heavily Shasta tattoo. Mo: Recent (?). SW informant denied Mo, Wintu women tattoo; however, Mo informant attributed tattooing to Tule Lake Mo groups. WM: Little tattooing among WM; if tattoo very much, spirits will take person away. More tattooing among Trinity, Weaverville Wintu groups (Nomsus).

1622. AW: Boys occasionally only. WT: Men on arms, when wife dies only.

1625. WT: 3 narrow stripes put on girl's chin; vertical lines across cheeks added later, when girl is grown woman.

1626. WT: See note 1625.

1627. WT: Women.

1629. SW: Upper-arm marks to measure dentalia; men, only. WT, WM: Men. WM: Men tattoo as therapeutic measure only.

[304] [412] 1633. Obsidian knife, generally. MV: With white rock, procured from river and smashed for sharp edge.

[757] 1638. Therapeutic measure; see elements 4473-4474.

1641. Mo: "Proud of eyebrows, eyelashes; wouldn't pull them." NS: Hot ashes applied; "eyebrows never grow back."

1642. NS: See preceding note.

1647. MV: Face rubbed with warm rock, so beard will not grow quickly.

1648. SE, WT, MF, NM: Rarely; old men only.

[197-B]

000 Ornaments.--

[301] 1649. Kl: See note 1614.

1652. SW: When hole healing, only.

1654. No specimens of these shells seen; described as "flat, thin, round shell with hole made near edge"; 2-3 pendent from buckskin thong.

[301] 1656. Kl: See note 1614. NM: Worn by women. NS, MV: By men and women.

1657. MV: Worn during dances only.

1662. MV: Small feather-decorated basketry-plaque pendant.

1665. MV: Milkweed gum, in black pattern.

1671. AW: Shaman only; yellowhammer tail feather. See note 1900.

1672. AE: Only when ear healing.

1677. AE: Possibly dentalia used, as informant described nose plug as sharp at both (?) ends, and slightly curved.

[301] 1678. Generally burned on end, and used only when hole healing.

1679. AW: Feather, or quill alone, only when hole healing. Use of quill denied for all other groups.

1684. SW: Worn by children only. AE: "Great style"; worn at dances only.

1691. SW: Strung with double string, so beads lie flat.

1692. SW: Obtained from Karuk.

1696. Mo: From seeds which squirrels, rats, have gnawed hole in. SW: See Dixon, Shasta, fig. 94. Buy these from Wintu in 2 colors, black (roasted) shells, brown (natural) ones. At: Widows in mourning also make pitch beads, wear them as necklace, bracelet.

1697. Distribution of sweet grass throughout entire area unverified; absence noted only when informants positive on point.

1698. SW: Girls, playing, put flowers in hair, ear, nose, around neck. "Often speak of wildflower patches; how pretty they look, how the flowers brighten up the scene." AW: "Don't pick wildflowers, but speak of them, say how pretty they look."

[301] [887] [826] 1699. Usually made from hair cut in mourning. Kl: 6-7 strings of human hair; worn as ornament by old women only; qai'hlis.

1701. From girl's puberty on.

1703. SW: See note 1698. WM: Dancers wear flowers; "they like the flowers; when they see them blooming they make strings of bunches of wild 'orange blossom' flowers tied together, and wear them on their head, or in their ears, or as a necklace. They want to be pretty. They take yellow button flowers and string these, piercing them with a bone awl, and tie them on their heads; women wore these when just sitting around making a basket. If a woman had part of the strand left, she put it in her ears." NF: Worn by women for Spring dance (weda); also by boys, girls playing.

Dress

Headgear, robes.--

291 1713. Kl: Brim on men's caps, painting of men's [184] caps, denied for Klamath Marsh groups (see Spier, Klamath, pp. 182-183). WT: "Worn at Willow Creek [Hupa] and on McCloud River [WM], but not among WT." WM: Upriver people [WS] give WM women basket caps occasionally.

1715. See Spier, Klamath, fig. 13,c, p. 180. Specimen of Kl woman's basket cap shown to all informants to verify this element.

1718. AW: If man wears basket cap, he is ridiculed. AE: Never worn by men.

1723. Worn in winter. SE: Feathers attached 000 to it. AW: Brimless.

1726. SW: Worn habitually by men to keep hair down, as women wear basket cap. Not used for packing, as men pack on shoulders.

1729. WM: In war, or war dance; covered with duck skins.

1730. SW: Used by shamans, but not by ordinary persons, except for dances (see element 1943). MV: Tule band to keep hair back.

1734. SW: "Goes with Big Head dance."

[226] 1735. Kl: Tule mat (ste'holas) 3 ft. wide, [292] 4-5 ft. long, used when fishing in daytime on ice; fisherman covers head with mat "to make it dark underneath so that he can see into the water plainly." At: Tule eyeshade woven, "like blinders"; projected from each side of wearer's head; tied on by band around head. Informant's husband used such when fishing for trout in boat at night so light would not get into his eyes.

1736. Mo: Charcoal mixed with pitch.

1737. MV: Used commonly in cold weather, especially by women when outside pounding food.

1741. At: Used in rainy weather by few people only.

[291] 1743. Kl, WS, MM: Worn thus by men and women. Mo, At, AW, MF, NM: By men only. SE, WT, WM: By women only. (See note 1744.)

1744. SE, WT, WM, NM: Worn thus by men. At, AW, AE, MF: By women.

1747. AW: N of "real" Achomawi, group at Dany (Suk'nawi) use bearskin caps. But "real Achomawi were river Indians; they stayed around the rivers, fished; every man had a canoe, and belonged to the river. They went out [hunting] for a little while, then returned to the river."

1749. Mo: Puma "costly" robe.

1750. SE: Beaver hides. WS: Worn by men and women.

Shirts and gowns.--

1751. SW: For everyday wear women's dress consists of 2 whole buckskins, seamed up both sides, tied over both shoulders.

291 1752. Kl: Bought women's buckskin dresses from
439 Molala, NW of the Kl, and the Warm Springs In-
177 dians. "The Molala made them, the Kl bought them, and learned how to make them. That was quite a long time ago, about 90 years; long before the

[198-B]

177 Modoc War [1872-73]. There were no White people
291 in the Kl country yet, or at Portland. The Kl
traded with the Molala and the Warm Springs In-
439 dians and the Yakima; the Warm Springs and Yakima
had more horses; the Kl had only a few." SE:
000 From Warm Springs Indians. "Those Indians up
there are much smarter. The SE traded bone beads
[dentalia] for women's buckskin dresses and men's
shirts from them; SE went N and got otter skins
for button [clamshell disk] beads."

[291] 1753. Varies, according to size of woman wearer. AW: 2-3 skins. WT: 1 skin, if from big buck.

1755. WT: 2 front legs used to tie skin at back of neck.

1757. Crude-type dress, little better than 2 whole skins, tied together over shoulders and at sides, to cover front and back of wearer.

[291] 1758. SW: Tied at shoulders, but not at waist.
[177] 1768. Kl: Glass trade beads.
[531] 1770. SW: Men's everyday shirt. At: "Atsugewi men wore buckskin all the time; that's why they called him rich." AE: Recency of buckskin shirt denied.

[177]
[291]
[439] 1771. Kl: Men's buckskin shirt acquired from Molala about same period as women's buckskin gown (see note 1752). SE: See note 1752.

1772. MM: 1-2 skins.

1773. See note 1757.

1780. SW: Sleeves, of elbow or wrist length, sometimes set into armholes, especially for winter wear.

1784. At: Lacking on buckskin shirt, but 2 bone beads sewed onto front of poncho-type shirt (see element 1785).

1785. At: Worn by Madesi Achomawi also.

Loin coverings.--

1786. SE, SW, At, AE: Worn by men, women. WT, MM: Worn by men. SW: Women wear breechclout underneath skirts, but never use it as sole garment, as men often do. AW: All breechclouts (i·čiti) pass between legs, but different methods of tying them at waist; some are tied at sides. AE: Whole buckskin, legs left on; trimmed narrow where it passes between legs. Ends pass over belt tied around waist; flaps hang down over belt in back, front, "like little aprons." Men, some women wear them always; women generally in summer.

1787. SW: Breechclout made from smoked buckskin, tanned soft. If wet, rubbed and reworked until soft again. Flap of breechclout falls down in front over belt.

1788. SW: For makeshift garment only.

1793. MM: Worn in summer.

1794. MF: Tanned, with hair removed.

1795. According to size of woman.

1796. Skins sewed or tied together; tail left on back skin.

1798. MM: Winter only.

1801. SW: Informant credited Kammatwa and Katiruk groups, between Shasta proper and Karuk

000 [see note 282] with using shredded willow-bark skirts, "woven at top like a mat, with fringe all the way down. They were too poor to afford buckskin skirts for their women." WT: Woven, "like a gunny sack." MV: Woven willow-bark skirt; extends nearly to ankle; hangs from grass belt. Bark from 2 varieties of willow shredded, left to soak over winter in mud; in spring washed well in clear water for 2-3 days. Underneath this bark skirt woman wears long single front apron of grass, pictured in Dixon, Maidu, fig. 35, p. 163. When woman sits, this grass underapron is tucked between legs.

1802. AE: Sewed tule skirts used formerly; informant dubious concerning style of skirt.

1803. WT: Worn by women. WS: Worn by men.

1807. Mo: Worn by poor people.

1808. At: Women for everyday wear use (1) small shredded tule front apron, deer-hide back apron; (2) 2 buckskin aprons, front one larger than back one. AE: Worn by men. At, WM, WS, MM: Worn by women. NF: Worn by men, women. WM: Front apron of maple bark, back apron of buckskin. When woman sits, she draws front apron in between legs and sits on it.

1813. AE: Man going to war wears small front kilt of shredded sagebrush or greasewood bark, also back kilt of same, but even smaller than front one.

1816. For illustrations of this type skirt see Du Bois, Wintu, pl. 3, p. 147; Goddard, Hupa, pl. 8, fig. 2; Dixon, Shasta, fig. 92, p. 410. Mo: Import braided-grass apron-skirts (snakčas), pine-nut string skirts (nokčas) from Achomawi.

1820. Mo: Wealthy women only, wear.

1822. SW: Seamed up sides, tied at hips; ankle length.

Muffs, mittens; footgear, leggings.--

[291
184] 1823. Kl: Spier, Klamath, p. 210, states Kl used mittens or mufflike arm garment; my informant said not used by Klamath Marsh group. AW: Muffler of mink, weasel skin also used, for cold weather.

1828. AE: Cased wood-rat skins; used by men in winter when hunting. MF: Buckskin gauntlets with fingers. Term for these, wɔlosi k'ɛlkɔ, translated as "put one's hand in it"; probably post-White, but informant stated that "when White men came the Indians threw these gloves away."

1830. SE: 2 types: (1) ankle length; (2) boot length. Unless specified in notes or otherwise, entries for elements 1830-1846 refer to both types. At: Pounded grass, or occasionally tule slippers, worn inside moccasins in winter. WM: Not worn in Stillwater area to S.

1831. Mo: Made from tanned buckskin.

1832. Mo: Made from rawhide, with hair left on.

1834. AW: Rich man's moccasins made from neck hide of buck. Poor persons use doe hide.

1836. Not counting added sole. SE: 2 pieces

[199-B]

000 for ankle-length moccasin; 3 pieces for boot-length moccasin.

1837. Often of elkhide. Mo: Heavy piece from neck. WM: Bearhide, from neck.

1839. WS: Some crudely made without toe seam, being merely tied around foot.

1843. AW: Made boot length as protection against rattlesnakes, hayseeds.

1844. SE: On front part of ankle-length moccasin only.

1846. MP: Back seam only.

1848. AE: Of sagebrush bark; worn in winter.

[291] 1849. Kl, Mo, SE, At: Used in winter. AE: Used in spring, during wet weather. Mo: Lined with shredded sage bark. AW: Poor man's footgear.

1851. At: Made from neck hide of deer.

1852. At: Used around camp.

1861. AW, AE: Buckskin leggings tied inside, at knee and ankle.

1863. WT: Hip-to-knee leggings, attached to buckskin band in front, worn by men when hunting in winter. 2 strings attached to band at each end; these are tied in back. Leggings themselves are tied together with thongs, at intervals down center front.

1864. SW: Dixon, Shasta, fig. 93, p. 411, pictures circular snowshoe; my informant emphatic this type not used by SW; sketched what he stated was aboriginal Shasta-type snowshoe (see fig.). SE: Informant agreed with SW statements.

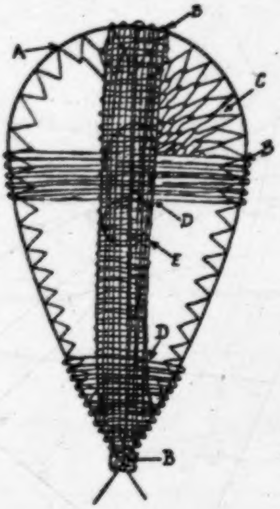

A, hazel-stick frame; B, point where end of string is tied; C, webbing of 2-ply hemp rope, such as covers entire surface of snowshoe; D, 2-ply rope, woven 1 under, 1 over; E, 2-ply string, woven for footrest.

[200-A]

781 1865. Kl: 3-4 buckskin thongs across frame; 1 lengthwise. Tied with buckskin; "sinew doesn't hold."

Ceremonial dress.--

00D 1872. AW: "Beyond Kennett, at Grindstone especially (Wintu), one sees these; not among Achomawi."

1873. MV: Feather aprons (sĭkli) worn in back, by male dancers.

1878. WT: If use or keep eagle down, person will have worms in stomach or intestines; term for eagle and worm synonymous. WM: Eagle, worm, t'Luk. Shaman uses eagle wing while in trance; puts his power ("bullet" or "poison") in small hole in wing. Also keeps power in rattlesnake rattles, kept in house; when doctoring uses these. WS: Shaman uses eagle wing. MP: Eagle (?) down. NP, NS, MV: Swan's-down. MV: If youth kills swan, must take it to secret society head, who pays him sum equivalent to $10 for male bird, $8 for female; members of secret society eat it in assembly house; later use swan feathers for dance regalia.

1879. At: Recent (?); see AW entry. AW: "Wintun [Wintu] and Round Mountain Indians [Yana] make yellowhammer-quill bands; so do Yuki and Wailaki. The Hat Creek people [At] just learned from the Round Mountain people."

1892. At: This type yellowhammer band also attributed to Madesi Achomawi shamans.

1900. AW: Yellowhammer feathers "go with a doctor's poison" so must be careful of them. Anything with yellowhammer feathers on it (as whistle) is sign of poison." See note for following element; also for 1671. Ordinary doctors wear headband of these feathers; powerful doctors usually wear flowing head net (see note 1947).

1901. AW: "Some doctors notch the feathers a little, but most of them say, 'Don't cut that; the poison [in the feathers] will spread on to the ground.'" WS: Shaman keeps "poison" or power object in quill end of single notched feather which he keeps outside house.

1902. Mo: If man, in vision, dreams of having woodpecker, he stuffs 1 and hangs it up, fulfilling his vision. Woodpecker "not used for anything else." SW: Sent all woodpecker scalps down-river to Karuk. Informant "didn't know why SW didn't use such things themselves; they had raw materials for so many articles Karuk use." Besides woodpecker scalps, SW sent all white deerskins down to Karuk. "All the white deerskins Karuk have are from the Shasta, especially from SW group on Klamath River near Horse Creek; also a few from Shasta Valley. The Shasta didn't value the skins as did the Karuk." Also sent down wolf skins; "no wolves in Karuk territory (?). Karuk use wolf tail as ornament, parting it in center and covering it with gray squirrel breast." See also note 1998. WT: 2 of 3 varieties of woodpeckers used; heads or scalps of

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ODO (a) bulitarak, large variety which stays high up in timber, and (b) curat, smaller variety which stays lower down on mountains in oak country.

1904. AE: Otter, mink band.

1905. MV: Woodpecker feathers, not scalps, woven into band used for belt.

1907. Sinew used.

1911. At: Woodpecker scalps on buckskin band "cost lots of [shell] money; 1 row good enough; it costs too much money."

1913. AW: Yana use this, at Round Mountain.

1918. AW: Used in Ghost dance.

1921. WT: Breast skins of ducks sewed together, used to cover buckskin cap; latter worn to war, or at dances.

1922. SE: Worn by children. SW: For everyday wear, by men; stuck in topknot. WS: Tied to stick, worn for dances.

1924. AW: Buckskin cap pierced with holes to resemble net; fits snugly over head; feathers tied on it in all directions; takwali pani, "buckskin head net."

1927. At: "One Madesi [Achomawi] man had this; At didn't know how to sing those songs very well; the Madesi man sang all night."

1929. Mo: Used only by person who has received instruction to do so from guardian spirit. WM: Crane or hawk feather, worn by chief when visiting. WS: Worn by men.

1935. At, AW, AE: 2-3 times.

1944. AW: Ordinary men wear otter, gray fox headbands, some with tule braids attached to them.

1946. AW: 2 types: (1) long flowing net, suwaraki. (2) Bag type, pani. Except where specified in note, entries for elements 1947-1957a refer to both types.

1947. AW: Refers to type (1); see note 1946. Worn by shaman; covers whole head, hangs down behind, with row of eagle feathers at bottom, which reach to small of back.

1949, 1950. AW: Refers to long flowing net.

1951, 1952, 1955. AW: Refers to bag head net.

1957. AW: Refers to long flowing net; see note 1946.

1957a. AE: Also by those women who owned head net; latter "expensive" article.

CURRENCY, TREASURE

Currency.--

1959. At: Dentalia currency obtained at "big times," from Round Mountain people (N Yana) in exchange for buckskin, arrows, wildcat quivers, woodpecker scalps. WT: Obtained from N.

1966. SE: From fingers, along outstretched arm, to nose.

1970. WT: Opening at tops of 2 horns, not on side.

1972. AW: Wealthy man keeps dentalia in fur purse; poorer person in basket.

1974. AW: See note 1972.

ODD 1975. WT: "Like smaller ones; they are whiter and smoother; larger ones are darker. Smaller ones cost more; they pick out these."

1976. SW: Imported from Wintu, who manufacture them. At: Obtained in considerable quantity from MM of Big Meadows by individuals, who have relatives there; recent (?). "Trade horses with these"; also use them as necklaces.

1978. At: Small quantities only.

1980. AW: Counted in units of 20 each.

1984. Span of both arms, with string extending downward in middle as far as umbilicus.

1985. SE, At: 1 arm span, from fingers to nose.

1986. SW: Possibly used for clamshell disks; certainly for shaman's tobacco.

1987. AW: Used as receptacle for large quantities of beads.

1989. Mo: Somewhat longer strand of beads returned than borrowed, usually, but this not obligatory. AW: Do not loan currency; give it to poor man.

Treasure.--

1990. SW: Imported from coast; used for necklaces, also as currency, but not so expensive as dentalia. At: Used for decoration; also to pay shamans.

1991. AW: Used as ornaments on women's dance aprons of strung pine nuts.

1994. AW: Magnesite cylinders, Olivella shells obtained, strung together with the imported clamshell disks and dentalia.

1997. AE: Rarely if ever seen; only very wealthy man able to own such. WM: Hafted obsidian knives tied on buckskin band, worn around neck, down back. Such knives ornamental; not worn during dances, but only when visiting. WS: Large obsidian knives (olwanis) carried in dances, for display; also used for war.

1998. SW: Black and cloudy red variety; carried occasionally in War dance, but not kept for long; chiefly sent down-river to Karuk. "SE near Glass Mountain made those large blades used down-river." SW on Klamath River, usually acted as middlemen for SE and Karuk; SW received dentalia from down-river in exchange for goods. SW "packed all their goods down to trade with Karuk once a year, when Karuk held White Deerskin dance; that was the only Karuk dance they attended." Trading between SW and Karuk carried on at any other time of year through Kammatwa group (see notes for 282, 1902).

[789]
[825] 1999. Kl: Keep dried bat or hummingbird in quiver, permanently, as charm. Bat occurs in mythology; is most successful hunter. AW: Of various sorts, all in natural state, not smoothed or polished. Shaman uses striated ("painted") rock; small smooth diamond-shaped pebbles, ca. 2 in. long, "lucky for gambling." Informant had drawerful of 20-30 smooth small rocks. Most prized charmstones are "diamonds"; at night these "shine in darkness, giving off bright light like fire, and smoke; rise out of ground and then sink

[201-B]

000 back into earth and disappear. Paiutes have lots of these diamonds." Possessor of such charmstone can attract deer to him easily, or money. WM: Lucky stones of varied shapes, kept outside house, because if having intercourse in house, stone might make possessor sick or blind. Such stones passed on at death. MV: Charmstones of gray-blue rock, such as shown in Dixon, Maidu, figs. 11,a,b, p. 140, kept in old oak tree by person who knows how to take care of them. As long as they are perfect in shape they are animate; if buried, can travel underground of own accord. When "alive," can hypnotize person; used by gamblers. When such stone is hurt, i.e., nicked or cracked, it "dies" and loses all its power. Noninheritable; effective only if found by possessor.

2004. AE: Few doughnut stones found, but not considered as lucky stones.

SMOKING AND TOBACCO

Pipes and Pipe Sacks

2006. Mo: Both informants denied use of tubular pipe; commented that holding pipe slanting upward would be "tedious" method of smoking. WM: Wooden tubular pipe not made by many people; Okwanuchu (waibos), N of Wintu, make these. NF: Made of green stone (serpentine?).

2007. At: Similar in shape to Wintun pipe, Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 30,g.

2011. SW: Refers to 1-piece stone pipe. This used by shamans for poisoning persons. Also, when curing patient, shaman smokes it, or sucks out poison object with it occasionally.

[276] 2012. Kl: Used by shamans.

[756] 2013. Kl: Ca. 6 in. long. AW: Ca. 3-4 in. long. Select soft stone, pick out bowl cavity with bone awl.

[276] 2016. Kl: Ca. 2 in. long. AE: Wild rose stem.

2019. Stem inserted only if hole in mouthpiece end of pipe is too large for smoker.

[276] 2021. Kl: Sides flare outward so that bowl end is wider than stem end. WS: Refers to 2-piece stone bowl pipe.

2022. Refers to 1-piece wooden pipe. See Du Bois, Wintu, figs. 7, a-d. WT: Same shape as Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 7, d, but lacking upper bulb. WM: Same shape as Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 7, a. WS: Same shape as Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 7, a, c; also have pipe same shape as fig. 7, e, but with short stem added.

2023. WS: Refers to 1-piece wooden pipe.

2024. Mo: Owned by important men only.

2028. WM: Soft stone bowl picked out with bone awl; wooden stem wrapped with woodpecker skin. Said to be old type.

Tobacco

Cultivation and gathering.--

000 2036. AW: Specimen identified by Dr. Helen-Mar Wheeler, University of California Botany Department, as Nicotiana attenuata.

2038. That is, sown same season.

2039. AW: Burning for tobacco incidental to burning for wild seeds. In fall, "burn brushy place, for wild seeds; next spring some wild tobacco grows there. This is gathered. While gathering, tobacco pods rubbed between hands, thus sprinkling the seeds into ashes; ashes kicked over seeds with feet. Next year pick tobacco from this spot. Tobacco continues to grow at this place for 2-3 years, then very little comes up, so another brush patch is burned off, as there is no brush left at first patch to burn." When burning for wild seed crops, do not scatter these seeds intentionally, as do for tobacco. AE: Burn sagebrush in October, when less likelihood of wind. Burning for tobacco not incidental to burning for wild seeds.

2043. SW: Stems snipped off near upper end, so growth goes into leaves.

2044. SW: In dry weather plants watered by hand with water from basket.

2048. AW: "It makes a man angry if others pull up the stalks of tobacco plants he has sown; fights start. Owner of patch wants seeds to fall for volunteer crop. If he is very angry, he hires doctor to find out who did it."

Preparation; containers; uses.--

2049. WT: Occasionally entire plant hung up to dry in sun; not smoked over fire first. Stalks used "during hard times, when supply of tobacco running low."

2050. WT: Leaves put in round openwork basket and smoked over fire, before being dried; "makes tobacco stronger."

2053. That is, leaves which have already been dried. SW: Rubbed to free leaves of midribs. At: Dried leaves and stems separated, pounded, stored in separate sacks.

2055. SW, WS: Also smoked plain.

2057. AW: Grease, also marrow, added to pulverized leaves before sacking them.

2058. AW: No specimen seen, but described as "a tule basket, narrow at top end; 2 edges join at top, and dried grass stuffed in opening as 'cork.'"

2061. WM: Unidentified plant (terapa), described as growing in rocky places and having small gray fuzzy leaves that come out in February, used if supply of tobacco exhausted.

2065. Mo: At assembly if men are present who do not have own pipes, pipe passed. Also pass pipe at "peace smokes," held occasionally with other groups. AW: Pipe passed at any gathering. AE: Some pipes large enough for 20 people to smoke from in turn; passed around by leader of group. WM: Ca. 5 men smoke 1 pipe, each man

000 filling pipe from his tobacco pouch in turn and passing it. Smoker makes loud guttural noise as he smokes.

2067. AW: Most popular time for smoking, but "some old men smoke in morning, after eating, or any time."

2068. SW: Do not smoke in dwelling, where women living; pipe will be defiled by woman's presence and be worthless for use when making medicine, preparing to hunt. MV: Seldom smoke in dwelling house; chiefly in assembly house, before going to sleep.

2069. Middle-aged, elderly men; not young men.

2071. Mo: In small amount, as medicine, for nausea.

2072. Kl: Offerings not, however, lacking; see note 5197. WS: Occasionally smoked as an offering; "not much."

2075. AW: Shaman smokes, blows smoke and his "poison" (animate object) in direction of victim, telling poison: "Now go." WM: Smoke tobacco to mountains when praying, worshipping. WS: See note 2072.

MUSIC AND DRAWING

Musical Instruments

Drums.--

534
177
2076. Kl: Formerly lacked drum; "learned about it from groups to N [before informant born]. Kl used to go N, to the Dalles; there they saw the drum, and how those people used it. (They danced with it. Sometimes the Kl visited up there 1, 2, 3 years.) They brought back the dance that they learned from those people, and the drum. Lots of Kl went over there, before the white people came to this country; they weren't trading except that they took wokus [water lily seeds] and gave it to some Indians over there, but mainly they were just friends." Cp. Spier, Klamath, p. 89. For details of dance with which drum was introduced among Kl, see 000 notes 2529. SE: Double-headed, circular hide drum, *hanitomtomiL*. Consists of 2 circular willow hoops, ca. 6 in. (?) apart; top, bottom, sides buckskin covered; buckskin covering sewed to willow hoops. No specimen seen. Beaten to call people to assembly house. "One Indian [SE] used to make this drum, in my grandmother's day." Probably recent but pre-White, as Spier suggests for Kl (Klamath, p. 89). SW: Informant believed drum old but could not assign any use for it; not used in gambling, as it is among Karuk. AW: "Mo had a drum, round, with antelope-hide head; painted red; held in 1 hand. They came here from Tule Lake; some people used that drum here, at Stonecoal and Big Valley." AE: Recency of drum denied.

2083. See elements 834-838 and notes, especially as regards WM entry. MV: Besides foot drum,

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000 also used board as drum. See element 3670; also cf. Densmore, Musical Instruments, pp. 114-115.

2084. AW: Basket drummed with pack strap, to frighten away bear. MF, NF, NM: Use of pack strap for this purpose denied. MF: Drum on basket, in night ceremony held during April, when men, women sing for good seed crops, plentiful game for year. NF: Men scrape, drum basket when singing in assembly house; no dance. NS: Taboo to drum basket; "must not play with a basket." MV: Basket patted with hands.

Rattles, rasp.--

[534] 2085. Kl: Spier (Klamath, p. 90) doubts whether any large cocoons in Kl area. SW, At, AW, AE, WT, WM, WS, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Cocoons suitable for rattles available in area. WS: Cocoon rattle used for Big Head dance.

2088. At: 30+ cocoons. AW, MM: 5-6. WS, NF: 4-5. NS: 3-5. MV: 5-10.

[534
756] 2089. Kl: Shamans do not use any variety rattle. At: Cocoon rattle dangerous; shaman never keeps it in house, or shows it to people, except when doctoring. When he shakes rattle, "it is as though he is asking his power for help." AW: Poisonous for anyone other than shaman to handle.

2093. SW: Gray papery sack, ca. 5 in. long, 2-3 in. wide; neither cocoon nor wasp's nest, but resembling these, used as rattle; broken mussel shells put inside it; used by children.

2097. WT: Refers to single-split rattle.

2098, 2099. WT: Refers to multiple-split rattle.

2101. WT: Refers to single-split rattle.

2103. AW, WM, WS, MF: By shamans only. MM: Snake rattles regarded as poisonous.

2108. SE: 7-8 hoofs.

2111. Mo: Obsidian arrowheads shaken inside open-mouthed basket cap, to encourage men to go to war.

[534
177] 2114. Kl: 2 notched rasps, held in hand, "played like a fiddle." No basket. Recency denied. Cp. Spier, Klamath, p. 35.

Bull-roarer; whistles and flutes.--

[534
177] 2116. Kl: Learned from Whites.

2120. At: Children, twirling bull-roarer for fun, ordered to stop, because sound produces sickness.

2130. Mo: Used when hunting ducks. SW: Used for any dance. WS: 2 types whistle; (1) of bone, old; (2) of elder, recent.

2131, 2133-2134. WS: Refers to older type bone whistle.

2136. WS: Used for Ghost (Dream) dance only; recent.

2147. Mo: Whipsnakes around elderberry bushes. See note 2161. SE: Also not good to handle elderberry bush; gives person headache. MV: Whistling with lips also taboo at any time.

2148. MV: Any variety of snake will come to whistler.

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534 2153. Kl: 3-4 holes.

000 2160. SE: To accustom player to hold his breath for long time, in order that he may be strong man, good swimmer.

2161. Mo: If shaman has whipsnake for his guardian, he uses elderberry flute; "whipsnake's food is elderberry." Flute also used to imitate bird calls, to obtain hunting luck.

2162. Mo: To make girl sleepy.

[533] 2163. Kl: "Just playing, to all kinds of water snakes." SW: Used by old men, chiefly, playing songs for self-gratification.

Pictographs

[532] 2164. Kl, Mo, At: Pictographs. AE, WT: Petroglyphs. WM: Occasional incised rock found in area.

2169. Mo, SE, WS, MF, NF: Impress of bare human foot on rocks. WS: Footprint is that of Moon, made when traveling; 1 such occurs at Big Bend (Madesi Achomawi area), another near Portuguese Flat, near Dunsmuir. NS: Footprints of bear, 2 does on rock.

RECREATION

Games

Shinny.--

2170. AW: Women's shinny game "learned from tribes NE of AW," ca. 50 years ago, or when informant was "pretty good-sized man." Men's shinny game learned from Round Valley (Mendocino Co.) and Covelo Indians. "The Yuki and Wailaki played it; some of AW [including informant's father] were taken down there by the Whites, and learned to play it there; they brought it back to AW area." WS: Women's shinny game, k'ara; old game.

2172. SW: Preëminently woman's game; "among Karuk down-river a man's game only." Women alone bet on it; women do not bet on any man's game. "When men play hand game, and women not allowed to, latter go outside and start shinny game to help their men if they are losing, by betting and playing too."

2175. AW: In women's game.

2176. AW: For men's shinny game.

2180. AW: For women's shinny game.

2182. WT, WM: Thick bark disks.

2184. Braided, ca. 15 in. long. AW: For women's shinny game.

2187. AW: For men's game.

2188. AW: For women's game.

2189. AW: For men's game.

2194. AW: In men's game.

2195, 2196. AW: In women's game.

2198. AW: In both men's, women's game ball flung straight between 2 poles, slightly higher than poles.

2200. AW: 8, if women play; 6 in men's game.

000 AE: 3-6 players. WT: 10+. WS: 4-5. MM: 3-4. MV: 5, in women's game; 3, in men's.

[526] [648] 2201. Often, but not always. Mo: Play Kl often. Concerning 1 such intertribal match between women, informant related following: "Before the [Modoc] war, the Mo and Kl were camping on opposite sides of Lost River, fishing. The Mo and Kl women played shinny; the Mo won, but the Kl women, instead of paying [their gambling debt] jumped in Lost River and ran home. But the Mo women jumped in the river after them, and followed them into camp."

2202. Mo: See note 2201. MV: At spring celebration women play first shinny game of year; no betting on this first game, which opens season for games of all descriptions. Season for games closes in November; "after that everything quiets down for winter."

2203. AW: In men's game. WT, MM: 1 man acts as referee. WT: "Big, strong man, who can stop fights between players." MF, NF: 2 male referees for game.

Ball race; hoop-and-pole.--

2204. For 3 groups, AW, AE, and MM, 2 types of ball races entered in this section. When element refers to one type only, note indicates which type. All other entries refer to both types. AW, AE: Type (1), single ball race. Type (2), 2-ball race. Informant ignorant of source of introduction of types (1) and (2), but positive they are both "half-breed" (post-White) races. WT: Informant denied any ball races, but WS informant said he had seen ball races held at Hayfork, in WT area, and that they were of recent introduction. WS: Ball races learned from Round Valley Reservation group, about 60 years ago. They were "played at Hayfork first, then WS group learned to play." Race is somewhat similar to WS form of women's shinny game (see note 2170) but played by men only, with 2 balls. MM: Type (1), 2-ball game. Type (2), "wrestling football," single ball.

2205-2207. MM: Refers to 2-ball game (see note 2204).

2208. AW: Refers to single-ball game. MM: Refers to 2-ball race. See note 2204.

2209. AW, MM: Refers to 2-ball race (see note 2204).

2210-2212. AW, AE: Refers to 2-ball race. MM: Refers to single ball, wrestling football. See note 2204.

2213, 2215a. AW, AE, MM: Refers to 2-ball race (see note 2204).

2219. MM: Refers to wrestling football (see note 2204).

2222. AW, AE, MM: Refers to single-ball race (see note 2204).

2225. AE: 6 on side, in 2-ball race; 4 on side, single-ball race. MM: 4 on side, 2-ball race; 2 on side, single-ball race (see note 2204). NM: 2 men or 3 women.

2228. MM: 2-ball game.

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ODO 2229. MF, NF: 2 men act as referees. NM: 1 male referee.

2230. AW: Informant had seen this played at Round Valley Reservation. Also mentioned in Achomawi mythology; Coyote and Fox saw this game played at Upper Lake.

2239, 2240. MF: Some doubt concerning this entry.

2240. Mo: 2-8.

[526] 2243. Mo: In any game, "bound to have a man watching, to stop cheating."

[525] 2244. Kl, Mo: Arrows, arrowheads wagered.

Quoits; spear throwing; archery.--

2246. WM: Pine branch.

2247. WT, WS: Flat rock.

2256. SE, SW: Not formal game; boys, "just pitching something." WS: wilča.

2259. WT: 10-ft.-pole, lacking stone head.

2262. At: Bundle of sunflower leaves.

2269. Mo: 5-6. WT: 2-3.

[526] 2297. Kl, AE: Pine-bark disk.

[525] 2304. Kl: Contestants match arrows and lay them aside; winner takes these arrows, not arrows shot in contest.

Ring-and-pin; Many-stick game.--

2305. WS: Lučus.

2309. AE: 1-2. WM: 20 rings, if playing with fish vertebrae; 5 rings if playing with deer carpals. See elements 2310-2311. WS: 7-16.

2320. Mo, SE: Variable number. AE: 2-3. WM: 4-5.

2321. SW: Variable number.

2325. SW: In winter (Dec.-Jan.); "bad month for Indians." Game connected with myth concerning time when there were 10 moons and animal killed 5 of them. No betting; uppermost ring is 10th moon; play to see who can "kill" (spear) this moon. Players sit in circle, usually in evening, around fire.

2326. WM: Two types many-stick game played: Type (1) women's many-stick game, čopīt. Recent, after Whites entered area; informant believed it came from Chico or that direction; had seen it played first about 55 years ago. Type (2), "grass game," bohomčus; old; played only during Jan.-Feb., in assembly house (Lut). When entry refers to 1 of 2 types only, note tells to which; if entry refers to both types, no note appended. WS: Many-stick game, bohumčus; use 30 long sticks, 1 short manzanita stick, pointed at both ends. Played by men only, in winter only; betting. "Learned bohumčus from Big Bend Indians [Madesi] a long time ago [before informant's lifetime]; it used to be only betting game Wintu had" (?).

2327. SW: "Down-river [among Karuk] a man's game only; among SW a woman's game." See note 2172. WM: Refers to grass game (see note 2326).

2328. WM: Refers to women's many-stick game. See note 2326.

2329. SW: 15+.

2331. Red manzanita stick, pointed at both ends, unmarked.

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000 2334. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2326.

2335. WM: Refers to recent many-stick game. See note 2326.

2336. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2326.

2337. WM: Refers to recent many-stick game. See note 2326.

2339, 2341. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2326.

2342. SW: Score kept orally. Counters are played with, as part of gambling outfit. WM: 15 counters for recent many-stick game; 20 counters used for old grass game. See note 2326.

2345, 2348. WM: Grass game. See note 2326.

Hand or grass game.--

524 2349. Among several groups, more than 1 type hand or grass game played. Whenever entry refers to one type only, note indicates to which type. If entry refers to all types played by group, no [17] note appended. Kl: Learned to play hand game from Warm Springs Indians; also from Paiute; latter "just natural gamblers." Game popular among Kl before informant born. "Many new games 000 among Kl now." At: Type (1), old form of hand game, similar to old Mo game (see note 2368). Type (2), recent, 4-bone-type hand game, learned from Kl. AE: Type (1), men's hand game. Type (2), women's hand game. WM: Type (1) grass hand game, Xeni. Type (2), recent form of hand game, cu'us, introduced about 20 years ago, perhaps from Stillwater area. "People from there came and said, 'Let's play hand game.'" WS: Type (1), grass game, k'eni, old. Type (2), "hand game," no other name. Recent, learned from Paiute about 30 years ago. Type (3), women's hand game, a·rus; old. If men play type (3), use larger set of bones. MV: Type (1), men's hand game. Type (2), women's hand game.

2350. AE, MV: Refers to type (1) game. WS: Refers to types (1), (3). See note 2349.

2351. At, AE, MV: Refers to type (2) games. WS: Refers to types (2), (3). See note 2349.

2352. AE: Refers to men's hand game. WM: Refers to recent form hand game. See note 2349.

2353-2354. AE: Refers to men's hand game. WM: Refers to recent form. See note 2349.

2355. At: Refers to recent type. AE: Refers to men's hand game. See note 2349.

2357, 2359. AE: Some doubt concerning entry.

2360. AW: Unmarked bone is "live" bone.

2361. WM: Called "ace," in recent form hand game. WS: Marked bone called pak (bone) in women's hand game. See note 2349. MF: Called "string bone and slick bone."

2362. AE: Refers to men's hand game. WM: Refers to recent form hand game. See note 2349.

2364. At, WM: Refers to recent form hand game. AE: Refers to men's hand game, an old type but only recently played with bone or horn bones. See note 2349.

2365. AE: Refers to women's hand game. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2349.

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00 2366. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2349.

2367. AE: Refers to, women's hand game.

2368. Mo: Fact that only 1 player at time holds objects causes Mo to distinguish clearly between their form of hand game (nanadeyes) and "Paiute-Achomawi" 4-bone hand game (which is also recent Kl form). This 4-bone form never adopted by Mo. At: Refers to recent "hand game," and women's hand game. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2349.

2369. At, WM: Refers to recent form hand game. See note 2349.

2370. WM: Refers to recent form. WS, MV: Refers to women's hand game. See note 2349.

2371. WS: Refers to recent "hand game." MV: Refers to men's hand game. See note 2349.

2377. WS: Refers to recent hand game and women's hand game. MV: Refers to men's hand game. See note 2349.

2378. WM, WS: Refers to recent form hand game; also, among WS, to women's hand game. See note 2349.

2379. WS: Refers to grass game. MV: Refers to men's hand game. See note 2349.

2381. WM: 15 counters for grass game; 5 counters for recent form hand game. See note 2349.

2387. WM, WS: Refers to grass game. See note 2349.

2388. WM, WS: Refers to recent hand game and, for WS, women's hand game also.

Stick hiding; dice games; objects thrown in air.--

2399. AW: Single stick, piece of rock, hidden in bare hand (but not between fingers); 2 hands extended, hider sings short song. Opposite side guesses which hand contains stick; played merely for fun, between 2 women, or 2 boys, 2 girls; MM: Informant's daughter had seen it played at mission school at Greenville, Plumas Co.; father unfamiliar with it. NM: Name of game, tikil (see note 2435) or wotokit.

[524] 2406. Mo, MF, NM: Said to be aboriginal.

[177] 2410. Kl: Possibly learned from Paiute; beaver teeth. Mo: Ground-hog-teeth dice.

[237] 2415. NM: Informant positive no counters.

2429. MF: Deer bones.

2435. NM: Name of game, tikil. Informant had seen it played at Mooretown also, among MF group.

2439. At, AW: Women's digging sticks. MF: See NM note, following. NM: Name of game, tikil (see note 2435). Informant had seen game played at Mooretown also, among a MF group. Use of women's digging stick in game denied.

2445. AW: Sometimes 12 used instead.

2453. AW: Comparatively large rock.

2458. AW: 2-4.

2465. NF: For 3 days after gambling.

Amusements

Toys; contests; storytelling.--

2469. SW: Like Pomo top, Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 41,a, p. 449.

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000 2475. MV: Shoe-leather disk, also top of tin can used for recent buzzers. Using buzzer "makes people sick; don't use it much."

2483. SE: Name for buzzer similar to that for bird that makes whirring noise at night; when playing with buzzer people say they "are making the deer fat."

2484. WM: "The puisus (Achomawi) play this, but WM never do."

2485. WT: Informant had never seen Indians play this; had seen Whites doing it.

2489. AW: Names of 2 figures: Sundown; Spider's House.

[524] 2490. Kl, Mo, SW, AW: Popular moving figure is that of "2 coyotes running from each other."

2492. Mo: If play in summer, ensuing winter will be severe.

2494. SW: Figures made during first quarter of moon, in spring especially, to make moon grow (by stretching string).

2494a. Mo: Both informants stated stilts aboriginal. At: "Danced on ice with stilts". Like Mo informant, At informant had used stilts as girl.

2505. WT: Willow-bark bag, sand inside.

2508. Mo: 5-6.

2520. Mo, MM, MF: Narrators presented with small amount of food by auditors; NS: uncertain about this; MV: denied. Not inquired into for other groups. NF: Myths told to youths, men only (during secret society initiation?); informant for this group a woman.

[538 855] 2522. Kl: Belief held more in jest than in earnest; told to small children who "would never go to sleep."

2523. SW: If myths told toward spring, look out for rattlesnake.

[481 883] 2527. Kl: Youths "made to swim in winter anyway"; no rule which applies to myth telling per se.

Social Dances

Circle dances.--

535 177 2529. Kl: See note 2076. Dance Kl brought back from N with drum was "a round dance; men and women danced, holding hands, men on 1 side, women on other of single circle, with fire inside in middle. It was held any time of year, but mostly in summer, just for fun. Given at night; people stopped dancing around midnight. [No leader who brought it back, or no data on such.] One man might say, 'Let's have fun'; people told each other; they came and danced. The drummer was the leader; he sang, and the men and women dancers sang too. The drummer stood by himself; just 1 man drummed. The [178] Kl no longer give this dance; the old people have mostly died." Mo: Dance relatively slight affair; 000 "a few young people assemble for 'evening joy' dance; join hands and go around fire in circle; old man watches them. When they become reckless, he stops dance." SW: Circle dance (k'aphek), an old summer dance, given for pleasure sometimes;

00D also performed at girl's puberty ceremony, as 1 of dances.

2545. AE: 2-4 singers. WM: 4-5. MF: 1-2.

2555. WT: In 1 form of round dance women, on 1 side of circle, hold hands; men on other side also hold hands. Each sex sings deprecatingly about other sex; much joking. Names of individuals put into songs.

2566. SE: 1-2. AW: 1-2. AE: 1-3. WT: 3-4. WS: 2-3. MF: 2-3.

2579. MM, MF: "Before Indians' time, animals danced it" (in mythical age). NS: No Bear dance; feast held after someone kills bear, "for good luck"; skin tanned.

2593. AE: 2-4. MM: 2-3.

2616. MM, MF: For either grizzly or black bear.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political Units

Sovereign bodies.--

2617. AE: Each village named; informant had been born and raised in village of pačulomiči, in West's Valley; at this village his father and all his brothers lived permanently, taking wives from other villages as far away as Sugar Hill, in Hewisedawi territory. Term hammawi is name for another village group situated near Likely; term is, however, used by outsiders to include aggregate of individually named villages in this area. "The Fall River people (Achomawi proper) and the Paiutes used the name hammawi for all the people up here." Cf. Kniffen, Achomawi, pp. 304-306. Among all groups visited on survey, AE alone gave some evidence of being organized in paternal lineages named after villages, but these lineages show no trace of totemic affiliations, so far as could be learned. If a member of such a lineage, man owned or shared in ownership of communal winter living house (astui); "common man camped with such people, but any place would be his home, wherever he went." WT: That is, each village having assembly house, also has a headman, who owns assembly house; such village forms autonomous unit. Ca. 10-12 living houses usually cluster about assembly house, and form village which is often designated by name of creek near which it is located. NF: That is, each village of any considerable size, which has assembly house in it. This latter owned by chief or headman (hu·ku) of village.

2618. Ca. 5-10 villages. AW: Affairs which concern community consisting of 2 or more adjacent villages regulated solely by such community. WM: "All along the [McCloud] River were little towns, of 3-10 houses each; these houses clustered together on 10- to 40-acre semi-level spots, 2-3 miles apart." MM: See note below. NS: In tomela group, to which informant belonged, "there

000 were several villages; in 1 of these, headman (hu·k) and his helper lived; headman had his round house (k'um) in this village."

2619. AW: Affairs (such as war), which concern whole local group, regulated by heads of communities. WS: Single chief for whole group; other villages in group have no chief, but have "headmen" (no native term for these save "man"), who are trained and inherit office from father. For E fork of Trinity River, Ross Creek George, informant's father's cousin, chief (wi'); informant stated his father had never been chief for this group, as Du Bois, Wintu, p. 32, states. MM: Regarding boundaries for MM, informant stated that "after white people were here, Stonecoal (Noze [?], N Yana) and a chief of MM settled on their boundaries; they talked it over for 1 year." When they agreed, "they didn't put up boundary lines, but just used the names of different mountains," to define boundaries. See also Dixon, Maidu, p. 225. As group, all MM have 1 chief (ye'ponim; word for secret society member in Maidu groups to W); also headman (upem maidum, "common man") for each smaller group within local group. Thus there are headmen at Big Meadows, Quincy, Honey Lake. These headmen are in charge of local affairs; in war the chief has to be consulted before any headman engages in fight. Headmen have jurisdiction over the camps all around their particular villages. Headmen own dance house at their villages and are "in charge of all the people."

Chiefs and Other Officials

Number; selection; qualifications; tenure; title.--

2621. AW: 1 headman for community of adjacent villages. Informant named 4 chiefs, each one of which was headman for 4 separate communities. WT: See note 2617. No head chief over all separate villages. WM: See note below. 1 chief for community of adjacent villages. MV: Each village has its own "captain"; no head captain over group of villages.

2622. AW: 4 chiefs (see note above) consult together about fights, wars; "if 3 wanted to fight, 1 didn't, they went to war; if 2 said fight, 2 not to, they didn't go." WM: Each village along river did not have chief living in it; only 2 such villages, on opposite sides of river and about 1 mile apart, had chiefs living in them. On W side of river, 3 1/2 miles above Baird, lived Klutchie senior, "a real wi' (chief) for all people on that side of river; on E side lived Dolikɛntiluma [whose authority may have carried more weight for all WM than did Klutchie's] who was chief for all people on E side." My information for chiefs of WM differs somewhat from Du Bois' (Wintu, pp. 32-33): (a) Waikati, Sempieri not minor chiefs for WM, but merely owned salmon houses on McCloud River. (b) Kolčululi not a [courtesy] "chief"; had a salmon house and was generous with catch; informant had never heard

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DOD he had 12 wives, said he had no women. (c) Bisuskalal was chief (wi') on Pit River, for elpomenbos (Keswick) group of Wintu; "he was a mean chief; stole." (d) After Dolikentiluma's death, Norelputus, chief of Keswick group, was active among WM; Sunusa, chief for Upper Sacramento Wintu, was never "chief" for WM. (e) Charlie Klutchie's father's father came from Salmon River; informant had never heard of him purchasing land among Upper Sacramento Wintu. His son, Charlie Klutchie's father, was "a real wenememenbos [WM], and did not belong to Upper Sacramento band. He lived 3 1/2 miles N of Baird all his life, had dance house [Lut] there, 5 women, and was called wi' [chief]." WS informant also stated "Charlie Klutchie's father's father came from Salmon River, way W of here"; had never heard of any sale of land to this man. Denied Klutchie's father was ever a chief; Klutchie's father had Dream dance house, merely.

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2624. SW: Informant claimed that his father's father, chief for kohosadi group of Shasta (Rogue River group) also settled disputes and arranged wergild payments for all Shasta groups and was, in effect, tribal chief. In addition, Shasta Valley group had subchief, but informant had never heard of subchiefs for Scott Valley or Klamath River groups of Shasta. Tribal chief in Oregon had no assistant chief. AW: "General Crook [White] took Captain Dick as head chief, but this was White man's way."

2625. MM: At headman's death, his oldest son, or deceased's brother, builds another dance house, and inherits office as headman of village community.

2626, 2628, 2631, 2632. MM: Entries refer to selection of headman for village community.

[556] 2635. In no group was wealth especially stressed, although chiefs were in several groups admittedly wealthy men.

2636. WT: Chief "never says anything mean about poor people; he always has a good word for everyone. He helps orphans, murderers and no-account people--that's why he is called chief; he tries to coax bad people to be good, and gives them things to get them started."

2645. AW: Bad chief "hires lots of doctors to kill good men; then people won't have anything to do with him. He does this because he's 'mean.' Or he may want to kill good doctors. People won't obey a chief if he wants to kill too many Indian doctors who are good men, either." Among AW there may have existed at times partnership between chiefs and shamans similar to that noted for Yokuts by Gayton (Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans) but no adequate investigation was made of this.

2646. AW, MM: Chief killed (witched) by shaman. MV: Chief may withdraw voluntarily, "if he has a violent temper; usually he blames his wife."

2647. MM: For chief of all MM. See note 2619.

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622 2648. Child called "chief's child."

000 2649. AW: Chief's daughter called "little chief"; wife, son not called by this title; "the son will be chief pretty soon."

2650. NS: Chief's daughter called maiyɛn. Has women to wait on her, does not cook, gather acorns. Generally only eldest daughter of chief has this title; to be maiyɛn "she has to be pleasant and good, not silly and saucy."

2651. MM: Title extends to wife of chief for all MM (see note 2619).

Activities and duties; escort.--

2654. WT: Chief stays home and "studies his words, and talks to the young boys and girls, telling them how to behave; doesn't hunt or fish much." MM: Applies both to chief for all MM and to village headmen. See note 2619.

2656. WT: All people bring chief food; he accepts it, eats what he wants after it is cooked and has rest put out for other people to eat.

2658. MM: Applies both to head chief and village headmen (see note 2619).

2659. WS: See note 2664.

2660. MM: Refers to village headmen (see note 2619).

2661. NF: Headman (hu·ku) mainly "stays around the assembly house all the time," however; does not go hunting, fishing. MM: Refers to village headmen (see note 2619).

2664. WS: Sunusa (see note 26[illegible], WM) chief of WS, "was great hand to catch salmon; he'd call all the people in spring to catch salmon. He never got much himself, because he gave it away. In fall he went out and caught salmon for himself; fish spawn then."

2667. AW: Also tells people to feed visitors well; "give them plenty, don't hurt them, leave them alone." WM: When chief has invited people for a "big time," upon day set for their arrival he sends out scouts in all directions from which visitors expected. When scouts return saying visitors are coming, chief sends them out again to tell each group of visitors to camp by river until sundown, then to come into village where he is presiding. Visitors dress down by river; at sundown come in. Chief stands in center of brush enclosure made for occasion, and talks to visitors; "he tells them not to stumble over any little rock, but to have a good time. Then visitors are told in which sections of brush corral they are to camp." Each visiting local group has appointed place. MM: Refers both to head chief and village headmen (see note 2619). Headmen in charge of spring Bear dances, which last altogether for about 1 month. These dances held in succession in 4 valleys--Honey Lake, Big Meadows, Indian Valley, American Valley.

2668. WT: Headman owns assembly or "sweat house," which he has built "for the people to dance in. When new house is built and ready to be used, chief gets up on roof and makes long speech to assembled people."

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2669. Occasionally. Kl: Stands by his own house and talks; tells people what to do. MM: Refers to head chief (see note 2619).

2670. WT: See note 2654. MM: Refers to head chief and village headmen. See note 2619.

2675. MM: Refers to head chief and village headmen (see note 2619).

2676, 2678. MM: Refers to head chief.

2677. MM: Refers to village headmen.

2679. WT: A "protector." MM: Refers to head chief and local headmen. NF: A relative. NS: Chief's assistant.

2680. MV: "A whole group of his boys go with him."

Female chiefs; criers; clowns; messengers; fire tender; singers.--

2687. SW: Chief's wife may also talk for chief, morning and evening, occasionally, if she has good voice.

2689. SW: In time of raids, chief's wife "if she is spirited woman, dashes out and cuts bowstrings of enemy raiders." This was done, "especially if [neighboring] Kammatwa group [see note 282] were raiding SW." Denied for all other groups.

2707. SW: 2-3 criers.

2708. Mo, SE: Only when there is "news" to announce.

2712. MV: Orders fuel gathered for dances.

2716. WM: Mainly by boys who are called, when clowning, "Coyote."

2717. At: 2 clowns; WT, WM: several, but not formal office (see note 2716). MF: 5; NF, MV: 1 per village ("rancheria").

2718. NF: Clown (pepe) stands on top of assembly house, watching for people to return from hunting, other expeditions; when they come back, he shouts to notify villagers.

2722. NF: Also stands on top of assembly house and calls to visitors to enter; attends to fire in assembly house.

2726. WT: 1-3 messengers. WM: 3-5. Referred to as yemerikait. MM: 6-7.

2727. MV: Youths.

2734. At: Messenger who carries knotted string around when there is a "big war," paid; otherwise not paid.

2738. Often tells guests where to halt outside village, in order that they may dress for participation in dance to be given in village.

[515
624] 2746. Kl: Man who wants to sweat builds fire and tends to it in sweat house; no special official.

2752. See also element 2722, NF.

2759. NF: 2-4 singers.

2760. MM: For sweat "dances," have 1 singer; for Bear dance, 2; for girl's puberty dance, ca. 6.

2763. MV: To serve as "common singer."

2765. MM: For women's songs, use women singers.

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WAR

Nature and Causes

Nature of warfare; motivation.--

000 2770. SW: Four Shasta groups "didn't have much trouble among themselves," but chiefly fought Mo and Wintu. Kammatwa (see note 282) raids against SW also mentioned, but Shasta "didn't fight much against Karuk or the other [Klamath] River tribes." Intertribally, wars chiefly for revenge; any intratribal fights usually over women. At: Mo stole young girls from At, but "latter never went up and fought the Mo; 2 captive women the Mo took managed to escape and return to Fall River (Achomawi territory) where they married Fall River men." Informant did remember a raid by Fall River men, who came down and took roots and baskets from At. Also Kl came down once and stole some women. "Shasta never came over to Hat Creek (At), but the Wintun came over once and killed a Hat Creek man; then men from all the Hat Creek towns went to war." Fighting in this war amounted to little, however (see note 2798), and on the whole At made few offensive raids. AW: Subject to Mo raids; unfriendly toward Mo. Intermarried with, friendly toward Okwanuchu (ye·tatwa) at McCloud. "Afraid of Noze Indians, [N Yana, ti'saiči, salt people, at Round Mountain]; fought with them." Not much intercourse between AW and N Paiute (Surprise Valley); latter "were friendlier with the AE around Likely." "Not very friendly with the 'Shaverhead' [At] tribe." "Not very friendly with Wintun. The people at Big Bend (Madesi Achomawi) were friendly with the Wintun." AW territory sometimes invaded by Shasta; AW pursued them, fought them. AE: Mainly fought with Kl, Mo, Paiute; the Wintun and Shasta were too far away. WT: Fought Karuk, Yurok, Hupa ("Klamath Indians") and Yuki (Round Valley Indians); latter were "real mean." On friendly terms with Chimariko; intermarried with them. WM: Fought Central Yana; on friendly terms with Madesi Achomawi and N Yana of Big Bend, Montgomery Creek. MM: Fought Washo (čaisum); occasionally fought Sacramento Valley Maidu (taiyIm) and people around Mooretown (MF), but after fight, "then they were friends again pretty quick." At of Hat Creek (kom maidum, snow people) and MM friendly; never fought each other; "they were good friends, just like 1 tribe together." Paiute, Wintu, Shasta too distant to engage in any fights with MM. NF: Very few wars; when whites settled around Marysville all fighting stopped. Fought Marysville, Colusa groups (Valley Maidu and Patwin, respectively); when NF went down to Yuba River to pick grapes, Marysville people chased them out. Or "Marysville people might call NF cowards, and tell them to come down and fight"; NF would then accept challenge. Marysville and Colusa people "mean; no good. Never fought Nevada City [NM], Mooretown

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000 [MF group], or Plumas Co. [MM] Indians." NM: This section not discussed with informant. MV: Informant lacked all knowledge of war, declared she had never heard it discussed.

2771. At: "Never fought Aporige [other At group]: partners with them; Aporige helped At fight against Wintun. Also Round Mountain people [N Yana] helped; a Round Mountain man was in charge." AW: Hammawi (AE) raids mentioned by informant; AW retaliated. AE: No fights between small villages referred to collectively by outsiders as Hammawi (see note 2617); there were however feuds between villages "over women and girls, or over a doctor of 1 village poisoning the people of a near-by village." Fights between Hammawi and "Big Valley people [Atwamsini Achomawi] were rare; the Kl and the Shasta fought them. Once in awhile [Hammawi] fought the Fall River people [Achomawi proper]; then they'd pay [in settlement]. The [Hammawi] had relations at Big Valley and Fall River. The Madesi [westernmost group of Achomawi] never came into [Hammawi] territory; only the Big Valley Indians fought them." WT: Fought E Wintu groups occasionally. MM, MF: Fought each other occasionally (see note 2770). NF: See note 2770. [648]

2780. MV: "The only people who stole young girls were White people."

2783. AE: See note 2771.

2789. SW: "Lots of stealing of money and stored food by women; this started fights [but only among the women]. Also fights arose among the women from arguments; then they grabbed each other's hair, and threw dirt in each other's faces. Men didn't steal this way, but women did."

Participants

Groups involved; combatants; leaders.--

2790. For definition of autonomous group, see elements 2617 ff.

2791. At: See note 2771. WT: Villages leagued together and asked Trinity Center and Lewiston Wintu to help them sometimes; former also occasionally called on WT for aid. MM: Sometimes asked At (Hat Creek group) to help in war; never asked MF groups, as on rather unfriendly terms with them.

2792. NF: Women never accompany war party, which is chiefly composed of young men.

[726] [701] [648] 2795. Kl: Often asked Mo to help. Mo informant also emphasized this. Kl did not pay Mo; latter got food, buckskins, other plunder. At: See note 2771. AE: Headman or "chief" of village group, if latter raided, visits headmen of other near-by village groups, discusses matter during "a big smoke." All headmen consulted then meet at winter living house of group which was attacked, and decide what to do. Headmen then tell their men to join them, when matter is settled, and war dance is held at winter house of attacked group; "then they all go off to war.

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000 A headman of a single village never collected just his own men and went off to war; he had too small a bunch. Sometimes 3-4 Fall River men [Achomawi proper] would go with the war party."

2796. At: "Hat Creek people gave Round Mountain people pay for helping them fight; gave them beads, arrows, bows" (see note 2771).

2797. WS: No war leader; chief arranges that 40-50 men go to war, from his village, but appoints no leader for group and he himself does not go. MM: Headmen (see note 2619).

2798. At: Chief may stop fight, as when At and N Yana fighting Wintu, N Yana chief finally stopped battle, telling contestants, "You'd better let me talk; stop fighting." So the Wintu "quieted down, and stopped and finally paid. But At had killed Wintun man or so by then, and had their scalps."

2802. SW: That is, by fellow fighters.

[726] [704] [533] 2803. Kl: Because he is "a good singer" (?); WT, WM, MM: because he has power to dodge arrows.

Preparation

Prognostication; shamanistic activities; practice fighting; war dance; painting.--

2810. WT: Night before war party leaves, all men who intend to go to war practice fighting by dodging arrows that are shot at them; if a man falls down, it is warning he will be killed in war; shaman doctors such and tells him not to go. "But sometimes such men went anyway, and were killed." This practice was not a dance. No women participated.

[726] [756] 2812. Kl: Before war party sets out, all warriors line up, outside village; each man holds stone-tipped arrow straight in front of him. Shaman walks down line of men with his back to them; each man strikes in turn at shaman's back, below shoulder, with stone-tipped arrow. If man's arrowhead cuts doctor, latter turns quickly and tells man not to go to war, because he is certain to be killed. Sometimes man, thus forewarned, does not go; "sometimes he does, and is always killed if he does so."

2814. At: Shaman sings all night, on war expedition, for his power, so that enemies' bowstrings will break. In early morning warriors rise, and doctor talks to arrows, saying, "Get up, and wash your face"; then war party leaves.

2817. Mo: Shamans hired to make enemy sleepy.

2818. At: During fight shaman stays behind tree, all time, "giving out his power."

2820. Considered in nature of "training" for war. WT: See note 2810.

[726] [535] 2823. Kl: No real war dance; cp. Spier, Klamath, pp. 29-30. Mo: Ho·laklal; of minor importance; "just a little practice, for part of night, to show how active they are going to be, in war." WT: "Arrow dance"; men, only, build small fire at night, outside; talk to bows and arrows men who are going to war will take with

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700 them. "They tell their arrows to be good and to try and hold up, not to be weak; just as though talking to person. Do this for hour or so, only."

2824. AE, WT, WS: 2-3 days.

2826. WM: 2-3 nights.

2836. At: In war against Wintu (see note 2770) made effigy of Wintu woman, with willow withes and sunflower leaves, and shot at it. Also man "grabbed wife, pulled her around, boasted that was what he was going to do with Wintun women." In excitement of dance, 1 man also shot his own dog.

2841. NS: If use paint when visiting Miwok, for example, it is used to denote that visit is peaceful and visitors do not want any quarrels; usually use red paint, applied in stripes to face. Also use same for dances; informant did not know whether such used for war.

2844. Chalk used most frequently. Large deposits in At, AW area. SW: White paint preeminently war paint.

2852. NF: Yellowhammer-quill headband, or beaver-fur fillet worn; also feather belts with long "tail" pendant in rear; this attire so fascinated enemy, that latter "forgot to shoot."

2853. WT, WM, WS: Used as dagger, sometimes (cf. Du Bois, Wintu, p. 125).

Procedure

Declaration and manner of fighting; captives; booty and scalps.--

726 2855. Kl: In feud arising from seduction of married women, 10-20 men may line up on 2 sides, ready to fight, unless settlement is made by payment.

2856. Kl: War party encircles village; when 2 ends of encircling line come near each other, use owl calls as signal they are near by, and as signal to attack by rushing in upon village.

2858. NF: Young men go first, in attack upon village; older men bring up the rear.

[184] 2859. Kl: See note 2856. My information for Kl runs contra to Spier's (Klamath, p. 29). AE: Use crow calls, not owl calls. All other entries refer to owl calls.

2860. Fl: Use clubs in attack, to hit sleeping victim; if latter jumps up, knock him down. After first attack, use bow and arrows; continue fighting for most of day in village; at night return home.

000 2865. SW: Only in intertribal wars; no prisoners taken in intratribal feuds.

[727] 2866. SE, WM: Captive's arm tied to that of capturer's, on return journey of war party; this denied for Kl, WS; Mo uncertain. No rope ("captive leader") used by Kl, Mo, SE, WT, WM, WS. WS: Young women and married women whose husbands had been killed during fighting.

2869. WT: Keep woman or child captive for about month; then hold dance, and shoot her with

000 bow and arrow, from behind, as she is dancing. During month's captivity prisoner is "slapped and kicked around," but is not made to work. A man is delegated to lead captive around by hand; captive may become so attached to guard that she cries if anyone else takes charge of her. If she or her guard try to escape either on return to village from war or during captivity, both are killed.

[727] [567] 2873. Kl: Women hide during fighting; a few might be taken home, 1 or 2. Mo: "The Kl took their slaves up N to sell, but Mo had no place to sell slaves, so they didn't take any" (?). SW: Women captives made to work, but "really taken in order to obtain payment for their release later by tribe they belonged to." AW: "When they got mad, Mo came and took babies away. But when AW went [to war] they killed everyone, men, women and children; they didn't make slaves." Occasionally, however, child taken and adopted.

2883. At: Keep bows of slain, and use them; "they said the bow cried, because the man it belonged to was dead." (Never used it as musical bow.) NF: Ultimately burned.

2884. SW: "Mo always scalped Shasta, but Shasta never did this." WT: Take only 1 or 2 scalps, from persons killed in war. After killing man, woman, or child, disembowel corpse and string intestines, etc., around on bushes near enemy village; also cut off genitals and pound them on rock; no fear of counterattack while doing this, according to informant. Captives killed after returning home (see note 2869), not scalped, but bodies treated in fashion described above. NF: Scalping pre-White custom; "scalping stopped when White people came into the country." NS: "Only scalps taken were those of White men."

2885. NF: Scalp stuffed with straw.

Behavior of Noncombatants; Return of War Party

Women's dance; victory (scalp) dance.--

2893. At: Women dance, "just like men, in daytime, in village outside (no fire). Do this so men will return unhurt. Carry feathers."

2894. For all groups in which occurrence of dance is recorded, dancing starts same day or night as departure if warriors going only short distance; starts next day or night if warriors going far away.

2906. At: Carry feathers.

2908a. NF: Scalp dance (wetem) not celebrated immediately upon warriors' return, but "put scalps [taken in war] away for awhile, then arranged scalp dance, with visitors from other villages invited." Circle "dance" around scalps on poles all day; at night burn them. Some strong women run at scalp and hit it with long spear; men shoot it, or spear it. Run around thus all day, crying; those women who join men in this dance and men eat nothing during day. Men dance in center, women on outside.

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727 535 2917. Kl: Men and women dancers in 2 separate single files; circle fire, men circling it clockwise, women counterclockwise. Women dance on inside, near fire, men on outside. Stamp left foot continually. As men come down to fire, hand women dancers scalps, each on small hand pole. Dancers sing; also have singers who stand by fire. No rattles used. Dance thus for 5 nights sometimes; each night dance stops about midnight.

000 2921. Mo: Center pole has several scalps on it. At: Pole 5 ft. tall. NF: Scalp at top of pole.

[648] 2922. WM: "Learned to tie heart on top of pole from Kl."

2923. Mo: Woman leader of dance carries single scalp on small hand pole.

2940. Such as elkhide tunic, rod armor; carry bow and arrows, and shield if such is used.

727 783 627 Purification of killers; wounded.--This section relates in the main to persons who have engaged in intratribal murders rather than to warriors returning from open combats. The distinction between the taboos imposed on killers in open warfare and individuals who have secretly killed in a feud should have been more specifically inquired about, and separate entries made for the purification practices followed in each instance. Unfortunately this was not done and the field data do not allow insertion of separate entries for more than 5 or 6 of the groups covered. As a general rule, warriors seemed to have engaged in few purificatory practices; whereas for SW, SE, and other groups feud-murderers observed many of the taboos listed in this section. NF taboos which follow relate to person who has taken scalp in intertribal war. Such person is deemed witai (crazy) after he has taken scalp; must be purified before he can rejoin family.

2941. Kl: No ceremonialism connected with observance, however. Klamath Marsh men swim in lake.

2951. At: 2-3. WM: 4-5 days.

2955. Kl: Fish also taboo.

Peace Negotiations

000 Compensation for slain; dance of settlement.--

2958. SW: No compensation for slain, but compensation for captives. See note 2873, SW. AE: No settlement for intertribal killings in war; "just keep on owing each other a war (AE owe Paiute a war now; the Paiute came over and killed a man, years ago)." It is modern custom to settle for intertribal wars; Mo did it, under Captain Jack. MM: For intertribal wars, as with Washo, neither side will take payment for those killed. "Just fight it out; when good and ready, MM chief may send messenger man over to Washo; then they'd make friends with them."

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000 2960. SW: See note 2962. AE: Intratribal murder may lead to "little war" between 2 villages or 2 local groups [as Hammawi village and Fall River people; see note 2771]; in end such settled by payment for deaths. MM: "Always make [murderer] pay; got to settle it." MF: Sometimes pay relations before killing person. "Big Bar Jack killed a woman; he paid $10 to her relations, first, then he went up to where woman was staying and killed her. Her folks didn't try and kill him, then."

2962. SW: Intratribal feuds only fights in which compensation paid; "the person who did the killing wants to pay, because his life is in danger. He is the one who sends the messenger. Then, if wronged party won't agree, the chief steps in to settle matters." See, however, note 2873.

2965. At: See note 2798.

727 435 2969. Kl: Payment in elkskins. At: 3, 5, or 10 strings clamshell disk beads paid for intratribal killings; very wealthy man contributes 6 strings toward wergild payment, rich man 5 strings, poor man 1 string. Arrows also paid.

2986. Kl, SE, MM: Only if woman has no husband.

2990. Kl: "Food and plunder was what war party was after; members certainly did not pay for this later when settling for deaths."

000 2991. AE: When payment made for deaths in intravillage or intratribal war, no dance of settlement, "because the relations feel badly; they couldn't hardly do it [dance]."

3005. SE: At scene of meeting. At: Upon return home money is put on pole, smoked; next day chief gathers people around to divide money among them.

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth Customs

Preparations for delivery; delivery.--

3007. NS: Especially when other children apt to be around.

3009a. Usually trench dug for woman to lie over only after child has been delivered. Mo: Warmed trench used in cases of difficult childbirth, or for abortion (see note 3409).

3014. Mo: If professional midwife can be procured in time, called in; is always woman who has, herself, had an easy time during childbirth. AW: "Always get a woman who understands [about childbirth matters]; she is told [notified] way ahead of time." Parturient's mother is "all right for this, if she understands." However informant's wife had had 7 (?) children, but in none of her confinements had she been assisted by anyone, either another woman or her husband.

3016. NF: 2 women assist parturient, 1 grasping her behind, around waist, other receiving baby.

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00D 3017. AE: Husband may, however, go into birth hut occasionally, "to ask wife how she is getting on."

3018. SW: "At childbirth, woman is 'dark' all over; the birth blood is dark, not natural like [blood] from a cut on the finger. [Same for girl at puberty.] Anything dark is 'against' a doctor, who has to keep away from it. A woman has to be clear of all that [before a shaman can approach her]; 5 days after the birth of the child, a 'big' [powerful] doctor could doctor a woman who had had a difficult labor case." AW: Female shaman sometimes called in, to help expel afterbirth especially; "a new doctor, Mrs. Jim Hunt [AW], is good for that, now." Also shaman called in shortly after birth of child if mother catches cold, or infant is ill. WT: Person who sees fawn being born, rubs afterbirth on his or her hand. Such person is sent for in cases of childbirth; moment he or she walks into birth hut, baby is born. WT, WM, WS: In cases of difficult labor, (any) man whose mother bore him easily is sent for, to sit close to parturient (with his back to her) so that latter's delivery will be hastened. Among WM, man rendering this service is paid; payment denied by WS. [845] Such a practice denied by Kl, Mo, SE, MM, FM, NF, NS, MV informants. WT: Before child born, shaman can talk to it; if baby says then that it does not want to nurse its mother, it means it doesn't want to be born, and will kill the mother. "A really tiny baby is smart, knows a lot; when it begins to creep, talk, it doesn't know so much then." WS: If labor difficult, shaman (either man or woman) with power from water snake doctors parturient in birth hut to aid delivery of child.

3019. SW: Only if labor difficult. See note 3020.

3020. Mo: No medicine taken at delivery, but some time during pregnancy period (first to third month) woman wears bird's nest tied around her abdomen, to ensure easy delivery, because birds lay eggs easily. SW: "A woman, employed for purpose, makes medicine, does nothing else, for childbirth cases; just a few knew how to." AW: No medicine given mother before birth of child; only afterward.

3021. MM, MF, NS: Sugar-pine sugar, either crystals or as decoction; acts as physic.

3023. MF: Blown twice.

3026. AW: Parturient sits on woman's lap; informant positive this an old custom. WM: Sits on rock or piece of wood, so feces will not come out. NS: Round smooth rock pressed against anus, so child will not emerge from anal aperture. Denied for NF, MV.

3036. Mo, SE, WS; MF, NF: Woman held suspended "upside down," if breech presentation suspected. Mo: 5 times. NS: Husband inserts penis, if breech presentation seems likely.

3038. At, AE, WT, WS: Shaman coaxes infant; sings, baby "answers" him or her. (See also note

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000 3018.) NS: Women bring flowers to mother in labor and say to unborn baby, "Come on, I brought flowers; see my flowers," etc.

3039. Someone claps hands, or strikes 2 rocks together, around parturient's abdomen.

3040. MF, MV: Belt tied tightly around woman's abdomen, slipped down over abdomen slowly to force out child.

Afterbirth; navel cord.--

3044. AW: Rich man stays away from wife during childbirth; poor man helps his wife because "he can't hire anyone."

3045. WM, WS: Press with husband's moccasins, "to make it appear as though husband were trying to kick afterbirth out of woman." MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Afterbirth pressed out with hands.

3047. Occasionally only, if need be.

3049. AE: If infant all right after 1 week (or after cord has dropped off), bury afterbirth or throw it in stream. If infant dies before cord drops off, afterbirth burned together with birth hut, and baby buried.

3052. Mo: Wrapped in grass, laced onto board resembling cradleboard; put in fork of tree. Wrapped tightly; if crow, for example, tears it out and eats it, woman will not have any more children.

3055. SE: Mother of baby disposes of it.

3059. AE: See note 3049.

3060. MV: At night, so no one will see where it is buried.

3062. AE: See note 3049.

3063. AW: In fire at some distance from dwelling house, so that man in cloud (Thunder; see notes 4600, 4612) will not smell it burning. If burnt in house fire, Thunder will say the smoke smells good, and try to "get" [kill] mother.

3064. WM: Hot rocks are buried in hole in ground.

3066. Mo: Afterbirth destroyed if (1) wish to change sex of child, or (2) wish to prevent future offspring.

3067. Mo: To change sex of child.

3072. Mo: To prevent future offspring.

3081. NF: Purified by being put in basket of water. Among all other groups, put away, usually until baby is grown.

3082. Infant might "swell up."

3083. MV: Burnt.

3093. SW: Pitch put on soon after birth; in 5 days' time cord drops off. Fresh lump of pitch put on umbilicus and allowed to remain there until child is no longer kept in a cradle.

3095. WS: Charcoal and pulverized mussel shell. MV: Ashes from burnt shell knife used to cut cord.

3096. AW: "River moss" (algae?). WT: Powered oak gall. WM: Pulverized sunflower root.

3097. At: Fingernail scrapings and charcoal applied, so cord will drop off quickly. Round piece of rabbitskin put over dressings on umbilicus, and child put in cradle, immediately.

[844] 3099. Buckskin band, usually.

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ODO 3101. At: Cord buried in ground after child begins to walk.

3105. WM: Bag made from deer's "chin."

3109. Mo: Shown to owner, so latter will live long. AW: Cord tied on first cradle, which is discarded and hung in tree after cord has dropped off child. When child is grown, he is sometimes shown remains of cord, still attached to half-broken tule cradle hanging in tree.

3111. Deeply, "so that nothing will get at it."

3112. SE: Mother of infant puts cord in fire, midnight of day it drops off.

Treatment of infant, of mother, of midwife.--

3117. WT: One way of bathing child. After white milk starts flowing, baby's eyes washed with this milk, also.

3118. Mo, SE, SW: To cleanse baby of any ill effect from mother's bad dreams (see also note 3130).

[844] [846] 3119. Kl, Mo, MF, NS: Grass. SE, NF: Wiped with soft fawnskin; AE: shredded sagebrush bark.

3120. NF, NM: Infant rubbed with acorn flour; in all other positive cases for this entry, with oil or grease.

3129. Mo: By doubling up basket cap and blowing along upper edge; done to sharpen infant's hearing. WM: Done to make child good person; informant emphasized importance of observance. Informants from groups responding negatively were usually shocked at custom, stated it would make child deaf.

3130. SE: After navel cord drops off, shaman sometimes blows medicated water on baby, to take off any bad dreams mother may have dreamt. At: No ceremony over child. However Madesi Achomawi "dance after they have their first child. The father dances alone at night for 1 night after child born; a young man sings for him. Then father dances again, for 5 nights, after child's cord drops off, or when child is weaned. All the women dance too, in daytime, if warm days, for 6 days, until cord drops off. They dance outside under a little shade; the mother of child dances with them. An old man sings for them. Sometimes, if they couldn't shoot (see element 3259a) they'd put up a dance and feed singers. Poor people didn't put up these dances. AW: "Make a dance after they have first baby." Distribution of this dance for first-born child was not ascertained; through oversight element not entered on list when At, AW informants volunteered data on dance. MF: Woman (relative) holds baby, sings over it.

3138. Mo: As long as blood is flowing, woman lies over warmed pit; when it stops, she quits cook house and immediately goes to break wood, pack it home.

3139. AW: See note below.

3140. AW: Young mother (but not older women) runs immediately after birth of her child, "if she is all right, not sick. She also picks up

000 a few sticks." AE: Only healthy women leave hut immediately after birth, run 150-200 ft., and bathe; if weak, do not.

3141. AW: Only if she feels well.

3145. SW: Downstream from village. AE: Bathes only if day warm. WT: See note 3198. NF, NS: Informants shocked at idea of any bathing at this time; explained that "people were afraid of using water" on such occasions (see element 3169).

3151. SE: Mother drinks salmon-tail soup. Fish spawns, therefore soup efficacious in clearing out woman. Such a medicine denied for Kl, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV groups. At, AW: Decoction of ashes drunk; denied for all other groups.

3155. MV: Small cake of warm ashes made into loaf with water; placed on woman's abdomen.

3156. AW: Use "hotbed" for 6-7 days, but when cord drops off child, after 3-4 days, change location of pit.

3157. Mo: 2-3 days.

3165. To "let bad blood out," after contamination during delivery of infant.

Restrictions on mother, father.--

3166. AW: 6-7 days.

3169. SE: Takes steam bath in birth hut. SW, AE: May bathe in river; must not take sweat bath. WT: See note 3198. MF, MV: Bathed in hut, by attendant.

3173. MV: Or, usually, with attendant.

3182. At: Can eat salt; "makes lots of milk."

3183. At: Makes lumps in blood.

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3186. Kl: Scratching "brush" made of small bundle of willow twigs, 4 in. long, 1 in. wide. Mo: Bone scratcher, made from deer bone. At: Bone scratcher, worn in hair, not suspended from cord at neck or around wrist. Have fleas if do not use scratcher.

3192. AW: First time woman goes outside, with her baby, she throws piece of charcoal behind her; informant could give no reason for this, assigned it to "Coyote's law."

3193. Mo: Husband visits wife while she is outside in cook house; talks to her and sees baby. SW: Husband stays in birth hut with mother for 5 days after birth of child. WS: 2-3 days.

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3194. Kl, Mo, SE: 2-3 months.

3198. WT: When navel cord drops off, both mother and father of infant bathe; then 1 month after birth of baby both bathe again, and mother quits birth hut, returns to living house. The father must bathe where fish are (in streams, not springs).

3200. AW: Pine needles; AE: sagebrush bark; NF: wormwood used in bath.

3206. At: Father sleeps in birth hut with wife, but no intercourse; early each morning he leaves hut, goes out and walks or runs in mountains during day. AW: Stays with wife in birth hut until cord drops off child; gathers wood for fire, keeps fire going at night.

3209. WT, WS: 4-6 days.

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000 3211. In order to avoid bad dreams. WS: First night after birth of child only.

3212a. AW: See note 3130.

3213. At: Runs to mountains, on quest (see note 3206). AW: Runs a little, when gathering wood (see note 3206), but only goes on quest after cord drops off.

[846] [784] 3217. Kl, Mo, SE: Piles up rocks in shape of man.

3218. AW: Only after cord drops off child does father bathe and seek power in mountains. "Then it's done; before this he knows he can't get anything, even if he goes 100 times, before that cord drops off."

3225. SE, AW, WT, WS: 4-6 days. WS: "Sign of rain if he bathes."

3226. SE, AW, WM, WS: 4-6 days.

3228, 3229. WM: 4-6 days.

3230. WM: 4-6 days. WS: 2-3.

3232, 3235. WS: 2-3 days.

3237. Each of these 3 items inquired about separately. WS: 2-3 days. MV: 28-35 days. Rationale for taboos--[illegible] insure child's navel healing properly.

[292] [846] 3247. Kl: Spier, Klamath, p. 55, notes that both parents wear bark belts for birth of first child only. AE: Young man, especially after birth of first child, wears braided sagebrush-bark belt, 3-4 in. wide, tied around waist rather tightly so he will have slim waist, "never be pot-bellied." Also wears this belt when chasing deer, "so stomach won't flop up and down," and also "so he won't be so hungry." Youth, being sent off on vision quest to seek power at medicine lake or springs, wears similar belt.

3248. MM, MF: Head will become sore if scratch with fingers.

3249. Mo: Hair will turn prematurely gray.

3252. WT: See note 3193. NF: Uses wormwood decoction.

3259a. At: After cord drops off, father sweats, changes clothes; 2 days later he goes to certain place, shoots at old log; then goes little farther, and is sure to see deer. He shoots 1 arrow and kills deer, which he gives away (see note 3260).

3260. At: See preceding note. After father kills first deer, he tells old woman to go and get it; does not eat any of it himself. Afterward, next deer he shoots he eats a little; "not too much. This makes him lucky, so that every time he goes out he kills deer, after that."

3261. At: Old people (nonrelatives) take what man wins, put winnings away and never bet with them. Then man is always lucky at gambling. NF: "Afterward has good luck, wins all the time."

3262. NF: Big dinner held 4 days after cord drops off. NS: Taboo period ends after ca. month; gauged by time when child first smiles; big dinner given, and child's parents can then eat meat.

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000 Cradles.--

3263. For cradles, see also elements 1342-1387.

3267. NF: When child about 1 week old is put in first cradle.

3269. AW: Made "way ahead of time. Even if baby dies, they put him on it and bury him."

3273. SE: Hung facing E; WM, WS: facing N. SW: First and second cradles tied on tree when discarded, "so child will keep on growing." NF: First cradle given away.

3274. SW: Flint pendants tied to second cradle; these put on because "when child laughs, makes faces while asleep, it is because little lizards are saying to child 'I'll hit you to make you laugh.' So of course child must laugh. In order to frighten these little lizards away, tie pieces of flint on each side of cradle, near baby's face." AW: At night, however, child sleeps between parents, not on cradle; "sometimes one of parents rolls over and kills a baby, sleeping this way." WT: 2-3 years. Child of 2 1/2 - 3 years packed in second cradle on long trips (as, for example, to Hyampom, 27 miles). Child's feet dangle over bottom of cradle; "sometimes child walks for a way, with the cradle on his back, like a turtle!" WM: 2-3 years. WS: 1-2 years. NS: 1-2 years.

3281. SW: See note 3273.

[854] 3284. Kl, SE, At, AW, WT, WM, WS, MF, NM, NS: Dry grass, softened by mashing, put under child. Mo, AE: Sagebrush bark, softened by mashing, put under child. MV: Shredded willow bark, prepared yearly by midwives (soaked over winter, dried, shredded), sold for purpose. SE: Older children try to secure infant's soiled diapers and bury them; gives them luck in finding bird-nests with eggs in them; eat eggs.

3285. SW: Also stuff bottom section of sitting cradle with buckskin.

3286. At: Wildcat skin.

Nursing; weaning and discipline.--

[853] 3287. Kl: 2-3 days. AW, AE, WS, MM, NF: 1-2. WT, NM: 1-3.

[853] 3288. No specific term for colostrum; referred to in English as "water milk." SE: Breasts cut [sic] with sharp piece of flint, squeezed, to milk out colostrum. Cutting denied by Kl, Mo, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV. SW: Breasts massaged with basket cap, which is placed over them, in order to milk out colostrum; also massage them thus when they ache; if do not, breasts become feverish. At: Milk out colostrum by rubbing breasts with hands; put warm rock between breasts, then massage them again. After colostrum milked out, "then the white [milk] comes; that's the time. Pretty hard work, to make that white one [milk] come." Baby does not suck, usually, for 2 days. AE: "White milk takes 2 days to flow for older woman; for younger perhaps 1 day." WT: "Water" flows from breasts 1-3 days after birth, even if flow begins 2 days or so before

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ODO childbirth. They never feed this 'water' to a child; it's not real milk, but water, they claimed, that comes ahead of milk. It is milked out. A newborn baby can go for 3-4 days without anything to eat; it doesn't hurt it, as it would a child a month or so old." NS: After colostrum milked out, brush breasts with dry soaproot brush, "to make all the good [white] milk come together." Never feed baby colostrum; "wouldn't think of doing this"; usually child nurses after about 1 day. No milking of breasts before baby born to express colostrum.

[853] 3289. Kl, Mo, At: So that white milk will flow more quickly. At, WS: Colostrum milked into small basket, contents of basket poured onto hot rock, to make milk flow quickly. Denied by all Maidu, Nisenan groups. AE: Milked onto hot rocks to burn it up, so flies will not bother mother or infant. WM: If woman loses baby, and milks out her breasts, she does not let her milk fall on hot rocks, but on grass; "because when women used to let it fall on hot rocks, they found they had only a little milk when they had their next baby."

3291. SE: Quail, rabbit gruel. AE: Shell, vegetable gruel.

3293. Mo, SE: 2-3 months.

3296. AW: If mother pregnant, child stops nursing of own accord.

3300. SE: Pitch and sour medicine; NF: Cascara (juice?); NS: pitch and charcoal; MV: burnt tarweed.

3301. WM, WS, NM: Mother warns child he, she is drinking worm; puts worm on breast, near nipple.

3303. AW: But "make fun of large child if he still nurses; say he's 'no good, no good; don't touch him.'" WM: If wean child quickly, will conceive again quickly; but if continue nursing child, will not conceive for several years.

3304. Child up to 2 years old or so bathed with warm or cold water if cries at night, to make it sleep. Sometimes have to bathe child thus twice nightly, each night, until break child of crying.

3305. At: Baby may cry because dreaming bad dream. WT: As regards disciplining of older children, informant stated that, "children were whipped in a group, never singly; after several children had done wrong at different times they were finally gathered together, and 1 special man in the village whipped each child. The largest boy in the group was the first to be whipped. A basket was put over a little girl's head (of 3 years or over) if she was to be whipped. They used a bowstring and whipped a boy on the back, or anywhere; girls they switched on the legs only. The person doing the whipping held the child; he left large welts on them, so they'd listen to him next time." Whippings were administered any time, whenever children became "mean" or got into mischief. A rich man (not chief, but next to chief in im-

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000 portance) whipped children; if a poor man did it, children would be poor when grown, whereas if rich man punished them, they might grow up to be wealthy. After he had whipped them, whipper talked to children, but did not send them out on vision quest. MM: Only certain babies; done by shaman.

Naming; mutilations.--

3306. MF: Informant knew Indian names given, and mentioned 1 or 2 names of MF men, but was apparently honest in stating she had forgotten her own Indian name. NS: Informant had never been given Indian name; no doubt about her honesty.

3307. AE: If infant ailing, shaman sings for it, and gives baby a name. Songs shaman sings different for boy and girl babies.

3308. Mo: Named for first word it speaks. SW: (Boy) named for deed or major occupation of his father or grandfather; girl for deed or occupation of her mother, grandmother or father's sisters. AW: Informant recalled 3 Indian names, but stated "lots of AW have no Indian names"; whether this had always been true, informant could not say. Possible this has some bearing on matter of extension of name taboo to kinship term taboo, which is described in note 4314.

3314. SW: Named by any close relative on father's side only (but can also be named by mother herself).

3318. MV: 2 namesakes considered sisters or brothers to each other; strong bond of sympathy exists between them, and extends to their offspring.

3319. SE, WS: Original possessor takes new name. SE: Original owner of name paid for his or her name.

Mutilations.--

See also elements 1613-1648, 3583-3588.

3323. NS: "Both ears, not just 1."

3326. AW, AE: Boys of 10-15 years have ears, nose pierced prior to being sent to spring in mountains to seek power. Girls have ears, nose pierced short time after puberty dance; girl dances for 5 nights after piercing is done; may obtain vision when dancing (see note 3584).

3327. SW: Some families believe in it, and pierce all their boys' and girls' ears. Also men have ears pierced sometimes. In Kammatwa and Katiruk groups (see note 282) "all men and women have noses and ears pierced, and wear big bunch of beads in nose, unlike other [Shasta] groups."

3330. MV: On boys only.

3332. MV: On girls only.

3335. NF: Will never join good dead when die unless ears pierced; join "devils" and eat their pinole, made out of large bugs.

3340. NM: Warm oak stick in fire, stick it through septum; let it stay there 4-5 days. Girl sleeps with old woman at night; in sleep former

OOD may rub nose with hand. "Then old woman grabs her wrist and tells girl not to do that; girl may get so mad she slaps old woman."

3341. WM, WS: Mourners, sick persons pierce own nasal septums sometimes; WM: to give others misfortune, cause their death; WS: as therapeutic measure. See note 1614.

3343. At: Poor men do not have noses pierced. Piercing done when man is going to mountains to pray, in order to give him good luck.

3346. At: Done, on man, by "old, gray-haired man."

3350. WM: Women's facial tattooing recent practice only; men's facial tattooing old practice.

3351. At: If tattooed areas swell, bad luck; if do not, girl will have easy childbirths.

3352. SW: Women tattooed when grown, so pattern will stay on.

3355. SE: Done only for identification, in event man killed in war.

3356. WM: On women, recently.

3358. SW: Untattooed woman called "leather face"; but no especial reason for tattooing. WM: True for women; for men see note 3359.

3359. WM: Men only tattoo arms if they ache, and shaman tells them the reason for this is that they have plunged their arms in "snake's dance house [Lut]. A snake's Lut is a little stream, up in mountains; man, when in mountains, may have stumbled and, to save himself, pitched forward and fallen with his arms in small stream; such streams were snakes' dance houses. When in mountains, people do not drink from such streams; they dig out small springs a little with their hands and sing and sing; when water rises in hole, they spit in water before drinking, so the spirit in spring will not hurt them. Down by main river though, they drink river water, and swim in river."

3360. At: Also, woman tattooed so she will have easy time in childbirth.

3361. Mo: Also, if not tattooed, or do not have ears, nose pierced, will eat snake eggs after death.

3362. Mo: 2 pads, stuffed with cattail down, bound on infant's head, front and back. SW: Front pad "heavier, like a weight; back pad more like a pillow, and does not flatten back part of head." AW: Some people among AW practice fronto-occipital head flattening, "but not all people, like those Mo; only a few." WM: Weeds with round "button" flowers (variety of compositae?) put in baby's cradle, so that child's head will grow round.

Disposal of milk teeth; twins.--

3370. WM: When toenails or fingernails long, cut them with piece of obsidian and gather up parings; walk about 10 paces and throw parings toward Glass Mountain (source of obsidian supply), saying, "Go away up there and get me good flint nails and put them on me."

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DOO 3372. WT: Teeth put in hole, child says to animal, "Let's trade teeth; I want good sharp ones like yours," and then jumps over hole. Or trades teeth with trout, and says same formula, but puts teeth in river. WS, MM: Child jumps over hole. NF, NM, NS: All first teeth disposed of thus.

3373. At, AW: Child's excrement; WM: Old person's.

3374. SW: So second or permanent teeth will grow steadily, like grass.

3377. NF, MV: Tell animal, "You give me all good teeth." NS: Bury tooth, and ask gopher for his old tooth, telling him they will give him a new one [the baby tooth] in exchange.

3378. WM: Twins (woman, pretty) feared; "they make a woman sick, pain her before she births them; she may die." NF, MV: Informants had never heard of any cases of twins occurring in groups.

3380. WM, MF, NM, NS: Never eat "twin" wild plums, double acorns, etc. WM: Tell young girls never to talk about twins. Also warn young girls against eating double, triple, etc., acorns "that are all bunched together on 1 stem. If a girl does eat 2 or 3 such acorns off 1 stem, she must point with each of the acorns in a different direction, and say, 'I'll have a child over there [pointing E for example]; next time I'll have a child over there [pointing W]; next time over there [pointing N], etc., so that she won't have 2, 3, 4 children all at 1 time, bunched up together."

Infanticide, illegitimate children; impregnatives, contraceptives, abortion.--

3389. AW: "Anything they raise [give birth to] they keep." WT: Bastard called a "road baby." They "worship that little thing more than an ordinary baby; everyone gives it things, because they all feel sorry for it."

3390. SE, WM, WS: Child killed occasionally, if mother had dreamt bad dreams while confined, and violent storm ensues at time of childbirth. Rare. Denied for all other groups. SE, WM, NM, NS: Infant buried alive with mother, if latter [847] dies in childbirth. Burial alive denied for Kl, [848] Mo, WS, MM, NF. Informant for NF remarked infant, deprived of mother, usually died after about 3 weeks. MV: Try to save child; hire nurse if possible.

3392. WS: If mother dies, but infant lives, "another woman, anyone who wants to keep that baby" [need not be relative] drinks 3-4 cupfuls of boiled wild grapevine roots, stem, leaves. In about 1 day after drinking this and massaging breasts, the milk begins to flow and woman can nurse baby she has taken. In winter dry vine and roots effective for this purpose. "An old woman, 60-70 years old, did this for her grandchild, and raised that boy. His mother had died when he was 1 month old."

3393. WM: "Charley Klutchie's father raised him; his mother died at childbirth and the people

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DDO wanted to bury the baby with mother, but infant's father objected and raised the baby."

3395. SE: Cradleboard turned face down. WM, WS: Infant's face pressed into mother's breast.

3397. AW: "Lots of times woman's father or mother takes woman's illegitimate child and raises it, and woman gets another man [husband]."

3400. Mo: Shell decoction. SE: Haliotis decoction. WM: Wild-flag decoction.

3401. NS: Woman wishing child goes to shaman, who makes miniature baby cradle; this is put where woman sleeps. "Gives her 1-2 children; not many."

3402. See also elements 3066-3075. Mo: End of dentalia shell scraped, given to woman to drink, if wants boy; haliotis scrapings, for girl baby. AW: For boy, ground dentalia shell drunk; for girl, Olivella or haliotis (?) drunk. WM: Stem of wild iris used, for girl; wild iris leaf used, for boy.

3404. WM: See note 3402.

3405. WM: Miniature bow and arrow, or basket (depending on whether boy or girl baby wanted) hung up in dwelling house where couple have intercourse (cf. element 3401).

3406. See also elements 3066-3075.

3407. NF, MV: Decoction of mistletoe berries; said by MV to be recent practice only.

3409. Mo: Trench dug, hot rocks put in, cedar leaves, dirt put over rocks; woman made to lie on this, to induce abortion. Also used in cases of difficult childbirth.

Puberty and Menstrual Customs

Girls' puberty ceremony.--

3417. At: Girl sleeps short time in hut before daylight, but spends main part of day in open.

3420. SE, SW: Part of day spent in open gathering wood. At, AW: Menstruant often spends whole day in open during rites.

3423. SW: Hut on west ("dark side") of dwelling. WM: Girl occupies hut distant from dwelling ca. 1 month; then moves into bark house near dwelling house and stays in bark house all winter (1 year).

3426. Mo: Latter part of period only. NM: Throughout period. NS: No heat because "always believe warmth clots blood."

3428. At: Burnt bark. If girl sleeps out in open during daytime, uses small piece of bark as pillow. AE: Bark girl carries at night. WM: Plain bark.

3429. AW, NM: Stick. NS; Pine needles.

3433. At: Head toward E because "W a bad place, where evil dreams come from." WS: Menstruant faces door, any direction.

3434. WT: 2-3 months.

3436. SE: 8-10 days. At: 3-10. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4.

3438. SW: 1-2 days. At: 2-6. WT: 1-3.

3444. AE: "A good-natured, lively woman."

000 3445. MV: Old woman and young girl helper.

3451. SE: 8-10 days. At: Eats acorn soup, sparingly. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4 days.

3456. SW: If eat meat, ruin luck of hunter who has shot game; hunter must obtain more luck before he can kill anything afterward. At: If menstruant eats meat will lose her teeth. AW: Fresh deermeat makes menstruant ill, because deer hair grows inside woman if she eats meat at this time. Also, if menstruant eats meat, fish she will make hunter, fisherman sick; weaken his bow and arrow; spoil fishing grounds, etc.

3459. At: All berries except manzanita berries taboo.

3460. WM: New crop acorns taboo. Crop would be spoiled, and next year's crop would fail.

[881 3461. Kl: "Afraid girl would lose her teeth."

267] 3463. WM: Girl drinks creek water only; "salmon in the river; girl would spoil them."

3464. SE: 8-10 days. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4.

3468. MV: Winter only.

3469. MV: 2 female singers eat with girl, also.

3471. MV: See element 3450.

3476. AW: Someone has to give girl water; "if she gets it herself, she will have bad teeth." NF, MV: Girl fed acorn mush on end of forked stick. NF: Attendant holds basket of water to girl's lips.

3477. Twig used to clean teeth.

3478. Mo, SE, NF: Grass, buckskin, etc. AE, MF, NM, MV: Shredded bark used to wipe mouth.

3479. Mo, SE, AW: Chew kinnikinick leaves, berries, or sunflower roots. At, AW, MF, NM: Pine needles or pine gum.

3479a. At, MM: Juniper. AW, MM: Pine tassel (?). AE: Peppermint. At, MM, AW, AE: Done so "girl can't smell meat cooking." At: "So girl won't smell tobacco smoke, or odor of sweat under armpits."

3480. WS: Girl may sleep all day.

3484. NS: Girl made to lie down for entire period. MV: Rises early and bathes.

3486. Mo: If talks too much, will become a "chatterbox."

3488. WM: Cannot laugh because taboo to show teeth; reason unknown.

3492. Instruction concerns conduct, housekeeping, and other things. MV: Old women visitors fed by girl's attendant.

3494a. WT: Would see evil spirit.

3495. At: If looks at moon, it will rain.

3500. NS: Acorns will drop off trees.

3500a. At, AW: If girl steps in water, it will rain. See note 3612, At. NM: If menstruant woodgathering, another woman carries her across "any little creek."

3502. See 3589-3596.

[302] 3509. Kl: If girl uses fingers, hair will turn
[515] white when still young. "They don't want this to
[881] happen." Also, if girl washes face with hands, it will soon become wrinkled and she will quickly look old. NM: Girl's hands tied together sometimes, to prevent her scratching self with fingers.

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000 3512. SE: 8-10 days. At: 3-6. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4.

3515. At: Worn attached to skirt or belt, in back. See note 3572. "If girl wears basket cap on head when menstruating, she will dream and get gray hair." WM: Old basket cap, worn chiefly when going outside hut.

3516. AE: Greasewood-bark woven "cape."

3518. Mo: Pack basket. SE, SW: Basket hopper.

3520. AW: Aberrant use of feather; old man or woman, if has power and "wants to get rid of it and give it to girl," puts 1 feather in girl's head when she is dancing at puberty dance.

[301 828 881] 3521. Kl, Mo, At, AW: Braided sagebrush. AE: Greasewood bark. At, AW, AE: Bark pendant from band extends down back. Mo: Lacks pendant down back.

3522. SE: Mink.

3523. SE, SW: Bluejay feathers. WS: Informant reported having seen girl's puberty dance among Scott Valley Shasta, 50 yrs. ago, in which girl wore visor of grouse feathers. Dance lasted 2-3 weeks, but at end visor not lifted off girl; latter wore visor throughout ensuing summer.

3525. SE, SW: Feather visor. WT: Girl's mother or grandmother takes girl outside; never allowed her to go alone. At night attendant carries torch. WM: Basket. MM: Basket cap. NF: Pack basket. NS: Girl does not leave hut 4 days and nights; hole dug inside hut to serve as latrine; covered with dirt afterward. MV: Deerskin blanket.

3527. Sagebrush-bark wrappings.

3536. WT: Burned. NF: Buried.

3538. MV: Burnt pepperwood gourds used.

3540. AE: 3 red stripes (1 each down nose and cheeks), if girl is dancing for 3 nights; 4th stripe, down chin, added if girl is dancing for 4 nights. (See left figure, below.) WM: Alternate red and black dots from eyes down cheeks. (See right figure, below.)

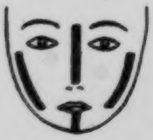

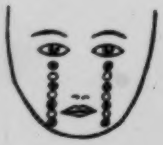

3546. MV: Girl painted by 2 female singers each morning.

3547. WM: Wears old deer-hide skirt, especially when going outside to run. Hide tanned with hair on; has been saved, hung up in top part of house in smoke, for ca. 10 years. Taboo for girl to touch newly tanned skirt; "an old skirt will help her; she won't be afraid of anything."

3550. WM: During menstrual periods, wears maple-bark double skirt, with breechclout underneath; bark skirt likely to become stained, so

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000 in evening when girl runs she wears buckskin skirt over bark one; removes buckskin skirt when she returns to her hut.

3552. Serves as menstrual pad. Mo: Shredded sagebrush. SE: Grass. SW, MF, NF: Buckskin. At: Sagebrush encased in bark. AW: Front skirt (of grass, tule, buckskin) tucked in between legs. WM: Soft maple bark; changed frequently, burned secretly.

[301 824 881]

3557. Kl, Mo: Of sagebrush bark. AE: Of greasewood bark, braided. MM, MF: Of buckskin.

3558. Kl, Mo, AW: Of sagebrush bark. AE: Of greasewood bark, braided. MM: Of buckskin.

3559. Mo, AE: Of sage or greasewood. SE, SW, WM: Hair belt. SW: Hair belt purchased; decorated with triangular pieces of shell that rattle when girl dances. Kept, worn any time afterward. AW, AE: Pack strap for belt. MM, MF, NF: Buckskin belt.

3562. SE: Sweet-grass necklace. MM: Pine-nut necklace.

3565. At: Hand might be paralyzed. AW: "Some said a girl would ruin a basket she'd started, or the weeds [Xerophyllum], if she made baskets."

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3567. Kl: "If girl doesn't work outside, she'll be lazy."

3569. SE, SW, NM: For every household in village. At: Girl gets light loads of wood, every day, at noontime. NM: All women sing as girl goes to top of hill for wood. MV: Gathers wood final 2 days of seclusion only.

3570. At: Menstruating girl "never touches water. That's no good, you'll dream bad."

3571. For everyone asking her to do so.

3572. At: If girl menstruates in season when roots are dug, she digs them for old women during daytime. At noon, girl dances and old woman hits ("spanks") her on basket cap; girl then runs east as old woman shouts. Girl returns to an old woman who beckons to her; this old woman pinches girl's left forefinger hard, so that she will fill up the basket with roots quickly, and hits her on basket cap. The girl then goes off to gather roots, which she puts in the basket cap, and transfers to the old women's pack baskets. She is supposed to fill 3 pack baskets before sundown. The next day girl goes to another family, to dig roots. "The old women liked this help; they'd say, 'Oh, I wish she would do this every day, dig roots for me.'" This is done not only at first-puberty rites, but during every menstrual period before girl marries. If no roots, girl gathers fruit during day for her mother. MV: Final 2 days of seclusion menstruant, attendants, and women gather clover; return to village wearing wild-rose crowns. Give clover to "captains" (yeponi) to eat in sweat house.

3574. At, AW: See note 3565.

3575. At: So she will be a good runner. At, AW: To catch shadow. AW, AE: To fetch water for someone. WM, NM: Brings back sticks. This denied for WS, MM, MF, NF, NS, MV. At: Girl runs toward E.

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DDO 3576. AW: Girl runs on first morning of her menses, just before daylight, and on each subsequent morning. "Some old lady talks to her. When she runs, she can't look back. Then she sleeps a little, then the old ladies come and want to dance with her" (the day dance).

3581. At: Vision seeking, but with qualifications. When girl is menstruating "she may get power; she may dream and go to the mountains as she is told to do in her dream; but she also tries to get power out in the mountains when well."

3582. See note 3492. At: Girl is instructed, but not when she is menstruating, only when well.

3583. At: Sometimes ears pierced during infancy, if baby "mean." Usually, however, a girl, on final night of dancing during 6th or final puberty dance, has ears pierced for first time, just before daylight. She then goes off into mountains for 3 days, alone, seeking for power through dream. She is then considered adult.

3584. AW: If have "good clear days when girl dances [puberty dance], then later [ca. 3-8 days] on a cloudy day girl's ears pierced, so there will be good weather again. The father says, 'Get that girl,' and some good old lady [not necessarily a relative] pierces the girl's ears. Then some old lady who has a power and knows how to talk to the mountains lifts the girl up--turns her--and drops her, and rubs her legs with dirt, and then hits her with a [miniature] seed beater and hollers, 'See what's coming, you mountains.' The girl runs off; she goes as far as she wants to in the mountains, then turns back. She doesn't swim. If she steps in the water it will make it rain, and give her bad luck. She may go out, 2, 3, 10 miles into the timber, for power to dig roots, be strong, healthy, get a rich man, but when she gets up to a distant place she picks up some leaves or sticks to show she's been there, and immediately turns around to go home. [A boy would have to stay there.] If she's early, she sits down in the woods some place, until it's time for her to dance that night. In the evening she returns home. She may bring back wood for some old lady who can't get wood. The singers come together and the celebrant and the boys and girls dance. She has a stick to scratch her head, but they're not so particular as about the other [girl's puberty] dance. They dance for 2-5 nights; it depends on how many singers come; if there are lots to spell each other, they dance longer. At the end they take the sticks out [of the girl's ears] and put a quill in each ear and she wears that all the time. They do this for every girl for whom it is a fine day when she dances the puberty dance; if it rains at the puberty dance it gives the girl bad luck. Mostly it doesn't rain." AB: Short time after puberty dance is over, pierce girl's ears and, sometimes, her nose; girl then dances for 5 nights.

3585. AW: See preceding note.

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000 3586. AW: See note 3584. AE: Girl may obtain vision while she is dancing after having ears, nose pierced.

[841] 3587. NF: Ca. 10 years of age.

[881] [783] 3589. Kl, Mo, SE: Sweat bath after first 5 or 3 menstrual periods. WM, WS: 1 month or 1 year after girl first menstruates. MV: 1 month after first menstruation.

3591. NS: Menstruant followed to stream by sister, girl relatives who sing for her, early morning 5th day.

3593. NF: Wormwood decoction.

3597a. Either at end of each menstrual period, or at end of entire puberty ceremony.

[841] [881] 3599. Kl: For 5 periods. Mo: For 3-5. SE, At, AW, AE: For 3.

3601. MV: To old woman attendant.

3603. MV: Exchanged with girl attendant.

3606. SE: Worn each subsequent menstruation.

[881] [535] 3609. Kl, Mo, SE, SW, At, AE, AW, WM, WS, MV: Emphasized jollity connected with girl's puberty dance. Lack of ritual obligations on any of participants except menstruant, made it (SW) "most popular and well attended of all the dances." NM: Puberty dance, yomuse. MV: Round dance held on final night of girl's 28-day seclusion. "This [night] dance was the main dance; each night (of the 28) the people came and gambled; the girl's family fed the visitors."

3610. NF: Name of day dance, wulu. Held after girl has come out of menstrual hut, and bathed; in daytime. Girl and women dance in circle, holding hands; no fire, pole. Dance a short while, then 2 women singers, with girl between them, sing, girl joining in singing. No deer-hoof rattle.

[881] [535] [777] [787] 3612. So girl will not dream bad dreams; will have good luck. Kl: "If girl sleeps little while, she dreams there's a noise in the sky; she dreams of thunder. That's a bad dream, so they keep her dancing all night, for 5 nights, so she won't dream." Mo: "If she sleeps at this time, the girl will dream about thunder, then it will sure strike her, and kill her." SW: Girl's puberty dance "just a common good-time dance, held to help the girl out of her trouble, to keep her from dreaming" (see also note 3721). At: Girl sleeps head toward east; "the west, they said, was a bad place, where bad dreams come from, Silver Fox said... They dance with her all night, to make her lively, so she won't sleep and dream ... [when girl is menstruating] she never touches water; that's no good; she'll dream bad." AW: Given "so the girl will get power in 'dreams' as she gets sleepier and sleepier, dancing. But she must not tell anyone what she dreams. They don't let her sleep in the daytime; if she sleeps she'll dream bad for herself and be sick." WT: Puberty observances held "so girl won't dream bad dreams." On first day of menstruation, girl's grandmother sits by her, sings, uses clapper to keep girl awake. WM: Girl "never dreamt bad, but her grandmother, who was staying with her, might; she might

[220-B]

000 dream that some animal came and packed her away. NF: Girl stays in menstrual hut because "a big buzzard [Thunder?] would come if she went outside, and take her up to the sky. They come to get the girl; coming down they sound like thunder; that's why people are careful of girls." The day dance is given to celebrate girl's maturity, as well as to avert disaster to girl. MV: Given so girl will be lucky in being able to gather abundance of wild seeds.

3614. SE: 8-10 nights. At: 3-10 nights. 1st period, girl dances 3 nights; 2d period, girl dances 5 nights; 3d period, girl dances 6 nights; 4th period, girl dances 7-5 nights; 5th period, girl dances 5 nights; 6th period, girl dances 10 nights. Some girls dance for only 3 menstrual periods, not 6. AW: 3-12 nights. If only few singers come, dance lasts only 3-4 nights; if many singers come, dance 6-12 nights. AE: 3-4 nights. WM: Ca. 5 nights. NF: Dance lasts 1 day.

3615. SE, SW, AW: 1-2 subsequent menses. At: 2-5.

3618. Near dwellings. SW, SE hold dance outside; under tree if rainy weather.

3622. In general, girl's father. MM: Girl's mother.

3623. Usually, girl's father's father. WS: "No one in charge."

3625. Mo: 1-2 men only, to sing.

3626a. See note 3635, AE, WS.

3628. AE: See figure.

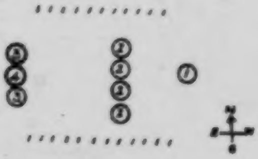

'''''''', men, women dancing; 1, fire; 2 singers; 3, dancers supporting menstruant; 4, menstruant.

H

[88/535] 3629. Kl, Mo: Girls support menstruant. SW, SE: Men or women support menstruant. At, AW, AE: Boys or girls support menstruant. AE: Menstruant's betrothed and girl may support menstruant.

3631. MM: Girl dances 4 nights, rests 1 night, dances and has ears pierced on 6th (final) night.

3635. AE: Girl's betrothed dances with girl, for each of the 3 successive monthly periods of 5 days each that girl dances. During these periods his conduct parallels that of girl's; he eats no meat, grease, fish; he eats sparingly, runs alone each morning, takes bath by self, uses scratching stick, is employed on errands in daytime. He wears braided greasewood headband, capelike head covering, greasewood wristlets and anklets. On morning of final rite he washes himself, changes clothes. WS: Girl's be-

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000 trothed not subject to any of above regulations, but dances with girl for 3 periods and is dressed well when on view with menstruant year after girl first menstruates. Morning following this large final puberty dance parents of girl and betrothed line up in row, singing; girl and youth dance, hand in hand, in front of line 1 hour; boy then takes girl to his father's house, all guests depart, couple considered married. This done only by virgins, chaste boys; marriage has been arranged previously by parents of principals; common form of marriage, "done often." Betrothal dance, doharilpurik. All other groups explicitly denied any such puberty marriage customs as described herein for AE, WS.

3637. SE: With back toward fire, however. AE: Singers between girl and fire (see fig., note 3628).

3641. SW: Between dances men and women sit in line or group, with menstruant in front of them; women, mainly, sing, although men may help. Sing special women's songs that are used only for this purpose; also sing songs of more exoteric nature. MM: Girl rests at intervals during night's dancing; also dances 4 nights, rests on fifth, on sixth has ears pierced, dances and runs in morning.

3652. Mo: Men sing for few hours, then go home; women stay and sing all night. NF, NM, MV: 2 female singers figure prominently in accounts of ceremony.

3653. AW: Men sing for girl, passing rattle as each sings in turn. Any woman takes rattle, sings, if she is good singer.

[53 3] 3654. Kl: "Have 1 singer they hire, a woman;
[56 2] they pay her. Then lots of people help her sing,
[88 1] men and women."

3659. At: Occasionally only, if mother thinks girl is tired. Mother also rubs ashes on girl's legs, if girl tired.

3661. SW: See note 3641.

[53 3] 3662. Kl, Mo: Men and women sing about each
[56 2] other (see Spier, Klamath, p. 69).

[88 1] 3665. Kl, Mo: Begin with an evening song, and end in morning at daylight with a morning song (see Spier, Klamath, p. 69). During night sing "love" songs (see note 3662). SW: See note 3641. Brush dance is 1 of dances given during puberty dance; men carry bows and arrows. At: In winter sing of snow melting; other songs in regular (?) order.

[52 2] 3666. Kl: Singers and others, joke with men-
[53 3] struant as she dances. MF, NF: Joking by clown.

[88 1] 3668. At: Use 2 deer-hoof rattles during night dance; 1 for singers, 1 to keep passing to persons who are sleepy. At end of night dancing, menstruant given rattle and told to go and run; she rattles and sings throughout day by herself. NM: Deer-hoof rattle, kosiltil.

3669. At: See note 3668. WM: Deer-hoofs used for this rattle have been saved, hung up in top part of house in smoke, for several years (cf. note 3547).

[221-B]

000 3670. MV: See Densmore, Musical Instruments, pp. 114-115.

3672. At: Men, women dance half night; menstruant and 4 boys continue dancing throughout entire night. Boys dance with girl "to make her lively"; otherwise she would grow sleepy.

3674. Mo: Singers fed at midnight, sometimes. At, AW: Singers fed, especially. AW: "Some singers won't eat anything; if they have power they say, 'I don't want to eat so near to that girl.'"

3677. WM, WS: For informal night dancing while girl is in seclusion, men, women do not dress especially, but (WS) "at the year's end, at big time [when girl ends isolation], they put on all their finery."

3684. AE: Girl wears greasewood bark cape (over head?) during dance; cape hung on tree at end of ceremony.

3687. MV: See note 3572.

3691. WT, WM: In springtime.

3693. At: After daybreak, old women dance circle dance for girl; old woman singer. Girl then departs for mountains to gather fruits, roots. AW: After girl stops dancing night dance, "they quit dancing for a little while. The girl runs [just before daybreak], then sleeps a little; then the old ladies come and want to dance with her. The girl and women dance a circle dance in the daytime." NM: "Sometimes have day dance; not always."

3696. At, AW: Old women.

3697. SE: 8-10 days. At: 3-10. AW: 3-12.

3700. AW: See note 3584.

3706. WM: Held in fall "when the salmon have all returned to the ocean," ca. 1 year after girl has started menstruating. "People come from all over, Stillwater, all directions. The visitors paint and come into the dance place in the afternoon, from the brush; they whoop and shoot their arrows at a brush effigy; it frightens you when you see it for the first time and don't know what it is about. After the visitors come into the camping place, the girl stands in the middle, all dressed up, but not dancing. The people dance as they do in the war dance, for 1-2 hours, then go to the river and swim, and return home. The old lady [attendant] takes the girl by the hand and leads her into the [menstrual] hut, and gives her a bath, then brings her into the big living house in the evening. Then the girl can eat dry or fresh salmon, but no sucker, trout, deermeat for 1 more year." WS: "After 1 year, when girl is going to eat fresh meat, they have a big time. Everybody comes; the visitors bring food, and the girl's family provides food. When they first come in they roll up a brush effigy and shoot at it, whooping. Then they call the girl, and make her stand up, all dressed up, while they pray for a long time, telling Olɛlbes [Wintu supreme being] they're going to feed that girl. After this they feast and dance."

3708. WT: During daytime dancing; man in

[222-A]

000 charge chooses partners (mock "wives") for male dancers; "they all joke and have fun. This is the windup."

3709. SE: Menstruant herself removes visor.

3712. WM: At final "big time" dance, girl wears braided-grass fringed "visor," clean clothes, bead necklaces, basket cap. "She's white [from staying in hut]; looks pretty." WS: Same as WM, except no grass visor.

3714. WM: If poor girl (for whom no final dance has been given) has good clothes to wear, she may stand with wealthy girl, "so everyone can look at them and admire them."

3716. At: When menstruant is bathed, and attended to, "then they all eat together, in 1 place. Everybody brings food." MF: Informant denied visitors are feasted. But MV informant reported that at Enterprise, among another MF group, on final morning of rite menstruant and girl attendant made to run and jump over wide bed (of burning pine needles? See note 3721). It is important that girl should clear the bed. Then 3 women bring acorn flour for soup; the 2 old women singers clown over the flour, saying "They never give us anything to eat," and other remarks. Clowns grunt and rub the flour over their faces before giving it back to be cooked. The 3 women then make a big batch of acorn bread from the flour and give the dough to everyone present.

[881-526] 3720. Kl: In open, where race ends. Mo: In sweat-house fire.

3721. SW: Pass girl through fire if she has dreamt bad dreams, so that the evil effects of such will be burnt off. Sometimes put a little shell money on her, before they pass her through fire, but no great display of wealth. (Dixon, Shasta, p. 458, says girl burnt alive.) MF: Girl passes through ring of lighted pine needles during puberty ceremonies. See Dixon (Maidu, p. 233) and Loeb (Eastern Kuksu, p. 150). NF: Loeb (ibid., p. 183) says Yuba River Maidu (= NF) made girl run through circle burning pine needles, but his Yuba River Maidu informants probably belonged to MF group. See section on informants, NF entry, this study.

Boys' puberty observances.--

3723. For details see elements 5207-5217.

3724. For details see elements 4722-4792.

General menstrual customs.--

3735. Baskets which have no grease on them.

3739. WM, WS: 4-5 days and nights. MM, MV: 3-4.

[841] 3740. Kl. Cp. Spier, Klamath, pp. 55, 70-71. My male informant stated definitely all women of Klamath Marsh group used menstrual hut.

3757. WM, WS: But cannot bathe in main rivers, such as McCloud or upper Sacramento rivers. MV: In summer only.

3764. Menstruating woman may give husband good luck in gambling, hunting, and the like.

000 3773. WT: Each month when period begins menstruant stands over nest of piss ants, allows ants to crawl up her legs and bite her, to induce menopause.

Marriage

Child betrothal.--

584 3774. Kl: Boy and girl know nothing of arrangement; boy's father asks girl's, "What do
you think about it; you're going to let her get
married when she grows up; what do you think?"
Girl's father says, "Yes; I think it [will] be
all right." Boy's father then gives girl's
people food; "that's how they hold her. When
girl grows up, perhaps another boy tries to get
her [to marry him]; her father says, 'No; you
already belong to that boy over there; we already
gave you to those folks.' Boy's father
then tells his boy to go get girl, and boy goes
after her, and brings her back to his father's
house for about 5 days. Even if girl doesn't
like youth, she has to comply, and her parents
have to give her to her betrothed." Before marriage,
boy may take gifts to girl's parents--
buckskin, and such. Child betrothal an old form
[178] of marriage; informant had never seen it carried
out in his lifetime. SW: Boy's father sends
000 buckskin load of money by friend to girl's father;
latter "sits there and looks at money, and
finally accepts it; or, if he doesn't, boy's
father may hire shaman to bewitch girl, so she
becomes loose woman. AW: Practiced by wealthy.
After betrothal arranged, "don't allow any other
man to touch that girl." Child betrothal characterized
by informant as "real old-time trade."
MM: Here, as among other groups, child betrothal
highly approved form of marriage. Couples may
be of about same age, or young girl may be paid
for by old man, who marries her after she reaches
puberty.

3775. AE: Usually boy's father goes to girl's family, taking hides, food with him; if girl's father does not wish to enter into agreement, he does not touch present. However, girl's father, if headman, can also start negotiations, if he wishes to. If girl and boy of 2 different local groups betrothed, boy's family "have somebody [who lives near girl] watch the girl until she is grown to see how good or how mean she is."

3776. SE: At time of actual marriage only. WT: See note 3781.

3777. Mo: Boy's side gives meat, girl's side, roots. But concept of "buying" girl recognized, although exchange of gifts also emphasized. SE: Exchange of gifts at time of actual marriage only. At: Boy's side gives meat, girl's side acorns and baskets, while children are young. AE: Exchange some presents, not many.

[584] 3777a. Kl, Mo: Denied any taboos; children
[784] ignorant that they are betrothed until grown.
[858] SE: After boy and girl are betrothed, taboo for
them to see each other's face. Boy wears buffalo

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000 or elkhide over head when going out of house; is "bashful." If betrothed wishes to give him bad luck, she climbs up on top of sweat house and looks down inside when he is in there eating; this makes him sick.

3781. SW: Man, A, may hire shaman to kill someone on his, A's, behalf. For this, A pays shaman by giving him his daughter, for shaman's son to espouse when both children grow up. Issue of such union are "very valuable"; they are valued "beyond any price." WT: Marked reaction against using child to pay debt. "Chinese do that; they buy women; we never did this."

3783. At: 10 strings shell beads standard payment for bride; paid only at time of marriage. MV: Beads given to girl's mother; she sends back yellowhammer bands, and other ornaments, to boy's family.

Bride purchase.--

584 3785. Kl: Youth's parents tell youth, "You'd better go over and get that woman [naming her], if you want her." Youth says, "Yes, I'll take her, if she likes me." So he goes over to girl's family's house, talks to girl alone; she may refuse, but if she accepts him he brings her back to his father's house, where she sleeps with him 3-5 nights. Girl then returns to her home, unescorted. At end of 5 days her relatives (father, mother, mother's relatives, some neighbors--perhaps 10 people altogether) escort her back to her husband's family's house; take gifts of food, which they present to his mother. In return, groom's family gives dried meat and suckers to bride's parents. Latter distribute these gifts among all people who have come with them. Both families eat together; bride and groom sit together on mat (see elements 3818-3819a). Bride's party departs same day they came, except for bride's mother, who may stay for 3 days, teaching girl how to live, telling her to "work hard all the time; don't let anybody tell you what to do; I'll tell you myself what you can do." In recent times, groom's and bride's fathers have both made speeches at time of marriage observance; tell couple how they are going to live, and other things. Informant had seen them do this
[178] when a boy. Also, recently, groom's father gives horses and clothes for girl; her family also gives groom's same, "just like a trade. In early
000 days, though, just gave food." AW: Youth's father goes to girl's father's house and talks to her parents, saying, "I like you; we'll 'treat' one another; I'd like to see those young folk stay together." The girl's father smokes, then says, "All right." Sometimes he asks his wife; she tells him it's up to him [father], all on him. Sometimes he says, "No, I can't do that." After this is settled, youth's father collects food and shell currency, then takes these things, together with his family, over to girl's father; big feast given. "It's just as though he's paying for that girl." If both families "have lots

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000 of friends, they all trade together, become friends; everybody says, 'Good.'" WS: "The only time they pay for a girl is when she is a young woman, at her first marriage."

3788. Usually relative of groom's father.

[584] 3789a. Kl: Initially. See note 3785. WT: If man's parents like girl, they may advise their grown son to offer her gifts "for about 1 month; if she and her parents accept them, in about 1 month the couple are married [sleep together]."

3790. At, MV: See note 3783.

3797. Mo, SE, SW: Strongly disapproved; (SW) "only trashy people do this." AW: Disapproved of, but not so strongly as among Mo, SE, SW. "Sometimes boy goes over and sleeps with girl--marries her; his father hears gossip about it and scolds his son, and says that if he brings girl home, he is going to throw her out. Or, if youth does bring her home, sometimes his parents throw hot ashes over couple when they are asleep. Girl's parents talk to her the same way, if they don't like the boy she's sleeping with. But if boy gets a good girl this way, his father tells him to surely bring the girl home, and then both families trade food and clothes, if rich." MM: "Common" form of marriage, not much approved of.

3798. MM: Sometimes, not always.

3799. SE: Depends on whether child is born of union; if child born, mother must be paid for, to establish child's status.

3800a. Mo: If poor, groom may go over and work for girl; this type marriage referred to as wo·kobuks. SE, SW: Peculiar type bride service; if widow has daughter, she may give this daughter to good hunter gratis, in order to get man to live with her daughter, hunt for daughter and herself. But in event there are children, groom's father must pay for the wife, in order to establish status of children of union. SW informant related following concerning Kammatwa, down-river group between SW and Karuk (see note 282). "If widow wants husband for her daughter, she'd get a likely man to come over to her house and live there and marry her daughter; he would not only have to hunt and fish for women, but cook and gather vegetable food for them too. SW didn't do this; it's too bad, to make a man do anything like this." Possibly slave procured (?). Bride service in widely accepted sense of term not practiced among SW ("half marriage" also absent); "a poor man never was married; he was just kicked around; he was nothing."

3805. At, AE, WT: In fight with bare hands. NS: By race between 2 prospective suitors; swifter runner obtains girl as wife. Informant's mother's mother's father had obtained his wife thus; race run in a meadow in Pleasant Valley. Such race referred to as yulumkatu.

3806a. Rich man buys husband for daughter, in order that son-in-law may get him wood, hunt or gamble for him. AW: Rich man pays youth's father dried salmon, acorns, deermeat.

3807. WM: Well-to-do man sometimes sends grown

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00 0daughter or daughters (2) to chief, or may send 1 daughter to man who is good hunter. Young women carry 2 large baskets fine acorn flour; when reach chief's house, they sit down outside until chief's mother or 1 of his wives bids them enter. In evening chief comes in, and sits down between 2 girls (if 2 sent); when he eats 1 puts acorn soup in basket for him, other salmon in basket "pan"; all 3 eat together. That night he sleeps with both of them; they stay with him about 1 month or so; he or his helpers kill deer and they dry meat; when they leave they take this meat home to their mother. At their departure, chief tells them, "whenever you girls want to come back, you can come," and they return later, to him.

Marriage observances.--

If entry applies only to 1 or more of several forms of marriage practiced by group, note explains to which it applies. If entry applies to all forms practiced by group, no note given.

3808. SE: Refers to simple marriage established by couple living together; to marriage by service for bride, no payment; to marriage by abduction and marriage where husband bought. At: Groom's father goes to girl's house, pays girl's father 5 strings (1/2 of total) of shell beads, while girl is asleep. Girl is awakened, and goes over to groom's father's house with her family; she and family stay there 2-3 days; girl sleeps with youth; much feasting; remaining 5 strings of beads paid to her family and gifts of meat, salmon given them. After 2-3 days bride returns home with her family; stays there 2-3 days, then goes back to husband, loaded with presents from her side, roots, acorns, other foodstuffs. Her sister escorts her back to her husband's house; sister stays there 1 night, then returns home. AW, AE: Applies to simple marriage. WT, WM, WS: Applies to child-betrothal marriage; bride-purchase marriage; simple marriage. WS: See note 3635 for data on child-betrothal marriage. MM, MF, NM: Applies to child betrothal and simple marriage. NS: Applies to simple marriage.

[585] 3808a. Kl, WM: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. Mo: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage; service for bride. SE: Applies to simple marriage and marriage where husband bought. AW, AE: Applies to simple marriage. WT: Applies to bride purchase and simple marriage. MM, MF, NM: Applies to child betrothal and simple marriage. MM: In child-betrothal marriage groom stays at bride's house about 6 or 8 days; in simple marriage groom may live at bride's house from 6 days to 2 or 3 months. NF: Applies to simple marriage.

[585] 3809. Kl, WT, WM: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. Mo, SE: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage; marriage by abduction. AW, AE, NF: Applies to simple marriage. WS: Applies to bride purchase and simple marriage. MM, MF, NM: Applies to child betrothal and simple marriage.

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000 3809a. Mo: Applies to all Mo forms marriage except service for bride. SE, AW, WT, WM: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. At, MV: Applies to child betrothal and bride purchase. AE, NF: Applies to simple marriage. WS: Applies to bride purchase and simple marriage. MM, MF, NM: Applies to child betrothal and simple marriage.

585 591 3810. Kl, Mo, At, WT, MV: Refers to child betrothal and bride purchase. SE, AW, AE: Refers to simple marriage. WS: Applies to bride purchase and to simple marriage.

000 3810a. Kl, Mo: Refers to child betrothal and marriage by abduction. SE: Refers to child betrothal and bride purchase. AW, AE, WT, NF: Refers to simple marriage. WM: Refers to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. MM, MF, NM: Applies to child betrothal and simple marriage. NF: Applies to simple marriage.

[585] 3811. Kl, Mo, At, WT: Refers to child betrothal and bride purchase. SE, AW, AE: Refers to simple marriage. SE: Short time after marriage consummated groom escorts wife to his father's house. WS: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. NF, NM: Bride makes informal visits at irregular intervals to her family, but no formal return shortly after she has begun living in her husband's father's house.

[585] 3812. Kl, Mo, SE, SW, At, AW, AE, WT, WM, WS, MV: Refers to child betrothal and bride purchase. Mo: "This was the decent way to do--for the family to take the girl to her husband's house. This made her respectable; they couldn't have her running back and forth between those 2 houses. Wealthy people always did this." MM, MF: Refers to child betrothal.

3812a, 3813. Mo, SE, WM, WS: Applies to simple marriage.

3814. SE, AW, AE, WM: Refers to child betrothal and bride purchase. AW: See note 3815. Bride and groom may stay on at bride's family's home (if marriage celebrated there) anywhere from 2 days to 1 or 2 months. Groom gets wood for his father-in-law; bride packs water for mother-in-law, whichever place they are staying. If both families wealthy, couple keep visiting back and forth; if 1 family does not have much to eat, stay with more affluent relatives, and "take food and pack wood for poorer side once in awhile." WS: Refers to bride purchase. MF, NM: Refers to child betrothal.

[585] 3815. Kl, Mo: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. SE, At, AW, AE, MV: Refers to child betrothal, bride purchase. WS: Refers to bride purchase. Kl, Mo, At: Bride's family escort daughter back to groom's house, on her return to her husband. SE: Groom's family stays at bride's family's house. AW: In child-betrothal marriage, either groom's family goes to bride's house or vice versa, depending on which side says, "You come to my place." AE: Visiting family may stay from 2 to 6 months at groom's father's house. WM: Visiting family stays only few hours.

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585 3816, 3817. Kl, Mo, SE, At, AE, MV: Refers to child betrothal, bride-purchase marriage. AW:
000 Refers to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. In simple marriage, feast may be given if groom meets with approval of bride's family, and both groom's and bride's family are wealthy. Host contributes larger share of food; friends help him. "Sometimes at times like this the people dance, too, just for fun, because there are so many people there." WS: Refers to bride purchase. MM, NM: Refers to bride purchase. NF: Refers to simple marriage. NS: Refers to child betrothal and marriage where woman won by contest.

[585] 3818-3819a. Kl, Mo: Refers to child-betrothal, bride-purchase marriages. Bride sits with back to people, groom faces people.

[537] 3820-3821. Kl, WS: Refers to bride purchase.
[585] Mo, SE, At, AE, WM, MV: Refers to child betrothal, bride purchase. MM, MF, NM: Refers to child betrothal. NF: Refers to simple marriage. NS: Refers to child betrothal, to marriage where woman won in contest.

Polygamy; marriage of blood relatives.--

3824. AW: Shaman may have as many as 10 wives, given to him in payment for doctoring. More usual for man to have about 3 wives, 1 of whom he paid for; other 2 may be orphans or relations of his first wife. MM: See note 3826.

3824a. NS: First wife head wife; "supposed to look after her first of all."

3825. WT, WM: Sometimes, not always. NS: If live in same house, "wives fight each other, pull hair."

3826. MM: Example: man at Big Meadows (MM group) has wife, whom he lives with part of year; other part he may spend with his wife who lives in Indian Valley (informant's group). "Just common men do this; and sometimes, if comman man has 2 wives, they both live with him, in same house."

3828. MM, MF: Headman has 1 wife only; "common men" are only ones who practice polygyny. NS: Chief has several wives to pound acorns for him.

3835. Mo: See note 3961. AE: If first wife barren, she may urge husband to marry her younger sister, so that latter will have baby. "Then barren wife almost claims that little baby; they like it so much."

3836. AE: If man's first wife has 3-4 or more children, she may send her husband over to her family, to get a younger sister as wife, telling him, "You go get my sister, to help me take care of these children."

3838. SW: See note 3839.

3839. SW: Man can demand that his dead wife be replaced, and it is then obligatory for dead wife's sister to marry him; "but most men want to 'get away' from their dead wife's family" (and so do not demand this replacement; informant did not know why). WT: Dead wife's sister marries brother-in-law "because it would make her feel bad to see him with another woman, in place of her dead sister. Man feels he belongs to his dead wife's

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000 family, not that his sister-in-law belongs to him." WM: Woman may refuse to marry brother-in-law, saying she "does not want to die like [her] sister did." Not obligatory for man either.

3841. At, WT: Only if widower treated first wife well. WM: See note 3839.

3842. Kl, Mo, SE, AW, AE, WT, WS, NS: Dead
587 woman's parents hire shaman to kill son-in-law,
756 if he refuses to marry one of deceased wife's
684 sisters. WM: Woman's parents hire men to kill
son-in-law outright.

587 3844. Kl, SE: Usually, however, relative of
595 man marries latter's stepdaughter.

3852. Kl: Informant "had heard lots about this,
595 among [N] California tribes and up at Warm
Springs--about man living with his sister-in-
law--but not practiced among Kl." AE: Not es-
000 pecially disapproved. WT: Indulged in only by
"loose" women, and generally disapproved.

3853. NS: Man sleeps with sister-in-law, only during brother's absence from home.

3855. NS: Not necessarily between namesakes only.

3856. SE: Extension of levirate also occurs; man may marry father's brother's wife, "to keep her in the family; he has to pay for his aunt, however, to give any children he may have by her status. But in outright levirate, gifts only given; levirate not always obligatory for man; "woman has to be good woman, to have treated dead husband well and pitched her face for him when he died, for his family to make strenuous efforts to keep her after his death." SW: Levirate more obligatory, for both man and woman concerned, than post-mortem sororate (see note 3839). WM: Day after funeral, when all relatives of dead man are crying, brother of deceased may ask widow for drink of water. If she gives it to him, they are considered as married from then on. Both widow and brother-in-law have blackened, pitched faces, and let pitch stay on until it wears off, but in event of speedy remarriage widow does not wear pitch necklace.

3857. SE: See preceding note.

3858. At: Widow may tell her brother-in-law she is going to marry another man; "All right," he says, and tells her to "take care of those children [by dead husband] good; be careful with them and let me know when they're sick."

[587] 3860. Kl: But because levirate is so obliga-
[684] tory for woman and for dead husband's brother,
rule seldom if ever violated. However, see ele-
ment 3973.

3862. By hiring shaman to kill woman, for all
[587] groups except WM, NS. WM: If woman refuses to
[684] give brother-in-law drink of water (see note
3856 WM) "then her brother-in-law or father-in-
law get mad at her and try to kill her." NS:
Woman shot with bow and arrow.

3866. SW: Kammatwa and Katiru groups intermediate between Shasta proper and Karok (see note 282) permit marriage of blood relatives; Shasta do not.

000 3867. Mo: "Honorable" form of marriage, but practiced mostly by poorer people; wealthy persons pay for bride. SW: Permissible, but not formalized.

3868. AW: Done occasionally, but "don't like it; it's no good marrying that way; there's no sense to it."

Exogamy; postnuptial residence; kinship avoidances.--

3874. See element 2619. NM: Local group exogamy practiced, but seemingly neither preferred nor obligatory. Men take wives from Chicago Park, Nevada City groups; do not intermarry with Colfax or Mooretown (MF) groups.

3875. MV: Man usually takes his wife from village other than his own.

582 3877. Kl: Local group endogamy permissible, but "can't take wife from near-by neighbor's house, even if woman unrelated to man; have to take wife from house at least 1 mile away, and rather take wives from farther off."

3878. No rule, among any of groups, forbidding intertribal marriages.

3879. "Often practiced" may be putting case too strongly. However, number of intertribal marriages, as revealed in genealogies of informants (all of whom were between 60-90 years old themselves) was rather surprising. See section on Informants, this study. Kl: Intertribal marriages of Kl with Mo, Warm Springs Sahaptin commented upon by informant.

000 3880-3882. MM: Applies to child-betrothal marriages.

3883, 3884. MM: Applies to simple form of marriage in which couple merely live together.

3890. AW, WS, MM: 1-2 months.

3891. Before birth of first child, couple usually go to wife's parents' home and birth hut is made for woman near her parents' house.

[606] 3901. Kl, Mo, SE, SW: Taboo attenuated; Kl: man accords mother-in-law same respect he accords his own mother. At, AW, AE, WT, WM, WS, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Taboo important; marked.

3919. At: If mother-in-law talks to son-in-law, bear will "chew up" son-in-law; he will never be seen again. Same applies to conversation between father-in-law, daughter-in-law. WT: If do not observe taboos, mother-in-law will have bad luck; rattlesnake will bite her, or grizzly devour her, or she will be killed by enemies or burnt. MV: "Observe [these taboos] for love of son-in-law; think world of son-in-law; think so much of him that mother-in-law won't look at him."

3921. All items listed under mother-in-law, son-in-law taboos inquired about in field for father-in-law, daughter-in-law. AW: Taboos similar, except that whereas perhaps only "1 man out of 200" may violate taboo against marrying his mother-in-law it is not matter for much disapproval if under some circumstances woman marries her father-in-law after her husband's death.

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000 run around, just like dogs. In old days women never ran around; they stayed home." SW: Husband may send wife home, and demand bride price be returned.

3960a. SW: Wife may return home, and her bride price need not be returned.

3961. Mo: Husband may send barren woman home to parents; "that's been done, lots of times; but if he loves her, he will keep her, and take another woman also as wife. SW: Barren wife not divorced, but her family must supply second wife free to her husband. WM: If woman barren, husband deserts her, often for another woman; does not bring this second wife home to live with first one; latter returns home to her parents.

3962. SW: Wife may leave husband, no return of bride price necessary.

3963. SW: No return of bride price if husband is aggressor.

3964. SW: If husband lazy, "after awhile wife returns home." If wife lazy, she is sent home and bride price must be returned. AE: If husband lazy or "mean," and woman returns to her family, her father or father's brother usually sends her back to her husband; tells her to come home "only in a good way, together with her husband." Daughters, when told this, usually return to husband. WT: If woman lazy, but if she stays home and behaves self, husband keeps her; but if she is "run-around" as well as lazy, husband turns her out of house.

3965. SW: If husband "mean," and beats wife, and wife returns home, first time she does so her parents send her back to her husband; second time she comes home for such reason she can stay; no return of bride price. AE: See note 3964. WM: Woman never fights back, if husband beats her, hits her with rock, but her brother or uncle may fight husband in her stead.

3966. SW: See notes 3960-3965. In all instances where repayment is mentioned above, such is necessary only if there have not been children born of union. But if 1 or more children have been born, money is not repaid (would ruin child's status), and either wife or husband may take charge of child.

3968. SW, At, AW: Boys usually stay with father, girl with mother's mother or grandmother. AW: "But hardly ever do this."

[586] 3972. Kl: Wife leaves her belongings in her husband's house. WT: Wife does not take her clothes, "because her husband has made them; she just takes clothes she has on." But anything she herself has made, such as baskets, she takes with her. WM: Woman takes clothes and baskets.

[587
684] 3973. Kl: If new husband does not pay before he marries woman, liable to be killed. AW: 6-10 strings of beads paid to widow's brother-in-law by her suitor. Brother-in-law then tells widow to marry suitor; if she demurs, he may threaten her with death. (Brother-in-law often more violent in demeanor toward widow than her husband ever was.) "The brother-in-law has a share in

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000 that woman; he acts just like a boss toward her."

3975. WT: Also, in Upper Trinity subarea of Wintu, informant had heard of 1 instance of mother-in-law killing daughter-in-law after husband died. "The mother-in-law didn't want that woman to take another husband, so she killed her with a bone needle [dagger?]. She was sorry after she did it; but she didn't like the woman having another husband who would look just like her son; it would make her [mother-in-law] feel badly."

[587] 3976. In case there is no brother-in-law to ask.

3977. If there is no brother-in-law to receive the payment. AW: Sister-in-law may dispose of widow to more-distant male relative of dead husband also.

3980. SW: A divorce "puts a man and woman clear away from each other"; no payment rendered former husband.

562 587 593 3981. Kl: If man does not like his wife for some reason, he announces, "Anyone who wants my wife can take her, if they give me something. If you people don't want her, I'll kill her." The men discuss it; husband repeats the announcement, sets date when he will kill woman; some man finally takes her for wife, gives the husband something; "that's how they save a woman, sometimes." No one knows what trouble between husband and wife prompts man to do this, and man never tells; he doesn't beat his wife, he just sells her. Only done occasionally; when informant was boy such sales still taking place; informant had seen one couple separated this way. Woman not captive.

000 Intercourse; promiscuity.--

3984. NF: Girl cries, fights husband, so girl's mother sleeps beside girl first night latter sleeps with husband.

3985. NF: Do not allow people to sleep lying on back "like dead people"; lie on side and "put their heart in hiding" so no evil will befall sleepers.

[152] [192] 3987. Purse lips and make sound, "ŏk, ŏk," repeatedly, close to baby's face. AW: Rub hands over baby's face or neck while making sound; same done between adults. AE: "Learned to make this sound from animals--badger, raccoon."

3988. SE: No virginity tests, but observe boy's actions around girls. AE: If girl's, boy's legs get "heavy" (tired) during girl's puberty dance, sign he or she is not virgin. Spectators watch to see whether this happens. WT: Can tell whether girl is virgin or not by shape of her abdomen, if firm, smooth, judge she is.

[548] [178] 3989. Kl: Prostitution with payment recent custom only.

3990. WM: Especially at girl's puberty dance.

836 3991. Kl: Said to have been extremely rare; "girls never ran around; pretty hard to get a woman." Girl's parents wanted girl to marry man who could get her lots of fish, so she would eat

836 well after she married; advised her to take such
for husband. Youths never went round for women
[178] by themselves, formerly; both girls and youths
adhered to marriage rules. SE: Admitted, but said
000 to have been very rare, however. 2 women usually
accompanied girl whenever she went anywhere "in
order to see that men didn't bother her." At:
Mother kept girl beside her during night at fiestas (see also note 3960).

[836] 3996. Kl: Must marry girl; youth's parents
[848] tell him, "Get that baby back." Youth gets girl,
without paying anything for her.

3997. WS: "Very few did marry the girl."

Transvestites

[838] 3999. Mo, MM, MV: Known by informants to exist among such tribes as "Pit River" (Achomawi) and Kl, but denied positively for informants' own groups. SW: Informant himself had many traits of transvestite, although he dressed in men's clothes; most of elements listed positively below for SW are entered from volunteered data and observation of facts rather than as result of direct questioning. At: Referred to as ya'wa'. NM: "In early days didn't have any [transvestites]"; informant knew of only 2 hermaphrodites (?), a Mexican at Auburn and a half-breed woman.

4008. "Because born that way."

4009. AW: Informant for At stated, "1 Pit River (Achomawi) woman, after she'd had children, dreamt to be like that."

[838] 4011. See note 3999. At: Referred to as brumaiwi. Wear false penis (?), made of pitch, suspended from belt.

Death

Treatment of corpse.--

[764] 4021. Kl: Body laid on pyre immediately, left lying there overnight; early next morning burned.

4025. Mo: Shamans only. WM: Painted red. Sun dogs considered sign of shaman's death, "because paint dead red." Red clouds presage death of someone.

4027. MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Yellowhammer-quill band also laid with body. MF, NS: Also basket cut, so it will lie flat like plaque on top of chest; this buried with body. Cut basket on body lacking among NM, MV; dubious for NF.

4028. WT: Elkhide article of great value; chief wrapped in such, and grave "almost filled with shell currency and other valuables. Many visitors come from distance and bring world of things to put in chief's grave." WM: "Other groups [of Wintu] wrap body in bearskin cloak"; WM do not, except in rare instances where head, claws cut off old bearskin, and latter put in grave. New skin never treated thus. MV: Wrap wealthy in bearskin.

4030. NF: Also children up to 2-3 years old buried on their cradle.

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[764] [783] 4032. SE: Sprinkle water, medicine around house as body is removed through wall. Purification of house as corpse removed denied for Kl, Mo, all Maidu and Nisenan groups. SW: Through wall on E side of house (see note 4093). WT: Through hole torn in wall at back of house, opposite entrance.

4036. AW: But see note 4136.

Funerary procedure.--

4040. SE, SW: 1-2 nights.

4043. At: Wail throughout night while body is in house; continue wailing and dancing next day until body buried near sundown.

[764] 4045. Kl: Mourners wail throughout night as body lies on pyre, before being burnt early next morning; no dance.

4046. SW: "Whenever you go to a funeral always take some money with you. You get something back again for whatever you take there." WT: See note 4028. NF, NS, MV: Gifts buried or burned with corpse.

4047. AW: Mourners merely "jump around as they cry on viewing corpse."

4048. SE, SW, At: Mourners wail ritually as they dance around corpse. MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Mourners hold "fire dance" in assembly house; wail, dance, circling corpse 4 times. MV: Such dance held only when important man dies.

4049. SE, SW: Wear fir or willow boughs. SE: Mourners whip each other on legs with boughs they are carrying; therapeutic measure. SW: Women also bring ipos roots in their basket caps. At: Mourners bring cedar boughs into house of death; when through dancing boughs piled and burnt, to purify house if relatives of dead plan to continue using house.

4051. SW: Ipos roots women bring also laid beside corpse.

[764] 4052. Kl: Everyone in house collects ashes in basket from fireplace of dwelling, talks to dead person's spirit, then sprinkles ashes toward W. AW: As body is borne from house to grave, 1 old woman takes basket of ashes, another old woman basket of water, and they throw water and ashes behind line of people, for entire journey from house to grave. The 2 old women wail "too bad, too bad" as they perform this act to keep spirit of deceased away.

4053. Mo: Not old enough to realize what is happening; likely to laugh, play.

[764] [537] [827] 4056. Generally given by "old man, wise man," who is not undertaker. AW: "At grave old man may talk crossly; then people know he is going to hire a doctor to kill the poisoner [who caused death of person being buried]. Or else old man tells the people there not to mourn too much; only a few years. 'You can cry a little bit; some of you will dream good luck, with a little cry[ing]. Don't tell anyone, if you dream good, or else you'll lose it [the good luck].'" WM: At funeral old man talks to spirit of deceased, tells it where to go, upward to sky dance house

[229-A]

000 [Lut]. "If they don't tell the spirit this, it won't go up there; will stay around on earth always." MV: Speech given only at burial of important man or woman; at woman's funeral, old woman talks to the women.

4058. NF, NM: 3 old women watch widow, to restrain her.

4062. WT: See note 4028. NF, NS: Chief's body taken into assembly house, left there 1 night. During night people wail, dance around it 4 times; next day body taken out of round house, burned. Common person's body not taken into round house, but kept 1 night in living house and then burned. MV: For additional differences other than those noted below, see notes 4048, 4056, 4100.

Assistants.--

4066. Mo: 3-4 men. AW: Not shaman. Shaman attends funeral only if he intends to "catch" poison that killed corpse, in grave; if he does this, 2-3 days later he sings, and sends back that poison to its owner (with baneful results to latter).

4068. SE: 3-4 pallbearers. AW: 1-2. AE: 2-3. WM: 2 old men carry corpse to grave; such men too old to hunt. "They don't want any young or middle-aged men to handle corpse, because that would spoil their luck hunting deer." NM: 3 men carry corpse out of house; 2 old women carry ashes to grave for burial, after corpse cremated.

4075. SE, WS: 3-4 gravediggers. AW: 1-2. WM: 2 old women dig grave. NM: 2 men dig grave in which ashes of corpse are buried.

4077. MM: Grass. NF: Wormwood.

4078. Mo: All except near relatives of deceased, "who feel too bad."

Disposal of corpse.--

4082. NF: "Long time ago, buried grown persons as well as young babies; nasty coyotes dug up bodies, carried them away and ate them, so after that they always burned grown persons." NS: Beals, Nisenan, p. 376, says, "Informants unanimous that [all groups] Nisenan always burned dead until whites stopped [cremations]"; my information runs counter to this for NF, NS. NS informant stated that her mother's mother had told her that "if a person had a lot of beads and shell ornaments, at death his [or her] body would be burned, to be sure that the beads would not be stolen [see notes 4085, 4111] by other Indians, but would be destroyed [in fire]. But common people, lacking such valuables, were buried," and burial was more usual procedure. Informant also stated that "the tosenin [Auburn group of Nisenan] burnt their dead quite a lot"; she had heard her grandmother speak of this. "But up here [at Placerville] burnings weren't common."

4083. Mo: If have no time to burn body, as for instance when group traveling, bury corpse instead of cremating it. Burials rare, however. NF: Children up to about 3 years old buried.

4084. At: Interment takes place near sundown.

4085. AW: Man with many friends buried in grave 8 ft. or so deep; corpse extended supine. Poor person doubled up, put in smaller grave, 4 ft. or so deep, or even put in shallow hole and rocks only piled over body. In winter build fire over ground to thaw it out, and then dig grave. MV: When grave half filled "2 men get in it and stamp down earth hard, so grave will not be robbed of beads by other Indian tribes. Visitors at funeral watch, to see amount of property buried; they do this all through Paskentá (Patwin), clear to Ukiah and N to the Shasta."

4088. At: In winter bury body inside living house where deceased lived; widow or widower goes to live in another house. Next spring living house torn up and burned. MM: Procedure same as for At, except that family of deceased continue living in house where body is buried "until good weather comes along," when family move out and house burned.

4089. SE: If in great hurry only.

4090. AW: See note 4085.

4091. AW: See note 4085.

4093. SW: Head must be "toward daylight" or sunrise, "because Sun is over all of us ... he seems to have everything to do with us. Persons travel E after death, toward sun, or daylight." At: Head must always be "toward where the sun comes up." AW: Head either N or E; mostly E; W "no good."

4095. WT: Buckskin thong or vegetable-fiber cord. WS: Withe. MV: Buckskin thong, kept for this purpose only.

4097. AW: If infant dies, string put in grave and upper end left projecting from top of grave; if this is not done by young mother, she will not have any more children.

4098. AW: At head or feet of corpse.

4100. SW: If shaman dies, paint and ground dried ipos roots sprinkled on grave; small pinches of same put on piece of board, and board set near shaman's feathers that are tied on tree near by. This is done "to keep shaman's power down, so anyone going around there won't be hurt." At: "Silver Fox told people in beginning to put food on grave for 1 night; shaman does this." Shaman also sings night following burial. MV: When member of secret society or 2 main dance leaders die, 5 days after burial old secret society members cry in assembly house; "then take 2 large basketsful of acorn soup, and pour soup over grave, and old woman smoothes it. The elder talks; tells people to 'wash their faces today and eat and talk and laugh a little bit; now you see your friend is gone.' This is done so persons will not be bothered by dreaming of the person who has died."

4103. AW: After funeral is over, pile small mounds of rocks or dirt all around house where deceased has lived, as sign of mourning. WT: When corpse is laid out on ground in front of house, 2 stones placed at head and feet; when corpse removed, stones left in situ, so no one will walk across ground there.

000 4105. At: Flat rock or cedar plank.

4107. Around all graves.

4108. Basket reburial of bones which have been dug up by mistake.

4109. At; Never burn bodies; Silver Fox told people not to burn them. "Just bury them," he said.

4110. NS: See note 4082.

4111. SE, SW, WM, MM: Persons dying away from home only; this denied for all other groups. At: No cremation; man killed in war buried on spot. AW: "Only strays, poor people, or poor men killed fighting burned, like Mo." WT: Only time cremation practiced was when corpse was found long time after death. WS: Warriors' bodies left where they fall, untended. MM: Men killed fighting cremated; this denied for WT, WM, WS, NS, MV. NS: Rich man or woman, having many beads, cremated; done in order to prevent grave-robbing. (MV informant also stated grave-robbing "was even bad in old days. After Whites came it was very bad because gold was buried with corpses.") MV: Cremation in recent times only, for victims of disease only; these burnt inside house where death occurred.

4117. AE: If man who owns large communal living-assembly-sweat house dies in spring or good weather, his body is burnt inside house.

4119. AE: 1/2-1. WM: 1-2. NF: Start burning body in morning; burn all day, watch ashes that night. Next day put ashes in basket; men line up in 1 line, women in another, and basket of ashes taken to cemetery and buried.

4123. NS: Of heart, by widow; 1 case only recalled, post-White.

4124. Mo: Ashes of corpse put in basket (more recently in brass kettle) and this buried in ashes at cremation spot. MM: Bones wrapped in buckskin. NF: See note 4119.

Cemeteries and burning places.--

4127. NF, NM, NS: For ashes of cremated (see element 4124).

4128. SW: That is, within packing distance of village.

4129. AW: 2 villages may have joint cemetery halfway between 2 sites.

4130. At: Bury close to living house, in summer (see note 4088).

4132. WM, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Successive burials of relatives in same spots, with reburial of previously interred.

4133. NS: Done if dream of dead; see note 4687. MV: Done by old people; no grass allowed to grow on grave.

[764] 4134. Kl, NF, NM: Wife burned near husband's village, not taken home, but among NF, NM wife's ashes are taken home. AW: Only if poor woman; see note 4136. MV: Rich man may take wife's body and bury it in his own family grave plot, putting good deal of property in grave for his dead relatives, as well as for his wife; in such case wife's relatives would allow him to bury her body.

4135. NF, NM: That is, wife's ashes; see 4134.

764 4136. In none of groups is this a general
000 practice. SW: Done only if man dies while away from home, at wife's village, and it is winter or too far to pack home body. AW: Poor men only. Wealthy people are brought back to their homes for burial; corpse carried on litter consisting of 2 poles, with large deer hide stretched between, its edges laced to poles with thongs which pass through cuts made in hide. Furs piled on top of hide; litter borne by 4 men, 2 at each end. Litter for poor persons has sticks laid across it, no skins. Bearers paid; poor men accept the clamshell-disk beads in payment, wealthier men refuse them.

Treatment of property.--

4145. MM, MF, NS, MV: Worthless property only; bury person's good possessions.

4152. At: Baskets torn up, thrown out (but not put in grave); "given" thus to deceased.

[768] 4154. Kl, MM, MF: Kept by relatives. Mo, AW: Given to friend. SW, WM: Broken. At, NF, NM: Canoes lacking in area. See note 858.

4155. At, AW: Or allowed to lie and rot in water.

4161. SE: Informant had heard of at least 1 case among SE where, after horse was killed, it was slit down belly, corpse put inside carcass, and carcass buried.

4165. At: Some of woman's baskets kept for her children, others burnt. WM: "Spirit of dead wants all dead person's possessions destroyed; if this not done, spirit comes back and threatens to take its mother or grandmother with it. Relatives give spirit its possessions; burn them; also give spirit powdered red rock. After everything is burnt, spirit no longer bothers living. Persons know when spirit is around because they become sick, have pains in chest, perhaps headache, dizzy, lack appetite. Call in doctor, who treats patient and talks to spirit." As regards recent acquisitions, such as horses, silver money, spirit tells shaman to keep horse and treat it well, and use money to buy acorns.

4166. AE: Relatives take whatever property they can use; when it wears out or they no longer have any use for it, they burn it.

4170. AW: Winter living houses used only about 10 years at best; "after that, fleas get too bad in them."

4171. AE: If anyone, other than owner of winter living house, dies in house, "they just purify the house, and people go on living in it; they don't burn it the next spring. If owner of house dies in winter, house is purified; other occupants live in it until spring, then burn it. WT: Chief owns assembly house; this occasionally burnt, if people feel very badly and are trying to forget deceased.

768 4172. Kl: Relatives of dead person move into small temporary hut after abandoning living house.

4173. Kl: If death occurs in winter earth lodge, house torn down and rebuilt next fall.

OO O WM: Remove 10-15 "good long boards" from house, and keep these for new house; burn remaining part of house. Or, tear down that part of house where man slept, burn entire house, and pile dirt over spot where dead person used to sleep, then pile rocks on top of dirt. "At Hayfork (WT) burn the side of house where man slept, but leave other side standing and build onto it." After family of deceased burn house, they move away, 10-15 miles or so, and live for year or so in the new place; then return to old location.

4175. SW, AE: Burned. NF: Assembly house deserted temporarily; closed for 2-3 years, then reopened, purified by having wormwood burnt inside it, cleaned, and used again.

4177. Mo: House temporarily abandoned in some instances; fumigated before being abandoned.

4178. AE: See note 4171.

4179. AW: Pitch put on inside walls of house. AE: See note 4171. MV: Pounded salt sprinkled inside house and on ceiling.

[768 824 783] 4180. Kl, SE, At, AW, AE: Juniper; use of juniper denied for all other groups. Mo, AE: Sage; use of sage denied for all other groups. Mo, SE, At, AW, WS: Cedar. AW, AE, NF, NS: Wormwood; use of wormwood denied for WT, WM, WS, MM, MF, NM. WS: Fir. MF, NF: Angelica; denied for NM, MV.

4182. MV: If burn hair of deer (or its bones, hide), hunter who shot deer will lose his hunting luck.

Taboos and purification of undertakers, etc.--

4183. WT: Taboos imposed so that undertakers will not "dream bad," that is, dream of death of close relative, or of being hurt. If do have these dreams, means dreamer will die shortly. NM: Includes 2 men who dig grave for ashes; 2 old women who carry ashes to grave; 3 men who carry corpse out of house.

4184. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers, not merely to scapegoat.

4185. MM: 4-5 days.

4186-4187. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners. MM: 4-5 days.

4188. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. MM: 4-5 days.

4189. SE: Refers to undertakers and mourners. WM: 6-7 days. MM: 4-5 days.

4190. SE: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. MM: 4-5 days.

4191. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. MM: 4-5 days.

4192. MV: 2-3 months.

4193. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. AE: 5-7 days. MM: 4-5 days.

4194. MV: 2-4 months.

4195. MM: 4-6 days.

4196. SE: Refers to all undertakers; not to mourners. MM: 4-6 days.

4199. SE, SW, WM: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners. At: All taboos imposed on undertakers, gravediggers, and others may bring them good luck. AW: After sweating, swimming follow-

800 ing funeral, men, women stand facing E and say, "Sus, sus, sus; good daylight come and give me good dreaming," as they clap their hands. "Some women are bashful, though, to talk that way. The people are talking to approaching daylight. Everyone tries to get good dreams after a funeral; a funeral is good for that."

4200. SE, SW, WM: Refers to mourners, not to undertakers. NM: Refers to undertakers and mourners.

4201. SE: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. SW, WM: Refers to mourners, not to undertakers.

4202. SE: Refers to all undertakers and mourners.

4203. SW, WM: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners. NM: Refers to mourners, not to undertakers. MV: 2-3 lunar months.

4204. SE, WM: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners.

4205, 4206. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners.

4208. SW: Woman (not shaman, however) made special medicine; "have such woman at nearly every village; if don't have 1, send for 1 from another village." Medicine drunk to cleanse, purify self.

Taboos on relatives.--

4212. Mo, SE, AW, AE, WS, MV: Only because "she feels so sad." SE: Widow lies on top of corpse, outside, "for last time"; her tears must be washed off before corpse can be buried.

[764
302] 4215. Kl, Mo, AE, NM: Cut immediately after cremation. SE, SW, At, AW, WT, MP: Cut immediately after funeral. WM, WS, MV: Cut day following death of husband. MM, MP, NF, NM: Cut few days after burial, cremation.

4218. At: Belts made, similar to Shasta hair belt figured in Dixon, Shasta, fig. 95, p. 415; decorated with bone, shell ornaments.

4220. Mo: Cuttings or combings never thrown in river or in woods; birds will make nest of it.

4228. WT: Pitches face because she feels badly, "also to prevent any other man falling in love with her."

4230. SW: Reason for application of pitch and charcoal by mourners explained in myth of introduction of death into world: Black Cricket's child died, Coyote vetoed its being brought to life, so child buried; "that's why they [mourners] pitch themselves black, like Cricket."

4233. WT: Widow puts pitch on arms because when she slept with husband, had intercourse with him, she put her arms around him.

4243. Necklace usually consists of lumps of pitch on fiber string. NS: Dubious as to whether pitch used for necklace. MV: Shell beads on string, for necklace. See element 4272.

4244. Very old cap, or one with hole in it.

764
765
262 4247-4250. Kl: 10 days after husband dies, widow goes to mourners' sweat lodge, stays there in seclusion with old woman attendant for 5 days

[232-A]

764 and nights, sweating; at end of this 5-day peri-
765 od widow can eat fish; "she's cleaned good, then."
262 SE: Or more. SW: 1 lunar month. WM: 3 lunar
months. MV: 6-7.

000 4251. MF: Drinks medicinal tea instead of water.

4253. Mo: Young widow stays in house "for few days" after husband's death. Older woman with children may have to go out to get wood. None of seclusion taboos enforced if it is necessary to get food for dependents. All widows however sweat twice daily for duration of food taboos. Final purification comes 1 year later.

[764] 4254. Kl, Mo: In mourners' sweat lodge (see
[765] note 4247). SE: Mourner cannot come into living
house if deermeat there; gives hunter bad luck. NF: Partial seclusion only; does not talk to any man during this period. NS: Stays in seclusion until necklace she is wearing breaks. NM: Stays in seclusion until she attends another funeral, usually in about 1 year. MV: Widow sometimes stays with mother-in-law; usually with her own mother.

4255. Mo: See note 4253. At: 2-3. NS: See note 4254.

4258. MF, NF, NM, MV: Widow makes baskets during period of seclusion, for post-burial ceremony (see elements 4354-4415).

[764] 4261. Kl, Mo, SE, AW, WM, MF, NF, NS, MV:
[765] Shadowed by attendant.

4262. NF, NM, MV: Talks only in low voice. NM, MV: 2 women watch mourner, take her outside at night.

4264. MF, NF, NM, NS: See note 4258.

[765] 4267. Kl: Or more. AE: 2-6 months. WM: Widow
[783] after death of husband sometimes builds and uses
small steam-heated sweat house to remove contamination of disease from her arms, body.

4268. At: After 2-3 years. MF, NM: Ca. 1 year after funeral.

4270. WM: When woman about to remarry, takes pitch off 1 month before marriage.

4272. NF: Worn until burnt at group mourning ceremony, 2-3 years later. MV: Worn for ca. 1 year, then burnt at group mourning ceremony. At this burning young widows put small amount of pitch on face, also.

[764] 4273. Kl: 1-6 yrs. Mo: 2-3. SE: 6 mos. or
765 longer. At: 2-3 yrs. AW: 1-2. WT: 2 mos. to
587] 5 yrs. WS: 2-3 yrs. MM: 1-3. NF, NM, NS: 3
or more yrs. MV: 2-3.

4277. SE, SW, MV: Burn hair; all other groups cut hair. NM: Puts cuttings in gopher hole. At: "A man hardly does anything in mourning for his dead wife."

4281, 4283. AW: 3-4 months. MV: 4-5.

4286. Mo: 5-6 nights. MM: 1-2.

4295, 4296. SE: 1-2 days. AW, AE, WS: Immediately after funeral.

4296. MV: Bathes in medicated water, 4-5 months after funeral.

4299. MF: Put on pitch only. NF: Cut hair, put on pitch. NM: Cut hair only.

[232-B]

764 4301. Child of 2 years or over.

765 4309. Distribution of this trait probably widespread among groups under investigation. SW 000 informant mentioned heavy taboos both parents are under if woman has miscarriage or child dies soon after birth, but no entries made of element until MM informant emphasized its importance, in discussion of childbirth. WM: If woman loses first baby, and then walks outside, heavy storm will arise; for this reason she is kept indoors. MM: If couple lose first child before navel cord drops off, both give away everything they possess to other couples who have lost child under similar circumstances; do not give any of possessions to parents who have raised children successfully. Then relatives and friends of bereaved couple give them new possessions. MV: No special taboos if lose baby before cord drops off, or if child is stillborn; "bad luck is bad luck, that's all."

Taboos on community.--

4312. NF: 6-7 days.

4314. Mo: Hearing name of dead mentioned reminds persons too forcibly of their bereavement; dislike now to hear English surnames of dead uttered after death, or to have towns, such as Chiloquin (on Klamath reserve), named for dead. AW: Also if, for example, man has sister, and she dies, he cannot use relationship term meaning "sister"; if he says, "my dead sister" in presence of his mother, she will begin to cry; jump up and say, "I'm sorry, sorry." Man therefore does not talk of his dead sister, except slowly, and while crying; if he behaves thus, his father will not reprove or chastise him; his mother may cry a little, though. If same man has 1 sister who is dead, another still living, he refers to latter as "that young woman." Cf. note 3308.

4319. Fight, or shaman hired to poison offender.

[535] [764] [765] 4321. Taboo in village where death has occurred. WM: Rule also applies to near-by villages, local groups (?); this extension of taboo denied by SE, WS, all Maidu, Nisenan groups.

4322. WT, WM: 1-2 yrs. MV: To 1; depends upon how important deceased was.

4326a. SW: Brush dance among SW is danced at girl's puberty dance; see note 3665.

4331. AW: Sometimes relatives of deceased refuse to give their consent for dance; in this event dance not held. WM: Mourning family sometimes does not attend any dance for 3 years.

Mourning ceremonies.--

4334. At: Informant's account of this somewhat confused, but apparently if child of a deceased person became sick, about 3 years after the death, in spring, the widow takes off pitch and shaman doctors widow's child; all people gather and feast at end. Even though widow removes pitch, she may announce her intention never to remarry; whereupon chief says, "It's all right;

[233-A]

000 your heart is awful good." Shaman sings over widow all night to make her healthy.

4335. WM: "Perhaps some of relatives of dead person can't come to burial; they may live too far off, or it may be wintertime, or they may not even hear of the death. When they do hear of it, during following summer they go over to spot where relative is buried and cry at grave for hour or so for 1 or 2 days; then wash face and hands and return home; they are not going to cry any more. Or if relatives hear at 'big time' of death of person, they may gather together and cry right there for hour or so, then wash faces.

4354. Referred to among Maidu and Nisenan, as "burnings," or "cries." Exchanges of baskets, other property made prior to burning of property; MV informant commented enthusiastically, "Oh, that burning time makes you glad; it gives a chance to strangers to pick out [baskets], make a trade." Burnings held now, according to same informant, among 3 MF groups only: at Enterprise, at Cherokee, and on Berry Creek, at Henry Flynn's. MM: "They had a burning once up here [Indian Valley group of MM]; it was given by a poor woman [dead now] who lived up here all time, for her son. But no one would go to it--just a few people, that's all. Up at Genesee [MM group] they burnt once or twice only, that's all. No one would go to the burnings. That isn't their belief, up here; they didn't put [have] that in with their [laws] in the first place; that [custom] belongs more on the W side of the Sierras; the Paiute, Washo, Hat Creek [At] don't burn like that either. That woman [who held a burning] had heard people talking about the burnings farther W; she got lots of good things [together], silk handkerchiefs and other things. They never burned up at Big Meadows [MM]; at Quincy [MM] they had 1 or 2 burnings; they took this [custom] from other tribes. Also they burned once or twice at Genesee. But they [MM] don't believe that; nobody went to it. The doctors found out it was wrong; lots of them around here said, 'Tain't made for them [MM]; he put that the other way' [toward the western tribes]."

4360. Mo: 2-3 yrs. NF: 1-3 yrs. after death. Woman burns property for deceased husband for 3 successive years during her village's annual fall burnings. NS: "Cries" held shortly after death of person usually, but if die in winter, wait until good weather to hold cry. If person dies while or shortly before acorn crop is being harvested (October), people hold feast for new acorns and a cry for recently dead at same time. MV: 1-2.

4371. NS: Cry first day; have games next day; last day large feast, "and then people go home next [fourth] day." MV: 2-3.

4373. NS: Cry during daytime; informant commented that this is different from ways of Comese (Miwok) who hold cries during night.

4382. "Cry as though dead person were lying there."

4388. MM: Images used; their recency denied (?)

000 by informants; information concerning them was volunteered (Beals, Nisenan, pp. 378-379, says images not used; mentions Powers reports they were among S Nisenan). Images (so·ta) of dead made in shape of man, cut of board; decorated with yellowhammer bands, strings of shell beads. "Every woman mourner who had such an image danced with it all night; in the morning burned these so·ta." At Nevada City 2 specific instances of use of these images cited: (1) for grandfather of woman of about 35-40, who is still living; (2) for Mrs. Josie Carmen's husband. Dick Jaime, old Nevada City Nisenan man now dead, made image for Mrs. Carmen; Jaime related to Mrs. Carmen's husband. MV: Images made only for "captain" (yeponi, head of secret society), captain's child, or prominent woman official (utbi) who helps feed dancers.

4395. MV: Finely woven baskets traded prior to burning (see note 4354); coarse baskets burnt.

KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS

Counting, Calendar, Directions

4423. At: Cut off knot each day to measure number of days which have elapsed, in order to know when to attend celebration.

4424. SW: Messages sent by word of mouth; time of meeting designated according to phase of moon.

4430. NS: Use stick as poker for fire; at end of month stick is burned to certain length; this stump is then put in fire and said to be "dead."

4432. NM: Summer (yomen) and winter (semen).

4433. AW: "Coyote wanted 20 months, 10 months of winter, 10 of summer. Silver Fox said, 'That's too much; people would die. Six months of hard times [winter], six months of good times [is all right], but 10 months of hard times is too long.' So Silver Fox got his way; there were 12 months, 6 and 6." AE: Coyote wanted 20 months, but Fox made it 10. NF: Some doubt concerning entry.

4436. SW: Every village had marks for observation. AW: "Watch where sun rises for shortest day; know when shadow is at certain place sun is going to 'back up' and that it will snow." No shamanistic dances held at this season, but people return to live in large communal living houses (astui) during winter season when they "didn't gather anything."

405 4437. Kl: "New year begins on 4th moon. 3 or 4 doctors come together then, and all people have good time, singing. The doctors know which moon this is; they keep watch for the fourth month especially; when horn of new moon comes between 2 stars at sunrise, they say 'this is the fourth 000 moon.'" Cf. Spier, Klamath, 218 ff. SW: Year begins in winter solstice, "when for 2-3 days the sun rises and sets over the same marks" (in the large assembly house, uk'kwamma). Years counted from 1 winter solstice to next.

[805] 4439a. Kl: See note 4437. SW: Rising of

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000 Pleiades, morning star, especially observed. AE: Watch stars, each new moon, to see which star is going to appear; different stars appear during different months.

4440. NS: See element 4430.

4442. WM: For winter months only.

4443. MV: Old woman keeps record in following manner: "She keeps 1 variety of seed after another in finely netted bag, and eats different sort each month. When arguments become heated in assembly house, old men send for this old woman; variety of seeds she has in sack at that time often settles argument.

4445. MV: See note 4443.

4447. WM: 2 solstices determined in following manner: During solstices sun stays for 3 days, oscillating between points A and B, "before it starts north or south. Old man watches this in morning; the sun sits down each morning, first at [A], then at [B], then back to [A], not looking around. But on third morning it looks around and is ready to go N or S, depending on time of year." WS: Winter solstice only observed, because people "want spring to come; don't bother about summer solstice." Solstice explained as follows: Sun rises at point X for 3 days, then moves N to Y for 1 day; then rises again at X for 1 day; then at Y next day. After that it keeps rising farther and farther N each day; "when it starts moving N for good, people quit watching its position."

4448. AW: See note 4451. WS: See note 4447.

4449. AW: See note 4436.

4450. SE: Marks made on center pole of assembly house with chalk. SW: "In the assembly house (uk'kwamma) there are flat rocks, set around base of center post; the shadow from post, as made by rising or midday sun, is observed, and note taken of where it falls on rocks at base of post." AW: Watch where light strikes on center post of living house or sweat house, but no marks on pole.

4451. SW: Wherever there is assembly house, observations made indoors, as noted in 4450 above, "but for ordinary places, people watch where sun rises and sets between certain trees." (Informant now uses mark on board by his door in observing shadow cast by rising sun.) AW: Mainly watch shadow from Soldier Mt. ("it goes to Jim Hunt's place") for solstices.

4452. MV: From top of assembly house.

4454. WS: See note 4447.

4457. WM: Old man watch where sun rises over certain rocks or trees every morning throughout year; also observe where sun sets.

[823] [782] 4458. Kl: Informant gave 4 names (for N, S, E, W), but recognized Spier's 7 names (Spier, Klamath, 222); when food offered, it is thrown in each of 4 directions.

4461. SW: E and W designated as either up and downstream or light and dark (sunrise and sunset), N and S by place or tribal names, such as "over by Jacksonville" (N) and "over by Wintun" (S).

4462. SW: See preceding note. AW: N, ša·tit,

(00) "flint side," named for Glass Mountain, where obsidian obtained. S, bek'akma, Big Meadows or "Digger Indiah" (MM) side.
4463. SW: See note 4461.
4467. For flirting; also to direct children, while engaged with adults in conversation.

Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs

Therapeutic practices.--
4469. SW: In addition to specifics listed in elements 4470 ff., SW hold belief that person who chokes on fishbone will recover if he calls upon rattlesnake (who swallows food without chewing) and drinks water with river foam on it. Myth connected with this belief.

[757] 4473. Balls of sage bark, furze from wormwood, and such, 1/2-inch in diameter, placed on arm, leg and set afire, to cure rheumatism. Kl: Informant had 12 balls burnt on flesh near spot where he broke his leg; "so bad blood ran out"; later pine pitch put over burns, allowed to stay on for 4-5 days, more pitch put on until leg healed. Cf. Spier, Klamath, pp. 129-130; also Kroeber, Handbook, p. 628, for Gabrieleño, and Voegelin, Tübatulabal, p. 60. At: Sagebrush bark used, "if man sick all time." WS: Wormwood furze.
4474. WS: If ball of furze snaps as it burns on arm, sign sufferer will recover.
4475. SE, SW, WS: Practiced in conjunction with sweating.
4477. WS: Vapor or steam bath (olk Lomines) taken as "old-time remedy for colds"; patient put hot rocks wrapped up in chokecherry bark (latter makes steam pungent) into basket of water; sits over basket, head hanging down, head and body well covered with robe.
4482. MM, MF: For colds.
4484. MV: "A good medicine; old people obtained it at Battle Mountain"; does not grow in vicinity Chico, informant had never seen it. Tea made of roots; used "for almost any ailment."
4485. SE: Urine of young baby. MM, NF, NS: Plant decoctions.

Herb doctoring; beliefs concerning ailments.--
4487. SW: "For fevers, cramps, and such, had herb medicines; didn't call for a doctor [shaman]."
4492. NF: Shaman "doesn't give any root, herb teas, because people would blame him for making them sick. Common people know the roots and herbs themselves, and go out and get them."
4494. WM: Informant herself had dreamt of plant medicine; in dream she heard people talking; "these people said that if persons knew the right plant medicines to drink they'd keep well. One man said to drink rattlesnake plant root, and then one would never be sick. Another person asked, 'How about water snake, green snake root?' 'No, that's no good,' the man told them." Instructions how to use the rattlesnake root also

000 given in dream, but informant did not see plant itself, and so she has not been able to locate any living specimens of it yet.

4496. NS: Informant's mother's mother's mother's father a shaman; he taught informant's mother's mother "many herb medicines. But my grandmother wouldn't tell anyone, not even her own grandchildren, about the herbs she used. We asked her to, and offered to pay her, but she wouldn't do it." (If taboo of any specific variety existed in regard to this, informant knew nothing of it.)

4497. MV: Older people only dig up medicinal plants; "they pray to the plant, and no woman who is menstruating can follow them when they were doing this."

4499. MV: Essential.

4510. SW: Shaman treats toothache; doctors patient and removes worm, which "lives in jaw all the time, sometimes eats tooth and thus causes toothache." WT: Small red worm eating tooth. "But hardly ever had toothache, because didn't eat sweets or hot food to rot their teeth." NS: "No toothache, because don't eat sweets or hot food."

4511. AW: Toothache caused by small spider-like bug, "just having fun in tooth; if it wanted to it could eat person's heart, and kill person." Special doctor for curing toothache.

Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena

Cosmogony; sun and moon; new moon.--

4514. SW: All animals, except deer, persons. In mythical age, as now, deer was hunted. SE, At dubious concerning whether deer person during mythical age; all other groups asserted deer was person at this time.

4516. WT: Previous to flood "there was a fire; everything burned, trees, even water... [Later] an old woman (big bullfrog) made a big basket, and put in it 2 of each tribe of Indians, also all [species of] plants and shrubs. People laughed at her, but it flooded; then she and her basket rose up and up. She laughed then and said, "ohohoho," as bullfrogs do today. It flooded for 3 years."

4518. AW: Sun (šol) once "a big chief, when he lived on earth; then a giant man helped Sun, and put him far up in sky when Sun was tired of people bothering him. Sun has wife, who lives in sweat house; she's bright [shines], but never seen."

4519. NF: Sun a woman, travels in daytime.

4520. AW: "People never said anything much about Moon (nišoli); just talked of Sun." See however notes 4528, 4546. NF: Moon a man, never afraid to travel in night time.

[821] 4523. Kl, Mo, SE: Wife of moon. MF: Husband of moon.

4527. NS: Large oak tree, from which dead obtain their food.

4528. Mo: Frog protects Sun, Moon (both of

000 these latter are male beings), so that Bear will not be able to eat either of them. At: Frog fought Moon, swallowed Moon; next time Moon swallowed Frog, so Frog is now in center of Moon. When Moon and Frog fought, Moon was not round but always crescent shaped. AW: "Frog swallowed Moon first; his mouth was all busted; so Moon said, 'I'll show you how to swallow,' and then swallowed Frog." WS: Figure in moon that of Frog, weaving basket.

4529. NS: "Sun, Moon, Coyote, and Lizard ("grandfathers") were chiefs. Sun, Moon, and Lizard wanted people to die for 4 days and then return to life; Coyote wanted people to have a "big time," cry, and blacken their faces [for dead, who would die permanently]. Coyote had a beautiful daughter who never did anything; people waited on her. Somebody broke a twig off a tree and the twig turned into rattlesnake; Coyote's daughter went down to the spring to get water for someone, and rattlesnake bit her and she died. Then Sun and Moon told Coyote, "Now you can have your big time; we're leaving." So they went up to the sky. When the moon wanes, it does 4 days and then comes back; the Indians believe that if Coyote hadn't wished what he did, people too would have died for 4 days only, and then have been reborn again."

4530. NS: At each new moon, prepare small supper (kaipe) and if there is any other family living close by, invite them to come and eat with celebrants. Important, year-round observance.

4532. MM: All go outside to view moon, to see (from position of horns) whether or not storms can be expected.

[821] 4533. Kl: In fall also. SW: Once yearly, in spring, all go outside to view, address moon; say, "We're glad to see you; we'll see you again, the next time you come (year from that time)."

[821] 4534. Kl: Tell moon they are hungry. NF: People ask moon that they be like it, and never die. Break stick and throw it away, giving it to moon.

4536. SE: Men, women pull up clothes, bend over and expose anus, sing "Maggots come out." This practice denied for Kl, Mo, MV.

4538. WT, WM, WS: Du Bois, Wintu, p. 87, reports food offered to moon at every new moon by headman of village among WT only. This feast, to which near-by villages are sometimes invited, has to be entirely consumed. Du Bois notes that new-moon ceremony is lacking "among most of Wintu."

4539. SW: "Children can't look at moon; if person sees man across the moon, he will die." At: Also, young babies held up on cradle each new moon, and lighted torch waved near both sides of basket; these babies will never be "mean."

4546. AW: Children run out toward hills, hold up hands and say, "Grandmother, look at me, I'm growing," when they get up into mountains; then return home, running.

4554. AE: Sign headman will die.

4557. Face will become paralyzed, "crooked, like new moon."

000 Eclipses; star lore.--

4558. SW: Solar eclipses only; "don't know anything about lunar eclipses."

4559. NF: New sun (woman) coming out.

4568. Mo: Tell Frog to doctor moon.

4569. AW: Old women only go out and chant to sun or moon during eclipse; "tell sun's, moon's own dog not to eat him."

4570. Bitches only.

4573. WM, WS: Cover food because sun is going to bleed.

4574. WS, NM: So they cannot see eclipse.

4575. SE: People afraid they are going to freeze to death. NM, NS: Build fire.

4577. SE, AW, MM: Sign of war. WS: Sign of bad weather.

4578. If large stars fall. Mo, SE, NF, NM, NS: Sign man living in direction star falls has died, or will die. AW: Sign of earthquake; denied for all other groups except SW, At. NF: Falling stars (sa·to) are "just like turkeys, coming down from sky to spring to drink, their head 1 way, tail the other. Come down into ground, just like sun; then they're gone. Sign of lots of sickness. If 2 large stars come down, sign of war starting."

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82 1]

4579. If small stars fall.

4585. Kl, Mo: White river. Kl: Canes grow on both sides of river, which forks near one end. MM: Creek.

4587. WS, NF, NS: If boys 6-7 look at it during any time of year, will give them bad luck for hunting later.

4588. NF, NS: All girls; would give them bad luck; spirit would frighten them in night. Cf. Voegelin, Tübatulabal, p. 58, people forbidden to count stars.

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763]

4589. Kl, Mo, At, AW: Sign of death of adult. SE: "When catches up to moon, sign world will end." SW: "Moon is listening [to star]; therefore someone is saying evil things about person, or will make trouble for person." At: "If star to left of moon, someone near by will die; if to right, person far off. AW: If star very close to moon, death will occur soon. WM: Sign of cold weather.

Rainbow.--

4591. Mo, AW, AE: See note 4592. WM: Sign suckers (fish) calling clouds to make it rain, because girl just after she has had first menstruation is walking close to river or spring "where she ought not to go." After clouds leave, rainbow appears. NF, NM, NS: If end of rainbow falls near village, this is sign that girl there has recently menstruated for first time.

4592. Mo, AW, AE: If rainbow close to where girl dancing at puberty dance, unlucky for menstruant. Negatives for this trait obtained from all other groups except SW, At (not inquired into). Mo: If menstruant dreams of rainbow, sign evil spirit is trying to get her. Mo, AW, AE: If rainbow near by when baby is born, mother will be un-

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000 lucky. AW: If rainbow likes person, it allows him to approach near it; person finds that rainbow is bad smelling. WM, WS: Evil spirit travels in rainbow. See also note 4599. NF: Rainbow made by evil beings.

4594. At: Silver Fox made rainbow. When people see rainbow, sing sometimes to have good wild crops.

4595. Mo, SE: If run through rainbow, will be good doctor. SW: Rainbow consists of colors with which Sun, who is shaman, paints.

4597. MV: Children told never to count the colors in the rainbow.

4599. Mo, WM, WS: If mother dreams of rainbow after baby born, sign she will die. Mo, WS: If girl menstruant dreams of rainbow, sign she will die.

Thunder, lightning.--

4600. SE: Man with long gray hair lives in E. SW: Thunder "was a man once; name, 'Loud Speaker'; noise of thunder is this man's voice." At: Man who wears rabbitskin; goes about looking for women, whom he kills. AW: Man (not old) who travels about in black cloud, and had sweat house where he put people he captured and made their legs, arms, backs, faces crooked, until Raven (k'ak) cleared out this sweat house of its victims and abolished it. AE: Informant had no idea what Thunder looks like--"may be an animal, even"--but stated that 2 kinds of noise heard when it thunders are man and woman talking. WT: Thunder "an old man in stories [myths], but when an Indian sees it striking tree, it is in form of bird, with claws like a grouse. Rips up trees; generally catches a tree full of knots." MM: Thunder a man who lives "up above"; was "a boy on earth, but he was sent up above because he was too fast and ate up everything." NF: 2 old people of evil disposition; loud noises made by man, lesser noise by woman. Thunder couple go about looking for girl who is having first menses, or woman in childbirth ("bad luck women"); women especially afraid of thunder. NS: Old man with red plumes or red cap on his head.

4601. MF: Lightning his wife. Old man lives in E, old woman in W; when two engaged in conversation, thunders. "Lots of people see these 2; they tell them to go away."

4604. WM, WS: Human in form; twin boys born of Bear Woman and Chicken Hawk (see Du Bois and Demetracopoulou, Wintu, p. 296 ff.). Older boy thunder, younger one lightning.

4605. AW: "Thunder looks like person, but has wings like a bat; a rain doctor saw him like this when on vision quest. He said that when Thunder moved his wings a little, it made noise." WT: See note 4600.

4607. NF: Couple looking for menstruant, or woman in labor, to kill her. NM: Shooting. MV: Woman jealous, scolding man.

4608. Mo: Noise caused by old man shaking his long gray hair.

000 4610. AW: See note 4605. Formerly Thunder made noise all time, but in contest between Thunder and Raven, Raven finally told Thunder, "Don't make noise all the time; the only time you can make a noise is when somebody dreams about you, in spring." See note 4612. WT: See note 4600.

4611. WM: Twin boys returning "to see their own baby basket [cradle]; make noise when on earth." See note 4604.

4612. AW: During contest between Thunder and Raven, Thunder decreed that if any woman who is about to be delivered of a child in springtime dreams that she is struck by lightning, she will be killed. See notes 4600, 4610. Informant's wife had dreamt of lightning under these circumstances; her mouth became crooked, but "a doctor was called; he came and kicked the cloud back; he talked to it" and patient recovered. NF: See note 4600.

4613. SW: Hold up racccon skin and tell Thunder to go away, as there are too many rattlesnakes in vicinity; "go to some other place." At: Any sort of skin including racccon skin held on stick.

[82 1
23 1] 4614. Kl, SE: Pinch bitch's ear.

4615. Serviceberry stick.

4616. SW, AE, WT: Thunder commanded to go away, especially when people camping out. AE: Tell Thunder couple, "Go that way [naming mountain]; that's where your grandfather and grandmother went." WM: Talk to twin boys, welcome their return. See note 4604. WS: Shaman talks to boys, to make them stop.

4618. At: Lightning issues from mouth of Thunder man, "like a snake." AW: Lightning issues from Thunder's hand, when he raises his arm (wing) to strike.

[82 1
56 2] 4625. Women, only, cover head. Kl, MF, NF, MV: Cover head with willow basket. NM, NS: Cover head with deerskin.

Whirlwind; rain and storms.--

4629. AW: "Don't bother much about whirlwind; they let children run into them for fun; there is no danger."

4631. SW: Does not contain poison, but dead shaman sends his dust, and later person struck will suffer some minor misfortune, such as turning ankle. NF: But see note 5040.

4632. SE: Also, whirlwind rising from ashes of house burnt after death is dangerous; ashes will make person sick.

4633. WM, NF, MV: Whirlwind is spirit of dead person.

4635. Mo, SE, AE, WT, WM, WS, NF: Bad for mourners to dream of, especially. Among Mo, SE, AE, WT, WM, WS if mourners dream thus, it means that whirlwind will take dreamer's spirit. See also element 4646a. SE: Also it is "bad for any man to dream of whirlwind or of butterfly; means he will be burnt up." NF: Also bad for menstruants, women in labor to dream of.

4639. AW: Also, whirlwind may give power to run fast.

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000 4642. At: Throw water at whirlwind and tell it to run away. Whirlwind is blind. NE, NM, NS: Also wrap live coal in grass, walk 4 times around victim who has been in whirlwind, letting smoke from grass envelope him. This practice denied for MV.

4648. WM: Never roll rocks on mountains, "because dwarfs live there. When they don't like to see people in mountains, like hunters, they throw rocks at them."

4650. See also element 5120.

4652. SE: Bitch's ear.

Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts

Characteristics; activities; precautions to keep away ghosts.--

4655. SE, SW: Informants knew little about characteristics of ghosts, spirits. SW informant stated, "before Ghost dance, people didn't know anything about ghosts--what they looked like. They did dream of dead when sleeping, however. But they never said anything about a person's spirit or breath leaving his body at death." Dixon (Shasta, p. 468) states colored lights seen around cemeteries are ghosts. Both SE and SW informants stated that these reddish, white, or green lights (SE: purowan) are made by "devils" or witches, or are the witches themselves, sent by down-river peoples (Hupa, chiefly), especially novice shamans who are "practicing" to wreak ill among Shasta. Person touched by one of these lights becomes ill. They are seen sometimes near cemeteries. Down-river peoples know how to combat these "poison" manifestations, but few Shasta shamans do; SW informant's sister one of these rare persons among Shasta. SW informant narrated Orpheus myth, similar to that published by Dixon (Shasta Myths) in which Woodpecker follows wife to land of dead but is not allowed to remain there until he shall have returned to earth and died; this story telling of life after death said to have antedated Ghost dance. See elements and notes 4667, 4668. At: Ghosts only visible to shamans.

4656. WS: Headless, sometimes.

[775] 4657. Kl: Skeleton. AE: Shadow, fog, or cloud.

4661. SE, SW: See note 4655.

4663. WS: 6-7 days. NF: 3-4.

[775] 4668. Kl: Spirit goes up toward E, then travels W; as it travels it shouts, and people hear it. SW: Persons travel E after death, "toward sun--toward daylight," but ultimately stay in land in W, from whence comes night mockingbird, whom no one is supposed to bother. Dead travel in sky from E to W, along Milky Way.

4669. WM: See note 4677. NM: Shamans only. MV: Dead go to large rock assembly house (large mountain, shape of assembly house) at Marysville Buttes, where rock "elder" sits on top of assembly house. This assembly house is starting place, "headquarters," for people on their way to sky; dead stay at assembly house 4 days, then depart.

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000 4677. WM: Spirits go up above, to big dance house [Lut], where they become as wind [whirlwind]. "This is what Indian doctors say. But if man is bad man, when he dies people up above won't let him step inside Lut; they tell him they won't have him, so he has to return to earth and travel about there as a whirlwind." NF: Doctors and "common people," different destinations.

4685. AE: Some spirits of dead come to person when he is asleep, and "charm" him; sleeper, unable to move, shouts, "Do anything." After 2, 3 minutes person can move; spirits gone. "Indians say you'll live long time if these [spirits] come to you; but when you wake up after a visit like this, your heart is pounding."

4687. NM: Dead "bother" living in dreams. Dreamer must be doctored; after this is no longer bothered. NS: If dream of dead, "go to grave of that person and clean it up a little"; will not dream further of this dead person after doing so. Custom is still followed among NS. MV: For any "common" bad dreams, sucking shaman (yomi) doctors dreamer; but for dreaming about the assembly house and the secret society dances, the secret society leader (yeponi) has to doctor patient. See also note 4100.

4690. In general, food prepared, and family of person visited by ghost eats this food; before eating, throw small amount of food in fire. MF: Shaman notified; makes feather "flags" (yokoli; 4 feathers and beads on end of stick). Relatives of the person who has been dreaming bad dreams prepare food, set it out; shaman hangs flags in tree distant from house, then talks to spirits; afterward assembled people eat food. Shaman's flags are left hung in tree outside. MV: Invite guests to a "dinner"; merely say to person one is inviting, "I can't sleep well," and he or she realizes significance of the invitation.

4691. At: Informant had eaten with dog when dreaming too much; chewed up little food, threw it to dog, telling animal, "You'd better eat for me; take that spirit away." Also, after woman has had first baby, she and her husband, when they first eat meat again, chew up small amount and put it on their toes and let dog eat it.

4695. Mo: Also, if encounter ghost, let it pass on right side, not on left where heart is.

4696. WM: Put small red rock in water.

4699. At: Dry ipos roots; this is "feeding the spirit, who says, 'All right, you give me that kind of food; we eat that kind.'" Informant concluded, "So I keep those roots for him [her dead son]; a little bit."

4701. MF: Angelica. NF: Pitch and wormwood. NM: Wormwood and cedar. NS: Wormwood.

4702. WM: Pine bark burnt. AW, AE: Burn cedar leaves immediately after childbirth; leaves pop as burn and child's future foretold by sounds made.

4703. SW, AW, WS, MF, NF, NS: Rabbitskin; denied for other groups. At: Burn skin; also, if spirits talk to baby, burn baby's hair on middle of forehead; spirit stops right away. WS, MF, NF, NS: Coyote skin burned. MF, NF, NS: Deer hair

000 also burned to keep evil shaman away.

4706. At: Native tobacco hung by entrance to living house, or put outside for spirits; also feathers. NF: Wormwood, also white feathers.

Omens

4714. SW: Although belief in bird-call omens lacking, SW believe in various other omens, such as, for example, if meet king snake squarely in front of one on trail, sign someone in family going to die; kill king snake and burn it, to prevent this happening. See also notes 4539, 4589.

4717. MV: Quail calls.

ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Vision Quest

In order to avoid double entries for the same complex, the "doctor dance" or shaman's initiatory dance practiced by the 3 Wintu groups covered in this survey has not been included in this section on the Vision Quest. Instead, the shaman's dance is entered in the section on Shamanism (4803-4915). The decision to omit references to the Wintu shaman's dance from the present section was made after some hesitation, on the grounds that supervised training instead of questing is of fundamental importance among the Wintu in the acquisition of supernatural power for doctoring.

4722. WT: "The main way to get power for doctoring is to train for it in the sweat house (shaman's dance). They take children in, to teach them. But one could also get power while in a trance or faint, and by going in search of it, to a medicine lake or spring." MM, MF, NF: Among these groups vision quest is unique, in that boy or girl must first dream at home before going to mountains to gain power and to train for doctoring. No questing for "luck" in hunting, fishing, gambling is undertaken, but in the training of future shamans in mountains, MM, MF, and NF share many traits with neighboring groups among which there is questing for several varieties of power besides that for doctoring. MM: See note 4806. NF: Boy, girl, prepuberty, dreams. White bird with red breast comes from sun, hits dreamer on face and head; dreamer bleeds at nose. "When he dreams like that, they (parents) send him into the mountains to train." Older doctors go out with him, teach him, then there follows period of training; next summer novice dances in doctor dance (yomuse). MV: See note 4807.

4724. WM: Group of boys sent out, but only "if those boys had been fighting." This seems somewhat aberrant procedure, but informant volunteered information, which is apparently reliable.

4725. WS: At birth of first baby, father goes

000 to sacred spot (sauɛl) to seek power. "But for young boys, there's nothing in it. Some boys, 8-15 years old, go into dance house and dance for doctoring power. That's all."

4726. WM: Du Bois, Wintu, p. 80, states Coyote sauɛl is "1 type of sacred place used by women"; informant said that Coyote sauɛl "is man's sauɛl, where men go for luck." WS: Girls may seek for power during puberty dance, but "never go to any kind of sauɛl" to obtain power.

4726a. WM: Optional for individuals; obligatory for group.

4728. WM: Applies to group of boys; not to individuals.

4729. WM: Refers to individual questing.

4730-4734. WM: Refers to group questing. Individuals repeat quests.

4735. See elements 3218-3220, 4263, 4287, 4308.

[787] 4736. Kl, Mo: Depends at which localized spot seeker quests. Some springs give power for doctoring, others for luck in gambling, hunting, fishing, or fast running. AW: See note for 4736a. WM: Only rarely get doctoring power. See note 4722.

4736a. Hence it cannot be too strongly emphasized, for groups affirming this element, that undergoing vision quest for "luck" in hunting, gambling, racing, wrestling, tree climbing, fishing and acquiring shamanistic power are viewed as two distinct phenomena. SW: Informant explicitly stated that "going up into mountains for luck" entailed none of the obligations upon seeker that obtaining shamanistic power entailed; obligations after receiving latter were many. AW: Vision questing chiefly concerns obtaining power from guardian spirits for luck in gambling, hunting, and such; but if one obtains 10 of these spirits one "is bound to be a doctor." Besides having guardian spirits, however, shamans also have "pains" which came to them voluntarily; possession of pain is chief prerequisite for being a doctor. See notes 4804-4806. WT: Power for doctoring only rarely obtained on quest, however. See note 4722. WM: Refers both to individual questers and group of questers. No one "goes out on the mountains looking for doctoring power. The puisus [Achomawi] do, though." WS: See note 4725.

4737. At: Man or woman obtaining "luck" for hunting, gambling, and such "just dreams; sometimes he hears animal singing, in dream." No vision questing save for doctoring power. Informant used to dream where deer could be killed, until 3 men hired shaman to take her dreams away from her; now her dreams never tell her where deer are to be found.

4740. WM: Refers to group of boys seeking power; see note 4724.

[787] 4741. At, AE: Nasal septum also.

4743. Kl, Mo: See note 4736. SE: On mountain, but not at fixed localities. WT: At fixed localities, but not on mountain.

[787] 4747. SE: 4-6 days, nights. AW: 1-2. AE: 2-3.

4748. Kl, Mo: That is, seekers who are quest-

787 ing for shamanistic power. WM: Refers to group of boys questing; see note 4724.

4749. Kl, Mo: After birth of child, death of relative, also quest. WT, WM, WS: "Doctor dance" 000 or shaman's initiatory dance is, among Wintu, group performance, undertaken to obtain guardian spirits by would-be shamans; it is not, as among other groups, dance which is held after guardian spirits have been obtained by prospective shamans.

4750. AW: 2-3 days.

4751a. AE, WS: 2-3. NF: Eats sparingly all the time.

4753. At: When boy up in mountains, he takes little rock, rubs it over his lips, and throws it away, as his parents have instructed him to do; "then he doesn't need to drink for a long time."

4755. WM: Refers to single questers and to group questers.

4756. AE: See also note 3247. WM: Refers to single and group questers.

[787] 4759a. AW, AE, WS: 2-3 days.

[777] 4764. Kl, SE: For luck in gambling.

4767. SE: See note 4768. AE: In myth, ant [525] bites "good" or favored man; will not bite "common" or ordinary man.

4768. That is, luck in gambling, hunting, and such. SW: "If acquire 'luck,' all the power one carries is in one's arms or shoulders. If one has no luck, one's shoulder and arm are nothing; no power in them. If menstruant or woman under taboos eats meat hunter has shot she ruins his luck; then he has to obtain more before he can do anything again. That's when he goes into the little [steam] sweat house and cuts himself on his shoulder, to get the bad blood out from the spot where he carries his luck, and so he can get more luck there. This he gets by cooking the blood off his shoulder, or rubbing ants into cuts made where he has pricked his shoulder."

4769. Mo: To those seekers who obtain luck only (hunting, gambling, and such); "somebody speaks to them in a dream." Also "little" or "common" doctors, who cure by laying hands on patient, not sucking, dream their "medicine."

4770. Mo: Only persons receiving shamanistic power, bleed at mouth (not at nose).

4779. Doctor dance as form of vision seeking has been disregarded in this section; see note, Vision Seeking. WT, WM: Main form. WS: Only form for young men, girls.

4781. WT, WM: 1-3 days. WS: 2-5.

4785. AE, WS: 2-3 days.

4788. SW: Informant's father, who had "luck" (not shamanistic power) from Sun, never ate before sun-up, also prayed to Sun, with special formula, and offered Sun paint. WT: Youth, on return home from quest for "luck," uses stick spatula for eating; either paternal or maternal great-grandmother or grandmother, only, wait on him.

[240-A]

Shamanism

00D

Sucking doctors; personnel and acquisition of power.--

4801. MM, MF: Female shamans do not suck out disease objects, however.

4803. Mo: If shaman wishes son or daughter to become shaman, feeds offspring some of his own "medicine" ("pain" object). But offspring must also acquire guardian spirit of his own as well. MM: Only under peculiar circumstances; see note 4806. MV: But if person's grandfather, for example, and not spirit creature, makes one a doctor (yomi), "that power fails a person sometimes, and doesn't last long."

4804. Mo: See preceding Mo note. At: "If old man has power, and his power likes a young relative (son or nephew) of old man's, power tells latter, 'Sometimes I'm going to play with that boy.' The power wants to get away and go with the boy. So it does; then the young boy becomes a doctor." If power comes this way, boy often goes out before sundown and plays with power; listens to it "singing all time," and tells his mother or father, who explain what this means. AW: Shaman may give his boy or girl his pain if pain likes the offspring; if it does not, child cannot obtain it. AE: A person's animal "power" or his "pain" may not like its possessor, and transfer to son or daughter of latter, before person's death; then parent's other powers may also desert to offspring. Also, "sometimes the power waited until after its possessor died." NS: Boy's father, or maternal, paternal grandfather, has to be shaman, or else boy cannot be one, as knowledge concerning shamanism is passed on within family; cannot be taught by outsider.

4805. Mo: After shaman's death, some of his "medicine" may go to one of his children if child "is smart enough"; if not, "when shaman dies that is the last of his medicine." If medicine comes unsought to child in this manner, there is no necessity for questing for it. AW: "After doctor's death, pain goes up and stays there for several months, then comes down and goes into ground; in spring it comes up in red roots of rye grass and goes to the person it likes. Sometimes a pain takes a person [master] in middle of winter, but not often." AE: See preceding AE note. WM: Old woman's dead son's spirit (ghost) may ask other spirits, "Will you help me out, and give my mother power; she feels badly [over son's death]." Other spirits may concur, saying, "Yes; maybe some day we'll go to that house, in 10-20 days [years] or sooner."

[756] 4806. That is, if parent's pain (animate) does not wish to go to offspring, latter cannot inherit it. Mo, At, AW, AE: See notes 4804-4805. MM: My information agrees with Loeb's (Eastern Kuksu, p. 199) on this point; not all children of shaman, as Dixon states (Maidu, p. 274 ff.), or any of them become shamans if pain possessed by deceased shaman does not like any of children. Informant

000 and his brother are sons of shaman; neither one of them inherited their father's pain. "That spirit that belonged to my father didn't like us. Once or twice we thought it might be coming to my brother, but it didn't. When my father died, I took all his doctoring things and put them away outside; they were no good to me, just good for my father."

4807. Mo: See preceding Mo note. MV: "Never go out to try and get the power; it just comes to you; the spirit gets you, himself."

4811. SW: 4-5 days. WT, WM: 1-3. MV: Novice is sick for little while after he dreams first time; then begins to dream his training.

4813. SE, AW, AE: In dream after crying for dead, often.

4815. SE: Also, novice or full-fledged shaman cannot smell any burnt hair or burnt skin; makes her sick. SW: Guardian spirit tells novice he will bleed while dancing during training. NF: Novice bleeds at nose; for all other groups, at mouth.

4816. SE: 2-3 nights.

4820. AW: If refuse power from animal, not dangerous, as shaman can blow sickness, caused by refusal, off victim; if person refuses to accept "pain" that comes to one, he will die.

4822. AW: Can refuse animal's offer to become supernatural guardian; cannot refuse offer of "pain"; if refuse latter, will inevitably die. MV: Can refuse power by burning beads at spot where dream came, or by telling about one's dream.

4823. WT, WM, MM: Animal or vegetable.

4824. Mo: This makes one unclean. If fail to put ashes on, death will ensue.

4826. WT: Rarely. See note 4722.

4829. NS: Among this group, instruction by older shamans (who are related to boy in training) is apparently only method followed. Boys, 8-10 years old, taken into woods, to secret place, by 2 male shaman relatives, and there taught how to handle hot stones, other things. Stay there 4 days, fasting; no meat, liquids; instructed concerning food taboos to be followed after training over (not to eat hot foods, and such). Generally keep fact they have been trained and details of such training secret, even from parents. Boy taken out thus might refuse to engage in training; not reprimanded by relative if he decides not to go on with it.

4830. MV: Very little; in main, his guardian spirit teaches him.

[756] 4834. Described as obsidian flakes by Kl, Mo; as "looking like a hair" by At, AW, WT, WM, WS, MM, MF; "like a bug" by At; "like a little sharp bone" by WS. Kl: Pain not animate. Mo: Either animate or inanimate. SE: Animate; moves but does not speak. Shaman never speaks to own pains, or those she sucks out. SW: "Shaman carries her 'pains' inside her all the time; that makes her the same as her guardian spirit, who also carries the pains (his arrows) inside him all the time." When SW informant stopped doctoring, he buried

000 his doctoring pipe, feathers, and his pains up in mountains under rocks. "Lots of doctors stopped, especially the women doctors; they didn't like the smell of White people. They couldn't see anything any more; it [power] all left them." At: When extracted from patient, pain often pleads with curing shaman to be sent back to its owner, and not to be killed (chewed up, or burnt); curing shaman often makes pain tell him who sent it, and so on. AW: "Before pain [always referred to as "poison" among At, AW, AE] was a pain, it was some kind of a weed." Cf. note 4805. Shaman, in sending out pain, may smoke, blow smoke and pain toward victim; he tells his pain, "Now go," and pain goes and finds victim. Then pain listens to victim; "if he talks good, pain returns to doctor, tells him, 'I didn't hit him, he looks good.' Doctor may say, 'All right, if you want to save him.'" AE: Animal appears to person in dream or otherwise; gives that person song, and tells him what to use as his pain ("poison"); that pain can talk, and has a song, too.

4838. SE, SW: In head, heel, shoulder. WT, WM: In head. WS: In head or heart. "Doctor has to have a clean heart; his heart is the pain's home, and pain has to stay there as long as the man lives; he can't put pain away or get rid of it, if he wants to stop doctoring."

[756]
[776]
4839. Kl, Mo, AE: Although shamans also acquire "pains" (see elements 4833 ff.), emphasis among these 3 groups is chiefly upon guardian-spirit helpers they acquire. SE, SW, At, AW: Emphasis shifts from guardian-spirit helpers to the "pains" themselves, which are always animate and can talk. AW: "If person acquires 10 kinds of powers [guardian-spirit helpers], he will be a doctor. [But must have "pain" to doctor.] Whenever doctor cries at funeral, he gets more power" (through dreams).

4846. SW: "Any animal people eat is nothing at all for giving one power for doctoring. Grizzly Bear, Timber Wolf help doctors; Coyote too; they all look like animals, but they call themselves after a mountain (Wolf) or a bush (Grizzly Bear) or some rocks (Coyote), when they announce themselves to doctors; they don't go by their ordinary names. Panther, deer, raccoon, badger, ground squirrel are nothing at all, because people eat them." WT: Power comes from small animals and flies, other insects.

4853. SW: "Rattlesnake can give power [but only in ancillary fashion]; but he doesn't talk to a doctor, or sing. You can see rattlesnake, though [during trance or faint], and get some power that way; but the only way a doctor uses rattlesnake is to use the skin for her pipe stem [decoration], or to wear the rattles. She never calls on rattlesnake to help her." MV: "Rattlesnake is main doctor."

4856. AE: "Frog--that's the boss of the doctors."

4870. Mo: Shaman has pole outside house, with bald eagle feathers, skunk skin and other skins

OO strung on it. He never kills bird or animal of same species as his guardian spirit(s), but someone else kills these for him, gives feathers, skins to him. SE: See note 4946. SW: Novice acquires pole, with 10 different objects (feathers, skins) on it; this sacred, kept outside house when not being used during shamanistic performance; at latter, shaman brings pole, plants it in ground outside patient's house. See note 4992. At: After man begins to doctor patients he acquires eagle down, woodpecker feathers, yellowhammer band. Ties these feathers inside his whistle. Also acquires bunch supernatural feathers (kaku) which he keeps tied up on willow branch, near creek; when shaman dies, blood drips from these kaku feathers. When shaman first discovers these feathers they are singing; he walks up to them and picks them up. WM: Shamans pass on their feathers, when old and near death, to another shaman; "keep passing them on from 1 to another. Sometimes the feathers tell doctor to put them in the water ['bury' them]; or feathers may say, 'No, I want to be alive, give me to another doctor.'" If, on receiving the feathers a shaman does not know how to handle them, he tells them he cannot keep them and is going to put them in the water.

4871. At: See preceding At note. Shaman never brings these feathers inside house, or uses them in curing performance; there may be children playing around who might make too much noise; feathers might become disturbed, poison people.

4872. At: See note 4870 At.

4873. At: Also, if man dreams "good" (acquires luck) after birth of child, "he never tells about his dream; if he does, he won't have any luck."

Sucking doctors: doctor-making rites.--

4874. SE, SW: 2 dances entered for each of these groups: (1) dance which novice performs alone in sweat house immediately after obtaining vision; (2) public winter dance in sweat house, following which a novice shaman may start curing. If SE, SW entries for elements 4875-4924 relate to one type dance only, note explains to which; if entries relate to both types dance, no note.

[756 4874a. Kl: Spier, Klamath, p. 113, says rites
178 last 5 nights and days; my informant, who had
184] danced at these performances, said 1, but probably he was referring to more recent curtailed performances. WT: 1-4.

4875. SE: Novice dances 3 nights, alone; public winter dance lasts 2 nights. WM: 4-5 nights.

4877. NF: Doctor dance (yomuse) starts in morning; at noon eat dinner; in afternoon dance again, then eat supper; then dance all night around fire. By daylight dance is over. Men, women shamans dance; women hold fox hides, wildcat hides on sticks, while dancing; men dance inside circle of women dancers, and wear yellowhammer bands on their heads. Novice doctors join in dance. During daytime dancing, shamans, in turn, hold cocoon rattle on stick, gaze straight

000 at sun; Sun "shoots" shaman, who is "killed" and falls down, and another shaman has to shake him by feet and awaken him; stricken shaman has blood streaming from nose. Clowns function at this dance.

4878a. SE, SW: Refers to dance novice performs alone. WT, WM, WS: Held immediately before and during time vision obtained.

4879. SE, SW: Refers to dance novice performs alone.

4880. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4881. SW: Refers to public winter dance. AW: See note 4805 AW.

4881a. WS: Held once year, in spring only; "not in winter--too cold; not in summer--too warm."

4885. SE, SW: Refers to novice's dance by self, not to public winter dance. At: "After man gets his power [from vision quest] he dances, while sweating, 1 day and night after returning home. He dances by himself; children must keep away from the sweat house, and keep quiet. The next day his family prepares food, and he eats alone. But he doesn't doctor for a long time after this."

[756 535] 4886. Kl: 3-4 shamans attend. One midwinter dance, only, given for all 4 local groups of Kl (see also note 4437 Kl). SW: Refers to public winter dance.

[756 535] 4890. Kl: 2 groups, 6 men each, dance on 1 side of fire inside house.

4894. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

[756 535 533 562] 4896. Kl: Women sit in circle around house, next to wall, singing for male dancers. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4897-4900. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4901. Mo: Any time shaman becomes excited, his spirit causes him to bleed at mouth; therefore shaman always keeps quiet around his house. At: This does not happen during any public doctor-making dance (of which At have none), but if novice attends curing performance by older shaman, he may fall down in faint and blood comes from his mouth. Older shaman then sings for him and, when boy revives, tells him he had better help him cure patient. See note 4924.

4902-4904. SE: Refers to public winter dance.

756 4905. Kl: "Sometimes the old doctors are jealous because there's a new doctor, so they poison him, right there. The 'mean' doctor's medicine [perhaps weasel, or bear] meets that new doctor's medicine [guardian spirit] up in the mountains somewhere; the old doctor's medicine hides and catches the new doctor's medicine, and 'poisons' the new doctor thus. When the new doctor becomes sick from this [very soon after the dance], he says, 'Some doctor gave me poison; I'm sick.' One old man will ask him, 'What's the matter, what's the matter; what did they do to you?' The new doctor tells the old man that the mean doctor's medicine has grabbed his own medicine; that's why he has taken sick. So he lies down all the time and sings; he sings his medicine.

756 He lies there, eating all right, but he's sick. After awhile he says, 'Well, he grabbed my medicine, just like a chicken hawk [clutches its prey].' That's the last words he may say; he dies right there. The mean doctor has killed ODD him." SE: Refers to public winter dance. WM: When shaman first doctoring (1 month to year after he obtained his power in doctor dance), he may have his "spirit" (guardian spirit) stolen from him. "A relative of a dead shaman may do this [because the young doctor is singing deceased shaman's song]; the new doctor may have the dead doctor's spirit."

756 4908. Kl: Novice swallows 2 flint rock "pains" which assistant gives him; men dance; he then vomits 1 piece flint rock; more singing; vomits second piece; both found in basket of water. Novice also puts his 2 flint rock pains in another man's mouth, on tongue; they vanish; women sing; then pains appear in basket of water.

4909. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4910. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance. MV: This does not happen during any doctor-making dance (of which MV have none), but dance manager (yumbasi) of other types of dances eats fire; doctors (yomi) do not.

4911. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance. WM: "Samson Grant, a puisus [Achomawi] doctor, eats blazing pine splinters [correct]; WM doctors don't."

4912. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4913. WM: After obtaining his power during doctor dance, novice usually does not doctor for from 1 month to 1 year, until older shaman tells him to doctor someone. WS: Informant had cousin, small boy, who doctored when he was young (9-10 years old); later became powerful shaman. NP: Only when novice is middle-aged does he start doctoring.

4924. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance. At: If novice attends curing performance by older shaman, sometimes latter invites him to help cure patient (see note 4901). Novice demurs, but older shaman urges him; former sings 4 songs, and novice then pulls out "pain" from patient. "The boy [novice] is pretty nearly dead, because he's holding the poison; he puts it in a little basket, and the older shaman sings and sings for him; finally he gets him up. The novice then tells who has poisoned the patient."

Sucking doctors: curing techniques.--

4925. Mo, SE: 1-2 nights. SW: 2-3. If, when diagnosing patient, shaman sees that "pain" (intrusive disease object) has already left him (pains always leave victim night before he dies) she knows there is no hope, and makes no attempt to cure, although patient may actually live until next morning. At: 2-3. AW: 1-2. "Doctoring takes 2-3 nights. The people who sing for a doctor must stay throughout period, or doctor loses his power." AE: 2-3 nights; usually 3. On first night, shaman generally cannot locate intrusive

000 object; on second he finds it (can see it); on third he removes it. Some shamans "work on patient only up to midnight, some until daylight. The Paiute work until daylight, too; the Diggers [Maidu] only 2-3 hours." WS: 1-4 nights. If shaman cannot locate pain first night of doctoring, doctor's dance held next night beside patient and thereafter for 2-3 nights; must locate pain. MM: 1-5. NF: 3-4.

4927. NS: Shaman has to be alone with patient; "other people aren't supposed to watch him, when he is doctoring."

4928. At: Also "everyone comes to help a doctor when he's treating; everyone smokes, helps him out."

4929. Mo: "Interpreter" tells what doctor is saying during curing performance. Shaman uses same interpreter every time; may be either man or woman. SW: Interpreter or "regular assistant" interprets for shaman, who repeats what guardian animal has to say. Only assistant can answer guardian animal (shaman cannot; but only shaman can hear what guardian says). The guardian animal must come to shaman's post (see element, note 4870), which has 10 different objects on it, before it will speak to shaman. AW: Services of interpreter not always necessary (cf. note 5008).

4930. Mo: "Outside speaker" (man or woman) stands outside house, shouts to shaman's spirits, "Come on; your servant wants you to come, help him." Spirits say, "Listen, they're calling us." Same outside speaker or "caller" functions for shaman for life; must "obey the doctor's medicine, just as doctor does, or else the medicine will be angry, and hurt both of them." SW: Calls guardian animal for shaman, outside; "whoops loud." This only done if curing in summer; whoop wakes the guardian spirit (who sleeps all summer); he "reaches round and gets his pipe, dusts it, and smokes; then talks to doctor, finally puts on his moccasins and goes to the doctor to help cure patient. In winter doctors don't have to call their spirits by having an assistant go and shout for them; they're all outside anyway. It's handier for a doctor to cure in winter." AW: Informant scornfully characterized "speakers" for shamans as "half-breed [new] way"; said some of AE now use them. See notes 4929, 5008. AE: Shaman's interpreter also serves as outside speaker to call shaman's "power" for him.

4933. NF: See note 5079. Dreamer, not doctor, goes into trance.

4934. NF: Clown calls spirits for dreamer, however. See note 5079.

[755] [776] [787] 4935. Kl: Doctor's spirit talks to shaman from far off; no one else hears conversation. Shaman "interprets" what his spirit has told him to people present.

4936. SW: Shaman has to tell assistant every song he sings, and from which guardian spirit it comes.

4937. Mo: Many women sing for shaman; "the more the better." AW: See note 4925.

[243-B]

000 4942. SW: Shaman lights own pipe if curing patient; but if she is witching victim, someone waits on her.

4946. SE: Bunch of feathers that drip blood; held in hands when doctoring. At: Shaman possesses them, but does not use them in curing (see notes 4870-4871 At).

4947. WT: See note 5206a.

4950. AW: Shaman cures in place where there is no fire; true also for deer charming rite. "A big [powerful] doctor puts the fire out in a few minutes if he knows anything."

4951. SW: Not very small fire used for light as "everyone looking on at curing performance has to show his face in light"; person is suspect of evil if he stays in dark. At: Shaman handles fire as well as using it for light. MV: Old shaman (yomi), if he thinks he is getting weak, asks after he has sucked out pain for someone to hold him over fire so he can draw pain out of his body. Otherwise small fire used for light only, when curing.

[755] 4952. Kl, Mo: Clay and ashes. SW: No clay or ashes; ashes inimical to shaman, who cannot use them. At: Clay only. Patient faces east during curing performance.

4954. SW: "A sick person seems covered 2-3 ft. deep, with a dark stuff, or sometimes a grayish stuff, like fog; doctor has to clear all this away before she can see through the patient's body and find out where the 'pain' is, who put it there and when."

4956. MV: Member secret society, when doctoring person who has dreamt about the dances, blows water on patient.

4957. WT: Shaman tells what roots to drink, especially when predicting epidemics. WM: When evil spirits (numyo; see note 5195a) are causing sickness, shaman tells people to smoke house with sunflower roots, buckeye flowers. MM, MF, MV: Shaman prescribes what roots to drink, especially for tuberculosis. NS: Shaman often prescribes herb medicines.

4958. NS: Doctor uses deer-hoof rattle.

4959. AW: "Little doctors" (singing shamans), only, use cocoon rattle; "big doctor" does not use rattle of any sort. MV: Secret society doctor only, not ordinary sucking shaman (yomi).

4966. MM: "Some pains a doctor can't suck out--not when he's young, anyway; later on he can do it, when he's older and stronger."

4970. AW: "Sometimes a person is just naturally sick [not poisoned by shaman]. A sucking doctor [in this event] sucks out only the bad feelings [pus]." MV: Sucked out day following extraction of disease object.

[755] 4973. Described variously as looking like bone, flint (Kl, Mo), icicle (SE, SW), "white thing" (At, AE), hair (AW), bone, blood, snake, flint (WT, WM, WS), inanimate or animate object such as lizard (MM, MF, NF), angleworm (MV).

4978. MV: Shaman chews disease object, and rubs it on his head, or puts it in ashes and throws it away.

[244-A]

000 4980. SW: If shaman wishes to kill the rival shaman who has caused patient to sicken, former dances immediately after she has sucked out disease object, and her guardian animal goes over to rival shaman, quickly, and shoots his pain [which is identical with practicing shaman's] into offender. Guardian animal then returns home; practicing shaman must keep on dancing until animal reaches its home. At: Shot back to children of the evil shaman who sent it; evil shaman cannot cure his own child [because disease object making child sick is his own "pain"], therefore child dies. AE: If pain sent back to owner, latter becomes sick, and has to send for shaman who sent pain back. The latter cures sufferer, and [after he has sucked out pain] returns pain to him; tells him not to send it out again, because he's not strong enough. 'And here's your song,' visiting doctor tells sick doctor, and sings it, to prove his statement; this makes the other doctor ashamed."

4981. NF: Disease object buried, "and it disappears like wind; sh, sh, sh! and then it's gone, like wind."

Sucking doctors: payment; powers other than curing.--

4983a. At: Set fee paid; 3 strings (double arm span) of clamshell-disk beads.

4987. AW, AE: Persons calling on doctor "show him what they will pay in beads; doctor smells beads to learn how sick the patient is."

4988. WS: Shaman blows off sickness or "poison" on fee, before curing and when paid. MM: Shaman paid 1-6 months after patient has certainly recovered; relatives pay shaman, later patient repays relatives.

4989. AW: Hang up payment near patient, so shaman's "pain" will search diligently for disease object in patient. Pain says, "Ha! let's work good; we're going to get that," when it sees pay. At present [1936] pains like silver coin (in which payment is rendered), but do not like greenbacks.

4990. SW: Also at midnight, after guardian animal has arrived at scene of cure he must be fed; shaman sets out puppy for him, and when spirit arrives, spirit shoots puppy with his own "pain" [which is identical with shaman's]; puppy falls over dead. Then everyone present eats.

4992. SE, SW: Shaman takes objects paid guardian spirit, adds them to pole objects (see note 4870) she has collected at spirit's bidding.

4999. MV: Some doubt concerning entry.

5001. Mo: 2 assistants not paid by patient's relatives, unless latter desire to do so. Mainly "they are paid by doctor's spirits keeping them well and healthy all the time."

5003. Mo: Doctor always goes if able to; never heard of doctor declining case.

5008. Shaman must be very powerful doctor to do this. SE: Doctor "pretty near takes a fit" when attempting to do this. At: "When another tribe wished to make At persons sick, they had

000 one of their doctors put his poison in a bush by the [At] village; then At doctor treats one of the victims of this attack in the sweat house and finds out what is wrong. He then has everyone in the village stand outside, with their faces painted with chalk and black and red paint. He doctors all night long, trying to capture the poison. Finally the poison comes out of the bush, the doctor sees it, and grabs it; after he has recovered [his labor at this point is so intense he almost falls down], he asks poison whom it belongs to; poison pleads to be allowed to return to owner (see note 4834 At), but doctor first finds out whom it belongs to, then 'shoots' poison back to its owner, wishing the same bad luck on the tribe that sent it [that his own group has suffered]." Informant recalled 1 case where 4 men in her village had died; a woman shaman had sent poison to informant's village in a dress she sent by another woman to give to informant. AW: Shaman walks all around outside; finally catches the pain that is sickening inmates of village. "When he catches it, he puts his hand in basket of water quickly, and then faints. The pain is weakened, and when doctor comes out of faint he talks to pain, which says to him, 'I didn't know you were here, that you were going to get me. Turn me loose, my father [possessor] is no good; turn me loose and let me go home [to his "father"].' [There is no interpreter for doctor; he talks to pain himself.] The doctor asks the people what they wish to do. The people may advise sending the pain back to its owner [instead of destroying it]; doctor dances and people over there [at village where pain belongs] die. The pain that stays outside a village and sickens people is a stronger pain than the one that goes into a person, but both kinds talk to a doctor."

5009. SE, WT: Chief of village in which offending shaman resides made to pay wergild should any deaths have occurred in the village against which shamanistic activities were directed.

5011. AE: "Special doctors have special powers; doctor has to have power from dog to locate lost things." Also there are special doctors to cure sickness caused by breach of taboo, especially those sicknesses caused by breaches of menstrual taboos, or breaches of taboos boy must follow when on vision quest.

5013. SW: Shaman can foretell deaths; "dances, gazes about, and finds out from her guardian spirit what will happen, for example, next spring. Someone talks for the shaman to her spirit; no one except shaman can hear what spirit says, but shaman herself cannot reply to her spirit [relies on her interpreter for this]. NF: Shamans (yomim maidü) may also be dreamers (nedi); such dream of evil spirits (for further details see note 5079). Also, "if doctor dreams where deer are, he tells someone to tell common people where to hunt"; they go hunting and sight deer quickly.

000 Sucking doctors: malevolent practices; competitions.--

5014. WM: "Long time ago, doctors could [and did] poison other people if they wanted to [as well as cure people], but they didn't do it much. A doctor would always go up on mountain [if he wanted to kill someone]; he had his feathers, and his 'boy' [pain]; he'd talk to boy, tell it he would hire him to kill a man or woman; he'd send that poison out to kill someone--another doctor, or just an ordinary man or woman." MV: Informant commented, "As long as I've been living here, I've never heard of it [sickening by shaman] here; up in the mountains they have poisoners (yompati)." MV: Sickness caused chiefly by dreaming bad dreams.

5017. At: "If person has nice clothes, evil shaman may come around and tell that person he wants them. But person--perhaps young boy--may say, 'Those are the only clothes I have; I can't let you have them.' Then a bad shaman would put his poison down on trail, or by door of boy's house; the boy steps on it; he's sick, next day he dies, before sun-up. The doctor never gets the clothes; he's just angry [and does this for revenge].

5018. See elements 5008-5010.

5020. NS: Shaman puts scorpion tail under his long fingernail on index finger and sticks victim with this tail; victim dies. "A doctor (yomusi) tried to stick my grandmother that way; instead he stuck one of my mother's brothers, who was baby then; that baby died before morning. My grandmother's relatives were angry and tracked the doctor to Indian Diggings and killed him." No formula spoken to tail. Also, shaman uses liver with rattlesnake poison in it, sticks his arrowheads in this liver, then shoots at person. "A doctor shot an old woman who wouldn't marry him with one of these poison arrows, here." Also, shaman sticks his scorpion tail into spot where victim has urinated; latter cannot urinate after this, and dies. Children warned to urinate over bush for this reason.

5021. At: Disease object put on end of willow stick, and stick pointed at person. Then doctor's "power" takes poison over and puts it in the victim. Shaman "smokes, smokes, and sings all night; he eats no meat, acorn soup, anything (but can drink water) for 1 night and day."

5025. AW: See note 4834 AW.

[754] [756] 5029. Kl: Spirit sent to person to give latter bad dreams; victim sickens from them.

5030. At: Shaman's animal also sometimes attacks person, actually chews him.

5034. AE, WT, WM, WS, MF, NF: Less serious than if shaman steals soul.

5040. At: If shaman's animal has actually attacked victim (see note 5030), "long time afterward the victim will find out [who sent animal out]; people will caution him not to mention his knowledge, saying 'Maybe his friend [animal] will hear, listening around here, and tell him [shaman].'

[245-B]

D90 So victim says little, but consults with chief, and after getting his consent, he sneaks around to evil shaman and kills him; he's even then. 'How do you feel?' he asks him, after he's shot him with bow and arrow; 'That's how I felt.'" NF: Shoot evil shaman, then "mash him up, like a sausage, and burn him." At burning, whirlwind goes up. Evil shaman's relatives "never say anything" when shaman killed.

5041. Often at curing performance evil shaman's pain is sent back to owner to kill him. At: Evil shaman's pain sent back to kill one of his children (see note 4980).

5042. MF, NF: Hold meeting to decide upon course of action.

[758] 5047. Kl, Mo: Midwinter shamanistic exhibitions are not here considered as competitions. WS: For competitions between weather shamans, see element 5119.

5068. Mo: If contest held in earnest. "Doctors try to poison each other with their medicine; a big Kl doctor's medicine, Chicken Hawk, hid once and caught a [rival] Mo doctor's medicine, Bald Eagle. But the Mo doctor's medicine caught Chicken Hawk; then the Kl doctor died."

Singing shamans.--

5060a. Mo: "Common" or "little" doctors recognized; "only way these doctor is by laying hands on patient--they don't suck, as a big doctor does." Possibly these might be classed as singing shamans (?). SW: Connected with recent Ghost dance only. WT: Referred to as "raw doctors." MM, MF, NF: Referred to as "dreamers." MM: "Dreamers" (nedim maidü) tell people what is going to happen, and what dead want them to do. "Lots of people don't believe them." Have no pains, cannot cure sick; "not very important." NM: See note 5079. NS: Shamans who use outfit bundle found at Auburn, among another Nisenan group, but not at Placerville. MV: Children always taught to tell what they dream, so if dream evil dreams, can be treated. But MV have no "dreamers" (oye) as MM, MF, NF have; "Dr. Charley at Cherokee (MF) was such. When he didn't feel good, he notified the people, and told them to make a fire in assembly house, because the spirits wanted to tell them something."

5070. AW: If bundle discarded, never obtains another one.

5079. NF: Dreamer dreams of spirits; sings in round house; "all the old people go in and listen when those devils [spirits] come and sing. They don't allow young people in there. Dreamer uses cocoon rattle [4 cocoons]; rattle goes up to smoke hole; dreamer sings and calls that devil, who comes in under the [foot] drum, takes the rattle and goes up center pole to top of house and sings; when devil is through singing he drops rattle down on ground and leaves." Clown (pepe) stays in round house during performance; "he doesn't act funny, but just calls those devils for dreamer." NM: Informant's father dreamer and

[246-A]

DOD also sucking shaman; used to "sing, sitting down, all night to people in round house. The house would be [entirely] dark; it seemed as though there was a person up above talking. Near daylight shaman would sit on top of round house, naked, talking to people; he told the men to hunt, the women to make acorn soup." This not a preliminary to any dance or curing performance. This information volunteered by informant in connection with making acorn soup; that part of element list pertaining to shamanism not covered with informant.

Soul-loss doctors; weather shamans.--

5081. AK: Soul-loss shamans still practicing; Sickert Frank, living at Nixon, one of these.

5088. At: More often shaman's "power" catches sick person's soul, and puts it back in patient. If patient's soul (shadow) stays at distance, patient will die. Shaman may doctor 2-3 nights, talk to soul, but latter says, "No, he [patient] doesn't want me," and refuses to return; this is fatal. Victim of soul loss sleeps a lot and dreams "all the time; that's how they know he has lost his soul."

5090. WT: Spirit of sick person very delicate; "if there is a straw in its way, it will say, 'I can't get across that big log'; or it will call a little gulch a big canyon. Doctor has to coax and coax it, and give it anything it demands." Patient, during doctoring, has basket over face, with string tied onto basket and onto patient's toe; when patient is recovering he shakes violently. WM: If soul has not been gone from patient too long, shaman can recover it; "he has to work hard, looking for it, for 4-5 nights sometimes."

5093. WS: 1-3 assistants.

5099. One or two flat bones, tied on elder stick; stick swung around, bones make whirring sound.

5100a. WT: Shamans "cannot make rain; if they say it will rain, it is always dry." Possibly this expression of recent scepticism on part of informant.

5103. SW: Rain made, especially, with herb medicine; plant burned usually, at certain place in mountains, while rainmaker recites what he wishes to accomplish. Slight amount rain made "to settle dust over highly respected person's grave"; same plant also used. "But they hardly ever wanted to make rain; they had their regular storms."

5104. SW: If shaman has Hail for guardian spirit, she can bring on hailstorms by calling on Hail; "whenever Hail moves, there is hailstorm." But shaman cannot make rain.

5115. WM: If continuous rains for 10-20 days, old man (shaman) blackens face, puts grapevine withe around head, during night dances and sings for several hours on end; rain slackens and stops. During dancing shaman talks to clouds and sky. After rain stops, dances again. Informant opined

000 such shaman probably had power from clouds, or rain; could also cause rain.

5117. SW: "Down-river they [Karuk] pay a person for making rain; Shasta don't."

5119. WS: First doctor may make rain, second make it snow, in summertime.

[756] [821] [762] 5122. Kl, Mo: Also when shaman is cremated. Mo: Also, once in awhile, at spot where shaman has been cremated, person may see fire; whoever sees this will die.

Rattlesnake shamans; grizzly bear shamans; money finders.--

5123. SW: Recognized, but with qualifications (see note 4853). NF: "When snake sees a doctor (yomim maidü) it lies down and dies; it never chases him. Once in awhile snake bites common man."

5134. AE: "Have to have power from Buzzard to cure rattlesnake bites; Buzzard eats rattlesnake."

5135. SE: Ordinary person can protect self against snake bites by putting crushed haliotis inside moccasin. At: Ordinary persons wear turtle shell suspended from belt, to protect themselves against being bitten by snakes.

5146. SW: Woman goes about to houses in village, doctors small children's moccasins by singing these songs, so children will not be bitten by rattlesnakes. Denied for SE.

5149. WS: Large snake emerges first, when songs sung; "he's the boss snake"; after snakes are talked to, this large snake is first to return to hole. Shaman not paid to do this.

5151a. Among all groups, bear shamans always impersonate grizzly bear (Ursus horribilus), never black or brown bear (Ursus americanus).

5160. MM: If man bitten by grizzly, shaman summoned; latter takes patient short distance away from camp and builds small fire; then shaman sings and digs up acorns, roots, ant eggs and puts them in small piles--these disappear at once. Shaman then sucks out blood and bear teeth from patient.

5163. WT, NS: Belief strong that shaman really turns into bear, does not merely simulate bear.

5170. AW: Spirit from yellow jacket, fly, coyote. AE: Spirit from (Indian) dog.

Witchcraft

Black magic.--

5183. NS: Love medicine lacking, but have belief that, if person carries seeds of a certain plant which grows in old graveyard, this person will have good luck. Must be careful when carrying these seeds not to go in front of people, children especially; seeds will make child, or even adult, faint.

5184. WS: For revenge, jilted suitor gets piece of girl's hair, talks to it and puts it in an evil sacred spot (sauel); "if he doesn't know how to do this right, girl will die in 2 days.

00 But if he knows how, she will waste away within 5-6 years. If he knows nothing of way to do it, he himself will die, too. This has to be done by suitor himself [can't hire anyone to do it for him], secretly."

5185. SW: "There was a song which anyone who knew, could use" [to make girl fall in love with person]. Flute not used. AE: Use the man's or girl's name in song, to charm desired person; then man or girl will come to singer. WT: When such song sung, it will make girl "marry her uncle, even." Also sing songs to be rid of member of opposite sex one does not love. Either man, woman uses love songs. MF: Sing with flute (ya·lulu).

5187. SE: Poisoner (k'ephoski) "not real doctor, who dances, but anyone, man or woman, who knows how to witch with victim's hair or excrement." WS: No special term for poisoners. All these poisoners could do is to take their own poison off victim; could not cure persons otherwise. NF: Persons who "dope" victims (yompa) rub "some sort of dope on their hands," and lay their hands on victim's body; victim then dies.

5191. SE: Pound lizard scalp and frog together, mix them in person's food, to poison person.

[754] [756] 5192. Recite formula, generally, over hair, clothes, spittle, footprints, or excrement of intended victim. SE: Hair or excrement. WT, WM, WS: Hair only. At, MM, MF, NS: Poisoners who practice contagious magic are also sucking shamans. At, MM, MF, NF, NS: Poisoners who administer "dope" are not sucking shamans. NM: If want to spoil hunter's luck, burn deer bone taken from deer he has killed. NS: To make boy lucky in hunting, his grandfather, if a shaman, doctors boy's bow and arrow; moves it (no formula, song); or straightens and rubs boy's arms. Refer to this latter as na·k (same term as that used for straightening an arrow). For several other examples of contagious magic see note 5020.

[754] [756] 5193. If girl refuses to marry man, or father refuses to sell daughter in marriage to certain man, poisoner hired.

5194. SE: Poisoner picks up victim's hair or excrement with stick, talks to it, wishes victim bad luck. Girl victim "goes crazy"; apt to go to edge of cliffs, singing, and to run around from one man to another. Girl has to be taken to curing shaman, who tells victim name of poisoner; victim then confronts poisoner, and makes latter take his or her poison off; this is done by poisoner blowing on victim, and singing. SW: Poisoner makes girl crazy, so she will never amount to anything. Sucking doctor can take medicine off the girl, and cure her. At: If girl made crazy thus, her father goes to shaman, perhaps same one who witched her, and asks him to cure girl. Shaman looks girl over, says he can do nothing for her; father then goes to another doctor, who pulls out "pain" evil shaman has put in girl, and talks to it; pain tattles on its possessor, evil shaman, and tells curing shaman all that has been said be-

060 tween evil shaman and person who hired him. NF: Shaman merely has to look at girl to make her go crazy or die. NS: Kill girl outright.

5195. SE, SW: See note 4655. WT: "Some sorts of sickness [as an epidemic] camp in certain spots, and cause many people to die; this sickness is like a person, and comes out some time. A doctor can control this at times, but sometimes it is so strong it can kill a doctor, even. This sickness is not caused by bad doctor, but by this evil spirit." WT: Hupa (Willow Creek Indians) can turn into animals; invade WT area and poison people; WT afraid of them. "Those Willow Creek people never went to war; they were just common people, but powerful. Wherever they hid, you would see their power blazing [cp. note 4655, SE, SW]. They could turn into all kinds of animals, frog, coyote, fox, anything."

5195a. WT: See preceding WT note. WM: Evil spirits (numyo) "that look like an Indian, but have 1 human foot, 1 foot like a deer or bear, may come into house at night, feel persons sleeping there and make them sick with his 'pain' (poison). Then the next night the numyo would go to another house, and the next night to another, making inmates of each house sick. Perhaps this numyo was sent to do this by the coast people--the Hupa, perhaps. When a numyo makes people sick in this way, a doctor is called in; he tells people not to sleep on ground, or outside, but instead, to make a pole scaffold inside the house, and sleep on top of it. So people do this; but they stay awake, after numyo has been around. At midnight they may hear numyo feeling all around house and near fire; but he doesn't find anyone, so he goes to another house in search of victims. Doctors also tell people to burn buckeye or sunflower roots in house to keep numyo away; all evil spirits are afraid of sunflower roots. Hunters, 4-5 years ago, S of Baird, were tracking big buck; finally they saw man's track on 1 side, then bear's track on 1 side. Before they got over a little hill they saw a man running; concluded that man was already hunting there and they had best go home. But when they examined [paired human and deer, bear tracks] second time, they concluded it was numyo they'd seen."

Prayer, Offerings; Eagle Ceremony

5196. SW: However, informant in another context stated, "People talk to the sun for good luck, and to keep sickness down; he seems to have everything to do with us." See element 4518. AE: In connection with matter of praying, informant related following concerning "house warming" celebration. "There were 40-60 people living at pačulomiči; they owned the whole of West's Valley. The winter living house (astui) was on a little side hill, quite a way from the river [S Fork of Pit River, which runs through the middle of West's Valley; latter is about 6 miles long, DGO 2-3 miles wide]. In [illegible] people camped in the hills around Wes[illegible] to dig ipos roots, and such. By the end of September they returned to the winter living house; maybe later, if the weather was good. When they were going to move into the winter house, they put up a big dinner (lamedi'i). All the people gathered inside the house, to listen to 1 man (not chief, but more like a 'preacher') who wore a basket hopper (k'alua) on his head, and who circled the fire in the house, praying so the inmates would have a good winter in there. Then they'd have a big dinner, to which all people contributed, putting the food all in 1 pile; a man then distributed it. People from other villages came to this celebration; they weren't notified or invited, they just heard this was going to happen. They did this every year, at the time they moved into the winter house. After the dinner, some of the people gambled in the house until daylight; there was no dance. When they built a new winter house there was no ceremony though." Informant thought same sort of "house warming" given by AW at Fall River also. NS: In evening, informant's grandmother used always to raise arms and pray, "Be good to me, father"; prayed thus "for good luck for next day or next week."

[782
264] 5197. Kl: Pray before eating and throw small portion of food about to be eaten on ground (not in fire) in each direction, thus "giving it to the ground." Will sicken if fail to do this. SE: Offerings of food made to frogs, when croaking. SW: Offerings made to Sun, however; the circles [perhelion] around the sun are his paint, that the Indians give him." MM: Small amount of food put in fire once a month or once a year; "give it to the night," either in winter or summer. "Do this yet."

5198. Questions concerning ownership of eagles, and such, were asked of informants for all groups; specific inquiry was not made concerning the eagle ceremony noted above, except among groups indicated, but I believe the distribution of this ceremony would be found lacking among all groups except NS. WT: Absence of eagle ceremony inferred from informant's statement that "didn't have much to do with eagles; one would die with worms if one did." Never use eagle feathers.

5199. NS: Man lowered over crag where eagles nest with vegetable-fiber-cord rope. In 1 instance, as man lowered thus, sharp rock cut rope; accident ascribed to fact man had not invited others to be present at capture of eagles from nest (see below).

5200. NS: Man going to capture eagles should have wife, daughters go to spot and make big basket of acorn mush, for invited guests to partake of on spot, after birds have been captured. Also should have young man to assist him in capturing eaglets.

5206a. WT: See note 5198. WM: "Afraid of eagle feathers; only doctors use, keep them."

Kuksu

000 5212. MV: Only after Hesi, Duck, Bear dances.

5213. MF: 3-4 months. MV: 4-5.

5220. MF: Big Head dance precedes social dances at "big time." NM: Section on Kuksu not covered with informant, but, in another connection, informant remarked that Chicago Park group of NM danced kuksu, and she readily recognized pictures of Big Head costume.

5229. MV: Special dance, not danced with others listed above.

5232. MF: "Main man; watches to see whether anyone stumbles."

5233. MF: Leader, who "is supposed to know everything," referred to as hučen, not kuksu. Kuksu, a dance, given every year in winter. MV: Kuksu is leader of dancers; also referred to as "big yombasi."

5235. MF: Doorkeeper, fire tender, clown combined in 1 personage.

[249-A]

000 5236. MF: See preceding MF note.

5237. If any boys or women hit by cocoon rattle used by dancers, yomi cures them.

5238. MF: Danced in winter. Dancers wear yellowhammer-band headdress and hair net.

5240. MF: Danced in winter in dance house. Two men dance, facing each other; wear feathers on both sides of head; these feathers tremble. Carry stick in hands. Informant may have been confusing this with Hesi dance.

5241. MF: Commences at suppertime, ends in morning. Given in spring.

5253. NF, MV: "Common or Dream dance," not part of Kuksu cycle.

5256. Distribution of sweat dance among Maidu extends to MM, beyond limits of Kuksu cult (see elements 2570-2578).

5257. MV: In Aki dance; "very dangerous"; done morning and evening.

5258. MM, MF: Done for bravado.

[249-B]

APPENDIX

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ABSOLUTE NUMBERS OF ELEMENTS SHARED AND NOT SHARED

By each pair of tribes, in the order: a, b, c, d (a = ++; b = +-; c = -+; d = --. This count includes only elements on which there are list entries from seven or more tribal groups.

Kl-Mo	1320	297	683	2172
Kl-SE	942	621	862	1956
Kl-SW	780	730	863	1702
Kl-At	885	607	982	1575
Kl-AW	903	626	999	1665
Kl-AE	995	544	994	1691
Kl-WT	837	740	884	1908
Kl-WM	813	775	907	1963
Kl-WS	840	758	866	1994
Kl-MM	784	808	812	2061
Kl-MF	718	832	996	1776
Kl-NF	586	958	818	2001
Kl-NM	479	780	656	1667
Kl-NS	490	987	603	2142
Kl-MV	550	923	776	1993
Mo-SE	1182	777	628	1778
Mo-SW	968	904	675	1543
Mo-At	1089	764	795	1412
Mo-AW	1028	890	787	1508
Mo-AE	1161	768	780	1522
Mo-WT	924	1060	767	1618
Mo-WM	959	1042	735	1710
Mo-WS	1006	997	707	1736
Mo-MM	947	1052	684	1764
Mo-MF	905	1044	778	1572
Mo-NF	714	1238	704	1700
Mo-NM	614	1018	553	1408
Mo-NS	615	1254	478	1833
Mo-MV	656	1209	649	1684
SE-SW	1109	547	514	1872
SE-At	1049	590	797	1562
SE-AW	1048	648	846	1607
SE-AE	1065	630	894	1572
SE-WT	943	822	709	1857
SE-WM	1079	721	679	1937
SE-WS	1032	773	673	1938
SE-MM	906	925	688	1891
SE-MF	914	872	836	1678
SE-NF	863	959	699	1835
SE-NM	592	861	560	1552
SE-NS	577	1132	511	1948
SE-MV	641	1058	642	1835
SW-At	993	649	849	1541
SW-AW	372	599	840	1579
SW-AE	942	706	942	1467
SW-WT	923	775	703	1754
SW-WM	954	744	698	1766
SW-WS	912	788	684	1764
SW-MM	788	895	729	1699
SW-MF	760	870	807	1549
SW-NF	626	1010	717	1671
SW-NM	497	846	600	1367
SW-NS	495	1082	539	1753
SW-MV	566	1008	655	1657
At-AW	1305	621	514	1673
At-AE	1226	678	645	1515
At-WT	923	1013	596	1597
At-WM	944	990	623	1577
At-WS	947	983	534	1659
At-MM	952	972	550	1621
At-MF	897	947	659	1439
At-NF	715	1171	559	1562
At-NM	594	932	445	1334
At-NS	586	1188	433	1628
At-MV	685	1119	515	1559
AW-AE	1369	572	602	1707
AW-WT	968	1008	619	1715
AW-WM	994	976	594	1743
AW-WS	1050	906	562	1775
AW-MM	978	947	579	1738
AW-MF	912	956	702	1530
AW-NF	763	1120	594	1665
AW-NM	610	938	515	1363
AW-NS	593	1199	453	1722
AW-MV	672	1151	597	1595
AE-WT	1012	991	592	1756
AE-WM	1003	987	602	1755
AE-WS	1046	934	543	1801
AE-MM	1011	931	542	1780
AE-MF	911	969	688	1556
AE-NF	774	1132	580	1704
AE-NM	641	923	468	1429
AE-NS	584	1230	463	1715
AE-MV	675	1154	586	1626
WT-WM	1117	611	516	2289
WT-WS	1120	602	488	2205
WT-MK	891	794	728	2025
WT-MF	894	762	795	1851
WT-NF	712	954	697	1985
WT-NM	583	724	564	1696
WT-NS	577	1002	499	2092
WT-MV	657	929	645	1941
WM-WS	1286	480	482	2366
WM-MM	895	838	743	2067
WM-MF	858	839	850	1846
WM-NF	705	1000	723	2019
WM-NM	567	759	656	1682
WM-NS	590	1042	540	2099
WM-MV	616	992	716	1961
WS-MM	961	806	683	2106
WS-MF	911	807	759	1929
WS-NF	744	978	707	2030
WS-NM	614	731	661	1781
WS-NS	598	1038	566	2080
WS-MV	675	962	660	2057
MM-MF	1050	574	654	2145
MM-NF	887	754	575	2261
MM-NM	688	596	505	1861

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MM-NS	874	706	421	2330
MM-MV	724	848	624	2075
MF-NF	941	759	473	2177
MF-NM	747	616	415	1778
MF-NS	683	917	404	2182
MF-MV	761	887	530	2028
NF-NM	749	386	445	2062
NF-NS	682	684	431	2472
NF-MV	742	637	309	2312
NM-NS	629	474	358	1993
NM-MV	665	493	481	2004
NS-MV	512	399	559	2702

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AMNH-AP	American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers.
-B	Bulletin.
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin.
JAFL	Journal of American Folk-Lore.
SI-MC	Smithsonian Institution Miscellaneous Collections.
UC-AR	University of California Anthropological Records.
-PAAE	Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
UW-PA	University of Washington Publications in Anthropology.

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Monograph 41

THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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THE KLAMATH TRIBE

A PEOPLE AND THEIR RESERVATION

Theodore Stern

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS

Seattle 1965 *London*

[Title Page]

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[P. V]

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TO MARY

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Preface

[P. vii]

THIS BOOK IS THE PRODUCT OF MANY MINDS. IN 1949, SHORTLY AFTER 114 coming to the University of Oregon from fieldwork with the Chickahominy and other "remnants" of the Virginia Tidewater, I was introduced to the Klamath by Dr. Luther S. Cressman, who was then in the midst of archeological research upon the reservation. That summer, with three graduate students. Eleanor Ribbans, Patricia Marks, and Hiroto Zakoji, I began a study of Chiloquin, a reservation town. The next summer, I resumed work, joined by Miss Ribbans, Mr. Zakoji, and by Barbara Davidson, Virginia Hastings, Michal Lowenfels (Cane), Thomas and Ann Dutelle, and Leonard Turner. In 1951, we turned to matters of folklore, linguistics, and ethnography: the force that summer comprised Mr. Zakoji and Richard Pope. Subsequently, I was retained by the tribal attorneys as an expert witness in issues before the Indian Claims Commission, in which capacity I became the student of my colleagues, Drs. Verne F. Ray and Omer C. Stewart.

After an interim spent in launching a comparison study on the Umatilla reservation and a year in Burma, I returned in 1956 to resume linguistic work. The following year, Dr. Vincent Os- 114 trom and I initiated a study of the termination of federal super- 122 vision over the Klamath reservation, under a grant from the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian. We were assisted by Mr. Jack Pierce and Dr. Bert E. Swanson, as well as by Mrs. Marilyn Gerber Livingstone. In the field, we received many courtesies and much enlightenment from Mr. Zakoji, then Director of the Klamath Information and Education Program, under the Oregon Department of Education, operating by contract under the Termination Act. Dr. James A. Clifton soon began to do psychological re-

114 122 search under a separate grant, and provided facilities for other students, Miss Deanne Rasmussen, who studied child-rearing practices, and Dr. and Mrs. Brian A. DuToit, who made a brief survey of the small community of Beatty, to amplify our observations in Chiloquin.

000 In addition to all of these, others who were carrying on studies at the same time provided many insights. Here may be mentioned Dr. and Mrs. Robert F. Spencer, Dr. William N. Fenton, and Dr. M. A. R. Barker. Similarly, my colleagues in the department of anthropology have been an unfailing source 128 of stimulation. Among them, Drs. Luther Cressman, H. G. Barnett, and Vernon Dorjahn have made the greatest contribution. Drs. Cressman, Dorjahn, and Martin Schmitt, during my temporary absence from the country, undertook to oversee the drawing of several of the maps and the assembly of photographs.

127 Archival materials have come from several sources. I am indebted to officials of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, for certain manuscripts in the Bancroft Collections; to the Robert H. Lowie Museum, of that University, for use of materials from the collection of C. Hart Merriam; to Dr. Thomas Vaughan and the Oregon Historical Society for use of the typescript copy of Joel Palmer's pocket diary; and to Martin Schmitt, Elizabeth Findley, and the Library of the University of Oregon for use of the Lindsay and O. C. Applegate Papers, and for many kindnesses.

The General Services Administration Records Center in Seattle provided archival materials from Klamath Agency reports, while the Portland Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, under Don C. Foster and Martin B. Holm, placed at our disposal many official files. Likewise, officials of the Klamath General Council and the Tribal Executive Committee gave us every courtesy and made available back files of tribal minutes. Finally, it would be 000 remiss not to acknowledge the assistance given the study by the Klamath Management Specialists, the city officials of Chiloquin, and officers of Klamath County agencies.

128 Above all, the Klamath people and the residents of Chiloquin have provided us with the individual perspectives which here I have sought to place within a larger frame. Several have kindly read the resultant manuscript on Chiloquin and have suggested

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revisions of no small merit. They include the late William C. Lorenz and his wife, Claudia, Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy Gienger, Seldon Kirk and his daughter, Lelia, and Mr. and Mrs. Joe Ortis. 128

A quiet, though indispensible role has been played by my wife, and a number of her insights have found their way, unacknowledged, into these pages. 000

The Klamath research, through the years, has received support now gratefully acknowledged, from the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Fund for the Republic, and the Faculty Research Program of the University of Oregon. 122 Two chapters of this volume have previously been published: Chapter Two appeared as "The Klamath Indians and the treaty of 1864," *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* 57 (1956 : 229-73; and Chapter Seventeen as "Livelihood and tribal government on the Klamath Indian reservation," *Human Organization*, 20 (1961-62): 172-80. They are reprinted here by permission. 128

THEODORE STERN

Eugene, Oregon

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Introduction

[P. XV]

DURING THE LAST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THE RESERVA- 121
tion came to be regarded by Indian policy makers as an instru- 657*
ment for directed culture change, depending for its success upon 648*
effective control over the governed and the selective modification of their culture toward that of the dominant society. The following pages detail the manner in which that policy figured in the transformation of several Indian societies in south-central Oregon, who came collectively to be known as the Klamath Tribe.

If we are to see the reservation in perspective, we must know its local antecedents. It is essential to know something of the aboriginal past from which the Indian signatories had sprung and of the modification in their lives wrought by the period of contact prior to their treaty agreement to enter upon reservation life. To isolate the contractual parties, Indian and white, from the events of settlement, tribal dislocation, and cultural confrontation that made the reservation a desirable solution for both would deprive the decision of its historical import. In the same way, it would be misleading to examine the reservation as if it existed in the isolation that was part of its ideal character. When (175)
Treaty Commissioner Huntington wrote in 1867,

> The design of the Government is to segregate the Indians upon lands set apart for them, separate them from the pernicious influences which association with whites entail upon them, and to cultivate the good, moral, and intellectual qualities they may possess.

he was outlining a situation that proved difficult to maintain.

It is within the frame provided by this policy that the history 121
of the Klamath Tribe falls most readily into segments. The first 175
period ranges from the aboriginal threshold to the treaty of 1864 657*
648*

121 and the formation of the reservation. For the next twenty years,
175 until the General Allotment Act of 1887, the control of the
*657 Agency proved most effective, perhaps in part because the most
*648 violent eruption, the Modoc War of 1872-73, polarized loyalties
and removed dissidents. From the time of allotment in severalty, control over the course of change began to abate the effectiveness of Agency supervision; and with the opening of the reservation to massive commercial lumbering in the second decade of the twentieth century it declined rapidly. In the final years, until the termination of the reservation by law in 1954, the Agency did little more than preside over a population which, in essential respects, had passed beyond its power to control.

By that account, Agency rule was on the wane for some seventy of the ninety years which the reservation lasted, and was disputed by a war during the first decade. However, effective supervision was maintained longer in some areas than in others; and some powers, rather than lapsing, were passed on to local state, county, or municipal agencies. As a result, the picture is not to be summed up along a single dimension, but like history everywhere, must be seen in detail.

PART I

THE FIRST CONTACTS 000

[P. 2]

539 NOW HE CAME BACK HERE FROM [THE AFTERWORLD]. HAVING finished his journey, he laid down two bones right here in this region, right here at Klamath Lake. Once *more* he laid down two bones in the Modoc country. Then said Gmukamps, "I placed these bones too close together. They might understand each other's language." Then again he went. Once again he went. Pit River country. In this direction to the north he put down another two bones and a little farther away again placed two more. Going along, he did the same thing, setting down bones as he passed along. Toward the east, he placed two bones in the same fashion. Now *all* the bones were used up.

Next day, climbing up on top of his house and sitting there, he looked around to see whether any smoke was rising. That day smoke was rising in several places. He looked around to the north, he looked eastward, southward. He was content. He talked to himself, "May you live well, people!"

That is the end.

—KLAMATH MYTH[1]

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ONE

[P.3]

The Aboriginal Klamath-Modoc

EASTWARD FROM THE LOFTY CASCADES OF WASHINGTON AND OREGON 133
stretches the elevated and broken country of the central
Plateau. Across its face, rivers carry waters from northern water-
sheds and the slopes of the Rockies and, cleaving the mountain
barrier, flow to the sea. Upon the ladder of their waters, the homing 136
salmon mount in seasonal surges to spawning grounds far to
the interior. It is a province once richly endowed in game, and,
early in the peopling of the New World, the Indian found it. In 172
the period toward the end of the Pleistocene period, while the 133
glaciers ebbed upon their centers, some eleven thousand years
ago,[2] some of his numbers camped along the Columbia, at the head of an estuary that in those days extended upriver to The Dalles, and left behind antler combs, stone bolas, blades, and the obscure and humble bric-a-brac of the camp. Further upriver, in the open lands of Lind Coulee, others hunted the bison. Below and east of the Plateau, unnamed tribesmen camped along the Pluvial lakes of the Great Basin, whose waters, now gradually drying up, attracted the waterfowl and animals that in turn drew the hunter. In the timeless dessication of its caves, at Fort Rock, Danger, Gypsum, and Lovelock their sandals, basketry, and spear-throwers have been found.

Along the southwestern flanks of the Cascades, a great fault had formed a crescentic trough some one hundred miles in length by twenty-five in breadth. Rivers and creeks fed marsh lands and broad lakes within this great highland and created an earthly paradise for the early hunter-fishermen. Their initial entry has been estimated at about ten thousand years ago, and by the time

K 172 the eruption of Mount Mazama created Crater Lake and strewed
133 its pumice in thick beds over the countryside, some 6,500 years
ago, they had long been in occupation.[3]

K Here, with the passage of time, the peoples later to receive
M the names of Klamath and Modoc began to take on their present
101 way of life. Their cultural position was at once peripheral and
172 strategic, for they lay at the boundaries of the emergent cultural
provinces of the Great Basin, the Plateau, and California, and
though they stemmed fundamentally from the Great Basin, they
were also subject to influences flowing from California and the
Plateau. Consistent with their relative geographical position and
ecological resources, the Modoc diverged toward California and
the Klamath toward the Plateau; and when in turn the influences
of the North Pacific Coast—extending from southern Alaska to
northern California—reached them, it was again the Klamath who
were somewhat more receptive. Despite their differences, the
K two peoples retained a substantial common base: they spoke
M dialects of the same language and felt their political separation
101 to have been a recent event.[4]

197 Indeed, the linguistic evidence is consonant with a long autochthonous development within this region. Klamath-Modoc finds its closest linguistic congeners within the Plateau, in Cayuse, Molala, and the northern Sahaptin Tenino, Klickitat, Yakima, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Nez Percé. Taken together, these languages are seen as more distantly related to others spoken in Western Oregon and in the Sacramento-San Joaquin drainage of California, and like them are assigned to the Penutian phylum.[5] (See Map of Tribal Distribution in Oregon.)

K For the Klamath, the dominant features of their landscape were
133 the marshes and streams, with their rich resources of fish, mussels,
226 and waterfowl. Their winter settlements, fringing the shores in
361 settled places, were located where fish could be caught most of
433 the year, clustered densely upon Klamath Marsh and the eastern
shore of Agency and Upper Klamath lakes, extending down to
Link River. They lay as well upon the Williamson River which
runs in a bow some sixty miles, passing through the Marsh to
M empty into Upper Klamath Lake, and upon its eastern tributary,
133 the Sprague. In their more open country to the south, the Modoc
226 were less favored and less open to influences from fishing peoples,
224
433

and they tended to retain a greater concern with hunting, a condition M 133
which archeology tells us was characteristic of the early 226
Klamath, but which the latter came somewhat to relinquish with 224
their concentration upon the product of the waters. Likewise, 433
the Modoc seem to have placed a somewhat greater premium M
upon the gathering of wild seeds, in a typically Basin-California [222]
manner. Nonetheless, fishing was by no means neglected, and [361]
their villages lay principally about Lower Klamath, Tule, and Clear lakes, as well as upon Lost River which roughly parallels the Sprague in its westward course, until it bends south to empty its waters into Tule Lake.

Protected by relatively inhospitable land to the north, by K
broken hills to the east and south, and by the Cascades on the M
west, the Klamath-Modoc homeland fostered a culture somewhat 131
provincial in character, owing to its remoteness from major 101
centers of development, yet distinctive in style. Neither people occupied, for any distance, the Klamath River, which drains the Klamath Lakes and falls through its canyon to the Pacific; and neither seems to have been directly affected by the culture that emerged along its lower reaches among the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa.

Favored though they were by contrast to the Great Basin, the K
Klamath uplands did not support a large aboriginal population. M
The Klamath and Modoc together have variously been estimated 161
to have totaled between twelve hundred and two thousand, the Klamath having about double the numbers of their southern kinsmen. Population densities provide a further perspective. Those for the Shasta immediately to the southwest and for the Oregon Coast were roughly ten times as great as that of the Klamath-Modoc. The Kalapuya of the Willamette Valley and the Takelma of the Upper Rogue furnished figures about twice as great, and the Achomawi and Atsugewi of the Pit River drainage south of the Modoc had densities four times the value for our tribes. Within the Plateau, the Sahaptin-speaking peoples of the middle Columbia and the Blue Mountains approximated their figure. In the Great Basin and the Southern Plateau, the Shoshonean Bannock, Northern Paiute, and Shoshone provided figures only one quarter as great. If the figure is taken to reflect the intensity of land use, the Klamath Basin was on a par with the

K
M middle Columbia, far below the Coast and California, and in turn
161 considerably above the Great Basin.[6]

000 The mind's eye, drawing upon descriptions of early explorers and modern ethnographers,[7] can recreate the life of the early nineteenth century. It is a life that moves through a succession of activities with the seasons, each characterized by a community of different size and constituency. On a miniscule scale they resemble the "task groupings" which Anastasio has analysed in the intertribal relations on the Plateau.[8]

K During the long winters, existence is centered in the permanent
M settlements, for the altitude of the Klamath Basin is over four
221 thousand feet and snow often drifts deep. An accrued depth of
132 six to eight feet is common; while in the exceptional winter of
133 1890-91 a figure of thirty feet, undoubtedly in drifts, was recorded
361 at the head of Agency Lake. Crude, circular bearpaw snowshoes
481 provide a poor means of winter travel, and the settlements tend
262 to become isolated; most people are forced to remain in the
villages, supplementing the meager winter catch with stores of
dried fish and meat, roots, seeds, and berries.

K From a distance, the winter settlement has the appearance of
M hillocks strung out along the bank or clustered in a sheltered
221 spot. In size it may range from several score houses—there are
361 perhaps a hundred house pits at one favored site on Klamath
342 Marsh, though not all may have been occupied at the same time
—down to tiny hamlets of one or two earth lodges and a few mat
huts.[9] Within the village, the earth lodges are the dominant structures, with the domed huts flanking them. In Klamath settlements,
K
M communal storage pits shelter the bulk of supplies; but the
343 Modoc prefer to conceal foodstuffs in household caches some
251 distance from the houses.

One Klamath woman recalled her childhood hamlet, part of
K a settlement totaling roughly two dozen houses,[10] on the lower
361 reaches of the Williamson River. Here she and her parents lived
342 with her maternal uncle, the shaman later known as Alex Wilson,
whose earth lodge was the largest in the hamlet. Nearby was
another lodge, the residence of Hunter Wilson, brother of Alex
and headman of the family group. Some four or five mat-covered
K lodges and huts stood in the vicinity, the larger ones closer to
[343] the water for cooking and the sewing of tule mats, the smaller

7

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Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K

for the seclusion of menstruant or parturient women, contact with 361 342
whom is particularly injurious to shamans. 343

The earth lodges, frequently dismantled in the spring after K
becoming waterlogged by the melting snows, are rebuilt in the M
fall. They are semisubterranean, built within a circular pit one 342
to four feet in depth—the Modoc excavations tend to be somewhat deeper than the Klamath—and range in diameter from twelve feet for a single family to over thirty-five feet for the residence of a shaman. Four central posts support horizontal plates, with a split-log beam slanting down from each corner into the ground beyond the edge of the pit. Horizontal stringers between the beams in turn bear a layer of rafters, laid side by side around the house. Cracks are chinked with sticks and bark; and the surface is covered successively with rough matting, with grass laid along the lower edge, and finally with dirt. On top, rough planks are laid between the plates, leaving a hatchway that serves simultaneously as smoke hole and entrance.

A similar structure, erected over a shallow depression or none k
at all, lacking the earth covering, and with side entrance, might m [84]
also be used during the winter, but is most frequently the residence of warmer weather. The house is constructed by its future residents: working together, says Ray, Modoc may take a month to build an earth lodge.

Both Klamath and Modoc conceive of the house as facing east, K
and on that side a stairway ascends. Within, a ladder thrusts m 342
through the hatchway, and down this the visitor climbs, being 352
careful, if a woman, to manage her fringed skirt to observe the 353
proper modesty. Once below and standing beside the central [417]
fireplace, he makes out the dim details. Behind him, at the front [354]
of the house, firewood is stacked in tiers, while across the back a partition has been made behind which are stored foodstuffs and gear. Many houses dispense with a partition, and supplies are kept on the ledge between pit and wall. From the rafters dried
fish and roots hang. The floor is covered with mats, which sometimes K
extend up the walls. Along the walls the members of the M 342
household sit or sleep upon a bedding of mats thrown over grass, 352
with an occasional blanket woven of tule and cattail, sometimes 513
with feathers worked in, or of animal pelt. The left side of the house, as the visitor faces forward, is reserved for the family

M 342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old
352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the
513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another
K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are
M [592] houses that hold more than two families and others that hold
K only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no
M longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content
342 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.

888 735 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women
K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered
M the visitor[11] are of powerful frame—though of no more than
142 average height—and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily
K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber
M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early
291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing
[177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the
trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down
the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside
add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a
K mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in
M 302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips
301 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads,
ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum
K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy
M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face,
304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by
[142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter practice,
[177] says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit
River neighbors of the Modoc.

K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys.
M 512 Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grandfather
[857] and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black
waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the
sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to
stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its
K cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the
M [252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it
[415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they
[177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

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Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

Families

eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred places.

K M 512 [264] [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.

K M [887] [854] [302] [412] [285]

If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.

K M [313] [223] [226]

Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat-houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together again until evening.

K [343] [515] [783] [857] [264]

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[18] and is said to hasten the advent of spring.

K M [364] [524]

String figures must not be played in this season, for they make the months grow longer.

K M [784]

As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

K M [538]

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample,

K M 221 756 796

K shamans, individually or in a group, give public performances to
756 invited audiences. It is at this time, too, that novices first demonstrate
796 their powers. The guests bring their own food, depositing
[221] it outside the shaman's house, and take their place by families
K along the wall. A ceremonial pole has been erected outside, bearing
M [778] painted designs and hung with symbols of the shaman's
[531] tutelary spirits. Inside, the house posts are also painted, and
stuffed birds and animals, representing the shaman's powers,
hang from the beams: they transform a residence into a holy
place. The shaman wears sacred regalia, including a fillet of
woodpecker scalps, and spectators must be clad in traditional
K clothing. Children are excluded from all but the sleight-of-hand
M demonstrations at night, since at other times they might be
[858] imperiled. Modoc children are not allowed to attend any part
of the seances.

Each shaman has an interpreter—who habitually assists him in curing as well—and who summons the spirits from their distant places, lights the shaman's pipe, repeats his words, and provides other aid. For the performance a caller is also chosen and, together with one or more singers, he leads the audience in dancing and in singing the sacred songs of the shaman.

For five days and nights—only nights for the Modoc—the performance continues. During this time the shaman, when he is
not dancing, sits or lies on his bed and observes a fast. The first
ceremony is a fire dance by the shaman and helpers while the
caller invokes the spirits; it is followed by the singing of the spirit
songs. Among the Modoc, successive nights are spent in singing
the spirit songs, and for those shamans who are richly endowed
with spirit associates, there is no repetition. In the longer Klamath
ceremonies—which extend through the day as well—evenings
are given over to shamanistic performances, restricted by the
K Modoc to the final evening. Each shaman must demonstrate his
M ability to swallow fire and arrowheads; and some swallow splints,
[789] sticks, or prodigious quantities of water. The powers of many
enable them to produce fish, pond-lily seeds, or blood in a basket
of water; and some animate the stuffed skins suspended from the
ceiling as well. During the entire five-day period the congregation
follows ritual prescription. On no other occasion are this

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K

many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit M 756
and compelling in its demands. 796

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and K
serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and M 221
the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, 261
housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social [356]
bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take
pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or K
the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily cur- M [574]
tailed and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans [685]
who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still [756]
conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers. [796]

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating [789]
hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will K
not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, M 261
they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to 22
gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer
of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance
of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the deli- K
cate odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. M 221
Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied 361
through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The
decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to re-
maining in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. K
The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, M [501]
where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the
household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the
pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already,
in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and
Sprague.

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted K 226
the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, 823
which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost
River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, K
where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, M 226
catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream 103
tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers 648

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
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[Klamath Reservation]

K
M draws upland Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute and gives to the
226 nearby settlement, the easternmost of the permanent villages of
183 the Klamath, the name, "Sucker-fishery." Others make their way
648 to stone weirs, built, it is said, by Gmukamps himself, or to the
K
M lakes to fish with a variety of dip nets, gill net baskets, the two-
226 pronged harpoon and the multibarbed spear. At night, men set
forth in canoes upon the lake to fish by torchlight. Set lines are
K put out infrequently. While the men catch the fish–suckers,
M
[251] salmon, and trout–their wives work ceaselessly, splitting them
and laying them in the sun to dry.

K
Released from the protracted confinement to the winter settle-
M ments, tribesmen eagerly renew bonds with relatives and friends
221 from other villages. Related families may rendezvous to travel
222 together down to the fisheries and set up their lodges side by
[571] side. Then, as spring advances and the runs of suckers and
[602] salmon abate, the fishing settlements break up and parties of
[226] two or three families fan out along the flats and meadows to dig
[103] roots: the succulent camas, the nutlike ipos, yans, and the arrow-
root for which Chewaucan Marsh is named. In the watery flats
they seek the roots of tule and cattail; elsewhere they pick wild
K celery and mosses. There are the eggs of swan and other water-
M fowl to gather; trout in the streams to be caught; and for the
22 Modoc, antelope and mountain sheep to hunt. At this time, some
[361] areas are occupied that at other times are too cold or barren.

K
If there is danger of hostile attack, the parties coalesce; and
M
22 under all circumstances they maintain a wary lookout. In the
726 north small bands make cautious excursions into the upper valley
of the Deschutes, watchful for raiding parties of Cayuse, Nez
K Percés, Warm Springs, and Paiute. Toward the east, Sycan and
M Chewaucan marshes are dug over by Klamath and Paiute. Fré-
222 mont once found the latter tract furrowed as if it had been
252 plowed. In many places the stone-lined earth ovens in which
camas and other vegetal foods were baked for winter storage
can still be seen.

K
As the long summer days wear on, the pond-lily seeds, known
M as wokas, begin to ripen on the marshes, and once more the
221
222 people draw together. The Modoc congregate especially along
648 Tule and Lower Klamath Lake, while some join the Klamath
on Wokas Marsh. Many Klamath, together with a few Modoc

and Paiute, meet on the broad expanses of Klamath Marsh, K M
where, as Coville observes, over ten thousand acres of ripening 221
plants promise in good years an abundance not to be exhausted 222 [648]
by the demands of man. In later times Agents describe wokas
as the most important single food of the Indians; and its specialized
preparation is one of the most distinct features of their
subsistence technology. Its importance is emphasized further by K
the circumstance that the month of its harvest, August, marks [805]
the beginning of the Klamath year. The wokas-gathering is pre- K M
ceded by shamanistic performances to ensure a plentiful crop. [756]

Daily, the dugout canoes, somewhat smaller than those used in [789]
fishing and ordinary transport, slip out from the camps upon the K M
broad expanse of the waters. In the openwork bags twined from 50
tules, the pods accumulate until the canoe is full. One old woman 222
recalled how she and a girlhood chum learned how to collect
the pond-lily seeds:

> We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We
> took another canoe. There were always lots of extra poles lying K M
> around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for
> lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules [252]
> to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them.[a]

While the women, old men, and children are occupied on the K M
marshes some of the men fare forth to hunt. The favored grounds 224
are in the east, where Klamath and Modoc pursue antelope, mule

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
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[Klamath Reservation]

K
M deer, and mountain sheep with bow and arrow and dogs. The
224 Modoc, who rely more upon hunting than do the Klamath, go
M out in small parties of co-villagers, then separate to stalk the
224 game. Before the hunt they sweat to render themselves ritually
[083] pure. On the hunt, they may wear disguises and use calls to lure
game. Only in the autumn do collective drives take place. Then
Modoc men and women, sometimes employing fire, herd antelope
or deer into a rude pound where they are dispatched. The
Pelican Bay people of Upper Klamath Lake drive deer into the
water near their village, where the women, waiting in canoes,
kill them. Waterfowl are taken by men sitting in canoes, using
M nets, or they are hunted by jacklight, much as in fishing. Nets
[223] are used also to trap beaver, otter, and rabbits. When a hunter
has killed one of the larger animals, he is expected to be generous
in distributing portions to his friends, relatives, and the needy.

K When the wokas crop is done, other wild seeds ripen, and the
M women move out to garner them with beaters, conical gathering
222 baskets, and mats. For Klamath these seeds are less important
than for the Modoc, and they withdraw earlier toward the Cascades, and particularly to Harriman, Pitt, and Huckleberry
mountains. The Modoc linger in the lowlands to gather berries,
then they too withdraw. In the mountains, only camas may now
be ripe; but fruits such as the huckleberries, serviceberries,
chokecherries, and wild plums especially draw them. These are
gathered in large quantities and eaten fresh or dried for winter
storage. The berry grounds, however, are attractive to others,
and many a woman, preoccupied with a berry bush, spends her
last mortal seconds in the realization that a grizzly, and not
K another person, is feeding on the far side. During this time, some
M of the men set deadfalls for small furbearers or venture beyond
224 the mountains to hunt deer and elk with the Southern Molala.
K M Others organize war parties to raid the Upland Takelma of the
721 upper Rogue River Valley, the Pit River and Shasta to the south,
or the Paiute to the east.

K The gatherings, both at wokas beds and the berry patches,
M provide welcome opportunity for relaxation from the day's labors.
222 Footracing, gambling with the stick-game or beaver-tooth dice,
517 hockey, and other sports enliven the evenings, while the old
people sit and gossip and young lovers advance their cause. The

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

season however is now late, and frosts warn that winter is near. K M 222
By mid-October, they have begun the homeward journey to their 517
settlements, there to rebuild the earth lodges, gather firewood, K
and prepare for the long siege of winter. M 221

Throughout the cycles of the seasons, the tribesmen live under 361
a sense of dependent involvement in a universe that was created K
in the mythic age by supernatural beings who, establishing the M 82
present order, also chose their present form within it. Among the creatures of this world, man is less the exploiter than a fellow being, a relationship honored by returning to the water the gall of a fish that had been caught in order that the fish be requickened, as well as in the annual ceremonies of the first sucker and the ripened wokas. Each individual may draw close to the sources of power; and among the Klamath neither age
nor sex is a barrier. The young boy at puberty may be sent on K
vigil to sacred place—in mountains and at certain rivers or lakes— 881
there to fast, pile stones, run, and swim. In time, he may faint, 787
awaken with blood gushing from his mouth, and hear the song that is his power. A girl during the time of her puberty dance
goes off to sleep apart during the day; then she too may hear a K
song. Those mourning a deceased mate or child may "travel," [765]
seeking solace and power, for the spirit confers power through
pity. Those who seek help desire a specific power, and they may K
pray for prowess in hunting, gambling, in attracting a mate, or 787
in acquiring wealth. One who already has a spirit associate may seek for others; and some, either through inheritance or by the successive acquisition of tutelaries, may go on to become shamans. Some persons may reject the call. One middle-aged woman recounts a waking dream she had in her girlhood of a stag in full antlers rising out of the waters. Had she followed the opening thus offered she might have acquired great power, but she was afraid and let the chance slip by.

Among the Modoc, says Ray, powers come only to those who M 787
seek to become shamans. The call, which comes in a dream, is 756
legitimate only in mature men and women past menopause and [885]
may not be experienced in old age. The seeker, like his Klamath counterpart, undertakes a five-day quest; but the chief of the spirit abodes in which he spends his vigil are the house pits of deceased shamans. Those spirits that come to him choose him

M
789 as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing
756 they are the shaman's "helpers."

K However differently they construe the degree of individual
M access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that
787 human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those
K who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer
M [782] in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtuous
[772] striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the
universe appears basically to be a moral order.

K In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The
M annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the
181 progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon
461 industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme
that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic
K exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this
M 461 virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to
556 maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a following.
595 Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the
K common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a
M contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent
622 men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In
556 war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his
[881] panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man
[701] of property is likely to be decked with many valuables con-
[764] tributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the
[538] man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowl-
[756] edge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send
out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power
in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to
K the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in
622 the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:
539

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee—to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

As if to supply counterpoint to the virtues of the esteemed, the myths cast scorn upon the baseborn, with their noisy pretensions to eminence, their repeated disregard and outright ignorance of good breeding, their ignoble cheating of members of their own village, the shabbiness of their gear, and their downright poverty. A poor man is "like a slave." The impecunious aged, lacking kinfolk to provide for them, are no better. Yet the myths do not depict the lot of the poor and the orphan as inalterably fixed: by dint of striving they may win their way to spiritual power and to material affluence, thereby gaining the esteem of their fellows. K M 556 554 735 538

The behavior traditionally to be maintained toward others is well illustrated by the formal counsel given in recent days by one old Klamath woman. Speaking to her great-grandson, she said: K 577

> Now you listen to me; I want to tell you what is right. When you go into town, don't run around; don't go with them bad Indians. Stay in the house. Do what is right. We know that children should do what their father and mother tell them. Listen to what old people tell you. Some people, them bad Indians, they steal. Stealing is bad. No one should take anything without paying for it. Don't make trouble; be nice to everybody. Some people, they smash things and then they get into trouble. If you stay home you won't be in no trouble. Don't pay attention to those people who want to lead you into trouble. Stay away from them. They will only lead you into temptation and you will be sorry. Speak nice to poor people. Don't laugh at them. Pay attention to them and help them. Don't make people talk about you. Help all; act good all the time. Be nice and smart. Lead the blind; don't laugh at them. When you see a poor person, go up and tell him who you are. That way everybody thinks good of you. Don't play tricks on people. Be smart and nice. Be careful you don't get into trouble. *Now I am correcting you.*"[illegible]

This is the ideal behavior for the well born or for those who aspire to advance themselves: the ability to maintain boundaries against outsiders, to find the fundamental strength within the home and the wise counsel of elders, and to be considerate of those less fortunate.

These norms, however, must be tempered by the demands of existence in a real world, in which particularistic loyalties take precedence. At the center of concentric circles of concern stands 000

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
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[Klamath Reservation]

At the
center of concentric circles of concern stands
K the natal family.[16] In the myths, parents and offspring and
M siblings are bound by the strongest affective bonds: in trouble
593 they provide succor and in death, revenge. The obligation tran-
602 scends abstract ethical considerations. In real life, mutual re-
sponsibility reaches out to embrace the extended family, the
close consanguineal kindred linked through two or three genera-
K M tions. Although kinship terminology acknowledges equally re-
[601] lationships on the maternal and paternal sides, residence practices
[591] in general favor the latter. From close kinsmen on both sides
come the gifts that set the seal of approval upon the marriage of
a member; during his lifetime they share food with him in his
need, support him in his quarrels, and assist his avenger should
he be slain. At his funeral, it is they, together with friends of the
deceased, who are expected to place valuables upon the funeral
pyre.

K Beyond the sphere of immediate kindred and of friends lies
M the domain of neighbors and remote relatives. If more central
602 obligations tend to be principally a function of consanguinity,
621 and thus to be ascriptive in character, village relationships and
571 those outside are more frequently based upon performance.
K M Here enter those standards of behavior by which a person of
[577] good family may be confirmed in position, the poor but worthy
rise, and the ne'er-do-well sink in the public view. At the head
K of this loose and shifting status scale stand the shamans and
M other influential men, the leaders of hamlet groups. On occasion
756 622 they may meet in an informal village council to concert decisions.
621 Yet the village, which in its spatial limits often blends with
554 adjacent settlements and which dissolves with the turn of the
seasons, can exert little constraint upon its members.

K The prestige of the leaders, the force of public opinion, and
M checks imposed by rival village interests hold the unruly in line.
62 The principle of self-help and the responsibility of kinsmen may
enlarge grievances to feuds if the differences are not soon ended,
and thus threaten the very being of the community. To counter
such fissive tendencies, leaders mediate disputes and exhort to
their fellow villagers the need to maintain harmony.

K Time may alter the membership of villages. Men frequently
K seek wives in other communities; and there is considerable inter-
621 marriage between Klamath and Modoc and Klamath and Molala,
563
582

K
to say nothing of captured women from Shasta, the Achumawi M
and Atsugewi of the Pit River region, Paiute, and the tribes 621
beyond the Cascades. Among the Modoc, the villages of the band 582
called *gumbatwas* are said to be composite in membership, including 563
Modoc, Klamath, Pit River, and Shasta; and those of the
Upland Klamath consist of Klamath with some Modoc and
Paiute elements.[17]

Allegiance with the village may be partial. If an attack is to K
be launched, war leaders can find recruits only among those men M 621
with proclivity for fighting and an attraction toward the leader. 628
On the other hand, feuds may ignite attacks that are restricted 581
to the family groups concerned. While the myths reveal currents 701
of hostility between affinals, in real life marriage acts to extend
the ramifications of support, often into other communities.

Beyond the village lies the tribelet, an entity that recognizes its K M
being in a territorial name and in a common cause in feuds with 619
other tribelets. In its virtual autonomy this unit marks an extreme K
in band organization within the larger tribe, a quality that was 619
reduced by subsequent tribal integration. For the Klamath there
are six tribelets (see map): (1) The Klamath Marsh people,
who outnumber all the others together; (2) the tiny Agency
Lake group; (3) those of the lower Williamson River; (4) the
Pelican Bay tribelet; (5) the Klamath Falls group; and (6) the
Upland Klamath of the Sprague River valley. The Modoc comprise M
three main groups: (7) that of Lower Klamath Lake, ex- 619
tending to Tule Lake (the *gumbatwas* mentioned above); (8)
those clustered upon the lower Lost River; and (9) the eastern
tribelet, with settlements dispersed as far as Goose Lake. No K
firm evidence exists that these local territorial units are distinguished M 619
by either language or culture, although, as already 726
mentioned, at least two are of composite origin. Each tribelet
seems to have gained a tenuous cohesion through a common
recognition of the worth of several prominent headmen. Between K
tribelets there is sometimes war. Under their formidable leader, 619
Kokdinks, the Williamson River group attacked in turn villages 726
of each of the other lower Klamath tribelets, including that at
Pelican Bay, to which they considered themselves related; and
the prolonged war ended only when the Upland Klamath leader,
Monchnkasgitk, a kinsman, first joined, then slew Kokdinks.[18]

K In such a sphere, and in relations with strangers beyond, the
M myths picture encounters fraught with possible danger. They
609 may be initiated by a trucial period which endures until, by
proper guest-host behavior, by a claim of kinship or on the other
hand by an act of aggression, the issue of "friend or foe" is
K precipitated. Hospitality dictates that one receive and feed the
M stranger, though a visiting kinsman brings a gift of food or
[574] otherwise repays the kindness. If, however, hostility is decided
upon, it rarely becomes open: instead, both sides proceed in-
directly, under the guise of amicability, and employ followers
or auxiliaries to encompass the destruction of the other. It is
here that the prescient qualities of the hero, his access to assis-
tants and to supernatural forces, are decisive.[19]

K In ethnographic reality, the outer limits of society are marked
648 by the boundaries of common speech. Beyond this, the Klamath
maintain amity with the Molala, intermittent friendship and
hostility toward the Warm Springs and other Columbia River
Sahaptin, who sometimes raid them, and toward the Paiute;
inveterate hostility toward the Takelma of the upper Rogue
and other peoples west of the Cascades; and a predatory aggres-
siveness toward the Pit River and Shasta to the south, whom they
increasingly raid for slaves and loot.

K The horizons of such a society are not wide. With the ex-
M ception of the shaman, a part-time specialist, each man and each
571 woman has much the same skills and knowledge as his fellows.
156 The aberrant individual can do no more than assume the dress
[838] and behavior of the other sex, ascribing his action to supernatural
dictate. The transient forms of the community and the informal
constraint it imposes, the paucity of activities that demand con-
certed action, go hand in hand with a permissiveness in the
individual. When this takes aggressive form, it may threaten
the very fabric of society.

K The covert expression of hostility is likely to invest relations
M beyond the natal family with fear and mistrust. Revenge can
754 take the form of murder from ambush, sorcery to engender the
571 illness or death of the enemy, or the stealthy destruction of his
152 property.[20] One frequent cause of open slayings, and of the feuds
682 that ensue, is suspicion that a shaman has brought about the
death of one's kinsman. Commonly, such charges are leveled

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
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against a member of another band or tribe, but malevolence or greed, it is thought, may sometimes lead a shaman to compound the illness or death of a fellow bandsman; and sometimes his spirits may act independently of him to bring the same end. Klamath recall with horror the unnatural event which took place in the present decade of the present century, when that suspicion caused a woman to slay her own mother for the fatal bewitchment of her child. K M 754 571 152 682

To end a description of the aboriginal life of Klamath and Modoc in this manner is to risk too somber a balance. Loosely structured in society, modest in scale, precariously balanced against the winters, their cultures made possible a good life in which dignity and worth had a place. That those were not, however, the halcyon days sometimes depicted today is intimated by the words spoken in 1873 by the Klamath leader, Henry Blow. If they exaggerate as almost certainly they do, they still possess an essential truth: K M 181 K 181 829

> Before the Bostons came there was no law. The strongest man took what he wanted and the man who had the most property and the most friends was the chief. It was a bad country in those times. Some men were bad and took away the property of other men. If a man was poor and had no friends, and had a beautiful squaw, some stronger man would steal his squaw and kill him if he resisted.” Might was right in those days and there was much fighting and killing everywhere. If a man was jealous because another was getting rich and had many friends, he would steal into his lodge and kill him when he was asleep, or lay in ambush to kill him as he went by. Those were bad times as we see now, since the Bostons have come and made law to protect every man's rights and property.”

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

TWO

[P. 22]

The Frontier Condition

726 FOR MANY YEARS THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WILLAMETTE AND COLUMBIA
648 valleys bypassed the tribes of the Klamath Basin.[1] Indirectly,
175 however, they felt the first remote influences, as the
Sahaptin-speaking tribes of the middle Columbia, equipped with
the superior weapons of the trading posts and mounted on horses
acquired from the Shoshonean bands to the south, began to raid
up the Deschutes Valley to take Klamath slaves.[2] The Klamath
[231] were at a disadvantage: in 1826 Peter Skene Ogden, of the
Hudson's Bay Company, found them with but a single horse
[411] and uneasily awaiting raids by joint parties of Cayuse and Nez
Percés; and even by midcentury they had only one firearm
among them.[3] The scantiness of the local beaver made their
territory of little interest to the company, however, and they came
to enjoy a reputation as fierce warriors which preserved them
for some time from settlers. Nonetheless, they were known even
[101] then to the tribes of the Columbia, for Ogden applied to them
a name, "Clammite," that was not their own and seems to stem
from Chinookan.[4]

648 Some ten years after Ogden passed through, a party of French-Canadian
175 trappers made their way into the region and on their
return to The Dalles took along some Klamath.[5] From that time
on, contact with the tribes at that great Indian trading center increased.
Klamath parties moved down the Deschutes Valley,
making their way either to The Dalles itself, or branching westward
down the north fork of the Santiam along what came to
be known as the Klamath Trail, through the settlement of the
northern Molala, thence to the Kalapuya on the outskirts of
648 Oregon City. There, in 1843, one missionary recorded the visit
567 of "a large party of the Clamath tribe, fierce and warlike . . .
439 with about twenty slaves, [who] sold most or all of them. Some,
435 I was informed, were sold for three horses each,
175 some cheaper."[6]

I was informed were sold for three horses each, some cheaper."[6] 000

In the changing conditions of the early nineteenth century, K
the Klamath were caught up in currents generated from without. 175
The advent of horses and of firearms made it possible for the 177
tribes of the east-central Plateau, the eastern Salish and eastern 648
Sahaptin, to cross the Rocky Mountains, to hunt buffalo and [231]
enter into relations, both peaceful and bellicose, with the tribes [411]
of the Plains. As they came under Plains influence, the appeal K
of Plains garb, of parfleches and tipis, grew.[7] The Klamath were [291]
attracted to these new goods, and the clothing at least came to [556]
replace or supplement traditional forms of wealth.

Moreover, the horse and the gun had revolutionized warfare K M
patterns. Although traditional enemies beyond the Cascades 175
were preoccupied with white settlers, on the east the Paiute were 177
gradually developing mounted bands of great mobility and 726
striking power. The Klamath and Modoc were not slow to seek 231
the new instruments of war. 411

The opening trade to the north brought a corresponding K M
intensification of the raids carried south into the territory of the 175
Pit River tribes—the Achumawi and Atsugewi—to capture women 177
and children, Pit River bows, and other loot. As Chiloquin, one 721
of the leaders of the time, recalled:

> When the Snakes [Northern Paiute] made war on us that made us keen to fight other Indians and we made war without provocation on the Pitt Rivers, Shastas and Rogue Rivers, but they never made willing war on us. Those wars lasted a great many years. We found we could make money by war, for we sold the provisions and property captured for horses and other things we needed. It was like soldiers nowadays who fight for money. We made war because we made money by it and we rather got to like it anyhow. The Snakes provoked us to make war on them.[8]

With developing warfare and the accumulation of foreign K M
wealth came a gradual transformation of Klamath, and to a 175
lesser extent, of Modoc society. The forays into hostile country 178
enlarged the scale of the war party. Chiloquin speaks of a body 726
totaling one hundred warriors, which included, according to Spier, members of all the Klamath tribelets, and took in some Modoc as well.[9] A joint raid on the part of Umpqua, Upland Takelma, and other western tribes brought one such retaliatory reprisal about

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175 1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-
178 scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes.
726 The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging
K M scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty,
175 brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of
726 which based their power upon eminence in war and possession
182 of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers,
622 and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times
565 to cement alliances with shamans.

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756 Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean
[754] weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power
was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would die."[11]

K M The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties.
175 A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-
178 bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader
622 increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers
619 from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country.
628 As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance ren-
726 dered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment of worth.

K In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary
622 principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his
175 father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill, a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David, later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks,
K [838 839] of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite
in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

K A minor factor in these developments may have been the
195 interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in
643 order that they might deal more effectively with responsible
648 leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs
177 met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

Kalapuya settlements in the vicinity of Oregon City, and induced 175 177
them to be regulated by the same rules as were the Nez Percés 643
and to appoint a single paramount chief. A disaffected Indian from 648
The Dalles, however, subsequently joined the party as it was making its way homeward and provoked a quarrel in which those favoring the Agent's proposal were slain.[13]

While these events were taking place, the Klamath country 175
was again being visited, at first by occasional parties whom the 648
Indians watched unseen. In the years 1844-45 a mixed party of Walla Walla, Spokane, and Cayuse, under the Walla Walla chief, Piupiumaksmaks, passed through the Klamath region en route to California to buy cattle. In 1843 and again in 1846 the Klamath were visited by the explorer, John C. Frémont. In his earlier visit, the martial captain, in order to quell "the treacherous disposition, which is a remarkable characteristic of the Indians south of the Columbia," fired a round from his howitzer over Klamath Marsh. Although his action was scarcely calculated to allay the suspicions of the Indians, he was shown the same courtesy as had been extended Peter Skene Ogden years before. A village chief—the father of David Hill—and his wife came out to meet the party and guided them east toward Summer Lake.

Frémont's second entrance, in 1846, was less fortunate. In that year, moving up from California, he passed through Modoc country and thereafter up the west shore of Upper Klamath Lake, where he was attacked by a party that had followed him from the southern end of the lake. Three of his Delaware Indians were slain. Although his attackers probably were from the Klamath Falls tribelet, Frémont's reprisal was directed instead at a village of the Lower Williamson group. Neither women nor children were spared in the attack. The slaughter left a legacy of hatred that did much to draw some of the Klamath into the Molala war.[14]

By the time of Frémont's second visit to the Kamath country, [731]
the Indians of Oregon had been sorely stricken. Diseases brought by the whites had ravaged the tribes of the Columbia and Willamette valleys. The Hudson's Bay Company had sought to assure a firm supply of furs in the country it controlled and thus to maintain just and amicable relations with the Indians; and many of its employees had taken Indian wives. It was now being

175 supplanted by immigrants from the wagon trains and ships.
648 Some of the newcomers were from areas in which echoes of the frontier still lingered.

From the first, the settlers were active rivals of the Indians for lands and resources. They brought wives who were often repelled by the Indian way of life, and who established for themselves an insular world in which the Indian could find little place. Where they did not directly displace the natives, their swine uprooted camas and cous and their sheep browsed on berries. After an area had been inhabited by settlers for a time, it could no longer support the Indians, save as degraded and drunken remnants. The newcomers, as a whole, found little to respect in Indian culture; and many Indians who tried to follow the missionary's road found that it did not lead to the easy acquisition of the material wealth and status of the Americans. To the disillusioned apostates, finally, can be added those enraged by the lawless deeds of small bands of renegades, both Indian and white.

These events and others of local character lay behind the Cayuse slayings at the Whitman mission in 1847. In that same year, Crooked Finger, the leader of the closely related Northern Molala, visited the Umpqua, Rogue River, Pit River, Modoc, and Klamath, seeking recruits for an uprising timed to take advantage of the absence of local settlers in the military campaign against the Cayuse. Even as preparations were under way, emissaries from the Cayuse are said to have visited his camp in Molala country; but the settlers, forewarned, struck first. In the ensuing fighting, approximately eighty Klamath were involved, comprising over half of Crooked Finger's supporters, and a Klamath chief, Red Blanket, was slain. The triumphant whites gave the survivors three days to leave, and they departed along the Klamath Trail, bearing their dead with them.[15]

During these troubled times, the experience of the Klamath beyond their homeland was consistent: the white man was too powerful to be withstood. Comparable power, said some, must be sought in the white man's way. Link-River Jo, a Klamath sub-
[797] chief, recalled in later years his contact in the 1840's with missionaries at The Dalles who

> told him about the Holy Spirit that was to come to the whole 175
> world and visit its remotest parts. When he came back from the 648
> Dalles he told his people about it but found them groping in [797]
> perfect darkness. . . . They would not believe him and told him
> he lied. He had watched long for the coming of the Holy Spirit
> and had never doubted that he should see him. He had heard
> Mr. Meacham talk for many days. . [and] now he saw that he
> was not like other men and knew that he must be the Holy
> Spirit come at last to bring gracious gifts for all tribes. . . ."[16]

Others—and they were to become more influential—lived for 175
some time with whites and became convinced that the best 177
policy for the Klamath was one of peace. They included Lileks, 648
who in the course of the trading excursions to the north dwelled 622
for several years at The Dalles and was exposed there, no doubt,
to the examples of authority set by whites as well as by the
Columbia River tribes themselves. Another was Dave Hill, who,
starting about 1859, lived approximately five years in Oregon
City. Allen David, later to succeed Lileks as head chief in reservation days, was "well versed in the ways of the white man,
from travel among the Willamette settlement." Another was
Charley Preston who, like Hill, had spent five years at Oregon
City, working for white farmers and had become "quite civilized
and learned many of the white man's ways. He returned to his
tribe and became a headman. . . ."[17]

Men such as these became the leaders of a "peace party"
among the Klamath, and their views achieved dominance in the 175
growing centralization of power among the Klamath. Lileks may 159
have consolidated the ascendancy he presently achieved as head 622
of this group by marriages beyond his tribelet: to the four wives [595]
from his own, Klamath Marsh, division, he added one each from
the Lower Williamson and Klamath Falls groups, as well as one
from the Modoc. From the Columbia he or a contemporary [177]
brought back new "laws," which included the institution of [681]
flogging as punishment for murder or for persistent quarreling.
In one instance, ascribed by Spier, with some question, to prereservation days, when two men of the Lower Williamson River
tribelet slew a Klamath Falls man, Lileks had them haled to
Klamath Marsh, where each was beaten five times.[18]

When, in 1858, it was indicated that Klamath and Rogue 175
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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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175 River renegades had slain five prospectors on a tributary of the
648 Rogue River, the whites apprehended three Klamath involved
in the affair, "whom the Klamaths voluntarily killed to prevent
trouble; that tribe being now desirous of standing well with the
K U.S. Government."[19] It is probable that the hand of Lileks is to
[622] be discerned in this matter also. In brief, his power and that of
Chiloquin, often termed his second chief, was challenged only
by Captain George, leader of a faction hostile to the whites, and
by Monchnkasgitk, leader of the remote Upland tribelet.

K Thus the frontier condition brought a heightened rate of intertribal
175 warfare and of intertribal trading. It gave the Klamath
648 both peaceful and bellicose exposure to whites, largely outside
177 the Klamath homeland. In the awareness of new ways of life
[721] beyond the limited range of which their fathers had been conscious
[439] the Klamath of the first half of the nineteenth century
became diversified in outlook. Enriched with new goods, Klamath
culture prospered, although in comparison with the levels
K achieved by the whites it seemed poorer than ever. Warfare had
M 721 consolidated power and wealth in the hands of leaders and the
648 magnitude of their operations drew Klamath and Modoc into an
175 uneasy cooperation.

622 Indeed, in many of these developments the Modoc participated
K only to a small degree. In disposing of those slaves destined to
M 175 be sold at The Dalles, the Klamath and occasionally the Warm
567 Springs peoples acted as middlemen; in consequence the Modoc
721 did not come as fully under the influence of the Columbia River
177 tribes, nor did they amass as much wealth. The development of
556 a chiefly class among them was feebler, and the tribelets coalesced
M 643 under a single acknowledged leader only tardily and
565 incompletely.[20]

619 When in 1846 an exploring party under Jesse and Lindsay
M Applegate laid out an alternate emigrant route known as the
175 South Road, they directed it from Fort Hall down through Modoc
648 country and past the winter settlements on Tule and Lower
721 Klamath lakes, then west of the Cascades and north to the
Willamette settlements. The Modoc bitterly resented the invasion
of their homeland and waged war against the wagon
trains, a war which in turn brought reprisals from the settlers.
In 1852, after the Modoc had extensively damaged several trains

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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

and manhandled some of the survivors, the citizens of Yreka, a mining town in California southwest of the Modoc country, organized a party led by one Ben Wright. Under the guise of a council, they met some forty-six Modoc, to whom they offered a feast of poisoned beef. When the Modoc, forewarned by a Warm Springs Indian, declined to eat, Wright and his followers shot and killed all but five of them.[21]

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By contrast, the Klamath peace party withheld their hand. As Chiloquin later recalled an event of that year, a party under Captain Jim Crosby pursued some of the Modoc in the direction of Silver Lake.

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> The troops did not find the Modocs but at Oux-y [at the north end of Klamath Marsh] killed some Klamaths. They killed a few up on the marsh, some on Williamson River and a good many on both sides of Klamath Lake, but this did not precipitate a war with my people. Even if they felt like avenging the death of the people, they knew they could not contend against the whites long, for they had learned they were as numerous as the trees on the mountains.
>
> Below the Dalles on the Columbia River a Modoc murdered one of the McKays or one of old Tom McKay's friends.[22] The murderer made his escape to the Modoc country, but was pursued as far as Oux-y by McKay's friends. The chief Chim-tolk and my brother, Beaded Hat, who was a sub-chief, and three men pursued the murderer and brought him back to Oux-y and there killed him.[23]

For the emergent leaders of the Klamath, the maintenance of a consistent policy toward neighboring settlers posed problems of control. Similar difficulties beset the whites. From 1852 on, some men were accepted within tribal territory by the Indians as personally known and trustworthy. Wallace Baldwin, who ran cattle on land south of the present site of Klamath Falls, was one to whom Indians made gifts of roots, wokas, and game. Judge F. Adams in 1856 was grazing two thousand head of cattle in the vicinity of Keno; having made terms with the Indians, he was not molested. Wendolen Nus ranged stock in Klamath country in 1858-59, and, following a sojourn in the John Day region, returned in the 1860's to become the first permanent settler in the Klamath Basin. From 1857 on, the fur trader, Marty Frain, made an annual trip out of Yreka for the spring fishing at Lost River. Frain is quoted as saying that the Indians would be

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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

175 peaceable save for the whites who from time to time slew some
648 of them without provocation.[24]

The Indians had provocation in plenty. With the opening of the goldfields in northern California, would-be miners passed from the Willamette Valley through the Klamath country. There were the border ruffians living on the fringe of society, to whom the judgment of the Rev. Samuel Parker might justly apply. "Their demoralizing influence . . . with the Indians," he exclaimed, "has been lamentable, and they have imposed upon them in all the ways that sinful propensities dictate. It is said they have sold them packs of cards at high prices, calling them the bible; and have told them if they should refuse to give white men wives, God would be angry with them and punish them eternally, etc."[25] Some of the depredations ascribed to Indians were their doing.

Even the more responsible settlers found it difficult to escape being tangled in indiscriminate reprisals. Early in 1854 four men were slain near Lower Klamath Lake, and in May of the same year settlers attacked the Indians at Klamath Ferry. In almost every case the government placed the responsibility upon the whites, a view the latter repudiated indignantly.[26]

Armed escorts provided for the immigrant trains discouraged direct and massive assaults, but did not entirely eliminate them. Meanwhile, bands comprising individuals from several tribes were harrying transient prospectors, settlers, and particularly immigrants plodding full-laden through tribal territory.

In 1862 Joseph A. Chaffee established a ferry across the Klamath River and another at the lower end of Klamath Lake, after having paid the sum of one hundred dollars which the bands required of him. The Indians then extorted a second fare from each of his passengers and after two weeks drove Chaffee away. He reported that they levied a charge of one dollar a night for grass upon those passing through the country and robbed small and defenseless parties. These bands, well armed, were said to comprise Modoc, Paiute, and Snakes (Northern Paiute), who asserted "that in case of difficulty, they will be supported by all these different tribes of Indians."[27]

The rapid settlement of the country made evident that some control must be extended over the tribes of southern Oregon. As

early as 1849, Jesse Applegate, who had glimpsed the Klamath Basin as a leader of the South Road expedition, introduced a bill into territorial legislature to charter an association, The Klamath Company, to treat with the Indians and purchase lands from them.[28] Since these powers were reserved to the government, the bill failed of passage. In 1854, Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, desired to see at first hand the country and its people, whose "thieving propensities" had been a source of complaint. Consequently he persuaded a Klamath chief whom he encountered in Oregon City to bring together his people for a council at Klamath Lake.

Together with an interpreter, a Warm Springs guide, and the chief he made his way southward up the valley of the Deschutes and into Klamath country. It was mid-August and the tribesmen were doubtless out gathering wokas. Messengers sent to summon the Modoc, Paiute, and Pit River tribes proved to be fruitless; and only members of the Klamath Marsh, Agency Lake, and Lower Williamson River tribelets came in to the council. Palmer warned them of ". . . our determination [illegible] punish those who committed acts of violence and theft ag[illegible]ur people, and [listened] to their replies and promises of [illegible] conduct. . . ." He then made some presents and the council broke up "with an apparent good feeling." Years later, Henry Blow was to contrast his liberality by inference with the parsimony of the government under the treaty.[29]

Palmer came away favorably impressed with the Klamath country as a place to colonize–i.e. remove–the Indians from the Willamette and Umpqua valleys. Of the three full Indian Agents under his control, he felt that the Agent for the southeastern district should reside in the vicinity of Klamath Lake, and that should the reservation he envisaged come into being a cavalry detachment should be posted there.[30]

The plan to remove the western tribes beyond the Cascades was subsequently dropped, but other phases of the plan were soon put into operation. Mounting hostilities, although not within Klamath territory, gave it impetus. Indeed, the surveying expedition under Lt. R. S. Williamson that pursued its way the next year through Klamath country and up the river that now bears his name, encountered no difficulty en route, but emerged from

175 its sojourn in eastern Oregon into the midst of the Rogue River
648 and Yakima wars of 1855.[31]

Although behind them the Klamath settlements remained at peace, Klamath in the troubled areas were caught up in the dragnet. When the special agent for the upper Umpqua Valley was collecting the friendly Umpqua in order to shift them temporarily to the site of a proposed reservation, at the request of local citizens he also received some 35 Klamath, "who willingly surrendered their arms and ammunition." Again, in the roundup of approximately 1,440 Indians of coastal Oregon and the Willamette Valley in 1856, awaiting removal to permanent reservations, were members of tribes with whom no treaties had yet been concluded, who usually wintered in the Willamette Valley, and who in those troubled times sought the protection of the Indian department. Among them were 141 Klamath.[32] Even Lileks, out hunting deer in the mountains with some men of the Pelican Bay tribelet, was picked up, as were his companions. With their families they were taken to Oregon City and confined for some time until Lileks was able to secure their release.[33]

In the Klamath country itself, the alarms of war persistently pointed to the Klamath as hostile. Settlers reported the tribesmen armed and threatening on the Santiam and the Kalapuya, [202] and saw signal fires burning along the Klamath Trail from the Lakes to Oregon City.[34]

In the aftermath of warfare grew a new determination to end the recurrent hostilities. Wrote Commissioner of Indian Affairs James W. Denver in 1857:

> I know of no alternative to the present unsatisfactory and dangerous state of things but the adoption of early measures for the extinguishment of [Indian] title, and their colonization on properly located reservations, using and applying the consideration agreed to be allowed to them for their lands to subsist and clothe them until they can be taught and influenced to support and sustain themselves. The losses and damage to the government and to the citizens resulting from another general outbreak on the part of these Indians would probably fully equal, if not exceed, in amount what would be necessary to buy out and colonize them, so that they could be effectively controlled, if not improved and civilized.[35]

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In Oregon, Indian Agent G. H. Abbott promptly paid a visit to the Klamath for the twin purpose of concluding treaties with Klamath and Modoc and of selecting a site for an agency. The legislative session of 1858-59 instructed the delegate to Congress to press for the establishment of both agency and a military post in the Klamath country. Once more in 1860 the legislature urged that treaties be signed with the remaining unreduced tribes of Oregon and that military posts be authorized at Warm Springs and in the Klamath region.[36] The outbreak of the Civil War delayed action until the following year.

Meanwhile, the hostile bands in southern Oregon grew bolder. They operated particularly in the zones beyond tribal territory, where the wagon trains, laden with potential loot and owned by nameless strangers who had no claim to consideration, were a fit counterpart to the villages of the Pit Rivers. For at least one leader an additional spur for the attack was provided by the fear that the country would soon fill up with strangers.

This man was the Klamath Lake chief, Kiluampch, "Old Brave," also known as Captain George. He was a brother of Allen David, who, however, held quite different views. It was during Captain George's period of dominance that Chief Sam of the Rogue River hostiles reported in 1852 that "the Indians at the Klamath Lake country had agreed to kill off all that might come in that way. That they do not intend to let any more whites come into their country." Two years later, as Judge A. M. Rosborough wrote Colonel Drew, the Klamath met with emissaries from the tribes of the Illinois, Rogue, and Upper Klamath rivers to plan concerted war upon the whites, with the bands of Shasta and Scott's Valleys attending but declining to take part. "The Upper Klamath or Klamath Lake Indians," he added, "(with the exception of the tribe [of] which La Lakes is chief) commenced their depredations by killing Whites and stealing stock, and a report was current among the friendly Indians that these hostiles intended to destroy the immigrants as fast as they came from the Valley of the Humboldt."[37]

Captain George, like his brother, had been exposed to the American settlements but had been antagonized in the process. "George," wrote Elijah Steele, "had acquired some knowledge

175 648 of the English language, and fully comprehended the civil war under which our unfortunate country is now suffering, and he thought, or professed to think, that if all the Indians unite they could kill off all the whites and retake the country." He and another chief, known as Skookum John—a man suspected of instigating trouble in 1856—were reputed to counsel war continuously.[38]

In power, the redoubtable hostile had few peers. As of about [624] 1859, he was war chief of both Klamath and Modoc, in which capacity he divested a Modoc chief of his elk-skin cuirasses for refusing to join an expedition against the Pit River tribes. Indeed, [622] Henry Blow later averred that Captain George had superseded Lileks as chief for a time, during which he had entered into a treaty—with whom is uncertain, though possibly with Rosborough or Steele in Northern California—and had been promised pay as head chief.[39]

In its own time, the government moved to contain the threat posed by his ascendancy. The necessary action embraced both military and civil commitments, and the contentions engendered lie vividly upon the pages of the day.

Outstanding among the individuals involved were members of the numerous Applegate clan, whose destinies were to be intertwined with the Klamath for almost a half-century. They were led by the doughty Lindsay Applegate, who had crossed the plains with his brothers, Jesse and Charles, and their families in the great migration of 1843. A staunch Union man and a Republican, he then resided at Ashland Mills, across the Cascades from the Klamath country. Of his extensive family, mention should be made of four of his sons, Elisha, who held the office of surveyor general, Ivan, Lucien, and Oliver. As a member of the state legislature, Lindsay Applegate had been instrumental in securing passage of the joint resolution calling for the establishment of a military post in the Klamath country. During the Rogue River War, he had served with distinction as captain of a company of mounted volunteers. His second-in-command on that occasion had been J. W. Perit Huntington, married to a daughter of brother Charles, and a man with whom he shared the conviction that the Indians must be dealt with firmly but justly.[40]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

Acting out of Northern California from the mining town of 175
Yreka, south of the Modoc country, were A. M. Rosborough and 648
his friend and successor, Judge Elijah Steele. They followed a policy in independence of that in Oregon and exercised a restraint in dealing with the hostiles which Applegate and his associates were to denounce as coddling. Animosities between the two states were involved: the Californians with some justification maintained that the Oregonians were bent on making a profit from the location of the military post.[41]

As if it were not enough to find a schism within the ranks of those civilians who were to be responsible for the handling of Indian affairs, further complications arose. The military campaign was entrusted to a company of volunteers led by Colonel Charles S. Drew, who hailed from the town of Jacksonville, a few miles distant from Ashland Mills and its economic rival. Drew, as Steele averred, had come under the influence of Gen. George Wright, commanding the Department of the Pacific, and was aligned with him in violent disagreement with the leniency displayed toward the natives by the Indian Bureau. Applegate and his friends darkly suspected Drew of seditious views; and the implication is strong that they felt Drew was endeavoring, through harsh measures, to foment a general Indian war which would divert much needed troops from the fighting on the eastern seaboard.[42]

About 1861, the Rogue River settlements were plagued by an influx of Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, who were soon supporting themselves by trading with the whites, by theft, and by prostitution of their women. They expressed themselves as eager to sell their lands, but in their new location they were "a constant source of annoyance and terror" to the settlers. Consequently, anticipating an immediate danger, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, William H. Rector, appointed Lindsay Applegate to the post of special Indian agent for the Indians of southern Oregon to deal with these and related matters. Shortly thereafter, Elisha Applegate rode off to Salem carrying a petition from the people of Jackson County for a reservation at Klamath Lake.[43]

The new military post was authorized and in 1863 it took form in the heart of the Klamath country, between Fort Creek and Wood River. Bitterly, Lindsay Applegate, once more a private

K 175 648 citizen—his office having lapsed for lack of authorized pay—denounced the location in a letter to Huntington, now Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon. "Drew . . . and his *Copperhead* friends, have already committed an outrage in the country, by locating the Fort in a place, where it entirely fails to accomplish the objects for which a post was ordered, solely I believe for selfish and factious purposes of their clan."[44]

Drew, while recommending that treaties be concluded with Lileks' and Old George's bands of Klamath, and with certain other groups, roundly scored these tribes as "a horde of practical thieves, highwaymen, and murderers, cowardly sycophants before the white man's face, and perfidious assassins behind his back". He annexed to his report a detailed list of hostilities in the Klamath Lake – Tule Lake – Goose Lake region from the opening of the South Road down to the time of his report. Following one such attack in 1856 which left at least thirty-nine fatalities, and in which the abduction of women and children was suspected, as he claimed, "the Indians of Umpqua valley exhibited an unusual number of dresses and other articles of female apparel,* which they alleged they had obtained from the Indians at Klamath Lake".[45]

K M 175 648 721 622 Drew moved with dispatch. To the south, the long-standing warfare waged by Klamath and Modoc against Shasta and Pit River tribes had ended by embroiling them with the settlers. Suspecting the whites of having sided with the Shasta, who had slain several of their warriors, the hostile Klamath and Modoc under Captain George had, in the words of Steele, "commenced depredations by stealing the cattle of the frontier settlements, robbing travellers passing through their country, and uttering threats of murder and war on the opening of the spring." Acting upon a petition by citizens and a letter from Sub-agent Amos E. Rogers, Drew promptly arrested Captain George and summarily hanged him. George's troublesome colleague, Skookum John, met his death in the same action. At one stroke the bellicose faction had been decapitated.[46]

K 175 648 So draconian a measure did not pass without comment. In a confidential letter to Huntington, Rogers wrote from Jacksonville, intimating that it had all been planned beforehand by Drew and other Copperheads at a "turkey and champaign dinner" at

Captain T'Vault's. "The party who met at this dinner," he insisted, "freely discussed the policy of this arest* and execution. It was determined that the charges contained in the petition of citizens and my letter to Drew was sufficient to arrest and hang the Indian . . . without trial or further evidence. The insolence that Drew complained of was, of course, but a pretext."[47]

The Indians, not surprisingly, found these measures profoundly unsettling, and sought out their friend, Lindsay Applegate. 'I was visited a few days ago by Lake indians," he recounted to Huntington early in 1864,

> who said that they had been instructed by thier people, to learn of me, whether thier country was to be taken from them or not without compensation, and if they were to be made slaves. They say Col. Drew has taken possession without thier having any assurance that they would ever get anything for thier country, and that it would shortly be over run by settlers.
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> They complain bitterly of these things, [but] say they do not want war with the whites. . . . If the Bill now before Congress proposing to make treaties with these indians, passes, we will be saved in all probability from an indian war, for the course that Drew is pursuing toward them will I think, if not counteracted in some way, certainly lead to war. . . ."[48]

In June, Huntington, having communicated with his opposite in California, Austin E. Wiley, made his way to the new post, Fort Klamath, to confer with the Klamath and Modoc chiefs and those headmen that could be assembled in preparation for a treaty council the following October. He reported that they were "friendly with the whites and have been for some time. Their desire to treat for the sale of their lands has been known for some time. . . ." He was pleased to learn that Capt. William Kelly, finding the Indians in a suffering condition during the previous winter, had advanced them foodstuffs out of his own stores. It was an act of statemanship pronounced by Huntington to have "a most salutory effect in conciliating the Indians, and rendering future control of them easy and economical."[49]

In California a few months earlier, another peacemaker had been at work. Elijah Steele, who had succeeded his friend, Rosborough, as Indian Agent, had returned in mid-February from San Francisco to find a large gathering of Indians encamped

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* Original spelling has been adhered to in all reports and letters.

K
175 near his house, whom his wife "had been lecturing . . . upon the
648 best way to live with each other, and with other people." They
were the chastened tribes whose hostilities Drew had summarily
K suppressed, now gathered under their peace chiefs: the Klamath
M were here under Lileks, the Modoc under Schonchin, and the
175 Shasta bands under their several chiefs.

648 Steele saw an opportunity to stabilize the frontier, and set about to conclude a treaty. He justified his action by the belief that the country of the Klamath and Modoc extended into California, that "an unhappy difference existed between [Agent Amos E. Rogers at] Jacksonville and the military department [i.e. Drew]," and that there was impending danger of an outbreak of hostilities.

He and interested citizens now found it relatively easy to reach an agreement with the tribes whereby they consented to live in peace and friendship with one another, to give up to the soldiers for punishment any person who violated this principle; to live on the same terms with non-Indians, permitting them free passage through their country and charging them only for ferry passage across rivers or guiding them on their way. They further agreed not to get drunk or to steal when in the settlements or white camps, or to rob the Chinese sluice-miners; to remain out of town at night, to refrain from selling Indian children of their own or other tribes or from selling women to any save an Indian, unless the purchaser agreed to marry her before a judge.

The Klamath and Modoc convenanted not to raid the Pit River tribes and to submit to the regulation of the officers at Fort Klamath. In the settled country, except when hunting, Indians were not to carry bows and arrows or firearms, and they were not to bring the latter into the settlements, except to be repaired. In return, they were granted permission to visit the settlements when provided with a pass from the officers at Fort Klamath, and were assured of protection while there.[50]

M In his capacity as counselor of the Indians, Steele also inter-
175 vened in a disputed Modoc leadership. Their dominant chief,
648 Schonchin, had served as spokesman for the Modoc, still a loose
643 congeries of bands, and had led them since his succession in 1846.
In his earlier days, he had fought valiantly against the whites.

> I thought [he recollected in later years] if we killed all the white men we saw, that no more would come. We killed all we could;

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

> but they came more and more like new grass in the spring. I M 175
> looked around and saw that many of our young men were dead
> and could not come back to fight. My heart was sick. My people 648
> were few. I threw down my gun. I said, "I will not fight again." 643
> I made friends with the white man."[51]

Despite the fact that Schonchin was favorably disposed toward M 175
the whites and had represented the Modoc in an agreement at 648
which Steele had presided, Steele heeded more militant factions 643
which sought to replace him. Two chief contenders came forward: 578
the extremist, John Schonchin, a younger brother of the
chief who was then absent, and the somewhat more moderate M
Kintpuash, whom Steele dubbed Captain Jack. At the election, [666]
the tribesmen in attendance chose the latter, and Steele designated him chief of all the Modoc.

In the course of the council, under the mistaken belief that M
Modoc territory lay largely within California, Steele negotiated 175
a treaty with that tribe whereby they pledged their readiness to 648
relinquish all their territory in exchange for assurances that they would be permitted to retain the area about Tule Lake. Since Steele was not authorized to enter into agreements of this character, his treaty was not ratified by Congress, although the Modoc remained unaware of that fact. Shortly thereafter, he was removed from office by a political maneuver.[52]

Less than a month after the Yreka council, the newspapers K
carried the news that Congress had appropriated $20,000 to effect M
a treaty and purchase the lands of the Klamath, Modoc, and 175
Paiute. Late in June, Huntington was instructed to effect the 648
treaty, and in August he visited the tribes for a preliminary conference. About the same time, Lileks and a delegation of Klamath are said to have waited on their friend, Captain Kelly, to propose that such a treaty be entered into. Early in October, Huntington, together with Agent William Logan to represent the absent superintendent for California, repaired once more to Fort Klamath to enter into the treaty.

The parties to the treaty, according to Huntington, included K
21 Klamath chiefs and headmen, led by Lileks and Chiloquin, M 175
representing 710 Klamath then present. Of the signatories who 648
can be identified, at least 9 were Klamath Marsh men. The 622
Modoc were led by Schonchin, still recognized as head chief by M
Huntington, and included the Klamath-Modoc interbreed, Chief 643

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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M George (Sleketatk), Captain Jack, and one Chuck-e-i-ox
175 (Njakeaks).[53] They are said to have represented 339 Modoc.
648 Finally, there were two Paiute, who signed for some 22 members
622 then present of a group known as the Yahuskin band of Snakes.[54]
M The Walpapi Snakes, under their crafty leader, Panaina, were
[643] also to have been included, but they withdrew and were dealt
with in a separate treaty in August, 1865.[55]

Captain Kelly, who was present, gives figures for the tribes that differ somewhat from those of Huntington. He notes that all the Klamath, including their slaves, were present, and numbered 133 males over fifteen years of age, 286 women, and 214 children. Of the Modoc, 46 men, 15 women, and 16 children were in attendance. "About 40 of the Modoc warriors," he adds, "were absent with the women and children in their own country. They have about the same proportion of women and children as the Klamaths." Finally, the Snakes numbered 11 men, 5 women, and 6 children.[56] It is possible that the absent Modoc included members of the party advocating continued resistance.

Many years later, the Upland Klamath leader, Monchnkasgitk, recalled the treaty making:

> Huntington came to Council Grove and sent out invitations to all the Indians to meet him to discuss a treaty about the lands. I went as chief with Seven Warm Springs Indians to the first meeting at Council Grove. I met La Lake, head chief, and Chiloquen, chiefs of the Klamaths; also Captain Jack, Schonchen, and Chief George of the Modocs.
>
> Huntington met me there with the man who wrote for him, and another white man. We were there about a week and talked three days about the treaty. We built our first camp fire under a big pine tree which I think is still there. Huntington made a speech and said: "I have come from Washington, from the Great Father, to see about buying your land and have brought [with] me the things to pay for it." He then showed up fishhooks, beads, buttons, coarse blankets, and red paint. Huntington finished his speech by saying, "Tell me how much land you want to save for yourselves?" The chiefs went back to the camp and talked among themselves and agreed, and the next day told Huntington they wanted the land from the three snow mountains and the Cascades (the three sisters) from there to Steens Mountain; thence southerly along the mountains east of Goose Lake Valley to the California line, then westerly to the Cascades, taking in the Tule Lake country; then back to the beginning.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

Parenthetically, it may be observed that this tract encompasses in a general way the entire holdings of the three signatory groups, save that the Modoc included only the land reserved for them under the treaty with Steele earlier in the year.

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> Huntington replied [Monchnkasgitk continues] that was "too much land for you to take care of and hold, and I want you to go back to your camp and think it over, and then point out to me land near your homes here, which you can hold and take care of." So we went to camp and all talked it over for many hours, and finally agreed on Lee Lakes proposition, that we should keep the land to Tom sum ne, then to His chok sal as, Bal la wisk se, Tsne whel ste e los, Ba ha, Chok chok e lisk se, then to Kal wal by Ish tish e wax.
>
> To this Huntington agreed, saying, "That is all right; and the matter is now finished. You will be closed up, like in a high fence, so no one can get over to you, or their cattle get over, nor can you get out to them without permission; so, tomorrow I will issue you all the things I have, and to-night we will have a big dance."
>
> The next day the things Huntington had were issued and they all went and signed the treaty.[57]

The Klamath, Nash observes, are reported to have signed the treaty willingly but both Modoc and Paiute did so only with reluctance.[58]

In the designation of boundaries, the seeds for future contention were sown. As members of the Boundary Commission observed in 1896:

> The two Commissioners of the Government, with their assistants, proceeded into a country practically unknown to them to treat with an assemblage of Indians who were ignorant of the fundamental principles of the matter to be discussed, the Indian language having no words expressing the idea of direction, by equivalents of the points of the compass, or distance by measures of miles, yards, etc.[59] To this day the older Indians can only designate direction by pointing, and distance by fractions of a day's travel; hence their topographical descriptions were very vague, unless confined to particular points. It is not surprising, therefore, that confusion should ensue when the agreement, reached after days of discussion, under such conditions, was condensed into a few lines of our language.[60]

The terms of the treaty mark the passage of the Indians—who came to be designated the Klamath Tribe—from a state of sovereign independence to a place under the government of the

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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

175 United States, and more directly under the supervision of an
648 Agent. Part of the Agent's duties were "to promote the well-being of the Indians, advance them in civilization, and especially agriculture, and . . . secure their moral improvement and education."[61]

The Tribe thus engaged to enter upon a program of extensive change designed to make its members into farmers by American standards, sending their children to school, and utilizing the services of a physician. It was even envisaged that they should at some time privately own the land they tilled, though without the power to alienate it. The terms of payment make it very probable that both parties to the treaty thought the Indians would be able to attain self-sufficiency by the end of twenty years. The reservation was to be set apart for the Indians, subject to the will of the President of the United States, with rights of way for railroads and public roads reserved for United States citizens, and with governmental option to move other tribes upon it in the future. The Indians agreed to submit to "all laws and regulations which the United States may prescribe for their government and conduct," including that banning their use of liquor, to remain upon the reservation, save when given temporary leave by the Agent, and to relinquish independent military action. They were confirmed in their exclusive right to take fish, roots, seeds, and berries within the reserved area, and were to be protected there against the trespass of any unauthorized white.[62]

The prominent role that governmental planning assigned to economic self-sufficiency and to isolation from outside interference is set forth in the words in which Huntington in his report justified the choice of site.

> In determining the bounds of the reservation, I sought primarily to secure a tract of country which had local advantages for supporting a colony of Indians by industrial pursuits. . . . A second object, and one scarcely less important, was to so locate the tribes that their separation from whites would be as nearly complete as possible. This reservation is not likely to be traversed by any important line of travel, and but a small portion of it will be coveted by whites for settlement.[63]

With slight amendments the treaty was signed once more in December, 1869, by the chiefs and headmen of the Indians, ratified by Congress, and signed into law and proclaimed February 17, 1870.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

PART II

[p.43]

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THE PERIOD OF AGENCY DOMINATION

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P.44]

*657 THE DESIGN OF THE GOVERNMENT IS TO SEGREGATE THE INDIANS
*648 upon lands set apart for them, separate them from the pernicious influences which association with whites entails upon them, and to cultivate the good, moral, and intellectual qualities they may possess. These ends are not attained by promiscuous intercourse of whites with them, by impregnating them with the frailties, vices and diseases of the "superior" race, but they are to be sought in cultivating industry, encouraging morality, and stimulating the acquisition of property. Your duty is to endeavor to make the Indian colony which is under your charge, strictly an *Indian* settlement, carefully guarding it against the contamination of white associations, and at the same time imparting to it so much of the intelligence, enterprise and stability of the Anglo Saxon Race as possible.[1]

—LETTER OF J. W. PERIT HUNTINGTON TO LINDSAY APPLEGATE[1]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

THREE

[P.45]

The Klamath Agency

THE TREATY BROUGHT TOGETHER TWO PEOPLES, INDIAN AND WHITE, 648*
in a program of directed change and marked a termination of
tribal autonomy. From records still available, it seems improbable
that the treaty commissioners made any attempt to place
before the Indians the weighted advantages and disadvantages
of the step being urged upon them.[1] They had been directed to
secure a treaty and they seem to have argued well its attractive
features. Within the Indian councils, the individuals best [623]
qualified to speak upon the matter were those who had been
attracted to white ways and thus had become most conversant
with them. The discussions, carried on through the medium of [191]
Chinook jargon, contained much that was not included in the
written treaty, but in the Indian view they were equally binding.

When the Indians passed under the governance of an Agent, 648*
they gradually found that their commitments brought unanticipated 657*
consequences. The new garment they had donned was
another man's suit, not cut to their proportions, and if it was
loose in some places, it pinched unexpectedly in others. The
system of roles they were asked to assume was in many ways
incommensurate with that they had known. They found themselves
subjected to constrains that often seemed harsh and uncomprising
and that were circumscribed by obscure administrative
rulings which seemed to have little bearing upon their
advancement.

Although there was some comfort in the knowledge that all were taking the step together, the new life yielded rewards to a somewhat different array of qualities and skills than had the old; and some persons surged forward while others lagged or held back. The relatively homogeneous society of native times, already somewhat diversified in the days of early contact, now

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increasingly gave way to one characterized by multiple, more specialized relationships. Those relationships gradually came to include whites, both on and off the reservation.

For well over a generation, the direction of change was guided by the Agency staff with relatively little interference from outside sources. True enough, early officials were highly sensitive to the intervention of private advisors. Wrote one,

> Indians, particularly those who have been permitted to roam at will, do not understand that society among the whites is graded, and that there are such vast differences between people of our color, and rather incline the ear and open the heart to those who are most familiar with them. Thus the labor of Indian Agents is generally augmented an hundred fold by the false representations of the low whites who usually swarm around Indian Reservations. A white man is still a white man with them whether he be king or brigand.[2]

Nonetheless, in the early days, the confinement of Indians to the reservation, the day-to-day contact of Agent and staff with important Indians, and the power to reward or punish gave officials a major advantage in directing the course of change. The Agency staff was, however, far more than a passive executor of policy: it formed a major intervening variable in the execution of government program. Hence a survey of the Klamath Agency over the ninety years of its existence will not prove amiss.

The surrogates of the new culture were a varied lot. Early Agents[3] ranged from pioneers to army officers, ministers, college professors, and politicians. They came from the Northeast, from the Midwest, and points between. Their staffs were likewise diverse in background. In the early days, the employees were single men, but Agent Leroy S. Dyar in 1872 instituted the practice of preferring men with families.

In point of tenure, it was the policy of the Bureau to rotate Agents frequently to preclude the development of a local bias. Moreover, the application of the spoils system and such special policy changes as the elimination of army officers from service and the entrusting of administration to the churches led to further disjunctions in personnel. Of twenty-eight Agents and Superintendents (counting temporary appointments), fully two-thirds held office for three years or less. This short a tour of duty scarcely enabled an official to become familiar with local conditions before he must shift to another post. At Klamath the effects 648* have been only partially mitigated by the circumstance that a 657* number of the individuals chosen had seen prior service at the Agency. The result, taken together with the domination of policy from distant Washington, has been an insensitivity to local conditions as they influence the accomplishment of Bureau policies.

The salaries offered by the Bureau, the remoteness of the region from the amenities of American life, and the nature of the task made it a frequent circumstance for the dedicated and the competent to rub shoulders with professional or psychological misfits ill equipped for their duties. In a period of reconstruction, political considerations and the claims of friendship were not infrequently heeded in the selection of Agency personnel. The meagerness of salary and the desire to have a smooth-running staff repeatedly resulted in the employment in various capacities of several members of a family, including that of the Agent. In the insularity of Agency life, frictions were often intensified. The combination of family relationship and authority was not always happy, particularly when a junior member of the Agent's family was subordinate to another. When an employee resigned or was replaced, his family usually left with him, producing a minor crisis in personnel.

The physical maintenance of the Agency was difficult. In 1870 a subagency was created at Yainax, on the eastern side of the reservation, forty miles from the Agency itself. Initially, it was designed for the maintenance of the Walpapi Snakes, but soon Schonchin's Modoc and Monchnkasgitk's Upland Klamath, together with the Yahuskin Snakes, were added. The separate staff that was required at Yainax was supported by an appropriation for "Shoshones and Bannocks and other tribes in Idaho and Southeast Oregon,"[4] while the Klamath Agency was operated with funds deriving from the Treaty of 1864.[5] Appropriations frequently were tardy and were often inadequate, especially in the early days, so that, for example, Dyar was forced to close the boarding school soon after it was opened,[6] and succeeded in having it reopened only after he wrote a letter to Senator John H. Mitchell of Oregon.[7]

A similar crisis arose in 1880, when the funds provided by the Treaty of 1864 were exhausted, and most of the employees were

*648 *657 to be released from service. As the Agent of that period, Linus M. Nickerson, summarized matters, his carpenter, wagon- and plowmaker, blacksmith, superintendent of farming, farmer, and sawyer lapsed, while the treaty provided for a five-year continuance of physician, miller, two teachers, and the materials for shops mills, and agency buildings.[8] The Bureau at this point assumed responsibility for continuance of some of the staff and thus resolved the crisis.[9]

*648 *657 871 Later exigencies led to further modifications of staff, until the superintendent of the Yainax boarding school became responsible, in effect, to the Agent for the entire administration of the upper end of the reservation; and the interpreter, doubling as blacksmith, oversaw the issuing of rations to Indian employees and the destitute, and supervised the working prisoners. As more men [166] [464] left the reservation in the eighties and nineties in search of employment, the labor force available for reservation maintenance dwindled, and the Agent had recourse to the older school boys as part of his work force. Since they were to spend half the day under the industrial teacher, a struggle for ascendancy over this functionary developed between Agent and school supervisor, a battle which more than once was marked by acerbity.

So complicated was the issue by the growing centralization of the management of reservation schools under a district superintendent of Indian schools in Washington, that Agent Joseph Emery had to be reassured: ". . . the Indian Agent is [the Office's] representative upon the Indian reservation . . . [and] it is my intention to properly support your authority in all legitimate cases."[10] Another circumstance was the location of the Klamath boarding school under the direct surveillance of the Agent. While his counterpart at Yainax controlled both school and subagency, the Superintendent of the Agency school chafed under the levies—and at times the direct interference—of the Agent. This was particularly true during the tenure of Emery, a former professor at the Agricultural College at Corvallis, who instituted a number of innovations in the school. That friction did not result solely from the play of exceptional personalities is shown by the circumstance that later Agents, E. L. Applegate and David W. Matthews, encountered similar trouble.[11]

[Klamath Reservation]

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The Lower End. You are looking south, over the Klamath Basin. Wood River loops in the foreground of the picture. There is a glimpse of the western edge of Agency Lake and the Cascades loom on the horizon. (Courtesy L. S. Cressman.)

The Upper End. This is a view of the eastern side of the reservation, taken from a vantage point near Beatty, looking east.

[P.48-A]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

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Native foods. The woman is hulling wokas with the two-horned muller. Both her winnowing tray and hat are twined from tules. Pond lily pods fill the pit in the background. (From Johnson, 1947.)

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The stick game, Klamath versus Paiute. The two men in the center, right, are arranging two sets of "bones" beneath the bandannas, while their side sings a power song. One of the opponents then must guess the arrangement. (From Hincks, 1915.)

[P. 48-B]

In the struggle to maintain personnel, Agents drew not only 648* on family relationships and appeals to congressmen. Dyar and 657* Nickerson were not beyond a "mistake" in interpreting regulations, if it was in good cause.[12] Similarly, when it became necessary to rid the administration of a troublemaker, a spate of damaging reports moved upward through channels.[13]

Another source of friction was that between church morality 648* and Agency administration. At one point this caused Agent E. L. 657* Applegate to cry—with a measure of histrionic license to be sure 797 —"Have the United Church in this State established the Inquisition over the Indian Service? Should it not interest Congress to know if our branch of the public service is to be rushed back in its methods to the 15th century?"[14]

The charges against David Matthews were brought through the annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to which the reservation had been entrusted under the Grant administration.[15] The same body was responsible for charges against Agent Marshall Petet that he had permitted the Indians to dance and hold horse races during Fourth of July celebrations.[16] Similarly, O. C. Applegate had to protest charges made by the then missionary; and Horace G. Wilson had to request the removal of two missionary families who had criticized him. The matter was further complicated for Wilson by the circumstance that the wife of one missionary, and the loudest voice against him, was his own field matron.[17]

This was the Agent's Scylla; his Charybdis were the settlers 648* who gradually percolated into the surrounding region. From 657* the time that Dyar inveighed against "a low class of white men living near the reservation who have been giving and selling liquor to the Indians,"[18] the isolation of the reservation was never more than relative. The recurrent need of the Indians to repair to the Lost River fishery each spring, their sales at Fort Klamath in the 1860's, and later their hand labor and freighting for adjacent settlers took them increasingly away from the Agency, though always under a pass system. Local discrimination against [464] "squaw men" and the stringent regulations governing Agency residents were in part responsible for the decision of those marrying Indian wives to live away from the reservation. Nonetheless,

*648 the neighboring settlers were in part made up of men with
*657 Indian wives, and in part, too, of former employees of the
[464] Agency.[19] They were not always respectful of the dignity of the
Agent and frequently challenged his authority. At times, as in
the strife of the 1880's with the stockmen on the eastern border of
the reservation, the clashes assumed an almost warlike character.

Despite these preoccupations and deterrents, work somehow
177 433 proceeded. Not all Indians wanted the progress, with all its cir-
*657 cumscriptions, that was gradually unfolded before them, and not
all who desired it were capable of achieving it. Nonetheless, the
lure of a farm and a herd of horses or cattle of one's own, to be
able to have a wagon and be a man of substance, to use the coffee,
sugar, salt, beef, flour, and baking soda that had become the new
necessities, to dress well: these opportunities, open only to a few
entrepreneurs in the old days of raid-and-trade, now became
available to any who would work hard and subject himself to
177 an alien discipline. It was just this regimen that whole genera-
*657 tions of children were subjected to in the schools. In the main,
871 the program in the early period was a success. The reasons why
its success was no more than qualified are set forth below.

*648 The tasks the government set itself were manifold. The Indians
*657 of independent tribes and bands were to be confined within a
177 reservation and there brought into a single polity. Within twenty
years they were to be transformed into self-sufficient farmers and
their feet set upon a road marked by the use of "citizens' dress,"
of modern homes, preferably situated on individual farms, by
ability to speak English and even to read and write in that medium,
and the abandonment of their own faith for Christianity.
Annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs carry a
statistical summary for all reservations of the state of "civilization"
of the Indians, couched in these and similar terms. Narrative
reports of the Agents dwell time and again upon the inculcation
of proper aspirations, extending at times even to the
minutiae of observance. "During the last two or three years,"
states Linus M. Nickerson (1884) with satisfaction, "I have not
[664] known a burial when the coffin has not been covered with a good
quality of black cloth or velvet and where the trimmings have
not been equally good."[20]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Although the objectives of the treaty program will be dis- 648*
cussed one by one, it should be borne in mind that they were 657*
sought concurrently and that success in one depended upon—and in turn influenced—the attainment of others. Underlying them all was the ability of the Agent to interest the Indians in supporting his plans. It is characteristic of those programs that the Indians were rarely consulted in their formulation, although some Agents habitually reviewed decisions with the leading men, and many sought their support in implementation.

FOUR

[P.52]

Clothing, Names, and Houses

*648 SOME OF THE OBJECTIVES SET FORTH BY GOVERNMENTAL POLICY
*657 called for programs of broad institutional transformation in
177 economy, political structure, and religion, and for only slightly less sweeping modifications in the family. Indian life was to assume the pattern of the rural, homesteading families of postbellum America. To judge by the wording of the treaty, a generation was deemed sufficient at least to launch the changes.[1] Meanwhile, the young were to be schooled to take up that new life—a life yet to be realized by their parents.

The dangers of increasing intergenerational frictions, of augmenting stresses between different segments of the tribesmen, were not directly faced. Among them, individuals responded to the opportunity according to their differing capacities and inclinations. Those who forged to the front in the early days of the reservation included a number of persons already familiar with life in the white settlements; and the Agency threw its weight behind them and cited their cumulative development as evidence of the wisdom of government policy. When so construed, however, their achievements created administrative expectations for their fellow tribesmen that proved unrealistic.

In enumerating the features that would be taken as indexes of progress in the statistical reports, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was doing no more than seeking common denominators of acculturation, readily observed and counted. At the same time, there was a temptation for local administrators to manipulate the
[291] markers and satisfy the indexes directly. Thus white clothing was
[342] issued directly as part of the annuities and houses were built for
[554] Indian leaders. To these practices, and toward such acts as the
[553] bestowal of new names, there was no organized opposition, and acceptance was rapid.

acceptance was rapid. They will serve as a simple introduction to 648* 657*
the programs as a whole and to some of the underlying factors. 177

Clothing and Names

An individual's acceptance of white clothing and names af- 177
fected only himself. Consequently, it waited less upon consensus 291
than did the assumption of a reservation political order, a change- 657*
over to farming, or even the decision to build a house in the new fashion. Moreover, both clothes and names, external manifestations of a new status, were supplementary to those already worn. Their addition to the stock already on hand did not at first require that native counterparts be discarded. The same eagerness shown toward Plains-type garments was now exhibited toward those new, prestigeful novelties: the blankets, trade cloth, and surplus military uniforms issued as part of the treaty annuities.

Although some of the first trade flannel was made into banners,[2] a monthly report of 1872 notes that it was being "cut into dresses for the old women and calico [is] purchased for lining."[3] A photograph of Dave Hill and Tecumseh, two Agency employees, taken in Washington in 1875,[4] shows them impeccably clad in the fashion of the day. It is unlikely that their garb could have been matched among the men on the reservation, yet the easy availability of men's clothing in the form of surplus uniforms gave men an advantage over their wives in the attainment of the new mode. For lack of suitable models, women's clothing lagged, but by 1877 the Agent could state, "The women try to imitate the fashion of dress, and many show a commendable neatness in their apparrel. They adorn themselves in many instances with native styles of ornament; but they generally couple with this cleanliness of person and dress; but all, both men and women, adopt and seem to prefer the American style of dress."[5]

Along with their easy acceptance of the new clothing, the 657*
Klamath also "readily" agreed to cut their hair.[6] This was a 177
significant step, for close-cropped hair was worn only by 602
mourners, and to wear the hair in this fashion at another time might bring on a bereavement. Here the example of the whites
may have provided encouragement for the step. Moreover, the 657*
whole sphere of funerary practices was undergoing change; some 177 764

*657 two years earlier, about 1868, Chief Lileks had induced his tribes-
177 men to abandon the practice of cremation in favor of the inhuma-
764 tion he had observed in trips to Jacksonville, Yreka, and The
*657 Dalles.[7] With burial came new symbols of mourning and, ap-
177 parently, a partial relinquishment of the association with crop-
765 ping the hair. A few conservative individuals, however, still
302 resorted to the practice over a half century later.

[778) Naming the Indians was a matter of administrative necessity.
*657 Officials, faced with the duty of identifying their charges, labored
177 under the task of reducing unfamiliar sounds and lengthy, in-
551 comprehensible names into writing. For the Klamath, the addi-
553 tion of another name posed no problem. It had been native practice to use age terms for the very young—"My name is *niskag* (young girl)," one woman recalls telling her teacher—and to employ relationship terms when addressing kinsmen and occasional names in referring to others. The occasional names, of which an individual might have more than one, were often far from complimentary. Thus the literal meaning of the name of the Upland chief, Monchnkasgitk, is "One-who-has-a-big-belly;" while that of the individual later known as Allen David was "Black Anus."

Many new names were assigned when annuities were issued or when children entered school.

> It became one of the functions of the interpreter and clerk [recounts Good] to rename the stalwart braves, who were highly delighted with such commonplace appellations as "Joe Wilson" and "George Brown." "This is your name," he would say, writing it on a card, "and if you forget what it is, ask anyone who can read, and he will tell you." The bestower of names was sometimes amused at the corruptions arising from the Indians' peculiar pronunciation, as when "John Wesley" became "Whistler" and one who went forth as "Simeon" returned as "Sammy Andy."[8]

It may be added that the soldiers at the Fort and the settlers were also responsible for such names as "Great Eastern," "Old Faithful," "Skinflint," and "Skedaddle."[9]

*657
HOUSING

177 A relatively greater effort was needed to induce the Indians
342 to abandon what Agent L. S. Dyar characterized as "their warm,

ill-ventilated, native houses,"[10] in favor of log and frame dwell- 657*
ings. The advantages of the new structures were not evident to 177
the Indians,[11] and the labor required to build them was consider- 342
able. A small sawmill was set up in 1870, but at first its output 657*
was diverted primarily to Agency buildings. Somehow, the lum- 177
ber even after that time did not seem to go for housing. 313

> The completion of a sawmill [declares the roseate prose of A. B. Meacham, superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon] has worked a great reformation, inspiring them to extraordinary exertion to amass property of various kinds. . . . They have donned the white man's costume, taken the ax, cross-cut saw, and hauled to the mill a half-million feet of timber, and today are lumber merchants with stock in trade constantly on hand, evincing shrewdness and business integrity that makes an agent's heart strong to work with and for them."[12]

The following year, 1872, Agent L. S. Dyar was at length able 657*
to report that "four good frame houses have been built for the 177
Indians, and two more [are] well under way."[13] They were built 342
for the leading men: for Chiloquin, Francis, Hunter Wilson, Henry Blow, "Sergeant" Morgan, the daughter of Lileks, and Link River Jack. On the Upper End, the commissary in charge of the subagency urged, "During the ensuing two or three months the houses promised Chiefs Barcley, Ben and Chocktoosh a year
ago should be built. . . ."[14] These houses were small, one-room [352]
frame structures, vulnerable to the winter cold, but furnished with a bed, table, and four chairs.

Among the Indian advocates of the new dwellings were such men as Dave Hill and later Jesse Kirk, who, as elderly Indians today recall, used to ride around among their people counseling, "You've got to quit the old ways, change your houses, live like white people." They met opposition. Chief Lilu declined to leave his earth lodge for the house the government had built for him. As late as 1891, Agent D. W. Matthews noted that there was still "an occasional wik-e-up, which some of the aged prefer."[15]

> An Agent [recounted an elderly Indian of this time] used to go around from place to place and told the Indians that they must make homes for themselves of rough lumber, and get away from the wikiup. I heard him tell my father. My father said, "All right, if I can get the lumber." An old carpenter helped my father make the rough house. He must have been educated be-

*657 342 177 cause he knew how to make the house and handle the saw and hammer. . . . I was glad because I could stay in a wood house and not a wikiup. Our rough house was wood all around and the roof was a regular roof. The roof was rough and tough. We had just one room. On one end of the house we had a stove. . . . [My mother] had a friend come over and help her cook on the stove. . . . We had tule mats in there because we couldn't get beds or other furniture. We had cracks all around. I was glad and rolled around on the mats. We didn't have two families in this home like in the wikiup. Just my family." [592]

As families began to cultivate individual farms, to fence their land, and to erect barns and other outbuildings, some homes began to approach in quality those of the white farmers in the surrounding region. And, as they did, the Indian houses came to reflect a widening span between persons in standard of living.

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[Klamath Reservation]

FIVE

[P.57]

Economy

AGRICULTURE

IT WAS FUNDAMENTAL TO OTHER PARTS OF THE PROGRAM OF planned change that the Indians cease to depend upon fishing, gathering, and hunting, and that they turn instead to farming. In this way and only in this way, the administration believed, could they be tied to the land within reach of Agency influence. The experience would teach them the virtues of industry, and they would become self-supporting. At first, it was acknowledged, they would have to eke out the produce of their farms with the yield of the native food quest and the rations that formed part of the treaty annuities. In time, the success of farming would render unnecessary those supplements. 657* 648* 433

With this plan before them, the early Agents fell to with a will. In 1866, when Lindsay Applegate established the Agency, 657* 177 241

> . . .the little party. . .did not waste much time in beginning operations in their settlement. Two cabins were built, fields fenced, and a large vegetable garden planted, in all of which the Indians assisted to the extent of their ability, without compensation and evidently in a holiday spirit. A field of about thirty acres of bald barley, wheat, and oats was enclosed by a temporary fence in a day or two. The operation of the breaking plow was watched with great interest, and Chief Mosenkoskit of the Sprague River band insisted upon handling it himself. Unaccustomed to this kind of exercise, it was all the powerful sachem could do to maintain his balance as the oxen dragged the swaying plow through the heavy sod, but he was thrilled with a vision of the power of the plow and all it might mean to his people, and expressed himself as eager for the time when such work might go forward in his own beautiful Sprague River country. The Chief's enthusiasm for the plow is typical of the attitude of the whole tribe, toward the white man's civilization. It may perhaps be truthfully said that this enthusiasm too often expressed itself in

> *657 a mere change of externals, yet the white man's ways as the red
> 177 man understood them were adopted with a rapidity unequalled
> 241 in most Indian tribes. . . .
>
> The vegetables grown that first year [corn, beans, turnips, carrots, peas, potatoes, artichokes, and onions][1] were a revelation and a delight to the Indians, who had previously lived so largely on small native roots. I have heard my father say that they were particularly captivated by beets which, with their red juice, they thought resembled "ittle-willy" [meat].[2]

In the effort to induce the Indians to cultivate their fields, the Agent seems to have enlisted the aid of the military. "I had about one-half acre broken for Blow," wrote Captain F. B. Sprague, "and he is at work like a white man, has it all fenced and cetera, & plants growing finally."[3]

The crops the first year were reported good, but subsequently
[133] they were killed by frosts or summer droughts. The elevation
[132] of the Klamath Plateau, some four thousand feet above sea level,
limits farming even today. Reports are studded with the phrases, "heavy frosts," "unprecedented heat," "unusually dry and frosty." Surveying the blighted fields, the early Agents redoubled their efforts. In 1869, Applegate reported that "the teachers . . . have been for a greater part of the time engaged on the farms, along with Indian boys receiving instruction in manual labor. . . ." R. B. Hatton, schoolteacher, stiffly pointed out that he "was instructed to labor on the farms . . ." and the tenor of his remarks suggests that in so doing he had been diverted from what he considered his proper function.[4]

*657 The following year, the new Agent, Captain O. C. Knapp,
*648 stated, "I again urge upon the Department the uselessness of
177 trying to make this an agricultural reservation. . . . The Indians
231 should be supplied with cattle and sheep, and they would soon
241 become self-sustaining."[5] His words were echoed by Agent L. S.
Dyar, in 1872: "These [crop] failures are very discouraging to the Indians as well as to the Agent, and demonstrate the necessity of paying more attention to the raising of cattle. . . ."[6]

*657 Nonetheless, from 1871 on, with the aid of the farmer, several
177 Indians cultivated little farms along the Williamson River and
241 the lake shore.[7] These in the following year amounted to some
twelve to fifteen individuals who "have small patches of land of a few acres each fenced, on which they have, with the help of

the employes, usually raised a little grain and a few vegetables."[8] 657*
Dyar viewed their efforts as praiseworthy, but unlikely of success. 177
"Although there is but little probability that the seed planted will 241
yield an abundant harvest," he observed, "yet I think it is better to gratify and encourage them by helping them all I can in their efforts at Agriculture as in doing so they are acquiring habits of industry and at the same time are preparing themselves to take care of the cattle which they now have and which I hope to see rapidly increase."[9]

Although Dyar continued to do everything in his power to 657*
advance stock raising, even converting the proceeds from the 648*
sale of hides into cattle for distribution to the Indians,[10] he still 241
lamented the impracticability of farming. "Were this a good 231
agricultural country," he remarked, "they would soon become 177
self-supporting and could they be induced to go to the Indian Territory it would be far better for them. As it is they must rely on stock and their old native food for subsistence."[11]

The hope for farming bloomed perennially. J. H. Roork, who 657*
succeeded Dyar, spoke of his ambition "to be successful in intro- 648*
ducing such grains [and hardy fruits] here as will yield a reason- 241
able compensation to labor."[12] Soon thereafter, his superiors 177
were sagely advising him, "Your account of the failure of your efforts to raise field or garden crops . . . suggests the expediency of turning your attention to stock raising. . . ."[13]

When Roork had admitted defeat in 1878, and Agent Linus Nickerson in 1885, the new administrator, Joseph Emery, a professor from the State Agricultural College, sallied into the fray. With a determination that scoffed at the experiences of his predecessors he announced,

> I have not been able to depress the mountains nor lower our altitude above the sea, yet I believe, from experiments made the present year in a number of localities, that agriculture can be made a comparative success on the Klamath Agency. For years the Indians had received no encouragement to till the soil, and the great scarcity of implements on the agency made it impossible to accomplish much this year in the way of agriculture.[14]

Wistfully he remarked,

> If I had the plows to loan, I could set more than 100 Indians to work this spring tilling the soil. . . .[15] Fifty or more Indians have procured a little grain, and these will sow this spring from 1 to

> *657 10 acres of land. I am commanded, to go among the Indians
> *648 with my farmer and direct them in plowing, sowing, planting,
> 241 etc, and see that they have the necessary tools and know how to
> 177 use them.

Vegetables, he thought, could be sold at Fort Klamath and Linkville; grain would always find a market at some price.[16] In order to heighten the incentives, Emery reported,

> I have found it necessary. . .to make temporary divisions of lands suited to Agriculture.
>
> During the Spring and Summer months, I laid off, assisted by Indian boys, about 50 farms, chaining boundary lines; the Indians greatly desired the work to be continued, each Indian agreed to fence and cultivate a portion of the land assigned to him.
>
> The plots laid off ranging from 30 to 120 acres—according to treaty stipulations."[17]

[625] The next year, however, he had recourse to the Indian police. "During the present Spring," he reported, "they have assisted in enforcing the general order that all able-bodied Indians will be required to do some work in Agriculture. I owe much to the police for the marked advance made this year in the lines of agriculture."[18] By these methods he soon had three quarters of the available adults helping, nearly every family seeding from 2 to 20 acres.[19] The following year he reported that "nine tenths of the Indians have been induced to engage in the work of agriculture,"[20] but the year after, with a record 2,400 acres sown, he was complaining about the "unprecedented heat"—and was moving on to greener pastures.[21] When he returned for another tour in 1896-97, however, he resumed the same program.

[829] Lindsay Applegate had remarked, some thirty years earlier, that the Indians "look upon the whites as superior beings. . . ."[22] It must have been difficult, even with the best will, to maintain that estimate in the face of administrative obstinacy of this order.

STOCK RAISING

*657 Meanwhile, with the discovery that the upper valley of the
231 Sprague provided satisfactory condition for winter range, stock
177 raising had gradually come to the fore. In prereservation days,
horses had constituted an important form of wealth, and cattle
were now accepted into the pecuniary system. By 1879, Agent

Linus Nickerson, who had formerly been superintendent of farming, reported some two thousand head of cattle upon the reservation. Including the Agency herd, the average was something less than two head of cattle per tribal member. He added, "Some of the Indians are already raising beef cattle for the market. With the income they are able to supply their families with flour, sugar, coffee, etc." He claimed ten times that number could be carried by the reservation, a total that could be attained in five years, after which the tribe would become entirely self-supporting.[23] A severe winterkill next year, which destroyed seventy-five per cent of the cattle and forty per cent of the horses staggered his hopes.[24] 657* 231 177

Despite such checks, however, the stock-raising program slowly recovered. With issues of yearlings (300 head in 1881)[25] and with natural increase, the herds grew. As they did, the farming program turned increasingly toward producing the hay needed for winter feed. Even blighted grain could be salvaged as hay. By 1883, Nickerson could report, "several large ranches,"[26] and that year instituted the practice of buying Agency beef from the Indians. Buyers from San Francisco were at Yainax, he reported, and were offering $40.00 a head for the fifty fine animals on sale there.[27] Under the impetus of this demand, Nickerson reported, "a considerable number of enterprising Indian families are moving to [Yainax] and taking up fencing stock ranches. In two or three years, about one half of the population on the reservation will have settled there."[28] [439]

By 1886, Agent Emery reported 1,485 head of cattle, 3,640 head of horses, 340 "half-breeds" (mules) and 195 hogs. The value set by the Indians on horses, together with a higher survival rate, led to an increase in ponies which was economically undesirable and Emery counseled the Indians to sell their ponies and buy cattle.[29] The quality of stock was a recurrent concern, and later Agents took steps to improve the breeds.

LOGGING

From the first, the Klamath demonstrated an eagerness to turn new opportunities to advantage, coupled with an independence that sometimes strained administrative patience. When the sawmill was completed in 1870, they promptly began to haul 657* 177 313

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*657 sawlogs in wagons issued to the head chief for this purpose.[30]
177 The lumber was earmarked for constructing Indian dwellings,
313 with twenty per cent (at least in later times) set aside as a milling
fee. In 1871, the Agent, requiring lumber to complete the grist mill, proposed to buy sawlogs from the Indians, the money to be invested in livestock, to be their individual property but to be kept in the Agency herd. "Probably one half of the logs," he added, "belong to the chief and I want him to lead off in buying stock instead of spending thier [sic] money."[31]

*657 By 1873, Dyar reported the Klamath were selling lumber to
177 Fort Klamath and other parties.[32] This trade soon became lucra-
313 tive, and when the elimination of employee subsistence allowance
439 threatened to bring on the miller's resignation, the Indians de-
cided to pay him the extra amount themselves.[33]

*657 Two years later, however, the Commissioner called Dyar's
*648 attention to a Supreme Court ruling of 1873, which held that
177 timber, like the land it grew upon, remained in trust status. Trees
313 cut incidental to the clearing of the land might be sold; but if
439 cut for sale the timber became the property of the United
States.[34] From time to time, Agents encountered this ruling anew. Thus E. M. Marble, Acting Commissioner, pointed out in 1881 that, while Indians might hire out to cut timber, they had no property claim in the reservation stands.[35] The Indians then proposed to cut and sell dead and fallen timber, which was permitted. However, they also felled green timber and then requested permission to raft it down and sell it at a sawmill near Linkville.[36] Under the double guise of felling sawlogs for housing and cutting dead and fallen timber, a considerable illicit traffic went on with outside parties. Indians would resort to such devices as buying supplies from whites who wanted lumber and then proposing to pay the bill with lumber. The whites involved included one who had been carpenter at the Agency, but all stoutly avowed they did not know it was contrary to law. The Indians engaged in the venture numbered some of the most enterprising men, including at least three chiefs.[37] With the rise of towns around the reservation, the demand grew until in 1896 the sale of lumber to whites was estimated to exceed a quarter-million board feet, three-fourths of it cut from green timber.[38]

For the Klamath, their operations in the timber market were

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more than an exercise in resourcefulness and industry: they 698*
provided experience and allies in evading what must have 177
seemed a senseless legal prohibition. 313
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EMPLOYMENT

Other employment supplied the Indians with cash to purchase 657*
items for which they were acquiring a taste. At the Agency, 177
Lindsay Applegate took the lead by hiring laborers for rations 464
of shorts (flour),[39] and from that time on Indians filled a variety 465
of subordinate offices, on the farm and roads, as interpreters,
police, artisans and, later, in the schools.

Early in the history of the reservation, they began to work off the reservation for outside parties, John Meacham, following the directions of his brother, the superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon, stipulated that the Klamath were to work four days on the reservation roads before expecting a pass to leave the reservation.[40] By 1877, Dyar was reporting that "the Indians make rails, chop wood off the reservation for citizens, some thirty or forty having been thus engaged."[41] They were soon drawn into haying and other harvest activities.

Among those who befriended them was "Sikes Worden, Post Trader at the Post, who kindly refuses to employ any but Indians for work which they can do. He will thus reimburse the Indian wood choppers, hay makers, etc. from a thousand to twelve hundred dollars per year."[42] According to figures given elsewhere, a woodcutter might receive $45.00 to $60.00 for thirty to forty cords of wood, while summer haying and harvest work might bring between $50.00 and $200.00 apiece.[43] By 1888, fully one hundred Indians were working as summer farmhands.[44]

FREIGHTING

Freighting was another major enterprise for the Indians. When 657*
Huntington had brought the first annuity goods down from The 177
Dalles in the fall of 1867, young O. C. Applegate had led his 489
"ax and rifle company," whose number included seven chiefs,
to meet it.[45] Several years later, when they had accumulated [439]
money from odd work, the Klamath made their way down to
Jacksonville and Ashland, some one hundred miles distant, and
bought flour at a little over one-third the price it would cost at

*657 177 the Agency, packing it home on ponies. Some brought back as much as two thousand to three thousand pounds.[46]

489 [439] This feat convinced Dyar of the practicability of hiring the Indians to pack the annuity wheat from the Rogue River Valley for grinding into flour at the Agency grist mill.[47] In 1875, accompanied by two employees, they transported 100,000 pounds of flour from Ashland at a considerable saving "beside the experience acquired . . . and the confidence given them in their ability to accomplish what they undertake.[48] Under Dyar's urging and their own needs they requested that their annuities be changed from the " 'little things' (tenas ictas) as they term the blankets, clothing, etc. which they have heretofore recd." to mules and cattle. "The mule," observed Dyar, "is particularly adapted to the ways and use of the Indians in their efforts at farming, teaming, etc. . . ."[49] Two years later, encouraged by such instances, the Bureau instituted the general policy of employing Indians to haul Agency supplies.[50]

By 1881, the autumn trip to buy supplies in the Rogue River Valley drew the heads of some one hundred fifty families with an average of forty dollars each to spend.[51] In his report for the following year, Nickerson quoted a notice from the *Ashland Tidings* of October 27, 1882:

> *Indian traders*—About forty wagons, almost every one drawn by four horses, were brought to town by Indians from the Klamath Reservation after flour and other provisions last Tuesday. They filled the streets completely, and made a lively scene, until they moved on to their camping ground near the Eagle Mills. Nearly all the Indians had good harness and wagons, and dressed well. They are improving every year.[52]

With the acquisition of wagons and harness, the Indians began to take freighting jobs for the military at Fort Klamath and private parties at the growing town of Linkville. Twenty teams [434] freighting during the month of August, 1889, earned approximately fifty dollars apiece.[53] The total income from this source five years before had been $5,500.[54]

OTHER VENTURES

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Indians now set their hands to other, lesser pursuits. In 1873, Dyar reported that "A few with no help but instructions from

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employees built a substantial bridge about 100 yards in length 657*
across the Williamson River, on which they propose to collect 177
toll. This will support several families."[55] Nothing more is heard 434
of the venture and subsequent work on bridges and roads took on [499]
a public character. A few women occasionally sold baskets and [494]
berries, and older Indians, generally women, were sometimes [462]
issued cinch rings and wove cinches as a means of support.[56]

Fur trapping provided an early source of income for some 657*
men.[57] At first, beaver, marten, and otter were especially sought, 177
and the available catch soon became depleted. By 1882, the 434
Klamath were turning to panther, bear, wolf, and coyote, preda- 224
tors which Nickerson claimed discouraged them from raising sheep. "The Indians," he reported, "now hunt them for their fur and receive quite an income from hunting and killing them."[58] Carried on over the late fall and winter months, the fur trade realized a total of $300.00 for those who followed it.[59] By 1891, however, the revenue from trapping was on the decline.[60]

NATIVE FOODS

In the original designs of the government, farming and other 657*
"civilized" enterprises were supposed to supplant such ab- 648*
original pursuits as fishing, hunting, and gathering. From the 433
Agent's viewpoint, the retention of native subsistence methods presented two major disadvantages. Not only did the traditional occupations coincide in season with farming, but they drew the Indians from under the direct surveillance of the Agency, and even off the reservation. The issuance of rations, though designed to provide a substitute during the transitional period, was restricted as much as possible, in order to allow more funds for other purposes.

It is clear from the graphic descriptions of the early Agents 657*
that they were well aware of the Indians' strong reliance upon 648*
native foods. The fish in Lost River, observed Dyar, ran from 433
two to four weeks earlier than in the streams within the reserve. 226
By late winter even the supplies of rations had been exhausted, and the Klamath eagerly awaited the news from the south. "If the Indians are not allowed to go to Lost River in the Spring," O. C. Applegate had pointed out, "then they will have to be subsisted during the month of March."[61] The Lost River fishery 657*
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*657 continued to be exploited for fifty years, until the owners of the
177 abutting land put an end to it. On the reservation, the Sprague
226 and Williamson continue to supply a catch, although the drying
[251] of fish for the winter, common enough on the Lower End until
about thirty years ago, has now passed into disuse.

*657 Similarly root gathering continued to be an important activity
178 for many years, leading Nickerson to suggest that several of the
177 palatable and nourishing roots used by the Indians for food
222 "could be materially improved by continued cultivation."[62] "Root
[412] probes," or "camas diggers," as well as "fish spears" and fish
[227] hooks were forged by Agency blacksmiths for years.[63]

Wokas long remained a staple for the Klamath. In 1881 Nicker-
*657 son, noting that each family gathered some five to fifteen bushels,
178 added "this wokus, with dried fish, forms a large portion of the
222 food of those who have not the money with which to purchase
262 flour and groceries."[64] About the turn of the century, Coville observed a thriving wokas-gathering industry with a vast expanse of marsh to exploit, and speculated on the possibility of processing the seed commercially as a breakfast food.[65] The decline of wokas gathering parallels in time the Indian's diminishing use of dried fish, another winter food.

*657 A similar course can be traced for those fall activities, hunting
177 and berrying. From at least 1872, Indians were reported leaving
178 the reservation in September to hunt and gather berries in the
222 Cascades.[66] In addition, the men on occasion went on a spring
224 hunt for antelope and mule deer at the north end of the reservation.[67] Gradually the fall berrying and hunting came to be concentrated at the "huckleberry patch" on Huckleberry Mountain, southwest of Crater Lake. Hunting has continued to be both a sport and a means of providing food; and if the preparation of jerky has declined, it is because the freezer has displaced it.
[251] The drying of berries and wild fruits has been rendered obsolete
by canning. There is local testimony that the killing off of predators by fur hunters and stock raisers has caused an increase of deer upon the reservation itself. It is not infrequent for a single family to consume six to fifteen or more deer in the course of a year. One tribal leader from the Upper End, a man then less than forty years of age, remarked in 1958 that until his family

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moved to Klamath Falls when he was nine years old, he had eaten only venison and had never tasted beef.

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In their continued loyalty to traditional foods, the Klamath were responsive to several advantages beyond—but including—appeal to the palate. The techniques involved in securing them were relatively simple and familiar, imposing few demands upon the individual for capital investment in tools and labor, required little in regularity of routine, and involved the cooperation of only small groups. Participation was direct, self-controlled, and provided an immediate reward.

Consequently, the issues of beef and flour were assimilated in use to native staple foods, rather than replacing them entirely. Flour was given the name that also denoted a meal made from ground seeds and cattail roots. It must be borne in mind that the rations were issued at times when other foods were largely exhausted, and probably because of this certain anomalies were introduced. Since the issues were public and general, there was no need, as there had been formerly, to conceal foodstuffs from neighbors. Thus, bread and biscuits were the first foods to be baked in the coals of the house fire, rather than in a special outside cooking hut; and, perhaps because of the method of issue, the food was shared by household, rather than by an individual family.[68] The practice of eating while the food lasted strained Agency resources: the Commissary at Yainax estimated that an Indian could easily dispose daily of two pounds each of beef and flour.[69]

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The example provided by white cooking, the use of salt, sugar, and baking soda, as well as new foodstuffs, together with the general acquisition of such utensils as the kettle, coffeepot, and spider, extended the variety of culinary techniques and even enhanced the preparation of native dishes. One woman recalls the ease with which one could hull wokas with a coffee grinder; and when a kinsman borrowed that useful instrument, she used her wokas mulling stones to grind coffee beans. Through it all, native foods continued to be favored, and the observation that "the Indian [school] children are very fond of fish" is nearly as true today as it was in 1893.[70]

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An analysis of the statistical and narrative reports of the

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Agents shows that they consistently tended to undervalue the contribution made by native foods to the Klamath economy. From the first statistical entry in 1882, when they are estimated to contribute forty per cent of the food supply, native foods steadily decline in the records, leveling off from 1888 to 1893 at approximately twenty per cent, and, after a spirited fluctuation from then to 1901, rising slowly to ten per cent in 1904. That dependency upon these foods declined from total to partial reliance is admissible. O. C. Applegate, while Superintendent, reported that by the turn of the century some of the food resources had begun to dwindle under intensive use. He found the fish less abundant than in the halcyon days of the first Agent, and observed that both water fowl and prairie chickens had been overhunted.[71]

While conceding the decline, a critic may well find fault with the bland assessment of Elisha Applegate a decade earlier (1891) that native food quests were then "indulged in more as incidents and to add variety of life than as occupations to be seriously depended upon."[72] The year after Applegate made his report, one graduate of the Indian school, upon returning home, saw things in a different light. "Whenever I got job, I pitched hay. I did fishing and hunting, and I had plenty to eat all the time . . . lots of deer meat, and I used to pick wokas too."[73] If this was an indulgence, it was in sheer survival.

The sources of error are not hard to find. Administrators could form only the most general opinion of the contributions made by native foods, and must have tended to judge from the examples provided by Indian employees immediately at hand and from the more acculturated Indians. Moreover, their reports were in part designed to illustrate the progress which their charges had made away from their former customs. Accordingly, they understated the degree to which native economic activities conditioned the acceptance of new modes of earning a livelihood and supplemented those which had been taken up.

*657 177 178 221 433 [313] [464] [489]

Consider, by way of example, the pursuits which in the 1880's could be combined according to taste, need, and season.

Lumbering and logging were winter and spring enterprises, with intermittent logging taking place in the fall. Labor for the contractor at the Fort and for settlers ran from spring through

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fall; while freighting, limited by road conditions, had the same 177 178
range of seasons. 221

For the farmer, splitting rails and fencing started in the winter 433
and ranged toward spring, as did the clearing of ground. Plow- [464]
ing and sowing of grain might start in March, while vegetable [489]
gardens were not planted before May or June. Harvesting and [241]
haying took place in late summer and threshing in the fall.

The stockman rounded up and branded his cattle at first in the [231]
fall and later in the spring. He sold his beef in the fall, then
drove his herd to winter in the upper valley of the Sprague.

Those who relied upon aboriginal foods fished in the late
winter and early spring, dug roots or hunted antelope and mule
deer in late spring, gathered wokas, wild fruits and berries in
the fall, hunted in the Cascades in the fall, and trapped for furs
in the winter. 657*

Beyond this lay the domestic cycle. Homes were built or re- 221
paired in the spring and fall, supplies were bought in the fall, 342
and fuel was gathered in the fall and winter. 356

This summary, bald as it is, will illustrate the fact that many 313
more ventures were now open to the enterprising, as well as a 657*
wider range of relationships. It was possible to draw from 433
several cycles activities that were seasonally compatible. Thus, 464
when the harvests were in, fully one-half to two-thirds of the 177
men might leave the reservation on passes to work for whites, 178
taking their families with them.[74] Frequent crop failures drove
many to seek outside employment to provide for the coming
winter. Because new tastes had given rise to new needs, many
at this time forsook those traditional pursuits that conflicted with
more lucrative employment. Nor did money alone lie at the root
of those preferences. Work for white settlers and freighting
provided variety and seasonal mobility, opportunities to meet
people, to change scenery, and to escape on occasion beyond
the rule (however benevolent in intent) of the Agent.

The new opportunities were open primarily to men, consonant 657*
with the roles of the sexes in nineteenth-century rural America. 433
For them the new system, aside from a certain administrative 177
favoritism, provided an equal chance for advancement. It is no 178
accident that a number of the earliest employees of the Agency [567]
were Pit River Indians, of whom it was later said: ". . . as a

*657 general thing, they are quite prosperous, and energetic, having
433 learned how to work well as slaves for the Klamaths."[75] One of
177 them, the Indian named Skedaddle, formerly the slave of Chief
178 Lilu, was first employed as farm laborer by the Agency.[76] During
567 the Modoc War he enlisted under the name Henry Jackson. In 1883, he reappears as an interpreter at Yainax, in which office he cut hay and cared for the Agency herd as well as butchering the beef cattle.[77] Subsequently, he contracted with white ranchers to split rails, taking half his pay in cash, half in cattle, eventually amassing a sizable herd, which multiplied until it amounted to some eight hundred head of cattle and five hundred head of horses and mules.[78]

ANNUITIES

*657 It was Agency policy to develop the quality of industry and
*648 to ensure the growth of individual enterprise. From this standpoint, the annuity system, in providing rations, was a device to surmount agricultural failures, to carry the Indians through the winter, and to keep them settled quietly upon the reservation. At the same time, there was a danger, of which the Agents were soon aware, that such issues would sap the self-reliance of their charges. As early as 1865 when Lindsay Applegate took over their supervision, he found that, though the Klamath and Yahuskin were well enough supplied with native foods to sustain them through the winter, it was necessary to quiet "their loud clamorings for flour." Accordingly he "made some moderate issues to the chiefs and, through them, to some of their subjects who seemed rather needy." The issue, it would seem, was sought as a right and as an exemplification of the good faith of the government, for he adds, "I became convinced at this time of a growing disaffection among the Indians, on account of the tardiness of the government in fulfilling treaty stipulations."[79]

Discontent was compounded by the suspicion, possibly inspired by unofficial advisors among the whites, that inferior goods were being palmed off in the annuities.

> I was approached today [recounted Captain Sprague to Applegate in 1867] by a Sub-Chief who requested me in the name of all Sub Chiefs to be present at the distribution, and in case the goods distributed were not of good quality and deficient in quantity to note the fact and represent to the authorities at

> Washington their greivencies [sic]. This request does not amount to a threat but shows a predisposition to be dissatisfied, whatever the quality or quantity of the goods may be. The Sub Chief in question was Blow."[80]

Dyar set forth his policies thus: "Annuity goods and articles of subsistence are given out in the winter season, as they are needed, and when it is impossible for them to labor to any advantage. It is impracticable to ask them to work for it in summer months.

"These Indians," he added, "look upon the annuities which they receive as being their just dues for the country which they sold to the Govt. when they made the treaty. . . ."[81]

Nothing so well illustrates the distance separating the treaty Indians from those same Indians as reservation wards as does the Commissioner's reply. "As to your statement that any help to an Indian should be gratuitous," he said in part, "I must quite decidedly differ from your judgment. A gratuity to an Indian is in itself a damage, and the Government has no right to damage its wards."

Commenting then on the Indian view of the annuity as a due, Commissioner Smith held that it "is not in point because Congress as guardian of the Indians has taken the responsibility of treating Indians according to their best interests; in other words to expend what money is appropriated for them, either under treaty provision or otherwise, in a manner that will tend most surely to their welfare."

And he ended, "Any Indian who has the opportunity to work, and has not labored, and shows no disposition to labor, cannot receive annuities."[82]

The following year, the Indians were cited by Dyar as having requested "of their own free will" the substitution of work mules, wagons, harness, and mowing machines for the blankets, clothing, and food of the annuity issue.[83] The last annuities were paid in 1880.[84] Thereafter, rations seem to have been issued only occasionally to support the aged, the decrepit, and the ill. In 1888 and again in 1898 the proportion of rations in the total economy suddenly increased to twenty per cent as food was issued to subsist the Paiute on the Upper End whose crops had failed.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*657 Control over the issuance of needed and desired goods placed *648 the Agents in a powerful position. Huntington used rations to induce the treaty Indians to remain at Fort Klamath during the winter.[85] Rations were once more a factor in 1870 when the Modoc, who had been induced to come onto the reservation, left again when rations were suspended. Captain O. C. Knapp, in lame justification for his act, stated: "that they did not intend to stay after I stopped issuing rations is well known. . . ."[86] Similarly, rations were used to persuade wandering Paiute to return to the reservation. The use of other issues as rewards to employees and leaders is examined below.

There remains to be discussed the early advocacy of individual [472] as against collective ownership and enterprise. In the development of private farms and herds, of the freighting and labor enterprises—indeed, in the very entry into a cash economy—the Indians were gaining competency as individual entrepreneurs. Their [439] attitude is well exemplified in a letter of Dyar advocating the [434] abolishment of Fort Klamath, in which he stated that the Indians, on their part, favored the continued presence of the troops "because it makes a market for many of their little articles of manufacture, and gives them an opportunity to earn money by doing various little jobs of work. . . ."[87]

Of the business acumen of his charges, Nickerson remarked: "for quite a number of years, they have made their own bargains, collected their own debts, and expended their own money. This they have done judiciously and economically. They seldom, if ever, purchase anything useless or trifling.

"Such has been their progress and success in the management of their own finances, that they have become proverbially sharp in buying and selling."[88] The Acting Commissioner, impressed, instructed him, "If as you state, your Indians are perfectly competent to dispose of their crops or other articles produced by them, and to purchase their supplies, the same liberty of action should be allowed them that is enjoyed by whites under similar circumstances."[89]

Where items were to be shared, however, some system of allocation had to be devised. On one occasion, Nickerson issued nails, not on a pro rata basis as originally instructed, but on the basis of actual need, a plan which, he reported, the chiefs pre-

ferred.[90] At another time, he seems to have proposed issuing 657*
seven mowing machines and four sulky rakes to leading and 648*
competent Indians, but was firmly instructed by the Commissioner, "as these articles are intended for the use of all, it is not considered advisable to allow individuals to have the entire control of them." He was instructed instead to loan them out.[91]

"As these Indians become more civilized," observed Nickerson, "their demands upon the mechanics become more frequent and pressing."[92] Indeed, he had to advise the Commissioner against the policy of issuing condemned articles to the Indians since "they will bring them to the shops and demand that they be repaired."[93] It is plain that the frequent call, as a matter of due right, upon the services of Agency personnel lay at the bottom of Nickerson's desire to decentralize equipment by issue through the chiefs. To counter these demands, he had Indians trained to operate the mowing machines, sulky rakes, and other agricultural equipment. When Indian farmers desired to use a machine, the operator was to be paid for his labor and the use of his team. Nickerson added, "I have notified those Indians who are able to do so that next year they will be required to purchase their own machinery for haying purposes. Some of them are already laying aside money for that purpose."[94] Emery instituted a similar program whereby individuals paid an Indian workman for repairs made in the shop on their wagons.[95]

The ownership of a wagon required considerable outlay, more [422]
than some persons could muster. Hence, as Emery noted, wagons,
plows, and other implements, as well as cattle and horses, often were held in common by two or three Indians.[96]

With their introduction to an economy in which money served [177]
as a mediator in relationships there are indications that the [178]
Indians began to develop the view that all positions advocated [434]
by the Agency must carry remuneration. Nickerson, reviewing possible candidates for Indian judge, found himself obliged to state, "Those persons with most financial ability are least disposed to serve without compensation and generally least well qualified for such service."[97] New forms of wealth had come in, new desires, new needs, and native society was transformed in the effort to attain them.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

SIX

[P. 74]

Political Changes

K
*648 UNDER THE TREATY OF 1864, THREE INDIAN GROUPS, DIFFERING IN
*657 size and degree of internal cohesion, were brought together to
619 form a single polity. The Klamath, under Lileks and Chiloquin,
622 had achieved some measure of chiefly centralization in the decades immediately preceding the treaty, but band cleavages were still very real. Principal among these was that which separated the Upland Klamath of Monchnkasgitk from the Lakeside tribelets. The Yahuskin Snakes at that time seem to have been closely linked to the Upland band, and in early reservation times were numbered among the adherents of its chief.

M
The Modoc not only showed a lesser degree of political inte-
643 gration than did the Klamath but were disputing over the nomi-
648 nal office of head chief. The position of the aging Schonchin
657 was precarious; for Steele in 1864, after treating with him as representative for his tribe, had presided over the election which was widely construed as providing a successor. In the treaty with Huntington, Schonchin was again treated as head man,[1] but less than a year later it was reported that "the Modoc Indians are very much dissatisfied and have deposed their head chief who signed the treaty of friendship with the Whites, because of his doings in the premises." The officer relaying the information to Huntington at the same time offered the support of the army "to sustain the chief and bring the Indians to terms by force."[2] The revolt was short-lived, nor, judging by Schonchin's later actions, is it probable that the military were needed. He and his followers came on the reservation for the first distribution of annuities in 1867, but Captain Jack and John Schonchin, together with their adherents, remained in their homeland in the Tule Basin, which they understood to have been reserved to them in the treaty with Steele.[3]

657* 648* By the terms of the treaty concluded with Huntington, the United States had established the right to bring other tribes not signatory upon the reservation. This clause was invoked in 1865, when a treaty was concluded with Panaina, elusive chief of the Walpapi Snakes, who had withdrawn from participation in the original treaty. Place was accordingly made for him on the Upper End in Monchnkasgitk's territory,[4] where he and his followers remained until the following spring, when they left, apparently upon the summons of the hostile Snake chief, Howlark.[5] Soon the Walpapi returned, with an attack—vigorously repulsed—upon Schonchin's band, then summering in the Sprague River Valley.

[726] The fear of raids drove the Uplanders in to take up residence at the council ground near the Agency. In the hostilities that followed, Fort Klamath served as a base of military operations and a small body of Klamath under subchief Henry Blow functioned as scouts. At the end of the war, when peace had been restored and the arrival of annuities attested the good faith of the government, Schonchin and his followers came upon the Lower End and located near Modoc Point, adjacent to their former neighbors, the Klamath Falls tribelet.

657* 648* 622 Thrust together, bands, tribes, and their leaders attempted to adjust their political balance. In the first days, before the Agent moved upon the reservation, his major contact with his charges was through the military at Fort Klamath. Drawing upon the enhanced prestige of government backing and in the absence of the Agent, Lileks grew imperious. Applegate found it necessary to write Major Rinehart in 1865:

> I learned after seeing you that LaLakes had in his prison house on Williams' [sic] River on the day of our conference with 'Taunina' several Indians bound hand and foot for unruley and disorderly conduct, and I should be happy if you would inquire into the matter and see that indians thus confined are not inhumanly treated.
>
> Lalakes [he continued] seems to have commended a policy rather more regal than usual for him, and has constructed a "guardhouse" in which to bring his subjects to a better state of discipline, and I believe the plan a good one unless carried to an extreme.[6]

Within less than a year, Lileks had fallen ill. Feeling that his

*657 time had come, he summoned his people "to receive his solemn
*648 admonishments err [sic] his spirit take flight." Soon recovering,
622 he voiced to the Agency farmer, S. D. Whitemore, the suspicion
that the shaman who had cured him, and whose professional
charges had stripped him of all his effects, had been in league
with the subchiefs to bring about his death; and he requested
that the shaman be imprisoned by the military. Later events
made it clear that Monchnkasgitk had been a leader in the
conspiracy, plotting to take the place of the old chief. Thereupon,
Whitemore, then in charge of the Agency, called a council, at
which he "stated that it will be highly necessary to consult their,
and the government agent, or the change could not be regonized
[sic]. . . . I learned that after a lengthy consultation with the
indians has [sic] become impressed with the belief that Mosen
Kasket and his band have no hostile intentions."[7]

[558] With Agency backing, Lileks once more was restored to a
position of relative authority, but his recourse to outside support
caused his personal prestige to decline. He thus had to resort
increasingly to formal instruments to bolster his power and to
implement the changes he sought. When one Spokane Ike slew
[682] his child in Jacksonville, Lileks asked that the Agent order all
Indians back upon the reservation. Spokane Ike was tried by the
Indian court, Lileks presiding, and was fined fifty dollars.

[692] Lileks took readily to the court, and Whitemore reported, "The
indians are holding court dayly [sic]. I am not informed of the
nature of their cases." O. C. Applegate described one session
thus: "A few days ago the Grand Court of Klamath set, Chief
LaLakes presiding, and many men were convicted of many
[681] crimes. One in particular had stolen a number of women, 20
mink skins and otherwise trampeled [sic] on the rights of his
people, he now wears shackles and a heavy log chain and chops
wood for La Lakes."[8]

*648 The head chief was by no means an advocate of indiscriminate
*657 change. He favored inhumation of the dead, which he had
622 witnessed among the whites in his travels to Jacksonville, Yreka,
177 and The Dalles, over the native practice of cremation; and about
[764] 1868 he secured its adoption.[9] On the other hand, when the
[567] proposal was made in 1865 to liberate the slaves, Lileks was
prominent in voicing his displeasure, undoubtedly backed by

other chiefs who were the principal slaveholders. "The Indians," 648*
reported Lindsay Applegate, "have declared that if such was to 657*
be the case, they would kill all of the Pitt River Indians among 622
them or run them off to other places to trade for horses."[10] Perhaps 177
in deference to that feeling, the slaves were not liberated 567
until 1869, after Lileks had been deposed.

Within the reservation polity, the ailing and senile Lileks 657*
proved increasingly difficult to control. Growing autocratic 648*
toward his followers, he stubbornly opposed Agency policy. 622
Meanwhile, Monchnkasgitk, sensing his weakness, was waxing troublesome in a new bid for power. Early in 1868, Whitemore reported that the Klamath were venting a "more turbulent spirit one with another," and that they were flourishing arms and axes upon one another. Lileks now openly admitted that he could no longer control them.[11]

Meanwhile, the administration had progressively lost confidence in the turbulent chiefs and came instead to rely upon younger men such as Allen David, Henry Blow, Dave Hill, and Charley Preston, who combined a warlike record sufficient to give them standing in Klamath eyes with a dependable advocacy of white ways. These were men with whom young Oliver Applegate found strong mutual ties. When Lileks lost sway over the Klamath, it seemed natural to Applegate to move while he was temporarily in charge of the Agency to depose him.

The manner in which he did so is illustrative of the direct intervention by which the adminstration subsequently shaped political affairs. Applegate's own notation is sufficiently succinct.

> A few days ago [he wrote his brother in the spring of 1869] I had a great Council with the indians and tried some chiefs for various offences. Two of them (La Lakes & Moshenkosket) finding themselves about to be impeached, resigned. A grand Convention was held and candidates nominated for President. The campaign is now fairly open with Allen David & Blow in nomination.[12]

The matter as he later recalled it in greater detail was something more than the convention he deemed it:

> The younger Captain Applegate [narrated his daughter] took charge of the affair and called a meeting of the Indians at Kowasta in the early summer of 1868 [sic]. Here, seated on the

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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> *657 *648 622 top rail of a fence, facing the redskins assembled in the meadow before him, flanked by a group of young and energetic Indians who were his sworn friends and allies, he dispensed summary justice to the most notorious recent offender. . . . He then proceded [sic] to explain, through a Klamath interpreter, that the old chief, though entitled to all honor and respect for his years of valuable service, had ceased to be an effective officer and should be replaced by a younger and more active man. The new day had arrived, he said, when the Indians were adopting the white man's ways of life, and chief among these was the white man's law, which demanded that justice should be done and order maintained without fear or favor, and which provided for such justice and order by the election of officers who were chosen for their capabilities in performing these duties. He suggested that another meeting be held a week later for the nomination of candidates for head chief of the whole reservation—not only of the Klamaths who owed allegiance to La-Lakes, but also of the Modocs, Paiutes, and Pit Rivers who made their homes on the reservation. The old chief was naturally crestfallen at this procedure, and his relatives and friends grieved, but there seems to have been no attempt at open rebellion against the dicta of the young white leader. . . . Throughout the whole campaign, however, the feeling of personal loyalty to the old sachem was the greatest obstacle to be overcome.[13]

*657 *648 622 643 666 The election that followed pitted Henry Blow, "a prominent sub-chief under La-Lakes, a man of the finest personal and executive qualities," with support from both Lower End Klamath and the Modoc,[14] against Allen David, "a tall handsome, and popular young brave from the upper country,[15] progressive, well versed in the ways of the white man, from travel among the Willamette settlements," backed not only by Lower End Klamath but by the Upland band and the Paiute as well. Charley Preston was a third nominee, "a man popular on account of his personal qualities and admired for his ability in various industries acquired by residence among the whites, but not possessing the prestige of a sub-chief." Young Applegate seems also to have been proposed, but declined. "There were many at this meeting who deplored the whole procedure in view of their allegiance to the old chief. . . ." At the election which followed, Allen David was elected by a plurality of five.[16] Thus a panreservation polity was established, to which tribal distinctions thereafter were subordinated.

As for the deposed Monchnkasgitk, his place was promptly 657*
filled by the election of one "Barcley." Despite the rebuff, 648*
Monchnkasgitk rose again in time to the position of subchief at 622
Yainax, where he came to be known as Moses Brown.[17]

The major election had removed from immediate power one
who had obstructed Agency-sponsored reforms, but had left the
membership of the lesser chieftaincies intact. It is clear that
administration policy held that representation by a chief was
adequate to secure the interests of a band. Thus, in 1871, when 657*
John Meacham found the lot of the slaves little improved his 648*
remedy was to authorize them to elect a chief "to represent 622
them in the councils and courts of the tribes."[18] In the political 692
order thus established, the chiefs had been displaced from an 693
executive role to constitute a court, while a sheriff, chosen from
among the Indians, together with constables, one per chief, were
to maintain order. Chiefs, somewhat extralegally, soon began to
assume magisterial functions.

It took some time to make the court aware of the bounds 657*
within which it ought to operate. John Meacham noted in his 648*
charges "an excessive disposition to go to law," and remarked, 622
"I have counciled [sic] the board of chiefs against this, especially 692
against making arrests for trifling offenses or for *no* offence at
all, advising them that the object of the law is to *protect* the
people and not to *oppress* them."[19] Soon thereafter, he reduced
the court to a membership of only seven chiefs and set its sessions
at monthly intervals.[20]

As outlined by Dave Hill, one of the members of the court, 657*
the list of offenses combined crimes against the person (murder, 648*
adultery, stealing, fornication, witchcraft, and fighting), those 622
against property (arson), together with what can only be con- [68]
sidered redefinitions of customary procedure. Thus, cremation [764]
of the dead was enjoined and the license permitted a chief in
dealing with his followers was severely circumscribed. Marriages [585]
were to be confirmed before the principal chief, who was to [643]
receive a fee; the bride price was not to be returned on the [586]
desertion of the husband; while the court might order the separation
of an irreconcilable couple. Monogamy alone was permissible.[21] [595]

Thus, not only were the chiefs given new and different powers,

*657 *648 622 but they were made the arbiters for the acceptance by their fellows of changes in customary practice. Their position was buttressed by the procedure at first adopted of issuing annuities through them, of loaning equipment to the chiefs for the use of their followers, of building houses for them, and of giving them priority when breaking ground for planting.[22]

*657 *648 756 692 Even as an embodiment of indirect rule, however, the early reservation courts knew the intervention of the Agents. Meacham records that, "Captain Knapp forbade thier [sic] Doctors to practice and shackeled [sic] them for attempting to persist in the same."[23] And Meacham himself, having requested the commander of Fort Klamath to arrest and confine one Link River Doctor for the same offense, proceeded to try him during the next session of the court and sentenced him to four months' imprisonment at Fort Klamath.[24] Dyar similarly set sentence for Pitt River Dick, convicted of assaulting another Indian with a knife.[25]

*657 *648 622 The degree to which the Agency had set itself up to confirm the chiefs, and thus to constitute the supreme authority, is shown by the commission earlier awarded to Allen David, which runs,

> The Bearer
>
> for his intelligence, loyalty and long continued good behavior, is hereby appointed during good conduct Chief of the Chucklolum division of the Klamath Tribe. He will exercise authority over the said people subject to the will of the High Chief of the Klamath Nation and also of the proper authorities of the United States.
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Witness | Signed at the Klamath |
> | O. C. Applegate Intr. | Agency Sept 28th 1867 |
> | Saml. D. Whitmore | L. Applegate |
> | Acting Farmer | U. S. Indn Sub Agent |

Note especially that the division referred to does not correspond with any of the Klamath tribelets. Thus a regrouping was either being recognized or, more probably, instigated by the Agency.[26]

Despite their increasing control, Agents continued to chafe under the independence still exercised by the chiefs. As Commissary Meacham chose to phrase it, "In thier [sic] present condition it is probably best that each tribe should be represented by thier hereditary chiefs, but I am satisfied that the time is not

3: Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath
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Old Schonchin, signatory head chief of the Modoc. (From Johnson, 1947.)

[P. 80-A]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath
NR10

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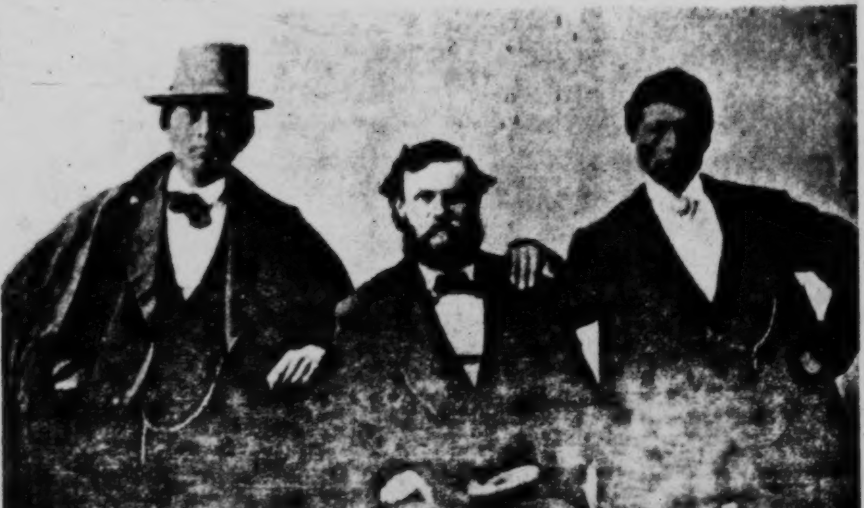

The first delegation: Tecumseh, O. C. Applegate, and Dave Hill on the lyceum tour of 1875. (From Riddle, 1914.)

[P. 80-B]

far distant when good judgment will direct the deposing of all 657*
hereditary sovereigns and the election of proper officers by the 648*
people at large. Thier present mode of constituting courts of 622
justice and of conducting trials is probably far in advance of thier primitive style—but is anything but Republican. . . ."[27]

The contrast between the old and new leaders is shown by one 657*
of two liquor cases that vexed Dyar. A saloonkeeper, guided by 648*
a "squaw man" to an Indian village a few miles above Linkville 622
"for vile purposes," gave a bottle of whiskey to the Indian who 273
transported them. After the Indian had drunk part, he gave the remainder to Lileks, who shared it with another man. Of this
instance and another, Dyar observed, "Allan David, Head Chief [643]
of the Klamaths, first brought these cases to my knowledge and is anxious that the parties shall be punished."[28]

Allen David, indeed, impressed Meacham strongly, for he 657*
characterized him among the Indians as "unquestionably the 648*
clearest and most logical talker I have ever listened to. . . . He 643
is fully imbued with the ideas of civilization and never misses an opportunity to give his people good advice."[29] Dyar, echoing these sentiments, added, "his time is so much taken up in settling the little disputes of his people, and he is naturally compelled to give away so much food in thier [sic] frequent visits, that he is kept continually poor." As head chief for the entire reservation, David was expected by the Indians to feed them during the frequent assemblies at his house. From visits to other reservations and to the American settlements, he was aware that white officials received pay for performing their duties and that even Mark, the head chief at Warm Springs, drew a salary. Before David would undertake the head chieftaincy, O. C. Applegate had had to promise to try to secure a salary for him. Subsequently, Dyar himself recommended that Allen David be paid an annual salary of $300.00.[30] It was not forthcoming.

The concept of an all-reservation hierarchy of chiefs was rudely 657*
challenged by the Modoc War. For a brief time, upon the urging 648*
of A. B. Meacham, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, Captain Jack and his adherents had joined Schonchin at Modoc Point in 1869. They were soon disillusioned. The Klamath acted like lords of the land and treated the Modoc as if they were there only on sufferance. When the Modoc split fence rails, Klamath

K

*657 under Blow and Link River Jack appropriated them as their own
*648 property.[31] Appeal to the Agent, Captain O. C. Knapp, proved fruitless; he only advised the Modoc to move further away from the Klamath. Captain Jack is reported to have told his followers, "I do not want my men to be slaves for these Indians, and they shall not be. My people are just as good as these Indians."[32]

While Schonchin was away fishing, Captain Jack overwhelmed the "friendly" subchiefs, Chief George and Charlie Riddle, and the Modoc left the reservation in a body. After reporting their departure, Schonchin joined them. There remained only a small party of twenty, who had been settled at Yainax earlier that year. Through them, Ivan Applegate contacted the absentee Modoc and persuaded Schonchin to return. When he did so, in the spring of the year (1870), he refused to rejoin the Lower End Klamath and was established instead at Yainax, home of his Upland Klamath mother, where Monchnkasgitk and the Paiute were already in residence. Evidently, the latter held the main voice there, for the following year—though only temporarily as it turned out—Yainax was made independent of Klamath Agency, "owing to the fact that these Indians had long been at war with those at Klamath. . . ." The change, "demanded by the chief headmen of the Snakes and Wall-pah-pe tribes, [was] approved by the chiefs and headmen of the Klamaths."[33]

M With Captain Jack's refusal to return to the reservation, the
657 veto of A. B. Meacham's proposal that he be granted a tract in
648 the Tule Basin (as originally envisaged in the Steele treaty),
721 and the decision of Meacham's successor, T. B. Odeneal, that
the Modoc be brought forcibly upon the Klamath reservation,
the lines were laid for the fatal flare-up of the Modoc War. The
K outbreak of hostilities found Allen David "very faithful and
[643] active in his efforts to preserve a good feeling among all the
*[648] Indians on the Reservation, repeatedly visiting the Snakes and
*[657] Scontian's band of Madocs [sic], advising them to keep quiet on
the Reservation and have nothing to do with Capt. Jack's
people."[34]

M Fearful that the hostile Modoc would induce the Yainax
[702] Paiute and Modoc to join them, Dyar organized a home guard.
K At the Lower End, Dave Hill and Henry Blow swiftly recruited
*[648] 32 men, primarily from the Link River band, while Oliver Apple-
*[657]
[721]
[702]

gate marshaled together 34 at Yainax, including Monchnkasgitk– K 657*
again given the title of chief–and many of his Upland band, a 648*
number of Schonchin's Modoc, 1 Pit River, and 1 Snake. Soon 721
thereafter, under the militia law of the state, Applegate was au- 702
thorized to enlist a company of volunteers. The muster rolls of M 657
his company bear a total of 69 names, among them those of 28 648
Indians, apparently exclusive of Hill's scouts.[35] Despite the fact 721
that when they enlisted there had been a distinct understanding 702
that they were to serve only as a home guard, they soon were
ordered to the front.

As Capt. Oliver Applegate found, the Lower End Klamath K 657*
were reluctant to go. Schonchin took the position that Jack's 648*
men and the soldiers were both bad, and proposed sensibly to let 726
them fight it out while his men guarded the reservation. Indeed,
Lindsay Applegate experienced equal difficulty in raising volun- M 657
teers among the settlers at Ashland, noting in explanation that, 648
". . . the nervs of the people aperse to Be shokt."[36] 726

Although they performed well, the reservation volunteers were something less than fierce warriors in a conflict that was not their own. Oliver Applegate, to be sure, reports that his men were eager to scalp one wounded Modoc and that on another occasion they were reluctant to withdraw from a skirmish.[37] Surely, they were no strangers to internecine warfare among the bands, infrequent though that had been. Fundamentally, however, this was a white man's war, for which they could muster no great zeal.

The hostile Modoc, though irked at the readiness of the volunteers to take the field, exercised a like restraint. When they captured two Klamath, they made them perform war dances in traditional manner, but did not otherwise mistreat them.[38] One Klamath was hit during the fighting, being saved from injury by a "heavy buckskin coat"–perhaps an elkskin cuirass. It may be that he was singled out, for as a guard at Yainax he had earlier fired upon some infiltrating Modoc.[39]

In the first frontal assault on the Lava Beds, it is remembered today that the Klamath called over to the Modoc and reached an agreement that they would not shoot at each other. Soon thereafter the Klamath were replaced by a party of Warm Springs scouts under Donald McKay, and the Oregon Volunteers

K
*657
*648
726 were mustered out of service. Subsequently, when Jack and his
M followers slew the Peace Commissioners, Oliver Applegate re-
657
648 ported that the reservation Indians were ready to take the war-
726 path against them in revenge, but they were not called upon.[40]

K In the end, the Modoc were defeated and the leaders tried at
*657 Fort Klamath. During the hearing, they attempted to implicate
*648 the Klamath, with claims that Link River Jack had cached
728 ammunition for them and that Schonchin—"the noblest Roman
M
657 of them all!" exploded Oliver Applegate indignantly—had brought
648 them a message from Allen David promising aid if they would
728 hold out a little longer. The countercharges proved misdirected
as defense; and in the presence of the reservation Indians and
other spectators the leaders of the hostiles were hanged or committed to Alcatraz; and the remainder, 153 in number, were
shipped off to Fort Quapaw, Indian Territory.[41]

K With the end of the war, the reservation became in effect a
*657 closed political system. The only exception was Ocheho's band
*648 of Paiute, which alternated between the reservation and their
M Warner Valley homeland until 1876, when the major part of
657
648 them remained off the reservation for good. Meanwhile, with no
K salary forthcoming to offset the heavy financial burdens of his
[643] office, Allen David resigned, and Henry Blow was elected in his
stead.[42]

K The statement made in 1877 by Dave Hill gives a fair idea
*657 of the chiefs of the time and contrasts the hierarchy at the
*648 Agency with the comparatively open order at Yainax.
622
643

> We Lake People live here thus: Blow is chief of all, and I,
> M Dave Hill, am chief second to Blow, Long John after Dave,
> then too Link River Jack after Long John, and Lilu. Pit River
> 657 Charley is chief of the Pit River people at the Lake. Ben and
> 648 Littlejohn are the chiefs, and Schonchin is chief of the Yainax
> 622 people. Johnson is chief of the Modoc at Yainax. George Kuati-
> 643 lak also is Modoc chief after Johnson. Chocktoot is chief of the
> Paiute.[43]

Gatschet's list for the same year, which includes the adherents
K for each leader, differs somewhat from that of Hill. At the Lower
[162] End, the chiefs, all Klamath, and the number of their followers
M were: Blow, head chief (122), Hill (225), Long John (103),
[162] Link River Jack (92), and Lilu (23). At Yainax, the Modoc bands

comprised those of Modoc Johnson, head chief (71), and Schon- K 657*
chin (18). The Upland Klamath leaders were Brown [i.e. Monchn- 648*
kasgitk] (30), Ben (61), and Littlejohn (14). 622 643

Gatschet thus omits Pit River Charley at the Lower End and 162
the adherents of George Kuatilak and Chocktoot at Yainax, but M
includes that of Monschnkasgitk. If the Klamath and Modoc 657 648
followings are separately totaled, the figures agree closely with 622
those of the statistical summary for that year,[44] suggesting that 643
the Pit River chief was subsumed under one of the Klamath 162
leaders and George Kuatilak under Modoc Johnson. Note that
the Paiute, who seem to be predominantly Walpapi, account for
137, almost half the Yainax total of 331, while the Lower End,
with 565, then contained almost twice as many people.

The replacement of leaders had already gone far: Of the chiefs K 657*
listed above, only five, Blow, Jack, Lilu, Schonchin, and Monchn- 648*
kasgitk, had been prominent enough in 1864 to sign the treaty; 622
and only Lilu, Monchnkasgitk, and Schonchin were then noted 643
chiefs.[45] By 1877, their followings had dwindled, amounting to M
only a fraction of their previous numbers. Most of the losses had 657 648
been to Agency men advancing in favor. Among them Dave Hill 622
far outstripped even Henry Blow, the head chief, in adherents. 643

Beneath this system, we know from the accounts of elderly
Indians, a system of informal local headmen continued. Some K 657*
of these individuals were, indeed, also favored with a measure 648*
of government support. Among them were some of the older 622
chiefs, now out of official power. Lileks was put in charge of a
ferry across the river—probably the Williamson—where he kept
track of passengers by drawing pictures of a man, mules, and so
on.[46] Allen David, still a chief, figured among the progressive
Indians for some years. In 1883, however, his quiet opposition to
Agency inroads upon the remaining chiefly authority drew remarks from Nickerson:

> There is but one man, Allen David, 3rd chief, who in any way proves a hinderance [sic] to the discharge of duties of the police. He does not do this openly, but covertly and slily, and is ready with a denial when charged with it. I have been seriously thinking of depriving him of his position and power as one of the cheifs [sic]. Indeed, I think the time is not far distant when this tribe will be better off without any chiefs whatever.[47]

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[Klamath Reservation]

*648 Men such as Chiloquin at the Lower End and Chief George at
*657 Yainax continued for years their informal leadership. Along with
622 them were local leaders of kinship groups, such as Hunter Wilson on the lower Williamson. Here, in good farming country, a large number of Indians had been collected, including Wilson's band, which had been uprooted from Pelican Bay, now off the reservation, and moved among former feudatory foes. Those in this vicinity, for whom Dave Hill was now responsible, were thus far from constituting a homogeneous following.

The new leaders were at one with their predecessors in the vigilant scrutiny which they maintained over the acts of their Agent. When Lindsay Applegate relinquished that office in 1869 to Capt. O. C. Knapp, the chiefs made speeches voicing their personal esteem for the ex-Agent; and Monchnkasgitk and Chiloquin were content to leave it at that. Lileks and Blow, however, improved on the occasion to recall promises as yet unfulfilled. Said Lileks,

> Its a long time since Mr Huntington told us we should have Saw and Flour Mill, and many other things, we have not seen. The President sends new men and new promises, but no new things; Yes Applegate looks after us, but the white men that were to mak[e] our houses are not among us, we have learned that we must rely upon our selves to build our houses—

To this Henry Blow added,

> You have been here a long time, Applegate is tired and my heart is like his, both tired wa[i]ting for what was promiced [sic]—The Government bought our Country, it was a word of mouth trade, we saw nothing—Yes we have learned that our land brings us grain and means of subsistance, for this we owe a debt to Applegate[.] I kill Ducks and Geese, sell feathers, buy calico for my wife when I was told in beginning this would be furnished by Government. Six years I have had no oxen, have no cows chickens and such like good things[.]
>
> Maby [sic] the President thinks he gave us all these things but we have them not.
>
> Many women and men have died without ever seeing those things that were promiced [sic] [.]

And he recalled Joel Palmer and the council of 1854 and the "many good goods [he gave] to other Indians."[48]

*657 Thus, within the very year that had seen the ratification of the
*648 treaty, Indian spokesmen were already vocal in discontent over

governmental delay in the discharge of treaty obligations. To 657*
justified complaint, however, they added unrealistic expectations 648*
arising from the discussions that had preceded the treaty and which they held implicit in its terms. A further source of distortion was the counsel of what subchief Palmer termed "bad white men about Link River."

There were, moreover, new grievances to stir them. They were much agitated when the boundary lines were surveyed by George Mercer in 1871 and "the line was run some six miles west of where they understood the eastern line to be, thus leaving out a part of the best portion of the [Sprague River] Valley."[49] (See map of Klamath Boundary Claims.) Lileks and many signatories were vehement in their protests. On the Lower End, they were concerned about white occupation of the prairie extending westward from Wood River to the foot of the mountains, which they insisted lay within the reservation as defined by the treaty. Dyar wrote quietly and unavailingly on their behalf.[50]

The following year, when A. B. Meacham gathered together a party of Indians and whites for his lyceum tour on the Modoc War, he took with him from the reservation two Klamath: Dave Hill and his friend Tecumseh, a shaman and Agency employee. During the tour, Hill had an audience with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and with President Grant. Letters dictated to Dyar by Klamath leaders to be read at the other end by Oliver Applegate to Hill and Tecumseh detail the material desires of the tribesmen and the expectations that Hill undoubtedly voiced. To judge from a speech which Meacham reports, delivered by Hill at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, the Klamath spokesman failed to make his point. Of the President, he said,

> I intended to tell him what my people wanted, but his ear was to [sic] small, he could not hear me. . . . Then I went to see the Commissioner. He had large ears. He *seemed* to listen to what I had to tell him, but I looked him in the eye. He did not put the things I told him in his heart. My heart got sick, because I had come a long way with Colonel Meacham to see these men, but they would not take the words I gave them.[51]

Over forty years later, Oliver Applegate, who had been present on that occasion, recalled the interviews in some detail, and in a more favorable light than Hill. To Commissioner Edwin P. Smith they appealed strongly to have a large share of the an-

*657 *648 nuities converted into cattle, "stating that this was the universal wish of the Indi[a]ns; that they would properly care for the cattle." Applegate had found the Commissioner courteous to the party and receptive toward the proposal. Of President Grant, he recounts the efforts made by his administration to discover a fair and peaceful solution to the Indian problem, for which his frontier experience, in Applegate's opinion, well qualified him. In audience with the Klamath, the President "plainly showed his familiarity with the subject as we freely discussed it with him and was frank and genial." Although Applegate's impression may have been retrospectively distorted, it seems plain that the two men defined the interviews in sharply divergent manner. Dave Hill's reaction was to become recognizable time and again in Klamath transactions with officialdom.[52]

The matter did not end there. Perhaps disgruntled by the experience, Hill suddenly disappeared and was the subject of a search until, some time after most of the rest of the party had returned, he came home riding a freight. His story that he had been held captive in New York by cranks was accepted by Applegate and later by Gatschet. Meacham privately dismissed it as a "cock and bull" fabrication, a view he said was shared by the Riddles and other members of the troupe, but publicly he went along with Applegate's account of the incident.[53]

Already agitated by a belief that the government was unresponsive to their legitimate claims and had failed to live up to the terms of the treaty, the Klamath Tribe was soon to hear of a new issue, which was to drag on for almost three-quarters of a century. In 1864, little more than two months after the signing of the treaty, Congress had passed an act granting the state of Oregon 800,000 acres of land to be used in part for the construction of a public road. In turn, the state granted the land to the Oregon Central Military Road Company, which undertook to build a road from Eugene, Oregon, to Silver City, Idaho. As laid out, the road crossed the reservation, entering above the Klamath Marsh and running in a general southeasterly direction out the Sprague River Valley. The company was granted alternate sections of land along the right of way. As Dyar pointed out, "Some of the land claimed by the Company is now occupied by the Indians . . . and at least a part of the Government farm and improvements at Yainax Station." Elsewhere, he warned, "the settlement of whites within the Reservation limits would bring endless trouble if not open war."[54] 657* 648*

For some time Dyar withheld the unwelcome information from the Indians, until at length it was brought out into the open in a petition by local citizens. Dyar himself signed a similar paper after discussing the matter with some of the leading Indians; in the course of these talks he gave assurances to the Indians that the government would protect them in their rights. Their reply is quoted in words that Dyar had anticipated in earlier correspondence. The treaty, they contended, had mentioned nothing about lands to be withheld; and when they had consented to the construction of the military road they had understood it to be no more than a public road, such as was provided for in the treaty. They had no intimation that additional lands were to be claimed. They added that if the government allowed these lands to be taken away they had no reason to believe they would be protected in any of their rights, and might as well be killed off at once in a war, however futile, as to make a slow end.[55]

Thus was joined the struggle which was to command the unified support of the diverse people of the reservation and to shape the political structure for years to come. From time to time new developments agitated the Indians. Such, for example, was the move of the California Oregon Land Company, when it had come into possession of the Military Road claims, to push a bill through Congress in 1881 to open the Upper End for sale to homesteaders.[56]

Another threat, the claims of the state of Oregon, acting under the swampland grant of March 12, 1860, to the swamplands on the reservation, was quietly contested by Nickerson in 1880 and 1881, and the Indians do not seem to have learned of it. At the same time, the Bureau was not loathe to call general councils of the Indians to discuss such issues as the proposed transfer of Bureau functions to the War Department.[57] These meetings provided occasions for continued political expression on the reservation. The issues, in turn, gave focus for a more militant leadership.

Meanwhile, the Agency was grappling with the problem of sustaining the elected chiefs, for they received no salary for their [622]

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*657 services in the court. In 1878, support took the form of a suit of
*648 clothes for Henry Blow and three years later of a request to
622 provide him with a weekly ration of flour and beef. However, as Agent Roork then found, the issue could not be authorized even for one who "spends a good deal of time looking after the interests of his people, when he can ill afford it."[58]

*657 At this juncture a temporary solution was found. In 1878,
*648 drawing upon successful experience on other reservations, the
625 Bureau authorized the employment of a small force of Indian police. In the first days of the reservation, Lindsay Applegate claimed to have organized such a force, one that served without pay, with power to perform military duties as well to arrest malefactors; and though it was later discontinued, Dyar had subsequently proposed a similar body.[59]

The number now settled upon was six, at Roork's request, "in order to have one for every tribe."[60] O. C. Applegate, then clerk at the Agency, was appointed chief of police. The first men in the service, with one or two exceptions, were not particularly distinguished; and neither of the officers of the force is now recalled as having been a leader. Within a year or two, however after many fluctuations in numbers, both Henry Blow and Dave Hill had been appointed as officers. The subsequent reduction of the force from fifteen to three for budgetary reasons dictated from Washington was distressing.

> As the Police Force was too small to be of much account [wrote Nickerson], the Indians felt under less restraint & were now dificult [sic] to manage. The chiefs considered that the Government had taken their authority to rule and administer punishment out of their hands, and did not consider themselves responsible for good order. They are now anxious to be allowed to administer law as before the Police force was organized. Unless this force can be put upon a permanent basis, and consist of from 8 to 10 members with a yearly allowance of rations I am of the opinion that it would be best to grant them their request. In that case it would be desirable to keep 2 or 3 men in the service to aid in arresting offenders & to take charge of all prisoners. . . . The Agent would of course be the judge in all trials.

[643] He suggested that, following the plan he had put into operation before the force was reduced, the head chief be named captain
[622] and the second chief, lieutenant, while two other chiefs be appointed sergeants of the force.

appointed sergeants of the force. "This," he added, "would give 657*
these chiefs something to do & a support. They would be in- 648*
terested in watching their people and in keeping good order."[61] 625
The move also would counter the opposition to the police among 622
the chiefs themselves, led by Allen David.

Once the force was authorized, Nickerson became aware of 657*
its peculiar jurisdictional limitations. When he sent the police 648*
625

[175]

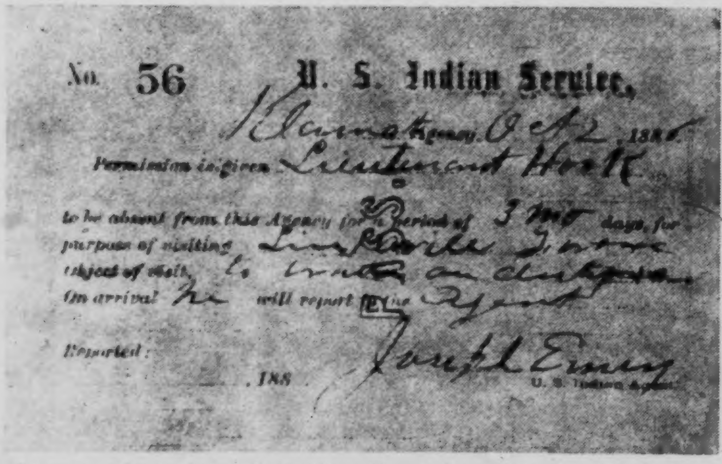

No. 56 U. S. Indian Service.

Klamath Agency Oct 2 1886

Permission is given Lieutenant Hook

to be absent from this Agency for a period of 3 mos days, for
purpose of visiting Linkville [illegible]
object of visit to be on duty [illegible]
On arrival he will report to the Agent

Reported:
, 188

Joseph Emery
U. S. Indian Agent

This pass authorized an Indian police officer to leave the reservation for three months while on duty in the Linkville area. 1886.

to Linkville to round up Indians absent without passes and to
pursue Indian horse thieves, he was informed that they had no
power to make arrests off the reservation: the United States
authorities must be notified to act. Yet when the turbulent Spo-
kane Ike shot Skookum Doctor and fled, to be captured by the
Indian police near Prineville, the U.S. District Attorney declined
jurisdiction, saying that it lay either with the state courts or
with the tribe. Accordingly, "the chiefs in council, acting as a 657*
grand jury, accused Spokane Ike of the crime of murder. A court 648*
was held, the Indian Agent presiding. A jury, of twelve of the 622
most intelligent Indians of the tribe was selected. . . ." Both by 692
the testimony of a witness and by his own statement the defend- 695
ant was found guilty of murder in the first degree. Upon further 000

[Klamath Reservation]

92

*657 Upon further
*648 instructions from Washington, he was publicly hanged. Struck
696 by the solemnity of the proceedings, Nickerson reported, "Fully
half the people of the nation was [sic] present. The order and behavior were admirable. The arrangements and execution of the plans were in the highest degree creditable to the Indians having charge of the same."[62]

*657 The following year, a parsimonious Congress made necessary
*648 a reduction in pay. "They are all poor men," exclaimed Nicker-
434 son, "and can not support their families on one ration and 5
625 dollars per month. Young men have not the experience needed
& do not command the respect of the tribe & nation." He searched about for alternatives to help them eke out an existence.[63] Opportunely, there arrived a copy of *Rules Governing the Court of Indian Offenses* which, pronounced Nickerson, would "work a radical change in the government of this people."

*657 He suggested that Blow and Hill "loyal, intelligent, and pro-
*648 gressive Christian men" be appointed as judges, to serve con-
622 currently as policemen. To them he proposed to add another,
625 Jesse Kirk, a pupil at the Agency school and a carpenter's appren-
692 tice, to be both a member of the force and a judge. Of the three,
he wrote, "David Hill will make the most competent man for presiding Judge. If necessary I will nominate him for Captain and Blowe [sic] for Lieutenant of Police. Otherwise I would prefer that they remain as they [are] as Blowe is head chief of the nation."[64]

The triple role of Hill and Blow made it difficult to delimit their judicial functions. Wrote Nickerson in 1886:

> I was obliged to be quite positive and firm in the exercise of my authority as an agent, before they came to understand that they were not independent in the performance of their duties as Judges. It also required some time to convince them that they were not to become prosecutors of supposed criminals, and that they were not to form and express an opinion in advance of hearing all the testimony, and then not until they had taken time to deliberate together. I am satisfied that we have no better material for judges than those that are now acting in that capacity, and yet they are strongly opinionated, and are making but slow progress in the right direction."

*657 The police force, meanwhile, had been distributed so that four
*648
625

served at the Agency and three at Yainax, with an additional 657*
policeman at each school to bring in new scholars, recapture 648*
runaways, and oversee the prisoners. Dave Hill presided over 625
the police building at the Agency, with quarters for his family and cells for the prisoners.[66] On occasion, policemen accompanied labor parties off the reservation and worked alongside them for pay in addition to their salaries; and they served as escort to the freighting runs to Ashland and Jacksonville and the late winter expeditions to the Lost River fisheries. They were a considerable power in maintaining order, even apprehending deserters from Fort Klamath; and Emery used them effectively in imposing his agricultural policy upon his wards.

The police, however, at times found themselves at odds with 657*
the very laws and regulations they were employed to uphold. 648*
Among those involved in the illicit traffic in reservation timber, 625
as already described, were several members of the police, to- 622
gether with other Agency employees, and three chiefs: Monchn- 578
kasgitk, Allen David, and David Hill. The latter, in 1888, learned at first hand the impersonal character of authority when, disturbed by some ruling concerning his son, he approached the clerk who was acting as Agent in the absence of Emery, in what that worthy described as "an angry, insulting, insolent, defiant, threatening, warlike and rebellious manner." He was arrested—resisting the while—and locked in the guardhouse; and the clerk requested that he be kept in solitary confinement for one week, or until the clerk had returned from Yainax.[67]

Emery apparently conceived that too much power was con- 657*
centrated in a few hands, for later that year he reorganized the 648*
court, with the observation that "in the very nature of things the 692
Judge should not be the *Sheriff*." His appointments were drawn 622
from a new generation of leaders: William Crain, William Craw- [693]
ford, and Benjamin Butler.

> They are intelligent men [he observed], [and] can read and write and speak accurately the English language. One of them is a graduate of the Chemawa Indian School, another educated at the Klamath School and the third one is the best informed man
> on the reservation. 657*
> Court is held once a quarter at Yainax—40 miles from here 648*
> and twice a quarter at the Agency. 692

> *657 *648 692 A large number of Indian offences come before this Court for trial, consisting mainly of family quarrels, disputes about the ownership of property and acts of licentiousness.[illegible]

With the accidental death of Crain, Jesse Kirk was appointed in his stead.[illegible]

Thus, within a generation the administration had replaced the popular leaders with those among them who were Agency employees, and in turn had supplanted them with the products of its schools. Legally constituted authority was administered through the Agency, at first through a customary court of chiefs and later [625] through a Court of Indian Offenses. The Indian police, who took their orders directly from the Agent, were satisfactory to him as the instrument of his hand. Not so the courts, which tended instead to constitute seats of power alternative to that of the Agent. The result was to be that Agents tended to strengthen the police while circumscribing the functions of the courts.

*657 *648 622 571 Meanwhile, beyond the administrative structure thrived an unacknowledged informal leadership, based as in former days upon wealth and accomplishment. Unlike that of the Agency, it was not restricted in position nor limited narrowly in function. This was a leadership in which employees could also participate; and it was presently to see such diverse men as the old chiefs, Monchnkasgitk, Henry Blow, and Allen David, make cause with Dave Hill, and he with young Jesse Kirk, and he in turn with Jeff Riddle, son of Frank Riddle and Winema, the heroine of the Modoc War, and with Henry Jackson, the wealthy exslave. In this sense at least E. L. Applegate was right when he observed:

> [179] [178] [101] The tribal distinction among the Indians on this Reservation is practically disregarded by the Indians, and the ancient prejudices are rapidly fading away. The general name of Klamath People seems to be superseding all other distinctions.[illegible]

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[Klamath Reservation]

SEVEN

[P.95]

Social Change

WITHIN LESS THAN TEN YEARS AFTER THE RESERVATION HAD BEEN 648*
established, two communities had developed. The one at the 657*
Lower End was composed primarily of Klamath, with a small 361
number of freed slaves. Yainax was far less homogeneous. Near
the subagency were the Upland Klamath and the Modoc, while
some ten miles beyond lay Paiute Camp. With the beginning
of stock raising, the fine grazing lands of the Upper End drew
Klamath from the Agency side.[1] The Klamath Marsh settlements,
formerly the area of densest concentration, had been
abandoned as a winter residence in favor of warmer localities
about Upper Klamath Lake. Although O. C. Applegate later [731]
intimated the move was caused by losses from smallpox and other
introduced diseases,[2] the general advantages of proximity to
Agency and Fort may also have recommended it. Settlements on
the Lower End now clustered about the Agency and upon the
lower course of Williamson River. Only a scattering of houses
extended along the Sprague as far as Lilu's seat at Kawumkan
Springs, approximately ten miles above its mouth.[3] Beyond that
point, almost thirty miles intervened between the two communities.

In their settlements, former foes were brought together: Pelican 657*
Bay and other bands on the Williamson, Klamath and Wal- 648*
papi at Yainax. Band affiliations, which rested on kinship and 621
long association, continued to be strong for some time even within 619
the new settings. Thus members of the Pelican Bay band some- 177
times shared foodstuffs, and the claim that their parents stemmed 178
from the same tribelet long provided a bond strong enough to
enable one person to borrow from another. By the end of the
period, however, band identities had been largely relinquished
as peoples intermingled. In their place developed ties of varying

*657 strengths reflecting emergent neighborhoods; common employ-
*648 ment at the Agency, or as freighters and as work crews; shared
621 church interests; and, with time, friendships formed at school.
619 The growing importance of the adjacent white settlements and
177 the administrative colonies at the Agency and at Yainax set in
178 relief the larger community of the Indian reservation.

*657 Klamath relationships with members of the Agency staff seem
*648 to have been restricted largely to those demanded by their official
duties. Their scanty numbers would in any case have made contact with them infrequent for the great body of the population, and the whites tended to maintain a closed community in their social relationships. An important exception to the general social insulation were some of the more acceptable members of the families of Indian employees, who were sometimes hired as help and thus received a conditional entrée to the houses of whites. Off the reservation, special protector-employer roles seem to have been assumed by such men as Sykes Worden, contractor and post trader at Fort Klamath, O. C. Applegate, and several others.

By far the most unhindered contacts were made at Fort Klamath. The freedom of the individual from social constraint in the early days is evinced in the situation John Meacham found.

> Certain Indian women [he remarked] . . . had established several habitations in the vicinity of the Agency. They were in the habit of hanging around the office, the quarters, private houses and other buildings of the Agency, losing no opportunity of insinuating themselves into the presence of the employes. They were saucy, impudent and lewd in the extreme.

He therefore placed the post off limits for women unless they had legitimate business, an order that "met with the hearty approval of the Indian men and the faithful observance of the women."[4] The practice was not stopped, however, and Dyar, who tried to institute a pass system to control the traffic, noted that "soldiers are in the habit of frequently visiting the Indian camps below this point—sometimes remaining over night."[5]

*657 Native marital practice posed no very great obstacle to a white
*648 who wished to consort with an Indian woman. In the nature of
563 things many of these unions were casual, but others possessed a
more permanent character, though often common law in form. Indignant settlers in the Klamath Valley circulated a petition in

1870, demanding that whites living with Indian women and 657*
fathering children upon them be required to marry them or that 648*
the women be sent back and punished by law.[6] 563

The previous year, the Agent responsible for Indians in the vicinity of Jacksonville had reported a total of 60 Indians, 28 of them Klamath or Modoc, comprising Indian women living in casual unions with whites, together with their children. "The head quarters of the persons keeping these women," he continued, "is at Kanaka Flat about two (2) miles from this town.
At that point there is an establishment called a 'Dance House' [547]
where whiskey is sold and where women are plied with liquor and debauched in the most shameless manner." He advocated removing the women to their reservations, and this was subsequently done.[7]

As time went on, however, a small but growing number of stable marriages appeared in the areas fringing the reservation; and others, contracted about the same period, later came to light in more distant regions in the course of allotting tribal members.
One such marriage was that of the Kentuckian, Frank Riddle, 648*
and Winema, the Modoc heroine of the war between her people 657*
and the whites. To judge from Meacham, who in turn quotes an 563
informant—perhaps O. C. Applegate, who knew the family well 177
—Winema was an early advocate for the acceptance of the new ways she herself had adopted.

> "In the evening you would see the women and men gather around Wi-ne-ma while she told them of the wonderful things she had seen among the white people, of their manners and social customs; of the laws and rules of life; of their way of making law; making machinery, its uses, &c. For hours they would listen while she talked, and to her, much of the advancement of the Indians at Klamath and Yai-nax may be attributed."[8]

Clearly, along with other features there were qualities of self-enhancement in her new role.

Few mixed couples even tried to remain on the reservation. 657*
The official and lay attitude was disdainful of "squaw men," and 648*
they in turn must have been reluctant to subject themselves to 563
the minute regulations of Agency life and the limited economic 167
opportunities there. Too, they may have found the kinsmen of their wives both abundant and demanding. For their part, the wives may have been eager to reach beyond the limited oppor-

*657
*648 tunities of the reservation. As they moved away, they extended
563 Indian experience into the midst of frontier society. During the
167 allotment period they in turn enlarged reservation perspectives.

*657 The majority of the interbreed children that appeared upon
*648 the early reservation, then, were the product of temporary or
563 unstable unions and appeared as fatherless children. The annual
162 reports are unrealistic as to their number. In 1885, for example,
it was claimed that there were only 12 interbreeds in the total
population of 919,[9] although to judge from later censuses, the
number must have been several times as great.

*657 One of the long-range results of this intercourse was to reduce
*648 somewhat the difference in physical appearance that separated
563 the Indians from the surrounding population. Another—and more
[144] immediate—consequence, however, was to raise the divisive issue
[848] of illegitimacy among the Indians themselves and to introduce
[602] into the tribal body individuals who could claim only maternal
kinsmen. Thus, one Klamath recalls his father, a stage driver in
Klamath Falls, as a drunkard whom his mother finally left. The
family returned to his maternal grandparents, in whose care the
boy grew up. His mother subsequently married a man who ran
a logging camp at Pelican Bay, a hard worker and good hunter
who treated the boy well. Nonetheless, throughout his life he
bore an animus against his father and in part against the heritage
he represented.[10]

*657 Interracial unions were encouraged, not only by a dearth of
*648 white women but by an early preponderance of women among
563 the Klamath and by regulations which put an end to polygamy.
162 The early imbalance between the sexes was striking. The figures
[595] supplied by Captain Kelly for the adult Klamath in 1864 give a
sex ratio of no more than 0.47.[11] Those for the Link River band
two years later areonly a little higher for the adults, 0.52, although
the overall figure is 0.64, since boys and girls are in
approximate balance.[12]

[164] Neither sex-linked disease nor the practice of selective infanticide
[847] is known to have occurred among the Klamath, and the most
probable explanation must be sought among such factors as
differential exposure to rigorous training, warfare, and vicissitudes
of the food quest, as well as to possible emigration of single
men. O. C. Applegate, the only Agent to comment upon the im-

balance, ascribed it to war and stated that in 1864, "the females 657* 648*
were largely in the majority . . . a condition which continues . . . 563
to this day."[13] 162

That the sources were indeed to be found in the conditions of native life is suggested by the circumstance that subsequently the imbalance was reduced: about 1875, the overall ratio was 0.72; while by the latter part of the period, from 1885 to 1906, it had reached an average of 0.87. It has since continued upward, to attain the approximate equality that characterizes the white neighbors of the Klamath.

Freed slaves constituted a second novel element in the popula- 657*
tion. Marriage to a slave had once been scorned, though Chief 648*
Chiloquin himself had married a Shasta slave; and even today 567
some stigma is attached to slave descent, albeit it is likely to be 178
brought up only as damaging gossip. Both sentimental family 177
attachments—a traditional attitude transcending acknowledged differences[14]—and recognition of the achievement of former slaves went far to ameliorate their position. One slave, Charlie Pitt, had been raised with his captor's son, Drummer David, in fraternal amity. The bond remained strong through life, and Charlie willed David his property when he died.[15] Another, one of three captured Pit River brothers, escaped to friendly whites who raised him in Ashland and gave him the distinguished name of Stonewall Jackson. In 1878 he returned to the Agency and the following year became a sawyer's apprentice. In recommending an increase in salary for him, Nickerson remarked that he "speaks the English language fluently, & is what may be called a civilized Indian." With several offers at better wages off the reservation, he wished to remain until he could qualify as a competent sawyer.[16] The best known of the slaves was Henry Jackson, whose rise has already been sketched. It is worth noting that he married the daughter of a Modoc chief, and that tribal members from over the reservation were not too proud to accept his bounty.

The altered social order was characterized by greatly in- 657*
creased mobility. An entire new range of opportunities was open 648*
to those who possessed or could develop new skills. Opportunity, 555
however, fell unequally, for the major new enterprises and posi- 177
tion in nineteenth-century America were masculine. As they were 178
incorporated into the regular activities of the Agency and within [562]

*657 the surrounding white neighborhood, the men came to take up
*648 roles narrowly and specifically defined in American terms and
555 to rephrase them in terms of their closest native counterparts.[17]
177 Thus, in the political field, judges and Indian police enlarged
178 the formal duties of office with some of the powers traditionally
exerted by chiefs. Assimilation of roles, however, progressed in both directions; and in the end even relationships within Indian society upon the reservation were modified toward the American system. This was only partially the consequence of conscious imitation on the part of the Indians or of change directly instituted by the whites. In some measure, it came as the undesigned byplay of a modification made for another purpose.

*657 This, for example, was one of the effects of the educational
*648 system and its particular instrument, the boarding school. Be-
871 cause boarding school spanned the time of life upon which the
177 Klamath vision quest and the girls' puberty rite fell, those native
178 experiences were largely eliminated; and change of status was
signaled instead by the final return from school. Education was
[881] designed for an altered future, but it increased intergenerational
[561] strife, as elders, their accumulated wisdom rendered obsolete in
a changed setting, confronted youths skeptical in the superiority of their book-won knowledge. From the vantage of program, this was unfortunate–if inevitable–for the Agent depended for cooperation upon those same vexed adults.

To be sure, much of the change instituted might be regarded as supplementing and enlarging–rather than replacing–native content, for many a Klamath who was a schoolboy in those days today combines the learning of his elders with the lessons taught him in the schools. Participation in two orders juxtaposed for them made manifest the relativity of each one. For those youths, the new order was not to be taken on simple assertion; it had to demonstrate its superiority in a manner not required by those born into it.

*657 With all the changes that tended to distort the social order,
*648 women were less directly affected than were their husbands and
562 children. Their roles were still principally internal to the family,
177 as wife and mother; and though opportunities for employment
178 were beginning to open for them in the schools, their contacts
with the ambient American culture were more fleeting and more

K
circumscribed. Because the step involved a wholesale commit- 657*
ment, those bold enough to marry whites, as already noted, 648*
tended to pass out of reservation society. One or two women in 562
the early days sought to demonstrate they they could support 177
themselves as well as men were capable of doing, but they were 178
clearly exceptional.[18]

K
Confronted by shifting social values, tribesmen on the reserva- 657*
tion still could take assurance from a value acknowledged both 648*
by the whites and by their traditional culture. The high prestige 556
assigned to industry and to its material manifestation, wealth, 181
proved a common denominator upon which to rank the ability of 178
men engaged in new activities. In the new day, Plains garments, K
horses, and slaves were outmoded, and were replaced by a house [177]
and outbuildings, a fenced farm or ranch, wagons and buggies,
and plenty of livestock.

K
Within this context, the family also changed as movements 657*
within the reservation, the construction of smaller frame dwell- 648*
ings, and the cultivation of individual farms reduced household 592
size to approximately that of a single conjugal family. Some idea 177
of the shift may be gained by comparing subsistence rolls from 178
the administration of Lindsay Applegate[19] with data from the K
end of the period. A summary of issues made in 1872-73 to heads 657*
of families of Klamath, Modoc, and Yahuskin Snakes lists 54 648*
families totaling 658 persons. The majority were from Klamath 592
Marsh, with some from Link River and Sprague River bands and 162
several Modoc. One is possibly Paiute. The other two pages N M
duplicate some of the individuals, listing Schonchin's band of 657
Modoc, some eight "houses" comprising 97 individuals; Ocheho's 648
band of Warner Valley Paiute, 17 "houses" and 161 persons; 592
Chocktoot's band of Paiute, 13 "houses" and 113 persons; and 162
the Sprague River band of Monchnkasgitk, 8 "houses" and 97
individuals. A tally made in 1866 by one Jackson Jones (Link
River Jack ?), "Chief of Ulalona," lists for the Link River band
22 men, 18 boys, 42 women, and 20 girls in five houses.[20]

K
An analysis of these three lists reveals interesting facts about 657*
the contemporary social groupings. Where the two censuses over- 648*
lap, there is overall agreement, although the figures for individual 592
households differ slightly. For the census of the Klamath at 162
large, the average household size is approximately 12 persons,

*657 *648 592 162 and this corresponds fairly closely with averages from the listing of Upper End bands. Only the Link River tally is aberrant, with an average of about 20, far above the figure to be obtained from those Link River households included in the census of the tribe at large. Since the tally was made in September, it may reflect the open living conditions of that season.[21]

*657 *648 592 622 162 Household size ranges from 27 persons down to 2, the latter figure for the household of a widow. Households of known chiefs —taking as criterion a signatory to the treaty of 1864—are well above the average, ranging generally between 22 and 15, with only those of the Modoc, Schonchin, and the Paiute, Ocheho,[22] falling below. However, as will be seen, chiefly households were not the largest in absolute figures: those of some of their followers exceeded them. The large households indicated here [[178] point to the continued presence of the extended family as a residential group.

*657 *648 592 162 By contrast, the census of Slabtown, a small settlement near the Agency occupied primarily by Agency employees in 1901, shows 13 households comprising house head, wife, and from three children down to none, with an average of 1.4. In one family a girl past school age, and in another a grown son, were among the children. In addition to those children at home, the families had others in school, in the same numerical range and with the same average. The total family size ranged from 2 to 8, with an average of 4.7. Because some of the family heads, perhaps all, were young at this time, family size may thus have been somewhat skewed.[23] Nonetheless, the contrast of these households comprising conjugal families with those occupied by extended families forty years earlier clearly demonstrates the residential fractionation of the larger units.

*657 *648 166 A seasonal mobility still characterized the Klamath family. Nickerson mentioned in 1884 that the heads of reservation families—from one-half to two-thirds of the men—had been away for the last four months, and added, "They generally take their families with them on such occasions."[24] Similarly, in a predecessor of Slabtown, over fifty families engaged in hauling logs on sleds to the sawmill camped in tents in January to be near their work.[25]

000 Of all the societal relationships, the government sought directly

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Of all the societal
relationships, the government sought directly 657*
to change only those within the family. It was clear that a nation 648*
that was soon to impose upon the Mormons the American, and 595
not the Biblical family, would permit no special marital practices 177
among the Indians. Polygamy was banned, although not retroactively 178
for unions such as those of Allen David and Monchnkasgitk,
which had been contracted prior to January 1, 1870.
Some leaders themselves appear to have advocated the change in
a desire to emulate whites. In 1877, Gatschet noted that there
were still two or three polygamous men.[26] Since polygamy had [556]
been a mark of the affluent, the ban, like the emancipation of the
slaves that preceded it, served to erode the status of the traditional
chiefs.

An effort was also made to place under the authority of the 657*
court of chiefs certain relationships which had formerly been 648*
regulated privately between the families or individuals concerned. 622
In the legal code instituted when the court was established, 692
the consecration of marriage was made the function of 685
the head chief, to whom the groom was to pay a fee of five, three, 583
or two dollars or the same amount in horses, graduated according [643]
to his means. It was again the chiefs who punished fornication [684]
and polygamy and performed divorce.[27] The traditional ritual [586]
of marriage still was being practiced by some families in the
1890's[28] but the gift exchanges between the families concerned
which set a public seal on the union were superseded, and the
controls exerted by the family over the couple were thereby
diminished. The effects of these and other changes were recognized
by Gatschet. "Matrimonial reverses . . . among the Klamath
[he declared] . . are one of the unavoidable consequences of
the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of
their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also
of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers
at Fort Klamath."[29]

With time, the seal upon marriage came to be set by the 657*
Methodist church and its ethics in turn permitted the independent 648*
of spirit to flout tradition. One woman recalled that upon 581
the death of her husband his family proposed that she wed his 587
brother in customary manner, but she refused out of regard for 177
the memory of her husband and the sanctity of the bond of their 178
marriage in the church.

*657 The removal of property interests in the marriage on the part
*648 of the natal families of the couple, together with the general
581 upheaval of society, brought to the fore the practice of common-
588 law marriage, previously an unusual form of union. In time, such
177 a marriage, if generally acknowledged as stable, was officially
178 termed an "Indian custom" marriage, and recognized by authorities and Indians alike. Many unions, however, were unstable, and genealogies reveal that then as now it was common to find individuals who had had as many as three mates. Indeed, the woman previously mentioned as refusing to marry her husband's brother subsequently consorted informally with her ranch foreman.

*657 Thus by the end of the period of its firmest control, the gov-
*648 ernment had altered the family in form to correspond to that
177 idealized in American society. It had done away with the special
593 status of slaves. Children were removed from the physical cus-
[567] tody of their parents and sent away to school, to be returned as adolescents at odds with the ways of their parents. These were individual measures, not calculated for their total impact. The approach to social, as to other aspects of change, was predicated upon the individual and upon the conjugal family. It failed to envisage the need to create bodies that would give strength and continuity to a reservation community.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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EIGHT

[P.105]

School

WHILE THE RE-EDUCATION OF THEIR ELDERS WAS BEING CARRIED OUT, 657*
it was the youth of the reservation on whom the Agents placed 648*
their ultimate hopes. The American faith in the transforming 871
powers of education is nowhere clearer than in the words of Dyar:

> Being fully convinced that a radical change in the Indian character can only be wrought in childhood and early youth, I would most respectfully urge the co-operation of the Government in the prosecution of this work of taking the children from their native haunts of degradation, and clothing, feeding, and teaching them the habits and arts of civilization.[1]

It had been a slow start. Lindsay Applegate had employed a 648*
teacher, but as that functionary observed, he had been "instructed 657*
to labor on the farms and to give instructions to certain Indians 872
in manual labor"—evidently not his metier.[2] The "sickly effort" [875]
as A. B. Meacham termed it, was abandoned,[3] and not until 1873 did Dyar's plan for a manual training boarding school bear fruit.[4] It met initial opposition. John Meacham had advocated the hiring of a "good reliable educated Indian" as teacher who "would himself be a living example of the result to be achieved by study. . . ."[5] Such a person might also have been able to reduce the initial aversion of parents to sending their children to school. Dyar noted, "I shall be obliged to commence with a very few—perhaps with orphans who have no friends to oppose." However,
he wisely declined to use force.[6] In his efforts he was to have the [643]
steadfast support of Henry Blow, who became head chief in 1874. "Mr. Dyar . . . says," wrote Nickerson, "that he never could have established the school on this reservation, had it not been for him. He was its friend when all others were against it."[7]

Soon Dyar had over twenty scholars,[8] only to have to close

*657 *648 872 down for lack of appropriated funds. Thereupon he set the teacher to giving general instruction to the Indian women in such subjects as housekeeping and sewing.[9]

After writing to Senator John H. Mitchell, Dyar was pleased to see the school reopen and soon had it running as a boarding school,[10] and was hoping for a similar school at Yainax. He still drew primarily upon the children of Agency employees: in a letter to Oliver Applegate, traveling with Meacham's lyceum tour in 1875, he reported: ". . . commenced school with Dave [Hill]'s and Tecumseh's children and a few others in attendence [sic]. . . ."[11] Elsewhere, he encountered considerable opposition, but stoutly maintained, "when they come in from the wokus grounds and settle down again in their winter homes I shall gather in more scholars."[12] Absenteeism plagued him. "[It] requires constant vigilance," he wrote "and sometimes the exercise of authority to prevent the children from leaving, or the parents from drawing them away as the time comes when they are in the habit of roving around after roots, etc."[13]

The erratic attendance made for disappointingly slow progress. Reported Roork:

> Many have gained a knowledge of the beginning of reading, while very few are found who read fluently in the third reader. This comes from their naturally unsettled character; they cannot be forced to stay in school, and many only just get ready to learn when they leave, thus making progress difficult though the numbers of scholars in attendance is about on an average.[14]

Nickerson, even while reporting the expansion of the school to two departments and fifty students, found himself forced to add, "the teaching of about one half of them in attendance is confined to the primer and first reader and primary speller."[15]

Nonetheless, there was a waiting list of would-be scholars, and by 1883 a second boarding school had been opened at Yainax. Students at both the Agency and Yainax schools devoted the mornings to studies and the afternoons to work under an industrial teacher. Boys were taught farming, cultivating the school garden, stock raising and dairying; they worked in the sawmill, and helped the carpenter, blacksmith, and wagon- and plowmaker. They also cut cordwood for the school. Girls learned clothes-making and housekeeping.[16]

An apprenticeship system had earlier been set up, with an 648*
Indian assigned to each artisan as assistant and understudy. 657*
Nickerson noted in 1882 that while "[the apprentices] are doing 872
as well as uneducated Indians can be expected to do, not one
of them . . . has had any school training, and but one can write
his name."[17] Presently schoolboys began to take over some of
these positions.

Many factors bore upon the effectiveness of the teaching. Elderly
individuals today can recall the first bewildered days at school—
sometimes relieved by the kindness of such teachers as one nick-
named by the children "Hummingbird"—but at best it was a
difficult experience. "Nine tenths of them," wrote Emery of the
newcomers, "know nothing of [English]. At first, when called 648*
to recite, they will dart under the seats, and have to be coaxed 657*
and helped from their hiding places by the hand of the teacher."[18] 872
Not always was such tenderness displayed. Although one man, 876
now deceased, recalled a generally pleasant experience and the
kindnesses of matrons and teachers,[19] a contemporary bitterly
recollected:

> In school they didn't allow us to talk in Klamath. We were punished if they caught us talking in Klamath. They would make us hold up a stick with our hands high. Sometimes they would make an older boy hold a fence rail on his back and walk around a tree stump. Sometimes one whole hour at a time. I never had to do that. Sometimes I would see the teacher or principal whip a boy with a good-sized willow. Sometimes they would make the boy take off his shirt and then the boy would never get over it. I felt that sometimes we boys should get together and give the teacher a whipping to see how he liked it. In the old Klamath days, the parents would switch the child on the legs or sometimes on his butt, but never that way—hard like that. . . . [191]
>
> At school I had it pretty tough. I was cold and hungry. When we made noise at table, we had to be punished without any food. I had to take food from the table. Fish at night. The children had to steal apples.

Detailed as meatcutter, he recalls that the choicest cuts went to employees, the necks and ribs to the children. And he concludes, "I learned how to steal at school to keep from going hungry."[20]

There were games and ice skating, and the brass band. For the 648*
adolescents there were illicit sexual adventures. Some children 657*
872
[857]
[883]

*648

*657 872 [797] [829] [464] first encountered Christianity at the school. There were studies, though the most lasting impressions were made in references to Indian wars in the histories.[21] Above all there was the heavy labor, for the development of the industrial program coincided with the period when able-bodied men were leaving the reservation on passes to work for whites; and the support not only of the schools but in some measure of other Agency programs devolved upon the scholars. As E. L. Applegate admitted, "the truth is, the labor is very heavy upon those old enough or intelligent enough to render any assistance; 110 people [in the school] constitute a large family."[22] Work on the school farm required the pupils to return in two-week shifts over the summer. A contest for control over this work force developed between Applegate and the Superintendent of the Agency school, who presumed to take his orders directly from the Superintendent of Indian Schools in Washington.[23]

*648 *657 871 There was competition from off-reservation schools over the older students. In 1881, Nickerson, perhaps prodded from above, had attempted to send twelve superior students to the Indian school at Forest Grove—later removed to Chemawa, Oregon—but funds were not available to send them the 450 miles distant.[24] In a letter from Acting Commissioner E. L. Stevens, the role of those schools and their competition with Agency schools are clearly acknowledged. Declared Stevens:

> It is not the policy of this office to remove pupils from reservation to distant boarding schools without the consent of their parents.
>
> It is always the case that the removal from agency schools of the older and more intelligent pupils is, temporarily at least, a detriment to the schools; but it is believed that the superior advantages which can be had away from the Indian country, and the reflex influence on the families who thus commit themselves to civilization, more than compensate to the tribe for the loss occasioned to the schools.[25]

*648 *659 871 165 In 1885, accordingly, nineteen students were sent away to school, and by spring, five had died. Eventually eight were dead, and Emery wrote, "This great mortality has caused much dissatisfaction among my Indians; and any effort to remove any more children to this School will meet with serious opposition on

648* 657* 87 165

the part of the Indians."[26] The issue was not successfully reopened until the administration of O. C. Applegate.

648* 657* 875 876

In the education for a new life which the schools essayed to impart—and this, against all diversions, was its chief task—the caliber of the teaching staff was crucial. It is difficult to evaluate the accomplishments of the teachers, for some were relatives or longtime friends of the Agent; and the adverse criticisms of such men as Emery sometimes cloak differences in educational outlook. Scattered through the records are remarks on the lack of prior school or Indian service experience. In one staff evaluation appears a notation on Thomas Davis, industrial teacher, "recommended by Governor Penoyer as his nephew. He is learning and is prepared to do better in the future."[27] Of another, J. W. Brandenberg, superintendent and principal teacher at the Yainax school, it was observed, "He has maintained good discipline in this School, though his methods of punishment may have been considered a little severely by the Department; he having resorted to the shackles in extreme cases. . . ."[28] These are commendatory remarks. Brandenberg was later removed by order of the Commissioner.

An extreme instance was detailed by E. L. Applegate in charges against Col. H. B. Compson, the Superintendent of the Agency School. After describing the squalor of his residence, Applegate proceeds:

> As an example of the civilized White men, he could and did knock down his wife in the presence of the school girls while, at the same time, their daughter, the assistant matron, belabored him over the head with a wagon whip. The matron herself was an invalid, but of sufficient spite and vim; as to inflict scars on different parts of the bodies of school girls, and even upon their faces and heads.[29]

In the light of conflicts over educational and disciplinary practices and the frequent partisanship, it is not surprising that there should have been a high turnover of staff. The Superintendent of the Agency boarding school noted in 1892 that over the previous seven years there had been on the average a change in Superintendent every six months, and that there was marked insubordination among the scholars.[30] Eight years later, the

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*648 *657 875 876 Superintendent of the school at Yainax was more explicit. Acknowledging that it may occasionally have been necessary to resort to forbidden disciplinary measures, he added:

> When the Indians find that they cannot tantalize a careworn employee into doing something rash and thus secure his discharge, it will be easier to get along with a minimum of severity. . . . This is entirely impossible without occasional resort to force. Interest, where no object is visible, must sometimes be bolstered up by respect for physical force.

And he observed tersely, "I find some lack of training in employees and a good deal of smiling and obedient inertia."[31]

*648 *657 871 It had been the very purpose of the school to break with the past and thus shape the future. When the school prevented girls from participating in the puberty ritual and the boys from going on the vision quest, the break was sharp. When it exalted the virtues of hard work, it provided a reassuring continuity, albeit fortuitous, with the native exhortations. Many practices prohibited in the schools were merely suspended, to be resumed upon graduation.

To the old skills, however, new abilities were added. Nickerson had long ago suggested that apprentices such as young Jesse Kirk, "one of our oldest and most advanced school boys," be issued tools, after working out their value in the Agency shops, and thus be prepared at once to earn their living and to provide for their people services hitherto available only from the Agency.[32] Others had been trained to farm or ranch and to keep house; and all had learned in some measure to speak English, to read, to do simple arithmetic, and had at least an acquaintance with history and geography.

Beyond those competencies lay a precipitate of experience—for most children the first intimate experience—with the Agency. They had been subjected to a detailed and vigilant regimen which left few things private; and the chief lesson of the encounter for some was that there are ways to circumvent authority. To many, the governing white was symbolized for years in the face of a Miss "Hummingbird" or in the formidable visage of a Colonel Compson.

[Klamath Reservation]

NINE

Religion

THE FINAL FIELD OF PLANNED CHANGE TO BE COSIDERED IS THAT OF 657*
religion. The traditional American separation of church and 648*
state did not obtain in the early history of the reservation, which, 797
during the Grant administration, was entrusted to the Methodist Church. Several Agents, beginning with Dyar, and more than one employee, were ordained ministers. Although for some years the church did not send a missionary upon the reservation, religious services were held and the Word preached. The Annual Conference of the Methodist Church on several occasions served as a sounding board for intrigues on the part of white employees against the Agent.

Nor was religion divorced from political control on the native 657*
side. It will be recalled that shamans had been dominant figures 648*
before the rise of the centralizing chiefs, and that subsequently 756
their power often buttressed that of individual chiefs. The con- 178
tinued presence of that influence now challenged the rule of the Agent. Lindsay Applegate later, in his roughhewn spelling, characterized the "Indian doctor" as "the dangers imposter who was the grate Bareer aganst their siviliseation . . ." adding "I made him giv Back the property that he had taken from his people By his false pretences [.] when he got two Bissy I put him in the guard hose[.]"[1] Captain Knapp brought similar pressure to bear in an effort to remove interference with proposed medical innovations. John Meacham, who succeeded him, commented upon the futility of his drastic measures:

> This was well and the Captain deserves credit for it, but it had about as much effect in eradicating these superstitious notions from the minds of the Indians as would the execution of the Pope of Rome and the proscription of every priest in Christendom in abolishing from the earth the papal theory of religion.

> *657 To prevent a *practice* is one thing, to change the belief in the
> *648 theory which actuated that practice is quite another thing. Thus
> 756 while it is very true the *practice* of medicine by Indian doctors
> is abolished yet I am fully warranted in saying that there is not
> 178 half a dozen Indians on the Reservation who are not as firm as ever in the belief of "spiritual medicine." Even Head Chief Allan David grave, sedate, and logical as he is in most things, acknowledged to me the other day that he ***still believed*** and was afraid to punish the Doctors.[2]

Notwithstanding his appreciation of the difficulty in eradicating belief in this way, Meacham continued to war against the shamans, causing Link River Doctor, whom Knapp had imprisoned, to be arrested and tried for having openly defied the order against shamanistic practice.[3] Meanwhile, he hailed the ministrations of the agency physician as demonstrating "that an efficient, patient and intelligent physician can do more than almost any other person in rooting out thier [sic] faith in thier own 'spiritual' medicine, and thus opening the way for the white man's customs, laws and religion."[4]

Not all shamans were initially singled out, for many were held in esteem. Of his paternal grand-aunt, a shaman, a present-day informant recalled, "She was like a preacher and all respected her. Chief Chiloquin always called her first when he had a meeting because she had a good brain. . . . Sally had a strong power
*657 [i.e. tutelary spirit]. . . ."[5] Tecumseh, an early Agency employee
*648 and Dave Hill's companion during the lyceum tour of 1875, was
756 a noted shaman. It was the parvenu chiefs, replacing Lileks and
754 Chiloquin, who abetted the Agents; and initially, as in the code
set forth by Dave Hill, their censure was directed only against
622 sorcery. Indeed, Hill's wife wrote him that she had taken their
177 ailing child to a female shaman to be cured.[6] As Henry Blow
178 remarked, "Since there is a white man's law among us the doctors
are afraid to kill for malice or money as they did long ago, but exert the same power to heal the sick as they did."

*657 Significantly, when the court of chiefs tried Doctor John, a
*648 shaman, for having bewitched and thus slain another, the chief
756 witness against him was Sally, the woman shaman mentioned
622 above, who testifyed that in her dreams her shamanistic powers
177 had seen those of the accused.[7]

178 In 1880, Nickerson took a further step toward reducing the
[754] number of shamans, but thereby gave those who remained a

measure of official sanction. "I have recently induced their chiefs 657*
and people," he reported, "to dispense with one half or more of 648*
their native doctors, each chief and his people selecting one to 756
retain. They came into this plan more readily than I had appre- 622
hended."[8] On a visit to the Agency, Lindsay Applegate came 178
upon the new system and, in a letter bristling with indignation, 177
wrote "[Nickerson] turned to me and remarked that they ware
his indian docters that he had invited the indians to furnish to
practice with his docter at the same time [.]"[9]

Meanwhile, the growing success of the medical program upon 657*
the reservation sapped the authority of the shamans in what was 648*
their last legitimate field. The personality of Dr. Royal, who had 756
doubled as chief of police, apparently did much to win over 164
some of the chiefs, as did his treatment of syphilitic cases among 177
the Indians. (Since, as Roork had remarked, the disease had been 178
contracted by Indians in the course of their annual trading trips to Oregon City and other points,[10] it may have had a higher incidence in chiefly families.) They desired to retain him and, wrote Nickerson in advocating this, "Should he remain permanently the chiefs have agreed to do all they can to do away with their Indian doctors. These Indian doctors have heretofore had almost unbounded sway over the people."[11]

In outlawing shamanistic activities, the Agency in effect drove 657*
a wedge between the shaman and his ritual assistants: the inter- 648*
preter, caller, and singers. Since a curing seance was a public 756
demonstration, it involved too many participants to be concealed 177
easily; and the shamans, formerly among the most respected and 178
feared members of the tribe, were not given to skulking. More- [178]
over, in native theory, supernatural power waxes with use; and when performances were no longer given frequently, that power declined.

Recalled H. N.:

> I always seen David Hill go among the people and interpret the agent's words. Sally [the shaman] said, "I didn't do it myself, but my medicine do it. It's up to my medicine. If I do it, it's the medicine's fault." But David Hill said, "It's better for you to quit than to have trouble for yourself, or your family. That's what the agent wants."
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> . . .
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> Nobody ever called her after the orders were given. They might help minor things. I watched Sally. I watched her doctor.

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> *657 She worked all night once, and I thought there must be some-
> *648 thing to it. But her power got small. You know what the Chris-
> 756 tians say, "Backslide," not working strong enough. She said, "My
> 177 help is getting small."[12]

178 Alec Wilson was a shaman, one of perhaps three in the lower
Williamson River area. After the Agency had outlawed shaman-
istic curing, he gave up his practice. Later, his child fell ill. His
wife railed at him, "You call yourself an Indian doctor! Why
don't you do something? Can't you see your own child is dying?"
Helplessly, he explained, "My tricks [i.e. powers] are all gone,
have left me; I can't do nothing without my tricks."

Though prohibited, shamanistic activities continued into re-
cent times. In 1897, Emery dealt severely with two instances of
curing at Paiute Camp, awarding a month at hard labor each to
Doctor Sam and Tom Godowa for attempting a shamanistic cure
of the latter's daughter and a week in jail to Tom Chocktoot,
headman of the Paiute, for a similar effort on behalf of Pete
Pauline's daughter. Chocktoot had also to return the sack of flour
K and blanket he had received as his fee.[13] A number of adults who
[838] were products of the boarding school recall the transvestite
shaman, White Cindy. One man was cured by him in the early
1890's;[14] and a woman who fell ill through dreaming of him
underwent the required shamanistic cure, although she was a
Methodist. Henry Jackson is said to have retained shamans to
perform cures at his house, and he is widely suspected to have
hired the assassin of the Modoc shaman, Doctor George, in 1899,
K on the suspicion that he had encompassed the death of his sons.[15]

*648 While the campaign against the shamans was proceeding,
*657 other events had taken place. In 1871, a Paiute had introduced
756 668 upon the Upper End (Yainax) the nativistic Ghost Dance reli-
177 gion; and Doctor George, at that time not yet a shaman, had
M 648 brought it to the Tule Lake Modoc. There it was taken up by the
657 Modoc shaman, Curley-haired Doctor, and played an ideological
756 role during the Modoc War. A Klamath commoner named
668 O'Toole brought the religion to the Lower End, at the Lakes,
177 where a dance was organized by Allen David (then head chief),
Lobert, a headman and shaman, O'Toole, and Frank Chilks,
another commoner. No Agency employees among the Indians
participated.

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After the end of the Modoc War, a second movement, the 657*
Earthlodge Cult, was brought to the reservation by two Pit River 668
Indians, Henry Jackson and Pit River Charley, who had learned 177
about it while visiting relatives in northern California. Shortly 178
after this cult was introduced, a delegation of Klamath and Modoc from both Ends of the reservation visited Falls City, California, and Fort Crook to witness dances and seek the "message." Gradually, the Earthlodge Cult passed into a second phase, known as the Dream Dance. At the Upper End, the leaders were again Doctor George and Monchnkasgitk, while at the Lower they included Allen David, Jason Howard, a commoner, Chanchan, a shaman from Pelican Bay, O'Toole, and Lobert. The Paiute abstained from both the earlier and the later phases of this cult. The movement effectively stopped about 1878 with the building of the Methodist Church.

Nash, whose account has been followed here, has set forth the ritual and the theological content of each movement and has convincingly analyzed the social tensions and individual drives, so far as they can be recovered, that gave significance to the movements. The Ghost Dance was given antiwhite content by
the Tule Lake Modoc, but not by the other groups. The Earth- [184]
lodge Cult, on the other hand, was strongly antiwhite at the Upper End, but not at the Agency. Around this time the Indians were becoming alarmed by reports that they were going to be exterminated by the troops and agitated by the boundary line and military road disputes, which especially affected the Upper End. Such fears may have contributed to the growth and local character of the Earthlodge Cult.

Viewed together, these movements constituted a progressive accommodation to the Klamath scene. As Nash characterizes it:

> The Ghost Dance represented a sharp break with Modoc and Klamath ritual tradition. The Earthlodge Cult was more in accord with this tradition, and the Dream Dance was still more consonant with it, and in the course of its development became
> incorporated into it. At the same time the aboriginal distinction [756]
> between the ritual experience of shamans and the ritual experience of nonshamans was broken down. Participants in the Dream Dance, particularly the strong dreamers, began acting like shamans; and shamans who participated in the Dream Dance acted more like ordinary men. . . . As the Dream Dance grew older, the traditional gap between shamans and non-

3:Stern E-4/5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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shamans widened again as ordinary people ceased dreaming, and shamans incorporated Dream Dance symbols and practices into their rituals.[16]

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While these nativistic movements were going on, the first steps were being taken to provide Christian training to replace the native faith which was being discredited. In 1872, Thomas Pearne, an educated Indian from the Yakima reservation, had been appointed interpreter. During that year, until his resignation to return to Washington Territory in the following spring, he carried on missionary work among the Klamath, bringing thirty-six into the church. Among them was Lileks, who at his death three years later was numbered among the "Praying Indians."[17] [622]

The following year, the Reverend James Harer was appointed Commissary at Yainax, where for a brief period he preached at religious meetings which were well attended.[18] By 1876, the Agent at the Lower End and the farmer at Yainax still were holding forth. Employees had volunteered to advance half the salary for a missionary if the Methodist Missionary Society would match the amount; but nothing came of it.[19] Roork, the following year, took a number of the principal men and women, along with some scholars from the Indian School, to the annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Salem, probably in another appeal for a missionary.[20]

The flavor of those early meetings is preserved in one of the letters to Dave Hill, dictated in 1875 by Allen David.

> After we had had our talk at the Agency I sent word for all the people to come to my house to talk about these things, and see who would agree to listen to what Dave, Tecumseh and I had said, and who would get our hearts and who would not. I told them to come on Sunday the Lord's day and we would all the same as mammook [make, hold] church, we would make good hearts and the Lord would mammook close nanish [take good care of] us on his day. So some Yainax Inds.—Brown Mosenkosket and some Modocs, some Lake Inds., some Chiloquin's people and some of all the Inds. came. Chikaskane first spoke and said that at first he had a bad heart. That the chiefs first listened to the Agents and got their hearts and then tried to get the other Inds. to get the same hearts; that they had put him in the guard house which was right, and Mr. Dyar was also right for he was in the wrong and all the same as said to the Chiefs

> & Mr. Dyar, "here, you mammook law on me." Their hearts were all right while I was wrong and deserved what I got. Now I throw away all that old bad heart."[21]

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In 1880 a church building capable of seating two hundred persons was framed with lumber brought in by the Indians, but two years passed before it was completed.[22] Meanwhile, the work with the congregation had gone on apace.

As Roork mentioned, since it was thought best in preaching to ignore Chinook jargon, "an interpreter is employed who expounds in Klamath the instructions designed especially for their enlightenment." After Sunday school, in the afternoon another service was held, "introduced by a brief sermon, followed by remarks by one or more of the most intelligent Christian Indians, who address their own people in Klamath."[23] The leaders in this practice were Henry Blow and Dave Hill. Both the exhortative character of the sermon and the circumstance that the Agent often led the services provided links with the corresponding admonitions of the chiefs of former days. Dave Hill, at this time employed as official interpreter,[24] doubtless served in this capacity for religious services.

When the church building had been completed the services were conducted in part by the Agent and employees, in part by Hill, now a preacher of the Methodist Church.[25] Both he and Henry Blow frequently visited the school, lecturing on the virtues of Christian living.[26] Three years later, young Jesse Kirk, also ordained, was participating in services. A camp meeting of that year, held by Reverend Driver, presiding elder of the district, resulted in 83 baptisms. The total membership of the church numbered 240 members.[27] At school, children were given Bibles and set to memorizing verses.

One man recalls such a meeting presided over by Joseph Emery:

> There was a full house, nothing but Indians. . . . They called us to the front bench—those who can sing sit there. One of the Indian interpreters told us to go there. We both went up front. . . . The service lasted about one hour. The preacher [Emery] prayed first. He prayed to God same thing over and over. "Let these Indians learn and learn to pray to Thee. More and more have them change from old ways to the English ways. Not help them only, but help their children to grow in grace.

> *648 Make them better men and women." He was a Methodist
> *657 preacher and was a big man. He had a loud voice and was a
> 797 good singer. He was awfully strict. He didn't want the Indians to get into trouble. He said, "If you don't mind me, I will put you in jail or put a ball and chain on you." And he did. So the Indians behaved well, you know. I understood what he said, and it sounded good to me and after they interpreted his sermon in Klamath, the old Indians liked it too. Testimonies were then given. . . . The preacher read from the scriptures and made sermon. . . . He said, "I want people to come together and work together as one."[18]

*648 *657 793 756 177 178 The emergence of native preachers provides another illustration of the confrontation of native and American roles. From the Indian viewpoint, the role of shaman did not coincide with that of the American preacher, for in aboriginal times the shaman's duties had encompassed curative powers, and through sorcery and counter-sorcery he had come to wield quasipolitical influence as well. Now healing lay within the duties of the Agency physician, while political sway had passed progressively, first to the raid-and-trade leaders and latterly to the Agency chiefs.

*648 *657 793 622 537 177 178 On the other hand, points of resemblance existed between the traditional role of the chief and that of the preacher. The sermon, the most distinctive and formal exercise of the minister, as the Indian saw him, corresponded most closely with the exhortations to a better life given by chiefs to followers and by elders to the young. The correspondence of preaching with political authority was furthered by the circumstance that a number of Agents had assumed the responsibility of preaching to the Indians. Among those realizing the linkage in their actions were Dave Hill and, to a lesser extent, Lileks, Allen David, and Henry Blow. Jesse Kirk, soon to become a preacher, later applied that office to political ends.

*648 *657 776 177 178 In the Klamath view of the supernatural order, syncretism set in early, probably as the result of an Indian effort to reconcile native and Christian belief. The trickster-transformer figure of Gmukamps, known in myth by the epithets, "Earth-Maker" and "The One Above," became identified by some with God, although his trickster exploits led others to reject this. Within the first decade of reservation life, Christian dualism, seizing upon the first correspondence, became responsible for the coining of

another figure, known only as "The One Below," to represent the 648*
Devil. This figure appears in a Klamath version of the Garden 657*
of Eden recorded by Gatschet[29]—a tale no longer recalled today. 776
The identification of Gmukamps with God is strengthened in 177
Indian eyes by his mythical foster-parentage of the hero, Aisis. 178
As one Modoc, a fundamentalist preacher, has put it:

> you know, Gmukamps and Aisis—that's nothing but God and Jesus. The Indians knew the story of the Bible, but they were ignorant in those days. They thought that the lakes they performed their miracles around were the Klamath lakes; they didn't know it was really the Sea of Galilee."[30]

Looking back over the entire field of change from the last 657*
decades of the nineteenth century, the observer could discern 648*
major acculturative trends. The Klamath who entered upon the 177
treaty had already undergone pervasive, though largely un- 178
directed modification. Thereafter, they were subjected to a consistent policy of change which, despite defects in execution, outside interference, and an intervening war, was maintained for well over a generation. Within this frame, a reservation culture had taken shape, embodying a synthesis of white and Indian lifeways. By the middle of the next century, only a handful of tribesmen would be left who could report from direct knowledge events of pretreaty days; the remaining elders would be products of the synthesis.

Measured by the indexes which the Bureau employed to register progress, the advance was evident. When that formula- [464]
tive period was ended, a large number of the Klamath were [511]
productively engaged in work of "civilized" character, and their material wants had come to approximate those of their white
neighbors. Many were conversant, and a few literate, in English, [191]
and their numbers were increasing steadily. The extended family, [212]
at least among the progressive, had made way for the more [596]
mobile and assimilable conjugal family. In the schools, a new [594]
generation was being trained to embrace as natural and desirable [871]
a way of life which the Church, in turn, commended as good to old and young alike. Expectations seemed to lie within the grasp of those willing to work to achieve them.

Beneath the surface upon which these changes could be traced, [571]
however, lay cleavages and disconformities as yet unfathomed

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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*648 that were to threaten their success. Under the pressure of change,
*657 the Klamath had responded in diverse ways and had drawn
177 apart. A program addressed to a single people–if drawn from
178 several tribal cultures–had now to cope with a growing variety
571 of subgroups shaped by the acculturative experiences they had
undergone. Loosely structured as the native societies had been, they had nonetheless been clearly delimited. Participation in American culture now greatly extended their limits, and beyond the reservation the simple clarity of the social relationships they knew soon became distorted. As they participated in the life that went on beyond the reservation, the Klamath grew conscious of roles that not merely diverged from those of native society but at times were even lacking there.

In the new setting, expectations blossomed, on the part of whites as well as of the Indians, for which the reservation provided inadequate soil. A central goal in administrative planning was the inculcation of individualism, a characteristic ideal of American society of that day. The pursuit of self-interest must, however, have its limits; otherwise it trespasses upon the interests of others. Even in the days of the "robber barons" of nineteenth-century enterprise, American culture provided a context of value and structure within which individualism flourished, and which set limits upon untrammeled license. On the reservation, the creation of a similar context proved difficult indeed; it might even be said that the planners seemed unaware of the need to establish such restraints. As a result, they left the field free for the burgeoning of narrow self-interest.

Tribal society had been small in scale,[31] marked by scanty numbers and intensive face-to-face relations. Self-interest had been present here as well, but it had been subjected to major restraints by family and village. In transforming this society, the Agency had placed a premium upon explicit and formal controls exercised by its staff and by those Indians closely dependent upon it. A major characteristic of reservation society was the extent to which the Agency had become implicated in its being. Administrators, seeking to transform that society, strove to remove a strictly Klamath leadership as an intermediate variable in control, in the well-founded fear that such leaders might prove too independent. In so doing, they enlarged the gulf separating

political authority from the governed. The Klamath, in turn, became increasingly unresponsive to political control vested in an alien administration. Consequently, when the Agency later became aware of the need to limit the growth of rampant individualism, it no longer was heeded. Moreover, the dissolution of other restraining bodies had gone on apace, until at the end of the period of control there were left as social stabilizers only a weakened extended family, shifting neighborhoods, and the followings of popular, informal leaders.

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On the threshold of allotment in severalty, with its further stress upon separatism, the prospect was not auspicious.

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[Klamath Reservation]

PART III

[P.123]

THE END OF ISOLATION

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[Klamath Reservation]

[P.124]

OOO "This law is a mighty pulverizing engine in breaking up the tribal mass."

—BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS[1]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

TEN

[P.125]

The Changing Environs

THE ISOLATION OF THE RESERVATION HAD NEVER BEEN MORE THAN A 657*
relative condition. From early days the soldiers at Fort Klamath, 648*
the settlers on Wood River and the Upper Sprague, together [361]
with the growing towns of Linkville and Lakeview, made its [166]
seclusion far less than absolute. A policy that permitted the [464]
freighting runs to Jacksonville and Ashland or the pass system by which perhaps three-fourths of the men and their families were permitted to leave the reservation for as long as four months to work for whites: these greatly diminished the policy controls exercised by the Agent.

In the period ahead, however, boundaries were to be further [161]
dissolved. In 1882 Nickerson could declare, "This reservation contains as many inhabitants to the square mile as Lake County or Eastern Oregon."[2] Homesteaders were even then filling up the land, and the rate accelerated as Linkville—become Klamath Falls—and Lakeview responded to the market and communication needs of the region. When the Southern Pacific railroad reached Klamath Falls in 1909, the resource relationships in the
Klamath Basin changed radically. Reservation timber, previously [313]
of little commercial value, suddenly possessed great worth and the mills in Klamath Falls and neighboring communities soon became reliant upon it. The Oregon, Central, and Eastern railroad ran up the Sprague River Valley, while by 1911 the Southern Pacific had pushed north across the western face of the reservation to Kirk. In 1923 work was resumed on the latter line to complete the Natron Cutoff from the Willamette Valley; three years later it was completed. Thereafter, the Lower End lay on a main line.

Thus, to the cattlemen and sheepmen operating on the reser- [563]
vation under grazing leases were added railway gangs, then

*657 logging camps and mill towns. In 1930, at a time when the total
*648 enrollment of the tribe was some 1,250 persons, the predomi-
[563] nantly non-Indian population of one such reservation town,
[61] Chiloquin, and its environs was roughly 1,850, a figure which placed it second in size in the entire county. Indian-white relationships in such communities could no longer be adequately regulated by the Agent. Moreover, improved means of communi-
[484] cation made it possible for an Indian to travel off the reservation at will and thus beyond the reach of Agency authority. Most
[434] important of all, income from grazing leases, claims against the government, and land and timber sales gave him the equality of the marketplace.

*648 The maintenance of boundaries was justified in official corre-
*657 spondence of the eighties by the fate of those Indians who went
166 off the reservation. "Quite a number of the Indians," wrote
423 Emery, "obtain passes and go out to seek a living among the whites. They usually camp in the suburbs of our little towns. With few exceptions these Indians become thriftless vagabonds. . . ."[3]

In 1884, Nickerson felt it necessary to counter the proposal of Judge W. S. Moore, of Linkville, that Sammy Andy, an Indian who had been working for Moore on pass, be allowed to locate permanently at Linkville and be released from the control of the U.S. Indian Agent.

> As there is no land that this man can secure as a homestead [he concluded], . . . [and] as I have no assurance that he has means sufficient to purchase a home suitable for his support, I do not approve of nor advise that the request be granted at present. Judge Moore has been very kind to this Indian, but should he die or move away, the Indian would be in a poor position to live, and would be subject to many serious temptations.[4]

The need for a general policy became apparent when several Modoc families who had never been on the reservation preempted homesteads in the Tule Basin. A reservation Indian, upon the advice of an attorney, likewise renounced his tribal relations and took up a homestead. "He has become deficient under his supposed citizenship," reported Nickerson, "and says he will not allow the Police to arrest him. . . . There is a white man

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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among them who is their counselor, . . . and who tells the 648*
Indians on the reservation that they can leave the reservation 657*
when they please."[5] Despite the contrary views of the U.S. 166
District Attorney, two years later the Commissioner held that 423
any adult Indian or the head of a family was free to take a homestead on the public domain, and was further exempted from paying entry fees or commission.[6] When the General Allotment Act came into force next year, provision was made that nonreservation Indians might be allotted on the public domain.[7]

As reservation control weakened, there was an increase in the 648*
incidence of crime. Dyar had had to contend with "professional" 657*
gamblers in his day, with the prostitution of Indian women, and 694
with a few instances of bootlegging. When two Agency employees were killed in separate incidents little more than a month apart, the events had "had a very disheartening effect upon these [Indians] and many of them [were] for the time inclined to let go all holds and go back to their old customs."[8] Significantly one of those deaths, a shooting by a white sheepherder, occurred along the public road through the reservation.

Soon, across the reservation line on Wood River beyond Fort Klamath, saloons began to spring up. Nickerson stopped one man, a discharged soldier from Fort Klamath, and seized the liquor he was transporting to that oasis. He thereupon found himself facing extensive litigation, for the man had influential associates in Linkville. Before he was done with this and other cases arising from enforcement of the liquor regulations, the Agent was out of pocket nearly $1,000 in his own defense.

Although bootlegging, quarrels, and some shootings continued 648*
to involve whites, frictions began to develop with alien "half- 657*
breeds." The death of one of the employees slain in Dyar's time 674
was at first attributed to a "half-breed"; another was involved in 563
shooting up a saloon in the Wood River settlement; it was at least an outside Indian, a Pit River, who shot an Indian policeman at the Lost River fishery in 1883, and an interbreed who slew police lieutenant David Hill at the same place nine years later. An interbreed served as contact man for a saloonkeeper of the Wood River settlement, and another was accused of bootlegging in the nearby woods and at the autumn camps on Huckleberry

*648 Mountain. Indeed, it became customary for some Agents to
*657 attribute any breach of law, author unknown, to a member of
674 that class.
[563]

As the country became more thickly populated, there came a brief period when outlaws took advantage of the distinct jurisdiction of the reservation. Cattle rustlers and horse thieves plied their trade across the line, stealing from Indians and whites alike. About the turn of the century, when the stage was being robbed with discouraging frequency, some of the outlaws seem to have operated occasionally out of the thinly patrolled reservation. At least one man, after having stolen a horse and saddle on the reservation, was soon thereafter caught in a stage holdup. These conditions while they lasted gave increased point to the need to maintain surveillance over whites within the reservation.

Against these various threats, the Agents strove valiantly. In the 1880's, when trespassing cattle from the eastern side of the reservation brought the integrity of the boundaries into issue, Emery resorted to cavalry to clear them off. Repeatedly, Agents ordered undesirables off the reservation, recommended to the Commissioner action to be taken on the licensing of traders, and sent the Indian police after runaway schoolboys and their seniors who were off the reservation without pass. Indians traveling in a group away from the reservation were accompanied by an Agency employee, often a member of the police. Whites who wished to work for Indians were screened. "I am quite sure from the statement of your letter," wrote O. C. Applegate to a man who proposed to work for Henry Jackson, ". . . that you are a man who wishes to be governed by the rules of the reservation. I therefore have no objection to your doing the work you propose for Jackson. . . ."[9] To the pass system was sometimes added the condition of the white sponsor. "Hereafter," Applegate declared, "I shall not give an Indian girl a pass to remain in town on the plea that she wants to work, until she brings an application from some responsible party."[10]

*648 Leasing likewise passed through the hands of the Agent during
*657 much of this period. "It is true that you are capable of handling
427 small things," Superintendent H. G. Wilson wrote Modoc Henry,
"but as it is against the regulations to lease land outside of this

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office, I will have to insist upon having the leases drawn through 657*
this office."[11] Even marriage had to be restricted at first in order 427
that proper records be maintained. Thus Marshall Petet rejected 648*
the request of an off-reservation preacher to marry a couple 657*
with the statement that "it is the custom for the Indians to either 585
be married by Mr. Starnes, the Methodist preacher, or myself." He added, "Indians marrying off of the Reservation, and where no notice of the same ever reaches this office, has given rise to much trouble, and I therefore require that they be married here."[12] With time, such controls had to be relinquished.

Meanwhile, such a man as O. C. Applegate, with his broad 648*
acquaintanceship in Klamath Falls and his long familiarity with 657*
the Indians, took upon himself the role of patron and middleman. 426
For several women who wished to employ an Indian housekeeper [464]
or cook he was indefatigable in his efforts. He gave advice on the credit ratings of various Indians to numerous merchants in Klamath Falls. Occasionally he loaned money to those he deemed good risks, or advanced out of pocket cash to pay a debt long outstanding. Usually, however, he merely paraphrased the words of Emery that "Jim Smith has a contract to cut wood" and therefore can be trusted for an advance of $50.00 worth of merchandise. He might observe that "Judge Joseph Kirk is a good square man, and I wish you might make him an exception in his case." On a few occasions he sought to have Henry Jackson agree to underwrite a credit for another Indian.

Other men undertook to extend credit on a smaller scale. Daniel Cronemiller, who long before (1883) had advanced credit to Indians, cosigned at least two notes with Indians: one with Jesse Kirk and another with Henry Wilson. About the turn of the century, the former Agent, Leroy S. Dyar, estimated that through the years he had loaned approximately six hundred dollars to Indians.

The Agent's power, however, was an important condition of 648*
his patronage. The assignment of freight loads from the railroads 657*
at Ager and Pokegama, California, was rotated among available 464
Indian teamsters, but the administrator made sure that the deserving 494
received more frequent assignments. Thus, Emery could request a merchant to let Stonewall Jackson have the merchan-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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*648 dise he required, adding "I will see that he gets a load of freight
*657 to haul, and when he has hauled the same, you will be reimbursed
464 therefore."[18]

494 Within the context of allotment, controls were soon to prove inadequate.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

ELEVEN

[P.131]

The General Allotment Act

IN THE TREATY OF 1864, THE PROVISIONS FOR ASSIGNING INDIVIDUAL 648*
tracts had anticipated the more elaborate planning that twenty- 657*
three years later resulted in the Dawes—or General Allotment— 423
Act. The principal object of that legislation was to individualize the Indian by assigning him a private tract, to be held in trust by the United States for at least twenty-five years, and by granting him citizenship. In the minds of many, the act was a counterpart to the Homestead Act. Nickerson, arguing against the opening of Yainax as proposed in 1881 by a bill before Congress, had stated of the reservation:

> It is a rocky, volcanic country not one tenth of which would be taken under pre-emption or homestead laws were it thrown open [134]
> for settlement. It is impossible for any person to live and support [137]
> a family on 160 acres of average land. It requires large ranges of this volcanic ashy soil to produce sufficient grass for an ordinary drove of cattle while a strip of low meadow land to produce hay and perhaps some grain is a necessity in successful stock raising in this climate.[1]

From the first, the news of imminent allotment was paired with the realization that left-over reservation lands were to be declared surplus and thrown open to purchase and homesteading by whites. The intelligence reached the Indians even while they were aroused by the barbed-wire encroachments of stockmen on the Upper End (which culminated in the slaying of a former member of the Indian police), coupled with disquieting rumors that the new government survey would exclude much of the valley of the Upper Sprague.[2] Fortunately, not until the following year did Emery receive instructions to evaluate

*648 those Indians who were "ready, competent and willing" to re-
*657 ceive lands in severalty, to report such opposition as might be
423 raised, "and . . . endeavor to overcome it by pointing out the
advantages of individual ownership."[3]

A month later Emery reported on a council that he had called,
[622] at which he and Captain Carpenter had explained the law. "The
[666] Indians," he continued, "were then permitted to council among
themselves for an hour, when, by the request of the Chiefs and leading men, they were again called together, and requested to be given the privilege to vote—which was given—nearly all present voting in affirmative. The number present was estimated at 600." Later he held another council at Yainax "at which were over 200 Indians, nearly all of whom received favorably the proposition of the Government." At another passage he noted, "no leading Indian opposes the measure."[4] Over 800 names were enrolled for allotment, out of a total of 933.

By the provisions of the act as amended in 1891, each enrolled
[311] member was to receive a single allotment, comprising one-eighth
of a section (80 acres) of farming land or double the amount of grazing land. Emery termed the Klamath a grazing reservation with a proportion of agricultural to pastoral lands of one to twenty-five; and accordingly requested that double allotments be issued and that all eligible members take turns at selecting the first allotment, repeating by rotation on the second tract. "This," he observed, " will distribute the good land *more equally* among the Indians." Matthews, terming the mountainous portions of the reservation worthless, advocated that after allotment these acres be held in common by the tribe.[5]

The actual allotment of land was delayed several years, pending settlement of a controversy over the external boundaries of the reservation and of the overlapping claims of the California and Oregon Land Company, successor to the Military Road tracts. The Indians grew somewhat restive under the delay, and Matthews found it necessary to warn that "should the Indians be persuaded to give up their surplus lands before they have made improvements upon their allotments I fear there would be much dissatisfaction among them."[6] Only in 1895 did Maj. Charles E. Worden, assisted by Jesse Kirk as interpreter, launch

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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the actual process of allotting. By 1897, he had surveyed tracts for 775 Indians, leaving 245 to go.

Meanwhile the California and Oregon Land Company had been at work. In 1896 Petet declared that the school farm at Yainax had been ruined "on account of the military wagon road running across and taking the best portion of the Farm."[7] In the same year twenty-five Indians from the Upper End, led by Henry Jackson and including the aged Monchnkasgitk, requested of the Commissioner that allotments to Indians be discontinued along that line until a suit to recover the lands had been resolved.[8] They acted, it would seem, at the instance of Major Worden, but against the opposition of other fellow tribesmen.[9] The following year, the Land Company served a restraining order on Worden. At least fifty Indians had already made improvements upon land claimed by the company.[10] Moreover, the boundary claims, arising from the discrepancy between the Mercer survey of 1871 and that of Thiel in 1888 intercepted several other Indian allotments. (See map of Klamath Boundary Claims.)[11] Finally, in 1903, the state of Oregon reopened its claims under the swamplands grant and tied up the tracts of an additional 430 allottees.[12] Not until 1906 were all these conflicts resolved, in part or whole, and the allotments taken out of contest.

The procedure followed by Major Worden in allotment, as recalled by present-day informants, was to permit the Indians to choose their own land, with parents selecting tracts for their children. "People weren't living like now," T. L. related. "We say we own that much land and just point it out with finger at that time and neighbor point to it too. Some people claim they own so much land and dispute come up, and government surveyor came and gave it equal."[13]

The principles by which individuals were assigned priority in making their choice and by which disputes were settled are no longer recalled; and the interpreter, Jesse Kirk, may well have played an important, if unofficial role in arbitrating differences. Many former members of the Klamath Marsh tribelet, now living at the forks of the Sprague and Williamson, had retained wokas camps on the marsh and took allotments there. When children

*648 were allotted land under the provisions of the act of May 27,
*657 1902,[14] they were usually assigned tracts adjacent to those of
423 their parents. The total for some families aggregated 800 to 1000 acres; and in 1914 there were several with over twice that amount.[15]

In design, the conditions of allotment differed from those governing homesteading. The homesteader was ordinarily an adult, head of a family, or single adult, or veteran of war service. By contrast the allottee was any individual on the tribal rolls.[16] For adult allottees, the condition of competency, as demonstrated in homesteading by residence and improvements made upon the tract, formed no part of the legal requirement. In practice, it was called into issue only at the instance of the Agent, or Superintendent, largely as a contingency upon the leasing of land or the award of a share in tribal trust funds. Thus, after the amendment of 1891 permitted leasing, O. C. Applegate wrote regarding the possible allotment of one Indian, "If he secures land, he can lease it for a term of years, after the approval of his allottment [sic], provided that he should not care to reside permanently upon it." To another person, Edson Watson, a later Superintendent, wrote, "When an allotting agent arrives and you should not or would not select land [for your child], then I would select for him." It is clear that another off-reservation allottee, Modoc Nancy, had never even seen her allotment.[17] The acquisition of a tract of land was clearly construed as a right acquired by virtue of tribal membership.

*648 Who, indeed, were tribal members? It is recalled today that
*657 during the council called to consider the General Allotment
423 Act, some of the older leaders, principally Monchnkasgitk and
619 Lilu, opposed the division of tribal lands, and when they lost this point they objected to the inclusion of any Indian with white forebears. Jesse Kirk, whose wife accordingly would have been excluded, defiantly stated that he would leave the reservation, and he was joined by the interbreed, William Crawford. Rather than lose such men, lifelong residents of the reservation, who came of respected family and were conversant in Klamath, the opposition withdrew their protests. However, the point was maintained for such whites as John Corbell, who was married to a tribal member and who had been adopted into the tribe.[18]

Indeed, for some time after the passage of the act, the details 648*
of membership had not been worked out. As late as 1892, the 657*
Assistant Commissioner was writing, "No final decision has been 423
rendered on the question of the status of half-breeds or mixed- 619
bloods, as regards their right to take lands and receive other benefits with the tribes with which they claim to belong."[19] By the time that allotment was well under way at Klamath, the matter had been resolved in their favor. While Indians not residing upon a reservation might receive an allotment upon the public domain, it became the practice to encourage them to take up land upon the reservation. A vigorous campaign was mounted to ensure that all who had legitimate claims should be allotted before the surplus lands were opened. In a characteristic letter, O. C. Appleton wrote one woman:

> I am of the opinion that you and the relatives you mention are all right. *Blood* is what we must depend upon to decide who has rights upon the reservation. If you have Klamath blood or Modoc blood in your veins you are entitled to lands upon the reservation and to have your children in school here.[20]

A policeman was dispatched to Yreka and other points in Northern California in search of persons "who have rights on the Klamath Indian Reservation."[21] Reservation residents were encouraged to invite eligible relatives to write to the Agent and to make application.

Candidates for admission to the tribal rolls were obliged to submit affidavits of their affiliation with enrolled members. Emery could write to Capt. J. W. Siemens of Klamath Falls:

> . . . as I understand it, your wife is a member of this tribe and she and your children are justly entitled to allottments [sic]. If you will furnish this Office with the full name of your wife, together with those of your children, I will instruct the clerk to place them on the census roll.[22]

This procedure was highly irregular. The evidence was cus- 648*
tomarily submitted to a tribal council for consideration. 657*

One such council of "the people of Klamath Reservation" was 423
called by Petet for the consideration of six named persons and 619
others who might present themselves for admission. Of the six, 623
four were admitted, in addition to Frank Riddle, the white husband of Winema of Modoc War fame.[23]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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The qualifications argued by a council in 1908 included conditions of family relationship and tribal association. Of two applicants considered favorably only the circumstances of relationship was cited. "The council," ran the findings, "was of the opinion that both of these Indians are related to the Indians of this reservation, and are entitled to allotment and enrollment here."

In denying the application of another on behalf of her children, failure to associate was the main ground given: ". . . to the best of our knowledge and belief," the council stated, "as Amelia Skeen does not associate and affiliate with the Indians on the Klamath reservation, . . . her children are not entitled to enrollment and allotment. . . ." The claims of Amelia Skeen were later accepted when a number of tribal members traced out their relationship with her.[24]

Meanwhile, the Superintendent expressed his own opinion. Forwarding the statements of a council that had found two Indians entitled to membership, Wilson observed:

> Neither of these Indians have come forward and made any affidavits in their favor, setting forth their rights here, nor furnished any affidavits from other Indians that they are entitled, as I am informed in other Office letters is required by your Office.

He added that one of the Indians was already allotted on the Warm Springs Reservation.[25] On the other hand, he recommended allotment of the three children by a former wife of an Umpqua Indian now married to an enrolled member. The council refused to admit them, despite favorable affidavits of six local Indians. Wilson himself cited the regular school attendance of the children as a point in their favor. They were finally enrolled and allotted.[26]

A general reading of cases shows that the council was disposed to give greater weight to evidence of association than to relationship, and that the Superintendent tended to reverse the order of importance. In the official view, all Indians were to be allotted either on the reservation or on the public domain. O. C. Applegate, indeed, labored for a time under the impression that "Halfbreeds cannot hold allotment on the public domain," and he urged all eligible to take up land on the reservation.[27] Even when persons affiliated with tribal members had already secured

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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allotments on the public domain, Applegate advocated that they 657*
relinquish them in favor of tracts upon the reservation.[28] 423

For tribal members, the enrollment of outsiders was often 619
objectionable; although opposition was less to their being [623]
granted allotments upon the reservation than to admitting them to equal shares in the tribal funds. By the terms of the McLaughlin Agreement of 1901 settling boundary claims, over a half-million dollars had been entered to tribal credit, part of which then became available to tribal members in per capita payments. As Applegate wrote to one off-reservation member, "there are a good many who would like to see people who do not live on the Reservation cut off from all benefits of the Treaty."[29]

In 1903, Applegate had estimated that there were "about 185 nonresidents, a number of them allottees though not residing on the reservation—with them are about 80 children of school age, many of whom are attending white schools."[30]

Analysis of the annuity payments from trust shares sent out 648*
between November, 1907, and January, 1908, reveals interesting 657*
characteristics of the nonresident membership. Omitting shares 619
to 13 students (8 girls, 5 boys) at off-reservation schools, payments went to 6 married couples, in which both parties were enrolled members, and to 39 women and 14 men either single or married to nonenrolled spouses. In addition, shares were sent to these adults for a total of 51 children. Children's shares were sent to 4 married, enrolled couples, to 14 enrolled mothers, and to only 2 enrolled fathers. While other explanations are plausible, the figures are highly suggestive of a preponderance of off-reservation marriages between Indian women and white men.

From the point of view of geographical distribution, the off- 648*
reservation population is also of interest. The table below, which 657*
excludes scholars sent away to government schools, presents the 162
salient features:

CALIFORNIA		20
South	5	
North (including San Francisco)	15	
OREGON		88
Southern Coast	4	
Klamath Basin	66	

K *648 *657 162

(Klamath Falls, 40 Fort Klamath, 21 Merrill, 4 Bly, 1)		
Eastern Oregon	10	
Willamette Valley	7	
Warm Spring Res.	1	
Washington		1
Schools (adults only)		8
Chemawa	2	
Fort Bidwell	6	
Total		117

Of the off-reservation members, those at Fort Klamath and Klamath Falls were to be of most immediate importance,[31] for many of them continued in touch with some of the progressive leaders. Thus, as time went on, Fort Klamath became the headquarters for Jesse Kirk, whose allotment was nearby, for William Crawford, for William Ball, and for the returned Modoc, Charles S. Hood.

M 648 657 162 The band of absentee Modoc formed an important increment to the reservation population. At Quapaw, in what was then Indian Territory, they had won the praise of Commissioner E. A. Hayt, who had shown their farms to another former hostile, Chief Joseph of the Nez Percés, to encourage his people to make similar progress.[32] M [797] In 1884, Steamboat Frank, formerly a Hot Creek warrior under Captain Jack, later a member of A. B. Meacham's troupe, and now a minister of the denomination of Friends, returned to visit his relatives and, as it turned out, kindled religious fervor with his preaching.[33]

K *648 *657 162 M 648 657 162 Following 1886 several other Modoc were permitted to revisit their old homeland. Not until 1902, however, did the Klamath meet in council to hear the Modoc delegates, Rev. Samuel Clinton and Charles S. Hood, submit the proposal that the Modoc be permitted to return and take up homes on the reservation. They failed to carry their point,[34] but subsequently it was approved; and the following year Charles Hood led a party of his people to the Upper End. Applegate counted 21 and stated that 47 others also wished to come.[35]

K M [423] Early in 1909 an act of Congress finally authorized their allotment at Klamath. Within the month Superintendent Wilson was

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visited by a large delegation of Klamath, headed by Henry 648*
Wilson, member of the tribal council, who wished to send the 657*
Superintendent to Washington on a number of issues, of which 162
the first was that "we have heard that the Modoc Indians are to 423
M
come back here and get lands and money the same as we do; 648
we do not like that and want our side explained to you. . . ."[36] 657
Later that year, the Superintendent certified 16 Modoc for 162
allotment, observing however, "I do not believe that Congress 423
intended to simply let the Modocs return and get allotments and then return to Oklahoma to live. This is, however, exactly what some of them intend to do."[37]

Allotment thus brought back to the reservation persons who had already made extensive adjustment to the larger society. Applegate, indeed, asserted that "nearly all of these people who have been allotted lands have become residents of the reservation,"[38] but the figures already reviewed show a sizable number remaining away. Despite the fact they did not in any other way identify their interests with the reservation community, they received equities in lands and in the undivided tribal fund.

Finally, the right of tribal members to allotment was affected by the closure of the rolls. The original allotments had been made in 1895 and were resumed in 1909. At that time, however, considerable discontent was generated by the exclusion of all children born after April 15, 1910. Those born later, although tribal members and as such retaining an equity in tribal property, did not receive a share of land. Their parents agitated for two years to have allotments issued to them. Although they were granted permission to select tracts on behalf of their children, it was with the understanding that their choice would have no legal status. Meanwhile, the Bureau opposed allotments for these new members. Not until the Yamsay Judgment of 1938, with the successful conclusion of the Military Road suit, were funds set aside by the Klamath Tribe for in-lieu payments of
$1,500 to each unallotted member. K

In this manner, then, allotments were made. To qualify, an 648*
individual had to be a tribal member, born before the terminal 657*
date in 1910. Membership was determined at times by the tribal 619
M
council, at times by the Agent, employing a standard that 648
wavered between the two criteria of proven kinship and habitual 657
619
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k *648 *657 619 423

association and residence. The membership thus construed included not alone the reservation peoples, but the absentee Modoc and those who had severed their connections with the reservation.

M 648 657 619 423

The ambiguities thus introduced might have been avoided in part had the allotment program maintained some of the provisions of an early allotment plan outlined in 1871 by Commissioner E. S. Parker. By its terms, residence and association taken together were to be made the primary criteria. Whites or interbreeds married to tribal women, who resided with them upon the reservation, and who had been adopted into the tribe might be allotted. Indian women married to whites and living off the reservation forfeited that right, and the children of Indian women living in common-law relations with whites were to receive a share of land only if they moved back to the reservation.[39] It should be remarked, however, that this principle would only have been effective in preventing absentee ownership had residence also been required of heirs. Otherwise, in the first generation the allotments would have been treated like an inherited property. That, indeed, was their fate under the administration of the Dawes Act.

K M [641]

Once allotted, an Indian had a new status. His allotment could be fenced and it could be leased. The results of his industry, together with anticipated lease funds made many a man a good risk for advances in merchandise and foodstuffs. Citizenship lay within his grasp, involving with it a changing jurisdiction under law and bringing about a restive reappraisal of the sometimes autocratic rule of the Superintendent.

K *648 *657 423 311

The original intent of the act had been to transform the Indians into yeomen-farmers. That 160 acres of grazing land on the upper reservation was an economically practicable unit had been doubted by Nickerson, and the subsequent experience of at least one white rancher with long experience in the same area tends to confirm that judgment. At the same time, when several members of a family possessed adjoining tracts, the acreage might be adequate. In later times at least there were complications. Remarked Wilson in 1909:

> . . . the allotting was not made as it should have been made. An Indian will be allotted in Modoc Point district and perhaps

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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> his wife will be allotted on Klamath Marsh, some 50 miles away. 648*
> They are almost compelled to live a part of the year in each 657*
> place on account of putting up hay for their cattle.[40] 423

O. C. Applegate saw a supplementary relationship between 311
the allotted and tribal lands.

> There are a few localities on the Reservation [he stated] where industrious Indians may be able to make a living on 160 acres of land, especially after the land best calculated for farming is improved by irrigation; but the opening of the Reservation to settlement by White men upon the unallotted lands would make it hard for those Indians who live in the meadow districts by stockraising to make a living, as it would deprive them of the advantage of pasture on the tribal lands.[41]

Immediately following the passage of the Dawes Act, there 648*
were reports of heightened industry among the Indians, as they 657*
set about to build upon and improve their allotments. It must 423
be borne in mind that by the time the act was applied at Kla- [427]
math it had already been amended in 1891 and 1894, and soon again in 1897 and 1900, to permit leasing under certain con-
ditions.[42] Leasing of what was then tribal domain had been 648*
secured through Nickerson by Sykes Worden in 1882 and by 657*
Matt Obenchain in 1884. Before lands were finally allotted, E. 563
L. Applegate had permitted Dave Hill to make an informal 427
agreement with one white rancher, by which the latter cut and stacked hay on Hill's place and winterfed his cattle there, paying Hill for the hay.

Matthews, Applegate's successor, at first clashed with the system when he sought to impose an additional fifty cents per head fee for bringing the cattle on the reservation.[43] Soon, however, he was advocating that whites be permitted to come upon the reservation and cut hay on lands which Indians had enclosed, paying the Indians for the hay. Like his successors, he argued the help the Indians would derive from this revenue and the advantages of utilizing resources which would otherwise go to
waste.[44] Soon thereafter a group of stockmen proposed to him [464]
the leasing of the Klamath Marsh area, which he favored as affording employment to a number of Indians in putting up hay.[45]

At a council with "the representative Indians of this Reserva- [311]
tion," a vote was take to lease certain lands for grazing pur- [623]
poses.

*648 poses. The proposal was that Klamath and Sycan marshes be
*657 constituted two grazing districts for leasing purposes. The Indians
427 further proposed "that the funds derived from the said grazing
311 privilege shall be divided per capita among the Indians of this
563 Reservation." The 41 signatories included the leading names on
the reservation. Matthews rightly doubted the feasibility of
[651] making such a division; for the General Deficiency Act of March
3, 1883, provided that unearned income of this sort should go
into a tribal fund in the Treasury.[46]

With the allotment of land, the leasing of individual tracts came into common practice. In advocating this measure Agent Petet urged in now familiar terms "that some Indians might get some money in this way to buy cattle of their own, who scarcely ever would be able to get a start in any other way." He thought that "if a few of the active Indians could do well in this business, it will be an incentive to others to fence their lands and try to make something off of it."[47] An informal grazing system was authorized. Meanwhile five men—Jesse Kirk, Henry Jackson, Harrison Brown, Frank Lynch (Tall Jim), and Scot Modoc—pushed matters further by enquiring into the rights of allottees with unfenced tracts to graze and expel cattle, asking further that money received from pasturage be distributed equally among tribal members, and that the price for grazing be raised to one dollar per head.[48]

Eight other Indians, led by Charley Pitt, under the advice of Daniel Cronemiller, a lessee, and with the assistance of Petet, erected a fence six miles in length enclosing the outer boundaries of about 4,000 acres of allotments, their own as well as others'. One of them, George Gray, was chosen by his fellows to count and drive in all cattle brought into the pasture by lessees.[49]

Emery advocated a continuation of the practice of permitting leasing by allottees of fenced lands. He cited the contract entered into by a Klamath interbreed, William Ball, formerly an Indian judge, with two whites. By its terms, Ball agreed to give exclusive pasture to their 300 head of cattle on his tract at Klamath Marsh at one dollar per head for the season. "This money," the Agent remarked, "insures a competency for him and his family for a year, and leaves him abundance of grass and

hay for his own [cattle]."[50] The practice of contract grazing on 648*
tribal land was also continued, though with scanty returns.[51] 657*

Leasing brought regulatory headaches. Trespass could less 563
easily be controlled. Some stockmen who rented land from the 427
Indians turned in more cattle than the pasture could sustain, [311]
while keeping the fences in such disrepair that the cattle drifted
onto the unfenced lands of neighboring allotments.[52] In consequence, [625]
the meager band of reservation police had to be diverted
to the task of enforcing the grazing rules. The Superintendent [675]
was obliged to see that all contracts were made through
his office. When disputes arose, he was often forced to intervene
and even at times to threaten a lawsuit in order to collect on
behalf of an Indian. Meanwhile, some lessees were themselves
fencing the lands in lieu of part of the lease, so that many Indians
were no longer compelled to put in any work in order to receive
returns from their property.[53] By 1903, even unfenced allotments
were being leased. In that year payments from leases [434]
comprised thirty per cent of estimated personal income, providing
$8,220 distributed among some ninety to one hundred allottees.[54]

By 1908, a large number of Indians were entrusted with the 648*
"experiment" of managing their own allotments, including the 657*
hiring of necessary labor and leasing their tracts for a term not 423
to exceed the legal limit. The narrow discretion afforded, however, 427
is seen from the provision that "the leases that you are to
draw this year will be drawn for you in this office," although the
Indian was to collect his own rental. Fifty-eight Indians were
empowered at once to handle their allotments and apparently
those of their children as well, upon these cautious terms.[55]

Leasing had scarcely gotten under way when a movement for 648*
the sale of lands began. The act had originally envisaged a trust 657*
period of twenty-five years, to be extended at the discretion of 423
the President, during which time the United States retained title to 432
the land. For many individuals, allotted just prior to 1910, that
period—although subsequently extended—was to expire in 1935.
However, amendments provided for sale under proper supervision
when circumstances required, and by 1912 five sales had
been consummated, all involving heirship cases.[56]

When an allottee died, his land passed to his heirs—by the 648* 657* 423 428

*648 terms of his will if he had made one and in accordance with state
*657 law if he had not. Many tracts thus passed into multiple owner-
423 ship. In the period, 1917-21, for example, 13 out of 32 wills were
428 of this character; and when the allottee died intestate his real property, almost inevitably, fell to more than one heir. When a person with an inherited interest in an allotment died, his heirs in turn acquired appropriate shares.[57]

The task of ascertaining the rightful heirs was frequently formidable. In 1913, with the death of some of the original allottees, there were already 170 such cases,[58] and despite additions to the Agency staff to handle the load, there was always a considerable backlog of cases awaiting judgment. In 1918 the number of cases up for review was still in excess of 50, and in some instances, with the original allottees dead for twenty years, the heirs were yet to be decided. As Superintendent Walter G. West observed, the allotments constituted a divisive element in Indian relations. "They have many differences among themselves," he noted, "due largely to the indefinite and undefined rights of many of them with respect to inherited interests and interests in perpetuated lands which have been selected for allotments."[59]

Since the multiple owners of an inherited allotment frequently failed to agree as to its use, the tract often became a "dead
[432] allotment" which did not produce anything. The government at first tried leasing such lands, but came gradually to consent to their sale, reasoning that otherwise the land went to waste. The sales were not permitted, however, until all tribal members had been allotted and had received their trust patents.[60]

*648 Trust patents had scarcely been issued before individuals be-
*657 gan to press to have them converted into patents in fee simple.
423 Up to 1913, under amendments of the act, giving the Secretary
432 of the Interior discretionary power to grant a fee patent to an allottee judged competent, 5 patents in fee had been awarded upon original allotments and one on inherited land.[61] Four years later, it was reported that 35 to 40 patents in fee had recently been issued without going through a competency committee. More than half of the land patented had already been sold.[62]

By 1924, matters had become progressively worse. Practically all the Indians who had received fee patents had sold or mort-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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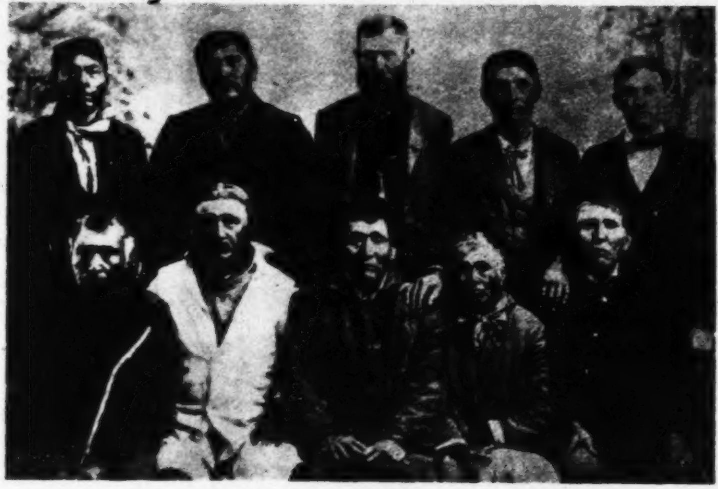

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Reservation figures just before the turn of the century. *Front row, left to right,* Monchnkasgitk, Long John, Lilu, Chief Agency George, Henry Blow; *back row, left to right,* Tom Chocktoot, Jack Palmer, O. C. Applegate, Jesse Kirk, and unknown reporter. (From Johnson, 1947.)

The new day. Jeff Riddle takes his mother, Winema, and his daughter, Minerva, for a ride. Jeff's book, *The Indian History of the Modoc War,* was just out. (From Hincks, 1915.)

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[P. 144-B]

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Klamath lunching after fishing in the Sprague River. (From Hincks, 1915.)

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Ranchers on the Upper End in the 1920's. In the foreground stand Jesse Lee Kirk and Sam Watah, late Paiute shaman.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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gaged them, and many were reported to be hopelessly involved 648* 657*
in debts. Despite all administrative efforts to the contrary, re- 423
ported Superintendent Fred A. Baker, whites were acquiring title 432
to Klamath lands at a rate which he estimated would render the [563]
Indians homeless in twenty-five years.[63]

Since that time the pressure on the remaining allotted lands has been unremitting. Of 1,624 allotments issued totaling 247,515 acres, there remained in trust status as of August 13, 1954, the date when the Termination Act became law, only 1,130 allotments or fractions thereof, amounting to 133,000 acres. Three years later, 371 additional tracts had been sold at owners' requests, 107 had been fee patented, and restrictions had been removed from 20. The 630 tracts remaining by October 1, 1957, comprised but 73,681 acres.[64]

Along with income from leasing and sale of allotments came 648*
that from claims payments. By the terms of the McLaughlin 657*
Agreement of 1901, the Indians were to receive $537,007.20 in 423
payment for excluded lands. Of this, $25,000 was to be issued in 432
per capitas within 150 days from ratification and an additional 427
$350,000 was to be deposited to the tribal credit in the U.S. 434
Treasury, the interest at five per cent annually to be issued in 651
yearly per capita payments. The remaining sum, after payment of attorney fees, was to be utilized for drainage and irrigation of allotments on a pro rata basis, with issuance-in-lieu of stock cattle or other articles to those not so benefited.[65]

Amounts thus received were small. Payment of the $25,000 648*
was made in 1907, each individual receiving approximately 657*
$22.00—no princely sum. The annual interest produced per 434
capita payments of approximately $15.00; but a provision that by a petition of the men of the Tribe the amount might be increased to ten per cent of the principal fund led to its successive diminution. As early as 1909, a petition was submitted for this payment,[66] and Charles S. Hood took the lead in enquiring of the Secretary of the Interior whether parents were empowered to withdraw the money due their children.[67] The move seems to have been denied. Stringent regulations, however, were established by the Secretary to govern eligibility to receive a share of the trust funds. These related to improvement of allotments, self-support, moral character and controlled use of liquor, and

*648 ability of the subject to manage his own affairs; but unconditional
*657 payments to the infirm, aged, and decrepit were also to be
434 allowed.[68] Undoubtedly, lease monies made some Indians, who
[427] would otherwise not have qualified, financially eligible for their
share of the trust funds. By 1915 most of the Indians had realized their full pro rata share of the trust funds, and annuities were received only by children and a very few others. The children's shares by this time were being paid to their parents or guardians.[69]

*648 A similar development took place in the allocation of the re-
*657 maining part of the funds, designated for irrigation improve-
651 ments or stock issues. When the pro rata shares of this amount,
653 $110,662.16, proved insufficient for the irrigation work required
231 in the Modoc Point area, the tribal council advocated that all
the amount be issued in cattle.[70] Some 4,000 heifers, as desired, were accordingly purchased, with each Indian residing on the reservation receiving four head, save the youngest member of the family, who received three. Although the clerk in charge of the Agency stated that "all Indians residing off the reservation and who were enrolled at that time received nothing,"[71] he is clearly in error, for issues were made to a number of persons dwelling off the reservation.

*648 Here once more is to be seen the interplay of government
*657 policy and considerations of tribal status. The cattle issues were
231 designed by the government to foster stock raising as a reserva-
tion industry, but they were made at a time when land leasing and pro rata shares of the tribal fund had already created an expectation of direct cash receipts. In these terms, a number of the reservation Indians almost at once sold their cattle to neighboring white stockmen, and Superintendent Wilson had to threaten to bring the law upon the latter in order to recover them.[72] Meanwhile, off-reservation members were pleading their absence from the reservation and the advisability of using the money instead "to good advantage toward family necessities."[73] Finally, the discovery that many of the heifers issued were spayed, and so were useless for breeding purposes, capped the experiment. As Watson wrote, "Almost every Indian who has been at the office lately claims that he has from one to five or

six spayed heifers, and of course they desire to dispose of them."[74] 648* 657* 231

Stock raising, administrators agreed, was the industry best suited to the reservation and to the Indian. Several persons, among them Henry Jackson, had accumulated large herds, and it was thought that their example and a favorable administrative climate would encourage others to take it up. With the issuance of the treaty stock, the total of Indian-owned cattle had been raised to 11,000. They were, however, unequally distributed, for while some of the Indians possessed herds described as "good-sized," others had only the four head issued.[75] [184]

A report on 205 school graduates practicing stock raising in 1910 characterizes 28 as successful, 133 as fairly successful, 43 as failures, and 1 as a total failure. Although no criteria are given, allusions to these individuals in correspondence, together with the evaluations of modern informants tend to corroborate their placement in the list. Is should not be surprising that a number of Agency employees appear among the successful, and that several troublemakers were among the failures. Perhaps significantly, two tribal leaders of the time, Jefferson Riddle and Clayton Kirk, were assigned to the latter group. Some men who had previously been successful, in other endeavors were not making a go of stock raising. Thus Stonewall Jackson, who had formerly done well in raising potatoes in the Modoc Point area,[76] was now listed as unsuccessful as a stock raiser.

A fair degree of success did not always, however, imply an equal competence at handling money; for at least one man so listed was at that time being rationed in funds.[77] There is no clear correlation between the number of interbreeds and the degree of success in ranching.[78] It might be added that two years before 58 men had been given permission to manage their own allotments. Of them, the 1910 report lists 15 as successful, 30 as fairly successful, and 5 as failures. Eight do not appear on the 1910 list.[79] The earlier action, falling selectively on those deemed more qualified, shows that administrative action did recognize individual ability. 648* 657* 434

Nonetheless, with the development, beginning in 1913, of a lumber industry exploiting tribal timber and providing per [313]

*648 capitas that far exceeded those previously received from tribal
*657 funds, the incentives of ranching declined. Vainly did C. H.
434 Asbury claim that the new giant was no more than a "temporary
313 industry" that would serve to finance stock raising.[80] When a
*648 special appropriation in 1919 permitted a large number of cattle
*657 to be issued to the Indians, many of them were promptly sold
434 for cash.[81] By 1922 the livestock industry was proclaimed "almost
231 bankrupt," and the error was acknowledged of having
423 broadcast the cattle issues without recognizing that not everyone
432 had either the inclination or the ability for ranching. By then, allottees had disposed of valuable haylands and grazing tracts in Sycan Marsh, the valleys of the Williamson, Sprague, and Wood rivers, and at Modoc Point. Klamath Marsh tracts were soon to follow.[82] Wrote Superintendent L. D. Arnold in 1926:

> I have been advised by a number of men who have lived among these Indians for many years that at one time they were very progressive and were engaged successfully in the stock business. Practically all of the Indians at that time lived on their allotments, did considerable farming, harvested many thousands of tons of hay, and owned many thousand head of cattle. They were industrious and were considered capable of handling stock in an efficient manner. During recent years there has been a general decline industrially among them. They have sold their cattle; they have left their allotments; many of them are now not engaged in any profitable work. As a matter of fact I do not believe that there are one thousand head of cattle owned by Indians on this reservation at the present time. Last year the most prominent Indian stockman sold almost his entire herd for about $35,000—the last of the Indians who were formerly quite prosperous.[83]

With the sale of their haylands, the source of their winter feed, the Indians were relinquishing "the very foundation of the stock industry." The older Indians, the mainstay of the industry, had for the most part disposed of their stock and lands, while their juniors showed no inclination for ranching. Arnold did not foresee an encouraging future.[84] The issuance of drought cattle in 1935 was an unavailing attempt to revive the industry.[85]

*648 The fate of irrigation farming is typical in many ways of several
*657 Agency programs. As early as 1884, Nickerson had advocated
312 constructing an irrigation ditch to water some 4,000 acres and
653 provide support for a settlement of 80 to 100 Indian families.[86]

His planning and that of his successors was concerned solely 648*
with the engineering problems and the financing involved. The 657*
desirability of irrigating, at a time when reclamation projects 312
were springing up everywhere, was never doubted. When a 653
small ditch was dug in 1900, largely by the Indians themselves, [578]
to bring the waters of Crooked Creek upon lands between the Agency and Fort Klamath, the "remarkable" increase in yield that resulted gave rise in turn to exacerbated strife over water rights among the allottees affected. As Agent O. C. Applegate observed, there was need for "an organization of interested parties upon a plan of mutual cooperation," modeled perhaps upon irrigation districts then coming into being elsewhere in the Basin.[87] The organization was not forthcoming.

No further attempts seem to have been made to prepare the Indians for irrigated farming, but the plans for additional units nonetheless went ahead. The lower course of the Modoc Point canal was dug in 1901-03, and in 1905 the Agency Spring Ditch was constructed. The years 1912-20 saw completion of the Modoc Point, Sand Creek, and Spring Creek units. Of all units, the Modoc Point and Agency projects were the largest, embracing 5,400 acres and 4,234 acres respectively. The Modoc Point project, which Applegate had at first estimated would require $5,000, in the end cost $356,535.00 for construction alone; and its many defects have since led to additional costs approximating two-thirds of that figure for operation and maintenance.[88]

Nor were the difficulties surrounding the Modoc Point project
limited to construction. As of 1920 only a total of 5,000 acres was [311]
being cultivated on the reservation. The largest acreage tilled by an individual was 200 acres sown in oats and alfalfa by the young Klamath interbreed, Joseph Ball. Lesser amounts were being farmed by Harrison Brown (100 acres), Drummer David (80 acres), and Lincoln P. Butler (80 acres).[89] While some Indians were building their own irrigation ditches in the Yainax area,[90] those served by the Modoc Point system seemed to prefer dry farming.

The Act of Congress authorizing the Modoc Point project had stipulated that the cost of construction be paid by the Tribe. A number of Indians, however, petitioned to have the cost assessed on an acreage basis against the land served, and this policy met

*648 *657 312 653 the approval of the Interior Department. Accordingly, a construction charge of $30.00 per acre and an annual operations and maintenance charge of $1.00 per acre was levied against the land. The Indians whose lands lay within the area proved reluctant to irrigate. In 1926 not over 300 acres, out of a total then estimated at 6,000 acres, was under irrigation. Arnold vainly urged the retention of an expert irrigation farmer both to encourage the Indians to bring water upon their lands and to give them the necessary technical advice. In his firm opinion, "the only thing that prevents this project from being a success is the failure of the people to properly prepare the land for irrigation and to use the water efficiently."[91]

Grounds for dissatisfaction existed. Not only were operation and maintenance expenses high, but there were malfunctions which from time to time required stoppages for repairs, thus causing irregular service. Some users complained that they could not get water when they wanted it; others claimed that seepage from the canal upon their land produced an alkaline deposit. At a time when the small Fort Creek system near Fort Klamath and the Spring Creek unit east of Beatty on the Upper End were functioning adequately under local management, the Modoc Point Indian farmers were objecting to paying the annual operation and maintenance charges for the water. Arnold, faced with an expensive project on his hands, was advocating legislation that would permit leases of up to ten years in length in order to put the irrigable lands into use.[92]

In 1928, Arnold summarized the strong discontent of the Indians toward the project. Although, as he conceded, opinion on details was divided, the Indians held firmly to the view

> that the Government should pay the construction charges now against the land and not compel either the land owners or the tribe to pay it. They seem to feel that the project was built without their consent and they should not be held responsible for its failure financially. Some of them seem to feel that the project should be turned over to the land owners who would operate it. Others do not appear to know just what they do want, but they do not want to pay anything.

Arnold advocated that the land be gotten under irrigation and put on a paying basis, to which the inexperience and reluctance of the farmers themselves was the main obstacle. Failing that,

the project should be abandoned entirely and the loss charged 648*
to the Tribe.[93] 657*

It is unnecessary to enter into the later history of the Modoc 312
Point project, which made it a subject of interest at several 653
Congressional hearings and a point of contention even into post-termination days, for the basic issues have remained the same. A number of Indians owning land within the project in the course of time sold their lands, just as most of those Indians owning lands served by the Sand Creek project had soon sold out to white farmers.[94]

The failure of the Modoc Point project can be attributed in part to the very real engineering difficulties in maintaining a canal system through a pumice region, feeding from a stream (the Sprague) in multiple use. More than this, however, was involved. There was the expertism of the Agency and Bureau, confusing the technical knowledge about construction and maintenance of such a system with the decision to build it. On the one hand the administrative staff was reluctant to entrust the decision to the Indians; on the other, the Indians did not provide a responsible leadership interested in developing such a program. The enterprise once launched therefore carried responsibility on only one side. There was no effort to enlist tribal support through involvement of tribal members in the fundamental decisions; nor was there sufficient training of the farmers to be affected in the special techniques entailed in irrigation.
Indians resented charges against the land and attempted to [241]
avoid them by continuing to cultivate the fields by dry farming.
Among the farmers, white and Indian, no effective organization
for water use developed. With income from timber available, [434]
the inexperienced farmer sought release from a situation for
which the rewards were not commensurate with the risks and [427]
the onus of subjection to Agency dictates. Leasing or sale of the [423]
lands in the end involve more than the realization of value from
property, which could otherwise only be secured by investment [432]
of labor. For the Indian, relinquishment of farming also freed him from some of the surveillance and scrupulous regulation to which he was subjected.

Plans that saw the Indian farming or ranching struck in the 648*
end upon the stubborn fact that he could frequently realize more, 657*
434

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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*648 at least momentarily, through the receipt of pro rata shares of
*657 the tribal fund, from the lease and sale of allotments, from
434 grazing leases upon tribal lands, and from the per capita dividends from tribal timber. The last-named source of income produced the deepest impression upon reservation life.

*648 When allotting was under way at Klamath, the fate of the
*657 "surplus" lands had been under debate. Among the suggestions
423 was the plan proposed by Allotting Agent Charles E. Worden,
313 which called for setting aside 100,000 acres of timberland for the common use of the Indians. He recommended that the cutting of green timber be prohibited on this tract since "if protected it will be a source of great revenue, as it is so located along streams that it can be floated to market without great cost, and will soon be eagerly sought."[95] By 1903, a large number of timber claims has been taken up outside the reservation and the value of the reservation stands was being realized.[96] The fact that the Booth-Kelly Lumber Company had taken over the Military Road claims from the California and Oregon Land Company testified clearly to their worth.[97]

When the Southern Pacific Railroad reached Klamath Falls in 1909 and within the next two years moved northward across the reservation to Kirk, tribal stands were opened up. Cutting on allotted tracts began in 1911. The next year, Supt. Edson Watson proposed the exploitation of tribal timber, arguing that it would provide work for the Indians.[98] In 1913, while two companies were logging on allotted lands, the first sale of tribal timber was made. Additional staff was needed to handle the heavy draft of sales and heirship cases,[99] and from 1912 on the number sharply increased. By 1947, for example, 38 members of the 139 Agency employees were in the forestry and grazing division.[100] Watson recommended that the reservation timber be cut on a sustained yield basis in a fifty- to one hundred-year cycle. He advocated large sales of stumpage, as involving a lower proportionate cost of supervision. Small concerns, he contended, were unreliable.[101] Reservation timber was big business.

*648 Indian participation in this growing industry, contrary to the
*657 anticipation voiced by Watson, was minor. There was never a
313 time when more than a handful held jobs in woods camp or mill.
[464] By 1915, when most of them had exhausted their $240 pro rata
[434]

share of the principal from the tribal fund, the per capitas, 648*
begun two years before, were flowing in from timber sales. By 657*
1926 they were $500 annually, and four years later had risen to 434
$700. Though they thereafter declined slightly, they rose again to 313
a figure in excess of $800. Acess to these funds gave the Indians a considerable measure of economic independence. A family of four, at the 1926 figure, received $2,000 from timber receipts alone, an income sufficient to provide for all their needs or to indulge some of their luxury cravings. Where "money talked," it afforded access to many areas previously closed. Having money gave at least partial emancipation from Agency surveillance.

Indeed, from the days of allotment on, the growth of a money 648*
economy upon the reservation had been an emergent theme. 657*
Amounts of money that Indians had been able to secure prior to 434
that time, though important in their economy, had not given them 452
the same degree of independence as was later to be theirs. After allotment, anticipation of income from leasing and from other
sources increased the volume of purchases on credit. To his [454]
knowledge, Emery reported in 1897, no Indian had funds deposited with the Agent or with any bank, firm, or person.[102] Although in the next few years O. C. Applegate transmitted checks drawn by a number of Indians to cover debts they had incurred, the practice was less a payment from accumulated savings than a convenience in handling money. What the correspondence strikingly shows was the practice of buying on expectation. Then as now risks were involved, and many individuals in the parlance of the day were rather difficult to "bring to time." That difficulty had sometimes to be surmounted by asking local men of property, such as Henry Jackson, to stand behind an impecunious would-be customer. At times the Agent exerted moral pressure upon a delinquent debtor, but under some conditions he declined to serve as collection agent. Repossession of property for nonpayment often ran against the jurisdictional barrier of the reservation line.

Along with access to individual real property went the transla- 648*
tion of traditional relationships into a more pecuniary idiom. Such 657*
tribal members as Robert Wilson and his wife, William Crawford, 178
and Jesse Kirk purchased insurance policies.[103] A number of 571
Indians hired farmhands, both white and Indian, instead of draw- [177]
ing exclusively or even principally upon kinsmen. [464]

*648 *657 429 178 571 ing exclusively or even principally upon kinsmen. A responsible man sometimes was appointed guardian of an estate, as was William Crawford in the case of the minor, Frederick Schonchin.[104] Indians sometimes volunteered to assume a somewhat analogous relationship even for nonkin. Thus William Ball, a prosperous interbreed, proposed to feed, clothe, and bury an aged and destitute couple from the Warm Springs reservation, "providing he can get their allotments to use while they live, and become the actual owner of their lands after death."[105] As inter- [891] personal relations became increasingly concerned with the manipulation of property, litigation in the tribal court gained volume and acerbity.[106]

*648 *657 423 The Board of Indian Commissioners had foreseen that undivided tribal funds might perpetuate the "Indian problem" that allotment had been designed to solve, and they advocated breaking them up.[107] Among the Klamath were a number of persons, stemming principally from the more acculturated members, who shared the same sentiments toward unallotted lands. Paralleling the stress upon individual pecuniary interests, they developed what may be termed claims against the tribal equity. In one instance, Celia DuFault, sister-in-law of William Crawford, and a nonresident member, claimed part of the Klamath school farm as her allotment;[108] in another, the returned Modoc, Charles S. Hood, made inquiries concerning the Yainax school farm with an eye, it was alleged, to a similar allotment for himself and his children.[109]

*648 *657 423 313 These efforts must be viewed in the context of corresponding measures on the part of whites. The conflicting claims and suits had delayed the completion of allotment, and hence the sale of surplus lands, into a time when it became obvious that the tribal timber possessed great value. The government then decided that the surplus lands would be retained and the timber exploited for the tribal benefit. There were various plans, however, to contest the retention on an undivided tribal equity. In 1909, the eight-man tribal council requested that a bill be prepared "giving the Klamath Allottees an additional 160 acres of timber land on this reservation; and that this be done at once in order that the surplus lands may then be disposed of otherwise."[110]

*648 *657 423 Meanwhile, O. C. Applegate had remarked favorably upon a

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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petition to set aside Spring Creek and an adjacent portion of 648*
Williamson River as a park or game and fish reserve. "A locality 657*
so fitted by natural beauty of scenery," he thought, ". . . should 423
belong to all the people instead of to a few who have a practical monopoly of a princely domain such as the Klamath Reservation is. . . ." Although H. G. Wilson later seconded this motion, it came to nothing.[111] In 1910, a bill was introduced into Congress to open the reservation. The tribal council is reported to have taken exception to certain unspecified provisions, while remaining sympathetic to others. The bill failed to become law.[112]

From time to time, other attempts were made upon the tribal domain. There were those who advocated a reopening of the allotment rolls. When the growing exploitation of reservation timber enhanced the value of timbered tracts, members sought to secure them as grazing allotments. In 1910, eighteen members requested that they be permitted to exchange their allotments for other lands, but as Superintendent Wilson cautiously observed, the new lands desired were timbered tracts, unsuitable for grazing, and he questioned the compatibility of such an exchange with the intent of the Allotment Act.[113]

Although the attempted move had failed, the drive to secure allotments on the tribal domain was supported by a number of parents with children as yet unallotted. It was an issue that united members of varied background; and it drew as well the advocacy of whites adjacent to the reservation. Indeed, Supt. W. G. West, who opposed additional allotment, foresaw an attempt to engineer such a measure through Congress.[114] In 1920, considerable agitation on the reservation was aimed toward this end, but what West termed "wiser counsel" prevailed.[115] The matter came to a head in 1927, when twenty-nine tribal members sued to force the U.S. government to allot grazing tracts from what the district attorney characterized (in one instance) as among "the most valuable pine timber lands on the reservation." Six of the suits, tried in the federal court in Medford, ended in the sustaining of the government's position, and the remaining suits were dismissed.[116]

Contention over the member's equity in tribal lands is also [563]
evident in the matter of grazing leases. As we have seen, such [427]
leases were sometimes advocated as forestalling cattle trespass

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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*648 which would exploit the Indians' tribal lands without compen-
*657 sating them. Another stock reason is that given in 1915 by Supt.
423 William B. Freer. Reporting that "a sentiment has arisen lately
563 against the continued use of the tribal lands by outsiders," crys-
427 tallizing in action by the tribal council, he nonetheless advocated
[432) maintaining the practice, to prevent wasting the grass.[117] By 1922,
relying increasingly upon timber per capitas, members had sold
their grazing allotments; and by 1927 one white rancher had
acquired 7,000 acres.[118]

*648 While there was a concommitant decline in Indian stock
*657 raising, those who continued depended more heavily upon tribal
423 grazing lands, to which their tribal membership gave them free
231 access.[119]

In his policy, the Superintendent stood at the vortex of con-
*648 tending interests. Some tribal members who no longer ran stock
*657 were eager to maximize the cash income by leasing out as much
423 land as possible to white ranchers. The latter, on their part, had
427 developed their herds in anticipation of continued utilization of
563 the reservation, and they favored any possible expansion of
311 leasing. It was in acknowledgment of their commitment that
Arnold favored continuing local leasing arrangements, rather
than advertising the tribal ranges for general bidding.[120] Considerations of this sort, however, won him the opposition of even those Indians who preferred the leasing of the tribal domain. For tribal ranchers it was an indication that the Superintendent was in league with the white stockmen, and the charge recurred that the latter were overgrazing the range and crowding out the Indians. One tribal member, then taking the first steps toward his eventual success as a rancher, recalls today that as soon as he had improved the section of tribal range assigned to him the Superintendent leased it to whites.

Among tribal ranchers were a number of Indian women married to white men who, between them, owned the major part of the stock listed as Indian. "They always affirm," said Arnold, "that all the stock is owned by the Indian wife," and thus secured grazing on the tribal range.[121] At least one woman among them had also been party to the suits to secure allotments within the tribal timber lands.

Arnold insisted that the charges were groundless, that range

reserved for Indian cattlemen was ample, and that indeed the 648*
tribe was losing between $6,000 and $8,000 a year on land with- 657*
held for their use but not grazed. "Even this, he went on to say, 423
"did not seem to satisfy a number of Indians, and as a result the 427
tribal council recently [1926], passed a resolution to close the 563
range next year." He recommended that the Bureau disapprove 311
the tribal action.[122] During the remainder of his tenure, the issue of leasing the tribal range recurred at least twice more; and it arose from time to time to plague his successors.[123]

The desire to convert equal access to tribal resources into a pro 648*
rata share of rentals found a counterpart in such measures as 657*
those involving tribally supported programs for lumber. The lum- 313
ber mills operated for years by the Agency had been partially intended to supply materials for building houses and barns, but by 1908 only the mill at Yainax remained, and the Indians were no longer bringing in enough logs to keep the sawyer busy.[124]

With the establishment of sawmills on the reservation, the government mill drew less and less traffic. It was moved to a new location in 1927, but although there was no commercial sawmill within twenty miles, business was not measurably improved.[125] By 1930 it functioned only a short period each year for those members who wished to haul their own logs and pay twenty per cent of the lumber to defray milling expenses. Reported Arnold:

> During the past two years a few disgruntled Indians who do not avail themselves of the opportunity of obtaining lumber through their own efforts have objected to its operation on the theory that is being operated at the expense of the tribe for the benefit of a few of the Indians. Due to this criticism, the future of the sawmill is uncertain.

Soon thereafter the mill was closed.[126]

These were some of the expectations among the Indians created 648*
by increasing contact with a free-enterprise system. Individuals 657*
came to see that tribal membership entailed not only the restric- 619
tions imposed by Agency regulation but pecuniary returns as well. [177]
Those members dwelling off the reservation discovered that they could realize their pro rata share of tribal income without being subjected to supervision in expending it. Moreover, insofar as the Superintendent was willing and able to take decisions into

*648 *657 619 his own hands, Indians frequently became emancipated from responsibility to any strictly tribal body.

Exclusion of children born after a given date in 1910 gave rise to an unpropertied membership both on and off the reservation. With the return to the reservation of some acculturated members, often the product of intermarriage with whites, the outlook of

*648 *657 675

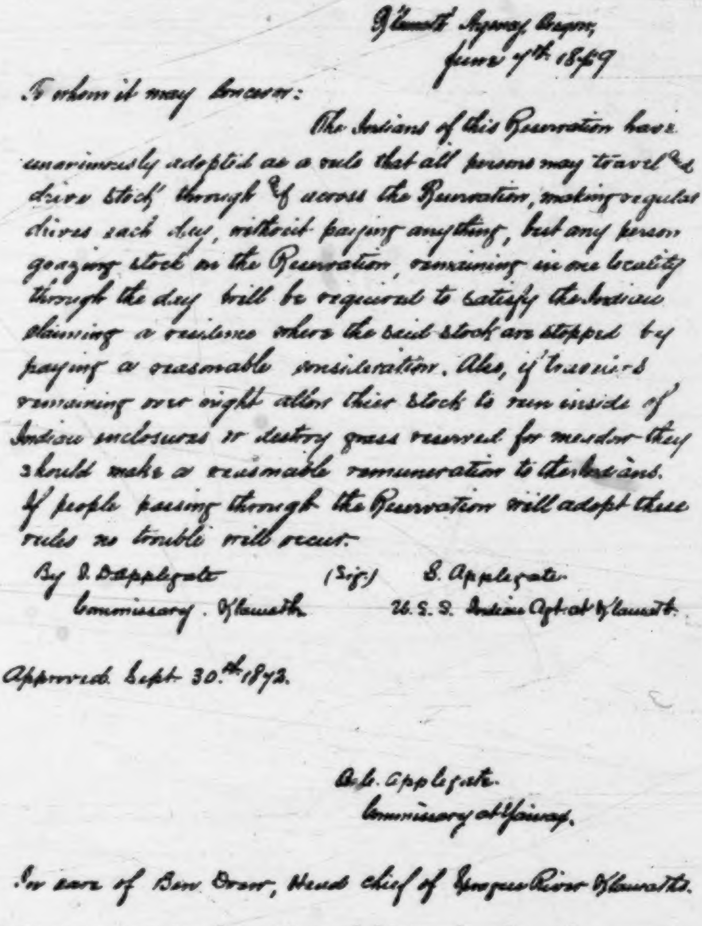

Klamath Agency, Oregon,
June 7th 1869

To whom it may Concern:

The Indians of this Reservation have unanimously adopted as a rule that all persons may travel & drive stock through & across the Reservation, making regular drives each day, without paying anything, but any person grazing stock on the Reservation, remaining in one locality through the day will be required to satisfy the Indians claiming a residence where the said stock are stopped by paying a reasonable consideration. Also, if travelers remaining over night allow their stock to run inside of Indian enclosures or destroy grass reserved for meadow they should make a reasonable remuneration to the Indians. If people passing through the Reservation will adopt these rules no trouble will occur.

By I. D. Applegate (Sig.) L. Applegate
Commissary. Klamath U. S. S. Indian Agt. at Klamath.

Approved Sept. 30th 1872.

O. C. Applegate.
Commissary at Yainax.

In care of Ben Drew, Head chief of Sprague River Klamaths.

Agreement concerning the grazing and driving of cattle on the reservation. (O. C. Applegate *Papers.*)

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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the local populace became increasingly diverse. In view of the 648*
original plan for the sale of surplus lands, it is not surprising 657*
that members, particularly those who had not received allotments, 619
sought lands upon the tribal domain. Public interest came to be interpreted in two ways: the older view—compatible with aboriginal tenure—of equal opportunity of use, contended against the new outlook, which regarded the member's interest as a pro rata share of the monies from rental. The latter viewpoint, which in time prevailed, minimized the individual's direct concern in exploitation of tribal resources and, together with the income that gave him economic independence and the paternal Agency supervision, liberated him from major responsibilities. In the limbo into which reservation society was thrust, its constituent units continued to erode; and the administration, which had planned to transform them, now found them so weakened that it had to bear the major task of regulating the conduct of tribal members. Tribal members, finding that the chief restraint upon their conduct was wielded by the Agency, increasingly rebelled.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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TWELVE

[P.160]

"Disgruntled Ward-Citizens"

*648 KLAMATH DISILLUSIONMENT UNDER THE AGENCY WAS COMPOUNDED
*657 of many elements. In part it was a rejection by the Klamath of
829 the position in which they found themselves. "Disgruntled ward-citizens,"[1] confronted with the loss of cherished values, and discontented with their achievements, they created a self-image and an interpretation of history that absolved them from blame for their present lot. Drawing upon themes already manifest in Klamath thought, they summoned up a halcyon past, a golden age when all lived simply but well and, in the words of old chief Chiloquin, "The Klamaths never lost prisoners and they were always able to avenge all wrongs committed against them by other tribes, and they were all afraid of us."[2]

As a corollary, the Klamath fall from ancient grace found its evil agent in the white man, particularly in that faceless monster, the government. The oral record of the treaty and the unfulfilled promises then made have been a recurrent theme in the discontent. On several occasions, Seldon Kirk, long the venerable chairman of the tribal council and a man of great character, has insisted that on that eventful day at Council Grove soldiers from Fort Klamath under Captain Kelly fired at the feet of the Indians, who then signed under duress. Although none of the Indians or whites participant in the treaty furnishes any ground for this account,[3] it has taken on a sort of confirmation from other circumstantial statements about the unfulfilled promises made at that time.

In the emergence of this attitude, the claims against the government became crucial. Not only did they cast the United States in a role antagonistic to the Indians and thus faithless to its wardship, but they provided a rallying cry which the opportunistic among tribal leaders found was almost invariably

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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heeded. Surely, the government stands in some measure accountable here; and the Indian viewpoint bears a rough relationship to the events of their history. It errs, however, in oversimplification and has the important consequence of deflecting all responsibility for the condition of the Indians upon the shoulders of others. 648* 657* 829

These developments, when related to the promise of citizenship for Indians, became critical. Originally the Allotment Act had designed that all Indians living apart from their tribes and in assimilation to whites should be awarded citizenship; and that any reservation Indian, upon receiving a patent in trust, would attain the same status. Subsequent amendments postponed citizenship until a patent in fee had been secured. For the Klamath reservation, the local timetable had the result that no trust patents were awarded until all allotments had been made, a condition that in turn had to await settlement of several of the claims suits. The assignment of lands thus took place in an atmosphere heavy with the anticipation of a swift change of status. The better-educated among the leaders, who in turn mingled with those whom allotment had brought back into the reservation polity, were eager to press for greater freedom and increased self-rule. 648* 657* 423 641

Signally, administrators believed the same act implied they had a heightened responsibility toward their charges. Schooling had become compulsory, and O. C. Applegate, then Agent, was convinced that allottees should send their children by preference to reservation school. Repeatedly, in his letters to those seeking allotments, he urged them to send their children to the boarding school "where they will be boarded and clothed without expense to you."[4] To a schoolboy who wished to remain away, he wrote, "Tell your father that I intend all the children to have land on the reservation, and that they must come into school according to the rules."[5] When one off-reservation member failed to send her children to school after having consented to do so, Applegate firmly reproved her and added, "Please write me at once what you propose to do about them, and if it is your wish to have them give up their allotments on the reservation."[6] 648* 657* 871 423

The relationship between schools on and off the reservation now took on a new dimension. Some of the more acculturated tribal members began to criticize the Agency-run schools as 648* 657* 871

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*648 inferior to those off the reservation. While administrators did not
*657 commonly seek to suppress criticism, neither did they court it;
871 and they failed in the difficult but essential task of encouraging
responsible parental comment as a means of gaining Indian participation. Matthews had rejected the plan of appointing Indian visitors to inspect the schools, on the grounds that "they might possibly become dictatorial."[7] In fact, parents tacitly expressed dissatisfaction with the school by keeping a child home on the grounds that he was ill—a maneuver that was clear to the officials. When they made open comment they criticized the discipline as being either too lax or too strict, and they enlarged upon occasional breaches of morals. A topic of official comment were the aggravated acts of insubordination on the part of full-grown boys who had been kept in school to swell the student totals.[8]

Dissatisfaction with these conditions provided the immediate circumstance—but by no means the sole reason—for the movement that now began, as parents sought to place children in schools beyond the jurisdiction of the reservation. Some members,
[563] such as Mrs. Minnie Corbell, interbreed wife of a white man,
enrolled their children in the public schools;[9] while others, such as Mrs. Celia DuFault, also an interbreed, and her half-sisters, Mrs. Coburn and Mrs. William Crawford, entered theirs at the Indian Training School at Chemawa.[10] When an influential man like Judge Jeff C. Riddle of Yainax, son of Frank Riddle and Winema, first kept his children out of class and then talked of sending them to a nonreservation school, matters had become serious.[11]

In 1898, while aversion to the Chemawa School was still high in the wake of the student mortality there, Applegate took up the suggestion of Inspector W. J. McConnell that he seek to send a body of students to Carlisle Training School in Pennsylvania.[12] After considerable effort, extending over two years, he succeeded in forming a party in 1900 that included two sons of the Rev. Jesse Kirk, one of whom had just been caught in an escapade at the Klamath boarding school.[13] It was the Agent's idea, since Kirk was bound as a delegate to Washington, perhaps in the company of Judge Henry Wilson, to have them visit the school en route in order to "get the assistance of these prominent men in making up a good class for Carlisle."[14]

No sooner had the party of nine pupils finally gotten under 648*
way than Applegate received a letter from the Commissioner 657*
calling attention to a letter sent him, apparently by Jesse Kirk 871
himself. In it, the writer accused Police Captain Joseph Kirk, a part-Modoc, and Judge Jack Palmer, a Lower End Klamath, of using their influence against sending children to nonreservation
schools. "There are two parties here," wrote Applegate, "who [665]
oppose each other on nearly all propositions, the two leaders of which are Captain Joseph Kirk and Rev. Jesse Kirk, half brothers, and who are among our most advanced and able men." He promised to refer the matter to Gen. A. C. Hawley, a Special Agent then visiting Klamath.[15]

Ironically, Jesse Kirk's stand was soon reversed. Soon after he had deposited his sons at Carlisle, the elder boy, Clayton, in company with another pupil, Joseph Ball, ran away and was only recaptured in Pittsburgh. In Applegate's view, Joe Ball, an interbreed and a product of the public school in Klamath Falls, was the ringleader of the escapade and had led his more impressionable companion astray.[16] The senior Kirk thereupon sought to have both sons returned, and Applegate tried to put him off.[17] To Major Pratt at Carlisle he wrote ruefully:

> . . . I have been reconsidering the idea of sending you a class and even regret that I did send the class of nine, as things have turned out. It is hard to get pure bloods to go, and the pressure to get away from the reservation to our non-reservation schools is almost invariably from the mixed element. The Klamaths and Modocs are a determined lot and Rev. Jesse Kirk, son of a resolute old warchief, is no exception to the rule. A short time ago the principal champion of Carlisle he is now ready to move Heaven and Earth to secure the return of his boys since Clayton's escapade, and I wish they were all back.[18]

This action brought into confrontation an embattled Agent 648*
and the defiant leaders of the reservation. In Jesse Kirk the 657*
Indians has as leader a product of those very "civilizing" forces 622
upon which the government had rested sanguine hopes. The son 159
and namesake of one of the treaty signatories, we have encountered him previously as schoolboy and carpenter's apprentice, as interpreter and as ordained Methodist preacher. In 1886 a representative of the Indian Rights Association characterized him as "a superior man, in poor health and great poverty, . . .

*648 working without salary or assistance of any kind, for the moral
*657 and religious improvement of his people. He has a great thirst
622 for knowledge, but has no books, not even a Bible, only some torn
159 fragments of an old one."[19] From Nickerson's time on he had served as judge in the Court of Indian Offenses, while he had likewise been in the forefront of several actions earlier detailed. Thus, in 1896 he was one of five men advocating that money received for pasture be distributed equally among tribal members and that the price for grazing be raised.[20]

Applegate, who had long known him, had gone out of his way to endorse Kirk's financial credit. That he tended to be somewhat slow in paying his debts is more than suggested by a partisan letter written late in the clash by one of Applegate's friends, formerly a trader at the Agency.[21] There is little question that the attention Kirk received magnified his own opinion of his status. In Washington, he gave as his title, "Delegate and Representative Agent of the Klamath Indians of Oregon," suggestive of the equality with the U.S. Indian Agent toward which he aspired. Indeed, ambition of this character, blunted by an administrative surrogacy, was one of the unacknowledged ingredients of the new spirit abroad on the reservation.

*648 On the Upper End, Henry Jackson, at the summit of his power,
*657 chafed under restraint. A former employer recalled him in the
571 time of his power,

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> . . . riding day after day like a feudal lord accompanied by his buskined and bespurred henchmen, often white men among them, looking after his cattle on a thousand hills. Henry Jackson is generous and hospitable. No weary traveller is turned away from his mansion, no matter what his race may be, and of the many Indians who appeal to him for financial aid, few are refused. Especially are the people of his home tribe welcomed to his bounty, and when any of them come to Klamath from the Moatwas land on Pit River, his house is their home. He has been known to go to Bonanza, the nearest white Trading Post, and make his neighbors happy by calling for their accounts, amounting to hundreds of dollars, and settling them in full."[22]

Knott C. Egbert, superintendent of the Yainax school and the administrator in charge of the Upper End, saw Henry Jackson somewhat differently. Upon the pages of his reports the "feudal lord" appears as a man defiant of authority and addicted to drink.

His son, Ralph, is depicted as a ne'er-do-well, a ruffian, and a 648*
drunkard. (He later died while awaiting trial for cattle theft.) 657*
His indulgent father, it was said, was convinced that Ralph had 571
a weak heart, and would pay his fine rather than see him in jail. 159
There are manifest in Henry Jackson as in Jesse Kirk some of the same values evinced by the early Klamath: kin-loyalty honored above abstract ethical mandates, merit gauged by generosity, and the dissimulation of hostility are three among them.

As Egbert saw it, "The Jackson outfit are so used to lawlessness and successful concealment afterward that they have gotten to thinking that they have a right to almost anything and then hire witnesses to lie them out of the scrapes. Then too they are all afraid of the czar, Ralph." Alluding to the murder of the Modoc shaman which Henry Jackson had been suspected of instigating, he added, "I will also be afraid of him if they are allowed to go on till they think they can duplicate the killing of Dr. George in the Caucasian race."[23]

The Jacksons in turn were linked to Jeff Riddle, whose daughter Ralph had married. There were, indeed, limits beyond which Riddle would not go. His father had known Applegate well from Modoc War days on, and when stranded on the lyceum tour had relied upon Applegate's generosity for funds. Even after Applegate had resigned his position, Riddle continued to correspond intimately with him.[24] When Ralph beat his wife, Jeff Riddle preferred charges against him.[25] These circumstances aside, Jeff Riddle exemplifies one of the less-partisan leaders who stood somewhat aside from attacks on Applegate but was nonetheless restive under administrative restraint. Later the author of *The Indian History of the Modoc War* (1914), he was first and
foremost a patriot of his people. With others, he focused his bit- 648*
terness against the Indian police, who as "Agency men" consti- 657*
tuted the immediate embodiment of administrative sanctions. 625
Such critics were quick to ferret out and to report derelictions [159]
on the part of the police lieutenant[26] and to oppose other members of the force. Of one such man, Egbert wrote:

> Jeff and others are bitter against Ike Mose as policeman mainly because, I think, he will arrest one of the big men as quickly as one of the smaller prize, so called. Jeff has made his brag that Ike will not be on the force July 4th. For this reason, as well

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*648 as for the reason that he is the most effective man we have, I
*657 think he should be retained. The whiskey element has made some
625 virilent [sic] attempts to raise its head lately, and scruples not
to tell lies."[27]

*648 The leading men among the "Agency Indians" are, unfor-
*657 tunately, less clearly delineated. Among them were Joseph Kirk,
571 born of a Modoc mother, and half-brother of Jesse Kirk; Harrison
Brown, the son of Monchnkasgitk; and Jack Palmer, son of another treaty signatory. The fact that dissidents as well as the faithful numbered many among the more acculturated, and that both sides included Agency employees demonstrates clearly that the battle was not fought on progressive-conservative alignments.

Central to this dispute was the personality of Oliver Applegate. Scion of a pioneer family, he was the son of the first Agent, and, as he states, the first employee of the Agency. For years, his destiny and that of his brothers was intertwined with that of the reservation. He had served in a number of positions and had sought the office of Agent at least twice before he secured it;[28] his brother, Ivan, had served as an early Commissary at Yainax; and Elisha, another brother, had been Agent for about a year.

From the early days of the reservation, Oliver Applegate had known the Indians intimately, had gained some familiarity with their language and customs, and had formed many friendships. By the turn of the century, however, the fortunes of life had borne the people he knew away from the attractive naïveté of their early state, when they had willingly depended upon him. Now there was impatience at being denied equality. Many of the acquaintances of his youth were gone, and the rising generation thought him—the man who was moved by the flag upon Dave Hill's grave on Decoration Day, or who perennially entered pleas for support of the remaining treaty chiefs—somewhat heavy-handed and insensitive. He, the man that all whites were convinced "knew Indians," could not take the measure of the younger leaders. The title by which he had been known to their elders, *blaiwas laqe*, "Eagle Chief," acquired an ironic ring.

Among the informal counselors to whom both Klamath and whites turned in common problems, the Applegates were prominent. Yet, perhaps inevitably their own property interests and their wide and intimate relationships with the white community eventually confronted them with a grave conflict of interests.

In 1887, when Ivan Applegate had testified before Emery on 648*
treaty boundaries, he had asserted that the eastern boundary 657*
lay by rights farther within the reservation than the Indians re- 571
garded as correct.[29] At that time he and his brothers, Oliver and Lucien, owned several ranches that might be affected by his testimony. It may well be that the properties had been developed in the understanding that the boundary lay where Ivan's testimony located it, but it is doubtful that the Indians would so wholeheartedly have nominated him for boundary commissioner had they then known his views. The properties are said subsequently to have been sold during the depression of 1893-94.[30]

In 1890, Elisha Applegate, who had just lost the Agency after a brief, turbulent reign, transmitted a memorial to President Benjamin Harrison from the Klamath. Disturbed by the outstanding issues on reservation boundaries, the Military Road claims, and the swampland action of the state of Oregon, they requested—in vain, as it turned out—permission and funds for a delegation of five of the head men to visit him at Washington, together with Elisha as their attorney. This measure made no headway; and next year another memorial to the President advocated appointment of a commission of three to adjudicate the boundary claims.[31]

The tribal delegation, a relic of the days when tribes made 648*
treaties and the government made chiefs, had its own history at 657*
Klamath. The first delegates had been Dave Hill and Tecumseh 423
on Meacham's 1875 lyceum tour. Thirteen years later, with Jesse Kirk, Henry Jackson, and Dan Schonchin, Hill desired permission to visit "their great Father at Washington" to discuss the Allotment Act and other matters.[32] Permission and funds seem to have been denied, and the memorial of 1890 was an attempt to resume the effort. The desirability of being represented in the capital on the boundary issue led the Klamath in 1893 to conclude an eight-year contract with two Washington attorneys, W. K. McCammon and J. V. Belt.[33]

The following year, so it is recalled today, a group comprising Jesse Kirk, Henry Jackson and William Crawford made the trip, paying their own expenses. Possibly a delegation visited John H. Mitchell, perennial senator from Oregon who had long been interested in the reservation, although he undoubtedly had also heard from such advocates as Ivan Applegate. The Senator pres-

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ently submitted a resolution directing the Secretary of the Interior to furnish the Senate with information as to the accuracy of the boundary survey executed in 1888 by William Thiel. (See map of Klamath Boundary Claims.)[34]

In 1895, Ivan Applegate's interest in the Klamath land claims prompted Oregon Congressman Binger Hermann to suggest that he come to Washington. Ivan promptly wrote Oliver to secure influence from Oregon senators and representatives upon the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to authorize a delegation, to comprise Jesse Kirk, Henry Jackson, and Jack Palmer, with Ivan as interpreter.[35] This time, the delegation was officially approved, but since Ivan had also secured a contract as attorney for the Indians the Commissioner would not allow his expenses as interpreter.[36] Ivan set out alone, the delegation to follow at call. Once in Washington he found himself at home. The Indian delegation, in his opinion, would be of no earthly use. "I can do more in ten minutes talk in the Dept.," he wrote Oliver, "than all the Klamath Indians would in a week, they would be most ridiculous here."[37]

In a relatively brief time, after the tribal council had duly recommended him, Ivan emerged as one of the three boundary commissioners to review the Klamath claims. Although he then resigned his position as attorney, he seems to have retained some residual interests in it, as reflected in agreements reached with Belt and McCammon which they later chose to ignore.[38]

Despite the tolerance shown toward the delegations from Klamath, the Bureau soon received clear instructions from above, in a circular letter from the Secretary of the Interior himself. That dignitary sternly termed the practice of sending delegations to Washington a "reprehensible custom that has grown up in recent years," and stipulated that all business requiring departmental action proceed through Agency channels. Only when delegations were suitably justified would authority be granted them to proceed—and at Indian expense—to Washington.[39] For the Klamath, however, the settlement of the boundary claims provided grounds for continued approval of delegations.

When the boundary commission made public its findings in 1897, the commissioners discovered in the younger men a militancy not evinced by the older signatories. "We are forced to the conclusion," they observed, "that the Indian claim is either an

error which has crept in from the lapse of years or the result of 648*
modern nomenclature applied to the mountains by the younger 657*
Indians since the treaty was made." They noted that the latter 423
confidently located points upon the boundary that their elders, the actual signatories, could identify only with uncertainty or conflict.[40] The reservation boundaries thus delineated often exceeded considerably those described by the signatories. The claims of the younger men recall the oral traditions of the treaty councils, for they are surely part of the same outlook.

The commission report brought dismay to the Klamath. The eastern boundary, recalls one adherent of Jesse Kirk, was satisfactory as finally delineated, but strong feeling simmered regarding the location of the southern boundary. The finding that the southeastern boundary point, *kalwal*, Point of Rocks, lay at Barkley Springs, placed it too far north, the Indians claimed, and it had the effect of leaving the Swan Lake area (where the Applegates had interests)[41] outside the reservation. The suspicions thus generated soured Klamath relations with the Agent as well as with his brother, but remained latent until other frictions aroused them.

In 1900, James McLaughlin, U.S. Indian inspector, executed what was to be the penultimate agreement upon the boundary issue. In his report to the Secretary of the Interior, he warmly praised a local assistant:

> I was fortunate in securing as guide and interpreter, the services of Jesse Kirk, an intelligent full blood Klamath Indian, to accompany me throughout my field work, as he had accompanied the Boundary Commission in 1896 when the boundary line described in the treaty of October 14, 1864 was determined, and was also employed by the Allotting Agents throughout the entire allotment of lands on the Klamath reservation, and, having a most remarkable memory, knows the legal sub-divisions of section, township and range of every allottee on the reservation.[42]

With ratification of the agreement hanging in the balance, the 648*
Indians once more proposed a delegation to Washington, to be 657*
comprised of Jesse Kirk, William Crawford, and Jeff Riddle.[43] 578
There was, however, a significant discord. In a petition trans- 665
mitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Harrison Brown, judge of the Indian Court, related that after the council with

*648 McLaughlin, Jesse Kirk had called together about forty Indians
*657 in a secret, "pretend Council" to select the delegation. When
578 queried, Kirk maintained that it had the sanction and authori-
665 zation of the Agent. Brown had then sought out Applegate, who told him "that he had concluded to have nothing to do with said council."

About the date that the delegation was due to leave, Brown and others assembled at Yainax, where they asked for and received a petition in which they set forth their views. Then and there it was signed by forty-three persons, together with further endorsements from the Lower End. Brown then conferred with Applegate and with Henry Jackson. The Agent, he reported, assented to the action that had been taken. However, that night two members of the Indian police, allegedly acting on Applegate's orders, accosted Brown and relieved him of the petition. The next day, in Klamath Falls, one John S. Orr, who seems to have been serving as advocate for Brown's faction, received a letter from Applegate instructing him to desist from communicating with the authorities at Washington.

The petition, with corroboration by Henry Jackson, was duly notarized at Klamath Falls. F. H. Mills, who signed as witness, was soon to reappear.[44]

As matters turned out, Jesse Kirk finally left for Washington alone, armed with letters of introduction from the Agent to Oregon's Senators McBride and Simon, Congressmen Tongue and Moody, and Commissioner Hermann of the General Land Office. Applegate had gone out of his way to secure for Kirk a special fare on the railroad and a loan from the bank in Klamath Falls. Reading his almost anxious instructions to the delegate, now arrived in the capital, one has a clear impression that the Agent felt that he was writing to a devoted friend.[45]

He was soon disillusioned. As we know now, Jesse Kirk had even then fired off his salvo declaring his half-brother, Joseph Kirk, and Jack Palmer to be the chief foes of the nonreservation schools. Soon thereafter, his son's escapade at Carlisle led Kirk violently to reverse his own position.

In Washington, the delegate made his rounds. Several of his letters, to the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and to Commissioner Hermann, urged ratification

of the McLaughlin agreement, praising the Inspector as "a man 648*
that got heart in him for a Poor Indian People."[46] Toward the 657*
end of his visit, the envoy was stricken with appendicitis, and his 578
half-brother and political foe, Joseph Kirk, rushed to his bedside 665
and remained to bring him home.

New contacts, both with officials and attorneys and possibly 648*
with the delegates from other tribes, must greatly have enlarged 657*
the horizon for men like Jesse Kirk. Indeed, James McLaughlin, 578
returned to the reservation to execute a new agreement with the 665
Tribe rectifying a mistake in the boundary surveys used, soon 423
found the new mettle in the man. The revised draft, he reported,
was

> duly executed by more than the necessary number of Indians belonging to the Agency, but not without having to overcome strong opposition, evidently prearranged and determinedly led by the most influential Indian of the reservation, Reverend Jesse Kirk, who demanded that the clause providing for irrigation of their lands be stricken out, also the clause for the payment of the legal fees of attorneys having duly approved contracts. I, however, remained firm and would not concede any modification or change of a single word, letter or punctuation mark in the agreement as prepared by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and it was thus concluded by a large majority of the Indians signing the agreement. When Rev. Jesse Kirk found that I was going to succeed in obtaining the required number of signatures he, together with his followers, finally came forward and signed the agreement—and he also signed as one of the two Interpreters.
>
> The opposition of said Rev. Jesse Kirk, was influenced by the fact that he visited Washington last winter, remaining there some months, during which time he learned that large appropriations were being made by Congress for general irrigation purposes on Indian reservations, and that the Klamath could have from such appropriations all the money necessary for irrigating their lands without providing for such in this agreement, and as the contract with their attorneys was for a period of eight years, and expires on July 21, 1901, he captiously desired to exclude the clause protecting them.

Jesse Kirk, so McLaughlin learned, had been informed in 648*
Washington that the Indians need not employ attorneys, since the 657*
case was sure to be decided in their favor. Many Indians, how- 578
ever, did not agree with his view and desired to keep good faith 665
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*648 *657 578 665 668

with the attorneys. There were some, who nonetheless wanted to submit a petition setting forth their views.[47]

If all who signed the agreement after Jesse Kirk were his adherents, he could count on 121 men against 70 for the proadministration faction.

*648 *657 665 666 668 578

Domestic issues added weight to discontent. Soon after taking office, Oliver Applegate had set up road districts, each presided over by the policeman within it, and had permitted the police to settle minor differences within their several districts.[48] He had, moreover, apparently reversed the policy of Emery, who had permitted the Indians to elect both police and judges for the reservation. Early in 1900, a group of Klamath, apparently led by Jesse Kirk, became insistent that elections be reinstituted. Applegate was reluctant to accede, since he "felt that an Agents selection of his military force and administrators of justice should not be trammeled by selections which might be the result more of 'political' management than of the honest opinions of the majority." However, he agreed to ask for an opinion from the Commissioner.[49]

Gen. A. C. Hawley was sent to consider the issue, and conducted his investigation largely during Jesse Kirk's absence in Washington. At the end of his tour, Hawley strongly supported the position entertained by Applegate, who observed:

> . . . if at any time this electoral system should become in order, in the selection of the agent's personal assistants and executive force, the time had not yet arrived to put this privilege in the hands of the people. It would increase rather than limit the number of tribal and family feuds and keep alive the numerous personal jealousies which we are endeavoring to stamp out.[50]

The matter, however, was far from settled. Early in 1902, on the eve of Jesse Kirk's departure for Washington to secure ratification of the revised McLaughlin agreement, a petition was prepared by his faction requesting the privilege of being allowed to elect the mooted officers, subject to approval of the U.S. Indian Agent. This document bore 120 signatures, and is in line with estimates of the strength of this faction. The covering letter, by Jesse Kirk, urged in behalf of the Klamath that

> they desire to take steps forward and prepare themselves in citizenship for the years to come, and encourage them into civili-

> zation only, and not into blankets and long haired Indians in old custom. But to encourage them in education as well as christianity, which will enable them to be a civilized people.

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He cited the industry of the Klamath, claiming that they were self-sustaining through such enterprises as stock raising and laboring. The concession of a safeguard in elections may have been his, for he stressed that election of officers must be confirmed not only by the Agent but by the Secretary of the Interior. The Commissioner simply forwarded the documents to Applegate,[51] who, as if to point up the grievances, had just named three new judges.[52]

The actions of the Agent—now retitled Superintendent—in the investigation of the death of one George Modoc brought into the fray that educated gadfly, Charles S. Hood. A Carlisle graduate and leader of the returned Modoc, Hood took an interest in the case when Grant Smith, a fellow tribesman, was held on suspicion of having had a hand in the death. Some four months later, Hood wrote Applegate urging that Smith be released to look after his family and stock, with the understanding that Smith would come back to stand trial. Apparently rebuffed, Hood then wrote to the U.S. Attorney in Portland, who sternly demanded of Applegate, "Will you please inform me by what process or authority he is confined in jail, and whether or not in your judgment if [he] is liberated he will run away." Stung, the Superintendent denied that statement and claimed that Smith had been on parole most of the time so that he could look after his affairs.[53] The attacks upon him seem to have driven Applegate toward a more extreme position, as reflected in his recourse for local cases to police courts instead of the less subordinate Court of Indian Offenses.[54]

In 1904, the pace quickened. Through the early part of the year, Knott C. Egbert found Henry Jackson ungovernable. In April, Jesse Kirk, once more in Washington, directed a letter to Commissioner Jones. It was transmitted by Oregon's Senators Mitchell and Fulton and Representative Williamson, with these words:

> We have every confidence in Mr. Kirk, and we are sure he would made no recommendations that he did not feel were fully justified, and we are also aware of the fact that the Indians of

> *648 the Agency, in the main, have implicit confidence in him, or
> *657 they would not send him here each year as their agent to look
> 665 after their interests.[55]

668 In his letter, Kirk once more called for elections, stating, "The
578 present manner of selection does not result in securing the ser-
[666] vices of the best men. . . ." He was instructed, he said, to suggest
and request that an election be held on the fifth of July when the tribe in council might make its selection, and further proposed

> that you instruct your Superintendent to be guided by such selection in the appointment of persons to fill these offices; these appointments by the Superintendent, of course, to be ratified and approved by you. This in order that, should our selection be ignored by the Superintendent, we may have the opportunity of being heard by you.[56]

This bold typescript letter, its flowing style so unlike Jesse Kirk's, bears every earmark of expert assistance. The source of that aid, either legal or legislative, is suggested by the circumstance that the next letter, to Applegate, was forwarded by the congressional trio with a covering letter dated the same day. The Kirk epistle set forth the same demands for an election, but did not mention an appeal to the Commissioner. In their covering letter, Mitchell and his colleagues observed, "Mr. Kirk seems to be very strongly of the opinion that the plans suggested in this communication should be adopted," and they urged that Applegate give it "very careful consideration."[57]

On his return, Jesse Kirk set about a direct assult upon the Superintendent. First came a letter from the "Delegate and Agent of the Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin band of Snake Indians" to the Commissioner, charging that livestock were permitted to trespass upon the reservation and that O. C. Applegate and his stockman and chief of police, George W. Loosley, "systematically" ignored and suppressed complaints on the subject. Loosley, it was charged, continually evaded his duty and "loiters indolently his time away at the agency. . . ." Jesse Kirk, for his part, wanted no white cattle at all upon the reservation. This letter, together with that written earlier to the commissioner on the elections, was buttressed by two petitions circulated together, bearing 184 and 183 signatures, each certified by nine men, Jesse

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Kirk, Henry Jackson, Drummer David, Logan Pompey, Albert 648*
Jackson, Yank Lobert, Ike Jackson, William A. Moore, and Sar- 657*
gent Brown.[58] 665

A letter to the Commission one month later, signed by the same 668
nine men, asserted that Abraham Charley (then captain of 578
police) was immediately responsible for stock trespass upon the reservation through his policy of renting tribal and unfenced allotted lands, a practice for which he lacked tribal consent.[59]

Within the month, the delegate wrote Senator Mitchell on behalf of a runaway schoolboy who, it was claimed, preferred to go to Chemawa. Mitchell sent the letter on to the Commissioner. When the Commissioner detailed the matter to his subordinate, Applegate at last flared forth.

> Permit me to say in this connection that the interference of the "Rev." Jesse Kirk in the affairs of the Agency and Schools has become nearly intolerable and that it is a decided menace to the peace and tranquility of the Schools and in fact of the entire reservation. His hostility to the authorities is now boldly asserted, though for a long time treacherously veiled, and it may be necessary, and that very soon, to restrain him in some way or to remove him from the reservation.[60]

Applegate had not long to wait for the next blow. His letter crossed one from the Commissioner transmitting a telegram and a letter sent to the President by Jesse Kirk and others charging the Superintendent with mismanagement of the affairs of the Agency and schools. Applegate was ineffectual, claimed the letter; he did not maintain discipline and permitted drunkenness; he bestowed undue favors upon Abraham Charley, particularly in allowing him to take out a grazing permit; he let the fields grow up to weeds; and he opposed sending children to nonreservation schools. Applegate roundly denied all charges, pointing out that three of his ten accusers were former Agency employees, dropped from service for various reasons, and that another three were expolicemen who had been found undesirable. All of them he branded "henchmen and followers of the chief conspirator, the 'Rev.' Jesse Kirk." Even then they were circulating another petition on the reservation.[61]

Before Applegate's round was fairly on the way, the hapless administrator received the next salvo. This time the Commissioner forwarded the letters and petitions from the Kirk faction

*648 on the trespass and election issues, together with a telegram
*657 protesting approval of the Abraham Charley permit and sup-
665 porting letters from the Washington law firm of Dudley and
668 Michener. Several months passed before Applegate came around
578 to answering, which he did in temperate and reasoned tones.
His remarks add little to what he had said previously.[62]

Meanwhile, Applegate was given an assignment which could only embroil him further. Upon instructions from the Commissioner, he and an assistant set forth with representatives of the Booth-Kelly Lumber Company, which had succeeded to the Military Road claims, to select lands in lieu of the 111,000 acres they held across the face of the reservation. Eventually, a tract of 87,000 acres of prime timber in the northeastern corner of the reservation was selected.[63]

Jesse Kirk is said to have opposed vehemently any cession of land, while his half-brother favored the arrangement finally arrived at.[64] Not until the fiery Indian leader was dead did the tribe finally agree to accept the sum of $108,750 from the United States in return for a quitclaim against the government; and that was achieved in the face of determined opposition from Clayton Kirk, who took up the battle from his father and bombarded Washington with petitions.

In later days Applegate believed that "in equity the Indians ought to have had the entire reservation. . . . They should be fully compensated." In 1904, however, he stood too close to the factionalism, and Ivan's role in the negotiations was too well recalled for him to avoid suspicion. Any of his acts were likely to become, in Merton's term, a self-fulfilling prophecy of complicity.[65]

Conditions at Klamath now prompted the Commissioner to send out as inspector Supervisor of Indian Schools M. F. Holland, whose harsh measures precipitated the final battle. At the
[361] Agency, a number of Indians, several of them employees, had
erected a dozen shanties out of rejected lumber from the sawmill. Holland evidently found Slabtown, as the settlement was known, an eyesore. A former inhabitant there has suggested that Holland may also have been irked by the community's practice of providing food for various councils conducted by Jesse Kirk. The supervisor now ordered Slabtown razed. Accordingly, Applegate served notice on the residents to remove by the first of March.[66]

[Klamath Reservation]

[P. 176-A]

311

The Modoc Point irrigation project. A government steam tractor is breaking ground for farming. (From Hincks, 1915.)

Farmer's meeting and barbecue at Modoc Point. (From Hincks, 1915.)

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264

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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[P. 176-B]

623

Meeting of the General Council in the latter days of the Tribe. Above, Boyd Jackson addresses the membership while Jesse Lee Kirk presides. Below, members of the "Crawford side." (Courtesy Klamath Information and Education Office.)

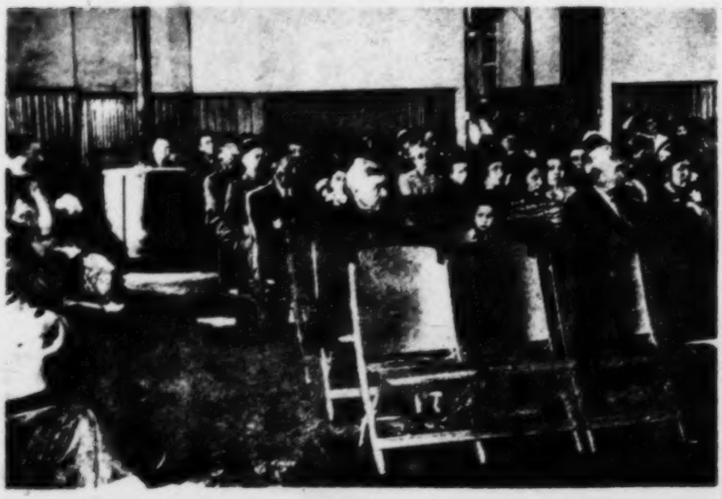

At the same time, Holland ordered that Indians be prohibited 648*
from loitering about the Agency office and other buildings. 657*

Soon thereafter, Jesse Kirk with a group estimated by Applegate 665
to number twenty or thirty persons and enumerated by the 668
opposition at fourteen, either attempted to test the prohibition 578
or were the objects of its first enforcement. In the ensuing scuffle with the Indian police, Holland seems to have been struck.[67] "Though the effort to expel them was successful, and without loss of life," related Applegate, "they left the Agency in a defiant and sullenish humor and the ensuing night sent to the other Agency (Yainax) for reinforcements and yet maintain an ugly and rebellious gathering on the reservation." Terming the incident a "riot," the Superintendent called in all seven policemen from the Lower End, added five more special police, and sought permission to expedite purchase of ammunition.[68]

What had been the business of the "rebels" at the Agency that day? They had been collecting signatures for another of Jesse Kirk's petitions, this time directed against O. C. Applegate, George W. Loosley, and "their special appointed man, Abraham Charley."[69] The petition had been drawn up by Jesse Kirk and a local attorney, F. H. Mills, retained by the Indians. Mills, a deputy district attorney for Klamath Falls, had previously taken Indian cases,[70] but a crusading element seems evident in his involvement in this dispute. J. W. Evans, the Assistant Superintendent at Yainax, noted that Henry Jackson had been paying his fees and that the Indians had put up $500 as a retainer.[71]

After their rebuff at the Agency, the Kirk faction withdrew to Yainax, where they held meetings at the home of Henry Jackson and gathered signatures for their petition. In the end, 133 men, over half of the eligible voters, signed. Evans claimed that deceit and force were used, and that a "kind of secrecy" was maintained, but Mills contended that others had also desired to sign, being prevented from doing so by subsequent events. Mills, charged Evans, "used his personal influence to get the Indians to sign."

While the meeting was still in session, one of the Indian police came in with a request from three of the "leading Indians" (unnamed by Evans) of the Yainax district, asking that the police stop the session, on the grounds that the disputes would engender trouble. Evans thereupon ordered Abraham Charley, captain of

*648 police, to put an end to that meeting and to call one at the house
*657 of Harrison Brown—a proadministration leader—to try to effect
665 a settlement. At that session, not unexpectedly, feelings ran high.
668 Unable to come to an agreement, the Kirk faction broke off dis-
578 cussion and resumed their meeting at Jackson's.

Thereupon, Abraham Charley summoned all parties to the office of the Assistant Superintendent in the Yainax school, where, for six hours, some forty men argued. Finally, Evans stated that he could not prevent circulation of the petition so long as that did not cause a disturbance. Harrison Brown's party promptly surged forward and sought to seize the petition by force, but were prevented, said Evans, by the police. The conditions of unrest having been established, Evans was able to require that the petition be delivered up to him "until a general council could be regularly called and decide on its disposal."

Evans ended his report with a denunciation of Jesse Kirk as "a disturbing element on the reservation, [who] has a bad influence on the Indians. He should be told to go to his ranch and work it, or be put off the reservation." Of the attorney, he observed:

> Frank Mills should be told to leave the Indians and go out of the Government's business, and if there is anything to be attended to or settled, there are proper officers belonging to the Commissioner's Department and Department of the Interior who can do it."[72]

Despite his brave front, Oliver Applegate had already privately conceded defeat and was writing his friend and former subordinate, Knott C. Egbert, at Siletz reservation, suggesting that he apply for the Superintendency. He was evidently dismayed by the turn events had taken and alarmed, suggests his son, for the safety of his family. Moreover, a letter from Egbert intimates that Applegate felt a lack of administrative support, since he had been confirmed as Superintendent through his service as Agent, and had not passed the civil service examinations. Egbert proposed that he take the examination quietly in Portland; but the Applegates had long opposed the establishment of the civil service, and the advice seems to have proven repugnant.[73]

Meanwhile, early in March, a council was held at Yainax. It was presided over by Levi Walker, and the principal business

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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was transacted by Jack Palmer, Harrison Brown, Ike Mose, and 648*
Abraham Charley. A committee of ten men submitted a report 657*
of the findings of the council, presenting the proadministration 665
viewpoint and requesting "that these men [Kirk and party] be 668
not allowed to do any more business pertaining to the tribe with- 578
out tribal authority."[74]

Jesse Kirk and his adherents did not participate in the "loyal" council. After the scene in Evans' office, Kirk and Jackson had consulted with Mills in Klamath Falls. In the company of the attorney they then returned to demand the petition. Evans refused, informing Mills that "no attorney had any right to interfere in tribal affairs without permission from the Interior Department." The three retired and with others of the faction drew up another petition which they forwarded to Washington.[75]

In his letter of transmittal to the firm of Dudley and Michener in the capital, who were in turn to present the matter to the Commissioner, Mills shed a new perspective upon matters. After
reviewing some of the earlier developments, he turned to the [692]
investigations of Inspector Holland, which, as he said, [681]

> proceeded along smothly [sic] enough until the questions of money and property became the subject of inquiry when it developed that during the last four years a system of collecting money, stock, lumber and other property had been adopted; it seems that this was done by first having the "Indian" court (a sort of disciplinary tribunal which has been authorized or rather sanctioned by the department) impose a penalty or punishment and then allow the indian defendant to pay in cash or such other property as he might chance to have and notwithstanding that such court has no such authority to impose fine or collect money in that way. . . . During the time of the investigation some of the fines which had been collected one or two years were paid back to the defendants. . . . It is conclusive proof had there not been an illegal practice . . . no such returns would have been made. . . .

Although Holland had inquired into only one case, there had been several. Jesse Kirk had requested of George Loosley, chief of police, the list of fines imposed, but was denied it. Finally, Loosley consented to divulge the sum, amounting to $2,651 collected over a four-year period.

At the center of the case, claimed Mills, was Applegate, related through marriage to three brothers of the Loosley family. Two

*648

*657 of them, George and Fred, while employees of the Agency, had
665 purchased lumber, posts, and similar items from Indians to build
668 upon their 10,000-acre ranch.

578 The most serious malfeasance he charged, however was "the
[423] matter of leasing under the special permit system of unallotted
[427] tribal lands during the past three or four years." The usual system was for the Superintendent and George Loosley (who was also Agency stockman) to lease a district to an Indian, for example Abraham Charley or Harrison Brown, who in turn leased to whites at one dollar per head of cattle. "It is only those who have engaged in leasing the lands," Mills went on, "that have threatened violence if the petition was sent on to Washington. . . ." He suspected "a large discrepancy between the books of account and the amounts paid in for grazing upon the various districts of unallotted tribel [sic] lands as well as trespasses." During the past four years, less than $4,000 (and probably only $2,667) had been paid in, as against estimated returns of $10,000 from grazing alone.

The Indians therefore demanded the removal of Applegate and George Loosley, the election of officials, and an end to cattle trespass. They demanded more effective voice for the council in
[871] leasing and in disbursing Indian money. Finally, they noted other grievances in the treatment of sick school children and demanded that they be permitted to send their children to outside schools.[78]

The accuracy of these charges is secondary to the images of the truth they generated. It is of principal importance that Jesse Kirk was able to convince a large following that the charges were indeed correct. From the standpoint of his faction he then became a man deeply concerned with administrative abuses and striving to remove them by free elections. In that view, Applegate's obduracy drove Kirk reluctantly to more explicit detail until in the end he was forced openly to seek the Superintendent's removal.

In Washington, a new administration was in the saddle, and the new Commissioner was the reformer, F. E. Leupp. Even if Applegate were innocent, the embroilments under his administration would not have recommended his retention. In May, he vacated his office for Horace G. Wilson. Applegate had already received a temporary appointment as clerk at the Grande Ronde

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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Reservation, and within a year he was to return to Klamath as clerk for Indian employment. Evidently, the Bureau did not place much credence in the accusations.[77] 648* 657* 665

The "rebels" were jubilant, and the Commissioner found it necessary to visit the reservation and issue a statement denying that the Superintendent had been forced to resign. Though he "gave it good to Jesse," he did little to dampen his spirit.[78] Evans, writing to his former superior, detailed Kirk's efforts to assume a fuller leadership. He had informed the Indians that Superintendent Wilson had no right to go to Washington unless by their direction and with their instructions. Moreover, he was maintaining that "the man who was here was not the real Commr. but a just believe one. The real man would talk different to them he says."[79] His period of triumph, however, was brief, for in December, 1906, Jesse Kirk succumbed to typhoid.[80] 668 578

His death ended a critical phase of Klamath political development. When it closed, tribal political leaders had established the institution of the delegation that, bypassing the Bureau, dealt directly with congressional leaders in Washington. In matters requiring expert counsel, they relied upon attorneys retained by tribe or faction. Claims against the government, as political leaders found, were effective issues to attract adherents; and those who sought self-enhancement were ready to take advantage of them.

With the enlargement of sphere, the extension of operations to Washington, decisive action tended to be removed from the reservation to the capital. In the factionalism just reviewed, it is significant that there appears, perhaps for the first time, the spectacle of partisan councils, each excluding the opposition and each purporting to represent tribal opinion.

Saddened by the conflict, Knott C. Egbert wrote prophetic words from Siletz. "The Klamaths," he observed, "might be enormously wealthy if less turbulent, and had behaved. . . . After all though, notwithstanding it would make them paupers, it may be best for the govt. to buy them out and sell the surplus lands. They will sooner become rational." And he added, "One could well dread the sweating period through which the Klamaths must pass on the path to full citizenship, involving as it does the acquisition of money, the drinking of lots rum &c. . . ."[81]

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[Klamath Reservation]

PART IV

[P.183]

000

THE OPEN RESERVATION

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P. 184]

000 EACH TOWN HAD ITS ONE BUSINESS STREET, SO CALLED. PART OF this . . . street in Pelican Rapids was paved, bordered with cement walks. Chickamon's street was unpaved, bordered with board walks. The buildings strung along these streets were squat, unpretentious. However, distinction was made as to the particular side of the street, one was the six-bit, the other the four-bit side; the latter was plied by the crowd, which included lumberjacks, Indians, and hangers-on. . . . The more worthy business establishments lined the six-bit side. . . .

On most days the predominating flow of persons were idling lumberjacks, if not in their Mackinaws, at least wearing their calked shoes, clomping and skidding along the cement walks, or addings holes to board walks, puncturing linoleum when off their beat; and always Indians, stoically sauntering but curious in a veiled manner, indolent and obese. They were periodically flush with money from timber sales on their reservation, which left them subject to idleness and the pursuit of diversion to pass the time; they were often in conflict with law and order. Almost as many Indians roamed the streets of Pelican Rapids as at Chickamon; there were more incautious bootleggers in the larger town.

—FROM A FICTIONAL DESCRIPTION OF
KLAMATH LOGGING ABOUT 1930[1]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

THIRTEEN

[P.185]

Modern Klamath: Demography and Economy

ALTHOUGH THEY LACK THE DRAMA OF CULTURAL CONFRONTATION, 648*
the years since the barriers of the reservation crumbled have 657*
been eventful ones for the Klamath, and deserve minute study. 619
The wealth of material makes such a treatment inappropriate, 177
and recommends instead a summary approach. Viewed as a 178
whole, a half-century of change has been marked by progression, with no major discontinuities. Geographically, physically, culturally, and socially, the Klamath lost special attributes they had once shared; yet, held together by a joint history, through participation in a tribal government, and by interest in a tribal estate held in common, they retained their identity as Klamath. This was a period in which, compared to the dominant society, the Klamath passed into a condition of reduced power, unable even to control the tribal assets save through a veto, constituting an ethnic minority in the communities where they resided, even within the reservation.

One of the indexes of latterday Klamath diversity has been 648*
their geographic distribution. At the turn of the century, approxi- 657*
mately ten per cent of the tribal membership resided off the reservation.[2] By 1955 the number had mounted to over forty per cent; and three years later, after termination, it exceeded fifty per cent of the Tribe. As had been true earlier, the absentee members were grouped concentrically about the reservation. Perhaps a quarter of their number resided within Klamath County in towns adjacent to the reservation. Outside the county, they were scattered throughout areas of southern Oregon and northern California where Klamath had long had ties. Along the

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 Pacific Coast, tribal members lived in urban centers as well: in
*657 the cities of the Willamette Valley, in Portland, where about a
hundred dwelled, in Seattle to the north and Sacramento and
(San Francisco to the south. Beyond this area and eastward to
the Atlantic Coast the number dropped sharply, although there
were tribal members as far distant as Massachusetts. Only a
handful of the absentee members lived on other reservations.[3]
[619] Tribal families residing in the same city demonstrated little tendency to form a compact ethnic enclave.

*648 Within the reservation, tribal members in the Lower End
*657 communities of Chiloquin, Modoc Point, and Klamath Agency
489 were almost half again as numerous as those in the Upper End
[491] towns of Sprague River and Beatty.[4] (See map of Klamath Indian Reservation.) Travel between the Lower End and Klamath Falls, the largest city in the county and its administrative seat, was relatively easy by comparison with the Upper End, and the advantage remained even after a market road was constructed linking the latter directly with the county seat. As a result, Beatty and Sprague River long had closer ties with such towns on the eastern periphery as Bly, Bonanza, and Lakeview, far smaller communities than Klamath Falls, and correspondingly less complex from an institutional standpoint.

*648 During the first years of the termination program, between
*657 the publication of the provisional and final rolls of the Tribe, the
16 change of address of tribal members reflected the migration currents. Within the reservation, movement ran from smaller to larger communities. Between the reservation and the outer world, the records show almost three times as many Klamath departing as returning. Those leaving the reservation were drawn to cities, rather than the rural countryside or the smaller towns. Although the rate of movement had accelerated in those days, the trends hold true for the entire postallotment period.

A survey of the motives which at an earlier time had brought Klamath to Chiloquin and to Klamath Falls shows that consumer values ranked high. A few had come to seek jobs, particularly to the county seat, for the narrow range of opportunities on the reservation offered little choice. Others left the reservation to escape what they regarded as the stultification of reservation life or the demands upon the ambitious made by the claims of kins-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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648* 657* 16

men. The major attractions, however, were the stores, the schools, the movies, the excitement, and the entertainment. These advantages seem likewise to have favored the shift to larger communities.

Thus, over an extended period of time, there has been a substantial and growing body of Klamath who, while retaining an equity in the tribal estate and membership in the tribal body, have come to dwell away from the reservation and who visit it infrequently, if at all. Their daily life is spent within a milieu, and in reliance upon a "personal community"—to use Jules Henry's expressive term[5]—made up largely of non-Klamath.

648* 657* 144

The heterogeneity of the Klamath is also reflected by their biological composition. While the characterization of the degree of Indian heritage, expressed as a "blood quantum," is open to occasional error in individual instances, the figures taken in summation reveal significant differences. By 1955, only twenty-eight per cent of the absentee members could claim to be biologically of over one-half Indian ancestry, and even for those dwelling upon the reservation the corresponding figure was no more than fifty-four per cent. Within the reservation, in turn, Lower End Klamath were markedly less Indian by this measure, falling between the values for absentee and Upper End members.[6]

648* 657* 162

Like many other Indian groups, the Klamath population possesses a large segment of younger members, marking an increase over the early decades of the present century. In the days of termination, those under twenty years of age comprised no fewer than forty-seven per cent of the total tribal membership, a figure exceeding that for the general population of the United States, of which only one-third fell within the corresponding bracket.[7] Although these figures are often interpreted as reflecting improved health conditions on the reservation, they also reflect an increased rate of marriage with non-Indians. [563]

648* 657* 184 361

The variety of Klamath life during the latter days of their tribal existence may be illustrated by data from the Upper End community of Beatty, the Lower End city of Chiloquin, and from the off-reservation communities of Klamath Falls and Eugene-Springfield in the Willamette Valley.

Beatty and Chiloquin represent special facets of reservation

*648 history. Beatty, in the upper valley of the Sprague, lies between
*657 the town of Sprague River, some fourteen miles below it, and
184 Bly, roughly the same distance away over the eastern boundary
361 of the reservation. It drew some of its population from Yainax,
when that subagency was closed, as well as from Paiute Camp
[797] to the east. Beatty's nucleus had been the Methodist mission and
store, to which other establishments presently were added, and
houses began to be built about them. White ranchers have
[563] moved in to work the allotted land they bought or rented, usually
bringing their families with them. Others, white, Indian—using
that term for non-Klamath—and Negro, have married tribal
members.

(871) By 1959, however, when the community was studied,[8] it was
in a sharp decline: for in the 1940's the local school had been
[797] closed in a consolidation with the one at Bly; the Methodist
[313] mission had been reduced to an adjunct of the principal mission
on Williamson River, at the Lower End; and the lumber mill
at Sprague River had ceased operations. The community had
[162] survived, though on a greatly reduced scale, with a population
totaling 136 persons, 105 of them tribal members, prevailingly of
Modoc and Paiute derivation, 5 Indians from other reservations,
25 whites, and 1 Negro.

Chiloquin, located at the confluence of the Sprague and Williamson rivers, was the largest community on the reservation, with a population then almost seven times that of Beatty.[9] A mill and market town which burgeoned when tribal timber was opened by the advent of the railroad, Chiloquin was incorporated as a city in 1926 and soon afterward boasted a population, including adjacent woods camps, of approximately two thousand. In its heyday, when along with Modoc Point, Braymill, and Sprague River it pulsed with activity, Chiloquin was a lusty and sometimes rowdy city, enjoying the wicked sobriquet of "The Little Chicago of the West." Below the surface was a structure which provided an institutional extension of American civic life elsewhere. A bank, a newspaper, telephone company, hotels and rooming houses, schools and churches, a boxing association and occasional Chatauqua, moving picture house, taxi company, Ladies' Community Club, Commerce Club, Masons and V.F.W., lawyers, dentists, and doctors: all these shared space with dancehalls, card rooms, bootleggers, pimps, and prostitutes.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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The depression and the subsequent loss of mills through fire 648*
and economic distress stripped Chiloquin temporarily of many 657*
of her specialized services. By the time she had emerged from 184
the slump a decade after World War II, improved communica- 361
tions had enabled Klamath Falls, twenty times as large and only thirty miles away, to supplant Chiloquin in many functions which had previously been discharged locally. Nonetheless, in the course of recovery some services were regained. With an institutional complexity that far transcended that of Beatty, Chiloquin, an enclave of the state of Oregon within the federal jurisdiction of the reservation, offered tribal residents a foretaste of the life that lay beyond reservation boundaries. In 1958 more than thirty per cent of the entire tribal membership had mailing addresses there.

In examining the households of Beatty and Chiloquin, re- 648*
spectively 31 and 297 in number, it is convenient to distinguish 657*
two categories among those including tribal members. That 621
designated Interethnic is headed by a tribal member married to 184
a partner of another ethnic group, white, M[illegible] alien Indian, 563
or other. The second, in which both partners [illegible] tribal members, 592
will be designated Tribal. The term Klamath will subsume both. [162]

Klamath households in the rural community of Beatty in 1959 comprised well over eighty per cent of the community, the remaining households being largely white. By contrast, in Chiloquin (1949-50) white households were twice the Beatty percentage; while Klamath households amounted only to little over half the population. The remaining ten per cent was made up of other minorities, Mexican, Negro, and Indian. Within the next decade continuing trends in Chiloquin increased the disparity, as white households gained at the expense of all other components.

The figures for Interethnic marriages harmonize with this picture of white preponderance in the larger community. When the total marital record is considered, including successive mates, it is seen that unions with whites comprise only slightly more than one-fifth of the total for reservation members, almost one-third for the Chiloquin segment, and well over three-quarters for a small sample of off-reservation Klamath.[10] Among the Interethnic households of Beatty, the non-Klamath partner was more frequently Indian than white, while in Chiloquin he was

*648 generally white. When it is considered that in American society
*657 the husband maintains significant external relationships,[11] it
184 seems significant that in both Chiloquin and Beatty in some three-
621 fourths of the Interethnic households the husband was an out-
563
592 sider and the wife a Klamath.

ECONOMIC LIFE

*648 From an economic standpoint, tribal members occupied a
*657 subsidiary position in reservation communities. Their participa-
621 tion in productive activities as a whole was small. In 1958, a
434 sample of the reservation population showed the following eco-
464 nomic profile: presently engaged in business or ranching, eigh-
162 teen per cent; previous record of such experience, eleven per cent; no such experience, forty-eight per cent; no data, twenty-three per cent. The figures for those resident in Chiloquin showed, if anything, a lesser degree of direct participation. Available records on a small absentee sample (but one with a higher proportion of women) do not reveal a higher degree of economic experience. The figures are: presently engaged in business or ranching, seven per cent; previous record of such experience, twenty-one per cent; no such experience, seventy per cent; no data, two per cent.

*648 The record of scanty business experience is in large measure
*657 a consequence of the steady flow of income from tribal timber.
434 In 1950, the $800 per capita payments enabled a Klamath family
464 of four to exceed the median income for all families in the county. Since they could also hunt and fish throughout the year, and many families did, their actual income was considerably higher. There was thus little incentive to work to supplement timber revenues. The Meriam committee, to be sure, had observed years before, in the course of their comprehensive study of Indian administration, that the Klamath per capitas were too small for investment and thus tended to be disbursed for current living expenses;[12] but it is also true that, lacking investment experience, tribal members who realized substantial sum from the sale of allotments too often treated them as windfalls to be squandered, rather than as capital capable of bringing further financial returns.

000 Comparison with the record of white performances places the

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Comparison
with the record of white performances places the 648*
tribal picture in perspective. In Beatty, six out of seven white 657*
househeads were employed. A sample taken in 1950 including 464
almost every white household in Chiloquin showed that all the 162
men save those who were ill or retired were gainfully employed, 171
and that in thirty-seven per cent of the households wives or junior
members also held jobs.

By this token, the Klamath had come to occupy a marginal 648*
position as economic producers. That this had not always been 657*
true is shown by the record of those who in the early days of 464
Chiloquin had tried their hand at business; and several continued 437
to maintain themselves by ranching or business. The large majority of the men, however, were content to labor seasonally as unskilled farmhands. The undependability of some workers had generated an adverse reputation among potential employers for the Klamath as a whole. The industrious Klamath came to be viewed as exceptional.

Thus, even on their own reservation, the Klamath stood beneath the shadow of economic structures dominated by whites. This condition was, of course, true for the reservation as a unit; for distant interests dictated that it should be devoted to the production of lumber, beef, power, and to communications. Within the several communities the major enterprises were also controlled by whites. To be sure, there were checks upon the
ruthless exercise of economic power. Local awareness of interdependence, [623]
the intimate acquaintance developed in the daily life of a small community, and the knowledge that the tribal council controlled the fate of timber contracts upon which the community depended: all these served to temper purely economic decisions.
The exercise of a credit system by storekeepers [452]
in the face of lower prices in Klamath Falls, the good faith they expected of their customers, and the occasional need for hired hands by ranchers, were equally conducive to restraint.

Klamath families who chose to farm were often similar to their [241]
white counterparts in the concentration which they devoted to their farming; and they often exchanged labor or equipment with white neighbors. There were few successful farmers among
tribal members, perhaps no more than a dozen in all. By contrast, [233]
there were those in the countryside who chose to follow other time-honored values than industry, giving precedence to per-

*648 *657 464 433 233 missiveness. Their ranches often took on the appearance of rural slums, and were the scenes of drinking parties and brawls. Economically profitable or not, ranching constituted the most common occupation for those who were employed. It offered special advantages. The land was usually an inherited allotment and, together with cattle and improvements, was often nontaxable. Outdoor work with livestock was a familiar activity; it permitted considerable latitude to the farmer in adjusting his routine. There was space to live.

*648 *657 433 22 262 177 178 Whether dwelling in town or on a ranch, tribal members continued to seek native foods; but these activities had come to occupy a different place in their lives. Men of all ages still fished and hunted; many families still gathered huckleberries; and elderly women at least continued to dig for the succulent roots of ipos and camas and to gather wokas. The latter foods, however, were sought as cherished delicacies, now rare; while journeys to the berry fields assumed the character of an outing. Much of the fishing had acquired a strongly sportive aspect and was carried on by angling. Only the spearing of mullet during the spring runs and the hunting of deer and waterfowl seriously served food demands. The larger game animals, which had figured in only a small way in Klamath diet and played a more important role among the Modoc, had become abundant upon the reservation as ranchers killed off predators. Tribal members often hunted them from a car or spotlighted them at night. Waterfowl were often shot as they sat upon the water. Fifteen deer would see a household through the year; and a number of Klamath families met all their meat requirements by hunting and fishing, being content to buy an occasional cut in town to add variety to their diet.

*648 *657 224 226 181 "Meat hunting" thus continued to ignore sportive conventions, although fishing had in part given way to them. At the same time, individual Klamath were wont to play with those conventions by entering contests for the biggest buck or rainbow; and they delighted in underscoring white failures to abide by their own standards of sportsmanship. For the Klamath, hunting and fishing possessed particular virtue as an attribute of an Indian estate. The ability to pursue fish and game without regard to season was a signal right cherished by the Indians and valued

as well by envious whites. Indeed, prominent among the local 648*
advantages which white residents stated bound them to Chilo- 657*
quin were the advantages offered by the reservation for hunting 224
and fishing. At the same time, the whites tended to regard those 226
pursuits as no more than recreational avocations; and if the 181
Klamath were sometimes credited with inherent aptitudes for the chase, they were also looked down upon for devoting so much time to "play," and for ignoring, as many did, the white canons of sportsmanship.

Conflicting viewpoints were likewise evinced in the relation- 648*
ships of tribal members seen as consumers. While there were 657*
wide differences in actual behavior both among and between 571
whites and Indians, relationships came often to be governed by
stereotypes. This was particularly so in the larger communities, [621]
in instances in which individuals were not personally known to [184]
each other.

Those relationships were in fact strongly conditioned by the 648*
peculiar status of the tribal members who relied upon per capitas 657*
for their income. Few Klamath on the reservation had ever 434
banked money, and the absence of a bank in Chiloquin since the 571
depression, or in any other reservation town, made necessary 452
the institution of a credit system.[18] Since much Indian property [453]
was held in trust by the government, which thus could not be advanced as security, merchants had to rely heavily upon a knowledge of the individual in advancing credit. Reservation stores resorted to a credit system to compete with the businesses in Klamath Falls, and through a more intimate acquaintance with tribal members could assess the risk more skillfully than those—particularly the newcomers—in the county seat. At the same time, the expense of operating such a system was one of the factors in advancing prices in reservation stores. Thus merchants, who not infrequently did their own private shopping in Klamath Falls, were galled to see tribal customers, whom they had carried on credit, patronizing competitors in the larger city as soon as they had received their per capitas.

In attempting to collect outstanding debts, merchants could 648*
not count upon the Superintendents, but had to resort to moral 657*
suasion and threaten to cut off further credit. Some Superinten- 434
dents did assist in bringing pressure to bear upon delinquent 452

*648 members, but others refused to do so, taking the position that
*657 merchants were encouraging extravagance in their Indian cus-
434 tomers. Tribal members, on the other hand, learned to connive
[452] with Agency employees to evade restrictive regulations, citing
spurious but legitimate needs in order to secure cash releases,
with the zeal of other Americans in search of income tax loop-
holes. The money thus secured was often applied to outstanding
debts as well as to fresh expenditures.

*648 The payment of per capitas in two large, semiannual install-
*657 ments, rather than in smaller and more frequent disbursements,
511 was an incentive to squandering. Of a sample of tribal members
on the reservation from whom data are available, over one-half
were deemed poor in money management or were so deficient
that their funds had been programmed.[14]

*648 There were special areas of extravagance. Upon the open
*657 reservation the automobile had replaced the horse, both as a
511 means of transportation and as an extremely personal symbol of
493 wealth. Low down payments furnished an inducement to buy;
452 but among the improvident automobiles were often loaned to
[556] friends and relatives who might then prove irresponsible. Upon
[426] rough reservation roads, automobiles often did not survive to
see the last installment payment. As a consequence, it had
proved difficult for any tribal member to secure automobile in-
surance.

Observed Superintendent Fred A. Baker in 1924:

> If I were called upon to name one thing which has tended more than anything else to the squandering of the funds of the Klamath Indians I should mention the purchase of expensive automobiles. The first step was the issuance of a patent in fee for the sale of inherited lands. The second, the turning over of the funds to the Indian. The third step, the purchase of a high priced automobile, with the subsequent necessity of its upkeep and maintenance. The effect upon the life of the Indian has been demoralizing in that it invites him to take long and expensive trips and to absent himself from his home to the neglect of his farming operations and the building up and improvement of his allotment.[15]

*648 Items such as automobiles which the Klamath purchased
*657 were often esteemed by whites as status symbols; and many of
511 them resented the circumstances that the Klamath not only
493

acquired those symbols largely without the toil which tended to 648*
legitimize them, but used them so casually that they stripped 657*
them of worth. As with their playing with sportsmanship values 511
in their hunting and fishing, many Klamath seemed aware of 493
this resentment, and for them purchase represented in part an
act of defiance.

In summary, then, during the latter days of the reservation 648*
the Klamath were an economic minority upon their own reser- 657*
vation as well as in the cities and towns beyond its boundaries. 434
If they were restricted in the disposal of their property, they nonetheless were assured a periodic flow of income and enjoyed special immunities and rights. As they often expressed it, they had already achieved that retirement from economic endeavor toward which less-fortunate fellow citizens usually had to devote a lifetime. It was a very special economic niche, and one which carried grave disadvantages, not only as a preparation for a career in the outside world, but even for articulation within the reservation communities.

FOURTEEN

[P.196]

Local Political Relations

*648 *657 641 IN ADDITION TO THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP EACH KLAMATH BORE to the federal government, both through the Tribe and as an individual, he also entered formally into the role of citizen in a hierarchy of political bodies, ranging from the United States, through state and county, and often participated as well in one of the communities within the reservation. In those relationships, however, his tribal status sometimes conferred upon him special immunities with regard to taxation and the exercise of law. Until the last days of the reservation, when jurisdiction was transferred to the state of Oregon,[1] those Klamath who remained in trust status were responsible solely in federal courts for the commission on Indian land of the so-called "ten major crimes."[2]

[423] Only when the member received a fee patent upon his allotment or—for those who had not been assigned a tract—had all his property placed in unrestricted status, did he become subject to state courts. Oregon's jurisdiction extended within the reservation to the state highways traversing it and to all lands held in fee simple. Since the "Indian country" within the boundaries of the reservation had become checkerboarded with white-owned ranches, the fee-simple tracts of tribal members, together with trust lands and tribally owned territory, the title to which resided with the government, the jurisdictional aspect of law enforcement posed serious problems.

Within this setting operated an interlocking set of agencies, including the state police and courts, the county sheriff and justices of the peace, and the municipal marshal and police judge of communities such as Chiloquin. The sometime immunity of tribal members to their jurisdiction was a frequent cause for comment. Wrote Superintendent Arnold in 1930:

> I might call attention to the fact that at the last election in 648*
> Klamath County a trust patented Indian was elected Justice of 657*
> the Peace, and a fee patented Indian was elected Constable of 641
> the Beatty District on the Klamath reservation. It seems a rather [693]
> unusual situation when a trust patented Indian can preside as
> a judge over a court and pass sentence on other people and at
> the same time question the same court's jurisdiction over him.[8]

Nor was this all. Federally regulated land on the reservation [625]
was off bounds for officers of the law from city, county, and state;
yet in 1947 there were only two special Indian officers and two
deputies to enforce law and order over almost one million acres
of reservation. It was physically impossible for them to follow
up all cases, and consequently they could not deal effectively
with the misdemeanors of delinquents or with truancy from the
county schools.

In the 1920's, soon after the opening of the reservation, towns 648*
such as Chiloquin were faced with the influx of a mobile popu- 657*
lation in which the unmarried "timber beast" was prominent. 621
Roistering and violence occasionally assumed major proportions, 625
and law enforcement broke down at first. Within the first three 563
years after its incorporation in 1926, Chiloquin witnessed no 674
less than twelve appointments to the position of town marshal.
At times the Superintendent, concerned over the effect upon the
Indians, intervened, delivering an ultimatum or sending in his
officers to restore order. His jurisdiction, in turn, was also limited:
When Arnold brought pressure to bear upon Chiloquin author-
ities to close down gambling in the pool halls and card rooms, the
gamblers merely shifted their operation to Bly, just over the
eastern boundary of the reservation, and the same procedure had
to be repeated by state and local officials there.

The interdependence of law enforcement on state lands and 648*
reservation was emphasized during the depression. In 1931, when 657*
logging on the reservation—and with it tribal income—had been 641
temporarily reduced by Washington, a tribal leader, Wade 625
Crawford, succeeded in securing a congressional cut in the [651]
administrative budget of the Agency, which from about 1924
had been supported out of tribal revenue. Since the budgetary
allocation for law enforcement then became inadequate, the
federal officers left, until there remained only a constable and an

*648 Indian officer, both at Beatty. Thereupon, Chiloquin's marshal
*657 and his deputy also resigned, asserting that enforcement under
641 those conditions was too difficult—and too dangerous, to boot.
625 The county, which had already barred tribal members from the county jail, now took the position that, short of a government request, its courts would try no more Indian cases. Crawford
[692] countered with a proposal that the Court of Indian Offenses be reinstituted, while other leaders fell back upon that time-honored solution, the United States cavalry. Several months passed before funds were found to restore the reservation staff to normal strength.[4]

*648 Within the interlocking jurisdictions of the reservation and
*657 the reservation community, Klamath came to play out the role
641 of citizen as a voter, a taxpayer, and the object of legal control.
571 In small towns such as Chiloquin and Sprague River, relationships were primary in character, dominated by face-to-face relationships. Within the special environment of the reservation, with the vast potential of its unexploited resources, something of a western frontier tradition was preserved, with emphasis placed upon individualism and a high premium set upon voluntaristic action in concerting effort.

*648 These conditions were nowhere better evident than in Beatty.
*657 In this little community, with fewer than one hundred fifty
621 members, leadership was furnished by a few individuals and
563 action was highly informal. Perhaps the most influential person was a white storekeeper, a resident in the community for almost four decades, who had on occasion donated land and cash for worthy causes, who presided over a credit system, and who was much respected by the older tribal members. Among the latter, a leading spirit was the widow of his brother-in-law, who could be counted upon to act with him. His store was a frequent gathering place and the debating ground of the "hot stove league," where tribal politicians from the Upper End were often to be found. Another local leader was a young white, married to a tribal member, who farmed along the Sprague and in his spare time was a vigorous preacher in the Assembly of God Church.

Indians from other reservations, also married to Klamath, provided specialized leadership. One was prominent in the affairs of

the Beatty Roping Club, an organization that sponsored a local 648*
rodeo, with white, Klamath, and Indian members from the 657*
reservation and its environs. Another, an Agency employee until 621
his transfer to the Lower End, was active in organizing a youth 563
program. In Beatty in 1959, informal discussion still sufficed to decide common issues; and such men as these could marshal support to implement decisions. In the entire town, two deputy
sheriffs, an arm of the county, were the sole embodiments of 2
officialdom.[5]

Chiloquin, by contrast, was a larger and more complex community, having a formal municipal structure headed by a mayor and a council of six aldermen, along with a recorder-police judge and a treasurer. It hired a town marshal, ran an elementary and high school under the aegis of the county and state, operated sewage and water systems, owned a municipal tavern, and supported a volunteer fire department.

Not surprisingly, within this community principal economic interests were often aligned in the control of political power. Such devices as the massing of supporters to control party caucuses and interim appointments to fill vacancies on the council have enabled such interests to provide continuity of representation. With the exception of the treasurer, the elective offices for years were filled by men. Until 1957, they were invariably held by whites. In that year, when awareness of incipient termination had drawn together some tribal members, a group of Klamath succeeded in voting into office as alderman the Indian wife of a well-respected tribal member.

Leadership recruitment in Chiloquin was directed toward those individuals who had shouldered responsibility in such civic activities as the drives for Community Chest and Red Cross. Only one-third of the white families were actively represented in one or more such ventures. Among tribal families, however, the proportion was far smaller: certainly it lay below one-tenth of those resident in Chiloquin. The reasons were not far to seek. For one, the civic activities involved were quasisocial in character, and the low participation of Klamath reflected
their social isolation within the community. Again, their own [619]
political orientation was rather toward the Tribe than to the
affairs of towns which they identified with the dominant society.

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*657 Although tribal members in Chiloquin lagged little behind their
621 white neighbors in registering to vote (1958), their concern was
563 less with local than with national issues.[6]

641 A second aspect of Indian citizenship was the support of local
619 government through payment of taxes. Since all property held
666 in trust or restricted status by the government, together with
*648 income derived from such property, was exempt from taxation,
*657 many tribal members occupied an unusual position among their
641 fellow citizens. The effect was particularly felt by the county and
651 local communities, which were heavily dependent upon property
taxes. For years, Klamath County sought to secure funds from the government to compensate it for the trust lands within its boundaries, which were served by county roads, sheriffs, courts, and schools. Johnson-O'Malley funds finally provided money in lieu of taxes to support the schools; to these the Klamath Tribe on occasion added funds for special purposes, but the other causes were unavailing.

In Chiloquin, officials resented the action of one Superintendent, who advised tribal residents that any property bought within the city with funds in trust or restricted status might be restored to corresponding status, even though it had been owned in fee simple when purchased. Such house lots were thus removed from the tax rolls and, although benefited by sewers and other municipal improvements, could not be levied for their
support. It was not commonly recognized by white citizens of
[563] Chiloquin that a number of tribal members paid taxes regularly
upon property held in fee simple and that a multitude of indirect taxes fell as heavily upon tribal consumers as upon their fellow citizens. Rather, the image was that of a people exempt from financial responsibility toward the support of local institutions from which they benefited. Though a distortion, like many other parts of the stereotype, this evaluation nonetheless contained a substantial kernel of truth.

If truth be told, the citizens of Chiloquin were no more disposed to pay taxes than American citizens anywhere, and indeed they were somewhat less inclined to do so than those elsewhere in Oregon. In 1951-52, the millage rates of Chiloquin were by far the lowest among the organized communities of Klamath

County. Of regular municipal income in the year, 1956-57, taxa- 648*
tion supplied only a little over four per cent. The largest sources 657*
of revenue were the water system, the city tavern (which alone 641
supplied over one-third of the budget), and the proceeds from 651
law enforcement (amounting to over one-fourth of the budget).
Since, after the repeal of Indian prohibition in 1951, tribal members had become the major patrons of the municipal tavern, comprising in 1958 an estimated eighty per cent of its clientele, it is evident that in this indirect manner they had come to constitute a major support in the operation of the municipal government.

Nor was this all. The sizable sum derived from law enforce- 648*
ment was highly unusual. While the major enforcement problem 657*
in most Oregon cities of comparable size was traffic violations, 641
Chiloquin in 1956-57 found no less than ninety-three per cent of 674
its offenses to be felonies and misdemeanors other than traffic
violations. Tribal members and other Indians, including re-
peaters, accounted for over seventy-two per cent of the arrests; [681]
they paid over seventy per cent of the fines and forfeited bail; [464]
and they furnished over ninety-six per cent of the trusty labor
performed in the city.[7]

Aside from a few individual instances, this record does not 648*
reflect a policy of discriminatory arrests on the part of the city 657*
administration. It does, however, mark one of the significant 674
confrontations upon the reservation. It was conditioned in part [641]
by the special statutory position of the Klamath, for as an Indian [656]
under federal supervision he was enjoined by law from having
or using liquor and from marrying a white within the state.
Until these disabilities were removed in 1951, tribal members
were subject to arrest for acts not held criminal when committed
by non-Indians. During prohibition, tribal members had learned [273]
to operate stills, had taken to drinking extracts, proprietary
medicines, rubbing alcohol, and "canned heat" in lieu of scarce
liquors, and had both patronized and served as bootleggers.
Habits of defiant drinking, akin to those of other Americans
during the "dry" years, lingered even into the years after repeal.

Klamath experience with strong drink and violence had neither begun with the reservation towns nor was it confined to them;

*648 *657 674 but the access they provided to the means, the example set by the whites in the heyday of logging, and the greater chance of detection all made for a record in which these communities figured prominently. Moreover, in protest against a status they did not like but found it difficult to alter, tribesmen turned their violence outward against the public symbols of white dominance and inward upon their intimates and themselves.

The record is easy to read. Cars were stolen from a garage and raced by a gang of boys; others robbed a store; someone, in the years of prohibition, broke into the municipal tavern, then a forbidden place; others entered the jail, this time to remove some wine held as evidence in a bootlegging case; a boy, forcing his way into the post office, damaged the letter boxes. In subsequent years, the special Indian officer and a school principal were each set upon and beaten.

During the same period, private citizens among the whites were unmolested. The assaults had taken place against the seats of white power. When these events were discussed with a number of the elder Klamath, themselves law-abiding citizens, they reacted with abhorrence of the beatings—the Indian officer in particular had served long years on the reservation and had a reputation for fairness—but exhibited an indulgent amusement for the forays against stores and jocularity over the raid on the jail. The impression was very strong that in the twentieth century the Klamath, while sparing the neutrals in their midst, were still sending out war parties against the enemy.

[273] Among themselves, violence, especially in their drinking parties, was more deadly. Both the statistical and narrative reports from the early days of the reservation detail occasional instances of death through violence, but the number is small, and it is unlikely, in the light of the counteraccusations freely hurled between feuding groups, that a murder could easily have been concealed. It is therefore signal that when, in 1929, the Klamath Falls *Evening Herald* summarized murder trials for the previous year, in five instances both individuals had been tribal members, while in a sixth a Klamath had slain a white during a drinking party in Chiloquin. In three other cases, both parties had been white, and in another, Mexican.[8] Since that

time, few years have not seen at least one murder upon the 648* 657*
reservation. 674

Lesser crimes have also been frequent. Of the 1958 sample
of the reservation population above the age of sixteen, no fewer
than forty-three per cent had been arrested for misdemeanor,
seventeen per cent for felony. Liquor had led to arrest for thirty- 648*
seven per cent, and no fewer than forty-nine per cent were 657*
judged to have problems associated with drinking. The corre- 273
sponding figures were slightly higher for those members living in [674]
Chiloquin, where opportunity, observation, and arresting officers
were all more frequent.

In situations in which other peoples have sought redress in [154]
religious movements or covert sorcery, Klamath have more
commonly fallen back upon drink and violence. For them the [165]
bottle has proven a maladaptive instrument, as shown by a
recent survey of the causes of death of 139 members who expired during a period of four and one-half years: drinking was adjudged to be a contributory factor in no fewer than fifty-seven per cent of the deaths.[9] The violence which often caps drinking bouts is likewise self-destructive: for it often strikes close friends or family members.

From the viewpoint of the city fathers, then, the Klamath have been an unruly segment of the citizenry; and the figures on law and order pose the difficulty confronting the community in the maintenance of an orderly life. Alternatively, however, those same figures represent a sizable income to be realized through the administration of the law. In the latter days of the reservation, as the Indians themselves were clearly aware,[10] the city seemed on the one hand to be profiting from the sale of beer and wine to tribal members and on the other to collect large fines from them when, under the influence of alcohol, they had fallen into the toils of the law. The implications of this policy, by which almost two-thirds of the income of the town was supplied, made many white citizens uneasy. The city fathers, concerned with a parsimonious administration, were not eager to seek a substitute and, indeed, any change would have presented obstacles.

So long as the tribal government remained to articulate their 648* 657* 178 571

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

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571 loyalties, Klamath were unlikely to consider seriously their relations with the reservation communities. They were fully aware that through their membership in that body they held an effective check over the destiny of those towns, for whom the approval of a timber contract by the General Council might spell the difference between prosperity and hard times. Similar knowledge among city fathers doubtless abetted conscience in curbing political discrimination.

FIFTEEN

[P. 205]

Family and School

WHITES AND KLAMATH ON THE RESERVATION RECOGNIZED IN FAMILY 648*
ties a bond that might be useful as well in formal enterprises. 657*
Several leading businesses in Chiloquin relied in part upon consanguinity 602
and upon marital ties to recruit members and ensure 178
continuity of control. Similarly, among the Klamath, during the bidding for tracts of tribal property in the course of termination, members characteristically acted in kin groups to undertake purchases that were beyond the resources of a single individual. In primary relations among both groups, visiting patterns and the occasional appearance of extended family households betokened the continued strength of ties reaching beyond the nuclear family.

For the whites who had come originally from outside the [167]
reservation, kinship ties stretched to distant places and there [563]
were comparatively few relatives close at hand. Of the whites in Chiloquin in 1950, although fifty-six per cent had moved from a previous residence in Oregon, fewer than forty per cent came from the reservation, from Klamath Falls, or from southwestern Oregon. Only a handful had raised children and in turn had seen grandchildren being reared in the town.[1]

The Klamath, with many kinsmen still upon the reservation, [587]
saw the network of relationship close at hand, however tangled it might be by the intricacies of remarriage. To be sure, the [596]
extended family as a residential group was not prominent, for in Chiloquin there were but two such households and in Beatty one. The strength of the bonds manifested themselves in other ways. Tribal residents in the city of Springfield, in the Willamette Valley, several of whom asserted that they had originally moved away to escape the importunities of kinsmen, had made the move as nuclear families over a period of several decades. None-

*648 theless, analysis showed that they aggregated two extended
*657 families together with one other nuclear family unrelated to
602 either. The earlier arrivals had attracted relatives, but they had
178 been selective, encouraging some and in at least one instance
giving the cold shoulder to a kinsman deemed undesirable, when
he paid them an exploratory visit. For their part, they were
scrupulous in choosing compatible relatives to visit on their
occasional brief returns to the reservation.

That kinship bonds, selectively utilized, were still in force
[736] is shown not only by such action as the bidding for tribal tracts,
but in the assumption of responsibility for the care of children
from a broken home. Although choice was exercised among
relatives, and the uncongenial among close kindred might be
passed over in favor of more distant, but more compatible,
relations, the principle first evoked was that of consanguinity. In
the majority of instances, primary reliance was placed upon
parents and children, upon siblings, grandparents, and grandchildren.

*648 Among kinsmen, there was an enlargement of the sphere of
*657 individual, at the expense of common, property. At times it took
602 bizarre extremes. In one adult household, for example, each
421 member's foodstuffs were separately stored and even individually
177 cooked; and each independently purchased his supply of the
wood to be burned in a common stove. There was evident in
178 family interdependence what might be termed a pecuniarization
of relationships, a conversion of traditional reciprocal obligations
into the common denominator of coin. Already evident in the
early days of allotment, it had grown with time, taking on as it
did a onesidedness that was increasingly dysfunctional. Money
could be extracted by the importunate from kinsmen still sensi-
[888] tive to the charge of stinginess. The aged, dependent upon their
children for tenderness, were often likely to be besieged by their
requests for "loans" from lease and per capita checks, and once
those funds were dissipated, might then be left without enough
to maintain themselves. Some families, like the ranchers previously described, were beginning to resist such demands, but for
those still immersed in tribal society, refusal was difficult.

*648 The weakening of kin bonds entailed the disappearance of
*657 feud groups, entities that formerly had drawn principally upon
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kinship loyalties and that had provided relatively stable focal 648*
interests about which allegiances might cluster. The anonymous 657*
destruction of property as a time-honored method of exacting 602
personal revenge remained even in the last days of the reserva- 578
tion, when the jacklight shooting of a cow was construed as the 178
malicious act of a foe. Distrust thus engendered was likely in 177
turn to lead to a search for potential allies, especially among kinsmen and cronies. Local legend in Chiloquin still recounts the memorable gunfight between two tribal families in the days before its incorporation, one firing from the railway depot while the other entrenched itself in the family hotel. At the first few shots the stationmaster, a newcomer to town, was flushed from the depot; and when the fusillades were stilled he left town, never to return.

As law and order became more firmly established over the reservation, and extended families, their members scattered on separate allotments and among the reservation towns, became
dispersed, retaliatory obligations declined. In the end, feudatory 648*
alignment left their mark chiefly in a continued reluctance of 657*
former opponents to drink together or otherwise associate. The 602
drinking cliques, with their stable membership cores, reflected 578
these antipathies: three decades after the gunfight mentioned 273
above, the families involved still did not consort together. Only 178
one person, and she an affinal, had crossed the line. 177
[573]

Indeed, the violence of more recent years, as remarked, lay far less between families than it did within them, for many of the quarrels that precipitated assaults arose in the course of drinking parties, and thus antagonized persons who were accustomed to associate together. Although there was a degree of mobility in the membership of such parties, and clashes at times might involve a visitor, many instances of homicide arose out of family disputes. That the tensions thus vented were generated by the changes in familial roles seems at least partially true, to judge by an examination of court cases; but they were affected indirectly by other segments of the psychosocial system, such as the relations with whites. Such disputes, however, could only weaken the family, and that at a time when family solidarity had become a less imperative need.

Within the reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally 000

[Klamath Reservation]

Within the
*648 reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally
*657 esteemed attributes had lost place. Age was no longer accorded
561 respect, for the wisdom of experience seemed irrelevant under
593 the new conditions, and in the environing society the emphasis
577 was upon youthful qualities. The premium upon industry as an
434 ideal for old and young alike had become submerged by the
178 golden flow of per capitas which rewarded equally the wastrel
177 and the unremitting toiler. Remarked one man wryly, "I can
make more money raising Klamath than I can raising cattle."[2]
Under these changes, paternal authority had declined sharply.
"Why should I listen to you?" demanded one adolescent son of
his father. "I've got just as much money saved up [in a compulsory trust fund] as you have!"

*648 By contrast, the status of the mother within the household
*657 had been enhanced. Housekeeping and child rearing constituted
562 concrete activities that possessed a high measure of continuity
434 with the past, of a type normally respected in her counterpart
177 in white society. Access to her own per capitas had raised the
178 economic standing of a wife to a par with that of her husband.
[623] The relative changes in local roles, together with the passage
of woman's suffrage in the nation at large, had become reflected
in the increasing prominence of women in the debates of the
General Council.

*648 The major point of contrast between white and tribal house-
*657 holds on the reservation was the relatively greater fluidity among
563 the Klamath, as reflected in the record of sequent marriages,
58 the figures for common-law unions, and the broken families. In
this respect, Beatty did not differ significantly from Chiloquin.
Interethnic marriages—those between a Klamath and a nontribal
partner—were more stable than those contracted between tribal
members.

*648 Household composition makes it clear that the traditional
*657 valuation of kin had by no means been entirely relinquished.
592 In a number of instances, Klamath, particularly women, had
587 taken in the children of collateral kin. Remarriage produced
[178] composite families, in which the couple reared not only their
own children but the offspring of previous unions of one or both
partners.

*648 Consequently, Klamath households exhibited a diversity of
*657 form, size, and composition, frequently characterized as well by
592
593

a weak differentiation of parental roles and the extension of 648*
surrogacy to grandparents or other kinsmen. In many instances, 657*
the father was either absent or aloof, and the chief burden of 592
child rearing fell upon the mother, who might shift it for several 593
hours or longer upon the slender shoulders of an older child. Among such families, parents often proved unpredictable, their excesses of affection and indulgence alternating with fits of anger, depression, and withdrawal. Rather than being consistently directed toward a program of training, parental behavior tended to be a response to a mood or an isolated element in the immediate situation. Even the admonitions of the elders, the traditional set speeches enjoining ideal behavior, frequently were made without reference to the immediate conduct of the child.

In children, this experience tended to generate a defensive 648*
isolation, a dependent craving which anticipated rebuff, and a 657*
marked hypersensitivity toward others concealed beneath an 592
outward manner of stoic indifference. One probable outcome 593
of childhood exposure such as this was the "guarded restraint" 155
which Clifton discerns as a marked characteristic of Klamath personality, an attribute which, it appears, lessens in severity only in old age.[3]

If there were few fixed and dependable social relationships 648*
in many Klamath families, there likewise was little predictability 657*
in daily routine. As Pierce notes, meals were rarely served at 592
fixed times or attended by the entire family. Instead, individuals 593
ate when hungry. Children rarely had regular chores or bedtime.[4] [264]
[857]

It was in the training of children to become functioning mem- 648*
bers of society that the tribal families faced a central test of their 657*
effectiveness. Although it was not clear to what segment of that 592
society the children were to aspire, their elders were in agree- 593
ment in wishing well for them. Tribal orators, challenged upon 858
their personal aims, could disavow self-interest and strike a resonant chord by asserting that they were acting only for the good of their grandchildren. Adults, however dissatisfied they might be with their own achievement, might still hope to see a transcendent future for their sons and daughters. In the school, with its promise of equal opportunity to advance through merit, American society held out the means to implement that hope.

All too frequently, however, childhood experience in the 000

[Klamath Reservation]

All too frequently, however, childhood experience in the
*648 event-centered activities of Klamath households, with their
*657 diffusely focused social expectations, clashed with school routine.
871 For many young Klamath, coming from such a background,
563 exposure to a clear-cut, hierarchial system which they entered
[155] from the bottom and to a sustained discipline proved stressful.
[592] The conflict between family subculture and that represented by the middle-class teachers, felt as well by white children, was experienced more sharply by the Klamath, not alone because the disparity was often objectively greater in their case, but because it came to be invested with ethnic judgments.

That tribal parents differed from white parents in educational background and intellectual interests is evident; and the differences upon the reservation have tended to persist despite the fact that the Klamath have long been subjected, like whites, to compulsory education and that since 1926 they have attended county schools. A comparison of a small sample of tribal members in Chiloquin with other segments of the population revealed that no fewer than fifty-two per cent of Tribal house heads and thirty-nine per cent of Interethnic house heads had stopped their education at grade school. For white house heads, the corresponding figure was only twenty-two per cent.[5] In the use of the public library, a branch of the county system lodged in Chiloquin's city hall, the figures for adults show white, Interethnic, and Indian users far outstripping the Tribal; and while among the children Interethnic users fell close to the Tribal figure, the latter still lagged behind all others. With a few individual exceptions, data on the periodicals taken in the home and attendance at concerts in Klamath Falls showed a corresponding gap.

*648 Thus the school experience marked a grave discontinuity in
*657 the life of many tribal families, and particularly among those
871 in which both parents were Klamath. The stresses mounted,
155 however, in the transitional years of junior high school, during the seventh and eighth grades. The reasons are not far to seek. The schools, viewed by whites, Indians, and a minority of tribal members as an objective preparation for a life in which the demands for training were ever mounting, offered little incentive to children who were convinced that a ceaseless flow of per capita dividends gave them an assured income for life. Klamath parents

[Klamath Reservation]

648* 657* 871 155

often seemed to take the school for granted as just another of the rights granted them in the treaty of 1864.

648* 657* 871 563

For their part, whites often ignored the contributions made either on behalf of the Klamath or directly by them toward school support. Tribal parents tended to see in the school bureaucracy another manifestation of white surrogacy. Even at the time when an Indian—a non-Klamath employed at the Agency—was elected to the presidency of the PTA, the large majority of tribal members declined to join that body. On other occasions, students elected a tribal member and an Indian president of the senior class. Notwithstanding, issues which arose from time to time convinced some Klamath parents that the schools were racially biased. Although restive, they confined themselves to individual action, in angry criticism, occasional arguments with teachers, and rarely in assaults upon a teacher or principal.

648* 657* 87 563

In the Chiloquin grade school, most of the teachers were the wives of local men, having a comparatively long residence in the area and a familiarity with local conditions. At that level, the curriculum was largely undifferentiated and a policy of social promotion was followed. Consequently, the grade school offered conditions for a smoother adjustment than did the secondary school. Even so, truancy was more substantial among tribal children than white, and the imposition of discipline, often interpreted by indignant Klamath mothers as an expression of prejudice, was hedged with difficulties.

It was in the junior high school that the frictions rapidly mounted. Here, and increasingly in the high school, the modest educational assets—the two schools in 1950-51 had a combined staff of nine teachers—were strained by contending demands for both vocational training and a college-preparatory curriculum. With subject specialization, a professionally oriented teaching staff, composed primarily of men who had been hired from outside the area, dominated the school. Individually, they tended to be less permissive toward their students than their fellow teachers in the grade school. Promotion in high school was upon merit. Meanwhile, as students attained puberty, they came to be increasingly aware of the significance attached by their elders to racial differences. Disciplinary problems now mounted, and so did dropouts. The truancy rate (1956-57) for white children

*648 in seventh and ninth grades—the beginning grades respectively
*657 for junior high and high school—was less than half the figure for
87 first grade in the same year. For tribal children, by contrast, the
563 figures for the advanced grades were each almost twice as large
as that for the first grade.

On an average, roughly one-half the small number of Klamath children entering high school could be expected to graduate.
[125] That this record was not to be attributed to a difference in intellectual ability is intimated by the results of California mental maturity tests which, as administered to Klamath children as a whole at the fourth grade, yielded normal scores, averaging 96.9. When, however, the same children had reached the eighth grade, their average score had declined to 80.4.[6] A sharp drop in incentive had taken its toll.

The stresses within the school fell unequally upon Klamath boys and girls. Athletic prowess and artistic ability—both often conceived as racially innate and as masculine attributes—gave the boys legitimate avenues to social approval. At puberty, however, Klamath girls were often beginning to develop the physical
[142] massiveness that is so frequent in their racial constitution, but
[562] that at the same time is foreign to American ideals of beauty.
Some bore their lot with dignity and poise. Others courted a fleeting favor through promiscuity or took out their resentments in direct assault upon rivals or upon substitute figures. Direct violence against whites occurred in the schools at about this age, and most frequently involved girls. Still others sought alternatives outside the school, dropping out entirely, going away to vocational schools, or entering into early marriages.

*648 Indeed, for many of the tribal youth—boys as well as girls—
*657 confronted by a school experience that grew increasingly irrele-
871 vant as they became older, it was merely a matter of "serving
563 time" until they gained release by attaining the age of eighteen.
582 Many Klamath tended to marry young, and there were incentives
peculiar to their position. For a girl striving to escape the pressures and dissatisfactions of home life, the regimen of caring for younger siblings, and the boredom and vexation of the school, the importance and security of being a newlywed possessed a
[434] fairyland appeal. For the boy, the trust fund accumulated by
[429] the Agency for each minor, amounting in some instances to

$10,000, constituted an inexhaustible treasure. Ordinarily, this 648*
was placed in his hands only when he had come of age, but with 657*
marriage he attained seniority at once, and it became his. 871

Many a young couple, then, sought a new life in the last few 563
years of high school in an elopement to Reno or Las Vegas. In 582
a week or so they returned to take up adult life; and thus to [434]
reconcile their hopes with the social realities of the reservation. [429]
Although they would continue to maintain a degree of camara- [583]
derie with a few of their schoolmates, such intimacy as they had known across ethnic boundaries was at an end. For the majority of tribal members, their course and that of their white schoolmates increasingly diverged.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

SIXTEEN

[p.214]

Status Gradient, Ethnic Hierarchy, and Acculturative Range

*648 WHEREVER THEY WENT, UPON THE RESERVATION OR IN THE
*657 communities beyond its borders, tribal members encountered a
554 status gradient not of their own devising, and found themselves assigned a place upon it. It was not that they had not possessed their own ways of appraising others, or that some of those judgments were not continued. The standards upon which they found themselves judged were largely extrinsic to their own life. To be sure, in communities such as Beatty, judgments were most closely akin to those of traditional Klamath culture, for here they were informally applied upon the basis of direct acquaintance. At the other extreme, in such cities as Klamath Falls, where firsthand familiarity was often lacking, a person or family was judged upon outward evidence of appearance and demeanor, of possessions and associations. Under these contexts, the stereotype of "Klamath" or—in regions farther from home—of "Indian" became significant.

Towns such as Chiloquin occupied a middle range in the formation of status gradients, for they were still small enough to permit each person to be known directly, while evincing sufficient complexity to provide for an institutionalization of
[571] social precedence. Participation in a number of formal associa-
[573] tions, together with informal cliquing of varying degrees of exclu-
[573] siveness, was invested with social value. The standing of men
[562] was more narrowly related to their economic achievements; the

position of women was linked to participation in bodies overtly 648*
directed toward social benevolences, the standing for the entire 657*
family being summative for its members. 554

All of this will prove familiar, for the social system in Chiloquin had been derived from that in other American communities. [562]
The formal, secondary associations, membership in which served as counters in the social game, included church auxiliaries, service fraternities and lodges, and groups devoted to sports, politics, the school, and to youth activities. [571] The manner in which the organizations were ranked had little to do with their functions or their local historical priority. It related instead to the prestige which they enjoyed generally in the western United States and their identification with social status. Even within such a small community as Chiloquin, social assessment had become refined to a marked degree. It was maintained by indirection and with considerable tact, yet gave structure to much of the social interaction.

Since the social order in Chiloquin has been discussed at length elsewhere,[1] only the major outlines need be drawn here. Yet it is inadvisable to leave the impression that any single dimension provided a clear means of ranking. It was evident, for example, that there was an ordering of the Protestant churches, [795] ranging from the Methodist church through intermediate bodies down to the pentecostal Full Gospel body and two ethnic sects—one Klamath and the other Negro—in major membership. Their congregations and ministers, their location and material endowment, together with the character of their worship, all afforded a basis for this ranking. Two churches, nonetheless, stood somewhat outside this range. One, the Williamson River Mission, was the Klamath church founded in the early days of the reservation. As such, it had historical venerability, a Methodist affiliation, but an ethnic membership. The second was the Catholic church, located in a less favored section of town, yet eminently endowed and drawing members from the entire social span.

Status differences in Chiloquin, moreover, were variously 648*
assessed by its residents. Several of those who objectively occu- 657*
pied high status stressed the leveling qualities of primary rela- 554
tions which they regarded as characterizing the town, and dis- 829
counted the reality of a hierarchical ordering. Others, of middle

*648 status, whose desires to move upward had been temporarily
*657 baffled, delineated the system in terms far more precise than
554 appeared justifiable, and as an instrument of calculated power.
829 Members of several church groups of intermediate or low ranking, each of which saw themselves as a body of the elect in a world of sinners, denied the validity of any other assessment. It was frequent in such instances to find individuals contrasting the superiority of their own ideals with the fallible conduct of members of other reference groups.

*648 Despite such demurrers, which have become a sociological
*657 commonplace, the evidence of informal association in parties,
571 bridge clubs, drinking cliques, and loafing groups, together with
554 participation in more formal associations, attests the existence of a status grid, with a multiplicity of positions ranked relatively, rather than in an order of fixed classes.[2] The results of a sociometric study indicate[3] that the primary criteria underlying evaluation in Chiloquin included income, occupation, landownership, and educational status. For the person with the proper qualifications, mobility was relatively easy; while the daily contact of everyday life made possible—particularly for long-time residents—an easy association, spiced with mutual esteem, across wide differences in status.

Klamath standing in such a system was relatively low. The majority of tribal members failed to qualify for most of the specific criteria valued; and in one area, the style of their life, they fell conspicuously short of the standards set. They did not enter readily into most of the associations within which the formal social life of the town was transacted. Some felt they would not be welcome, and often they were right. Even that handful who were acceptable only inched forward, anticipating rebuff at every step. As a group, tribal members suffered disesteem for their wardlike subjugation to the government and the legal disabilities that hedged them in. Within the community, their low productive status, their dependence upon a credit system, and their record before the law all provided grounds for being judged deficient.

*648 For the white citizens of Chiloquin, achievement was the token
*657 by which each person was ideally placed. Klamath, however, also
563 labored under their inclusion in a fixed category; for in the ethnic

spectrum of the town they were ranked with alien Indians, and 648*
combined with Mexicans and Negroes. As such, they were people 657*
of color, and their conduct and low status were sometimes alike 563
regarded as the products of inherent deficiencies. A character so fixed upon the group made it still more difficult for the individual to rise upon the social scale.

The image of the Klamath that has been conjured up has been 648*
a complex one. Among whites, joke and anecdote have developed 657*
about varying attributes, as Klamath have been viewed, now as 563
romantic figures, now as naïve or degraded. In Chiloquin, it was 181
sometimes maintained that the Klamath proper, who made up much of the immediate Indian population, were inferior in character to the Modoc, who were both more remote—dwelling as they did on the Upper End—and had a war of resistance to their credit as well. Seen historically, romantic anecdotes began to gain local currency when Indian culture was a thing of the past and perspective had endowed with glamor the events of earlier days. The Klamath Falls *Express* spoke in this vein early in the twentieth century. Of one pathetic old lady living in a hovel on the outskirts of town, it observed, "Princess Matilda . . . [is] a full blood Klamath and royal Indian blood courses through her veins. Her brother was chief of the Link river band of Klamaths. . . ."[4] From the more general stereotype of the Indian were drawn the figures of the stoic hunter, the child of nature; the orator; the superior athlete; and the natural artist.

At times, the Klamath have been regarded as quaintly naïve, and some individuals have taken wry pleasure in fulfilling this expectation. The *Express* in 1907 carried an anecdote concerning William A. Moore, product of the reservation schools, former Indian judge, and later the owner of a hotel in Chiloquin. Moore was depicted as seeking to retrieve, and thus to nullify, the marriage license of a friend, the while saying, "Me want to buy him back; how much he cost?"[5]

Still other anecdotes painted the Klamath as dirty, immoral—"My children are *not* illegitimate," one woman was quoted as saying. "I know the father of each one!"—often a drunkard, violent, lazy, and improvident. "They say in Chiloquin," related the automobile editor of the Portland *Sunday Oregonian* in 1931, "that a popular promenade for the Indians scarcely takes them

*648 off Chocktoot Street: to the postoffice to get the government
*657 allowance [sic!] of $600 a year; to the bank to get the cash; to
563 the iceman around the corner; to parts unknown; and then to the
181 justice of the peace."[6]

*648 There were several reasons why the views concerning the
*657 Klamath should become increasingly invidious with time. Al-
563 though they had come to adopt most of the outward trappings
181 of American culture, those who remained on the reservation often
571 displayed a style of life at variance with that of white neighbors,
[167] until some of the latter came to see the differences as innate. In
Chiloquin, the influx of southern whites after World War II was said to have sharpened the stereotype: it seemed in fact to be maintained in less-qualified fashion among them. Antagonistic bias was least in evidence in Beatty, more strongly evinced in Chiloquin, and most apparent in Klamath Falls. Away from the reservation, Klamath tended to be absorbed in the larger category of American Indian, and to lose their special tribal identity.

*648 The impact of a felt discrimination was heightened for the
*657 Klamath by a sensitivity to slights in situations which whites
563 regarded as devoid of bias. Tribal members have been keenly
571 aware of the pairing of public equality and private bias. As one
elderly and highly respected Klamath matron in Chiloquin saw it:

> The Four Hundred are those who live among the Indians but feel that they are better than the Indian. The [poorer] people are more fussy. . . . They will talk to the Indians on the street and are friendly when they want business, but otherwise they don't know them.[7]

Indeed, intimate social intercourse has been discouraged by both sides. Comparison of the names of whites mentioning tribal members in a sociometric test conducted in Chiloquin with those included in a census of Klamath drinking cliques ten years later revealed that only a handful of individuals crossed the social boundary. From a general standpoint, Klamath and whites were virtually exclusive in their intimate associations. Those few whites who drank with Klamath and named Klamath among their friends were low in the esteem of their peers. Among tribal members, individuals who consorted regularly with whites thereby

estranged themselves from Klamath society. Few, indeed, had attempted to cross the chasm; and fewer were able to straddle it. 648* 657* 563

571 [186]

Klamath, on their part, entertained strong prejudices. Some were matters of ancient history. Klamath and Modoc were disdainful of Paiute and Pit River, and the epithets, 'daughter of a Paiute!' or 'slave!' still stung. At the time of allotment, when many members had come back upon the reservation, while the numbers of those calling themselves Klamath had soared, the absolute number of Pit River had declined. Evidently, members of mixed parentage were passing into the more prestigious category. Toward other minority groups tribal members displayed various attitudes. Indians from nearby reservations were generally well received, but those from afar were resented, particularly if they held Agency jobs coveted by the Klamath.

Whites tended to lump all Indians together, and the accomplishments of some nonlocal Indians elevated the general Indian status in the popular view. Nonetheless, tribal members were wont to regard them as trespassers. Toward Mexicans, with whom they occasionally intermarried, they were on terms of approximate equality. Negroes were viewed with strong disdain and two tribal families of part-Negro ancestry often were the object of pointed remarks.

648* 657* 829

Among themselves, Klamath also sometimes reflected the biases of the major society. Younger men have been heard to express a preference for a wife of lighter pigmentation. The epithet, "You big, black Indian!" was occasionally hurled between angry children; and one woman who reported this recalled how shocked she was, in her early teens, when she realized that it was true, that she was indeed an Indian. Against the valuation on light color there is, however, another view. Those of darker hue not infrequently voice their pride in this token of racial purity, and some speak disparagingly of the "half-breeds," alleging that they stem from lewd intercourse with the soldiery of old Fort Klamath. One young leader with a high degree of Indian ancestry, in considering the division of tribal property under termination, ingeniously proposed that each member receive a share proportional to his direct biological Klamath heritage. In the end, pigmentation offers no certain index of ethnic self-image: for

*648 *657 829 schoolboys with no discernible trace of Indian ancestry will often assert fiercely their Klamath character.

*648 *657 563 One expression of Klamath preference among their ethnic neighbors is to be found in the intermarriages into which tribal members enter. In Chiloquin in 1949-50, a census of Klamath households which omits those tribal members living alone showed 46 per cent of the remaining households to be headed by a Klamath couple. Interethnic households and those headed by the Klamath survivor in an Interethnic union were distributed as follows: with white partner, 25 per cent; with Indian, 14 per cent; with Mexican, 11 per cent; Indeterminate (white or Indian partner), 3 per cent; with Chinese, 1 per cent. In each class of Interethnic union, the prevailing form of marriage was that in which the wife was the tribal member.[8]

There is some evidence of trends in comparative figures, though
these must be tentatively posed. Rural Beatty, with a much
[369] smaller number of households, some ten years later included a
somewhat larger proportion of units headed by Klamath partners,
with somewhat more Indian and somewhat fewer white, Interethnic couples. This suggests that the rural areas of the reservation have tended to lag somewhat behind the larger towns in either producing or attracting white Interethnic families.[9] In turn, over time the Interethnic component of Chiloquin has proved more transient than that headed by Tribal partners: in a ten year period, almost two-thirds of the former moved away, as against somewhat less than one-third of the latter.[10] Although there was a corresponding replacement by new families moving in, the net result was a drop in the Interethnic population. The direction of their movement had been for the main part into Klamath Falls and other larger cities off the reservation.

It was in just those communities in which ethnic differences were most sharply weighted that Interethnic couples were most commonly found. There were several diverse reasons for this seeming paradox. In Chiloquin, a small but growing number of marriages had come to take place between schoolmates. Some of these involved the offspring of Interethnic farm couples, in which a white man had married a Klamath woman; and these families, with long-standing ties with leading families in Chiloquin, were at once esteemed and still regarded as Klamath. The small seg-

ment of Klamath families that had become directed toward the 648*
values of American middle-class society were also acceptable to 657*
whites, and intermarriage with their children could be counte- 563
nanced. Finally, the proclivity of the whites to lump together Klamath and alien Indian proved beneficial to the general image. For the majority of the small group of Indians who were employed at the Agency had white spouses, and if they were sometimes snubbed socially, they nonetheless provided a precedent for new Interethnic unions; while Indian children often proved socially acceptable. These, taken together, constituted a nucleus within which others of their kind might be accepted; and though they were socially somewhat interstitial, they nonetheless were sufficiently numerous to constitute a viable body.

To the number of Interethnic unions thus engendered, there were others attracted to Chiloquin from the rural reservation by the amenities of city life. In the end, however, the generalized hostility of the Klamath toward the outsider in such unions, coupled with the social and ethnic gradient maintained by the whites, often led such couples to seek the opportunities of the larger city, where some degree of anonymity at least might be found. [369]

The circumstance that it was chiefly whites low in social standing who drank with tribal members—and, as it turned out, chiefly with Interethnic members and those with least Klamath ancestry—raises the question whether intermarriage took place as well primarily upon this level. This was largely, but not exclusively true, for several of the numerically few such marriages noted took place between classmates without regard to social equivalence. For those contemplating a step across ethnic distance, social class was a minor issue indeed.

Whites in Chiloquin tended to view the Klamath as culturally and socially the inferior partner in such a union. Having in mind the masculine ideal of husbandly dominance cultivated in American society, some men held that in intermarriage a Klamath husband was likely to abuse his white mate; while a white man would be able to train a tribal wife in conformant behavior. In point of fact, the review of a number of cases of intermarriages of the latter type revealed much the following generalized outline. A Klamath girl and her family had moved to Klamath Falls,

*648 where after attending public school or the Catholic academy,
*657 she took special training or found a job. About that time she met
563 her future husband, a white employed as a laborer in logging, millwork, or construction. Evidently, he then stood below her in socioeconomic status, although in a superior ethnic bracket. The subsequent advance of the husband, after their marriage, may be regarded in no small degree as the result of her own drive and ambition as well as his. Such couples rarely returned to the reservation; and their life together was undoubtedly an extension of that first step, before they met, which had taken her away from the reservation.

ACCULTURATION

*648 The suggestion has recently been made for the Ojibway that
*657 the sociocultural position they now maintain on their reservation
177 in Wisconsin represents an accommodation to the standards of
[171] living of lower status whites.[11] At Klamath, the circumstances
[434] that might have reduced tribal members to a similar economic condition have been offset by income from leases and from tribal timber. The question may still be posed, however: to what degree does Klamath life on the reservation represent the direct acculturative influence of those whites, particularly of lower-class status, whom they most closely approximate?

The historical record, already reviewed, shows clearly that many early contacts of a persistent character were with whites whom Agents with some justification regarded as outcasts or renegades from their own society; but, their influence although it was undoubtedly felt, did not compare with the broader programs of the official staff, directed at the whole Klamath population and implemented through influential leaders. A few individuals such as Frank Riddle stand out; but their own ties tended to be with administrators like Oliver Applegate. The major individuals to offer opposing counsel were former Agency employees or individuals of substance in neighboring towns. Klamath recognized the tokens of success, and were unlikely to follow persons who showed every evidence of failure in their own lives.

There is some warrant for seeing in the Klamath situation a structural convergence. On the one hand, the skills and roles acquired by Klamath in the early days of the reservation during

the course of their employment by whites—to mention but one 648*
sphere—were even then associated in American society with 657*
inferior status, as involving largely manual labor. The course of 177
technological change tended to reduce those skills further in prestige. The Klamath remaining upon the reservation generally confined themselves to occupations of this level.

In these and similar contexts, tribal members entered into [464]
relationship with whites, both as coworkers and as employee or rarely—as with Henry Jackson's hired hands—as employer. Within this context, they had the opportunity to model behavior upon a wide range of examples, and were not restricted to whites of similar socioeconomic status. The Klamath girls who worked as domestics in Klamath Falls at the turn of the century had many opportunities to observe the life of middle-class families.

Yet individual change is only part of the picture, interwoven 648*
as it often is in the fabric of institutional change. In such a struc- 657*
ture as the Indian Shaker movement on the reservation are to 795
be seen the summation of a number of individual commitments 177
to a new creed, and thus the emergence of an institutionalized 178
consensus. For each participant, the commitment must have had a highly individual significance, in the light of his condition and belief prior to entering the sect. A brief résumé of the history of that movement at Klamath will illustrate the complexity of the factors surrounding institutional change.

The Indian Shaker movement had its inception on Puget Sound in 1882, but expanded vigorously only after a favorable court ruling a decade later.[12] A messianic faith, it incorporated elements of native belief and practice along with many aspects drawn from Catholic and Protestant Christianity. As it spread, it vied with and was influenced by other syncretic faiths as well as Christian sects, from which its converts and opponents came.

The Klamath church traces its origin to the East End leader, Henry Jackson, who had been instrumental in bringing the Earthlodge cult from northern California. Now, in 1914, forty years later, stricken with what was to prove his last illness, he turned his eyes northward, inspired by what he had heard from the unorganized local converts about the Shakers and their cures. When they declined to treat him themselves—perhaps the fate of the shaman, Dr. George, was still etched in their minds—he

*648 sent a mission to the Yakima reservation in the state of Washing-
*657 ton. The leaders who came down worked over him for some
795 time, but concluded that his case was hopeless; and indeed he
177 soon died. Notwithstanding this initial failure, the Shakers be-
178 came firmly established. A tribal member, one Stanley Pedro, offered them his dance hall and, drawing a parallel with the better known movement of Europe and the eastern United States, urged that the movement be named the Annie Lee religion. The church, located on the outskirts of Chiloquin, became a focal point from which influences subsequently fanned out to the Siletz reservation on the Oregon coast and to Smith and Klamath Rivers to the southwest. By the circumstance of its location, it drew members primarily from the Klamath proper of the Lower End.

The church met with no official threat. Gone was the day when an Agent might freely move against a religion of which he disapproved. Wrote the Acting Superintendent mildly in 1917, "They are somewhat fanatical and they indulge in some ceremonies that savor very much of ancient Indian customs but their creed contains some very good things. . . ."[13] He or a successor is said to have sent a member of the Indian police to observe the ceremonies, and the latter recalls that he reported with warm favor on the practices he witnessed.[14]

Several features are significant in the establishment of the church at Klamath. It came from other Indian groups along the Columbia which had previously been cultural donors, although the earlier cults received had come rather from the south. As adopted, the Shaker religion was seen as an Indian faith, its syncretism not acknowledged. Proponents thereafter came to underscore the uniqueness of its development by denying that native shamanistic elements or specifically Christian features lay at its core. At the same time, the freedom for inspired expression led converts at Klamath further to modify the received doctrine.
(753) Illness brought on through the agency of ghosts and the receipt of power through songs are but two such reinterpretations. Klamath communicants likewise differed in not eschewing coffee, normally forbidden in other congregations.

The growth did not take place in a vacuum. Such Pentecostal faiths as the Four Square Gospel were on the move soon after the church had come into being. In 1926, missionaries of that

sect were permitted to make temporary use of the Shaker church 648*
building until their own structure could be erected. Tribal mem- 657*
bers were drawn into entrant fundamentalist sects as well as the 795
Shaker faith, and on the occasion of revivals Shakers freely 177
visited their services. 178

Together with some of those sects, the Shaker faith embodied [787] many of the demonstrative acts, in dramatized testimonial, visions, and the inspired state known as "the shakes," which had been largely abandoned by other churches that had become more staid with the passage of time. Its cures were the most spectacular demonstration of its power, and many of its converts came to it in this way. At the same time, it drew no very large membership: in 1925, Spier found only twenty Klamath thus affiliated. Any claim to the exclusive allegiance of members—an aspect of the Christian heritage—made heavy way against the broad tolerance in things religious characteristic of the Klamath.

The member of the Indian police who had found favorably for the Shakers was cured by them on another occasion, rang bells in the services, and even sparked a drive to improve the appearance of the church. With equal concern, he contributed heavily to the Four Square Gospel mission, which he felt was beneficial to the "coming generation." His formal affiliation continued with the Methodist Church, and he was often in attendance at the Williamson River Mission. Nor did commitment to Christianity dim his evident belief in the validity of aboriginal Klamath religion. In his mind, and the minds of many other elderly Klamath, there was no need to select narrowly and exclusively a single revelation of the divine order on earth.

The fundamentalist churches—the "emotional" churches, as 648*
they were disparagingly dubbed by some white Methodists in 657*
Chiloquin—appealed primarily to whites and ethnic minorities of 795
lower social status, and indeed participation in their services 563
was a factor weighed in status evaluation. Accordingly, these 177
sects brought tribal communicants into intimate contact with those components of the community, providing the basis for a certain degree of acculturation as well as of intermarriage. A few of the Mexican Interethnic unions stemmed from these associations, and at least one white Interethnic couple was regularly affiliated with the Negro church.

The Shaker church, however, was an ethnic church of some

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*648 rigidity, and while its members freely attended the services of
*657 other sects, they were selective in admitting non-Klamath to their
795 worship. It was finally upon the issue of its Indian character that
177 the church was riven. The immediate circumstance was the effort
[563] of the "Annie Lee" faction to introduce the Bible into the ritual.
*648 A stout minority of the members refused to allow this, observing,
*657 in the words of one member, "The Indian has his religion: God
795 speaks to him through the 'shakes.' The white man hasn't got
578 them; he has to use the Bible." The contest soon came to litiga-
177 tion, during which the conservatives held services in private
dwellings, while their rivals occupied the church building. Some years later, while the issue dragged on, a fire destroyed the structure; but the "Annie Lee" faction possessed sufficient vigor to rebuild it. Increasingly, that group had been gravitating toward the Four Square Gospel; and when the church was rebuilt it came to be used jointly with another fundamentalist sect.

*648 Thus, even the maintenance of an "Indian" religion, objectively
*657 syncretic in form and content, is sought by a state charter of
795 incorporation and internal disputes are placed before the courts
177 for decision. Moreover, its growth parallels the revivalistic move-
[692] ment of fundamentalist sects upon the West Coast; it vies with
them for members; and its destiny is finally interwoven with theirs. Any theory that sees in the growth of such a religion a reaction of the Klamath people to pressures of the time must consider that special history and account for the parallel growth of other sects among non-Klamath at about the same time. For the Klamath, those sects must be regarded alternant to the Shaker faith in providing opportunities for expression. In assessing the features that attracted converts, the appeal of familiar Christian practice, known from earlier Methodist services, must be reckoned, as well as those features which were strictly aboriginal. For some, indeed, the identity of the church as Indian may have been compelling, as fostering an image of independence from the almost overwhelming presence of American culture.

To evaluate the impact of the Shaker Church from the members involved is hazardous. Although only a handful of individuals became exclusively committed to the Shaker way, its impact extended far beyond their ranks. At the same time, the majority

648* 657* 795 177

of tribal members held aloof, while some members were no more than "Sunday" or "holiday" Shakers, attending services only at wide intervals.

648* 657* 184 177 178

That there was no single Klamath response to culture contact even upon the reservation, must now be abundantly clear. It is also true that tribal members are not to be found extended along a single continuum of change. No typology satisfactorily preserves the mosaiclike pattern of the accommodation they have made. For the course, even of institutional change, is the product, not of the engagement of reified "cultures," but of the countless individual choices expressed before concrete alternatives and projected against past experience. In the successive role-relationships into which they have entered, the biographies of some elderly Klamath suggest that there may well have been for them an inner continuity, not unchanging, which provided in their life-way a reference and a means of self-identification.[15] For many younger tribal members, however, the range of possible identification has become greater, while coercive restraints have weakened; and their selection among behaviors may be so conditioned by factors in the immediate situation as to appear inconsistent from one time to the next. Cultural confusion may well have resulted in their failure to form a stable self-image.

648* 657* 156 177 178

A central characteristic of modern Klamath relationships has been termed, for want of a happier phrase, "permissive diversity."[16] By this is meant a condition offering the individual a wide latitude of choice among multiple and optional alternatives, permitted modes being not only broad in range but diffusely delimited. Analyses of Klamath myths[17] and of the ethnological record suggest that this state, which corresponds in large measure to the "loose structuring" of Embree,[18] was characteristic of aboriginal Klamath culture, but it may well have been enhanced in reservation times by the breakdown of native agencies of control and by those other developments fostering individualism. The roots of its continuity lie in conditions of child-rearing, already reviewed, as well as in the social transactions of adult life.

The corresponding qualities in the individual are equally clear. For many Klamath, the interpersonal distance is of considerable magnitude, and constitutes a wary, defensive response to the

*648 anticipation of rebuff. It may have as its corollary a diffuse self-
*657 image, since the subject lacks any consistent delineation of his
156 characteristics from the reactions of his fellows. For some, as
177 well, there is a sense that a stable reference to self through time
178 is lacking, since each fresh experience tends to define it anew.
For the majority of tribal members observed over a period of time, enduring reference groups in which one could claim membership were limited to such entities as "Klamath Indian." As Clifton has put it:

> Persons as psychologically isolated as the Klamath must work hard at the business of maintaining their position. They cannot be expected to contribute much in the way of specific demands on others (outside of occasional impulsive outbursts), and they value situations where specific demands are not made on them. We seem to be confronted with a human group whose members share a primary orientation toward living which is organized around the need to be left alone to their own devices as individuals.[11]

Permissive diversity has found an expression in the manner in which individuals have fused life-ways out of historically disparate elements. This was particularly striking among the older Klamath, who in their youth had participated actively in traditional Klamath culture. Some, indeed, pointed to the essential similarity of native ethic and of Christianity; but others found no need to justify their choice. Life for them possessed a meaning that was involved less in the cultural source of its elements than in the condition of their combination.

*648 One old friend, then bedridden and since deceased, may serve
*657 to illustrate the point. As a child she had lived in an earth-lodge
159 and witnessed her uncle, the shaman, Alec Wilson, performing
177 his cures. Later, as a young woman, she became ill when dream-
178 ing of a shaman, and recovered only when he had been forced to
156 treat her. The gathering of traditional foods and the weaving of
baskets had been part of her skills. A sweat lodge stood outside her cabin. She spoke Klamath and knew the native myths and songs.

Yet equally, she was a product of the Agency school and had worked at the military post of Fort Klamath. When she married, she wed her husband at the Methodist Mission. Together, they ranched together on Klamath Marsh, and with her daughter and

grandchildren, she was a familiar figure in boomtown Chiloquin. 648*
Cured by the Shakers, she almost joined the church, then changed 657*
her mind. From her bed, she discussed a life-way that was an 159
indissoluble blend of diverse elements integrated by their per- 178
sonal import. When she narrated or discussed a Klamath myth, 177
her assimilation of a Christian ethic was evident in the delicate 156
manner in which she skirted obscene passages. In admonishing her great-grandson, she spoke in the traditional manner, but in
English, the only tongue they shared. The English she spoke, like [191]
that of her boarding-school contemporaries, was likewise syncretic; for it bore the impress of Klamath sound patterns and grammatical categorization.

Individuals such as she, often happy to escape from the gray 648*
reality of age into nostalgic memory, initially struck the observer 657*
as conservative when contrasted with the young people: the boys 156
in Levis, cowboy boots, and leather jackets, the girls in jeans and 177
plaid shirts, who spoke little or no Klamath, and who loitered 178
in the cafes of Chiloquin hanging on the heavy beat of the jukebox. Yet at most, such folk were old-fashioned, and still retained the tastes and inclinations of long habit. Their commitment was selective. Those who still liked to dig the roots known as ipos did so, not with an aboriginal digging stick, but with the more durable iron counterpart made years ago by the Agency blacksmith; and they traveled to and from the grounds, not on horseback, but in the most modern of automobiles.

If there were tribal members who wanted to have as little as possible to do with whites, they did not thereupon stop speaking English or give up their houses, cars, and radios to accomplish this. They continued to purchase food and other necessary items from white merchants. Indeed, their hostility might find short shrift from another Klamath who commanded more knowledge of the traditional lore and still recounted the old myths to her grandchildren, yet possessed many friends among the whites.

Clearly, there was at Klamath in the latter days of the reserva- 648*
tion no clearly distinguishable category of the "native-oriented," 657*
in the sense of a preferential adherence to the institutions of 177
native life. Deliberate retentions rather served as the diacriticals 178
marking an ethnic nationality.[20] The use of the Klamath language [191]
to signify an Indian estate was one marker. It might be used on

*648 *657 177 178 191

formal occasions in the General Council in a demonstration of decorative oratory; and there it might also serve a speaker to shut out a heckler who knew only English. In such a session, a member in the audience, although fluent in English, might demand the services of an interpreter for the purpose of underscoring his Indian status. Similar functions were served when Klamath was spoken in the presence of whites. The ability to shift from one language to another, or from one behavioral modality to another, was akin to the behavior which Polgar has described in the "biculturation" of Fox children.[21]

*648 *657 177 178 623 619 571

In the latter days of the reservation, there were few occasions when tribal members came together for traditional events, and the sessions of the General Council constituted the main remaining tribal gathering. Such individuals as our old friend mentioned above had their closest and most continuous relations with children and grandchildren, who by no means shared their outlook. On the occasional visits of their aged peers, these elders exchanged memories and expressed common concerns which were as much the product of the parallel roles they then performed in their respective families as of the time in which they had grown up.

*648 *657 177 178 184

Such accommodation as there has been to American culture has not only changed through time with alterations in the state of Klamath and American cultures; but at any single time, Klamath have drawn diversely from what was available. Thus, the small number of families in Chiloquin that have attained a measure of social acceptance by whites of middle or high status have done so by manifesting the appropriate life style. In so doing, unless they are able deftly to shift role-orientations, being now Klamath, now white, they have had to sacrifice close relations with their kin. "Some of my family I never see any more," remarked one such woman, "and I don't want to see them." They often forbade their children to play with undesirable tribal children. Insistence upon household neatness, fastidious emphasis upon personal cleanliness, punctuality, and adherence to self-standards usually accompanied these attitudes.

Inframodal behavior among Klamath in turn has by no means been random in form, but has approximated already established patterns in the dominant culture; often combining them in ways

that seem bizarre. In evading prohibition, as already noted, tribal 648*
members learned successively to operate stills, to patronize and 657*
to serve as bootleggers, and to drink alcoholic extracts. For local 177
roughs, the pug and the cowboy provided glamorous models; 178
and several youths ventured upon the hard trail of the profes- 184
sional boxer. [883]
Although cowboy hats and boots were still worn in the latter days of the reservation, they were giving way among this set to the ducktail haircut and the leather jacket. Drag racing and drinking were pursuits as common among tribal adolescents in Chiloquin as among their peers elsewhere. The intermittent use of marijuana cigarettes and an occasional Pachuco tattoo were evidence of the selective adoption of Inframodal practices.

As a category, the inframodal Klamath were often the immediate descendants of some of the elderly individuals already mentioned, dependent upon them for money once they had squandered their own funds, sometimes residing with them, sometimes "shacking up" in a separate household in a common-law union. They formed but one range of the main body of tribal members, among whom they found associates perhaps as often
as they did among their own sort. They did not habitually asso- [571]
ciate with Inframodal peers among other racial groups, but [573]
characteristically remained in small tribal cliques, of which the [273]
drinking groups were the chief stable expression.[22]

Those tribal members still on the reservation comprised a main body, upon which three lobes might be distinguished: the elders, the Inframodal, and those conformant to American standards. The latter alone had tended to become almost completely cut off from the major body of their fellow tribesmen, save for a few leaders, who had been able to keep the respect of both whites and Klamath. The remainder constituted a single society of strong egalitarian persuasions.

While recognizing that a single criterion must fail as a device 648*
for sorting out categories which are the product of such com- 657*
plexity, a first approximation was attempted in an analysis of the 177
records of a random sample of tribal members in Chiloquin.[23] As 178
sorting criteria, the subjects were first scaled against five some- 184
what overlapping entries involving behavior before the law. Then, 125
working symmetrically from the extremes of the scale, they were

*648 divided into three segments as nearly equal in size as possible.[24]
*657 The symmetrical cuts resulted in a Conformant segment, prevailingly
177 law-abiding in record, almost twice as large as the In-
178 framodal category at the other end, which consisted of these
184 persons with the highest record of violations. The Intermediate
125 membership was slightly larger than that of the Conformant.[25]

The characteristics of each of these categories, when contrasted, tend to confirm statements made previously. Members of the Conformant segment were least Indian biologically and included the highest proportion of women. They seem to have come from comparatively smaller families and, with the Intermediate subjects, seem to have received far more adequate parental care than did the Inframodal category. Educational achievements are less distinctive, reflecting the compulsory nature of schooling on the reservation, but again the Inframodal segment lags behind the others in school grade completed. In the measure of engagement in business or ranching and in record of money management, the distinctions are decisive, with the Conformant category far outstripping its fellows and the Inframodal segment at the bottom. Finally, in both the percentage of those married and living with spouse and family as well as in the stability of residence the same order is seen.

In the second part of the study, the thirty Klamath subjects who had given Dr. Clifton responses to the Murray Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)[26] were assigned by judgment to the three segments, the protocols of each category being treated together by a method of analysis previously employed in examining Klamath mythology.[27] When all of the modern TAT segments were combined and contrasted with the myths, the responses were seen to reflect changes which had in fact taken place through time. Thus a trend toward a universalistic outlook
[602] was reflected, along with lessened attention to the ramifications
[594] of kinship, a reduction of the family itself to nuclear form, and
a concurrent diversification of role relationships toward individ-
[554] uals acting impersonally as employer, policeman, doctor, or
[571] teacher. A secularization of life may also be reflected by the
scant consideration of religion in the modern protocols.

[571] When the modern TAT segments were compared, the Conform-
ant subjects were seen to place a strong emphasis upon support

given the family by neighbors as well as by the impersonal agents 648*
of society, while making little mention of any kinsmen beyond 657*
the immediate, two-generation family. Members of this category, 177
who objectively were least Indian genetically and who manifested 178
the highest measure of intermarriage with whites, were 184
the only ones to introduce racial comments in their responses. 125
This may well be taken as evidence of their sensitivity to a [571]
marginal condition. In treating intrafamilial roles, they saw a [829]
strong paternal figure (lacking in the protocols of the other two [593]
segments), but they viewed his authority as one against which
the son repeatedly rebelled. Moreover, contrary to their own
superior record of family stability, members of the Conformant
category envisaged the marital bond as frequently threatened
by feminine interlopers. Here again is an indication that the
Conformant families, like the most acculturated among Vogt's
Navaho veterans,[28] had achieved their condition only at the cost
of gnawing anxiety.

By contrast, both of the remaining TAT segments tended to [602]
stress kinship, for in their protocols a greater reliance is placed
upon grandparents and more remote kinsmen, with correspondingly
less dependence upon friends, neighbors, or impersonal
agents. Indeed, the Inframodal subjects tended to view the
latter with suspicion and outright hostility. In neither segment [593]
was the paternal role seen as prominent; and the mother instead
occupied a central position, not disciplining, but strongly supporting
her children. Sibling relations, which in the Conformant
category had been seen as continuing through life, stood on a
lower level among the intermediate subjects, who viewed the
bond as existing only in childhood; and were negligible among
the Inframodal segment. Similarly, the marital bond appeared
to be conceived by Intermediate members as weak, being marked
by a succession of casual liaisons, while the Inframodal saw strife
between the couple, rather than outside interference, as disrupting
the union.

By contrast with Conformant subjects, members of the other
two categories exhibited a far less realistic view of the conditions [829]
making possible achievement, but they did so in different ways.
Those of the Intermediate segment seemed to see conformance
as a necessary factor for success, although their behavioral record

*648 showed them in fact to be deficient here, and they made complex,
*657 conditional statements about it. They seemed uncertain about
177 the manner in which a prosperous life was to be achieved. The
178 scofflaw members of the Inframodal category, by contrast, saw
184 accomplishment as the result of individual strengths, rather than
125 of surrogate support. In this, having regard for their family form,
829 they may be regarded as fairly realistic; but attainment for them
often took fantastic forms. One might say that they were content to play with the idea but were unprepared to put it into practice. In their treatment of crime and violence they took a realistic view, as against the Conformant subjects, who also gave it prominence, or the Intermediate category, who seldom discussed it; and they often saw them from the perspective of the violator. Conformant concern with crime and violence, by contrast, was coupled with the view that punishment, often involving remorse as well, was both merited and certain.

*648 Several general comments may be offered. In the first place, the
*657 Conformant subjects stand somewhat apart from members of
177 the other two categories in adherence to standards dominant
178 among whites. A matter of some note is the size of the group.
184 While the size of segments was determined by the purposes of
the study, the impression is strong that a larger proportion of tribal members would seem to be attuned already to values honored in American society than have been accepted by their white peers. Social acceptance, from this point of view, has lagged behind the formation of acceptable attitudes.

There are reasons for this. On the one hand, a number of tribal members approve these attitudes as merely reflecting those of the traditional Klamath. Some of them, despite Conformant behavior, decline to choose white associates if it means giving up ties with Klamath kin and friends. Then, too, among whites the formation of acceptable attitudes and behavior must be accompanied by other qualifications, discussed earlier. Major white stereotypes, as can be seen, have been formed about behavior and attitudes found principally among the minority of Klamath who fall into the Inframodal segment, and these have been extended to characterize tribal members as a whole.

Finally, behavior of Inframodal type is more complex than may appear at first. It was present, in somewhat different form, in

aboriginal Klamath culture; it has assumed some of the aspects 648*
of criminal behavior among whites; and as already noted is 657*
turned against the institutions of the whites and the persons of 177
Klamath. If Inframodal individuals are seen as rejecting the 178
ambient culture, they spurn only selected parts of it; and they 184
might have rebelled in similar fashion had they lived in the
native society a century and a half earlier.

There is much that continues to link most tribal members together. The assessment of an earlier paper seems valid.

> An individual may act in a manner that both we and the Klamath define as anti-social. Affected kinfolk may object, but their voice is muted and their efforts frequently null. Yet outside of the group immediately affected, the offender may find ready acceptance and even approval, so long as he has not violated the cultural standards of independence, of indifference to pain, danger, or personal inconvenience, of open-handed liberality, of steadfastness to a friend, and of a shrewd opportunism to others. But because there is now no homogeneous mode of behavior governing relations with members of social groups, and no effective coercive agent, Klamath behavior today probably departs more widely from the mode than it did in aboriginal times.[8] [571]

Thus, in various ways the Klamath have come to be differentially distributed, even within the confines of one small reservation town. Members have become acculturated in behavior and attitude to varying degrees and in divergent directions. Through [563] intermarriage, they have come to manifest a range of biological features, some more acceptable than others to non-Klamath. Finally, they have come to be ranked by whites upon a social gradient, although as a whole they are assigned an inferior position. In turn, historical, cultural, ethnic, and social considerations have led most tribal members to eschew their placement and to maintain a life somewhat apart. A major factor in their sense of separateness is the identity accorded corporate image by the tribal government. The following chapter reviews that institution.

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SEVENTEEN

[P.236]

The Tribal Government

*648 *657 619 646 FOR NEARLY FIFTY YEARS FOLLOWING ALLOTMENT, THE KLAMATH tribal government constituted the formal instrument for arriving at common objectives, the ultimate guardian against encroachments upon Klamath treaty rights, and the corporate symbol of Indian status. Its form and operations sensitively reflected the interplay of continued efforts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to mold Indian life and the Indian reaction to those efforts. They gave evidence as well of the diversity of opinion which presently arose among tribal members as to the future in which they wished to live.[1]

[423] Central to the importance of the tribal government was the considerable wealth over which it presided: at the close of allotment, tribal property amounted to over 860,000 acres of land, roughly three-fourths of it in prime timber, owned corporately by some 1,150 members. By contrast, the Umatilla reservation, in the northeast section of the state, in 1908 possessed fewer than 2,000 acres in unallotted tribal lands for a comparable (893) membership.

*648 *657 646 623 The principal body of the tribal organization was the General Council, a successor to those sessions convened on occasion in times past to discuss matters of common concern. Such *ad hoc* councils had formerly been found useful to the federal government for mustering a representative Indian body; but with the development of an executive body, the General Council also emerged as a more regular entity. Like its predecessors, it was [562] [177] originally composed of all the men of the Tribe; after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, the women were added to their number.

*648 *657 646 Since the highly rationalized bureaucracy of the government found the occasional councils too unwieldly to handle the in-

crease of tribal business following allotment, the Bureau of Indian 648*
Affairs pressed for the formation of a supplementary executive 657*
body. At Klamath the need for such a body may have been un- 646
derscored by the abuse of the common council in the partisan [665]
sessions called by the Kirk and Brown factions. Thus, 1908 saw
the introduction of an executive body, called the tribal council,
to function in addition to the occasional councils. Initially, it [563]
was made up of twelve men, six from each End of the reserva-
tion, and with communal representation: its membership included
seven Klamath, three Modoc, and one each from the Pit River
and Paiute. Since it proved difficult to maintain a quorum, the
number was subsequently reduced to eight members.

In 1927, the factionalism which had earlier brought into ques- 648*
tion the legitimacy of the common council now touched the 657*
tribal council; for in that year a dissident group elected a rival 646
body and claimed that it had superseded the existing council. 665
Their action placed in jeopardy the efficient administration of [578]
the tribal resources, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs con-
sequently insisted that matters be set upon a constitutional
footing. After considering several tribal charters submitted to [642]
them as models, the Klamath in 1929 enacted their own constitu-
tion and by-laws for the executive body, now restyled the Busi-
ness Committee. Its six members, three from each End, were to
consider ". . . business matters pertaining to the Tribe. [Matters]
of great importance to the Tribe and which the Business Com-
mittee believe should be referred to a general tribal council"
might be so referred by a vote of five members of the Committee,
with the consent of the Superintendent.[2]

Once more, in 1950, envisaging a time when the tribal govern- 648*
ment would have full control over the common estate, a new 657*
constitution was enacted, this time for the General Council. By 642
its terms, all powers were vested in that body, made up of all 646
adult tribal members. In addition, an Executive Committee was
designated, to be composed of the eight members—the number
had again been increased—of the erstwhile Business Committee,
together with the President and Secretary of the General Council.
To this new committee, the General Council was authorized to
delegate powers, although as matters turned out it did so only
reluctantly and after long delay. In turn, by appropriate vote

In turn, by appropriate vote
*648 within ninety days, the General Council might—and on occasion
*657 did—reverse the action of its Executive Committee. Finally, by a
642 petition of at least one-fourth of the eligible voters, an action of
646 the General Council might be submitted to a referendum of tribal
[666] members.[3]

In the succession of tribal bodies, the interest of the government was not solely the convenience of securing formal sanction in property matters concerning the common interest of enrolled [182] members. The tribal government was to provide as well a regular channel by which the government might assess tribal opinion, consult with leaders, and announce programs; and it was to furnish tribal members with experience in responsible citizenship. Through this instrument, a representative body was to be articulated with Bureau administration, its decisions being rendered concrete in official minutes and subjected to review by higher administrative echelons.

Tribal rule is municipal in character, as seen in the restricted scope of its powers.[4] The narrow administrative domain with which the Klamath executive dealt is suggested by the names of the permanent adjuncts of the Executive Committee, the Tribal Loan Board and the Enrollment Committee. In 1947, some fifteen tribal members and one other were employed in General Council and Loan Board activities. By contrast, the Superintendent employed 123 persons, including 31 tribal members and 40 Indians from other groups, in the administration of agency, health, extension, law and order, roads, forestry and grazing, and irrigation.[5] Over these areas the Executive Committee might exercise a veto by cutting from the proposed Agency budget tribal funds allocated to an unwanted item. In this way, the hospital, bull pool, and tribal herd have occasionally been threatened. Ordinarily, however, the Executive Committee took no positive action in the development of a budget. Understandably, Klamath efforts to appoint a tribal member to serve as watchdog over Agency administration were not kindly received.

[693] In the formulation of general policy, the executive drew upon the advice of the tribal attorney, as well as upon unofficial counsel, both sought and volunteered. All major policy decisions required approval by the General Council and were subject to review within the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department

of the Interior. An essential communicatory function was served 648*
by the delegations now sent annually to Washington, to discuss 657*
policy matters with Bureau officials and with members of Con- 642
gress. Elected by the General Council, delegates were generally 646
instructed by that body and by the Executive Committee on the official position to be taken. These positions of trust and power were frequently filled by members of the Executive Committee.

By contrast with administrative and executive functions, the regulatory functions which Eisenstadt terms juridical-cultural found little place within the formal structure.[6] For the exercise of legitimate force lay rather with the Superintendent than the Tribe, and even Indian police and courts, while they endured, reflected his authority. For well over a generation during the last period of tribal rule, after "Indian custom" marriage had lost legal status there were no traditional practices requiring special adjudication. In practice, neither expulsion from the Tribe nor curtailment of membership privileges has been meted out as punishment for offenses against the tribal body. At least two tribal members have been re-elected to office despite the common knowledge that they had served prison sentences for felony, a record that by formal regulation should have disqualified them. Presiding over a territory, the Tribe was particularly lax, when not indeed impotent, in exercising control over absentee members. Indeed, the sole coercion brought to bear, and that from a partisan vantage only, has been the withholding of benefits under distribution.

In the General Council there resided undifferentiated tribal powers, and consequently this body best symbolized the continuity of tribal government. For the general membership it simultaneously embodied their tribal identity and functioned as the proper arena for public debate. It was in this assembly, rather than in the executive bodies, that many preferred to see issues discussed and decisions rendered. Reluctance to delegate powers to the executive under the 1950 constitution, which had the result of deferring that act for a year and one-half, was not merely an expression of factional distrust but also voiced a continued Klamath preference for direct and informal consensus in tribal affairs.[7]

Tribal membership was, as we have seen, only one of several 000

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*648 *657 619 641 Tribal membership was, as we have seen, only one of several political roles in which Klamath might participate, and in some measure it lay athwart the others. Citizenship in the United States, granted generally to American Indians in 1924, affiliation with state, county, and municipality: these political memberships are explicit in character, conditional upon the fulfillment of stated requirements and with the exercise of well-defined rights. Superficially, tribal membership appears to possess a similar character. In the admission of new members, both the establishment of qualifications and the decision upon individual candidates rested with the Tribe, though subject to review by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Applicants had to be of Klamath parentage on at least one side, and those of one-quarter or more Klamath heritage were automatically admitted upon application. In 1945 a clause was added permitting adoption of members of one-sixteenth heritage, contingent upon assurances that they would reside upon the reservation and participate in tribal activities.

In practice, Indian heritage of any sort, and not merely that stemming from the Klamath Tribe, was reckoned in; and token assurances of participation and residence have conventionally [161] [162] been accepted. Of the final enrollment of 2,133 tribal members, 86 fell within the category of one-sixteenth quantum. Of these, 12 dwelt on the reservation and another 12 in Klamath Falls, the remaining 62 residing at some distance from the seat of tribal government. Once enrolled, members have not been subject to review, save when their original qualifications were called into question.

In a membership that was not conditional upon performance, [602] [621] the Tribe had a great deal in common with such ascriptive entities as the family and ramified kin, the traditional tribe, and the broad regional communities into which the latter had tended to cluster.

Family loyalties have been at once strong and selective. At times, they have provided continuities of interest within a single [602] line. Here, for example, were the Rev. Jesse Kirk, himself the son of a treaty signatory, and his sons, Clayton, Seldon, and Jesse Lee; here old chief Monchnkasgitk, and his sons, Harrison and Henry Brown; here Judge William Crawford, his wife, Eliza, and their son, Wade; here Henry Jackson, his half-brother, Ike, and the latter's son, Boyd Jackson.

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While the political strength of a family is seen not only in the 648*
succession of interest but in a propensity for members of a family 657*
to vote *en bloc*, this is far from invariably true. The schism 619
separating Jesse Kirk from his half-brother, Joseph, is one prominent 602
instance—and by no means the only one—to the contrary. [665]
In fact, alignment within the family and extended kin has often [578]
been modified by contending considerations.

Nonetheless, for some leaders the solidarity of family sometimes 648*
took precedence over impartiality in the discharge of office. 657*
One tribal council member is quoted as defending his action 661
favoring certain enrollments by the explanation ". . . that since 602
two children were his niece's children, he felt that it was his duty 619
to guard the interests of his minor relatives."[8] Political leaders, seeking to emphasize the purity of their motives, needed to go no further in justification than to declare that they sought only the welfare of their grandchildren.

Although intermarriage and alternative associations have long 648*
overlaid clear identification with the several peoples who had 657*
entered into the treaty, such affiliations have continued to exert 563
political force, however greatly diminished in recent years. In 621
turn, they related to the two broad communities on the reservation. 619
The Lower End remained predominantly Klamath, while Modoc, Paiute, as well as a number of Klamath and Pit River, comprised the Upper End community some forty miles away.
Even after the closing of the subagency at Yainax, the populations [184]
of Sprague River and Beatty continued to reflect the special character of the eastern reservation.

In turn, the relatively easier access of the Lower End to outside [177]
influences—a subject already reviewed in discussing modern tribal demography—superimposed the effects of differential acculturation and intermarriage upon the traditional subtribal
allegiances that distinguished the two Ends. Difficulty of travel 648*
along the road from the Agency to Yainax had given rise to the 657*
practice, long maintained, of holding separate councils at each 621
place. Thus at the two Ends there had developed political communities 665
responsive to their own local leaders. Harrison Brown, 619
in 1931, played upon a familiar theme when he recognized in Wade Crawford, a leader from the Lower End ". . . a young man who is not a full-blood, who is trying to stir up trouble, and we

*648 want to set him aside, as he does not understand what we want.
*657 . . . I am one of the full-blood Klamath leaders," he continued,
621 "and I don't want any trouble with the government."[9]

665 In the factional struggle marking the final generation of tribal
619 government, Wade Crawford and his wife, Ida, drew their principal strength from the Lower End and the absentee membership; while many of the leaders opposing them, including Harrison Brown, Levi Walker, Boyd Jackson, and later Jesse Lee Kirk, hailed from the Upper End and found their major strength there. Despite exceptions and progressive weakening, the dichotomy was long a working reality, of which the loyalty of the Paiute to Boyd Jackson was only the most signal of many expressions.

A review of tribal minutes over the last half-century reveals a striking faithfulness in the voting of the most prominent adherents of those leaders. It seems clear that out of factionalism small but stable parties were beginning to emerge, to which, however, the large body of tribal members remained uncommitted. It was upon his immediate followers that a leader relied for support in raising funds or carrying a point to the undecided. At the same time, his image drew dimension from the character, as well as the number, of his adherents. That the personal image was still important, and that loyalties were not invoked in terms of issues alone, is seen by the personal denigration which took place between factional opponents and by the identification of each partisan group with its leader in the phrase, "He's a Crawford—or Jackson—man."

*648 The professional politician had come to dominate the ranks of
*657 leaders. It was not simply that industry in the management of
665 one's private affairs held less significance in a world made equal
619 by the flow of per capitas. The tasks confronting the new leaders also were different. It was no longer sufficient to provide aid out of one's pocket and offer sage advice in public gatherings. The new leader must be prepared to devote most of his time to political matters. He must concern himself with the administrative duties of the tribal office, to prolonged negotiation with Bureau personnel and with the officials and private individuals representing the interests of neighboring whites. On occasion, there were the delegations to Washington. Daily, there were the chores to be undertaken for constituents in the fence-mending that was

integral to the maintenance of power. Tribal leadership had become a full-time job, requiring its own set of special talents. The rewards offered were considerable, not only those of power and prestige, but in per diem fees and in the funds advanced on occasion by followers and—persistent rumor had it—by outside interests as well. 648* 657* 665 619

The rise of the new leaders did not entirely spell the eclipse of the old. Even in the last decade of tribal government, a senior member of the executive was James Johnson, a wealthy stockman from the Lower End. [646] Another man, Seldon Kirk, one of the three politically prominent sons of Jesse Kirk, worked as a carpenter for the Agency, and was therefore sometimes accused of being a pawn of the administration. He took up the guerdon from his brother, Clayton, and later came to exemplify a moderate position in his own right, even in the last, turbulent days of the Tribe. Until his retirement, he served as permanent chairman of the General Council, then was succeeded by his brother, Jesse Lee. [646] The example of Seldon Kirk in turn brought onto the political scene several younger men, like him occupying the middle ground, and concerned only peripherally with the party building activities of the professional politicians.

Tribal government thus developed along the intersection of an informal, particularistic political system and a counterposed, highly rationalized bureaucracy; and the emergence of the new leaders was merely one of the consequences. Within the frame so defined, the leaders were beset with the party-political[10] task of marshaling support for their programs. It was hazardous to trust alone to appeals to reason, for the issues were often complex and difficult to interpret for a wary electorate. Since the number of his devoted adherents was inadequate to carry the day, the practical politician had resort to a supplementary arsenal of tactical devices. It was at this level that political acculturation proved to have been most pervasive.

In he first instance, a leader might sometimes seek to mobilize support by playing upon a popular cause. Often this took the form of a defense against an outsider. A claim against the government, attacks upon the Bureau, particularly in the person of the Superintendent,[11] the repulse of intrusions upon the tribal domain by white commercial or sporting interests: these issues

*648 might be exploited instrumentally to broaden the base of appeal.
*657 Other devices entailed the manipulation of particularistic
665 loyalties. Politicians from the less populous and ethnically more
619 diverse Upper End endeavored to retain districting, whereby
the members of the executive body were elected in equal numbers by each End; and they also sought to preserve communal representation, which ensured that each of the traditional subtribal groups, Pit River and Paiute, as well as Modoc and Klamath, would find a place in that body. These measures were opposed as a matter of course by Crawford, the Lower End leader; but it was he in turn who had been responsible for the election in 1927 in which only the Lower End took part, thus creating a second tribal council and precipitating the Bureau's demand for a tribal constitution.

*648 The tactics employed to control voting were diverse. In general
*657 elections, Jackson favored restriction of voting to polling places
665 located on the reservation, against attempts by his rival to secure
619 absentee balloting, a measure that would swell the response from
646 his off-reservation constituency. For General Council meetings,
666 Jackson sought to continue the practice of alternating their site
between the Ends, and for those held at the Agency he provided stages at tribal expense to transport members from the Upper End.

Seating within the General Council was conventionally by faction, a device that provided an easy check upon voting regularity, although the chairs along the wall afforded a retreat for the less partisan. Jackson further favored a standing vote,[12] while Crawford, particularly while he was out of power, called instead for a secret ballot. Each side on occasion exercised the boycott to prevent the mustering of a quorum when the issue was likely to go against it,[13] and Crawford also resorted to the filibuster, under cover of which his forces might withdraw in order to attain the same end. Each also strove, when he no longer controlled the executive body, to route business instead through the General Council.

*648 In the recruitment of a following, leaders found many occasions
*657 to render personal services, appointing the faithful to tribal
665 positions, serving as advocate in their favor, sponsoring the enroll-
619 ment of their children as tribal members, or advancing them
661

money from the tribal fund set aside for the purpose. Interlocking 648*
memberships of the Executive Committee, the Enrollment 657* 665
Committee, and the Loan Board made those bodies the apex of 619
tribal power. If the first-named was the central body, and important 661
particularly in relations with agencies beyond the Tribe, the [646]
other two were no less essential in the administration of patronage. [647]

The Tribal Loan Board had been established to preside over 648*
a fund set aside from the Yamsay Judgment of 1938, by which the 657*
issue of the Military Road had finally been settled. The fund had 619
been designed to provide capital advances for tribal members, 452
many of whom found bankers reluctant to lend to them. Although 647
loans were supposed to be applied only to improvements, it became common practice to spend them merely as an anticipation of the next per capita. When the Bureau called a halt to its operations in 1955, the Board had out on loan approximately a half-million dollars, or the equivalent of almost $250 per member, and a collector had to be engaged to recover a sizeable portion of it.[14]

The Enrollment Committee was the third seat of power. Admission 648*
of one's children to tribal membership was eagerly 657*
sought, and not alone for reasons of sentiment. Once he was a 619
tribal member, a child was vested with a pro-rata share of the 647
undivided tribal estate, amounting at the time of termination to 434
some $43,500. In addition he qualified to receive the per capita dividends that, subject to Agency restriction, were commonly drawn upon to defray current family living expenses.

Despite—and sometimes because of—these tactical measures, 648*
by which partisan leaders strove to bind them, many tribal 657*
members were driven into abstention by the bitter contentions 646
that marked the final generation of tribal life. Although hundreds 619
flocked to the luncheon set out at tribal expense in the Council Hall for those attending the General Council, morning meetings failed so frequently to draw a quorum that they were discontinued; and even afternoon sessions sometimes could not muster one hundred adults from among the thronging diners to transact tribal business. When they did come, they were often in holiday mood, frequently interrupting speakers, and exhibiting a keen appreciation for lengthy, eloquent, and often irrelevant harangues

*648 *657 646 619 in the Klamath language.[15] In this setting, the chairman and principal leaders sought with great difficulty to operate under Robert's Rules of Order. Council minutes record numerous instances in which many of those present cast no vote.

In this, as in other political contexts, the observer could sense what some members admitted readily: a reluctance to commit themselves to decisions that might lead to dangerous consequences on either side. As in their dealings with the Agency, individuals accepted as a right what those controlling the executive had to offer, and declined to be bound thereby. Factional charge and innuendo had so sapped confidence in the Klamath leadership that interviews conducted in the course of termination revealed that all but one of the respondents (118 in all) favored a management plan administered by unknown trustees over an organization headed by their own members.[16]

It was not, however, factionalism alone that was at the root [178] of the uncertainty. The long dependence of individuals upon per capitas, and the corresponding lack of experience in pursuing a livelihood, understandably enough made many wary of any change that might threaten the economic niche in which they dwelt. Moreover, on many of the more complex issues involving property their very lack of experience made them easily swayed [666] by irrelevancies. Not infrequently, Seldon Kirk, when presiding over a vote of the General Council, would query, "I wonder how many of you know what you were voting for?"—and, calling for a reballoting, would see the issue solidly reversed.

*648 *657 619 If they were uncertain in the exercise of their power, tribal members nonetheless felt a strong need to display it. Real and fancied acts of coercion had left a legacy of alienation, to which the impersonal bureaucratic operation of the Agency only added. In a span during which tribal membership had done little more than double, the Agency staff had swelled from an early 5 members to an ultimate figure of 139, some twenty-five times as great. With expansion, the Agency program had become compartmentalized, each division taking on a life of its own and growing endlessly ramified. Bureaucratization, together with the frequent turnover in the upper echelons of administration, led to increasing impersonalization of relations. Subtly, the training of Klamath

had come to be restricted to those agencies formally responsible for their education. 648* 657* 619

Thus, in the supervision of Klamath resources, the Agency preferred the short-range goals of prudence and efficiency over the distant one of training individuals. As if to underscore the generally alien character of the Agency staff, officials had preferred to fill jobs earmarked for Indians with skilled persons from other reservations; and even those Klamath who were hired seemed to take the side of the government and refused, for the most part, to make exceptions for their kin and friends. Thus, the dependence implicit in Agency control was often rendered more distasteful because its operations were not conducted under those relaxed and particularistic contexts so much valued by Klamath in interpersonal relationships. And, as in ethnic relations, the irritations seemed to stick longer in the memory than those of pleasanter character. [571]

To the special qualities of Klamath factionalism there was added the independence conferred by the institution of the tribal attorney and the Washington delegation. Although tribal government had originally been envisioned as the lowest link in a chain running upward through the Bureau to the head of state, during the superintendency of Oliver Applegate the Klamath had forged an alternative linkage. The tribal attorney, whose retention had often been justified as providing independent counsel when claims were pressed against the government, was also expected to provide advice in areas in which the Bureau already had the duty of counsel. In such instances as the negotiating of timber contracts and in long-range planning for the tribal future, he thus furnished an expertise apart from that offered as a matter of course by the Bureau. 648* 657* 693 619

Although the greater part of tribal business was in fact conducted directly through the Agency, pending claims and legislation under consideration by Congress drew delegations on annual pilgrimage to the Capitol to present the tribal viewpoint. Through the years, veteran Klamath delegates came to establish informal understandings, not alone with their own representatives and senators, but with those from other states who shared similar political outlooks. Since those legislators were often also influen- 648* 657* 619

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*648 tial in controlling Bureau programs and appropriations, tribal
*657 delegations formed an instrument of power the mere awareness
619 of which undoubtedly tempered ordinary intercourse between
Bureau and Tribe.

*648 In turn, the knowledge that the final decisions were made in
*657 distant Washington endowed local politics with an aspect remote
619 from reality. Congressmen, mindful of the right of the citizen to
665 be heard, began to be treated to the spectacle of official delegates
comprising members of both factions, who argued among themselves before committee hearings, each claiming to represent the position of "the Klamath people." If a tribal politician was defeated for a place on the delegation, he had only to raise funds from supporters in order to make his way to the capital. Enlisting the aid of long-time legislative allies, he would then secure a hearing every whit as attentive as that accorded the official representatives of the Tribe. In the words of Wade Crawford, uttered after a local defeat in 1947:

> I can be outvoted, that doesn't mean one thing to me. . . . There are 400 Congressmen and 96 Senators, and I'm going to talk to each man that will give me five minutes. People ought to understand who Congress is. Anybody can go. You don't have to be an official delegate, you can go as an individual."

*648 Since Washington had become the seat of decision, local con-
*657 sensus was rendered largely superfluous, and tribal affairs de-
scended to a level of wrangling and petty maneuver. Nonetheless,
619 major issues were being debated, concerned with no less a
421 subject than the disposal of the tribal estate and the consequent
transformation of the Tribe itself. Because Bureau administration was prominently involved in the handling of tribal or personal property, any attempt to secure release from federal trusteeship was customarily addressed first to the freeing of tribal resources. In 1900, the Board of Indian Commissioners, hailing the changes anticipated from allotment, had called for the pro rata apportionment among members of any undivided tribal funds, the retention of which, they contended, merely served to perpetuate the Indian problem. They continued:

> A law of this character would enable us all to see some reasonable limit of time to special Indian laws and special Indian administration. It would put an end to the expectation of per-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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petual inheritance and new claims through an indefinite number 648*
of generations, by people who may claim a fraction of Indian 657*
blood and therefore a share in undivided Indian tribal funds."[18] 619
421

THE COURSE OF TERMINATION

It was toward the ending of a special status that reservation 648*
leaders were soon to address themselves. They began shortly after 657*
the closing of the allotment rolls in 1910, when, in opposition to 423
the designs of some whites to open up the surplus lands to home- 619
steading, tribal members countered with the suggestion that they be parceled among tribal members. Later, those "final settlement" proposals came to envisage the sale of the lands and the allocation of the funds thus realized in pro rata shares to members, an act that would have the effect of bringing the Tribe itself to an end.[19] Final settlement in the early years drew widespread endorsement from tribal leaders, among whom its chief advocate was Judge Levi Walker.

In 1929, Wade and Ida Crawford, then in Washington as tribal delegates, with the active assistance of Secretary of the Interior Ray L. Wilbur drew up an alternative plan, calling for the establishment of a tribal corporation to take over and manage tribal assets. This unauthorized proposal—which, as Ostrom suggests,[20] in some measure foreshadowed provisions that were to appear in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934—won tribal support only with difficulty against the opposition raised by adherents of the final settlement bill. Although both bills continued to be pressed in Congress, neither made headway.

In 1933, Crawford was appointed Superintendent of the Klamath Reservation by his friend, the reformer John Collier, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The legacy of opposition which Crawford bore into office united with his conduct while there to bring about his removal for cause four years later. Although as Superintendent he advocated endorsement of the Indian Reorganization Act, it was rejected by the Tribe. In time he too came to denounce it, for his experience as administrator of the reservation had prejudiced him against the competence of the Klamath to manage their own estate. Instead, he sought for the time only to circumscribe what he deemed to be federal and tribal extravagance, while gradually maturing his plans for the

*648 pro rata apportionment of the tribal assets. Toward this end, he
*657 turned increasingly for support toward the absentee membership.
423 Thus it was that in 1945, returned to Washington as a delegate,
619 Crawford sought passage of a bill that combined some of the
*648 aims of the final settlement proposals with federal purchase of
*657 the tribal tracts, which would then be established as national
423 forests, and with the liquidation of other properties. This met
619 opposition from the dominant tribal party, by this time under the
665 leadership of Boyd Jackson, Dice Crain, and Jesse Lee Kirk. In successive versions, the proposed legislation was the subject of hearings conducted both in Washington and on the reservation. As an outcome of suggestions made then, Supt. Bert. G. Courtright prepared a trial bill permitting voluntary withdrawal of competent members, each of whom was to be paid a portion of his share in the tribal estate. A shift of political winds now swept Crawford, who became the chief proponent of this bill, back into political ascendancy.

*648 At this juncture, Seldon Kirk, the respected chairman of the
*657 General Council, intervened to secure establishment of an extra-
642 ordinary special committee of those "who believe in the per-
619 petuation of the Klamath Reservation." Among the eight members, in addition to Kirk himself, were Jackson and several of his adherents. The committee drew up a new constitution for the Tribe, designed to provide a structure satisfactory for self-government over a proposed transition of two decades. It was adopted in 1950, but only after being linked with the voluntary withdrawal bill; and thus for a time both parties rested satisfied.
*648 From a long-range view, it is noteworthy that Crawford had
*657 turned from a plan for an enduring tribal cooperative to one
619 directed to the piecemeal withdrawal of members who wished to sever tribal connections. In their turn, the former advocates of final settlement had become the champions for the preservation of the tribal body.

Further attempts by Crawford to amend the voluntary withdrawal bill and other circumstances delayed action on it until 1953, by which time the government had embarked upon a program seeking to terminate federal supervision over a number of Indian reservations. Chief among them was that at Klamath, for which terms were proposed similar to those outlined for the

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timber-rich Menominee.[21] Crawford and Jackson, examining the 648*
federal proposal, which envisaged a private corporation, jointly 657*
concluded that such an arrangement would be uneconomic for 619
the Tribe under Oregon law, and in its place advocated a tribal
cooperative. This harmony between factional leaders seemed [665]
highly suspect to tribesmen long attuned to discord; and they rejected the proposal.

Eager for a resolution, congressional forces now brought pres- 648*
sure upon the Bureau, which produced another draft of the 657*
proposal and, under similar pressure,[22] the factional leaders were 619
brought to a compromise in the final hours of the 1954 session. 423
Enacted as Public Law 587, the legislation provided that mem- 665
bers might elect either to withdraw, receiving their pro rata share of tribal property, or remain in a surviving economic entity. Thereafter, as it became apparent that the unanticipated size of the withdrawing body was likely to remove large tracts of timber from sustained-yield management, thus plunging the Klamath Basin into a cycle of "boom and bust," various bodies, both public and private, began tardily to intervene. Since the legislation had favored their position, the Crawford forces adamantly opposed any changes whatsoever, while Jackson and Jesse Lee Kirk were equally zealous in endorsing any amendment that promised to better the position of the remaining members.

In the latter days of the termination program, as they approached the election that was to mark the personal decision to withdraw or remain, there emerged among tribal members a new coalition of moderates, seeking a position independent of the factions. The Klamath Information and Education Office, established by the State Department of Education under the Termination Act, had encouraged tribal members to come together to explore together the issues posed by the Act, so that they might cast their votes more intelligently. The Reservation Discussion Group that resulted included in its membership individuals who had long held aloof from the partisan struggle, together with younger moderates holding secondary tribal posts. The coalition now entered the lists and, in one of the last formal elections held by the General Council, scored impressive gains. They lacked a clear-cut program, however, and soon after their victory their group was sundered. Within the remaining members, however,

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*648 members of the Discussion Group remained influential. More
*657 significantly, perhaps, for the long run, they began to employ
619 their newfound unity in fund-raising enterprises in Chiloquin,
423 and thus took an initial step in creating a new civic image for
665 the Klamath.

*648 When the vote was held, over seventy per cent of the tribal
*657 membership elected to withdraw, the government purchasing
619 their land and creating from it the Winema National Forest. Of
666 the other voters, the majority did not directly elect to enter into
423 the trust under which the U.S. National Bank has since been managing their joint resources. In this last decisive moment, they returned no ballot at all, and thus were automatically included among the remaining members. The outcome of the vote was in part an expression of confidence among the Klamath in their ability to handle their own affairs, in a measure a rejection of any continued trust status, colored with the anticipation of realizing a large sum—approximately $43,500 per person. However, so complex were the issues and so heavily were they beclouded at the time of voting by contending claims and interpretations, that it is doubtful whether many members could in fact specify all the considerations which guided their final decision.

668 In the period since the enactment of termination in 1954, the Klamath became increasingly receptive toward inclusion within the broader rubric of what Mead has termed "American Indian nationality," and have begun to participate in pan-Indian affairs.[23] Membership in the National Congress of American Indians, participation in American Indian Days at Sheridan, Wyoming,[24] sponsorship of the All-Indian Invitational Basketball Tournament in Chiloquin and of an American Indian Beauty contest held in conjunction with it: these were only some of the more concrete manifestations. Although pan-Indianism has been growing, the receptivity on the part of the Klamath seems keyed to their needs in the crisis that confronted them. Threatened with the loss of the tribal body that had symbolized their collective heritage, they repaired to others which enabled them to preserve their identity. Those who would see the termination vote as an election by the majority of tribal members to become completely assimilated into the larger society must reckon in the significance of this neonativist movement.

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EFFECT OF TERMINATION

After some ninety years of existence, the federal government 648*
brought to an end the Klamath Indian reservation. At Menom- 657*
inee, which was terminated at the same time, the reservation 619
became a county and the tribal body, converted into a corpora- [171]
tion, was to continue the management of tribal timber and other assets.[25] The decision at Klamath was otherwise. With the closing of the tribal rolls, there was no longer succession to membership in the Klamath Tribe; and although the body of remaining members under trust was to be designated by the same title, it also had a closed membership and—if its members did not elect to end it sooner—would expire with the death of the last of the individuals who had entered it at termination.

The movement for termination of Indian tribes formed part 000
of a broad revolt against the philosophy of the New Deal, a movement which gained strength in the latter years of the Truman administration and reached full power in the first years of the Eisenhower presidency. In a campaign directed against what was conceived to be an encroaching statism, it was seen as repugnant for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to maintain an indefinite paternalistic supervision over the lives of a racial segment of the American citizenry. By some, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was reckoned a misguided effort to maintain an existence for Indians separate from the main currents of American life. The view drew adherents from those who saw in reservations, as in national parks and forests, bureaucratic restraint of free enterprise. They hailed an administration pledged at once to give greater opportunity to the Indians and to a "businesslike" conduct of government that would prune unnecessary waste from the management of national affairs.

Clearly, the decision to alter the status of the Klamath was 648*
not an isolated one—witness House Concurrent Resolution 108 657*
of the 83rd Congress—and the solution that was proposed, the 619
devolution of responsibility to local agencies, formed part of a national shift in policy.[26] One must add that the Klamath had long been among the tribes considered particularly eligible for release from federal supervision. Yet it is clear, and the details have been related elsewhere,[27] that under legislative pressure

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*648 *657 619 Bureau officials at times distorted or even suppressed data that reflected unfavorably upon the competence of the Klamath to fend for themselves. These elided data were swiftly discovered when the Termination Act had been passed and the Bureau faced the difficult task of treating individual tribal members. Though the programming of termination was handled capably at the local level, the original legislation was so defective that two major amendments, together with several lesser ones, were required to supplement and remedy it; and lawsuits, already mounted or threatened by tribal members, over alleged omission of rights from its provisions may stream in its wake for years.

The immediate consequence of termination for a major part of the Klamath people has been an exchange of private for federal trusteeship. [434] [429] A large number have chosen to forego any further common management of their assets. A number of adults, both among remaining members and those who withdrew, were placed under guardianship or involuntary trusteeships as having demonstrated incompetence to handle their own affairs. Among adults, they comprised 14.4 per cent of those living on the reservation and 12.7 per cent of absentee members. Since that time, a substantial but undetermined number of individuals not under personal trust have exhausted the funds they received, and some have turned to kinsmen for assistance. The large body of minors, both on and off the reservation was placed under trust. By the terms of a recent court ruling, upon reaching majority they are to receive their funds without further demonstration of competence.

In all, no less than 48.9 per cent of the tribal membership were deemed to require protection under provisions of the Termination Act, while an additional 13.6 per cent, deemed competent, elected to remain under the group trust operated by the United States National Bank. Another 18.3 per cent were absentee members, of whom only a very few, with allotments or other assets in trust or restricted status, were subjected to federal supervision. It was the remaining 15.1 per cent of the membership (the deceased have not been figured in), constituting persons dwelling on the reservation who elected to withdraw, that correspond to the legislative image of the deprived yet competent Indian.

[429] [434] The slight character of the change with reference to those

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under personal trust or guardianship is indicated by the "state- 648*
ment of principles" contained in the agreement between the 657*
Secretary of the Interior and the banks that administer the 619
private trusts. This stipulates that the beneficiary is to be en- 429
couraged and assisted in obtaining a satisfactory education and 434
is to be aided in gaining employment or engaging in other business activity. As the trust officers of those banks were soon to discover, the banks have assumed a role which closely resembles that previously exercised by the government.

A similar effect may be seen in the relations of the remaining Klamath to the U.S. National Bank, which as trustee administered their undivided assets, including a segment of the former tribal timber. An executive committee continues to represent them in their dealings with the bank, but it is accorded only nominal consultation in the conduct of the trust. Bank officials clearly consider their primary obligation to lie with the prudent adminis-
tration of the estate. Similarly, while willing to employ Klamath [464]
in minor positions, the bank has found most of them unsatisfactory. Tribal members insinuate that the bank is giving contracts for farm work to whites to whom it has made loans. In brief, antipathies formerly vented against the Bureau are now directed against the bank.

In this manner, the reservation, the Agency rule, and the 648*
Klamath Tribe have come to an end together. 657*
619

[p.256 is blank]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

PART V

[P. 257]

CONCLUSION

000

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P.258]

000 "WE HAVE NO POWER OVER WHAT HAS BEEN BUT WE HAVE IT IN OUR power to shape our future and the future of our children. Out of the discouragement, the bitterness of the past, and out of Termination, perhaps something good can be created. It is important that you and I work harder than ever so that we can continue to lift up our heads with pride, and if they were living today, our ancestors too, could be proud of us."

SELDON E. KIRK
Past Chairman, Klamath General Council.
Letter to the Klamath People.[1]

[Klamath Reservation]

EIGHTEEN

[P.259]

Conclusion

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KLAMATH TRIBE UNDER THE PROVISIONS 648*
of the Treaty of 1864 comprised a program of directed change, 657*
paralleling in its general features the relationships of the United 171
States government with diverse other Indian peoples. Because a common policy lay behind the administration of Indian affairs, the history that unfolded at Klamath was similar at many points to developments on other reservations. Since, however, unique characteristics of Klamath culture entered into the equation, and common events were locally mediated, that policy had different effects in execution.

Within the spectrum of American Indian cultures, it was im- 648*
portant that the tribes brought upon the Klamath reservation 657*
were unacquainted with agriculture, but had some knowledge of, 241
and esteem for horse-herding; that while they lacked traditions 233
of large-scale political organization, they placed a premium upon 619
industry and the acquisition of material wealth. These attributes, 181
while by no means unique, were distinctive in their combination; 177
and they gain significance when seen from the perspective of 178
the policy objectives of the government. Similarly, the circumstance that many individuals had already undergone extensive acculturation beyond the Klamath country provided the early Agents with native allies already won over to the prospects of change.

Even the application of a common policy exhibited special 648*
features. Two instances should illustrate the point. The recogni- 657*
tion of the tribal claim to a large domain, together with the [423]
retention of surplus lands after allotment, laid the basis for a [619]
corporate wealth equaled by only a few other reservation peoples. [434]
Later, the rejection of the Indian Reorganization Act during the Collier administration placed the Klamath among a minority of

*648 tribes across the country. The issue was fought employing terms
*657 then common in rural Oregon, which were echoed on the Uma-
*648 tilla reservation, which also rejected the Act. Opponents at both
*657 places contended that the act represented an attempt to impose
171 Communism upon the Indian. Since tribal and personal wealth
at Umatilla was far more modest than at Klamath, the rejection was not so much the act of a reservation plutocracy as a reflection of regional biases present in American society at large.

*648 When this has been said, there remains much, even within the
*657 seemingly unique, at Klamath that transcends the local sphere.
177 The following remarks single out for consideration only one
segment of that history, the period of directed change. Yet it is significant for understanding the period that federal supervision of the Klamath was preceded by a half-century of unguided change, the extent of which was not wholly comprehended by early officials; and that it in its turn was followed by a time in which the administration, while continuing to preside, had once more lost essential control over the subject people. The impact of reservation policy was profoundly modified within that context.

000 Directed change[2] involves the control by a superordinate
/ people over the behavior of a subject group such that it guides the modification of their behavior in accordance with a plan of superordinate choice. It thus differs from planned change, in which a people modifies its own behavior according to design. Control in the former situation may range from physical coercion, and even the elimination of recalcitrants in the subject society, to the arts of gentle persuasion. All this is directed to the end of rendering the subject people compliant to the measures and goals imposed upon them. The tactic of control may encourage the development of a responsive regulating system within the subordinate society, of whatever nature it may be—political, economic, religious, societal, or a combination of these—in such a way that the guiding group may most efficiently transmit directive pressures to the individual members of the subject population. Vital also is the exclusion of contradictory influences, either from without or from members of the administrative staff.

Strategic concerns govern the choice of goals. Are the subject peoples to be made privy to the grand design, or should they initially be set objectives which, though limited, are soon attain-

able? What of the priority to be assigned to goals? Are some 000
achievements the necessary precondition to others? Should different segments of the subject people be directed to the attainment of special goals? At what rate should change occur? These illustrations do no more than sample the field.

No agent of change is an advocate of indiscriminate change. He is interested in encouraging modifications in certain areas, but he may well find that in order to attain his goals he must inhibit change at other places. To this may be added that the peoples subject to directed change may well gauge the desirability of the goals imposed upon them by the degree to which they are also the goals of the surrogate peoples. Too, since in directed change the primary advocates are external to the society of those experiencing it, the instrumentalities by which they intervene may prove irreconcilable, not only with the goals seen by the subject people but even with those they themselves seek to impose.

Thus at Klamath a basic incongruity existed between the indi- 648*
vidualization of Klamath society and the coercive means some- 657*
times employed to achieve that end. A similar disparity lay be- 177
tween the ideal of an egalitarian American life and the reality of the hierarchical relationship between Agency staff and the Klamath people.

Here were major sources of stress. Implicit in the program was a period of tutelage marked by asymmetrical relationships. In fact, however, the social system of the reservation bore the marks of a castelike hierarchy,[3] in which informal social relations between Agency staff and the Klamath were exceptional. To be sure, tribal members entered into significant secondary relationships as Agency employees and in work-roles off the reservation; and in later times those ties provided the basis for entering into more intimate relations.

What was baffling was this: The material achievements stressed by the administration—in dress, housing, and economy—were often sought as eagerly by the Klamath, and they gradually came around to sending their children to school and going to church themselves. Yet all of these changes, profound though they were, seemed to bring them no closer to an acceptance as equals. As Seldon Kirk was wont to remark in council:

*648 *657 177

> When the White men made a treaty with the Klamath in 1864, they said, "In twenty years you will be just like White men, no difference." But when twenty years went by, no White men. And they said, "Twenty years more." After that time still no White men. It is now nearly ninety years, and I ask you, "When will we be like White men?"

This is not meant to claim that the reservation system had failed of the goals which had originally been set. Children were educated and adults retrained to American ways, and in considerable measure the training took hold. Even the resistance of later days often carried the stamp of considerable sophistication. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, after a generation of rule, success had so far operated as to make the system too rigid for the will of the subject people. They were now highly diverse in biological character and in experience, were no longer confined to the reservation, and were open to outside influence at every level. The coming of allotments, the realization of property, and the anticipation of citizenship, while improving the Klamath lot, made them at once impatient with the residual restraints.

By this time, the administrative machinery for handling Indians had become formidably complex; yet, beset with the multiple identities of the Indian, the Bureau had failed to distinguish among its charges upon some scale of acculturative competence.[4] The Bureau was bound largely to the polar concepts of the Indian as subject to supervision and the Indian as citizen with rights to the enjoyment of his property. In its dual responsibility as custodian and as teacher, the Bureau has often found the former an easier task.

*648 *657 177 434 [464]

Perhaps the greatest single instance of that preference in action was the decision permitting the commercial cutting of tribal timber. This was a step advocated by influential Klamath and by administrators alike, yet its effects proved disastrous to ranching enterprises then under way. The Klamath did not come forward to take employment in logging and milling. Nonetheless, Agency operations now could take their stand upon the firm index of success afforded by management of the tribal estate—an index to which superior governmental bodies were attuned. The maintenance of a tribal estate in trust, in its turn, perpetuated the ambivalence of the Klamath position, which in this quality recalls

the "dependent domestic nations" of Justice Marshall's famous 648*
decision. Many Klamath, now that they possessed funds to secure 657*
their material desires, lost incentive to strive. Lacking oppor- [177]
tunities for training in competence except that offered in youth [434]
at school or—peripherally—in tribal government, many proceeded
to demonstrate their unfitness to handle their own affairs. Spicer[5] [171]
has noted how reservations in the Southwest suffered from being isolated economically from the surrounding regions. This was less the case at Klamath: in the timber exploitation, the reservation was all too closely identified with the dominant needs of the Klamath Basin and the West Coast, to say nothing of the nation at large. Instead, the ultimate needs of the Klamath had dropped out of the calculations.

In a recent analysis of the assimilation of minority groups in 000
American society,[6] Gordon identifies with the major society dimensions of integration which he designates as cultural, structural, marital, and identificational. In his view, cultural assimilation in visible externals is likely to take place first, probably in conjunction with entrance into formal, secondary relationships. Not, however, until members pass into those intimate social relationships termed primary with members of the host society have they achieved a crucial stage in assimilation. Thereafter, Gordon assumes that marital, then identificational, assimilation will follow with time.

Klamath may demur that they do not wish to submerge their 648*
identity through assimilation with Americans, but at least they 657*
have long sought parity. At first through their own efforts, then 177
later through their dividends from timber, they have acquired many of the attributes that are to be equated with Gordon's cultural category. Assimilated at this level, they have failed to be received at their own appraisal into the social system. Geertz[7] has postulated a model of change involving a cumulative imbalance between social and cultural dimensions which may have partial applicability here, for the Klamath have felt keenly the lag in admission to social relationships of which cultural properties already acquired form the symbols.

Caught in limbo, the Klamath have reacted in diverse ways, many of them characteristically individual and indirect. Some have evaded the situation by moving from under reservation

*648 surveillance; they have then had to make their peace in another
*657 community. In other instances, measures—for example, early
177 sawmills, drought cattle, loan funds—designed by the administration
to be instrumental in helping the Indians to attain distant
goals of betterment, were diverted by tribal recipients to provide
short-range benefits. Such action, present even in early times,
became more pronounced as disillusionment set in; and organized
forms of opposition were also added. In a formal character, there
[619] was an insistence upon the prerogatives that marked tribal
identity. Hence the highly emotional attachment to treaty rights,
in however altered form hunting and fishing may be exploited;
to the tribal government, however criticized its incumbents; and
to the self-preserving myth of the past.

*648 There is, however, another side to the Klamath reaction which
*657 is to be seen in the anomic aspects of the life of Intermediate and
177 Inframodal segments of those dwelling in Chiloquin—although
182 this behavior was not limited to that city. Within Chiloquin,
184 those persons manifest many of the traits that Leighton terms
156 disintegrative: a high frequency of broken homes, of hostility,
crime, and delinquency; weak development of associations, recreation,
communication, and leadership.[8] For the community as
a whole, their effect is accurately characterized by his term. At
the same time, their behavior had acquired such substantial
predictability that the city fathers had come to rely upon it in
the form of revenues from the municipal tavern and fines and
trusty labor, for a considerable portion of the municipal budget.
Under these circumstances, one might fairly say that a stabilized
cultural pluralism existed.

*648 A situation like this cannot fail to leave psychological marks,
*657 and indeed Clifton,[9] observing that "there is very little evidence
177 to suggest, unequivocally, that guarded restraint was a dominant
156 component of aboriginal character structure," considers that
attribute to be largely a reaction to the complex unpredictabilities
of the reservation. Indeed, the Klamath reaction has striking
[171] parallels in the "hostile dependence" of the Sioux[10] and the
"valuation group alienation" of the Aleut;[11] and it bears close
resemblance to the situation described for the Ojibway by
James,[12] who sees the personality traits he analyzes to have their
source in the immediate context of white-Ojibway relations.

Those same traits others[13] had held to be conservatively Ojibway; 648*
and marking their counterparts among Menominee and other 657*
peoples the Spindlers[14] propose to see in them a common survival 177
of psychological characteristics shared widely by American Indians. 156
Underhill,[15] by contrast, accounts for the commonalty by 171
reference, like James, to experience in a shared situation, the
reservation.

These differences of interpretation are by no means irreconcilable.
The writer would agree with James[16] that "the genesis of [114]
the modern Indian self lies in the social processes that constitute
reservation life," but he would include among those processes
such relationships as may have survived in the peculiar cultural
environment furnished by the reservation.[17] Favored in persistence 648*
at Klamath have been generalized characteristics, rather 657*
than complex and specific traits. They have survived in part 156
because they are inculcated during childhood;[18] and the family, 177
within which child-rearing takes place, is one of the structures 178
that has retained distinctive qualities. They are sustained in the [571]
quality of primary relationships and are rooted in the individual,
often at an unconscious level.[19] As Spencer observes, "The diffuseness of the social structure may be regarded as a survival from the heritage of the past, while individual activity continues to be couched in essentially aboriginal terms."[20] Reservation existence has provided, however, an ever changing context—albeit somewhat sheltered from the rapidly changing environs—in response to which enduring features have undergone modification.

To take the quality of guarded restraint, which Clifton regards 648*
as characteristic of the personality configuration of modern Klamath, 657*
one can indeed trace continuities with the past. In the 156
myths there are present themes of watchful waiting and the use 177
of subterfuge in dealing with strangers and foes, and a wary 178
reserve in conflict with affinals.[21] In traditional relationships, as 571
Spencer has shown, sub-rosa patterns of aggression characterized [538]
"hostility . . . driven underground" by public disapproval.[22] That
covert revenge has persisted is evidenced by historic records of several murders, of such acts as the firing of a haystack in 1897, attributed by the victim in part to the perpetrators' "envy of his prosperity . . .";[23] and to modern incidents of the same nature. Today jealousy is frequently attributed to unspecified others,

*648 *657 156 177 178 571

usually Klamath by inference and to be identified only in part with feuding groups. It may well be that such a projection is an indication in many modern Klamath of an alienation from their own membership group. More central to the issue taken here, however, is the probability that under the tensions of reservation life guarded restraint, once restricted to a few role relationships, has become generalized to a much broader range of contexts, while at the same time it has grown to be a pervasive characteristic of Klamath personality.

*648 *657 156 177 178

The modern situation at Klamath, with its measure of human disengagement, apathy, and generated hostility, may be interpreted by some as justification for the abolition of the reservation there and as an indictment of reservations everywhere. Such conclusions are likely to be far too sweeping. The Klamath situation was a consequence of a reservation become a holding operation, with a program that had ground to a halt. Ironically, termination of the reservation was founded upon the premise that the Klamath had attained a successful level of integration with their white neighbors. It may not be concluded that problems have automatically been solved by the action taken; nor may it be maintained that other, less drastic steps, if taken in time, might not have proved more effective.

*648 *657 171

For many Indian peoples reservations are a highly significant reality, constituting the only familiar homeland, the major continuity with the past, the sole real property, and the principal token of the government's resolution to honor pledges made long ago. At the same time, chosen with an eye to native exploitation or to the needs of the small farm of the nineteenth century, they are often unfitted to support a population by current standards. They thus pose the dilemma embodied in schemes on the one hand for local development and on the other for the relocation of Indian families. Sweeping measures are inappropriate; each reservation merits consideration in its own terms. Yet it would be shortsighted to seek only for material advancement, essential though this is; for, as the Klamath instance shows, unless the program give men hope, they languish even in prosperity.

[P. 267]

Appendix

LETTERS TO DAVE HILL

In 1875, while A. B. Meacham was conducting his lyceum tour of the East with a troupe composed of participants in the recent Modoc War, a number of Klamath remaining on the reservation sent letters to Dave Hill and Tecumseh, two Klamath with the party. Dave Hill was, of course, a principal figure among the Agency-supported leaders and was then at the height of his power. Tecumseh, his friend, was an erstwhile shaman and Agency employee who was to meet death under ambiguous circumstances a year after his return. The letters were dictated to the Agent, Leroy S. Dyar, in whose hand they are penciled, and were meant to be read by Oliver Applegate, who was likewise with the troupe. 539

Despite their varying quality and the limitations imposed by the circumstances under which they were written, these letters, interlarded as they are with Chinook jargon, provide graphic vignettes of some of the concerns of the day and the personalities of leaders, old and new. "Jack" is undoubtedly Link River Jack, and his remarks are designed to counter accusations made during the war that his band was responsible for driving the Modoc off the reservation and that he had later provided them with help against the army. "Frank" is tentatively identified here with Frank Chilks, later an Indian policeman. "Allie," who writes to Tecumseh, is his brother, later known as Allie Tecumseh.

The letters are in two sets, plus a single separate letter. The first set, in the Lindsay Applegate Papers, comprises letters written in succession upon a single piece of paper, bearing the bracketed date [Sept. 1872?]. Undoubtedly it should read 1875. The second set, written in similar fashion, is dated Feb. 4, 1875. The single letter bears the date, March 24, 1875. Both the latter are in the O. C. Applegate Papers. All the items are in the Special Collections, University of Oregon Library.

[Sept. 1872?]
[1875]

CAPTAIN WRITES TO DAVE HILL

539 I want a wagon. I want you to tell this to the Tyee[*] at Washington. I want Oliver to know this. You are going to Washington and are to see the Commissioner and others and this is the reason I send this word to you. (Get him a wagon Dave by all means – Dyar) Allen David, Blow La-Lakes, Chiloquin & Jack have wagons & other things. Now I am chief I also want them. I have become like a Boston[†] man and I want these things. Mr. Dyar tells us that our annuities are getting small but I very much want these things. Perhaps the Hias Tyee[‡] will think this is cultus wa-wa.[§] Some of our children are going to school now. I think perhaps they will look out for us by and by. Perhaps they will be like white men in dress and appearance. This is good.

Yours Captain

---

[*] Chief

[†] American

[‡] Great chief, i.e. the President

[§] Worthless talk

JACK SAYS

I hardly know what to write today. I have been Chief a long time and all the Agents know how I have done. A long time ago, the Govt. wanted to buy my land. I said all right I don't want to be a wild Ind. I used to be wild and cultus,[*] now I want to marsh that wild tum-tum[†] and be decent. I advised Capt. Jack to do that a long time ago. I told him that I used to carry a bow & arrow, knife & hatchet but had thrown them away and advised him to do the same. In Huntington's time he did come to the Agency, but soon got bad and ran off again. Now he is dead and it is uncertain where he has gone to. He all the same as killed himself by his own deeds. He said to us "you Klamath may get the Boston's ictas.[‡] I mean to fight." We got them and they are doing us good. Now I live very well, all the same as hias heavy.[§] Have a close tum tum.[||] I think that I live straight now, and that the Agents think so too. I was ready to help the Whites subdue the Modocs although we were nearly related. I am anxious to do right, and know what is right. I want Mr. Dyar to tell me when I get out of the way, for I am getting old now and I am liable to make mistakes. You can tell these words to the Tyee.[#]

Yours Truly
Jack

---

[*] Worthless

[†] Abandon that wild view

[‡] American's goods

[§] Very weighty, i.e. substantially

[||] A good heart

[#] Chief, here the President

OLD CHILOQUIN SAYS

I am very much pleased that our young men are doing so well. I mean to try and stop all bad actions, fighting, gambling &c &c. I see Daves friends every day and give them good advice. I tell them to remember what Dave told them. I tell them not to get a cry tum-tum[*] about Dave nor a foolish angry tum-tum[†] for this will only make Dave feel bad when he comes home. Perhaps by and by I may have a different story to tell you. Perhaps there may be quarrelling & fighting among our people, but I hope not. Captain has said that he wants a great many things. I don't want to talk that way I am well pleased to see our young men trying to get right. 539

Yours Truly
Chiloquin

[*] Sad heart
[†] Heart

ALLEN DAVID SAYS

I want to let you know about Choler.[*] He paid one small horse & one large one equal to three in all as a fine for getting foolish and stealing a young girl, Dr. Chinchalo's daughter. The girl said that she wanted to get Choler for life, and we fined her also. [684]

Allen David

[*] Appears on the rolls as Chula

FRANK SAYS

You Dave told me when he left that he wanted me to close nanitch[*] all the people. I called the young men together and told them that I wanted them to come all right. Allie also helped me and now all of us young men are agreed on this point. We don't want to throw away what you told us but to get and keep your tum-tum.[†] We don't want to break the laws or to get bad. We want to work and make rails, houses, farms, &c &c. If any of us want to get bad again I will let you know.

Frank [Chilks?]

[*] Take good care of
[†] Literally "heart"; here the meaning is "view."

DAVE'S WIFE SAYS

Our babe was sick a little while ago and an Indian Doctress cured it and I paid one blanket. Now all the children are well. Everything is right now except that Elmer crys a good deal in the night because he wants to see Dave. If you get money I want you to send me some. [756]

Your wife

ALLIE SAYS

539 You Tecumseh sent us a letter stating that you had a skookum tum tum.[*] I am glad to hear this. We are all the same here. Are all living comfortably and have a hias close tum tum.[†] Your wife and children hias close mitlite.[‡] No one troubles them or mistreats them. You must not get a sick tum tum[§] while you are gone. We are all right – and want you to have no fears about us. Your little girl is not entirely well, has not a very good appetite & I asked Mr. Dyar to let her have some store flour.

Yours Allie

[*] Strong heart
[†] Very good heart
[‡] Remain very well
[§] Worry, grieve

BLOW SAYS

Old Hias man's wife is dead, and I had a notion to put Chick Chick and Link River Doctor in the guard house. The old woman said that L. R. Doctor was not guilty. Ortugul became foolish & could not seem to get Boston[*] law, and also, Eli[†] so we broke them of being Sargeants. They could not seem to understand matters properly.

We try to help Mr. Dyar and carry out his instructions but these two men could not throw away their Indian ways. I have had to talk to Yainax Ben because he was not quite straight about some of these matters. He has tried to persuade Mr. Dyar to let certain parties go unpunished that we all thought should be kept in the guard house. Old Chick Chick for one. Ben did not talk straight but told some untruths.

Allen David has told you how our young men are doing. My mind is that this is first-rate. I am very glad about these things could almost cry about it I am so glad. I don't want them to give these things up. I want you to know about these things.

I understand that no provision has ever been made for pay of Head [648] Chief on this Agency. George the old chief who was hung[‡] was promised pay for being chief by those who first made a treaty with him and a paper was sent to Washington to that effect. I know that straight and this is why I tell you this. Lincoln was President at that time. Chief George told us this, and shortly after he was hung when La-Lakes became chief again but said nothing about pay. Now Lincoln and George are both dead and I don't know what has become of the paper. I want you and Oliver & Meacham to talk to the Hias Tyee[§] about this.

You Oliver[||] promised Allen David that you would get a salary for

539
[648]

him. Now you are going to Washington I want you to talk to the Tyee about this. I want Dave Hill & Tecumseh to know what the Tyee says about this. (By the way it would be a great relief to all of us if you can possibly bring this matter before the Comr. in the presence of Dave & Tecumseh as then perhaps Allen David might be convinced that it is useless to talk more about it – Dyar) We have cut our hair as Mr. Meacham wished us to do and try to be like white men. I live up to the treaty and am all right. Capt Jack did not and is no more. What Captain said is straight. I think is good that he should have a wagon. He wants one very much. I think if you tell the Hias Tyee about this he will not get frightened as a wagon don't cost very much. I think that we should be helped to these things if possible. I have been chief for a long time. God knows that I am free from the blood of White men and that I want to live right. I help Mr. Dyar and we both are big men. I know about Gen. Grant and I want him to know that I help him in keeping my people straight. I want him to know what I say today. I have not sent him any talk for a long time.

I talk to him as a man – a big man – and I want to consider him as my father and never give him up. I never want anything but the best of feelings between us. I don't want to talk foolishness to him, only about big things. Mr. Dyar keeps a close watch over us and he knows that I talk straight. I wish a mowing machine so that we can cut more hay for our cattle. I fear that some of them will die this winter.

Yours Truly
Blow

---

* American
† Probably Eli Chikaskane
‡ Captain George
§ President
‖ O. C. Applegate

Feb. 4th 1875

Today Mr. Dyar read your letter to us and we are very glad to hear from you. Today we came to the agency to hear your letter read, so that we can tell all the people what you wrote and all are very glad to hear from you to get your first letter, and glad to hear your good talk.

Julia, Chickaskane's wifes little girl (half breed) is dead or lost. She was living with Tom McKezy [McKay?] down on the Klamath above Bogus, and Tom sent a letter to Mr. Dyar stating that she had run off. Tobakelly went down to see about it and Tom told him that she was lost. I do not know the facts about it

539 Since you have been gone we have been doing very well. No one has done anything very bad, only little cultus[*] things

539 75 You, Dave have lived with me at the Agency ever since the Agency was formed. Now everything is straight except the Doctors. They are all the time bad. Link River Dr is making some trouble. He says that the Skookum Dr is giving his poison and making some people sick and the Skookum Dr says that the other Doctors dont tell the truth about him.

One time we made law at the Agency about Skedaddle's[†] child and also about Charly Preston's old woman. Two Modoc Doctors, old Chick Chick and Susie accused Link River Dr. of killing Skedaddle's child which he owned up to and now they say that he is making the old woman at Chas. Prestons sick and all the people tell Link River Dr that he must cure her

We all told him that he killed Skedaddle's child and now he wants to kill the old woman; that we don't want him to do that way any more; that we have made him quit a great many times before and that if he dont stop now and make the old woman well we will put him in the guard house, and Mr Dyar will help us. Chick Chick said that the old woman was partly sick from his poison but he would take it away—which he did—and promise to give no more. Chick Chick said that he had given her crow poison, but now took it away. After lawing about these things we told the Link River Dr. that he must cure the old woman, so he came and after working on her for, maybe two hours she got better, but the Dr became very sick and said that he could not make her all right, that some times when he gave poison he could cure it without getting sick himself but he could not in her case.

Old Tutopkacks was sick and Mr Dyar told me to tell Skookum Dr. to cure him. I did so and he told me that he had no medicine then. I told him not to talk that way, and he then said, well you bring the old man to my house. So Blow went and took the old man over in his sleigh and he staid there one night. In the morning I told Skookum Dr that he used to say that Tutopkacks was his brother. Now he seemed to be mad at him. I also told Tutopcocks that he had told no chiefs that the Skookum Dr was making him sick, and now I wanted them both, as he was now at the Drs. house, to tell all about what was the matter. Tutopcocks then said that every night he was afraid of the Skookum Dr. and that one time when the Dr. came to his house he said to him, Dr.—what is your tumtum?[‡] You are the hias[§] Dr. Now I don't want to die. I want to get well Tutopcocks then said to Skookum Dr, I don't say that you make me sick, I only say that I want to get well. Ortugul's wife then said to the old man, what do you talk that way for. You first told the chiefs that the Skookum Dr made you

sick now you all the same as lie Maybe you are afraid of the Dr. Then 539
I (Allen David) said to the old man, why do you talk that way. You 75
told us that the Dr. was making you sick, and now you tell him another way. Maybe you want to make the Dr think that I want to mammook skookum law[‖] on him and that I have been lying.

. Then the old man got mad and started out as we supposed for only a moment, but as he didn't come back immediately some one went out to look for him and found that he had started for home on foot and had got a long way off, leaving his wife and all the congregation [?] in waiting. The old man was skookum[#] sick but he got so mad that he walked all the way from the Dr's house to his own away up near Ortugul's. Proably he though that we were not any longer his friends and he didn't care if he died in the snow on his way back.

Allen David

The Skookum Dr. says that he gave the old man medicine six times and did the best he could to make him well, but finally got tired. That he didn't want the old man to die. I dont want to kill the old man my brother. Perhaps Dave will think that I want to kill my brother, but I don't want him to think that way. The Modoc Drs. at Yainax say that I made the old man sick but they lie. I think they are mad at me because Dave Hill–my tillicom[**]–fought their friends and got pay for it from the soldiers and they think that they will get me into trouble and get Mr. Dyar to punish me. I have tried a long time to cure the old man until I am hias[††] tired but can't cure him. He is skookum sick. Sometimes the Boston[‡‡] Drs do the best they can but their patients get worse and become very sick, and it is the same way with me and the old man. At the time Solomon was sick the Inds. came near making me wild until Mr Dyar came down and gave me a good heart. He has also given me blankets axes and cow, and I have thrown away that old cultus tumtum[§§]

Skookum Dr.

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[*] Worthless

[†] Henry Jackson

[‡] Heart, here intention

[§] Big

[‖] Make strong law, prosecute

[#] "Powerful," very

[**] Fellow, relative, band member

[††] Here, very

[‡‡] American

[§§] Worthless view

MORE FROM ALLEN DAVID

After we had had our talk at the Agency I sent word for all the 539
people to come to my house to talk about these things, and see who would agree to listen to what Dave, Tecumseh and I had said, and who would get our hearts and who would not. I told them to come on Sunday the Lord's day and we would all the same as mammook

539 church,* we would make good hearts and the Lord would mammook close nanich† us on his day. So some Yainax Inds.—Brown Mosenkosket and some Modocs, some Lake Inds. some Chiloquin's people and some of all the Inds. came. Chikaskane first spoke and said that at first he had a bad heart. That the chiefs first listened to the Agents and got their hearts; that they had put him in the guard house which was right, and Mr Dyar was also right for he was in the wrong and all the same as said to the Chiefs & Mr. Dyar, 'here, you mammook law‡ on me'. Their hearts were all right while I was wrong and deserved what I got. Now I throw away all that old bad heart.

I—Allen David—first got a close tumtum§ and throwd away all cultus‖ things and then Dave came to the same conclusion. He said yes, I'll not whip my wife any more, nor gamble, nor shoot myself but will live like a white man. Now all the following persons have come to a skookum tumtum# to do the same, and are going to help me, viz Chek-askane—Brown Mosenkosket—Frank—George (Tecumseh's tilacom)** Bob (Williams R.) Allie—Chas. Brown—Bob (Allen David's) Audly—Yatchoos—Ben (Long Johns Bro) Dawish—Chilowis (Jacks tilacom) Say May—Tobakelly—Oder—Captain's Bob—Bill (Bobs Bro.) Jim Heart.

Jim Heart said now I will quit lying, gambling and every such bad thing. My father is a Doctor but I say all right suppose you mammook law on the Doctors. They don't want to mammook hias copa nisika,†† but the chiefs want to do that—they want to raise us up. I have been afraid of the Doctors and I have paid them nearly all that I had

Tobakelly said—'At first I didn't want to listen to these things, didn't want to get a close tumtum. Didn't want to go to the law house, but wanted to elip‡‡ the chiefs. Now I throw that away. All the young men want to get Dave's tumtum and I say yes. Mr Dyar has stopped gambling and I say all right. I want to help the chiefs and Dave.

Allie said, Now Dave and My Brother Tecumseh has gone all the same as chaco halo.§§ They always listened to Mr Dyar and always conducted themselves properly, but I didn't always get their tumtum. If I had I should not have been punished by the chiefs. Now I think I will all the same as take their place and help Mr Dyar and the chiefs. I have a good wagon and ride in Tecumseh's sleigh. I look after Tecumseh's horses and other property. I don't want to be lawed any more, and think if I always behave myself, shall not be as I was a short time ago when I paid a horse when Blows wife lied about me. I didn't do what she said I did but I thought best to pay the horse and stop the talk, but if I never give occasion for such things, they will probably never come.

[75] Now Allie sends this to Tecumseh. At the time you started I was

539
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sick and I got rapidly worse I called Susie and Alex Wilson and they both said I should die. Then I went to Chiloquins to see Modoc Doctors and they told me that I was very sick. I got frightened and sent for Jennie. The Doctors told me that she made me sick. She came and helped my throat but not my chest. I have paid the Doctors a good many things. Paid Jennie a Blanket. Finally thought—I was going to die; thought that I would send word to Tecumseh not to feel bad about it. I have made up my mind that if he dies before he gets back I will bear it the best I can, and I thot I wanted him do [sic] do the same.

Night before last Jennie told me now I kilipie‖‖ all my poison and you will get sick no more. Now I cure you. If I am not sick tonight I shall think that she has cured me.

Allie

* Hold church
† Take good care of
‡ Make law, here prosecute
§ Good heart
‖ Worthless
¶ Firm intention
** Relative or fellow band-member
†† Make us great
‡‡ Get the better of
§§ Vanish
‖‖ Reverse

WILLIAMS RIVER BOB SAYS,

539

Now Mr Dyar writes this letter for us and I think you will see it. We are getting allong [sic] first rate. I am trying to help Mr Dyar and Allen David and remember what Dave & Tecumseh told us. I close nanich Tecumseh's boys. We all the same as live in a big corrall [sic] but don't want to jump over the fence. You must not think that we will get cultus while you are gone, on the contrary we are trying to keep your tum tum, and are getting along first rate.

Bob

ALLEN DAVID SAYS

Bliwas Lackie* you first made me chief and told me that you would try and get a salary paid to me. You wrote to the Tyee about it several times and then told me that he said he could not pay me. I then got Mr Dyar to try with the same result. Then I said I would quit. Now Mr. Dyar wants me to continue as Sub Chief, and I have concluded to do so. Now I want you to see what can be done about getting pay for me while you are in Washington. I was not here when you left or I would have spoken to you about it.

NOW TO DAVE AND TECUMSEH AGAIN

539 [829] Ninteen [sic] of the young men have determined to renounce their old Indian ways and do as you have advised them to do, and as I have wanted them to do, and as fast as others come to the same determination I will let you know. Now, whatever you learn about other Indians that you may see I want to you to let me know about it, whether [sic] it be anything good or bad, and you can tell others how we are getting along here. You can tell all the Inds., you see that the above no of Klamath Inds. have determined to throw away all bad things and live as white men should. If the Tyee at Washington tells you or Oliver what he know about us or any other Inds that he don't like—that he thinks is cultus—I want you to write me about it I want to know all about these things.

We are getting flour from the Mill, also Beef this winter and we [434] are very well satisfied about it. We have the Sawmill to help us get some money, and we are having help from the Flour Mill and some beef; and things are getting about straight. Now I feel strong to punish those that do wrong, because there are so many young men now to help Mr. Dyar Blow and myself. Now all we lack is some good sleighs that we may ride around like white men in winter, like we do in our wagons in summer. Now we are going to plow make rails &c this spring, and by and by I will let you know how we are getting along. A[l]so by and by I will let you know about the hay on the flat above the Agency. I understand that you are to tell the Hias Tyee how we used to live here and how we are doing now. After you have done this I want you to let me know all about it, Just what he thinks. Don't be afraid to tell us all his heart, for I'll not get afraid, nor run away. You know that bad men are trying to get our lands and are lying to the President. Now if I were there I would talk the whole truth to him and would not chaco tenas tumtum† at whatever he might say or do. I want you to do the same. Don't be afraid of him, but tell him all about these things. Tell him that we all, both Whites and Inds. have *one* Father in Heaven that we are made alike, we all have hands, feet and bodies alike, and we all have minds; In fact are brothers; and nowhere do I learn that any of us have any right to take wrongfully or by force from another any of the lands which our common Father has made for *all* his children.

I told Mr. Meacham when he was Supt. that if the Snakes or Modocs or any other Inds. were to become bad and fight the whites I would not help them. That I wanted to stay at home and keep everything straight on the reservation. We have hias heavy ictas‡ here now, and I want to close nanich§ these. When Capt. Jack commenced to fight I told all my people not to go there to help Jack. I was also opposed to their going to help kill Jack's people, but thought it best for my p[e]ople to stay at home and keep quiet; but the soldiers wanted Dave and some more to go and I gave my consent. Mr. Meacham told me the truth at first when he told me that after awhile I should see a Saw Mill—Flour Mill—Cattle, Wagons Harness &c. Now I see them, and I am very well pleased. Mr. Meacham told me that suppose we had a good Agent he would give us these things. Now Mr. Dyar has carried out his promise, and we have them.

The most of us are determined to use the advantages we have. Mr Dyar gave us a good many axes and we are making rails. This season we mean to build fences and improve our places on Williamsons River. We intend to haul a great deal of lumber from the Mill down there also for that purpose.

We are intending to put up a building that will do for a church and courthouse if possible this year. I am not like the Snakes who get mad and kill each other, but am very anxious to bring my people up to a condition where there will be no such bad actions.

Yours Truly A. David

* I.e. O. C. Applegate
† Become discouraged
‡ Very substantial goods
§ Take good care of

NOW ALLIE SAYS

Dave, Tecumseh and Oliver you sent me word to make the matter of the Buckskin Shirt straight by paying a horse, and then let you know by letter I have paid her a horse as you suggested Tecumseh knows the horse. It is the roan mare that George has had so long.

Yours Affately
Allie

DEAR OLIVER

I intended when I commenced this to copy it in ink and smooth it off a little as I have written it down very hastily as they have dictated, but it has run out to such a leangth [sic] that the task seems too great, and I'll sent it just as it is.

You will wonder at what is said about Ind. Doctors but I am taking a new turn on them which I have not time to explain now. Don't know how it will succeed.

Ivan has just returned home with his family from a visit to the Agency & Fort.

Yours Truly
L. S. Dyar

March 24, 1875

539 TECUMSEH

DEAR BROTHER

I write to let you know that George's little babe is dead and will be buried today. George says that he don't want you to get a sick tumtum about it. That he thinks it is all right. That he is going to do as White men do—that is—bury it decently, with one blanket—some white sal*—and a nice white shirt only, in the coffin. He wants you to be contented and happy, as he, and all of his people are.

[764] [177]

Allie

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* Cloth

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P.279]

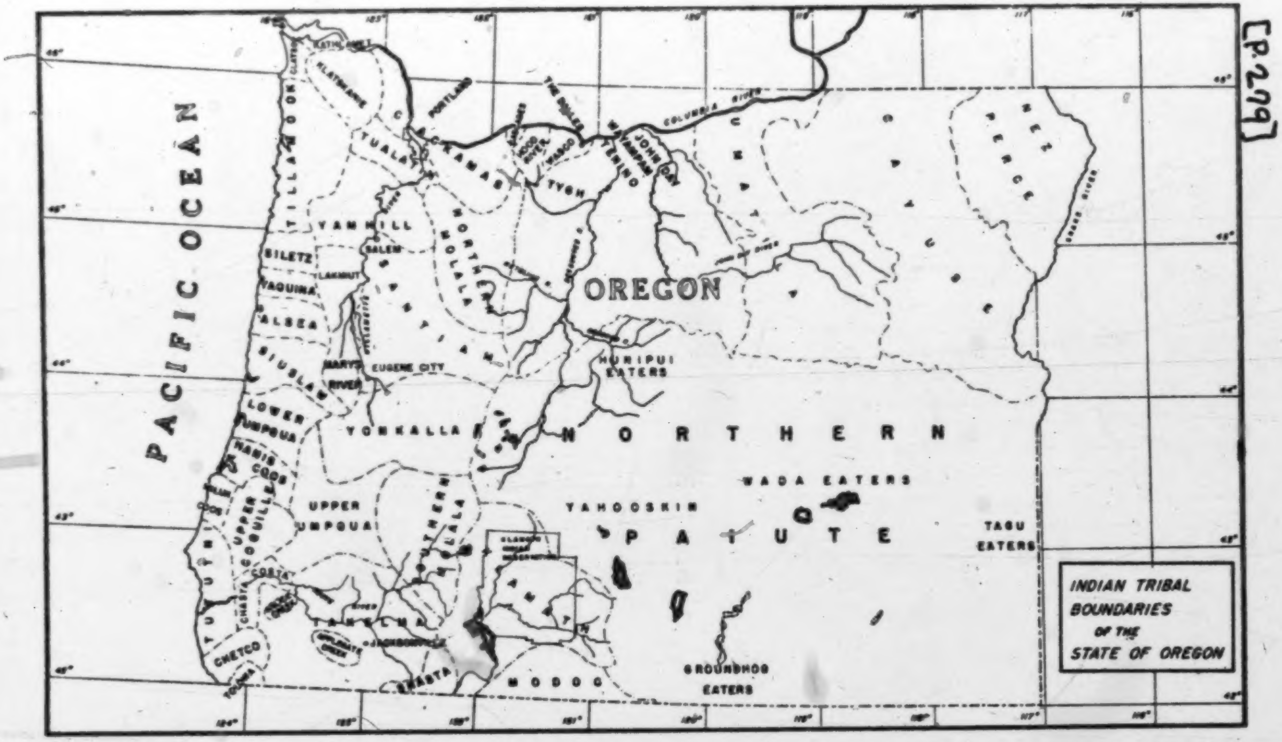

PACIFIC OCEAN
OREGON
COLUMBIA RIVER
CLATSOP
KATHLAMET
KLATSKANIE
TILLAMOOK
PORTLAND
TUALATIN
CLACKAMAS
THE DALLES
HOOD RIVER
WASCO
TYGH
TENINO
WAYAMPAM
JOHN DAY
UMATILLA
CAYUSE
NEZ PERCE
YAMHILL
NORTHERN MOLALA
SALEM
SILETZ
LAKMIUT
YAQUINA
ALSEA
SANTIAM
SIUSLAW
MARYS RIVER
EUGENE CITY
HUNIPUI EATERS
LOWER UMPQUA
YONKALLA
NORTHERN
HANIS
COOS
UPPER COQUILLE
UPPER UMPQUA
SOUTHERN MOLALA
WADA EATERS
YAHOOSKIN
PAIUTE
TAGU EATERS
TUTUTNI
CHASTA COSTA
TAKELMA
KLAMATH
CHETCO
TOLOWA
SHASTA
MODOC
GROUNDHOG EATERS
INDIAN TRIBAL BOUNDARIES OF THE STATE OF OREGON

Adapted from "Indian Tribes and Languages of the Old Oregon Country" (Portland, Ore.: Oregon Historical Society, 1958). Data compiled by Claude Schaeffer. (Used by permission of the Oregon Historical Society.)

101
102
131
133
657

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K
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133

[P. 280]

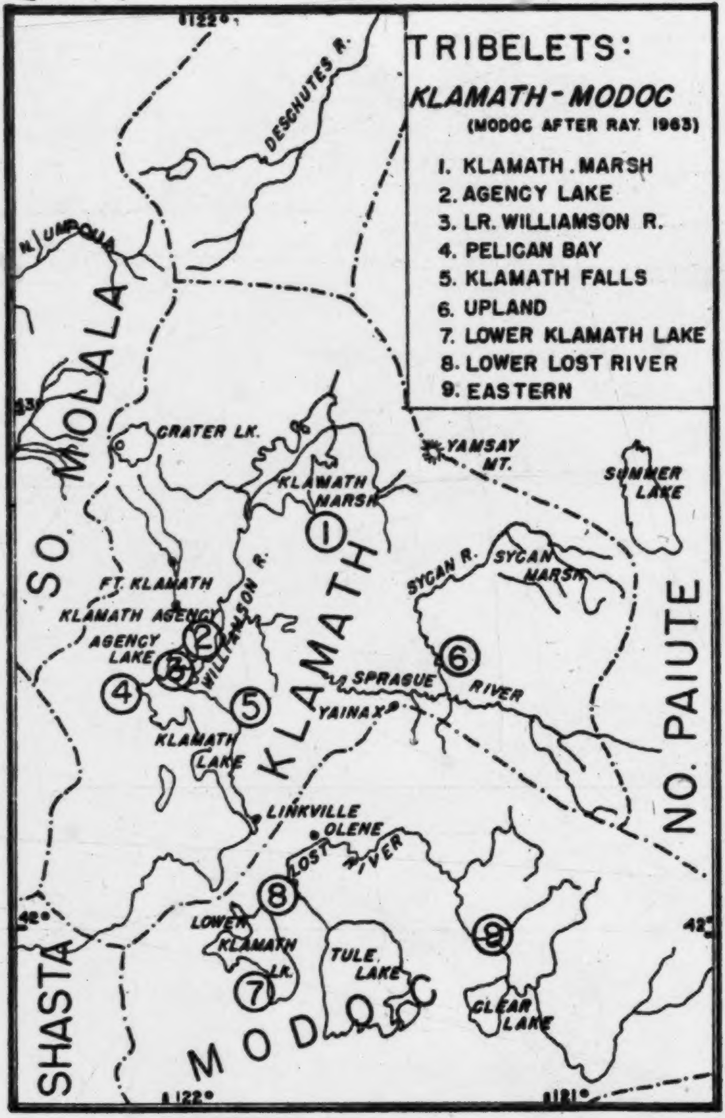
TRIBELETS:
KLAMATH-MODOC
(MODOC AFTER RAY 1963)
1. KLAMATH MARSH
2. AGENCY LAKE
3. LR. WILLIAMSON R.
4. PELICAN BAY
5. KLAMATH FALLS
6. UPLAND
7. LOWER KLAMATH LAKE
8. LOWER LOST RIVER
9. EASTERN
122°
DESCHUTES R.
N. UMPQUA
MOLALA
SO.
CRATER LK.
KLAMATH MARSH
YAMSAY MT.
SUMMER LAKE
SYCAN R.
SYCAN MARSH
FT. KLAMATH
KLAMATH AGENCY
AGENCY LAKE
WILLIAMSON R.
KLAMATH
SPRAGUE RIVER
YAINAX
NO. PAIUTE
KLAMATH LAKE
LINKVILLE
OLENE
LOST RIVER
42°
LOWER KLAMATH LK.
TULE LAKE
CLEAR LAKE
SHASTA
MODOC
122°
121°

The northern corridor should be understood to extend to 44° N. The Modoc area extends in the southwest to the base of Mount Shasta, not shown on the map. Based for the Klamath on Spier, 1930, and for the Modoc on Ray, 1963.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

[p. 281]

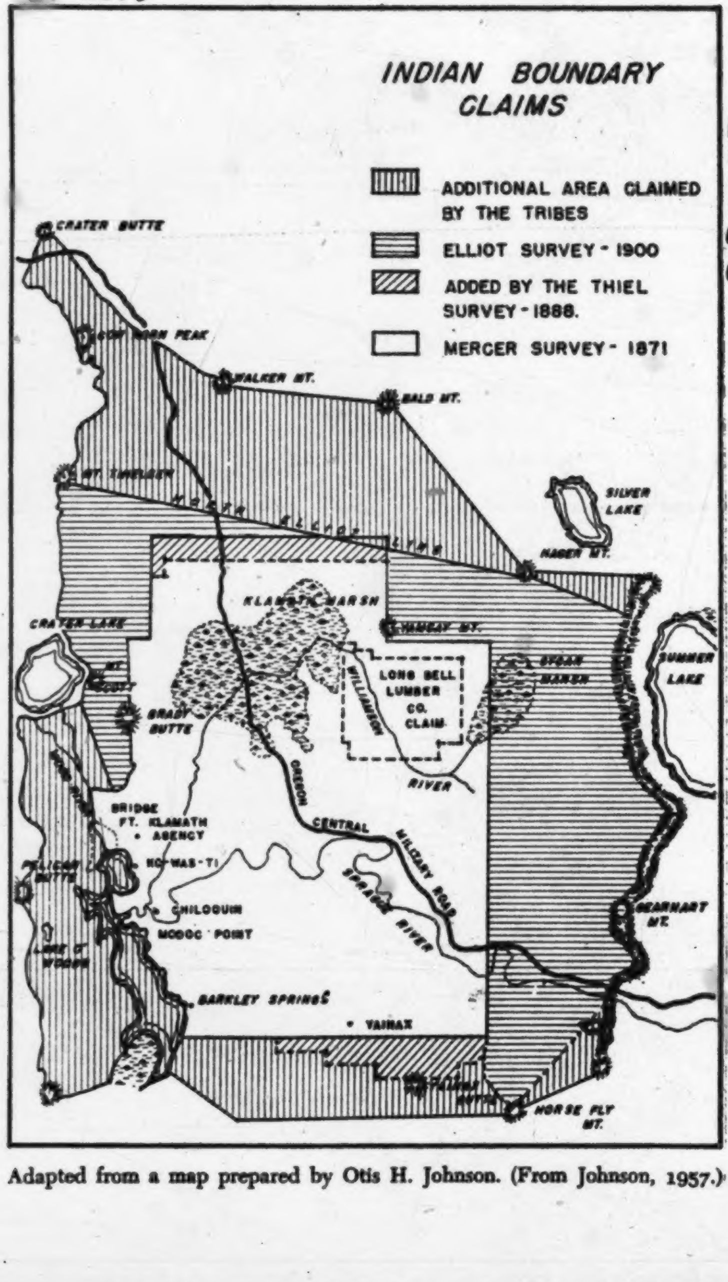
INDIAN BOUNDARY CLAIMS
▥ ADDITIONAL AREA CLAIMED BY THE TRIBES
▤ ELLIOT SURVEY - 1900
▨ ADDED BY THE THIEL SURVEY - 1888.
☐ MERCER SURVEY - 1871
CRATER BUTTE
COW HORN PEAK
WALKER MT.
BALD MT.
MT. THIELSEN
NORTH ELLIOT LINE
SILVER LAKE
HAGER MT.
KLAMATH MARSH
YAMSAY MT.
CRATER LAKE
MT. SCOTT
BRADY BUTTE
SYCAN MARSH
SUMMER LAKE
LONG BELL LUMBER CO. CLAIM
WILLIAMSON RIVER
OREGON CENTRAL MILITARY ROAD
BRIDGE
FT. KLAMATH
AGENCY
KO-WAS-TI
PELICAN BUTTE
CHILOQUIN
MODOC POINT
LAKE O' WOODS
SPRAGUE RIVER
GEARHART MT.
BARKLEY SPRINGS
YAINAX
HORSE FLY MT.

102
103
131
133
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Adapted from a map prepared by Otis H. Johnson. (From Johnson, 1957.)

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P.282]

102
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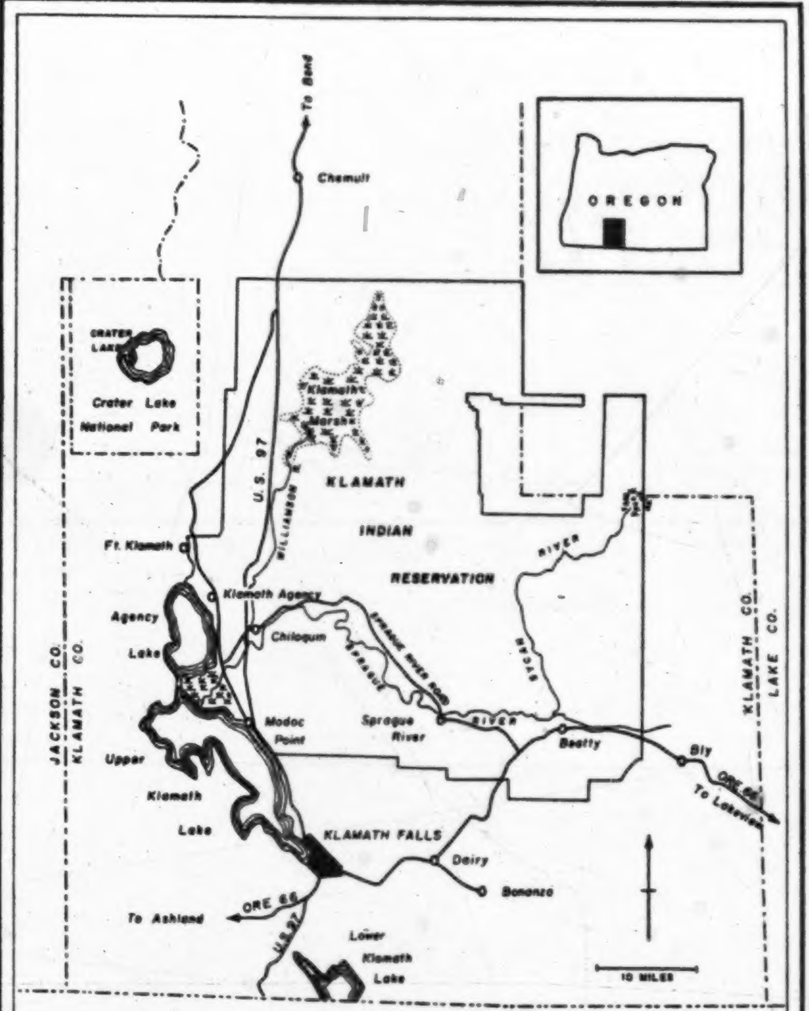
To Bend
Chemult
OREGON
CRATER LAKE
Crater Lake
National Park
Klamath
Marsh
U.S. 97
WILLIAMSON R.
KLAMATH
INDIAN
RESERVATION
Ft. Klamath
Klamath Agency
Agency
Lake
Chiloquin
SPRAGUE RIVER ROAD
SPRAGUE
RIVER
SYCAN
RIVER
JACKSON CO.
KLAMATH CO.
KLAMATH CO.
LAKE CO.
Modoc
Point
Sprague
River
Beatty
Bly
ORE 66
To Lakeview
Upper
Klamath
Lake
KLAMATH FALLS
Dairy
Bonanza
ORE 66
To Ashland
U.S. 97
Lower
Klamath
Lake
10 MILES

KLAMATH INDIAN RESERVATION
AND
KLAMATH COUNTY, OREGON

Notes

[P.283]

ONE. THE ABORIGINAL KLAMATH-MODOC

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1. "Nolis Gaeni" (The Afterworld), narrated in Klamath by Lula Lang. Stern (1962), p. 112, original footnotes omitted.

2. There is now mounting evidence, even from the Northwest itself, suggesting that man may have been in western America for perhaps three times as great a period.

3. Cressman (1956), pp. 470, 463 ff. This work is the principal source for the archeological summary. It may be remarked that Clark (1953), pp. 53-55, records a Klamath legend of what purports to be this eruption.

4. The cultural position of the Klamath-Modoc has been variously assessed. Kroeber (1925), pp. 334-35, initially saw their position as essentially Californian; later (1939), p. 51, he removed the Northeastern Californian segment, including those tribes and the Achomawi-Atsugewi, to the Great Basin. Spier (1930), p. 233, saw Klamath material culture of Plateau type, with strong leanings toward northeastern California, their social system as of Northwest Coast, and their religious institutions of Northern California-Western Oregon, form. In his view, the Modoc inclined somewhat more toward California. Driver and Massey (1957), Map 2, place both peoples in the Plateau.

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Ray alone has seen the differences between the two peoples as so great as to justify passing the California-Plateau boundary between them. Thus (1939), p. 148, he treats the Klamath as the southernmost of the tribes of the American Plateau, although one that exhibits variations stemming from California and the Basin; and again (1963), pp. v, xii, while conceding that the Modoc are highly divergent from the tribes of California, asserts that the Modoc "shared fewer culturally diagnostic traits with the Klamath than they did with the Achomawi." The latter statement seems at odds with the culture element survey of Wheeler-Voegelin (1942), p. 250, and remains to be sustained. Nonetheless, Ray has performed a useful service in correcting the view that Modoc culture was merely an offshoot of that of the already specialized Klamath.

000 For the recency of separation of the Modoc, see Gatschet (1890), Pt. 1, pp. 13, 14, n.13, 1.

5. See Sapir, reprinted in Mandelbaum (1951), pp. 169-78.

K M [114] [161] 6. Mooney (1928), p. 18, gives a value for the Klamath of 800 and for the Modoc, 400 persons. Kroeber (1925), p. 320, sets the combined figure at 2,000 and estimates that the Klamath have always numbered more than twice the Modoc population. Spier (1930), p. 5, reaches total figures in agreement with Kroeber. Kroeber (1939), pp. 136-38, reverts to Mooney's values in estimating tribal densities.

7. For the latter, chiefly Barrett (1910), Coville (1897, 1904), Curtin (1912), Curtis (1924), Dorsey (1901), Gatschet (1890), Kroeber (1925), Powers (1877), Ray (1963), and Spier (1930), the last two being the most important sources, respectively, for Modoc and Klamath.

8. Anastasio (1955). The changing societal constellations each directed toward a common task also resemble the "structural poses" described by Gearing (1962), for the eighteenth-century Cherokee, with the difference that the social groups entering into the constellations among the Klamath and Modoc are, by comparison, far more diffuse and less well defined.

9. Spier (1930), p. 13, site 6.

10. See Spier (1930), p. 15, site 23. The settlement size follows Spier.

11. As the Klamath pungently express it, "They even divide up a flea." Barker (1963), pp. 162-63.

K [648] [625] 12. An Agent once requested waiver of the stipulation that Indian police must stand five feet eight inches in height, since few Klamath men could qualify.

13. Dorsey (1901), p. 21.

14. Quoted in Pearsall (1950), pp. 348 ff. For details of wokas preparation, see Coville (1904).

15. Spencer (1956), pp. 77 ff. From time to time, I heard much the same speech directed by this woman to the boy, aged twelve. As Spencer remarks, at no time did his immediate actions give occasion for her harangue. She was, however, much concerned over some of his associates.

K M [594] 16. The term "natal family" is employed as a more graceful alternative to the conventional "family of orientation," to denote the nuclear unit into which the individual is born and within which he is reared. For similar reasons, I have preferred the term "marital family" to denote the "family of procreation," a similar entity seen from the vantage of the married partners who stand at its head. See Murdock (1949), p. 13, for a discussion of the original terms.

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[533]

17. Their chief, Monchnkasgitk, was characterized as a Snake-Klamath interbreed. Wheeler-Voegelin (1955), p. 105.

18. Spier (1930), p. 28; Curtis (1924), p. 163. A traditional satirical song, of the type sung during the girl's puberty dance, pictures the bobbing of the Williamson River canoes, heavy with their dead as an aftermath of this conflict, and smeared with pitch in mourning. I was seriously cautioned not to repeat it in the presence of members of that tribelet, who would still be angered to hear it.

19. The analysis of Klamath myth upon which the preceding statements are based is to be found in Stern (1963).

20. Spencer (1956), pp. 84 ff. details one instance of such destruction between cousins, but they came from different hamlets. Modern instances for which sufficient facts have been reported have lain between nonkin.

21. Cf. Spier (1930), p. 28.

22. Stern (1956), pp. 272 ff.

TWO. THE FRONTIER CONDITION

1. The following section draws upon Stern (1956), in which the presentation is somewhat more detailed.

2. Ray and others (1938), pp. 384-415.

3. Elliot (1910), pp. 210-11; Stern (1956), p. 272.

4. Hale in *U.S. Exploring Expedition, etc.* (1846), VI, 218; Jacobs (1958), p. 204, segments 26, 27.

5. Spier (1930), p. 7.

6. Clark (1927), I, pp. 56-57.

7. Spier (1930), p. 43.

8. Stern (1956), p. 271 ff.

9. Spier (1930), p. 29. For Modoc members, see Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, p. 16.

10. Spier (1930), pp. 35, 41; Spencer (1952a).

11. Stern (1956), p. 243, n.42.

12. Chiloquin, Hill, David: Stern (1956), pp. 242 ff.; Lileks: Spier (1930), p. 44.

13. Victor (1870), pp. 347-49; see also Victor (1894), pp. 73-74.

14. Early whites: Spier (1930), pp. 7-8; Zakoji (1953), pp. 32-33; Stern (1956), p. 232. Piupiumaksmaks: Bancroft (1888), I, pp. 285-87. Frémont (1845), p. 205. For identity of Frémont's assailants, see Stern (1956), p. 235, n.20. One elder recalls a schoolmate nicknamed "Beard" from a large scar that disfigured her face, received in Frémont's reprisal.

15. Stern (1956), pp. 238-39.

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16. Stern (1956), p. 233. A. B. Meacham was then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon.

17. Lileks: Stern (1956), pp. 244-45; Hill: Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, pp. 8-9, 25-26, n.19, 11. David: Good (1941), p. 52. Preston: Obituary notice by O. C. Applegate, quoted in Stern (1956), p. 246 and n.52. Another statement may be found in O. C. Applegate to H. G. Wilson, Supt. & S. D. Agent (July 22, 1909), O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

18. Spier (1930), p. 27.

19. Bancroft (1888), II, p. 477, n.25.

20. Unless otherwise specified, remarks on the Modoc in this section follow Nash (1937) and Ray (1963).

21. Winema (Toby Riddle) in Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, pp. 13-14. But see also Murray (1959), pp. 21-28, for a careful assessment of this event.

22. Stepson of John McLaughlin and father of William and Donald McKay.

23. Stern (1956), p. 251. The Agency file, Letters to Commissioner (Aug. 17, 1908–March 23, 1909), contains an affidavit of Robert C. Wood (March 28, 1900), relative to the Indian, Kit Carson, who, Wood recalls, was picked up as a baby in the months of October–November, 1855 or 1856, when Wood was a member of "Colonel J. D. Crosby's command of California State Militia," operating against the Modoc in California and Oregon.

24. Good (1941), p. 205; Zakoji (1953), pp. 41, 44–45; Loosley (1936), p. 6. For Nus, see Good (1941), p. 47, but cf. p. 25. Others claim George Nurse as the earliest permanent settler, in 1863.

25. Quoted in Bancroft (1888), I, pp. 131-32, n.23.

26. Coan (1922), p. 2.

27. Reprinted from the *Oregon Sentinel*, by the Red Bluff, California, *Semiweekly Independent* (May 20, 1862). From files of the late C. Hart Merriam, Smithsonian Institution, now in the Robert Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

28. Bancroft (1888), II, pp. 44, 61, n.43.

29. Joel Palmer, *Pocket Diary for 1854*, quoted in Stern (1956), p. 248. See also Spaid (1950). For the council itself: *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, U.S. 33d Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1854-55), Vol. 1, Pt. 1, 470-71; Blow: Untitled document in the hand of Ivan D. Applegate. O. C. Applegate *Papers*, Box 6, Indian Miscellany.

30. *Report . . .*, U.S. 33d Cong., 471-72.

31. *Report of Explorations and Surveys, etc.* (1857), VI, esp. pp. 67-73.

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32. Spaid (1950), pp. 174, 193-94, 194, n.3.

33. *Contra*: Spier (1930), p. 8, n.25, and Stern (1956), p. 250. Lula Lang, the source for my earlier statement and, she claims, for Spier's as well, in the interval had requestioned her informant, Lotches, a member of the party and now dead. According to him, the Klamath made their way home taking turns walking and riding their few ponies. No wagons, supplies, or military escort were furnished them.

34. Bancroft (1888), II, p. 375; Clark (1927), I, p. 552; Spaid (1950), p. 192, n.4.

35. *Report* . . . , U.S. 35th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 2 (1857-58), Vol. 2, 299.

36. Bancroft (1888), II, pp. 437-38, 476, 477, n.25; Good (1941), p. 44.

37. *Report* . . . , U.S. 38th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1863-64), Vol. 3, 174-78. See Stern (1956), p. 253, n.76, for additional data.

38. The statement of Elijah Steele (1852) and that of Rosborough are from letters to Col. C. S. Drew dated, respectively, Nov. 15, 1857, and Nov. 23, 1857. They were in answer to requests for information on the part of Drew and are part of a manuscript entitled, "Statement of Inhabitants of Southern Oregon and Northern California in regard to the character and conduct of the Modoc Indians." The manuscript, in the Bancroft Library, bears the designation P-A 57.

39. Letter of E. Steele to A. H. Steele, in Riddle (1914), pp. 262-82. Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, pp. lxii, n.19-21, 21-25. The statement by Henry Blow is contained in his letter to Dave Hill, to be found in the Appendix. It places the event in the administration of Lincoln.

Note that the Klamath Lake chief was distinct from another individual, Chief George, Sleketatk, a Klamath-Modoc interbreed who signed the treaty of 1864 as a Modoc. See Stern (1956), p. 257, n.84. [622]

40. Data on the Applegates come from the Lindsay and O. C. Applegate *Papers*. Military post: Lindsay Applegate to Gen. Benjamin Alvord (May 3, 1873). For Huntington's service with Applegate, see "Muster roll of Captain Lindsay Applegate's detatchment [sic] of Oregon volunteers . . . from the 22nd, August, 1853 . . ." O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

41. See Riddle (1914) for sketches of Rosborough and Steele; Nash (1937), pp. 389 ff., 397 ff., though much of this dates to the time of the Modoc War; and letters to be cited below.

42. Steele's opinion is quoted in a letter from Amos E. Rogers to J. W. Perit Huntington (Aug. 19, 1863). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

43. J. W. P. Huntington in *Report* . . . , U.S. 38th Cong., 1st sess.,

000 H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1863–64), Vol. 3, 171; Wm. H. Rector to Lindsay Applegate (Aug. 17, 1861), E. L. Applegate to Family (Aug. 24, 1861), E. L. Applegate to I. D. Applegate (Sept. 7, 1861). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

45. *Report* . . . , U.S. 38th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1863-64), Vol. 3, pp. 174-78. See Stern (1956), p. 253, n.76, for additional data.

46. Letter, Elijah Steele to A. H. Steele, in Riddle (1914), pp. 262-82.

47. Amos E. Rogers to "Friend Huntington" (Dec. 9, 1863), O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

48. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington (March 1, 1864), O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

49. *Report* . . . , U.S. 38th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1864–65), Vol. 5, 228 ff., 257–59.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 252-54, 264-67.

51. For his accession, see F. W. Hodge's (1908) article "Schonchin." Quotation: Meacham (1875), p. 297.

52. Election: Nash (1937), p. 386; treaty, *ibid.*, pp. 385 ff. and n.51 *supra.*

53. One of those included in the Klamath delegation, Poo-sak-sult (Mbusaksaltk), is said to have been a Modoc married to a Klamath Marsh woman. It is worth noting also that Henry Blow, a Klamath Marsh leader, had a Modoc father. Stern (1956), pp. 259, n.89, 273.

54. An able exposition by Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin (1955) holds that the Yahuskin Snakes of the treaty were a pick-up band of Indians from the Surprise-Warner valleys area, with whom Colonel Drew had made contact, and that the group subsequently designated by that name were the Upland Klamath. The latter view accords with that previously advanced by Nash (1937), p. 386. There are, however, grounds for maintaining the view that they comprised a small band of Paiute, drawn chiefly from the Silver-Summer-Abert Lake region, living together with the Upland Klamath.

55. The term Walpapi is a back formation in English from the Klamath *walpapis*, which in turn is a translation of the Paiute *hunipuitöka.* The group of this name is located by Stewart (1939) in the Crooked River Valley, though Wheeler-Voegelin (1955) challenges that location. A third Paiute group, the Watatakin, also drew a Klamath name.

56. Letter of William Kelly (Oct. 14, 1864), quoted in Wheeler-Voegelin (1955), p. 121, n.17.

57. *Report of the Klamath Boundary Commission*, U.S. 50th Cong., 2d sess., S. Exec. Doc. 93 (1896–97), Vol. 3, 17.

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58. Nash (1937), p. 387.

59. Charley Preston served as interpreter on this occasion, and the negotiation proceeded from English through Chinook jargon into Klamath.

60. Boundary Commission, pp. 5-6.

61. *Statutes at Large,* Vol. 16 (1871), p. 708.

62. *Statutes at Large,* Vol. 16 (1871), pp. 707-11.

63. *Message of the President of the United States and Accompanying Documents to the Two Houses of Congress; Reports of the Secretary of Interior and Postmaster General,* U.S. 39th Cong., 1st sess. (1865–66), p. 270.

THREE. THE KLAMATH AGENCY

1. J. W. P. Huntington to Lindsay Applegate (Nov. 18, 1867). Lindsay Applegate *Papers.*

2. O. C. Applegate to F. F. Victor (Feb. 2, 1874). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

3. They were Sub-Indian Agents at Klamath until 1873, Agents thereafter till 1903, when they became Superintendents.

4. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (May 27, 1874).

5. In Wheeler-Voegelin's view (1955-56), recognition of the Yahuskin as Snakes was motivated by a desire to draw upon the special fund.

6. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith (Sept. 19, 1874).

7. L. S. Dyar to Hon. John H. Mitchell (Dec. 2, 1874); L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Jan. 2, 1874).

8. L. M. Nickerson to Col. S. L. Whipple, Commanding Fort Klamath (Jan. 26, 1881).

9. H. Price, Commr., to L. M. Nickerson (July 3, 1882 [telegram]).

10. A. C. Tonner, Acting Commr,. to Joseph Emery (Nov. 10, 1897).

11. E. L. Applegate to Hon. Binger Herman, M. C. (March 29, 1890); Applegate to Hon. Thomas J. Morgan, Commr. (March 25, 1890); D. W. Matthews to Thomas J. Morgan, Commr. (July 18, 1891); D. W. Matthews to Thomas J. Morgan, Commr. (Aug. 19, 1891).

12. See, for example, L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (July 4, 1881; Jan. 17, 1884).

13. Thus D. W. Matthews to Thomas J. Morgan, Commr.: charges of Superintendent of Klamath School against him (July 18, 1891); editorial criticism of the Superintendent (Aug. 19); runaways from the School (Sept. 8, 14, 15); resignation of the Superintendent and his wife (Sept. 28).

14. E. L. Applegate to Binger Herman, M. C. (Aug. 28, 1890).

000 The immediate subject of correspondence was the failure of the Commissioner to confirm an appointment in the Boarding House.

15. *Report* . . . , U.S. 49th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1885–86), Vol. 12, Pt. 5, 632. Klamath and Siletz reservations were placed under the Methodists.

16. M. Petet to D. M. Browning, Commr. (June 17, 1896). Joseph Emery, who returned from his church in Salinas, California, to resume the Agency, may have been in part responsible for initiating the action. See his castigation of Petet on this score in his annual report, U.S. 54th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Doc. 5 (1896–97), Vol. 13, 274.

17. H. G. Wilson to Mrs. Amelia S. Quinton (Aug. 18, 1909); Wilson to Rev. Dunlap (Aug. 19, 1909).

18. L. S. Dyar to T. B. Odeneal, Supt. for Oregon (June 30, 1873).

19. Of the former, Wash Obenchain and Harry Mann; of the latter, George and John Loosley, Daniel Cronemiller, and A. D. Harpold are examples.

20. *Report* . . . , U.S. 48th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. (1884–85), Vol. 12, Pt. 5, 188. Cf. J. Q. Smith, Commr.: *Circular to U.S. Indian Agents "E"* (June 23, 1877), requiring inclusion in monthly reports of such matters as *Modes of Burial and/or Disposition of the Dead and Funeral Ceremonies"* . . . and how far the Indian customs have been modified or superseded by Christian teaching and influences."

FOUR. CLOTHING, NAMES, AND HOUSES

1. Thus government responsibility for support of some mills and several positions at the Agency was limited to twenty years. Compare in this regard the estimate of John C. Calhoun, in discussing the removal program, that thirty years would suffice for the Indians concerned to acquire "civilization" (Hagen [1961], pp. 67 ff.); as well as the value of "hardly . . . less than from thirty to forty years" suggested by the Meriam committee ([1928], p. 51; cf. pp. 89 ff.) for solution of the Indian problem.

2. Good (1941), p. 50.

3. J. N. High to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Jan. 2, 1872).

4. Riddle (1914), p. 257.

5. *Report* . . . , U.S. 45th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1877–78), Vol 8, Pt. 5, 568.

6. *Agency Report*, Roll 26 (Dec. 1, 1870), quoted in Zakoji (1953), p. 60.

7. Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, p. lxv; Curtis (1924), Vol. 13, 178.

8. Good (1941), pp. 47 ff.

9. Compare, however, these names borne by whites of this time and locus: Winter Knight, Pleasant Fountain.

10. Letter, L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Feb. 1, 1875), monthly report for January.

11. At the outset, it was the belief of the Indians that houses were to be provided them. Major W. V. Rinehart, Fort Klamath, to Lindsay Applegate (Sept. 8, 1865), "The Indians are making frequent inquiries to know when you are coming out here and if they are to have houses to live in and flour to eat." Lindsay Applegate *Papers*, Special Collections, University of Oregon Library.

12. *Report* . . . , U.S. 42d Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1871–72), Vol. 3, Pt. 5, 715.

13. *Ibid.*, 3d sess. (1872–73), p. 757.

14. O. C. Applegate to L. S. Dyar (Sept. 30, 1872).

15. *Report* . . . , U.S. 52d Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1891–92), Vol. 15, 373.

16. H. N. in Zakoji (1953), pp. 194 ff.

FIVE. ECONOMY

1. Lindsay Applegate, Annual Report in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, U.S. 39th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1866–67), Vol. 2, 90. Applegate here reports some 16 acres sown and about 1,000 acres put under fence.

2. Good (1941), pp. 47 ff., citing O. C. Applegate.

3. F. B. Sprague, Capt., to L. Applegate (June 19, 1867, Lindsay Applegate *Papers*). Sprague was then stationed at Fort Klamath.

4. Lindsay Applegate in *Report* . . . , U.S. 41st Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1869–70), Vol. 3, Pt. 3, 618 ff.

5. O. C. Knapp, *ibid.*, 3d sess. (1870–71), Vol. 4, Pt. 4, 533.

6. *Annual Report*, U.S. 42d Cong., 3d Sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1872–73), Vol. 3, Pt. 5, 757.

7. John Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (May 31, 1871), report for April and May.

8. L. S. Dyar, *Report* . . . , U.S. 42d Cong., 3d sess., p. 757.

9. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (May 1, 1875), report for April.

10. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Sept. 14, 1875).

11. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith (Oct. 30, 1875), report for October.

12. J. H. Roork in *Report* . . . , U.S. 45th Cong., 2d sess., H. R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1877–78), Vol. 8, Pt. 5, 568.

13. William M. Leeds, Acting Commr., to J. H. Roork (April 15, 1878).

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14. J. Emery in *Report* . . . , U.S. 49th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1886–87), Vol. 8, Pt. 5, 431.

15. J. Emery to J. D. C. Atkins, Commr. (March 1, 1886), report for February.

16. J. Emery to J. D. C. Atkins (April 26, 1886).

17. J. Emery to J. D. C. Atkins (Sept. 10, 1886).

18. J. Emery to J. D. C. Atkins (May 23, 1887). He also instituted an order that the Indians cut and store their hay before going off the reservation to work for outside parties. Emery to Atkins (Aug. 1, 1887).

19. J. Emery in *Report* . . . , U.S. 50th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1887–88), Vol. 11, Pt. 5, 267.

20. J. Emery to A. B. Upshaw, Acting Commr. (July 2, 1888), report for June. In the *Annual Report*, written for a wider audience, Emery dissembled his authoritarian methods under the wording "cheerfully engaged [in agriculture]." U.S. 50th Cong., 2d sess., (188-89), 207.

21. *Report* . . . , U.S. 51st Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1889–90), Vol. 12, Pt. 5, 271, 273. His four-year commission expiring, Emery left to take charge of a church in Salinas, California.

22. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 40th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1867–68), Vol. 3, Pt. 2, 93.

23. L. M. Nickerson in *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 46th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1879–80), Vol. 9, Pt. 5, 231.

24. L. M. Nickerson, *ibid.*, 3d sess. (1880–81), p. 261.

25. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (July 1, 1881), report for June.

26. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (March 1, 1883), report for February.

27. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Aug. 14, 1883; Sept. 6, 1883).

28. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (May 12, 1884).

29. J. Emery, *Report* . . . , U.S. 49th Cong., 2d sess., p. 431.

30. John Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Oct. 31, 1870), report for October.

31. J. N. High to A. B. Meacham (Sept. 15, 1871).

32. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Nov. 15, 1873), report for October.

33. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (April 7, 1875; June 1, 1875).

34. J. Q. Smith, Commr., to L. S. Dyar (March 8, 1877); U.S. *vs.* George Cook, U.S. Supreme Court, No. 161 (October term, 1873).

35. E. M. Marble, Acting Commr., to L. M. Nickerson (Jan. 27, 1881).

36. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (March 15, 1883).

37. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price (Feb. 4, 1884; Sept. 9, 1884).

38. J. Emery to D. M. Browning, Commr. (Dec. 9, 1896).

39. *Report* . . . , U.S. 39th Cong., 2d sess., p. 90.

40. J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Oct. 31, 1870), report for October.

41. L. S. Dyar to J. Q. Smith, Commr. (Feb. 28, 1877), report for February.

42. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Jan. 1, 1881), report for preceding December. Worden had formerly been Superintendent of Farming at the Agency. H. Price, Commr., to Secretary of Interior (June 13, 1883). National Archives Microfilm, Frame 3312.

43. Cordwood: L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (March 1, 1882), report for February; farming: *idem* (Nov. 1, 1882), report for October.

44. J. Emery to J. H. Oberly, Commr. (Nov. 1, 1888), report for October.

45. Good (1941), pp. 48-50.

46. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Nov. 15, 1873), report for October.

47. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith (April 28, 1874).

48. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Oct. 30, 1875), report for October.

49. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith (Dec. 31, 1875), report for December.

50. Priest (1942), p. 139.

51. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Oct. 1, 1881), report for September.

52. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Nov. 1, 1882), report for October.

53. J. Emery to T. J. Morgan, Commr. (Sept. 2, 1889), report for August.

54. L. M. Nickerson in *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 48th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1884–85), Vol. 12, Pt. 5, 188.

55. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Nov. 15, 1873), report for October.

56. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price (Dec. 16, 1882).

57. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Nov. 15, 1873), report for October.

58. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Oct. 24, 1882).

59. J. Emery to J. H. Oberly, Commr. (March 1, 1889), report for February.

000 60. D. W. Matthews to T. J. Morgan, Commr. (Feb. 3, 1891), report for January.

61. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (March 1, 1875), report for February; O. C. Applegate to L. S. Dyar (Oct. 1, 1872).

62. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 47th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1881–82), Vol. 10, Pt. 5, 202.

63. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price (June 1, 1881), report for May; (April 1, 1882), report for March; (May 1, 1882), report for April; (March 1, 1884), report for February; J. Emery to J. D. C. Atkins, Commr. (June 1, 1888), report for May. A description of the fish spears, L. M. Nickerson to H. Price (Dec. 16, 1882), shows them to have been the multipronged sucker spear (Spier, 1930), p. 153.

64. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 47th Cong. 1st sess., p. 202.

65. Coville (1904), p. 737. He did not deem its cultivation commercially feasible.

66. L. S. Dyar to T. B. Odeneal, Supt. (Oct. 1, 1872), report for September.

67. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (June 1, 1881), report for May.

68. Spier (1930), p. 204. It should be noted, however, that with the new house types the household came in time to approximate the individual family.

69. O. C. Applegate to L. S. Dyar (Dec. 24, 1872).

70. D. W. Matthews to Commr. (March 23, 1893).

71. *Annual Reports* of the Department of the Interior . . . , U.S. 55th Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Doc. 5 (1898–99), Vol. 15, 256; 56 Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Doc. 5 (1900–01), Vol. 27, 354.

72. Elisha L. Applegate, *op. cit.*, U.S. 51st Cong., 2d sess. H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1890–91), Vol. 12, Pt. 5, 205.

73. T. L. in Zakoji (1953), p. 257.

74. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Dec. 1, 1884), report for November.

75. D. W. Matthews in *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 52d Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1891–92), Vol. 15, Pt. 5, 373.

76. L. S. Dyar to T. B. Odeneal, Supt. (June 2, 1873); Good (1941), pp. 93 ff.

77. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (July 21, 1883).

78. Lincoln Butler, his brother-in-law, in Hearings on S.1222, U.S. 80th Cong., 1st sess. (1948), p. 381. Cf. O. C. Applegate, who gives 500-600 head of cattle in 1898 (*op. cit.*, U.S. 55th Cong., 3d sess., p. 254); 1,000 in 1909 (O. C. Applegate to H. G. Wilson [July 22, 1909]). Many modern Klamath estimate between 1,500 and 2,000.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
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79. *Report* . . . , U.S. 39th Cong., 2d sess., p. 89.

80. F. B. Sprague to Lindsay Applegate (Nov. 16, 1867). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

81. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Sept. 9, 1874).

82. E. P. Smith, Commr., to L. S. Dyar (Sept. 27, 1875).

83. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 44th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1876–77), Vol. 4, Pt. 5, 524.

84. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Nov. 25, 1880).

85. *Message of the President of the United States and Accompanying Documents to the Two Houses of Congress,* U.S. 39th Cong., 1st sess. (1865–66), *Report of the Secretary of the Interior,* p. 271.

86. Letter, Knapp to Parker (May 2, 1870), quoted in Nash (1937), p. 391; in *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 41st Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1870–71), Vol. 4, Pt. 4, 532.

87. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Sept. 3, 1875).

88. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Dec. 16, 1880).

89. Thomas M. Nichol, Acting Commr., to L. M. Nickerson (Feb. 17, 1881).

90. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Dec. 7, 1880). K

91. H. Price, Commr., to L. M. Nickerson (June 2, 1881). See also another proposal by Nickerson to issue shop tools through the chiefs, so that shops could be maintained in various localities. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Jan. 26, 1884), as well as the proposal by E. L. Applegate to issue tools and farm implements to competent Indians. E. L. Applegate to T. J. Morgan, Commr. (Jan. 15, 1890). [412] [177]

92. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge (Jan. 1, 1881), report for December of preceding year.

93. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Sept. 12, 1884).

94. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Aug. 1, 1883), report for July.

95. J. Emery to J. D. C. Atkins, Commr. (Aug. 1, 1887), report for July.

96. J. Emery to T. J. Morgan, Commr. (Aug. 24, 1889).

97. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (May 28, 1883).

SIX. POLITICAL CHANGES

1. He was the first Modoc signatory to the treaty. *Statutes at Large,* Vol. 16 (1871), p. 710.

2. George B. Curry, Col., 1st Oregon Infantry, to J. W. P. Huntington (Nov. 17, 1865), O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

3. In a letter from E. Steele to Commanding Officer, Fort Klamath, M 657 648

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657 Oregon, endorsed by A. M. Rosborough (Aug. 28, 1865), Steele recalled the treaty and the terms assuring the Modoc of residence in their own country. Listing the objections of the Modoc to the reservation, he referred to a letter written to the Interior Department and suggested that military action against the Modoc be deferred. O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

000 4. Wheeler-Voegelin (1955), p. 248.

5. Monchnkasgitk, who reported the flight of the Walpapi, stated that "How Lak says he has power to darken the sun, cause the vallies to overflow with water, and the white man's powder to 'flash in the pan,' and a good many other things all of which he proposes to do as soon as warm weather comes, etc. . . . " J. M. McCall, Fort Klamath, to Lindsay Applegate (April 24, 1866). O. C. Applegate *Papers*. Such catastrophic powers are suggestive of themes which underlay the Ghost Dance of 1870. See Spier (1935).

6. Lindsay Applegate to Major W. V. Rinehart, Fort Klamath (Oct. 31, 1865). O. C. Applegate *Papers*. The "guardhouse" is described in Stern (1956), p. 245, n.49, where other references will also be found.

7. Samuel D. Whitemore to Ivan D. and L. B. Applegate (June 1, 1866); Whitemore to Lindsay Applegate (Aug. 25, 1866); Whitemore to Lindsay Applegate (Jan. 30, 1867). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

8. Samuel D. Whitemore to Lindsay Applegate (Dec. 26, 1866); Whitemore to Lindsay Applegate (Dec. 4, 1867); O. C. Applegate to Frank Applegate (Dec. 5, 1868). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

9. Gatschet (1890), Pt. 1, p. lxv; Curtis (1924), Vol. 13, 178.

10. *Agent's Report*, Roll 21 (April 7, 1865), quoted in Zakoji (1953), p. 77.

11. S. D. Whitemore to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 16, 1868). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

12. O. C. Applegate to Frank Applegate (May 3, 1869). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

13. Good (1941), p. 52.

14. Thus, he had been the spokesman two years earlier in the suspicions voiced on the quality of the annuity goods. His turbulent domestic relations suggest a quality of sustained distrust. " 'Boston' Barclay and two or three Indian women told us," ran one letter to the Agent, "that Blow, for the purpose of retaining a horse belonging to his former wife had stated that she procured of me poison, and had thus killed his child, and that he was going to declare this in a pending lawsuit." E. S. Belden to Lindsay Applegate (May, n.d., 1868). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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Blow's father was a Modoc from Lost River Gap, his mother a Klamath. His father had been slain, allegedly by a Modoc shaman. Sam A. Clarke Ms., O. C. Applegate *Papers*. The Hot Creek and Tule Lake Modoc seem to have regarded him as an enemy, perhaps because of involvement in that incident. "These Indians request me to say," wrote a settler in the Modoc country, "that when you come not to bring any of the LaLakes with you, especially Blower, they do not like him." John A. Fairchild to Mr. [Lindsay] Applegate (Oct. 29, 1867). O. C. Applegate *Papers*. Blow's backing in the election must have come from Schonchin's band, the only Modoc on the reservation at that time.

15. But Gatschet (1890), Pt. II, 278 [Push-Kíu], makes him a member of the principal Klamath Lake tribelet.

16. Good (1941), pp. 52 ff.

17. Lindsay Applegate to A. B. Meacham (Dec. 31, 1870), report for December. Nash (1937), p. 431, identifies his successor as Chief Lilu, but present-day informants deny that the latter was ever called "Barcley" or was identified with the Upper End. As a probable candidate, they propose one Jim Barkley, an Upland Klamath contemporary with Monchnkasgitk.

18. John Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Jan. 31, 1871), report for January.

19. John Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Nov. 30, 1870), report for November.

20. J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Jan. 31, 1871), report for January.

21. Dave Hill, quoted in Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 58–63. As Gatschet himself observes, p. 62, n.58–62, the legal practices noted "are apparently fashioned after American models." See also pp. 64–69 for accounts of trials for witchcraft. The Modoc at Yainax, adds Gatschet in a footnote, p. 62, claimed to observe these regulations, but the Paiute did not.

22. John Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Jan. 31, 1871), report for January (annuities); (Nov. 30, 1870), report for November (loan of equipment, priority in planting); O. C. Applegate to L. S. Dyar (Sept. 30, 1872), report for September (houses).

23. John Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Oct. 31, 1870), report for October.

24. J. Meacham to Capt. G. H. Goodale, Commanding Fort Klamath (Jan. 8, 1871); J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Jan. 31, 1871), report for January.

25. L. S. Dyar to Maj. G. G. Huntt, Commanding Fort Klamath (July 13, 1872).

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26. The document is among the Lindsay Applegate *Papers*. A hamlet lying a mile or so overland from the place along the Williamson where Blow had his house, Spier's 29. Spier (1930), p. 15, bears a somewhat similar name. The identification of the division name with a Klamath term is rendered more difficult by the imprecision of the Applegate recording.

27. J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Dec. 31, 1870), report for December.

28. L. S. Dyar to A. C. Gibbs, U.S. District Attorney (May 20, 1873).

29. J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Jan. 31, 1871), report for January.

30. O. C. Applegate to F. F. Victor (Feb. 21, 1874). O. C. Applegate *Papers*. L. S. Dyar to T. B. Odeneal, Supt. (Dec. 24, 1872).

31. The Snakes had a similar grievance. Observed Dr. W. C. McKay in a letter to O. C. Applegate (June 18, 1869), " . . . I understand there is quite a feeling existing between the Klamath and [the Snakes at Sprague River]. The Klamath take things from them & do not pay them for it. I hope that will be attended too [sic]."

32. Riddle (1914), p. 38. J. A. Fairchild to Ivan D. Applegate (May 23, 1870), and E. W. Potter to Ivan D. Applegate (May 24, 1870), specify the Modoc charges against Blow and their friend, Link River Jack. O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

33. S. A. Clarke ms.; Ivan D. Applegate to "Dear Brother" (May 5, 1870). O. C. Applegate Papers. A. B. Meacham, Supt., *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 42d Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1871–72), Vol. 3, Pt. 5, 716. For Schonchin's ancestry, see S. A. Clarke ms.

34. L. S. Dyar to T. B. Odeneal, Supt. (Feb. 1, 1873), report for preceding January.

35. O. C. Applegate to F. F. Victor (Feb. 2, 1874); L. S. Dyar to O. C. Applegate (April 2, 1889); Description Roll of Indian Scouts belonging to Company B, Capt. O. C. Applegate, Oregon Mounted Militia; Muster Roll of Company B (Dec., 1872–Jan., 1873). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

36. O. C. Applegate to Brig. Gen. John E. Ross (Dec. 26, 1872); S. Grubb to O. C. Applegate (Jan. 4, 1873); L. Applegate to Ivan D. Applegate (Jan. 5, 1873). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

37. O. C. Applegate to F. F. Victor (Feb. 2, 1874). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

38. Riddle (1914), p. 57.

39. O. C. Applegate to Gen. John E. Ross (Feb. 2, 1873); S. Grubb to O. C. Applegate (Nov. 7, 1872). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

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40. O. C. Applegate to Capt. Ivan D. Applegate (April 14, 1873). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

41. The charges are recounted in O. C. Applegate to F. F. Victor (Feb. 2, 1874), O. C. Applegate *Papers*, and in H.R. Exec. Doc. 122, U.S. 43d Cong., 1st sess. (1873–74), Vol. 9; see also Meacham (1875). Murray (1959), published since this was written, summarizes them. For the number deported, see H.R. Exec. Doc. 22, U.S. 43d Cong., 1st sess. (1873–74), Vol. 8.

42. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Feb. 4, 1874), report for January.

43. Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, p. 58.

44. *Report* . . . , U.S. 45th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1877–78), Vol. 8, Pt. 5, 696 ff., 567. The figures (Gatschet's are given second) are: Klamath, 667; 670; Modoc, 93: 89; total, 760: 759. Paiute, not given by Gatschet, 137. Roork estimated a margin of 10 for those missed in taking the census.

45. O. C. Applegate in *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 55th Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1898–99), Vol. 15, 254, seems to identify Chocktoot with the Yahuskin signatory, Skyteocket. Cf. Wheeler-Voegelin (1955), pp. 253–56.

46. Interview with Mrs. E. K. Loosley in Johnson (1947), p. 190. This was a position formerly held by Blow. Samuel D. Whitemore to Lindsay Applegate (Dec. 26, 1866). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

47. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Feb. 3, 1883), report for January.

48. Untitled document in the hand of Ivan D. Applegate. O. C. Applegate *Papers*, Box 6, Indian Miscellany.

49. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Sept. 20, 1873).

50. L. S. Dyar to O. C. Applegate (Jan. 26, 1874). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

51. Meacham (1876), p. 105. For some of the instructions given Hill by his people, see Appendix.

52. "Massacre of the Modocs," *Klamath Record*, Klamath Falls (Friday, Dec. 22, 1916), p. 6 and on. Clipping in O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

53. A. B. Meacham to O. C. Applegate (Dec. 7, 1875). O. C. Applegate *Papers*. Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 6. Meacham (1876), pp. 92–102.

54. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Oct. 16, 1873; Sept. 1, 1873). The repeated charge of fraud in the issue of the wagon road (Bruce [1936], Johnson [1947]) gains further weight from correspondence in the O. C. Applegate *Papers* which shows that Byron J. Pengra, the moving force in the Company, knew in advance the plans

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000 for the Klamath reservation before his road transected it. Elisha L. Applegate to Ivan D. Applegate (Sept. 7, 1861); see also Byron J. Pengra to Lindsay Applegate (Sept. 9, 1861).

55. L. S. Dyar to J. Q. Smith, Commr. (March 2, 1876).

56. L. M. Nickerson to Commr. Ind. Aff. (Dec. 26, 1881 [telegram]); L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Jan. 4, 1882).

57. Wm. M. Leeds, Acting Commr., Circular Letter (July 18, 1878).

58. E. Woog to J. H. Roork (Sept. 4, 1878); L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge (Jan. 13, 1881).

59. Wm. H. Leeds, Acting Commr., to J. H. Roork (Sept. 19, 1878); Lindsay Applegate to Hon. H. W. Corbet[t] (Nov. 16, 1869), O. C. Applegate *Papers;* L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Sept. 3, 1875). Indian police had been used elsewhere with success from 1874. Priest (1942), p. 138.

60. E. A. Hayt, Commr., to J. H. Roork (Nov. 23, 1878).

61. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Jan. 26, 1881).

62. Horse thieves–L. M. Nickerson to Col. S. G. Whipple, Commanding Fort Klamath (March 31, 1881); Nickerson to Commr. Ind. Aff. (same date [telegram]); E. M. Marble, Acting Commr. to L. M. Nickerson (April 2, 1881 [telegram]); Spokane Ike: L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Aug. 8, 1882); (Sept. 30, 1882), report for September.

63. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (April 12, 1883).

64. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (May 28, 1883; July 13, 1883). The policy stemmed from Washington. Since no pay was provided for judges, it was proposed that Indian police serve in the office. Priest (1942), p. 146.

65. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (March 1, 1884), report for February.

66. L. M. Nickerson to J. D. C. Atkins, Commr. (April 30, 1885); L. M. Nickerson to H. Price (Sept. 1, 1881), report for August.

67. C. K. Smith to J. Emery (Feb. 27, 1888).

68. J. Emery to A. B. Upshaw, Acting Commr. (Aug. 14, 1888).

69. J. Emery to John H. Oberly, Commr. (Jan. 21, 1889); J. Emery to T. J. Morgan, Commr. (July 6, 1889).

70. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 51st Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1890–91), Vol. 12, Pt. 5, 204.

SEVEN. SOCIAL CHANGE

1. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (May 12, 1884).

2. *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 55th Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1898–99), Vol. 15, 255.

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3. See, for example, the population given for 1877 by Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, lxxv: on Williamson and near the Agency, 450; Modoc Point and vicinity, 92; middle Sprague, 23.

4. J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Oct. 31, 1870), report for October. An earlier commanding officer of the Fort himself had maintained an Indian mistress. Zakoji (1953), p. 82, n.l. See also letter, Lindsay Applegate to Lucien B. Applegate (Dec. 3, 1869). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

5. L. S. Dyar to Maj. J. Green, Commanding Fort Klamath (Oct. 30, 1872). See also Fort Klamath Post Orders, No. 54 (July 12, 1876), on the same subject.

6. *Agent's Report,* Roll 26 (July 2, 1870), cited by Zakoji (1953), p. 82.

7. William M. Turner to Lindsay Applegate (April 1, 1869). Lindsay Applegate *Papers.*

8. Meacham (1876), p. 37.

9. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 49th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1885–86), Vol. 12, Pt. 5, 574.

10. Zakoji (1953), pp. 238 ff.

11. Wheeler-Voegelin (1955), p. 121, n.17.

12. See n.20 below.

13. *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 57th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1902–03), Vol. 19, 309.

14. Spencer (1952), pp. 5 ff.

15. T. L. in Zakoji (1953), p. 243. This man is distinct from a slave of the same name, a brother of the next man mentioned, who was sold at Warm Springs and returned in later days.

16. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Oct. 17, 1881).

17. See the general discussion by Hallowell (1963).

18. For one, see H. N. in Zakoji (1953), p. 207.

19. Lindsay Applegate *Papers,* Special Collection, University of Oregon Library. The pages, three in number, are from an account book. One overlaps the other two pages in the individuals named and seems to represent another issue. Although they bear no date, internal evidence places the latter two pages, dealing with issues at Yainax, in the winter of the Modoc War (1872–73).

20. O. C. Applegate *Papers.* Listed for the same band are 69 horses, 5 axes, and 16 boats (canoes).

21. A count of houses in early autumn might overlook temporary shelters, and thus produce a distorted household size. The figure drawn by O. C. Applegate to illustrate the house and aid the chief in his enumeration is the temporary mat lodge, *wukeplaks.* It should be noted [114]

000 [114] that the ration issues for which the main lists were drawn up were made in midwinter, when all were in winter lodges.

22. But Ocheho's household is not below the average for his own band (9).

23. O. C. Applegate to M. F. Holland, Supervisor Ind. Schools (Dec. 27, 1904).

24. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Dec. 1, 1884), report for November.

25. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price (Feb. 3, 1883), report for January.

26. *Agent's Report*, Roll 26 (Jan. 6, 1870), cited in Zakoji (1953), p. 80; Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 63, n.60, 17.

27. Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 60 ff. Note that the Paiute did not at that time subject themselves to the jurisdiction of the court. P. 62, footnote.

28. T. L. in Zakoji (1953), p. 260, describes one feature: the [556] mother of the groom poured a basket of beads, a form of wealth, upon the head of the seated bride.

29. Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 78.

EIGHT. SCHOOL

1. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 43d Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1873–74), Vol. 4, Pt. 5, 692.

2. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 41st Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1869–70), Vol. 3, Pt. 3, 619, 618.

3. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 42d Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1871–72), Vol. 3, Pt. 5, 715.

4. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 42d Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1872–73), Vol. 3, Pt. 5, 757; 43d Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1873–74), Vol. 4, Pt. 5, 692.

5. John Meacham to A. B. Meacham (July 31, 1871), report for July.

6. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Jan. 1, 1874), report for preceding December.

7. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Jan. 13, 1881).

8. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (June 1, 1874), report for May.

9. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Nov. 1, 1874), report for October.

10. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (July 31, 1875), report for July.

11. L. S. Dyar to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 13, 1875). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

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12. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Sept. 1, 1875), report for August.

13. L. S. Dyar to J. Q. Smith, Commr. (June 1, 1876), report for May.

14. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 45th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1877–78), Vol. 8, Pt. 5, 567.

15. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (July 4, 1881).

16. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (June 1, 1882); *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 49th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1886–87), Vol. 8, Pt. 5, 431.

17. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (April 24, 1882).

18. J. Emery to J. H. Oberly, Commr. (Nov. 1, 1888), report for schools for October. The hand was Mrs. Emery's.

19. H. N. in Zakoji (1953), pp. 201 ff., 208.

20. T. L. in Zakoji (1953), pp. 255, 258, 249.

21. Again, for T. L. in Zakoji (1953), p. 250.

22. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 51st Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1890–91), Vol. 12, Pt. 5, 205.

23. E. L. Applegate to Binger Hermann, M. C. (March 29, 1890). See also A. C. Tonner, Acting Commr., to J. Emery (Nov. 15, 1897), assuring him that the Agent had primary authority over the reservation schools.

24. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (April 12, 1882).

25. E. L. Stevens, Acting Commr., to L. M. Nickerson (Aug. 25, 1884).

26. J. Emery to J. D. C. Atkins, Commr. (June 1, 1887), report for May.

27. J. Emery to A. B. Upshaw, Acting Commr. (July 24, 1888).

28. D. W. Matthews to T. J. Morgan (July 8, 1891).

29. E. L. Applegate to Binger Herman, M. C. (March 29, 1890).

30. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 52d Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1892–93), Vol. 13, Pt. 5, 412.

31. *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 56th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1900–01), Vol. 27, 360.

32. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price (Dec. 19, 1882).

NINE. RELIGION

1. Lindsay Applegate to [Judge James C.] Toleman (Feb. 1, 1883). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

2. J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Nov. 30, 1870), report for November.

3. J. Meacham to Capt. G. H. Goodale, Commanding Fort

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000 Klamath (Jan. 8, 1871); J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Jan. 31, 1871), report for January.

4. J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (March 8, 1871), report [963] for February. See also Zakoji (1953), pp. 63–64. The fear of sub-chief Palmer, dying of consumption, that his body might be violated by a post-mortem autopsy, is expressive of the distrust with which the physician was sometimes regarded. O. C. Applegate to Captain D. J. Ferree (May 6, 1871); Ferree to Applegate (May 8, 1871). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

5. H. N. in Zakoji (1953), p. 199.

6. Dave Hill in Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 59, 62; his wife: Appendix [987] below. It is an interesting commentary upon the relativity of viewpoint, that during Hill's disappearance from the lecture troupe, A. B. Meacham, brother of the Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, resorted to spiritualistic mediums in an effort to locate him. Meacham (1876), pp. 95 ff.

7. Henry Blow: "Tyee Blowe of Klamath on Doctors," Samuel A. Clarke ms.; Archives, University of Oregon Library, source as well for the quotation of n.5; Doctor John: Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 64–68. The identification of the Susie of Gatschet with H. N.'s Aunt Sally is made by Zakoji (1953), p. 62. The letter of Allen David to Dave Hill and the reply of Skookum Doctor, reproduced in the Appendix, provide a direct illustration of Indian views of that period.

8. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Jan. 1, 1881), report for preceding December.

9. Lindsay Applegate to [Judge James C.] Toleman (Feb. 1, 1883). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

10. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 45th Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1878–79), Vol. 9, Pt. 5, 611.

11. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Oct. 1, 1881), report for September.

12. H. N. in Zakoji (1953), pp. 200 ff.

13. Joseph Emery to W. W. Wilson, Supt. Yainax School (Feb. 5, 1897; March 13, 1897).

14. T. L. in Zakoji (1953), p. 258.

15. O. C. Applegate to Henry Jackson (Sept. 6, 1899); in *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 56th Cong., 1st sess., H. R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1899–1900), Vol. 18, 313. Nash (1937), p. 147, erroneously sets the event at about 1906.

16. Nash (1937), p. 431. The preceding material is summarized from pp. 412–35.

17. L. S. Dyar to T. B. Odeneal, Supt. (Nov. 6, 1872; June 7, 1873; June 16, 1873); in *Report* . . . , U.S. 43d Cong., 1st sess., H.R.

Exec. Doc. (1873–74), Vol. 4, Pt. 5, 691; L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, OOO Commr. (Nov. 30, 1875), report for November.

18. L. S. Dyar in *Report* . . ., U.S. 43d Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1874–75), Vol. 6, Pt. 5, 627; L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (May 1, 1875), report for April.

19. L. S. Dyar in *Report* . . ., U.S. 44th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1876–77), Vol. 4, Pt. 5, 524.

20. Wm. M. Leeds, Acting Commr., to J. H. Roork (May 27, 1878).

21. See Appendix for the remainder of the letter, containing other testimonials and pledges.

22. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (July 1, 1880), report for June, (Aug. 14, 1880), L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (June 27, 1881), (Oct. 1, 1881), report for September.

23. *Report* . . ., U.S. 45th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1877–78), Vol. 8, Pt. 5, 568; U.S. 45th Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1878-79), Vol. 9, Pt. 5, 610.

24. J. Q. Smith, Commr., to J. H. Roork (July 9, 1877).

25. L. M. Nickerson in *Report* . . ., U.S. 47th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1882–83), Vol. 11, Pt. 5, 198.

26. Zakoji (1953), p. 72.

27. L. M. Nickerson in *Report* . . ., U.S. 49th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1885–86), Vol. 12, Pt. 5, 390.

28. H. N. in Zakoji (1953), p. 206.

29. Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, xciii ff.

30. Stern (1953), p. 169; see also Spencer (1952), *passim*.

31. Wilson and Wilson (1954), pp. 24–44, for this concept.

TEN. THE CHANGING ENVIRONS

1. Board of Indian Commissioners in *Annual Reports* . . ., U.S. 56th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1900–1901), Vol. 28, 639.

2. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Jan. 4, 1882).

3. *Report* . . ., U.S. 49th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1886–87), Vol. 8, Pt. 5, 432.

4. W. S. Moore to Commr. (May 25, 1884); L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (July 15, 1884).

5. L. M. Nickerson to J. D. C. Atkins (Sept. 2, 1885).

6. J. D. C. Atkins, Commr., to W. C. Hale, County Clerk, Linkville (March 12, 1886).

7. *Statutes at Large*, Vol. 24 (1887), p. 388, Sec. 4.

8. L. S. Dyar to J. Q. Smith (July 31, 1876), report for July. One of the two was Tecumseh, of Meacham's lyceum troupe.

9. O. C. Applegate to Conrad Steger (April 14, 1900).

000 10. O. C. Applegate to Alex Martin (Feb. 1, 1900).

11. H. G. Wilson to Modoc Henry (March 15, 1910).

12. M. Petet to M. S. Parker (Jan. 25, 1896).

13. J. Emery to G. T. Baldwin (Sept. 6, 1896).

ELEVEN. THE GENERAL ALLOTMENT ACT

1. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Jan. 2, 1882).

2. J. Emery to J. D. C. Atkins, Commr. (Feb. 1, 1887), report for January. For the state of the reservation at this time, see Harrison (1887), pp. 100–22.

3. J. D. C. Atkins, Commr., to J. Emery (Feb. 24, 1888).

4. J. Emery to J. D. C. Atkins, Commr. (April 1, 1888), report for March; (April 14, 1888).

5. *Statutes at Large*, Vol. 26 (1891), p. 794; J. Emery to J. D. C. Atkins, Commr. (April 14, 1888); D. W. Matthews to T. J. Morgan, Commr. (June 8, 1892).

6. *Report* . . . , U.S. 53rd Cong., 2 sess., H. R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1893–94), Vol. 14, Pt. 5, 269.

7. M. Petet to D. M. Browning, Commr. (March 4, 1896).

8. Henry Jackson *et al.* to D. M. Browning, Commr. (July 18, 1896).

9. M. Shelby to C. E. Worden (July 27, 1896).

10. J. Emery in *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 55th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1897–98), Vol. 13, 251.

11. O. C. Applegate in *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 57th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1901–1902), Vol. 23, 345.

12. O. C. Applegate in *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 58th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1903–1904), Vol. 19, 283.

13. T. L. in Zakoji (1953), p. 251.

14. *Statutes at Large*, Vol. 32 (1903), p. 260.

15. M. Petet to D. M. Browning, Commr. (Feb. 12, 1896); Edson Watson, *Annual Narrative Report* (1914), p. 7.

16. The discussion considers the modified allotment program as it was applied at Klamath. By the time lands were actually assigned there in 1895, the provision of the original act granting 160 acres to each family head, 80 acres to each single person over 18 years of age and to each orphan under 18, and of 40 acres to each other single person under 18, had been modified to allow a uniform 80 acres of farming land or its equivalent to each enrolled member. Persons who through age or disability could not profitably exploit their allotments might be permitted instead to lease them. See Cohen, pp. 207–14.

17. O. C. Applegate to N. E. Millay (Jan. 8, 1900); Edson Watson

to Grace Allen (Jan. 13, 1914); O. C. Applegate to J. B. Arrasmith (May 16, 1903). 000

18. Information from Seldon Kirk. Monchnkasgitk seems to have been a family friend of the Kirks. The wife of John Corbell, Minnie Froben, was herself of mixed descent and an employee in the boarding school. Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 7. See Zakoji (1953), p. 103, for another account of the council.

19. D. W. Bell, Acting Commr., to D. W. Matthews (Feb. 23, 1892).

20. O. C. Applegate to Mrs. Serette Chintell[e] (Nov. 3, 1898).

21. O. C. Applegate, To Whom it May Concern (Dec. 5, 1898), introducing Officer Henry Hoover of the Indian police force.

22. J. Emery to J. W. Siemans [sic] (Feb. 2, 1897).

23. M. Petet to The People of Klamath Reservation (May 14, 1896); Petet to C. E. Worden (June 17, 1896); M. Shelby to C. E. Worden (Aug. 12, 1896).

24. H. G. Wilson to Commissioner (Sept. 19, 1908); Council action (Sept. 5, 1908); Wilson to Commr. (Jan. 15, 1909).

25. H. G. Wilson to Commr. (March 23, 1909).

26. H. G. Wilson to Commr. (April 23, 1910). See also Wilson to Commr. (Jan. 15, 1909).

27. O. C. Applegate to Lewis A. Allen (Dec. 11, 1902).

28. O. C. Applegate to H. B. Warren (March 14, 1901).

29. O. C. Applegate to Miss Alice Allen (Nov. 6, 1900).

30. *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 58th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1903–04), Vol. 19, 284.

31. This was the Wood River settlement, across the reservation line, which had taken over the name from the military post, abandoned in 1889.

32. E. A. Hayt in *Report* . . . , U.S. 45th Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1878–79), Vol. 9, Pt. 5, 465 ff.

33. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Oct. 1, 1884), report for September.

34. Minutes of Indian Council (Dec. 4, 5, 1902).

35. O. C. Applegate to C. S. Hood (May 16, June 10, 27, 1903); in *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 58th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1903–04), Vol. 19, 286.

36. Henry Wilson to Commr. (March 22, 1909).

37. H. G. Wilson to H. F. White, Special Allotting Agent (Nov. 10, 1909); Wilson to Commr. (Dec. 1, 1909).

38. O. C. Applegate to W. A. Jones, Commr. (Dec. 2, 1898).

39. E. S. Parker to A. B. Meacham, Supt. for Oregon (June 28, 1871). National Archives microfilm, Frame 3256 ff.

40. H. G. Wilson to Commissioner (Dec. 21, 1909).

41. O. C. Applegate to Dr. Merrill E. Gates, Secretary, Board of Indian Commrs. (Dec. 6, 1899).

42. See Cohen (1942), pp. 211–14 for a summary of changes.

43. D. W. Matthews to Mr. Harrison (Jan. 17, 1891); Matthews to T. J. Morgan, Commr. (Jan. 20, 1891).

44. D. W. Matthews to T. J. Morgan, Commr. (July 25, 1891).

45. D. W. Matthews to T. J. Morgan, Commr. (Jan. 9, 1892).

46. D. W. Matthews to T. J. Morgan, Commr. (April 15, 1892; May 19, 1892); Recommendation of Council (May 19, 1892); H. Price, Commr., to L. M. Nickerson (Oct. 16, 1884).

47. M. Petet to D. M. Browning, Commr. (Feb. 12, 1896).

48. Jesse Kirk *et al.* to D. M. Browning, Commr. (May 26, 1896).

49. J. Emery to D. M. Browning, (Sept. 24, 1896).

50. J. Emery to U. F. Absher (March 13, 1897); Emery to D. M. Browning, Commr. (April, 1897).

51. J. Emery to Commr. (Oct. 19, 1897).

52. George W. Loosley, Stockman, to H. R. Dunlap (Feb. 11, 190[illegible]

53. O. C. Applegate to H. Snowgoose (May 27, 1903).

54. O. C. Applegate to R. J. Straw (Sept. 3, 1903); in *Annual Reports* . . . U.S. 58th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1903–04), Vol. 19, 284, 520 ff.

55. H. G. Wilson to Sargent Brown *et al.* (Feb. 20, 1908); F. C. Robinson, Lease Clerk, to Supt. W. E. Meagley, Santee, Nebraska (April 7, 1908).

56. Edson Watson *Annual Narrative Report* (1912), p. 18.

57. Current files at Klamath Agency show one 40-acre tract owned by 5[illegible] heirs in unequal shares. To find a common denominator to apportion their interests, the allotment must be divided into 43,200 segments, each slightly in excess of one square foot! Yet this instance by no means sets a record, even for Klamath.

58. Edson Watson, *Annual Narrative Report* (1913), p. 15.

59. W. G. West *Annual Narrative Report* (1918), p. 2.

60. H. G. Wilson to Ralph B. Hunt, (Nov. 14, 1907); Wilson to Commr. (Feb. 5, 1909).

61. Edson Watson, *Annual Narrative Report* (1913), p. 15.

62. C. H. Asbury, *Annual Narrative Report* (1917), p. 27.

63. *Annual Narrative Report* (1924), pp. 48–49.

64. *Status and Evaluation Report, Klamath Termination* (Oct., 1957). U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Portland Area Office, p. 5, Information, Klamath Agency. Subsequent

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to termination, however, many Indians invested funds from their prorata shares of the tribal estate in purchasing tribal lands.

65. *Statutes at Large* Vol. 34 (1907), pp. 367–68.

66. H. G. Wilson to Commr. (March 8, 1910).

67. Chas. S. Hood to R. A. Ballinger, Secty. Int. (Jan. 9, 1909).

68. H. G. Wilson to All Indians (Feb. 11, 1910).

69. Edson Watson, *Annual Narrative Report* (1915), p. 43.

70. Council, resolution (Sept. 5, 1908); H. G. Wilson to Commissioner (Oct. 23, 1908).

71. A. D. Hotchkins, Clerk in charge, to F. C. Randolph, Clerk, Redding District, California (Dec. 12, 1913).

72. E.g., H. G. Wilson to Louis Pankey (Sept. 9, 1909).

73. Celia DuFault to H. G. Wilson (Jan. 5, 1910). Another letter identical in wording and date, also from Klamath Falls, came from the three Siemens.

74. E. Watson to Commissioner (June 20, 1910).

75. E. Watson, *Annual Narrative Report* (1910), p. 1.

76. O. C. Applegate to W. F. Arrant (March 14, 1901).

77. C. F. Larrabee, Acting Commr., to Superintendent, Klamath Agency (March 10, 1908). The person in question was one Short Bob.

78. H. G. Wilson to Commr. (April 28, 1910).

79. H. G. Wilson to Sargent Brown *et al.* (Feb. 20, 1908).

80. *Annual Narrative Report* (1917), p. 18.

81. W. G. West to Commr. (Aug. 30, 1920), transmitting *Annual Statistical Report* for that year.

82. Fred A. Baker, *Annual Narrative Report* (1924), pp. 30–32.

83. *Annual Narrative Report* (1926), pp. 49 ff., 61.

84. *Annual Narrative Report* (1927), p. 54.

85. See Table, *Livestock Permitted*, in *Klamath Indians, Oregon*. Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Public Lands, U.S. 80th Cong., 1st sess., on S.1222 (1948), Pt. 2, 245. Note that the livestock listed as Indian belongs preponderantly to the Indian wives of local stockmen. [563]

86. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price (Dec. 2, 1884). In his *Annual Report*, U.S. 48th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1884–85), Vol. 12, 188, the estimated acreage was reduced to 2,000.

87. *Annual Report*, U.S. 56th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. (1900–01), Vol. 27, 354. Applegate himself had been a member of one such early enterprise, the "Linkville Water Ditch." George T. Baldwin, Secretary, to O. C. Applegate (April 9, 1882). O. C. Applegate *Papers*, Special Collections, University of Oregon Library.

88. Ore. State Dept. of Educ., *Data on Termination of Federal*

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

000 *Supervision over the Klamath Indian Reservation*, 1956, p. 12; Hearings on S.1222, U.S. Senate, Subcommittee of the Committee on Public Lands, 80th Cong., 1st sess. (1948), pp. 299–301, 576–77.

89. *Annual Statistical Report* (1920), Sec. 5.

90. W. G. West, *Annual Narrative Report* (1920), p. 11.

91. L. D. Arnold, *Annual Narrative Report* (1926), pp. 57–58; 1927, p. 50; 1928, p. 57.

92. *Annual Narrative Report* (1926), p. 59.

93. L. D. Arnold, *Annual Narrative Report* (1928), pp. 60, 68–69.

94. L. D. Arnold, *Annual Narrative Report* (1928), p. 70; *Klamath Indians, Oregon*. Hearings on S.1222, U.S. Senate, Subcommittee of the Committee on Public Lands, 80th Cong., 1st sess. (1948), p. 300.

95. D. M. Browning, Commr., to J. Emery (1897).

96. O. C. Applegate to Thos. W. Potter, Supt., Chemawa Training School (Sept. 21, 1903).

97. O. C. Applegate to Commr. (Sept. 19, 1904).

98. *Annual Narrative Report* (1912), p. 10.

99. E. Watson, *Annual Narrative Report* (1913), pp. 1, 9, 11.

100. *Klamath Indians, Oregon*, Hearings on S.1222. U.S. Senate, Subcommittee of the Committee on Public Lands, 80th Cong., 1st sess., (1948), pt. 2, pp. 242-43.

101. *Annual Narrative Report* (1914), pp. 8, 11–13.

102. J. Emery to Commr. (Oct. 19, 1897).

103. Wilson later had his policy withdrawn. O. C. Applegate to J. D. McCain, Medford (Dec. 22, 1899 [Crawford]); Applegate to Josiah Kemp, Portland (July 11, 1900 [Kirk]); Applegate to G. M. Shaver, Chicago (Feb. 20, 1902 [Wilson]).

104. O. C. Applegate to Commr. (March 24, 1905).

105. M. Petet to D. M. Browning, Commr. (June 6, 1896). See also Hiram F. White, Special Allotting Agent, to Commr. (Dec. 27, 1909 [White Cinda]).

106. See, for example, the *Miscellaneous Letter Book* (April 7–8, 1908), directing various Indians to appear at court on various cases. Nine instances out of twenty involved eight different women, suggesting that the courts were beginning to provide a more direct hearing for them. Nine instances are concerned with livestock, seven with materials or property, one with wearing apparel (chaps), and three with money. Four involve wages or contractual relationships, one for the payment of a steer used by the defendant for a funeral feast. The remainder deal with the alleged misappropriation of property.

107. *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 56th Cong., 2d sess., Exec. Doc. 5, H.R. (1900–01), Vol. 27, 639.

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108. O. C. Applegate to Chas. S. Moore, State Treasurer, Salem (Sept. 15, 1903).

109. H. G. Wilson to Commr. (March 20, 1909).

110. Klamath Council (March 6, 1909).

111. O. C. Applegate to Commr. (Feb. 28, 1905); H. G. Wilson to Commissioner (Jan. 2, 1909).

112. H. G. Wilson, letter (April 3, 1910); E. Watson to R. J. Durkee, Cleveland, Ohio (June 14, 1910). H.R. 21761, U.S. 61st Cong., 2d sess. (Feb. 24, 1910); S.7948, U.S. 61st Cong., 2d sess. (April 27, 1910); S.214, U.S. 62d Cong., 1st sess. (April 6, 1911).

113. H. G. Wilson to Commr. (Jan. 17, 1910; April 28, 1910).

114. W. G. West, *Annual Narrative Report* (1917), p. 25; (1919), pp. 14, 20 ff.; S.3901, U.S. 66th Cong., 2d sess. (Feb. 11, 1920).

115. W. G. West, *Annual Narrative Report* (1920), p. 13.

116. L. D. Arnold, *Annual Narrative Report* (1927), p. 15; Klamath Falls *Evening Herald* (Jan. 24, 1927), p. 8; (June 9, 1927), p. 1. Only the six principals are named in the newspapers, but they include persons long identified with the party which has sought the division of tribal property.

117. *Annual Narrative Report* (1915), pp. 21, 24.

118. Fred A. Baker, *Annual Narrative Report* (1924), pp. 30 ff.; L. D. Arnold, *Annual Narrative Report* (1927), p. 54.

119. Each Indian family was permitted free grazing for 100 head of cattle and 500 head of sheep. L. D. Arnold, *Annual Narrative Report* (1928), p. 92. A generation earlier, a former Agency employee, then Superintendent of the Siletz Reservation, had suggested the abuse of this right when he asked, "I wonder what share of his wealth was gained by pasturing more than his share of the tribal lands? Three-fourths perhaps." He was speaking of his former adversary, Henry Jackson. Knott C. Egbert to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 11, 1905). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

120. *Annual Narrative Report* (1930), p. 84.

121. *Annual Narrative Report* (1928), p. 92.

122. *Annual Narrative Report* (1926), pp. 62–63.

123. Klamath Falls *Evening Herald* (Jan. 14, 1930), p. 1; (March 12, 1931), p. 1; (March 8, 1932), p. 1.

124. H. G. Wilson, Attention Indians, Yainax (Jan., 1908).

125. L. D. Arnold, *Annual Narrative Report* (1927), pp. 59 ff.; (1928), p. 83.

126. L. D. Arnold, *Annual Narrative Report* (1930), pp. 114 ff. Lamm (n.d.), p. 3, errs in stating that this mill was operated only until 1929.

TWELVE. "DISGRUNTLED WARD-CITIZENS"

1. Knott C. Egbert, Siletz Reservation, to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 11, 1905). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

2. Stern (1956), p. 271.

3. Mr. Kirk's paternal grandfather was a signatory under the name, Kellogue, but his name is missing from among those who put their mark to the ratified treaty in 1869.

4. O. C. Applegate to Mrs. Winfield Deau (Oct. 1, 1898).

5. O. C. Applegate to William Brown (Oct. 12, 1899).

6. O. C. Applegate to Mrs. Elvira Herrington (March 18, 1901).

7. D. W. Matthews to T. J. Morgan, Commr. (April 15, 1892).

8. W. W. Wilson, Supt. Yainax School, to J. Emery (March 14, 1897).

9. O. C. Applegate to Commr. (Jan. 16, 1900).

10. O. C. Applegate to Thomas W. Potter, Supt. Salem Training School, Chemawa (Aug. 28, 1903).

11. M. Petet to A. D. Harpold, Supt. Yainax School (Feb. 6, 1896); O. C. Applegate to Knott C. Egbert, Supt. Yainax Boarding School (Sept. 30, 1898).

12. O. C. Applegate to Commr. (Oct. 21, 1898). The idea had previously been broached by Emery: J. Emery to Commr. (June 5, 1897).

13. Anna C. Egan, Supt. Klamath Boarding School, to O. C. Applegate (March 14, 1900).

14. O. C. Applegate to Maj. R. H. Pratt, Supt. Carlisle Indian School (Nov. 29, 1899; May 5, 1900).

15. O. C. Applegate to Commr. (May 31, 1900).

16. O. C. Applegate to Maj. R. H. Pratt, Supt. Carlisle Indian Training School (Sept. 12, 1900; Sept. 17, 1900).

17. O. C. Applegate to Rev. Jesse Kirk (Sept. 24, 1900).

18. O. C. Applegate to Maj. R. H. Pratt, Carlisle (Oct. 3, 1900).

19. Harrison (1887), p. 118.

20. Jesse Kirk, Henry Jackson, Harrison Brown, Frank Lynch, and Scot Modoc to D. M. Browning, Commr. (May 26, 1896).

21. H. E. Momyer to O. C. Applegate (Jan. 3, 1905). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

22. Quoted from a statement made in 1916, in Good (1941), pp. 93 ff.

23. K. C. Egbert to George W. Loosley, Acting Supt. (Feb. 17, 1904).

24. E.g., Jeff Riddle to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 13, 1906; Feb. 21,

1906; March 11, 1908; Aug. 11, 1908). O. C. Applegate *Papers*. See also the high evaluation in Riddle (1914), p. 258.

25. J. W. Evans, Asst. Supt., to O. C. Applegate (Jan. 15, 1905).

26. K. C. Egbert to O. C. Applegate (April 28, 1904).

27. K. C. Egbert to O. C. Applegate (June 18, 1904).

28. Unsigned letter to M. C. George (Nov. 13, 1882); Sen. J. H. Dolph to O. C. Applegate (April 12, 1889). The second time, it was brother Elisha who secured the position. O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

29. J. Emery to J. D. C. Atkins, Commr. (June 16, 1887).

30. But see n.41 below.

31. E. L. Applegate to J. W. Noble, Secty. of the Interior (Nov. 6, 1890); Tribal Memorial to President Benjamin Harrison (Sept. 15, 1890); Tribal Memorial to Benjamin Harrison (Sept. 21, 1891). National Archives microfilm, Frames 2917, 2925, 2935 ff., 2942, 2949.

32. J. Emery to A. B. Upshaw, Acting Commr. (Aug. 11, 1888).

33. J. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Interior (June 19, 1901).

34. Date and some circumstances supplied by Mrs. Wade Crawford, with other details added by Seldon Kirk. I have seen no documentary evidence that verifies the date of this delegation. Senator Mitchell: S. Misc. Doc. No. 26, U.S. 53d Cong., 3d sess. (1894–95), Vol. 1. The Secretary's reply, including affidavits from Indians and whites secured by Joseph Emery, is given in S. Exec. Doc. 62, U.S. 53rd Cong., 3d sess. (1894–95), Vol. 5.

35. Binger Hermann to O. C. Applegate (Nov. 6, 1895); I. D. Applegate to O. C. Applegate (Nov. 26, 1895). O. C. Applegate *Papers*. M. Petet to D. M. Browning, Commr. (Nov. 28, 1895 [tribal council]). National Archives microfilm, Frame 2963. Allen David *et al.* to D. M. Browning, Commr. (Jan. 6, 1896).

36. Binger Hermann to Capt. Ivan D. Applegate (Dec. 14, 1895). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

37. Ivan D. Applegate to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 7, 1896). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

38. Ivan D. Applegate to "My Dear Maggie" (Feb. 10, 1896); Ivan D. Applegate to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 12, 1896). O. C. Applegate *Papers*. M. Petet to Commr. (July 2, 1896 [telegram]); J. Emery to W. B. Coleman (Dec. 18, 1896); W. J. McConnell to Secty. of the Interior (Jan. 2, 1899), states that Ivan Applegate resigned his attorneyship to take a position on the Boundary Commission. National Archives microfilm, Frames 3030–38. For retention of interest, see the letter in this note to O. C. Applegate; also another to "Dear Brother" (Nov. 20, 1906). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

000 In the course of his Washington visit Ivan was able to forestall another Congressional *gaffe*: Hermann was on the point of introducing a bill opening the abandoned military post of Fort Klamath for homesteading, until Ivan told him it lay within the reservation. Ivan D. Applegate to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 7, 1896). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

39. T. P. Smith, Acting Commr., Circular Letter (July 3, 1897) enclosing letter from C. N. Bliss, Secty. Int., to W. A. Jones, Commr. (June 29, 1897).

40. *Report of the Klamath Boundary Commission, 1896–97*, U.S. 54th Cong., 2d sess., S. Doc. 93 (1896–97), Vol. 3, 8 ff.

41. That the Applegates held property in the Swan Lake area after 1893–94 is shown, for example, by a letter from L[ucien] B. Applegate, probably to Oliver, addressed to "Dear Brother" (Oct. 18, 1901), and sent from Brookside. Mr. "Chick" Cunningham, a long-time resident in the area, identifies Brookside with Lucien's homestead on the west side of Swan Lake. Information, courtesy Mrs. Marilyn Gerber Livingston. The letter is in the O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

42. J. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Interior (Oct. 29, 1900). National Archives microfilm, Frame 2669.

43. O. C. Applegate to T. H. Goodman (Nov. 23, 1900); Applegate to Alex Martin (Nov. 24, 1900).

44. Petition: No. 62440, Indian Office (1900). O. C. Applegate *Papers*, Box 6, Indian Miscellany.

45. O. C. Applegate to Rev. Jesse Kirk (Dec. 7, 1900).

46. Jesse Kirk to Secretary of the Interior (Nov. 1, 1900). National Archives microfilm, Frame 2702.

47. J. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Interior (June 19, 1901).

48. O. C. Applegate to W. A. Jones, Commr. (Dec. 2, 1898).

49. O. C. Applegate to Commr. (Feb. 19, 1900).

50. *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 56th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1900–01), Vol. 27, 358.

51. Petition to Commissioner (Jan. 16, 1902): Rev. J. Kirk to W. A. Jones, Commr. (March, 1902); A. C. Tonner, Acting Commr., to O. C. Applegate (June 28, 1902). O. C. Applegate *Papers*, Special Collections, University of Oregon Library.

52. O. C. Applegate to Frank John (April 4, 1902); Applegate to Charley Pitt (April 4, 1902); Applegate to Allie Tecumseh (April 9, 1902). These were the three new judges.

53. O. C. Applegate to John H. Hall, U.S. Atty. (July 24, 1903); C. S. Hood to O. C. Applegate (Oct. 19, 1903); J. H. Hall to O. C. Applegate (Nov. 18, 1903); Applegate to Hall (Nov. 23, 1903).

54. *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 58th Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1904–05), Vol. 19, 314.

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55. J. H. Mitchell *et al.* to W. A. Jones, Commr. (April 18, 1904). National Archives microfilm, Frame 2444.

56. Jesse Kirk to W. A. Jones, Commr. (April 16, 1904). National Archives microfilm, Frames 2445–46.

57. J. Kirk to O. C. Applegate (April 20, 1904); J. H. Mitchell *et al., to* O. C. Applegate (April 20, 1904). National Archives microfilm, Frames 2448–51.

58. Indians to W. A. Jones, Commr. (July 6, 1904 [both]); National Archives microfilm, Frames 2465–70, 2452–59.

59. J. Kirk *et al.* to W. A. Jones, Commr. (Aug. 10, 1904).

60. O. C. Applegate to Commr. (Sept. 2, 1904).

61. O. C. Applegate to Commr. (Sept. 13, 1904).

62. W. A. Jones to O. C. Applegate (Sept. 10, 1904). National Archives microfilm, Frames 2472–73. Applegate to Commr. (Dec. 12, 1904).

63. O. C. Applegate to Commr. (Dec. 26, 1904).

64. Information, Mr. Seldon Kirk.

65. Act of Council of Indians of Klamath Reservation (Sept. 5, 1908); Klamath Falls *Express* (Thursday, Jan. 31, 1907), Supplement, p. 1: Booth-Kelly Deal.

66. O. C. Applegate to M. F. Holland (Dec. 27, 1904; Jan. 9, 1905).

67. Information, Seldon Kirk. The list of those ordered out by Applegate is given by F. H. Mills as including Charles Pitt (the former Pit River chief), Long Wilson, Sargent Brown, Yank [Lobert], Logan Pompey, Drummer David, Byron Lotches, James Jackson, Albert Jackson, George Gray, William A. Moore, Rev. Jesse Kirk, Stonewall Jackson's wife, and Kilda Chiloquin. Mills to Dudley and Michener (Feb. 23, 1905).

68. O. C. Applegate to Commr. (Jan. 24, 1905; Feb. 1, 1905).

69. Petition (Jan., 1905), cited in F. H. Mills to Dudley and Michener (Feb. 23, 1905).

70. O. C. Applegate to John A. Fairchild (Feb. 22, 1902); Applegate to Fred H. Mills (March 20, 1902); F. H. Mills to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 28, 1904), in his official capacity. See also his service as witness to Harrison Brown's petition in 1900.

71. J. W. Evans to Commr. (Feb. 24, 1905).

72. J. W. Evans to Abraham Charley (Feb. 10, 1905); Evans to Commissioner (Feb. 24, 1905); Copy of Agreement, Evans, Charley, Kirk (Feb. 11, 1905); F. H. Mills to Dudley and Michener (Feb. 23, 1905).

73. K. C. Egbert to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 18, 1905); interview with O. C. Applegate II, in San Francisco (Aug. 1959); K. C. Egbert

000 to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 11, 1905). Letters in the O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

74. Levi Walker, Chairman, and Elmer Lynch, Secty., *Minutes of Meeting* (March 2, 1905); *Report of Committee* (March 2, 1905), signatures lacking in office copy.

75. *Report of Committee* (March 2, 1905).

76. F. H. Mills to Dudley and Michener (Feb. 23, 1905), National Archives microfilm, Frames 3018–28.

77. C. F. Larrabee, Acting Commr., to O. C. Applegate (April 1, 1905 [Grande Ronde], May 1, 1906 [Klamath]). O. C. Applegate *Papers*. Applegate's quest for an Inspectorship in the Indian Service, however, was unavailing. F. E. Leupp, Commr. to Henry L. Benson (Dec. 19, 1905); Benson to O. C. Applegate (Jan. 8, 1906). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

78. Anna C. Egan, Supt. Klamath School, to O. C. Applegate (July 18, 1905). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

79. J. W. Evans to O. C. Applegate (March 26, 1906). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

80. Klamath Falls *Republican* (Dec. 6, 1906), p. 1.

81. K. C. Egbert, Siletz, to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 18, 1905; March 22, 1905). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

THIRTEEN. MODERN KLAMATH: DEMOGRAPHY AND ECONOMY

1. Lange (1953), pp. 87 ff. In Pelican Rapids and Chickamon, respectively, may be seen the county seat and the reservation community. The author was manager of a woods camp on the reservation in the early thirties. Residents deny, however, that Chiloquin's Main Street was divided as Lange described, though they recognize it in Klamath Falls.

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2. The data derive from an analysis of demographic data assembled by Jack Pierce for the Klamath Termination Project, under the direction of Dr. Vincent Ostrom and the writer. Utilizing the provisional enrollment of the tribe as published in the *Federal Register* (May 13, 1955), 2,118 members, Pierce drew a random sample comprising 719 individuals. From among them were abstracted two subsets, comprising those individuals resident on the reservation and those dwelling in such urban centers as Klamath Falls, Springfield, and Eugene. Since data were few on children below the age of sixteen, they were eliminated from the subsets, which then numbered, respectively, 228 and 43.

3. Tabulation of residence of 718 individuals in the random sample, n.2, expressed as per cent.

Reservation:			648*
Chiloquin	30.5		657*
Modoc Point	0.3		161
Klamath Agency	3.9		162
Total Lower End		34.7	
Sprague River	8.2		
Beatty	15.6		
Total Upper End		23.8	
Klamath Falls	7.4		
Other Klamath County	2.0		
Klamath County		9.4	
Willamette Valley		7.5	
Other Oregon		7.1	
California		9.3	
Washington–Idaho		3.1	
Other		5.1	
		100.0	

4. See n.3 for tabulation.

5. Henry (1958).

6. The figures come from a demographic review of a sample of 648*
tribal members above the age of sixteen, made as part of the Klamath 657*
Termination Study. For this restricted sample, the proportion of reservation 162
population one-half or less in Indian heritage is 33 per cent. 144
When calculated separately, the Lower End segment stands at 41 per cent, almost double the figure for the Upper End, with 24 per cent.

Available figures have made it necessary to compare the reservation and absentee memberships over the full age range, rather than to restrict consideration to those above sixteen. Upon this base, the over-all value for the reservation increases from the figure given above to 46 per cent, while that for the absentee membership, 72 per cent, is almost double. Thus the Lower End stands biologically intermediate between Upper End, with the highest Indian heritage, and the absentee segment, with the lowest.

7. Hadley (1957), p. 29. The figures for the United States are for 1957. 000

8. Du Toit (1959).

9. Stern and Swanson (1960).

000 10. Total number of marriages by ethnic character of mate, expressed as a percentage:

	Reservation (N=228) %	*Chiloquin (N=101)* %	*Absentee (N=43)* %
Indian (incl. Klamath)	75	64	14
White	21	29	79
Negro	1	0	0
Mexican	4	6	7

11. Parsons and Bales (1955), esp. Chs. 1 and 2.

12. Meriam *et al.* (1928), p. 463.

13. A few individuals entrusted funds to an influential white friend, but did so largely to put them out of reach of importunate kinsmen or of a sudden drunken impulse.

14. For a total of 175 tribal members from the random sample of those living on the reservation (N=228).

	%
Has had funds programmed in past three years, not at present	3
Programmed regularly	17
Not programmed but considered poor manager	34
No record of mismanagement	47

15. *Annual Narrative Report* (1924), pp. 48 ff.

FOURTEEN. LOCAL POLITICAL RELATIONS

1. By Public Law 28, U.S. 83d Cong., 1st sess. (1953).

[674] 2. Murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, arson, burglary, larceny, robbery, incest, and assault with a dangerous weapon. Cohen (1942), pp. 362 ff. It is perhaps an index either of acculturation or of a lag in legal cognizance that it was only in 1956 that there were added the crimes of embezzlement and of theft from the funds of tribal organizations. Oliver (1959), pp. 201 ff.

3. *Annual Narrative Report*, Klamath Agency (1930), pp. 11 ff.

4. Details of this episode are given in Stern and Swanson (1960), pp. 34–36.

5. Du Toit (1959).

6. The figures, based upon eligible adults, are, respectively, 81 per cent for whites, 68 per cent for tribal members.

7. These data come from the analysis of Bert R. Swanson. Stern and Swanson (1960).

8. *Evening Herald* (April 23, 1929), editorial, p. 4; (April 24, 1929), editorial, p. 4.

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[829]

9. Stern (1961–62), p. 173.

10. Thus in *Your Key to Chiloquin*, Klamath Education Program, Oregon State Department of Education (1958), the Klamath artist, himself a frequent violator, illustrates the budget, p. 31, with a wine jug and city store proceeds on one side, and an Indian, fine in hand, on the other.

FIFTEEN. FAMILY AND SCHOOL

1. Livingstone (1959), pp. 8 ff.
2. Quoted in Stern and Swanson (1960).
3. Clifton (1960); Clifton and Levine (1961), pp. 76–78.
4. Quoted in Stern and Swanson (1960).
5. See Stern and Swanson (1960), pp. 159 ff. for provisos on these figures.
6. For the figures and discussion, see Stern and Swanson (1960), pp. 164 ff.

SIXTEEN. STATUS GRADIENT, ETHNIC HIERARCHY, AND ACCULTURATIVE RANGE

1. Detailed description will be found in Stern and Swanson (1960).
2. See Goldschmidt (1950); Williams (1958), pp. 90–135.
3. Ribbans (1951).
4. "Matilda Must Move" (March 7, 1907), p. 1. For her earlier career, see Meacham (1875), p. 423.
5. "Indians Becoming Civilized," Klamath Falls *Express* (May 23, 1907), p. 1.
6. "Boredom Entirely Lacking in Sprightly, Hospitable Chiloquin" (May 3, 1931), Sec. 4, pp. 4, 6.
7. Stern and Swanson (1960), p. 215.
8. The total number of households considered is 105.
9. The total number of households considered is 21. The respective percentages are: Klamath couple, 57 per cent; with Indian, 19 per cent, with white, 19 per cent, with Negro, 5 per cent. Figures compiled from Du Toit (1959).

For another expression, see chap. 13, n.10.

10. Stern and Swanson (1960), p. 45, Table II.
11. James (1961), pp. 826–33; cf. Lurie (1962).
12. Data are drawn from Barnett (1957), Spier (1935), and my own field notes.
13. *Annual Narrative Report* (1917), p. 6.
14. H. N. in Zakoji (1953), p. 220.
15. Zakoji (1953); Stern (1956), pp. 138–39. The latter compares

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OOO the two autobiographies presented by Zakoji. Other life-histories are on record in lesser detail.

16. Stern (1950).

17. Stern (1956, 1963).

18. Embree (1950).

19. Clifton (1960), p. 295.

20. In the sense of Nadel (1951), p. 157.

21. Polgar (1960).

22. Superficially, the Conformant and Inframodal categories resemble respectively Voget's (1952) "American modified" and "American marginal," Spindler and Goldschmidt's (1952) "elite acculturated" and "low status acculturated," and Hurt's (1962) "acceptors" or "middle-class selectors" and "lower-class selectors." As is evident, such categorization when applied to the Klamath does violence to those important characteristics which they share across their differences.

23. They were part of the over-all random sample of the reservation population discussed earlier. All were 16 years of age or older. The initial segment of 101 members with postal addresses in Chiloquin was subsequently reduced to 83, with the elimination of cards deficient in data. The detailed treatment of data are discussed in "Mythic roles and culture change among the Klamath." Stern (n.d.), a brief summary of which was presented under the same title at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Minneapolis (1960).

24. The categories were: (1) arrests for misdemeanors, (2) arrests for felonies, (3) arrests involving liquor, (4) has problems with drinking, (5) children born out of wedlock.

25. The numbers were, respectively, Conformant, 32, Intermediate, 34, Inframodal, 17.

26. Clifton (1960). The distribution was Conformant 17, Intermediate, 7, Inframodal, 6. Efforts by Dr. Clifton to draw his TAT subjects from the random sample proved unavailing. Only 5 individuals appear on both lists.

27. Stern (1963).

28. Vogt (1951): See especially Table II, Cases A, B, C, and D.

29. Stern (1950).

SEVENTEEN. THE TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

1. This chapter follows closely Stern (1961–62), and like it is indebted at many points to a chapter by Dr. Vincent Ostrom, "The Development of the Klamath Termination Policy," in the joint report by Ostrom and Stern, entitled "A Case Study of the Termination of

Federal Responsibilities Over the Klamath Reservation," made to the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian. 000

2. Constitution and By-Laws of the Klamath Business Committee of the Klamath Indian Reservation (adopted Aug. 8, 1929).

3. Constitution and By-Laws of the Klamath General Council (adopted Feb. 3, 1950).

4. *Federal Indian Law,* U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Solicitor (1958), p. 396.

5. *Klamath Indians, Oregon,* Hearings on S.1222, U.S. Senate, Committee on Public Lands, 80th Cong., 1st sess. (1948), Pt. 2, 241–43.

6. Eisenstadt (1959), p. 202.

7. Used here to signify the signatory groups, together with their liberated Pit River slaves, who constitute the Klamath Tribe.

8. Jesse L. Kirk, Secretary, Tribal Council, to Superintendent L. D. Arnold (March 4, 1929), citing William Barkley. Klamath Tribal Records.

9. *Minutes,* General Council, Klamath Agency (Jan. 24, 1931). In phrasing a "full-blood"–"half-breed" antagonism, Brown was echoing his father, Monchnkasgitk, who with chief Lilu had initially opposed the allotment of Indians with white forebears.

10. Talcott Parsons, cited in Eisenstadt (1959), p. 203. See also the characterization of "party factionalism" by Siegel and Beals (1960), pp. 394–417.

11. Applegate was far from the last of the Superintendents to feel the weight of tribal censure. Barely two years after his resignation, his successor, H. G. Wilson, was the object of a petition, promptly rejected, for his removal. The action against him was supported by resident missionaries. C. L. Davis, Supervisor, to the Indians of the Klamath Reservation (August, 1909); H. G. Wilson to Amelia S. Quinton (Aug. 18, 1909); Wilson to Rev. Dunlap (Aug. 19, 1909). Edson Watson later came under fire from the tribal council, which was opposed to many of his policies. E. Watson to Mr. Clayton Kirk and members of the Klamath Council (Feb. 14, 1914). L. D. Arnold was subjected to a sustained assault led by Wade and Ida Crawford. Klamath Falls *Evening Herald* (March 19, 1929), p. 4; (April 5, 1929), pp. 1, 10, (Jan. 31, 1930), pp. 1, 10, (Nov. 16, 1930), p. 1. In 1950, I was present at a session of the General Council at which a temporary coalition of factions led by the Crawfords and by Boyd Jackson sought—and later secured—the removal of Superintendent Raymond H. Bitney.

000 12. In one story which made the rounds, it was said that Jackson had instructed the less acculturated among the Paiute, "When I stand up, you stand too!" When, in the course of a lengthy session, he rose suddenly to go to the lavatory, the upsurge among his constituents was remarkable.

13. As chairman, Seldon Kirk attempted to stem these delays. On one occasion, when Crawford was maintaining a boycott and the number present fell just short of the required number, Kirk waited until Crawford stepped in to take a head count—and had his quorum for business.

14. A number of tribal members took the position that the employment of a white man to collect outstanding debts was no more than a government plot to fill another position at tribal expense; and, ignoring the success with which he was operating, claimed that his salary was a useless extravagance. Characteristically, in this situation, their sympathies lay with their fellow-tribesmen and against the coercive whites. [829]

15. Harrassed by an absentee gadfly, one speaker shifted his remarks into Klamath, and thus excluded him. Translators might be retained at any meeting upon request from the floor, but only for the purpose of rendering English into Klamath–Modoc or Paiute.

16. Klamath Management Specialists (1957), p. 6, Appendix B, Exhibit 11.

17. *Minutes*, General Council, Klamath Agency (Sept. 16, 1947).

18. *32d Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*. U.S. 56th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1900–1901), Vol. 28, 641, 642.

19. As Ostrom has shown (see n.1 above), there were inconsistencies on the latter point in the legislation itself.

20. In the joint report referred to in n.1.

21. Ames and Fisher (1959), pp. 101–11. It is interesting to note, by way of contrast with the reliance upon commercial exploitation of the Klamath tribal timber, that the Menominee instead had established a tribal mill in which many members found employment.

22. Including the insertion of a provision for a $500 per capita payment to follow shortly the signing of the bill. As was anticipated, when this section became known on the reservation, it greatly increased pressures upon the tribal leaders to sign.

23. Mead (1932), pp. 67–69.

24. The Miss Indian America of 1962–63 was a Klamath.

25. Edgerton (1962).

26. Indeed, in a survey of the legal status of American Indian

tribes, Oliver (1959) presents rulings of the United States Supreme 000 Court that suggest that the court itself has not been immune from the shift.

In 1958, the Department of the Interior found it necessary to revise the *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, first published under the editorship of the late Felix S. Cohen, a moving figure in the planning of the Collier administration. (Zimmerman, in Simpson and Yinger [1957], p. 31). The new volume, which reflects the viewpoint emergent since that time, states in part:

> Much of the earlier Federal law and many Indian treaties now have only historical significance. As national development and progress continue and as new patterns of policy evolve, legal answers to questions of Federal Indian law will be found predominantly in the latest statutory law and judicial determination of justiciable issues. Those are stressed in this revision for the purpose, not only of seeking balance . . . but also for the purpose of foreclosing, if possible, further uncritical use of the earlier edition. . . . U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Solicitor ([1958] p. 1).

27. Ostrom and Stern (1959).

EIGHTEEN. CONCLUSION

1. Klamath *Tribune*, Chiloquin, Ore. (July-Aug. 1961), p. 3.
2. Linton (1940), Spicer (1961).
3. Watson (1963).
4. For corresponding evaluation in British Columbia, see Hawthorn, Belshaw, and Jamieson (1958). At Klamath, in the days of [563] allotment "half-breeds" were sometimes accorded more discretion in [423] leasing or selling lands than "full-bloods." At a somewhat later date, [427) success in stock-raising and farming, as well as in the handling of funds disbursed by the Agency were gauged. One survey during the administration of Arnold assessed the material prosperity and industry of househeads on the reservation. Notwithstanding such attempts, the competent all too often chafed under an overly solicitous supervision, while wastrels claimed citizen's right to squander per capita income, without effective training in management.
5. Spicer (1962), p. 349.
6. Gordon (1964).
7. Geertz (1957).
8. Leighton (1959), pp. 318–22.
9. Clifton and Levine (1961), p. 77.

000 10. Hagen (1962), p. 495; see also Hanks and Hanks (1950), Mead (1932).

11. Berreman (1964), p. 245.

12. James (1961).

13. E.g. Hallowell (1955), Chap. 19; Caudill (1949); Barnouw (1950); Friedl (1956).

14. Spindler and Spindler (1957).

15. Cited in personal communication in Clifton and Levine (1961), p. 76.

16. James (1961), p. 734.

17. Thus also Lurie (1962).

18. Rasmussen, cited in Stern and Swanson (1960); Bruner (1956).

19. See also Spencer (1952), p. 226.

20. Spencer (1956), p. 86.

21. Stern (1963).

22. Spencer (1956), p. 84.

23. In 1897, Judge Henry Wilson's haystack was fired by Tall Jim, a Modoc, and Jack Drew, Klamath-Modoc, both of whom had been drinking. Wilson, a member of the Pelican Bay tribelet on the west shore of Klamath Lake, had moved to the Upper End, where he had incurred enmity. The arson, he alleged, was due to "their envy of his prosperity, and from his connection with the U.S. Allotting Agent, Major Charles E. Wuordon [sic], he having acted as chain man and Interpretor [sic] for Major Wuordon [sic]." *Letter Book* (Jan., 1897, to Oct., 1897), p. 70. J. Emery to Hon. Daniel R. Murphy, U.S. District Attorney, Portland (Feb. 3, 1897, Feb. 12, 1897). Deposition of Tall Jim at Klamath Agency (Feb. 11, 1897). The passage quoted is from the letter (Feb. 3).

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[For U.S. government regulations imposed on the Indians of the Klamath reservation, see categories 648 and 657.]

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[For information on the U.S. government's care and administration of the Klamath on the established Klamath reservation, see category 116, pp. xv-xvi, 44-121, 125-181, 185-255, 259-266 and 316-317.]

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By

MARION PEARSALL 000

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[For information on Klamath-U.S. government relations during the reservation period, see category 116, pp. xv-xvi, 44-53, 57-65, 70-121, 125-181, 185-255, 259-266, and 316-317.]

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KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION[1]

by

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

The communication of knowledge from one generation to another is a subtle process in any culture, and especially so among primitive groups with no clearly defined and well formulated educational system. Any study of primitive education is, therefore, difficult to demarcate. In its broadest sense, education might be defined as the formation of manners and habits by means of instruction, by both physical and moral discipline. The acquisition of all attitudes, knowledge, and skills can be included in education. A thorough investigation would have to answer the question of where, when, and how the individual acquires each item of his adult personality. 121

Obviously, no complete picture of education in any primitive group can be drawn after a single season in the field. The present study makes no pretense of being definitive. It is our intent to show the gradual development of the Klamath child from infancy to adulthood as he receives physical, religious, and moral training, as well as instruction in the food gathering techniques and skilled crafts of his culture. Undoubtedly many phases of the culture have been slighted, but we have tried to show in a general way the type of instruction and encouragement given the maturing child. Klamath 114
ethnography has been well known for years through the works of Gatschet (1890), Coville (1898, 1904), Dorsey (1901), Barrett (1910), Spier (1930), Voegelin (1942), and others. For 128
that reason, the details of language, material

[text continues on top of p. 339-B]

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Parenthood with its attendant responsibilities is not taken lightly by the average Klamath. One gets married for the express purpose of raising a large family, and the couple with several strong sons and hardworking daughters is highly respected in the community. A childless couple, on the other hand, is looked upon with contempt and pity. Barrenness is sometimes con- 581 593 842

[text continues on bottom of p. 339-B]

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[1] The present study is based on data collected for the University of California during a two-month stay on the Klamath Indian reservation in southern Oregon in the summer of 1947. Much of the material presented in this paper was gathered by Mrs. Betty T. Dasey, and the research represents our joint efforts. [122]

[p. 339-B]

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION [1]

by

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

128 culture, social and political organization are
not described here except in their effect on
124 education. Wherever particular items are mentioned,
we specifically asked our informants for
a description, even though they had been described
in previous ethnographies. Such accounts
may thus be taken as corroborating
earlier evidence unless otherwise specified in
the text.

131 The Klamath reside in their old territory
178 in southern Oregon, but the aboriginal way of
life has long since disappeared. Today they are
241 farmers and ranchers, but a considerable part of
the earlier culture remains alive in the memories
233 of a few oldsters. Our seven informants
178 (4 men and 3 women) were all in their late
seventies or eighties and had participated in
the last phases of the aboriginal culture as
115 children. It is regrettable that it was necessary
to reconstruct childhood training from the
reminiscences of elderly individuals. Doubtless
much of the material represents the ideal rather
than the actual pattern of education. The
ideals do, however, give a definite insight into
what was considered important in the upbringing
of children, whether these standards were always
maintained or not. Since there is little or
nothing in the early literature on this subject,
there is no way of comparing impressions received
from old people who are admittedly looking
back to "the good old days" with impressions
of objective eyewitnesses to the old ways as
they were really practised.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Barrenness is sometimes considered cause for divorce. Since the blame
842 seems to fall most commonly on the woman, her
husband's parents may suggest that he send her
586 away and get a wife who can provide him with
children. Ordinarily, though, the parents-in-
606 law are more lenient with a barren woman.
Most Klamath express a preference for boys. A
842 variety of reasons are offered, the most common
being that boys are less bother than girls.
"Girls are always getting into trouble, and you
just raise them for someone else because they go
off to their husbands when they get married."
Once the child is born, however, there seems to
be no special favoritism shown to boys. One

[p.340A]

842 hopes to have many sons, but the inevitable is accepted philosophically.

843 The sex of the child is not entirely left to chance, for certain traditional precautions are taken. A man does not cut wood while his wife is pregnant lest she have a girl. He may also hang a tiny bow and arrow in his house to assure the birth of a boy. If a girl is born, the opposite sex may be assured for the next child by turning over the afterbirth.

844 [821] [787] [593] The arrival of the first child is of special significance. It is said that at this time there will be strong winds and thunder.[2] This is also a propitious time for a man to seek supernatural power in the mountains. In spite of the great importance attached to the birth of the first child there is nothing to indicate that he will be shown any favoritism. On the contrary, he will probably learn adult activities at an earlier age than his younger siblings and will be expected to assume a certain amount of responsibility in caring for younger children in the family.

At delivery, a soft pad is arranged to receive the child.[3] The umbilical cord is tied with the mother's hair and cut with an obsidian knife. The cord is buried when it drops off, or sometimes kept and wrapped in a piece of buckskin to be worn around the child's neck for luck. The navel is anointed with squirrel grease to hasten healing. As a general rule the afterbirth is disposed of at once by burial. Occasionally a woman throws the afterbirth away carelessly because she wishes to prevent future pregnancies.

846 The newborn baby is sponged off immediately with water, and the face and body are massaged and molded for the first time to conform to Klamath standards of beauty. He is kept beside the mother in the birth lodge during the four or five days of her seclusion. Once each day during this period the child is held over the heated rocks on which the mother lies, to insure his future health.

The infant is put to the breast a few hours after birth. The mother's nipples are squeezed and a hair worked around in them to start the 853 flow of milk. Thereafter the child is nursed whenever he cries. If the mother is unable to nurse her child, a wet nurse is called--generally a relative, but apparently any neighbor woman will do.

852 In many families presents are brought to the newborn child. A boy receives a tiny bow and arrow or small quiver, a girl a small digging stick or basket. These gifts are later hung from the hood of the child's cradleboard. As the presents are brought, a prayer or blessing is said "to encourage the child." Over a

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[2] Spier (1930), p. 55. None of our informants mentioned this.

[14] [3] The practices surrounding pregnancy, birth, and the care of the mother are described in detail by Spier, pp. 55 ff., and Voegelin (1942), elements 3007-3262.

852 boy one says, "May this one be a good hunter." For a girl the hope is expressed that "this one will be a good worker and dig many ipos [a root used as food]." These statements are amplified in many ways, according to the sentiments of the individual donor.

854 The infant is first placed in a willow or tule cradle,* usually prepared by the maternal grandmother. Several informants asserted that it would be bad luck to prepare the cradle before the child's birth; others seemed not to share this belief. The child remains on the basketry cradle for a fortnight to a month and is thereafter placed on a rigid cradleboard.

[764] It is generally the father who makes the cradleboard although, once it has been made, it may be handed down from one child to the next or even from one generation to the next. It is destroyed only in the event of the child's death, in which case the board and all other objects prepared for the child are burned with the body. After the father makes the cradleboard, the maternal grandmother fixes it for the child. She shows her daughter how to arrange the bedding on the board and place the infant on it with his legs straight and arms extended at his sides.

[856] The child remains on the cradleboard for at least the first year of his life. Even after he can walk he is placed there to sleep; for "if you don't use a cradleboard, the child gets humpbacked." When the child no longer requires a cradleboard, he may still be tightly wrapped in a blanket at night to make him lie straight.

For the first few months of his life the child is cared for almost entirely by his mother with the occasional help of the grandmother. The father would be considered unmanly if he helped with the baby very much. The child is never left alone for more than a few minutes at a time, and then only if the mother knows he is sound asleep. At night the cradleboard lies beside the mother where she can reach out and nurse the child if he cries. During the day the board is propped up in the dwelling, or, if the mother is working elsewhere, she carries the cradle with her and sets it up near her work. While working in a canoe, the woman arranges the cradleboard in one end with a willow shade to protect the child from the sun. If she is busy digging roots or gathering berries or seeds, she sets the cradle against a near-by tree. At such times the child's hands may be unbound so that he is free to play with beads or other objects

[853] suspended from the hood of the cradle. Often he is given a bit of camas root to chew on.

The infant seldom receives physical demonstrations of affection, nor does the mother carry him in her arms. However, he is watched continually; and the mother or other adults often pause in their work to talk to the child. They tell a boy to be strong and brave and grow

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[114] *Cradling practices are described by Barrett (1910), pp. 257 ff., Spier, pp. 57-59, and Voegelin, elements 3263-3286.

[p.341A]

854 up to be a good hunter, whereas a girl is admonished to be a good worker. Both are advised to do right, to help other people, and never to quarrel. Stereotyped phrases of advice are used, and it is felt that "the baby listens just as if he understood everything."

At least once a day the child is taken off the cradle to be bathed. When the child is first unbound, he is allowed to stretch as much as he wishes. For bathing, the mother holds the child on her knee and sponges him in cold water. The cold water is supposed to make the child [114] fearless and strong. Gatschet mentions the application of insects to the infant's arms for [856] the purpose of making him fearless and unmoved by sudden fright;[5] we found no confirmation of this practice.

After the bath the mother rubs the child with warm ashes and finally powders it with 854 finely ground chalk. Throughout the entire process she talks to the child and expresses her 856 desire that he may grow to be strong and good. At the same time she massages the child's limbs to make them straight and molds his ears, nose, lips, and brows to make him more beautiful. The daily massaging continues till the child is five or six months old. After that it is believed that the bones are too hard to be changed. Frontal flattening by means of a pad tied across the forehead continues as long as the child is on the cradleboard, but not all children undergo this process. According to some informants, the flattening is simply incidental to the manner of cradling. Others claim it is done for beauty. "After all," they say, "a basket hat would never fit a square head."

As the child gets older he is allowed to remain away from the cradleboard for longer and longer periods. He cries to be taken off the board at times, but also to be put back when tired. By the time he is a year old he remains off the board all day, though he may still be placed on it to sleep.

Teething is not considered a difficult process.[6] The gums are massaged if the child becomes fretful. Otherwise he is simply given something to chew on--the inside layer of certain barks or a bit of camas. Later, when the child begins to get his permanent teeth, no special significance is attached to the deciduous set. They are pulled out as they become loose and thrown away or buried.

When a child is five or six months old, he is encouraged to sit up. He is placed on a mat or blanket, and his arms are held on either side of his head as he is taught to rock back and forth while uttering the meaningless sound "aam aam." Parents are proud when the child is able to sit up by himself; and they tell visitors, "See, he can sit up now." The child is allowed to crawl around the dwelling as he pleases. If

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[5] Gatschet (1890), p. 92.

[6] Voegelin, elements 3369-3377.

[p.341-B]

854 he falls, no attempt is made to pick him up un-
856 less he cries for some time.

The first experimentation in crawling and walking is largely left to the child. But when he tries to stand, he is helped. One person steadies the toddler, while another stands a few feet away with outstretched hand, coaxing him to "Come to me." The child soon learns such commands as "Walk," "Go to auntie," and so forth. The parents are proud of the child's accomplishment and show off his ability to visitors.

862 A child continues to nurse until he is two
or three years old. Some mothers allow him to
nurse as long as he pleases, but ordinarily
there is a conscious effort at weaning.[7] The
mother rubs her breasts with pitch or charcoal,
both to impart a bitter taste and to give a
frightening appearance. Some mothers wean their
children by staying out of sight for several
days while an aunt or other relative takes care
of the child. If the mother becomes pregnant
[842] again, weaning is hastened. However, it is con-
sidered a disgrace to be pregnant while a child
is still nursing. No one respects a couple who
have children less than two or three years
apart. The couple is expected to refrain from
intercourse during the nursing period.

863 There is no set age at which toilet training begins. Some families hasten the process; others are extremely lax. Two years seems to be about the average age at which training is begun. The mother takes the child out to the bushes and shows him where to urinate and defecate. He is told to have some adult accompany him to the bushes when he wishes to relieve himself. Thereafter the child is scolded or whipped when he makes a mistake.

856 A child begins to say a few words when about a year old. He has probably acquired a few meaningless syllables even before that, such as the "aam" mentioned above. Children repeat these syllables as they rock back and forth. "It keeps them busy and out of trouble."

The first true word that the individual learns is "mother." At about the same time the child acquires an understanding of simple commands like "dirty" (spoken when he puts unclean objects in his mouth) and "don't" (repeated whenever he gets near the fireplace or other dangerous places).

867 The second word the child learns to articulate is "father." The terms for brother and sister are acquired somewhat later even though older siblings are often assigned to the task of tending the baby. The terms for the paternal grandparents are among the first to be learned, and thereafter the child is told the terms for other relatives with whom he lives. Because of patrilocal residence children normally learn the words for their paternal relatives first. But the teaching of kinship terms is not restricted to those for relatives in the same house group. There is an effort to teach the child the proper

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[7] Ibid., elements 3294-3303.

[p.342A]

867 terms for all his relatives, whether he has seen them yet or not. This is considered one of the most important things a child must learn.[8]

With the knowledge of kinship terms the
child acquires certain attitudes toward his
relatives, although patterns of behavior toward
particular kin do not seem to be very clearly
[593] defined among the Klamath. Parents are re-
[603] spected and obeyed, as are grandparents though a
certain amount of indulgence and teasing is to
[604] be expected from the latter. Uncles and aunts
are shown considerable respect. Cousins call
[605] each other by sibling terms; those of opposite
sex play together freely when small but are told
that it is not proper to "play rough" with each
other. Even small children learn that marriage
between cousins is "a very bad thing," and that
children from such an incestuous union will
never live.

856 There is some effort to teach the child the names of objects by pointing to them and repeating the word, but he probably acquires more of his vocabulary simply by listening to adult conversation. There is no baby talk or any attempt to simplify words for the children. If the child mispronounces or misuses words, he is laughed at and corrected.

553 Children acquire their personal names in a casual manner at any time from birth to the age of five or six. There is no ceremony connected with naming, and some individuals receive two or three names which may all be in use at the same time. Names are, for the most part, of the nickname variety and refer to some personal mannerism or peculiarity.[9] In addition, some refer to spirits, birds, or animals. Names are given by the parents or other relatives. One person

[text continues on top of p. 342-B]

EARLY CHILDHOOD

857 By the time a child is three he begins to
play with other children, parents encouraging
group play. Children from all social strata
play together. "After all, you can't keep kids
apart." Children of chiefs or shamans are no
[848] different from the rest. Illegitimate children
are looked down upon by the community as a
whole, but they are not segregated from their
age-mates.

[865] At first the youngsters are apt to start fights with each other, but the parents are usually on hand to stop rough play. A child who fights all the time brings disgrace to his family and especially to himself. He must play by himself for awhile. "Everyone knows he has been bad; no one likes him." He is ashamed and experiences great remorse when he is told he cannot play with other children.

Three- and four-year-olds find a variety of

[text continues on bottom of p. 342-B]

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[8] See Spier, pp. 62-68, for a discussion of the Klamath kinship system.

[9] Naming customs and typical names are given by Spier, pp. 59-61, and Voegelin, elements 3306-3321.

[p.342-B]

553 coins it, and soon all are using it.

Personal names are freely used at all times, but within the family kinship terms are more commonly applied. There are also age status terms for direct address or in reference to an individual as "newborn baby," "infant," "child," "youth," and so forth.[10]

855 757 Throughout infancy the health of the child is a matter of considerable concern. Whenever he cries and cannot be pacified by feeding, the parents fear that he is ill. For certain obvious physical ailments there is a variety of simple home remedies known to most adults. For stomachaches, warm ashes are held over the abdomen, and sagebrush tea may be administered orally. For a fever, sagebrush bark is mashed, mixed with warm water, and rubbed on the child to produce sweating. Deer grease is applied to burns. Pine pitch is rubbed on chapped faces and is also used to heal sore eyes. These and similar remedies serve for both children and adults.[11]

75 Ailments not so readily diagnosed require the services of a shaman, who then demands a large fee. Shamans are believed to send diseases to individuals, particularly through the medium of bad dreams. A child's nightmares are, therefore, taken as an indication that some shaman is trying to sicken the child. A curing ceremony must then be held either by the suspected shaman or another of equal power. [841] Some women try to prevent children's nightmares by placing a cloth or piece of fur stained with menstrual discharge under the sleeping child. Shamans fear the contamination of a menstruating woman and are unable to use their powers in the presence of one.

EARLY CHILDHOOD

857 [865] simple amusements for themselves. They erect piles of dirt, mark in the sand with sticks, or make neat rows of sticks on the ground. Older children are punished if they try to bother the youngsters at play.

[864] Until the age of six or seven, boys and girls play together as much as they wish. When a bit older they will be warned not to be intimate with members of the opposite sex, but young children often play at "man and wife" in imitation of their elders, using the proper status terms for husband and wife and pretending to keep house. The boys go off to hunt, and the girls wait for them to bring meat home to cook. Such play is not discouraged, nor is it apparently encouraged.

Small children also enjoy pretending to be very old people. In this game they hobble around on canes. One old lady of eighty laughed as she recalled playing in this manner:

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[10] Spier, pp. 61-68.

[114] [11] Therapeutic knowledge and beliefs of the Klamath are mentioned in Voegelin, elements 4469-4511.

857 My friends all tease me because I always wanted to play I was an old woman. They ask me how I like it now. But we kids all thought it was great to be old. I used to get a cane and limp around. I wanted the others to pretend they were burning [cauterizing] my leg.[12]

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857 Even in early childhood there is great emphasis on competitive sports. Parents brag about a child who is better at any activity than his age-mates. Children soon acquire a keen desire to best their playmates in games and thus gain approval and prestige.

Small children from four to six years old have simple contests of endurance.[13] In one, each player holds his breath and runs as far as he can before having to take another breath. The one who runs the farthest wins. Another race is run on one leg, with the other leg held out in front; the contestants see who can hop the longest without having to put his leg down. Little girls have a contest in which they squat down with their arms wrapped under or around their knees to see who can jump up and down for the longest time. Both boys and girls have hair-pulling contests to see who can keep from crying with pain. All such contests are accompanied by shouting and shrill cries; apparently, the more noise the better. Adults watch the contests when they have time and encourage their favorites.

One of the most important activities in which young girls engage is playing with dolls.[14] Through their use the girl is encouraged in many of her future activities of housekeeping. A few boys like to play with dolls too, but they are teased about this girlish activity and soon cease. It is the girl's mother or grandmother who first shows her how to make dolls and play with them. They are fashioned from any available material; wood, bark, tules, and clay are all utilized. In lieu of anything better they may even be outlined in the sand. Once the technique has been learned, the girls manufacture their own dolls and play with them alone or in groups. They make little shelters of willow for the dolls, pretend to dig up roots for them, and in every way treat them as actual children. Often the dolls are placed on a piece of bark to represent the cradleboard. Apparently much of this play is spontaneous on the part of the girls, but there is also considerable suggestion and encouragement on the part of mother and grandmother.

While little girls are beginning to play in this way, boys of the same age become interested in the use of the bow and arrow. At first they

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[757] [12] Cautery with sagebrush pellets that are burned over the afflicted part is a common cure for rheumatism from which many elderly Klamath suffer.

[13] Several children's contests are mentioned in Spier, p. 86.

[14] Dolls are described briefly by Spier, ibid.

524 play with a tiny bow of willow, little more than a toy, which they learn to make from an older
857 boy or from their father. But by the time a boy is six or seven his father presents him with a real bow made from juniper. It is smaller than the large yew war and hunting bows of the men, and the arrows are blunt. The boys practice shooting at targets around the camp. They will not begin to do any hunting for several years, but groups of boys imitate the shooting contests of their elders. These will be described in more detail in a later section since it is older boys who spend the most time in these pursuits.

Another favorite activity of all Klamath
868 children is swimming. Very young children are not allowed near the water, but by five or six
857 years of age the child is paddling around in shallow water under the watchful eye of parents
481 or of older children who help the younger ones to learn. The teacher holds the child around the waist and tells him to splash with his arms and legs. In other instances the child learns by himself or by verbal instructions. One informant related the following incident:

> I thought I was swimming when I had my feet on the bottom. Someone laughed at me and said that wasn't swimming. He told me to kick my feet, too.

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Several games are played in the water. The
857 children race to see who will be the first to get into the water. Then, teams of four or five line up opposite each other and splash until one side gives up. There are also diving contests to see who can go the farthest underwater before coming to the surface.

In addition to the active outdoor play of children, which is possible only in the summer months, there are games and amusements which can be played indoors at any time.[35] Many of these are enjoyed equally by adults and by children.

Individuals of both sexes and all ages enjoy top spinning. Adults show the children how to set the tops in motion by twirling the stem between their palms, but then the children play by themselves. The children also learn from adults or older children how to make their own tops of bark, wood, or pine pitch. The best ones, according to informants, are from hardened pitch.

> We used to go out and get pine gum and chew it all up. Then we made it flat and round with our hands and got some boys to fix the hole in the middle for the stick. You have to put the gum in cold water till it gets hard. They lasted pretty good unless we dropped them or left them out in the sun.

221 During the winter there is little economic activity, and families spend most of the time in

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[35] Klamath games and amusements are described in detail by Dorsey (1901), pp. 14-27, Spier, pp. 76-86, and Voegelin, elements 2170-2528.

221 the warmth of the winter dwelling. There are
usually two or three related families sharing a
[592] single winter house; and evenings are spent in
playing games, telling stories, or gossiping, as
[517] well as in making baskets and manufacturing fish
nets. Small children are not allowed outdoors
[857] in the cold, but older ones go out some days to
slide on the ice or downhill on pieces of bark.

Cat's cradle is a popular pastime engaged
[524] in by both adults and children in the winter.
The number of possible figures is great. Coyote, Skunk, Bear, Bullfrog's Tail, Owl's Eyes, Sunrise, Boy Running, and Man Chasing a Rabbit are but a few of the many that most individuals can make. Children learn how to make the figures from adults or from older children. However, if the children play at cat's cradle very often, the string is taken away with the comment, "You'll stretch the months if you do that so much." There is apparently no such restriction on adults.

In one version of string figures an adult fixes a loop in the string. A child is told to put his finger through the loop, which is then pulled tight around the finger; and he must tell his name before he can be released.

538 Every night throughout the winter months
myths are told. They are never told in the sum-
[221] mer or daytime lest the narrator age quickly.
Most myths serve for amusement, not being regarded as especially sacred. Stories about Creator are taken somewhat more seriously than others. "You have to keep quiet and listen to them." It is from the Creator myths that children first learn about sacred beings.

There are many stories explaining the origin of local geographic features. Most of the myths have personified animal characters. There are a few tales that offer advice to the children. After stories about hunting or gathering, the teller may turn to the children and say, "If you want to be a good man (or woman), do like that."

In contrast to many other tribes there is very little formality connected with the telling of myths among the Klamath. In the evening an old man or woman starts to tell stories, and others gather around. Young adults never tell them because a storyteller begins to age rapidly. The children lie down to listen; they may request their favorites and are free to complain that the narrator is not telling the story right, if they do not like his particular version. A few old people are recognized as the best raconteurs.

Adults also listen to the stories and make requests. Certain characters are especially liked; and children often ask for tales about Little Weasel, Chipmunk, Coyote, and Skunk. Skunk is funny because he thinks himself very clever, but all his undertakings are fiascos. After a Skunk story, children are warned, "Don't be like that." A few stories, such as those about Owl, are told to frighten children into behaving. As the evening wears on, the children fall asleep one by one. Indeed, one of the main

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538 purposes of telling the stories seems to be to keep the children quiet and put them to sleep.

867 Concepts of etiquette and what constitutes a well brought up individual are clearly defined among the Klamath. Standards for proper behavior toward one's own family and toward other members of the tribe are taught at an early age. As soon as the child can understand what is said to him, he receives ethical advice from parents and others. Not only relatives but also other adults may give advice. Elderly people are especially apt to counsel children. [887]

> Old people start giving advice right away whenever they meet you. They tell you to be kind to everyone, don't brag, don't put yourself before anyone, work hard and you'll live a long time and be respected by everybody.

593 867 Either parent may take the responsibility of advising the children, but the father is generally stricter. In the early morning and at night, and "whenever everyone is gathered around and it is quiet" the father exhorts his children to be good and kind and to help others, demanding and receiving the attention of his youngsters for these harangues.

867 858 Since a well mannered child brings some prestige to his family, even a very small one is taught how to conduct himself before visitors; and the highest respect is shown to large families whose children are polite and well behaved.[15]

858 574 Visiting is a favorite pastime, especially in the fall after the winter house has been prepared. When visitors arrive, they are offered something to eat. At this point, the children are sent out to play; for "food will stick in the visitors' gullets if children stay around." Exemplary children learn to disappear without being told whenever visitors arrive.

867 264 Eating involves a few rules of etiquette for the young. Meals are not regular, and all are free to take food when there is any available. Ordinarily the family eats at least two meals a day, in the morning and again in the evening. The whole family eats together, and children are told to wait until the father has said a grace, holding a bit of food or water out toward the mountains, lake, and earth as an offering. If this were not done, the children might become ill.

Immediately afterwards all start eating. There is no particular seating arrangement. Children are required to sit quietly during the meal. "They would choke if they ran around or talked." Children are also told never to walk in front of anyone who is eating--a rule doubly important if the person is a shaman.

869 778 An important part of training consists in developing respectful attitudes toward the many sacred places in Klamath territory. Children

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[15] See Spier, p. 91, for a few of the Klamath rules of etiquette.

869 778 hear about these spots first in stories. Later the parents point out the sacred sites as they pass by them. Many of the places are referred to as "doctor rocks." Children are warned never to run or play near them lest they should fall and become crippled.

869 756 Klamath religion is very closely associated with shamanism[17] so that most of the religious attitudes acquired are directed toward shamans. Shamans are the most important, powerful, and feared individuals in the tribe. Small children are warned never to bother one, but to run and hide whenever a shaman appears, or he may cause sickness. Children are told, "There's a doctor; don't run in front of him, or he'll trip you. Don't ever look at him when he is smoking." Even the shaman's own children fear him.

861 Obedience is achieved by parents in a number of ways. They frequently scold erring children, small ones being perhaps most often threatened with some supernatural punishment for misbehavior. Whippings are not rare, but are probably never severe. A child is switched across his hands or the back of his legs with a willow switch, or the child's hair or ears are pulled. Corporal punishment is seldom resorted to unless the child has made the same mistake several times and has not heeded scoldings.

861 776 775 [539] Obedience is also achieved by instilling in the child a fear of ghosts, spirits, and other supernatural beings who kidnap bad children. Owl is the most potent supernatural threat, feared by child and adult alike. When a child cries at night or is naughty, his parents threaten, "Owl will come to pluck out your eyes or carry you off to a cave." If the child fails to heed the warning at first, the parents call, "Owl, come listen to this child." The effectiveness of the threat is increased by the child's knowledge of the story about a baby who was carried off by an owl to a cave near Modoc Point. The baby gradually sprouted feathers and turned into an owl. Bear and Coyote are similarly used to silence a crying child.

In the same way children are warned about ghosts who might snatch them away from the camp unless they are good.[18] Ghosts hover about the camp constantly and are especially dangerous to little ones. For that reason children are never allowed out after sundown unless accompanied by an adult. The child is told to turn his left side and raise his left arm to a ghost if he ever sees one; only in this manner can sickness be avoided.

784 775 Since ghosts constitute such a peril, children must never go near the cremation grounds where they might contract a ghost sickness, which can be cured only by a powerful shaman. Children never attend funerals, nor are they allowed to cross the path over which a corpse has been carried.

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[17] A thorough discussion of Klamath shamanism appears, ibid., pp. 93-138.

[18] Ghosts are described in Voegelin, elements 4653-4706.

[p. 345-B]

858 Children have little knowledge of death,
765 but they observe certain mourning taboos on the deceased of a parent. The restrictions on children are not as many or as strict as those for adults.[19] Children have their hair cut and pitch put on their faces for a year in observance of mourning. The child is told to play alone for awhile and not laugh or sing. That these regulations are sometimes onerous is indicated by the statement of an informant whose father died when she was about seven.

> I had my hair cut short. I used to wear pretty beads and little rattles in my pigtails, but I couldn't when my hair was short. When it grew out a little, I got my girl friend to braid it for me and put a rattle in it. My mother caught me and was awfully angry. I knew I was doing something wrong, but I just wanted to have fun.

Children do not end the mourning period with a purificatory sweatbath such as adults take. In fact, children are not allowed near the three mourners' sweat-lodges which are surrounded with spirits that are dangerous to young people. A child who disobeys and plays near the lodges will lose his wife or first child when he grows up.

Through the period of early childhood the
821 individual gradually acquires a knowledge of ob-
869 jects beyond his immediate home environment. There is an effort on the part of many parents and grandparents to instruct the children, who are sometimes taken out at night to see the moon, stars, and planets. They are told that the Milky Way is a river that divides the sky, the Pleiades are children, and the stars of the Big Dipper are brothers. There are names for, and stories about, many constellations. Mothers take their children out to talk to the moon at each new moon. The mother instructs the children to be quiet and listen as she repeats a prayer which varies in length and content according to individual desires and feelings.

Many natural phenomena are considered dangerous, and young children learn to fear such features as thunder, lightning, and the rainbow. They are warned to run home and hide during an electrical storm and never to point at the rainbow lest the finger drop off.

857 Toward the end of his early childhood the individual begins to assume real responsibilities within his family. Till the age of six or seven the child is free to run and play much as he pleases, so long as he obeys instructions not to fight and not to wander away from camp. He has taken no part in the work of his elders. But now he begins to help with a few simple chores.

The first tasks a child performs may be little more than occasionally bringing home a few pieces of firewood or getting a bucket of

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[19] Adult death and mourning customs are described in Spier, pp. 71-76, and Voegelin, elements 4019-4415.

857 water. Such duties ordinarily devolve upon the women, but young boys as well as girls help their mothers.

Children accompany their mother as she collects large bundles of wood, which she carries on her back. The youngsters pick up smaller pieces to carry in their arms. The mother may be the one to ask the child to help. As often, however, help seems to be voluntary.

> I saw my mother getting a load of wood so I picked some up in my hands. She was proud of me because I was helping.

[text continues on top of p. 346B]

LATE CHILDHOOD

857 562 The duties and responsibilities of a child increase greatly as he reaches the age of eight or nine. He still engages in many of the games and amusements of childhood, but he is expected to take on more and more adult activities. Training which has heretofore been largely casual and noncompulsory now takes on more serious aspects. Girls begin to take up feminine pursuits while boys learn masculine occupations.

857 If there are younger children in the family, the nine- and ten-year-olds may be called on to watch them and, if neglectful, the older ones are reprimanded. On the whole, however, the children accept the responsibility willingly, look after the youngsters around camp, teach them, and occasionally take them along on short jaunts away from the immediate campsite. Parents tell the youngsters to obey their older brothers and sisters.

861 Physical training is emphasized in late childhood. The strong, fearless warrior is one of the Klamath ideals of manhood. Women, too, are expected to be strong and brave. Training toward this goal actually begins when cold water is sprinkled on infants daily to inure them to hardships. Somewhat larger infants are held in the cold water of the lake or river to harden them to physical discomforts.

The father or grandfather forces older children to rise before sunrise each day, winter and summer, for a plunge into cold water and to run and exercise. The morning swim is more strictly enforced for boys; but girls also rise early, and many of them swim each morning. A few families start training a child in this manner at the age of five. Most start somewhat later, and some families are never strict in the matter, but such households have little standing in the community.

A boy of ten or twelve who whimpers when made to run to the lake in the morning is considered a weakling. If a child pretends to be asleep when called, he is whipped and thrown into the water by his father. The bravest boys never cry and are proud of being able to roll in the snow in the winter without calling out. Parents boast of a brave boy. But if he is lazy, they are ashamed and hope the neighbors will not hear of their disgrace. Only individuals who arise early throughout their lives to

[text continues on bottom of p. 346B]

857 Older children use a carrying strap when they go after wood. The strap is laid on the ground and sticks are piled on it. One boy sits down and fastens the strap across his forehead or chest. A companion then helps him get to his feet with the load.

Women carry water in baskets to the camp. The children sometimes race to see who can get the water first. When the child brings a basket of water to the house, his mother or father throws a few drops into the air, saying, "You'll grow as tall as that."

LATE CHILDHOOD

861 run and swim will be lucky and successful. Children are constantly exhorted to run and exercise in order to become "smart."

857 526 The older boys have a variety of contests to show their strength; these are in imitation of the competitions in which grown men take part.[20] They lift heavy rocks to see who can carry them farthest. They try to bend large saplings to the ground. They wrestle from a starting position in which the opponents face each other with hands on each other's waists. The whole group gathers to watch the contests and cheer the favorites.

Foot races are popular among boys and girls as well as adults. The races are run principally on summer or fall afternoons when large groups are gathered on Klamath Marsh to gather wokas (water-lily seeds). Fast runners gain a great deal of prestige, so that all children aspire to be such. Children are spectators at the adult matches; then they organize their own. The adults are as eager to watch children's races as they are to observe their own. The best runners are cheered, and small bets are often placed.

In addition to contests of strength and foot races, there are fast shinny games which require good runners with endurance.[21] Both the men's game and the double-ball variety played by the women are occasions for much excitement. There is much rivalry between teams, and children are not permitted to participate in the most important contests. They do organize their own shinny games, however, and may play with adults in the more trivial contests.

At this same age boys begin to take part in organized shooting matches with bow and arrow or darts. The boy is taught by his father or grandfather to shoot with a small juniper bow. The boys' games are similar to those played by the men,[22] but boys are not required to shoot so

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[20] See Spier, pp. 82 ff., and Voegelin, elements 2509-2516.

[21] Shinny games are described by Dorsey, pp. 19 ff., Spier, pp. 80 ff., and Voegelin, elements 2170-2203.

[22] Arrow and dart games are described in Dorsey, pp. 17 f., Spier, pp. 81 f., and Voegelin, elements 2256-2270, 2278-2304.

[p. 347A]

857 far. Some contests utilize a stationary target.
526 In others, arrows and darts are shot at a rolling
ring. The rings used by boys are smaller
than the men's.

868 Boys soon learn to make their own willow
darts for the games, are proud of them, and
often decorate them by wrapping green tules
[531] around them in designs. The darts are then
blackened in the fire and the tules unwrapped,
leaving white markings where the tules had been.
Such negative pyrographic patterns are common on
canoe poles and paddles. Girls similarly decorate
sticks "just for fun"; they do not enter
into the dart contests. The boys do not learn
to make their own bows and arrows until puberty
or after.

Training in the techniques of fishing,
gathering, hunting, and various manufactures begins
[262] in late childhood. The principal food of
the Klamath is fish, but vegetable products and
game are also used. The spring, summer, and
221 fall months are spent in travel for the seasonal
food supply. Early spring sees a move to fishing
grounds along the river. In the summer,
families move to the prairies for roots and
berries. Some go to the mountains to hunt. In
August and September families congregate to
gather the wild water-lily seed along the
marshes. In the fall there are hunts, and all
return to the winter villages where they will
remain through the coldest months of the year.[23]

226 The first sucker run in the spring is of
special significance and attended by ritual and
868 taboo.[24] Small children are warned to stay away
from the river, lest they get sick. The first
catch is divided among all; the entrails are
carefully gathered up and thrown back into the
river to insure the continued abundance of fish.
It is the children who are sent with the entrails
to the proper spot on the river. While
[251] the men continue fishing, the women clean and
dry the fish for winter storage. Girls of eight
or nine help their mothers by collecting willow
branches and arranging the fish on them to dry.

After the first run, the restrictions are
relaxed. Children are then allowed to gather
along the banks and watch, so long as they do
not bother the men. Boys help by dipping fish
out of the water by hand and by scaring fish toward
the nets; but they do not work with the
nets, which take at least two full-grown men to
handle.

868 Spears are also used for taking fish. Boys
226 of ten or older are taken out by their fathers
into shallow water to learn how to watch for the
air bubbles that indicate the presence of fish.
The father shows the boy how to impale the victim
on a many-pointed spear and finally lift it
from the water with a single-pointed gaff. For

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[23] Spier, pp. 10 f.

[24] Varieties of fish caught, fishing techniques, and customs connected with fishing are treated in Barrett (1910), pp. 249-251, Spier, pp. 147-155, and Voegelin, elements 190-300.

226 868 large fish, there is a harpoon with two detachable heads; the boy learns its use after he has mastered the other spears. Fish are often speared at night by torchlight. Here again it is the father who instructs the boy.

[227] Fish are also taken in a triangular dip net used from the bow of a canoe. This net is large and cumbersome, so that only a strong adult is able to manipulate it when full of fish. Younger fellows of ten or so help by beating their canoe paddles against the side of the boat to scare the fish toward the net. If they are in shallow water near the shore, the paddles are slapped against the tules. Often, a boy paddles the canoe while his father handles the net in the bow.

Line fishing is not of great importance, but this method is sometimes used and is often the first method a boy learns (usually by himself or from older boys); it is also the only one at which women occasionally help. There are at least two varieties of bone hook which are attached to a nettle-fiber line. Boys catch crawfish in their hands to use as bait.

227 887 The manufacture of nets is an important winter occupation of the old men and a few old women. Both men and women twist the nettle fiber into twine. Children like to watch the net making because they enjoy listening to the old people gossip or argue about how many months remain before the spring fish run. However, the children never help with this process. A fully grown man learns to manufacture nets from the old men. The manufacture of fish spears and harpoons is also left to mature men.

501 868 Before taking part in certain types of fishing, boys must know how to handle the canoes. This same ability is required for girls before they can go after water-lily seeds. Most families have two or more dugout canoes of varying lengths, which can be propelled by either pole or paddle.[25]

[857] Riding in canoes is not a new experience to the child, for infants on cradleboards are taken out in them. Older children often go out with their mother or father and sit or stand in one end of the canoe. The boat is apt to be unstable, and the child is warned not to tip it by moving around.

Parents need not urge children to learn how to handle a canoe, for they are all eager to do so. As one man put it, "Nowadays every kid wants to have a car. It used to be like that with canoes." Indeed, children sometimes "borrowed" canoes when no adults were present.

> The women were all out getting wokas so another girl and I took my aunt's extra canoe. I didn't know how to work the pole. I held onto the end of it and kept pushing till I almost fell over the edge of the canoe. Some people came by in another canoe

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[25] See Coville (1897), p. 89; idem (1904), p. 728; Barrett, pp. 247 f.; Spier, pp. 169-171; and Voegelin, elements 858-893.

[p. 348A]

501 868 and saw us. They laughed and laughed and said, "Look, she doesn't know how to use the pole." Then they told me how to push it a little way at a time and lift it up and push again.

Some children start to use paddles by themselves, too. Adults see them trying to do so and tell them how to kneel in the bottom and dip the paddle in and out of the water without splashing. Light cedar paddles are used, and small ones are made for children. Similarly, shorter poles are often made for the children.

222 868 462 [262] The principal vegetable food of the Klamath is the seed of the wild water-lily, known as wokas. Many other seed, root, and berry products are also utilized in varying amounts.[illegible] It is the women who do the gathering, and there is a strong feeling that a girl cannot learn too soon to contribute to the family food supply by helping her mother gather these products, although youngsters are never forced into work.

Even very small girls receive a tiny digging stick as a toy. With the sticks the girls play around the camp, digging up clumps of grass to be used as "camas" and "ipos" for feeding their dolls. Children often accompany their mothers after berries, seeds, and roots. They are allowed to run about as they please and only help if they wish. When they get tired or hungry, they go back to camp. Both boys and girls help occasionally with berrying. Parents complain that the youngsters eat more than they save, but do not scold them.

251 868 Part of the activity during the berrying season is, of course, the drying of the berries for storage. One woman recalls seeing this as a child and wanting to help.

> Up in the mountains I saw how they dried huckleberries. They dug a little ditch and put the berries in and made a fire alongside. You have to watch the fire for a day and a night. I remember seeing this when I was about ten. I wanted to dry some berries, too; but my mother didn't want me to use any of her berries. She said I might ruin them so I'd have to get my own. I went and picked some, and she showed me how to dry them.

222 868 When a girl is nine or ten, her mother gives her a real digging stick of slightly smaller dimensions than her own. The girl is also given a small carrying basket to wear on her back and a basket to put the roots in before they are transferred to the carrying basket. The mother shows the girl where to go to get the best roots and how to insert the stick to loosen the earth all the way around the root before prying it out. Apparently there is little attempt to force the girl to work hard the first

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[illegible] Coville (1897), pp. 87-103, idem (1904), pp. 725-730, and Spier, pp. 166 f.

222 868 few times, but many girls are proud of their ability to dig a lot of roots, for which they receive praise at home.

> I liked to dig up camas where the dirt was soft. My mother had a long stick, and I had a little one. I had a basket on my back and a little basket in my hand. My, I thought it was smart to be able to dig up those roots. I was sorry when evening came, and we had to go home. We brought the camas home and dumped them on the ground to dry. 252 868 When I saw my mother fix a pit for baking the camas, I wanted to do the same. My girl friend and I had a hard time getting the bark to put in the pit, but we did it. We had to get grass and a lot of wood, too. You have to make the rocks hot just like for a sweatbath and put them in the pit with wet grass over so the camas will steam. Then the camas is put in with dirt over it and a fire on top. My mother watched me when I made the pit and told me when I got the wrong kind of grass; she said it would make the camas taste bitter. I kept asking my mother how to do it, and she told me.

222 852 Several informants stated that the first roots a girl digs are of special importance. They are given to her grandmother, who blesses the girl with a statement to the effect that henceforth the girl will be a good worker. 224 852 Not all families seem to follow this custom. The first fruits custom is more strictly followed for the first large game a boy kills.[27]

222 The wokas harvest from mid-August to late September is a time for general gatherings and activities, one of the most pleasantly anticipated times of the year.[28] Women go out in the canoes early in the morning and remain on the marsh all day. Apparently the mother does not really urge or coerce her daughter to start helping with the wokas. As with other products, it may be the girl herself who takes the initiative.

> 222 868 We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were

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[27] Compare Spier, p. 168, and Voegelin, element 137.

[28] The most complete account of wokas gathering is found in Coville (1904), pp. 725-739.

> 222 868 always lots of extra poles lying around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them.

A girl gradually learns to gather all of the wild products which are used, gaining most of the knowledge of where and when to gather the different crops simply by accompanying her mother. The mother tells the girl where to find the best seeds, berries, and roots. She tells her daughter to look for huckleberries near springs and moist places; she shows her how to follow the little trail left by squirrels in storing nuts; in short, she gives her the information that means the difference between being a good and a mediocre provider.

251 Enough food must be collected from spring to fall to last through the winter, and it is imperative to store it so as to prevent spoilage. Roots are put in caches in the ground. Seeds are stored in sacks between the timbers on the roof of the winter house in such a way that the sacks can be opened from inside the house. Young girls are not trusted with the preparation of the storage pits because an error might ruin the family's entire winter supply. Sometimes girls fix small pits for the roots they have dug by themselves. [868]

> I dug up the dirt and put away my sacks of ipos and camas. Then I covered them just the way I saw the old people do.

252 868 A girl begins to learn to cook when she is about ten. As with most other skills, some girls acquire this at an earlier age than others. A girl first learns to roast fish, her mother watching and telling her to be sure that it is cooked thoroughly. A woman also teaches her girl to roast ducks, showing her how to turn the bird so that it will not burn.

Preparation of seed and root foods is more difficult, since they must be ground or pounded before use. The mother shows the girl how to use a flat metate and two-horned muller for wokas. Many girls start to grind wokas first for their dolls.

> I was just playing the first time I helped another girl grind the wokas. We used a wokas leaf like the mat they put the

252 868 seeds on, and then ground them up. We were in a hurry to grind the seeds and run down to the water to wash them. My mother told us we'd just waste the wokas if we did it that way. It was hard to move the grinder right to get the seeds to roll off the stone. My mother told me the stone had to be a little rough to grind the wokas right.

285 868 In late childhood girls also begin to learn how to make mats, baskets, and clothing.[39] Of these, mat making is considered the easiest and is the first attempted. Even in early childhood most girls try to weave tule mats. They make small dome-shaped lodges for their dolls and cover them with mats. The mother or grandmother helps the child whenever there is time. When the girl begins to make larger, more utilitarian mats, her mother gives her the materials and shows her how to use them.

In the wintertime girls sit beside their mother or grandmother as the elders make baskets. The girl is given some of the tules to split with her thumbnail and twist on her thigh. If the girl's twists come unraveled, nothing is said because the materials can be used again. The girls usually soon tire of twisting tules, and they are allowed to do as many or as few as they wish.

Small baskets are made for girls, and often the first basket a girl makes by herself is a tiny one for her dolls. The mother or grandmother starts the basket and shows the girl how to weave it. If the girl's baskets keep coming unraveled, she is teased a little and watched till she gets it correctly. Later the girl makes larger baskets with designs in tule root or porcupine quills. Certain designs are known as "beginners' designs" because they are simple to make. Other designs are much more complex, in particular those which adorn the basket hats. Few girls learn to make the large decorated baskets before they reach maturity. A girl often learns basketry from her mother-in-law.

291 593 Clothing for the entire family is made by the mother. In pre-white times dress for the wealthy was of the Plains type. Poorer people wore skirts of tule or buckskin and went barefoot. Capes of tule or shredded sagebrush bark were also worn. Very young children went naked. The mother prepares the tules and other materials for skirts and capes, and she is the one to tan and sew hides for skin clothing.

294 868 The making of clothes is one of the last skills a girl acquires before marriage. In fact, some do not learn the art until after that time. Hides are so valuable that the mother does not want to risk having the girl spoil one.

224 868 Most boys in late childhood aspire to become good hunters. Game food is far less important in the Klamath diet than fish or wokas, and

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[39] For descriptions of these materials and techniques of manufacture, see Coville (1897), pp. 89-95, Barrett, pp. 253-257, Spier, pp. 173-193, 207-217, and Voegelin, elements 1245-1341, 1388-1416, 1451-1476, 1713-1957a.

[p. 350A]

224 868 not all men are good hunters.[30] Hides are valuable, however, and a good hunter gains prestige. Part of the rigid physical training of the boys is directed toward preparing them for hunting. They are told, "Only smart ones who aren't lazy can be good hunters."

As previously mentioned, boys begin to learn the use of bow and arrow when very young. After learning to shoot at targets, groups of boys hunt birds and squirrels near camp. They kill these easily with their small bows and light arrows. Parents are very proud of boys who can get many animals. The boys also go

[text continues on top of p. 350-B]

CONCLUSION

124 Since the data presented here were collected from elderly individuals and not from direct observations on a living culture, one should perhaps be rather cautious in arriving at any conclusions about Klamath education. Most informants were bitter about the breakdown of culture which they have seen in the present generation of young Indians. They often reiterated their belief that children were much better reared in the old days. There are, however, certain generalizations which may be validly drawn.

861 There is really no formal education in the sense of organized, planned instruction of the young. Yet most families expect their children to conform to certain ideals, and the parents work for the achievement of these goals.

854 For the first two or three years of life, the child's every want is supplied by his mother. It is she who feeds him, attends to his needs, and watches him most closely, although the father or older siblings may tend the child for short periods. The infant receives little or no fondling, but he is often the center of attraction for the adults of his house group who pause and talk to him as they pass his cradle.

857 867 In about his third year, the child is thrust into active play with his age-mates. He learns that he is expected to be brave, strong, and fearless. He receives praise from parents and other relatives if he is fast and ambitious. If he is lazy or cowardly, he is teased and scolded. Girls as well as boys must learn to be active, energetic, and competitive.

[text continues on bottom of p. 350-B]

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[30] For hunting methods and customs, see Barrett, pp. 246 f., Spier, pp. 155-160, and Voegelin, elements 1-189.

224 after ducks in the canoes. A few informants
868 said that boys give away for luck the first
duck or squirrel that they kill, just as they
[787] will later give away their first deer. The
hunting of deer and other large game is done
only by grown men, especially those who have
sought and received special supernatural power
[721] either at the time of puberty or later. The
art of warfare is another pursuit reserved for
the fully grown although much of the physical
training of boys is directed toward building
strong and fearless warriors.

CONCLUSION

861 The child learns much through the medium of imitative play in which he plays at being grown-up. A large part of the play is spontaneous, but much is inaugurated and encouraged by parents or older children who show the younger ones how to entertain themselves.

As the child grows older he gradually acquires the skills with which he must be familiar. The greatest part of this knowledge comes from accompanying parents or grandparents in their daily routine of work. Adults often explain how things are done, but they have no well formulated program of education. The youngster is often the one to ask to be allowed to perform certain tasks. He is praised if he starts to help at an early age and is given what instructions he needs to carry out the work in which he has evinced an interest.

There are a few aspects of the culture which the Klamath themselves consider important enough to warrant formalized instruction. These are primarily concerned with demeanor and conduct. Children receive daily lectures on subjects of this nature, and are scolded or whipped when they do not live up to the standards. Physical training, especially for older boys, is also emphasized.

In all aspects of child training, the most important unit is the immediate family. The father in particular exhorts his children to live correctly; but the mother, grandparents, and other relatives also talk to the children.

On the whole, it can be said that Klamath parents do not have a conscious program of instruction for children in the techniques of ordinary daily activity. They do, however, feel a great responsibility to bring up their children well in the fundamentals of Klamath comportment.

[p. 351-A]

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ABBREVIATIONS

113

AA	American Anthropologist
BAE-R	Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Reports
CNAE	Contributions to North American Ethnology
UC	University of California Publications
-AR	Anthropological Records
-PAAE	American Archaeology and Ethnology

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Modoc NS17

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[p. 239]

THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE KLAMATH LAKE AND MODOC INDIANS OF NORTHEASTERN CALIFORNIA AND SOUTHERN OREGON.

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BY

S. A. BARRETT.

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INTRODUCTION.

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The following information concerning the Lutuami or Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians of northeastern California and southern Oregon was obtained during the summer of 1907 as a part of the work of the Ethnological and Archaeological Survey of California, maintained by the University of California through the generosity of Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst. These Indians now live almost entirely on Klamath Indian reservation in Oregon,

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M
K situated about upper Klamath Lake and in the mountains to the
101 east; except for a part of the Modoc in Oklahoma. It is the
131 object of the present paper to discuss briefly the conditions of
M aboriginal life among these people, due consideration being given
K their natural environment and the influence of surrounding
128 peoples upon them.

TERRITORY.

M
K The territory occupied by the Klamath Lake and Modoc
101 Indians lies chiefly in the drainage basins of Upper and Lower
131 Klamath lakes and Tule or Rhett lake. From a point near the
confluence of Keen creek with Klamath river the western boundary of their territory probably extended along the watershed separating the Klamath lake and Rogue river drainages, to the
K foothills of the mountain in which Crater lake is situated. It
823 should be noted, however, that the Klamath, while they feared Crater lake, did go upon certain occasions to the lake and seem not to have been molested there by other Indians. It would seem that the lake was looked upon as a sort of territory of mutual rights by the peoples in its vicinity. They visited it when they desired to acquire great merit in hunting or other pursuits in which supernatural power was necessary. To go and bathe in this wonderful lake was a brave thing to do, and made a man lucky for hunting or other similar pursuits and made him very
K strong for war. It would appear that the relations formerly
131 existing between the Klamath and the people of the Rogue river
648 drainage were not at all friendly, so that the Klamath seldom ventured as far west as the crest of the range. They did on occasion make up large parties and go up to the crest of the range for the purpose of hunting, but small parties rarely ventured so far. The region for some distance to the west and northwest of Crater lake was also visited by the Klamath for the purpose of gathering berries in season.

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101 On the north the boundary extended as far as to the head-
131 waters of Deschutes river, thus including the whole drainage
133 basin of Klamath marsh.[1] On the east the boundary probably

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[101] [1] The Bureau of Ethnology's map in Bulletin 30 gives to the Lutuami territory as far north in the Deschutes drainage as latitude 44. See also
[114] volume I of this Bulletin, 779, 1907.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

extended far enough to include the drainage into Sycan marsh, K 101
and thence on toward the south, passing several miles east of the 131
town of Bly and including the whole of the Sprague river drainage.[2] 133
The southern part of the eastern boundary probably passed somewhat east of Clear lake and around the head of Lost river. The southern boundary was probably the divide between the drainage of Klamath and Rhett lakes and that of Pitt river.

The Lutuami[3] are divided into two slightly different dialectic M
divisions: the Klamath Lake, usually known simply as Klamath, K
occupying a comparatively large territory about Upper Klamath 101
lake, the northern part of Lower Klamath lake, Klamath marsh, 197
and the region to the east; and the Modoc, occupying the region about Rhett lake and the southern end of Lower Klamath lake. One informant mentioned a third dialect, which he said was spoken by the people formerly living on Link river and about Linkville or what is now known as Klamath Falls. In view of the slight lexical differences between the Klamath and Modoc dialects, it seems very probable that if a third linguistic division did exist it was inconsiderable and not more than a sub-dialectic variation. At any rate the only linguistic units recognized by the people themselves are the two dialects spoken by the Klamath and the Modoc. The fact that the two divisions speak slightly differently, does not seem to appeal to the people themselves so much as the fact that they were in former times politically disunited, and were in fact, upon certain occasions at least, at war.

As nearly as could be determined the boundary between the M
Klamath and Modoc territories extended through the northern K
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[2] This is the boundary generally claimed by the Klamath. One Paiute 131
informant, however, claimed that the territory of his people extended as far west as Yam Say peak and the Black hills, thus including Sycan marsh in the Paiute country. Like Klamath informants he stated that the boundary passed a few miles east of Bly.

[3] Gatschet, Contrib. N. A. Ethn., II, gives Lutuami as meaning lake, [114]
i.e., Tule lake, in the Achomawi or Pit River language. The people have no name for themselves other than maklaks, person, Indian. Maklaks [113]
is possibly the source of our word Klamath, the origin of which is unknown. The Klamath Lake people are called in their own language Eukshikni maklaks or Euksknì maklaks, at the lake people, from Eukshi, which denotes specifically Klamath marsh, but also the adjoining country, including the eastern shore of Upper Klamath lake. Eukshi appears to be derived from eush, lake. The Modoc are called Moatokni maklaks or Modokni maklaks, in the south people, from moatak, Tule lake. Moatak is a derivative from muat, south.

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end of Horse Fly valley and Lockey Flat, passing in the vicinity of Keno Spring, and thence westward through, or in the vicinity of, the village of Dairy. It passed a short distance north of Bale's lake and Olene and appears to have left the whole of Lost River valley in the territory of the Modoc. It passed either along the eastern shore of, or through, Lower Klamath lake. Further than this no definite information was obtained concerning this secondary boundary.

ENVIRONMENT.

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The natural environment of the Lutuami, a high, mountainous and volcanic region, filled with lakes and marshes, influenced their culture in many ways. The two lakes, Upper Klamath and Tule or Rhett lake, formed the centers of population for the two divisions, the Klamath and the Modoc. Along the western shore of these lakes, and of Lower Klamath lake, as well as along the high plateau to the east of Upper Klamath lake, there were considerable forests of conifers which provided material for canoes and houses as well as a part of the food supply. In fact the whole western portion of the territory is well forested. The eastern part, however, notably about Yainax agency and eastward, is to a great extent a semi-desert, sage-brush country. In this eastern region there are many fertile valleys, as for instance, along Sprague and Sycan rivers, but on the whole the territory is by no means so desirable for habitation as that about Upper Klamath lake and Klamath marsh, where the soil is very rich and productive. The old fault line in which Upper and Lower Klamath lakes and Klamath marsh are situated has existed so long that a large area has silted in and formed a very fertile country, which provided in aboriginal times an abundance of various tubers, seeds, and other vegetable foods. Among the most important natural features of this region are the great tracts of marshy land. These marshes are covered constantly with water from a few inches to several feet in depth. In these, particularly in Klamath marsh, is found the staple article of food among the Klamath, and to a certain extent also among the Modoc, the yellow water-lily, *Nymphia polysepala*. Large areas of marsh are completely covered with this water-lily to the ex-

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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M K 13 clusion of almost everything else. The seeds of this plant, gathered and preserved in three different manners, as described in detail by Coville,[4] form the staple article of food and thus correspond to acorns used over the greater part of California. About Tule or Rhett lake and the smaller lakes of that vicinity there are fewer marshes and consequently a smaller supply of the water-lily. Thus the Modoc were much less abundantly supplied with this staple than were the Klamath, who are said to have had on Klamath marsh alone over ten thousand acres of these plants. The chief vegetable food of the Modoc seems to have been tubers and bulbs, notably camass and ipos.

M K 136 The extensive lakes of this region naturally bring great numbers of water birds of various kinds, including swans, geese, ducks, and wading birds, the majority of which were used by the Indians as food and in various ways. The skins of swans, geese, and other birds with especially fine down, were made into feather blankets, swaddling clothes, etc. Fish were abundant in the lakes, salmon and salmon trout being especially esteemed by M K 223 the Indians. The presence of this large supply of water birds and fish developed certain specialized implements for their capture. For taking birds there were what may be termed a ring-M K 226 pointed arrow, and a special net. There were several methods of taking fish, the most important being by the large triangular dip-net used in the dug-out canoe, as shown in pl. 10.

501 M K 136 237 The country provided also an abundance of the usual animals, such as deer, elk, antelope, and others used for food; and coyotes, gray wolves, foxes, badgers, wildcats, rabbits, and various fur-bearing animals furnishing blankets and clothing.

BUILDINGS.

M K 342 [133] [132] The houses of the Klamath and Modoc were of two kinds. In this region where the snow on the higher peaks is always in sight, and where it often reaches a depth of several feet in winter, a warm and durable house is necessary. This was provided by the semi-subterranean earth lodge, which was of the usual central California form, and had a pit from a foot to three or four feet

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[113] [4] Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians, Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Institution, 1902, 727-739.

M K 342 in depth. Its conical roof of poles was covered with mats and brush and finally with a thick layer of earth. One of these lodges was sometimes as much as forty or fifty feet in diameter and from fifteen to twenty feet high. There was no door in the ordinary sense of the term, but the house was entered through an opening near the apex of the roof, which served the double purpose of door and smoke hole. To enter it was necessary to walk up on the sloping conical roof to the opening and climb down by means of a vertical ladder inside, or by means of steps cut into the center pole itself. In either case the steps were holes cut entirely through a vertical log. M K [354] These houses are said to have been so warm that little heating was required. A small fire in the morning was sufficient for the day and another small fire in the evening heated it to a comfortable temperature which was maintained during the greater part of the night.

The summer house is a small structure of the "wickiup" or brush hut type (pl. 11, fig. 1). In most cases it is elliptical, or rectangular in ground plan, the axes of the ellipse or rectangle being anywhere from five by ten to ten by twenty-five feet. It is usually sufficiently high to permit one to stand erect in the center. It has sides which slope very abruptly to the ground, and a comparatively flat top. The framework is of willow poles stuck into the ground and brought together along the ridge-pole, to which they are bound securely. Cross pieces are bound along the sides to hold the poles in place. Three coats of matting are placed over this framework as a covering. The inner layer is of mats made of a kind of reed (pl. 25). Over this is placed a covering of mats made of the triangular stemmed tule, *Scirpus robustus* (pl. 23). M K 285 342 On the outside is a layer of mats made of the circular-stemmed tule, *Scirpus lacustris* (pl. 24). These last are made by sewing the tule together with a number of parallel strings, except along the two ends of the mat, where ordinary twining of the tule is used. This twining at the two ends assists in holding the whole mat more securely together and prevents the sewing from tearing out. It is said by the Indians that if an ordinary mat made with tule warp and nettle string twining as weft, or with tule warp and tule twining as weft, were placed on the outside, it would leak more readily than the mat made by

sewing through the tule, as the water would run down the tule M
to the twining and there begin to soak in. In the sewed mat the K
water never leaves the straight stem of the tule but runs directly 285
down to the ground. These mats are often made sufficiently wide 342
to cover the side of a small house, and are always so placed that the tule stems run up and down the side of the house. On large houses it is necessary to have two or more courses after the manner of shingles. All these mats are bound to the framework of the structure by means of poles passing horizontally. This summer or temporary house is made with a door opening at the end. The smoke escapes through a slit along the ridge-pole.

With the summer house there is always a sun shelter made of poles covered with boughs, tule mats, or long weeds or grasses. This structure is usually near the temporary summer dwelling, and under it the meals are served and the greater part of the work of the women is done. Temporary summer houses and sun shelters are still found among the Klamath, but the permanent earth lodge is a thing of the past.

There are two other structures in use in this region, the two M
forms of sudatory. The ordinary sweathouse, the one most com- K
monly used, is a very small dome-shaped structure, as shown in 343
figure 1, covered with tule mats. These mats, or nowadays blankets, may form a permanent covering for the house, or may be put on it only when a sweat bath is being taken. These little struc-
tures range from four to eight feet M
in diameter and from three to four K
feet in height. The entrance is a
small opening, just outside of [354]
which is the fireplace for heating the stones to make the steam for the bath. Inside, at the rear of the sweathouse, is a small pit, one or two feet in diameter and six or eight inches deep. This pit is filled with the heated stones above mentioned, which in themselves provide considerable heat and when the steam arises as water is thrown on the hot stones, a profuse perspiration is caused. The heat is conserved by carefully closing all crevices about the sweathouse. After remaining for some minutes in the steam and heat, the bather runs out and

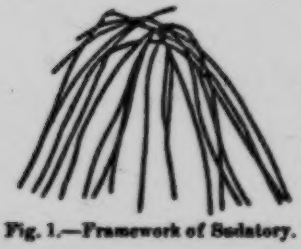

Fig. 1.—Framework of Sudatory.

M K 343 plunges into the lake or a pool in the river or whatever water there may be at hand. This practice seems to have been medicinal. It was used as a habitual means of warding off disease as well as of curing it.

The second form of sweathouse was of similar size and construction except that it had a saddle roof which was covered with several inches of earth instead of a dome-shaped roof covered with matting. The door of this structure was placed at one end and was usually quite small. It was closed by a blanket or tule mat during the sweating.

There was no large "sweathouse" used for ceremonial purposes as in the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada region to the south. All ceremonies were held out of doors, chiefly in the summer.

IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.[8]

M K 411 The influence of the unusual environment in which the Klamath and Modoc live is also very noticeable in the implements made and used by them, particularly in the various devices for the capture of fish and water birds.

[171] The chief implements of war were the bow and arrow and a rather short javelin. The war bow was of the general type of the northwestern part of California, having a sinew back and sharply upcurved ends. The arrow was made in the ordinary manner, with light wood or cane shaft, hard wood foreshaft, and a moderately large obsidian, or sometimes flint, point.

[178] [756] [525] The javelin or spear was fairly short. Its shaft was made of heavy wood. Its point, usually of obsidian, varied from two to six inches in length. These javelins, like war bows and arrows, are no longer in existence, though the obsidian heads are quite plentiful about old village and camp sites. They are now used by medicine-men in doctoring, and also by gamblers, who place them under the large mats used for gambling to insure good luck, especially in the game called sakalis.

HUNTING IMPLEMENTS.

M K 224 The implements used in hunting animals were usually the bow and arrow. Ensnaring animals was little practiced by the

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[8] The Klamath names of the various implements, etc., here described are given by Gatschet in his dictionary, *op. cit.*

Klamath and Modoc, though a noose set in a trail was sometimes used for deer. For taking the many species of water birds which are so abundant about the lakes, there were several interesting devices. The most specialized and unusual of these is an arrow made with a cane shaft and a point of mountain-mahogany. An ordinary wood-pointed arrow tends to go directly into the water at the angle at which it strikes the surface. A small ring, usually of sinew and pitch, but sometimes carved out of the foreshaft itself, being placed near the point, the arrow is deflected upward as it strikes the water, and skips along over the surface so that it is likely to kill at least one out of a flock of birds. The two forms of hunting arrows, the plain wood-pointed and the ring-pointed, together with the ordinary unbacked wooden bow and the tule quiver, are shown in pl. 20. MK224 MK223

A long narrow net stretched in an upright position near the surface of the water is used in the capture of ducks and other water birds. As a flock of birds swims or flies into this net it is let down by men on the shore who hold the ropes which keep the upper edge of the net taut. By paddling out in a canoe the birds which are entangled in the meshes may be easily removed. As another means of taking large numbers of birds two men go out in a canoe at night and erect a large triangular net on the prow. A fire is kindled toward the middle of the canoe and the bright light causes the birds to fly from various directions toward the net.

The many-pointed fish spear, to be described later, is also used to a limited extent in the capture of water birds. They are speared from the canoe as they dive through the water.

FISHING IMPLEMENTS.

For fishing a number of specialized implements are used. The dug-out canoe (pl. 10),[a] while it is not used exclusively for fishing, is an absolute necessity to a fisherman's life. The dug-out is made from a log, usually fir, since the knots in the fir are much more durable and will not come out as do the knots in pine and cedar. The canoe is simply a log hollowed out by burning and adzing, and with the bottom sloping upward at an angle at each end. The angle of the slope at the prow is considerably MK226 MK501

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[a] See also Coville, *op cit.*, pl. 4, 5.

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more acute than that at the stern. These canoes are from twelve to thirty feet in length but are very narrow in proportion, usually ranging between twenty and twenty-six inches in width. The opening of the canoe extends its full length and is usually two or three inches narrower than the full beam. Usually not over a quarter and never over a third of the log is cut away in making the canoe, the remaining three-quarters or two-thirds being then hollowed out to a thin shell varying from half an inch to a couple of inches in thickness, except at the prow and stern, where the thickness is considerably greater. The stern is somewhat thicker than the prow. The canoe is loaded with its greatest weight aft, which causes the prow to project considerably out of the water, and makes the canoe much easier to propel. This is carried to so great an extent that in the case of a single paddler in a large canoe the prow points upward at an angle of perhaps fifteen degrees from the surface of the water. When there is a second paddler, he kneels near the middle of the canoe, unless he is fishing or doing other work which requires that he be at the prow. The prow has always a somewhat greater overhang than the stern.

To propel a canoe one paddle each is required by the occupants. These paddles, always of cedar, vary in length from about three to five and a half feet, have handles an inch or so in diameter, and broad, very thin, blades. The paddle is dipped vertically and noiselessly, no pull being given until the blade is completely covered by the water. To lift it from the water again it is turned on its edge so that the width of the blade is almost parallel with the length of the boat. The handle of the paddle very often strikes the side of the canoe and in this manner, particularly at the stern where most of the paddling is done, the side of the gunwale is worn very smooth, showing a polished surface or even a notch, particularly on the right side of the older boats. Paddling is the ordinary method of propelling a canoe on deep water, for all such purposes as fishing, hunting, and general transportation. However, another and specialized implement is used, especially in wokas gathering. The water on the wokas marshes is shallow, rarely more than a couple of feet in depth, and the bottom consists of soft black mud completely

M K 222 501 [133]

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interlaced under the surface with the strong large roots of the water-lily. A pole of varying length is employed on these marshes and wherever there is occasion to travel over shallow water. The lower end of this pole is split for from four to six inches, and the two prongs thus made are turned sharply apart so that the angle between them is often as great as forty-five degrees. In this angle is set a small bar of bone or hard wood, thus making a cross-bar near the tips of the prongs. In pushing through the soft mud, the pole, on account of its split end, usually does not sink far before it strikes one of the strong roots of the water-lily, which then bears the stress of poling. Even if the pole does not strike a water-lily root, it sinks into the mud much less readily because of its split end.[7] M K 501 222 [133]

One of the most interesting devices connected with fishing is the large triangular dip-net used on the open water of the lakes or the larger deep streams. This net is used on a pair of poles held apart by a cross-bar near the vertex of the angle formed by them. The net itself is attached to the poles at the sides and to this cross-bar at the rear, the tips of the poles being connected by a strong string upon which the front of the net is fastened. The method of manipulating this net is shown in the series of figures in pl. 10. Only one man appears in these illustrations, but usually two men go out to fish, one sitting in the stern of the canoe and paddling, the other in the prow and manipulating the net. While the net is being dipped, the fisherman in the stern paddles quite rapidly along and makes a great noise, swishing the water back and forth in order to scare the fish near the stern toward the prow. He also has a couple of short sticks with which, just before the net is to be raised, he drums upon the sides of the canoe in order to frighten as many as possible of the fish toward the prow. The fisherman in the prow finally raises the poles and brings up the net, placing the angle at which the poles meet under the prow of the boat, which, as has been stated, has a long, flat, upward slope. The cross-bar of the net poles is slipped over the top of the prow so as to prevent the points of the poles from falling back into the water. In this manner the points of the poles project from the prow like two great horns. Their M K 226

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[7] Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 4.

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tips are several feet from the surface of the water, so that the fish are prevented from jumping over the sides of the net and into free water. The man in the prow then hauls in the net, which tapers to a long pyramidal point. As he hauls the net in, it is laid over on the poles to the sides of the prow until finally the point of the net is reached. Here the fish are at last gathered together. It is then a simple matter to take them from the net and throw them either into the bottom of the boat itself or into coarse tule baskets made for the purpose. These baskets of tule are of two forms: a long canoe-shaped basket and the ordinary circular straight-walled basket like that shown in pl. 14, fig. 4. To manipulate a large net of this type, a canoe not less than sixteen or eighteen feet in length is required. Another net of this same type, but smaller dimensions, is used in a similar manner on the more shallow streams or in the shallow water of the lake.

A small gill-net of very fine string is also used. This is weighted with elliptical sinkers of stone and floated with small tule floats similar to those used in parts of northwestern California. This net is stretched across a stream, or may even be used in the shallower waters of the lake. Usually however its use is restricted to streams at times when the fish are running. It is used only for small species of fish. Still another form of net used in the smaller streams is a dip-net with a pole and circular hoop. This is ordinarily used from the bank, but may also be used from a canoe. It is employed in taking small fish such as suckers.

The string most used in this region is made of fiber from the bark of the nettle. A brown milkweed string is also made, but is little used. All string is two-ply. Nets are made with a very long slender shuttle (pl. 22, fig. 11), on mesh-sticks of various sizes, depending upon the kind of net desired. A small mesh-stick is shown in figure 7 of the same plate.

Fish are also taken with hook and line. The main part of the line is of the gray nettle string, but the brown milkweed string, which is said to be somewhat stronger and also less visible in the water, is used as a sort of leader. Fish-hooks are of two forms, both of bone. The smaller is a straight piece of bone pointed at both ends and attached to the line by means of sinew and

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pitch at the middle. Such a hook with a fish-line as above described is shown in pl. 22, fig. 3. A small fish or some fish eggs are used as bait, being placed so as to completely cover the bar of bone. The other form of hook is a bone shank with two bone points, pl. 22, fig. 6. The two points form angles of twenty-five or thirty degrees with the shank. The three pieces of bone are secured one to another by means of sinew and pitch. This hook is used chiefly in fishing for large fish such as salmon and salmon trout, and is baited with minnows.

Three different kinds of fish spears are used. The ordinary harpoon with two detachable heads is found here and resembles in all respects the harpoon of the Californian peoples, except that the detachable points are not barbed as is the case in the greater part of California. The point, which is of bone, simply fits directly onto the end of the foreshaft with a plain socket, there being no barbs or other means of turning the point as the fish is gigged. The toggle-head is thrust completely through the fish so that the detachable point will slip off and turn at right angles, for it is attached at its middle to the string which holds it. A pair of such points are shown in plate 22, fig. 4. An unusual form of fish spear is also found. This consists of an ordinary pole handle with from half a dozen to fifteen hard wood points. These are held out in conical form by means of a small hoop which is placed inside of the cone and to which each of the hard wood points is securely bound. The use of this spear is chiefly for suckers and such other sluggish fish as are found in shallow water on the bottom of the lake. Since the water in these places is usually more or less muddy, it is impossible to see the bottom, but as the fish lies on the bottom bubbles arise from time to time, and the fisherman, having determined the approximate locality of the fish from these bubbles, carefully lowers this many-pointed spear to within a foot or even a few inches of the supposed location of the fish. Suddenly he jabs the spear and pins the fish to the bottom. With a second spear, provided nowadays with a double-pointed barbed iron head, he pierces the fish and brings it up.

STONE IMPLEMENTS.

412 Several forms of stone implements are quite commonly found
[262] among the Klamath. Most characteristic of these is the two-
horned muller (pl. 21, fig. 2), used with the flat, very thin metate
[324] in grinding wokas, the chief food of the region. The process of
grinding with these implements is shown in pl. 12, fig. 1. The
muller is held so that the horns or ears point from the operator
and the grinding is done on the stroke of the muller from the
operator, the stroke toward the operator being very light indeed.
[252] A second form of muller, described by informants, but not now
in use, has a loop instead of the two horns. No special ceremonial or religious significance seems to be attached to either of these forms. Another, very small metate and a small grinding stone or muller (pl. 21, fig. 1) are employed in the grinding of certain seeds which are parched and used as food. The motion in grinding with the small muller is circular, not backward and forward as in the case of the larger one. These small milling implements are also used by girls as playthings in the grinding of wokas and other seeds.

Small mortars and pestles are quite commonly used at the present time and are still made by the people of this region. They are used chiefly by old people whose teeth are poor, for grinding dried fish and meat, though they are also employed in grinding seeds. The pestles used with these mortars are more or less crude. Those shown in pl. 21, figs. 3 and 4 are exceptionally well fashioned. A typical mortar is shown in fig. 6 of the same plate.

Another special implement of stone is the maul (pl. 21, fig. 8).
This, unlike the pestle, is always made with a decided conical
form. It varies up to five inches or so in diameter, and is from
[313] six to perhaps ten inches in length. It was used in driving the
elkhorn and mountain-mahogany wedges which were employed
[178] in splitting trees, particularly for canoe making, as has been
already described. Neither the wedge nor any other elkhorn
227 implement is now to be found in this region. Grooved sinkers
of elliptical or triangular form are used on the gill net. One
of these triangular sinkers is shown in pl. 21, fig. 7.

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Another stone implement is the single-grooved, flat-bottomed 412
arrow straightener, such as is shown in pl. 21, fig. 9. A perforated wooden arrow straightener, of the form shown in fig. 5 of the same plate, is still used.

Implements of obsidian and of flint are common. Arrowheads K
and large spear points, as also knives which were formerly fitted 411
into wooden handles, are yet to be found. These points are found [172]
by the Indians in various parts of the country where they have K
been used and left by former inhabitants. They are chiefly [755]
employed at present as charms in medicine and gambling. A
gambler may take a large obsidian knife or spear point and, after [525]
singing the proper song, place it under the large tule mat upon [304]
which the game is being played, to insure good luck. In addition to their use in medicine as charms they are also employed for purposes of scarification.

Stone pipes of several forms (pl. 22, figs. 8, 9, 10) are still K
used. The discoidal form shown in figure 10, which is quite un- 276
usual for the Pacific slope, appears to have been less used in aboriginal times than the obtuse-angled form shown in figure 8.

GAMES.

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The Lutuami, like most aboriginal peoples, had many games K
for both adult and young. It will not be necessary to go into 524
details here, as the subject has been treated by Dr. George A. 114
Dorsey[a] and Mr. Stewart Culin.[b]

BASKETRY.

The basketry of the Klamath and Modoc, which is always M
twined, may be classified under two heads: soft or pliable basketry K
and stiff or rigid basketry. The former predominates very 285
largely and all the finer baskets are made in this manner. The materials used for this sort of basketry are as follows. The skin of the leaves of the cat-tail tule forms the white material which is used as the groundwork of almost all of the finer baskets. The M
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[a] Certain Gambling Games of the Klamath Indians, Amer. Anthr., n. s. III, 14-27, 1901. [113]

[b] Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., 136, 247, 291, 328, 479, 550, 659, 740, 1907.

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M K 285 skin of the circular tule is also used for the same purpose. It may be so cured as to have a greenish or a yellowish color. It may also be dyed by means of a mixture of blue mud and wokas shucks to a dead black. All this material is used as weft, the warp being the twisted brown skin of the circular tule. The unfinished basket shown in pl. 14, fig. 2, illustrates the uses of these weft and warp materials. Designs are usually worked out M K [237] in the reddish brown roots of the tule, though the outer leaf skin of a certain jointed rush which provides a shiny, creamy white material is also used. For the finer baskets the quills of the porcupine, dyed yellow by means of a yellow moss, probably the widely used *Evernia vulpina*, are used. Baskets of this soft type are made in many different forms. Particularly of note are the cap (pl. 18, figs. 9-12), and the large flat parching and sifting basket, pata (pl. 11, fig. 3); also the large gambling tray (pl. 11, fig. 2), which differs from the parching and sifting tray in that it is made of white material instead of brown and is finely decorated in one or more of the different color materials. The flat baskets used for parching and sifting purposes are almost always made with the brown tule for weft as well as warp, and are usually very simply ornamented. The use of this sifting basket is shown in pl. 12.[10] In fig. 1 is shown the actual process of grinding wokas on to the basket, and in fig. 2 the process of sifting. Soft baskets of various other forms are shown in pl. 15 K 285 and in pl. 18, figs. 1-8. In addition to these soft baskets made of twisted tule fiber, the Klamath make many larger and coarser baskets of unsplit tule. Notable among these are more or less conical burden baskets, which are sometimes made with hoops, and which usually have four rods running vertically along the outer surface in such a manner as to make a sort of wooden framework.[11] The large, flat, straight-walled storage baskets (pl. 14, fig. 4) are usually made entirely of tule, in the three-strand braided weave, though plain twining is also sometimes used. These are used for storing such foods as dried berries and fish. From the unsplit tule also are made mats, above described, which are one of the most characteristic things among

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[10] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 7.

[11] *Ibid.*, pl. 8.

the Klamath. These mats may be made with both warp and K
weft of tule in plain twining, though the best mats are made 285
with nettle-string weft.

Tule is also used in making one form of quiver, such as that M
shown in pl. 20, fig. 1. It is said that these tule quivers were used K
chiefly by people of moderate means, the more well-to-do class 285
having quivers made of skin. Tule caps such as that shown in 411
pl. 17, fig. 6, were worn by the men. For summer wear moccasins
of buckskin, such as that shown in pl. 17, fig. 5, were always used, M
but for winter wear moccasins of tule (pl. 17, figs. 2, 4, and pl. K
19, fig. 2) were employed. A layer of dry grass was placed in the 291
bottom to make them warm, and it is said that one might in the
dead of winter walk with comparative comfort through marshes
where the water is extremely cold. With these tule moccasins
are worn tule leggings, such as that shown in pl. 17, fig. 3.
Another form of footwear is the circular snow-shoe of wood and
rawhide (pl. 17, fig. 1). A similarly shaped but somewhat smaller
shoe is worn in wading about in the mud of the marshes. The
women also wore a cape or, more properly speaking, a blanket,
made of shredded tule or of sage-brush bark, or of a combination
of the two. Where the wokas grows close in shore, and where M
the water is shallow and other conditions such as a moderately K
hard bottom are favorable, the women often drag about canoe- 285
shaped baskets or rafts, as they might be called (pl. 19, fig. 3), 222
into which the wokas is gathered. The weight of the wokas of
course sinks the basket down partially below the surface of the
water, but it always manages to keep sufficiently above water to
prevent the wokas from floating away.

Another special implement used in harvesting the water-lily
is the spoon-shaped basket shown in pl. 13, fig. 2.[12] After the
dehiscence of the pods of the water-lily the seeds with their
coating form a mucilaginous mass which floats on the surface of
the water. This mass is scooped up with the spoon and placed
in a basket in the canoe. These seeds, called spŏ'kwas, are kept
in water until used, since they lose their flavor if allowed to dry. M

Another use for tule is in the making of rafts. While the dug- K
out canoe above described was the chief means of traveling from 501
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[12] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

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place to place, a tule raft was sometimes used, particularly by war parties. Several large bundles of tule, sometimes two feet in diameter and eight or ten, or even fifteen feet in length, were lashed together to form a raft. It is said to have been propelled by lying down along the edges and really swimming the raft by dipping the hands into the water with a motion similar to that used in paddling.

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One of the most characteristic features of the culture of the region is the flat triangular platter made of tule and used for serving food, particularly broiled or otherwise cooked fish and roasted meat. Such trays are shown in pl. 13, figs. 1, 4, 6, and vary greatly in size. Circular baskets of coarse tule, such as that in fig. 3 of the same plate, are more rarely found. Occasionally they are bound about the rim with a hoop. More or less flat trays of several other forms are also used. One such tray is shown in fig. 5 of the same plate.

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Though not used at the present time, a tule sack was formerly made for the transportation and storage of wokas. This sack was made of unsplit tule, but was of sufficiently close weave to prevent the wokas from running through. These sacks were sometimes made so large that when filled with the wokas seed, which is comparatively light in weight, they were so heavy that a man of ordinary strength, or a woman, would not attempt to carry more than one at a time.

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There are several forms of rigid baskets made with willow or other sticks, particularly the conical burden basket (pl. 16, fig. 3) which was used largely in gathering foods such as wild plums; and the flat, more or less triangular, openwork basket with a handle (pl. 16, figs. 1 and 2),[13] used as a sieve and as a grater as well as a general receptacle. In the loop handle this basket differs from most of those of similar form found in various parts of California. It is used for sifting the wokas after drying, the seeds passing through the interstices of the basket, and separating from the larger fragments of the pods. Also camass, ipos, and other roots and tubers are rubbed on this basket in order to grate off or scrape off the skin of the tuber. In addition to being made of round willow stems, these baskets are also made of the split roots

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[13] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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Modoc NS17

of the juniper (pl. 16, fig. 1). More or less globose or flatly M
cylindrical rigid baskets are used for general storage purposes. K
A seed-beater used in harvesting the seeds of grasses and flowering 285
plants, and a fish trap of special form (pl. 19, fig. 1) are also
made of rigid willow stems. Dilapidated willow burden baskets M
are used in warding off the effects of thunder. Such a basket is K
placed on top of a high pole set near a dwelling in order that
no bad effects may come from the rumbling thunder overhead. [821]

FIRE-MAKING.

The fire-making apparatus used by the people of this region M
is the usual drill, the upright twirler being made of an ordinary K
stick with a piece of very dry willow root bound at its end instead 372
of a single piece of wood as in most regions. This piece of willow root twirled in a base block of cedar soon creates sufficient heat to generate the fire. The twirler must always be carried so as to keep it very dry, but the cedar base block needs no special care. In fact the canoe paddle, which is always made of cedar, may be used as a base block. A cup for fire-making is cut at a point either near the end of the handle or near the junction of the blade and handle and just above the line where the paddle is dipped into the water. The paddler, therefore, always has the base block to his fire drill with him. Connected with fire is the torch made of tightly bound dry sage-brush bark (pl. 22, fig. 1), which is employed whenever a portable light is needed.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The people of this region, particularly the older people, are M
noticeable for the deformation of their heads. The head is K
flattened usually from directly above the eyebrows, for some
distance back, in some cases even to the very top of the head. 304
The back of the head also is flattened and in extreme cases the
front and back flattening meet to form a sharp peak at the top M
of the head. This flattening was done while the child was in the K
cradle. For a short time after birth the infant was lashed into a 304
soft tule cradle. After some days the child was placed in a cradle 854
such as that shown in pl. 14, fig. 3, made of more rigid materials.
In order to keep the head from bobbing about as the mother

M walked with the cradle on her back, it was bound down with a
K piece of buckskin, and there was in some cases a harder material
304 used in connection with the buckskin, such as a small piece of
854 board, or a piece of willow basketry. These headbands were, of
course, properly padded to prevent actual injury to the child's
head, but the pressure was sufficient and was so adjusted that it
caused a decided flattening of both the front and back of the
M head. The younger generation has not been subjected to this
K cradle treatment and does not show the flattening, but among the
[178] older Klamath and Modoc the flattening is very pronounced.
M K Probably due to the influence of the Shoshonean peoples to the
854 east, the cradle board finds some use among the Lutuami, but the
177 woven tule and willow cradles are typical of the region.

M In addition to the various articles of dress mentioned in speaking
K of the uses of tule, the Klamath and Modoc make a belt
291 either from the fiber of the inner bark of certain trees or from
human hair. These are worn by the women in every-day dress.
286 Plate 17, fig. 7, shows one of these belts of fiber.

287 As a brush for dressing the hair the tail of the porcupine is
M used (pl. 22, fig. 2). Usually the longer spines are removed and
K the skin of the tail is then stuffed either with shredded tule or
302 with shredded sage-brush bark. In dressing the hair the brush
237 is drawn through it directly against the points of the spines,
which, as may be seen from the illustration, lie almost flat.

K As before mentioned the Klamath have many vegetable foods
262 in addition to the wokas. Most of these are derived from small
plants, but the pine furnishes one. The inner bark of some of
the species of pine is much esteemed as a food and there is a
[237] special implement used in taking it. This knife-like bone implement
(pl. 22, fig. 5) is used in separating the inner from the
outer bark, and is usually made from a deer rib or from a rib
of one of the other large animals.

SUMMARY.

M The Klamath and Modoc people possess a specialized culture,
K due largely to the extensive use of tule in the making of houses,
285 basketry, and various utensils. The only baskets made of a
harder material are conical burden baskets, triangular sifters, a

M
fish basket, and one or two others. Twining is the only technique K
used, all coiled baskets coming from this region being extraneous 285
to the true native culture. The majority of the conical burden
baskets made of willow or hazel which are in use among the [139] [439]
Klamath are made by themselves, though they do purchase from
the Shasta to the southwest a burden basket which is more nicely
finished than their own. M K

Together with this very specialized tule culture, resulting 105
from the life of the people upon the immediate lake shore, go 22
water foods, particularly wokas and fish, and the special imple- 415
ments devoted to the gathering of the wokas and to the capture
of various animals, birds, and fish. Such for instance are the [133]
peculiar duck arrow, the large dip-net, the net used at night in [184]
connection with a light in the canoe for catching ducks and other
water birds, the many-pointed fish spear, the two forms of bone [501]
hooks, the dug-out canoe, and the forked pole for propelling it
in shallow water. The peculiar stone implements, such as the [276]
two-horned muller, L-shaped and discoidal pipes, and triangular
net-sinker, are also noteworthy.

The specialization of culture in this region is very striking M
indeed when it is compared with the culture of surrounding K
peoples, as for instance, the Paiute to the east, where coiled
basketry predominates and tule work is almost unknown, and 105
with that of the Indians of the Upper Columbia river region to 101
the north, whose culture was very largely influenced by the 171
buffalo or plains Indian culture. A comparison with the Oregon
Indians is difficult not only because the Oregon cultures are
comparatively little known, but because the majority of Oregon
Indians, owing to their habitat, showed either a coast or a desert
culture, which is not readily comparable with the inland lake
environment and culture of the Klamath and Modoc. The
Indians in certain respects most similar to the Lutuami in culture
lived down the Klamath river in the northwestern part of California. Here are found such things as the stone maul and the
large triangular fish net. Here also the basketry is entirely
twined and in a large measure of comparatively soft materials;
and the willow or hazel burden baskets are very similar in their
general appearance, form, and particularly in the border finish.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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Dug-out canoes, though of a somewhat different form, are also made in northwestern California, and in general the art of working wood is well developed there. In fact, it is so well developed that the most characteristic wooden implements of northwestern California are not paralleled among the Klamath and Modoc or any of the California Indians. The Klamath and Modoc also have the earth house and the tule mat house, the tule raft, and the tule moccasin, and they also burn the dead, in all which respects they differ from the Indians of northwestern California. In these respects they agree with the Indians of a large part of the great Central California culture area, sometimes more closely with peoples that are near-by, such as the adjacent Achomawi, sometimes, especially in single characteristics, with those more distant. On the whole, however, the Lutuami must be placed in a class by themselves, at least as regards their material culture, with their specialized tule and stone objects, and implements for use on the water, and their characteristic foods. In large part this specialization is the outcome of habitat in a restricted and unusual environment of large, shallow, inland lakes.

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5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 10.

226 Fig. 1.—Large triangular dip net at rest in canoe.

227 Fig. 2.—Net being dipped.

501 Fig. 3.—Net being raised.

Fig. 4.—Frame of net being fixed at prow of canoe preparatory to gathering in the net.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

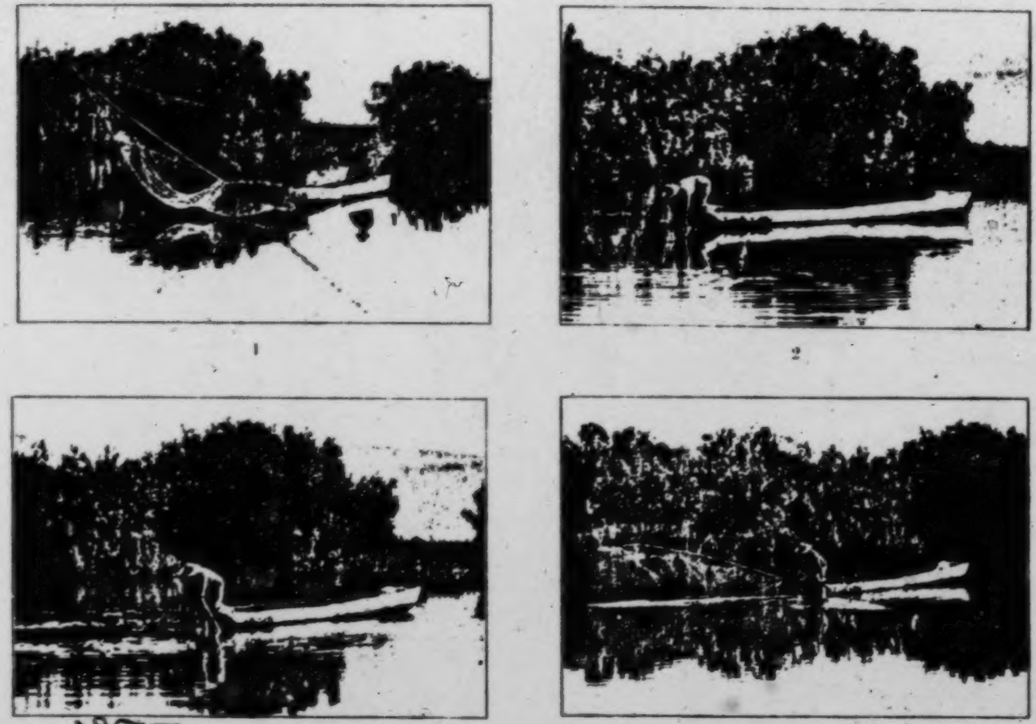

CANOE AND DIP-NET.

[p. 263]

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5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 11.

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342 Fig. 1.—Summer house of tule mats.

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[252] Fig. 3.—Flat basket of soft tule materials, for parching and sifting. Museum number 1-12465. Diameter 67 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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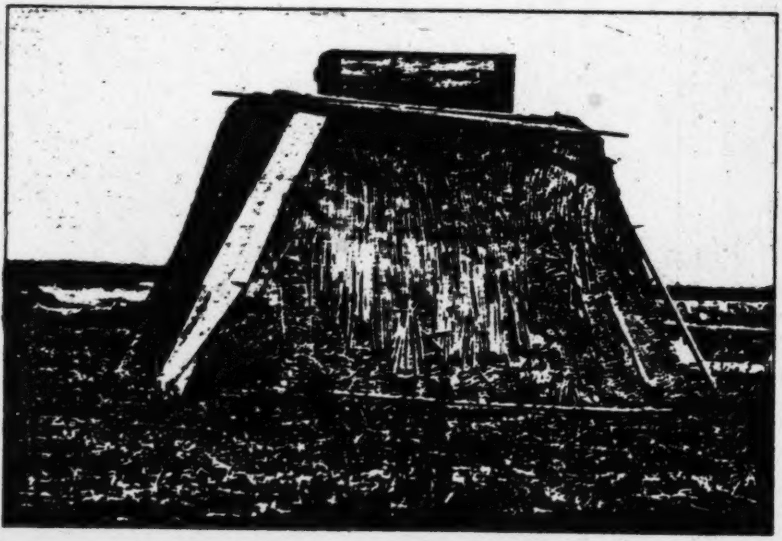

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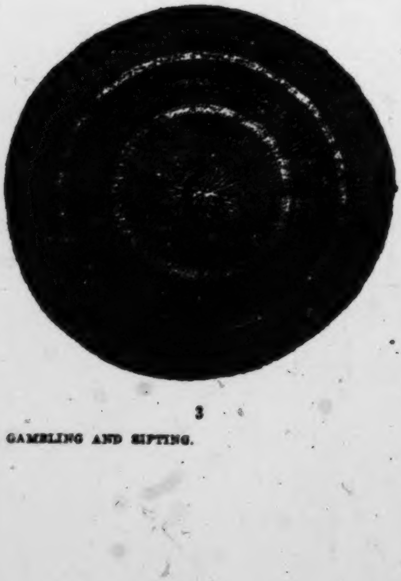

2 3

BASKETRY TRAYS FOR GAMBLING AND SIFTING.

[p. 265]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 12.

K *Fig.* 1.—Woman grinding wokas seeds with two-horned muller on a flat
252 slab laid on a sifting basket.

415 *Fig.* 2.—Woman sifting wokas in a flat soft basket.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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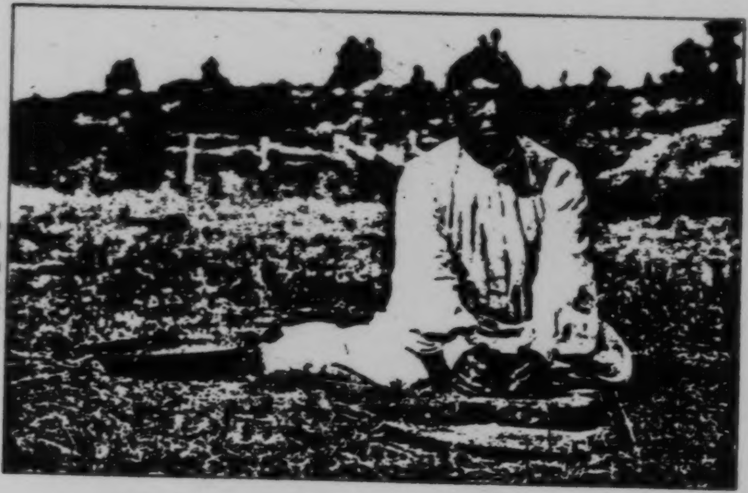

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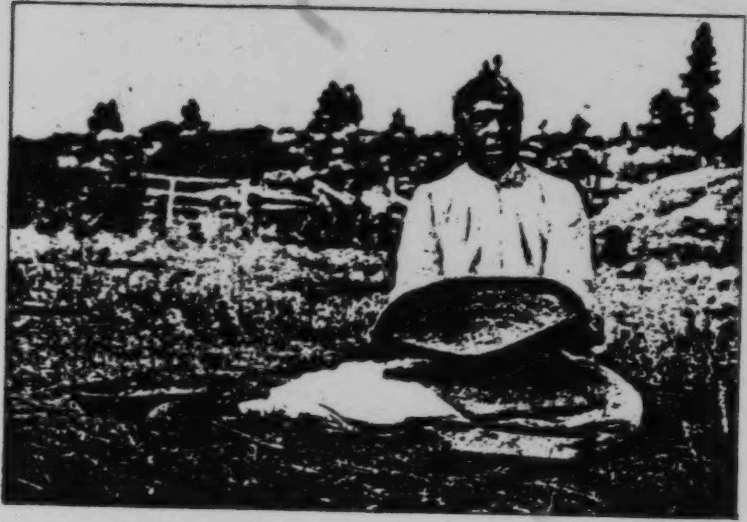

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GRINDING AND SIFTING WOKAS SEEDS.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 13.

Fig. 1.—Triangular platter of tule basketry in plain twining. Used for serving food and for fanning coals in parching wokas. Museum number 1-12693. Length 31 cm.

Fig. 2.—Spoon of tule basketry, used for gathering floating wokas seeds. Museum number 1-12772. Length 38 cm.

Fig. 3.—Flat circular basket of tule used as a food tray. Museum number 1-14295. Diameter 43 cm.

Fig. 4.—Triangular platter of tule basketry in plain twining. Used for serving food. Museum number 1-12695. Length 72 cm.

Fig. 5.—Two-handled tray of tule basketry. Museum number 1-14125. Length 64 cm.

Fig. 6.—Triangular platter of tule basketry in plain twining. Used for serving food. Museum number 1-14272. Length 34 cm.

5: Barrett   E-5   (1907)   1910
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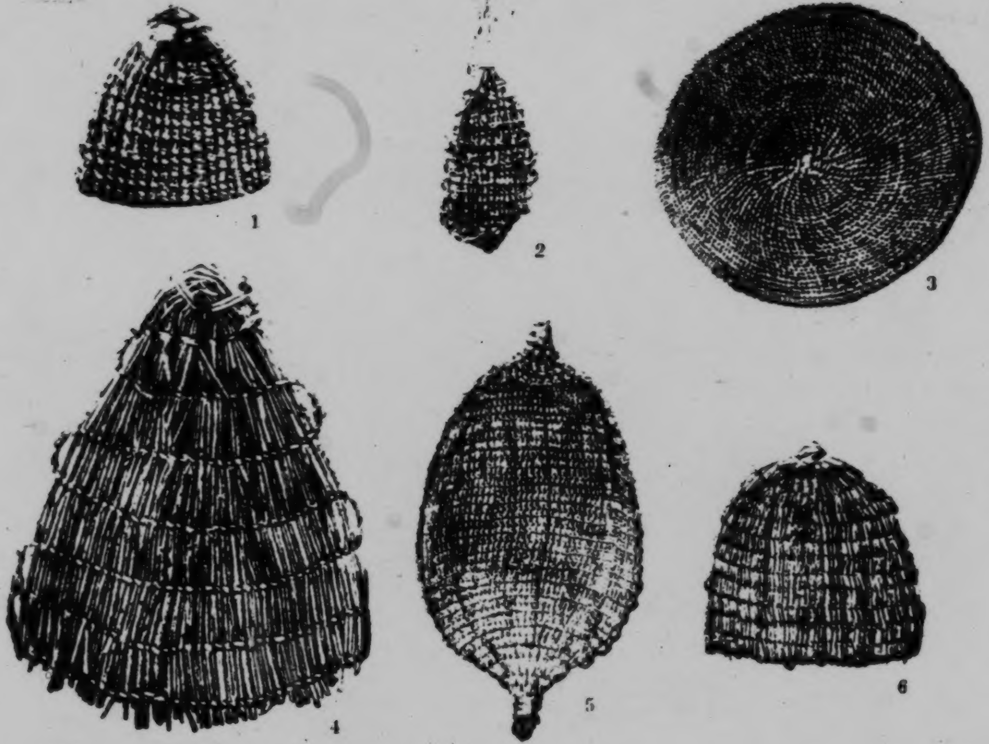

FOOD RECEPTACLES AND DIPPER OF TULE BASKETRY.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 14.

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285 Fig. 1.—Pouch of plain twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-14293. Length 27 cm.

415 Fig. 2.—Unfinished basket of soft tule materials, in plain twining, showing nature of warp and weft. Museum number 1-12230. Diameter 34 cm.

[854] Fig. 3.—Cradle of tule. Museum number 1-12676. Length 58 cm.

Fig. 4.—Storage basket in three-strand braiding, warp and weft of tule. Carried also in the canoe as a receptacle for fish taken from the net. Museum number 1-14286. Diameter 35 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910

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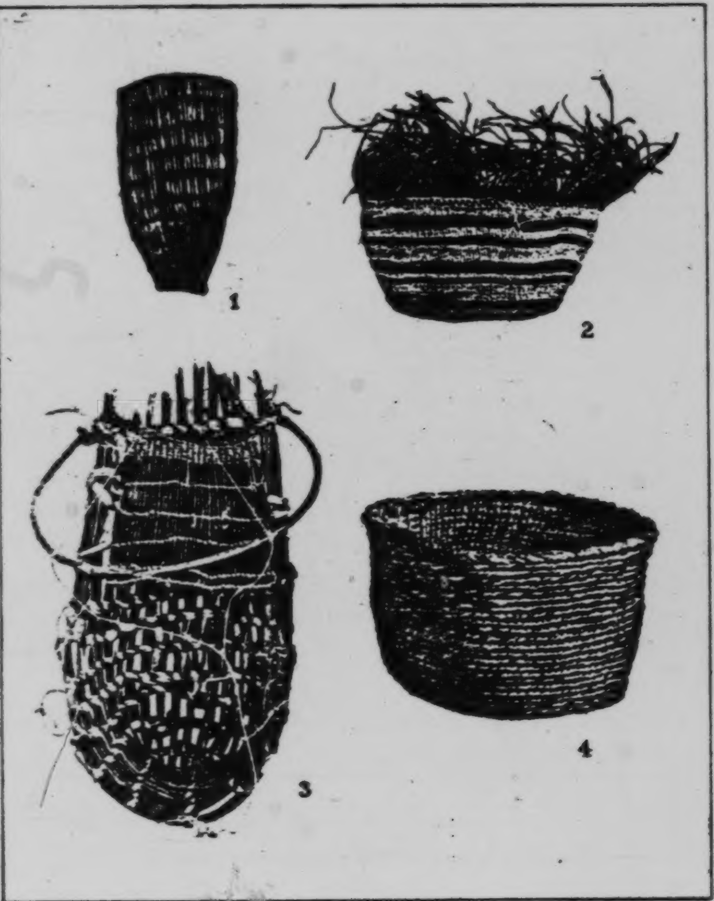

POUCH, CRADLE, AND BASKETS OF TULE.

[p. 271]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 15.

Fig. 1.—Plain-twined basket of soft tule materials. Museum number 1-14244. Diameter 35 cm.

Fig. 2.—Plain-twined basket of soft tule materials. Museum number 1-9171. Diameter 25 cm.

Fig. 3.—Plain-twined basket of soft tule materials. Museum number 1-14245. Diameter 55 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
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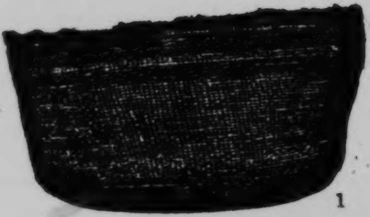
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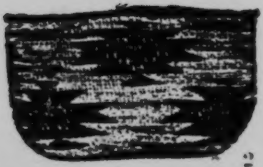
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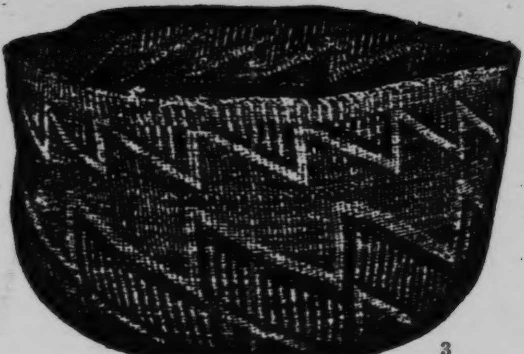
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BASKETS OF TULE.

[p. 273]

5: Barrett **E-5** **(1907)** **1910**
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 16.

Fig. 1.—Triangular openwork basket in plain twining of juniper root splints, used as a general receptacle; also as a sifter for wokas seeds and as a grater to remove the skins of roots and tubers. Museum number 1-12314. Length 82 cm.

Fig. 2.—Similar basket made of willow sticks. Museum number 1-12630. Length 75 cm.

Fig. 3.—Conical burden basket made in plain twining of rigid materials. Museum number 1-12391. Diameter 53 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
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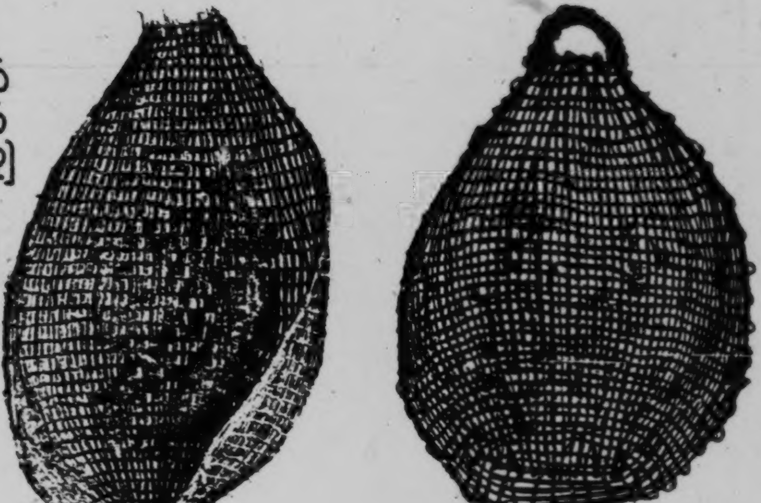

SIFTING AND CARRYING BASKETS.

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5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 17.

Fig. 1.—Snowshoe made of a hoop and strips of skin. Museum number 1-12633 b. Length 41 cm.

Fig. 2.—Man's moccasin of plain twined tule basketry, for winter wear. Museum number 1-12839 a. Length 42 cm.

Fig. 3.—Legging of plain twined tule. Museum number 1-12774. Length 44 cm.

Fig. 4.—Woman's moccasin of plain twined tule, for winter wear. Museum number 1-12773 a. Length 45 cm.

Fig. 5.—Buckskin moccasin for summer wear. Museum number 1-12508 b. Length 25 cm.

Fig. 6.—Man's cap or sunshade of plain twined tule. Museum number 1-12838. Length 28 cm.

Fig. 7.—Woman's belt made of strips of bark fiber. Museum number 1-14128. Length 86 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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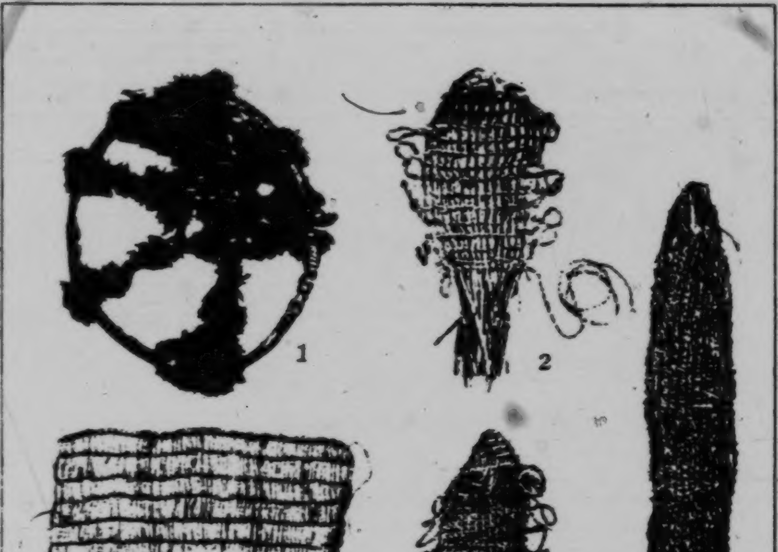

SNOWSHOE, MOCCASIN, LEGGING, CAP, AND BELT.

[p. 277]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 18.

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Fig. 1.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12385. Diameter 20 cm.

Fig. 2.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12468. Diameter 17 cm.

Fig. 3.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12688. Diameter 14 cm.

Fig. 4.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12461. Diameter 14 cm.

Fig. 5.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12460. Diameter 21 cm.

Fig. 6.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12459. Diameter 21 cm.

Fig. 7.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12802. Diameter 24 cm.

Fig. 8.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-14229. Diameter 19 cm.

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Fig. 9.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-12738. Diameter 22 cm.

Fig. 10.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-14230. Diameter 18 cm.

Fig. 11.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-12561. Diameter 23 cm.

Fig. 12.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-12335. Diameter 20 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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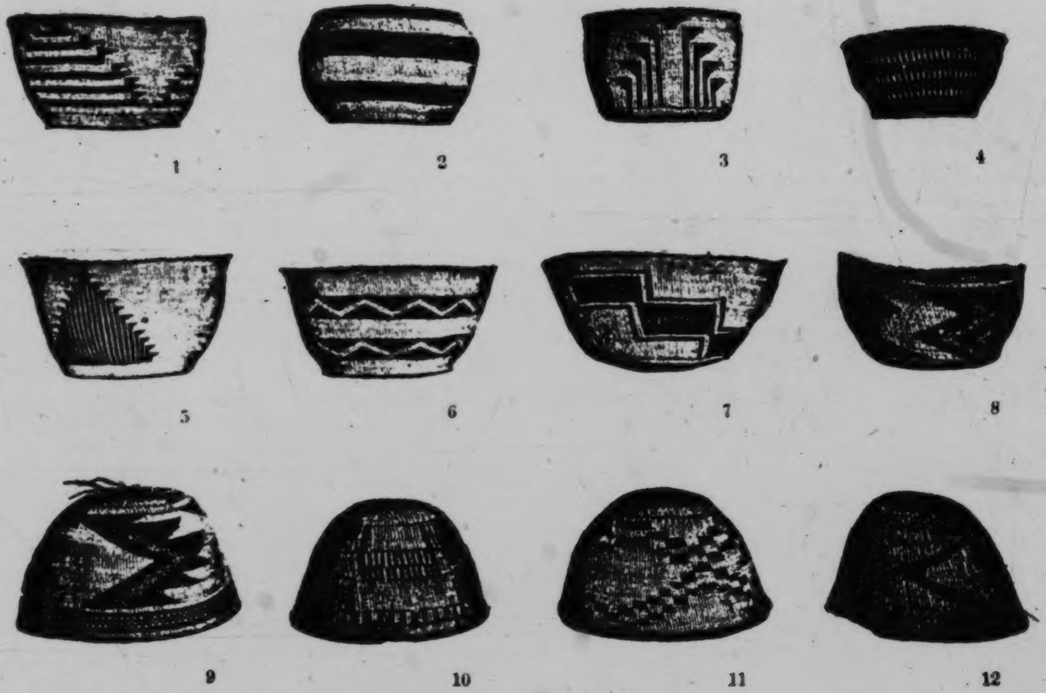
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BASKETS AND BASKETRY, HATS.

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5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 19.

Fig. 1.—Fish-trap of plain-twined basketry. The warp consists of willow rods. Museum number 1-12247. Length 89 cm.

Fig. 2.—Tule moccasin for winter wear, in use.

Fig. 3.—Large canoe-shaped basket of tule, in openwork-plain twining, used as a floating receptacle in gathering wokas pods. Museum number 1-12639. Length 141 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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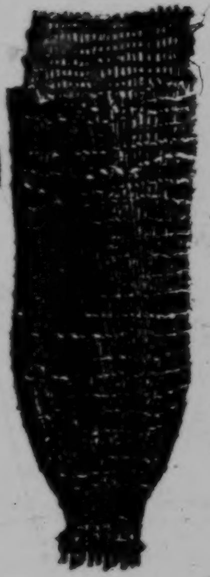

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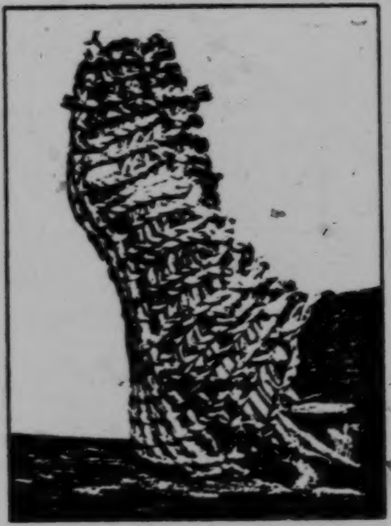

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FISH TRAP AND TULE MOCCASIN.

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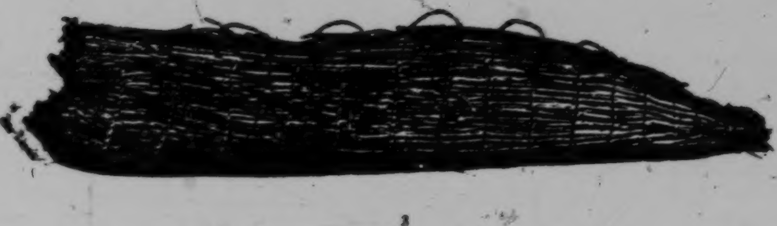

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BASKET FOR GATHERING WOKAS.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 20.

Fig. 1.—Quiver of tule, plain-twined. Museum number 1-12719. Length 81 cm.

Fig. 2.—Hunting arrows with shafts of cane and points of mountain mahogany. The points are ringed in order to cause the arrows to skip along the surface of the water. Museum numbers 1-12776 b, c, k. Length 88 to 96 cm.

Fig. 3.—Feathered hunting arrows with shafts of cane and points of mountain mahogany. Museum numbers 1-12812 a, b, c. Length 81 to 85 cm.

Fig. 4.—Unbacked wooden bow. The outer side is shown. Museum number 1-12646. Length 105 cm.

Fig. 5.—Unbacked wooden bow. The inner side, which is shown, is painted. Museum number 1-12868. Length 109 cm.

Fig. 6.—Unbacked wooden bow. The outer side is shown. Museum number 1-12867. Length 100 cm.

5: **Barrett** **E-5** (1907) 1910
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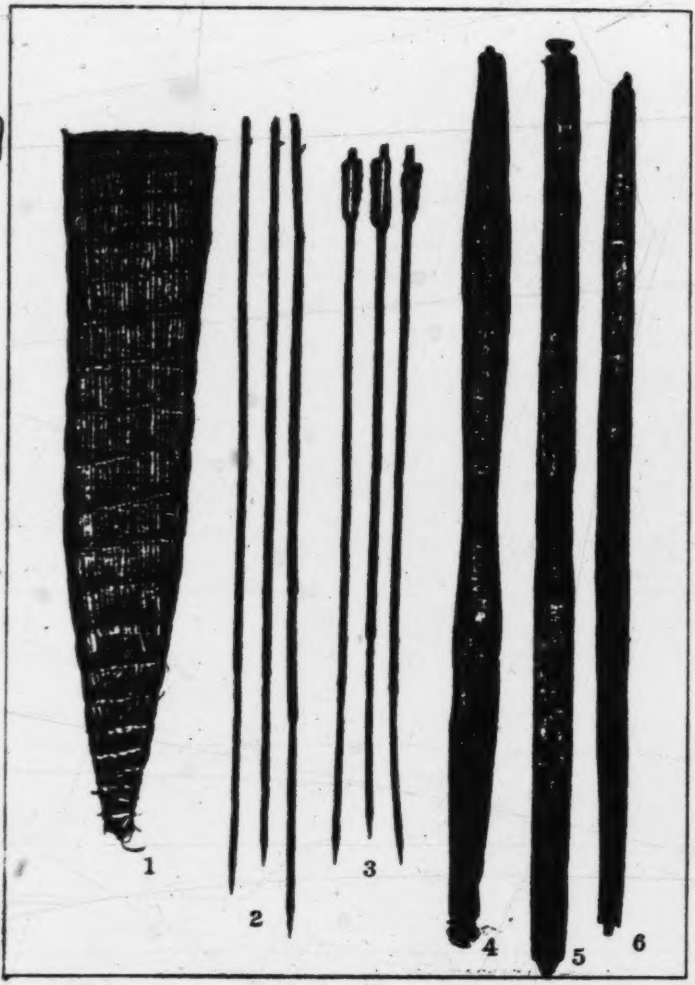

QUIVER, ARROWS, AND BOWS.

[p. 283]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 21.

Fig. 1.—Small muller. The base is flat. The hemispherical upper surface is shown. Museum number 1-12942. Diameter 9 cm.

Fig. 2.—Two-horned muller. Museum number 1-4540. Diameter 15 cm.

Fig. 3.—Pestle for grinding dried fish, meat, and seeds. Museum number 1-12907. Length 29 cm.

Fig. 4.—Pestle for grinding dried fish, meat, and seeds. Museum number 1-12932. Length 25 cm.

Fig. 5.—Perforated arrow-straightener of wood. Museum number 1-12628. Length 26 cm.

Fig. 6.—Mortar for grinding dried fish, meat, and seeds. Museum number 1-12953. Diameter 23 cm.

Fig. 7.—Grooved triangular sinker for gill net. Museum number 1-12880. Length 12 cm.

Fig. 8.—Maul for driving wedges. Museum number 1-12949. Length 15 cm.

Fig. 9.—Longitudinally grooved arrow-straightener and polisher of stone. Museum number 1-12914. Length 9 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
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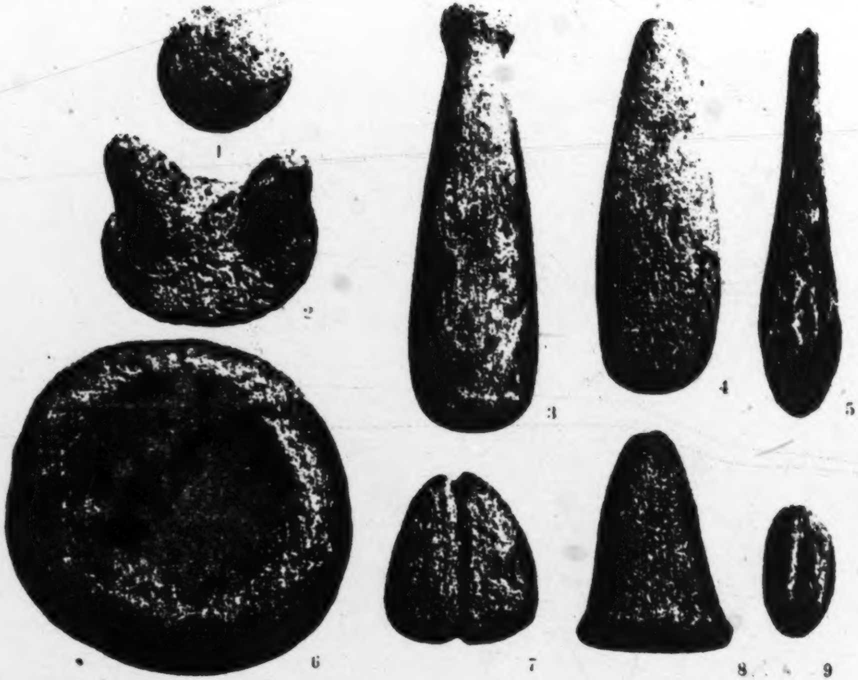

OBJECTS OF STONE, AND WOODEN ARROW STRAIGHTENER.

[p285]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 22.

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Fig. 1.—Torch of sagebrush bark. Museum number 1-12815. Length 71 cm.

Fig. 2.—Comb made of the tail of a porcupine. Museum number 1-12678. Length 21 cm.

Fig. 3.—Fishhook and line. The hook consists of a straight piece of bone pointed at both ends. Museum number 1-12755. Length of hook 8 cm.

Fig. 4.—Pair of bone harpoon points, partly covered with pitch, for spearing fish. Museum number 1-12768. Length of points 8 and 10 cm.

Fig. 5.—Bone knife for separating inner and outer bark of pine. Museum number 1-12682. Length 28 cm.

Fig. 6.—Pair of double-pointed bone fishhooks. Museum number 1-12763. Length of shank 12 cm.

Fig. 7.—Bone mesh-measure for making nets. Museum number 1-12680. Length 13 cm.

Fig. 8.—Obtuse-angled pipe bowl of stone. Museum number 1-12382. Height 9 cm.

Fig. 9.—Stone pipe bowl. Museum number 1-12580. Height 4 cm.

Fig. 10.—Pipe with discoidal bowl of stone and short wooden stem. Museum number 1-14137. Height 11 cm.

Fig. 11.—Shuttle with string for making nets. Museum number 1-12871. Length 70 cm.

5: **Barrett** E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M
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392
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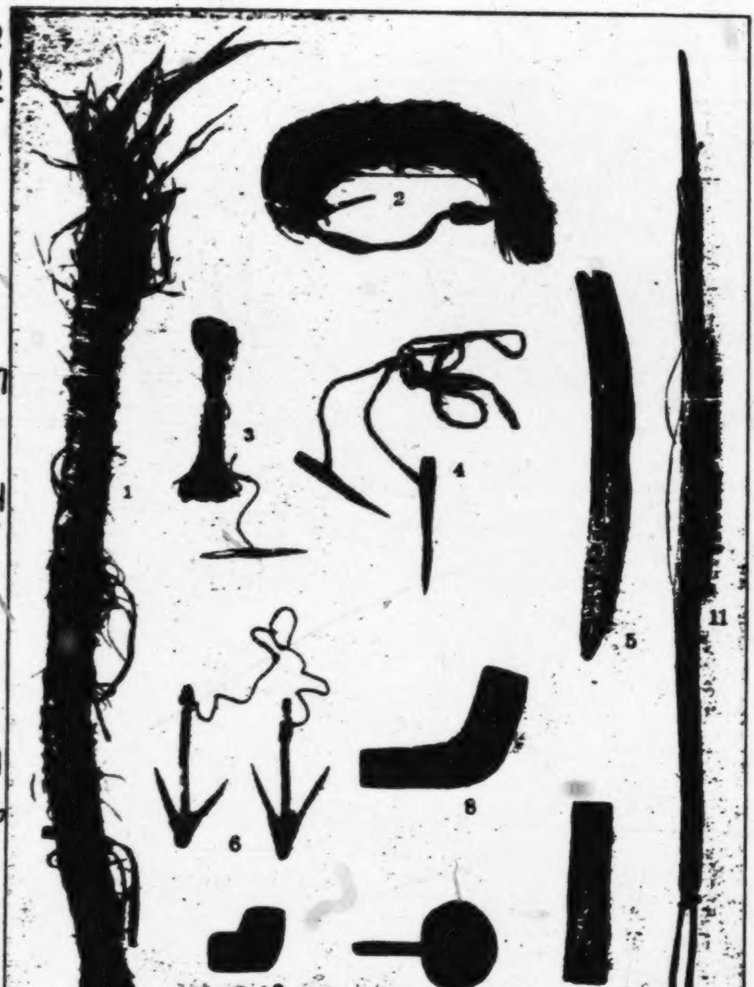

TORCH, COMB, FISHHOOKS, HARPOON POINTS, BONE KNIFE, MESH-MEASURER, PIPES, AND NETTING SHUTTLE.

[p. 287]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

M
K
285

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 23.

Part of plain-twined mat of stems of tule, *Scirpus robustus*, used as the middle layer of the matting which covers houses. Museum number 1-12052. Distance between courses of nettle string weft 7 cm. Size of mat, 156 × 240 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

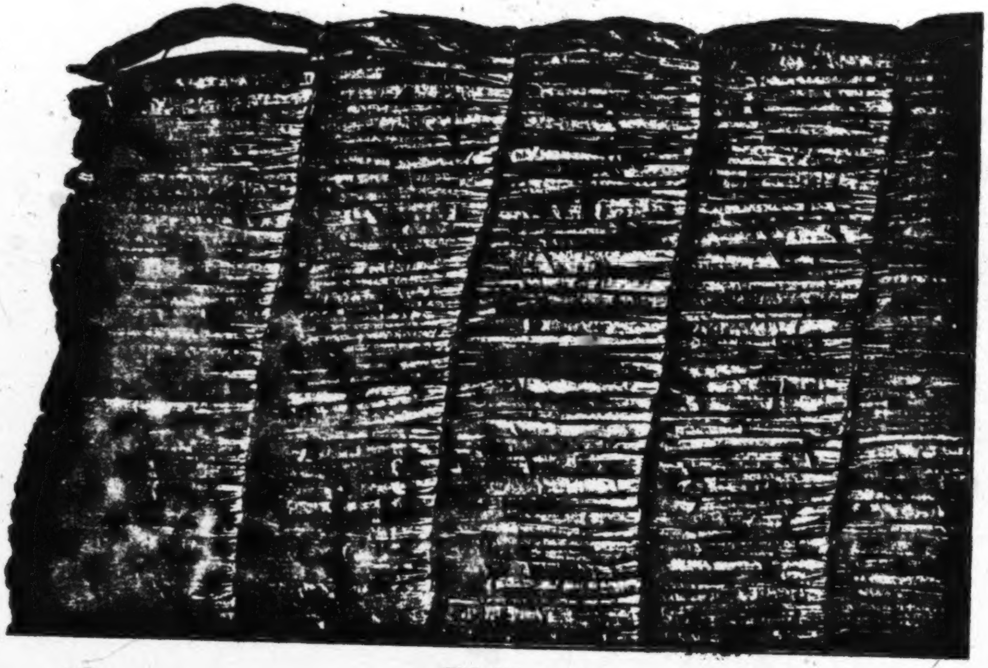

TULE MAT.

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K
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[p. 289]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

M
K
285

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 24.

Part of large mat of tule, *Scirpus lacustris*, sewn together with parallel strings. By sewing instead of twining the water is prevented from entering the house thatch, of which this mat forms the outer layer. At the edge of the mat, twining of tule fiber is used. Museum number 1-12781. Size of mat, 166 × 300 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

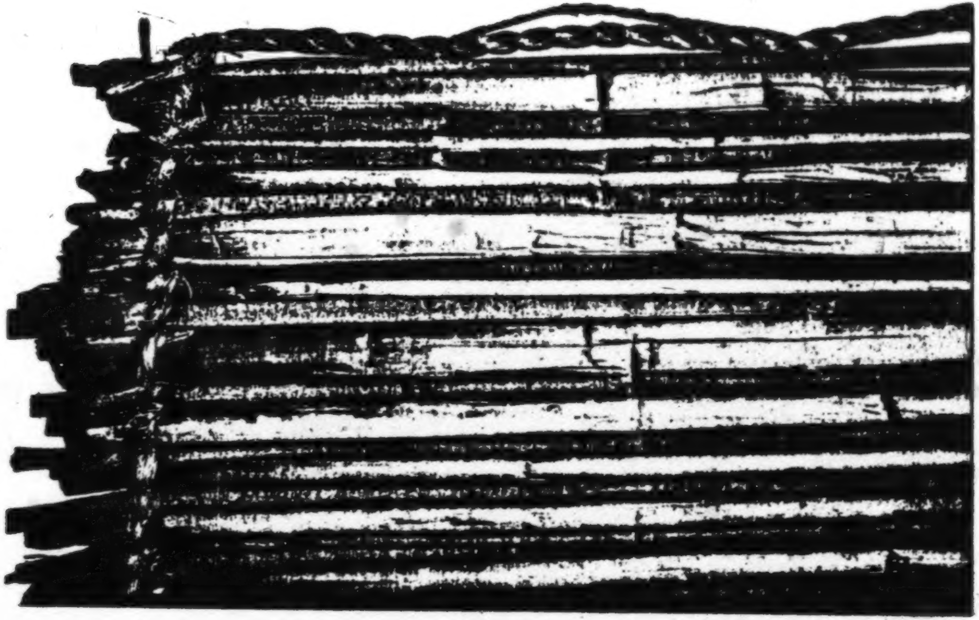

TULE MAT.

[p.291]

MK
285

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 25.

M
K
285

Part of a mat made in plain twining of reed. Used as the inner layer of the covering of houses. Museum number 1-12554. Distance between courses of weft 11 cm. Size of mat, 143 × 390 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910

NR10 Klamath NR10

Modoc NS17

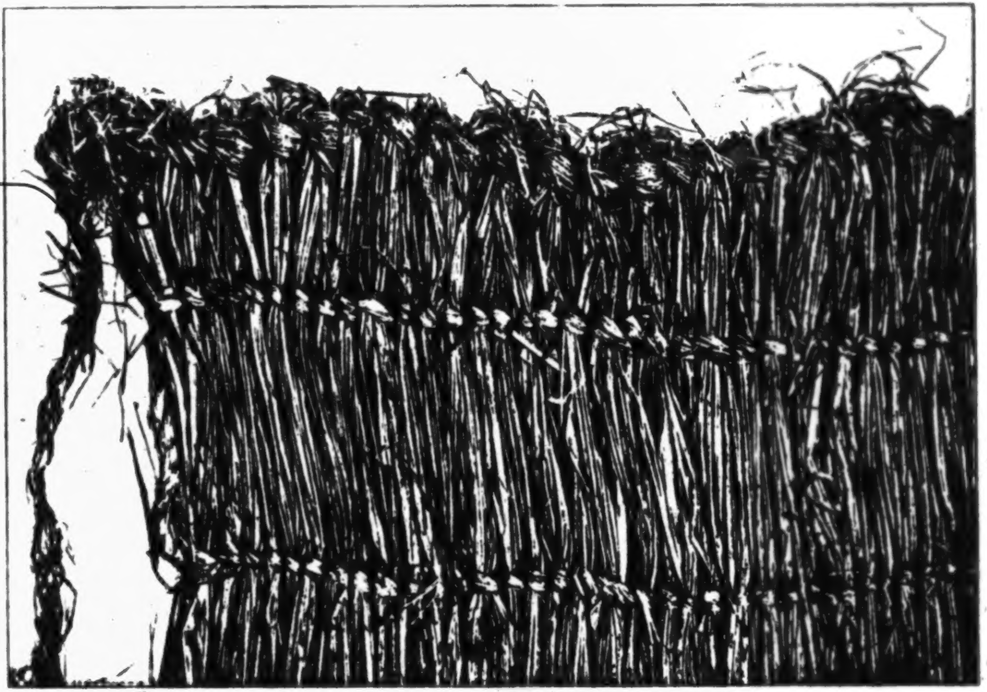

MAT OF REEDS.

[p.293]

MK 285

NR 10
C1

[title page]

KLAMATH PERSONALITIES:000

Ten Rorschach Case Studies

BY

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Foreword

114 I shall not comment in this Foreword, which Dr. Clifton graciously asked me to write, on the technical qualities of these studies in the Culture and Personality tradition. It is of particular significance to me that this study of personalities should be added to the impressive series on the life history of a people, a series of studies, of a single people, probably unique in anthropology. The prehistory, the ethnography, the ethno-history, the linguistics, the period of white contact on the reservation and its vicissitudes, and the termination of the reservation have all been studied in detail and comprehensively. Dr. Clifton's study, while not a specific part of the series of studies directly relating to the processes involved in implementing the federal legislation terminating the reservation, was closely related to them. From the point of view of those of us who hope that Social Science will provide the information on which public policy is based it would have been fortunate to have used the rich fund of actual and potential information on the Klamath Indians to provide a sound demonstration of the use of scientific knowledge to formulate public policy. The results of the kind of study made by Dr. Clifton added to the other information available would have provided the basic data for a significant demonstration of how wise planning in the use of scientific knowledge might be used to formulate a policy, humane, significant in terms of human values and as an expression of enlightened democratic government. The political arm of the government, however, ignored completely the scientific
[177] resources at its disposal. The analysis of personalities so effectively set forth in this study makes it quite clear to all except the most naive that the problems of adjustment which have been so apparent during the period of the Klamath Reservation were not automatically solved by the final act of Termination. But that will be another story.

L.S. Cressman

Eugene, Oregon
June 30, 1961

[p.i]

OOO

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[introductory p.i]

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Section I. Introduction

This is a report on the personality dynamics of a highly acculturated American 121 Indian population, the Klamath of south-central Oregon. The report consists 125 of blind, idiographic assessments of ten selected cases. The subjects are male and female Klamath of various age groups who occupy different status positions [101] and who perform widely divergent social roles in the context of Klamath reservation culture.

As is the case with similar culture and personality research, one aim of this report is descriptive, that of recording variant attributes of personality, attributes which are not frequently observable in the usual clinical or research settings of western culture. Thus some mental health and social science personnel 121 may find the report of value because of the unusual character structure of the subjects, but those who serve reservation populations in clinical settings and those who observe for research purposes will find these ten Klamath subjects familiar. In addition to the objective of description we hope that the analysis of these cases will contribute to an understanding of the psychological— particularly the interpersonal aspects of Klamath reservation life. Beyond these goals, the synthesis of psychological and cultural data drawn from observations of the contemporary scene may throw some additional light on the psychological consequences of acculturation.

The ten case studies in this report were drawn from a sample of fifty four 125 collected in 1958-59 by the Anthropologist during two periods of field research. 114 The original research was aimed at collecting psychological test data so as to [101] make a contribution to a larger study of Klamath Reservation Culture, which involved 121 both a historical or acculturational study of processes of change and a study of the contemporary reservation community. The larger Klamath study is being supervised by Dr. Theodore Stern, of the Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon. The results of the original personality study have been reported elsewhere (Clifton 1960). This early research effort was predicated upon a loose statistical model, and the aim was to correlate personality types with types of socio-cultural adjustment. It was assumed that the very great range of kinds of behaviors and types of adjustment apparent among the Klamath reservation population could be associated with variations in personality attributes as measured by projective tests.

Two distinct variants of this statistical model were attempted and discarded before a third was developed. The first aim was to collect a random sample [125] of a target population composed of persons recognized as members of the Klamath Tribe, who currently maintained a residence on or near the reservation, and who had lived all or most of their lives in that area. One of the two models had this population stratified by criteria which supposedly isolated clusters of types of socio-cultural adjustment. Here the form of thought was essentially historical or evolutionary and was quite similar to the model employed in the Menomini study (Spindler 1955). The second stratified sample was drawn along [125] somewhat different lines, and attempted to isolate significant variations in type of family organization (both of orientation and procreation) and patterns of family activity. Because of certain developments in the larger study of Klamath Reservation Culture, and especially because of a very high refusal rate, neither of these formal approaches to sampling could be utilized.

The growing understanding of Klamath Reservation Culture gave cause to suspect the several tentative analyses of the situation upon which these formal models

121 had been founded. There was, for example, no evidence for anything remotely
181 approximating a "Native Oriented" group on the reservation. Moreover, it became
154 apparent that a particular style of personal adjustment was by no means
characteristic of the majority of individuals throughout their life-spans. So called "Transitional" modes of adjustment, for example, might be used to characterize the confused orientations, the value conflicts, and the disorganized family life of persons early in their life arc, but the same persons frequently settled down to a respectable, stable "Elite Acculturated" mode of existence in middle age. Or this sequence might frequently be reversed.

125 However, the formal sampling approach was jettisoned primarily because of the
123 many refusals among the samples. That such a reaction might reflect important
variables and hence prejudice the reliability of the consequent approach was considered, but it was apparent that the major cause for refusal was the absence of an existing friendship relation between subjects and field-worker (or some influential intermediary). Moreover, an analysis of the status of those who refused indicated that this reaction was neither confined to nor clustered within any identifiable grouping.

125 For these reasons, attention was given to securing what may be called a deliberately representative sample of the reservation population. The criteria of representativeness included variations in social roles assumed by the subjects (occupation, sex, leadership, and so on), variations in role performance, differences
123 in standards and values, and age differences. When appropriate subjects
were known personally by the Anthropologist, they were approached directly. If no friendship relation existed, potential subjects were, less frequently, approached through the recommendations and aid of an intermediary, or, finally, a direct effort was made to become acquainted with a suitable subject. In all instances, an existing friend relationship proved the more successful mode of approach. For reasons to be suggested in the next section, there are few Klamath persons whose influence is both high and extensive, and, conversely, few who
123 can easily accept external imposition of controls. Thus intermediaries, whatever
their manifest status, rarely could elicit the cooperation of more than one suitable subject. The result of this effort was a set of Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Test Records, and short life-histories on a sample of fifty four persons, which sample could for the purposes of the research be considered as
128 reasonably representative of the target population. The ten case studies in this
report were selected from the original sample so as to provide as much variety as possible in the limited confines of these pages.

Aside from the problems of obtaining an adequately representative sample, there is another aspect of the field method used in the Klamath study which may be of
123 some interest. In each instance the potential subject was made aware of the intentions
of the field worker and the purposes of testing and interviewing. It
181 will be clear from the next section that the contemporary Klamath are in no relevant
sense "primitive," nor are they an isolated population. Indeed. many subjects
125 were familiar with the "ink-blot" test from television programs, movies,
177 or hearsay information. More generally, the major task, that of identifying
ambiguous stimuli, was associated with the simple game of "seeing faces in the clouds" or figures in rock formations. Further, most Klamath under fifty years of age are sufficiently experienced in the practices of American culture to have some personal familiarity with the "test situation," whether personality, aptitude, vocational, or intelligence. Thus there was a shared basis for this peculiar form of interaction.

Because it is for several reasons considered important, the fact that each 125
Klamath subject was, in general terms, made aware of the intentions of the 123
examiner and the logic of the test procedure should be emphasized. Recently, 125
Hauck has described a different approach used for research among the Unitah- 114
Ouray Ute, where he modified the usual Rorschach procedure by concealing the
purposes of the test beneath a supposedly innocuous "cover story" (Hauck 1955: 10).

This approach to field testing is subject to criticism on several grounds. In 125
the first place, it is somewhat less than ethical to conceal the purposes of a 123
test so as to facilitate cooperation, and then to publish results in line with (114)
original intentions. Occasionally, this approach has been used in culture and
personality research. It entails the assumption of a kind of mechanical meaningfulness of any responses to projective tests, however administered, and whatever the test taking attitude of the subject. At a minimum, the subject has the right of knowing what he is involved in and the privilege of refusing. Secondly, where clinical methods of interpretation are to be employed, it is essential that field research using projective tests as closely as possible approximate the clinical situation. This assumes that the cooperating research subject is more apt to reveal important aspects of himself if he clearly understands the
intentions of the examiner. Indeed, one purpose of projective testing is to 12
facilitate communication about difficult topics, not to unduly impede it with artificial barriers.

Another aspect of this issue is that most American Indian populations include 12
some members with higher education, or, like the Klamath, others with some 177
awareness of the "ink-blot" or the "picture" test via spectatorship in the mass (171)
media. Because of this awareness, any subterfuge or concealment of test objectives may be publically revealed and further distorted. The consequence of this can only be a confused or negative appraisal of field research and field researchers. Given the existing wariness and suspicion of many American Indian populations and their concern with their status as "Guinea Pigs," such an outcome is not very desirable. Finally, it is quite conceivable that another field worker might want to pursue similar research in a situation where the purposes of a test have been concealed. If so, he will have to support the original lie, either by accepting it or by expanding upon it.

Quite frequently, the success of field research in the area of culture and 12
personality studies turns upon obtaining an adequate sampling of a population in a very limited period of time. Perhaps, as is suggested by the extensive sampling of Hallowell and the Spindlers in repeated field sessions, it is the time factor which is crucial. In terms of the ethics of research, the validity of results, the richness of materials collected, the possible consequences of distorting objectives so as to obtain cooperation, and the implications for future field work, the alternative approach of using a "cover story" to obtain quick results is not desirable.

The Klamath personality research grew out of Clifton's participation in a larger 114
study of Klamath reservation culture. The initial, unpublished, evaluation of the test and life history data was intended to improve understanding of the psychological consequences of acculturation in the Klamath case and to give additional depth to other studies of styles of Klamath behavior. This first approximation, although suggestive, did not prove entirely satisfactory, largely because of too mechanical a utilization of what are, in the trade, called "standard interpretative hypotheses." In short, the initial report was too cookbookish. At the same time the possibility of bias had to be considered,

114 for the field researcher and analyst were one and the same person. It then
(121) seemed potentially fruitful and appropriate to organize a collaborative effort
with an experienced psychologist, and it was at this juncture that David Levine
began participating in the research. The result of that effort is this report,
with its markedly inductive and qualitative approach.

121 Aside from an assessment of the attributes of Klamath personalities, we are,
thus, concerned with several somewhat broader questions. Because of the former,
the Psychologist has set one task as the idiographic analysis of each subject's
Rorschach record, but because of the latter concern this analysis must be considered doubly idiographic. We are at one and the same time concerned with two
kinds of wholes, each Klamath person, and the total socio-cultural setting. On
the one hand, the Anthropologist's interest lies in the relations between personality factors and the configurations of Klamath Reservation Culture, and,
thus, in Redfield's terms, in contributing to an understanding of the reservation
(125) tion as a "unique analysed system" (Redfield 1955). On the other hand, the
Psychologist became interested in this setting because of his concern with using
the Rorschach as one measure of Ego-development, or the level of psychological
maturity. In this respect, and aside from the intrinsic interest of each, the
ten case studies are seen as a possible means of bringing to bear certain portions of psychoanalytic theory and Werner's genetic psychology theory upon the
task of explaining some aspects of the styles of behavior prevalent in the peculiarly stifling environments of American Indian reservations. We are, therefore, interested in developing useful approaches to larger problems and in
building hypotheses.

12 With respect to the division of labor, Clifton collected the original data and
was responsible for writing Sections I and II and the introductions to the case
studies, while Levine gave his attention to the analysis of each case. The concluding section is a joint effort. Levine's analysis of the Rorschach records
has been without extensive foreknowledge of the characteristics of life on or
the history of the Klamath reservation, and without foreknowledge of the particular experiences or cultural status of the subjects. The collaboration of
Anthropologist and Psychologist, the inductive, case-study approach, and this
"blind" analysis thus put this report in the culture and personality tradition
most recently represented by Gladwin and Sarason's Truk study. Indeed, this
report was partly prompted by Gladwin and Sarason's recent complaint that
"...studies which would refine and carry forward this or other systematic methods
121 of case analysis have not been forthcoming." (1959: 175). While we agree that
analyses of comparative data should be made available, in all modesty we cannot
lay claim to a refinement of the case study method. Again, we are concerned
with developing useful theoretical ideas, or in finding a place to transplant an
existing idea, rather than with methodology.

122 We are indebted to Zygmunt Piotrowski for his approach to Rorschach analysis and
for suggesting the possibility of our collaborating, to Luther Cressman of the
University of Oregon for providing facilities for publication and for initial
support of the field work, and to Theodore Stern, also from the University of
Oregon, for continuing assistance and encouragement in and out of the field.
(121) Section II of this report draws heavily upon Dr. Stern's published and unpublished Klamath materials, for which we are particularly grateful. During 1958,
James Clifton's field work was supported by a Social Science Research Council
Fellowship for Training in Social Anthropology, while support for the 1959 research was provided by the National Institute of Mental Health in the form of a
pre-doctoral fellowship and research grant. The National Institute of Mental
Health has, additionally, financed publication costs of this report.

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common 101
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 177
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological [184]
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy, [224]
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly 648
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties:
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an artificial [829]
construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet 178
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-residence
with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been transferred 648
to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not [241]
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber industry [511]
has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
648 towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation,
by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically,
144 less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
177 of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities
were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
[786] area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
[181] Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased
[556] opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members,
[434] as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited
[251] bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected 648
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 621
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are ex- 563
clusively White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office out- [575]
side the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [794]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are fre- [651]
quently tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously,
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chilo- [674]
quin during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a recon- 648
stituted "Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be adminis- 657
tered by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal super-
vision has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual 619
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Atten-
dance at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
[848] out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-
[177] style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
596 there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
[177] extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, *de facto* groupings
rather than *de jure*. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organiza-
[594] tion of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obliga-
592 tory responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-
592 father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly ex-
treme cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual owner-
ship of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with re-
gard to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
434 children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have 593
other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are sometimes 855
non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are [581]
frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time, [181]
or to an older relative, or to an elder sibling. If the party occurs in the
household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be
left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may [603]
find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence [155]
and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of
the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one)
or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually
faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloofness.
The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and
both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating
fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little experience [155]
with consistency in role relationships.

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, [602]
amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other
kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting 872
the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax, 861
permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear-cut,
specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not [593]
accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet [181]
these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and [155]
attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu.
In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to [156]
be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly
characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts.
This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture,
but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society.

In many respects the values and skills learned within the household to not adequately 155
prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of 156
regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the household [871]
may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may
throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get
him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time
the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted,
the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in inferiority
is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, contributing
in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebelliousness,
or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation
of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school [563]
years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the [582]
areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites
is not an easy one.

It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child 882
are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child 156
may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete 155
with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he
is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors
cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into
an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high [871]

882
155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
157 in test performance and grades.
156

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
[462] in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits
include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers
are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
657 affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
[241] of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience
with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
426 example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented,
829 and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation
population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
657 familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

and the modes of behaving through which the Klamath interact with their be- 181
havioral milieu. For this reason it is not to be supposed that White exclusion- 657
ism or Agency policy alone are the significant antecedents of the stable
pluralism of reservation life. For a Klamath to leave the amorphous atmosphere
of his home or the circle of his drinking pals to enter into the unfamiliar and
unprepared-for activities of White life is a source of fear and anxiety.

Thus, however it may seem to the outsider, the existing way of life on the
Klamath reservation offers substantial predictability to tribal members, a place
to live, a corporate body with which to identify, and multiple stable human
relationships. As a cultural system it may be stable in form although changing
in detail, and therefore this novel set of human relationships is not likely
to quickly disappear. The Klamath today may not be the same persons who were [177]
settled on the reservation a century ago, and aboriginal Klamath, Modoc, and
Paiute cultural attributes may have disappeared, yet they are still self-con- [171]
sciously Indian. In studies of acculturation, it is frequently argued that groups
like the Klamath are marginal, that is, hung suspended between two cultural 181
worlds. We feel that such a metaphor is both confusing and misleading. It 657
assumes the presence of a reasonably intact cultural alter of aboriginal design 121
and a unilineal path of acculturation process. As indicated above, the former
is not present on the contemporary Klamath reservation. As to the latter, we
argue that the structural consequences of acculturation are many, and a lineal
assimilation process is only one of them. The Klamath situation, we feel, is
that of an unassimilated minority group which is itself very actively engaged in
maintaining its special position and which is subject to multiple external
pressures for maintaining its present boundaries. The Klamath are, therefore,
in a position analogous to religious and racial enclaves. They are a group
distinct from and in some ways opposed to American culture who fit, as it were,
into a special niche in the larger structure of American society. If the term
marginality is to be used with reference to any Klamath individual it can only
refer to his orientation towards conflicting reference groups in the heterogeneous
contemporary community.

Section III. Approach to the Rorschach Protocols

The interpretive approach to the Rorschach protocols was dictated to a large 121
extent by the overall purpose of the investigation. An avowedly inductive 125
and idiographic study requires a broadly clinical, not a narrowly statistical,
analysis of the obtained Rorschach responses. The conclusions reached on the
basis of this kind of research may be considered hypotheses to be tested in
controlled deductive research.

The validity of the Rorschach method for personality exploration is not at issue in the present study; there are obviously more clear-cut and efficient research methods available for that purpose. Rather, the test is being utilized as one means of gaining insights about the adaptive mechanisms of individuals in a particular sub-group that is undergoing an acculturation process — a case-study approach. These insights may lead hopefully to theoretical advances in that area of study called Culture and Personality.

From this statement of the general purpose of the research, several specific 121
methodological decisions follow. It becomes clear immediately that there will
be no comparisons of groups by statistical methods and few statistical tabula-
tions of group means and standard deviations. There will be no description of
that artificial construct — the modal Klamath personality. On the contrary,

121 the emphasis is on the unique adjustment of the individual subject to the specific life conditions he encounters and helps create.

121 125 114 The present approach to the projective tests is, then, radically different from much of the work of Hallowell, Spindler, Kaplan and other writers who at times have utilized a rigid and mechanical approach to the test data, one which often entailed group comparisons of mean scores. Their methodology makes at least three assumptions. Firstly, that single scores may be interpreted meaningfully out of the context of the rest of the record; secondly, that individual variability is not important enough to obscure group differences; and finally, that the general area under investigation has been thoroughly enough explored to justify hypothetico-deductive research methodologies. These assumptions may be warranted in some instances, but our impression is that too often this rigid methodology has been employed prematurely.

Our use of the projective tests, on the other hand, is similar to Gladwin and Sarason's in that we are unwilling, at this point, to go beyond a case-oriented, inductive methodology. However, important differences between their interpretive procedures and ours are obvious on even the most superficial inspection. While we have attempted to base as much of our interpretation as possible on Piotrowski's explicit principles of interpretation Sarason does not feel that his interpretations would be facilitated by computing a scoring summary. His position rests on the conclusion that the available "evidence" (a term he defines explicitly and rigidly) is insufficient to justify most Rorschach interpretations based on scores. However, Sarason's goals in the Trukese study included an attempt to make explicit the process by which he, as a clinician, transformed the raw data into personality descriptions. Sarason might have come closer to achieving this particular goal had he paid more explicit attention to the scoring categories. In his analyses he used extensively the initial reaction times, the number of responses, and the level of form accuracy of the responses. However, he was also acutely and continuously aware of the manner in which the subject dealt with the colored and shading aspects of the blots, as well as the extent to which movement was involved. Although we agree with Sarason that the validity of much of the interpretation based on Rorschach scores has not been demonstrated scientifically, we take the position that explicit utilization of Rorschach scores and specific interpretive principles will enable us to approach more quickly the goal of understanding the process by which the clinician goes from the raw data to the personality interpretation. In addition, there has been a considerable amount of scientific research — much of it done by Sarason and his students — which suggests that some Rorschach scores do have behavioral concomitants. Our hope is that by being explicit we can move ever closer to the goal of determining the validity of the Rorschach, while at the same time using the test for whatever inductive value it does have.

121 125 Since the focus of this study is on the subject's adaptive mechanisms, the Rorschach interpretations have been carried out in a theoretical framework which emphasizes Ego Psychology, rather than the exploration of specific instinctual energies. Scientific research and clinical opinion both indicate that this approach — emphasizing ego functions, not the probing of unconscious depths — is likely to be of greater ultimate value and rests on a surer foundation. (Klopfer, 1954; Sarason, 1954; Schafer, 1954, to mention but a few). Thus, we are less concerned with what the subject sees in the blot than in how he sees it.

114 Piotrowski's principles of interpretation (1957), as well as his interpretive "definitions," are in accord with this orientation and generally were followed.

121 125 114 Piotrowski's stress on analyzing the percept, rather than the verbalized response (hence, perceptanalysis) is an example of his emphasis on a careful scrutiny of the manner in which the subject is approaching the task presented by the Rorschach examination. The errors resulting from a too hasty reliance on the subject's verbal report range from assuming the response "bat" to Card I is a W, when it might have been a rare detail to scoring an F- for any statistically infrequent response when a careful inquiry might have revealed an accurate, original, and well-organized percept. Ultimately, of course, we are dependent on the subject to tell us what he sees and how he is seeing it, but a sensitive, careful inquiry can help the subject communicate in words the images he has created. When our goal is an understanding of the adjustment of an individual Klamath, this attempt to see the blot as the subject sees it enables us to approach — with empathy, if you will — the subject's own manner of perceiving the blot stimulus.

However, Piotrowski's method of interpretation rests on firmer footing than this perhaps vague statement that an attempt is made to empathize with the subject. Piotrowski has stated, in explicit principles and definitions, the interpretive significance which he attaches to the various kinds of responses. Although these principles were used as guidelines, they were not adhered to in a dogmatic fashion.

125 128 For example, the Rorschachs were scored carefully, but not rigidly. An illustration of this distinction is the scoring of form level. Much has been written about this pseudo-problem; the Beck-Klopfer controversy concerning a statistical versus an evaluative basis for form-level scoring has generated much heat. The present approach may seem at first blush to beg the question, but a moment's analysis indicates that the scoring is always done keeping in mind that the ultimate purpose of the test is interpretation. Thus, if a response is clearly an F+ response, i.e., the form of the image corresponds without question to the blot area, there is no scoring difficulty. However, if the subject gives a response which is neither clearly F+ nor F- (and for Beck, is statistically infrequent), but rather gives a response which might almost be justified, but not quite, the scorer need not sit in a quandary; to my way of thinking he need indicate merely that the subject has produced a response with this kind of borderline form level. (More detailed analyses of various approaches to form level have been described by Phillips & Smith, 1954; Klopfer, 1954). If the subject produces this kind of response often, we conclude that he often responds to life in a manner which does not include a careful evaluation of the situation, but that he does not behave in an obviously idiosyncratic manner. More precise interpretations may be formulated in the specific instance, of course. Piotrowski's scoring F± for vague responses such as "clouds," "rocks," or "bays," is an example of his attempt to formalize this approach to scoring borderline responses.

121 125 [128] As a corollary to the emphasis on Ego interpretations, an attempt was made to evaluate the adequacy of the subjects' adjustment, and in the attempt, to uncover the person's strengths and assets, as well as his flaws and weaknesses. The task consisted, in part, of gauging the extent to which his particular adaptive mechanisms enable him to cope adequately with his impulses and feelings in the context of his environment — to what extent his life style meshed satisfactorily with his life space. Since the Rorschachs were interpreted by the psychologist initially without information concerning the subject's life history, this entailed a careful examination of the balance of components in the protocols themselves. In this process much emphasis was placed on the organizational quality of the responses. The research on genetic-level scoring of the Rorschach

121 (Levine, 1960) has indicated that this may be an extremely important measure
125 of ego strength. Whether this is supported in cross-cultural work remains to
[114] be determined.

121 The emphasis throughout this phase of the research has been on the functioning
15 individual — how he adapts to his environment in general and, whenever possible,
how he behaves in interpersonal situations. In this regard Piotrowski's hypothesis that the movement responses reflect prototypal roles has been exploited extensively. By prototypal roles, Piotrowski means, "definite tendencies, deeply embedded in the subject and not easily modified, to assume repeatedly the same attitude or attitudes in dealing with others when matters felt to be important and personal are involved." (Piotrowski, 1957, p. 141). He makes it clear that he is referring to "psychological tendencies" only; in order to predict whether these tendencies will be expressed in overt behavior it is necessary to take into account many other variables (Principle of Interdependence of Components).

Piotrowski has written further that the FM (animal movement responses) reflect the subject's prototypal roles as they were prominent in the subject's past or as they influence his behavior in "states of lowered integration and in states of diminished consciousness and defective self-control," and, finally, that the m (inanimate movement responses) "indicate prototypal roles in life which the individual feels to be desirable and pleasant but unrealizable."

Thus, for example, if a subject gives only very active or aggressive human movement responses (e.g., "two boxers slugging it out") it is hypothesized that his prototypal role is of this nature. If his FM are passive and his M are aggressive, we conclude that his present prototypal role is aggressive, but that when drunk, for example, he is more likely to become docile.

In actual Rorschach interpretation the complexities of multiple roles, the influence of other Rorschach variables, the inconsistency of role patterns, and so on, must all be evaluated very carefully in order to arrive at a meaningful
121 and valid personality description. Although considerable care must be taken to
181 avoid oversimplifying these interpretive principles, their judicious application
is often very helpful and may have led to the most important conclusion of the
156 present investigation: that the Klamath are characterized by a guarded and
[171] restrained approach to life and interpersonal relations. This guarded restraint is different from the Trukese blocking and from the dull apathy of the Alorese. The Klamath initial reaction times are not nearly as long as the Trukese, nor are their dark shading responses as primitive and poorly organized. On the contrary, their initial reaction times are only slightly longer than would be expected from a U.S. White group and their dark shading responses are almost as well organized. The guarded restraint of the Klamath seemed to be neither the result of marked blocking nor apathy. A more detailed discussion of this hypothesis will be appropriate, however, after the case studies have been presented.

Slim: Male, Age 30

Background Data

Slim's case was selected so as to illustrate the situation of a regularly em- 159*
ployed, well liked and respected young male. He is currently employed as a [464]
laborer in a lumber mill, and in the past has worked as a carpenter, and in
heavy industries in the mid-west. He has ten years of formal schooling, obtained [463]
his 12th grade certificate by examination while in military service, and for [871]
one month studied commercial art in Portland. [701]

Slim was born into a large, influential kin group, one which for several genera- [619]
tions has provided much of the tribe's leadership. While his own father has
not been so influential in tribal politics, preferring to work his ranch in-
stead, Slim grew up in association with male relatives noted for their forth-
right independence and leadership, and within a family tradition of progressive-
ness and self-improvement. Slim's early life was spent in alternating periods [591]
of residence with his own father and mother on their ranch, and with his father's
mother in her cabin on the Sycan marsh. This association with "Grandma" was [603]
partly in response to the gradual disintegration of relations between his father
and mother, and partly the result of his father's desire to have "Grandma" teach [593]
him some of the old lore. His mother became increasingly erratic, unpredic-
table, and violent, finally leaving his father. Slim felt badly rejected by [153]
her and was never able to understnad why she would not accept his efforts to be
helpful. On the other hand, he was very close to his father and his grand-
mother. Today he recalls with satisfaction the many things these two persons
taught him, and dreams recurrently of being in the army, defending the reserva-
tion from attack, and checking in on the old lady to see if she is all right.
This dream is interesting because it expresses succinctly his style of relations
with superiors, for in the dream Slim asks permission of his squad leader to
leave, explains his reasons, then checks in on "Grandma," and returns to his duty.

After the 10th grade was completed, Slim quit school and worked on various ranches.
Early in the Korean war he consciously followed the model of an uncle, who was
a career soldier, and enlisted in the army. His service record was good, marred
only by what Slim feels were two justifiable periods of unauthorized absence,
and he voluntarily served with a combat unit in Korea. This army experience
considerably broadened Slim's horizons, and after his discharge he lived and
worked with an army buddy in the east for a year. Then Slim traveled and worked
in several places in the east and midwest. On two occasions his regular habits [461]
and good capacity for steady work were responsible for a promotion. Characteris-
tically, Slim enjoys this kind of reward, but he does not specifically strive
for advancement.

Slim has many skills, hobbies, and social graces. When young his father taught him to dig ditches, with the advice that this skill would always provide him with a job. He is an expert horseman and stock-keeper, and is a skilled hunter and woodsman who frequently guides his friends on hunting trips. He has learned carpentry, house-painting, and the operation of various industrial machines. More recently, he has turned to archery, sketching, and photography for hobbies to occupy his spare time. Then too, he is an amiable, jolly person who makes good company and who is well regarded as a friend. He is not married, and has never seriously considered marrying. He has had occasional sexual liaisons of a transitory nature, which he finds quite satisfying, and has been "going steady" for several years with an older woman, a person who is a grandmother in her own right.

*159 156 Slim is a restrained, dignified person who is very accepting of his status as an Indian, but who does not make too much of it. For example, he dislikes the annual Indian get-togethers because of the gaudy commercialism. A person who admires a strong, consistent leader, Slim deliberately avoids unreliable and erratic persons, for which reason he does not much participate in the reservation drinking cliques. He is one of the most assertive and sociable Klamath known to the writer. In his interactions he maintains his dignified, independent stance, yet reacts freely and responsively to others. He gives little overt indication of hesitancy or inhibition, and if anything is perhaps mildly boastful and pretentious. If a phrase will describe his outstanding characteristics, it is a well-fed, complacent hedonism. There is one thing which his white friends have against him, and that is because he is well respected and liked they are displeased because they cannot draw him into more community activities, which invitations he rejects with the disclaimer that "I'm too itchy footed to join that, I may want to leave for Washington next week."

Rorschach Record

*159 125

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	d M hd	27"	What do you do, just pick out what you see? () I can see a little face—kinda LL a long nosed woman with her hair blowing up like that (gestures). It's a bust. That's all I can think of. (AE?) (Rotates card)
(2)	d Fc hd		Look at it again and it LL a cartoon character—one of those guys w/ a little pointed head, bat-wing ears, a tuft on top of his head, beady eyes... All I can see on this one.

(1) Outboard bulge on bottom half, the hair being D7. Down. () LL the wind is blowing from behind and threw her long hair right straight up.
(2) Interior part of upper "wing" just below animal "head."

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(3)	D ms'C ntr	15"	One here kinda LL the sun is coming up. (Rotates card and then chuckles)
(4)	d FcC hd,cg		Here's some more faces...an old woman w/ a thin face, dark eyes, iron grey hair: from her neck up
(5)	S F emb		This deal here (S) LL a shield—an insignia.
Add 24	d Fc hd		A very pretty girl

(3) Bottom red, D11. Down. () Just—seen sun—like you see in some drawings: The ball of the sun coming up...those rays. (Comp. Loc. Ch.) No, it was the black with the red behind it. Now, I'm starting to pick out of this.
(Add 24) On cheek of right "bear," interior, Down. A very pretty girl with short curly hair, see here is the mouth and the teeth. (4) On neck of left bear, Card to right, interior. She's got kind of a reddish face. (5) Center Space. () Just some kind of an insignia or shield. (With card down)

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
(6)	W M h P	15"	These LL two people. A caricature...how do you say that? () A caricature of two people.
(7)	D F at		This here LL an abdomen and a long esophagus...I think they call it.
(8)	D Fc ntr		This LL two hedges with a lane in between them and at the far end a little gate.

III continued

159*
125

(9) D Fc ntr — This right here LL a reflection in the water—a tower at the end of a little pond. You can see a reflection. Trees on both sides of it. These are pretty interesting.

(6) Grey area w/out bot. center, D14. There's the head here. Here'd be the hair. A big forehead, hooked nose, no chin. () I guess they're dancing—jitterbugging I guess you'd call it. () Yes, when I first saw it it looked that way. (7) Side red, D21. () I've seen pictures in the home doctor book. (Comp. w/ Loc. Ch.) No, it looks the same. (8) Center red, D20. Like in my drawing I'd make a line and show infinity...the point disappearing...get a perspective. () Right here'd be the vanishing point...straight lines run down to it. () The shading would help...like the sun is fairly low...the ends were a little light...the light is coming from the side. The sun is very low so both sides are shaded. The color was important, not the red, just the shading. (9) All bot. center, D18. () Well once in a while in the Nat. Geo. Mag. you see a picture of a tower or a castle and a pond with a mirror reflection. (Tower= top vertical dark, reflected trees= lighter grey tendrils below, trees= darker masses on side.)

IV

(10) D FMcc' ad 40" — (Much initial rotation of this card) LL...ah...a dog standing there looking straight at you...marked something like a German shepherd.

(11) Dr FMc' a — A crude outline of a bat. I have one question. Are all these (cards) the same kind of reproductions? () (S. studies printing on back.)

(10) Bottom center D23. () It was the shading...marked like a German shepherd... dark on the forehead...black on the edge of nose. (11) Bottom two thirds of blot. () He's just starting to land...y'know how they flop their wings. () The black or dark suggested it, and the outline struck me too.

V

(12) W FM a P 5" — It LL a butterfly. (Much rotation of card) All I can see in it—wait

(13) d Fc' ad — It LL a little monkey, with a black face, the top of his head, got a grey neck and his chest...grey down to his shoulders and chest. All I see here.

(12) Whole. () LL he's flying...just the form or outline. (13) "Devil's head" at top of wing. () The light part in there LL his cape, I guess you'd call it.

VI

(14) D Fc± ad 45" — Ah...let's see...LL a big plateau like you're looking at it in an aerial photo...a long plateau with a straight canyon down the middle of it with a little peak at one end. (Rotates) That's about the size of it here, too.

(Add 25) Dr Fc± ad — Animal skin

(14) Bottom detail, D41. (Add 25) It LL the outline of the skin of an animal tacked to the wall () The outside of the hide () LL the fur right here. Add 25 is bottom D, less lower 1/4th.

*159
125

Rejection				85"	VII (Very much rotation) (Laughs) I can't make anth. out of this one. (On inquiry S. reexamined card carefully w/no success.)

					VIII
(15)	W	FMc	a,ntr P	13"	This LL a bob-tailed cat standing on two rocks. His reflection there...he's watching something in the water. Got his ears laid back...one of those fuzzy, long eared cats. (Rotates) All I see here.

(15) Whole-card to right. () Like a mirror reflection. Bobtail, head ears. (Ears back?) Some cats will lay ears back when watching something. Like an Angora cat—kinda fluffy, a shaggy outline. () The fluffiness comes from both the jagged outline and the shading. (Comp. w/ Loc. Ch.) Looks the same, except that would be a pencil drawing and this a color drawing. I could make a real good picture out of that (What watching?) I've no idea...just watching.

					IX
(16)	D	Fc	hd	14"	An old grey haired man with dark bushy eyebrows, a handle bar moustache, and a receding chin. (Rotates card)
(17)	D	FM	ad		Kind of a head of an animal. Guess you'd call it that, a long snout, nose slanted, a long forehead—bony forehead, dark beady eyes and a very prominent Adam's Apple (S. is almost overcome with laughter)

(16) Headlike part of pink, D65. Card to right. The dark bushy eyebrows are the darker part here. (Grey hair?) The face is fairly dark and got light hair, light colored hair, could have been a blonde, too. (17) Deer-head-like brown grey at top of green, D63. Card to right. This is what I laughed at. (Re-describes and again breaks out in laughter) I kept seeing that little beady eye and then I made the outline out. () Oh, just sitting there, laying there...got his neck stretched out.

					X
(18)	D	CcF	ad	10"	This is a pretty one here. Tail feathers of a bird of Paradise. A paradise bird green!
(19)	D	FM	a,art		Two lions like you see on a crest: facing each other.
(20)	D	F±	a		One of them animals: a creature you see in a science-fiction story.
(21)	D	FMc	a		A furry, husky dog, with no tail.
(22)	d	Fc±	ntr		And here's another pool with a reflection. Trees along a bank, and the reflection in the water.
(23)	d	F	hd		Another one of them faces...large prom. forehead, sunken eyes, pug nose, lantern jaw, fat lip. That's about it for me.
(Add 26)	D	FM	a		A bug ready to fight.

(18) Bottom green. Half of D74. () The green and the different shades of green. (19) Middle yellow, D71. It was just the outline of that. Like lions on a crest. With an exaggerated pose, the nose up, the legs stretched out behind, (gestures) and the chest out. (20) Side blue, D76. Card to right. () A big blob of a body, and an outgrowth from the cheek bones. The darker part, here is the head. (21) Corner brown-orange. Card to right. () He's jumping. Got his forelegs extended in front of him. () The shading helped. Gave me the impression of round. (Comp. w/ Loc. Ch.) It looks the same. (22) Top grey-brown, D67, less top "feelers." () Disregard these little parts here. (Comp. w/ Loc. Ch.) It looks the same.

X Continued

(23) Darker inboard portion of top of large red Ds. () It was just the outline here at the top. (Add 26) Both animal-like parts of top grey. I wouldn't know what to call this. It LL some kind of an animal or bug ready to fight...here's the antennae, the eyes, and the mouths, both are open. Wouldn't know what to call them. 159* 125

Total Time: 23'

Scoring Summary

W	3	M	2	a	6+1
D	12+1	FM	3+1	ad	4+1
Dr	1+1	FMc	2	h	1
d	6+1	FMc'	1	hd	5+1
S	1	FMcc'	1	ntr	6
		mc'C	1	cg	1
		CcF	1	emb	1
R	23+3	FcC	1	at	1
W:M	3:2	Fc	4+1	art	1
M:Sum/C	2:2	Fc±	2+1	Pop	3
Sumc:SumC	9:2	F	2		
Sumc:Sum/c'	9:1.5	F±	1		
IRT	18.9"	Fc'	1		
IRT (col)	13.4"				
IRT (non col)	29.3"				
F+%	94				

Conspicuous Features

(1) low W
(2) high Sum/c
(3) high d

Rorschach Interpretation

The few W, the emphasis on shading, and the large number of d highlight this man's approach to life. He is concerned about minute details and subtle nuances, but relatively neglectful of general considerations or extensive plans for the future. This is both his strength and his weakness. He talks about his "drawing" and comments "I could make a good drawing out of that," but he does not have the motivation, ambition, perseverance, or overall organization which a successful artistic creation requires. He may act the part of an artist, but it is doubtful if he is actually very productive or creative. 159* 157

On the other hand, this attention to detail enables him to react sensitively and probably with tact in interpersonal relations. He is careful and likely to be concerned with the feelings of others. He rarely acts inappropriately or inconsiderately and, with his above average intelligence, may be relatively successful in life.

The low W and the Sum/c greater than Sum/C would, in a white American, suggest the pattern of the "alpha schizophrenic." Piotrowski's concept of the "alpha schizophrenic" is based on the hypothesis that some people do not manifest overt

159 psychotic symptoms, despite serious emotional disturbance, "because they control, 157 or have reduced, the intensity of their emotional and intellectual processes to such a degree as to produce hardly any specific and easily recognizable schizophrenic symptoms." Their "capacity for energy control (shading) exceeds their capacity for energy output (color)" (Piotrowski & Levine 1959: 223). Thus, having expended all their energy on controlling their behavior and feelings, they are left with little energy for constructive effort and planning (low W).

[171] This pattern may reflect a pathological adjustment in a white American whose culture demands long range planning and constructive effort. In the Klamath [154] group, however, this emphasis on day-to-day pleasures and consideration for others may be more acceptable than the long range planning and self-aggrandizing behavior which is reportedly becoming the acceptable pattern in American suburbia. If this is true, this subject's adjustment may be perfectly fitted to his environment.

There is, however, additional, independent support for this description of this subject's personality. His preoccupation with the inner details (R2, R4, R24) indicate an approach to life characterized by over-cautiousness —almost suspiciousness — a peering into the situation, rather than an acceptance of it at face value. At the start of the test, he apparently requests clarification of the instructions. The analysis of the movement responses also will support this interpretation.

Despite the verbosity there is actually very little of this man's inner life reflected in this protocol. Rather than reveal himself, the S analyzes the subtle nuances of what is going on around him. He is like the "cat" on Card VIII, "he's watching something...I've no idea (what he's watching)...just watching...". The number of faces and the emphasis on "eyes" (especially the "dark beady eye" on Card IX) are also consistent with the interpretation that we are dealing with a suspicious person — he doesn't trust anyone very far. So all his energy (the little he has) is concentrated on analyzing the possible dangers in any situation, not viewing the situation for all the positive possibilities it offers.

His pace is generally even except for delays to Card IV and VI, the darkest, most ominous of the blots. Is he disorganized by the depressive implications [154] of these stimuli? If so, we would conclude that he tries to deny the gloomy aspects of life. The sun on Card II is "coming up," not going down and there is a kind of exuberance in his response to Card X. One wonders if he isn't trying to act the part of an optimist, despite occasional qualms about this position.

The only human movement response in the record is R6: "a caricature of two people" and on the inquiry, in response to a question, "I guess they're dancing - jitterbugging I guess you'd call it." The movement was very slow in being verbalized, it was dehumanized (they are caricatures, not real) and it is stereotyped. As such, it probably does not reveal much of this man's conception of his role in [156] life. Unless perhaps it means that he does not have a well-delineated prototypal role.

The FM, on the other hand, seem to reflect a more consistent image. R10 and R15 (the dog "looking straight at you" and the "watching bobcat") are both scorable as "guarded restraint" responses and indicate that this man's cautiousness, his "watchful waiting" have been past roles and are likely to appear in states of diminished control. He is not guilty or anxious about behaving in this manner.

The few M's, the rejection of Card VII, the long IRT to Card VI, and the great 159*
distance involved in his percept on Card VI point to some difficulties in his 157
heterosexual adjustment, the precise nature of which cannot be determined.

In summary, this man's reality contact is unimpaired; he has no thinking disorder; he is not psychotic. There is only the remnants of an intelligent, artistic person utilizing his energy to maintain an adequate adjustment to a difficult situation, to continue his interpersonal relationships in a moderately satisfactory manner, and to protect himself from too painful self-awareness.

Susan: Female, Age 24

Background Data

156 Unlike Slim, Susan is not so well liked or respected. The occasion for this is
*159 specific, an unsanctioned pregnancy during her last year in high school and a
[848] more recent marriage to an entirely disreputable Mexican from Utah. This community evaluation is accentuated because of the very high respect in which her
[582] own family is held. Everyone expected better of Susan.

[626] Susan has worked as a dishwasher in several cafeterias, both on and off the
reservation, and moved to Utah so as to take a practical nursing course. She
*159 found this training uncongenial, met and married her husband, and they returned
[464] to the reservation when his small business failed. Susan is a high school graduate.

[874] Susan's mode of selecting a husband parallels that of her mother, who met her
husband while hospitalized in New Mexico. Her father by birth is an Apache
*159 Indian, and by cultural affiliation a southwestern United States Spanish-American.
593 Without doubt, he is the most autocratic, stern, demanding, rigid adult male on
the reservation. Although a married woman with children of her own, Susan must
ask her father's permission to use the telephone or to walk downtown. Her mother
was Klamath and very well respected for her stable family life and for her active
participation in many community activities. Susan was extremely close to her
mother until her unexpected death several years ago. They were known as an inseparable pair and her mother never went out of the house without her. The
mother's death was, perhaps, the major cause of Susan's failure to complete her
nurse's training. Susan's illegitimate pregnancy in high school was a considerable shock to her mother and is, with her marriage, a continuing source of strain
[155] with her father. Susan evidently feels that her behavior was a contributing
cause for her mother's death. She made a death-bed promise to her mother that
she would not be a loose girl and that she would marry and stay married to one
man. It was shortly thereafter that she married and returned to the reservation
to live with her father. There is much strain within this household, derived
from the relations between father and son-in-law, and from Susan's unsuccessful
efforts to serve two masters, for along with her marital relationship she evi-
[626] dently was trying to act as a replacement for her deceased mother's role. At the
same time her conduct has alienated her from the church, from family friends,
and from the community.

*159 The contact with Susan was made via her father, who told her that she should
cooperate. Her father's motivation in this was not, as may be supposed, the con-
[124] viction that she needed testing because something was wrong with her, but in-
[123] volved a more general sentiment. He felt somewhat honored to have an "educated
man" visit his house and that such a contact was a good experience for his chil-
[593] dren. Susan accepted this like an obedient, dutiful daughter. She came readily,
with no indication of unwillingness, and relations with her were quite good,
perhaps because of the strains of her marginal position and her need to talk
with someone.

*159 Susan seemed an apathetic person whose feelings were dulled. If anything, her
reactions were those of an over-trained, too obedient child. She was not very
157 responsive or active, and would seldom talk except to answer a direct question.
Then she would, frequently with evident pain and anxiety, describe her feelings
and situations tersely and haltingly. Susan clearly wants more than her life
now gives her, but cannot define her present conflicts or see her way clear to

159*

their resolution. Just as clearly, she is extremely discouraged and demoralized. During the course of testing and questioning she was manifestly anxious from time to time, this being evident from a slight stammer, frequent parapraxes, and a tendency to over correct for errors. To the blank TAT card, #16, she told a story of a girl's reaction to the death of her mother and then cried painfully, trying to control herself. 157 [152]

Rorschach Record

159*
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No. of Resp.	Score		Time	Response
				I
(1)	W M	h	14"	To me it LL sm sort of a...you know these fiction vampires. (Starts up from seat). LL a man standing right there and these could be his wings. (AE?) Here's his two hands, his feet. LL he has a belt on. That's about all.

(1) Whole. () The way he's standing...with his hands up in the air ready to pounce on you.

				II
(2)	D F	ad	8"	Two little dogs...that's all I can figure...a cpl of little dogs. (AE?) That's about all.

(2) All grey, reversed. () Just the way the heads are shaped.

				III
(3)	D F	a	3"	The red in the middle LL a butterfly.
(4)	W M	h P		Two figures in the middle LL a cpl of men trying to pick up smth.
(5)	D mC	fire		LL a couple of pieces of rope that's starting to burn.
(6)	D Fc	ntr		LL a pool of water right here
(Add 27)	D F	cg P		A hairbow.

(Add 27) Center red. Now that I look at it again it LL a hairbow. () Just the shape. (3) Center red. () It has the shape. () That's all. (4) All grey. (5) Side reds, reversed. () Just the way it's shaped. () LL the way fire usually flames up...a good start...burning. (6) Bottom center grey. () LL you're looking into...say like a glass ball in the movie and you see some image...and this LL an image of a pool of water. You see a pool of water in it. () No, it's got ripples in it.

				IV
(7)	W F	(h)	13"	Now this LL sm kind of a monster...looking up at him at an angle.
(8)	D F-	a		And this LL the front part of a snail...the one that's beneath him. That's all I can see on this one.

(7) Whole. () Just an old fiction monster. () You can see his eyes right up in here. (Points to tiny dark slit-like area near top) (8) Bottom detail. () Oh, these two little feelers, I guess they call them on the side and the...horns, right in the middle.

				V
(9)	W F	a P	18"	(Following rotation) This LL a bat. That's all I can see on this.

(9) Whole. () Just the way it was shaped.

*159
125

VI

(10)	D	Fc	ad	P	18"	(Rotates) At first this part here LL a bearskin rug, but w/out the head.
(11)	D	FM	a			The top part LL sm kind of animal, it's got wings.
(12)	Dr	FMc	a,ntr			Then again it LL a little prairie dog standing over a little knoll...it's got a tunnel running straight down.

(10) Bottom detail. () The way it's shaped. The two front paws and the back part there. () Just the way it's...the pattern on there. () The inside of the hide. (11) Top detail. () LL he's just standing there w/his wings spread out. (12) Center vertical column+adjacent lighter part of lower detail. (Can you see into the tunnel?) Yes, it's a cross section of it. I mean...you know.

VII

(13)	W	FM	a		15"	These LL funny shaped little elephants, balancing themselves on rocks, or smth like that.
(14)	W	M	h			Then again it LL a woman walking right down the center and the two big figures on either side are running away from her. She's coming down some sort of an alley way or smth.

(13) Whole. (Elephants are top 2/3s; rocks= bottom D) (14) Whole, card reversed. (Bottom center light and dark=woman; two figures=usual "dancers.") () They LL they have dresses on...don't know whether to say if they're men or women.

VIII

(15)	Dr W	Mc' CF	h ntr		27"	(Rotates) This LL a woman inside of a cave. LL she's walking down some steps and the reflection is her shadow cast on the floor of the cave. The whole thing LL a cave and she's coming down the stairs.
(16)	D	FMC	a	P		On the other hand on the side it LL two pink bears.
(17)	D	F-	h			The figure in the center LL a man of some kind, with a hat or hair or smth.
(18)	D	F-	ad			The two pink figures in the middle LL lizards... their faces.

(15) Whole, card reversed. (Woman=dark grey-blue in middle; stairs="ribs"; cave=rest of card) () Oh...just...it LL a cave BC of the coloring, as you see in paintings, or movies, in technicolor. (16) Side pink. () Just LL they're climbing up smth...hanging onto this guy's hat or hair. (17) Top blue and grey details. () LL a hat BC of the way it comes to a point. () The figure of a man. (18) Bottom orange-pink. () The way they're shaped...got the eyes and mouth. (Eyes & mouth=darker lines in red area)

IX

(19)	d	m	ntr		23"	This thing in the middle LL...it's start to... go into a water fountain, a whatchacallit.
(20)	W	MC	(h),ntr			These on the sides LL two elves with funny noses and pointed heads and they're dancing on rocks, or on a pink floor.

(19) Center vertical column, from top grey to edge of pink. () Just the way it's starting to shoot out. (Comp. w/ Loc. Ch.) Yes, looks the same. (20) Whole. (Elves=orange; rocks=pink & green)

X

(21)	W	F	(a)		9"	This shows a picture of all different sorts of funny shaped fiction monsters...sea monsters.

159*
125

X Continued

(22)	D	F	a	P	The ones in blue LL crabs.
(23)	D	F	a		This here LL a sea horse.
(24)	Dr	M-	h		The two figures on the side, yellow grey and pink, LL some kind of women shooting guns at these sea horses.
(25)	D	F	a		One in green LL an insect w/long feelers.
(26)	D	F-	a		These two up here LL two bull frogs. That's all I see.

(21) Whole. () The way they're shaped. Like the two in blue are shaped like crabs and the two in pink like sea horses. (22) Side blue. (23) Large pink area. () The way they're shaped, long bodies. (24) Side yellow, grey, and brown. (Brown-grey, D77="guns") (25) All bottom green. () The two little green dots LL eyes kinda bugged out, and then the feelers. (26) Top grey. () Well the way they're shaped...their legs are kinda shaped like frogs, and frog's mouths.

Total Time: 14'

Scoring Summary

W	9	M	4 (1-)	h	6
D	14+1	MC+	1	(h)	2
Dr	4	Mc'+	1	a	12
		FM	2	ad	3
		FMC	1	fi	1
R	26+1	FMc	1	ntr	4+1
W:M	9:6	m	1	cg	+1
M:Sum/C	6:2.5	mC	1	P	5+1
Sum/C:Sum/c	2.5:2.0	CF	1		
M:FM:m	6:4:2	Fc	2		
FC:CF:C	3:1:0	F+	8 (4-) +1		
IRTt	14.8"				
IRTc	14"				
IRTnc	15.6"				
F+%	67				

Conspicuous Features

(1) Quality and number of W
(2) Quality and number of M
(3) Overall balance
(4) 2 m
(5) 5 Pop.

Rorschach Interpretation

159*
157

This is a rich and complex Rorschach protocol and reflects a subtle adjustment to life. Not only does the subject give 6 good quality M, 9 well organized W, Sum/C = 2.5 and Sum/c = 2, but many of her responses are highly integrated and she often utilizes blends of determinants. She has more M than FM and more FC than CF. Thus the test indicates that she is an intelligent, sensitive person who is making an active and appropriate adjustment to life.

She gives an adequate number of responses and, although her approach emphasizes W, her W attempts are usually successful. The occasional slip in organization

*159 157 (e.g., on Card VIII: "pink bears hanging onto a guy's hat" and "women shooting sea horses" on Card X) indicate that she may be occasionally loose in her thinking, over-sensitive, and wrong in her interpretations of motives of other people. However, the overall richness, originality and subtlety of the record — along with five popular responses, suggests that she functions more than adequately in most social situations. There is a possibility that her F plus percent is lower than would be consistent with this conclusion, but a careful inspection of the four F minus and one M minus indicate that these are borderline in quality, not really poor.

The most conspicuous feature of the record is the emphasis on movement: her "experience type" is 6:2.5 and there are 3 FM and 2 m responses. Thus, of her 26 responses 11 involve movement; in almost one half of her responses she contributes something to the response which is not in the blot itself. This indicates the characteristic tendency of the imaginative person. She has that life within her which is independent of outer experience. Because of the 9W and Sum/C=2.5, this imaginative life is more than daydreaming; she is able to accomplish something tangible as well.

The content of her responses, however, suggests that what she accomplishes may not always be completely productive or creative; there is too much fear and aggression. The presence of m support this notion. Her very first responses strikes the aggression-fear chord which resounds through the record and probably occupies her thoughts and dreams: ..."a ...fiction vampire...his hands up in the air ready to pounce on you...". Only somewhat less terrifying is "the old fiction monster" on Card IV. We must postulate the presence of a stern punitive parent figure — more likely the father than the mother.

There are, however, plenty of aggressive women in the record as well: on Card X "...women shooting guns at...sea horses" and on Card VII "...a woman walking right down the middle and the two big figures...are running away from her." It is this latter response which reflects the subtlety of this girl's imaginative life, and the flexibility of her adjustment. She seems to be able to experience both the role of the figure whose presence frightens others as well as the role of the frightened one who runs away. This raises the question as to whether the subject is identifying with the aggressor or the victim. It is probably only rarely that the subject identifies solely as one or the other. People who conceptualize the world as a place where one hurts others probably also are able to identify as victims. In fact, one might hypothesize that the extent to which one cannot assume either role constitutes — to that extent — a rigidity of adjustment.

In the present case, there seems to be little difficulty. She can be either an aggressor or a victim, although in terms of number of aggressive vs. victimized responses, we could conclude that she is more _psychologically_ at ease in the role of the aggressor. The likelihood of such overt aggression is very slim. The fact that the aggression appears in M responses, not color responses; the presence of shading; the postural M on Card I; the blocked M on Card III — all these factors reflect appropriate control mechanisms. This assertiveness suggests that the S assumes a dominant role in interpersonal relations. She gives women a "gun" in R24. Is she dissatisfied with the feminine role? Can we postulate the existence of penis envy in this woman? Possibly. But once again these conflicts are well controlled.

It may be that the tension created by this control of her strong aggressive needs constitutes the cause of the occasional lapse of adequate thinking noted

in the "pink bear" response to Card VIII. However, the abundant formal indica- 159*
tions of good adjustment must be kept in mind: the M: FM: m and the FC: CF: C 157
ratios are all in the direction of "good" adjustment (6:4:2 and 3:1:0 respectively).

In a record of this richness there are always a few responses which tease the interpreter because they promise so much and yet somehow their meaning remains elusive. Here I note R5 "...a couple of pieces of rope that's starting to burn... looks like the way fire usually flames up...a good start...burning." This is an original and is scored mC. Piotrowski's principle states that the m reflect "prototypal roles in life which the individual feels to be desirable and pleasant but unrealizable..." (Piotrowski 1957: 210). Can the "burning rope" response be interpreted as indicating that the subject feels it would be pleasant and desirable to "burn up"? Is she using "burn up" in the colloquial sense of experiencing fully and completely a feeling of anger? It would be consistent with our previous statements about her aggressive needs which are not being expressed. She would like to let herself get "burned up" at somebody, but she does not allow herself to.

We have a record, then, of an intelligent young lady who is utilizing her in-
tellect and energy to deal with underlying feelings of tension and aggressive-
ness. Her major mechanisms appear to be the use of fantasy and intellectuali- [154]
zation. She is often tense and anxious, but she is able to deal with these
feelings in an appropriate manner.

Sparrow: Male, Age 63

Background Data

*159
156 Sparrow's case is cited because of his position on the lowest rung of the local
status hierarchy. He is known as a happy-go-lucky, worthless old drunk and is
generally considered as "lacking a few of his marbles." However, Sparrow is
872 seldom publicly disparaged, for local citizens simply pay little attention to
401 him. He has a sixth grade education, gained at the Agency school. He has
apparently never worked consistently at any job, and most of his work experience
434 has been as a farm or ranch laborer. He is and has for years been totally dependent upon per capita income and the income from ranch lands owned by his mother,
with whom he lives. Their affairs are managed by a local businessman who some
years ago was appointed their guardian. He is the second eldest of four siblings.
After his father's death forty years ago, his mother remarried and bore two other
586 children. He was married once when a young man, and after four years divorced
his wife because of "her shiftless ways." He is a semi-invalid, the result of
164 an accident years ago when a drunken brother drove over him with a truck, crushing
191 his pelvis. He speaks fluent Klamath, the result of constant association with
his aged mother who represents a direct link with the aboriginal Klamath past,
as well as adequate English, learned in school.

733 Much of Sparrow's time is spent in jail for drunkenness, in the local tavern,
with one of the drinking cliques, or passed out in a doorway. When he is not
totally drunk he spends much of his time with his mother, for whom he cares in
his fashion. Occasionally he goes fishing in a nearby river. For at least
twenty five years, this has been the pattern of his activities.

*159 Sparrow has many skills, among the most striking of which is the ability to
"fly from here to the Agency without once touching the ground." There are
154 several dimensions to this delusion, one of which is an association, in Sparrow's thinking, with the acquisition of power. When a young man he dreamed of acquiring the power to "rise up off the ground, like Jesus Christ." While such a belief may have aboriginal correlates, there are no Klamath today who would accept it as valid. Sparrow keeps this secret to himself, and relates it only to strangers and transients from whom he intends to borrow money. His other skills include the following: the ability to keep house and cook, harness making, leather working, painting, canning food (the notion involves laying in stores for the winter), tanning buckskin, wood carving, carpentry, poetry composition (in Klamath), arrowhead making, making traditional basketry, stock raising, restaurant management, and finally, the ability to bewitch rich old white ladies, who are captivated by him and who drive him about in their white Cadillacs. The latter may be associated with a recurrent dream of meeting with a white buffalo, also a symbol of power, but it is difficult to say, for there were never any buffalo near the Klamath, and it is more likely that he has got this idea from reading western stories. Needless to say, most of these skills are quite delusional also. There is no evidence for any of them being more than this. Relating one or more of these is Sparrow's single style of interacting with others, for in reaction to a question or another's anecdote he will sift about in his memory until he comes up with one of his capacities which seems relevant. Very frequently, the writer could not see where or how they were appropriate, but for Sparrow there seemed to be some connection. He relates these matter of factly, with only the most slight suggestion that they were self-enhancing, and no indication that he meant to justify himself, and will then coyly watch his listener to see if he is properly impressed. This behavior tends to merge with Sparrow's

extensive plans for the future (e.g., opening a second-hand store and capitalizing on the poor buying habits of the "Indians.") none of which have much chance for materializing, but many displaying a fairly shrewd assessment of the local community. He can get quite enamoured with making these plans, and savors the profits in his current fantasy. 159* 154

Sparrow was tested while in jail, this being the only likely time when he would be sober enough to see the blots clearly. 159* 124

Rorschach Record

159* 125

No. of Resp.	Score			Time	Response
					I
(1)	W	FM	a	3"	That LL a bug...some kind of a bug. It reminds me of a beetle bug in the water, that catches little minnows. (AE?)
(2)	W	FM	a	P	It appears to be a butterfly too. Smth. like that.

(1) Whole. It LL it's swimming in the water...like catching little minnows. One of 'em will attract the minnow, another will catch it and pretty soon they'll have it cut in two...they've got pinchers. (2) () It looks like it's flying.

					II
(3)	W	CF fire F± geo		10"	(S. picks up a phone book and leafs through it. Looks for number old white lady friend in nearby town, a lady that he could have married, who had two cadillacs, etc.) That looks more like a...looks like a...well I just couldn't very well describe...this LL fire down here and here...fire around an island or something like that. (AE?) No.

(3) Whole. (Compare Loc. Ch. Same?) No, that little picture doesn't look like it. () I saw the fire...then it resembled fire on an island. (Island?) Well—it looks that way to me, LL an island.

					III
(4)	W	F±	art	4"	That LL a stamp on leather...I used to stamp leather, engrave silver, I'm also a harness maker...by trade. (S. now tells plans for setting up a business in town, to buy and sell used furniture, capitalizing on buying habits of the "Indians".)

(4) Whole. () It's a hand stamp to engrave leather. Looks like the stamp. (Not the impression) (What sort of design?) Just like a leaf—y'know, when you stamp leaves. (see r. 12)

					IV
(5)	W	F-	a	1"	That looks more like a frog to me. (AE?)
(6)	W	c'c	ntr		Like a stone setting up this way—see? (Stands card up on end to demonstrate)

(5) Whole. () One of those big bull frogs. These look like his feet and here are his front feet, they aren't so big. () LL he's in the water swimming. (6) Whole. () Obsidian...you can polish obsidian that way and it comes out in different colors like these dif. colors in here. (Refers to lights and darks within outline)

					V
(7)	W	FMc'	a	0" P	That looks like one of those bats that fly in the night.

125
159

(S. starts another accounting of his plans and ambitions to build business on highway, making and selling tourist goods, capitalizing on tourist trade.)

(7) Whole. () It's flying in the night. () The shape of it and the color. () They're about that dark. But they're not altogether black. They look kinda brownish and brownish grey. (S. now explains that the reason he can't do so well here is that he has bad eyes and has broken his glasses.)

VI

(8) W Fc± ad P 2" (S. is telling of his skills at tanning buckskin, and of persons he has done work for, not however, for money.) That LL a badger hide to me after it's tanned out and cleaned up. They make good rugs, those badger hides. (AE?)

(9) W c' blanket Looks something like a Navaho blanket. (AE?) No.

(8) Whole. () Just the appearance of it...like a badger hide stretched out. (Same marking as badger?) Yeah, this shading in here. (9) Whole. A Navaho blanket's got dif. designs on it. () It looks like the designs on a Navaho blanket...dif. colors.

VII

(10) W Fc'± ntr 9" (S. is telling of a Navaho blanket he once owned and how a friend lost it.) That looks like—ah—what they call obsidian. They make good ornaments. I wanted to get some of that up here.

(10) Whole. () Just the shape of it...you can find them different shapes like that. LL it's been chipped on the edge. () Yeah, it LL the coloring of obsidian.

VIII

(11) W FC ntr 5" That looks more like a mountain with snow on it... sometimes you see the clouds and they look red, esp. in the evening. (AE?)

(12) W CF ntr Oh, it resembles a leaf in the fall when they turn dif. colors.

(11) Whole. (Compare Loc. Ch. same?) No not that, not like this one. (12) Whole. () One of those big shade tree leafs—oak tree or smthg. The leaf is about that size.

IX

(13) D C sym ntr mp 5" These two pieces remind me of Australia and those Hawaiian Islands—land with water all around them. I've seen pictures of the Haw. Is. Lots of volcanic mountains. The lava looks like that here...all red

(14) W CF ntr and different colors. (S. starts anecdote again, repeats plans for 2nd hand store, says he should get a drawing outfit, draw pictures and make money.)

(13) Australia-green detail, D62. (Compare Loc. Ch. same?) Yeah it looks the same. It's the shape of Australia. (Color?) Yeah, the green. (Why green suggest Aus?) It looks like grass and stuff...the color of an island. (14) Whole. The whole thing looks like the Hawaiian Islands. The different colors, the red lava and all that.

X

(15) W CF art 6" That reminds me of leather. Buckskin or oil tanned leather fixed in dif. colors. I do work like that—

X Continued 125

159*

dying buckskin in dif. colors. You tan and dye buckskin and it looks like silk.

(15) Whole. See a man can take leather and dye it dif. colors like that.

Total Time: 17'. Note that the average time per response will reflect the unusually high level of verbalism, the anecdotes, comments, and introduced fantasy.

Scoring Summary

W	14	FM+	2	a	4
D	1	FMc'	1	ad	1
		Fc'±	1	art	2
		c'	1	ntr	6
Sum/c'	5	c'c	1	fire	1
Sum/c	2.5	FC	1	geo	2
Sum/C	6	CF	4	hh	1
F%	20	C	1	P	3
F+%	56	Fc±	1		
		F±	2		
		F-	1		

Conspicuous Features

(1) low F%
(2) long total time
(3) Sum/C
(4) no M
(5) obsidian
(6) vague W
(7) Sum/c'

Rorschach Interpretation

In reading this Rorschach protocol, one gets the impression of a gregarious, effervescent, kindly, but ineffectual elderly man. He lives in the past and the future, but not in the present. He probably is unable to deal with the mundane issues of his present reality situation so he concentrates on his past experiences or his future plans. This characteristic trait is reflected in the de-emphasis of D responses and his over-emphasis on vague and undifferentiated whole responses. 159* 157 [154]

His emotional effervescence is reflected in the low F% (20%) and high Sum/C (6). His responses to the test tend to be largely of an emotional nature: shading, color, movement; they are not based on a cold intellectual, rational analysis of the blots. And so his life adjustment would be of this nature, i.e., determined largely by his feelings at any one moment.

One must consider seriously the possibility that this lack of intellectual control bespeaks of a serious psychological disorder —whether it be of an organic or functional nature. Is his response to Card IX a contamination, for example, "it's the shape of Australia and the green suggests grass. It's the color of an island." What is meant by the "color" of an island? To what extent have 157 125

157 125 the characteristics of the blot been organized intellectually and to what extent is he unable to accomplish this analysis? If he cannot accomplish this, there is a disorder of thinking present. Also, his response to Card II: the whole looks like an island, and the red looks like fire, therefore it looks like "fire on an island." At best it is a fabulized combination; at worst it is a contamination. Only a blatant schizophrenic would have gone to the pathological extreme and said "Fire Island." In addition there are no movement responses, there are only three popular responses and the F plus percent is only 56. Where are the control factors? The sum of color responses is 6; the sum of dark shading responses is 5; and there are not the indications of sufficient controls for this amount of emotional energy.

157 153 On the other hand, there are a few responses which suggest that his intellectual ability has been greater than average. His knowledge of the word "obsidian," for example, bespeaks this ability,[1] as does the nature, although perhaps not the feasibility, of his "plans." This is not inconsistent with the statements made previously, but it does suggest a situation marked by increasingly greater interference with intellectual functioning.

157 159 The absence of any human responses in his Rorschach suggests his lack of concern with genuine interpersonal relationships; all his talk of future plans and business suggests that he is interested in using people for his own gain rather than in having meaningful and warm interpersonal relationships. His reaction times are quick, supporting the notion that he is likely to act in an impulsive manner. Two of his FM (R2, R7) are "flying," reflecting perhaps his tendency to try to escape from the present situation in an unrealistic manner. His other FM response (R1) may be an indication of his view of human relations: aggressive, coldblooded, eat or be eaten.

158 In summary, then, the test reflects an elderly man, whose intellectual and emotional control appear inadequate. One wonders about the possibility of this man having been a chronic alcoholic and now suffering the effects of diffuse organic brain damage. He "talks big" but he probably doesn't "deliver the goods." There are indications that at one time in his life he may have had better than average intellectual ability and now is going downhill.

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114 [1] This is, perhaps, the one place in these ten cases where a lack of knowledge concerning Klamath culture led the analyst astray. The Klamath are astride the western volcanic belt and one of the most frequent kinds of materials used in 823 their tool manufacture was obsidian. Hence Sparrow's use of the word reflects his interest in and awareness of an important local raw material.

Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively 159* sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of [156] the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the [464] last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except [874] for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her husbands in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for everything, while her father favored his daughters. [871] All of the children were sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, [857] and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. [593] Her parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking" activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area, with the exception of the boarding school. [868] Nell received little direct instruction from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother. Nell knows none of the Klamath language. [191] Both her mother and her father were disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be due to her own behavior. [864] She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. [626] Today she is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. [156] She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband, who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. [586] She has been married and divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five other men. [156] She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occasionally one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts [588] to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages, and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house (it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are technically illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. [59* It is this sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her. [56

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone, particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first advance. [124] It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

*159
156 and anxiety associated with her responsibility in a double murder. She had
given a rifle as a present to a lover, and following a drinking party at her
house he had killed his brother and a stranger with it. Her thinking was extremely
morbid. She expresses the wish that the more violent of her previous
husbands would return and kill her.

*159 In the testing and interview sessions Nell's behavior quite definitely was not
representative of her ordinary interactions, and once she felt somewhat relieved
157 she immediately got more distant, withdrawn, and unapproachable. During testing
[124] she exhibited a high level of manifest anxiety and an erratic pattern of interaction.
She was alternately over-talkative and quick to reply or to initiate
[152] a sequence, and then silent and down-cast. Her concern was real, for it was
known that she was under suspicion for complicity in the murder, but this was
not the root of her anxiety. What the connection was cannot be evaluated from
available evidence, but it may be that her conflicts were related to the trouble
her lover had gotten into, for it was his situation she wanted most to talk
[156] about. Normally she is relatively inflexible in her relationships and preserves
her withdrawn and isolated position at all costs. Her behavior then exhibits
a high level of drive, but is poorly organized, confused as to goals, and produces
repeated overt conflict with lovers, husbands, her parents, her children,
work associates, other community members, and law enforcement agents. Still,
she expresses the need to be cared for and dominated consciously, as well as the
156 feeling that she was being persecuted and rejected. She feels herself to be an
entirely worthless person, and this evaluation is shared by the community at large.

Rorschach Record

125 Note: With little variation between cards, each was approached by the S. in
*159 the following manner: She would take the card, repeatedly twist it and turn
it, swiftly cover portions of the blot with her hand or fingers, hold it at
arms length, hold it closer and examine it carefully, lay it down momentarily
and stare off "thinking," and then after a silent delay of an average 145" spit
out a series of responses rapidly, as if they were hot peas.

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
		155"	I can look at them any way?...it doesn't even make sense. Do you want me to tell you right now?
(1)	W Mc' h		All I can think of is witches
(2)	Dr F a		and bats
(3)	D M hd		and these two things remind me of hands
(4)	Dr F ad		they look like deer horns, too
(5)	D M hd	P	This bottom part, it looks like a woman's body. That's all I can make out.
(6)	d F± music		These look like music. When you look at them they remind me of music notes, but they remind me of music.
(7)	D FM a		Now if I take this picture in half, it reminds me of something...like an animal standing on a high place looking over something...everything below him...that's about all.

(I: W) (What suggested?) Might be this...reminds me of a cape blowing out. These points remind me of a sharp hat. (Cape blowing?) Just like when you see them on

I Continued

125
159*

their brooms. They have something blowing out behind them...flying through the air. Might have been the color cause it's grey. (2: top third of blot) It just reminds me of wings. (3: top center "hands," D4) They remind me of hands reaching up...out of nothing, I guess...just reaching up. () Yes, human, just like they're reaching for something. (4: D4 and center "heads") Like deer horns, too, because of the two points on each side. Mostly because I like deer. I'll go riding in the evening just to see deer—not to hunt—just to see them. (5: usual "legs," but extending up to "bust" at center grey spot) Like I used to draw, hands on hips. It's not a drawing, it reminds me of a woman standing there. (6: tiny spots off bottom edge of main blot, card down) Must be musical notes. They must just resemble notes. (No movement implied here) Like in a comic book. (7: left half, card to right) It looks like an animal with wings. Did you ever see an animal with wings? Like a four legged animal looking down.

II

(8)	W	M	h	181"	It doesn't remind me of much except two old ladies sitting together gossiping. That's all.

(8: W) Guess this would be their feet or knees. The red things would be their heads. (Old ladies?) I guess this would be their nose and their chin...they're long and pointed (points to top red).

III

(9)	W	MCc'	h,fire P	123"	When I first looked at it, it looked like cannibals looking over a pot with a fire in the background.
(10)	DrS	F	ntr		When I look at it another way it looks like landscapes, well, like in China.
(11)	D	CF	blood		Then, it reminds me of blood.
(12)	D	F	ad		These things here, if you take them alone, they remind me of horses legs.

(9: W) Fire, because these spots are red and cannibals because they're black and have long necks. (10: bottom half of blot, below "bow tie," card down) These would be the trees. Kind of a pathway going up (White center S, below "bow tie") (Why China?) I don't know, seems to me I've seen...I had a pair of drapes that was Chinese and they had two trees like this. (11: top red details, D21) Probably because they're red and look like blood spots. (12: bottom leg-like extension, D17) They're long and narrow on one side...must be the shape... probably this reminds me of a hoof.

IV

(During interval between cards, S. stated: On these cards I usually give you my first impression on looking at them...then I try and go back and find something else...but I give you my first impression.)

(13)	W	c'	ntr	190"	Well, it reminds me of a swamp. I've never seen a swamp; but it's like pictures I've seen.
(14)	D	Fc±	ad		This part in here just reminds me of the skin of some animal stretched out, and that's about all.

(13: W, card to right) Well, like the bottom part would be a reflection of the top. (Swamp?) I dunno, just the...course it's dark and you can't see anything... probably because of the shadows. (14: bottom center, D23, card down) (Inside or outside?) The outside, you know, when they trap animals and stretch the skin to dry. It would be the outside. (Furry?) Uh, huh.

1

V

125
159

*(15) Dr M h 230" I dunno...it just reminds me of two girls sleeping... laying...resting.

(16) W FM a But at first it looked like a big vulture or something. That's about all.

(15: top half of left and right "wings") (Girls?) Well, this looks like a girl's leg for one thing, and then it looks like she's got curly hair. (16: W, whole card) These are the wings...like it's flying.

VI

(17) W c,F- ntr,h 145" When I look at it like this, it looks like those pictures they show of duck hunters when they go out hunting early in the morning...when there's clouds and fog.

(18) D c cg Now this just reminds me of a fur coat...just one of those great big fur coats they used to wear a long time ago.

(19) D Fc indian also makes me think of a totem pole.

(17: W, Card to right) Just a scene. This would be the fog. There's always tules or grass. Of course, there's no duck there. No hunter, either. (18: bottom detail, D41, card down) (What suggested?) Well, it just looks furry to me. (19: top detail, D39) Well, because it's straight and tall and it's got different colorings in it—and these things come out the sides.

VII

(20) W cc'm clouds 110" This looks like...reminds me of a house and lightning or something trying to strike it...and these look like clouds or smoke.

(20: W) Well, because it's dark clouds, you know, storm clouds. Like it's getting ready to rain and storm. (House is tiny light grey area at extreme bottom center of blot; the lightning is the light streak in the bottom center)

VIII

(21) W CcF fd 72" It reminds me of Ice Cream—No—that's just what
(22) D FM a P it looks like. It really looks like some kind of
Dr CF ntr a cougar or cat walking over rocks.

(21: W) The texture in it looks like ice cream...it's the color. (22: left ½ of card, card to right) This would be the different rocks and he's stepping real lightly from one rock to the other. (Why lightly?) I guess because they're separated. (Why rocks?) Because, well rocks are so many different colors.

IX

(23) D M h 150" I'm oack to witches again...all I can see is witches and monsters.

(23: orange, green and violet details, card slanted to right) That'd be two witches (the orange). (What are witches like?) Well, to me they seem old and mean and here they kinda look like they're backing away from something. Now when I turn it over (to the right) it looks like this one (violet detail) is just standing by looking and this one (green detail) is pushing the witch over. I think I've beem reading too many funny-books.

X

(24) D F a 95" These blue ones remind me of octopuses.

(25) W CF rec When I first looked at the whole thing it reminded me of something gay, like a carnival, when everybody's having a lot of fun.

X Continued

(26) D M h These grey ones remind me of two men plotting something. That's it. 125 159*

(24: side blue, D76) Both of them. () Dunno, because of all the lines going out. (25: W) That would be just the colors. (26: all of top grey, D67) Now they're not even shaped like men, but it's just like they were men. (What are they plotting?) I don't know. (Up to no good?) Uh-huh!

Total Time: 39'

Scoring Summary

W	9	M	6		h	6
D	12	MCc'	1		hd	2
Dr	5 (1S)	Mc'	1		a	5
d	1	FM	3		ad	2
		CcF	1		music	1
		CF	3		fi	1
R	27	cc'm	1		ntr	4
W:M	9:8	c'	1		blood	1
M:Sum/C	8:4.5	c	2		cg	1
Sum/c:Sum/C	7.5:4.5	Fc	2	(1/3-)	indian	1
Sum/c:Sum/c'	7.5:3.5	F	6	(1/3-)	clouds	1
F+%	88				fd	1
IRT	123.1"				rec	1
FC:CF:C	1:4:0				P	8

Conspicuous Features

(1) low F%
(2) vague W's
(3) long IRT
(4) nature of M
(5) shading emphasis
(6) R17

Rorschach Interpretation

Of this young woman's 27 responses to the blots only six are based completely on the shape of the blot. The balance of determinants, however, suggests that she probably has sufficient control over this emotional lability to effect an adequate adjustment (M:Sum/C = 8:4.5; Sum/c:Sum/C = 5:4.5). An extensive fantasy life and caution, motivated by fear, enable her to respond in an appropriate and realistic manner much of the time. However, in five of her nine whole responses she pays little or no attention to the shape of the blot (R13, R17, R20, R21, R25). These constitute vague, diffuse responses and indicate that much of her behavior is of this nature: diffuse, over-emotional, poorly controlled, primitive. If she is able to control her affectivity then, it is not the result of an easy, automatic control; it is, rather, control based on fear and inhibition. 157 159* (125)

Her long delay before responding stands out as a characteristic feature of her record. Her initial reaction time is probably the longest of the sample and is (125)

[157] *159 (125) very extreme when compared with white American Rorschach protocols. What is the meaning of this delay? What psychological processes are going on in the interim? Her subsequent rapid delivery of varied and generally appropriate responses suggests that she is, in fact, concentrating on the task at hand and arriving at feasible solutions to the task which the examiner presented to her ("What does this look like to you?"). However, the question remains: why doesn't she talk during this process?

(152) One thing we know: she isn't apathetic or disinterested. On the contrary, underlying her delay, there is considerable feeling. Not only does she give four CF responses, but she gives diffuse responses to the blackness and shading elements of the cards. Her first responses to Cards IV, VI, VII, and VIII are vague, whole responses with little, if any, form element involved. Her delay and control do not allow her to succeed in integrating her feelings and impulses with the objective demands of the situation. In R17, for example, we are able to see the manner in which her mental processes may, on occasion, totally ignore the environmental requirements for appropriate behavior. Her response here is "pictures of duck hunters." On inquiry we learn, however, that there are no ducks and no hunters — only fog. Her perception, then, was of a vague, foggy, diffuse world; she enlivened it and peopled it in an elaborate manner through her own rich imagination. To what extent will she allow this rich imagination to overwhelm the demands of the external world? Her Rorschach responses indicate that this will occur often in a sporadic fashion, but that she will be able to recover from these periods and correctly evaluate the situation once again.

This over-ideation, — especially in the light of R26, "men plotting something" — suggests a distinct paranoid trend. She is suspicious of the motives of others and fearful of what the future has in store for her. Even natural forces are considered powerfully threatening; R20, for example, indicates that lightning is "trying to strike" the house.

An analysis of the roles reflected in the human movement responses suggest that this woman has managed to adopt a wide variety of role patterns. She has human movement responses which are verbally aggressive (R26), grasping (R3), guarded (R9), totally immobile (R15), as well as complex (R23). It is this rich, imaginative fantasy life which enables her to delay responding to the blots for such a long time. The reason she must delay is that she does not trust the environment and the people in it.

Some of her movement responses demand more careful analysis. Three of the eight M are old ladies or witches; witches "are old and mean," she tells us. Since her very first response to the test is also a "witch," it would be remiss not to try to determine the personal significance of this response. We are probably on reasonably safe ground assuming that it reflects her attitudes toward older women and therefore some kind of mother figure. Her mother could not have been very nurturing or warm, nor is she likely to see herself as a particularly nurturing person; she does not feel comfortable giving emotionally to others. On the other hand, R3 suggests that she is not content to "do without." If rewards
(158) do not come easily, she is ready to "reach out" for it. At the same time, however, we must note the content of R15: "two girls sleeping...resting...laying." Piotrowski has warned of the pathological significance of this kind of immobile human movement response, suggesting as it does, a willingness to submit to the external forces without a struggle.

Her animal movement responses are also suggestive of a suspicious and hostile role pattern; of the three FM, the first (R7) is "an animal looking over

something," the second (R16) is "a big vulture," the third (R22) is a "cougar stepping lightly." All suggest the general attitude of caution and care which the subject seems to feel is necessary to avoid dangerous situations. 157 159*

The comparison of M and FM responses suggests that the subject now enjoys a wider repertoire of roles than she had in the past. No one of her M's, however, is a healthy assertive one; each has its own particular idiosyncratic sign of the subject's inhibition, hostility and suspicion.

One particularly puzzling aspect of her Rorschach summary is the Sum/c:Sum/c' ratio. Piotrowski writes that usually a person gives either light shading or dark shading exclusively. When both are given in substantial quantity, he feels we are dealing with a pathological adjustment. His reasoning appears to be based on his notion that the c reflect a flight response to anxiety, while the c' represent a fight response — clearly incompatible. The present subject appears, indeed, to be torn between these two patterns of adjustment and her behavior is likely to alternate between them. Her actual response to the blots, of long delay followed by "spitting out" the responses, may be a case in point.

This young woman is, then, relying mainly on an extensive fantasy life to cope with pervasive and powerful pressures both from within herself and from the environment. Despite a tendency to behave in a diffuse, over-emotional, and poorly controlled manner at times, she seems by and large to be effecting an adequate adjustment. Intermittant depressive moods, perhaps temper tantrums on occasion, punctuate a volatile adjustment. [154]

Carrie: Male, Age 36

Background Data

156 Carrie is the model of a self-made, upwardly mobile, brash and back-slapping
*159 young American male. He is a tribal leader whose power is rooted in an amalgama-
tion of various dissident elements, rather than in a large kin group, and a
[622] business man with numerous interests. He says, of himself, that "I have no
occupation, as occupations go. I guess you might say I am a confidence man."

*159 Like the other subjects, Carrie was raised on a ranch by his parents. He is a
high school graduate and a graduate of a junior college course in accounting.
[873] His work record suggests his ambition and his upward progression, for he started
as a farm laborer, went to truck driving, then worked during World War II as
[464] a production machinist, completed his education, then worked for the Agency and,
finally, was able to settle down to living off his several sources of income.
He has never been out of the state except for short business trips. He spends
most of his time on the reservation attending to tribal and his own business,
156 and participating in various voluntary and formal associations. More recently
*159 he has become active in politics on a local level and by some has been ear-marked
as a "comer." His intellectual horizons are very wide, extending to a keen
[66] awareness of the difficulties faced by Dag Hammarskjold. His reputation is ex-
cellent and he is particularly esteemed by many Whites, although this esteem is
[629] not shared by all Klamath, which reflects only the factionalism of Klamath politics
and, perhaps, the efforts of some to control a man who is too successful.

[184] Carrie has been married once and this marriage has lasted 15 years. He has six
children and his family life, again, is precisely what might be expected of a
successful young American. Carrie's entire style of life is entirely different
from that of most other young Klamath men.

*159 Very little is known of Carrie's early life except that his background is rural
Klamath and that his mother was a housewife and his father an indifferently and
intermittantly employed laborer.

156 The writer never made much headway with understanding Carrie until the day he
was brow-beaten into taking the Rorschach. Before this time he had been seen
124 only as an aggressive, back-slapping, competitive, and somewhat empty character.
He had agreed to testing, but had managed to slip out of several appointments
until one day when the entire complement of field workers descended on him during
a visit, arguing and insisting that he had to set the example. Carrie was thus
hung on his own petard, and when we walked into the testing room there was some
question as to who was the most fearful of the consequences of this episode,
Carrie or the examiner. Carrie was manifestly tense and fearful, but in a very
short period of time relaxed and accepted the test situation. Rapport was ex-
cellent, and Carrie clearly defined the situation as one where he should discuss
156 his private concerns, motives, and sentiments. From sessions like this it be-
came evident that Carrie's brash front consisted of a set of behaviors he saw
as appropriate to his position. That is, the social Carrie was a well defined
role. Behind this persona lay a genuine concern with the welfare of tribal
members and their future, as well as strong personal aspirations, deep committ-
ments to family and community, and fears associated with his private feeling
that he was not an adequate or relaxed "mixer." He stated, for example, that
"I guess I just don't have the courage to get out, even among my own people.
I'm not much of a talker and I guess you'd say I'm kind of backward. I really
prefer to be alone by myself." Some of this apprehensiveness is associated

with his concern with losing the support of his constituents and his feeling that he was not really "in" with or a member of the White group. In many ways Carrie dreads the future, feeling that he has over-extended himself. Thus, as well as being the source of satisfaction, social esteem, and profit, Carrie's achievements are a continuing source of anxiety. He suffers the pangs of success. 156

Rorschach Record

125
159*

No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						I
(1)	D	F	a		45"	Oh, I see (rotates card) it looks like two different things to me. The one way it looks like a bug.
(2)	W	F	at			And this way it looks like the bottom vertebrate of an animal of some kind.

(1) (Entire center area, D1) That could be his legs. Some kind of a bug or a beetle. A water beetle maybe. () It was the form mostly. (2) (Down, center blot) () It was the form mostly—the shape.

No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						II
(3)	D	FM	a	P	43"	It has to look like something? Well this way it looks like two dogs that got their noses together...or sheep...or some animal.

(3) (Entire dark area, D8) See here...the darker ones...or even a bear...a couple of cub bears. It looks like they got their faces together. There it would be the form or shape...what's the difference between form and shape?...Just the darker ones. I couldn't distinguish anything with these red blots.

No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						III
(4)	W	M	h	P	50"	This looks like two people trying to lift something...lift something up off the ground.
(5)	D	FM	a			And two little objects falling. Looks like two birds falling to the ground.
(6)	D	FMC	a			This object in the middle looks something like a butterfly...a red butterfly.
(Add 22)	D	F	at			A skull

(4) (Black area, D13) They're pulling hard on this...either pulling together or against each other. (men or women?) Might be women because they got a big chest on them (chuckles). (5) (side red details, D21) They're probably shot the way they're falling. (6) (center red, D20) I couldn't think of anything there but a butterfly. (What kind of BF?) Well, it looks like it's in flight. (Add 22) (Bottom center, D18) That object that they're pulling on does look like a skull of some kind.

No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						IV
(7)	Dr	F	a		75"	(Several rotations) This thing reminds me of a bat...but it doesn't look like a bat.
(8)	Dr	Fc'-	a			The dark outline's got a face...it looks like a wild boar to me.

(7) (down, darkest parts of entire blot, indistinctly outlined) Not the whole thing just the darker part looks like a bat to me. (8) You can see the dark outline here. These are the tusks...and you can see the eyes. (down, same area. Both exclude D27 and D23).

V

(9)	Dr	FMc'	a	P	71"	(several rotations) This looks like some kind of a butterfly. (more rotation)
(10)	Dr	FM	a			Could be two mountain goats making a sharp contact. Rams, when they fight. It don't look that way, but it could be.

(9) (Whole blot less lighter side extension, D34) It was the darker shades I guess...except for these (D34)...a butterfly in flight, or it could be lit, too. Some of them light with their wings out. (10) (Whole blot less bottom extensions, inverted) These are his feet out here and these are the horns,..it don't really look that way.

VI

(11)	W	F	hide		62"	This looks like something's hide that might have been hanging on a fence...they took it down and laid it down...hide of a fox or wild cat...spread it out on the ground after it's been hanging on the wire to dry.

(11) (Whole blot) It's laying down and been opened up. It's been hanging on a wire—see this is the middle line. Fox-wildcat—been taken down and put on the ground, the hair toward the ground. This is the inside. () Well the only way I can say what makes it look like the inside is this dividing line...that was against the wire.

VII

(12)	W	M	h	P	105"	(several rotations) This could be...looks like...reminds me of a woman in the gay nineties looking at herself in a glass. A big hat on her head.
(13)	D	FM	a			I dunno...it ain't a dog...but a sheep or something. Two of them looking at each other.

(12) (down, whole blot) The entire body. Here's her arms, legs, feet. Here's her face. Here's her hat. (Anything else suggest that?) This is her body. Here is her hind end. Her body is facing this way but she's got her head turned looking back. Got a gay nineties figure. Big breast, small waist, and a big butt...don't quote me on that. (13) (top two thirds) Well, it's part of the body. Here's the nose, feet. The ears are pretty big. I don't know if it would have that big-a-ears. Some kind of animal. (why sheep?) I dunno, because of the color I guess and it looks like hoofs of some kind.

VIII

(14)	W	FMCFc	a,ntr	P	33"	This looks like some kind of animal...grey squirrel...No, a ground squirrel or a ground hog...walking...standing on a bunch of rocks. He's crossing over a creek. He doesn't see his reflection but his reflection is there if somebody is to see that.
(15)	D	F	at			This could be a skeleton of some kind of dead animal. I dunno...a cow, maybe. A skeleton head of some dead animal.

(14) (side pink, D57 is animal; concept includes whole blot) He's not looking at himself; but his reflection is there. (why rocks?) Well one thing the color... a squirrel isn't this color. It's the foundation of the rocks. (what mean?) Well this is the form of a rock—the shading and colorings. (15) (bottom pink, D55 down) You've seen a dead cow's head...all in red and pink...the horns and knobs on the head. That would be portions of the skull. (recently dead?) No... (still meat on it?) No...no meat...just the skull. A bleached skull picked

VIII Continued

clean by the buzzards. (why bleached skull?) Just the shape I guess. (color at all?) No—well the color too. But I've never seen a skull that way—mostly they have been bleached.

IX

(16) D	F	ad	64"	A portion of this reminds me of a head of a rhinocerous.
(17) Dr	CF	at		It don't look like it; but when you gut a deer and lay him out, spread him out...well it reminds me of the inside of a deer or a gutted beef.

(16) (down, green detail, D62) See this is his horn and his mouth. There it's the form and the shape. (17) (center grey-white, D59; center line, D58, adjacent shading, and bottom pink, D64) The bottom part of it mostly...now you've sawed the vertebra in two and drawn his guts...could be a beef too. The bottom looks red, meat red.

X

(18) W	F Cden	a	35"	This reminds me of marine life...
(19) Dr	F	a		of a crab or spider underwater...this is all underwater.
(20) D	F	a		This here looks like a seahorse.
(21) D	F	a		This might be a prawn or a crawfish...No, a prawn.
(Add 23) D	F	a		a water bug

(19) (right side blue, D76) A crab with his pinchers. (20) (right, side brown, D77) A sea horse or some kind of a bug...just the dark part of it. It was the shape...could be some kind of a bug too, not a sea horse, a water bug (23-add) (21) (right, bottom dark green, D74) The shape of it...see here, his eye. Course he's pretty long. Just the back shape of it. I don't know how long prawns really are. (18) (whole blot) Marine life because of the form and the shape of it; not because of the colors too much. (Compare location chart) No, it wasn't the colors so much, just the shape of the marine animals, and the rest of it could be the formations in the water.

Total Time: Not available due to numerous untimed interruptions.

Scoring Summary

W	6	M	2	h	2
D	10+2	FM	4	a	14+1
Dr	5	FMC	1	ad	1
		FMCFc	1	at	3+1
		FMc'	1	hide	1
R	21+2	CF	1	ntr	1
IRT	58"	Fc'-	1	P	6
IRTc	45"	F	10+2	a%	75%
IRTnc	72"				
W:M	6:2				
M:Sum/C	2:2.5				
Sum/C:Sum/c	2.5:0				
Sum/c:Sum/c'	0:1.0				

Conspicuous Features

(1) High a%
(2) High Dr%
(3) Nature of M and FM
(4) Long IRT
(5) Ambiequal EB

Rorschach Interpretation

157 *159 [125] The Rorschach test reflects a person who has managed a satisfactory adjustment largely through the inhibition of whatever originality and creativity he might have possessed. The extremely high a%, the limited range of content, the six populars and the absence of any original responses point to the stereotyped conventionality of this man's psychological process. This apparent dullness is not due, however, to a lack of capacity. His vocabulary, the presence of movement responses, and the occasional well organized whole response indicate that he has the potential to do more with his life than he now settles for.

The effects of this marked inhibition are numerous. Firstly, the extremely long initial reaction times, averaging close to a minute, are indicative of the blocking and caution which marks the record as a whole. Secondly, the color denial in R18 point to the hesitancy with which he approaches emotional situations. Thirdly, the nature of the human movement responses reflect internal conflict, tension, and blocking. The first M in the record (R4) highlights this man's feeling that he is hampered when he tries to express himself. He is not sure whether people can work together or whether efforts at cooperation end in conflict. But even if they work together, people must work extremely hard and are not likely to accomplish very much. This is not to say that this man has not accomplished much in actuality; on the contrary, he probably does work hard and [55] may have substantial achievements to his credit. But, psychologically, he is blocked and wastes much energy in this internal struggle.

The other human movement response (R12) is also not an assertive one; although it is not as blocked as R4, it is a restrained response — probably best classified as "guarded restraint." It does not contradict the interpretation made on the basis of R4. It adds several interesting facets, however. First is the exhibitionistic element; this man needs to be admired. Secondly, both his M's are female — attention is given to the breast in one and to the "big butt" in the other. This preoccupation bespeaks some conflict in his sexual role, which may be one of the dynamic factors in his general inhibition.

A final Rorschach indication of inhibition is the ambiequal experience balance (2:2.5), which according to Rorschach's original monograph points to an obsessive-[154] compulsive adjustment. This man spends time and energy worrying about his psychological conflicts and possibly even about abstract or philosophical issues. For instance, during the inquiry of Card II, he asks, "What's the difference between form and shape?" Although he may merely be expressing some resentment toward the examiner and the inkblots, the other indications of obsessiveness, suggest that this question may be part of an overall pattern of doubting and indecision.

Although many of the FM are also guarded restraint movements, there is one that deserves special attention: "two birds falling to the ground...probably shot." This reflects a role concept in which the subject feels at the mercy of external forces; this would be much more disturbing if it had occurred in an M response. Appearing as it does in an animal movement, it suggests a role which he may experience in states of diminished consciousness or may have lived through in the past. It is clearly a role more appropriate under these circumstances. Is there any significance to the fact that this response follows the very blocked M ("two men trying to lift something")? Does the subject feel that if he makes too great an effort, he will "use up" all his energy and become helpless?

157
159

The FM are much more varied than the M and suggest that the S has had to give up certain modes of behavior. The extreme passivity (R5), the aggression (R10), and affection (R3) are all roles which are now outside his repertoire. Although his controls appear adequate, there are indications that some impulses remain which may indeed require control (R17, R8).

All in all, though, the subject appears to have evolved a satisfactory adjustment. Under better circumstances, he might have been freer, more relaxed, and more creative. As it is, he operates under tension, but probably accomplishes a considerable amount.

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159
[156] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White seg-
ments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but
in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
[871] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of
[586] the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of
numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
[597] an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has
spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was
closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became
dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
[874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She
took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if
she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[857] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child
nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she
had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them
her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., per-
[608] sons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an ad-
visor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making
a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
[273] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my
glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its
walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is asso-
ciated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is
noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites,
for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, be-
cause she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

notices whether others are noticing her. Still she does very little directly to call attention to herself, for beyond this concern she is basically extremely shy and inhibited. She is a highly pragmatic person, although she easily expresses strong emotionality. The test situation for Aunt May was simply one of the many strange requests, her good friends, the anthropologists, made of her.

159*
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Rorschach Record

159*
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No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	W F a P	12"	It LL a bat
(2)	W F a		Then again it LL smth else...LL a...well, bird of some kind.
(3)	W F emblem		Then again it LL an emblem, say of a eagle. Can I turn It? ()
(4)	d m music		LL music flying around there...see these little ones. I don't know what you call it: sharps.
(5)	d F hd		LL some kind of a statue, cause of these little faces here.
(Add 54)	W F± ad		And then again a hide.
(Add 43)	D F ad		crawfish feet
(Add 44)	D F ad		deer horns

(1) Whole. () These parts here and here. And then again it LL a hide (Add 54, Whole) (2) Whole. (3) Whole, down. (4) Tiny spots below bottom of main blot, down. (5) Card reversed, bulge adjacent to center Ss. ("profile") () Here on this side...the eyes in here and the eyebrows (darker lines) and the ornament in her hair (D7). And these LL crawfish feet—pinchers. (Top center extensions, D4) or else (Add 44) deer horns that just begun to fork out. (Same Loc.)

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(6)	W M (h),Rc P	14"	(chuckles) What's this supposed to be, a masquerade ball? A couple of guys dancing... bears or smth...you can see their tusks.
(7)	Ws FCwc' Hh		In the center it LL a lamp hanging down...this white part...LL a fancy lamp of some kind. And the rest could be the shade...shadow.
(8)	W M (h),Rc		These guys have got their heads covered up and they're making a puppet show...the red stuff is their hands made up like birds.
(Add 45)	D F a P		
(Add 46)	D CF fire		An animal going that way and a fire.

(6) Whole. They're guys dressed up like bears. (7) Whole, space (seen as white) () Yes, just like the one hanging there, only more fancy. A white lamp. (8) Whole. Cd be making puppets...making mouths with their fingers (fingers=interior extensions on top red) They've got long hats on. (Add 45) Card reversed. This way it could be some kind of an animal going that way and that could be a fire. () That red in there and the shadow. (Not a whole, animals=entire grey; fire=bottom red...Adds 45 & 46).

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
(9)	W M (h)anat P	30"	(S. has taken up her sewing again.) The way you handed me this one...it LL two people picking smth. Cd be cannibals who just ate the carcass.

*159 III Continued

125

(10)	D	FM	a			These could be birds and again it LL
(11)	D	F	a			a bug or
(12)	D	F	cg			a bow tie—the red one, or
(13)	D	Fc'	(h)			a monkey—the other LL two black guys from South America (referring to #9)
(14)	d	F,Fc'	ntr			and it LL limbs off of a tree and part of the ground.

(9) All grey. () Look at the shape of their heads and this LL a carcass here (center grey) () Look at it, will you, all the bones sticking out, or smth. (10) Side reds. () Sitting on smth. Or else they have awful long tails. () Well—you've seen African birds...feathers are all...long. Just look at the shape of their heads! (11) Center red. () It's a butterfly or sm kind of a beetle. () Just the shape of its wings...only it don't have any whiskers. (12) Center red. () Because it's lighter in the center like you've tied the knot. (13) Side reds. (14) Card reversed, bottom center and leg-like parts. The limbs are on the side and the trees in the center...it LL the shadow of it.

IV

(15)	D	Fc	hd	snow	25"	LL two big feet covered with snow.
(16)	W	F-	ad			Top part LL a head off of an animal and this wd be the hide skinned out. But what kind of an A I don't know.
(17)	D	F	a			This LL sm kind of an animal skinned out and stretched with the arms or horns or handles
(18)	d	F	obj			And it could represent an old ancient vase or smth. Got too many legs on it. Can't see no face except here on top it LL an animal. This must be an animal and these look like frozen feet with snow, surely.

(15) Lower 2/3s of side. () LL snow because it's lighter than the rest of it. (16) Whole. This doesn't look right...needs to be closed in down here to be one whole thing. (17) Bottom center D. Card reversed. () LL it's stretched out. Could be a other...maybe another animal. Can't figure out what kind with that many...let's see 1-2-3...eight feet. Don't know what it is. (18) Top half. () BC of the handle (AE?) No—nothing. (Ancient?) Don't see anth like that any more...or it could be an old uprooted tree or an old basket.(Referring to previous "animal skins") that might be a badger or a skunk all skinned out...the nose and this part of the neck part.

V

(19)	W	FM	a		20"	I wish you'd give me what other people think of these. (Rotates card and chuckles) In a movie one time we saw two mountain sheep bump heads...that's the way they look.
(20)	W	M	h			That's a fan dancer. (Breaks out in laughter) Don't you write that down you crook!
(21)	W	F	a	P		That could be some kind of a butterfly too or a beetle or a bug or smth.
(Add 47)	D	Mc	(h)			A cave man from Grant's Pass

(19) Whole. () LL rams butting heads. (20) Whole. (Body in center-fans on side) LL she's dancing. (Add 47) Ha! I found something! Where do you come from...in Grants Pass...did you know those cave men, that's what it LL. The hide and the tail and the elbow...see his eyes and his real bushy eyebrows. (S. is quite

V Continued

elated) Got a rope wrapped around him and he's just standing there. (21) Whole. () These little deals (horns) LL the ones up there on the wall (in a display case) (Note: the cave men refers to a peculiar custom on the part of a local Chamber of Commerce of dressing up in hides on festive occasions.)

VI

(22)	W	Fc'-	at	19"	Well what in...what wd that LL...an X-ray of a person's lungs, I guess. Oh, let me see. That does LL a person's backbones and ribs, right in here.
(23)	W	Fc	ad P		Then again it LL a hide, but there's shrubbery and it'd be hanging up this way (V), not the way you gave it to me. This is the tail part right here, but nobody ever cuts an A that way.
(24)	W	FM-	a		It...Jungle Jim's little monkey or chimp; back to back with one another.
(25)	D	Fc'-	a		If it had a head it'd LL a skinned badger or skunk.
(Add 48)	D	F-	a		A magpie
(Add 49)	W	Mc	h,ntr		Reflection of person walking in woods.

(22) Whole. () The backbone is down the center. (23) Whole, reversed. (Tail is top D) (24) Whole, reversed. () Two monkeys standing back to back...but they wd have to be standing on their tails. (25) Top detail, D39 reversed. () Just the stripes...light and dark. (Add 48) Top detail. And it LL a bird, an old magpie or smth. (Add 49) Whole, card to right. And then this way the water's edge right here (center line) rocks here, reflected down in the water. Clouds in the background. Trees and bushes. () The shade of it and way it's shaped. Plain as anything you can see a rock in here and an old dead log here. Further back there, here's somebody walking here in a dark shirt and light pants.

VII

(26)	W	FM	a	25"	Well, if it didn't have such a small waist it'd be two bunny rabbits. See their ear and little feet. They're turned around looking at one another.
(27)	W	F±	ntr		This way it'd be going into Skull cave in the Lava Beds...upside down. I wanted to get a picture of Valentine Cave so bad...
(28)	S	FCw	Hh		Now the white part of that LL a lamp—or (traces w/finger) this is the shade and this would be the reflection out here (exterior S)
(29)	W	M	h		This LL a girl, now. W/real bushy hair. Two girls, must be tied together...the way they used to punish children long ago...tie their hair together and hang them over the clothes line...
(Add 50)	W	M	h		Or they could be toe dancers...such an imagination!

(26) Whole. (27) Whole, Space. () Here would be the rocks (main blot) () Just the formation of it. (Card reversed) (28) Space, reversed. (29) Whole, reversed. Or it could be toe dancers. (Add 50, whole, reversed)

VIII

Are you naturally pigeon-toed or do you just set that way? (!)

(30)	W	CF	ntr	1"	Coral! In the bottom of the sea.
(31)	W	F,CF	a,wa P		Or sm kind of Animal, and water down here and here's his reflection right here.

*159
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VIII Continued

(32)	D	FC	cg		This is a pink sweater up here. I dunno what the devil these other things are...I dunno.
(33)	D	F-	a		This here is am kind of under water deal; big ole bug or fish like you see underwater...there's his MAW!

(30) Whole. () In the movies I see smth like that. (Comp. w/Loc. Ch.) The color makes the coral. (31) Whole, card to right. () The reflection is because one side is lighter and the other darker. (Water?) I dunno, the blue. (32) Middle pink-orange, reversed. () Hanging on smth to dry. (33) Top bluish-grey, space. () Here's his mouth here (part of first top space).

IX

(34)	D	FM	a	31"	(much rotation) A gorilla chasing smth.
(35)	d	F-	h		and little people right here, but it's by water this way.
(36)	D	F	a		smth. with tusks
(37)	W	FC-	ntr		can't make anth out of it except a tree this way (V)
(38)	W	CF	ntr		This way a shrub, maybe
(39)	D	FMC	ad		and an alligator in here. Can see his face and eyes and he's reflected in the water, too. He's coming out of some green shrubs or smth.

(34) Green detail. () The shade of this LL the bank, this is lighter and that's darker (interior mottled shading) LL it's reflected. Can't see what he's chasing. (36) Head-like part of pink. (35) Card reversed, mottled, outlined inner part of green with tendril of green extending into pink. (37) Whole, down. () Dunno, some more of that underwater business to me. (?) The coloring helped. (38) Whole. () Dunno about that, but the colors helped. (39) Mottled area at inboard top of green, D63. () Here's the alligator. Can only see his nose and eye.

X

(40)	W	F	a	24"	LL moss and stuff underwater...worms or bugs... maybe fish.
(41)	D	M	(h)		Then when I got it upside down, LL a couple of guys standing on a cliff. They're standing, one foot on the cliff. They handed something to one another. Here's the other guy here, see their heads. There's all kinds of junk in here...don't know........
(42)	D	FMc	a		This LL a dog...big old shaggy dog laying down.
(Add 51)	D	F	a		An octopus
(Add 52)	D	F±	a		or just moss
(Add 53)	D	FC	a P		White rabbit w/ green eyes

(40) Whole. () Just LL it. Can't tell you. () Well, the shape. () The formations, and then again it LL two men. (41) Center blue and part of red, reversed. (42) Side brown, D78. (Add 51) This could be an octopus or anything...or just moss. (Add 52) (Refers to side blue for both) () Doesn't really LL an octopus, just moss. (Add 53) I found something just now...a white rabbit with green eyes. I'll bet you never seen it before...can you find it? (Bottom rabbit's head and top part of green extensions).

Total Time: 30'

Scoring Summary

159*
125

W	22+3	M	6+2	a	16
WS	1	FM	5(-1)	ad	3
D	14+9	FMC	1	h	8
d	5	FMc	1	hd	2
		Mc	+2	at	1
		m	1	ntr	5
R	42+12	FCw c'	1	emb	1
IRTc	20"	FCw	1+1	music	1
IRTnc	20.2"	Fc'	3(1-)+1	rc	1
W:M	22:6	Fc	2	hh	2
M:Sum/C	6:4.5	CF	3+1	cg	2
Sum/C:Sum/c	4.5:2.5	FC	2(1-)	obj	1
Sum/c:Sum/c'	2.5:3	F	17(3.3-) + 7(1 2/3-)	P	6+2
M:FM:m	6:7:1				
FC:CF:C	3:3:0				
F plus %	78				

Conspicuous Features

(1) Total R
(2) Emphasis on Movement
(3) EB = 6:4.5
(4) Pop
(5) c'

Rorschach Interpretation

159*
157

This is a rich, moderately well-balanced record, except possibly for overemphasis on W and consequent inattention to the usual details. However, the whole responses are generally adequate, the M responses are good, and the color responses balanced. The subject is apparently a woman who tends to deal with the overall situation, occasionally to the exclusion of the practical details of day-to-day living. She seems to be striving, planning as if in an attempt to achieve something. The high W and the emblem on Card I are consistent with this need to attain something. She has a wide range of interests and possibly is somewhat more cultured than most Klamath (R4, for example).

On the other hand, she is not a "driven" person, in the sense that she does not allow herself to have a good time. During the testing she apparently enjoys herself. She laughs, she sews, and she appears to be relaxed. She gives her rich imagination free rein, and rarely does it get beyond her control. Occasionally it does, as it will with anybody who just lets themselves go. (Note the "monkey standing on his tail" on Card VI).

Only seventeen of her 42 responses involved merely form as a determinant. The other twenty-five responses are determined either by kinesthetic (internal) stimuli, color, shading or a combination of these elements. Thus, the woman is relaxed enough to allow her emotions to influence her responses. Her comments also appear particularly relaxed, e.g., "I dunno what the devil these things are," or "Don't you write that down, you crook!" But what are her emotions and needs? Where in this full record shall we find the clues to her inner life?

Her six movement responses are very diverse: "men dressed as bears dancing," "guys making a puppet show," "fan dancers," "cannibal who just ate a carcass,"

157 "girls tied together by hair," and "guys on cliff handing something to one
*159 another." The "cannibal" and "punished girls" responses are certainly aggressive enough, but what of the cooperation implied in the "guys on a cliff" response? The "men dressed as bears" and the "puppet show" are playful, assertive and free, while the "fan dancer" reflects that extra gaiety of which the subject herself seems somewhat abashed (she "breaks out in laughter"). These are all human movement responses and thus the subject is capable of experiencing
[155] all the diverse roles reflected. In a person with fewer other resources this might lead to unbearable conflicts, but in this woman there seem to be the strengths which make it possible for her generally to utilize this flexibility, despite the conflict. These additional resources are reflected in the use of color and shading (dark and light).

Her color responses are generally adequate and of a positive kind — although somewhat shallow. The presence of many responses to the black and white are interpreted by Oberholzer (1944) as further evidence of shallow, lazy affect. Thus, she probably does not get too deeply involved with people. She can get along with others moderately well, but she really does not need them.

[26] The presence of six popular responses and an F plus % above 80 are sufficient indication of her ability to attend to conventional aspects of the environment in a realistic manner, despite her tendency to experience her emotions.

[156] Nonetheless, there is the hesitancy in interpersonal relations which we have seen in most of the Klamath records. Here it is reflected in the disguise needed by the figures on Card II and the several aggressive M and FM responses. And she is still pretty unsure that the recent developments in her life are desirable; perhaps the old method of punishment was the best (R29). Probably the essential conflict in roles described above are the keynote of this woman's adjustment. Shall she "eat the carcass" or "lend a helping hand?" Shall she be a "fan dancer" or is any transgression punishable? The comments during the testing are both joking and veiled hostility: "Are you naturally pigeon-toed or do you just sit that way?"

But despite the richness of the record, the woman behind the record remains elusive. Could it be that her enormous flexibility in role taking has made it difficult for her to carry through one integrated life style to the extent which is necessary to call it her own? The Rorschach suggests that this may be the case. However, it is clear that her overall adjustment is a satisfactory one — perhaps eminently so.

Weasel: Male, Age 29

Background Data

In contrast to all other subjects Weasel's role in the reservation community 159*
is a totally negative, destructive one, largely that of a supposedly vicious [156]
criminal. He was born and raised on an economically un-productive ranch, which
for twenty years or more has been the location of continuous drinking parties.
Weasel was raised within a circle of a pack of older brothers, half-brothers, [593]
and step brothers, all of whom were bigger, stronger, and more capable than he. [733]
His father has been an alcoholic for thirty years and has rarely worked or con-
tributed much to the organization of the family, which as a co-residential [592]
household usually included more than a dozen persons. In all, Weasel had 17
full and part siblings, half of whom are now deceased, three directly as a re- [165]
sult of drinking, three from acts of violence or car accidents.

Weasel's formal education ceased when he was 15, in the ninth grade, at which [871]
time he was arrested on a burglary charge. Since then he has spent six years
in reformatories or penal institutions. He was tested while in jail on an [674]
assault charge. Shortly thereafter he was found not-guilty, then re-arrested [697]
and sentenced on a different assault with a deadly weapon charge to three years
in the state penitentiary.

Weasel has repeatedly moved out of the circle of the family group, only to
fail "outside" and return to its sheltering arms. For a time Weasel was a [642]
professional boxer, but one without much skill or stamina. He never won a fight
and his face shows the evidence of the capabilities of his opponents. His
membership in this profession did not last long, and Weasel states, rather
proudly, that the Boxing Commission expelled him "For conduct unbecoming a
professional boxer." Weasel was once married (a common-law marriage, which [588]
for Weasel's primary reference groups is well sanctioned) but this lasted just
16 weeks. During this period Weasel stayed sober, the longest time he has spent [581]
without a drink since the age of 12. Weasel was consciously trying to reform
himself, but now feels that he was a fool to ever try. Additionally, Weasel [733]
has repeatedly made a circuit of nearby towns and cities either singly or in [156]
the company of a brother or friend. These visitations have more of the charac- [579]
ter of raids than anything else, and Weasel is usually arrested in one or a-
nother place and either charged or shipped out of town. [697]

In addition to being a minor criminal Weasel is frequently also the scapegoat 159*
for the aggressions of stronger men than he. He constantly asks for trouble, 156
but has never given any evidence that he can back of his threats with appro-
priate force. His successful acts of aggression have always been sneak attacks, [186]
or attacks on feeble old men or young boys. He seldom attempts to avoid the
consequences of these actions, and, indeed, is frequently not able to do so,
because of his extreme drunken condition. He seems to obtain some gratifica-
tion from the minor prestige afforded his performances in these roles, but this
gratification is highly personalized and is not recognized as appropriate by
others. It may be that he has been attempting to build up his standing and re-
putation within his own circle by acting out the role of a "dangerous Indian,"
but it would seem that he has been singularly unsuccessful in this. One aspect
of this behavior is his reputed skill with a knife. On two occasions he wanted
to obtain vocational training, once as a barber, the other time as a butcher,
both times implying that this would be a simple extension of his native talent.

*159 124 [151] [123] Weasel was tested while in jail. He agreed to take the tests via an intermediary, and was anxious and tense throughout the session. But because of numerous experiences in correctional institutions he was quite suave concerning the test situation; he has had them in batteries, the MMPI, the Bender Gestalt, the Picture Frustration Test, some variant of the TAT, but never the "ink-blot" test. The jail situation provided no special stress, and the testing lead to the development of something of a friendship relation with the examiner.

Rorschach Record

*159
125

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
			(S. entered the testing room visibly agitated, surveyed the room carefully and suspiciously.) What are you going to do to me? () No, I'm not worried, my hands are just sweating, that's all. (Looks under table at tape recorder) That isn't on, is it? () Etc.
(1)	W F emblem	30"	(Laughs) And is this supposed to LL smth? Well... well...it LL some kind of...Well I don't know. If it wasn't for the little spots it would LL some kind of coat of arms. (AE?) Trying to think of smth I seen one time...may be in fiction
(2)	D Fc (h)		A long, coated jelly...looked like that. Some kind of an animal. [illegible] was in this stuff, this jelly; but I don't [illegible] what this stuff wd be out here. (AE?) [illegible] kinda dense, but no more out here.

(1) Whole. (What kind?) I dunno to be truthful. [illegible], just the way it's shaped. I never have seen many coats of arms, but that's what it puts me in mind of.
(2) Center detail, D1. () I dunno, it was supposed to be transparent. It was fiction, now I remember it. Some people was supposed to go to the moon in a rocket and came back with it. After it started growing it turned into a great big monster, a show on TV or a movie. (Fc here, as shading determined percept, which was seen as a figure thru the transparent jelly)

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(3)	W,S c'C blood bullet hole	40"	LL a bullet hole. When you press the gun up close to smth and it goes off and makes this powder burn. The red spots LL they're blood. (AE?) That's about it.

(3) Whole, Space. () Just the blackness. I never have been close to a powder burn, but that's what it LL. () Those red spots. Maybe it just dropped down up there, but it LL it's splattered there (bottom red).

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
		27"	Doesn't look like anything, drawing a blank
(Add 9)	Dr Fc'C a, blood		Blackbirds with blood from their fighting.

(Add 9) (Anything now?) Is that the way I had it before? () Now it LL a cpl of black-birds. I dunno what this could be unless it was blood from their fighting. () I see their head and their beak and their little wing. () Dunno, they're black and the shape of their head and beak. () The red spots. (Entire top half of card from "waist" up, including reds)

IV
62" Don't LL anth. here. (Same on inquiry)

V
(4) W FM a P 10" LL some kind of a bat. That's it here.

(4) Whole. () It LL its wings are spread down this way (gestures) and his feet there...his head is turned sideways, and can't see his beak. Horns and feelers here. () Dunno, wings are just spread out like that (gestures).

VI
(5) W Fc' hide P 45" I see these things in my sleep...() Dunno, LL sm kind of a fox skin, that's all...cut open.

(5) Whole. () I guess it's a fox skin...hind feet and front feet...look like they're cut off. No tail, maybe it's cut off. Got the whisker's up here. () Just the outline. Don't see anything inside unless the dark line would be his spine, but I don't imagine his spine would be on there after his skin was off. () The inside...LL...() Just the way he's spread out, LL he's laying on his back. (S. becomes increasingly agitated and re-inquires as to purpose of test.)

VII
42" Don't LL anth to me. (Following, during inquiry:) No... (S. seems to be wanting reassurance, studies card intently.)

VIII
(6) W CF ntr 73" Kinda puts me in mind of coral rocks. I don't know if they're artificial or real, but I've seen 'em.

(6) Whole. () Actually I don't know if it was artificial but I've seen 'em in fish tanks with the little gold fish swimming around. () No, it's more the color of this than anth else.

IX
(7) W mCF expl 43" LL sm kind of an explosion, but I don't imagine they'd be colored like that.

(7) Whole.

X
(8) W CF art 30" LL sm of these pictures of modern art I've seen. But I don't know what you'd call them.

(8) Whole. () No, it's more the color of it than anth else. I don't know what it would be. I've seen the pictures, but I forgot the name of them as fast as I see them.

Total Time: 17'

Scoring Summary

W	7	FM	1	(h)	1
S	1	mCF	1	a	1+1
D	1	c'C	1	Hide	1
Dr	+1	Fc'CF	+1	blood	2
		CF	2	expl	1
		Fc	1	art	1
		F	1	ntr	1
		Fc'	1	emblem	1
				P	2

*159
125

R	8+1
W:M	7:0
M:Sum/C	0:4.5
Sum/C:Sum/c	4.5:2
Sum/c:Sum/c'	2:1.5
IRT	37"
IRT (color)	46"
IRT (nc)	28"

Conspicuous Features

(1) low R
(2) no M
(3) high Sum/C
(4) Content: R3, 9, 1
(5) aggression
(6) test-taking attitude
(7) vague W's

Rorschach Interpretation

*159 157 Aggressiveness, almost of a murderous kind, is the first impression one gets from this Rorschach record. Despite the fact that he gives only nine responses, we finish reading the record with the feeling that we know a great deal about this man, but we are no longer convinced of the extent to which he is comfortable with his feelings of hostility.

[158] Perhaps the single most conspicuous feature of the record is the blatant preoccupation with violence, especially in the context of such a brief record and in the light of the personalized quality of the verbalization: "When you press the gun up close to something and it goes off and makes this powder burn — the red spots look like blood." In addition to this hostile content (R3 and R9), analysis of the scoring summary indicates that the subject has inadequate control of these impulses. His Sum/C is 4.5, which is very high in a record of only nine responses, and there is no M and only one shading response. (After much deliberation, it was felt that there was insufficient evidence to score shading in R5.) Furthermore, only one of his responses was determined by the shape of the blot alone, indicating that in practically all situations the subject is likely to be directed by impulses and feelings, rather than by intellectual considerations. The possibility that the seven whole responses constitute ego control and personality organization is contradicted by an inspection of the nature of the W. Of these seven W responses, five and possibly a sixth must be considered vague, diffuse, primitive responses to the global impression of the blot.

There are a few possible indications of some control mechanisms which operate sporadically, however. For one thing, he does not blurt out his responses impulsively; there are relatively long initial reaction times to all the cards. Secondly, he does give attention to the shading elements (R2 and possibly R5). Nevertheless, these constitute insufficient controls for the tremendous energy available (Sum/c:Sum/C = 2:4.5).

The long initial reaction times, the few R and many of the verbalizations point to a guarded, suspicious approach to life. This finding, combined with the absence of M, is strongly suggestive of a paranoid adjustment. Life in general, and human relationships in particular, is seen as a struggle: the response closest to an M is the "fighting blackbirds." However, the subject does not have very strong attitudes about interpersonal relations. His feelings about people are shallow and ill-defined. He does not have close friendships: the figures on Card I, often seen as human, are seen by him through transparent jelly; he rejects Card III suggesting a human movement shock; and his few R suggest that he is unwilling to extend himself in the test situation.

[156] The "coat of arms" response suggests that what little feeling he has for human relationships is focused on the overt signs of social status. He is likely to

be very much involved with how he appears in the eyes of others. This attitude, 159*
together with his hostility and lack of impulse control, may get him into con- 157
siderable trouble through inappropriate attempts to attain some semblance of [156]
what he considers status. This may appear as "attention-getting" mechanisms.

There is no need to ponder the question of whether this man is actually the aggressor or the victim. He is both. At times, he probably instigates the trouble. But just as often he is likely to be punished for his transgressions. On occasion he may act aggressively as a result of some fancied aggression. He doesn't trust anyone; no one is likely to trust him. He is essentially an
isolated person. His minority group status probably fits easily into this con- [156]
ception of his role in life and his essential feelings of isolation and rejection.

However, his last responses (especially R6 and R8) appear to raise doubts about some of our interpretations. These almost effeminate —artistic, at least — color responses: "coral rocks" and "modern art," coming at the end of the record as they do, indicate that beneath this belligerent facade, we may come upon gentleness, sensitivity, and passivity which might surprise us. He is capable of moments of deep positive, perhaps aesthetic, feeling. We must raise the hypothesis that this young man is really a "softie" who is trying to deny this trait in himself or, in other words, he is just a big bluff.

This pattern may suggest the psychoanalytic hypothesis of paranoia, namely repressed and projected homosexuality —if we define sexuality in broad enough terms. The suspiciousness, belligerence, interpersonal isolation and latent
aesthetic sensitivity all are consistent with this notion. At least some sexual [158]
disturbance seems indicated by the way he mutilates the fox skin on VI; all the extensions are cut off.

One aspect of this record remains puzzling: the relation between the c and c'. We get dark shading (c') on at least two occasions (R3, R9) and light shading on at least one (R2). If R5 is scored light shading, there is a balance of dark and light shading responses and indication of anxiety, control and neuroses. If, on the other hand, R5 is a dark shading response, the balance of determinants becomes even more extreme in the direction of lack of control. Piotrowski's principle is that the c' are given by people who fight rather than flee from anxiety provoking situations. My overall impression is that this subject is more likely to behave in the "fight" manner and thus get himself into a considerable amount of difficulty, but the possibility that R5 is a shading response is unsettling.

The m response on Card IX, when interpreted according to Piotrowski's principles, indicates that the subject would like to "explode" but feels incapable of this kind of behavior. Since this is a subjective feeling, it does not contradict the position that he does act out in an uncontrolled manner; rather, it suggests that, despite sporadic outbursts, he feels tense, as if he is operating under a constant head of steam that doesn't let up, even when he does blow off on occasion.

This m, the possibility that R5 is a c response, and the positive affect expressed in R6 and R8 indicate that, although the subject has violent moods, he is far from comfortable in this role. He is tense, anxious, frightened. There may be something about him which, at times, another person can understand and sympathize with.

In general though, he is wary of others, they are wary of him, and "trouble [156]
is brewing."

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 67

Background Data

*159
156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, par-
ticularly in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
[595] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma
William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
[733] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
[83] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by
three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
[587] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She
[871] completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and
she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri,
[178] California, and Mexico.

[657] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father
for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation
[464] and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of nu-
merous bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal
penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her
sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five,
and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their
violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how
such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
[577] Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams
is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
[177] a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values,
and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of
either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and
has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[191] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her
English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that chil-
[871] dren today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I
can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
[593] no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her
children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this res-
[603] pect, Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
[867] spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, be-
haviors in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of
place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations
with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at
riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them
coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
[657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was
carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
[871] and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who
[177] promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were re-
jected from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate inter-
changes and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses
156

159*
are marked by alternate periods of (brooding?) silence and she is more than a 157
little pretentious, as for example her response to TAT card #1, "Oh, that's
that famous European violinist...Levi Strauss." Her life has been characterized [156]
by many extremely stressful situations, but she does not seem easily discouraged, [155]
and maintains her vigor and independence. She tends to over justify herself, as
if she had some doubt about certain of her characteristics, or as if she had
strong feelings of uncertainty or inadequacy. This is in strong contrast to her [156]
leadership role in her family, and her domination of many social situations. She
is also somewhat excitable and tends to directly express her emotions more than
many other Klamath.

The working relationship with Grandma was one of the best. When she first 159*
learned the writer was an Anthropologist she warmed to him immediately and 124
volunteered to take the tests. She was tested "on the job," at the top of a [123]
200 foot fire lookout tower in the midst of the Klamath forest.

Rorschach Record

159*
125

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	Dr FM a	11"	I DK what this represents...it LL...does it have to be the whole or part or what? () I imagine it LL a bat.
(2)	Dr F a		Then again a crab, and I DK what else it LL... there's the feelers.
(Add 24)	Dr F- at		More vertebrae

(1) Top third of card. Oh, I've seen a lot of bats LL that flying around at night ...with wings all spread out and you can't see nothing but the wings. (2) Top ½ of D1. (Add 24) Card down, entire center section extending to tips of Spaces. Now if you turn it around upside down it LL some more of the vertebrae. () What? Oh, just, just...I DK. Everything has a vertebrae and that's why.

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(3)	W M h	14"	By golly...I DK what this LL. You know my trouble is I don't read very much. What would this LL... just a quick glance at it...it LL a bunch of... a cpl of men going to test their strength...their hands clasped together...all tied together...men in disguise...can't be women.
(Add 25)	Dr F- at		Another vertebrae and part of brain
(Add 26)	D FM ad P		Two bears putting their noses together.

(3) Whole. (Add 25) Card down, Space and D11. Now I'll turn it upside down. Now LL another part of the vertebrae and maybe a little part of the brain. () I dunno! Just because it's going up that way. (C?) Oh no. The brain is supposed to be grey...grey matter they say. (Add 26) Card down, D8. Then this black part LL two bears putting their noses together...their little ears sticking over...why they're identical aren't they?

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
(4)	W M a	3"	These LL...still LL sm...I'm not sure it is...LL a These little grasshopper features LL grasshoppers... grasshoppers at play...they're playing.
(5)	D CF at		LL the throat and lungs and stomach and everything

*159
125

III Continued

(6) D F- at — And this LL a pelvis. But why the grasshoppers should be playing I DK.

(7) D F hdx — LL a man w/ a long beard. But more like grasshoppers.

(Add 27) D F- at — More vertebrae, upside down.

(4) All grey. (Add 27) Card down, all grey. (5) Side red, D21. () The color and the shape of it. (6) Center red, D20. () The shape of it. (7) Headlike top of grey, D16. () A man w/ a long beard. What do you call them—goatee. This all belongs on the vertebra...the center of man's being.

IV

(8) W Fc'± ad P 3" — That LL a bear hide. I got a bear hide in my room. LL a bear hide. That's the only thing I can make out of it...a bear hide.

(9) Dr F- at — Then the upper part LL it's a throat laid open like when you look in the physiology book...like part of the wind pipe. My goodness. That's about all I can make out of that one.

(8) Whole. () The outside of the bear hide BC of the coloring I guess, It's black. (9) Top center, D24. I still think there's some more of the vertebrae right here. (Note: E was beginning to get discouraged with recording vertebrae as additionals and indicating this to S.)

V

(10) W F a P 0" — That one LL a BF.

(10) Whole, either up or down. () Anyway I look at it it LL a BF and it still LL ...well just a BF. () Just a common BF. Of course they're not all black, they're all colors.

VI

(11) W F- at 4" — That one LL throat and lungs. Like the inside of a person's body looks...all stretched out.

(12) D Fc'± ad P — It LL a little pelt of sm kind, stretched out.

(Add 28) Dr F a — A tape worm.

(11) Whole. () Of course this is kind of terrifying with those little eyes up there...maybe he's got a tape worm. Ugh, that little head LL he's got a tape worm. (Add 28, top ½ of vertical column) (12) Bottom detail, D41. LL a link cat (bobcat) pelt...the coloring and everything, below the tape worm.

VII

(13) W F± fd 11" — These LL shrimps all breaded and fried...to me... that's the way they come to you all fixed up. Other than that I don't know what it wd be.

(Add 29) S F- at — More vertebrae

(13) Whole. (Breaded?) Well it LL that, all split in two and fried. (Add 29) Center space. And here I come back to my vertebra again...you can't get away from that one...the main part of life and the person's being...going up to the brain.

VIII

(14) D FM a P 16" — This LL sm kind of a little animal climbing up on smth...don't know what kind of A. That's a pretty color...lovely coloring. The whole thing is pretty colors, the grey, the green, the orange. He LL he's climbing up to demolish smth.

VIII Continued

(15) (Not a scorable resp.)	(Score a R for coloring??)
(Add 30) D F at P	More vertebrae
(Add 31) d FM- germs	Germs attacking the human body
(Add 32) S F- at	Still more vertebrae

(14) Side detail, D57. (15) The whole, but prob. not scorable as a R. (Add 30) Riblike area, D54. (Add 31) Whole-body or lungs, germs are an association without specific location on blot, the association is from the preceeding popular animals. (Add 32) Lower center space, between feet of both pop. A's. (Note: the preceeding is a sorted out set of locations, the following the S's associations) It still LL that's the vertebra (#30) and it LL it's up here...like some kind of little animal attacking the human body...some kind of little germs... some kind of germ attacking the lungs...a germ of some kind. The vertebra again (#32). It's terrifying if am kind of disease attacks you.

		IX
(16) W F-,Po at	105"	Gosh, I don't know what this would represent. Pretty, whatever it is...I don't know what this represents...some...LL the spine or smth. The spine going up and down...LL the pelvis itself... I imagine that's the way we look inside...either this way or that way...must be some part of the body...it LL little kidneys down here...it's pretty, whoever colored that...sure blotted that one nice.

(16) Whole. That LL the large intestines...this the lungs, because it's up there. This must be the kidneys, and this must be our rump and stuff down here, where it's thick, see?

		X
(17) D F a P	5"	Another lovely coloring...there's that same little... same expressions of the little...grasshopper head.
(18) D F a P		Heads of crabs.
(19) D F- at		Pelvis bones again
(20) D C at		The gall down here...the green.
(21) D F- at		It's sure a terrifying picture...the appendix all inflamed.
(22) D F- at		The throat again.
(23) D CF at		The walls of the stomach...the ulcers of the stomach badly diseased...boy that's lovely coloring.

(17) Pop. rabbit, D73. See you can't get away from that vertebra...that spinal column there. (18) Side blue, D76. (19) Location uncertain. It's not the pelvis, it's still some more of the vertebra. (20) Bottom green, D72. It was the green. (22) Throat-vertical column in top grey. There's bugs attacking it...diptheria I guess. (21) Bottom green, D74. (23) Bottom yellow, D71. (Compare with Loc. Ch.) It's all still there...just the same, don't make no difference.

Total Time: 41'

Note on No. of Responses: Delete No. 15 from Total.

Scoring Summary

*159 125

W	7	M	2	h	1
D	12+3	FM	2+2 (1-)	hdx	1
Dr	3+3	F	13 (6 1/3-) + 7 (5-)	a	7+1
d	+1	C	1	ad	2+1
S	+2	CF	2	at	10+6
		Fc'	+2	fd	1
				germs	+1
R	22+9			P	6+2
IRT	17.2"				
IRTc	28.6"				
IRTnc	5.8"				
W:M	7:2				
M:Sum/C	2:3.5				
Sum/C:Sum/c	3.5:0				
Sum/c:Sum/c'	0:2				
F+%	52				

Conspicuous Features

(1) high at
(2) low F+%
(3) FC:CF:C ratio
(4) hdx
(5) reverberation of spinal column and brain
(6) "disguised" M

Rorschach Interpretation

*159 157 The Rorschach reflects a woman who is extraordinarily preoccupied with disease (at = 10+5). If she is not physically ill, she is hypochondriacal and perhaps suffering from somatic delusions (at R; F+%, 52). She is likely to be very ill at ease in interpersonal relationships (M on Card II), probably because she is demanding of attention from others (C:CF:FC). I wonder if she doesn't use physical illness in order to be taken care of.

[156] The test results indicate that she views interpersonal relations as terrifying struggles in which she may be "demolished" by others. Since her only M in human content is "a couple of men testing their strength" and her Sum/C:Sum/c is 3.5:0, we would say this is how she acts in interpersonal relations at this time. She "tests her strength" — but cautiously. The figures are "in disguise," they are not to be trusted. In meeting people she has to decide whether she is strong enough to be safe, or whether they are so strong that they would harm her.

The FM, on the other hand, are aggressive "climbing up to demolish something," "germ attacking the lung," "bugs attacking throat." This is the enormous aggressiveness of which she is afraid, but it also indicates that she is capable of experiencing this kind of hostility toward others. Under stress or "in states of diminished consciousness" we may see some extremely aggressive behavior on her part.

Since I scored R20 as a pure C response and there are 2CF and no FC, we must conclude that S does become overly emotional at times. They may be "crying spells" or expressions of the anger indicated in the preceding paragraph which she is unable to control. I scored R8 and R12 as Fc' but they may be Fc. If they are Fc' they support the notion that our S has little control over her feelings. The great variability of her initial reaction times also bespeaks of sporadic impulsivity and feelings of anxiety.

*159 158 The more one thinks about it, the more pathological the picture becomes. F plus percent is only 52 despite the 6 populars; there is a positional response on Card IX; there are a few peculiar verbalizations, e.g., the vertebrae and brain being referred to as "the center of man's being" and "the main part of life and

the person's being;" there are overly emotional reactions to blots: "it's terrifying 159*
if some kind of disease attacks you." And finally all the color comment 158
indicates she is affected by the color but cannot integrate it appropriately. Thus, she responds emotionally but cannot bring these feelings under control. A statement of her feelings of impotence or "intellectual passivity" (Pietrowski 1950) is her comment on Card III: "But why the grasshoppers should be playing, I don't know."

Are there any personality strengths to balance this pathological picture? Just 159*
the six popular responses. These are liberally sprinkled throughout the record. 157
We would have to conclude then that she is generally able to respond in a socially acceptable and conventional manner. However, the somatic preoccupations and poor emotional control are evident throughout. She seems to make an effort to maintain satisfactory relations with others. She is ready to accept responsibility for difficulties ("You know my trouble is I don't read very much"); although distanciated, her second M response is the pleasant "grasshoppers playing;" she does respond positively to the "lovely coloring." However, these are all based on content, rather than determinants, and as such are probably much more superficial indicators.

This personality description would not be complete without at least some comment 121
concerning the possible influence of the age of the subject and the role expectations 888
of this age group among the Klamath. Since this analysis has been done 157
without the benefit of this latter information, it can only be remarked that, to the extent that elderly people are allowed greater latitude in their behavior, to that extent this woman's adjustment will be considered acceptable, rather than pathological. In any case, however, she is probably terrified by disease and death. One wonders if the change in cultural attitudes toward disease and death may have left her bereft of a set of beliefs which might have helped her at this point in her life.

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159
156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from
his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never
[461] worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen.
Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five
[871] school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from
the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at
[592] home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger sib-
lings may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal
[434] income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly
[657] for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the
bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very
reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit
[582] Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging
[648] company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the
logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually
[221] away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when
drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father
does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household
[593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his
father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion
knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this per-
[848] son is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity,
which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's
*159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards
156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or
"dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting,
593 and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits
the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls,
and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt
and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common
[421] activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to
one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his be-
longings, and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle
for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not
borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which
engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the
father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom
she spends much time.

*159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks
156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the
law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time
[673] loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his
buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom
[512] awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away
from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which
may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

Fidel quit school because of what he defines as "family trouble," and this 159*
failure is probably equally due to his lack of support and training at home, 156
as well as from the mildly hostile, indifferent posture he maintains. He ex- 593
presses bitter contempt for his family, for the filthy house, for the lack of [871]
regular hours, and for the frequent squabbles. His isolation from this group
is adequately measured by his lack of knowledge of the interests and affiliations of family members. His contempt for them is balanced by his father's
derogatory, competitive attitude towards his son and his mother's indifference. 159*
Fidel stands thus, mildly hostile, ambivalent, and infinitely bored, at the 157
brink of independent adulthood.

Rorschach Record

159*
125

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	WS FM ad	2"	Well I dunno...could be some kind of animal. (AE?) Just LL a dog or smth looking at you...its ears hanging over. (Rotates card) How are you supposed to look at it, anyway? () (Rotates card and looks at it briefly, but not attentively, looks at E. and waits for him to finish writing.)

(1) Whole, space. () Well—the ears hanging over the side and the two eyes (S) and the mouth (S). LL its head. () LL it's looking at you.

			II
(2)	D FMc' ad P	27"	(Much rotation) (Laughs) LL a couple of dogs w/their noses together—how come they put different colored ink in them? That's the way it looks—both ways,
(3)	D FMc' ad		upside down and the other way.

(2) All grey. () Just the black part. () Well—it LL a dog's head w/ears sticking out and the nose up against the other one. () Just the...it LL the shadows of two dogs w/their noses together. () Just the outline—the silhouette.

			III
(4)	W M h P	17"	This one LL two guys dancing. (AE?) I can't make anth else out on there.

(4) All grey. () Just the black part. (Men?) Well, I dunno. Could be a cpl of kids cause that's the way they dance. (Boys/girls?) Could be either a boy or a girl or two boys or two girls...just LL people dancing.

			IV
(5)	W FM a	33"	I don't know what the heck this is...some kind of bug with wings or (rotating card)
(6)	D F ad		some kind of horse head or something...everybody sees these different, huh? () Nothing else but a big black ink spot.

(5) Whole, down. () I dunno what kind...just like it's reaching for you or smth. (Frightening?) Could be. (6) Headlike bottom center, D23, down. looking at it from above.

			V
(7)	W FM a P	17"	That LL a bat with its wings out—down. Turn him
(8)	W FM a		upside down and it LL you got him spread out.

*159 V Continued

125 (7) Whole. (8) Whole, down. () Upside down it LL a bat holding its wings up... like it's ready to fly or smth.

VI

Rejection 13" I can't see anth in this one. (continues to study blot) No—I can't make anth out. What happens if you can't picture anth? () What's this supposed to mean, anyway? ()

VII

(9) W M h P 28" (Rotates) Well, that could be two girls looking at each other with their arms out...one arm out.

(10) W M h P Upside down again it LL two girls wearing hats looking at each other with their hands down.

---

(9) Whole. () LL their heads and it LL they got their hand out...they've just turned around looking at each other. They got some kind of hat on...sticking up, or hair. (Young?) Pretty young, teen-agers. (10) Whole, down. Big hat on, mouth open, just LL it, there's the big arms.

VIII

(11) d M hd 32" All I can see on this one is a man's face in the top. That's all. (Rotates) (Laughs)

(12) d M- hd Turn it upside down it LL a little fat man here. Just his face...he's got a big smile across it. (Laughs) That's crazy. (Lays card down and looks at it, attention wavers and shifts)

---

(11) Riblike area, D54. () He LL he's got a grin—I mean a mean look on his face. (12) Riblike area + adjacent blue, card down. () Well it LL a man's face—somebody that's mad, I guess.

IX

Rejection 43" Well, I can't see anth on this one, either.

X

(13) D F- a 34" Oh—ugh—LL a little...oh...smth with a fish coming out of its head. Two of 'em standing there looking at each other. They got legs.

(14) D M h The other side LL a man standing there with his arms up over his head and that's it I guess.

---

(13) Top grey. () Could be a fish or some kind of a little creature. Got legs, eyes, mouth, and an antennae or something on the head. (14) Bottom green "rabbit," card down. () Just LL a man standing there...could be a wrestler or anybody... LL he's got a pretty good build.

Total Time: 15'

Scoring Summary

W	7 (1S)	M	6 (1-)	h	4
D	5	FM	4	hd	2
d	2	FMc'	2	a	4
		F+	1	ad	4
		F-	1	P	5

W:M	7:6
M:Sum/C	6:0
M:FM:m	6:6:0
IRTc	18.6"
IRTnc	27.5"

Conspicuous Features 159* 125

(1) M = 6
(2) FM = 6
(3) No. C.R.
(4) R 11
(5) Range of content
(6) Also sees percepts upside down.

Rorschach Interpretation 159*

Three aspects of this Rorschach protocol stand out: the absence of color responses; 157 the emphasis on movement (of his 14 scorable responses, 12 involved human or animal movement); and the nature of the movement response on Card VIII (R12): "He looks like he's got a grin — I mean a mean look on his face." The content [156] of this movement response suggests that the subject is strongly ambivalent about his role in human relationships. His immediate response to an interpersonal situation is an open, friendly one, but for some reason he shifts to a more aggressive menacing role. It is as if he tries to conceal his immediately positive response to people behind a "mean look."

On the face of it, the absence of color responses seems incompatible with the hypothesis that this man is involved emotionally — either positively or negatively — with other people. However, when we note that the subject is not indifferent to the color aspects of the cards, the interpretation becomes not inconsistent, but richer. In response to Card II, for example, he states, "How come they put different colored ink in them?" The absence of color responses suggests not that the subject is uninterested in personal relationships, but that, since he is unable or unwilling to integrate the color aspects of the blot with the shape of the blot, he probably reacts to the emotional aspects of interpersonal relationships, but does not make the effort required to integrate his feelings with the demands of reality.

How are we to interpret the fact that of 14 responses the subject has 12 movement responses? We must conclude that he has a rich and extensive inner life; he probably gives much thought to the significance and meaning of a situation without giving any overt indication of this thought. The fact that he waits for the examiner to finish writing, for example, indicates that he is aware of what is going on around him.

Five of this subject's six human movement responses are of the guarded restraint variety: "two girls looking at each other," "a man standing there" and so on. His prototypal role, then, involves watchful waiting and a tendency to inhibit the expression of feeling; this inhibition has apparently generalized to a considerable extent (narrow range of content). Perhaps the most revealing response, though, is the frightening "bug with wings" on Card IV. There is a feeling of dark shock here; he tells us after 33 seconds that he doesn't know "what the heck this is." And, on the basis of the inquiry, "It's reaching for you or something" we would have to conclude that the subject is frightened by the aggression implied here.

On four of the cards — involving eight of his fourteen responses — the subject gives an identical response to the blot when seen upside down as when seen right side up: "That's the way it looks — both ways, upside down and the other way." Although this mode of response does occur on occasion, rarely does it assume

#159 the proportions it does in this case. What is the meaning of it? There seem
157 to be two general kinds of explanations possible. The first involves the notion that the subject's perception is generally vague, so that the specific requirements of the blot are of little importance. He gives the response largely based on internal needs, so it matters little which way he holds the blot.

The second possibility suggests that the subject is indecisive; he can't make up his mind. He isn't able to decide which end is up. These two possibilities are not at all exclusive and there is reason to believe that both are involved (e.g., he can't decide on the sex of the figures in R4; his responses are not well delineated; and on two cards he never does make up his mind).

The most disturbing aspect of the protocol, however, is R13: "something with a fish coming out of its head." This is at least a fabulized combination and as such indicates a looseness of associative processes — a disorder of thinking. The fact that he gives it without comment and that it appears in a relatively brief record makes it more ominous. It suggests strongly that this man is not always able to control his thinking and that he may come to unrealistic conclusions based on very slim evidence.

Since there is not much evidence of strong feelings, however, there seems to be no reason to think that the subject will act in a peculiar fashion. He may have some strange ideas, but they are not likely to influence his behavior very much.
[156] The protocol suggests that this man actually tries to do very little. Because of his fear and distrust of others, he tries to hide from them — possibly behind a somewhat belligerent facade.

Lily: Female, Age 15

Background Data 159*

Lily is an attractive young high school freshman. She is now repeating her 156
freshman year, due to various difficulties the year before. One of these in-
volved her cursing the principal, for which she was temporarily expelled, to [873]
be returned by her mother the next day. She spent the rest of the year in
silent rebellion. This incident is not too serious, for more than anything [561]
else it indicates the strength of her attachment to a close-knit girls peer-
group which is slightly wild and which makes it a matter of honor to oppose
adults. There is little additional evidence of any serious hostility or re-
belliousness. Lily is the eldest of two children; she has an elder half-sister,
her mother's illegitimate daughter; and she has lived all of her life on the
reservation.

Lily's major activities and concerns are those of a typical, small town teen- [883]
age girl. She attends school, "hangs around" a local teen age center, flirts
with the boys — White and Indian, dances — at her home or the home of a friend,
and listens to records. She comes from one of the most stable families on the
reservation. Her mother is Klamath, a grade school graduate who worked her way [874]
through two years of business school, evenings, in a nearby city. Her mother in
recent years has begun to assume a position of leadership in certain community [571]
activities, particularly recreation and education. Additionally, she has for
long been the advisor for numerous relatives. Her mother verbalizes great fear
and anxiety associated with this "getting out" and has done so only under con-
siderable external pressure. Her father is a California Indian who is the model [177]
of local White conceptions of masculinity. That is, he is vigorous and physi-
cally powerful, a hard, reliable, steady worker in a logging company, a hard [464]
"Saturday Night" style drinker, absolutely fearless, and a masterful fighter
in brawls. His fights are the focus of several local folk anecdotes, and suggest [157]
his excellent reputation, for he protects the underdog, takes on the bully (by
the half-dozen, if necessary), neatly dispatches all and never bears a grudge.

Lily is a more flexible and less submissive person that she would seem on first 159*
acquaintance. The difficulty with knowing her is that she wears a completely 157
impassive, rigid, unexpressive mask before all. One morning after knowing her
for a year the writer walked by her and then stopped, mildly startled, for Lily
had smiled (slightly) and mumbled "Good Morning" under her breath. She is also [123]
less inhibited than this mask of impassivity would suggest, as is evident from
her behavior with her peers and parents, but in all instances she prefers to
communicate with slight gestures and to make do with very few words. She is,
in fact, a remarkably self-possessed, poised, and reserved adolescent girl, a
consequence of which is that she is far more graceful than many other local girls 159*
her own age. But, generally, her responses only minimally involve her with
others. She is always among people, but not always with them. Her reserve does 156
not dissipate much with continued acquaintance, but is a constant feature of her
mode of adjusting to others. She never talks freely and her terse responses to
the blots and TAT cards are paralleled by an equal economy in all personal re-
lationships. There is no evidence to suggest that she is suspicious or distrust-
ful of others, although she can be quite persistent in avoiding people she does
not like.

Rorschach Record

*159
125

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	WS F mask	22"	I don't know wh this LL...it LL some kind of a mask or smth. (AE?)
(2)	D F bell		I see a bell.

(1) Whole. () Just LL some kind of a face you see on masks at Halloween. () Just the shape. (2) Lower half of central part. () Just the form of it.

			II
(3)	D FM ad P	17"	This LL a couple of bears nose to nose...can't see anything else.

(3) All of dark, D8. () They're putting their noses together.

			III
(4)	W M h P	14"	This LL a cpl of African natives over a pot. (AE?) Uh, huh.

(4) All of grey, D13. () Standing over a great big old pot, like you see in the funnies—like a pot with people in it or something.

			IV
(5)	D F cg	10"	These LL boots.
(6)	W Mc' h		LL some kind of a man standing there with a cape on spreading his arms.

(5) Lower 2/3s of side, D23. () Just the shape. (6) Whole. LL a color here of a big cape and his arms out like this (gestures) with long draping sleeves. () Looks kinda scary...like smth I saw in a Dracula movie () Yes, the black, it looked like Dracula.

			V
(7)	W FMc' a P	5"	This LL a bat.

(7) Whole. () He LL he's flying. () I saw these little feet down here. () The color is grayish black. () Yes, that helped.

			VI
(8)	D Fc ad	10"	I can't see nothing on this except it LL some kind of a hide.

(8) All of bottom, D41. () Just the shape of it cause when Dad skins deer he always lays the hide out like that. () The outside. () Cause it sorta LL it's smooth—like the outside of a deer's hide.

			VII
(9)	W M h P	20"	This LL two teen agers dancing, with their pony tails flopping around. (Smiles, bemusedly: noteworthy as a smile is rare for this S)

(9) Whole. () Girls, teen agers.

			VIII
(10)	D M h	13"	This LL some kind of a witch doctor over a fire.
(11)	D FM a P		This right here LL bears.

(10) All less side pink Ds. () There's his face with all the paint on it. (Points to D54) Down in Calif. in my Dad's tribe they wear the brush over their heads.

VIII Continued 159*

It LL brush. (Fire?) This bottom part. (Bottom pink & orange) () The color didn't help for the fire. () Down in my Dad's tribe they're medicine men. They go out in the hills and stand over a fire and sing and it's supposed to get whoever they sing for well. (11) Both side pink, D57. Just LL a bear climbing up a hill or something. Here's his front legs, and his rear ones, his ears and his face. 125

IX
Rejection 27" I don't see anything on this one.

I
(12) D FM a,(h) 31" This up here LL a monster I seen in movies.
(13) S F- hd This LL a face, eyes, nose, and a moustache.

---

(12) All top grey, D67. () I seen a movie and it looked something like that... a little bat like thing (points to D68)...they stick fangs in people's necks and make these people obey this monster. () The center part is the monster. (Center column of top detail) (13) Bottom center S, below & including middle blue, inside side pinks. It made me think of those old time bartenders with their hair (center blue, D70) parted in the middle and their moustache (bottom green, D70) curled up.

Total Time: 12'

Scoring Summary

W	5 (1S)	M	3	h	4
S	1	Mc'	1	hd	1
D	7	FM	3	a	3
R	13	FMc'	1	ad	2
		F+	3	bell	1
		F-	1	mask	1
		Fc	1	cg	1
				P	6

W:M	5:4
M:Sum/C	4:0
Sum/C:Sum/c	0:1.0
M:FM:m	4:4:0
IRT	15.8"
IRTc	13.4"
IRTnc	18.8"

Conspicuous Features

(1) EB = 4:0
(2) 8 of 13R either M or FM
(3) 6 Pop
(4) Phobic responses (R6, R12)

Rorschach Interpretation

This adolescent girl — for whom "a smile is rare" — appears to be an intense, introspective person: movement is involved in eight of her thirteen responses. But there is insufficient responsiveness to external stimuli (no color responses with the possible exception of R10) and too much of her fantasy appears morbid or at least phobic ("Dracula" on Card IV and "monster" on Card X). Is she really this terrified of authority? The test suggests "yes," but that she won't admit it readily. 159* 157 [156]

*159
157 There are no indications of peculiar thinking or intellectual impairment, but
the total absence of color responses does reflect a poverty of emotional responsiveness. She appears to be a laconic, taciturn youngster. Her free associations are stated briefly and not spontaneously elaborated.

157 The Rorschach gives us, then, the picture of a stereotyped, overly conventional
156 adjustment. She is a "good" girl who does what she is told and uses her fantasy
to gain the little instinctual gratification she gets. The fact that her smile
[154] comes as she is describing "teenagers dancing" suggests that, like most youngsters
her age, peer relationships are particularly important to her and that this is
not an area of particular threat. It is probably the male authority figure who
is her difficulty.

*159
156 This protocol contains the first overt comment concerning an acculturation
177 process. One can perceive her distance from her father in her discussion of
R10; "...it's supposed to get whoever they sing for well." Her objectivity
here indicates that she is a part of the generation which is undergoing acculturation. She can apparently look, with distance, at her father's tribe's cus-
[121] toms. One wonders to what extent this cultural change is a factor in her difficult relations with her father, or whether — with Freud — it's the "universal
Oedipus complex" we see here.

This is a conventional record to the point of constriction: 5 or 6P; F plus percent adequate; several M; no major shocks. Only the absence of color responses
stands out. We are left with the question of how and why this youngster has
[121] buried her feelings so completely? Although this is a brief record, we hazard
the guess that it is the stress of acculturation which has created the overcontrol which characterizes this girl's adjustment (R10).

Section IV. Summary and Conclusions

In concluding this report rather than to attempt a detailed synthesis of all aspects of the preceding case studies we intend to pursue some of the implications of certain striking characteristics of Klamath personalities. Aside from this descriptive effort we also intend to derive, hypothetically, an association between these personality attributes and Klamath acculturation experiences. 121

Certainly the most pervasively shared attribute of Klamath personalities is the one we have chosen to call guarded restraint. This label is intended to designate the general attitude towards self and interpersonal relationships which has emerged from the analysis of Rorschach records, life-history materials, and observations of behavior. Guarded restraint, therefore, may be taken to mean the prevalent suspicious and guarded attitude towards life of the Klamath subjects, their wariness as regards significant others, and their apprehensions as regards their environment generally. This attribute, as we conceive it, has many facets. It includes an unconscious as well as a more deliberate muting of responsiveness to the actions and the mere presence of others, a shallow, non-committal attitude towards membership in various social groups and the goals of these groups, and a characteristic which ranges from simple lack of trust to outright fear of the behavioral milieu. 156 157 [12]

Stated in largely psycho-dynamic terms the notion of guarded restraint may seem somewhat ambiguous. The empirical referents on the level of observable behavior are, however, highly visible. They may be observed in a wide variety of behavior settings, from the informal and unstructured relations within a teen-age clique or an adult drinking group to the more organized setting of the family and household. 121

The psycho-cultural phenomena we have labeled as guarded restraint over-laps with what others have called Klamath individualism. Seen in this perspective, we may, perhaps, introduce a somewhat richer way of analyzing and gaining insight into the nuances of Klamath behavioral styles. This approach is, we hope, something more than just a different way of looking at the manifest separatism and incohesiveness of family groups, a more fruitful manner of examining the atomistic structure of Klamath reservation sodalities, and a means of appreciating the psycho-dynamic causation of the constant fractionation of Klamath political groupings. The evidence of these case studies, then, suggests that few Klamath are capable of fully identifying with other persons or of committing their loyalties to concerted group action. 121 157 [156]

We feel that this major descriptive conclusion is, in large part, a product of the case study method used in analyzing the Rorschachs. Moreover, it is our belief that this conclusion could not have been obtained from an analysis of a composite psychogram based on formal scores. As anyone who has ever read reports based upon the statistical or modal personality approach well knows, such reports are ridden with dynamic cliches and are largely sterile until filled out with examples of the qualitative features of individual records. In this report Levine has entirely discarded the lumping of group scores and concentrated upon an analysis of qualitative features of individual records buttressed and supported by the use of formal scores and relationships. The importance of this approach is shown by the fact that the reserve and guardedness that characterizes Klamath does not always show up in individual test records in the same form. Most frequently an important clue is had from the presence of restrained, watchful, wary figures in human and animal movement responses. Indeed, this type of movement 125 128 [157]

125
128 response provided some of the first clues as regards this important personality
attribute (Clifton 1960). But other test evidence, as well as life history and
[157] observational data, leads to the same conclusion, regardless of the presence or
[124] absence of a restrained movement response.

One facet of Klamath guardedness and restraint is the general reluctance of
157 Klamath individuals to reveal or communicate to others their needs, wishes, interests,
156 or concerns. This may, in part, be seen as a function of suspicion,
of fearful concern with the possible reactions of others, but another characteristic
of Klamath persons may be associated with this reserve. The reference here
is to a general, overt, and conscious devaluation of the self. The Klamath seldom
have much good and often much that is bad to say of themselves. Although
[125] this characteristic is not directly manifested in the Rorschach records, these
records do indicate the presence of multiple and conflicting, or unacceptable
prototypal roles.

Another aspect of Klamath guardedness seems to be a precipitate of the very high investment of energies in sheer self-protecting maneuvers, and the time spent in the avoidance of entangling committments to group life. We feel that the Klamath have so over-invested in reserve and self-protection that they have little time or energy to expend on other activities or upon other aspects of their situation. This, we feel, may be responsible for another shared component of Klamath character, their inability in laying plans for the future, and the minimal expenditure upon creative effort. By way of contrast, the Klamath do concentrate upon the superficially rewarding or painful aspects of their current situation.

121 The analysis so far points to a general isolation of Klamath individuals from
156 significant, durable human associations. Given the facts of Klamath reservation
culture we consider that this characteristic is probably adaptive, although it
155 might not seem so if measured against an ideal model of mental health based upon
65] the functioning of west European, urban, middle-class persons. Considering the
[171] realities of the Klamath situation, guarded restraint in itself may hardly be
considered as pathological. Yet so great a reserve and so extensive an insulation
[158] of the self from important human transactions may be a major source of stress
and may predispose Klamath individuals to variant forms of mental illnesses.

[157] Several of the cases contained in this report provide evidence for this hypothesis.
In the instance of Slim, for example, we find that a superficially adequate adjustment
158 may simply be the manifestation of an obsessive control over and reduction
[121] of emotional and intellectual processes to the point of a tentative diagnosis
of alpha schizophrenia. The cases of Susan, Nell, Fidel and Sparrow are
examples of extremely loose, unrealistic and disorganized thinking with overtones, in some instances, of an almost paranoid suspiciousness, or a reliance upon bizarre, highly personal fantasy. Evidence for a well defined idiosyncratic role or personna which is very poorly integrated with the rest of the personality is seen in the cases of Slim's false optimism, Carrie's brashness, and Aunt May's superficial warmth. We suggest that these more disordered aspects of adjustment may profitably be seen, in part, as a function of a generally poor contact with others, reduced insight into the self and others, and extensive social isolation. The mediating difficulty may well be a relative absence of opportunities to validate beliefs and convictions. Thus in many respects adaptive, Klamath guarded restraint probably serves as a precipitating factor in thinking disorders, sociopathic adaptations, alpha schizophrenia, and paranoid delusions.

128 The validity of this assessment does not depend upon these ten case studies alone.
127 Very similar if more limited conclusions were obtained in a previous, independent

analysis of 53 Klamath Rorschachs and 33 Thematic Apperception Tests, with 128
additional evidence derived from participant observation and life history data [127]
(Clifton 1960). Moreover, the assessment agrees, in large part, with the observations
and conclusions of other field workers working independently. The
significant point is that Levine, working blind from records of persons he has
never observed has reinforced and expanded upon previous evaluations of Klamath
character.

A second hypothesis about the Klamath which arises from our study — an hypothesis 121
of which we are less certain when compared with the observation that they are
a people who may be viewed as guarded and restrained — is the finding that "in 157
the total kin network the influence of the male is weak..." and "whether or not 562
there is a male attached to the household group, the wife-mother is usually the
power figure." This finding, based on the anthropological data, is theoretically [156]
congruent, almost startlingly so, with the fact that the more imaginative,
creative, rich — healthy, if you will — Klamath Rorschach records were produced
by the women in the sample, while the men's records were typically stereotyped
and constricted, and often unrealistic, disorganized or suspicious. The statistical
comparisons (Clifton 1960) as well as the individual Rorschach analysis [127]
(Chapter III) convey this impression very clearly. [128]

The importance of these findings can be viewed profitably in the light of contemporary 121.
psychoanalytic theory, especially in relation to the concepts of identification
and modeling in child development. The theory holds that the child
identifies with, i.e., adapts the characteristics, attitudes, and values, of his
parents because he envies them; they are the powerful people who receive the
rewards and gratifications which he is denied. In classical psychoanalytic theory,
the boy is said to identify with the father because the father is the power figure
in the family and receives the love of the mother. Although Freud never was as
content with his psychology of women as he was with the Oedipus Complex, presumably
similar processes account for feminine psychology. The classical Oedipus [128]
Complex has been modified in order to integrate more satisfactorily with cross-cultural
data, and it is in this more flexible framework that the present results
can be understood best.

In those societies in which the father is not a stable, respected member of the 121
family the process of identification is not as straightforward: the growing boy
does not want to be like his weak father; he cannot identify with an absent
father figure; yet he is biologically unable to be like his mother. The theory
holds that his identification as a person will not be well integrated or complete.
In the Klamath family, the mother is the stable figure, the one who commands the 121
boy's respect. Since a consistent and integrated identification is needed for a 156
healthy development of the ego, we are not surprised to find that the males in
our Klamath sample show signs of poor ego structure. The women, on the other 562
hand, come off much better and one may hypothesize that they are able to make a
more integrated identification with the wife-mother figure in the Klamath family. 593

It may be necessary for a well-stated theoretical position to distinguish between 121
two qualities of the parent which are confounded in the present discussion: stability
of the model on the one hand and the extent to which the parent receives
rewards, on the other. The general theoretical position, however, states that
those societies in which the father is more stable, receives more of the respect
and material reward, or is more powerful will be societies in which the boys can
establish their roles more readily. On the other hand, in groups like the Klamath; 121
in which the father is weak or absent, we can expect to see signs of role conflict, 156
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121 156 562 vague identification and, since it is largely through identification that the super-ego is established, weak super-egos.

593 121 156 177 (171) 829 It has been suggested that what we have called guarded restraint may be a "front" maintained only when Klamath are interacting with whites. The point is that guarded restraint may be another name for the extreme suspicion and reserve of many enclaved or colonized minority groups vis-a-vis representatives of the dominant culture (Underhill 1960). It cannot be denied that, in fact, reserve and suspicion do characterize much of the relationship between Klamath and Whites, but the reserve and restraint which so characterize Klamath persons is not solely a function of such situations. We agree that guarded restraint is one important consequence of acculturative contacts, but the evidence of observation and life histories clearly indicate that this is a personality attribute manifest in many situations exclusive of the presence of outsiders. Life history subjects, for example, speak of the "Indianness" of their parents, meaning precisely an aloof, reserved style of interaction. Many other informants verbalize reactions to the endemic if latent suspiciousness of Klamath life. Thus guarded restraint is not purely an observer construct with a referent limited to the test situation. Certainly, a measure of reserve and suspicion may serve utilitarian functions when interacting with strangers, but the same characteristic makes strangers out of neighbors.

121 156 177 171 157 Underhill's suggestion does raise the issue of a broader connection between guarded restraint and the impact of acculturation. If there is such an association then we should expect to find these attributes widely distributed among other acculturated populations, especially those which have been exposed to the imposition of external political and administrative controls, and deculturation or detribalization. That there may be some validity to this hypothesis is suggested by the fact that attempts to communicate our findings to observers with experience among other acculturated populations frequently evoke memories of similarity in character. What we have called guarded restraint has been suggested as characteristic of the contemporary Southern Ute (Stewart 1961) and especially the Mountain or Towoac Ute (Canan 1961), and of the Cree, Northern Athabascan, and Eskimo (Heinrich 1961). In each instance there are differences, but differences which seem to play upon a common theme.

Personality attributes analogous to what we have called guarded restraint have repeatedly been discerned among other more or less acculturated North American Indian populations. Thus Barnouw describes the Wisconsin Chippewa as emotionally isolated, suspicious of outsiders, and fearful of expressing emotions overtly (Barnouw 1950: 22-23). Klopfer's analysis of Chippewa Rorschachs suggests that "...the individual is under pressure to become as emotionally independent of his environment as possible, and to expect very little from others." (Barnouw 1950: 27). The Ojibwa have been described as emotionally restrained, suspicious, and anxious (Hallowell 1955: 350). Hallowell's interpretation of these characteristics is that they constitute persistent aboriginal components of Ojibwa character structure. In a similar fashion, the Native-Oriented Menomini have been described by Spindler as a group characterized by a non-defensive reduction of emotional display, whose perception is narrowed to only a very selective portion of their environment, and who are further characterized by a non-manipulatory passivity. Outside of the presumed character structure of the Eastern Woodlands, the most widely distributed "aboriginal" characteristics of North American Indians, generally, are given by the Spindlers as non-demonstrative emotionality, great reserve, individual autonomy, and a generalized fear of the world as dangerous (Spindler and Spindler 1957: 148).

On the face of these parallel descriptions it would seem that the Klamath are 121
similar, as regards guarded restraint, to a variety of differently situated, 156
differentially acculturated North American Indian populations, populations with 157
diverse cultural heritages. These similarities are, of course, susceptible to
different explanations. It would be a simple matter, for example, to explain 171
away the similarities as false, that is, as being a function of unreliable techniques
of assessment and highly ambiguous descriptive constructs or constructs 177
lacking in validity. Aside from being no explanation at all, this approach would [114]
involve discarding most of the available cross-cultural psychological data as
well as existing assessments of the personality dynamics of North American Indians.
Although this is the course advocated by many methodological puritans in the area
of culture and personality research we choose to accept the similarities as valid.

A second way of explaining these similarities might invoke the assumption of an
underlying "North American Indian" character structure or basic personality analogous
to Devereux's delineation of a core personality type for the Plains
(Devereux 1951). Accepting this assumption the persistence of core traits must
then somehow be accounted for. In the instance of the Plains, Devereux presents
one possibility, namely that acculturation has resulted in a "stripped-down"
and impoverished personality type (Devereux 1951: 25). Somewhat differently,
Hallowell and his followers have argued that basic personality somehow manages
to weather the vicissitudes of history and acculturation (Hallowell 1955: 309;
Spindler 1955: 151). The common feature of both of these explanations is the [114]
assumption of an underlying, basic set of psychological characteristics linked
to aboriginal prototypes and common to the population occupying a given culture
area.

In the instance of the Klamath there is very little evidence to suggest, unequivocally, 121
that guarded restraint was a dominant component of aboriginal char- 156
acter structure. The information is scanty and points to the definite presence
of great reserve and considerable suspicion, but only as one mode of interper- 157
sonal relations among others. Moreover, the Klamath reservation situation does
not allow a comparison of differentially acculturated groups after the model 177
used by Hallowell for the Ojibwa, and the effort to apply Spindler's technique [657]
of an internal comparison raised more problems than it resolved in this setting.
Finally, the evidence from the Klamath psychological data indicates that, if [171]
anything, older members of the tribe are less reserved and suspicious. In short,
we cannot assert from available evidence that guarded restraint was basic or
dominant in aboriginal Klamath character structure. We suggest that at minimum
this characteristic was present, but that it did not receive the emphasis it
now gets.

Aside from this difficulty, there are a great many conceptual problems associated 121
with the postulation of an underlying, basic trait of guarded restraint for the 156
North American Indians generally. We feel that it is stretching the point to
attempt to account for present similarities among unrelated cultures of such 157
different cultural heritages with a construct so broad. Due to the absence of 171
firm measures of aboriginal character structure this approach to explanation also
involves substantial methodological problems which are not easily resolved.

Instead of explaining contemporary similarities in either of these ways it is 121
possible to view modern Indian populations in the light of common acculturative 156
experiences and their status as dependent wards, as enclaved minority groups,
and as persons who have been promised much but who have attained little. Spindler 157
has suggested that when acculturation conditions permit both a ready identification 171
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121 with the values of the dominant culture and provide access to the institutiona-
156 lized means of attaining desired goals there will be a successful psychological
157 adaptation to dominant standards, but that when these conditions do not exist
then there may be overt change in the content of culture unaccompanied by changes
171 in psychological characteristics (Spindler 1955: 199). In the same way, Hallo-
177 well suggests that constant association with powerful external agents, multiple
conflicting sources of reward and punishment and the ridicule and invidious comparisons which too frequently accompany acculturation situations may result in extreme feelings of insecurity, personality maladjustment, and what he calls the "frustration of maturity" (Hallowell 1955: 329).

Spindler's dual hypotheses are, of course, not the only alternative consequences of acculturation situations. We feel that between these polarities there are different modes of adaptation open, modes similar to those suggested by Hallo-
[178] well. We therefore assert, hypothetically, that the defensive, guarded, reserved style of interaction now characteristic of the Klamath is the product of the deterioration and decay of major patterns of aboriginal Klamath culture, a prolonged exposure to and considerable identification with the values and standards of the dominant White society, and the persistent denial of access to the means and instrumentalities necessary to achieve these goals and to live up to the standards. We argue, in this way, that there are a great many similarities between diverse American Indian populations as noted by many observers, that these similarities do not constitute the residue of generic Indian character traits, but that they are a function of a common depressed minority group status within contemporary American society. Our analysis of this is that these components, specifically, the guardedness, the reserve, the suspicion, and the lack of involvement in creative group activity, are very much analogous to what various sociologists speak of as alienation or anomie (Merton 1957: 121-194; Nettler 1957; Seeman 1961).

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7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

000 U. S. GEOGRAPHICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN REGION

J. W. POWELL IN CHARGE

CONTRIBUTIONS

TO

NORTH AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

VOLUME II

PART I

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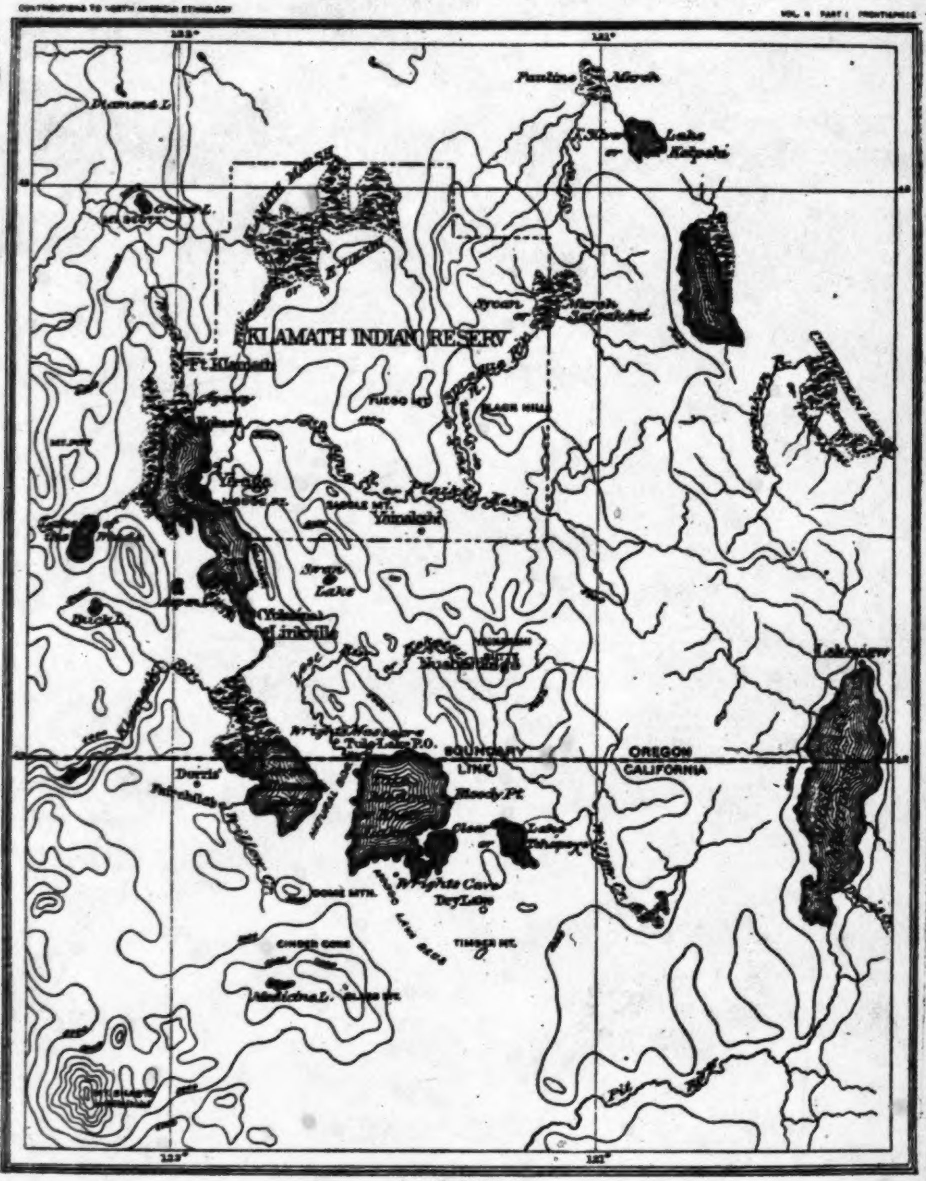
122°
121°
Diamond L.
Pauline Marsh
Silver Lake or Kalpshi
Crater L.
KLAMATH INDIAN RESERV
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Yainakshi
Swan Lake
(Yulalona)
Linkville
Lost River
Nushaltkaga
Lakeview
Wright's Massacre
Tule Lake P.O.
BOUNDARY LINE
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
Dorris'
Bloody Pt
Clear Lake
Wrights Cave
Dry Lake
DOME MTN.
CINDER CONE
Medicine L.
TIMBER MT.
Pit River

Scale: 15 miles to 1 inch.

/facing p. 111/

MAP OF THE HEADWATERS OF THE KLAMATH RIVER.

By Albert S. Gatschet.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

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J. W. POWELL IN CHARGE

THE KLAMATH INDIANS OF SOUTHWESTERN OREGON

BY

ALBERT SAMUEL GATSCHET

WASHINGTON
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ILLUSTRATION.

Map of the headwaters of the Klamath River..........Frontispiece.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

Smithsonian Institution,
Bureau of Ethnology,
Washington, D. C., June 25, 1890.

121 Sir: I have the honor to transmit to you my report upon the Klamath
Indians of Southwestern Oregon, the result of long and patient study. It
deals with their beliefs, legends, and traditions, their government and social
life, their racial and somatic peculiarities, and, more extensively, with their
126 language. To this the reader is introduced by numerous ethnographic
124 "Texts," suggested or dictated by the Indians themselves, and accompanied
by an interlinear translation and by "Notes," a method which I regard as
the most efficient means of becoming acquainted with any language. In
121 this report I have given prominence to the exposition of the language,
128 because I consider language to be the most important monument of the
American Indian. Archæology and ethnography are more apt to acquaint
us with *facts* concerning the aborigines, but language, when properly investigated, gives us the *ideas* that were moving the Indian's mind, not only
recently but long before the historic period.

Repeated and prolonged visits to the people of the northern as well as
of the southern chieftaincy have yielded sufficient material to enable me to
classify the language of both united tribes as belonging to a distinct family.
101 In their territorial seclusion from the nearer Indian tribes they show anthropologic differences considerable enough to justify us in regarding them as
a separate nationality.

197 There is probably no language spoken in North America possessed
of a nominal inflection more developed than the Klamath, although in
this particular, in the phonetic elements and in the syllabic reduplication
pervading all parts of speech, it shows many analogies with the Sahaptin

127 dialects. The analytic character of the language and its synthetic character balance each other pretty evenly, much as they do in the two classic languages of antiquity.

128 Concerning the ethnography of both chieftaincies and the mythology of the Modoc Indians, I have gathered more material than could be utilized for the report, and I hope to publish it at a later day as a necessary supplement to what is now embodied in the two parts of the present volume.

Very respectfully, yours,

ALBERT S. GATSCHET.

Hon. J. W. POWELL,
Director of the Bureau of Ethnology.

ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH

OF THE

KLAMATH PEOPLE.

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THE KLAMATH INDIANS OF SOUTHWESTERN OREGON.

By Albert S. Gatschet.

ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF THE PEOPLE.

INTRODUCTION.

101 The Klamath people of North American Indians, the subject of this
131 descriptive sketch, have inhabited from time immemorial a country upon
the eastern slope of the Cascade Range, in the southwestern part of the
133 territory now forming the State of Oregon. That territory is surrounded
134 by mountain ridges and by elevations of moderate height, and watered by
streams, lakes, marshes, and pond-sources issuing from the volcanic sands
covering the soil. The secluded position of these Indians within their
mountain fastnesses has at all times sheltered them against the inroads of
alien tribes, but it has also withheld from them some of the benefits which
only a lively intercourse and trade with other tribes are able to confer.
132 The climate of that upland country is rough and well known for its sudden
changes of temperature, which in many places render it unfavorable to
137 agriculture. But the soil is productive in edible roots, bulbs, berries, and
136 timber, the limpid waters are full of fish and fowl, and game was plentiful
before the white man's rifle made havoc with it. Thus the country was
capable of supplying a considerable number of Indians with food, and they
never manifested a desire to migrate or "be removed to a better country."

129 The topography of these highlands, which contain the headwaters of the
Klamath River of California, will be discussed at length after a mention of
the scanty literature existing upon this comparatively little explored tract of
land.

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113 The list below contains titles of books and articles upon the two tribes of the Klamath people, which are of scientific interest, whereas others, also mentioned in this list, are of popular interest only. Several of the latter I have never been able to inspect personally. During the Modoc war a large number of articles appeared in the periodical press, expatiating upon the conduct of that war, the innate bravery of the Indian, the cruelty of the white against the red race, and other commonplace topics of this sort. As the majority of these were merely repetitions of facts with which every reader of the political press was then familiar, I did not secure the titles of all of these articles.

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(3) Sketch of the Klamath language of Southern Oregon. In Amer. Antiquarian, I, pp. 81–84. (1878–1879.)

(4) Mythologic text in the Klamath language of Southern Oregon, with translation and comments. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 161–166.

(5) The numeral adjective in the Klamath language of Southern Oregon. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 210–217. (1879–1880.)

(6) Volk und Sprache der Maklaks im südwestlichen Oregon. In Globus, illustr. Zeitschrift f. Länder- und Völkerkunde, Vol. 35, No. 11, pp. 167–171 and 187–189. 4°. Braunschweig, 1879.

(7) Three short texts were published in the First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1881. Imp. 8°. pp. 582–587, with commentaries: Details of a conjurer's practice; The Relapse; Sweat Lodges. (They are also embodied in the author's Report, under "Texts."

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7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

113 **JACKSON, WILLIAM HENRY:**

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113 (3) The Modocs. Forms No. 8 of a serial of Powers's articles: "The Californian Indians" (1872–1874), and is contained in the Overland Monthly, San Francisco, Carmany & Co., 1873, June number, pp. 535–545. With a myth, "The woman of stone" (at Nilakshi mountain).

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GEOGRAPHY OF THE KLAMATH HIGHLANDS.

121 The first part in the historical and social study of a tribe or nation must be a thorough examination of the country and of the climate (in the widest sense of this term) in which it has grown up, for these two agencies give character to peoples, races, languages, institutions, and laws. This principle applies equally to the cultured and to the ruder or less developed populations of the globe, for none of them can possibly hold itself aloof from the agencies of nature, whether acting in a sudden manner or gradually, like the influences of climate. The races inhabiting coasts, islands, peninsulas, jungles, plains, prairies, woodlands, foot-hills, mountains, and valleys differ one from another in having distinguishing characteristic types indelibly impressed upon their countenances by their different environments. That upland and mountaineer tribes have made very different records from those of nations raised in plains, lowlands, on coasts and islands is a fact of which history gives us many well-authenticated instances.

THE HOME OF THE PEOPLE.

131 657 648 The home of the Klamath tribe of southwestern Oregon lies upon the eastern slope of the southern extremity of the Cascade Range, and very nearly coincides with what we may call the headwaters of the Klamath River, the main course of which lies in Northern California. Its limits are outlined in a general manner in the first paragraph of the treaty concluded between the Federal Government and the Indians, dated October 14, 1864, which runs as follows: "The Indians cede all the country included between the water-shed of the Cascade Mountains to the mountains dividing Pit and McCloud Rivers from the waters on the north; thence along this water-shed eastwards to the southern end of Goose Lake; thence northeast to the southern end of Harney Lake;* thence due north to the forty-fourth degree of latitude; thence west along this same degree to Cascade Range." It must be remarked that the homes and hunting-grounds of two "bands" of the Snake Indians were included within these limits, for these people were also made participants to the treaty.

Here, as with all other Indian tribes, the territory claimed must be divided into two parts, the districts inclosing their habitual dwelling-places and those embodying their hunting and fishing grounds, the latter being of course much larger than the former and inclosing them. The habitual haunts and dwelling-places of the tribes were on the two Klamath Lakes, on Klamath Marsh, on Tule Lake, and on Lost River. Some of these localities are inclosed within the Klamath Reservation, of which we will speak below.

133 The Cascade Range is a high mountain ridge following a general direction from north to south, with some deflections of its main axis. The line of perpetual snow is at least 10,000 feet above the sea-level, and the altitude of the highest peaks about 12,000 to 14,000 feet. On the west side the sloping is more gradual than on the east side, where abrupt precipices and steep slopes border the Klamath highlands and the valley of Des Chutes River. The range is the result of upheaval and enormous volcanic

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* Harney Lake is the western portion of Malheur Lake, and now united with it into a single sheet of water.

133 eruption, the series of the principal peaks, as the Three Sisters, Mount Jefferson, and Mount Hood, marking the general direction of the ridge.

The formation consists of a dark and hard basaltic and andesitic lava, which also forms numerous extinct volcanic cones and basins lying on the east side of the range (Mount Scott, Crater Lake, craters in Sprague River valley, etc.). This formation underlies the whole of the Klamath River headwaters, but stratified deposits cover it at many places, consisting of sandstone, infusorial marls, volcanic ashes, pumice-stone, etc. Prof. J. S. Newberry* describes this volcanic rock as "a dark vesicular trap".

East of the basin of the Klamath Lakes and south of the Columbia River water-shed lies an extensive territory extending to the east towards Owyhee River, and having its largest area in Nevada and Utah. It has been called the Great Basin of the Interior, and has an average altitude of 5,000 feet. The numerous fault-fissures intersecting it from north to south form its principal geologic feature. In the Quaternary period long and narrow lakes marked those faults on the obverse side of their dip; and even now, when evaporation has left these depressions almost dry, small bodies of water mark the site of the fissures even where erosion has obliterated most traces of a fracture of the earth's crust. The most conspicuous of these fissures in the basaltic formations are in Oregon, northern California and Nevada: the valley of Quinn River, Alvord Valley with Pueblo Valley, Guano Valley, Warner Lake with Long and Surprise Valley, Abert, Summer, and Silver Lake Valley. A geologic reconnaissance of the country west of this northwestern portion of the Great Basin, the central parts of which were once filled by the Quaternary Lake Lahontan, with its enormous drainage basin, would probably prove a similar origin for the two Klamath Lakes with Klamath Marsh, and for Goose Lake Valley.

These two secondary basins lie nearest the base of the great mountain wall of the Cascade Range, and therefore receive a larger share of the rain precipitated upon it than the more distant ones. The supply of water received during the year being thus larger than the annual evaporation, the excess flows off in the streams which drain the basin. There is much analogy between the basin of the Klamath Lakes and that of Pit River;

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* Pacific Railroad Reports, 1854–'55, vol. 6, part 2, pp. 34–39.

133 both form elongated troughs, and the waters escaping from them reach the lowlands through deep cuts in the resistant material. The difference lies only in this, that the drainage of the Klamath headwater basin has been less complete than that of the Sacramento and upper Pit River; and large portions of its surface are still occupied by bodies of water.

The lakes which show the location of longitudinal faults are the more shallow the more distant they are from the Cascade Range, and those which possess no visible outlet necessarily contain brackish water, as the alkaline materials in them are not removed by evaporation. It is a noticeable fact that those lakes which were nearest the seats and haunts of the Klamath Indians are all disposed in one large circle: Klamath Marsh, Upper and Lower Klamath Lakes, Rhett or Tule Lake, Clear or Wright Lake, Goose Lake, Abert Lake, Summer Lake, Silver Lake with Pauline Marsh. Besides this several other depressions now filled with marshes and alkali flats show the existence of former water-basins.

TOPOGRAPHIC NOTES.

The most prominent object of nature visible from the level parts of the Klamath Reservation is the Cascade Range with its lofty peaks. Seen from the east shore of Upper Klamath Lake, it occupies nearly one hundred and fifty degrees of the horizon. Though Shasta Butte, visible on the far south, does not properly belong to it, the ridge rises to high altitudes not very far from there, reaching its maximum height in the regular pyramid forming [37] Mount Pitt. This pyramid is wooded on its slopes, and hides several mountain lakes—Lake of the Woods, Buck Lake, and Aspen Lake—on its southeastern base. Following in a northern direction are Union Peak, Mount Scott, and Mount Thielsen, with many elevations of minor size. At the southwestern foot of Mount Scott lies a considerable lake basin about twenty miles in circumference, and at some places two thousand feet below its rim. The water being of the same depth, this "Crater Lake" has been pointed out as probably the deepest lake basin in the world (1,996 feet by one sounding), and it also fills the largest volcanic crater known. At its southwestern end a conical island emerges from its brackish waters, which is formed of scoriæ—proof that it was once an eruption crater. The altitude of the

133 water's surface was found to be 6,300 feet; and this remarkable lake is but a short distance south of the forty-third degree of latitude. Capt. C. E. Dutton, of the U. S. Geological Survey, has made an examination of the lake and its surroundings, and gave a short sketch of it in the weekly "Science" of New York, February 26, 1886, from which an extract was published in the "Ausland" of Stuttgart, 1887, pp. 174, 175.

On the west side of Mount Scott and Crater Lake rise the headwaters of the North Fork of Rogue River, which run down the western slope, and a narrow trail crosses the ridge south of the elevation. Northeast of it and west of Walker's Range lies a vast level plain strewed with pulverized pumice-stone, and forming the water-shed between the affluents of the Klamath and those of Des Chutes River, a large tributary of the Columbia.

Upper Klamath Lake, with its beautiful and varied Alpine scenery, verdant slopes, blue waters, and winding shores, is one of the most attractive sights upon the reservation. Its principal feeder is Williamson River, a water-course rising about thirty miles northeast of its mouth. After passing through Klamath Marsh it pursues its winding course south through a cañon of precipitous hills, six miles in length; then reaches a wide, fertile valley, joins Sprague River coming from Yáneks and the east, and after a course of about sixty miles empties its volume of water into Upper Klamath Lake near its northern end. The elevation of this lake was found to be about eighty feet higher than that of Little Klamath Lake, which is 4,175 feet. Wood River, with its affluent, Crooked River, is another noteworthy feeder of the lake, whose shores are partly marshy, partly bordered by prairies and mountains. The lake is embellished by a number of pretty little islands, is twenty-five miles long in an air-line, and varies between three and seven miles in width. On the eastern shores the waters are more shallow than on the western.

[103] The waters of the lake first empty themselves through Link River (I-ulalóna), and after a mile's course fall over a rocky ledge at the town of Linkville. From there onward the stream takes the name of Klamath River. Passing through a marsh, it receives the waters of Little Klamath Lake, then winds its circuitous way towards the Pacific Ocean through a hilly and wooded country, cañons, and rapids, innavigable for craft of any

133 considerable size.* Hot springs of sulphuric taste flow westward east of Linkville, one of them showing a temperature of 190° Fahr.

The Klamath Reservation is studded with a large number of isolated and short volcanic hill ridges, with a general direction from northwest to southeast. South of Klamath Marsh there are elevations culminating at 5,650 and 6,000 feet, and in Fuego Mountain 7,020 feet are attained. Yámsi Peak, between Klamath Marsh and Sykan Marsh (5,170 feet) reaches an altitude of not less than 8,242 feet, thus rivaling many peaks of the
657 Cascade Range. The Black Hills, south of Sykan (Saikéni) Marsh, rise to
133 6,410 feet, but are surpassed by several elevations south of Sprague River,
103 near the middle course of which the Yáneks Agency (4,450 feet) is situated. Sprague River (P'laíkni k̲ók̲e), the most considerable tributary of Williamson River, drains a valley rich in productive bottoms and in timber.

The basaltic ridge, which forms a spur of the Cascade Range and passes east of Fort Klamath (I-ukák), slopes down very abruptly toward the Quaternary lake basin, now forming a low marshy prairie and watered by Wood River (E-uk̲alkshíni k̲ók̲e), which enters upper Klamath Lake near Koháshti and by Seven Mile Creek, nearer the Cascade Range. This basaltic spur, called Yánalti by the Indians, represents the eastern side of a huge fault-fissure. Its altitude constantly decreases until it is crossed by a rivulet one-eighth of a mile long, called Beetle's Rest (Tgúlutcham Kshutĕ'lsh), which issues from a pond, drives a mill, and then joins Crooked River (Yánalti k̲ók̲e, or Tutashtalíksini k̲ók̲e). This beautiful spring and stream were selected by the Government as the site for the Klamath Agency buildings. The old agency at Koháshti (Guhuáshkshi or "Starting-place") on the lake, three miles south, was abandoned, and a subagency established at Yáneks. The agency buildings are hidden in a grove of lofty pine trees. South of these the ridge rises again and culminates in an elevation, called Pítsua (4,680 feet). The junction of Sprague and Williamson Rivers is marked by a rock called Ktái-Tupákshi, and described in Dictionary, page 149, as of mythic fame. South of Sprague River the ledge rises again, and, approaching close to the lake shore, forms Modoc Point, a bold head-

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114 [*] I have not been able to visit *personally* other parts of the Klamath highlands than the eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake, from Fort Klamath to Linkville.

103 land, which culminates in an elevation east of it, measuring 6,650 feet, in
133 Nílaks Mountain (Nílakshi, "Daybreak"), on the lake shore, and in Swan Lake Point (7,200 feet), about eight miles from Klamath Lake. A deep depression south of this height is Swan Lake Valley (4,270 feet), and a high hill north of the two, near Sprague River, is called Saddle Mountain (6,976 feet). Yáneks Butte, with a summit of 7,277 feet, lies midway between the headwaters of Sprague River and the Lost River Valley. A long and steep ridge, called the Plum Hills, rises between Nílaks and the town of Linkville.

We now arrive at what is called the "Old Modoc Country." The main seat of the Modoc people was the valley of Lost River, the shores of Tule and of Little Klamath Lake. Lost River follows a winding course about as long as that of Williamson River, but lies in a more genial climate. The soil is formed of sandstone interstratified with infusorial marls. Nushaltkága is one of its northern side valleys. At the Natural Bridge (Tilhuántko) these strata have been upheaved by a fault, so that Lost River passes underneath. The sandstone is of volcanic origin, and contains pumice and black scoria in rounded masses, often of the size of an egg. The largest part of Tule Lake, also called Rhett Lake and Modoc Lake (Móatak, Móatokni é-ush), lies within the boundaries of California. It is drained by evaporation only, has extinct craters on its shores, and the celebrated Lava Beds, long inhabited by the Kómbatwash Indians, lie on its southern end.

Clear Lake, also called Wright Lake (by the Modocs, Tchápsχo), is a crater basin, with the water surface lying considerably below the surrounding country. Its outlet is a tributary of Lost River, but is filled with water in the cooler season only. Little or Lower Klamath Lake (Aká-ushkni é-ush) is fed by Cottonwood Creek, and on its southern side had several Indian settlements, like Agáwesh. It has an altitude of 4,175 feet, and belongs to the drainage basin of Klamath River. South of these lakes there are considerable volcanic formations, which, however, lie beyond the pale of our descriptive sketch.

133 Peculiar to this volcanic tract is the frequent phenomenon of the pond sources (wélwash, nushaltkága). These sources are voluminous springs of limpid water, which issue from the ground at the border of the ponds with

133 a strong bubbling motion, without any indication of other springs in the vicinity. They are met with in soil formed of volcanic sands and detritus, have a rounded shape with steep borders, and form the principal feeders of the streams into which they empty. Ponds like these mainly occur in wooded spots. Some of them have a diameter of one hundred feet and more, and are populated by fish and amphibians of all kinds.

The lake region east of the Reservation was often visited in the hunting and fishing season by the Klamath Lake, Modoc, and especially by the Snake Indians. Goose Lake was one of the principal resorts of the Snake and the Pit River Indians; and even now the numerous rivulets flowing into it make its shores desirable to American stockmen and settlers. Warner [103] (or Christmas) Lake, fully thirty-five miles in length, was once enlivened by the troops camping at Fort Warner, on its eastern side.* Chewaukan Marsh (Tchuaχē'ni) has its name from the tchuá or "water potato", the fruit of *Sagittaria*, and is by its outlet connected with Abert Lake.

The Indians of the Reservation annually repair about the month of June to Klamath Marsh (É-ukshi) to fish, hunt, and gather berries and wókash or pond-lily seed, which is one of their staple foods. Its surface is somewhat less than that of Upper Klamath Lake. Its shores are high on the southeastern, low and marshy on the northwestern side. Water appears at single places only, insufficient to warrant the marsh being called, as it often is, a lake.

137 The Oregonian portions of the country described belong politically to Klamath and to Lake Counties, the county seats of which are Linkville and Lakeview, on the northern end of Goose Lake. The latter place also contains a United States land office.

FLORA AND FAUNA.

Vegetation usually gives a characteristic stamp to a country, but in arid districts, as those of the Klamath highlands, it is rather the geological features which leave an impress on our minds. The further we recede from

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[113] * Goose and Warner Lakes are described in Lieutenant Wheeler's Report, Annual Report of Chief of Engineers, 1878 8°. Appendix N N, pp. 113–120. Goose Lake, by Stephen Powers, in "A Pony Ride on Pit River," Overland Monthly of San Francisco, October, 1874, pp. 342–351.

137 the Cascade Range and its more humid atmosphere the less vegetation is developed. The lake shores and river banks, when not marshy, produce the cottonwood tree and several species of willows, and the hills are covered with the yellow or pitch pine and the less frequent western cedar. In the western parts of the Reservation large tracts are timbered with pitch pine, which seems to thrive exceedingly well upon the volcanic sands and detritus of the hilly region. These pines (kō'sh) are about one hundred feet in height, have a brownish-yellow, very coarse bark, and branch out into limbs at a considerable height above the ground. They stand at intervals of twenty to fifty feet from each other, and are free from manzanita bushes and other undergrowth except at the border of the forest, leaving plenty of space for the passage of wagons almost everywhere. A smaller pine species, *Pinus contorta* (kápka, in Modoc k̲úga), which forms denser thickets near the water, is peeled by the Indians to a height of twenty feet when the sap is ascending, in the spring of the year, to use the fiber-bark for food. Up high in the Cascade Range, in the midst of yellow pines, grows a conifera of taller dimensions, the sugar-pine (ktéleam kō'sh). The hemlock or white pine (wā'ko), the juniper (ktä'lo), and the mountain mahogany (yúkmalam) are found in and south of Sprague River Valley.

[222] The lake shores and river banks produce more edible fruits and berries
[285] than the marshy tracts; and it is the shores of Klamath and Tule Lakes
[824] which mainly supply the Indian with the tule reed and scirpus, from which
the women manufacture mats, lodge-roofs, and basketry. The largest tule species (má-i) grows in the water to a height of ten feet and over, and in the lower end of its cane furnishes a juicy and delicate bit of food. Woods, river sides, and such marshes as Klamath Marsh, are skirted by various
[222] kinds of bushes, supplying berries in large quantities. The edible bulbs,
as camass, k̲ō'l, l'bá, ipo, and others, are found in the prairies adjacent. Pond-lilies grow in profusion on lake shores and in the larger marshes, especially on the Wókash Marsh west of Linkville, and on Klamath Marsh, as previously mentioned. The Lost River Valley is more productive in many of these spontaneous growths than the tracts within the Reservation.

[278] It is claimed by the Klamath Lake Indians that they employ no drugs of vegetal origin for the cure of diseases, because their country is too cold

137 to produce them. This is true to a certain extent; but as there are so many
278 plants growing there that narcotize the fish, how is it that the country
produces no medical plants for the cure of men's diseases? Of the plant
shlē′dsh, at least, they prepare a drink as a sort of tea.

136 The fauna of the Klamath uplands appears to be richer in species than
192 the vegetal growth. What first strikes the traveler's attention on the eastern shore of the Upper Lake is the prodigious number of burrows along the sandy road, especially in the timber, varying in size from a few inches to a foot in diameter. They are made by chipmunks of two species, and others are the dens of badgers, or of the blue and the more common brown squirrel. The coyote or prairie-wolf makes burrows also, but this animal has lately become scarce. No game is so frequent as the deer. This is either the black-tail deer, (shuá-i, *Cervus columbianus*), or the white tail deer (múshmush, *Cariacus virginianus macrurus*), or the mule-deer (pak̲ólesh, *Cervus macrotis*). Less frequent is the antelope (tché-u, *Antilocapra americana*), and most other four-legged game must be sought for now upon distant heights or in the deeper cañons, as the elk (vún), the bear in his three varieties (black, cinnamon, and grizzly; witä′m, náka, lû′k̲), the lynx (shlóa), the gray wolf (kä′-utchish), the silver or red fox (wán), the little gray fox (k̲étchk̲atch), the cougar (táslatch), and the mountain sheep (k̲ó-il). Beavers, otters, minks, and woodchucks are trapped by expert Indians on the rivers, ponds, and brooklets of the interior.

The shores of the water-basins are enlivened by innumerable swarms of water-fowls, (mä′mäkli), as ducks, geese, herons, and cranes. Some can be seen day by day swimming about gracefully or fishing at Modoc Point (Nílakshi) and other promontories, while others venture up the river courses and fly over swampy tracts extending far inland. Among the ducks the more common are the mallard (wē′ks), the long-necked kflidshiks; among the geese, the brant (lálak) and the white goose (waíwash). Other water-birds are the white swan (kúsh), the coot or mudhen (túhush), the loon (táplal), the pelican (yámal or kúmal), and the pinguin (kuftsia). Fish-hawks and bald-headed eagles (yaúχal) are circling about in the air to catch the fish which are approaching the water's surface unaware of danger. Marsh-hawks and other raptores infest the marshes and are lurking there

132 for small game, as field-mice, or for sedge-hens and smaller birds. The
192 largest bird of the country, the golden eagle, or Californian condor (p'laí-wash), has become scarce. Blackbirds exist in large numbers, and are very destructive to the crops throughout Oregon. Other birds existing in several species are the owl, lark, woodpecker, and the pigeon. Migratory birds, as the humming-birds and mocking-birds, visit the Klamath uplands, especially the Lost River Valley, and stop there till winter.

The species of fish found in the country are the mountain trout, the salmon, and several species of suckers. Of the snake family the more frequent species are the garter-snake (wíshink), the black-snake (wámĕnigsh), and the rattlesnake (k̲é-ish, k̲í'sh). Crickets and grasshoppers are roasted and eaten by the Indians, also the chrysalis of a moth (púlχuantch).

THE ASPECTS OF THE COUNTRY.

> Elle est riante ainsi que l'Italie,
> Terrible ainsi que les rives du Nord.

133 The Klamath plateau presents very different aspects and produces very different impressions, according to the observer's condition and the character of the localities he enters or beholds. Travelers coming over the monotonous rocky or alkaline plains extending between Malheur Lake and the Reservation are gladdened at the sight of rivulets and springs, imparting a fresher verdure to the unproductive soil, and greet with welcome the pineries which they behold at a distance. Feelings of the same kind penetrate the hearts of those who enter the highlands from the Pit River country of California when they come to the well-watered plains of Lost River after crossing the desolate lava formations lying between. The scenery can be called *grand* only there, where the towering ridge of the Cascade Mountains and the shining mirrors of the lakes at their feet confront the visitor, surprised to see in both a reproduction of Alpine landscapes in the extreme West of America.* The alternation of jagged and angular outlines with long level ridges on the horizon suggests, and the peculiar lava color retained by

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* The large pyramidal cone of Mount Pitt is a rather accurate duplicate of the celebrated Niesen Peak in the Bernese Oberland, Switzerland, as seen from its northern and eastern side.

133 the highest peaks confirm the eruptive origin of these mountains. The pure azure sky and the perpetual silence of nature reigning in these uplands add impressions of grandeur which it is impossible to describe. The sense of the beautiful has no gratification in the austere forms of these mountains, but the blue and limpid waters of the lakes, their numerous islands, and the lovely green of the shores, delight it in the highest degree.

133 The other eminences perceptible on the horizon lack the boldness of
137 outline seen upon the main ridge, and with their dusky timbers deeply contrast with it. They seem monotonous and commonplace, and people easily impressed by colors will call them somber. The open country, whether marshes, plains, clearings, meadows, or bare hills, presents an extremely bleak aspect, especially when under the influence of a hot summer sun. Its unvarying yellowish hue, produced by the faded condition of the coarse grasses, renders it monotonous.

133 The solitude and serenity of these places exercise a quieting influence upon the visitor accustomed to the noisy scenes of our towns and cities. Noiselessly the brooks and streams pursue their way through the purifying volcanic sands; the murmur of the waves and the play of the water-birds, interrupted at times by the cry of a solitary bird, are the only noises to break the silence. Beyond the few settlements of the Indian and away from the post-road, scarcely any trace of the hand of man reminds us of the existence of human beings. There Nature alone speaks to us, and those who are able to read history in the formations disclosed before him in the steeper ledges of this solitary corner of the globe will find ample satisfaction in their study.

132 The Klamath plateau, though productive in game, fish, and sundry kinds of vegetable food, could never become such a great central resort of Indian populations as the banks of Columbia River. The causes for this lie in its secluded position and chiefly in its climate, which is one of abrupt changes. The dryness of the atmosphere maintains a clear sky, which renders the summer days intensely hot; the sun's rays become intolerable in the middle of the day at places where they are reflected by a sandy, alkaline, or rocky soil and not moderated by passing breezes. Rains and hailstorms are of rare occurrence, and gathering thunder clouds often dissolve or "blow

132 over," so that the running waters never swell, but show the same water level
throughout the year. Nights are chilly and really cold, for the soil reflects
against the clear sky all the heat received from the sun during the day, and
the dry night air pervading the highlands absorbs all the moisture it can.
[342] Winters are severe; snow begins to fall early in November, and in the later
months it often covers the ground four feet high, so that the willow lodges
(not the winter houses) completely disappear, and the inmates are thus shel-
tered from the cold outside. The lakes never freeze over entirely, but ice
[241] forms to a great thickness. The cold nights produce frosts which are very
destructive to crops in the vicinity of the Cascade Range, but are less harm-
ful to gardening or cereals at places more distant; and in Lost River Valley,
at Yáneks—even at Linkville—melons, turnips, potatoes, and other vegeta-
bles rarely fail. The mean annual temperature as observed some years ago
at Fort Klamath was 40.47° Fahr.

000 There are several instances in America where highlands have become
centers of an aboriginal culture. Such instances are the plateaus of Ana-
huac, Guatemala, Bogotá, and of Titicaca Lake. They contained a dense
population, more cultured than their barbaric neighbors, whom they suc-
ceeded in subjugating one after the other through a greater centralization
161 and unity of power. The Klamath highlands can be compared to the pla-
teaus above named in regard to their configuration, but they never nour-
ished a population so dense that it could exercise any power analogous to
that above mentioned. Moreover, there was no intellectual and centralizing
element among these Indians that could render them superior to their neigh-
bors, all of whom maintained about the same level of culture and intelligence

TOPOGRAPHIC LIST OF CAMPING PLACES.

361 To form a correct idea of the dissemination of Indians in this sparsely
inhabited country, the following lists of camping places will furnish service-
able data. The grounds selected by the Máklaks for camping places are
of two kinds: either localities adapted for establishing a fishing or hunting
camp of a few days' or weeks' duration or for a whole summer season, or
[342] they are places selected for permanent settlement. Winter lodges (lulda-
maláksh) or slab houses are often built at the latter places; whereas the

361 transitory camps are marked by frail willow lodges (látchash, stinā'sh) or
[342] other light structures. Indian camps are as a rule located near rivers, brooks, marshes, springs, or lakes. Hunters generally erect their lodges in convenient places to overlook a considerable extent of territory.

In the lists below the order in which the localities are mentioned indicates the direction in which they follow each other. I obtained them from the two interpreters of the reservation, Dave Hill and Charles Preston; and as regards the old Modoc country, from Jennie Lovwer, a Modoc girl living in the Indian Territory, who remembered these places from her youth. The grammatic analysis of the local names will in many instances be found in the Dictionary.

CAMPING PLACES ON KLAMATH MARSH.

103 The permanent dwellings upon this marsh have all been abandoned;
361 but the Modocs and Klamath Lakes, together with some Snake Indians from Sprague River, resort there annually, when the pond-lily seed and the berries ripen, for a period of about six weeks. Its shores were permanently inhabited in 1853, when visited by the United States exploration party under
[133] Lieutenants Williamson and Abbott, and even later. Dave Hill's list below follows the localities in their topographic order from northeast to southwest and along the southeastern elevated shore of the marsh, which at some places can be crossed on foot. A few rocky elevations exist also on the northeast end of the marsh.

Katā'gsi "stumpy bushes."
Táktaklishkshi "reddish spot."
Yaúkēlam Láshi "eagle wing."
Yásh-Lamā'ds "projecting willow."
Spúklish Láwish "sweat lodge on promontory."
Mbákualsi "at the withered tree."
Kmutchuyákshi "at the old man's rock;" a man-shaped rock formation near the open waters of the marsh and visible at some distance.
Lalawasχē'ni "slaty rock."
Taktχísh "cricket noise."
Tsásam Péwas "skunk's dive."
Ktaí-Wasi "rocky hollow."
Suálsχēni "at the rock-pile."
Lúlpaḵat "chalk quarry."
Kapgā'kshi "dwarf-pine thicket."
Wáptasχāni "water moving through ponds perceptibly."
Tchókeam Psísh "pumice-stone nose."
Ḵáḵshi "raven's nest."
Íwal "land's end."
Luyánshti "within the circle."
Yaúkēlam Snúlash "eagle nest."
Tchíkas-Walákish "bird-watch;" secreted spot where hunters watch their feathered game.
Tuílkat "at the small rail pyramid."
Awaluashχē'ni "at the island."

103 Tχalawgiplis "back away from the west;" probably referring to a turn of the shore-line.
361

Wák-Talíkai "white pine on water-line."

Wíshiukam Tínuash "drowned snake;" place where a garter snake was found drowned in the open waters of the marsh.

Lgû'm-Ā-ushi "coal lake," with waters looking as black as coal.

Súmde "at the mouth or outlet."

Núskai "skull-place;" a human skull was once found there. This is one of the spots where the natives submerge their dug-out canoes in the mud or sand at the bottom of the lake for the wintry season.

Some of the above places near the outlet are also mentioned in Pete's Text on the "Seasons of the Year," and the following additional may be inserted here from it (74, 15–17):

Lĕmé-isham Nutā'ks "impression of thunderbolt."

Lál'lăks "steep little eminence."

Stópalsh-tamā'ds "peeled pine standing alone."

K̲ák̲-Kaháwaliăksh "raven on the pole."

CAMPS ALONG WILLIAMSON RIVER.

[133] In this list Dave Hill enumerated old camps and present locations of lodges (1877) on both sides of Williamson River, from the lower end of Klamath Marsh (4,547 feet) to Upper Klamath Lake. The river runs for six miles or more through a ravine about two hundred feet deep, and the road follows it on the east side, leading over the hills. The wigwams are built in proximity to the river course. At its outlet Williamson River forms a delta, projecting far out into the lake, and filled with bulrushes.*

Kakagō'si "at the ford."

Samka-ushχā'ni "cliffs in the river;" a fishing place.

Yále-alant "clear waters."

Tánua-Lutílsh "flat rocks under the water."

K̲ā'k̲-Talíksh, or K̲ā'k̲-Talísh "twin rocky pillars."

Awalokáksaksi "at the little island."

Mbúshaksham Wā'sh "where obsidian is found."

Tχálmakstant (supply: Ktái-Tupáksi) "on the west side of (Standing Rock)."

Tchpinóksaksi "at the graveyard;" cemetery and ancient cremation ground of the Ē-ukshikni.

Ktá-iti "place of rocks."

Tchikĕsi "at the submerged spot."

Kúltam Wā'sh "otter's home."

Stílakgish "place to watch fish."

Yá aga "little willows." Here the road from Linkville to Fort Klamath crosses Williamson River on a wooden bridge built by the United States Government; here is also the center of the Indian settlements on Williamson River.

Kúls-Tgé-ush, or Kúlsam-Tgé-us "badger standing in the water."

Witā'mamtsi "where the black bear was."

Kuyám-Skä-iks "crawfish trail."

Slánkoshksōksi, or Shlankoshkshû'kshi "where the bridge was."

K̲ok̲ákai "at the brooklet."

Kuyága, a former cremation place in the vicinity of Yá aga.

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* Compare Professor Newberry's description, pp. 38, 39, and Lieutenant Williamson's report (part I), p. 68.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

CAMPING PLACES AND OTHER LOCALITIES AROUND UPPER KLAMATH LAKE.

103 Places situated on the lake are as follows:

361 **Skohuáshki**, commonly called Kohásbti, Kuhuáshti by Americans and Indians, "starting place of canoes, boats." Formerly location of the United States Agency; now numbering four or five Indian lodges.

Tulísh, fishing place near the outlet of Williamson River: "spawning place."

Tókua or **Túkua**, near the outlet of Williamson River. From this the neighboring part of the lake is sometimes called Túkua Lake.

Nílakshi: lit. "dawn of day;" is now used to designate Modoc Point also, though it properly refers to the Nílaks mountain ridge only.

Á-ushmĕ, an island in the lake near Modoc Point.

Shuyakĕ′ksi or "jumping place."

I-ulalóna, or **Yulalónan**, Link River above the falls at Linkville; lit. "rubbing, moving to and fro." The name was afterwards transferred to the town of Linkville, which is also called Tiwishχĕ′ni "where the cascade noise is."

Uχótuash, name of an island near Linkville.

Wákaksi Spúklish, a ceremonial sweat-lodge on west side of the lake.

Kúmbat "in the rocks." Locality on western side of lake, called Rocky Point.

Lúknashti "at the hot water." Name for the hot sulphuric springs about half a mile east and northeast of the town of Linkville, and of some others west of that town.

EMINENCES AROUND UPPER KLAMATH LAKE.

Of the majority of these names of hills and mountains I could not obtain the English name, the usual excuse being that they had only Indian names.

In Cascade Range:

Gíwash, or **Géwash**, Mount Scott; Gíwash é ush, Crater Lake, in a depression west of Mount Scott.

Kukumĕ′kshi "at the caves or hollows;" northwest of the Agency.

K̲ak̲ásam Yaina "mountain of the great blue heron;" northwest of Agency.

Mŭ′dshi Yaina or Long Pine; lit. "on the large mountain;" mŭ′dshi or mŭ′nptchi is a compound of the adjective múni, great, large.

Mbá-ush Shnékash "bosom burnt through," legendary name of a mountain located west southwest of the Agency; mbá-ush here refers to a piece of buckskin serving to cover the bosom.

Kĕ′sh yaínatat, Mount Pitt, a high mountain lying southwest of the Agency. The Modocs call it Mĕlaíksi "steepness;" the Klamath Lake term signifies "snow on the mountain," snow-capped peak. Only in the warmest months Mount Pitt is free of snow.

Tĭlχo-it, an eminence south of Mount Pitt; lit. "drip water."

Wákakshi, Kă′kăshti, Tchiutchíwăsamtch, mountains bordering the southwestern portion of Upper Klamath Lake.

On the east shore of the lake:

Wátanka, a hill on southeastern side of the lake.

Kálalka, hill near Captain Ferree's house, south of the Nílaks ridge. A ceremonial sweat-lodge stands in the vicinity.

103
361
Nílaksi, lit. "daybreak;" a point of the steep ridge of the same name extending from Modoc Point, on east side of lake, along the shore, and thence in the direction of Lost River Valley.

Wálpi, Múyant, Tóplaměni, Láχit: other elevations of the Nílaksi hill ridge.

Pítsua, hill ridge extending north of Williamson River.

Yánalti or Yánaldi, a steep volcanic range stretching due north from the Agency to Fort Klamath and beyond it. It is the continuation of the Pitsua ridge.

E-ukalksíni Spú'klish is an ancient ceremonial sweat-lodge near Wood River, and not very distant from Fort Klamath (I-ukák).

CAMPING PLACES IN SPRAGUE RIVER VALLEY.

Of this portion of the reservation I submit two separate lists of local nomenclature. The more extensive one I obtained from Charles Preston, who remembered more place names because he then was employed at the Yáneks subagency, which lies near the center of the Sprague River settlements. Both lists follow the course of the river from east to west. Both Sprague River and the settlements above Yáneks are frequently called P'laí, "above".

Charles Preston's list:

Tsuitiákshi "dog-rose patch," near headwaters.

Ulálkshi "cottonwood."

Pálau É-ush "dry lake;" a large flat rock is near the river.

Welékag-Knuklĕkshákshi "at the stooping old woman," called so from a rock suggesting this name.

Aísh Tkalíks "column rock."

Tsáχeak Tkáwals "standing boy," from a rock of a boy-like shape.

Suítstis.

Wúksi "fire-place;" at same place as Suítstis.

Tchä'kĕle Tsíwish "running with blood;" a little spring with reddish water; a settlement of Snake Indians.

Kós Tuĕts "standing pine;" settled by Snake Indians.

Kawamkshí'ksh "eel fishery."

Snawáti "ford, crossing-place."

Lúldam Tchí'ksh "winter village."

Spawañksh, on bank of Sprague River.

Yaínaga "Little Butte," a hill at the subagency.

Yaínakshi, Yáneks, "at the Little Butte;" location of subagency buildings, two miles from Sprague River, on left-hand side.

Tatátmi, a butte or hillock in the vicinity.

Lámkosh "willows;" name of a creek, called by Americans "Whiskey Creek."

Skúwashkshi, or Skú'wash, "projecting rocks"

Kä'tsi, name of a little water spring.

Lúlukuashti "at the warm spring."

Tchákawĕtch.

Káwa "eel spring;" inhabited by Modocs.

Yétkash.

Uχáshksh "in the coomb."

Káktsamkshi, name of a spring and creek at the subagency.

Té-unōlsh "spring running down from a hill."

Uχadé ush "planting a willow." (?)

Shlokópashkshi "at the house cavity."

103 Awalókat "at Little Island," in Sprague River.
361. Né-ukish "confluence."

Dave Hill's list:

Híshtish Luélks "Little Sucker Fishery," on headwaters.
Kaílu-Tálam, for Ktă'lu Tkálamnish "juniper tree standing on an eminence."
Hópats "passage" to the timber.
Lúldam Tchí'ksh "winter houses."
Tsănódanksh "confluence."
Yaínakshi "at the Small Butte."
Stáktaks "end of hill."
Kĕmútcham Látsaskshi "at the old man's house," name of a hill; kĕmútcham is said to stand here for K'mukámtsam.
Káwamχăui "eel spring."
Kókaχăui, or Kókăksi "at the creek."
Kumă'ksi "at the cave."
Kátsuăts "rocks sloping into the river."
Nakósksiks "river dam, river barrage," established for the capture of fish.
Ktaí-Túpaksi, or Ktá-i-Tópoks, "standing rock," situated near junction of Sprague with Williamson River.

CAMPING PLACES OF THE MODOC COUNTRY.

000 On Lost River, close to Tule Lake, were the following camping places: Wá-isha, where Lost River was crossed, three or four miles northwest of the lake, and near the hills which culminate in Laki Peak; Wátchamshwash, a village upon the river, close to the lake; Nakōshχē'ni "at the dam," at the mouth of Tule Lake.

On Tule Lake, also called Modoc Lake, Rhett Lake: Páshχa, or Písχa, name of a creek and a little Modoc village on the northwest shore, whose inhabitants were called Páshχanuash; Kálelk, camp near Pásχa, on northern shore; Lé-ush, on northern shore; Welwashχē'ni "at the large spring," east side of the lake, where Miller's house is; Wukaχē'ni "at the coomb," one mile and a half east of Welwashχē'ni; Kē'sh-Láktchuish "where ipo grows (on rocks)," on the southeastern side of the lake; Kúmbat "in the caves," on the rocky southern side of the lake, once inhabited by about one hundred Kúmbatwash, who were mainly Modocs, with admixture of Pit River, Shasti, and Klamath Lake Indians.

On Little or Lower Klamath Lake: Agáwesh, a permanent Modoc settlement upon what is now called "Fairchild's farm," southwestern shore; Ke-utchishχē'ni "where the wolf-rock stands," upon Hot Creek; Sputuishχē'ni "at the diving place," lying close to Ke-utchishχē'ni, where young men were plunging in cold water for initiation; Shapashχē'ni "where sun and moon live," camping place on the southeastern shore, where a crescent-shaped rock is standing; Stuikishχē'ni "at the canoe bay," on north side of the lake.

TRIBAL NAMES AND SUBDIVISIONS.

101 [197] The two bodies of Indians forming the subject of the present report are people of the same stock and lineage through race, language, institutions, customs, and habitat. In language they radically differ from the neighboring peoples called Snake, Rogue River, Shasti, and Pit River Indians, as well as from the other inhabitants of Oregon, California, and Nevada.

For the *Klamath people* of Southwestern Oregon there exists no general tribal name comprehending the two principal bodies, except Mák̲laks, *Indian*. This term when pronounced *by themselves* with a lingual k̲ has a reflective meaning, and points to individuals speaking their language, Modocs as well as Klamath Lake Indians; when pronounced with our common k it means *Indian* of any tribe whatsoever, and *man, person* of any nationality. The derivation of mák̲laks will be found in the Dictionary. I have refrained from using it in the title and body of my work to designate these Oregon Indians because it would be invariably mispronounced as mä'kläks by the white people, and the peculiar sound of the k̲ would be mispronounced also. To call them simply *Klamath Indians* or *Klamaths* would lead to confusion, for the white people upon the Pacific coast call the Shasti, the Karok or Ara, the Hupa, the Yurok or Alíkwa Indians on Klamath River of California, the Shasti upon the Siletz Reservation, Oregon, and our Mák̲laks all Klamaths. It was therefore necessary to select the compound appellation, "the Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon." The Warm Spring and other Sahaptin Indians possess a generic name for all the Indians living upon this reservation and its vicinity: Aígspaluma, abbr. Aígspalo, Aíkspalu, *people of the chipmunks*, from the innumerable rodents peopling that pine-covered district. This term comprises Snake, Payute, and Modoc Indians, as well as the Klamath Lake people. The name of Klamath or Tlámat, Tlamet River, probably originated at its mouth, in the Alíkwa language.

The two main bodies forming the Klamath people are (1) the Klamath Lake Indians; (2) the Modoc Indians.

THE KLAMATH LAKE INDIANS.

101 The Klamath Lake Indians number more than twice as many as the
[197] Modoc Indians. They speak the northern dialect and form the northern chieftaincy, the head chief residing now at Yá-aga, on Williamson River.
[361] Their dwellings are scattered along the eastern shore of Upper Klamath
[103] Lake (É-ush) and upon the lower course of Williamson (K̲ók̲etat) and Sprague Rivers (P'laí). They call themselves É-ukshikni mák̲laks, abbreviated into É-ukshikni, É-ukskni, Ä-uksni *people at the lake.* The Shasti near Yreka, Cal., call them Aúksiwash, some western Shasti: Makaítserk; by the Pit River Indians they are called Alámmimakt ísh, from Alámmig, their name for Upper Klamath Lake; by the Kalapuya Indians, Athlámeth; by the Snake Indians, Sáyi.

According to locality the Klamath Lake people may be subdivided into the following groups: The people at the agency; the people at Koháshti, at Yá-aga, at Modoc Point and upon Sprague River. Their settlements at Klamath Marsh, at Nílaks and at Linkville are now abandoned; the last named (Yulalóna) was held by them and the Modocs in common.

THE MODOC INDIANS.

000 The Modoc Indians speak the southern dialect, and before the war of 1872–1873 formed the southern division or chieftaincy, extending over Lost River Valley (K̲ók̲etat) and the shores of Little Klamath and Tule Lake. Of their number one hundred and fifty or more live on middle course of Sprague River; some have taken up lands in their old homes, which they cultivate in their quality of American citizens, and the rest are exiles upon the Quapaw Reservation, Indian Territory. They call themselves Móatokni mák̲laks, abbreviated Móatokni, Mō'dokni, Mō'dokish, *living at Moatak*, this being the name of Modoc or Tule Lake: "in the extreme south." A portion of the Pit River Indians calls them Lutuámi, "*lake*," by which Tule Lake is meant; another, through a difference of dialect, Lutmáwi. The Shasti Indians of Yreka call them Pχánai, the Sahaptins upon and near Columbia River call them Mówatak, the Snake Indians, Saidoka.

The more important local divisions of this people were the groups at Little Klamath Lake (Agáweshkni), the Kúmbatwash and the Pásχanuash

000 at Tule Lake, the Nushaltχágakni or "Spring-people" near Bonanza, and the Plaíkni or "Uplanders" on Sprague River, at and above Yáneks. Formerly the Modocs ranged as far west as Butte Lake (Ná-uki) and Butte Creek, in Siskiyou County, California, about sixteen miles west of Little Klamath Lake, where they fished and dug the camass root.

THE SNAKE INDIANS.

A body of Snake Indians, numbering one hundred and forty-five individuals in 1888, is the only important fraction of native population foreign to the Máklaks which now exists upon the reservation. They belong to the extensive racial and linguistic family of the Shoshoni, and in 1864, when the treaty was made, belonged to two chieftaincies, called, respectively, the Yahooshkin and the Walpapi, intermingled with a few Payute Indians. They have been in some manner associated with the Máklaks for ages, though a real friendship never existed, and they are always referred to by these with a sort of contempt, and regarded as cruel, heartless, and filthy. This aversion probably results from the difference of language and the conflicting interests resulting from both bodies having recourse to the same hunting grounds. (Cf. Sā't, shā't, Shā'tptchi.) They are at present settled in the upper part of Sprague River Valley (P'laí) above Yáneks. They cultivate the ground, live in willow lodges or log houses, and are gradually abandoning their roaming proclivities. Before 1864 they were haunting the shores of Goose Lake (Néwapkshi), Silver Lake (Kálpshi), Warner Lake, Lake Harney, and temporarily stayed in Surprise Valley, on Chewaukan and Saíkän Marshes, and gathered wókash on Klamath Marsh. They now intermarry with the Klamath Indians. As to their customs, they do not flatten their infants' heads,* do not pierce their noses; they wear the hair long, and prefer the use of English to that of Chinook jargon. Before settling on the reservation they did not subsist on roots and bulbs, but lived almost entirely from the products of the chase.

Among other allophylic Indians, once settled outside the present limits of the Klamath Reservation, were a few Pit River and Shasti Indians,

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* By the Modocs they are called *conical-headed* (wakwákliah nú'sh gí'tko).

000 staying before the Modoc war among the *Kúmbatwash-Modocs* (q. v.) in the lava beds south of Tule Lake.

A few families of hunting *Molale Indians*, congeners of the "Old Kayuse" Indians near Yumatilla River, were formerly settled at Flounce Rock, on the headwaters of Rogue River, and farther north in the Cascade range. The Klamath Indians were filled with hatred against them; they were by them called Tchakä'nkni, inhabitants of Tchakχē'ni, or the "service berry tract," and ridiculed on account of their peculiar, incorrect use of the Klamath language. In former times Molale Indians held all the northeastern slopes of the Willámĕt Valley, claiming possession of the hunting grounds; the bottom lands they left in the hands of the peaceably-disposed, autochthonic race of the Kalapuya tribes, whom they call Mókai or Móke.

CHARACTERISTICS OF RACE.

142 These are either bodily or mental. To ascertain the former no measurements were made by me by means of instruments when I was among the Klamath Lake Indians, and hence all that follows rests upon ocular inspection. For Modoc skulls some accurate data are on hand, published by the United States Surgeon-General's Office, Washington, D. C.

The Mongolian features of prognathism and of high cheek bones are not very marked in this upland race, though more among the Modocs than in the northern branch. If it was not for a somewhat darker complexion and a strange expression of the eye, it would be almost impossible to distinguish many of the É-ukshikni men from Americans. The forehead is compressed in the tender age of childhood and looks rather low, but does not recede so acutely as might be expected from this treatment. Prognathism, where it exists, does not seem to be a consequence of head flattening. The cheek bones are more prominent than with us, but less than with the Central Californians. The fact that the head-man, Tatápkash, who was among the signers of the treaty of 1864, was called after this peculiarity shows that high cheek bones are rather uncommon. The nasal ridge is not aquiline, but very strong and forms an almost continuous line with the forehead. Convergence of the eyes is perceptible in a few individuals only, and anatomists have shown that it is nowhere produced by the structure of the skull

142 itself, but it is the result of the mother's manipulation on the baby's eyes, and causes them to look sleepy, the opening of the eyelids becoming narrower. (Cf. Texts 91, 5–8.)

These Indians have a piercing look and their eyeballs are of the deepest black, a circumstance which accounts for their great power of vision. In many Indians, namely in children, the white of the eye shows a blue tinge, perhaps the result of head flattening. The mouth is small and the teeth good; but with many Indians the thyroid cartilage, or Adam's apple, is very [302] prominent. The hair upon the head is straight and dark. I did not find it very coarse, but with many Modoc women it is said to be so and to grow to an extreme length. On other portions of the body the hair is short and scarce, the natives doing their best to weed it out, the beard especially, with metallic pincers or tweezers (hushmoklō'tkish), which they always carry with them. As among most American aborigines, the beard is of scanty growth. The late chief Lelékash wore a beard, but I never saw any Indian wearing one except Charles Preston, the Yáneks interpreter. The contents of the song 185;44 should also be noticed in this connection. Baldness is rare, and in fact it appears that the dearth of hairy covering of the skin is fully compensated in the Indian race by a more exuberant growth of hair upon the head, to protect them against excessive colds and the heat of the sun.

Among the Lake people the complexion is decidedly lighter than among the cinnamon-hued Modocs, and a difference between the sexes is hardly perceptible in this respect. Blushing is easily perceptible, though the change in color is not great. Those most approaching a white complexion like ours are numerous, but their skin is always of a yellowish lurid white. Owing to their outdoor life in the free and healthy mountain air, these Indians are well proportioned as to their bodily frame, and apparently robust; but their extremities, hands and feet, are rather small, as the extremities are of the majority of the North American Indians.

The average of Modoc men appear to be of a smaller stature than that of the Klamath Lake men, but in both tribes a notable difference exists between the length of body in the two sexes, most men being lank,

142 tall, and wiry, while the women are short and often incline to embon-
point. Nevertheless obesity is not more frequent there than it is with us.
No better illustration of their bodily characteristics can be had than a col-
lection of their personal names. These sketch the Indian in a striking and
often an unenviable light, because they generally depict the extremes ob-
served on certain individuals. The sex can not, or in a few instances only,
[551] be inferred from the name of a person. We frequently meet with designa-
tions like "Large Stomach," "Big Belly," "Round Belly," "Sharp Nose,"
"Grizzly's Nose," "Spare-Built," "Grease," "Crooked Neck," "Conical
Head," "Wide-Mouth," "Small-Eyes," "Squinter," "Large Eyes," "Half-
blind," or with names referring to gait, to the carriage of the body, to
habitual acts performed with hands or feet, to dress, and other accidental
matters.

165 With all these deformities, and many others more difficult to detect,
145 these Indians have bodies as well formed as those of the Anglo-American
race, and in spite of their privations and exposure they live about as long
as we do, though no Indian knows his or her age with any degree of accu-
169 racy. A very common defect is the blindness of one eye, produced by the
smudge of the lodge-fire, around which they pass the long winter evenings.
304 With the majority of the Indians the septum of the nose hangs down at
301 adult age, for the nose of every Indian is pierced in early years, whether
they afterwards wear the dentalium-shell in it or not.

000 Stephen Powers, who had good opportunities for comparing the Modocs with the tribes of Northern California, says of them:

> They present a finer physique than the lowland tribes of the Sacramento, taller and less pudgy, partly, no doubt, because they engage in the chase more than the latter. There is more rugged and stolid strength of feature than in the Shastika now living; cheek bones prominent; lips generally thick and sensual; noses straight as the Grecian, but depressed at the root and thick-walled; a dullish, heavy cast of feature; eyes frequently yellow where they should be white. They are true Indians in their stern immobility of countenance.[*]

Passing over to the psychic and mental qualities of these Oregonian natives, only a few characteristics can be pointed out by which they differ from the other Indians of North America. The Indian is more dependent

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[*] Contributions to North Amer. Ethnology, III, 252, 253. By Shastika he means the Shasti Indians of middle Klamath River, California.

000 on nature, physically and mentally, than we are. What distinguishes the civilized man from the primitive man of our days and of prehistoric ages is his greater faculty of turning to account the patent and the hidden powers of nature, or the invention of handicrafts, arts, and sciences. In this the savage man lags far behind the man of culture, and although we often have to admire the ingenuity and shrewdness displayed by the American native in his hunting and fishing implements and practices, the art of agriculture, without which there can be no real human culture, has never been pursued to any considerable extent by the Indians living north of the thirtieth parallel of latitude.

512 The climate of their home compels the Mák̲laks Indians to lead an
157 active and laborious life. Except in the coldest days of winter they are
[147] almost always engaged in some outdoor work, either hunting, fishing, or
cutting wood, gathering vegetal food, or traveling on horseback. Pursuits
like these and the pure, bracing air of the highlands render their constitutions
hardy and healthy, their minds active, wide awake, and intelligent.
They are quick-sighted and quick in their acts, but slow in expressing delight,
wonder, astonishment, or disgust at anything they see. Often they
do not grasp the meaning of what they observe being done by the white
people, and thus appear to us indifferent to many of the highest attainments
177 of modern culture. Children and adults are prone to reject or slow to adopt
[178] the blessings of civilization, because many of these are of no practical use
to a hunting and fishing people, and others are past their understanding.

The first things they generally adopt from the white people are the citizen's dress and handy articles of manufacture, as beads, tobacco, knives, guns, steel traps; also wagons and other vehicles; for when in possession of these last the horses, which they had obtained long before, can be put to better account They are also quick in adopting English baptismal names, sometimes discarding but oftener retaining their descriptive or burlesque nomenclature from the Klamath language. Gradually they adopt also with the money of the white man the elements of arithmetic, and learn to compute days and months according to his calendar. After another lapse of time they introduce some of the white man's laws, discard polygamy and slavery,

177 bury their dead instead of cremating them, and commence to acquire a smattering of English. Indian superstitions, conjurers' practices are not abandoned before the white man's ways have wrought a thorough change in their minds; and a regular school attendance by children can not be expected before this stage of progress has been reached.

157 [721] In his moral aspects the Klamath Indian is more coarse and outspoken than the white man, but in fact he is not better and not worse. He has attacked and enslaved by annual raids the defenseless California Indian simply because he was more aggressive, strong, and cunning than his victim; his family relations would be a disgrace to any cultured people, as would also be the method by which the chiefs rule the community. But the passions are not restrained among savages as they are or ought to be among us, and the force of example exhibited by Indians of other tribes is too strong for them to resist.

121 157 The character of men in the hunter stage depicts itself admirably well in the mythic and legendary stories of both chieftaincies. Low cunning and treacherous disposition manifest themselves side by side with a few traits of magnanimity hardly to be expected of a people formerly merged in a sort of zoolatric fetichism. There is, however, a considerable power of imagination and invention exhibited in these simple stories, and many of the ferocious beasts are sketched in a truly humorous vein.

Man's morals are the product of circumstances, and the white man who judges Indian morals from the Christian standard knows nothing of human nature or of ethnologic science. The moral ideas of every nation differ from those of neighboring peoples, and among us the moral system of every
000 century differs from that of the preceding one. The fact that the Modocs showed themselves more aggressive and murderous towards the white element than the Klamath Lake Indians may thus be explained by the different position of their homes. The latter being more secluded have not molested Americans sensibly, whereas the annals of the Modocs, who lived in an open country, are filled with bloody deeds. They are of a more secretive and churlish disposition, and what Stephen Powers, who saw them shortly after the Modoc war, says of them is, in some respects, true: "On the whole,

000 they are rather a cloddish, indolent, ordinarily good-natured race, but treacherous at bottom, sullen when angered, notorious for keeping Punic faith. But their bravery nobody can deny."*

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD.

174 Before the middle of the nineteenth century the Máklaks people was unknown to mankind except to the nearest neighbors in Oregon and California. We are therefore justified in beginning its period of documentary history at that time, and in relegating to the domain of prehistorics all that is known of their previous condition. The information upon these points is furnished by three factors: tradition, archæologic remains, and language.

A. TRADITION BEARING UPON HISTORY.

121 Traditional folk-lore, when of the mythic order, generally dates from
773 an earlier epoch of fixation than historic traditions. The remote origin of *genuine* mythic folk-lore is sufficiently evidenced by the archaic terms embodied with it, by the repetition of the same phraseology for ages, and by the circumstance that all nations tend to preserve their religious ideas in an unchanged form. I am laying peculiar stress upon the term *genuine*, for Indians have often mixed recent ideas and fictions with archaic, original folk-lore and with ancient mythic ideas, the whole forming now one inextricable conglomerate which has the appearance of aboriginal poetic prose.

173 The Klamath people possess no historic traditions going further back
769 in time than a century, for the simple reason that there was a strict law
688 prohibiting the mention of the person or acts of a deceased individual by
171 *using his name.* This law was rigidly observed among the Californians no
784 less than among the Oregonians, and on its transgression the death penalty could be inflicted. This is certainly enough to suppress all historic knowledge within a people. How can history be written without names?

[126] Many times I attempted to obtain a list of the former head chiefs of the two chieftaincies. I succeeded only in learning the names of two chiefs recently deceased, and no biographic details were obtainable.

174 This people belongs to the autochthonic nations of America, called so because they have lost all remembrances of earlier habitats or of migrations.

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* Contributions to Amer. Ethnology, III, p. 253.

773 [776] As a result of their seclusion, all their geogonic and creation myths are acting around the headwaters of Klamath River and in Lost River Valley, and the first man is said to have been created by their national deity, K'mukámtchiksh, at the base of the lofty Cascade Range, upon the prairie drained by Wood River. I have obtained no myth disclosing any knowledge of the ocean, which is scarcely one hundred and fifty miles distant in an air line from their seats. They have no flood or inundation myths that [192] are not imported from abroad; and what is of special importance here, their terms for *salt* (ā'dak, shō'lt) are *not their own*, but are derived from foreign languages.

173 773 There is an animal story embodied in the Texts, page 131, forming No. II of the "Spell of the Laughing Raven," containing the sentence: "Hereupon the Klamath Lake people began fighting the Northerners." I believed at first that this contained a historic reminiscence of some intertribal war, but now am rather doubtful about it. The song 192; 1 was supposed by some Indians to be a very old reminiscence, while others referred it to the presence of the Warm Spring scouts in the Modoc war.

I conclude from the foregoing facts that historic traditions do not exist among these mountaineer Indians. If there are any, I was unable to obtain 000 them. The racial qualities of the Modocs, and still more those of the É-ukshikni, indicate a closer resemblance with Oregonians and Columbia River tribes than with Shoshonians and Californians.

B. ARCHÆOLOGIC REMAINS.

211 The Klamath people have not evinced any more propensity for erecting monuments of any kind than they have for perpetuating the memory [346] [226] of their ancestors in song or tradition. In fact, structures the probable age of which exceeds one hundred years are very few. Among these may be particularized the three ceremonial sweat-lodges and perhaps some of the river-barrages, intended to facilitate the catch of fish, if they should turn out to be of artificial and not of natural origin. In the Lost River 172 312 Valley is a well, claimed by Modocs to be Aishish's gift—probably one of the large natural springs or wélwash which are seen bubbling up in so many places upon the reservation Stephen Powers reports that near the

172 shores of Goose Lake, chiefly at Davis Creek, a number of stone mortars
3 12 are found, fashioned with a sharp point to be inserted into the ground, and that in former times Modoc, Payute, and Pit River Indians contended in many bloody battles for the possession of this thickly inhabited country, though none of them could obtain any permanent advantage.* Since the manufacture of this kind of mortars can not be ascribed with certainty to the Modocs, we are not entitled to consider them as antiquarian relics of this special people. The three sudatories and the river barrages are regarded as the gifts of Kmukámtch, a fact which testifies to their remote antiquity. Excavations (wásh) forming groups are found on many of the more level spots on the Reservation, near springs or brooks. They prove the existence of former dug-out lodges and camps.

C. LINGUISTIC AFFINITIES.

121 Anthropologic researches upon the origin of a people do not always
197 lead to decisive results as to the qualities of the primitive race of that people, for the majority of all known peoples are compounds from different races, and thus the characteristics of them must be those of a medley race. As to antiquity, language is second to race only, and much more ancient than anything we know of a people's religion, laws, customs, dress, implements, or style of art. Medley languages are not by any means so frequent as medley races, and less frequent still in America than in the eastern hemisphere; for in this western world the nations have remained longer in a state of isolation than in Asia and Europe, owing to the hunting and fishing pursuits to which the natives were addicted—pursuits which favor isolation and are antagonistic to the formation of large communities and states. This explains why we possess in America a relatively larger number of linguistic families than the Old World when compared to the areas of the respective continents. It also explains why races coincide here more closely with linguistic families than anywhere else on the surface of the globe. Instances when conquering races have prevailed upon other nations to abandon their

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* Contributions to North Amer. Ethnology, III, p. 252. Davis Creek enters Goose Lake from the southeast. The U. S. Geological Survey map marks "Old Indian Villages" in latitude 41° 37′ and longitude 120° 36′, to the southwest of that basin.

121 own languages are scarcely heard of on this hemisphere, but the annals of
197 the eastern parts of the globe make mention of such.

Whenever it is shown that the language of some American people is akin to the language of another, so that both are dialects of a common linguistic family, a more cogent proof of their common genealogic origin is furnished than lies in a similarity of laws, customs, myths, or religion. To decide the question of affinity between two languages is generally an easy, but sometimes a very difficult task. When a relatively large number of roots and affixes having the same function coincide in both, this argues in favor of affinity. The coincidence of single terms in them is never fortuitous, but we have to find out whether such terms are loan words or belong to the stock of words of the languages under process of investigation. Other terms show an external resemblance which is not based on real identity of their radicals, but only on a deceptive likeness of signification.

From all this the reader will perceive that we can not expect to steer clear of shoals and breakers in determining by the aid of language the affinities of our Klamath Indians. But the inquiries below, whether successful or not, will at least aid future somatologists in solving the problem whether linguistic areas coincide or not with racial areas upon the Pacific coast between the Columbia River and the Bay of San Francisco. In making these investigations we must constantly bear in mind that the track of the migrations was from north to south, parallel to the Pacific coast, which is sufficiently evidenced by the progress of some Selish, Tinné, Sahaptin, and Shoshoni tribes in a direction that deviates but inconsiderably from a meridional one.

To establish a solid basis for these researches, a list of the Pacific coast linguistic families is submitted, which will assist any reader to judge of the distances over which certain loan words have traveled to reach their present abodes. The country from which a loan word has spread over a number of other family areas is often difficult to determine, because these languages have not all been sufficiently explored. The families below are enumerated according to the latest results of investigation. Some of them may in the future be found to be dialects of other stocks. The Californian tribes have been mapped and described in Stephen Powers's "Tribes of California"; Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. III.

121 197 The *Shoshoni* family extends through eastern Oregon, Nevada, southern Idaho, Utah, parts of Wyoming and California, and embodies the tribes of the Snake Indians, the Shoshoni, from whom the Comanches separated centuries ago, the Paviótso and Bannok (Panaíti), the Pai-uta, Uta, Móki, and the Kawúya branch of California. This family occupies an area almost as large as the Selish stock, but the population is very thinly scattered over the vast territory of the inland basin.

Washo Indians, near Carson, Nevada, inclosed on all sides except on the west by Shoshoni tribes.

Selish Indians occupy Washington, portions of the Oregon coast and of Vancouver Island, northern Idaho (from which they extend into Montana), the Fraser River Valley, and the adjoining coast of British Columbia. Some dialects of this family are remarkable through a profusion of consonantic clusters. *Chinook* dialects show many Selish affinities.

Sahaptin family, dwelling around middle Columbia and Lower Snake River. An offshoot of it—the Warm Spring Indians—settled in Des Chutes Valley, Oregon.

Wayíletpu is a Sahaptin name given to the Kayuse people on the Yumatilla Reservation, which has abandoned its former tongue, called the "Old Kayuse," to adopt the Yumatilla dialect of Sahaptin. Molale is related to old Kayuse; its former area was east of Oregon City.

Tinné or *Athapaskan* tribes, wherever they appear near the Pacific coast, are intruders from the northern plains around Mackenzie River and the headwaters of the upper Yukon. Those still existing on the Pacific coast are the Umpqua and Rogue River, the Húpa and Wailáki Indians, whereas the Tlatskanai and Kwalhioqua have disappeared.

The following three families on and near the Oregon coast were explored by Rev. Owen J. Dorsey in 1884 (Amer. Antiquarian, 1885, pp. 41, 42):

Yákwina, subdivided into Alsí, Yakwina on the bay of the same name, Kú-itch on the Lower Umpqua River, and Sayusla.

Kus, Coos Indians on Coos Bay and Múlluk on Lower Coquille River.

Takílma or Takelma Indians, south of the Kus, on middle course of Rogue River.

121 The *Kalapuya* Indians once occupied the entire Willámĕt River Valley
197 save its southeastern portions. Its best studied dialect is Atfálati, also
called Tuálati and Wápatu Lake.

On the lower Klamath River, California, and in its vicinity, there are four tribes of small areas speaking languages which require further investigations to decide upon their affinities. At present their languages are regarded as representing distinct families, as follows:

Ara, Ara-ara or Karok, on both sides of Klamath River.

Alíkwa or Yurok, at the mouth of Klamath River.

Wishosk or Wĭyot, on Humboldt Bay.

Chimariko or Chimalákwe, on Trinity River and environs.

The *Pomo* dialects are spoken along the California coast and along its water-courses from 39° 30′ to 38° 15′ latitude.

Yuki dialects were spoken in the mountains of the Californian Coast Range upon two distinct areas.

Wintún (from witú, wintú *man, Indian*) is spoken in many dialects upon a wide area west of Sacramento River from its mouth up to Shasta Butte.

Noja, spoken near Round Mountain, Sacramento Valley.

Maidu (from maídu *man, Indian*) dialects are heard upon the east side of Sacramento River from Fort Redding to the Cósumnes River and up to the water-shed of the Sierra Nevada.

Shasti dialects properly belong to the middle course of Klamath River and to the adjoining parts of Oregon; the language of *Pit River* or Achomawi, southeast of the Shasti area, is cognate with it.

Mutsun dialects, north and south of San Francisco Bay, are cognate with the Miwok dialects, which are heard from the San Joaquin River up to the heights of the Sierra Nevada. The littoral family of the *Esselen* is inclosed upon all sides by the Mutsun dialects. We have vocabularies from the eighteenth century, but its existence as a *separate* family has been put in evidence but lately by H. W. Henshaw in American Anthropologist, 1890, pp. 45–50.

RADICALS WHICH KLAMATH HOLDS IN COMMON WITH OTHER FAMILIES.

121 197 A number of radical syllables occur in the same or in cognate significations in several linguistic families of the Northwest, and some of them extend even to the stocks east of the Rocky Mountains and of the Mississippi River. This fact is of great significance, as it proves certain early connections between these Indians, either loose or intimate. If the number of such common radices should be increased considerably by further research, the present attempt of classifying Pacific languages into stocks would become subject to serious doubts. From the quotations below I have carefully excluded all roots (and other terms) of onomatopoetic origin. I have made no distinction between pronominal and predicative roots, for a radical syllable used predicatively in one stock may have a pronominal function in another family

193 197 **-im,** *-ĕm, -am, -m* frequently occurs as a suffix for the possessive case in the Pacific coast languages. Thus in Klamath -am is the usual suffix of that case, -lam being found after some vowels only; cf. Grammar, pages 317 et seq., and suffix -m, page 355; also pages 474–476. On page 475 I have called attention to the fact that -am occurs as marking the possessive case in the Pit River language; itóshĕχam yánim *deer's foot-prints;* -am, -im in Molale: pshkaínshim, possessive of pshkaínsh *beard.* The Sahaptin dialects use -nmi, -mi, etc., to designate this case.

ka occurs in many languages as a demonstrative radix, though it often assumes an interrogative and relative signification and changes its vocalization. In Apache-Tinné dialects it is interrogative: χáte *who?* in Návajo; in the Creek ka is the relative particle, a substitute for our relative pronoun *who.*. In Yuki kau is *this* and *there;* in Yókat (California) ka- occurs in kahama *this*, kawío *here*, yokaú *there.* East of Mississippi River we have it in Iroquois dialects: kĕ'^{n} in kĕ'^{n}t'ho *here* (t'ho *place*); in Tuskarora: kyä' *that* or *this one* (pointing at it), kyä' nä^{n} *this one;* t'ho i-kän *that one is.** In the Klamath of Oregon this root composes kánk *so much*, káni *somebody*,

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* My authority for quotations from Iroquois dialects is Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt, of the Tuskarora tribe.

193 kaní? *who?* and kat *who*, pron. rel. As a suffix -ka, -ga is forming factitive
197 verbs and is of great frequency (cf. Part I, pp. 341, 342); ka-á, ká-a, kā is adverb: *greatly, strongly, very.*

ká-i and similar forms are serving to deny statements and to form negative and privative compounds. In Shoshoni dialects g'ai, ka, kats, karu-u, etc., stand for *no!* in Zuñi kwa is the *real* negative particle, like akaí! *no!* in Tonkawē. In Kwakiutl *no!* is kets and kie; in Pani káki; it also occurs in some northern dialects of Algonkin as kā, kawine etc. In Klamath k̲á-i is *no!* and *not;* it composes k̲íya *to lie* and such words as are mentioned in Grammar, p. 633; cf. also p. 644. In some of the Maskoki dialects -kō, -gō, -ku is the privative particle in adjectives and verbs.

mi is a pronominal demonstrative radix, like nu, ni, and also serves to express personal and possessive pronouns. In Creek ma *that* points to distant objects and also forms istä'mat *who* (interrogative). In many western families it expresses the second person: in Mutsun dialects men is *thou*, in Miwok mi; in Wintún mi, me is *thou*, met *thine, thy;* in Maidu mi is *thou*, mímem *ye*, mō'm, mú-um *that one;* in Yuki meh, mi is *thou* and in Pomo ma is *ye* (me *this*); in Ara and Sahaptin mi is transposed into im, *thou.* Shasti has mayi and Pit River mih, mi for *thou;* Sahaptin im, imk *thou*, ima, imak *ye.* In Klamath mi stands for *thy, thine*, mish for *thee, to thee*, but i for *thou;* -ma is a verbal suffix, q. v. There are languages where mi, ma makes up the radix for the first person and not for the second, as Sioux and Hidatsa of the Dakotan family; while in the Shoshoni dialects *thou* is omi, umi, um, em, etc., and in Yuma ma-a, mā. In the Nez Percé of Sahaptin ma is the interrogative pronoun *who?* and *which?* and also forms plurals when suffixed to nouns.

náka, the Kl. term for *cinnamon bear*, probably related to nákish *sole*, as the bears are *Plantigradæ*, has many parallels in American languages. The Yuma dialects have nagóa *bear* in Huálapai, nakatya, nogudia in Tonto; Yókat has nohóho *bear*, Alíkwa níkwiχ *grizzly bear.* If the yáka of Sahaptin is from nyáka, it belongs here also. East of Mississippi River there is only one species of the bear, the *black bear.* The radix nak-, nok- occurs in the Tonica language nókushi, and in the Maskoki dialects: nók'husi in Creek, nóχusi in Hitchiti, but níkta in Alibamu.

193 **nkól**, *nkŭ'l, nχól* in Klamath designates the *gray white-tailed rabbit*, and
197 the same radix appears in kō'lta, k̲ólta *fish otter* and in kû'lsh *badger*. In the San Antonio language of Southern California the radix is represented by kôl *hare* (*rabbit* is map), in Kasuá (Sa. Barbara dialect) by kú'n, in Tonto by akolá, kulá, in Hualapai by gula. Even in the Inuit dialects we find for *rabbit:* ukalik (Hudson Bay), kwélluk (Kotzebue Sound).

nu or **ni.** A pronominal demonstrative radix n- followed by almost any vowel (na, nu, ni, etc.) is of great frequency in America as well as in the eastern hemisphere, where it often becomes nasalized: nga, ngi, etc. In American languages it forms personal possessive and demonstrative pronouns, prefixes and suffixes of nouns and verbs. In South America nu, nû designates the pronoun *I* or *me* so frequently that the explorer K. von der Steinen was prompted to call *Nu-languages* a large group of languages north and south of Amazon River, including Carib dialects. In America nu, ni designates more frequently the *first* person of the singular and plural (*I, we*) than the second *thou, ye*. It stands for the first person in Quichhua, Moxo, Tsoneka, in Nahuatl, the "Sonora" and Shoshoni languages, in Otomi, Yuma, the Tehua and Kera (*no* in hi-*no*-me *I*) dialects of New Mexico; in Wintún, Maidu, Wayfletpu, Sahaptin, and the numerous Algonkin dialects. For the second person it stands in Yákwina, Tonkawē, Atákapa, and in Dakota and Tinné dialects. As a demonstrative pronoun we find it used in many languages, *e. g.*, in the Onondaga of Iroquois, where nä'ye' means *that, that it is*, and nä'ⁿ (ä *long*) *this*. In Klamath nû, nî is *I*, nútoks *myself*, nish *me, to me;* nât, nâ *we*, nálam *ours;* -na is case suffix and transitional verbal suffix; n- prefix refers to objects *level, flat, sheet-* or *string-like*, or extending *towards the horizon*.

shúm, sŭ'm is the Klamath term for *mouth* of persons, of animals, and of rivers. Forms parallel to this are disseminated through many of the Pacific coast languages. In Kayuse it is súmχaksh, in Molale shímilk, in Nishinam and other Maidu dialects sim, in Yokat sama, shemah.[*] Intimately connected with *mouth* are the terms for *beard:* shú, shó, shwó in Sahaptin dialects, shimkémush in Kayuse, and for *tooth: si*, shí in the

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[*] It occurs even in South America: 'simi in Kechua is *mouth* and *word;* shúm in the Patagón of Brazil, *lip;* Martius, Beiträge, II, 211.

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Wintún dialects, süχ in Yuki, sit, si-it in Mutsun (coast dialects), sa in Santa Barbara, tcháwa in some dialects of Maidu. It is justifiable to regard Kl. shúm as an ancient *possessive case* of the sí, sa *tooth* of Central Californian languages; cf. what is said concerning the suffix -im.

tút *tooth* appears related to tuχt *tooth* of Sayusla, a dialect of Yakwina and also to tit of the Sahaptin dialects; ititi "his tooth" in Walawála.

tchi-, *tsi-* is a radical often used on the Pacific coast referring to water or liquids, their motions, and the acts performed with or within the watery element. While in Klamath it figures as a prefix only, q. v., other tongues make use of it as a radical. Tchí is *water* in Yákwina, in Takílma, and in the Yuchi of the Savannah River; in Zuñi 'tcháwe is *water* ('t alveolar) in Nója tchúdshe. The Sahaptin dialects show it in Warm Spring tchū'sh *water*, atá-tchash *ocean;* in Klikatat tcháwas *water*, atá-tchis *ocean*, tcháwat *to drink;* while in Nez-Percé tchū'sh changes to kúsh. Chinook has ʻltchúkwa *water*, Ch. J. salt-tchuk *ocean*, but the Selish languages employ a radix se-uʻl, si-uʻl, shá-u instead to designate any liquid.

wá *to exist, live, to be within*, and *to grow* or *generate* is a radix to be traced in many of the Western tongues. In Klamath we refer to wá and its numerous derivatives, as wawápka *to sit* or *be on the ground*, wá-ish *productive*, wá-ishi, wéwanuish, wē'k *arm* and *limb of tree*, lit. "what is growing upon," wē'ka *offspring*, wékala, wásh *hole to live in*, wā'shla (a) *to dig a burrow*, (b) *ground-squirrel*, and many others. In Kwákiutl wāts, wátsa is *dog*, but originally "living being, animal," and is represented in Klamath by wāsh *prairie-wolf*, wátch *horse*, watchága *dog*, lit. "little animal," the idea of "domesticated" or "belonging to man" to be supplied. In Chinook the suffix -uks (for -waks) points to living beings also. The Sahaptin languages show this root in wásh *to be, exist*, in Nez Percé wáχosh *alive*, wátash *place, field, earth*, in Yákima wakχash *living*, and in other terms.

AFFINITIES IN WESTERN LANGUAGES.

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Many of the Western families exhibit but little or no affinity in their lexicon with the Klamath language, the reason being undoubtedly that they are but little explored. Thus in *Mutsun* a single term only was found to correspond: tcháya *shallow basket* in the dialect of Soledad; *cf.* tchála and

192 tchákéla, by which two kinds of root baskets are specified in Klamath.
197 The Sayúsla tséokwa *leg* answers to tchū'ks, Mod. tchókash *leg* and to shō'ksh, Mod. tchĕ-ō'ksh *crane*, this bird being called after its long legs. The *Shoshoni* stock, with its extensive array of dialects, spoken in the closest vicinity of the Klamath people, is almost devoid of any resemblances; cf. k̲á-i *not*, and nápal *egg*, compared with nobáve in Payute, nobávh Chemehuevi, nópavh Shoshoni. This probably rests on no real affinity. In the *Noja* language, spoken near Redding, California, putsi *humming-bird* corresponds to Kl. pi'shash, and tcháshina, tcháshi, a small *skunk* species, to Kl. tcháshish. For *Wintún* may be compared Kl. pán *to eat* with ba, bah; k̲álo *sky* (from k̲álk̲ali, round, globiform) with k'áltse *sky*.

From *Selish* saíga' *field* the Kl. saíga, saíka *prairie, field, meadow* was certainly borrowed, and t'táze *grasshopper* of Kalispelm reappears here in ta'htá-ash and in Mod. kamtáta. Kaúkawak *yellow* of *Chinook* is kauká-uli, kevkévli *brown* of Kl.; and ténas *young, recent* reappears in Kl. té-ini *new, young*, te-iniwá-ash *young woman;* cf. ténāse *infant* in Aht dialect of Vancouver Island. The long array of words which Klamath has borrowed from Chinook jargon are enumerated in Grammar, pages 220–222.

Maidu.—An uncommon number of affinities are found to exist between Klamath and the Maídu dialects east of the Sacramento River. Of these terms some are not loan words, but appear to be derived from some common stock.

halá *slope of mountain;* Kl. lála, hlála *to slope downwards.*

kála *hot-water basket;* Maídu, k̲óllo *cup-basket.*

káwe *eel;* Maídu, kowó

ngúlu, k̲úlu, k̲úlo *female animal;* Maídu dialects: kü'le, kü'lle, kúla, *woman, wife*, and *female animal.* This word also composes the terms *father* and *child*, and hence means "to generate"

pán *to eat:* Maídu, d. pen, pap, pā, pepe *to eat;* pán *to smoke* in Maídu, corresponds to Kl. páka; páni, pan is *tobacco* in Maídu.

pēn, pā'n *again, a second time;* Maídu, pēne *two.*

vúlal, úlal *cottonwood tree;* Maídu, wílili.

From the *Shasti* language Modoc has borrowed more than Klamath Lake, and the terms as far as known are all mentioned in the Dictionary.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

192 197 They are ípō, ipshúna, etchmū'nna, ā'dak, hápush (cf. also hápa *kangaroo rat* and *striped squirrel* in Noja) and probably also kála *hot-water basket*, mádna *sunflower*.

Its southeastern or *Pit River* dialect shows a number of terms probably not loaned, but resting upon some indefinite common affinity. Thus édshash *milk, breast, udder* is in Pit River ídshit *female breast* (cf. Ara: útchis *milk*), wán *silver fox*, dim. wánaga, in Pit River kwán *silver fox* and wan- in wanekpúsha *fox;* käíla *earth* is in Pit River kéla, taktákli *red* is taχtáχe, tídshi *good* is túsi, túshi, kō'sh *pine tree* is kashú.

The only families in which a considerable number of terms possibly rests upon a real and not fancied kinship are those of Wayiletpu and Sahaptin.

WAYÍLETPU DIALECTS.

Wayiletpu, of which two dialects only are known or accessible to us, Kayuse and Molale, shows the following affinities:

Kl. gi *to be, to exist*, Molale, gísht *he is*, gíshlai *he will be.* Compare to this in Maídu: bishi *alive* and *dwelling place;* Wintún: bim *to be* (present tense).

Kl. kē, kēk *this;* Kayuse, ka, kē, ke, kai *this, this one.*

Kl. gu, kū, kunē *that;* Kayuse, ku, kā, ku yúwant *that man*, káppik *they.*

Kl. ína, d. yána *downward*, yaína *mountain;* Molale, yángint *elevation.*

Kl. lák *forehead;* Molale, lakunui *face.*

Kl. lā'pi, lāp *two;* Molale, lápka *two*, lápitka *seven;* Kayuse, lipúyi, líplint *two;* líplil *twins.*

Kl. lúkua *to be hot, warm*, lókuash *warm, hot*, and *heat*, lúluks *fire;* Kayuse lokoyai *warm, hot.*

Kl. mukmúkli *cinnamon-complexioned* (originally "downy"), tch'múka *to be dark* (as night); Molale, móka *dark*, mukimuki *dark complexioned;* múkimuk'-waí "black man," *negro.*

Kl. mpáto, páto *cheek*, cf. patpátli; Molale, páktit *cheek.*

Kl. nā'dsh *one;* Kayuse, na *one;* Molale, nánga *one*, composes nápitka *six.*

192 Kl. nánuk *all*, nánka *some, a part of;* Kayuse, náng, nanginâ-a *all;*
197 Molale, nángkai *all.*

Kl. nápal *egg;* Kayuse, lúpil, laupen *egg.*

Kl. pán *to eat;* Kayuse, pitánga; Molale, pá-ast to eat.

Kl. páwatch *tongue;* Kayuse, púsh; Molale, apá-us.

Kl. pä'χtgi *to dawn, the dawn;* Molale, pákast *morning.*

Kl. píla *on one's body, on the bare skin;* Kayuse, píʻli *meat;* Molale píʻl *body.*

Kl. shuaí *black-tailed deer;* Molale, suaí *deer* and *white-tailed deer.*

Kl. túmi *many, much;* Molale, tám *many.*

Kl. waíta *to pass a day and night*, or *a day*, waítash *day;* Kayuse, ewé-iu or uwâya, wéya *day*, u-áwish, huéwish *sun;* Molale, wásh *day* and *sun*, wásam *summer-time.*

Kl. wáko *white pine;* Molale, wákant, wákint, wákunt *log.*

Kl. wēk *limb of tree;* Kayuse, pasiwä'ku *limb of tree.*

Kl. wekétash *green frog;* Molale, wákatinsh *frog.*

In the morphologic part we also detect a number of close analogies between the two families:

hash-, hish-, is a prefix forming a sort of causative verbs by anathesis in Molale, like h-sh of Klamath; e. g., íshi *he said*, hisháshi *he replied.*

-gála, -kála, a Molale case-suffix *to, toward*, corresponds to -tála *toward* of Klamath.

-im, -am forms the possessive case in Wayfleptu; am in Klamath.

p- is prefix in terms of relationship in both families, and -p also occurs as suffix in these and other terms; cf. Sahaptin.

Distributive forms are made by syllabic reduplication in Kayuse exactly in the same manner as in Klamath: yámua *great*, d. yiyímu; laháyis *old*, d. lalháyis; luástu *bad*, d. laluástu; suáyu *good*, d. sasuáyu.

SAHAPTIN DIALECTS.

The *Sahaptin* dialects coincide with Klamath just as strikingly in some of the words and grammatic forms as do those of Wayfletpu, and it is singular that in a number of these *all three* mutually agree, as in lúkua, mukmúkli, and two numerals.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

192 Kl. ka-uká-uli, kevkévli, ke-uké-uli *brown;* Nez-Percé, ka-uχká-uχ
197 *drab, light yellow, dark cream.*

Kl ke, kēk *this;* Nez-Percé, ki, pl. kima *this;* adv. kina *here*, kimtam *near.*

Kl. kitchkáni *little*, adv. kítcha, kétcha; kuskus, Nez Percé, *small, little;* ikkes, Yákima; kískis, Warm Spring.

Kl. ktá-i *rock, stone;* ktä't *hard*, Yakima.

Kl. lā'pi, lāp *two;* lápit, lépīt *two*, Nez Percé; napit, Walawála; nä'pt, Warm Spring.

Kl. lúkua *to be warm, hot*, lókuash and lushlúshli *warm;* lúluks *fire;* luóχuts *warm*, Nez Percé; ilúksha *fire* in Nez Percé and Walawala; ílksh, Warm Spring; elusha *to burn*, lókautch *cinders*, Yakima; láχuiχ, láhoiχ *warm*, Yakima; láχwai, Warm Spring.

Kl. mukmúkli, makmákli *cinnamon-colored;* máχsmaχs, Nez Percé, *yellow;* máχsh, Yakima and Warm Spring (also as múksh *blonde, auburn*, Warm Spring).

Kl. mû'lk *worm, maggot*, mānk, *fly;* muχlimuχlí *fly*, Warm Spring.

Kl. múshmush *cattle, cow*, originally meant "lowing like cattle," from the Sahaptin mú *cattle;* cf. Texts, Note to 13, 13.

Kl. nā'dsh *one;* nä'χs, lä'χs, Yakima; nä'χsh, Warm Spring.

Kl. nánka *some, a portion of;* nánka *some* in several Sahaptin dialects.

Kl. páwatch *tongue;* páwish, Nez Percé.

Kl. pé-ip *daughter;* pap, Nez Percé, Warm Spring, *daughter* (not one's own).

Kl. pí *he, she*, p'na, m'na *him, her;* pína *self, oneself, himself*, etc., Nez Percé; píni *he, this one*, Warm Spring.

Kl. taktákli *level, even, flat;* tíkai *flat*, Yakima; cf. tā-i'h *bottom land.*

Kl. tatáksni *children;* (na)títait *man*, Yakima; titókan *people*, Nez Percé.

Kl. tchĕmúka, tsmúka *to be dark*, cf. mukmúkli; tsĕmúχtsĕmuχ *dark brown* (prieto), *of dark complexion, black*, Nez Percé; shmúk, Yakima; tchmū'k, Warm Spring, *dark;* shmukakúsha *to blacken*, Yakima.

Kl. vû'nsh, u-únsh *boat, canoe, dug-out;* wássas *boat*, Yakima, Warm Spring.

192 197 Of agreements in the morphologic part of grammar we notice considerable analogy in the inflection of the Sahaptin substantive with its numerous case forms:

Reduplication for inflectional purposes is syllabic also, but not so generally in use as in Klamath; Nez Percé táyits *good*, abbr. ta'hs; plur. tita'hs.

Kl. -kni, ending of adj. "coming from;" -pkinih, subst. case, *from*; init *house*, initpkinih *from a house*, in Nez Percé.

p- prefix forms most names of relationship: píka *mother*, píap *elder brother*, pet *sister*; -p as suffix appears in Nez Percé asχap *younger brother*, asip *sister* (ísip Walawala). The prefix pi- forms reciprocal verbs; hak-, hah-, radix of verb *to see*, forms pihaksih *to see each other*.

Kl. -na is transitional case-suffix; cf. Nez Percé kína *here*, from pron. ki *this*.

CONCLUSIONS.

197 The conclusions which can be drawn with some degree of safety from the above linguistic data and some mythologic facts, concerning the prehistoric condition of the people which occupies our attention, are not unimportant, and may be expressed as follows:

Although it is often a difficult matter to distinguish the loan words in the above lists from the words resting upon ancient affinity, the table shows that the real loan-words of the Máklaks were borrowed from vicinal tribes only, as the Shasti, and that those which they hold in common with other tribes more probably rest on a stock of words common to both, as the pronominal roots. The affinity with Maidu appears more considerable than that with other Californian tribes only because the Maidu dialects have been studied more thoroughly. Scarcely any affinity is traceable with the coast dialects of Oregon and California, and none with the Tinné dialects, though the Umpkwa and Rogue River Indians lived in settlements almost conterminous with those of the Máklaks. The latter were acquainted with the Pacific Ocean only by hearsay, for they have no original word for *salt* or *tide*, nor for any of the larger salt-water fish or mammals, and their term for sea is a *compound* and not a simple word: múni é-ush "great water-sheet," just as the Peruvians of the mountains call the ocean "mother-lake," mamacocha. The scanty knowledge of the sea, which was scarcely one hundred

197 and fifty miles distant from the mountain homes of the Klamath people, proves more than anything else their protracted isolation from other tribes and also their absence from the sea-coast during their stay about the headwaters of the Klamath River.

No connection is traceable between the languages of the Klamath and the Shoshoni Indians, both immediate neighbors, nor with the Kalapuya, Chinook, and Selish dialects north of them. They must have remained strangers to each other as far back as language can give any clue to prehistoric conditions. The Sahaptin and Wayíletpu families are the only ones with whom a distant kinship is not altogether out of the question. Some of the terms common to these languages could have been acquired by the Máklaks through their frequent visits at the Dalles, the great rendezvous and market-place of the Oregonian and of many Selish tribes. Friendly intercourse with the Warm Spring Indians (Lókuashtkni) existed long ago and exists now; friendly connections of this kind are frequently brought about by racial and linguistic affinity, just as inveterate enmity is often founded upon disparity of race and language.*

The resemblances in the lexical part of the three families are not unimportant, but in view of the small knowledge we have of either and of the large number of words in these languages showing neither affinity nor resemblance, we have to maintain the classification prevailing at present and to regard their dialects as pertaining to three linguistic families. Sahaptin shows more likeness in phonetics and in morphology with Wayíletpu than with Klamath.

Nowhere is syllabic reduplication so well developed in Oregon and about Columbia River as in the three families above mentioned and in Selish, the distributive as well as the iterative. The latter exists in every language, but of the former no traces could be detected in the Kalapuya and Northern Californian languages, and but few in Shoshoni dialects, though in Mexico it is frequent. This point will prove very important in tracing ancient migrations.

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* We may compare the long-lasting friendly relations once existing between the Lenápe and Sháwano, the Shoshoni and Bannock (Panaíti), the Chicasa and the Kasi'hta (a Creek tribe), the Illinois and the Miami Indians.

802 171 The numeration system of a people is a relic of a remote age, and therefore of importance for tracing the ancient connections of tribes. The quinary system is the most frequent counting method in America, and often combines with the vigesimal. The pure quinary system prevails in Ara, in the Chimaríko, Yuki, and in the Shasti-Pit River family, in Sahaptin and Wayíletpu, and it is also the system found in Klamath. Curiously enough, the Maidu Indians count by fifteens, and the decimal system forms the basis [801] of the Wintún, Mutsun, and Selish dialects. The mystic or "sacred" number occurring hundreds of times in mythologic stories is *five* among all the Oregonian tribes.

197 To sum up the result of the above linguistic inquiry, it may be stated that our present knowledge does not allow us to connect the Klamath language genealogically with any of the other languages compared, but *that it stands as a linguistic family for itself.* It has adopted elements from the tongues spoken in its neighborhood; and a common element, chiefly pronominal, underlies several of these and the American languages in general.

THE HISTORIC PERIOD.

'Εκ δὲ τοῦ καὶ πιστὰ πάντα κἀπιστα γίγνεται.

174 175 127 On account of the superstition previously alluded to, the traditional historic lore which forms so attractive a feature in the unwritten literature of the nations east of the Rocky Mountains and of Mexiço is wanting entirely among the Máklaks, and we have to rely upon the meager reports of travelers and Government agents for accounts of the condition of the tribes in the earlier part of this century. Such notices of historic events are as follows:

000 According to a tradition recorded by Stephen Powers, an epidemic of small-pox broke out among the Modoc Indians in 1847, by which one hundred and fifty individuals perished.

The earliest historic conflict which can be ascertained with some chronological accuracy is the massacre of eighteen immigrants to Oregon by individuals of the Modoc tribe, and Ben Wright's massacre, consequent upon that bloody deed. The massacre of the immigrants occurred at a place on Tule or Rhett Lake, since called Bloody Point. Undoubtedly this was only

000 one in a series of similar butcheries. Apparently it occurred in 1852, and
the particulars are all given in Texts, pages 13 and 14.

175 One of the earliest reports upon these tribes made to the Bureau of
101 Indian Affairs at Washington is that of Joel Palmer, Superintendent of
131 Indian Affairs for Oregon, dated Dayton, Oregon, September 11, 1854.
Palmer states that the lands of the Klamath Indians extend upon the eastern
base of the Cascade range for about thirty miles east, and that east of
them live the "Mo-docks," who speak the same language as the Klamaths;
and east of these again, extending farther south, are the "Mo-e-twas" (Pit
175 River Indians). These two last-named tribes have always evinced a deadly
648 hostility to the whites, and the Modocs boasted of having within the last
four years murdered thirty-six whites. Palmer entered into an agreement
with the Klamath Indians to keep the peace with the white people, and also
sent messengers to the Modocs and Pit Rivers, believing that henceforth
[161] the immigrants would be spared from their attacks. The Klamath Lakes
were then enfeebled by wars with the surrounding tribes and by conflicts
among themselves, and were said to number but four hundred and fifteen
souls. He counted seven villages on Upper Klamath Lake, two on Pliock
Creek (P'laíkni or Sprague River), three on Toqua Lake (Túkua), and one
175 on Coasto (Kohásbti) Lake.[*] The Indians had some guns, horses, camp
411 equipage, and the aboriginal war-club and "elk-skin shield" (kaknō'lsh).
231 Little Klamath Lake he calls An-coose, a corruption of Agáwesh.

714 Neither Klamath Lake nor Modoc Indians have taken any part in the
great Oregon war of 1854–'56, although their sympathies were of course
strongly in favor of the aboriginal cause.

000 For the year 1854 Powers records a battle fought by Captain Judy
against Modoc and Shasti Indians on the Klamath River, north of Yreka,
in which some women of the Shasti were killed.

The Report of 1859 speaks of continued hostilities on the side of the Modocs against passing immigrants and of the murdering of a party of five white men in Jackson County, Oregon. Two of the murderers belonged to the tribe of Chief Lelékash, and three of the perpetrators were seized and killed by the Klamath Indians (page 392).

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[*] This would make only six, not seven, villages.

175 Alexander S. Taylor has the following passage in his "California
622 Farmer" of June 22, 1860: "Cumtukus, Lalacks, Schonches, and Tertupkark are names of chiefs among Klamath Lake Indians of the Oukskenah tribe. The big Klamath Lake is called Toakwa." Except the first, the above head-men were all identified in the Dictionary with the well-known names of Lelékash, Skóntchish (a Modoc chief) and Tatápkaksh. Cumtukni, who died about 1866, is mentioned by Stephen Powers as a great orator, prophet, and rain-maker.[†]

175 Whether the two incursions made upon the Klamath Lake people by
648 the Rogue River Indians of Tinné lineage, across the Cascade range, of
726 which detailed accounts were furnished in our Texts by Dave Hill, took place about 1855 or earlier I have not the means of ascertaining. The Lake tribe were not slow in inflicting vengeance upon the attacking party, for they crossed the mountain pass and fell upon the camps of their enemies, making sad havoc among them.

Frequent disputes and encounters occurred between the two chieftaincies and the *Shasti Indians* around Yreka, California; but the warlike qualities of the latter were often too strong for the aggressors, and the conflicts were not very bloody.[†] With the Pit River or Móatwash tribe the matter was different. They were not, like the Shasti, possessed of the warrior spirit, and therefore had to suffer terribly from the annual raids perpetrated upon them. In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place at The Dalles. Some of these raids were provoked by horse-stealing, others by greed for gain and plunder, and the aggressors never suffered heavily thereby. When they began is not known, but the treaty of 1864
000 put an end to them. The recitals in the Texts, pages 19–27 and 54, 55,

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[*] Overland Monthly, 1873, June number, page 540. His appearance had something fascinating for the Indians, and some are said to have traveled two hundred miles to consult him. His name appears to be Kúm^{e}takni="coming from a cave," or "living in a cave."

[†] One of these fights took place between the Shasti, Modoc, and Trinity River Indians for the possession of an obsidian quarry north of Shasta Butte, mentioned by B. B. Redding in American Naturalist, XIII, p. 668, et seq., and Archiv f. Anthropologie, XIV, p. 425.

000 give us graphic sketches of these intertribal broils. Some of the eastern Pit Rivers seem to have lived on friendly terms with the Modocs; but the bands farther south, especially the Hot Spring and Big Valley Indians, were the principal sufferers by these incursions. In a raid of 1857 fifty-six of their women and children were enslaved and sold on the Columbia River for Cayuse ponies, one squaw being rated at five or six horses and a boy one horse.*

The Pit River Indians were a predatory tribe also, and very dangerous to the immigrants passing through their country to northwestern Oregon. Their continued depredations made it a duty of the Government to inflict upon them a heavy chastisement, and Maj. Gen. George Crook, commanding the Colorado Department of the United States Army, was intrusted with its execution. This campaign of 1867 is described by him as follows:†

> I continued the campaign into the Pit River country with Company H, First Cavalry, Lieutenant Parnelle; Company D, Twenty-third Infantry, Lieutenant Madigan, First Cavalry, commanding; and Archie McIntosh, with his twenty Fort Boisé Indian scouts. We found on Pit River a party of warriors in camp. They fled. The next day we discovered a large party of warriors in the bluffs on the river. We had a severe fight, lasting two days and nights. They effected their escape by means of holes and crevices in the ground. A great many were killed, among whom were some of note; how many could not be ascertained. Our loss was Lieutenant Madigan and three men killed, and eight soldiers and one citizen wounded.

The more unruly portion of these Indians were subsequently removed to the Round Valley Reservation, California, and about two hundred are still in their old homes.

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648 Between the Klamaths and the neighboring Snake tribes there was always a sort of disaffection, based upon difference of race, language, and habits; but whether their earlier relations were always those of open hostility or not is past finding out.‡ The wording of the treaty makes it probable that the hunting grounds north and east of their present seats on Sprague River were shared in common by both, and that the Snake Indians frequently

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* Alex. S. Taylor, "California Farmer," May, 1859.

† Report of the Secretary of War, 1868-'69, Part I, p. 69, dated August 22, 1867. Stephen Powers refers to this fight in Contributions III, p. 268.

‡ One of the Texts, p. 28, shows that the Snakes in one instance attacked and massacred in a very cowardly way some women near the outlet of Williamson River.

175 648 changed their settlements, as hunting nations are in the habit of doing. Thus Pauline Marsh, near Silver Lake, and Pauline Lake, on one of the head springs of Des Chutes River, were both named after the Snake chief Panaína of our Texts. The bands established upon the Reservation since the treaty was concluded are called Walpapi and Yahushkin. At first they ran off and committed depredations in the vicinity, whereupon the Government was compelled to force them back. General Crook made several expeditions in the execution of the task. These campaigns were short and decisive, and the Klamath Lake scouts engaged in them did good service, as evidenced by General Crook's reports* and Dave Hill's Text, pages 28–33. Upon the defeat and killing of Panaína, the Walpapi chief, the tribe finally quieted down and remained neutral in the commotion caused by the Modoc war of 1872–'73.

175 161 164 No indications are at hand of the number of Indians formerly inhabiting the headwaters of the Klamath River. Before the first census was taken estimates deserving no credence were made, varying from one thousand to two thousand Indians. In those times the scourges of small-pox, syphilis, and whisky did not inflict such terrible ravages as they do now among the Indians; but instead of these the continual tribal quarrels, family vengeance, the ordeals of witchcraft, dearth of food, and the inhuman treatment of the females must have claimed many more victims than at present. Emigration and intermarriages with other tribes were rather the exception than the rule, and are so even now. [523] [167]

THE TREATY OF 1864.

175 648 During the ten years following Wright's massacre the country began to assume a somewhat different aspect through the agricultural and stock-raising settlements of white people that sprung up in Lost River Valley, around Little Klamath Lake and in other places. The cession of lands to the "Oregon Central Military Road Company" from Eugene City, in Willámet Valley, through the Cascade range, across the Klamath Marsh, to

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[13] * Contained in the Report of the Secretary of War, 1868–'69, Part I, pp 69, 70, dated September 2, 1867, and March 19, 1868. The troops killed twenty-four Snake Indians in the expedition of 1867. See also Texts, Note to 28, 14.

175 Warner Lake, and thence to the boundary of Idaho, with its "six miles
648 limit" grants on both sides, took place before the conclusion of the treaty.

In order to subject the troublesome Snake and Modoc tribes to a stricter control, and to secure more protection to settlers and the immigrants traveling through Oregon, Fort Klamath was established north of Upper Klamath Lake, in Lake County, and garrisoned with several companies, who were of great service in preserving order in these sparsely inhabited tracts. The Klamath Lake Indians were more inclined to keep up friendship with the white people than the other tribes, nevertheless some turbulent characters among them necessitated military restraint.

The Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the Northern District of California, Judge E. Steele, adjusted some grave difficulties between the Shasti and the Máklaks Indians, which threatened to break out into a terrible war of devastation against the Shasti and the white settlers alike. Some of the Máklaks "braves" had been killed upon the lands of white settlers, and the injured Indians had begun retaliation already. Colonel Drew, stationed at Fort Klamath (who fought marauding bands of Shoshoni and Bannocks during the summer of 1864), had arrested and executed "Captain" George, a Klamath Lake chief, for criminal acts, and killed an Indian commonly known as Skukum John. The chiefs and some representative Indians of the contending tribes met Judge Steele near Yreka, California, on February 14, 1864, and for some trifling consideration agreed to forego all further hostilities among themselves, to allow free passage to anybody traveling through their territories, and to maintain terms of friendship with all whites, negroes, and Chinese. The Modocs also made the special promise to harass no longer the Pit River Indians by annual raids. It also appears from Mr. Steele's allocution to the Indians that they had been selling to whites and others Indian children of their own and of other tribes, and also squaws, the latter mainly for the purpose of prostitution.*

The establishment of Fort Klamath, the increase of white men's settlements, the possibility of Indian outbreaks on account of the greater vicinity of the farms to the Indian villages, and the desire of the Indians themselves to obtain rations, supplies, and annuities brought the opportunity of a

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* Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1864, pp. 84, 85 and 108-110.

175 648 treaty with these Indians more forcibly before the Government than ever before. In compliance with instructions from Indian Commissioner William P. Dole, Superintendent J. W. Perit Huntington, accompanied by Agent Logan, went through the Des Chutes Valley to Fort Klamath, and found there a large number of Indians of both sexes assembled, seven hundred and ten of whom were Klamath Lake, three hundred and thirty-nine Modoc people, and twenty-two of the Yahuskin band of Snake Indians. They unanimously concurred in the desire that Lindsey Applegate, a settler of Jackson County, Oregon, be appointed as their agent. The treaty was concluded on the 14th of October, 1864, and duly signed by the contracting parties, including twenty-six chiefs and principal men of the tribes. Huntington's estimate of funds necessary for fulfilling treaty stipulations and subsisting the Indians the first year amounted to a total of $69,400. The text of the treaty being too long for insertion entire, I restrict myself here to the contents of the principal paragraphs:

175 648 657 Article 1 stipulates the cession of the territory described above (p. xvii), and sets apart as a *reservation* for the tribes referred to the tract included within the limits following: Beginning upon the Point of Rocks, about twelve miles south of the mouth of Williamson River,* the boundary follows the eastern shore north to the mouth of Wood River; thence up Wood River to a point one mile north of the bridge at Fort Klamath; thence due east to the summit of the ridge which divides the upper and middle Klamath Lakes (now called Klamath Marsh and Upper Klamath Lake); thence along said ridge to a point due *east* of the north end of the upper lake; thence due east, passing the said north end of the upper lake to the summit of the mountains on the east side of the lake; thence along said mountain to the point where Sprague's River is intersected by the Ish-tish-ea-wax Creek (probably Meryl Creek); then in a southerly direction to the summit of the mountain, the extremity of which forms the Point of Rocks; thence along said mountain to the place of beginning. The tribes will remove to this reservation immediately after the ratification of the treaty and remain thereon. No whites, except employés and officers of the United States Government, are allowed to reside upon this tract, and the Indians have

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*At the foot of Nílakshi Mountain.

175 the exclusive right of taking fish and gathering edible roots, seeds, and
648 berries within the reservation. Provision is made by which the right of
657 way for public roads and railroads across said reservation is reserved to
citizens of the United States.

Article 2. As a payment for the ceded lands the Indians shall receive $8,000 per annum for a period of five years, $5,000 per annum for the next five years, and the sum of $3,000 per annum for the five years next succeeding.

Article 3 provides for the payment of $35,000 for removing the Indians to the reservation, subsisting them during the first year, and providing them with clothing, teams, tools, seeds, etc.

313 Articles 4 and 5 provide for the establishment of a saw-mill, a flouring-
256 mill, a manual-labor school, and hospital buildings, all to be maintained
874 and supplied with working material at the expense of the United States for
783 the period of twenty years. Employés for running these establishments
shall be paid and housed by the Government also.

423 Article 6 reserves the right to the Government to provide each Indian
family with lands in severalty to the extent of forty to one hundred and
twenty acres, and to guarantee possession to them. Indians are not allowed
to alienate these lands.

Article 9. The Indians acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and pledge themselves to be friendly with all citizens thereof, to commit no depredations upon the persons or property of said citizens, and to refrain from carrying on any war upon other Indian tribes.

273 Article 10 prohibits the sale and use of liquors upon the Reservation,
and Article 11 permits the Government to locate other Indian tribes thereon,
the parties to this treaty not losing any rights thereby.

The treaty was proclaimed February 17, 1870.

Like most of the treaties concluded between the United States Government and the Indian tribes, this compact was made much more to the advantage of the white man than of his red brother. Not only were the stipulated annuities rather small for a body of Indians, which was then considered to number about two thousand people, but these annuities were

175 648 657 to be paid only after the ratification of the treaty by the President and the Senate, which did not take place till five years after the conclusion, viz, February 17, 1870. Meanwhile the Indians were always subject to the possibility of being removed from the homes of their ancestors by the stroke of a pen. The bungling composition of the document appears from the fact that a grave mistake was committed by inserting the term "east" instead of *west* (italicized in our text above), and by not mentioning the land grant made to the Oregon Central Military Wagon Road Company before 1864, which, when insisted upon, would, with its twelve-mile limits, take away the best parts of the Reserve, the Sprague River Valley, for instance. At the time when I visited the country, in the autumn of 1877, the Klamath Lake Indians showed much animosity against the settlers establishing themselves within their domain. The company having left many portions of their projected wagon road unfinished, Congress, by act approved March 2, 1889, directed the Attorney-General to cause suits to be brought within six months from that date, in the name of the United States, in the United States Circuit Court for Oregon, to try the questions, among others, of the seasonable and proper completion of said road, and to obtain judgments, which the court was authorized to render, declaring forfeited to the United States all lands lying conterminous with those parts of the road which were not constructed in accordance with the requirements of the granting act. (Cf. on this subject Ex. Doc. 131, House of Representatives, Forty-ninth Congress, first session, and Ex. Doc. 124, Senate, Fiftieth Congress.)

The first representative of the Government, Subagent Lindsey Applegate, erected some buildings at the northwest point of Upper Klamath Lake, called Skohuáshki (abbr. Koháshti); but as early as 1866 he called attention to the fact that the place had no suitable water-power, but that three miles above the little creek at Beetle's Rest was a most excellent motor for driving a saw-mill and a grist-mill, and, being on the edge of the pine woods, was a well-fitted and shady place for the agency buildings. This advice was followed in 1868, two years before the ratification of the treaty. In the same year the old practice of cremating dead bodies was abandoned and inhumation introduced. The grave-yard was established around the ash-pile of cremation, still visible in 1877, and in 1878 a second

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177 cemetery was inaugurated between the Williamson River and Modoc Point,
764 one mile and a half south of the bridge.

175 President U. S. Grant's peace policy in regard to the Indians was
648 inaugurated by act of Congress dated April 10, 1869. The supervision of
657 the Indian agencies was placed in the hands of the authorities of religious
[797] denominations, a board of commissioners appointed,* and the spiritual interests of that reservation turned over to the Methodist Church.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCHES ON THESE INDIANS.

114 The study of the ethnography of a tribe usually precedes that of its language; sometimes both are pursued simultaneously, and this is undoubtedly the correct method. In the case of the Mák̲laks, Horatio Hale,† the linguist of Ch. Wilkes's United States Exploring Expedition (1838–1842), and still holding forth as a pioneer in his lines of research, took down a vocabulary from a Klamath Lake Indian whom he met on the Columbia River in 1841. No ethnographic remarks upon the tribe accompany this vocabulary, probably because information obtained from interpreters, who speak the Chinook jargon only, is notoriously unreliable.

Next in time follow the extensive explorations of John Charles Frémont‡ of the interior basin west of the Rocky Mountains and of the Pacific coast from 1843 to 1844, and again from 1845 to 1846, during which the Klamath Lakes and Klamath Marsh were visited and explored. His reports contain graphic sketches of all that was seen and observed by his parties; but scientific accuracy is often wanting, and many countries are described without giving the Indian local names, which are indispensable to identification.

The acquisition of the Pacific coast by the United States (California in 1846, Oregon in 1848) naturally suggested projects of connecting the two oceans by a transcontinental railroad, starting from the Mississippi River and reaching to the Bay of San Francisco. The Central Govern-

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* Cf. Revised Statutes of the United States, second edition, 1878, p. 350.

† Born in Newport, New Hampshire, in 1817.

‡ Born at Savannah, Georgia, January 21, 1813; candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1856; died in New York City, July 13, 1890.

114 ment sent out in different directions army officers and engineers to survey the proposed routes, and to publish the results in a series of volumes.* For this purpose the Thirty-second Congress appropriated, by an act passed May 3, 1853, the sum of $150,000, which was by two later appropriations in 1854 increased to a total of $340,000. A branch of this railroad was to run up the Sacramento Valley to the Columbia River. In this portion the Klamath headwaters were principally concerned, and it is that which was surveyed by Lieut. Robert Stockton Williamson,† assisted by Lieut. Henry Larcom Abbot, both of the Corps of Topographical Engineers. Their joint report, together with the reports of specialists on zoölogy, botany, geology, etc., is contained in Vol. VI (1855) ‡ These reports are valuable and on a level with the condition of science as it was in those days; but the use of the volumes is inconvenient when reference has to be made to the bulky maps, all of which are contained in other volumes than the reports themselves. Lieutenant Williamson, assisted by Lieutenant Crook, when on the border of Klamath Marsh (August 22, 1855), obtained one hundred and two terms of the Klamath Lake dialect, which are published in Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 71, 72. This vocabulary is brimful of mistakes, not through any want of attention of these officers, but because they questioned their interpreter through the imperfect mediums of gestures and the Chinook jargon.

The vocabulary taken in 1864 by Dr. William M. Gabb at Koháshti shows the same defects, and was obtained through the "jargon" also; other collections were made by Dr. Washington Matthews, W. C. Clark, and Lewis F. Hadley. The words of Modoc as quoted in the publications of A. B. Meacham are misspelt almost without exception. From Stephen Powers we possess a short Modoc vocabulary, as yet unpublished.

Whosoever inspects these word collections will see at once that the study of the Klamath language had never gone beyond the vocabulary

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113 * Reports of explorations and surveys to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, made in 1853 and years following. Washington, 1855–1860. Quarto; illustr. with plates and maps. Thirteen volumes.

† Williamson was born 1824 in New York, and died 1882 in San Francisco. Abbot, a native of Beverly, Massachusetts, was born in 1831.

‡ The first part of Vol. VI contains Abbot's report, and is chiefly topographical.

11✓ stage before the publication of the present volume. Even the author experienced considerable difficulties before he could pass beyond that limit. [191] When he reached the reservation agency he found not over three or four individuals who were able to speak a tolerable English, and the knowledge of this tongue is absolutely necessary to any one who aspires to the position of an interpreter of his own language in those parts. The Indians were nearly all pure bloods, and most of them knew scarcely more than a dozen English terms. Many could converse in Chinook jargon, but the majority, especially the females, were not acquainted even with this precarious means of intercourse. Indeed, these people must be slow in acquiring an Aryan language like English, for it presents so many character- [193] istics entirely opposite to those of Klamath. English is not provided with reduplication, prefixes of form, nor with the multiple suffixes of Klamath; it differs from it also by its more complex syntactic structure, its imperfect nominal inflection, by its distinctive form for the nominal plural, the gradation of the adjective and adverb effected by suffixation, its personal inflection of the verb, and a long array of irregular and auxiliary verbs.

12✓ Thus it will be easily perceived that the obtaining of correct and reliable ethnographic and linguistic information in such a tribe is fraught with many difficulties. Sometimes it is practicable to get the terms for visible objects by making gesture signs or by pointing at the objects, but it just as often misleads; and if the investigator has to do with people who know no other language than their own, he must revise his notes with many of them before he can place any trust in what he has written down from dictation. [191] The Indians and mixed bloods who have made some progress in the acquisition of English pronounce *f* as *p*, *v* as *b*, *r* as *l*—are modeling English after their own language, using *he* for our *he, she, it, they, him, her, them;* all this being hû'k, hû't, hû'nk for them. They do not know how to use our conjunctions, a defect which makes all the tales, myths, and other textual information unintelligible. The only means of obtaining results is to pick out the best people from the crowd and to train them for awhile for the purpose wanted, until they are brought so far as to feel or understand the scope of the investigator. Women will be found more useful than men to inform him about myths, animal stories, the gathering of vegetable food, house-

124 hold affairs, and terms referring to colors; men more appropriate than women in instructing him about their hunts, fishing, travels, their legal customs, wars and raids, house-building, and similar work. Omit asking them about the deceased, for it makes them angry and sullen. They do not as a rule willfully lead the investigator into error when they see that he is in earnest. Errors often originate in preconceived notions or theories and inappropriate questions of the investigator, sometimes also in the want of abstract terms in the interpreter's language. To insure correctness in an Indian myth, animal story, or any relation whatever, it should first be taken down in Indian, and of this a verbatim translation secured.

114 Ethnographic sketches of both tribes, but chiefly of the Modocs, were published in the newspapers of the Pacific coast at the time of Ben Wright's massacre, but they were not accessible to me; more circumstantial were those written at the time of the Modoc war (1872–'73), and specimens of these may be seen in A. B. Meacham's publications, in the "Overland Monthly" of San Francisco, and in Stephen Powers's "The Modok," in Contributions III, pp. 252–262.

126 Ethnographic objects manufactured by and in actual use among both tribes were purchased at different periods by collectors. The National Museum in Washington owns several of them; but the most complete collection is probably the one made in 1882 by the Swiss naturalist, Alphons Forrer, a native of St. Gall, which was partly sold to the Ethnographic Museum of St. Gall, partly (eighty-five articles) to that of Berne, the capital of Switzerland. Forrer lived several months among the Klamaths, and thus was enabled to secure the best specimens. There are two hänäsish or "magic arrows," an implement which has probably become very scarce now. The majority of these objects are manufactured from wood, fur-
134 skin, and basket material. There is no suitable clay found in the Klamath
323 River Highlands, hence these Indians never made any pottery.

114 The report of Lieutenants Williamson and Abbot contains a large array of astronomic positions and of meteorologic observations made during the expedition, which will prove useful to later observers. The zoölogic, botanic, and geologic reports made by different scientists were considered of high value at the time they were first published. It will be remembered

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

114 that these explorations were the starting-point of all further researches upon the Pacific coast, and as such they are creditable to the men with whom and the epoch at which they originated.

The topographic map of the Klamath headwaters is now being prepared by the U. S. Geological Survey. It is laid out upon a scale of 1 to 250,000, with contour intervals of 200 feet, the rivers and water sheets in blue. The sheets are named as follows: Ashland, Klamath,* Shasta, Modoc Lava Bed, Alturas—the last three belonging to California. The surveys were made from 1883 to 1887 by Henry Gannett, chief geographer, A. H. Thompson, geographer in charge; triangulation by the George M. Wheeler survey, by Mark B. Kerr; and topography, by Eugene Ricksecker and partly by Mark B. Kerr.

THE MODOC WAR OF 1872-1873.

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657 The well-known maxim, "it is cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them," has forced itself upon the governments of all American countries in such indelible characters that it has become a rule for them to conclude treaties with the different "nations" to keep them at peace, feed them by rations or annuities, and confine them within the limits of certain territories. The treaty of 1864 was not attended by all the favorable results expected. The Snake Indians ran off from the Reservation during April, 1866, the Modocs in 1865. The latter tribe were not compelled to leave their old domain, now ceded to the United States, till 1869. Moreover, it always takes several years to gather straying Indians upon a reservation after a treaty has become an accomplished fact. 000 The Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, Mr. Meacham, on December 30, 1869, after a long and excited "talk," succeeded in bringing two hundred and fifty-eight Modocs to Modoc Point, upon the reservation allotted to them. On April 26, 1870, the supply of rations was exhausted, and the more obstinate half of the tribe left the Reservation again for the old domain upon Lost River and the lakes, whereas the other half, under Skóntchish, went to Yáneks, on Sprague River, where the Superintendent located them. All Modocs

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* The name for the sheet east of Klamath has not yet been determined.

000 had become disgusted at the close neighborhood and secret enmity of the Klamath Lake Indians, their congeners.

The presence of the Modocs in their "old country," though contrary to the letter of the treaty, was tolerated by the Government until the autumn of 1872, when the complaints of the white settlers against the Indians became too frequent and serious to be further disregarded. A struggle to secure the enforcement of the treaty could no longer be postponed. The Modocs' open defiance to the authorities could no longer be endured, and this brought on the Modoc war.

Space does not permit me to give more than an outline sketch of this bloody contest of a small, sturdy people of mountaineers against the regular army and a large body of volunteers; but many references in detail have been made to it in the Texts and Notes, to which the reader may refer. A monograph of the Modoc war doing full justice to the importance of this event and to its ethnographic features would alone fill a volume of considerable size. Here, as well as in all other Indian wars, the result was that the strong conquered the weak, which is always the case in the end, especially when the former has the law on his side.

According to the war chronicle obtained by me in the Modoc dialect from the Riddle family the war originated in a petition sent by the settlers to the President to have the Indians removed from their old homes to the Reservation, in fulfillment of the treaty stipulations. The President agreed to this, and sent an order to the commander at Fort Klamath to have them removed—"peaceably if you can; forcibly if you must!" In the morning of November 29, 1872, Major Jackson surrounded the Modoc camp upon Lost River, near its mouth. When he tried to disarm and capture the men they escaped to the hills. The soldiers and the settlers of the neighborhood then fired upon the unprotected women and children of another Modoc camp farther north, for which brutal act the Modoc men retaliated in the afternoon by killing fourteen settlers upon their farms. Hereupon the Modocs retreated with their families to the Lava Beds, south of Tule Lake, the home of the Kúmbătwash, and there they strengthened some select positions, already strong by nature, through the erection of stonewalls and earth-works. Kíntpuash or Captain Jack, who now was not the

000 chief only but also the military leader of the Modocs, selected for his headquarters the spacious cavern called Ben Wright's Cave, and there the tribe remained, unattacked and unharmed, until the 17th of January of the year ensuing

The wintry season and the difficult condition of the roads, or rather trails, in these mountainous tracts delayed the concentration of the troops and provisions to the Lava Beds for nearly two months. On the day above mentioned Colonel Frank Wheaton, then in command, resolved to attack from two sides the seventy* sturdy warriors in their stronghold. Many of the troops were fresh from Arizona, and had fought against Apaches armed with bows and lances only. The Modocs carried the old octagonal small-bore Kentucky rifle with the greased patch and small ball, which within its limited range had a very flat trajectory, and consequently a large dangerous space.† The fog was so thick that men could not see their right or left hand comrades, but *in spite of this* the commander ordered the attack. Scarface Charley, a leader possessed of the best military and engineering capacity in this war, claimed that he held his station, with three squaws to load, against a platoon of cavalry. The troops counted in all about four hundred men. One corps had to attack from the north, viz, the shore of Tule Lake, the other from the west, and *without* connecting both by a field telegraph the commander ordered them to unite upon the top of the hills after storming the Indian positions. The fog annihilated these plans entirely, and the decimated troops were in the evening withdrawn to Van Bremer's farm, west of the Lava Beds.

After this signal discomfiture another officer, General Alvin C. Gillem, was assigned to the command, and the troops were reinforced by four companies of the Fourth Artillery from San Francisco. Instead of attacking the Modocs again on a clear day and bombarding their positions, it was deemed proper to negotiate with them for peace. There was a party of extremists for war in the Modoc camp and another inclined to listen to peace overtures, and upon the latter the body of the Peace Commissioners‡

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*For the later period of the war, beginning April 16, Frank Riddle states the number of the Modoc warriors to have been fifty-one; 42, 20.

†Captain Fields, "The Modoc War."

‡Appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, C. Delano. The particulars in Texts; note to 38, 1, page 48.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

000 principally relied. Several attempts at parleying were unsuccessful, but finally the parties were appointed to convene on April 11, 1873. The capture of Kíntpuash's ponies by the troops, in spite of General Canby's promise of a total suspension of hostilities, had exasperated the chief to such a degree that he and his aids resolved upon murder by treachery. The dark deed was successfully perpetrated upon two members of the Peace Commission. The others fled, and henceforth, after the dastardly murder of General Canby, a new plan was adopted for a speedy termination of the war.

Wright's Cave and surroundings were bombarded with heavy shells on April 16, 17, and 18, and attacks made by the troops simultaneously. By this time about ninety Indian scouts had joined the Army, two-thirds of whom were Warm Spring, one-third Wasco Indians, all under the command of Donald McKay. The Modocs vacated the cave on April 19, and were met by a detachment of regulars and thirty scouts at Sand Hill, four miles from the cave, on April 26. This engagement was more disastrous to the troops than to the Modocs; but at the Dry Lake fight, May 1[illegible] the latter were forced to retreat. This was the beginning of the dissolution of the Modoc forces; their provisions commenced to give out, and one portion of the warriors became dissatisfied with Kíntpuash's leadership. This party surrendered May 25 to the commander-in-chief, General Jefferson C. Davis, who had on May 2 relieved Colonel Gillem, the intermediate commander. Soon after this, on June 1, Kíntpuash, with the few men who had remained true to him, gave himself up to a scouting party of cavalry, led to his hiding place by the treacherous Steamboat Frank,* who, it must be acknowledged notwithstanding, had been one of the most valiant defenders of the Modoc cause.

The captured Modocs, numbering with their women and children about one hundred and forty-five persons, were for awhile fed at the expense of the Government, and then brought to the northeastern corner of the Indian Territory, where their remnants live at the present time. Before their departure a number of them, while being conveyed in a wagon to some place near Tule Lake, were fired upon and some females killed by the revengeful settlers. The murderers of General Canby and Dr. Thomas

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* Cf. Texts 55; 14, 15, and Note.

000 could not remain unpunished. Brought before a jury at Fort Klamath, Kíntpuash, Chief Skóntchish, Black or Húka Jim, and Boston Charley were condemned to the gallows and hung at the Fort October 3, 1873, while two accessories to the deed—Bántcho and Slū'lks (now George Denny)—were condemned to incarceration at Fort Alcatraz, San Francisco Bay.*

Thus ended the long-contested struggle of the little Modoc band against the Oregon and California volunteers and the regular troops of the United States Army. Certainly the heroism and ingenuity displayed by the Modocs would have been worthy of a better cause, and would have passed down to posterity in the brightest colors of patriotism had not the murderous "entreacte" and Canby's death deprived the struggle of its heroic luster. The unworthy termination of this war is well typified by the fact that the skeleton of the Modoc captain is now dangling as an anatomical specimen in the museum of the Surgeon-General's Office, at Washington, District of Columbia.

STATISTICS.

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From the end of the Modoc war to the present year the condition of affairs has not changed much in the Klamath Highlands. The reports of the United States agent repeat the same story of progress towards civilization every year; but in view of the difficulty of bringing a hunter tribe into the high road of Christian culture and industrial progress we can not attach much credence to such reports so long as they are couched in generalities and do not contain special facts attesting mental improvement by schooling.

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In agriculture success is possible only in the Sprague River Valley, but pasturing will succeed almost on every spot of the Reservation. The report of 1888, compared with that of 1880, shows a considerable improvement in this direction. The 2,500 horses and mules counted in 1880 had increased to 4,532 in 1888; the 200 head of cattle to 2,201. In the latter year the number of swine figured 208, of domestic fowl, 1,000. Of the 20,000 tillable acres of land 1,400 were cultivated by the Indians in

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* Slū'lks was released, and stays now at the Modoc Reservation, Indian Territory, with Scarface Charley and some other warriors of that war.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

648 1888 and 500 broken by them; 10,000 acres were inclosed by fences.
657 The crops of 1888 amounted to 8,000 bushels of wheat, 4,000 of oats and
241 barley, 1,000 bushels of vegetables, 3,000 tons of hay; and 500 pounds of
231 butter were manufactured. Of lumber 100,000 feet were sawed. The
313 Indians transported with their own teams 500 tons of freight, and thereby
434 earned $1,500. The two boarding-schools, one at the Klamath Agency and the other at Yáneks, in the same year boarded 215 pupils at a cost to the Government of $18,764—about $10.40 a month per capita.

311 The number of acres contained within the Klamath Reservation is 1,056,000, and of these only about 20,000 acres are considered to be tillable land. The rest is occupied by woods, marshes, rocks, and other hindrances to cultivation.

797 The school and church interests are in the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which also has a vote in the appointment of the United States agent.

657 The statistics of population have furnished reliable data only from the
161 time when annuities were first distributed among these Indians. This ne-
162 cessitated an annual count of each family, giving the number of the individuals belonging to each. One of these was made during my presence on the reserve on October 30, 1877, before the winter supplies were dealt out to the tribe. The summary is as follows:

David Hill, chief, at Agency and on Williamson River	225
P'lú, head chief, at the bridge, Williamson River	122
Long John, chief	103
Jack, chief	92
Lílo, chief	23
Total	565

The census taken in the Sprague River Valley, Yáneks subagency, furnished the following figures, Klamath Lake Indians and Modocs being indiscriminately included:

Littlejohn, chief	14
Skóntchish, chief	18
Modoc Johnson, head chief	71
Ben, chief	61
Brown, chief	30
Total	194

161 The Snake Indians were not counted at that time, but were assumed
657 to have the same population as in 1876: 137. This gives a total of Indians
162 for the Reservation of 896. This count included about eight mixed bloods and seven Warm Spring Indians from the Des Chutes River. The boarding-school at the Klamath Agency then had eighteen pupils of both sexes.

The reports of the Indian Commissioner for 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, and 1884 can not be fully relied on, since they give the same figures for *each* of these years with an unvarying total of 1,023 Indians—Klamaths, 707; Modocs, 151; Snake Indians, 165.

The report of 1888, Joseph Emery agent, gives 788 Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians and 145 Snake Indians, a total of 933 individuals.

Probably the most reliable data were furnished by the Indian census made in 1881 for the United States Census Bureau, from March to August:

	Klamaths.	Modocs.	Molale.	Snakes.	Totals.
Total of tribes on Reservation	676	122	55	165	1,018
Number of males	286	58	30	80	454
Number of females	390	64	25	85	564
Unmarried at fourteen years and upwards	109	6	9	11	135
Number married	296	55	14	65	430
Number of full bloods	664	122	53	165	1,004
Number of mixed bloods	12	....	2	....	14
Number below twenty-one years	291	58	35	89	473
Number above twenty-one years	385	64	20	76	545
Supported one half or more by civilized industries	36	6	7	....	49
Supported one-half or more by Government	38	3	....	2	43
Number wearing citizens' dress	630	112	55	165	962
Acres under cultivation	2,249	140	36	....	2,425
Number attending school	36	1	....	3	40

This enumeration is remarkable on account of the large number of Molale Indians mentioned in it, an element of the population which is nowhere else designated as such in the periodical reports made by the agents.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

121 In the manner of considering the transcendental world and in viewing the problems of the supernatural we perceive enormous differences among the various races of mankind. These differences mainly arise from the degree of animism and anthropomorphism applied to the deities supposed to represent the powers of nature and to rule the world. The primitive man regards everything showing life or spontaneous motion as animated by a spirit and endowed with certain human faculties; whereas among the more advanced nations these same gods and genii appear more fully anthropomorphized, and their moral and intellectual attributes more accurately defined. In monotheism all the physical and moral powers supposed to rule the universe become unified into one "Supreme Being."

A people's religion always rests upon a basis laid down in remote ages, and faithfully depicts the intellectual and moral qualities of its spiritual leaders at that period. Were they ferocious and cruel, the gods whom they imposed upon the people are barbaric also; were they kind and mild-mannered, then their deities show these same mental qualities. Deities act by miracles, and are miracles themselves; for a miracle or act contravening the laws of nature is the only causality which the mind of primitive man is able to imagine to solve the difficult problems of physics, meteorology and other processes of nature As there is no connected system in any of the savage religions, it is by no means difficult to overthrow the beliefs of a primitive people and to substitute others for it, provided the new ones are resting upon the same fundamental principle of spirits, deities and miracles. Dreams are to the savage man what the Bible is to us—the source of divine revelation, with the important difference that he can produce revelation through dreams *at will.* The more thoughtful religions of Asia establish a thorough distinction between spirit and matter, and thus dualistically establish idealism as opposite to materialism; but in America no religion goes any further than to *attempt* such a distinction. The higher Asiatic religions establish priesthoods, idols, ceremonial worship, divine oracles, prayer and sacrifice, and attempt to elevate man's character by moral teachings; here in the western hemisphere ceremony is magic and

121 witchcraft only, religious feasts are orgies, divine revelation is human hallucination, and the moral element, when present in religion, is not urged upon the community. While in the religions of the white man the gods originally representing nature's powers gradually become teachers or examples of morality and mental improvement, those of the other races remain the stern and remorseless deities of the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth, whose good will has to be propitiated by sacrifice.

As zoodemonism is the most appropriate form of religion for man in the animistic stage, the majority of the mythic characters in American religions are animals, especially quadrupeds; and even the fully anthropomorphized deities sometimes assume, in Oregon and elsewhere, the masks of animals. The earlier Indians firmly believed that such animals as were the prototypes of their own species had human faculties, and talked and thought as men do; in whatever tribe there are totemic gentes or clans the members of these are supposed to have descended from that prototype of a bear, deer, alligator, eagle, or whatever animal a gens is called after. Certain qualities of man, physical and intellectual, found their closest analogies in those of animals, and the animal world is much nearer akin to man in the mind of the Indian than in the white man's mind. Scurrilous and grotesque acts ascribed to so many Indian deities were not intended for derision, as with us, but for faithful portrayings of the habits of typical animals; and zoodemonism—not exactly zoolatry, as in Egypt—is the form of religion existing among the *wild* Indians of America.

The large amount of mythologic and transcendental material obtained among the Indians requires subdivision into several chapters. I present it under the following subdivisions: *a.* Elementary deities; *b.* Spirit deities; *c.* Animal deities.

114 Of the mythologic data embodied in the present article the larger part
124 were obtained by myself, but not all. The others were gathered by Messrs. Stephen Powers and Jeremiah Curtin, mainly by the latter, who obtained over one hundred Modoc myths in 1883 and 1884, now forming part of the unpublished collection of the Bureau of Ethnology.

THE ELEMENTARY DEITIES.

776 In the Klamath theology the deities of the elements have preserved
almost intact their character as representatives of the powers of nature.
Imperfectly anthropomorphized as they are, they appear rather as spirits
than as gods; all of them, the Earth perhaps excepted, are of the male sex.
[193] Like the animal genii they assume the adjectival suffix -ámtchiksh, abbr.
-amtch *bygone, ancient, belonging to the past,** though less among the Modocs
than in the northern chieftaincy. The splendor, power, and awe-inspiring qualities of these superhuman beings is not diminished in the least by the grotesque exterior and acts ascribed to some of them. The sky gods were more plastically defined by popular imagination than the subterranean deities, and hence we begin our sketch with the former.

K'MÚKAMTCH.

Ille mihi par esse deo videtur,
Ille, si fas est, superare divos.

The chief deity of the Klamath people, the creator of the world and
of mankind, is K'múkamtch, or the "Old Man of the Ancients," the "Pri-
[192] meval Old Man." The full form of the name is K'muk'-ámtchiksh, and
Modocs frequently use the shorter form Kĕmúsh, K'músh, an abbreviation of k'mútcha, *he has grown old, he is old*, or of its participle k'mutchátko, *old*. He is also named P'tísh-amtch nálam, *our old father*. He was also designated P'laitálkni, *the one on high*, though the term is now used for the God of the Christians. In every way he is analogous to the "old man above" or the "chief in the skies" of the Indians of Central California.

773 What the Indians say and think of their chief deity I have outlined
776 in the Dictionary, pages 138–140, and what follows here will substantiate
772 the data given there. Though K'múkamtch is reputed to have created
the earth, what is really meant is only the small portion of the globe known to and inhabited by this mountaineer tribe, and not the immense terrestrial globe, with its seas and continents. Neither have these Indians an idea of what the universe really is when they call him the creator and

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* In Nahuatl we may compare the reverential suffix -tzin, and in Shoshoni dialects the parallel one of -pitch, -bits; e. g., múhu *owl* in Bannock is mú'mbits *owl* in the Shoshoni of Idaho.

773 maintainer of the universe. The Indians do not claim that he created
776 the world with all in it by one single and simultaneous act, but when he is
772 creating, metamorphosing, or destroying, his acts are always special, directed
[823] towards certain objects only. After making the earth, the lakes, islands, prairies, and mountains he gave a name to each locality (p. 142, 1 sqq.). Some of these names must be regarded as giving indications as to the earliest places inhabited by these Indians, especially when they designate fish-traps and ceremonial sudatories. Thus on Upper Klamath Lake we find Kŭ'mbat, Túkwa, Tulísh, Kohásbti as fishing places, Ktá-i-Tupáksi and Yulalóna as fish-traps, the special gifts of the deity to the people. Other places of this kind are Shuyakē'kish and Ktá-i-Tupáksi. In the old Modoc country, on Lower Klamath Lake, there is a rock shaped like a crescent and called Shapashχē'ni, because "sun and moon once lived there." On Sprague River there is a hill called "at K'múkamtch's Lodge"—K'mútcham Látsashkshi. Other legendary residences of the deity were at Yámsi, "Northwind's residence," a high mountain east of Klamath Marsh; others on Tule Lake, at Nílakshi Mountain; and finally K'múkamtch was changed into the rock Ktá-iti, which stands in the Williamson River (q. v.). The old people of both chieftaincies remember many localities alleged to have been the theater of his miraculous deeds.

K'múkamtch creates the Indians from the purplish berry of the service-tree or shad-bush (*Amelanchier canadensis*, in Kl. tchák), and the color of both has evidently suggested this idea. He also provides for man's sustenance by supplying him with game and fish and the means to capture them;
[192] also with the necessary vegetal products. Objects noticeable through their peculiar shape are called after him, e. g., the *thistle*, the piercer of K'múkamtch, K'mukámtcham k̲ä'k̲. A peculiar haze sometimes perceptible in the west or northwest, shnúish, is regarded as his precursor or that of his son Aíshish.

Although but a passing mention is made of a wife or wives of his, K'múkamtch has a family. The myths speak[*] of a father, of a daughter, and of Aíshish, his son "by adoption," as members of it. The name of his

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[*] Cf. Texts, pg. 100, 2: sk̲äk̲i'sh p'tís-lûlsham. Mention is made of one-eyed wives of Skē'l and of Tcháshkai.

773 daughter is not given, but she represents the clouded or mottled evening
776 sky. When she leads him to the under-world they meet there a vast crowd
772 of spirits, who for five nights dance in a large circle around a fire, and on each of the intervening days are changed into dry bones. K'múkamtch takes with him some of these in a bag, and when reaching the horizon at daybreak throws the bones around the world *in pairs* and creates tribes from them, the Modoc tribe being the last of these. Then he travels in the path of the sun till he reaches the zenith, builds his lodge, and lives there now with his daughter.

776 K'múkamtch also figures as the culture-hero of his people; but since
773 he does so only in *one* of the myths which came to our knowledge, this myth may be borrowed from some neighboring tribe. In that myth the primitive arts and practices, as hunting and bow-and-arrow making, are taught by him to men, as was done also by Quetzalcoatl, by Botchika, and in Oregon by the Flint-Boy of the Kalapuyas, in whom the sun's rays were personified.

What the national myths relate of him is not of a nature to make him an object of divine veneration. He resembles men in every particular, is born and dies, acts like other Indians, travels about with companions, starts on gambling jaunts, is indigent and often in want, and experiences more misery throughout his eventful career than Zeus ever did on account of his illicit love-making. Like the chief gods of other Indian nations, he is the great deceiver and trickster for all those that have dealings with him, is attacked and drubbed repeatedly for his meanness and crimes; but after coming out "second best" or being killed over and over he recuperates and comes to life again just as if nothing had occurred to disturb him. Compared with other fictions representing powers of nature, he is fully the equal of such characters as Nanabozho and Gluskap, or of the Kayowē demiurge Sínti, "the Deceiver." Some of the most attractive fictions describe the various tricks and stratagems by which K'múkamtch allures his son Aíshish into perilous situations, from which rescue seems impossible. Prompted by him to climb a tall pine-tree, he would have perished on it by hunger had not his charitable wives, the butterflies, succored him in time. The general conflagration by which the earth and its inhabitants

772 were consumed through a rain of burning pitch was also brought about 773 by K'múkamtch's hatred for his son. Aíshish escapes from this inhuman persecution, and subsequently seeks to revenge himself upon his father. Aíshish's son jerks off the glowing tobacco-pipe from his grandfather's neck and throws it into the fire; Aíshish pushes it farther into the flames until burnt, and thereby K'múkamtch's death is brought about.

It is singular that when he and his son Aíshish are expected to join social or gambling parties the other participants always experience some difficulty in recognizing the one from the other. The camp-fire which K'múkamtch made on approaching the meeting-place was burning badly, the smoke seeming almost to stifle the flames; but that of his son, purple-blue in color, sent the smoke straight up, while the fire of Silver Fox, the companion of K'múkamtch, was yellow. When shooting at the mark, Aíshish's arrow hit it every time, but the arrow of K'múkamtch struck the ground short of the mark. While gambling, Aíshish became the winner of all his companion's stakes.

Assuming the mask of the Marten (Skē'l, Skē'lamtch), K'múkamtch sends out his younger brother, Weasel (Tcháshkai), to look out for one-eyed women and to bring them home as wives (Texts, pp. 107–118). Both try to stop the Northwind and the Southwind at the very orifice whence they are blowing. Weasel loses his life in the attempt, but Marten kills both winds. After Weasel has come to life again, both proceed to the lodge of the five brothers, the Thunders. When inside of the lodge Marten puts on the head-cover of the dead Northwind, and the Thunders feel his gigantic power. At night an internecine fight takes place between the brothers, and while their lodge is on fire their hearts explode in succession.

[772] From the almost infinite wealth of Klamath folklore many more particulars about this chief deity could be adduced, but what stands above is amply sufficient to indicate the powers of nature which he represents. The facts that Wán or Wanáka, *the sun-halo*, is his constant companion* and that the seat in the sky which he constantly holds is that of the sun at

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* The sun-halo is an important factor in some Indian mythologies. The Zuñi Indians say that when a storm is brewing the sun retreats *into his house*, which he built for his safety, and after the storm he leaves it again. Among the Zuñis the sun is the principal deity also.

773 noontime, would alone suffice to show that he represents the *sun*, the most
776 potent, we may say unique factor in giving life, nourishment, and health
772 to living organisms, the most important of the sky-gods, and the great
center of myth production among all nations of the world. In one of the Modoc myths it is stated that "at the call of the morning star K'músh sprang from the ashes (of the fiery sky or aurora) as hale and as bright as ever, and so will he continue to live as long as the (solar) disk and the morning star shall last, for the morning star is the 'medicine' (múluash?) of the disk." In other myths he appears in the form of the golden or bright *Disk*, inhabiting the higher mountain ridges and becoming the suitor of females afterwards deified. Thus, like Hor, Rā, and Atum, he appears sometimes as the morning sun, at other times as the noonday and evening sun, and in the myths referring to weather he is either the summer or the winter sun. The burning pipe which Aíshish's son takes from his grandfather and destroys in the camp-fire represents the sun setting in a glowing red evening sky. As the summer sun with his gigantic power he brings on a conflagration of the world and as a cloud-gatherer he causes an inundation. In the warm season he appears wrapt up in haze and fogs, which the myth in its imagery represents as "a smoky camp-fire," almost impenetrable to the sun-rays: "his arrows fall to the ground before they reach the mark."* To typify his sagacity and omniscience, K'múkamtch appears under the symbolic mask of a quadruped, the *pine-marten* or Skē'l, in Modoc Tchkē'l, which changes its black winter fur to a brown coating in the hot months of the year, and thereby became a sort of portent to the Indian. Similar changes occur with all the fur animals, but with the marten the difference in the color appears to be greater than with others. Skē'l sends his brother Tcháshgai, or *Weasel*, to obtain one-eyed women for both, these being sun and moon, which the Eskimos also represent as one-eyed, deified persons.† The North wind, which is blowing in alternation with the South
[821] wind, is attacked and killed by Skē'l. Here Skē'l represents the sun of the
summer months, for the summer's heat defeats the cold blasts of the wintry

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[113] * Texts, pp. 99, 4 (shláyaks ak), and 5.

† Cf. the Maidu myth of Kodo-Yampē in Stephen Powers's "California Tribes;" Contributions to North American Ethnology, III, 293.

773 and equinoctial seasons; when he places the North wind's hat upon his head
776 he puts an end to the noise of the Thunder brothers and then represents
772 the wintry sun.

[821] The attitude which K'múkamtch observes toward his son Aíshish will be spoken of under the next heading. It is necessary to add that the former's position is by no means restricted to that of a solar deity; several of his attributes make him also a god of the sky, or at least of the clouds, for clouds and the weather's changes are due to the sun's agency. When the sun is environed by lamb-clouds, or a mottled sky, this is figuratively expressed by: "K'múkamtch has taken the beaded garments of Aíshish and
[821] dressed himself in them." A peculiar red smoke or haze appearing in the northwestern or western sky, shnúish, announces his arrival; he is also recognizable by his bulky posteriors, or, as the Modocs say of him: "K'múkamtch múnish kutúlish gítko." By this they evidently refer to the white and heavy, mountain-shaped summer clouds.

Greek mythology depicts the fecundation of the earth by rain showers and thunder storms as the illicit amours of the sky-god Zeus with the wives and daughters of mortal men. Exactly in the same manner K'múkamtch, as sky-god, seeks to approach illicitly the numerous wives of Aíshish, of whom the majority refuse him, though he has by some stratagem previously removed their husband from the scene.

776 In the aboriginal mind the creation of organisms, vegetal and animal,
773 seems to be in connection with the fecundation of the earth, whereas the creation of the earth, world, or universe implies an act entirely different. All the names of Klamath localities are said to come from K'múkamtch. The manner in which he created plants and animals was, as we are told in one Modoc myth, by *thinking* and by *wishing*, this probably implying that after forming an idea of some creature he made that idea a reality by the strong energy of his will. Many creatures, especially birds and quadrupeds—even men—the myths tell us, were brought forth by him in this manner. The moral qualities ascribed to this deity are in keeping with what is known of his physical and intellectual powers. He provides for mankind, which he has created, but does not tolerate any contravention of his will; for he punishes bad characters by changing them into rocks or by

772 burning them. Our ideas of justice, equity, protection, or love towards men
773 do not and can not enter into the spiritual range of a god whose prototype
is constituted of physical powers only.

AÍSHISH.

φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν.

Aíshish, or Aíshishamtch, the second in importance among the Klamath deities, and certainly the most popular of all, is the son of the world-creator, K'múkamtch, and also his companion and rival. He is beautiful in appearance, beloved and admired by men, and is the husband of many wives, selected by him among the birds, butterflies, and the smaller quadrupeds. His name signifies *the one secreted* or *concealed*, and was given him at the time of his birth; and since "The Birth of Aíshish" myth explains the nature and position of this deity better than any other myth, I translate it in full from the Indian text obtained from a Modoc woman at the Modoc Reservation, Indian Territory.* The name of Aíshish's mythic mother, as other natives informed me, is Le-tkakáwash. This is an Oregonian bird of the size of the tchō'kshash, or blackbird, with a brilliant red or yellow plumage, colors rarely found in birds of that western State. Ornithologists identify it with the Louisiana tanager: *Pyranga ludoviciana*. Thus the bird is an appropriate symbol of the bright sky at moonrise or sunrise, which phenomenon Aíshish's mother is representing. The myth runs as follows:

In order to cremate the body of an old sorceress, Le-tkakáwash gathered wood while carrying her baby son on the back, piled up the wood and set up the ceremonial mourning wail. Proposing to leap into the fire herself, she was uncertain what to do with her son. She fastened him tightly to her back, and when she had applied the fire K'múkamtch perceived that she was in tears and ready to leap into the burning pile. "What on earth is this pretty woman going to do?" said he to himself; and when he saw her retreat more than once before accomplishing the dangerous leap he approached, intending to reach her in time to restrain her; but she rushed

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* The myth of Aíshish's birth forms a portion of a long cyclus of related myths, with the title: Aíshisham shapkaliä'-ash wiulamnúlashti. I obtained them from Lucy Faithful, wife of Stutflatko, or "Faithful William;" cf. Dictionary, p. 412.

772 into the fire, and K'múkamtch, regretting to have arrived too late, man-
773 aged, however, to withdraw from her back the baby, and to rescue it. He wept as he carried the child off in his arms. But where should he place it? If he placed it on his forehead it would look quite ugly, thought he; therefore he placed it on his knee and went home. He complained that he had an ulcer upon his knee, and asked his daughter to open it, for it pained him excruciatingly. She spread a sheet under the knee and another over it, to squeeze the ulcer open He exclaimed: "It hurts me terribly! Go easy! Be careful!" Then she replied: "What is the matter with you? Something like hair comes out in a bunch from the core. Why does it look like hair?" And when the baby appeared on the surface and began to cry she said: "What have you been doing? I have suspected you for quite a while before!" And the babe cried and cried, until the "father" proposed to give a name to him. None was found to answer, for the child cried on and on. Then he proposed to call it Aishlam'nash ("the one secreted about the body"). This stopped its cries somewhat, but not entirely; so he proposed the name Aíshish, and then it became restful and quiet. So the child grew up with this name, then lived in the company of K'múkamtch, became an expert in making shirts, and when gambling won all the stakes, even from his father, who became jealous on account of his superiority.*

This is the extent of the myth so far as needed for our purpose. The jealousy of the grim and demoniac K'múkamtch against his more popular son forms the subject of a considerable number of Aíshish myths, which are highly imaginative and interesting. By various stratagems based on low cunning he brings his son into perilous positions, from which he is rescued only with the utmost difficulty by others, or is perishing in the attempt to save himself. Meantime he is robbed of his garments by his "father." These constant persecutions finally force Aíshish to revenge himself upon his father, who is killed by him repeatedly, but not by any means so often as he is killed himself.

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*The connection of the mythic *pyre* of self-sacrifice with the *dawn* is not only based on similarity of nature, but also on etymological grounds; for the verb nl'lka, *it dawns*, with slight vocalic change turns into nélka, nélχa, *to be on fire*. Cf. the Latin *aurora*, which is a derivative of urere, *to burn*, and Appendix VI to Grammar, pp. 706. 707.

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776 *Aíshish's camp fire is of a clear, bright purplish-blue color* (yámnash-ptchi); he makes his shirts with his own hands and ornaments these and his leggings with all sorts of beads As a marksman he excels all his companions, whose arrows do not even strike the target (Texts, pag. 99, 4–6). According to the Modoc story his wives are Mole, Badger, Porcupine, Bitch, Crane, Mallard, two Maídiktak-birds, Wren, Tchektiti-bird, Yaulíliks or Snowbird, Butterfly, and a host of others; the Klamath Lake myth (Texts, p. 99, 9. 10) names five: Coot, Long-tailed Squirrel, Crane, Mallard, Chaffinch. Tchäshkai or Weasel, the younger brother of Skē'l, sometimes plays the part of Aíshish, but he is not found in this quality so constantly as his brother Skē'l is in that of K'múkamtch.

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776 The various attributes ascribed to this deity by the myths show Aíshish to be in many respects similar to Quetzalcoatl of Nahuatl mythology, who has been made alternately the genius of the morning star, of the calendar and of the atmospheric changes. As to Aíshish and the personal beauty invariably ascribed to him, it may appear doubtful, in view of so many other complex attributes, which idea was the starting-point that created this mythic figure, and subsequently gathered other but less material attributes about this son of the sun. He could represent originally the morning star, or the rainbow or the moon, but after mature reflection upon his complex
821 attitudes I now believe him to be a lunar deity. The splendor of the full moon is of a yellow hue, like Aíshish's camp fire (käkä'kli) and the shadow of the famished Aíshish, as seen from below through the pine-trees of the forest, is the narrow crescent of the waxing moon following its disappearance at the new moon period. At the new or "dead" moon Aíshish is famished or dead, to revive again on the days following, and this, like other phases of the moon, which result from her changeable position in regard to the sun, are represented to be the result of the jealousy and enmity of K'múkamtch against Aíshish—and whenever Aíshish succeeds in killing his father, this implies the decrease of sun-heat during the winter season. No myth shows a more striking analogy to the "Birth of Aíshish" than that of the birth of Bacchus from the thigh of Zeus after the destruction of his mother Semele by a thunder-stroke caused by Zeus, the Sky-god.

821 The moon is the originator of the months, and the progress of the

772 months brings on the seasons with the new life seen sprouting up every-
773 where during spring and summer. So the quadrupeds and birds which are
776 the first to appear after the long winter months are considered as the wives
821 of Aíshish, and the flowers of summer vegetation are the beads of his garments. He enjoys more popularity than his father, for the moon's light is mild, not burning nor offensive, nor does it dry up vegetation and make men and beasts drowsy like the rays of the midday sun. Many nations also believe that the changes of weather are partly due to the phases of the moon. Although the "Birth of Aíshish" myth obtained by me represents Aíshish rather as the adopted than as the real son of K'múkamtch, other myths state him to be his son resulting from the union of the sun-disk to the red sky of the morning or evening, symbolized by the woman Le-tka-
[19] káwash. We must recall to mind that the term for *father*, p'tíshap, in Modoc t'shíshap, is really the *nourisher*, *feeder*, and not the progenitor, for it is a derivative from t'shín *to grow.*[*] Most other mythologies consider the relation of sun to moon as that of man to wife, or of wife to man (cf. Deus Lunus), but here the thing is different. There are no female characters of importance in Klamath mythology, nor does the language distinguish grammatically between the sexes.

821 The difficulty which we experience to distinguish solar and lunar dei-
171 ties from each other in some of the American religions is caused by the
197 circumstance that in many languages of this western hemisphere the term for *sun* and for *moon* is the same. In such languages both orbs are distinguished from each other by being called day-luminary, or night-sun, night-luminary, and with some tribes the belief has been found, that both are actually the same celestial body, one being merely the image or shadow of the other. In the Maskoki languages hási answers for both, but the moon is commonly called ní'li hási or "night sun." In the Tonica language táχtchiksh, abbrev. táχtchi stands for sun, moon, and star, but the moon is usually named lá-u táχtchi "night luminary," the stars táχtchi tipulá, while the sun is either áχshukun táχtchi, "day luminary" or simply táχtchi. Of the Tinné languages many have tsā, sā, of the Algonkin languages kísis or parallel forms for both celestial bodies, separate distinctions being

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[*] Cf. the Grammar, in Appendix VI, p. 710.

821 added for "day" and "night." In the Tsimsián and in some of the Selish
171 dialects the terms for both also agree, but in the Shoshonian and Pueblo
197 languages they differ entirely. In Utah and other Shoshonian dialects the term for moon shows the archaic or reverential suffix -pits, -püts previously noticed (ma-atáwa-pits in Utah), which closely corresponds to *παλαίφατος* as used in the Homeric poems.

While the sun divides time into days, seasons, and years, our sections of time called weeks (quarters of the moon) and months (lunations, moons) are due to the revolutions of the moon. This is what caused the Klamath Indians to call both orbs by the same name: shápash *the one who tells*, which signifies: "which tells the time," or "time measurer." For the moon a parallel form exists in the Timucua, once spoken in Florida: acu-hiba *star which tells*, viz: "star measuring the time" and in the name of the Egyptian moon-god Tehuti, called Thoth by the Greeks,* also in our Germanic *mân*, English: *moon*, Germ. *Mond*, "the measurer."

Here as elsewhere the moon appears under different names, for in Klamath she is also called uk̲aúχōsh "the one broken to pieces." This term never applies to the sun, but only to the moon in the four phases, as a
[192] changeable body.† Originally this was only an epithet of the moon, but in course of time it gave origin to a separate deity, for Uk̲aúχōsh distinctly appears as moon-god in a myth, which relates his marriage to Wekétash, a frog-woman living with ten beautiful sisters on the west side of Upper Klamath Lake. Uk̲aúχōsh now carries her, the frog, in his heart, and this is what we are wont to call "the man in the moon." Should only a little bit be left of him when in the bear's mouth (referring to eclipse), she would be able to bring him to life again.

LEMÉ-ISH OR THUNDER.

776 All elementary deities in the Klamath religion, except K'múkamtch and Aíshish, are mysterious, shadowy beings, not sufficiently anthropomor-

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* Various functions are assigned to Tehuti; his symbol is the *ibis-crane*, whose long, pacing steps evidently suggested to the myth-makers of Egypt the idea, that he was measuring the earth. The name Tehuti is derived from the Egyptian verb teχu *to be full*, for the measuring of liquids, grains, etc., is effected by *filling vases* possessed of certain cubic dimensions.

† Derived from uk̲á-uk̲na *to knock to pieces*.

776 phized and too dimly defined to deserve the name "gods." Those among
[821] them that are most frequently mentioned in myths and popular stories are
the genii of the Thunder and of the Winds.

773 The genius of the Thunder, Lĕmé-ish, is sometimes mentioned as a
776 single person, or abstract mythic being, but more frequently as a company
821 of five brothers, the Thunders or Lĕmelĕmé-ish. At times they make themselves formidable, for their terrible weapon is the lightning or thunderbolt; they cleave the mountains, rocks, and trees, kill, roast, and devour human beings, in which character they are called máklaks-papísh. The interior of their lodge is dark, for a sky obscured by a thunderstorm is lacking the full daylight. K'múkamtch entering the lodge, disguised as the "strong man" under the mask of Skē'l or pine-marten, annihilates them, for the winter sky with its cold blasts is antagonistic to the display of celestial electricity. The eldest of the Thunders is married to Skúle, the meadow lark, who is the sister of pine marten. After having made themselves thoroughly odious upon the earth, they were, as the myth tells us, relegated to the far-off skies, where they can frighten the people by their noise only and do no further harm.

The parents of the Thunders are supposed to live in a small hut or kayáta, and in their stead two dogs are often mentioned as accompanying the Thunders. Of these there are five, because the thunder rolling along the mountains is heard in *repeated* peals, and these peals are in the myths likened to repeated explosions of the Thunders' hearts. The shooting up of lightnings from the earth to the skies gave rise to the idea that their home is underground, and that the lightnings coming down from the skies are simply the Thunders returning to their homes. As the spirit of the Thunder Yayayá-ash is mentioned in a mythic tale.

The *Thunder-bird*, which plays so prominent a part in the myths of the Eastern and Northwestern tribes, does not appear here under this name, but is represented in some stories by the Raven or Kák.*

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* The belief in the Thunder-bird is found more frequently among Northern than among Southern Indians. Cf. "The Thunder-bird amongst the Algonkins," by A. F. Chamberlain, Amer. Anthropologist, Jan., 1890, pp. 51–54; and my "Migration Legend of the Creek Indians," vol. 2, 49.

YÁMASH AND MÚASH.

776 821 North wind (Yámash) and South wind (Múash) are more important to the inhabitants of the Klamath highlands than any of the other winds, and therefore are mentioned more frequently. Winds always appear in connection with K'múkamtch or his representative among the animals, Skē'l. Thus when Skē'l visits his sister, Meadow Lark, who is married to the oldest of the Thunders, he is accompanied by Kák (the Raven, or storm-bird), Yámash, Tchákinksh, Yéwash, Múash, Tkálamash, and Gū'pashtish. The Thunder receives and feeds them with the blood of the people slain by him.

The conflict between Skē'l and Tcháshkai on one side and the Winds on the other is related on page 111 of the Texts and is purely meteorological. The South Wind obscures by clouds the face of the moon, and thus kills him temporarily; but when the summer sun appears in the form of Skē'l both winds disappear at once to make room to an unclouded sky. The hat of the dead Yámash afterwards serves to frighten the Thunders, as related on the same page. Which was the southern home of Múash is not pointed out in the myths, but that of Yámash was Yámsi Mountain, which is called after him. Yámash corresponds to some extent to the Kabibonokka or Northwind of the Ojibwē Indians, and is as much an object of folklore as he is. In other mythologies of America the winds are the blasts of monsters or big beasts; for the animism prevailing in all the ancient myths requires them to be the manifestation of some living being.

KÁÍLA OR THE EARTH.

823 The Earth is regarded by these Indians as a mysterious, shadowy power of incalculable energies and influences, rather mischievous and wicked than beneficial to mankind. The Indians ascribe anger and other passions to it, but never personify it in clearer outlines than the ancients did their *Ἔρα* and *Tellus;* and it never appears as an active deity in the numerous mythic tales gathered by Mr. Curtin for the collection of the Bureau of Ethnology. I know of it only through the song-lines gathered by myself from individuals of both tribes.

Among all nations of the world we find the idea, which is real as well

823 as poetical, that the Earth is our common mother. "She is dealing out her bountiful gifts to her children, the human beings, without envy or restraint, in the shape of corn, fruits, and esculent roots. Her eyes are the lakes and ponds disseminated over the green surface of the plains, her breasts are the hills and hillocks; and the rivulets and brooks irrigating the valleys are the milk flowing from her breasts." This is the poetical imagery in use among the Eastern Indians when the Earth is mentioned to them.* The idea that earthquakes and unaccountable tremors or noises within the body of the earth, also the malarial fevers, are the utterances of threat or displeasure at the misdoings of mankind, is as general among Indians as among other nations, and a consequence of the animistic tendency of primitive nations. The Indian prophet Smúχale at Priest Rapids, on Middle Columbia River, and his numerous followers, called the "Dreamers," from the implicit faith these Sahaptin sectarians place in dreams, dissuade their adherents from tilling the ground, as the white man does; "for it is a sin to wound or cut, tear up or scratch our common mother by agricultural pursuits; she will revenge herself on the whites and on the Indians following their example by opening her bosom and engulfing such malefactors for their misdeeds." This advice was probably caused by the common observation that ground recently broken up exhales miasmas deleterious to all people dwelling near.

[193] That the Earth was regarded as an animate if not personified being is shown by the form käílash of the objective case (125, 1), this case being formed in -ash only in terms applied to man and quadrupeds. Their myth [821] of the earth's creation of course does not refer to the whole globe, but only to the small part of North America known to these Indians. The earth's interior is also the home of the Thunders, because lightnings are often observed to shoot up from the earth into the skies.

[539] Special songs referring to the Earth are contained in 175; 16: käíla nû shuinálla; 176; 3 käíla ai nû wálta; 158; 48 käílanti nû shílshila—

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* After Tecumseh had delivered a speech to Governor Harrison at Vincennes, in 1811, he was offered a chair by the interpreter, who said to him: "Your father requests you to take a chair." To this Tecumseh made, with great dignity of expression, an answer which has since become classical: "*The sun is my father, and the earth is my mother; and on her bosom will I repose,*" and immediately seated himself, in the Indian manner, upon the ground.

823 the two latter alluding to rumblings below the earth's surface. In the song
539 192; 3 the term hämóla should be changed to t'hämóla, temóla, *was covered with haze* or *mist*, a phenomenon often producing malarial and other fevers, and therefore regarded by these Indians as of bad augury. Other passages mentioning the Earth, personified or not, are quoted in Dictionary, p. 123; in one of these, K'múkamtch is threatening to "whirl the earth around" in a dance, and probably this song forms part of some mythic story. (Texts, pg. 192; 9.)

MUNATÁLKNI.

773 Besides the Earth there is another chthonic deity known to the Klamath
776 people, Munatálkni or the Genius of the Underworld. I have met his name in one story only, which is that of the creation and first sojourn of the people around Wood River, between Fort Klamath and the Upper Klamath Lake. English-speaking Indians readily identify him with our *devil;* but no wicked or immoral qualities are ascribed to him, as morals enter into the religious ideas of the hunter tribes but sporadically. There is something of the aboriginal in him, and he is also called Lĕmunákni, the signification of both names being analogous.

He appears in the following tale: When K'múkamtch created this world, he made one man, and one woman intended to be the man's sister. The creator placed them in a garden (háshuash) studded with trees producing sweet fruits and built a house for them. The adjoining stable contained domestic animals for their use. All this was upon the prairie watered by Wood River. Man and woman were both blind, and had to remain so until the fruits would be ripe. K'múkamtch told them he would visit them on a Sunday and would knock at the top of their house. Should anybody knock at the door, the knocks would be those of Munatálkni and they must not open. Munatálkni came and knocked at the door, informing them that the fruits were ripe and that he brought them all kinds of berries. The woman said to the man: "Open the door, K'múkamtch is here!" but the man said: "Don't open; it is not K'múkamtch who stands at the door!" The woman opened; Munatálkni put one sweet berry in her mouth and she tasted it. He was wearing a long head-dress of feathers tied to the top of his hair, his emblem as conjurer, and this string of feathers was so long as

773 to touch the ground. He then stole all the fruits in the garden and went
776 with them to his underground abode.

Then K'múkamtch, who had observed all this from a distance, arrived and knocked at the top of the house. This time it was the man who opened. When asked what had become of the fruits he excused himself by stating that Munatálkni had taken all of them. This put K'múkamtch into such a rage that he threw the woman out of the house and whipped her to death. Then he cut open the eyelids of both, which previously had been fastened together, and the man said: "I can see the sun." K'múkamtch then instructed the man how to make his livelihood by using the bow and arrow, and how to manufacture sinew-strings and obsidian arrow-heads. Upon this he brought the man's sister into life again and both went into the mountains to hunt, for they had nothing to eat. Ever after this K'múkamtch remained angry with them.

This is but the commencement of a long tale designed to show the miraculous growth of the family which sprang from the first man and woman, and their progress in the life-sustaining arts and manufactures.
[177] There is no doubt that the above is a singular distortion of the Bible tale concerning Adam and Eve in paradise. The question which remains to be solved is this, whether or not Munatálkni himself is borrowed also from the Jewish story. If he is, then in connection with him we may recall Aíshish, who, according to some Modocs, is nobody else but Jesus Christ, who two thousand years ago passed through Lost River Valley and dug a deep well there which he presented to the Modocs—all this on account of a phonetic similarity between the names Aíshish and Jesus.

The remainder of the story is exactly like what other Oregonian myths relate concerning the origin of mankind and is incontestably of Indian origin. No further mention is made in it of Munatálkni.

SHŪ'KASH OR WHIRLWIND.

773 Another of the numerous elementary deities is the Whirlwind or
776 Shū'kash. An interesting mythic tale about it, which I have obtained
821 among the Modocs in the Indian Territory, makes of the Shū'kash an
engine brought into play from time to time with tremendous effect by the

773 genius presiding over it. This genius is called Tchitchatsχä'-ash or "Big
776 Belly;" he is represented to be an old man whose vigor of life is on the
821 decrease. When he leaves his lodge, his appearance embodies the rain-laden, dark-hued, thick nimbus clouds overhanging the earth. When his engine* comes into action, he attracts by it all the objects within reach, he oppresses the earth with his weight, and forces wayfarers to walk in other paths than they intended to travel lest they may incur danger to life. When he has spent his force by this wanton display, he is rent by a stroke of lightning or a strong gust of wind; he is dissolved into atoms, and the bones filling his big paunch, which had produced the rattling noise attending the course of whirlwinds, fall down to the ground. Tsáskai, the Weasel, the brother of Marten, wrestling with the old man and conquering him after a hard struggle, is the mythic agent who brings about his final discomfiture.

SPIRIT DEITIES.

'Εκτέταμαι φοβερὸν φρένα, δείματι πάλλων.

775 No people has ever been discovered that did not believe in the return
776 of human souls after death to their former homes in the form of ghosts. Ghosts or spirits hovering through space are invisible and may inflict damage to anybody without danger of being recognized; therefore they usually inspire awe and terror, and wherever the existence of these fanciful beings is recognized imagination fills the earth, the atmosphere, and the waters with such spooks. Not all of these are necessarily supposed to be the souls of the deceased, but they may also represent the souls of animals, the spirits of mountains, winds, the celestial bodies, and so forth, for animism has its widest sway in this sort of superstition. Very different qualities are ascribed to each of these hobgoblins or spooks. They are either gigantic or dwarfish in size, powerful or weak in body, attractive or repulsive, of
[787] beneficial or wicked influence. They chiefly appear at night or in stormy weather; some are seen single, others in crowds, and a few of their number

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[193] * Shū'kash is the substantive of sh'hū'ka *to whirl about*, this being the medial distributive form of húka *to run about:* sh'hubóka, sh'hú·oka, sh'hū'ka "to run about by itself in various directions."

775 can be perceived only by the trained eye of such as are initiated into the
776 conjurer's profession.

[787] The classes of specters mentioned more frequently than others in mythology are the spirits of the dead, and giants, dwarfs, and fairies.

775 *The Skō'ks*, or spirits of the deceased, occupy an important place in the psychologic marvels of the Klamath Indian, and are objects of dread and abomination, feelings which are increased by a belief in their omnipresence and invisibility. The popular idea of a ghost is suggested in all climates and historic epochs by that of a *shadow* of somebody's former self, and in several Indian languages the same word is used for *shadow, soul*, and *ghost*.[*] The proper signification of skō'ks, shkū'ksh is "what comes out of;" like skó'hs, skó *spring of the year;* it is derived from skóa *to come out of, to emerge from, sprout up.*

In the mind of the Indian the appearance of a skō'ks comes pretty near the popular idea of a witch or spook as held by the uneducated classes of our population. The soul of a man becomes a skúks as soon as the corpse has been buried or consumed by fire. It hovers in the air around its former home or the wigwams of the neighbors and at night-time only. Its legs hang down and produce a rattling noise, and the whole appears in a white or a black shade of color. Usually nobody sees them, they do not harm anybody, nor do they produce any dreams; they appear to the senses and sight of the living only when they come to presage death to them. They undergo no metempsychosis into animals or plants; after hovering awhile around their former homes they retire to the spirit-land in the sky, "some-
[787] where near K'múkamtch." Their arrival there is afterwards revealed by dreams to the surviving relatives, who express in songs what they have seen during their slumbers.

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[*] In the Tonika or Túniχka language of Louisiana télia or télia'htch signify *shadow, soul*, and *reflection in the water;* in the Cha'hta, State of Mississippi, shilámbish is *shadow* and *soul*, while a *ghost* is shílup. The Egyptian ka and the Greek *εἴδωλον*, the *soul* after death, really signify *image*, and to this we may compare the use made of the Latin *imago*. The Cherokees, as Mr. James Mooney informs me, distinguish between adántâ *soul* in the living being, u^{n}dalĭ' secondary soul of an animal killed once before, and asgína an ordinary *specter*, *ghost* of malevolent disposition, which last term served the missionaries for transcribing the word "devil."

775 The common belief of the Oregonians is that after death the soul travels the path traveled by the sun, which is the westward path; there it joins in the spirit-land (ē'ni) the innumerable souls which have gone the [821] same way before.* If the deceased was a chief, commander, or man of note, his "heart" can be seen going west in the form of a shooting star. The Egyptian belief was that the soul of the dead was following Atum, the sinking sun, to the west; and since then innumerable nations and tribes have adhered to the same belief.

From the Texts obtained from Dave Hill, pp. 129, 130, we learn that other abodes of dead men's spirits are the bodies of living fish. Perhaps Hill learned of this belief among the maritime and river Indians with whom he lived on the Columbia River, where the idea of fish eating corpses could suggest itself more readily than upon the lakes of the Klamath highlands. The *Notes* which I added to these curious texts give all the explanations which it is at present possible to give. It appears from them that such spirits can enter the bodies of "spirit-fish," that one skúks can see another, and that Indians, not white men, sometimes see the skúks, but at the peril of their lives. A distinction is also made between good and bad skúks, the latter being probably those who render the Indian's sleep uncomfortable by unpleasant dreams.

776 821 Some natural phenomena often appear to these Indians in the form of specters or hobgoblins, as clouds, water-spouts, snow-storms, columns of dust, etc. Noisily and rapidly they pursue their lonely path, and their gigantic, terrific frames reach up to the skies; whoever meets them unawares is knocked down senseless or killed outright, or must exchange his body for another. Some of these specters look dark on one side and light on the other.

177 775 821 In northern latitudes, where polar lights are frequently visible, they are supposed by the Indians to represent the dance of the dead, and whenever Christianity is introduced among them they identify this beautiful spectacle with the last judgment, when the spirits of the deceased move about in the expectation of the coming Christ.

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* Cf. Dictionary, sub voce ē'ni and Grammar, Appendix VI, p. 702. The Warm Spring Indians call the spirit-land: ayayúni. See also Texts, p. 174; 11.

776 From a Klamath myth we gather the information that there is a guardian over the spirits wafting through the sky, called Wásh k'músh, or the *gray fox*. This name is evidently borrowed from the coloring of the sky, as it appears before or during a polar light, and must be compared with another beast name, the wán or wanáka, the *red fox*, which is the symbol of the sun-halo.

756 776 Another class of spirits embodies the spirits of those animals which have to be consulted by the kíuks or conjurer when he is called to treat a case of disease. Such persons only who have been trained during five years for the profession of conjurers can see these spirits, but by them they are seen as clearly as we see the objects around us. To see them they have to go to the home of a deceased conjurer, and at night only. He is then led by a spirit called Yayayá-ash appearing in the form of a one-legged man towards the spot where the animal-spirits live; this specter presides over them; there the conjurer notices that each appears different from the other, and is at liberty to consult them about the patient's case. Yayayá-ash means "the frightener," and by the myth-tellers is regarded as the Thunder or its spirit.

776 *Giants.*—The imagination of every primitive people has been busy in producing monsters of all qualities and shapes, human and animal, even walking mountains and trees. What we call giants are generally personifications of irresistible powers of nature, which are supposed to perform feats impossible for man's utmost strength; by dwarfs are symbolized powers of nature which achieve great and wonderful things by steady and gradual work unnoticed by the generality of human beings.

773 823 Giants are often the originators of geological revolutions of the earth's crust. Thus the giant Léwa represents the circular, lofty island lying within the waters of Crater Lake or Gíwash. He went by an underground passage (fissure?) from his seat over to Yámsi Mountain to wrestle with Skē'l, the all-powerful pine-marten, whose home is at Yámsi. After conquering him, he carried him through the same passage again to Crater Lake for the purpose of feeding him to his children, and his daughter, Léwam pé-ip, struck him with a heavy flint-stone.

776 823 Like the walls of that lake and the whole Cascade range, the island in

776 question is of volcanic origin. The natives avoid going near the lake or
823 even ascending the surrounding heights.* Earthquakes are often ascribed
by foreign nations to giants stretched out below, who are shifting their
underground position. Giants often appear also as ravishers, ogres, and
man-eaters, like the Scandinavian Yättur, and two giant-women of the
Elip tilikum or "Primeval People," were changed into two columns of
sandstone, near the Yákima country, on Middle Columbia River, for having
preyed upon the human race.†

776 *Dwarfs.*—A miraculous dwarf is mentioned under the name of na'hnias,
whose foot-prints, as small as those of a child, are sometimes seen upon the
[756] snow-clad slopes of the Cascade Range by the natives. But the dwarfish
creatures who make them can be seen only by those initiated into the mysteries of witchcraft, who by such spirit-like beings are inspired with a
[192] superior kind of knowledge, especially in their treatment of disease. The
name is derived either from néna *to swing the body from one to the other side*,
or from naináya *to shiver, tremble*

[823] Another dwarf genius, about four feet high, *Gwinwin*, lived on Will-
[825] iamson River, where he habitually sat on the top of his winter lodge and
killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird.

The Klamaths appear to know about certain spirits having bodies of a diminutive size, but the characteristics of such are not distinct enough to permit identification with the *fairies*, Erdmännchen or Kabeiroi of European mythologies.

ANIMAL DEITIES.

776 The deification of animals in the primitive forms of religion is highly
825 instructive, and instances are so numerous that it would take a series of
volumes to comprehend its details. Animal stories and shamanism are

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[*] Among the summits of the San Juan Mountains, New Mexico, there is to-day a lake bounded by precipitous walls, and there is a little island in the center of the lake with a hole in it, and something sticks out of the hole that looks like the top of a ladder, and "this is the place through which our ancestors emerged from the fourth into the fifth or present world." The Návajos never approach near to it, but they stand on high summits around, and view from afar their natal waters. (From Návajo Creation Myth, Am. Antiquarian, V, 1883, p. 213.)

[†] G. Gibbs in Pacific Railroad Reports, I, 411.

776 chapters of ethnology which afford us the deepest insight into the thoughts
825 which guide the untutored reasoning of the so-called savages.

Wherever we find deities in the stage of imperfect anthropomorphism we are likely to find also deified animals in the stage of zoodemonism and not in that of zootheism or zoolatry. Where gods and goddesses have reached a fully anthropomorphic shape, which occurred in a few American nations only, there we also find priests, temples, ceremonies, oracles, sacrifices, and prayers; but where deities remain in the undeveloped condition of spirits and demons, propitious or malevolent to mankind, we may expect to see the natives deifying quadrupeds, birds, or snakes, instead of giving their gods the human form, which is the most perfect form of this world's creatures. For in many physical qualities animals surpass the human being. This excites the admiration of man in his ruder stages; he wonders at their cunning and shrewdness, and thinks them his equals in more than one respect. Why should he not express such feelings as these by reverencing them and including them in his unpolished and naïve, but pictorial and candid folklore stories?

It would be a mistake to assume that the animals which the folklore of the Indian in the hunter stage chiefly celebrates are game animals or such as are of material advantage to him. Folklore selects for its purpose such beasts which the hunting and fishing Indian, with his great practical knowledge of animate creation, admires above others for such qualities as their surprising sagacity, their wonderful agility, the love for their offspring, the help afforded by them by discovering the hidden causes of disease, the beauty of their skin or other covering, and the change in the coloring of their fur-skins wrought by the alternation of the seasons—or such animals as he dreads on account of their ferocity, their nightly habits, their power of bringing about storms, thunder, or rain-fall, and last, but not least, for their demoniac power of presaging future events, especially war, disease, and death. The great *scarcity* of certain animals is also a sufficient cause for introducing them into the popular stories.

The animals which form the subject of mythic stories and beast tales are pretty much the same as those mentioned in the magic songs of the medical practitioners, of which I have brought together a considerable collection in Texts, pp. 153–181. The birds get an unusually large share in

776 825 these curious song lines; the loon (táplal) is noticed there for being the best diving bird of these upland waters; the yellow-hammer, or tché-ush, a woodpecker, for its beautiful red plumage; the kilíwash, another woodpecker, for its precious scalp. The ducks are well remembered in these songs on account of their ubiquity, their numerous species, the elegance of their [821] exterior. Birds renowned for their influence upon the weather are the wíhuash and the tsiutsíwäsh, who can produce snow-fall; the kä'ls or k̲ál χalsh, who possesses the power of making fogs (166; 22. 23).

The amphibians, insects and the organisms standing below these in the zoogenetic scale, are also reputed to possess magic powers; the songs of the [824] toad and of the spider are supposed to be especially effective. That the plants did not impress the mental capacity of these Indians to such a point as to make them objects of reverence can not be wondered at, as the mind of the Indian in cold climates is not turned in this direction Plants in which the Klamaths were interested are all mentioned, p. 180; 19, and the pond-lily, with its seeds, stands at the head of them. Even among the totem names of Eastern tribes only a few plant names are represented, *maize* being the most frequent among these; but in tropical countries, with their luxuriant vegetal growth, many trees, bushes, and stalks become objects of worship, like the copal and the ceïba tree of Central America.

The deified animals of Klamath mythology are all capable of assuming the predicate ámtchiksh, abbr. -ámtch, -amts *primeval*, of which mention has been made previously, and many also appear collectively, as *five* (or *ten*) brothers or *five* sisters, sometimes with their old parents (titchka-ága). This is the case only with gregarious animals, and also applies to the Thunders. Many of the larger quadrupeds appear constantly with *two* young only.

825 773 The personified animals which receive the most frequent attention in Klamath Lake and Modoc myths are the marten, the weasel and the prairie-wolf or coyote.

Marten or Skē'l, Skē'lamtch always appears in connection with *Weasel* or Tcháshkai. Weasel is reputed to be the younger brother (tápiap) of Skē'l and acts as his servant and errand-boy. In the execution of the dangerous errands he is intrusted with, Weasel is often killed, and Skē'l

773 sometimes also, but they manage to revive again and to revenge themselves
825 on their enemies. What brought these two beasts into mutual connection
in the popular mind has been already pointed out: both change their furs,
more than other animals, from a darker hue in summer to a lighter one
823 in winter, when the weasel's fur becomes white. They are both supposed
to live at Yámsi, "Northwind's Home," a high peak east of Klamath Marsh.
To act like Skē'lamtch is to do something not meaning to do it apparently.
Skē'l is a great wrestler, and like K'múkamtch has the faculty of changing
821 himself into a bird, beast, dog, old woman, etc., at will. To a certain
extent he is the counterpart of K'múkamtch and performs the same deeds
as he does, it appearing as if K'múkamtch acted under the mask of Marten
and Tcháskai under that of Aíshish, in whom we recognize a lunar deity.
But there are other acts by which the two pairs differ considerably, and
where Marten and his brother appear to represent the wintry season only
and the rough weather attending it.

Another deity of the same type, and far-famed over all the Pacific
coast, is the *prairie-wolf*, little wolf, or coyote. This quadruped belongs
rather to the genus *jackal* than to the wolves, looks as smart as a fox, carries
a beautiful fur, and does not attack people unless united in packs of a dozen
or more. His habit of living in earth holes, and his doleful, human-like,
whining ululation, heard especially during moonlit nights were probably
what set him up in the esteem of certain Indians, like the Eastern Selish
and the Central Californians, so high as to make of him the creator of the
world and of man. In Modoc stories he appears more frequently than in
Klamath Lake folklore, and at present there are but few of these animals
821 left on the headwaters of Klamath River. Wásh, or Wáshamtch as the
Klamaths call him, always appears in sun and moon stories, and is, like
Skē'l and Tcháshgai, a substitute for the sun-and-moon deities. When he
ran a race with the clouds he thought at first that there were two of him,
for he always saw another person, his shadow, going by his side. When
he stayed in the lodge of the Firedrill brothers he took the fire-sticks of
these in his hands and they all blazed up. In the lodge of the ten Hot-Water
Basket brothers he was burnt terribly by the inmates, and when
repairing to the Ants' lodge the inmates punished him fearfully by their

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925
savage bites. Once when caught in the act of "stealing" a woman, he was captured by the two husbands of the same, who skinned him and hung up the skin to dry, after which the woman was abducted by the five Bear brothers. The female prairie-wolf also appears in folklore with her progeny, e. g., in the tale of the "Creation of the Moons," page 105, which exists in several variations. Such stories and others represent the coyote-wolf as a being which has many points of contact with K'múkamtch, but is distinct from him. Both are regarded simultaneously as sky-gods and as funny clowns. As traits distinguishing the one from the other, we notice that the wolf's body is believed to harbor wicked spirits (Texts, page 128, 4) and that his lugubrious voice is the presager of war, misfortune, and death (133, 1 2). A distinction has to be made throughout between the coyote as an animal and the coyote as representing powers of nature in a deified, abstract form

Of the three varieties of the *bear* species, the *grizzly bear* is the most popular, but also more dreaded than the others on account of his enormous physical force. What makes him popular is a peculiar bonhomie which he exhibits in his behavior, and which forms a peculiar contrast to his bodily strength. In the myths he, or rather the female bear, is called Lúk, Lúkamtch, Sháshapamtch, Sháshapsh, and her two young Shashápka, the latter name probably referring to the fact that this beast was at one time more than other quadrupeds made the subject of mythic and folk-lore tales (shapkéa, shapke-ía, shashapkaléa *to narrate a story*, shapkaléash, distr. shashapkĕléash *legend, tale*). The tale of the "Bear and the Antelope" is perhaps the most attractive of our collection of Texts. Generally the bear is the aggressive party in these stories, and he also gets generally worsted whenever a fight occurs or a stratagem is played on him. Sometimes there are five bear brothers acting in unison. In the "old yarn," narrated p. 131, this bear is killed by Gray Wolf near Modoc Point, and in his magic song (157; 46) he is made to say that he has five springs which are all dried up. He is often mentioned in the song-lines, but always under the name Lúk, not as Shàshapamtch.

Gray Wolf or Ké-utchish, Ké-utchiamtch is another of the carnivores which sometimes appear prominently in folklore stories. Gray Wolf is

773 825 reputed to be a relative (shá-amoksh) of Marten, and consequently of K'múkamtch; he stayed at the lodge of the five Thunders at the time when it was burnt down, pp. 112, 113. One of his residences is at Mount Shasta.

Other quadrupeds frequently mentioned in these stories are the *skunk* (tcháshash), the three different kinds of *deer*, the *antelope* (tché-u), the *elk* (vû'n), the *mole* (mû'nk, Mod. mû-úe). Men or Indians appear but incidentally in beast stories, as pshe-utíwash, a plural noun, and are engaged only as a passive element in every occurrence where they are mentioned.

Among the *birds* the most prominent part is assigned to the *raven* (K̲ák̲, K̲ák̲amtch), for he is *Fate* personified, and his office is to punish by death all those who act antagonistically to his or his allies' interests. This is done by changing them into rocks. In all nations the croaking, doleful cries of the raven leave a deep impression on the human mind, and hence in mythology the raven fulfills the function of a soothsayer and messenger of woe. In British Columbia and farther to the northwest he is (as Yehl) considered the creator of all organisms, and almost all the folklore centers around him as the main figure.

The *golden eagle* or the one "floating in the skies" (P'laíwash) is in the Klamath lore mentioned as often as the raven, either alone or as a family of five brothers, but does not command so much respect as the raven does.

The *water birds*, as cranes, ducks, geese, coots, form the light infantry of the mythologic make-up, and mostly figure in crowds of five or ten, the coot representing the Ojibwē Shíngibis so well known through Longfellow's Hiawatha. Some of the *lower organisms* rise to an unexpected dignity, like the woodtick or shk̲ō'ks, which becomes the wife of the tricky Marten, and a caterpillar of beautiful colors, whose exterior makes him the rival or "master of the sun" (shápsam ptchíwip). Aíshish counts among his plural wives two butterflies of the gayest colors.

PRINCIPLES OF MYTHIFICATION.

121 77 The idea that every phenomenon and every change observed in nature and mind is caused by some spirit, ghost, genius, god, or other mysterious, generally invisible agent, embodies what we call animism, and forms the foundation of all religions of the world, however abstract they may have

121 become in course of time. The working of animism can best be traced in
77 polytheism and polydemonism, in the shamanistic ideas as well as in the religious. The principles traceable in the myth-making of the Klamath Indians, which differs in some points from those of other Indians, may be summed up as follows:

The sky-gods, as sun, moon, winds, thunder, etc., here as elsewhere surpass in importance and strength the other deified powers of nature, for "theology is meteorology." Some of these chief gods assume the mask of animate beings and inanimate things when they appear among men.

773 Creation myths do not generally mention the material from which or
776 the mode by which objects were created, but simply state that K'múkamtch produced them by his thinking and will power.

The spirit, life, or heart of a deity is made distinct from the deity itself and can live at a distance from it. Cf. the pipe of K'múkamtch burnt in the fire, which in another myth figures as a small ball (ké-iks) and is his spirit or life.

The burlesque element, which the religions of Asia and Europe have banished almost entirely, appears here as an almost integral attribute of a god or genius. This appears to form an offset for the dire cruelties ascribed to the same demons, and is also characteristic of the religions studied east of Mississippi River.

The element of obscenity is only incidental to the burlesque element, but is sometimes very pronounced, especially in the beast stories. It was added to cause merriment only, and not for such immoral purposes as we see it applied to in the Decameron of Boccaccio and other products of a corrupt age.

[801] The deified beings of a lower order, as animals, etc., appear sometimes as *one* person, but just as often in the mystic number of *five*, if not of *ten*. Fire, waters, springs, and plants are not deified, but lakes are sometimes. Clouds do not appear here deified as witches, as they do among the Eastern Indians.

Certain miracles are here achieved by bodily contact and symbolic acts; so dead animals are brought to life again by jumping three or five

773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however, be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is
free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during
the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of
suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency build-
532 ings, which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face
flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also
artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the lan-
538 guage fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of
success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration, assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

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TEXTS OF THE KLAMATH LANGUAGE,

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES.

[p. cviii is blank]

THE KLAMATH INDIANS OF OREGON.

By Albert S. Gatschet.

INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTS.

121 The most important and valuable monument of itself which a people can transmit to posterity is a national literature. But to answer the requirements fully, the literature of a people must possess a certain degree of completeness in portraying the national peculiarities. It should embrace not only sketches of contemporaneous history, of national habits, customs, and laws laid down in the native idiom, but we expect from it also a truthful rendering of the spiritual side of national life, of its physical and metaphysical speculations as we find them embodied in its myths, beliefs, superstitions and conjurers' practices, and of speeches and discourses of its representative men held on solemn occasions. The most fragrant flowers in any national literature are certainly the poetic productions, if a full account of their origin and purport is added to make them easily comprehensible.

While cultured nations are constantly engaged in perpetuating the memory of their thoughts and achievements by means of some alphabetic or syllabic system of writing, the uncivilized hunting or fishing tribes possess none, or only the most imperfect means of recording their affairs. All of them possess mythic tales, traditional history, and songs for various incidents of life; not a few are even originators of didactic folklore, of proverbs, and of versified rhythmic poetry. Many of these mental productions are remarkable for artistic beauty, others for a most interesting variety of detail; but all of them will, if collected with accuracy and sound

121 judgment, throw a profusion of light upon the physical and mental characteristics of the natives and on their past and present condition.

The task and care of fixing the unwritten mental productions of uncultured races and tribes thus devolves upon the white man. It is by no means an easy undertaking, and success can be attained only when the investigator is favored by circumstances. Ethnologic texts taken from an uncivilized people are of much intrinsic value only when the scientific collector is lucky enough to secure the services of intelligent and well-informed individuals whose veracity is above suspicion, and who have constantly resided among their own people.

Considerations of this nature guided me when I endeavored to commit to writing the strange mythology of Oregonian tribes, replete with the most fantastic stories of their elementary deities and tricksy animal daimons; and when the weird and unearthly strains of their war-whoops and dance-yells first struck my ear, I considered even these worthy of notation. I have not hesitated to assign the first and foremost place in this linguistic volume on the Klamath language to the "Texts" obtained from trustworthy Indians of the Klamath Lake and Modoc tribes, for I know that they faithfully portray the characteristic features and idiosyncrasies of these dusky denizens of a secluded upland region. These literary specimens are the foundation and basis upon which I have rested my investigations.

The language of these specimens, as the organ of transmission of the national ideas, had to be carefully sifted and overhauled before it could become the basis of linguistic and ethnologic investigation. Numerous revisals and comparisons were needed to eliminate involuntary mistakes of Indian informants, who never elevate themselves above a purely empiric mastery of their native idiom. That an accurate grammar can be composed upon the solid foundation of faultless texts only, nobody will contest. Neither will it be doubted that the more copious the specimens are the safer the conclusions of the linguist will be concerning the principles governing the forms of speech.

Literary productions enlarging upon national and ethnologic matters are of much greater importance for the scientific study of the language in which they may be composed than any other texts. How poor and frag-

121 mentary would our knowledge of Latin and Greek be, if the poets, orators, and historians who wrote their compositions in these sonorous idioms were lost, and if nothing in them had come down to our age but versions of foreign books and reproductions of foreign speculations and ideas! A writer or informant is most capable of acquainting us with matters concerning his *own* people, country, and epoch, because he feels more interested in these topics than in any others, and he will select from the national stock of words the proper term for each object or idea he desires to express. Investigators will therefore, when they address themselves to intelligent natives for national, tangible and concrete topics of every-day life, generally obtain correct and trustworthy information on their objects of research, but will meet with disappointment when inquiring for equivalents of terms or ideas totally foreign to the simple understanding of the native population.

An experience of short duration will convince any linguistic investigator that a multitude of characteristic, quaint, and unfrequent expressions, idioms, phrases, and inflectional forms can never be obtained by mere questioning. The natives must be allowed to speak out their own free minds, without bias or trammelling; after a short acquaintance they can easily be induced to recount popular stories, myths, incidents of history, or intertribal wars, to reproduce speeches and national songs from their own reminiscences, and thus they will spontaneously use peculiar forms of language which often yield a deeper insight into the genius of their vernacular idiom than pages of information gathered after the usual method of the scholarly lexicographer or the pedantic verbal translator.

Legends, myths, and lyric productions, when obtained in their original shape from unsophisticated relators, furnish us with the best material for inquiries into a far remote antiquity, even when the historic horizon of the informant's tribe does not exceed the limit of two generations. If facts and dates do not, words and radical syllables will tell us a tale, and may enable us to trace ancient migrations or intertribal connections, teach us the origin of certain customs, habits, or national ideas, and inform us of the shaping, the material, or uses of old implements. In some instances they will guide us into remoter periods than prehistoric archæology can, and supply us with

121 more useful dates and facts. Such results as these may be confidently looked for when several dialects of one linguistic family can be compared; and a careful comparison of one language with others spoken in the vicinity, belonging to the same or a different family, will always be attended with beneficial results for the increase of our scientific knowledge.

124 127 The aboriginal literary monuments printed below are authentic national records of a brave and industrious mountain tribe of Indians. Ethnologic notices have at a comparatively early period been gathered concerning the Modocs and Klamath Lake Indians, but most of them were of doubtful scientific value, because the information was gathered from them in the English language, which they understood but very imperfectly. Even now, the dates and facts recounted by them, as well as by Indians of many other tribes, in English, are so extremely confused, that only texts written in their own language can give us a clear insight into their traditions, myths, and mode of thinking.

538 No Indian tribe possesses a history of itself reaching back further than two or three generations, unless it has been recorded by whites at an early date, and what goes beyond this limit is tradition, on which we must be careful not to place any implicit reliance. But mythology records in a certain sense the intellectual history as well as the metaphysical ideas of a people, and thus by the gathering of the numerous mythic tales and legends of the Máklaks a start at least is made for the investigation of their intellectual development. A very moderate estimate puts at several hundred the more generally circulated myths of the Klamath Lake or É-ukshikni alone, and the number of their popular song-lines, so interesting and unique in many respects, may be called infinite, for their number is increased every day by new ones. The bulk of their mythic folklore is of great poetic beauty, freshness, and originality, and, like that of other tribes, full of childlike "naïveté." This latter characteristic forms one of their greatest attractions, and the animal myths of every uncultured people will prove attractive, because they were invented for religious or poetic and not for [173] didactic purposes. To some of the myths given below we may confidently ascribe an antiquity of over three centuries, for their archaic terms

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538 and locutions, repeated from generation to generation, are not always understood
173 at the present day by the young people, who most attentively listen to
the aged rhapsodists, when they expound these miraculous stories in the lurid
glare of the nocturnal campfire. Nothing in them indicates a migration of
these upland tribes from any part of the country into their present homes,
and hence the Máklaks must have had undisturbed possession of the headwaters
of Klamath River for some centuries prior to the advent of the
white population.

197 The various texts obtained clearly exhibit the character of the language
538 actually spoken and the difference existing between the two dialects,
124 but they do not all possess the same linguistic value. The texts of
Dave Hill and others are worded in the conversational language of the
tribe, which in many particulars differs from the more elaborate and circumstantial
mode of speech which appears in the mythic tales given by
124 Minnie Froben. The "Modoc War" and some of the shorter pieces could be
126 obtained only by putting down the English first and then getting sentence
for sentence in the dialect, whereas the best worded stories and specimens
were written in continuous dictation. All texts obtained were carefully
revised first with the informants, then with other natives, and all the necessary
explanations added at the time.

533 From a purely linguistic view the popular songs or song-lines are the most valuable contributions. The melodies of some of their number deserve to be called pretty, according to our musical taste. To the natives all of them appear harmonious; but when the Western Indian calls some melody "pretty," guided by his musical principles, he very frequently does so in opposition to what our ear tells us to call by this predicate.

124 The Klamath Lake dialect was spoken by the majority of the contributors
191 to my linguistic anthology. I obtained these specimens, with the
exclusion of the Modoc texts, in the autumn of 1877, at the Klamath
Reservation, Lake County, Oregon. Though many of these natives speak
the Chinook jargon more fluently than English, I never availed myself, for
obtaining any information whatever, of that imperfect and hybrid medium,
through which the Indians of the Northwest carry on so much of their
intercourse.

115 The following is a list of the most important contributors:

1. *The Riddle family*, consisting of Frank Tazewell Riddle, a native of Kentucky, born about 1836; his wife Toby, a pure-blood Modoc woman, who was, as stated in her biographic notice, born in 1842, and their son Jeff. C. Davis Riddle, born about 1862. Among several texts of linguistic importance I obtained from them a circumstantial chronistic account of the Modoc war of 1873, in which Mr. and Mrs. Riddle had served as interpreters of the Peace Commission. Having been introduced to them in December, 1875, in New York City, by Mr. A. B. Meacham, late Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, when they travelled with him in the eastern States in connection with the Meacham Lecturing Company, I took down the contents first in English from Mr. Frank Riddle, then added the translation from the other members of the family. Mr. Riddle had no intention of giving a full and authentic account of that desperate struggle, but merely wished to render his own impressions, and to relate in the plainest words the events witnessed by himself. Here we have the opportunity of hearing also the Modoc side of the contest.

The wording of the other Modoc texts was the almost exclusive work of the boy Riddle, who speaks the language perfectly well, and only in the more difficult portions was he assisted by his mother. From the Riddles I obtained also several hundred sentences, over sixty songs, and about two thousand three hundred vocables, which were twice revised with their assistance in New York City, and twice again with the efficient help of such natives at the Klamath Lake Agency as were conversant with the Modoc dialect.

2. *Dave Hill*, a dusky, pure-blood Indian, subchief of the Klamath Lake tribe and interpreter, born about 1840. Having been a prominent warrior of his tribe up to the treaty of 1864 and a scout in subsequent expeditions against hostile Indians, he has also seen much of the white man's ways by staying for years in Northwestern Oregon and by traveling East with Mr. A. B. Meacham on his lecturing tour in 1875. How he was then kidnapped in New York City, confined in a cellar, restored to liberty, and how he worked his way home, is related with full particulars in Meacham's *Winema*, pages 95–102. In the Modoc war (1872–73) he was put in command of the auxiliary forces of his chieftaincy, which were detailed to observe the

115 belligerent Modocs and to check any dangerous movements which they might have undertaken against the settlers or the Indian Reservation. Hill's father, Skaítitko, or the "Left-Handed", was for some time a guide to General Frémont on one of his expeditions through Oregon, Nevada, and California.

Readers of Hill's texts will notice that his diction is very concise, pregnant and to the point, and so is the speech of these Indians generally. But since that conversational language, or popular jargon, as we may not improperly call it, moves along in contractions, elisions, metatheses and ellipses, I have had to revise his texts many times with him and other Indians before I could make them practically available. In the myths, Dave Hill is not so pictorial and graphic as Minnie Froben, but in narrating his feats of war he readily furnished all the points that could be expected. Concerning the conjurers' practices and national beliefs, he was more communicative than the majority of the Klamath Indians, whom superstitious awe still deters from revealing all that the investigator desires to know. Hill's list of topographic names is a very important addition to aboriginal topography, since he has added the correct etymology to the majority of these local designations.

3. *Minnie Froben*, born about 1860, the daughter of a pure-blood Klamath woman, who lives on the Williamson River, and of a (deceased) French settler Froben or Frobine, was, at the time of my visit, the assistant of Mrs. Nickerson, the matron of the boarding-school for native children at the Agency. She and the subchief Hill were the most important contributors to my mythic and other ethnologic anthology, and the pieces dictated by her excel all the others in completeness and perspicuity. Moreover, I obtained from her a multitude of popular songs, the names and uses of esculent roots and plants, the Klamath degrees of relationship, a large number of words and sentences, a good deal of grammatic information, and revised, with her assistance, the whole of the Modoc contributions, as well as the majority of Klamath Lake texts.

If any further books should be composed in or about the Klamath Lake dialect, her assistance would perhaps be preferable to any other native help to be found at present in the tribe; for during her stay with white people

115 she has succeeded in acquiring more mental training than Indians usually acquire on reservations.

4. *Charles Preston*, a pure-blood Klamath Lake Indian, born about 1840, is now stationed as interpreter at the subagency of Yaíneks. Preston had previously sojourned five years at Oregon City on the Willámet River and vicinity, and there he learned to converse in English quite fluently, acquiring also the idiom of the Wasco Indians, of which he has furnished me over three hundred of the most usual terms. During a stay of three weeks which he made at the Klamath Lake Agency, I obtained from him valuable grammatic and lexical information, texts, popular songs, and proper names, and revised with him the Modoc dictionary.

5. *Sergeant Morgan*, a pure-blood Indian, living at Koháshti, born about 1830, and jocosely called "*Sergeant*" on account of his wearing an old sergeant's uniform which he had obtained from soldiers at Fort Klamath. From this good-natured, intelligent old Indian I obtained a few short texts and some ethnologic information especially relating to mythologic and shamanic subjects.

6. "*The Captain*" or "*Captain Jim*", a pure-blood Indian, living at the junction of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, about five miles from the Agency buildings. When I saw him he was about fifty years old, and as he spoke but Klamath and Chinook jargon, all the mythology which he remembered was obtained through Minnie Froben. He received his nickname "*Captain*" from having been a help on a steamboat plying on the Willámet River, Oregon.

7–11. Other informants of whose assistance I have availed myself are mentioned at the head of the texts. They were *Johnson*, the head chief of the Modocs at Yaíneks; the conjurer *Ḵáḵash* or *Doctor John;* and several young Indians then scarcely over twenty-five years of age: *Pete*, *Frank*, and *Long John's Ben*. All of them are pure-blood Indians.

128 To facilitate the study of the Klamath language, and to increase the popular interest in the acquisition of Indian languages in general, I have inserted with the texts an interlinear translation, and subjoined to them a variety of commenting notes of linguistic, ethnographic, and historic import. The large majority of the Indian words could be rendered in their literal meaning; but in some instances, where literal translation was nearly

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128 impossible, the *sense* of the word or phrase was reproduced as faithfully as could be done within the narrow space allotted. Words in brackets were inserted only to render the sentence complete.

But to the student striving after a thorough understanding of the texts all these helps will prove of partial assistance only. A thorough study of the Grammar ought in fact to precede their perusal, and reference to all the three portions of the work will frequently be necessary.

[194] The material portion of a language can be faithfully conveyed to our understanding only by the correct pronunciation of its words, sentences or texts. Hence all that is said of Klamath *phonetics* must be studied first, and more especially the alternating processes, the proclisis and enclisis, the sounds not occurring in English (as the linguals, the aspirate χ, the vowel *ü*), and first of all the pronouncing list of alphabetic sounds, which is subjoined. To initiate readers into the distinction, empirically obtained from the mouths of the natives, between the clear vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*, and the dumb or deep-sounding *á*, *é*, *í*, *ú*, the earlier pages of the texts contain more indications than are given in the later. In certain terms long vowels can turn into short, and short into long ones. Special attention must be paid also to the study of elisions, apocopes, metatheses, etc.

[193] In the *morphologic* part of the Grammar, the verbal and nominal paradigms are particularly recommended to the student's attention, and a previous knowledge of the mode of forming the distributive reduplication from the absolute form is indispensable to the reader of my Texts, not only for their full comprehension, but even for the use of the Dictionary. The suffix of the future tense is written *-uapka*, to distinguish it from a homonymous form *-wapka*, of different signification. The apocopes occurring in the conversational style of language will soon be recognized as such by the reader; for example, *-tk* for *-tko*, *-ks* for *-kshi*, dropping of *-a*, *-ash*, etc.

To make the study of the Texts too easy by a flood of notes would be as obnoxious to the true interests of science, as to present unsolved too heavy grammatic difficulties to intellects yet untrained in the modes of Indian speech. Scholars may decide to what degree I have succeeded in avoiding both extremes.

LIST OF SOUNDS OCCURRING IN THE KLAMATH LANGUAGE.

a	as in *alarm*, *wash;* German, *Mann*, *hat;* French, *pas*, *gras*, *flanc*.
ā	longer sound of *a*, as in *far*, *father*, *smart*, *tart;* German, *schaden*, *lahm*, *Fahne*.
â	as in *law*, *all*, *fall*, *tall*, *taught*.
ă	as in *hat*, *man*, *fat*, *ass*, *slash*.
b	as in *blab*, *bold;* German, *beben;* French, *barbe*.
d	as in *dread*, *did;* German, *das*, *dürfen;* French, *de*, *darder*.
dsh	as in *judge*, *julep*, *George*, *dudgeon*.
e	as in *then*, *swell*, *met;* German, *schwebt;* French, *belle*, *selle*.
ĕ	as in last syllable of *preacher*, *butler*, *tippler;* German, *Bücher;* French, *le*, *je*, *me*.
ē	as in *they*, *fade*, *jade*, *shade;* German, *stehlen;* French, *chaire*, *maire*.
g	as in *gig*, *gull;* German, *gross;* French, *gros*, *grand*, *orgueil*.
g	lingual guttural produced by bending the tip of the tongue backward, resting it against the palate, and when in this position trying to pronounce *g* in *gag*, *gamble*, *again*.
h	as in *hag*, *haul*, *hoot;* German, *haben*, *Hals*.
i	as in *marine;* German, *richten;* French, *ici*, *patrie*.
ī	longer sound of *i*, as in *bee*, *glee*, *reef;* German, *spiegeln*, *Stiefel*.
ĭ	as in *still*, *rim*, *whim*, *split;* German, *finster*, *schlimm*, *Wille;* when *long*, it is *i* in German *ihn*, *schielen*.
y	as in *year*, *yolk;* German, *Jahr;* French, *yeux;* not used as a vowel.
k	as in *kick*, *kernel;* German, *Kamm*, *Kork;* French, *soc*, *coque*, *quand;* Spanish, *quedar*, *quizá*.
k̲	lingual guttural produced like g by bending the tip of the tongue backward, holding it against the palate, and then trying to pronounce *k*, *c*, in *kindness*, *killing*, *cool*, *craft*. The tongue must be placed more firmly against the fore portion of the palate than in the g, in order to allow less breath to escape.
χ	the aspirate guttural in *lachen*, *trachten*, *Rachen*, *Sache*, as pronounced in Southern Germany; not occurring in English, French, or Italian; Spanish, *mujer*, *dejar;* Scotch, *loch*. It has nothing in common with the English *x*.

194

l	as in *lull, loon, lot;* German, *Lilie;* French, *lance.*
m	as in *madam, mill, mimic, mum;* German, *Memme.*
mb	as in *ramble, gamble, nimble.*
mp	as in *sample, thumping.*
n	as in *nun, net, noose;* German, *nein;* French, *nuire.*
ng	as in *ring, bang, singing;* German, *singen, hangen.*
nk	as in *prank, rink, spunk;* German, *Schwank;* French, *cinquante.*
nk̲	a combination of n with k̲.
nχ	a combination of n with χ.
o	as in *home, lonely, most;* German, *Molken;* French, *sotte.*
ō	longer sound of *o*, as in *note, rope;* German, *Floh, Boot, roth;* French, *sauter.*
ö	as in *bird, burn, surd;* German, *blöde, Römer;* French, *deuil, cœur.*
p	as in *pipe, papa;* German, *Puppe;* French, *pied.*
s	as in *sad, sale, soul, smell;* German, *Seele, Sichel;* French, *sauce, seul.*
sh	as in *shaft, shingle;* German, *Schale, schön;* French, *chercher.*
t	as in *trot, tell, tiptop;* German, *Tafel;* French, *tour.*
tch	as in *church, chaff, choke;* German, *hätscheln;* Italian, *cicerone;* Spanish, *chaparral, chicha.*
u	as in *smooth, truth;* German, *Fuss;* French, *loup, poutre, outrage.*
ū	longer sound of *u*, as in *crude, flume, fool;* German, *Stuhl, Ruhr, Blume;* French, *lourd, sourd.*
ŭ	as in *full, pull;* German, *Flucht, Kluft, Russland;* Italian, *lungo.*
ü	not in English; German, *kühl, Gefühl;* French, *lune, puce.*
v	as in *valve, veer, vestige;* German, *Wolke, Wasser, weben;* French, *vautour, veut.*
w	the ŭ before vowels; *water, waste, wolf, wish, wayward;* in German it corresponds nearest to short *u*, not to *w;* nearly as French *ou* in *oui, ouate.*
z	as in *zeal, zone, frozen;* German, *Hase;* French, *zèle, rose.*

The English *x* is rendered by *gs* or *ks*, the German *z* by *ds* or *ts*, all being compound articulations. The two points on *a, o, u* (*ä, ö, ü*) are not signs of diæresis; they mark softened vowels.

194 The pronunciation of the *diphthongs* may be easily inferred from their component vowels; it is as follows:

ai	as in *life, mine, sly, die, dye.*
au	as in *mouse, loud, arouse.*
ei	a combination of *e* and *i* resembling the vowel sounds in the word *greyish*, united into a diphthong.
yu *or* iu	as in *pure, few, union.*
oi	as in *loin, groin, alloy.*
wa *or* ua	as in *watch, wash;* French, *loi, roi.*
wi *or* ui	as in *squid, win, switch.*

All the diphthongs being of an adulterine character, they can generally be separated into two vowels, and then are hyphenized, as in *i-u, o-i, á-i, a-ú.*

GRAPHIC SIGNS.

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ꜝ	arrested sound: akóꜝhs, *spring time;* tchúꜝka, *to swim up stream.*
'	apostrophe marking elision of a vowel, of ĕ or any other sound: heshuámp'li for heshuámpĕli, *to recover one's health.*
-	hiatus, separating two vowels as belonging to two different syllables: pála-ash, *flour;* lĕmé-ish, *thunder;* or two consonants: tsiäls-hä'mi, *at salmon-time.*
-	separates the parts of compound terms: skúks-kiä'm, *spirit-fish* or *letiferous fish.*
´	acute; the only accent used for marking emphasized syllables.
¯	vowel pronounced long: mū'ni, *large, great.*
˘	vowel pronounced short, except ĕ, to which a distinct sound is given: yúmăltkă, *to return from berry-harvest.*

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

000 EARLY TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF MODOCS AND CAPTAIN WRIGHT'S MASSACRE.

GIVEN IN THE MODOC DIALECT BY TOBY RIDDLE.

É-ukshíkuí Mōdokí'shash sheggátχa lapgshaptánkni taúnäp illō'la at;
The Klamath Lakes from the Modocs separated seven times ten years now;

tánktchíkni k̲á-i pēn nadshă'shak tchía. Gúmpatûash E-ukshíkní'shash
(they) since then not again together lived. The Kúmbatuash from the Klamaths

sheggátχa vûnépni taúnäp illō'la at.
separated forty years now.

Ká-iu mák̲lăkshash shéllualsht, tû'mi Bóshtin Yā'matala médshantko
Before the (Modoc) people had fought, a number of Americans to Oregon emigrating

k̲ó-idshă welekápkash Mōdokíshash shnúka, yówish ktéktaknan túntish
an ugly old woman Modoc caught, (both) heels having cut through a rope

shtúnka, topítan wäg'n shlítchta, shpukû'gatchnan shiúka, Shátash Bóshtinash
passed behind a wagon tied (her), by dragging killed (her), Snakes Americans

shuénksht pallō'tan hû'nkĕlam Bóshtinăm sha-ámakshash. Bóshtin
came having murdered (and) robbed of this of Americans party. Americans

tánkt lūpidána hûn weléksăm tchékĕli kítitchna.
at that time firstly of this old woman the blood spilled.

Shálam 1852, nāsh Bóshtin Capt'n Wright shéshatko shû'ldshash
(In the) fall (of) 1852 one American, Captain Wright named, soldiers

í-amnatko Mō'doka käíla gátpa, mák̲lăkshash shana-ulióka shishókash.
having with him (to the) Modoc country came to the (Modoc) people because he desired to make war.

K̲á-i mák̲lăkshash shléa. Mōdokíshash snawédshash lutatkátki písh
Not (any) Modocs he saw, found. A Modoc woman going to interpret for him

shā'tĕla; shā'tĕla hûnk snawédshash: mák̲lăks gatpántkí, shu-utánktgi pí'sh
he hired; he instructed this woman (to say): that the Modocs should come to meet in council with him

giúga mák̲lăks; shapíya, mák̲lăkshash nāsh mû'nish wúshmûsh shiukiéstka.
the Modocs; he announced (for) the Modocs one large ox he would kill.

Mák̲lăkshash shapiyúlan Tá-uní shpaútísh shniáktcha. At tû'm Mō'dokni
The Modocs having notified, to Yreka town poison he sent for. Then many Modocs

gátpa; at tchēk hûnk wúshmûsh shiukúlan shpaútísh itá. Nā'sh tchē'k
arrived; then forthwith the ox having butchered the poison he put on. One then

hûnk Yámakni Bóshtinash tchawínatko Mō'dokishash shapíya k̲á-i
Warm Spring Indian the Americans having lived among the Modocs notified not

tchû'leksh pátki, shpaútísh itámpkash gí'sht. At tánkt k̲á-i tídsh hemkánka,
(any) meat they should eat, poison put on it having been. Now at that time not well it was talked,

Mō'dokni at gä'mpĕle.
the Modocs then left for home.

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Pēn snawédshash hû'nk shgúyue: "at nû k'léwi shishû'kash, shû'-
Again woman this he sent: "now I quit fighting, meet
ûtanksh shaná-ulî p'laiki'shăm palpálish shîl k'-hi'ulĕχan." Vûnépnî taúnäp
in council I desire God's white flag raising." Forty
pēn nādshgshápta máklăks shû-ûtánktpa. Lakí p'ná hûnk shû'ldshăsh
and six Indians met (him) in council. The commander his soldiers
hîhashuálχan shû'ldshăsh shapíya: "stalálashtak a nûsh páksh, máklăk-
placing in ambush, to the soldiers said: "having filled when I the pipe, the Mo-
shash tashuítak!" Máklăks hûnk nánuk wawápkan shû-ûtankō'tkîsh-
docs you attack!" The Modocs all seated of general councils
páksh páka, shlishlûlû'lan î-álχa nánuk ntē'sh. Bóshtin lakí pákshtga
the pipe smoked, having unstrung had laid down all bows. The American commander with (his) pipe
lákpeks shuyéga; pákshtga shuyegótan shikĕnîtkí'shtka shúldshash yûte-
ashes lifted up; with the pipe while lifting up with pistols the soldiers com-
támpka, at nánuk máklăks ngē'sha. Bóshtin nánuk máklăkshash shuénka;
menced to fire, then all Modocs (they) were wounded. The Americans all Modocs killed;
túnep toks kshî'ta.
five however escaped.

NOTES.

13, 1. There is no pretense that the number of years given here is accurate, and the slight difference existing between the two dialects proves that the separation of the tribes is of recent date. The separation never was a thorough one, for even the latest raids made on the Pit River Indians were made by Modocs joined to Klamath Lake Indians under the same war-chief. The Kúmbatuash lived on southeastern end of Tule (or Rhett) Lake, California.

13, 1 and 3. For illóla at, "years elapsed now", Klamath Lakes would say: illolóla, or illolólatko.

13, 4. Ká-iu m. shéllualsht refers not only to a period anterior to the Modoc war of 1873, but to the massacre of a party of eighteen white settlers, emigrants to Northwestern Oregon, by Modoc warriors, who had watched them, lying in ambush, on the eastern beach of Rhett Lake. This terrible wholesale butchery of defenceless whites was the immediate cause of Captain Wright's massacre in the ensuing year.

13, 6. Shátash, etc. The informant intends to say: Americans, immigrating to the Rogue River or Willámet River Valley, dragged to death an old Modoc squaw behind their wagon, thinking her to be a Snake squaw; they did so in retaliation for a robbery committed by Snake Indians on their party, and for murders perpetrated on immigrants by the same Indian tribe.

13, 9. An article in the "*Overland Monthly*" of San Francisco, July, 1873, page 21, signed Wm. M. Turner, gives the following particulars concerning Wright's massacre:

In 1852 a train of eighteen emigrants attempted to reach Oregon by the Rhett Lake route. They had encamped for dinner at the eastern shore of Rhett Lake, under a bluff since called "Bloody Point". Suddenly the sage-brush around them stood in a blaze of fire; they started up in terror, and were at once surrounded by swarthy and painted savages, who greatly outnumbered them, and dealt out the deadly blows, which destroyed their whole numbers in inconceivably short time. One man alone

000 escaped on horseback to Yreka, which is over eighty miles distant, to tell of the disaster. The general indignation aroused by his recital prompted Capt. Ben. Wright to organize a force of fifty-one volunteers at Yreka into an independent company in the ensuing spring, and to make the tribe atone for the bloody deed. The spot selected by Wright for the council was on the north bank of Lost River, a few hundred yards from the Natural Bridge (Tilhuántko), and this was also the scene of the massacre.

Concerning the time of Wright's massacre, Turner differs from our informant about one year.*

13, 13. For the Modoc wúshmush, ū'shmush, the Klamath Lake dialect has the original Sahaptin term, múshmush, the primary signification of which is, "lowing lik cattle." The Lower Chinook has emúsmus, the Kalapuya, amúsmus. The Nez Perc dialect of Sahaptin has mú for *ox, cow, cattle.*

13, 13. shiukiéatka is the verbal desiderative of shiukía, to kill for somebody, to butcher for somebody's benefit.

13, 14. tū'm Mō'dokni instead of: tū'mi Mō'dokni. This language favors elisions of short and single vowels standing between two consonants pronounced with the same vocal organ.

13, 16. Yámakni is "Northern Oregonian, Northern man", in general. But this informant was, in fact, a Warm Spring Indian from Des Chutes River.

13, 17 and 18. tídsh hemkánka means: to discuss an arrangement resulting in good to both parties; this is, in most cases, equivalent to "conclude peace".

14, 4. shtalálashtak is a contraction of shtalálasht tak, both particles *tak* being correlative to each other, and referring here to the future.—shtalálasht is verbal conditional of stalála, *to fill*, derived from stáni, *full*, through assimilation of consonants: shtalála for stanála.

14, 6. l-ályа, distributive form of the verb ílχa, élχa: every one had unstrung and laid down his *own* bow.

14, 7. The lifting-up of ashes from the council-fire by Wright was the signal for the soldiers to fire at the forty-six Modocs. Forty-one were killed on the spot.

14, 9. kahíta not in use among the Klamath Lakes.

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* Captain Wright was shortly afterward killed by the bullet of an Indian, who saw him standing under the door of his house, near the outlet of Rogue River, Oregon.

É-UKSHKNI SHÉLLUAL WALAMSKÍ'SHASH.

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FIGHTS BETWEEN KLAMATH LAKE AND ROGUE RIVER INDIANS.

GIVEN BY WAWÁLIKS, OR DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Lap'ní' sha shéllual Walamskí'sas É-ushkni. Tíná sha luluágsla
Twice they fought the Rogue Rivers the Lake tribe. One time they enslaved
tû'm, tínatoks a k̲á-i luluágsla, puedsä'mpěli sa hû'nk.
many, but the second time not they made slaves, put to flight they.
Títná É-ukskni ktaklí'sh géna Wálamsi; tsúi slää́ tû'ma tchí'pksh.
The first time the Lake tribe arrayed for war went to Rogue River Valley and found many encamped.
Tsúi gakiámna tchí'sh (ní'shtāk gákiamna), tsúi ní'lka, tsúi Wálamskni
Then they surrounded the lodges (the same night they surrounded) then it dawned, and the Rogue Rivers
papátkal shûshû'dshapělish. Tchúi É-ukskni shuí'lpka, tsúi tí'ntkal sa,
rose from sleep (and) built their fires again. Then the Lake men laid themselves on the ground, then started up they
yō'ta sha, tchúi ngä'-isa tû'm Walamskí'shash, lák̲iash a sí'ûga; "Taktákli"
shot they, and wounded many Rogue River Indians (and) the chief killed "The Red"
tchí'huk sä'satk Wálamskni lak̲í. Tsúi sa nelí'na lák̲ias hû'nk, nánχatch
so was called the Rogue River chief. Then they scalped chief the some others
sha nelí'na; tû'm tánkt hushtchók̲a sa, lúluagsla tû'm wéwanuish ndéndgan's tchí'sh.
they scalped a good many killed they, made slaves of many women children also.
Tsúi gépgap'l É-ukskni, tsúi gatpampělí sa; tsúi sûkû'lki
Then withdrew the Lake men and home went they, afterwards they assembled
yákanuapkuk lák hû'nk, tsúi sa yä'ka, tsúi sa wálas tsí's täwá lák ipmä'tsank,
for dancing over the scalps and they sung and danced and they a pole also set up the scalps the sticking on its top,
tátχělam tálaag tû'shtoks gakí'ma sá-atchûk. Túnepni sá-atsa
in the midst just of the place where they moved in a circle scalp-dancing. Five (nights) scalp-danced
sa ní'shta, gä'tak hû'nk sa lû'luags wä'k shnû'shněχank shníkshû'lχa
they all night finally them they slaves by the arms seizing forced to dance
lóloks wíggáta
fire close by.

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Títná lû'ks t'shí'n spû'ntpísham; tsúyuk gúikaka gä'mpěle. Tsúyuk
Some (other) time a slave grew up in the power of his abductors, then escaped (and) returned. Then he
sapíya gatpámpalank, tsúi sas hû'k ä'pka sayuáktant hû'k käíla gíug.
made disclosures after getting home, and (his tribe) that man brought well acquainted this with country being.
Tsúi gátpa tumí' mák̲laks Mbû'saks-sáwals tsiäls-hä'mi, tsúi gákua K̲óke,
And arrived many Rogue Rivers to the "Obsidian-Place" at salmon-time and they crossed Williamson River,
tsúi gákiamna látchas. K̲ä'gi híhassuaks tánkt; géna sa nánuk Ä'-uksi
and surrounded the lodges. There were no warriors (there) that time had gone all of them to Klamath Marsh

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gēlédanktsuk Yámakisas. Tapí'ta sha gátpa Wálamskni tchí'shtat. Tsúi
to bid welcome to Des Chutes River Indians. Afterwards (they) came the Rogue Rivers to the camps. Then

nē'lka: tsúi sa gû'lkí, at sa senótank. Tánkt hushtsók̲a; tû'nipni hak
it dawned, then they attacked, now they fought. That time they killed (some); five only

mák̲lēka Ní'lakskni tánkt, tsûi hû'k sa senótank kpû'tsampēli sas kiklō's
were encamped men from Nílakshi that time, and these they fought, put to flight them in their war-fury

hû'k tû'nepni. K̲á-i hû'nk vû'sa tumá mák̲laks kakaknólatk gíug.
these five men. Not they feared many Indian (foes) elkskin-cuirassed being.

Tsúi gátpampēli nánuk E-ukskní' hûk, at sa haítsna Walamskí'sas.
After this returned the whole Lake tribe, now they pursued the Rogue Rivers.

Tsúi sa släá hû'nk tû'nipnis híhassuaksas, tsúi sa wû'la hû'nkiast tû'nipäns,
And they met those five men, and they asked those five men,

kát hûk tánkt mák̲'lēχa: "tatátuk mák̲laks gátpa?" Tsúi huk sä'gsa nû
who there that time had encamped whereto the Rogue Rivers had gone? And replied I:

"k̲á-i ní vû'ssa; shawígank gäká ní mû'msh tumí'." Tchúi ní ná-ash gí sa-
"not I am afraid; in my fury start out I (even against) a large number." Then I so spoke to

walinä ash gé-u: "gäkán a nā't! û'tch nā'lsh hushtchō'k̲tgi! gekuánapka
fellow-fighters mine: "will start out we! never mind! us they may kill. I will proceed

kaní!" A nā't gä'ka, at nā'lsh sha ngé-isha, tsúi nát shawí'ga ká-a,
outside (our camp)." And we proceeded, now us they wounded, and we became furious very,

tsúi nát kpû'dsa hû'nkiash Walamskí'shash.
and we drove back those Rogue Rivers.

Tsúi vûssá nā'lsh, k̲ok̲ä'tat gewá sa, udodámkua sa; tsúi sa sä'ksa
Thereupon they took fright at us, into the river leaped they, swam over they; and they reported

ná-ast hû'ksa tû'nepní. Tsúi É-ukskni ná-asht gí: "haítsnat sas pä'n,
thus (to us) these five men. Then the Lake men thus said: "pursue ye them once more,

hushtchók̲tat haítsnank." Tsúi sa penō'dsa, tsúi nánka gaggiáha penō'-
kill ye (them) pursuing." And they pursued, and some hid themselves before the

dsasam, tiä'mishtka tsúi nánka hátkak tsók̲a, nánka toks gä'mpēle. Ngeísätk
pursuers, by starvation then some right there perished, some however returned home. Wounded

hû'nk sa shléshla tsók̲apks tcha.
(some) they found dead ones also.

Tchíssa Walamskísh séllual títná a. K̲á-i sa tuá siúka E-ukskí'sas,
In this manner (they) the Rogue Rivers made warfare at one time. Not they any killed Lake men,

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tánkakak siúka wewalä'ksas k'mutchápkas tchí'sh. At gä'tak ní sáyuakta,
only a few (they) killed old women old men too. That is all I know

hû'masht sä'llual Ä'-ukskní Walamskí'shash; k̲á-i tatá lû'luagsla Ä'-ukskí'-
how fought the Lake tribe against the Rogue Rivers; never they made slaves of the Lake

shash wuiní'χiank sellólok nánukash-käílakni, É-ukskní pí'la lû'luagsla
tribe conquering by war those from tribes all-around; the Lake men alone enslaved

nánukash-kí'sas gä'nta käílatat, k̲á-i tatá yuyálks-sitk sû'ta mák̲laks
all surrounding Indians in this country, never sorry-alike rendered the Indians

Ä-ukskí'sas.
the Lake tribe.

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Sá-adas	tsí's	Moatuásas	tsí's	ûdúyua,	Sastiásh	tsis	Walamskí'sh	tsis
The Snakes	too,	the Pit Rivers	too	(they) whipped	the Shastis	too,	the Rogue Rivers	too,

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Mókeash	tsí's	ûdúyua	Ä'-ukskni.	Wäitängí'sham	tsí's	tí'tatna	tĕméska
the Kalapuyas	too	whipped	the Lake tribe.	From the Warm Spring Indians	also	at various times	took away

wáts	É-ushkni.
horses	the Lake men.

NOTES.

[124] [175] 16. Dave Hill took part himself in one of these skirmishes. His historical accounts are all given in the conversational style, which almost throughout substitutes the simple *s* for *sh*. I have not been able to determine the exact dates of these Rogue River raids; but they must have occurred before the end of 1855, when the Oregon war broke out, for after its termination most of the Rogue River Indians were removed from their old homes to the coast reservations of Northwestern Oregon. The raids occurred in the early youth of Dave Hill, who was born about 1840; so they may be placed between the years 1848 and 1855.

173 *539 16, 2. tínatoks forms antithesis to tína of the preceding clause. The literal meaning of both is: "one time ..... the other time."

726 19 16, 3. Wálamsi. The suffix -i, -ì, is the adverbial particle hí, and forms a *locative case*, mainly found in local and topographical terms, as in Yámsi, Kakágosi, Ktaíwashi; also in a few generic nouns designating localities, encampments, mountains, etc.

16, 5. shûshû'dshapĕlish. The suffixed -sh is the pronoun sha, *they*, and in this suffixed form also appears as -tch, -s. This verb stands in the distributive form; shúdshapĕli, to rebuild a fire, being the absolute form.

16, 7. nánχatch, for nánχa tchish, "others also".

16, 10. yákanuapkuk, verbal causative of the future of yákna. The forms yä'kna, yä'ka, yékna, yéka, are preferable to yákna, yáka.

[727] 16, 11. sá-atsa. It is a common custom among western, and some eastern, wild tribes to force their captives to dance in honor of the victory gained over their own tribe. This is done especially during the scalp-dances.

16, 14. Titná lû'ka, etc. Here begins the account of a raid made by the Rogue River Indians upon the Klamath Lake settlements. It may have occurred one year after the raid previously narrated.

16, 15. sapíya, etc. After escaping, he informed his own countrymen of all the local conditions of the Klamath Lake people and their country, and used all his topographical knowledge in guiding their warriors to the attack.

17, 1 and 2. Tsúi nĕ'lka. Indians and uncivilized races in all portions of the world begin their raids upon the enemy before dawn, or at the earliest appearance of daylight.

17, 9. gäkán and gekuánapka, inflectional metathesis for gäkná and gekánnapka.

17, 14. huṣhtchŏ'ktat for hushtchŏ'kat ät, ät (*ye*) being repeated twice.

17, 16. tsóḳapks tcha is a contraction from tsoḳápkash tchí'sh a.

17, 17. Tchíssa, for tchí sha: thus they.

17, 20. sellólok: synizesis of the longer form shéllualuk, shellualúga: through fighting.

17, 21. yuyálks=sítk, abbreviated from yuyálkish = shítko, looking like persons mourning over their lost companions, or made sorrowful by bondage to Indians of a foreign tribe.

É-UKSKNI SÉLLUAL MOATUÁSHASH.

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PIT RIVER INDIANS RAIDED BY KLAMATH LAKE WARRIORS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

E-ukskni títatna séllual Sástias; tsússak toks séllual, tû'm hû'shtchoχ
The Lake men not often warred against the Shasti; continually how-ever fought, (and) many killed

Móatuashash. Ä'-ukskni lû'luagslats tû'm nánuk skō'-hs. Ká-i hû'k
Pit River men. The Lake men enslaved also many every spring-time. Not (are) they

kí'llitk, ká-a wō'sēs shläō'tak Ä-ukskí'sas tí'nsna, ká-itat sa nellí'nat
bellicose, very despondent at the mere sight of Lake men they ran away, never they scalped

hû'stchok-huya hak sa; tû'm tát sa hustsóka Móatuash. Ká-itata sí'ukat
killed only they; many then they killed Pit River men. Never massacred

Ä-ukskísas Móatuash.
the Lake men the Pit Rivers.

WAWÁLIKS LUPÍ' SHÉLLUAL MOATUÁSHASH.

DAVE HILL'S FIRST FIGHT WITH THE PIT RIVER INDIANS.

Kitchkánin tánkt nû géna sikĕnitgí'k pí'la úyamnatk. Tsúi nād
Being a boy I that time I went a small pistol only carrying. And we

É-ukskni gelō'la pá-uk Kokáksaksbi, nā'sh nā'ds Bóshtin tû'la. Tsúi
Lake men dismounted for repast at Little River, one with us American (coming). Then

hishtchákta hátakt; wáts mbá-uta na-ä'nam; sawíka híshuaksh hunkánti
they had a contest there; (one man's) horse was wounded by another (man); became angry the man thereat

wátch m'na mbá-utisht, tsúi hushtópakta sha lóloksgish: tchí sha hátokt
horse his having been shot, and pulled out they (their) guns: so they there

gelō'lank shewátχastka. Tsúi géna, tû' pē'n máklĕχa sha, tsúi sa mbû'-
dismounted about noon-time. Then traveled, far again camped they, then they in the

sant géna pä'n, tsúi sa mák'lĕχa Wû'ksalks, tsúi sa pä'n géna mbû'sant,
morning traveled again, and they camped at Wókas-Place, then they again went on next morning,

tsúi pä'n sa mák'lĕχa Tiûnō'lsh; gítaks p'laíkishtka sáppăsh. Tsúi sa
and again they encamped at Tiunolsh; then (was) near culmination point the sun. And they

kákta, tsúi sa mû'lua lí'tχi, tsúi sa psín géna, ní'shta sha géna
held siesta, then they made ready in the evening, and they at night travelled, all night they went on

tûkláktsnank.
stopping at intervals.

Tsúi mbû'sant shläá Móatuashash tchí'pksh, tsúi gû'lki nād, tchúi
And next morning we saw the Pit Rivers encamped, and attacked we, and

tí'nsna Móatuash, vussō'k sas tillí'ndsa wéwanuish; tsúi sa lû'luagsla.
ran away the Pit Rivers, frightened them they abandoned (their) women; then they (them) made slaves.

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7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

173 Nā′sh nî lû′gsla snawä′ds. Shlä′popkan hátakt shänótanksht ndánni
*539 One I captured female. Noticed I there engaged in fighting three
726 híhassuaksh Móatuash; É-ukskni toks lápik. Tsúi wigábănî shenótank-
727 men Pit Rivers; Lake men but two were And a short while skirmished
húya shash, tsúi kä′ktsna sha, tsúi hō′pelitsnank ámbutat géna; k̲ú-idsi
with them, then fled they, and dodging missiles into the water went; impracticable.
ámbu hátakt híuhiuatk. Tsúi nish ká-a kä′dshîka, tsúi nî kakí′dsapĕle, at
the water there giving way. And me greatly it fatigued, and I went by turns,
tchúi k̲ĕléwi; tû′ géna Móatuash k̲′läwísham at. Tsúi É-ukskni gä′pgapĕli
then I made halt; away went the Pit Rivers when (shooting) had ceased. Then the Lake men returned
káhhiank tchípkash wéwanuish, tsúi sa shläá yástat lí′ukaipksh. Tsúi sa
looking out for the assembled women, and they found (them) in the willows crowded. And they
shuû′shnχa, nû′ts nāsh shnû′ka, tsúi gepgápĕli É-ukskni k̲á-i shash tuá
seized them, I also one took, then withdrew the Lake men and of them none
shlít, Móatuashash pí′la sa síûga tánkak.
was shot, Pit Rivers only they killed a few.

Nāsh sē′gsa tánkt É-ukskni sûkō′lkipăluk. Tsúi Tiunō′leshtat mák̲′lak-
All of us ordered then the Lake men to reassemble. Then at Tiunolsh they camped
pĕle, tsúi sa pä′n shnikshō′lχa lû′luags hátakt mak̲lakskságsi. Tsúi
again, and they also made dance each slave there before the Indians. And
gépgapĕli sha mbúsant, tsúi sha Móatak mák̲lakpĕle, tsúi hátokt mak̲laks-
went away they next day, and they at Modoc Lake encamped, and just there Indians
ksáksi gûkí′kak lúluags. K̲á-i sa hû′nk haítchant; unák tā′ds mû′luapĕle
(away from) ran away captives. Not they them pursued; early however got ready again.
Tsúi sa guhuáshktcha, tsúi sa gelō′la K̲ok̲ä′ksaks; tsúi sa sakatpampĕlé-
And they started out, and they dismounted at Little River; then they wanted to perform
astka gi: "Kálăm málăm tidsí′ wáts gi, hû′k āt lupí′ gátpampĕli-uapk!
a race: "To whom of ye fleet horses are, those ye first shall return home!
ksí′utăkiank āt génuapk!"
faster (than we) ye travel!"

Tsúi sa géna, tsúi luéluaIχ nánka wátch, nánχatoks gátpampĕle
Then they went ahead, and gave out some horses, some others returned
É-uksi lí′tχi. Tsúi sa tchía gátpampĕlank, tsúi gé-u gúikak hû′k lû′gs
to Klamath Marsh at nightfall Then they stayed (there) after return, then by me ran away the slave
spuní′sh; ná-ens hissuáksas spuní′n hû′nk. Tsúyuk hunkĕlámskni gúikak,
the transferred one; to another man I had given her. And she from his lodge ran away,
nánχatoks sa éna Ampχä′ni sésatui tchû′k wátchat; tsúi sa í′tpa tû′m
but others they brought to the Dalles, traded (them) there for horses; and they brought many
wátch hû′nk lû′gs sesatuí′tkuk.
horses those slaves having sold.

Tsín sáyuakta tí′na Móatuashash séllualst É-ukskni.
Thus I know (how) once with the Pit Rivers fought the Lake men.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

WAWÁLIKS TAPÍ' SHÉLLUALSHA MOATUÁSHASH.

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DAVE HILL'S SECOND FIGHT WITH THE PIT RIVER INDIANS.

Ná-äntka skō'shtka nû géna; tínkt nté-ish ní í'-amnatk géna lóloks-
Next spring-time I set out; then bow and arrows I carrying started a ri-
gish tchísh. Tû' nād mák̲lĕχa; tsúi nád hátokt mû'shmûsh lúela, Bóshtin
fle also. Far off ye camped; and we there an ox butchered, an American
tpā-ók nā'lsh hishtchháktnuk Moatuáshash. Tsúi nat shenotankákska hátak.
inviting us, for he had become angry at the Pit Rivers. Then we almost fought there.
Nánka tchillúk Nûshaltχagakí'shash kaknō'ls tĕméshka; nāt hûnkantí
Some men siding with the Headwater-Modocs cuirasses abstracted; we thereat
sawíkank lā'p nat kaknō'lsh shlétχa. Tsúi nat k̲á-i hû'nk slé-ipēle
getting angry two we cuirasses took away. And we not them returned
ne-uχálp'lish gí'ntak lák̲iăm E-ukskí'sham; tsúi nat mā'ns-gítk slä'-ipēle.
the repeated orders in spite of of the chief of the Lake men; but we at last returned them.

Hû'masht nat hátokt mák̲lĕχank; tchúi nat géna mbû'sant, tchúi nat
Thus (did, acted) we there while camping; then we traveled next day, and we
tû' mák̲lĕka Mû'atak. Tsúi nat mbû'sant géna, tsúi nat tû' mák̲lĕk'
over there camped on Modoc Lake. And we in the morning started out, and we over there camped
Tiunō'lsh. Móatokni nánka sá-ulantchna, tsúi sa ksí'ulĕχ kí'uks suawínuk
at Tiunolsh. Modocs some went with (us), and they danced a conjurer when examined
sas kánts sliuápkst: "hă slluápkst, tchă mā'lsh ngátuapk ná'hlis"; tsúi
them who might be shot: "if ye will be shot, then to you will snap the bowstring"; and
lā'p ngáta ná'hlis. Tsúi nāt mbû'sant géna, tû' nat atí' géna lupí' nálam
two snapped bowstrings. Then we next morning started out, far we off travelled first our
hû'nk séllaluish guní'ta. Tsúi nat waíta yaínatat télhapkank kmákok
war-expedition further. Then we passed the day from a mountain overlooking to spy
Moatuáshash; tchúi nat shläá tchí'pksh; k̲úitsant tchía ktáyat.
the Pit Rivers; and we saw (them) encamped; inaccessible they stayed in rocks.

Tsúi nád pä'ktgist gákiamna, tsúi gû'lki; tsúi nā'ts shläá Móatuash,
And we at dawn surrounded, then attacked (them); and us discovered the Pit Rivers,
tsúi wetō'li lalí'shtat; k̲ok̲álam hûk pálkuish mûná tû. Hátokt gakáyapguk
and slid down the slope; of a river there (was) the dry bed deep-down. At that place entering the woods
nánχa Móatuash lí'wank i-ō'ta; tû'm shash ngä'-isha Moatokí'shash, Lank-
some Pit River men gathering shot (at us); many (them) they wounded Modoc men, Long-
Tsánash tchísh slí'ksga nχak-ksakslí'na; ngä'-ish hû'k ngak-ksáksh
John also they came near wounding on head-top right there; bullet that on the head-top
ntí'kshtcha. Ná-ends tchísh nû'sh shlín Móatokish. Tsúi nat lé wak ká-a:
grazed. Another too in the head was shot (a) Modoc man. And we (were) undecided very:
lí'wa hû'k tû mû'na sha lĕméwaliĕkshtat í-utíla; nánuk wéwansni hátokt
were crowded those down-below they driftwood-heap under; all women and all there

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lí'-ûpka tû' mû'na. Tchúi ní tû' hátokt p'léntant tchí'wishksaksi gí; tchúi
were lumped together deep below. Then I just there above their camping-place was; and

hátokt ní'sh a gishí': "Lä' a nat wák ka-á; lä' nat wák galdsawiá-a!" tsí sa,
there I while stayed: "Not we know what to do, not we (know) how to approach closely!" so they (said),

hátokt ní'sh gí'shí. Tsúi ní hû'tχi, tsúi láp nish nté-isalta hû'tχipsh. Tsúi
there I while was. Thereupon I leaped down, then two men at me shot arrows as I leaped. Then

ní hû'tsna tû', tsúi ní hû'tpa híhassuaksas hátokt lí-uká-isí hátakt tchúyunk
I ran over there, and I reached running the (Lake) men there collected there then

senótankash. Tsúi ní'sh sa läwä'-ûla hû'kuapksht k̲û'k̲alam palkuí'sham;
fighting. But me they not allowed to run across the river's dry bottom;

hátakt guní'gshtant nánka Ê-ukskni lé-uptcha; senótank ktáyat lí'uptsank.
that spot opposite some Lake men had gathered behind; they were fighting rocks hiding behind.

Tsúi nish nánka: "k̲á-i gí; k̲á-i hû'tsa, shliuápka m'sh!" tsí n's sa
And to me a few: "Don't do it; don't run, they will shoot you!" so to me they

hátaktk. Tsúi ní: "hû'tchanuapk" tchí ní kí', "wiká an' gáldsuish sánahōli" tchín hátaktk "K̲á-i k̲í'lank pí'la í-ū'ta, tû'm at ngä'-isha; ū'ts
there said. Then I: "I shall rush over" so I said, "closely I to approach I want" thus I there said. "Not in quick succession they shoot, many are wounded; never

gint, shlí'tki nûsh!" tsín at gí. A ní hō'tsnan at, tsúi nish k̲ák̲í'ha, tsúi
mind, let them shoot me!" so I now said. Then I ran towards (them), and me they missed, and

hutapēnō'lshi n's náyēns Móatokní shlí'n pä'n núsh; tsúi káhaha shlí'shăm
after I had reached there running another Modoc was shot also in the head; and he ached through his wounding.

Tsúi nat léwak nä'-ulēka, tsúi ní ná-astg: "hággi! í'sh ktíyuiakí'at!"
Then we were at a loss for arranging, and I so spoke: "look here! me lift up there ye!"

tsí' ní gí. Tsúi ní'sh sha ktíwí'χi, tsúi ní ktsí'tsā, tchúi ní gíta Moatuáshash
so I said. And me they placed on top, and I crept forward, then I there the Pit Rivers

ní télshapka wiká lí'wapksh; nánuk ní tíds shlä'popka shash. Tsúi ní
I perceived close by crowded in one body; all I perfectly well saw (of) them. And I

ktchigí'dsapēli tû' stíldsampēlók sas; tsúi ní: "ktíwalχat nā-éntch
crept back over yonder to report to them; and I: "post ye up another man

tchkash" tchí' ní gí. Ktchí'tpampālank shapíya sas, tchúi sa: "wák
besides" so I said. Having crept back I reported to them, and they: "how

haítch i gí?" tchi n'sh sa gí. Tchúi "ní nánukash shlä'shki" tchí' ní gí;
there is it?" so to me they said. Upon this "I all of them can see" so I said;

shapíya shash, tsúi sa ktíwí'χi na-ä'nds tchkash. Tsúi nat lā'p k̲'lē'ka, tsúi
I told them, and they lifted up another (man) too. Then we two were there, and

nat ktsí'ktsa, tsúi nat sas tû' shlä'popk, a ní ná-asht gí: "hágga shlä'k!"
we crept along, and we them down there perceived, and I so said: "let me shoot!"

Tsúi hû'k ná-as hátokt, tû'shtûk Móatuash lí'wa, nánuk sa hû'nk ngä'-is
And to one man there, where the Pit Rivers were gathered, all (others) to him (their) arrows

säwána, ná-adsiak hû'nk í-û'ta satslχámitk lû'paks. Tsúi tchín a ní
handed, none but he was shooting scratch-painted with chalk. And thus I now I

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shléwal lólokségish, tsúi ní shlín hû'nk, kát hûk yū'ta, tsúi ndéwanga; tsí
cocked (my) gun, and I shot him, the one who was shooting, and he fell; thus
tánkt at nat síuga hû'nkst.
at last we killed that fellow.

At hû'ksa líwatk tû'm wáltka tánkt. Tsúi Múatokni nánχa tû'mĕnatk
Now they, crowded together, much talked then. And Modocs some understood
Móatuasam hémk̲anks; tsúi hû'k tû'mĕna at Móatuasam wáltoks. Hû'k
of the Pit Rivers the language; and they understood of the Pit Rivers the discourse. They
shapíya nā'tch: "átĕnen gakáyōluapka, nen sa skuyokayō'la wewáni-
notified us: "presently they will get away, they send out of the bush the fe-
shash; ná-asht nen wáltka." Tsúi gakayúluk É-ukskni shíshatχa
males; so they say." Then leaving the woods the Lake men picked out
wéwanuish, tsúi hû'k kí'nualk sa; nánχa huhashtlína k̲aítua shnû'kuk.
women, then went on the hill they; some quarrelled none having obtained.
Tsúi núts hāméχe: "shnû'kshtkan nā'sh siwák hû'nk ātí'nsh hûk lák gîtk!";
And I too said: "want to get I one girl this long hair wearing!";
tsúi ní'sh sha k̲á-i wä'-ula. Tsúi ní k̲á-i säm wä'walsh shlín, tsúi hûk
but to me they not allowed (her). Then I not they conceding shot, and she
nde-ukuä'lap'l; hû'nk n'únk shlín siwága.
rolled down (the hill); that I killed girl.

Tsúi tánkt at híhassuaks at tinkayúla, tsúi ní shlín pä'n nás hátakt,
Thereupon the (Pit River) men ran out of the bush, and I shot another (man) there,
tsúi at nánχa tinî'χi. Shtá tok sa É-ukskni hashámpka; tsúi sas gawí'na
when some went up hill. Compactly they the Lake men encircled (them); then them rejoined
hû'ksa, kák at tinî'χi tsa, ndánni híhassuaks, nā'sh gitsgánits hissuákga.
those, who just had gone up the hill, (viz:) three men, one young also boy.
Tsúyunk vû'ssa É-ukskni, tsúi hû'k Móatuash tí'nχansha; tû' atí yaínatat
Then were frightened the Lake men, as the Pit Rivers ran out of the circle; over-yonder to the mountains
tûshtámpkank ä-óho-uátchna, tsúi shnûshnáta. Tchúi ní nû hû'lipĕli, tsúi
coming near they halloed while running, and built fires. Thereupon I I entered again (the cañon), and
ní hōpĕlánsa, tsúi ní hupáklĕχa láp'a híhassuaksas. Tsúi ní'sh hû'k
I followed up (the dry creek), and I encountered two men. And at me they
lápukantka shlatámpk, tsúi nā's téwi, k̲áhhia n's; wiggá n's hû'nk k̲áibha,
both at a time drew the bow, and one shot, (but) missed me; by a hair-breadth me he missed,
ná-āns tsí'n shlín nepní'ni nguldshótan, nté-ish tchîsh nχä'wa. Tsúi
the other man then I hit, about the hand I struck (him), the bow also broke. And
gútalχa hûk ngä'-ish tókstala; tsúi ndé-ulχ. Náshtoks hukáyapk, tsúi
entered the bullet in the navel; and he fell. The other rushed into the thicket and
tí'ntpa sa É-ukskni tánkt, tsúi sa hû'nk síuga kándan hû'nk shlín. Tsúi
arrived (they) the Lake men at last, and they him killed whom I had shot. Then
hû'k nā's hukáyapk mā'ns hû'k tchakáyank î-û'ta; tsúi sa shlín tû'kni
the one who went into the woods for some time (he) sitting down was shooting; then they shot (him) from

173 p'lä'ntankni kínshakpkank. Tsnī'pal sa shlín; ná-äns shlín, hû'k tchaká-
the hill-top pointing guns downward. In the shoulder they shot (him); another (Lake) man he had shot, he who was sitting in the
*539 726 yan, wä'k E-ukskī'shas.
woods, in the arm a Lake man.

Tsúi nat at gä'tak, a nát sukû'lkip'l' tû'shtok spuká shlī'tk É-ukskni.
After this we ceased (fighting), and we reassembled where lay a wounded Lake man.
[727] [758] Nátak hû'nk hī'shlan Móatuashash ksápok; láki ngû'mshka ngä'-ish hû'k.
Ourselves him we shot at each other, a Pit River man thinking (him to be); (his) forehead had fractured bullet the.
Tsúi nat wátsat shutä'la má-i skû'lhash pet; tsúi nat ksä'lapk hû'nk shlípks;
Then we upon a horse prepared a tule-mat ambulance-bed; and we lifted into (it) that wounded man;
kayúds hûk k̲lä'kat. Tsúi nat guháshktcha shewatχû'lsī; tsúi nat gä'-ûna
no, yet he had died. And we started out in the afternoon; and we slowly
géna hû'nk ngä'-isapksh ä'nok ndánna: näs nû'sh shlī'tk Móatokni
went on those wounded carrying three (men): one in the head wounded a Modoc
ngä'-ishtka, náshtoks wä'k shlī'tk hû'mtsantkak, náshtoks hû'k luluksgä'-
by an arrow, another in the arm shot in the same manner was, another one this with a
ishtka, kánda nat hû'nk wátsat shutä'lank ä'na. Tchúi nat mák̲'lakp'l'
gun, whom we upon a horse imbedding brought. And we camped on our return trip
hī'ubiush tχálamta.
of the marsh westward.

Tsúyuk pä'ktgish lû'pia wénga; tchúi nat mbû'sant at ksī'utakiank
Then they daylight before died; and we in the early hours now fast-going
gépgapēle, láp'ni hak gátpampēle É-uksi. Nā'sh nat hátaktak k̲ók̲ēlam
returned, in two days from there we returned to Klamath Marsh. One we right there of the river
ntû'ldsanuish wigáta gáwal híssuaks; tsû'tskam snû'lash säkülalō'nank
the dry bottom close by found a man; squirrel's a hole having covered up
kshû'sha taluálχan. Käbatχō'le sa, tchúi wétta híssuaks käbatχō'lsham;
he lay inside lying on back. Uncovered they (him), then laughed the man while they unearthed him;
tsúi sa shpī'tkal, tsúi sa spû'nshna wikáhak; tsúi sa nánka Ä'-ukskni
and they raised (him) up, and they took (him) to a short distance; then some Lake men
lûgsálshtkak, nánχa síukstkak (lä'witchta sha mû'ns lû'gsalsh), nánχa
make a slave wanted, some wanted to kill (not wanted they an adult man to enslave), a few (were)
mā'sa nát staínas hishlá-uk. Tchí nánχa gī'ank síukshtka; tchúi sa síuka,
sorrowful (of) us at heart to have shot at companions. Thus some saying wanted to kill (him); and they killed,
at k̲léka hûk. Wák tchíhuk pä'tch gítk! stíkshui-shitk hû'k tutī'la stákēlins-
and died he. How so (curious) he feet had! bootslike they projected at the
ksaksī. Tsíssa hû'nk hátokt tánktē nát hû'nk tatátēnat sukō'lkip'l spû'ks-
bed. Thus they at that place when we that time we formed a crowd where the
ksaksi, tánkt sa hû'nk gáwal kíkaskánkatk.
man lay, then they that (Pit River man) found while walking about.

Tsí ni tamēnō'tka tiná tapī' a ni tchúi tánksknī k̲á-itata gē'nt
Thus I was out there once for the last time, I from that time never went

173 selluálshuk. Ndánnitaksni tamĕnō'tka; tiná nat k̲áyak shenótankatk,
fighting. Three times I was there; once we not at all were fighting,
*539 kĭnkák i nat lúluagsla. Tchín at nat at gä'tak ndáni támĕnotk.
726 few only there we enslaved. So I, when we quit (fighting), three times had been there.

NOTES.

197 19. The long and fertile valley of the Pit River, an eastern affluent of the Sacramento River, is inhabited by several tribes of Indians who speak dialects of the same language family. Of the peculiarities of these tribes, Stephen Powers has given the first comprehensive sketch in the Overland Monthly, 1874, pp. 412–416, and in Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. III, pp. 267–274. The various tribes greatly differ in their physical and mental qualities. The Pacamallies, on Hat Creek, at the lower end of the valley, were much dreaded by peaceable travellers on account of their sudden attacks from an ambush. The Indians in Big Valley are a fleshy, stout, and physically well-made people, while the Hot Spring Valley people has become deteriorated through prolonged national misfortune. Against both of these the slaving raids of the Klamaths and Modocs were mainly directed.

721 567 727 19, 2. The raids were undertaken by the Klamaths and Modocs just before wókash-time; that is, in April and May. They had no other purpose than to make slaves of the females and children of the unwarlike, poor, and suffering Pit River Indians, and to keep them either at their homes or sell them for ponies, provisions, beads, etc., at the Dalles to the Columbia River tribes. Adult men were not enslaved, but killed outright if captured. Similar instances of suppression of weaker tribes of the West by warlike Indians who were their neighbors are those of the Kayuses on Middle Columbia River, of the Yuki between Sacramento River and the Pacific Ocean, of the Húpa on Trinity River, Cal., all of whom were, at the advent of the whites, the terror of the districts surrounding their homes.

648 19, 3. shlăótak for shlăóta ak; the Pit Rivers ran away at the *mere sight* of the Klamath men; k̲á-i tata siñkat, the Pit Rivers never killed any Klamath men. Both statements are exaggerations; Hill's own account and Toby Riddle's biographic notice tend to prove the contrary.

727 19, 3. neĭlínat, or nell'nat. When they had killed an enemy, they did not follow the custom of the Oregonians of taking the scalp. This custom is not found among any of the Central Californian tribes.

193 19, 4. hû'stchok̲-huya; by the suffix -huya, -uya, the action of the verb is shown to take place at intervals, or in a small degree. "They did only little damage by killing or massacring." Cf. shenótank-huya, 20, 2, and -uya in the "List of Suffixes".

196 19, 4. tú'm tát sa. Change of the subjects introduced by the pronoun sha, sa, in consecutive sentences, is sometimes observed, as here and in 19, 16; 20, 3. Hill often uses sha when speaking of the Klamath Lake men, where nat, *we*, would be more appropriate.

193 19, 6. Kitchkanin nû for kitchkáni nû (or ni) nû. Pronouns and particles are repeated quite frequently.

19, 11. Wúksalks is a camping-place distant about six miles from Linkville. It was not possible for me to obtain definite information about the trail followed most generally in those raids, but Dave Hill said that from there they went due south. He

173 *539 726 was born about the year 1840, and since he was a boy then, carrying only a pistol, this raid may have taken place about the year 1858. His second raid, which was undertaken the year afterward, was made when he was nearly twenty years old. After this he stayed five years in Oregon City, on the Lower Willámet River.

19, 16, and 20, 1. What is said here up to the word snawä'ds is evidently an anticipation of what follows in 20, 6. 7.

[192] 19, 16. sas tillindsa, or shash tilíndsha: shash is apposition to wéwanuish, which stands here, as frequently, for wewanuíshash; 23, 5, we find: wewánishash.

20, 2. lápik for lápi gi: "two are, two were."

[487] 20, 9. Tiunō'leshtat. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Pit River country was estimated at three days' Indian travel; but it often took four days to reach there on horseback.

[192] 20, 10 and 11. maklaksksákai refers to the encampment and immediate surroundings of the Indian captors, the Klamath Lake men and the Modocs, who had gone with them.

[487] 20, 13. guhuáshktcha. They seem to have returned home over the same trail which they had followed in going south. They passed between Little Klamath and Rhett Lake, which latter is also called Tule and Modoc Lake.

[193] 20, 17. tsúi gé-u, etc. This sentence has to be construed as follows: tsúi gúikaka hû'k lû'gs spuníah gé-u: "hereupon that slave, transferred by me, ran away."

[648] 21, 2 and 3. Bóshtin tpä-ók. This man was an American settler on Lost River, who, with other settlers, had previously attacked one of the Pit River tribes, in punishment for depredations committed. In the fight which took place, some whites were killed by the Pit Rivers, and this prompted the abovementioned settler to slaughter an ox for the Lake men, in order to raise their spirits for deadly revenge on the common enemy. The beef was slaughtered and eaten at his farm.

21, 5. Tsúi nat, etc. This incident was explained to me by Dave Hill, as follows: The famous Captain George was at that time war-chief both of the Klamaths and the Modocs. He had ordered Kiukamtch, the head-man of the Nushaltkágu-Modocs, to join the expedition against the Pit Rivers. His refusal to go prompted Dave Hill and others to deprive him of his elk-skin cuirasses; but finally, to secure success to the expedition, the parfleshes were returned to their owners.

[193] 21, 7. Húmasht nat. A verb like gi or shúta has to be supplied.

21, 12. séllaluish, translated here by "war-expedition", still retains its verbal nature; for it is connected with two temporal *adverbs:* lupí' and húnk. More circumstantially the sentence can be rendered: "we rode far beyond the terminal point of our previous raiding campaign."

[193] 21, 18. léwak, a verb composed of two particles. Gétak and kánktak, formed almost in the same manner, are also used as verbs. Below, léwak is separated into its two components by a pronoun: lä nät wák ka-á; lä' nät wák galdsawiá-a.

21, 19. wéwanani. The terminal -ni turns the wéwanuish into a kind of adjectival phrase. See the peculiar use made of this ending in the Dictionary and in the Grammar.

22, 8. hátaktk. The final k is the verb gi, ki, "said"; tchín hátaktk is: tchí nú hátakt gi.

[302] 22, 21. shatchlχámia is one of the various modes of painting face and body in use among the western Indians. White paint was put on in this manner (see Dictionary) only when the Indians were on the war-path. From the same verbal base is derived

173 *539 726 shatchŏ'lgi, to contract the half-opened hand or fingers. Compare also: shatχû'dsha, shátuaχa, shátšlakish.

23, 6. gakayúluk refers to the women, not to the Klamath men. These latter retired with the captured females to the top of a hill, to secure themselves better against further hostile attacks. shíshatχa, distributive form of shíatχa.

23, 11. tinkayúla. The Pit River men ran out of the timber to flee from further attacks, and some ran up the steep bank from the dry river-bed. While they did so, the Lake men surrounded them and completely closed the circle (shtá hashámpka). Nevertheless, some of them managed to break through the intervals; this frightened the Klamath men, and then the other Pit Rivers also escaped towards the hills.

23, 12–14. The three men and the boy who went up the hill belonged to the Pit Rivers. The Klamath Lake warriors were so surprised at their sudden return to their surrounded companions, that the Pit Rivers had an opportunity to escape during the confusion.

193 196 24, 4. Nátak. The sentence has to be construed: nátak híshlan hû'nk, Moatuáshash hû'nk ksápok. "None others but ourselves shot at him; though he was one of our men, we thought him to be a Pit River man".

24, 4. láki. He had been shot in the eye-bone.

24, 6. k̲lä'kat stands for k̲lä'ka at; cf. 28, 12. gátpant for gátpna at.

24, 6. shewatχû'lsl: for shewatχŏ'lash l, or shewatχŏ'lish l; the l appearing here not as a local, but as a temporal case-suffix. shewátχa, *noon*; lit.: the day divides itself in two; shewatχŏ'la, *afternoon*, the day has divided itself in two *a while ago.*

24, 8. luluksgî'-ish, uncommon form for lúluksgish, lólokagish, *rifle, gun*, lit. "fire-maker".

24, *17. síukshtka stands for the full form síukshtka gi.*

24, 18. tutí'la. By inadvertence the distributive form is used here instead of the absolute form tuíla, for the Pit River man spoken of had an abnormal fleshy excrescence on *one* foot only.

25, 1. shéllualshuk: he means fighting with the Pit River Indians.

25, 1. ndánnitaksni, incomplete grammatic form for ndannitánkshni.

25, 2. kínka-ak i, only a few; meaning females of the Pit River tribes.

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É-UKSNI SÉLLUAL SÁTAS.

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HOW THE LAKE MEN FOUGHT THE SNAKE INDIANS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

LUPÍ SÉLLUAL. THE FIRST FIGHT.

Sā′t gátpa tiná tû É-uksi; K̲ók̲etat släá wéwanuish E-ukskī′sas
Snake Indians went once over to Klamath Marsh; on Williamson River they saw females of the Lake tribe
vû′nshatk gépkapsh. Tchúi sákatlank gépka wewanuíshash mák̲′lakuapkst;
in canoes approaching. Then going along the trail they came up (waiting till) the women had gone to their camp;
tsúi mák̲′lēka wéwanuish, tsúi hátakt gátpa Sā′t, tsúi ngä′-isa wéwaläks
then went to camp the women, and near (them) came the Snakes, and wounded the old women
pí′la. Tánkt Ä′-ukskni, húktoks híssuaks gépka, k̲′lewidshápka lúela gíug
only. That time the Lake tribe, (when) these (hostile) men arrived, had gone away for killing
kiä′m.
fish.

Tsúi at hushtsóχ hû′nk wewalä′ksas Sā′t, tchúi gämpēle; tánktak
And massacred those aged females the Snake men, then returned; pretty soon
tchúi Ä′-ukskni híhassuaks gasáktsna. Tsúi mák̲′lēχ hûk Sā′t lak̲í Nχītsá-
after this the Lake the men pursued. And encamped that Snake chief Dried-
Tsû′ks (nä′sht hû′k sésatk Sā′t lak̲í kilû′s); tsúi É-ukskni släá mák̲′lēχapks.
Leg (so he was called Snake (the) chief-hero); then the Lake men espied him to be encamped.
Tsúi gû′lgi sha, tsúi tí′usna Sā′t, tsúi síuka hû′nk Nχītsá-Tsû′ksas Sā′tas
Then charged they, and ran away the Snakes, and they killed him Dried-Leg the Snake
lák̲ias. Tchúi nánka Sā′t gämpēle, nánχatoks hû′shtchōk.
leader. Upon this some Snake men went home, but others were killed.

Tchí séllual títná Shā′tash. Kpudsámpēli sha hû′nk Sā′tas, tchúi
Thus they fought one time the Snakes. Drove back they those Snakes, and
k̲á-itata gátpant Shā′t; at vushá E-ukskī′shash.
never again came the Snakes; (for) they feared the Lake tribe.

LÛ′LDATKÍSH BÓSHTINASH TÛ′LA SHENÓTANKA SHÁTASH.

DAVE HILL FIGHTS THE SNAKE INDIANS ON THE SIDE OF THE AMERICANS.

Shiúlka nä′lsh ká-ag Mr. Huntington; Sá-atas í′tpa Moadokī′sh tchish
Collected us long ago Mr. Huntington; the Snakes he brought, the Modocs also,
nä′lsh tchí′sh í′tpa gí′ta, tchúi tchiá nat nä′dsag Tchúi tí′na illólolatk
us likewise he brought here, then lived we in one spot. Then one year-elapsed

173 Shā't gúikak. Hû'k lápi lalák̲i: Sā't ná-as Tchatcháktchaksh ná-asht
*539 The Snakes went away There (were) two chiefs: Snake man one Tchatcháktchaksh so
648 sésatk, nā'sh tchīg: Panaína tchī' sésatk. Tchúi sō'ldshas shawíga, tsúi
726 named. one (man) besides: Panaína so named. Upon this the military was aroused, and
géna; tû' Spá-ish Valley gátpa shō'lsash hû'k, tsúi sakemáwank hátokt
set out; far off to Surprise Valley marched the soldiers, and rendez-vousing there
mû'lua; lā'p mépoks géna shū'ldshash; nā'sh Lieutenant Oatman ná-asht
got ready; two companies went (of) soldiers; one Lieut. Oatman thus
shéshatk lak̲í shû'ldshash, nā'sh tchík Lieutenant Small ná-asht shéshatk
named (was) chief of soldiers, one besides Lieut. Small thus named (was)
lak̲í shû'ldshash. Tû' nat túluaks yámtītal géna.
chief of soldiers. (From) there we straight northwards proceeded.

Tsúi nat é-ushtat géluandsa, tsúi náts shlä'pka Shā't; kī'lilks shlääá;
Then we a lake went around, and us noticed the Snakes; the dust they perceived;
tchúi yainatal kakólakpka, nán*χ*a é-ushtat gä'-upkapk (Warner Lake, tchí
then Warner Ridge we climbed, some through the lake waded (Warner Lake, so
hûk nā'sh hû'k sésatk é-us). Tchúi Camp Warner mák̲'lĕk tiná nat waíta;
that one one (was) named lake). Then at Camp Warner camped one we day and night;
tsúi nat guháshktcha tálaat t*χ*alamtī'tal. Tchúi nat telō'li "Tchéwam
then we started out directly towards west. And we looked down "Antilope's
Stû'", tchíhuk sésatk käíla; tsúi nat lápi gulī'ndsa (skuyû'i natch hû'k
Trail", so this named (is) locality; then two of us went down (into it) (detached us the (two)
lalák̲i), tsúi shnä'-uldsha nat. Tchúi nat tälō'li; gälō'la nat k'makuápkuk
commanders), and galloped off we. And we scouted; dismounted we to reconnoitre
Sútas mák̲laksaa, tsúi nat wawápk k'makká nat, tsúi mā'ntsag gī'tk lā'pi
the Snake Indians, and we sat down (and) spied we. then shortly afterwards two
Sā't tû'kni gepgápēle: k̲ok̲agtálkni gépgap'l'. Tsúi tilō'dshipk nat, tsúi
Snake men from a distance returned: over a rivulet they came back. And saw them coming we, then
tálaak gutī'lapkap'lī nats; tsúi nat wál'hha kawaliä'kuapk sä'-ug. Tchúi
towards (us) they descended while rounding a hill us; and we watched (them) they would ascend believing. But
k̲á-i gawaliä'ga, hī'tok tû' gátpampēle tchi'-ishtat m'na; nat mā'nts-gī'tk
not they came up, but from there away they returned to camp theirs; we after a while
gä'lapgapēle shtilshampēli-uápkuk. Tsúi nat gä'mpēli, tsúi nā'ts gayá-
rode back to report again. When we came back, (in front) of us had
itsampk shū'ldshash huk, lúpiak nats gäl*χ*algī'pka.
advanced the military, before we had fully descended from the hill.

Tsúi tû'-hak náts a gépksī at shlä'pka, tsúi tássuīpk, tsúi ktaítal
Then a long way behind (the soldiers) when we came down they saw (the Snakes), and charged (them), and to the rocks
tī'nshampk Sá-at hûk. Sänótanksi nat sash gátpa, tsúi tû' shlīkshgan's
scampered off the Snakes. At the moment of fighting we them (the soldiers) reached, and nearly shot me
a Sā't. Tû'taks hûk shō'ldshash nánuk ga-ólĕka kpū'l*χ*uk Sā'tss; li-mī'l-
the Snakes. Far up the soldiers all climbed up to dislodge the Snakes; the packer

173 män pi'la yána shláka wátch hû'nk. Tsúi sa senótank; wátch nā'sh hátakt
×539 of army-baggage above below guarded horses (theirs). Now they fought; horse a single over there

648 tkálamna, tsúi nā'sh É-ukskni shnuktsástkak hû'nk wátch. Tsúi nî
726 stood on a hill, when one Lake man started to catch that horse. And I

lewé-ula: "shli-uapkám'sh sha, liukáyank a î-û'ta!" tchín gî; "huíya!"
tried to dissuade (him): "will shoot you they, lying in ambush they are firing!" so I said; "don't go!"

nā'st nî hémkank: "huíya!" Tsúi géna k̲i'llikankank, tsúi Sā't hûk téwi
I spoke: "don't go!" And he went speeding off, and the Snakes at him fired

gatpánkshkshi hû'nk wáts. Tsúi k̲üdsûksaksína lä'k̲shktsa gä'-ish hû'k.
when he had almost reached the horse. And right on the chin took (his) skin off bullet that.

Tsúi nat k̲á-i hû'nk snû'kat wátch hûnk; tsúi hûk Sā't tî'nsna kát hû'k
And we not caught horse that; and the Snakes ran away who him

shlî'kshga. Tsúi nat kpû'laktsa tû' atí ga-û'lχa; núnuk hûk Sā't gáktsui
had almost shot. Then we pursued (them and) high up (in the hills) we ascended; all the Snakes went into

wali'shtat, kû'mets hátakt gulî' tû'mi híhassuaks. Tsúi hátokt gí'ank
the rock-cliffs, the caves also there entered many men. And in there staying

sawí'ka hûk Sā't, suashuála sa hû'nk ktá-i, tsúi vû'ssa shū'ldshash. At
became angry the Snakes, (and) piled up they rocks, and became afraid the troops. Then

yána tí'lχa sháppăsh, tsúi nat gémpĕle.
downwards inclined the sun, and we returned (to camp).

Káyaktsna shúldshash wéwanuish; u-í'tsna sha, tsúi nû shläá
Pursued the soldiers women; they marched in front file, then I perceived

hissuákshas ktáyat tsutí'la. Mû'ni k̲ä'lo hátakt túya; húnkant tsíg
a man the rocks underneath. A tall juniper-tree there stood below; against it then

ts'hálamnank láyipk lû'luksgishtka. Tsúi ndé-ulχan shlä-ánk hû'nkt layípakst, tsúi nî sí'ktsaslan wiká; tsúi nî shlî'wal nánuyank tχä'lχa; tchúi
sitting close he pointed (at me) with his gun. And I let me fall seeing him pointing, and I crawled aside a little; and I cocked making ready (and) stood up; and

ní'sh lés'ma gē'tal tā'ds, láyipk tû'shtal lupí' shlä-ō'lan's. Tsúi nî shlî'n;
me he did not see at that spot, he pointed where at first he had seen me. Then I fired;

pató n shlî'n, tsúi ndéwankā; tsúi nî hō'tχe, tsúi nî pä'n shlín nû'sh
in the cheek I hit (him), and he fell; then I sprang towards (him), and I again shot (him) in the head

sikĕnî'tkstka. Tsúi sō'ldshash tí'ntpa, tsúi nelī'na nû, tsúi kúiχan Sā'tas
with a pistol. Then the soldiers arrived, and scalped I (him), and recognized I Snake man

hú'nk, kándan hû'nk shí'uga. Gitákni hû'k P'laíkni; E-ukskíshash
that, whom I had killed. Hailing he from Sprague River; to a Klamath Lake (woman)

mbushéaltk; ná-asht hû'k shésatk Lápa-K̲íu-gí'tk; tchíhuk shésatk. At
he was married; so he (was) called Two-Rumps-having; thus he (was) named. Now

nat nelí'nulank at gémpĕle mak̲'láktsûk, at tí'nnäga. Tsúi nat mák̲'lĕχ;
we having done scalping (him) returned for encamping, and (the sun) was setting. Then we camped;

k̲ók̲ag hátakt tû'nsna, saígataks hátokt kî; hû'nkant tchî'k hû'k kok̲ág
a brook there was running by, a prairie right there was; through it then that stream

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tû′nsχantsa	yásbaltk.	Tchúi	kissä′mi	shû′dsha	Sā′t;	tû′	walī′sh	ī-utíla
was running	studded with willows.	Then	at nightfall	made a fire	the Snakes;	there	the cliffs	below

tû′shtuk	kû′mme.	Mû′	sk̲á	tánkt	slä′wi;	tsúi	psín	gátpa	Sā′t	ī-úta.
there (was)	a cave.	Very	cold	that time	(the wind) blew;	and	in the night	came	the Snakes	(and) fired.

Tsúi	shúldshash	vû′ssa,	tsúi	nat	mû′lua,	a	nat	guhuáshktsa,	psínak
And	the soldiers	took fright,	and	we	got ready,	and	we	marched,	the same night

mû′atan	nat	géna;	nishtá	nat	géna.	Tû′	nat	yaínatat	pä′ktgi,	tsû′i	nat
southwards	we	went;	the whole night	we	marched.	Far away	we	on the mountains	were at dawn,	then	we

nī′lka.
stopped there in the early hours.

Lû′luagslash	tánkt	lápksapt	wéwanuish;	äná	nat	hû′nk,	tsúi	nat	pän
They enslaved	that time	seven	women;	brought	we	those,	then	we	again

mák̲′lēχ	Nä′wapksh	yámakstan	gä′dsa	tχálamna.	Tsúi	k̲ok̲ág	hátakt
encamped	from Goose Lake	north side of	a little	to the west.	And	a brook	there

tû′nsna;	tsúi	psín	gátpa	Sā′t,	tsúi	k̲á-i	nat	káktant;	nī′shta	nat	k̲á-i
is running;	and	at night	came	the Snakes,	and	not	we	slept;	all night	we	not

káktant.	Tsúi	mbúsant	pän	gátpa	Sā′t;	yaína-ag	kúita	nats	hûk	tû′pka,
slept.	And	next morning	again	came	the Snakes;	a hillock	back of	us		stood,

tsúi	hátakt	lī′wal	Sā′t,	tsúi	k̲ak̲ī′′hha	shō′ldshash;	atí	hû′nk	k̲ak̲ī′′hha.
and	there	gathered	the Snakes,	and	missed (them)	the soldiers;	by a long way	them	they missed.

Tsúi	nat	watsátka	täluak-húya;	tsúi	gáya-a	nā′ts	hû′k	Sā′t.	Mbúsant
Then	we	on horseback	rode after them;	and	were hiding	before us	the	Snakes.	In the morning

nat	gépgap′lī;	at	gä′tak	Sátas	slää′,	tsúi	nat	gátpampēle.	Tsúi	shû′ldshash
we	returned;		no longer	any Snakes	found we,	and	we	went back home.	And	the military

hû′k	shäwána	wewán′sh	nā′ls	hû′nk,	Sā′tas	wáts	tchīsh	lā′p.	A	nat	gat-
	gave	women	to us	those,	of the Snake tribe	horses	also	two.	Then	we	re-

pámpēle	gī′ta	E-uk̲ák̲;	hû′ktoks	Lieutenant	Small	tû′	shīpī′tk	Nä′wapksh
turned	here	to Fort Klamath;	but he	Lieut.	Small	over there	separated	Goose Lake

gunī′gstant	gémpaluk	Spá-ish	Valleytála.	Lā′p	Sátas	wéwanuish	ä′na.
opposite	for returning	to Surprise	Valley.	Two	Snake	females	he took with him.

NOTES.

28. The various bands of Snake Indians inhabiting Oregon east of the Cascade Mountains are gaining their sustenance chiefly by the chase. This accounts for their constant wanderings and ubiquitous presence sometimes at Camp Harney, or the Owyhee and Snake River, at other times near Warner Lake, or the Klamath Marsh.

The date of this raid could not be determined; it may have preceded the fight related below by ten or twenty years.

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28, 1. É-uksl, "to Klamath Marsh"; on Williamson River (K̲ók̲e), which forms the outlet of the Marsh, the Snakes saw women of the Lake tribe crossing or passing down the river in their dug-out canoes, which they use for gathering wókash (the seed of the pond-lily) on the Marsh.

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173 28, 2. gépkapsh, formed by syllabic elision from gepkápkash; cf. 29, 19.

*539 28, 2. sákatla, to come-up, to arrive by the trail.

726 648 [193] 28, 3 and 4. wéwaläks pi'la, the old women only; the younger ones, on whom principally devolves the work of wókash-gathering, found time to escape in their canoes from the raiders.

[192] [222] 28, 4. k'lewidshápka. The men had gone fishing to distant places, leaving their females in the camp, not apprehensive of any hostile attack.

[192] 28, 8. kilō's, or kilû's, is the epithet given to "Dry-Leg", the Snake chief; it means a bold fighter, leader of a fighting band; literally: "irate, wrathful", and may be here taken as an equivalent to "war-chief" (sessalólish laki).

[193] [192] [657] 28, 13. Moadoki'sh, apocopated for Moadokíshash; also 28, 1: wéwanuish (wéwan'sh) for wewannishash (shlüá gépkapsh). Nā'lsh tchī'sh, *us* also; that is, we of the Klamath Lake tribe, were gathered by Mr. Perit Huntington into one district, the newly established Klamath Reservation. A large number of the Lake People were then scattered about Klamath Marsh, which is visited by them now in summer only for fishing, gathering wókash and berries, and for hunting.

[657] [175] 28, 14. Dave Hill, now interpreter (lúldatkish) at the Klamath Lake Agency, took a part in this short but interesting expedition, in the capacity of an Indian scout. He fixes himself the date of it by the words "tína illolólatko", or a *full* year after the Indians had been gathered on the Reservation by Mr. Perit Huntington. The treaty was concluded on October 14, 1864, and the campaign was undertaken in 1866 by a small body of American troops for the purpose of bringing back to the Reservation a band of Snake Indians who had run away from it. This unruly tribe, jealous of its former independence, has left the Reservation even since then, and could only after much exertion be induced to return. The fights took place west of Warner Lake, and north of the border-line between California and Nevada, within the former haunts of these western Shoshonis.

[175] The Report of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867, page 99 sq., mentions this expedition in the following laconic terms: "October 27, 1866, troops consisting of 21 men, First Oregon infantry, and five Indian Klamath scouts, under Lieutenant Oatman, and 27 men, First Oregon cavalry, under Lieutenant Small, had a fight with a band of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [should read: Abert], in the Klamath country, Southern Oregon. The Indians had so chosen their position that the troops were obliged to dismount to attack them. The fight lasted one and a half hour, and 14 Indians were killed and many wounded."

On page 100 of the same Report, another fight against Snake Indians is spoken of: "Late in November, 1866, in a conflict between the troops and Snake Indians near Fort Klamath, 10 Snake Indians were killed by the troops, and three more by the friendly Klamath and Moadocs who accompanied them." This may have been the same fight as the one above, reported with much less accuracy of detail.

[103] 29, 3. Spá-ish Valley, name corrupted from Surprise Valley. This valley is situated in the northeastern angle of California, and on the shore of its two alkali lakes several American settlements have sprung up. A few Snake Indians live peaceably around Fort Bidwell, which is located at the northern extremity of the valley.

29, 10. tálaat tχalamti'tal, consonantic assimilation for tálaak tχalamti'tal, due west.

[192] 29, 17 and 19. nū'ts, natch, for nā'ls, nā'lsh, nā'lash, *us*; náts a gépkal, for nā'lash a gépkash i.

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29, 17 and 18. gayá-itsampk. The advance of the troops was ordered in consequence of Hill's report that Snake Indians had been seen by him and his fellow-scout.

[192] **29, 19.** tú'=hak; hak means: on this side of something or somebody, referring to an object located between the speaker and something more distant.

29, 19 and 20. shlä'pka (for shlä'apka) and tássuipk (for tássui-apk) "they saw and attacked them in Hill's absence"; tínshampk "they scampered off unseen by Hill". If [193] the simplex verbal forms shlä'a, tássui (or táshui), tínshna were used, they would imply [196] that Hill then saw the Snake Indians himself, that he was among the troops charging them, and that he had seen them *in person* scampering off.

30, 3. lewé-ula really means: not to permit, not to allow, to forbid.

[192] **30, 3.** tchín gi, short for tchí ni gi: "so I said."

30, 5. Instead of gatpánkshkshi could also stand in the text: gatpannápkshi; the final -i being used in a temporal sense in both terms.

[193] **30, 8.** kû'meta, contr. from kû'mme tchish, or from kû'metat tchish.

30, 9. snashuála, etc. They piled up rocks to serve them as barricades to shoot from behind.

[192] **30, 11.** u-l'tsna, distributive form of ó-itchna; see Dictionary.

31, 7. Nä'wapksh, etc. Transcribed into the fuller and more explicit grammatic [193] forms, this phrase would read: Nä'wapkash yamakíshtana kétcha tχálamna, "to the [196] northwest of Goose Lake." For Nä'wapksh, Né-uapksh, see Dictionary.

31, 13. This campaign terminated in a decided victory over the runaway Snake warriors, but failed to accomplish its real purpose of bringing them back to the Reserve. Nevertheless, these Indians had been severely chastised by losing quite a number of men killed and wounded, and seven women of their tribe captured by the military.

000

Mō'dokni Má̱klaks shéllua

THE MODOC WAR.

Obtained from the Riddle Family in the Modoc Dialect.

Shálam 1869 A. B. Meacham shuashulálliampkish nánuk má̱klākshash
In the autumn of 1869 A. B. Meacham the superintendent over all Indians

shualaliámpka Tχálamtala; Mōdoki'shāsh hushtánka ne-ulákshgishi Kó̱ke̱-
kept watch in Oregon; the Modocs he met at the council-ground on Lost

tat wigátan tchussni'nish slánkosh; nûsh snawédshāsh gé-u túla shátēla
River near the Natural Bridge; me wife mine together he hired

lutatkátki.
to be interpreters.

At nā nánuk ne-ulakgishχē'ni gátpa; nánuk má̱klaksh wawápka,
Then we all to council-ground went; the whole tribe was sitting there,

vûni'pni hundred pēn ndā'ni tá-unep pēn vúnip pé-ula hihashuátchχāsh,
four hundred besides three tens besides four men,

000 we-ulék̲äsh tatâ'ksni tchî'sh. Meacham shapî'ya tuá gatpamnóka: "at
old women children also. Meacham told (them) what he had come for: "now

mä'lash nû shiûlkishχéni itchanuápka Ê-ukshitala."
ye I to the reservation I shall remove to Klamath Lake."

Capt'n Jack, mák̲läksäm lak̲í, heméχe: "K̲á-i nû táta gé-u käíla
Captain Jack, of the Indians the chief, said: "Not I ever my country

sheshä'tui; hemkánka nû Bóshtinash, hä shaná-ulî medshápkash, tchía.
did sell; have said I to Americans, if wished to emigrate (there), they could live (there).

K̲á-itoks nû gén táta käíla sheshä'tui, hû'toks Skóntchish sheshä'tui."
Not I this ever country did sell, but he Skóntchish sold (it)."

Meacham kaí hû pípa ítpa shû'-ûtanksh haměniúga, héshl'a hû pēna
(Then) Meacham himself the paper brought an arrangement wishing, showed (that) he his own

shē'shash shúmäluash; pēn nánukash tû shaná-ulî itchámpělish shiû'lkish-
name had written on it; again all people over there he wanted to take back to the reserva-

käíla. Kí-uks k̲á-i shaná-ulî gémpělish; hû gé-u léwitchta tpéwash. At
tion. The conjurer not wanted to go back; he (to) mine objected talk. Then

mák̲läks léwitchta ké-ish shiû'lkish-käíla. Meacham k̲illétana náläsh géntge;
the tribe refused to go to the reservation. Meacham forcibly told us to go;

at tineä'ga mák̲loks i-amnán lóloksgish. Bóshtin tchî'sh. Toby hotámsχa
then sprang up the Indians seizing (their) guns. The Americans also. Toby Riddle rushed between

hemkánka kíe: "Hî-ítókät! ké-u hémkanksh matchátkat, k̲á-i ā hûn pi-
(and) spoke thus: "Ye be quiet! to my speech listen ye, not ye this thing on

pělángshta samtchátka. Meacham mä'läm hû shî'tchlip, hemkánka tídsh,
both sides understand well. Meacham yours he is the friend, he spoke to your benefit,

mäl tídsh tchítki giúga. Kánktak gí'n wawálk̲an matchátkat; k̲á-i k̲íluat,
ye comfortably to live for the purpose. Quietly here sitting down listen (to him); not be wrathful,

Bóshtin, at nû tálaak shû'ta! Nánuk wawálχan í'lk̲at mä'läm lóloksgish!
ye Americans, then I straight will make (it)! All (of ye) sitting down lay ye down your guns!

at toks mä'l pē'n shaná-ulî mák̲läks hassasuákish."
now with ye (whites) again desire the Indians to debate."

Kédsha pēn hemkankátko tinō'li; at nánuk hémkanka, mbû'shan
For some time again after talking the sun went down; then all agreed, next day

genuapkúga shiûlkishχéni-käíla.
to remove to the reservation.

Mbû'shan nánuk shiûlkishχéni géna Mō'dokni; Meacham túla géna.
Next morning all to the reservation went the Modocs; Meacham with (them) traveled.

Shiûlkishχéni "Mō'dok Point" shéshash gíshi gátpa; at Meacham Mō'dokí-
Within the reservation to "Modoc Point" (its) name they went; then Meacham to the

shash shulō'tish nanukénash shéwana shapíya, tídsh p'náläsh shualaliampa-
Modocs the clothing to every one distributed (and) said, well for them he would

kuápgasht. At Mō'dokni E-ukshikíshash tû'la wawáltka; at hátak hish-
provide. Then the Modocs the Klamath Lakes together conferred; now here they

000 tálta at k̲áyak hishtcháktnan nadshā'shak tchi-uapkúga, Bóshtinash shitch-
promised at no time getting incensed in a common home they would live, (and) to the Americans they would

laluapkúga. At lápi lálaki shátashi hishtaltnúga. Meacham Capt'n Knap-
keep friendship. Then the two chiefs shook hands for promise. Meacham to Captain Knapp

pāsh shénuidsha mák̲lākshash shualaliampátki giúga.
turned over the Indians to be their agent.

At Mō'dokni ktchínksh ntchayetámpka shtíshtnaō'tan; ndankshap-
Upon this the Modocs rails to split commenced to build houses; eight

tánkni tousand ktchínksh shûsháta. At hûmashtgiúlan É-ukshikni k̲ó-i
times thousand rails they made. Now after achieving this the Klamath Lakes wicked'y

né-ulχa, nánuk ktchínksh Mō'dokishăsh tĕméshka, hemkankóta: "käíla
acted, all the rails from the Modocs they took away, declaring: "the land

p'nálăm", kshápa; "Mōdokíshash lóloaksh", kshápa; "Bóshtin k̲léksht",
to them (belongs)", so they said; "the Modocs (are) bondsmen", so they said; "white people they will become",

kshápa. Mō'dokni lak̲í k̲á-i yámtkin Meachalăm hémkanksh, Bóshtinash
so they said. The Modoc chief not (was) forgetful of Meacham's word, (that) the American government

(hûnk hû Meacha shapíya), tídsh shlepakuápkasht Mōdokíshăsh, Bóshtin
(that thing he Meacham said), well would protect the Modocs, the American

lák̲iash shléa shapíya, E-ukshikíshăm ktchínksh tĕméshkash k̲á-i Mō'-
agent visited (and) told (him), the Klamath Lakes the rails had taken away (and) not to the

dokíshash shewanápĕlish shaná-uli. É-ukshikni hémkank: "nā'lăm ā hûn
Modocs (them) to return wanted. The Klamath Lakes said: "our ye

käílati ktchínksh vulō'dsha." Bóshtin lak̲í k̲á-i tpéwa E-ukshikíshăsh Mō-
from the land the rails (ye) have cut." The American agent not ordered the Klamath Lakes to the

dokíshash ktchínksh shewanapĕlítki, k̲á-i E-ukshikíshash tpéwa tála gin
Modocs the rails to return, not the Klamath Lakes ordered (he) money

Mōdokíshash shewanátki. Pēn Bóshtin lak̲í Mōdokíshăsh wénni shiáshla;
to the Modocs to pay (for them). Again the American agent the Modocs elsewhere removed;

pēn Mō'dokni ktchínksh tunépni tousand shû'ta, pēn É-ukshikni gátpam-
again the Modocs rails five thousand made, once more the Klamath Lakes coming to their lodges

nan Mōdokíshash nánuk ktchínksh papálla.
the Modocs of all rails robbed.

Mō'dokni lak̲í pēn géna Agency lúldam, pēn heshégsha E-ukshikíshăm
The Modoc chief again went to the agency in winter, once more complained the Klamath Lakes

ktchínksh pēn pállash, k̲á-i shaná-ulí E-ukshikí'shash pēlpéliash hunáshak;
the rails again to have stolen, not (did he) want for the Klamath Lakes to work gratuitously;

shaná-ulí kitchákĕlan pí'sh ktchínksh shnû'ktgi. At agent pēn nádshash
he wanted to be paid to himself rails for having taken. Then the agent again in one batch

shiáshla Mōdokí'shash, at Mō'dokni ndā'nash pēn pelpeltámpka. Pēn
removed the Modocs, now the Modocs at a third place again to work commenced. Once more

É-ukshikni ktchínksh Mō'dokishăsh nánuk papálla, Capt'n Jack pēn
the Klamath Lakes the rails from the Modocs all stole, (and) Captain Jack again

000 Bóshtin lák̲iash shapíya E-ukshikíshash pí'sh tála shewanátki ktchínkshtat.
the American agent told the Klamath Lakes to him money should pay for (his) rails.

Bóshtin lak̲í at k̲íl-huan hemé*χ*e: "Hä i ûn pēn gépktak, tchû'i mish nû
The American agent now getting enraged spoke: "If you again come here, then you I

ûn tûsh shpuláktak k̲á-i mîsh E-ukshikí'shash shnumatchkátgi." At Mō'-
there will lock up (where) not you the Klamath Lakes will bother (any longer)." Hereupon the

dokni lak̲í gémpēlan p'na shne-ipákshtat, nánuk p'na mák̲loksh shiû'lagian,
Modoc chief returning to his hearth, all his people (he) collected,

K̲ók̲etat ámtch tchíshtat gémpēle lapkshaptánkni taúnepni miles móat. At
to Lost River, (to the) old settlement he returned seventy miles south. Then

t*χ*álampankí mák̲loks sheggát*χ*au lák̲iash tchû'i lûpítala médsha Yaínakshi
the half tribe separating from the chief subsequently eastward migrated to Yánaks

sheshápkash gaptchétka t*χ*alampáni 1870, hátaktok tchía Mōdokíshash
so-called in May the middle 1870, at that place stayed the Modocs

shéllualsht.
while fought.

Capt'n Al'pa Yaínakshi-gíshí' Mōdokíshash mák̲lăkshash K̲ók̲etat
Captain Applegate at Yánaks the Modoc Indians on Lost River

shlédsha itchámpelísh shaná-uliuga. Mō'dokni lak̲í hemé*χ*e: "Hä nish ûn
visited to take (them) back wishing. The Modoc chief said: "If me

Bóshtin lak̲í tídsh shualaliampáktak, géntak nû ûn Agency; hä tchísh ûn
the American agent well will protect, would go I to the agency; if also

Tchmû'tch lak̲í gítak." Shayuákta hû'nk, Tchmû'tchăm tálaak shlepakuápkash.
Frank Riddle agent would be." He knew, (that) Frank Riddle with justice would administer.

Bóshtin lak̲í lé̜witchta humáshtgísh, Mō'dokni lak̲í léwitchta
The American agent refused to assent, the Modoc chief declined

gē'sh, ndáni Bóshtin lák̲iăm k̲íyan ne-ulk̲íash; shaná-uli kánash dálaak
to go, three times the American Government deceivingly having compacted; he wanted somebody rightly

pûsh shlepáktgi; hû shayuákta Tchmû'tchăm dálaak shlepakuápkash.
for him to care; he knew Frank Riddle rightly would protect him.

P'nátak käílatat tchí'sh háměne shúldshash pí'sh shiukátki; k̲á-i pû'sh
His own in country to stay he preferred the military him in order to kill; not him

shpû'nshnan shiûlkish*χ*éni, hashtáwan shiukátki pí'sh.
taking forcibly away to the reservation, by starvation in order to kill him.

K̲aítua shû'ta tchí'sh pání shálam 1872. Bóshtin hatak-tchí'tko
Nothing was done further till autumn 1872. The white settlers

shanáhuli mák̲lăksham käíla, mák̲lăkshash shaná-uli käíla tpûlínash tû'm
desired the Indians' land, the Indians they wanted from the land to drive off while

kshunálpash käíla shana-ulióga. Mák̲lăksăm wewaníshash k̲ó-i shû'ta
pasture-lands coveting. Of Indians the females had outraged

Bóshtin. K̲ók̲etat-tchítko Bóshtin pípa shumáluan mû'ni lák̲iash shnigóta,
the whites. On Lost River-settled Americans a petition setting up to the President sent (by mail),

000 k̲á-i shana-ulióga mák̲lăkshash hî tchî'tki. Mû'ni lak̲í wálχa: "Idshá
not wanting the Indians there to remain. The President replied: "Remove
máklăkshash Agency káyak hishtcháktnan; k̲á-i gé-isht, tpûdshántak."
the Indians to the agency not boisterously; not (they) going, drive (them there)."

Vûnépni taúnep shû'ldshăsh, Capt'n Jackson lak̲í, lápĕni taúnep Bóshtin
Forty soldiers, Captain Jackson commanding, twenty white
hatak-tchítchish túla ûnă'k gakiámna. Bóshtin lak̲í heméχe: "î lak̲í gépkî!"
settlers with (them) early surrounded (the camp). The American commander cried: "you, chief, come here!"
Scarface Charley géknan heméχe: "Jack k̲á-iu pátkal!" Bóshtin lak̲í Bartell
Scarface Charley coming out said: "Jack not yet has got up!" Lieutenant Bartell
heméχe: "î pûshpúshlî watchágălăm wéash, lólokagîsh mî hûn élk̲!"
said: "you black of a bitch the son, rifle yours this lay down!"
Scarface Charley heméχe: "nû'toks k̲á-i watchága gî; hishuákshash-shítko
Scarface Charley said: "I not a dog am; to a man-alike
îsh hémkank!" Bartell heméχe: "î pûshpúshlî watchákălam wéash, lólokshgîsh mî élχ!"
to me speak!" Bartell said: "you black of a bitch the son, rifle yours lay down!"
Jackson heméχe: "lóloksgîsh húnkîsh û'tχî." Lápok
Jackson said: "the gun from him take away." Both
nadshásbak shikĕnítkîsh shushpáshkan shétui; lápok shak̲î'ha. Tánk hûn
at the same moment revolver drawing fired; both missed. Hence
shellualtámpka.
the war commenced.

Tánktak Bóshtin tû'gshta K̲ók̲e yutetámpka; at nánuk shellualtámpka.
Just then the whites on opposite shore of Lost River to shoot-commenced; then all to fight-commenced.
Tánkt lápi taúnep mák̲lăks tchía, tunépnî taúnep shû'ldshăsh Bóshtin tchî'sh
That time twenty Modoc warriors stayed (in camp), fifty soldiers American settlers
shûkáltko. Lapgshápta shû'ldshash lúela, kánktak ngĕ'she-uiya. Mák̲lăksăm
mixed with. Seven soldiers were killed, as many were wounded. Of the Indian
wewánuish tátokanî nă'sh taúnep kshíkla shuénka ngĕ'she-uiya. Kíuksăm
women (and) children eleven were killed (and) wounded. Of the conjurer
mák̲lăksh K̲ók̲e guníg̲shta yámat tamĕnuō'ta hátakt-tchitchíshăsh
the band Lost River across northwards while running the settlers there
shuénka, k̲á-i nă'sh gîn snawédshash tatákiash k̲á-i lúela. Mák̲lăks lak̲í
massacred, (but) not one there woman children not they killed. The Modoc chief
ktayalshtála géna, pĕn nánka gaptóga géna túla; hátaktok tchía 17th January 1873 tchĕ'k.
to the lava-beds went, then others joined (him and) went with (him); there they stayed January 17th 1873 until.

Tánkt vûnépni hundred pĕn vúnîp shû'ldshash, Bóshtin shûkáltko,
That day four hundred and four soldiers, with settlers mixed,
gutámpka. Waíta shéllual, k̲eliánta ké-ishtat, tinōlō'lish tchĕk k̲ĕléwi;
attacked (them). All day they fought, without snow (on the ground), at sundown finally they ceased;
shû'ldshăsh gémpĕlîn at vûnî'pni taúnep stéwa luelótan ngĕshótan
the military retreating, then forty they missed (in) killed wounded

tchísh. Túnep tulína k̲éshgûga ídshí'sh káyak wenggápkash; tánkt
also. Five they left behind, being unable to take (them) not yet dead; after
shû'ldshām génuish mák̲lāks shuénka hû'nk.
the soldiers' retreat the Indians killed them.

At mû'ni lak̲í né-ûlχa: Mōdokíshāsh shutankuapkúga, A. B. Meacham-
Then the President published a decree: with the Modocs to conclude peace, A. B. Meacham
ash tpéwa mák̲lakshash shutánktgī; General Edward Canby túla shûshû-
be appointed with the tribe to confer; General Edw. R. S. Canby along with the Peace
tankí'shash géna, túla Meachāsh Toby, Tchmû'tcham snawédshash, lu-
Commissioners went, with Meacham Toby Riddle, Frank Riddle's wife, in-
tátka. Shûshutánkish nánuk John Fairchildámkshi gátpa Vûlálkshi
terpreted. The Peace Commissioners all (to) John Fairchilds' farm came at Cottonwood
gishí', nā'lām käílätat, Febr. 20, 1873. At mák̲lāks Bóshtinash hemkank-
Creek, in our country, on Febr. 20, 1873. Then the Indians to the Americans to talk-com-
támpka, Tchmû'tch Toby tchí'sh lutátka. Bóshtin mák̲lākshash ne-ulχía,
menced, Frank Toby Riddle also interpreted. The Americans with the Modocs convened,
k̲á-i Bóshtin shellualuapkúga mák̲lakshash shû'-ûtanksh né-ulak̲sh paní'.
not the whites should make war with the Modocs the peace-contract was being made while.
Mák̲lāksām lak̲í shewé-ula hemkankóta Bóshtinash ne-ulχía k̲á-i pi lûpí
The Modoc chief agreed (and) declared, (while) the Americans were making peace not he first
lóloksgīsh tewiuapkúga. At nánka mák̲laks gátpa Fairchildámkshi; at
a gun would fire off. Then some Indians arrived at Fairchilds' farm; then
hassasuakitámpka.
negotiations began.

Tánkt Skuä' Stīl, Atwell, nû tchísh Toby tchísh géna Mō'dokisham
Then Squire Steele, Wm. Atwell, I also Toby also went of the Modoc
lák̲iam tchí'shtat shushotankí'sham né-ulaksh shtíltchnû'ka; mákl'χa tchúi.
chief to the camp, of the Peace Commissioners a message to carry; (we) passed the night then.
Mák̲lāksh nāl tidshéwan tilótpa, hemkánka: "palpal-tcholeks-gítko lûpí k̲û'-i
The Indians us friendly received, (and) said: "the palefaces at first outrage
shûsháta, Bóshtin tchúshak gí'yan mák̲lakshash shtí'lshga, shû'ldshash hûnk
committed, the whites continually lying on the Indians reported, troops
mák̲lakshash hûnáshak gûtámpka, mák̲lāksh k̲á-i k̲ópa tû'sh p'nálām k̲û'-i
the Indians for no reason (had) attacked, the Indians (did) not think over there their folks wrongly
gíwish; Bóshtin mák̲lākshāsh ktáyat tpûlí' yutetámpka ktáyat gípkash."
had acted; The Americans the Indians into the rocks drove (and) firing-commenced at in the rocks them staying."
Mák̲lāksh hémkanka: "hä ā tídsh shutankuápka nā'lash, k̲'lewiuápka nā
The Indians declared: "If ye will negotiate peace with us, stop will we
shéllualsh; hä pēn nā shellualuápka, Bóshtin lûpí shellualtampkuápka;
fighting: if again we should fight, the Americans first war-start-would;
mák̲lāks k̲á-i lûpí' tewiuápka."
the Indians not at first will fire."

Stīl at heméχe: "Mā'lam nénap Bóshtinām tchékelī nánukash ginta-
Steele then said: "Your hands of the whites' blood all over stained

OOO natkó gi Canby mā'lash k̲illetanuápka gékish tchēk k̲'lewiuápka; Canby
are. Canby on ye will insist to him until ye will give it up; Canby
mā'lash tchúi tidshantála käíla idshanuápka gen welí'tan, tû'sh māl k̲û'-
ye then to a good land will remove from here distant, where ye the
idsha Yamakí'shash k̲á-i shuénktgi. Hä ā gíta tchiuápka, shuénktak māl
wicked Oregonians not will murder. If ye here would remain, they would kill ye
ûn nanukä'năsh."
every one."

Mō'dokni lak̲í heméχe: "K̲á-i nû shaná-ulí gé-u käíla k̲ĕlewídshăsh,
The Modoc chief said: "Not I want my country to leave,
k̲á-i kûn pēn käíla shayuaktnû'ga tchī'sh. Gé-u t'shí'shap, pgíshap,
not any besides country as I do know to live in. My father, mother,
tχé-unap tchish gíta vûmí', shanáhulí p'nátak käílatat tchían k̲ĕléksh.
brother also here are buried, I desire in my own country living to die.
Nû'toks k̲aítua k̲ó-i gíta shû'ta, k̲á-i tchík lish kaní' tat shpûnshanuápka;
Myself nothing wrong here have done, not so that any one hence should take away (me);
gétak mish nû vû'la wákaktoks hû nánuk tchía."
this only of you I request, in the same manner as all to live."

Hemkankûlótak Capt. J. Biddle nánuk wátch Mōdokíshăm lák̲iăm pálla.
Just after that talk Captain James Biddle all horses of the Modoc chief captured.
Nād Cámbiămgshi géna shana-uliû'ga wátch Mōdokíshăm shewanapĕlítki
We to General Canby went (and) requested the horses Modoc to return
lák̲iăm túbakshăsh. Canby léwitchta shewanápĕlish hemkankóta: "tidsh
the chiefs' to the sister. Canby refused to return (them) declaring: "very
toks nû ûn hûn wátch shualaliampáktak, shû-ûtankû'lash tchēk Mōdokí-
well I those horses will care for, (and) after making peace then to the Mo-
shăsh wátch shéwanap'lishtka gí." At Meacham heméχe: "tpé-u î she-
docs the horses (I) intend to return." Hereupon Meacham said: "give orders to re-
wanap'lítkí shash máklaksăm wátch! ní'a î hémkanka k̲áitua k̲ó-i ne-ul-
turn to them of the Indians the horses! just now you promised (to them) nothing outrageous to
k̲uapkúga, k̲aítua k̲ó-i shûte-uapkúga."
order, nothing outrageous to perform."

Canby shiáshna shû'ldshăsh túnepni hundred tinōlishχéní, tinēχish-
Gen. Canby moved soldiers five hundred on west side, on east
χéní pēn túnepni hundred lāp miles pipelángshta Mōdokíshăsh lák̲iash;
side again five hundred two miles on both sides of the Modoc chief;
gíta pēn hemkanktámpka.
there again negotiating-commenced.

Toby lák̲iash shtíltchna, túmĕna tû shushutankí'shash shuénkuapkasht;
(While) Toby Riddle to the chief reported, she learned there the Peace Commissioners were to be assassinated;
tchúi lák̲iash shapíya: "hä î ûn shû'tanktak, tí'dsh mish ûn shualaliampák-
then to the chief said: "if you make peace, well of you will take care
tak Canby." Lak̲í heméχe p'nána p'na: "tāt gé-u mák̲lăkshăm k̲óχpash
Canby." The chief said to cousin his: "where of my people the heart

000 genuápka, nû túla genuápka." At mák̲loks né-ulχa; ndā'n pé-ula shû'-
goes, I with it shall go." Then the tribe took a vote; thirteen to make

tanksh háměne, ndā'ni taúnep shéllualsh háměne. Lak̲í heméχe hû'nkish:
peace wished, thirty warfare wished. The chief said to her:

3 "Shápi mi lák̲iash: Gíta nish shle-uápka ktáyat, k̲aítoks ni'sh tû'-una
"Tell your general: Here me he will find in the rocks, (and) not for me around

Lĕmaikshína káyaktgi, k̲á-i Yainakshína káyaktgi. Gíta hak ni'sh ûn
Shasta Butte he must hunt, not about Yáneks he must hunt. Here only me

shlétak; ndiuláksht ni'sh ûn tû'mi shû'ldshash gintí'ltak."
he will find; after having fallen I many soldiers under (me) will lie."

6 At shûshotankishámgshi gatpámpělan shapíya mák̲lăksham hemkánk-
Then to the Peace Commission having returned she related of the Indians the utter-

uish. Toby pĕn heméχe: "tuá nû mish nen shapíyăsh háměne." Meacham
ances. Toby then said: "something I to you to tell wish." Meacham

heméχe: "nû ûn k̲á-i kánash shapítak", Dya tchísh né-asht gi k̲á-i kánash
said: "I not to anybody will divulge", Dyar also agreed, not to anybody

9 shapi-uapkúga. Doctor Thomas heméχe: "mû'ni lák̲iash, nā'lam t'shísha
to divulge (it). Doctor Thomas said: "the great Ruler, our Father

shaná-uli nû neásht gi; nā'lăm t'shísha nû hushtankuápka; k̲á-i nû ûn
desire I to agree with; our Father I have to meet; not I

kánash shapítak tuá mi shapíyash." At Toby túměnash p'na shapíya shash.
to anybody will relate the thing you will tell (me now)." Then Toby, what she had heard, told them.

12 K̲á-itua shû'tan mbû'shan tchēk. Bogus Charley shuldshámkshi
Nothing was done next morning until. Bogus Charley to the soldiers' camp

gátpa; Doctor Thomas vûni'pni taúnepni yards hushtánkan hémkanka:
came; Doctor Thomas forty yards (away) meeting (him) said:

"Wák lish ā nāl shûshotankíshash shuénksh háměne? Nā'lăm mû'ni
"Why ye us Peace Commissioners to kill want? Our

15 t'shíshap nāl shgúyuen māl shûtánktgi tidshántala kăíla mā'lăsh idshántki,
President us sent with ye to make peace (and) to a good country ye to bring,

Bóshtinash shítko māl tchi'tki. Gátpa nā tchékĕli vudshoχalkítki mā'lăm
to the whites alike ye to live (in). Come we the blood to wash out on your

néptat gintanápkash, Óreginkni Bóshtinash māl k̲á-i shuénktgi." Bogus
hands sticking, (and) the Oregonian settlers ye no (more) to kill." Bogus

18 Charley vû'la: "kani' shapíya, mā'lăsh nā'lăm shuenkuápkash?" Thomas
Charley asked: "who says, ye (that) we are going to murder?" Thomas

hémkanka: "Toby, Riddlăm snawédshash, shapíya." Bogus Charley
said: "Toby, of Riddle the wife, says (so)." Bogus Charley

hémkanka: "hû lish snawédshash k̲íya." Kĕmutchátko kí-uks hémkanka:
said: "this woman lies." The old doctor said:

21 "k̲í' shéwa nû hû'nkesh."
"to tell lies thoughts I her."

At Bógush pélak mak̲lăkshámkshi gä'mpĕlĕ, pélakăg păn mák̲loks
Then Bogus quickly to the Indian camp returned, in a short while again an Indian

shtíltpa shûldshámkshi, Tobiăsh shana-ûliúga mak̲lăkshámkshi gatpántki:
brought a message into the soldiers' camp, Toby bidding to the Indian camp to come:

000 "kánăm, mi hû'nk shapíyash laláḵiăsh, shapíya?" At gátpīsht vûlá: "kaní'
"who, you what (you) reported to the officers, told?" Then after arrival they asked (her): "who

mish shapíya?" Toby heméχe: "Ḵá-i nû ûn mā'lash shapítak!" At
to you told (of this)?" Toby said: "Not I to ye will tell!" Then

gakiámna shlishlolólan: "he ī nāl ûn ḵá-i shapī'tak, shíuktak mish nā
they surrounded (her) cocking guns: "If you to us not will tell, will kill you we!"

ûn!" Toby vûlá: "Nû tchísh Mō'doknī gī; ī, nû shapíya shûshotankí-
Toby replied: "I also a Modoc am; yes, I told (it) to the Peace Commis-

shash; ḵá-i nû ûn māl tatá shapī'tak. Shlī'sh haměniúga, ī'sh shlā't!"
sioners; not I to ye whence will tell. To shoot if you want, me shoot ye!"

Laḵí ḵá-i shaná-uli kí-ukshăsh snawédshash shiukátgi: "snawédshash hû'-û
The chief not wanted (that) the conjurer (this) woman should kill: "a woman she

gi, ḵaítua sháyuaksh."
is, nothing she knows."

At lítχi gémpěle, shuldshámkshī gatpámpěli; păn laláḵiash shapíya,
Then in the evening she returned, to the soldiers' camp she came back; again the Commissioners she told,

ḵá-i máḵlăkshăsh hushtánktgī.
not the Indians to meet in council.

Mbû'shan Meachash ḵélianta máḵlăksh gátpa. Doctor Thomas Canby
On the next day Meacham being absent some Modocs came. Dr. Thomas (and) Gen. Canby

máḵlăkshăsh shenō'lχa mbū'shan hushtankuapkúga. Tunépni máḵlaks
with the Indians arranged the next day to meet. Five Indians

hushtankuápka mbū'shan, nánuk ḵéliak lóloksgīsh. Pshín hû at gatpám-
were to meet the next day, all without rifles. That evening when had re-

pěle Meacham, Doctor Thomas shapíya p'ná shenólaḵuīsh. Meacham
turned Meacham, Doctor Thomas mentioned his promise. Meacham

heméχe: "Doctor, hä ī ûn nen hak né-ulaktak, ḵá-i ī ûn pēn táta né-
said: "Doctor, if you (ever) this compact-keep, not you again ever will

ulaḵtak. Tóbiash nû lóla, máḵlăksh nāl shuenkuápka; ḵá-i kăní mísh ûn
compact-keep. Toby I believe, the Indians us intend to kill; nobody to you ever

shapítak, Tóbiash ḵī'-īsht." Doctor Thomas häméχe: "hû mish máḵlăks
will tell, Toby to have told lies." Doctor Thomas said: "this you Indian

snawédshash hushpátchta; ḵá-i ī p'laikíshăsh lóla tídsh."
woman has frightened; not you in God trust enough."

Mbū'shan lā'pi máḵlăksh shûshotankishámkshi gátpa vûlá: "tamû' lísh
Next morning two Indians to the Peace Commissioners' tent came (and) inquired: "(are)

ā mulō'la máḵlăkshăsh hûshtankuapkúga?" Hû'dsha hemē'χe: "ī-ī." Ná-
ye ready the Indians to meet in council?" They replied: "yes." All

nuk laláχi shugû'laggi at, Tchmû'tch häméχe: "shaná-uli nû nen shápiyăsh
the Peace Commissioners gathered then, Frank Riddle said: "want I to tell

māl, ḵá-i génat, shuénktak māl ûn máḵlăks, ḵá-i nû shanáhūlī nûsh sha-
ye, do not go, will kill ye the Modocs, not I wish me to have

akaktántgī." Doctor Thomas vûlá: "nû'toks p'laikī'-īshăsh lolátko gī";
a blame cast upon." Doctor Thomas said: "as for me, in God I am trusting";

gûhuáshktcha.
he started.

000

At nā'lash gátpisht ndā'nkshaptani mák̲lāks wawápka. Meacham lûpí
When we had come, eight Indians were sitting there. Meacham first
hémkanka: "Mû'na gen shû'tanksh hemkankelgí'." Lak̲í at hémkankă:
spoke: "Important this peace-treaty we will talk over." Capt'n Jack then said:
"at nû k̲édshika hémkanksh; nû'shtoks mā'lash nû tídsh shlépaktgi wákak-
"now I (am) tired of talking; myself ye I well to care for same
toks ā hûn nanukénāsh Bóshtināsh; shaná-uli nû Canby shkuyuepĕlítki
as ye these all Americans; want I Gen. Canby to move away
shû'ldshāsh, tánkt nû ûn shútanksh hemkánktak." Gen. Canby hemé*χ*e:
the troops, afterwards I the peace-treaty will talk over." Gen. Canby said:
"k̲éshga nû hûn humásht kish."
"cannot I to this assent."

Mák̲lōks lak̲í hemé*χ*e: "k̲á-i nû shanáhuli pēn hémkanksh!" tgo-úl*χ*an
The Indian chief said: "not I want further to talk!" rising up
at Cánbvash shlín; skétish lû'lp shlín. Tánkt nánuk huhiégan mák̲lākash
then at Canby he fired; on the left eye he shot (him). Simultaneously all springing up Modocs
yutetámpka. Canby wigá hû'tchna, pēn nûsh tapí'tan shlín; nde-ul*χ*áp-
to fire-commenced. Canby not far ran, then in head back-side was shot; after he
kash idshí'pa shûlō'tish láktcha. Boston Charley skétigshta vushó Dr.
fell they stripped coat (and) cut his throat. Boston Charley in the left breast Dr.
Thomasásh shlín; hû'tchna wigá, mák̲lāks shnukán vutō'l*χ*a, hémkanka:
Thomas shot; he ran a short distance, the Indians seizing (him) threw (him) down, (and) said:
"k̲ó-idshi ué i Sunday kí-úks gi!" Skóntchish Meachāsh lupí k̲aiha;
"not good now you a Sunday doctor are!" Skóntchish Meacham at first missed;
Toby hûtáms*χ*an shásh ktēleshkápka Meachāsh Skóntchish, híshtchish
Toby rushing between them, pushed away from Meacham Skóntchish, to save
haměniúga Meachāsh. Pēn lápantka Meachash yúta, lapkshaptánkni shlín.
intending Meacham. Again twice at Meacham they shot, at seven places he was shot.
Meachāsh ndí-ulē*χ*ápkash mák̲laks shaná-uli nelínash, Toby toks hû'tchnan
Meacham when fallen the Indians attempted to scalp, Toby but running
nk̲éna: "Shû'ldshāsh gépka!" At mák̲lāks hû'tchna. Tchmû'tch Dya
halloed: "The soldiers are coming!" Upon this the Indians ran away. Frank Riddle (and) Dyar.
shuashualiámpkish kshíta nk̲í'llan hûhō'tchna.
the agent escaped quick-moving ran away.

Shuktámpkan ndáni waíta shéllual; pipelántan lák̲iām tchí'sh shû'ld-
To fight-commencing for three days they battled; on both sides of the chiefs' quarters the
shash wiwál*χ*a, pipelántan kû'mme lalaúshaltko. Shaná-uli kakiámnash
troops took position, on both sides of the cave rocky. They tried to surround
tunépni taunepánta nāsh kshikläpkash, ámputala kayáhia. Wewánuish ta-
the fifty one. the water-from cutting off. The women (and) the
tā'ksni kû'metat tchía; huk wewánuish tatā'ksni kû'meti kēktchanuápka.
children in the cave were; the women (and) children from the cave will be withdrawn.

000

Mō′dokni ndā′ni waíta shelluáltko lā′p häshχē′gī hishuátchχăsh; mû′ne
Modoc for three days waging war two were killed men; a big
sháwalsh mbáwan shuénka.
shell bursting killed (them).

Kē′kga mbū′shan kû′metat; kē′ktgal û′nash, wigá ktaítala géna, wigá
They went out next morning from the cave; vacated (it) early they, not far into the lava beds they went, not far
gīn pēn tchía. Pēn tánknī waitō′lan lápi lálaki mák̲lăksash k̲áyaktcha
from there again they stayed. Again (in) a few days two officers the Indians hunted
nadshaptánkni taúnăp shû′ldshăsh í-amnatko. Ndā′ni taúnăp Yámaknī
sixty soldiers having with them. Thirty Warm Spring Indians
shû′ldshăsh túla géna. Bóshtīn Yámaknī Mōdokíshăsh shléa wigátan
the troops with went. The Americans (and) the Warm Springs the Modocs found a short distance
k̲û′metat. Scarface Charley lápēni taúnep păn lā′p pé-ula Mōdokíshăsh
from the cave. Scarface Charley twenty and two Modocs
íyamnatko, taktaklánta hushtánka Wrightăsh shenotánka. Māntch sheno-
having under him, in an open field encountered Lieut. Th. F. Wright (and) fought. Long time they
tánka. Charley nā′sh mák̲lăks stánodshna; nánka Bóshtinăsh lúela, nánka
fought. Charley one man lost; some Americans they killed, some
ngé-ishe-uya; lápēni taúnep pēn ndā′n pé-ula shúldshash nashkshaptani
they wounded; twenty and three soldiers six
lálaki tchísh k̲á-i shuénka. Mák̲lăks wálhh′kan yaina-ága-gishī Bóshtinăsh
officers also not were killed. The Modocs standing on watch a little mountain near the Americans
wawapkápkash gû′lki. Gitá hû shéllual K′laushálpkash Yaina-ága-gishī.
seated on ground charged. Here they fought Sand-covered Hill at.

Lápēni sundē k̲aítua shû′ta. Capt′n Hasbrouck mák̲lakshăsh haítchna.
For two weeks nothing was done. Captain Hasbrouck (then) the Indians followed.
Shléa mák̲lakshăsh Pahápkăsh É-ush-gī′shī. Hádokt shenótanka, Bósh-
He found the Indians Dried-up Lake at. There they fought, Ameri-
tinăsh lapksháptá mák̲laks shiúka, ndā′n Yamakī′shăsh; túnep pé-ula
cans seven the Modocs killed, three Warm Springs; fifteen
ngēshe-úya. Mōdokíshăsh hûtchámpkăsh nāsh stanótchna.
they wounded. The Modocs on their flight of one they deprived.

At Mō′doknī sheggátka tánkt. Lápēni waitólan Pahátko Ê-ush
The Modocs separated then. Two days after Dried-up Lake
shellûlō′lash, Capt′n Hasbrouck taunepánta túnep pe-ulápkash Mōdokíshăsh
fight, Captain Hasbrouck fifteen Modocs
shléa wigátan Fairchildăm (Pădsháyăm) shtinā′sh; mā′ntch shishō′ka tak-
found near Fairchilds' farm-house; a long time fought on
taklánta käílatat lā′p′ni taunépni taúnep shû′ldshăsh pēn nadshksaptánknī
level ground two hundred soldiers and six-
taúnep Yámaknī. K̲á-i kánash nā′sh snawédshash shiúka, Yámakni nelī′na.
ty Warm Springs. Not anybody (but) one woman they killed, the Warm Springs scalped (her).
Hû snawédshash stíltchna shû′tanksh háměnīsht Mōdokíshăsh.
That woman had reported, to surrender that desired the Modocs.

000

Lápĕni waitólan nadshgsháptа taúnep pé-ula Mō'dokni Gen. Davis
Two days after sixteen Modocs to Gen. Jeff. C. Davis
gawína; húnkiăsh tunepä'năsh shā't'la káyaktcha mák̲lăksăm lak̲í. At tína
surrendered; of them five he hired to hunt of the Modocs the chief. One
sundĕ kíulan shnû'ka Nûshaltkága p'lá-itan; shnepä'mpema: "hü k̲á-i
week over they caught (him) the head (of Willow Creek) above; they entrapped (him): "if not (longer)
shishúka k̲á-i mish kshaggayuápka."
you fight, not you they will hang."

Nánuk mák̲lăks at Fort Klamath ídsha. At hashuátko lák̲iăm shti-
All Indians then to Fort Klamath were brought. A talk was held judge's in
nā'sh; hû lalák̲i hémkank tchĕks, nadshksáptanni: lak̲í, Skóntchish, Black
house; the judges declared after a while, six: Captain Jack, Skóntchish, Black
Jim, Boshtinága, Slû'lks, Bä'ntcho mák̲lăks kshaggáya. Lä'p íshka atí
Jim, Boston Charley, Slúlks, Bántcho Indians to hang. Two they took to a distant
käíla illiuapkúga tchúshni; vûní'pa at Fort Klamath Yamatála íggaya.
land to imprison for ever; four then at Fort Klamath in Oregon they hung.

At atí k̲äíla nánka éna mák̲lăks tû Mák̲lăksăm Käíla, Quapaw mák̲-
Then to a distant land a portion they brought of Modocs far off there to the Indian Territory, (to) Quapaw In-
lăksăm shiû'lkishgishi; nánka Yáneks Yámak tchía wigátan mä'ntchnish
dians' reservation; some at Yáneks in Oregon live close by the former
Mōdokíshăm käíla. Kánk shē'sha nánuk mák̲lăkshăm shéllualsh vúnepni
Modoc country. So much did cost the whole Modoc war four
millions tála.
millions of dollars.

NOTES.

33, 1. Shálam, etc. The return of the Modocs to the Klamath Reserve was not accomplished by Meacham before winter (lúldam); but he had located about 300 Snake Indians on Sprague River in the latter part of November, 1869. Ind. Aff. Rep. 1870, p. 68.

33, 2. shualaliámpka means, in official parlance, to administer or superintend a district; to be agent for.

33, 2. K̲óketat. This appears to be the same locality where Ben Wright had met the Modocs in council (1852) and where his volunteers, placed in ambush, massacred over forty of their number. The Natural Bridge, or, as the Modoc has it, the "Perpetual Bridge", is a low and flat natural arch overflowed during a part of the year by the swelling waters of Lost River. Mr. A. B. Meacham, then superintendent of the Indian reservations of Oregon, met the Modocs on that spot to induce them to settle again within the limits of the Klamath Reservation, a large tract of land assigned to the tribes of this section by treaty of October 14, 1864. They had left the reservation in 1865, and in April 1866 the Walpápi band of Snake Indians, under their chief Paulini, followed their example.

34, 4. The treaty of October 14, 1864 shows the names of twenty Klamath chiefs and headmen, of four Modoc, and of two Snake chiefs and subchiefs as signers. The Modoc names are: Schonchin, Stakitut, Keintpoos, Chucke-i-ox. Keintpoos is Captain

000 Jack, and the original forms of the other three names are Skóntchish, Shlakeítatko, Ndsákiaks. (See Dictionary.) Captain Jack denied having put his name to the treaty of sale, his refusal being from repugnance to quitting the ancient home of his tribe on Lost River and on the lakes, where the remains of so many of his ancestors had been buried. Moreover, the Modocs abhorred the vicinity of the Klamath Indians at Modoc Point. That Jack should have himself signed his name to the treaty is simply an impossibility, for none of the Modocs was able to write. The treaty preserved in the agent's office at Klamath Agency does not even show crosses, other marks, or totemic signs, as substitutes for signatures; but the proper names are written by the same clerical hand which engrossed the text of the treaty.

34, 6. The words kaí hû, ítpa and hû pĕ'na would in the Klamath Lake dialect be substituted by: a hû't, épka, hû'k p'na.

34, 8. The conjurer (kí-uks), who objected to the presence of Riddle (gé-u) in the capacity of an interpreter, was Skóntchish, called John Schonchin by the whites. He was the brother of the present Modoc subchief at Yáneks, seems to have exercised more influence over his tribe than Jack himself, and through his unrelenting fanaticism was considered the leader of the faction of extremists in the Modoc camp.

34, 9. géntge stands for the more commonly used géntki.

34, 10. í-amna, íyamna, to seize, grasp, refers to a plurality of objects of *long* shape, as guns, poles; speaking of one long-shaped object, úyamna is used.

34, 11. kie, *so, thus*, stands for kĕk or kĕ' of the Klamath Lake dialect.

34, 16. kédaha, kítcha, the adverb of kitchkáni, little, small, refers to hemkankátko, and not to tinō'li.

34, 18. Mbû'shan, etc. The return of the Modocs is referred to in Agent Knapp's report in the following terms (Ind. Aff. Rep. 1870, p. 68): "On Dec. 18, 1869, the superintendent (Mr. Meacham) and myself, accompanied by Dr. McKay, J. D. Applegate and others, visited the Modocs off the reservation at their camp on Lost River, for the purpose of inducing them to return to the reserve. After talking for ten days they consented to return, and on Dec. 30 we returned to the reserve with 258 Indians. Blankets, &c., were issued to them, the same as to the other Indians, on Dec. 31. They remained quietly on the reserve until April 26, when I stopped issuing rations; then they left without cause or provocation; since that time they have been roaming around the country between Lost River and Yreka ..... The old Modoc chief, Schowschow [should read: Skóntchish], is still on the reserve, and has succeeded in getting 67 of his people to return and I have located them at Camp Yia-nax ..... The Klamaths have made a large number of rails for their own use, also 5,000 for fences required at agency." The old Modoc chief alluded to is the brother of John Skóntchish.

34, 19. The locality assigned as the permanent home of the Modocs was near the base of a steep promontory on the eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake, since called after them "Modoc Point". It is an excellent spot for hunting water-fowls and for fishing in the lake, but the compulsory presence of the rival Klamath tribe made it hateful to the Modocs. Many excavations made for the Modoc lodges are visible there at present. Here they lived first *in the lodges* of the Klamath Indians, after Meacham moved them to this spot in 1869. After the first complaint made by Kintpuash or Capt. Jack, Agent Knapp removed them about 400 yards from there, away from the lake; and the third locality assigned to them was about one mile further north. Then, after

000 Jack's band had run off, the remainder went to Yáneks, over thirty miles inland, to settle there.

34, 19. shéshash is here placed between Mō'dok Point and the adessive case-postposition -gishi, which corresponds to -ksákai in the northern dialect. We have here an instance of incorporation of a whole word into a phrase, and the whole stands for: Mō'dok Point-gishi sheshápkash gátpa.

34, 20. shulō'tish. Articles of clothing, blankets, etc., form a portion of the annuities distributed to treaty Indians before the commencement of the cold season.

35, 2. lápi instead of lápĕni, láp'ni; also 41, 18.

35, 3. shénuidsha, etc. Captain O. C. Knapp, U. S. A., had assumed charge of the Klamath Agency, under the title of subagent, on Oct. 1, 1869, relieving Mr. Lindsay Applegate.

35, 5. ktchinksh. The timber-land lies north of Modoc Point on Williamson River, and hence was regarded by the Lake People or Klamath Lake Indians as their exclusive domain. This served them as an excuse or justification for taking to themselves the rails which the Modocs had split. In addition to this, they taunted them with the remark that they were in the power of the Americans as their bondsmen, and would soon adopt all the customs of the white population.

35, 8. Mō'dokni laki. My Modoc informants constantly avoided giving the name of Captain Jack by which his tribe called him. Western Indians regard it as a crime to mention a dead person's name before a certain number of years has elapsed. The Kalapuya Indians, who never cremated their dead, are allowed to speak out their names fifteen years after their decease, for then "the flesh has rotted away from the bones", as they say. The real name of Captain Jack was Kíntpuash, which is interpreted as "one who has the waterbrash".

35, 15. gátpamnan, coming to their camps, stands for the Klamath gátpĕnank.

35, 18. pélpeli (first syllable short) means: to work; pē'lpeli (first syllable long): to work in somebody's interest.

35, 19. kítchakla, to pay a sum owed, to repay a debt, cf. sχû'kta, to pay cash.—pí'sh: to himself, as the chief of the Modoc tribe.

35, 21. papálla. The subchief Dave Hill positively denies that such an amount of rails was ever abstracted by his people from the Modocs, and declared it to be a gross exaggeration.

36, 4. shné-ipaksh and shné-ilaksh are two terms for "fire-place, hearth", differing only little in their meaning.

36, 5. ámtch, *former, previous*, is not often placed in this manner *before* the substantive which it qualifies.

36, 5. gémpēle, etc. The former Modoc encampments on the lower course of Lost River were distant from Modoc Point about 25 to 30 miles, those on its headwaters about 50 miles, and those on Modoc Lake and Little Klamath Lake about the same distance.

36, 6. tχálampanki, or -kni, Modoc for tatχalampáni in Klamath.

36, 9. Yaínakshi-gishi' implies that Applegate was living at Yáneks at that time; the Klamath Lakes would say instead: Yaínaksaksi, or Yaínakshi, Yaínaksh. Superintendent Meacham had then temporarily divided the reservation, leaving the Klamath Lakes under the control of the acting agent at Klamath Agency, Captain O. C. Knapp, 000 and placing the Modocs and Walpápi under the management of Commissary J. D. Applegate at Yáneks. This was done to prevent further broils and stampedes of the tribes. On account of his tall stature, which exceeds six feet, the Modocs called Applegate "Grey Eagle" (p'laíwash), this being the largest bird in the country.

36, 11. géntak nû ûn Agency; Capt. Jack meant to say: "I would go on the reservation again with all my Modocs to settle there, if I had the certainty of being protected."

36, 14. A verb like shayuáktan, "knowing", has to be inserted between gē'sh and ndáni, from which ne-ulk̲íash is made to depend: "he declined to go, knowing that the government had compacted with the Modocs deceivingly", etc.

36, 15. shlepáktgi could be connected here with pí'sh just as well as with pû'sh.

36, 17. Subject of shpû'nshnan and of shiukátki is shúldshash.

36, 19 and 20. tû'm kshunálpash käíla, "land producing plenty of grasses (kshún)" for the cattle. The Lost River country contains the best grazing lands in all Lake County; this explains the unrelenting efforts of the American settlers to get rid of the roaming and sometimes turbulent band of Captain Jack. Could also read: käíla tû'm kshunálpkash gí'sht shana-ulíúga.

36, 20. wewaníshash syncopated for wewanuíshash.

37, 1. hí implies the idea of vicinity to their settlements; "on this ground here".

37, 2. káyak h.: not through arousing their anger.

37, 3. Major John Green, First Cavalry, was then commander of the troops garrisoned at Fort Klamath, which consisted of Company B, First Cavalry, and Company F, Twenty-first Infantry; aggregate present, 4 commissioned officers, 99 enlisted men. Major Jackson, of Company B, left Fort Klamath on Nov. 28 for the Modoc camps, near mouth of Lost River. In the attack on the Modocs, Lieutenant Boutelle, who tried to disarm Scarface Charley, hád his coat-sleeves pierced by four balls.

37, 7. The Klamath Lake form hishuákshash=shitko is here used instead of the Modoc form hishuátchχash=shítko.

37, 10. All the verbs in this line are reflective verbs. shak̲íha for Klamath shashk̲íhan; tánk for Klamath tánkt.

37, 12. tû'gshta K̲ók̲e. The Modocs had a camp on each side of Lost River, one of them quite a distance below the other. On Nov. 29, the soldiers and settlers fired across the river at the unprotected lodges of the northern Modoc camp, thus killing about 15 squaws and children, while the Modoc men first retreated to the hills, but returned in the afternoon and recommenced the fight. The "doctor's" band (37, 16), also called Black Jim's band, visited the farms of the vicinity and killed 14 settlers, but did not molest women and children. On the Tule Lake settlement three men were killed.

37, 15. Eleven may be expressed also by nā'sh kshíkla taunepánta.

37, 17. lúela can only be used when a plurality of objects is spoken of, and therefore in a better wording this sentence would run thus: k̲á-i nā'sh gín snawédshash shínga sha, tatákiash k̲á-i lúela.

37, 18. ktayalshtála. Captain Jack with his warriors and their families retreated to the lava beds. They quartered themselves in the spacious subterranean retreat called Ben Wright's cave, or, since the war, "Capt. Jack's cave", and began to fortify their stronghold.

000 **37, 21.** gúta means: came near (them); hence gutámpka: attacked (them).

37, 21. shéllual. The battle of Jan. 17, 1873 was the result of a combined attack of the troops on the lava beds from two sides. Owing to a thick fog, which prevailed through the whole day, the troops had to retreat with heavy losses and without gaining any advantages.

38, 1. tánkt, although adverb, has here the force of a pre- or postposition in connection with génnish.

38, 4. shutánktgi. The Peace Commission, as appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. C. Delano, consisted of A. B. Meacham, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon; of Jesse Applegate and Samuel Case. They met in Linkville on Feb. 15, and were rejoined there by Brigadier-Gen. Edward R. S. Canby, commanding the Department of the Columbia, as the representative of the army in this commission. O. P. Applegate was appointed clerk of the commission.

[103] **38, 6.** Vúlálkshi. The Klamath Lake Indians call that rivulet Kawé-utchaltko k̲ok̲ága, or: Eel Creek.

38, 7. nä'läm käílätat: on Californian territory; the place being a few miles south of the Oregon State border.

38, 12. hassasnakitámpka. This interview had not the desired result, and no other authority mentions the conclusion of an armistice. From the second peace-meeting Steele, Fairchild, and the Riddles returned on March 1; they had been in Jack's headquarters in the cave and found the chief sick. No result could be obtained then nor by any of the subsequent negotiations.

38, 13. Squire, or Judge Elijah Steele, a pioneer, and citizen of Yreka, Siskiyou Co., Cal., in 1864 Superintending Indian Agent for the Northern District of California, a steady protector of the interests of the Indians, and therefore most popular among the Klamath Lakes, Modocs, Pit Rivers, Shastis and Wintoons.—Mr. William Atwell, of Sacramento, Cal., correspondent of the "*Sacramento Record*" at the time of the Modoc war.

38, 15. The term palpal-tcholcks-gítko is very little in use among the Klamath Lakes and Modocs, for the Americans are most generally named by them Bóshtin, Bóshtin máklaks.

38, 17. k̲ópa for the Klamath Lake term hushkánka.

38, 18. Other forms for ktáyat are: ktá-itat, distributive: ḱtaktíyat, ktaktíyatat; in the Klamath Lake dialect: ktaiksáksi, distributive: ktaktiksáksi.

39, 1. gékish or gékiash k̲'lewinápka: until you will yield to his entreaties; until you will give yourself up to him.

39, 3. Yamakíshash: "The wicked Oregonians" are the white settlers on Lost River. 40, 17, they are called Óregínkni Bóshtin. Yamakíshash, being the subject of shuénktgi, has to stand in the objective case.

39, 10. pálla. The location of the possessive case *after* the governing substantive (here: wátch, *horses*) is rather unfrequent. The horses, 34 in number, were captured during a raid or reconnaissance, which Capt. Biddle, of Camp Halleck (Nevada), made with fifty men of Troop K, First Cavalry, on March 13, 1873. His men met four Indians herding the horses. While bringing the horses to Van Bremer's ranch, on Willow Creek, the troops were not attacked.

39, 11. shewanapēlítki. The language likes to form inverted sentences like this, OOO where a more regular position of the words would be: shewanapēlítki wátch Mōdokísham lák̲iam túbakshāsh.

39, 15. nía: quite recently, a short while ago.

39, 15. shash refers to tpé-u and is at the same time the grammatic subject of shewanap'lítki, though standing in the objective case: "give orders to them (viz. to your soldiers), that they return the horses of the Modocs!"

39, 17. shiáshna. The troops located on west side were only half a mile distant from Jack's camp. The army took up these positions on April 1st and 2d, 1873 (Meacham, Winema, p. 45).

39, 17 and 18. The numbers of men stated here are not quite correct, since there were at no time more than 600 soldiers on duty around the lava beds in the Modoc war, exclusive of the Warm Spring scouts.

39, 22. p'nána p'na, to his cousin. Toby was the cousin of Captain Jack, as both descended from brothers.

40, 1. ndā'n pé-ula. tá-unep is sometimes through neglect omitted in numbers running from eleven to nineteen, pé-ula, or any other of the "classifiers", supplying its place.

40, 3 and 4. Notice the local suffix -na in these names and in tú-una.

40, 4. kayáktgi is not here verbal intentional, but exhortative form of ká-ika, ká-iha, kaiha, to hunt, pursue.

40, 5. ni'sh ought to stand after gintí'ltak also: "will lie under *me*."

40, 6. A new Peace Commission had been formed, composed of the following gentlemen: A. B. Meacham; Rev. Elder Eleazar Thomas, D. D., of Petaluma, Sonoma Co., California; Leroy Sunderland Dyar, acting Indian Agent at Klamath Agency (assumed charge of agency May 1, 1872); and Gen. Edw. R. S. Canby.

40, 6. hémkanknish, the spoken words; -u- infixed gives the form of the preterit.

40, 8 and 11. shapítak stands for shapíya tak.

40, 9, 10. né-ashtgi for the Klamath ná-asht gi, nā'sht gi, "to agree with"; nā'lam t'shísha shanáhuli nû ne-ásht gi: I desire to go with God, to act in harmony with his will, to agree with him.

40, 12. The participle shû'tan answers to our English: "Nothing doing that day", since both stand for the passive form.

40, 12 etc. To bring on the desired opportunity for the murder of the Peace Commissioners, Bogus Charley was shrewd enough to avail himself of Meacham's absence, for he knew him to be opposed to a meeting with Indians when unarmed and unattended by troops. He succeeded in capturing the mind of the good "Sunday-Doctor" or minister, who was unacquainted with the wily and astute character of the savage, by declaring that: "God had come into the Modoc heart and put a new fire into it; they are ashamed for having attempted intrigue, were ready to surrender, and only wanted assurance of good faith." (Meacham, Winema, pp. 52, 53.) Upon this, Dr. Thomas promised that another council of peace should be held, and thus, unconsciously, signed his and General Canby's death-warrant.

40, 13. 19. 20 etc. A quotation of spoken words in *oratio recta* is more correctly introduced by heméχe than by hémkanka, as it is done here.

40, 15. ídsha, ídshna, is in Modoc used only when many objects are spoken of.

40, 20. k̲íya, k̲í'a, gía. This verb is pronounced in many ways widely differing from each other; cf. k̲í, 40, 21.

000 41, 3. shlíwala: to cock a gun; shliwalólan, after having cocked his gun; distr. shlishloalólan, contracted: shlishlōlólan, each man after having cocked his gun. Shliulóla means to take the string off the bow; to uncock the gun.

41, 4. 5. According to Meacham (Winema, p. 50), Toby delivered these plucky words, pistol in hand, from the top of a rock, which raised her above the heads of the angry mob.

41, 5. tatá, "whence, from whom", is composed of táta? where? and the interrogative particle há. The sentence is incomplete, though intelligible to the Indians; the full wording would be: tatá nû tû'mĕna, or: tat há nû tumĕnátko gi: "from whom I have heard it".

41, 7. ḵaítua sháyuaksh: "she has not the ability or intellectual disposition to do us any harm."

41, 14. hak, short for hûk; although rendered here by "this", it has to be taken in an adverbial sense: "this time". The adverb corresponding to the hak of the incident clause is the táta in the principal one.

41, 18. tamû' lish etc.: "have ye made yourselves ready?"

41, 20. shugúlaggi. See Dictionary, s. v. shukû'lki.

41, 21. After nûsh kánash may be supplied: "I do not want that anybody cast a blame upon me."

42, 1 etc. The party, on arriving, were greeted by the Indians with extreme cordiality, and General Canby gave to each a cigar. Eight men were there, instead of the five unarmed leaders, as promised by Boston Charley. The parts for the bloody work had been allotted as follows: Skóntchish had to kill Meacham; Boston Charley, Dr. Thomas; Black Jim, the agent Dyar; Bantcho, Riddle; and if Gen. Gillem had been present, Hûka Jim would have fired on him. Chief Jack had undertaken the assassination of Gen. Canby. The two other Modocs present, completing the number eight, were Shacknasty Jim and Ellen's man. Scarface Charley also appeared on the scene, but not with hostile intentions. The date of the assassination of the Peace Commissioners is the 11th day of April.

See full account of the massacre in Meacham's Wigwam and Warpath, and (much shorter) in his Winema, pp. 57–62.

42, 2. hemkankelgi' is probably: hemkankō'la gi: "has to be talked over to the end."

42, 3. After shlépaktgi there is ellipse of shanáhuli, "I desired", or "desire". The rights alluded to were such as would be equivalent to American citizenship. The sentence has to be construed as follows: nû shaná-uli mâ'lash tídsh núsh(-toks) shlépaktgi, wákaktoks, etc.

42, 4. shkuyuepĕlítki. Capt. Jack's condition for further peace-negotiations was the removal of the troops from the Modoc country by General Canby.

42, 7. Modoc tgo-úlχa for Klamath tgélχa.

42, 9. When Gen. Canby had been killed and stripped of his uniform, he was turned with his face downwards and his scalp taken. The scalp was raised on a pole in the lava beds and dances performed around it, which lasted several days.

42, 11. Dr. Thomas was killed by a second bullet, which passed through his head; he was stripped of his garments and turned upon his face, after his murderers had taunted him with not believing Toby's statement.

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42, 12. A "Sunday kí-uks", or Sunday Doctor, stands for preacher, and the meaning of the sentence is a mockery, contrasting Dr. Thomas' vocation of preacher and mediator between the two contending powers with his ignoble death brought on by cowardly murderers.

42, 12–16. Skóntchish's bullet passed through Meacham's coat- and vest-collar; he retreated forty yards, while walking backwards; Toby in the mean time tried to save him by grasping the arms of his pursuers. He fell from exhaustion on a rock, and there was shot between the eyes by Skóntchish and over the right ear by Shacknasty Jim.* This Indian despoiled the unconscious man of his garments, and prevented another from shooting him in the head, declaring that he was a corpse. These two left, and Toby stayed alone with him. Then Boston Charley came up, holding up a knife to scalp him. Toby prevented him by force from doing so, and in the struggle which ensued she received a heavy blow on the head from the end of his pistol. Boston Charley had completed one-half of the scalping operation, when Toby, though stunned by the blow, shouted "Shúldshash gépka!" Though no soldiers were in sight, this caused the desperado to take to his heels immediately and Meacham's life was saved. Riddle escaped the Indian bullets, being covered by Scarface Charley's rifle, and agent Dyar was rescued by running fast, though hotly pursued by Húka Jim.

42, 18. After the massacre of the Peace Commissioners, the services of the Riddles as interpreters were no longer required. From this date, the report given by them becomes meagre in details, because they withdrew from the immediate vicinity of the battle-fields.

42, 18. One of the two divisions was commanded by Colonel Mason, the other by General Green, and the three days' fight took place on the 16th, 17th, and 18th of April. A heavy bombardment of Capt. Jack's headquarters in the cave (kū'mme lalaúshaltko) went on at the same time.

42, 19. kū'mme lalaúshaltko, the rocky cave, forms epexegesis to lákiam tchī'sh, 42, 18: the refuge, or stopping place of the Modoc chief.

42, 20. ámputala. The troops cut the Modocs off from the waters of Tule Lake, the only water they could obtain to quench their thirst.

42, 20 and 21. Wewánuish, etc. The meaning which the author wanted to convey by this sentence is: "the women and children remained in Ben Wright's cave, though a portion of them were to be moved out from it." See kü'ktsna (in Dictionary).

43, 1. Mō'dokni is here an *adjective*, qualifying the substantive hishuátchχăsh, and shelluáltko is participial phrase determining the verb temporally: "two Modoc men, after the fight had lasted three days, were killed."

43, 1. hăshχē'gi is a "plural" verb used only in the Modoc dialect; Klamath: hushtchóχa. To kill *one*, the singular form, is shíuga in both dialects. The two Indians killed by the explosion were boys, who were playing with an unexploded shell which they had discovered on the ground. One of them was named Watchnatati.

43, 3. kē'ktgal, etc. The Modocs vacated their cave in the lava beds on April 19 on account of the terrible losses experienced by the three days' bombardment, and retreated, unseen by the troops, to the vicinity of Sand Hill, about four miles SSE. of Ben Wright's cave. The two officers who followed them with about 75 regulars and 30 Warm Spring scouts were Capt. Evan Thomas, Battery A, Fourth Artillery, and

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*This is indicated in the text by the instrumental case of láp'ui: lápentka, by two shots, which were fired *by two men*. The five other wounds he had received before.

000 First Lieut. Thomas F. Wright, Twelfth Infantry. The Sand Hill fight took place on April 26, and lasted about three hours; the troops were surrounded by the enemy and lost 21 men killed, 18 wounded, and 6 missing. The Modoc loss amounted to four men, as supposed.

43, 3. wigá gin for wiká gēn: not far from there they made another stand.

43, 4. tánkni waitólan can also mean: "the next day" in the Klamath dialect.

43, 5. Yámakni. The Warm Spring Indians occupy, in common with Wasco Indians, a reservation on Lower Des Chutes River, Oregon, and are congeners of the Nez Percés, both being of Sahaptin race. Being the inveterate enemies of the Shoshoni or Snake Indians, the U. S. Government formed a corps of scouts from able-bodied men of that tribe, which did good service in the numerous hard-contested fights with the Snake Indians. At the outbreak of the Modoc war, these useful allies naturally suggested themselves as the best auxiliaries against the revolted tribe. Donald McKay organized a corps of 72 scouts and rejoined with them Col. Mason's camp April 10, 1873. A few later accessions carried them up to an effective force of about ninety men.

43, 8. To taktaklánta supply käflatat.

43, 10. lápēni taúnep, etc. Instead of giving the numbers of killed and wounded, our informant simply gives the number of the survivors. The Warm Spring scouts are not included.

43, 13. Capt. Hasbrouck, of the Fourth Artillery, was then in command of a mounted battery, and accompanied by Capt. Jackson, in command of B troop, First Cavalry, and by sixty Warm Spring scouts.

43, 14. The fight at Dry Lake or Grass Lake occurred on May 10. Thirty-four Modocs attacked the troops at dawn, but were forced to retreat. The troops sustained a comparatively trifling loss.

43, 15. túnep pé-ula stands for taunepánta túnep pé-ula: fifteen. Cf. 40, 1 and *Note.*

43, 16. Changes of grammatic subjects, and even their omission, are not unheard of in incoherent Indian speech. Thus Bóshtin has to be supplied here between nāsh and stanótchna, and the meaning is: "the troops killed one of the retreating Modoc warriors."

43, 17. Pahátko É-ush stands for the more explicit form Pahápkăsh É-ush·gí'shi; cf. 43, 13.

43, 22. shútanka properly means: "to negotiate", but stands here euphemistically for "to surrender". The same is true of gawína, **44**, 2, the proper signification of which is "to meet again".

44, 1. General Jefferson C. Davis was the officer whom the President had, after Gen. Canby's assassination, entrusted with the conduct of the Modoc war. He assumed command on May 2, relieving the intermediate commander, Col. Alvin C. Gillem, of Benicia Barracks, California.

44, 2. shát'la káyaktcha stands for shátēla kayáktchtki and was preferred to this form to avoid accumulation of consonants.

44, 2. lak̲í for lák̲iash. When speaking fast, Klamaths and Modocs sometimes substitute the subjective for the objective case in substantives which are in frequent use, as mák̲laks for mák̲laksash, **44**, 9. 55, 4.; wéwanuish for wewanuíshash, etc.

44, 3. sundē·gíulan, over a week; lit. "a week elapsed". On June 1, 1873 Capt.

COO Jack and his last warriors surrendered to a scouting party of cavalry, not to the five Modocs sent after him.

44, 5. Fort Klamath ídsha, or better: Fort Klamathχé'ni ídsha. The national name for this locality is I-ukáka, I-uk̲ák̲, E-ukák.

44, 5. hashuátko, uncommon Modoc form, contracted from hashashuakítko, by elision of two syllables.

44, 6. stinâ'sh for shtinâ'shtat. Generic nouns of places, dwellings, etc., easily drop their locative case-suffixes and case-postpositions; cf. käíla for käílatat, 44, 8 and 9. Yámak, 44, 10, is an abbreviation of Yámatkshi or Yámat-gishi.

44, 7. kshaggáya is incorrectly used here instead of iggáya, which is said when a plurality of long-shaped objects (including persons) is referred to.

44, 8. íggaya. The execution of the four malefactors took place at Fort Klamath on the 3d of October, 1873, under an immense concourse of Indians and whites living in the vicinity. It is estimated that the whole Klamath Lake tribe was present, men, women, and children. The gibbet constructed for this purpose, of enormous magnitude, stands there at the present day. Bantcho and Slúlks were sentenced to imprisonment for life. Bantcho died some time in 1875 in the fortress and prison of Alcatraz Island in the harbor of San Francisco, California, and Slúlks is serving his term there at the present time.

44, 9. atí käíla. The approximate number of Modocs brought to the Indian Territory for having participated in the revolt, was 145, women and children included; they were first placed on the Eastern Shawnee reserve, and afterwards removed to that of the Quapaw Indians. Owing to the moist and sultry southern climate of their new home, many of their children died during the first years after their arrival, and the Report of the Indian Commissioner for 1878 states 103 as the whole number of the Modocs remaining in the Territory.

To facilitate a prompt reference to the historical events described in this long article, I present the following division of its contents:

33, 1. Negotiations terminating in the return of Capt. Jack's Modocs to the Klamath Reservation.

34, 18. Difficulties causing a split in the Modoc tribe. Capt. Jack returns to the Lost River country with one half of the Modocs.

36, 9. The Government of the United States called to the rescue by the Lost River settlers.

37, 3. The massacre on Lost River, and the attack on the lava beds.

38, 3. President Grant appoints a Peace Commission. Negotiations progressing.

39, 10. The capture of Modoc horses makes further negotiations impossible.

39, 20. Toby Riddle reveals her terrible secret.

40, 12. A Doctor of Divinity among the Modocs.

40, 22. Toby Riddle tried by her countrymen. Last warnings given to the Peace Commissioners.

42, 1. Assassination of the Peace Commissioners.

42, 18. Bombardment of the lava beds and the Sand Hill fight; the fights at Dry Lake and near Fairchild's farm.

44, 1. The closing scenes of the tragedy.

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BIOGRAPHIC NOTICES OF MODOC CHARACTERS.[1]

GIVEN BY J. C. D. RIDDLE IN THE MODOC DIALECT.

I. TOBY RIDDLE.

Toby ketchkáne mák̲lăksh gátpa Ya-ága k̲ók̲e Yamatkní'shăm kăíla
Toby a little Indian became on Williamson River of the Oregonians in country
pă'dshit skō' 1842. Húnkĕlăm t'shí'shap T'-shíkka; húnkĕlăm p'kí'shap
just then in spring 1842. Her father (is) T'shikka; her mother
k̲'léka hû ndă'ne illólatko. Hû p'ná t'shísha té-unăpni illólash túla tchía,
died she (being) three years-old. She (with) her father ten years together lived,
at tû génan Tá-uni wigátan p'χádsha p'na túla tchía.
then far going Yreka close by cousin her own with she lived.

Ndankshaptánkni té-unip Móatuash mák̲lăks Mōdokíshăsh wátch 1857
Eighty Pit River Indians from the Modocs the horses 1857
illō'lash pálla. Mō'dokni wátch haítchna, at pshí'n mák̲lĕka; mbû'shan
in the year stole. The Modocs the horses pursued, and at night they camped out; next day
pă'ktgisht Móatuash gû'lki. Mō'dokni tchámptakian hûhátchna; Toby
in the dawn the Pit Rivers attacked (them). The Modocs frightened started to flight; Toby
hemkánka: "k̲á-i hûhátchantgi", ndă'ni té-unepni Mō'dokni shellual-
cried: "not they must run", (and) thirty Modocs to fight
támpka. Mă'ntchtoksh shishō'ka, at Móatuash tpûdshá, lû'luagshla vû'nîpni
recommenced. For a long time they fought, then the Pit Rivers they repulsed, (and) captured for-
té-unep Moatuáshăsh í'pkan lû'lûagshlan. Păn pshí'n Móatuash gû'lki,
ty Pit Rivers keeping (and) enslaving (them). Again at night the Pit Rivers attacked,
tû'mi tchúi Móatuash. É-ukshikni at Mōdokíshăsh shídshla, pĕn vúiχe
many (more) Pit Rivers. Klamath Lakes then the Modocs helped, again they conquered
yímeshgápalan p'nálam wátch, Móatuashăm tchí'sh wátch ídsha. Lápĕni
taking back their own horses, of the Pit Rivers also the horses they drove away. Twen-
té-unep păn túnep Móatuash shuénka, tû'm k̲á-i shléa; lăp Mōdokíshăsh
ty and five Pit Rivers were killed, many not found; two Modocs
shuénka, ndăn shlíuiya, túnep E-ukshikíshash ngē'she-uiya. At mák̲lăks
they killed, three they wounded, five Klamath Lakes they wounded. Then the Indians
Tóbiash sheshaloli'shăsh sháyuakta.
Toby a fighter knew her to be.

Shálam illólash 1859 at hû hishuatchkáshla Tchmû'tchash. Illólash
In the autumn in year 1859 then she married Frank Riddle. In the year
1862 at sha'hmū'lgi Sháshtiăsh E-ukshikíshas Mōdokí'shash tchi'sh, at
1862 she called together the Shastis the Klamath Lakes the Modocs also, when
lápĕni waitō'lan hemkánka nánuk máklăks: "at nánuk tchékĕli vûmí'
after two days declared all the tribes: "now all blood is buried

000 p'nálam shelluáluish". At shû-utánka Tá-uni Skuä' Stí'lämgshi, Skuä'
of their hostilities". Then they made the treaty at Yreka in Squire Steele's office, Squire

Stíl nä'läm lak̲í.
Steele our manager (being).

Tá-uni hûnk hushtánkan mák̲läksh Oregon Dick shéshätko hû'tnan
Near Yreka encountering an Indian Oregon Dick by name attacking

shishóka palpal-tchû'leks-gítkäsh J. Hendricks shéshapksh; hû mák̲läks
fought a white-skinned (man) Hendricks by name; he the Indian

vutō'lχa. Mák̲läksäm snawédshäsh shikĕní'tkish uyamnátko hûtchípke
threw down. The Indian's wife a pistol holding ran towards

Hendricks shliuapkúga. Toby shnuka shikĕnítkish û'tχa, hûnk k̲uáta
Hendricks to shoot (him). Toby seized the pistol (and) wrenched (it from her), her firmly

shnukpápka mák̲läkshäsh shiukóläsht, tchēk táshka.
she held the Indian until was killed (or beaten), then let (her) go.

II. STEAMBOAT FRANK.

Tchimä'ntko shellualshē'mi lápĕni ta-unepánta läp pé-ula illō'latko gí.
Steamboat Frank at the time of the war twenty two years-old was.

Hû'nkeläm t'-shíshap Sháshti mák̲läks gí, húnkĕläm p'gí'shap Mō'dokni gí.
His father a Shasti Indian was, his mother a Modoc was.

Mû lítchlitch shishóka shellualshē'mi; hûk ndä'ni k̲ek̲ó-uya shiû'lkishχēni
Very bravely he fought during the war; he thrice tried into the reservation

géshtga giû'ga Fairchildäm käíla gíshí'kni, ta-unepánta túnep kshíklápkash
to enter Fairchild's from farm (coming), ten (and) five

mák̲läksh hishuátchχash í'-amnatko; tchû'i hûnk tpugídshapĕlitámna.
Indian men having with him; (but) him they drove back every time.

K̲á-i hûk lalák̲iash shuénksh háměni, shéllualsh tads hí shaná-uli. At
Not he the Commissioners to kill wanted, to make war however he wanted. Then

hû'kshin sháyuakta hûnk lalák̲iäm shtíltish k̲á-i kshaggayuápkash hûk
surrendering he was informed of this of the officers' promise not they would by hanging him

shiû'ga, Mō'dokni lák̲iash k̲aigiúga shû'ldshäsh. K̲áiliaktoks hû tupáks
execute, the Modoc chief if he hunted for the soldiers. Without he sister

gí t'χäúnäp tchish, weweshaltko pí'la; lápĕni hû snawedshála. Lupí'ni
is brother also, having children only; twice he married. First

húnkĕläm snawédshash shéshatko Steamboat, mû'-stûtχámpkash gísht.
his wife was called Steamboat, of strong voice possessed being.

Lupí' hûnk k̲uihégshash shítko shpunkánka, tchû'i lak̲ialá.
Firstly him orphan-alike she kept, afterwards married (him).

III. SCARFACE CHARLEY.

Tchígtchiggäm-Lupatkuelátko Mōdokí'shäsh shíshukshē'mi láp'ni ta
"Wagon-Scarfaced" Modoc at the war-time (was) twen-

unepánta läp pé-ula illólatko. Húnkĕläm p'gí'shap t'shí'shap ketchkani-
ty and two years-old. His mother (and) father in-

énash ō' gisht wéngga. Hû'nkĕläm t'shí'sha Bóshtin kshaggáya. Ketch-
fant he being died. His father the Americans hung. When a

ganiénash ō wäg'n lupatkûéla. Shellualshē'mi hûk kaá shéllual; hûkt
small boy he (was) a wagon passed over the face. In the war he bravely fought; he

nanukénash lalák̲iash wí'niaχian shéllual. Mōdokí'shash shuénksht lalá-
all the chiefs surpassing he fought. (When) the Modocs murdered the Peace

kiash Tchigtchí'ggām-Lupatkuélatko k̲á-i shaná-uli tûlá shuénksh. Hû
Commissioners "Wagon-Scarfaced" not wanted along (with them) to assassinate. He

lā'p Bóshtin lalákiash vû'iχîn Kēla-ushálpkāsh-Yainákîshî, lápēnî tá-unep
two American officers defeated Sand-covered Hill-at, twenty

pän lā'p pé-ula mák̲lāks í-amnatko; lápûk Bóshtin lalák̲iāsh shuénka. Pēn
and two Indians having with him; both American commanders he killed. Again

nā'dshash shelluálshgîshî p'ná mák̲lākshāsh hí'ushga k̲á-i nánuk shû'ld-
(on) one (of the) battle-fields his Indian men he ordered not all the sol-

shāsh nā'sh waítak shuénktgî.
diers on one day to kill.

NOTES.

54, 1. ketchkáne or kitchkáni m. g. is a queer way of expression for the more common giúlχa: "was born".

54, 1. Yá-aga k̲ók̲e is the present name of the locality on Williamson River where the Government bridge was built since her infancy, about one mile from the mouth of the river. Williamson River is simply called K̲ók̲e, "river", and on its lower course resides the largest portion of the É-ukshikni or Lake People.

54, 1. Yamatkni'sham, E-ukshiknísham, etc., are forms often met with, though ungrammatic; the correct forms are Yamatkísham, E-ukshikísham, Mōdokísham, etc.

54, 2. T'shikka means simply "old man". He was still living in 1876.

54, 3 etc. The event described in these lines took place on one of the raids which the Klamaths and Modocs undertook every year before the gathering of the pond-lily seed against the California tribes on Pit River, for the purpose of making slaves of their females. If the numbers of Indians enslaved, wounded, and killed are correct, the raid of 1857 must have been of unusual magnitude, as will be seen by comparing the statements of Dave Hill in another portion of our texts. Among the horses stolen was a fine saddle-horse belonging to Toby, and this theft may have stirred her personal feelings of revenge to the utmost degree. After her successful charge at the head of her braves, she did not allow the fallen Pit River Indians to be scalped.

54, 9. tpûdshá. The accent rests on the last syllable because the particle há has coalesced with the terminal -a: tpû'dsha há. Há is equivalent to "with their own hands"; há lúyamna, I hold in my hand. Many other verbs are occasionally accented in the same manner, as ítá, shnûká, lakialá.

54, 12. yimeshgápalan; through a difference in the prefix, the Klamath Lake dialect would say t'meshgápalank.

54, 13. See Meacham, Winema, p. 32 sq., who speaks of *three* dead enemies only.

55, 1. 2. Mr. Elijah Steele, Superintending Agent of Indian Affairs for the Northern District of California, met in council the Klamath Lakes, the Modocs, and three tribes of Shasti Indians, with their chiefs, near Yreka, on April 14, 1864 (not 1862), and to his mediation was due the peace-treaty between these tribes, including also the Pit River Indians (who had not sent any deputies), published in Ind. Aff. Report for 1864, pp. 109, 110. Toby does not figure among the interpreters at this council; but there are

000 two other names of "interpreter for the Modocs": H. K. White and T. S. Ball. The raids on the Shasti Indians were mainly undertaken for horse-stealing, and the hostile feeling between them and the Klamaths and Modocs was never very intense, since frequent intermarriages took place. Cf. Steamboat Frank's biographic notice: 55, 9.

55, 1 and 3. Tá-uni. Every *town* is termed so, as Linkville, Ashland, Yreka; San Francisco or Portland would be mû'ni tá-uni. In this connection, Yreka, Siskiyou Co., California, is meant. Cf. also 54, 4. Tá-uni has the inessive postposition -i suffixed, and means *in a town, near a town*, or: *the country around a town*.

55, 4. =gitkash is an ungrammatic form standing for =gípkash.

55, 3–7. Meacham, Winema, p. 34, speaks of an affray in which Toby interfered in a perfectly similar manner, though the names of the combatants differ, and the end of the fight was not extermination, but personal friendship.

55, 8. Tchimä'ntko means "widower".

55, 10. Had Steamboat Frank, with his fifteen warriors, succeeded in entering from the south across Lost River into Klamath reservation, near Yáneks, and in surrendering there, this would have saved him from further prosecution, as he thought.

55, 12. For úyamnatko and íyamnatko, see *Notes* to Modoc war, 34, 10.

55, 13. The sentence shéllualsh tads etc., refers to the vote taken by the tribe a few days before the ominous eleventh day of April. Thirty warriors voted for continuation of the war, thirteen voted for peace; cf. 40, 1. 2.

55, 13. hi means in the interest of the tribe and its independence. See *Notes* to Modoc war, 37, 1.

55, 14. He went with the American troops in the quality of a scout. Nothing illustrates the real character of some Indian wars as well as this instance: an Indian who has fought with the most decided bravery against the enemy of his tribe, is ready, as soon as the chances of war run against his chief, to sell himself for a few coins to the enemy, body and soul, and then to commit upon his own chief the blackest kind of treason. Cf. Modoc war, 44, 2.

55, 14 etc. From the verbal stíltish depends the sentence: k̲á-i kshaggayuápkash hûk shiû'ga (or: shiugátki), and from k̲á-i shiû'ga depends k̲aigiúga. This is the verbal causative of k̲aihía, to hunt for or in the interest of somebody, and the indirect object of it is shû'ldshăsh: "for the troops". Hûk in hûk shiû'ga refers to Steamboat Frank, not to Captain Jack; were it so, hûnk would be the correct form, pointing to somebody distant.

55, 17. stûtχámpkash, to be derived from stú, stó: way, road, passage; meaning passage-way of the voice through the throat.

55, 21. 56, 1. The pronoun hû', *he*, appears here under the form of ŏ'.

56, 1. Scarface Charley was run over by a mail-stage, and obtained his name from the scar resulting from that casualty. For shellualshē'mi there is a form shellnashē'mi just as common.

56, 1. 2. Scarface Charley surpassed all the other Modoc chiefs in skill, strategy and boldness; he was the engineer and strategist of the Modoc warriors, and furnished the brains to the leaders of the long-contested struggle.

56, 3 etc. Hû lä'p etc. The two commanders referred to were Capt. Thomas and Lieut. Wright. Cf. Modoc war, 43, 7–12 and *Notes*.

56, 7. nä'sh waítak for: nä'sh waíta ak: on one day *only*, on a single day.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM MÁK̲LAKSAM NÉ-ULAKS.

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LEGAL CUSTOMS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

GIVEN BY SUBCHIEF DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

I.

E-ukakni nä'd tchí tchía gitá: P'lú lak̲í tútasχõnini, nū'ds Dave
Lake-people we thus live here: Blow is chief general, and I Dave
Hill lak̲í P'lúash tapí'tan, Lánk-Tchän Dávish tapí'tan, tchõ'k tchish Link
Hill am chief to Blow second, Long John Dave after, then too Link
River Jack Lánk-Tchánash tapí'tan, Lílu ta.
River Jack Long John after, and Lilu.

Pit River Charley Móatuasham lak̲í E-ukshí'.
Pit River Charley of Pit River people is the chief at the Lake.

Ben Littlejohn lálak̲i, Skóntchiesh lak̲í Yainakskíshäm mák̲laksam.
Ben (and) Littlejohn are the chiefs, Skóntchish is (sub-) chief of the Yámsis people.
Johnson lak̲í Moadoknísham Yaínakshi. George Kuatí'lak ta Módokni
Johnson is chief of Modocs at Yámsis. George Kuatílak also is Modoc
lak̲í tapí'tan Jóhnsonash.
chief after Johnson.

Tcháktot Sátam lak̲í.
Tcháktot of Snake Indians is chief.

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II.

Nánuk lalák̲i Ä'-uksi nä'dsant shiū'lgishtat tsí sa hémkank:
All the chiefs on Klamath Lake on one and same reservation thus they speak:

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K̲á-i ī shlí-uapk shash: ksaggayuapká m's ní; k̲á-i ī palluápk sas
Not you shall shoot each other: would hang you I; not you seduce each other's

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snáwedsh: spûlhi-uapká m's ní, hä' ī sas pálluapk. K̲á-i ī wátsam tchí'k-
wives: would imprison you I, if you them seduce. Not you a horse shall

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luapk wännikí'sham; hä'doks ī tchíkluapk, spulhi-uapká m's ní. K̲á-i ī
ride of another man; but if you should ride, would imprison you I. Not you
pálluapk sas nánuktua, hä'doks ī pálluapk sas spûlhi-uápka m's ní.
shall steal from each other anything, for if you should steal from each other would imprison you I.
(Nánuktua k̲á-i ī pálluapk; hä'doks ī yekä'-uapk nä'-ulaks, hunkantí'
(Nothing you must steal; for if you should break the laws, thereat

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m's ní shetcháktanuapk.) Hä'doks ī snawä'dsh Bóshtinash shä'tolakuapk,
at you I would get angry.) If you, as a female, with a white man should sleep,
któtchkuapka m's ní. Hä'doks ī hä'sχalp'luapk nánuktua shéshatuish m'na,
will cut off hair to you I. If you should have returned to yourself the whole marriage fee his,

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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sχóktnank î häsχálp'luapk, hunkantchä' mísh nî ká-i né-ulakuapk: waké-
paying you should reobtain it, on account of that you I not shall try; per-
anhua spû'lhi-uapk. Hä î híshuaksh pálluapk snawä'dshash, hä'doks
haps (I) will imprison. If you, as a married man, seduce a married woman, if
î ná-änt snawä'dshash shetō'lakuapk, nä-ulakuapká m's nî. Hä î kí'-
you another with wife cohabit, shall punish you I. If you should
uapka ts, nä'-ulakuapka m's nî.
lie also, would punish you I.

[687] Hä'toks î nä's lúlûksaluapk k'lä'kapksh, mû' mísh nî nä'-ulakuapk.
And if you a person should cremate, who is dead, heavily you I shall punish.

[683] Hä' î kiúks tsís táwi-uapk, mû' mísh nî nä'-ulakuapk. Hä î shishókuapk
If you as a conjurer should bewitch, hard you I shall chastise. If you have a fight
[593] illí-uapka m's nánukäns; hä î snawä'dsh mî sissókuapk, ilhí'-uapka m's
I will lock up all of ye; if you (and) wife your should fight, will lock up you
nî lápuk sumseálĕmamks. Hä î shuhánk-sitk sissókuapk, lápuk mísh nî
I both married folks. If you evenly whip each other, both of ye I
nä'-ulakuapk; hä'toks snä'wedsh î mî udópkuapk, tchúi mísh ká-i sekák-
will punish; but if wife you your beat, and to you not returns
tsuapk hûk snáwädsh, ká-i nî nä'-ulakuapk snawä'dshash, mí'sh nî hissuák-
blows the wife, not I will punish the wife, you I, the hus-
shash spû'lhi-uapk. Hä î tuánksî wudsháyuapk hû'nkst, mí'sh nî mû'ak
band, will imprison. If you anywhere bruise her, you I more heavily
nä'-ulakuapk; hä'toks lakí û'dopkuapk snawä'dsh m'na, snäkĕluápka nî.
shall punish; but if a chief bruises wife his, shall remove (him) I.
[683] [685] Hä'toks î hí'hashuaksh shishókuapk, lápuk mísh nî ilhí-uapk. Hä'toks
If you with men should fight, both of ye I will lock up. If
î shnä'lχuapk látchash mû' mísh nî nä'-ulakuapk.
you set on fire a lodge hard you I will chastise.

Hä lakí shishókuapk humáshtak nî shnäkĕlui-uápka; hä' tchik lakí
If a chief starts a fight, in the same manner I shall remove (him); if a chief
húntsak a máklaksas shishókuapk, lápĕni, ndánni, tánknî shishókuapk,
for no reason people should beat, twice, thrice, many times should beat,
tánkt nî snä'kĕlui-uapka nî. Hä' tchik í'-alhísh tchísh kúi gí'uapk, shnä-
then I shall remove (him) I. If a guardian wrong does, shall
kĕluí-uapka nî; hä nánuktua kúi gí'uapka, tánkt nî shnäkĕlui-uápkan
remove (him) I; if in everything wrong does (he), then I will remove (I)
í'-alhishash; hä'toks í'albish tíds, nanuktuánta tídsh gí'uapk, ká-i nî shnä-
the watchman; but if watchman well, all through well shall act, not I will
kĕluí-uapk. Lakiásh tchísh tídsh gísht ká-i nî shnäkĕlúi-uapk; hä Bóshtin
remove (him). A chief also doing his duty not I will remove; if white-men-
yálank nä'-ulapkuapk, tí'dsh hûnk gí'uapk, ká-i nî hûnk wutódshanuapk.
alike he deals, right he shall act, not I him will cast away.

[689] Ká-i î hussí'nuapk; hä'toks î hussí'nuapk nû hû'nk í'-amnuapk í'χaks
Not you must run horse-races; but if you run horse-races I the will take away gain
mî. Tchí lakí nä'-ulχa.
your. So the chief orders.

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Hä' î k̲ä'liak híshuaksh ná-änds sätólakuapk, hû'k tchîsh híssuaks
If you, not having a husband, with another should cohabit, this also man
k̲ä'liak snáwädsh, spû'lhi-uapka nû kä'lish snáwedsh. Hä hû'ksa heshtó-
(is) without a wife, shall imprison I the unmarried (man). If they should live
lakuapk, hû'nk nî túmĕnuk nä'-ulakuapk spúlhi-uapka nu bishuáks hû'nk.
in concubinage, of it I hearing will punish (and) will imprison I man that.
Tchî' Ä'-ukskni lalák̲i nä'-ulĕka tchî' huk käílatat m'nálam; tsúi k̲î'llitk
So the Klamath Lake chiefs order so they in district their; and severe (is)
nä'-ulaks lalák̲iam.
the law of the chiefs.

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Hä'toks î sû'msealstka gíuapk sî-î'huapk î lápuk, snawä'dshash
And if you on the point of marriage should be and should agree you both, female
hissuáksh tchî'sh, tsúi î gépkuapk lak̲iámksi; tsúi mî'sh lak̲í snû'mpsä-
male also, then you must come to chief's house; and you the chief will unite in
aluapk, tû'nep î n's tála skû'ktanuapk hû'nk pîl mû'yäns pî'la lák̲iash;
wedlock, five you to me dollars shall pay only to the principal only chief;
hä'toks î yúalks, tsî hû'k î ndán tála, wakiánhua lä'p tála skû'ktanuapk.
but if you (are) poor, then you three dollars, may be two dollars have to pay.
Hä î yuálks tsi gíuapk súmsä-aluapk, gä't î n's skû'ktanuapk. Häts î
If you poor should be (and) intend to marry, that much you to me have to pay. And if you
skû'ktish háměniuk tû'ma wátch gitk, túnîp î skû'ktanuapk snawä'dshash;
to pay want of many horses possessed, five (horses) you can give in payment for the wife;
hä'toks yúalks tsî î lápi wátch skû'ktanuapk, wakiánhua ndán wátch,
and if poor you two horses can pay, or perhaps three horses,
tû'ma-kans wátch gî'tkiug.
many horses when having.

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Hä' tchi m's snawä'dsh gû'skuapk, k̲á-i î wátch shnû'kp'li-uapk
And if you (your) wife should leave, not you the horses can take back
k̲á-i tch snawä'dsh hûk wátch spunî'-uapka m'sh; î pî'l î hissuáksh pîl
and not (your) wife a horse need transfer to you; you alone, you husband only
shä'wanuapk snawä'dshash gû'shkank.
must give (them) (your) wife when leaving.

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K̲á-i î láp snawä'dsaluapk; nä'sak î snawä'dslank gíuapk; hä'toks î
Not you two wives shall marry; one only you marrying must live; but if you
láp snawä'dsaluapk, nä'-ulakuapka m'sh. Hä' tchîk wéwanuish lä'pi gíug
two wives marry, shall punish (I) you. If the wives double for being
hishtchaktanuapk, tánkt mî'sh nî skuyû'shkuapk snáwädsh nä'sh; tsûshnî'
should quarrel, then from you I shall divorce wife one; forever
m'sh nî skuyû'shkuapk, k̲á-i î tatá mbushäálp'luapk. Hä'toks î mbuseál-
from you I shall sever her, not you ever can marry her again. And if you associate again
p'luapk spûlhi-uapká m'sh nî. Häts nä'dsiak mî snawä'ds tsû'ssak î
(with her) shall imprison you I. And if monogamic your with wife constantly you
hishtchaktanuapk, tánkt mîsh nî skuyû'shkuapk, ampkáak î hishû'kat;
should quarrel, finally from you I shall separate (her), or else ye may kill each other;

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hû'masht mish ni gíug skuyû'shkuapk. Hä ní skuyû'shkuapka m'sh,
therefore ye I will separate. If I should separate (her) from you,
tsû'shní m'sh ní skuyû'shkuapk.
forever from you I shall divorce (her).

K̲á-i mish ni hû'nk k̲í'tgik; nánuktuanta káktak píla m's n hû'nk hém-
Not you I that to tell lies told; about everything to tell the truth alone to you I that to
kanktgik; nä'-ulakt gí'tki í snawä'dshash tchí'sh káktak píl. K̲á-i n
tell said; to observe the laws you wife also to tell the truth only. Not I
hû'nk gí'tkik m's píla, hihashuákshash tchish nánukänsh.
this to do tell to you only, (but) to men too all (others.)

III.

[689] Snáwedsh tchik shû'ldshash shetólχa, tsúi nát któktatska; at hûnk
A female (if) with a soldier copulates, then we cut her hair off; she
yakä'wa nä'-ulaks, k̲á-i hû'nk tû'mĕna shunû'kanksh nálam lalák̲iam.
broke the law, not she listens to the behests of our chiefs.
Tchúi tchik titátna heshsχálpĕli sésatuish m'nálam, tsúi sχō'ktnank tchä'k
Also sometimes she reobtains through barter the price paid (for her) to them, and by paying
héshsχalpĕli. Tsúi snawä'dsh tchish nash híshuaksh wutódshish m'na pä'n
she reobtains it. And wife one husband who repudiated his again
hû'nk snúkp'la, tsúi nä'-ulĕkan titátnan hû'masht-gisht shnû'kp'lisht lä'p
her takes up, then chastise I (him) sometimes I because he took her back for two
sháppash spû'lhí, titatnatóks ní ndán sháppash, títatna tchín násh sháppash
months imprison, but sometimes I for three months, at times and I for one month
spû'lhí. Tsúi tch' hishtchákta hû'k kat lalápa wä'wans gítk; tsúi tsin nä'-
imprison (him). And quarrel they who two wives have; and thus I or-
ulk̲a skuyû'shkan. K̲á-i ní nä'-ulĕχa, sguyushkuyá ní; gä'tak. Títatna
der (and) separate (them) I. No more I try (them) in court, separate just I; that's the end of it. Sometimes
tch pálla shash ná-änts hihassuáksas snáwädsh, tchúi ní nä'-ulk̲an ndán
also seduces (them) other married men a female, then I try (her) I (and) for three
sáppash spû'lhi.
months imprison.

[683] [593] Tchúi shishóka títatna, tchúi náyäns wudsáya; hû'nkst ní násh sû'ndē
And they fight sometimes, and others they injure; him I one week
spû'lhi, kát sas hû'k wudsháya. Títatna tch shishóka shipapĕlánkstant hak,
imprison, who them has whipped. At times also they have fights among each other only;
k̲á-i shû'tka, sissukúya hak; tsúi ní né-ulĕka hû'nkiasht kákat hûk sissóka.
not injure, but scuffle merely; then I try those who had the row.
Láp sû'ndin lapukáyäns ilhí'. Títatna udû'pka hissuáksh snawä'dsh m'na;
For two weeks I both parties lock up. Sometimes whips a husband wife his;
hû'nks ní hissuáksas spû'lhi ndán sû'ndē; hä káa udópkpakuapk snáwedsh
that I husband lock up for three weeks; if roughly he should whip wife
m'na, hû'masht n'unk gíug ndán súndē spû'lhi. Títatna tch snáwädsh
his, on that account I him for three (other!) weeks imprison. Sometimes also a wife

*539 622 692 hishuáksh m'na wudópka, tsúi ni snawä'dshash hû'nk nä'-ulχ, k̲á-i hû'nk
husband here whips, then I wife that punish, not the
hishuákshash, láp súndē.
husband, for two weeks.

[593] [683] Tsúi tchik kíuks tchí'sh títatna tawí shash, tsúi hûk k̲'lĕká tawí'sh.
Then a conjurer also at times bewitches them, and dies the bewitched one.

[683] Tsúi ni nä'-ulχa, tsúi tû'nip sháppash spû'lhi-síukst; tsúi tchik wátch nish
Then I try (him), and for five months imprison for manslaughter; and (if) horses to me

[593] sχókta tû'nip, tsúi ni k̲á-i spû'lhit sχoktí'sht nish. Tsúi tch lak̲í ts ktû'pka
he pays five, then I not may imprison (him), he having paid me. And (if) a chief beats
m'na snáwädsh, tsúi ni snä'kĕlua; gä'tak lak̲í gi hûk.
his wife, then I remove (him); no longer chief remains he.

NOTES.

[177] **58–62.** The legal practices, regulations, and ordinances given here by a subchief of the Klamath Lake tribe are observed by all the chiefs, and are apparently fashioned after American models. The principle which seems to guide most of the judicial decisions of the chiefs, is given in one (59, 20. 21) of these regulations: "If a chief makes law like white people, that will be right."[*] This article is composed of three parts:

Part I. List of the chiefs acting as judges on the reservation in 1877.

Part II. Legal customs governing the Klamath Lake people.

Part III. Instances of application of these legal customs; amount of fines, terms of imprisonment, etc. These are the "*novellæ*" of Klamath legislation.

58, 1–3. P'lú, Lilu, and some other headmen mentioned here have signed the treaty of Oct. 14, 1864.

[563] [657] **58, 4.** Móatuash. There are only two Pit River *families* living on the whole reservation.

58, 8. Tcháktot belongs to the Yahúskin tribe of Snake Indians. Cf. Ind. Aff. Report 1873, p. 324.

[193] **58, 10 etc.** The future tense employed in these behests, regulations and defenses recalls the French future used in an impressive manner instead of the imperative: *tu ne tueras point, tu ne déroberas point.*

58, 10. shlí-uapk shash. The pronoun shash has here almost the force of a reciprocal pronoun, for the meaning of the sentence is: "do not shoot at people of your own tribe." The same is true of sas in palluápk sas, 58, 10; 58, 13 (twice); pálla shash, 61, 14.

[194] **58, 10.** ksaggayuapkámsni is pronounced as one word, as the removal of the accent from the syllable -uápk demonstrates; and so in many of the following verbs standing in the future tense. For the sake of clearness, I have preferred to resolve these forms graphically into their component elements.

[192] [193] **58, 11.** wátsam, etc. The possessive wátsam stands here instead of the instrumental case watsátka through attraction from wännikíshham. Tchíkla here means to ride away on another's horse, the horse being missed by his owner.

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[*] Dave Hill introduces himself in the first person as chief; but many of these decisions can be given by the headchief only, not by any of the subchiefs, to whose number Dave Hill belonged. The Modocs at Yáneks claim to observe these regulations; the Snake Indians do not.

*539 58, 15. shetcháktanuapk stands for the more common form: shitcháktanuapk.

622 58, 16. nánuktua shéshatuish m'na: "all what your husband has transferred to 692 your parents to obtain your hand"; m'na stands for hishuáksham. Cf. 61, 8.

[193] [192] 59, 7. mish, *you, to you*, is often used in this article for málash, málsh, *ye, to ye*, in allocutions to two or more persons. This is a way of expressing what may be called the "inclusive plural of the second person". This mode of speaking is observed in m's lápuk, 59, 7; lápuk mish, 59, 7. In the same manner i stands for ăt, 59, 8: i sissókuapk, if ye whip each other; also 60, 22.

59, 9. i mí stands for mish mí.

59, 17. hă k̲úi gí'uapk: if he should fail to do his duty; 59, 19. hă tídsh gí'uapk: if he does his duty well; nanuktuánta: in every respect.

59, 22. í'χaks mí: what you may win by betting on the horses engaged in the race.

60, 2. kä'lish is the objective case of kä'liak, kéliak, "not having", the simple form of which, without -ak, would be kä'li or kä'liu (kä'li hû).

[583] 60, 11. túma wátch gitk. The horses have, of course, to be transferred to the parents of the bride and not to any of the chiefs.

[231] 60, 12. wátch. The horses owned by the Klamath Lake and Modoc people are valued from 20 to 25 dollars each; they descend from the hardy, enduring race of Cayuse ponies, and were originally obtained by bartering commodities with the Columbia River Indians at the Dalles, Oregon.

[192] [193] 60, 15. wátch spuni'-uapka; wátch refers to *one* horse only, for the verb spuni', to transfer, is used of one (living) object only; shăwána is: to give *many* objects. "Not even one horse your wife has to give to you, if she leaves you; but if you leave her, you must give her several."

[177] [595] 60, 17. láp snawă'dshla. Polygamy was abolished by the headmen of the tribe shortly after the establishment of the reservation, and this ruling was one of the greatest benefits ever conferred upon that tribe by the progress of civilization. But those who had several wives then were not compelled to dismiss all but one, and so in 1877 two or three men were still polygamists. The irascible and excitable disposition of the Modoc and Klamath females must have produced many chin-music intermezzos with their husbands at the time when polygamy was predominant.

[193] 61, 3. K̲á-i mí'sh etc. In this paragraph, in: k̲í'tgik, káktak, hémkanktgik, gitkik, the terminal k contains the abbreviated gi, which joined to the foregoing nû, n means *I said*. The construction runs as follows: Hû'nk ni gi k̲á-i mish k̲í'tgi; nánuktuanta káktak gi píla m's n hû'nk hémkanktki gi; nă'-ulakt gí'tki i snawă'dshash tchí'sh káktak gi píl. K̲á-i etc.

61, 6. tchík. This particle does not mean *if*, but cannot be rendered *here* (and below) with a more appropriate word. It is identical with tchĕk, *then*. A subordinate clause is here expressed by a co-ordinate one. Cf. 61, 9. 10. 12. 62, 4.

[192] [193] 61, 6. któktatska: "we clip their hair in every instance", is the distributive form of któtchka, któtska, occurring in 58, 16.

61, 9. Tsúi etc. This inverted sentence has to be construed as follows: Tsúi tchish nâsh hishuaksh wutódshish snawă'dsh m'na pă'n hû'nk snúkp'la, tsúi nă'-ulĕkan etc.

Húmasht laláḵi né-ulakta Ḵaḵáshash.

DOCTOR JOHN TRIED BY THE CHIEFS.

Obtained in the Klamath Lake Dialect.

I. ACCOUNT OF DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF.

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Shíllalsh hû′t gû′ta. Tchúi sa tchû′ta nánka kukíaks, Tätĕmatchí′sh
A disease him invaded. Then they treated (him) several conjurers, (and) Aunt Susie

tchúta; tchúi sämtsálχa Doctor John a gén táwi; tû′ táwipk, tatá Doctor
treated (him); then (she) discovered (that) Dr. John him bewitched; over there he bewitched (him), when Doctor

Johnam snáwedsh shí′la. Tánkt tawí′pk; tchí hûnk sémtsalχ Tétĕmatsis,
John's wife was sick. That time he had bewitched (him); so it found out Aunt Susie,

ná-ast sémtsalχ. Tsúi Doctor John: "ḵí-î-á a nen Tétĕmatsis", ná-ast
thus she discovered (it to be). And Doctor John (said): "this lies Aunt Susie", so

Doctor John hémkank. Sákamka: "hû′nk ḵá-i mat pí′sh siúkat; ḵí′ya
Dr. John spoke. He denied it: "that man not him I killed; lies

mat hû′nk Tetĕmátsis!" ná-ashtak Doctor John hémkank.
this Aunt Susie!" so again Dr. John said.

[697]

Tsúi sa spû′lhî láp′ni illólash; nánuk hû′nk máḵlaks lóla Tetĕmatsí-
Then they locked (him) up for two years; about all the Indians believed Aunt

shash. Tsúi vûlá laláḵi, tsúi hémkank Doctor John, tû′m hémkank ná-asht:
Susie. Then inquired of (him) the chiefs, and said Dr. John, at length he spoke thus:

"Tuá nî wák giug shíukuapk? Tídshi a hû′t híshuaksh, ḵa-ituálash shish-
"I wherefore should have killed (him)? Honest certainly that man (was), with nobody quar-

tchákt′nish; wák lish î′k lóli a nen Tetĕmatchíshash? At laláḵi hû′ntsak
relling; how is it ye all believe Aunt Susie? Now (ye) chiefs without reason

î nen lóla, kĕlámtsank sí′tk lû′dshna; ḵá-i nû hû′nk siúgat. Kátak nî nen
ye believe, closing your eyes-alike walk along; not I him killed. With veracity I

hémkank, p′laítalkni nû′sh shlä′popk hä′mkankst. Tuá nî shutä′-uapk
speak, the Most High me sees, as I speak. What I would have profited

shiúgok? nû yá ḵá-i nî a kúkamtchish gí′-uapk shíugok; tuá nî tála î′shka?
by murdering (him)? I certainly never I an old man would become, had I killed (him); what I money made?

tuá nî a tála ya î′shka shíugok? Tidsä′wank tchía, ḵá-i nî kánts shíuksh
what I money ever made by killing (him)? I am glad to be living, not I anybody to kill

sanahō′li; hä′ nî ḵlä′kuapk, húmashtak î tsóḵuapk ḵläkuí′sh gint nû′sh.
desire; if I shall perish, equally ye will perish as I have died.

Ḵá-i nā′d tchûssní′ni máḵlaks nánuk käíla-nákant. Hû′ndsak tchí ínsh
Not we (are) immortal men all world all over. For no cause thus me

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spû'lhi: k̲á-i tchín wák ŏ'skank. Undsä' ní né-ulakuapk; lä'uwak nä'-
(ye) imprison; not I about it am angry. Some time hence I shall arraign (her); not I know how to have

ulĕχa Tétmatchishash wák hû'nk nen sémtsalka; lä ní wák nä'-ulaktanuapk
tried Aunt Susie for the manner by which she found out; not I know how to proceed against (her)

sheshamtsalχíshash hû'nk. Tánkt málsh ní shä'gsuapk málash lalák̲iash.
for discovering all about it. This time to ye I will speak out my mind to ye chiefs.

K̲á-i nû shayuáktant Tetĕmatsí'sas; hû'nk p'läitélkni shayuákta Tetĕmat-
Not I know about Susie; it the Most High knows, Aunt Su-

sísas wák gisht sä'mtsalkst, wák ta nû'sh tchish kátak shä'gshasht
sie in which manner discovered (it), (but) how me also the truth to have told

slä'popka n'sh hû'nk. Sakámkst pi tsí n'sh hû'nk né-ulakuapk, hä ní
has seen me (he). For having denied it she thus me must punish, if I

sikí'tnank sä'gsuapk. Kátok ní gé-u sägsä'wa; tchí ní hû'skank."
falsely reporting should speak. Truth I my think I say; thus I think."

Tétĕmadshish hû'nk ná-asht k̲'lékuish at gí: "Kátak am'sh ní sémt-
Aunt Susie so after the death (of Púkish) had said: "Truly you I have

salχa, suís mí'sh gé-u sláá; í' hûn síuga, nä'nsak toks í nen sakámka.
found out, tamánuash song you my has seen; you that man murdered, in vain you give a denial.

Ná-asht k̲uk̲íaks tsû'ssak síukûk; k̲íya hû'nk ná-asht gíug; tíds taks mí'sh
Thus so jurors (say) always after killing; lie (they) when so saying; pretty well you

ní kuiχá m's ní. Gáhak hû'k nä'-ulaks K'mukámtsam: ná-asht hû'nk
I know you I. Long years since this (was) the law of K'múkamtch: in this manner

hä'mkanktgi síukuk mák̲laksas. Húmasht tchí nen hémkanka í', Doctor
to speak after murdering a person. That way so talk you, Dr.

John!" Tsí hä'mkank Tétĕmatsis shapúk.
John!" So spoke Susie when speaking (about it).

Tsúi lalák̲i wáltka. "Síuga í'", tchí nánka wáltk lalák̲i; nánχa ts
Then the chiefs deliberated. "Killed (him) you", so some uttered chiefs; others

"k̲á-i shíuk í'" sä'wa; tsúi tchí'k sa wáltakuapk.
"not killed (him) you" thought; and afterward they were to deliberate again.

II. ACCOUNT OF MINNIE FROBEN.

Tétĕmadshish hû'nk shiunû'tnuk shémtchalχa tawí'sht Doctor Johnash
Aunt Susie by singing tamánuash-songs discovered that had bewitched Dr. John

É-ush guní'gshta mák̲lakshash tchí'pksh. Tékmal géna Doctor Jóhnamksh
Upper Klamath Lake on opposite shore an Indian living. Tékmal had gone to Dr. John's lodge

shuákidshuk tchû'tantki gíug hû'nk shíllalpksh, kánt sha Doctor Jóhn-
calling (him) to treat that (man) who fell sick, whom they Dr. John

ash táwiank shí'uks gishápa. Tchúi hû'nk Doctor John tchútanhuya;
to have bewitched (and) killed said. And him Dr. John treated a while;

káyak tídsh wémpĕlank k̲'leká, tchúi sa shúina k̲'lékuish tutí'ks m'nálam.
never recovering he died, then they sang after his death dreams their.

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Tsúi Tétĕmadshish hû'nk shemtchálχa tawī'sht Doctor Johnash k̲'lekáp-
Then Aunt Susie discovered that had bewitched Dr. John the de-

kash; tsúi mbû'shant waitólank ná-ent waítashtka í'lktcha; Doctor Johnash
ceased; and next day being over on other day buried (him); Dr. John

tchī'sh sha shpúnshna, at k̲léwiank sha Doctor Johnash shpúnshampĕlank
also they conveyed, now after their return Dr. John taking along

shpúlhī, tchúi sha k̲á-ishuank skúkum-house mpámpatkia tchíkĕminatka.
imprisoned, and they locking the strong-house nailed (it) down with (iron-) nails.

Tchikéskni Shkélaksh tû'la shpúlhi Doctor Johnash. Tchúi tchiwí'χa
Tchikéskni Skélag with imprisoned Dr. John. And he sat in

hátokt, tchúi hû'ksha gä'mpĕle spulhī'tkuk. Pän ndā'ni tchēk waitólank
therein, and these men went home after imprisonment. Again three at last days past

Shχélag gátpa ktû'tp'nuk pā'sh; tchúi Sχélag gä'mpĕle káyak hassasuákiank
Skélag came to bring (him) food; and Skélag returned not at all having spoken

Doctor Johnash. Pän géna Sχélag ndáni waitólank pásh äníyuk; shû'lip-
to Dr. John. Again went Skélag three days elapsed victuals to bring; hand-

kank p'laíkni hak shéwana Doctor Johnash, P'lú toks lápĕni shéwana
ing from above there he gave (them) to Dr. John, Blow however twice gave

náyant waítashtat. Hû'kt pīl nā'dshek; hû'ksha toks, nánka k̲á-i hû'masht
another on day. This one (was) the only one; those (men) (did), other (men) not like (him)

shéwanat shī'ukshtka gíug Doctor Johnash. Tchúshak lápi sha shíkĕnitksh
gave (any food) kill in order to Dr. John. Constantly two (men) they a pistol

[657] shishī'tilatk shlíutuapkug hû'nk. Agency tchúi gépksht tapí' tí'ta shash,
were carrying in their dress to fire on him. To the Agency (they) had gone after a while they,

ktíugíulank k̲á-ishtish, tchúi wátch hátokt tkû'tkapksh shláank gé'hlap-
he kicked open the door-cover, and a horse there standing finding (he) mounted

tchapka, m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Tchúi gí'ta hushótpa agency, tchúi
it, his son having come (with the horse). Then here he rode up to the agency, and

yá-uks-mĕnámksh gátpĕnank gulí'. Tchúi agencí'nish lák̲iash hashashu-
in the physician's house coming entered. And to the agent he ap-

ákia, Mínnīash shahamúyank shnû'ntatka lák̲iash hashashuakítki gíug.
plied, for Minnie sending to interpret the agent for conversing with.

NOTES.

64, 1. In September 1877 Púkish, an elderly Indian, died after a very short illness on the western side of Upper Klamath Lake. The rumor that he had been bewitched and thereby feloniously killed by K̲ák̲ash, one of the conjurers who treated him, soon gained credence, and the excitement in the tribe ran high. The first account of the occurrence was obtained by one of the subchiefs, who, with his colleagues, passed sentence over the unfortunate K̲ák̲ash.

[192] [193] [551] [769]

64, 1. hû't, "this one", forms one of the substitutes for names of deceased persons, which no Indian dares to pronounce. Hû't refers to a person standing visibly *before* the speaker, and it is remarkable that the dead are referred to by this pronoun, and not by a pronoun marking distance out of sight, like hûkt, hû'kta etc. Cf. hû't híshuaksh, 64, 9., gén, 64, 2., hû'nk pí'sh, 64, 5., 68, 11. etc The subject nánka kukíaks does not exclude the use of the subject pronoun sha, *they*, the account being worded in the conversational style.

*539 683 [551] [756] **64, 1.** Tetĕmádshish or Aunt Susie is one of the numerous female "doctors", who eke out a scanty living from some patients of the Klamath Lake tribe. She received the above name for having been a washerwoman to the soldiers stationed at Fort Klamath, and the nickname Wúya-ak was bestowed on her on account of her predilection for small sucker fish.

64, 2. sämtsálya. The means employed by her to discover that Dr. John had cast upon the patient a spell of a deadly character, were the singing or recital of tamánuash songs, and the *dreams* which she had on that subject. Her tamánuash songs had *seen* those of the accused conjurer. See 65, 9. The great majority of the tribe still believes in the possibility of witchcraft.

64, 7. The two sentences contained in this line anticipate the result of the whole trial, and the popular verdict. The proper place for them would be after 65, 15.

64, 9. Tuá ni etc. The defense made by Dr. John in his own case is not an unable one, nor is it devoid of oratorical powers. But if the arguments were delivered in the order as given by Dave Hill, they ought to have followed each other in a more logical order to attain their full effect.

64, 10. wák lish etc. The logical connection existing between this sentence and the foregoing has to be supplied by: "why should he have been my personal enemy?"

[192] **64, 10, 11, 15** etc. i, ik stands here for ät (*ye*); because, when the headchief is addressed in council, all the others are addressed also. Lóli stands for lóla i. The trial took place on Williamson River.

64, 13. kúkamtchish. The distributive form is used here instead of the absolute verbal k'mû'tchish, because old age comes on *gradually, by degrees.*

64, 16. tchî inah instead of tchî nish; the language likes juxtaposition of two short equal vowels, even when a metathesis is required.

65, 8. Kátak etc. Aunt Susie's opinion, given just after Púkish's death and some time *before* the trial, did not fail to have a striking effect on the superstitious judges and tribe, for her arguments perfectly agree with the national ideas. But to us the arguments seem so weak, that no conviction seems justified, if not based on other evidence.

65, 9. nä'usak etc. "Your defense does not disprove any of the points advanced against you."

[192] **65, 11.** K'mukámtsam nä'-ulaks: "the old customs of the people."

[124] **65, 16.** The second account of this tamánuash-case was obtained a few weeks after the trial; Dr. John was present at the agency buildings at the time of the dictation, furnishing the facts to my informant.

[697] **66, 4.** ká-ishnank etc. This underground jail was in such an unhealthy condition that Dr. John could not have lived in it through the tenth part of his long term of imprisonment.

[625] **66, 5.** Tchikéskni and Skélag, names of two watchmen (i-álhish); the chiefs appoint watchmen from time to time. Skélag is "the young weasel" and Tchikéskni "man living at Tchikési camping-place". They were armed with pistols to foil any attempt at escape.

[192] **66, 10.** nä'dshek for nä'dsh ak: "the only one". Compare nádshiak, 60, 21; waitak, 56, 7. and *Notes.*

[192] [193] **66, 12.** shishi'tilatk. The past participle often stands for forms of periphrastic conjugation: shishítilatko gi, they *were* carrying in their dress. Cf. illólatko, 55, 20.

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[193]

68, 13. gé'hlaptchapka. The verb gelápka means to step on, to mount, ascend; with 'h infixed, to mount upon something by using one's hands; ge'hláptcha is to perform this while on the way, while going or travelling; gé'hlaptchapka, to perform this at a distance from other people and unseen by them. Doctor John escaped, aided by his son, in the midnight hour.

68, 14. m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Gatpĕnóta is a derivative of gátp'na with a durative signification, the suffix -óta pointing to an action performed while another is going on. "His son having arrived close by, while he was imprisoned."

68, 16. shnû'ntatka, verbal intentional of shnû'nta, the suffix -tka being sometimes substituted for the usual -tki, -tki gíug.

PUNISHMENT OF MANSLAUGHTER THROUGH WITCHCRAFT.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

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[115]

Tína	mák̲laks	mā'ntch-gī'tk	ná-asht	gī:	"tû	salχī'ta	snawédsh	gé-u
Once	man	long ago	thus	spoke:	"over there	is bewitched	wife	my

shûllalsht!	î	a-i	táwi!"	Tsúi	tchíkash	skúyui	suákitsatki	gíug;	tsúi	géna
having fallen sick;	you		bewitched (her)!"	Then	an old man	he sent out	to call a conjurer;		and	he started

tchíka	suákitsuk,	tsúi	shuákiuk	ndéna,	tsúyuk	túmĕna	shuíshuk,	kíuksam
the old man	to fetch the conjurer,	and	to call him out	halloed,	and he	heard	the magic songs,	conjurers'

yaínatat	shuī'sh;	áti	ha	shuíshuk.	Tsúi	géna	kíuks	tsutánsuk,	tū'shtaks	a
on the mountain	songs;	far away		(are) songs those.	Then	goes	the conjurer	to treat (her),	to the spot where	

salχíta.	At	shû'ta	hû'nk,	tchúi	hántsna.	Gétpa	mû'ns	súmmatka,	shuī'shuk
she lies bewitched.	Now	he works	on her,	and	sucks.	Comes out	a big thing	through (his) mouth,	to sing

tpéwa,	summátka	hántsantkiug.	Tsúi	hántchipka,	tsúi	putá,	tsúi	húsatchip-
he orders (those present),	with (his) mouth	while he would suck on.	Then	he sucks out,	and	feels choked,	and	throws up

gapĕle	hánshish	m'na;	sχû'dχa	lútatkish.	At	hû'k	sχótka,	k̲ú-i	hukī'	tsutísh
again	sucked-out article	his;	swallows (it)	(his) expounder.	Now (after)	he	has swallowed (it),	worse	that (patient)	being treated

gī'ntak,	k̲ú-i	gī,	wigá	telsámpka	k̲'lā'ksh.	Kiúks	hû'k	tché-ulχa	shû'kpal-
in spite of,	worse (she)	is,	almost	she looks	towards the spirit land.	Conjurer	the	starts to leave	wanting to

takiug	k̲ú-i	gī'sht	k̲á-i	gī'lχisht	pásh;	tchúi	hû'k	ná-asht	gī	kálamtak
retire	worse	because she turned	(and) not	passing through (bowels)	the food;	hereupon	he	thus	speaks	whose own

snéwedsh	shī'la	shalχī'tnuk,	kíukshash:	"î	a-i	táwi	húnksh."	Tchúyuk
wife	is sick	for being bewitched,	to the conjurer:	"you		have bewitched	her."	But

sakámka	kíuks:	"k̲á-i	a	nû	táwit!	shī'laka	hût!"	kíuks	tchúi	nā'sht
opposes denial	the conjurer:	"not		I	did bewitch (her)!	had become sick (before)	she!"	conjurer	then	so

hémkank.	At	k̲'léka	snawédsh.
said.	Now	dies	the woman.

*539	Wudoká	hushtsóχa	sha	kíuksas	sálχitnuk	k̲lékSht	húnk	snawédshash.
755	Struck	(and) killed	they	the conjurer	for being bewitched (and)	having died	this	woman.

627	Tsúi	sa	lúluksla	snawédsh	kíuksam	síuks;	hû'nk	sa	kíuksas	ä'mpĕle
	And		cremated	the woman	by the conjurer	killed;	him	they	the conjurer	brought back

tchí'shtal,	tsúi	sa	lúluksla	mák̲laks.
to (his) lodge,	and		cremated (him)	the people.

NOTES.

68, 1 etc. This is a pretty good illustration of the method of doctoring by suction adopted in similar tamánuash cases. Persons sent out to call for the conjurer do not enter his cabin, but loudly halloo outside till he appears; in this instance he is supposed to sing his medicine songs amidst the solitary wilds of the mountain slopes.

192 177 68, 1. mû'ntch-gi'tk. This temporal adverb places the mode of punishment described by the informant among the *ancient* customs of the people. Compared to what is stated here, the trial of Doctor John shows a material modification in the dealings with suspected conjurers, attributable to the influence of the white population.

192 193 68, 1. 10. salχíta is always used in a passive signification, "to be afflicted with the tamánuash spell or bewitching power", which conjurers can send out at will.

68, 1. 2. The words inclosed in quotation marks *anticipate* all that follows up to 68, 10.

68, 2. 8. a-i. This particle has the signification: "undeniably, evidently".

754 68, 5. shû'ta hû'nk. The "working" of a conjurer on a patient's body consists in rubbing, pressing, magnetizing, in blowing on it, and in pouring water over the face or 753 other parts. Sucking out the object which caused the disease is of course the principal operation called for to effect a cure.

68, 5. mû'ns; it is not stated whether this hánshish was a frog, a worm, a small stick, or any such thing; this is immaterial, for the Indian strictly believes that the article was removed from the patient's body and that it caused the disease.

192 68, 6. hántsantking and 68, 8: shúkpaltaking stand for hántchantki gíug and shukpalítki gíug; cf. shû'kpĕli.

68, 6. hántchipka properly means: "he sucks towards himself"; husatchipgápĕle 192 193 "he throws up again to himself"; viz. into his mouth, so as to be able to take it out with his hands.

68, 7. lútatkish is the conjurer's assistant. His office is to repeat his tunes or speeches before those present in the lodge, to expound or explain his sayings, to start songs and tunes in his stead, and to perform such manipulations as mentioned here.

68, 8. k̲'lä'ksh, contracted from k̲'läkápkash, the dead, the deceased; k̲'lekápkash telshámpka, to be on the point of death.

192 68, 8. tché-ulχa: he rises from his seat on the ground, or on a blanket near the patient's couch, for the purpose of leaving.

756 69, 1. hushtsóχa. The killing of a doctor or doctress by the relatives of the patient who died under his or her treatment was nothing unusual in the Columbia Basin until quite recently. In some tribes the third failure in curing brought certain death on the conjurer, especially when he had received his reward in advance.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

SHAMANIC DANCE-DIRECTIONS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 755 "Wálok mat tû'nepni waitólat nát génuapka kshiulăktsuápkuk we-
"For sweating during five days we shall go to have a dance the

wală'ksh tchish. At géntak í'lksat pán a. Wû'sa ní lúskuapkug. Kílank
old women also. Ye (men) shall go on a feast to eat. I fear I may get too warm. Lead

ăt tsuínuapk; túnepni ăt nûtísh tsuí'nuapk. At tchish híhashnaksh ksíu-
ye must sing; at five ye fires ye have to sing. * Ye too (women and) followers begin

laktampka lítstakiank; untsă'g nă'tnag pá-uapk tû'm mbû'shant. "Sílalsh
to dance with exertion; by and by then ye shall eat plenty to-morrow. "Disease

mat nă'bakuapk" kíuks ná-asht shápa, yayayá-as mat ná-asht sápa; "kû't-
will come on" the shaman thus says, some tamánuash-medicine (to him) "it is so" says; "of small-

kaks mat síssalaluapk" yayayá-as mat ná-ast sh[illegible]a. Suássuaktch mák-
pox it says will suffer (the people)" the tamánuash just so says. Are weeping peo-

laks nánuk wussóga kû'tχaks. Ná-ast kíuks wálok sápa: "Tánni ílksh
ple all afraid of smallpox. So the shaman before sweating speaks: "How many food-buckets

shă'tu ăt? tánkĕni at í'lksh? Lápni tá-unepanta pă'n túnep pé-ula;
do ye count? how many already baskets! Twice ten and five;

kánk a ní să'tû."
so many I count."

NOTES.

70, 1 etc. This is a fair specimen of the careless, jargon-like conversational style in vogue among the É-ukshikni, and without commentaries and glosses it would be impossible to get at the true meaning.

751 These directions are intended to gather the people at the communal dance-
house for a dance lasting five nights. The dance is performed around the fires with
almost superhuman exertions, in order to produce profuse perspiration and to prevent
192 thereby any infection by disease. The conjurer or shaman is charged with the inaugu-
ration of all dances, most of which are of a religious character. This kind of sweating
is called "wála", while sweating in a temazcalli or sweat-house is "spúkli". The kíuks
is introduced as speaking all these words. The particle mat indicates that the words
given are those of another than of the narrator.

192 70, 1. waitólat; in common parlance: túnepni waítash gí'ulank, or: túnepui gíulank, or in Modoc túnepni waitólan.

796 70, 1. kshíulaktcha different from ksíulĕχa; see Grammar (List of suffixes). These dances take place in winter time and are held from two to four times every season.

562 888 70, 2. wewală'ksh. This is one of the festivities from which old women are not excluded; they often take part in the dance themselves.

*539 755 70, 2. í'lks (from élχa, ílχa, *to lay down*) is the full dish, basket, or bucket (kála), on which the victuals are brought in; but it means also the food itself, and the dance-feast on which they are eaten. Locative case: í'lksat.

192 70, 3. shuína is often incorrectly pronounced tsuína.

194 70, 3. nutí'sh; verbally: while burning fivefold; while five fires are blazing.

70, 3. At tchí'sh: the young men, who strip themselves naked down to the hips during the performance, begin their dance after the women have had one turn.

192 70, 5. nä'bakuapk: see népka, in Dictionary.

193 70, 5. yayayá-as means a certain tamánuash witchcraft which inspires the conjurer: the conjurer tells the people just what (ná-ast) the yayayá-as said to him.

70, 6. 7. *s*, *sh* is here in three words doubled to *ss*: shíshalaluapka, shuashuáktcha, and wusóga; kû'tχaks forms the indirect object of the first of these verbs.

192 70, 7. wálok sápa. The kíuks gets the inspiration from the yayayá-as only after sweating; then he can tell (sápa) the people, *when* the disease will come.

70, 8. tánkēni: after tánkēni at i'lksh supply ítpa? (did ye bring in?).

70, 8. 9. shä'tu, sä'tu for the more usual form shä'tua; pä'n after tá-unepanta is incorrect and unnecessary; this conjunction should stand there only after ta-unépni or tá-unep.

DETAILS OF A CONJURER'S PRACTICE.

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GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY MINNIE FROBEN.

Máklaks	shuákiuk	kíuksash	ká-i	gû'l'hi	húnkēlam	ládshashtat,	ndéna
Indians	in calling	the conjurer	not	enter	his	into lodge,	they halloo

sha'hmóknok;	kíuksh	toks	wán	kiukáyank	mû'luash	m'na	kaníta	pí'sh.
to call (him) out;	the conjurer		red fox	hanging out on a pole.	as sign	his	outside	"of him".

Kukíaks	tchû'tanish	gátp'nank	wigáta	tchélχa	mā'shipksh.	Lútatkish
Conjurers	when treating	approaching	close by	sit down	the patient.	The expounder

wigáta	kíukshĕsh	tcha'hlánshna.	Shuyéga	kíuks,	wéwanuish	tchĭk	winóta
close to	the conjurer	sits down.	Starts choruses	the conjurer,	females	then	join in singing

liukiámnank	nadshā'shak	tchûtchtníshash.	Hánshna	mā'shish	hû'nk
crowding around him	simultaneously	while he treats (the sick).	He sucks	diseased	that

hishuákshash,	tátktish	í'shkuk,	hantchípka	tchī'k	kukuága,	wishinkága,
man,	the disease	to extract,	he sucks out	then	a small frog,	small snake,

mû'lkaga,	káko	gi'ntak,	káhaktok	nánuktua	nshendshkáne.	Ts'û'ks	toks
small insect,	bone	afterwards,	whatsoever	anything	small.	A leg	

ké-usht	tchékēle	ítkal;	lúlp	toks	mā'shisht	tchékēlitat	lgû'm	shû'kĕlank
being fractured	the (bad) blood	he extracts;	eyes	but	being sore	into blood	coal	mixing

kí'tua	lû'lpat,	kû'tash	tchish	kshéwa	lúlpat	pû'klash	tuiχámpgatk
he pours	into the eyes,	a louse	too	introduces	into the eye	the white of eye	protruding

ltúiχaktgi	gíug.
for eating out.	

NOTES.

*539 755 71, 1. shuákia does not mean *"to call on somebody"* generally, but only *"to call on the conjurer* or medicine man".

71, 2. wán stands for wánam nī'l: the fur or skin of a red or silver fox; kaníta pi'sh stands for kanítana látchash m'nálam: "outside of his lodge or cabin". The meaning of the sentence is: they raise their voices to call him out. Conjurers are in the habit of fastening a fox-skin outside of their lodges, as a business sign, and to let it dangle from a rod stuck out in an oblique direction.

71, 3. tchélχa. During the treatment of a patient who stays in a winter-house, the lodge is often shut up at the top, and the people sit in a circle inside in utter darkness.

[193] [192] 71, 5. liukiámnank. The women and all who take a part in the chorus usually sit in a circle around the conjurer and his assistant; the suffix -mna indicates close proximity. Nadshā'shak qualifies the verb winóta.

[192] 71, 5. tchûtchtníshash. The distributive form of tchû'tna refers to each of the *various* manipulations performed by the conjurer on the patient.

71, 5. mā'shish, shortened from mäshípkash, mā'shipksh, like k̲'lä'ksh from k̲'läkápkash, 68, 8.

[193] [192] 71, 6. 7. There is a stylistic incongruity in using the distributive form only in kukuága (kúe, *frog*), káhaktok, and in nshendshkáne (nshekáni, ndshékani, tsékani, tchékĕni, *small*), while inserting the absolute form in wishinkága (wíshink, *garter-snake*) and in k̲áko; mû'lkaga is more of a generic term and its distributive form is therefore not in use.

71, 7. káhaktok for ká-akt ak; ká-akt being the transposed distributive form kákat, of kát, which, what (pron. relat.).

[192] 71, 8. lgû'm. The application of remedial *drugs* is very unfrequent in this tribe; and this is one of the reasons why the term "conjurer" or "shaman" will prove to be a better name for the medicine man than that of "Indian doctor".

71, 9. kû'tash etc. The conjurer introduces a louse into the eye to make it eat up the protruding white portion of the sore eye.

KÁLAK.

THE RELAPSE.

[115] GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY DAVE HILL.

Hä	náyäns	hissuáksas	mā'shitk	kálak,	tsúi	kíuks	nä'-ulakta	tchután-
When	another	man	fell sick	as a relapse.	then	the conjurer	concludes	to treat

uapkuk.	Tchúi	tchúta;	tchúi	yá-uks	huk	shläá	kálak a gēk.	Tchí	huk
(him).	And	he treats;	and	remedy	this	finds out	(that) relapsed he.	Thus	the

shui'sh	sápa.	Tsúi	nā'sh	shui'sh	sáyuaks	hû'mtcha kálak,	tchúi	nánuk	hûk
song-remedy	indicates.	And	one	song-remedy	having found out	(that) of the kind of relapsed (he is),	then	all	those

shui'sh	tpä'wa	hû'nksht	kaltchitchíkshash	heshuampělítki	gíug.	Tchúi
remedies	indicate	(that) him	the spider (-remedy)	would cure.		Then

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hû'k	káltchitchiks	yá-uka;	ubá-us	hûk	káltchitchiksam	tchutĕnō'tkish.
the	spider	treats him;	a piece of deer-skin		of the spider	(in) the curing-tool.

Tsúi	húnkantka	ubá-ustka	tchutá;	tätáktak	huk	kálak	mā'sha,	gä'tak
Then	by means of that	deer-skin	he treats (him);	just the size of the spot	that	relapse	is infected,	so much

ubá-ush	ktû'shka	tä'tak	huk	mā'sha.	Tsúi	hûk	káltchitchiks	siunóta
of deer-skin	he cuts out	as where	he	is suffering.	Then		the "spider" song	is started

nä'dsḵank	hû'nk	ubá-ush.	Tchû'yuk	p'laíta	nétatka	skútash,	tsúi	sha	hû'nk
while applying	that	skin-piece.	And he	over it	he stretches	a blanket,	and	they	it

udû'pka	hünä'shishtka,	tsûi	hû'k	gutä'ga	tsulä'kshtat;	gä'tsa	lûpí	kiatéga,
strike	with conjurer's arrows,	then	it	enters	into the body;	a particle	firstly	enters,

tsúi	tsulē'ks	ḵ'läká,	tchúi	at	pushpúshuk	shlē'sh	hûk	ubá-ush.	Tsúi	mā'ns
then	(it) body	becomes,	and	now	dark it	to look at	that	skin-piece.	Then	after a while

tánkĕni	ak	waítash	hû'k	pûshpúshli	at	mā'ns-gitk	tsulä'ks-sitk	shlä'sh.	Tsí
after so and so many		days	that	black (thing)		at last	(is) flesh-like	to look at.	Thus

nî	sáyuakta;	túmi	hû'nk	sháyuakta	hû'masht-gisht	tchuti'sht;	tsúyuk
I	am informed;	many men		know,	(that) in this manner	were effected cures;	and he then

tsúshni	wä'mpĕle.
always	was well again.

NOTES.

[192]
[193]

72, 1. náyäns hissuáksas: another man than the conjurers of the tribe. The objective case shows that mā'shitk has to be regarded here as the participle of an impersonal verb: mā'sha-nûsh, and mā'sha nû, it ails me, I am sick.

72, 1. kálak, relapse. Relapse is not substantive, but adjective in the sense of a person having fallen back into the same disease by which he was afflicted before; kálkĕla, to fall sick.

[533]

72, 2. yá-uks is remedy in general, spiritual as well as material. Here a tamánuash song is meant by it, which, when sung by the conjurer, will furnish him the certainty if his patient is a relapse or not. There are several of these medicine-songs, but all of them (nánuk hû'k shui'sh) when consulted point out the spider-medicine as the one to apply in this case. The spider's curing-instrument is that small piece of buckskin (ubá-ush) which has to be inserted under the patient's skin. It is called the spider's medicine because the spider-song is sung during its application. A spider-song in use among the Modocs is given below.

73, 5. hä'näshish appears as the subject of an incantation song in the song-list of Sergeant Morgan.

73, 5. gutä'ga. The whole operation is concealed from the eyes of spectators by a skin or blanket stretched over the patient and the hands of the operator.

73, 5. kiatéga. The buckskin piece has an oblong or longitudinal shape in most instances, and it is passed under the skin sideways and very gradually.

73, 7. tánkĕni ak waítash. Dave Hill gave as an approximate limit five days' time.

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THE MONTHS OF THE YEAR.

OBTAINED FROM "PETE" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

226 Gáptsatka É-ukshikni má̱klaks páha udsáks; lúela kápto Yá-ag;
In the month of the small finger · the Lake · Indians · dry · the large sucker; · kill · gudgeons · at the Bridge;

251 Ktaí-Túpakshi tḵálmakstant otí'lks lúela hō'ank. At sa kó-iχaktchuapka,
of Standing-Rock · to the westward · fish-dam · kill · when jumping. · Now · they · will leave home (soon),

222 252 262 at kámals pahá; kó-iχaga, ḵä'shla sa, ḵolálsuapk mat sa, tawiksálsuapk
and · dry fish · they prepare; · they leave, · go after ipos · they, · will gather kol · they, · will gather tawiks

mat s at, pō'ksalsuapk mat sa, at sa pópakuapk sátnalhuapka sa, suaítlaluapk;
they, · will dig camass · they, · they · will bake (it), · roast it (3 days) · they, · roast it (1 day);

saká a pō'ks.
eat raw · camass.

251 222 Tχópowatka pahá at pō'ks iwídshat, at É-uksi génuapka woksalsuapkátki giug;
In the thumb-month · dried · then · camass · they put under ground, · now · for Klamath Marsh · they will start · to gather lily-seed;

káyudsh nû'ḵa wókash. At nû'ka wókash, wóksalsha at túnepni
not yet · is ripe · pond-lily seed. · Now · has ripened · lily-seed, · they gather (it) · for five

waítash, kánktak wókslat Eúkshikni. Sníkanua nadshgshaptánkni waítash;
days, · so long · may gather (it) · the Lake people. · They let it ripen · during six · days;

nadshgshaptánkni waítash wókash shutä'shlat, awō'lat, péksat, shiulína,
during six · days · the nuphar-seed · they grind, · cook, · rub fine, · winnow,

435 lulína. Nā'sh willishik pálasham-wáχoksh láp tála, lχálχamnishti lulínash
make flour. · One · sack · of the flour-bags · two · dollars, · in a long, heavy sack · the ground-up wókash

222 túnep tála. Nû'χatk wókash iwiχí'e ḵá-itua nû käíla. "Tánk a iwíχa i?
five · dollars. · Roasted · lily-seed · filled in sacks · none · in the country. · "How many · did fill · you!

224 lápkshapta kán iwí'χa willíshik?" "nû té-unip willí'shik iwí'χa!" Wéwan'sh pí'la wō'kshla,
seven · who · did fill · sacks!" · "I · ten · sacks · have filled up!" · Women · only · gather wókash,

hí'hassuaks gánkanka paχō'les, tchä'-u. At sa héwiuapḵ, skúya wókash.
the men · hunt · mule-deers, · antelopes. · Now they will haul (it) home, · crush · lily-seed.

251 At a sha i hí'wi-uapk; áwalues sḵéna, máktsina
Just · they home · will bring it; · to the island · they row, · camp there

501 Nû'shkshi, wō'ns í'lktsat Lĕmé-isham Nutē'ks, Vushí'nkam Tínuash, Lál'lāks,
at Skull-place, · canoes · they put away in lake bottom · at Thunderbolt, · at "Snake-Drowned", · at "Slope-steps"

Lkō'm Ă'-ush; ḵáḵokish lóloksgish ktélχa, Stópalsh-Tamā'dsh, Tó-ilkat
at Black Lake; · at the ford · the rifle · drop, · at Peeled-Pine, · at Rail-Pyramid

pí'la wí'hla; tchía nánuk Ḵáḵ-Ksháwaliäksh; nánka tchía Tchíkass-Walákgishtat.
steps · every one · at Raven's Place; · some · (will) stop · at Bird's Lookout.

*539 Spéluishtka at héwi, iwí-idsha wókash. Nāt a génanuapk! nánuk
In the index-month they haul, take home the lily-seed. We will go there! all
221 [222] nat ēna! nátoks waítuapk, wewálha wátch, hû'masht nat gī waíta wéwal-
of us carry it! but we will wait one day, are sore (our) horses, therefore we wait one day because
hasht wátch kä'mat. Nad gitá piénuapk pólōk̲uantch, ktälowalshuápka
are sore horses on back. We there will scrape up moth-chrysalids, gather pine-nuts
nād. Tchatchápēlu, hóllaksh, tûtánksham, hahashkemólsham, lolóloisam,
we. Sweet resin, winged pine-nuts, blackberry, black cherry, wild gooseberry,
tsinéχam, klá-ads, wáshlalam íwam nä'd stá-ila. K̲ó-idse, shtéaltk ktä'lo.
sort of wókash, prunes, squirrels' huckleberries we gather. Of bad taste, full of resin (are) pine-nuts.

[231] Tχópowatka í-umämi wátch lalá-a; gépgapēle mák̲laks k̲ēlä'wiank,
In the thumb-month at berry-time mares foal; return the Indians having done (gathering),
[222] [251] at wéwanuish o-olalóna, at sa í'-umaltka. Bû'nuapka tchä'kēle í'wam,
the females dry berries by the fire, they return from berry-gathering. They will drink red juice of huckleberries,
[252] [272] tchilálat hûn í'wam. Ánshat ánika shash í'wam; wí'dsika nánka í'wam.
boil the berries. You may go and ask them for huckleberries; retentive some (are) of berries.
Túpeluish aní'k tēlû'ks, tchákēla n's skaí tak; tsákēlatka n's skaítki stá.
To next lodge I send tule-basket, willow-basket to me to give in; in the basket to me to give it filled.
Pahápk tchísh íwam lúitki n's léwitchta á. K̲á-i sheshätuí'shtka.
Dried too huckleberries to give to me they did not want. Not I intend to sell them.

[796] Spéluishtka spû'klishtat kshíwalχa, papiä'na luldamalákstat. At hû'k
In the index-month in the sweat-house they dance, inaugurate by feast the winter-house. Now such a man
[346] [222] kshū'n híwidshuapk, at hû't hí'wi; túnepni nā'd shópelakuapk. "Tû'sh
hay will haul home, and that man hauls (it) in; in five (stacks) we will stack (it) up. "Where
nû shópelakuapk"? "lápash í'lχat, atí'sh shuí'nshnank í'lχat; í' tchkash i
I shall stack it"? "in two stacks heap it ye, in a long-stretching (stack) stacking heap it ye! you also you
nû'sh shatuáyuapk mbúsant. Únîpni waítash i n's shatuáyuapka."
me must help to-morrow. Four days you me must help."

Tátχēlam hehátχe túpak.
In the midfinger-month fall the leaves.

Gáptchēlam shinák̲tishtka kä'na.
In the ring-finger month it is snowing.

Gáptsatka mû kä'na.
In the month of the small finger heavily it snows.

Tχópowatka wétko é-ush; kéna.
In the thumb-month is frozen the lake; it is snowing.

[796] Spéluishtka ktō'tsa mû; wála kshiúlgishtat.
In the index-month it rains much; they dance in the dance-house.

Tátχēlam tsuám lúela Nílaksi Tsuyakē'ksni.
In the midfinger-month large suckers kill at Nilaks the Linkville Indians.

[226] Gáptsēlam shináktishtka udsáksalsha K̲ók̲ētat, kä'shla sa.
In the ring-finger month they take large suckers in Lost River, (and) get ipos.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

NOTES.

*539 221 This text intends to give a sketch of the various occupations of the northern tribe or É-ukshikni in every month of the year, and is partially worded in a form which may be called dramatic. These statements are not always arranged in logical order, but a profusion of ethnologic details gives intrinsic value to them.

[805] The months of the Mák̲laks year do not coincide with the months of our calendar, for they extend from one new moon to the next one, and therefore should be more properly called *moons* or *lunations*. Twelve and a half of them make up the year, and they are counted on the fingers of both hands. The first moon of their year begins on the first new moon after their return from the wókash-harvest at Klamath Marsh, which is the time when all the provisions and needful articles have been gathered in [796] [224] for the winter. Work is then stopped and the communal dances begin, the doctor-dances as well as those conducted by the chiefs, and everybody participates in them except those who are out hunting in the mountains during the latter part of the year. This mode of counting the moons on the digits was once popular, but on account of its imperfections it is now forgotten by the majority of the tribe. Instead of it they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as: udsaksä'mi, "in the big sucker time"; i-umä'mi, "in the berry season", or they use our calendar months.

The first moon mentioned in our text, gáptche, answers generally to our May. The two next moons are counted on the thumb and forefinger of the hand not used immediately before; with this last moon their year has come to an end. The next five moons are counted again on the digits of the first hand, and so forth. The half moon making up their full year is not accounted for in this text.

[823] [226] 74, 2. Ktai-Túpakshi is a locality of renown in the folklore of the Klamath tribe. It lies near the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, on the property of an Indian named Tchéloχins. The otílks is the fish-dam (from utíla), where the Indians wade in the water with their dip-nets and catch the fish while it ascends the river in spring-time in enormous quantities. This fish-dam does not reach the water's surface.

[193] 74, 2. The direct object of lúela is kápto, its subject mák̲laks hö'ank.

74, 3. kámalsh pahá means: they dry the fish which they have just caught by exposing it to the sun on limbs of trees, and then make kámalsh by pounding it. Kámalsh is a derivative from gáma, to pound.

[192] 74, 3. kó-iχaga is identical with gúikaka; derived from kúi, "away, far off"; gui-χátchka is: to start out annually to the prairies where roots etc. are harvested.

[262] 74, 5. saká a pö'ks: they eat *sometimes* the camass raw, but only at the time when [222] digging it. Bulbs, roots, pods, chrysalids and berries are gathered by women only.

[251] 74, 6. pahá at p.; this is equivalent to pahátko pö'k̲s iwídshat. They bake the camass and put it in their cachés at the place where they intend to stay next winter.

[796] 74, 8. shníkanua. During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process, [222] the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the [192] women, and they go to work again in their canoes.

[415] 74, 9. shiulína. From the preceding we should expect shiulínat, lulínat.

74, 10. wíllishik is the generic term for larger kinds of provision-sacks; it means here a sack of fifty pounds seed or grain, while the wáχoks holds hundred pounds. In pálasham-wáχoksh, however, the latter word is taken in its *generic* sense of sack, bag.

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*539 221 [192] All these different kinds of sacks or bags were originally made of bulrush-stalks (tule) and the táyash was made of straw.

[415] 74, 11. ka̱ítua nû kä'ila. The sense is incomplete. Probably sháyuakta is left out: "I do not know of any in the whole country", käíla often standing for käílatat.

[192] 74, 14. áwalues. There are several islands in the shallow waters of the vast extent of Klamath Marsh, but only *one* is meant here.

[103] 74, 15. wö'ns ílktsat. They submerge their dug-outs at several places on the beach, where they are certain to find them in the next wókash-season.

[501] [103] 74, 17. pi'la wi'hla (or píla wíllash) contains perhaps a proper name of a locality, or stands in connection with Tóilkat, "at the Rail-Pyramid"; wílhaslash means top, apex. The stations from the "Ford" to "Bird's Lookout" are passed by the tribe when they return home with the lily-seed harvest-crop. "They drop the rifle" is: they take a rest. All these localities are either on the open waters of Klamath Marsh or on Williamson River, which forms its outlet.

[484] [492] 75, 1. iwí-idsha wókash. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Williamson River is from 20 to 25 miles, and horses carrying wókash can make it in one day. The next day they return to carry another load.

[482] 75, 2. nátoks waítuapk: we will lie over one day to let our horses rest, or recover from the swellings on their backs. Nátoks stands for nát toks.

[824] 75, 5. klá-ads is probably a kind of wild prunes. See Dictionary: këlátch.

[192] 75, 8. wídsika íwam. "Some are economical with their own berries, and prefer not to scatter them in the hands of others"; íwam, huckleberry, has become the generic term for all berries, and i-umä'mi is "*berry-season*".

[316] 75, 11. spû'klish here means the large communal sweat-house; it is used frequently for dances and kshiuwálχishtat, contr. kshiû'lχishtat might stand instead of spúklishtat.

75, 11. papiä'na, vocalic dissimilation for papa-éna; derived from pán, to eat.

[193] 75, 13. ati'sh etc. "Heap ye up that hay in two stacks, which must have a lengthy, long-stretching, and not a high, cone-shaped form!" For heaping up long stacks one verb is here used, and another for making the high, round ones.

PŬ'LAM SHUMSHE-ÉLSHTAT SHASHAPKË́LÉASH.

A SKETCH OF BALL'S MARRIED LIFE.

[115]

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

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Póluk ka̱'liak snáwäds t'shín. Tsúi snawä'dshla Pámpiam pä'-ia lupí';
Ball he without a wife grew up. Then he married Pámpi's daughter at first;

tsúi wä'kala, tsúi tatá mántsak mbusä'lan gí. Tsúi kä'tsa, tsúi mbusä'-
and she had a babe, and then quite a while he lived with (her). Then he left (her), and lived with

alpëli pän, tsúi pän kétsa sissû'kuk tsû'ssak. Násh wä'ka sham kla̱ká, nä'sh
(her) again, and again left (her) quarrelling continually. One babe to them died, another

tchía; at sa sipí'tχa, tsúi nä's shnawä'dshla pän Látsam pä'-ia; wáts siiwána
lived; still they separated, then one (woman) he married after (this) Látchash's daughter; horses he gave

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sas tánkak. Tsúi wiggátak tchía, tsúi wä'kala, tsúi hûk mukák k̲'läkú.
to them not many. Then together they lived, and she became mother, and the babe died.

Tsúi hû'nk pän wutódsna, tsúi pän mbusé-alpěle. K̲ú-idshi hû'k snawéds;
Then her again he gave up, and again lived with (her). Mischievous (is) that woman;

tsû'ssak sû'la sha, hissuáks hû'k wû'lantana: "tám mí'sh setû'lχa kaní?
constantly haggled they, husband the used to ask (her): "(did) with you consort anybody?

sä'gs' ish, k̲ú-i sa-í'shiank." Tsí sa hû'n kí nánuk spunä'ks; tsúi sí'ssûka
tell me, not concealing." So they said every night; then they fight

ná-asht gíug. Tsúi sa k̲ú-i sû'ta pipělángshtan staínas, tsúi sa k̲ú-i tchía.
for saying so. And they embittered mutually hearts, and they wretchedly lived.

Hû'masht-gíug tû'měni laláḵi nä'-ulχa, túměni huskiû'tankpěle. Tína
On this subject often the chiefs ruled, many times made them live together again. Once

snáwäds hûk pálla hishuáks m'na shû'ldsisas shätō'lχ; vû'nsatka hûnk
woman that deceived husband her (and) with a soldier copulated; in canoe (she)

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sk̲ä'na pállank sas sûldsámkshi. Tsí hûk shû'ta titná huk snawä'ds; tsúi
rowed away abstracting (it) from them to the troops. Thus acted at a time that woman; and

laláḵi nä'-ulχa hû'nksht Pû'lam snawä'dsas; ktû'tsga sa hûk laláḵi sätó-
the chiefs tried that Ball's wife; cut hair off they the chiefs for hav-

lakst sû'ldsisas. Tchúi pän kédsa Paúl; Waitängí'shash taí's setō'lχ tánkt.
ing slept with soldier. Then again left (her) Ball; with a Warm Spring man too he lodged then.

Tsúi pän mbusé-alpla, tsúi sas wáts sk̲ókta pän, tsúi sha pän ak sissō'ka;
And again he lived with (her), and to them horses he paid over once more, and they again quarreled;

at sa k̲ú-i hak tsía tsússak, tsúi laláḵi pänak hû'skiûtka. Tsúi pän
they wretchedly lived always, and the chiefs once more made them live together. And again

mbû'se-alp'l, tû'sh spungátgapěle É-ustat tchí'pksht hûnk snawä'dsas. Pû'l
he lived with (her), over there he brought back on Lake shore home the wife. Ball

toks hí'wí hímboks tánkt, tchúi hí'-i lélktcha tchí'ktchik spû'nktchapaluk.
hauled logs then, and there abandoned the wagon to bring (her) back.

Tsúi spû'ntpampěle, tsúi nä'-ulχa sha pä'n, spû'lhi sa Pû'lash, tsúi sa
And he brought (her) back, and tried they again, imprisoned they Ball, and he and she

sχókta sas pä'n wátch, tsúi sa spunkámpěle pän, tsúi sa pän hû'nk
paid them once more horses, and they set (him) free again, and they again

sumsä'-alank tsía.
marrying lived.

Wakák tsik sa tchía, k̲á-i ní tû'měnat.
How since they have lived, not I learnt.

NOTES.

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Matrimonial reverses like the one given in this narrative are by no means uncommon among the Klamaths of the present day. They are one of the unavoidable consequences of the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers at Fort Klamath.

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77, 1. The name Púl is pronounced in very different ways, and most people think it is the English name Ball; Póluk is Pŭ'l hŭ'k; tchía, "lived", would be preferable to t'shin in this connection.

[192] 77, 2. 3. kă'tsa, kétsa properly means to cast away; here: to abandon, leave; almost identical with wutódsna occurring below, 78, 2.

77, 4. săwána sas: he did not give many horses for her to her parents.

78, 8. pállank sas. This shash properly refers to Pámpi and his family, for Púl's wife took the dug-out canoe of Pámpi and rowed with it to the soldiers. This was in the northeastern part of Upper Klamath Lake, and occurred in the winter of 1876–'77.

[103] 78, 13. É-ustat is the location of the old agency buildings at Koháshti, in northeast corner of Upper Klamath Lake.

[192] 78, 14. hí'-i. On that occasion Ball left his wagon in the midst of the woods; hi, hí-i means "on the ground".

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78, 15. nă'ulχa sha pă'n. About the middle of September 1877 a strong escort of Indians brought Ball and his wife to the "law-house" at the Klamath agency to be tried by the chiefs. A delay of several days occurred before he was confronted with the judges, and during the time he was imprisoned at the "skúkum-house", a strong log cabin at the agency serving as jail. He is still a very young man, and on being brought there he was allowed to ride on horseback with a rifle on his shoulders. His father is an Indian from the Spokane tribe, and Spúkăn is his name.

[192] 78, 16. sχókta, to pay a fine; to be fined (by the chiefs). See: "Legal Customs", 62, 5.

GAMES OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

Obtained in the Klamath Lake Dialect from Minnie Froben.

I.

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É-ukshikni	shákĕluk	shí-í'χaga	yámnash,	wátch,	skútash	tchish.
The Lake people	in gambling	win from each other	beads,	horses,	blankets	also.

Vû'nip	shulshéshlank;	láp	mû'mĕni,	sχû'tash	tchish	lápi	ndshekáne.
With four (sticks)	they play the stick-game;	(there are) two	thick (sticks),	skin-covered sticks	also	two	slender.

Ndshékansh	sha	sχétchashtka	shlín,	mû'mĕnish	toksh	a	yû'shakĕnank
At the slender (sticks)	they	with index and middle finger	guess,	at the thick (ones)	however	(they)	with index finger

shlín;	vû'ish	sha	klátchnank	shlín,	tχopowátka	tch	lénank	shlín.	Wû'ishtka
guess;	at the vûish	they	moving hand sideways	guess,	with the thumb	also	making a side move	they guess at.	By the vûish

toks	sha	nă'shak	kshē'sh	wí-uka;	sχétchashtka	sha	láp	wí-uka	kshē'sh,
	they	only one	counting-stick	(can) win;	with index and middle finger	they	two	win	counting-sticks,

yû'shχish	spélshisht.	Tchúi	sa	kĕléwi	udúiwisham	í'χaguk	nánuk.
the index	having put forward.	Then	they	stop,	from the losers	when they have won	all (stakes).

II.

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É-ukshikni	wéwanuish	sk̲û'sha	pû'mam	tútatka	lĕmátchat	kē'ltamank.
The Klamath Lake	females	play a game	beavers'	with teeth,	on a rubbing stone	letting (them) drop.

Shúshmalua-kipksh	p'laítala	tút	nánuk	ní'kualksht	lā'p	kshē'sh	yánkua.
Where they are marked	upside	teeth	all	having fallen,	two	checks	they win.

Kukaluák	taksh	takaní'lkuk	gélχa,	tsúi	sha	nā'sh	kshē'sh	wí-uχa.
Both female (teeth) only	(if)	falling right side up	come down,	then	they	one	check	win.

Lálak̲iak	tchish	takaní'lχuk	gélχa,	hû'nkant	tchish	a	nā'sh	wí-uka	kshē'sh.
Both male (teeth) only	(if)	falling right side up	come down,	on that account	also		one	(they) gain	check.

Kshawínasht	tûksh	k̲aítua	wí-uχant;	tchúi	sha	nánuk	héshkûsh	shi-í'χaguk
Falling unequally	however	nothing	they win;	and	they	all	the stakes	having won from each other

kĕléwi.	Wéwanuish	pila	sk̲û'sha,	híbashuaksh	pil	shákalsh.
quit.	Women	only	play (this game),	men	only	play the stick-game.

III.

É-ukskni	wéwanuish	tchí'mma-uk	tínkanka	nánuk	shuékûsh	shésham-
The Klamath Lake	women	in playing tchim-má-ash	run forth and back,	every one	(willow-) poles	hold-

tchantk.	Pípĕlangshtant	yû'ashlank	tátχĕlam	shalχuétgish	téwa	ánku,
ing.	On either side	for fixing bases	in the middle	of the starting-places	(they) plant	sticks,

tchúi	sha	wutû'walχa	shuekō'shtka	tchímma-ash.	Kawû'tank	sha	vu-
then	they	throw up	with (their) poles	the game-string.	Having caught (it)	they	throw

tû'dshna,	tchúi	sha	tínshna	hátoktala,	shû'dshnuk	tchímma-ash	shútualsha.
(it to others),	then	they	run	over there,	while chasing each other	the game-string	they throw.

Túkni	ẙá'hlkīsh	wûtû-ípĕle	shiwákuash	m'na;	tchúi	sha	kíudshna	léna,
One party	the poles	throw back	to the girls	(on) their (side);	and	they	run off	run aside,

shû'dshna	yû'ashtala	sha	tchúi.
chase each other	to the bases	they	then.

NOTES.

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I. The game described in this paragraph is played with four shúlshesh-sticks. From this term is formed a denominative verb, shulshéshla: to play the stick-game. It is a guessing game, and the guesses are made known by putting fingers forward, a gesture which is called spélshna. Hence spélshna, sometimes corrupted into spéldshna, is used as a term equivalent to shulshéshla, to play the stick-game; and a third verb for this pastime is shákalsha. More minute descriptions of the three games will follow elsewhere.

79, 1. shi-i'χaga is the reciprocal form of i'χaga *to win, gain*, occurring below. These terms mainly refer to gains made in gambling.

79, 2. shulshéshlank stands here for the periphrastic shulshéshlank gi, or the simple shulshéshla. Derived from shúlshesh, and this from shúla, to hand over, to pass to another.

79, 2. sχû'tash, not to be confounded with skútash, *blanket*, forms apposition to lápi udshekáne. The two slender game-sticks are wrapped in narrow strips of buckskin leather (skúta, to wrap in).

*539 79, 3. sχétcha, to extend two fingers, viz. the index and the middle finger; the instrumental case of the verbal substantive, sχétchashtka: by extending these two fingers.

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192 79, 3. shlín, to shoot, to shoot forward, to hit; figuratively used for the rapid motion of the hand in guessing at the location of the sticks lying under the tray or pá'hla. yû'shakna, yúshkēna, or yû'sχa, to put forward, to use the index finger. In this game that finger is called yû'shχish, and not by its usual name, spéluish.

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79, 4. vû'ish is the location of the thicker sticks coupled on one side, and of the thinner ones on the other; the gesture for guessing at it is to make a side motion with the hand, thumb included. In the text, the sense would become clearer by wording it thus: vû'ish sha népatka tχopowátka tch lénank shlín, "they guess at the vúish, whirling around with the hand, thumb included." Léna is to perform a circular motion; klátchna, a side motion.

79, 5. sχétchashtka sha láp wí-uka. Sχétchashtka collides here apparently with yû'shχish spélshisht; it seems to stand for: "they win two checks, if they have guessed right at the slender sticks".

79, 5. wí-uka. They win one (nā'shak) of the six checks or counting-sticks, if the party opposite did not guess correctly.

II. To play at dropping beavers' teeth (shkû'sha) is the subject of this paragraph; the game itself is skúshash. The four teeth of the beaver are marked for this game by the incision of parallel lines or crosses on one side, and a small piece of woolen or other cloth is inserted into the hollow to prevent breaks in falling. The two longer or upper teeth of the beaver are called the *male* (lakí), the pair of lower and shorter the *female* teeth (gúlo, kúlu; distributive form: kúkalu). The teeth are dropped on a hard, level substance, as a metate or grinding stone, to make them lie flat. The marked side of the teeth wins, if it is turned up after dropping. The teeth of the woodchuck (mú-i, mói) serve for the same purpose.

80, 2. Shúshmalua-kípksh stands for shúshmaluash-gípshtka or -gípkashtka, the instrumental case of the participle gítko, possessed of: "(if they fall down) on that side, where each is possessed of marks" (shúmaluash).

80, 2–4. kshē'sh. In this game of beavers' teeth (púmam tút), or woodchucks' teeth (múyam tút) they use twelve check-sticks to count their gains with. The game is played by two persons, or by two partners on each side.

80, 5. Kshawínasht tûksh. Kshawína means several teeth to fall down, but, as the prefix ksh- indicates, only *one* tooth with the marked or winning side up.

III. The tchimmá-ash game is played almost exclusively by females. The tchimmá-ash is a string about 2–3 feet long, to the ends of which sticks or pieces of cloth are tied; it is taken up and thrown forward by two flexible willow rods (shuékûsh, wá'hlkish) to playmates, who divide themselves into two parties. Before the commencement of the game, two limits (yúash) are meted out on the ground, which serve as bases. Both of them are located between the lines of starting (shalχuétgish).

80, 7. shuékûsh: *two* poles; players hold one of them in each hand.

80, 8. Kawû'tank refers to the playmates of the opposite party, who are bound to catch the flying tchimmá-ash.

80, 11. shiwákuash seems to be a dissimilation of shiwáka-ash.

80, 11. kíudshna léna, or better: kíudshnank léna.

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SWEAT-LODGES.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY MINNIE FROBEN.

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É-ukshkni lápa spû'klish gítko. Kúkiuk kělekápkash spû'klishla yé-
The Lake people two (kinds of) sweat-lodges have. To weep over the deceased they build sweat-lodges dig-
pank käíla; stutílantko spû'klish, käíla waltchátko. Spû'klish a sha shû'ta
ging up the ground; are roofed (these) sweat-lodges, with earth covered. (Another) sweat-lodge they build
kué-utch, kítchikan'sh stinága-shítko; skû'tash a wáldsha spû'klishtat tata-
of willows, a little cabin looking like; blankets they spread over the sweating-lodge when
ták sě spûkliá. Tátataks a hû'nk wéas lúla, tatátaks a híshuaksh tchíměna,
in it they sweat. Whenever children died, or when a husband became widower,
snáwedsh wénuitk, kû'ki kělekátko, spû'klitcha túmi shashámoks-lólatko;
(or) the wife (is) widowed, they weep for cause of death, go sweating many relatives who have lost;
túnepni waítash tchík sa hû'nk spû'klia. Shiúlakiank a sha ktái húyuka
five days then they sweat. Gathering they stones, (they) heat (them)
skoilakuápkuk; hútoks ktái ká-i tatá spukliû't'huīsh. Spúklish lúpīa
to heap them up (after use); those stones never having been used for sweating. Sweat-lodge in front of
húyuka; kélpka a át, ílhiat átui, kídshna ai í ámbu, kliulála. Spû'kli a
they heat (them); heated (being) when, they bring (them) inside at once, pour on them water, sprinkle. Sweat then
sha túměni "hours"; kélpkuk géka shualkóltchuk péniak kō'ks pépe-udshak
they several hours; being quite warmed up they leave (and) to cool themselves off without dress only to go bathing
éwagatat, kóketat, é-ush wigáta. Spukli-uápka mā'ntch. Shpótuok
in a spring, river, lake close by. They will sweat for long hours. To make themselves strong
i-akéwa kápka, skû'tawia sha wéwakag knû'kstga. Ndshiétchatka knû'ks
they bend down young pine-trees, (they) tie together they small brush-wood with ropes. Of (willow-)bark the ropes
a sha shúshata. Gátpampělank shkoshkí'lχa ktáktiag hû'shkankok kěle-
they make. On going home they heap up into cairns small stones in remembrance of the
kápkash, ktá-i shúshuankaptcha í'hiank.
dead, stones of equal size selecting.

NOTES.

No Klamath or Modoc sweat-lodge can be properly called a sweat-*house*, as is the custom throughout the West. One kind of these lodges, intended for the use of mourners only, are solid structures, almost underground; three of them are now in existence, all believed to be the gift of the principal national deity. Sudatories of the other kind are found near every Indian lodge, and consist of a few willow-rods stuck into

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the ground, both ends being bent over. The process gone through while sweating is the same in both kinds of lodges, with the only difference as to time. The ceremonies mentioned 82, 4–13., all refer to sweating in the mourners' sweat-lodges. The sudatories of the Oregonians have no analogy with the *estufas* of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, as far as their construction is concerned. Cf. *Notes* to 70, 1. 75, 11.

82, 1. lápa spû'klish, two sweat-lodges, stands for two *kinds* of sweat-lodges.

82, 5. shashámoks-lólatko forms *one* compound word: one who, or: those who have lost relatives by death; cf. ptísh=lûlsh, pgísh=lûlsh; hishuákga ptísh=lúlatk, male orphan whose father has died. In the same manner, k̲ĕlekátko stands here as a participle referring simultaneously to híshuaksh and to snáwedsh wénuitk, and can be rendered by "*bereaved*". Shashámoks, distr. form of shá-amoks, is often pronounced sheshámaks. Túmi etc. means, that many others accompany to the sweat-lodge, into which about six persons can crowd themselves, bereaved husbands, wives or parents, because the deceased were related to them. Cf. lĕ'pk̲'leχa, lĕ'pk̲'lekatko.

82, 6. Shiúlakiank etc. For developing steam the natives collect only such stones for heating as are neither too large nor too small; a medium size seeming most appropriate for concentrating the largest amount of heat. The old sweat-lodges are surrounded with large accumulations of stones which, to judge from their blackened exterior, have served the purpose of generating steam; they weigh not over 3 to 5 pounds in the average, and in the vicinity travelers discover many small cairns, not over four feet high, and others lying in ruins. The shrubbery around the sudatory is in many localities tied up with willow wisps and ropes.

82, 10. Spukli-uápka mä'ntch means that the sweating-process is repeated many times during the five days of observance; they sweat at least twice a day.

LUÁTPÎSHLA SNÉWEDSH M'NA.

LAMENT OVER A WIFE'S LOSS.

OBTAINED FROM DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

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Snáweds k̲'leká. Tsúi tsik shpótû hissuáksûk, pä'wa tsúi, pä'nĕ
A wife dies. Upon this strengthens himself (her) husband alone, plunges then, again

mákual, sta-ótank k̲aítua pát; tsúi tûtí'χ yaínatat tû'tshna. Tsúi shlaá
camps out, famished nothing eats; then (he) dreams, (and) on the mountains he dozes. Then he sees

mák̲laks, tûtí'χ hûnk ná-asht; tsúi gä'mpĕle ládsashtat, tsúi psín hûshtí'k-
people, dreams (he) thus; then he returns to (his) lodge, and at night he frequently

tamna, tsúi shlä'popk, tsúi at shlä'popk siunotí'sh tchkash. Tsúi at shuí'sh
dreams, and has visions, and then he has hallucinations of (female) choruses also. And magic songs

hû'k nä'sht ki: "tchä'kĕli gékanuapka, súmat tsúk at géka tchákĕle"! tsúi
these thus say: "blood will come up, to the throat in time comes up blood"! then

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huk	tchékēl'	a	gépka.	Tsúi	wéwan'sh	gûlí'	winō'tnish;	shashuakí'sh	tchí'sh,
the	blood		comes up.	Then	women	enter	who form chorus;	people who call the conjurer	too,

lutatkí'sh	tchish,	shuashuáktchish	matchatgí'sh	tchish	gulí'	látchashtat	m'na.
the song-repeater	too,	bewailers,	listeners	also	enter	lodge	his.

NOTES.

[178] The ascetic performances and ceremonies here described are going into disuse at the present time. When they were fully observed, the bereaved husband wandered alone through the woods and wilds (spótu) for five days, but to the widow these observances extended over a shorter time. For this purpose both sexes wore warm clothing, but took to worn-out blankets or old articles of raiment, and used wisps of the serviceberry-bush as belts.

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[526] 83, 1. shpótû: strong and unusual bodily exercise, running up hill, plunging etc. was and is still considered beneficial to the body, and is much in favor with the Indians. Cf. 82, 10. 11.

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[193] 83, 1. hissuáksûk for híshuaksh ak; the husband *alone*, not in company of others; pä'nē for pä'n a, pēn a, cf. átēnen for át a nen; and sē for sha, they, 82, 4.

83, 2. ka-ítua pát or p'át: he eats nothing at the time while wandering; pánk, p'ánk might stand here instead of pát; tû'tahna: for dozing they did not lie down, but tried to catch a little sleep while walking and wandering.

83, 2. shlaá, and tchákēle 83, 5, forms sometimes used in conversation instead of shläá, shleá; tchä'kēle, tchékēli. Cf. yáka for yä'ka, yéka: *Note* to 16, 10.

83, 3. hûshtí'ktamna; the suffix -tamna shows that pahín stands for nánuk pahí'n gí'sh: "nightly, every night."

83, 4. siunō'tish and shuí'sh are both tamánuash-songs, but of a different character. See Dictionary. Shlä'popka: he sees in his dreams what he has heard mentioned in the songs. To sing or repeat songs started by the conjurer devolves almost exclusively on the women present at the ceremony.

83, 5. súmat: into the mouth; their blood, disturbed by the constant excitement produced by the night rambles, ascends to the throat, and is sometimes spit out by them.

84, 2. shuashuáktchish. By their loud and noisy lamentations (shuáktcha, to cry, to weep) they expect to avert from the bereaved husband the effects of the tamánuash-spell (shuí'sh) which he has seen in his dreams.

84, 2. matchátgish: those listening to the words uttered by the conjurer and his repeater or expounder; they are of both sexes and also act as bewailers.

CREMATION OF THE DEAD.

OBTAINED FROM J. C. D. RIDDLE IN THE MODOC DIALECT.

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É-ukshíkni Mō′dokni tutenépni waitólan k̲ēléksht vûmí′. At ídshí′sht
The Klamath Lakes (and) Modocs on the fifth day after decease bury. When bringing out (the bodies)
lä′pi géna tídsh shutedshnóka. At gátpamnan käflatat wawálχa wawaíha
two (men) go (ahead), well to make (all) ready. Then having arrived on the ground they sit down (and) wait
k̲ēlekápkash itpanō′pkasht. Skentanápkash at itpanō′pkasht kshet′läχípkash
the dead person to be brought. Sewed up for transportation (and) tied transversely
wátchtat at tchpínû′tat ítpa. Hekshatlēk̲ítko k̲′leχápkash lûpí′ wátch
on a horse to the burying-ground they bring. Carrying transversely the deceased ahead the horse
géna; k̲′leχápkăm nánuk shá-amoksh tûpí′ gálampaga.
marches; of the deceased all relations behind follow in a file.

Tánkni mák̲lăks kshélχa k̲′lekápkash, wátch shiúka, ksháwal at hûnk
The ancient Indians laid down the corpse, the horse they killed, deposited then the
k̲′lekápkash ánko kedshlákstat, wátch hûnk tchúi ktēdéga, wátchăm
deceased of wood on a pile, the horse then cut up, the horse's
tchû′leks nánukash k̲′lekápkash í′dshχa. Lák̲iăm tpéwash vunípí hihassuátchχash
flesh all over the corpse strewed. Chief's by orders four men
lóloksh shnuitámpka. Pipēlántan luelualóyan shnuitámpka
the fire were keeping up. On both sides standing by they kept (it) up
tchû′shak pítchash tchēk, tchúi sha k̲′léwi. Lû′lûksh shpítcht tchúi tχálăm
constantly, it went out until, then they quit. The fire being out then in the midst
lûksláksbtat hibéna, lûksláksh néwisht tchí′sh shekē′lke, käíla kē′la-unan
of the ashes (a hole) they dug, the ashes, the remains also they raked into (it), earth throwing over
tchúi ktá-i lk̲áppa. Vûmí-û′lan nánuk tchí′shtala kikantchámpēle. Geluipgáp′lĭn
then stones (they) piled up. After burial all towards home they marched back single file. Having returned
p′nā′lăm tchí′-íshtat k̲′lekápkăm tchí′sh shnélχan tchúi nánuk
to their settlement, of deceased the lodge burning down then all
mák̲lăks shemáshla. K̲′lekápkăm tchíwishtat ktái lélktcha; k̲′leχápkăm
Indians removed elsewhere. Of deceased on the late dwelling-place stones they left; of deceased
shá-amoksh hádaktna genō′ga ktá-i hádûkt nutolā′ktcha.
(any) relative by this spot passing a stone on it threw.

Hă kaní tû′ma weweshláltko k̲′léχa, pēn húnkēlam wé-ash k̲′léka
If somebody much offspring-having died, again his children after death
hatóktok hûnk vûmí′; nánka atí′ ídshnan hatû′ktok pēn vûmí′.
right there them they buried; some from afar bringing (them) at this very spot again they buried.

NOTES.

* 539 764 Cremating the dead is a practice which was abolished by the chiefs on the territory of the reservation in or about 1868. At the Indian graveyard north of the Williamson River a hill of 12 feet altitude, where the corpses of Indians of the Klamath Lake (not Modoc) chieftaincy were burnt, is still visible and untouched since then. With the exception of the sentence from Skentanápkash to ítpa, the first paragraph refers to the present as well as to the former mode of funeral, while the second describes [171] the ancient mode of cremation. Cremation prevailed also among the Snake and Pai-Uta Indians, living in the vicinity of the Mák̲laks; cf. Dr. W. T. Hoffman, Pahute Cremation; Cremation among the Digger Indians, in Proceedings of the Am. Philosophical Soc., Philadelphia; vol. XIV, p. 297 sq., 414 sq., (1876). According to Stephen Powers, cremation prevailed among the Pomos of Northern California, west of the Sacramento River, and the Erío, a tribe living at the mouth of Russian River, believe that all deceased Indians will become grizzly bears if not disposed of in this manner. The Indians inhabiting the shores of Middle and Lower Columbia River placed their dead on platforms erected on hills, or into the canoes of which they had been the owners; the Kalapuyas on both sides of the Willamet River buried their dead by inhumation.

000 Our notice makes no mention of the mourning ceremony among the Modocs, by which widows had their long hair cut off at the funeral of their husbands, then dripped the resin from the pyre, liquefied by the heat, upon their bared heads, vowing not to marry again before this ghastly head-cover had worn off by length of time. The Modocs cremated their dead on any day *from the first* to the fifth day after decease, according to choice.

*539 764 [801] [171] 85, 1. ţutenépni. Here we have again the sacred number five occurring so often in the traditions, myths and customs of the Oregonian tribes. Cf. 70, 1. 3. 82, 6. 88, 4.

85, 1. Instead of ídsha may be used Klamath Lake ílχa (*or* éna) lulukshåldshuk, to bring out for cremation. The northern dialect uses vumí only in the sense of putting dried provisions into the ground. A funeral is ílktcha in the Modoc dialect.

85, 2. shutédshna: they remove obstacles upon the road or trail, such as fallen trees or logs; they clear the passage. kíflatat means here the same as tchpinû'tat, 85, 4.

[192] 85, 2. wawaíha. Another form of the verb waíha is said to exist in the Modoc dialect: wawaíha; its distributive form: wawawaíha.

85, 3. itpanŏ'pkasht is the synizesis of itpannápkasht.

85, 6. Tánkni; the term mā'ntchni is often used instead.

85, 7. ánko for ánknam kedshlákstat.

85, 10. pítchash for Klamath Lake pitchkash, "until it has gone out".

85, 11. Modoc hibéna or ipéna for the Klamath Lake yépa, yépona: to dig a hole.

85, 11. néwisht. Of this term the original meaning seems to be "thrown by hand into the air", a manipulation resorted to by some Indians, though not here, with the burnt ashes of the deceased.

85, 12. lk̲áppa. These piles of stones evidently were, as well as the piles erected on the spot of the burnt lodge, intended as monuments of the deceased. These cairns are of considerable size, and can be seen in the old Modoc country at the present time.

85, 16. pĕn húnkĕlam etc. Pĕn introduces the verb vûmi', and k̲'léka is a verb coordinate to vûmi': "his children die, right there again they bury them."

PRESENT MODE OF INHUMATION.

GIVEN BY MINNIE FROBEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

539. Hishuákshash snawédshash gíntak k̲'lĕ'ksht tchúi sha hû'nk bóxtka
Male or female upon having died then they (him or her) in a coffin

764 ísha húnkantka waítashtka ámpka waitólank tchísh. Pápkashti shû'tank
bury on the same day or one day past also. Of lumber they are making

177 box, shnutchlû'ktagiank k̲áyak tadsh tálakank Bóshtinam-shítko. Pú-
a coffin, planing (it). not however they are painting (it) in the American shape. Small

[115] pakuak gí'ntak a sha nánuktua ílχóta, shulótish gíntak, kmă' tchí'sh,
drinking-cups thereupon they of every kind bury with (him), clothing hereupon, skull-caps too,

yámnash tchísh, tálatoks k̲á-i. Hă' nen wă'g'n kä'git, wátchatka sha hû'nk
beads too, but money not. If a wagon is not on hand, on horses they them

énank í'lχtcha. Tû'mi shashā'moks ílksχē'ni shash, túmi wéwanuish
carrying out bury. Many relatives to the grave them, many women

tchí'sh, hihasʼuáksh tchí'sh, k̲á-i tatáksni, gasháktsína shash ílksχē'ni.
too, men also, (but) no children, follow them to grave.

Ílksgísh yépontk tû'nep nádshgshapt pē'tch atí gintégatk.
The graves are dug five (or) six feet deep into the ground going.

Wä'g'n a lû'pi géna ílksχēni, sháshamoks tchī'k kí'nshaksna; hû'd-
The wagon first goes to the grave, relatives hereupon walk in file; those

shatoks atíkni gátpa, wátchatka gátpa. Ilkshχē'ni a sha shnúka nē'p
who from afar come, on horses come. At the grave they seize by the hand

k̲'lăkápkash, a tchíks hû'nk unégank kélua käfla ílχuk, tánktak tchiksh
the deceased, then him lowering fill up the earth to bury (him), simultaneously also

a hû'nk luátpishluk shúina. Gakiámnank tû'k sha tχálamtana gû''hliank
over him for mourning they sing. Forming a circle from it they through the middle passing

shnû'ka stélapksh nē'p, lupí'tal tchík sha gékampĕle; télishtoks wudámatko
shake (his) right hand, to the first place then they return; (his) face is covered

handkerchipátka: "Tchá shék̲ug mí'sh nû shnúka nē'p; tchá at tchí' m'sh
by a handkerchief: "Now to bid good bye to you I shake (seize) hand; now thus to you

nû shék̲a gēn waítash; géna mí at hukí'sh!"
I bid farewell this day; gone is your spirit!"

Títatnatoks flags mák̲laks kí'utchna ílksχēni wä'ginat; shashámoksh
Sometimes flags an Indian sticks up at the grave on the wagon; the relatives

láp kí'mbaks gasháktchna, wéwanuish násh kí'mbaks, híhashuaksh tchí'sh
in two files follow, the women in one file, the males too

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násh túnshish. Nā'sh käflatoks nādsháshak tchpī'nualank, nánuk titads-
in one row. On one ground all together they are burying, every provided

χátko pil ílktch spûshpaktchámpka, shushtedshχátko wáshash wuwatuáp-
with boards grave they make mound-shaped, fenced in prairie-wolves to keep

kasht ké-utchishash tchī'sh. Ká-i mā'ntch gítko sha hû'nk spû'klitcha
off grey wolves also. Not long after this they go to sweat

[765] túteniäpni waítash. Wátch a lúluagsh tchī'sh ká-i tatá mā'ntch gínkanka
for five days. Horses slaves also no longer they bring there

luélkish, m'nátoks sha wátch shéshatui shkútashtat ī'lχûtchlûk.
to kill, but his own they horses trade off for blankets to bury him in.

NOTES.

This short notice describes a funeral (isha) of the Klamath Lake tribe in the mode as adopted from the Americans not long after the treaty of 1864, when cremation of bodies was abolished. Whatsoever of the ancient customs in disposing of the dead is still observed, the reader will easily gather from the present sketch.

87, 3. tálaka means to go forth and back with the hand; hence to rub with the palm of the hand, to rub paint on, to paint.

87, 5. Hä' nen wä'g'n. In this connection they can also say: hä' nem wä'g'n; and for wátchatka: wátchetka.

87, 11. tánktak, in this connection, is a compound of tánkt and ak, not of tánk and tak: "just at that time."

87, 17. láp kímbaks gasháktchna: they follow the corpse, which is placed on the wagon, in two files *on horseback;* kímbaks is apposition to shashámoks.

88, 1. Nā'sh etc. The appearance of their graveyard (tchpínû) near the Williamson River does not differ much from that of our cemeteries; it lies in the midst of the woods. For titadsχátko see Dictionary.

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FUNERAL OF WARRIORS.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY "SERGEANT" MORGAN, AN INDIAN FROM KOHÁSHTI.

[726]
[825]

Nī'shta hä'ma mû'kash tχû'tχuk: "máklaks k'lä'k!" Tsúi gátpa
All night long screeches the big owl presaging: "people die!" Then came

máklaks ktaklī'sh, tsúi shneshnalχō'ta hushtsóχok. Nā's wípka hû ámbotat,
men parflesh-cuirassed, and while burning down lodges murder they. One (man) escaped into the water,

tsúi shtī'ldshna tû' sa-amoksámkshi m'na; gená shtī'ldshnuk. Tsúi gépka
and reported over there at relative's house his; he went (there) to announce. Then came

tumí' máklaks wa-u'htákiug; tsúi shenótank gē'kshta túnip hushtsóχ shenó-
many people to disperse (them); and while fighting on one side five were killed in

tankok. Gē'kshta tchkash hushtsóχa túm, nánka géna kä'ktsnuk vû'shuk;
battle. On other side also were killed many, some started to run away from fear;

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tsúi sha shiū'lgip'l tsóχapksh, tsúi sa ánkuala tū'm, tsúi sa kshū'iwal lū'-
then they collected the fallen, and they cut limbs (of trees) many, and they laid on the pyre to

lukshaluapkug. Tsúi sa nutá hū'k, nánuktua núta; pualála sha hū'nkĕlam
cremate (him). Then they fired it, the whole they fired; cast into they his

tū'kanksh. Stútχishla sha yutátkug; k'lékaht shtútχishla. At hū'k nánuk
quiver. Sorrowfully wept they in mourning; at his death they wept. Now that whole

nátspka tchulä'ks, at sa nánuk gä'mbĕle lólokshaltkuk. Gátpampĕle
was burnt up body, then they all returned from cremating. They came back

tchī'shtat shishásbka sha lák hū'k snáwedsh hū'nkĕlam wenóya; hissuáksh
to homes (and) cut off they hair to wife his, who was widowed; husband

m'na k'léksht wenóya. Shtíĕ shupĕlóka nū'ss wenóyuk, tsúi spúklitch.
her having died she became widow. Resin she laid on (her) head became widowed, then went sweating.

Túnipni spúkĕli, k'lä'wi at; at gä'mbĕle, kiä'm pán. At gä'tak.
Five (days) she sweated, stopped then; and returned home, (and) fish ate. That's the end.

NOTES.

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The style of this little piece is far from what we would call accomplished, and of incongruencies and unnecessary repetitions there are a score. The fight in which the five warriors were killed is imputed to the presaging, night-long cry of an ear-owl, and in ancient times Indians seem to have been justified by universal custom in attacking and killing their neighbors if an owl or raven was vociferating at night in close proximity to the lodge or lodges of these unfortunate people.

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88, 7. hushtsóχok for hushtsóχa húk.

88, 9. 10. hushtsóχa is used here in an active sense, but is better translated by the passive form.

89, 1. kshúiwala has for direct object tsóχapksh, the dead body. For the same operation the verb kshávala, kshával is also frequently used: 85, 6. From here the informant begins to speak of *one* body only, as if only one warrior, not many, had been killed in this battle. Cf. *Note* to 89, 5.

89, 2. húnkĕlam stands in this line for hunkĕlámsham or p'nálam: "their, theirs".

89, 5. lák. After their return they cut off the hair of the widow and then she put pitch or resin on the head. In most tribes they did it *at the time* of cremation, while they witnessed the action of the flames upon the body.

89, 5. húk snáwedsh: one widowed wife only is mentioned here instead of many: "*pars pro toto*"-construction. This sentence, if built regularly, would run as follows: shishásbka sha lák hū'nkĕlam snawédshash, kát húk wenóya; hissuákshash m'na k'léksht wenóya.

89, 7. spū'kĕli, to sweat in the sweat-lodge, viz. in one of the three sweat-lodges given by K'múkamtch to the Klamath Lake people: spū'klitcha, spū'klidsha, to start out for sweating there. Cf. lumkóka and wála. To eat fish only, and no meat, means *to fast* on fish.

VARIOUS ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTICES.

I.

* 539 [619] [161]

É-ukshikni vunépni laláki gítko. Tīná hundred ndankshaptánkni
The Lake people four chiefs have. Once hundred (and) eight times
té-unip hīhashuátchχash pé-ulatko É-ushtat, túnepni tá-unep máklaks
ten men (are) at the Lake, five times ten persons
É-ukshikni Yaínakshi. Tīná hundred pēn láp pé-ula látchash. Tumántka
of the Lake people at Yáneks. Once hundred and two (are) lodges. By the crowd
shute-uápka lakí.
will be elected a chief.

[302]

É-ukshikni hushmō'kla hushmoklō'tkishtka; kinkán' smō'k gī'tk,
The Lake men remove the beard with hair-pincers; spare beard they have,
atínsh lák gī'tko. Shiáshgatko lák; snawédshash kaílish pan lák gitk. Hă
long hair having. Is cut (their) hair; a woman belt down to hair wears. If
snáwedshash hishuátchχash mbû'shni, hûnk ktû'tchka; hishuákshash wátch
a female with a man consorts, they crop (her) hair; the man for horses
sχókta: tû'm wátch wuχó-we.
they fine: many horses he has to give up.

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Shû'dsha lóloks slikuíshtka; tsússak m'nálamtana látchash shû'dsha.
They kindle the fire by fire drill; constantly close to their lodges they have a fire.

Lakí kshiulakgishχéni géna nanukä'nash ndéna: "tíds ul wéwal-
A chief to the dance-house goes (and) to all cries out: "straight stand
χat! tchä'lχet nánuk! wawálχat! shúinat! híshuaksh pīl shúinat! Nû
up! sit down ye all! stand up! sing! the men only must sing! Myself
[533] tchúinuapk! ī tchuī'n! túla shuín! Tiä'mantk shuī'sh. Átĕnish ewá
I will sing! you sing! with (me) sing! (I am) hungry for songs. Now I have enough
shuī'sh; átĕni kēléwi shuī'sh."—"Slámuapk ī nánuk! shuáktchuapk ī nánuk!
of songs; now I quit singing." "Stop singing ye all! cry and weep ye every one!
Ká-i ī shlámuapk, shuínuapk ī nánuk. Nánuk tíds wawálχat! shlä-uápkat
Not ye cease to sing, but sing all of ye. All straight stand up! (and) look at
k'lekápksh!"
the corpse!"

II.

000

Ká-iu Bóshtinash gátpish, Mō'dokni mbá-ush shulō'tantko, pupuit-
Before the Americans arrived, the Modocs in buckskins (were) dressed, with
lantchámpkash ka-ilalápsh-kitko, vúnăm mbá-ush tchutchi-esháltko.
fringes on in leggings dressed, (of) elk's skin dressed in caps.
Shelóluka shtétmashtka ngē'shtka shenótanka; tchiktchikáshtka sna-
(When) fighting with poisoned arrows they fought; for hatchets a wo-
wédshash shkéa. Hä' tchilloyága lō'k shiúka ámka táslatch, át hûk
man they bought. If a young man a grizzly killed or a cougar, then
sheshalólesh kēléχa.
a warrior he became.

000 Nkā'kgiuga t'shī'shap p'kī'shap taúnäpni waíta k̲á-i tchû'leks pán,
After a childbirth the father (and) the mother ten days no meat eat,
shápēle mak̲lăksăm tchī'sh pásh pán; túnepni wäíta lomkóka, nadshksap-
bread, the Indians also food eat; five days they sweat, sixth
tánkni at wäitólan shulótish p'nálăm nánuk púedsha.
then day over, garments their own all cast away.

Tishiwápkash wä'k gítko shuentchága p'gī'shap hû'nkēlăm wä'k tk̲uyá;
Crooked limbs having a babe mother its the limbs rubs;
hä lish kaá k̲alk̲állish lû'lp gítko hû'nkēlăm p'gī'shap lû'lp tk̲uyá nepátka,
if too rounded eyes having its mother the eyes rubs with hand,
k̲ik̲annéga lû'lpût nepátka, tchúi shishatchēlō'tka; at tídsh tchēk shûtû'lan
applies to the eyes the hands, then spreads (them) apart; then well finally after arranging
k̲ēléwi. Húmasht taks hû Mō'dokni giúga ktaktanapátko shítko shlé-ish
she stops. Therefore the Modocs sleepy- alike to look at
nánuki. Hä lish k̲ó-idshi wawákish gī suéntchăm, p'kī'shap taks tídsh
all are. If misshaped the ears are of the babe, the mother aright
shû'ta, patádsha suéntchăm wawákash, nenpága, peptchága. Naishlashlák-
shapes (them). she stretches the babe's both ears, little hands, little feet. Toads-
gish-gítko ktcháyash tchī'sh wéktat itá nī'sh tchī'sh.
horned beetles with fangs also on the arms she lays, on the neck also.

NOTES.

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With the exception of the first, these ethnographic notices concern the people composing the southern chieftaincy as much as those of the northern.

I. The four items of section I are worded in the Klamath Lake dialect, and were obtained from Frank, a young Indian settled at Kuyamskä'-iksi, "the Crab's River-Trail," on the Williamson River.

90, 1 etc. The census figures given in the first paragraph refer to one of the latest counts made of the individuals in the tribe, probably to that of 1876.

90, 1. vunépni laláki gítko. Correctly worded, this phrase would read vunepä'nash lalák̲iash, or vunépnish, or at least vunépni lalák̲iash gítko.

90, 2. pé-ulatko ought to be used only when units are mentioned after the decads of figures. If the relator wanted to say, 180 men were counted, the verb shä'tni, shétni would be the proper term. Cf. *Note* to 70, 8. 9.

90, 3. Tumántka, "by the many", by the crowd: by the majority of the men in the tribe.

90, 7. hishuátchχash is a form for the word *man, male,* common to Klamath Lakes and Modocs, but more frequently used among the latter. The reverse is true of the form híshuaksh.

90, 10–13. Part first of the fourth notice refers to dances at the communal dance-lodge, organized and directed by chiefs. The chief starts the songs; sometimes the men, sometimes the women sing in chorus; or a song may be sung by all present. When the chief sees one, who does not sing, he cries out: "î tchuín; túla shuín î!" All dances are accompanied by songs or other music.

90, 10 ul probably stands for ûn, û'n, û'na, a conjunction more frequently used in the Modoc than in the Klamath Lake dialect.

*539 90, 11. tchä'lχet for tchä'lχat! sit ye down!

90, 11. 14. wéwalχat, wawálχat. Wálχa means: to look out for, to be expectant; the dancers are commanded to make ready for the next song, which implies that they have to rise upon their feet.

90, 12. tchúinuapk. See *Note* to 70, 3.

[764] [533] 90, 13–15. The words from Slámuapk to k̲'lekápksh are commands of the chiefs or subchiefs heard at the solemn ceremonies held in or around the lodge of a deceased person the day before the funeral. Chiefs are entrusted with the leadership of choruses sung by those who mourn over the defunct, and in presence of the corpse.

90, 13. 14. shlámuapk for shlámi-uapkat, or shlámi-uapk' l! See Dictionary.

II. The items contained in section II were obtained from J. C. D. Riddle, and are worded in the Modoc dialect.

[291] 90, 17. The Klamath Lakes wore a kind of elk-skin hat, wide brimmed, high and painted in colors, which they called púkalsh tchuyésh. Leggings were called kailálapsh, because they reached to the ground (kä́ila).

000 90, 18. 19. Shelóluks and sheshalólish; both derived from the verb shéllu̩al, to make war, to fight.

90, 18. shtétmashtka. All Indian tribes of the border region between California and Oregon are reported to have fought with poisoned arrows in early times.

91, 1. Nkä'kginga, literally: on account of a childbirth. That the father denies to himself the use of meat during ten days is a custom not unlike the world-renowned *couvade;* the sweating has the effect of keeping him at home in such a time when his family stands most in need of his protection.

91, 2. shápěle is flour of any kind of grains and the bread made from such; mák̲laksam pásh, Indian food: edible roots, berries, wókash etc.; lomkóka for the Klamath Lake: spúkli: to sweat in a sweat-house. Cf. *Note* to 89, 7.

91, 3. p'nálam shulótish, the dress which they wore at the time of the childbirth.

91, 4. Tishiwápkash. The Modoc tishíwatko, crooked, stands for Klamath Lake tishílatko, to which compare tikíwatko and tísχantko.

91, 5. k̲alk̲álish. This adjective is variously pronounced k̲álk̲ali and k̲ólk̲oli.

91, 6. In its signification lúlpût approaches very near to lúlpat, as the Klamaths would say; lúlpût, however, involves the idea: she *raises* her hand *up* to the eyes. This manipulation probably contributes to some extent to the oblique convergency of both eyes towards the nose or mouth and approaches the Oregonians to the Mongolian type of mankind. All the manipulations described are frequently repeated by mothers and other females inhabiting a lodge, and they often do it without any necessity.

91, 8. nánuki stands for nánuk gî. suéntchăm: in the Modoc dialect suéntch means a baby, infant, while carried on the baby-board; the Klamath Lakes, however, use this word in its original sense of baby-board, cradle-board, to which the infant is strapped or tied.

91, 10. ktcháyash. The application of insects etc., is certainly done for the purpose of rendering children fearless against danger and unmoved by sudden fright in after-life.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

ÁMPΧÄNKNI MÁK̲LAKS.

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AN OPINION ABOUT THE WASCO INDIANS.

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM CHARLES PRESTON.

Ámpχänkni gátpa mû shanáholiuk snáwedsh, k̲á-i spûní vushúk;
One Wasco came very much desiring a wife, (but) not gave from fear;

Ámpχänkni shawígatk; k̲íya Ámpχänkni. Génuapk túmi É-ukskni
the Wascoes are irritable; liars are the Wascoes. Would go many Lake men

Ámpχäni sheshatuíkuapk lû'ksh mā'ntch-gítko; skútash shanáholiuk
to the Dalles, would trade off slaves formerly; blankets (they) wanted

pā'niak, skútash í'ktsa Ámpχäni yámnash tchísh. Nāsh sápash gépgapĕliuapk,
being unclothed, blankets they fetched at the Dalles beads also. In one month they would return,

tsíalsh épkuapk, káwi tchísh épkuapk. Tánni sha géna? té-unipni
salmon they would bring, lamprey-eels too bring. How many of them did go? ten men

a-i sha géna, snáwedsh tchísh géna, k̲á-i sha i-a vû'sha Ampχänkníshash.
they went, (a) woman also went, not they of course feared the Wascoes.

Ámpχänkni ak sas hushtsóχuapk; sasságank í gí! K̲á-i nû shtínta
The Wascoes them might kill; imperilled ye are! Not I like

Ampχänkníshash, k̲á-i tídshi, k̲á-i tídsh hû'shkank. Hä' tidshí gitk
the Wasco people, not good (they are); not well intentioned. If good-hearted were

mák̲laks Ámpχänkni, tánkt ní gē'nt, sasságuk k̲á-i géna. Tídshi hä'k
people the Wascoes, then I may go there, being in peril I will not go. Good if to be

túmĕnank génuapka nû.
I hear (them) shall go I (there).

NOTES.

The Wasco Indians form a portion of the Upper Chinook Indians of Columbia River. Their ancient homes were around and at the Dalles, and a few of them still live there, while others now inhabit a section of the Warm Spring Indian reservation on Des Chutes River, Oregon. The Dalles formerly were, and are still to a certain extent, the locality, where all the tribes of the Columbia River Basin sold and bartered their products and commodities. The Warm Spring Indians call the Wascoes: Waskopam, "men of the grass region"; the Klákamas-Chinooks call them Guithlasko. The Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians also were among the frequenters of the intertribal market, exchanging there the slaves caught on their raids for ponies, provisions etc., when they went down to the Dalles on their annual trips. My Indian informant, Charles Preston, had lived long at the Dalles, and also gave me a list of Wasco words and sentences.

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93, 1. ká-i spûní vushúk: the subject of spûní, É-ukskni máklaks, is left out by inadvertence. Some Wascoes wanted to marry into another tribe; for "one Wasco man" stands here for "some men of the Wasco people."

93, 3. 4. Ampχä'ni, contraction of ambuχē'ni "thither, where the water is", where the waters rush down in a cataract, or in rapids. The rapids of the Columbia River at the Dalles impede navigation.

93, 7. sasságank i gi! ye are in peril, when going to the Dalles and being Indians, therefore take care of yourselves! i stands for ät; cf. 64, 10 and *Note;* 90, 13. 14.

93, 7. 9. Instead of ká-i nû shtínta may be said also, in this connection, ká-i nû shanáhole; instead of tánkt ni gēnt: gē'ntēni, gē'nt a ni; instead of Tídshi hä'k: tídshäk, tídshi hä gi.

K'MUKÁMTCHAM AÍSHISHAM TCHÎSH SHASHAPKĔLÉASH.

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K'MÚKAMTCH ATTEMPTS THE DESTRUCTION OF HIS SON AÍSHISH.

[115]

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROBEN.

Lûpí	nä'lsh	hûnk	K'múkamtch	shutäyéga;	ná-asht	nä'lsh	hûnk	gá-ag
At first	us		K'múkamtch	began to create;	so	to us		long ago

kĕmûtchátk	shashapkĕlî-i'a	génta	käíflatat.	Tchía	hû'k	lä'pi	shá-ûngaltk
an old man	told the myth	this	world about.	Lived	the	two	related as son and father,

Aíshish	K'mû'kamtchish;	né-ulχa	hûnk	gē'n,	nánuktua	ká-akt	hû'k	gäg,
Aíshish	(and) K'múkamtch;	resolved		this one,	(that) all things,	whichever	(are) here,	(and)

nánuktua	kiä'm	ámbutat	wá,	gítki	gíug.	Tchúyunk	pä'n	I-ulalónau
all kinds of	fish,	in the water	(which) live,	should come into existence.		Then	again	at the outlet at Linkville

tchkash	né-ulχa	páplishash	gí'tki	gíug,	mû'	gînt	nkí'llipsh	tí'wish	ndû'l-
also	he caused	a dam	to come into existence,		very	there	rapidly	the rushing waters	running

shampksh	páltki,	mû'ash	shlé-uyuk,	tchúyunk	máklaksash	kiä'm	í'tklank
down	to leave dry,	the south wind	when blows,	and hereupon	the Indians	the fish	scooping up

pálshtat	pátki	gî.
on the bottom left dry	should feed upon.	

Tchúi	pän	húmasht	gíulank	K'mukámtch	únaka	tchkash	m'na	Aíshi-
Hereupon		having performed this		K'múkamtch	son	then	his	Aíshish

shash	shtílta	p'laíwasham	shnû'lash,	shléank	kĕnáwatat	shkúlelam	wewéka
	sent after	an eagle's	eyrie,	perceiving	up on a kĕnáwat-stalk	of a lark	the young ones

hû'nk	shû'kayank,	shnepē'mpemuk	vunaká	m'na.	Snáwedsh	spû'ntχashtka
	hanging (on it),	in order to entrap	son	his.	A wife	to abduct (from him)

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ging tchúyunk K'mû'kamtch spû'nshna. K'mû'kamtch heméχe shí'ash-
then K'múkamtch took (him) along. K'múkamtch told (him) to take
kank hû'n tchûlísh, k̲aílish tchish shûkatonolō'tch. Tchúi Aíshish gû'ka
off (his) shirt, belt also (and) hair-ribbon. Then Aíshish climbed
kapkágatat; tchúyunk k̲û'ga, atí k̲édsha. Aíshish shataldí'ldamna gûkē-
on the low tree; and (while) he climbed, high it grew. Aíshish steadily looked down while
nû'ta, atí at k̲édshísht; at hû'nk tchúi shlää́ tchitchílí'lĕka pä'-ulapksh
climbing, high until it had grown; and then he saw little birds lying
shnû'lashtat shkû'lelam. Tchúi Aíshish gé'hlapka shnû'lashtat k̲ä'shgug
in the nest of the lark. Then Aíshish went into the nest being unable
gû'tgapēlish; hí'-ítak tchúi tchí'-uapk.
to climb back; there then he was going to stay.

K'mû'kamtch toksh hû'nk nánuk Aíshisham shûlótish shnúka; shû'-
K'múkamtch however the whole of Aíshish's clothing took away; dressing
luatchnank gä'mbēle k'léwidshnank m'na únaka. Snéwedsh páldshapēluk
himself in it he returned relinquishing his son. (His) wife to abduct
hátokt gátpampēle Aíshisham tchí'shtat; tchúi Aíshisham wéwanuish
over there he went back of Aíshish to the dwelling; then Aíshish's wives
kaíχema K'mukámtchish; "k̲á-i a hû'k gēg nálām híshuaksh" tchí' hûnk
suspected K'mukámtch; "not (is) this here our husband" thus
hû'ksha gi. Nā'dshak hûk híshuákshlank K'múkamtchash, nánka toks
they said. One only consorted with K'múkamtch, but the others
k̲á-i shanahō'li.
not wanted (him).

Át toks hûk Aíshish shû'isha, nánuk k̲ák̲o pil k̲'lēká tiä́'muk k̲aítua
But now Aíshish became lean, all over bones nothing but he became for starving (and) nothing
pá-uk. Tchúi lápi wä'kwak-wéwanuish gépkatk shléā Aíshishash shnû'-
eating. Then two butterfly-females soaring by saw Aíshish in the
lashtat kshí'klapksh. Ná-iti m'nálam sha skáyamtch pásh úmbutch
nest lying. In basket their they carried on back food water also
í'kugank, tchúi sha Aíshishash shéwana pásh, ámbu tchí'sh sha tchíya.
putting into, hereupon they to Aíshish gave food, water also they gave.
Kû'shga tcha, p'lû' í'tchuank shulótish sha pä'n lĕ'vûta. Aíshish heméχe:
They combed (him) oil putting on him in clothes they again dressed (him). Aíshish inquired:
"wák haitch āt nûsh gí'-uapk aí" tchúi hû'ksha ná-asht gi: "génta a-i
"what ye with me intend to do!" then they thus said: "into this
mí'sh nā'd hishtchaχû'gank skatχípēli-uápka." Aíshish tóksh shash hû'nk
you we placing into (we) shall carry down." Aíshish but to them
nánuk shē'gsha: "pi' nû'sh gén géntch né-ulakta p'tí'shap gé-u K'mukám-
all about it explained: "he me in this manner treated badly father my K'múk-
tchiksh!" hû'nk na-ā'sht gi Aíshish.
amtch!" thus said Aíshish.

Tchúi yapalpûléash mû'lua skatχípēli-uápkuk Aíshishash kä́ílant;
Hereupon the butterflies got ready to take down again Aíshish to the ground;
wéwanuish toks hû'k Aíshisham méya lā'pi, Klétiamtch tchí'sh Tchí'ggash
(and) wives of Aíshish dug roots two, (called) old Klétish also Tchika

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tû'la. Wä'kaltk hû'kt ki. Tchúi Aíshish géna me-ishχéni, tapí'tankni
withal. Child-having this was. Then Aishish went to the digging-prairie, keeping behind
gáldshui Tchíkash; Tchíkalam wä'ka shléa máhiash Aíshisham, tchúi
he walked up to Tchíka; of Tchika the child perceived the shadow of Aishish, and
p'tí'shalpka. Ktû'pka Tchí'ka m'na wéka shlámiuk; tchúi Aíshish häméχe:
cried: "father!" Slapped Tchika her child in wrath; whereupon Aishish said:
"wák í' ûn giúg' ktû'pka?" Shatalkiámna Tchí'ka, shlaá Aíshishash
"why you (it) slap?" Looked around Tchika, saw she Aishish
huyégank, hû'tan ku-ishéwank shlä'pēle; tchúi Aíshish spûnshámpēle
sitting down, ran she rejoicing to meet (him) again; then Aishish took home again
Tchí'kash stíya pí'l nû'sh gí'pksh Kletíshash pē'n galdshúyank shatmá-pēle;
Tchika pitch on her head having. Klétish also approaching he called (her) home;
tchúi shash lápok ä'mpēle tchī'shtal m'na. Tchúi shash tchī'shχeni
then them both he brought towards home his. to them to his home
í'tpampēlank yámnash shéwana, tchélish hû'nk lúelank yámnashla; ndan-nē'ntch
having brought back neck-wear he gave, porcupines killing he made necklaces; to
hû'nk wéwanshish yámnash shéwana.
three (of his) wives neck-wear he gave.

Tchúyuk K'mû'kamtch túmēna m'na únaka tchī'sht, mû'lua génuapkug
Upon this K'múkamtch heard (that) his son was (still) alive, (and) prepared to proceed
hátaktala. Tchúi Aíshish unakáka m'na shtûlí pä'ks nutolalolátkiuk lû'lukshtat
there. Aishish to little son his enjoined the pipe to swing off into
K'mukámtcham. Tchúi K'mûkámtch gátpanank tchélχa; Aíshisham
the fire of K'múkamtch. Then K'múkamtch arriving sat down; Aishish's
hû'k wéka ku-ishé-uk hûlladshuitámna p'lukshá m'na. Tchúi hû'nk pä'ksh
son rejoicing ran forth to and back from his grandfather. Then the pipe
pakakóleshtka K'mûkámtcham; pén hûlládshui K'mûkámtchash. Hû'nk-anti
he tried to jerk off of K'múkamtch; again he ran up to K'múkamtch. For
K'mukámtch kä-ashtámēna: "tchítchiks a hû't gi." Pä'n hû'ktag
that K'múkamtch reprimanded: "stop that matter!" Again that child
hû'llatchuyank pakakólank pä'ksh nûtolála lû'lûkshtat; tchúi Aíshish
running up to him jerking off the pipe threw it into the fire; then Aishish
ke-ulálapka nádshpâksht, tchē'k k̲ēléwi. K'múkamtchash shí'uga tchúi
pushed (it) farther until burst, then he quit. K'múkamtch he killed
hû'masht gink, tchúi medshá.
by so doing, then he moved away.

Mä'ntch-gitk pén K'mû'kamtch wémpēle; pí' tchkash né-ulakta m'na
Long after again K'múkamtch became alive; he then proceeded against his
únaka. Gén hûnk nánuk shtí'ya pitlí'ga k̲áluat; tchúi shnatgúlka k̲álo
son. There (he) all over pitch daubed on the sky; then he set on fire the sky
hû'masht giúlank. Hû'nkanti Aíshish tía kíuyäga; häméχe: "k̲á-i nû'sh
so after doing. For this reason Aishish a tray held extended; he said: "not me
shíugat táta," wéwanuish m'na shí'namshtisht Stí'ya ä'-usheltkal hû'k
he may kill ever." wives his being afraid. The pitch turned into a lake
nánukash käíla, Aíshishamksh pí'l pahá. Tchúi Tû'hûsh talpatkóla, stí'ya
all over the world, Aishish's home only remained dry. Then Mud Hen put its head out, the pitch

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tchik	hû'nk	nχi'-uliga	läk̲i;	kat	húk	hû't	tchúi	lalī'ga	Tûhû'shash.	Hû'n
then	to it	dripped	on fore-head;	which	thing		since	stuck	on Mud Hen.	This one

gétak	hû'nk	shkálkēla.
only		was hurt.

NOTES.

This is one of the most popular myths current among the É-ukishikni, and we shall find it partially repeated in another myth, recounted by Dave Hill. Aíshish and his father K'mukámtchiksh represent powers of nature engaged in everlasting strife for mutual extermination. In this myth K'múkamtch resorts to the following trick to destroy his offspring. Seeing young larks in a nest on the top of a sorrel-stalk, he informs him, that if he climbs up there, he can obtain a nest of eagles with all its inmates. Gladdened with the prospect of this capture, Aíshish climbs up, but the insidious father causes the plant to grow miraculously fast under him, so that descent becomes impossible, and Aíshish comes near perishing by hunger and exposure.

In the recollection and wording of some portions of the myth my informant was assisted by "Captain Jim."

94, 1–7. The short fragment of a creation myth preceding the Aíshish tale stands in no causal connection with it, and could as well be inserted elsewhere. Myths entering upon the *details* of the creation of the world by K'mukámtchiksh do not, as far as ascertained, exist among this people, but in their stead we have many myths for special creations (of man, animals, islands, mountains etc.). A grammatic analysis of the terms occurring in this fragment (from Lûpí nä'lsh to pátki gi) was inserted by me in the *American Antiquarian*, Vol. I, No. 3, pages 161–166, under the heading: "Mythologic Text in the Klamath Language of Southern Oregon."

192 94, 1. Lûpí shutäyéga is not to be considered as a repetition, for it means: when
193 K'múkamtch began to create the world he made *us* before he made the fish, other animals, and the dam at Linkville. This is, of course, only a small fragment of all the creation myths of this people.

94, 2. shashapkēlía: to tell or count stories, myths or fables in the interest or for the pleasure of somebody; the i is here doubled to obtain a rhetorical effect.

94, 3. K'mú'kamtchish is a contraction of K'mû'kamtch tchish; Aíshish, K'múkamtch also. The longer form of the name of the deity occurs 95, 20.

94, 3. ká-akt, metathetically for kákat; kát is pron. relat. which, what, the thing which. nánuktua ká-akt gäg comprehends all animate and inanimate creation.

94, 4. wá, uá, to stay, exist, live in; is always connected with an indirect object indicating the place, spot, locality or medium where the subject lives or exists.

94, 4–6. The construction of the sentence runs as follows: Tchúyunk (K'mukámtch) né-ulχa gi'tki gíug páplishash I-ulalóuan, páltki ti'wish gint udûlshámpkash mû' nkillipkash, mû'ash shlé-uyuk; "when a south wind blows, it will stop the waters from
133 rushing down rapidly over the cataract." The outlet of Upper Klamath Lake, called
132 Link River, runs from north to south, over the falls at Linkville; hence a powerful
226 south wind will stem the current of Link River above the falls, leave its bottom dry or almost dry, and enable the Indians to catch the fish swimming in the shallow water or wriggling in the mud. The rocky ledge under the cataract is supposed to be the gift of K'múkamtch.

*539 94, 4. I-ulalónan or Yulalóna is the Indian name of the cascade of Link River
773 above the town of Linkville, and for that town itself. The origin of this name is ex-
192 plained in 94, 5. 6, for the verb i-ulalóna means to move forth and back, referring here
193 to the waters of the river receding under the pressure of the south wind.

[103] 94, 6. ítklank, partic. pres. of ítkal, means here: obtaining by basketfuls.

[137] 94, 9. The kĕnáwat is a plant growing high in the warm climate of Northern California, especially in the ancient habitat of the Shasti Indians, and in this myth it suggested itself to the Indians on account of its property of growing very fast.

95, 5. gé'hlapka: he swung himself into the nest by climbing over the rim. Cf. *Note* to 66, 13.

95, 10. kaiχema K'mukámtchish for the regular form K'mukámtchash. Cf. 91, 8.

95, 15. skáyamtch etc. More plainly expressed this sentence runs as follows: sha skáyamna pásh tchish ámbu tchish; the first tchish being placed before pásh and appended to the apocopated skáyamna.

95, 16. shéwana here used differently from tchíya, which applies to liquids only.

95, 17. p'lû' ítchuank seems to be a quite modern interpolation, for it smells of pomade and hair-oil; but it is as ancient as the myth itself.

[765] 95, 23. 96, 2. 3. 4. Tchíka. I have rendered this bird-name elsewhere by "Chaffinch," and Klétish by "Sandhill Crane".

[551] 96, 3. shlámia, to feel insulted. She resented it as an insult that the child called her deceased husband by name; for it was a capital crime among the ancestors of the present Klamaths to call a dead person's name for many years after his demise.

96, 5. hû'tna is changed to hû'tan on account of being followed by a word commencing with k.

[765] 93, 6. stiya. The custom of widows to put pitch or resin on their heads at the death of their husbands was abolished only at the time when cremation became a thing of the past.

[178] 96, 6. galdsha-ńyank is a more explicit form of the participle; the verb gáldshui being the contracted form of galdsháwi.

96, 8. yámnashla. He used the bristles of porcupines to make necklaces of.

96, 11. unakáka m'na was the son of Aíshish and of the above mentioned Tchíka.

96, 11. 12. K'mukámtcham qualifies pä'ks, not lúlukshtat.

96, 14. pakakóleshtka, verbal desiderative of pakakóla, to jerk away from. The suffix -óla indicates that K'múkamtch wore his tobacco-pipe tied to his body; he wore it on his neck.

96, 15. tchitchiks is used when speaking to children. It signifies *so, so!* and means: be quiet, shut up, stop!

96, 17. tchē'k k̲ĕléwi. In similar connections this phrase very frequently ends a whole narrative in Modoc and Klamath. Here it means that Aíshish ceased to poke the pipe into the fire. Cf. 85, 10. 89, 7.

96, 18. medshá: he removed from that spot with all his wives and children. Ancient customs forbid the offspring to stay where the father had breathed his last.

96, 20. Gén húnk nánuk etc. This portion of the myth describes the destruction of all the living organisms on earth by a general conflagration caused by K'múkamtch. Myths of this kind are suggested by intense heat experienced in summer. This mode of destroying life on earth is less frequently met with in myths than the drowning in a general flood.

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96, 21. kinyäga. Aíshish held the tray over himself, his whole family, and his lodge. The same prefix ki- reappears in a nasalized form in nχl'-uliga: 97, 1. It is nasalized there on account of the preceding -k in hû'nk.

96, 23. kaíla. Where I have rendered this term by "world", as here and elsewhere in creation myths and myths of a similar character, it does not signify the whole surface of the earth as known to us, but only that section of country which is known to that tribe of Indians. Thus ancient creation myths only describe the creation of that part of country where these myths originated; the creation myths of coast tribes will include the ocean in their term for "world".

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96, 23. Túhush talpatkóla. Mud Hen, one of Aíshish's five wives, looked out from under the roof of Aíshish's lodge or shed to see what was going on. This fiction explains the round dark spot visible on the mud-hen's head; its *round* form is indicated by the prefix la- in laliga.

AÍSHISHAM SHASHAPKĔLÉASH.

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A MYTHIC TALE ABOUT AÍSHISH.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Shashapkĕlo-nápkan Aíshishash:
I am going to tell a story about Aíshish:

Aíshish mat sákla tû'ma múklaks íyamnatko; shuédshnuk mat sha
Aíshish, they say, gambled many people having with him; when gambling on their way, so they say, they

shnéna lû'loks. Yámnashptchi mat lû'loks Aíshisham, Wanákalam kükü'kli
built fires. Purple-Lime (was), as reported, the fire of Aíshish, of Silver Fox yellow

lû'loks, K'múkamtcham shláyaksak. Tsúi sa slō'kla; Aíshish shlín túlaak,
the fire (was), of K'múkamtch (it was) smoke only. Then they shot at the mark; Aíshish hit (it) straight,

Wanáka yû'tlansna. K'mukámts tû' hak yû'l'ka, nánka toks tû' hak a-áti
Little Silver Fox missed the mark. K'múkamtch this side of mark struck, the others but far the side of the mark

hak yû'l'ka; tuí sa húmasht gíulank sákaliäga. Túm sa héshkû, tsúi sas
struck; right then they after so doing commenced gambling. Many things they bet on, then over them

Aíshish í'kak; séwatkashtka nánuk wátchpka, tsúi sa gä'mpĕle. At tû'
Aíshish won; about noon all men had lost all they had, then they went home. Ever

tsússak í'χak nánuk sas.
since he won them all.

Tû'nipnish wéwan's gitk Aíshish: Tûhû'sh násh snáweds Aíshisham,
Five wives had Aíshish; Mud Hen (was) one wife of Aíshish,

Stókua násh snáwedsh, Klí'tish násh, Wä'ks násh, Tsí'ka násh snáwedsh.
Long-tail Squirrel one wife, Sand-hill Crane one, Mallard one, Chaffinch one wife.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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Tsúi K'múkamts nä'-ulakta; at unák nä'-ulakta Aísisas. Tsúi
Then K'múkamtch plotted secretly; after day-break he plotted against Aishish. Then
K'múkamts suáktsa, sk̲äk̲í'sh m'na hû'shûk p'läíwash p'tí's-lûlsham m'na
K'múkamtch wept, inherited place his remembering eagles dead father his
luélka. At sapí'ya Aíshishash K'mukámts: "at tû' luélkish p'laíwash
where had killed. Now declared to Aishish K'múkamtch: "far away the killing-place of (young) eagles
yayákia nû'; k̲á-i lúela yáyakiuk", snáwedsas kû'ktakiuk K'múkamts
afraid of I (am); not I killed (them) being afraid", a wife coveting K'múkamtch
Aísisam, Stokuä'ks hû'nk. At géna lápuk: Aísis K'mukámts tchish géna.
of Aishish, Little Squirrel. Then set out both: Aishish K'múkamtch also went (there).

Tchúi slää́ p'laíwash, tsúi aláhia K'mukámts kohántki giúg; tsúi
Then saw the eagles, and pointed out K'múkamtch (the pine) to climb up; then
p'laíwash hunkáya kápkatat. Aísis kokántsa tû'; tsúi k̲edsá hûk; átû
the eagles flew on the pine. Aishish climbed up; then grew it; far up
k̲aló kapáta at kápka. Tsúi hûnk gû'knank slää́ tchílilike skû'lelam,
the sky touched now the pine. And (it) having climbed he saw the young ones of a lark,
shnúlas toks hû'k p'laíwasham. Átûnk at suáktcha Aíshish shnûlástat
the eyrie though it (was) of the eagle. There now wept Aishish in the eyrie
tchí'klank; K'mû'kamts gä'mpēle at, sûlû'tantsa Aíshish-shitk slä's. Gát-
sitting; K'múkamtch went away. dressed himself to Aishish alike to appear. He
pampēle tû' tchí'shtat; tchúi shpónäk, tchúi shä'tûpk Stû'kuaksh; tchúi
came back far to dwelling; then it was late, and he slept with Little Squirrel; then
kaíkēma Stukuág. Tsúi nánuk wéwan's ká-ikēma, tsúi sa kó-ika.
suspected (him) Little Squirrel. Thereupon all the wives became suspicious, and they found out.
"K'mukámts a hō't ki!" tsí sa hû'n ki hû'ksa Aísisam wéwanuish.
"K'múkamts this one is!" thus they said those Aishish's wives.

Tsúi shash at shuä'tsna mbû'sant, tsúi sa nánuk géna túla, kat
Then from them departed for gambling next morning, and they all went with (him) those who
Aíshish túla shuetsantámēna. At sha shnéna lû'loks suétsnuk sas. Tsúi
with Aishish were in the habit of gambling. And they built fires while on their gambling tour. And
K'mukámtsam sláyaksak lû'yäga, at sa káyek'ma, at sa: "k̲á-i a kē'k
to K'múkamtch smoke only curled up, now they suspected, and they (said): "not (is) this
Aísis!" hû'ksa ná-ast sa-ulankánkatk. "K'múkamts a kē'k gí!"; nä'sht sa
Aishish!" those (in the distance) thus (said) (his) followers. "K'múkamtch this is!"; so they
hû'ksa tû'kni; "k̲á-i a Aísis gä'pkat, k̲á-i hû't lû'loks Aíshisham nû'ta".
(said) those far off; "not Aishish came, not (here) the fire of Aishish is burning"
Hû'ksa tû' nä'shtk tälí'tankpkuk: "ä't gen slókalsht hí shlä'papakuapk;
Those afar thus said seeing him coming: "ye this man after he has shot at the mark will find out thee;
Aíshish toks shlí'tam'na tálaak!" At gátpa at shlō'kla, tû' hak yû'l'ka
Aishish however always hits straight!" Then they arrived and they shot, (but) far this side struck
K'múkamts; Wanák tads yû'tlansna. Tsúi sha súkaliäg, tsúi sa K'múkam-
K'múkamtch; Silver Fox missed a little. Then they commenced gaming, and they over K'mú-

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tsas í'kak; waitash a tû'm í'kak, tsúi sa gä'mbĕle, tsúi sa gátpampĕle
kamtch won; all day long many stakes they won, then they returned, and they went back

látsastat. At sa tsúi gä'tak sákla salákiuk Aísisas.
to the lodges. Then they quit gambling for they missed Aíshish.

Tsúi Aísisam wéwanuish suásuaktsa tsû'ssak, k̲'lewídsha m'nálam
And Aíshish's wives wept constantly, (and) left their

látchash stä-íldshuk. Shtí'a sa nû'shtat shí'dsho wenépi wéwanuish; násh
lodges to dig roots. Pitch they on heads put four wives; one

toks Wä'-aks k̲á-i hlí'la Aísisas. Tsúi luátpislals Kliti'sam Aísis tû'mĕna,
but Mallard not mourned Aíshish. Then the weeping cries of Sandhill Crane Aíshish heard,

tsúi Aíshish shuáktsa tû'mĕnank. At Aísis tû' k̲álo wikā't, at k̲'léknapk
and Aíshish wept hearing (them). Now Aíshish (was) far away sky close to, then he was moribund

k̲ak̲ó bĕla; at shí'tsa lápi wékwak tû' k̲álo wikáta; at shläá Aísisas. Tsúi
bones nothing but; then soared up two butterflies far up the sky close to; and (they) saw Aíshish. Then

shitshatχépĕle shla-ólank, tsúi gatpampĕlíssa, tsúi sápa, p'tisá m'na sapíya:
they flew back having seen (him), and returned home they, and told, to father their saying:

"tídsi k̲'lä'kuapk hí'ssuaks; tû' ní k̲aló wigáta shläá hû'nk hissuáksas k̲ak̲ó
"a good will (soon) perish man; far off I sky close to saw that man bones

bĕlat; tí'dsi hû'k k̲'lä'kuapk!" Tchíssa shapíya p'tísa m'nálam.
nothing but; good (man) this will perish!" So they said to father their.

Hû'k p'tíssap sam shkúyui shash mbû'sant at ûnák gá-ulakuapk yákí
The father their ordered them on next morning early to soar up a basket

shléyamĕnank. Tsúi sha géna saptálaltk, tsúi sa tû' gátpa pás a í'yamnatk
strung around (them). And went the sisters, and they up there arrived food carrying

ámbûts í'yamnatk. Tsúi Aísisas líwátkal shnû'lashtat hû'nkant, tsúi wû'la
water also carrying. Then Aíshish they raised up in eyrie that, then inquired

hû'ksa wékwak: "wák í gén gítk?" ná-asht sha wû'la. Tchúi Aísis
those butterflies: "what are you here doing?" so they inquired. Then Aíshish

häméχe: "K'mukámts an'sh p'laíwash shtí'lta; tsúi ní kóka kapka-ágatat,
said: "K'múkamtch me after the eagles sent; and I climbed on the small pine,

tsúi k̲edsnû'tan's; k̲édsha kápka k̲okí'sh gé-u. Tsúi nû hû'nk shläá
then it grew up under me; grew up the pine during climbing my. Then I (those) saw

p'laíwash, skû'lälam tā'ds n'û'nk shläá tsí'lilika." Tsíhunk Aísis hä'mkank
eagles, of the lark only I found the young." So Aíshish said,

sä'gsuk hû'nkies.
giving explanations to them.

At sa hû'nk slánkok shlóa tchakĕlátat ksékoga sha Aíshishas shewanó-
Now they spreading a wild-cat's skin in the willow-basket placed into they Aíshish after giving

lank pā's ámbuts, tsúi sa skátχidsa, käílatat at gatpámpĕle. Tsúi í'pka
(him) food water also, then they took him down in the basket on the ground he returned. And he lay sick

mā'nts, at wä'mpĕle.
a long time, then he recovered.

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NOTES.

*539 773 192 [372] [484] Portions of the same myth, though differently connected, will be found in the mythic tale: K'múkamtch attempts the destruction of his son Aíshish. Both narratives are complementary to each other in some important details.

99, 6. shnéna. It is the custom of gamblers to build fires at every place where they stop on their road or trail. Any party of travelling Indians will do so when stopping on their way. Cf. 23, 15.

99, 3. Yámnashptchi. Several adjectives designating colors are taken from articles of dress in both dialects: tolalúptchi, green; tchχé-utchχe-ushptchi, a shade of blue; and spálptchi, light-yellow, is called after a face-paint made of a kind of clay.

[825] 99, 3. Wanákalam lú'loks. The fire of Young Silver Fox was yellow or yellowish, not only because the fur of this fox-species turns from silvery white into yellowish by the change of seasons, but also, because this animal represents in mythic stories the halo around the sun. Cf. shakatchálish in Dictionary. Wanáka always figures as the companion of the principal national deity, K'múkamtch.

99, 7. wátchpka: to stake everything in one's possession and then lose it all; wí-uka, to win all the stakes lost by the others.

99, 10. 100, 5. Stókua or Stúknaga was, according to another of my informants, a fish of this name, and not a squirrel. The other wives of Aíshish all have names of birds.

100, 3. luélks: K'múkamtch had inherited a locality where his father was in the habit of hunting and killing the giant-eagle (p'laíwash). Thinking of this place, K'mukámtch went there with his son Aíshish, after scheming a stratagem to let him perish there. To kill the eagles, it was necessary to climb a pine-tree; this K'múkamtch was afraid of doing, and wanted to send up there his son instead.

100, 9. shnúlas toks etc. The lark had her young in the nest of an eagle.

100, 10. shlû'tantsa. He dressed himself in Aíshish's garments, as appears from the foregoing mythic tale.

100, 15. sas. Dave Hill often uses shash, sas in an almost reciprocal sense: while (or: for) going to gamble among themselves. This pronoun does not depend here on shnéna, as we might assume. Cf. *Note* to 58, 10. It refers to the playmates of Aíshish, who set out with K'múkamtch, whom they thought to be their beloved Aíshish on account of the dress he had abstracted from him. In 100, 14 shash was explained to me by "from them", viz. from the wives of Aíshish, in whose lodge K'múkamtch had passed the night.

100, 18. gê'pkat for gépka at: did not come now, or: has not come yet.

101, 2. gê'tak. This adverb gives to understand, that they were loth or too tired to play any longer for stakes, because their beloved Aíshish was not present. "To cease or stop gambling" simply, would be expressed by saklóla.

101, 4. shtí'a etc. Cf. *Notes* to 89, 5; 96, 6; and general *Note*, on page 86.

[193] 101, 4. shí'dsho wenépi, rather unusual forms for shí'dsha hû vunépni. Hû, "up, above, on head," has coalesced with shí'dsha into one word.

101, 5. Klití'sam. Aíshish heard the cries of Klétish only, because of all the birds which are believed to be his wives, the long-necked sandhill crane is the loudest and noisiest.

[825] 101, 8. gatpampēlíssa for gatpámpēli sha, as tchíssa for tchí sa.

*539 101, 8. p'tisá m'na for p'tisha m'nálam.

773 101, 10. kakó bělat for: kakó pil at.

192 101, 11. p'tissap sam. Sham, sam "their", is found standing instead of m'nálam,
193 p'nálam, or húukělamsham in the conversational form of language. Cf. 107, 13. 103, 4.

101, 13. liwátkal. They lifted up the famished Aishish, almost reduced to a skeleton, and seated him upright in the nest; they imparted new strength and life to him by feeding him.

101, 16. kédsha, to grow, forms kédshna, kedshnúta; n's is: nû'sh, to me, with me, under me; a sort of *dativus commodi.*

ORIGIN OF HUMAN RACES. DURATION OF HUMAN LIFE.

[115]

GIVEN BY "CAPTAIN JIM" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

K'mû'kamtch hû'nk at né-ulχa ná-asht gén: Hû'nk E-ukshikíshash
K'múkamtch ruled as follows: The Klamath Lake

tchák máklaks shû'ta; tchúi pén Kä'kakilsh tchágsh máklaks shû'ta;
from a service-berry bush people he made; hereupon the Käkakilsh from skunks people made;

yámatalā génûta shûshtédshna. E-ukshkíshash ktchálχishtat í'lχa, Bósh-
northwards while he had gone he created (them) on his way. The Klamath Lakes in the sun-heat he laid down, the white

tinash toks shûtólank máhieshtat í'lχa; húmasht gíug nä'd máklaks mû'-
people however after creating (them) in the shade laid down; therefore we Indians (are)

makmûkli, Bóshtin toksh papálpali. É-ush guní'gshta käilalí'a.
dark, the white race but light-complexioned. The sea beyond he made a world for them.

At sha pä'n ne-ulakiéga, K'múkamtch mû'nk tchí'sh shkíshkí'sh tchísh
Then they began to legislate, K'múkamtch, mole also, fly-bug also,

wishí'nk tchísh. Mû'nk häméχe: "Nû a gû'ggamtchishash máklakshash
garter-snake also. Mole said: "I of old age the human beings

gí'tki gí!" Húnkanti wíshink ná-asht häméχe: "nû'toks gémptcha
to become want!" On that subject garter-snake thus spoke: "and I thus-made

máklakshash gí'tki gí!" Tchíhunk wí'shink shkíntchishχagóta: "gá-ash
the men to become older!" Thus garter-snake while shedding its skin: "this way

nû hû'nk máklakshash k'léktgi: tí'dshok nétnāk gít k'mû'tchatk gíntak
I the men to become (want): having grown then to be of old age though

tchíltgipěletám'nûk." Húnkanti mû'nk ná-asht heméχe: "nû a gémptcha
always to grow young again." On that subject mole thus said: "but I thus-made

pshe-utíwashash gí'tki gí: gû'ggamtchishash!" Pí muimû'yuk: "gá-asht
the human beings to become want: decrepit by age!" (And) it shivering (said): "thus

nû pse-utíwashash gí'tki gí!" Skí'shkish tchísh ná-asht tok nä'-ulχa
I the human beings to become want!" Fly-bug also thus voted

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mû'nkash túlak. Pi skí'shkish ná-asht: "kúi tádsh ak hû'k túmi pshe-
mole along with. It the fly-bug thus (said): "very cruelty many human
utíwash gíug kí'shtchkank hiétalt nûsh".
beings acting. when stepping (on me) (will) crush me".

3 Tchí'hunk pā't háshtaltal né-ûlχûg. Tchúi sha pälpeliéga; mû'nk
Thus they mutually disputed for action. Then they began working; the mole
yaína shuteyéga; shtû'ya yaínaluk. At pí'pil húnta né-ulχa K'mukám-
mountains began to make; it made gang-ways to throw up mountains. Now alone thus (it) made after K'múkamtch
tchām shutólash.
had finished creating.

NOTES.

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103, 3. tchák. There is evidently a *jeu de mots* intended between tchák and tchákash. Which northern tribe the Kákakilsh were, my informant and other Indians were unable to say; it is a nickname, derived from kā'k, of some Oregonian tribe held in contempt by the Máklaks, and any reference to it causes great merriment to the Klamath Lake Indians. Máklaks is in both places separated from the tribal name by inversion; tchák and tchágsh form apposition to these tribal names and to máklaks, and for tchágsh we would expect tcháshlsh, which is the usual form of the word.

103, 5. É-ush. The sea or ocean, which is meant here, is múni é-ush, while é-ush means a lake, lagoon or large pond.

103, 6. ne-ulakiéga. Three of the lower animals are here brought together to confer with K'múkamtch to determine the duration of man's life, and every one voted according to its own experience. Stephen Powers mentions a mythic story comparable to this, heard by him among the Pit River Indians (Contrib. to North Amer. Ethnology, vol. III, p. 273): "The coyote and the fox participated in the creation of men and animals, the first being an evil spirit, the other good. They quarreled as to *whether they should let men live always or not.* The coyote said: "if they want to die, let them die"; but the fox said: "if they want to come back, let them come back." But nobody ever came back, for the coyote prevailed."

103, 9. 10. After shkiutchishχagóta supply hemé χe, and after k'léktgi: gi.

[193] 103, 10. tí'dsok, or tít'shok, distributive form of t'shók, of the verb t'shin to grow. Cf. tít'sha, 107, 12.

103, 12. pshe-utíwash, abbreviated pshé-utuash, an archaic word used only in the *collective* sense of people, human beings. It occurs only in mythic stories. Cf. 105, 8.

104, 4. shtû'ya. This fiction was suggested by the manner in which moles throw up mole-hills and shows that the ancient myth-makers were not without a humoristic vein.

104, 4. pí'pil. Every mountain was thrown up by the mole alone, each one separately. The special creation of K'múkamtch was *man*, and whatsoever stands in direct connection with his existence, welfare and customs, as fishing-places, islands, funereal sweat-lodges etc.

104, 4. húnta, abbreviation of húntala: by proceeding in *this* manner, in the *same* manner.

HÛ′MASHT SHÁPASH LÛ′PI SHUTEYÉGATK.

CREATION OF THE MOONS.

Given in the Klamath Lake Dialect by Minnie Froben.

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Wásh hûnk lápēni té-unepant wû′nip pé-ula shápash shû′ta. Lálap
The (female) coyote — twenty- — four — moons — made. — Two at a time

gé-upkatki gíug sha shipátχûkank; tchúi at vû′nank iggá-idshnank gékan-
when coming up — they — covered each other; — then — finishing — suspending (them) — she went

sha. K′mû′kamtch gû′hlî′ ḵä′liant wáshash, wewéga pîl tchî′shî; vû′la
out. — K′múkamtch — entered, — being absent — the coyote, — (her) children — only — in the lodge; — he asked

shas: “tát′ né gémpka?” “Gē′t a genû′la!” K′mû′kamtch heméχe: “tû′sh
them: — “where — did she go to?” — “There she went!” — K′múkamtch — said: — “where

haítch málăm p′gi′shap tchía?” “Hitá tchía!” Tchúi K′mû′kamtch hátakt
(does) — your — mother — sit?” — “Here she sits!” — Then — K′múkamtch — there

tchélχank shû′shamka: “hä hä! hä hä?” wákash tétalχok hähä′tamna.
sitting down — hemmed: — “hä — hä! — hä — hä?” — bone-awls — sticking (into the ground) — he went on greeting.

Pä′n shash vû′la: “wákaitch hû′n gíug nä′g tû′m haktch shápēsh shusháta?
Again of them he inquired: — “why then — the absent (mother) — too many altogether — moons — did make?

wákak hûnk psé-utiwash tchí-uapk lû′ldam? tchóḵat ak huk lû′ldam hak;
how — then — the people — could live — in winter? — they would perish — in such (a long) winter;

atí hûk lû′ldam gî′t tû′mi shápash gíug.” Washa-wéka tχä′wag häméχe:
too long this — winter — would be, — too many — moons — existing.” — Coyote-child — the oldest — said:

“wakaí lálap a hûn shnekû′pkashtkak î?” Tchúi K′múkamtch heméχe:
“why not two at a time — shining up there do you need?” — Hereupon — K′múkamtch — said:

“ḵá-i nû shanahō′le tû′ma shápash gî′tki gíug.”
“not — I — want — too many — moons — to exist.”

Tgélχa î′tχe tátχēlampani shápash, tchúi pekéwa K′mûkámtchiksh,
Started up, took down — one-half (of the) — moons, — then — smashed (them) to pieces — K′múkamtch,

tchúi gémbēle. Mä′ntch-gîtk wásh gátpampēle; tχä′wag shapíya p′gî′sha
then — left again. — Long after this — the (mother-) coyote — returned home; — the oldest (child) — told — mother

m′na: “K′mû′kamtch a gatpanû′la gî′ta.” Wásh vû′la: “tû′sh haítch
its: — “K′múkamtch — has been — here.” — The coyote — asked: — “where — (did he

tchä′lχa?” “Hî′t a tchä′lχa”, shapíya m′na p′gî′sha. Tchúi hátokt tchél-
sit down?” — “Here he sat down”, — said (it) — to its — mother. — Then — right there — sitting

χank tî′lanḵanka tálke-ug K′mûkámtchiksh. Kitî′ta pîták nḵásh.
down — she rolled forth and back — joking — about K′múkamtch. — (Then) burst her own — bowels.

NOTES.

*539 In preference to any other beast, the prairie-wolf, small wolf, or coyote (as he is
773 called in the West after an Aztec term meaning "digger, burrower") became con-
[825] nected in the mind of the Indian with the creation of the moon and the origin of the
months or moons, because in moonlit nights he is heard howling from nightfall to dawn; sometimes alone, sometimes in packs of several dozen at a time. His querulous, whining howl is likened by the Indians with a "speaking to the moon". Our tale above is based upon the double sense of *moon* and *month*, in which the term shápash (the "indicator," from shápa to tell, indicate) is used. The idea of the creation of twice twelve moons originated in the delusion that in every period called *new* moon, moons were really made or manufactured *new* by the creator. The number twenty-four was perhaps suggested by the observation of lunar eclipses, or mock moons appearing in hazy weather. The coyote as the creator of the moons (and the creator of the universe among the Central Californians) naturally desired to have as many moons as possible; while K'múkamtch, as the wolf's antagonist, thought it better for the benefit of his own
*539 creation, the human beings, not to make the year too long. If the winter had to last
773 twelve months instead of six, how could they collect roots, bulbs, seed, fish, and game
192 enough to live through such a length of time?

105, 2. shipátχúkanka. Two moons being on the sky simultaneously would necessarily often cover and thereby eclipse or hurt each other.

105, 2. iggá-idshnank. The mother-coyote had hung up the twenty-four moons made by herself around the walls and ceiling of her winter-lodge, which in this myth signifies the sky. The suffix -ídshna points to her walking from one spot of the lodge to another while busy in suspending the moons.

[776] 105, 3. gú'hli'. A great deal of shrewdness is ascribed to the principal deity of the Klamath Lake people as well as to those of other *hunting* tribes. He manifests his astuteness in entering the coyote's lodge in her *absence* only, and to prepare a trick for her there.

105, 4. tát' né for táta nen.

[194] 105, 5. Hitá tchia! is pronounced as if it was *one* word only: hitátchia.

105, 6. shû'shamka, distributive form of sh'û'mka, to hum, grunt, to make hă hă. He grunted every time he planted another awl, sometimes in an interrogative tone of voice, and did it to disguise their secret planting into the ground.

105, 7. wákaitch composed of wák haitch; wásha-wéka composed of wásham wéaga; tχéwag or tχéwaga, diminutive of tχé-u first, first in order, eldest; cf. hû'ktag.

[193] 105, 7. tû'm haktch. This language has a term corresponding to our *too much* (tû'm tchátchui), but none which renders our *too* with accuracy. Adjectives or adverbs qualified by *too* are therefore pronounced with a higher pitch of voice and the quantity of their main vowel is increased when the Indian intends to express this adverb.

105, 10. wakaí, "why not," a combination of wák and ḵá-i.

105, 14. gatpanû'la gi'ta: he has come here and has left again.

[825] 105, 16. Kiti'ta. The coyote-wolf, while rolling forth and back on the ground, as these animals are in the habit of doing, ran her belly into the bone-awls insidiously planted there by K'múkamtch, so that the entrails shed their contents on the lodge-floor.

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Skélamtcham Tchashgayákalam Shashapkĕléash.

MYTH OF THE MARTEN AND THE WEASLET

Given in the Klamath Lake Dialect by Dave Hill.

K'mukámtch Yámsi tchía. Sátapealtk Tcháshgayaks; lápiak tchía
K'múkamtch in the North [illegible] lived. His younger brother (was) Weaslet; only two they lived
ḵäíliak wä'wans. Tsúi sa saíkän géna wéwansh í'ktcha; tû'mi saíkän tchía
without wives. And they to the prairie went wives to bring in; many on the field were
máḵlaks tánkt. Tchúi sgúyue Skä'lamts Tsásgayaks í'ktchatkí snáweds:
Indians then. And dispatched old Marten Little Weasel to fetch a woman:
"ḵá-i í labĕ-lû'lp-gipksh shpû'nshipk, shtchokápsh í ä'pka!" Tsúi géna
"not you a two-eyed one bring along, a one-eyed one you bring!" Then went he
nádshiak í'ktchuk wéwans, tsúi tû' mé-ipks gáldsui. Saígatat tû'mi
alone to fetch women, and far off digging (roots) he met (them). On the prairie many
wéwanuish méya; shtá saíka; híhashuaksh ḵä'gi, gáukanka sha. At
females were digging; full was the prairie (of them); the men were away, hunted they. Now
wéwanuish íḵáyula tí'tatsa pí'la, ḵá-i hû'shkank K'mukámtsam stû'leōls:
women he picked out pretty ones only, not minding of K'múkamtch the order:
shtchû'shtsχapksh K'mû'kamts épkatkí gí'ulatkí; at í'tpa tû ládsastat
one-eyed ones to K'múkamtch to bring enjoining; then brought (them) over to the lodge
Tsáskai: "gén m's ní spûnshipkía." At häméχe K'mukámts: "kaní ná-asht?
Weasel: "this one for you I brought." And said K'múkamtch: "who (said) so?
kaní ná-asht tidsá ä'pkatki? shtchû'shtskapksh mí'sh nû ä'pkolatkík; ḵaítoks
who so (said) pretty ones to bring? one-eyed (ones) you I to bring told; and not
mí'sh ní tí'dsa ä'pkatki gi!"
you I pretty ones to bring told!"

Tchúi at wä'wanslank shash, tsúi pálakak nχákgí lápuk; tchúi tít'sha
And took as wives them, and pretty soon became mothers both; and grew up
weweás, at mat sa waslalá. Tchúi sí'ssok hû'k weweás sham; tsúi stuli'
the children, and, it is said, they hunted chipmunks. And quarreled boys their; and advised
Tsasgáyak: "shlí't í hû'nks!" taltsiágatat sa-ûlí'a. At slä'popk hû'nitak
Weaslet: "shoot you him!" (and) on the little arrows he put stone heads. And was aware by himself,
K'mukámts stûli'sht pi'ts. K'mukámts stûli' wä'ka m'ná: "shlí'sht m'nálsh
K'múkamtch that had advised him. K'múkamtch ordered son his: "in case he shoots, him
í shlín!" At lä'-udsha hû'k tátaksni, tsúi shlí'n Tsasgayákalam vû'nakag;
you shoot!" Then went to play the children, and shot Little Weasel's little son;

*539 773 shlí'n K'mukámtsăm hû'nk únakag; tchúi sa híshlan. Tsaskayákalam
shot of K'múkamtch the little son; then they shot at each other. Little Weasel's

vúnak hûnk shlín lû'pi K'mukámtcham vunáka; tchúi hû'nk hû'tkalpalank
boy shot first at K'múkamtch's son; then (that one) jumping up again

shlín Tchashgáyam únaka, tchúi tsóka lápuk.
shot Weasel's son, then perished both.

At sálěki ptisaísap sham. Tsashgái at káyaktsa, K'mukámts ká-i
Then missed (them) fathers their. Weasel went searching. (but) K'múkamtch not

káyaktcha, skû'lχa tā'dsh sá-utamank; slä'bopk hû'nitak tû' sas hishō'kst.
searched (for them), laid himself on bed but, wrapped up; he knew by himself, out there them to have killed each other.

NOTES.

Compare with this myth the first part of the "Mythic Tale of Old Marten" (Skélamtcham shashapkěléash), which contains the same subject-matter.

[103] 107, 1. Yámsi, contraction of Yámashi. This is the name given at present to a mountain North of Klamath Marsh; from this direction the cold winds (yámash) blow over the highlands on Upper Klamath Lake.

*539 773 107, 1. 3. 9. Tchάshgai sometimes occurs in the diminutive form Tchashgáyak, because the Weasel is regarded as the *younger* brother of the Marten.

192 193 107, 2. saíkän, a contraction of saigaχě'ni: they went *to* the prairie, where the women were digging the edible roots.

107, 3. Skä'lamts. I have given this myth elsewhere in a longer relation, where the part played here by K'múkamtch is played by Skélamtch. Even in Dave Hill's relation the Marten is called, but once only, by its real name Skélamtch; K'múkamtch and Skélamtch are mentioned *here* as identical. The term skě'l, when not employed in its mythologic sense, means a long piece or strip of tanned otter or marten skin, used for tying the hair, or for other purposes.

107, 3. 4. I'ktchatki snáweds etc. One woman only is mentioned here, instead of the two, whom Weaslet was ordered to bring home as wives for his brother K'múkamtch and himself.

107, 5. wéwans a very common elision for wéwannish.

107, 9. kaní ná-asht? ellipse for kaní ná-asht gi?

107, 10. nû ä'pkolatkik. Instead of this may be said also, ä'pkatki gíula nû: "I strictly told (you) to bring in."

107, 13. sa waslalá. The two boys went together hunting chipmunks.

[411] 107, 14. shάwala to adjust stone-heads; shawalia, sa-ulía to adjust stone-heads for or in the interest of somebody. Flint-, obsidian- or iron heads are placed only on war-arrows or on arrows used in killing large game (ngé-ish, ngä'-ish); but the táldshi or lighter arrow, used in hunting birds, and the taldshiága, arrow used as boy's plaything, are usually provided with wooden points only.

107, 15. K'mukámts stûli sht pi'ts stands for K'mukámtchash stuli'sht pi'sh, the pronoun referring to the little son of K'mŭkamtch.

107, 15. shli'sht. In this sentence m'nálsh is the subject of shli'sht, and the direct object of shlín is not expressed.

107, 16. lä-udsha: they went out to play, from léwa, lä'wa to play.

SKÉLAMTCHAM SHASHAPKĔLÉASH.

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MYTHIC TALE OF OLD MARTEN.

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROBEN.

Wéwanuish mat tû'mi méya k̲ä'sh shaígatat yákí shkä'shkatgaltk.
Women, they say, many were digging ipo on prairie, baskets carrying on back.

Shkä'lamtch mat tchía shetχé-unaltχ Tchashgáyaks. Shkä'lamtch shtûlí
Old Marten, so they say, lived as the older brother of Little Weasel. Old Marten sent

tâ'pia m'na Tchásgayaks í'ktchatki gíug kmä' shtchû'shtchχapkam. Tchúi
younger brother his Weasel to obtain the skull-caps of the one-eyed ones. And

Tcháshgayag géna; gátpnank í'tχa shash nánuk kmä' k̲á-i shtchû'shtch-
Weasel went; coming there, he took away from them all skull-caps, (but) not of the one-

χapksham tchi'sh, ítpampĕli Tchashgáyak, shéwana Skélamtchash kmä'.
eyed (women) also, brought Little Weasel (and) gave to Old Marten the caps.

Skélamtch häméχe: "táta mí'sh nû tpéwa k̲á-i shtchûshχápkam epkátki
Old Marten said: "when you I ordered not of the one-eyed to bring?

giug? lápûk mísh nû épkatki gí'ula shtchû'shtchχapkam pí'l." Wéwanuish
of both you I to bring had told of the one-eyed only." Females

nánuk gátpa Skélamtchamkshi shkashkátkaltk k̲ä'sh. Skélamtch shewaná-
all came to Old Marten's home carrying on back ipo. Old Marten re-

pĕle kmä' wéwan'shash, puäkámpĕle ladshéshtat, hä'mĕta Tchashgáyaksh:
turned the caps to the women, threw (them) back out of his lodge, (and) said to Weasel:

"táta mísh nû tpä'wa tûm kmä' ä'pkatkí gíug? lápok ámsh ni ä'pkatki!"
"when you I ordered many caps to bring? of both (only) you I to bring (told)!"

Wéwanuish tchík tchúi gémpĕle, lápuk shtchû'shtchχatk tchí'dsha.
The women after this returned, (but) both one-eyed ones remained.

Tchúi hûk shtchû'shtchχatk wéwanuish wewä'kala. Shû'hank=shitk
Then the one-eyed women bore children. At the same time when

mû'mkak gí'ulχa Skélamtch nteyakalíya, m'na ñ'nakag mû'ak t'shí'sht.
the infants were born Old Marten made a little bow, for his little son, taller when he would grow.

Tchashgáyak tchí'sh nteyakalí'ya m'nátak únakag. Tchúi tchatchákiag
Little Weasel also made a little bow for his own little boy. And the little boys

lé-utcha: bí'shla nté-ishtka tatáldshiak. Léwatkuk tátakshní gatpámpĕli;
went to play: they shot at the mark with their bows little arrows. From the play the boys returned;

Tcháshkayagalam únakag heméχe: "hût án'sh tû' shlí'kshga." Tchash-
Little Weasel's boy remarked: "he me out there well nigh shot." Little

gáyag wû'la m'na únakag: "tám hai tchí' m'sh hû'nk láyank téwi?"
Weasel asked his young son: "really thus at you taking aim he shot?"

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Tchákiak heméχe: "hûshûtánkapksh pû'sh nûsh hû'n gi" (mshásháltchatk
The boy said: "approaching on the sly me it was" (squirreling were
sha hû'nk, shléank msliásh hishlákshka). Tchúi Tchashgáyak shtuli'
they, discovering a squirrel they almost shot each other). Then Little Weasel advised
únakag m'na shlí'tki Shkélamtcham únakag, "hä hû't mish pän shlí'shtka
little son his to shoot of Old Marten the son, "if he at you again shooting
gí'uapk." Shkélamtch sháyuakta hûnk nánuk Tchashgáyakalam hémkanksh;
should be." Old Marten became aware (of the) whole of Little Weasel's discourse;
tchúi pi' tchísh shtuli' m'na û'nakag shlítki gíug Tchashgáyam
and he also ordered his little son to shoot Weasel's
únaka: "hä' mísh shlí-uapk, k̲lä'χatk gí'ntak i hû'tkalpalank shlí-uapk
son: "if you he kills, dead though, you rising up again must kill
hû'nksh."
him."

Tchúi mbû'shan pä'n géna wáshlaltchuk; shláa sha wáshla, gánta sha
Then next day again they went to hunt chipmunks; saw they a chipmunk, crept (at it) they
at. Skélam únakag téwi, ká'hhian wáshla; wiggáta i-úlχa Tchashgáyam
then. Marten's little son shot, missing the chipmunk; close to he struck the ground Weasel's
û'naka. Tchashgáyam únak häméχe: "wák ta i gíug shlí'kshga nûsh?"
to the son. Weasel's little son said: "wherefore you almost shot me?"
Skélam únak hémtchna: "shní'ulatchgankan hû'n gi." Guhásliktcha pēn
Marten's child replied: "glancing off it was." They started (and) again
géna sha, shláa sha wáshla. Lápuk pí'pēlantana gánta shawaltánkank
travelled they, saw they a chipmunk. Both from opposite sides crept up moving along the ground
tä'wi; Skélăm únak shlí'kshga Tchashgáyam únaka. Tchashgáyam vúnak
shot; Marten's little son almost hit Weasel's little son. Weasel's little son
shlínk shíuga Shkélam vúnaka; tchúi shpóka mántchak Tchashgáyam
(then) shooting killed Marten's child; then lay on ground for some time Weasel's
únakag. Tgí'tsχank shlépapka, k̲ék̲almâsh wewatkuéla lû'lp, k'máka tgû'tgank
little son. Standing near he looked (at him), tears flowed from (his) eyes, he looked around while standing
hátkok. Skélam û'nak hû'tkal, shlín at Tchashgáyam vúnaka
there. Marten's son jumped up, shot then Weasel's child
û'shûtal; lápuk tchúi k̲'léklχatk í'pka.
in the breast; both then dead lay there.

Tcháshgai hém'ta Skélash: "wák ta mā'nshaktch tátaksni k̲ä'gi waíta?
Weasel said to Marten: "Why for so long the children are absent the whole day?
tû'sh ak nen hû'k wák k̲ä'la?" Skélamtch k̲á-i kéktchank hû'nksh, shkō'lpkank
where (are) they somewhat doing?" Old Marten not answering him, recumbent
ktána Tcháshgai géna káyaktchuk tátakiash, k̲á-i shléank gatpámpēle.
slept. Weasel went to look out for the children, (and) not finding returned home.
Mántch-gitk Skélamtch guháshktcha tû gawálpēli. Tchóχapksh
After a while Old Marten started out far out to find (them). Murdered
tátakiash gáwalpālank itpámpēlē; shuashuaktchóta lû'lukshalshok mû'lua,
the children discovering he carried them home; with mourning cries to cremate (them) they got ready,

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túnip wuilllishik i-ámnash Skē'l éna, Tcháshgai tchí'sh túnepanti wuílishik
five bags of neckwear Marten took, Weasel too five bags
í-ámuash éna. Tchúi sha lû'luksla, tû'tĕnipní' sha lápuk íwálpĕle. Skä'lam
of beads brought. And they burnt (them), each five (bags) they both emptied on them. To Marten
tchí'k i'amnash wewilína. Tchúi sha gémpĕle tchīshχē'ni k̲'léwiank.
finally beads were left over. Then they returned to their lodge after performance.

Skélamtch hém'ta Tchashgáyash géntki gíug Mû'shamkshi, pí gé-
Old Marten said to Weasel, he should go to the South Wind's house, himself pro-
nuapkug Yám'shamkshi. Tcháshgai k̲á-i shaná-ul' Yámshamkshi gé-ishtka
posing to go to the North Wind's house. Weasel not liked to North Wind's lodge to travel
gíug. Skē'l hemeχe: "k̲á-i í génuapk Yámshamkshi, nû'tak gésh shaná-
Marten said: "not you shall go to the North Wind, myself to go want
uli Yámshamksh'; mí'sh nû géntki Múshamkshi." "K̲á-i an Mû'shamkshi
to the North Wind; you I (want) to go to South Wind's house." "Not I to South Wind
gē'sh shaná-ul'", at pí hém'ta ná-asht. Tchúi géna Tcháshgai Yám-
to go desire", now he said so. And went Weasel to the
shamksh; gátpa hátokt eíχa Múash; eíχishtok Mû'shash k̲'léka Tchásh-
North Wind's lodge; he came there, (when) put the head out the South Wind; while he had put the head out the South Wind, died Little
gayak. Tchúi Skélamtch Mû'sham nû'sh lalkádsha; pä'n Yámshamkshi
Weasel. And Old Marten of the South Wind the head cut off; again, to the North Wind's lodge
géna Skélamtch, lalkádsha Yámshamtcham nû'sh.
went Old Marten, (and) cut off the North Wind's head.

K̲'léwiank guhuáshktcha Lĕmé-ishash géluiptchuk Tchashgáyaksh
Hereupon he set out the Thunders to visit, Little Weasel
hakshákt chuitk. Lĕmé-ish hushtánka Skélamtchash, snéwedsh tû'tash
carrying in his dress. One Thunder fell in with Old Marten, a woman long shells
hahásh tamnipksh shû'litanka. Snáwedsh hém'ta Skélamtchish: "wák ísh
having as ear-ornaments he pursued. The woman cried to Old Marten: "somehow me
shû'tä, gé-u shá-amoksh!" Tchúi Skélamtch hemeχe: "wák hai tchí' m's
protect, my friend!" And Old Marten replied: "how then you
nû shuté-uapk?" pniudaktán tcha kátchannat, tchúi guhuáshktcha. Tapítak
I shall protect!" blew (her) instantly into a pitch-pine log. and continued his way. Right after (him)
Lĕmé-ish petégank hí'mboks kshatgatnû'lank shíuga snáwedsh.
the Thunder tossing up the log (and) extracting (her) killed the woman.

Skélamtch tû' at gátpa Lemé-isham ládshashtat. Lápi títsga-ak Lĕmé-
Old Marten then arrived of the Thunders at lodge. Two decrepit old Thun-
ish tchía shuki'kash hû'nkimsham. Skélamtch wä'shi gulí' tchuyétk Yám-
ders lived (there), the parents of them. Old Marten into the room stepped having as hat on of North
sham núsh; wayálpa nánuk wā'shin, wákish tchísh lákĕlaka. Kä'-utchish
Wind the head; froze to icicles everything in the lodge room, the inside ladder too became slippery with ice. Gray Wolf
gánkanktka, Skä'lam shá-amoksh, wawä'kalam pí'l hû'k tchí'sh k̲á-i wétk.
returned from the hunt, Marten's kinsman, of his children alone the place in the lodge not froze up.
Lĕmé-ish gatpámpĕle, mák̲laks tû'm í'tpa. Titská-ak Lĕmé-ish stí'llidanka
The Thunders returned home Indians many they brought. The Old Thunders reported

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shapíya m'na wanúnga: "wennini a tuá gátpa wā'shi atí' nálsh wíniχitk!"
(and) said to their sons: "stranger some has come into the room, largely to us superior!"

Tχé-u Lĕmé-ish heméχe: "gá tuáta shkaínihaktch gátpa, nû' ak ya hûn
The oldest Thunder said: "whosoever stronger (man) has come, I (can) certainly,

shkáyent gi'ntak gu'hlí'plit." Gékansha at, ga-ulapgápĕle pätchō'le nā'shak
strong though (he is), enter (where he is)." He went out then, climbed up, stepped on one step only

wákish, kí'shtchnank huí'χipĕle. "Tútutu!" hûtchampĕlúta Lemé-ish
of inside ladder, stepping on he hurried out again. (Crying:) "tûtutu!" after running homewards (this) Thunder

ná-asht giúta, pén nā'sh heméχe: "tuátal shkaíniaks tcheχóga" Gékan-
so reported, and another one said: "some kind of a stronger one is sitting inside." Going

shānank tû' gá-ulapgapĕle pä'patchle lápok wakí'sh; pétchtnank húiχipĕle.
out over there he went on up (of winter lodge), put his feet on two steps only of inside ladder; stepping on he ran out again.

"Tútutu"! huiχipĕlúta, gúlipĕlánk shash kátni shapíya: "wennini tuá
"Tûtutu"! he skipped away, entering again, these being in the káyata he told: "stranger some

gátpa." Tatχĕlamni' tchkash heméχe: "ká tuák shkaíneaksh tchíwíχa?"
has come." The one intermediate in age too said: "what sort of a stronger (man) is inside?"

gekanshĕnû'nk tû' ga-ulapgápĕle pépatchle; tátχĕlam-páni gû'tχítkt lû'lula
(and) running out he went on lodge-top and stepped down; half-ways having climbed down he rattled up

hû'kantchämpĕlok. Stí'lhipĕli shash kátnî; nā'sh tchkash gékansha tû',
to run out again. He reported to those in the káyata; (another) one also went out out there,

gá-ulapgapĕli, gulí'pĕle, gélχalgitk hû'kanshampĕle tútutu-û'ta. "Ya! atí'
mounted up the ladder, went in, having climbed down he hurried out again while tûtutu-crying. "To be sure! by far

a nā'lsh winní'χitk tuâ' ki." Tapí'ni tchkash gékansha: "ká tuáta
than we stronger (one) some it is." The last one also rushed out: "what kind of

shkaíniaktch?" gûlhí'pĕlank sháhiashtalá m'na tchē'lkpĕle hû'tkalshnank
a stronger one?" entering (the lodge) on couch his he sat down, (then) starting up

hû'kampĕle.
ran out again.

Tchúi mā'ntch-gítk tchē'k Ké-udshiamtch gatpámpĕle; lí'lhankshti
Then some time after finally Old Wolf came home; some venison

í'tpa. Lemé-ish hém'ta Kä-utchíshash: "atí' a nā'lsh tuá winní'χitk gátpa".
he brought. The Thunders said to Gray Wolf: "by far than we some stronger (one) has come".

Kä'-udshiamtch gá-ulapgapĕle, tchúi hä'mĕle Skélamtchish: "shanatch-
Old Wolf climbed the lodge, then shouted to Old Marten: "take

vû'li tchúyesh!" Tchúi Skélamtch shanatchvû'lank nélχa m'na tchúyesh;
off (your) hat!" And Old Marten, unhatting himself, laid down his hat;

nánuk hû'k wayálapsh ka̱ä'gípĕle. Kä'-udshiamtch gulhípĕle tchúi, Lĕmé-
all the icicles disappeared again. Old Wolf entered (the lodge) upon this, Thun-

ish tchísh hû'k nánuk gulhí'bĕle, tchúi sha shû'tchapĕlank páshōta.
ders too they all entered again, and they rebuilding a fire had a meal.

Hû'yuka sha hû'nk ktá-i at, tchúi sha mák̲laks pûelhí', mû'nish sha kála
Heated they stones now, and they people threw in, a large they flat bucket

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shláltpa táluodsh mák̲laks. Tchúi sha ktái k̲élpokshtak í'kagank í'wa
gave for use. to stew the people. And they the stones as soon as heated took out (and) dipped (them)

kálati ámbo tchí'pgank; í'wa sha tchúi Nókshtak sha ktái í'χakpĕle,
into a kála water containing: put in they then. As soon as stewed they the stones took out again,

Lemé-ish háshpa shash Skélamtchash, gaptchátka Lĕmé-ish tchí'lχia Ské-
the Thunders handed as food them to Old Marten, with the small finger the Thunders placed on the floor (the kála) for

lash. Skélamtch gáptchatka shitchálshue mák̲laks kálati. Tchúi Skélamtch
Marten. Old Marten with the little finger moved (more) Indians towards the kála. Then Old Marten

pátampka; Tcháshgayag tchligátchktcha Skélamtchash shakō'tkug mák̲-
began to eat; Weasles pinched Old Marten insisting for human

laksti tchûléksh. Tchúi Shkélamtch k̲á-i shéwana; "k̲úidsha gisht", leklek-
flesh. (But) Old Marten not gave (any); "it being bad", he

tchámpka Tchatchgáyash; "undshē'k mish ni tchulē'ksh lí'lhankshti tchē'k
whispered to Little Weasel; "by and by to you I meat of venison at last

shéwanuapk." Tchúi nánuk wû'ta káyak hû'nksht shéwanank. Shlé-ipĕle
will give." Then all he ate up not any to him giving. Returned

shash kála, Ké-udshiámtchkash nûkaltámpka tchulē'ks. Tchúi nû'kst
to them the basket, Old Wolf also began roasting meat. When it was done,

tí'atat í'kĕlank shéwana Skélamtchash, tchúi pí hû'nkanti tchē'k shéwana
on a paddle putting it he gave (it) to Old Marten, and he of it then gave

tchulē'ksh Tchashgáyaksh. Tchúi sha lû'lalχa pá-ulank; Skélamtch ktán-
meat to Little Weasel. And they went to bed having done eating; Old Marten fell

shan nánui shχolχótak.
asleep as soon as lying down.

Lĕmé-ish sheshnû'lχa shiúkuapkuk Skélamtchash; ka-uloktantk-
The (5) Thunders plotted (how) to kill Old Marten; walking up and down

tám'na sha. Tchékag pí'l télshampka Lĕmé-ishash káyak ktánshna. Pén
continued they. Blackbird only looked towards the Thunders (and) not was asleep. And

Lĕmé-ish gákua shlē'dshuk Skélamtchash, tamû'dsh ktánshisht, shí'uguap-
the Thunders approached to look at Old Marten, whether he was asleep, proposing to

kug hû'nk. Tchékaksh Lĕmé-ish mbû'shaksh yí'yuχoga lû'lpat; tchúi
kill him. To Blackbird the Thunders arrow-heads pushed into the eyes; then

hû'nk k̲á-i ktánuapkug ktámpsh-shítk shléash gí'-uapk. Pshín tátχĕlam
he not going to sleep, asleep-alike appearing would be. At midnight

Lĕmé-ish káktansha; Skélamtch skishkshō'lank pí' tchkash kakō'dsha
the Thunders went to sleep; Old Marten awakening he then went over

Lĕmé-ishamksh, hihashlûtchtánka lák Lemé-isham, tĕ'kish shash huhashlí'-
to Thunders' place, tied together the hair of the Thunders, swords to them handed over

amna; heshamkankō'ta: "Skélam tápia gēn lúelat". Tchúi Skélamtch
to each; they ordered each other: "Marten's younger brother, him kill ye". Then Old Marten

gék̲antgi Kä-utchí'shash tpä'wa; tchúi Kä'-utchish géka, wewéka m'na
to go out Gray Wolf ordered; and Wolf went out, children his

í'ka. Skélamtch shnélχa Lĕmé-isham látchash, tgá-ulank wálχa hû'kĕn-
took out. Old Marten set on fire of the Thunders the lodge, (and) standing on its top he waited to rush

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uksht Lĕmé-ishash; shtéyakĕlakpa tgatí'dnank; mû tchä'k nûtísht sχí'sh-
out the Thunders; he hearkened standing outside; strongly at last when (the fire) blazed, awoke

kshōla Lemé-ish. Huhashtápka tĕkí'shtka; "Skélam tópia gēn lúelat"!
the Thunders. They stabbed each other with the long blades; "Marten's younger brother, him kill ye"!

pátak huhashtápkuak.
they stabbed each other only.

Tchúi nánuk nû'natank tchû'ka; mbáwa steínash nû'dshnuk. Ské-
Then all by blazing up perished; exploded (one) heart while flying off. Old

lamtch wá'hlχank wi-ulalápĕle steínash lû'lukshtat; pä'n nā'sh mbáwa.
Marten looking on struck (one) heart in the fire; again one exploded.

Skä'lamtch wi-ulalápĕle; pä'n nā'sh mbáwa, pä'n wi-ulalápĕle Skélamtch.
Old Marten struck again; and another one burst, again (when) struck Old Marten.

Tchashgáyak häméχe: "Skélamtch! nû' tchkash nā'sh wí-ulalek!" tchúi
Little Weasel said: "Old Marten! I also one will strike!" then

pä'n mbáwa nā'sh. Tchúi Tchashgáyak k̲á'hhian, tchúi steínash hû'k nu-
again burst one. (But) Weaslet missed, and heart that went

wálχa; Wékweks shû'waltktcha Tchä'kaksh tû'la, shlû'shlakshga shualχóta.
to the sky; Magpie flew after it Blackbird with, and picked (it) to pieces, while it flew.

Shkélamtch häméχe: "k̲á-i i tuá sháyuaksh kiuápka, hû'nshak i pshe-
Old Marten said: "nothing you good for will be, in vain you the

utuáshash shnulû'kuapkak."
people will frighten only."

Tchúi Skélamtch shnélχa Lĕmé-ish titaká-aksh.
Then Old Marten burst Thunders the Old.

NOTES.

This relation of the myths is more circumstantial than the corresponding one obtained from Dave Hill, which omits some of their characteristic features. We have here an interesting and probably the most popular part of the whole cycle of *marten-myths* known to the Klamath Lake people; the above is not a single myth, but a series of myths, some of them thrown together in a rather loose connection. What connects them all is the fact that Weaslet is the constant companion of his older and more sagacious brother Old Marten, who combines the qualities of Reineke Fox with that of an elementary power of irresistible force (shkaíni). The Skélamtch myths present themselves in the following order:

1. Selection of the one-eyed females as wives.
2. The children of the two brothers destroy each other.
3. The fathers cremate their children's bodies.
4. The Winds are exterminated by Skélamtch.
5. Skélamtch hides a woman before one of the five Thunders.
6. Skélamtch enters the lodge of the Thunders; the hat on his head acts as a spell and prevents them from entering it.
7. Old Gray Wolf, Marten, Weasel and the five Thunders are feasting on human flesh in the lodge of the Thunders.
8. Skélamtch sets the lodges of the five Thunders and of the two Old Thunders on fire and kills the inmates.

*539 773 192 482 193 109, 1. shkä'shgatkaltk. A verbal adjective of shkátkēla, to carry on back; kä, ka is the radical syllable, found also in kä'mat, *back*. This distributive form is apparently due to vocalic dissimilation. Women carry conical baskets (yáki) on their backs when digging roots or bulbs, and throw them over their shoulders into these receptacles.

222 109, 2. 6. 8. Skélamtch. See Dave Hill's relation of the same myth; *Note* to 107, 3. In speaking of somebody who acts on the sly, and differently from what he professes and means to do, the Klamath Lake people will say: "He acts like Skélamtch."
193 This is one of the few proverbial locutions, or at least figurative modes of speech that can be traced in this tribe.

291 109, 3. kmä' is the rounded light cap usually worn by females, fitting tight to the skull. It is made of the stalks of aquatic plants, several species of them entering into the manufacture of each cap. The taking away of the skull-caps was intended as a signal for the women to go to their new homes.

109, 6. táta. The words of reprehension addressed by Old Marten to Weasel are: "Did I ever order you to bring the caps of any other than of both the one-eyed women? I told you to get the caps of both one-eyed women only." Lápuk belongs to shtchûshχápkam, though separated from it by the inversion of the sentence; kmä' is left out.

193 109, 6. shtchûshχápkam. The distributive form of shtchû'χa is so difficult to articulate, that abbreviations of it like the above and others, have resulted. Shtchúχa is evidently the medial form of tchóχa, and its meaning is therefore "to suffer destruction on oneself." Cf. shtchúyampka.

109, 10. ni ä'pkatki. After ä'pkatki supply gi: "said, told."

109, 11. The text forgets to mention the calling in of the two one-eyed women.

109, 12. Shû'hank-shitk. In many mythic stories the newly-born children are made to grow miraculously fast, so that when a few days old they handle bow and arrows, and after a month or two they are adult people.

194 109, 13. ntéyäla, to make a bow or bows (nté-ish), nteyákäla, to make little bows (nteyága), nteyakalía or nteyakalíya, to make little bows *for somebody*.

109, 13. únak, *son*, is variously pronounced û'nak, vúnaka, wúnak; and so is its diminutive únakag, únakaga, vúnakak, *little son*, "*sonny*".

109, 15. híshla has two meanings, both *reciprocal:* to shoot at each other, and to shoot at the mark, *rivalling to outdo each other* in markmanship. Cf. 24, 17.

193 109, 15. Léwatkuk for léwatko hûk: they, after having played; participle of léwa to play.

110, 1. hûshûtánkapksh etc. "This was an approaching himself on the sly towards me" is the literal rendering of this sentence, in which the first term is a *nomen actionis*, a verbal indefinite. The two pronouns are governed by it.

110, 3. mish shli'shtka gi'uapk, if he should want to shoot you; if he should shoot at you purposely.

110, 4. Sháyuakta, "he knew." Omniscience and prescience are among the characteristic features of Old Marten, who is the personification of K'múkamtch. Cf. 107, 1. 3. 14. 108, 5. and *Note* to 107, 3.

110, 6. hútkalpēli, to rise up suddenly, to jump up again (though killed beforehand). Cf. 108, 2.

110, 11. "shui'nlatchgankan hû'n gi." Marten's son said, that his arrow, when

*539 dispatched after a chipmunk, struck a log or tree, glanced off from it and came very
773 near killing Weasel's little son.

192 110, 11, 21. guhášhktcha instead of guhuášhktcha, cf. Dictionary.

110, 17. vû'sho, breast, chest, is also pronounced wû'shu, û'shu; û'shutala, in the chest. k̲leklχátko is the distributive plural of k̲'lekátko; k̲'léka, to die.

[193] 110, 18. mā'nshaktch, so long; stands for mā'ntchak tchí. The terminal -ak has to be taken here and in 110, 14. in the sense of the diminutive suffix: "a little long".

110, 19. k̲ä'la to *do* or *act* in the sense of amusing oneself, playing, gesticulating, or acting in a loud, noisy, or grotesque manner.

111, 1. túnepanti. The partitive case in -ti, if it stands for túnepanta, is used here, because the bags of neckwear brought by Skélamtch were counted on the digits of one hand, while those of Weasel were counted on the fingers of the other.

111, 3. wewilína. Beads were left over to Old Marten, because he had brought more than five sacks full to the tchpínû or family burying ground, emptying only five sacks on the child's pyre. This was a fabulously extravagant expenditure, the beads standing high in price and the sacks or wíllishik being rated at more than one bushel each.

111, 4. Mû'sh and Yámsh, syncopated from Mû'ash and Yámash.

111, 9. eíχishtok Mû'shash. The South Wind had put his head out; that is, a south wind had been blowing when Little Weasel died and hence was supposed to be the real cause of his death.

[821] 111, 12. Lĕmé-ishash. From the following it appears, that the five Thunders re-
present more the flash of the lightning (lúepalsh) than the roll of the thunder. There
are many of them, because the thunder, when rolling over mountains and valleys, often
increases again in loudness after having almost died out, and five is the often-recur-
ring "sacred" number of the Oregonian and other Northwestern Indians. The radix
[193] of lĕmé-ish is *lam*, which indicates a circular, whirling motion. The five Thunders are
[342] brothers, living in a winter-lodge or earth-house: Lĕmé-isham tchī'sh, thought to be
a dark cave; their parents, the two Old Thunders, live in a káyata or low, small hut
covered with bulrush mats. The short episode 111, 12–17 does not refer to all the
five Thunders, but only to one of their number.

[321] 111, 13. tû'tash is the long white marine shell, known as dentalium; it is one of
[301] the most common Indian body-ornaments. The white resin flowing out of pine-trees
seems to be symbolized in this myth by the dentalium-shell.

111, 14. wák ish shû'tă, for wák shúta i nish: "somehow do (something) for me."

[193] 111, 20. In wā'shin are combined two locative particles: *í* and *a* (for na).

111, 22. mák̲laks tû'm (for tû'ma). The Thunders brought home as food many human beings struck by lightning.

112, 1. wanúnga, the distributive plural of û'nak; explained in the Dictionary.

112, 1. wenníni a tuá gátpa etc. Here and throughout this paragraph tuá means "some kind of."

112, 2. 3. shkaíni combines the meaning of strong with that of bad or mischievous, and answers to our *demoniac;* shkaíniak or shkaínihak stands for our comparative: stronger. The -tch, -s, -sh appended is an abbreviation of tcha, *now*, and shkáyent stands for shkaini at.

[342] 112, 3. Gékansha. Old Marten had entered the solid "earth-house" of the Thun-

*539 ders, while the Thunders stopped in the small kayáta which was the abode of their
773 parents. To enter such an earth-lodge a high ladder called ga-ulúlkish must be climbed
192 on the outside, and another ladder, as long or longer than the other (wakísh) leads into
342 the interior. Pätchö'le nä'shak, pépätchle (for pépätchöle) lápok wakísh: "he had
417 stepped once", "twice" down on the inside ladder; that is, he had made one step, two steps on it commencing from the top. Each one of the Thunders, when trying to penetrate into their own lodge, gets a little further down than the previous one, but all are driven out by the *chilling*, powerful spell of Skélamtch's headdress.

112, 7. gúlipälánk. The second of the Thunders, frightened at the ill-success of his experiment, retired again to the low hut or kayáta, where the other Thunders were and where their parents dwelt. This word has two accents on account of shash being enclitic; cf. 111, 2. 112, 13. 113, 9.

112, 8. Tátχēlamni refers in this connection to the relative age of the brothers: "the third in age of the five Thunders."

112, 9. gekanshĕnû'nk: for gékanshna hû'nk. Cf. 113, 12. ktánshan nánui sχolχótak, for: ktánshna nánui shχolχóta ak.

112, 9. gû'tχitkt, a contraction of gû tkitko at.

193 112, 11. 12. "Ya! ati' a nä'lsh winnī'χitk tuä'ki." This was said by all the five Thunders simultaneously and *unisono*. In tuä' ki, á is altered into ä', almost ó. The inserted particle hû, û "in the distance, out there, over there" seems to have produced this change.

112, 15. Ī'lhankshti ī'tpa "he brought some venison," a phrase corresponding exactly to the French: "il apporta *du gibier*"; both nouns standing in the partitive case. These partitives are governed by another noun in 113, 6 (máklaksti) and 113, 7.

112, 21. pûelhí': they threw the dead Indians down into the lodge from its roof. The suffix -l- indicates a downward direction, like -ila, -knéla etc., and occurs also in 112, 17, hä'mēle, to speak in a downward direction, to shout to somebody standing below. The suffix -hi means down to the ground, or on the ground, earth, soil, and since the lodge-floor is the soil itself, it also means "into, or in the lodge or wigwam".

113, 2. íwa sha tchúi. They put into the bucket the bodies of the dead Indians to stew or boil them up.

113, 2. Nókshtak etc. The gray wolf, the marten and the weasel all being carnivores, there is nothing extraordinary in the fact that mythic fiction lets them participate in a meal consisting of human flesh.

113, 3. háshpa shash. Shash stands for máklaksash, the dead Indians.

113, 8. nánuk wû'ta. Marten ate up all the human flesh which he had taken out of the kála.

113, 8. shéwanank. The verb shéwana refers to a plurality of objects, the objects being sometimes expressed by a collective noun, as here (tchulē'ksh).

113, 9. Ké-udshiámtchkash stands for Ké-udshiamtch tchkash; nû'kla is to roast on coals; tchulē'ks is here venison meat.

113, 13. ka-uloktantktám'na. The verbal suffix -tám'na, which marks an action often repeated, or continued for a long time, is not here, as usually, appended to the simple form of the verb, but to its derivative in -tka.

113, 14. Tchékag. The blackbird has yellow eyes shining bright in the darkness,

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and on that account the myth makes it watchful at night. This is another bird-species than the *Merula*, known in Great Britain as blackbird.

114, 3. huhashtápkuak. They suspected each other of the trick, by which they had been tied together by the hair when in danger of being consumed by the raging flames, and in revenge stabbed each other. Huhashtápkuak is vocalic dissimilation for huhashtápka ak; cf. shiwákuash, 80, 11.

114, 8. k̲á'hhian. Weaslet missed the heart in the fire when striking at it.

114, 10. sháyuakah: "You will not be able, or not be powerful enough, to do mischief." The last heart that flew up is a meteor going through the skies, while the four other hearts indicate successive thunder-claps. When a meteor is seen flying west, the tribes of the Columbia River will say: "That's a deceased big man's heart going to the Great Sea." Cf. *Note* to 41, 7.

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SHÁSHAPAMTCHAM TCHÉWAMTCHAM TCHÍSH SHASHAPK̲ĔLÉASH.

THE MYTH OF THE BEAR AND THE ANTELOPE.

GIVEN BY MINNIE FROBEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Sháshapamtch Tchéwamtch tū'la tchía. Sháshapamtch lápa weweásh
Old Grizzly Old Antelope with lived. Old She-Grizzly two children

gítko, Tchéwamtch tchish lápa weweásh gítko. Mbû'shant unák sha géna
had, She-Antelope also two children had. One morning early they went

mé-idshuk k̲ä'sh, k̲léwidshnank m'nálam weweásh tchī'shχēni. Tchúi Tché-
to dig ipo-roots, leaving their children at home. And Old

wamtch shtági m'na yä'ki lû'piak Sháshapamtchash káyutch tuá k̲ä'sh
Antelope filled her seed-basket sooner than She-Grizzly (not) yet any ipo

mé-isht. Sháshapamtch hû'nk shpé-ukitchna; tchúi sha gē'mbĕle tchī'shtal.
had dug. Old Grizzly (them) kept on eating up; then they returned homewards.

Pä'n sha mbû'shant géna mé-idshuk k̲ä'sh; tchúi pä'n lû'piak Tché-
Again they next day went out to dig ipo; and again sooner Old

wamtch yä'ki shtági, Lû'k̲amtch gī'nka méya; pä'n sha gä'mpĕle. Gát-
Antelope (her) basket filled, Old Grizzly little dug: again they returned (home). After

pampĕlank sha k̲ä'sh shéshuan' a m'nálam weweka. Tchúi sha lû'lalχank
return they the ipo each gave to their children. And they when going to bed

shtûlī' m'nálam weweka; Sháshapamtch ná-asht shtûlī' m'na weweka: "k̲á-i
left orders to their children; Old Grizzly thus enjoined to her cubs: "not

ā't shuhû'lule-uapk látchashtat: steínash mā'lsh ndī'-ushkuapk! k̲á-i ā't
ye shall skip down from the lodge: the hearts to ye would get loose! not ye

shampatiaχié-uapk: hû'walakuapk ā't ánkutat; k̲á-i ā't shik̲ī'k̲iuapk
shall jump over the logs: would run against ye (some) sticks; not ye shall dive

ámbutat: pû'tank ā't k̲'lä'kuapk."
under the water: smothering ye might die."

*539 Tchúi pä'n Sháshapamtch mbû'shant Tchéwamtchash tû'la géna mé-
Then again Old Grizzly next morning Old Antelope with went to

773 idshuk. Tchéwamtch lû'piak shtági, Sháshapamtchash gí'nk mé-ĭshĭ k̲ä'sh;
dig roots. Old Antelope sooner filled (the basket), Old Grizzly a little having dug ipo-roots;

tchúi Sháshapamtch gáldshui Tchéwash. Vû'la: "gû'tash nū'sh kū'pga
then Old Grizzly went to meet Antelope. She begged: "lice me bite

nū'sh; kuatcháki wē ish!" Tchéwamtch heméχe: "ûntchék nû mí'sh
on the head; bite in the hair for awhile me!" Old Antelope said: "a while from now I you

gû'tchaluapk tchí'shχen tchē'k gátpampĕlank." Pēn Sháshapamtch shátēla:
will bite, homeward when (we) have returned." Again Old Grizzly declared:

"k̲íllank í'sh gû'tash kuatcháki!" Tchúi mántch-gitk Tchéwamtch kua-
"very hard me the lice bite in the hair!" And after a while Old Antelope bit into

tchága Sháshapamtchash. Pä'n pí tchkash kuatchágash háměni Tché-
the fur Old She-Grizzly. Then she also to bite the hair wanted to Old

wamtchash. Tchéwamtch heméχe: "k̲ä'gi nûsh gútash." Tchúi Sháshap-
Antelope. Old Antelope said: "none are to me lice." And Old Grizzly

amtch k̲ä'sh tchákiank kuátchaguk pū'kpuka, tchúi kowáktcha ní'sh, Tché-
ipo-roots putting in mouth biting cracked, then bit through (her) neck, the

wash shíuga humasht-gí'nk, tchúi ktetéga nánuk. Tchúi hûnk nánuk
Antelope killed in this manner, then cut (her) up wholly. And all the

k̲ä'sh Tchéwamtcham í'kuga m'nátant yă'kitat, tchúlēksh p'lē'ntant ipĕnē'χi.
ipos of Old Antelope placed into her basket, the meat on the top she placed.

Hû'nk toksh nánuk iggá-idsha, tchû'lēksh gí'lit tchí'sh laggá-idsha, kínkag
Those but all she stuck on a pole, the meat the anus too she hung on a stick, a small portion

tchû'lēks émpēle tchī'shtal, tchúyunk m'na wewékash shewána. Tchéwam
of the meat she took home, and it to her children gave. Antelope's

tchish wewékash tchiléya tchû'lēks. Tapínkani heméχe: "pgí'sham-shítko
also to the children she gave meat. The younger said: "to mother alike

toksh nálam mā'sha"; tχéwag hûk ktí-udshna: "tchí'tchiks! k̲ú-i ná-asht
but our it tastes"; the elder (it) pushed: "be silent! not so

gí!" Tchilă'lχa sha tchúlēks mbû'shant tchē'k pá-uapkuk. Sháshapamtch
say!" Saved they the meat next day until to eat. Old Grizzly

häméχe: "tû'hak toks nég mák̲lĕχa, tû'm nē'gsh p'gí'sha málam mák̲laks
said: "where (she) passed the night, much absent to mother yours the Indians

tchû'lēks shéwana, nū'sh toks sha gí'nkak shéwana. Mbû'shant pē'n nû
meat gave, to me but they a little only gave. To-morrow again I

génuapk nē'gsh málam p'gí'sha haítchnuk." Hû'nk tchí'sh shash shapíya
shall go absent for your mother to look out." Also to them she said

ná-asht: "hû't málam p'gí'shap mák̲lĕχuk shû'dsha, killí't hûnk laggáyapksh,
thus: "there your mother for passing the night built a fire, the anus suspending,

shû'dshash hûnkiámsham, p'gí'sha;" gisházpa, pän û'nak guhuáshktcha
while had a camp-fire these (Indians), mother;" said so, (and) again early she started out

í'ktchuk tchû'lēks.
to fetch the meat.

Tchúi wíwalag vŭ'la shasháshapkash: "shuhûluléna nāt?" Shashá-
Now the young antelopes asked the grizzly-cubs: "shall skip down from the house we?" The bear-

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shapka heméχe: "p'gī'shap nálam k̲á-i shanáhûle nálsh shuhûluléatki gíug,
cubs said: "mother our not wants us to go and skip down,

pála nálsh tchíshkuapsht." Wílag pē'n vûlá shash: "haggát nat shampa-
the liver us to have hurt." A young antelope again asked them: "look here! we will jump

tiaχiéna!" Shasháshapka heméχe: "nálam p'gī'shap k̲á-i shanahóle nálsh
over logs!" The cubs said: "our mother not wants us

shampatiaχiéatgī, húalakuapksht nálsh ánkutat." Pē'n wíl'ag vû'la: "hág-
to jump over logs, to run against us tree-limbs." Again a young antelope asked: "look

gat nát shik̲ī'χiena!" Lû'k̲ag hämeχe: "nálam p'gíshap k̲á-i shanahō'le
here! us let dive!" A cub said: "our mother not wants

nálsh shik̲iχieátki ámbutat; pû'tank nálsh k̲'lekuápksht." Wil'hág vû'la
us to plunge in the water; smothering us to expire." The young antelope asked

pē'nak: "hággat nád lepleputä'na." Luk̲ág heméχe: "nen nálam p'gíshap
only once more: "look here! us let play 'smoke out.'" The cub said: "our mother

k̲á-i nálsh shapíya; tchá-u hátak nád lä'una hû'masht!"
not us told (about this); presently here we will play thus!"

Tchúi wiwalág mû'lû wétli látchashtat, tsúi lû'pi gulī', tchúi shashá-
And the young antelopes rotten wood threw into the lodge, and first went into, and the bear-

shapka vutátchkia. Wíwalag ná-asht gī: "pálakag ā't hutátchkiuluapk!"
cubs put the cover on. The young antelopes so said: "pretty soon you must open again!"

"Ī'", a lû'lχag; tchúi wíwalag "lepleputéa, lepleputéa, lepleputéa . . . . . .
"yes," (said) the cubs; then the young antelopes cried: "two smoke in, two smoke out, two smoke in . . . .

putā', putā', ā', ā'." Tchúi lû'lχag kaishnóla, wíwalag tû'shkampēle; pén
smother, smother, ā, ā!" Then the cubs opened up, the young antelopes went out; then

lû'lχag tchkash gûlī': "pálakag ā't kaishnû'luapk." Tchúi lû'lχag "lep-
the cubs also went down: "pretty soon ye must uncover." An! the cubs cried:

leputéa: pudshá, putā'-ā." Pén wíwalag vu'léliank: "lepleputé leplepūté
"smoke in: smother, smother." Again the young antelopes went into: "two smoke out, two smoke in

. . . . . . putā', putā'ā'"; lûlχág kaishnóla, tchúi wíwalag tû'shkampēle, lulχág
. . . . . . smoke, smoke"; the cubs uncovered, and the antelopes came out, the cubs

tchkash vu'lé'lī: "lepleputé, lepleputé . . . . . putā', putā'." Wiwa'hlág k̲á-i
also ran into: "two smoke in, two smoke in . . . . . smother, smother." The young antelopes not

kaishnûlī'at lû'lχagsh; tchúχasht tchē'k kaishnû'la. Tchúi ī'kampēlank
would uncover for the cubs; after their death then they uncovered. Then taking out

lûlk̲ágsh k̲'lä'pkī ī'pχa télishtat; tχéwaksh ánkutka shû'm tákuank shnát-
the cubs red paint they lined in (their) faces; to the elder with a gag the snout gagging they raised

kual látchashtat, tapinikáyentch tchīsh ánkutka tákuank shû'm ga-ulû'l-
(it) up on the lodge-top, the younger too with a prop gagging the mouth on lodge-

k̲ishtala shnátkual. Tchúi sha shné-ilakshtala gutéktcha, nanuktuálash
ladder they fastened. And they to the fire-place went in, to every article

sha shtulī'dsha k̲á-i sháptki giug Lúk̲ash gátpampēlisht; wákash pī'l sha
they enjoined not to report (to) the Grizzly having returned; the bone-awl alone they

yámtki ággaipksh.
forget as it stuck in the ceiling.

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Tchúi mā'ntch-gitk Sháshapamtch gátpampēlank shataliáyapkuga;
Then after a while Old Grizzly returned, looking ahead of herself;
shawigank k'lepgi kekewélaksht shash heméχe: "hûn ak sha gé-u k'lépgi
angered red paint at their having wasted she said: " they my red paint
kekéwelχa, pshe-utíwashash gé-u anulí'pkūtch"! Tchúi wikátant galtchá-
have wasted, from the Indians I which filched"! Then nearer approach-
wiank shléa lû'lχag tchû'kapksh léggūta häméχe: "at ní'sh tátaksni Tché-
ing she saw the cubs to be dead (and) sobbing she said: "now me the children of Old
wamtcham ne-ulaktámpka!" Tchúi wiwál'aāksh hamóasha: "tát ā't
Antelope have punished!" And the young antelopes she called: "where ye
tatákshni gi?" tsúi tátaksni vuálχa Sháshapamtchash: "gí'n at a nád
children are?" and the children replied to Old Grizzly: "right here we
wawatáwa ktchálχishtat." Sháshapamtch hókánsha tû'sh hai at tátaksni
are sitting in the sunshine." Old Grizzly ran out to where now the children
wawatáwa. Pän tátakshni wáshital häméχe vuálχuk Sháshapamtchash;
were sitting. Again the children towards the mud-house spoke in reply to Old Grizzly;
pä'n Sháshapamtch hulhí'pēle: "tátatatataksni!" Pén wíwalag kaní giánk
again Old Grizzly ran into it: "children!" Again the young antelopes out doors being
wálχa Sháshapamtchash: "gí'n at a nát kátní léwa; léshma ai í' nálsh."
replied to Old Grizzly: "here we out-doors play; not find you us."
Pēn Sháshapamtch hókansha.
Again Old Grizzly ran out (of the house).

Tchúi hû'k mántch-gitk m'nátak shákta shapíya: "genû'l a hû'k uná
Then some time after her bone-awl said: "went away long ago
tátakshni, kákiash lí'sh i ká-iga." Tchúi Sháshapamtch vû'la: "tû'shtal
the children, whom you look out for." And Old Grizzly asked: "which way
haítch sha géna?" Tchúi shákta shapíya Shashapámtchash: "gí'tal a
then they travelled?" And the awl told Old Grizzly: "through here
sha gutéktcha, gén lgû'm sha shálgidsha gutekuí'shtala." Tchúi Sháshа-
they crawled, here coals they placed opening against." Then Old
pamtch hátaktal kūtéguk tchuktχakánka; késhguk gutéksh. Tchúi guté-
Grizzly through it to crawl in attempted; could not she crawl in. Finally getting
gank géna ámnadsha: "mû'lû mû'lû te-utéwa, mû'lû mû'lû te-utéwa,"
in she went crying on her way: "rotten wood rotten wood breaks easy, rotten wood rotten wood breaks through,"
genúta shuáktcha ná-asht hû'k Sháshapamtch; péu heméχe: "tûsh gint
walking wept so Old Grizzly; then she said: "where
málash nû géntak shléta tatákiash?" hémkankatchna génuk.
ye I am going to find the children?" she said repeatedly while walking.

Tchúi wiwalāksh pinû'dsha mákleχapksh kû'mētat; mû' shúdshank
Then the young antelopes she overtook while they camped in a cave; building a large fire
skû'lχa. At tátaksni shémtchalχa Sháshapamtchash pinódshasht m'nálsh;
she lay down. Now the children became aware, (that) Old Grizzly had overtaken them;
tχéwag tapí'nkayentch wil'hágsh skishû'la; "at a nā'lsh hû'ktakag pinū'dsha;
the elder the younger antelope woke up; "now us she caught up with;
skishúlí!" hémta m'na tápia. Tchúi sχíshûla hû'ktag. Sháshapamtch
wake up!" it said to its younger. And woke up this little one. Old Grizzly

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ktána kshéluyank lû'lukshtat. "Mbû'shant tchēk málsh nû tatákiash shákē-
went to sleep lying near the fire. "To-morrow at last with ye I children will play

miyuapk pshépsha lû'lpatka tchēk"; tchúi ná-asht gíulank skû'lχank
a game in day-time, seeing sharp then"; and so speaking (and) lying down

ktándsha. Tchúi wí'wal'hag ktánhuish shûtûyakiéa ánkutka; tamû'dsh
she got asleep. Then the young antelopes the sleeping one bombarded with sticks; whether

ktándshi shéwuk shûtuyakiéa. Tchúi sha k̲á-i shí'ktgisht tû'shkansha
she was asleep trying, they threw (them). And they not she moving about ran out of

kû'mētat, tû'shtchna sha palakmálank; vû'shuk Sháshapamtchash m'nálsh
the cave, ran away they at a quick pace; afraid (that) Old Grizzly them

pīnódshûapksht Shû'kamtchash sha hamĕkúpka, kû'tagsh stû'kapksh galali-
might overtake Old Crane they hallooed at, minnow-fish gigging skirting the

nóta: "nk̲í'llank nálsh, kúk̲ui, skō'tki, hû'ktakag nálsh kpû'dshapka pí'nod-
water: "very fast us, uncle, cross over, 'she' us is chasing (and) will

shuapk nálsh at." Tchúi Shû'kamtch skû'tχa shash; wíwalag häshégsha
overtake us now." And Old Crane crossed over them; the young antelopes explained

Shû'kshash. Tchúi Shû'kamtch pnû'taktа shash shlólushtat, ka-ukawá
to Old Crane. Then Old Crane blew them into a whistle-stick, (and) rattled

sha látchashtat aggáyank shí'namshtnuk. Wiulágalam shapíyash Tché-
they in the lodge being hung up for fear. Of the young antelopes upon the message (that) Old

washash shiúgsht Sháshapamtchash, Shû'kamtch ndshenshkáni tchísh
Antelope was killed by Old Grizzly, Old Crane the young ones too

shuashuáktcha. Shû'kamtch shuáktcha: "é-ush tchiwá, é-ush tchiwá!"
wept. Old Crane wept (crying): "lake water, lake water!"

Ndshenshkáni tchísh shuashuáktch: "é-ush tchí'tchû tchí'tchû."
The young (cranes) also wept: "lake wa- wa- wa-ter"

At hû'k tchúi Sháshapamtch mántch-gítk sχishû'lank tē'lhí kû'mētat:
Now then Old Grizzly after a time awakening looked in the cave:

"ga tuá nink tatákiash shakemíyuapk pshépsha lû'lpatka; û'nagin shash
"rather hard myself with the children I shall play a game in the day-time when able to see; long ago, after they

génuish tû'tọks hû'ksha gátpa Shû'kamtchamksh." Tchúi pén guhuá-
left (the cave), out there they reached to Old Crane's home." Then started

shktcha Sháshapamtch haítchnuk wíwalagsh; kueísh sham haítchna.
out Old Grizzly to follow the young antelopes; the tracks of them she followed.

Gátχapshank k̲ók̲ētat vû'la Shû'kamtchash: "tám tatákiash shlē'sht?"
Reaching to the river she asked Old Crane: "if the children he had seen?"

Shû'kamtch häméχe: "k̲á-i nû shlää tátakiash." Gé a kuéntχapsha tátakiam
Old Crane said: "not I saw the children." Here (were) the out-going tracks of the children

gátχapshuish; hä'mtchna ná-asht Sháshapamtch: "aishíng tū'dsh í shásh
having reached (there); hallooed so Old Grizzly: "to conceal then you them

nen; k̲í'llank ísh sχû'tkí!" Shû'kamtch häméχe: "k̲ägi gé-u vû'nsh"; pän
(want); quickly me set over!" Old Crane said: "None is to me canoe"; again

Sháshapamtch: "k̲íllank skû'tgí ísh! k̲íllank í'sh skû'tkí!" Tchúi mántch-gítk
(said) Old Grizzly: "quickly cross me! fast me set over!" And after a while

Shû'kamtch spû'kua m'na tchû'ksh, máksha néklank (kä'liak hû'nk vû'nsh
Old Crane spread out his legs, a skull-cap carrying (on leg) (without (he) canoe

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gíug)	tchû'kshtka	shχû'tka.	Sháshapamtch	gélapka	tchû'kshtat;	tátχĕ-
being)	on the leg	he crossed (her).	Old Grizzly	stepped	on the leg;	to the

lampani	gággūtk	ámpû	pû'nua	mákshatka.	Tchúi	wudû'pka	mákshatka
midst (of river)	coming	water	she drank	from the skull-cap.	And	she struck	with the skull-cap

Shû'ksham	tchû'ksh	punû'lank	u'hlítchug.	Shû'kamtch	shawíguk	Shásha-
Crane's	leg	after drinking.	to shake out (the water).	Old Crane	angried	Old

pamtchash	shnindû'wa	ámbutat;	tchúi	nté-ish	í'ktchapĕli	Shû'kamtch,
Grizzly	doused	into the water;	then	a bow	fetched at home	Old Crane,

ngé-ishan	Sháshapamtchash.	Wiwalága	tchûk	géknank	shlû'lûshtat,	Shō'k-
shot	Old Grizzly,	The young antelopes	then	came out	of the whistle,	Crane's

shãm	wewékalam	sha	hû'nk	táldshitko	ngé-ishan	Sháshapamtchash;	tchúi
	of the children	they		armed with the arrows,	shot	Old Grizzly;	then

sha	shiúga.
they	killed (her).

NOTES.

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192 The myth of the Bear and the Antelope is one of the most attractive and best stylicized of this collection. It forms a whole mythic story by itself, and not a series of myths like the preceding article. The Grizzly Bear's figure is drawn in very natural and characteristic outlines, and the same may be said of the other animals of the story. Some archaic words seem to prove that the myth has been handed down for many centuries to the present generation, which repeats it to the offspring with the *same* expressions as used by the parents. The archaic terms alluded to are Sháshapamtch, paépsha, pshe-utíwash, kúkui, tchitchû; probably also lepleputéa.

118, 1. 7. Sháshapamtch alternates in this tale with Lû'kamtch, the "Grizzly Bear of the Ancients," and so does lû'kaga with shasliápka. -ámtch, -ámtchiksh is the usual attribute "old" appended to mythologic characters. In the mythologic stories of the Indians bear-cubs always appear *two* in number, the older and the younger one. The same may be said of the majority of the other quadrupeds; cf. the two young of Old Antelope, in this story, and tχéwag, 105, 9, as well as of many of the personified powers of nature. Cf. the term lepleputéa.

[193 118, 7. 119, 2. gi'nk or kínka: a little, not much; mé-ishí contains the particle í or hí: "on the ground".

119, 9. pû'kpuka: she cracked hard ipo-roots, feigning to crack lice which she pretended to have found on the antelope's body. Picking lice from each others' heads (gútash kahíkla) and eating them is a disgusting practice which travellers have observed among all Indians of North and South America.

119, 10. nánuk: the whole of her body.

119, 11. ipĕnĕ'χi: to place something into a basket or receptacle which is already filled to the brim.

119, 20. 21. hû t málam etc. The construction is as follows: "málam p'gi'shap hû't máklĕχuk shû'dsha, p'gi'sha laggayápkash hû'nk killi't, hûnkiámsham shû'dshash": your mother made a fire out there because she must have passed the night there, and because she hung up this anus on a stick, while the Indians (who gave meat to both of us) had a camp-fire.

*539 **120**, 2. tchishkuapsht instead of tchishkuápkasht.

773 192 **120**, 10. vutátchkia is also pronounced utátchkia, hutátchkia. Earth-lodges which open on the top can be closed by means of a large cover placed over the smoke-hole.

120, 11. lepleputéa or properly: leplep-putéa, "to play the smoke out game with two on each side," is a compound of lápēni *two* in the shorter form láp, and púta to be [194] smothering. Láp has changed its vowel into a shorter vowel, *e*, on account of removal [193] of accent, and is here redoubled by iterative, not by distributive reduplication. Cf. lepχléks from láp and k̲'léka. A series of points after lepleputéa indicates that the animals repeated this word an indefinite number of times, while the others were inside the lodge, and while pronouncing putā', they opened again to let them out.

120, 17. tchúχasht tchē'k kaishnū'la. Literally rendered, this means: having perished finally, they uncovered. The subject of tchúχasht, lū'lχagsh, has to be supplied from what precedes. The smoke of the burning rotten wood killed the cubs.

[342] [417] **120**, 19. ga-ulū'lkish, from ga-ulóla to go out, is the outside ladder of the Indian "mud-house" or winter-lodge, averaging in length from 10 to 15 feet; the inside ladder, wákish, is somewhat longer to reach the excavated floor.

120, 21. The complete wording of this sentence, in which sháptki stands for shápatki, would be: k̲á-i sháptki giug Lúk̲ash, gátpampēlisht hū'nksh (hū'nkiash).

[193] **120**, 22. ágguipksh, contraction of aggayápkash: aggáyn to be hung up, or to be stuck into; said of long-shaped articles only.

121, 3. anulípka to take away something from another's lodge or house without asking for it; the suffix -ipka expressing the idea of "towards oneself." Anulípkuish, "what was once abstracted from others" appears here in the contracted form anuli'pkūtch; gé-u "by me, through me."

121, 9. tátatataksni shows repetition of the two first syllables of tatáksni children, but at the same time means "where are the children?"

121, 15. shálgidsha; the antelopes placed the coals there to secure their flight from the Bear; had the coals been put there by somebody else, lákidsha would be used.

121, 22. **122**, 7. hū'ktakag: familiar diminutive name given to the Grizzly Bear; hū'ktag, 121, 23., stands for one of the young antelopes.

122, 1. 2. Mbúshant tchē'k etc. The sense of this exclamatory sentence is as follows: "To-morrow at last I will play a sharp game with ye children, when in the day-time I can use my eyes to advantage." Lúlpatka is: lúlpatko a; "possessing eyes" is the primary signification of lúlpatko, but here it means "enabled to make use of the eyes". Cf. múkasham nū lúlpatko: I see as sharp as a horned owl. The distributive form pahépsha, of pahé, "during day-time" means "any time when the sun shines bright." Cf. pahéksh, noon-time.

122, 9. This blowing of personified objects of nature into sticks etc., is a fiction of which we have another instance in 111, 16.

122, 11. ndshenshkáni. See *Note* to 71, 6. 7.

122, 12. 13. tchiwá, tchī'tchu: tchi is a syllable found in many words referring to water and liquids, as tchíya to give water; tchiéga to overflow. This radical is no doubt an obsolete Klamath word for water and recalls the term tchū'k "water" in Chinook jargon: tltsuk in Lower Chinook, tl'tchuku in Clatsop; tchaúk in Nútka. It also occurs under various forms in the Sahaptin dialects. By this lake undoubtedly Upper Klamath Lake is meant. Cf. tchíwa in Dictionary.

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122, 15. ga tuá nink for ká-a tuá ni gíank; ká-a means here "vehemently, cruelly, sharply", tuá: "in some way or other".

122, 16. shash génuish: after they had left the cave.

122, 20. "aishing tā'dsh i shásh nen". Here nen stands for some finite verb; either shaná-uli i: you want to conceal them; or for má-asht i shapíya: "you speak so, in order to conceal them".

122, 23. spû'kua. The spread-out legs of the Crane had to serve as a bridge to the Grizzly Bear, for there was no dug-out canoe at their disposal to cross the river.

122, 23. máksha néklank. Old Crane carried on his leg a vase or skull-cap that belonged to a dug-out canoe, but did not possess a canoe himself.

123, 3. u'hlítcha. Grizzly shook out the remainder of the water to let the skull-cap become dry. Skull-caps are used throughout as drinking vases.

123, 6. táldshitko. This sentence has to be construed: wíwalag, shō'kshâm wewákalam táldshitko, ngé-ishan, and táldshitko stands for táldshi gítko: "the young antelopes, armed with the arrows of the Crane's children, shot" etc.

K'MUKÁMTCHIKSHÂM SHASHAPK̲ĔLÉASH.

000

THE MYTH OF K'MÚKAMTCH, THE FIVE LYNXES AND THE ANTELOPE.

OBTAINED FROM J. C. D. RIDDLE IN THE MODOC DIALECT.

K'múkamtchíktch hûnk géntko käflatat, käflash shutólan, túnep shléa
K'múkamtch walking earth upon, the world having created, five he saw

shlóa ánkotat wawakayápkash. Kaflio skútatko K'mukómtchigsh shpakága
lynxes on trees sitting. In a rabbit-blanket clad K'múkamtch tore to pieces

p'ná kaflio-skútash, heméχen: "tidshí' ûn gé-u skû'tash gítak shlû'a lue-
his rabbit-skin robe, (and) said: "a good to me robe will be the lynxes when

lóka." Ktái pe-uyégan shlóa k̲ai'hhō'ta; nāsh shlóa hûtχídshnan húdshna.
I kill." Stones picking up the lynxes he missed; one lynx jumping down ran away.

Heméχen: "ē, k̲á-i tídshi skútash gi-uápka!" Pēn k̲ai'hhō'ta ktayátka,
He said: "oh! not a good mantle it will become!" Again he missed with a stone,

pē'n nāsh shlóa hûtχídshnan hû'dshna. K'mukómtchigsh heméχen: "pē'n
another lynx jumping down ran off. K'múkamtch said: "again

nāsh hûtχídsha; at gé-u ketchgáne skútash gi-uápka." Ndáni shlóa wawag-
one skipped away; now my small mantle will become." The three lynxes sitting on

gáyan K'mukámtchāsh shushaluákta; pén ktayátka shlóa k̲af'hha. Nā'sh
(trees) at K'múkamtch scoffed; again with a stone the lynxes he missed. Another

pēn hûtχídshna húdshna. K'mukómtchiksh häméχe: "k̲émat pí'la nish
one jumped down (and) ran away. K'múkamtch said: "the back only to me

000 ûn wáldshtak." Pēn ktái luyégan shlóa k̲aí'hha, lápuk hûhatχídshnan
it will cover." (Another) stone picking up the lynxes he missed, both skipping down
hûhátchna. K'mukómtchiksh shuaktchtámpka:
ran away. K'múkamtch crying-commenced:

"ló-i lóyan lóyak, ló-i lóyan lóyak,"

pēn kaílio ndandkalkánkan hahashtatchmáyan ánkûtka kaílio p'na, pēn
again (of his) blanket gathering the pieces he pinned together with splinters blanket his, then
skû'tan kûháshgdsha.
putting it around himself started off.

Wigá hak génan tché-u k̲imádshăm pátko kládshat gshí'kla. Kaílio
Not far having walked, an antelope tooth-aching on a clearing lay. Mantle
p'ná tché-u wáldshan tchéwash hûnk ídû'pka tchékĕli tílktgi. Mbúshaksh
his over the antelope spreading, the antelope he kicked to make it bloodshot. For a stone-knife
k̲ayaktámpka nashgíû'tna; tché-u tapitánna hû'dshna; lĕ'ltki hûnk tchúi
he began to search to skin (it) with; the antelope behind (him) ran off; looking at it forthwith
hemé̆χen: "gé-u tchí'sh hûmtchí kí." Tché-u K'mû'kamtchăsh huyá-
he said: "mine also like this is." The antelope of K'múkamtch ran in
edsha. K'mukómtchiksh kaílio tchéwat shlekláрkash shléa, hemé̆χe: "tgélχ,
front. K'múkamtch (his) blanket on the antelope lying perceived, (and) said: "stop,
tgélχ! Pshe-utíwash mísh ûn shushaluaktántak, k̲ó-idsha mísh kaíliu
stop! The people you will deride, the miserable you rabbit
ámptchiksh gé-u skútash skutápkash."
old my garment wrapped in."

NOTES.

125, 1. käílash is one of the few instances where inanimate nouns assume the ending -sh in the objective case. This is, however, no instance of personification. Cf. páplishash 94, 5. Concerning the signification of käíla, cf. *Note* to 96, 23.

125, 2. kaílio, kaíliu, rabbit skins sewed together to form a garment, mantle or blanket. As the name indicates, it was originally made from the fur of the kaí-rabbit. Skútash may be rendered here by different terms, since many Indians used their skin robes, in which they slept at night, as garments or cloaks during the day.

125, 3. luelóka. The plurality of the lynxes is indicated by the verb lúela, which can be used only when *many* are killed; its singular form is shiúga. A similar remark applies to pe-uyégan and to wawaggáya. Lynxes are usually spoken of in the West as *wild cats*.

126, 3. ló-i lóyan lóyak is probably an interjectional and satiric variation of the verb lualuíχa: "they make fun of me", the distributive form of luaíχa.

126, 6. Wigá hak: *only* a little way. Subject of génan is K'múkamtchiksh.

126, 11, 12. Pshe-utíwash etc. This sentence shows the following structure: The human beings will laugh at you, dressed (as you are) in my miserable, good-for-nothing rabbit-fur robe. ámtchiksh here means worn out, old, good for nothing. This word is phonetically transposed from ámtch gish: "old being", "long existing". As such it appears also in K'múkamtchiksh, a Modoc form for K'múkamtch.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

KTCHÍDSHUAM, TCHÁSHAM, GÚSHUAM, WÁSHAM SHASHAPK̲ĒLÉASH.

000

THE STORIES OF THE BAT, THE SKUNK, THE HOG AND THE PRAIRIE-WOLF.

OBTAINED FROM J. C. D. RIDDLE IN THE MODOC DIALECT.

I.

Ktchí'dshŏ únāk sk̲álaps shûltí'latko tchâwal ktáyat. Mo-ówe hûnk
A bat early a bat holding under its arm sat on a rock. A mole
hûtápĕnan; mo-ówe hûnk hemé χe: "hágga mí sk̲álaps shlé-i-ek".
ran past; the mole (to it) said: "well, your bat let see".
Ktchí'dshŏ vûlá: "k̲á-i nû shaná-ulí sχálaps shlé-etkí."—"Hágga ta
The bat replied: "not I want the bat to show (you)." "Well,
shlé-ek". Ktchídsho heméχe: "k̲á-i tche nû mish nen."—Mo-ówe ktchí-
show it". The bat said: "not I you as you say." The mole on the
dshuash hû'tnan sk̲álapsh lû'tχa; lû'tχan k̲awakága, tchúi wā'shtat hû'lhe.
bat leaping the bat took away; having taken (it) ripped (it) with its teeth, then into a den ran.
Ktchí'dsho hûnk ánko tûm shiû'lagian, tchúi wā'shtat yankápshtian wí-uka.
The bat wood much gathered, thereupon the den putting (it) before blew on the smoke.
Mû'-ûe pû'tan hûkánsha, pēn náyanta wā'shtat hû'lhe. Ktchí'dsho tchúi
The mole smothering ran out, and another into a hole ran. The bat then
k̲éshga hushákish.
could not drive it out.

II.

Tcháshăsh tû'ma watcháltko nā'sh waíta nánuk wátch ktchínkshtat
A skunk many horses-owning one day all horses into an inclosure
ní-ûle. Nāsh tchā'shăsh tchókăsh nkéwatko gátpa. Tcháshăsh-lák̲i nánuk
drove. Another skunk (with) a leg cut off arrived. The skunk-owner all
p'na wátch ní'-uknan shtútka ní-udshna k̲úk̲e yulalína, k̲úk̲etat tchúi níwa.
his own horses driving out on the road drove (them) a river alongside, into the river then drove (them).
Nánuk wátch tchlā'lχa, pitakmaní.
All horses were drowned, itself too.

III.

Ê-ukshíkni Mŏ'dokni lóla k̲ó-idsha skû'ksh gû'shûtat wáshtat tchish
The Klamath Lakes (and) Modocs believe a wicked spirit in the hog, in the coyote also
wénkogsht. Tatátaks gû'shu nánuk mû'ni é-ushtat gé-upgan wéngga,
to reside. That time, when hogs all into the sea running perished,

000 nā'shak pûshpû'shli gû'shû kshī'ta, tánktchik hûnk gû'shuash k̲ó-idshi

one only black hog escaped, that time into hogs a wicked

shkû'ksh gátkta. K̲á-i tádshitoksh hû mák̲läksh pupashpû'shlish gû'shû

spirit entered. Not therefore the Indians black hogs

3 lúela.

kill.

IV.

Tína mák̲läks wásh shléan shiúkash shanáhuli, shkū'ks wáshash yu-

Once a Modoc man a coyote finding to kill (it) wanted, a demon the coyote in-

hiéna gī'sht lólan; wásh padsháyămat gakayápkan k̲ä'kin. Pélakag mû'ni

side to be thinking; the coyote into a manzanita-thicket entering disappeared. Suddenly a large

6 wítäm ktchíkayû'la. K̲éshga kaní hûnk witä'm shiúkash, shtû'ishtat gát-

brown bear came out of it. Could not anybody (this) brown bear kill, a (gopher's) den en-

pamnan at k̲ä'kin Nánka gakankánkish shíshala.

tering he disappeared. Several hunters became sick.

Tiná mák̲läksh tû'ma wásh shléa kshiûlχápkash wigatán tchīsh; tchá-

Once an Indian many coyotes saw dancing near (his) camp; he be-

9 wika mā'ntch shle-úga. Tanktchī'kni k̲á-i wásh luélsh háměni. Hû'k

came insane for some time for seeing (them). Since then not coyotes to kill they tried. These

wásh mák̲läks-shítko shlésh gi, tapī'tni tchû'kash nûsh pâ'ni.

coyotes men-alike to look at are, from behind the hip the head up to.

NOTES.

I. In mythology the bat is sometimes regarded as a symbol of watchfulness at night, and this is expressed here by the adverb únăk.

127, 2. 3. 4. shlé-i-ek for: shléa i gi, "you cause to see;" shlé-etki for shléatki in a passive signification: "to be seen, in order to be seen"; shlé-ek for shléa gi: "make it to be seen, let it see."

127, 2. sk̲álapa, a Modoc term for a hat of some kind. The verb lútχa, used in connection with it, indicates its rounded shape.

127, 4. k̲á-i tche nû mish nen. Tche is abbreviated from tchĕk, particle pointing to the future, or to the termination of an action or state; the verb gi *to do* or shléa to see or to be seen is omitted: "I will not at all show (it), as you say."

127, 6. yankápshtia, to place into the entrance in order to impede or prevent egress. The radical in this term is tkáp, stalk, straw, little stick; yána, "down, down into", serves as a prefix.

II. This story of the skunk is manifestly a mere fragment of a longer one, for the omission of motives renders it as silly as can be. I have inserted it here to show the various verbs formed from níwa, "to drive into the water, or upon a level ground". This is a verb applying to *many* objects only; speaking of *one* object, shnúwa is in use. For all the derivatives of both verbs, see Dictionary.

127, 12. pitakmaní stands for pi tak m'na hī'.

III. This hog story is evidently the result of the consolidation of aboriginal superstitions with the evangelist's relation of the Gergesene swine throwing themselves into the Lake of Galilee from the headlands of Gadara. In Chapter XVII of his "*Wanema*",

000 Meacham has given several of these concretionary products of the uncultivated Modoc mind. In making a study of aboriginal mythology and folklore such fictions must be disregarded, though they may be of interest to psychologists.

IV. Races in an undeveloped, primitive state of mind are prone to regard living animals as the abodes of spirits, and most frequently the wild and carnivorous quadrupeds are believed to harbor wicked spirits. These are either elementary spirits, or the ghosts of deceased persons. To see a spirit means death, and in their terrified state they often behold, as here, the spirit in a half human, half beastly appearance, when coyote-wolves, gray wolves, bears, cougars etc. come in sight. Such a sight can cause the instant death of the hunter, or deprive him of his reason, or make him sick for months. In Greek and Roman mythology, Pan, the Satyrs and the Fauns retain something of these primitive notions (in the panic terror etc.), though these genii were largely idealized in the later periods of national development. In every nation a relatively large amount of superstitions refers to hunting and the chase of wild beasts.

128, 9. Tanktchi'kni is in fact an adjective, not an adverb; literally, it means "those who existed, or hunted since that time", and is composed of tánk, a while or time ago, tchēk, finally, and the suffix -ni. Cf. 13, 2. 128, 1.

SKŪ'KS-KIÄ'M.

HUMAN SOULS METEMPSYCHOSED INTO FISH.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY DAVE HILL.

I.

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K̲á-i hû'nk shlä' at kaní kiä'mat skû'kshash. Hû'k pîl únk shlā't
Not can see anybody in a fish a dead man's spirit. Dead men only can see

shkū'ks; pîl mák̲laks hû'k shlā't skū'ks. Hushti'χak tsä'taks ní'sh, sí'uks
spirits; only dead Indians can see spirits. He makes dream only (about deceased) but if me, to kill (me)

tchē'k sanahō'li hûk, wakíanua shuishá́ltki tchä bants' gíug nûsh. Hä'toks
then he wants, or perhaps to keep the song-medicine because he wants me. If

ní' shlääát k̲'läkátak nî; hä n' û'nk shlääát skū'ks-kiäm, hä n' û'nk shlääát
I should see (the dead), might die I; if I it should see, the spirit-fish, if I him should see

mák̲laks hû'nk skō'ks tchí'sh, k̲'lakát n' û'nk shlä-ók; wakiánua hissúnuk
the dead person the spirit also, may die I, him for having seen; or perhaps if song-medicine is applied,

tchätch ní'sh k̲á-i siû'gat. Hû'masht hû'nkash shlä-úkit nā'd mák̲laks,
then me not he may kill. Therefore him if should see we Indians,

hû'k tchish kiä'm, kat gēk wá; k̲á-i hû'nk shlääát hû'nkesh kiä'mat
the dead also (would appear as) a fish, which there lives; not I can see it in the fish

skókshash.
the dead man's spirit.

II.

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Kiä'm	k̲'leká	tchû'shni;	tsúyunk	hû'ksa	tsóχatk	pí'l	kiä'm,	nánuktua
Fish	remain dead	forever;	therefore	those	dead (people)	(exist) only	as fish,	as all kinds of

kiä'm,	nánuktua	mák̲laksni	tsók̲atk.	Hä'	n'	hû'nk	hû'nkiash	shläát	skû'k-
fish,	all kinds	of Indians	dead.	If	I		(of a deceased)	should behold	the

shash,	k̲'läkát	ni	hû'nk	släók;	hä'toks	ni	shuíshaltk,	tchēk	gíug	k̲á-i
spirits,	would die	I	it	through seeing;	but if	I	recur to magic songs,	then		not

siúgat	nís.
he may kill	me.

NOTES.

[128] My efforts towards obtaining exhaustive texts from the natives concerning their belief in the transmigration of human souls were not crowned with entire success. Of the two items obtained, No. II is intended as a commentary of No. I, both treating [262] of the presence of human souls in fish. The cause why so many Indian tribes shun the flesh of certain fish lies in the fact that these species were seen feeding upon the bodies of drowned men and swimming around them. This induced the belief that man's soul will pass into the organisms of these finny inhabitants of the wave, even ×539 775 787 192 when death has resulted from other causes than from drowning. According to Hill, the Mák̲laks believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances. But in *one* status only they become visible to them; when Indians are bewitched by the irresistible, magic spell of a conjurer or of a wicked genius. Then they enter into a ta[illegible]nuash-dream, and when they see a dead person's spirit in such a dream, they are almost certain to [755] die from it. Only the intervention of the conjurer and of his song-medicine can save them from perishing; rigorous fasting and ascetic performances cannot be then dispensed with, and with all that no certitude of his final rescue is to be had.

[769] Here as elsewhere the pronouns hûk, húnkiash etc., are inserted instead of the unpronounceable name of the deceased, and mean: *dead person, spirit.*

129, 2. píl mák̲laks; only dead Indians, not dead white men, because during their life-time these did not believe in the skû'ks; this belief is a privilege of the Indians.

129, 2. Hushtí'χak etc. This sentence runs as follows: Tchĕ'ktoks hushtí'χa ak nish, hûk tchĕ'k nish síuksh shanahō'li, wakiánhua tchēk p'násh (or pû'sh) nû'sh shuíshaltki gíug shanahō'li: "if he (the bad genius) makes me only dream in that manner, then he intends either to kill me, or perhaps he wants me to keep the song-medicine [756] for myself." To keep the song-medicine, shuíshlá, is to undergo fasts and ascetic performances under the supervision of some conjurer for an almost unlimited time, five years at least.

129, 3. 4. Hä'toks ni' shläát etc.: if I should see (the dead) while I am *awake.*

[193] 129, 4. Skû'ks-kiäm, a compound word, may be rendered by spirit-fish, letiferous fish.

130, 1. Kiä'm k̲'leká etc. The rather obscure sense of this statement may be made comprehensible by the following: "When fish are dead, they are dead forever; hence

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the souls of all dead Indians continue to exist in the living fish, in all kinds of *living* fish only."

[192]
130, 2. tsóχatk. This refers to Indians who have perished by a violent death, as well as to those who died in the natural way.

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THE SPELL OF THE LAUGHING RAVEN.

GIVEN BY "CAPTAIN JIM" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

I.

Shúyuχalkshi tchúyunk É-ukshikni máklaks hátokt shuyúχĕla, túmi
At "dance-place" when the Klamath Lake people there pilpil-danced, many
hûk hátokt máklaks gî. K'múkamtch hátokt a géna. Tchúi Ká-akamtch
there people were. K'múkamtch there went. Then Old Raven
shash hátokt wétanta shúyûχalpksh, tchúi hû ktá-i k'lä'ka nánuk máklaks
at them there laughed when they danced, and rocks became all people
shúyukaltk hátokt.
dancing there.

II.

Yámakni hû'k Káyutchish gátpa Kí'uti kúitit; tchúyunk í'-uag
From the North Gray Wolf arrived Kiuti above; then he stopped
shkû'lχa káyak tchí'sh gátpĕnunk, nánuk shûlû'tamantk hátkok yámnash
(and) lay down (to sleep), not yet home having reached, in full dress at that spot beads
wáwakshnatk tchish; túla tchish hû'k gákatpantk í'uag sha hû'nk tû'kĕlχa.
with moccasins on too; together with (him) those coming stopped they (and) rested.
Tchúi Sháshapamtch hû'nk gáldsha-uyank Ké-utchiamtchash skû'lpkank
Then Old Grizzly approached Old Gray Wolf lying (and)
ktámpsh. Tchúi Sháshapamtch pálla Ke-utchíshash wákshna yámnash
asleep. And Old Grizzly stole from Gray Wolf the moccasins beads
tchish shûlû'dshnank wû'kshχĕn génuapkug. Tchúi Ke-utchíamtch
also, (and) put them on, to the fishing-place for going. Upon this Old Gray Wolf
sχishû'lank ktí'ukuela Sháshapamtchash; vud'hitakuéla ktáyat pállapksh
waking up threw down hill the Old Grizzly; he rolled (him) down over the rocks for having robbed
pásh wákshna yámnash tchish. Tchúi hû'nk shíuga pî Sháshapamtchash,
him of moccasins neckwear also. Then killed he the Old Grizzly,
tchúi É-ukshikni máklaks shellualtámpka Yámakishash, Sháshapamtchash
whereupon the Klamath Lake people commenced fighting the Northerners, (because) Old Grizzly
hûnk Kä'-utchishash shíugsht. Tchúi Ká-akamtch wétanta shash shél-
by Gray Wolf had been killed. Then Old Raven laughed at them when
lualpksh, ktá-i sha k'léka.
fighting, and rocks they became.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

III.

*539 773 K'múkamtch hû'nk nákosh hû'nk táplalash né-ulχa shne-uyalátki
K'múkamtch a dam the loon ordered to destroy
shash. K'múkamtch hû'nk pí tpä'wa táplalash shnewí'tki gíug, pí k̲á-i
to them. K'múkamtch he ordered the loon to destroy (it), (but) no
tuá kiä'm lúeluak. Hû'ksha hû'nk nakushkshákshni k̲ú-idsha kiä'm
fish to kill. Those who dwelt at the dam rotten fish
nutuyakía nákosh gä'tant, K'mukámtchish shíuguk, k̲ú-idsha kiä'm pátki
threw over the dam to the other side of, (for) K'múkamtch to kill, rotten fish (he) go-
gíug. Tchúi K'múkamtch sháwiguk k̲ú-i sham nákûsh shû'ta; tchúi
ing to eat. Then K'múkamtch in wrath their dam spoiled; upon this
nákushχēnkni shlámiuk shtí'ya shishí'dsha shû'ktaldshank lák. Tchúi
the dam-neighbors in mourning pitch put on head, cutting off (their) hair. Then
*539 773 192 K̲á-ag wétanta shash, ktá-i sha k̲'léka. Tchúyunk K'mukámtch lúpaksh
the Raven laughed at them, rocks they became. Hereupon K'múkamtch chalk
shna-ulámna taplálash.
spit over the loon.

NOTES.

823 I. This myth intends to explain the existence of the large number of rocks found at the locality called Shúyuχalkshi.

196 193 131, 2. K̲á-ak̲amtch. The adjectives -amtch, -ámtchiksh appended to animal names designate mythologic characters. Adjectives of an equal meaning occur in all the western languages, as far as these have been studied. Cf. *Note* to 126, 11. 12.

825 II. In this myth, as well as in other grizzly bear stories recorded in this volume, this bear is always killed, conquered or cheated by his quicker and more cunning adversaries. Nevertheless his clumsy form and narrow, ferocious intellect are very popular among the tribes, who have invented and still invent numerous stories to illustrate his habits and disposition.

103 131, 5. K̲íuti is the name of an Indian camping-place situated a short distance north of Modoc Point, on eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake.

193 131, 6. hátkok qualifies shkû'lχa and yámnash is the indirect object of shûlû'tamantk. Shkû'lχa, nánuk yámnash shûlû'tamantko, wawakshnátko tchish: "he lay down to sleep, keeping all his neckwear on himself, and not taking off his moccasins." Shûlû'tamna can in other connections refer to the clothing, but here it has special reference to the beads.

131, 11. kti'ukuela. Tradition reports, that Old Grizzly was pushed over some of the high rocks at Modoc Point.

173 131, 13. Yámakishash etc. In these words may be recorded the reminiscence of an ancient fight between the Klamath people and some Northern tribe which had come South on a hunting expedition. A Klamath song-line given in this volume also recalls
*539 an ancient inroad made by the "Northerners". The grizzly bear represented the
773 Klamath tribe, the wolf the Northern Oregonians, perhaps as ancient totem signs; the
825 bear having been killed by an intruder, the Klamaths had to take revenge for the insult.

823 III. The object of this myth is to explain, among other things, the origin of the white spots on the head and back of the loon (táplal). But the myth as given in the

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text is far from being complete. It refers to a locality above the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, called Ktaítini, or "Standing Rock". A high rock stands there at the edge of a steep hill, and, according to the legend, the Indians who put pitch on their head were changed into that rock. Near by, a lumber-dam looking like a beaver-dam, across the Williamson River, partly resting on rocks projecting from the bottom of the river. K'múkamtch longed for the destruction of this dam, muddied the water to prevent the Indians from fishing and hired the loon to destroy the objectionable structure. The loon dived into the waters and forced its way through the dam by main strength. The Indians dwelling on the shore depended for their living on the fisheries, and seeing their existence at stake tried to gig the loon, but succeeded only in hitting its tail-feathers. When the loon had accomplished his task K'múkamtch offered to reward him in any manner wished for. The loon then wished to have white spots on its back, and K'múkamtch satisfied the request by spitting chalk upon the downy surface of its body.

132, 3. lúeluak; formed by vocalic dissimilation; cf. *Note* to 114, 3.

BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

I.

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Wásh tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lû'la wásham tχû'tχash.
Prairie-wolf is soothsayer; and they believe in wolf's prophecy.

Máklaks hû'nk lû'la wásham pákluipkash k'lékuapksht tchē'k; tχu'tχuk pákluipka.
Indians believe, prairie-wolf when howls, they will die after a while; presaging he howls.

Máklaks hû'nk lû'la púshish hä'masht í-unégshtka, tχû'tχuk héma; tchíkí'n tchish hä'masht í-unégshtka gû'lu, tχû'tχuk tchēk hä'ma. Wátchag tchí'sh wawá-a í-unégshtka, kú-i tchämlûk.
Indians believe, the cat when cries just after sunset, for presaging death it mews; the chicken also when crows just after sunset the female, for presaging death then it crows. The dog also (when) whines right after sunset, the signs are bad.

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Watság tchí'shtat tχótχa í-unä'gshtka; tsúi gátpa máklaks, gû'lki ngéisha at hustsō'χa. Sa-ámoks hátokt tchía tû'sht hushtchō'χa, ká-i hûnk shiúga; tsúi tû'tûk spû'nshna lû'gshla vû'nsh sχéna witsū'ls éna tû'tuk ktsí'k, snáwedsh spû'nshna híssuaks shíukaluk. Kilû'sh at kétak a tsū'wik.
A dog at a lodge howls prophetically just after sunset; then comes an Indian, attacks, wounds and kills (the owner). A relative, (who) there lived right where the murder was, did not him kill; then seizing (him) they arrest, enslave him, the canoe row away, fishing-net carry with them taking oars, his wife they abduct, (her) husband being the murderer. Furious he quits and is demented

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*539 825 787

Kák tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lúluk sa kákam tχû'tχatkash, tsúi sa
A raven is a soothsayer; and they believing the raven's repeated prophecy, they
shenótanka; pits hû'nk pán kák máklaks.
fight each other; it also eats, the raven, (dead) men.

787

Tutiksh máklaks shuína tchû'χapkam m'nálam shashámoksham;
Dreams the natives sing about dead their relatives;
húmasht sháhunk gíug kíukayunk flags.
for this same reason they stick out flags.

525 777 825

Tmélhak gítko shaklō'tkish tídsh tínχa; tû'm íχaga. Tmélhak tā'dsh
A tmélhak-squirrel having, the gambler well succeeds; much he wins. The tmélhak (is) certainly
sháyuaks; shakálshtat lakí, tíds sualaliámpkatko.
of much account; in the game (it is) chief, well managing (it).

Tcháshash mû'na lushántsnank mbáwa skí's; tsúi máklaks nánuk
The skunk deep down while scratching a hole emitted a blast; upon this people all

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hushtsóga tsáshash-kíuks. Snáwedsh shanahóliuk spû'nshna p'laiwásham
killed the skunk-conjurer. A wife seeking he carried off the eagle's
tû'paks ktanápkash. Shléank tchawíka p'laíwash, wí-udsna ánkutka
sister when asleep. Seeing (this) became furious eagle, beat with a club
tchásēs, wí-udsish k'läká, tsúi kó-i pílui. Ndopóg ktsō'l hämotsípka:
the skunk, the beaten one died, then badly stunk. Smelling (it) the stars said:
"pátkal!" at p'laíwash pátkalp'le, stópatchka, tsúi gémpĕle túpakshash
"get up!" and eagle rose up again, washed the face, then went home sister
m'na énank.
his taking with him.

II.

*539 525 825 777

Hä shaklō'tkish pí'sham shnû'lash ntággal, shaklō'tkish tídsh vumí',
If a gambler of humming-bird the nest finds, (and) the gambler well hides (it) away,
kaítoks kaní vuiní'χi. Hä kó-e shléa pahápkash, pē'tch ktákta skä'tish
not any one conquers (him). If a frog he finds dried-up, the leg he cuts off left
tapi'dshnish vumí'; húmashtak shû'ta shaklō'tkish, kaítoks kaní vuiní'χi.
hind (leg), hides away; (if) thus acts the gambler, (then) not any one beats (him).
Hä kaní tchatchlaíptcha shlä'-a (kinkáni tût wá), tídsh tí'nχa. Hä kaní
If any one a kind of fire-bug finds (scarce there they are), good luck it brings. If any one
mā'ntchnish máklăksăm shtáp shuálka, pahápkash käíla-shushatí'shash
old-fashioned Indian arrow-head saves, dried-up a mole
tchí'sh, hû'kt humáshtak tídsh tí'nχa tchí'sh.
also, he in the same way well succeeds also.

171 776 769

É-ukshikni Mō'dokni lóla p'laikí'shash lákiash, shtínta tchish wengápkam
The Klamath Lakes (and) Modocs believe in the heavenly ruler, revere also of the deceased
shkō'kshash.
the spirits.

000

Mō'dokni shtûpuyúka túnäpni wäíta túnäpni pshín gshiúlaka káyak
The Modocs at first menstruation five days (and) five nights dance never
ktákt'nan; wewánuish ta-unä'pni wäíta ká-i tchû'lēks pán.
sleeping; the females for ten days no meat eat.

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*539 Hä′ î shma-htcháktak yaínatat, k̲á-i î ûn k̲ésh shlé-etak; hä′-atoks
If you let your shadow fall on the hill, not you ipo will find; but if

[787] î k̲á-i shma-htcháktak, tû′m î ûn k̲ésh shlé-etak.
you not let your shadow fall, much you ipo will find.

000 Móatuash, k̲'le-ugtkiuápkasht tchíalash Móatuashăm k̲ók̲etat, k̲á-i mhû′ 3
The Pit River Indians, (lest) would cease to come the salmon up the Pit River, not grouses

lúela skó; Mō′dokni tchí′sh lóla shuátash kíăm tchûk̲á shátma, humásht-
they kill in spring time; the Modocs also assume, sage-hens the fish to swim up stream invite, there-

gisht k̲á-i lúela.
fore not they kill (them).

NOTES.

*539 171 I. What is contained in these short items refers equally to the Klamath Lake and to the Modoc people, although those contained under I. were obtained from various informants belonging to the former chieftaincy.

[192] 133, 2. páka to howl, bark; pák'la to howl repeatedly, to howl for a while; pákluipka to howl for a while in the distance towards somebody.

[177] [231] 133, 4. 5. The cat and the chicken being but recently introduced among these tribes, this superstition must have been transferred to them from other animals. By inversion, the words tchíkin gû′lu, *the hen*, appear here widely separated from each other.

[192] 133, 6. K̲ú-i tchămlûk has to be resolved into: k̲ú-i tchē mál (for málash) hú′k: "bad then for you this is!" Cruel fights will follow.

133, 7–11. This story is not clearly worded, but we are taught by it how these Indians are conversing among each other with laconic breviloquence. An Indian living in the vicinity has heard the whining of the dog which means death to his owner. He goes there, shoots the man and takes to his heels. A relative of the murdered man comes up and is mistaken by others for the murderer. They deprive him of his wife, his property and his liberty; he becomes a madman on account of the injustice done to him.

[825] 134, 1. 2. The raven (k̲ák̲) is supposed to be a bird of fatal augury, because he was seen devouring the flesh of dead Indians. Compare: General *Note* on page 130.

[202] 134, 4. kíukayunk. They adjust a rag or piece of skin to a pole and stick out that improvised *flag* on the top of the lodge to notify neighbors that they had a dream last night and desire an interpreter for it.

[525] [825] 134, 5. One of the legs of a dead black tmélhak-squirrel is cut off and laid under the gaming-disk or the pá′hla to insure luck to the player.

134, 7–12. Tcháshăsh etc. This is a fragmentary extract of a scurrilous skunk-myth, which I have not been able to obtain in full from my informant, the Modoc chief Johnson, who speaks the Klamath dialect. This myth is well known through the whole of Oregon, for parts of it are embodied in a popular and melodious song of the Mólale tribe, whose ancient home is the country east and southeast of Oregon City and Portland.

134, 7. 8. mák̲laks nánuk is the direct object of hushtsóga; the skunk killed them by his stench.

[601] 134, 9. tû′paks stands for tû′pakshash; túpakship, abbreviated túpaksh, is properly the younger sister, as called by or with reference to an elder brother, while pa-ánip

*539 171 is the elder sister, called so by or with reference to a younger brother. Two other terms exist for the relative age of sisters among themselves.

[601] **134, 11.** pátkalp'le. The myth adds, that the eagle got up again at dinner-time and that after washing the face he took a nap before taking his sister home.

[525] [777] **II.** These items were all obtained in the Modoc dialect from J. C. D. Riddle. Many of the articles mentioned as gamblers' amulets are supposed to bring good luck to the gambler on account of their *scarcity*, which must have made them more interesting to the aboriginal mind than other objects of a brighter exterior.

[192] **134, 13.** ntággal, ndákal: to find accidentally; shléa: to find, generally, after a search. vumi' is to hide away either on one's own person or in the ground.

134, 16. 18. tídsh tínχa is to succeed, to be lucky; without tídsh in: hútoks tínχantko gi, that man is lucky.

[411] **134, 17.** shtáp is a black arrow-head made of obsidian, a volcanic rock found in several places in these highlands.

135, 1. hä'-atoks is formed from hä toks with intercalation of the declarative particle a.

[192] [193] [825] **135, 3.** k'le-ugtki-uápkasht is a periphrastic conjugational form composed of gi-uápkasht, of the verb gi, and of k̲'lé-utka, the usitative of k̲'léwi, to cease, stop, terminate; -utka has turned into -ugt- by metathesis. Literally: "would habitually cease to be in the Pit River." mhû', the grouse, is called by the Klamath Lakes tmû'.

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*539 171 [115]

REFLECTIONS OF EVERY-DAY LIFE

MONOLOGUES IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY JOHNSON, CHIEF OF THE MODOCS

K̲á-i	mish	nû	ó-it	nû	tidsä'wa	nté-ish,	shliútuk	mä'makla	pá-uk	shlínk
Not	you	I	to let have	I	like	(my) bow,	for shooting	ducks	to eat	killing (them)

ndektí'shtka.	Tidsä'wa	k̲á-i	mish	úya,	tû	génuapka	úyamnank	nté-ish
with arrows.	I like	not	to you	to give (it),	over there	I will go	taking along	bow and arrows

3 gé-u,	hishlátsanuapka.	Yó-ishi!	tatála	k̲ä'gi,	k̲á-i	shláa	tatákni	yû'lχ;
my,	(and) will amuse myself by shooting.	Are lost!	right (ahead)	they are not,	not	I found (them)	where	they went down;

yó-ishin,	mā'ns	k̲á-ika.	Ûnds	mbúsant	pēn	k̲áyakuapk.
they are lost,	for a long time	I searched.	Sometime	to-morrow	again	I will look out (for them).

Shikútchipk	tchiká	kĕmutsátk;	undsē'ks	séwanuapk	pátki giúga
Walks on stick	an old	decrepit (man);	some time	I will give (him)	to eat

6 méhiess;	yuyálks	tsi	pá-uk	hûn	tchē'k	tídsh	kí'-uapk.	Kí'shtchipk	huk
trout;	being poor	thus	through eating	of it	then	at ease	he will feel.	Comes to me	this

snéwedsh;	oni'sh	kíäm	shéwant i;	tû'm	nû'sh	shewantamnuápka	sáwalktko
woman;	to her	fish	you may give;	plenty	to me	she will continue to give	having received presents.

Kámp'kuk	k̲éliak	pásh	tiä'ma.	Undsē't	kátchkal	pa-uápk	gé-utala steínash.
The indigent	without	food	is hungry.	By and by	tobacco	I will chew	to my heart's content.

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Sanáhole	kátchkal	titchéwank;	ū'nds	pēn	mbúsant	pá-uapk	kátchgal
I like	tobacco	well enough;	by and by	again	to-morrow	I will chew	tobacco

pátkēlank.	Kaní	shlé-uapka	ū'ns	stoyuápka;	tóla	pákuapka	ū'ntch;	pēn
while getting up.	Outdoor (anybody)	should I see,	then	I'll cut off (some for him);	with (me)	he will smoke (it)	then;	again

wutuápka	kinkáni	kátchgal;	kinkáni,	k̲á-i	túmi,	tchē'k	pēn	túmi	pákuapka,
I shall spend	a little	tobacco;	(but) little,	not	much,	afterwards	again	much	I will smoke,

pakólank	sχólakuapka.
(and) after smoking	go to bed.

NOTES.

Of the two paragraphs of "Reflections" submitted, the first refers to the loss of some hunter's arrows, which had been loaned to somebody together with the bow. The second speaks in a rather egotistical sense of the pleasure which is afforded by succoring helpless and indigent people.

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136, 3. k̲ä'gi. This refers to some arrows, which cannot be found at the spot, to which they seemed to fly.

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[193]
136, 4. 5. Untchēk, abbreviated undsē, ū'ntch, únds, ûns, points to some undetermined epoch in the *future:* by and by, after a lapse of time, some time from now; undsē't, 136, 8., through apocope and synizesis, stands for untsē'k at; undsē'ks for untchēk tchish.

136, 5. Shikútchipk tchiká kĕmutsátk, grammatically incomplete forms standing for skikutchípka t'shíka kĕmutsátko. The word *stick* is not expressed in the text, but the suffix -ipka, united to shikútcha, expresses the idea of "walking while leaning oneself upon something or somebody". Cf. láyipka, to point the gun at the one speaking; tilō'dshipka, to see somebody coming towards oneself.

136, 6. kĭ'shtchipka, to step towards the one speaking; cf. *Note* to 136, 5.

136, 7. onĭ'sh for húnish, cf. ō'skank for hû'shkanka, 65, 1. Húnish is the objective case of hû'n; but this pronoun is not regularly used when speaking of animate beings; hû'nkiash would be grammatically correct.

136, 7. shéwant ! The words onĭ'sh kiăm shéwant ! are supposed to be directed to one belonging to the speaker's household.

136, 8. The term kátchkal, tobacco, expresses the idea of an *intermixture* of several kinds of weeds or leaves for the purpose of smoking them.

136, 8. pa-uápk. A more appropriate term than this for masticating tobacco is: kátchkal kpû'yumna.

137, 1. titchéwank. This is in fact the participle of a verb: "I like tobacco, being fond of it."

137, 2. stoyuápka: I shall cut off a piece from a stick of pressed tobacco and give it to him. Cf. stuyákishka, to clip the hair.

137, 3. kinkáni kátchgal. If this and the following were not worded in the conversational slang, it would read: kinkánish kátchgal; kinkánish, k̲á-i túma, tchē'k pēn túma (or tû'm) etc.

[274]
137, 3. k̲á-i túmi. Indians are not often seen to smoke continuously as we do; those inhabiting the Klamath Reserve take a few whiffs from their small, often home-made pipe, then pass it to the neighbor and emit the smoke through the nose. Sometimes they swallow the smoke for the purpose of intoxication, and the elder women smoke just like the men. Cigars offered to them are cut small and serve to fill up their tobacco-pipe.

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WAILINGS AT THE APPROACH OF THE FATAL HOUR.

[115]

GIVEN BY DOCTOR JOHN, OR K̲ÁK̲ASH, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

"Ngä'-ish a ni tä'lχapksh, gé-u tä'lak, shlín antsa; shkék antsa nû'sh,
"An arrow me striking, my arrow, shot they; they broke (my) head,
shlín nish. Kán ish shlín? Tsuyä'sh ni shlín, gén ish tsuyä'sh mpáta,
they shot me. Who me shot? Through the cap I was struck, this me cap kills,
3 másha n'sh, shlín ish nû'sh, k̲á-a n's mā'sh', guhuá nish, a nish k̲á-a mā'sha!
it pains me, they shot me in the head, intensely me it pains, am swollen I, now me hard it pains!
Pásh ish shéwan i; k̲'lékuapkan pánuk; pálak shéwan i, a nish k̲á-a mā'sha,
Food me give you; I will die after eating; quickly give you, me very hard it pains,
tiä'matk k̲á-a, pálak shä'wan i." At shéwana nû, at pán; shnuk' át mí'dsû.
(I am) hungry very, quickly give you." And give (him) I, and he eats; he takes now the spoon.
6 "At k̲'léka, átĕni k̲'léka; tsía at, k̲'leká taks nû; shlín nish nû'shtat.
"Now I expire, now I die; I live yet, dying but (am) I; they shot me in the head.
[764] A ni k̲'léka, ä'tĕni k̲'lekála." At k̲'leká. Shû'dsha lúluksla sa lû'lokshtat
Now I die, now I am sinking fast." Then he dies. Kindle a fire (and) cremate they in the fire
hû'nk k̲'lékapksh.
the deceased man.

NOTES.

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This short incident of war is full of the most dramatic interest, and gives some idea of the oratorial powers of the average Indian. It was obtained from a man who undoubtedly had witnessed more than one similar scene during the numerous raiding expeditions made by his tribe before the conclusion of the treaty in 1864.

138, 1. ngä'-ish a ni tä'lχapksh shlín antsa, forms of the conversational language standing for ngä'-ish a nish tälχápkash shlín a sha. gé-u tä'lak "my arrow," a poetic symbolism for the arrow that causes my death.

138, 1. shkék antsa for shkéka a sha, but nasalized like shlín antsa. Shkéka properly means to pierce, but is used in a medial sense.

138, 2. mpáta properly means to dry up by heat. The cap or hat is said here to kill the man by exciting an intolerable fever heat within him.

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138, 3. mā'sha n'sh. Some impersonal verbs can also assume the personal form of intransitive verbs: mā'sha nû and mā'sha nish: "it pains me"; kédshika nû and nish: "I feel tired". The Modoc dialect prefers the personal form.

138, 6. 7. atĕni for at a ni. Cf. sŏ, **82**, 4. tchä'lχet **90**, 11. átĕnish, atĕni **90**, 12. 13. gĕ'ntĕni, *Note* to **93**, 7. 9.

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THE LORD'S PRAYER.

I.

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Nálam p'tíshap, kat p'laí tchía: Nánuk nä'd hû'nk mí shéshash kátak
Our father, which on high lives: All of us thy name truly
shtí'nta. Mí húshkanksh gû'ta nä'lsh. Í hû'nk vû'nhuapk génta käílatat,
worship. Thy mind come to us. Thou wilt achieve on this earth,
wákaktak p'laítalknì gi. Shéwan í nálsh gē'n waítash nálam pála-ash
equally as (thou) on high dost. Give thou us this day our bread
nánuk waítashtat. Hä nálsh tuá kó-idshi gíntanuapk, ká-i hûn, p'laítalkni,
every on day. If on us anything wicked should stick on, not it, thou on high,
hû'shkank í! húmashtak nä'd ká-i hû'shkankuapk, hä kaní nálsh kú-i
mind thou! just as we not would mind it, if somebody us wrong
gí'uapk. Ká-i nálsh í tuá shutétki kú-idsha, í ínúhuashkpak hak nálsh
should do. Not to us thou anything let do wicked, (but) thou keep away only from us
tuá kú-idsha. Húmasht giúg mí né-ulaks, nkí'llitk tchí'sh, ktchálshkash
anything wicked. For thine (is) the rule, force also, glory
tchísh tchúshniak. Húmashtak an hûn gítk gi!
also forever. Thus I it to be say!

II.

Nálam t'shí'shap, p'laí tchía: Mí shéshash nánuk stínta; mí kóχpash
Our father, on high (who) livest: Thy name all revere; thy mind
gáltchui nanukä'nash nä'l. Gitá tchí'sh käíla humashták gi, wákaktoksh
come to every one (of) us. Here too on earth in the same manner be done, just as
p'laí ki. Nálash gēn waítash shápěle shéwan í. Ká-i nálash kó-i shû'tä,
on high is done. To us this day bread give thou. Not us wicked render thou,
húmasht nálam máklaks-shítko stínta. I huáshgi nálamtant kó-idsha
equally as our men-kindred (we) love. Thou keep off from our bad
steínashtat kóχpash; tídsh nálam steínash shútä. Mí tála litchlítchli, mí
(from) heart thoughts; good our heart make thou. Thine alone (is the) power, thy
steínash litchlítchli tchússak, mû'ni lákiam steínash. Húmasht toks tídsh.
heart strong (is) perpetually, great of the Lord the heart. Thus (it will be) well.

NOTES.

These versions of the Lord's Prayer are good instances of what can be attained, without using too many circumlocutions, in rendering religious, moral and other abstract ideas in a language deficient in many of them.

[192] For reign and kingdom no words exist, and they had to be rendered by hû'shkanksh, or in Modoc kóχpash, "mind", né-ulaks, "rule, law"; sin and forgive were

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192
[193]

rendered by "something wicked" and "not to mind"; for "thy will be done" stands "achieve thou". Power and glory become "force, impetuosity" and "radiance", and daily bread: "flour on every day". In the Modoc version, the wording of which is inferior to that of version I, the use of similar expedients will be observed.

I. In the Klamath Lake dialect; by Minnie Froben.

139, 6. inúhuashkpak, phonetic inversion for inuhuashkápk' ī; see Dictionary.

139, 7. ktchálshkash, from the word ktchálχa, to shine, to be radiant, resplendent.

139, 8. gitk, in an hûn gitk gi, is the verbal intentional gitki.

II. In the Modoc dialect; by the Riddle family.

139, 10. Gitá käíla is equivalent to gĕ'nta käílatat; in humashták gi the verb gi has to be taken in the *passive* sense.

139, 11. k̲ó-i shû'tä: "do not render us wicked." For shútä compare 111, 15. and *Note.*

139, 12. húmasht nálam. Between these words and the preceding ones there is a lacune in the text. mák̲laks-shitko, "our kindred": those who look like ourselves.

139, 13. 14. In mī tála litchlítchli the adjective strong stands for "strength, power", while in mī steínash litchlítchli it is used in its adjective signification. In this language abstract ideas are sometimes rendered by adjectives and by verbal adjectives in -tko.

DIALOGUES.

I.

*539

Tsématk. Tatá lish sha ksíulakuapk?
When they will dance?

Skä'lag. Pá-ak k̲á-i an sháyuakta! uná a sha ná-asht she-édshtat mat
Not I know! once they so (said), on Saturday
sha nánuk shûkû'lki-uapk kshī'ulχish.
they all will assemble for the dance.

Kápuak. Tátai tchī'k sha kshíulakuapk? Plē'nkamkshi â? tám hak
Where after all they are going to dance? At Frank's house? perhaps
haítch ī hû'nk shläátk? k̲úi a sha nen hûnk máshish gísh shápa.
(did) you him see? seriously they him diseased to be say.

Skä'lag. Káyak an hátokt gátpantk, ná-asht tä'dsh toks nû tû'mēna gén
Not I there was going, thus however I heard this
mbû'shant pil, mat pá-ula: gät tóks nû wátch káyaktgûk, kúinag
morning only, (that) he was eating: out there I of my horses while returning from the search, away from any house
gépgapēle.
I returned.

Kápuak. Tám haítch ī nä'gsh shíwaksh shläá gúni, gémpktch Kúyamtsχēksh, Ellen Débidam mû'kag shétaltchapksh mā'shisht?
(Did) you absent from home the girl see over there, who went to Ká am Skáwikshi, of Allen David a baby to visit having fallen sick?

Skä'lag. K̲á-i an tû'sh shleá pûsh.
Not I anywhere saw her.

Kápuak. Ī.
Is that so?

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Skä'lag guhuáshktcha; Käptinámkshi tchkash sha vûlánkía: "Tát i tamnû'tka?"
Skälak left; at the Captain's lodge also they inquired (of him): "where you come from?"

Skä'lag. Gē't an wátch káyaktka, ksíulakshχēn genû'tuapkuk.
Through there I of (my) horses returned from the search, towards the dance-house while intending to go.

Captain. Táta haí tchí'k sha kshí'ulaktchuapk?
Where finally they are going to dance?

Skä'lag. Mbû'shant a sha she-édshtat kshíulaktchuapk Mbû'shak-Shiwáshkni, ák tchísh nánuk gépkuapk.
To-morrow they on Saturday will dance the dwellers at Mbû-shak-Shiwash, probably too all will come.

Tchúi guhuáshktcha gémbaluk.
Then he started off to go home.

II.

Hlékosh. Tát lísh mi û'nak?
Where (is) your son?

Pépakli. Le-utchólan kaní úna geknō'la; le-utchólan tunepä'nish tatákiash túla.
For playing outdoors a while ago he went out; for playing five children with.

Hlékosh. Wakaítch gé-uga k̲aí gépgaple?
Why not returns he?

Pépakli. Tútaks atí léwa; hótaks tatáksni waíta léwapka; lítki gatpampěli-uápka.
Away far they play; those children the whole day will play; in the evening they will return home.

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I. Dialogue about a dance to be held on the Williamson River; in the Klamath Lake dialect, by Minnie Froben.

140, 2. Pá-ak k̲á-i an sháynakta! is interpreted by "what do I know!"

140, 9. nä'gsh shíwaksh gémpktch stands for négsh shiwákash genápkash. It is very rare that diminutive nouns, like shíwak, shíwaga, assume the ending -ash in the objective case; cf. 23, 10. But shíwak means not only a little girl; it means an adult girl also, and is therefore inflected like snáwedsh.

140, 9. Kúyamtsχēksh. For this local name cf. Page 91, first *Note*. Frank and Allen David live both at that place, close to the steep western bank of the Williamson River, while the communal dance-house, a spacious, solid earth-lodge, lies further to the northeast.

141, 5. Mbû'shak-Shiwáshkni, term corrupted from Mbû'shaks-Shawálshkni: "the one who lives, or those who live at the locality of the obsidian arrowheads." Mbû'shaks-Sháwalsh lies on the eastern shore of the Williamson River. Cf. *Note* to 134, 17.

II. Dialogue in the Modoc dialect; by Toby Riddle.

141, 9. Léwa, to play, forms the derivates lé-utcha to go to play; lé-utchna to play while going, to play on the way, cf. shuédshna 99, 2.; le-utchóla to go to play in the distance.

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141, 11. gé-uga for the more common giuga, giug.

141, 12. léwapka to play in the distance, out of sight, or unseen by us; but here this term is more probably a synizesis of léwuapka, the future tense of léwa.

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NAMES BESTOWED ON UPPER KLAMATH LAKE LOCALITIES.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

K'mukámtch mat käfla shû'ta. Tsúyunks ä'-alk käfla shutólan:
K'múkamtch, so they say, the country made. The following names gave he, the country after creating:

Tulí'sh käila E-ukskí'shash shúta K'mukámts kiäm-luelkalí'a; Tulí'sh tsí-
"Tulish" place for the Lake people made K'múkamtch to be their fish-killing place; Tulish,

hunk ä'lχa. "At hû'nk käfla git ktaíksi Shúyakēksh tchín ä'lχa; gitl
thus he named it. "And that spot there where the rocks are, "Jumping-Rocks" so I name; here

shuyéakēks gi-uápka". E-ukskísas K'mukámts né-ulχank heméχe:
a leaping place shall be". To the Lake people K'múkamtch ordering said:

"Tû'kua ná-asni kä'la nä'sni élχa gí'ta Tû'kua; Gû'mbat nä'sni git élχa;
"Túkua so I a spot, so I name here Túkua; Kúmbat so I there give name;

gíta Kä'lalksi nä'sni élχa gí'ta. Wakáksi spû'klishtat gí't i spû'kle-uapk;
there Dirt-hauling place, so I give name there. At Wáka in the sweat-house there you shall sweat;

hä' me wéash k'lä'kuapk gí't i spû'kle-uapk, hä' mi snáwedsh kĕlákuapk
if your child should die, there you shall sweat, if your wife should die,

git i spû'kle-uapk túnepni gitá; túnepni spû'kle-uapk snawédsh, hä' mi
there you shall sweat five (days) there; five (days) shall sweat (you) wife, if your

hishuáktch kĕlä'kuapk. Túnepni spû'kle-uapk, tsúi kíllitk tsulä'ks gí-
husband should die. Five (days) you shall sweat, then strong (your) body will

uapk, ká-i pálak i kĕmútchuapk."
become, not fast you will become old."

"Nāsht ni ne-û'lχa Á-usmi shéshuapk; nä'sni élχa gēn käfla.
"Thus I ordain Á-ushmi to be called; thus I give name to this spot.

Keháshti ná-ast ni élka gí'ta. Ê-ukalkshi nä'sni élχa gí'ta; gí'tats spû'kle-
"Set out" thus I call that place. E-ukalkshi so I name this place; here also you shall

uapk, tuní'pni i spukle-uápka wéas k'lekáluk, tû'nipni snawédshĕsh kĕle-
sweat, five (days) you shall sweat a child after losing, five (days) a wife after

káluk hishuáksh tchish; ká-itoks mi sa-ámoks kĕlékst ká-i i spû'kle-uapk,
losing, a husband also; but not, your relatives having died not (then) you shall sweat,

hä' mi sa-ámoks nánuktua tsókuapk. Ká-i i gitá spû'kle-uapk ndännántak:
if your kinsmen of all degrees shall have died. Not you there will sweat but for three:

snawédshtat, hishuákshtat, wéashtat."
for wife, for husband, for child."

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"Nakótk Wí'tlas k̲ok̲état hí tchí'sh luélks-kiäm gí'-uapk; na-ást shé-
"By (its) dam Wítlash in Williamson River there also a fish-killing place shall be; thus

shash élχa ni: Ktá-i-Tupáksi. Mbû'saks nä'st shéshatk mák̲laks gí'-uapk;
name give I: Rocks-where-stand. "Obsidian" so called a people shall exist;

Smä'k nä'st sésatk gí'-uapk mák̲laks gí'ta. Kä'katils nä'st sésatk gí-uapk
"Hairy" so named shall exist a people there. "Armpit-hairy" so called shall exist

gí'ta mák̲laks."
there a people."

NOTES.

All Mák̲laks admit that K'múkamtch created their country, the earth and the universe, but as to the special process by which he created them they seem to have no definite idea, though they possess a multitude of myths for special creations.

Most of the places mentioned in this item are situated around Upper Klamath Lake. That they are localities inhabited for centuries past, and identified with the history of the tribe is proved by the fact that their naming is ascribed to K'múkamtch. The most noticeable of them are no doubt the three sweat-houses, all of which are of remote antiquity, and were put to use only when families were mourning the loss of one of their members. Two of them are quoted here: Wakáksi or Käilalkshíni spúklish on west side of Lake and Ē-ukalksi, a short distance south of Fort Klamath. The third lies about three miles south of Modoc Point; it is called Ká-ashkshi spúklish.

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142, 1. käíla. About the meaning of this term in creation myths, cf. *Note* 96, 23. In other connections, in the present text, käíla or kä'la means spot, locality.

142, 2. 3. Tulish. To enable the Indians to catch fish at that place, K'múkamtch built for them, as tradition has it, an obstruction resembling a beaver-dam. Cf. nakótk, 143, 1.; gití for gíta hí.

142, 3. 5. Túkus and Koháshti are camping- and fishing-places on the eastern shore of the Lake. At Shuyakē'kish the Indians leap over rocks for amusement.

142, 5. ná-asni, ná'sni stands for ná-asht ni: "thus I".

142, 5. 11. Gúmbat is called Rocky Point by the white population, and lies on the western shore of Upper Klamath Lake. A-uami is an island of the Lake.

142, 6. Wakáksi or Wáka is named after the tuákish-fowl whose cry is wáka wáka.

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142, 6–10. 12–16. These mourning customs are gradually disappearing at the present time. One reason for this is the progressive assimilation of the tribes to American customs, another is the circumstance, that all of the three ancient sweat-houses are situated outside of the reservation limits.

142, 15. ndánnántak is composed of ndánnanti or ndánnantat ak: "only for three (kinds of relatives)".

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143, 1. Nákotk is the instrumental case of nákōsh, lumber-dam: "on account of its dam Witlas will be a fish-killing locality." A loon destroyed that dam by forcing its way under it; one of our texts gives this myth. Cf. 132, 1–3 and *Note* to 74, 2.

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143, 2. 3. Mbû'saks, Smä'k and Kä'katils are names given in contempt or derision of the respective tribes; the latter to Indians living at the Dalles of Columbia River, Smä'k to a tribe living south of that locality. Cf. 103, 2. 3. Mbû'saks is a name for the Snake Indians.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON ANIMALS.

GIVEN BY JOHNSON, CHIEF AT YÁNEKS, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Nī'l	wéksa	pû'l'hka	mák̲laks	shû'lhashluk	sχō'lhok;	ktánuapkuk
The down	of mallard-duck	pull out	the Indians	to make pillows	to lie on;	for sleeping

sχō'lhank	nī'l	ikúgank	willishī'kat.
(and) resting	the down	they are putting into	pillow-cases.

Mbû'shant	nílaksht	wísχak	hä'ma.
In the morning	at dawn	the wisχak-bird	sings.

Wátsak	wáwa	a gulíndshisham;	le	génug	wáwa.
Dogs	howl	because left behind;	for not	going (with them)	they howl.

Yá-ukal	tchaggáya	ánkutat	ä'-unank;	untsä'g	ā-unólank	húndshan-
Bald eagle	sits	on tree	replete with food;	after a while	after depleting himself	he will

uapk,	tó-ugshtant	húndsanuapk	Ä'-ushtat.
fly off,	to the opposite shore	he will fly	of Upper Klamath Lake.

Tché-u	gankánkatchuapk;	tī'tnāk	mák̲lakuapk,	wakiánua	lápēni;
Antelopes	(people) are going to hunt;	once only	they will camp out,	or perhaps	twice;

shlíuk	gépgapluapka	pálak.	Ûndsh	mbúshant	pä'-uapk	sχólăkok.
after shooting (antelopes)	they will return	at once.	Some time	next day	they will take a cold bath	to induce sleep.

K̲ó-i	shû'ta	wásh,	pálla	n'sh	wásh;	k̲ó-idshi	wásh.	Múatch	kpē'l
Wickedly	acts	prairie-wolf,	steals	from me	prairie-wolf;	mischievous (is)	prairie-wolf.	A long	tail

gī'tko,	tidsá	nē'l	gítko	wásh.	Kinkáni	wásh	É-ushtat.
(he) has,	delicate	fur	has	prairie-wolf.	Scarce (are)	prairie-wolves	at Upper Klamath Lake.

Kaí-udshish	nísh	k̲ópk̲a;	k̲ílōs	k̲é-udsis;	shlá-a	nísh	tslatskágantko
Gray wolf	me	bites;	impetuous	is gray wolf;	(when) sees	me,	jumps on my throat

k̲é-udshish.
gray wolf.

NOTES.

[192] 144, 1. nī'l wéksa stands for nī'l wéksam; pû'l'hka for púlχa or púlk̲a: -lh-, "by hand."

144, 9. 10. These characteristics of the prairie- or coyote-wolf, which is so highly reverenced by the California tribes, place him between the wolf and the fox. Nē'l stands for nī'l and múatch for múnish. Tidsá is tídsha a.

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193] 144, 11. tslatskágantko; the verbal adjective of tchlakága stands here in the distributive form: "each time when he sees me, he jumps on my throat." The *l* of the second syllable is suppressed.

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CLASSES OF ANIMALS AND PLANTS.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY DAVE HILL.

Quadrupeds: hohánkankatk lílhanks; nánuktua hohánkankatk; wunípa tsŏ'ks gí'tk käílatat tchía nánuktua lílhanks wíkts nákanti.

Birds: lásaltk nánuktua.

Forest birds of small size: tchíkass.

Forest birds of smallest size: tchílililks, tchílililka.

Ducks and geese: mä'mäkli.

Night birds: psín húntchna.

Water birds: nánuktua huhánkankatk é-ushtat, ámbutat tchía.

Swimming animals: nánuktua udúdamkanksh sáyuaks; nánuktua udódamkankatk.

Fish: kiä'm.

Jumping amphibians, toads and frogs: skáskatkankatk.

Snakes: wíshink; wámĕnigsh.

Lizards; lit. "*walking straight out*": uli-ulátchkankatk.

Reptiles and worms: skískankankatk.

Flying insects: mánk.

Creeping insects, snails, some mollusks etc.: mû'lk, mû'lkaga.

Grass, seed-grass: kshún.

Berries: íwam.

Edible roots, bulbs and seeds: mák̲laksam pásh; lutísh.

Trees: ánku; kō'sh.

NOTES.

These generic terms are quite characteristic, but by no means systematic. These Indians classify animals otherwise than we do, for they regard the mode of locomotion as a criterion for their subdivisions of the animal kingdom, thus sometimes placing in the same class animals which widely differ in their bodily structure. The Indian mind likes to specify and is averse to generalizations; there are a few Indian languages only that contain comprehensive generic terms for "animal," "carnivore,"

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“reptile,” “amphibian” or “plant.” Even the English language had to borrow these terms from Latin. The Klamath Lakes often use kō'sh (pine) generically for “tree,” and wishink, “garter snake” for “snake,” the Modocs wáměnigsh (black snake) for the same order of reptiles, these species being the most frequent of their kind in their respective countries. Birds are hohánkankatk as well as quadrupeds, because they fly “in a straight line”.

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ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES.

LIST OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM “SERGEANT” MORGAN AND MINNIE FROBEN.

Yántch kálkali, tχópo-pátpan, pakí'sh; kak tán: 18″; käíla̱tat lû'sha,
cylindric, thumb so large as, eatable; so long: 18″; on ground it lies,
ktaíyatat lushá. Shláps pushpúshli, lā'pi shlápsh.
on rocks it lies. The flowers (are) dark. two flowers (to it).

Kápiunksām k̲édsha saígatat; lû'k pûpashpúsh-tkani, lúiχitk tchí'pshash.
grows in the pra'rie; the seeds (are) blackish, larger than tchípsah.
Wéwanuish hûnk shtä'ila wékank yákitka páta-gíulshēmi. Pékshank sha hû'nk gápiunks shúta; tchiláls sha títatna. Wû'kashshitk máshetk kápiunks.
The women gather (it) by beating (it) into seed-baskets at summer's end. By grinding they kápiunks prepare; boil (it) they sometimes. Wókash-like tastes kápiunks.

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Káshma k̲édsa walídsat, käílatat ushá; pálpal shlápsh, tsmō'k pí'luitk.
grows on rock cliffs, on the ground lies; white (is) flower, after fish smelling.

Kělátch k̲édsha wí-ukayant kěládshamat; kěládsh ntchekáni mămätchmä'tchli lálkaya. Wéwanuish kěládshla wâkslólank; shpahá sha tchúi ishkû'lank, í'lχa sha shpáhank í'lkshlûk lúldam, tchilálank tchēk sha pán.
grows on the low keládsh-bushes; keládsh-berry small blue grow on bushes. The females collect (it) after wókash-season; dry (it) they then after gathering, keep they (it) by drying to preserve (it) for winter, boiling (it) then they eat (it).

Kěnáwat k̲édsha saígatat, tsélas ka tánni 1′, pakí'sh; p'lái shláps pushpúshli, tídsh piluítko.
grows on prairie, stalk so long 1′, eatable; on top the flower is dark, good smelling.

Kláno pálpalish shlápshaltk p'laí, k̲édsha k̲ók̲etat, pákish, tíds másitk; má-k̲laks pán.
a white flower having on top, grows in rivers, is eatable, well tasting; the Indians eat (it).

*539 262 *Klápa* kálkali, pakí'sh; ka tánni 3"; taktákli pû'dshak, tápaχ kitchkáni.
is cylindric, eatable; so long: three inches: red (is) the pûdshak-grass, (its) leaves small.

824 *Klä'* kálkali lutí'sh; k̲edshá Móatok; pakísh.
is a rounded root; grows in Modoc country; (it is) eatable.

Ktä'ks wókash-shítko, k̲édsha táletat; ktû'ksam shlápsh pû'pash, pálpali, pakí'sh.
nuphar-alike, grows on straight stalk; of the ktäks the bud (is) (its) top, is white, is eatable.

Kä'ktä û'sha kä̆ílatat, pakí'sh; gémtchi tsélas: O.
lies on the ground, eatable; so shaped (its) stalk:

K̲ä'ls kálkali, pakí'sh; mû'na lû'sha ámbutat; kitchkáni shlápsh wítch-payam.
globular, eatable; deep down it lies in the water; small is (the) flower of the witchpal.

K̲ä's wé-uχalks tsélash gí'tk, shlápsh gítk; pakí'sh.
a forked stem having, flower having; palatable.

222 252 *K̲ōl.* Táktaklì tchélash gû'lam nû'kuk. Í-ukak mák̲laks hû'mtcha gû'l shtä'-ila túm, gítatoks k̲á-i tuá k̲ōl. Ámtatka sha méya pû'kgu-ishamtat shiû'lagiank, tchúi sha pû'ka; í'kagank pä'n shtápka ktáyatka. K̲ó-i pí'luitk, tídshi tadsh pä'sh; hä kaní k̲ō'l ē'nt, lû'k hû'nksh shtí'kok vû'shat.
Red (is) the stalk of the kol when ripe. Around Fort Klamath the Indians this kind of kol gather in quantity, but here (at agency) not there is any kol. With a stick they dig (it) to their roasting-place bringing it, then they roast (it); taking it out again they pound (it) with stones. Badly flavored, good however a food; if anybody kol carries on him, a grizzly bear him smelling will flee.

222 251 252 *L'bá.* Lupí' sha'hlmalχō'tchtat shápashtat l'bá nók̲a; wéwanuish stä'-ila yákitka wékank tíatka. Tsúi sha ítpampalank shpáha, shutéshluk sha gáma; skátka gáma gä'mkishtat. Wíllishikat sha íkû'ga pä'sht, tchúi sa vûmí vumí'shtat wíllishikat íkúgank.
As the first autumn-commencement in (that) month l'bá ripens; the females gather (it) in baskets, beating (it) with a paddle. And they bringing it home dry (it) for cooking they pound (it); with a pestle (they) pound in a mortar. Into sacks they fill (it) in after drying, and they bury (it) in caches, in sacks after putting it.

Léhiash k̲edshá Móatok; gí'tatoks É-ukshi k̲á-i léyash k̲édshant. Tánapsh-shítko shlē'sh léyash; wí-uka lē'ntk léyash; tchélash toks lé-isham nä'sh pétch atí taktákli shlápsh gí'tk. Móatokni shnítchí'χa lépuinatk páläsh shû'tank léhiash. K̲ú-i mä'shetk.
grows in Modoc land; but right here (at agency) in Lake country not léyash is growing. Turnip-alike to look at (is) léyash; not very deep lies léyash; stalk of léyash (is) one foot tall, red flower having. The Modocs fry (it) in frying pans into bread making léyash. Badly tasting (it is).

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Má-i. E-ukshikni máyalshuk vū'nshatka sχéna shléank é-ushtat. Tché-
The Lake people for tule-gathering in canoes row out finding (it) in lakes. The
lash sha shnū'kank íshka, yánaush pīl p'ánk púedsha. Yánakānīn
stalks they seizing pull up, their lower ends only eating throw away (the rest). Each at the lower end
pálpalī gī nép pánani. Stá-ila sha kshunē'mi, k̲á-i mā'nsh í'pka
white is hand-long. Gather (it) they at grass-time, not long (can) lie
má-i; pā'shtak sha púedsha k̲ú-i k̲lékaht.
tule; as soon as dried they cast (it) away. bad having become.

[222] [462] ***Nū'tak*** k̲édsha ntchékayant kshū'nat shaígatat; lū'k tchípashptchi gī.
grows on small grass-stalks in prairies; seeds tchipash-alike are.
Kápiunks-shítko stā'-ila nū'tak wéwanuish wékank yákitka.
Kápiunks just like gather nū'tak the women, by beating (it) into baskets.

Páwash a k̲édsha aitχáměnash k̲ō'l, k̲á-i k̲ú-i pī'luitk k̲ū'lam-shítk, lúiluyatk
grows smaller than kol, not stinking kol-like, sweet
toks kpápshash. Yaínakshi pīl sha túm shléa. Tchélash pá-usham
but to taste. At Yánaks only they much (of it) find. Stalk of páwash
wí-ukani, mū'kmukapsh pálpalsh shlápsh gī'tk. Pū'ka sha hū'nk
is low, feathered (and) white flowers having. Bake they
páwash, tchúi sha gáma, shpáhank sha í'lχa lū'ldam páshluk.
páwash, then they pound (it), after drying (it) they preserve for winter gathering in.

[252] ***Pū'ks*** nánukash-kāíla k̲édsha tū'm, títatna k̲á-i tū'mi. Pū'ks k̲édsha
everywhere grows in quantities; sometimes not in profusion. Camass grows
Óregon saígatat, tchékěnish metamétslish lelé-usam gī'tk tchélash;
on Oregonian prairies, minute blue flowers having (its) stalk;
pū'ks tchék'ni ónions-shītko shléash pálpali shánkitk gíug, pukátk
camass small onions-similarly looking, is whitish raw being, when baked
[251] tchěk lulluyatk mā'sha nóχuk. Pahátko mā'ntch gī'ntak í'pakt
then sweetly tastes when it is done. When dried, a long time afterwards it may remain,
túměni illólash k̲á-i k̲ó-i k̲'lékant. Shláps tamō'k píluitk.
for many years not spoiled may become. The flower fish-stink smells after.

[252] ***Pū'lχuantch.*** Píena mák̲laks pū'lχuantchluk pienū'tkishtka; pū'ka a sha
Scrape up the ground the Indians for gathering the chrysalids with a paddle; roast (them) they
ktáyatat k̲élpokshtat kshū'n puetílank, wáldsha tchík sha kshún,
with stones heated, grass putting under, lay on top then they grass,
kné-udshī lokáptchχa, tchúi sha kāíla k̲ā'lua pū'kūg púlχuantch.
rough bark pile up on top, then they with earth fill up for roasting the chrysalids.

Stópalsh. Mák̲laks kiamā'mi guiχakshā'migshta stópalsha pūkshāmí' tch. K̲a-
The people in fishing-season, at home-leaving time peel trees, in camass-season also.
k̲owátka sha kiulō'la stópalsh; kápka sha stópěla. Lúiluyatk stóp-
With bones they peel off the inner bark; small pine-trees they peel. Of sweet taste the
alsh; shánks hak sha pán. Kánt í-hūn shlāá shtopalhuí'sh kū'sh
bark; just raw they eat it. So many you (of them) find peeled off pine-trees
í táměnug. K̲á-i kū'sh nánuk tchū'ka stópaluish; nánka tchúk̲a.
you when travelling. Not pine-trees all perish which were peeled; some dry up.

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Táksish kálkali, paki'sh; láwal ka tánian slápshtat; kä'ilatat lû'sha, k̲á-i
cylindric, palatable; is wide that much at the bud; on the ground it lies, not
pí'lnitko.
has smell.

Tók pä'lpali kshū'n, k̲édsha é-ushtat.
is a whitish grass, grows in Lake.

Tsĭ'kal atíni kshū'n, k̲édsha é-ushtat.
(is a) high grass, grows in Lake.

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[252]
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Tchĭ'psam k̲édsha kshū'n-ptchi páta tchí'k nók̲a. Tchúi mák̲laks tchípash
grows grass-like (and) in summer-time ripens. Then Indians tchipash
shtä'ila, wéwanuish wéka ulä'χuga yákitat. Lúlukshtka tü'ksh a
gather, the women beat (it) into haul (it) in seed-baskets. In the hot coals in a fire
tchípash shnū'χa, tchúi tchí'k sha humashtgíulank péksha lem-
the tchipash they parch, and after they having thus done grind (it) on the
atchátka shilaklgí'shtka yí-ulalónank; a tchí'ksh hû'nk pekshólank
metate with the rubbing-stone rubbing; now then having done grinding
pän éwa pálatka ámbu kítuínank, tchúi sha hûmasht-gí'ulank
again they empty (it) upon a mailed dish water pouring into (it), then they after thus doing
patámpka wawálχank népatka hlópa. Gí'ta tchípash k̲á-i tû'm
begin to eat (it) sitting around with hands sop it up. Right here tchipash not in quantities
k̲édshant, Móatok pí'la toksh tû'm wawáwish gí.
(is) growing, the Modoc country only however much (of it) productive is

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Tchuá kálkali: tχopó-shítko, gét pi tchuá; k̲édsha ámbutat; ntchendshkáni
cylindric: thumb-like, so it (is) wápatu; grows in waters; rather small
tchuá, tchúyunk mák̲laks íshka tchúi tchilálank pán; kúkanka sha
(is) wápatu, and it the Indians pulling out and boiling eat; masticate they
tútatka. Taktä'kli tchuálam shlápsh; kinkáni tchuá.
with (their) teeth Purple (is) of wild-potato the flower; scarce (is) wápatu (here).

Tsuák käílatat lû'sha, pakí'sh; ka tánni tsélas: láp pē'tch; kakálkalish shláps
on ground extends, (is) eatable; so long is the stalk: two feet; round flowers
p'lái gí'tko.
on top having.

Ṫsuní'ka k̲édsha käílant, é-ushtat, walí'dshat; pakí'sh. Shlápsh 2" lawá-
grows on ground, on Lake, on cliffs; eatable. The flowers 2" are
latk, tídsh piluítko, mû lbû'ka gítk; kä'latat lû'sha.
wide, nicely smelling, a large bulb having; on ground it lies.

Wátksäm mû'na û'sha kä'latat, pakí'sh; k̲édsa walídsat, pä'lpali shlápsh.
deep lies in ground, eatable; grows among cliffs, white (is) flower.

Wí'wi atíni, k̲édsha táletat; pakí'sh shlápsh; k̲étsa pálpali.
is tall, grows on straight stalks; eatable (is) the bud; grows white.

To THE ABOVE ARE ADDED A FEW NON-ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES:

[226]

Kä'lχamsh tû'sh a tû'pka käílatat, k̲á-i pakí'sh, ptchí'nk: kiä'm-luelō'tksh
upwards stands from ground, not eatable, thus looking: as a fish-killing-article
witsólslank vû'nsat tamádsank téwas; kitchkáni shláps.
while net-fishing. in the canoe they fasten (it) on bow the forked net; small (is) the flower.

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Skáwanks pushpû'shlish shlapsháltko, k̲lä'kots, k̲édsha táletat; k̲ú-idshi, k̲á-i
has a dark flower. (is) a poisoner, grows on straight stalk; (tastes) bad, not

píkish. Pú'shχam kápkālam sχáwanks k̲ó-idse k̲'lä'kotk'sh.
eatable. The limbs of the young pine (and) wild parsnips (are) bad poisoners.

Slĕ'ds k̲á-i pakí'sh, múkmukli shláps, kiä'm-luelō'tksh; witsólslank é-ushtat shtí'lχa.
not eatable, downy flowers, a fish-killing article; while net-fishing in Lake they put it into (the net).

Tī'líhash k'lûtsuō'tch-ánku vû'nshtat shtákla.
as a "swimming-sucker"-wood on canoe they stick up.

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Wákinsh a k̲édsha pánût. Mák̲laks íshka pánût lultámpkash shutelomá-shluk, lúshnank sha shnē'lakshtat. Tchúi tchík sha núksht wá-titka vukútank shushatelóma télish, p'nā'sh ktchálχishtka shkukluápkasht; p'lû' tak sha íwínank shtéwa.
grows on the pan-tree. The Indians pick it on pan-tree sticking to smear themselves with. roast (it) they on fire-place. Then they after baking (it), with knives scraping (it), smear it on faces, themselves from sun-burns to preserve; grease they putting into mix up.

NOTES.

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Several plants in this list appear, according to grammatic rule, in the possessive case -am, while their fruits or edible portion are introduced in the subjective case. To the former the substantive ánku or tsélash has to be supplied. Small grasses are alimentary plants on account of their seeds only, while the larger aquatic grasses contain nutritive matter in their stalks. Of these notices the shortest and most laconic were obtained from Morgan, who did not enter into particulars concerning the preparation of aliments. By this list the articles on which these Indians feed are by no means exhausted; they eat almost everything found in nature which is not positively obnoxious to health and which contains a particle of nutritive matter, and hence a full list of their kitchen *répertoire* would be at least three times as long as the one obtained.

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146, 1. kak tán for ká ak tánni "so long only"; the length being shown by gesture of hand. Also expressed by ka taniáni, 149, 1. and *Note.* The yántch-plant grows to a length of 18 to 20 inches, the height of the camass- or pû'ks-plant.

146, 3. Kápiunksām. The kápiunks-seed grows on a prairie-*grass*, like the tchípash- and nû'tak-seed.

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146, 7. 14. pálpal stands for pálpali (originally pálpal-li), having lost its terminal -i by apocope; pálpalish shlapsháltko incorporates the adjective *white* into the verbal adjective "having flowers". This phrase may be circumscribed by pálpalish shlápsh gitko. Cf. 123, 6. and *Note*, and 150, 1.

146, 8. wí-ukayant kĕládshamat. Here the adjective in its locative case, used attributively, is united with the partitive case of the substantive, the original form of both being wi-ukáyantat kĕládshamti; the subjective case: wi-ukáni kĕládsham.

146, 12. Kĕnáwat or horse sorrel is mentioned in an Aíshish-myth and does not

*539 262 824 grow so tall in the cold Klamath highlands as in the Californian and Oregonian valleys adjoining them to the southwest and west, where its height attains sometimes three feet. Cf. *Note* to 94, 9.

192 [193] 146, 14. **Klána**, an aquatic or tule-grass, of which they eat a portion of the young stalk. The term "tule," from Aztec *tolin*, serves in the West to designate all kinds of rushes, stalks, and grass-like plants growing in the water and wet grounds. By **k̲ók̲ĕtat** are meant the Williamson and the Sprague Rivers.

147, 1. **Klápa** is the name of the eatable bulb or root growing on the **púdshak**-plant. The **púdshak**-grass becomes red in the autumn, when dry.

147, 3. **Ktū'ks** is the eatable root of a species of the cat-tail plant; **táletat**, locative case of **tálish** (or **tálesh?**), straight stem, from **táltali** "forming a straight, unbroken line." The **ktū'ks** grows in the water, like the wild parsnip (**skáwanks**); the natives dry the tender roots of the **ktū'ks** and bake them into a sort of bread. The epithet: "like **wókash**" probably refers to the *taste* of this kind of food.

147, 5. **Kū'ktu.** This plant attains a length of about 6 inches.

147, 6. 7. **K̲áls** is the globular bulb of the **wítchpai** water-plant.

147, 8. **K̲ä'a, k̲ä'sh.** This plant produces a hard, whitish, farinaceous bulb, which is commonly spoken of as **ípo**, a Shasti term, and is one of the most important food-articles of the Oregonian Indians. To dig or collect **k̲ä'sh**: **k̲ä'shala, k̲ä'shla.**

[252] [825] 147, 9–13. **K̲ō'l**, also pronounced **k̲ū'l, gū'l, gúl**, is a kind of Aralia. The root is eaten only when roasted, and is then very nutritious, though spreading an abominable smell. This odor is so penetrating that, as alleged, the grizzly bear will attack nobody who smells after roasted **k̲ōl**; to this we may add the restriction: "if he is not very hungry." John D. Hunter mentions in his "Manners and Customs of Indians," etc. (Phila. 1823, page 370) that the Osages ascribe to the plant washoba-pesha the power of scaring away the black bear. This plant is an annual growth possessing sudorific and cathartic properties. Washobe is the black bear, mitchú the grizzly bear in that Southern Dakota dialect.

147, 9. **hū'mtcha gū'l**: "the **k̲ōl** in this condition," viz: in the ripe state. The **k̲ōl**-plant is ripe when the stalk becomes red or reddish.

[193] 147, 10. **méya.** Speaking of *many* women digging bulbs or roots, **stá-ila, stä'-ila** is the regular form; its proper signification is: "to fill up" "to fill" (the conical root-basket worn on back, **yáki**).

147, 10. 11. **pū'kguishamtat**: "to their old roasting place"; **púkuishamat** might stand instead. The locative suffix -tat, -at is here appended to a verbal substantive of **púka**, to roast, standing in the possessive case -am, and -u- is the infix marking past tense. The guttural k has become distended into kg.

147, 12. **ĕ'nt** or **ĕ'nd** for **énat**, conditional of **éna**. Instead of **ĕ'nt, ídshant** (for **ídshnat**) may stand in the Klamath Lake dialect.

147, 14. **Lupí'** etc. The import of this sentence is: "**L'bá** ripens in the month when autumn begins."

[285] 148, 1. **Má-i** is the common reed or tule-grass growing sometimes to the height of 8 to 10 feet. The shallow borders of the lakes in the headlands of Klamath River are full of this growth, which is one of the most important economical plants for the Indian. Women manufacture from it mats, dishes, baskets, lodge covers, nets, sacks, bags, and the young stalk yields in its lower part a palatable marrow.

*539 148, 2-4. Yánakänin for yannkäníni; cf. suffix -ni, -nini in Dictionary. mä'nsh for
262 mä'ntch. pä'shtak for páhasht ak, cf. pä'sht, 147, 17. for páhasht.

824 148, 5. Nú'tak. This grass belongs to the genus Glycerium, as identified by Dr.
192 E. Foreman, and produces a tiny, grayish bright seed of tchípash size. The flowers are of a light red color. The grass is found around the agency buildings and grows about one foot high.

148, 7. Páwash properly means *tongue.*

148, 11. Pû'ks or *camass.* Its bulb is one of the principal food-articles of all the northwestern Indians, but does not grow in profusion in the warmer portions of California. It is of the magnitude of the walnut, very saccharine and nutritious, ripens in May and June, and by the roasting or baking process described in the text becomes as hard as stone. The Máklaks call it after pû'ka *to roast,* the Shasti name is sók, the Pit River name ähualé, while the name kamas, "sweet," is of Nutka origin. The botanists call the plant Scilla or Camassia esculenta. Cf. *Note* to 146, 1.

148, 14. ípakt, metathesis of ípkat, the conditional of ípka to lie there, to remain.

[222] 148, 16. púlχuantch. The gathering of this pupa or chrysalid and of its caterpillar,
[462] the aχeshí'sh, is chiefly done by the women of the tribes, who find them imbedded at
[252] no great depth in the sandy ground around pine trees. Another chrysalid, the kûlí'ga,
is collected and roasted by them in the same way and tastes like eggs. kshû'n puetílank: putting grass under the chrysalids, not under the heated stones. The stones are replaced by other heated ones, as soon as they have cooled off; the larva assumes a black color after roasting and tastes like eggs. See púlχuantch in Dictionary.

[221] 148, 19. guiχakshä'migshta. The season of the year, when the exodus of the whole
[222] tribe to Klamath Marsh takes place, where pond-lily seed is collected for the winter,
[193] is about the middle of June. The ending -ta is an abbreviation of the case suffix -tat.
Three seasons are stated in the text, when the peeling of the inner or fibre bark of small pine trees is performed; of these the camass-season precedes the exodus to Klamath Marsh by a few weeks only, and the fishing season lasts from February to the end of the summer. Of course, the peeling of the kápka-pine coincides with the season when the sap ascends through the young tree. The bark is removed from about five feet to fifteen or twenty feet above the ground, and most of the beautiful pines treated in this manner are doomed to premature decay, though many survive the operation. The aspect of a forest with some of the pine trees peeled is rather singular.

148, 21. shánks hak, contraction of shánkish hak or ak.

149, 1. ka-tánian for ka taniáni "so much in width or extent." The bud of the táksish has a width of about half an inch. Cf. *Note* to 146, 1.

149, 3. 4. tók. This aquatic grass grows about two feet high; by ó-ushtat is meant, here and in tsi'kal: Upper Klamath Lake.

(194) 149, 3. pä'lpali, vocalic dissimilation of pálpali or pä'lpäli; cf. taktä'kli 149, 14.

149, 5. Tchí'psam is a prairie grass on which the brown tchípash-seed grows. This seed is extremely small, and it takes a long time before a sufficient quantity of it is
(178) gathered to afford a meal for a family. Still smaller is the nútak-seed, and both are striking instances of the persistence of the Indians in keeping up their old mode of living, when by agriculture and stock-raising they could procure provisions with infinitely less trouble and in much shorter time.

*539 149, 6. tü'ksh is probably the adessive case of tóke (ō) fire-place, hearth: tók-kshi.

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149, 12. Tchuá is the long, cylindric root of the Sagittaria sagittifolia, an aquatic plant common in the West and East of the United States. In Oregon the term *potato* or wápatu (Chinook jargon) is most commonly heard for it. The name of Chewaukan Marsh, a sink and low ground situated east of Upper Klamath Lake, is a corruption of Tchuaχē'ni: "where the arrow-leaf is found." The flower of the wápatu varies between red, reddish and whitish.

149, 17. Tsuni'ka. The flower has a diameter from two to three inches.

149, 21. Kû'lχamsh is put on strings by the women and thus serves to attract the fish.

149, 21. ptchi'nk: after this word ought to be seen the picture of a tiny vegetal cylinder, about one inch long and slightly curved.

[386] 150, 1. Skáwanks or wild parsnip, a poisonous plant growing in wet places to the height of three feet.

150, 8. p'nä'sh, contracted from p'nálash, is the direct object (reflective) of shkukluápkasht: to guard themselves against becoming chapped by sun-burns. The wákinsh seems to be a kind of resin and furnishes a red paint, as does also the k'lépki.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSHAM SHUÍ'SH SHUINŌ'TKISH TCHÍSH.

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INCANTATION SONGS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

1. *Introductory song:*

Yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní *etc.* ⏑ ⏑ ∸ | ⏑ ⏑ ∸ | ⏑ ⏑ ∸

I sing, I sing, I sing (in chorus).

2. *Song, reference unknown:*

Wiwiwá! ní shááwalsh wítnank! ⏑ ∸ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ∸ | ∸ ⏑

Blown off! the plume-crest has disappeared from me!

3. *Song of the wind:*

Kanítala m'sh û shlewitaknû'la? ⏑ ∸ | ⏑ ⏑ ∸ | ⏑ ∸ | ⏑ ∸ ⏑
népaksh a-i ní'sh shlewitaknû'la. ⏑ ∸ | – – | ⏑ ∸ | ⏑ ∸ ⏑

Who, I wonder, is blowing out of my mouth?
The disease is emanating from my mouth.

4. *The conjurer's song:*

Tuá kí nû shatashtaknû'la? ⏑ ∸ | – – | ⏑ ∸ | ⏑ ∸ | ⏑
nä'paks nû shatashtaknû'la. ∸ | – – | ⏑ ∸ | ⏑ ∸ | ⏑
tuá kí' nû shatashtatχí'sh? ⏑ ∸ | – – | ⏑ ∸ | ⏑ ∸
nä'paks nû shatashtatχí'sh. ∸ | – – | ⏑ ∸ | ⏑ ∸

What do I remove from my mouth?
The disease I extract from my mouth.
What is the thing I take out?
It is the disease I am taking out.

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5. *Song of the woodchuck:*

Käila nû gutí'la nû –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | ⏑

I am descending into the ground.

6. *Little girl's song:*

Shmashmáyalti, shmashmáyalti – ⏑ –́ ⏑ | – ⏑ –́ ⏑

In quill-fringed buckskin dressed,
In porcupine-fringed buckskin dressed.

7. *Song of the washpálaks-fox:*

Ă'kală'kĕla nû, ă'kală'kĕla nû –́ ⏑ | – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ‖ –́ ⏑ | – ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Long and slim I am, long and slim I am.

8. *Song of the fire-mantle:*

Lû'luksash nû shkutíya –́ ⏑ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑ | –́

In fire-flames I am enveloped.

9. *Song of the tuákish-crane:*

Nû shnû'lashtat nû tgelí'wa ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

I stand upon the rim of my nest.

10. *Song of the blind medicine-girl:*

Tchatchĕlushkánka nû tchíutchiûsh shneχí'tko
– ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | – ⏑ –́ | ⏑

I search the ground with my hands, find there the feathers of the yellow hammer and devour them.

11. *Another song of the same:*

Palák! ish hû lûlpalpalíat! ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | –

Quick! make ye eyes for me!

12. *Bird's song:*

Nû'sh pí'lan tiláluansha –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑

As a head only, I roll around.

13. *Song, reference unknown:*

Tuá pash nû? tuá pash ă nû? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ‖ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́

What am I? what am I?

14. *Song, reference unknown:*

Há lúyam'na, nû lúyam'na ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

This round thing I hold in my hand.

15. *Song of the long-tailed black marten:*

A wálχatchăka nû gatáml'χa –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I the black marten, I travel around this land.

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16. *Song of the skunk:*

Yámashtka nû tuituigídaha –́ ⏑|–́ ⏑|–́ ⏑|–́ ⏑

In the north wind I dance around, tail spread, festive and gay.

17. *Chorus song:*

Tuá kí nû k̲óga? ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑
nä'paks ai nû k̲óga. –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑

What do I suck out? The disease I am sucking out.

18. *Song of the boards:*

Pápkash huálta –́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑

Lumber-boards are rattling.

19. *Song of the lizard:*

Kí! kí'ya nû aíkana –́ ⏑|–́ ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑

Lo! thus I the lizard stick my head out.

20. *Song, reference unknown:*

Yámash ai nû'sh wílamnapka –́ ⏑|–́ ⏑|–́ ⏑|–́ ⏑

The north wind has followed me.

21. *Song of the black mouse:*

Tuá kí nû tashulóla? ⏑ –́|⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑
nä'poks ai nû tashulû'la. ⏑ –́|⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑

Through what do I pass with my paws?
My paws glide over the hair of the disease.

22. *Song of the washpálaks-fox:*

L'ékish, l'ékish gená –́ ⏑|–́ ⏑|⏑ –́

Crazed I am wandering.

23. *Song of the weasel:*

Shä'ka nû, shéka nû –́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑

I am squealing, I am squalling.

24. *Song of the dog:*

Wátchag ai nû nû'kanka, –́ ⏑|–́ ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑
yámashtka nû nû'kanka. –́ ⏑|–́ ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑

I the dog am straying.
In the north wind I am straying.

25. *Song, reference unknown:*

Shlä'wish á-i nísh wílhua –́ ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑

The storm gust dashes right on me.

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26. *Song, reference unknown:*

Mû'mëni gé-u stû'kish gi –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Heavy hailstones I possess.

27. *Song, reference unknown:*

Naínaya! ní'sh shléwish wítnank! ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́

I am shivering! the wind blows down on me!

28. *Song of the bug:*

Shaíχish a-i ní k̲óga –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I the bug, I bite and suck.

29. *Song of the mink:*

Mû'ashtka nû udumulípka –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am swimming out while the south wind blows.

30. *Song of the young silver-fox:*

Wánam wéash nû wilamnápka –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | – ⏑

The young red fox I follow up.

31. *The incantation sings:*

Shuí'sh hátak nû géna nû

I the song I am walking here.

32. *Fox's song:*

Laláalashtala wiká nû ⏑ –́ | – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am blowing air from my flanks.

33. *Song of the tuákish-crane:*

Tuánχi, tuánχi, tuánχi, tuánχi . . . . . nû. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

34. *Songs, forming refrains to song No.* 33.

a-ahahíya, a-aha-a-ahíya –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
a nû hé-e-i, a nû hé-e-i ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ ‖ ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

35. *Song of the disease:*

Tuá nû shlewílam'na? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | – ⏑
népaks an shlewílam'na. –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | – ⏑

What thing do I blow around?
The disease I am blowing around in the air.

36. *Song of the grizzly bear's cub:*

Yaínatat nû eitaktnúla, –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
lû'k̲am nû wéash gi. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

On the mountain top I am peeping out,
Of the grizzly bear I am the child.

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37. *Song of the female wolf:*

Kă′-utchish gû′lû h′ílantana –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I, the she-wolf, am rolling against (a tree!)

38. *Spoken by the conjurer while manipulating:*

Netá, netá . . . . hahayí-ía
Nenû′, nenû′ . . . . hahayí-ía

39. *Song of the tchiwititikaga-bird:*

K̲ú-i witíla, k̲ú-i witíla –́ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑ ‖ –́ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑

Fearfully the wind blows underneath here.

40. *Song of the blind girl:*

Lúashtka nû lû′tchipka, –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
kăíla nákant ní lúyapka. – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

In the fog I am straying blind,
All over the earth I am wandering.

41. *Song of the water-bug:*

Ádshi ádshi tcháya, ádshi ádshi tcháya –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ – ‖ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ –

42. *Song of the grizzly bear:*

Kăíla nû hû shlû′tila –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

I am scratching up the ground.

43. *Song of the little gray tchikass-bird:*

Yaínash a-i nû shlulóla –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑

I am wafted off from the mountain.

44. *Song of the skō′ks or spirit:*

K̲akó píla nû la-uláwa

Reduced to mere bones, I rattle through the air.

45. *Sung by the disease, found to live in water:*

Shléwishash nû tilutaknû′la

Breath I am emitting.

46. *Song of the grizzly bear:*

Tunépni gé-u wélwash gí, ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́
páltko gé-u wélwash gi. –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́

I have five water springs and (all) my springs are dry.

47. *Song of the black snake:*

Wámnaksh ai í′ nû tûnûlúla ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑

I the black-spotted snake am hanging here.

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48. *Conjurer's own song:*

Käilanti nû shí'lshíla –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

I, the earth, am resounding like the roll of thunder.

49. *Bird's song:*

Nená nû, nená nû ⏑ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

I flutter along the ground (while walking).

50. *Song of the grizzly bear:*

Yaínalam shulúyualsh –́ ⏑ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑ –

51. *Woman's song:*

Shutpashuítk gûn snewédshash gî, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
shutpashuítk a ní snewédshash gî. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Painted I am on the body,
I, a woman, am painted black.

52. *Song of the weasel:*

Gaíkash, gaíkash nuyámna –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

Fooling, fooling I run around.

53. *Song of the gray fox:*

Nánuktua nû papí'sh gî – –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

Everything I can devour.

54. *The conjurer speaks as follows:*

Hû'masht	hûk	gēk	lupí'	kálkĕla,	hût	hûnk	tchí'ka-ag	tutíχólatk
Therefore	this (patient)		first	was hurt,	that		(his) mother	after dreaming

unák	pápka.	At	tchĭk	hûnk	kē'k	k̲'lékshashtala	télshampka.
early	ate.	Then		this (patient)		to the spirit-land	turned his face.

55. *Conjurer speaks:*

Kágga	waktála	î	nûshχē'ni	nía	hémkanksh	wáshî	liwátchamp-
What	(and) why then	you	towards me	a while ago	were speaking	indoors	to hold up (the

kîsh ?
patient) ?

56. *Conjurer's song:*

Tuátala nish hû lχetk̲núla ? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – –́ | ⏑
gû'pal a-í nish lχetk̲núla. –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑

What is coming out of my mouth ?
Black substance is hanging down from my mouth.

57. *Song, reference unknown:*

Lúash ai nû'sh a lû'lamnapka –́ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑

Fog followed drifting after me.

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58. *Song of the turtle:*

Tuá ki nish lé-ula? ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑

Which game did you play with me?

NOTES.

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This long series of shamanic songs in use on the Williamson River was obtained from *Mary*, a young pupil of the boarding school of Indian children at the Klamath agency. When living among the Indians on the Williamson River she had heard all these songs very frequently, and in an interesting evening entertainment she faithfully reproduced the manipulations of the male and female conjurers upon a little rag baby lying on the floor on a bed made up of old blankets, the figure representing some poor suffering Indian patient. The other Indian girls of the school joined in a lively chorus every time when she had fairly started any of these incantations, and given the signal by clapping hands.

On the day following these incantations were dictated, translated and explained to me by *Minnie Froben*, assisted by Mary, and though both persisted in the statement that the order in which the songs are sung was quite immaterial, I present them here in the order in which I obtained them.

Each of these song-lines is sung many times by the conjurer, then *repeated* by the chorus a dozen times or more. The chorus varies the melody somewhat each time, but this musical variation is so slight and insignificant that the general impression of monotony is not dispelled by it. Quite a number of these songs have very pretty melodies, but by long repetition even these must of course produce tediousness and disgust; other songs have weird and strange tunes, others are quaint, but almost repulsive by their shrill accents; these may be said to form the transition to the mere howls and imitations of animal voices, which are frequent also in doctoring ceremonies, but more frequent in the war-shouts and funereal cries and wailings.

The animal or object of nature to which the conjurer attributes each of the song-lines was not remembered in every instance. Where this reference was obtained, it was added at the head of the song or song-line. The animals mentioned in these songs are all supposed to have been sent out by the conjurer to look out for the whereabouts of the *personified* disease, from which the patient is suffering, and whatever the conjurer sings about the animals refers to what he sees them doing while on their errand. On the distinction made between shuí'sh and shuinö'tkish cf. *Note* to song 9.

Kiúksam shuí'sh is not merely a conjurer's song, but a mysterious agency connected with a spell of preternatural power. This spell is not exclusively attached to a song sung by a conjurer, but it may be borne also by a dream, disease, by some drug, or by that kind of witchcraft which is called elsewhere the evil eye. Kiúksam shuí'sh is therefore a beneficial or destructive tamánuash agency, which when applied to a patient can cure him or make him worse; when appearing under the shape of a dream, it is a dream of good or one of bad augury.

The conjurer sometimes diversifies his songs, all of which are sung in the *minor* keys, by inserting spoken words relating to the condition of the patient and the effects of his treatments; specimens of this are given in 38. 54. 55. Parts of them are also repeated by the chorus.

*539 533 755 Many Indians do not understand all these songs, which contain many archaic forms and words, and the conjurers themselves are generally loth to give their meaning, even if they should understand them. Some songs are of a stereotypic application in the treatment of all or the majority of the maladies. A close familiarity with the habits of animals of the forest manifests itself throughout, as well as in the mythic tales.

*539 533 755 192 The translations added by me are not literal; they render the meaning of the songs in a free and paraphrastic manner. In the metrics the accentuated syllables designate a higher pitch of the singing voice.

153; 2. Literally: "I blew off the feather-crest."

153; 3. To read: shléwi witχnû'lank, seems preferable in this connection. Cf. 35.

[292] 154; 6. On grand occasions young women were in the habit of dressing in buckskin robes, fringed with porcupine quills (shmáyalsh). In a myth the bull-frog was reported to wear constantly this kind of dress, and hence originated a sort of proverbial locution: kó-e shmashmáyalti: "the bull-frog in the shmáyalsh-dress." Cf. shmáyam. Zoologists call this frog: Rana pipiens.

154; 7. This is called washpaláksam shul'sh, the medicine-song of the washpálaks-fox species, Vulpes velox. The exterior of this fox may be sketched by the words: ä'kelä'kĕla wátchag hû'tchnuk, a long-bodied dog is running or trotting. Cf. song 22.

154; 9. This is called the tuákSham shuinō'tkish or incantation sung by the crane itself through the mouth of the conjurer. Nobody could hear the bird's voice if the conjurer did not sing its song. A song, which the conjurer sings for himself and by which he does not interpret any animal or other object of nature, is called kiúksam shul'sh and is endowed with magic powers. In the West of the United States the tuákish is popularly known as shitepoke, in the East as fly-up-the-creek.

[825] 154; 10. The feathers of the yellow hammer are worn on neck as an ornament.

[301] 154; 12. This refers to a certain large bird not specified, which contracts its body, so that the head seems to be its largest part. When walking, the bird seems to roll around on the prairie. Pílan for píla nû.

154; 14. The object to which song 14 refers is not known.

154; 15. Walχátchaga is very probably, though not certainly, a kind of marten. Mantles were made of its fur. This rimed incantation is called walχátchkalam shuinō'tkish.

155; 16. Called: tchásHisham shuinō'tkish; melody very pretty. The diphthong ui is pronounced here as *one* syllable. Skunks, while running around, are in the habit of holding straight up their bushy tails, which are almost as long as their bodies.

155; 17. This pretty song is chanted by the choristers while the kiuks feigns to suck out of the body the tiny object which is supposed to have caused the disease, and before he gets it out. k̲óga, k̲óka means originally *to bite;* bite first, then suck the disease out.

155; 18. Pápkash is pronounced almost like pávkash; 144, 11. k̲ópk̲a like k̲óvka.

155; 19. Alludes to a peculiar nodding observed in lizards when running out of their holes and stopping at the issue.

155; 20. The animal to which this song refers is not known. Compare No. 16. 24. The literal meaning is: "The north wind blows around me from the distance."

155; 21. This song, with a beautiful melody, is the shuinō'tkish of a mouse species with pig-like proboscis.

*539 155; 22. l'ékah, lékah, distr. lélakah crazy, maddened, intoxicated. This song is
533 sung also: lē-é'kah, lē-é'kah gená: ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ Cf. 154; 7.

755 155; 23. The weasel is squealing, because hunters have caught or trapped it.

192 156; 26. Probably refers to one of those birds to whom the power is attributed to bring about storms, fog, snow, or any change of the weather.

156; 27. Compare songs 2 and 3.

156; 28. This bug, perhaps a scarabee, bites the skin to suck out the disease from the wound.

156; 30. This is probably a song of the wind, not of the young silver-fox (as I was told), and I have translated it as such. The song No. 20 is analogous to it in every respect; the winds, which the Indians constantly compare with the spread of the disease, are frequently mentioned in these songs as blowing upon some animal or other object sent out by the conjurer to discover the whereabouts of the disease. Cf. No. 16. 20. 24. 25. 29. 30. 43. and 57.

156; 32. This song is said to allude to the circumstance that one fox's howl seems to sound like the cries of many foxes howling together. Lalálash are both sides of one and the same beast.

156; 33. With these monotonous sounds the tuákash or tuákish calls itself by its own cry: tuák, wák, tuák. Tuányi is: tuák ni gi "tuák I am crying." Cf. 154; 9. Two refrains to this line are formed by the two lines of No. 34.

156; 35. The *personified* disease spreads the germs of sickness through the atmosphere. This song is comparable to songs 3 and 45.

157; 37. The signification of h'ílantana could not be disclosed, but it seems to be similar to that of tílantana.

157; 39. This small bird is dark, and has a red or yellow neck.

157; 43. Speaks of a fog drifting away from the mountains and turning into a cloud, which is drifting also.

157; 44. The bones of a dead person's skeleton are supposed to rattle against each other, the spirit being here identified with the skeleton.

157; 46. Often sung wélwashi gi; epenthetic syllables are frequent in these songs, *e. g.* walyátchika in song 15.

157; 47. The wáměnigsh or wámn'aks, a species of Pityophis, has large black spots and frequently occurs in the Klamath country. Tunulúla means to hang down over something as over a rock.

158; 48. This is sung when water is poured over the patient. A more literal translation would be: "I am resounding within the ground."

[823] 158; 50. Yaínalam shulúyualsh means round, cylindric or globiform objects standing in a row on a mountain. The den of the grizzly bear is supposed to be in the mountains or on a mountain top. Cf. song 36. My informants did not know what the objects were which stood in a series, but if any religious notions were connected with them, we may compare the three sacred rocks standing on a mountain top in Peruvian mythology. These rocks were fetishes indicative of stone worship, representing a mother with two sons. Another myth mentions four of them, representing Catequil (the god of thunder), Viracocha, a sun god and a fire god. The song No. 50 is sung by the chorus while the kinks is dancing.

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158; 51. The paint was put on expressly for the dance and smeared across her breast or anywhere on body; gûn for kē nû, gē nû, vowel û inverted.

158; 54. These spoken words are also repeated by the choristers. The repetition is very long and noisy and winds up in a howling. tutiχólatko, after having ceased to dream. This would imply, that after dreams fasting must be observed as a religious custom. k̲'lékshashtala for the correct form k̲'lekápkashtala. This phrase occurs in 68, 8., and is explained in *Note*.

158; 55. The meaning is rather obscure, probably owing to omissions.

Kiúksham shuí'sh.

CONJURER'S INCANTATIONS.

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Obtained from Chief Johnson and Sub-chief Dave Hill.

1. *Song of the disease:*

Nä'pakshtka hínui nû; k̲aluáshtat nû

By sickness I am prostrate; I am (now) up in the clear sky.

2. *Song of the woodpecker:*

Kóshash ká-a nû piupíutánna –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am picking hard at the bark of a pine tree.

3. *Song of the túktukuash-hawk:*

Kuáta nû tchiliká nû ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑

I am pinching hard.

4. *Song of the white-headed eagle:*

K̲aluáshtat nû tchutchúa ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑

I am croaking high up in the skies.

5. *Song of the weasel:*

Käflash nû shuína a ni yána ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́

From under the ground I am singing.

6. *Song of the mink:*

Atín tchelä'wash géna ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́

Ripples in the water-sheet I am spreading far and wide.

7. *Song of the skunk:*

Té-i, té-i, ksiúlχa –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

With shortened steps I am dancing.

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8. *Song of the quiver:*

Yáhiash nû tadsí tadsí –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | – ⏑ | –́

9. *Song by a companion of the old frog:*

Kú-e weléḵash nû wélwash tchalekíya ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ ⏑

An old frog-woman I sit down at the spring.

10. *Song of the gáwi-bird:*

Sháwalish haí nû shlatan. íya –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑

A flint-headed arrow I am ready to dispatch.

11. *Song of the eagle-feather:*

Mû'kash a gí nû, gená nû, hō –́ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́

I am the eagle-feather, I am going down, hō!

12. *Song, reference unknown:*

K̲ú-i hai nen ksíul'ka

I feel too bad for dancing.

13. *Song of the dwarf:*

Na'hnías naní naní naní-a a á nanía . . . . . . nanī, naní-ī-ā

14. *Song, reference unknown:*

Käfla nû spí'amna –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

I am dragging out dirt.

15. *Song, reference unknown:*

Sháppashti nû lak̲í gí

I am the lord of the sun.

16. *Song of the shaiχish-bird:*

Shaiχí'sh gúluaga lulamnóla ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | – –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑

I the little black female bird am lost and strayed.

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162; 1. By others this song was given as follows: Nä'paks kinuína ḵalowát nû: "I the disease am meandering through the skies." This variant is evidently preferable to the one above.

162; 2. In the Sahaptin language of the Yákima, Washington Territory, a certain bird is called piúpiu; the Klamath Lakes call a spotted kind of woodpecker shpíu'hpush. Both terms are derived from an onomatopoetic radix piu, imitating the picking at the bark by the woodpecker.

162; 3. The túktuknash or fish-hawk, Pandion carolinensis, occurs in large numbers on the lakes of the Klamath highlands. Like that of many other birds, its Indian name is derived onomatopoetically from its cry.

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162; 4. Of the yaúχal, white-headed or bald eagle, Haliaetus leucocephalus, another conjurer's song was obtained. Cf. 165; 5.

162; 5. The wording of this song could not be obtained with certainty.

162; 6. Stands for: ati tchelā'wash nû géna.

162; 7. té-i, té-i has no meaning, but simply serves to beat the measure when dancing with short steps.

163; 8. This song is said to be that of the quiver (tókanksh) and its purport the same as that of No. 7. Yáhiash is a kind of aquatic bird.

163; 9. A similarly worded song is in the Modoc collection, given by Toby Riddle.

163; 10. Sháwalsh is here lengthened into sháwallsh for metrical reasons.

163; 11. This is a favorite song of a kíuks on the Williamson River, called Skúkum Doctor (stout doctor). Given by Dave Hill, also 12 and 13.

[776] 163; 13. Foot-prints not larger than those of a baby are sometimes discovered in the higher mountains of the Cascade Range. The Indians refer them to a dwarf called na'hnias, whose body can be seen by the conjurers of the tribe only. The dwarf gives them his advice for curing the sicknesses of others and inspires them with a superior kind of knowledge.

163; 14–16 were dictated by an Indian whom I found at Linkville.

163; 15. The name of the animal, probably a bird, to which this conjurer's song refers was not obtained. Cf. shápsam ptchíwip in Dictionary.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSAM SHUÍ'SH.

* 539 533 755 [115]

INCANTATIONS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE CONJURERS.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN.

1. *Song of the Lake:*

Ktsálui gé-u é-ush

My lake is glittering in azure colors.

2. *Song of the rain-storm:*

Gé-u a-i népaka népka,
gûlkásh gé-u hû shuísh.

The disease produced by me has arrived,
I am the storm and wind and this is my song.

3. *Song of the conjurer's arrow:*

Gé-u a hû't hănă'sish

This here is my long magic arrow.

4. *Song of the North wind:*

Yámsam gé-u gē'-ish kápa -́ - - ⏑ | -́ ⏑ - -

I am the North wind, and in my path I am irresistible.

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5. *Song of the yaúkal-eagle:*

P'laína nû kshakí'dsha –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

High up in the skies I describe my magic circles.

6. *Song of the little sucker:*

Yénash ai nish aléwish wíta –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Now the wind-gust sings about me, the yĕn-fish.

7. *Words sung by the East wind:*

Yéwa, yéwa, yéwa, yéwa –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Easter, easter, eastern, eastern.

8. *Song of a black snake:*

Kámtilagam gé-u génhuish –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ –

This is mine, the black snake's, gait.

9. *Conjurer's kat'hiáwash-incantation:*

Gé-u hût ké-ish kat'hiáwasam

Thus I walk when I tie up the hair.

10. *Song of the black ground-mouse or kōlóyua:*

Munána nû shuiná

Down in the dark ground I am singing my strain.

11. *Conjurer's song of the rope:*

Kĕnúks a-i nû stû'nχi-uapk ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | – ⏑ ⏑

I will pull a rope from my entrails.

12. *Gray wolf's song:*

Ké-utchish ai nû shuí'sh gi –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am the gray wolf magic song.

13. *Song of the female lizard, kí'a k̲álu:*

Skû'lala gé-u kä'la kíalam ké-ish

The land on which I, the female lizard, am treading, belongs to the lark.

14. *Song of the male lizard, kí'a lak̲i:*

Ktsálui kí'alam gé-u ké-ish

When I the lizard am walking, my body is resplendent with colors.

15. *Song of the kilídshiksh-duck:*

Tselćwa gé-u é-us ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ –

In my lake ripples I am spreading.

16. *Song of the yellow jacket or kí'nsh:*

Nû' ai nen nûtû'yamna

Here I am buzzing around.

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17. *Song of the young deer's claws:*
Kodaí'ngs a gé-u wálta
My deer-claws are rattling.

18. *Song of the kshí'kshnish-hawk:*
Wéash á-i nû kshûkátkal ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
I carry my offspring with me.

19. *Song of the pelican or kúmal:*
Há wíshtkak nû núyamna – ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ ⏑
Noisily I am blowing around.

20. *Song of the swan:*
Kû'sham gé-u wítchtaks
By me, by the swan, this storm has been produced.

21. *Woman's song:*
Kutchí'ngshka hû' mû'luesh
The feet of a young deer are my medicine-tools.

22. *Song of the male k̲áls or k̲álχalsh-bird:*
K̲ā'lsam gé-u lúmalaks
This is my song, the kálsh-bird's, who made the fog.

23. *Song of the female k̲áls-bird:*
K̲álsam kû'lo gé-u lû'malaks
Like my consort, the kálsh-bird, I produce fog at will.

24. *Song of the otter or kólta:*
Conjurer: Gútkaks gé-u népk
The small-pox brought by me, the otter, is upon ye.
Chorus: K̲illí'lga kóltam génuish
The otter's tread has whirled up the dust.

25. *Conjurer's song:*
K̲ó-idsi ai nû shuí'sh gí
I am a conjurer's fatal song.

26. *Funeral song:*
Lû'luksam nû skû'tchaltko
I am now wrapped in the garments of fire-flame.

27. *Song of the mámaktsu-duck:*
Gutitgúlash gé-u népka ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑
Belly-ache is the disease which I carry along with me.

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28. *Song of mpámpaktish-duck:*

Gutí'tkuls gé-u nä'paks

Belly-ache is the disease I am bringing on.

29. *Song of the South wind:*

Mû'ash ai nû' shuí'sh gí, ⊥ ⏑ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑
käíla nû wikánsha. ⊥ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⊥ ⏑

I am the South wind's magic song and sweep over the earth.

30. *Song of the conjurer's implements:*

Tchí hû tché-us mû'luash;
kóltam gé-u hû mû'luash,
sχí'l gé-u hû mû'luash.

So looks the medicine-tool taken from the yellow hammer;
This is my curing-tool, that of the otter;
This is my curing-tool, that of the otter-skin belt.

31. *Song of the black náta-duck:*

Nû ai náta shuí'sh

The náta-duck is now singing about itself.

32. *Song of the nú'sh-tilansnéash-bird:*

Lû'paksh gé-u mû'luash ⊥ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑ ⏑

White chalk is my medicine-tool.

33. *Song of the pipe:*

Kátchkalam mû'luash,
pä'ks gé-u mû'luash.

The smoking pipe is my medicine-tool, the implement for the tobacco.

34. *Song of the scoop:*

É-usam mû'luash,
pála hû gé-u mû'luash hû.

This scooping-paddle is my curing-instrument, that tool used on the lake.

35. *Song of the póp-tchikas bird:*

Póp-tsikas nû' shuí'sh gí ⊥ ⏑ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑

I am the incantation of the little póp-tsikas bird.

36. *Song of the shkä'-bird:*

Nû ai nen nû shuí'sh gí, ⊥ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑
p'laína nû kakí'dsa. ⊥ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑

I am a magic song and circle high above the earth.

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37. *Song of Old Marten or Skélamtch:*

Nû' ai nen aggí'dsha ⊥⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑

I go up and stick fast to the tree.

38. *Song of spirits' walking-stick, or skú'ksam hä'kskish:*

Skû'ks ai nû sí'kamba í

Leaning on a staff, I the dead man's spirit am traveling.

39. *Song of the large black woodpecker:*

Sk̲û'kashak nû nä'pka

I the young woodpecker have brought on sickness.

40. *Song of the strap made of otter skin (sχí'l):*

Sχí'l ai nû mû'luash, ⊥⏑⏑|⊥⏑⏑
sχí'l ai nû shuí'sh gi. ⊥⏑⏑|⏑⊥⏑

I the skin-strap am a conjurer's tool, I am a magic song.

41. *Song of the sχí'b-bird:*

Sχí'pa nû shuí'sh

Of the sχíb-bird I am the song.

Or, in other words:

I the sχíb-bird am singing about myself.

42. *Song of the storm-blast:*

Sléwish ai nû wuyámna

I the storm-wind I wind around.

43. *Song of the lark:*

Nánukash gé-u nä'paksh,
Skólälam gé-u nä'paksh.

The disease brought on by me, the lark, spreads everywhere.

44. *Song of the spú'm or female shkä'-bird:*

Käflash nû shñolóka

I am snapping at the ground.

45. *Song of the sweat-lodge stick-hole:*

Steaúsawalks gé-u shuí'sh gi ⊥⏑⏑|⊥⏑⏑|⊥⏑

This is my song, that of the stick-hole.

46. *Song of the loon or táplal:*

Tselé'wash nish shiálamnû taplálas

I am the loon and my waves follow me.

47. *Song of the bodily pains:*

Tatktí'sh ai nû nä'pka

I the painfulness have come upon ye.

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48. *Song of famine or hunger:*

Tiä'mish ai gé-u nä'pka

The pangs of hunger I carry about.

49. *Song of the West wind:*

Tχalamtálkni k̲ú-idsi nû
sléwish hû widsápka.

I the West wind, high above the earth I blow as a pernicious wind-gust.

50. *Song of the túktukuash fish-hawk:*

P'laína nû kshakédsha,
k̲aló nî kshékansha.

High up in the skies I soar and turn my circles.
Through the clear skies I am carrying my prey.

51. *Song of the tsákĕnush, an aquatic bird:*

Kä'lash ak nû wúya tsákĕnûsh

I the tsákĕnush would like to fly over the country.

52. *Song of a gray aquatic fowl, called tchákiuks:*

Shaíkish ai nû yû'ta ∸ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑

I the shaíkish I walk with ponderous steps.

53. *The little boy's song:*

Tsákiag a-i nû shuí'sh gî,
lĕmé-ish a-i nû shuí'sh gî.

This is my own, the little boy's, song;
About the thunder I am singing now.

54. *Song of the tsántsan-hawk or kingfisher:*

Tsála-esh nû k̲ók̲a tsántsan – ⏑ ∸ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ | ∸ –

I the tsántsan-bird am eating up the salmon.

55. *Song of the weasel or tsásgai:*

Ktsálui nû génhuish

While walking I shine in my multiple colors.

56. *Weasel's magic song:*

Tsaskáyam gé-u kä'la,
guyúma ké-u kä'la.

Mine is this ground, the weasel's,
Muddy is my ground, the weasel's.

57. *Song of the tcháwash-fish:*

Tsáwas ai nû shuí'sh gî

I the tsáwas-fish am singing my own song.

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58. *Song of the tsí'ktu-hawk:*

Yámash a nû shuí'sh;
yámash a gé-u shuí'sh.

About the north wind I am singing.
About the cold winds I am singing.

59. *Tsisχiχi-bird's song:*

Nû ai nen nû shuí'sh gi

I am singing about myself.

60. *Song of the tsiutsíwăsh-bird:*

Tsiutsiwă'sam kē'sh múlua

The snow made by me, the tsiutsíwăsh-bird, is ready to arrive.

61. *Song of the blue jay, or tsχă-utsχă'-ush:*

Sankáwaltk ai nû shuí'sh

High-crested I sing my song.

62. *Song of the large black vulture:*

Tchuaísh ai nû naggí'dsa

I the vulture describe my circles in the air.

63. *Song of the wákash-crane:*

Wákas ní tcheklé̂la

I the wákash-crane crouch on the water's edge.

64. *Song of the young wákash-crane:*

Wakáshak nû nä'pka

The disease brought on comes from me, the young wákash-bird.

65. *Woodpecker's song:*

Wákwakins wínta wálashtat

I, the woodpecker, am holding *fast* the tree-stem.

66. *Song of the wá'hlas-tree:*

Walásh ai nû wawíkanka ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑

I the pole-tree am shaking my crown.

67. *Song of the wá-u'htuash-duck:*

Wa-u'htû'ssam gé-u nä'pka ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑

A sickness has come, and I the wá-u'htuash-duck have produced it.

68. *Song of the mallard-duck:*

Wä'-aks ai ní tchéwa –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I the mallard float on the water's bosom.

69. *Song of the wéiwash-goose:*

Gé-u ai hû't wítchtaks

This tempest is my work.

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70. *Song of the little wipĕlí'wash forest-bird:*

Wipĕli'wash nû shuí'sh gi,
wuiplé'wĕsh nû shuí'sh.

My own song I sing, I the wipĕlíwash-bird.
I the wuipléwash am singing about myself.

71. *Song of the witkatkish-hawk:*

Gé-u aí hû tú' sáwals, –́ – | –́ – – | –́ ⏑
witkatkísam gé-u sáwals. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ – | –́ ⏑

My head-crest this is, it is that of the witkatkish-hawk.

NOTES.

[825] The incantations obtained from Morgan are mostly of the kind called shuinō'tkish, and a large number of them are attributed to birds. Some of them probably exist in a more explicit form, which was not remembered, and the rhythmic or musical form *539 was obtained of a part of them only. A literal translation of these song-lines is an 533 impossibility in most instances, if their sense has to be rendered in full; I have there-755 fore furnished only paraphrastic interpretations. The list is alphabetic, and was 172 arranged after the names of the animals, or other personified objects, to which the incantations are attributed. Many of these songs are referred to in the "Subject List of Incantations" given by Morgan.

164; 1. Ktsálui, to be resplendent with colors, is mainly said of objects showing a blue or purple tinge: pú'ksam shláps ktsáluitko, the camass-plant has a bluish color. This verb is also used when speaking of the rainbow; of the lizard: 165; 14., also of the weasel's fur-skin: 169; 55.

[779] 164; 3. The use of these conjurer's arrows is mentioned 73, 5.

164; 4. Yámsam for Yámasham; cf. *Note* to 111, 4. Of the personified North wind the Indians say "he lives up in the mountains". On the north side the basin of [193] the Williamson River is closed up by high mountains. Gé-ish and génuish, génhuish means the action of going and that of having gone, or the present and the past going; both were translated by "*gait*", "*tread*", a term which does not differ much from the real meaning. Both terms also occur in the songs obtained from "Doctor" John, and are mainly used of quadrupeds, amphibians, and reptiles.

164; 4. kápa probably for gátpa (nû), "I have come".

[136] 165; 6. The yĕ'n sucker-fish is quite abundant in the lakes of the Klamath highlands and has been identified by Prof. E. D. Cope as the Catostomus labiatus.

165; 7. yéwa. In Morgan's series of incantations there are song-lines on wind-gusts, tempests, rain-storms and on the winds blowing from each of the four cardinal points of the compass. These latter are not positively stated to be producers of dis-[821] ease, though they are dreaded on account of their force and violence. The East wind (yéwash) blowing over the alkaline or volcanic, arid lands of Southern Oregon sings: yéwa, yéwa (nû) which does not only signify "I blow from the East", but also "I am howling".

165; 11. Feigning to draw a rope or string from their own posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear.

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755 165; 13. It is by no means certain whether the above is the full wording of this song or not.

192 165; 16. nen involves the idea: "you hear it yourselves." Cf. 167; 36. 170; 59.

[534] 166; 17. kódsinksh was in this connection explained by lílhanksam stë'ksh. Conjurers' rattles are made of deer's claws.

166; 18. This hawk is a kind of sparrow-hawk, Falco sparverius.

166; 20. Compare the song of the weíwash-goose: 170; 69.

166; 21. This song of a female conjurer or "doctress" is quite analogous to the song 166; 17.

166; 22. The ḳála flies around in cold nights followed often by foggy mornings, hence the belief that it makes the fog.

166; 25. Compare the gray wolf's song, 165; 12., which forms alliteration to this.

166; 26. Refers very probably to the cremation of the dead.

[778] 167; 30. In line 2 the same object is alluded to as in line 3, kóltam sχī'l. This is a broad strip of dressed otter skin, ornamented in various ways with shells, feathers, bird-scalps, etc. To all these objects a magic power is attributed severally, and as they are now all united on one strip of skin, this strip must unite the magic powers of them all. The conjurer suspends the sχī'l on his neck and lets it dangle over his chest or back, according to the manipulations in which he is engaged at the time. It is considered as one of the most powerful of all the curing tools or múluash.

167; 32. Alludes to the grayish-white color of this bird, which burrows underground. This bird is also mentioned in 154; 12. and *Note*; cf. also 132, 7. 8.

[193] 168; 41. Sχī'pa is the abbreviated form of the possessive case in -am, as in wásha wéka 105, 9. and *Note* to 105, 7.; in: nī'l wéksa, 144, 1. cf. 165; 13.

168; 44. Interpreted by others: "I am scolding and threatening the earth".

169; 50. Another túktukuash-song is contained in 162; 3. cf. *Note*.

169; 52. Shaíkish is another name given to the tchákiuks.

169; 54. The kingfisher or Ceryle alcyon is called in Klamath Lake tchántchan, tsántsan, tchánshan after its cry: tchătchătchă, and chiefly feeds on salmon.

169; 56. The second line was referred by "Sergeant" Morgan to the otter. Cf. 177; 13.

170; 58. This alludes to the name of the bird, which imitates its twittering.

170; 62. This bird circles in the air to discover fish on the lake's surface and to pounce upon them. The tchuaísh is the red headed vulture or black buzzard: Cathartes aura. The Indian name is an imitation of the bird's cry.

170; 63. 64. The wákash-crane is identical with the tuákish, the name being derived from its cry. These birds creep along the edge of the water in search of small fish. Compare the tuákish-songs 154; 9. 156; 33. 34.

170; 65. This song is much better expressed in the series of Modoc incantations: 174; 13. Here as well as there alliteration is perceptible.

[193] 170; 67. After gé-u, the subject of the sentence, nä'paks or the disease, is omitted. In the name of the duck the final -s, -sh is geminated here in the possessive case, to stand for wa-u'htŭ'asam.

[194] 170; 68. In the onomatopoetic word wä'ks the dissimilation of the vowel into wä'-aks is frequently observed. Also pronounced wékash.

170; 69. The weíwash- or waíwash-goose is a long-necked white bird, commonly known as snow-goose: Anser hyperboreus.

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7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

MODOKÍSHAM KÍUKSAM SHUI'SH.

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INCANTATIONS OF MODOC CONJURERS.

OBTAINED FROM TOBY RIDDLE IN THE MODOC DIALECT.

1. *Shkū'ks or spirit's incantation:*

P'laitalántnish nû shuína ⏑⏑–́|⏑–́|⏑–́⏑

I am singing to the heavens above.

2. *Another of the same:*

Nulidshá nulidshá nulidshá ⏑⏑–́|⏑⏑⏑–́|⏑⏑–́
ḵo-idshántala kāilátala ḵailpákshtala,—tchiá.
⏑⏑–́|⏑⏑⏑–́|⏑⏑⏑–́|⏑⏑⏑–́

I am sliding, slipping, sliding,
Towards that wretched land, towards that burning region, to remain there.

3. *Another of the same:*

Tuá hak tála? tuá hak tála?
hû'-ûtak tála, hû'-ûtak tála!

What was it? what was it. It was he, it was himself!

4. *Song of the dry water-spring:*

Wélwash kaí nish palálla –́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑

Indeed my spring has dried up.

5. *Song of the old frog:*

Kó-e welā'kash nû tchalekíya, ⏑⏑⏑–́|⏑–́|⏑⏑–́⏑
welwáshtat nû tchalíka. ––́|⏑–́|⏑–́⏑

I, the decrepit she-frog, sit down here by the water spring.

6. *Song of the wind:*

Shléwish nû vuyámna, –́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑
nánukash nû vuyámna, –́⏑⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑
p'laína nû vuyámna. –́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑

I the wind am blowing,
Everywhere I am blowing,
In the skies I am blowing.

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7. *Song of the five female elks:*

Wáti lelíwa, lelíwa; wáti lelíwa, lelíwa
–́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ‖ –́ ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
The knife lying at the end of the knife range.

8. *Song of the fisher, a species of otter:*

Tuátala nish í shudshí'pka? niniá, niniá
⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – ‖ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́
tuátala nish í shudshí'pk í? neineyá, neneá
⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – ‖ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́
Why then do you pursue me so? You flutter and beat your wings.

9. *Young otter's song:*

K̲óltalam nû wéash géna ámputka;
at ké-u guíχish käfla nilíwa,
at kaí lemléma käfla.
The otter's offspring, I plunged into the water,
When I emerged from it, the ground blazed up,
The earth was shaken to its foundations.

10. *Weasel's song:*

Tcháshgai nû géna, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
käfla nû gak̲ála, –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑
tcháshgai nû gak̲ála. –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑
I the weasel am starting;
On the soil I draw my circles;
I the weasel I travel in circles.

11. *Song of the weasel:*

Ê-eni nû wítka shkō'ksam steínash –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
In the spirit-land I blew out from me the heart of the shkō'ksh.

12. *Mink's song:*

Klí'pa nû genálla –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
I the mink am starting off.

13. *Song of the woodpecker:*

Wákwakinsh nû wínta, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
p'laí télshnan wapálatat; –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –
wákwakinsh nû wínta, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
nû yána télshnan wínta. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –
The woodpecker, I am sticking fast,
Upwards looking I stick to the tree-stump;
The woodpecker, I am sticking fast,
Downwards I look, and hold myself.

ooo 14. *Horned owl's song:*

Mú'kisham nû lú'lpatko, ⊥ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑ ⏑
ude-událkatko ké-u wakí'sh gi. ⊥ ⏑ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑

I possess the horned owl's sharp vision; my roof-ladder is of speckled wood.

15. *Spider's incantation:*

Káltchitchiks nû luyámna, ⊥ ⏑ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑
p'laína nû luyámna. ⊥ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑

I the spider am going up; upwards I travel.

16. *Patient's song:*

Kăíla nû shuinálla ⊥ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⊥ ⏑

I am singing my Earth song.

17. *Another of the same:*

At gé-u steínash wakídaha!

Now my heart has returned.

18. *Another of the same:*

Átûtû huggí'daha!

Now it has turned!

19. *Another of the same:*

Gé-u hû gépkash kăíla shuáktcha

After I had arrived (in the spirit land) the Earth wept and cried.

NOTES.

The Modoc series of conjurer's songs obtained from Mrs. Riddle is one of the most valuable of the collection of songs, because it gives them all in their full length and original shape. The majority are in use among the Klamath Lake conjurers also.

The songs 3. 9. 17. 18. 19. are delivered rather in a speaking than in a singing modulation of the voice.

173; 1. Sung by a "doctress" who has sent out into the air a deceased person's spirit to search after the disease of her patient.

173; 2. Rime, alliteration and assonance are combined in this interesting song, which is said to be sung by female conjurers. A spirit is sent underground to prospect for the disease. A tripartite division of the song-line is found in none of the other incantations obtained. Kailpákahtala is a dialectic form for kélpōkahtala; after this word a short pause is made in singing.

173; 3. The conjurer asks the returning spirit: "what did you find to be the cause of the disease, when going below the ground?" The answer is: "he was the cause of it"; *he* is some subterranean deity, or genius, probably Múnatalkni.

173; 4. Probably attributed to a grizzly bear; cf. 157; 46.

173; 5. The frog is prospecting for the disease around and within the water. Cf. 163; 9.

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173; 6. The wind, while entrusted with the search for the disease, is blowing through the skies and sweeping over the earth.

174; 7. The mythic elks who sang this were said to be endowed with human faculties. Allusions not traceable.

174; 8. This is an incantation which would seem to proceed rather from a duck or goose beating its wings while chasing another, than from a fisher. First line Modoc, second, Klamath Lake.

174; 9. The animal had found the *disease* in the water and chased it out to the shore; when there it set the shore on fire and the ground was shaken up under its destructive, ravaging steps.

174; 11. The weasel, returning from its errand, reports to the conjurer, that having found the cause of the patient's disease to be a wicked skû'ks's heart, this was brought by the weasel to the spirit land and breathed out, to be left there. This is the most probable interpretation of all those suggested, for song 11. is said to form a sequel to the weasel's song 10.

174; 13. The kinks had sent the red headed woodpecker to prospect for his patient's disease in the atmosphere. Alliteration and assonance in profusion.

175; 14. *Meaning:* My eyes are well fitted for the discovery of the patient's disease, hovering in the air, for they are acute, being those of the owl; I am just stepping up my lodge-ladder, the speckled bark of a tree, on the search for the disease. Alliteration is a prominent feature in this incantation. Cf. *Note* to 123, 1. 2.

175; 15. Sent by the conjurer, the spider goes up in the web to prospect for the disease. The verb shows the prefix l-, because the body of the spider is round-shaped.

175; 16. On falling sick, a spirit orders the patient to sing and repeat this Earth-song line for hours.

175; 17. "I have recovered the use of my senses."

K̲ÁK̲ASHAM KÍUKSAM SHUÍSH.

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[115]

INCANTATIONS.

GIVEN BY K̲ÁK̲ASH OR "DOCTOR JOHN" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Kálo. Kálo nû na shă'shatk, slă'wish nû na shă'shatk, nû k̲álo p'lái nû
wítsa.
Kätla. Kätla ai nû shuī'sh gī; kätla ai nī wálta, kätla nû ai shawálta.
Lä'k. Shás̈hapsh na shă'shatk; shás̈hapsham génuish, gé-u génhuish nû
géna.
Witä'm. Nû ai witä'm gī, nû ai shúina witä'm; nû ai na shă'shatk an, at an
géna: géna an atí, gémpēle an.

*539 *Witä'm k̲ilo.* Witä'm ai ní géna; nû a k̲û'luak, k̲û'luak ai n géna.

533 *Witämága.* Nû a wí'tämak, hótchna n wí'tämak; witämák a n; lápi ai nû witä'mak.

Wátsag. Nû ai hû wátsag; shuí'shank, nû ai shuíná u wátsag.

Wī'hlág. Nû ai wíl'hág, hótchna n wí'l'hag; géna an wí'l'hag, atí' ni géna nû; ná-asht shä'shatk wilhága n.

Walχátchka. Nû ai walχátchka, walχátchka n géna; käíla ní géna, nû walk̲átchka.

Kŭ'lta. Nû a kû'lt gí; kû'lta i ni géna, kû'ltam at hûk génuish.

Pĕ'p. Pä'p a nû gí; pä'p an a nû shéshatk; nû a gátpa pä'p, atí ní hû'dshna, nû a hû'dshna.

Tcháshgai. Tcháshgai nû ká-ika, tcháshgai nû géna.

Klí'pa. Klípa nû ai shuí'sh; koyóma klí'pam génuish.

Gí'wash. Nû ai gí'wash, p'laína nû ai hŏ'tsna; lä'pi ai ní gí'wash, shéshatk nû gíwash.

K̲ák̲. Nû ai k̲ä'k̲ gí; sáwals gé-u yá-uya.

Wékwekash. Wékwekash ai ní shahuáltampk; nû wékwekash slû'ka, sháwaltchnish slû'ka wékwekash.

Tsántsan Nû ai tsántsan shuí'sh gí; nû na shä'shatk tsantsaná-ag, nû ai tsántsan shä'wa n.

Shké. Nû ai shgé gí, hû'ntsna a nû, tiä'muk a hû'ntsna, nû a hû'ntsna, mä'makla nû shnû'kuapk, huntsámpĕluapk a nû; nû a k̲élä'wi, tchaggáya nû.

Naní'lash. K̲álowat shidshí'yamna nanílash.

Pí'shash Nû ai pí'shash, píshash ná-asht shä'shatk; hût nä'sht shä'shatk pí'shash; guyántsa pí'shash, nû guyántsa.

Shné-ish. Shné-ish an nä'sht shä'shatk.

Táplal. Nû a-i taplál gí, nû'sh a-i shläwí'ta, kä'mat a-i shläwíta.

Mpámpaktish. Mpámpaktish an shiunóta nû, k̲'lekátk an shnayä'na.

Káwiaga. Nû a-i káwiag, akí'ntsn an káwiag.

Tsíälsh. Tsíälsh nû a hû'tsna; gé-u nû káluish.

Tseléyash. Nû a tseléyash shuí'sh gí; tselä'yash mish k̲ók̲a.

Tchŭ'pksh. Ná-asht tchkásh tsû'pkish, nû a na shä'shatk, nû ai mû'ni kiä'm gí.

Nχáka. Nû kitchkán nû an nχáka géna.

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Kû'tcha-aga. Wínua nû a k̲û'tsag, shéshatk k̲û'tsag; pákish wák kû'tsag.
Wekétash. Nû ai weketásh gí; wéketa nû shahualtámpka, nû shahualtámpka, nû wekétash shéwa.
Mánk̲uga. Ná-asht shä'shatk, mánk̲ag shä'shatk.
Kaknólsh. Gä' a gé-u káknûlsh, gé-u hût káknûlsh; nû shlä-ípële káknulsh, p'laíwash káknulsh.
Pápkash. Pápkash wálta gé-u a gé-ish; wálta gé-u gé-ish pápksham lû'lp; k̲ä'gi gé-u pápkash gé-ish.
Spû'klish. Nû ai spû'klish, ná-asht shä'shatk.
Shläkótkish. Gé-u a shläkō'tksh, gä' kí hû shlakō'tkish; wudsí'tsí ánku, túm udsí'tsí; túm í'lχí, túmi ánku, túmi gé-u ánku gí.
Pä'ksh. Shuí'sham gé-u pä'ksh; kátchgal gé-u shuí'sh.
Welékag. Nû ai welä'kag; nû a tchía welä'χatkank; gë'k a lû'lp, gë'k a múmuatch.

NOTES.

The majority of these songs are destitute of any interesting and characteristic features, and being of easy interpretation I gave them without translation, adding, however, the necessary remarks in the Dictionary. These phrases are common-place repetitions of some shamanic ideas current in the tribe, and are given in a low jargon or technical slang redundant in elisions and contractions. Only a few of their number [193] are rhythmical. The pronoun nû, I, is often repeated three times in one sentence, in the form of ní, nû, an (a nû), ank (a nû gí), ua (nû a).

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Of the thirty-seven objects which have given origin to these songs sixteen do not occur in the shamanic songs given by other informants and two are given here under other headings: the *sky*, paíshash (under kálo), and the *marten*, Skélamtch (under pä'p). I have arranged all the songs in categories of natural objects.

[825]

K̲ák̲ash also furnished a series of limbs and organs of certain animals which were supposed to exercise supernatural powers, and therefore were made the subject of a shuí'sh, shuinótkish, or incantation. They are as follows: of the *black bear*, the head, snout, paws, fur and heart; of the *dog*, the head, hair, fur, ears, tail and paws; of the *weasel* (tchásligai), the head, eyes, snout, nose, chin, long hair, paws and tail; of the *mink*, the paws, snout, fur, tail and heart; of the *shná-ish-duck*, the head and legs; of the *salmon*, the head and fins; of the *fly*, the wings (lás, black or white) and legs. About the *young antelope* and *old woman's spirit* (wíl'hag and welékaga) see below.

176; 2. wítsa. When the clear sky is said to blow with a shrill sound (wítsa), and thus "to sing its own song", this means that the winds are blowing fiercely through the air, high above the ground.

176; 3. This song on the grumbling or rattling earth (wálta, huálta) was made by Doctor John on the subject of his own imprisonment, the cause of which I have related elsewhere.

176: 4. Shásh́apsh, Sháshapamtch is the mythologic name of the grizzly bear: 118, 1.

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177; 2. "There are two of us black bear cubs" refers to the circumstance that in mythologic tales two cubs only are found to belong to one bear family. Compare what is said of the gíwash, 177; 14. and *Note* to 118, l. 7.

177; 5. The name of the young antelope is very differently pronounced. Its ears (mumú'atch wil'hágam) form the subject of a shui'sh.

177; 13. Koyóma. The same idea is met with in 169; 56. 166; 24.

177; 14. gíwash (the *i* pronounced short) is the long, gray-colored squirrel.

178; 7. Pápkash. This song of the lumber-boards was more completely remembered than the one quoted 155; 18.

178; 12. Pä'ksh. A similar tobacco-pipe song is to be found 167; 33.

[254] 178; 13. welékag. Here as well as in all other portions of the globe the idea of sorcery and witchery is associated with that of old women (welékash, old woman; welekága old woman's spirit). Welä'χatka, to travel around or appear as an old woman's spirit.

NÁNUKTUA KIÚKSAM SHUI'SH.

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SUBJECT LIST OF VARIOUS KINDS OF INCANTATIONS IN USE AMONG THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN.

Yámash kiúksam shui'sh, mû'ash, tχálamash, yéwash, slä'wish,
North wind has an incantation-song, south wind, west wind, east wind, gust of wind,

paíshash, lĕmé-ish, lúepalsh, któdshash, gulkásh.
cloud, thunder, lightning, rain, rain mixed with snow.

Sáppas kiúksam shuísh, sháp'sam stutí'sh; yaína, wálidsh, ktá-i sû'- 3
Sun has a tamánuash-song, mock-sun; mountain, rock-cliff, rocks

smaluatk, hä'nuash, yatí'sh, sámχa-ush, é-ush, wélwash, káwam, wäyá-
spotted, upright rocks, upright rocks smaller, rocks in river, lake, water-spring, eel-spring, floating

lapsh.
ice.

Snáwedsh kiúksam shui'sh, welékag, tsákiag, tsákiaga tsû'χatχant; 6
Woman has a tamánuash-song, old woman's spirit, little boy, little boy restless;

k'mutchä'witk: kó-idshi shui'sh génti kä'ilati.
the old man: (is) an outward song in this country.

Gû'tkaks kiúksam shui'sh, gudítguls, shíllals, tátktísh, lulúlish, tiló-
Small-pox is an incantation, belly-ache, chronic sickness, pain, cramps, cause

takna, tiä'mish. 9
of sickness, hunger.

Munána tatámnish kiúksam shui'sh, kĕláyua, múkukag, wáshlaag,
Mole has a tamánuash-song, ground-mouse, field-mouse, chipmunk,

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gí'wash, tsásgai, tsáskaya wéash, kólta wéas, Skélamtch, wálχatska, kútch-
squirrel, weasel, weasel's young, otter's young, Old Marten, black marten, deer's
ingah, wán, ké-utchish, witä'm, lû'k.
claw, silver-fox, gray wolf, black bear, grizzly.

3 Yaúkal kiúksam shuí'sh, tchuaísh, tsásχîbs, skólos, p'laíwash.
Bald eagle has a medicine-song, black vulture, a black night-bird, turkey-buzzard, gray eagle.

Ndukí'sh kiúksam shuí'sh, wítkatkish, tsíktu, tsántsan, túktukuash,
Pigeon hawk has an incantation, small hawk, mice-hawk, little fishing-hawk, fish hawk,
shkä', spû'm.
gray hawk species.

6 Wákwakinsh kiúksam shuí'sh, shpíu'hpush, skaúkush.
Red-headed woodpecker has an incantation, spotted woodpecker, large black woodpecker.

Kákan kiúksam shuí'sh, tsóks, tchiutchíwäsh, nä'-ulinsh, shuä't.
Crow is a medicine-song, blackbird, "snow-producer," black forest bird, sedge-cock.

Wíhuash kä'-ishalsh sháyuaksh kiúksam shuí'sh, kä'kak-tkaní tsíkka,
Snowbird in snow making expert is a conjurer's medicine, yellowish bird,
9 kálχals (kála), tchíkass kshíkshnish, wuiplé-ush, skúlä, tsísχiχi, tchä'-ush,
a spotted night-bird, a mountain forest bird, little forest bird, lark, tsísχiχi, yellow-hammer,
núsh-tilansnéash, tsχä-utsχä'-ush, póp-tsikas.
"rollhead", blue jay, póp-tsikas.

Kû'lla kiúksam shuí'sh, wéaks, náta, mpámpaktish, tsáolaks, mámak-
Red-headed duck has an incantation, mallard, little black duck, small duck, red-eyed duck, black and
12 tsu, kílidshiksh, wá-u'htush, túiti, múlälak, póp-wäks.
white duck, large duck, long legged duck, young duck, shoveler-duck, póp-wäks.

Weíwash kiúksam shuísh, kû'sh, kúmal, tsákĕnush, tchákinks, táplal.
White goose is a doctor's medicine, swan, pelican, tsákĕnush, a gray fowl, loon.

Méhiäs kiúksam shuí'sh, yä'n, tsuám, tsû'lpas, tcháwash, kû'tagah,
Trout is a conjurer's medicine-song, small sucker, large sucker, tsúlpash-fish, a little sucker, minnow-fish,
15 tsálayash.
salmon.

Wámĕnags kiúksam shuí'sh, kámtilag, wíssink, ké-ish.
Black snake is a song-medicine, a black snake, garter snake, rattlesnake.

Lá-a-ámbotkish kiúksam shuísh, wä'kätas, kóä, kía, skû'tigs; lakí
"Never-Thirsty" is a conjurer's song, green frog, toad, lizard, lizard; chief
18 shuísham kó-ä. Kínsh kiúksam shuísh, ámpuam lák.
(is) of songs toad. Yellow-jacket is a conjurer's medicine, horse-hair.

Wû'kash kiúksam shuí'sh, wássuass, ktséämu, sä'l, waktä'lash, wá'hlas.
Pond-lily seed is a medicine-song, lacustrine grass, aquatic grass, arrow reed, shaft-weed, pole-tree.

Wû'ns kiúksam shuí'sh, ktsík, sákuas, kí'sh; sχí'l, k'nû'ks, ndû'ks,
Dug-out canoe is an incantation, oar, fish-spear, harpoon; otter-skin strings, rope, pestle,
21 pála, kátchgal, sáwals.
scoop, Indian tobacco, arrow-head.

Túnt wakí'sh kiúksam shuí'sh, shashtanû'lōls, wásh, shánhish, pápkas,
Of sweat-house floor inside ladder is a conjurer's song, outside ladder of sweat-house, excavation, rafter, lumber,
stsá-usa wálks, lû'loks, slû'kops, slû'mdamd-wash.
stick-hole, fire, cavity, remains of old sweat-house.

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Lû'baks, klépki kiúksam shuí'sh, tsé-usam skû'tatk, tsé-usam tsúyätk,
White chalk, red paint are doctors' songs, [illegible]-dressed, [illegible]-head-covered,
tsé-usam lä'sh, witkakísham lä's.
[illegible]-feather, hawk's feather.

Kat'sitsutsuéas kiúksam shuísh, kat'hiáwash, lû'luks-skû'tchaltk, 8
Snow-flake witchcraft is a doctor's song, hair-tying, in fire-coiled,
skû'ksam hä'kskish, hä'näsish.
spirit's walking-staff, conjurer's arrow.

NOTES.

124 All these subjects of tamánuash songs were obtained pell-mell and jotted down in a confusion. A clear insight into the quality of the songs known to this Indian could be attained only by classifying them into categories, as those of natural agencies, *539 533 192 the winds, rocks, genera of animals, plants, tools and articles of native dress. Morgan had heard all these songs sung in former years, but when I met him he could remember the texts of those 71 songs only, which are to be found from page 164 to page 171. Many songs of this subject list are sung by the Modoc conjurers also.

Certain names of uncommon species of animals could not be rendered in English for want of information; to others the Dictionary will afford the best clue.

193 866 179; 4. káwam or káwam is a possessive case, requiring as its complement ámpû or kóke, kokeága. To bathe in eel-springs is deemed to be of great influence on character and personal courage, for the constant peril of being bitten by crabs, snakes and other reptiles must necessarily make the bathers scornful against sudden pains.

179; 6. tsû'χatχant, or in its full form: tsûχatχántko, has to be connected attributively with the foregoing word: tsákiag tsû'χatχantko "a restless boy, a little boy unable to keep quiet on his seat."

193 180; 1. tsaskáya wéash, kólta wéas show the apocopated form of the possessive before a vocalic sound. This is another example of the rule that Klamath seeks rather than avoids *hiatus*. Cf stuá-usa-wálks 168; 45; 180; 23, and *Note* to 168; 41.

180; 5. spû'm; said to be the female of the fat shkü'-bird. There exist conjurers' songs about both, which I have given in this volume, page 167; 36. 168; 44.

180; 10. póp-tchíkash seems to mean the "drinking *or* sipping bird" (cf. pópo-i).

180; 17. Lä-a-ámbotkish, "the one which refuses to drink" seems to be a newt, Amblystoma, according to the description given of it by the Indians.

180; 17. kóä. The toad or bull-frog tamánuash song is reputed to be the most efficient of all these incantations.

180; 18. Ámpuam lák is a film-like organism moving rapidly in spirals or meanders through the water, and supposed by rustics to originate from the long hair of horses. The primary signification of ámbutka, to be thirsty, is "to return to the water", and the distributive form a-ámbutka here indicates repetition.

180; 19. The list of *plants* is very small when compared to that of the animals, and embodies economical plants only.

180; 22. wásh means *place of residence* in general; but since all the objects in this category refer to the sweat-house, it may be referred to a removal of earth in the floor of this structure; lúloks is the fire burning in the centre of it.

181; 1. tsé-usam skû'tatk: "dressed with feathers of the yellow hammer or red shafted flicker."

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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COOING AND WOOING.

I.

1. Yuyulinnē, yuyulinnē, yuyulinnē

I have passed into womanhood.

2. I-unēksχē'ni a yulína –́ ⏑ ⏑ –|–́ ⏑|–́ ⏑|–́ ⏑

After sunset I get unwell.

3. Gä' lish kaní hudshótchipka? ⏑ –́|⏑ –́|⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑

Who comes there riding towards me?

4. Génu í gít', o-ólka, kinhiä'na! = ⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑ –́|⏑ –́|⏑ –́ ⏑

My little pigeon, fly right into the dovecot!

5. Ginála hólakank; átūtū pä'χtgí ⏑ –́|⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑|⏑ –́|⏑ –́ ⏑

This way follow me, before it is full daylight!

6. At mísh mbushä'aluapka lákiam wéashash gí'aht
⏑ –́|⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑

I want to wed you, for you are the chief's son.

7. Ká-a mísh nû ká-a ní mbushéaluapka, ⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑
hûmámasht túma tuá gí'tkuapka. ⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ ⏑

Very much I covet you for a husband,
For in times to come you will live in affluence.

8. *She:* Tatá í n'ish tuá woχówe, woχówe, woχówe?
He: Ê-ukík pí'la éwank, éwank, éwank!
⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑ –́ ⏑|⏑ –́ ⏑|⏑ –́ ⏑
–́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑|–́ ⏑|–́ ⏑|–́ ⏑

She: And when will you pay for me a wedding gift?
He: A canoe I'll give for you half filled with water.

9. Wéwanuish kahiéwuk tála kékekanka –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑|⏑ –́ ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑

He spends much money on women thinking to obtain them easily.

10. Múshmush shû'dshipka káwantk tchílloyága –́ ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑|⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑

The poor youngster, he is driving one cow only.

11. Géntala ká-i gaíkanka púshpushlish hishuákshash!
–́|–́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑|⏑ –́ ⏑

It is not that black fellow that I am striving to secure!

*539 12. Î-u nénak yan'wán ī, –́ ⏑|–́ ⏑|–́ – ⏑
533 í-u nénak̲ lólalχ' ī. –́ ⏑|–́ ⏑|–́ – ⏑
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They say, that you are abandoned,
They say, that you are homeless.

13. Nánuk kalí'napka wéwan'sh, nā'dshek 'mutchéwatk tut'hiéna

All women are dead; only an old man is tottering about.

14. Ká-a tídshi snawédshash ní'sh shû'-uashipk!
⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ –́

That is a pretty female that follows me up!

15. Wák ī núsh gítk vulálat inotílā? ⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑

Why do you send me to sleep under the shadow of the cottonwood-tree?

16. Nû'sh ak gí'ntak ī wítchnoka –́ ⏑|–́ – ⏑|–́ ⏑ –
lúlula wítchnoka –́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑ –

That 's because you love me that you rattle around the lodge.

17. Tcháki mísh guní'ta, –́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑ –
tcháki mísh guní'ta, –́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑ –
huwaliéga lulú-uash skútatk, –́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ –
lulú-uash skútatk huwaliéga. –́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑|– –

A youngster beyond your home, a young man beyond your lodge
Ran up the hill, wrapped in fogs, ran up the mount while robed in mists.

18. Kayáta hû'lhe, hû'lhekanka tcháki, (*bis*) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑
kayáta lû'li, lû'likanka tcháki. (*bis*) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑ –́|⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́|⏑

Into many of the little houses ran the boy,
Roughly he touched many of the little houses, the boy.

19 Gé-u lak̲í wayṓ'sham stû'tχantk hû't

My husband has the voice of the white goose.

20. Gé-u lak̲í yókikam shkutántki

My husband is dressed in the feathers of the jay-bird.

21. Yúkikam stû'tχantk gé-u lak̲í –́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑|–́ ⏑ ⏑|–́

My husband has the voice of the mocking-bird.

22. Pálpali watsátk̲a hushólalχa

He is bouncing around on a white horse.

23. Tatsā'lka wáts snukátkank ⏑ –́|⏑ –́|⏑ –́ ⏑

He pets the horse before he grasps him.

24. Táplal wó-a hû'nûank mû stû'tχantko

Loudly cries the spotted loon while skimming the waters.

25. Wí-uka hulí'lχank skû'le huntchípka – – ⏑|⏑ –́ –|–́ ⏑ ⏑|–́ ⏑

The lark flies towards me grazing the ground and stopping every little while.

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26. Wák í nûsh gíug wetû', wetû', ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́
i-á-uka hû'lhiank wetû', wetû'. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́

Why did you become estranged, estranged,
By running in neighbors' houses estranged, estranged!

27. Wák wennfluta nûsh gí'tk?
wák í nûsh gí'tk wennflota?

Why have you become so estranged to me?

28. K̲ó-idsi mák̲laks hŏ'lalk̲ tchawí'k sanáholing

A wicked man approaches fast, desirous of a fight.

29. Shenúyatko ní wáti luyä'nitki

I flee before the man who tramps around in the lodge, knife in hand.

30. K̲ó-idshi wátsag shkanákapka k̲ók̲uapkug,
k̲á-i ní shanáhual nû k̲ók̲tkinshkiuk. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑́ – | ⏑ –

That vicious dog assails me and will bite,
But I prefer not to scold him for it.

31. Kä'-udshish topínkan wókanka, ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑
yámat téluitgank wókanka. ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑

The younger brother of the gray wolf is howling,
After having gone North he is howling.

32. Wásh a léka gí'tk gû' n'sh húyaha ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́

The prairie-wolf full of anger runs away from me.

33. Wásh leká gítk washólalχ tchíkŏlank wátsat
– ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑

The maddened prairie-wolf gets away riding on his horse.

34. Wásh léggatχ ní'sh húyaha,
wásh í léggatk' kú nísh húyaha! hu-í-yähä!

Crazy-minded the prairie-wolf flees me;
Maddened in his senses he runs away to a far-off distance.

35. K̲ó-idshi wátch genuála, ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑
hai yóshinko, yó-osink! – ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑

A vicious steed has gone out; he is lost, he is strayed!

36. Tatá mísh kaní lápukni gĕnálla?

Who has touched you at both places?

37. Á nû toks shiwága shéwa, ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑
káyutch mísh pátchnam palaléant. ⏑́ – | ⏑́ – | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ –

I hold you to be an innocent girl, though I have not lived with you yet.

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38. Támûdsh pásh nû túmēna, ⊥⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑⏑
wátchagalam wéash shū'walsh túmēna. ⊥⏑⏑⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑⏑

Over and over they tell me,
That this scoundrel has insulted me.

39. Gétala stû' newálχa! ⊥⏑⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑
tuátala tséyalalχ' î? ⏑⊥⏑⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑

Right ahead I follow the uphill path!
Why then do you swing the body around?

40. Waíwash gandíla shiwákshash,
shíwamptchash waíwash gandíla.

White geese saw a woman hiding,
Saw an old maid hiding in the grass.

41. Túhush ō wíllaslīna, ⊥⏑⏑|⊥⏑–⏑
wílhaslasna, wíllaslīna. ⊥⏑⏑⏑|⊥⏑–⏑
túhush ō wíllaslā, ⊥⏑⏑|⊥⏑⏑
wílhaslasna, wíllaslā. ⊥⏑–⏑|⊥⏑–

The mud-hen sprawls on the top;
On the top it rests, it slides from the top.

42. Wī-ilti nû shotelō'la, ⊥⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑
púmam nû u-ásh goyéna. ⊥⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑

I am rolling up the wī'l, and shall walk around in the beavers' den.

43. Kû'lsh kuleótank kí' nak ĕn gí', ⊥⏑⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑⏑–
múne kuleótank kí' nak ĕn gí'. ⊥⏑⏑⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑⏑–

The badger entering his den makes nak, nak, nak,
The fat (badger) entering makes nak, nak, nak.

44. K̲á-i welí'sht î mish shmákalpsh gí'sh shápa; ⊥⏑⏑|⊥⏑⏑|⊥⏑⏑|⊥⏑
wéwanuish gíntak shéwal, shéwal. ⊥⏑⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑

Just now you affirmed that hairless you were,
But the women say, that hairy you are.

45. Nápal ai nā'd shuntówa-udsha ⏑⊥|⏑⊥|⏑⊥|⊥⏑⏑

We are throwing eggs at each other.

46. E antléya máyas ā

II

000 47. Yuyulinē'pka, yuyulinē'pka ⊥⏑|⏑⊥⏑‖⊥⏑|⏑⊥⏑
48. Yunigshχē'ni yulína

000 49. Wénni taína, wénni taína, ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑
wénni taína . . . . . . ihí'-u- ī- i- ī- ū!

A different young woman I am now; ihí-u!

50. Tát i wáktch hûk a télak shayantíldsha? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

Whence have you carried off that (man's) waistcoat?

51. Uná mish sha luelóla tchaggágatat netílapkash
⏑ –́ | – –́ | ⏑ –́ – | – – –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

Long ago they killed you when you lay under the serviceberry bush.

52. Tchítchaluish kintála, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ – | –́ ⏑
wéwanuish k̲a-igóga. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Young chaps tramp around;
They are on the lookout for women.

53. Hinawála! hinawála! ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑ ‖ ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑
wátchagam wéash, wátchagam wéash, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ‖ –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
mû'at genō'ga, mû'at genō'ga. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ – ‖ –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Shake your head! you son of a bitch, and go South.

54. *Girls to boys:*

K̲á-i mish nû wítchta tchilluyágash
hû'kank k̲ailéak akútash;
k̲á-i nû shanáhuli hû'mtcha hishuátchγash.

Boys to girls:

K̲á-i nû shanáhuli kó-eptcha snawédshash,
kókuapkash lû'lp gípkash.

Girls: Young man, I will not love you, for you run around with no blanket on;
I do not desire such a husband.
Boys: And I do not like a frog-shaped woman with swollen eyes.

55. Kánt lak̲í! gíuga shlóa shlaníya! ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑

You say you are rich! and you don't even spread a wild-cat's skin!

56. Kō'pe bunû'tchatko stû'pat wintíla;
nû'sh shana-úlitko nû'toks mish k̲á-i shaná-uli.

Lying near the stove you are going to drink coffee; although you wanted me for a wife, I do not want you for a husband.

57. Shínuitko húyaha, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –
wénnitko húyaha. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –

After c— she went to hide; the widow, she hid herself.

58. Mû'ni wenuítko gélash shipalkánka –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

The stout widow is stalking around intent upon the business.

NOTES.

*539 533 832 I. Erotic songs obtained from Chief Johnson, Minnie Froben, and others, in the Klamath Lake dialect. The twelve songs obtained from Minnie Froben are among the prettiest and most melodious, as for instance 9. 16. 17. 18. 23. 26., and the eighteen songs dictated by Johnson are of importance for the study of manners and customs, viz: 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. 19. 20. 28. 29. 41. 42. 43 etc.

With the Indians all of these and many other erotic songs pass under the name of *pilpil* or puberty songs. They include lines on signs of womanhood, courting, love sentiments, disappointments in love, marriage fees paid to parents, on marrying and on
*539 conjugal life. Some love songs have quite pretty melodies. A few songs of the present
533 interesting series of song-lines seem to treat of commonplace subjects only, as 22. to 24.;
832 28. to 31., while others apparently contain nothing but heartless mockeries and satiric
192 strictures, like 9. 28. 40. 44. But they all refer in fact to love-making and kindred sentiments, the satiric lines confirming the proverbial inclination of lovers to fight among themselves. I have deemed appropriate to gather all these songs under a heading which unmistakably expresses their real purport.

[194] 182; 1. The accent is laid sometimes on first, sometimes on second syllable. This word is abbreviated from yuyulinë'pka, as it occurs in the Modoc pilpil song. The event mentioned here is followed by a dance-feast; cf. shúyuχalsh, and 134, 21.

182; 4. ginhiéna "inside" means into a secluded spot, lodge or enclosure. O-ólka, ó'laka is the diminutive of ó'lsh, the grayish pigeon with the plaintive voice.

182; 7. gitknapka, a contraction of gitko gi-uápka i.

[583] 182; 8. Pay a wedding gift is equivalent to purchasing a girl from her parents for a handsome consideration.

[193] 182; 11. Sung by women. The original as given to me does not contain the negative particle: Géntals nû haíkanka púshpushlish hishuákshash.

183; 12. yan'wán i stands for yanhuáni i.

183; 13. kali'napka: they are not only "dead but out of sight", as the suffix -apka indicates. This being an erotic song-line, kalínapka simply means that the females looked for are either asleep or absent, and not deceased, as kalína would seem to indicate. 'mutchéwatk for kémutchéwatko; cf. 186, 5.

183; 14. 15. These two songs follow a purely anapaestic metre, No. 15 adding two acatalectic syllables to its three anapaests. Compare also the first line of 182; 7. with one supernumerary syllable. As for the contents of 183; 15. compare the analogous Modoc song 186; 51.

[194] 183; 17. Melody very engaging. In lúluash the second u is redoubled for metrical reasons. Dactylic rhythm prevails here, in 16, and in 182; 11.

183; 18. That is, while he was seeking young girls inside the kayátas. Melody very beautiful.

[193] 183; 19. wayósham, possessive case of waíwash, q. v.

183; 20. shkutántki stands for skútatko gî or shkutanátko gî: "he is wrapped in."

183; 21. The much more so, because he is in his festive garb, the pátash and lás stuck on his headdress.

184; 26. Melody very pretty. A young woman addresses these words to a lover.

184; 27. Sung by young women who have fallen out with their beaux.

*539 184; 28. Said to be an erotic song.

533 184; 29. luyä'nitki contracted from luyä'nitko gi. Cf. *Note* to 183; 29.

832 184; 30. kóktkinshkiuk. The proper meaning of this verb is "to set upon like a
192 dragon-fly". Shanáhual is an uncommon form for shanahō'li, the long ō being resolved
[193] into its component sounds. Cf. náwal, and 184; 35.: gennála for genō'la.

184; 31. Why did the wolf howl? The reason given is that he could not meet anybody. This wolf is a loving young man who was looking out for women.

184; 32. Sung by one woman and repeated by a female chorus. This song-line treats of the abandonment of a female by her husband or lover for some reason.

184; 33. Pretty melody. The song refers to a lover disappointed in his affections.

184; 33. tchíkla wátsatka is preferable to and more frequent than wátsat, wátchtat, cf. 183; 22. Alliteration is perceptible in this song-line.

184; 34. The wásh is the lover of the girl who sings this song; the lover is compared to a prairie-wolf on account of his importunity and lack of moderation. Comparisons of lovers with quadrupeds and birds are frequently met with.

184; 35. yóshinko for yó-ishiank ō, yó-ishiuk hū: he is running astray.

[193] 184; 37. shiwága. In the objective case sometimes inflected like snáwedsh *woman* 90, 11. sometimes as a diminutive noun, as here, and 88, 10. In 185; 40. shiwákshash stands incorrectly for shiwágash, through phonetic analogy with shiwamptchash in the same song.

185; 39 to 44, perhaps including 45, have a literal and direct meaning, and besides this are intended to convey an indirect meaning, which is of an obscene character. The same may be said of songs 15 and 51.

185; 41. This melodious song alludes to the habit of mud-hens to rest and sprawl on the top of the waves; wílhaslaana depicts their motions while on the wave-top,
[199] willaslina the sprawling observed while they sail down from it. With slight phonetic variations, this same melody is also sung as follows: Tóhosh ō willaslin; willaslaana, willaslina; willasli ín.

185; 42. wí'l seems connected with the diminutive word wí'haga, *young doe*.

[193] 185; 43. ki' nak ěn gi', stands for gi' nak, nen gi: "he cries nak, so he cries"; assuming that ěn is abbreviated from nen.

185; 45. This is a "dream" song.

185; 46. Pilpil song worded in another than the Máklaks language.

000 II. Erotic songs obtained from Toby Riddle and J. C. D. Riddle in the Modoc dialect. The Modoc pilpil songs obtained are all of a satiric character.

185; 47. See Klamath Lake pilpil songs 183; 1.

185; 48. See Klamath Lake collection of pilpil songs 183; 2.

186; 49. Pilpil tune sung by girls. Tsína is equivalent to t'éna, tsiniwá-ash etc.

186; 50. A song repeated for hours by young Modocs; it is of the true pilpil kind.

186; 51. Originally a pilpil song, but sung now by children playing hide and seek.

186; 52. This is a very popular and prettily tuned Modoc song.

186; 53. Sung by Modoc girls who feel themselves importuned by their lovers. Often the boys join them by singing it in chorus. This well-meant advice of sending the boys to the South, no doubt to the Pit River country, is to keep them at a distance, for the song refers to the appearance of the first signs of puberty. Watchágalam is full form of watchágam, for which wátcham is sometimes incorrectly substituted.

000 186; 54. This satiric *carmen amœbæum* is one of the longest pieces in the collection and contains words of reprobation addressed by disappointed girls to their admirers. Sung in chorus by both sexes, with frequent dacapos after different tunes. The suffix -ash repeats itself at the end of every line and in kókuapkash.

186; 55. This little iambic improvisation is very aphoristically and indistinctly worded, but is endowed with perhaps the prettiest tune of all songs in this collection. It is an apostrophe of a newly married wife to her husband, seeing herself deprived even of the most common comfort, a small tanned fur-skin, to repose on and to avoid the dampness of the bare soil.

186; 56. A lover is taunted on account of his predilection for the white man's habits. The Modocs say this is a song of the Klamath Lakes.

186; 58. Admits of no literal translation.

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SONGS OF SATIRE.

I.

1. Kátchkal û'yank amníyamna –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

He goes around giving away sticks of tobacco, and is very noisy about it.

2. Gēt genō'la tsiálash patsō'k Yamakí'shamkshi

– – –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑

This man has started out to feed on salmon among the northern Indians.

3. Tû'sh hu wiká nénu shésha waíwash tchílamuu?

–́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Where is it, that close by on a hill waíwash-geese are crowding together?

4. Gé-u káni vû'lk̲ashti wátch hushótchipka? ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑

Who rides up to me on my horse, borrowed of me?

5. Tidshá k̲ók̲atk i shéwa, hashuátan' i! ⏑ – –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑

You think you are finely dressed; then mind your own dress!

6. Vû'lχashti kilí'wash shkútatk u'hlutuína

He dresses in a borrowed woodpecker-blanket and trails it along on the ground.

7. Ká tal hû'k mû shétaluatk? –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

Kē' lish tok walχátchkatko gûlí –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́

Who is he, the alleged wealthy man?
She has entered the house of a poorly dressed husband.

8. Lelahówitko wátch wuχóyi –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Slow-running horses he paid for his wife.

*539 9. Ámĕta téwank vû'ya teíniwash –́ ⏑ – | –́ – | –́ – | –́ ⏑ ⏑
533 The young girl shakes her body when planting the camass-stick into the ground.
522 10. Ámĕta yä'kuank vúyamna –́ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑ ⏑
Shaking her body she broke the camass-spade.
11. Lák̲iam pé-ia mat sha käfla kíwalapáta
–́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ – | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ –
The chief's daughter, they say, was dragged along the ground.

12. Î haktchámpesh wénni tchikólalχa, –́ ⏑ | –́ – | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
klítisham wéash wénni tchikolálχ' î. – | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
You always strangely stride on on your long legs.
The crane's progeny, you walk strangely long-legged.
13. Ê-ukshiwash tenuyága hä'la-a hála –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑
A young woman from Klamath Marsh is swallowing, swallowing.
14. Wika-télantko tchä'lish páwa hû ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
Short-faced like a porcupine that fellow is eating.
15. Lúelat hû'nksh hí't; yánta, yánta –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ – | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
Kill ye that fellow on the spot! down with him, down, down!
16. Kä'utchish gû'lo sámĕnaki' wŏ'n lak̲í ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
When the female wolf has devoured the elk-buck she cries for more.
17. Shunuí-uya shuáktcha ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑
I feel unwell and hence am sobbing.

II.

000 18. Ledshántak wiwakní'ka; gaígaikanka ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
They whipped a telltale; he is now sobbing.
19. Bí'nash mût hû hlívash tilankánsha! –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
The root-basket, they say, is swinging to and fro on Bí'na back.
20. Ló-i lóyan lóyak, ló-i lóyan lóyak
21. Ê-ukshikni tenuyáash halá, halá-a ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
A maiden of the Klamath Lakes is swallowing, devouring.
22. Níggă heúĕ héyo, ní'ggă héyo héwe – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ‖ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
túmi níggă, túmi níggă –́ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ‖ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑

NOTES.

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The feelings which dictated these sarcastic song-lines are those of derision, satire and criticism. The majority are of a drastic, some even of a crude and very offensive character, scourging mercilessly the infirmities observed on fellow-men. Many of them

*539 also pass as puberty songs, but I have preferred to class these under the heading of
533 songs of satire. Some are sung with melodies, others are spoken and recited only.
522 I. Satiric songs obtained in the Klamath Lake dialect from Chief Johnson, Minnie Froben and others.

[193] 189; 1. ú'yank. In this term the prefix u- gives the shape in which the tobacco was given away.

189; 2. Refers to somebody going to the Dalles or other place along the Columbia River. Cf. page 98, *Note*.

[192] [193] 189; 3. In this verse there are four particles pointing either to distance or to elevation (altitude): tú'sh, hu, the -u suffixed to nen (nen hu) and to tchílamna. This song is sung by a woman, who hears (nen) for the first time of this assembling of geese; shésho waíwash stands for shéshash waíwash, or shéshatko waíwash: birds called waíwash-geese.

189; 5. A young woman is the object of this song-line.

[237] 189; 6. Woodpecker-scalps of shining colors are still in use for ornamenting various articles of dress, implements, &c. u'hlutuína: he flaunts it and parades in it.

[192] [193] 189; 7. Ká tal? who then? who after all? abbreviated from kaní tala. Dresses made of walyátchka-skins passed for the poorest and meanest of all garments.

[291] 190; 9. This is sung by men only.

190; 13. A satire on feminine voracity. Sung by Klamath women from Klamath Marsh. Cf. below, 190; 21.

190; 12. haktchámpash; -pash is the suffix ptchi phonetically altered, the word introducing a comparison of the "striding one" with the young klítishcrane in the same song. A sarcasm on a long-legged person with swinging gait.

190; 16. Regularly worded, this proverb-like verse would read as follows: Kí'-ntchish gú'lu wú'n-dákiash shanámnakía.

000 II. Satiric songs obtained in the Modoc dialect from Toby Riddle and J. C. D. Riddle.

190; 18. A tatler has received the deserved bodily punishment for his gossip-tales. Of the first word no grammatic analysis could be obtained in either tribe.

190; 19. The business of gathering edible roots devolves exclusively on women, but here an old man, Bin, who still lives among the Modoc at Yáneks, is indulging in this useful pastime. That 's where the point of the satire lies. Hú'rpash is a word unknown to the Klamath Lake people in the signification of "basket".

190; 20. Sung by the national deity when foiled in the attempt of killing five lynxes by throwing stones at them; repeated from the shashapkéleash, page 126, 3. Cf. *Note*.

190; 21. To be found in another version among the Klamath Lake songs; there it refers to a female living on Klamath Marsh, not on Klamath Lake.

190; 22. This tune was with many similar ones improvised by the Modocs, who visited the East a short time after the Modoc war, on seeing crowds of blacks filling the streets. All Indians feel *at first* a peculiar very strong aversion against the Ethiopian race, though subsequently they often become friends and intermarry.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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MISCELLANEOUS SONGS.

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE AND MODOC DIALECTS.

1. K̲ó-i ak a nä′pka Yámatkni gatpam′nóka
⏑⏑–́|⏑–́⏑|–́⏑⏑|–⏑–́|⏑
Disastrous times we had when the Northern Indians arrived.

2. Nä′nu wíka-shítko múkash hä′ma –́⏑⏑⏑|–́⏑⏑⏑⏑|–́⏑
I hear the owl's cry and very near it seems to be.

3. Mbû′shant käíla hämō′la, –́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑⏑
shitchákta nä′ts käíla, ⏑–́⏑|–́⏑
shiukuapkúka nä′ts kä′la. ⏑⏑–́|⏑⏑–́|⏑
In the morning the Earth resounded,
Incensed at us was the Earth,
For to kill us wanted the Earth.

4. Wákaptch nen hí′tksh Ê-ukshi nē′pka,
nû′ kam hí′tksh telû′lit.
To see how Klamath Marsh appears from there,
I wish to look down on it from that height.

5. K̲ú-idshi nû kí′pash nû lulína
Dressed in poor garments I stray around.

6. Tutíχash nû lulína ⏑–́|⏑–́|⏑–́|⏑
I am going astray while dreaming.

7. Kapkáblandaks! ō′kst a tkaléga ndéwa ⏑–́|⏑⏑–́|⏑⏑–́|⏑–́⏑
Be silent! her body arises from the dead to scream!

8. Mû′ni nû lak̲í gí, k̲á-i kánam shlókish; –́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑‖–́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑
k̲ó-idsha ne-ulχóga käíla tilangédsha. –́⏑⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑‖–́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑
I am a potent chief, nobody controls me;
The mischief-doing world I upset.

9. "Käíla nû shuļēmokē′dsha", –́⏑⏑|–́⏑⏑|–́⏑
kē′nta käílatat tgí′kōlan shuína. ⏑⏑–́|⏑⏑–́|⏑⏑–́|⏑
"I take the Earth up in my arms and with it whirl around in a dance";
On this soil I am standing and singing [the above words].

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10. Aíshish kaí nû sha-ûlō'la, ⊥⏑|⊥⏑–⏑|⊥⏑
yuhanéash kaí nû sha-ûlō'la. ⏑⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑⏑⏑|⊥⏑

I Aíshish I shall brandish, I shall brandish my huge sword.

11. Aíshishash hûn gáldshui, ⊥⏑⏑|⏑⊥⏑
hû' mish hû' shnekshituápka. ⊥⏑⏑|⏑⏑⏑⊥|⏑

Go to meet Aíshish; he will save you.

12. Tídsh hûn liuleḵán tchiálash shakatchóāla!

Halloo! let us form a circle and screen the salmon against sun-heat!

13. Kilidshí'ga-shépolamna ⊥⏑⏑⏑|⊥⏑⏑⏑

They carry long-necked ducks on their backs.

14. Kaukátsi Yaína wō'n a shû-û'dshant i! ⊥⏑⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑|⊥⏑

Follow up the elk and chase him upon Kaukátsi Mountain!

NOTES.

The first eight songs are worded in the Klamath Lake dialect, the third is of a mythic character. Songs 7–12 are worded in Modoc; 8 and 9 are K'mukámtchiksh songs. A few songs or fragments of such, which would come nearest to what we call nursery or Mother Goose's songs, will be found in the Myth of the Bear and the Antelope: 120, 11. 12. 13. 121, 9. 17. 122, 12. 13.

192; 1. This song is sung by women only, and seems to point to an ancient invasion of the country by tribes from the North or from Columbia River.

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192; 2. The owl's cry is of fatal augury.

192; 3. Girls' song. When at sunrise a haze or fog extends over the country, this is supposed to be a sign of the Earth's wrath against men.

192; 5. kí'pash is no word at all, but seems to stand for gitko-ptchi.

192; 7. The Indians were reticent about the meaning of this song, and hence I presumed that ŏ'k was intended to mean some deceased person, since these are spoken of as hû'k, *he, she*. Then the sense would be: "Be silent! that dead squaw is arising to sing a loud song." One Indian informed me that ŏ'ksta meant a squaw, and pronounced it ŏ'kaht (húnkisht?). Cf. *Note* to 35, 8 and page 180, second *Note*.

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192; 8. These trochaic verses are called the K'mukámtchiksh-song, and a variant, tuálam, exists for kánam. The alliteration of the k's and n's is very conspicuous. The meaning was given as follows: "I the omnipotent and unseen ruler of the universe will chastise and turn it over for the manifold crimes committed in it by Indians and men of other races."

192; 9. This is another K'múkamtch-song, in which he menaces to destroy the world for its misdoings. I have put the first line in quotation marks, because it forms the words or text of the song. The first line is sung about a dozen times before the second is sung once.

193; 10. Christian song, referring to the day of last judgment. Aíshish, who is a deity representing the powers of nature with animal attributes, has been in the mind of some Modocs identified with Jesus.

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193; 11. Song of Christian origin, in which Aíshish is also identified with Jesus for no other reason than a fancied similarity of names.

193; 12. When of a party of fishing girls one catches a salmon or other large fish, all the others quit their lines, arrive on the spot, roast the fish while singing these words and eat it up.

193; 13. This song is common to Modocs and Klamath Lakes and is descriptive of children amusing themselves with ducks. Pretty melody.

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TUNES AND SONGS WITHOUT WORDS.

WAR WHOOPS.

wéaha wea wéyaha, kawē'ha kaweíha, kawē'ha
kă' kă' kă', wéha wea wéyaha
nóke nóke nóke . . . . . .
howienă' howienă', tchálam tchálam wiéna wiená
howienă' howienă', tchálam etc.
hí ellová hí ellová hí ellová
nkeíha nχeíha nχeíya, nkeíya . . . . . . nχé-u.
ă'-oho ă'-ohō e-ohó . . . . . . í-íhi, i-íhi-í, í-uhu

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HUMMING TUNES.

diainaíni diananána, diataínia diatanána
tánanani nannanani, taninananí tanni naninenaní
tainánni taninánna, tainaína taninaíni, tánanana
tăni tayanáni tani nă'nŏnani
nanaté téannana nanaté nanatéana natéana
kanenaténa nenankanéna tenanénate
nianainán kianainán, kianainía nainan nainína
kalena tená, kalena tená, kalena tená
nawetana nawetíya, nawetana nawetía

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171

líggaiha líggaiha, hă'hai líggaiha,
ō bi tchúima, líggaiha líggaiha.
wídshiggaya hí'a, wídshiggaya hí'a
hă' hō wídshiggaya hō; hă' hō hă' hō, wídshiggaya hō.
yuhilí' yuhalí' gáya, yuhilí' yuhalí' gáya

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7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 tä′-inánnän nä′-innánnän, tä′-innánnän nä′-innánnän
533 tá naniánai náníana, tá naniánai náníāna
[177] walwiléga palpiléga, walwiléga palpiléga
pálpilĕga pálpilĕga, pálpilĕga etc.

DANCING TUNES.

A. *Tunes heard during Puberty-Dances.*

[535] hō′-wina wē′na tchálam tchálam wéna
[881] úha u-ai hai hai hévĕlält,
  háhai u-ai hehai hévĕlält.
witcha kenná, wítcha kéna kenō′, wítcha kenna kenó
nû kĕno kĕno kéno, n'ō kĕno n'o kĕno kénō

B. *Tunes adopted from Shasti Indians.*

*539
533 huí′no hō hotino hû-û huino hû′tnino kû′ino hō-o
177 wínna hádina háwina, há-ina ā-ā, háwina ná-ina
tóyo wínno hoyo wínna nó, weyawinna nó, heyowinná
ho owínno heyä′nlia kina ho-owínna heyä′nlia kena
he-ännowinná, innatá lowinna, he-eänno wínna
hewä′ iwinnaná ō wí′nna óhō häna wínna óhō
hännanáwiya ná-uya náyua hännaná-uya ō-uya
héwa enna hé-au wennéā hé-aunné heyawenné
ha wennō hahiyó wennó wennó ha wenna, awenó hewō
hó ninu henú henó inû′ ho-inú hóninō-u henû′

C. *Dance and war tunes adopted from Snake Indians.*

háwinna haú-inna nō′, í′nna háwinna háwinna nō′
hé-a wennē, a héa, heahē, héa wennē
haweā′ wennā, hau-á, hawenná ē′nna, hawá

D. *Dancing tune heard from Warm Spring Indians.*

kaní luya . . . . . . uya tasí wene nāsi

E. *Modoc dancing tunes.*

*539 héo héo héo héo, héo heo héo heo
533 haúdidusä haudidúsä haudídusä haúdidusä
177 stán stán stáni ạssi stáni assi
hoyó-inna hoyó-inna,
hoyó winna hoyó winna, hoyó winnā'-ā'.
háwĕnĕn-í' hawĕnnĕnáha, hawĕnnĕnáha háwĕnĕn-í'
íwop tcharlē kómtuhō'

TUNES HEARD AT FUNERALS.

*539 533 kélakennu kélakennu kélakennu kélakenu . . . . . . kēlayá-a
láhaha láhaha láhaha láhaha . . . . . .
hihihi . . . . . . yuyaya yuyaya . . . . . . hihihi . . . . . .
héya heúa héya heúa héya heúa

NOTES.

000 194; 1–8. These whoops and tunes were sung by Modoc warriors when on the war-path, or after their return in remembrance of their exploits. The whoops were chanted and howled while going round in a circle for one to two hours; even now they are heard on solemn occasions. This uniform performance was, however, interrupted sometimes by feigned attacks on a supposed hostile force lying in ambush or marching past. A scalp-dance tune, beginning with nḳeíha, is added, also battle cries.

194; 2. The kā' kā' kā' refrain serves as an incidental interruption of the wéaha- and other whoops. They pronounce it almost voicelessly by tapping their hands upon the blown-up mouth or cheeks in a quick measure.

194; 3. The nóḳe nóḳe is sung either as an introduction to the howienā'-whoop; or as a conclusion to it. It is pronounced in a similar manner as the kā' kā', and often accentuated nokē'.

194; 7. This scalp-dance tune is one of the many heard at these dances during the earlier Modoc wars. A peeled tree, sometimes twenty feet high, was planted into the ground, otter and rabbit skins fastened on or near the top, and below them the scalps of the enemies killed in battle. Forming a wide ring around this pole (wálash) the tribe danced, stood or sat on the ground, looking sometimes at solitary dancers, moving and yelling (yä'ka) around the pole, or at others, who tried to shake it, or at fleet horses introduced to run inside of the ring. Circular dances are of course performed by joining hands.

194; 8. These are the war-whoops alluded to in 23, 15. Cf. ā-oho-ú'tchna in Dictionary.

*539 533 194; 9 etc. I include under the heading "humming tunes" lively tunes of short, ever returning periods of words whose signification is generally obliterated. Some of them may include archaic words and forms no longer understood by the present

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generation, while others contain words of the language actually in use but ground down or defaced in such a manner as to make them unintelligible. The variations in which these songs are sung are infinite in number, since they are fancifully produced at the will of the singer. I thought it sufficient to give a few of these variations only, and took care to mark the higher pitch of the voice, a sort of musical arsis, by the accentuation. The majority of them form an accompaniment to the motions made while gambling.

[115] 194; 9–17 were obtained from a young Indian, Frank, living on the Williamson River. Cf. page 91, second *Note*.

194; 16. kalena tenā is rendered by: "ye are all dead at once"; which means: all of you have lost in the game.

[171] 194; 18–195; 4. Playing tunes sung by Modoc and Klamath Lake Indians when sitting at a spélshna or other game, also while musing, travelling or working; given by Jeff. C. D. Riddle. The person who deals the sticks in the spélshna-game is the one who sings the tune.

[171] 194; 18 and 19. 20 and 21. 22. Melodious tunes sung by Modocs and recently introduced among these Indians.

195; 2. 3. These are among the most frequent tunes hummed while playing the spélshna-game. Like 3 and 4, 1 and 2 are often sung alternately.

195; 3. 4. These words are made up from the terms by which butterflies are called: walwilégash, yapalpuléash.

A. These dance-tunes, 195; 5–9, are in use among the Klamath Lake people and were obtained from Minnie Froben. The first of them sounds almost like 194; 4. 5. Little bells are often rung while dances are performed and dance-tunes are sung. Women and girls of the Modoc tribe end their songs with a protracted i-ū, while the men habitually conclude them with a loud u-ŏ'hu.

B and D. Obtained from Dave Hill; sung among the Klamath Lake people.

C. Given by Long John's Ben. They begin with the sound h-, like the majority of the Shasti tunes.

E. All obtained from Jeff. C. D. Riddle.

196; 1. Repeated indefinitely, as soon as [illegible] assumes a *quicker* measure. Compare with it the song of the skunk 162; 7, [illegible] of the quiver, 163; 8, and *Notes*.

196; 3. stáni, *full*, seems to allude to the formation of a ring for dancing. Cf. stá hashámpka 23, 12. and what is said of 196; 7.

196; 4. 5. The last group in this tune, hoyó winnā'-ā', serves sometimes as a refrain, sometimes as a stop.

196; 7. Of foreign introduction, as shown by the sound r. Sung in alternation with stán, stán 196; 3 and said to come from Warm Spring Indians. 196; 2 sounds very much like: "how do you do, sir?"

196; 8. Probably contains the words: k'leká a hū, "he, she is dead"; kēlayá-a serves as a refrain, sometimes as a stop.

196; 9. The day before the funeral of Púkish, mentioned in Doctor John's trial, I heard his aged mother sing this tune. Other mourners in the funeral tent sang what is contained in 196; 8. 10.

196; 10. Funeral tune heard from Snake Indians at Yáneks, on Klamath reservation. They join hands and sing this melancholy tune for hours; the higher the deceased stood in his tribe, the longer lasts the wailing.

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

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NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

By Robert F. Spencer

773 IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians
177 of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of
178 aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among
779 other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in
the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of
interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of
their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way
and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroach-
ing Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer
182 can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the
folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common
economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies
combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not sur-
prising to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations.
A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to
find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal
myth.

175 Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation
177 from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically mar-
ginal to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its
culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which
222 it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In
226 its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent
gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes
631 of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic
621 economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separa-
771 tistic hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly
791 developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest
and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points
to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

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101 [1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949,
122 on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund,
1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by
research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

113 [2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American
Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations
in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

771 To treat aboriginal Klamath religion under three headings of shamanism, 791 power quest, and cosmology is patent oversimplification. In nature and 551 content these features formed an integrated configuration reflecting a major cultural preoccupation. It is true that the shaman in each community played a dominant role and in his capacity as curer, magician, and entertainer com- 787 manded the utmost in social prestige. On the other hand, as was common in western North America, every individual, at puberty and thereafter, deliberately and repeatedly sought contact with a variably defined spirit world. Thus Klamath culture had a variation of the American Indian guardian- 773 spirit theme. Less specifically formalized, and so perhaps, less well integrated, 776 were the elements of myth and tale, the rationalizations for the presence of various natural phenomena, for eschatology, and for the general conception of the universe. Like adjacent tribes, the Klamath interested themselves in animal spirits. These were of particular importance in providing shamanistic power. In the individual power quest, however, the sources from which spiritual forces emanated were less specifically defined. A rather wide range of supernatural powers was recognized, some being animals, some vaguely anthropomorphic, others relating to such natural features as mountains, streams, rocks, or even landmarks like Crater Lake. In respect to these forces an involved folklore has arisen which allows some classification of the Klamath 775 concepts of the supernatural. In this realm, for example, are views about the abode of the dead and the nature of ghosts and souls, these being carefully differentiated from nonhuman spirits.[3] Here too is a body of myth relating to superhuman dwarf men and women, to the forces in specific places or natural phenomena in the Klamath terrain, and finally, the most important for this discussion, to the culture hero, the anthropomorphic Kemu'kemps.[4]

171 Kemu'kemps, while not usually identified with an animal spirit, has many characteristics suggesting the folklore regarding Coyote in the Plateau-Basin. He is at once creator and trickster, angrily forbidding in some contexts, indifferent in others, and in still others a ludicrous buffoon.

825 Essentially human in conceptualization (a myth complex relating to a 821 human hero also occurs in adjacent regions), Kemu'kemps is sometimes identified with the marten, whose younger brother is weasel, and with the winds.[5] In the myths assembled by Gatschet, he constantly rivals his magically born son 'Ayšiš, whose destruction he repeatedly plans, often with the result 821 of encompassing his own. Weather, such as rain or heat, was also attributed to him. Kemu'kemps is also the creator, and there are numerous folktales which tell how he brought various locations into being. At his instigation,

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113 1939), cf. 145-149; Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distributions: Northeastern California* (Anthropological Records, 7: 2, Berkeley, 1942).

[3] Spier, 1930, pp. 100 ff.

[4] Cf. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (U. S. Geological 113 Survey, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Washington, 1890), pt. 1, lxxix-lxxxv, and pt. 2, 138-140. A summary is also given by Spier, 1930, loc. cit.

[5] Gatschet, 1890, pt. 1, lxxxii-iii.

773 Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6] 776 the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath [823] Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

777 To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting 775 of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifications in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroach- [721] ment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon. [791] An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result [797] proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and [182] patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

175 Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western 668 American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

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[825] [6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'ākemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

[113] [7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

[113] [9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

Here Christian
175 elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath
668 traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The
177 acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost
[578] Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather
than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the
pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt
at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete
with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting
pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream
Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

175 By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had
177 burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with
[668] essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic
competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so
[797] lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values
[791] were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic
practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One infor-
[533] mant tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power)
have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in
that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important
771 movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the
175 Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with
177 longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused
slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orienta-
795 tion, the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology;
but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross
as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence
of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements
[755] also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are employed (for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's
body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers
vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil,
178 and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult,
771 too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some
795 years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services.
The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

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[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kemps was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

[113] [11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

[113] [12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

[113] [13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.

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771 reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors,
178 the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

[182] The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are
allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some
771 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal
795 and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in
184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to
[797] those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on
the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual
[571] or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members
find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies
as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions
to aboriginal concepts.

771 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The
177 Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation
is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals,
184 while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display
or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely.
Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious
questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly
curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes
[755] demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this consideration,
[757] shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally
accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged
with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects
of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

183 The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there.
[773] For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter
are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two,
183 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first
224 deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away,
he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation
today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too,
the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy
that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem
from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is
825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath
[191] but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a harbinger
[763] of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear
it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means
183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter,
the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed
among western tribes.

178 But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past
which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

178 latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence
that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on
the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often
recur.

787 The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, ap-
881 parently regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was
usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power
785 obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts
existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating,
533 and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath
emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word
/*šuw'i·s*/ meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on
787 context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from
177 without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior
792 associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly in-
dividualized and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality,
it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers,
the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions.
One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with
the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The
examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older in-
formants. Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions as-
sociated with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me,
782 "Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and
776 old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.'
823 I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I
774 say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over
787 there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains
and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I
dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it."
She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to
Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up,
up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man
standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I
773 don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The in-
formant refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of
whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena:
"When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They
said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never
did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it
was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a
797 real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those
things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

---

[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

782 Other informants also give a hint of this attitude. Even where there is
776 sophistication by virtue of education or long-time residence away from the
group, one encounters statements like that of a woman, half-Klamath, half-
823 Caucasian: "Those old Indians had a lot of sense. They kind of felt at home
774 around here and they would get a lift just from talking to the mountains
787 and lakes. It was like praying and it made them feel at peace. When I get
up in the morning, I look first over there [at Mt. Pitt] and it makes me feel
good too. Not that I pray in the old Indian way; that's just idolatry. But
it's like the scenery kind of gets ahold of you even if I been seeing it all my
787 life."

776 A possible indication of this attitude appears in the repeated warnings to
855 children to avoid certain rocks and cliffs. "You might fall down and hurt
yourself" is of course quite true; on the other hand, places about which some
823 modern Klamath parents feel particularly uneasy were associated aboriginally
with power sources. A strong drive in the past was fear that a child might be
784 harmed through contact with "power." Every effort was made to keep the
child away from the shaman, the sweat lodge, the mourning place, and the
841 like. (It may be noted that menstrual blood was placed near the cradled
child to negate forces whose mere presence could harm the inexperienced.)
These attitudes toward nature and the surrounding natural phenomena, at
least as sources of uneasiness, still exist among younger Klamath of today.

773 Also obtainable is evidence on attitudes toward the culture hero. Some
776 offer a rational systematization of beliefs concerning him. Generally, this
177 involves some interpretation in the light of Christian reasoning. Kemu'kemps,
because of his essentially human characteristics, readily lends himself to
identification with the Christian God. The middle-aged woman quoted above,
struck by the linguistic parallels, notes: "Those old Indians were really
273 Christians. It's only the liquor around here that makes the unbelief and
trouble. Kemu'kemps means the 'Old One'; that's God. He revealed himself
to the Indians long before the Americans [sic] came. He had a son, too,
'Ayšiš, that's just like Jesus. He created the world, just like it says in the
Bible. If only those old Indians had been able to see it, they were close to
God all the time. They lived good upright lives under his guidance. Another
word for Kemu'kemps in our language is *Playtul'kni·;* that means the 'One
on High,' 'Somebody up there.' That's the name we give God in our language
now. It's all the same."

Not all informants are so definite in their syncretism. One elderly woman remarked: "Who is Kemu'kemps? I don't know. Sometimes I think he's God, but sometimes I think he must be Devil. Maybe he was just a story the old Indians made up. But they called him Playtul·kni· and that means God. My grandson asked me, 'Gramma, who's Kemu'kemps?' I say, 'I don't know. Maybe he's like God.' " In another connection she remarked: "I think that Kemu'kemps is Devil. He gets people into trouble; he leads them into temptation. When I was a little girl, they said to me, 'He's no good; don't believe that any more.' But I don't know. I see the icicles and I think of the wind and Kemu'kemps. He made the world and they call him Playtul'kni·. The Devil

773 is Mu·natul'kni· ("The One Below"). They say Kemu'kemps is everywhere
776 and that's like God. I think about that sometimes."

177 Undoubtedly, a confusion arises because of the adoption by missionaries,
[797] years ago, of terms for the Christian God which the Klamath had applied to the culture hero. The overlapping of Christian and native concepts is readily seen and provides a basis for debate and doubt.[16] It may be profitable to note some of the views and to determine how variable present attitudes are. There is scarcely any standardization except a very prevalent view that Kemu'kemps is somehow real.

The statements which follow were made by Klamath in response to the general question: What is Kemu'kemps? One man, aged about seventy-four, remarked to Hiroto Zakoji, University of Oregon: "Kemu'kemps disappears when he wants to. He tells what will happen and it happens exactly. He gives power to the Indian doctors [shamans] and sends them their songs. But I heard in stories that Kemu'kemps does bad things; he does tricks. I think he is mean, too. God in the Bible is mean sometimes, too. In the Bible it says that God is a jealous god. That's in the first Genesis [sic] and the Ten Commandments says that, too . . . . Sometimes I think Kemu'kemps is the Devil himself. There is a place near the dam over near Chiloquin on this side of the river. There is a big rock sticking out over there near a cave. Kemu'kemps tricks people to go there and dance when a girl reaches the age [puberty]. He misleads people. But God sometimes does bad things; he made Adam and Eve, but he also made the apple."

Two older male informants told separately versions of a myth about Kemu'kemps as a trickster. In the tale, the culture hero set what appeared to be venison up on poles. When the people present asked for some, he at once welcomed them to a feast. To their horror, they found that they were eating Kemu'kemps' feces. The hero laughed and disappeared. The remarks of a man, aged sixty-two, are of interest: "Can you imagine him doing a thing like that? I think that's just a disgusting old Indian story. God wouldn't do a thing like that, so Kemu'kemps must be Devil. But God made plagues in Egypt and maybe that's what this was like."

Although some informants conclude that the culture hero is an older revelation of the Christian God, others, as may be seen, are equally convinced that he is allied with or is the Christian Satan. But the ambivalent attitude appears to be most characteristic. H. Zakoji, of the University of Oregon, reports the following statement from a 74-year-old male informant: "I don't know what he is, God or Devil or what he is. According to the Bible, we worship one God. Nobody ever saw God and white people say that. That's what gets me. Kemu'kemps dealt with the Indians only. He must be before Christ came and he must have disappeared when Christ came." In another connection, he said to me: "If Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came, then Christ conquered him. They say when Christ died, he conquered sin and the Devil.

---

[113] [16] These statements suggest the views of Father Wilhelm Schmidt and their implications as given in his *High Gods of North America* (Oxford, 1933), especially chap. 8.

773 That's why Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came. But then I remember
776 them talking when I was young about how Kemu'kemps was coming back.
777 That was all lies so I guess Kemu'kemps must be the Devil. Still, they say he created all just like God. I don't know how to figure it."

Mention was made above that the culture hero had a son who was born miraculously. The possible relationship between 'Ayšiš and Jesus has caught the fancy of some. A man of seventy comments: "Yes, Kemu'kemps and God are one and the same. There's a story that says how Kemu'kemps saved a woman's baby when she jumped into the fire and that baby was raised as his own son. I don't believe it. God created all living things. He made the Devil, too. I think 'Ayšiš is the Devil because he's always trying to get the best of his father. We old Indians knew about God but we didn't know about our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

A 56-year-old woman remarked: "Yes, Kemu'kemps is God and he had a son, just like Jesus. 'Ayšiš even dies and comes alive again in the old Indian stories, and that's like the Christians teach. And that Holy Ghost business, that's the power that God gives. The Indians knew about that. That's why you say 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' "

But so concise a syncretism of aboriginal and Christian religious elements
[184] is rare. Younger people vary greatly in belief. One man, about thirty-eight, noted: "Kemu'kemps? They told us stories about him when we were kids. They said he's like God. It doesn't matter to me. Maybe he is; they always say how he made everything around here. Maybe he did; things get that way somehow." A 31-year-old woman remarked: "Kemu'kemps stuff is what they tell kids. That's old Indian devil-talk. I don't know nothing about it." And a 16-year-old girl stated: "I've heard my grandmother talk about Kemu'kemps. That's kind of scary stuff like the dead coming back to haunt
[823] you. There's a cave up on the Sprague River where they say Kemu'kemps used to live. Maybe he still lives there. Anyway, I wouldn't walk up that road in the dark."

A woman of about fifty-five, when questioned about the religious training
[869] she gave the grandchild entrusted to her care, answered: "Children learn about the Bible very fast. I tell my granddaughter the old Bible stories and she likes to hear them. But I steer off of that old Indian stuff. I think we ought to get away from those old Indian superstitions. I'll sure get mad if anybody scares her with stories about those old Indian things like Kemu'kemps."

Her statement sets the tone for the future. The old beliefs are being lost, and although still very general, they stand out most vividly only in the minds of those who were raised in the period of the second Ghost Dance and the analogous revivalistic movements which followed it. While they obtained, during their upbringing, a detailed background of native Klamath mythology, they succeed, according to their own inclinations, in passing on their point of view to their descendants, or they may fail to do so. The attitudes indicated above are individual; no debate about the nature of Kemu'kemps or related
[795] concepts has been noted. While the formally organized religious groups, including the Shakers (however dependent on the aboriginal patterns of

773 shamanism and curing), consistently oppose any such conceptual survival,
776 the point does not emerge as a significant controversy.

Thus, despite the decline of Klamath culture, something of the aboriginal
177 world-view persists. If the unformalized aspects of culture have a greater life-
[795] expectancy than the formalized and institutionalized ones, then the point of view reflected in myth, a series of cultural premises, must in some form outlast the setting of the point of view into motion through actual behavior. This has apparently happened among the Klamath. The overt behavioral aspects are gone entirely, but some individuals uneasily attempt to bridge a gap. The mechanisms which produced a Ghost Dance and a Shaker Cult are now merely vestigial but still present.

University of Minnesota,
Minneapolis, Minnesota

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VOLUME XXX

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NR10 Klamath NR10

KLAMATH TEXTS

BY
M. A. R. BARKER

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1963

[Title Page]

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FOREWORD

The Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, 114
University of California, Berkeley, was fortunate to have Mr. M. A. R. 12
Barker as one of its field workers during the summers of 1955, 1956, and 1957. He had come to us from the University of Washington where he had had good training under Professors Melville Jacobs and Fang-Kuei Li and, after a year's further training at the University of California, he chose Klamath as his field language. Having located some good informants living in Chiloquin, Oregon, he was able to make an intensive study of the language and to obtain full materials for a grammar, a set of texts, and a dictionary.

Since 1957 Barker has been connected with the Institute of Islamic 114
Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, where he teaches Urdu, Arabic, and general linguistics. In the midst of these many other duties, 128
Barker has found time to write up and send to the Survey a series of Monographs on the Klamath language. The present work, Klamath Texts, was sent to us first, but after the morphemic analysis was complete and the dictionary had been prepared, he sent us a list of corrections which he wished to have inserted in the typescript of the Texts. Working under our direction, Mr. Haruo Aoki, advanced graduate student and research assistant in linguistics, has carefully incorporated the necessary corrections. A few other minor changes have been introduced by the Survey's unofficial editor. For the most part these were dictated by the necessity of presenting the Klamath materials in more than one volume—the typescript of the Dictionary alone is nearly a thousand pages long! The changes are as follows: (1) What was originally an appendix to the Dictionary, namely Klamath Place Names with Map, has been removed from that position and included as an appendix to the present, shorter volume, the Texts. (2) The first paragraph of the Introduction to the Texts has been rewritten to include the names of the Klamath informants for the texts, since these do not otherwise appear except in the Introduction to the Grammar. (3) Bibliographic references are given in full wherever needed, since the Bibliography does not appear in the present volume but is included with the Grammar.

FOREWORD

128 The plates contain prints of black and white negatives produced from Kodachrome slides taken by Barker. It was regrettably not possible to include pictures of all of Barker's informants; some of the slides had too many deep shadows to make satisfactory black and white copies.

Mary R. Haas

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INTRODUCTION

114 The texts presented here were collected during the summers of 1955, 1956, and 1957 which were spent among the Klamath Indians at Chiloquin,
122 Oregon. The field work was carried out under the auspices of the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of
115 California, Berkeley. The narrators of the myth texts were Mr. Robert David, Mrs. Pansy Ohles, and Mr. Grover Pompey; the ethnographic materials were obtained from the first two of these and from Mrs. Aggie Butler, Mrs. Grover Pompey, and Miss Irene Skellock.

126 Most of these texts were recorded directly on tape, but some were taken down first in dictated form and were taped later. Of the myths, only Texts 1 and 7 were not recorded on tape. Of the ethnographic materials, Texts 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, and 35 were dictated only.

[124] No really exhaustive attempt was made to obtain a complete collection of Klamath myth texts. Instead, the author aimed at a representative collection of materials, including myths told by several informants, autobiographical experiences, ethnographic texts, historical incidents, conversation, and also the responses to a series of elicitation pictures (Text 39). It was felt that these texts would provide, on the one hand, good illustrative material for further linguistic studies in Klamath, and, on the other hand, a representative sampling of myths and ethnographic material of interest to the folklorist and ethnologist.

114 The collections of Klamath myths so far published are limited to A. S. Gatschet's "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. II, pts. 1 and 2, Washington, 1890) and some brief song and medicine texts in Leslie Spier's "Klamath Ethnography" (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, 1930). More recently, Dr. Theodore Stern of the University of Oregon has collected a large number of Klamath myths. The author understands that Dr. Spier also possesses a collection of myths. It is urgently hoped that both of these will be published in the near future.

128 The present collection is divided into two major parts: Myths, and
773 Ethnographic Texts. The former contains tales about the inhabitants of

128 the prehuman world, when everything spoke and had life (as Mrs. Ohles
773 put it). The primordial human inhabitants of this world (the /paewdiwa·s/)
[796] are only casually mentioned, and the main figures are the mighty culture-transformers Gmoḱamč, čečte·sis, and Sqeĺamč. The last two may be alternate names for the same figure, and the informants translated both
128 freely as "Old Marten" or "Old Mink." These beings travel through the
796 world, meeting monsters and inimical beings and destroying them, teaching the /paewdiwa·s/ how to live, and aiding those in trouble. Texts 19 and 20 contain incidents involving hostile, powerful beings and modern humans. Text 21 seems to involve modern humans also, but may refer to the /paewdiwa·s/.

128 The second part of the Texts contains material on food-gathering, historical occurrences, ethnographic descriptions, autobiographical incidents, etc. Text 38 consists of a free conversation between two informants and the author.

The translation of these texts presented considerable difficulties. To render the Klamath morpheme by morpheme—or even word by word—is, of course, impossible. This necessitated the addition of whole new phrases, at times, in order fully to cover the Klamath meaning. An attempt was made to keep the Klamath phrase junctures (/,/, /./, etc.) intact, although this has sometimes produced sentences which are thoroughly un-English.

Some of the Klamath material has been translated with great freedom. This is particularly true of the series of particles (sentence-connectives, etc.). Such sequences as /čoy/, /čoy honk ʔat/, /čoy čik/, /čoy da·ts/, etc., have been rendered as "So," "And," "Then," "So then," "And then," "So now," etc. The full force of these elements cannot be rendered into English without making the English sentence unintelligible. Forms like /či honk/ (lit. "as it") and /naʔas gi/ (lit. "thus did, thus made") have been freely translated as "(he) said, says," since this is the nearest English parallel of their use in Klamath.

Material in the translations which did not seem entirely justified from the Klamath alone has been inserted into the English enclosed in [. . .].

Parentheses have been employed in the Klamath to enclose English interpolations, asides to the investigator, etc.

Quotation marks have been used with several distinct purposes: (1) to enclose direct speech—material quoted by the speaker as being the speech of another (there is nothing in the phonemics to indicate this, but it is done for clarity's sake); (2) to enclose words quoted from the other language (i.e., words from English used in the Klamath, and words from

128 Klamath in the English sections). "Quoted" here has the technical meaning of "occurring as an integral part of an utterance in Language A, while belonging to the phonological system of Language B." For example, /kant sa nen do· ćosak "Smith River" ʔigsiga./ "Those which they always went to get there on 'Smith River.'" Here "Smith River" followed the English phonological system entirely. Where borrowed words follow the Klamath system, they are quoted in Klamath phonemics but are marked in the translations by quotation marks. Thus, /ʔi·t sa hon gi./ "They 'eat' it."

The symbols '. . .' mark quoted material occurring within quotation marks, as described above.

Place names, proper names, names of unknown plants, etc. have usually been left in Klamath, though without quotation marks. Exceptions to this practice are made whenever the name is easily translatable, or whenever a place is well known to English readers. For example, /ćasga·y/ "Weasel," /ća·sis/ "Skunk," /gi·was/ "Crater Lake."

The transcription is phonemic with the sole exception of juncture. The texts have been rewritten here in "slow speech" (i.e., with all of the morphophonemic junctures occurring as phonemic junctures). This has been done in order to facilitate morphological and syntactic analysis. Thus, /čoysongat/ "so they now" has been written out in its slow speech form: /čoy sa honk ʔat/. Between morphophonemic junctures, however, all material is written phonemically.

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PART ONE

MYTHS

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PART ONE: MYTHS

1. Old Bear and Antelope

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

#539 (1) wíle·m la·ba wewe·ʔas gitk. (2) čew la·ba wewe·ʔas gitk. (3) čoy sa na·nok waytas ge·s̓ʔalča. (4) čoy honk ʔat mo· ƴaMka wíle·m̓am̓č. (5) čoy na̓ʔas wíle·m̓am̓č, "mo· ʔans ge· k̓oĺas siwga. ʔans ƴo·qdagiwk. (6) gida ʔis k̓otsal!" (7) čoy honk ʔat k̓otaĺa. (8) "q̓e·gi k̓oĺas. (9) q̓ay ni dwa· sle·ʔa." (10) "hak hay no· nis dmakč̓ik!" (11) čew na̓ʔas gi. "q̓ay. q̓ay dak nis ƴo·qtgi n̓os." (12) hak hay sle·ʔi·k! (13) čoy honk ʔat čew ʔeylga. (14) wíle·m̓am̓č č̓agi· ge·s. (15) čoy honk ʔat wíle·m gwač̓a·q̓a (clicks teeth). (16) "domi··· k̓oĺas!" (17) sin̓amsta da·ts čew, sdaynas diqdiq̓a. (18) čoy sa gembli.

(19) čoy litgi·n̓a, ʔat sa p̓awla. (20) čoy sa loĺallga. (21) čoy qtanč̓annannwi wíle·m̓am̓č. (22) čoy honk čew na̓ʔas gi, "q̓ay qtanč̓a, q̓ay qtanč̓a! (23) dwa· ʔams ni s̓ʔabi·wapk. (24) dwa· hak ho·t newlga. (25) doma··· mat ni k̓oĺas gitk. (26) čoy nis gwač̓a·q̓a, ni·s. (27) čoy he· dwa· nis ho·t waq giwapk—čoy ʔaMka nis siwgwapk. (28) q̓ay ʔi dwa· waq giwapk! (29) he· čik ho·t Na·čyak gatbambliwapk, čoy ʔi s̓ʔaywaktanwapk dwa· nis waq gist. (30) ʔaMka nis siwgwapk. (31) čoy ʔa·t goykagwapk!"

(32) be·n sa meyča na·nok waytas. (33) čoy honk ʔat gwakč̓a. (34) čoy Jila·ʔas laka·ƴa, go·sdat. (35) čoy honk ʔat li·wlíwa č̓mokadat. (36) čoy ʔat gembli wíle·m. (37) čoy honk če·t hak gatbambli. (38) čoy, "na·t doma··· ʔa na·t gaẃal. (39) čoy ma·lam p̓kisap či·č̓apga do· ne·loloqs nota·. (40) he· delča!

PART ONE: MYTHS

1. Old Bear and Antelope

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) Black Bear had two children. (2) Antelope had two children. (3) And every day they went to gather ipos. (4) Now Old Bear was very lazy. (5) And Old Bear said, "These fleas are killing me, making me itch. (6) Pick my fleas here!" (7) So she looked for fleas. (8) "There are no fleas. (9) I don't see anything." (10) "Let me pick you over!" (11) Antelope said, "No. My head doesn't itch (me)." (12) "Let me see!" (13) So then Antelope lowered her head. (14) Old Bear put ipos into her mouth. (15) Then Old Bear bit [at Antelope's neck. Mrs. Ohles made a clicking sound with her teeth to indicate Old Bear was crunching up the ipos and pretending to find fleas on Antelope.] (16) "Many, many fleas!" (17) Antelope was terrified, her heart thumping. (18) Then they went home. 539*

(19) Then at evening time, now they had finished eating. (20) Then they lay down. (21) And Old Bear went right to sleep. (22) Then Antelope said, "Don't go to sleep! Don't go to sleep! (23) I will tell you something. (24) She is really planning something. (25) She said I had many, many fleas. (26) Then she bit at me, the neck. (27) So if she does something to me—and perhaps she'll kill me. (28) Don't you do anything! (29) If indeed she returns alone, you'll know she did something to me. (30) Perhaps she'll kill me. (31) So you must escape!"

(32) Again they went to dig roots every day. (33) Then she bit off [Antelope's] head. (34) And she hung up her "lights" in a tree.[1] (35) Then they flickered in the dark. (36) And now Bear returned. (37) Now she just barely got back [because of the weight of Antelope's meat, which she was carrying]. (38) Thus, "We found very, very much. (39) And your Mother stayed there, where the fire burns. (40) Look there!" [She pointed towards Antelope's "lights," which could be seen flickering like a campfire in the distance.]

---

[1] [ǰila·'s] : /ǰila·ʔas/ "lights, internal organs of an animal" is treated as a round object in Klamath: [lʸaʔa·yi̲'s] : /laʔa·ya/ "puts a round object up high." They flicker because they belong to a myth-being. [196]

(41) čoy sa dedalčn̓a. (42) čoy gemgem hak gyank.

(43) čoy honk ʔat wil̓e·m p̓as sʔotl̓a. (44) "p̓algyat, p̓algyat!" (45) čoy k̓ičk̓a·ni honk naʔas, "k̓isi·bam ʔeči·s siik m̓a·sʔa." (46) čoy mo·ni na·k ktiwčn̓a, naʔas, "JiJi·ks!" (47) čoy honk ʔat saʔi·syank čle̓lga. (48) gilʔank p̓awo·k, q̓ay saleʔa wil̓e·m̓am̓č. (49) čoy honk sas dom p̓as se·w̓a.

(50) mo·n̓k̓a·ni nisda q̓ay qtana. (51) dada· swaqča k̓ičk̓a·ni, čoy naʔas, "q̓ay gi, q̓ay gi. ʔaMk̓a na·l̓ečgas lwelwapk."

(52) čoy mbo·sant sas na·nok sʔeqga. (53) sʔeqgank sas, naʔas gi, "goni· do· le·wči·k!" (54) čoy ʔat sdoli· mna wewe·k̓a, "q̓a···y ʔa dwa· le·wwapk pač̓it, čoy ʔaMk̓a ma·l̓s sa waq giwapk. (55) q̓ay ʔa·t sangal̓i·gye·wapk! (56) q̓ay ʔa·t wdo·damkangwapk! (57) q̓ay ʔa·t soyn̓iwapk! (58) q̓ay ʔa·t soho·wwalye·gwapk! (59) q̓ay ʔa·t dwa· le·wwapk!" (60) čoy honk y̓aMtgi Na·s.

(61) čoy wiwʔa·l̓a·k naʔas gi, "hak na·t le·w̓a dwa·! (62) dwa· hay na·t le·wwapk! (63) so·damyagye·ʔa?" (64) "q̓ay!" (65) "ʔi hay dwa· ʔelgi!" (66) "q̓ay ʔa na·t san̓a·Wawli le·w̓as." (67) "hak na·t sangal̓i·gye·ʔa!" (68) "q̓ay." (69) "hak hay na·t soyn̓in̓a!" (70) "q̓ay." (71) "hak hay na·t sosanʔaqn̓a!" (72) "q̓ay." (73) "hak hay na·t leplep p̓ol̓e·n̓a!" (74) "ʔi·, ʔi·, ʔi···!"

(75) čoy sa honk ʔat lobi· wl̓awl̓ačk̓ya na·nok, hon wqepl̓aqs. (76) čoy sa honk ʔat sla·yaqs sda· gi. (77) čoy ʔat naʔas, "na·t ʔa lobi· giwapk." (78) čoy sa naʔas giwapk, "leplep p̓ol̓e··, leplep p̓ol̓e··! p̓ol̓e··! p̓ol̓e··!" (79) čoy honk ʔat sliwk̓yo·la, dinqs. (80) "ʔa·tčgas!" (81) čoy sa dilhi. (82) "leplep p̓ol̓e··, leplep p̓ol̓e··, p̓ol̓e··, p̓ol̓e··!"

(41) So they looked. (42) And they just kept quiet.

(43) Now then Bear prepared food. (44) "Come and eat! Come and eat!" 539*
(45) Then the little one [of Antelope's children] said, "It tastes like Mommy's milk."[2] (46) Then the biggest one nudged him, saying, "Careful!" (47) Then he secretly put it aside. (48) Because she ate quickly, Old Bear did not see. (49) And she thought they ate a lot.

(50) The biggest one did not sleep all night. (51) When the little one cried, he said, "Don't! Don't! Maybe she'll kill us next."

(52) Thus, the next day she said goodbye to them all. (53) Having said goodbye to them, she said [to Antelope's children], "Go over there and play!" (54) Then she advised her own little children, "Don't play anything now, or perhaps they will do something to you. (55) Don't play leap-frog![3] (56) Don't swim around! (57) Don't race! (58) Don't play jump! (59) Don't play anything!" (60) But she forgot one.

(61) So the little fawns said, "Let's play something![4] (62) Let's play something! (63) Swim-racing?" (64) "No!" [said the little bears]. (65) "You name something then!" (66) "We don't want to play." (67) "Let us play leap-frong!" (68) "No." (69) "Let us race!" (70) "No." (71) "Let us wrestle!" (72) "No." (73) "Then let us play 'Two-in-smother'!"[5] (74) "Yes, yes, yes!"

(75) Then they first closed up everything, of that house. (76) Then they filled it up with smoke. (77) Then they said, "We'll do it first." (78) And they will do thus, "Two-in-smother, two-in-smother! Smother! Smother!" (79) Now they opened the door; they ran out. (80) "You next!" (81) So they ran inside. (82) "Two-in-smother, two-in-smother, smother, smother!"

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[2] /ḱisi·bam ʔeči·s sitk m̓a·s'ʔa/ "It tastes like Mommy's milk" is baby-talk. Normal Klamath would be: /ṕkisam ʔečas sitk m̓a·s'ʔa/. The baby Antelope is here shown retaining the affix which occurs with kinship terms in their nominative form: /ṕkisap/ "mother." [195] [193]

[3] ‖ s̲ngalygie·'wabg‖ : /sangali·gye·wapk/ "will jump over one another for sport." ((s̲g) 2pv "reflexive-reciprocal"; (ngaĺ) 45-v "to jump"; (oygi) 10sv "over, above"; (e·') 13sv "in sport, play, competition"; (wabg) 23sv "future"). This word has a closely similar meaning to ‖ s̲ho·d̲wlye·gwabg‖ : /soho·wwalye·gwapk/ "will jump over each other," but this latter item seems to refer to jumping contests. [192] [196]

[4] /wiwʔa·la·k/ "little fawns" is irregular. ‖r̲e̲wile'a·k‖ should : */wiwleʔa·k/. (wile) "fawn" must be stated as having an allomorph ‖wiʔa·l‖ only with (r̲e̲) and followed by ('a·k). Otherwise ‖wile‖ occurs. [193]

[5] This was Mrs. Ohles' own idea for a translation of /leplep ṗole·/: "Two-in-smother." /leplep/ seems to be a distortion of (la·b) "two" plus (r̲ér̲). (ṗoĺ) 78v "to be out of breath, smother" occurs as a regular verb, but not with any affix /e·/, unless this be an otherwise non-occurring allomorph of (e·') 13sv "to do in sport, competition." [193]

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(83) čoy sas ʔa ʔino·qa. (84) be·n sa goLi·bli. (85) "leplep ṗoĺe··, leplep ṗoĺe··, ṗoĺe··, ṗoĺe··!" (86) čoy sa honk ʔat, "leplep ṗoĺe··, ṗoĺe··, ṗoĺe··, ṗoĺe······!" (87) "hi·t hak ṗoĺi!" (88) čoy honk ʔat, "ṗoĺe·····"

(89) čoy honk ʔat naʔas, "ʔat ʔa sa č́o·q̇a. (90) waq čik ʔa na·t giwapk?" (91) čoy honk naʔas, "hehaspo·q̇yank sas ḱaystisdat, snosnatgatgank, kiko·ḱyo·lank lolp čoy som. (92) čoy sa lwayq̇ok sitk sle·s, dada·t ʔat pḱisap gatbambliwapk." (93) čoy q̇ay dwa· qa·siwapk." (94) čoy sa honk ʔat na·nok dwa· sdoli·, "q̇ay ʔa·t sʔabwapk dada·t na·ĺs geyst." (95) čoy sa saqda ẏaMtgič́a.

(96) čoy sa honk ʔat gone·ga, sneyĺaqsdat. (97) lḱom salḱi·č́a. (98) čoy sa honk ʔat gena, gena, dosčńa, dosčńa. (99) q̇ay sa dat toq̇lga, dosčńa, dosčńa.

(100) čoy honk ʔat wiĺe·ṁaṁč gatbambli. (101) čoy naʔas, "dwa· lis ʔa·t q̇ač sidyayḱa? (102) če·t hak ʔan gatbambli. . ." (103) čoy naʔas, "ye·····, ʔat nis sa sewĺaqtampga!" (104) nqe···nkanga, nqe···nkanga, "dat ʔa·t? da···t ʔa···t?" (105) čoy naʔas, "walgi ʔis! walgi ʔis!" (106) q̇ay kani dwa· hemi·gi. (107) čoy honk naʔas, "dat sa gena? dat sa gena? (108) dam ʔi sʔaywakta? dam ʔi sʔaywakta?" (109) q̇ay kani dwa· hemi·gi. (110) q̇ay kani geqč́a. (111) čoy honk ʔat saqdaʔas naʔas, "dam ʔi sʔaywakta?" (112) "waq hak č́a·ms ge·! (113) ʔi ʔa dmoye·ga. (114) dwa· ʔi q̇ač ṁa·sʔa?" (115) "dat sa gena? (116) ʔi bil ʔans sʔabi·yat. (117) he· čik ʔins q̇ay sʔabi·wapk, čoy mis ni yeqe·wiwapk." (118) "ya···, hi·t ʔa sa gone·kč́a."

(119) čoy honk ʔat če·t hak loLi·ča ski·s mna. (120) čoy honk ʔat gena, haYčńok sas. (121) čoy honk ʔat ḱičḱa·ni ge·jiga. (122) čoy honk mo·ni na·k naʔas, "gida kč́ikč́Li·wapk himbaksdat."

(123) čoy sas honk ʔat pino·ča hadakt. (124) "ʔi·!" či honk, "mbo·sant ma·ĺs ni psepsa lolpbatga sagmiwapk." (125) čoy honk ʔat qtanč́a wiĺe·ṁaṁč.

(126) čoy honk hok ʔat mo·ni na·k sgiso·la. (127) čoy naʔas gi, "ya···, ʔat ʔa na·ĺs ge· pino·ča!" (128) čoy honk ḱičḱa·ẏe·ńs naʔas gi, "q̇a···y ʔi swaqčok!" (129) čoy naʔas, "ʔaMḱa ʔi honks sgiso·lat." (130) čoy honk ʔat noĺo·ĺle·gi ʔankẃa·k, wage·nha čačga·lam. (131) čoy honk naʔas, "ča! ʔat! ʔi lobi· hoygič́a!

(83) And they let them out. (84) Again they went back inside. (85) "Two-in-smother, two-in-smother, smother, smother!" (86) And then, "Two-in-smother, smother, smother, smother-r-r-r . . . !" (87) "So smother there!" [Antelope's children said.] (88) And now, "Smother-r-r-r . . ."[6]

(89) Now they said, "Now they have died. (90) What shall we do now?" (91) So he said, "Having caused them to embrace each other, having stood them up in the doorway, having propped open their eyes and mouth. (92) And they'll look like they're laughing, when the Mother comes home. (93) And she won't suspect anything." (94) And they then advised everything, "Do not tell where we have gone." (95) But they just forgot Awl.

(96) Then they went down into the hearth. (97) They just shut [the way behind them with] a coal. (98) Then they went and went, ran and ran. (99) They did not stop anywhere, [but] ran and ran.

(100) Now Old Bear came back. (101) She said, "What are you grinning at so much? (102) I just barely got home . . ." (103) And she said, "Ohhhh! They have played a trick on me!" (104) She called and called, "Where are you? Whe-e-ere are yo-u-u?" (105) And thus, "Answer me! Answer me!" (106) Nobody said anything. (107) Then she said, "Where did they go? Where did they go? (108) Do you know? Do you know?" (109) Nobody said anything. (110) Nobody paid attention. (111) Then she said to Awl, "Do you know?" (112) "How stupid this one is! (113) You started it. (114) What are you so sick about?" (115) "Where did they go? (116) Only you can tell me. (117) If you won't tell me, then I'll break you in two." (118) "Ohhh, they went down right there."

(119) So she just barely squeezed in her hind-end. (120) Then she went, tracking them. (121) Now the little one got tired. (122) Then the bigger one said, "We'll crawl into the log right here" [pointing to a hollow log].

(123) Then she overtook them there. (124) "Yes," she said, "Tomorrow I'll play with you with daytime eyes."[7] (125) Then Old Bear went to sleep.

(126) Then the biggest one awoke. (127) And he said, "Ohhh, now this one has caught up with us!" (128) Then he said to the little one, "Do-o-on't you cry!" (129) And he said, "Perhaps you'll wake her up." (130) Then he threw a little piece of wood over her, perhaps a pine cone [to see if she were sound asleep]. (131) Then he said, "Hah! Now! You jump over her first!

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[6] Sentences 86 and 88 become progressively more falsetto toward the end, drawing out to a voiceless [R·] for dramatic purposes. Sentence 87 is shouted with much vehemence. [194] [196]

[7] /peepea loigbaiga/ "with daytime eyes" is also distorted speech for dramatic effect. No form *[rrepee] : /peepea/ exists in normal speech; (pee) "daytime" does not otherwise occur with any of the (re) morphemes in the corpus. [196]

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963

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#539 (132) čoy mis ni galamsbagwapk."* (133) čoy sa honk ʔat glewi·ča wiće·ḿaḿčas qtampks hi·t hak.

(134) čoy sa honk ʔat be·n gena, be·n gena. (135) čoy honk ʔat ʔona·k sʔo·q̓amč sẃewa. (136) čoy sa honk ʔat dintq̓apsa. (137) čoy honk naʔas, "koko·y! sgo·tgi na·ĺs! (138) hok ʔa na·ĺs tpočapga wiće·ḿaḿč!" (139) čoy sʔa·Maks giwk, sbok̓wi·ya sas. (140) čoy sa dink̓wa. (141) čoy sĺo·losdat psipso·goga. (142) čoy honk gaʔas siń̓amstsok, ƙawƙaẃa sdaynas.

(143) čoy wiće·ḿaḿč gatba. (144) "dam ʔi ńsćakyas sleʔa? (145) dam sa gidaĺ gepga?" (146) "q̓ay ʔan sʔaywakta. (147) pačit ʔan gatq̓apsa." (148) "q̓ay ƙiʔi! (149) ge· ʔa sam gweye. (150) ge· mi gida·počaḿč gwena. (151) sbok̓wi ʔis!" (152) naʔas qiWƙank, "ya···!"

(153) sbok̓wa čoy ʔat datglam genank, ʔambo bonwa. (154) čoy ʔat wLića qma. (155) "q̓oʔhaʔhaʔhaʔha!" (156) snińo·wa wiće·ḿaḿčas, mpatčńa. (157) čoy honk ʔat wiće·ḿaḿč glega.

2. Coyote and Badger

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) kule do··· wbawlʔaqdamna mna lolp. (2) čoy hok naʔas, "lololok!"* (3) čoy hok hewýaqbli. (4) "ya····, dič ʔan gen gi," či honk. (5) čoy honk be···n hak, "lololololok!" (6) čoy honk ẃas galćwi, galćwi. (7) "dwa· lis ʔi sʔotíaʔ" (8) "gen ʔan gew lolp wbawlʔaqdamna." (9) "ho·t ʔa nen naʔas lmena?" (10) "ʔi·. lmeys sitk ʔa nen ho·t." (11) "ʔi·. dam čik hon no· ćis hoḿas gi?" (12) "ʔi·. wbawlʔaq hay mi lolp!" (13) čoy hok "lololololok," čoy hok hewýaqbli. (14) be·n hak ho·t naʔas, "ya···, mo· ʔa ge· dič, ya mi!" (15) čoy honk be·n wbawliga. (16) čoy be·n hok "lololololok," hewýaqbli. (17) čoy naʔas, "ya···, mo· hay ʔina gen dič hasýo·ga." (18) čoy naʔas, "ʔi·." (19) čoy be·n hak wbawliga, do···, wbawliga. (20) čoy dič gi. (21) čoy do····· wbawliga, čoy honk naʔas, "lololololok!", čoy honk hewýaqbli.

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[192] */lololololok!/ indicates the rumbling noise of thunder. The intonation contour of this sequence drops rapidly from an initial high pitch down to a very deep bass.

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(132) And I'll come following you." (133) Then they left Old Bear sleeping right there.

(134) Then they went on again, again they went. (135) Then Old Crane was fishing early in the morning. (136) Then they ran down to the shore. (137) And they said, "Granduncle! Get us across! (138) Old Bear is coming, chasing us!" (139) Then because he was a relative, he [Old Crane] put a leg across for them. (140) And they ran across. (141) Then he blew them into an olderberry flute. (142) And because they were thus afraid, their hearts pounded.

(143) Now Old Bear arrived. (144) "Have you seen [some] children? (145) Did they come this way?" (146) "I don't know. (147) I just now came down to the shore." (148) "Don't lie! (149) Here is their track. (150) This is where your big old foot tracked right here. (151) Stick a leg across for me!" (152) Thus, glaring, "Aaaah!"

(153) He stuck a leg across and she, having gone halfway, drank water [using her basket as a cup]. (154) Then she shook her basket hat [by slapping it against his leg]. (155) "Oh-ho-ho-ho!" (156) He spilled Old Bear into the water, and she sank. (157) Then Old Bear died.

2. Coyote and Badger

(Mrs. Pansy Ohlea)

(1) Badger was throwing his eyes very far [up in the air]. (2) And they [made a noise] thus, "lolololok!" (3) Then they fell back into [his eye-sockets]. (4) "Ohhh, I do this well," he said. (5) And so again, "lolololok!" (6) Then Coyote came near, came near. (7) "What are you doing?" (8) "I'm throwing my eyes up." (9) "Is it they that thunder thus?" (10) "Yes. It's just like thunder." (11) "Yes. Indeed, could I do like that too?" (12) "Yes. Just throw your eyes up!" (13) And, "lolololok," and they fell back in. (14) Then again he said, "Ohhh, this is very good, this thing of yours!" (15) Then he threw them up again. (16) And again, "lolololok," they fell back in. (17) Then he said, "Ohhh, you taught this to me very well." (18) And he said, "Yes." (19) Then he threw them up again, far, he threw them up. (20) And he did it well. (21) Then he threw them up very, very far, and they [sounded] thus, "lolololok!" and they fell back in.

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(22) "ʔi·," či honk, "be·n ʔan giwapk, díma·k!" (23) naʔas, "be·n ʔan giwapk, ʔat glewi·wapk." (24) čoy honk ʔat do··· wbawilga (25) čoy, "lolololoĺok!" (26) be·n hokt wbawilga, do··· 'blay. (27) čoy honk ga·q honk kiko·čńa.

(28) čoy honk ʔat koĺa·k hoččńank, gembli. (29) "waq bas nis giwk, sma·wi·ga," či honk, "gew dal hok newĺaqáti·?"

(30) čoy honk ʔat snaṕa·č́a, ẃasas. (31) čoy honk ʔat ge· lotalʔalga. (32) na·nok dwant lotanʔa. (33) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔamma·! dwantda dal ni nen ńioqta?" (34) "no·s hay ʔi nen lotallga, go·sdat." (35) be·n, "ʔi·. q̇ay hayč mis ni." (36) čoy honk be·n gena, gena. (37) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔamma·! dwantda mis ni nen?" (38) "gen hay ʔins ḱatdat," či honk. (39) gena, be·n gena. (40) q̇ay ʔa saṅa·Wawli sas sʔaywaktantgi giwk bas ṕaṅa·č́apks gist. (41) čoy honk gena, be·n dwanta ńioqta. (42) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔamma·! dwantda mis ni nen?" (43) čoy honk naʔas, "no·s hay ʔi nen č́widiyyat." (44) čoy honk ʔat, č́widi honk ṕawlank, gena— (45) loĺpĺa ẃe· ʔa lobi·.[9]

(46) čoy ʔat boḿas gyank, tataktak dadalmni. (47) "ya···," či honk, "kaṅa bas ni gentga hesnbe·mbeḿa?" (48) čoy honk naʔas, "gida ʔan tgodagwapk. (49) čoy ni galo·daĺ delčambagwapk. (50) čoy ni dalmnibagwapk. (51) čoy honk kani ʔaḱya ʔis sle·wapk."

(52) čoy honk čew—dam mat čew? (53) q̇ay ni sʔaywakta—kani ʔa gatba. (54) čoy honk naʔas, "dwa· lis ʔi gen dalmnipga?" (55) "gen ʔan memye·k ʔa·yʔaẏa."[10] (56) "ʔi·," či honk. (57) "q̇ay dal ʔi hon sleʔa, memye·k? (58) domi··· ʔa memye·k, čoyyamna." (59) čoy honk naʔas, "q̇ay." (60) čoy, "waq dal ʔi gen giwk, tataktak dedalne·ks —waq hay mi lolp giwk?" (61) čoy honk naʔas, "dam čik mis ni si·ẏo·tank gitgo git. (62) ʔaMḱa memye·k no·č́is sle·t."

(63) "ʔi·," či honk. (64) čoy honk ẃaḱa sʔewanʔa mna lolp honk—dwa· bas?—čewas ẏa?—ʔaMḱa. (65) čoy honk ʔat gena. (66) čoy honk naʔas, "q̇a···y dat ni dwa· sleʔa!" (67) "čoy hi·t hak ge·la sda·ni wa·," či honk. (68) "waq bas nis giwk solo·go·la tataktakĺis sweso·ne·kst gist." (69) čoy nen ḱada·di hak ni ho·skanga ʔat.

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[9] Coyote makes "eyes" out of the bright red berries of this plant to fill his empty sockets.

[196] [10] /memye·k/ was translated by Mrs. Chloe as "the little things you see when you've got your eyes tightly closed—like little worms or germs or spots." This may be [remeye·g] "dist. move up, rise." ((re) 1pv "dist. action"; (me) 48-v "to carry, pack, move"; (oye·g) 11sv "up, rising"). Since this analysis is not certain, this item will be separately listed in the Lexicon.

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(22) "Yes," he said, "I'll do it again, just once more!" (23) "Thus, I'll do it again, then I'll quit." (24) So he then threw them very, very far up. (25) And, "lolololololok!" (26) Then again he threw them up, very, very far. (27) And a crow speared them [with his beak] as he went along.

(28) Then little Badger, running, went home. (29) "Why should he get angry at me?" he said, "Was that trick something of mine?"

(30) Thus he [the crow?] blinded Coyote. (31) Now he kept falling down [stumbling on things]. (32) He stumbled against everything. (33) And he said, "ʔamma·! On what have I hit my head?" (34) "You've fallen over me, a tree." (35) Again, "Yes. I didn't [mean to do it] to you." (36) And he went and went. (37) And he said, "ʔamma·! I've [stumbled] over you, something!" (38) "On me, a sagebrush." it said. (39) He went and went again. (40) He didn't want them to know that he was blind. (41) As he went, he bumped his head on something. (42) And he said, "ʔamma·! I've [stumbled] over you, something?" (43) And it said, "On me, a wild rose bush." (44) Then, having eaten the wild rose [berries], he went on -- (45) first he made eyes [from the bright red berries of this bush, dropping them into his empty eye-sockets].

(46) Then, having done thus, he looked up, red. (47) "Ohhh," he said, "I wonder if I can fool someone with these?" (48) And he said, "I will stand here. (49) And I will keep looking toward the sky. (50) And I will keep looking up. (51) And perhaps somebody will see me."

(52) Then Antelope—did they say Antelope? (53) I don't know—somebody came. (54) And he said, "What are you looking up at?" (55) "I'm watching these flying spots." (56) "Yes," he said. (57) "Don't you see them, the spots? (58) Many, many little spots, swarming around." (59) And he said, "No." (60) Then, "Why do you look red [in the eyes]—what kind of eyes have you?" (61) And he said, "Could I trade you something [for those red eyes]? (62) Maybe I, too, can see the flying spots."

(63) "Yes," he said. (64) Then little Coyote gave his eyes to—to what? —to Antelope?—perhaps. (65) Then he went off. (66) Then he [the Antelope] said, "I don't see a-a-anything at all!" (67) So stay there full of earth!" [untranslatable pejorative idiom] (68) "Why should they tease me because [my eyes] look red?" (69) That's as far as I recall right now.

3. Little Porcupine and Coyote

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) ʔat ni dmoye·gwapk. (2) če·li·k mat ho·t geaga gaḱo·s goge, dińa·. (3) čoy ʔamnali·nalla, ʔamnali·nalla. (4) čoy yoho· lag̣i· gistq̇apsa. (5) čoy naʔas, "naʔas, "dwa· lis ʔi waq gi? (6) dwa· ʔi q̇ač swaqča?" (7) čoy honk naʔas, "g̣eagok ʔan gaḱo·s swaqča. (8) saṅa·Wawli ʔan do·ksi̇a gaḱo·s, ṁa·sipks sle·čok—gew sʔa·Maks."

(9) čoy honk naʔas, "gida hay ʔis kčilLapgi, qe·mat!" (10) "ʔa···, q̇ay." či honk, "sninio·wwapk hay ʔina." (11) "q̇ay dak! gida hay ʔis tog̣itdat čaiamag̣i!" (12) čoy honk naʔas, "q̇ay. sninio·wwapk hay ʔina." (13) čoy honk naʔas, "qbellat hay ʔis ẇinta, čoy mis ni spiḱo·wapk." (14) čoy honk naʔas, "q̇ay. ṁoq̇aLiwapk ʔan." (15) čoy honk naʔas gi, "ya···, gida hay ʔis ẇinta, ni·sdat!" (16) "q̇ay. sgičkčank, hay ʔina woio·wwapk." (17) "ya···, tabi·tant hay ʔis kčiLi·!" (18) "ʔi·, ʔi·, ʔi·, ʔi·!" (19) "homias če· hay ni gaḱo·t." (20) čoy honk ʔat kčiLi·, tabi·tant.

(21) čoy honk ʔat gaḱo·s bańkwa honk won—yoho·iet. (22) čoy honk naʔas, "q̇ay ʔan dič hoslta." (23) čoy na·nok honk p̣an, honk balla. (24) čoy leiamẏe·qs. (25) na·nok honk p̣an. (26) čoy honk ʔat gaba·tis če·, sdaynas honk siog̣i·. (27) čoy honk welga ʔat. (28) čoy honk ʔat kčiqamblyank naʔas gi, "waq hay bas nis giwk? (29) sgičkčank woio·wasamni. (30) čoy ḱet dye·mipks, detdye·ṁa ʔa na·t. (31) mo··· ʔa na·t detdye·ṁa. (32) čoy honk ʔat homas giwk saṅa·Wawli ge·ks siwks. (33) čoy ma·ms nis ge· ksaḱwa gida."

(34) čoy naʔas, gallalli·no·tank honk naʔas, "le ča·nink dwantga doLi·s woli·na! (35) le ča·nink dwantga yoho· lag̣i· neaga!"[11] (36) čoy honk

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[19]

[11] /le ča·nink dwantga doLi·s woli·na/ and /le ča·nink dwantga· lag̣i· neaga/ are mythic utterances and are only partially translatable in terms of the present corpus. /le ča·nink/, translated by Mrs. Ohles as "I wish . . .," may be the negative particle {le} and some form of {ča·ṅ} "to not know how to do." /dwantga/ "with what?, with something" is clear. /doLi·s/ may be analysed as ‖dᵛoLys‖. {dᵛ} 45-v "to act upon a single erect object, stick up"; {oLy} 10sv "into, inside"; {s} 24sv "noun ending"; "erect object sticking up in." /woli·na/ contains {w} 45-v "to act with a long object" and {oli·na} 10sv "off the side, edge." Mrs. Ohles stated that this item seemed to mean "whittle," but she was not certain. The remaining forms (/yoho·/, /lag̣i·/, and /neaga/) are clear. Both utterances are "sung" in a high, faint, far-away tone, trailing away at the end into voicelessness. They are delivered in an even, rhythmical metre, stressed vowels being abnormally lengthened: /le čá·nink dwántga doLí·s wolí·ná/ and /le čá·nink dwántga yohó· lag̣i· néagá/.

3. Little Porcupine and Coyote

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) Now I will start. (2) They say that little Porcupine once could not cross a river. (3) And he went crying and crying along the bank. (4) Then a buck buffalo walked down to the bank. (5) He said, "What's the matter with you? (7) What are you crying so much for?" (7) And he said, "I'm crying because I can't get across. (8) I want to get on the other side, to see a sick person—my relative."

(9) Then he said, "Crawl up on here, on [my] back!" (10) "Aaah, no," he said, "You would spill me off into the water." (11) "Not at all! Sit up here between my horns!" (12) Then he said, "No, you'd spill me off into the water." (13) And he said, "Catch hold of [my] tail, and I'll drag you across!" (14) And he said, "No, I'd get wet." (15) Then he said, "Ohhh, grab hold here, on [my] neck!" (16) "No. Shaking [your head] you'd throw me into the water." (17) "Ohhh, crawl up into [my] behind." (18) "Yes, yes, yes, yes! (19) Only thus can I go across." (20) So he crawled inside, behind.

(21) Then he waded across, that elk—rather, that buffalo. (22) And he said, "I don't feel well." (23) And he ate all of his liver. (24) And [his] kidneys. (25) He ate it all. (26) Then as he barely got to the other side, he swallowed his heart. (27) Then he fell down. (28) Then, crawling back out, he said, "How should I have done [?] ? (29) Shaking [his head] he would have thrown me off into the water right away. (30) And so hungry, we [Porcupine and his family] are so hungry. (31) We are very, very hungry. (32) It was for this that I wanted to kill this one. (33) Even though he did carry me across here."

(34) Then he said, while going to and fro along the bank he said, "I wish I had something to make a knife-handle with! (35) I wish I had something to skin this buck buffalo with!" (36) As he said thus, that little Coyote

#539 naʔas gi. ẃaḱa honk domna. "ya···, dwa· nen haḱa! (37) dwa· nen gi?" (38) "le ča·nink dwantga doLi·s woli·na!" (39) "ʔa···, q́ay dič gi," či honk. (40) "le ća·nink dwantga yoho· lagi· neaga!" (41) "ya···, dič ʔa nen!" či honk.[13] (42) čoy honk hoččńa, čoy be·n čelga. (43) čoy naʔas, "le ća·nink dwantga doLi·s woli·na!" (44) "ʔa···, nen dak q́ay dič," či honk. (45) čoy honk čelga. (46) čoy be·n hak naʔas, hok če·li·k, "le ća·nink dwantga yoho· lagi· neaga!" (47) "nen dak dič gi!" či honk. (48) be·n hoččńa wiḱa· na·k. (49) "le ća·nink dwantga doLi·s woli·na!" (50) "ʔa···, nen dak q́oy gi," či honk, q́ay hok siktgyank či·ya.

(51) čoy honk ʔat ẃaḱa honk wiḱa· galćwi ʔat. (52) čoy honk naʔas, "waq lis ʔi?" (53) čoy naʔas, "dwa· ʔi nen, čiḱa·?" (54) "q́ay dwa·." (55) "naʔas ʔams ni nčoq́a, 'yoho· lagi· neaga'." (56) "ʔi·, ho·t ʔa do·na sboga." (57) "ge· hayč gew wa·ĺi. (58) gentga neagi!" (59) "q́ay, dmeagas hay ʔins nen saña·Wawliwapk." (60) "q́ay dak mis ni dmeagwapk. (61) saĺwa·Ywapk ʔams ni nen." (62) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·."

(63) čoy sa honk ʔat neagank na···nok, čoy naʔas gi. "dam bas ʔins genti· ćleyt?" (64) "q́ay," či honk, "[illegible]y ʔams ni ćleyt. (65) q́ay hay ʔins dada· dič gi. (66) ćosak hak hay ʔins q́oy hesne·pgi·ya." (67) čoy honk naʔas, "q́ay dak mis ni q́oy hesne·pgi·ya. he· ʔins ćleyank git. (68) domi··· ʔa gew ĺaĺakeni, čoy gew ńsewe·ts, čoy na·t detdye·ḿa. (69) čoy sangaĺi·giwapk hay mis gentda." (70) "q́ay. wini·git hay ʔins." (71) čoy naʔas, "hak hay na·t soyńiña? (72) čoy na·t gen sle·wapk kaĺam gist." (73) "q́ay," či honk, "wini·git dak ʔins honkant ćis."

(74) čoy honk ʔat wĺi·ĺa če·li·ks. (75) wĺi·ĺa, wĺi·ĺa, wĺi·ĺa, čoy honk ʔat sboga, če·li·k, glegatk sitk. (76) čoy honk ba·ĺa·ʔasam mna naĺa·lća. (77) "he· ge· siktgiwapk, čoy ʔins nqenkangwapk, čoy ni ge·ks wĺi·ĺwapk, gatbamblyank." (78) čoy honk ʔat gena ẃas, ʔikčablyok mna wewe·ʔas. (79) čoy honk gena, gena, gena, čoy ʔat siktgi če·li·k.

(80) čoy hok ba·ĺa·ʔasam čaĺa·ĺank naʔas, "siktgi ge···! siktgi ge···!" (81) čoy honk gatbamblyank wĺi·ĺa, wĺi·ĺa, wĺi·ĺa, wĺi·ĺa. (82) be·n hak sboga, glegatk sitk. (83) čoy honk be·n hoččńa ʔikčablyok sas. (84) čoy ʔat be·n siktgi če·li·k.

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[196] [13] Coyote's utterances in this section are given in a fierce stage whisper, contrasting with little Porcupine's high and faint repetitions of /le ća·nink/, etc. These whispered utterances are those within quotation marks in sentences 36, 37, 38, 41, 44, 47, and 50.

heard [him]. "Ohhh. Whatever is that? (37) What's doing that?" (38) "I wish I had something to make a knife-handle with!" (39) "Aaah, that's no good," he said. (40) "I wish I had something to skin this buck-buffalo with!" (41) "Ohhh, that's good!" he said. (42) Then he ran up and sat down again. (43) Then he said, "I wish I had something to make a knife-handle with!" (44) "Aaaah, but that's no good!" he said. (45) And he just sat. (46) Then again he said, that little Porcupine, "I wish I had something to skin this buck buffalo with!" (47) "But that is good!" he said. (48) And he again ran a little closer." (49) "I wish I had something to make a knife-handle with!" (50) "Aaaah, but that's no good," he said, and he sat without moving.

(51) Now then that little Coyote came near. (52) And he said, "How are you?" (53) And said, "What's that [you're doing], old fellow?" (54) "Nothing at all." (55) "I misunderstood you to say 'skin a buck buffalo'." (56) "Yes, he's lying over there." (57) "This is my knife. (58) Skin [it] with this!" (59) "No, you will want to take it away from me." (60) "But I won't take it away from you. (61) I'll help you at it." (62) So he said, "Yes."

(63) Then, when they had skinned it all, he said, "I wonder if you'd give me a piece of this?" (64) "No," he said, "I can't give you [any]. (65) You never do good to me. (66) Always you make it bad for me." (67) Then he said, "But I won't make it bad for you, if you could give me [some]. (68) My children are many, and my wife, and we are hungry. (69) And shall I jump with you [i.e., compete at jumping] for this?" (70) "No. You can beat me." (71) Then he said, "Shall we race? (72) Then we'll see whose this will be." (73) "No," he said, "You can beat me in this also."

(74) Then he beat little Porcupine. (75) He beat and beat and beat, and he lay on the ground, little Porcupine, like one dead. (76) Then he left his hat behind. (77) "If this one should move, then call me, and I'll return and beat him." (78) Now then Coyote went off to bring back his children. (79) He went and went and went, and then little Porcupine moved.

(80) Then the hat, sitting by the fire, said, "He's moving! He's mo-o-ving!" (81) Then he returned and beat, beat, beat, and beat [little Porcupine]. (82) Again he lay prostrate, like one dead. (83) And again he [Coyote] ran off to bring them back. (84) Then little Porcupine moved again.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963

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(85) čoy honk ćoye·s naĺa·ĺank—honk baĺa·ʔasam naʔas,[13] "siktgi ge·! siktgi ge·!" (86) čoy honk be·n hak gatbamblyank wĺi·ĺa, wdopga, wĺi·ĺa, wdopga. (87) čoy be·n hak kselqća glegapks gist—gleqs se·wok. (88) čoy honk ṗehṗe·bji·ʔa če·li·k. (89) čoy honk naʔas ho·skanga, "waq bas ni giwapk?" (90) čoy honk naʔas, "ma·ns na·lk ni sbogwapk pačit." (91) čoy honk ʔat sboga, sboga. (92) ma·ns hok q̇e·gi, hok ẃaḱa. (93) čoy honk ʔat siktgi. (94) čoy honk ʔat ba·ĺa·ʔasam nqe···nkanga, nqe···nkanga, nqe···nkanga, "siktgi ge···! siktgi ge···!" (95) čoy honk kiwĺa·ĺa ʔat če·li·k. ba·ĺa·ʔasam honk. (96) čoy honk ʔat lali·ga q̇ṗaĺatk loloqsdat.

(97) čoy honk na···nok honk go·s ʔimni, honk ćole·ks. (98) na·nok qdeĺe·ḱank, na·nok—ʔeLWis bil q̇ay wqe·ẃa. (99) čoy honk ńos laṁa·čank lamni, do··· blay—dwant waqpčant bas go·sdat, q̇ay ni sʔaywakta. (100) čoy dak čik mo·ni go·s.

(101) čoy honk ʔat ẃaḱa gatbambli, "ya···, ʔat na·t ṗawapk! ʔat na·t ṗawapk! yakyakyakyakyak! ʔat na·t ṗawapk, ʔat na·t ṗawapk!"[14] (102) čoy honk hayĺa·ĺa. (103) čoy hok geḿas ćoye·s sle·s gyank, čaĺa·ĺa loloqsdat. (104) čoy honk naʔas, "waq bas nis gi! (105) dat dal gena? ya···!" (106) čoy detdye·mipks papakpakkanga, hokt ẃawḱa.

(107) čoy naʔas gi, "dat lis ʔi gi? (108) dat ʔi gi?" (109) čoy honk ʔat go·sdat dalmni. (110) "ya···, do· dal ʔi ʔiwallga? (111) dam ʔins čleyank git? (112) mo··· ʔa na·t yoẏalqs sitk! (113) detdye·ṁa ʔa na·t! (114) ćleyank ʔis!" (115) "q̇ay. q̇ay ma·ĺs." (116) "hon hay ʔis Na·s gin LaṗakLas loy!" (117) "q̇ay." (118) "ćleyank ʔis la·lasti·!" (119) "q̇ay." (120) "bosakĺas ʔis loyank!" (121) "q̇ay." (122) "mo··· ʔa na·t detdye·ṁa. (123) hon gin ʔis qaq́o·, qe·matti·!" (124) "ʔi, ʔi·," či honk, "na·nok hay ʔowi·lgat!" (125) naʔas, "geḿas ʔa na·nok ʔowi·ĺagwapk, čoy ʔat q̇awwapk gen!" (126) hahanwipgank čik sa ʔat q̇awwapgok, dadalmnipga. (127) čoy honk ʔat woĺo·qwe·La honk. (128) čoy honk na···nok lwela. (129) Na·s hok tabi·ni, ḱičḱa·ni na·lk, hokt hok ʔat go·qi·wa. (130) q̇ay sa honkt siwga, nanqa lwela. (131) čoy hoṁas ge· gyank, ʔat domi··· be·n ẃas gi. (132) q̇ay honk na·nok ćo·q̇ok, hok Na·čyak či·yank, čoy honk ʔat mo· be·n dom glekbli. (133) ʔi·. nen ʔat ḱadredi hak.

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[196]

[13] No difference could be discerned by the informant between /ćoye·s/ and /ba·ĺa·ʔasam/. The former is the common word for "hat," while the latter occurs only in this myth. The informant was not sure whether /ba·ĺa·ʔasam/ had any semantic or formal connexion with /ba·ĺa·ʔas/ "flour."

[194]
[196]

[14] All of the quoted material in sentence 101 is in falsetto, indicating the voices of the coyote children eagerly coming to feast. Each syllable is heavily stressed and rhythmically delivered: /ʔát ná·t ṗáwápk!/, etc.

(85) Now that hat, lying by the fire—that hat [see footnote no. 13] said, "He's moving! He's mo-o-ving!" (86) Then, having returned again, he beat and struck, beat and struck [him]. (87) Then again he left him dead —thinking him dead. (88) And little Porcupine played possum. (89) And he thought thus, "What can I do?" (90) And thus, "I'll lie longer this time." (91) So then he lay and lay. (92) That little Coyote had been gone a long time. (93) Now then he moved. (94) Now then that hat called and called and called, "This one's moving! This one's mo-o-o-oving!" (95) Then little Porcupine poked him into the fire [with a sharp object], that hat. (96) Then he lay on the edge, all curled up in the fire.

(97) Then he took it all up into a tree, that meat. (98) Having cut it all up, all—only the backbone he did not break. (99) With the head left on the end, he took it up; very, very high—on what sort of tree I don't know. (100) However, it was a big tree indeed.

(101) Now then little Coyote came back, "Ohhh, now we'll eat! Now we'll eat! Yakyakyakyakyak! Now we'll eat! Now we'll eat!" (102) Then he tracked around the fire. (103) Then he saw that hat thus, sitting in the fire. (104) Then he said, "What should I do? (105) Where has he gone? Ohhh!" (106) Then, being hungry, they yapped all around, those little Coyotes.

(107) Then he said, "Where are you? (108) Where are you?" (109) Then he looked up in the tree. (110) "Ohhh, did you take it way up there? (111) Could you give me [some]? (112) We're very poor! (113) We are hungry! (114) Give [some] to me!" (115) "No. Not to you." (116) "Just give me one shoulder even!" (117) "No." (118) "Give me a piece of rib!" (119) "No." (120) "Please give me a haunch!" (121) "No." (122) "We are very, very hungry. (123) "Even just give me a bone from the back!" (124) "Yes, yes," he said, "You all stand in a line!" (125) Thus, "You all will stand in a line thus, and I'll throw this [backbone down]!" (126) Indeed, with their mouths open to catch it, they were looking up. (127) Now then he threw it down. (128) And he killed them all. (129) Just the one youngest one, the littlest, he escaped. (130) [Porcupine] didn't kill him, [but] killed some. (131) This having happened in that way, now coyotes have become very many. (132) Because they didn't all die, just that one remaining, now they have become numerous again. (133) Yes. That's as far as [it goes] now.

Introductory Note to Text 4

124 After giving the foregoing three texts, Mrs. Ohles was strongly hesitant about giving more. She felt that she had forgotten too many of the details which make the text "correct" to a good Klamath storyteller. She pointed out that she could neither recall the names nor the kinship relationships of the lesser characters, and she felt that she was omitting incidents and garbling the action.

At last, however, Mrs. Ohles kindly agreed to relate all she could remember of the story about the red-haired woman of Sprague River. She had previously narrated this in English to the author, up to the point where Gmoḱam̓č enters the story. She began the myth with the [126] author recording it in his notebook only (she felt the tape recorder might confuse her), but after she had gained confidence, the remainder of the myth was tape-recorded. When she reached the end of her previous English narration, she continued with incidents leading into the Gmoḱam̓č myth—much to the surprise of the author, who had not seen versions of the Gmoḱam̓č story beginning in this fashion anywhere else. The stimulus for this may have been provided by Gatschet's recorded texts,[15] which the author had shown her some days previously. At that time she had recalled these myth incidents easily as part of the corpus of material she had heard in her childhood and since forgotten. With this as a crutch to memory, she produced the text given here. She felt that her version was more generally correct and that Gatschet's texts were only short incidents taken from a long cycle of connected [538] incidents. This cycle, she said, might take three or four days in the telling by a really proficient storyteller. The action and final conclusion of her version she felt to be correct, but she was sure that many minor incidents and characters had been omitted.

This text differs from her previous ones in that it is more conversational and less formal in style. She comments in English and Klamath on her story, makes side remarks to the author and jovially berates him for getting her to tell a story she only partially remembers, and breaks into English at difficult points to supplement half-remembered "hard words." Mrs. Ohles' style in this text is valuable as a sample of less formal Klamath discourse. She contrasts strongly

here with her previous impersonal narrations and with the even less 124 personal text styles of other informants, whose stories and ethnographic material were always given as objective verbal "essays."

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[15] Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon" (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. II, pts. 1 and 2, Washington, 1890), pp. 98-132, 142-143. The present author read some of Gatschet's texts to Mrs. Ohles, and she was able to recall other incidents and versions.

Some time after the text was recorded and analysed, the author [126] felt the need of having the entire myth on tape, rather than half in notebook form and half on tape. Mrs. Ohles kindly agreed to begin the story over again and told it right up to the point where she had switched to the tape-recorder before. This second tape-recorded beginning is appended to the text and serves for a comparison between pen and notebook dictation and tape-recorded discourse.

Mrs. Ohles felt that material irrelevant to the story should be stricken, since it made the story "incorrect." The author feels, however, that such side remarks illustrate Klamath conversational style and give insight into her attitudes toward the myths and towards other facets of semi-acculturated Klamath culture. This material is, [128] therefore, reproduced within parentheses both in the Klamath text and in the translation. Her English remarks are conventionally spelled but otherwise unchanged.

4. Section 1: The Red-Haired Woman of Sprague River

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) dińa· mat hok či·ya sńewe·ts, doma· wewe·ʔas gitk. (2) čoy da·ts Na·čyak sńewe·čka, taktak ńos gitk, ʔa·di·ńs laq gitk, taktaklis ńos gitk. (3) čoy honk ʔat mo·ni giwk ʔat lis honk, distbnok, hiswaqsla—kańs bas q̓ay ni s ʔaywakta, datgi·sas. (4) ʔaMka goWasdigi·sas. (5) čoy da·ts honk gatbamblidamna[16] (6) wičta honk Na·s mna p ʔa·na. (7) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔat ʔan gembliwapk, či·sdal." (8) čoy honk pkisap naʔas gi, "hok ʔa mis spončambliwapk, Na·s p ʔa·nip." (9) čoy naʔas, "q̓ay. ho·t ʔans spončambliwapk. (10) q̓ay ni gembliwapk, he· če· nis ho·t spončambliwapk." (11) čoy honk ʔat če·t hak hok naʔas, "ʔi·. spončambliwapk mis ni." (12) čoy sa honk ʔat gepga, gepga. (13) hi·t sas sponne·kla. (14) čoy sa honk lolallga, mo·so·čank. (15) čoy mna tobaksa slambli·ya Nayksiant loloqs, čoy bi ge·ksiant. (16) čoy honk ʔat qaqtanča. (17) čoy honk ʔat qtampks, sq̓olligo·ta mna p ʔa·na. (18) čoy honk ʔat weq so·di·la, ńosdat. (19) čoy honk sgiso·lank naʔas gi, "waq hak ča·ms ge·! (20) gent ʔan ge·ks nidwalla! (21) waq bas nis giwapk, sńewe·tsalpks p ʔa·na mna!" (22) ʔat honk kewńi kčitgal, čoy honk ʔat mo·ńs weq gawal, ket ba det bi honk bi gi. (23) čoy honk ʔat qtana dak, honk taktak ńos gitk. (24) čoy honk hosʔalha. (25) čoy honk ʔat qtaysi gembli.

(26) čoy honk pkisa mna naʔas waq ʔans hok do·. (27) čoy honk pkisap naʔas, "ya···, mo· ʔa na·ls q̓oyči dwa· geLWanwapk!"

(28) čoy honk ʔat hok sgiso·la gida, ʔa·di··· dini·gisi. (29) naʔas gi. "čoy da·ts no· honks hosle·wapk dwa·! (She started a fire which leaped ahead of her.) (30) čoy honk mo· nońatla na·nok. (31) na·nok ʔa neńalga, p ʔa·nisa, we·wańs mańi· sam. (32) čoy honk ʔat bičgasdat hayo·wi·na hok sńewe·čka, dam bas kani wipga. (33) čoy honk naʔas, pkisa mna, "stintnok ʔams ni sniwapga." (34) čoy wele·qs naʔas gi, "dankt ho·t ʔambotdat gewi!" (35) čoy honk ʔat hok pkisap bičgasdat gawʔi·na. (36) čoy honk dwa· ga·yka, q̓ay ni s ʔaywakta dwa· ga·yakst. (37) čoy honk sdipambli ga·mo·ts. (38) čoy honk sqols nekkapks qe·mat gitk. (39) čoy honk naʔas, "hāhā?!" (40) čoy honk sdagal, čoy honk la·ba ńomka·k hadakt gawal.

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[16] Mrs. Ohles remarked that in the old days a newly married woman might make frequent and extended trips to her parents' home. Sometimes her husband would accompany her and sometimes not, as is the case in this myth.

C

4. Section 1: The Red-Haired Woman of Sprague River

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) Once, they say, there lived a woman, having many children. (2) One only [was] a girl, red-headed, having long hair, red-headed. (3) Then, having grown big, having come of age, she got married—to whom I don't know, from somewhere. (4) Maybe from ÇoWasdi. (5) However, she kept coming back home. (6) She was in love with one of her brothers. (7) Then she said, "Now I'll go back, towards home [i.e., her husband's home]." (8) Then her mother said, "He'll take you home, one brother." (9) She said, "No. He will take me home. (10) I won't return home unless he will take me." (11) So at last he said, "Yes. I'll take you home." (12) Then they came along, came along. (13) And there it got dark on them. (14) And they lay down, having built a big fire. (15) He laid down a bed for his sister on one side of the fire, and for himself on the other. (16) Then they went to sleep. (17) While [he] slept, she crawled in with her brother. (18) Then she put an arm under his head. (19) Then he woke up and said, "What a fool she is! (20) I guessed she'd do this! (21) Whatever will she do to me, being a wife to her own brother!" (22) Now he slowly crawled out [crawled up = got up], and then he found a big [tree-] limb, as big as he was. (23) Now she was sleeping, that red-headed one. (24) Then he pillowed [her head on it]. (25) Then while she slept, he returned home.

(26) Then to his mother he told how she had [done] to him there. [The book has—mistakenly?—"done to me"]. (27) Then the mother said, "Ohhh, now something very bad will come upon us!"

(28) Now she awoke here [i.e., where she was], when the sun was long up. (29) She said, "Now I will make them see something! (She started a fire which leaped ahead of her.) (30) Then she burned up everything. (31) She burned everything down; brothers, and their wives too. (32) Then in the burnt-out fire the girl was searching around, [to see] whether anyone had escaped. (33) Then she said, to her mother, "Because I love you, I will save you." (34) Then the old lady said, "Go and live in the water for a long time!" (35) Now then the mother was going around in the ashes [lit. "extinguished fire"]. (36) She was looking for something; I don't know what she was looking for. (37) And so she turned over a mortar. (38) And there was Meadowlark with a burned-through back. (39) And she [the mother] said, "hãhã?!" (40) And she picked [her] up, and found two children there.

*539 (41) nkas lis losa maa, hok sqoíe. (42) čoy honk naʔas wele·qs. "waq bas ni gen giwapk?" (43) čoy honk ʔat naʔas gi. "ʔi·. hisčawapk ni gen hiswaqs. (44) ge· dak sńewe·ts hompči hak giwapk, waqči ge·ĺam pg̣oji·p. (45) čoy ni q̓a··· sińamsta."

(46) čoy honk le waq ga·ʔa. (47) čoy honk naʔas, "sdiẏa ʔat ni dom snača·ḱa." (48) čoy honk hasnčakiłanga. qe·matdat.[17] (49) ʔat hok la·ba ńos gitk." (50) čoy honk sdoli· hiswaqḱaʔas, "q̓a···y ʔi ʔeyĺaqpgank, g̣isčńok. (51) q̓ay ʔi mi ḿaYas sle·wapk! (52) q̓ay ʔi dada· ẏo·wallg̣wapk mi dalči, jiji·ks mis giwk."

(53) čoy honk ʔat mo·ni giwk, čoy honk ʔat qa·siye·ga. (54) "waq bas nis giwk ṕie·wip q̓ay sańa·Wawli ẏo·waltgi giwk gew dalči?" (55) čoy honk ʔat ćwi·didiks domna, g̣o·sdat čaḱa·ẏank, naʔas, "ẏo·wallg̣i hay ʔi, čoy ʔi sle·wapk!" (56) čoy honk ʔat ẏo·wallg̣a. (57) čoy honk do·blay gena dalči. (At this point Mrs. Ohles changed from dictation to the tape recorder. She begins with the last two utterances above.)

(58) čoy honk ʔat ẏo·wallg̣a. (59) čoy honk do··· gamni hok dalči. (60) čoy honk ʔat geḿas gyank gotg̣ibli.[18] (61) čoy honk da···lʔa·k datg̣lam honk ńos—gaʔas. (62) čoy honk gida ho·llg̣a, sńewe·čḱa. (63) čoy honk ʔat hok hiswaqḱa naʔas, "datkni· lis ʔi? (64) kani ʔi gi?" (65) čoy honk naʔas, tobaksip. no· ʔa mi tobaksip." (That little girl started talking then—I don't know why she never talked before.) (66) "neḿas dal nis nen giwk," či honk, "ṕie·wip na·ĺąm q̓ay sańa·Wawli nis dalči ẏo·wallqtgi giwk. ʔi·!" (67) čoy sa honk ʔat gembli.

(68) čoy honk wele·qs naʔas gi. "ʔat ʔi sʔaywakta dwa· mis ni waq giwk wowi·tampga." (I don't know—I think that's the word for it though—kept advising you, telling you all the time not to do this and that.)

(69) čoy honk ʔat hok sńewe·čḱa ćosak gena dola, gankankča. (70) čoy honk naʔas gi. "waq dal na·t giwk? q̓elẏak ptisap, q̓elẏak pḱisap?" (71) naʔas, "waq giwk ćosak ṕie·wip na·ĺam swaqča? (72) waq na·t giwk geḿas či·ya? (73) ʔat hayč ge·t dini·g̣ińapga. (74) do· na·t genwapk, čoy na·t sʔabasas sliwapk, he· na·ĺs q̓ay sʔabi·wapk. (75) ho·t bil ʔa sʔaywakta, sʔabas, dwa· ne·bakst."

(76) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·." (77) čoy sa honk ʔat gena. (78) čoy sa honk do··· ʔat čaẃa·Ya. (79) ʔat hok sʔabas dini·g̣ińapga, ʔat dini·g̣i.

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[196] [17] This means literally "And [she] caused to stick together, on the back." It seems to imply "back to back."

[201] [124] [18] Literally, "And now, having done this way, it came back down." At this point Mrs. Ohles gestured to show how the boy's arrow fell; i.e., straight down, point first between the little boy and his sister, cutting the pitch which held them together. /geḿas gyank/ "having done this way" refers to Mrs. Ohles' gesture.

(41) She had buried her [pregnant] stomach, that Meadowlark. (42) Then the old lady said, "What shall I do with these?" (43) Then she said, "Yes. I will raise this boy. (44) But the girl will be just like her, like her aunt. (45) And I am very, very much afraid."

(46) Now she didn't know what to do. [translation?] (47) Then she said, "I'll melt a lot of pitch." (48) Then she stuck them together, on his back. (49) "Now he has two heads." (50) Then she advised the little boy, "Don't walk along with your head down! (51) Don't look at your shadow! (52) Never shoot your arrow up [in the air], because something bad will happen to you."

(53) Then having become big, he began to suspect. (54) "Why does Grandmother not want me to shoot my arrow up [in the air]?" (55) Then Killdeer heard, sitting up in a tree, and said, "Shoot it up, and you will see!" (56) Then he shot it up. (57) And the arrow went very high.

(At this point Mrs. Ohles changed from dictation to the tape recorder. She begins with the last two utterances above.)

(58) Then he shot up. (59) And that arrow climbed very, very high. (60) Then it came back down again thus. (61) Then it came straight down the middle [on] the head—thus [came down and split them in two]. (62) Then the little girl jumped down right here [i.e., beside the boy]. (63) Then the little boy said, "Where are you from? (64) Who are you?" (65) Then she said, the sister, "I am your sister." (That little girl started talking then—I don't know why she never talked before.) (66) "Was it for that," he said, "our grandmother didn't want me to shoot [my] arrow up [in the air]." "Yes!" (67) Now then they went home.

(68) Then the old lady said, "Now you know why I was advising you." (I don't know—I think that's the word for it though—kept advising you, telling you all the time not to do this and that.)

(69) Now then that little girl always went with [him], went hunting. (70) Then she said, "Why is [it thus for] us? Without a father, without a mother?" (71) She said, "Why does our grandmother always cry? (72) Why do we live this way? (73) Now the sun is about to rise over there. (74) We will go there and we will shoot the sun, if he will not tell us. (75) Only he knows, the sun, what is happening."

(76) Then he said, "Yes." (77) Now then they went. (78) Now they sat and waited over there. (79) Now the sun was about to rise, now it rose.

*539 (80) čoy honk naʔas gi. "sʔabi· ʔis na·ĺs, sʔabas! (81) dwa· ʔa na·t waq giwk, q̇elẏak ptisap, q̇elẏak ṕkisap?" (82) čoy honk q̇ay sas geqča. (83) "he· ʔi na·ĺs q̇ay sʔabi·wapk, sliwapk mis ni!" (84) čoy honk q̇ay geqča. (85) čoy honk ʔat sńewe·čḱa mnatga dalčitga slin, pafo·, kat ho·t bosbos sʔabasdat—ho·t gida gwena, dalčiʔam.[19] (86) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, balaq hak ʔis ʔoagablyat! (87) sʔabi·wapk dak ma·ĺs ni!" (88) čoy honk ʔat sʔabi·ya sas naʔas, "ho·t hok hi·t či·ya, kat ma·ĺs snoq̇o·Ye·ga." (Is that right? snoq̇o·Ye·ga? q̇o·Ye·ks is "orphan," you know.) (89) "ʔambotdat hok či·ya, kat ma·ĺs snoq̇o·Ye·ga. (90) hoḿas ʔa·t giwk q̇o·Ye·ks." (Phillip, you're the cruellest animal I ever did know for making me tell this!)

(91) čoy sa honk ʔat gembli. (92) newiga da·ts hok sńewe·čḱa naʔas, "ʔi·. ʔat ʔa loldam gi." (93) naʔas, "čoy na·t ʔa slomtanwapk, na·nok psinks. (94) čoy na·t danqńi psinks giwlank—(q̇ay ni sʔaywakta—tewńip?—ʔaMḱa.) (95) tewńip psinks giwlank čoy ni honks lakčwapk." (96) čoy sa honk ʔat newiga naʔas. (97) "ʔat slomtanwapk ʔa na·t."

(98) čoy sa honk ʔat gena. (99) čoy honk do···m sa kyem, me·maqla sʔopba·tamblidamna. (100) čoy sa honk dosLibli. (101) čoy sa naʔas, "sda··· gi, do· ʔili·nči·k!" ṕle·wa mna·ĺam. (102) čoy honk ʔat wbeli·na, wbeli·na, wbeli·na, naʔas, "hãhãʔ! hãhãʔ!" (103) čoy da·ts honk ʔat, be·n Na·ẏantga psinkstga gena. (104) —ẏaMtgi ʔeč ni nen! (105) dada·t sa slomtampga, domna naʔas, "gočgočgočgoji·p!"[20] (106) čoy honk ʔat ṕle·wip čis domna. (107) čeq̇ya honk do·, wqepĺaqsdat. (108) čoy honk naʔas, "hãhãmʔ! nen daks!" (109) čoy honk naʔas, "q̇ay dak sa dwa· waq gi." (But she'd be scared, all the time, you know. She knew that little girl would cut off her mother's head when she came out of water at night, and she was afraid she'd find it in there with the fish.

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[201]
{124}
[19] The little girl shot the sun in the cheek. Mrs. Ohles gestured to her own cheek here to clarify this, and /ho·t gida gwena, dalčiʔam/ "it made a mark right here, of the arrow" refers to her gesture. She later remarked that the black spot is still to be seen on the sun's "cheek" and suggested it might be an Indian explanation of sunspots.

[192]
[124]
[20] The utterance /gočgočgočgoji·p/ was given in a loud whisper. It is apparently a mythic utterance, a distortion of /pgoji·p/ "aunt, father's sister." The action here was later clarified by Mrs. Ohles. Each time the two children went torch-fishing, their Aunt would appear from the water, leaning into the boat and crying "/gočgočgočgoji·p!/." The children remained perfectly still, hoping that she would eventually lean far enough into the boat for them to seize her and cut off her head. Their Grandmother, sitting at home, heard her daughter each time and knew the children would kill her. Hence her repeated sob, "/hãhãʔ!/." (The symbol "ã" denotes a nasalized low central vowel. The utterance is anomalous to the phonemic system.)

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(80) Then [she] said, "Tell us, sun! (81) What's [the matter with] us, without a father, without a mother?"- (82) But he paid them no attention. (83) "If you will not tell us, I will shoot you!" (84) But he paid no attention. (85) Now then that little girl shot with her arrow, [the sun's] cheek, that which is black on the sun—it left a trace right here, of the arrow. (86) Then he said, "Ohhh, pull it out of me quickly! (87) I'll tell you!" (88) Then he told them thus, "She lives there, who orphaned you." (Is that right? snoq́o·Ye·gaʔ q́o·Ye·ks is "orphan," you know.) (89) "She lives in the water, who orphaned you. (90) Because of that [you are] orphans." (Phillip, you're the cruellest animal I ever did know for making me tell this!)

(91) Then they returned. (92) But that little girl was planning, thus, "Yes. Now it is winter." (93) Thus, "And we will go torch-hunting, every night." (94) "And so after how many nights (—I don't know—five? —Maybe.) (95) "After five nights have passed, I will cut off her head." (96) Then they planned thus. (97) "Now we'll torch-hunt."

(98) Then they went. (99) Then many, many fish, waterfowl, they kept carrying back and forth [i.e., from the lake to their house]. (100) And they ran back inside. (101) And they said, "It's very, very full, unload it there!" to their grandmother. (102) Then she unloaded, unloaded, unloaded, saying "hãhãʔ! hãhãʔ!" (103) And then, however, they went on another night. (104) (—Oh, I forgot!) (105) When they were torch-hunting, they heard, "gočgočgočgoǰi·p!" (106) And the grandmother too heard [it]. (107) She sat at the door, of the house. (108) And she said, "hãhãʔ! That's her!" (109) And she said, "But they didn't do anything." (But she'd be scared, all the time, you know. She knew that little girl would cut off her mother's head when she came out of the water at night, and she was afraid she'd find it in there with the fish.)

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(110) čoy honk ʔat domni homas gi. (111) ǥeaga ʔan ho·skanks ǥilʔank. (112) čoy honk ʔat naʔas, "mbo·sant na·t homas, mbo·sant. (113) ʔaMka ʔa·di na·lk swini·ǥiwapk pačit." (I think that's what that girl said: "I think maybe she'll raise herself further out of the water tonight."[21]) (114) čoy honk ʔat sa gena. (115) čoy honk naʔas sas, "ǥočǥočǥočǥoji·p! " (116) čoy honk ge·t sas ʔebliWi·ya. (117) čoy honk wele·q̓a·k do·—pće·wip sam, naʔas, "ya··· nen daks!"

(118) čoy sa honk ʔat tabi·ǥe·ni. (119) hok sńewe·čka naʔas, "q̓ay na·t be·n dada· slomtanwapk. (120) ʔat na·lam sibač, na·nok dwa·." (121) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·." (122) čoy da·ts q̓a··· sińamsta wele·qs. (123) čoy honk ʔat čaʔi·ta, q̓a gin ǥatdakedat. (124) čoy honk naʔas ʔat, be·n sa honk do···m kyem, do···m me·maqla, na·nok, sńoǥa. (125) čoy honk naʔas, "ǥočǥočǥoji·p! ǥočǥočǥoji·p! " (126) čoy honk ʔat ʔa···di· swini·ǥi. (127) čoy honk sńewe·čka honks sńoǥank, lakča honk ʔat! (128) sńoǥank laq. (129) čoy honk ʔat hadakt losa kyemmat, me·maqlatdat, honklam ńos. (130) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔat na·t ǥembliwapk." (131) čoy sa ʔat ǥembli.

(132) čoy wele·q̓a·k sas hosdanǥank naʔas, "dam lis ʔa·t dom gi? (133) dam ʔa·t dom lwela?" (134) "ʔi···, dom ʔa na·t lwela." (135) čoy sa honk naʔas, "q̓a··· ʔa na·ls ǥaǥatka. (136) q̓a··· ǥatdaks pačit." (137) čoy sa dosLibli.

(138) čoy honk ʔat do· gawal, wele·q̓a·k, mna be·yam ńos. (139) čoy honk ʔat naʔas, "gent ʔan nido·—gemas mis sas giwapkst. (140) čoy q̓ay dodamnis. (141) q̓ay ʔins dwa· domni·ya." (She's talking to the dead now; there's just the head of her daughter.)

(142) čoy honk ʔat hok sa da·ts honk łaʔaksni goLi·blyank, ḿolwa ʔat. (143) "q̓ay na·t gida či·wapk, čoy na·t genwapk. dat." (q̓ay ni sʔaywakta dat sas genwapkst.) (144) čoy da·ts honk, homas hak gosanča sa, honkant sneylaqsdat. (145) čoy sa lkom salkiča. (146) na·noke·ńs sa sdoli·ča naʔas, "q̓ay ʔa·t sʔabwapk dat na·ls geyst." (147) čoy honk saqdaʔas sa honk y̓aMtgi (—čosak sa saqdaʔas y̓aMtgi, na·nok—).[22] (148) čoy honk ʔat sa gena. (149) čoy honk wele·qs na···noke·ńs wolantanʔa dat sas geyst.

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[21] Mrs. Chiloe thought the occurrence was repeated five times. Each night the Aunt leaned farther and farther into the boat. In the older myth style, each occurrence would be repeated by the story-teller. Compare Mr. Grover Pompey's myth about the five geese (Text 8).

[22] Mrs. Chiloe was quite aware of the repetition of incidents in various myths. The same occurrence (fleeing characters warning all the household items not to tell where they were going and somehow forgetting to warn Awl) is found in Text 1, 94-118, in an expanded form.

(110) Now it happened that way many times. (111) (I can't remember very well.) (112) Then she said, "Tomorrow we'll [do it] thus, tomorrow. (113) Maybe she'll pull [herself] up further out [of water] now." (I think that's what that girl said: "I think maybe she'll raise herself further out of water tonight.") (114) And then they went. (115) And she said to them, "g̣očg̣očg̣ocg̣oǰi·p!" (116) And she almost overturned them there. (117) And the little old lady there—their grandmother—said, "Ohhh, it's her!"

(118) Then they [went] for the last time. (119) That little girl said, "We won't go torch-hunting again. (120) Now ours [is] enough, everything." (121) And he said, "Yes." (122) But the old lady was very, very frightened. (123) And she sat outside, even though it was very cold. (124) Then it was thus: again they got many, many fish, waterfowl, everything. (125) And she said, "g̣očg̣očg̣oǰi·p! g̣očg̣očg̣o[illegible]·p!" (126) Then she pulled [herself] out [of the water] very, very far. (127) Then that little girl grabbed her and cut off her head! (128) Having grabbed her hair. (129) Then she buried it there under the fish, under the waterfowl, her head. (130) And she said, "Now we will return." (131) Then they returned.

(132) And the little old lady met them and said, "Did you get a lot? (133) Did you kill a lot?" (134) "Ye-e-es. We killed a lot." (135) Then they said, "We are very, very cold. (136) It is very cold right now." (137) And they ran back inside [the house].

(138) Then she found it there, the little old lady, the head of her daughter. (139) And then she said, "I guessed this—that they would do this to you. (140) But [you] never minded. (141) You never listened to me." (She's talking to the dead now: there's just the head of her daughter.)

(142) Now then, however, those children having gone back inside, they got ready. (143) "We will not remain here, and we will go. Somewhere." (I don't know where they were going.) (144) And then, however, they went down into the hearth ashes. (145) And they shut [it behind them with] a coal. (146) They advised everybody first, "Don't tell where we've gone." (147) But they forgot Awl (—they always forget Awl, all [myths]—). (148) Then they went. (149) Then the old lady asked everybody where they'd gone.

#539 (150) q̇ay hani walga. (151) čoy honk ʔat, če···t hak honk ʔat, saqda sʔabi·ya. (152) "waq hay hi·t ʔa sa goса·kča, hon sa lkom salkiča. (153) čoy sa ʔat gena." (154) čoy honk sas ʔa gasaqčňa. (155) čoy da·ta honk do··· ƛaƛaksni gena (—danqii waytas, q̇ay ni sʔaywakta—). (156) ma·ns·da·ta sa gena.

(157) čoy honk ʔat hok hiswaqča dalči mna ǰo·ka·ǰa go·sdat. (158) čoy honk swa···qča, swaqča, geaga honk ʔotgiblis. (159) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔotgibli· ʔis!" honk mna tobaksa. (160) "ʔotgibli· ʔis geni" (161) "q̇ay. waq čik mi ni sʔa·Maks gi?" (162) "tobaksip hay ʔi gewi" (163) "q̇ay." (164) "psa·q̇ip?" (165) "q̇ay." (166) "waq lis gi—pčisap?" (167) "q̇ay." (168) čoy honk na·nok sʔa·Maks honk hasʔa·Mča. (169) čoy honk hok sńewe·čča naʔas gi. "q̇ay." (170) čoy honk ʔat ge·ǰigo·k hok, tapǰap naʔas, "sńewe·ts hay ʔi gewi" (171) "ʔi·i" či honk, čoy honk balaq hak ʔotgiblyi·ya. (172) mo·gillitgi hok sńewe·ts. (173) čoy honk ʔat sa gena, ʔat sa somse·ča, satapǰaltk.

(174) čoy honk hok pće·wip sam sas galamnapga. (175) čoy honk naʔas, "hĕhĕʔ! gent dak ni sʔaywakta! (176) gećnas sas giwapkst. (177) q̇oyči ho·t, hompči hak waqpčit ho·t kańa sa hon siwkčapga." (178) čoy honk ʔat gena, gena. (179) čoy honk ʔat kosča. (180) ʔat honk sleʔa, do·s sam loćalbakWi·s.

(181) čoy honk ʔat loq honk siwga, hok hiswaqs, hiswaqs ʔat giwk. (182) čoy honk pće·wip naʔas, "waq bas nis dič hak nidwalla!"[33] (183) čoy honk ʔat slaќa·yča, neaqank, (—dwantda bas q̇ay ni sʔaywakta —go·sdat, wage·nha himbakadat—). (184) dwantda hak slaќa·yča, ni·l. (185) čoy honk ʔat gena. (186) čoy sa ʔat do· dat hak gatba. (187) čoy honk ʔat hadakt honk spodo·ye·ga hok, ʔat hiswaqs giwk. (188) čoy honk sas gasaqčňa, gasaqčňa. (189) čoy honk naʔas, "waq bas lis nis dič nidwallank gen, slalgačńi·ya?" (190) čoy honk ʔat honkant kčiaga, ni·llat. (191) čoy honk hok loq gi. (192) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔat sas ni giwapk!" (193) čoy honk ʔat gena.

(194) čoy honk ʔat dat mbo·sant hok hiswaqs naʔas, "he· gew sliči·qs ńiwtgiwapk, laќa·yčnank—he· gew sliči·qs ńiwtgiwapk, čoy sʔaywaktanwapk

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[196] [33] The meaning of this utterance is not clear from the context. The Grandmother seems to say, "How very well [he] guessed me!" This seems to imply that the boy wished her to become a bear, find him and his sister, and kill them. This development is reasonable if one postulates that the boy felt so guilty about his incestuous relationship that he wished to die—or at least hoped that his Grandmother would catch up and kill his evil sister.

(150) Nobody answered. (151) And then, finally, Awi told. (152) "Why, didn't they go down right there; they shut [it behind them with] a coal. (153) And then they went." (154) Then she followed them. (155) But those children went very, very far (how many days, I don't know—). (156) But they went for a long time.

(157) Now then that little boy shot his arrow up into a tree. (158) Then he cried and cried; he was unable to get it back down. (159) And he said, "Get it back down for me!" to his sister. (160) "Get this down for me!" (161) "No. How am I your relative [i.e., "How am I related to you?"]?" (162) "You are my sister." (163) "No." (164) "Aunt?" (165) "No." (166) "How is it—mother?" (167) "No." (168) Then he named every relation. (169) But that little girl said, "No." (170) Then, being tired, the little brother said, "Then you're my wife!" (171) "Yes!" she said, and she quickly got it back down for him. (172) That little girl was very strong. (173) Then they went; now they lived together, being related as brother and sister.

(174) Then their grandmother followed them. (175) And she said, "hâhî'! I knew this! (176) They would do this way. (177) She is evil, just like her whom she has just killed." (178) Then they went and went. (179) And then [the little girl] got pregnant. (180) And [the grandmother] saw [the impression of her pregnant stomach] where their sleeping-place was.

(181) Then he killed a bear, that man, because now he had become a man (i.e., come of age, since he now had a mate). (182) And the grandmother said, "How well he has guessed me [i.e., guessed my intention, guessed what I wanted to be]!" (183) Then he hung it up and left it, having skinned it, (—on what [he hung it] I don't know—on a tree or a log—). (184) He hung it up on something, the fur. (185) Then he went on. (186) Then they got to somewhere, there. (187) And there he began to go on a power quest, now being a man. (188) And she [the grandmother] followed, followed. (189) And she said, "Having guessed [my intention] so well, has he left this for me?" (190) Then she crawled into it, into the fur. (191) Then she became a bear. (192) And she said, "Now I'll do something to them!" (193) Then she went on.

(194) Then somewhere the next day that man said, "If my comb falls down, [I] having put it up high—if my comb falls down, then you'll know she

#539 waq nis gist. (195) ʔaMḱa hok gida lobi· gatbanwapk, wage·nha no·s hok lobi· gaẃalwapk. (196) q̇ay da·ts ʔi woswapk!" (197) ʔat sam we·ḱa gitk. (198) we·saltk sa ʔat. (199) čoy honk ʔat spodo·ča. (200) čoy honk hok sńewe·ts do···m ʔankẃala, do···m.

(201) čoy honk ʔat ʔońče· gatba, ṕle·wip mna·ĺam. (202) "ya···, q̇a ʔan ge·ǰigatk. (203) ʔat ni gatba.[24] (205) dič hay ʔa·t gen či·ya, dič sʔotĺank, na·nok dwa·." (206) "ʔi·." (207) čoy honk naʔas, "dat lis ne· gi?" (208) čoy honk naʔas, "do· hok spodo·." (209) čoy naʔas gi, "ʔi·, sle·čwapk hay ni gen." (210) "ʔi·." (211) "čoy ni ʔaMḱa q̇a dye·mipks gatbambliwapk." (212) "ʔi·."

(213) čoy honk ʔat gena. (214) čoy honk ʔat so·čńa na···nok do·s hak hok spodo·, ẏayńa, ĺaqĺaqĺant. (215) čoy honk ʔat, q̇a ʔat honk ge·ǰigo·k, mongam sĺoyadat howwa. (216) čoy honk ʔat ṕan, hok ṕle·wip, hok loq giwk.

(217) čoy honk gembli ʔat, do· či·sdaĺ. (218) sliči·qs hok nĺiwtgi. (219) čoy honk ʔat qallati· ʔambo čisa, "q̇a gin ʔambotga gatbanwapk." (220) ʔat hok sńewe·ts, hok bośnas, histanḱitk mna ḿoḱa·k. (221) čoy honk do···m da·ts hok qday ʔiĺa·ĺank, snegalpḱa.

(222) čoy honk ʔat gatba, loq̇aḿč. (223) naʔas, "ya···, ʔambotga ʔans." (224) čoy honk naʔas," ho·t hayč do·na čisa. (225) snačḱa·Wapgatk ʔambo." (226) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, dič hay ʔins honk gen!" (227) čoy honk bonwa, bonwa. (228) čoy honk qday wbeLi·, q̇iw! (ʔat ḱada·di hak ni sʔaba peč́it. ge·ǰiga ʔans ʔat.) [Here Mrs. Ohles took a short rest and then began again.]

(229) ʔat hok loq̇aḿč naʔas (—waq lis ʔi gen? dwa· ʔi waq gi? lelgi! lelgi! hosto·qtoqpga dak ʔins, lapq̇apgok gen gida. ʔat ʔins hasẏaMtgi dwa· sʔabo·k. hostaqĺaq![25]

(230) čoy honk ʔat bonwa, bonwa. (231) čoy honk ʔat bonwo·lank naʔas, "ya···, gida ʔans nen twač́i·ḱa, nkas. (232) dom hak ni bonwa ʔambo." (233) čoy honk naʔas, "gida ʔis gisl̇gi! (234) gida ʔis gisWa!"

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[196] [24] Utterances 202 and 203 are given in a high, faint voice, indicating the Grandmother's age and fatigue.

[25] The remarks in parentheses here are addressed to the author, who was holding
[126] the microphone too close to Mrs. Ohles' face. It is interesting to note that she spon-
[124] taneously treats the microphone as a "round object" (e.g., ‖iˇcíǵi!‖ "Put down a round
[196] object!"). The author, as an outsider to the Klamath world-view, might have been tempted to treat it as a long object or even as a rope-like object.

did something to me. (195) Maybe she will come here first; perhaps she will find me first. (196) Don't you be afraid, however!" (197) Now they had a child. (198) They had a child now. (199) Then he went off on a power quest. (200) Then that girl gathered wood, a lot of wood.

(201) Then later she arrived, their grandmother. (202) "Ohhh, I'm very tired. (203) Now I've arrived. (205) You're living very well here, having made it nice, everything." (206) "Yes." (207) Then she said, "Where is he?" (208) And she said, "He is on a power quest there." (209) And she said, "Yes, I'll go and see him." (210) "Yes." (211) "And perhaps I'll return very hungry." (212) "Yes."

(213) Then she went off. (214) Then she chased [him] wherever he had power-quested, the mountain, on the plain. (215) And then, because he was very tired, he fell down into a gopher's [?] hole. (216) Then she ate [him], that grandmother, she being a bear.

(217) Then she returned, there towards home. (218) The comb fell down. (219) Then [the little girl] filled a water container with water, "She'll return very thirsty." (220) Then that girl, she was thus, carrying her baby on her back. (221) Then, however, she heated many, many rocks, having put them in the fire.

(222) Then she came, the old bear. (223) She said, "Ohhh, I am thirsty." (224) And she [the little girl] said, "There is water over there. (225) Cool water." (226) And she said, "Ohhh, you've [done] this for me nicely!" (227) Then she drank and drank. (228) Then she [the little girl] threw the stones [which she had heated red-hot] into her anus! (Now this is as far as I'm going to tell now. I'm tired now.) [Here Mrs. Ohles took a short rest and then began again.]

(229) Now then that old bear said, (What's the matter with you? What're you doing? Put it down! Put it down! You scare me, sticking it in my face here. Now you made me forget what to say. Stop it!)"

(230) So then she drank and drank. (231) Then having drunk she said, "Ohhh, here it twists me, [my] stomach. (232) I have drunk too much water." (233) Then she said, "Step on me here! (234) Step on me here!"

("Step on me here!" Of course, that's what this maiden wanted to do was step on her, so that those rocks would cook her.) (235) čoy honk ʔat gisl̓ga (or gisWa—or something. I can't distinguish either one of them.) (236) čoy honk glega hok ʔat loq.

4. Section 2: Gmoḱaḿč́ and ʔaysis
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(237) čoy honk ʔat ʔanko mo··· so·ča, honkantga ʔankotga. (238) ʔat siʔo·lagyo·la, ʔanko. (239) čoy honk ʔat ḿolẃa, mbatĺa·ĺwapgok. (240) mbatĺa·ĺwapk ʔat, histańḱitk. (241) čoy honk ʔanko sʔotĺa, gmoḱaḿč́, čalamnank (above their camp. And he was making wood up there.) (242) čoy honk naʔas gi, "ya···, dič́i· ḿoḱa·k!" ("The baby's nice!") (243) čoy honk naʔas gi, "q́ay ʔan ho·t mbatĺa·ĺo·twapk, ḿoḱa·k." (I can't think of that mallet he used yet![36]) (244) čoy da·ts honk ndoga peč, ḿoḱa·ks, mbatĺa·ĺsi. (245) čoy honk do· ḿoḱa·k ńĺiwlga. (246) hok ńĺiwlga do·. (247) čoy honk ʔat do· sdagaltga.

(248) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, waq bas ni ge·ks giwapk? (249) do·s bas ni gen—waq bas ni ge·ks ksembliwapk?" (He didn't want to take it back in that śwenč. He wanted to take it back and make-believe that he had a baby. So he put it on his forehead—) (250) gida honk hakeli·ga, laḱi·yyat. (251) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, ge· dak q́oy." (252) čoy honk do·s hak be·n heksalga—gida, ʔaMḱa gida—ni·sdat, hoksatnank. (253) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔa···, q́ay dak ge· dič." (254) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, q́olĺnčJat ʔan lotq́agwapk!" ("I'll get a boil on my knee," he said.) (255) čoy honk ʔat q́olĺnčJat mna ksodi·la.

(256) čoy honk ʔat če·t hak gatbambli, siko·tbambli. (257) čoy honk be·p mna naʔas gi, "waq lis ʔi gen?" (258)—hok gmoḱaḿč́ hok ʔat, be·yaltk. (259) čoy honk naʔas gi, "waq lis ʔi gen?" (260) "q́ay ʔan sʔaywakta. (261) ʔaMḱa ʔans ge· dwa· waq gi, č́o·ks. (262) q́a··· ʔans ge· goWa.

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[124]

[36] Mrs. Ohles later explained that Gmoḱaḿč́ struck the baby from its cradleboard with some kind of cane or mallet, whose name and description she could not recall. The author asked her if she thought it was called /ʔi·me/ (the cane carried by Weasel in Text 7), but she did not think this was so.

("Step on me here!" Of course, that's what this maiden wanted to do was step on her, so that those rocks would cook her.) (235) Then she stepped on her (or stepped down on her—or something. I can't distinguish either one of them.) (236) Then that bear died.

4. Section 3: Gmoḱamč and ʼaysis

(Mrs. Fanny Ohles)

(237) Then [the girl] built a big fire with that wood. (238) Now she finished gathering wood. (239) Then she got ready, to jump into the fire. (240) She would jump in then, having [the baby] on her back. (241) Now then Gmoḱamč was getting wood, sitting up on the mountainside (above their camp. And he was making wood up there.) (242) Then he said, "Ohhh, a beautiful baby!" ("The baby's nice!") (243) Then he said, "I don't wish that she jump into the fire with it, that baby." (I can't think of that mallet he used yet!) (244) However, he struck its foot, the child, as [its mother] was jumping into the fire. (245) And the baby fell far away. (246) It fell down there. (247) Then he picked it up.

(248) Then he said, "Ohhh, what should I do with this one? (249) Where should I—how will I take this one back home?" (He didn't want to take it back in that śwenč [cradleboard]. He wanted to take it back and make-believe that he had a baby. So he put it on his forehead—) (250) He put it here, on [his] forehead. (251) Then he said, "Oh, this is not good." (252) Then he put it down again there—here, perhaps here—on the neck, having put it on. (253) And he said, "Aaah, but this's not good." (254) Then he said, "Oh, I'll make it come up out of [my] knee!" (I'll get a boil on my knee," he said.) (255) Then he put it under his knee.

(256) Then with difficulty he returned home, supported himself on a stick. (257) Then his daughter said, "What's the matter with you?" (258)—That Gmoḱamč had a daughter. (259) Then she said, "What's the matter with you?" (260) "I don't know. (261) Perhaps something has happened to me, [to my] leg. (262) This has swelled up [on] me a great deal.

#539 (263) mo··· nis goWa, čo·ks." (264) čoy honk naʔas gi, "kitʼí ʔis gen!" (265) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, laq ʔa ge· gi!" (266) kitʼía honk, hok be·p, gmoḱaḿčam be·p. (267) čoy honk naʔas, (—ýaMtgi balaq hak—) "laq̇altk ʔa ge·!" či honk, "ya···, ʔaMḱa ʔi tapýaltk!" (268) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·." (269) čoy honk ʔat ḿoḱa·k swaqča, swaqča. (270) čoy sa na···nok wiqčisti· se·sas sʔewanʔa. (John, Peter, and so forth. They named him every name they could think of.) (271) čoy honk hok swaqča, goni·ĺḱa hok glega. (On and on he cried, you know; that's what that goni·ĺḱa means.) (272) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔaysis. ʔaysis ʔa ge· gi." (273) čoy honk ʔat q̇a pakstgi. (274) q̇ay hok swaqča, ḿoḱa·k.

(275) čoy honk ʔat mo··· čin. (276) čoy honk doma· we·ẃańs gitk, kakakýas hak. (sʔaywakta ʔi, kakýas we·ẃańs gist.) (277) ĺoho·s, q̇lidi·s, čiḱa, słoḱwa, —čoy Na·s ʔo·č ʔa—We·qs.

(278) čoy honk čosak hok gmoḱaḿč kselwi. (279) čoy honk hok słoḱwaʔa·k čo···sak soḱatsía. (280) čoy honk hok gmoḱaḿč naʔas gi, "waq bas ge·ks giwk, q̇a nalk stinta? (281) ge·ks nalk ʔa stinta. (282) ge·ks čosak dola gi, q̇ay honkýas nanqaýe·ńs we·ẃańs." (283) čoy honk We·qs q̇a—gitgoʔ—sqasa čosak. (284) "q̇ay ʔa no·s stinta. (285) słoḱwaʔa·ks ho·t stinta." (286) čoy honk gmoḱaḿč ʔat wičta honk, słoḱwaʔa·ks. (287) čoy honk ʔat ʔankẃalča (—waqpči bas ʔanko, q̇ay ni sʔaywakta. čoy da·ta hok čosak ǰoǰyo·ki·na. Sparks flew out from that wood anyway, and he wanted to burn słoḱwaʔa·k so she'd throw her blanket off of her where she was naked all the time, because she was always picking her old bugs. maqlaqsyalank ʔams ni sʔabi·yo·la —waq dal ʔiʔ q̇a hak wneqi·s!)

(288) čoy honk ʔat lolp mna sepo·lgank gida—gida sepo·lga.[37] (289) čoy honk ʔat kselwi, gmoḱaḿč. (290) čoy honk ʔat ǰoyo·ki·na, čoy notía słoḱwaʔa·ks. (291) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔutututu!"[38] (292) čoy honk ʔat hok gmoḱaḿč naʔas, "ʔU·!"[39] (293) ʔat honk sleʔalla, dwa·.

(294) čoy honk ʔat newlga siwgwapgok ʔaysisas. (295) čoy honk hoḿas danktkni· newlga honk. (296) čoy honk čosak giskanga do···na. (297) čoy honk ʔat čnaw—čnaw ʔakýaʔ—čnaw gaẃal do·, sa·yḱatdat. (298) čoy čnawwat sqolelam snoLas gaẃal. (299) čoy gatbamblyank,

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[196] [37] The informant here indicated by a gesture that /gida/ "right here" meant "on the ground between his legs."

[196] [38] Little Słoḱwa's exclamation begins voiced and high-pitched and descends to a very low note. It is progressively less voiced and ends voiceless.

[194] [39] This utterance is produced by an ingoing air current rather than an outgoing one. It is otherwise a mid-high back rounded vowel. The symbol [U·] has been arbitrarily chosen to stand for this anomalous phone, which occurs nowhere else in the corpus.

(263) It has swelled up [on] me very, very much, [my] leg." (264) Then he said, "Puncture it for me!" (265) Then she said, "Ohhh, this is hair!" (266) She punctured it, that daughter, Gmoḱaḿč's daughter. (267) Then she said (—I forgot all of a sudden—) "It has hair!" she said, "Ohhh, maybe you have a little one!" (268) Then he said, "Yes." (269) Now then that baby cried and cried. (270) And they gave it every sort of name. (John, Peter, and so forth. They named him every name they could think of.) (271) But he cried, he got worse. (On and on he cried, you know; that's what that goni·ĺḱa means.) (272) Then he said, "ʔaysis. This is ʔaysis." (273) Then he was very quiet. (274) He didn't cry, the baby.

(275) Then he grew very big. (276) Then he had many wives, whoever. (You know who the wives were.) (277) Mudhen, Green Heron, Snowbird, Squirrel, —and one more—Mallard.

(278) Now then that Gmoḱaḿč always sat by the fire. (279) And that little Squirrel was always picking her fleas. (280) And that Gmoḱaḿč said, "Why is it that he loves her much more? (281) He loves her more. (282) He is always with her, not those other women. (283) And Mallard was very—what?—jealous always. (284) "He does not love me. (285) He loves little Squirrel." (286) Then Gmoḱaḿč fell in love with her, little Squirrel. (287) Then he went to gather wood (—what kind of wood I don't know. However, it always popped sparks. Sparks flew out from that wood anyway, and he wanted to burn Sḱoḱwaʔa·k so she'd throw her blanket off of her where she was naked all the time, because she was always picking her old bugs. I've finished telling it to you in Klamath—what's the matter with you? How greedy [you are]!)

(288) Then he put his eyes down here—he put them down here. (289) Then he sat by the fire, Gmoḱaḿč. (290) Then sparks popped out, and burned little Squirrel. (291) Then she said, "ʔututututu!" (292) Then that Gmoḱaḿč said, "ʔU·!" (293) Then he saw something.

(294) Now then he planned to kill ʔaysis. (295) Then for a long time he plotted thus. (296) He always used to walk around over there. (297) Then a reed—was it a reed?—he found a reed there, on the prairie. (298) And on that reed he found Meadowlark's nest. (299) Then, returning, he told ʔaysis

#539 stilta ʔat honk ʔaysisas bla·ywa·sam sńoLas gaẃlok. (300) čoy honk naʔas gi. "čoy da·ts hok bla···y gi. (301) čoy no· geaga hadakt kč́imnis, gmočatk giwk. (302) dam ʔi kčimničat?" (303) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·." (304) čoy da·ts naʔas gi, nowĺaqs gyank, "na·nok če· ʔi solwačṕank hadakt kč́imnit." (305) čoy honk hoḿas honk ʔaysis kč́imni hon. (306) čoy honk ʔat geča···, hok č́naw. (307) ʔa·di··· (—čoy maqlaqsam ʔakẏa "Jack in the Beanstalk"? ʔaMḱa.) (308) čoy do··· honk ʔat bla···y. čoy q̇e·gi weq—kč́itgyo·ts, gotgyo·ts. (309) čoy honk ʔat do··· blay. ʔat honk gaẃal sqoĺelam sńoLas. (310) čoy honk či·ĺiĺiks ʔa honk wbetga, sqoĺelam či·ĺiĺiks. (311) ʔat hok ḱada·di hok geča, do· galo· bańi·. (312) čoy honk ʔat hadakt mo··· sʔoysʔa ʔaysis.

(313) hok dak gmoḱańč gemblyank, honkt honk sĺoḱwaʔa·k sńewe·ts sq̇ollgo·ts. (čoy ni q̇ay dič ho·skanga hadakt. hadaktkni· ni q̇ay dič ho·skanga, waq gist. čoy mi sʔasʔapgle·ʔas kant ʔi sʔaywakta—čoy ni hi·tkni· ʔat genwapk, do·st ʔi q̇ay sʔaywakta, do·s q̇ay sʔaba.[20])

(314) čoy honk ʔat weqweq sapĺa·laltk hobankanga. (315) dwa· hak sa honk waq giwk hadakt hohankanga? (316) čoy honk če···t hak sopasgank laq mna woĺo·tgi. (317) čoy honk hok sa naʔas gi, "ẏa···, č́elč́eĺatk bas ẏa laq! (318) datkni· ʔa ge·?" (319) čoy sa honk do··· ʔat gamnič́a, hok weqweq sapĺa·laltk. (320) čoy sa honk ʔat gaẃal ʔaysisas hadakt. (321) qaq̇o· bil. (322) sʔoysʔapks. (323) čoy honk glekńapga hok, dye·mistga, q̇elẏak ʔambo. (324) čoy sa honk ʔat ksotgibli (—dwantga hak sa honks ksotgibli, q̇ay ni sʔaywakta. ʔi da·ts sʔaywakta. ʔaMḱa midant sʔasʔapgle·ʔasdat, ne· gi.) (325) čoy čik sa honk ʔat ksembli, mna·ĺamksi, datksi bas hok gi. (ʔaMḱa gentdat ge·latdat, q̇ay ni sʔaywakta.) (326) čoy da·ts hok ma·ns q̇e·gi, ʔaysis.

(327) čoy hok do·pga, č́osak sneyĺaqsksaksi, hadakt sa honk do·pgank ʔibe·ĺa, hok sa. (328) čoy honk ʔat be·n honkĺam hadakt domi· we·ẃańs gi—weqweq sapĺa·laltk, ĺahĺa·hʔas, q̇iMa·č. (329) čoy kakni hak—danni hak sa—tońipńi, wage·nha tewńipńi we·ẃańs hadakt gi. (330) dam bas hok sasapĺa·laltk, q̇ay ni sʔaywakta.

(331) čoy honk hadakt hok—sgo·?—če·lis hok ʔat gatbnank sa·ča, na·nok waytas. (332) čoy hok boqboq̇stga na·nok sneyĺaqsti·, ge·la bil. (333) čoy honk naʔas gi, "waq dal ʔa·t gi? (334) waq hay hok sa ʔans sa·čatga? (335) kani hay? (336) če·lis lis—če·lis ʔans sa·ča."

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[20] The author had not completed his reading of Gatschet's myths to Mrs. Chiles at this time, and she supplied the incident of the Butterfly sisters from her own memory, although it is also found in Gatschet's version in almost identical form. Gatschet's myth does not contain the incident of ʔaysis and the Porcupines, however, nor any mention of ʔaysis's new wives.

he had found an eagle's nest. (300) Then he said, "But it's very high. (301) And I can't climb up there, being old. (302) Can you climb it?" (303) And he said, "Yes." (304) Then, however, he said, plotting, "Having taken off all your clothes, you can climb up there." (305) Then ʔaysis climbed it that way. (306) Then it grew and grew, that reed. (307) High (—And could it be the Klamaths' "Jack in the Beanstalk"? Perhaps.) (308) Then very far and high, and it had no limbs—things to crawl down with, things to go down with. (309) Then very, very high, then he found Meadowlark's nest. (310) Then he threw out the little birds, Meadowlark's baby birds. (311) Now it had grown so far, until [it touched] the sky there. (312) Then ʔaysis became very thin.

(313) But that Gmoḱamč, returning, he made little Swuirrel his wife. (And I don't recall it well there. From there I don't remember well what happened. And your myth, which you know—then I'll go on from there now, where you don't know, where it didn't tell.)

(314) Now then the Butterfly sisters were flying around. (315) Whatever were they flying around there for? (316) Then he just barely pulled out a hair and threw it down. (317) Then they said, "Ohhh, what a shiny hair! (318) Where is it from?" (319) Then they went far, far up, those Butterfly sisters. (320) Then they found ʔaysis there. (321) Just bones. (322) Thin. (323) And he was almost dead, from hunger, without water. (324) Then they took him down (with what they took him down I do not know. But you might know. Maybe in your myth, it is there.) (325) Indeed, they took him home, to their place, wherever it was. (Maybe to this country, I don't know.) (326) However, he was gone for a long time, ʔaysis.

(327) Then he lay, always by the hearth, there they laid him and took care of him, they. (328) Then there again his wives were many—the Butterfly sisters, Grasshopper, Ant. (329) And whoever—however many they [were] —five, perhaps ten women were there. (330) Perhaps they were [all] sisters, I don't know.

(331) And then there—who?—Porcupine came and danced every day. (332) And [the Porcupine] made dust all over from the hearth, just dirt. (333) And he said, "What's the matter with you [pl.]? (334) Why do they come and dance [over] me? (335) Who? (336) Porcupine[s]—Porcupine[s] dance [over] me."

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(337) čoy honk hok sa čeče·li·k na?as, "če·li, če·li, na·ĺs ?am kani leĺq̓iq̓it! če·li, če·li, na·ĺs ?am kani leĺq̓iq̓it!"[31] (338) čoy sa honk swino·ta, aninkaǩlWa honk ?aysisas. (339) čoy honk ?at dičamks gin gyo·ta, sboga hadakt.

(340) hompča sas sa·tĺa bas hekagiaĺi·yatgi giwk. (You've seen the knobs on trees? He asked them to make him a cane out of that—with a young tree knob on it, I guess you would say. q̓ay ni s?aywakta waq se·sapks gist.) (341) čoy honk na?as, "čoy ni siko·ye·hdamawapk, q̓elÿant ma·ĺs." (342) čoy dada·t honk ?at dičamks giwk. čoy honk nem̓ampča hak sboga hadakt. (343) čoy honk čeče·li·k gatbnank, na?as, "če·li, če·li, na·ĺs ?am kani leĺq̓iq̓it!" (344) be·n sa ksiwiga, ksiwiga. (345) sa·ča sa honk silalpks gi se·ẃatk. (346) čoy honk sas ?at lwela. (347) ?at honk na·nok če·lis honk leĺq̓iq̓ya. (348) gem̓as qdoqdasga sam peč. (349) čoy honk ?at sma·yammatga yamnas s?os?atĺi·ya. (dam ?i dada· ĺahĺa·h?asam yamnas sle?a? ?i·, ĺahĺa·h?as yamnas sawq̓a·q̓atk.) (350) čoy honk ?at sas hom̓as waksnaĺi·ya. (351) čoy sa honk q̓a··· saÿa·m̓a. (352) hahastamnis čis ?akÿa s?otĺa. (q̓ay ni dič ho·skanga— ma···ns ni q̓ay domna nen s?as?apgle·?as. ?aMǩa ǩička·ni, dada· ni tabi·ge·ni domna.)

(353) čoy meya sa ge·s, boqs—na·nok dwa· sa stayLa. (354) čoy honk ĺahĺa·h?as bil q̓a··· ÿaMǩa. (355) čoy honk na?as, "*ĺaĺaĺaĺaĺa!*"[32] (356) čoy honk bablaq wenta honks wakena. (357) čoy honk na?as, "*ĺaĺaĺaĺaĺa!*" (—Rub its legs together, you know, and fly up in the air? That's what it means. That's a heck of a way to say it, but that's what it is.)

(358) čoy honk ?at na?as gi, "?at ni gembliwapk. ?i·." (359) čoy ?at sas s?eqga. (360) "dič da·ts ?a·t či·wapk! (361) ?at ?a·t gen na·nok dwa· gitk." (And he fixed everything nice for them before he left.) (362) čoy honk ?at gembli.

(363) čoy honk We·qs bil, honk na?as, "We·qe·qe·q! no·s hay dak ?aysis stintisamni! We·qe·qe·q! no·s hay dak ?aysis stintisamni!"[33] (She didn't care whether he was dead or what happened to him—all the others were

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[196] [31] Mrs. Ohles supplied the translation for the Porcupines' mythic utterances. /če·li, če·li/ is a distortion of /če·lis/ "porcupine," and /leĺq̓iq̓it/ may be ‖rel^{v}errbal‖. ‖l^{v}eq̓ya‖ means "puts a round object in the road, way," but it may either have a specialized meaning (presumably "on the wrist") or this may be another morpheme.

[196] [32] This utterance begins on a high pitch and descends to voicelessness.

[196] [33] Mallard's cry was said to be onomatopoetic. Not only does the mallard cry "/We·qe·qe·q!/" but also "/no·s hay dak ?aysis stintisamni/." The translation of this latter portion is Mrs. Ohles'. It seems to mean "?aysis rather intended to love me!" No negative appears, but Mrs. Ohles translated it as "?aysis never tried to love me."

(337) Then those little Porcupines said, "Porky, Porky, wish someone would cut our [wrists]! Porky, Porky, wish someone would cut our [wrists]!" (338) They sang and made dust on ʔaysis. (339) Then even when he got better, he lay there.

(340) He asked them to make him a cane. (You've seen the knobs on trees? He asked them to make him a cane out of that—with a young tree knob on it, I guess you would say. I don't know how it was called.) (341) And he said, "And I can raise myself [with this cane], while you are gone." (342) And when he was better, he lay there thus. (343) Then those little Porcupines came and said, "Porky, Porky, wish someone would cut our [wrists]!" (344) Then again they danced and danced. (345) They danced, thinking him to be sick. (346) Then he killed them. (347) Then he cut [the wrists] of all the Porcupines. (348) In this way he cut off their feet. (349) Then with their quills he made beads for [his wives]. (Did you ever see Grasshopper's necklace? Yes, Grasshopper wears a necklace around her neck.) (350) Then he made moccasins for them thus. (351) Then they were very, very proud. (352) Perhaps he made earrings too. (I don't remember well—for a long, long time I haven't heard that myth. Perhaps [when I was] small, when I heard it last time.)

(353) And they dug ipos, camas—they supplied everything. (354) And Grasshopper only was very, very lazy. (355) She said, "*tatatatata!*" (356) And she quickly wore out her moccasins. (357) And she said, "*tatatatata!*" (—Rub its legs together, you know, and fly up in the air? That's what it means. That's a heck of a way to say it, but that's what it is.)

(358) Then he said, "Now I will return home. Yes." (359) And he said farewell to them. (360) "You [pl.] live well! (361) Now you have everything." (And he fixed everything nice for them before he left.) (362) Then he returned.

(363) Then only Mallard, she said, "We·qe·qe·q! ʔaysis never tried to love me! We·qe·qe·q! ʔaysis never tried to love me!" (She didn't care whether he was dead or what happened to him—all the others were mourning:

mourning: łoho·s. q̓lidi·s—ah, I started to say something in English again!) (364) čoy sičkwaʔa·k, ho·t sasde·wyank gmoḱamčas dola či·ya, ma·ms qoyga gmoḱamčas, bas homas mna waaga spontgast.

(365) čoy honk ʔat ʔaysis gatbambli. (366) čoy honk čiḱa wnagaltk. (367) čoy honk stinḱitk—dwa·-bas ya wokas sʔotla, wage·nha dwa· hak honk ga·ma. (368) čoy honk hok ṁoḱa·k sʔaywakta ʔaysisas. (369) čoy honk naʔas, "tisi·p! tisi·p!"[36] (370) "ǰiǰi·kst ǰiǰi·kst q̓ay sa nemas!" (371) "ya···, waq dal ʔi gen giwk, ło·q̓a? (372) ge· dak ni gen gida gi." (373) čoy honk naʔas, "čikčikčikčik!" hostanʔa, hostanʔa ʔat gatbamblist. (374) q̓a··· honk ʔat q̓oyse·w̓a, ʔaysisas—čiḱa. (375) čoy honk ʔat we·w̓ans ʔakẏa mna siʔo·lgibli.

(376) čoy honk ʔat mna we·ḱa the·wa gmoḱamčam sdaynas nolo·la·lsgi giwk. (q̓ay ni dič ho·skanga—ʔaMḱa midant sʔasʔapgle·ʔasdat sʔaba waq gist.) (377) čoy da·ts no· ho·skanga todipli sdaynas gitk, hok gmoḱamč. (378) čoy honk pečǰat mna ʔilga mna sdaynas. (nent ʔa nen ni q̓ay dič ho·skanga, bomas ni giwk. q̓ay diče·w̓a sʔasʔapgle·ʔas!) (379) čoy da·ts honk sdaynas nolo·la·la, gmoḱamčam. (380) čoy honk ʔat nčiwčna hok sdaynas. (381) nčiwwallga. (382) čoy honk ʔat sdiẏa sitk na···nok ntintaqtgi, na·nok!

(383) čoy honk ʔaysis ʔidi·la—dwantda bas? gomstdat ẏa? wage·nha ẏayṅatdat—dwantda hak sas honk ʔidi·la. (384) čoy naʔas, "q̓ay delditgo·li!" (385) čoy dak hok dilga gemas, dwa·, sdiẏa sitk. (386) čoy honk łobo·s q̓ay dodamnis, delditgo·la. (387) čoy honk ntiqpq̓a gida. (388) čoy Na·ẏe·ńs čis (—they've got brown spots on their noses where that is supposed to have dripped on them.) ntiqpq̓a lis sas hok. (389) čoy honk ʔat notlank, honk godi·labli. (390) (čoy ni q̓ay ho·skanga waq gitgo gist, waq ne·bakst, ʔat dankt gyo·lank. (391) ʔat ʔakẏa ne· ḱada·di bak, q̓ay ni sʔaywakta. (392) ʔaMḱa ni qtanča sʔasʔapgle·si sas.)

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[36] "/tisi·p! tisi·p!/" is baby-talk for /ptisap/ "father." Cf. "/kisi·bam ʔečas sitk ma·sʔa./" in Text 1 and in Note 2.

Mudhen, Sandhill Crane,—ah, I started to say something in English again!) (364) And little Squirrel, she slept with Gmoḱaḿč and lived with him, even though she recognised [him as] Gmoḱaḿč, he having thus cuckolded his son.

(365) Now then ʔaysis came home. (366) And Snowbird had a son. (367) And [he was] being carried on [her] back—she was making wokas maybe, or perhaps grinding something. (368) Then that baby knew ʔaysis. (369) And he said, "Daddy! Daddy!" (370) "Careful! Careful! Don't do that!" (371) "Ohhh, why did you thump him? (372) This is me here." (373) Then she said, "čikčíkčíkčiki" flying onto [him], flying onto [him] now being home. (374) She was very, very happy [to see] ʔaysis—Snowbird. (375) Then he perhaps gathered his wives again.

(376) Now then he ordered his little son to throw Gmoḱaḿč's heart into the fire. (I don't remember well—perhaps in your myth it told how it was.) (377) But I think that he had five hearts, that Gmoḱaḿč. (378) And he put his heart[s] into his feet. (That's what I don't remember well, I being thus. I don't like myths!) (379) However, he threw the heart[s] into the fire, Gmoḱaḿč's. (380) Then those heart[s] popped out. (381) Popped up. (382) Then like pitch they all dripped down, all over.

(383) Then ʔaysis put [his family] underneath—under what? In a cave? Perhaps on the mountain—he put them under something. (384) And he said, "Don't look out!" (385) And it was dripping down this way, something, like pitch. (386) And Mudhen did not mind, and looked out. (387) And it dripped right here. (388) And [on] another also (—they've got brown spots on their noses where that is supposed to have dripped on them.) It dripped on their faces. (389) And being burned, they went back under. (390) (And I can't recall how it was, how it happened, it having been so long. (391) Now perhaps that's as far as [it goes], I don't know. (392) Maybe I went to sleep while they were telling myths.)

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4. Section 3: The Red-Haired Woman of Sprague River
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

The beginning only, as recorded on tape.

(393) le wičtnank gin ʔams ni gen sʔabi·wapk. (394) čoy niya· ʔi bibatdat da·ts ʔita, q̇ay ʔi sʔasʔapgle·ʔas gew gentda ʔita, kant ʔins gentda hese·mi·ya. (395) čoy da·ts mis ni sʔabi·wapk, kant ni ho·skanga. (396) q̇ay ni na·nok ho·skanga, ʔaMḱa.

(397) čoy dińa· hok či·ya wele·q̇a·k, doma· wewe·ʔas gitk. (398) čoy tońipńi ʔakýa wnawnak. (399) čoy Na·s be·p, taktak ńos gitk. (400) čoy honk ʔa···di·ńs laq gitk. (401) čoy da·ts hok q̇oyči.

(402) čoy honk ʔat mo·ni giwk, kant ni ho·skanga. (403) čoy honk ʔat mo·ni giwk, hiswaqsĺa, kańs hak, q̇ay ni sʔaywakta datgi·sas. (404) čoy da·ts hok q̇ay či·ya či·sge·ni. (405) čoy da·ts hok gatbamblidamna, čosak. (406) čoy honk Na·s mna tapýa wičta (—tge·wńa, q̇ay ni sʔaywakta). (407) čoy da·ts tabi·ýe·ńs, kat tabi·ni hiswaqs. (408) čoy honk čosak gemblyank pḱisa mna, honk tapýa mna sańa·Wawli, bas spončipgablitgi giwk. (409) čoy honk q̇ay sańa·Wawli. (410) hokt pḱisap naʔas gi, "ho·t ʔam spončambliwapk," čoy honk q̇ay sańa·Wawli. (411) "q̇ay ʔan honkt sańa·Wawli." (412) čoy sa honk na·nok ḿolo·Wi·ya. (413) čoy honk q̇ay hok sigo·yga, honk tge·wńisa mna, honk tabi·ýe·ńs sańa·Wawlyok. (hokt ʔakýa hok sńewe·tsaltk? tabi·ni, wage·nha sa na·nok, we·ẃańsaltk —q̇ay ni sʔaywakta. čoy niya· ni ge·ks naʔas sʔabi·Wi·ya, q̇ay ni dič ho·skanga gen sʔaba.)

(414) čoy honk ʔat tabi·ni hok spončipgabli. (415) čoy honk sas gone·kĺa, datksi hak. (416) čoy sa honk hadakt maklga. (417) čoy honk hokt sńewe·ts gillis giwk. (418) čoy sa ʔat slaslambli. (419) čoy honk NaNi·ksĺa loloqs loĺallga. (420) čoy honk mna tapýap qtanćantgis sańa·Wawli. (421) čoy honk qtanćis sq̇ollgo·ta. (422) čoy honk weq sʔolha. (423) čoy honk ʔat ʔona·k hok sgiso·ls, be·qtgis, hok hiswaqs. (424) čoy honk naʔas gi, "waq hak ća·ms gi!" (425) čoy honk ḱe···wĺi kćiditgo·lank, weq gaẃal, mo·ńs, la·ba wewq̇alpks. (426) čoy honk Na·s ʔodi·lča, ńosdat, čoy honk Na·s ʔoygyank. (427) čoy honk ʔat gembli, do·.

(428) čoy honk pḱisa mna do· sʔabi·ya naʔas, "waq ʔans hok do·!" (429) čoy honk sʔabi·ya na·nok dwa·, waq bas gist. (430) čoy honk ʔat naʔas, "mo· na·ĺs dwa· q̇oyći gaLWanwapk. (431) q̇oyći ho·t." (432) be·ya mna nen naʔas hemkanga.

4. Section 3: The Red-Haired Woman of Sprague River
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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The beginning only, as recorded on tape.

(393) Even having refused, I will tell you this. (394) However, you put it on paper a little while ago, you did not put my myth on this [the tape-recorder], which you are having me tell on this. (395) However, I will tell you, as I remember. (396) I don't recall it all, perhaps.

(397) So once there lived a little old lady, having many children. (398) And there were perhaps five sons. (399) And one daughter, red-headed. (400) And she had long, long hair. (401) But she was evil.

(402) Now being grown-up, as I recall. (403) Now being grown-up [lit. "big"], she got married, to somebody, I don't know from where. (404) However, she didn't live at home. (405) But she kept returning [to her parents' home], always. (406) And she was in love with one of her younger brothers (—elder brother—I don't know). (407) But [it was] the young one, who was the youngest male. (408) And always returning to her mother, she wanted that little brother to take her home again. (409) And he didn't want to. (410) The Mother said, "He will take you home," and she didn't want [any other brother to do so]. (411) "I don't want him." (412) And they all got ready. (413) And she was not satisfied, with her elder brothers, because she wanted the little one. (Perhaps he was married? The little one, perhaps all of them, were married—I don't know. And I almost told it thus awhile back, I don't recall this well.)

(414) Then the little one took her home. (415) And it got dark on them, somewhere or other. (416) There they made camp. (417) And that girl being very passionate [?, lit. "strong"]. (418) There they laid down their beds. (419) And they lay down one on each side of the fire. (420) And her brother wanted to go to sleep. (421) And [when he was] asleep, she crawled in [with him]. (422) And she pillowed [his head on her] arm. (423) Then early in the morning he awoke, at dawn, that man. (424) And he said, "What a fool she is!" (425) And he very slowly crawled out and found a [tree] limb, a big one, having two little limbs. (426) And one he just put under her head, and one over her. (427) Then he went home, there.

(428) And to his mother he told it there thus, "How she [did] to me!" (429) And he told her everything, how she did to him. (430) And [the mother] said, "Something very bad will come upon us. (431) She is evil." (432) She spoke thus [about] her daughter.

#539 (433) čoy honk ʔat ʔa·di· dini·gistga ʔat hok sńewe·ts sgiso·la, hok taktak ńos gitk. (434) čoy honk ʔat gembli, mo··· s?awi·gank. (435) čoy honk hok wele·qs mo··· sińamsta. (čoy honk waq bas sa gyank—waq bas sa gi? q̓ay ni s?aywakta waq honk hibaswaqsas, na·nok da·ts honk sas, gist. q̓ay geqanča. q̓ay ni s?aywakta.) (436) čoy honk ʔat sas snosnatĺa, hok sńewe·ts, taktaklantga ẏa laqgatga so·ča.

(437) čoy honk q̓ay dak pĺisa mna snotĺa. (438) čoy honk ʔat nonde·ai—nonde·ye·kst ʔakẏa—sqoĺe hon yeba, mo· kosalik giwk. (439) čoy honk histpančq̓a gitgo—ga·mo·ts, mo·ńs. (440) čoy honk hadakt ʔat nekĺa qe·mat. (441) čoy da·ts honk q̓ay kani s?aywakta. (442) čoy ʔat če· nońatĺo·lst—čoy ʔat če· bičgast, čoy honk galʔa·ĺa wele·qs, dam kaĺe wibakst. (443) čoy honk hadakt sdipančq̓o·la honk ga·mo·ts. (444) čoy honkt gaẃal, ptoda mna, nekĺapks qe·mat gitk, sqoĺe hok. (445) čoy honk q̓ay da·ts hok ńomĺa·k waq gi. (446) čoy honk ʔitga, la·ba, Na·s sńewe·ts, Na·s hiswaqs. (naʔas ni domna, ĺičĺa·ni. q̓ay pačit. q̓ay kani ĺcyn sʔasʔapgle·ʔa. čoy ni hońas giwk, nasqs ẏaMtgi. ʔi·, dom ʔan ẏaMtgi.)

(447) čoy honk ʔat hok taktak ńos gitk ʔambotdat mat či·ya. (q̓ay no· s?aywakta waq hadakt gews—dam honk hospalhyok hadakt gewa ʔambotdat.) (448) čoy da·ts hok wele·qs sdiẏatga sanĺakdanga (—molded those kids together with pitch—and I can't say it in Indian, so I'm saying it in English. waq bas!) (449) čoy honk ʔat la·ba ńos gitk hok. (450) čoy da·ts honk na·nok waytas honk ʔibe·ĺa, honk hiswaqs gist. (451) čoy da·ts honk čosak sdoli·. (452) čoy da·ts honk ʔat mo·ni giwk, čoy honk dalči sʔotĺi·ya, pĺe·wip mna.

(453) čoy honk ʔat hok pĺe·wip naʔas gi, "q̓a···y ʔi ḿaYas mi ale·wapk! (454) q̓ay ʔi dada· genwapk do·st mis sḿaYĺagwapk." (čoy honk hok—q̓ay sʔaywakta dwa· bas waq giwk naʔas gist.) (455) čoy honk naʔas, "q̓ay mi dalči ẏo·wallgwapk, blaydaĺ. (456) ʔaMĺa ʔams Jiji·ks galčwiwapk." (457) čoy honk naʔas, hok pĺe·wip, "čoy nas mis ni sdoli·. (458) čoy ʔins dič dommi·wapk!" (waq bas! q̓ay ni sʔaywakta.) (459) čoy da·ts mo·ni, danq̓il bas ʔiLo·ls q̓ay ni sʔaywakta.

(460) čoy honk dińa· aleʔa la·ba ńos gitk giwk. (461) čoy honk ẏo···wallga, mna dalči. (462) čoy honk dalʔa·k datglamdaĺ sas sinčaktga. (463) čoy honk Na·ẏant Na·s he·llga gidabdat, sńewe·čĺa. dam mis ʔat ĺada·di hak?

(433) Now then long after sunrise that woman awoke, that red-headed one. (434) Then she returned, being very, very angry. (435) And that old lady was very much afraid. (So how did they do—how did they do? I don't know how those men, all of them, did. They didn't just go out. I don't know.) (436) Then she burned them up, the woman, perhaps lit them with her red hair.

(437) However, she did not burn up her mother. (438) And while it was burning—perhaps before it burned—Meadowlark dug a hole, being very pregnant. (439) And she turned something over upon herself—a mortar, a big one. (440) And there her back was burned through. (441) However nobody knew it. (442) And at last when it had finished burning—and at last when it had gone out, the old lady went into the [burned-out] fire, [to see] whether anybody had escaped. (443) And she there turned over that mortar. (444) And she found her, her daughter-in-law, with a burned-through back, that Meadowlark. (445) However, nothing had happened to those babies. (446) And she took them out, two, one girl, one boy. (Thus I heard, [when I was] little. Not now. Nobody tells myths lately. And because I am that way, I forgot some. Yes, I have forgotten much.)

(447) And they say that that red-headed one lived in water. (I don't know how she went there—whether because she was put in she went there into the water.) (448) However, that old lady stuck [them] together with pitch. (—molded those kids together with pitch—and I can't say it in Indian, so I'm saying it in English. What now?) (449) Now he had two heads. (450) However, she took care of him every day, he being a man. (451) However, she always advised him. (452) However, since he was grown up, she made an arrow for [him], his grandmother.

(453) Now then the grandmother said, "Don't look at your shadow! (454) Don't you ever go where you'll make a shadow." (And so—I don't know what-all she said to him.) (455) And she said, "Don't shoot your arrow up, straight up. (456) Maybe something dangerous will come upon you." (457) And she said, that grandmother, "Thus I advise you. (458) And you listen to me well!" (What now! I don't know.) (459) However, he was big, how many years [old he was] I don't know.

(460) And once he saw that he had two heads. (461) And he shot his arrow up. (462) And straight down the middle it split them. (463) And one jumped down on one side right here, a little girl. Is that far [enough for] you?

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Introductory Note to Text 5

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This text, like Text 4 above, seems to be only a fragment of a much longer myth cycle. Gatschet's published collection[35] does not contain a story about Swa·ya, but Curtin's "Myths of the Modocs"[36] includes one myth about this character. It seems worthwhile to record Mrs. Ohles' version here in hopes that future work among the Klamaths will fill in the gaps.

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The text has been edited somewhat to delete false starts, hesitation forms, and irrelevant material. In one or two places forgotten material was added later at the time of translation.

5. The Story of Swa·ya

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) dińa· hok swa·ya?a·kĺam ṕkisap čoy ptisap datksi či·ya. (2) čoy honk kowe hadakt sas wetdatga. (3) hiswaqḱa hok hadakt dič ĵle·ḱatk, dič sle·ḱa gitk. (4) čoy honk na·nok waytas honks snempatbli, hok kowe. (5) čoy honk snaqtanća homas snempatčńank goq́a·kḱatdat.[37] (6) snempatblidamnank čoy be·n spimnibli, be·n snempatčńa. (7) čoy honk kani hak na?as, ṕkisa honk, "dam dal ?i hon homas gist we·wía?" (She said, "Do you trust her to do that?" And [his mother] said, "Yes, she's good. She'll keep my baby from crying, and she puts it to sleep that way.") (8) čoy honk ?at na·nok waytas honk ?a·di· nalk snempatčńa. (9) čoy honk be·n spimnibli. (10) čoy honk ?at ṕalla, snempatčńank honk. (11) čoy honk dola mbaíwank gena.

(12) čoy honk ?at do· gatbambli, do· hak honk či·ya—dam ýayńatdat, wage·nha ?ewsdat, wage·nha dat hak honk či·ya. (13) čoy honk s?a·Maks honk geli·danga honk, q́oyse·ẃok honk, do·st hok či·ya. (14) čoy honk

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[35] Gatschet, Albert S., op. cit. See p. 22 above.

[36] Curtin, Jeremiah, Myths of the Modocs, Boston, 1912.

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[37] Mrs. Ohles later elaborated upon the action described here. Frog takes baby Swa·ya and places him upon a leaf (or some such thing—Mrs. Ohles was not certain just what) and lets him float down the river, then pulls him back in again by a cord. This soothes Swa·ya and puts him to sleep. She gradually extends the cord until he is completely out of sight. Then she jumps in and swims off with him.

5. The Story of Swa·ya

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) Once that little Swa·ya's mother and father lived somewhere. (2) And Frog baby-sat for them there. (3) The little boy there was very pretty, looked very nice. (4) And every day she caused [the baby] to float back [on the river], that Frog. (5) And she put him to sleep that way, floating [him] in the little river. (6) Continually floating him downstream, she pulled [him] back again, then floated him again. (7) Then someone said, to his mother, "Do you let her do that?" (She said, "Do you trust her to do that?" And (his mother) said, "Yes, she's good. She'll keep my baby from crying, and she puts it to sleep that way.") (8) Then every day she floated [him] out a little farther. (9) Then she pulled [him] back again. (10) Now then she stole [him], having floated [him] out. (11) And she jumped into the water together [with him] and went.

(12) Now then she arrived there, there where she lived—whether on a mountain, perhaps on the lake, or wherever she was living. (13) And her relatives met her, being glad [to see her] there where she lived. (14) And

#539 naʔas gi. "ya···, dat dal ʔi gen?" (15) "do· ʔan—gen datksi hak."[10]

(16) čoy dwa· hak sa slandi·la. (17) dwa· hak honk haslandi·lank, mna gis sʔaba, čoy honk naʔas, "ʔa···, q́ay dak! (18) ʔat hay mis na·t spončanwapk doʔot." (19) čoy honk kokẃeʔa·k bil mbambaĺi·na, dada·t sa honk wLiča honk skodas. (20) kokẃeʔa·k bil. mna we·ẃanwi·k bil na·nok. (21) ndanni ʔakýa sa honk gego· hoḿas gist. (22) čoy sa honk naʔas, "ṕalla dak ʔi gen!" (23) ćosak gelga hoḿas.

(24) čoy honk ʔat mo·ni gi. (25) mo· glega, hiswaqs. (26) čoy honk naʔas gi. "q́ay ʔi gen dada· q́oy mi giwapk, tatbisa." (27) čoy honk naʔas, "i·, q́ay dak sas ni." (28) čoy honk ʔat kani sʔabi·ya naʔas, "ṕallasti· hay ʔi gi." (29) čoy honk swa···qča, swaqča. (30) "dwa· ʔi gen waq giwk swaqča?" (31) q́ay honk ṕan, ʔat honk swaqča, ćosak, kaĺam hak naʔas gist.

(32) čoy honk hok koẃe, dat hak honk geno·k, naʔas gi. "dič ʔi sas giwapk! (33) q́ay ʔi sʔasʔa·wapk!" (34) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·." (35) čoy honk pipi·ks sas honk sʔotĺi·ya. (36) čoy hahastamnis. (37) čoy honk sa waẃa·lwi. (38) čoy sas honk lwela, na·nok. (39) čoy ʔat goykaga, swa·ya hok ʔat. (40) honk lis mna totbaksa na·nok lwelča, čoy honk q́ṕaq́ṕla·ḱitk honk waẃa·lwi, loloqsdat.

(41) čoy honk koẃeʔaḿč gatbambli. (42) čoy honk swa···qča, swaqča. (43) "waq hay hont ʔi na·nok dwa· le·ẃa," naʔas honk ʔat. (44) q́ay honk kani yoýalga, swaqčast. (45) "ṕalla ʔi hon!"

(46) čoy honk ʔat gembli. (47) kani hak honks sʔabi·ya datdaĺ genwapgok. (48) čoy honk ḱoYas qdayyat waLga. (49) čoy honk naʔas, "dwa· lis ʔi gen, gida wa·?" (50) "waq hay swa·yas ʔan waLga." (51) "q́ay hay čik hoḿas gi. (52) gida, hak mis hesleʔi·k, waq waLaqtgi giwk swa·yas." (53) čoy honk sćiq́a!

(54) čoy honk be·n kani hak gatba. (55) čoy honk gisčq́a honks ćis. (56) čoy honk gena. (57) čoy honk bas kani hak hosdanga—gmoḱaḿč ʔakýa? (58) čoy honk naʔas gi, "do· ʔams sa ga·yḱa, mi ṕkisap čoy ptisap. (59) čoy ʔi q́ay dwa· čew sliwapk, ṕkisap mi hok giwk, ltoq́apks ʔečas gitk, Naykstant."

(60) čoy honk gena, gena. (61) čoy honk datdadwa· hak honk gayʔa·Ya, waLgok bo·s. (62) čoy honk ćosak honk siwga, kakýas hak—ḱoĺas, ḱoYas, q́iMa·č—kakni hak. domi· da·ts.

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[124] [10] Here, too, the informant explained the action in English. Frog's people do not believe that Swa·ya is her baby because he is so pretty and she so ugly. They ask her how this could be, and she explains that she gave birth to the baby on a special blanket. They prepare a blanket just as she has described, but the only babies she has are little frogs like herself. After three attempts, they declare that she is a thief.

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they said, "Ohhh, where did you [get] this?" (15) "There I [got] it—somewhere."

(16) Then they put something down for a bed. (17) Having put something down, [according to] what she said to do, they said, "Aaah, that's no good! (18) Now we will take you there." (19) And only little frogs jumped off, when they shook out the blanket. (20) Only little frogs, her little girls only. (21) Three times perhaps they tried to do it that way. (22) And they said, "You stole this [baby]!" (23) It always happened that way.

(24) Now then he grew up. (25) He became very big, a man. (26) And she said, "Don't you ever do evil to these, [your] sisters. (27) And he said, "Yes, I [will never do anything to] them." (28) And then somebody told him, "You are a stolen [child]." (29) Then he cried and cried. (30) "Why are you crying?" (31) He didn't eat, now he cried, always, [because] of what someone said.

(32) Now then that Frog, because she was going somewhere, said, "You be good to them! (33) Don't make them cry!" (34) And he said, "Yes." (35) And he made bracelets for all of them. (36) And earrings. (37) And they sat by the fire. (38) Then he killed them all. (39) Then he left, that Swa·ya now. (40) He killed his sisters and left, and they lay in the fire all curled up.

(41) And then Old Frog returned. (42) And she cried and cried. (43) "How you have played with them," she said. (44) Nobody pitied her, when she cried. (45) "You stole him!"

(46) Now then he returned. (47) Somebody or other told him where to go. (48) And Louse lay in wait for him on a rock. (49) And [Swa·ya] said, "What are you doing, staying here?" (50) "Why, I'm lying in wait for Swa·ya." (51) "Don't do it that way. (52) Here, let me show you how to lie in wait for Swa·ya." (53) Then he squashed [Louse] with his thumb.

(54) And again somebody or other came. (55) And he stepped on him also. (56) And he went on. (57) And then somebody or other met him—perhaps Gmoḱaḿč? (58) And he said, "They are looking for you there, your mother and father. (59) And do not shoot any antelope, because that is your mother, having a spotted teat, on one side."

(60) And he went on and on. (61) And many things [i.e., creatures] met him on the way, lying in wait for him. (62) And he always killed them, whoever [they were]—Flea, Louse, Ant—whoever. But [there were] many.

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(63) čoy honk q̓a··· saýa·nWa·ʔa. (64) čoy honk ʔat makiga qoqdinksamks. (65) čoy honk q̓ay sa honk we·wía qtantgi giwk. (66) q̓ay sa dommas, qoqdingok."[19] (67) hihasweqs bil ʔa sa qoqdinks gi. (68) čoy honk ʔat swa·yaʔa·k naʔas gi, "mo· ʔans ge·k sa snomčakLa!" (69) čoy honk ʔat nanqa we·ẃaṅs sʔotía, honk qoqdinks. (70) čoy honk hoṅnas gyank ʔat domi··· qoqdinks gi, we·ẃaṅs nanqa giwk.

(71) čoy honk ʔat hok qoqdinks q̓a··· papsis. (72) čoy mbo·sant honk ʔat gena. (73) čoy Na·s qoqdinks pino·čáank naʔas gi, "ʔat ʔa gew sńewe·ts hosía. (74) waq na·t giwapk?" (75) čoy honk naʔas, "mo· hak bas ýa ʔa·t nis snege·Jiga!" (76) čoy honk naʔas gi, "hoṅnas hay ʔi giwapk!" (77) čoy honk sas sʔabi·ya, dwa· hak sas sʔaẃa·Ya. (Just like you go to an Indian doctor and ask him what to do. "My wife is pregnant." And he told them what clothes to get, or moss, or whatever they used at that time—rabbitskins or something.) (78) sʔaẃa·Ya dwa· hak sas sńoqtgi giwk.

(79) čoy honk ʔat gena. (80) čoy honk ʔat sleʔa, čewas. (81) čoy honk ʔat ýaMtgi. (82) hok qoqdinks q̓a hak honks hesbamtgidamna. (83) čoy honk ʔat slin, honk čew. (84) čoy honk ṕkisa mna siwga. (85) čoy honk ʔat hoṅnas giwk q̓oye·ẃa. (86) "he· ni gew ṕkisa siwgat, čoy ni kańs gin siwgat!" naʔas honk ʔat.

(87) čoy da·ts honk ʔat komlʔamks gatba. (88) ýaMtgi ni kaĺamksi lobi· gatba. (89) čoy da·ts ʔat komlʔamks gatba, tońipńi hok, setge·wńaltk, tońipńi. (90) čoy sa honk ṕaṕa·čatk, na·nok ṕaṕa·čatk. (91) čoy sa honk ʔat no·qía mna·ĺam kyem. (92) čoy sas honk ʔat gmayo·k, na·nok honk ksoksasga. (93) tońip sa honk kyem no·qíank ṕan, hok komal. (94) čoy honk na·nok ksoksasga hadakt. (95) čoy honk ʔat hok komal wo·nip hak ṕan. (96) čoy sa honk gesga sle·s, čoy da·ts sas honk gayahʔa. (97) čoy honk čakčo·yank na·nok sas ṕan, honk. (One from each of them.) (98) čoy honk ʔat Na·s—tge·w ʔakýa, wage·nha tabi·ni—naʔas, "wo·ni·p hak ʔan sgosgatga." (99) čoy honk naʔas, "no· hayč woni·p hak!" (100) be·n Na·s, "no· hayč woni·p hak! (101) waq totńip hayč na·t gida no·qía! (102) čoy síewi·salwapk hay na·t!" (103) čoy sa honk ʔat wqapq̓a mna·ĺam Las. (104) čoy honk ʔat q̓a··· kililko·tank síewi· hadakt. (105) čoy honk naʔas gi, "no··· ʔa ma···ís

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[19] The word /qoqdinks/ has the basic meaning "dragonfly," but it is commonly used as an expression for "batchelor." Since the batchelors talk all night and do not let him sleep, Swa·ya turns some into women and thus settles them down. This myth incident seems to reflect in story form the linguistic phenomenon of double meaning—or could the double meaning of /qoqdinks/ be derived from the myth?

(63) And he was very, very gloomy. (64) And he camped at the Dragonflies' place. (65) And they did not let him go to sleep. (66) They made so much noise, because they were batchelors. (67) Those Dragonflies were [composed of] only men. (68) Then little Swa·ya said, "These [people] are disturbing me very much!" (69) Then he made some of them [into] women, those Dragonflies. (70) And having done that thus, there have come to be many, many dragonflies, because some became women.

(71) Now then those Dragonflies were very, very stupid. (72) And he left the next morning. (73) And one of the Dragonflies caught up with him and said, "Now my wife is pregnant. (74) How should we do?" (75) And he said, "You certainly make me tired!" (76) And he said, "You will do thus!" (77) And he told them, he prescribed something or other [for] them. (Just like you go to an Indian doctor and ask him what to do. "My wife's pregnant." And he told them what clothes to get, or moss, or whatever they used at that time—rabbitskins or something.) (78) He advised them whatever to get.

(79) Now then he went on. (80) Then he saw, an antelope. (81) And then he forgot. (82) Those Dragonflies had quite confused him. (83) Then he shot, that antelope. (84) And he killed his own mother. (85) Then because of that he was sad. (86) "If I could kill my mother, then I could kill anybody at all!" he said.

(87) However, he came then to the Pelicans' place. (88) I forget whose place he came to first. (89) But he came to the Pelicans' place, they [being] five, brothers, five. (90) And they were blind, all blind. (91) And then they were roasting their fish. (92) Then in order to tease them, he took [one fish] from each one. (93) They were roasting five fish [each], those Pelicans. (94) And he took one away from each there. (95) And those Pelicans ate only four each. (96) And [since] they could not see, he hid from them. (97) And sitting in a corner, he ate them all. (One from each of them.) (98) And then one—perhaps the eldest, or perhaps the youngest—said, "I have swallowed only four!" (99) And [another] said, "I also [had] only four!" (100) Again one [said], "I also [had] only four! (101) Why, we roasted five apiece here! (102) Let us make wind!" (103) Then they flapped their wings. (104) Then a very dusty wind blew there. (105) Then [Swa·ya]

*539 nen gi! (106) no··· ʔa ma···ĺs woĺalla! (107) no··· ʔa ma···ĺs kaoksaagalla!"[a] (108) čoy honk naʔas gi, "hak ʔa! kani nen?" (109) "no··· ʔa nen! swa·yaʔa·k!" (110) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, kokoy! (kokoy, blogo·ćip—I don't know which.) (111) hokt ʔa na·ĺs nen." (112) "be·n dak ma·ĺs ni ʔikči·wapk." (113) čoy sa honk ʔat q̓oyse·w̓a. (114) čoy sas ʔat honk sẃewči·ya. (And everything was all right. ʔat ni ḱada·di hak sʔaywakta nent ćis.)

6. Gmoḱamč and Little Bullhead

(Mr. Grover Pompey)

(1) ʔi·, gmoḱamč. (2) hok gelwipga ḱočća ʔa·ks. (3) čoy aleʔa ḱočćalam honkt ła·y̓as, lowi·pgapks, doma·. (4) čoy honk ʔat aleʔank naʔas, "ʔat hay no· gena." (5) čoy honk genank ge·t wiḱa·, čoy honk na·nok gegatdi·la mna—čoy honk na·nok sisʔaagank gegatdi·la mna, maqlaqs sʔotła. (6) čoy honk ʔat gembli. (7) lobi· ho·ččńa, ḱočćaʔa·ḱlamksi. (8) čoy honk ʔat nqe···nčńa, "maqla···qs ʔa gepga! ho·wwi, ho·wwi!" (9) ʔona· gent giwla, ho·wwo·la, ʔat nidwallok honk, ḱočćaʔa·k. (10) naʔas gi, "dwa· hak ʔa nen ge· ʔiye·gwapk!" (11) čoy honk mna ła·y̓as ʔi·ye·gank, ʔidi·la, whila·ʔat ʔiWdi·la, na·nok ʔidi·la. (12) čoy boḿas gyank q̓e·gi, ʔat hok q̓e·gi.

(13) čoy hok ho·ččipga, "he····! maqlaqs ʔa gepga! ho·wwi, ho·wwi! (14) ła·y̓as hon ʔilqčńank, ho·wwi!" (15) ho·ččipga, ho·ččipga, nqenčipga naʔas. (16) čoy čik honk naʔas—ʔat honk či·sge·ni gatba hadakt, či·skaaksi—"waq dal?" (17) ʔat honk gatba či·skaaksi, q̓e·gi hok ḱočćaʔa·k, q̓e·gi. (18) "waq dal gi? (19) nidwalla ča nis! (20) nidwalla ča nis! (21) waq bas ni giwapk? (22) dam bas gida gi?"

(23) čoy honk ʔat bano·ye·ga, ʔat yawskanga. (24) "ʔaMḱa hok gida, ʔambotdat." (25) ʔambotdat hok yawskanga. (26) "ge· ʔa nen gi, gida giwk sitk. (27) gida ʔa nen giwk sitk. (28) nen lis gida lʔe·ḱlʔeḱa. (29) nen ʔa lʔe·ḱlʔeḱa giwk sitk!"

[196]

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[a] The quoted material in utterances 105, 106, and 107 is given in a high, faint, faraway voice, since Swe·ya wished to fool the blind Pelicans as to his location.

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said, "I did that to you-u-u! (106) I ate your fish! (107) I took one away from each of you-u-u!" (108) Then they said, "Listen! Who's that?" (109) "I am the one! Little Swa·ya!" (110) Then they said, "Oh, Grandfather's Brother! (Grandfather's Brother, Mother's Brother—I don't know which.) (111) He did that to us." (112) "I'll go and get some more for you." (113) Then they were happy. (114) And he went and fished for them. (And everything was all right. Now that's as far as I know this one too.)

8. Gmoḱaḿč and Little Bullhead

(Mr. Grover Pompey)

(1) Yes, Gmoḱaḿč. (2) He visited Little Bullhead. (3) And he saw those sacks [of wokas] of Bullhead, lying in a row, many. (4) And having seen them, he said, "Now I am going." (5) Then having gone a little way there, then all his armpit hair—then having pulled out all his armpit hair, he made people [out of it]. (6) Then he returned. (7) He ran in front, to Bullhead's place. (8) Then he called, "Pe-e-e-ople are coming! Jump in the water, jump in the water!" (9) But long before, she had jumped in the water, having guessed him, Little Bullhead. (10) She said, "Whatever would this [fellow] pick up?" (11) And having picked up her sacks, she put them under, underneath the shelving bottom [of the river], she put them all under. (12) Then having done thus they were gone, now they were gone.

(13) Then he came running, "He···! People are coming! Jump in the water! Jump in the water! (14) Having left those sacks, jump in the water!" (15) He came running, came running, crying thus. (16) Then he said—now he arrived there at that dwelling, at that house—"What's the matter?" (17) Now he arrived at that dwelling, [and] the Little Bullhead was gone, gone. (18) "What's the matter? (19) She must have guessed me! (20) She must have guessed me! (21) What can I do? (22) Can she still be here?"

(23) Now then he began to wade [in the river], now feeling around with his feet. (24) "Perhaps she is here, in the water." (25) He waded around in the water. (26) "This is her, just as if she is here. (27) Just as if she is here. (28) Something feels sharp here. (29) It feels just like something

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#539 (30) hok ĺočća·ʔa·k honk ʔat mbosaks mna wa·ʕitga lača·ŷa, na·nok honk ćo·ks. (31) na·nok honk lača·ŷa ćo·ks. (32) "ʔat ʔa q̓e·gi be·n. (33) ʔo·č gint."

(34) ʔat honk bamba·tambli, yawskangatk, ʔat honk hokt lʔe·ĺiʔeks bil honk ʔat gitgo gaŵal. (35) čoy ʔat goyki·nabli. (36) čoy honk ʔat sleʔa, "ya···, waq dal nis? (37) gen ʔans gaśs lača·yipga, ćo·ks, peč!" (38) ʔat honk gena. (39) čoy honk ʔat ma·ns gitk ĺočća·ʔa·k gotq̓akbli, gotq̓akbli ʔambotdat. (40) čoy honk ʔat whila·ʔat ʔiditgo·labli mna ĺa·ŷas. (41) čoy honk ʔilqbli mna ĺa·ŷas či·sdat. (42) "waq ʔans newĺaqtanWi·wapk?" (43) hassswa·kŷa bida·k hemkanga, "ʔans newĺaqWi·ya." (44) čoy honk ne· ĺada·di hak.

7. Old Mink and Nighthawk

(Mr. Grover Pompey)[41]

(1) čečte·sis dola ćasga·yas ʔa gatba ćasgi·psamksi. (2) ćasgi·ps naʔas gi, "hoksakdanqńa ʔa na·t wawća·k na·ĺam." (3) čečte·sis naʔas, "q̓ay ho·t gew waća·k. (4) q̓ay hoksakdangwapk ʔa na·t." (5) čečte·sis naʔas gi, "ho·t dak tapŷap gew."

(6) be·n naʔas ćasgi·ps, "q̓ay, ho·t dići· sisc·gis sitk sle·s. (7) hoksakdanqńa ʔa na·t honkŷes!" (8) čečte·sis naʔas gi, "ʔi·." (9) ćasgi·ps naʔas gi, "ʔi lobi· gi. suksuksuksuksuk, gapga gwaća·sis!"[42] (10) hok sedalo·ga ćasga·yas.[43] (11) ćasga·y honk ʔat ʔi·me ʔalamna qe·matdat. (12) ćasga·y honk ʔat siwga, ʔi·metga.

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[126] [124] [41] This text was not taken on tape, but only by dictation. Mr. Pompey stated that this incident was but a small part of a longer myth cycle, though he could not recall more than fragments of the rest of it. Cf. Mr. David's text in which Q̓alo·qa·qaqs appears (Text 17).

[196] [42] The sequence /suksuksuksuksuk/ is almost voiceless, and the syllables are uttered at a rapid rate of speed. This and whistling were said to be the commonest methods of calling a dog in ancient days.

[231] [193] [196] [43] The use of (se) "reflexive-reciprocal action" (3pv) is not clear here. |sedelwga| means "attack each other" or "attack oneself," but the utterance contains an "accusative" /ćasga·yas/. Utterances in which (se) has reciprocal meaning invariably have all parties to the action as subjects.

sharp here!" (30) That Little Bullhead was cutting at him with her flint knife, all over his legs. (31) She cut up all his legs. (32) "Now it's gone again. (33) That's all."

(34) Now he waded back out, having felt around, he had only found sharp-feeling things. (35) Now he came back out. (36) Now then he saw, "Ya···, what's happened to me? (37) This one has slashed me thus, on the legs, feet!" (38) Then he went off. (39) Then after a long while Little Bullhead came back up, came back up out of the water. (40) So then from under the shelving bottom she took her sacks back out. (41) Then she put her sacks back down in the house. (42) "How he would almost have tricked me?" (43) She was talking to herself, "He almost tricked me." (44) And that's as far as that [goes].

7. Old Mink and Nighthawk

(Mr. Grover Pompey)

(1) Old Mink came with Weasel to Nighthawk's place. (2) Nighthawk said, "Let's make our dogs fight!" (3) Old Mink said, "He is not my dog. (4) We will not make [them] fight." (5) Old Mink said, "Rather he is my little brother."

(6) Again Nighthawk said, "No, he looks like a good fighter. (7) Let's make them fight!" (8) Old Mink said, "Yes." (9) Nighthawk said, "You first. Suksuksuksuksuk, Ǫapga gwaća·sis!" (10) He attacked Weasel. (11) Weasel put his walking stick behind his back. (12) Weasel killed him then, with the walking stick.

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*539 (13) "ča ˀičgas, q̓aWĺi sislakLas!"[44] (14) čoy siwga honks č́asga·y. (15) "ča ˀičgas, kuskuskuskuskus, ˀičgas, čak loĺatq̓aka!"[45] (16) delo·ga č́asga·yas. (17) ˀat siso·ga. (18) be·n honkt siwga, č́asga·y. (19) naˀas gi, "hõ·⋯, mo· bas q̓oy gi."[46] (20) kuskus, ˀičgas, mbastga nqewYapks!" (21) be·n hokt delo·ga č́asga·yas. (22) siso·ga. (23) be·n honkt gist, č́asga·y hončgas siwga. (24) "ča ˀičgas, galo· qa·qeqs!" (25) ˀat honktčgas siwga. (26) ˀat sa sedalo·ga, honktčgas siwga č́asga·y. (27) č́asgi·pe naˀas gi, "ča! hak na·tčgas!" (28) naˀas, "hihastqatč́wapk na·t!" (29) čečte·sis naˀas, "č́a·nis ˀan hoḿas gis." (30) "q̓ay, no· ˀams lobi· hoḿas giwapk." (31) čoy honk ˀat čečte·sis hihastqatč́wapk sa. (32) naˀas, "waq hay sa honk hoḿas?" (33) "waq hay geḿas lis"—gaˀas lis honk sommat—gaˀas sommat soĺĺaqkis mna heelˀa, dwaniga histqatč́wapk. (34) ˀat sa histqatč́a. (35) čečte·sis sdaLa·sga honkĺam č́asgi·peam som, sdaLa·sgnank siwga.

8. Hehǰi·ḱa

(Mr. Grover Pompey)

(1) či·ya toṅipṅi lo·s. (2) čoy honk naˀas hok—lo·s ˀona·k hončṅa čoy hemčṅa naˀas, "loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni p̓ača, loha·nk, loha·nk!"[47] (2) hončṅank, čoy ˀat hok gatba—hontba, hehǰi·ḱalamksi. (3) hehǰi·ḱa čawaltk mna wqepĺaqsdat, hottgič́apga honk lo·sas, nqenčipgo·ta, "hehǰi·, hehǰi·, hehǰi·!"[48]

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[196] [44] /q̓aWĺi sislakLas/ was said to mean "Brown spots over the eyes." ‖reseˀlʸikLa‖ : /sislakLas/ "distributive round objects on top of, reflexive" bears out the translation, but the usual word for "brown" is /kaWkaWĺi/ ({kaW}). The form /q̓aWĺi/, otherwise unknown, could perhaps be set up as an allomorph of {kaW} 73v "to be brown."

[194] [45] /kuskuskuskuskus/ is nearly voiceless. Cf. Note 42. There is no apparent reason for the metathesis of /k/ and /s/.

[192] [194] [46] /hõ·⋯/ is an exclamation of disappointment. The vowel is nasalized, and the tone drops from /3/ to /2/ or a little lower.

[194] [47] The segment /loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni p̓ača·, loha·nk, loha·nk/ is spoken in a measured, heavily stressed tone and in a rather high, faint voice. This applies to further reoccurrences of this myth speech in utterances 18, 33, 52, 53, 75, and 76 of this myth.

[196] [194] [48] /hehǰi·, hehǰi·, hehǰi·!/ is the myth-speech of Hehǰi·ḱa. No further meaning for the segment /hehǰi·/ could be found. It is uttered here in a high-pitched voice with a strong pitch drop on the final /i·/.

(13) "Now you next, q̓aWl̓i sislakLas!" (14) And Weasel killed him. (15) "You next, kuskuskuskuskus, you next, čak loĺatq̓aks!" (16) He attacked Weasel. (17) Now they fought. (18) Again Weasel slew him. (19) [Nighthawk] said, "hō···, it is very bad indeed. (20) kuskus, you next, mbastga nqewYapks!" (21) Again he [too] attacked Weasel. (22) They fought. (23) Doing thus, Weasel killed him next. (24) "You next, Q̧alo·qa·qaqs!" (25) Now he killed him too. (26) Now they attacked each other, [and] Weasel killed him next. (27) Nighthawk said, "So! Now let us!" (28) He said [to Old Mink], "We will elbow-fight!" (29) Old Mink said, "I don't know how to do that." (30) "No, I will do like that to you first." (31) Now then Old Mink [and Nighthawk] will elbow-fight. (32) [Old Mink] said, "How do they do that way?" (33) "Why now, just this way"—this way in his mouth—he showed [him] his elbow this way in the mouth, with which they will elbow-fight. (34) Now they elbow-fought. (35) Old Mink ripped open his, Nighthawk's mouth, [and] having ripped it open killed [him].

8. Hehǰi·ḱa

(Mr. Grover Pompey)

(1) There were five geese. (2) And that goose [the eldest brother] flew off one morning early, saying thus, "loha·nk, loha·nk, I'm going to eat goda·-weed, loha·nk, loha·nk!" (2) Flying, he arrived—landed, at Hehǰi·ḱa's place. (3) Hehǰi·ḱa [who had been] seated on top of his house, came running down to that goose, crying, "Hehǰi·, hehǰi·, hehǰi·!"

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*539 (4) čoy naʔas gi, "dwa· lis ne·pga? (5) waq ho·t giwk nońatĺa goni·—he· delča! (6) he· delča!" (7) čoy honk lo·s delčńa. (8) čoy honk ndoga, mna ńos honk ndogank siwga. (9) čoy hoḿas gyank, hok hehji·ḱa ksembli, mna wqepĺaqsdaĺ. (10) čoy honk woĺo·Libli, mna wqepĺaqs. (11) čoy honk ṕe·wip naʔas, "ʔe···, siwktga dal ʔi Na·s?"[49] (12) čoy honk ʔat ṕe·wip na·nok honk poLq́ank čoy honk no·qĺa. (13) čoy sa honk ṕan. (14) ṕank sibač, čoy ʔe·ẃa. (15) čoy honk hoḿas gyank ʔat sa loĺallga.

(16) čoy be·n mbo·sant, čawal hehji·ḱa, mnadant wqepĺaqsdat. (17) čoy lo·s Na·s be·n hontgalča, do·kni·. (18) hokčgas naʔas, hemčipga, "loha·nk, goda· ni ṕača, loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni ṕača!" (19) čoy honk ʔat hokčgas ʔat hontba—sgolam mat gitk či·sdat—hehji·ḱalamksi. (20) hehji·ḱa be·n ho·qq́ya. čoy honkčgas wola, naʔas, "dwa· lis ne·pga goni·? (21) he· do· ne· gidaĺ—he· delča!" (22) čoy honk lo·s delčńa. (23) čoy honkčgas ndoga, ńos. (24) siwga. (25) čoy ksembli, wqepĺaqsdaĺ mna. (26) čoy do· honk woĺo·Li ṕe·wa mna poLq́atgi giwk. (27) čoy honk honkt poLq́ank, ʔat no·qĺank, čoy sa ṕan. (28) ṕawlank ʔat be·n loĺallga.

(29) ʔona· be·n batgal. (30) hehji·ḱa. (31) čawal hatkak loltm̓alʔaqsdat mna—wqepĺaqsdat mna."[50] (32) čoy honk lo·s be·n hokčgas hontgalčapga, do·kni·. (33) čoy naʔas hok hemčipga, "loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni ṕača, loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni gin ṕača!"

(34) čoy honk hontba—dat—hehji·ḱalamksi. (35) hehji·ḱa ho·wwalo·lča be·n hak. (36) do· ʔa ho·qq́ya. (37) čoy naʔas gi, "waq lis ʔi? (38) dwa· ne·pga goni· nen? (39) dwa· ho·t ne·pga?" (40) "dat hay?" (41) "ho·t lis goni·—ne·—nońatĺa—dwa· ho·t waq giwk nońatĺa? (42) he· delča!" (43) čoy hok lo·s delčńa. (44) čoy honktčgas be·n ndoga, ńos, siwga. (45) siwgank ksembli doʔotdaĺ, wqepĺaqsdaĺ mna, woĺo·Li. (46) "ye···, Na·s dal ʔi be·n siwga?" naʔas mna ṕe·wip. (47) čoy sa honk ṕan, ʔat no·qĺank dič. (48) mo· ʔe·ẃa. (49) čoy ʔat be·n hak hon sponne·kdat honk.

(50) ʔona· be·n hak, čawal, hehji·ḱa. (51) čoy Na·s hok be·n ʔat lo·s hontgalčapga, ʔona·. (52) čoy hoḿas hak hemčipga naʔas, "loha·nk, loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni ṕača. (53) loha·nk, goda· ni ṕača."

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[196] [49] The Grandmother's exclamation, here /ʔe···/ and elsewhere /ye···/ (utterances 46, 66, and 96), is uttered in a high, quavering tone that varies considerably in pitch.

[124] [192] [50] Mr. Pompey here became confused momentarily between the Klamath summer house (/wqepĺaqs/) and the winter house (/loltm̓alʔaqs/). He had previously stated that Hehji·ḱa lived in a /wqepĺaqs/ at the time of the story.

(4) And he said, "What is happening? (5) Why is that burning over there—just look! (6) Just look!" (7) So that goose looked. (8) Then he hit him [with a round object], hit him on the head and killed him. (9) And having done thus, that Hehǰi·ḱa carried him back, to his house. (10) And he threw him inside, his house. (11) Then his Grandmother said, "ʔe···, have you been killing one?" (12) Now then Grandmother having plucked it all, roasted it. (13) And they ate. (14) Having eaten enough, they got full. (15) And having done thus, they now lay down.

(16) Then again the next morning, Hehǰi·ḱa was sitting, on his house. (17) And another goose again flew off, from over there. (18) He too was saying, "loha·nk, I'm going to eat goda·-weed, loha·nk, loha·nk, I'm going to eat goda·-weed!" (19) Now then he too landed—at whose house—at Hehǰi·ḱa's place. (20) Hehǰi·ḱa again ran into the way, and asked him next, thus, "What is happening over there? (21) Just over there this way—just look!" (22) And that goose looked. (23) And he hit him too, on the head. (24) Killed [him]. (25) And he took him back, to his house. (26) And there he threw him inside for his Grandmother to pluck. (27) And having plucked him, and now having roasted [him], they ate. (28) Having eaten, they now lay down again.

(29) Again he got up early. (30) Hehǰi·ḱa. (31) He sat in the same place on top of his house—of his summer house. (32) And again the next goose came flying, from there. (33) And he was saying thus, "loha·nk, loha·nk, goda·-weed I'm going to eat, loha·nk, loha·nk, I'm going to eat goda·-weed!"

(34) Now he landed—someplace—at Hehǰi·ḱa's place. (35) Hehǰi·ḱa ran off again. (36) He ran there in the way. (37) And he said, "How are you? (38) What is happening over there? (39) What is that happening?" (40) "Where?" (41) That over there—there—burning—what is that burning for? (42) Just look!" (43) So the goose looked. (44) And he struck him too, [on] the head, killed him. (45) Having killed him, he carried him back toward there, towards his house, threw him inside. (46) "ye···, have you killed another one?" said his Grandmother. (47) Then they ate, now having roasted him well. (48) They got very full. (49) And now it was again another night. (?)

(50) Again very early, was sitting on top, Hehǰi·ḱa. (51) And another goose flew off, early. (52) And in the same way he came saying, "Loha·nk, loha·nk, loha·nk, I'm going to eat goda·-weed. (53) Loha·nk, I'm going to

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(54) čoy honiba, hehji·šalamks. (55) hehji·ša be·n ho·wwale·lča, mna wqepĺaqs. (56) do· ho·qdya. (57) wola, "dwa· ho·t waqt giwk, nońatía? (58) dwa· lis ne·pga?" (59) "dat hay?" (60) "goni· delča! (61) ho···, hak—goni· delča!" (62) čoy hok delčáa. (63) čoy ʔat be·n honktčgas ndoga, ńos, siwga. (64) siwgank čoy do· be·n, wqepĺaqedaĺ mna čoy woĺo·Li. (65) čoy honk ṕle·wip honkĺam naʔas, "ye···, siwga dal be·n Na·s?" (66) "ʔi·. ʔi·." (67) čoy honktčgas diš pol·qank, čoy ʔat no·qĺank, sa honk ʔat ṕan. (68) diš ʔa ʔe·ta. (69) čoy sa be·n—homas gyank spome·ga, čoy mbo·sant be·n, čawal.

(70) be·n hok lo·s honigalča. (71) ʔat hok Na·čyak lo·s či·ya. (72) čoy hok naʔas, "waq dal? waq dal giwk—ne·k sa q̓ay galbambli. (73) genwapk ni gin." (74) čoy ʔat hok honigalča. (75) čoy hončipga naʔas giwta, "loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni ṕača. (76) loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni ṕača."

(77) čoy ʔat honiba; hehji·šalamks. (78) čoy be·n hak ho·ligičapga hehji·ša. (79) ho·qdya. (80) čoy wola·, "dwa· lis ne·pga goni· nen?" (81) čoy hok lo·s naʔas, "dat hay?" (82) "waq goni· nońatía—he· delča! (83) ho·t dwa· ʔat waq giwk nońatía?" (84) "waq hay? (85) gen ʔan do·daĺ delčampga." (86) "q̓ay. goni· hay delča!" (87) "q̓ay ʔan dwa· sleʔa. (88) q̓ay ʔa dwa· goni· nońatía, q̓ay ni dwa· sleʔa." (89) čoy lolbaltk biblantant ńos hok lo·s. (90) čoy honk wola· hehji·šaʔas, "dwa· lis ʔi gen soldi·latk? (91) ge· dal hon homas gi!" (92) čoy honk lotgank, hehji·sas. (93) čoy honk homas hak ndoga ńos, ndogank siwga. (94) čoy ʔat siwgo·lank če· kaena, mna wqepĺaqedaĺ, hehji·sas. (95) čoy ʔat honk woĺo·Li dwantdat, wqepĺaqedat. (96) čoy honk ṕle·wip naʔas, "ye···, be·n hak dal ʔi Na·s—" (97) šada·di hak ne· gi, sleʔo·k honk ʔat. (98) čoy ʔat honk swaqča. (99) čoy homas gipks, ho·t lo·s honkantga hak ndoga, hehji·sam ndokatga. (100) čoy siwga honkt. (101) čoy homas gyank, ʔat siwgo·lank, honk ʔat snelga hon, na·nok hehji·sam či·s. (102) ʔat šada·di hak.

eat goda·-weed." (54) And he flew down, at Hehǰi·k̓a's place. (55) Hehǰi·k̓a again ran off, to his house. (56) He ran there in the way. (57) He asked, "Why is that burning? (58) What's happening?" (59) "Where?" (60) "Look over there! (61) Ho···—just—look over there!" (62) And he looked. (63) Then again he struck him too, [on] the head, [and] killed [him]. (64) Having killed him, then there again [he took him] to his house and threw him inside. (65) And his Grandmother said, "Ye···, have you killed one again?" (66) "Yes. Yes." (67) Then having plucked him too, then having roasted him, now they ate. (68) They became very [lit. "good"] full. (69) Then they again—having done thus it got dark, and again the next morning he sat on top [of his house].

(70) Again the goose flew off. (71) Now only one goose remained. (72) And he said, "What's the matter? Why—have they not returned. (73) I'll just go." (74) Now then he flew off. (75) And he came saying thus, "Loha·nk, loha·nk, I'm going to eat goda·-weed. (76) Loha·nk, loha·nk, I'm going to eat goda·-weed."

(77) Then he landed, at Hehǰi·k̓a's place. (78) And Hehǰi·k̓a came running down off again. (79) He ran in the way. (80) And he asked, "What is happening over there?" (81) And the goose said, "Where?" (82) "How it is burning over there—just look! (83) Why is it burning?" (84) "How? (85) I am looking that way." (86) "No. Look over that way!" (87) "I don't see anything. (88) Nothing is burning there, I don't see anything." (89) And that goose had eyes on both sides of his head. (90) And he asked Hehǰi·k̓a, "What is that [round object] underneath [your armpit]? (91) This one must be the one who did thus [to my brothers]!" (92) And having taken it away from him, from Hehǰi·k̓a. (93) Then in the same way he hit him on the head, and having hit him, killed him. (94) Then after having killed him, he took him to his house, Hehǰi·k̓a. (95) Now then he threw him inside something, inside the house. (96) And Grandmother said, "ye···, again have you another—" (97) She said that much, because now she saw [who it was]. (98) Now she wept. (99) And while she was doing thus, that goose hit her with that same thing, with Hehǰi·k̓a's weapon. (100) And he killed her. (101) Then having done that, now having killed her, then he burned it down, all of Hehǰi·k̓a's house. (102) And that's as far [as it goes].

9. Skunk and His Sister-in-Law

(Mr. Robert David)

*539 (1) sʔabwapk ʔan—wiƙa·ńs gin hemkanks, kant ni sʔaywakta. (2) ga·ʔa·k ʔans—ma·ms ni q̇ay q̇s sʔaywaks. (3) čoy da·ts ni nent domns, kant nis gogmčatk sʔabi·ya. (4) ga·ʔa·k. (5) sʔasʔapgle·ʔs ss. (6) čoy nis sa sʔabi·ya. ča·siss ni nen sʔabwapgok, kat ho·t ya·mat do·ksɬant goni·ksɬant goge mo·ńs či·ya. (7) čoy do·s nen basdin paɬit naʔas ʔelga kalambya riba.[31] (8) hadakt hok do·ksɬant či·ya, ča·sis. (9) gaƙwapk do· sle·čok mna tapýa. (10) tapýap honkɬam či·ya do·ksɬant. (11) čoy bi gina· či·ya, ʔiWWasga gina·ksɬa, honk mo·ńs goge gina·ksɬa. (12) čoy honk naʔas, sńewe·ts mna sʔabi·ya naʔas, "sponƙo·wapk ʔina. (13) sle·čas saña·Wawli. (14) q̇ay ni ma·ns sleʔs gew honk tapýa," naʔas honk, ča·sis hokt gi. (15) "ʔi·," či čik honk. (16) ʔat honk sponƙwa. (17) spončńank gogetdat hi·t, sponƙo·ča wončJatga, wonč hadakt, naʔas honk sʔaba, wončJatga. (18) sgaƙwa ss honk ʔat do· spončńa. (19) čoy honk gena ʔat. (20) goWaskča honk do· ge·lantga.

(21) čoy hont honk diče·ẃa gaʔas honk sepe·wčok. (22) pe·wča honk qe·mat ŋna, na·nok hadakt lgelgaWapga honks, balbalʔi. (23) čoy honk dič ʔat so·Jo·qča, gida čis, kat ho·t lgeygi gidaɬ balbalʔi.[32] (24) honkt honk saña·Wawli dič sle·s gis. (25) dič honk so·Jo·qčńank gena. čoy honk naʔas ʔat, "gen ni geńs ƙleča, gen ni geńs ƙleča!"[33] (26) ss honkɬam hemkanks dada·t hok gena, Na·čyak ča·sis. (27) "gen ni geńs ƙleča, gen ni geńs ƙleča!" naʔas honk. (28) hont honk diče·ẃa ʔat ḿaYas mna sle·bapgok, dada·t honk gena, qbel honk woɬo·kankčńo·ta mna. (29) honkt honk diče·ẃa ʔat.

(30) čoy honk do·· ʔat gatbnank sleʔs doma··· čik hok maqlaqs hadakt či·ya. (31) čoy honk naʔas gi, "dat dal hok gew tapýap či·ya?" (32) čoy ss ʔala·Ys naʔas, "hi·t hok goni· či·ya." (33) čoy sas naʔas gi, "ʔi·, ma·ns ʔat non q̇ay sleʔo·k, gen ni gaƙo·čapga hon mo·ńs goge," naʔas honk sʔaba. (34) "ʔi·," či čik honk gi. (35) čoy honk či·ya ʔat

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[194] [31] The allophonic pattern of /kalambya riba/ "Columbia River" is entirely Klamath, except for the anomalous /r/.

[124] [196] [32] Mr. David gestured to his head and back to indicate Skunk's stripe, the area referred to by /gida/ "here" and /gidaɬ/ "toward here."

[194] [192] [33] /gen ni geńs ƙleča/ "This is the way I hop along" is the myth speech tag-line for Skunk in this myth. It is pitched slightly higher and is rhythmically stressed. Mr. David himself points out the difference between such "myth speech" and ordinary discourse in Sentences 42 and 43 of this myth.

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8. Skunk and His Sister-in-Law

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) I will tell—just a short narration, which I know. (2) Long ago to me—even though I don't know much. (3) However, I heard this, which the old people told me. (4) Long ago. (5) They told the myth. (6) And they told me [about] Skunk [of whom] I will tell, who lived to the north across a great river over there. (7) And the white people now call it there "the Columbia River." (8) There he lived across there, Skunk. (9) He would cross there to see his little brother. (10) His little brother lived across there. (11) And he himself lived on this side, far off on this side, on this side of that great river. (12) And he said, to his wife he said thus, "Take me across. (13) I want to go and see [my little brother]. (14) I have not seen my little brother for a long time," said that Skunk. (15) "Yes," she said. (16) Now she took him across. (17) Having taken him to the river there, she took him across in a canoe, a canoe there, as they said, with a canoe. (18) They rowed across [and] now she took him there. (19) Then he went off. (20) He just went off on foot.

(21) Now he liked to bathe himself this way. (22) He went to bathe his back, all where it is striped on top of him, white. (23) And he washed himself very well, here too, where it is striped over [his head] here white. (24) He wanted it to look very nice. (25) Having washed himself well, he went along. And he said now, "This is the way I hop along, this is the way I hop along! " (26) That was his saying when he went along, Skunk all by himself. (27) "This is the way I hop along, this is the way I hop along! " he said. (28) He liked to look at his shadow, when he went, waving his tail around. (29) Now he was pleased with it.

(30) Now he arrived far, far over there and saw very many people living there. (31) And he said, "Where does my little brother live?" (32) And they pointed it out to him saying, "He lives over there." (33) Then he said to them, "Yes, since I have not seen him for a long time, I have come across that great river," thus he said. (34) "Yes," they said. (35) Then

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wiḱa· bańi. (36) čoy naʔas da·ts honk sńewe·ts mna honk sʔabi·ča. "he· ni nqenkangwapk. domnwapk ʔins honk! (37) he· ni hont goge hamḱo·wapk. gepgablis sańa·Wawliwapk."

(38) sgaḱo·bli dak honk hok sńewe·ts gina·ksla. (39) čoy honk do·či·ya, lapńi waytas. (40) čoy honk ʔat be·n gepgabli hokt. (41) ʔat honk hońas gepga. naʔas gičipgo·ta, "gen ni geńs ḱleča! gen ni geńs ḱleča! gen ni geńs ḱleča!" (42) q̇ay ʔan honk sʔaywakta dwa·, wage·n nen swi·s, wage·n honk hemkanḱa·k, naʔas. (43) naʔas da·ts honk gi.

(44) čoy honk ʔat hi·t gatbambli ʔat honk goge ʔiWlialli·na. (45) čoy honk nqena naʔas, "ago···tgi ʔis!" naʔas honk, "ago···tgi ʔis!" (46) čoy honk hokt sńewe·ts sgaḱo·ča, domnank. (47) čoy honk do·s sgaba·ta. (48) čoy naʔas, "q̇ay ʔan mis sańa·Wawli. (49) q̇ay ʔan mis sańa·Wawli spongalgitgi giwk. (50) ksokso·niagaʔas ʔan sańa·Wawli." (51) "ʔi·," či čik honk, honkt sgaḱo·bli. (52) sgaḱo·bli honk hok sńewe·ts. (53) "mis ʔa sańa·Wawliwapk." (54) čoy honk naʔas gi, "sleywapk hay ʔins dwa·, kant ni sgo·miwapk honks," či honk. (55) "čoy ni walčwapk, sgo·miwapk na·nok honk!" (56) čoy honk ʔat hońas gi. (57) ʔat sa gaẃal dwa·, mo·ńs. (58) čoy sa honk ʔat slisla čta git na·noḱa·s, wepLank honk mo·ńs dwa·, na·nok ńos.

(59) čoy honk naʔas gi. "q̇ay min nen sańa·Wawli sle·babaktgi giwk. wenni·ńs we·ẃańsas. (60) čoy q̇ay sańa·Wawli mis swe·q gitgi giwk," naʔas honk. (61) sdalta honk naʔas dwa·.

(62) čoy honk ʔat gitgo sgepgabli honk ʔat. (63) "ʔi·," či honk. (64) dič dak ksama·ča honk ʔat naʔas honk, "git hay ʔi giwapk! (65) čoy ʔi q̇ay gi·go q̇oy giwapk, nlo·q̇attanwapk hi·t." (66) čoy sa honk ʔat ksama·ča, bi·ʔasdat, wončJat. (67) čoy honk ʔat gitgo gi. (68) čoy honk newlga dak honk naʔas gi—hokt sńewe·ts, honklam gitgo—[24] (69) "he· ʔi gitgo giwapk, datglam bańi sgepgok, čoy ʔi spoltgiwapk hon wonč naʔas." (70) čoy sa honk ʔat hońas gi. (71) ʔat sa honk datglam bańi hok sgepgank, čoy honk ʔat gilʔank honk spoltgi, wonč. (72) čoy honk nliwwa hadakt. (73) ʔat honk gogetdat hontdat nliwwa. (74) čosńi hadakt.

(75) ʔat honk sgepgabli hońas gyank. (76) čoy honk hadakt gitgo gi—mo··· giwḱi·ča ʔambo hadakt, do·st honk hok ča·sis nliwwa hadakt. (77) mona··· gaʔas hok—giwḱi·ča hi·t kalambya riba ho·t. (78) ho·t mo·ni goge. (79) gaʔas hok mo··· giwḱi·ča. (80) q̇ay hi·t kani sgaḱo·čant ḱičḱa·yantga dwantga pačit gin nen. (81) čoy hońas hok gena. (82) nent ni wiḱa·ńs mis sʔabi·ya honkt, kant ni sʔaywakta.

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[24] Here Mr. David sought the word for "sister-in-law" which he had been using, but failed to find it.

he lived there for a little while. (36) However, he had told his wife before coming, "If I shout, you listen to me! (37) If I call across that river, I will want to return."

(38) His wife rowed back across to this side. (39) And he stayed there, two days. (40) Now then he came back again. (41) Now he came thus, saying as he came, "This is the way I hop along! This is the way I hop along! This is the way I hop along!" (42) I don't know what it was, whether it was a song, or whether it was a little saying, thus. (43) However, that was what he did.

(44) Now he arrived back there at the bank of the river. (45) And he called, "Co-o-ome get me!" he said, "Co-o-ome get me!" (46) Now that wife rowed across, having heard. (47) And she landed there. (48) Then he said, "I don't want you. (49) I don't want you to take me back. (50) I want [my] sister-in-law." (51) "Yes," she said, and rowed back across. (52) That woman rowed back across. (53) "He wants you." (54) And she said, "Give me something [of cloth], which I can cover him with," she said. (55) "And I will cover him, wrap him all up!" (56) Now then they did thus. (57) Now they found something, big. (58) Now they tied him all up here everyplace, wrapping him in something big, his whole head.

(59) And she said, "I don't want other women to see you. (60) I don't want them to look at you," she said. (61) She explained something thus.

(62) Now she rowed him back. (63) "Yes," she said. (64) They placed him well in the end [of the canoe] and said, "You will stay right here! (65) And you won't do anything bad, bumping your head there." (?) (66) Then they placed him at the end, at the end, in the bow, in the canoe. (67) Then they did something. (68) However, she ruled thus—that woman, his something-or-other— (69) "If you do anything, when [we] have rowed halfway, you'll tip over that canoe thus." (70) Then they did thus. (71) Now when they had come halfway, then he tipped it violently, the canoe. (72) And he fell into the water there. (73) Now he fell into that river. (74) Always there.

(75) Now she rowed back, having done thus. (76) And there it does something—the water there whirls around very much, there where that skunk fell in. (77) It is very deep thus—it whirls there, that Columbia River. (78) It is a huge river. (79) This way it whirls very much. (80) No one can cross it there with some little thing even now. (81) And thus it goes. (82) I have told you a little of it, which I know.

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10. The Crater Lake Myth

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) Na·s ni be·n s?abwapk, kant ni s?aywakta—q̓ay gin q̓a dič—q̓ay ?an honk na·nok s?aywakta. (2) čoy da·ts lis kant nis sa s?abi·ya, čoy ?an honk ho·skanga. (3) čoy ǰemsi·ńs ni nen s?abwapgok, do·st hok čanga·y ga·?a·k či·ya. (4) čoy sqeĺaḿč honk dola či·ya, honk gist. (5) sneypga sa honk hadakt. (6) čoy sa honk ?ambo čikča čosak, wika· genamk gitgo s?ilkadat. (7) dič̓i· sam hok s?ilka, hadakt. (8) čoy honk hokt čanga·y čigatkdamna, ?ambo. (9) čoy honk ?at dińa· honk čikča ?ambo. (10) čoy honk na?as gi, "dič̓i··· ?ač do· sńewe·ts čali·ga," či honk, "s?ilkadat na·ĺam. (11) dič̓i··· sńewe·ts—?a···di·ńs laq gitk," či honk.

(12) čoy či honk hokt sqeĺaḿč na?as gi, "gemgem hak gyank!" či honk. (13) "q̓ay ?i hon s?aywakta, kańs gist," na?as honk, "no hak bgn s?aywakta," na?as honk. (14) "q̓oyč̓i ho·t sńewe·ts! (15) he· ?i sńewe·ts saṅa·Wawli, čoy ?i sčoq̓apks hon sńewe·tsalik, kat ho·t meya do·." (16) sq̓olpgank honk s?aba·, na?as, sle·bapga honk na·nok dwa· giwčist ?iWWaaga gin. (17) hokt sqeĺaḿč—ḱst hok s?aywaka. (18) čoy honk hokt na?as, "do·domi· we·wańs do· ne· meya—boqs," či honk. (19) čoy hon ?i sńogwapk, kat ho·t sčoq̓atk, Na·čyak loip gitk," na?as honk. (20) "Na·čyak loip gitk, ho·t nen winYa·?ab," či honk. (21) "ho·t dak q̓ay dwa·, kant ?i nen s?aba·."

(22) "waq hay no· honk honampča sńogwapk?" na?as honk. (23) "q̓ay ?an saṅa·Wawli hompčat," či honk. (24) "saṅa·Wawli ?an dič̓a· sńewe·ts."

(25) čoy honk ?at hoččambli honk do· ?at hadaktdaĺ. (26) "sle·čwapk ?an honk!" (27) q̓ay čik honk geqča, ?at honk sq̓olpga hok sqeĺaḿč. (28) ?at honk sle·bapga da·ts hi·tkni· gin.

(29) čoy honk ga?as ksaq̓a·qdamna. (30) čoy honk na?as gi, "hak mis gitgo gi?" (31) dwa· ?oyyamna, ḱada·ńs dwa·, člo·q̓apks dič̓a···, dič s?ode·pks. (32) čoy honk na?as gi, "gen hay ?i qboyamnwapk," na?as honk, honk gist—čanga·yas. (33) "gen ?i qboyamnwapk!" či honk. (34) "sqoltganwapk min," či honk. (35) ksaq̓a·q̓a dak honk ?at, hi·t či·pks ?at. (36) čoy honk na?as, "gen ?i qboyamnwapk! (37) ge· dič̓i· gi," či honk, "dič̓i· ge· dwa·," či honk. (38) čoy honk ?at hasanwi mo···. (39) "mo··· na·ĺ hanwi!" na?as honk gi. (40) čoy honk ?at mo··· hanwi. (41) čoy honk ?at ktiwLi, hokt sńewe·ts. (42) ktiwaga honk ?at, kiwaga honk sdaynas. (43) ?at honk sdaynas kiwaga honk gist, čanga·yas. (44) "?at sa do· ne· gi," či honk sqeĺaḿč. (45) ?at honk sle·bapga honk, hońas gist.

10. The Crater Lake Myth

(Mr. Robert David)

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(1) Again I am going to tell one, which I know—although not very well—I don't know all of it. (2) But rather what they told me, and I recall. (3) And I will tell about Y̓amsi·, where that Weasel lived long ago. (4) And Old Marten lived with him, being him. (?) (5) They camped there. (6) And they went to get water always, having gone a little ways to some well. (7) That well of theirs was good, there. (8) And that Weasel used to keep going after it, water. (9) Now then once he went after water. (10) And he said, "What a be-e-eautiful girl is sitting there on the bank," he said, "At our well. (11) A lovely girl—with long, long hair," he said.

(12) Then that Old Marten said, "Just be calm!" he said. (13) You don't know who she is," he said, "But I know her," he said. (14) "That girl is evil. (15) If you want a woman, then get married to that one-eyed [one], who is digging [roots] over there." (16) Lying down he said thus, for he saw everything that was happening even very far away. (17) That Old Marten—he knows so much. (18) Then he said, "There are many women there digging—camas root," he said. (19) And you take that one, who is one-eyed, having just one eye," he said. (20) "Having just one eye, she is industrious," he said. (21) "She is nothing at all, of whom you spoke."

(22) "Why do I have to take one like that?" [Weasel] said. (23) "I don't want that kind," he said. (24) "I want a pretty woman."

(25) Now then he ran back down over there. (26) "I will go and see her!" (27) He, however, paid no attention, for now he was lying down, that Old Marten. (28) But he was watching even from there.

(29) Now [Weasel] was lying around in her lap this way. (30) And she said, "Would you let me do something to you?" (31) She was carrying something, something this long, very smooth, well made. (32) And she said, "Take this in your mouth," she said, doing to Weasel. (33) "Take this in your mouth!" she said. (34) "I'll put it in your mouth for you," she said. (35) Now he lay on her lap, as she sat there. (36) And she said, "Take this in your mouth! (37) This is nice," she said, "This is something nice," she said. (38) Now then she made him open his mouth wide, wide. (39) "Open much wider!" she said. (40) Then he opened his mouth very, very wide. (41) Now then she shoved it in, that woman. (42) Now she shoved it through [him], [and] fished out his heart. (43) Now she fished out his heart, doing thus, to Weasel. (44) "Now they are doing it there," said Old Marten. (45) Now he was watching as they did thus.

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(46) čoy honk ˀat honkt honk loyyamnatk sdaynas, ˀat hoččambli gi·wasdaĺ, hok ńewe·ts. (47) doˀotkni· hok gi·waskni·. (48) čoy sa honk, be·n naˀas sˀaba·, do· gatbamblyank, domi··· hok hadakt do·st ho·t gi·was ge·tańi·t ĺaqĺaqĺi mo· ne·pga. (49) saq̓wehḱis či se·satk. (50) naˀas hok. (51) dankskni· sa nen naˀas ˀelga saq̓wehḱis ho·t. (52) ĺaqĺaq hok mo··· ne·pga, gi·was ge·tańi·t hi·t. (53) čoy honk hadakt domi·či·ya, datdadwa. (54) čoy honk hok sa ˀat q̓ay sitdač́e·ẃa gmoḱamč́as. (55) le·w, kat hi·t či·ya gi·was. (56) le·w, či se·satk, hokt či·ya hi·t. (57) ˀambotdat hok či·ya.

(58) čoy honk ˀat do· hottbamblyank hok ńewe·ts naˀas, "ge· ˀa sqeĺam̓čam sdaynas gi! (59) ge· sdaynas sqeĺam̓čam!" (60) čoy sa honk, "ˀi···!" (61) čoy sa honk go·qi·wank, na·nok datdadwa—lilhanks, ho·t, datdadwa kat hi·t či·ya, nen.

(62) čoy sa honk naˀas, "ˀi·, saq̓wehwapk le·wwapk na·t honkĺam sdaynas hon!" (63) čoy sa hom̓as gyank sonĺo·ḱaḱwa. (64) čoy waqt sa hon bo·l, sonĺo·ḱaḱwa sa honk, doskango·ta. (65) na·nok dwa· sa, lilhanks, čew, ho·t datdadwa. (66) hompči sa honk—hom̓as gi ˀat. (67) čoy honk—ma·ns sa hom̓as gi.

(68) čoy honk ˀat hokt sqeĺam̓č hok gepga ˀat. (69) čoy honk ma·ns gitk gatba, gmočatk q̓a···, siko·tba honk če·t hak, ho·t sqeĺam̓č. (70) siko·tba honk snebe·mbem̓a sas honk ˀat. (71) ˀi·, siko·tba honk q̓a···, "no·s hayč ho·t gene·ńs sˀotĺa hi·t!" (72) čoy honk gitgo—honk sdiy̓a sisˀapq̓ank gida·na—sdiy̓a, ˀi·, na·nok.[35]

(73) čoy honk naˀas, "no·s hayč hok gene·ńs sˀotĺa," či honk, "gen ni honkĺam gis." (74) čoy honk, "gene·ńs gi," či honk gi. (75) "na·nok na·ts sˀotĺa q̓ay dič, hosč́o·q̓a na·ĺs ho·t," naˀas honk gi. (76) "čoy honk hom̓as gi—no· č́is dińa· sańa·Wawli q̓aws," či honk, "sdaynas honkĺam." (77) sdaynas ni q̓aws sańa·Wawli dińa·k. (78) ˀi·, q̓aws ni sańa·Wawli. (79) čoy ˀans noĺwiwapk!" naˀas honk.

(80) čoy sa honk ˀat noĺwi. (81) čoy honk ˀat q̓aẃa·. (82) čoy honk ˀat ho·ttgalč́a, q̓aẃo·ta·k. (83) ˀat honk hoččipgabli gina·t, y̓amsi·daĺ, do·skni·t honk gena·. (84) ˀat honk hoččipgabli. (85) čoy sa honk dintgalč́apga. (86) ˀat sa honk so·čipga. (87) čoy honk datdadwa glekčńa. (88) ĺoĺas be·n deq̓ya, ĺoĺas glegank. (89) ˀi·, be·n honk dwa· glegank deq̓ya. (90) q̓ay sa honk sˀaywakta dwa· be·n.

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[35] /gida·na/ "on here" was explained by a gesture indicating the face and head. Sqeĺam̓č had disguised himself as an old person, leaning on a staff, with his head covered with pitch (a sign of mourning). He thus convinces Le·w that he is not Sqeĺam̓č and that he wishes to take revenge upon Sqeĺam̓č for having made him old and ugly.

(46) Now then having taken that heart, she now ran back toward Crater Lake, that woman. (47) She was from there, from Crater Lake. (48) And they, again it is told thus (?), having arrived back, there were a great many [beings] there where it is so flat on the other side of Crater Lake. (49) "The Ball Court" it is called. (50) It is thus. (51) Afterward they named it "The Ball Court." (52) It is very, very flat, there on the other side of Crater Lake. (53) And many lived there, various things. (54) And they did not like Gmoƙaḿč. (55) The "Le·w," who lived there at Crater Lake. (56) The "Le·w," as he is named, he lived there. (57) He lived in the water.

(58) Then having run back there, the woman said, "This is Old Marten's heart! (59) This heart is Old Marten's!" (60) And they said, "Ye-e-e-es!" (61) And they spread out [on the Ball Court], everything—deer, those, everything that lived there.

(62) And they said, "Yes, we will play ball with that heart of his!" (63) And it being thus, they threw it back and forth. (64) Just as they [play] ball, they threw it back and forth, running here and there. (65) Everything, deer, antelope, they [were] [various] things. (66) Like that they did it thus. (67) And—they did thus for a long time.

(68) Now then that Old Marten, he came now. (69) Then he arrived after a long while, very old, leaning [on his staff] with difficulty, that Old Marten. (70) He arrived leaning [on his staff and] fooled them. (71) Yes, he came supporting himself much. "He made me this way too there!" (72) And something—having pitch on his face here—pitch, yes, all over.

(73) And he said, "He made me this way too," he said, "I am his doing." (74) And he said, "He did thus," he said. (75) "He does all of us wrong, [and] he kills us," he said. (76) And he does thus—I also want to catch it once," he said, "his heart." (77) I want to catch the heart just once. (78) Yes, I want to catch it. (79) So throw it to me!" he said.

(80) Now then they threw it to him. (81) Then he caught it. (82) Now then he ran off, just when he caught it. (83) Now he came running back this way, towards Y̓amsi·, from whence he had gone. (84) Now he came running back. (85) And they ran off [after him]. (86) Now they came chasing him. (87) And he changed into [various] things. (88) Again a stump stood in the way, he having become a stump. (89) Yes, again having become something else, he stood in the way. (90) Again they did not know what.

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(91) čoy honk goni· na·í, naʔas ʔo·ís honk ho·t—čaḱa·ýank he·ma. (92) ho·t hok dola gi, sqeĺaḿč́as. (93) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔo···í, ʔo···í," ʔo·ís či honk gi.[36] (94) čoy honk hok sa dinčipgatk naʔas, "ʔa·di· ʔat gena·, nen lis qyosa he·ma," či honk. (95) ʔo·ís honk he·ma naʔas—ma·ms hok čaḱa·ýank gida he·ma. (96) čoy sa honk ʔat g̣lewi·, hoḿas gist.

(97) čoy honk ʔat lembli hok sqeĺaḿč, ʔat do· honk ʔat, ʔat honk yiwg̣okbli honk č́asga·ýa·ks. (98) "hont ʔams ni nen sʔabi·ya," či honk. (99) "ʔat ýa ʔi sʔaywakta?" naʔas honk wola·.

(100) čoy honk—ḱočč́a nen q̓ay dič—gitgo hok lobi· da·ts čis.[37] (101) ʔi·—q̓ay, wenni ʔa nen sʔaba·. (102) hadakt hok le·w či·ya, honk ni sʔabo·la ʔona·. (103) čoy da·ts ʔoč gin hi·t hak git gi—ʔoč gin ʔoč́če· ʔan giwapk.

(104) čoy honk ʔat yiwg̣okblyo·lank naʔas, "geno·twapk na·t sas," naʔas honk, "geno·twapk na·t sas! (105) do· hadaktdaĺ, gi·wasdaĺ." (106) ʔat honk ḿolẃa sqeĺaḿč, sʔawi·gank honk ʔat. (107) čoy honk ʔat do·—honkt honk do· ʔat gotg̣yank gitgo gi—le·was ʔat honk siwga, genank sa. (108) čoy honk gitgo gi, q̓ay honk sʔaywakta kakni ho·t sa kat dola honks. (109) čoy honk siwgank, ʔat hoḿas peĺe·ḱa na·nok č́ole·ks. (110) peĺe·ḱa honk le·was č́ole·ks honk na·nok. (111) čoy hoḿas gyank, noĺotg̣i, hi·t Wali·sdat g̣yank.

(112) čoy honk naʔas, "ge· sqeĺam bosakĺas! (113) ge· sqeĺam č́o·ks! (114) ge· sqeĺam sdaynas!" naʔas honk. (115) ʔat wbetg̣i. (116) čoy honk sqačtq̓akdamnank hok sa, na·nok woĺa·. (116) ʔat hok ba···ltgi hok. (117) qaq̓o· bil honk dankt hok woĺa·, hokt le·w kat hok či·ya, gi·was. (118) čoy honk ho·t tabi·g̣e·n naʔas gi, "ge· sqeĺam sdaynas!" či honk, "ge· sqeĺam sdaynas!" či honk. (119) noĺo·č́a honk naʔas, "ge· sqeĺam sdaynas!" (120) čoy honk ʔat gitgo gi—ʔat na·nok hoḿas gist. (121) blay sa—honk domi· hok hompči či·ya. (122) čoy sa q̓ay q̓aYʔan, dada·t sa noĺo·tg̣i. (123) čoy honk kani sṅoga·, ge·tantkni·, wag̣e·n gida·tantkni·—honkt, kant honk wbetg̣i.

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[36] The sequence /ʔo···í, ʔo···í/ represents Dove's cry and forms the onomatopoetic basis for this bird's name. This utterance was given in a faint, high, far-away voice. The faintness of Dove's cry made Sqeĺaḿč's pursuers believe that he had outdistanced them, although he was really close by.

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[37] At this point Mr. David recalled a portion of the story which he had omitted. He explained that it should have been inserted somewhere near Sentence 83 of the present text. Sentences 107 through 111 are more or less a résumé of the action, resulting in the killing of Le·w. Sentences 104 through 106 were improvised material giving continuity to the story in spite of the error. Sentences 112 through 127 form the main part of the omitted section.

(91) And further on, that Dove said—sitting up high, spoke. (92) He was together, [with] Old Marten. (93) And he said, "ʔo···í̥, ʔo···í̥," Dove said. (94) And those running along said, "He has gone very far, he speaks from afar," they said. (95) Dove spoke thus—even though he spoke sitting up high right there. (96) Now then they quit, it being thus.

(97) Now then Old Marten took it [i.e., the heart] home, and now there, now he pushed it back into little Weasel. (98) "I told you so," he said. (99) "Now do you know?" he asked.

(100) Now—a little is not good—something else also goes first. (101) Yes—no, it's told differently. (102) There where the Le·w lived, as I told it earlier. (103) However, let it be later here—I'll make it later.

(104) Now then having put [Weasel's heart] back inside [of him], he said, "We will attack them," he said, "We will attack them! (105) There toward Crater Lake." (106) Now Old Marten got ready, being angry now. (107) Now then having climbed down there [into the Crater] they did something—they killed the Le·w, having gone. (108) And they did something, [and] those who were with him [i.e., the Le·w] did not know it. (109) Having killed him, now they tore up all his body into pieces. (110) They tore up the Le·w's body, all. (111) And having done thus, they threw it down, being there on the cliff.

(112) And [Old Marten] said, "This is Marten's thigh! (113) This is Marten's leg! (114) This is Marten's heart!" he said. (115) Now he threw it down. (116) And they having risen up out of the water, gobbled it up. (116) Now it turned quite white there [with foam, bones, and the creatures themselves]. (117) Even only bones they gobbled up then, [of] that Le·w who lived, at Crater Lake. (118) And finally he said, "This is Marten's heart!" he said, "This is Marten's heart!" he said. (119) He threw it saying, "This is Marten's heart!" (120) Now they did something—now all doing thus. (121) High they—many lived thus. (122) And they did not miss, when they threw it down. (123) So somebody seized it, from that side, perhaps from this side, that, which they threw down.

*539 (124) čoy honk tabi·ge·n naʔas. "ge· le·ẃam! le·ẃam ge· bosakías!" či honk. (125) ʔat čik sa honk dintq̓aga. (126) ʔat sa honk ʔat Walwi. (127) ʔat sa gembli, hom̓as gyank, dosčambli ho·t sa ʔat, sqel č̓asga·yas dola.

(128) čoy ḱada·di nen sʔaywaks, nent či weli·ĺa, q̓ay honk ho·skanga ʔat. (129) nen da·ts ni ḱada·di dič sʔaywaks honkt. (130) ga·ʔa·k ʔans ma·ms ne· dič̓i·. (131) čoy da·ts ni nen ḱet sʔaywakta. (132) q̓ay ʔan saǹa·Wawli sʔaps dwa· ni q̓ay sʔaywakta.

11. The Qawdo·gi·s Brothers

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) dińa· hok—domi· či·ya. (2) sʔabwapk ni gitgẃas, qawdo·gi·sas. (3) qawdo·gi·s hok či·ya do·keĺant do·s hak git gombat wiḱa·t. (4) hadakt hok či·ya·. (5) čoy honk domna sa naʔas, lilhanksas do···m lwela·, ʔiWba·tanʔa do·. (6) hi·t sa nen so·ča sa honk mo·. (7) čoy honk sleʔa·—hokt Na·s qawdo·gi·s—hokt honk sleʔa·, loloqs. (8) "waq dal do· ne· mo· hak nota·? lala·qẏamks," či honk gi. (9) čoy honk naʔas ʔat gi. "waq hay č̓ole·ks ʔa sa ʔitba, lweltga ʔas lilhanks," naʔas honk. (10) čoy honk hi·tkni· honk sleʔa·, honk ḱada·di dalḱwank, do· ʔiWba·tanʔa, ʔiWq̓a·q goni·tant.

(11) čoy honk naʔas gi. "ya··· genwapk ni gen," či honk. (12) čoy honk ʔat goWaskč̓a hok—sesatge·wńisaltk hok či·ya, woni·bi. (13) čoy honk čiḱa·ʔa·k na·i̓ hok goWaskč̓a. (14) čoy honk gitgo—gena··· honk do·. (15) čoy honk hosdanga sas gina·t hak. (16) hompči hak, hoʔot hak hok —gmoḱam̓č (they call him)—gmoḱam̓č hok hosdanga ʔat gina·t hak. (17) čoy honk naʔas gi, hok qawdo·gi·s, "dwa· čik hok mo· hak nota·?" (18) waqt giwk naʔas da·ts honk, "qawdo·gi· agoč agoč, qawdo·gi· agoč agoč," naʔas honk giwta, gena· hokt qawdo·gi·s.[38] (19) "qawdo·gi· agoč agoč," naʔas honk gitgo, ʔiyyamnatk mna dalč̓i, datdadwa na·nok, ḿolẃatk ʔat honk waqt či honk gankankčok hom̓as.

(20) čoy honk ʔat hok hosdanga, gmoḱam̓č̓as, wele·q̓atk hok glegank. (21) čoy honk naʔas gi, "gagya·mis sitk lilhanksam č̓ole·ks blew gi goni·,

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[38] The phrase /qawdo·gi· agoč agoč/ is again myth speech, a tag-line for the various Qawdo·gi·s brothers. It had no discoverable lexical meaning. It was spoken in a rhythmical manner, but was not noticeably high-pitched.

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(124) And finally he said, "This is Le·w's!" Le·w's is this thigh! " he said. (125) Now indeed they ran up out of the water. (126) Now they knew it was so. (127) Then they returned, having done thus, now they ran back, Marten together with Weasel.

(128) And thus far [I] know, anything different, I can't recall now. (129) Rather this is as far as I know it well. (130) A long time ago, to me, even though it is good. (?) (131) But I know just this much, however. (132) I do not wish to tell that which I do not know.

11. The Qawdo·gi·s Brothers

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) Once—there lived many. (2) I will tell something, of the Qawdo·gi·s. (3) The Qawdo·gi·s lived across there near Pelican Bay. (4) They lived there. (5) And they heard thus, someone had killed many, many deer, at the edge of the timber there. (6) There they had built a big fire. (7) And he saw—that one Qawdo·gi·s—he saw it, the fire. (8) "Why is it burning so over there? At the rich people's place," he said. (9) Now he said, "Why, they must be bringing meat home, they've been killing deer," he said. (10) And he watched it from there, looking across so far, there at the edge [of the timber], there by Fort Klamath.

(11) And he said, "Ya···, I'm going," he said. (12) And he went off—they were brothers, four. (13) And the oldest went off. (14) And something—he went and went over there. (15) And he met them on this side. (?) (16) This kind, the same one—Gmoḱaḿč (they call him)—Gmoḱaḿč met [him?] on this side. (17) Now he said, that Qawdo·gi·s, "Indeed, what is that burning so much?" (18) Just said, however, "Qawdo·gi· sgoč sgoč, qawdo·gi· sgoč sgoč," he said as he went, that Qawdo·gi·s. (19) "Qawdo·gi· sgoč sgoč," he said, carrying his arrows, everything, being ready as if he were going hunting.

(20) Now he met him, Gmoḱaḿč, he [i.e., G.] having become an old woman. (21) And he said, "They have a heap of deer meat over there,

do·st ho·t mo· nota·," naʔas honk. (22) čoy honk gmoḱaṁč naʔas, "gen nis sa ḱečča č́leya, bloʔa·k," naʔas honk gi, "gen nis sa ḱečča bloʔa·k č́leya·," či honk gi. (23) "čoy da·ts ʔi hoḿas giwapk, gen min ḱečča č́leywapk," či honk. (24) "čoy kiwtg̣anwapk min gen," naʔas honk. (25) "čaqčaqtḱa·ẏantga ʔankotga hompčantga kiwtg̣anwapk." (26) hokt qawdo·gi·sas honk naʔas gi. (27) "kiwtg̣anwapk min gen, hoḿas če· ʔi gen ṗat, q̇ay sńogank ńepbatga," naʔas honk. (28) čoy honk ʔat hoḿas gi. (29) "he· hanwi!" naʔas honk, "čoy min kiwtg̣anwapk." (30) čoy honk naʔas gi, "nen ʔa neńs ḿa·sʔa," naʔas honk. (31) čoy honk ʔat hokt gmoḱaṁč honk ʔat kiwdaqńank—gida—kiwdaqńa honkt čaqčaqĺantga dwantga. (32) čoy hoḿas hak, ʔat do· kiwaga sdaynas honkĺam. (33) čoy honk ʔat hok glega·, hiʔit hak.

(34) čoy honk be·n, ʔat honk ma·ns q̇e·gi. (35) "dat dal nen hok? (36) čiḱa·ʔa·k gentk, ma·ns q̇e·gi," či honk. (37) "gaʔas no·čgas gen sle·čwapk," naʔas honk. (38) ʔat honk hokt galamnatk honks, kat tapẏap honkĺam na·ĺ. (39) čoy honk ʔat gena·, hoḿas hak, naʔas hok honk swinčńa, "qawdo·gi·s sgoč sgoč, qawdo·gi·s sgoč sgoč." (40) čoy honk hoḿas hak hokt gi.

(41) čoy honk hok hak hosdanga be·n, honk gist. (42) ʔat honk hosdanga be·n. (43) čoy honk ʔat hoḿas hak, naʔas hak sʔabi·ya, hoḿas. (44) "hoḿas če· hay gyank ṗat," či honk. (45) "gen ʔa gene·ńs dič ḿa·sʔa," či honk, "gen nis sa gen ḱet č́leya·," či honk, naʔas honk gi. (46) hokt —gmoḱaṁč hok naʔas, "gen nis sa gen ḱečča č́leya·"—wele·q̇atk honk, na·nok soṗlo·q̇atk honk ńos. (47) q̇a··· gmočatk, "yoẏalqsče·ńs nis sa gen ḱet č́leya·," či honk. (48) "he· nen qbedo· gen," či honk, "čoy nene·ńs ḿa·sitk," či honk. (49) čoy hoḿas hak ʔat kiwdaqńa—"kiwtg̣anwapk da·ts min, q̇ay ʔi da·k sńogank ńepbatga," naʔas. (50) čoy honk ʔat kiwdaqńa. (51) čoy hoḿas hak ʔat kiwagank, ʔat honk siwga honktčgas.

(52) čoy honk ʔat hoḿas hak ʔat kiwagank, čoy hok sat la·ṗok saglamnank, be·n Na·s gepga. (53) be·n Na·s hoḿas hak, ʔat honk hosčo·q̇a. (54) čoy honk naʔas hok sqeĺaṁč sʔaba·, "gen ʔans ho·t sa gene·ńs sʔotĺa, čoy ʔan hoḿas giwk. (55) q̇ay sas no· hon wgaps," či honk.[9] (56) "gen nis sa geńs sʔotĺa," či honk—hokt sqeĺaṁč.

(57) čoy honk hok—naʔas hok sʔaba· (58) čoy do·s ni nen sʔaba·, maqlaqs hon ga·ʔa·k ʔelg̣ank boqsʔam g̣e·n—boqs meyks. (59) hi·t hok boqs meyks. (60) čoy honk hadakt hok hoḿas ne·pga, ga·ʔa·k, nent ni sʔaywakta ḱada·t baḿi hak.

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[9] The form /wgaps/ is doubtful. This is what seems to be from the tape, but Mr. David was not certain of it on hearing it again, nor could he reproduce the utterance. He felt, however, that the translation given was what belonged there.

there where it is burning so," he said. (22) And Gmok̓am̓č said, "They gave me a little piece, a bit of fat," he said, "They gave me this little piece of fat," he said. (23) "But if you will do thus, I'll give you this little piece," he said. (24) "And I'll put it into your mouth," he said. (25) "With a sharp piece of wood like that I'll put it in your mouth." (26) He said to that Qawdo·gi·s. (27) "I'll put it in your mouth, only thus can you eat this, not taking it with your hands," he said. (28) Then he did thus. (29) "Just open up! " he said, "And I'll poke it into your mouth." (30) And he said, "That's the way it tastes," he said. (31) Now then that Gmok̓am̓č having poked it into his mouth—here—poked it into his mouth with something sharp. (32) And that same way, he now poked it through his heart. (33) Then he died, right there.

(34) And again, now he was gone a long time. (35) "Where can he be? (36) The old man being gone, he's absent a long time," he said. (37) "This way I'll go and see also," he said. (38) Now he followed him [lit. "was one having followed . . ."], who was his next smallest brother. (39) Now then he went, just that way, singing thus as he went, "qawdo·gi·s agoč agoč, qawdo·gi·s agoč agoč." (40) And he did it in just the same way.

(41) And the same one met him again, doing thus. (42) Now he met him again. (43) Now in just that way, thus he told him, that way. (4) "Only having done thus can you eat it," he said. (45) "This is the way it tastes good," he said, "They gave me this much," thus he said. (46) He—Gmok̓am̓č said, "They gave me this little bit"—being an old woman, his head all pitch-covered. (47) Very, very old, "They gave this much to poor me," he said. (48) "If you'd taste it," he said, "So that's the way it tastes," he said. (49) Then he put it into his mouth in the same way—"However, I'll put it into your mouth, you not taking it yourself with your hands," he said. (50) Then he poked it into his mouth. (51) Then having poked [his heart] out, he killed him, too.

(52) Now having poked [his heart] out in the same way, of those two left behind, another one came. (53) Another one in the same way, now he killed them. (54) And Old Marten said, "They made me this way, so I for that reason [did it to them?]. (55) I didn't do it to them for nothing," he said. (56) "They did it to me this way," he said,—that Old Marten.

(57) And so he—thus he said. (58) And there where I spoke of, Indians long ago called it "Camas Place"—"Camas Digging-place." (59) There it was "Camas Digging-place." (60) And it happened there thus, long ago, which is as far as I know.

12. The Old Lady on the Prairie

(Mr. Robert David)

#539 (1) dińa· honk ʔewksi wele·q̇a·k či·ya. (2) gina·t—gina·g̣e·n ʔewksi. (3) ginḱač̓witk hok hadakt g̣e·la gi, sa·yḱa. (4) čoy hadaktdaĺ sa damnon. (5) hadaktdaĺ sa damnon gaḱo·čńank honk sa·yḱaʔa·k, honk ʔat. (6) čoy honk domna wele·q̇a·k naʔas, do···m ʔas lwela· lilhanks, ẏamsi· do·, ẏamsi· git, naʔas honk gi. (7) gida·kni· hok maqlaqs—doʔot genank lwela·—lilhanks lwela·, sʔaLammat. (8) q̇a··· biblapks lilhanks.

(9) čoy honk naʔas gi, "waLʔag̣wapk sas ni gen gida. (10) gesga ʔan geys," naʔas honk wele·q̇a·k. (11) "ʔiWli·wa hadakt sas waLʔag̣wapk do·stdaĺ čoy ʔan sʔaywakta sas gepgabliwapkst."

(12) čoy honk ʔat waLg̣a sas. (13) čoy gepga Na·s, metg̣lank do···m, dič̓a··· č̓ole·ks. (14) čoy honk naʔas gi, "dam ʔins bloʔa·k gint ʔins č̓leyank?" či honk. (15) "yoẏalqsči ʔan gi," či honk, wele·q̇a·k honk. (16) "ʔi·," či čik honk. (17) čoy honk č̓leya·—mo· hak honk č̓leyč̓a. (18) "ʔi·, dič ʔins gen gi," či honk. (19) wele·q̇a·k ʔat honk gepgabli honkt metg̣lank honkt. (20) ʔat honk la·bi hoḿas gaqye·tanč̓apga, dič. (21) ʔat sa sʔewanč̓apga, wele·q̇a·ks.

(22) čoy honk Na·s—Na·s hok tabi· ledalʔanni gepga. (23) čoy honk naʔas, "waq dal mis ni ʔa gen g̣e·ǰigi·ya?" (24) naʔas honk sago·dakst bas—"mis ni ʔa gen g̣e·ǰigi·ya?" či honk, "ʔa·di··· ʔan damnon do·. (25) ʔi dak ʔa či·ya· gida hak," či honk. (26) "čoy waq min honk giwk sʔewanwapk ḱet qwa·ĺapks?" naʔas honk, hemtanʔa wele·q̇a·ks honk.

(27) čoy honk hokt q̇oye·ẃa, wele·q̇a·k. (28) "q̇ay nis dič nen gi," či honk, "q̇oy ʔins nen gi. (29) sʔaywakta ʔins yoẏalqsča gist," či honk. (30) čoy honk ʔat gepgabli hokt metg̣lank, q̇ay g̣eqč̓ank. (31) "ʔi·," či čik honk, "gembli hay do·!" naʔas honk wele·q̇a·k.

(32) čoy honk ʔat gepga, datg̣lam bańi honk gaḱo·tk sa·yḱa. (33) čoy honk ʔat mo··· ʔiwtanye·ga, kant honk metgaltk. (34) čoy honk gaʔas sisi·ksiḱa č̓is, sisi·ksiḱa qe·matdat. (35) ʔat honk qe·matdat sisi·ksiḱa. (36) čoy honk deli·nank hak gena·, hokt maqlaqs. (37) čoy honk gaba·ta honk, do·st hok g̣o·s gi hi·t. (38) čoy honk ʔat saleʔa· git hok dadalbaqpga, wisink hok giega·, hok č̓ole·ks. (39) wisink hok sʔotĺa, hok wele·q̇a·k, honkt wisink sʔotĺa, na·nok kat hok bahatk č̓ole·ks. (40) čoy honk ʔat

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12. The Old Lady on the Prairie

(Mr. Robert David)

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(1) Once an old woman lived on the Marsh [i.e., Klamath Marsh]. (2) This side—on this end of the Marsh. (3) That land was narrow there, the plain [i.e., a narrow extension of the grassy marsh-plain lay between growths of timber]. (4) And they used to travel that way. (5) They travelled that way, crossing that little plain, now. (6) And the little old lady heard thus, that they had killed a great deal of deer, there at Y̓amsi·, here at Y̓amsi·, thus [they] said. (7) People from here—having gone killed—killed deer in the autumn. (8) Very, very fat deer.

(9) And she said, "I'll wait for them right here. (10) I cannot go," said that little old lady. (11) "I'll wait for them there on the edge [of the timber], from where I know they'll be returning."

(12) Now then she waited for them. (13) So one came, carrying a lot on his back, very, very good meat. (14) And she said, "Could you give me even a little bit of fat?" she said. (15) "I am poor," she said, that little old lady. (16) "Yes," he said. (17) So he gave her—very much he gave her and left. (18) "Yes, this [person] has done well to me," she said. (19) The little old lady returned then, carrying it on her back. (20) Now then two came past in the same fashion, well. (21) Now they gave [some meat], to the little old lady.

(22) So then one—one who was mischievous came last. (23) And he said, "Why should I have tired myself out for you?" he said, "I have travelled very, very far. (25) But you stayed right here," he said. (26) "And why should I give it to you, [having gotten it with] so much trouble?" he said, speaking to that little old lady.

(27) Now she was sad, the little old lady. (28) "You didn't do me well," she said, "You have done me wrong. (29) You know I am poor," she said. (30) Now then he came on back carrying [his deer meat], not paying any attention. (31) "Yes," she said, "You just go on back there!" said the little old lady.

(32) Then he came, having crossed that plain halfway. (33) Now then it began to get very, very heavy, that that he was carrying. (34) And it began to move back and forth also, move back and forth on his back. (35) Now it moved back and forth on his back. (36) But he left it alone and went on, that person. (37) And he came to the edge, there where the trees are. (38) Now then he saw here [that] they looked him in the face, they became snakes, that meat. (39) She made them snakes, that little old lady, she made it into snakes, all the meat which he had dried. (40) Now it being thus,

hok hoḿas gist, honk wbečḱo·ta, ʔat hoččá hokt, maqlaqs ʔat. (41) ʔat honk hoččambli, ćoani gina·daĺ hoččipgabli. (42) hoḿas honk wale·q́a·k, honk gist dińa· gi. (43) nen ḱada· ni.

13. Coyote and the Thunder Bird

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) sʔabwapk ni honk ka hak ḱolýa·ʔas, kant ni sʔaywakta. (2) dińa· honk ýayńatdat do· damnon, ḱolýa· ho·t. (3) čoy honk domna honk, lmeys. (4) lmena· hok. (5) čoy honk naʔas, "dwa· dal nen lmena·? (6) dwa· dal nene·ńs?" (7) čoy honk qmaga· honk, q́ay honk sleʔa·. (8) čoy honk lmendamna. (9) čoy honk ga·yḱa, sle·s honk sańa·Wawli, dwa· nen lmeyst, hokt ḱolýa·.

(10) čoy honk ʔat sleʔa·. (11) čoy honk čaḱa·ýank, ḱičḱa·ni hompči ćiḱas, ho·t. (12) lmelmnis, či sa honk ʔelga, maqlaqs—lmelmnis hokt, lmena·. (13) ʔi·, lemlmnis, naʔas hok se·satk ćikḱa. (14) čoy honk sleʔa·. (15) "ʔi dal nene·ńs q́e·ĺa?" či honk. (16) "ʔi ýa nen lmena·? (17) waq hay ʔi nen gyank?" naʔas honk wola·, ḱolýa· ho·t. (18) "gaʔas lis gyank," či honk, spospatgank lolp mna. (19) čoy honk wbawliga lolp mna, bla···y. (20) blaydaĺ wbawliga hok lmelmni·k. (21) ʔi·, wbawligank sisʔatgank lolp mna. (22) čoy honk naʔas, "gaʔas lis gyank, čoy honk ʔat lmena·."

(23) čoy honk ʔat gitgo gi—"ya···, dič hay ʔi nen gi!" či honk ḱolýa·, "dam bas no·č hoḿas git?" či honk. (24) "hoḿas hay gi!" či honk,

he threw it as he ran, that person. (41) Now he ran back home, came running back here for good. (42) Thus the little old lady, [that was what] she did once. (43) That's as far as I [know].

Introductory Note to Text 13

This is essentially the same myth as that given in Text 3 by Mrs. Ohles. There are, however, some interesting points of difference: Mr. David's version employs a less elaborate method of tricking Antelope out of his eyes, and the ending of this text has also been expanded to include an episode in which Gmoḱaḿč replaces Antelope's eyes with better ones made from clay and mica (as was explained later in English by the narrator). The story is thus given a "happy ending," and a mythic reason for Antelope's protruding eyeballs and exceptional vision is also included.

13. Coyote and the Thunder Bird

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) I will tell about some Coyote or other, that I know. (2) Once he was wandering there on the mountain, that Coyote. (3) And he heard it, thunder. (4) It was thundering. (5) And he said, "What is that thundering? (6) What is doing that?" (7) And he looked, [but] did not see it. (8) And it kept on thundering. (9) So he searched, [for] he wanted to see what was thundering, that Coyote.

(10) Now then he saw it. (11) And sitting up high, a little bird like that, he [was the one]. (12) The Thunder Bird, as they called him, people—the Thunder Bird, he was thundering. (13) Yes, the Thunder Bird, as that little bird is called. (14) So he saw him. (15) "Are you the one making all that noise?" he said. (16) "Is it you thundering? (17) How did you do it?" he asked him, that Coyote. (18) "Doing this way," he said, plucking out his eyes. (19) Then he threw his eyes up, very, very high. (20) He threw them up, that little Thunder Bird. (21) Yes, throwing them up, having taken out his eyes. (22) And he said, "Do it this way, and then it thunders."

(23) Now then he did something—"Ya···, you do that well!" said Coyote, "Can I do it that way too?" he said. (24) "Do it thus!" he said, "Having

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"sebwatgank mi hon lolp, čoy bwawlʔag̡wapk, čoy ʔi domnwapk. (25) he· blay ʔi wbawlʔaqt, čoy dič gi," či honk, "g̡ilʔank Waltantk."

(26) čoy honk hoḿas ʔa sas wbawlig̡a mna lolp, sisʔatgank honk, ḱolýa· ʔat. (27) čoy honk lmena·, ʔat naʔas ʔat g̡i···lʔank. (28) hokt honk lmeni·ya, čikḱa hokt. (29) hokt honk q̇ay honk bi ḱolýa·—q̇ay honk sʔaywakta, bi giwk. (30) čoy naʔas honk ho·skanga, "no· ʔa nen—ʔat lmena· nene·ńs!"

(31) čoy honk naʔas gi, "he· ʔi do· blay gawlig̡ank ýayńatdat, hoḿas bwawlʔaqt mi lolp, čoy ho·t ma···ns lmena·, g̡ilʔank, waq či nen domna blay do· lmeyst." (32) naʔas honk hokt sʔabi·ya čikḱa honks. (33) "blay bwawlʔag̡wapk, lolp mi hon," či honk, "čoy honk hoḿas ʔa·di··· gawlig̡ank ýayńatdat. (34) ʔat honk do· g̡itgo hoḿas gi ʔat, sisʔatgank honk lolp ʔat bwawlig̡a bla···y. (35) čoy honk dińa· hok Walta naʔas, ʔat honk lmelmni·k sʔabi·ya hoḿas gitgi giwk. (36) dińa· ʔa snaWalta ʔat naʔas lmena· gi···lʔank. (37) ʔat hok hewýaqbli be·n lolp. (38) čoy sa honk naʔas gi—"ʔat ni blay nalk bwawlʔag̡wapk," či honk, "g̡ilʔank nen dič Walta," naʔas honk ḱolýa· hokt. (39) čoy honk ʔat bwawlig̡a bla···y, do· ʔa·di·. (40) čoy honk do· blay hiʔit hak g̡a·q sńosng̡a lolp honkĺam. (41) ʔi·, g̡a·q honk do· sńosng̡ank ʔat, kiko·kanga lolp honkĺam! [laughter].

(42) čoy ʔat ma·ns honk g̡e·ǰiga ni·s, čaẃa·Yok giwýaqbliwapkst bas honk lolp. (43) čoy honk q̇e···gi lolp honkĺam. (44) q̇ay hok giwýaqbli, ma···ns. (45) čoy honk ʔat goWaskča, "ya···, q̇oy nis ʔat gi!" či honk ʔat, "waq bas ni gen giwapk?" či honk. (46) "q̇a··· ʔans ʔambotga," naʔas honk gi. (47) čoy honk ʔat goWaskča, sg̡ilo·lg̡ank gotg̡iča honk ýayńa.

(47) čoy honk hottalʔaqčńa, dwantdat—"dwantdat mis ni nen hottallg̡a?" naʔas honk. (48) "no·s hay ʔi nen ĺoĺasdat!" či honk. (49) čoy honk be·n naʔas gi, be·n honk goni· nalk hottallg̡a. (50) čoy honk naʔas, "dwantdat min nen hottallg̡a?" či honk. (51) čoy honk naʔas, "g̡o·sdat hay ʔins nen," či honk. (52) čoy honk ʔat gena· hi·t—diča· ʔa nen Walta.[60] (53) "ʔaMḱa ʔan gaẃalwapk ʔambo," naʔas honk gena·. (54) "q̇a ʔan ʔambotga." (55) čoy honk hoqqa·yilg̡a qwa·ĺant hompčant, sĺasĺaptsʔam mat. (56) čoy honk naʔas, "dwantdat min nen?" (57) naʔas, "no·s hay ʔi nen sĺasĺaptsʔam hottallg̡a." (58) čoy honk hoqqa·yilg̡a. (59) čoy honk hoḿas gi, "ʔo···" či honk gi. (60) gena· honk. (61) q̇ay honk diče·ẃa.

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[60] /diča ʔa nen Walta./ "It sounded good." refers to the sound of running water, which Coyote fancies he hears in the distance. The sequence of objects indicate his progress toward water: first a dried stump, then a ponderosa pine, then snowbrush and saugus-berry bushes (fairly neutral as regards their nearness to water), and finally cottonwood trees and willows, which grow close to streams.

thrown your eyes out, then throw them up, and you'll hear it. (25) If you throw them up high, then it does it well," he said, "sounding strong."

(26) Now then in that way he threw his eyes up, having taken them out, that Coyote. (27) And it thundered, sounding very, very strong. (28) He made it thunder for him, that little bird. (29) That Coyote himself did not—he did not know it, to do it himself. (30) And he thought, "I'm the one—now I thundered thus!"

(31) And [the Thunder Bird] said, "If you'd go up high on the mountain, you could throw up your eyes thus, and it thunders a long time, strongly, just as you hear it thunder there up high." (32) Thus that little bird told him. (33) "Throw your eyes up high," he said, "and having thus gone far, far up on the mountain." (34) Now he did something that way, having taken out his eyes, he threw them up very, very high. (35) And it sounded once thus, now the little Thunder Bird told him to do it that way. (36) He made it sound once, and it thundered thus very, very strongly. (37) Now his eyes fell back in again. (38) Now he said—"Now I'll throw them up higher," he said, "It would sound better stronger," said that Coyote. (39) Now he threw them up high, high, very far. (40) And way up there a crow snapped up his eyes. (41) Yes, a crow there having snapped them up, poked his eyes [with his beak]! (Laughter).

(42) Then after a long time his neck got tired, from waiting for his eyes to go back in. (43) And his eyes were gone. (44) They didn't go back in, for a long, long time. (45) Now then he went away, "Ya···, woe is me," he said, "What can I do?" he said. (46) "I'm very, very thirsty," he said. (47) So then he went off guessing [his way] he went down the mountain.

(47) And he ran into something as he went—"What are you whom I've run into?" he said. (48) "You [have run into] me, a stump!" it said. (49) So it was thus again, again further on he ran into [something]. (50) And he said, "What are you whom I've run into?" he said. (51) And it said, "Into me, a tree," it said. (52) And he went on there—it sounded good. (53) "Maybe I'll find water," thus, he went. (54) "I am awfully thirsty." (55) And he ran into thick bushes like that, it was snowbrush they say. (56) And he said, "What are you?" (57) It said, "You have run into me, snowbrush." (58) And he tangled up in the brush. (59) And he said thus, "ʔŏ···," he said. (60) He went on. (61) He did not like it.

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#539 (62) "čoy ʔa·di· ʔakẏa ʔambo ʔo·č," naʔas honk ho·skanga geno·ta. (63) čoy honk be·n goni· na·í—be·n na·í ʔat hoqqa·yilga dwantdat. (64) čoy honk naʔas gi, "dwantdat mi nen hoqqa·yilga?" (65) "no·s hay ʔi nen čakgat," či honk. (66) "čakʔam mat hay ʔins nen," či honk. (67) čoy honk gena··. (68) "do· ʔat ʔa nen dič Walta," naʔas honk, čoy honk do· ʔat gena· ʔa·di·. (69) "q̓a ʔan ʔambotga."

(70) čoy honk ʔat be·n hottallga ḱičḱa·ẏant dwantdat. (71) čoy honk naʔas gi, "dwantdat min nen hottallga?" (72) čoy honk naʔas gi, "wlallat hay ʔins nen hottallga." (73) "ʔi·, ʔi·—ya···, ʔat nen wiḱa· ʔambo sitk," ʔat honk naʔas LeqLeqpgank hemkanga, wiḱa· ʔa nen ʔat ʔambo giwk. (74) čoy honk ʔat gena· be·n. (75) čoy honk ʔat gitgo do· ʔat naʔas, hoqqa·yilga honk naʔas, "čoy honk dwantdat ni nen be·n hoqqa·ẏa? (76) dwantdat min nen hoqqa·yilga?" (77) "ya·sdat hay ʔins nen," čič mat honk ʔat. (78) "ʔa̲···," či honk, "ya···, ʔat ʔakẏa ge· wiḱa· ʔambo," či honk ʔat.[64] (79) gena·, balaq hak gakyamnčńank honk.

(80) čoy honk ʔat qadak hak gotgi honk, gempči hok goq̓a·k. (81) hok mo·ni stolčńa, mo·ni bobano·ks, na·nok dwa·lam—lilhanksʔam, datdadwa hadakt bobanwa. (82) "ʔe···," či čik honk, bonwa, do···m, ksewank ʔambotdat bi honk. (83) bonwa do···m.

(84) čoy honk ʔat gatba čew ho·t. (85) čew honk bono·lagiwk gatba. (86) "waq lis ʔi gen giwk gene·ńa?" (87) "hak ʔis saleʔi! (88) haga ʔis delwi gen lolp!" naʔas, "q̓ay ʔans nen dič lolp gi," ḱolẏa· honk naʔas gi. (89) "wiḱa·tant ʔis ʔeytnank delwi!" naʔas honk gi. (90) čoy honk ʔat gitgo hośmas, delwa honk hok. (91) čoy honk ʔat sńoga·, la·ṗok lolp, ho·t ḱolẏa·. (92) spospatga honk čewas lolp. (93) ʔat honk spospatgank bi sisẏo·goga. (94) ʔat honk hottgalča, hośmas gičńank.

(95) čoy honk ʔat hok q̓ay gena· dat, hi·t hak honk tgotga, čaẃa·Ya honk, sʔaywakta honk gatbnokst kańs hi·t be·n. (96) čoy honk ho·t—sgo·ʔ—gmoḱamč ho·t—damnon hadakt na·noḱa·s ho·t hośmas hak, sʔaywaks giwk. (97) čoy honk naʔas gi, "waq lis ʔi gen gi?" či honk. (98) čoy honk naʔas gi, "waq hay ʔans gen, ẃas paLʔaqs," či honk, "ẃas paLʔaqs, ʔi·, ẃas paLʔaqs ʔans hok geńs sʔotía. (99) čoy ʔans spospatkča ʔans lolp." (100) "ʔi·," či honk. (101) "ʔi saíwa·Yi ʔis!" naʔas honk hokt. (102) "saíwa·Yi ʔis gen, lolp ʔis sʔode·balyi·wapk!"

(103) "ʔi·," či čik honk. (104) čoy honk čelgank hadakt, goq̓a·ḱkatdat honk, ʔitgank datdadwa ge·la, diča··· hompča. (105) čoy honk hośmas sʔotía gaʔas, di···č honk sʔotía, nčenčak. (106) čoy honk ʔat na·í ʔiLLaLLo·ńa hompčat, kat ho·t čelčelʔi dwa·, kčalwitk diči·. (107) čoy

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[64] The interjection /ʔa̲···/ is made with an ingressive air stream. Otherwise it is approximately the quality of [a·].

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(62) "So water may still be far away," he thought as he went along. (63) And again further on—again he stumbled into something bushy. (64) And he said, "What have I run into?" (65) "Into me, a saugus-berry bush," it said. (66) "Into me, saugus-berry bushes," it said. (67) So he went on. (68) "It sounds good over there," he said, so he went far over there. (69) "I am awfully thirsty."

(70) Now again he ran into some little thing. (71) And he said, "What are you, whom I've run into?" (72) And it said, "You've run into me, a cottonwood." (73) "Yes, yes—ya···, now it's as if water is near," now he said whispering, because water now was nearby. (74) So he went on again. (75) Now then something over there thus, he ran into something bushy, "Now what are you whom I've run into again? (76) What are you whom I've run into?" (77) "Into me, willows," that's what it said. (78) "ˀahhh," he said, "ya···, now water must be nearby," he said. (79) He went on, quickly having gone around it.

(80) Now then sure enough he went down, to a little river like this. (81) It [was] a big one flowing, a big drinking place, for everything—deer, everything drank there. (82) "ˀe···," he said, drank, very much, himself sitting in the water. (83) He drank very, very much.

(84) Now then Antelope came. (85) Antelope came there to drink. (86) "Why are you doing this way?" (87) "Look at me! (88) Look into my eyes!" he said, "My eyes are not good," that Coyote said. (89) "Bend down your head close and look at me!" he said. (90) Now then that way, he looked at him. (91) Then he grabbed them, both eyes, that Coyote. (92) He plucked out Antelope's eyes. (93) Having plucked them out, he pushed them into his own [sockets]. (94) Now he ran off, having done thus.

(95) Now then he [i.e., Antelope] did not go anywhere, he stood right there, waiting, he knew somebody would come there again. (96) Now then he—who?—that Gmok̓amč—he travelled everywhere there, being that kind, because he knew. (97) And he said, "How did this happen to you?" he said. (98) And he said, "Why it was this one, old Coyote," he said. "Old Coyote, yes, old Coyote did this to me. (99) And he plucked out my eyes." (100) "Yes," he said. (101) "Help me!" said he. (102) "Help me, make some eyes again for me!"

(103) "Yes," he said. (104) And sitting down there, in that little stream, taking up some kinds of earth, very good that kind. (105) Then he made them this way, very, very good he made them, little ones. (106) Then rather he put that kind [of earth] over them, which sparkles, shining nicely.

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honk naʔas gi, "ge· mis lolp ʔat ćosni giwapk, čoy honk q̓ay mis hok kani dmesgwapk. (108) čoyč ʔi sle·wapk gidaĺ, tabi·daĺ, ʔa·di· honk lelqampks lolp gitk," naʔas honk. (109) "ʔi·, čoy tabi·daĺ gin sle·wapk, čoy honk hi·t dalʔa·k gin delčampgank," naʔas honk. (110) "ḱst min dića· sʔewanʔa," či honk ʔat. (111) čoy honk hok q̓a··· dićew̓a. (112) ʔat honk swaqčo·ta hemkanga naʔas, "q̓ay nis kani dada· ḱst saĺwa·Ya," naʔas honk, "mo· ʔi dići· hiswaqs," či honk gi, honk gist gmoḱaḿčas. (113) či ni nen ḱada·di sʔaba·.

14. The Eagles at Sohi·yagye·ks

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) sʔabwapk ʔan gitkẃas, yawq̓las, kat či·ya—kant sa nen ʔelga sohi·yagye·ks. (2) hadakt ni sʔabwapk, hadakt hok či·ya, hontdat ẏayńatdat, sohi·yagye·ks hon goni·ĺa. (3) ʔi·, soh.·yagye·ks goni·ĺa, hontdat ẏayńatdat, kat ho·t witčńa. (4) čoy ho·t ʔa·di· nalk goye·gatk do·, Na·s ẏayńa hok, kat ho·t witčńa. (5) hi·t ʔa·di··· goye·gatk hok. (6) čoy hok qday ćosak git sle·s hak, lawal.

(7) čoy hok hadakt yawq̓al či·ya·. (8) wewe·ʔasaltk hok ndanna. (9) čoy hok Na·s ḱičḱa·ni. (10) q̓ay sa honk dewdaqńa honks ʔat, lweltkdamnok. (11) ʔiwwa sa honk lwela·, datdadwa hok, hohankango·ta, hont ʔat mo·mni gyank—honkĺam wewe·ʔas čiḱa·ʔa·ḱlam. (12) čoy honk ʔat hok sa ćosak solo·go·la naʔas, "ge· basẏa sĺosĺaqsgatk:" či sa honk. (13) "q̓elẏak honk Las gist—ḱičḱa·ńs gist ʔo·č." (14) naʔas, "ge· basẏa sĺosĺaqsgatk," či sa honk gi. (15) čoy sa honk solo·go·la ćosak, hok sat, la·bi mo·mni hokt, honkĺam wewe·ʔas mo·ẏe·ńam čiḱa·ʔa·ḱlam. (16) čoy sa honk ćosak homas gi.

(17) čoy honk ho·akanga, "no· ʔam hok waq git!" či honk, hok ḱičḱa·ni. (18) "no· ʔamč hok homas git, waqt hon ho·t sa gi—honkt snoga· dwa·,/ čoy siwga dwa· hok genank," naʔas honk gi. (19) čoy honk ptisap naʔas gi, "hasʔi·wagwapk ʔams ni. (20) hasʔi·wagwapk ʔams ni, waq sa hon ho·t sa gyank. (21) mo· ʔi ḱičḱa·ni ʔo·č da·ts. (22) gesga ʔi hončis ḱstńis detńi·t hon ho·t sa hončńa." (23) čoy hok ptisap naʔas, "dada·t ʔi Lasalwapk, čoy min dankt hasʔi·wagwapk," či honk, naʔas honk honks ḱičḱa·ẏe·ńs sʔabi·ya, we·ʔas mna. (24) "čoy mis ho·t sa q̓ay solo·go·lwapk, he· ʔi sʔaywaktanwapk," naʔas honk. (25) "čoy homas hak ʔi giwapk, q̓ay q̓aYe·wapk," naʔas honk gi. (26) "lobi·da·ńa min kbe·wwapk," či honk.

(107) And he said, "These will be your eyes forever, and no one will take them away from you. (108) And you will see this way too, [and] behind, having eyes which stick out far," he said. (109) "Yes, you will even see behind you, although you look straight [ahead]," he said. (110) "That much good I give you," he said now. (111) And he was very, very happy. (112) Now he said crying, "No one has ever helped me so much," he said, "You are a very good man," he said, it being Gmokamč. (113) And that's as far as I tell.

14. The Eagles at Sohi·yagye·ks

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) I will tell something, [about] the Eagle, who lived—where they call "Sohi·yagye·ks." (2) I will tell about that place [lit. "there"], there he lived, on that mountain, on the other side of Sohi·yagye·ks. (3) Yes, on the other side of Sohi·yagye·ks, on that mountain, which projects out. (4) And it is the highest part there, that one mountain, which sticks out. (5) There it goes very, very high. (6) And that rock is always visible here, lying on top.

(7) And there that Eagle lived. (8) He had three children. (9) And one was small. (10) They never gave him anything to eat, when they killed things. (11) Out in the water they killed, various things, flying around, they now being grown—the children of the little old man [i.e., the father Eagle]. (12) Now then they always teased him [i.e., the littlest] thus, "This one has moulted!" they said. (13) "He has no feathers—being small yet." (14) They said, "This one has moulted," thus they said. (15) And they teased him always, they, those two big ones, the children of the big old man. (16) And they always did thus.

(17) And he thought, "I wish I could do something!" he thought, that little one. (18) "I wish I could do that way, like they do—catching something, and killing something going along," thus he said. (19) And the father said, "I will teach you. (20) I will teach you, how they do. (21) However, you are still very small. (22) You cannot fly as much as they fly." (23) And that father said, "When you get [your] feathers, I'll teach you then," he said, thus he told that little one, his child. (24) "And they will not tease you, if you know how," he said. (25) "And you will do it that same way, you won't miss," he said. (26) "The first time I'll tell you [how]," he said.

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(27) čoy honk ʔat ma·ns ḡitk, ma·ns hok ʔat. (28) ʔat čik hok Lasĺačgas, hokt ḱičḱa·ni. (29) ho·t sa dak mo·mni ʔat glegank, damnon č́osak. (30) la·bi hok sa weli·t́a honks. (31) čoy sa mo·mni glegank, čoy hok ḱičḱa·ni ʔat Lasĺa. (32) čoy naʔas gi, "ʔat ʔi ýa sańa·Wawli sʔaywaks?" naʔas honk hok ptisap, čiḱa·ʔa·k hok. (33) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·," či honk, "sʔaywaks ʔan ʔat hončant. (34) ʔat ʔan gilʔank honkankdamna ʔan ʔat, gida·na hak," či honk. (35) "ʔat ni sʔayo·ga," či honk, naʔas honk. (36) čoy naʔas gi, "ʔi·," či honk, "ʔala·Ywapk hay min."

(37) čoy honk hiʔitkni· aleʔa·, dalḱwank, do·, gos hok hompči, mo·ni gos. (38) hadakt hok gewa·, ʔambotdat, do··· ʔiwwa, ʔa·di··· ʔiwwa do . (39) čoy honk naʔas, "ho·t gos lagi· ho·t. (40) bosbosĺis ńos gitk, ḱet. (41) honkt ʔi sńogwapk," naʔas, "q̇ay q̇aYe·wapk," naʔas honk, honk sʔabi·ya. (42) "ʔat ʔi sʔaywaktanwapk waq ʔi giwapgok. (43) yana· ʔi glegank genwapk, gaʔas, q̇ay hak Las mi hisi·ksiḱank q̇a, dada·t ʔi gatbanwapk do· wiḱa·t. (44) gi···lʔank ʔi gotgič́apgwapk," naʔas honk. (45) "gotgič́apgank ʔi ʔat, čoy honks ndogwapk! (46) ndogwapk ʔambotdat hi·t! (47) čoy honks ksepgabliwapk. (48) čoy ḱet min gillis sʔewanwapk," naʔas honk. (49) "no· dak mis sle·babagwapk," naʔas honk, čiḱa·ʔa·k. (50) čoy honk ʔat hoḿas gi ʔat. (51) ʔat honk sle·bapga, hokt. (52) ʔat honk kbe·wa, "gen do· ʔat!"

(53) čoy honk ʔat hontgalč́a gidaĺ blay, do· blay honwallgank. (54) čoy honk ʔat hadakt wiḱa· če· ʔat, ʔat honk ńiwtgi, gi···lʔank! (55) čoy honk ʔat ndoga· honkt kant honk ʔala·Ya, honkt gos lagi·. (56) ʔat honk ndoga·. (57) ʔat honk siwga. (58) čoy honk ksepgabli ʔat, ʔat honk ksepgabli, hončipgabli hokt honkt ksoyamnatk. (59) ʔat honk ksatbambalyi·ya ptisa· mna. (60) čoy honk naʔas gi, "ʔi·, ʔat ʔi lwelo·lis giwapk! (61) ʔat mis ho·t sa q̇ay solo·go·lwapk, ʔi winyagyank honkýes lwelo·lis giwapk, la·ṕoḱe·ńs," naʔas honk ʔat. (62) čoy sa honk be·n q̇oye·ẃa honkanti·, ʔat wini·gis mnats. (63) na·noḱa·s honk hok, dwa· gin siwga ʔat hokt, hokt tsiḿangatk nalk. (64) čoy sa honk be·n q̇oye·ẃa, hok sat. (65) honkti·t hok sa la·bi q̇oye·ẃa.

(66) čoy honk ʔat hok čiḱa·ʔa·k glega·, hoʔot ʔat. (67) hoḿas hak čik honk hoʔot ʔat, mo·ḿs gin ʔitbambli datdadwa hompča, datdadwa gin, dom—do·s gin hok siwga, dwa· gin hokt. (68) tsiḿangatk nalk. (69) čoy hok mo··· ʔat glega·. (70) ʔat hok mo·ni gi, ptisa· mna winyagyank, mo·ni nalk. (71) ho·t sa dak q̇ay ḱeḱat bi, la·bi hok sa lobi·ni. (72) ge· dak hok ḱičḱa·ni nalk, čoy hok mo··· ʔat glega·. (73) čoy hok hi·t č́osak čawal, hiʔitkni· hok qmaga· č́osak, do·st hok qday gi, ʔat mo·ni gyank, ʔat q̇e·gisi mna ptisa· honk. (74) čoy hokt hok ʔat hi·tčgas či·ya·. (75) naʔas ni nen ḱada·di sʔabwapk.

(27) Now then after a long time, now it [was] a long time. (28) Now indeed he got feathers too, that little one. (29) But they had become big, wandering always. (30) They were two besides him. (31) And they having become big, that little one now got [his] feathers. (32) And he said, "Now do you want to learn?" said that father, that old man. (33) And he said, "Yes," he said, "Now I know how to fly. (34) Now I fly around strongly, just around here," he said. (35) "Now I am learning," he said. (36) And he said, "Yes," he said, "I will show you."

(37) And from there he saw, looking across, there, a swan like that, a big swan. (38) He was going there in the water, far out in the water, way out in the water there. (39) And he said, "That is a male swan. (40) Having a black head, this big. (41) You will catch him," he said, "You will not miss," thus he told him. (42) "Now you will learn how you will do. (43) Having turned down you will go, this way, not moving your feathers very much, when you will arrive close by there. (44) Suddenly you will just drop down," he said. (45) "Now you will go down, and you will strike him! (46) You will strike him in the water there! (47) And you will bring him back. (48) And I will give you this much strength," he said. (49) "But I will watch you," he said, the old man. (50) Now then he did that way. (51) Now he watched, he. (52) Now he ordered him, "Go now!"

(53) Now then he flew off this way high, having flown high up there. (54) And now he was close enough there, now he dropped down, suddenly! (55) And he struck him whom [his father] had pointed out, that male swan. (56) Now he struck him. (57) Now he slew him. (58) And he carried him back now, now he carried him back, flying back carrying him. (59) Now he carried him home for his father. (60) And he said, "Yes, now you will become a killer! (61) Now they will not tease you, you will become more of a killer than they, both of them," he said now. (62) And they became sad from that, that he had beaten them. (63) He was everywhere, now he killed just anything, that littlest young one. (64) And they were sad again, they. (65) From that they both became sad.

(66) Now then that old man died, that one. (67) Now he was the very same kind, he brought back even very large things like that, anything at all, many —even there he killed, whatever it might be. (68) The youngest one. (69) And he became very, very big. (70) Now he was large, more than his father, larger. (71) But they were not so big, those first two. (72) This one was the littlest, and he became very, very big. (73) And he always sat on top there, from there he watched always, where that rock was, now being big, now that his father was gone. (74) And now he was the next one to live there. (75) That is as far as I will tell.

15. The Pelicans and the Fish Hawk

(Mr. Robert David)

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(1) dińa· hok hompči domi··· komal git yana· či·ya·, ge·t, ʔews wiḱa·t. (2) čoy hok sa ćo···sak lwela·, lwela· sa kyem hon ṗoṗetdat, damno·ta, gopbablańo·ta hon ṗoge. (3) čoy hok ćis dokdokẃas, hoʔot ćosak lwela·. (4) čoy hok sa honk dińa· sogo·lgi, waqt honk liwli·gank·, ho·t sa, komal. (5) čoy honk hoʔot dokdokẃas sas gatbo·ta.

(6) "waq dal ʔa·t gen giwk liwli·ga da·ts? (7) domi· ʔa kyem gi. (8) dom ʔan lwela· ćosak. (9) čoy waq ʔa·t q́a hak ýaýaMḱas? (10) doma· da·ts ʔa·t ḱoĺas gitk, hoḿas hay ʔa·t hon giwk. (11) ḱotsĺa dada·t ʔa·t honk liwpgank, syoḱa·ĺa ʔat honk liwpgank. (12) sasdaqća ḱoĺas ma·ĺam," naʔas honk hemkanga hoʔot dokdokẃas.

(13) čoy honk naʔas gi, "ʔi·, ʔi·," či čik, "q́a na·t ʔa dedye·ḿa," či honk. (14) "waq ʔi na·ts giwk, q́ay sʔewanʔa?"

(15) "waq hay? sʔaywakta ʔa·t qwa·t ʔan hondagyank če· śnoga·. (16) ʔa·t dak ýaMḱas. (17) dam ma·ts ni honk sʔewanwapk?" naʔas honk. (18) "ʔa·t ʔa ýaMḱa ćosak. (19) ʔa·t ʔa hoḿas ʔat hon giwk, dedye·ḿa," naʔas honk hoḿas komĺas gi. (20) "čoy no· dak hon ćosak hoḿas—dića· bli ni śnoga·," či honk, "kat dići· glekńapgwapk, q́ay ćalwis, waqt sat ʔa·t hon ṗan," či honk. (21) naʔas sas honk hemttanʔa.

(22) čoy sa honk naʔas gi, "ʔi·," či honk, "waq hay—ʔepgi hay na·ts ṗatgi kant ʔi lwela·, dića·, sle·s ʔa na·t honk sańa·Wawli," či honk.

(23) "q́ay ma·ts ni dwa· sʔewanʔat," naʔas honk gi.

(24) čoy sa, "ʔi·. waq hayč ʔi da·k waq gi," či honk komal ho·t sa, domi· honk komal. (25) čoy sa honk ʔat newĺaqta naʔas, ʔat sa honk hončambli naʔas.

(26) "ʔi·, hi·t hak dedye·ḿat," naʔas sas honk, "q́ay dak ma·ts ni lweli·wapk, ma·ĺs liwbakst hi·t, soskatsalbakst hon ḱoĺas," naʔas honk. (27) "čoy qwa·t ʔan hon śnoga·," či honk, "blaykni· hondagyank, śnoga· ʔambotdat," či honk.

(28) čoy sa naʔas gi, "ʔi·. ʔi·. ʔo·č gint hay," či honk, "ʔo·č gin dak na·t dedye·mistga ćo·q́wapk," či honk, naʔas honk ho·t sat komal. (29) čoy sa honk ʔat newĺaqta naʔas, "q́ay na·t we·walwapk! (30) hi·t ʔi nanqa giwapk! (31) čoy nanqa goni· na·ĺ či·wapk," naʔas honk, komal ho·t sa gi. (32) "čoy nanqa hi·t nalk ʔi gitgo gaḱi·ćwapk!" (33) na·nok waytas," naʔas honk gi, "na·nok waytas, čoy ho·t ʔat q́ay sle·wapk dwa·," či honk. (34) "na·nok ʔat wiwk bańi genank sdimblasčanwapk ʔat hon ṗoge. (35) dada· hakt plentant ṗlegwapk, čoy ʔat honk siwgwapk, dwa· hakt mpettiq́agwapk, čoy ʔat honk siwgwapk," či honk. (36) "čoy ʔat

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(1) Once many of that kind of Pelicans lived here below, there, near the Lake. (2) And they always killed, they killed fish in that river, wandering, flying up and down that river. (3) And the Fish Hawk also, he always killed. (4) Now once they gathered together, as they were grouped on the bank, they, the Pelicans. (5) And the Fish Hawk came upon them.

(6) "But why are you sitting on the bank? (7) There are many fish. (8) I always kill many. (9) So why are you [plural] so lazy? (10) Instead you have many fleas, because you do that way. (11) You get fleas gathered together, gathered together closely. (12) You [pl.] scratch your fleas," said that Fish Hawk.

(13) And they said, "Yes, yes," they said, "We are very hungry," they said. (14) "Why don't you give us [something]?"

(15) "Why? Do you [pl.] know with what difficulty I get [my prey] diving down? (16) But you [pl.] are lazy. (17) Should I give it to you?" he said. (18) "You [pl.] are always lazy. (19) Because of your [pl.] being that way, you are hungry," he said thus to the Pelicans. (20) "But I always thus—catch only the good ones," he said, "Which are about to become nice, not rotten fish, as you [pl.] eat," he said. (21) Thus he spoke to them.

(22) So they said, "Yes," they said, "How—Bring us something to eat which you have killed, a good one, we want to see it," they said.

(23) "I cannot give you anything," he said.

(24) And they [said], "Yes. Just as you would," those Pelicans said, many of those Pelicans. (25) So now they made a plan, now they flew back thus.

(26) "Yes, you [pl.] be hungry there," he said to them, "I won't kill for you [pl.], while you [pl.] are gathered there, picking those fleas," he said. (27) "I get them with difficulty," he said, "Flying down from above, [*I*] seize them in the water," he said.

(28) And they said, "Yes. Yes, later on," they said, "But later on we will die from hunger," they said, thus said those Pelicans. (29) And now they plotted thus, "We won't allow [him]! (30) Some of you will be there! (31) And some of you stay there further on," they said, those Pelicans. (32) "And some of you go around further there!" (33) Every day," they said, "Every day, and he will not see anything," they said. (34) "All going close together, we will go downstream dipping the river [with our beaks]. (35) Whenever [any fish] comes to the surface, we will kill it, whatever floats up, we will kill it," they said. (36) "And the Fish Hawk will now fly around

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dokdokẃas plentant hak ma·ts honkangwapk. q̓ay hok sńogwapk dwa· ˀat," či honk, naˀas honk ho·t sa ˀat newĺaqta. (37) čoy sa honk hoḿas ˀat ma···na bańi gi.

(38) ˀat čik honk hoˀot dokdokẃas ˀat hontba, yaNWa· ale·s gyank. (39) doma· dak honk ho·t sa ˀat komal ˀipgank, hompčat na···nok dwa·, lwela· sa honk hompčat kyem didačč́a nanqa. (40) komal ho·t sa sdisdančńank, ˀambo montanna sa sdinčńa, čoy sa hon sńoga·, ka hakt plent ˀambo si·kaiḱapks gin hompča dič́a· gi. (41) hoḿas ho·t sa loĺeblanč́a, či sa honk ˀelga.[42] (42) čoy sa honk hoḿas gyank ˀat na·nok honk p̓an.

(43) čoy honk ˀat hoˀot geaga sńoqs dwa· ˀat. (44) q̓e·gi hok. (45) čoy hok ˀat hondabnank sas naˀas, "ˀi·," či honk, "no· ˀat dye·ḿa ˀan ˀat," či honk, "q̓ay ni dwa· aleˀa·. (46) q̓ay ˀan sˀaywakta waq giwk," či honk. (47) "q̓ay dwa· kyem mpettq̓aga. (48) q̓ay ni dwa· aleˀa·—gen ni hompbablanˀa, hompbablanˀa, na···nok waytas. (49) čoy ni q̓ay dwa· aleˀa·," naˀas sas honk gi.

(50) "ˀi," či čik honk. (51) "ˀi ˀa didačč́a lwela·, na·t dak hon q̓oyč́a," naˀas honk ho·t sat komal ˀat. (52) "ˀi hon didačč́a p̓a! (53) na·t dak hon lme·čipgapks p̓awapk, waqt ˀi na·ts sˀabi·ya," či honk, naˀas honk ˀat gi. (54) ˀat sa honk sˀaywakta honks, geaga sńoqs. (55) ˀat honk hoḿas gena·.

(56) čoy sas honk ˀat hoˀot dokdokẃas naˀas gi, "yoy̓algat ˀis," či honk, "yoy̓algat ˀis! (57) sˀewanˀank ˀis gat," či honk, "q̓ay ˀis hoḿas gat—ˀa·t ˀans hon hoḿas gi ˀat—ˀan sˀaywakta," či honk. (58) "ˀa·t hon hoḿas lwela· na·nok," či honk, ˀat sas ale·bapga saˀi·syank, dokdokẃas, ho·t honkango·ta. (59) ˀat honk honky̓es bil swallalYampga waqt gist sat. (60) čoy honk ˀat tabi· gatbnank naˀas gi, "ˀa·t hon hoḿas gis lis," či honk, "ˀat ˀan sˀaywakta," či honk. (61) "ˀa·t ˀans hoḿas gi," či honk, "gew da·ts ho·t gi," či honk, "no· ˀa ma·ts hon q̓ay dič gi lobi·," naˀas honk gi. (62) "čoy ˀat nis hon ˀaMḱa saẃalga, hoḿas giwk," naˀas honk gi. (63) "čoyč ˀat ma·ts ni q̓ay hoḿas giwapk," naˀas honk. (64) naˀas sas honk ˀat ˀapˀota·. (65) "he· ˀis deli·nat ˀat—ˀo·č ˀis deli·nat—ˀat ˀa·t dak ˀans wini·gi!" naˀas honk sˀaba·.

(66) čoy honk ho·t sa domi··· či·ya· hompča komal. (67) hoḿas ho·t sa komal—dada·t hoḿas dwa· waq gi—čoy sa sogo·lagyo·ta. (68) sogo·lagyo·ta sa dwa· sa q̓a sańa·Wawli hompča sńoqs, ˀambotdat. (69) čoy sa honk sogo·lagyo·ta na···nok. (70) čoy sa honk ˀat hoḿas gyank ˀat sńoga·, do···m sa didačč́a gin sńoga· hoḿas gyank. (71) čoy hoḿas hok, naˀas hok, gena· dank—ga·ˀa·k. (72) čoy hok dye·mis ne·pga ma···na bańi,

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[42] [re'i^{v}ebləčna] : /loĺeblanč́a/ "floated distributive round objects downstream," refers to the large fish-nets used by Klamath fishermen. Mr. David makes a simile here between the dipping beaks of the Pelicans and this type of fish-net.

above you [pl.], and he won't catch anything," said they, plotting now. (37) Now they did that way for a long, long time. 539#

(38) Now indeed that Fish Hawk flew down, looking very weak. (39) But those Pelicans had a great deal, every kind of thing, they had killed some good fish like that. (40) Those Pelicans went along dipping, they dipped beneath the water, and they caught even those moving on the top of the water [which] were good thus. (41) In that way they floated [their nets] downstream, as they call it. (42) And having done thus now, they ate it all.

(43) But now he [i.e., the Fish Hawk] was unable to catch anything. (44) They [i.e., the fish] were gone. (45) And flying down to them he said, "Yes," he said, "now I am hungry," he said, "I do not see anything. (46) I do not know what has happened," he said. (47) "No fish at all come to the surface. (48) I don't see anything—I fly up and down stream, fly up and down stream, every day. (49) But I don't see anything," he told them.

(50) "Yes," they said. (51) "You kill the good ones, but we [kill] the bad," said those Pelicans now. (52) "You eat the good ones! (53) But we will eat those that come floating, just as you told us," they said now. (54) Now they knew him, he was unable to catch [anything]. (55) Now that's the way it went.

(56) Now then that Fish Hawk said to them, "Pity me," he said, "Pity me! (57) Give me some," he said, "Don't do thus to me—you have done thus to me—I know it," he said. (58) "You have killed them all thus," he said, now he had watched them secretly, the Fish Hawk, flying around. (59) Now he had been watching them alone, what they were doing. (60) Now finally having come to them, he said, "You [pl.] have done thus," he said, "Now I know," he said. (61) "You [pl.] have done that way to me," he said, "But it is my [fault]," he said, "I did not do right to you [pl.] before," he said. (62) "So now perhaps [you pl.] have taken revenge upon me doing thus," he said. (63) "But I will never do thus to you any more," he said. (64) Thus he promised them. (65) "If you would leave me alone now—just leave me alone! —for now you [pl.] have beaten me! " thus he said.

(66) Now there were a great many Pelicans living thus. (67) Thus those Pelicans—whenever they would do anything—then they gathered together. (68) They gathered [when] they wanted very much to catch things like that, in the water. (69) Then they all got together. (70) Now then having done thus, they caught, they caught a great many even very good ones doing thus. (71) Thus it is, thus, it went at that time—long ago. (72) And there was a

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hoḿas giwk, dada·t honk ho·t sa komal hoḿas na···nok honk woĺa·, ńčenčka·ńs kyem. (73) čoy hok q̇ay čin nanqa kyem hoḿas giwk. (74) ʔat sa honk ńčenčka·ńs hompča na·nok sńoga (75) čoy sa gen q̇ay dada· woĺo·ygi git yantant, kyem, hoḿas sẃewo·k čis maqlaqs ga·ʔa·k. (76) čoy hok naʔas sʔabatk, ga·ni nen sʔaps naʔas. (77) či ni nent ḱet sʔaywakta.

16. Coyote and the Pelicans

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) sʔabwapk ni gew domnas ga·ʔa·k, kant na·ts sa sʔasʔapgle·ʔa maqlaqs ge·k sa. (2) na·nok dwa· hok ga·ʔa·k hemkanga. (3) čoy sa ḱolẏa·ʔas hon doma· sʔaba·, ho·t, ho·t sʔaywaks dwa·, sʔaywaks ho·t wini·gis, sʔaywaks ho·t hosʔis dwa·. (4) čoy hok dińa·, ʔat sńewe·ts sańa·Wawlyok, čoy honk gatba hadakt, lobi·daĺ, q̇ay sʔaywaktantk, do·s komal hok či·ya· somse·ʔaltk.

(5) čoy honk naʔas gi, "dye·ḿok ni gen gepga. (6) dam ʔins kyem sʔewanʔat?" (7) "ʔi·," či čik honk sńewe·ts, ʔat honk sʔewanʔa. (8) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·," či čik honk, "mo· ʔins gen dič gi." (9) čoy honk ʔat dičé·ẃa ʔat hokt ḱolẏa·, ʔat honk dičé·ẃa honkt sńewe·tsas gaʔas. (10) ʔat honk sana·Wawli honk gmaya. (11) čoy honk q̇ay geqča hokt sńewe·ts ʔat honks. (12) čoy honk ʔat q̇ay honk dića· dankt solo·tantk, čoy honk be·n tabi· gepga ma·ns hak gitk ʔat, hadakt hak. (13) ʔat honk qoyga honk sńewe·tsas, honkt honk sańa·Wawli ʔat, komĺam sńewe·tsas.

(14) čoy honk ʔat gitgo giwk, čoy honk ʔat dića· solo·tantk gepga. (15) "ʔo···," či čik honk hok sńewe·ts, "kani dal ge· gepga?" (16) qayqḿa honk, dića· honk solo·tantk. (17) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔo···, kani ʔa gepga ge·!" (18) Na·čyak honk či honk hemkanga bi da·k komal—komĺam sńewe·ts hok. (19) čoy honk ʔat goL̇i· ʔat do·, dič honk tgotgank, blay ʔeywallqpgank, goL̇i·. (20) "ʔo···, ʔi dal ge· gi?" či honk ʔat, dalpq̇a honk delʔis. (21) "ʔi dal ge· gatba." (22) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·, ale·lgi ʔams ni nen," naʔas honk. (23) ʔat honk gmaya· sńewe·tsas, dilanq̇a·q̇a honk ʔat, čoyʔo·lank.

(24) čoy honk ʔat hiswaqs hokt gatbamblyank aleʔa·. (25) aleʔa· honks, hoḿas gist ʔat. (26) čoy honk, "kani lis ge· dwa·—dwa· gin ge· sʔotĺa?"

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famine for a long, long time, because of that, when those Pelicans thus gobbled them all up, the little fish. (73) And some fish did not grow because of that. (74) Now they caught all the little ones thus. (75) And they never caught them below here, fish, because people fished that way also long ago. (76) And it was told that way, a long time ago the story thus. (77) That's as much as I know.

16. Coyote and the Pelicans

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) I will tell what I heard [lit. "my hearing"] long ago, which these people related to us as a myth. (2) They spoke of everything long ago [or: "Everything talked long ago"?]. (3) And they told many things about that Coyote, he, he knew something, he knew how to win, he knew how to be clever. (4) And once he, because he wanted a woman, came there, to the east, not knowing, where Pelican was living with his wife [lit. "being married"].

(5) And he said, "I have come because I'm hungry. (6) Could you [pl.] give me a fish?" (7) "Yes," said that woman, and gave it to him. (8) And he said, "Yes," he said, "You have done me very well." (9) Now then that Coyote liked [her], now he liked that woman this way. (10) Now he wanted to fool around with her. (11) But that woman paid no attention to him. (12) Now then he was not dressed well at that time, so he came back later after awhile, to that same place. (13) Now he knew that woman, now he wanted her, Pelican's wife.

(14) So now in order to do something, now he came dressed nicely. (15) "ʔohhh," said that woman, "Who is this one coming?" (16) She did not recognize him, dressed up well. (17) And she said, "ʔohhh, this is somebody coming!" (18) Alone thus she said to herself, Pelican—that Pelican's wife. (19) So now then he came in there, standing up very well, having his head thrown back high, he entered. (20) "Ohhh, is it you?" she said now, looking him in the face. (21) "It is you who have come." (22) And he said, "Yes, I have come to see you," he said. (23) Now then he played around with the woman, rolling around on her lap now, having taken his hat off.

(24) Now then that husband having come home saw. (25) He saw him, what he was doing. (26) And he [said], "Who is this—even doing this?" he

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naʔas honk. (27) čoy honk hokt ńewe·ts hok naʔas, "ho·t dak gatbandamna git." či honk, "siho·sgas gin gew." či honk.

(28) "ʔi·," či čik honk, "no· ʔa ge·ks sle·wapk!" či honk. (29) "dič́i· ʔa ge· wege·ṕkis sʔode·s," naʔas honk gi. (30) čoy honk ʔat psis ńogank, gen,— (31) "q̓ay! q̓ay č́lopṕwapk ʔins!" či honk hokt ḱolýa· gi. (32) čoy honk psis ńogank gen, na·nok sbočalli·na honk ʔat, ni·l mna. (33) na·nok sboč́alli·na qlas, na·nok qbel mańi·. (34) čoy honk hoḿas gyank ʔat wośo·qa honkt, ḱolýa·ʔas, ʔat sboč́alli·nank.

(35) čoy honk hokt ʔat yoýalga honk, ho·t ńewe·ts hok komĺam. (36) čoy honk hokt ḱolýa· naʔas gi, sbogank do·, "dwa· gin ʔins bwetqandamni·wapk, ṕawapk dak ni hompči hak gin. (37) ni·ĺalbliwapk dak ni," naʔas honk gi. (38) čoy honk ʔat hoḿas gi ʔat.

(39) čoy honk hadakt gatba—kani hak hokt—gmoḱańč ýa, wage·n sqel (one of them). (40) čoy honk hok ʔat gatba hadakt ʔat. (41) čoy honk naʔas, "waq lis ʔi gen gi?" (42) čoy honk naʔas gi, "ho·t ʔans gen hoḿas gi." či honk, "saśwa·Yi ʔis!" naʔas honk ḱolýa· hokt gi. (43) čoy sa honk gempča—waq lis sa gen ʔelga gitgo?—(What do they call those cattails?)—popas. (44) ʔi·, hompča honk ʔat poLo·ĺa. (45) "ʔat honk poLo·ĺa ʔas honk hompčat. (46) ʔat dak bahatk ho·t, gaʔas." (47) bahatk lis ho·t ḿoḿo·ḱmo·ḱattanʔatk. (48) čoy hompčat poLo·ĺank, ḱmoḱmakta ho·t, na·noḱa·s. (49) čoy ho·t hoḿas giwk honampča, ni·l gitk. (50) q̓ay hok dič́i·. (51) q̓ay sa honk ageʔa·, q̓a, hont ni·l. (52) ʔat honk gena· hoḿas gyank ʔat. (53) ʔat honk be·n q̓ay dada· ʔat gatba. (54) ʔat hok č́osni q̓e·gi. (55) ʔat hon hompča qbelʔi·ya honk, mo·, ʔat sʔabo·k naʔas, "no· ʔams saśwa·Ya. (56) ʔat ʔams ni saśwa·Ya, yoýalgok, ma·ms ʔi q̓ay saśwa·Ydaksči," naʔas honk hokt gi.

(57) čoy honk ʔat dič́e·ẃa honk hok ḱolýa·ʔa·k, ʔi·. (58) ma·ms hok na·nok dwa· sʔotía ḱolýa·ʔa·k, be·n do·s, dwa· sʔotía, dwa· q̓ay dič gi. (59) hoḿas hak damno·ta snebe·mbeḿa sas na·nok dwa·, dwa· glegank didatńa, weẃanni glegank. (60) čoy sas ṕalla dwa· č́is. (61) hoḿas ho·t ḱolýa·ʔa·k gaʔa·k či·ya·, čoy gawawčank na·noḱa·s do·st maqlaqs či·ya·. (62) či ni nen ḱet sʔaba·, [illegible] hak.

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said. (27) And that woman said, "But he keeps on coming around here," she said, "even at my forbidding [it]," she said.

(28) "Yes," he said, "I'll have a look at him!" he said. (29) "He'll make a good quiver," he said. (30) So now he had grabbed his nose, this— (31) "No! Don't make my nose bleed!" said that Coyote. (32) So he grabbed hold of his nose, and pulled it all off of him, his hide. (33) He pulled off all of his skin, all his tail too. (34) Now having done thus, he threw him out, Coyote, now having pulled off [his hide].

(35) Now then she took pity on him, that wife of Pelican's. (36) Then that Coyote said, lying there, "Throw out anything at all for me, I'll eat even that. (37) I'll get my fur back," he said. (38) Now then she did thus.

(39) Then came there—somebody it was—Gmoḱaḿč, perhaps Marten (one of them). (40) Now he arrived there. (41) And he said, "How did this happen to you?" (42) And he said, "He did thus to me," he said, "Help me!" thus said that Coyote. (43) So they were this kind—how do they call them? —(What do they call those cattails?)—cattails. (44) "Yes, he pulled off that kind. (45) "Now I pull off that kind. (46) Now they are dry, this way." (47) Dried, they are fuzzy. (48) And having pulled off that kind, he stuck them on, everywhere. (49) And because he did thus with that kind, [he] had fur. (50) It was not good. (51) They do not buy it, very much, that fur. (52) Now then he went away, having done thus now. (53) Now he never came any more. (54) Now he is gone forever. (55) Now he made a tail of the same kind, big, now telling him thus, "I am helping you. (56) Now I am helping you, taking pity, even though you are not worth helping," said he.

(57) Now then that little Coyote liked it, yes. (58) Even though he had done everything, little Coyote, again there, he did something, he did something not good. (59) Wandering in the same way he fooled them [at] everything, sometimes changing into something, becoming different [things]. (60) And he stole things from them also. (61) In that way that little Coyote lived long ago, going around from place to place everywhere that people lived. (62) This much I have told, as far as it [goes].

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17. Ģalo·qa·qaqs

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) čoy be·n ni dwa· s?abwapk, kant ni s?aywakta. (2) dada·t honk hok wawća·k ćasgi·ps dola či·ya·, čoy homas hoksakdanga honkt, kant ni nen s?abwapk, honkt ģalo·qa·qaqsas. (3) čoy honk ni nen domna ga·?a·k, q̇ay q̇a dič da·ts ni nen ho·akanga. (4) čoy sa honk ?at hoksakdanga sa honk. (5) q̇ay ni nen dič ho·akanga kaya·nWa hok. (6) ģalo·qa·qaqsas da·ts honk, honk gist siso·ga, hokt ģapģaģwaće·sis hok—na?as no· domna.[43]

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[43] Mr. David had just listened to the investigator reading Mr. Pompey's text about Ģalo·qa·qaqs (Text 7), and this reminded him of the present episode. In Mr. Pompey's story Ģalo·qa·qaqs fought Weasel, but Mr. David had heard some other version in which Ģalo·qa·qaqs fights with Ģapga ģwaće·sis. This is why he adds /na?as no· domna./ "Thus I heard."

Introductory Note to Text 17

This text and the four following it are not myths in the strict sense of the term. They have reference to myth incidents, or contain material relating to "supernatural beings," either as descriptions of these beings and their role in Klamath culture, or as narrations of actual encounters with these beings.

This text, "Q̣alo·qa·qaqs," was given by Mr. David after being reminded of this myth character by Mr. Pompey's story of "Old Mink and Nighthawk" (Text 7). It begins with a brief summary of the mythic incident which explains the phenomenon of lightning. Then since this reminded Mr. David of various Klamath beliefs and practices concerning lightning, he added these on.

The following text, "Gmok̓am̓č and Old Mink," contains a description of these beings, brief summaries of some of their doings, and some final remarks on their role in aiding and teaching the human beings of mythic times.

The next two texts, "Sqamdi" and "The Gaga·ńa," are current in Klamath tradition as actual experiences with these supernatural beings.

The final text in this section begins likewise with an encounter between humans of the mythical age and a powerful being, in this case a grizzly bear. Mr. David explained that this was no ordinary bear, since, like all other things in the myth age, she had the power of speech. Like the humans of that period too, the bear gained her extra strength by going to bathe at a certain hidden spring, a common form of the "power quest." This episode is then expanded into a general statement of Klamath ethics in regard to crimes of violence and the seeking of revenge.

17. Q̣alo·qa·qaqs

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) So I will again tell something, which I know. (2) When those dogs lived with Nighthawk, then he made them attack each other thus, which I will tell, that Q̣alo·qa·qaqs. (3) And I have heard it a long time ago, although I do not recall it well. (4) Then they made them attack each other. I do not recall which one it was. (6) Q̣alo·qa·qaqs however, he fought, that Q̣apg̣ag̣wad̓e·sis—thus I heard it.

*539 (7) ġapġaġwače·sis honk siso·ga ġalo·qa·qaqsas. (8) čoy honk ʔat sičwallqća, siso·ga mat. (9) ʔat sa siso·ga, ma···ns. (10) ġaḱi·ća sa honk, ʔa·yʔaýa sas honk, hok sat ġe·lant gyank. (11) čoy honk hoḿas hak gawallġa blaydaĺ, do·s sa honk sičwallqća. (12) blaydaĺ hok sat, do···. (13) ne· hak sʔollaqs domnas, ġalo·qa·qaqsʔam. (14) ġi···lʔank sʔollq́o·ta ġawallġa naʔas.

(15) čoy honk hokt čik honk hemčńa, gmoḱaḿč honk hokt, naʔas, "q́ay gotġibliwapk! (16) hiʔit hak ʔi ćosni giwapk!" naʔas honk ġalo·qa·qaqsas. (17) "q́ay ʔi gotġibalyank! (18) čoy ḱet hak ʔi snolo·ḱwapk pewdiwa·sas," naʔas. "naʔas bil ʔi gidamnwapk, dada· hakt ge· ṕaysawapk," naʔas honk, "čoy nent bil sʔollaq́wapk ġilʔank, hiʔitna či·yank, hiʔit hak či·yank blay," naʔas honk hokt gmoḱaḿč. (19) sʔabi·ya honkt.

(20) čoy hoḿas hak ʔat. (21) snolo·ḱa na·ts ho·t didatńa, lmeys. (22) naʔas wosa· nanqa lmeys. (23) maqlaqs hon wosa·, nanqa, lmeys ga·ʔa·k. (24) ga·ʔa·k sa dada·t lmena· hoḿas, kani dodi·q́alġa. (25) ḱičḱa·ni gyank, čoy he· hok dodi·q́atk, qlas Waltist, lilhanksʔam, bahapks qlas.[44] (26) čoy hok hadaktdaĺ gena·, dada· hakt lmeys Walta naʔas. (27) čoy honk ʔat q́a··· wosa·.

(28) čoy honk ćosak kbe·wa naʔas, "ʔambodaĺ hay ʔi hoččanwapk, he· hoḿas giwapk." (29) naʔas, "ʔambotdat ʔi do· gone·gwapk, čoy ʔi ġit dwa· silakliwapk, gitgo, ĺkom ho·t mo· se·sa, ĺkom loloqsti· hompči, kat ho·t nobo·sitk na·nok." (30) čoy honkt honk salwaltgi, čewank ʔambotdat.

(31) čoy ni sleʔa· dińa·, Na·s sńewe·ts hoḿas ġist ga·ʔa·k—ĺeyn ga·ʔa·k, dada·t ʔan honk sʔaywakta. (32) dada·t lmena· naʔas, čoy hok q́a··· wosa·. (33) čoy hok hottġića hi·t na·ĺam či·sksaksikni·, dokwaʔa·kdaĺ. (34) čoy hoḿas howwank hi·t, ma·ns čewa·, ʔambotdat. (35) naʔas sa sʔabe·. (36) "q́ay mat ho·t ndogat ʔambotdat dwa·," naʔas sa honk giwk. (37) čoy honk ni nen ḱet sʔabe· wiḱa·, naʔas kant ni sʔaywakta.

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[124] [44] The reference and exact translation of this sentence seem doubtful. This text unfortunately could not be checked over with Mr. David, and other informants were unable to supply a completely satisfactory translation. Mrs. Ohles felt that Mr. David had here injected a brief reference to the dreams in which spirit-power appeared.

(7) Çapgagwaće·sis fought Çalo·qa·qaqs. (8) Now then they rose up with each other, as they fought. (9) Now they fought, for a long, long time. (10) They went around and around, [and] they watched them, they [i.e., Nighthawk, Old Marten, etc.] being on the ground. (11) Then in that way they rose up [into the sky], where they went up with each other. (12) Up they [went], there. (13) That is the roar heard, Çalo·qa·qaqs'. (14) He rose roaring very violently.

(15) Then he said, that Gmoḱaḿč, thus, "Don't come back down! (16) There you will be forever!" he said to Çalo·qa·qaqs. (17) "Don't come back down! (18) And only that much will you threaten the myth-humans," he said. (19) "Only thus will you keep doing, whenever it gets cloudy," he said, "And only thus will you growl strongly, living there, living up there high," said that Gmoḱaḿč. (19) He told him.

(20) And it is thus now. (21) He threatens us sometimes, the thunder. (22) Thus some fear thunder. (23) People feared it, some, thunder long ago. (24) Long ago when it thundered thus, someone would have a vision. (25) Being small, so if he would have a vision, a hide sounding [flapping?] a deer's, a dried hide. (?) (26) So he went that way, wherever the thunder sounded thus. (27) And he feared very, very much.

(28) And [they] always commanded thus, "Run toward the water, if it does that." (29) [They] said, "Get down there in the water, and put something on here, something, charcoal is very useful, coals from the fire like that, which are completely burned black. (30) And they wanted [us] to put it [i.e., the charcoal] on top, sitting in the water.

(31) So I saw once, one woman doing that, long ago—in the recent long ago, that I know of. (32) When it thundered thus, then she was very much afraid. (33) So she ran down there from our house, toward Dokwa. (34) And having run into the water thus, she sat for a long time, in the water. (35) Thus they told [us]. (36) "Nothing can hit [you] in the water," thus they said. (37) So I have told this short bit [lit. "this much short"] which I know.

18. Gmoḱaḿč and Old Mink

(Mr. Robert David)

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(1) maqlaqs da·ts homás hak dank—ga·ʔa·k. (2) sʔaba· naʔas gida·na hok maqlaqs hompčit nanqa sʔaywaks. (3) sʔaywaks damnon, waqt min nen dank sʔabi·ya gen, sdaýa·Yast gida—kast min nen dank sʔabi·ya sdaýa·Yast.[69] (4) ni·ya min sʔabi·ya naʔas, sdaýa·Ya ḿeYas sas lweltgi giwk. (5) čoy hompči hok damnon git maqlaqs ga·ʔa·k. (6) danni hak? —ndanni?—woni·bi? (7) danni hak ʔoʔo·ʔaq sa se·satk. (8) hok da·ts gmoḱaḿč g̣illitk nalk.

(9) čoy Na·s ni sʔabwapk naʔas, do·. do·st ni nen sʔaba·, ni·Laqs gina·ḱa hi·t. (10) sohi·yagye·ks goni·ḱa, kat ho·t ʔews ho·t. (11) mo·ni ho·t ʔews ho·t, kant hon sle·ća geno·k do·daĺ. (12) čoy honk hadakt hok maqlaqs či·ya·, do·g̣e·n hon ʔews. (13) čoy sa q̇ay dada· sa kyem ṗan, kyem gempča. (14) čoy čik hok hadakt hokt gatba, Na·s, hompčat sʔaywaks. (15) čoy či honk naʔas gi, "sʔotḱi·wapk ʔa ma·ts ni. (16) sʔotḱi·wapk ʔa ma·ts ni, do·st ʔa·t ṗawapk kyem." (17) čoy honk homás gi. (18) čoy honk hompčat qʔis ndaglank qdo·lća. (19) qdo·lća honk wiwk. (20) čoy honk bwewa· honk hadakt. (21) čoy honk naʔas gi, "ge· ʔa kyem g̣legwapk," či honk. (22) na·nok sqoks ʔat hon sle·wapk," či honk, naʔas honk gi. (23) "ṗawapk ʔat ʔa·t kyem! (24) kyem ho·t g̣legwapk, hompči ćwa·m. (25) ćwa·m ho·t g̣legwapk," či honk.

(26) čoy honk hok sat diće·ẃa honk ʔat, hi·t či·tk, ni·Laqs gina·ḱa hi·t. (27) hi·t honk či·ya· sa, ni·Laqs hon gina·ḱa. (28) čoy honk diće·ẃa sa naʔas, "ʔi·," či honk, "mo· ʔi na·ts dič."

(29) čoy honk g̣isl̦ga hompčant qdayyat. (30) čoy honk yaḱapḱo·la, q̇elýak sdikso·y, gaʔas pečl̦gank. (31) "ge· gew g̣weys. (32) dada· ma·ns hakt ge· g̣weys mbegwapk, čoy honk ḱada· ma·ns gi ʔat kyem giwapk gida," či honk. (33) g̣isl̦ga honk honkant qdayyat, ʔews ʔiwlialli·na, ʔambo wiḱa·t hon. (34) naʔas honk sʔabi·ya maqlaqsas, honkýes. (35) dam bas nen hok hatkak ʔo·č? (36) mbega· qdayyat. (37) čoy homás hak no· honk sleʔa· dank. (38) gemás pečĺaqWi·s sitk hiswaqsʔam g̣weys, mo·ni, qdayyat gaʔas, yaḱapḱo·latk. (39) sleʔa· ʔan honk, dank, no· da·k ċis.

(40) "dada· ma·ns hakt gew ge· peč giwapk, čoy hok gatbanwapk, kyem," naʔas honk. (41) "gaba·tanwapk ho·t git ʔewsdat. (42) čoy honk ʔat

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[124]

[69] Mr. David here refers to Text 38, which was told to the investigator some days before the present one.

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16. Gmoḱaḿč and Old Mink

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) People were the same some time ago—long ago. (2) It is told that there were people around here like those knowing [something]. (3) They knew how to travel [around], as I related to you recently, building a dam here—whom I told you awhile ago building a dam. (4) Recently I told you about it, they built a dam for the trout to kill them. (5) And it was that kind of person who wandered around here long ago. (6) How many?—three?—four? (7) Several having different names. (8) However, Gmoḱaḿč was the strongest.

(9) And I will tell about one, there, where I have told [before], on this side of Ni·Laqs there. (10) On the far side of Sohi·yagye·ks, where that lake is. (11) That is a big lake, which [you] see on going that way. (12) And there the people lived, on the end of that lake. (13) And they never ate fish, fish like these. (14) Indeed he came there, one, knowing something like that. (15) And he said, "I will build [something] for you [pl.]. (16) I will build [something] for you [pl.], where you [pl.] will eat fish." (17) And he did thus. (18) And having picked up a rattlesnake like that, he cut it into pieces. (19) He cut it into small pieces. (20) And he threw it into the water there. (21) And he said, "This will become fish," he said. (22) Every spring you will see them," he said. (23) "Now you [pl.] will eat fish! (24) It will become fish, suckers like that. (25) It will turn into suckers," he said.

(26) Now then they were happy, living there, there on this side of Ni·Laqs. (27) They lived there, on this side of Ni·Laqs. (28) And they were glad thus, "Yes," they said, "Very well you [have done] us."

(29) So he stepped on a rock like that. (30) And he stepped in it [as if it were mushy], without shoes, putting his foot down this way. (31) "This is my print. (32) As long as this print shall last, so long shall fish be here," he said. (33) He stepped on that rock, by the edge of the lake, near that water. (34) Thus he told the people, them. (35) [I] wonder if it is still in the same place? (36) It lay in the rock. (37) I saw it just like that some time back. (38) This sort of footprint, like the track of a man, big, in the rock this way, having stepped in it. (39) I saw it, some time ago, I myself also.

(40) "As long as this my foot [print] will be, so they will come, the fish," he said. (41) "They will come to the edge of this lake here.

#539 ṗawapk ʔa·t, lwelank." (43) čoy naʔas sas hok sʔabi·ya, ga·ʔa·k, hompčit sʔaywaks hiswaqs.

(44) čoy hok hiʔit čis sbokíis mo·ni lboga·, hompče·ńam. (45) ho·t honk sʔotíi·ya sas, hokt, sbokíis honk, ẏayńa wiḱa·t hi·t. (46) lboga· mo·ni, sleʔa· ʔan honk dank, ga·ʔa·k. (47) čoy honk hadakt ho·t sat sbokíiʔa, domi· gin goLyank. (48) sleʔa· ʔan honk, mo···ni hok gen lačas winyagyank, mo·ni nalk, sbokíis hok. (49) čoy hok ginqant gidaí, ḱečča.[44] (50) čoy honk hadakt qday ʔilgank datglam, čoy hok qwa·t glegatk qday dank, mo·mni qday. (51) mo·mni hok qday. (52) ʔiĺa·ĺa hadakt. (53) čoy honk hokt hok sbokíiWi·s čis sam ga·ʔa·k. (54) hi·tkni· honk sbokíiʔa hokt, sas honk sʔotíi·ya hompčit, sʔaywaks.

(55) čoy Na·s čis hompčit lboga·, ʔiWq̓a·q do· gina·ĺa, ẏayńa wiḱa·t. (56) honk ni sleʔa· čis. (57) sbokíis hompči hak mo··· sʔode·tk. (58) čoy da·ts no· q̓ay sʔaywakta kakni hok—dam hompčit mo·mni, waga·n kani gin sbokíiʔa hadakt honkant. (59) čoy honk ʔambo wiḱa·t ntoltq̓aga gida, honkt sbokíis wiḱa·t. (60) pepe·wḱis hok hompče·ńam, maqlaqsʔam. (61) čoy ʔat dič pepe·wwapk, sbokíyo·lank, či honk honkt ʔambo sʔotíi·ya sas goq̓a·k hon, mo·ni hok goq̓a·k ʔat glega·. (62) čoy honk ni nen sʔasba, naʔas sʔabo·k, čoy sʔaywaks dank git damnon.

(63) he· silʔaltk kani, čoy hok heswambli naʔas, gaʔas dasttanʔo·ta, hemkango·ta. (64) "saṅa·Wawli wemblitgi giwk," či honk, yaNWa· gin gipks, kat gin glekńapga. (65) čoy honk hokt dasttanʔa gaʔas sʔabi·ya naʔas, "q̓ay hay ʔi giwapk. (66) ʔat ʔams ni saˈwa·Ywapk." (67) spitgalbli honk sńogank ńepbat. (68) spitgalbli honk sńogank ńep hoḿas, honkt hiswaqs, sʔaywaks giwk.

(69) dwa gin honk hoḿas gi saˈwa·Ya, dwa· gin—dwa· hakt kani hoḿas gi, waga·n hoḿas ḿa·sʔa, waga·n dwa· yoẏalqsči gi. (70) čoy hok saˈwa·Ya naʔas, "no· ʔams saˈwa·Ywapk," či honk, sʔabi·ya hokt. (71) čoy ʔat hoḿas giwapk, waqt hakt min sʔabi·ya. (72) "čoy ʔi gasaqčanwapk honkt," naʔas sas hokt sʔabi·ya, "čoy saˈwa·Ywapk."

(73) čoy na·ts hompčit git gawʔi·na ga·ʔa·k. (74) hompčit—maqlaqs hok hoḿas gi. (75) maqlaqs hok, q̓ay dwa·. (76) q̓ay datkni· gatbnank,

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[124] [44] Mr. David here gestured up at the roof, indicating the position of the smoke-holes. This is the reference of /gidaí/ "through here."

(42) And now you [pl.] will eat, having killed [them]." (43) Thus he told them, long ago, the man knowing how [to do] things of that sort.

(44) And there also lay a big sweathouse, belonging to people like that [lit. "that kind's"]. (45) And he made it for them, he, the sweathouse, there near the mountain. (46) It was large. I saw it sometime ago, long ago. (47) And there they used to sweat themselves, even many having gone inside. (48) I saw it, much, much bigger than this house, bigger, that sweathouse. (49) And there was a hole through here, a little one [i.e., a smokehole]. (50) And having put stones there in the center, those stones became [stuck together?] hard, big stones. (51) Those stones were large. (52) They built fires there. (53) And that is the ruins of their sweathouse long ago. (54) The one from there used to sweat himself, that kind made it for them, knowing how.

(55) And one of that kind also lies, there on this side of Fort Klamath, near the mountain. (56) I have seen it, also. (57) A sweathouse of just that kind, very, very well made. (58) However, I do not know who—whether those big persons, or perhaps anybody at all sweated themselves in it there. (59) And water flowed up [i.e., a spring] here nearby, near that sweathouse. (60) And they would bathe well, having sweated themselves, since he had made that water for them, that little river, [though] now that little river has become large. (62) And I have related these [stories], that's why I'm telling them that the ones who know used to wander around here long ago. (?)

(63) If anyone were sick, then he would make him better, laying hands on him in this fashion, and speaking. (64) "[I] want [you] to get well," he said, even being very weak, who was even about to die. (65) And he rubbed him thus, saying, "You will not be [thus]! (66) Now I will help you." (67) He pulled him back up, taking him by the hands. (68) He pulled him back up taking his hands thus, that man, because he knew how.

(69) He did anything thus, helping, anything at all—whatever happened to someone, whether he was ill thus, or whether he was somewhat poor. (70) And he helped them saying, "I will help you," he said, he told [them]. (71) So it would be thus, just as I have related to you. (72) "And you follow it [his rule?]," thus he told them, "and [I] will help you."

(73) So it was that sort who went among us here long ago. (74) That kind—he was a person [Indian?] like that. (75) He was an Indian [person?], nothing else. (76) Not having come from anyplace else, but just from

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gida·kni· hak hok. (77) q́ay da·ts ʔan honk sʔaywakta kakýas gist. (78) q́ay ni nen honk se·sas sʔaywakta. (79) čoy hokt bil gmočaḿč čoy sqeĺaḿč, ho·t sa sʔaywaks ga·ʔa·k. (80) gmočaḿč, sqeĺaḿč, čoy kani hak čis Na·s. (81) q́ay ni nen honkt ho·skanga. (82) gida hok či·ya·, gina·ge·n, hompči hak sʔaywaks, domi·. (83) či ni nen sʔaba·, ḱečča gew sʔaywaks.

19. Sqamdi

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) sańa·Wawli sʔaps be·n, gida·ńs na·ĺam da·k ge·lati·, gida·ńs, kat ge· newčńa, goge. ʔewksidaĺ. (2) čoy git ge· wića·, čoy na·t maqlaqs naʔas ʔelgank sqamdi. (3) čoy hadakt hok ʔa···di· ʔe·Watk goge, ʔa·di· ginḱotk. (4) čoy hok ćosak gaʔas, q́ay ntolčńok sitk, hatkak giwk sitk ćosak. (5) ʔa·di···, gintgiedat, Wali·s gaʔas do· blay, čoy hok deldagyank honkt sleʔa·, sqamdi.

(6) čoy hok hadakt domi· honks sleʔa·. (7) ge·tkni· dińa· mo·watwa·sge·nkni· gatbnank, gida či·ya· hompčit, wenni·ni maqlaqs. (8) honkt honk sańa·Wawli hesle·s hadakt. (9) čoy honk sʔabi·ya gida·kni· naʔas, "hi·t ʔa hehaslʔis do·, he· ʔi wennikni· gatbant." (10) hadakt honk sʔabi·ya naʔas, sqamdi se·satk. (11) čoy honk naʔas gi. "ʔi·, waq hay sle·wapk ʔan honk, dam bas ʔo·č nis hesle·t sqamdiwa·s, hok gotq́agwapk. (12) čoy ʔan honk sle·wapk," naʔas honk hokt gi.

(13) čoy honk gena· dińa·, litgi, lopýa dinne·ks. (14) loloqsḱeys honk ʔoyyamna. (15) "siwgwapk ʔan honk," naʔas honk, naʔas honk hokt maqlaqs. (16) "siwgwapk ʔan honk, honkt sqamdiwa·sas, dwa· hakt hok giwapk. (17) kant ʔa·t nen yeywi, siwgwapk ʔan honks!" naʔas honk hokt, ledalʔanni hok, do·daĺkni· gatbnank maqlaqs.

(18) čoy honk gena·, dińa· litgi ʔat, lopýa dinne·ksi. (19) čoy honk do· hadakt gatba, wačǰatga genank. (20) wačǰatga honk gida·kni· gena·. (21) Na·s honk hiwaga naʔas, "q́ay hay ʔi! q́ay ʔi hońas giwapk!" či honk, "qadak ʔa na·t nen sʔaba·!" (22) "ʔa···, sle·wapk ʔan—sle·s ʔan sańa·Wawli. (23) na·nośa·s ni damnon," naʔas honk hok maqlaqs, "na·nośa·s ni damnon, ćosak hak ni geqno·la dwa· gin,"

right here. (77) However, I do not know who they were. (78) I don't know their names. (79) Only it was Gmoḱaṁč and Old Marten, they knew how [to do things] long ago. (80) Gmoḱaṁč, Old Marten, and one more also. (81) I can't think of him. (82) They lived here, on this side, the ones who knew how like that, many [of them]. (83) It is as I have told it, a little of what I know.

19. Sqamdi

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) I wish to tell again, [about] our own region here, right here, where it flows, the river, towards the Marsh. (2) And a little ways up here, we people have called "Sqamdi." (3) And there the river is very, very deep, very far across. (4) And it is this way always, as if it did not flow, as if it were always in one place, always. (5) Very, very far, in descent, the cliff there being high thus, and having looked down [you] see it, Sqamdi.

(6) Now then many have seen him there. (7) From there, once a Pit River [Indian] having come, he lived here thus, a foreign Indian. (8) He wanted [someone] to show him where it [was]. (9) So [those] from here told [him] thus, "It appears there, if you, a foreigner, should come." (10) [They] told him [that it was] there, named Sqamdi. (11) And he said, "Yes, why I would see it, if [you] can show me Sqamdiwa·s yet, [and if] he would come up [to the surface of the water]. (12) So I would see him," he said.

(13) So he went off once, in the evening, before sunset. (14) He carried his gun. (15) "I'll kill him," he said, said that Indian. (16) "I'll kill him, that Sqamdi-dweller, whatever he might be. (17) He whom you [pl.] are proud of, I'll kill him!" he said, that mischievous one, the Indian who had come from over there.

(18) So he went off, once now at evening-time, before the sunset. (19) And he arrived way over there, having gone by horse. (20) He went from here by horse. (21) One forbade him thus, "Don't! Don't do thus!" he said, "We have told the truth!" (22) "ʔahhh, I will see—I want to see. (23) I have travelled around everywhere," said that Indian, "I've travelled around everywhere, and I've always gotten out [all right] what-

naʔas honk hokt, solwetgok maqlaqs sʔaba·. (24) "ʔi·, gen hay do·!" či honk, "ʔat dak min san sʔabi·ya, kant ni sʔaywakta," naʔas honk hokt.

(25) čoy honk ʔat hom̓as gi. (26) ʔat do· gatbnank delo·lipga, tgotgank naʔas, "sqamdiwa·s gotq̓agank ʔis hesle·!" naʔas honk nqenkanga hokt, hadakt deltgipgank do·. (27) čoy čik hok q̓oLɬ hok wdomḱo·ća, q̓oLɬ hompči. (28) wdomḱo·ća do·ksĺadal̓. (29) čoy honk honkt ýo·ttanʔa loloqsḱeystga. (30) čoy honk q̓ay siwga. (31) čoy honk be·n do·ksĺantkni· Na·s wdomḱo·ćapga, ʔat ma·ns hak gitk. (32) ʔat hok ʔoʔo·aqči hompči wdomḱwa. (33) balbalʔi. (34) taktakĺi be·n wdomčḱa, gidal̓kni· wdomčipga. (35) čoy bosbosĺi be·n gin. (36) ýo·ttanʔa honk loloqsḱeystga. (37) ʔat honk na·nok mna ḱeys ýo·čapga. (38) domi··· hok hom̓as ʔat, wdo·damkanga hompčit ʔat. (39) q̓oLɬ hok hompči. (40) čoy honk ʔat hom̓as mo··· hak ʔa datglam—waqt hon—so·q̓o·ngwapk balbal hak—goge ho·t glega·, waqt hon dopdoṕo·k hom̓as.

(41) čoy honk ʔat hok sańa·Wawli hokt dwa· mo·ni gotq̓aks. (42) čoy honk ʔat hokt hiswaqs geaga honk ʔat sle·babaqs. (43) ʔat honk hiʔit hak ńĺiwwanga. (44) ńĺiwwangank hokt sboga· ge·lant. (45) q̓ay honk sʔaywakta ʔat honk wiḱa· delčampga gotq̓aks mo·ni dwa·. (46) na·nok hok gotq̓aks gaʔas, dopdoṕo·k sitk. (47) ʔambo ho·t glega·. (48) čoy honk hom̓as ʔat waqt hon gaʔas gidamna. (49) honkt bil honk sleʔa· ʔat. (50) ʔat honk ńĺiwlga, ge·lant sboga·, ma·ns hiʔit hak. (51) ʔat honk q̓ay hak sleʔat dwa· gist.

(52) ʔat honk geaga hok siknambaks, hiswaqs hokt. (53) geaga honk delčambaks be·n, waqt honk sas sʔaba· naʔas, "no· na·nok dwa· sleʔa·."
(54) čoy honk ho·t geaga honkt sle·babaks. (55) ʔat honk hom̓as gi ʔat.
(56) ʔat honk q̓ay sʔaywakta dwa· bas waq gist.

(57) ʔat sa honk gaẃalbli hi·t, ma·ns q̓e·gist psin. (58) do·skni·t honk gena·, gida·kni· honk gena·, bosaksawa·skni·. (59) čoy sa honk ʔat haYčńa do· ʔat. (60) čoy sa honk sleʔa·, sbogapks. (61) čoy sa honk ʔat hom̓as gyank ʔat spolhapgabli ʔat. (62) sniwtambli sa honk gaʔas, hesčalgank či honk.

(63) "waq lis ʔi? (64) dwa· ʔi sleʔa·?" či sa honk, wola· sa honk.
(65) "q̓ay ʔan sʔaywakta," či ʔe·č, "q̓oy ʔans gi," naʔas honk hokt.
(66) "yaNWa·ni gew sdaynas lis lota·," naʔas honk hokt sʔaba·. (67) "yaNWa·ni gew sdaynas gi," či honk, "čoy ni geaga honk, hom̓as gist," či honk. (68) ʔat honk ńĺiwlgank, ćosni. (69) ʔat ni ḱada·di hak.

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ever [it was]," he said, that Indian braggingly said. (24) "Yes, go on then!" he said. "But now I have told you, that which I know," said he.

(25) So now then he did thus. (26) Now having gotten there he looked down off [the cliff], [and] standing said, "Sqamdi-dweller having come up, show yourself to me!" thus he called out, looking down over there. (27) Now indeed an otter swam across, an otter like that. (28) It swam across to the other side. (29) So he fired at it with his gun. (30) But he did not kill it. (31) And again from that side one came swimming across, after awhile. (32) Now different kinds swam across. (33) White. (34) Red [ones] again swam away, came swimming from here. (35) And again even a black one. (36) He shot at them with his gun. (37) Now he had fired off all his bullets. (38) Very, very many now [were doing] thus, now that kind swam around. (39) Otters like that. (40) Now then thus in the middle [of the stream] very much—just as it—will foam white—the river became, as if it were boiling thus.

(41) Now something big wanted to come up out. (42) Then now that man was unable to look it in the face. (43) Now he fell over right there. (44) Having fallen over, he lay on the ground. (45) He did not know now that something big had almost come up out. (46) It all came up out, as though it were boiling. (47) The water became [thus]. (48) Now thus it kept on being this way. (49) That's all he saw now. (50) Now he fell down, lay on the ground, for a long time right there. (51) Now he could not see what was happening at all.

(52) Now he could not stand it, that man. (53) He was unable to look at it again, as he had told them, "I [can] look at anything." (54) So he was unable to see it. (55) Now it was thus. (56) Now he did not know anything that happened to him.

(57) Now they found him there, the night being long gone [or: "he being gone long at night"]. (58) People from there went, people from here went, from Chiloquin. (59) So now they tracked him there. (60) And they saw him, lying. (61) Now then having done thus, they brought him back on [a horse]. (62) They revived him thus, making him sit down.

(63) "How are you? (64) What did you see?" they said, they asked. (65) "I don't know," he said, "It did me bad," he said. (66) "My heart is weak," he told [them]. "My heart is weak," he said, "So I could not do thus," he said. (68) Now having fallen down, forever. (69) Now I [have told it] as far as [it goes].

30. The Gaga·ńa

(Mr. Robert David)

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(1) ga·ʔa·k ʔams ni nen be·n s·ʔabwapk. domnas gew. (2) naʔas sa sʔabe·. ho·t sa sa·t č́oosk meya· do·. daddadwa. do·st sa hon či·ya·. (3) do· ʔiWWasga. sa·t honk meya·. boqs—ʔakýaʔ—domi· we·ẃańs. (4) čoy honk ḿomńa·k sa mat ʔilgank hok. sẃenčjat sa ʔigogank. čoy sa honk ʔilqč́a. (5) ʔilga sa honk. (6) ʔilamnč́a didatńa dwantdat, sa dalamna sẃenč hompča.

(7) čoy sa honk ma···ns honk meya·. (8) čoy naʔas, "waq dal ʔi, q̓ay mi sle·čabli ḿoḱa·k?" (9) naʔas nanqa ho·t sa we·ẃańs. (10) "q̓ay dal hok dye·ḿa?" (11) "ʔi·," či čik honk, "gembliwapk hay ni gen." (12) naʔas honk, "besč́wapk ʔan honks," naʔas honk, "besč́wapk ʔan honks, čoy be·n gepgabliwapk."

(13) čoy honk ʔat honk besč́a gaʔas, ʔeMkangank. (14) čoy hok ʔat ʔeč́a· honk, hokt. (15) ʔat honk ʔeč́a· ma···ns. (16) čoy honk hokt sńewe·ts hasanagas sańa·Wawli. (17) q̓ay čik honk hanaga ʔat honk—č́osni honk ʔat ʔeč́a· git. (18) qbota· honk, č́osni git, ʔeč́asdat. (19) čoy honk ʔat ho·skanga, "dwa· dal hok ge·? (20) q̓ay gew ge· we·ʔas," naʔas honk, sńewe·ts hok ʔat. (21) "q̓ay gew ge· we·ʔas sitk." (22) ʔat honk dasttanʔa, čoy hok qaWqaẂli gi.

(23) čoy hok geaga hasanagas. (24) ʔat geaga honk hasanagas (25) čoy honk ʔat sas honk nqenkanga naʔas, "dwa· ʔans ge·! (26) geaga ʔans ge· hanagas." či honk. (27) čoy sa honk sidallagyank ʔat hok sa we·ẃańs sle·bapga. (28) qaWqaẂli hok na·noḱa·s č́ole·ks, ńos čis. (29) na·noḱa·s hok qaWqaẂli. (30) čoy honk naʔas gi, "gaga·ńa ho·t," naʔas honk Na·s sńewe·ts. (31) "gaga·ńa ʔams ho·t ʔeč́a·, honkt dak hok siwgapga mi ḿoḱa·k," či honk. (32) "siwga mi ho·t ḿoḱa·k, honk, ʔaMḱa, čoy hok bi da·k hoḿas selč́antanʔa bi, honkt sẃenč. (33) sẃenčjat honk gigoga hokt gaga·ńa. (34) hokt hompčit ho·t gi." či honk.

(35) čoy sas honk naʔas gi. "waq hay—qdosgi hay ʔis!" (36) ʔeč́as sa honk ʔat qdosga honk sńewe·tsas. gida·ńs honk. ʔiWḿa·č́a·ńs. (37) čoy sa hoḿas če· gyank ʔat, goWasga hok sńewe·ts. (38) geaga

20. The Gaga·ńa

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) I will tell you again about long ago, what I heard [lit. "my hearing"]. (2) Thus they related, the Paiutes always dug [roots] there, various things, there where they lived. (3) Far over there, the Paiutes dug, camas—perhaps?—many women. (4) And having put down their babies, having put them into the cradleboard, they put them down and left them. (5) They put them down. (6) Sometimes they leaned them against something, standing that cradleboard up against something like that.

(7) Now for a very, very long time they were digging. (8) And [one woman] said, "What's the matter with you, you have not gone back to see your baby?" (9) Said some of those women. (10) "Won't he be hungry?" (11) "Yes," she said, "I'll go back right away." (12) She said, "I'll give him to suck," she said, "I'll give him to suck, and then will come back again."

(13) Now then she gave him to suck, taking him up in her arms. (14) Now then he sucked, he. (15) Now he suckled for a very long time. (16) So then that woman wanted to make him let go [lit. "make him open-off his mouth"]. (17) Indeed, he did not let go—always he suckled here. (18) He kept his mouth on, always here, on the teat. (19) So now she thought, "What's the matter with him? (20) This is not my child," said she, that woman now. (21) "He is not like my child." (22) Now then she ran her hands over him, and he was hard.

(23) And she could not make him let go. (24) Now she could not make him let go. (25) So now she called to them saying, "Something [has got] me! (26) He can't let go of me," she said. (27) So they having run together, now those women looked. (28) His body was hard all over, [his] head too. (29) Everywhere he was hard. (30) And one said, "He is a Gaga·ńa," thus said one woman. (31) "A Gaga·ńa is suckling you, but he must have killed your baby," she said. (32) "He has killed your baby, it, perhaps, and he has laced himself on, that cradleboard. (33) That Gaga·ńa has gotten into the cradleboard. (34) He is that kind," she said.

(35) So she said to them, "How—cut it off of me!" (36) Now they cut off the breast of that woman, right here, on the end. (37) And having just done thus, that woman went away. (38) But she was unable

#539 dak honk hasasnwis, sa sqoldatqás sa honk, čoy sa honk gesga hasanwis, qwa·t honk sagwačdangatk hokt. (39) čoy sa honk sʔaywakta hoćnas, gaga·ńa hok hoćnas. (40) čoy honk ni domna naʔas ńat.[47]

21. The Bear

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) nent ni be·n Na·s wiḱa·ńs sʔabwapk, kant ni sʔaywakta. (2) honk čik ni ho·skanga ńečč́a. (3) ga·ʔa·k ni nen domna naʔas, do·s honk ʔewksi do·s hak hi·t—čoy ḱičḱa·ńs honk loq̓a·k sńoga·. (4) čoy honk maqlaqs ksepgabli gina·dai̇́, do·st ho·t mbosaksawa·s gida. (5) čoy goni· hi·t, lobaqsksi či sa hon ʔelgank hi·t, goge wiḱa·t. (6) hi·t hok domi··· maqlaqs či·ya·, wqeplíaqsdat, na·nok dwantdat. (7) hi·t maqlaqs či·ya· ga·ʔa·k, loldam gin. (8) čoy hok hi·tkni· hok maqlaqs. (9) ʔat honk hokt sʔaywakta, loq hok, gatbambiyok hadakt do· q̓e·gist mna ḱičḱa·ńs. (10) čoy honk gweys sam haYčipga ʔat.

(11) čoy honk sʔaba· q̓oye·ẃank q̓a···, hokt loq, sńewe·ts hok. (12) čoy honk naʔas, "kańs sitk nis sa gen," či honk, "kat no· č́is swaq̓a·delwas pe·watk," naʔas honk.[48] (13) "no·č dak swaq̓a·delwas ni pe·watk," či honk, "spodo·tgiwk hon," naʔas honk. (14) naʔas honk sdalta, "spodo·tk ni hadakt, ʔambotdat do·st hok qwa·ḱatk ʔambo, q̓ay hadakt kani q̓a gatbant. (15) čoy honk hompči naʔas hok ʔelgank, "swaq̓a·delwas ni pe·watk," či honk. (16) ʔat honk sʔawi·gok, naʔas gi.

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[47] Mr. David changed to English after finishing this text and related some further incidents about the Gaga·ńa. They were tiny people, he said, who dressed strangely and were sometimes naked. They lived out in the timber but were especially numerous around Summer Lake (/ʔiwws/). They were seen not only by the Klamaths but by other tribes and by white men as well. He described one such occurrence in his youth, when a white man driving a team of horses on "the mountain" (Crater Lake?) was stopped by a tiny little man who clung to the wheel of the wagon. All the strength of the horses was insufficient to move him. Mr. David mentioned a further occurrence in which a Paiute saw a group of Gaga·ńa playing in a meadow and thought they were children. When he tried to pick one up, he could not lift it, and its body was hard and rock-like.

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[48] Mr. David did not know the exact location of /swaq̓a·delwas/. This word seems to contain (dʷl) 45-v "to look," (ew) 10sv "into the water, flat place," and the noun ending (s). The sequence /swaq̓a·/ is unanalyzable.

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to open its mouth, they poked [something] into its mouth, but they could not open its mouth, so tightly it had bitten together. (39) And they knew thus, it was a Gaga·ła thus. (40) And I heard this much thus.

21. The Bear

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) I will tell a little one again, that I know. (2) Indeed, I remember it a little. (3) I heard it long ago, there where the Marsh is there—[they] caught a little grizzly bear. (4) And the people brought it back this way, where Chiloquin is here. (5) And it was over there, as they have named Lobaqskai there, near the river. (6) Many, many people lived there, in summer houses, in every sort of thing. (7) People lived there long ago, even in winter. (8) And those people were from there. (9) Now then she knew, that Grizzly Bear, because she returned there when her little one was gone. (10) So now she came tracking their trail.

(11) Now it is told (?) being very, very sad, that Grizzly Bear, that woman. (12) And she said, "As if I [were] anybody they [did] this to me," she said, "Who have bathed even at Swaq́a·delwas," she said. (13) "For I have also bathed at Swaq́a·delwas," she said, "to gain spirit-power there," she said. (14) Thus she explained, "I have bathed there, in the water where it is difficult [to get to], nobody can reach there very well." (15) And thus she said, naming it, "I have bathed at Swaq́a·delwas," she said. (16) Now because she was angry she said thus.

(17) čoy honk gen gepga ʔat. (18) čoy sas honk git gatbno·ta. (19) čoy honk domi· maqlaqs naʔas, "ya···, ʔat ʔa do· ne· gepga!" (20) čoy sa honk ʔat ḿolẃa, na·nok nteya, dalč́itga na·nok dwa·. (21) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·, no· hayč pe·watk, swaq́a·delwas," či honk. (22) "no· č́is swaq́a·delwas pe·watk, čoy nis sa le·ẃa," naʔas honk. (23) naʔas honk hokt, loq hemkango·ta.

(24) čoy honk ʔat selwal sas, ʔat honk lwela· nanqaýe·ńs maqlaqsas, gaẃi·napgnanno·yank sas. (25) čoy sa honk nḱeysʔan, ge·tankni·nḱeysʔan. (26) ma·ns dom hok maqlaqsas hoḿas hak lwela·, hokt loq. (27) čoy honk ʔat, hoḿas gyank ʔat, ʔat čik sa ma·ns gitk siwga ʔat, honkt loq́as. (28) ʔat sa honk siwga ma·ns gitk če·. (29) dom če· lwelo·last honk maqlaqsas—do···m honk lwela·. (30) čoy honk ʔat sa honk siwga ma·ns gitk.

(31) čoy sa honk ma·ns honkt qlas sbegank, ga·ʔa·k honk hehaslʔa ʔa sa maqlaqsas, ga·ʔa·k sičwalo·lčńank, kat čis be·n nanqačgas. (32) čoy honk honktčgas heslʔa naʔas, "ge· hok, kat na·ts gatbno·ta dank gida." (33) čoy honk hoḿas ga·ʔa·kkni· maqlaqs gi.

(34) čoy dada·t dwa· gitgo gi, q́ay dič ne·pga č́is—čoy Na·s be·n ni sʔabwapk, weli·tant, ḱečč́a. (35) čoy da·ts ne· dič gi. (36) čoy honk ba·t da·k ge·k sa maqlaqs hoḿas ga·ʔa·k či·ya·. (37) ge·k sa ʔewkskni· git či·ya·. (38) čoy sa·t goni· či·ya·. (39) čoy ho·t sa we·te·nkni· do· či·ya·. (40) čoy mo·watwa·s ge·t yantant či·ya·. (41) čoy hoḿas ho·t sa dwa· waq gi, kani siwga kaĺam ptisa·, wag̣a·n sʔa·Maks dwa·. (42) čoy sa ʔat dosčńa hadaktdaĺ balaq hak. (43) ʔat ge·k sa hoḿas hak saẃalg̣a. (44) hoḿas či ni nen sʔaba·, hoḿas honk hokt loq gi, ʔat honk saẃalg̣a ge·ýas gatbnank. (45) hoḿas hak hok ga·ʔa·k ne·pga, na·noḱa·sdaĺ.

(46) čoy dwa·t kani waq gi, čoy q́ay sańa·Wawli Nayksĺant hay bas sq́aLtgi giwk, wag̣a·n hoḿas waq gitgi giwk. (47) ʔat hok č́osak hak genank saẃalg̣a. (48) waq gin gyank kat hok sʔaywaks dinkanks—ge·čik g̣e·lantga dinkanga, waqt hok sa·t č́is g̣e·lantga ho·t sa gida·na dinkanga do·—ʔiwakni·. (49) naʔas sa ʔelg̣a ʔiwakni·. (50) čoy hompči hok gi. (51) hoḿas hak čik honk ho·t loq gi, ʔat honk sʔaywakta dat gist. (52) sʔaywakta kańs gist, hoḿas gyank. (53) ʔat sas honk haYčipga hokt. (54) sʔaywaks hok haYčis loq hompča, gempča dwa· gin. (55) či ni nen sʔaba·.

(17) Now then she came. (18) And she came upon them here. (19) And so many people said, "Ya···, now that one's coming there!" (20) So now they got ready, all the bows, with arrows and everything. (21) And she said, "Yes, I too have bathed, at Swaq̓a·delwas," she said. (22) "Even though I had bathed at Swaq̓a·delwas, they played with me," she said. (23) Thus she said, the Grizzly Bear speaking.

(24) Now then she attacked them, now she killed some people, just going right in among them. (25) So they shot, they shot from over there. (26) For a long while she killed many people that way, that Grizzly Bear. (27) Now then, having done thus, now indeed after a long time they killed her, that Grizzly Bear. (28) Now they killed her, even after a long time. (29) Even though she had killed many people—very many she had killed. (30) So now then they killed her after a long time.

(31) So they kept that hide for a long while, showing it to people long ago, passing it from generation to generation long ago, to some who grew up later. (32) And they showed it to him next saying, "This is she, who attacked us here awhile ago." (33) And the people of long ago were that way.

(34) And when something happened, also when something not good happened [i.e., when some crime or mischief occurred]—so I will tell again, to one side, a little bit. (35) That, however, is good [i.e., his previous story]. (36) So these Indians lived that way among themselves long ago. (37) These Klamath people lived here. (38) And the Paiutes lived over there. (39) And those Warmsprings people lived over there. (40) And the Pit Rivers lived down there below. (41) And [should] they do anything of that sort, anybody kill someone's father, or perhaps some relative. (42) So then they now ran toward there right away. (43) Now they took revenge in that same way. (44) Just as I have related, just as that Grizzly Bear did, now they took revenge on these [people] having come. (45) That's how it happened long ago, in every direction.

(46) And if someone did something, then they did not want to be injured on one side, and perhaps [wanted] to do the same way. (47) Now always having gone, they took revenge. (48) Having done something even, who knew how to run around—indeed, they ran around this country, just as those Paiutes also ran around here there—at Summer Lake. (49) They called it "Summer Lake." (50) So they did the same way. (51) Indeed, that Grizzly Bear did the same thing, now she knew where they were. (52) She knew who it was, having done thus. (53) Now she tracked them. (54) That Grizzly Bear knew how to track that kind, any kind at all. (55) Thus I have told it.

[P. 118 is blank]

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PLATES 000

[P. 120 is blank]

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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Preparation of wokas

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9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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Mrs. Pansy Ohles

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Mrs. Jones, starting a basket

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

Robert David and granddaughter

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Billet Lobert

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Andrew Ortiz, Jr., opening wokas pods

[Pp. 124-125 contain no ethnographic material]

PART TWO: ETHNOGRAPHIC TEXTS

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22. Wokas Preparation

(Mrs. Aggie Butler)

(1) ga·ʔa·k hok maqlaqs woksía, wončjatga. (2) čoy sa tgikLank woksía. (3) č̇ilʔalga sa loíasgwapgok, honk wokas. (4) čoy sa honk ʔat didačč̇a bil ʔiaga, čoy nanqa sangitk. (5) čoy sa honk č̓litgank sleʔa·. (6) čoy honk gekgekĺis honk loyḱa. (7) no·gatgi giwk hok dič sle·s gi. mo·mni. (8) čoy honk bil ʔiagank, wončjat wbekLačńa. (9) čoy nanqa hok se·satk gi, snoníapíaqs. (10) čoy Na·s sbokwas či se·satk. (11) no·gatk hok gi. (12) čoy sa honkt weli·tant ʔiʔalqčńa.

PART TWO: ETHNOGRAPHIC TEXTS

Introductory Note to Text 22

"Wokas" is the generic term for the seed of the common pond lily (Nymphaea polysepala). In the old days much of the Klamath Marsh (estimated by some early writers at about 10,000 acres) was covered with these plants, and there were long, shallow bays filled with them on both sides of Klamath Lake. Much of Klamath economic life was concerned with the gathering, preparation, and cooking of this plant. 824 [133] [433]

It is not proposed here to give a complete description of the various processes involved in "wokas"-manufacture. Good explanations of this economic complex will be found in Coville,[69] Gatschet,[70] and Spier.[71] The following text (and the two shorter ones by Mrs. Pompey which come after it) are intended only to illustrate Klamath narrative style and to indicate those features of "wokas"-making which were salient in the view of the informants. 252 [114] [128]

22. Wokas Preparation

(Mrs. Aggie Butler) 539* 222

(1) Long ago the Indians used to gather wokas, with a canoe. (2) And standing up on it they gathered wokas. 501 (3) They bent down to pull them off, that wokas. (4) And they pulled off only the good ones, and some were unripe. (5) And having punctured it [with a fingernail] they saw [whether it was ripe or not]. (6) And they picked the yellow ones. (7) On becoming ripe it looks good, big. (8) And having picked those only, they threw them on the canoe and went. (9) And some were termed "snoníapíaqs." (10) And one was called "sbokẃas." (11) It was ripe. (12) And they put them down [in the canoe] apart.

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[69] Coville, Frederick V., "Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians," Report of the United States National Museum for 1902, pp. 727-739, Washington, 1904. [113]

[70] Gatschet, op. cit.

[71] Spier, Leslie, "Klamath Ethnography," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, Berkeley, 1930. [113]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 129]

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(13) čoy sa do· gemblyank ʔat, sda· gyank wonč, čoy sa bẃečli·nánk honk, Na·ča·s hak gi. (14) čoy honk ʔat ma·ns baňi ẃetpga. (15) čoy hok qa·Wgi plentant, čoy ńóṗa· ʔiWdi·la. (16) čoy sa honk ʔat wage·nha wjo·q̇a honkt, čoy hok na·nok hokt q̇ay dič̓i· lme·ye·gwapk.[73] (17) čoy hok wokas bil honk lme·lga.

(18) čoy sa honk ʔo·wa sa stewLasdat ga·ʔa·k. (19) čoy honk ʔo·wank sa hadakt, čoy baha·. (20) dada·t hok baha·, wage·nha tri· wi·k—(laughter)—ndan sandi giwlank hok wage·n baha.

(21) čoy sa honk ʔat slačqačgas honk dič, bahapks če·t. (22) na·nok dič s ʔotía, čoy sa ʔiwi·ga honk ʔat wilisikgat. (23) čoy sa ṗas sʔotíok honk sʔo·la·la. (24) čoy hok dankt ga·ʔa·k ṗaLa sam hok gi. (25) čoy sa ḱlom hadakt ʔikLank, sno·ga sa honk, honkt wokas.

(26) čoy sa sno·go·lank beqsa lḿačjatga. (27) sqesqaqkyamsank sa beqsa wokas. (28) čoy sa honk ʔat wolło·k honk, čoy sa sdilli·nča sa honk na·nok. (29) čoy hok č̓iLaq lme·ye·ga, plentant. (30) čoy sa honkt ʔili·nank, čoy sa be·n ʔat honk beqsa.

(31) čoy sa honk ʔat ṗas sʔotía. (32) ga·ʔa·k hok lobi· dada· q̇e·gi na·ĺam dwa·, sdipanks. (33) čoy sa honk dankt hi·t čakĺatdat gi, čakía či sa honk ʔelga. (34) čoy sa honkant qday sa lobi· snegalpḱa, čoy hok wokas ʔambotdat ʔiwtk. (35) čoy sa honk qday wbewa·, honk qallatdat, hisčĺa·ĺok honk dankt, q̇elẏak č̓iĺa·ĺo·ts giwk. (36) hoḿas sa ga·ʔa·k wokas sʔotía.

(37) čoy hok la·p wiqčisam, kant ni nes sbokẃas či ʔelga, honkt sa weli·tant snontṗa. (38) čoy sa honkt loli·na honk sa hoḿas ḿoq̇aLĺapks hak ʔat. (39) hosno·gank čoy sa loli·na. (40) čoy honk hokt q̇aq̇alq̇alʔi hokt gi, sbokẃas gi hokt. (41) hok sbokẃas či se·satk. (42) čoy honk be·n sbokẃas beqso·lank, čoy sa honktčgas be·n hoḿas hak lḱom ʔiwʔi·nank snaba·. (43) snaba· sa honkt be·n. (44) snaba· sa honkt, čoy dič ḿa·sʔa.

(45) čoy Na·s č̓is, hok Na·s se·satk č̓ini·q̇am. (46) q̇ay hok no·gatk wokas, čoy q̇oy ḿa·sitk gi. (47) mṗoqamnatk hokt gi, č̓oy sa hoḿas hak sʔotía q̇aq̇alq̇alʔi hak snabank. (48) nen ḱst hak čič mat.

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[73] Mrs. Butler inserts /wage·nha/ "perhaps" here because there is an alternate method: instead of washing the wokas to rid it of the shells, one can completely dry it, crush the outer shells, and shake and winnow the seeds away from the chaff.

(13) And having returned there, having filled the canoe, so having unloaded it, it is in just one place. (14) And it stays piled up there for a long time. (15) So it becomes dry on top, and rots underneath. (16) And perhaps they washed it, and all that was not good would float up to the surface. (17) And only the wokas sank to the bottom. 539* [222]

(18) And they spread it out on a mat long ago. (19) And having spread it out there, so it dried out. (20) When it had dried, perhaps "three weeks"—(laughter)—three weeks having passed perhaps it has dried. [251]

(21) And next they sift it well, until it is dry. (22) They do it all well, and they put it into sacks now. (23) And to make food, they parched it. (24) And at that time long ago they used parching-mats. (25) And having put coals on there, they roasted it, that wokas.

(26) And having roasted it well, they ground it with a muller. (27) Sitting spraddle-legged they ground wokas. (28) And then having finished that, they dipped it all to one side. (29) And all the chaff came up, on top. (30) And having put it to one side, they ground it again. [516]

(31) And now they made food. (32) Long ago it was, before when our things, dishpans, were not there. (33) And at that time there they did it in a "čakía" [i.e., a type of basket], "čakía" as they termed it. (34) And in that they first heated rocks, and they put the wokas into water. (35) Then they threw the stones into the water, in that "qalla" [another basket type], to boil it at that time, a [modern] boiling-pot being absent. (36) Thus they made wokas long ago. [178] [415]

(37) And that second kind, which I called "sbokw̓as," they soured it apart. (38) And they took it off the top, while it was still wet. (39) Having gotten it ripe, they took it off the top. (40) And those were round, those—"sbokw̓as" were. (41) It was called "sbokw̓as." (42) And again having ground that "sbokw̓as," then again in just the same manner having put it in among coals next, they parched it. (43) Again they parched it. (44) They parched it, and it tasted good.

(45) And one other, that one being called "č̓ini·q̓am." (46) It was not ripe wokas, and it tasted bad. (47) It was bitter, and they thus made it round, having parched it. (48) That's as much as they said.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

23. Picking Wokas

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

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(1) wokaía ʔa na·t ʔewsdat. (2) ʔiaga na·t. (3) čoy na·t honk ʔiġoga q̓očw̓allat, čoy na·t ʔembli honkt či·sdaí. (4) čoy be·raldat na·t w̓etġoga. snonía̓p̓lgok.[73] (5) hom̓as na·t wokas na·íam be·Lbeía, waqt sa honk sa dank ni·ya sʔotía. (6) čoy hok q̓ay da·ts hadakt wiḱa·tant hak. (7) čoy na·t ʔepgablyank honk be·raldat ʔiġoga. (8) čoy sa·war gitgi giwk.[74] (9) ńoptgi giwk na·t honk be·raldat ʔiġoga. (10) čoy na·t ʔat honk dič če· hom̓as giwapk. (11) čoy honk ʔat sdilli·na, dič sdilli·nank naʔas honk, čoy gitgo—ke·ía·w̓a, sannat.[75] (12) bahtgiwk. (13) čoy honk ʔat ke·pbe·ía na·t honk, bahtgiwk dič. (14) čoy na·t ʔiġoga na·íam willisikgat. (15) čoy hok ḱada·dit hak. (16) ʔat p̓as sʔotía na·t honk, bahapks če· dič. (17) čoy na·t ʔat p̓an honk.

24. Cooking Wokas

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

(1) p̓aLatdat ʔikLa wokas. (2) lḱom plentant ʔikLa wokasdat. (3) čoy siwi·, pniwtanʔo·ta. (4) lḱom honk ʔikLasdat pniwtanʔa hosno·gok honk siwi·s mna wokas.

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[73] In speaking to the investigator, Mrs. Pompey felt more at home in English, since at that time the investigator knew so little Klamath. She thus inserts /be·raldat/ "in the barrel." The phonemic structure is Klamath, except for the anomalous /r/, but ‖d̲‖ after ‖l‖ should occur as /l/, giving ‖be·ral d̲at‖ : */be·rallat/.

[74] The form /sa·war/ is English, but conforms to Klamath phonological pattern except for /r/. It might well have been put in quotation marks as a form quoted from another language.

[75] /sannat/ is likewise from English. Here, however, ‖sand̲at‖ : /sannat/ as it should.

23. Picking Wokas

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

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415

(1) We gathered wokas on the Lake. (2) We picked it. (3) And we put it into gunny sacks, and we took it back, home. (4) And we threw it into a "barrel," to sour it. (5) Thus we fixed our wokas, just as they make it recently. (6) So then, however, it was not there for long [Informant's translation ?]. (7) And having brought it back, we put it into a "barrel." (8) And to become "sour." (9) To sour we put it into the "barrel." (10) So until it's well done it is that way. (11) Now then we dip it off, having dipped it off well thus, then something—we spread it out, in the "sun." (12) To get dry. (13) Now then we spread it back and forth, to dry out well. (14) Then we put it into our sacks. (15) And that's as far as it goes. (16) Now we make food, having dried it well. (17) So now we eat it.

24. Cooking Wokas

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

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(1) [One] puts the wokas on a parching-mat. (2) [One] puts coals on top of the wokas. (3) Then shakes it while blowing on it. (4) [One] blows on the coals on it to cook one's shaken wokas [i.e., the wokas which one is shaking back and forth on the parching-mat].

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133]

25. Grinding Seeds

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

#539 (1) mp̓a·ƙank lo·q. ʔitgank, ga·ma. (2) ga·mank honk lo·q čiƙa·ƴank hosno·ga. (3) čoy p̓an hoṁas giwk. (4) dič ṁa·sʔa.

26. Killing Fish

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) git lis yana· ge·t, yana· ge·t, mbosaksawa·s yanƛi·t maqlaqsas ga·ʔa·k sʔotƛi·ya.[76] (2) čoy do·st sas sʔabi·ya naʔas, "git ʔi lwelwapk ʔi kyem!"—kat hi·t či·ya· yana·, maqlaqs. (3) čoy honkẏes honk naʔas gi, "ƙada·di sqo, genidat sʔabasdat, čoy sogo·lagyank ʔat gen lwelwapk kyem," naʔas honk, "git ni sdawa·—sdaba·tanwapk, gen, gogetdat."

(4) čoy ʔat hompčat sʔotía, qday hok gaʔas, waqt sa hon de·m ĺeyn sʔotía.[77] (5) hoṁas hok do· yana·, na·nok ẃetpga, sle·s pačit gin.

(6) čoy honk hadakt ʔat ćosak maqlaqs gatba, na·nok ʔiLo·ls. (7) čoy honk hi·tkni· be·n Na·s sʔotía git ge·t wiƙa·, lobaqsksi, či sa ʔelga hi·t. (8) git ge·t blay, lobaqsksi. (9) "čoy honk ʔa·t ʔa ƙinƙa·ni git či·ya·," či honk, "čoy honk hoṁas giwapk, ƙada·di hak ho·t kyem čenwapk," naʔas honk. (10) "ho·t datdadwa, kyem, kant ni nen sʔabi·ya ma·ts lweltgi giwk, kant ʔa·t hon p̓an, ƙada·di hak ho·t čenwapk. (11) q̇ay do·daĺ. (12) q̇ay ho·t do·daĺ gogetdat čenwapk. (13) ƙada·di hak," naʔas honk ʔat sʔabi·ya sas hokt.

(14) čoy sa honk hoṁas hok maqlaqs git, ga·ʔa·k ni sleʔa·, dada· ni ƙičƙa·ni. (15) čoy sa ʔat memćapgank—sqo—čoy sa honk ʔat lwela·. (16) lwela· sa honk hompčat, kyem, na·nok. (17) čoy sa gempča gogo·ƙa

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[[24]] [76] Mr. David had just been speaking about the various culture-transformers in English and had recently finished telling Text 18. The subject of this entire first section is thus one (or more?) of these powerful beings.

[194] [77] The form /de·m/ "dam" is phonemically Klamath, but might have been put into quotation marks as a quoted item.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963

NR10 Klamath NR10

25. Grinding Seeds

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

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(1) Having crushed the seeds, having gotten out [the kernels], [one] grinds [them]. (2) Having ground the seeds [and] having put them on to boil, [one] cooks [them]. (3) And [one] eats having done thus. (4) It tastes good.

26. Killing Fish

(Mr. Robert David)

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(1) Right down below here, below there, below Chiloquin he [i.e., Gmok̓am̓č] made it for the people long ago. (2) And there he said to them, "Here you will kill fish!"—those who lived down there, the people. (3) And he said to them, "As long as it is spring, in this month, so having gathered together now you will kill fish," he said, "Here I have dammed the water—will dam it right to the shore, this, in the river."

(4) Now he made something like that, of stone this way, just as they make a "dam" lately. (5) It is thus down there, all lying, visible even now.

(6) And people came there always now, every year. (7) And from there he [Gmok̓am̓č] made another near there, at Lobaqsksi, as they call it there. (8) Here above, Lobaqsksi. (9) "So you few live right here," he said, "And it will be thus, just so far will those fish swim," he said. (10) "Those kinds, fish, which I have told you [pl.] to kill, which you [pl.] eat, so far will they swim. (11) Not further. (12) They will not swim on further in the river. (13) Just so far," thus he told them now.

(14) And the people were thus here, I saw long ago, when I was small. (15) And now having moved [to this fishing spot]—[in] the spring—then they killed them. (16) They killed that kind, fish, all [kinds]. (17) And

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 135]

*539 (17) ðoy sa gempða gogo·k̓a

honk sa cedalga—na·nok ʔiagank gitgo—sba·Mi na·nok, wLewLe·gank. (18) čoy sa honk hadakt ʔikk̓a·ẏa. kant sa lwela·. (19) hompčat na·nok dwa· kyem, dwa· gin meYas gin sa lwela· hadakt dankt, dada·t domi· meYas gi. (20) čoy hompči hak hok q̓apdo, q̓apdoʔe·m̓i hok, do·st hok domi··· q̓apdo ʔat gatba. (21) čoy honk hi·t ćoyba·ẏa honkant, kant ni nen sʔaba·, naʔas, kampčat honk sʔotĺi·ya naʔas. (22) čaba·yk̓is honkt. (23) čoy honk ʔat honkant ćoyba·ẏa. (24) čoy sa honk hompčant ʔat lwela·. (25) ðoy sa hompča sʔoeʔatćank datdadwa edini·gyo·ts gin, čoy sa hompčantga lwela· č̓is.

(26) čoy ga·ʔa·k q̓ay maqlaqs sʔaywaktantk gempča. kant sa ćeynni ʔo·s gi.[70] (27) čoy da·ts lis sleʔa·, hom̓as sas gist. (28) do···m sa lwela·—taktak hak hi·t sle·s, hi·t sa ʔat honk sbaha·, hi·t hak. (29) sbaha· sa honk na·nok kyem. (30) čoy sa honk ʔat sbaho·lank, čoy sa honk ʔat hom̓as gyank ʔat gitgo gi—WiWi·čtgitk hok gempča ʔat baho·k. (31) WiWačWič glega·.

(32) čoy sa honk ʔat na·nok ńlańlapk̓a ʔat gaʔas, sa honk ndondapgank. (33) čoy sa honk ʔat hom̓as gyank ʔilga weli·tant. (34) čoy honk ʔat hok p̓čo·qtgi. (35) p̓čo·q hok glega·. (35) čoy honk na·nok sa mṕomṕasq̓a, hompčat, qdayyatga, wenni·ẏantga dwantga. (36) mṕomṕasq̓a sa honk na·nok honk, čoy sa honk ʔiʔalga, kani hok sńoga·. (37) he· ge· ḱink sńoqs, čoy sa sʔewanʔa nanqa. (38) hompči maqlaqs ga·ʔa·k, q̓ay wi·č̓ika. (39) hesẃanʔa dwa·, he· kani yoẏalqsči. (40) čoy sa honk sʔewanʔa.

(41) čoy honk ni dińa· sleʔa·, ćeyn gin dank, dada·t so·ljis ʔiWq̓a·q či·ya·, hi·t. (42) čoy sa gatbnank hi·t. maqlaqsas sa saćwa·Ya ʔat. (43) hompča sa honk mo···ńs wič̓o·Las slatba. (44) mo·ńs. (45) sleʔa· ʔan honk. (46) čoy so·ljis babano·qi·wa, do·s honk babańk̓i·č̓a, honkant honkt ʔiWtanʔa. (47) čoy sa hom̓as ma·ns gitk, čoy solwo·lgis sańa·Wawli ʔat, na·nok wič̓o·Las. (48) ʔat domi··· čik ʔat čik hok sńoqbabaks gin sam, sańa·Wawli leys. (49) čoy sa ʔat limi·l ʔitnank, woni·p sa limi·l ʔitnank, ʔat sa hom̓as če· gyank hom̓as spi·gyi·ya maqlaqsas honkt. (50) do···m sa honk lwela·. (51) hom̓as ni sleʔa· dińa·, ga·ʔa·k.

(52) čoy honk na·nok maqlaqs sńoga·, sleʔatga sa honk hom̓as hak. (53) do···m ẃeĺi·ga, hiʔit hak, na·nok. (54) hok sa honk so·ljis hom̓as gi. (55) sleʔa· ni dińa· č̓is honkt. (56) hokt dič̓i· sle·s gi. (57) na·nok

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[70] /ʔo·s/ is English "use."

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(17) And they erected this kind of little pine trees—having taken off all the something—all the needles, having stripped off. (18) So then they hung them up there, those which they killed. (19) Fish of every sort whatsoever, even any trout they killed there at that time, when there were many trout. (20) And suckers the same way, in sucker-season, there where many, many suckers came. (21) And they crowded up against that, that which I told of [i.e., the dam], thus, that kind which he made for them thus. (22) That dam. (23) Now they crowded up against it. (24) And they killed them now at that sort of place. (25) And having made even various kinds of dippers, they killed them with that sort of thing also.

(26) And long ago people did not know these sorts of things, which they use nowadays. (27) However, [I] saw, how they did. (28) They killed very, very many—it looked red there, there they dried them, right there. (29) They dried all the fish. (30) So now having finished drying them, so now having done thus, they were something—they were stiff this way from drying. (31) They became stiff.

(32) Now then they pounded them all up in this way, having beaten them. (33) And then having done thus, they put them aside. (34) Now then they became soft. (35) It turned soft. (35) Then they gently pounded it flat, thus, with a rock, [or] with something else. (36) They pounded it all gently, and they put it down [in separate places], whoever got it. (37) If anyone had gotten a little, then they gave him some. (38) Thus were people long ago, not stingy. (39) They gave to each other, if someone were poor. (40) Then they gave [to him].

(41) And I saw it once, even a short time ago, when the soldiers lived at Fort Klamath, there. (42) And they having arrived there [at the fishing dam], they helped the Indians now. (43) They brought a huge fishnet of that sort. (44) A big one. (45) I saw it. (46) And the soldiers waded way out, there they waded around it, right up close to that [dam]. (47) And they after a long time thus, wanted to gather it all up, all that net. (48) Now a great many indeed had grasped it, [for] it wanted to go off [i.e., its weight and the current pulled it down river]. (49) And they having hitched on mules, having hitched on four mules, now with much difficulty they dragged it out for the Indians. (50) They killed very, very many. (51) Thus I saw once, long ago.

(52) And all the Indians got [some], they divided it up among themselves thus. (53) They piled up much, right there, all. (54) And they, the soldiers, did thus. (55) I too saw it once. (56) It was a good sight.

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dwa· meYas sokíank, meYas gin honkant sokía. (58) dińa·k lis sa honk loyġi hoḿas. (59) čoy hok dičí··· maqlaqsʔam ṗas.

(60) čoy honk hokt sas ga·ʔa·k ʔa nent sʔabi·ya, kani hak hok—ʔakýa gmoḱaḿč ʔalḱa—hoḿas gitgi giwk. (61) gmoḱaḿč saíwa·Ya maqlaqsas. (62) ga·ʔa·k do· ho·t q́ay hompči, ġoġe ʔat mat ntolčńa. (63) čoy ho·t sa yaNWa· gi. (64) ġeaga sa honk lwela kyem. (65) čoy sa honk hoḿas giwk. sʔabi·ya sas naʔas, "sʔotĺi·wapk ʔa ma·ts ni, do·stdat gyank lwelwapk na·nok sqoks." (66) naʔas sas honk hokt, gmoḱaḿč sʔabi·ya, ga·ʔa·k. (67) či ni nent sʔaywakta, íst.

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(57) Everything, trout mixed in, even trout were mixed in that. (58) Once they drew it out that way. (59) So the Indians' food was good.

(60) And he had told them that long ago, someone—perhaps Gmoḱamč—to do thus. (61) Gmoḱamč helped the Indians. (62) It was never like that long ago, only the river flowed, they say. (63) And they were weak. (64) They were unable to kill fish. (65) And because they were thus, he told them thus, "I will make [something] for you [pl.], where you will kill [fish] every spring." (66) Thus he them, Gmoḱamč told, long ago. (67) [That] is as I know it, that much.

Introductory Note to Text 27

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In this text Mrs. Butler describes two incidents dealing with the cruelty of the early white settlers. Various renditions of these stories were also obtained from other informants. The first incident concerns a party of white men, led by a now-famous local figure, who came upon a party of Klamath women picking wokas, and wantonly shot one of them in the face. According to Mrs. Butler, the woman lived, and the scar still showed years later. The second occurrence concerns a group of Rogue River Indians (?) who were hired by a settler to dig a deep trench. Once the trench was dug, the settler and his men opened fire on the Indians and threw their bodies into this ready-made grave. According to Mrs. Butler's text, this incident was one of the sparks which led to the Modoc War. The names of these white men have been omitted from the text for obvious reasons.

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The informant also describes the customs of "raiding" and "slavery," as practiced by the Indians of Southern Oregon. She points out that this was a far different thing from the concept of slavery as found in Rome or ancient Egypt or Asia. Many of the children, originally stolen in childhood, grew up among their captors and received good treatment, eventually coming to love their new home more than the old.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

27. Some Historical Incidents

(Mrs. Aggie Butler)

#539 (1) ʔat lis ni hemkaagwapk, gitgo, ma·ts ni nen ƛečča. (2) ga·ʔa·k hok maqlaqs na·t či·ya·, čoy na·t dič na·t či·ya·, q̇ay dwa· waq gyank. (3) čoy domi· na·t maqlaqs na·noƛa·s ʔewksknī· či·ya·, na·nok hon ʔews ʔiWllalli·na.

(4) čoy na·ls gatbno·ta basdin honk diṅa· wewle·qsas woksalpks. (5) čoy hok lweliṅapga hi·t, nƛeysʔan nanqaẏe·ṅs. (6) čoy hok ksaẇi·natk dak hok—(Proper name)—hok, kat nest basdin q̇a··· yeywi. (7) hokt hok hadakt honkẏes ksota·. (8) čoy honk wele·qsas Na·ẏe·ṅs slin honk, delʔls, čoy honk so· gi hon hokt.[79]

(9) čoy honk nanqa q̇ay gayahʔa honkẏes, čoy honk honkẏes deli·na hon loltṁalʔaqsdat, čiči·pks. (10) čoy honk maqlaqs hok ʔewksknī·hibaswaqs hok dankt gankanga, čoy sa gatbamblyank bese·ksa. (11) čoy honk we·ẇaṅs hoṁas mna·ls gist basdin, ʔat hok haYčanWi·ya sas, čoy sa q̇ay be·n waq gi, honk basdiṅas.

(12) čoy honk ʔat we·te·nkni· hok sa čosak honkẏes hisǰaqta, čoy gatbno·tank lolwaksla, ʔewkagi·sas. (13) čoy honk ʔewksknī· čosak haYčnank sas, lwela· nanqaẏe·ṅs dmesgablyank we·ẇaṅs honk. (14) čoy hoṁas ho·t sa ga·ʔa·kkni· q̇a hi·t selwal čosak git. (15) čoy sa čosak mo·watwa·sas hoṁas hak genank, ʔewksknī·, čoy sa lolwaksla ƛaƛakẏas maṅi·. (16) čoy sa hihasčan da·ts sas. (17) čoy nanqa q̇ay dada·goWasga sas, stinta sas nanqaẏe·ṅs. (18) sa·das čis sa hoṁas hak gi. (19) čoy sa sa·das čis lolwaksla, čoy honk ho·t sa čičan hi·t hak, čoy hok hi·t gen waytas či·ya·, ho·t sa·t lolwaks giWi·s hadakt.

(20) čoy sa q̇oy gi basdin maqlaqsas honk, diṅa· hok (Proper name) se·satk, wa·lamagi·sas. (21) čoy na·nok yebantgi giwk saṅa·Wawli hok basdin, mna ge·latdat. (22) čoy yebnank gitgo, čoy lwela· nanqaẏe·ṅs hadakt, čoy kle·nne·ga hon gogeladat. (23) čoy ke·LWa ge·ls, ƛaƛakẏas maṅi·. (24) čoy honk hok wipgatk hok sʔaba·. (25) čoy honk hoṁas hok giwk dank, hok deda·t mo·waƛa·kkni selwal, čoy hok lagi· hok Na·s hemi·gi naʔas, "q̇ay hay na·ls hoṁas giwapk, waqs hok (Proper name) dank wa·lamagi·sas! (26) ʔaMƛa na·ls hoṁas gis saṅa·Wawli. (27) saṅa·Wawli na·ls mo·waƛa·kgi·sas hoṁas hasaswa·gis," mo·waƛa·kkni·

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[79] The form /so·/ is English "show."

27. Some Historical Incidents
(Mrs. Aggie Butler)

(1) Now I will tell, something, a little to you [pl.]. (2) We Indians lived in the distant past, and we lived correctly [lit. "well"], not doing anything [bad]. (3) And there were many of us Klamath Indians living everywhere, all along the shores of the Lake.

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(4) And once the white men attacked us old ladies gathering wokas. (5) And they almost killed there, shot some. (6) And he was among them—(Proper name)—he, [of] whom the white people are so very proud. (7) He was there with them. (8) And [he?] shot one of the women, in the face, and it showed.

(9) And some did not hide from them, and they left them alone in their winter-houses, living. (10) And the Indians, those Klamath men, were away hunting for some time, and on their returning [the women] told them. (11) And the women [told] them what the white people had done to them, and they almost tracked them, but they did not do anything again, to that white man.

(12) And then the Warmsprings people always used to quarrel with them, and having come, they made slaves, of the Klamaths. (13) And the Klamaths having tracked them, killed some, having taken the women back. (14) So thus the people of the old days always fought wars here. (15) And they [did] the very same way to the Pit River Indians, having gone, the Klamaths, and they enslaved their children too. (16) They raised them, however. (17) And some never went away from them, [for] they loved some of them. (18) They did the same thing to the Paiutes. (19) And they made slaves of the Paiutes also, and they grew up right there, so they live there today, those Paiutes who used to be slaves there.

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(20) And the white people did evil to the Indians, and once that one called (Proper name), to the Rogue River Indians. (21) And that white man wanted all of them to dig, on his land. (22) And having dug something, then he killed some of them there, and threw them down into that ditch. (23) And he covered them [with] earth, the children too. (24) And one who escaped told of it. (25) And because of being thus at that time, when the Modocs made war [i.e., the Modoc War], then one of the chiefs spoke thus, "Let them not do it to us, as that (Proper name) [did] to the Pit River Indians awhile ago! (26) Perhaps they want to do the same to us. (27) They want to 'speak' to us Modocs in the same fashion."

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 141]

hemi·gi diʎa· hok. (28) q̇ay sa dada· ỷaliigi honkt, hoɬas gist. q̇oy maqlaqsas lwelst honk.

(29) čoy ni nen ƛečča gin s'abapiʎ. (30) dom dak ni s'aywakta, čoy ni q̇ay da·ts na·nok nen s'aba·. (31)—det q̇oy selwalst maqlaqsas honk, č̓osak sa ba·t da·k gin sa selwal. (32) ba·t da·k gin sa nas kaʎam we·'as lo·kaʎ, čoy sesadwi. (33) ƛankt hak ni nen hemi·giwapk. (34) q̇ay ni dwa· honkanga 'ut nen.

28. Recollection of the Modoc War

(Miss Irene Skellock)

(1) gew ptisap čoy hadakt gena·, selwalge·n. (2) čoy basdiʎas hok dola. (3) čoy hok so·ljis gi—a·—ska·wt. (4) čoy honk gege·či·t bo·s hok ńiwlga. so·ljis. (5) čoy he· bas slin sa honk so·lja tabi·ʎa bo·s, čoy honk lobi·tant kil'aqčńa. (6) q̇ay da·ts sa bo·s dada· slin. (7) čoy siʎamsta da·ts bi sle'a·, da·ts bil hon maqlaqsas hon mo·waʎa·kgi·sas. (8) čoy siʎamstnank bi či·ya·, na'as sa gi, čoy honk nanqa hok 'ewksiknii· maqlaqs kant bi dola gena·, hok sat č̓is siʎamsta. (9) čoy ni 'at nen na'as bil s'aba·.

that Modoc said once. (28) They never forgot it, [their] doing thus, [their] killing the Indians wrongfully [lit. "badly"]. 539* 173

(29) And I have only related little bits of it. (30) But I know a great deal, but I am not telling all of it, however. (31)—How the Indians used to fight amongst themselves, always they fought even among themselves. (32) Even among themselves they enslaved someone's child, and sold it. (33) That much is all I will tell. (34) I have nothing else to tell. 648 [721] [567]

Introductory Note to Text 28

This text is a continuation of the foregoing by Mrs. Butler's sister. Both are part of a recorded conversation about Klamath history in general, and no particular attempt was made to formalize the texts into "stories." When Mrs. Butler had finished her historical narrative above, the topic turned to the Modoc War, and Miss Skellock began to discuss their father's role in that conflict. Rightfully, this text should include the remarks in English which led up to the Klamath portion, and also an explanation and continuation in English which follows it. Limitations of space require that these English parts be edited and abbreviated, however. 124 128

Introductory Remarks in English

"Our father was a scout in the Modoc War. He was with the white soldiers and went to those Lava Beds where the Modocs were." 539* 726 648 173

28. Recollection of the Modoc War

(Miss Irene Skellock)

(1) My father went there, to the battleground. (2) And he was with the white men. (3) And he was a soldier—ah—a "scout." (4) And they were falling on both sides of him, soldiers. (5) And if they shot one, the soldier behind him marched up to the front. (6) However, they never shot him. (7) And he, however, was afraid of seeing (?) those Modoc Indians only. (8) So he lived in fear, thus they said, and some of those Klamath Indians who went with him, they also were afraid. (9) And that's all I'm going to tell [in Klamath].

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 143]

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29. Menstruation Practices

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) dada·t sńewe·ts moča·. čoy moco·k q̇ay gepga p̓algiwk. (2) q̇ay ʔa na·ĺs heenatga. (3) q̇ay pe·wa. q̇ay moq̇aLča. (4) q̇ay ʔa gatdaĺwapk. (5) q̇ay ʔa dič hosita čoy q̇ay ʔambotdat daswa.

30. The Second Coming

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) blaydaĺgi·sam newĺaqstga. (2) ge·la sonde·wapk na·nok. (3) čoy dada·t hok be·n gatbanwapk blaydaĺkni·.

Concluding Remarks in English

"He said that whenever someone was killed in front of them they had 539*
to jump into their place. Oh, he said he sure was scared! He was with 726
those white soldiers fighting the Modocs in the Lava Beds." 648

Mrs. Butler adds: "He told how they had to go to the war, because 173
they (the white people) told them that they'd take all the Klamath Indians away, if they didn't go. All those who went were related, since they didn't want them to take anybody away. Others, some of them, refused and took their canoes across to Pelican Bay. Some did not want to get into the war. One man, a good shot, said, 'I'm not going. I'm going to die! They can kill me right here. I don't want to go.' But they never took him."

29. Menstruation Practices

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) When a woman has her menstrual period, she does not come to eat because of menstruation. (2) [She] does not eat with us. (3) [She] does not bathe, does not get wet. (4) [She] will not get chilled. (5) [She] does not feel well, and does not put her hand in water.

30. The Second Coming

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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776
787

(1) According to God's promise [lit. "rule"]. (2) All the earth will burn up. (3) And at that time God will return again.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]

31. A Meteor

(Mrs. Pansy Chiles)

(1) qdo·čok sitk qčo·l hetgi. (2) čoy nis sa slayatga walća. (3) čoy hok hewo·k čiW čiW![20] (4) čoy ni q̓liqditgo·lapga. (5) čoy mo··· ʔaa woaa·.

32. A Funeral

(Miss Irene Shellock)

(1) dada·t maqlaqs glega·, čoy ga·ʔa·k loloqsla sa honk. (2) čoy ćeyn ga·ʔa·k q̓ay hoḿas gi, dada·t ni ḱička·ni gi. (3) čoy do·s na·t či·ya·, čoy ga·ti·t sńewe·ts glega·. (4) čoy sa honk hasẃanʔa dwa·. (5) čoy na·ts sa sʔewanʔa—sdipanks, stabačḱo·ts. (6) čoy hok Na·s hiswaqs naʔas gi, "dwa· hak ma·ts sa sʔewanwapk, čoy ʔat honks ʔa·t sʔewanʔabliwapk." (7) čoy na·t honk—q̓ay gitgo gi—dwa· waq gisla·ʔa honkt. (8) čoy na·t sgeʔambalyi·ya da·ts na·t honks, hompča· hak, waqpča na·ts sa sʔewanʔa.

(9) čoy na·t gena· do·. (10) čoy na·t ʔiLapgi·ya na·t lele·wsam. (11) čoy na·t gena· do·t—sidaykadi. (12) čoy na·t ge·latdat loĺallga. hadaḱt gatbnank. (13) čoy sa honk maqlaqs ni·sda swina·. (14) čoy q̓ay na·t dwa· domna dwa· sa sʔode·st. (15) čoy na·t nent bil domna sas, bambam sa wottanʔa. (16) čoy nen sa naʔas gi. "ʔi···!" (17) honkt bil na·t ʔa domna hadakt.

(18) čoy mbo·sant ʔona·k sa honk ʔilqča. (19) čoy sa do· ʔat gatbnank, ʔilqsge·ni, čoy sa na·nok maqlaqs ńepsda· ge·la ćatgal. (20) čoy sa honk ćaćye·gank, sa kinčńa, čoy ke·nne·ga. (21) čoy sa ʔat woNo·k, čoy sa ʔat na·nok dwa· ʔa sa ʔičq̓a. (22) sapLas ʔa ʔičq̓a, wa·ti, mičo·, siko·daqńo·ts. (23) čoy sa ʔat hoḿas giwlank, čoy na·t ʔa geqwe·Labli ʔat p̓ačo·k. (24) čoy na·nok gembli ʔat. (25) mbo·sant na·nok gembli ʔat, mbosaksawa·s.

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[20] The sequence /čiW čiW!/ represents the sound of the meteor (meteors?) falling into the water. There is only a trace of voicing to the /i/ phonemes here, and the /W/ is prolonged.

31. A Meteor

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) The stars fell like rain. (2) And they covered me with a mat. (3) And on falling into the water [they made a sound] "čiW čiW"! (4) And I peeked out from under. (5) And I was very much afraid. 539* 821

32. A Funeral

(Miss Irene Skellock)

(1) When a person died, long ago they used to cremate him. (2) But recently they have not done thus, when I was small. (3) And there where we lived, nearby a woman died. (4) And they gave things to each other. (5) They gave to us—a dishpan, a washpan. (6) And one man said, "Whatever they will give you [pl.], you [pl.] must give back likewise." (7) And we—did nothing—[did] not have any use for it. (8) However, we brought it back for him, the very same kind, just as they had given to us. 539* 764 [178]

(9) Then we went there. (10) And we put flowers on for [the deceased?]. (11) And we went there—Sidaykedi. (12) And we slept on the ground, having arrived there. (13) Then those people sang all night. (14) But we did not understand anything of what they did. (15) We only heard them, they beat a drum. (16) And they [sang] thus, "?i···!" (17) Only that we heard there.

(18) Then early the next morning they took [the corpse] off to bury it. (19) And having arrived there, [at] the graveyard, then all the people took up a handful of earth. (20) And they having picked it up, they marched [past the grave], and threw it down into it. (21) And on finishing, then they now put all sorts of things on top [of the coffin]. (22) They put plates on, knives, spoons, forks. (23) And now having finished doing thus, then we went back down [the hill] to eat. (24) And now everyone went home. (25) The next morning everyone returned home, to Chiloquin.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 147]

#539

33. A Childhood Incident

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) dada·t ni ḱičḱa·ni, čoy ni č́osak golgolḱi·č́as sańa·Wawli. (2) čoy golgolḱi·č́a ʔan. (3) čoy naʔas ṕkisap gew, "q̇ay hoḿas gi! (4) q̇aLgalwapk ʔi!" (5) čoy ni golgolḱi·č́a, q̇ay domnank. (6) čoy ni ʔat čaqčaqĺant gempčant gida hopṕipta. (7) ʔat ʔan q̇aLkía. (8) čoy nis ʔat wlíía· ʔankotga.

34. Marriage Customs

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) q̇ay ni q̇a dič sʔaywakta. (2) ga·ʔa·k hok ma·ns gi. (3) čoy da·ts ni domna naʔas, maqlaqs ge·k sa ga·ʔa·k, dada·t sa hoḿas waq sitdačč́e·ẃa. čoy sa hoḿas honk sʔabi·ya mna ṕkisa· čoy ptisa· č́is naʔas, "hon ʔan sańa·Wawli sńewe·ts," hiswaqs hok naʔas sʔabi·ya. (4) "hon ʔan sańa·Wawli sńewe·ts." (5) čoy sa wola· naʔas, "dam hay čik mis ho·t sańa·Wawli? (6) dam hay čik mis sańa·Wawli, sńewe·ts hok?" sńewe·tsas honk wola· honk hiswaqsas naʔas, honkĺam soqi·ga·ʔas. (7) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·, sańa·Wawli dak nis ho·t." či honk. (8) "ʔi·," či čik honk, "ḿolo·wapk hay na·t." (9) či honk naʔas, "ḿolo·wapk hay na·t, čoy gentdat waytasdat na·t sogo·lgiwapk ʔat. (10) ʔat hon sńogwapk," či honk.

(11) čoy honk sa ʔat wgo·č́apga. (12) wgo·č́apgwapk gina·ksĺankni· hiswaqsʔam hok—sʔasʔa·Maks na·nok. (13) čoy goni·ksĺankni· čoy hok hoḿas hak gi, honkĺam ptisi·sap, dwa· hakt hok giwapk, sʔasʔa·Maks hompči hak sńewe·tsʔam. (14) čoy hoḿas hak sa ʔat hesẃanʔa sa honk. (15) čoy hiswaqsas čoy honk sʔewanʔa hok sa goni·ksĺankni·. (16) datdadwa na·nok dwa· hakt sa ʔipgank, mo· gin se·sapks, wač gin sa ga·ʔa·k hoḿas gi. (17) dom gin sa wač hesẃanʔa, he· sa wač ʔipgank git. (18) ga·ʔa·k ma·ns ge· wač gida gi, maqlaqs ʔiwʔi·na. (19) čoy hoḿas sa gi, dank.

(20) čoy dada·t sa hoḿas giwla ʔat, čoy sa dič́e·ẃok ʔat sa hoḿas gi—ʔat sa honk qwa·t hosʔatía, hoḿas gyank. (21) biblanksĺant sʔabi·ya naʔas, "či·wapk ʔi dada· ma·ns hak ʔi či·wapk, sodla. (22) Na·čyak ʔat giwapk," či honk. (23) ʔat honk naʔas gi, "dwa· hak det gin qwa·ĺant,

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9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

33. A Childhood Incident
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) When I was small, I always wanted to whirl around. (2) So I whirled around. (3) Then my mother said, "Don't do that! (4) You will get hurt!" (5) Then I whirled around, not minding. (6) So I then fell upon my stomach on a sharp place like this here. (7) Now I got hurt. (8) Then she spanked me with a piece of wood. 539* 861

34. Marriage Customs
(Mr. Robert David)

(1) I do not know it awfully well. (2) It was such a long time ago. (3) However, I heard thus, [that] these people long ago, when they liked each other thus, then they told their mother and their father too thus, "I want that girl," that man said. (4) "I want that woman." (5) And they asked, "Does she, then, want you? (6) Does she then want you, that girl?" they asked that man about that woman, his parents. (7) And he said, "Yes, she wants me," he said. (8) "Yes," they said, "Let us get ready." (9) They said, "We will get ready, and on this day we will gather together. (10) Now [you] will get her," they said. 539* 584

(11) Now then they came [the groom and his parents are denoted by the verb]. (12) That man's people from this side will come—all the relatives. (13) And those from that side will do the same thing, her fathers [i.e., parents?], whatever they might be, the same sort of relatives of the girl. (14) And now they give [gifts] to each other the same way. (15) And those from that side give [gifts] to the groom. (16) All sorts of things that they have, even very valuable [things], they even did thus with horses long ago. (17) They used to give each other even many horses, if they had horses. (18) These horses have been here for a long time, among the Indians. (19) And they did thus, at that time. [431])

(20) Then when they had finished doing thus, now being pleased they did thus—now they made it tight [i.e., concluded the marriage agreement], having done thus. (21) On both sides they told [the couple], "Live as long as you will live, together. (22) You will be one now," they said. (23) Now they said, "Even however difficult [it might be], you will always 539* 585 581

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

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čoy čosak hak ʔi mi hiswaqs hon dola giwapk," či honk. (24) "q̓ay ʔi honks goWaagwapk. (25) q̓ay ʔi honks snebe·mbemwapk. (26) na·nok dwa· honks sʔewanwapk. (27) q̓ay ʔi dwa· ʔiyahwapk." (28) naʔas sas sʔabi·ya. (29) "na·nok dwa· ma·ĺam Na·čyak giwapk. (30) hasbi·wapk ʔat. (31) dwa· gin—he· mis kani sʔabi·wapk, dwa·, čoy hiswaqs mi sʔabi·wapk. (32) he· mis honk hiswaqsas č̓is sʔabi·wapk, čoy sńewe·ts mna sʔabi·wapk. (33) ʔat ʔi Na·čyak giwapk. (34) čoy ʔat honk Na·čyak gyank, čoy ʔat hośnas sʔabi·wapk ma·ĺam we·ʔas ʔat, hośnas hak gitgi giwk, waq na·t gen či·ya·," či honk hok čiќa·ʔa·k, hemkanga, kat hok ptisap sam gi, honkĺam.

(35) "čoy Na·čyak ʔa·t giwapk. (36) gen na·t gen ḱsmi ʔa či·ya·. (37) čoy ʔat hośnas hak wewe·ʔasĺank, čoy nent sdoli·wapk, waqt mis na·t nen sʔabi·ya gen waytas. (38) čoy q̓a···y ʔi y̓aMtgiwapk!" či honk. (39) "he· čik y̓aMtgiwapk, č̓osni mis hok sńog̓wapk q̓oyč̓i dwa·. (40) čoy č̓osak hak hośnas gi. (41) ʔat honks ʔaysiwapkʔgas dwa·, mo·ńs gin, kaat ʔi q̓ay dič̓a· gi—ʔaMḱa sʔode·tk. (42) he· ʔi hośnas gi," či honk, "čoy dwa· ʔi q̓ay saña·Wawli, q̓oyč̓a, hośnas gitgi giwk, ʔiĺamsgatgi giwk, čoy hok mis hok sńog̓wapk. (43) do·s na·t či·ya· gen, čoy ʔat dič̓e·ẃank či·wapk. (44) čoy honk ḱada·di, dada·t na·t gen gmoča· ʔat. (45) čoy gmočas baḿi ʔi či·wapk dola mi hon sńewe·ts." (46) naʔas sas honk sʔabi·ya. (47) ʔat ḱada·di.

live together with that man of yours," they said. (24) "You will never 539*
leave him. (25) You will never deceive him. (26) You will give him
everything. (27) You will hide nothing [from him]." (28) Thus they told 585
them. (29) "Everything of yours [pl.] will be just one. (30) Now you 581
will tell each other [everything]. (31) Anything at all—if someone would
tell you, something, then you would tell your husband. (32) If [someone]
would tell you, the husband, also, then you will tell your wife. (33) Now
you [pl.] will be just one. (34) Then having become just one, then you
will tell your [pl.] children in the same way, to do just thus, just as we
live," said that old man, speaking, who was their father, his [hers?].

(35) "So now you [pl.] will become just one. (36) We are this many living. (37) And thus having begotten children, then you will advise [them], just as we are telling you today. (38) And you must never, never forget it!" they said. (39) "If you indeed would forget it, something evil will take hold of you forever. (40) And it will always be thus. (41) Now you will hide something from him next, even something big, which you did wrongly—perhaps [something you] did. (42) If you do thus," they said, "Then something you do not want, evil, to be thus, to fall between [you] thus, then it will catch you. (43) Where we live, so you will live, being happy. (44) And so far, when we are old now. (45) So you will live together until old age with that wife of yours." (46) Thus they told them. (47) Now that's as far [as it goes].

Introductory Note to Text 35

This is the Klamath version of "This Little Piggy Went to Market." 539*
Mrs. Chiles felt that it, or something very similar, had been used since 854
pre-White days, but she was not sure about the details. Several of the [124]
items are untranslatable in terms of this corpus, and one, No. (6), seems
to contain myth material. Mrs. Chiles thought that there definitely was a
myth connected with this but could not recall it in any detail and did not
wish to commit herself.

Method: The adult takes the baby's fingers one by one, starting at the little finger and ending with the thumb, reciting one of the first five words for each finger. Taking the baby's open palm, the adult taps it rhythmically and recites sentence (6). She then circles the baby's palm

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 151]

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963

NR10 Klamath NR10

35. Amusing A Baby

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

#539 (1) boqs. (2) ge·s. (3) leYas. (4) dawi·qs. (5) ƛ́o·l.

(6) bambaWaq, bambaWaq, sqeĺam tapy̓a snoy̓o·digyo·ts.[81]

(7) woy̓a·, woy̓a·, woy̓a·.
(8) dip, dip, dip, . . .

36. Teasing the Old Men

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) momč̓a·k waẃa·ĺa·ẃa. (2) čoy ni giséipga. (3) čoy nis gew blogo·č̓ip na?as, "ge· ?a gepga sitti·na."[82] (4) čoy ni na?as, "dam dal hok ne· dič ḿa·s?a, qaq̓o· ma·ĺam p̓as? (5) sieslq̓apks sko·ks p̓ap̓i·s!" (6) čoy honk wetno·ta gembalyank, be·ya mna na?as, "?ans hok ?elga. (7) čoy če·!" (8) "waq hayč mis ?elga?" (9) "sko·ks p̓ap̓i·s!" (10) čoy sa weta·, weta···!

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[196] [81] The sequence /sqeĺam tapy̓a snoy̓o·digyo·ts/ was translated by Mrs. Ohles but is not fully analyzable. /snoy̓o·digyo·ts/ contains {o·t} 20sv "instrumental," and {s}
[193] "noun ending." /sno/ might be {sne} 2pv "causative," and /y̓o·di/ might be {y̓o·} 45-v "to shoot pl." plus {odˊ} 7-Sv "to do transitively." Or this may be {s} 3pv "transitive" plus {n^V} 45-v "to burn" plus other suffix material.

[124] [82] /sitti·na/ seems to be a nickname for Mrs. Ohles, but the investigator neglected to ask her its significance.

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with a finger and recites sentence (7). She then walks up the child's arm with two fingers, saying sentence (8) as she goes. When the child's shoulder is reached, the adult tickles the child under the armpit and laughs.

35. Amusing A Baby
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) Camas root. (2) Ipos root. (3) Root [sp. *Lomantium canbyi* C. and R. or *Lomantium piperi* C. and R.]. (4) Root [sp. unidentified]. (5) Valeriana root.

(6) BambaWaq, bambaWaq, something to burn Marten's little brother with. (?)

(7) wojá·, wojá·, wojá·.

(8) dip, dip, dip, . . .

36. Teasing the Old Men
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) Old men were sitting in the sunshine. (2) So I came walking along. (3) And my uncle [mother's brother] said to me, "This is Sitti·na coming." (4) And I said, "Do they taste good, bones are your [pl.] food? (5) Rusty ghost eater!" (6) And he went home laughing, [and] said to his daughter, "She has named me. (7) Really!" (8) "How did she name you?" (9) "Ghost eater!" (10) Then they laughed and laughed!

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 153]

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963

NR10 Klamath NR10

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37. Advice to the Young

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) naʔas ni nen sʔabwapk, be·n. (2) čoy dank nis sa no·s č́is sdoli·. (3) dada·t ni ḱičḱa·ni gi. (4) čoy ni honkt ho·skanga č́osak, nen. (5) čoy goni·ḱa hak ni didatńa q̇ay dič gi, ʔaMḱa. (6) čoy dada·t ni ʔat mo·ni sko·l giwla ʔat, čoy ni dankt ʔat hina·t hak damnon ʔat, dola gaẇi·napgank waq nis hok sʔabi·ya, "q̇ay ʔi gaẇi·napgwapk kat ho·t q̇oy mis giwapk! (7) q̇oyč́a mis se·sas sʔewanwapk. (8) q̇oyč́a mis hasẏo·gwapk, dwa·." (9) naʔas nis sa sʔabi·ya, ga·ʔa·k.

(10) "čoy ʔi gego·wapk ʔi giskanks waqt hon hiswaqs, waqt na·t gen nanqa gyank. (11) čoy na·t gen ḱada·di či·ya·, wiḱa·ni dak ho·t či·s. (12) he· ʔi q̇oyči giwapk, čoy mis śnogwapk dwa·, siwgwapk mis sa do·s. (13) čoy hokt mis hoʔot hak gin mis naʔas giwapk, ho·t hon hoḿas gi lobi·, kat mis hon hoḿas gi. (14) deyo·wa mis dwa· sʔode·tgi giwk, kat q̇ay dalʔa·k." (15) čoy honk na·ts sa sʔabi·ya naʔas ga·ʔa·k, čoy gisWaskkangok. (16) "he· mis q̇ay dič hasaswa·giwapk, čoy gisWaskčanwapk," naʔas. ʔi·. (17) "'q̇ay ʔan saña·Wawli mača·daks,' naʔas ʔi giwapk. (18) ʔo·č mis waq gin ʔelqtgi, didatńa ho·t sa čičḿangatk, naʔas ʔelga, 'śnewe·ts ho·t. (19) q̇ay ho·t dwa·. (20) śnewe·ts sitk ho·t ho·skanks.' (21) q̇ay honk hoḿas gist waqt honk ba·t. (22) čoy saña·Wawli sa siẇani·gye·ʔas nanqa, q̇oyč́a dwa· sʔotḱank. (23) čoy honk naʔas, 'no· dak hiswaqs gi,' naʔas honk ʔat, seʔalga."

(24) čoy hoḿas na·ts sa dank sdoli·, hoḿas gitgi giwk. (25) "čoy honk dič́e·ẇank č́is, na·nok mis stintanwapk," či honk. (26) "kani gin mis stintanwapk, he· ʔi dič́i· hiswaqs giwapk," či honk. (27) "čoy mis hay yoẏalgwapk, he· či dwa· waq giwapk, he· mi glegwapk mi dwa·—saẇaLine·ʔas dwa·, sʔasʔa·Maks mi wiḱa·tanni. (28) čoy mis ho·t sa saḱwa·Ywapk. (29) čoy kani mis sʔaywakta," naʔas na·ts honk, "čoy ʔi kańs dič́e·ẇank hosdangwapk. (30) q̇ay ndečgiwapk, he· ʔi kańs hosdangwapk, kat nen dola mis ge· či·ya·, honk ḱada· ma·ns."

(31) čoy honk na·ts sa sʔabi·ya naʔas, "giskangwapk hay ʔi dalʔa·k. (32) hok dič́i . (33) wini·gitk hok, na·nok dwa·, he· ʔi dalʔa·k giskangwapk. (34) q̇ay ʔi kańs ḱiẏank dwa· sʔabi·wapk. (35) q̇ay kańs q̇oyč́a· dwa· gitgo sʔayo·galla, kant ʔi sleʔa·. (36) čoy na·noḱe·ńs hoḿas hak stintanwapk—śnewe·tsas, hiswaqsas, na·nok dwa·, čiḱa·ʔa·ks hompča. (37) čoy hont ʔi sle·wapk čiḱa·ʔa·k, kat ho·t ma·ns ʔat či·ya·. (38) čoy q̇ay ʔi č́is solo·go·la," naʔas ʔat sa. (39) "q̇ay solo·go·la. (40) ʔi č́is

37. Advice to the Young

(Mr. Robert David)

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(1) I will tell [something] thus, again. (2) Some time back they advised me too. (3) When I was little. (4) And I remember it always, that. (5) Though even at that I did not do right sometimes, perhaps. (6) And when I was big and had finished school, then at that time I used to go around any old way, going in with [bad company] just as they told me, "Do not go among those who will do you evil! (7) [They] will give you a bad name. (8) [They] will teach you evil, something." (9) Thus they told me, long ago.

(10) "And you try to walk like a man, just as some of us have done. (11) And we have lived so long, although life is short. (12) If you do evil, then something will catch you, [and] they will kill you somewhere. (13) And even that same person will tell about you, 'He did it first,' who did it to you first. (14) He dares you to do something which is not right." (15) So thus they told us long ago, and to walk away [from evil]. (16) "If [someone] does not speak nicely to you, then walk away," they said. Yes. (17) "'I do not want to listen,' thus you will say. (18) Let him call you something, sometimes those young men, thus call, 'He is a woman. (19) He is nothing. (20) He thinks like a woman.' (21) Because [you] do not do just as they themselves do. (22) And some want to outdo each other, doing something bad. (23) And he says, '_I_ am a man,' he says, calling himself [thus]."

(24) Thus they advised us long ago, to do that way. (25) "And, being cheerful, also, all will love you," they said. (26) "Anyone at all will love you, if you will be a good man," they said. (27) "And they will sympathize with [lit. "pity"] you, if something happens, if someone of yours dies—some friend, your close relatives. (28) So they will help you. (29) And anyone knows you [i.e., anyone will be your friend]," thus they [said] to us, "If you will meet anyone cheerfully. (30) You will not be ashamed, if you meet someone, who lives around you here, for so long."

(31) And they advised us thus, "Walk truly. (32) That is good. (33) It is the best [lit. "in a state of having outdone"] everything, if you will walk truly. (34) Do not tell anything falsely to anyone. (35) Do not imitate anyone doing something evil, which you see. (36) Love everyone thus—women, men, everything, elderly persons of that sort. (37) And you'll see that old man, who has now lived a long time. (38) Do not make fun of him either," they said. (39) "Do not make fun. (40) You

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 155]

hoḿas giegwapk, dada·. (41) na·nok ʔa na·t hoḿas giwapk, gogmča·wapk." (42) naʔas na·ts čiša·ʔa·k gew sʔabi·ya—domni na·ĺs litgi—litgi gin hemkangi·ya naʔas. (43) litgi, wawa·lo·yank na·t, či·sdat na·lam."

(44) čoy nis nent sdoli· čosak naʔas, "dič̓i· ho·t hompči či·s," či honk. (45) "he· či hoḿas git, čoy ʔi nen q̓ay dada· či·t git—he· ʔi ledalʔanni git—q̓ay. (46) na·nok dwa· mis giwlačwit, q̓oyči. (47) čoy mis so·kangat newĺaqs čis, čosak. (48) sćogwapk mis sa čosak hak," či honk. (49) "q̓ay honk dada· gayabʔat newĺaqsas gen waytas. (50) na·ts basdin newĺaqs ʔitbni·ya. (51) čoy na·t hoḿas giwapk—honkt ʔat gasaqčńa ʔat, na·t sas hon—segatga danḱa·k—dada·t na·t gen ge·la sas segatga—čoy hoḿas giwapgok. (52) či·wapk waq hay na·ts honk sʔabi·ya, newĺaqs ʔilgi·yank gentdat siʔo·lgiadat. (53) čoy na·ts sa hoḿas či·tgi, dada· ma·ns hak na·t q̓ay hoḿas giwapk, q̓oyča. (54) čoy na·ts sa spondanwapk do·st, čoy na·ts sa spongogank giwapk, hadakt do·st ʔi q̓ay geqambli." (55) naʔas nis ho·t sa sʔabi·ya, ga·ʔa·k. (56) či ni nen ḱada·di.

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will be that way too, sometime. (41) All of us will be thus, we will grow old." (42) Thus my old man [father?] told us—often to us in the evening—even in the evening he spoke to [us] thus. (43) In the evening, [as] we were sitting around the fire, in our house.

(44) And he always advised me thus, "Living like that is good," he said. (45) "If you do anything [wrong] like that, then you will never be able to live here—if you would be a trouble-maker—no. (46) Everything would hem you in, evil. (47) And the law would also follow you. (48) They will always catch you," he said. (49) "[You] can never hide from the law today. [177] (50) The white men have brought us the law. (51) So we will do thus—now we follow it, we have with them—divided it recently—since we divided up the country with them—so we will do thus. (52) We will live as they have told us, having laid down the law on this reservation. (53) And they want us to live in this way, as long as we do not do thus, evil. (54) Then they would take us there, and they would put us inside, there where you do not come back out." (55) Thus they told us, long ago. (56) That's as far as [I will tell it].

Introductory Note to Text 38

The informants for this text were Mrs. Amanda Cowan, Mrs. Pansy Ohles, and Mrs. Cowan's son, Ransome. Mr. Andrew Ortiz, Jr., a young Klamath friend who does not speak the language but who has a great interest in the old ways, was also present.

Mrs. Cowan is reputed to be the oldest living member of the Klamath tribe, and her age was variously reported as 100, 102, and 104. She retains all her faculties, and the day the author's party visited her, she was spry and cheerful and delighted to help the author understand her language.

Mrs. Ohles began the conversation by describing one of Mr. David's myths (Text 13), which she had heard on the author's tape recorder, to Mrs. Cowan. The machine was turned on at this time, and the conversation was left to run more or less freely thereafter. [126] Later, the author asked about various Klamath forms whose meaning he was unsure of, and also about animals and plants, hoping to add to the corpus. Near the end of the session, Mrs. Ohles discussed kinship relationships and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

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38. A Conversation (among several)

(1) PO: ʔi·, sḱolẏaʔa·k, kant hon ḱmoḱmakta mat gitgo—kant na·t nen popas ʔelga, kat hom̓as mat ho·t giwk, honkĺam ni·l q̓oyč́i.

PB: Do you know any myths?

(2) PO: dam ʔi nen sʔasʔapg̣le·ʔa ʔans? (3) dam mat ʔi bas sʔasʔapg̣le·ʔi·ya?

(4) AC: č́a·nis ʔan. č́a·nis ʔan sʔasʔapg̣le·ʔas.

(5) PO: dam ʔi ho·skanga dada·t basdin lobi·da·n̓a gatba? (6) dam mat ʔi honkt ho·skanga?

(7) AC: wola· ʔans ge·t ha·spital we·ẇanwis naʔas, "dada·di ma·ns či·ya·, dada·di?" (8) čoy ni naʔas gi, "q̓e···gi ʔa gida basdin, dada· ni gida damnon."

(9) PO: det bi čik ʔi gi, dada·t basdin gatba? (10) det bi mat ʔi gi, dada·t basdin gatba—dada·t ʔi lobi·da·n̓a ho·skanga basdin̓as gatbist. (11) det bi honk gi?

(12) AC: ʔi·, mo·ni da·ts ni, mo·ni. (13) mo· lis ni sʔaywakta. (14) mo·ẏe·n̓s gisi selwal, do·ksi, do·tant. (15) mo·ẏe·n̓s nis gist, mo· ni sʔaywakta. (16) q̓e·gi dak basdin ge· na·noḱa·s, q̓e·gi—naʔas sas ʔan honk basdin̓as sʔabi·ya. (17) q̓e·gi. (18) gida·na na·t maqlaqs bịl gida domi· gi, ʔiWLaLLo·n̓akni·. (19) domi· maqlaqsam ge· ge·la gi, či honk. (20) "ʔo···," či čik, "ʔi···." (21) čoy ni ḱada·di no· či·ya·, či ʔan. (22) "ma·ns hayč ʔi či·ya·," naʔas honk, "ma·ns hok ga·ʔa·k, dada·t basdin q̓e·gi, ma·ns," naʔas nis hokt, we·ẇanwis hi·t, ha·spitalkni·.

autobiographical incidents. The end of the tape arrived just as Mrs. Cowan was beginning to feel tired, and the conversation came to an abrupt end. 124

The tape has been considerably edited to remove false starts, English portions, fragmentary or unintelligible sections, and other such "noise." The author's questions were originally asked in broken Klamath, and this has been put into English in order not to give rise to mistaken statements about the language. As was done above, personal names have been omitted out of respect for the individuals involved. Utterances by different Klamath speakers are indicated by their initials, viz., AC, PO, and RC, and the author's utterances are marked by PB. 124 128

38. A Conversation (among several)

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(1) PO: Yes, little Coyote, on whom [Gmoƙamč] stuck those things—that we call cattails, which was the reason, his fur is bad.

PB: Do you know any myths?

(2) PO: Could you tell a myth to me? (3) I wonder if you would tell a myth?

(4) AC: I don't know how. I don't know how to tell myths.

(5) PO: Do you remember when the white men first came? (6) Do you remember that?

(7) AC: The girls [i.e., nurses] asked me there in the "hospital" thus, "How long have you lived, how long?" (8) So I said, "There were no white people here at all, when I travelled around here." [173]

(9) PO: How big were you, when the white men came? (10) How big were you, when the white men came—when you recall the white men coming for the first time. (11) How big?

(12) AC: Yes, I was big [i.e., "grown up"], big. (13) I know a lot. (14) I was big when they fought the war [i.e., the Modoc War], over there, across there. (15) I being big, I know a lot. (16) But there were no white people anywhere around here, there were none—thus I told those white people [i.e., the nurses]. (17) There were none. (18) Only we Indians were many around here, Klamath Falls people. (19) Many Indians' land this was, [I?] said. (20) "?o···," they said, "Yes..." (21) So I have lived so long, I said. (22) "You have lived a very long time," they said, "It was long ago, when there were no white people, long ago," they said to me, the girls there, from the "hospital."

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(23) PO: nen hay ʔi dič ʔat sʔabwapk, naʔas gi, wolasttańsam? (24) neńs ʔa hon ho·t saṅa·Wawli, ge·.[83] čoy naʔas nis ge· wola·, ni·ya, "waq sa honk giwk ho·t sloqo·ps domi·, ʔewksi? (25) dam mat sa dank hi·t či·ya·, loldam gin?" (26) čoy ni naʔas, "q̓ay ʔan sʔaywakta." (27) dam sa loldam či·ya· hi·t ʔewksi?

(28) AC: ʔi···, na·nok. (29) na·nok dak sa či·ya·. (30) domi· do· čis ʔewksi, domi· či·ya· ginki·ṁank. (31) na·nok waytas či·ya·, loldam gin. (32) čoy gida·na ge· maqlaqs či·ya·, domi·, ge· čis homas hak blay, na·nok tompga goge.[84] (33) ge· či·kis ho·t do·tanna, ho·t sloqo·ps. (34) čoy naʔas hok nis dank (Proper name), "dwa· ge· waq giWi·s?" (35) čoy ni naʔas gi, "na·lam lis hok hi·t bloksisap či·ya· gida, ho·t-gome·ksi ho·t.[85] (36) ho·t hok gina· pelwi dank sloqo·ps hok, gew bloksam mat." (37) naʔas nis hok (Proper name of famous early chief) sʔabi·ya. (38) ho·t ʔa gida gi. (39) čoy sa honk naʔas ʔelga ʔiwli·wakni·—ho·t sloqo·ps hampga hi·t, naʔas nis.[86] (40) čoy hok hompči hak (Family name) hok na·lam bloksisap, či ʔan honk gist. (41) čoy či naʔas, "ʔi·, homas dal hok? (42) q̓ay ʔans kani sʔabi·ya," naʔas či honk. (43) "ʔi·, ge· lis hok či·kankis gida·na gi, gen, ge· q̓ačwe·č ho·t, ge· nen y̓ayna—ho·t y̓ayna naʔas se·satk q̓ačwe·č."[87]

(44) PO: dwa· čik hok q̓ačwe·č gi?

(45) AC: dwa· hak hok ga·ni hok dwa·—sʔasʔapgle·ʔas dwa·. (46) na·nok dwa· lis hok y̓ayna waq hak ʔelgatk. (47) naʔas hok dank (Another person's name) ga·ʔa·k, "dwa· hok ne· čniWi·ls gi? (48) čniWi·ls lis, dwa· hok?"[88] (49) q̓ay ʔa na·t honk sʔaywakta. (50) q̓ay ʔa na·t ʔeʔalga y̓ayna. (51) naʔas hak hok ge·t ʔeʔalgatk y̓ayna ginkanga. (52) ʔaMkis honk sʔoclok hok blaydalkni· gen, naʔas ʔeʔalga y̓ayna, naʔas čik. (53) domo·ńs ʔan honk wola·, gmočapks, čoy honk q̓ay sʔaywakta honk. (54) qadak hak honk q̓ay sʔaywakta, no·č honk q̓ay sʔaywakta. (55) ʔeʔalgatk hok na·nok

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[192] [83] /ge·/ "this, this one" here refers to the investigator, whom Mrs. Ohles indicated by a gesture.

[103] [84] Mrs. Cowan may have been referring to the town of Bligh (Klamath {blay}) or using the form in its meaning of "above, up." The river mentioned is probably the Williamson River, but may refer to some other stream.

[103] [85] /gome·ksi/ "Cave-place" was a large settlement in aboriginal times. See no. 29 on the accompanying map in the appendix.

[86] /ʔiwli·wa/ "on the edge" was a village site. It seems to be the same as that mentioned by Spier, op. cit., on his map as no. 47 (no. 30 on the accompanying map in the appendix).

[87] The lexical meaning of /q̓ačwe·č/ could not be determined. For its location, see no. 27 on the accompanying map in the appendix.

[88] /čniWi·ls/ also was not analyzable. Mrs. Cowan did not give its location.

(23) PO: Would you tell something good, do thus (?) [at our] asking? 539*
(24) That's what he wants, this one, and he asked me thus, a little while 124
ago, "Why are there so many house-pits, on the Marsh? (25) Did they 173
live there at that time, even in the winter?" (26) And I said, "I do not
know." (27) Did they live there on the Marsh in the wintertime? [361]

(28) AC: Yes, all. (29) They lived everywhere. (30) Many there on the Marsh too, many lived all around it. (31) They lived [there] every day, even in winter. (32) And these Indians lived around here, many, the same way these [people lived] also up above, all the length of the river. (33) These living places were over there, those house-pits. [342]
(34) Thus (Proper name) said to me long ago, "What did this used to be?"
(35) So I said, "Our grandfathers used to live there, that—at that Qome·kai.
(36) The house-pit was on this side long ago, that of my Grandfather (father's father)." (37) Thus that (Proper name) told me. (38) It was there. (39) And they called [them] "ʔiwli·wakni·" that house-pit lies there, he told me. (40) And in that same way those (Proper name) are our grandfathers, as I told [her, i.e., the questioner mentioned above in Sentence (34)]. (41) So [she] said, "Yes, was it thus? (42) No one told me," [she] said. (43) "Yes, these were living places all around here, [103]
this, this was Q̓ač̓we·č̓, this mountain—the mountain was called Q̓ač̓we·č̓."

(44) PO: What is that Q̓ač̓we·č̓?

(45) It is something from the old times—some myth. (46) All of the mountains were named some way. (47) Thus said (Another proper name) long ago, "What is that Č̓niWi·ls? (48) Č̓niWi·ĺs, what is it?" (49) We do not know. (50) We did not name the mountains. (51) Thus mountains were named thus around. (52) Perhaps when God made this, He named the mountains, thus. (53) I asked many, old persons, and they did not know it. (54) Truly they did not know it, [and] I also do not know.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 161]

#539 ge· gini·ganća. (56) čoy nis la·bi danka·k wola· na?as, "dat mat hok komčewi·s gi?" na?as nis, "hadakt hak maqlaqs gitk, dat hok gi?" (57) čoy nis danka·k (Woman's name) ćis glegatk, "dat mat hok ni·Laqksi gi?"

(58) PO: dwa· hok komčewi·s?

(59) AC: ?i·, na?as hak lis hok se·satk ?ewksi. (60) ?iw?a·ía. (61) čoy či na?as, "ge· lis ginYapga ni·Laqksi. (62) ho·t na·nok maqlaqsam či·kis, ho·t ge· sohi·yagye·ks—na·nok ginYapga. ?iWLaLLo·ńakni·, domi· maqlaqs či·ya·."

(63) PO: dam mat ?i ?ewksi se·sas s?aywakta? (64)—waq sa se·sapks gist. (65) no· dak honk bil ho·skanga, dada·t ni ḱičḱa·ni do·st na·t ḱoho·salča ćosak—lḱom ?ews. (66) čoy ?an honk geaga gaẃals, pačit. (67) čoy sgotq́aks, geaga ?an honk pačit gaẃals. (68) čoy basdin honk ha·g krik či ?elgank, do·st na·t dank q́la·čía.[89] (69) čoy q́e·gi hokt. (70) na?as ni ge·ks s?abi·ya, "q́e·gi hok q́la·č ?at." (71) čoy dwa· bas hon si·p ẏa, wo·ía·?[90]

(72) AC: ?i·, hompči mat hon lis na·nok wqsûgank. (73) gen lis gew dank haswa·s gida—mo· lbogapks, taktak síaalbis ge·t—čoy honk hok go·t na·nok honk ṕan.[91] (74) ho·t čik geye·kblitk do· stapga, kat hok dwa· taktak lotantk, hompčat honk.

(75) PO: dam mat ho·t se·satk go·t?

(76) AC: q́ay ?an ho·skanga.

PB: What is a "q́wi·l"?

(77) AC: si·p dak hon na?as ?elga. (78) ge·tkni· maqlaqs mo·waía·kkni· q́wi·l či.

PB: And one more, what is "swa·ya"?

(78) AC: dwa· mat?

(79) PO: swa·ya.

(80) AC: hok ẏa?—s?as?apgle·?as, kańs sa nen swa·ya?a·k či. (81) swa·y—dwa· bas hok, q́ay dak ni s?aywakta. (82) s?as?apgle·?as ne·

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[103] [89] /ha·g krik/ "Hag Creek" might well have been put into quotations. The final /g/ is slightly unvoiced, however, more than an English /g/ in a comparable environment. Its location was not identified.

[194] [90] /si·p/ is English "sheep." Phonemically, it is Klamath.

[192] [91] /go·t/ is similarly English "goat." The flowering plant Mrs. Cowan referred to was blooming just outside her window. /do·/ "there" was explained with a gesture.

(55) It was named all up [the river]. (56) So two persons] asked me a little while ago, "Where was that Komčewi·s?" he asked me, "where there were Indians, where was it?" (57) And (Woman's name) [who is] deceased, said to me too, "Where is that Ni·Laqksi?" 539* 124

(58) PO: What is that Komčewi·s?

(59) AC: Yes, it is called thus on the Marsh. (60) At the end. (61) And [I] said, "This along the hillside is Ni·Laqksi. (62) They are all people's dwellings, that was this Sohi·yagye·ks—all along the hillside, Klamath Falls, many people lived [there]."

(63) PO: Do you know the names [of places] on the Marsh? (64)—How they are called. (65) I only remember, when I was little where we always used to go gathering mudhen eggs—at Charcoal Lake. (66) And now I can't find it. (67) And Sgotq́aks, I cannot find it now. (68) And what the white people called "Hog Creek," where we used to go and gather blueberries. (69) So they are gone. (70) Thus I told this one, "Those blueberries are gone now." (71) And I wonder if maybe those sheep, ate them up? [103] [222]

(72) AC: Yes, having trampled it all down in that way. (73) [Just like] this of mine [which I] had planted here awhile ago—very big around, with red blooms there—and that goat ate it all up. (74) However, it has grown back and shoots are coming there, which have something red on them, that kind.

(75) PO: What was a "goat" called?

(76) AC: I don't recall.

PB: What is a "q̇wi·l"?

(77) AC: They called a "sheep" that. (78) Those Modoc Indians [called it] a "q̇wi·l." [192]

PB: And one more, what is "swa·ya"?

(78) AC: What?

(79) PO: swa·ya.

(80) AC: Is it?—a myth, which they called little "Swa·ya." (81) Swa·y—whatever he was, I do not know. (82) There is a myth thus.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 163]

#539 na?as honk. (83) čoy honk ge·ks q̓ay kani s?as?apg̱le·?i·ya ge·tális, hokt hok dič̓i· s?as?apg̱le·?as. (84) ge· gi·waskni· hok.[93]

(85) PO: q̓ay ?akýa kani. (86) no· lis q̓ay s?aywakta.

(87) AC: ?i·, dič̓i· hok do?otńi ho·t s?as?apg̱le·?as hok. (88) gitgo sa nis honk nen s?aba· hak nen na?as, dič̓i··· hok s?as?apg̱le·?as hok giwk. (89) q̓ay da·ts honks s?aywaks, ge· lis q̓e·gyok, gmočatk.[94] (interruption.)

(90) AC: hompča ?a mat nis honk wola·, waq sa honk či·ye·ga dank hoṁas gi.

(91) PO: dam či s?abat?

(92) AC: ?at ?a hosakíya.[95]

(93) PO: ?at ?a gitgo gi—be·n ?a smoye·ga. (94) ?at hay ?i s?abye·ki, he· ?i saṅa·Wawli, dwa· gin. (95) dwa· hakt ?i ho·skanga, honkt s?abi·. (96) ?at mis ni nen s?abi·ya, čoy ho·t hi·t ?itanwapk. (97) ?at ho·t—gitgo?—gena·—?at ho·t waki·č̓a.[96]

(98) AC: dič̓i· lis hok maqlaqs, dankńi na·t maqlaqs. (99) dič̓i· na·t honk maqlaqs. (100) čoy s?abi·ya ?an hon gen gew[97]—dič̓i· ?a na·t dank maqlaqs. (101) ḱinḱa·ńs gin na·t ṗas ?eni·ya. (102) čoy, ma·ms hok q̓e·gi ṗas gida, čoy na·t ?eni·ya, dwa·. (103) čoy hokt gi. (104) čoy hokt hoṁas hak giWi·s ne· na?as se·sa, "ńoías gin ?a sa seg̱watg̱a." (105) ?at hok na?as hok hoṁas giWi·s maqlaqs?am. (107) hoṁas honk nen ?elg̱a na?as. (108) kańs hak honkt, ḱinḱa·ńs gin ṗas ?eni·ya do·. (109) ?i·, Na·ye·ńs, čoy s?ewan?a sa dwa·č ṗas, ḱinḱa·ýanti· gin, ma·ms q̓e·gi ṗas, q̓a yoýalqs sitk dankt hok. (110) mo· g̱e·Jigank či·yank, čoy ṗas sńog̱a·. (111) ?i·, gempči gin wele·q̓atk goWaskča meyčok. (112) gempča haslanča, čoy honk yaNWa·ni gin, ?at honk s?aywakta q̓ay dwa· ṗawapgok loldam. (113) čoy hoṁas giwk, honk ?lig̱a ṗas dwa·.

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[103] [93] /gi·waskni·/ "from Crater Lake" refers to the myth by Mr. David (Text 10), or some version of it.

[196] [94] /ge·/ in the sequence /ge· lis q̓e·gyok/ "because this is gone" refers to Mrs. Cowan's brains. She made a humorous gesture at her head and added /gmočatk/ "old."

[196] [95] [ḫ̱osho̱ḡkya] : /hosakíya/ "caused it to jump shut" is usually used in Klamath for "locked (a door), shut tightly," but here Mrs. Cowan refers to the tape recorder, which she thought the investigator had turned off.

[96] Mrs. Chloe was searching for a word to describe the operation of the tape recorder. She first used /gena·/ "goes," but decided that this was wrong and so employed /waki·č̓a/ "revolves" (lit. "falls around"?)

[97] Mrs. Cowan omitted the word for "son" here and instead indicated him by a gesture of her head.

(83) And did anybody tell this one the myth from over there, that is a 539*
good myth. (84) It is [about] Crater Lake. 124

(85) PO: Probably no one. (86) I do not know it.

(87) AC: Yes, it is a very good myth [about] over there. (88) They told me something thus, that it was a very, very good myth. (89) However, [I] don't know it, because these [meaning her wits] are gone, being old. (Interruption.)

(90) AC: Thus he asked me, how they lived long ago.

(91) PO: Could you tell it?

(92) AC: Now he has stopped it [i.e., the machine].

(93) PO: Now he has done something—started it up again. (94) Now you can begin to tell, if you wish, anything at all. (95) Whatever you remember, tell that. (96) Now I have told it to you, and he will put it on there [i.e., on the tape]. (97) Now it is—something?—going—now it is revolving.

(98) AC: People were good, we Indians a long time ago. (99) We 539*
were good people. (100) And I have told my—we were good people long 124
ago. (101) We took even a little bit of food [i.e., all we had] for [some- 173
one]. (102) And, even though there was no food here, then we took for [431]
[somebody], something. (103) And it was this. (104) And doing it thus
it is called "They even divide up a flea." (105) Thus was the Indians'
way. (106) Thus they used to call it. (108) To someone, even a little
bit of food they took there. (109) Yes, for another, and they gave some
food, even [though it was] from a small amount, even if there was no
food, just being very sympathetic at that time. (110) Living with a great
struggle [lit. "having become very tired"], they got food. (111) Yes, [222]
even old ladies like these went off to dig roots. (112) They slung [a
basket] of this kind on their shoulders, and even the weak, now they knew
that there would be nothing to eat in the winter. (113) And because of [251]
that, they buried some food.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 165]

#539

(114) PO: ʔiˑ, nempča lis mis nen hoˑt saṅaˑWawli sʔaps, waq sa qamalsis, waq sa dwaˑ sʔotis, pasiok.

(115) AC: čoy naˑt honk hoṁas čiˑyeˑga. (116) hoṁas čiˑtk geˑmaqlaqs, pačit wenni glegaˑ. (117) qadak honk wenni glegaˑ.

(118) PO: basdin glegaˑ.

(119) AC: ʔiˑ, wenni glegaˑ. (120) čoy dwaˑ gin sa ageʔaˑ, dwaˑ gin sa ageʔaˑ. (121) dankt hok sa q̓ay hoṁas gi. (122) sʔewanʔa ʔa sa, kinkaˑńs gin p̓as sʔewanʔa. (123) ʔiˑ, siʔatgok gaʔas, siʔatgok sitk giwk. (124) hoṁas honk dank čiˑyaˑ, hasaswaˑYank, moˑ hasaswaˑYank. (125) pačit sa q̓ay hoṁas gi. (126) daˑla čeˑ snogwapk. (127) ageˑnank čeˑ naˑt p̓an. (128) gen gida swewaˑ sa, čoy sa pačit ageˑnank čeˑ naˑt kyem dwaˑ čiegiˑ.

(129) PO: gaˑʔaˑk sa q̓ay hoṁas.

(130) AC: q̓ay hoṁas. moˑ hasaswaˑYank honk čiˑyaˑ. (131) čoy dankt hok dič neˑpga hoṁas giwk, waq nen ni geˑks naʔas gi."[77] (132) q̓eˑgi dwaˑ pačit. (133) q̓eˑgi dwaˑ ledomnas. (134) čoy honk sʔaywakta dank, dič neˑpga, domiˑ wetiˑs, dwaˑ, naˑnok dwaˑ wetiˑs, naˑnok dwaˑ. (135) doˑ sas Jolayḱlageˑni ptisap soyńa, naˑnok siˑčiˑp̓ank, montańs bil soloˑtnank.[78] (136) čoy honk naˑnok hok saˑt naˑnok gen gyank—ʔat sa doˑ genank, čoy sa honk gew ptisaˑ holliˑńčapga. (137) čoy sa sdoq̓a···, "ʔi···!" (138) čoy honk hoit (Proper name's) giwlsam sńeweˑts sʔawiˑga sas, soloˑgoˑlas gin sʔaboˑk. (139) ʔiˑ, soloˑgoˑla. (140) "gmočapks hay ʔaˑt nen soloˑgoˑla, hoˑt ʔa čiḿangatk," naʔas honk hemkanga. (141) čoy honk naʔas, "haja···! ya··· dwaˑ!" naʔas.[79] (142) q̓ay mat dič hemkanga hok sa. (143) "q̓ay hoˑt čiḿangatk. (144) gmočatk hoˑt," naʔas saˑt hok weˑẃanwis. (145) čoy hok sasalḱya sas. (146) čoy hoṁas hok dank, domiˑ wetiˑs dwaˑ, domiˑ dičiˑ dwaˑ, daldadwa ledomnas. (147) gen waytas qapqap hak dwaˑ. (148) q̓ay waq dwaˑ gmayttanʔa.

(149) PO: geˑks ʔan sʔabiˑya naʔas, dadaˑt sa sogoˑlgi. sdanni, laˑbi gin, čoy sa naʔas gi, "dam ʔi sʔaywakta dadaˑ kańs sʔawiˑkst?"

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[77] /geˑks/ "this one" refers to her son, whom she indicated with a gesture.

[192] [78] /Jolayḱlageˑni/ "July Place" contains the English element "July." Mrs. Cowan here refers to the Fourth of July celebrations in the old days, but where and when this particular one was held is not known.

[79] /haja···!/ is supposed to represent Paiute speech, or at least some sort of Paiute interjection. The rest of their quoted utterance (/ya··· dwaˑ!/ is Klamath.

(114) PO: Yes, he wants you to tell that kind of thing, how they did things, to get food. 539* 124

(115) AC: So we used to live this way. (116) These people used to live thus, now have [they] become different. (117) Truly they have become different.

(118) PO: [They] have become white people.

(119) AC: Yes, become different. (120) So they buy anything, they buy anything whatsoever. (121) Long ago they did not do thus. (122) They gave, they gave even a small amount of food. (123) Yes, dividing it thus, just like dividing it. [431] (124) They lived thus long ago, helping each other, helping each other very much. (125) Now they do not do thus. (126) [One] will grasp only for money. (127) We eat only by buying. (128) Here they fish, but now only by buying do we swallow any fish.

(129) PO: Long ago they did not do thus.

(130) AC: Not thus. Helping each other very much they lived. (131) And long ago it was good, because it was thus, as I have told this one. (132) Now there is nothing. (133) Now there is no fun. (134) And [I] knew long ago, it was good, much to laugh at, something, everything to laugh at, everything. (135) There at the [Fourth of] July place Father raced them, having taken all his clothes off, only wearing his drawers. [526] (136) And all those Paiutes doing this—now they having gone there, then they ran off and left my father behind. (137) Then they roared with laughter, "ʔi···!" (138) Then that woman who used to be (Proper name's) wife became angry at them, because she said they were making fun. (139) Yes, they made fun. (140) "You [pl.] old people are making fun, but he is young," thus she spoke. (141) And they said, "HaJa···! ya···dwa·!" they said. (142) They did not talk nicely. (143) "He is not young. (144) He is old," thus said those Paiute women. (145) Then she got angry at them. (146) And thus it was long ago, many things to laugh at, many good things, various things [were] fun. (147) Today everything is quiet. (148) Now there is no poking fun about anything.

(149) PO: I told this one thus, [once] when they got together, three, or even two, then they said, "Do you know when someone [i.e., a certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 167]

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*539 (150) čoy q́a···y ho·t sʔaswi·gis. (151) dići· ho·t gi. (152) ge·ks ni sʔabi·ya.[180] (153) ho·t sa dank do· ṕoWasdi, (Proper name¹), čoy (Proper name²), čoy—ago·—(Proper name²). (154) Waltga sa. (155) kani hak ćis ʔaMĺa naʔas, kani sa naʔas ʔelga čopbaqs či. (156) čoy čik sa wisyq̣damna nen. (157) čoy sas ni mamča·di·la—no· mamča·di·lis či hak ni ge·ks sʔabi·ya. (158) čoy sas naʔas, dam mat honk dada· sa (Proper name²) aleʔa·, qiLo·s se·wist, wage·nha q́oy si·ksikst, wage·nha sijaqtis. (159) q́a···y, q́ay dada· aleʔa·. (160) čoy (Proper name¹) naʔas, "no· dak honks aleʔa· sʔawi·gapks diña·." (161) "ʔa···, dada· hay?" naʔas či honk hok (Proper name²). (162) čoy (Proper name¹) naʔas gi, "dada·t lis ʔi wač mi spaća·ytdatq́ia!" (163) čoy sa sdoqdamna. (164) nemas ni ge·ks sʔabi·ya. (165) čoy ni Jo·nas ćis sʔabi·ya, kat mis dank ćosak ale·lgi. (166) do· hok swina·, se·ridan.[181] (167) do·st sa nen naʔas ʔelga do·, do·st hok maqlaqs na···noka·skni·sogo·lgi. (168) nen hok swinwapk sanditdat, litgi. (169) nen hok ʔat ʔakya gatba, do . (170) čoy mbaws solo·tnank swinwapk, Jo·n. (171) hok ʔa gew—ṕia·lam gew be·p, kat mis ćosak ale·lgi.

(172) AC: ʔi·, mago·q́ap. (173) gew dak hok biblanksía gi. (174) no· honkĺam ṕie·wa hok nis—hok nis tapyalpgatk. (175) ʔi·, hok nis tapyalpga, ṕie·wip honkĺam. (176) čoy hok gew pikča nis honkĺam mbegapks, wele·q́apgam, q́e·gi hok, ṕallapga ʔans hok kani. (177) q́e·gi hok. (178) naʔas honk ho·skanga neybliwapgok ga·yĺa dank. (179) ga·yĺa ʔan honk, čoy hok q́e·gi hok.

(The machine was temporarily turned off at this point.)

(180) AC: swewsʔam.

(181) PO: (I never could think of that!) waq čik ho·t bosbosĺi se·satk?

(182) AC: ḱal. (183) ʔi·t sa hon gi, ṕan.[182] (184) lo·st gyank, lo·st gyank sa ṕan. (185) honk ćis ḱal, ṕan sa honk.

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[192] [180] /ge·ks/ again refers to the investigator.

[551] [181] /Jo·n/ "June" is the name of Mrs. Chiles' niece, Mrs. June Dick, who is quite well known on the Reservation and in Portland (her present home) as a singer. She had gone to Sheridan, Wyoming, to sing at the annual gathering of American Indian tribes there. [533] [463]

[192] [182] /ʔi·t/ is the English word "eat," and /lo·st/ is English "roast." In speaking to the investigator directly, Mrs. Cowan felt it necessary to employ frequent English words as supplements to her Klamath explanations.

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one] was ever angry?" (150) And he was never one who got angry. (151) He was good. (152) I told this one. (153) They were there at QoWasdi, (Proper name¹), and (Proper name²), and—who—(Proper name³). (154) They were talking. (155) Someone else perhaps was talking too, whom they called "ĉopbaqs." (156) And they were laughing. (157) So I eavesdropped on them—I am an eavesdropper, as I told this one. (158) And he said to them, whether they had ever seen (Proper name³), being angry, or perhaps in a bad mood, or perhaps annoyed. (159) No, no [one] had ever seen [him thus]. (160) Then (Proper name¹) said, "But I have seen him angry once." (161) "ʔa···, when?" said that (Proper name³). (162) Then (Proper name¹) said, "When you were jerking at your horse's bridle!" (163) Then they roared with laughter. (164) Thus I told this one. (165) And I told June also, who always used to come and see you awhile back. (166) She is singing there, at Sheridan. (167) There where they call it thus, there where the Indians from all over are gathering. (168) She will sing there on Sunday, in the evening. (169) She must have arrived, there. (170) And she will sing dressed in a skin [dress], June. (171) She is my—my elder sister's daughter, who always comes to see you.

(172) AC: Yes, niece. (173) She is my [relation] on both sides. (174) I, her grandmother, to me—she considered me her little sister. (175) Yes, she called me her little sister, her grandmother. (176) So my picture of her which I was keeping, of the old lady, it is gone, someone has stolen it from me. (177) It is gone. (178) [I] thought to give it back [and] looked for it long ago. (179) I looked for it, but it was missing.

(The machine was temporarily turned off at this point.)

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(180) AC: Moss [sp. Evernia vulpina].

(181) PO: (I never could think of that!) How was that black one called?

(182) AC: Moss [another species]. (183) They "ate" it, ate. (184) Having "roasted" it, having "roasted" it, they ate. (185) That black moss too, they ate it.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

(186) PO: hont hay ni sleʔa· honk loloqĺaʔas ṗas dank—ĺal.

PB: What do they call a fern?

(187) PO: waq či se·satk "fern"? (188) kant sa mat leĺe·wsam sokĺa, leĺe·wsam sitk geča·, q̓elẏak da·ts leĺe·wsam. (189) "fern," kant nen basdin "fern" či ʔelga. (190) gesga ʔams ni dwa· hesle·wapk.

(191) RC: kant sa nen do· čosak "Smith River" ʔigatga.[103] (192) kat ho·t gitgo—tapaq bil.

(193) PO: kat ho·t mo·mni, ʔa···di· geča·.

(194) AC: čya·wisam, ʔakẏa?

(195) PO: waq mat?

(196) AC: čya·wisam lis. (197) ʔi·, hompča sĺaps woksa sitk ṗan. kat ho·t taktakĺi, sĺaps ho·t.

(198) PO: q̓ay.

(199) RC: kat ho·t ʔa·di·ni.

(200) PO: kampča na·t ʔiʔačq̓a—sokĺa leĺe·wsammat. (201) ĺapaq bil lis ho·t ʔa···di·ni. (202) ʔaMĺa mis na·t dat sdogank hesle·t, dada·.

(203) RC: maqlaqs ʔa ge·t ʔiʔačqge·ni lopẏa ʔigatga leĺe·wsam, čoy sa hompča sokĺank, kat ho·t ʔa·di·ni, ĺapaq.

(204) AC: kant ʔa·t naʔas ʔelga "sunflowers"?

(205) PO: q̓ay.

PB: Then what would you call sunflowers?

(206) PO: "sunflowers" lis, q̓ay ni sʔaywakta.

(207) AC: ʔi·, honkt ʔa nen ʔat sebamtgi. (208) waq dal ho·t se·satk —ho·t dak ʔoti·s, yawqs gi, magi·p.[104] (209) ʔoti·s. mona·ni. (210) ṁa·sis gaʔas gyank satĺa·ĺa gaʔas, magi·p.

PO: Those are the sunflower roots, but she can't remember the sunflowers.

PB: And did the Klamath eat the sunflower seeds?

(211) PO: dam ʔeč mat na·t hompča ṗan?

(212) AC: ʔi·, ṗaṗi·s dak ho·t gi, dič̓i·, hok lo·q. (213) čoy hoṁas siwli·ns sitk ho·t gaʔas, lo·q. (214) lopi·li·nas ho·t gi. (215) sno·gank hokt, hohi·ye·ga nčets hok, bobasbostĺa·ni. (216) čoy hok lo·q bil hok gaʔas gist, siwli·ns sitk. (217) dič ma·sitk. (218) ʔi·, na·nok dwa· maqlaqs ṗan, na·nok. (219) na·nok dič pa·p gis, woksam ho·t hok, mayam

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[824]

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[103] "Smith River" was a source of ferns for funerals.

[104] /ʔoti·s/ may possibly be ‖sʔotnys‖ "long-object-attached-to," referring to its medicinal quality as a poultice. Mrs. Chiles was not certain whether /magi·p/ was really the name of the sunflower root or whether this was another root.

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(186) PO: I saw Little Fire [woman's name] eating it long ago—moss.

PB: What do they call a fern?

(187) PO: How is a "fern" called? (188) That which they mix in with flowers, it grows like flowers, but has no flowers. (189) "Fern," that which the white people call "fern." (190) I can't show you any.

(191) RC: That which they always used to get there on Smith River. (192) That which is something—only foliage.

(193) PO: Which are large, it grows very long.

(194) AC: "čya·wisam," perhaps?

(195) PO: How?

(196) AC: It is "čya·wisam." (197) Yes, [they] eat its leaves like wokas, which are red, those leaves.

(198) PO: No.

(199) RC: Which are long ones.

(200) PO: The like of which we put on top [of a grave]—mixed in with flowers. (201) They are only those long, long leaves. (202) Perhaps having gotten some somewhere, we can show you, sometime.

(203) RC: Before [going] there to the graveyard, people used to get flowers, and then they mixed in that sort, which are long, long leaves.

(204) AC: Those which you [pl.] call "sunflowers"?

(205) PO: No.

PB: Then what would you call sunflowers?

(206) PO: "Sunflowers." I don't know.

(207) AC: Yes, now I have forgotten it. (208) How was it called—but that was applied [lit. "long object put on"], it was medicine, sunflower roots. (209) To be applied, the ones underneath. (210) Having thus become sick, [one] rubs it on oneself, the roots.

PO: Those are the sunflower roots, but she can't remember the sunflowers.

PB: And did the Klamath eat the sunflower seeds?

(211) PO: Did we used to eat that sort?

(212) AC: Yes, they were eaten, good, those seeds. (213) And they were just like sifted [wokas], the seeds. (214) They were "lopi·li·nas." (215) Having roasted them, the pod pops up, little black ones. (216) And only the seeds being thus, like sifted [wokas]. (217) [They] tasted good. (218) Yes, the Indians ate everything, all. (219) "Popping" it all

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ho·t lolp, na?as sa honk ?elga, boqboq ga?as.[105] (220) snaps gi. (221) na·nok dwa· ṗan maqlaqs, na·nok dwa·, ga·?a·k homas či·ya·. (222) čoy dič či·ya·, meya· čis gempči, maqlaqs?am čwa—maqlaqsam "sweet potatoes." (223) dič́i·, Lo·yLoẏatk, homas hak swaktktis. (224) q̇alq̇al?i da·ts gi, dič́i·.

PB: And what is 'qlaṅs'?

(225) AC: qlaṅa, ?i·. (226) ho·t dič́i·, ho·t ṗas gin. (227) pa·snapsam lis—ho·t ge· čeLaspči hokt, ho·t síaba·. (328) ?i·, pa·snapsam lis čis síaba·, čoy ho·t dak q̇oy bilwitk, ho·t. (229) q̇oy bilwitk—ho·t paysin. (230) čoy homas da·ts síabatk, qlaṅa sitk síabatk, q̇elẏak da·ts hok pa·snapsam bilwis, q̇oy. (231) ho·t ?a sḱawanksam, q̇oyči. (232) homas hak síabatk, homas, qlaṅa sitk. (233) dič́i· dak hok qlaṅa—dič ṁa·sitk, Lo·yLoẏatk. (234) dič́i· čis sangis ṗan, čoy čiḱa·ẏank kok gyank.[106]

PB: What did the Klamath call "garlic" or "onion"?

(235) PO: kat ?a sa "onion" basdin na?as ?elgank, "wild onion" či.

(236) AC: pni ho·t gi. (237) ge·ni čik ho·t, dič́i· hompči dwa·. (238) ho·t čeḱa·ni, tata·napḱapči gi, mṗoqamnatk. (239) hompči hok sčisčapgatk. (240) homas wa· ge·t, lobi·daĺ, gida. (241) ya·ṅi ge·t do·. (242) ne·hompča saṅa·Wawli le·nsam ?ikčas, haswa·tgi giwk, gempčant kna·tdat pčant hok ge·latdat—homas domi··· kčalwitk síaps. (243) dič́a· síaps gi. (244) hompči da·ts ?a?alyanspči, nemas hok bilwitk. (245) na?as dak sa hon ?elgank pni či. (246) dič ṗan, sa·t. (247) dič ṁa·sitk, Lo·yLoẏa, bogatk lo·st gi. (248) na·nok čeLas maṅi· sa hook ga?as gyank ṗan.

PB: Could you tell me what a "wa·l" is?

(249) PO: dwa· ?eč hok wa·l? (250) wa·l![107] (251) "le mna ṕe·wa mo·ṅs wa·l ?oye···!"

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[252] [192] [105] /pa·p/ is English "pop." Mrs. Cowan referred to the "popping" of various seeds, much like modern popcorn. This was done to that type of very ripe wokas called /stokíwas/, to sunflower seeds, etc. The author had never heard of this process being applied to tule roots (/mayam lolp/).

[192] [106] /hok/ is English "cook."

[192] [124] [196] [107] /wa·l/ was mentioned by Mrs. Ohles in connection with a hazily remembered portion of a myth. She thought it was a type of root, and this is borne out by Mrs. Cowan. She repeated the name (Sentence 250) in a louder tone of voice, since Mrs. Cowan tended to be slightly deaf. To further clarify what she meant, she added Sentence 251, which is the myth speech attributed to the chief character in the myth she could not quite recall. The form /?oye···/ wavers off into silence at the end. It seems to be |?oya| : /?oya/ "gives a long object," but with modification of the final vowel.

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well, that wokas, tule eyes [i.e., tule roots], as they called it, white like this. (220) It was popped. (221) Indians ate everything, everything, they lived thus long ago. (222) And they lived well, they dug [roots] like this also, the Indians' potato [*Sagittaria latifolia*]—the Indians' "sweet potatoes." (223) Good, sweet, looking thus inside. (?) (224) But it was round, good.

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PB: And what is "qlańe"?

(225) AC: "qlańa," yes. (226) It was good, even as food. (227) "Parsnips"—this just like a peeling [skin? membrane?] it bloomed. (228) Yes, it blooms just like "parsnips," but it smelled bad, that. (229) Smelled bad—it was "poison." (230) But it had blooms thus, blooming just like qlańa, however that stink of parsnips was not there [i.e., she here is speaking about "poison parsnips"—"sḱawankeam"]. (231) That was poison parsnips [*Cicutum douglasii*], bad. (232) It bloomed just thus, thus, like "qlańa." (233) But that "qlańa" was good—tasted good, sweet. (234) Good to eat raw also, and [as well as] having boiled and "cooked" it. [252]

PB: What did the Klamath call "garlic" or "onion"?

(235) PO: Which the white people call "onion," or "wild onion."

(236) AC: That is "pni." (237) It is from over there, something good like that. (238) They were little, like little "turnips," bitter. (239) They were in bunches. (240) They grew over there, to the east, here. (241) At Ya·ńi there. (242) [I] wanted Ransom to go and get some, to plant them, on some dry earth like this in the ground—thus there are many, many bright flowers. (243) They are good flowers. (244) However they are just like those onions, smelling just so. (245) But they have called them "pni." (246) They ate it well, the Paiutes. (247) It tasted good, sweet, having put it in a roasting pit, they "roast" it. (248) With all its skin having done thus to it, they ate it.

PB: Could you tell me what a "wa·l" is?

(249) PO: What was that "wa·l"? (250) "wa·l"! (251) "He didn't give his Granny the big 'wa·l'!"

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

(252) AC: wa·l—hokt čis diči· gi. (253) hok gew pk̓isap čosak dat hak gaẃal. q̇ay ni sˀaywakta k̓akia·ni hok hoḿas hak. (254) mo·m gida gaˀas gitk.[100] (255) ˀa·di·ńs da·ts, ˀa·di· lentk, wa·l hok. (256) dič ḿa·sitk hok. (257) q̇ay ˀan honk sˀaywakta, q̇ay ˀan honk gasaqkanga dankt, hompča meyst. (258) hok dak na·nok dwa· sˀaywaktnank meya·. (259) q̇ay ˀan honk sˀaywakta hompča, wa·l hok.

(260) PO: nent hay no· hon sˀaywakta se·sas bil. (261) sˀasˀapgle·-ˀi·ya.

(262) AC: honkt hok ḿa·sitk, hoḿas hak. (263) diči· hok hoḿas hak gi. (Interruption, and the machine was turned off.)

(264) PO: . . . ksegi·. (265) dwa· sa nen waq giwk naˀas gi? (266) "ho·t ˀans ksegi·," či.

(267) AC: gina·t wik̓a·na, nčoq̇a· ˀat!

(268) PO: ksegi·—dwa· sa nen waq giwk naˀas gi, "ho·t ˀans ksegi·," či?

(269) AC: dada· lis ho·t dola či·ya·. (270) he· mis ni dola či·t, do·na midamksi, čoy ˀi naˀas gi, "ho·t čosak nis ksegi·." (271) naˀas ˀi git.

(272) AC: čoyč Na·s ne· gin, sohangapči. (273) nčegi·.

(274) PO: nent ˀams ni nen! (275) nčegi·!

(276) AC: nčegi·. Na·s ne· gin. (277) "ˀat ˀan honks nčegiwapk." (278) "ˀat hisjaqtanwapk. (279) ma·ns ˀan honks q̇ay geqča, čoy nčegi·. (280) čoyč ˀat ˀan nčegiwapk."

(281) PO: waq lis ˀi lobi·da·ńa? (282) waq ˀan honk git, he· ˀi no·s dola či·t?

(283) AC: ksegi·.

(284) PO: (That last one means I never paid any attention for a long time, but I will, now, take offence to what this other person says and quarrel with them or fight with them or whatever.) čoy ˀan honk lobi·da·ńa sˀaywakta, ˀat mo· če· gmočank. (Interruption.)

PB: What is a "pk̓a·sip"?

(285) PO: kaya·nWa dal hok gitgo—pk̓a·sip čoy bloksip? (286) ptisamksdaĺ čoy wage·nha pk̓isamksía?

(287) AC: ˀi·, pk̓isamksdaĺ bi, hok pk̓a·sip. (288) čoy hok dak ptisamksdaĺ, bloksip. (289) pq̇oli·p sńewe·ts ge·ksíadaĺ, pk̓a·sip.

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[100] /gida gaˀas/ "here this way" refers to the gestured size of the /wa·l/—about three or four inches.

(252) AC: "wa·l"—it is good also. (253) My mother always used to find it somewhere, I don't know how long it thus was. (254) They were this big, here. (255) However, [they] were long, tapering, that "wa·l." (256) It tasted good. (257) I do not know it, I never followed her around long ago, when she dug that kind. (258) But she dug [for roots] knowing everything. (259) I do not know it, that "wa·l" thus.

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(260) PO: Its name is all I know. (261) They told [about it] in myths for [us].

(262) AC: It tasted just thus. (263) It was very good thus. (Interruption, and the machine was turned off.)

(264) PO: . . . "kseg̣i·." (265) Why would they say that? (266) "He 'kseg̣i·' me," as [they said].

(267) AC: Here, close by, I am deaf now!

(268) PO: "kseg̣i·"—why would they say that, "He 'kseg̣i·' me," as [they said].

(269) AC: When he lived with me. (270) If I would live with you, there at your place, then you would say, "She always 'kseg̣i·' me." (271) Thus you would say.

(272) AC: Then there is one more even, just about like it. (273) "nčeg̣i·."

(274) PO: Didn't I [tell] you so! (275) "nčeg̣i·!"

(276) AC: "nčeg̣i·," that is one even. (277) "Now I will take offence [i.e., "nčeg̣iwapk"] at him." (278) "Now [I] will quarrel [with him]. (279) For a long time I ignored him, but now I take offence. (280) So now I will take offence."

(281) PO: How did you [say] it first? (282) How would I say it, if you lived with me?

(283) AC: "kseg̣i·."

(284) PO: (That last one means I never paid any attention for a long time, but I will now, take offence to what this other person says and quarrel with them or fight with them or whatever.) So I know it for the first time, having become so old. (Interruption.)

PB: What is a "pḱa·sip"?

(285) PO: Which is that something—Grandfather [mother's father] and Grandfather [father's father]? (286) On the father's side, or perhaps on the mother's side? [601]

(287) AC: Yes, he is on the mother's side, that "pḱa·sip." (288) And he is on the father's side however, the "bloksip." (289) The "pq̓oli·p" is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 175]

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#539 (290) čoy blokšip, ṕe·wip—ʔat ho·t ƙanni gi. (291) ge·ksĺadaĺ lalʔa·bi hok gi.

PB: And what is a "ṕo·nip"?

(292) PO: ṕo·nip, dwa· hok? (293) waq hok nen hasʔa·Mĺa, kaĺs sa ṕo·nip naʔas ʔelga?

(294) AC: ṕo·nip dak ho·t pʔa·nip gi. (295) ho·t ʔa gew ƙoƙo·nip gi. (Great Uncle.)

(The conversation was carried on in English at this point, mostly about friends from the old days.)

(296) PO: . . . čoy waq dal hok se·satk gi, kaĺsĺet honk dola či·ya·—kaĺs honk dola či·ya·?

(297) AC: q̓ay, wiƙa· baĺi ʔa mat honk hok sq̓olligo·ta. (298) mna da·k dwa·, waq da·k sa gin—mna da·k honk sʔa·Maks dwa· hak. (299) čoy ho·t sa hon boĺhas gyank ʔat hasʔa·Maƙstk. (300) ptisa· honk blogo·člank, honkĺam honk q̓e·gitk.[99]

(301) PO: ʔi·. honk hay ni ho·skanga.

(The conversation reverted to English and drifted to a recollection of a personal experience from Mrs. Ohles' childhood. The machine was turned off during this time and was only turned on again when she returned to Klamath.)

(302) PO: . . . čoy dank ḿa·sʔa dwa·. (303) čoy ma·ns q̓e·gi, ma·ns q̓e·gi. (304) čoy ndanni waytas q̓e·giwapgatk, čoy ma·ns na·ĺ q̓e·gi, ḿa·sʔok. (305) čoy honk hokt ʔat wosga ńa·ta, hokt (Proper name). (306) čoy hok gembli, čoy honk ḿa·sis gota·, honkčgas. (307) čoy ma·ma gatbamblyank na·ĺs be·n blay ʔembli, blaydaĺ.[100] (308) waq dal sa blay maqlaqsyalank ʔelga?

(309) AC: blay, či. (310) ge· dak nen gina·t ẏayńa.

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[192] [99] The form /q̓e·gitk/ is used for respectful mention of a dead person. It was
considered impolite to mention the names of the other person's deceased relations
[551] in a conversation, and this was extended often to refer to the names of deceased
[576] friends and acquaintances. Compare the English "the dear departed."

[100] Mrs. Ohles uses the form /blay/ here to mean only the town of Bligh. It
[103] may be that the vowel of the two repetitions of /blay/ in this sentence is somewhat
longer than is usual for the Klamath morpheme (blay) "up, above." It is
[193] certainly longer than Mrs. Cowan's /blay, či/ in Sentence 309. If so, this may
[194] account for Mrs. Ohles' failure to recognize "Bligh" as Klamath (blay).

the woman on this side, the "p̓a·sip." (290) And the "bloksip," [the woman on that side is the] "p̓e·wip"—now they are that many. (291) On this side they are two each.

PB: And what is a "p̓o·nip"?

(292) PO: "p̓o·nip," what is that? (293) How is he related, he whom they call "p̓o·nip"?

(294) AC: The "p̓o·nip" is a brother [woman's elder brother]. (295) He [they?] would be my "čočo·nip." (Great uncle.) (?)

(The conversation was carried on in English at this point, mostly about friends from the old days.)

(296) PO: . . . And how was he called, with whom she lived—whom she lived with?

(297) AC: No, she just lived with him for a little while. (298) Something herself, even being something to each other—they were some sort of relation to each other. (300) He considered [her] father an uncle [mother's brother], his absent one.

(301) PO: Yes, I thought so.

(The conversation reverted to English and drifted to a recollection of a personal experience from Mrs. Ohles' childhood. The machine was turned off during this time and was only turned on again when she returned to Klamath.)

(302) PO: . . . And she was sick with something for a long time. (303) And she was gone a long time, gone a long time. (304) So she was supposed to be gone only three days, and she was gone much longer, because she was sick. (305) And then he left us [lit. "fell off of us"], that (Proper name). (306) Then he returned, and sickness attacked, him next. (307) Then Mama having come back, she took us back to Bligh, toward Bligh. (308) What do they call Bligh in Klamath?

(309) AC: "Blay." (310) It is on this side of the mountain.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 177]

#539 (311) PO: dam mat? (312) q́ay ni nen dada· domna.[111]

(313) AC: čoy ýayńaks—bo·t lis ýayńa?a·k. do·st honk dank (Proper name) siwga basdińas. hontda ýayńa?a·kńatdat blay aponmanyank do.

(At this point the tape came to an end, and the conversation was broken off.)

39. Response to Pictures
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) dwa· čik hon ǵo·sdat ?aký a ǵintampga? Na·s hiswaqs ǵo·sdaĺ ýa hon ǵintampga. q́oy sle·s, mo· s?oys?atk. čoy dwa· lis ?a ge·? sdo, ?aký a, q́ay ni s?aywakta.

(2) ge· la·bi hihaswaqs. ?aMḱa sa sboĺo·ywiwapgok waǵe·sha ksonalwapgok ǵiq?askanga. ge· ǵinčampga, Na·s. čoy ge· ǵo·s dewa·, Na·čyak.

(3) čoyč ge· ndanni, woni·bi hihaswaqs. woni·bi ge· hihaswaqs. čoy Na·s do··· ḱičḱa·ni hiswaqḱa. ge·˙ čik mo·mni. be·n ge· ǵinčampga. dwa· sa ǵinčampga? q́ay ni s?aywakta. sdo da·ts newčńa—dam ge· sdo newčńa?

(4) la·bi hihaswaqs, Na·s ho·ččńa ǵo·sdaĺ. ?aMḱa geqančwapk. ge· čik q́ay ni s?aywakta dwa· ge·k sa s?ode·st. be·n ǵinčampga. dwa· bas hi·t gi? čoy ge· la·bi sdo.

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[124] [111]It seems strange that Mrs. Ohles had never made the connection between "Bligh" and (blay), but this is what she seems to imply here. Since she speaks such good English, she may have heard "Bligh" always as [bla·y] and (blay) as [bla˘<y].

(311) PO: Is that so? (312) I never heard that.

(313) AC: Then Yainax [from Klamath /ẏayńaks/]—it is a little mountain, there where (Proper name) killed that white man a long time ago, on that little mountain having led him up high there. 539* 124

(At this point the tape came to an end, and the conversation was broken off.)

Introductory Note to Text 39

This text was elicited with the aid of a series of fifty line drawings, prepared under the supervision of Alfred S. Hayes, as described in his article, "Field Procedures While Working with Diegueño" (International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 20, pp. 185-194, 1954). Each drawing depicts some simple situation, and the informant is encouraged to describe the scene and make some theorisations about what might be going on. The numeration corresponds to the numbers of the pictures. The separate utterances are not otherwise numbered. 125

39. Response to Pictures

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) What is he pointing at that tree for? One man seems to be pointing toward that tree, unhealthy [lit. "bad looking"], very thin. And what is this? A road, perhaps, I do not know. 539* 125

(2) These are two men. Perhaps they are walking around to plow or perhaps to cut hay. This one is pointing, one. And this tree stands in the open, alone.

(3) So these are three, four men also. These are four men. And one little boy way over there, but these are large. Again this one is pointing. What are they pointing at? I do not know. However, a road is running along—isn't this a road running along?

(4) Two men, one is running toward the tree. Perhaps he will relieve himself. But this one, I don't know what they are doing. Again he is pointing. What can be over there? And these are two roads.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 179]

(5) ge· čis ndanni be·n hihaswaqs, q̇e·gi ʔa ḱičḱa·ni gen hosde·tiedat. dwa· bas? ʔaMḱa g̦o·s tabi·tant.

(6) ge·č be·n hok—ʔaMḱa Na·s be·n ýa hoččńa hi·tdaĺ. ʔi·, hoččńa lis ho·t. g̦ilʔank ho·t gena·. ge·k sa dak g̦iqʔasčńa. dwa··· dak gin ge· g̦inčampga č́osak?

(7) ge· čik sńewe·ts. g̦inčampga lis ho·t čis. q̇ay sliči·q̇atk.

(8) ge· čik ʔat hiswaqs gatba. dwa· dal gida gi? ge· lis g̦inčampga be·n. ge· lis ʔat hiswaqs gatba, naʔas ni giwla.

(9) ya···, doma· hihaswaqs gitk, la·ba. q̇aýo· sliči·q̇atk. dwa· sa g̦inčampga? ʔaMḱa kani gepga.

(10) ge· pt́isap naʔas gi, "do· ho·t ʔi g̦o·s tabi·tant geqanči·k! q̇ay mis sa sle·tgi!"

(11) dam bas hok ge· ptisap, honkĺam, kat ho·t hoččńa do·, g̦o·sdaĺ, be·n hak. ʔaMḱa geqanwapgok. ge· čik sdo. čoy ʔaMḱa sa naʔas gi, "hi·t goni· tabi·tant gapč́ank! g̦o·sdat hay ʔi gapč́ank!" čoy ge· be·n wenni·ni g̦o·s. čoy ge· ʔat ʔaMḱa sakqantampga—sakqantampga lis ge· ʔat. (See, he's bent down a little more, and he must have messed himself.)

(12) čoy ge· la·bi hihaswaqs gatba. q̇ay ni sʔaywakta kakańs gist. ʔaMḱa ptisam—dwa·? tg̦e·wńap, ʔakýa?

(13) dwa· ʔa ge·? sńewe·čḱa ʔakýa? be···n g̦inčampga! hi·tdaĺ hak. q̇ay ni sʔaywakta waq giwk. ho·t čis wenni·ni g̦o·s.

(14) "o····, tisi·p, gen sle·lgi gida, dwa· ʔa ge·!" g̦inčampga be·n.

(15) ʔaMḱa ẃiqẃiqsʔam hi·t sńoLas. ʔaMḱa honk g̦inḱa·yipga. ge· la·bi hihaswaqs čoy Na·s sńewe·čḱa.

(16) ge· sńewe·čḱa be·n. ʔaMḱa sa le·ẃa dwa·. ʔaMḱa ho·t honks gayahwapk, čoy ge· gaẃalwapk, ge· sńewe·čḱa. ge· dič sliči·q̇atk.

(17) ge· č́is dič sliči·q̇atk. čoy ge· naʔas gi, "ho·t ʔans gayahʔa hi·t, g̦o·sdat gayahča, čoy no· honks sleʔa·. ge· hiswaqs dwa·—ptisap ýa, wag̦e·nha bloksip.

(18) ge· la·ṕok ʔat, la·ṕok ĺaĺakeni, ho·t lis? hiswaqḱa čoy sńewe·čḱa. ge· čik ʔaMḱa setg̦e·wńaltk, ʔaMḱa ptisap čoy blog̦o·č́ip ʔaMḱa.

(19) wač́a·k. čodi·la—dwanidat? čawlo·tadat ʔakýa? ʔaMḱa teyballat. ʔa·di·ńs qbel gitk wač́a·k, čoy qeẃapks ʔakýa qe·mat gitk?

(20) ge· čik mbaĺwallqdamsa wač́a·k, sedalwasdaĺ delqampgok.

(21) ge· ba·ĺa·ʔas ṕan, teyballat tgawlank wač́a·k. ṕaṕallis ge· wač́a·k gi.

(5) These are three men again also, the little one is absent in this picture. What is the matter? Maybe he is behind the tree.

(6) This is he again also—perhaps somebody else is running toward there. Yes, he is running. He is going fast. But these are walking. But whatever is this one pointing at, always?

(7) This is a woman. She is pointing too. [Her hair] is not combed.

(8) This man has come now. What is he doing here? This one is pointing again. This man has come now, as I said.

(9) Ya···, [she] has many men, two. [Her hair] is not yet combed. What are they pointing at? Perhaps someone is coming.

(10) This is a mother saying, "Go relieve yourself over there behind the tree! Don't let them see you!"

(11) Could this be the father, his, who is running there, towards the tree, again. Perhaps to relieve himself. This is a road. And perhaps they are saying, "Hide behind over there! Hide behind the tree!" And this is a different tree again. And perhaps this one has messed himself [lit. "relieved himself on himself"]—he has messed himself now. (See, he's bent down a little more, and he must have messed himself.)

(12) And these two men have come. I do not know who they are. Perhaps the father's—what? Older brother, perhaps?

(13) What is this? Perhaps a little girl? Again pointing! Towards there. I don't know why. That is a different tree also.

(14) "Ohhh, father, come and look here, what is this!" Pointing again.

(15) Perhaps there is a magpie's nest there. Perhaps she is pointing up at it. These are two men, and one little girl.

(16) This is a little girl again. Perhaps they are playing something. Perhaps he will hide from her, and she will find him, this little girl. This one is well combed.

(17) This one also is well combed. And this one says, "He is hiding from me there, he goes to hide behind the tree, but I see him." This man is something—possibly the father or perhaps the grandfather [father's father].

(18) These are two now, two children, aren't they? A little boy and a little girl. They are perhaps brother and sister, and [these men] are perhaps [their] father and uncle [mother's brother].

(19) A dog. He is sitting under—under what? Perhaps a chair? Perhaps a table. The dog has a long tail, and perhaps he has a broken back?

(20) This dog keeps jumping up and down, to look out through [lit. "toward" the window.

(21) This one is eating bread, the dog standing on the table. This dog is a thief.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 181]

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(22) ge· čik hiswaqs wačá·ks mna sʔewanʔa. dwa· hak sʔewanʔa, ṗas ʔa sʔewanʔa. q̇ay qaq̇o·. ʔaMka ʔambo čiya·.

(23) ge· čik čikas gitgo—"quail"—sdasdo·lʔaqs ʔakẏa gen qbitbambli ge· wača·k.

(24) ge· čik koĺa·k. ge· ʔa loldam—q̇elẏak ge· ĺapaq go·a. čoy ge· wača·k koĺa·ks—q̇ay. q̇ay koĺa·k—kaẏa·k ʔa ho·t. kaẏa·ks ʔa so·čńa.

(25) ge· čik gelpa wača·k.

(26) ge· čik mo·smo·s, ṗawa·. ẏayńa, goge wika·ĺa ʔakẏa. ẏayńa čik ho·t goni·tant. q̇ay ni sʔaywakta ka ẏayńa gi.

(27) ge· čik ʔilga—ʔisalq̇i ʔakẏa gen ʔilga. čoyč ge· ʔona·k hak—q̇ayo· ge· go·s ĺapq̇ala. ʔat ʔa sqoWa·.

(28) waq čik gen, q̇ay hak dič aličtnank spiča· wač. ge· qnoqs q̇ay dič naq̇a·q̇atk. ʔaMka gemgemĺi ʔakẏa wač giwk.

(29) ge· čik q̇elẏak qakLas, q̇elẏak qnoqs, q̇elẏak na·nok dwa·. čoy da·ts ho·t čikLank gembli ʔakẏa lačasdaĺ, ʔaMka sdeybaldaĺ gembli.

(30) ge· čik kčiga·, ge·. ʔakẏa ʔe·pals loykčok. kčiga· lis ʔa ho·t.

(31) ya···, ge· čik dal wisink! śnewe·ts čoy la·bi hihaswaqs, čoy sa naʔas, "ya···, ho·t ʔa do·na wisink!" do·ksíant ge· siʔstgnik (ʔakẏa?). tgatgli·ga ʔa sa, čoy honk wisink do·ksíant.[183]

(32) la·bi wisink. čoy hok sa hak ndasni ge·ksía be·n. q̇ay ʔan dičeẇa wisink.

(33) ya···, ʔat čik sas ge· tpoča·. Na·s ńíwLi, śnewe·ts hoččńa, hiswaqs čis, čoy honk ńep mna wbeyye·gank hoččńa. ge· čik ĺoq̇ank ńíwLi gida, ʔaMka ńíwwa ʔambotdat.

(34) ge· čik dwa·? sʔabas ʔa dini·gi. čoy ge· gitgo—q̇ay dinne·ga. dini·gi ʔa sʔabas. ʔona·k lis ge·k sa čosak gitgo—basdińam wonč—"sail-boat"—sgena·. čoy ge· ʔanko gida ʔali·ga.

(35) ge· wončjatga gena·, dinne·kdat ʔat. čoy naʔas gi, "ʔat ni gembli." gatba ʔa ho·t sle·tgi giwk śnewe·ts. ʔaMka mna hasńa·Wawlis.

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[183] Mrs. Chloe was not sure about [sg̱ʔldgnk] : /siʔstgnik/ "plural objects divided from themselves" for "abyss" or "chasm." She added /ʔakẏa?/ "Maybe?" in an aside to the investigator.

(22) This man is giving [food] to his dog. He's giving something, he's giving food. Not bones. Perhaps he is giving water.

(23) This is some bird—"quail"—perhaps this dog is bringing this quail home in his mouth.

(24) This is a little badger. This is winter—this tree has no leaves. And this dog the badger—no, not a little badger—it is a little rabbit. He is chasing the little rabbit.

(25) This dog is hot.

(26) This is a cow, eating in the open. A mountain, perhaps near a river. The mountain is over there. I don't know which mountain it is.

(27) This one is planting [lit. "putting down plural objects"]—perhaps he is planting corn. And it is very early also—this tree has not yet leafed out. Now it is spring.

(28) How is this, he is leading the horse not having tied it on well. This rope is not well fastened around its neck. Perhaps because the horse is tame.

(29) This is without a saddle, without a rope, without anything. However, he is going home riding it perhaps toward home, perhaps going back to the stable.

(30) This one is climbing to get [apples], this one, perhaps to pick apples. He is climbing to get [apples].

(31) Ya···, isn't this a snake! A woman and two men, and they are saying, "Ya···, there is a snake over there!" Across this divide (Maybe?) They are standing on the edge, and the snake is on that side.

(32) Two snakes. And they are three on this side again. I do not like snakes.

(33) Ya···, now this one is chasing them. One has fallen in, the woman is running, the man too, and he runs with his hands thrown up. This one, being frightened, has fallen in here. Perhaps he is falling into the water.

(34) What is this? The sun is rising. And this something—it is not setting. The sun is rising. Early in the morning they always something—the white man's canoe—"sailboat"—sail. And this is a piece of wood lying here on the edge.

(35) This one is going in a canoe, now at sunset. And he is saying, "Now I'm going back." He came to see the woman. Perhaps his sweetheart.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 183]

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(36) ʔat ʔa sa gelwipga. čoy sa waẇa·li·kča. q̇ay da·ts sa sẇewča, q̇elẏak sa sẇewo·ts. čoy ge· dinne·ga. ʔakẏa, dinne·kńapga. —o··, gen ʔan q̇ay aleʔa·, komal gičo·kankt.[113]

(37) domi··· go·s. dwa· bas ge·? "peaches" ẏa ʔiḱa·ẏa? waq bas sa giwk q̇ay sʔaba·. čoy ni sʔaywaktantk dwa· ʔelgwapgok. ge· waqĺaq tončńa—kaĺam ʔa ge· ge·la? ge· lis waqĺaq tončńa.

(38) ʔat hok ge· mo·m geča·, kant sa ʔilgo·la. ʔisalq̇i. q̇ay ni dwa· be·n aleʔa·. q̇ay kani loyḱa dwa·. q̇aẏo· čis ʔisalq̇i no·ga.

(39) go·s dali·ks.[114] ho·t lis Na·čyak go·s dali·ga. ho·t ẏayńa do·ksĺant—"Mount MacLoughlin" ʔakẏa?

(40) ńep bil hay ni aleʔa·. [illegible]. q̇oyči ńep. ge· ʔaMḱa q̇aLgaltk, q̇aLgaltk ńep gitk. Na·s mo· blitk. Na·s q̇ay.

(41) waq čik ge·? Jeglela? dilga ʔaMḱa ʔambo, wage·nha Jegle. ʔaMḱa sa gen lo·lča lis. wage·nha sasJaqwo·lank, ʔambotdat. q̇ay ni sʔaywakta.

(42) ge· sńewe·ts teybaldaĺ gena·. dwa· bas honk sʔo·wal—sʔapLas ʔakẏa nekčok.

(43) gen ʔa honk sʔo·čńa, wage·nha nembli dwa·, do·tantdaĺ. ge· lis neyyamnatk sʔapLas dwa·.

(44) ge· čik ʔanko ʔawal gida. dwa· ge· waq giwk. ʔanko gida? dam lis ge· kańs wĺiĺwapk?

(45) ʔo··. wĺiĺwapgok ʔa kańs ʔeqanča. ge· lis ʔoyyamnatk gena·. ʔaMḱa gańi· kańs ho·t wĺiĺwapk. ʔaMḱa mna sńewe·ts wdopgwapk.

(46) ge· čik sa "church" giča, spispi·yamnatk mna·ĺam ĺaĺakẏas, dič ale·s. ʔi·, dič alisalči·q̇atk na·nok, čoy sa ḿoḿatčoco·ẏapga. ḿoḿatčoco·ẏapgank sa gena·, q̇ay dak sa wLo·Laqẇe·ĺapga.

(47) ge· čik kakni? "Lone Ranger and Tonto"? q̇ay ni sʔaywakta dwa· ʔa gen, gitgo—Wali·sdat sa lẃolo·datga. lalʔa dak hok q̇ay goḿas. ge· dak Wali·s gi.

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[113] This last sentence refers to Picture Number 36. She had glanced back at it, while laying it aside, and suddenly noticed the silhouette of a bird against the sky.

[114] /go·s dali·ks/ may be an alternate form of the place name /go·s liwli·ks/ (no. 140 on the accompanying map in the appendix) or possibly of /dali·ks/ (no. 25 on the map).

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(36) Now they are visiting. And they have just sat by the edge. However, they didn't go to fish, they have no fishpole. So this is setting, perhaps, just about to set.—Ohhh, I did not see this, a pelican soaring around.

(37) Many, many trees. What are these? "Peaches" perhaps hanging up there? Why didn't they tell it, so I would know what to call them. This is a fence running along—is this someone's land? This is a fence running along.

(38) Now it has grown big, that which they had planted. The corn. I don't see anything else. Now no one is picking any. The corn is not ripe also.

(39) A tree standing on the edge. It is just one tree standing on the edge alone. That is a mountain across there—"Mount MacLoughlin" perhaps?

(40) I only see hands. A thumb. Ugly hands. Perhaps this one is hurt, he has injured hands. One is very fat, one is not.

(41) What is this? Bleeding? Perhaps water is dripping, perhaps blood. Perhaps they cut them off. Perhaps they are washed in water. I don't know.

(42) This woman is going toward the table, to put something on the plate—perhaps to take away the plate.

(43) She is carrying it along [plate], perhaps taking something back, towards there. She is carrying some plate.

(44) This is a stick lying here. Why is this, the stick here? Will he beat somebody?

(45) Ohhh, he is going outside to beat somebody. He is going, carrying it. Perhaps he will beat somebody outside. Perhaps he will hit his wife.

(46) These are going to church, leading their children, looking nice. Yes, all are well combed, and they are smiling. They are going smiling, and they are not pouting.

(47) Who are these? "Lone Ranger and Tonto"? I don't know what this is, something—they are standing on a cliff. A slope is not thus. This is a cliff.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 185]

(48) ʔo···, ƛaƛaksni do·ksƛant. čoyč ge·, "gepgabli! gepgabli! Walli·sdat waq ʔa·t hi·t gak̓wa?" wage·nha sas naʔas, q̓ay ni sʔaywakta.

(49) ge· čik naʔas gi—waq lis ge·? ʔalk̓a ge· ptisap čoy ge· be·p honkƛam. čoy be·ya mna spoƛčobli, čoy ho·t hiswaqs goni·ksƛant sʔawi·gatk. "waq bas sa gida gak̓wa?" q̓e·gi hok slanƛos dwa·. pečƛo·wapk—sʔo·qs ʔalk̓a sbo·wi?[118]

(50) "ʔe···, da·la ʔa gawali" čoyč, "gew ʔa ge·!" čoyč ge· naʔas, "q̓ay, gew ʔa ge·!" čoy ʔat ge· ldagalwapk. "no· ʔa dič nalk č̓ilʔaqčka."

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[118] This remark refers to the incident described by Mrs. Chiloe in Text 1, in which Crane extends his long leg across to Antelope's children.

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(48) Ohhh, children on the other side. And this one [says], "Come back! Come back! How did you [pl.] cross over the cliff there?" Perhaps he says to them, I don't know.

(49) This one says—how is this? Perhaps this is the father and this is his daughter. And he has taken his daughter across, and that man on that side is angry. "How did they cross over here!" There is no bridge. Will he put his foot across—perhaps Crane will stick out his leg?

(50) "Ohhh, I found a dollar!" So then, "It is mine!" And then this one says, "No, it is mine!" Then this one will pick it up. "I can stoop over better."

[P. 186 is blank]

[P. 187]

APPENDIX

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[P. 188 is blank]

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APPENDIX

KLAMATH PLACE NAMES WITH MAP

128

The accompanying map of place names has been largely adapted from 127
Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography" (University of California Publica- 103
tions in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, 1930. The present 114
writer has checked and retranscribed most of Spier's forms: only seven [124]
of Spier's place names could not be obtained from the author's informants. No attempt was made to recheck Spier's supporting geographical and ethnographic data, however.

Ninety-two new place names have also been added to the map. Many of these are not settlements (as Spier specifies for his list), but are places used for food gathering, places named for some outstanding natural feature, places named after some mythological person or event, etc. The author has appended what descriptive material he could obtain to each new place name in the list.

Forty-five additional place names are not shown on the map but are 128
included in the Dictionary. These are either uncertain as to location or 103
are places not found within the limits of the map.

The map has been renumbered to accomodate the new place names, [127]
but Spier's original numbers are given after each entry for purposes of
comparison. It must be noted that geographical locations on the map are [124]
only approximate and in some cases quite hypothetical (e.g., where the informant could only recall that a given place was "about two or three miles over that way").

Forms are given in phonemics only and are translated wherever possible. The morphophonemic forms of these names are listed under "place names" in the English-Klamath section of the Dictionary, along with some indication of their morphemic content.

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103
133
127

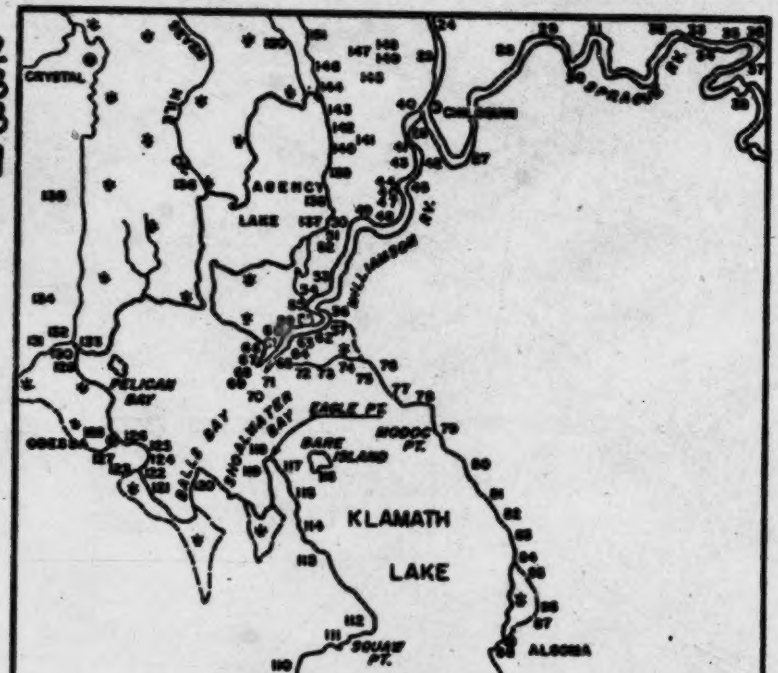
CRYSTAL
WOOD RIVER
AGENCY LAKE
CHILOQUIN
SPRAGUE RV.
WILLIAMSON RV.
PELICAN BAY
ODESSA
BALLS BAY
SHOALWATER BAY
EAGLE PT.
MODOC PT.
BARE ISLAND
KLAMATH LAKE
SQUAW PT.
ALGOMA
WOKAS BAY
CALEDONIA MARSH
BUCK IS.
WOKAS MARSH
KLAMATH FALLS
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 5 MILES
KLAMATH RIVER
KLAMATH RV.
KENO
ENGLAND
LOST RV.

[Legend for above map appears on pp. 192-197--Analyst]

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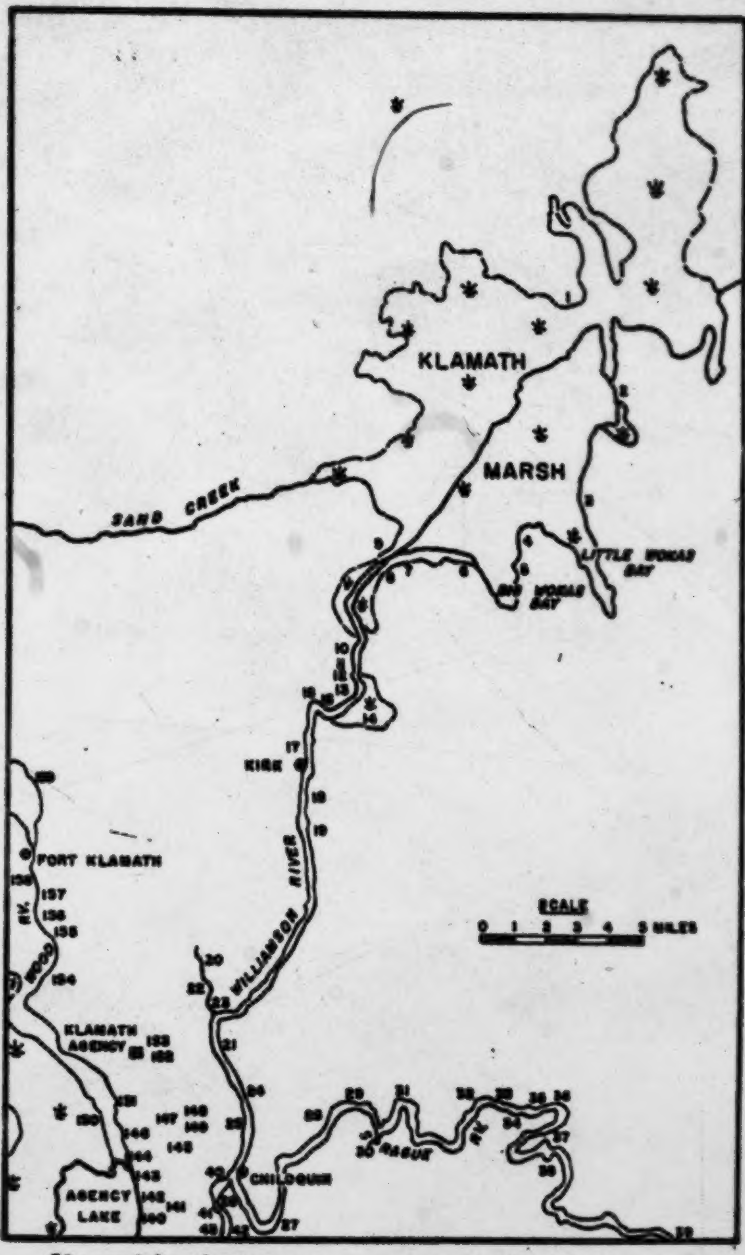
KLAMATH
MARSH
SAND CREEK
LITTLE WOCUS BAY
BIG WOCUS BAY
KIRK
WILLIAMSON RIVER
FORT KLAMATH
WOOD RIV.
KLAMATH AGENCY
AGENCY LAKE
CHILOQUIN
SPRAGUE RIV.
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 5 MILES

[Legend for above map appears on pp. 192-197--Analyst]

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127
133

KEY TO THE MAP OF PLACE NAMES

1. /moc̓o·y̓a·ks/. Spier 1.
2. /qdaywa·s/ "Rock-Nest." Spier 2.
3. /gapgaʔa·kksi/ "Little-Pine-Place." Spier 3.
4. /ʔiWʔa·l̓a/ "On-the-End." Spier 4.
5. /q̓la·jaksi/ "Blueberry-Place." Spier 5.
6. /doylk̓at/. Spier 6.
7. /ʔawalwasge·ni/ "Island-Place." Spier 7.
8. /ga·qs ksawalye·ks/ "Carry-Crow-up-the-Hillside."
9. /č̓ik̓as waLaqk̓is/ "Bird-Lookout." A hill across from /ʔawalwasge·ni/.
10. /waktali·s/ "Lodgepole-Pine-Place" (?). Spier 8.
11. /lalʔa·ks/ "Little-Hill-Place." Spier 9.
12. /wisingam dinwas/ "Snake's-Lying-in-Water." A campsite for wokas-pickers.
13. /čaba·ni/ "Herd-Going-to-the-End." A dwelling.
14. /l̓k̓om ʔews/ "Charcoal-Lake." The name of the small marsh shown on the map.
15. /somdi/ "Mouth-Place." A campsite where the river enters the forest.
16. /c̓omsʔam gotq̓aks/ "Sucker's-Going-up-out." A campsite near /somdi/.
17. /n̓oksi/ "Head-Place." Small village site near Kirk.
18. /sniWa·tgalsi/ "Eat-First-Place." A campsite.
19. /ʔeqčsalk̓is/ "Sharpening-Instrument." A traveller's campsite.
20. /sqamdiwa·s/ "Sqamdi's-Den." The home of a dangerous mythological being. See Text 19.
21. /gosʔam gotq̓aks/ "Swan's-Going-up-out."
22. /yalyalʔant/ "Where-It-Is-Clear." Spring Creek.
23. /weq sqatq̓aks/ "Limbs-Stick-out-of-Water." A large spring.
24. /q̓bolWiʔamge·ni/ "Plant (sp.)-Place." A large village on both sides of the river.
25. /dalli·ks/ "Standing-on-the-Bank." A village site.
26. /lobaqskaaksi/ "Chalk-Place." Spier 10.
27. /q̓ač̓we·č/. Spier 12.

28. /ʔoqsosʔam sloqtis/ "Cough's-Spitting-on." Also called /yawqsalks/ 103
"Medicine-Getting-Place." A rock on which consumptives spat 127
to gain a cure.
29. /ġome·ksi/ "Cave-Place." Spier 13. 102
30. /ġoqm̓a·kksi/ "Little-Caves-Place." 133
31. /hehǰi·ʔasamksi/ "Hehǰi·ʔas'-Place." The home of a mythological being. See Text 8.
32. /ġoqq̓a·kksi/ "Little-Rivers-Place." A spring.
33. /kiwi·ki·ns/ "Taking-out-of-Water-with-a-Pointed-Instrument." A spring.
34. /wačksi/ "Horse-Place."
35. /n̓a·l̓aksi/ "Snipe-Place." A spring.
36. /kolsʔamksi/ "Badger's-Place."
37. /ġawamġe·ni/ "Spring-Place." Spier 14.
38. /ġoksi/ "Swan-Place." P.O. gave /nġoksi/.
39. /daqn̓i/ "Sharp-One."
40. /mbosaksawa·s/ "Flint-Place." Spier 17.
41. /tġalmaksl̓a/ "West-Side." Spier 18.
42. /qdaydi/ "Rock-Place." Spier 19.
43. /ġle·čp̓ak̓i·s/ "Clam-Eating." Small settlement.
44. /ǰigyes/. Spier 20.
45. /q̓oLtʔam wa·s/ "Otter's-Den." Spier 21.
46. /ʔal̓a·wiks/ "Long-Object-in-the-Sun-Place." Spier 22
47. /yaʔa·k/. Spier 23.
48. /č̓aq̓wi/. Spier 24.
49. /kols tgews/ "Badger-Standing-in-Water."
50. /wil̓e·mʔamksi/ "Bear's-Place." Spier 25.
51. /ġoy̓alam sġeyqs/ "Crawfish-Crawling-up." Spier 26.
52. /sa·yk̓aʔa·k neq̓i·s/ "Little-Plain-Lying-in-the-Way."
53. /qi·ʔa ġitLas/ "Lizards-Poured-out-on." Williamson River Church.
54. /slank̓oksi/ "Bridge-Place." The bridge near Williamson River Church.
55. /ya·s ksalwis/ "Willow-Beside-the-Edge."
56. /čok̓alwas/.
57. /wiw̓apl̓a·ks/ "Little-Alders-Place."
58. /qdawaldi/ "Cut-on-Top-Place." A village site.
59. /p̓nanksi/ "Burying-Place." An ancient burial ground.
60. /woqsdi/ "Cache-Place."
61. /loltm̓alʔaqk̓a/ "Little-Winter-House." A village on the east side of the river.

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103 62. /bečmi/.
127 63. /spino·ksi/ "Grave-Place." A burial ground.
102 64. /mo·waksĺa/ "On-the-South-Side." Spier 30.
65. /č́inḱos/ "Going-Across-with-the-Fin-Showing." Spier 34.
133 66. /sč́olksi/ "Bubble-up-Place." A spring bubbles up here.
67. /wisǥandi/ "Blow-Through-Place." Spier 31.
68. /laẃa·ĺsdat/ "At-Round-Object-on-the-End." Spier 32.
69. /mo· ginkanks/ "Big-Space-Around." Spier 33.
70. /dokwa/. The mouth of Williamson River.
71. /yawq́lamksi/ "Bald-Eagle's-Place."
72. /č́iya·ĺsʔamksi/ "Salmon's-Place."
73. /yaýa·ḱa liwi·ki·ns/ "Little-Willows-in-a-Group-along-the-Edge."
74. /ba·ǥo·lsam bani·ǥis/ "Muledeer's-Wading-out."
75. /hiwwas/ "Spread-out-in-Water." A swampy island just offshore.
76. /toq́asksi/ "Willow-Place."
77. /ya·s ksaẃa·ĺs/ "Willow-on-the-End."
78. /qdayksi/ "Rock-Place." Spier 45.
79. /sohi·yaǥye·ks/ "Jumping-Over-for-Fun." Spier 46.
80. /ʔiwli·wa/ "On-the-Very-Edge." Spier 47.
81. /čalčaĺa·ks/. A spring near /diwi·ʔa·ks/.
82. /diwi·ʔa·ks/ "Little-Rapids-Place." Spier 48.
83. /wilwaldi/. A spring north of /ǥawammat/.
84. /ǥawammat/ "In-the-Spring." Spier 49.
85. /ditq́aks/ "Boiling-out." Spier 50.
86. /ni·Laqs/ "Sunrise." A place near Barclay Springs.
87. /ẃawʔa·qḱalamksi/ "Little-Ears-Place." A cove that has the shape of an ear.
88. /kalẃa·ĺ/ "Sharp-on-the-End." Spier 51.
89. /wq́oĺwas/ "Knotted-in-Water." Buck Island; Spier 52.
90. /laḿa·č/ "Round-Object-on-the-End." Spier 53.
91. /watanks/. A hill east of /laḿa·č/.
92. /ʔiWLi/ "Is-Inside." A cove north of /ksonksi/.
93. /ksonksi/ "Grass-Place." Spier 54.
94. /wĺi·č/. A hill north-east of Klamath Falls.
95. /mṕaq́wals/ "Dry-on-Top." A hill northeast of Klamath Falls.
96. /diwi·ʔa·ks/ "Little-Rapids-Place."
97. /ʔiWawńa/ "Propped-up-against." Spier 55.
98. /ǥitba·tanks/ "Poured-up-on-Shore." A narrow channel where the wind was reputed to blow the water back upstream.
99. /qday ginqis/ "Hole-Through-Rocks." A camping ground and a village site.

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100. /ʔiWLaLLo·nʔa/ "All-along-the-Top." Klamath Falls: Spier 56. 103
101. /lalawq̇at/. 127
102. /ćews hollamnas/ "Yellowhammer-Flying-along-the-Side." 102
103. /weqwe·Las/ "Falling-Downhill." Spier 57. 133
104. /lewsi/ "Round-Object-in-Water-Place." A small hill.
105. /tańsq̇aksi/. Spier 58.
106. /ʔiWba·tanʔa/ "Right-up-against." Spier 59.
107. /woksalks/ "Wokas-Getting-Place." Spier 60.
108. /dekčanks/ "Netting-Place." Skillethandle Point; Spier 61.
109. /hesle·ks/ "Apparition-Place." A place where spirit-otters appear and swim around one's canoe.
110. /ćayanksdi/ "Berry (sp.)-Place."
111. /njaqjaqḱis/ "Ringing-Instrument." A large rock with a depression in it. When this depression was pounded with another rock, a wind arose.
112. /sesti tgaẃa·ĺs/ "Shasta-Standing-on-the-End." Squaw Point; Spier 62.
113. /no·galks/ "Roasting-Place." Roots were roasted in pits here.
114. /ća·q̇ẏa·k ksalamnas/ "Little-Boy-Lying-on-the-Hillside."
115. /qe·Yqe·Ýlant/ "Where-It-Is-Rough." A campsite.
116. /ʔawsmi/. Bare Island.
117. /ćeqs dawals/ "Blackbird-Standing-on-Top."
118. /stakḿa·č/ "Projecting-on-the-End." Eagle Point: Spier 43.
119. /qčo·lʔam ńiwĺaqs/ "Star's-Fall." A place on the beach near Eagle Point where a meteor fell. The informants reported that a glow was visible at the spot for some time afterwards.
120. /ge·lalks/ "Land-Place." Spier 42.
121. /čak lali·ks/ "Serviceberry-on-the-Bank." A serviceberry patch.
122. /q̇aji/. A small settlement.
123. /waq́a·qksi/. Spier 41.
124. /wačksi/ "Horse-Place."
125. /ća·q̇ẏa·ḱlamksi/ "Little-Boy's-Place." The home of /ća·q̇ẏa·k/, a mythological character.
126. /ĺeqĺeqsdi/ "Twinkle-Place."
127. /qawḱat/. A good cold spring. Said to be named after a mythological character who lives there.
128. /tlaqs ṗaḱi·s/ "Mullet-Eating." A small spring where /tlaqs/ fish are caught.
129. /molsi/. Said to mean "Black-Swan-Place," but not certain. A spring.

103 130. /gawamksaksi/ "Spring-Place." Rocky Point. An old campground
127 during the wokas-picking season.
102 131. /ʔiWqa·ẏa/ "Among-the-Bushes." Spier 39.
133 132. /dinne·kksi/ "Sunset-Place." Spier 38.
133. /sḱawanks lakćwis/ "Wild-Parsnips-among-(Rocks)."
134. /sqoywas/ "Mound-in-Water." A spring back in the forest.
135. /ma·damsksi/. A spring three miles south of Crystal Spring at the head of Crystal Creek.
136. /sle·taksi/ "Nettle-Cord-Place." Spier 35.
137. /čak lalamnas/ "Serviceberry-on-the-Hillside." Spier 29.
138. /ĺoqo·gat/. Spier 28.
139. /wialksi/ "Cottonwood-Place." Also called /wiawiʔa·ks/ "Little-Cottonwoods-Place." Spier 37.
140. /go·s liwli·ks/ "Trees-Standing-in-a-Group-on-the-Edge." A settlement.
141. /wele·q̇a·ḱlam sʔilks/ "Little-Old-Lady's-Well."
142. /glaẃa·kksi/ "Little-Sand-Place." A sandy beach.
143. /yaẏa·ḱaksaksi/ "Little-Willows-Place."
144. /goWasdi/. Spier 44.
145. /qʔis yakías/ "Rattlesnake-Cut-in-Two." A draw in the hills.
146. /toq̇asksi/ "Willow-Place." A small settlement.
147. /so·qetmi/. A place near where the highway from Williamson River to the north meets the highway from Chiloquin to the west.
148. /ẏayńaʔa·ks/ "Little-Mountain-Place." A small bluff east of /so·qetmi/.
149. /gwemṕle·gis/ "Tracking-Over." A hollow gap just below /ẏayńaʔa·ks/.
150. /wawč́a·ḱlamksi/ "Dogs'-Place." A marshy place where spirit-dogs could be seen.
151. /č̇ayanksdat/ "In-the-Berries (sp.)." A spring and village.
152. /tgoĺo·tsʔam ksews/ "Tgoĺo·ts'-Lying-in-Water." A place near the Klamath Agency where oily clay gives an iridescent effect to the water.
153. /yanaldi/. Agency Hill.
154. /ʔiWq̇a·qńi goge/ "Around-the-Neck-River." Wood River.
155. /tgoĺo·tsʔam ksodi·lks/ "Tgoĺo·ts'-Lying-Underneath." A place about half a mile from Collier Park where two small creeks come together and make a waterfall and whirlpool.
156. /wa·ko ʔiwli·wa/ "Lodgepole-Pine-on-the-Very-Edge."
157. /qawdo·gi·sam či·s/ "Bird's (sp.)-Home." A small plain south of Fort Klamath. See Text 11.

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188. /bomhomsdi/. 103
189. /ˀiWq̓a·q/ "Around-the-Neck." Fort Klamath. Spier 63. 127

The following place names are not numbered, but may be found on the map by their English translations. 102 133

Little Wokas Bay /paksa/.
Klamath Lake /ˀews/. (The generic term for "lake.")
Klamath Marsh /ˀewksi/.
Pelican Bay /gombat/.
Shoalwater Bay /čilkoydi/.

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[For the native text and translation of Klamath myths, see category 116, pp. 6-21, 24-117, and 126-185.]

Because it is for several reasons considered important, the fact that each 125
Klamath subject was, in general terms, made aware of the intentions of the 123
examiner and the logic of the test procedure should be emphasized. Recently, 125
Hauck has described a different approach used for research among the Unitah- 114
Ouray Ute, where he modified the usual Rorschach procedure by concealing the
purposes of the test beneath a supposedly innocuous "cover story" (Hauck 1955: 10).

This approach to field testing is subject to criticism on several grounds. In 125
the first place, it is somewhat less than ethical to conceal the purposes of a 123
test so as to facilitate cooperation, and then to publish results in line with (114)
original intentions. Occasionally, this approach has been used in culture and
personality research. It entails the assumption of a kind of mechanical meaningfulness of any responses to projective tests, however administered, and whatever the test taking attitude of the subject. At a minimum, the subject has the right of knowing what he is involved in and the privilege of refusing. Secondly, where clinical methods of interpretation are to be employed, it is essential that field research using projective tests as closely as possible approximate the clinical situation. This assumes that the cooperating research subject is more apt to reveal important aspects of himself if he clearly understands the
intentions of the examiner. Indeed, one purpose of projective testing is to 120
facilitate communication about difficult topics, not to unduly impede it with artificial barriers.

Another aspect of this issue is that most American Indian populations include 12
some members with higher education, or, like the Klamath, others with some 177
awareness of the "ink-blot" or the "picture" test via spectatorship in the mass (171)
media. Because of this awareness, any subterfuge or concealment of test objectives may be publically revealed and further distorted. The consequence of this can only be a confused or negative appraisal of field research and field researchers. Given the existing wariness and suspicion of many American Indian populations and their concern with their status as "Guinea Pigs," such an outcome is not very desirable. Finally, it is quite conceivable that another field worker might want to pursue similar research in a situation where the purposes of a test have been concealed. If so, he will have to support the original lie, either by accepting it or by expanding upon it.

Quite frequently, the success of field research in the area of culture and 12
personality studies turns upon obtaining an adequate sampling of a population in a very limited period of time. Perhaps, as is suggested by the extensive sampling of Hallowell and the Spindlers in repeated field sessions, it is the time factor which is crucial. In terms of the ethics of research, the validity of results, the richness of materials collected, the possible consequences of distorting objectives so as to obtain cooperation, and the implications for future field work, the alternative approach of using a "cover story" to obtain quick results is not desirable.

The Klamath personality research grew out of Clifton's participation in a larger 114
study of Klamath reservation culture. The initial, unpublished, evaluation of the test and life history data was intended to improve understanding of the psychological consequences of acculturation in the Klamath case and to give additional depth to other studies of styles of Klamath behavior. This first approximation, although suggestive, did not prove entirely satisfactory, largely because of too mechanical a utilization of what are, in the trade, called "standard interpretative hypotheses." In short, the initial report was too cookbookish. At the same time the possibility of bias had to be considered,

114 for the field researcher and analyst were one and the same person. It then (120) seemed potentially fruitful and appropriate to organize a collaborative effort with an experienced psychologist, and it was at this juncture that David Levine began participating in the research. The result of that effort is this report, with its markedly inductive and qualitative approach.

121 Aside from an assessment of the attributes of Klamath personalities, we are, thus, concerned with several somewhat broader questions. Because of the former, the Psychologist has set one task as the idiographic analysis of each subject's Rorschach record, but because of the latter concern this analysis must be considered doubly idiographic. We are at one and the same time concerned with two kinds of wholes, each Klamath person, and the total socio-cultural setting. On the one hand, the Anthropologist's interest lies in the relations between personality factors and the configurations of Klamath Reservation Culture, and, thus, in Redfield's terms, in contributing to an understanding of the reservation as a "unique analyzed system" (Redfield 1955). [125] On the other hand, the Psychologist became interested in this setting because of his concern with using the Rorschach as one measure of Ego-development, or the level of psychological maturity. In this respect, and aside from the intrinsic interest of each, the ten case studies are seen as a possible means of bringing to bear certain portions of psychoanalytic theory and Werner's genetic psychology theory upon the task of explaining some aspects of the styles of behavior prevalent in the peculiarly stifling environments of American Indian reservations. We are, therefore, interested in developing useful approaches to larger problems and in building hypotheses.

12 With respect to the division of labor, Clifton collected the original data and was responsible for writing Sections I and II and the introductions to the case studies, while Levine gave his attention to the analysis of each case. The concluding section is a joint effort. Levine's analysis of the Rorschach records has been without extensive foreknowledge of the characteristics of life on or the history of the Klamath reservation, and without foreknowledge of the particular experiences or cultural status of the subjects. The collaboration of Anthropologist and Psychologist, the inductive, case-study approach, and this "blind" analysis thus put this report in the culture and personality tradition most recently represented by Gladwin and Sarason's Truk study. Indeed, this report was partly prompted by Gladwin and Sarason's recent complaint that "...studies which would refine and carry forward this or other systematic methods 121 of case analysis have not been forthcoming." (1959: 175). While we agree that analyses of comparative data should be made available, in all modesty we cannot lay claim to a refinement of the case study method. Again, we are concerned with developing useful theoretical ideas, or in finding a place to transplant an existing idea, rather than with methodology.

122 We are indebted to Zygmunt Piotrowski for his approach to Rorschach analysis and for suggesting the possibility of our collaborating, to Luther Cressman of the University of Oregon for providing facilities for publication and for initial support of the field work, and to Theodore Stern, also from the University of Oregon, for continuing assistance and encouragement in and out of the field. (121) Section II of this report draws heavily upon Dr. Stern's published and unpublished Klamath materials, for which we are particularly grateful. During 1958, James Clifton's field work was supported by a Social Science Research Council Fellowship for Training in Social Anthropology, while support for the 1959 research was provided by the National Institute of Mental Health in the form of a pre-doctoral fellowship and research grant. The National Institute of Mental Health has, additionally, financed publication costs of this report.

Section IV. Summary and Conclusions

In concluding this report rather than to attempt a detailed synthesis of all 121
aspects of the preceding case studies we intend to pursue some of the implications
of certain striking characteristics of Klamath personalities. Aside from
this descriptive effort we also intend to derive, hypothetically, an association
between these personality attributes and Klamath acculturation experiences.

Certainly the most pervasively shared attribute of Klamath personalities is the 156
one we have chosen to call guarded restraint. This label is intended to designate 157
the general attitude towards self and interpersonal relationships which has
emerged from the analysis of Rorschach records, life-history materials, and observations [12]•
of behavior. Guarded restraint, therefore, may be taken to mean the
prevalent suspicious and guarded attitude towards life of the Klamath subjects,
their wariness as regards significant others, and their apprehensions as regards
their environment generally. This attribute, as we conceive it, has many facets.
It includes an unconscious as well as a more deliberate muting of responsiveness
to the actions and the mere presence of others, a shallow, non-committal attitude
towards membership in various social groups and the goals of these groups, and
a characteristic which ranges from simple lack of trust to outright fear of the
behavioral milieu.

Stated in largely psycho-dynamic terms the notion of guarded restraint may seem 121
somewhat ambiguous. The empirical referents on the level of observable behavior
are, however, highly visible. They may be observed in a wide variety of behavior
settings, from the informal and unstructured relations within a teenage
clique or an adult drinking group to the more organized setting of the family
and household.

The psycho-cultural phenomena we have labeled as guarded restraint over-laps 121
with what others have called Klamath individualism. Seen in this perspective, 157
we may, perhaps, introduce a somewhat richer way of analyzing and gaining insight
into the nuances of Klamath behavioral styles. This approach is, we hope,
something more than just a different way of looking at the manifest separatism
and incohesiveness of family groups, a more fruitful manner of examining the
atomistic structure of Klamath reservation sodalities, and a means of appreciating
the psycho-dynamic causation of the constant fractionation of Klamath political
groupings. The evidence of these case studies, then, suggests that few Klamath [156]
are capable of fully identifying with other persons or of committing their loyalties
to concerted group action.

We feel that this major descriptive conclusion is, in large part, a product of 125
the case study method used in analyzing the Rorschachs. Moreover, it is our 128
belief that this conclusion could not have been obtained from an analysis of a
composite psychogram based on formal scores. As anyone who has ever read reports
based upon the statistical or modal personality approach well knows, such reports
are ridden with dynamic cliches and are largely sterile until filled out with
examples of the qualitative features of individual records. In this report
Levine has entirely discarded the lumping of group scores and concentrated upon
an analysis of qualitative features of individual records buttressed and supported
by the use of formal scores and relationships. The importance of this approach
is shown by the fact that the reserve and guardedness that characterizes Klamath [157]
does not always show up in individual test records in the same form. Most frequently
an important clue is had from the presence of restrained, watchful, wary
figures in human and animal movement responses. Indeed, this type of movement

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FOREWORD

The Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, 114
University of California, Berkeley, was fortunate to have Mr. M. A. R. 12
Barker as one of its field workers during the summers of 1955, 1956, and 1957. He had come to us from the University of Washington where he had had good training under Professors Melville Jacobs and Fang-Kuei Li and, after a year's further training at the University of California, he chose Klamath as his field language. Having located some good informants living in Chiloquin, Oregon, he was able to make an intensive study of the language and to obtain full materials for a grammar, a set of texts, and a dictionary.

Since 1957 Barker has been connected with the Institute of Islamic 114
Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, where he teaches Urdu, Arabic, and general linguistics. In the midst of these many other duties, 128
Barker has found time to write up and send to the Survey a series of Monographs on the Klamath language. The present work, Klamath Texts, was sent to us first, but after the morphemic analysis was complete and the dictionary had been prepared, he sent us a list of corrections which he wished to have inserted in the typescript of the Texts. Working under our direction, Mr. Haruo Aoki, advanced graduate student and research assistant in linguistics, has carefully incorporated the necessary corrections. A few other minor changes have been introduced by the Survey's unofficial editor. For the most part these were dictated by the necessity of presenting the Klamath materials in more than one volume—the typescript of the Dictionary alone is nearly a thousand pages long! The changes are as follows: (1) What was originally an appendix to the Dictionary, namely Klamath Place Names with Map, has been removed from that position and included as an appendix to the present, shorter volume, the Texts. (2) The first paragraph of the Introduction to the Texts has been rewritten to include the names of the Klamath informants for the texts, since these do not otherwise appear except in the Introduction to the Grammar. (3) Bibliographic references are given in full wherever needed, since the Bibliography does not appear in the present volume but is included with the Grammar.

PREFACE

101 114 121 The following comparative ethnographic study of fifteen northeastern California groups and one group in southern Oregon is based on approximately three and one-half months' field work (July-October, 1936), undertaken while serving as Research Assistant in the Department of Anthropology at the University of California. During the six months' period which the appointment covered I incurred numerous obligations for assistance.

000 To Dr. A. L. Kroeber, director of the culture-element survey, I am indebted for much sound advice, never-failing coöperation, and many courtesies extended throughout the term of appointment. To Professor E. W. Gifford, Dr. Robert H. Lowie, and Dr. Harold E. Driver I am likewise under obligations for their coöperation and numerous courtesies.

I also wish to thank those authors who have written the detailed and pioneer monographs on many of the groups covered in this study; these include Drs. Leslie Spier, A. L. Kroeber, Ralph L. Beals, Isabel T. Kelly, Cora Du Bois, Edwin M. Loeb, and Mr. E. W. Gifford. Many of these authorities, and also the late Professor Edward Sapir, of Yale, supplied the names of reliable informants for the groups I was to study, and otherwise oriented me concerning field conditions. To all these scholars I am greatly indebted, both for their personal coöperation and for their valuable publications on various tribes in or near the area surveyed. Since I worked with both the Shasta and the Maidu, it is almost needless to mention how often I leaned on the late Dr. Roland B. Dixon's ethnographic studies of these two tribes, and how delighted I was to obtain western Shasta data from Sargent Sambo whok some thirty years before, had been Dr. Dixon's chief informant.

114 The difficulties of living on an extremely mobile field trip were lightened by virtue of having with me three interested companions. My husband, Dr. C. F. Voegelin, and our daughter, Gail, spent July and August in the field. To Dr. Voegelin I am deeply grateful for frequent linguistic aid and for encouragement in the pursuit of a new ethnographic field technique. To Gail, and likewise to my father, Mr. Roscoe Wheeler, who proved an ever-cheerful companion during the latter half of the trip, I wish to express a happy appreciation of their comradeship and their responsiveness to informants and informants' families.

115 Many kindnesses were extended to me during field work. Mrs. John Perry and her late husband, of Greenville, offered the hospitality of their home and were helpful in suggesting suitable informants. Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Barton, of Horse Creek, temporarily released Sargent Sambo from their employ so that I might work with him. Mrs. Lucy Thomson, my informant for the Southern Nisenan, had my father and me as guests in her home during our stay at Stanfield Hill. Mrs. Winnie Shiffbauer, Modoc; Ben Bridge, Achomawi informant, and his wife; and Mrs. Amanda Wilson, Valley Maidu informant, were likewise generous in hospitality. The interest and cooperative spirit I met with among these and many others of my informants puts me under a debt which cannot easily be acknowledged, but which will always be a pleasure to recall.

122 Assistance in the preparation of field material for publication was furnished by the personnel of Works Projects Administration Official Project No. 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

CULTURE ELEMENT
NORTHEAST

B

ERMINIE W

INTROD

121 The list of elements used in the field for this study was assembled from six other lists for adjoining areas which had been gathered by members of the culture-element survey and were still in manuscript form. Dr. Driver, Dr. Kroeber, and I collaborated in preparing the list which I was to use. It contained some 5500 elements. While working in the field I added and occasionally subtracted elements and often reorganized entire sections of the list; in the final preparation of the manuscript further reorganization was effected. I consistently attempted to keep complexes of elements together, in order to present a more intelligible picture of the patterns of the various cultures as wholes. This was not an easy task, since elements tended to be regrouped, in kaleidoscopic fashion, among the different peoples studied. To help solve this difficulty frequent use has been made of cross references in the ethnographic notes which accompany the lists.

124 125 With respect to field method, I found that working with an element list is a definite aid in making quick rapport with informants. Several of the sixteen informants interviewed repeatedly expressed both astonishment and respect when the questions I put to them from the list hit the cultural nail squarely on the head. Far from a list deterring informants from volunteering information, it obviously stimulated comments. All volunteered information, unless it came at too rapid a rate, was jotted down in a separate notebook which was kept open beside the element list itself.

I should like to emphasize here that while questioning informants I never used the element list in the rigidly mechanical "yes or no" fashion which some critics of element-list work take for granted as being a part of the field technique. The content of the ethnographic notes appended to the element list itself bears witness to the fact that informants were not only willing, but anxious to elaborate on the questions put to them. Some queries, such as whether the floor of a winter house is dug out or level with the ground, could be asked directly and a yes or no answer relied upon. But if the answer to this question was merely "Yes" the query "How deep?" always followed as a check. The answers to other questions, such as number of directions, month names, seasons, or whether the autonomous group consists of a single village, a group of closely adjacent villages, or a com-

[47-A]

Section I. Introduction

This is a report on the personality dynamics of a highly acculturated American 121
Indian population, the Klamath of south-central Oregon. The report consists 125
of blind, idiographic assessments of ten selected cases. The subjects are
male and female Klamath of various age groups who occupy different status positions [101]
and who perform widely divergent social roles in the context of Klamath
reservation culture.

As is the case with similar culture and personality research, one aim of this
report is descriptive, that of recording variant attributes of personality,
attributes which are not frequently observable in the usual clinical or research
settings of western culture. Thus some mental health and social science personnel 121
may find the report of value because of the unusual character structure of the
subjects, but those who serve reservation populations in clinical settings and
those who observe for research purposes will find these ten Klamath subjects
familiar. In addition to the objective of description we hope that the analysis
of these cases will contribute to an understanding of the psychological— particularly
the interpersonal aspects of Klamath reservation life. Beyond these
goals, the synthesis of psychological and cultural data drawn from observations
of the contemporary scene may throw some additional light on the psychological
consequences of acculturation.

The ten case studies in this report were drawn from a sample of fifty four 125
collected in 1958-59 by the Anthropologist during two periods of field research. 114
The original research was aimed at collecting psychological test data so as to [101]
make a contribution to a larger study of Klamath Reservation Culture, which involved
both a historical or acculturational study of processes of change and 121
a study of the contemporary reservation community. The larger Klamath study is
being supervised by Dr. Theodore Stern, of the Department of Anthropology,
University of Oregon. The results of the original personality study have been
reported elsewhere (Clifton 1960). This early research effort was predicated
upon a loose statistical model, and the aim was to correlate personality types
with types of socio-cultural adjustment. It was assumed that the very great
range of kinds of behaviors and types of adjustment apparent among the Klamath
reservation population could be associated with variations in personality attributes
as measured by projective tests.

Two distinct variants of this statistical model were attempted and discarded
before a third was developed. The first aim was to collect a random sample [125]
of a target population composed of persons recognized as members of the Klamath
Tribe, who currently maintained a residence on or near the reservation, and who
had lived all or most of their lives in that area. One of the two models had
this population stratified by criteria which supposedly isolated clusters of
types of socio-cultural adjustment. Here the form of thought was essentially
historical or evolutionary and was quite similar to the model employed in the
Menomini study (Spindler 1955). The second stratified sample was drawn along [125]
somewhat different lines, and attempted to isolate significant variations in
type of family organization (both of orientation and procreation) and patterns
of family activity. Because of certain developments in the larger study of
Klamath Reservation Culture, and especially because of a very high refusal
rate, neither of these formal approaches to sampling could be utilized.

The growing understanding of Klamath Reservation Culture gave cause to suspect
the several tentative analyses of the situation upon which these formal models

121 had been founded. There was, for example, no evidence for anything remotely
181 approximating a "Native Oriented" group on the reservation. Moreover, it became
154 apparent that a particular style of personal adjustment was by no means
characteristic of the majority of individuals throughout their life-spans.
So called "Transitional" modes of adjustment, for example, might be used to characterize the confused orientations, the value conflicts, and the disorganized family life of persons early in their life arc, but the same persons frequently settled down to a respectable, stable "Elite Acculturated" mode of existence in middle age. Or this sequence might frequently be reversed.

125 However, the formal sampling approach was jettisoned primarily because of the
123 many refusals among the samples. That such a reaction might reflect important
variables and hence prejudice the reliability of the consequent approach was considered, but it was apparent that the major cause for refusal was the absence of an existing friendship relation between subjects and field-worker (or some influential intermediary). Moreover, an analysis of the status of those who refused indicated that this reaction was neither confined to nor clustered within any identifiable grouping.

125 For these reasons, attention was given to securing what may be called a deliberately
representative sample of the reservation population. The criteria of representativeness included variations in social roles assumed by the subjects (occupation, sex, leadership, and so on), variations in role performance, differences
123 in standards and values, and age differences. When appropriate subjects
were known personally by the Anthropologist, they were approached directly.
If no friendship relation existed, potential subjects were, less frequently, approached through the recommendations and aid of an intermediary, or, finally, a direct effort was made to become acquainted with a suitable subject. In all instances, an existing friend relationship proved the more successful mode of approach. For reasons to be suggested in the next section, there are few Klamath persons whose influence is both high and extensive, and, conversely, few who
123 can easily accept external imposition of controls. Thus intermediaries, whatever
their manifest status, rarely could elicit the cooperation of more than one suitable subject. The result of this effort was a set of Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Test Records, and short life-histories on a sample of fifty four persons, which sample could for the purposes of the research be considered as
128 reasonably representative of the target population. The ten case studies in this
report were selected from the original sample so as to provide as much variety as possible in the limited confines of these pages.

Aside from the problems of obtaining an adequately representative sample, there is another aspect of the field method used in the Klamath study which may be of
123 some interest. In each instance the potential subject was made aware of the intentions
of the field worker and the purposes of testing and interviewing. It
181 will be clear from the next section that the contemporary Klamath are in no relevant
sense "primitive," nor are they an isolated population. Indeed, many subjects
125 were familiar with the "ink-blot" test from television programs, movies,
177 or hearsay information. More generally, the major task, that of identifying
ambiguous stimuli, was associated with the simple game of "seeing faces in the clouds" or figures in rock formations. Further, most Klamath under fifty years of age are sufficiently experienced in the practices of American culture to have some personal familiarity with the "test situation," whether personality, aptitude, vocational, or intelligence. Thus there was a shared basis for this peculiar form of interaction.

114 for the field researcher and analyst were one and the same person. It then
(120) seemed potentially fruitful and appropriate to organize a collaborative effort
with an experienced psychologist, and it was at this juncture that David Levine
began participating in the research. The result of that effort is this report,
with its markedly inductive and qualitative approach.

121 Aside from an assessment of the attributes of Klamath personalities, we are,
thus, concerned with several somewhat broader questions. Because of the former,
the Psychologist has set one task as the idiographic analysis of each subject's
Rorschach record, but because of the latter concern this analysis must be con-
sidered doubly idiographic. We are at one and the same time concerned with two
kinds of wholes, each Klamath person, and the total socio-cultural setting. On
the one hand, the Anthropologist's interest lies in the relations between per-
sonality factors and the configurations of Klamath Reservation Culture, and,
thus, in Redfield's terms, in contributing to an understanding of the reserva-
(125) tion as a "unique analysed system" (Redfield 1955). On the other hand, the
Psychologist became interested in this setting because of his concern with using
the Rorschach as one measure of Ego-development, or the level of psychological
maturity. In this respect, and aside from the intrinsic interest of each, the
ten case studies are seen as a possible means of bringing to bear certain por-
tions of psychoanalytic theory and Werner's genetic psychology theory upon the
task of explaining some aspects of the styles of behavior prevalent in the pe-
culiarly stifling environments of American Indian reservations. We are, there-
fore, interested in developing useful approaches to larger problems and in
building hypotheses.

12 With respect to the division of labor, Clifton collected the original data and
was responsible for writing Sections I and II and the introductions to the case
studies, while Levine gave his attention to the analysis of each case. The con-
cluding section is a joint effort. Levine's analysis of the Rorschach records
has been without extensive foreknowledge of the characteristics of life on or
the history of the Klamath reservation, and without foreknowledge of the parti-
cular experiences or cultural status of the subjects. The collaboration of
Anthropologist and Psychologist, the inductive, case-study approach, and this
"blind" analysis thus put this report in the culture and personality tradition
most recently represented by Gladwin and Sarason's Truk study. Indeed, this
report was partly prompted by Gladwin and Sarason's recent complaint that
"...studies which would refine and carry forward this or other systematic methods
121 of case analysis have not been forthcoming." (1959: 175). While we agree that
analyses of comparative data should be made available, in all modesty we cannot
lay claim to a refinement of the case study method. Again, we are concerned
with developing useful theoretical ideas, or in finding a place to transplant an
existing idea, rather than with methodology.

122 We are indebted to Zygmunt Piotrowski for his approach to Rorschach analysis and
for suggesting the possibility of our collaborating, to Luther Cressman of the
University of Oregon for providing facilities for publication and for initial
support of the field work, and to Theodore Stern, also from the University of
Oregon, for continuing assistance and encouragement in and out of the field.
(121) Section II of this report draws heavily upon Dr. Stern's published and unpub-
lished Klamath materials, for which we are particularly grateful. During 1958,
James Clifton's field work was supported by a Social Science Research Council
Fellowship for Training in Social Anthropology, while support for the 1959 re-
search was provided by the National Institute of Mental Health in the form of a
pre-doctoral fellowship and research grant. The National Institute of Mental
Health has, additionally, financed publication costs of this report.

and the modes of behaving through which the Klamath interact with their be- 181
havioral milieu. For this reason it is not to be supposed that White exclusion- 657
ism or Agency policy alone are the significant antecedents of the stable
pluralism of reservation life. For a Klamath to leave the amorphous atmosphere
of his home or the circle of his drinking pals to enter into the unfamiliar and
unprepared-for activities of White life is a source of fear and anxiety.

Thus, however it may seem to the outsider, the existing way of life on the
Klamath reservation offers substantial predictability to tribal members, a place
to live, a corporate body with which to identify, and multiple stable human
relationships. As a cultural system it may be stable in form although changing
in detail, and therefore this novel set of human relationships is not likely
to quickly disappear. The Klamath today may not be the same persons who were [177]
settled on the reservation a century ago, and aboriginal Klamath, Modoc, and [171]
Paiute cultural attributes may have disappeared, yet they are still self-con-
sciously Indian. In studies of acculturation, it is frequently argued that groups
like the Klamath are marginal, that is, hung suspended between two cultural 181
worlds. We feel that such a metaphor is both confusing and misleading. It
assumes the presence of a reasonably intact cultural alter of aboriginal design 657
and a unilineal path of acculturation process. As indicated above, the former 121
is not present on the contemporary Klamath reservation. As to the latter, we
argue that the structural consequences of acculturation are many, and a lineal
assimilation process is only one of them. The Klamath situation, we feel, is
that of an unassimilated minority group which is itself very actively engaged in
maintaining its special position and which is subject to multiple external
pressures for maintaining its present boundaries. The Klamath are, therefore,
in a position analogous to religious and racial enclaves. They are a group
distinct from and in some ways opposed to American culture who fit, as it were,
into a special niche in the larger structure of American society. If the term
marginality is to be used with reference to any Klamath individual it can only
refer to his orientation towards conflicting reference groups in the heterogeneous
contemporary community.

Section III. Approach to the Rorschach Protocols

The interpretive approach to the Rorschach protocols was dictated to a large 121
extent by the overall purpose of the investigation. An avowedly inductive 125
and idiographic study requires a broadly clinical, not a narrowly statistical,
analysis of the obtained Rorschach responses. The conclusions reached on the
basis of this kind of research may be considered hypotheses to be tested in
controlled deductive research.

The validity of the Rorschach method for personality exploration is not at issue in the present study; there are obviously more clear-cut and efficient research methods available for that purpose. Rather, the test is being utilized as one means of gaining insights about the adaptive mechanisms of individuals in a particular sub-group that is undergoing an acculturation process — a case-study approach. These insights may lead hopefully to theoretical advances in that area of study called Culture and Personality.

From this statement of the general purpose of the research, several specific 121
methodological decisions follow. It becomes clear immediately that there will
be no comparisons of groups by statistical methods and few statistical tabula-
tions of group means and standard deviations. There will be no description of
that artificial construct — the modal Klamath personality. On the contrary,

121 the emphasis is on the unique adjustment of the individual subject to the specific life conditions he encounters and helps create.

121 125 114 The present approach to the projective tests is, then, radically different from much of the work of Hallowell, Spindler, Kaplan and other writers who at times have utilized a rigid and mechanical approach to the test data, one which often entailed group comparisons of mean scores. Their methodology makes at least three assumptions. Firstly, that single scores may be interpreted meaningfully out of the context of the rest of the record; secondly, that individual variability is not important enough to obscure group differences; and finally, that the general area under investigation has been thoroughly enough explored to justify hypothetico-deductive research methodologies. These assumptions may be warranted in some instances, but our impression is that too often this rigid methodology has been employed prematurely.

Our use of the projective tests, on the other hand, is similar to Gladwin and Sarason's in that we are unwilling, at this point, to go beyond a case-oriented, inductive methodology. However, important differences between their interpretive procedures and ours are obvious on even the most superficial inspection. While we have attempted to base as much of our interpretation as possible on Piotrowski's explicit principles of interpretation Sarason does not feel that his interpretations would be facilitated by computing a scoring summary. His position rests on the conclusion that the available "evidence" (a term he defines explicitly and rigidly) is insufficient to justify most Rorschach interpretations based on scores. However, Sarason's goals in the Trukese study included an attempt to make explicit the process by which he, as a clinician, transformed the raw data into personality descriptions. Sarason might have come closer to achieving this particular goal had he paid more explicit attention to the scoring categories. In his analyses he used extensively the initial reaction times, the number of responses, and the level of form accuracy of the responses. However, he was also acutely and continuously aware of the manner in which the subject dealt with the colored and shading aspects of the blots, as well as the extent to which movement was involved. Although we agree with Sarason that the validity of much of the interpretation based on Rorschach scores has not been demonstrated scientifically, we take the position that explicit utilization of Rorschach scores and specific interpretive principles will enable us to approach more quickly the goal of understanding the process by which the clinician goes from the raw data to the personality interpretation. In addition, there has been a considerable amount of scientific research — much of it done by Sarason and his students — which suggests that some Rorschach scores do have behavioral concomitants. Our hope is that by being explicit we can move ever closer to the goal of determining the validity of the Rorschach, while at the same time using the test for whatever inductive value it does have.

121 125 Since the focus of this study is on the subject's adaptive mechanisms, the Rorschach interpretations have been carried out in a theoretical framework which emphasizes Ego Psychology, rather than the exploration of specific instinctual energies. Scientific research and clinical opinion both indicate that this approach — emphasizing ego functions, not the probing of unconscious depths — is likely to be of greater ultimate value and rests on a surer foundation. (Klopfer, 1954; Sarason, 1954; Schafer, 1954, to mention but a few). Thus, we are less concerned with what the subject sees in the blot than in how he sees it.

[114] Piotrowski's principles of interpretation (1957), as well as his interpretive "definitions," are in accord with this orientation and generally were followed.

121 125 114 Piotrowski's stress on analyzing the percept, rather than the verbalized response (hence, perceptanalysis) is an example of his emphasis on a careful scrutiny of the manner in which the subject is approaching the task presented by the Rorschach examination. The errors resulting from a too hasty reliance on the subject's verbal report range from assuming the response "bat" to Card I is a W, when it might have been a rare detail to scoring an F- for any statistically infrequent response when a careful inquiry might have revealed an accurate, original, and well-organized percept. Ultimately, of course, we are dependent on the subject to tell us what he sees and how he is seeing it, but a sensitive, careful inquiry can help the subject communicate in words the images he has created. When our goal is an understanding of the adjustment of an individual Klamath, this attempt to see the blot as the subject sees it enables us to approach — with empathy, if you will — the subject's own manner of perceiving the blot stimulus.

However, Piotrowski's method of interpretation rests on firmer footing than this perhaps vague statement that an attempt is made to empathize with the subject. Piotrowski has stated, in explicit principles and definitions, the interpretive significance which he attaches to the various kinds of responses. Although these principles were used as guidelines, they were not adhered to in a dogmatic fashion.

125 128 For example, the Rorschachs were scored carefully, but not rigidly. An illustration of this distinction is the scoring of form level. Much has been written about this pseudo-problem; the Beck-Klopfer controversy concerning a statistical versus an evaluative basis for form-level scoring has generated much heat. The present approach may seem at first blush to beg the question, but a moment's analysis indicates that the scoring is always done keeping in mind that the ultimate purpose of the test is interpretation. Thus, if a response is clearly an F+ response, i.e., the form of the image corresponds without question to the blot area, there is no scoring difficulty. However, if the subject gives a response which is neither clearly F+ nor F- (and for Beck, is statistically infrequent), but rather gives a response which might almost be justified, but not quite, the scorer need not sit in a quandary; to my way of thinking he need indicate merely that the subject has produced a response with this kind of borderline form level. (More detailed analyses of various approaches to form level have been described by Phillips & Smith, 1954; Klopfer, 1954). If the subject produces this kind of response often, we conclude that he often responds to life in a manner which does not include a careful evaluation of the situation, but that he does not behave in an obviously idiosyncratic manner. More precise interpretations may be formulated in the specific instance, of course. Piotrowski's scoring F± for vague responses such as "clouds," "rocks," or "bays," is an example of his attempt to formalize this approach to scoring borderline responses.

121 125 [128] As a corollary to the emphasis on Ego interpretations, an attempt was made to evaluate the adequacy of the subjects' adjustment, and in the attempt, to uncover the person's strengths and assets, as well as his flaws and weaknesses. The task consisted, in part, of gauging the extent to which his particular adaptive mechanisms enable him to cope adequately with his impulses and feelings in the context of his environment — to what extent his life style meshed satisfactorily with his life space. Since the Rorschachs were interpreted by the psychologist initially without information concerning the subject's life history, this entailed a careful examination of the balance of components in the protocols themselves. In this process much emphasis was placed on the organizational quality of the responses. The research on genetic-level scoring of the Rorschach

121 (Levine, 1960) has indicated that this may be an extremely important measure
125 of ego strength. Whether this is supported in cross-cultural work remains to
[114] be determined.

121 The emphasis throughout this phase of the research has been on the functioning
15 individual — how he adapts to his environment in general and, whenever possible, how he behaves in interpersonal situations. In this regard Piotrowski's hypothesis that the movement responses reflect prototypal roles has been exploited extensively. By prototypal roles, Piotrowski means, "definite tendencies, deeply embedded in the subject and not easily modified, to assume repeatedly the same attitude or attitudes in dealing with others when matters felt to be important and personal are involved." (Piotrowski, 1957, p. 141). He makes it clear that he is referring to "psychological tendencies" only; in order to predict whether these tendencies will be expressed in overt behavior it is necessary to take into account many other variables (Principle of Interdependence of Components).

Piotrowski has written further that the FM (animal movement responses) reflect the subject's prototypal roles as they were prominent in the subject's past or as they influence his behavior in "states of lowered integration and in states of diminished consciousness and defective self-control," and, finally, that the m (inanimate movement responses) "indicate prototypal roles in life which the individual feels to be desirable and pleasant but unrealizable."

Thus, for example, if a subject gives only very active or aggressive human movement responses (e.g., "two boxers slugging it out") it is hypothesized that his prototypal role is of this nature. If his FM are passive and his M are aggressive, we conclude that his present prototypal role is aggressive, but that when drunk, for example, he is more likely to become docile.

In actual Rorschach interpretation the complexities of multiple roles, the influence of other Rorschach variables, the inconsistency of role patterns, and so on, must all be evaluated very carefully in order to arrive at a meaningful
121 and valid personality description. Although considerable care must be taken to
181 avoid oversimplifying these interpretive principles, their judicious application is often very helpful and may have led to the most important conclusion of the
156 present investigation: that the Klamath are characterized by a guarded and
[171] restrained approach to life and interpersonal relations. This guarded restraint is different from the Trukese blocking and from the dull apathy of the Alorese. The Klamath initial reaction times are not nearly as long as the Trukese, nor are their dark shading responses as primitive and poorly organized. On the contrary, their initial reaction times are only slightly longer than would be expected from a U.S. White group and their dark shading responses are almost as well organized. The guarded restraint of the Klamath seemed to be neither the result of marked blocking nor apathy. A more detailed discussion of this hypothesis will be appropriate, however, after the case studies have been presented.

the person's being;" there are overly emotional reactions to blots: "it's terri- 159*
fying if some kind of disease attacks you." And finally all the color comment 158
indicates she is affected by the color but cannot integrate it appropriately.
Thus, she responds emotionally but cannot bring these feelings under control.
A statement of her feelings of impotence or "intellectual passivity" (Pietrowski
1950) is her comment on Card III: "But why the grasshoppers should be playing,
I don't know."

Are there any personality strengths to balance this pathological picture? Just 159*
the six popular responses. These are liberally sprinkled throughout the record. 157
We would have to conclude then that she is generally able to respond in a socially
acceptable and conventional manner. However, the somatic preoccupations and
poor emotional control are evident throughout. She seems to make an effort to
maintain satisfactory relations with others. She is ready to accept responsi-
bility for difficulties ("You know my trouble is I don't read very much"); al-
though distanciated, her second M response is the pleasant "grasshoppers playing;"
she does respond positively to the "lovely coloring." However, these are all
based on content, rather than determinants, and as such are probably much more
superficial indicators.

This personality description would not be complete without at least some comment 121●
concerning the possible influence of the age of the subject and the role expec- 888
tations of this age group among the Klamath. Since this analysis has been done
without the benefit of this latter information, it can only be remarked that, to 157
the extent that elderly people are allowed greater latitude in their behavior,
to that extent this woman's adjustment will be considered acceptable, rather
than pathological. In any case, however, she is probably terrified by disease
and death. One wonders if the change in cultural attitudes toward disease and
death may have left her bereft of a set of beliefs which might have helped her
at this point in her life.

*159

157 There are no indications of peculiar thinking or intellectual impairment, but the total absence of color responses does reflect a poverty of emotional responsiveness. She appears to be a laconic, taciturn youngster. Her free associations are stated briefly and not spontaneously elaborated.

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[154]
The Rorschach gives us, then, the picture of a stereotyped, overly conventional adjustment. She is a "good" girl who does what she is told and uses her fantasy to gain the little instinctual gratification she gets. The fact that her smile comes as she is describing "teenagers dancing" suggests that, like most youngsters her age, peer relationships are particularly important to her and that this is not an area of particular threat. It is probably the male authority figure who is her difficulty.

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[121]
This protocol contains the first overt comment concerning an acculturation process. One can perceive her distance from her father in her discussion of R10: "...it's supposed to get whoever they sing for well." Her objectivity here indicates that she is a part of the generation which is undergoing acculturation. She can apparently look, with distance, at her father's tribe's customs. One wonders to what extent this cultural change is a factor in her difficult relations with her father, or whether — with Freud — it's the "universal Oedipus complex" we see here.

[121] This is a conventional record to the point of constriction: 5 or 6P; F plus percent adequate; several M; no major shocks. Only the absence of color responses stands out. We are left with the question of how and why this youngster has buried her feelings so completely? Although this is a brief record, we hazard the guess that it is the stress of acculturation which has created the overcontrol which characterizes this girl's adjustment (R10).

Section IV. Summary and Conclusions

In concluding this report rather than to attempt a detailed synthesis of all aspects of the preceding case studies we intend to pursue some of the implications of certain striking characteristics of Klamath personalities. Aside from this descriptive effort we also intend to derive, hypothetically, an association between these personality attributes and Klamath acculturation experiences. 121

Certainly the most pervasively shared attribute of Klamath personalities is the one we have chosen to call guarded restraint. This label is intended to designate the general attitude towards self and interpersonal relationships which has emerged from the analysis of Rorschach records, life-history materials, and observations of behavior. Guarded restraint, therefore, may be taken to mean the prevalent suspicious and guarded attitude towards life of the Klamath subjects, their wariness as regards significant others, and their apprehensions as regards their environment generally. This attribute, as we conceive it, has many facets. It includes an unconscious as well as a more deliberate muting of responsiveness to the actions and the mere presence of others, a shallow, non-committal attitude towards membership in various social groups and the goals of these groups, and a characteristic which ranges from simple lack of trust to outright fear of the behavioral milieu. 156 157 [12]

Stated in largely psycho-dynamic terms the notion of guarded restraint may seem somewhat ambiguous. The empirical referents on the level of observable behavior are, however, highly visible. They may be observed in a wide variety of behavior settings, from the informal and unstructured relations within a teenage clique or an adult drinking group to the more organized setting of the family and household. 121

The psycho-cultural phenomena we have labeled as guarded restraint over-laps with what others have called Klamath individualism. Seen in this perspective, we may, perhaps, introduce a somewhat richer way of analyzing and gaining insight into the nuances of Klamath behavioral styles. This approach is, we hope, something more than just a different way of looking at the manifest separatism and incohesiveness of family groups, a more fruitful manner of examining the atomistic structure of Klamath reservation sodalities, and a means of appreciating the psycho-dynamic causation of the constant fractionation of Klamath political groupings. The evidence of these case studies, then, suggests that few Klamath are capable of fully identifying with other persons or of committing their loyalties to concerted group action. 121 157 [156]

We feel that this major descriptive conclusion is, in large part, a product of the case study method used in analyzing the Rorschachs. Moreover, it is our belief that this conclusion could not have been obtained from an analysis of a composite psychogram based on formal scores. As anyone who has ever read reports based upon the statistical or modal personality approach well knows, such reports are ridden with dynamic cliches and are largely sterile until filled out with examples of the qualitative features of individual records. In this report Levine has entirely discarded the lumping of group scores and concentrated upon an analysis of qualitative features of individual records buttressed and supported by the use of formal scores and relationships. The importance of this approach is shown by the fact that the reserve and guardedness that characterizes Klamath does not always show up in individual test records in the same form. Most frequently an important clue is had from the presence of restrained, watchful, wary figures in human and animal movement responses. Indeed, this type of movement 125 128 [157]

125
128 response provided some of the first clues as regards this important personality
attribute (Clifton 1960). But other test evidence, as well as life history and
[192] observational data, leads to the same conclusion, regardless of the presence or
absence of a restrained movement response.
[24]

One facet of Klamath guardedness and restraint is the general reluctance of
157 Klamath individuals to reveal or communicate to others their needs, wishes, interests,
156 or concerns. This may, in part, be seen as a function of suspicion,
of fearful concern with the possible reactions of others, but another characteristic
of Klamath persons may be associated with this reserve. The reference here
is to a general, overt, and conscious devaluation of the self. The Klamath seldom
[125] have much good and often much that is bad to say of themselves. Although
this characteristic is not directly manifested in the Rorschach records, these
records do indicate the presence of multiple and conflicting, or unacceptable
prototypal roles.

Another aspect of Klamath guardedness seems to be a precipitate of the very high investment of energies in sheer self-protecting maneuvers, and the time spent in the avoidance of entangling committments to group life. We feel that the Klamath have so over-invested in reserve and self-protection that they have little time or energy to expend on other activities or upon other aspects of their situation. This, we feel, may be responsible for another shared component of Klamath character, their inability in laying plans for the future, and the minimal expenditure upon creative effort. By way of contrast, the Klamath do concentrate upon the superficially rewarding or painful aspects of their current situation.

121 The analysis so far points to a general isolation of Klamath individuals from
156 significant, durable human associations. Given the facts of Klamath reservation
culture we consider that this characteristic is probably adaptive, although it
155 might not seem so if measured against an ideal model of mental health based upon
657 the functioning of west European, urban, middle-class persons. Considering the
[171] realities of the Klamath situation, guarded restraint in itself may hardly be
considered as pathological. Yet so great a reserve and so extensive an insulation
[158] of the self from important human transactions may be a major source of stress
and may predispose Klamath individuals to variant forms of mental illnesses.

157 Several of the cases contained in this report provide evidence for this hypothesis.
158 In the instance of Slim, for example, we find that a superficially adequate adjustment
may simply be the manifestation of an obsessive control over and reduction
[121] of emotional and intellectual processes to the point of a tentative diagnosis
of alpha schizophrenia. The cases of Susan, Nell, Fidel and Sparrow are
examples of extremely loose, unrealistic and disorganized thinking with overtones,
in some instances, of an almost paranoid suspiciousness, or a reliance
upon bizarre, highly personal fantasy. Evidence for a well defined idiosyncratic
role or personna which is very poorly integrated with the rest of the personality
is seen in the cases of Slim's false optimism, Carrie's brashness, and Aunt May's
superficial warmth. We suggest that these more disordered aspects of adjustment
may profitably be seen, in part, as a function of a generally poor contact with
others, reduced insight into the self and others, and extensive social isolation.
The mediating difficulty may well be a relative absence of opportunities to validate
beliefs and convictions. Thus in many respects adaptive, Klamath guarded
restraint probably serves as a precipitating factor in thinking disorders, sociopathic
adaptations, alpha schizophrenia, and paranoid delusions.

128 The validity of this assessment does not depend upon these ten case studies alone.
127 Very similar if more limited conclusions were obtained in a previous, independent

analysis of 53 Klamath Rorschachs and 33 Thematic Apperception Tests, with 128
additional evidence derived from participant observation and life history data [127]
(Clifton 1960). Moreover, the assessment agrees, in large part, with the ob-
servations and conclusions of other field workers working independently. The
significant point is that Levine, working blind from records of persons he has
never observed has reinforced and expanded upon previous evaluations of Klamath
character.

A second hypothesis about the Klamath which arises from our study — an hypothesis 121
of which we are less certain when compared with the observation that they are
a people who may be viewed as guarded and restrained — is the finding that "in 157
the total kin network the influence of the male is weak..." and "whether or not 562
there is a male attached to the household group, the wife-mother is usually the
power figure." This finding, based on the anthropological data, is theoreti- [156]
cally congruent, almost startlingly so, with the fact that the more imaginative,
creative, rich — healthy, if you will — Klamath Rorschach records were produced
by the women in the sample, while the men's records were typically stereotyped
and constricted, and often unrealistic, disorganized or suspicious. The statis- [127]
tical comparisons (Clifton 1960) as well as the individual Rorschach analysis
(Chapter III) convey this impression very clearly. [128]

The importance of these findings can be viewed profitably in the light of con- 121
temporary psychoanalytic theory, especially in relation to the concepts of iden-
tification and modeling in child development. The theory holds that the child
identifies with, i.e., adapts the characteristics, attitudes, and values, of his
parents because he envies them; they are the powerful people who receive the
rewards and gratifications which he is denied. In classical psychoanalytic theory,
the boy is said to identify with the father because the father is the power figure
in the family and receives the love of the mother. Although Freud never was as
content with his psychology of women as he was with the Oedipus Complex, pre-
sumably similar processes account for feminine psychology. The classical Oedipus [128]
Complex has been modified in order to integrate more satisfactorily with cross-
cultural data, and it is in this more flexible framework that the present re-
sults can be understood best.

In those societies in which the father is not a stable, respected member of the 121
family the process of identification is not as straightforward: the growing boy
does not want to be like his weak father; he cannot identify with an absent
father figure; yet he is biologically unable to be like his mother. The theory
holds that his identification as a person will not be well integrated or complete.
In the Klamath family, the mother is the stable figure, the one who commands the 121
boy's respect. Since a consistent and integrated identification is needed for a 156
healthy development of the ego, we are not surprised to find that the males in
our Klamath sample show signs of poor ego structure. The women, on the other 562
hand, come off much better and one may hypothesize that they are able to make a
more integrated identification with the wife-mother figure in the Klamath family. 593

It may be necessary for a well-stated theoretical position to distinguish between 121
two qualities of the parent which are confounded in the present discussion: sta-
bility of the model on the one hand and the extent to which the parent receives
rewards, on the other. The general theoretical position, however, states that
those societies in which the father is more stable, receives more of the respect
and material reward, or is more powerful will be societies in which the boys can
establish their roles more readily. On the other hand, in groups like the Klamath, 121
in which the father is weak or absent, we can expect to see signs of role conflict, 156
562
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•121
156 vague identification and, since it is largely through identification that the
562 super-ego is established, weak super-egos.

593 It has been suggested that what we have called guarded restraint may be a "front"
121 maintained only when Klamath are interacting with whites. The point is that
156 guarded restraint may be another name for the extreme suspicion and reserve of
many enclaved or colonized minority groups vis-a-vis representatives of the
177 dominant culture (Underhill 1960). It cannot be denied that, in fact, reserve
[191] and suspicion do characterize much of the relationship between Klamath and Whites,
but the reserve and restraint which so characterize Klamath persons is not solely
a function of such situations. We agree that guarded restraint is one important
consequence of acculturative contacts, but the evidence of observation and life
histories clearly indicate that this is a personality attribute manifest in many
[829] situations exclusive of the presence of outsiders. Life history subjects, for
example, speak of the "Indianness" of their parents, meaning precisely an aloof, reserved style of interaction. Many other informants verbalize reactions to the endemic if latent suspiciousness of Klamath life. Thus guarded restraint is not purely an observer construct with a referent limited to the test situation. Certainly, a measure of reserve and suspicion may serve utilitarian functions when interacting with strangers, but the same characteristic makes strangers out of neighbors.

121 Underhill's suggestion does raise the issue of a broader connection between
156 guarded restraint and the impact of acculturation. If there is such an association then we should expect to find these attributes widely distributed among
177 other acculturated populations, especially those which have been exposed to the
171 imposition of external political and administrative controls, and deculturation
or detribalization. That there may be some validity to this hypothesis is sugges-
157 ted by the fact that attempts to communicate our findings to observers with experience among other acculturated populations frequently evoke memories of similarity in character. What we have called guarded restraint has been suggested as characteristic of the contemporary Southern Ute (Stewart 1961) and especially the Mountain or Towoac Ute (Canan 1961), and of the Cree, Northern Athabascan, and Eskimo (Heinrich 1961). In each instance there are differences, but differences which seem to play upon a common theme.

Personality attributes analogous to what we have called guarded restraint have repeatedly been discerned among other more or less acculturated North American Indian populations. Thus Barnouw describes the Wisconsin Chippewa as emotionally isolated, suspicious of outsiders, and fearful of expressing emotions overtly (Barnouw 1950: 22-23). Klopfer's analysis of Chippewa Rorschachs suggests that "...the individual is under pressure to become as emotionally independent of his environment as possible, and to expect very little from others." (Barnouw 1950: 27). The Ojibwa have been described as emotionally restrained, suspicious, and anxious (Hallowell 1955: 350). Hallowell's interpretation of these characteristics is that they constitute persistent aboriginal components of Ojibwa character structure. In a similar fashion, the Native-Oriented Menomini have been described by Spindler as a group characterized by a non-defensive reduction of emotional display, whose perception is narrowed to only a very selective portion of their environment, and who are further characterized by a non-manipulatory passivity. Outside of the presumed character structure of the Eastern Woodlands, the most widely distributed "aboriginal" characteristics of North American Indians, generally, are given by the Spindlers as non-demonstrative emotionality, great reserve, individual autonomy, and a generalized fear of the world as dangerous (Spindler and Spindler 1957: 148).

On the face of these parallel descriptions it would seem that the Klamath are 121
similar, as regards guarded restraint, to a variety of differently situated, 156
differentially acculturated North American Indian populations, populations with
diverse cultural heritages. These similarities are, of course, susceptible to 157
different explanations. It would be a simple matter, for example, to explain 171
away the similarities as false, that is, as being a function of unreliable tech-
niques of assessment and highly ambiguous descriptive constructs or constructs 177
lacking in validity. Aside from being no explanation at all, this approach would [114]
involve discarding most of the available cross-cultural psychological data as
well as existing assessments of the personality dynamics of North American Indians.
Although this is the course advocated by many methodological puritans in the area
of culture and personality research we choose to accept the similarities as valid.

A second way of explaining these similarities might invoke the assumption of an underlying "North American Indian" character structure or basic personality analogous to Devereux's delineation of a core personality type for the Plains (Devereux 1951). Accepting this assumption the persistence of core traits must then somehow be accounted for. In the instance of the Plains, Devereux presents one possibility, namely that acculturation has resulted in a "stripped-down" and impoverished personality type (Devereux 1951: 25). Somewhat differently, Hallowell and his followers have argued that basic personality somehow manages to weather the vicissitudes of history and acculturation (Hallowell 1955: 309;
Spindler 1955: 151). The common feature of both of these explanations is the [114]
assumption of an underlying, basic set of psychological characteristics linked to aboriginal prototypes and common to the population occupying a given culture area.

In the instance of the Klamath there is very little evidence to suggest, un- 121
equivocally, that guarded restraint was a dominant component of aboriginal char- 156
acter structure. The information is scanty and points to the definite presence
of great reserve and considerable suspicion, but only as one mode of interper- 157
sonal relations among others. Moreover, the Klamath reservation situation does 177
not allow a comparison of differentially acculturated groups after the model
used by Hallowell for the Ojibwa, and the effort to apply Spindler's technique [657]
of an internal comparison raised more problems than it resolved in this setting.
Finally, the evidence from the Klamath psychological data indicates that, if [171]
anything, older members of the tribe are less reserved and suspicious. In short,
we cannot assert from available evidence that guarded restraint was basic or
dominant in aboriginal Klamath character structure. We suggest that at minimum
this characteristic was present, but that it did not receive the emphasis it
now gets.

Aside from this difficulty, there are a great many conceptual problems associated 121
with the postulation of an underlying, basic trait of guarded restraint for the
North American Indians generally. We feel that it is stretching the point to 156
attempt to account for present similarities among unrelated cultures of such 157
different cultural heritages with a construct so broad. Due to the absence of
firm measures of aboriginal character structure this approach to explanation also 171
involves substantial methodological problems which are not easily resolved.

Instead of explaining contemporary similarities in either of these ways it is 121
possible to view modern Indian populations in the light of common acculturative
experiences and their status as dependent wards, as enclaved minority groups, 156
and as persons who have been promised much but who have attained little. Spindler 157
has suggested that when acculturation conditions permit both a ready identification 171
177

121 with the values of the dominant culture and provide access to the institutionalized
156 means of attaining desired goals there will be a successful psychological
157 adaptation to dominant standards, but that when these conditions do not exist
then there may be overt change in the content of culture unaccompanied by changes
171 in psychological characteristics (Spindler 1955: 199). In the same way, Hallowell
177 suggests that constant association with powerful external agents, multiple
conflicting sources of reward and punishment and the ridicule and invidious comparisons which too frequently accompany acculturation situations may result in extreme feelings of insecurity, personality maladjustment, and what he calls the "frustration of maturity" (Hallowell 1955: 329).

Spindler's dual hypotheses are, of course, not the only alternative consequences of acculturation situations. We feel that between these polarities there are different modes of adaptation open, modes similar to those suggested by Hallowell.
[178] We therefore assert, hypothetically, that the defensive, guarded, reserved style of interaction now characteristic of the Klamath is the product of the deterioration and decay of major patterns of aboriginal Klamath culture, a prolonged exposure to and considerable identification with the values and standards of the dominant White society, and the persistent denial of access to the means and instrumentalities necessary to achieve these goals and to live up to the standards. We argue, in this way, that there are a great many similarities between diverse American Indian populations as noted by many observers, that these similarities do not constitute the residue of generic Indian character traits, but that they are a function of a common depressed minority group status within contemporary American society. Our analysis of this is that these components, specifically, the guardedness, the reserve, the suspicion, and the lack of involvement in creative group activity, are very much analogous to what various sociologists speak of as alienation or anomie (Merton 1957: 121-194; Nettler 1957; Seeman 1961).

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., June 25, 1890.

121 SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you my report upon the Klamath
Indians of Southwestern Oregon, the result of long and patient study. It
deals with their beliefs, legends, and traditions, their government and social
life, their racial and somatic peculiarities, and, more extensively, with their
126 language. To this the reader is introduced by numerous ethnographic
124 "Texts," suggested or dictated by the Indians themselves, and accompanied
by an interlinear translation and by "Notes," a method which I regard as
the most efficient means of becoming acquainted with any language. In
121 this report I have given prominence to the exposition of the language,
128 because I consider language to be the most important monument of the
American Indian. Archæology and ethnography are more apt to acquaint
us with *facts* concerning the aborigines, but language, when properly investigated, gives us the *ideas* that were moving the Indian's mind, not only
recently but long before the historic period.

Repeated and prolonged visits to the people of the northern as well as
of the southern chieftaincy have yielded sufficient material to enable me to
classify the language of both united tribes as belonging to a distinct family.
101 In their territorial seclusion from the nearer Indian tribes they show anthropologic differences considerable enough to justify us in regarding them as
a separate nationality.

197 There is probably no language spoken in North America possessed of a nominal inflection more developed than the Klamath, although in this particular, in the phonetic elements and in the syllabic reduplication pervading all parts of speech, it shows many analogies with the Sahaptin

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

113 (3) The Modocs. Forms No. 8 of a serial of Powers's articles: "The Californian Indians" (1872–1874), and is contained in the Overland Monthly, San Francisco, Carmany & Co., 1873, June number, pp. 535–545. With a myth, "The woman of stone" (at Nilakshi mountain).

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GEOGRAPHY OF THE KLAMATH HIGHLANDS.

121 The first part in the historical and social study of a tribe or nation must be a thorough examination of the country and of the climate (in the widest sense of this term) in which it has grown up, for these two agencies give character to peoples, races, languages, institutions, and laws. This principle applies equally to the cultured and to the ruder or less developed populations of the globe, for none of them can possibly hold itself aloof from the agencies of nature, whether acting in a sudden manner or gradually, like the influences of climate. The races inhabiting coasts, islands, peninsulas, jungles, plains, prairies, woodlands, foot-hills, mountains, and valleys differ one from another in having distinguishing characteristic types indelibly impressed upon their countenances by their different environments. That upland and mountaineer tribes have made very different records from those of nations raised in plains, lowlands, on coasts and islands is a fact of which history gives us many well-authenticated instances.

177 bury their dead instead of cremating them, and commence to acquire a smattering of English. Indian superstitions, conjurers' practices are not abandoned before the white man's ways have wrought a thorough change in their minds; and a regular school attendance by children can not be expected before this stage of progress has been reached.

157 [721] In his moral aspects the Klamath Indian is more coarse and outspoken than the white man, but in fact he is not better and not worse. He has attacked and enslaved by annual raids the defenseless California Indian simply because he was more aggressive, strong, and cunning than his victim; his family relations would be a disgrace to any cultured people, as would also be the method by which the chiefs rule the community. But the passions are not restrained among savages as they are or ought to be among us, and the force of example exhibited by Indians of other tribes is too strong for them to resist.

121 157 The character of men in the hunter stage depicts itself admirably well in the mythic and legendary stories of both chieftaincies. Low cunning and treacherous disposition manifest themselves side by side with a few traits of magnanimity hardly to be expected of a people formerly merged in a sort of zoolatric fetichism. There is, however, a considerable power of imagination and invention exhibited in these simple stories, and many of the ferocious beasts are sketched in a truly humorous vein.

Man's morals are the product of circumstances, and the white man who judges Indian morals from the Christian standard knows nothing of human nature or of ethnologic science. The moral ideas of every nation differ from those of neighboring peoples, and among us the moral system of every
000 century differs from that of the preceding one. The fact that the Modocs showed themselves more aggressive and murderous towards the white element than the Klamath Lake Indians may thus be explained by the different position of their homes. The latter being more secluded have not molested Americans sensibly, whereas the annals of the Modocs, who lived in an open country, are filled with bloody deeds. They are of a more secretive and churlish disposition, and what Stephen Powers, who saw them shortly after the Modoc war, says of them is, in some respects, true: "On the whole,

000 they are rather a cloddish, indolent, ordinarily good-natured race, but treacherous at bottom, sullen when angered, notorious for keeping Punic faith. But their bravery nobody can deny."*

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD.

174 Before the middle of the nineteenth century the Máklaks people was unknown to mankind except to the nearest neighbors in Oregon and California. We are therefore justified in beginning its period of documentary history at that time, and in relegating to the domain of prehistorics all that is known of their previous condition. The information upon these points is furnished by three factors: tradition, archæologic remains, and language.

A. TRADITION BEARING UPON HISTORY.

121 773 Traditional folk-lore, when of the mythic order, generally dates from an earlier epoch of fixation than historic traditions. The remote origin of *genuine* mythic folk-lore is sufficiently evidenced by the archaic terms embodied with it, by the repetition of the same phraseology for ages, and by the circumstance that all nations tend to preserve their religious ideas in an unchanged form. I am laying peculiar stress upon the term *genuine*, for Indians have often mixed recent ideas and fictions with archaic, original folk-lore and with ancient mythic ideas, the whole forming now one inextricable conglomerate which has the appearance of aboriginal poetic prose.

173 769 688 171 784 The Klamath people possess no historic traditions going further back in time than a century, for the simple reason that there was a strict law prohibiting the mention of the person or acts of a deceased individual by *using his name*. This law was rigidly observed among the Californians no less than among the Oregonians, and on its transgression the death penalty could be inflicted. This is certainly enough to suppress all historic knowledge within a people. How can history be written without names?

[126] Many times I attempted to obtain a list of the former head chiefs of the two chieftaincies. I succeeded only in learning the names of two chiefs recently deceased, and no biographic details were obtainable.

174 This people belongs to the autochthonic nations of America, called so because they have lost all remembrances of earlier habitats or of migrations.

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* Contributions to Amer. Ethnology, III, p. 253.

172 shores of Goose Lake, chiefly at Davis Creek, a number of stone mortars
312 are found, fashioned with a sharp point to be inserted into the ground, and that in former times Modoc, Payute, and Pit River Indians contended in many bloody battles for the possession of this thickly inhabited country, though none of them could obtain any permanent advantage.* Since the manufacture of this kind of mortars can not be ascribed with certainty to the Modocs, we are not entitled to consider them as antiquarian relics of this special people. The three sudatories and the river barrages are regarded as the gifts of Kmukámtch, a fact which testifies to their remote antiquity. Excavations (wásh) forming groups are found on many of the more level spots on the Reservation, near springs or brooks. They prove the existence of former dug-out lodges and camps.

C. LINGUISTIC AFFINITIES.

121 Anthropologic researches upon the origin of a people do not always
197 lead to decisive results as to the qualities of the primitive race of that people, for the majority of all known peoples are compounds from different races, and thus the characteristics of them must be those of a medley race. As to antiquity, language is second to race only, and much more ancient than anything we know of a people's religion, laws, customs, dress, implements, or style of art. Medley languages are not by any means so frequent as medley races, and less frequent still in America than in the eastern hemisphere; for in this western world the nations have remained longer in a state of isolation than in Asia and Europe, owing to the hunting and fishing pursuits to which the natives were addicted—pursuits which favor isolation and are antagonistic to the formation of large communities and states. This explains why we possess in America a relatively larger number of linguistic families than the Old World when compared to the areas of the respective continents. It also explains why races coincide here more closely with linguistic families than anywhere else on the surface of the globe. Instances when conquering races have prevailed upon other nations to abandon their

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* Contributions to North Amer. Ethnology, III, p. 252. Davis Creek enters Goose Lake from the southeast. The U. S. Geological Survey map marks "Old Indian Villages" in latitude 41° 37′ and longitude 120° 36′, to the southwest of that basin.

121 own languages are scarcely heard of on this hemisphere, but the annals of
197 the eastern parts of the globe make mention of such.

Whenever it is shown that the language of some American people is akin to the language of another, so that both are dialects of a common linguistic family, a more cogent proof of their common genealogic origin is furnished than lies in a similarity of laws, customs, myths, or religion. To decide the question of affinity between two languages is generally an easy, but sometimes a very difficult task. When a relatively large number of roots and affixes having the same function coincide in both, this argues in favor of affinity. The coincidence of single terms in them is never fortuitous, but we have to find out whether such terms are loan words or belong to the stock of words of the languages under process of investigation. Other terms show an external resemblance which is not based on real identity of their radicals, but only on a deceptive likeness of signification.

From all this the reader will perceive that we can not expect to steer clear of shoals and breakers in determining by the aid of language the affinities of our Klamath Indians. But the inquiries below, whether successful or not, will at least aid future somatologists in solving the problem whether linguistic areas coincide or not with racial areas upon the Pacific coast between the Columbia River and the Bay of San Francisco. In making these investigations we must constantly bear in mind that the track of the migrations was from north to south, parallel to the Pacific coast, which is sufficiently evidenced by the progress of some Selish, Tinné, Sahaptin, and Shoshoni tribes in a direction that deviates but inconsiderably from a meridional one.

To establish a solid basis for these researches, a list of the Pacific coast linguistic families is submitted, which will assist any reader to judge of the distances over which certain loan words have traveled to reach their present abodes. The country from which a loan word has spread over a number of other family areas is often difficult to determine, because these languages have not all been sufficiently explored. The families below are enumerated according to the latest results of investigation. Some of them may in the future be found to be dialects of other stocks. The Californian tribes have been mapped and described in Stephen Powers's "Tribes of California"; Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. III.

121 The *Shoshoni* family extends through eastern Oregon, Nevada, southern
197 Idaho, Utah, parts of Wyoming and California, and embodies the tribes of the Snake Indians, the Shoshoni, from whom the Comanches separated centuries ago, the Paviótso and Bannok (Panaíti), the Pai-uta, Uta, Móki, and the Kawúya branch of California. This family occupies an area almost as large as the Selish stock, but the population is very thinly scattered over the vast territory of the inland basin.

Washo Indians, near Carson, Nevada, inclosed on all sides except on the west by Shoshoni tribes.

Selish Indians occupy Washington, portions of the Oregon coast and of Vancouver Island, northern Idaho (from which they extend into Montana), the Fraser River Valley, and the adjoining coast of British Columbia. Some dialects of this family are remarkable through a profusion of consonantic clusters. *Chinook* dialects show many Selish affinities.

Sahaptin family, dwelling around middle Columbia and Lower Snake River. An offshoot of it—the Warm Spring Indians—settled in Des Chutes Valley, Oregon.

Wayíletpu is a Sahaptin name given to the Kayuse people on the Yumatilla Reservation, which has abandoned its former tongue, called the "Old Kayuse," to adopt the Yumatilla dialect of Sahaptin. Molale is related to old Kayuse; its former area was east of Oregon City.

Tinné or *Athapaskan* tribes, wherever they appear near the Pacific coast, are intruders from the northern plains around Mackenzie River and the headwaters of the upper Yukon. Those still existing on the Pacific coast are the Umpqua and Rogue River, the Húpa and Wailáki Indians, whereas the Tlatskanai and Kwalhioqua have disappeared.

The following three families on and near the Oregon coast were explored by Rev. Owen J. Dorsey in 1884 (Amer. Antiquarian, 1885, pp. 41, 42):

Yákwina, subdivided into Alsí', Yakwina on the bay of the same name, Kú-itch on the Lower Umpqua River, and Sayusla.

Kus, Coos Indians on Coos Bay and Múlluk on Lower Coquille River.

Takilma or Takelma Indians, south of the Kus, on middle course of Rogue River.

121 197 The *Kalapuya* Indians once occupied the entire Willámĕt River Valley save its southeastern portions. Its best studied dialect is Atfálati, also called Tuálati and Wápatu Lake.

On the lower Klamath River, California, and in its vicinity, there are four tribes of small areas speaking languages which require further investigations to decide upon their affinities. At present their languages are regarded as representing distinct families, as follows:

Ara, Ara-ara or Karok, on both sides of Klamath River.

Alíkwa or Yurok, at the mouth of Klamath River.

Wishosk or Wiyot, on Humboldt Bay.

Chimariko or Chimalákwe, on Trinity River and environs.

The *Pomo* dialects are spoken along the California coast and along its water-courses from 39° 30′ to 38° 15′ latitude.

Yuki dialects were spoken in the mountains of the Californian Coast Range upon two distinct areas.

Wintún (from witú, wintú *man, Indian*) is spoken in many dialects upon a wide area west of Sacramento River from its mouth up to Shasta Butte.

Noja, spoken near Round Mountain, Sacramento Valley.

Maidu (from maídu *man, Indian*) dialects are heard upon the east side of Sacramento River from Fort Redding to the Cósumnes River and up to the water-shed of the Sierra Nevada.

Shasti dialects properly belong to the middle course of Klamath River and to the adjoining parts of Oregon; the language of *Pit River* or Achomawi, southeast of the Shasti area, is cognate with it.

Mutsun dialects, north and south of San Francisco Bay, are cognate with the Miwok dialects, which are heard from the San Joaquin River up to the heights of the Sierra Nevada. The littoral family of the *Esselen* is inclosed upon all sides by the Mutsun dialects. We have vocabularies from the eighteenth century, but its existence as a *separate* family has been put in evidence but lately by H. W. Henshaw in American Anthropologist, 1890, pp. 45–50.

RADICALS WHICH KLAMATH HOLDS IN COMMON WITH OTHER FAMILIES.

121 197 A number of radical syllables occur in the same or in cognate significations in several linguistic families of the Northwest, and some of them extend even to the stocks east of the Rocky Mountains and of the Mississippi River. This fact is of great significance, as it proves certain early connections between these Indians, either loose or intimate. If the number of such common radices should be increased considerably by further research, the present attempt of classifying Pacific languages into stocks would become subject to serious doubts. From the quotations below I have carefully excluded all roots (and other terms) of onomatopoetic origin. I have made no distinction between pronominal and predicative roots, for a radical syllable used predicatively in one stock may have a pronominal function in another family

193 197 **-im,** *-ĕm, -am, -m* frequently occurs as a suffix for the possessive case in the Pacific coast languages. Thus in Klamath -am is the usual suffix of that case, -lam being found after some vowels only; cf. Grammar, pages 317 et seq., and suffix -m, page 355; also pages 474–476. On page 475 I have called attention to the fact that -am occurs as marking the possessive case in the Pit River language; itóshĕχam yánim *deer's foot-prints;* -am, -im in Molale: pshkaínshim, possessive of pshkaínsh *beard.* The Sahaptin dialects use -nmi, -mi, etc., to designate this case.

ka occurs in many languages as a demonstrative radix, though it often assumes an interrogative and relative signification and changes its vocalization. In Apache-Tinné dialects it is interrogative: χáte *who?* in Návajo; in the Creek ka is the relative particle, a substitute for our relative pronoun *who.*, In Yuki kau is *this* and *there;* in Yókat (California) ka- occurs in kahama *this,* kawío *here,* yokaú *there.* East of Mississippi River we have it in Iroquois dialects: kĕ'^{n} in kĕ'^{n}t'ho *here* (t'ho *place*); in Tuskarora: kyä' *that* or *this one* (pointing at it), kyä' nä^n *this one;* t'ho i-kän *that one is.*[*] In the Klamath of Oregon this root composes kánk *so much,* káni *somebody,*

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[*] My authority for quotations from Iroquois dialects is Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt, of the Tuskarora tribe.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

121 In the manner of considering the transcendental world and in viewing the problems of the supernatural we perceive enormous differences among the various races of mankind. These differences mainly arise from the degree of animism and anthropomorphism applied to the deities supposed to represent the powers of nature and to rule the world. The primitive man regards everything showing life or spontaneous motion as animated by a spirit and endowed with certain human faculties; whereas among the more advanced nations these same gods and genii appear more fully anthropomorphized, and their moral and intellectual attributes more accurately defined. In monotheism all the physical and moral powers supposed to rule the universe become unified into one "Supreme Being."

A people's religion always rests upon a basis laid down in remote ages, and faithfully depicts the intellectual and moral qualities of its spiritual leaders at that period. Were they ferocious and cruel, the gods whom they imposed upon the people are barbaric also; were they kind and mild-mannered, then their deities show these same mental qualities. Deities act by miracles, and are miracles themselves; for a miracle or act contravening the laws of nature is the only causality which the mind of primitive man is able to imagine to solve the difficult problems of physics, meteorology and other processes of nature As there is no connected system in any of the savage religions, it is by no means difficult to overthrow the beliefs of a primitive people and to substitute others for it, provided the new ones are resting upon the same fundamental principle of spirits, deities and miracles. Dreams are to the savage man what the Bible is to us—the source of divine revelation, with the important difference that he can produce revelation through dreams *at will.* The more thoughtful religions of Asia establish a thorough distinction between spirit and matter, and thus dualistically establish idealism as opposite to materialism; but in America no religion goes any further than to *attempt* such a distinction. The higher Asiatic religions establish priesthoods, idols, ceremonial worship, divine oracles, prayer and sacrifice, and attempt to elevate man's character by moral teachings; here in the western hemisphere ceremony is magic and

121 witchcraft only, religious feasts are orgies, divine revelation is human hallucination, and the moral element, when present in religion, is not urged upon the community. While in the religions of the white man the gods originally representing nature's powers gradually become teachers or examples of morality and mental improvement, those of the other races remain the stern and remorseless deities of the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth, whose good will has to be propitiated by sacrifice.

As zoodemonism is the most appropriate form of religion for man in the animistic stage, the majority of the mythic characters in American religions are animals, especially quadrupeds; and even the fully anthropomorphized deities sometimes assume, in Oregon and elsewhere, the masks of animals. The earlier Indians firmly believed that such animals as were the prototypes of their own species had human faculties, and talked and thought as men do; in whatever tribe there are totemic gentes or clans the members of these are supposed to have descended from that prototype of a bear, deer, alligator, eagle, or whatever animal a gens is called after. Certain qualities of man, physical and intellectual, found their closest analogies in those of animals, and the animal world is much nearer akin to man in the mind of the Indian than in the white man's mind. Scurrilous and grotesque acts ascribed to so many Indian deities were not intended for derision, as with us, but for faithful portrayings of the habits of typical animals; and zoodemonism—not exactly zoolatry, as in Egypt—is the form of religion existing among the *wild* Indians of America.

The large amount of mythologic and transcendental material obtained among the Indians requires subdivision into several chapters. I present it under the following subdivisions: *a.* Elementary deities; *b.* Spirit deities; *c.* Animal deities.

114
124 Of the mythologic data embodied in the present article the larger part were obtained by myself, but not all. The others were gathered by Messrs. Stephen Powers and Jeremiah Curtin, mainly by the latter, who obtained over one hundred Modoc myths in 1883 and 1884, now forming part of the unpublished collection of the Bureau of Ethnology.

773 reputed to be a relative (shá-amoksh) of Marten, and consequently of
825 K'múkamtch; he stayed at the lodge of the five Thunders at the time when it was burnt down, pp. 112. 113. One of his residences is at Mount Shasta.

Other quadrupeds frequently mentioned in these stories are the *skunk* (tchàshash), the three different kinds of *deer*, the *antelope* (tché-u), the *elk* (vû'n), the *mole* (mû'nk, Mod. mû-úe). Men or Indians appear but incidentally in beast stories, as pshe-utíwash, a plural noun, and are engaged only as a passive element in every occurrence where they are mentioned.

Among the *birds* the most prominent part is assigned to the *raven* (Kák, Kákamtch), for he is *Fate* personified, and his office is to punish by death all those who act antagonistically to his or his allies' interests. This is done by changing them into rocks. In all nations the croaking, doleful cries of the raven leave a deep impression on the human mind, and hence in mythology the raven fulfills the function of a soothsayer and messenger of woe. In British Columbia and farther to the northwest he is (as Yehl) considered the creator of all organisms, and almost all the folklore centers around him as the main figure.

The *golden eagle* or the one "floating in the skies" (P'laíwash) is in the Klamath lore mentioned as often as the raven, either alone or as a family of five brothers, but does not command so much respect as the raven does.

The *water birds*, as cranes, ducks, geese, coots, form the light infantry of the mythologic make-up, and mostly figure in crowds of five or ten, the coot representing the Ojibwē Shíngibis so well known through Longfellow's Hiawatha. Some of the *lower organisms* rise to an unexpected dignity, like the woodtick or shkō'ks, which becomes the wife of the tricky Marten, and a caterpillar of beautiful colors, whose exterior makes him the rival or "master of the sun" (shápsam ptchíwip). Aíshish counts among his plural wives two butterflies of the gayest colors.

PRINCIPLES OF MYTHIFICATION.

121
77 The idea that every phenomenon and every change observed in nature and mind is caused by some spirit, ghost, genius, god, or other mysterious, generally invisible agent, embodies what we call animism, and forms the foundation of all religions of the world, however abstract they may have

121 77 become in course of time. The working of animism can best be traced in polytheism and polydemonism, in the shamanistic ideas as well as in the religious. The principles traceable in the myth-making of the Klamath Indians, which differs in some points from those of other Indians, may be summed up as follows:

The sky-gods, as sun, moon, winds, thunder, etc., here as elsewhere surpass in importance and strength the other deified powers of nature, for "theology is meteorology." Some of these chief gods assume the mask of animate beings and inanimate things when they appear among men.

773 776 Creation myths do not generally mention the material from which or the mode by which objects were created, but simply state that K'múkamtch produced them by his thinking and will power.

The spirit, life, or heart of a deity is made distinct from the deity itself and can live at a distance from it. Cf. the pipe of K'múkamtch burnt in the fire, which in another myth figures as a small ball (ké-iks) and is his spirit or life.

The burlesque element, which the religions of Asia and Europe have banished almost entirely, appears here as an almost integral attribute of a god or genius. This appears to form an offset for the dire cruelties ascribed to the same demons, and is also characteristic of the religions studied east of Mississippi River.

The element of obscenity is only incidental to the burlesque element, but is sometimes very pronounced, especially in the beast stories. It was added to cause merriment only, and not for such immoral purposes as we see it applied to in the Decameron of Boccaccio and other products of a corrupt age.

801 The deified beings of a lower order, as animals, etc., appear sometimes as *one* person, but just as often in the mystic number of *five*, if not of *ten*. Fire, waters, springs, and plants are not deified, but lakes are sometimes. Clouds do not appear here deified as witches, as they do among the Eastern Indians.

Certain miracles are here achieved by bodily contact and symbolic acts; so dead animals are brought to life again by jumping three or five

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

THE KLAMATH INDIANS OF OREGON.

By Albert S. Gatschet.

INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTS.

121 The most important and valuable monument of itself which a people can transmit to posterity is a national literature. But to answer the requirements fully, the literature of a people must possess a certain degree of completeness in portraying the national peculiarities. It should embrace not only sketches of contemporaneous history, of national habits, customs, and laws laid down in the native idiom, but we expect from it also a truthful rendering of the spiritual side of national life, of its physical and metaphysical speculations as we find them embodied in its myths, beliefs, superstitions and conjurers' practices, and of speeches and discourses of its representative men held on solemn occasions. The most fragrant flowers in any national literature are certainly the poetic productions, if a full account of their origin and purport is added to make them easily comprehensible.

While cultured nations are constantly engaged in perpetuating the memory of their thoughts and achievements by means of some alphabetic or syllabic system of writing, the uncivilized hunting or fishing tribes possess none, or only the most imperfect means of recording their affairs. All of them possess mythic tales, traditional history, and songs for various incidents of life; not a few are even originators of didactic folklore, of proverbs, and of versified rhythmic poetry. Many of these mental productions are remarkable for artistic beauty, others for a most interesting variety of detail; but all of them will, if collected with accuracy and sound

121 judgment, throw a profusion of light upon the physical and mental characteristics of the natives and on their past and present condition.

The task and care of fixing the unwritten mental productions of uncultured races and tribes thus devolves upon the white man. It is by no means an easy undertaking, and success can be attained only when the investigator is favored by circumstances. Ethnologic texts taken from an uncivilized people are of much intrinsic value only when the scientific collector is lucky enough to secure the services of intelligent and well-informed individuals whose veracity is above suspicion, and who have constantly resided among their own people.

Considerations of this nature guided me when I endeavored to commit to writing the strange mythology of Oregonian tribes, replete with the most fantastic stories of their elementary deities and tricksy animal daimons; and when the weird and unearthly strains of their war-whoops and dance-yells first struck my ear, I considered even these worthy of notation. I have not hesitated to assign the first and foremost place in this linguistic volume on the Klamath language to the "Texts" obtained from trustworthy Indians of the Klamath Lake and Modoc tribes, for I know that they faithfully portray the characteristic features and idiosyncrasies of these dusky denizens of a secluded upland region. These literary specimens are the foundation and basis upon which I have rested my investigations.

The language of these specimens, as the organ of transmission of the national ideas, had to be carefully sifted and overhauled before it could become the basis of linguistic and ethnologic investigation. Numerous revisals and comparisons were needed to eliminate involuntary mistakes of Indian informants, who never elevate themselves above a purely empiric mastery of their native idiom. That an accurate grammar can be composed upon the solid foundation of faultless texts only, nobody will contest. Neither will it be doubted that the more copious the specimens are the safer the conclusions of the linguist will be concerning the principles governing the forms of speech.

Literary productions enlarging upon national and ethnologic matters are of much greater importance for the scientific study of the language in which they may be composed than any other texts. How poor and frag-

121 mentary would our knowledge of Latin and Greek be, if the poets, orators, and historians who wrote their compositions in these sonorous idioms were lost, and if nothing in them had come down to our age but versions of foreign books and reproductions of foreign speculations and ideas! A writer or informant is most capable of acquainting us with matters concerning his *own* people, country, and epoch, because he feels more interested in these topics than in any others, and he will select from the national stock of words the proper term for each object or idea he desires to express. Investigators will therefore, when they address themselves to intelligent natives for national, tangible and concrete topics of every-day life, generally obtain correct and trustworthy information on their objects of research, but will meet with disappointment when inquiring for equivalents of terms or ideas totally foreign to the simple understanding of the native population.

An experience of short duration will convince any linguistic investigator that a multitude of characteristic, quaint, and unfrequent expressions, idioms, phrases, and inflectional forms can never be obtained by mere questioning. The natives must be allowed to speak out their own free minds, without bias or trammelling; after a short acquaintance they can easily be induced to recount popular stories, myths, incidents of history, or intertribal wars, to reproduce speeches and national songs from their own reminiscences, and thus they will spontaneously use peculiar forms of language which often yield a deeper insight into the genius of their vernacular idiom than pages of information gathered after the usual method of the scholarly lexicographer or the pedantic verbal translator.

Legends, myths, and lyric productions, when obtained in their original shape from unsophisticated relators, furnish us with the best material for inquiries into a far remote antiquity, even when the historic horizon of the informant's tribe does not exceed the limit of two generations. If facts and dates do not, words and radical syllables will tell us a tale, and may enable us to trace ancient migrations or intertribal connections, teach us the origin of certain customs, habits, or national ideas, and inform us of the shaping, the material, or uses of old implements. In some instances they will guide us into remoter periods than prehistoric archæology can, and supply us with

121 more useful dates and facts. Such results as these may be confidently looked for when several dialects of one linguistic family can be compared; and a careful comparison of one language with others spoken in the vicinity, belonging to the same or a different family, will always be attended with beneficial results for the increase of our scientific knowledge.

124
127 The aboriginal literary monuments printed below are authentic national records of a brave and industrious mountain tribe of Indians. Ethnologic notices have at a comparatively early period been gathered concerning the Modocs and Klamath Lake Indians, but most of them were of doubtful scientific value, because the information was gathered from them in the English language, which they understood but very imperfectly. Even now, the dates and facts recounted by them, as well as by Indians of many other tribes, in English, are so extremely confused, that only texts written in their own language can give us a clear insight into their traditions, myths, and mode of thinking.

538 No Indian tribe possesses a history of itself reaching back further than two or three generations, unless it has been recorded by whites at an early date, and what goes beyond this limit is tradition, on which we must be careful not to place any implicit reliance. But mythology records in a certain sense the intellectual history as well as the metaphysical ideas of a people, and thus by the gathering of the numerous mythic tales and legends of the Mák̲laks a start at least is made for the investigation of their intellectual development. A very moderate estimate puts at several hundred the more generally circulated myths of the Klamath Lake or É-ukshikni alone, and the number of their popular song-lines, so interesting and unique in many respects, may be called infinite, for their number is increased every day by new ones. The bulk of their mythic folklore is of great poetic beauty, freshness, and originality, and, like that of other tribes, full of childlike "naïveté." This latter characteristic forms one of their greatest attractions, and the animal myths of every uncultured people will prove attractive, because they were invented for religious or poetic and not for [173] didactic purposes. To some of the myths given below we may confidently ascribe an antiquity of over three centuries, for their archaic terms

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

Introduction

[P. XV]

DURING THE LAST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THE RESERVA- 121 •
tion came to be regarded by Indian policy makers as an instru- 657 *
ment for directed culture change, depending for its success upon 648 *
effective control over the governed and the selective modification of their culture toward that of the dominant society. The following pages detail the manner in which that policy figured in the transformation of several Indian societies in south-central Oregon, who came collectively to be known as the Klamath Tribe.

If we are to see the reservation in perspective, we must know its local antecedents. It is essential to know something of the aboriginal past from which the Indian signatories had sprung and of the modification in their lives wrought by the period of contact prior to their treaty agreement to enter upon reservation life. To isolate the contractual parties, Indian and white, from the events of settlement, tribal dislocation, and cultural confrontation that made the reservation a desirable solution for both would deprive the decision of its historical import. In the same way, it would be misleading to examine the reservation as if it existed in the isolation that was part of its ideal character. When (175)
Treaty Commissioner Huntington wrote in 1867,

> The design of the Government is to segregate the Indians upon lands set apart for them, separate them from the pernicious influences which association with whites entail upon them, and to cultivate the good, moral, and intellectual qualities they may possess.

he was outlining a situation that proved difficult to maintain.

It is within the frame provided by this policy that the history 121
of the Klamath Tribe falls most readily into segments. The first 175
period ranges from the aboriginal threshold to the treaty of 1864 657*
648*

• 121 and the formation of the reservation. For the next twenty years,
175 until the General Allotment Act of 1887, the control of the
*657 Agency proved most effective, perhaps in part because the most
*648 violent eruption, the Modoc War of 1872-73, polarized loyalties
and removed dissidents. From the time of allotment in severalty, control over the course of change began to abate the effectiveness of Agency supervision; and with the opening of the reservation to massive commercial lumbering in the second decade of the twentieth century it declined rapidly. In the final years, until the termination of the reservation by law in 1954, the Agency did little more than preside over a population which, in essential respects, had passed beyond its power to control.

By that account, Agency rule was on the wane for some seventy of the ninety years which the reservation lasted, and was disputed by a war during the first decade. However, effective supervision was maintained longer in some areas than in others; and some powers, rather than lapsing, were passed on to local state, county, or municipal agencies. As a result, the picture is not to be summed up along a single dimension, but like history everywhere, must be seen in detail.

4: Pearsall E-5 (1947) 1950 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1875)

[p. 339-A]

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION[1]

By

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

121 The communication of knowledge from one generation to another is a subtle process in any culture, and especially so among primitive groups with no clearly defined and well formulated educational system. Any study of primitive education is, therefore, difficult to demarcate. In its broadest sense, education might be defined as the formation of manners and habits by means of instruction, by both physical and moral discipline. The acquisition of all attitudes, knowledge, and skills can be included in education. A thorough investigation would have to answer the question of where, when, and how the individual acquires each item of his adult personality.

Obviously, no complete picture of education in any primitive group can be drawn after a single season in the field. The present study makes no pretense of being definitive. It is our intent to show the gradual development of the Klamath child from infancy to adulthood as he receives physical, religious, and moral training, as well as instruction in the food gathering techniques and skilled crafts of his culture. Undoubtedly many phases of the culture have been slighted, but we have tried to show in a general way the type of instruction and encouragement given the maturing child. Klamath 114 ethnography has been well known for years through the works of Gatschet (1890), Coville (1898, 1904), Dorsey (1901), Barrett (1910), Spier (1930), Voegelin (1942), and others. For 128 that reason, the details of language, material

[text continues on top of p. 339-B]

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Parenthood with its attendant responsibilities 581 is not taken lightly by the average Klamath. 593 One gets married for the express purpose of raising a large family, and the couple with several strong sons and hardworking daughters is highly respected in the community. 842 A childless couple, on the other hand, is looked upon with contempt and pity. Barrenness is sometimes con-

[text continues on bottom of p. 339-B]

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[1] The present study is based on data collected for the University of California during a two-month stay on the Klamath Indian reservation in southern Oregon in the summer of 1947. Much of the material presented in this paper was gathered by Mrs. Betty T. Dasey, and the research represents our joint efforts. [122]

PREFACE

101
114 The following comparative ethnographic study of fifteen northeastern
California groups and one group in southern Oregon is based on approxi-
121 mately three and one-half months' field work (July-October, 1936), under-
taken while serving as Research Assistant in the Department of Anthro-
pology at the University of California. During the six months' period
which the appointment covered I incurred numerous obligations for as-
sistance.

000 To Dr. A. L. Kroeber, director of the culture-element survey, I am indebted for much sound advice, never-failing coöperation, and many courtesies extended throughout the term of appointment. To Professor E. W. Gifford, Dr. Robert H. Lowie, and Dr. Harold E. Driver I am likewise under obligations for their coöperation and numerous courtesies.

I also wish to thank those authors who have written the detailed and pioneer monographs on many of the groups covered in this study; these include Drs. Leslie Spier, A. L. Kroeber, Ralph L. Beals, Isabel T. Kelly, Cora Du Bois, Edwin M. Loeb, and Mr. E. W. Gifford. Many of these authorities, and also the late Professor Edward Sapir, of Yale, supplied the names of reliable informants for the groups I was to study, and otherwise oriented me concerning field conditions. To all these scholars I am greatly indebted, both for their personal coöperation and for their valuable publications on various tribes in or near the area surveyed. Since I worked with both the Shasta and the Maidu, it is almost needless to mention how often I leaned on the late Dr. Roland B. Dixon's ethnographic studies of these two tribes, and how delighted I was to obtain western Shasta data from Sargent Sambo whok some thirty years before, had been Dr. Dixon's chief informant.

114 The difficulties of living on an extremely mobile field trip were lightened by virtue of having with me three interested companions. My husband, Dr. C. F. Voegelin, and our daughter, Gail, spent July and August in the field. To Dr. Voegelin I am deeply grateful for frequent linguistic aid and for encouragement in the pursuit of a new ethnographic field technique. To Gail, and likewise to my father, Mr. Roscoe Wheeler, who proved an ever-cheerful companion during the latter half of the trip, I wish to express a happy appreciation of their comradeship and their responsiveness to informants and informants' families.

115 Many kindnesses were extended to me during field work. Mrs. John Perry and her late husband, of Greenville, offered the hospitality of their home and were helpful in suggesting suitable informants. Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Barton, of Horse Creek, temporarily released Sargent Sambo from their employ so that I might work with him. Mrs. Lucy Thomson, my informant for the Southern Nisenan, had my father and me as guests in her home during our stay at Stanfield Hill. Mrs. Winnie Shiffbauer, Modoc; Ben Bridge, Achomawi informant, and his wife; and Mrs. Amanda Wilson, Valley Maidu informant, were likewise generous in hospitality. The interest and cooperative spirit I met with among these and many others of my informants puts me under a debt which cannot easily be acknowledged, but which will always be a pleasure to recall.

122 Assistance in the preparation of field material for publication was furnished by the personnel of Works Projects Administration Official Project No. 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

Preface

[P. vii]

THIS BOOK IS THE PRODUCT OF MANY MINDS. IN 1949, SHORTLY AFTER 114
coming to the University of Oregon from fieldwork with the Chickahominy and other "remnants" of the Virginia Tidewater, I was introduced to the Klamath by Dr. Luther S. Cressman, who was then in the midst of archeological research upon the reservation. That summer, with three graduate students. Eleanor Ribbans, Patricia Marks, and Hiroto Zakoji, I began a study of Chiloquin, a reservation town. The next summer, I resumed work, joined by Miss Ribbans, Mr. Zakoji, and by Barbara Davidson, Virginia Hastings, Michal Lowenfels (Cane), Thomas and Ann Dutelle, and Leonard Turner. In 1951, we turned to matters of folklore, linguistics, and ethnography: the force that summer comprised Mr. Zakoji and Richard Pope. Subsequently, I was retained by the tribal attorneys as an expert witness in issues before the Indian Claims Commission, in which capacity I became the student of my colleagues, Drs. Verne F. Ray and Omer C. Stewart.

After an interim spent in launching a comparison study on the Umatilla reservation and a year in Burma, I returned in 1956 to resume linguistic work. The following year, Dr. Vincent Os- 114
trom and I initiated a study of the termination of federal super- 122
vision over the Klamath reservation, under a grant from the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian. We were assisted by Mr. Jack Pierce and Dr. Bert E. Swanson, as well as by Mrs. Marilyn Gerber Livingstone. In the field, we received many courtesies and much enlightenment from Mr. Zakoji, then Director of the Klamath Information and Education Program, under the Oregon Department of Education, operating by contract under the Termination Act. Dr. James A. Clifton soon began to do psychological re-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

114 122 search under a separate grant, and provided facilities for other students, Miss Deanne Rasmussen, who studied child-rearing practices, and Dr. and Mrs. Brian A. DuToit, who made a brief survey of the small community of Beatty, to amplify our observations in Chiloquin.

000 In addition to all of these, others who were carrying on studies at the same time provided many insights. Here may be mentioned Dr. and Mrs. Robert F. Spencer, Dr. William N. Fenton, and Dr. M. A. R. Barker. Similarly, my colleagues in the department of anthropology have been an unfailing source 128 of stimulation. Among them, Drs. Luther Cressman, H. G. Barnett, and Vernon Dorjahn have made the greatest contribution. Drs. Cressman, Dorjahn, and Martin Schmitt, during my temporary absence from the country, undertook to oversee the drawing of several of the maps and the assembly of photographs.

127 Archival materials have come from several sources. I am indebted to officials of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, for certain manuscripts in the Bancroft Collections; to the Robert H. Lowie Museum, of that University, for use of materials from the collection of C. Hart Merriam; to Dr. Thomas Vaughan and the Oregon Historical Society for use of the typescript copy of Joel Palmer's pocket diary; and to Martin Schmitt, Elizabeth Findley, and the Library of the University of Oregon for use of the Lindsay and O. C. Applegate Papers, and for many kindnesses.

The General Services Administration Records Center in Seattle provided archival materials from Klamath Agency reports, while the Portland Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, under Don C. Foster and Martin B. Holm, placed at our disposal many official files. Likewise, officials of the Klamath General Council and the Tribal Executive Committee gave us every courtesy and 000 made available back files of tribal minutes. Finally, it would be remiss not to acknowledge the assistance given the study by the Klamath Management Specialists, the city officials of Chiloquin, and officers of Klamath County agencies.

128 Above all, the Klamath people and the residents of Chiloquin have provided us with the individual perspectives which here I have sought to place within a larger frame. Several have kindly read the resultant manuscript on Chiloquin and have suggested

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

revisions of no small merit. They include the late William C. Lorenz and his wife, Claudia, Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy Gienger, Seldon Kirk and his daughter, Lelia, and Mr. and Mrs. Joe Ortis. 128

A quiet, though indispensible role has been played by my wife, and a number of her insights have found their way, unacknowledged, into these pages. 000

The Klamath research, through the years, has received support now gratefully acknowledged, from the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Fund for the Republic, and the Faculty Research Program of the University of Oregon. Two chapters of this volume have previously been published: Chapter Two appeared as "The Klamath Indians and the treaty of 1864," *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* 57 (1956 : 229-73; and Chapter Seventeen as "Livelihood and tribal government on the Klamath Indian reservation," *Human Organization,* 20 (1961-62): 172-80. They are reprinted here by permission. 122 • 128

THEODORE STERN

Eugene, Oregon

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KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION[1]

By

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

The communication of knowledge from one 121
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single season in the field. The present study
makes no pretense of being definitive. It is
our intent to show the gradual development of
the Klamath child from infancy to adulthood as
he receives physical, religious, and moral
training, as well as instruction in the food
gathering techniques and skilled crafts of his
culture. Undoubtedly many phases of the culture
have been slighted, but we have tried to show in
a general way the type of instruction and en-
couragement given the maturing child. Klamath 114
ethnography has been well known for years
through the works of Gatschet (1890), Coville
(1898, 1904), Dorsey (1901), Barrett (1910),
Spier (1930), Voegelin (1942), and others. For 128
that reason, the details of language, material

[text continues on top of p. 339-B]

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Parenthood with its attendant responsibili- 581
ties is not taken lightly by the average Kla- 593
math. One gets married for the express purpose
of raising a large family, and the couple with
several strong sons and hardworking daughters is
highly respected in the community. A childless 842
couple, on the other hand, is looked upon with
contempt and pity. Barrenness is sometimes con-

[text continues on bottom of p. 339-B]

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[1] The present study is based on data collected for the University of California during a two-month stay on the Klamath Indian reservation in southern Oregon in the summer of 1947. Much of the material presented in this paper was gathered by Mrs. Betty T. Dasey, and the research represents our joint efforts. [122]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

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[p. 239]

THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE KLAMATH LAKE AND MODOC INDIANS OF NORTHEASTERN CALIFORNIA AND SOUTHERN OREGON.

000

BY

S. A. BARRETT.

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INTRODUCTION.

K
M
122 ●

The following information concerning the Lutuami or Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians of northeastern California and southern Oregon was obtained during the summer of 1907 as a part of the work of the Ethnological and Archaeological Survey of California, maintained by the University of California through the generosity of Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst. These Indians now live almost entirely on Klamath Indian reservation in Oregon,

M
K
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114 for the field researcher and analyst were one and the same person. It then (120) seemed potentially fruitful and appropriate to organize a collaborative effort with an experienced psychologist, and it was at this juncture that David Levine began participating in the research. The result of that effort is this report, with its markedly inductive and qualitative approach.

121 Aside from an assessment of the attributes of Klamath personalities, we are, thus, concerned with several somewhat broader questions. Because of the former, the Psychologist has set one task as the idiographic analysis of each subject's Rorschach record, but because of the latter concern this analysis must be considered doubly idiographic. We are at one and the same time concerned with two kinds of wholes, each Klamath person, and the total socio-cultural setting. On the one hand, the Anthropologist's interest lies in the relations between personality factors and the configurations of Klamath Reservation Culture, and, thus, in Redfield's terms, in contributing to an understanding of the reservation (125) as a "unique analysed system" (Redfield 1955). On the other hand, the Psychologist became interested in this setting because of his concern with using the Rorschach as one measure of Ego-development, or the level of psychological maturity. In this respect, and aside from the intrinsic interest of each, the ten case studies are seen as a possible means of bringing to bear certain portions of psychoanalytic theory and Werner's genetic psychology theory upon the task of explaining some aspects of the styles of behavior prevalent in the peculiarly stifling environments of American Indian reservations. We are, therefore, interested in developing useful approaches to larger problems and in building hypotheses.

12 With respect to the division of labor, Clifton collected the original data and was responsible for writing Sections I and II and the introductions to the case studies, while Levine gave his attention to the analysis of each case. The concluding section is a joint effort. Levine's analysis of the Rorschach records has been without extensive foreknowledge of the characteristics of life on or the history of the Klamath reservation, and without foreknowledge of the particular experiences or cultural status of the subjects. The collaboration of Anthropologist and Psychologist, the inductive, case-study approach, and this "blind" analysis thus put this report in the culture and personality tradition most recently represented by Gladwin and Sarason's Truk study. Indeed, this report was partly prompted by Gladwin and Sarason's recent complaint that "...studies which would refine and carry forward this or other systematic methods 121 of case analysis have not been forthcoming." (1959: 175). While we agree that analyses of comparative data should be made available, in all modesty we cannot lay claim to a refinement of the case study method. Again, we are concerned with developing useful theoretical ideas, or in finding a place to transplant an existing idea, rather than with methodology.

122 We are indebted to Zygmunt Piotrowski for his approach to Rorschach analysis and for suggesting the possibility of our collaborating, to Luther Cressman of the University of Oregon for providing facilities for publication and for initial support of the field work, and to Theodore Stern, also from the University of Oregon, for continuing assistance and encouragement in and out of the field. (121) Section II of this report draws heavily upon Dr. Stern's published and unpublished Klamath materials, for which we are particularly grateful. During 1958, James Clifton's field work was supported by a Social Science Research Council Fellowship for Training in Social Anthropology, while support for the 1959 research was provided by the National Institute of Mental Health in the form of a pre-doctoral fellowship and research grant. The National Institute of Mental Health has, additionally, financed publication costs of this report.

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

By Robert F. Spencer

773 IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians
177 of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of
178 aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among
[776] other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer
[182] can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations. A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal myth.

175 Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation
177 from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which
[222] it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In
[226] its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes
[631] of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic
[621] economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separa-
[771] tistic hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly
[791] developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

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[101]
[122] [1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949, on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund, 1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

[113] [2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

INTRODUCTION

114 The texts presented here were collected during the summers of 1955,
1956, and 1957 which were spent among the Klamath Indians at Chiloquin,
122 Oregon. The field work was carried out under the auspices of the Survey
of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of
115 California, Berkeley. The narrators of the myth texts were Mr. Robert
David, Mrs. Pansy Ohles, and Mr. Grover Pompey; the ethnographic materials
were obtained from the first two of these and from Mrs. Aggie
Butler, Mrs. Grover Pompey, and Miss Irene Skellock.

126 Most of these texts were recorded directly on tape, but some were taken down first in dictated form and were taped later. Of the myths, only Texts 1 and 7 were not recorded on tape. Of the ethnographic materials, Texts 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, and 35 were dictated only.

[124] No really exhaustive attempt was made to obtain a complete collection of Klamath myth texts. Instead, the author aimed at a representative collection of materials, including myths told by several informants, autobiographical experiences, ethnographic texts, historical incidents, conversation, and also the responses to a series of elicitation pictures (Text 39). It was felt that these texts would provide, on the one hand, good illustrative material for further linguistic studies in Klamath, and, on the other hand, a representative sampling of myths and ethnographic material of interest to the folklorist and ethnologist.

114 The collections of Klamath myths so far published are limited to A. S. Gatschet's "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. II, pts. 1 and 2, Washington, 1890) and some brief song and medicine texts in Leslie Spier's "Klamath Ethnography" (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, 1930). More recently, Dr. Theodore Stern of the University of Oregon has collected a large number of Klamath myths. The author understands that Dr. Spier also possesses a collection of myths. It is urgently hoped that both of these will be published in the near future.

128 The present collection is divided into two major parts: Myths, and
773 Ethnographic Texts. The former contains tales about the inhabitants of

121 had been founded. There was, for example, no evidence for anything remotely
181 approximating a "Native Oriented" group on the reservation. Moreover, it be-
[154] came apparent that a particular style of personal adjustment was by no means
characteristic of the majority of individuals throughout their life-spans.
So called "Transitional" modes of adjustment, for example, might be used to
characterize the confused orientations, the value conflicts, and the disorganized
family life of persons early in their life arc, but the same persons frequently
settled down to a respectable, stable "Elite Acculturated" mode of existence
in middle age. Or this sequence might frequently be reversed.

125 However, the formal sampling approach was jettisoned primarily because of the
123 many refusals among the samples. That such a reaction might reflect important
variables and hence prejudice the reliability of the consequent approach was
considered, but it was apparent that the major cause for refusal was the ab-
sence of an existing friendship relation between subjects and field-worker
(or some influential intermediary). Moreover, an analysis of the status of those
who refused indicated that this reaction was neither confined to nor clustered
within any identifiable grouping.

125 For these reasons, attention was given to securing what may be called a delib-
erately representative sample of the reservation population. The criteria of
representativeness included variations in social roles assumed by the subjects
(occupation, sex, leadership, and so on), variations in role performance, differ-
[123] ences in standards and values, and age differences. When appropriate subjects
were known personally by the Anthropologist, they were approached directly.
If no friendship relation existed, potential subjects were, less frequently,
approached through the recommendations and aid of an intermediary, or, finally,
a direct effort was made to become acquainted with a suitable subject. In all
instances, an existing friend relationship proved the more successful mode of
approach. For reasons to be suggested in the next section, there are few Klamath
persons whose influence is both high and extensive, and, conversely, few who
[123] can easily accept external imposition of controls. Thus intermediaries, what-
ever their manifest status, rarely could elicit the cooperation of more than one
suitable subject. The result of this effort was a set of Rorschach and Thematic
Apperception Test Records, and short life-histories on a sample of fifty four
persons, which sample could for the purposes of the research be considered as
[128] reasonably representative of the target population. The ten case studies in this
report were selected from the original sample so as to provide as much variety
as possible in the limited confines of these pages.

Aside from the problems of obtaining an adequately representative sample, there
is another aspect of the field method used in the Klamath study which may be of
[123] some interest. In each instance the potential subject was made aware of the in-
tentions of the field worker and the purposes of testing and interviewing. It
[181] will be clear from the next section that the contemporary Klamath are in no rele-
vant sense "primitive," nor are they an isolated population. Indeed. many sub-
125 jects were familiar with the "ink-blot" test from television programs, movies,
177 or hearsay information. More generally, the major task, that of identifying
ambiguous stimuli, was associated with the simple game of "seeing faces in the
clouds" or figures in rock formations. Further, most Klamath under fifty years
of age are sufficiently experienced in the practices of American culture to
have some personal familiarity with the "test situation," whether personality,
aptitude, vocational, or intelligence. Thus there was a shared basis for this
peculiar form of interaction.

Because it is for several reasons considered important, the fact that each 125
Klamath subject was, in general terms, made aware of the intentions of the 123
examiner and the logic of the test procedure should be emphasized. Recently,
Hauck has described a different approach used for research among the Unitah- 125
Ouray Ute, where he modified the usual Rorschach procedure by concealing the 114
purposes of the test beneath a supposedly innocuous "cover story" (Hauck 1955: 10).

This approach to field testing is subject to criticism on several grounds. In 125
the first place, it is somewhat less than ethical to conceal the purposes of a 123
test so as to facilitate cooperation, and then to publish results in line with
original intentions. Occasionally, this approach has been used in culture and [114]
personality research. It entails the assumption of a kind of mechanical meaningfulness of any responses to projective tests, however administered, and whatever
the test taking attitude of the subject. At a minimum, the subject has the right
of knowing what he is involved in and the privilege of refusing. Secondly,
where clinical methods of interpretation are to be employed, it is essential
that field research using projective tests as closely as possible approximate
the clinical situation. This assumes that the cooperating research subject is
more apt to reveal important aspects of himself if he clearly understands the
intentions of the examiner. Indeed, one purpose of projective testing is to 12
facilitate communication about difficult topics, not to unduly impede it with
artificial barriers.

Another aspect of this issue is that most American Indian populations include 12
some members with higher education, or, like the Klamath, others with some 177
awareness of the "ink-blot" or the "picture" test via spectatorship in the mass [171]
media. Because of this awareness, any subterfuge or concealment of test objectives may be publically revealed and further distorted. The consequence of this
can only be a confused or negative appraisal of field research and field researchers. Given the existing wariness and suspicion of many American Indian
populations and their concern with their status as "Guinea Pigs," such an outcome is not very desirable. Finally, it is quite conceivable that another field
worker might want to pursue similar research in a situation where the purposes
of a test have been concealed. If so, he will have to support the original lie,
either by accepting it or by expanding upon it.

Quite frequently, the success of field research in the area of culture and 12
personality studies turns upon obtaining an adequate sampling of a population
in a very limited period of time. Perhaps, as is suggested by the extensive
sampling of Hallowell and the Spindlers in repeated field sessions, it is the time
factor which is crucial. In terms of the ethics of research, the validity of
results, the richness of materials collected, the possible consequences of
distorting objectives so as to obtain cooperation, and the implications for
future field work, the alternative approach of using a "cover story" to obtain
quick results is not desirable.

The Klamath personality research grew out of Clifton's participation in a larger 114
study of Klamath reservation culture. The initial, unpublished, evaluation
of the test and life history data was intended to improve understanding of the
psychological consequences of acculturation in the Klamath case and to give
additional depth to other studies of styles of Klamath behavior. This first
approximation, although suggestive, did not prove entirely satisfactory, largely
because of too mechanical a utilization of what are, in the trade, called
"standard interpretative hypotheses." In short, the initial report was too
cookbookish. At the same time the possibility of bias had to be considered,

Susan: Female, Age 24

Background Data

156 Unlike Slim, Susan is not so well liked or respected. The occasion for this is
759 specific, an unsanctioned pregnancy during her last year in high school and a
[848] more recent marriage to an entirely disreputable Mexican from Utah. This community
evaluation is accentuated because of the very high respect in which her
[582] own family is held. Everyone expected better of Susan.

[626] Susan has worked as a dishwasher in several cafeterias, both on and off the
reservation, and moved to Utah so as to take a practical nursing course. She
*759 found this training uncongenial, met and married her husband, and they returned
[464] to the reservation when his small business failed. Susan is a high school graduate.

[874] Susan's mode of selecting a husband parallels that of her mother, who met her
husband while hospitalized in New Mexico. Her father by birth is an Apache
*759 Indian, and by cultural affiliation a southwestern United States Spanish-American.
593 Without doubt, he is the most autocratic, stern, demanding, rigid adult male on
the reservation. Although a married woman with children of her own, Susan must
ask her father's permission to use the telephone or to walk downtown. Her mother
was Klamath and very well respected for her stable family life and for her active
participation in many community activities. Susan was extremely close to her
mother until her unexpected death several years ago. They were known as an inseparable
pair and her mother never went out of the house without her. The
mother's death was, perhaps, the major cause of Susan's failure to complete her
nurse's training. Susan's illegitimate pregnancy in high school was a considerable
shock to her mother and is, with her marriage, a continuing source of strain
[155] with her father. Susan evidently feels that her behavior was a contributing
cause for her mother's death. She made a death-bed promise to her mother that
she would not be a loose girl and that she would marry and stay married to one
man. It was shortly thereafter that she married and returned to the reservation
to live with her father. There is much strain within this household, derived
from the relations between father and son-in-law, and from Susan's unsuccessful
efforts to serve two masters, for along with her marital relationship she evidently
[626] was trying to act as a replacement for her deceased mother's role. At the
same time her conduct has alienated her from the church, from family friends,
and from the community.

*759 The contact with Susan was made via her father, who told her that she should
cooperate. Her father's motivation in this was not, as may be supposed, the conviction
[124] that she needed testing because something was wrong with her, but involved
•[123] a more general sentiment. He felt somewhat honored to have an "educated
man" visit his house and that such a contact was a good experience for his children.
[593] Susan accepted this like an obedient, dutiful daughter. She came readily,
with no indication of unwillingness, and relations with her were quite good,
perhaps because of the strains of her marginal position and her need to talk
with someone.

*759 Susan seemed an apathetic person whose feelings were dulled. If anything, her
157 reactions were those of an over-trained, too obedient child. She was not very
responsive or active, and would seldom talk except to answer a direct question.
Then she would, frequently with evident pain and anxiety, describe her feelings
and situations tersely and haltingly. Susan clearly wants more than her life
now gives her, but cannot define her present conflicts or see her way clear to

*159 124 [150] *[123] Weasel was tested while in jail. He agreed to take the tests via an intermediary, and was anxious and tense throughout the session. But because of numerous experiences in correctional institutions he was quite suave concerning the test situation; he has had them in batteries, the MMPI, the Bender Gestalt, the Picture Frustration Test, some variant of the TAT, but never the "ink-blot" test. The jail situation provided no special stress, and the testing lead to the development of something of a friendship relation with the examiner.

Rorschach Record

*159 125

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I (S. entered the testing room visibly agitated, surveyed the room carefully and suspiciously.) What are you going to do to me? () No, I'm not worried, my hands are just sweating, that's all. (Looks under table at tape recorder) That isn't on, is it? () Etc.
(1)	W F emblem	30"	(Laughs) And is this supposed to LL smth? Well... well...it LL some kind of...Well I don't know. If it wasn't for the little spots it would LL some kind of coat of arms. (AE?) Trying to think of smth I seen one time...may be in fiction
(2)	D Fc (h)		A long, coated jelly...looked like that. Some kind of an animal...it was in this stuff, this jelly; but I don't know what this stuff wd be out here. (AE?) Maybe I'm kinda dense, but no more out here.

(1) Whole. (What kind?) I dunno to be truthful. () No, just the way it's shaped. I never have seen many coats of arms, but that's what it puts me in mind of. (2) Center detail, D1. () I dunno, it was supposed to be transparent. It was fiction, now I remember it. Some people was supposed to go to the moon in a rocket and came back with it. After it started growing it turned into a great big monster, a show on TV or a movie. (Fc here, as shading determined percept, which was seen as a figure thru the transparent jelly)

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(3)	W,S c'C blood bullet hole	40"	LL a bullet hole. When you press the gun up close to smth and it goes off and makes this powder burn. The red spots LL they're blood. (AE?) That's about it.

(3) Whole, Space. () Just the blackness. I never have been close to a powder burn, but that's what it LL. () Those red spots. Maybe it just dropped down up there, but it LL it's splattered there (bottom red).

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
		27"	Doesn't look like anything, drawing a blank
(Add 9)	Dr Fc'C a, blood		Blackbirds with blood from their fighting.

(Add 9) (Anything now?) Is that the way I had it before? () Now it LL a cpl of black-birds. I dunno what this could be unless it was blood from their fighting. () I see their head and their beak and their little wing. () Dunno, they're black and the shape of their head and beak. () The red spots. (Entire top half of card from "waist" up, including reds)

are marked by alternate periods of (brooding?) silence and she is more than a 159*
little pretentious, as for example her response to TAT card #1, "Oh, that's 157
that famous European violinist...Levi Strauss." Her life has been characterized [156]
by many extremely stressful situations, but she does not seem easily discouraged, [155]
and maintains her vigor and independence. She tends to over justify herself, as
if she had some doubt about certain of her characteristics, or as if she had
strong feelings of uncertainty or inadequacy. This is in strong contrast to her [156]
leadership role in her family, and her domination of many social situations. She
is also somewhat excitable and tends to directly express her emotions more than
many other Klamath.

The working relationship with Grandma was one of the best. When she first 159*
learned the writer was an Anthropologist she warmed to him immediately and 124
volunteered to take the tests. She was tested "on the job," at the top of a [123]•
200 foot fire lookout tower in the midst of the Klamath forest.

Rorschach Record

159*
125

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	Dr FM a	11"	I DK what this represents...it LL...does it have to be the whole or part or what? () I imagine it LL a bat.
(2)	Dr F a		Then again a crab, and I DK what else it LL... there's the feelers.
(Add 24)	Dr F- at		More vertebrae

(1) Top third of card. Oh, I've seen a lot of bats LL that flying around at night ...with wings all spread out and you can't see nothing but the wings. (2) Top ½ of D1. (Add 24) Card down, entire center section extending to tips of Spaces. Now if you turn it around upside down it LL some more of the vertebrae. () What? Oh, just, just...I DK. Everything has a vertebrae and that's why.

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(3)	W M h	14"	By golly...I DK what this LL. You know my trouble is I don't read very much. What would this LL... just a quick glance at it...it LL a bunch of... a cpl of men going to test their strength...their hands clasped together...all tied together...men in disguise...can't be women.
(Add 25)	Dr F- at		Another vertebrae and part of brain
(Add 26)	D FM ad P		Two bears putting their noses together.

(3) Whole. (Add 25) Card down, Space and D11. Now I'll turn it upside down. Now LL another part of the vertebrae and maybe a little part of the brain. () I dunno! Just because it's going up that way. (C?) Oh no. The brain is supposed to be grey...grey matter they say. (Add 26) Card down, D8. Then this black part LL two bears putting their noses together...their little ears sticking over...why they're identical aren't they?

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
(4)	W M a	3"	These LL...still LL am...I'm not sure it is...LL a These little grasshopper features LL grasshoppers... grasshoppers at play...they're playing.
(5)	D CF at		LL the throat and lungs and stomach and everything

Lily: Female, Age 15

Background Data 159*

Lily is an attractive young high school freshman. She is now repeating her 156
freshman year, due to various difficulties the year before. One of these in- [873]
volved her cursing the principal, for which she was temporarily expelled, to
be returned by her mother the next day. She spent the rest of the year in
silent rebellion. This incident is not too serious, for more than anything [561]
else it indicates the strength of her attachment to a close-knit girls peer-
group which is slightly wild and which makes it a matter of honor to oppose
adults. There is little additional evidence of any serious hostility or re-
belliousness. Lily is the eldest of two children; she has an elder half-sister,
her mother's illegitimate daughter; and she has lived all of her life on the
reservation.

Lily's major activities and concerns are those of a typical, small town teen- [883]
age girl. She attends school, "hangs around" a local teen age center, flirts
with the boys — White and Indian, dances — at her home or the home of a friend,
and listens to records. She comes from one of the most stable families on the
reservation. Her mother is Klamath, a grade school graduate who worked her way [874]
through two years of business school, evenings, in a nearby city. Her mother in
recent years has begun to assume a position of leadership in certain community [571]
activities, particularly recreation and education. Additionally, she has for
long been the advisor for numerous relatives. Her mother verbalizes great fear
and anxiety associated with this "getting out" and has done so only under con-
siderable external pressure. Her father is a California Indian who is the model [177]
of local White conceptions of masculinity. That is, he is vigorous and physi-
cally powerful, a hard, reliable, steady worker in a logging company, a hard [464]
"Saturday Night" style drinker, absolutely fearless, and a masterful fighter
in brawls. His fights are the focus of several local folk anecdotes, and suggest [157]
his excellent reputation, for he protects the underdog, takes on the bully (by
the half-dozen, if necessary), neatly dispatches all and never bears a grudge.

Lily is a more flexible and less submissive person that she would seem on first 159*
acquaintance. The difficulty with knowing her is that she wears a completely 157
impassive, rigid, unexpressive mask before all. One morning after knowing her
for a year the writer walked by her and then stopped, mildly startled, for Lily
had smiled (slightly) and mumbled "Good Morning" under her breath. She is also [123]•
less inhibited than this mask of impassivity would suggest, as is evident from
her behavior with her peers and parents, but in all instances she prefers to
communicate with slight gestures and to make do with very few words. She is,
in fact, a remarkably self-possessed, poised, and reserved adolescent girl, a
consequence of which is that she is far more graceful than many other local girls
her own age. But, generally, her responses only minimally involve her with 159*
others. She is always among people, but not always with them. Her reserve does 156
not dissipate much with continued acquaintance, but is a constant feature of her
mode of adjusting to others. She never talks freely and her terse responses to
the blots and TAT cards are paralleled by an equal economy in all personal re-
lationships. There is no evidence to suggest that she is suspicious or distrust-
ful of others, although she can be quite persistent in avoiding people she does
not like.

CULTURE ELEMENT
NORTHEAST

B

ERMINIE W.

INTROD

121 The list of elements used in the field for this study was assembled from six other lists for adjoining areas which had been gathered by members of the culture-element survey and were still in manuscript form. Dr. Driver, Dr. Kroeber, and I collaborated in preparing the list which I was to use. It contained some 5500 elements. While working in the field I added and occasionally subtracted elements and often reorganized entire sections of the list; in the final preparation of the manuscript further reorganization was effected. I consistently attempted to keep complexes of elements together, in order to present a more intelligible picture of the patterns of the various cultures as wholes. This was not an easy task, since elements tended to be regrouped, in kaleidoscopic fashion, among the different peoples studied. To help solve this difficulty frequent use has been made of cross references in the ethnographic notes which accompany the lists.

● 124 125 With respect to field method, I found that working with an element list is a definite aid in making quick rapport with informants. Several of the sixteen informants interviewed repeatedly expressed both astonishment and respect when the questions I put to them from the list hit the cultural nail squarely on the head. Far from a list deterring informants from volunteering information, it obviously stimulated comments. All volunteered information, unless it came at too rapid a rate, was jotted down in a separate notebook which was kept open beside the element list itself.

I should like to emphasize here that while questioning informants I never used the element list in the rigidly mechanical "yes or no" fashion which some critics of element-list work take for granted as being a part of the field technique. The content of the ethnographic notes appended to the element list itself bears witness to the fact that informants were not only willing, but anxious to elaborate on the questions put to them. Some queries, such as whether the floor of a winter house is dug out or level with the ground, could be asked directly and a yes or no answer relied upon. But if the answer to this question was merely "Yes" the query "How deep?" always followed as a check. The answers to other questions, such as number of directions, month names, seasons, or whether the autonomous group consists of a single village, a group of closely adjacent villages, or a com-

[47-A]

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UCTION

124 munity of clusters of settlements, obviously
could not be given directly. For questions such
125 as these, specific data were collected, as for
example, native names for directions, months,
seasons, data on village groups and the headmen
or chiefs of such. The same is true for questions
relating to exogamy, marriage, and other social
customs.

As one worked, intensively and rapidly, with a detailed orderly list of questions on which to rely, needless repetitions with the same informant and dawdling over data approached the vanishing point. In no other way can I explain how within the space of four or five days as much information as is contained in an element list is collected. Previous to working on the survey, I
000 had made three successive summer field trips to the Tübatulabal, spending in all some eleven weeks studying Tübatulabal ethnography, and three much longer trips to the Shawnee to collect material for a Shawnee ethnography. My chief regret concerning both the Tübatulabal and Shawnee field work is that so much time was squandered because the only sort of lists I carried were of the hit-and-miss variety that one generally makes up preparatory to and during field work. The longer trips naturally afforded more opportunity for collecting mythological and ethnobotanical data, for example, than it was possible to gather while doing survey work.

After completing this survey I had the opportunity to use part of my California element list for questioning one of my most reliable Shawnee informants. Although the list I used was not assembled for an eastern group, I was agreeably surprised on two points: (1) that the informant stuck to the point of the questions and often volunteered pertinent additional information, and (2) that by trying out the list I uncovered the presence, among the Shawnee, of a game concerning which I had never before been able to secure information, and also obtained data on several items of material culture that heretofore had been missing from my record. Among some eastern tribes, such as the Central Algonquians, for example, one difficulty might arise which was not of paramount importance in California; it might be hard, working on short notice, to secure cooperative and at the same time reliable informants. This difficulty could however be partly obviated, I believe, by using a technique which always worked well in California, namely, inquiring in advance from the informant with whom one

[47-B]

58. Nash (1937), p. 387.

59. Charley Preston served as interpreter on this occasion, and the negotiation proceeded from English through Chinook jargon into Klamath.

000
[124]

60. Boundary Commission, pp. 5-6.

61. *Statutes at Large*, Vol. 16 (1871), p. 708.

62. *Statutes at Large*, Vol. 16 (1871), pp. 707-11.

63. *Message of the President of the United States and Accompanying Documents to the Two Houses of Congress; Reports of the Secretary of Interior and Postmaster General*, U.S. 39th Cong., 1st sess. (1865–66), p. 270.

THREE. THE KLAMATH AGENCY

1. J. W. P. Huntington to Lindsay Applegate (Nov. 18, 1867). Lindsay Applegate *Papers.*

2. O. C. Applegate to F. F. Victor (Feb. 2, 1874). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

3. They were Sub-Indian Agents at Klamath until 1873, Agents thereafter till 1903, when they became Superintendents.

4. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (May 27, 1874).

5. In Wheeler-Voegelin's view (1955-56), recognition of the Yahuskin as Snakes was motivated by a desire to draw upon the special fund.

6. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith (Sept. 19, 1874).

7. L. S. Dyar to Hon. John H. Mitchell (Dec. 2, 1874); L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Jan. 2, 1874).

8. L. M. Nickerson to Col. S. L. Whipple, Commanding Fort Klamath (Jan. 26, 1881).

9. H. Price, Commr., to L. M. Nickerson (July 3, 1882 [telegram]).

10. A. C. Tonner, Acting Commr,. to Joseph Emery (Nov. 10, 1897).

11. E. L. Applegate to Hon. Binger Herman, M. C. (March 29, 1890); Applegate to Hon. Thomas J. Morgan, Commr. (March 25, 1890); D. W. Matthews to Thomas J. Morgan, Commr. (July 18, 1891); D. W. Matthews to Thomas J. Morgan, Commr. (Aug. 19, 1891).

12. See, for example, L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (July 4, 1881; Jan. 17, 1884).

13. Thus D. W. Matthews to Thomas J. Morgan, Commr.: charges of Superintendent of Klamath School against him (July 18, 1891); editorial criticism of the Superintendent (Aug. 19); runaways from the School (Sept. 8, 14, 15); resignation of the Superintendent and his wife (Sept. 28).

14. E. L. Applegate to Binger Herman, M. C. (Aug. 28, 1890).

[p.339-B]

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION [1]

By

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

128 culture, social and political organization are
not described here except in their effect on
124 education. Wherever particular items are mentioned, we specifically asked our informants for
a description, even though they had been described in previous ethnographies. Such accounts may thus be taken as corroborating
earlier evidence unless otherwise specified in
the text.

131 The Klamath reside in their old territory
178 in southern Oregon, but the aboriginal way of
life has long since disappeared. Today they are
241 farmers and ranchers, but a considerable part of
the earlier culture remains alive in the memo-
233 ries of a few oldsters. Our seven informants
178 (4 men and 3 women) were all in their late
seventies or eighties and had participated in
the last phases of the aboriginal culture as
115 children. It is regrettable that it was necessary to reconstruct childhood training from the reminiscences of elderly individuals. Doubtless much of the material represents the ideal rather than the actual pattern of education. The ideals do, however, give a definite insight into what was considered important in the upbringing of children, whether these standards were always maintained or not. Since there is little or nothing in the early literature on this subject, there is no way of comparing impressions received from old people who are admittedly looking back to "the good old days" with impressions of objective eyewitnesses to the old ways as they were really practiced.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Barrenness is sometimes con-
sidered cause for divorce. Since the blame
842 seems to fall most commonly on the woman, her
husband's parents may suggest that he send her
586 away and get a wife who can provide him with
children. Ordinarily, though, the parents-in-
606 law are more lenient with a barren woman.
Most Klamath express a preference for boys. A
842 variety of reasons are offered, the most common
being that boys are less bother than girls.
"Girls are always getting into trouble, and you just raise them for someone else because they go off to their husbands when they get married." Once the child is born, however, there seems to be no special favoritism shown to boys. One

[p. 350A]

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not all men are good hunters.[30] Hides are valuable, however, and a good hunter gains prestige. Part of the rigid physical training of the boys is directed toward preparing them for hunting. They are told, "Only smart ones who aren't lazy can be good hunters."

As previously mentioned, boys begin to learn the use of bow and arrow when very young. After learning to shoot at targets, groups of boys hunt birds and squirrels near camp. They kill these easily with their small bows and light arrows. Parents are very proud of boys who can get many animals. The boys also go

[text continues on top of p. 350-B]

CONCLUSION

124 Since the data presented here were collected from elderly individuals and not from direct observations on a living culture, one should perhaps be rather cautious in arriving at any conclusions about Klamath education. Most informants were bitter about the breakdown of culture which they have seen in the present generation of young Indians. They often reiterated their belief that children were much better reared in the old days. There are, however, certain generalizations which may be validly drawn.

861 There is really no formal education in the sense of organized, planned instruction of the young. Yet most families expect their children to conform to certain ideals, and the parents work for the achievement of these goals.

854 For the first two or three years of life, the child's every want is supplied by his mother. It is she who feeds him, attends to his needs, and watches him most closely, although the father or older siblings may tend the child for short periods. The infant receives little or no fondling, but he is often the center of attraction for the adults of his house group who pause and talk to him as they pass his cradle.

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In about his third year, the child is thrust into active play with his age-mates. He learns that he is expected to be brave, strong, and fearless. He receives praise from parents and other relatives if he is fast and ambitious. If he is lazy or cowardly, he is teased and scolded. Girls as well as boys must learn to be active, energetic, and competitive.

[text continues on bottom of p. 350-B]

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[30] For hunting methods and customs, see Barrett, pp. 246 f., Spier, pp. 155-160, and Voegelin, elements 1-189.

Susan: Female, Age 24

Background Data

156 Unlike Slim, Susan is not so well liked or respected. The occasion for this is
*159 specific, an unsanctioned pregnancy during her last year in high school and a
[848] more recent marriage to an entirely disreputable Mexican from Utah. This community
evaluation is accentuated because of the very high respect in which her
[582] own family is held. Everyone expected better of Susan.

[626] Susan has worked as a dishwasher in several cafeterias, both on and off the
reservation, and moved to Utah so as to take a practical nursing course. She
*459 found this training uncongenial, met and married her husband, and they returned
[464] to the reservation when his small business failed. Susan is a high school graduate.

[874] Susan's mode of selecting a husband parallels that of her mother, who met her
husband while hospitalized in New Mexico. Her father by birth is an Apache
*159 Indian, and by cultural affiliation a southwestern United States Spanish-American.
593 Without doubt, he is the most autocratic, stern, demanding, rigid adult male on
the reservation. Although a married woman with children of her own, Susan must
ask her father's permission to use the telephone or to walk downtown. Her mother
was Klamath and very well respected for her stable family life and for her active
participation in many community activities. Susan was extremely close to her
mother until her unexpected death several years ago. They were known as an inseparable
pair and her mother never went out of the house without her. The
mother's death was, perhaps, the major cause of Susan's failure to complete her
nurse's training. Susan's illegitimate pregnancy in high school was a considerable
shock to her mother and is, with her marriage, a continuing source of strain
[155] with her father. Susan evidently feels that her behavior was a contributing
cause for her mother's death. She made a death-bed promise to her mother that
she would not be a loose girl and that she would marry and stay married to one
man. It was shortly thereafter that she married and returned to the reservation
to live with her father. There is much strain within this household, derived
from the relations between father and son-in-law, and from Susan's unsuccessful
efforts to serve two masters, for along with her marital relationship she evidently
[626] was trying to act as a replacement for her deceased mother's role. At the
same time her conduct has alienated her from the church, from family friends,
and from the community.

*159 The contact with Susan was made via her father, who told her that she should
cooperate. Her father's motivation in this was not, as may be supposed, the conviction
[124] that she needed testing because something was wrong with her, but involved
[123] a more general sentiment. He felt somewhat honored to have an "educated
man" visit his house and that such a contact was a good experience for his children.
[593] Susan accepted this like an obedient, dutiful daughter. She came readily,
with no indication of unwillingness, and relations with her were quite good,
perhaps because of the strains of her marginal position and her need to talk
with someone.

*159 Susan seemed an apathetic person whose feelings were dulled. If anything, her
reactions were those of an over-trained, too obedient child. She was not very
157 responsive or active, and would seldom talk except to answer a direct question.
Then she would, frequently with evident pain and anxiety, describe her feelings
and situations tersely and haltingly. Susan clearly wants more than her life
now gives her, but cannot define her present conflicts or see her way clear to

extensive plans for the future (e.g., opening a second-hand store and capitalizing on the poor buying habits of the "Indians.") none of which have much chance for materializing, but many displaying a fairly shrewd assessment of the local community. He can get quite enamoured with making these plans, and savors the profits in his current fantasy. 159* 154

Sparrow was tested while in jail, this being the only likely time when he would be sober enough to see the blots clearly. 159* 124●

Rorschach Record

159* 125

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	W FM a	3"	That LL a bug...some kind of a bug. It reminds me of a beetle bug in the water, that catches little minnows. (AE?)
(2)	W FM a	P	It appears to be a butterfly too. Smth. like that.

(1) Whole. It LL it's swimming in the water...like catching little minnows. One of 'em will attract the minnow, another will catch it and pretty soon they'll have it cut in two...they've got pinchers. (2) () It looks like it's flying.

			II
(3)	W CF fire F± geo	10"	(S. picks up a phone book and leafs through it. Looks for number old white lady friend in nearby town, a lady that he could have married, who had two cadillacs, etc.) That looks more like a...looks like a...well I just couldn't very well describe...this LL fire down here and here...fire around an island or something like that. (AE?) No.

(3) Whole. (Compare Loc. Ch. Same?) No, that little picture doesn't look like it. () I saw the fire...then it resembled fire on an island. (Island?) Well--it looks that way to me, LL an island.

			III
(4)	W F± art	4"	That LL a stamp on leather...I used to stamp leather, engrave silver, I'm also a harness maker...by trade. (S. now tells plans for setting up a business in town, to buy and sell used furniture, capitalizing on buying habits of the "Indians".)

(4) Whole. () It's a hand stamp to engrave leather. Looks like the stamp. (Not the impression) (What sort of design?) Just like a leaf--y'know, when you stamp leaves. (see r. 12)

			IV
(5)	W F- a	1"	That looks more like a frog to me. (AE?)
(6)	W c'c ntr		Like a stone setting up this way--see? (Stands card up on end to demonstrate)

(5) Whole. () One of those big bull frogs. These look like his feet and here are his front feet, they aren't so big. () LL he's in the water swimming. (6) Whole. () Obsidian...you can polish obsidian that way and it comes out in different colors like these dif. colors in here. (Refers to lights and darks within outline)

			V
(7)	W FMc' a	0" P	That looks like one of those bats that fly in the night.

Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

159*
In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively
sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of [156]
the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the
last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She [464]
is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except [874]
for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her husbands in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of
nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals
and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played
with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making
and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early
twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for
everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were [871]
sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from
home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, [857]
and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an
extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her [593]
parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking"
activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area,
with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruc- [868]
tion from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother.
Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were [191]
disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in
boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote
her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother
was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be
due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before [864]
she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was
at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she [626]
is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. [156]
She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of
their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband,
who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and [586]
divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five
other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never [156]
more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occa-
sionally one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts [588]
to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages,
and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house
(it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are tech-
nically illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this 59*
sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her. 56

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone,
particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first
advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request [124]●
testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was
wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

*159
156 and anxiety associated with her responsibility in a double murder. She had
given a rifle as a present to a lover, and following a drinking party at her
house he had killed his brother and a stranger with it. Her thinking was extremely
morbid. She expresses the wish that the more violent of her previous
husbands would return and kill her.

*159 In the testing and interview sessions Nell's behavior quite definitely was not
representative of her ordinary interactions, and once she felt somewhat relieved
157 she immediately got more distant, withdrawn, and unapproachable. During testing
-[124] she exhibited a high level of manifest anxiety and an erratic pattern of interaction.
She was alternately over-talkative and quick to reply or to initiate
[152] a sequence, and then silent and down-cast. Her concern was real, for it was
known that she was under suspicion for complicity in the murder, but this was
not the root of her anxiety. What the connection was cannot be evaluated from
available evidence, but it may be that her conflicts were related to the trouble
her lover had gotten into, for it was his situation she wanted most to talk
[156] about. Normally she is relatively inflexible in her relationships and preserves
her withdrawn and isolated position at all costs. Her behavior then exhibits
a high level of drive, but is poorly organized, confused as to goals, and produces
repeated overt conflict with lovers, husbands, her parents, her children,
work associates, other community members, and law enforcement agents. Still,
she expresses the need to be cared for and dominated consciously, as well as the
156 feeling that she was being persecuted and rejected. She feels herself to be an
entirely worthless person, and this evaluation is shared by the community at large.

Rorschach Record

125 Note: With little variation between cards, each was approached by the S. in
*159 the following manner: She would take the card, repeatedly twist it and turn
it, swiftly cover portions of the blot with her hand or fingers, hold it at
arms length, hold it closer and examine it carefully, lay it down momentarily
and stare off "thinking," and then after a silent delay of an average 145" spit
out a series of responses rapidly, as if they were hot peas.

No. of Resp.	Score			Time	Response
					I
				155"	I can look at them any way?...it doesn't even make sense. Do you want me to tell you right now?
(1)	W	Mc'	h		All I can think of is witches
(2)	Dr	F	a		and bats
(3)	D	M	hd		and these two things remind me of hands
(4)	Dr	F	ad		they look like deer horns, too
(5)	D	M	hd	P	This bottom part, it looks like a woman's body. That's all I can make out.
(6)	d	F±	music		These look like music. When you look at them they remind me of music notes, but they remind me of music.
(7)	D	FM	a		Now if I take this picture in half, it reminds me of something...like an animal standing on a high place looking over something...everything below him...that's about all.

(1. W) (What suggested?) Might be this...reminds me of a cape blowing out. These points remind me of a sharp hat. (Cape blowing?) Just like when you see them on

Carrie: Male, Age 36

Background Data

156 Carrie is the model of a self-made, upwardly mobile, brash and back-slapping
*159 young American male. He is a tribal leader whose power is rooted in an amalgamation of various dissident elements, rather than in a large kin group, and a
[622] business man with numerous interests. He says, of himself, that "I have no occupation, as occupations go. I guess you might say I am a confidence man."

*159 Like the other subjects, Carrie was raised on a ranch by his parents. He is a high school graduate and a graduate of a junior college course in accounting.
[873] His work record suggests his ambition and his upward progression, for he started as a farm laborer, went to truck driving, then worked during World War II as
[464] a production machinist, completed his education, then worked for the Agency and, finally, was able to settle down to living off his several sources of income. He has never been out of the state except for short business trips. He spends most of his time on the reservation attending to tribal and his own business,
156 and participating in various voluntary and formal associations. More recently
*159 he has become active in politics on a local level and by some has been ear-marked as a "comer." His intellectual horizons are very wide, extending to a keen
[660] awareness of the difficulties faced by Dag Hammarskjold. His reputation is excellent and he is particularly esteemed by many Whites, although this esteem is
[626] not shared by all Klamath, which reflects only the factionalism of Klamath politics and, perhaps, the efforts of some to control a man who is too successful.

[184] Carrie has been married once and this marriage has lasted 15 years. He has six children and his family life, again, is precisely what might be expected of a successful young American. Carrie's entire style of life is entirely different from that of most other young Klamath men.

*159 Very little is known of Carrie's early life except that his background is rural Klamath and that his mother was a housewife and his father an indifferently and intermittantly employed laborer.

156 The writer never made much headway with understanding Carrie until the day he
*124 was brow-beaten into taking the Rorschach. Before this time he had been seen only as an aggressive, back-slapping, competitive, and somewhat empty character. He had agreed to testing, but had managed to slip out of several appointments until one day when the entire complement of field workers descended on him during a visit, arguing and insisting that he had to set the example. Carrie was thus hung on his own petard, and when we walked into the testing room there was some question as to who was the most fearful of the consequences of this episode, Carrie or the examiner. Carrie was manifestly tense and fearful, but in a very short period of time relaxed and accepted the test situation. Rapport was excellent, and Carrie clearly defined the situation as one where he should discuss
156 his private concerns, motives, and sentiments. From sessions like this it became evident that Carrie's brash front consisted of a set of behaviors he saw as appropriate to his position. That is, the social Carrie was a well defined role. Behind this persona lay a genuine concern with the welfare of tribal members and their future, as well as strong personal aspirations, deep committments to family and community, and fears associated with his private feeling that he was not an adequate or relaxed "mixer." He stated, for example, that "I guess I just don't have the courage to get out, even among my own people. I'm not much of a talker and I guess you'd say I'm kind of backward. I really prefer to be alone by myself." Some of this apprehensiveness is associated

*159 124 [157] [123] Weasel was tested while in jail. He agreed to take the tests via an intermediary, and was anxious and tense throughout the session. But because of numerous experiences in correctional institutions he was quite suave concerning the test situation; he has had them in batteries, the MMPI, the Bender Gestalt, the Picture Frustration Test, some variant of the TAT, but never the "ink-blot" test. The jail situation provided no special stress, and the testing lead to the development of something of a friendship relation with the examiner.

Rorschach Record

*159 125
No. of Resp. Score Time Response

I

(S. entered the testing room visibly agitated, surveyed the room carefully and suspiciously.) What are you going to do to me? () No, I'm not worried, my hands are just sweating, that's all. (Looks under table at tape recorder) That isn't on, is it? () Etc.

(1) W F emblem 30" (Laughs) And is this supposed to LL smth? Well... well...it LL some kind of...Well I don't know. If it wasn't for the little spots it would LL some kind of coat of arms. (AE?) Trying to think of smth I seen one time...may be in fiction

(2) D Fc (h) A long, coated jelly...looked like that. Some kind of an animal...it was in this stuff, this jelly; but I don't know what this stuff wd be out here. (AE?) Maybe I'm kinda dense, but no more out here.

---

(1) Whole. (What kind?) I dunno to be truthful. () No, just the way it's shaped. I never have seen many coats of arms, but that's what it puts me in mind of. (2) Center detail, D1. () I dunno, it was supposed to be transparent. It was fiction, now I remember it. Some people was supposed to go to the moon in a rocket and came back with it. After it started growing it turned into a great big monster, a show on TV or a movie. (Fc here, as shading determined percept, which was seen as a figure thru the transparent jelly)

II

(3) W,S c'C blood bullet hole 40" LL a bullet hole. When you press the gun up close to smth and it goes off and makes this powder burn. The red spots LL they're blood. (AE?) That's about it.

---

(3) Whole, Space. () Just the blackness. I never have been close to a powder burn, but that's what it LL. () Those red spots. Maybe it just dropped down up there, but it LL it's splattered there (bottom red).

III

27" Doesn't look like anything, drawing a blank

(Add 9) Dr Fc'C a, blood Blackbirds with blood from their fighting.

(Add 9) (Anything now?) Is that the way I had it before? () Now it LL a cpl of black-birds. I dunno what this could be unless it was blood from their fighting. () I see their head and their beak and their little wing. () Dunno, they're black and the shape of their head and beak. () The red spots. (Entire top half of card from "waist" up, including reds)

are marked by alternate periods of (brooding?) silence and she is more than a 159*
little pretentious, as for example her response to TAT card #1, "Oh, that's 157
that famous European violinist...Levi Strauss." Her life has been characterized [156]
by many extremely stressful situations, but she does not seem easily discouraged,
and maintains her vigor and independence. She tends to over justify herself, as [155]
if she had some doubt about certain of her characteristics, or as if she had
strong feelings of uncertainty or inadequacy. This is in strong contrast to her [156]
leadership role in her family, and her domination of many social situations. She
is also somewhat excitable and tends to directly express her emotions more than
many other Klamath.

The working relationship with Grandma was one of the best. When she first 159*
learned the writer was an Anthropologist she warmed to him immediately and 124a
volunteered to take the tests. She was tested "on the job," at the top of a [123]
200 foot fire lookout tower in the midst of the Klamath forest.

Rorschach Record

159*
125

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	Dr FM a	11"	I DK what this represents...it LL...does it have to be the whole or part or what? () I imagine it LL a bat.
(2)	Dr F a		Then again a crab, and I DK what else it LL... there's the feelers.
(Add 24)	Dr F- at		More vertebrae

(1) Top third of card. Oh, I've seen a lot of bats LL that flying around at night ...with wings all spread out and you can't see nothing but the wings. (2) Top ½ of D1. (Add 24) Card down, entire center section extending to tips of Spaces. Now if you turn it around upside down it LL some more of the vertebrae. () What? Oh, just, just...I DK. Everything has a vertebrae and that's why.

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(3)	W M h	14"	By golly...I DK what this LL. You know my trouble is I don't read very much. What would this LL... just a quick glance at it...it LL a bunch of... a cpl of men going to test their strength...their hands clasped together...all tied together...men in disguise...can't be women.
(Add 25)	Dr F- at		Another vertebrae and part of brain
(Add 26)	D FM ad P		Two bears putting their noses together.

(3) Whole. (Add 25) Card down, Space and D11. Now I'll turn it upside down. Now LL another part of the vertebrae and maybe a little part of the brain. () I dunno! Just because it's going up that way. (C?) Oh no. The brain is supposed to be grey...grey matter they say. (Add 26) Card down, D8. Then this black part LL two bears putting their noses together...their little ears sticking over...why they're identical aren't they?

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
(4)	W M a	3"	These LL...still LL am...I'm not sure it is...LL a These little grasshopper features LL grasshoppers... grasshoppers at play...they're playing.
(5)	D CF at		LL the throat and lungs and stomach and everything

125
128 response provided some of the first clues as regards this important personality
attribute (Clifton 1960). But other test evidence, as well as life history and
[157] observational data, leads to the same conclusion, regardless of the presence or
absence of a restrained movement response.
[124]

One facet of Klamath guardedness and restraint is the general reluctance of
157 Klamath individuals to reveal or communicate to others their needs, wishes, in-
156 terests, or concerns. This may, in part, be seen as a function of suspicion,
of fearful concern with the possible reactions of others, but another character-
istic of Klamath persons may be associated with this reserve. The reference here
is to a general, overt, and conscious devaluation of the self. The Klamath sel-
[125] dom have much good and often much that is bad to say of themselves. Although
this characteristic is not directly manifested in the Rorschach records, these
records do indicate the presence of multiple and conflicting, or unacceptable
prototypal roles.

Another aspect of Klamath guardedness seems to be a precipitate of the very high investment of energies in sheer self-protecting maneuvers, and the time spent in the avoidance of entangling committments to group life. We feel that the Klamath have so over-invested in reserve and self-protection that they have little time or energy to expend on other activities or upon other aspects of their situation. This, we feel, may be responsible for another shared component of Klamath character, their inability in laying plans for the future, and the minimal expenditure upon creative effort. By way of contrast, the Klamath do concentrate upon the superficially rewarding or painful aspects of their current situation.

121 The analysis so far points to a general isolation of Klamath individuals from
156 significant, durable human associations. Given the facts of Klamath reservation
culture we consider that this characteristic is probably adaptive, although it
155 might not seem so if measured against an ideal model of mental health based upon
657 the functioning of west European, urban, middle-class persons. Considering the
realities of the Klamath situation, guarded restraint in itself may hardly be
[171] considered as pathological. Yet so great a reserve and so extensive an insula-
[158] tion of the self from important human transactions may be a major source of stress
and may predispose Klamath individuals to variant forms of mental illnesses.

157 Several of the cases contained in this report provide evidence for this hypothesis.
In the instance of Slim, for example, we find that a superficially adequate ad-
158 justment may simply be the manifestation of an obsessive control over and reduc-
tion of emotional and intellectual processes to the point of a tentative diag-
[121] nosis of alpha schizophrenia. The cases of Susan, Nell, Fidel and Sparrow are
examples of extremely loose, unrealistic and disorganized thinking with overtones, in some instances, of an almost paranoid suspiciousness, or a reliance upon bizarre, highly personal fantasy. Evidence for a well defined idiosyncratic role or personna which is very poorly integrated with the rest of the personality is seen in the cases of Slim's false optimism, Carrie's brashness, and Aunt May's superficial warmth. We suggest that these more disordered aspects of adjustment may profitably be seen, in part, as a function of a generally poor contact with others, reduced insight into the self and others, and extensive social isolation. The mediating difficulty may well be a relative absence of opportunities to validate beliefs and convictions. Thus in many respects adaptive, Klamath guarded restraint probably serves as a precipitating factor in thinking disorders, sociopathic adaptations, alpha schizophrenia, and paranoid delusions.

128 The validity of this assessment does not depend upon these ten case studies alone.
127 Very similar if more limited conclusions were obtained in a previous, independent

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., June 25, 1890.

121 SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you my report upon the Klamath
Indians of Southwestern Oregon, the result of long and patient study. It
deals with their beliefs, legends, and traditions, their government and social
life, their racial and somatic peculiarities, and, more extensively, with their
126 language. To this the reader is introduced by numerous ethnographic
124 "Texts," suggested or dictated by the Indians themselves, and accompanied
by an interlinear translation and by "Notes," a method which I regard as
the most efficient means of becoming acquainted with any language. In
121 this report I have given prominence to the exposition of the language,
128 because I consider language to be the most important monument of the
American Indian. Archæology and ethnography are more apt to acquaint
us with *facts* concerning the aborigines, but language, when properly investigated, gives us the *ideas* that were moving the Indian's mind, not only
recently but long before the historic period.

Repeated and prolonged visits to the people of the northern as well as
of the southern chieftaincy have yielded sufficient material to enable me to
classify the language of both united tribes as belonging to a distinct family.
101 In their territorial seclusion from the nearer Indian tribes they show anthropologic differences considerable enough to justify us in regarding them as
a separate nationality.

197 There is probably no language spoken in North America possessed
of a nominal inflection more developed than the Klamath, although in
this particular, in the phonetic elements and in the syllabic reduplication
pervading all parts of speech, it shows many analogies with the Sahaptin

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114 stage before the publication of the present volume. Even the author expe-
rienced considerable difficulties before he could pass beyond that limit.
[191] When he reached the reservation agency he found not over three or four
individuals who were able to speak a tolerable English, and the knowledge
of this tongue is absolutely necessary to any one who aspires to the posi-
tion of an interpreter of his own language in those parts. The Indians
were nearly all pure bloods, and most of them knew scarcely more than a
dozen English terms. Many could converse in Chinook jargon, but the
majority, especially the females, were not acquainted even with this preca-
rious means of intercourse. Indeed, these people must be slow in acquir-
ing an Aryan language like English, for it presents so many character-
[193] istics entirely opposite to those of Klamath. English is not provided with
reduplication, prefixes of form, nor with the multiple suffixes of Klamath;
it differs from it also by its more complex syntactic structure, its imperfect
nominal inflection, by its distinctive form for the nominal plural, the grada-
tion of the adjective and adverb effected by suffixation, its personal inflec-
tion of the verb, and a long array of irregular and auxiliary verbs.

● 124 Thus it will be easily perceived that the obtaining of correct and reli-
able ethnographic and linguistic information in such a tribe is fraught with
many difficulties. Sometimes it is practicable to get the terms for visible
objects by making gesture signs or by pointing at the objects, but it just as
often misleads; and if the investigator has to do with people who know no
other language than their own, he must revise his notes with many of them
before he can place any trust in what he has written down from dictation.
[191] The Indians and mixed bloods who have made some progress in the acquisi-
tion of English pronounce *f* as *p*, *v* as *b*, *r* as *l*—are modeling English after
their own language, using *he* for our *he*, *she*, *it*, *they*, *him*, *her*, *them*; all this
being hû'k, hû't, hû'nk for them. They do not know how to use our conjunc-
tions, a defect which makes all the tales, myths, and other textual informa-
tion unintelligible. The only means of obtaining results is to pick out the
best people from the crowd and to train them for awhile for the purpose
wanted, until they are brought so far as to feel or understand the scope of
the investigator. Women will be found more useful than men to inform
him about myths, animal stories, the gathering of vegetable food, house-

124 hold affairs, and terms referring to colors; men more appropriate than women in instructing him about their hunts, fishing, travels, their legal customs, wars and raids, house-building, and similar work. Omit asking them about the deceased, for it makes them angry and sullen. They do not as a rule willfully lead the investigator into error when they see that he is in earnest. Errors often originate in preconceived notions or theories and inappropriate questions of the investigator, sometimes also in the want of abstract terms in the interpreter's language. To insure correctness in an Indian myth, animal story, or any relation whatever, it should first be taken down in Indian, and of this a verbatim translation secured.

114 Ethnographic sketches of both tribes, but chiefly of the Modocs, were published in the newspapers of the Pacific coast at the time of Ben Wright's massacre, but they were not accessible to me; more circumstantial were those written at the time of the Modoc war (1872-'73), and specimens of these may be seen in A. B. Meacham's publications, in the "Overland Monthly" of San Francisco, and in Stephen Powers's "The Modok," in Contributions III, pp. 252-262.

126 Ethnographic objects manufactured by and in actual use among both tribes were purchased at different periods by collectors. The National Museum in Washington owns several of them; but the most complete collection is probably the one made in 1882 by the Swiss naturalist, Alphons Forrer, a native of St. Gall, which was partly sold to the Ethnographic Museum of St. Gall, partly (eighty-five articles) to that of Berne, the capital of Switzerland. Forrer lived several months among the Klamaths, and thus was enabled to secure the best specimens. There are two hā̆näsish or "magic arrows," an implement which has probably become very scarce now. The majority of these objects are manufactured from wood, fur-
134 skin, and basket material. There is no suitable clay found in the Klamath
323 River Highlands, hence these Indians never made any pottery.

114 The report of Lieutenants Williamson and Abbot contains a large array of astronomic positions and of meteorologic observations made during the expedition, which will prove useful to later observers. The zoölogic, botanic, and geologic reports made by different scientists were considered of high value at the time they were first published. It will be remembered

121 witchcraft only, religious feasts are orgies, divine revelation is human hallucination, and the moral element, when present in religion, is not urged upon the community. While in the religions of the white man the gods originally representing nature's powers gradually become teachers or examples of morality and mental improvement, those of the other races remain the stern and remorseless deities of the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth, whose good will has to be propitiated by sacrifice.

As zoodemonism is the most appropriate form of religion for man in the animistic stage, the majority of the mythic characters in American religions are animals, especially quadrupeds; and even the fully anthropomorphized deities sometimes assume, in Oregon and elsewhere, the masks of animals. The earlier Indians firmly believed that such animals as were the prototypes of their own species had human faculties, and talked and thought as men do; in whatever tribe there are totemic gentes or clans the members of these are supposed to have descended from that prototype of a bear, deer, alligator, eagle, or whatever animal a gens is called after. Certain qualities of man, physical and intellectual, found their closest analogies in those of animals, and the animal world is much nearer akin to man in the mind of the Indian than in the white man's mind. Scurrilous and grotesque acts ascribed to so many Indian deities were not intended for derision, as with us, but for faithful portrayings of the habits of typical animals; and zoodemonism—not exactly zoolatry, as in Egypt—is the form of religion existing among the *wild* Indians of America.

The large amount of mythologic and transcendental material obtained among the Indians requires subdivision into several chapters. I present it under the following subdivisions: *a.* Elementary deities; *b.* Spirit deities; *c.* Animal deities.

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124 Of the mythologic data embodied in the present article the larger part were obtained by myself, but not all. The others were gathered by Messrs. Stephen Powers and Jeremiah Curtin, mainly by the latter, who obtained over one hundred Modoc myths in 1883 and 1884, now forming part of the unpublished collection of the Bureau of Ethnology.

121 more useful dates and facts. Such results as these may be confidently looked for when several dialects of one linguistic family can be compared; and a careful comparison of one language with others spoken in the vicinity, belonging to the same or a different family, will always be attended with beneficial results for the increase of our scientific knowledge.

● 124 127 The aboriginal literary monuments printed below are authentic national records of a brave and industrious mountain tribe of Indians. Ethnologic notices have at a comparatively early period been gathered concerning the Modocs and Klamath Lake Indians, but most of them were of doubtful scientific value, because the information was gathered from them in the English language, which they understood but very imperfectly. Even now, the dates and facts recounted by them, as well as by Indians of many other tribes, in English, are so extremely confused, that only texts written in their own language can give us a clear insight into their traditions, myths, and mode of thinking.

538 No Indian tribe possesses a history of itself reaching back further than two or three generations, unless it has been recorded by whites at an early date, and what goes beyond this limit is tradition, on which we must be careful not to place any implicit reliance. But mythology records in a certain sense the intellectual history as well as the metaphysical ideas of a people, and thus by the gathering of the numerous mythic tales and legends of the Máklaks a start at least is made for the investigation of their intellectual development. A very moderate estimate puts at several hundred the more generally circulated myths of the Klamath Lake or É-ukshikni alone, and the number of their popular song-lines, so interesting and unique in many respects, may be called infinite, for their number is increased every day by new ones. The bulk of their mythic folklore is of great poetic beauty, freshness, and originality, and, like that of other tribes, full of childlike "naïveté." This latter characteristic forms one of their greatest attractions, and the animal myths of every uncultured people will prove attractive, because they were invented for religious or poetic and not for didactic purposes. [173] To some of the myths given below we may confidently ascribe an antiquity of over three centuries, for their archaic terms

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58 [173] and locutions, repeated from generation to generation, are not always understood at the present day by the young people, who most attentively listen to the aged rhapsodists, when they expound these miraculous stories in the lurid glare of the nocturnal campfire. Nothing in them indicates a migration of these upland tribes from any part of the country into their present homes, and hence the Máklaks must have had undisturbed possession of the headwaters of Klamath River for some centuries prior to the advent of the white population.

197 58 124 The various texts obtained clearly exhibit the character of the language actually spoken and the difference existing between the two dialects, but they do not all possess the same linguistic value. The texts of Dave Hill and others are worded in the conversational language of the tribe, which in many particulars differs from the more elaborate and circumstantial mode of speech which appears in the mythic tales given by Minnie Froben. 124 126 The "Modoc War" and some of the shorter pieces could be obtained only by putting down the English first and then getting sentence for sentence in the dialect, whereas the best worded stories and specimens were written in continuous dictation. All texts obtained were carefully revised first with the informants, then with other natives, and all the necessary explanations added at the time.

533 From a purely linguistic view the popular songs or song-lines are the most valuable contributions. The melodies of some of their number deserve to be called pretty, according to our musical taste. To the natives all of them appear harmonious; but when the Western Indian calls some melody "pretty," guided by his musical principles, he very frequently does so in opposition to what our ear tells us to call by this predicate.

124 191 The Klamath Lake dialect was spoken by the majority of the contributors to my linguistic anthology. I obtained these specimens, with the exclusion of the Modoc texts, in the autumn of 1877, at the Klamath Reservation, Lake County, Oregon. Though many of these natives speak the Chinook jargon more fluently than English, I never availed myself, for obtaining any information whatever, of that imperfect and hybrid medium, through which the Indians of the Northwest carry on so much of their intercourse.

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Sá-adas	tsi's	Moatuásas	tsi's	ûdúyua,	Sastiásh	tsis	Walamskí'sh	tsis
The Snakes	too,	the Pit Rivers	too	(they) whipped	the Shastis	too,	the Rogue Rivers	too,

Mókeash	tsi's	ûdúyua	Ă'-ukskni.	Wäitängí'sham	tsí's	tí'tatna	tĕméska
the Kalapuyas	too	whipped	the Lake tribe.	From the Warm Spring Indians	also	at various times	took away

wáts	É-ushkni.
horses	the Lake men.

NOTES.

[124] 16. Dave Hill took part himself in one of these skirmishes. His historical accounts are all given in the conversational style, which almost throughout substitutes the [175] simple *s* for *sh*. I have not been able to determine the exact dates of these Rogue River raids; but they must have occurred before the end of 1855, when the Oregon war broke out, for after its termination most of the Rogue River Indians were removed from their old homes to the coast reservations of Northwestern Oregon. The raids occurred in the early youth of Dave Hill, who was born about 1840; so they may be placed between the years 1848 and 1855.

173 *539 726 19

16, 2. tínatoks forms antithesis to tína of the preceding clause. The literal meaning of both is: "one time ..... the other time."

16, 3. Wálamsi. The suffix -i, -í, is the adverbial particle hí, and forms a *locative case*, mainly found in local and topographical terms, as in Yámsi, Kakágosi, Ktaíwashi; also in a few generic nouns designating localities, encampments, mountains, etc.

16, 5. shûshû'dshapĕllsh. The suffixed -sh is the pronoun sha, *they*, and in this suffixed form also appears as -tch, -s. This verb stands in the distributive form; shúdshapĕli, to rebuild a fire, being the absolute form.

16, 7. nánχatch, for nánχa tchish, "others also".

16, 10. yákanuapkuk, verbal causative of the future of yákna. The forms yă'kna, yă'ka, yékna, yéka, are preferable to yákna, yáka.

[727] 16, 11. sá-atsa. It is a common custom among western, and some eastern, wild tribes to force their captives to dance in honor of the victory gained over their own tribe. This is done especially during the scalp-dances.

16, 14. Titná lû'ka, etc. Here begins the account of a raid made by the Rogue River Indians upon the Klamath Lake settlements. It may have occurred one year after the raid previously narrated.

16, 15. sapíya, etc. After escaping, he informed his own countrymen of all the local conditions of the Klamath Lake people and their country, and used all his topographical knowledge in guiding their warriors to the attack.

17, 1 and 2. Tsúi nĕ'lka. Indians and uncivilized races in all portions of the world begin their raids upon the enemy before dawn, or at the earliest appearance of daylight.

17, 9. gäkán and gekuánapka, inflectional metathesis for gäkná and gekánuapka.

17, 14. huṣhtchŏ'ktat for hushtchŏ'kat ăt, ăt (*ye*) being repeated twice.

17, 16. tsókapks tcha is a contraction from tsokápkash tchí'sh a.

17, 17. Tchíssa, for tchí sha: thus they.

17, 20. sellólok: synizesis of the longer form shéllualuk, shellualúga: through fighting.

17, 21. yuyálks=sitk, abbreviated from yuyálkish=shítko, looking like persons mourning over their lost companions, or made sorrowful by bondage to Indians of a foreign tribe.

*539 683 551 756 64, 1. Tetĕmádshish or Aunt Susie is one of the numerous female "doctors", who eke out a scanty living from some patients of the Klamath Lake tribe. She received the above name for having been a washerwoman to the soldiers stationed at Fort Klamath, and the nickname Wúya-ak was bestowed on her on account of her predilection for small sucker fish.

64, 2. sämtsálχa. The means employed by her to discover that Dr. John had cast upon the patient a spell of a deadly character, were the singing or recital of tamánnash songs, and the *dreams* which she had on that subject. Her tamánuash songs had *seen* those of the accused conjurer. See 65, 9. The great majority of the tribe still believes in the possibility of witchcraft.

64, 7. The two sentences contained in this line anticipate the result of the whole trial, and the popular verdict. The proper place for them would be after 65, 15.

64, 9. Tuá ni etc. The defense made by Dr. John in his own case is not an unable one, nor is it devoid of oratorical powers. But if the arguments were delivered in the order as given by Dave Hill, they ought to have followed each other in a more logical order to attain their full effect.

64, 10. wák lish etc. The logical connection existing between this sentence and the foregoing has to be supplied by: "why should he have been my personal enemy?"

192 64, 10, 11, 15 etc. i, ik stands here for ät (*ye*); because, when the headchief is addressed in council, all the others are addressed also. Lóli stands for lóla i. The trial took place on Williamson River.

64, 13. kúkamtchish. The distributive form is used here instead of the absolute verbal k'mû'tchish, because old age comes on *gradually, by degrees.*

64, 16. tchi ínsh instead of tchi nish; the language likes juxtaposition of two short equal vowels, even when a metathesis is required.

65, 8. Kátak etc. Aunt Susie's opinion, given just after Púkish's death and some time *before* the trial, did not fail to have a striking effect on the superstitious judges and tribe, for her arguments perfectly agree with the national ideas. But to us the arguments seem so weak, that no conviction seems justified, if not based on other evidence.

65, 9. nä'usak etc. "Your defense does not disprove any of the points advanced against you."

192 65, 11. K'mukámtsam nä'-ulaks: "the old customs of the people."

124 65, 16. The second account of this tamánuash-case was obtained a few weeks after the trial; Dr. John was present at the agency buildings at the time of the dictation, furnishing the facts to my informant.

697 66, 1. ká-ishnauk etc. This underground jail was in such an unhealthy condition that Dr. John could not have lived in it through the tenth part of his long term of imprisonment.

625 66, 5. Tchikéskni and Skélag, names of two watchmen (i-álhish); the chiefs appoint watchmen from time to time. Skélag is "the young weasel" and Tchikéskni "man living at Tchikési camping-place". They were armed with pistols to foil any attempt at escape.

192 66, 10. nä'dshek for nä'dsh ak: "the only one". Compare nádshiak, 60, 21; waítak, 56, 7. and *Notes.*

192 193 66, 12. shishi'tilatk. The past participle often stands for forms of periphrastic conjugation: shishítilatko gi, they *were* carrying in their dress. Cf. illólatko, 55, 20.

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58. *Song of the turtle:*

Tuá ki nish lé-ula? ⏑⏑́|⏑⏑⏑⏑́|⏑

Which game did you play with me?

NOTES.

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This long series of shamanic songs in use on the Williamson River was obtained from *Mary*, a young pupil of the boarding school of Indian children at the Klamath agency. When living among the Indians on the Williamson River she had heard all these songs very frequently, and in an interesting evening entertainment she faithfully reproduced the manipulations of the male and female conjurers upon a little rag baby lying on the floor on a bed made up of old blankets, the figure representing some poor suffering Indian patient. The other Indian girls of the school joined in a lively chorus every time when she had fairly started any of these incantations, and given the signal by clapping hands.

On the day following these incantations were dictated, translated and explained to me by *Minnie Froben*, assisted by Mary, and though both persisted in the statement that the order in which the songs are sung was quite immaterial, I present them here in the order in which I obtained them.

Each of these song-lines is sung many times by the conjurer, then *repeated* by the chorus a dozen times or more. The chorus varies the melody somewhat each time, but this musical variation is so slight and insignificant that the general impression of monotony is not dispelled by it. Quite a number of these songs have very pretty melodies, but by long repetition even these must of course produce tediousness and disgust; other songs have weird and strange tunes, others are quaint, but almost repulsive by their shrill accents; these may be said to form the transition to the mere howls and imitations of animal voices, which are frequent also in doctoring ceremonies, but more frequent in the war-shouts and funereal cries and wailings.

The animal or object of nature to which the conjurer attributes each of the song-lines was not remembered in every instance. Where this reference was obtained, it was added at the head of the song or song-line. The animals mentioned in these songs are all supposed to have been sent out by the conjurer to look out for the whereabouts of the *personified* disease, from which the patient is suffering, and whatever the conjurer sings about the animals refers to what he sees them doing while on their errand. On the distinction made between shul'sh and shuinō'tkish cf. *Note* to song 9.

Kiúksam shul'sh is not merely a conjurer's song, but a mysterious agency connected with a spell of preternatural power. This spell is not exclusively attached to a song sung by a conjurer, but it may be borne also by a dream, disease, by some drug, or by that kind of witchcraft which is called elsewhere the evil eye. Kiúksam shul'sh is therefore a beneficial or destructive tamánuash agency, which when applied to a patient can cure him or make him worse; when appearing under the shape of a dream, it is a dream of good or one of bad augury.

The conjurer sometimes diversifies his songs, all of which are sung in the *minor* keys, by inserting spoken words relating to the condition of the patient and the effects of his treatments; specimens of this are given in 38. 54. 55. Parts of them are also repeated by the chorus.

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Lû'baks, klépki kiúksam shuí'sh, tsé-usam skû'tätk, tsé-usam tsúyätk,
White chalk red paint are doctors' songs, tchê-sah-dressed, tchê-sah-head-covered,
tsé-usam lā'sh, witkakísham lā's.
tchê-sah-feather, hawk's feather.

Kat'sitsutsuéas kiúksam shuísh, kat'hiáwash, lû'luks-skû'tchaltk,
Snow-flake witchcraft is a doctor's song, hair-tying, in fire-robed,
skû'ksam hä'kskish, hä'näsish.
spirit's walking-staff, conjurer's arrow.

NOTES.

[124] All these subjects of tamánuash songs were obtained pell-mell and jotted down in a confusion. A clear insight into the quality of the songs known to this Indian could be attained only by classifying them into categories, as those of natural agencies, the winds, rocks, genera of animals, plants, tools and articles of native dress. Morgan had heard all these songs sung in former years, but when I met him he could remember the texts of those 71 songs only, which are to be found from page 164 to page 171. Many songs of this subject list are sung by the Modoc conjurers also.

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Certain names of uncommon species of animals could not be rendered in English for want of information; to others the Dictionary will afford the best clue.

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179; 4. káwam or ḵáwam is a possessive case, requiring as its complement ámpû or ḵóḵe, koḵeága. To bathe in eel-springs is deemed to be of great influence on character and personal courage, for the constant peril of being bitten by crabs, snakes and other reptiles must necessarily make the bathers scornful against sudden pains.

179; 6. tsû'χatχant, or in its full form: tsûχatχántko, has to be connected attributively with the foregoing word: taákiag tsû'χatχantko "a restless boy, a little boy unable to keep quiet on his seat."

[193] 180; 1. taaskáya wéash, kólta wéas show the apocopated form of the possessive before a vocalic sound. This is another example of the rule that Klamath seeks rather than avoids *hiatus*. Cf stsá-usa-wálks 168; 45; 180; 23, and *Note* to 168; 41.

180; 5. spû'm; said to be the female of the fat shkä'-bird. There exist conjurers' songs about both, which I have given in this volume, page 167; 36. 168; 44.

180; 10. póp-tchíkash seems to mean the "drinking *or* sipping bird" (cf. pópo-i).

180; 17. Lä-a-ámbotkish, "the one which refuses to drink" seems to be a newt, Amblystoma, according to the description given of it by the Indians.

180; 17. kóä. The toad or bull-frog tamánuash song is reputed to be the most efficient of all these incantations.

180; 18. Ámpuam lák is a film-like organism moving rapidly in spirals or meanders through the water, and supposed by rustics to originate from the long hair of horses. The primary signification of ámbutka, to be thirsty, is "to return to the water", and the distributive form a-ámbutka here indicates repetition.

180; 19. The list of *plants* is very small when compared to that of the animals, and embodies economical plants only.

180; 22. wásh means *place of residence* in general; but since all the objects in [illegible] category refer to the sweat-house, it may be referred to a removal of earth in the floor of this structure; lúloks is the fire burning in the centre of it.

181; 1. tsé-usam skû'tatk: "dressed with feathers of the yellow hammer or red shafted flicker."

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
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INTRODUCTION

114 The texts presented here were collected during the summers of 1955, 1956, and 1957 which were spent among the Klamath Indians at Chiloquin,
122 Oregon. The field work was carried out under the auspices of the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of
115 California, Berkeley. The narrators of the myth texts were Mr. Robert David, Mrs. Pansy Ohles, and Mr. Grover Pompey; the ethnographic materials were obtained from the first two of these and from Mrs. Aggie Butler, Mrs. Grover Pompey, and Miss Irene Skellock.

126 Most of these texts were recorded directly on tape, but some were taken down first in dictated form and were taped later. Of the myths, only Texts 1 and 7 were not recorded on tape. Of the ethnographic materials, Texts 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, and 35 were dictated only.

[124] No really exhaustive attempt was made to obtain a complete collection of Klamath myth texts. Instead, the author aimed at a representative collection of materials, including myths told by several informants, autobiographical experiences, ethnographic texts, historical incidents, conversation, and also the responses to a series of elicitation pictures (Text 39). It was felt that these texts would provide, on the one hand, good illustrative material for further linguistic studies in Klamath, and, on the other hand, a representative sampling of myths and ethnographic material of interest to the folklorist and ethnologist.

114 The collections of Klamath myths so far published are limited to A. S. Gatschet's "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. II, pts. 1 and 2, Washington, 1890) and some brief song and medicine texts in Leslie Spier's "Klamath Ethnography" (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, 1930). More recently, Dr. Theodore Stern of the University of Oregon has collected a large number of Klamath myths. The author understands that Dr. Spier also possesses a collection of myths. It is urgently hoped that both of these will be published in the near future.

128 The present collection is divided into two major parts: Myths, and
773 Ethnographic Texts. The former contains tales about the inhabitants of

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963

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Introductory Note to Text 4

124 After giving the foregoing three texts, Mrs. Ohles was strongly hesitant about giving more. She felt that she had forgotten too many of the details which make the text "correct" to a good Klamath storyteller. She pointed out that she could neither recall the names nor the kinship relationships of the lesser characters, and she felt that she was omitting incidents and garbling the action.

At last, however, Mrs. Ohles kindly agreed to relate all she could remember of the story about the red-haired woman of Sprague River. She had previously narrated this in English to the author, up to the point where Gmoḱaṁč enters the story. She began the myth with the [126] author recording it in his notebook only (she felt the tape recorder might confuse her), but after she had gained confidence, the remainder of the myth was tape-recorded. When she reached the end of her previous English narration, she continued with incidents leading into the Gmoḱaṁč myth—much to the surprise of the author, who had not seen versions of the Gmoḱaṁč story beginning in this fashion anywhere else. The stimulus for this may have been provided by Gatschet's recorded texts,[15] which the author had shown her some days previously. At that time she had recalled these myth incidents easily as part of the corpus of material she had heard in her childhood and since forgotten. With this as a crutch to memory, she produced the text given here. She felt that her version was more generally correct and that Gatschet's texts were only short incidents taken from a long cycle of connected [538] incidents. This cycle, she said, might take three or four days in the telling by a really proficient storyteller. The action and final conclusion of her version she felt to be correct, but she was sure that many minor incidents and characters had been omitted.

This text differs from her previous ones in that it is more conversational and less formal in style. She comments in English and Klamath on her story, makes side remarks to the author and jovially berates him for getting her to tell a story she only partially remembers, and breaks into English at difficult points to supplement half-remembered "hard words." Mrs. Ohles' style in this text is valuable as a sample of less formal Klamath discourse. She contrasts strongly

here with her previous impersonal narrations and with the even less personal text styles of other informants, whose stories and ethnographic material were always given as objective verbal "essays." 124

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[15] Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon" (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. II, pts. 1 and 2, Washington, 1890), pp. 96-132, 142-143. The present author read some of Gatschet's texts to Mrs. Ohles, and she was able to recall other incidents and versions.

Some time after the text was recorded and analyzed, the author felt the need of having the entire myth on tape, rather than half in notebook form and half on tape. Mrs. Ohles kindly agreed to begin the story over again and told it right up to the point where she had switched to the tape-recorder before. This second tape-recorded beginning is appended to the text and serves for a comparison between pen and notebook dictation and tape-recorded discourse. [126]

Mrs. Ohles felt that material irrelevant to the story should be stricken, since it made the story "incorrect." The author feels, however, that such side remarks illustrate Klamath conversational style and give insight into her attitudes toward the myths and towards other facets of semi-acculturated Klamath culture. This material is, therefore, reproduced within parentheses both in the Klamath text and in the translation. Her English remarks are conventionally spelled but otherwise unchanged. [128]

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
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*539 (41) nkas lis losa mna, hok sqoís. (42) čoy honk na?as wele·qs, "waq bas ni gen giwapk?" (43) čoy honk ?at na?as gi, "?i·. hisčawapk ni gen hiswaqs. (44) ge· dak sńewe·ts hompči hak giwapk, waqči ge·ĺam pgoǰi·p. (45) čoy ni q̓a··· sińamsta."

(46) čoy honk le waq ga·?a. (47) čoy honk na?as, "sdiy̓a ?at ni dom snača·ḱa." (48) čoy honk hasnčakdanga, qe·matdat.[17] (49) ?at hok la·ba ńos gitk." (50) čoy honk sdoli· hiswaqḱa?as, "q̓a···y ?i ?eyĺaqpgank, gisčńok. (51) q̓ay ?i mi ḿaYas sle·wapk! (52) q̓ay ?i dada· y̓o·wallgwapk mi dalči, ǰiǰi·ks mis giwk."

(53) čoy honk ?at mo·ni giwk, čoy honk ?at qa·siye·ga. (54) "waq bas nis giwk pśe·wip q̓ay sańa·Wawli y̓o·waltgi giwk gew dalči?" (55) čoy honk ?at č́wi·didiks domna, go·sdat čaḱa·y̓ank, na?as, "y̓o·wallgi hay ?i, čoy ?i sle·wapk!" (56) čoy honk ?at y̓o·wallga. (57) čoy honk do·blay gena dalči. (At this point Mrs. Ohles changed from dictation to the tape recorder. She begins with the last two utterances above.)

(58) čoy honk ?at y̓o·wallga. (59) čoy honk do··· gamni hok dalči. (60) čoy honk ?at geḿas gyank gotgibli.[18] (61) čoy honk da···l?a·k datglam honk ńos—ga?as. (62) čoy honk gida ho·llga, sńewe·čḱa. (63) čoy honk ?at hok hiswaqḱa na?as, "datkni· lis ?i? (64) kani ?i gi?" (65) čoy honk na?as, tobaksip. no· ?a mi tobaksip." (That little girl started talking then—I don't know why she never talked before.) (66) "neḿas dal nis nen giwk," či honk, "pśe·wip na·ĺam q̓ay sańa·Wawli nis dalči y̓o·wallqtgi giwk. ?i·!" (67) čoy sa honk ?at gembli.

(68) čoy honk wele·qs na?as gi, "?at ?i s?aywakta dwa· mis ni waq giwk wowi·tampga." (I don't know—I think that's the word for it though—kept advising you, telling you all the time not to do this and that.)

(69) čoy honk ?at hok sńewe·čḱa ćosak gena dola, gankankča. (70) čoy honk na?as gi, "waq dal na·t giwk? q̓ely̓ak ptisap, q̓ely̓ak pḱisap?" (71) na?as, "waq giwk ćosak pśe·wip na·ĺam swaqča? (72) waq na·t giwk geḿas či·ya? (73) ?at hayč ge·t dini·gińapga. (74) do· na·t genwapk, čoy na·t s?abasas sliwapk, he· na·ls q̓ay s?abi·wapk. (75) ho·t bil ?a s?aywakta, s?abas, dwa· ne·bakst."

(76) čoy honk na?as, "?i·." (77) čoy sa honk ?at gena. (78) čoy sa honk do··· ?at čaẃa·Ya. (79) ?at hok s?abas dini·gińapga, ?at dini·gi.

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[196] [17] This means literally "And [she] caused to stick together, on the back." It seems to imply "back to back."

[201] [124] [18] Literally, "And now, having done this way, it came back down." At this point Mrs. Ohles gestured to show how the boy's arrow fell; i.e., straight down, point first between the little boy and his sister, cutting the pitch which held them together. /geḿas gyank/ "having done this way" refers to Mrs. Ohles' gesture.

*539 (80) čoy honk naʔas gi, "sʔabi· ʔis na·ĺs, sʔabas! (81) dwa· ʔa na·t waq giwk, q̓elẏak ptisap, q̓elẏak p̓kisap?" (82) čoy honk q̓ay sas geqč̓a. (83) "he· ʔi na·ĺs q̓ay sʔabi·wapk, aliwapk mis ni!" (84) čoy honk q̓ay geqč̓a. (85) čoy honk ʔat m̓ewe·č̓ka mnatga dalč̓itga slin, paĺo·, kat ho·t bosbos sʔabasdat—ho·t gida gwena, dalč̓iʔam.[19] (86) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, balaq hak ʔis ʔosgablyat! (87) sʔabi·wapk dak ma·ĺs ni!" (88) čoy honk ʔat sʔabi·ya sas naʔas, "ho·t hok hi·t či·ya, kat ma·ĺs snoq̓o·Ye·ga." (Is that right? snoq̓o·Ye·ga? q̓o·Ye·ks is "orphan," you know.) (89) "ʔambotdat hok či·ya, kat ma·ĺs snoq̓o·Ye·ga. (90) hoṁas ʔa·t giwk q̓o·Ye·ks." (Phillip, you're the cruellest animal I ever did know for making me tell this!)

(91) čoy sa honk ʔat gembli. (92) newlga da·ts hok m̓ewe·č̓ka naʔas, "ʔi·. ʔat ʔa loldam gi." (93) naʔas, "čoy na·t ʔa slomtanwapk, na·nok psinks. (94) čoy na·t danqṅi psinks giwlank—(q̓ay ni sʔaywakta—tewṅip?—ʔaMka.) (95) tewṅip psinks giwlank čoy ni honks lakč̓wapk." (96) čoy sa honk ʔat newlga naʔas. (97) "ʔat slomtanwapk ʔa na·t."

(98) čoy sa honk ʔat gena. (99) čoy honk do···m sa kyem, me·maqla sʔopba·tamblidamna. (100) čoy sa honk dosLibli. (101) čoy sa naʔas, "sda··· gi, do· ʔili·nči·k!" ṕle·wa mna·ĺam. (102) čoy honk ʔat wbeli·na, wbeli·na, wbeli·na, naʔas, "hãhãʔ! hãhãʔ!" (103) čoy da·ts honk ʔat, be·n Na·ẏantga psinkstga gena. (104) —ẏaMtgi ʔeč ni nen! (105) dada·t sa slomtampga, domna naʔas, "gočgočgočgoji·p!"[20] (106) čoy honk ʔat ṕle·wip č̓is domna. (107) čeq̓ya honk do·, wqepĺaqsdat. (108) čoy honk naʔas, "hãhãmʔ! nen daks!" (109) čoy honk naʔas, "q̓ay dak sa dwa· waq gi." (But she'd be scared, all the time, you know. She knew that little girl would cut off her mother's head when she came out of water at night, and she was afraid she'd find it in there with the fish.

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[201]
[124]
[19] The little girl shot the sun in the cheek. Mrs. Chiles gestured to her own cheek here to clarify this, and /ho·t gida gwena, dalč̓iʔam/ "it made a mark right here, of the arrow" refers to her gesture. She later remarked that the black spot is still to be seen on the sun's "cheek" and suggested it might be an Indian explanation of sunspots.

[192]
[124]
[20] The utterance /gočgočgočgoji·p/ was given in a loud whisper. It is apparently a mythic utterance, a distortion of /pgoji·p/ "aunt, father's sister." The action here was later clarified by Mrs. Chiles. Each time the two children went torch-fishing, their Aunt would appear from the water, leaning into the boat and crying "/gočgočgočgoji·p!/." The children remained perfectly still, hoping that she would eventually lean far enough into the boat for them to seize her and cut off her head. Their Grandmother, sitting at home, heard her daughter each time and knew the children would kill her. Hence her repeated sob, "/hãhãʔ!/." (The symbol "ã" denotes a nasalized low central vowel. The utterance is anomalous to the phonemic system.)

[194]
[193]

#539 waq nis gist. (195) ʔaMḱa hok gida lobi· gatbanwapk, wage·nha no·s hok lobi· gaẃalwapk. (196) q̓ay da·ts ʔi woswapk!" (197) ʔat sam we·ḱa gitk. (198) we·saltk sa ʔat. (199) čoy honk ʔat spodo·ča. (200) čoy honk hok sńewe·ts do···m ʔankẃala, do···m.

(201) čoy honk ʔat ʔoćče· gatba, ṕe·wip mna·ĺam. (202) "ya···, q̓a ʔan ge·ǰigatk. (203) ʔat ni gatba.[34] (205) dič hay ʔa·t gen či·ya, dič sʔotĺank, na·nok dwa·." (206) "ʔi·." (207) čoy honk naʔas, "dat lis ne· gi?" (208) čoy honk naʔas, "do· hok spodo·." (209) čoy naʔas gi, "ʔi·, sle·čwapk hay ni gen." (210) "ʔi·." (211) "čoy ni ʔaMḱa q̓a dye·mipks gatbambliwapk." (212) "ʔi·."

(213) čoy honk ʔat gena. (214) čoy honk ʔat so·čńa na···nok do·s hak hok spodo·, ẏayńa, ĺaqĺaqĺant. (215) čoy honk ʔat, q̓a ʔat honk ge·ǰigo·k, mongam sĺoyadat howwa. (216) čoy honk ʔat ṕan, hok ṕe·wip, hok loq giwk.

(217) čoy honk gembli ʔat, do· či·sdaĺ. (218) sliči·qs hok nĺiwtgi. (219) čoy honk ʔat qallati· ʔambo ćisa, "q̓a gin ʔambotga gatbanwapk." (220) ʔat hok sńewe·ts, hok hoḿas, histanḱitk mna ḿoḱa·k. (221) čoy honk do···m da·ts hok qday ʔiĺa·ĺank, snegalpḱa.

(222) čoy honk ʔat gatba, loq̓aḿč. (223) naʔas, "ya···, ʔambotga ʔans." (224) čoy honk naʔas," ho·t hayč do·na ćisa. (225) snačḱa·-Wapgatk ʔambo." (226) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, dič hay ʔins honk gen!" (227) čoy honk bonwa, bonwa. (228) čoy honk qday wbeLi·, q̓iw! (ʔat ḱada·di hak ni sʔaba pačit. ge·ǰiga ʔans ʔat.) [Here Mrs. Ohles took a short rest and then began again.]

(229) ʔat hok loq̓aḿč naʔas (—waq lis ʔi gen? dwa· ʔi waq gi? lelgi! lelgi! hosto·qtoqpga dak ʔins. lap̓q̓apgok gen gida. ʔat ʔins hasẏaMtgi dwa· sʔabo·k. hostaqĺaq![35]

(230) čoy honk ʔat bonwa, bonwa. (231) čoy honk ʔat bonwo·lank naʔas, "ya···, gida ʔans nen twači·ḱa, nkas. (232) dom hak ni bonwa ʔambo." (233) čoy honk naʔas, "gida ʔis gislgi! (234) gida ʔis gisWa!"

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[196] [34] Utterances 202 and 203 are given in a high, faint voice, indicating the Grandmother's age and fatigue.

[126]
[124]
[196]

[35] The remarks in parentheses here are addressed to the author, who was holding the microphone too close to Mrs. Ohles' face. It is interesting to note that she spontaneously treats the microphone as a "round object" (e.g., ‖ˇl·elgi!‖ "Put down a round object!"). The author, as an outsider to the Klamath world-view, might have been tempted to treat it as a long object or even as a rope-like object.

4539

("Step on me here!" Of course, that's what this maiden wanted to do was step on her, so that those rocks would cook her.) (235) čoy honk ʔat gisiga (or gisWa—or something. I can't distinguish either one of them.) (236) čoy honk glega hok ʔat loq.

4. Section 2: Gmoḱaḿč and ʔaysis
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(237) čoy honk ʔat ʔanko mo··· so·ča, honkantga ʔankotga. (238) ʔat siʔo·lagyo·la, ʔanko. (239) čoy honk ʔat ḿolẃa, mbatĺa·ĺwapgok. (240) mbatĺa·ĺwapk ʔat, histanḱitk. (241) čoy honk ʔanko sʔotía, gmoḱaḿč, čalamnank (above their camp. And he was making wood up there.) (242) čoy honk naʔas gi, "ya···, dići· ḿoḱa·k!" ("The baby's nice!") (243) čoy honk naʔas gi, "q́ay ʔan ho·t mbatĺa·ĺo·twapk, ḿoḱa·k." (I can't think of that mallet he used yet![24]) (244) čoy da·ts honk ndoga peč, ḿoḱa·ks, mbatĺa·ĺsi. (245) čoy honk do· ḿoḱa·k ńíwiga. (246) hok ńíwiga do·. (247) čoy honk ʔat do· sdagaltga.

(248) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, waq bas ni ge·ks giwapk? (249) do·s bas ni gen—waq bas ni ge·ks ksembliwapk?" (He didn't want to take it back in that sẃenč. He wanted to take it back and make-believe that he had a baby. So he put it on his forehead—) (250) gida honk hakali·ga, laḱi·yyat. (251) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, ge· dak q́oy." (252) čoy honk do·s hak be·n heksalga—gida, ʔaMḱa gida—ni·sdat, hoksatnank. (253) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔa···, q́ay dak ge· dič." (254) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, q́olínčJat ʔan lotq́agwapk!" ("I'll get a boil on my knee," he said.) (255) čoy honk ʔat q́olínčJat mna ksodi·la.

(256) čoy honk ʔat če·t hak gatbambli, siko·tbambli. (257) čoy honk be·p mna naʔas gi, "waq lis ʔi gen?" (258)—hok gmoḱaḿč hok ʔat, be·yaltk. (259) čoy honk naʔas gi, "waq lis ʔi gen?" (260) "q́ay ʔan sʔaywakta. (261) ʔaMḱa ʔans ge· dwa· waq gi, ćo·ks. (262) q́a··· ʔans ge· goWa.

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[124]

[24] Mrs. Ohles later explained that Gmoḱaḿč struck the baby from its cradleboard with some kind of cane or mallet, whose name and description she could not recall. The author asked her if she thought it was called /ʔi·me/ (the cane carried by Weasel in Text 7), but she did not think this was so.

#539 stilta ʔat honk ʔaysisas bla·ywa·sam ńoLas gaẃlok. (300) čoy honk naʔas gi. "čoy da·ts hok bla···y gi. (301) čoy no· ģesga hadakt kčimnis, gnočatk giwk. (302) dam ʔi kčimničat?" (303) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·." (304) čoy da·ts naʔas gi, newĺaqs gyank, "na·nok če· ʔi solwačṕank hadakt kčimnit." (305) čoy honk homas honk ʔaysis kčimni hon. (306) čoy honk ʔat ģeča···, hok čnaw. (307) ʔa·di··· (—čoy maqlaqsam ʔakýa "Jack in the Beanstalk"? ʔaMḱa.) (308) čoy do··· honk ʔat bla···y. čoy q̇e·gi weq—kčitģyo·ts, gotģyo·ts. (309) čoy honk ʔat do··· blay. ʔat honk gaẃal sqoĺelam ńoLas. (310) čoy honk či·ĺiĺiks ʔa honk wbatga, sqoĺelam či·ĺiĺiks. (311) ʔat hok ḱada·di hok ģeča, do· ģalo· bańi·. (312) čoy honk ʔat hadakt mo··· sʔoysʔa ʔaysis.

(313) hok dak gmoḱaḿč gemblyańk, honkt honk sĺoḱwaʔa·k sńewe·ts sq̇olligo·ta. (čoy ni q̇ay dič ho·skanga hadakt. hadaktkni· ni q̇ay dič ho·skanga, waq gist. čoy mi sʔasʔapģle·ʔas kant ʔi sʔaywakta—čoy ni hi·tkni· ʔat genwapk, do·st ʔi q̇ay sʔaywakta, do·s q̇ay sʔaba.[a])

(314) čoy honk ʔat weqweq saṕĺa·laltk hohankanga. (315) dwa· hak sa honk waq giwk hadakt hohankanga? (316) čoy honk če···t hak sopasgank laq mna woĺo·tgi. (317) čoy honk hok sa naʔas gi, "ýa···, čelčeĺatk bas ýa laq! (318) datkni· ʔa ge·?" (319) čoy sa honk do··· ʔat gamniča, hok weqweq saṕĺa·laltk. (320) čoy sa honk ʔat gaẃal ʔaysisas hadakt. (321) qaq̇o· bil. (322) sʔoysʔapks. (323) čoy honk ģlekńapga hok, dye·mistga, q̇elýak ʔambo. (324) čoy sa honk ʔat ksotģibli (—dwantga hak sa honks ksotģibli, q̇ay ni sʔaywakta. ʔi da·ts sʔaywakta. ʔaMḱa midant sʔasʔapģle·ʔasdat, ne· gi.) (325) čoy čik sa honk ʔat ksembli, mna·ĺamksi, datksi bas hok gi. (ʔaMḱa gentdat ģe·latdat, q̇ay ni sʔaywakta.) (326) čoy da·ts hok ma·ns q̇e·gi, ʔaysis.

(327) čoy hok do·pga, čosak sneyĺaqsaksi, hadakt sa honk do·pgank ʔibe·ĺa, hok sa. (328) čoy honk ʔat be·n honkĺam hadakt domi· we·ẃańs gi—weqweq saṕĺa·laltk, ĺahĺa·hʔas, q̇iMa·č. (329) čoy kakni hak—danni hak sa—tońipńi, waģe·nha tewńipńi we·ẃańs hadakt gi. (330) dam bas hok sasaṕĺa·laltk, q̇ay ni sʔaywakta.

(331) čoy honk hadakt hok—sgo·?—če·lis hok ʔat gatbnank sa·ča, na·nok waytas. (332) čoy hok boqboq̇atga na·nok sneyĺaqsti·, ģe·la bil. (333) čoy honk naʔas gi, "waq dal ʔa·t gi? (334) waq hay hok sa ʔans sa·čatga? (335) kani hay? (336) če·lis lis—če·lis ʔans sa·ča."

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[124]
[114]

[a] The author had not completed his reading of Gatschet's myths to Mrs. Chiles at this time, and she supplied the incident of the Butterfly sisters from her own memory, although it is also found in Gatschet's version in almost identical form. Gatschet's myth does not contain the incident of ʔaysis and the Porcupines, however, nor any mention of ʔaysis's new wives.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963

NR10 Klamath NR10

Introductory Note to Text 5

#539 This text, like Text 4 above, seems to be only a fragment of a much longer myth cycle. Gatschet's published collection[35] does not contain a story about Swa·ya, but Curtin's "Myths of the Modocs"[36] includes one myth about this character. It seems worthwhile to record Mrs. Ohles' version here in hopes that future work among the Klamaths will fill in the gaps.

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[128] The text has been edited somewhat to delete false starts, hesitation forms, and irrelevant material. In one or two places forgotten material was added later at the time of translation.

5. The Story of Swa·ya

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

#539

(1) dińa· hok swa·yaʔa·kĺam ṕkisap čoy ptisap datksi či·ya. (2) čoy honk koẃe hadakt sas wetdatga. (3) hiswaq́ḱa hok hadakt dič Jle·ḱatk, dič sle·ḱa gitk. (4) čoy honk na·nok waytas honks snempatbli, hok koẃe. (5) čoy honk snaqtanča hoḿas snempatčńank goq́a·kĺatdat.[37] (6) snempatblidamnank čoy be·n spimnibli, be·n snempatčńa. (7) čoy honk kani hak naʔas, ṕkisa honk, "dam dal ʔi hon hoḿas gist we·wĺa?" (She said, "Do you trust her to do that?" And [his mother] said, "Yes, she's good. She'll keep my baby from crying, and she puts it to sleep that way.") (8) čoy honk ʔat na·nok waytas honk ʔa·di· nalk snempatčńa. (9) čoy honk be·n spimnibli. (10) čoy honk ʔat ṗalla, snempatčńank honk. (11) čoy honk dola mbaĺwank gena.

(12) čoy honk ʔat do· gatbambli, do· hak honk či·ya—dam ẏayńatdat, wage·nha ʔewsdat, wage·nha dat hak honk či·ya. (13) čoy honk sʔa·Maks honk geli·danga honk, q̇oyse·ẇok honk, do·st hok či·ya. (14) čoy honk

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[35] Gatschet, Albert S., op. cit. See p. 22 above.

[36] Curtin, Jeremiah, Myths of the Modocs, Boston, 1912.

[124] [37] Mrs. Ohles later elaborated upon the action described here. Frog takes baby Swa·ya and places him upon a leaf (or some such thing—Mrs. Ohles was not certain just what) and lets him float down the river, then pulls him back in again by a cord. This soothes Swa·ya and puts him to sleep. She gradually extends the cord until he is completely out of sight. Then she jumps in and swims off with him.

*539 naʔas gi. "ya···, dat dal ʔi gen?" (15) "do· ʔan—gen datksi hak."[28]

(16) čoy dwa· hak sa slandi·la. (17) dwa· hak honk haslandi·lank, mna gis sʔaba, čoy honk naʔas, "ʔa···, q̓ay dak! (18) ʔat hay mis na·t spončanwapk doʔot." (19) čoy honk kokw̓eʔa·k bil mbambal̓i·na, dada·t sa honk wLič́a honk skodas. (20) kokw̓eʔa·k bil, mna we·w̓anwi·k bil na·nok. (21) ndanni ʔaky̓a sa honk gego· hom̓as gist. (22) čoy sa honk naʔas, "p̓alla dak ʔi gen!" (23) č̓osak gelga hom̓as.

(24) čoy honk ʔat mo·ni gi. (25) mo· glega, hiswaqs. (26) čoy honk naʔas gi. "q̓ay ʔi gen dada· q̓oy mi giwapk, tatbisa." (27) čoy honk naʔas, "i·, q̓ay dak sas ni." (28) čoy honk ʔat kani sʔabi·ya naʔas, "p̓allasti· hay ʔi gi." (29) čoy honk swa···qča, swaqča. (30) "dwa· ʔi gen waq giwk swaqča?" (31) q̓ay honk p̓an, ʔat honk swaqča, č̓osak, kal̓am hak naʔas gist.

(32) čoy honk hok kow̓e, dat hak honk geno·k, naʔas gi, "dič ʔi sas giwapk! (33) q̓ay ʔi sʔasʔa·wapk!" (34) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·." (35) čoy honk pipi·ks sas honk sʔotl̓i·ya. (36) čoy hahastamnis. (37) čoy honk sa waw̓a·lwi. (38) čoy sas honk lwela, na·nok. (39) čoy ʔat goykaga, swa·ya hok ʔat. (40) honk lis mna totbaksa na·nok lwelč́a, čoy honk qp̓aqp̓la·k̓itk honk waw̓a·lwi, loloqsdat.

(41) čoy honk kow̓eʔam̓č gatbambli. (42) čoy honk swa···qča, swaqča. (43) "waq hay hont ʔi na·nok dwa· le·w̓a," naʔas honk ʔat. (44) q̓ay honk kani yoy̓alga, swaqčast. (45) "p̓alla ʔi hon!"

(46) čoy honk ʔat gembli. (47) kani hak honks sʔabi·ya datdal̓ genwapgok. (48) čoy honk k̓oYas qdayyat waLga. (49) čoy honk naʔas, "dwa· lis ʔi gen, gida wa·?" (50) "waq hay swa·yas ʔan waLga." (51) "q̓ay hay čik hom̓as gi. (52) gida, hak mis hesleʔi·k, waq waLaqtgi giwk swa·yas." (53) čoy honk sč̓iq̓a!

(54) čoy honk be·n kani hak gatba. (55) čoy honk gisčq̓a honks č̓is. (56) čoy honk gena. (57) čoy honk bas kani hak hosdanga—gmok̓am̓č ʔaky̓a? (58) čoy honk naʔas gi, "do· ʔams sa ga·yk̓a, mi p̓kisap čoy ptisap. (59) čoy ʔi q̓ay dwa· čew sliwapk, p̓kisap mi hok giwk, ltoq̓apks ʔeč̓as gitk, Naykslant."

(60) čoy honk gena, gena. (61) čoy honk datdadwa· hak honk gayʔa·Ya, waLgok bo·s. (62) čoy honk č̓osak honk siwga, kaky̓as hak—k̓olas, k̓oYas, q̓iMa·č—kakni hak. domi· da·ts.

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[124] [28] Here, too, the informant explained the action in English. Frog's people do not believe that Swa·ya is her baby because he is so pretty and she so ugly. They ask her how this could be, and she explains that she gave birth to the baby on a special blanket. They prepare a blanket just as she has described, but the only babies she has are little frogs like herself. After three attempts, they declare that she is a thief.

#539 (30) hok ḱočća·ʔa·k honk ʔat mbosaks mna wa·ítga lača·ẏa. na·nok honk ćo·ks. (31) na·nok honk lača·ẏa ćo·ks. (32) "ʔat ʔa q̇e·gi be·n. (33) ʔo·č gint."

(34) ʔat honk bamba·tambli, yawskangatk, ʔat honk hokt lʔe·ḱlʔeks bil honk ʔat gitgo gaẃal. (35) čoy ʔat goyki·nabli. (36) čoy honk ʔat sleʔa, "ya···, waq dal nis? (37) gen ʔans geńs lača·yipga, ćo·ks, peči" (38) ʔat honk gena. (39) čoy honk ʔat ma·ns gitk ḱočća·ʔa·k gotq̇akbli, gotq̇akbli ʔambotdat. (40) čoy honk ʔat whila·ʔat ʔiditgo·labli mna ĺa·ẏas. (41) čoy honk ʔilqbli mna ĺa·ẏas či·sdat. (42) "waq ʔans newĺaqtanWi·wapk?" (43) hasaswa·ḱẏa bida·k hemkanga, "ʔans newĺaqWi·ya." (44) čoy honk ne· ḱada·di hak.

7. Old Mink and Nighthawk

(Mr. Grover Pompey)[41]

(1) čečte·sis dola ćasga·yas ʔa gatba ćasgi·psamksi. (2) ćasgi·ps naʔas gi, "hoksakdanqńa ʔa na·t wawća·k na·ĺam." (3) čečte·sis naʔas, "q̇ay ho·t gew waća·k. (4) q̇ay hoksakdangwapk ʔa na·t." (5) čečte·sis naʔas gi, "ho·t dak tapẏap gew."

(6) be·n naʔas ćasgi·ps, "q̇ay, ho·t dići· siso·gis sitk sle·a. (7) hoksakdanqńa ʔa na·t honkẏes!" (8) čečte·sis naʔas gi, "ʔi·." (9) ćasgi·ps naʔas gi, "ʔi lobi· gi. suksuksuksuksuk, gapga gwaća·sis!"[42] (10) hok sedalo·ga ćasga·yas.[43] (11) ćasga·y honk ʔat ʔi·me ʔalamna qe·matdat. (12) ćasga·y honk ʔat siwga, ʔi·metga.

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[126] [124] [41] This text was not taken on tape, but only by dictation. Mr. Pompey stated that this incident was but a small part of a longer myth cycle, though he could not recall more than fragments of the rest of it. Cf. Mr. David's text in which Ǫalo·qa·qaqs appears (Text 17).

[196] [42] The sequence /suksuksuksuksuk/ is almost voiceless, and the syllables are uttered at a rapid rate of speed. This and whistling were said to be the commonest methods of calling a dog in ancient days.

[231] [193] [196] [43] The use of (se̱) "reflexive-reciprocal action" (2pv) is not clear here. ‖se̱delwga‖ means "attack each other" or "attack oneself," but the utterance contains an "accusative" /ćasga·yas/. Utterances in which (se̱) has reciprocal meaning invariably have all parties to the action as subjects.

*539 (4) čoy naʔas gi, "dwa· lis ne·pga? (5) waq ho·t giwk nońatía goni·—he· delča! (6) he· delča!" (7) čoy honk lo·s delčńa. (8) čoy honk ndoga, mna ńos honk ndogank siwga. (9) čoy hońas gyank, hok hehǯi·ḱa ksembli, mna wqepĺaqsdaĺ. (10) čoy honk woĺo·Libli, mna wqepĺaqs. (11) čoy honk pĺe·wip naʔas, "ʔe···, siwktga dal ʔi Na·s?"[47] (12) čoy honk ʔat pĺe·wip na·nok honk poLq́ank čoy honk no·qĺa. (13) čoy sa honk ṗan. (14) ṗank sibač, čoy ʔe·ẃa. (15) čoy honk hońas gyank ʔat sa loĺallga.

(16) čoy be·n mbo·sant, čawal hehǯi·ḱa, mnadant wqepĺaqsdat. (17) čoy lo·s Na·s be·n hontgalča, do·kni·. (18) hokčgas naʔas, hemčipga, "loha·nk, goda· ni ṗača, loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni ṗača!" (19) čoy honk ʔat hokčgas ʔat hontba—agolam mat gitk či·sdat—hehǯi·ḱalamksi. (20) hehǯi·ḱa be·n ho·qq́ya, čoy honkčgas wola, naʔas, "dwa· lis ne·pga goni·? (21) he· do· ne· gidaĺ—he· delča!" (22) čoy honk lo·s delčńa. (23) čoy honkčgas ndoga, ńos. (24) siwga. (25) čoy ksembli, wqepĺaqsdaĺ mna. (26) čoy do· honk woĺo·Li pĺe·wa mna poLq́atgi giwk. (27) čoy honk honkt poLq́ank, ʔat no·qĺank, čoy sa ṗan. (28) ṗawlank ʔat be·n loĺallga.

(29) ʔona· be·n batgal. (30) hehǯi·ḱa. (31) čawal hatkak loltḿalʔaqsdat mna—wqepĺaqsdat mna.[48] (32) čoy honk lo·s be·n hokčgas hontgalčapga, do·kni·. (33) čoy naʔas hok hemčipga, "loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni ṗača, loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni gin ṗača!"

(34) čoy honk hontba—dat—hehǯi·ḱalamksi. (35) hehǯi·ḱa ho·wwalo·lča be·n hak. (36) do· ʔa ho·qq́ya. (37) čoy naʔas gi, "waq lis ʔi? (38) dwa· ne·pga goni· nen? (39) dwa· ho·t ne·pga?" (40) "dat hay?" (41) "ho·t lis goni·—ne·—nońatía—dwa· ho·t waq giwk nońatía? (42) he· delča!" (43) čoy hok lo·s delčńa. (44) čoy honktčgas be·n ndoga, ńos, siwga. (45) siwgank ksembli doʔotdaĺ, wqepĺaqsdaĺ mna, woĺo·Li. (46) "ye···, Na·s dal ʔi be·n siwga?" naʔas mna pĺe·wip. (47) čoy sa honk ṗan, ʔat no·qĺank dič. (48) mo· ʔe·ẃa. (49) čoy ʔat be·n hak hon sponne·ksdat honk.

(50) ʔona· be·n hak, čawal, hehǯi·ḱa. (51) čoy Na·s hok be·n ʔat lo·s hontgalčapga, ʔona·. (52) čoy hońas hak hemčipga naʔas, "loha·nk, loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni ṗača. (53) loha·nk, goda· ni ṗača."

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[196] [47] The Grandmother's exclamation, here /ʔe···/ and elsewhere /ye···/ (utterances 46, 55, and 96), is uttered in a high, quavering tone that varies considerably in pitch.

[124] [192] [48] Mr. Pompey here became confused momentarily between the Klamath summer house (/wqepĺaqs/) and the winter house (/loltḿalʔaqs/). He had previously stated that Hehǯi·ḱa lived in a /wqepĺaqs/ at the time of the story.

9. Skunk and His Sister-in-Law

(Mr. Robert David)

*539 (1) sʔabwapk ʔan—wiḱa·ńs gin hemkanks, kant ni sʔaywakta. (2) ga·ʔa·k ʔans—ma·ms ni q̇ay q̇a sʔaywaks. (3) čoy da·ts ni nent domna, kant nis gogmčatk sʔabi·ya. (4) ga·ʔa·k. (5) sʔasʔapǥle·ʔa sa. (6) čoy nis sa sʔabi·ya, č́a·sisas ni nen sʔabwapgok, kat ho·t ya·mat do·ksĺant goni·ksĺant ǥoǥe mo·ńs či·ya. (7) čoy do·s nen basdin pač́it naʔas ʔelǥa kalambya riba.[61] (8) hadakt hok do·ksĺant či·ya, č́a·sis. (9) gaḱwapk do· sle·čok mna tapýa. (10) tapýap honkĺam či·ya do·ksĺant. (11) čoy bi gina· či·ya, ʔiWWasga gina·ksĺa, honk mo·ńs ǥoǥe gina·ksĺa. (12) čoy honk naʔas, sńewe·ts mna sʔabi·ya naʔas, "sponḱo·wapk ʔins. (13) sle·čas sańa·Wawli. (14) q̇ay ni ma·ns sleʔa gew honk tapýa," naʔas honk, č́a·sis hokt gi. (15) "ʔi·," či čik honk. (16) ʔat honk sponḱwa. (17) spončńank ǥoǥetdat hi·t, sponḱo·č́a wončJatga, wonč hadakt, naʔas honk sʔaba, wončJatga. (18) sǥaḱwa sa honk ʔat do· spončńa. (19) čoy honk gena ʔat. (20) goWaskč́a honk do· ǥe·lantga.

(21) čoy hont honk dič́e·ẃa gaʔas honk sepe·wčok. (22) pe·wča honk qe·mat mna, na·nok hadakt lǥelǥaWapga honks, balbalʔi. (23) čoy honk dič ʔat so·Jo·qč́a, gida č́is, kat ho·t lǥeyǥi gidaĺ balbalʔi.[62] (24) honkt honk sańa·Wawli dič sle·s gis. (25) dič honk so·Jo·qčńank gena. čoy honk naʔas ʔat, "gen ni geńs ḱleč́a, gen ni geńs ḱleč́a!"[63] (26) ne· honkĺam hemkanks dada·t hok gena, Na·čyak č́a·sis. (27) "gen ni geńs ḱleč́a, gen ni geńs ḱleč́a!" naʔas honk. (28) hont honk dič́e·ẃa ʔat ḿaYas mna sle·bapgok, dada·t honk gena, qbel honk woĺo·kankčńo·ta mna. (29) honkt honk dič́e·ẃa ʔat.

(30) čoy honk do··· ʔat gatbnank sleʔa doma··· čik hok maqlaqs hadakt či·ya. (31) čoy honk naʔas gi, "dat dal hok gew tapýap či·ya?" (32) čoy sa ʔala·Ya naʔas, "hi·t hok goni· či·ya." (33) čoy sas naʔas gi, "ʔi·, ma·ns ʔat nen q̇ay sleʔo·k, gen ni gaḱo·č́apga hon mo·ńs ǥoǥe," naʔas honk sʔaba. (34) "ʔi·," či čik honk gi. (35) čoy honk či·ya ʔat

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[194] [61] The allophonic pattern of /kalambya riba/ "Columbia River" is entirely Klamath, except for the anomalous /r/.

[124] [196] [62] Mr. David gestured to his head and back to indicate Skunk's stripe, the area referred to by /gida/ "here" and /gidaĺ/ "toward here."

[194] [192] [63] /gen ni geńs ḱleč́a/ "This is the way I hop along" is the myth speech tag-line for Skunk in this myth. It is pitched slightly higher and is rhythmically stressed. Mr. David himself points out the difference between such "myth speech" and ordinary discourse in Sentences 42 and 43 of this myth.

#539

wiḱa· bańi. (36) čoy naʔas da·ts honk sńewe·ts mna honk sʔabi·č́a. "he· ni nqenkangwapk. domnwapk ʔins honk! (37) he· ni hont g̣og̣e hamḱo·wapk, gepgablis sańa·Wawliwapk."

(38) sg̣aḱo·bli dak honk hok sńewe·ts gina·ksĺa. (39) čoy honk do·či·ya, lapńi waytas. (40) čoy honk ʔat be·n gepgabli hokt. (41) ʔat honk hom̓as gepga, naʔas gičipgo·ta, "gen ni geńs ḱleč́a! gen ni geńs ḱleč́a! gen ni geńs ḱleč́a!" (42) q̇ay ʔan honk sʔaywakta dwa·, wag̣e·n nen swi·s, wag̣e·n honk hemkanḱa·k, naʔas. (43) naʔas da·ts honk gi.

(44) čoy honk ʔat hi·t gatbambli ʔat honk g̣og̣e ʔiWllalli·na. (45) čoy honk nqena naʔas, "sg̣o···tg̣i ʔis!" naʔas honk, "sg̣o···tg̣i ʔis!" (46) čoy honk hokt sńewe·ts sg̣aḱo·č́a, domnank. (47) čoy honk do·s sg̣aba·ta. (48) čoy naʔas, "q̇ay ʔan mis sańa·Wawli. (49) q̇ay ʔan mis sańa·Wawli spongalgitgi giwk. (50) ksokso·nisgaʔas ʔan sańa·Wawli." (51) "ʔi·," či čik honk, honkt sg̣aḱo·bli. (52) sg̣aḱo·bli honk hok sńewe·ts. (53) "mis ʔa sańa·Wawliwapk." (54) čoy honk naʔas gi, "sleywapk hay ʔins dwa·, kant ni sg̣o·miwapk honks," či honk. (55) "čoy ni walčwapk, sg̣o·miwapk na·nok honk!" (56) čoy honk ʔat hom̓as gi. (57) ʔat sa gaẃal dwa·, mo·ńs. (58) čoy sa honk ʔat slislačta git na·noḱa·s, wepLank honk mo·ńs dwa·, na·nok ńos.

(59) čoy honk naʔas gi, "q̇ay min nen sańa·Wawli sle·babaktgi giwk, wenni·ńs we·ẃańsas. (60) čoy q̇ay sańa·Wawli mis swe·q gitgi giwk," naʔas honk. (61) sdalta honk naʔas dwa·.

(62) čoy honk ʔat gitgo sg̣epgabli honk ʔat. (63) "ʔi·," či honk. (64) dič dak ksam̓a·č́a honk ʔat naʔas honk, "git hay ʔi giwapk! (65) čoy ʔi q̇ay gitgo q̇oy giwapk, ńĺo·q̇attanwapk hi·t." (66) čoy sa honk ʔat ksam̓a·č́a, bi·ʔasdat, wončJat. (67) čoy honk ʔat gitgo gi. (68) čoy honk newlg̣a dak honk naʔas gi—hokt sńewe·ts, honkĺam gitgo—[24] (69) "he· ʔi gitgo giwapk, datg̣lam bańi sg̣epgok, čoy ʔi sṕoltgiwapk hon wonč naʔas." (70) čoy sa honk ʔat hom̓as gi. (71) ʔat sa honk datg̣lam bańi hok sg̣epgank, čoy honk ʔat gilʔank honk sṕoltgi, wonč. (72) čoy honk ńĺiwwa hadakt. (73) ʔat honk g̣og̣etdat hontdat ńĺiwwa. (74) č́osńi hadakt.

(75) ʔat honk sg̣epgabli hom̓as gyank. (76) čoy honk hadakt gitgo gi—mo··· giwḱi·č́a ʔambo hadakt, do·st honk hok č́a·sis ńĺiwwa hadakt. (77) mona··· gaʔas hok—giwḱi·č́a hi·t kalambya riba ho·t. (78) ho·t mo·ni g̣og̣e. (79) gaʔas hok mo··· giwḱi·č́a. (80) q̇ay hi·t kani sg̣aḱo·č́ant ḱičḱa·ẏantga dwantga pačit gin nen. (81) čoy hom̓as hok gena. (82) nent ni wiḱa·ńs mis sʔabi·ys honkt, kant ni sʔaywakta.

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[124]

[24] Here Mr. David sought the word for "sister-in-law" which he had been using, but failed to find it.

#539

(91) čoy honk goni· na·Í, na?as ?o·Ís honk ho·t—čak̓a·y̓ank he·ma. (92) ho·t hok dola gi, sqeÍam̓čas. (93) čoy honk na?as, "?o···Í, ?o···Í," ?o·Ís či honk gi.[56] (94) čoy honk hok sa dinčipgatk na?as, "?a·di· ?at gena·, nen lis qyosa he·ma," či honk. (95) ?o·Ís honk he·ma na?as—ma·ma hok čak̓a·y̓ank gida he·ma. (96) čoy sa honk ?at glewi·, hom̓as gist.

(97) čoy honk ?at lembli hok sqeÍam̓č, ?at do· honk ?at, ?at honk yiwgokbli honk č̓asga·y̓a·ks. (98) "hont ?ams ni nen s?abi·ya," či honk. (99) "?at y̓a ?i s?aywakta?" na?as honk wola·.

(100) čoy honk—k̓ečč̓a nen q̓ay dič—gitgo hok lobi· da·ts čis.[57] (101) ?i·—q̓ay, wenni ?a nen s?aba·. (102) hadakt hok le·w či·ya, honk ni s?abo·la ?ona·. (103) čoy da·ts ?oč gin hi·t hak git gi—?oč gin ?očče· ?an giwapk.

(104) čoy honk ?at yiwgokblyo·lank na?as, "geno·twapk na·t sas," na?as honk, "geno·twapk na·t sas! (105) do· hadaktdaÍ, gi·wasdaÍ." (106) ?at honk m̓olw̓a sqeÍam̓č, s?awi·gank honk ?at. (107) čoy honk ?at do·—honkt honk do· ?at gotgyank gitgo gi—le·was ?at honk siwga, genank sa. (108) čoy honk gitgo gi, q̓ay honk s?aywakta kakni ho·t sa kat dola honks. (109) čoy honk siwgank, ?at hom̓as peÍe·k̓a na·nok č̓ole·ks. (110) peÍe·k̓a honk le·was č̓ole·ks honk na·nok. (111) čoy hom̓as gyank, nonÍotgi, hi·t Wali·sdat gyank.

(112) čoy honk na?as, "ge· sqeÍam bosakÍas! (113) ge· sqeÍam č̓o·ks! (114) ge· sqeÍam sdaynas!" na?as honk. (115) ?at wbetgi. (116) čoy honk sqačtq̓akdamnank hok sa, na·nok woÍa·. (116) ?at hok ba···ligi hok. (117) qaq̓o· bil honk danikt hok woÍa·, hokt le·w kat hok či·ya, gi·was. (118) čoy honk ho·t tabi·ge·n na?as gi, "ge· sqeÍam sdaynas!" či honk, "ge· sqeÍam sdaynas!" či honk. (119) noÍo·č̓a honk na?as, "ge· sqeÍam sdaynas!" (120) čoy honk ?at gitgo gi—?at na·nok hom̓as gist. (121) blay sa—honk domi· hok hompči či·ya. (122) čoy sa q̓ay q̓aY?an, dada·t sa noÍo·tgi. (123) čoy honk kani sn̓oga·, ge·tantkni·, wage·n gida·tantkni·—honkt, kant honk wbetgi.

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[19] [56] The sequence /?o···Í, ?o···Í/ represents Dove's cry and forms the onomatopoetic basis for this bird's name. This utterance was given in a faint, high, far-away voice. The faintness of Dove's cry made SqeÍam̓č's pursuers believe that he had outdistanced them, although he was really close by.

[124] [57] At this point Mr. David recalled a portion of the story which he had omitted. He explained that it should have been inserted somewhere near Sentence 82 of the present text. Sentences 107 through 111 are more or less a résumé of the action, resulting in the killing of Le·w. Sentences 104 through 106 were improvised material giving continuity to the story in spite of the error. Sentences 112 through 127 form the main part of the omitted section.

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do·st ho·t mo· nota·," naʔas honk. (22) čoy honk gmoḱaḿč naʔas, "gen nis sa ḱečč́a č́leya, bloʔa·k," naʔas honk gi. "gen nis sa ḱečč́a bloʔa·k č́leya·," či honk gi. (23) "čoy da·ts ʔi hoḿas giwapk, gen min ḱečč́a č́leywapk," či honk. (24) "čoy kiwtganwapk min gen," naʔas honk. (25) "čaqčaqtḱa·ýantga ʔankotga hompčantga kiwtganwapk." (26) hokt qawdo·gi·sas honk naʔas gi. (27) "kiwtganwapk min gen, hoḿas če· ʔi gen ṕat, q́ay sńogank ńepbatga," naʔas honk. (28) čoy honk ʔat hoḿas gi. (29) "he· hanwi!" naʔas honk, "čoy min kiwtganwapk." (30) čoy honk naʔas gi, "nen ʔa neńs ḿa·sʔa," naʔas honk. (31) čoy honk ʔat hokt gmoḱaḿč honk ʔat kiwdaqńank—gida—kiwdaqńa honkt čaqčaqĺantga dwantga. (32) čoy hoḿas hak, ʔat do· kiwaga sdaynas honkĺam. (33) čoy honk ʔat hok glega·, hiʔit hak.

(34) čoy honk be·n, ʔat honk ma·ns q́e·gi. (35) "dat dal nen hok? (36) čiḱa·ʔa·k gentk, ma·ns q́e·gi," či honk. (37) "gaʔas no·čgas gen sle·čwapk," naʔas honk. (38) ʔat honk hokt galamnatk honks, kat tapýap honkĺam na·ĺ. (39) čoy honk ʔat gena·, hoḿas hak, naʔas hok honk swinčńa, "qawdo·gi·s agoč agoč, qawdo·gi·s agoč agoč." (40) čoy honk hoḿas hak hokt gi.

(41) čoy honk hok hak hosdanga be·n, honk gist. (42) ʔat honk hosdanga be·n. (43) čoy honk ʔat hoḿas hak, naʔas hak sʔabi·ya, hoḿas. (44) "hoḿas če· hay gyank ṕat," či honk. (45) "gen ʔa gene·ńs dič ḿa·sʔa," či honk, "gen nis sa gen ḱet č́leya·," či honk, naʔas honk gi. (46) hokt—gmoḱaḿč hok naʔas, "gen nis sa gen ḱečč́a č́leya·"—wele·q́atk honk, na·nok soṕlo·q́atk honk ńos. (47) q́a··· gmočatk, "yoýalqsče·ńs nis sa gen ḱet č́leya·," či honk. (48) "he· nen qbedo· gen," či honk, "čoy nene·ńs ḿa·sitk," či honk. (49) čoy hoḿas hak ʔat kiwdaqńa—"kiwtganwapk da·ts min, q́ay ʔi da·k sńogank ńepbatga," naʔas. (50) čoy honk ʔat kiwdaqńa. (51) čoy hoḿas hak ʔat kiwagank, ʔat honk siwga, honktčgas.

(52) čoy honk ʔat hoḿas hak ʔat kiwagank, čoy hok sat la·ṕok saglamnank, be·n Na·s gepga. (53) be·n Na·s hoḿas hak, ʔat honk hosčo·q́a. (54) čoy honk naʔas hok sqeĺaḿč sʔaba·, "gen ʔans ho·t sa gene·ńs sʔotía, čoy ʔan hoḿas giwk. (55) q́ay sas no· hon wgaps," či honk.[59] (56) "gen nis sa geńs sʔotía," či honk—hokt sqeĺaḿč.

(57) čoy honk hok—naʔas hok sʔaba·. (58) čoy do·s ni nen sʔaba·, maqlaqs hon ga·ʔa·k ʔelgank boqsʔam ge·n—boqs meyks. (59) hi·t hok boqs meyks. (60) čoy honk hadakt hok hoḿas ne·pga, ga·ʔa·k, nent ni sʔaywakta ḱada·t bańi hak.

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[59] The form /wgaps/ is doubtful. This is what seems to be from the tape, but Mr. David was not certain of it on hearing it again, nor could he reproduce the utterance. He felt, however, that the translation given was what belonged there.

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he threw it as he ran, that person. (41) Now he ran back home, came running back here for good. (42) Thus the little old lady, [that was what] she did once. (43) That's as far as I [know].

Introductory Note to Text 13

[124]

This is essentially the same myth as that given in Text 2 by Mrs. Ohles. There are, however, some interesting points of difference: Mr. David's version employs a less elaborate method of tricking Antelope out of his eyes, and the ending of this text has also been expanded to include an episode in which Gmoḱam̓č replaces Antelope's eyes with better ones made from clay and mica (as was explained later in English by the narrator). The story is thus given a "happy ending," and a mythic reason for Antelope's protruding eyeballs and exceptional vision is also included.

13. Coyote and the Thunder Bird

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) I will tell about some Coyote or other, that I know. (2) Once he was wandering there on the mountain, that Coyote. (3) And he heard it, thunder (4) It was thundering. (5) And he said, "What is that thundering? (6) What is doing that?" (7) And he looked, [but] did not see it. (8) And it kept on thundering. (9) So he searched, [for] he wanted to see what was thundering, that Coyote.

(10) Now then he saw it. (11) And sitting up high, a little bird like that, he [was the one]. (12) The Thunder Bird, as they called him, people—the Thunder Bird, he was thundering. (13) Yes, the Thunder Bird, as that little bird is called. (14) So he saw him. (15) "Are you the one making all that noise?" he said. (16) "Is it you thundering? (17) How did you do it?" he asked him, that Coyote. (18) "Doing this way," he said, plucking out his eyes. (19) Then he threw his eyes up, very, very high. (20) He threw them up, that little Thunder Bird. (21) Yes, throwing them up, having taken out his eyes. (22) And he said, "Do it this way, and then it thunders."

(23) Now then he did something—"Ya···, you do that well!" said Coyote, "Can I do it that way too?" he said. (24) "Do it thus!" he said, "Having

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17. Galo·qa·qaqs

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) čoy be·n ni dwa· s?abwapk, kant ni s?aywakta. (2) dada·t honk hok wawč́a·k č́asgi·ps dola či·ya·, čoy homas hoksakdanga honkt, kant ni nen s?abwapk, honkt g̡alo·qa·qaqsas. (3) čoy honk ni nen domna ga·?a·k, q̓ay q̓a dič da·ts ni nen ho·skanga. (4) čoy sa honk ?at hoksakdanga sa honk. (5) q̓ay ni nen dič ho·skanga kaya·nWa hok. (6) g̡alo·qa·qaqsas da·ts honk, honk gist siso·ga, hokt g̡apg̡agwač́e·sis hok—na?as no· domna.[63]

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[124]

[63] Mr. David had just listened to the investigator reading Mr. Pompey's text about Galo·qa·qaqs (Text 7), and this reminded him of the present episode. In Mr. Pompey's story G̡alo·qa·qaqs fought Weasel, but Mr. David had heard some other version in which G̡alo·qa·qaqs fights with G̡apga g̡wač́e·sis. This is why he adds /na?as no· domna./ "Thus I heard."

#539 (7) gapgagwač́e·sis honk siso·ga galo·qa·qaqsas. (8) čoy honk ʔat sičwallqč́a, siso·ga mat. (9) ʔat sa siso·ga, ma···na. (10) gaḱi·č́a sa honk, ʔa·yʔay̓a sas honk, hok sat ge·lant gyank. (11) čoy honk hoḿas hak gawallga blaydaĺ, do·s sa honk sičwallqč́a. (12) blaydaĺ hok sat, do···. (13) ne· hak sʔollaqs domnas, galo·qa·qaqsʔam. (14) gi···lʔank sʔollq̓o·ta gawallga naʔas.

(15) čoy honk hokt čik honk hemčńa, gmoḱaḿč honk hokt, naʔas, "q̓ay gotgibliwapk! (16) hiʔit hak ʔi č́osni giwapk!" naʔas honk galo·qa·qaqsas. (17) "q̓ay ʔi gotgibalyank! (18) čoy ḱet hak ʔi snolo·ḱwapk psewdiwa·sas," naʔas. "naʔas bil ʔi gidamnwapk, dada· hakt ge· ṗayswapk," naʔas honk, "čoy nent bil sʔollaq̓wapk gilʔank, hiʔitna či·yank, hiʔit hak či·yank blay," naʔas honk hokt gmoḱaḿč. (19) sʔabi·ya honkt.

(20) čoy hoḿas hak ʔat. (21) snolo·ḱa na·ts·ho·t didatńa, lmeys. (22) naʔas wosa· nanqa lmeys. (23) maqlaqs hon wosa·, nanqa, lmeys ga·ʔa·k. (24) ga·ʔa·k sa dada·t lmena· hoḿas, kani dodi·q̓alga. (25) ḱičḱa·ni gyank, čoy he· hok dodi·q̓atk, qlas Waltist, lilhanksʔam, bahapks qlas.[64] (26) čoy hok hadaktdaĺ gena·, dada· hakt lmeys Walta naʔas. (27) čoy honk ʔat q̓a··· wosa·.

(28) čoy honk č́osak kbe·wa naʔas, "ʔambodaĺ hay ʔi hoččanwapk, he· hoḿas giwapk." (29) naʔas, "ʔambotdat ʔi do· gone·gwapk, čoy ʔi git dwa· siĺakiwapk, gitgo, ḱom ho·t mo· se·sa, ḱom loloqsti· hompči, kat ho·t nobo·sitk na·nok." (30) čoy honkt honk salwaltgi, čewank ʔambotdat.

(31) čoy ni sleʔa· dińa·, Na·s sńewe·ts hoḿas gist ga·ʔa·k—ĺeyn ga·ʔa·k, dada·t ʔan honk sʔaywakta. (32) dada·t lmena· naʔas, čoy hok q̓a··· wosa·. (33) čoy hok hottgiča hi·t na·ĺam či·sksaksikni·, dokwaʔa·kdaĺ. (34) čoy hoḿas howwank hi·t, ma·na čewa·, ʔambotdat. (35) naʔas sa sʔaba·. (36) "q̓ay mat ho·t ndogat ʔambotdat dwa·," naʔas sa honk giwk. (37) čoy honk ni nen ḱet sʔaba· wiḱa·, naʔas kant ni sʔaywakta.

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[124] [64] The reference and exact translation of this sentence seem doubtful. This text unfortunately could not be checked over with Mr. David, and other informants were unable to supply a completely satisfactory translation. Mrs. Ohles felt that Mr. David had here injected a brief reference to the dreams in which spirit-power appeared.

18. Gmoḱamć and Old Mink

(Mr. Robert David)

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(1) maqlaqs da·ts hoḿas hak dank—ga·ˀa·k. (2) sˀaba· naˀas gida·na hok maqlaqs hompčit nanqa sˀaywaks. (3) sˀaywaks damnon, waqt min nen dank sˀabi·ya gen, sdaẏa·Yast gida—kant min nen dank sˀabi·ya sdaẏa·Yast.[65] (4) ni·ya min sˀabi·ya naˀas, sdaẏa·Ya ḿeYas sas lweltgi giwk. (5) čoy hompči hok damnon git maqlaqs ga·ˀa·k. (6) danni hak? —ndanni?—woni·bi? (7) danni hak ˀoˀo·ˀaq sa se·satk. (8) hok da·ts gmoḱamć gillitk nalk.

(9) čoy Na·s ni sˀabwapk naˀas, do·. do·st ni nen sˀaba·, ni·Laqs gina·ĺa hi·t. (10) sohi·yagye·ks goni·ĺa, kat ho·t ˀews ho·t. (11) mo·ni ho·t ˀews ho·t, kant hon sle·ća geno·k do·daĺ. (12) čoy honk hadakt hok maqlaqs či·ya·, do·ge·n hon ˀews. (13) čoy sa q̓ay dada· sa kyem ṕan, kyem gempča. (14) čoy čik hok hadakt hokt gatba, Na·s, hompčat sˀaywaks. (15) čoy či honk naˀas gi. "sˀotĺi·wapk ˀa ma·ts ni. (16) sˀotĺi·wapk ˀa ma·ts ni, do·st ˀa·t ṕawapk kyem." (17) čoy honk hoḿas gi. (18) čoy honk hompčat qˀis ndaglank qdo·lća. (19) qdo·lća honk wiwk. (20) čoy honk bwewa· honk hadakt. (21) čoy honk naˀas gi. "ge· ˀa kyem glegwapk," či honk. (22) na·nok sqoks ˀat hon sle·wapk," či honk, naˀas honk gi. (23) "ṗawapk ˀat ˀa·t kyem! (24) kyem ho·t glegwapk. hompči ćwa·m. (25) ćwa·m ho·t glegwapk," či honk.

(26) čoy honk hok sat dića·ẃa honk ˀat, hi·t či·ik, ni·Laqs gina·ĺa hi·t. (27) hi·t honk či·ya· sa, ni·Laqs hon gina·ĺa. (28) čoy honk dića·ẃa sa naˀas, "ˀi·," či honk, "mo· ˀi na·ts dič."

(29) čoy honk gielga hompčant qdayyat. (30) čoy honk yaĺapḱo·la, q̓elẏak sdikso·y, gaˀas pečlgank. (31) "ge· gew gweys. (32) dada· ma·ns hakt ge· gweys mbegwapk, čoy honk ḱada· ma·ns gi ˀat kyem giwapk gida," či honk. (33) gielga honk honkant qdayyat, ˀews ˀiwlilalli·na, ˀambo wiḱa·t hon. (34) naˀas honk sˀabi·ya maqlaqsas, honkẏes. (35) dam bas nen hok hatkak ˀo·č? (36) mbega· qdayyat. (37) čoy hoḿas hak no· honk sleˀa· dank. (38) geḿas pečĺaqWi·s siik hiswaqsˀam gweys, mo·ni, qdayyat gaˀas, yaĺapḱo·latk. (39) sleˀa· ˀan honk, dank, no· da·k ćis.

(40) "dada· ma·ns hakt gew ge· peč giwapk. čoy hok gatbanwapk, kyem," naˀas honk. (41) "gaba·tanwapk ho·t git ˀewsdat. (42) čoy honk ˀat

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[65] Mr. David here refers to Text 36, which was told to the investigator some days before the present one.

[124]

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ṗawapk ʔa·t, lwelaak." (43) čoy naʔas sas hok sʔabi·ya, ga·ʔa·k, hompčit sʔaywaks hiswaqs.

(44) čoy hok hiʔit čis sbokĺis mo·ni lboga·, hompče·ńam. (45) ho·t honk sʔotĺi·ya sas, hokt, sbokĺis honk, ẏayńa wiḱa·t hi·t. (46) lboga· mo·ni, sleʔa· ʔan honk dank, ga·ʔa·k. (47) čoy honk hadakt ho·t sat sbokĺiʔa, domi· gin goLyank. (48) sleʔa· ʔan honk, mo···ni hok gen lačas winyagyank, mo·ni nalk, sbokĺis hok. (49) čoy hok ginqant gidaĺ, ḱečča.[46] (50) čoy honk hadakt qday ʔilgank datglam, čoy hok qwa·t glegatk qday dank, mo·mni qday. (51) mo·mni hok qday. (52) ʔĺia·ĺa hadakt. (53) čoy honk hokt hok sbokĺiWi·s čis sam ga·ʔa·k. (54) hi·tkni· honk sbokĺiʔa hokt, sas honk sʔotĺi·ya hompčit, sʔaywaks.

(55) čoy Na·s čis hompčit lboga·. ʔiWq̇a·q do· gina·ĺa, ẏayńa wiḱa·t. (56) honk ni sleʔa· čis. (57) sbokĺis hompči hak mo··· sʔode·tk. (58) čoy da·ts no· q̇ay sʔaywakta kakni hok—dam hompčit mo·mni, waga·n kani gin sbokĺiʔa hadakt honkant. (59) čoy honk ʔambo wiḱa·t nioltq̇aga gida, honkt sbokĺis wiḱa·t. (60) pepe·wḱis hok hompče·ńam, maqlaqsʔam. (61) čoy ʔat dič pepe·wwapk, sbokĺyo·lank, či honk honkt ʔambo sʔotĺi·ya sas goq̇a·k hon, mo·ni hok goq̇a·k ʔat glega·. (62) čoy honk ni nen sʔasba, naʔas sʔabo·k, čoy sʔaywaks dank git damnon.

(63) he· silʔaltk kani, čoy hok heswambli naʔas, gaʔas dasttanʔo·ta, hemkango·ta. (64) "sańa·Wawli wemblitgi giwk," či honk, yaNWa· gin gipks, kat gin gleḱńapga. (65) čoy honk hokt dasttanʔa gaʔas sʔabi·ya naʔas, "q̇ay hay ʔi giwapk. (66) ʔat ʔams ni saĺwa·Ywapk." (67) spitgalbli honk sńogank ńepbat. (68) spitgalbli honk sńogank ńep hońas, honkt hiswaqs, sʔaywaks giwk.

(69) dwa gin honk hońas gi saĺwa·Ya, dwa· gin—dwa· hakt kani hońas gi, waga·n hońas ḿa·sʔa, waga·n dwa· yoẏalqsči gi. (70) čoy hok saĺwa·Ya naʔas, "no· ʔams saĺwa·Ywapk," či honk, sʔabi·ya hokt. (71) čoy ʔat hońas giwapk, waqt hakt min sʔabi·ya. (72) "čoy ʔi gasaqčanwapk honkt," naʔas sas hokt sʔabi·ya, "čoy saĺwa·Ywapk."

(73) čoy na·ts hompčit git gawʔi·na ga·ʔa·k. (74) hompčit—maqlaqs hok hońas gi. (75) maqlaqs hok, q̇ay dwa·. (76) q̇ay datkni· gatbnank,

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[46] Mr. David here gestured up at the roof, indicating the position of the smoke-holes. This is the reference of /gidaĺ/ "through here."

#539 dak honk hasanwis, sa sqoldatqńa sa honk, čoy sa honk geega hasanwis, qwa·t honk sagwačdangatk hokt. (39) čoy sa honk s'ʔaywakta hońas, gaga·ńa hok hońas. (40) čoy honk ni domna naʔas ḱst.[67]

21. The Bear

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) nent ni be·n Na·s wiḱa·ńs sʔabwapk, kant ni sʔaywakta. (2) honk čik ni ho·skanga ḱečča. (3) ga·ʔa·k ni nen domna naʔas, do·s honk ʔewksi do·s hak hi·t—čoy ḱičḱa·ńs honk loq̓a·k sńoga·. (4) čoy honk maqlaqs keepgabli gina·daĺ, do·st ho·t mbosaksawa·s gida. (5) čoy goni· hi·t, lobaqsksi či sa hon ʔelgank hi·t, goge wiḱa·t. (6) hi·t hok domi··· maqlaqs či·ya·, wqepĺaqsdat, na·nok dwantdat. (7) hi·t maqlaqs či·ya· ga·ʔa·k, loldam gin. (8) čoy hok hi·tkni· hok maqlaqs. (9) ʔat honk hokt sʔaywakta, loq hok, gatbamblyok hadakt do· q̓e·gist mna ḱičḱa·ńs. (10) čoy honk gweys sam haYčipga ʔat.

(11) čoy honk sʔaba· q̓oye·ẃank q̓a···, hokt loq, sńewe·ts hok. (12) čoy honk naʔas, "kańs sitk nis sa gen," či honk, "kat no· čis swaq̓a·delwas pe·watk," naʔas honk.[68] (13) "no·č dak swaq̓a·delwas ni pe·watk," či honk, "spodo·tgiwk hon," naʔas honk. (14) naʔas honk sdalta, "spodo·tk ni hadakt, ʔambotdat do·st hok qwa·ĺatk ʔambo, q̓ay hadakt kani q̓a gatbant. (15) čoy honk hompči naʔas hok ʔelgank, "swaq̓a·delwas ni pe·watk," či honk. (16) ʔat honk sʔawi·gok, naʔas gi.

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[124]
[776]
[67] Mr. David changed to English after finishing this text and related some further incidents about the Gaga·ńa. They were tiny people, he said, who dressed strangely and were sometimes naked. They lived out in the timber but were especially numerous around Summer Lake (/ʔiwwa/). They were seen not only by the Klamaths but by other tribes and by white men as well. He described one such occurrence in his youth, when a white man driving a team of horses on "the mountain" (Crater Lake?) was stopped by a tiny little man who clung to the wheel of the wagon. All the strength of the horses was insufficient to move him. Mr. David mentioned a further occurrence in which a Paiute saw a group of Gaga·ńa playing in a meadow and thought they were children. When he tried to pick one up, he could not lift it, and its body was hard and rock-like.

[193]
[68] Mr. David did not know the exact location of /swaq̓a·delwas/. This word seems to contain {dᵊl} 45-v "to look," {ew} 10sv "into the water, flat place," and the noun ending {s}. The sequence /swaq̓a·/ is unanalyzable.

23. Picking Wokas
(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

#539

(1) woksía ʔa na·t ʔewsdat. (2) ʔiaga na·t. (3) čoy na·t honk ʔiǥoga q̓očw̓allat, čoy na·t ʔembli honkt či·sdaĺ. (4) čoy be·raldat na·t w̥etǥoga, snoníap̓iǥok.[73] (5) homas na·t wokas na·ĺam be·Lbeĺa, waqt sa honk sa dank ni·ya sʔotía. (6) čoy hok q̓ay da·ts hadakt wik̓a·tant hak. (7) čoy na·t ʔepgablyank honk be·raldat ʔiǥoga. (8) čoy sa·war gitgi giwk.[74] (9) níoptgi giwk na·t honk be·raldat ʔiǥoga. (10) čoy na·t ʔat honk dič če· homas giwapk. (11) čoy honk ʔat sdilli·na, dič sdilli·nank naʔas honk, čoy gitgo—ke·ía·w̓a, sannat.[75] (12) bahtgiwk. (13) čoy honk ʔat ke·pbe·ĺa na·t honk, bahtgiwk dič. (14) čoy na·t ʔiǥoga na·ĺam willsikgat. (15) čoy hok k̓ada·dit hak. (16) ʔat p̓as sʔotía na·t honk, bahapks če· dič. (17) čoy na·t ʔat p̓an honk.

24. Cooking Wokas
(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

(1) p̓aLatdat ʔikLa wokas. (2) ĺkom plentant ʔikLa wokasdat. (3) čoy siwi·, pniwtanʔo·ta. (4) ĺkom honk ʔikLasdat pniwtanʔa hosno·ǥok honk siwi·s mna wokas.

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[124]
[194]

[73] In speaking to the investigator, Mrs. Pompey felt more at home in English, since at that time the investigator knew so little Klamath. She thus inserts /be·raldat/ "in the barrel." The phonemic structure is Klamath, except for the anomalous /r/, but ‖d̲‖ after ‖l‖ should occur as /l/, giving ‖be·rald̲at‖ : */be·rallat/.

[74] The form /sa·war/ is English, but conforms to Klamath phonological pattern except for /r/. It might well have been put in quotation marks as a form quoted from another language.

[75] /sannat/ is likewise from English. Here, however, ‖sand̲at‖ : /sannat/ as it should.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963

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25. Grinding Seeds

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

*539 (1) mṕa·ḱank lo·q, ʔitgank, ga·ma. (2) ga·mank honk lo·q čiḱa·ýank hoano·ga. (3) čoy ṕen hoḿas giwk. (4) dič ḿa·sʔa.

26. Killing Fish

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) git lis yana· ge·t, yana· ge·t, mbosaksawa·s yanćʼi·t maqlaqsas ga·ʔa·k sʔotʼi·ya.[76] (2) čoy do·st sas sʔabi·ya naʔas, "git ʔi lwelwapk ʔi kyem!"—kat hi·t či·ya· yana·, maqlaqs. (3) čoy honkýes honk naʔas gi, "ḱada·di sqo, gentdat sʔabasdat, čoy sogo·lagyank ʔat gen lwelwapk kyem," naʔas honk, "git ni sdawa·—sdaba·tanwapk, gen, gogetdat."

(4) čoy ʔat hompčat sʔotía, qday hok gaʔas, waqt sa hon de·m ḱeyn sʔotía.[77] (5) hoḿas hok do· yana·, na·nok ẃetpga, sle·s pačit gin.

(6) čoy honk hadakt ʔat ćosak maqlaqs gatba, na·nok ʔiLo·ls. (7) čoy honk hi·tkni· be·n Na·s sʔotía git ge·t wiḱa·, lobaqskai, či sa ʔelga hi·t. (8) git ge·t blay, lobaqskai. (9) "čoy honk ʔa·t ʔa ḱinḱa·ni git či·ya·," či honk, "čoy honk hoḿas giwapk, ḱada·di hak ho·t kyem čenwapk," naʔas honk. (10) "ho·t datdadwa, kyem, kant ni nen sʔabi·ya ma·ts lweltgi giwk, kant ʔa·t hon ṕan, ḱada·di hak ho·t čenwapk. (11) q̓ay do·daí. (12) q̓ay ho·t do·daí gogetdat čenwapk. (13) ḱada·di hak," naʔas honk ʔat sʔabi·ya sas hokt.

(14) čoy sa honk hoḿas hok maqlaqs git, ga·ʔa·k ni sleʔa·, dada· ni ḱičḱa·ni. (15) čoy sa ʔat memćapgank—sqo—čoy sa honk ʔat lwela·, (16) lwela· sa honk hompčat, kyem, na·nok. (17) čoy sa gempča gogo·ḱa

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[124] [76] Mr. David had just been speaking about the various culture-transformers in English and had recently finished telling Text 18. The subject of this entire first section is thus one (or more?) of these powerful beings.

[194] [77] The form /de·m/ "dam" is phonemically Klamath, but might have been put into quotation marks as a quoted item.

that Modoc said once. (28) They never forgot it, [their] doing thus, 539*
[their] killing the Indians wrongfully [lit. "badly"]. 173
(29) And I have only related little bits of it. (30) But I know a great 648
deal, but I am not telling all of it, however. (31)—How the Indians used
to fight amongst themselves, always they fought even among themselves. [721]
(32) Even among themselves they enslaved someone's child, and sold it. [567]
(33) That much is all I will tell. (34) I have nothing else to tell.

Introductory Note to Text 28

This text is a continuation of the foregoing by Mrs. Butler's sister. 124 •
Both are part of a recorded conversation about Klamath history in general, 128
and no particular attempt was made to formalize the texts into "stories." When Mrs. Butler had finished her historical narrative above, the topic turned to the Modoc War, and Miss Skellock began to discuss their father's role in that conflict. Rightfully, this text should include the remarks in English which led up to the Klamath portion, and also an explanation and continuation in English which follows it. Limitations of space require that these English parts be edited and abbreviated, however.

Introductory Remarks in English

"Our father was a scout in the Modoc War. He was with the white 539*
soldiers and went to those Lava Beds where the Modocs were." 726
648
173

28. Recollection of the Modoc War

(Miss Irene Skellock)

(1) My father went there, to the battleground. (2) And he was with the white men. (3) And he was a soldier—ah—a "scout." (4) And they were falling on both sides of him, soldiers. (5) And if they shot one, the soldier behind him marched up to the front. (6) However, they never shot him. (7) And he, however, was afraid of seeing (?) those Modoc Indians only. (8) So he lived in fear, thus they said, and some of those Klamath Indians who went with him, they also were afraid. (9) And that's all I'm going to tell [in Klamath].

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 143]

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581

live together with that man of yours," they said. (24) "You will never leave him. (25) You will never deceive him. (26) You will give him everything. (27) You will hide nothing [from him]." (28) Thus they told them. (29) "Everything of yours [pl.] will be just one. (30) Now you will tell each other [everything]. (31) Anything at all—if someone would tell you, something, then you would tell your husband. (32) If [someone] would tell you, the husband, also, then you will tell your wife. (33) Now you [pl.] will be just one. (34) Then having become just one, then you will tell your [pl.] children in the same way, to do just thus, just as we live," said that old man, speaking, who was their father, his [here?].

(35) "So now you [pl.] will become just one. (36) We are this many living. (37) And thus having begotten children, then you will advise [them], just as we are telling you today. (38) And you must never, never forget it!" they said. (39) "If you indeed would forget it, something evil will take hold of you forever. (40) And it will always be thus. (41) Now you will hide something from him next, even something big, which you did wrongly—perhaps [something you] did. (42) If you do thus," they said, "Then something you do not want, evil, to be thus, to fall between [you] thus, then it will catch you. (43) Where we live, so you will live, being happy. (44) And so far, when we are old now. (45) So you will live together until old age with that wife of yours." (46) Thus they told them. (47) Now that's as far [as it goes].

Introductory Note to Text 35

539*
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[124]

This is the Klamath version of "This Little Piggy Went to Market." Mrs. Chiles felt that it, or something very similar, had been used since pre-White days, but she was not sure about the details. Several of the items are untranslatable in terms of this corpus, and one, No. (6), seems to contain myth material. Mrs. Chiles thought that there definitely was a myth connected with this but could not recall it in any detail and did not wish to commit herself.

Method: The adult takes the baby's fingers one by one, starting at the little finger and ending with the thumb, reciting one of the first five words for each finger. Taking the baby's open palm, the adult taps it rhythmically and recites sentence (6). She then circles the baby's palm

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 151]

35. Amusing A Baby
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

#539

(1) boqs. (2) ge·s. (3) leYas. (4) dawi·qs. (5) ƛo·l.

(6) bambaWaq, bambaWaq, sqelam tapy̓a snoy̓o·digyo·ts.[81]

(7) woy̓a·, woy̓a·, woy̓a·.
(8) dip, dip, dip, . . .

36. Teasing the Old Men
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) momča·k wawa·ła·wa. (2) čoy ni gisčipga. (3) čoy nis gew blogo·čip na?as, "ge· ?a gepga sitti·na."[82] (4) čoy ni na?as, "dam dal hok ne· dič m̓a·s?a, qaq̓o· ma·lam p̓as? (5) síesalq̓apks sko·ks p̓ap̓i·s!" (6) čoy honk wetno·ta gembalyank, be·ya mna na?as, "?ans hok ?elga. (7) čoy če·!" (8) "waq hayč mis ?elga?" (9) "sko·ks p̓ap̓i·s!" (10) čoy sa weta·, weta···!

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[196] [193] [81] The sequence /sqelam tapy̓a snoy̓o·digyo·ts/ was translated by Mrs. Ohles but is not fully analysable. /snoy̓o·digyo·ts/ contains (o·t) 30sv "instrumental," and (s) "noun ending." /sno/ might be (sn̲) 2pv "causative," and /y̓o·di/ might be (y̓o·) 4S-v "to shoot pl." plus (odi) 7-8v "to do transitively." Or this may be (s) 3pv "transitive" plus (n^{V}) 4S-v "to burn" plus other suffix material.

[124] [82] /sitti·na/ seems to be a nickname for Mrs. Ohles, but the investigator neglected to ask her its significance.

autobiographical incidents. The end of the tape arrived just as Mrs. Cowan was beginning to feel tired, and the conversation came to an abrupt end. 124

The tape has been considerably edited to remove false starts, English portions, fragmentary or unintelligible sections, and other such "noise." The author's questions were originally asked in broken Klamath, and this has been put into English in order not to give rise to mistaken statements about the language. As was done above, personal names have been omitted out of respect for the individuals involved. Utterances by different Klamath speakers are indicated by their initials, viz., AC, PO, and RC, and the author's utterances are marked by PB. 124 128

38. A Conversation (among several)

539*
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[824]

(1) PO: Yes, little Coyote, on whom [Gmoḱaṁč] stuck those things—that we call cattails, which was the reason, his fur is bad.

PB: Do you know any myths?

(2) PO: Could you tell a myth to me? (3) I wonder if you would tell a myth?

(4) AC: I don't know how. I don't know how to tell myths.

(5) PO: Do you remember when the white men first came? (6) Do you remember that?

(7) AC: The girls [i.e., nurses] asked me there in the "hospital" thus, "How long have you lived, how long?" (8) So I said, "There were no white people here at all, when I travelled around here." [173]

(9) PO: How big were you, when the white men came? (10) How big were you, when the white men came—when you recall the white men coming for the first time. (11) How big?

(12) AC: Yes, I was big [i.e., "grown up"], big. (13) I know a lot. (14) I was big when they fought the war [i.e., the Modoc War], over there, across there. (15) I being big, I know a lot. (16) But there were no white people anywhere around here, there were none—thus I told those white people [i.e., the nurses]. (17) There were none. (18) Only we Indians were many around here, Klamath Falls people. (19) Many Indians' land this was, [I?] said. (20) "ʔo···," they said, "Yes..." (21) So I have lived so long, I said. (22) "You have lived a very long time," they said, "It was long ago, when there were no white people, long ago," they said to me, the girls there, from the "hospital."

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 159]

(23) PO: Would you tell something good, do thus (?) [at our] asking? 539*
(24) That's what he wants, this one, and he asked me thus, a little while 124 •
ago, "Why are there so many house-pits, on the Marsh? (25) Did they 173
live there at that time, even in the winter?" (26) And I said, "I do not
know." (27) Did they live there on the Marsh in the wintertime? [361]

(28) AC: Yes, all. (29) They lived everywhere. (30) Many there on
the Marsh too, many lived all around it. (31) They lived [there] every
day, even in winter. (32) And these Indians lived around here, many,
the same way these [people lived] also up above, all the length of the
river. (33) These living places were over there, those house-pits. [342]
(34) Thus (Proper name) said to me long ago, "What did this used to be?"
(35) So I said, "Our grandfathers used to live there, that—at that Ģome·kai.
(36) The house-pit was on this side long ago, that of my Grandfather
(father's father)." (37) Thus that (Proper name) told me. (38) It was
there. (39) And they called [them] "ʔiwli·wakni·" that house-pit lies
there, he told me. (40) And in that same way those (Proper name) are
our grandfathers, as I told [her, i.e., the questioner mentioned above in
Sentence (34)]. (41) So [she] said, "Yes, was it thus? (42) No one told
me," [she] said. (43) "Yes, these were living places all around here, [103]
this, this was Q̓ačẃe·č, this mountain—the mountain was called Q̓ačwe·č."

(44) PO: What is that Q̓ačwe·č?

(45) It is something from the old times—some myth. (46) All of the mountains were named some way. (47) Thus said (Another proper name) long ago, "What is that Čn̓iWi·ls? (48) Čn̓iWi·ĺs, what is it?" (49) We do not know. (50) We did not name the mountains. (51) Thus mountains were named thus around. (52) Perhaps when God made this, He named the mountains, thus. (53) I asked many, old persons, and they did not know it. (54) Truly they did not know it, [and] I also do not know.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 161]

(55) It was named all up [the river]. (56) So two persons] asked me a little while ago, "Where was that Komčewi·s?" he asked me, "where there were Indians, where was it?" (57) And (Woman's name) [who is] deceased, said to me too, "Where is that Ni·Laqksi?" 539*
124

(58) PO: What is that Komčewi·s?

(59) AC: Yes, it is called thus on the Marsh. (60) At the end. (61) And [I] said, "This along the hillside is Ni·Laqksi. (62) They are all people's dwellings, that was this Sohi·yagye·ks—all along the hillside, Klamath Falls, many people lived [there]."

(63) PO: Do you know the names [of places] on the Marsh? (64)—How they are called. (65) I only remember, when I was little where we always used to go gathering mudhen eggs—at Charcoal Lake. (66) And now I can't find it. (67) And Sgotq̓aks, I cannot find it now. (68) And what the white people called "Hog Creek," where we used to go and gather blueberries. (69) So they are gone. (70) Thus I told this one, "Those blueberries are gone now." (71) And I wonder if maybe those sheep, ate them up? [103]
[222]

(72) AC: Yes, having trampled it all down in that way. (73) [Just like] this of mine [which I] had planted here awhile ago—very big around, with red blooms there—and that goat ate it all up. (74) However, it has grown back and shoots are coming there, which have something red on them, that kind.

(75) PO: What was a "goat" called?

(76) AC: I don't recall.

PB: What is a "q̓wi·l"? [192]

(77) AC: They called a "sheep" that. (78) Those Modoc Indians [called it] a "q̓wi·l."

PB: And one more, what is "swa·ya"?

(78) AC: What?

(79) PO: swa·ya.

(80) AC: Is it?—a myth, which they called little "Swa·ya." (81) Swa·y—whatever he was, I do not know. (82) There is a myth thus.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 163]

(83) And did anybody tell this one the myth from over there, that is a 539*
good myth. (84) It is [about] Crater Lake. 124•

(85) PO: Probably no one. (86) I do not know it.

(87) AC: Yes, it is a very good myth [about] over there. (88) They told me something thus, that it was a very, very good myth. (89) However, [I] don't know it, because these [meaning her wits] are gone, being old. (Interruption.)

(90) AC: Thus he asked me, how they lived long ago.

(91) PO: Could you tell it?

(92) AC: Now he has stopped it [i.e., the machine].

(93) PO: Now he has done something—started it up again. (94) Now you can begin to tell, if you wish, anything at all. (95) Whatever you remember, tell that. (96) Now I have told it to you, and he will put it on there [i.e., on the tape]. (97) Now it is—something?—going—now it is revolving.

(98) AC: People were good, we Indians a long time ago. (99) We 539*
were good people. (100) And I have told my—we were good people long 124
ago. (101) We took even a little bit of food [i.e., all we had] for [some- 173
one]. (102) And, even though there was no food here, then we took for [431]
[somebody], something. (103) And it was this. (104) And doing it thus
it is called "They even divide up a flea." (105) Thus was the Indians'
way. (106) Thus they used to call it. (108) To someone, even a little
bit of food they took there. (109) Yes, for another, and they gave some
food, even [though it was] from a small amount, even if there was no
food, just being very sympathetic at that time. (110) Living with a great
struggle [lit. "having become very tired"], they got food. (111) Yes, [222]
even old ladies like these went off to dig roots. (112) They slung [a
basket] of this kind on their shoulders, and even the weak, now they knew
that there would be nothing to eat in the winter. (113) And because of [251]
that, they buried some food.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 165]

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963

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(114) PO: Yes, he wants you to tell that kind of thing, how they did things, to get food.

(115) AC: So we used to live this way. (116) These people used to live thus, now have [they] become different. (117) Truly they have become different.

(118) PO: [They] have become white people.

(119) AC: Yes, become different. (120) So they buy anything, they buy anything whatsoever. (121) Long ago they did not do thus. (122) They gave, they gave even a small amount of food. (123) Yes, dividing it thus, just like dividing it. (124) They lived thus long ago, helping each other, helping each other very much. (125) Now they do not do thus. (126) [One] will grasp only for money. (127) We eat only by buying. (128) Here they fish, but now only by buying do we swallow any fish.

[431)

(129) PO: Long ago they did not do thus.

(130) AC: Not thus. Helping each other very much they lived. (131) And long ago it was good, because it was thus, as I have told this one. (132) Now there is nothing. (133) Now there is no fun. (134) And [I] knew long ago, it was good, much to laugh at, something, everything to laugh at, everything. (135) There at the [Fourth of] July place Father raced them, having taken all his clothes off, only wearing his drawers. (136) And all those Paiutes doing this—now they having gone there, then they ran off and left my father behind. (137) [illegible] they roared with laughter, "ʔi···!" (138) Then that woman who [illegible] be (Proper name's) wife became angry at them, because she said [illegible] making fun. (139) Yes, they made fun. (140) "You [pl.] old people are making fun, but he is young," thus she spoke. (141) And they said, "Haja···! ya···dwa·!" they said. (142) They did not talk nicely. (143) "He is not young. (144) He is old," thus said those Paiute women. (145) Then she got angry at them. (146) And thus it was long ago, many things to laugh at, many good things, various things [were] fun. (147) Today everything is quiet. (148) Now there is no poking fun about anything.

[526]

(149) PO: I told this one thus, [once] when they got together, three, or even two, then they said, "Do you know when someone [i.e., a certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 167]

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one] was ever angry?" (150) And he was never one who got angry. (151) He was good. (152) I told this one. (153) They were there at ÇoWasdi, (Proper name^{1}), and (Proper name^{2}), and—who—(Proper name^{3}). (154) They were talking. (155) Someone else perhaps was talking too, whom they called "čopbaqs." (156) And they were laughing. (157) So I eavesdropped on them—I am an eavesdropper, as I told this one. (158) And he said to them, whether they had ever seen (Proper name^{2}), being angry, or perhaps in a bad mood, or perhaps annoyed. (159) No, no [one] had ever seen [him thus]. (160) Then (Proper name^{1}) said, "But I have seen him angry once." (161) "ʔa···, when?" said that (Proper name^{2}). (162) Then (Proper name^{1}) said, "When you were jerking at your horse's bridle!" (163) Then they roared with laughter. (164) Thus I told this one. (165) And I told June also, who always used to come and see you awhile back. (166) She is singing there, at Sheridan. (167) There where they call it thus, there where the Indians from all over are gathering. (168) She will sing there on Sunday, in the evening. (169) She must have arrived, there. (170) And she will sing dressed in a skin [dress], June. (171) She is my—my elder sister's daughter, who always comes to see you.

(172) AC: Yes, niece. (173) She is my [relation] on both sides. (174) I, her grandmother, to me—she considered me her little sister. (175) Yes, she called me her little sister, her grandmother. (176) So my picture of her which I was keeping, of the old lady, it is gone, someone has stolen it from me. (177) It is gone. (178) [I] thought to give it back [and] looked for it long ago. (179) I looked for it, but it was missing.

(The machine was temporarily turned off at this point.)

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(180) AC: Moss [sp. *Evernia vulpina*].

(181) PO: (I never could think of that!) How was that black one called?

(182) AC: Moss [another species]. (183) They "ate" it, ate. (184) Having "roasted" it, having "roasted" it, they ate. (185) That black moss too, they ate it.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

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(186) PO: I saw Little Fire [woman's name] eating it long ago—moss.

PB: What do they call a fern?

(187) PO: How is a "fern" called? (188) That which they mix in with flowers, it grows like flowers, but has no flowers. (189) "Fern," that which the white people call "fern." (190) I can't show you any.

(191) RC: That which they always used to get there on Smith River. (192) That which is something—only foliage.

(193) PO: Which are large, it grows very long.

(194) AC: "čya·wisam," perhaps?

(195) PO: How?

(196) AC: It is "čya·wisam." (197) Yes, [they] eat its leaves like wokas, which are red, those leaves.

(198) PO: No.

(199) RC: Which are long ones.

(200) PO: The like of which we put on top [of a grave]—mixed in with flowers. (201) They are only those long, long leaves. (202) Perhaps having gotten some somewhere, we can show you, sometime.

(203) RC: Before [going] there to the graveyard, people used to get flowers, and then they mixed in that sort, which are long, long leaves.

(204) AC: Those which you [pl.] call "sunflowers"?

(205) PO: No.

PB: Then what would you call sunflowers?

(206) PO: "Sunflowers," I don't know.

(207) AC: Yes, now I have forgotten it. (208) How was it called—but that was applied [lit. "long object put on"], it was medicine, sunflower roots. (209) To be applied, the ones underneath. (210) Having thus become sick, [one] rubs it on oneself, the roots.

PO: Those are the sunflower roots, but she can't remember the sunflowers.

PB: And did the Klamath eat the sunflower seeds?

(211) PO: Did we used to eat that sort?

(212) AC: Yes, they were eaten, good, those seeds. (213) And they were just like sifted [wokas], the seeds. (214) They were "lopi·li·nas." (215) Having roasted them, the pod pops up, little black ones. (216) And only the seeds being thus, like sifted [wokas]. (217) [They] tasted good. (218) Yes, the Indians ate everything, all. (219) "Popping" it all

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

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ho·t lolp, naʔas sa honk ʔelga, boqboq gaʔas.[105] (220) snaps gi. (221) na·nok dwa· ṕan maqlaqs, na·nok dwa·, ga·ʔa·k hoḿas či·ya·. (222) čoy dič či·ya·, meya· č́is gempči, maqlaqsʔam čwa—maqlaqsam "sweet potatoes." (223) dič́i·, Lo·yLoýatk, hoḿas hak swaktktis. (224) q̇alq̇alʔi da·ts gi, dič́i·.

PB: And what is 'qlańe'?

(225) AC: qlańa, ʔi·. (226) ho·t dič́i·, ho·t ṕas gin. (227) pa·snapsam lis—ho·t ge· č́eLaspči hokt, ho·t sĺaba·. (228) ʔi·, pa·snapsam lis č́is sĺaba·, čoy ho·t dak q̇oy bilwitk, hoẏ. (229) q̇oy bilwitk—ho·t paysin. (230) čoy hoḿas da·ts sĺabatk, qlańa sitk sĺabatk, q̇elýak da·ts hok pa·snapsam bilwis, q̇oy. (231) ho·t ʔa sḱawanksam, q̇oyči. (232) hoḿas hak sĺabatk, hoḿas, qlańa sitk. (233) dič́i· dak hok qlańa—dič ḿa·sitk, Lo·yLoýatk. (234) dič́i· č́is sangis ṕan, čoy čiḱa·ýank hok gyank.[106]

PB: What did the Klamath call "garlic" or "onion"?

(235) PO: kat ʔa sa "onion" basdin naʔas ʔelgank, "wild onion" či.

(236) AC: pni ho·t gi. (237) ge·ni čik ho·t, dič́i· hompči dwa·. (238) ho·t č́eḱa·ni, tata·napḱapči gi, mṕoqamnatk. (239) hompči hok sčisčapgatk. (240) hoḿas wa· ge·t, lobi·daĺ, gida. (241) ya·ńi ge·t do·. (242) ne· hompča sańa·Wawli le·nsam ʔikčas, haswa·tgi giwk, gempčant kna·tdat pčant hok ge·latdat—hoḿas domi··· kčalwitk sĺaps. (243) dič́a· sĺaps gi. (244) hompči da·ts ʔaʔalyanspči, neḿas hok bilwitk. (245) naʔas dak sa hon ʔelgank pni či. (246) dič ṕan, sa·t. (247) dič ḿa·sitk, Lo·yLoýa, bogatk lo·st gi. (248) na·nok čeLas mańi· sa honk gaʔas gyank ṕan.

PB: Could you tell me what a "wa·l" is?

(249) PO: dwa· ʔeč hok wa·l? (250) wa·l![107] (251) "le mna ṕle·wa mo·ńs wa·l ʔoye···!"

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[252] [192] [105] /pa·p/ is English "pop." Mrs. Cowan referred to the "popping" of various seeds, much like modern popcorn. This was done to that type of very ripe wokas called /sbokẃas/, to sunflower seeds, etc. The author had never heard of this process being applied to tule roots (/mayam lolp/).

[192] [106] /kok/ is English "cook."

[192] [124] [196] [107] /wa·l/ was mentioned by Mrs. Ohles in connection with a hastily remembered portion of a myth. She thought it was a type of root, and this is borne out by Mrs. Cowan. She repeated the name (Sentence 250) in a louder tone of voice, since Mrs. Cowan tended to be slightly deaf. To further clarify what she meant, she added Sentence 251, which is the myth speech attributed to the chief character in the myth she could not quite recall. The form /ʔoye···/ wavers off into silence at the end. It seems to be ‖ʔʷoya‖ : /ʔoya/ "gives a long object," but with modification of the final vowel.

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well, that wokas, tule eyes [i.e., tule roots], as they called it, white like this. (220) It was popped. (221) Indians ate everything, everything, they lived thus long ago. (222) And they lived well, they dug [roots] like this also, the Indians' potato [Sagittaria latifolia]—the Indians' "sweet potatoes." (223) Good, sweet, looking thus inside. (?) (224) But it was round, good.

PB: And what is "qlańe"?

(225) AC: "qlańa," yes. (226) It was good, even as food. (227) "Parsnips"—this just like a peeling [skin? membrane?] it bloomed. (228) Yes, it blooms just like "parsnips," but it smelled bad, that. (229) Smelled bad—it was "poison." (230) But it had blooms thus, blooming just like qlańa, however that stink of parsnips was not there [i.e., she here is speaking about "poison parsnips"—"sḱawanksam"]. (231) That was poison parsnips [Cicutum douglasii], bad. (232) It bloomed just thus, thus, like "qlańa." (233) But that "qlańa" was good—tasted good, sweet. (234) Good to eat raw also, and [as well as] having boiled and "cooked" it. [252]

PB: What did the Klamath call "garlic" or "onion"?

(235) PO: Which the white people call "onion," or "wild onion."

(236) AC: That is "pni." (237) It is from over there, something good like that. (238) They were little, like little "turnips," bitter. (239) They were in bunches. (240) They grew over there, to the east, here. (241) At Ya·ńi there. (242) [I] wanted Ransom to go and get some, to plant them, on some dry earth like this in the ground—thus there are many, many bright flowers. (243) They are good flowers. (244) However they are just like those onions, smelling just so. (245) But they have called them "pni." (246) They ate it well, the Paiutes. (247) It tasted good, sweet, having put it in a roasting pit, they "roast" it. (248) With all its skin having done thus to it, they ate it.

PB: Could you tell me what a "wa·l" is?

(249) PO: What was that "wa·l"? (250) "wa·l"! (251) "He didn't give his Granny the big 'wa·l'!"

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

(252) AC: "wa·l"—it is good also. (253) My mother always used to find it somewhere, I don't know how long it thus was. (254) They were this big, here. (255) However, [they] were long, tapering, that "wa·l." (256) It tasted good. (257) I do not know it, I never followed her around long ago, when she dug that kind. (258) But she dug [for roots] knowing everything. (259) I do not know it, that "wa·l" thus.

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(260) PO: Its name is all I know. (261) They told [about it] in myths for [us].

(262) AC: It tasted just thus. (263) It was very good thus. (Interruption, and the machine was turned off.)

(264) PO: . . . "ksegi·." (265) Why would they say that? (266) "He 'ksegi·' me," as [they said].

(267) AC: Here, close by, I am deaf now!

(268) PO: "ksegi·"—why would they say that, "He 'ksegi·' me," as [they said].

(269) AC: When he lived with me. (270) If I would live with you, there at your place, then you would say, "She always 'ksegi·' me." (271) Thus you would say.

(272) AC: Then there is one more even, just about like it. (273) "nčegi·."

(274) PO: Didn't I [tell] you so! (275) "nčegi·!"

(276) AC: "nčegi·," that is one even. (277) "Now I will take offence [i.e., "nčegiwapk"] at him." (278) "Now [I] will quarrel [with him]. (279) For a long time I ignored him, but now I take offence. (280) So now I will take offence."

(281) PO: How did you [say] it first? (282) How would I say it, if you lived with me?

(283) AC: "ksegi·."

(284) PO: (That last one means I never paid any attention for a long time, but I will now, take offence to what this other person says and quarrel with them or fight with them or whatever.) So I know it for the first time, having become so old. (Interruption.)

PB: What is a "pḱa·sip"?

(285) PO: Which is that something—Grandfather [mother's father] and Grandfather [father's father]? (286) On the father's side, or perhaps on the mother's side?

[601]

(287) AC: Yes, he is on the mother's side, that "pḱa·sip." (288) And he is on the father's side however, the "bloksip." (289) The "p̓oli·p" is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 175]

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the woman on this side, the "pǩa·sip." (290) And the "bloksip," [the woman on that side is the] "pće·wip"—now they are that many. (291) On this side they are two each.

PB: And what is a "pǩo·nip"?

(292) PO: "pǩo·nip," what is that? (293) How is he related, he whom they call "pǩo·nip"?

(294) AC: The "pǩo·nip" is a brother [woman's elder brother]. (295) He [they?] would be my "ǩoǩo·nip." (Great uncle.) (?)

(The conversation was carried on in English at this point, mostly about friends from the old days.)

(296) PO: . . . And how was he called, with whom she lived—whom she lived with?

(297) AC: No, she just lived with him for a little while. (298) Something herself, even being something to each other—they were some sort of relation to each other. (300) He considered [her] father an uncle [mother's brother], his absent one.

(301) PO: Yes, I thought so.

(The conversation reverted to English and drifted to a recollection of a personal experience from Mrs. Ohles' childhood. The machine was turned off during this time and was only turned on again when she returned to Klamath.)

(302) PO: . . . And she was sick with something for a long time. (303) And she was gone a long time, gone a long time. (304) So she was supposed to be gone only three days, and she was gone much longer, because she was sick. (305) And then he left us [lit. "fell off of us"], that (Proper name). (306) Then he returned, and sickness attacked, him next. (307) Then Mama having come back, she took us back to Bligh, toward Bligh. (308) What do they call Bligh in Klamath?

(309) AC: "Blay." (310) It is on this side of the mountain.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 177]

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(311) PO: dam mat? (312) q́ay ni nen dada· domna.[111]

(313) AC: čoy ýayáaks—ho·t lis ýayáaʔa·k, do·st honk dank (Proper name) siwga baadiáas. hontda ýayáaʔa·ḱiatdat blay sponmaηyank do .

(At this point the tape came to an end, and the conversation was broken off.)

39. Response to Pictures

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) dwa· čik hon ǥo·sdat ʔaḱya gintampga? Na·s hiswaqs ǥo·sdaí ýa hon ǥintampga. q́oy sle·s. mo· sʔoysʔatk. čoy dwa· lis ʔa ge·? sdo, ʔaḱya. q́ay ni sʔaywakta.

(2) ge· la·bi hihaswaqs. ʔaMḱa sa sboĺo·ywiwapgok waǥe·nha ksonalwapgok giqʔaskanga. ge· ǥinčampga. Na·s. čoy ge· ǥo·s dewa·, Na·čyak.

(3) čoyč ge· ndanni, woni·bi hihaswaqs. woni·bi ge· hihaswaqs. čoy Na·s do··· ḱičḱa·ni hiswaqḱa, ge· čik mo·mni. be·n ge· ǥinčampga. dwa· sa ǥinčampga? q́ay ni sʔaywakta. sdo da·ts newčńa—dam ge· sdo newčńa?

(4) la·bi hihaswaqs, Na·s ho·ččńa ǥo·sdaí. ʔaMḱa geqančwapk. ge· čik q́ay ni sʔaywakta dwa· ge·k sa sʔode·st. be·n ǥinčampga. dwa· bas hi·t gi? čoy ge· la·bi sdo.

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[124]

[111] It seems strange that Mrs. Ohles had never made the connection between "Bligh" and (blay), but this is what she seems to imply here. Since she speaks such good English, she may have heard "Bligh" always as [bla·y] and (blay) as [bla˘<y].

(311) PO: Is that so? (312) I never heard that.

(313) AC: Then Yainax [from Klamath /ẏayńaks/]—it is a little mountain, there where (Proper name) killed that white man a long time ago, on that little mountain having led him up high there. 539* 124

(At this point the tape came to an end, and the conversation was broken off.)

Introductory Note to Text 39

This text was elicited with the aid of a series of fifty line drawings, prepared under the supervision of Alfred S. Hayes, as described in his article, "Field Procedures While Working with Diegueño" (International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 20, pp. 185-194, 1954). Each drawing depicts some simple situation, and the informant is encouraged to describe the scene and make some theorizations about what might be going on. The numeration corresponds to the numbers of the pictures. The separate utterances are not otherwise numbered. 125

39. Response to Pictures

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) What is he pointing at that tree for? One man seems to be pointing toward that tree, unhealthy [lit. "bad looking"], very thin. And what is this? A road, perhaps, I do not know. 539* 125

(2) These are two men. Perhaps they are walking around to plow or perhaps to cut hay. This one is pointing, one. And this tree stands in the open, alone.

(3) So these are three, four men also. These are four men. And one little boy way over there, but these are large. Again this one is pointing. What are they pointing at? I do not know. However, a road is running along—isn't this a road running along?

(4) Two men, one is running toward the tree. Perhaps he will relieve himself. But this one, I don't know what they are doing. Again he is pointing. What can be over there? And these are two roads.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 179]

APPENDIX

KLAMATH PLACE NAMES WITH MAP

128

The accompanying map of place names has been largely adapted from 127
Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography" (University of California Publica- 103
tions in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, 1930. The present 114
writer has checked and retranscribed most of Spier's forms: only seven [124] •
of Spier's place names could not be obtained from the author's informants. No attempt was made to recheck Spier's supporting geographical and ethnographic data, however.

Ninety-two new place names have also been added to the map. Many of these are not settlements (as Spier specifies for his list), but are places used for food gathering, places named for some outstanding natural feature, places named after some mythological person or event, etc. The author has appended what descriptive material he could obtain to each new place name in the list.

Forty-five additional place names are not shown on the map but are 128
included in the Dictionary. These are either uncertain as to location or 103
are places not found within the limits of the map.

The map has been renumbered to accomodate the new place names, [127]
but Spier's original numbers are given after each entry for purposes of
comparison. It must be noted that geographical locations on the map are [124]
only approximate and in some cases quite hypothetical (e.g., where the informant could only recall that a given place was "about two or three miles over that way").

Forms are given in phonemics only and are translated wherever possible. The morphophonemic forms of these names are listed under "place names" in the English-Klamath section of the Dictionary, along with some indication of their morphemic content.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

CULTURE ELEMENT
NORTHEAST

B

ERMINIE W.

INTROD

121 The list of elements used in the field for this study was assembled from six other lists for adjoining areas which had been gathered by members of the culture-element survey and were still in manuscript form. Dr. Driver, Dr. Kroeber, and I collaborated in preparing the list which I was to use. It contained some 5500 elements. While working in the field I added and occasionally subtracted elements and often reorganized entire sections of the list; in the final preparation of the manuscript further reorganization was effected. I consistently attempted to keep complexes of elements together, in order to present a more intelligible picture of the patterns of the various cultures as wholes. This was not an easy task, since elements tended to be regrouped, in kaleidoscopic fashion, among the different peoples studied. To help solve this difficulty frequent use has been made of cross references in the ethnographic notes which accompany the lists.

124 With respect to field method, I found that working with an element list is a definite aid 125 in making quick rapport with informants. Several of the sixteen informants interviewed repeatedly expressed both astonishment and respect when the questions I put to them from the list hit the cultural nail squarely on the head. Far from a list deterring informants from volunteering information, it obviously stimulated comments. All volunteered information, unless it came at too rapid a rate, was jotted down in a separate notebook which was kept open beside the element list itself.

I should like to emphasize here that while questioning informants I never used the element list in the rigidly mechanical "yes or no" fashion which some critics of element-list work take for granted as being a part of the field technique. The content of the ethnographic notes appended to the element list itself bears witness to the fact that informants were not only willing, but anxious to elaborate on the questions put to them. Some queries, such as whether the floor of a winter house is dug out or level with the ground, could be asked directly and a yes or no answer relied upon. But if the answer to this question was merely "Yes" the query "How deep?" always followed as a check. The answers to other questions, such as number of directions, month names, seasons, or whether the autonomous group consists of a single village, a group of closely adjacent villages, or a com-

[47-A]

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124 munity of clusters of settlements, obviously
could not be given directly. For questions such
125 as these, specific data were collected, as for example, native names for directions, months, seasons, data on village groups and the headmen or chiefs of such. The same is true for questions relating to exogamy, marriage, and other social customs.

As one worked, intensively and rapidly, with a detailed orderly list of questions on which to rely, needless repetitions with the same informant and dawdling over data approached the vanishing point. In no other way can I explain how within the space of four or five days as much information as is contained in an element list is collected. Previous to working on the survey, I
000 had made three successive summer field trips to the Tübatulabal, spending in all some eleven weeks studying Tübatulabal ethnography, and three much longer trips to the Shawnee to collect material for a Shawnee ethnography. My chief regret concerning both the Tübatulabal and Shawnee field work is that so much time was squandered because the only sort of lists I carried were of the hit-and-miss variety that one generally makes up preparatory to and during field work. The longer trips naturally afforded more opportunity for collecting mythological and ethnobotanical data, for example, than it was possible to gather while doing survey work.

After completing this survey I had the opportunity to use part of my California element list for questioning one of my most reliable Shawnee informants. Although the list I used was not assembled for an eastern group, I was agreeably surprised on two points: (1) that the informant stuck to the point of the questions and often volunteered pertinent additional information, and (2) that by trying out the list I uncovered the presence, among the Shawnee, of a game concerning which I had never before been able to secure information, and also obtained data on several items of material culture that heretofore had been missing from my record. Among some eastern tribes, such as the Central Algonquians, for example, one difficulty might arise which was not of paramount importance in California; it might be hard, working on short notice, to secure cooperative and at the same time reliable informants. This difficulty could however be partly obviated, I believe, by using a technique which always worked well in California, namely, inquiring in advance from the informant with whom one

[47-B]

*648 *657 87 563 in seventh and ninth grades—the beginning grades respectively for junior high and high school—was less than half the figure for first grade in the same year. For tribal children, by contrast, the figures for the advanced grades were each almost twice as large as that for the first grade.

On an average, roughly one-half the small number of Klamath children entering high school could be expected to graduate. [125] That this record was not to be attributed to a difference in intellectual ability is intimated by the results of California mental maturity tests which, as administered to Klamath children as a whole at the fourth grade, yielded normal scores, averaging 96.9. When, however, the same children had reached the eighth grade, their average score had declined to 80.4.[6] A sharp drop in incentive had taken its toll.

The stresses within the school fell unequally upon Klamath boys and girls. Athletic prowess and artistic ability—both often conceived as racially innate and as masculine attributes—gave the boys legitimate avenues to social approval. At puberty, however, Klamath girls were often beginning to develop the physical [142] [562] massiveness that is so frequent in their racial constitution, but that at the same time is foreign to American ideals of beauty. Some bore their lot with dignity and poise. Others courted a fleeting favor through promiscuity or took out their resentments in direct assault upon rivals or upon substitute figures. Direct violence against whites occurred in the schools at about this age, and most frequently involved girls. Still others sought alternatives outside the school, dropping out entirely, going away to vocational schools, or entering into early marriages.

*648 *657 871 563 582 Indeed, for many of the tribal youth—boys as well as girls—confronted by a school experience that grew increasingly irrelevant as they became older, it was merely a matter of "serving time" until they gained release by attaining the age of eighteen. Many Klamath tended to marry young, and there were incentives peculiar to their position. For a girl striving to escape the pressures and dissatisfactions of home life, the regimen of caring for younger siblings, and the boredom and vexation of the school, the importance and security of being a newlywed possessed a [434] [429] fairyland appeal. For the boy, the trust fund accumulated by the Agency for each minor, amounting in some instances to

that seem bizarre. In evading prohibition, as already noted, tribal 648*
members learned successively to operate stills, to patronize and 657*
to serve as bootleggers, and to drink alcoholic extracts. For local 177
roughs, the pug and the cowboy provided glamorous models; 178
and several youths ventured upon the hard trail of the professional 184
boxer. Although cowboy hats and boots were still worn in [883]
the latter days of the reservation, they were giving way among this set to the ducktail haircut and the leather jacket. Drag racing and drinking were pursuits as common among tribal adolescents in Chiloquin as among their peers elsewhere. The intermittent use of marijuana cigarettes and an occasional Pachuco tattoo were evidence of the selective adoption of Inframodal practices.

As a category, the inframodal Klamath were often the immediate descendants of some of the elderly individuals already mentioned, dependent upon them for money once they had squandered their own funds, sometimes residing with them, sometimes "shacking up" in a separate household in a common-law union. They formed but one range of the main body of tribal members, among whom they found associates perhaps as often
as they did among their own sort. They did not habitually asso- [571]
ciate with Inframodal peers among other racial groups, but [573]
characteristically remained in small tribal cliques, of which the [273]
drinking groups were the chief stable expression.[22]

Those tribal members still on the reservation comprised a main body, upon which three lobes might be distinguished: the elders, the Inframodal, and those conformant to American standards. The latter alone had tended to become almost completely cut off from the major body of their fellow tribesmen, save for a few leaders, who had been able to keep the respect of both whites and Klamath. The remainder constituted a single society of strong egalitarian persuasions.

While recognizing that a single criterion must fail as a device 648*
for sorting out categories which are the product of such com- 657*
plexity, a first approximation was attempted in an analysis of the 177
records of a random sample of tribal members in Chiloquin.[23] As 178
sorting criteria, the subjects were first scaled against five some- 184
what overlapping entries involving behavior before the law. Then, 125 •
working symmetrically from the extremes of the scale, they were

*648 divided into three segments as nearly equal in size as possible.[24]
*657 The symmetrical cuts resulted in a Conformant segment, pre-
177 vailingly law-abiding in record, almost twice as large as the In-
178 framodal category at the other end, which consisted of these
184 persons with the highest record of violations. The Intermediate
• 125 membership was slightly larger than that of the Conformant.[25]

The characteristics of each of these categories, when contrasted, tend to confirm statements made previously. Members of the Conformant segment were least Indian biologically and included the highest proportion of women. They seem to have come from comparatively smaller families and, with the Intermediate subjects, seem to have received far more adequate parental care than did the Inframodal category. Educational achievements are less distinctive, reflecting the compulsory nature of schooling on the reservation, but again the Inframodal segment lags behind the others in school grade completed. In the measure of engagement in business or ranching and in record of money management, the distinctions are decisive, with the Conformant category far outstripping its fellows and the Inframodal segment at the bottom. Finally, in both the percentage of those married and living with spouse and family as well as in the stability of residence the same order is seen.

In the second part of the study, the thirty Klamath subjects who had given Dr. Clifton responses to the Murray Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)[26] were assigned by judgment to the three segments, the protocols of each category being treated together by a method of analysis previously employed in examining Klamath mythology.[27] When all of the modern TAT segments were combined and contrasted with the myths, the responses were seen to reflect changes which had in fact taken
place through time. Thus a trend toward a universalistic outlook
[602] was reflected, along with lessened attention to the ramifications
[594] of kinship, a reduction of the family itself to nuclear form, and
[554] a concurrent diversification of role relationships toward individ-
[571] uals acting impersonally as employer, policeman, doctor, or
teacher. A secularization of life may also be reflected by the
scant consideration of religion in the modern protocols.

[571] When the modern TAT segments were compared, the Conformant subjects were seen to place a strong emphasis upon support

given the family by neighbors as well as by the impersonal agents 648*
of society, while making little mention of any kinsmen beyond 657*
the immediate, two-generation family. Members of this category, 177
who objectively were least Indian genetically and who manifested 178
the highest measure of intermarriage with whites, were 184
the only ones to introduce racial comments in their responses. 125
This may well be taken as evidence of their sensitivity to a [571]
marginal condition. In treating intrafamilial roles, they saw a [829]
strong paternal figure (lacking in the protocols of the other two [593]
segments), but they viewed his authority as one against which the son repeatedly rebelled. Moreover, contrary to their own superior record of family stability, members of the Conformant category envisaged the marital bond as frequently threatened by feminine interlopers. Here again is an indication that the Conformant families, like the most acculturated among Vogt's Navaho veterans,[28] had achieved their condition only at the cost of gnawing anxiety.

By contrast, both of the remaining TAT segments tended to [602]
stress kinship, for in their protocols a greater reliance is placed upon grandparents and more remote kinsmen, with correspondingly less dependence upon friends, neighbors, or impersonal agents. Indeed, the Inframodal subjects tended to view the latter with suspicion and outright hostility. In neither segment [593]
was the paternal role seen as prominent; and the mother instead occupied a central position, not disciplining, but strongly supporting her children. Sibling relations, which in the Conformant category had been seen as continuing through life, stood on a lower level among the intermediate subjects, who viewed the bond as existing only in childhood; and were negligible among the Inframodal segment. Similarly, the marital bond appeared to be conceived by Intermediate members as weak, being marked by a succession of casual liaisons, while the Inframodal saw strife between the couple, rather than outside interference, as disrupting the union.

By contrast with Conformant subjects, members of the other
two categories exhibited a far less realistic view of the conditions [829]
making possible achievement, but they did so in different ways. Those of the Intermediate segment seemed to see conformance as a necessary factor for success, although their behavioral record

*648 showed them in fact to be deficient here, and they made complex,
*657 conditional statements about it. They seemed uncertain about
177 the manner in which a prosperous life was to be achieved. The
178 scofflaw members of the Inframodal category, by contrast, saw
184 accomplishment as the result of individual strengths, rather than
• 125 of surrogate support. In this, having regard for their family form,
829 they may be regarded as fairly realistic; but attainment for them often took fantastic forms. One might say that they were content to play with the idea but were unprepared to put it into practice. In their treatment of crime and violence they took a realistic view, as against the Conformant subjects, who also gave it prominence, or the Intermediate category, who seldom discussed it; and they often saw them from the perspective of the violator. Conformant concern with crime and violence, by contrast, was coupled with the view that punishment, often involving remorse as well, was both merited and certain.

*648 Several general comments may be offered. In the first place, the
*657 Conformant subjects stand somewhat apart from members of
177 the other two categories in adherence to standards dominant
178 among whites. A matter of some note is the size of the group.
184 While the size of segments was determined by the purposes of the study, the impression is strong that a larger proportion of tribal members would seem to be attuned already to values honored in American society than have been accepted by their white peers. Social acceptance, from this point of view, has lagged behind the formation of acceptable attitudes.

There are reasons for this. On the one hand, a number of tribal members approve these attitudes as merely reflecting those of the traditional Klamath. Some of them, despite Conformant behavior, decline to choose white associates if it means giving up ties with Klamath kin and friends. Then, too, among whites the formation of acceptable attitudes and behavior must be accompanied by other qualifications, discussed earlier. Major white stereotypes, as can be seen, have been formed about behavior and attitudes found principally among the minority of Klamath who fall into the Inframodal segment, and these have been extended to characterize tribal members as a whole.

Finally, behavior of Inframodal type is more complex than may appear at first. It was present, in somewhat different form, in

Section I. Introduction

This is a report on the personality dynamics of a highly acculturated American 121
Indian population, the Klamath of south-central Oregon. The report consists 125
of blind, idiographic assessments of ten selected cases. The subjects are
male and female Klamath of various age groups who occupy different status positions [101]
and who perform widely divergent social roles in the context of Klamath
reservation culture.

As is the case with similar culture and personality research, one aim of this report is descriptive, that of recording variant attributes of personality, attributes which are not frequently observable in the usual clinical or research
settings of western culture. Thus some mental health and social science personnel 121
may find the report of value because of the unusual character structure of the subjects, but those who serve reservation populations in clinical settings and those who observe for research purposes will find these ten Klamath subjects familiar. In addition to the objective of description we hope that the analysis of these cases will contribute to an understanding of the psychological-- particularly the interpersonal aspects of Klamath reservation life. Beyond these goals, the synthesis of psychological and cultural data drawn from observations of the contemporary scene may throw some additional light on the psychological consequences of acculturation.

The ten case studies in this report were drawn from a sample of fifty four 125
collected in 1958-59 by the Anthropologist during two periods of field research. 114
The original research was aimed at collecting psychological test data so as to [101]
make a contribution to a larger study of Klamath Reservation Culture, which involved both a historical or acculturational study of processes of change and 121
a study of the contemporary reservation community. The larger Klamath study is being supervised by Dr. Theodore Stern, of the Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon. The results of the original personality study have been reported elsewhere (Clifton 1960). This early research effort was predicated upon a loose statistical model, and the aim was to correlate personality types with types of socio-cultural adjustment. It was assumed that the very great range of kinds of behaviors and types of adjustment apparent among the Klamath reservation population could be associated with variations in personality attriburtes as measured by projective tests.

Two distinct variants of this statistical model were attempted and discarded
before a third was developed. The first aim was to collect a random sample
of a target population composed of persons recognized as members of the Klamath [125]
Tribe, who currently maintained a residence on or near the reservation, and who had lived all or most of their lives in that area. One of the two models had this population stratified by criteria which supposedly isolated clusters of types of socio-cultural adjustment. Here the form of thought was essentially historical or evolutionary and was quite similar to the model employed in the
Menomini study (Spindler 1955). The second stratified sample was drawn along [125]
somewhat different lines, and attempted to isolate significant variations in type of family organization (both of orientation and procreation) and patterns of family activity. Because of certain developments in the larger study of Klamath Reservation Culture, and especially because of a very high refusal rate, neither of these formal approaches to sampling could be utilized.

The growing understanding of Klamath Reservation Culture gave cause to suspect the several tentative analyses of the situation upon which these formal models

121 had been founded. There was, for example, no evidence for anything remotely
181 approximating a "Native Oriented" group on the reservation. Moreover, it be-
154 came apparent that a particular style of personal adjustment was by no means
characteristic of the majority of individuals throughout their life-spans.
So called "Transitional" modes of adjustment, for example, might be used to
characterize the confused orientations, the value conflicts, and the disorganized
family life of persons early in their life arc, but the same persons frequently
settled down to a respectable, stable "Elite Acculturated" mode of existence
in middle age. Or this sequence might frequently be reversed.

125 However, the formal sampling approach was jettisoned primarily because of the
123 many refusals among the samples. That such a reaction might reflect important
variables and hence prejudice the reliability of the consequent approach was
considered, but it was apparent that the major cause for refusal was the absence of an existing friendship relation between subjects and field-worker
(or some influential intermediary). Moreover, an analysis of the status of those
who refused indicated that this reaction was neither confined to nor clustered
within any identifiable grouping.

129 For these reasons, attention was given to securing what may be called a deliberately representative sample of the reservation population. The criteria of
representativeness included variations in social roles assumed by the subjects
(occupation, sex, leadership, and so on), variations in role performance, differ-
123 ences in standards and values, and age differences. When appropriate subjects
were known personally by the Anthropologist, they were approached directly.
If no friendship relation existed, potential subjects were, less frequently,
approached through the recommendations and aid of an intermediary, or, finally,
a direct effort was made to become acquainted with a suitable subject. In all
instances, an existing friend relationship proved the more successful mode of
approach. For reasons to be suggested in the next section, there are few Klamath
persons whose influence is both high and extensive, and, conversely, few who
123 can easily accept external imposition of controls. Thus intermediaries, whatever their manifest status, rarely could elicit the cooperation of more than one
suitable subject. The result of this effort was a set of Rorschach and Thematic
Apperception Test Records, and short life-histories on a sample of fifty four
persons, which sample could for the purposes of the research be considered as
128 reasonably representative of the target population. The ten case studies in this
report were selected from the original sample so as to provide as much variety
as possible in the limited confines of these pages.

Aside from the problems of obtaining an adequately representative sample, there
is another aspect of the field method used in the Klamath study which may be of
123 some interest. In each instance the potential subject was made aware of the in-
tentions of the field worker and the purposes of testing and interviewing. It
181 will be clear from the next section that the contemporary Klamath are in no rele-
vant sense "primitive," nor are they an isolated population. Indeed. many sub-
125 jects were familiar with the "ink-blot" test from television programs, movies,
177 or hearsay information. More generally, the major task, that of identifying
ambiguous stimuli, was associated with the simple game of "seeing faces in the
clouds" or figures in rock formations. Further, most Klamath under fifty years
of age are sufficiently experienced in the practices of American culture to
have some personal familiarity with the "test situation," whether personality,
aptitude, vocational, or intelligence. Thus there was a shared basis for this
peculiar form of interaction.

Because it is for several reasons considered important, the fact that each 125
Klamath subject was, in general terms, made aware of the intentions of the 123
examiner and the logic of the test procedure should be emphasized. Recently,
Hauck has described a different approach used for research among the Unitah- 125
Ouray Ute, where he modified the usual Rorschach procedure by concealing the 114
purposes of the test beneath a supposedly innocuous "cover story" (Hauck 1955: 10).

This approach to field testing is subject to criticism on several grounds. In 125
the first place, it is somewhat less than ethical to conceal the purposes of a 123
test so as to facilitate cooperation, and then to publish results in line with
original intentions. Occasionally, this approach has been used in culture and (114)
personality research. It entails the assumption of a kind of mechanical meaningfulness
of any responses to projective tests, however administered, and whatever
the test taking attitude of the subject. At a minimum, the subject has the right
of knowing what he is involved in and the privilege of refusing. Secondly,
where clinical methods of interpretation are to be employed, it is essential
that field research using projective tests as closely as possible approximate
the clinical situation. This assumes that the cooperating research subject is
more apt to reveal important aspects of himself if he clearly understands the
intentions of the examiner. Indeed, one purpose of projective testing is to 12
facilitate communication about difficult topics, not to unduly impede it with
artificial barriers.

Another aspect of this issue is that most American Indian populations include 12
some members with higher education, or, like the Klamath, others with some 177
awareness of the "ink-blot" or the "picture" test via spectatorship in the mass (171)
media. Because of this awareness, any subterfuge or concealment of test objectives
may be publically revealed and further distorted. The consequence of this
can only be a confused or negative appraisal of field research and field researchers.
Given the existing wariness and suspicion of many American Indian
populations and their concern with their status as "Guinea Pigs," such an outcome
is not very desirable. Finally, it is quite conceivable that another field
worker might want to pursue similar research in a situation where the purposes
of a test have been concealed. If so, he will have to support the original lie,
either by accepting it or by expanding upon it.

Quite frequently, the success of field research in the area of culture and 12
personality studies turns upon obtaining an adequate sampling of a population
in a very limited period of time. Perhaps, as is suggested by the extensive
sampling of Hallowell and the Spindlers in repeated field sessions, it is the time
factor which is crucial. In terms of the ethics of research, the validity of
results, the richness of materials collected, the possible consequences of
distorting objectives so as to obtain cooperation, and the implications for
future field work, the alternative approach of using a "cover story" to obtain
quick results is not desirable.

The Klamath personality research grew out of Clifton's participation in a larger 114
study of Klamath reservation culture. The initial, unpublished, evaluation
of the test and life history data was intended to improve understanding of the
psychological consequences of acculturation in the Klamath case and to give
additional depth to other studies of styles of Klamath behavior. This first
approximation, although suggestive, did not prove entirely satisfactory, largely
because of too mechanical a utilization of what are, in the trade, called
"standard interpretative hypotheses." In short, the initial report was too
cookbookish. At the same time the possibility of bias had to be considered,

114 for the field researcher and analyst were one and the same person. It then
[120] seemed potentially fruitful and appropriate to organize a collaborative effort
with an experienced psychologist, and it was at this juncture that David Levine
began participating in the research. The result of that effort is this report,
with its markedly inductive and qualitative approach.

121 Aside from an assessment of the attributes of Klamath personalities, we are,
thus, concerned with several somewhat broader questions. Because of the former,
the Psychologist has set one task as the idiographic analysis of each subject's
Rorschach record, but because of the latter concern this analysis must be considered
doubly idiographic. We are at one and the same time concerned with two
kinds of wholes, each Klamath person, and the total socio-cultural setting. On
the one hand, the Anthropologist's interest lies in the relations between personality
factors and the configurations of Klamath Reservation Culture, and,
thus, in Redfield's terms, in contributing to an understanding of the reservation
[25] as a "unique analysed system" (Redfield 1955). On the other hand, the
Psychologist became interested in this setting because of his concern with using
the Rorschach as one measure of Ego-development, or the level of psychological
maturity. In this respect, and aside from the intrinsic interest of each, the
ten case studies are seen as a possible means of bringing to bear certain portions
of psychoanalytic theory and Werner's genetic psychology theory upon the
task of explaining some aspects of the styles of behavior prevalent in the peculiarly
stifling environments of American Indian reservations. We are, therefore,
interested in developing useful approaches to larger problems and in
building hypotheses.

12 With respect to the division of labor, Clifton collected the original data and
was responsible for writing Sections I and II and the introductions to the case
studies, while Levine gave his attention to the analysis of each case. The concluding
section is a joint effort. Levine's analysis of the Rorschach records
has been without extensive foreknowledge of the characteristics of life on or
the history of the Klamath reservation, and without foreknowledge of the particular
experiences or cultural status of the subjects. The collaboration of
Anthropologist and Psychologist, the inductive, case-study approach, and this
"blind" analysis thus put this report in the culture and personality tradition
most recently represented by Gladwin and Sarason's Truk study. Indeed, this
report was partly prompted by Gladwin and Sarason's recent complaint that
"...studies which would refine and carry forward this or other systematic methods
121 of case analysis have not been forthcoming." (1959: 175). While we agree that
analyses of comparative data should be made available, in all modesty we cannot
lay claim to a refinement of the case study method. Again, we are concerned
with developing useful theoretical ideas, or in finding a place to transplant an
existing idea, rather than with methodology.

122 We are indebted to Zygmunt Piotrowski for his approach to Rorschach analysis and
for suggesting the possibility of our collaborating, to Luther Cressman of the
University of Oregon for providing facilities for publication and for initial
support of the field work, and to Theodore Stern, also from the University of
Oregon, for continuing assistance and encouragement in and out of the field.
[121] Section II of this report draws heavily upon Dr. Stern's published and unpublished
Klamath materials, for which we are particularly grateful. During 1958,
James Clifton's field work was supported by a Social Science Research Council
Fellowship for Training in Social Anthropology, while support for the 1959 research
was provided by the National Institute of Mental Health in the form of a
pre-doctoral fellowship and research grant. The National Institute of Mental
Health has, additionally, financed publication costs of this report.

and the modes of behaving through which the Klamath interact with their behavioral 181
milieu. For this reason it is not to be supposed that White exclusionism 657
or Agency policy alone are the significant antecedents of the stable
pluralism of reservation life. For a Klamath to leave the amorphous atmosphere
of his home or the circle of his drinking pals to enter into the unfamiliar and
unprepared-for activities of White life is a source of fear and anxiety.

Thus, however it may seem to the outsider, the existing way of life on the
Klamath reservation offers substantial predictability to tribal members, a place
to live, a corporate body with which to identify, and multiple stable human
relationships. As a cultural system it may be stable in form although changing
in detail, and therefore this novel set of human relationships is not likely
to quickly disappear. The Klamath today may not be the same persons who were [177]
settled on the reservation a century ago, and aboriginal Klamath, Modoc, and
Paiute cultural attributes may have disappeared, yet they are still self-consciously [171]
Indian. In studies of acculturation, it is frequently argued that groups 181
like the Klamath are marginal, that is, hung suspended between two cultural
worlds. We feel that such a metaphor is both confusing and misleading. It 657
assumes the presence of a reasonably intact cultural alter of aboriginal design 121
and a unilineal path of acculturation process. As indicated above, the former
is not present on the contemporary Klamath reservation. As to the latter, we
argue that the structural consequences of acculturation are many, and a lineal
assimilation process is only one of them. The Klamath situation, we feel, is
that of an unassimilated minority group which is itself very actively engaged in
maintaining its special position and which is subject to multiple external
pressures for maintaining its present boundaries. The Klamath are, therefore,
in a position analogous to religious and racial enclaves. They are a group
distinct from and in some ways opposed to American culture who fit, as it were,
into a special niche in the larger structure of American society. If the term
marginality is to be used with reference to any Klamath individual it can only
refer to his orientation towards conflicting reference groups in the heterogeneous
contemporary community.

Section III. Approach to the Rorschach Protocols

The interpretive approach to the Rorschach protocols was dictated to a large 121
extent by the overall purpose of the investigation. An avowedly inductive 125
and idiographic study requires a broadly clinical, not a narrowly statistical,
analysis of the obtained Rorschach responses. The conclusions reached on the
basis of this kind of research may be considered hypotheses to be tested in
controlled deductive research.

The validity of the Rorschach method for personality exploration is not at issue in the present study; there are obviously more clear-cut and efficient research methods available for that purpose. Rather, the test is being utilized as one means of gaining insights about the adaptive mechanisms of individuals in a particular sub-group that is undergoing an acculturation process — a case-study approach. These insights may lead hopefully to theoretical advances in that area of study called Culture and Personality.

From this statement of the general purpose of the research, several specific 121
methodological decisions follow. It becomes clear immediately that there will
be no comparisons of groups by statistical methods and few statistical tabulations
of group means and standard deviations. There will be no description of
that artificial construct — the modal Klamath personality. On the contrary,

121 the emphasis is on the unique adjustment of the individual subject to the specific life conditions he encounters and helps create.

121 The present approach to the projective tests is, then, radically different from
125 much of the work of Hallowell, Spindler, Kaplan and other writers who at times
have utilized a rigid and mechanical approach to the test data, one which often
114 entailed group comparisons of mean scores. Their methodology makes at least three assumptions. Firstly, that single scores may be interpreted meaningfully out of the context of the rest of the record; secondly, that individual variability is not important enough to obscure group differences; and finally, that the general area under investigation has been thoroughly enough explored to justify hypothetico-deductive research methodologies. These assumptions may be warranted in some instances, but our impression is that too often this rigid methodology has been employed prematurely.

Our use of the projective tests, on the other hand, is similar to Gladwin and Sarason's in that we are unwilling, at this point, to go beyond a case-oriented, inductive methodology. However, important differences between their interpretive procedures and ours are obvious on even the most superficial inspection. While we have attempted to base as much of our interpretation as possible on Piotrowski's explicit principles of interpretation Sarason does not feel that his interpretations would be facilitated by computing a scoring summary. His position rests on the conclusion that the available "evidence" (a term he defines explicitly and rigidly) is insufficient to justify most Rorschach interpretations based on scores. However, Sarason's goals in the Trukese study included an attempt to make explicit the process by which he, as a clinician, transformed the raw data into personality descriptions. Sarason might have come closer to achieving this particular goal had he paid more _explicit_ attention to the scoring categories. In his analyses he used extensively the initial reaction times, the number of responses, and the level of form accuracy of the responses. However, he was also acutely and continuously aware of the manner in which the subject dealt with the colored and shading aspects of the blots, as well as the extent to which movement was involved. Although we agree with Sarason that the validity of much of the interpretation based on Rorschach scores has not been demonstrated scientifically, we take the position that explicit utilization of Rorschach scores and specific interpretive principles will enable us to approach more quickly the goal of understanding the process by which the clinician goes from the raw data to the personality interpretation. In addition, there has been a considerable amount of scientific research — much of it done by Sarason and his students — which suggests that some Rorschach scores do have behavioral concomitants. Our hope is that by being explicit we can move ever closer to the goal of determining the validity of the Rorschach, while at the same time using the test for whatever inductive value it does have.

121 Since the focus of this study is on the subject's adaptive mechanisms, the Ror-
125 schach interpretations have been carried out in a theoretical framework which emphasizes Ego Psychology, rather than the exploration of specific instinctual energies. Scientific research and clinical opinion both indicate that this approach — emphasizing ego functions, not the probing of unconscious depths — is likely to be of greater ultimate value and rests on a surer foundation. (Klopfer, 1954; Sarason, 1954; Schafer, 1954, to mention but a few). Thus, we are less concerned with _what_ the subject sees in the blot than in _how_ he sees it.

114 Piotrowski's principles of interpretation (1957), as well as his interpretive "definitions," are in accord with this orientation and generally were followed.

Piotrowski's stress on analyzing the percept, rather than the verbalized response (hence, perceptanalysis) is an example of his emphasis on a careful scrutiny of the manner in which the subject is approaching the task presented by the Rorschach examination. The errors resulting from a too hasty reliance on the subject's verbal report range from assuming the response "bat" to Card I is a W, when it might have been a rare detail to scoring an F- for any statistically infrequent response when a careful inquiry might have revealed an accurate, original, and well-organized percept. Ultimately, of course, we are dependent on the subject to tell us what he sees and how he is seeing it, but a sensitive, careful inquiry can help the subject communicate in words the images he has created. When our goal is an understanding of the adjustment of an individual Klamath, this attempt to see the blot as the subject sees it enables us to approach — with empathy, if you will — the subject's own manner of perceiving the blot stimulus. 121 125 114

However, Piotrowski's method of interpretation rests on firmer footing than this perhaps vague statement that an attempt is made to empathize with the subject. Piotrowski has stated, in explicit principles and definitions, the interpretive significance which he attaches to the various kinds of responses. Although these principles were used as guidelines, they were not adhered to in a dogmatic fashion.

For example, the Rorschachs were scored carefully, but not rigidly. An illustration of this distinction is the scoring of form level. Much has been written about this pseudo-problem; the Beck-Klopfer controversy concerning a statistical versus an evaluative basis for form-level scoring has generated much heat. The present approach may seem at first blush to beg the question, but a moment's analysis indicates that the scoring is always done keeping in mind that the ultimate purpose of the test is interpretation. Thus, if a response is clearly an F+ response, i.e., the form of the image corresponds without question to the blot area, there is no scoring difficulty. However, if the subject gives a response which is neither clearly F+ nor F- (and for Beck, is statistically infrequent), but rather gives a response which might almost be justified, but not quite, the scorer need not sit in a quandary; to my way of thinking he need indicate merely that the subject has produced a response with this kind of borderline form level. (More detailed analyses of various approaches to form level have been described by Phillips & Smith, 1954; Klopfer, 1954). If the subject produces this kind of response often, we conclude that he often responds to life in a manner which does not include a careful evaluation of the situation, but that he does not behave in an obviously idiosyncratic manner. More precise interpretations may be formulated in the specific instance, of course. Piotrowski's scoring F± for vague responses such as "clouds," "rocks," or "bays," is an example of his attempt to formalize this approach to scoring borderline responses. 125 128

As a corollary to the emphasis on Ego interpretations, an attempt was made to evaluate the adequacy of the subjects' adjustment, and in the attempt, to uncover the person's strengths and assets, as well as his flaws and weaknesses. The task consisted, in part, of gauging the extent to which his particular adaptive mechanisms enable him to cope adequately with his impulses and feelings in the context of his environment — to what extent his life style meshed satisfactorily with his life space. Since the Rorschachs were interpreted by the psychologist initially without information concerning the subject's life history, this entailed a careful examination of the balance of components in the protocols themselves. In this process much emphasis was placed on the organizational quality of the responses. The research on genetic-level scoring of the Rorschach 121 125 [128]

121 (Levine, 1960) has indicated that this may be an extremely important measure
125 of ego strength. Whether this is supported in cross-cultural work remains to
[114] be determined.

121 The emphasis throughout this phase of the research has been on the functioning
15 individual — how he adapts to his environment in general and, whenever possible, how he behaves in interpersonal situations. In this regard Piotrowski's hypothesis that the movement responses reflect prototypal roles has been exploited extensively. By prototypal roles, Piotrowski means, "definite tendencies, deeply embedded in the subject and not easily modified, to assume repeatedly the same attitude or attitudes in dealing with others when matters felt to be important and personal are involved." (Piotrowski, 1957, p. 141). He makes it clear that he is referring to "psychological tendencies" only; in order to predict whether these tendencies will be expressed in overt behavior it is necessary to take into account many other variables (Principle of Interdependence of Components).

Piotrowski has written further that the FM (animal movement responses) reflect the subject's prototypal roles as they were prominent in the subject's past or as they influence his behavior in "states of lowered integration and in states of diminished consciousness and defective self-control," and, finally, that the m (inanimate movement responses) "indicate prototypal roles in life which the individual feels to be desirable and pleasant but unrealizable."

Thus, for example, if a subject gives only very active or aggressive human movement responses (e.g., "two boxers slugging it out") it is hypothesized that his prototypal role is of this nature. If his FM are passive and his M are aggressive, we conclude that his present prototypal role is aggressive, but that when drunk, for example, he is more likely to become docile.

In actual Rorschach interpretation the complexities of multiple roles, the influence of other Rorschach variables, the inconsistency of role patterns, and
so on, must all be evaluated very carefully in order to arrive at a meaningful
121 and valid personality description. Although considerable care must be taken to
181 avoid oversimplifying these interpretive principles, their judicious application
is often very helpful and may have led to the most important conclusion of the
156 present investigation: that the Klamath are characterized by a guarded and
[171] restrained approach to life and interpersonal relations. This guarded restraint
is different from the Trukese blocking and from the dull apathy of the Alorese. The Klamath initial reaction times are not nearly as long as the Trukese, nor are their dark shading responses as primitive and poorly organized. On the contrary, their initial reaction times are only slightly longer than would be expected from a U.S. White group and their dark shading responses are almost as well organized. The guarded restraint of the Klamath seemed to be neither the result of marked blocking nor apathy. A more detailed discussion of this hypothesis will be appropriate, however, after the case studies have been presented.

*159
156 Slim is a restrained, dignified person who is very accepting of his status as an Indian, but who does not make too much of it. For example, he dislikes the annual Indian get-togethers because of the gaudy commercialism. A person who admires a strong, consistent leader, Slim deliberately avoids unreliable and erratic persons, for which reason he does not much participate in the reservation drinking cliques. He is one of the most assertive and sociable Klamath known to the writer. In his interactions he maintains his dignified, independent stance, yet reacts freely and responsively to others. He gives little overt indication of hesitancy or inhibition, and if anything is perhaps mildly boastful and pretentious. If a phrase will describe his outstanding characteristics, it is a well-fed, complacent hedonism. There is one thing which his white friends have against him, and that is because he is well respected and liked they are displeased because they cannot draw him into more community activities, which invitations he rejects with the disclaimer that "I'm too itchy footed to join that, I may want to leave for Washington next week."

Rorschach Record

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No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	d M hd	27"	What do you do, just pick out what you see? () I can see a little face—kinda LL a long nosed woman with her hair blowing up like that (gestures). It's a bust. That's all I can think of. (AE?) (Rotates card)
(2)	d Fc hd		Look at it again and it LL a cartoon character—one of those guys w/ a little pointed head, bat-wing ears, a tuft on top of his head, beady eyes... All I can see on this one.

(1) Outboard bulge on bottom half, the hair being D7. Down. () LL the wind is blowing from behind and threw her long hair right straight up.
(2) Interior part of upper "wing" just below animal "head."

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(3)	D me'C ntr	15"	One here kinda LL the sun is coming up. (Rotates card and then chuckles)
(4)	d FcC hd,cg		Here's some more faces...an old woman w/ a thin face, dark eyes, iron grey hair: from her neck up
(5)	S F emb		This deal here (S) LL a shield—an insignia.
Add 24	d Fc hd		A very pretty girl

(3) Bottom red, D11. Down. () Just—seen sun—like you see in some drawings: The ball of the sun coming up...those rays. (Comp. Loc. Ch.) No, it was the black with the red behind it. Now, I'm starting to pick out of this.
(Add 24) On cheek of right "bear," interior, Down. A very pretty girl with short curly hair, see here is the mouth and the teeth. (4) On neck of left bear, Card to right, interior. She's got kind of a reddish face. (5) Center Space. () Just some kind of an insignia or shield. (With card down)

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
(6)	W M h P	15"	These LL two people. A caricature...how do you say that? () A caricature of two people.
(7)	D F at		This here LL an abdomen and a long esophagus...I think they call it.
(8)	D Fc ntr		This LL two hedges with a lane in between them and at the far end a little gate.

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III continued

(9) D Fc ntr	This right here LL a reflection in the water—a tower at the end of a little pond. You can see a reflection. Trees on both sides of it. These are pretty interesting.

(6) Grey area w/out bot. center, D14. There's the head here. Here'd be the hair. A big forehead, hooked nose, no chin. () I guess they're dancing—jitterbugging I guess you'd call it. () Yes, when I first saw it it looked that way. (7) Side red, D21. () I've seen pictures in the home doctor book. (Comp. w/ Loc. Ch.) No, it looks the same. (8) Center red, D20. Like in my drawing I'd make a line and show infinity...the point disappearing...get a perspective. () Right here'd be the vanishing point...straight lines run down to it. () The shading would help...like the sun is fairly low...the ends were a little light...the light is coming from the side. The sun is very low so both sides are shaded. The color was important, not the red, just the shading. (9) All bot. center, D18. () Well once in a while in the Nat. Geo. Mag. you see a picture of a tower or a castle and a pond with a mirror reflection. (Tower= top vertical dark, reflected trees= lighter grey tendrils below, trees= darker masses on side.)

IV

(10) D FMcc' ad 40"	(Much initial rotation of this card) LL...ah...a dog standing there looking straight at you...marked something like a German shepherd.
(11) Dr FMc' a	A crude outline of a bat. I have one question. Are all these (cards) the same kind of reproductions? () (S. studies printing on back.)

(10) Bottom center D23. () It was the shading...marked like a German shepherd...dark on the forehead...black on the edge of nose. (11) Bottom two thirds of blot. () He's just starting to land...y'know how they flop their wings. () The black or dark suggested it, and the outline struck me too.

V

(12) W FM a P 5"	It LL a butterfly. (Much rotation of card) All I can see in it—wait
(13) d Fc' ad	It LL a little monkey, with a black face, the top of his head, got a grey neck and his chest...grey down to his shoulders and chest. All I see here.

(12) Whole. () LL he's flying...just the form or outline. (13) "Devil's head" at top of wing. () The light part in there LL his cape, I guess you'd call it.

VI

(14) D Fc± ad 45"	Ah...let's see...LL a big plateau like you're looking at it in an aerial photo...a long plateau with a straight canyon down the middle of it with a little peak at one end. (Rotates) That's about the size of it here, too.
(Add 25) Dr Fc± ad	Animal skin

(14) Bottom detail, D41. (Add 25) It LL the outline of the skin of an animal tacked to the wall () The outside of the hide () LL the fur right here. Add 25 is bottom D, less lower 1/4th.

VII

*159 •125 Rejection				85"	(Very much rotation) (Laughs) I can't make anth. out of this one. (On inquiry S. reexamined card carefully w/no success.)

VIII

(15)	W	FMc	a,ntr	P 13"	This LL a bob-tailed cat standing on two rocks. His reflection there...he's watching something in the water. Got his ears laid back...one of those fuzzy, long eared cats. (Rotates) All I see here.

(15) Whole-card to right. () Like a mirror reflection. Bobtail, head ears. (Ears back?) Some cats will lay ears back when watching something. Like an Angora cat—kinda fluffy, a shaggy outline. () The fluffiness comes from both the jagged outline and the shading. (Comp. w/ Loc. Ch.) Looks the same, except that would be a pencil drawing and this a color drawing. I could make a real good picture out of that (What watching?) I've no idea...just watching.

IX

(16)	D	Fc	hd	14"	An old grey haired man with dark bushy eyebrows, a handle bar moustache, and a receding chin. (Rotates card)
(17)	D	FM	ad		Kind of a head of an animal. Guess you'd call it that, a long snout, nose slanted, a long forehead—bony forehead, dark beady eyes and a very prominent Adam's Apple (S. is almost overcome with laughter)

(16) Headlike part of pink, D65. Card to right. The dark bushy eyebrows are the darker part here. (Grey hair?) The face is fairly dark and got light hair, light colored hair, could have been a blonde, too. (17) Deer-head-like brown grey at top of green, D63. Card to right. This is what I laughed at. (Re-describes and again breaks out in laughter) I kept seeing that little beady eye and then I made the outline out. () Oh, just sitting there, laying there...got his neck stretched out.

X

(18)	D	CcF	ad	10"	This is a pretty one here. Tail feathers of a bird of Paradise. A paradise bird green!
(19)	D	FM	a,art		Two lions like you see on a crest: facing each other.
(20)	D	F±	a		One of them animals: a creature you see in a science-fiction story.
(21)	D	FMc	a		A furry, husky dog, with no tail.
(22)	d	Fc±	ntr		And here's another pool with a reflection. Trees along a bank, and the reflection in the water.
(23)	d	F	hd		Another one of them faces...large prom. forehead, sunken eyes, pug nose, lantern jaw, fat lip. That's about it for me.
(Add 26)	D	FM	a		A bug ready to fight.

(18) Bottom green. Half of D74. () The green and the different shades of green. (19) Middle yellow, D71. It was just the outline of that. Like lions on a crest. With an exaggerated pose, the nose up, the legs stretched out behind, (gestures) and the chest out. (20) Side blue, D76. Card to right. () A big blob of a body, and an outgrowth from the cheek bones. The darker part, here is the head. (21) Corner brown-orange. Card to right. () He's jumping. Got his forelegs extended in front of him. () The shading helped. Gave me the impression of round. (Comp. w/ Loc. Ch.) It looks the same. (22) Top grey-brown, D67, less top "feelers." () Disregard these little parts here. (Comp. w/ Loc. Ch.) It looks the same.

X Continued

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(23) Darker inboard portion of top of large red Ds. () It was just the outline here at the top. (Add 26) Both animal-like parts of top grey. I wouldn't know what to call this. It LL some kind of an animal or bug ready to fight...here's the antennae, the eyes, and the mouths, both are open. Wouldn't know what to call them.

Total Time: 23'

Scoring Summary

W	3	M	2	a	6+1
D	12+1	FM	3+1	ad	4+1
Dr	1+1	FMc	2	h	1
d	6+1	FMc'	1	hd	5+1
S	1	FMcc'	1	ntr	6
		mc'C	1	cg	1
		CcF	1	emb	1
R	23+3	FcC	1	at	1
W:M	3:2	Fc	4+1	art	1
M:Sum/C	2:2	Fc$\pm$	2+1	Pop	3
Sumc:SumC	9:2	F	2		
Sumc:Sum/c'	9:1.5	F$\pm$	1		
IRT	18.9"	Fc'	1		
IRT (col)	13.4"				
IRT (non col)	29.3"				
F+%	94				

Conspicuous Features

(1) low W
(2) high Sum/c
(3) high d

Rorschach Interpretation

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The few W, the emphasis on shading, and the large number of d highlight this man's approach to life. He is concerned about minute details and subtle nuances, but relatively neglectful of general considerations or extensive plans for the future. This is both his strength and his weakness. He talks about his "drawing" and comments "I could make a good drawing out of that," but he does not have the motivation, ambition, perseverance, or overall organization which a successful artistic creation requires. He may act the part of an artist, but it is doubtful if he is actually very productive or creative.

On the other hand, this attention to detail enables him to react sensitively and probably with tact in interpersonal relations. He is careful and likely to be concerned with the feelings of others. He rarely acts inappropriately or inconsiderately and, with his above average intelligence, may be relatively successful in life.

The low W and the Sum/c greater than Sum/C would, in a white American, suggest the pattern of the "alpha schizophrenic." Piotrowski's concept of the "alpha schizophrenic" is based on the hypothesis that some people do not manifest overt

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(152)

their resolution. Just as clearly, she is extremely discouraged and demoralized. During the course of testing and questioning she was manifestly anxious from time to time, this being evident from a slight stammer, frequent parapraxes, and a tendency to over correct for errors. To the blank TAT card, #16, she told a story of a girl's reaction to the death of her mother and then cried painfully, trying to control herself.

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Rorschach Record

No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						I
(1)	W	M	h		14"	To me it LL sm sort of a...you know these fiction vampires. (Starts up from seat). LL a man standing right there and these could be his wings. (AE?) Here's his two hands, his feet. LL he has a belt on. That's about all.

(1) Whole. () The way he's standing...with his hands up in the air ready to pounce on you.

						II
(2)	D	F	ad		8"	Two little dogs...that's all I can figure...a cpl of little dogs. (AE?) That's about all.

(2) All grey, reversed. () Just the way the heads are shaped.

						III
(3)	D	F	a		3"	The red in the middle LL a butterfly.
(4)	W	M	h	P		Two figures in the middle LL a cpl of men trying to pick up smth.
(5)	D	mC	fire			LL a couple of pieces of rope that's starting to burn.
(6)	D	Fc	ntr			LL a pool of water right here
(Add 27)	D	F	cg	P		A hairbow.

(Add 27) Center red. Now that I look at it again it LL a hairbow. () Just the shape. (3) Center red. () It has the shape. () That's all. (4) All grey. (5) Side reds, reversed. () Just the way it's shaped. () LL the way fire usually flames up...a good start...burning. (6) Bottom center grey. () LL you're looking into...say like a glass ball in the movie and you see some image...and this LL an image of a pool of water. You see a pool of water in it. () No, it's got ripples in it.

						IV
(7)	W	F	(h)		13"	Now this LL sm kind of a monster...looking up at him at an angle.
(8)	D	F-	a			And this LL the front part of a snail...the one that's beneath him. That's all I can see on this one.

(7) Whole. () Just an old fiction monster. () You can see his eyes right up in here. (Points to tiny dark slit-like area near top) (8) Bottom detail. () Oh, these two little feelers, I guess they call them on the side and the...horns, right in the middle.

						V
(9)	W	F	a	P	18"	(Following rotation) This LL a bat. That's all I can see on this.

(9) Whole. () Just the way it was shaped.

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VI

(10)	D	Fc	ad	P	18"	(Rotates) At first this part here LL a bearskin rug, but w/out the head.
(11)	D	FM	a			The top part LL sm kind of animal, it's got wings.
(12)	Dr	FMc	a,ntr			Then again it LL a little prairie dog standing over a little knoll...it's got a tunnel running straight down.

(10) Bottom detail. () The way it's shaped. The two front paws and the back part there. () Just the way it's...the pattern on there. () The inside of the hide. (11) Top detail. () LL he's just standing there w/his wings spread out. (12) Center vertical column+adjacent lighter part of lower detail. (Can you see into the tunnel?) Yes, it's a cross section of it. I mean...you know.

VII

(13)	W	FM	a		15"	These LL funny shaped little elephants, balancing themselves on rocks, or smth like that.
(14)	W	M	h			Then again it LL a woman walking right down the center and the two big figures on either side are running away from her. She's coming down some sort of an alley way or smth.

(13) Whole. (Elephants are top 2/3s; rocks= bottom D) (14) Whole, card reversed. (Bottom center light and dark=woman; two figures=usual "dancers.") () They LL they have dresses on...don't know whether to say if they're men or women.

VIII

(15)	Dr W	Mc' CF	h ntr		27"	(Rotates) This LL a woman inside of a cave. LL she's walking down some steps and the reflection is her shadow cast on the floor of the cave. The whole thing LL a cave and she's coming down the stairs.
(16)	D	FMC	a	P		On the other hand on the side it LL two pink bears.
(17)	D	F-	h			The figure in the center LL a man of some kind, with a hat or hair or smth.
(18)	D	F-	ad			The two pink figures in the middle LL lizards... their faces.

(15) Whole, card reversed. (Woman=dark grey-blue in middle; stairs="ribs"; cave=rest of card) () Oh...just...it LL a cave BC of the coloring, as you see in paintings, or movies, in technicolor. (16) Side pink. () Just LL they're climbing up smth...hanging onto this guy's hat or hair. (17) Top blue and grey details. () LL a hat BC of the way it comes to a point. () The figure of a man. (18) Bottom orange-pink. () The way they're shaped...got the eyes and mouth. (Eyes & mouth=darker lines in red area)

IX

(19)	d	m	ntr		23"	This thing in the middle LL...it's start to... go into a water fountain, a whatchacallit.
(20)	W	MC	(h),ntr			These on the sides LL two elves with funny noses and pointed heads and they're dancing on rocks, or on a pink floor.

(19) Center vertical column, from top grey to edge of pink. () Just the way it's starting to shoot out. (Comp. w/ Loc. Ch.) Yes, looks the same. (20) Whole. (Elves=orange; rocks=pink & green)

X

(21)	W	F	(a)		9"	This shows a picture of all different sorts of funny shaped fiction monsters...sea monsters.

X Continued

(22)	D	F	a	P	The ones in blue LL crabs.
(23)	D	F	a		This here LL a sea horse.
(24)	Dr	M-	h		The two figures on the side, yellow grey and pink, LL some kind of women shooting guns at these sea horses.
(25)	D	F	a		One in green LL an insect w/long feelers.
(26)	D	F-	a		These two up here LL two bull frogs. That's all I see.

(21) Whole. () The way they're shaped. Like the two in blue are shaped like crabs and the two in pink like sea horses. (22) Side blue. (23) Large pink area. () The way they're shaped, long bodies. (24) Side yellow, grey, and brown. (Brown-grey, D77="guns") (25) All bottom green. () The two little green dots LL eyes kinda bugged out, and then the feelers. (26) Top grey. () Well the way they're shaped...their legs are kinda shaped like frogs, and frog's mouths.

Total Time: 14'

Scoring Summary

W	9	M	4 (1-)	h	6
D	14+1	MC+	1	(h)	2
Dr	4	Mc'+	1	a	12
		FM	2	ad	3
		FMC	1	fi	1
R	26+1	FMc	1	ntr	4+1
W:M	9:6	m	1	cg	+1
M:Sum/C	6:2.5	mC	1	P	5+1
Sum/C:Sum/c	2.5:2.0	CF	1		
M:FM:m	6:4:2	Fc	2		
FC:CF:C	3:1:0	F+	8 (4-) +1		
IRTt	14.8"				
IRTc	14"				
IRTnc	15.6"				
F+%	67				

Conspicuous Features

(1) Quality and number of W
(2) Quality and number of M
(3) Overall balance
(4) 2 m
(5) 5 Pop.

Rorschach Interpretation

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This is a rich and complex Rorschach protocol and reflects a subtle adjustment to life. Not only does the subject give 6 good quality M, 9 well organized W, Sum/C = 2.5 and Sum/c = 2, but many of her responses are highly integrated and she often utilizes blends of determinants. She has more M than FM and more FC than CF. Thus the test indicates that she is an intelligent, sensitive person who is making an active and appropriate adjustment to life.

She gives an adequate number of responses and, although her approach emphasizes W, her W attempts are usually successful. The occasional slip in organization

extensive plans for the future (e.g., opening a second-hand store and capitalizing on the poor buying habits of the "Indians.") none of which have much chance for materializing, but many displaying a fairly shrewd assessment of the local community. He can get quite enamoured with making these plans, and savors the profits in his current fantasy. 159* 154

Sparrow was tested while in jail, this being the only likely time when he would be sober enough to see the blots clearly. 159* 124

Rorschach Record

159* 125●

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	W FM a	3"	That LL a bug...some kind of a bug. It reminds me of a beetle bug in the water, that catches little minnows. (AE?)
(2)	W FM a	P	It appears to be a butterfly too. Smth. like that.

(1) Whole. It LL it's swimming in the water...like catching little minnows. One of 'em will attract the minnow, another will catch it and pretty soon they'll have it cut in two...they've got pinchers. (2) () It looks like it's flying.

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(3)	W CF fire F± geo	10"	(S. picks up a phone book and leafs through it. Looks for number old white lady friend in nearby town, a lady that he could have married, who had two cadillacs, etc.) That looks more like a...looks like a...well I just couldn't very well describe...this LL fire down here and here...fire around an island or something like that. (AE?) No.

(3) Whole. (Compare Loc. Ch. Same?) No, that little picture doesn't look like it. () I saw the fire...then it resembled fire on an island. (Island?) Well—it looks that way to me, LL an island.

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
(4)	W F± art	4"	That LL a stamp on leather...I used to stamp leather, engrave silver, I'm also a harness maker...by trade. (S. now tells plans for setting up a business in town, to buy and sell used furniture, capitalizing on buying habits of the "Indians".)

(4) Whole. () It's a hand stamp to engrave leather. Looks like the stamp. (Not the impression) (What sort of design?) Just like a leaf—y'know, when you stamp leaves. (see r. 12)

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			IV
(5)	W F- a	1"	That looks more like a frog to me. (AE?)
(6)	W c'c ntr		Like a stone setting up this way—see? (Stands card up on end to demonstrate)

(5) Whole. () One of those big bull frogs. These look like his feet and here are his front feet, they aren't so big. () LL he's in the water swimming. (6) Whole. () Obsidian...you can polish obsidian that way and it comes out in different colors like these dif. colors in here. (Refers to lights and darks within outline)

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			V
(7)	W FMc' a	0" P	That looks like one of those bats that fly in the night.

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(S. starts another accounting of his plans and ambitions to build business on highway, making and selling tourist goods, capitalizing on tourist trade.)

(7) Whole. () It's flying in the night. () The shape of it and the color. () They're about that dark. But they're not altogether black. They look kinda brownish and brownish grey. (S. now explains that the reason he can't do so well here is that he has bad eyes and has broken his glasses.)

VI

(8) W Fc± ad P 2" (S. is telling of his skills at tanning buckskin, and of persons he has done work for, not however, for money.) That LL a badger hide to me after it's tanned out and cleaned up. They make good rugs, those badger hides. (AE?)

(9) W c' blanket Looks something like a Navaho blanket. (AE?) No.

(8) Whole. () Just the appearance of it...like a badger hide stretched out. (Same marking as badger?) Yeah, this shading in here. (9) Whole. A Navaho blanket's got dif. designs on it. () It looks like the designs on a Navaho blanket...dif. colors.

VII

(10) W Fc'± ntr 9" (S. is telling of a Navaho blanket he once owned and how a friend lost it.) That looks like—ah—what they call obsidian. They make good ornaments. I wanted to get some of that up here.

(10) Whole. () Just the shape of it...you can find them different shapes like that. LL it's been chipped on the edge. () Yeah, it LL the coloring of obsidian.

VIII

(11) W FC ntr 5" That looks more like a mountain with snow on it... sometimes you see the clouds and they look red, esp. in the evening. (AE?)

(12) W CF ntr Oh, it resembles a leaf in the fall when they turn dif. colors.

(11) Whole. (Compare Loc. Ch. same?) No not that, not like this one. (12) Whole. () One of those big shade tree leafs—oak tree or smthg. The leaf is about that size.

IX

(13) D C sym ntr mp 5" These two pieces remind me of Australia and those Hawaiian Islands—land with water all around them. I've seen pictures of the Haw. Is. Lots of volcanic mountains. The lava looks like that here...all red

(14) W CF ntr and different colors. (S. starts anecdote again, repeats plans for 2nd hand store, says he should get a drawing outfit, draw pictures and make money.)

(13) Australia-green detail, D82. (Compare Loc. Ch. same?) Yeah it looks the same. It's the shape of Australia. (Color?) Yeah, the green. (Why green suggest Aus?) It looks like grass and stuff...the color of an island. (14) Whole. The whole thing looks like the Hawaiian Islands. The different colors, the red lava and all that.

X

(15) W CF art 6" That reminds me of leather. Buckskin or oil tanned leather fixed in dif. colors. I do work like that—

X Continued

dying buckskin in dif. colors. You tan and dye buckskin and it looks like silk. 125• 159*

(15) Whole. See a man can take leather and dye it dif. colors like that.

Total Time: 17'. Note that the average time per response will reflect the unusually high level of verbalism, the anecdotes, comments, and introduced fantasy.

Scoring Summary

W	14	FM+	2	a	4
D	1	FMc'	1	ad	1
		Fc'±	1	art	2
		c'	1	ntr	6
Sum/c'	5	c'c	1	fire	1
Sum/c	2.5	FC	1	geo	2
Sum/C	6	CF	4	hh	1
F%	20	C	1	P	3
F+%	56	Fc±	1		
		F±	2		
		F-	1		

Conspicuous Features

(1) low F%
(2) long total time
(3) Sum/C
(4) no M
(5) obsidian
(6) vague W
(7) Sum/c'

Rorschach Interpretation

In reading this Rorschach protocol, one gets the impression of a gregarious, effervescent, kindly, but ineffectual elderly man. He lives in the past and the future, but not in the present. He probably is unable to deal with the mundane issues of his present reality situation so he concentrates on his past experiences or his future plans. This characteristic trait is reflected in the de-emphasis of D responses and his over-emphasis on vague and undifferentiated whole responses. 159* 157 [154]

His emotional effervescence is reflected in the low F% (20%) and high Sum/C (6). His responses to the test tend to be largely of an emotional nature: shading, color, movement; they are not based on a cold intellectual, rational analysis of the blots. And so his life adjustment would be of this nature, i.e., determined largely by his feelings at any one moment.

One must consider seriously the possibility that this lack of intellectual control bespeaks of a serious psychological disorder --whether it be of an organic or functional nature. Is his response to Card IX a contamination, for example, "it's the shape of Australia and the green suggests grass. It's the color of an island." What is meant by the "color" of an island? To what extent have 157 125

157 125 the characteristics of the blot been organized intellectually and to what extent is he unable to accomplish this analysis? If he cannot accomplish this, there is a disorder of thinking present. Also, his response to Card II: the whole looks like an island, and the red looks like fire, therefore it looks like "fire on an island." At best it is a fabulized combination; at worst it is a contamination. Only a blatant schizophrenic would have gone to the pathological extreme and said "Fire Island." In addition there are no movement responses, there are only three popular responses and the F plus percent is only 56. Where are the control factors? The sum of color responses is 6; the sum of dark shading responses is 5; and there are not the indications of sufficient controls for this amount of emotional energy.

157 153 On the other hand, there are a few responses which suggest that his intellectual ability has been greater than average. His knowledge of the word "obsidian," for example, bespeaks this ability,[1] as does the nature, although perhaps not the feasibility, of his "plans." This is not inconsistent with the statements made previously, but it does suggest a situation marked by increasingly greater interference with intellectual functioning.

157 159 The absence of any human responses in his Rorschach suggests his lack of concern with genuine interpersonal relationships; all his talk of future plans and business suggests that he is interested in using people for his own gain rather than in having meaningful and warm interpersonal relationships. His reaction times are quick, supporting the notion that he is likely to act in an impulsive manner. Two of his FM (R2, R7) are "flying," reflecting perhaps his tendency to try to escape from the present situation in an unrealistic manner. His other FM response (R1) may be an indication of his view of human relations: aggressive, cold-blooded, eat or be eaten.

[158] In summary, then, the test reflects an elderly man, whose intellectual and emotional control appear inadequate. One wonders about the possibility of this man having been a chronic alcoholic and now suffering the effects of diffuse organic brain damage. He "talks big" but he probably doesn't "deliver the goods." There are indications that at one time in his life he may have had better than average intellectual ability and now is going downhill.

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[114] [823] [1] This is, perhaps, the one place in these ten cases where a lack of knowledge concerning Klamath culture led the analyst astray. The Klamath are astride the western volcanic belt and one of the most frequent kinds of materials used in their tool manufacture was obsidian. Hence Sparrow's use of the word reflects his interest in and awareness of an important local raw material.

*159
156 and anxiety associated with her responsibility in a double murder. She had
given a rifle as a present to a lover, and following a drinking party at her
house he had killed his brother and a stranger with it. Her thinking was extremely morbid. She expresses the wish that the more violent of her previous
husbands would return and kill her.

*159 In the testing and interview sessions Nell's behavior quite definitely was not
representative of her ordinary interactions, and once she felt somewhat relieved
157 she immediately got more distant, withdrawn, and unapproachable. During testing
[124] she exhibited a high level of manifest anxiety and an erratic pattern of interaction. She was alternately over-talkative and quick to reply or to initiate
[152] a sequence, and then silent and down-cast. Her concern was real, for it was
known that she was under suspicion for complicity in the murder, but this was
not the root of her anxiety. What the connection was cannot be evaluated from
available evidence, but it may be that her conflicts were related to the trouble
her lover had gotten into, for it was his situation she wanted most to talk
[156] about. Normally she is relatively inflexible in her relationships and preserves
her withdrawn and isolated position at all costs. Her behavior then exhibits
a high level of drive, but is poorly organized, confused as to goals, and produces repeated overt conflict with lovers, husbands, her parents, her children,
work associates, other community members, and law enforcement agents. Still,
she expresses the need to be cared for and dominated consciously, as well as the
156 feeling that she was being persecuted and rejected. She feels herself to be an
entirely worthless person, and this evaluation is shared by the community at large.

Rorschach Record

•125 Note: With little variation between cards, each was approached by the S. in
*159 the following manner: She would take the card, repeatedly twist it and turn
it, swiftly cover portions of the blot with her hand or fingers, hold it at
arms length, hold it closer and examine it carefully, lay it down momentarily
and stare off "thinking," and then after a silent delay of an average 145" spit
out a series of responses rapidly, as if they were hot peas.

No. of Resp.	Score			Time	Response
					I
				155"	I can look at them any way?...it doesn't even make sense. Do you want me to tell you right now?
(1)	W	Mc'	h		All I can think of is witches
(2)	Dr	F	a		and bats
(3)	D	M	hd		and these two things remind me of hands
(4)	Dr	F	ad		they look like deer horns, too
(5)	D	M	hd	P	This bottom part, it looks like a woman's body. That's all I can make out.
(6)	d	F±	music		These look like music. When you look at them they remind me of music notes, but they remind me of music.
(7)	D	FM	a		Now if I take this picture in half, it reminds me of something...like an animal standing on a high place looking over something...everything below him...that's about all.

(I: W) (What suggested?) Might be this...reminds me of a cape blowing out. These points remind me of a sharp hat. (Cape blowing?) Just like when you see them on

I Continued

their brooms. They have something blowing out behind them...flying through the air. Might have been the color cause it's grey. (2: top third of blot) It just reminds me of wings. (3: top center "hands," D4) They remind me of hands reaching up...out of nothing, I guess...just reaching up. () Yes, human, just like they're reaching for something. (4: D4 and center "heads") Like deer horns, too, because of the two points on each side. Mostly because I like deer. I'll go riding in the evening just to see deer—not to hunt—just to see them. (5: usual "legs," but extending up to "bust" at center grey spot) Like I used to draw, hands on hips. It's not a drawing, it reminds me of a woman standing there. (6: tiny spots off bottom edge of main blot, card down) Must be musical notes. They must just resemble notes. (No movement implied here) Like in a comic book. (7: left half, card to right) It looks like an animal with wings. Did you ever see an animal with wings? Like a four legged animal looking down.

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II

(8)	W	M	h	181"	It doesn't remind me of much except two old ladies sitting together gossiping. That's all.

(8: W) Guess this would be their feet or knees. The red things would be their heads. (Old ladies?) I guess this would be their nose and their chin...they're long and pointed (points to top red).

III

(9)	W	MCc'	h,fire P	123"	When I first looked at it, it looked like cannibals looking over a pot with a fire in the background.
(10)	DrS	F	ntr		When I look at it another way it looks like landscapes, well, like in China.
(11)	D	CF	blood		Then, it reminds me of blood.
(12)	D	F	ad		These things here, if you take them alone, they remind me of horses legs.

(9: W) Fire, because these spots are red and cannibals because they're black and have long necks. (10: bottom half of blot, below "bow tie," card down) These would be the trees. Kind of a pathway going up (White center S, below "bow tie") (Why China?) I don't know, seems to me I've seen...I had a pair of drapes that was Chinese and they had two trees like this. (11: top red details, D21) Probably because they're red and look like blood spots. (12: bottom leg-like extension, D17) They're long and narrow on one side...must be the shape... probably this reminds me of a hoof.

IV

(During interval between cards, S. stated: On these cards I usually give you my first impression on looking at them...then I try and go back and find something else...but I give you my first impression.)

(13)	W	c'	ntr	190"	Well, it reminds me of a swamp. I've never seen a swamp; but it's like pictures I've seen.
(14)	D	Fc±	ad		This part in here just reminds me of the skin of some animal stretched out, and that's about all.

(13: W, card to right) Well, like the bottom part would be a reflection of the top. (Swamp?) I dunno, just the...course it's dark and you can't see anything... probably because of the shadows. (14: bottom center, D23, card down) (Inside or outside?) The outside, you know, when they trap animals and stretch the skin to dry. It would be the outside. (Furry?) Uh, huh.

V

•125
*159 (15) Dr M h 230" I dunno...it just reminds me of two girls sleeping... laying...resting.
(16) W FM a But at first it looked like a big vulture or something. That's about all.

(15: top half of left and right "wings") (Girls?) Well, this looks like a girl's leg for one thing, and then it looks like she's got curly hair. (16: W, whole card) These are the wings...like it's flying.

VI

(17) W c,F- ntr,h 145" When I look at it like this, it looks like those pictures they show of duck hunters when they go out hunting early in the morning...when there's clouds and fog.
(18) D c cg Now this just reminds me of a fur coat...just one of those great big fur coats they used to wear a long time ago.
(19) D Fc indian also makes me think of a totem pole.

(17: W, Card to right) Just a scene. This would be the fog. There's always tules or grass. Of course, there's no duck there. No hunter, either. (18: bottom detail, D41, card down) (What suggested?) Well, it just looks furry to me. (19: top detail, D39) Well, because it's straight and tall and it's got different colorings in it—and these things come out the sides.

VII

(20) W cc'm clouds 110" This looks like...reminds me of a house and lightning or something trying to strike it...and these look like clouds or smoke.

(20: W) Well, because it's dark clouds, you know, storm clouds. Like it's getting ready to rain and storm. (House is tiny light grey area at extreme bottom center of blot; the lightning is the light streak in the bottom center)

VIII

(21) W CcF fd 72" It reminds me of Ice Cream—No—that's just what
(22) D FM a P it looks like. It really looks like some kind of
Dr CF ntr a cougar or cat walking over rocks.

(21: W) The texture in it looks like ice cream...it's the color. (22: left ½ of card, card to right) This would be the different rocks and he's stepping real lightly from one rock to the other. (Why lightly?) I guess because they're separated. (Why rocks?) Because, well rocks are so many different colors.

IX

(23) D M h 150" I'm back to witches again...all I can see is witches and monsters.

(23: orange, green and violet details, card slanted to right) That'd be two witches (the orange). (What are witches like?) Well, to me they seem old and mean and here they kinda look like they're backing away from something. Now when I turn it over (to the right) it looks like this one (violet detail) is just standing by looking and this one (green detail) is pushing the witch over. I think I've beem reading too many funny-books.

X

(24) D F a 95" These blue ones remind me of octopuses.
(25) W CF rec When I first looked at the whole thing it reminded me of something gay, like a carnival, when everybody's having a lot of fun.

X Continued

(26) D M h These grey ones remind me of two men plotting something. That's it. 125• 159*

(24: side blue, D76) Both of them. () Dunno, because of all the lines going out. (25: W) That would be just the colors. (26: all of top grey, D67) Now they're not even shaped like men, but it's just like they were men. (What are they plotting?) I don't know. (Up to no good?) Uh-huh!

Total Time: 39'

Scoring Summary

W	9	M	6	h	6
D	12	MCc'	1	hd	2
Dr	5 (1S)	Mc'	1	a	5
d	1	FM	3	ad	2
		CcF	1	music	1
		CF	3	fi	1
R	27	cc'm	1	ntr	4
W:M	9:8	c'	1	blood	1
M:Sum/C	8:4.5	c	2	cg	1
Sum/c:Sum/C	7.5:4.5	Fc	2 (1/3-)	indian	1
Sum/c:Sum/c'	7.5:3.5	F	6 (1/3-)	clouds	1
F+%	88			fd	1
IRT	123.1"			rec	1
FC:CF:C	1:4:0			P	3

Conspicuous Features

(1) low F%
(2) vague W's
(3) long IRT
(4) nature of M
(5) shading emphasis
(6) R17

Rorschach Interpretation

Of this young woman's 27 responses to the blots only six are based completely on the shape of the blot. The balance of determinants, however, suggests that she probably has sufficient control over this emotional lability to effect an adequate adjustment (M:Sum/C = 8:4.5; Sum/c:Sum/C = 5:4.5). An extensive fantasy life and caution, motivated by fear, enable her to respond in an appropriate and realistic manner much of the time. However, in five of her nine whole responses she pays little or no attention to the shape of the blot (R13, R17, R20, R21, R25). These constitute vague, diffuse responses and indicate that much of her behavior is of this nature: diffuse, over-emotional, poorly controlled, primitive. If she is able to control her affectivity then, it is not the result of an easy, automatic control; it is, rather, control based on fear and inhibition. 157 159* [125]

Her long delay before responding stands out as a characteristic feature of her record. Her initial reaction time is probably the longest of the sample and is [125]

[157] [159] [125] very extreme when compared with white American Rorschach protocols. What is the meaning of this delay? What psychological processes are going on in the interim? Her subsequent rapid delivery of varied and generally appropriate responses suggests that she is, in fact, concentrating on the task at hand and arriving at feasible solutions to the task which the examiner presented to her ("What does this look like to you?"). However, the question remains: why doesn't she talk during this process?

[152] One thing we know: she isn't apathetic or disinterested. On the contrary, underlying her delay, there is considerable feeling. Not only does she give four CF responses, but she gives diffuse responses to the blackness and shading elements of the cards. Her first responses to Cards IV, VI, VII, and VIII are vague, whole responses with little, if any, form element involved. Her delay and control do not allow her to succeed in integrating her feelings and impulses with the objective demands of the situation. In R17, for example, we are able to see the manner in which her mental processes may, on occasion, totally ignore the environmental requirements for appropriate behavior. Her response here is "pictures of duck hunters." On inquiry we learn, however, that there are no ducks and no hunters — only fog. Her perception, then, was of a vague, foggy, diffuse world; she enlivened it and peopled it in an elaborate manner through her own rich imagination. To what extent will she allow this rich imagination to overwhelm the demands of the external world? Her Rorschach responses indicate that this will occur often in a sporadic fashion, but that she will be able to recover from these periods and correctly evaluate the situation once again.

This over-ideation, — especially in the light of R26, "men plotting something" — suggests a distinct paranoid trend. She is suspicious of the motives of others and fearful of what the future has in store for her. Even natural forces are considered powerfully threatening; R20, for example, indicates that lightning is "trying to strike" the house.

An analysis of the roles reflected in the human movement responses suggest that this woman has managed to adopt a wide variety of role patterns. She has human movement responses which are verbally aggressive (R26), grasping (R3), guarded (R9), totally immobile (R15), as well as complex (R23). It is this rich, imaginative fantasy life which enables her to delay responding to the blots for such a long time. The reason she must delay is that she does not trust the environment and the people in it.

Some of her movement responses demand more careful analysis. Three of the eight M are old ladies or witches; witches "are old and mean," she tells us. Since her very first response to the test is also a "witch," it would be remiss not to try to determine the personal significance of this response. We are probably on reasonably safe ground assuming that it reflects her attitudes toward older women and therefore some kind of mother figure. Her mother could not have been very nurturing or warm, nor is she likely to see herself as a particularly nurturing person; she does not feel comfortable giving emotionally to others. On the other hand, R3 suggests that she is not content to "do without." If rewards
[158] do not come easily, she is ready to "reach out" for it. At the same time, however, we must note the content of R15: "two girls sleeping...resting...laying." Piotrowski has warned of the pathological significance of this kind of immobile human movement response, suggesting as it does, a willingness to submit to the external forces without a struggle.

Her animal movement responses are also suggestive of a suspicious and hostile role pattern; of the three FM, the first (R7) is "an animal looking over

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with his concern with losing the support of his constituents and his feeling that he was not really "in" with or a member of the White group. In many ways Carrie dreads the future, feeling that he has over-extended himself. Thus, as well as being the source of satisfaction, social esteem, and profit, Carrie's achievements are a continuing source of anxiety. He suffers the pangs of success.

Rorschach Record

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No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						I
(1)	D	F	a		45"	Oh, I see (rotates card) it looks like two different things to me. The one way it looks like a bug.
(2)	W	F	at			And this way it looks like the bottom vertebrate of an animal of some kind.

(1) (Entire center area, D1) That could be his legs. Some kind of a bug or a beetle. A water beetle maybe. () It was the form mostly. (2) (Down, center blot) () It was the form mostly--the shape.

						II
(3)	D	FM	a	P	43"	It has to look like something? Well this way it looks like two dogs that got their noses together...or sheep...or some animal.

(3) (Entire dark area, D8) See here...the darker ones...or even a bear...a couple of cub bears. It looks like they got their faces together. There it would be the form or shape...what's the difference between form and shape?...Just the darker ones. I couldn't distinguish anything with these red blots.

						III
(4)	W	M	h	P	50"	This looks like two people trying to lift something...lift something up off the ground.
(5)	D	FM	a			And two little objects falling. Looks like two birds falling to the ground.
(6)	D	FMC	a			This object in the middle looks something like a butterfly...a red butterfly.
(Add 22)	D	F	at			A skull

(4) (Black area, D13) They're pulling hard on this...either pulling together or against each other. (men or women?) Might be women because they got a big chest on them (chuckles). (5) (side red details, D21) They're probably shot the way they're falling. (6) (center red, D20) I couldn't think of anything there but a butterfly. (What kind of BF?) Well, it looks like it's in flight. (Add 22) (Bottom center, D18) That object that they're pulling on does look like a skull of some kind.

						IV
(7)	Dr	F	a		75"	(Several rotations) This thing reminds me of a bat...but it doesn't look like a bat.
(8)	Dr	Fc'-	a			The dark outline's got a face...it looks like a wild boar to me.

(7) (down, darkest parts of entire blot, indistinctly outlined) Not the whole thing just the darker part looks like a bat to me. (8) You can see the dark outline here. These are the tusks...and you can see the eyes. (down, same area. Both exclude D27 and D23).

V

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(9) Dr FMc' a P 71" (several rotations) This looks like some kind of a butterfly. (more rotation)

(10) Dr FM a Could be two mountain goats making a sharp contact. Rams, when they fight. It don't look that way, but it could be.

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(9) (Whole blot less lighter side extension, D34) It was the darker shades I guess...except for these (D34)...a butterfly in flight, or it could be lit, too. Some of them light with their wings out. (10) (Whole blot less bottom extensions, inverted) These are his feet out here and these are the horns...it don't really look that way.

VI

(11) W F hide 62" This looks like something's hide that might have been hanging on a fence...they took it down and laid it down...hide of a fox or wild cat...spread it out on the ground after it's been hanging on the wire to dry.

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(11) (Whole blot) It's laying down and been opened up. It's been hanging on a wire—see this is the middle line. Fox-wildcat—been taken down and put on the ground, the hair toward the ground. This is the inside. () Well the only way I can say what makes it look like the inside is this dividing line...that was against the wire.

VII

(12) W M h P 105" (several rotations) This could be...looks like...reminds me of a woman in the gay nineties looking at herself in a glass. A big hat on her head.

(13) D FM a I dunno...it ain't a dog...but a sheep or something. Two of them looking at each other.

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(12) (down, whole blot) The entire body. Here's her arms, legs, feet. Here's her face. Here's her hat. (Anything else suggest that?) This is her body. Here is her hind end. Her body is facing this way but she's got her head turned looking back. Got a gay nineties figure. Big breast, small waist, and a big butt...don't quote me on that. (13) (top two thirds) Well, it's part of the body. Here's the nose, feet. The ears are pretty big. I don't know if it would have that big-a-ears. Some kind of animal. (why sheep?) I dunno, because of the color I guess and it looks like hoofs of some kind.

VIII

(14) W FMCFc a,ntr 33" P This looks like some kind of animal...grey squirrel...No, a ground squirrel or a ground hog...walking...standing on a bunch of rocks. He's crossing over a creek. He doesn't see his reflection but his reflection is there if somebody is to see that.

(15) D F at This could be a skeleton of some kind of dead animal. I dunno...a cow, maybe. A skeleton head of some dead animal.

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(14) (side pink, D57 is animal; concept includes whole blot) He's not looking at himself; but his reflection is there. (why rocks?) Well one thing the color...a squirrel isn't this color. It's the foundation of the rocks. (what mean?) Well this is the form of a rock—the shading and colorings. (15) (bottom pink, D55 down) You've seen a dead cow's head...all in red and pink...the horns and knobs on the head. That would be portions of the skull. (recently dead?) No...(still meat on it?) No...no meat...just the skull. A bleached skull picked

VIII Continued

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159*

clean by the buzzards. (why bleached skull?) Just the shape I guess. (color at all?) No--well the color too. But I've never seen a skull that way--mostly they have been bleached.

IX

(16)	D	F	ad	64"	A portion of this reminds me of a head of a rhinocerous.
(17)	Dr	CF	at		It don't look like it; but when you gut a deer and lay him out, spread him out...well it reminds me of the inside of a deer or a gutted beef.

(16) (down, green detail, D62) See this is his horn and his mouth. There it's the form and the shape. (17) (center grey-white, D59; center line, D58, adjacent shading, and bottom pink, D64) The bottom part of it mostly...now you've sawed the vertebra in two and drawn his guts...could be a beef too. The bottom looks red, meat red.

X

(18)	W	F Cden	a	35"	This reminds me of marine life...
(19)	Dr	F	a		of a crab or spider underwater...this is all underwater.
(20)	D	F	a		This here looks like a seahorse.
(21)	D	F	a		This might be a prawn or a crawfish...No, a prawn.
(Add 23)	D	F	a		a water bug

(19) (right side blue, D76) A crab with his pinchers. (20) (right, side brown, D77) A sea horse or some kind of a bug...just the dark part of it. It was the shape...could be some kind of a bug too, not a sea horse, a water bug (23-add) (21) (right, bottom dark green, D74) The shape of it...see here, his eye. Course he's pretty long. Just the back shape of it. I don't know how long prawns really are. (18) (whole blot) Marine life because of the form and the shape of it; not because of the colors too much. (Compare location chart) No, it wasn't the colors so much, just the shape of the marine animals, and the rest of it could be the formations in the water.

Total Time: Not available due to numerous untimed interruptions.

Scoring Summary

W	6	M	2	h	2
D	10+2	FM	4	a	14+1
Dr	5	FMC	1	ad	1
		FMCFc	1	at	3+1
		FMc'	1	hide	1
R	21+2	CF	1	ntr	1
IRT	58"	Fc'-	1	P	6
IRTc	45"	F	10+2	a%	75%
IRTnc	72"				
W:M	6:2				
M:Sum/C	2:2.5				
Sum/C:Sum/c	2.5:0				
Sum/c:Sum/c'	0:1.0				

Conspicuous Features

(1) High a%
(2) High Dr%
(3) Nature of M and FM
(4) Long IRT
(5) Ambiequal EB

Rorschach Interpretation

157 The Rorschach test reflects a person who has managed a satisfactory adjustment
*159 largely through the inhibition of whatever originality and creativity he might
have possessed. The extremely high a%, the limited range of content, the six
•[125] populars and the absence of any original responses point to the stereotyped conventionality of this man's psychological process. This apparent dullness is not due, however, to a lack of capacity. His vocabulary, the presence of movement responses, and the occasional well organized whole response indicate that he has the potential to do more with his life than he now settles for.

The effects of this marked inhibition are numerous. Firstly, the extremely long initial reaction times, averaging close to a minute, are indicative of the blocking and caution which marks the record as a whole. Secondly, the color denial in R18 point to the hesitancy with which he approaches emotional situations. Thirdly, the nature of the human movement responses reflect internal conflict, tension, and blocking. The first M in the record (R4) highlights this man's feeling that he is hampered when he tries to express himself. He is not sure whether people can work together or whether efforts at cooperation end in conflict. But even if they work together, people must work extremely hard and are not likely to accomplish very much. This is not to say that this man has not accomplished much in actuality; on the contrary, he probably does work hard and
[155] may have substantial achievements to his credit. But, psychologically, he is blocked and wastes much energy in this internal struggle.

The other human movement response (R12) is also not an assertive one; although it is not as blocked as R4, it is a restrained response — probably best classified as "guarded restraint." It does not contradict the interpretation made on the basis of R4. It adds several interesting facets, however. First is the exhibitionistic element; this man needs to be admired. Secondly, both his M's are female — attention is given to the breast in one and to the "big butt" in the other. This preoccupation bespeaks some conflict in his sexual role, which may be one of the dynamic factors in his general inhibition.

A final Rorschach indication of inhibition is the ambiequal experience balance (2:2.5), which according to Rorschach's original monograph points to an obsessive-
[154] compulsive adjustment. This man spends time and energy worrying about his psychological conflicts and possibly even about abstract or philosophical issues. For instance, during the inquiry of Card II, he asks, "What's the difference between form and shape?" Although he may merely be expressing some resentment toward the examiner and the inkblots, the other indications of obsessiveness, suggest that this question may be part of an overall pattern of doubting and indecision.

Although many of the FM are also guarded restraint movements, there is one that deserves special attention: "two birds falling to the ground...probably shot." This reflects a role concept in which the subject feels at the mercy of external forces; this would be much more disturbing if it had occurred in an M response. Appearing as it does in an animal movement, it suggests a role which he may experience in states of diminished consciousness or may have lived through in the past. It is clearly a role more appropriate under these circumstances. Is there any significance to the fact that this response follows the very blocked M ("two men trying to lift something")? Does the subject feel that if he makes too great an effort, he will "use up" all his energy and become helpless?

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notices whether others are noticing her. Still she does very little directly to call attention to herself, for beyond this concern she is basically extremely shy and inhibited. She is a highly pragmatic person, although she easily expresses strong emotionality. The test situation for Aunt May was simply one of the many strange requests, her good friends, the anthropologists, made of her.

Rorschach Record

159*
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No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	W F a P	12"	It LL a bat
(2)	W F a		Then again it LL smth else...LL a...well, bird of some kind.
(3)	W F emblem		Then again it LL an emblem, say of a eagle. Can I turn It? ()
(4)	d m music		LL music flying around there...see these little ones. I don't know what you call it: sharps.
(5)	d F hd		LL some kind of a statue, cause of these little faces here.
(Add 54)	W F± ad		And then again a hide.
(Add 43)	D F ad		crawfish feet
(Add 44)	D F ad		deer horns

(1) Whole. () These parts here and here. And then again it LL a hide (Add 54, Whole) (2) Whole. (3) Whole, down. (4) Tiny spots below bottom of main blot, down. (5) Card reversed, bulge adjacent to center Ss. ("profile") () Here on this side...the eyes in here and the eyebrows (darker lines) and the ornament in her hair (D7). And these LL crawfish feet--pinchers. (Top center extensions, D4) or else (Add 44) deer horns that just begun to fork out. (Same Loc.)

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(6)	W M (h),Rc P	14"	(chuckles) What's this supposed to be, a masquerade ball? A couple of guys dancing... bears or smth...you can see their tusks.
(7)	Ws FCwc' Hh		In the center it LL a lamp hanging down...this white part...LL a fancy lamp of some kind. And the rest could be the shade...shadow.
(8)	W M (h),Rc		These guys have got their heads covered up and they're making a puppet show...the red stuff is their hands made up like birds.
(Add 45)	D F a P		An animal going that way and a fire.
(Add 46)	D CF fire		

(6) Whole. They're guys dressed up like bears. (7) Whole, space (seen as white) () Yes, just like the one hanging there, only more fancy. A white lamp. (8) Whole. Cd be making puppets...making mouths with their fingers (fingers=interior extensions on top red) They've got long hats on. (Add 45) Card reversed. This way it could be some kind of an animal going that way and that could be a fire. () That red in there and the shadow. (Not a whole, animals=entire grey; fire=bottom red...Adds 45 & 46).

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
(9)	W M (h)anat P	30"	(S. has taken up her sewing again.) The way you handed me this one...it LL two people picking smth. Cd be cannibals who just ate the carcass.

*159 III Continued

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(10)	D	FM	a			These could be birds and again it LL
(11)	D	F	a			a bug or
(12)	D	F	cg			a bow tie—the red one, or
(13)	D	Fc'	(h)			a monkey—the other LL two black guys from South America (referring to #9)
(14)	d	F,Fc'	ntr			and it LL limbs off of a tree and part of the ground.

(9) All grey. () Look at the shape of their heads and this LL a carcass here (center grey) () Look at it, will you, all the bones sticking out, or smth. (10) Side reds. () Sitting on smth. Or else they have awful long tails. () Well—you've seen African birds...feathers are all...long. Just look at the shape of their heads! (11) Center red. () It's a butterfly or sm kind of a beetle. () Just the shape of its wings...only it don't have any whiskers. (12) Center red. () Because it's lighter in the center like you've tied the knot. (13) Side reds. (14) Card reversed, bottom center and leg-like parts. The limbs are on the side and the trees in the center...it LL the shadow of it.

IV

(15)	D	Fc	hd	snow	25"	LL two big feet covered with snow.
(16)	W	F-	ad			Top part LL a head off of an animal and this wd be the hide skinned out. But what kind of an A I don't know.
(17)	D	F	a			This LL sm kind of an animal skinned out and stretched with the arms or horns or handles
(18)	d	F	obj			And it could represent an old ancient vase or smth. Got too many legs on it. Can't see no face except here on top it LL an animal. This must be an animal and these look like frozen feet with snow, surely.

(15) Lower 2/3s of side. () LL snow because it's lighter than the rest of it. (16) Whole. This doesn't look right...needs to be closed in down here to be one whole thing. (17) Bottom center D. Card reversed. () LL it's stretched out. Could be a other...maybe another animal. Can't figure out what kind with that many...let's see 1-2-3...eight feet. Don't know what it is. (18) Top half. () BC of the handle (AE?) No—nothing. (Ancient?) Don't see anth like that any more...or it could be an old uprooted tree or an old basket.(Referring to previous "animal skins") that might be a badger or a skunk all skinned out...the nose and this part of the neck part.

V

(19)	W	FM	a		20"	I wish you'd give me what other people think of these. (Rotates card and chuckles) In a movie one time we saw two mountain sheep bump heads...that's the way they look.
(20)	W	M	h			That's a fan dancer. (Breaks out in laughter) Don't you write that down you crook!
(21)	W	F	a	P		That could be some kind of a butterfly too or a beetle or a bug or smth.
(Add 47)	D	Mc	(h)			A cave man from Grant's Pass

(19) Whole. () LL rams butting heads. (20) Whole. (Body in center-fans on side) LL she's dancing. (Add 47) Ha! I found something! Where do you come from...in Grants Pass...did you know those cave men, that's what it LL. The hide and the tail and the elbow...see his eyes and his real bushy eyebrows. (S. is quite

V Continued

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elated) Got a rope wrapped around him and he's just standing there. (21) Whole. () These little deals (horns) LL the ones up there on the wall (in a display case) (Note: the cave men refers to a peculiar custom on the part of a local Chamber of Commerce of dressing up in hides on festive occasions.)

VI

(22) W Fc'- at	19"	Well what in...what wd that LL...an X-ray of a person's lungs, I guess. Oh, let me see. That does LL a person's backbones and ribs, right in here.
(23) W Fc ad P		Then again it LL a hide, but there's shrubbery and it'd be hanging up this way (V), not the way you gave it to me. This is the tail part right here, but nobody ever cuts an A that way.
(24) W FM- a		It...Jungle Jim's little monkey or chimp; back to back with one another.
(25) D Fc'- a		If it had a head it'd LL a skinned badger or skunk.
(Add 48) D F- a		A magpie
(Add 49) W Mc h,ntr		Reflection of person walking in woods.

(22) Whole. () The backbone is down the center. (23) Whole, reversed. (Tail is top D) (24) Whole, reversed. () Two monkeys standing back to back...but they wd have to be standing on their tails. (25) Top detail, D39 reversed. () Just the stripes...light and dark. (Add 48) Top detail. And it LL a bird, an old magpie or smth. (Add 49) Whole, card to right. And then this way the water's edge right here (center line) rocks here, reflected down in the water. Clouds in the background. Trees and bushes. () The shade of it and way it's shaped. Plain as anything you can see a rock in here and an old dead log here. Further back there, here's somebody walking here in a dark shirt and light pants.

VII

(26) W FM a	25"	Well, if it didn't have such a small waist it'd be two bunny rabbits. See their ear and little feet. They're turned around looking at one another.
(27) W F± ntr		This way it'd be going into Skull cave in the Lava Beds...upside down. I wanted to get a picture of Valentine Cave so bad...
(28) S FCw Hh		Now the white part of that LL a lamp—or (traces w/finger) this is the shade and this would be the reflection out here (exterior S)
(29) W M h		This LL a girl, now. W/real bushy hair. Two girls, must be tied together...the way they used to punish children long ago...tie their hair together and hang them over the clothes line...
(Add 50) W M h		Or they could be toe dancers...such an imagination!

(26) Whole. (27) Whole, Space. () Here would be the rocks (main blot) () Just the formation of it. (Card reversed) (28) Space, reversed. (29) Whole, reversed. Or it could be toe dancers. (Add 50, whole, reversed)

VIII

Are you naturally pigeon-toed or do you just set that way? (!)

(30) W CF ntr	1"	Coral! In the bottom of the sea.
(31) W F,CF a,wa P		Or sm kind of Animal, and water down here and here's his reflection right here.

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VIII Continued

(32)	D	FC	cg		This is a pink sweater up here. I dunno what the devil these other things are...I dunno.
(33)	D	F-	a		This here is an kind of under water deal; big ole bug or fish like you see underwater...there's his MAW!

(30) Whole. () In the movies I see smth like that. (Comp. w/Loc. Ch.) The color makes the coral. (31) Whole, card to right. () The reflection is because one side is lighter and the other darker. (Water?) I dunno, the blue. (32) Middle pink-orange, reversed. () Hanging on smth to dry. (33) Top bluish-grey, space. () Here's his mouth here (part of first top space).

IX

(34)	D	FM	a	31"	(much rotation) A gorilla chasing smth.
(35)	d	F-	h		and little people right here, but it's by water this way.
(36)	D	F	a		smth. with tusks
(37)	W	FC-	ntr		can't make anth out of it except a tree this way (V)
(38)	W	CF	ntr		This way a shrub, maybe
(39)	D	FMC	ad		and an alligator in here. Can see his face and eyes and he's reflected in the water, too. He's coming out of some green shrubs or smth.

(34) Green detail. () The shade of this LL the bank, this is lighter and that's darker (interior mottled shading) LL it's reflected. Can't see what he's chasing. (36) Head-like part of pink. (35) Card reversed, mottled, outlined inner part of green with tendril of green extending into pink. (37) Whole, down. () Dunno, some more of that underwater business to me. (?) The coloring helped. (38) Whole. () Dunno about that, but the colors helped. (39) Mottled area at inboard top of green, D63. () Here's the alligator. Can only see his nose and eye.

X

(40)	W	F	a	24"	LL moss and stuff underwater...worms or bugs... maybe fish.
(41)	D	M	(h)		Then when I got it upside down, LL a couple of guys standing on a cliff. They're standing, one foot on the cliff. They handed something to one another. Here's the other guy here, see their heads. There's all kinds of junk in here...don't know........
(42)	D	FMc	a		This LL a dog...big old shaggy dog laying down.
(Add 51)	D	F	a		An octopus
(Add 52)	D	F±	a		or just moss
(Add 53)	D	FC	a	P	White rabbit w/ green eyes

(40) Whole. () Just LL it. Can't tell you. () Well, the shape. () The formations, and then again it LL two men. (41) Center blue and part of red, reversed. (42) Side brown, D78. (Add 51) This could be an octopus or anything...or just moss. (Add 52) (Refers to side blue for both) () Doesn't really LL an octopus, just moss. (Add 53) I found something just now...a white rabbit with green eyes. I'll bet you never seen it before...can you find it? (Bottom rabbit's head and top part of green extensions).

Total Time: 30'

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Scoring Summary

W	22+3	M	6+2	a	16
WS	1	FM	5(-1)	ad	3
D	14+9	FMC	1	h	8
d	5	FMc	1	hd	2
		Mc	+2	at	1
		m	1	ntr	5
R	42+12	FCw c'	1	emb	1
IRTc	20"	FCw	1+1	music	1
IRTnc	20.2"	Fc'	3(1-)+1	rc	1
W:M	22:6	Fc	2	hh	2
M:Sum/C	6:4.5	CF	3+1	cg	2
Sum/C:Sum/c	4.5:2.5	FC	2(1-)	obj	1
Sum/c:Sum/c'	2.5:3	F	17(3.3-) + 7(1 2/3-)	P	6+2
M:FM:m	6:7:1				
FC:CF:C	3:3:0				
F plus %	78				

Conspicuous Features

(1) Total R
(2) Emphasis on Movement
(3) EB = 6:4.5
(4) Pop
(5) c'

Rorschach Interpretation

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This is a rich, moderately well-balanced record, except possibly for overemphasis on W and consequent inattention to the usual details. However, the whole responses are generally adequate, the M responses are good, and the color responses balanced. The subject is apparently a woman who tends to deal with the overall situation, occasionally to the exclusion of the practical details of day-to-day living. She seems to be striving, planning as if in an attempt to achieve something. The high W and the emblem on Card I are consistent with this need to attain something. She has a wide range of interests and possibly is somewhat more cultured than most Klamath (R4, for example).

On the other hand, she is not a "driven" person, in the sense that she does not allow herself to have a good time. During the testing she apparently enjoys herself. She laughs, she sews, and she appears to be relaxed. She gives her rich imagination free rein, and rarely does it get beyond her control. Occasionally it does, as it will with anybody who just lets themselves go. (Note the "monkey standing on his tail" on Card VI).

Only seventeen of her 42 responses involved merely form as a determinant. The other twenty-five responses are determined either by kinesthetic (internal) stimuli, color, shading or a combination of these elements. Thus, the woman is relaxed enough to allow her emotions to influence her responses. Her comments also appear particularly relaxed, e.g., "I dunno what the devil these things are," or "Don't you write that down, you crook!" But what are her emotions and needs? Where in this full record shall we find the clues to her inner life?

Her six movement responses are very diverse: "men dressed as bears dancing," "guys making a puppet show," "fan dancers," "cannibal who just ate a carcass,"

157 *159 "girls tied together by hair," and "guys on cliff handing something to one another." The "cannibal" and "punished girls" responses are certainly aggressive enough, but what of the cooperation implied in the "guys on a cliff" response? The "men dressed as bears" and the "puppet show" are playful, assertive and free, while the "fan dancer" reflects that extra gaiety of which the subject herself seems somewhat abashed (she "breaks out in laughter"). These are all human movement-responses and thus the subject is capable of experiencing [155] all the diverse roles reflected. In a person with fewer other resources this might lead to unbearable conflicts, but in this woman there seem to be the strengths which make it possible for her generally to utilize this flexibility, despite the conflict. These additional resources are reflected in the use of color and shading (dark and light).

Her color responses are generally adequate and of a positive kind — although somewhat shallow. The presence of many responses to the black and white are interpreted by Oberholzer (1944) as further evidence of shallow, lazy affect. Thus, she probably does not get too deeply involved with people. She can get along with others moderately well, but she really does not need them.

[26] The presence of six popular responses and an F plus % above 80 are sufficient indication of her ability to attend to conventional aspects of the environment in a realistic manner, despite her tendency to experience her emotions.

[156] Nonetheless, there is the hesitancy in interpersonal relations which we have seen in most of the Klamath records. Here it is reflected in the disguise needed by the figures on Card II and the several aggressive M and FM responses. And she is still pretty unsure that the recent developments in her life are desirable; perhaps the old method of punishment was the best (R29). Probably the essential conflict in roles described above are the keynote of this woman's adjustment. Shall she "eat the carcass" or "lend a helping hand?" Shall she be a "fan dancer" or is any transgression punishable? The comments during the testing are both joking and veiled hostility: "Are you naturally pigeon-toed or do you just sit that way?"

But despite the richness of the record, the woman behind the record remains elusive. Could it be that her enormous flexibility in role taking has made it difficult for her to carry through one integrated life style to the extent which is necessary to call it her own? The Rorschach suggests that this may be the case. However, it is clear that her overall adjustment is a satisfactory one — perhaps eminently so.

*159 124 [150] [123] Weasel was tested while in jail. He agreed to take the tests via an intermediary, and was anxious and tense throughout the session. But because of numerous experiences in correctional institutions he was quite suave concerning the test situation; he has had them in batteries, the MMPI, the Bender Gestalt, the Picture Frustration Test, some variant of the TAT, but never the "ink-blot" test. The jail situation provided no special stress, and the testing lead to the development of something of a friendship relation with the examiner.

Rorschach Record

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No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I (S. entered the testing room visibly agitated, surveyed the room carefully and suspiciously.) What are you going to do to me? () No, I'm not worried, my hands are just sweating, that's all. (Looks under table at tape recorder) That isn't on, is it? () Etc.
(1)	W F emblem	30"	(Laughs) And is this supposed to LL smth? Well... well...it LL some kind of...Well I don't know. If it wasn't for the little spots it would LL some kind of coat of arms. (AE?) Trying to think of smth I seen one time...may be in fiction
(2)	D Fc (h)		A long, coated jelly...looked like that. Some kind of an animal...it was in this stuff, this jelly; but I don't know what this stuff wd be out here. (AE?) Maybe I'm kinda dense, but no more out here.

(1) Whole. (What kind?) I dunno to be truthful. () No, just the way it's shaped. I never have seen many coats of arms, but that's what it puts me in mind of. (2) Center detail, D1. () I dunno, it was supposed to be transparent. It was fiction, now I remember it. Some people was supposed to go to the moon in a rocket and came back with it. After it started growing it turned into a great big monster, a show on TV or a movie. (Fc here, as shading determined percept, which was seen as a figure thru the transparent jelly)

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(3)	W,S c'C blood bullet hole	40"	LL a bullet hole. When you press the gun up close to smth and it goes off and makes this powder burn. The red spots LL they're blood. (AE?) That's about it.

(3) Whole, Space. () Just the blackness, I never have been close to a powder burn, but that's what it LL. () Those red spots. Maybe it just dropped down up there, but it LL it's splattered there (bottom red).

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
		27"	Doesn't look like anything, drawing a blank
(Add 9)	Dr Fc'C a, blood		Blackbirds with blood from their fighting.

(Add 9) (Anything now?) Is that the way I had it before? () Now it LL a cpl of black-birds. I dunno what this could be unless it was blood from their fighting. () I see their head and their beak and their little wing. () Dunno, they're black and the shape of their head and beak. () The red spots. (Entire top half of card from "waist" up, including reds)

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IV
62" Don't LL anth. here. (Same on inquiry)

V
(4) W FM a P 10" LL some kind of a bat. That's it here.

(4) Whole. () It LL its wings are spread down this way (gestures) and his feet there...his head is turned sideways, and can't see his beak. Horns and feelers here. () Dunno, wings are just spread out like that (gestures).

VI
(5) W Fc' hide P 45" I see these things in my sleep...() Dunno, LL sm kind of a fox skin, that's all...cut open.

(5) Whole. () I guess it's a fox skin...hind feet and front feet...look like they're cut off. No tail, maybe it's cut off. Got the whisker's up here. () Just the outline. Don't see anything inside unless the dark line would be his spine, but I don't imagine his spine would be on there after his skin was off. () The inside...LL...() Just the way he's spread out, LL he's laying on his back. (S. becomes increasingly agitated and re-inquires as to purpose of test.)

VII
42" Don't LL anth to me. (Following, during inquiry:) No... (S. seems to be wanting reassurance, studies card intently.)

VIII
(6) W CF ntr 73" Kinda puts me in mind of coral rocks. I don't know if they're artificial or real, but I've seen 'em.

(6) Whole. () Actually I don't know if it was artificial but I've seen 'em in fish tanks with the little gold fish swimming around. () No, it's more the color of this than anth else.

IX
(7) W mCF expl 43" LL sm kind of an explosion, but I don't imagine they'd be colored like that.

(7) Whole.

X
(8) W CF art 30" LL sm of these pictures of modern art I've seen. But I don't know what you'd call them.

(8) Whole. () No, it's more the color of it than anth else. I don't know what it would be. I've seen the pictures, but I forgot the name of them as fast as I see them.

Total Time: 17'

Scoring Summary

				(h)	1
W	7	FM	1	a	1+1
S	1	mCF	1	hide	1
D	1	c'C	1	blood	2
Dr	+1	Fc'CF	+1	expl	1
		CF	2	art	1
		Fc	1	ntr	1
		F	1	emblem	1
		Fc'	1	P	2

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R	8+1
W:M	7:0
M:Sum/C	0:4.5
Sum/C:Sum/c	4.5:2
Sum/c:Sum/c'	2:1.5
IRT	37"
IRT (color)	46"
IRT (nc)	28"

Conspicuous Features

(1) low R
(2) no M
(3) high Sum/C
(4) Content: R3, 9, 1
(5) aggression
(6) test-taking attitude
(7) vague W's

Rorschach Interpretation

*159 157 Aggressiveness, almost of a murderous kind, is the first impression one gets from this Rorschach record. Despite the fact that he gives only nine responses, we finish reading the record with the feeling that we know a great deal about this man, but we are no longer convinced of the extent to which he is comfortable with his feelings of hostility.

[158] Perhaps the single most conspicuous feature of the record is the blatant preoccupation with violence, especially in the context of such a brief record and in the light of the personalized quality of the verbalization: "When you press the gun up close to something and it goes off and makes this powder burn — the red spots look like blood." In addition to this hostile content (R3 and R9), analysis of the scoring summary indicates that the subject has inadequate control of these impulses. His Sum/C is 4.5, which is very high in a record of only nine responses, and there is no M and only one shading response. (After much deliberation, it was felt that there was insufficient evidence to score shading in R5.) Furthermore, only one of his responses was determined by the shape of the blot alone, indicating that in practically all situations the subject is likely to be directed by impulses and feelings, rather than by intellectual considerations. The possibility that the seven whole responses constitute ego control and personality organization is contradicted by an inspection of the nature of the W. Of these seven W responses, five and possibly a sixth must be considered vague, diffuse, primitive responses to the global impression of the blot.

There are a few possible indications of some control mechanisms which operate sporadically, however. For one thing, he does not blurt out his responses impulsively; there are relatively long initial reaction times to all the cards. Secondly, he does give attention to the shading elements (R2 and possibly R5). Nevertheless, these constitute insufficient controls for the tremendous energy available (Sum/c:Sum/C = 2:4.5).

The long initial reaction times, the few R and many of the verbalizations point to a guarded, suspicious approach to life. This finding, combined with the absence of M, is strongly suggestive of a paranoid adjustment. Life in general, and human relationships in particular, is seen as a struggle: the response closest to an M is the "fighting blackbirds." However, the subject does not have very strong attitudes about interpersonal relations. His feelings about people are shallow and ill-defined. He does not have close friendships: the figures on Card I, often seen as human, are seen by him through transparent jelly; he rejects Card III suggesting a human movement shock; and his few R suggest that he is unwilling to extend himself in the test situation.

[156] The "coat of arms" response suggests that what little feeling he has for human relationships is focused on the overt signs of social status. He is likely to

are marked by alternate periods of (brooding?) silence and she is more than a 159*
little pretentious, as for example her response to TAT card #1, "Oh, that's 157
that famous European violinist...Levi Strauss." Her life has been characterized [156]
by many extremely stressful situations, but she does not seem easily discouraged,
and maintains her vigor and independence. She tends to over justify herself, as [155]
if she had some doubt about certain of her characteristics, or as if she had
strong feelings of uncertainty or inadequacy. This is in strong contrast to her [156]
leadership role in her family, and her domination of many social situations. She
is also somewhat excitable and tends to directly express her emotions more than
many other Klamath.

The working relationship with Grandma was one of the best. When she first 159*
learned the writer was an Anthropologist she warmed to him immediately and 124
volunteered to take the tests. She was tested "on the job," at the top of a [123]
200 foot fire lookout tower in the midst of the Klamath forest.

Rorschach Record

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No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	Dr FM a	11"	I DK what this represents...it LL...does it have to be the whole or part or what? () I imagine it LL a bat.
(2)	Dr F a		Then again a crab, and I DK what else it LL... there's the feelers.
(Add 24)	Dr F- at		More vertebrae

(1) Top third of card. Oh, I've seen a lot of bats LL that flying around at night ...with wings all spread out and you can't see nothing but the wings. (2) Top ½ of D1. (Add 24) Card down, entire center section extending to tips of Spaces. Now if you turn it around upside down it LL some more of the vertebrae. () What? Oh, just, just...I DK. Everything has a vertebrae and that's why.

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(3)	W M h	14"	By golly...I DK what this LL. You know my trouble is I don't read very much. What would this LL... just a quick glance at it...it LL a bunch of... a cpl of men going to test their strength...their hands clasped together...all tied together...men in disguise...can't be women.
(Add 25)	Dr F- at		Another vertebrae and part of brain
(Add 26)	D FM ad P		Two bears putting their noses together.

(3) Whole. (Add 25) Card down, Space and D11. Now I'll turn it upside down. Now LL another part of the vertebrae and maybe a little part of the brain. () I dunno! Just because it's going up that way. (C?) Oh no. The brain is supposed to be grey...grey matter they say. (Add 26) Card down, D8. Then this black part LL two bears putting their noses together...their little ears sticking over...why they're identical aren't they?

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
(4)	W M a	3"	These LL...still LL sm...I'm not sure it is...LL a These little grasshopper features LL grasshoppers... grasshoppers at play...they're playing.
(5)	D CF at		LL the throat and lungs and stomach and everything

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#25

III Continued

(6)	D	F-	at			And this LL a pelvis. But why the grasshoppers should be playing I DK.
(7)	D	F	hdx			LL a man w/ a long beard. But more like grasshoppers.
(Add 27)	D	F-	at			More vertebrae, upside down.

(4) All grey. (Add 27) Card down, all grey. (5) Side red, D21. () The color and the shape of it. (6) Center red, D20. () The shape of it. (7) Headlike top of grey, D16. () A man w/ a long beard. What do you call them—goatee. This all belongs on the vertebra...the center of man's being.

IV

(8)	W	Fc'±	ad	P	3"	That LL a bear hide. I got a bear hide in my room. LL a bear hide. That's the only thing I can make out of it...a bear hide.
(9)	Dr	F-	at			Then the upper part LL it's a throat laid open like when you look in the physiology book...like part of the wind pipe. My goodness. That's about all I can make out of that one.

(8) Whole. () The outside of the bear hide BC of the coloring I guess, It's black. (9) Top center, D24. I still think there's some more of the vertebrae right here. (Note: E was beginning to get discouraged with recording vertebrae as additionals and indicating this to S.)

V

(10)	W	F	a	P	0"	That one LL a BF.

(10) Whole, either up or down. () Anyway I look at it it LL a BF and it still LL ...well just a BF. () Just a common BF. Of course they're not all black, they're all colors.

VI

(11)	W	F-	at		4"	That one LL throat and lungs. Like the inside of a person's body looks...all stretched out.
(12)	D	Fc'±	ad	P		It LL a little pelt of sm kind, stretched out.
(Add 28)	Dr	F	a			A tape worm.

(11) Whole. () Of course this is kind of terrifying with those little eyes up there...maybe he's got a tape worm. Ugh, that little head LL he's got a tape worm. (Add 28, top ½ of vertical column) (12) Bottom detail, D41. LL a link cat (bobcat) pelt...the coloring and everything, below the tape worm.

VII

(13)	W	F±	fd		11"	These LL shrimps all breaded and fried...to me... that's the way they come to you all fixed up. Other than that I don't know what it wd be.
(Add 29)	S	F-	at			More vertebrae

(13) Whole. (Breaded?) Well it LL that, all split in two and fried. (Add 29) Center space. And here I come back to my vertebra again...you can't get away from that one...the main part of life and the person's being...going up to the brain.

VIII

(14)	D	FM	a	P	16"	This LL sm kind of a little animal climbing up on smth...don't know what kind of A. That's a pretty color...lovely coloring. The whole thing is pretty colors, the grey, the green, the orange. He LL he's climbing up to demolish smth.

VIII Continued

(15)	(Not a scorable resp.)				(Score a R for coloring??)
(Add 30)	D	F	at	P	More vertebrae
(Add 31)	d	FM-	germs		Germs attacking the human body
(Add 32)	S	F-	at		Still more vertebrae

(14) Side detail, D57. (15) The whole, but prob. not scorable as a R. (Add 30) Riblike area, D54. (Add 31) Whole=body or lungs, germs are an association without specific location on blot, the association is from the preceeding popular animals. (Add 32) Lower center space, between feet of both pop. A's. (Note: the preceeding is a sorted out set of locations, the following the S's associations) It still LL that's the vertebra (#30) and it LL it's up here...like some kind of little animal attacking the human body...some kind of little germs... some kind of germ attacking the lungs...a germ of some kind. The vertebra again (#32). It's terrifying if sm kind of disease attacks you.

IX

(16)	W	F-,Po	at	105"	Gosh, I don't know what this would represent. Pretty, whatever it is...I don't know what this represents...some...LL the spine or smth. The spine going up and down...LL the pelvis itself... I imagine that's the way we look inside...either this way or that way...must be some part of the body...it LL little kidneys down here...it's pretty, whoever colored that...sure blotted that one nice.

(16) Whole. That LL the large intestines...this the lungs, because it's up there. This must be the kidneys, and this must be our rump and stuff down here, where it's thick, see?

X

(17)	D	F	a	P	5"	Another lovely coloring...there's that same little... same expressions of the little...grasshopper head.
(18)	D	F	a	P		Heads of crabs.
(19)	D	F-	at			Pelvis bones again
(20)	D	C	at			The gall down here...the green.
(21)	D	F-	at			It's sure a terrifying picture...the appendix all inflamed.
(22)	D	F-	at			The throat again.
(23)	D	CF	at			The walls of the stomach...the ulcers of the stomach badly diseased...boy that's lovely coloring.

(17) Pop. rabbit, D73. See you can't get away from that vertebra...that spinal column there. (18) Side blue, D76. (19) Location uncertain. It's not the pelvis, it's still some more of the vertebra. (20) Bottom green, D72. It was the green. (22) Throat=vertical column in top grey. There's bugs attacking it...diptheria I guess. (21) Bottom green, D74. (23) Bottom yellow, D71. (Compare with Loc. Ch.) It's all still there...just the same, don't make no difference.

Total Time: 41'

Note on No. of Responses: Delete No. 15 from Total.

Scoring Summary

*159
•125

W	7	M	2	h	1
D	12+3	FM	2+2 (1-)	hdx	1
Dr	3+3	F	13 (6 1/3-) + 7 (5-)	a	7+1
d	+1	C	1	ad	2+1
S	+2	CF	2	at	10+6
		Fc'	+2	fd	1
				germs	+1
				P	6+2

R	22+9
IRT	17.2"
IRTc	28.6"
IRTnc	5.8"
W:M	7:2
M:Sum/C	2:3.5
Sum/C:Sum/c	3.5:0
Sum/c:Sum/c'	0:2
F+%	52

Conspicuous Features

(1) high at
(2) low F+%
(3) FC:CF:C ratio
(4) hdx
(5) reverberation of spinal column and brain
(6) "disguised" M

Rorschach Interpretation

*159 157 The Rorschach reflects a woman who is extraordinarily preoccupied with disease (at = 10+5). If she is not physically ill, she is hypochondriacal and perhaps suffering from somatic delusions (at R; F+%, 52). She is likely to be very ill at ease in interpersonal relationships (M on Card II), probably because she is demanding of attention from others (C:CF:FC). I wonder if she doesn't use physical illness in order to be taken care of.

[156] The test results indicate that she views interpersonal relations as terrifying struggles in which she may be "demolished" by others. Since her only M in human content is "a couple of men testing their strength" and her Sum/C:Sum/c is 3.5:0, we would say this is how she acts in interpersonal relations at this time. She "tests her strength" — but cautiously. The figures are "in disguise," they are not to be trusted. In meeting people she has to decide whether she is strong enough to be safe, or whether they are so strong that they would harm her.

The FM, on the other hand, are aggressive "climbing up to demolish something," "germ attacking the lung," "bugs attacking throat." This is the enormous aggressiveness of which she is afraid, but it also indicates that she is capable of experiencing this kind of hostility toward others. Under stress or "in states of diminished consciousness" we may see some extremely aggressive behavior on her part.

Since I scored R20 as a pure C response and there are 2CF and no FC, we must conclude that S does become overly emotional at times. They may be "crying spells" or expressions of the anger indicated in the preceding paragraph which she is unable to control. I scored R8 and R12 as Fc' but they may be Fc. If they are Fc' they support the notion that our S has little control over her feelings. The great variability of her initial reaction times also bespeaks of sporadic impulsivity and feelings of anxiety.

*159 158 The more one thinks about it, the more pathological the picture becomes. F plus percent is only 52 despite the 6 populars; there is a positional response on Card IX; there are a few peculiar verbalizations, e.g., the vertebrae and brain being referred to as "the center of man's being" and "the main part of life and

159*
156
593
[871]

Fidel quit school because of what he defines as "family trouble," and this failure is probably equally due to his lack of support and training at home, as well as from the mildly hostile, indifferent posture he maintains. He expresses bitter contempt for his family, for the filthy house, for the lack of regular hours, and for the frequent squabbles. His isolation from this group is adequately measured by his lack of knowledge of the interests and affiliations of family members. His contempt for them is balanced by his father's derogatory, competitive attitude towards his son and his mother's indifference. Fidel stands thus, mildly hostile, ambivalent, and infinitely bored, at the brink of independent adulthood.

159*
157

Rorschach Record

159*
125●

No. of Resp. Score Time Response

I

(1) WS FM ad 2" Well I dunno...could be some kind of animal. (AE?) Just LL a dog or smth looking at you...its ears hanging over. (Rotates card) How are you supposed to look at it, anyway? () (Rotates card and looks at it briefly, but not attentively, looks at E. and waits for him to finish writing.)

(1) Whole, space. () Well—the ears hanging over the side and the two eyes (S) and the mouth (S). LL its head. () LL it's looking at you.

II

(2) D FMc' ad P 27" (Much rotation) (Laughs) LL a couple of dogs w/their noses together—how come they put different colored ink in them? That's the way it looks—both ways,
(3) D FMc' ad upside down and the other way.

(2) All grey. () Just the black part. () Well—it LL a dog's head w/ears sticking out and the nose up against the other one. () Just the...it LL the shadows of two dogs w/their noses together. () Just the outline—the silhouette.

III

(4) W M h P 17" This one LL two guys dancing. (AE?) I can't make anth else out on there.

(4) All grey. () Just the black part. (Men?) Well, I dunno. Could be a cpl of kids cause that's the way they dance. (Boys/girls?) Could be either a boy or a girl or two boys or two girls...just LL people dancing.

IV

(5) W FM a 33" I don't know what the heck this is...some kind of bug with wings or (rotating card)
(6) D F ad some kind of horse head or something...everybody sees these different, huh? () Nothing else but a big black ink spot.

(5) Whole, down. () I dunno what kind...just like it's reaching for you or smth. (Frightening?) Could be. (6) Headlike bottom center, D23, down. looking at it from above.

V

(7) W FM a P 17" That LL a bat with its wings out—down. Turn him
(8) W FM a upside down and it LL you got him spread out.

V Continued

(7) Whole. (8) Whole, down. () Upside down it LL a bat holding its wings up... like it's ready to fly or smth.

VI

Rejection 13" I can't see anth in this one. (continues to study blot) No—I can't make anth out. What happens if you can't picture anth? () What's this supposed to mean, anyway? ()

VII

(9) W M h P 28" (Rotates) Well, that could be two girls looking at each other with their arms out...one arm out.

(10) W M h P Upside down again it LL two girls wearing hats looking at each other with their hands down.

(9) Whole. () LL their heads and it LL they got their hand out...they've just turned around looking at each other. They got some kind of hat on...sticking up, or hair. (Young?) Pretty young, teen-agers. (10) Whole, down. Big hat on, mouth open, just LL it, there's the big arms.

VIII

(11) d M hd 32" All I can see on this one is a man's face in the top. That's all. (Rotates) (Laughs)

(12) d M- hd Turn it upside down it LL a little fat man here. Just his face...he's got a big smile across it. (Laughs) That's crazy. (Lays card down and looks at it, attention wavers and shifts)

(11) Riblike area, D54. () He LL he's got a grin—I mean a mean look on his face. (12) Riblike area + adjacent blue, card down. () Well it LL a man's face—somebody that's mad, I guess.

IX

Rejection 43" Well, I can't see anth on this one, either.

X

(13) D F- a 34" Oh—ugh—LL a little...oh...smth with a fish coming out of its head. Two of 'em standing there looking at each other. They got legs.

(14) D M h The other side LL a man standing there with his arms up over his head and that's it I guess.

(13) Top grey. () Could be a fish or some kind of a little creature. Got legs, eyes, mouth, and an antennae or something on the head. (14) Bottom green "rabbit," card down. () Just LL a man standing there...could be a wrestler or anybody... LL he's got a pretty good build.

Total Time: 15'

Scoring Summary

W	7 (1S)	M	6 (1-)	h	4
D	5	FM	4	hd	2
d	2	FMc'	2	a	4
		F+	1	ad	4
		F-	1	P	5

159*
125•

W:M	7:6
M:Sum/C	6:0
M:FM:m	6:6:0
IRTc	18.6"
IRTnc	27.5"

Conspicuous Features

(1) M - 6
(2) FM - 6
(3) No. C.R.
(4) R 11
(5) Range of content
(6) Also sees percepts upside down.

Rorschach Interpretation

159*

Three aspects of this Rorschach protocol stand out: the absence of color responses; 157 the emphasis on movement (of his 14 scorable responses, 12 involved human or animal movement); and the nature of the movement response on Card VIII (R12): "He looks like he's got a grin — I mean a mean look on his face." The content [156] of this movement response suggests that the subject is strongly ambivalent about his role in human relationships. His immediate response to an interpersonal situation is an open, friendly one, but for some reason he shifts to a more aggressive menacing role. It is as if he tries to conceal his immediately positive response to people behind a "mean look."

On the face of it, the absence of color responses seems incompatible with the hypothesis that this man is involved emotionally — either positively or negatively — with other people. However, when we note that the subject is not indifferent to the color aspects of the cards, the interpretation becomes not inconsistent, but richer. In response to Card II, for example, he states, "How come they put different colored ink in them?" The absence of color responses suggests not that the subject is uninterested in personal relationships, but that, since he is unable or unwilling to integrate the color aspects of the blot with the shape of the blot, he probably reacts to the emotional aspects of interpersonal relationships, but does not make the effort required to integrate his feelings with the demands of reality.

How are we to interpret the fact that of 14 responses the subject has 12 movement responses? We must conclude that he has a rich and extensive inner life; he probably gives much thought to the significance and meaning of a situation without giving any overt indication of this thought. The fact that he waits for the examiner to finish writing, for example, indicates that he is aware of what is going on around him.

Five of this subject's six human movement responses are of the guarded restraint variety: "two girls looking at each other," "a man standing there" and so on. His prototypal role, then, involves watchful waiting and a tendency to inhibit the expression of feeling; this inhibition has apparently generalized to a considerable extent (narrow range of content). Perhaps the most revealing response, though, is the frightening "bug with wings" on Card IV. There is a feeling of dark shock here; he tells us after 33 seconds that he doesn't know "what the heck this is." And, on the basis of the inquiry, "It's reaching for you or something" we would have to conclude that the subject is frightened by the aggression implied here.

On four of the cards — involving eight of his fourteen responses — the subject gives an identical response to the blot when seen upside down as when seen right side up: "That's the way it looks — both ways, upside down and the other way." Although this mode of response does occur on occasion, rarely does it assume

Rorschach Record

*159
#125

No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						I
(1)	WS	F	mask		22"	I don't know wh this LL...it LL some kind of a mask or smth. (AE?)
(2)	D	F	bell			I see a bell.

(1) Whole. () Just LL some kind of a face you see on masks at Halloween. () Just the shape. (2) Lower half of central part. () Just the form of it.

						II
(3)	D	FM	ad	P	17"	This LL a couple of bears nose to nose...can't see anything else.

(3) All of dark, D8. () They're putting their noses together.

						III
(4)	W	M	h	P	14"	This LL a cpl of African natives over a pot. (AE?) Uh, huh.

(4) All of grey, D13. () Standing over a great big old pot, like you see in the funnies—like a pot with people in it or something.

						IV
(5)	D	F	cg		10"	Those LL boots.
(6)	W	Mc'	h			LL some kind of a man standing there with a cape on spreading his arms.

(5) Lower 2/3s of side, D23. () Just the shape. (6) Whole. LL a color here of a big cape and his arms out like this (gestures) with long draping sleeves. () Looks kinda scary...like smth I saw in a Dracula movie () Yes, the black, it looked like Dracula.

						V
(7)	W	FMc'	a	P	5"	This LL a bat.

(7) Whole. () He LL he's flying. () I saw these little feet down here. () The color is grayish black. () Yes, that helped.

						VI
(8)	D	Fc	ad		10"	I can't see nothing on this except it LL some kind of a hide.

(8) All of bottom, D41. () Just the shape of it cause when Dad skins deer he always lays the hide out like that. () The outside. () Cause it sorta LL it's smooth—like the outside of a deer's hide.

						VII
(9)	W	M	h	P	20"	This LL two teen agers dancing, with their pony tails flopping around. (Smiles, bemusedly: noteworthy as a smile is rare for this S)

(9) Whole. () Girls, teen agers.

						VIII
(10)	D	M	h		13"	This LL some kind of a witch doctor over a fire.
(11)	D	FM	a	P		This right here LL bears.

(10) All less side pink Ds. () There's his face with all the paint on it. (Points to D54) Down in Calif. in my Dad's tribe they wear the brush over their heads.

VIII Continued

It LL brush. (Fire?) This bottom part. (Bottom pink & orange) () The color didn't help for the fire. () Down in my Dad's tribe they're medicine men. They go out in the hills and stand over a fire and sing and it's supposed to get whoever they sing for well. (11) Both side pink, D57. Just LL a bear climbing up a hill or something. Here's his front legs, and his rear ones, his ears and his face.

IX

Rejection 27" I don't see anything on this one.

X

(12) D FM a,(h) 31" This up here LL a monster I seen in movies.
(13) S F- hd This LL a face, eyes, nose, and a moustache.

(12) All top grey, D67. () I seen a movie and it looked something like that... a little bat like thing (points to D68)...they stick fangs in people's necks and make these people obey this monster. () The center part is the monster. (Center column of top detail) (13) Bottom center S, below & including middle blue, inside side pinks. It made me think of those old time bartenders with their hair (center blue, D70) parted in the middle and their moustache (bottom green, D70) curled up.

Total Time: 12'

Scoring Summary

W	5 (1S)	M	3	h	4
S	1	Mc'	1	hd	1
D	7	FM	3	a	3
R	13	FMc'	1	ad	2
		F+	3	bell	1
		F-	1	mask	1
		Fc	1	cg	1
				P	6

W:M	5:4
M:Sum/C	4:0
Sum/C:Sum/c	0:1.0
M:FM:m	4:4:0
IRT	15.8"
IRTc	13.4"
IRTnc	18.8"

Conspicuous Features

(1) EB = 4:0
(2) 8 of 13R either M or FM
(3) 6 Pop
(4) Phobic responses (R6, R12)

Rorschach Interpretation

This adolescent girl — for whom "a smile is rare" — appears to be an intense, introspective person: movement is involved in eight of her thirteen responses. But there is insufficient responsiveness to external stimuli (no color responses with the possible exception of R10) and too much of her fantasy appears morbid or at least phobic ("Dracula" on Card IV and "monster" on Card X). Is she really this terrified of authority? The test suggests "yes," but that she won't admit it readily.

Section IV. Summary and Conclusions

In concluding this report rather than to attempt a detailed synthesis of all aspects of the preceding case studies we intend to pursue some of the implications of certain striking characteristics of Klamath personalities. Aside from this descriptive effort we also intend to derive, hypothetically, an association between these personality attributes and Klamath acculturation experiences. 121

Certainly the most pervasively shared attribute of Klamath personalities is the one we have chosen to call guarded restraint. This label is intended to designate the general attitude towards self and interpersonal relationships which has emerged from the analysis of Rorschach records, life-history materials, and observations of behavior. Guarded restraint, therefore, may be taken to mean the prevalent suspicious and guarded attitude towards life of the Klamath subjects, their wariness as regards significant others, and their apprehensions as regards their environment generally. This attribute, as we conceive it, has many facets. It includes an unconscious as well as a more deliberate muting of responsiveness to the actions and the mere presence of others, a shallow, non-committal attitude towards membership in various social groups and the goals of these groups, and a characteristic which ranges from simple lack of trust to outright fear of the behavioral milieu. 156 157 [12]

Stated in largely psycho-dynamic terms the notion of guarded restraint may seem somewhat ambiguous. The empirical referents on the level of observable behavior are, however, highly visible. They may be observed in a wide variety of behavior settings, from the informal and unstructured relations within a teenage clique or an adult drinking group to the more organized setting of the family and household. 121

The psycho-cultural phenomena we have labeled as guarded restraint over-laps with what others have called Klamath individualism. Seen in this perspective, we may, perhaps, introduce a somewhat richer way of analyzing and gaining insight into the nuances of Klamath behavioral styles. This approach is, we hope, something more than just a different way of looking at the manifest separatism and incohesiveness of family groups, a more fruitful manner of examining the atomistic structure of Klamath reservation sodalities, and a means of appreciating the psycho-dynamic causation of the constant fractionation of Klamath political groupings. The evidence of these case studies, then, suggests that few Klamath are capable of fully identifying with other persons or of committing their loyalties to concerted group action. 121 157 [156]

We feel that this major descriptive conclusion is, in large part, a product of the case study method used in analyzing the Rorschachs. Moreover, it is our belief that this conclusion could not have been obtained from an analysis of a composite psychogram based on formal scores. As anyone who has ever read reports based upon the statistical or modal personality approach well knows, such reports are ridden with dynamic cliches and are largely sterile until filled out with examples of the qualitative features of individual records. In this report Levine has entirely discarded the lumping of group scores and concentrated upon an analysis of qualitative features of individual records buttressed and supported by the use of formal scores and relationships. The importance of this approach is shown by the fact that the reserve and guardedness that characterizes Klamath does not always show up in individual test records in the same form. Most frequently an important clue is had from the presence of restrained, watchful, wary figures in human and animal movement responses. Indeed, this type of movement 125 128 [157]

125
128 response provided some of the first clues as regards this important personality
attribute (Clifton 1960). But other test evidence, as well as life history and
[157] observational data, leads to the same conclusion, regardless of the presence or
absence of a restrained movement response.
[124]

157 One facet of Klamath guardedness and restraint is the general reluctance of
Klamath individuals to reveal or communicate to others their needs, wishes, interests,
156 or concerns. This may, in part, be seen as a function of suspicion,
of fearful concern with the possible reactions of others, but another characteristic
of Klamath persons may be associated with this reserve. The reference here
is to a general, overt, and conscious devaluation of the self. The Klamath seldom
[125] have much good and often much that is bad to say of themselves. Although
this characteristic is not directly manifested in the Rorschach records, these
records do indicate the presence of multiple and conflicting, or unacceptable
prototypal roles.

Another aspect of Klamath guardedness seems to be a precipitate of the very high investment of energies in sheer self-protecting maneuvers, and the time spent in the avoidance of entangling committments to group life. We feel that the Klamath have so over-invested in reserve and self-protection that they have little time or energy to expend on other activities or upon other aspects of their situation. This, we feel, may be responsible for another shared component of Klamath character, their inability in laying plans for the future, and the minimal expenditure upon creative effort. By way of contrast, the Klamath do concentrate upon the superficially rewarding or painful aspects of their current situation.

121 The analysis so far points to a general isolation of Klamath individuals from
156 significant, durable human associations. Given the facts of Klamath reservation
culture we consider that this characteristic is probably adaptive, although it
155 might not seem so if measured against an ideal model of mental health based upon
657 the functioning of west European, urban, middle-class persons. Considering the
[171] realities of the Klamath situation, guarded restraint in itself may hardly be
considered as pathological. Yet so great a reserve and so extensive an insulation
[158] of the self from important human transactions may be a major source of stress
and may predispose Klamath individuals to variant forms of mental illnesses.

157 Several of the cases contained in this report provide evidence for this hypothesis.
In the instance of Slim, for example, we find that a superficially adequate adjustment
158 may simply be the manifestation of an obsessive control over and reduction
[121] of emotional and intellectual processes to the point of a tentative diagnosis
of alpha schizophrenia. The cases of Susan, Nell, Fidel and Sparrow are
examples of extremely loose, unrealistic and disorganized thinking with overtones,
in some instances, of an almost paranoid suspiciousness, or a reliance
upon bizarre, highly personal fantasy. Evidence for a well defined idiosyncratic
role or personna which is very poorly integrated with the rest of the personality
is seen in the cases of Slim's false optimism, Carrie's brashness, and Aunt May's
superficial warmth. We suggest that these more disordered aspects of adjustment
may profitably be seen, in part, as a function of a generally poor contact with
others, reduced insight into the self and others, and extensive social isolation.
The mediating difficulty may well be a relative absence of opportunities to validate
beliefs and convictions. Thus in many respects adaptive, Klamath guarded
restraint probably serves as a precipitating factor in thinking disorders, sociopathic
adaptations, alpha schizophrenia, and paranoid delusions.

128 The validity of this assessment does not depend upon these ten case studies alone.
127 Very similar if more limited conclusions were obtained in a previous, independent

(311) PO: Is that so? (312) I never heard that.

(313) AC: Then Yainax [from Klamath /ẏayńaks/]—it is a little mountain, there where (Proper name) killed that white man a long time ago, on that little mountain having led him up high there. 539* 124

(At this point the tape came to an end, and the conversation was broken off.)

Introductory Note to Text 39

This text was elicited with the aid of a series of fifty line drawings, prepared under the supervision of Alfred S. Hayes, as described in his article, "Field Procedures While Working with Diegueño" (International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 20, pp. 185-194, 1954). Each drawing depicts some simple situation, and the informant is encouraged to describe the scene and make some theorizations about what might be going on. The numeration corresponds to the numbers of the pictures. The separate utterances are not otherwise numbered. 125

39. Response to Pictures

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) What is he pointing at that tree for? One man seems to be pointing toward that tree, unhealthy [lit. "bad looking"], very thin. And what is this? A road, perhaps, I do not know. 539* 125

(2) These are two men. Perhaps they are walking around to plow or perhaps to cut hay. This one is pointing, one. And this tree stands in the open, alone.

(3) So these are three, four men also. These are four men. And one little boy way over there, but these are large. Again this one is pointing. What are they pointing at? I do not know. However, a road is running along—isn't this a road running along?

(4) Two men, one is running toward the tree. Perhaps he will relieve himself. But this one, I don't know what they are doing. Again he is pointing. What can be over there? And these are two roads.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 179]

(5) These are three men again also, the little one is absent in this picture. What is the matter? Maybe he is behind the tree.

(6) This is he again also—perhaps somebody else is running toward there. Yes, he is running. He is going fast. But these are walking. But whatever is this one pointing at, always?

(7) This is a woman. She is pointing too. [Her hair] is not combed.

(8) This man has come now. What is he doing here? This one is pointing again. This man has come now, as I said.

(9) Ya···, [she] has many men, two. [Her hair] is not yet combed. What are they pointing at? Perhaps someone is coming.

(10) This is a mother saying, "Go relieve yourself over there behind the tree! Don't let them see you!"

(11) Could this be the father, his, who is running there, towards the tree, again. Perhaps to relieve himself. This is a road. And perhaps they are saying, "Hide behind over there! Hide behind the tree!" And this is a different tree again. And perhaps this one has messed himself [lit. "relieved himself on himself"]—he has messed himself now. (See, he's bent down a little more, and he must have messed himself.)

(12) And these two men have come. I do not know who they are. Perhaps the father's—what? Older brother, perhaps?

(13) What is this? Perhaps a little girl? Again pointing! Towards there. I don't know why. That is a different tree also.

(14) "Ohhh, father, come and look here, what is this!" Pointing again.

(15) Perhaps there is a magpie's nest there. Perhaps she is pointing up at it. These are two men, and one little girl.

(16) This is a little girl again. Perhaps they are playing something. Perhaps he will hide from her, and she will find him, this little girl. This one is well combed.

(17) This one also is well combed. And this one says, "He is hiding from me there, he goes to hide behind the tree, but I see him." This man is something—possibly the father or perhaps the grandfather [father's father].

(18) These are two now, two children, aren't they? A little boy and a little girl. They are perhaps brother and sister, and [these men] are perhaps [their] father and uncle [mother's brother].

(19) A dog. He is sitting under—under what? Perhaps a chair? Perhaps a table. The dog has a long tail, and perhaps he has a broken back?

(20) This dog keeps jumping up and down, to look out through [lit. "toward" the window.

(21) This one is eating bread, the dog standing on the table. This dog is a thief.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 181]

(22) This man is giving [food] to his dog. He's giving something, he's giving food. Not bones. Perhaps he is giving water.

(23) This is some bird—"quail"—perhaps this dog is bringing this quail home in his mouth.

(24) This is a little badger. This is winter—this tree has no leaves. And this dog the badger—no, not a little badger—it is a little rabbit. He is chasing the little rabbit.

(25) This dog is hot.

(26) This is a cow, eating in the open. A mountain, perhaps near a river. The mountain is over there. I don't know which mountain it is.

(27) This one is planting [lit. "putting down plural objects"]—perhaps he is planting corn. And it is very early also—this tree has not yet leafed out. Now it is spring.

(28) How is this, he is leading the horse not having tied it on well. This rope is not well fastened around its neck. Perhaps because the horse is tame.

(29) This is without a saddle, without a rope, without anything. However, he is going home riding it perhaps toward home, perhaps going back to the stable.

(30) This one is climbing to get [apples], this one, perhaps to pick apples. He is climbing to get [apples].

(31) Ya···, isn't this a snake! A woman and two men, and they are saying, "Ya···, there is a snake over there!" Across this divide (Maybe?) They are standing on the edge, and the snake is on that side.

(32) Two snakes. And they are three on this side again. I do not like snakes.

(33) Ya···, now this one is chasing them. One has fallen in, the woman is running, the man too, and he runs with his hands thrown up. This one, being frightened, has fallen in here. Perhaps he is falling into the water.

(34) What is this? The sun is rising. And this something—it is not setting. The sun is rising. Early in the morning they always something—the white man's canoe—"sailboat"—sail. And this is a piece of wood lying here on the edge.

(35) This one is going in a canoe, now at sunset. And he is saying, "Now I'm going back." He came to see the woman. Perhaps his sweetheart.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 183]

ƒ: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

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(36) Now they are visiting. And they have just sat by the edge. However, they didn't go to fish, they have no fishpole. So this is setting, perhaps, just about to set.—Ohhh, I did not see this, a pelican soaring around.

(37) Many, many trees. What are these? "Peaches" perhaps hanging up there? Why didn't they tell it, so I would know what to call them. This is a fence running along—is this someone's land? This is a fence running along.

(38) Now it has grown big, that which they had planted. The corn. I don't see anything else. Now no one is picking any. The corn is not ripe also.

(39) A tree standing on the edge. It is just one tree standing on the edge alone. That is a mountain across there—"Mount MacLoughlin" perhaps?

(40) I only see hands. A thumb. Ugly hands. Perhaps this one is hurt, he has injured hands. One is very fat, one is not.

(41) What is this? Bleeding? Perhaps water is dripping, perhaps blood. Perhaps they cut them off. Perhaps they are washed, in water. I don't know.

(42) This woman is going toward the table, to put something on the plate—perhaps to take away the plate.

(43) She is carrying it along [plate], perhaps taking something back, towards there. She is carrying some plate.

(44) This is a stick lying here. Why is this, the stick here? Will he beat somebody?

(45) Ohhh, he is going outside to beat somebody. He is going, carrying it. Perhaps he will beat somebody outside. Perhaps he will hit his wife.

(46) These are going to church, leading their children, looking nice. Yes, all are well combed, and they are smiling. They are going smiling, and they are not pouting.

(47) Who are these? "Lone Ranger and Tonto"? I don't know what this is, something—they are standing on a cliff. A slope is not thus. This is a cliff.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 185]

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125 •

(48) Ohhh, children on the other side. And this one [says], "Come back! Come back! How did you [pl.] cross over the cliff there?" Perhaps he says to them, I don't know.

(49) This one says—how is this? Perhaps this is the father and this is his daughter. And he has taken his daughter across, and that man on that side is angry. "How did they cross over here!" There is no bridge. Will he put his foot across—perhaps Crane will stick out his leg?

(50) "Ohhh, I found a dollar!" So then, "It is mine!" And then this one says, "No, it is mine!" Then this one will pick it up. "I can stoop over better."

[P. 186 is blank]

This is also a man's game played by about six in a row on each side. Two men are each provided with two short bones, one of each pair marked with a black band. These two change the bones from hand to hand as they sway from side to side crossing and uncrossing their arms, their companions accompanying them with swaying and song the while. The opponents guess the hands which hold the unmarked bones. Twelve sticks for counters are stuck upright between the contenders. As with the four-stick game the successful guess wins the right to hide the bones; at each failure the hiding party takes counters from the neutral pile and, when this is exhausted, from the opponent's winnings. Here too the guess is indicated by a particular and characteristic gesture. In the diagram below the bones are represented as in the hands of two men seated side by side; the crosses indicate the marked, circles the plain bones.

Name	*Arrangement*	*Movement*	*Counters taken by hiders*
yo'skis	xoox	Hand edgewise down middle	2
skĕ'tc!ôs	oxxo	Prone hand forward	2
woi'is[118]	xoxo (or oxox)	Forefinger to right (or left for the second arrangement).	1

When each side has six stick counters, it is called ŏtano'ga, now cooked. The side getting all twelve wins.

Dorsey describes the bones as three inches in length, two wound about the middle with buckskin. The wound pair are called skútash, tied around, or hī'ewŏks, men, the others solsas, female (?). The counters he renders kshesh.[119]

My informant reported that the Pit river people have short bones which they roll in grass between their hands, and toss into the air. [184]

The beaver-tooth dice game (sko'sĕ) has its usual simple form. It is played perhaps more frequently in winter than in summer, and while primarily a woman's game, both men and women play together. The dice are the four crescentic incisor teeth of a beaver, ground hog, or ground squirrel, or bits of wood.[120] The upper teeth (called hīc-

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[118] These names, which are identical with those for the four-stick game, were given by the same informant but on a different occasion. The names given here are probably correct for both games, hence Dorsey, Gatschet, and my own doubtful alternative for D above, are evidently all wrong. Arrangement A cannot occur in the hand game, of course, since each man must have an assorted pair. [114]

[119] Dorsey, *op. cit.*, 22. In 1930 I collected two sets in which one pair was encircled by a carved and painted fillet. [126] •

[120] The Northern Paiute use long sticks for this game, according to this informant. [171]*

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., June 25, 1890.

121 SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you my report upon the Klamath
Indians of Southwestern Oregon, the result of long and patient study. It
deals with their beliefs, legends, and traditions, their government and social
life, their racial and somatic peculiarities, and, more extensively, with their
126 language. To this the reader is introduced by numerous ethnographic
124 "Texts," suggested or dictated by the Indians themselves, and accompanied
by an interlinear translation and by "Notes," a method which I regard as
the most efficient means of becoming acquainted with any language. In
121 this report I have given prominence to the exposition of the language,
128 because I consider language to be the most important monument of the
American Indian. Archæology and ethnography are more apt to acquaint
us with *facts* concerning the aborigines, but language, when properly investigated, gives us the *ideas* that were moving the Indian's mind, not only
recently but long before the historic period.

Repeated and prolonged visits to the people of the northern as well as
of the southern chieftaincy have yielded sufficient material to enable me to
classify the language of both united tribes as belonging to a distinct family.
101 In their territorial seclusion from the nearer Indian tribes they show anthropologic differences considerable enough to justify us in regarding them as
a separate nationality.

197 There is probably no language spoken in North America possessed of a nominal inflection more developed than the Klamath, although in this particular, in the phonetic elements and in the syllabic reduplication pervading all parts of speech, it shows many analogies with the Sahaptin

000 they are rather a cloddish, indolent, ordinarily good-natured race, but treacherous at bottom, sullen when angered, notorious for keeping Punic faith. But their bravery nobody can deny."*

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD.

174 Before the middle of the nineteenth century the Mák̲laks people was unknown to mankind except to the nearest neighbors in Oregon and California. We are therefore justified in beginning its period of documentary history at that time, and in relegating to the domain of prehistorics all that is known of their previous condition. The information upon these points is furnished by three factors: tradition, archæologic remains, and language.

A. TRADITION BEARING UPON HISTORY.

121 Traditional folk-lore, when of the mythic order, generally dates from
773 an earlier epoch of fixation than historic traditions. The remote origin of *genuine* mythic folk-lore is sufficiently evidenced by the archaic terms embodied with it, by the repetition of the same phraseology for ages, and by the circumstance that all nations tend to preserve their religious ideas in an unchanged form. I am laying peculiar stress upon the term *genuine*, for Indians have often mixed recent ideas and fictions with archaic, original folk-lore and with ancient mythic ideas, the whole forming now one inextricable conglomerate which has the appearance of aboriginal poetic prose.

173 The Klamath people possess no historic traditions going further back
769 in time than a century, for the simple reason that there was a strict law
688 prohibiting the mention of the person or acts of a deceased individual by
171 *using his name.* This law was rigidly observed among the Californians no
784 less than among the Oregonians, and on its transgression the death penalty could be inflicted. This is certainly enough to suppress all historic knowledge within a people. How can history be written without names?

[126] Many times I attempted to obtain a list of the former head chiefs of the two chieftaincies. I succeeded only in learning the names of two chiefs recently deceased, and no biographic details were obtainable.

174 This people belongs to the autochthonic nations of America, called so because they have lost all remembrances of earlier habitats or of migrations.

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* Contributions to Amer. Ethnology, III, p. 253.

124 hold affairs, and terms referring to colors; men more appropriate than women in instructing him about their hunts, fishing, travels, their legal customs, wars and raids, house-building, and similar work. Omit asking them about the deceased, for it makes them angry and sullen. They do not as a rule willfully lead the investigator into error when they see that he is in earnest. Errors often originate in preconceived notions or theories and inappropriate questions of the investigator, sometimes also in the want of abstract terms in the interpreter's language. To insure correctness in an Indian myth, animal story, or any relation whatever, it should first be taken down in Indian, and of this a verbatim translation secured.

114 Ethnographic sketches of both tribes, but chiefly of the Modocs, were published in the newspapers of the Pacific coast at the time of Ben Wright's massacre, but they were not accessible to me; more circumstantial were those written at the time of the Modoc war (1872–'73), and specimens of these may be seen in A. B. Meacham's publications, in the "Overland Monthly" of San Francisco, and in Stephen Powers's "The Modok," in Contributions III, pp. 252–262.

126. Ethnographic objects manufactured by and in actual use among both tribes were purchased at different periods by collectors. The National Museum in Washington owns several of them; but the most complete collection is probably the one made in 1882 by the Swiss naturalist, Alphons Forrer, a native of St. Gall, which was partly sold to the Ethnographic Museum of St. Gall, partly (eighty-five articles) to that of Berne, the capital of Switzerland. Forrer lived several months among the Klamaths, and thus was enabled to secure the best specimens. There are two hänäsish or "magic arrows," an implement which has probably become very scarce now. The majority of these objects are manufactured from wood, fur-
134 skin, and basket material. There is no suitable clay found in the Klamath
323 River Highlands, hence these Indians never made any pottery.

114 The report of Lieutenants Williamson and Abbot contains a large array of astronomic positions and of meteorologic observations made during the expedition, which will prove useful to later observers. The zoölogic, botanic, and geologic reports made by different scientists were considered of high value at the time they were first published. It will be remembered

538 and locutions, repeated from generation to generation, are not always under-
[173] stood at the present day by the young people, who most attentively listen to the aged rhapsodists, when they expound these miraculous stories in the lurid glare of the nocturnal campfire. Nothing in them indicates a migration of these upland tribes from any part of the country into their present homes, and hence the Mák̲laks must have had undisturbed possession of the headwaters of Klamath River for some centuries prior to the advent of the white population.

197 The various texts obtained clearly exhibit the character of the lan-
538 guage actually spoken and the difference existing between the two dia-
124 lects, but they do not all possess the same linguistic value. The texts of Dave Hill and others are worded in the conversational language of the tribe, which in many particulars differs from the more elaborate and circumstantial mode of speech which appears in the mythic tales given by
124 Minnie Froben. The "Modoc War" and some of the shorter pieces could be
126 obtained only by putting down the English first and then getting sentence for sentence in the dialect, whereas the best worded stories and specimens were written in continuous dictation. All texts obtained were carefully revised first with the informants, then with other natives, and all the necessary explanations added at the time.

533 From a purely linguistic view the popular songs or song-lines are the most valuable contributions. The melodies of some of their number deserve to be called pretty, according to our musical taste. To the natives all of them appear harmonious; but when the Western Indian calls some melody "pretty," guided by his musical principles, he very frequently does so in opposition to what our ear tells us to call by this predicate.

124 The Klamath Lake dialect was spoken by the majority of the con-
191 tributors to my linguistic anthology. I obtained these specimens, with the exclusion of the Modoc texts, in the autumn of 1877, at the Klamath Reservation, Lake County, Oregon. Though many of these natives speak the Chinook jargon more fluently than English, I never availed myself, for obtaining any information whatever, of that imperfect and hybrid medium, through which the Indians of the Northwest carry on so much of their intercourse.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

INTRODUCTION

114 The texts presented here were collected during the summers of 1955,
1956, and 1957 which were spent among the Klamath Indians at Chiloquin,
122 Oregon. The field work was carried out under the auspices of the Survey
of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of
115 California, Berkeley. The narrators of the myth texts were Mr. Robert
David, Mrs. Pansy Ohles, and Mr. Grover Pompey; the ethnographic materials were obtained from the first two of these and from Mrs. Aggie Butler, Mrs. Grover Pompey, and Miss Irene Skellock.

126 Most of these texts were recorded directly on tape, but some were taken down first in dictated form and were taped later. Of the myths, only Texts 1 and 7 were not recorded on tape. Of the ethnographic materials, Texts 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, and 35 were dictated only.

[124] No really exhaustive attempt was made to obtain a complete collection of Klamath myth texts. Instead, the author aimed at a representative collection of materials, including myths told by several informants, autobiographical experiences, ethnographic texts, historical incidents, conversation, and also the responses to a series of elicitation pictures (Text 39). It was felt that these texts would provide, on the one hand, good illustrative material for further linguistic studies in Klamath, and, on the other hand, a representative sampling of myths and ethnographic material of interest to the folklorist and ethnologist.

114 The collections of Klamath myths so far published are limited to A. S. Gatschet's "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. II, pts. 1 and 2, Washington, 1890) and some brief song and medicine texts in Leslie Spier's "Klamath Ethnography" (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, 1930). More recently, Dr. Theodore Stern of the University of Oregon has collected a large number of Klamath myths. The author understands that Dr. Spier also possesses a collection of myths. It is urgently hoped that both of these will be published in the near future.

128 The present collection is divided into two major parts: Myths, and
773 Ethnographic Texts. The former contains tales about the inhabitants of

Introductory Note to Text 4

124 After giving the foregoing three texts, Mrs. Ohles was strongly hesitant about giving more. She felt that she had forgotten too many of the details which make the text "correct" to a good Klamath storyteller. She pointed out that she could neither recall the names nor the kinship relationships of the lesser characters, and she felt that she was omitting incidents and garbling the action.

At last, however, Mrs. Ohles kindly agreed to relate all she could remember of the story about the red-haired woman of Sprague River. She had previously narrated this in English to the author, up to the point where Gmokamč enters the story. She began the myth with the [126] author recording it in his notebook only (she felt the tape recorder might confuse her), but after she had gained confidence, the remainder of the myth was tape-recorded. When she reached the end of her previous English narration, she continued with incidents leading into the Gmokamč myth—much to the surprise of the author, who had not seen versions of the Gmokamč story beginning in this fashion anywhere else. The stimulus for this may have been provided by Gatschet's recorded texts,[19] which the author had shown her some days previously. At that time she had recalled these myth incidents easily as part of the corpus of material she had heard in her childhood and since forgotten. With this as a crutch to memory, she produced the text given here. She felt that her version was more generally correct and that Gatschet's texts were only short incidents taken from a long cycle of connected [538] incidents. This cycle, she said, might take three or four days in the telling by a really proficient storyteller. The action and final conclusion of her version she felt to be correct, but she was sure that many minor incidents and characters had been omitted.

This text differs from her previous ones in that it is more conversational and less formal in style. She comments in English and Klamath on her story, makes side remarks to the author and jovially berates him for getting her to tell a story she only partially remembers, and breaks into English at difficult points to supplement half-remembered "hard words." Mrs. Ohles' style in this text is valuable as a sample of less formal Klamath discourse. She contrasts strongly

here with her previous impersonal narrations and with the even less personal text styles of other informants, whose stories and ethnographic material were always given as objective verbal "essays." 124

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[19] Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon" (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. II, pts. 1 and 2, Washington, 1890), pp. 99-123, 142-148. The present author read some of Gatschet's texts to Mrs. Ohles, and she was able to recall other incidents and versions.

Some time after the text was recorded and analysed, the author felt the need of having the entire myth on tape, rather than half in notebook form and half on tape. Mrs. Ohles kindly agreed to begin the story over again and told it right up to the point where she had switched to the tape-recorder before. This second tape-recorded beginning is appended to the text and serves for a comparison between pen and notebook dictation and tape-recorded discourse. [126]

Mrs. Ohles felt that material irrelevant to the story should be stricken, since it made the story "incorrect." The author feels, however, that such side remarks illustrate Klamath conversational style and give insight into her attitudes toward the myths and towards other facets of semi-acculturated Klamath culture. This material is, therefore, reproduced within parentheses both in the Klamath text and in the translation. Her English remarks are conventionally spelled but otherwise unchanged. [128]

#539 waq nis gist. (195) ʔaMḱa hok gida lobi· gatbanwapk, wage·nha no·s hok lobi· gaẃalwapk. (196) q̓ay da·ts ʔi woswapk!" (197) ʔat sam we·ḱa gitk. (198) we·saltk sa ʔat. (199) čoy honk ʔat spodo·ča. (200) čoy honk hok sńewe·ts do···m ʔankẃala, do···m.

(201) čoy honk ʔat ʔońče· gatba, ṕle·wip mna·ĺam. (202) "ya···, q̓a ʔan ge·ǰigatk. (203) ʔat ni gatba.[22] (205) dič hay ʔa·t gen či·ya, dič sʔotĺank, na·nok dwa·." (206) "ʔi·." (207) čoy honk naʔas, "dat lis ne· gi?" (208) čoy honk naʔas, "do· hok spodo·." (209) čoy naʔas gi, "ʔi·, sle·čwapk hay ni gen." (210) "ʔi·." (211) "čoy ni ʔaMḱa q̓a dye·mipks gatbambliwapk." (212) "ʔi·."

(213) čoy honk ʔat gena. (214) čoy honk ʔat so·čńa na···nok do·s hak hok spodo·, ẏayńa, ĺaqĺaqĺant. (215) čoy honk ʔat, q̓a ʔat honk ge·ǰigo·k, mongam sĺoyadat howwa. (216) čoy honk ʔat ṗan, hok ṕle·wip, hok loq giwk.

(217) čoy honk gembli ʔat, do· či·sdaĺ. (218) sliči·qs hok ńliwtgi. (219) čoy honk ʔat qallati· ʔambo ćisa, "q̓a gin ʔambotga gatbanwapk." (220) ʔat hok sńewe·ts, hok hoḿas, histanḱitk mna ḿoḱa·k. (221) čoy honk do···m da·ts hok qday ʔiĺa·ĺank, snegalṗḱa.

(222) čoy honk ʔat gatba, loq̓aḿč. (223) naʔas, "ya···, ʔambotga ʔans." (224) čoy honk naʔas," ho·t hayč do·na ćisa. (225) snačḱa·-Wapgatk ʔambo." (226) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, dič hay ʔins honk gen!" (227) čoy honk bonwa, bonwa. (228) čoy honk qday wbeLi·, q̓iw! (ʔat ḱada·di hak ni sʔaba pac̓́it. ge·ǰiga ʔans ʔat.) [Here Mrs. Ohles took a short rest and then began again.]

(229) ʔat hok loq̓aḿč naʔas (—waq lis ʔi gen? dwa· ʔi waq gi? lelgi! lelgi! hosto·qtoqpga dak ʔins, lapq̓apgok gen gida. ʔat ʔins hasẏaMtgi dwa· sʔabo·k. hostaqĺaq![23]

(230) čoy honk ʔat bonwa, bonwa. (231) čoy honk ʔat bonwo·lank naʔas, "ya···, gida ʔans nen twac̓́i·ḱa, nkas. (232) dom hak ni bonwa ʔambo." (233) čoy honk naʔas, "gida ʔis gislgi! (234) gida ʔis gisWa!"

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[196] [22] Utterances 202 and 203 are given in a high, faint voice, indicating the Grandmother's age and fatigue.

[23] The remarks in parentheses here are addressed to the author, who was holding
[126] the microphone too close to Mrs. Ohles' face. It is interesting to note that she spon-
[124] taneously treats the microphone as a "round object" (e.g., ‖ ʔiˇelgi! ‖ "Put down a round
[196] object!"). The author, as an outsider to the Klamath world-view, might have been tempted to treat it as a long object or even as a rope-like object.

#539 (30) hok ḱočč́aʔa·k honk ʔat mbosaks mna wa·ĺitga lača·ẏa, na·nok honk ć̓o·ks. (31) na·nok honk lača·ẏa ć̓o·ks. (32) "ʔat ʔa q̇e·gi be·n. (33) ʔo·č gint."

(34) ʔat honk bamba·tambli, yawskangatk, ʔat honk hokt lʔe·ḱlʔeks bil honk ʔat gitgo gaw̓al. (35) čoy ʔat goyki·nabli. (36) čoy honk ʔat sleʔa, "ya···, waq dal nis? (37) gen ʔans gen̓s lača·yipga, ć̓o·ks, peč!" (38) ʔat honk gena. (39) čoy honk ʔat ma·ns gitk ḱočč́aʔa·k gotq̇akbli, gotq̇akbli ʔambotdat. (40) čoy honk ʔat whila·ʔat ʔiditgo·labli mna ĺa·ẏas. (41) čoy honk ʔilqbli mna ĺa·ẏas či·sdat. (42) "waq ʔans newĺaqtanWi·wapk?" (43) hasaswa·ḱẏa bida·k hemkanga, "ʔans newĺaqWi·ya." (44) čoy honk ne· ḱada·di hak.

7. Old Mink and Nighthawk

(Mr. Grover Pompey)[41]

(1) ć̓ečte·sis dola ć̓asga·yas ʔa gatba ćasg̡i·psamksi. (2) ćasg̡i·ps naʔas gi, "hoksakdanqn̓a ʔa na·t wawć̓a·k na·ĺam." (3) ć̓ečte·sis naʔas, "q̇ay ho·t gew wać̓a·k. (4) q̇ay hoksakdangwapk ʔa na·t." (5) ć̓ečte·sis naʔas gi, "ho·t dak tapẏap gew."

(6) be·n naʔas ćasg̡i·ps, "q̇ay, ho·t diči̓· siso·gis sitk sle·s. (7) hoksakdanqn̓a ʔa na·t honkẏes!" (8) ć̓ečte·sis naʔas gi, "ʔi·." (9) ćasg̡i·ps naʔas gi, "ʔi lobi· gi. suksuksuksuksuk, g̡apga g̡wać̓a·sis!"[42] (10) hok sedalo·ga ć̓asga·yas.[43] (11) ćasga·y honk ʔat ʔi·me ʔalamna qe·matdat. (12) ćasga·y honk ʔat siwga, ʔi·metga.

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[126]
[124] [41] This text was not taken on tape, but only by dictation. Mr. Pompey stated that this incident was but a small part of a longer myth cycle, though he could not recall more than fragments of the rest of it. Cf. Mr. David's text in which Qalo·qa·qaqs appears (Text 17).

[196] [42] The sequence /suksuksuksuksuk/ is almost voiceless, and the syllables are uttered at a rapid rate of speed. This and whistling were said to be the commonest methods of calling a dog in ancient days.

[231]
[193]
[196] [43] The use of (se̲) "reflexive-reciprocal action" (2pv) is not clear here. ‖se̲delwga‖ means "attack each other" or "attack oneself," but the utterance contains an "accusative" /ćasga·yas/. Utterances in which (se̲) has reciprocal meaning invariably have all parties to the action as subjects.

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861

will be that way too, sometime. (41) All of us will be thus, we will grow old." (42) Thus my old man [father?] told us—often to us in the evening—even in the evening he spoke to [us] thus. (43) In the evening, [as] we were sitting around the fire, in our house.

(44) And he always advised me thus, "Living like that is good," he said. (45) "If you do anything [wrong] like that, then you will never be able to live here—if you would be a trouble-maker—no. (46) Everything would hem you in, evil. (47) And the law would also follow you. (48) They will always catch you," he said. (49) "[You] can never hide from the law today. (50) The white men have brought us the law. (51) So we will do thus—now we follow it, we have with them—divided it recently—since we divided up the country with them—so we will do thus. (52) We will live as they have told us, having laid down the law on this reservation. (53) And they want us to live in this way, as long as we do not do thus, evil. (54) Then they would take us there, and they would put us inside, there where you do not come back out." (55) Thus they told us, long ago. (56) That's as far as [I will tell it].

[177]

Introductory Note to Text 38

The informants for this text were Mrs. Amanda Cowan, Mrs. Pansy Ohles, and Mrs. Cowan's son, Ransome. Mr. Andrew Ortiz, Jr., a young Klamath friend who does not speak the language but who has a great interest in the old ways, was also present.

Mrs. Cowan is reputed to be the oldest living member of the Klamath tribe, and her age was variously reported as 100, 102, and 104. She retains all her faculties, and the day the author's party visited her, she was spry and cheerful and delighted to help the author understand her language.

Mrs. Ohles began the conversation by describing one of Mr. David's myths (Text 13), which she had heard on the author's tape recorder, to Mrs. Cowan. The machine was turned on at this time, and the conversation was left to run more or less freely thereafter. Later, the author asked about various Klamath forms whose meaning he was unsure of, and also about animals and plants, hoping to add to the corpus. Near the end of the session, Mrs. Ohles discussed kinship relationships and

[126]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

127 formerly it was not set on stakes. He referred to mention in a myth of its use as a hand net. At any rate, of recent years it is set on stakes in the lake or rivers. It has a small mesh, is forty or more feet in length, three feet in width, and provided with sticks or dry tule stems in order to float the upper edge, and sinkers in order to weight down the lower. The sinker (lĕ'mdi'as) is a pebble three to four inches long, grooved about its middle through pecking it with a hard pointed stone.

284 462 Nets are manufactured by men, although a few women also make them. They have meshes of several sizes. A net gauge (tŏŋks) of bone or wood is used with a slender shuttle (tcŏ'mdlĭkŭs) wound end over end.[230] Nettle bark cord is used, from either brown or gray nettles (slĕ'ĕts). Coville notes the use of Rocky mountain flax fibers.[231]

The fish traps used by the Klamath are strictly speaking not traps at all, since there is no closing device to prevent the escape of the fish. They are very little used. I was told of only one place where the device is used, a little stream above Spring creek on Williamson river, where the water is so clear that the actions of the fish can be watched in detail. There it is used only in winter to take trout. The trap (spuwɛm) is a cylindrical basket of willow branches, woven in open twine, six feet long and two in diameter, closed at one end. The opposite end is open and not provided with reversed barbs or other device to prevent the fish leaving the trap. Cords are tied to it so [114] that it may be hauled up when the fish is seen to enter. A trap of this sort figured by Barrett,[232] but of only half this length, has one side extending somewhat beyond the mouth. Meacham describes a trap of somewhat different shape:

> 226 The Klamath mode of taking fish is peculiar to the Indians of this lake country. A canoe-shaped basket is made, with covering of willow work at each end, leaving a space of four feet in the middle top of the basket. This basket is carried out into the tules that adjoin the lakes, and sunk to the depth of two or three feet. The fishermen chew dried fish eggs and spit them in the water over the basket, until it is covered with the eggs, and then retire a short distance, waiting until the whitefish come in large numbers over the basket, when the fishermen cautiously approach the covered ends, and raise it suddenly, until the upper edge is above the water, and thus entrap hundreds of fish, that are about eight inches in length. These are transferred to the hands of the squaws, and by them are strung on ropes or sticks and placed over fires until cured, without salt, after which they are stored for winter use.[233]

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[230] Illustrated by Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 22.

[231] Coville, Notes, 99.

[232] *Op. cit.*, pl. 19.

[233] Meacham, Wigwam and Warpath, 283.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

114
122 search under a separate grant, and provided facilities for other students, Miss Deanne Rasmussen, who studied child-rearing practices, and Dr. and Mrs. Brian A. DuToit, who made a brief survey of the small community of Beatty, to amplify our observations in Chiloquin.

000 In addition to all of these, others who were carrying on studies at the same time provided many insights. Here may be mentioned Dr. and Mrs. Robert F. Spencer, Dr. William N. Fenton, and Dr. M. A. R. Barker. Similarly, my colleagues in the department of anthropology have been an unfailing source of stimulation. Among them, Drs. Luther Cressman, H. G. Barnett, and Vernon Dorjahn have made the greatest contribution. Drs. Cressman, Dorjahn, and Martin Schmitt, during my temporary absence from the country, undertook to oversee the drawing of several of the maps and the assembly of photographs.

128

127 Archival materials have come from several sources. I am indebted to officials of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, for certain manuscripts in the Bancroft Collections; to the Robert H. Lowie Museum, of that University, for use of materials from the collection of C. Hart Merriam; to Dr. Thomas Vaughan and the Oregon Historical Society for use of the typescript copy of Joel Palmer's pocket diary; and to Martin Schmitt, Elizabeth Findley, and the Library of the University of Oregon for use of the Lindsay and O. C. Applegate Papers, and for many kindnesses.

The General Services Administration Records Center in Seattle provided archival materials from Klamath Agency reports, while the Portland Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, under Don C. Foster and Martin B. Holm, placed at our disposal many official files. Likewise, officials of the Klamath General Council and the Tribal Executive Committee gave us every courtesy and made available back files of tribal minutes. Finally, it would be remiss not to acknowledge the assistance given the study by the Klamath Management Specialists, the city officials of Chiloquin, and officers of Klamath County agencies.

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128 Above all, the Klamath people and the residents of Chiloquin have provided us with the individual perspectives which here I have sought to place within a larger frame. Several have kindly read the resultant manuscript on Chiloquin and have suggested

125
128 response provided some of the first clues as regards this important personality
attribute (Clifton 1960). But other test evidence, as well as life history and
[157] observational data, leads to the same conclusion, regardless of the presence or
absence of a restrained movement response.
[124]

157 One facet of Klamath guardedness and restraint is the general reluctance of
Klamath individuals to reveal or communicate to others their needs, wishes, in-
156 terests, or concerns. This may, in part, be seen as a function of suspicion,
of fearful concern with the possible reactions of others, but another character-
istic of Klamath persons may be associated with this reserve. The reference here
is to a general, overt, and conscious devaluation of the self. The Klamath sel-
[125] dom have much good and often much that is bad to say of themselves. Although
this characteristic is not directly manifested in the Rorschach records, these
records do indicate the presence of multiple and conflicting, or unacceptable
prototypal roles.

Another aspect of Klamath guardedness seems to be a precipitate of the very high investment of energies in sheer self-protecting maneuvers, and the time spent in the avoidance of entangling committments to group life. We feel that the Klamath have so over-invested in reserve and self-protection that they have little time or energy to expend on other activities or upon other aspects of their situation. This, we feel, may be responsible for another shared component of Klamath character, their inability in laying plans for the future, and the minimal expenditure upon creative effort. By way of contrast, the Klamath do concentrate upon the superficially rewarding or painful aspects of their current situation.

121 The analysis so far points to a general isolation of Klamath individuals from
156 significant, durable human associations. Given the facts of Klamath reservation
culture we consider that this characteristic is probably adaptive, although it
155 might not seem so if measured against an ideal model of mental health based upon
657 the functioning of west European, urban, middle-class persons. Considering the
[171] realities of the Klamath situation, guarded restraint in itself may hardly be
considered as pathological. Yet so great a reserve and so extensive an insula-
[158] tion of the self from important human transactions may be a major source of stress
and may predispose Klamath individuals to variant forms of mental illnesses.

157 Several of the cases contained in this report provide evidence for this hypothesis.
In the instance of Slim, for example, we find that a superficially adequate ad-
158 justment may simply be the manifestation of an obsessive control over and reduc-
[121] tion of emotional and intellectual processes to the point of a tentative diag-
nosis of alpha schizophrenia. The cases of Susan, Nell, Fidel and Sparrow are examples of extremely loose, unrealistic and disorganized thinking with overtones, in some instances, of an almost paranoid suspiciousness, or a reliance upon bizarre, highly personal fantasy. Evidence for a well defined idiosyncratic role or personna which is very poorly integrated with the rest of the personality is seen in the cases of Slim's false optimism, Carrie's brashness, and Aunt May's superficial warmth. We suggest that these more disordered aspects of adjustment may profitably be seen, in part, as a function of a generally poor contact with others, reduced insight into the self and others, and extensive social isolation. The mediating difficulty may well be a relative absence of opportunities to validate beliefs and convictions. Thus in many respects adaptive, Klamath guarded restraint probably serves as a precipitating factor in thinking disorders, sociopathic adaptations, alpha schizophrenia, and paranoid delusions.

128 The validity of this assessment does not depend upon these ten case studies alone.
127 Very similar if more limited conclusions were obtained in a previous, independent

analysis of 53 Klamath Rorschachs and 33 Thematic Apperception Tests, with additional evidence derived from participant observation and life history data (Clifton 1960). Moreover, the assessment agrees, in large part, with the observations and conclusions of other field workers working independently. The significant point is that Levine, working blind from records of persons he has never observed has reinforced and expanded upon previous evaluations of Klamath character. 128 [127]

A second hypothesis about the Klamath which arises from our study — an hypothesis of which we are less certain when compared with the observation that they are a people who may be viewed as guarded and restrained — is the finding that "in the total kin network the influence of the male is weak..." and "whether or not there is a male attached to the household group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure." This finding, based on the anthropological data, is theoretically congruent, almost startlingly so, with the fact that the more imaginative, creative, rich — healthy, if you will — Klamath Rorschach records were produced by the women in the sample, while the men's records were typically stereotyped and constricted, and often unrealistic, disorganized or suspicious. The statistical comparisons (Clifton 1960) as well as the individual Rorschach analysis (Chapter III) convey this impression very clearly. 121 157 562 [156] [127] [128]

The importance of these findings can be viewed profitably in the light of contemporary psychoanalytic theory, especially in relation to the concepts of identification and modeling in child development. The theory holds that the child identifies with, i.e., adapts the characteristics, attitudes, and values, of his parents because he envies them; they are the powerful people who receive the rewards and gratifications which he is denied. In classical psychoanalytic theory, the boy is said to identify with the father because the father is the power figure in the family and receives the love of the mother. Although Freud never was as content with his psychology of women as he was with the Oedipus Complex, presumably similar processes account for feminine psychology. The classical Oedipus Complex has been modified in order to integrate more satisfactorily with cross-cultural data, and it is in this more flexible framework that the present results can be understood best. 121 [128]

In those societies in which the father is not a stable, respected member of the family the process of identification is not as straightforward: the growing boy does not want to be like his weak father; he cannot identify with an absent father figure; yet he is biologically unable to be like his mother. The theory holds that his identification as a person will not be well integrated or complete. In the Klamath family, the mother is the stable figure, the one who commands the boy's respect. Since a consistent and integrated identification is needed for a healthy development of the ego, we are not surprised to find that the males in our Klamath sample show signs of poor ego structure. The women, on the other hand, come off much better and one may hypothesize that they are able to make a more integrated identification with the wife-mother figure in the Klamath family. 121 121 156 562 593

It may be necessary for a well-stated theoretical position to distinguish between two qualities of the parent which are confounded in the present discussion: stability of the model on the one hand and the extent to which the parent receives rewards, on the other. The general theoretical position, however, states that those societies in which the father is more stable, receives more of the respect and material reward, or is more powerful will be societies in which the boys can establish their roles more readily. On the other hand, in groups like the Klamath, in which the father is weak or absent, we can expect to see signs of role conflict, 121 121 156 562 593

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

802 171 The numeration system of a people is a relic of a remote age, and therefore of importance for tracing the ancient connections of tribes. The quinary system is the most frequent counting method in America, and often combines with the vigesimal. The pure quinary system prevails in Ara, in the Chimaríko, Yuki, and in the Shasti-Pit River family, in Sahaptin and Wayíletpu, and it is also the system found in Klamath. Curiously enough, the Maidu Indians count by fifteens, and the decimal system forms the basis [801] of the Wintún, Mutsun, and Selish dialects. The mystic or "sacred" number occurring hundreds of times in mythologic stories is *five* among all the Oregonian tribes.

197 To sum up the result of the above linguistic inquiry, it may be stated that our present knowledge does not allow us to connect the Klamath language genealogically with any of the other languages compared, but *that it stands as a linguistic family for itself.* It has adopted elements from the tongues spoken in its neighborhood; and a common element, chiefly pronominal, underlies several of these and the American languages in general.

THE HISTORIC PERIOD.

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ καὶ πιστὰ πάντα κἄπιστα γίγνεται.

174 175 127 On account of the superstition previously alluded to, the traditional historic lore which forms so attractive a feature in the unwritten literature of the nations east of the Rocky Mountains and of Mexico is wanting entirely among the Máklaks, and we have to rely upon the meager reports of travelers and Government agents for accounts of the condition of the tribes in the earlier part of this century. Such notices of historic events are as follows:

000 According to a tradition recorded by Stephen Powers, an epidemic of small-pox broke out among the Modoc Indians in 1847, by which one hundred and fifty individuals perished.

The earliest historic conflict which can be ascertained with some chronological accuracy is the massacre of eighteen immigrants to Oregon by individuals of the Modoc tribe, and Ben Wright's massacre, consequent upon that bloody deed. The massacre of the immigrants occurred at a place on Tule or Rhett Lake, since called Bloody Point. Undoubtedly this was only

121 more useful dates and facts. Such results as these may be confidently looked for when several dialects of one linguistic family can be compared; and a careful comparison of one language with others spoken in the vicinity, belonging to the same or a different family, will always be attended with beneficial results for the increase of our scientific knowledge.

124 127 The aboriginal literary monuments printed below are authentic national records of a brave and industrious mountain tribe of Indians. Ethnologic notices have at a comparatively early period been gathered concerning the Modocs and Klamath Lake Indians, but most of them were of doubtful scientific value, because the information was gathered from them in the English language, which they understood but very imperfectly. Even now, the dates and facts recounted by them, as well as by Indians of many other tribes, in English, are so extremely confused, that only texts written in their own language can give us a clear insight into their traditions, myths, and mode of thinking.

538 No Indian tribe possesses a history of itself reaching back further than two or three generations, unless it has been recorded by whites at an early date, and what goes beyond this limit is tradition, on which we must be careful not to place any implicit reliance. But mythology records in a certain sense the intellectual history as well as the metaphysical ideas of a people, and thus by the gathering of the numerous mythic tales and legends of the Máklaks a start at least is made for the investigation of their intellectual development. A very moderate estimate puts at several hundred the more generally circulated myths of the Klamath Lake or É-ukshikni alone, and the number of their popular song-lines, so interesting and unique in many respects, may be called infinite, for their number is increased every day by new ones. The bulk of their mythic folklore is of great poetic beauty, freshness, and originality, and, like that of other tribes, full of childlike "naïveté." This latter characteristic forms one of their greatest attractions, and the animal myths of every uncultured people will prove attractive, because they were invented for religious or poetic and not for [173] didactic purposes. To some of the myths given below we may confidently ascribe an antiquity of over three centuries, for their archaic terms

APPENDIX

KLAMATH PLACE NAMES WITH MAP

128

The accompanying map of place names has been largely adapted from 127•
Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography" (University of California Publica- 103
tions in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, 1930. The present 114
writer has checked and retranscribed most of Spier's forms: only seven [124]
of Spier's place names could not be obtained from the author's informants. No attempt was made to recheck Spier's supporting geographical and ethnographic data, however.

Ninety-two new place names have also been added to the map. Many of these are not settlements (as Spier specifies for his list), but are places used for food gathering, places named for some outstanding natural feature, places named after some mythological person or event, etc. The author has appended what descriptive material he could obtain to each new place name in the list.

Forty-five additional place names are not shown on the map but are 128
included in the Dictionary. These are either uncertain as to location or 103
are places not found within the limits of the map.

The map has been renumbered to accomodate the new place names, [127]
but Spier's original numbers are given after each entry for purposes of
comparison. It must be noted that geographical locations on the map are [124]
only approximate and in some cases quite hypothetical (e.g., where the informant could only recall that a given place was "about two or three miles over that way").

Forms are given in phonemics only and are translated wherever possible. The morphophonemic forms of these names are listed under "place names" in the English-Klamath section of the Dictionary, along with some indication of their morphemic content.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963

NR10 Klamath NR10

[P.190]

102
103
133
• 127

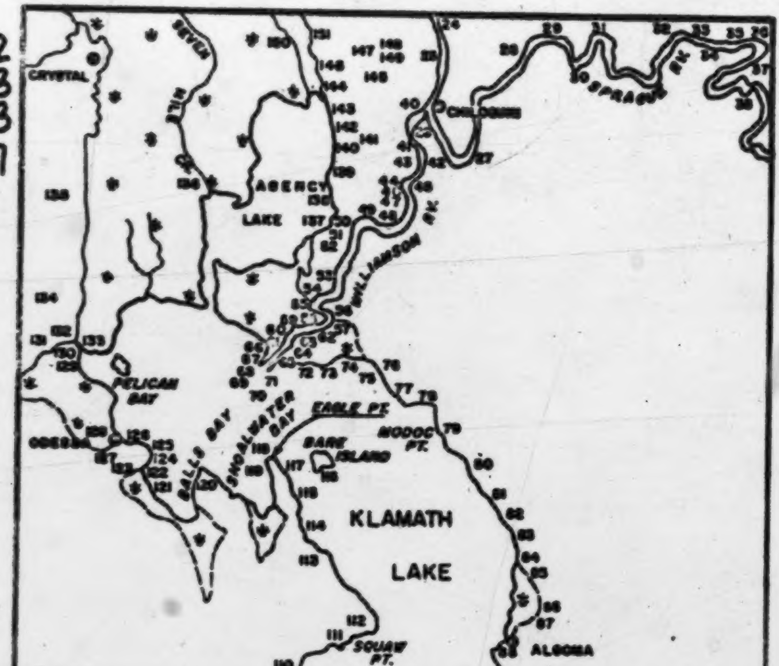
CRYSTAL
SEVEN MILE
AGENCY LAKE
CHILOQUIN
SPRAGUE RV.
WILLIAMSON RV.
PELICAN BAY
ODESSA
BALLS BAY
SHOALWATER BAY
EAGLE PT.
MODOC PT.
BARE ISLAND
KLAMATH LAKE
SQUAW PT.
WOKAS BAY
CALEDONIA MARSH
BUCK IS.
WOKAS MARSH
ALGOMA
KLAMATH FALLS
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 5 MILES
KLAMATH RIVER
KLAMATH RV.
KENO
MIDLAND
LOST RV.

[Legend for above map appears on pp. 192-197--Analyst]

102
103
133
127

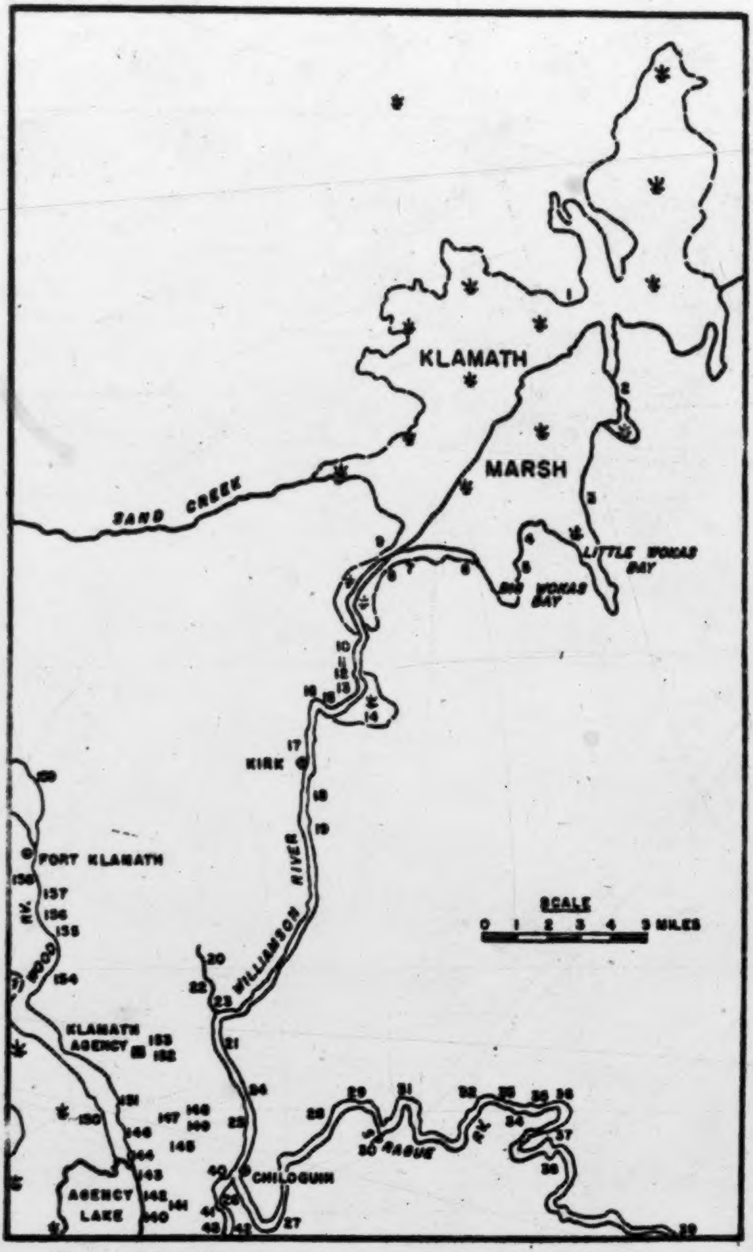
KLAMATH
MARSH
SAND CREEK
LITTLE WOKAS BAY
BIG WOKAS BAY
KIRK
FORT KLAMATH
WOOD RV.
WILLIAMSON RIVER
KLAMATH AGENCY
AGENCY LAKE
CHILOQUIN
SPRAGUE RV.
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 5 MILES

[Legend for above map appears on pp. 192-197--Analyst]

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

102
103
127
133

KEY TO THE MAP OF PLACE NAMES

1. /moċo·ẏa·ks/. Spier 1.
2. /qdaywa·s/ "Rock-Nest." Spier 2.
3. /g̣apg̣aʔa·kksi/ "Little-Pine-Place." Spier 3.
4. /ʔiWʔa·l̇a/ "On-the-End." Spier 4.
5. /q̇la·ǰaksi/ "Blueberry-Place." Spier 5.
6. /doylḱat/. Spier 6.
7. /ʔawalwasg̣e·ni/ "Island-Place." Spier 7.
8. /g̣a·qs ksawalye·ks/ "Carry-Crow-up-the-Hillside."
9. /č̇iḱas waLaqḱis/ "Bird-Lookout." A hill across from /ʔawalwasge·ni/.
10. /waktali·s/ "Lodgepole-Pine-Place" (?). Spier 8.
11. /lalʔa·ks/ "Little-Hill-Place." Spier 9.
12. /wisingam dinwas/ "Snake's-Lying-in-Water." A campsite for wokas-pickers.
13. /čaba·ni/ "Herd-Going-to-the-End." A dwelling.
14. /lḱom ʔews/ "Charcoal-Lake." The name of the small marsh shown on the map.
15. /somdi/ "Mouth-Place." A campsite where the river enters the forest.
16. /č̇omsʔam gotq̇aks/ "Sucker's-Going-up-out." A campsite near /somdi/.
17. /ṅoksi/ "Head-Place." Small village site near Kirk.
18. /sniWa·tgalsi/ "Eat-First-Place." A campsite.
19. /ʔeqčsalḱis/ "Sharpening-Instrument." A traveller's campsite.
20. /sqamdiwa·s/ "Sqamdi's-Den." The home of a dangerous mythological being. See Text 19.
21. /g̣osʔam gotq̇aks/ "Swan's-Going-up-out."
22. /yalyalʔant/ "Where-It-Is-Clear." Spring Creek.
23. /weq sqatq̇aks/ "Limbs-Stick-out-of-Water." A large spring.
24. /qbolWiʔamg̣e·ni/ "Plant (sp.)-Place." A large village on both sides of the river.
25. /dali·ks/ "Standing-on-the-Bank." A village site.
26. /lobaqsksaksi/ "Chalk-Place." Spier 10.
27. /q̇ačẇe·č/. Spier 12.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

28. /ʔoqsosʔam sloqtis/ "Cough's-Spitting-on." Also called /yawqsalks/ "Medicine-Getting-Place." A rock on which consumptives spat to gain a cure. 103 127

29. /g̡ome·ksi/ "Cave-Place." Spier 13. 102

30. /g̡oqṁa·kksi/ "Little-Caves-Place." 133

31. /hehǰi·ʔasamksi/ "Hehǰi·ʔas'-Place." The home of a mythological being. See Text 8.

32. /g̡oqq̇a·kksi/ "Little-Rivers-Place." A spring.

33. /kiwi·ki·ns/ "Taking-out-of-Water-with-a-Pointed-Instrument." A spring.

34. /wačksi/ "Horse-Place."

35. /ńa·ćaksi/ "Snipe-Place." A spring.

36. /kolsʔamksi/ "Badger's-Place."

37. /g̡awamg̡e·ni/ "Spring-Place." Spier 14.

38. /g̡oksi/ "Swan-Place." P.O. gave /ng̡oksi/.

39. /daqṅi/ "Sharp-One."

40. /mbosaksawa·s/ "Flint-Place." Spier 17.

41. /tg̡almaksća/ "West-Side." Spier 18.

42. /qdaydi/ "Rock-Place." Spier 19.

43. /g̡le·čṗaḱi·s/ "Clam-Eating." Small settlement.

44. /ǰigyes/. Spier 20.

45. /q̇oLtʔam wa·s/ "Otter's-Den." Spier 21.

46. /ʔaća·wiks/ "Long-Object-in-the-Sun-Place." Spier 22

47. /yaʔa·k/. Spier 23.

48. /č̇aq̇wi/. Spier 24.

49. /kols tgews/ "Badger-Standing-in-Water."

50. /wiće·mʔamksi/ "Bear's-Place." Spier 25.

51. /g̡oẏalam sg̡eyqs/ "Crawfish-Crawling-up." Spier 26.

52. /sa·yḱaʔa·k neq̇i·s/ "Little-Plain-Lying-in-the-Way."

53. /qi·ʔa g̡itLas/ "Lizards-Poured-out-on." Williamson River Church.

54. /slanḱoksi/ "Bridge-Place." The bridge near Williamson River Church.

55. /ya·s ksalwis/ "Willow-Beside-the-Edge."

56. /čoḱalwas/.

57. /wiẃapía·ks/ "Little-Alders-Place."

58. /qdawaldi/ "Cut-on-Top-Place." A village site.

59. /ṕnanksi/ "Burying-Place." An ancient burial ground.

60. /woqsdi/ "Cache-Place."

61. /loltḿalʔaqḱa/ "Little-Winter-House." A village on the east side of the river.

103 62. /bečmi/.
127 63. /spino·ksi/ "Grave-Place." A burial ground.
102 64. /mo·waksl̓a/ "On-the-South-Side." Spier 30.
133 65. /č̓ink̓os/ "Going-Across-with-the-Fin-Showing." Spier 34.
66. /sč̓olksi/ "Bubble-up-Place." A spring bubbles up here.
67. /wisg̓andi/ "Blow-Through-Place." Spier 31.
68. /law̓a·l̓sdat/ "At-Round-Object-on-the-End." Spier 32.
69. /mo· ginkanks/ "Big-Space-Around." Spier 33.
70. /dokwa/. The mouth of Williamson River.
71. /yawq̓lamksi/ "Bald-Eagle's-Place."
72. /č̓iya·l̓sˀamksi/ "Salmon's-Place."
73. /yay̓a·k̓a liwi·ki·na/ "Little-Willows-in-a-Group-along-the-Edge."
74. /ba·go·lsam bani·gis/ "Muledeer's-Wading-out."
75. /hiwwas/ "Spread-out-in-Water." A swampy island just offshore.
76. /toq̓asksi/ "Willow-Place."
77. /ya·s ksaw̓a·l̓s/ "Willow-on-the-End."
78. /qdayksi/ "Rock-Place." Spier 45.
79. /sohi·yagye·ks/ "Jumping-Over-for-Fun." Spier 46.
80. /ˀiwli·wa/ "On-the-Very-Edge." Spier 47.
81. /čalčal̓a·ks/. A spring near /diwi·ˀa·ks/.
82. /diwi·ˀa·ks/ "Little-Rapids-Place." Spier 48.
83. /wilwaldi/. A spring north of /gawammat/.
84. /gawammat/ "In-the-Spring." Spier 49.
85. /ditq̓aks/ "Boiling-out." Spier 50.
86. /ni·Laqs/ "Sunrise." A place near Barclay Springs.
87. /w̓awˀa·qk̓alamksi/ "Little-Ears-Place." A cove that has the shape of an ear.
88. /kalw̓a·l̓/ "Sharp-on-the-End." Spier 51.
89. /wq̓ol̓was/ "Knotted-in-Water." Buck Island; Spier 52.
90. /lam̓a·č/ "Round-Object-on-the-End." Spier 53.
91. /watanks/. A hill east of /lam̓a·č/.
92. /ˀiWLi/ "Is-Inside." A cove north of /ksonksi/.
93. /ksonksi/ "Grass-Place." Spier 54.
94. /wl̓i·č/. A hill north-east of Klamath Falls.
95. /mp̓aq̓wals/ "Dry-on-Top." A hill northeast of Klamath Falls.
96. /diwi·ˀa·ks/ "Little-Rapids-Place."
97. /ˀiWawn̓a/ "Propped-up-against." Spier 55.
98. /gitba·tanks/ "Poured-up-on-Shore." A narrow channel where the wind was reputed to blow the water back upstream.
99. /qday ginqis/ "Hole-Through-Rocks." A camping ground and a village site.

100. /ʔiWLaLLo·nʔa/ "All-along-the-Top." Klamath Falls; Spier 56. 103
101. /lalawq̓at/. 127
102. /č̓ews hollamnas/ "Yellowhammer-Flying-along-the-Side." 102
103. /weqwe·Las/ "Falling-Downhill." Spier 57. 133
104. /lewsi/ "Round-Object-in-Water-Place." A small hill.
105. /tan̓aq̓aksi/. Spier 58.
106. /ʔiWba·tanʔa/ "Right-up-against." Spier 59.
107. /woksalks/ "Wokas-Getting-Place." Spier 60.
108. /dekčanks/ "Netting-Place." Skillethandle Point; Spier 61.
109. /hesle·ks/ "Apparition-Place." A place where spirit-otters appear and swim around one's canoe.
110. /č̓ayankedi/ "Berry (sp.)-Place."
111. /njaqjaqk̓is/ "Ringing-Instrument." A large rock with a depression in it. When this depression was pounded with another rock, a wind arose.
112. /sesti tgaw̓a·l̓s/ "Shasta-Standing-on-the-End." Squaw Point; Spier 62.
113. /no·galks/ "Roasting-Place." Roots were roasted in pits here.
114. /č̓a·q̓y̓a·k ksalamnas/ "Little-Boy-Lying-on-the-Hillside."
115. /qe·Yqe·Y̓lant/ "Where-It-Is-Rough." A campsite.
116. /ʔawsmi/. Bare Island.
117. /č̓eqs dawals/ "Blackbird-Standing-on-Top."
118. /stakm̓a·č/ "Projecting-on-the-End." Eagle Point; Spier 43.
119. /qčo·lʔam n̓iwl̓aqs/ "Star's-Fall." A place on the beach near Eagle Point where a meteor fell. The informants reported that a glow was visible at the spot for some time afterwards.
120. /ge·lalks/ "Land-Place." Spier 42.
121. /čak lali·ks/ "Serviceberry-on-the-Bank." A serviceberry patch.
122. /q̓aji/. A small settlement.
123. /waq̓a·qksi/. Spier 41.
124. /wačksi/ "Horse-Place."
125. /č̓a·q̓y̓a·k̓lamksi/ "Little-Boy's-Place." The home of /č̓a·q̓y̓a·k/, a mythological character.
126. /l̓eql̓eqsdi/ "Twinkle-Place."
127. /qawk̓at/. A good cold spring. Said to be named after a mythological character who lives there.
128. /tlaqs p̓ak̓i·s/ "Mullet-Eating." A small spring where /tlaqs/ fish are caught.
129. /molsi/. Said to mean "Black-Swan-Place," but not certain. A spring.

103 130. /ǥawamksaksi/ "Spring-Place." Rocky Point. An old campground during the wokas-picking season. •127

102 131. /ʔiWqa·ẏa/ "Among-the-Bushes." Spier 30.

133 132. /dinne·kksi/ "Sunset-Place." Spier 38.

133. /aḱawanks lakč̓wis/ "Wild-Parsnips-among-(Rocks)."

134. /sqoywas/ "Mound-in-Water." A spring back in the forest.

135. /ma·damsksi/. A spring three miles south of Crystal Spring at the head of Crystal Creek.

136. /sle·tsksi/ "Nettle-Cord-Place." Spier 35.

137. /čak lalamnas/ "Serviceberry-on-the-Hillside." Spier 29.

138. /l̓oqo·gat/. Spier 28.

139. /wialksi/ "Cottonwood-Place." Also called /wiawlʔa·ks/ "Little-Cottonwoods-Place." Spier 27.

140. /ǥo·s liwli·ks/ "Trees-Standing-in-a-Group-on-the-Edge." A settlement.

141. /wele·q̓a·ḱlam sʔilks/ "Little-Old-Lady's-Well."

142. /ǥlaẃa·kksi/ "Little-Sand-Place." A sandy beach.

143. /yaẏa·ḱaksaksi/ "Little-Willows-Place."

144. /ǥoWasdi/. Spier 44.

145. /qʔis yakńas/ "Rattlesnake-Cut-in-Two." A draw in the hills.

146. /toq̓asksi/ "Willow-Place." A small settlement.

147. /so·qetmi/. A place near where the highway from Williamson River to the north meets the highway from Chiloquin to the west.

148. /ẏayńaʔa·ks/ "Little-Mountain-Place." A small bluff east of /so·qetmi/.

149. /gwemṗle·gis/ "Tracking-Over." A hollow gap just below /ẏayńaʔa·ks/.

150. /wawč̓a·ḱlamksi/ "Dogs'-Place." A marshy place where spirit-dogs could be seen.

151. /č̓ayanksdat/ "In-the-Berries (sp.)." A spring and village.

152. /tgol̓o·tsʔam ksews/ "Tgol̓o·ts'-Lying-in-Water." A place near the Klamath Agency where oily clay gives an iridescent effect to the water.

153. /yanaldi/. Agency Hill.

154. /ʔiWq̓a·qn̓i ǥoge/ "Around-the-Neck-River." Wood River.

155. /tgol̓o·tsʔam ksodi·lks/ "Tgol̓o·ts'-Lying-Underneath." A place about half a mile from Collier Park where two small creeks come together and make a waterfall and whirlpool.

156. /wa·ko ʔiwli·wa/ "Lodgepole-Pine-on-the-Very-Edge."

157. /qawdo·gi·sam či·s/ "Bird's (sp.)-Home." A small plain south of Fort Klamath. See Text 11.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
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158. /bomhomedi/.
159. /ˀiWq́a·q/ "Around-the-Neck." Fort Klamath. Spier 63.

103
127 •
102
133

The following place names are not numbered, but may be found on the map by their English translations.

Little Wokas Bay /paksa/.
Klamath Lake /ˀews/. (The generic term for "lake.")
Klamath Marsh /ˀewksi/.
Pelican Bay /gombat/.
Shoalwater Bay /ćilkoydi/.

INTRODUCTION

The present study is based on information gathered among the Klamath for the University of California during two visits, each for a month, in 1925 and 1926. Klamath material culture was partly known from Barrett's description of his collection made twenty years ago. The immediate need appeared to be a study of their religion and social organization. Gatschet's account of The Klamath Indians published in 1890 contains many data on shamans' songs and allied topics, but it does not provide any systematic notion of their meaning. 114

The Klamath still live in their old home in southern Oregon, but their ancient culture exists only in their memories, save as the older people keep up domestic pursuits. Yet even middle-aged people have a very good knowledge of it. My elderly informants had all participated in the old life in their youth. These were Nancy Phillips, Pat Kane, and Coley Ball, all three about seventy, and Thomas Lang, about fifty-five. With the exception of Mrs. Phillips they gave information in English: in her case (the most valuable material) Mr. Lang and his son Delford acted as interpreters. 131 178 115

The social life of the Klamath is so much a thing of the past that only its formal aspects can now be recovered. An intimate picture is impossible. But to avoid a stilted expression I have written the account in the historical present. The description of material culture and economic life is not complete. It is still partly extant among the Klamath and well worth investigating. 128

In a final section I have attempted to place the Klamath in a setting of western cultures as a whole. This has been difficult because of the lack of comparative data from much of the northwest; further, only a fraction of the published accounts is available to me at this writing (in Norman, Oklahoma).

The phonetic scheme is the simpler system of the Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages (Smithsonian Misc. Coll., 66, no. 6, 1916), modified as:

ä as in *A*llen, pronounced more like *E*llen.
ŋ as in si*ng*.
ᴇ indefinite, obscure vowel; very short duration.
ḳ very far back.
k̢ cerebral; tongue tip probably turned back as Gatschet states (the sequence kr also occurs).
g̢ cerebral; may be the same sound.

128 A number of observations were made by my Klamath informants on the cultural habits of Molala, Northern Paiute, Upland Takelma, Modoc, and Achomawi-Atsugewi. I have included these as they demonstrate the sort of resemblances and differences of interest to my informants, and also because so few data are in print concerning these peoples. They will be found on the pages indicated:

Molala, pp. 4, 9, 24, 41, 59, 107, 156, 194, 214, 215.
Northern Paiute, pp. 58, 79, 81, 86, 90, 106, 158, 188, 190.
Upland Takelma, pp. 4, 24, 28, 29, 32, 35, 58, 59, 71, 177, 217.
Modoc, pp. 41, 42, 58, 81, 120, 158, 164, 175, 178, 190.
Achomawi-Atsugewi, pp. 59, 79, 190, 194.

[p. viii]
[pp. ix and x are blank]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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524 vided with notches at the narrow end in which the cord is tied. It is not ornamented.

The sling (ske'wic) is used only in sport. It is wholly of buckskin; a wide piece to which thongs are attached. One is provided with a loop to slip over the finger. This is an aboriginal device.

As a mere plaything hummingbirds (p'i'uas) are fashioned from the hard interior of the tule. These are hung up in the earth-lodge.

String figures or cat's cradles (sōpķō'ptculĕ'as, from ķ!ō'pte!a, little finger ?) are for amusement. Yet if played in winter the months will grow longer. Their number is legion. I was told of a few; the stolen baby, Tca'ķiaķ, sunrise, owl's nest, sick Coyote's knees, the girl who fetches water, a bundle of arrows, the abandoned boy who grows, and two coyotes who run from each other. The interesting feature of these figures is that they depict moving scenes; thus sick coyote sticks up his knees; the girl goes to fetch water crying ōmdja, ōmdja, water, until she spies an Indian when she cries maķlaks, human, and flees to the other hand to begin again. Three of the figures were recorded.

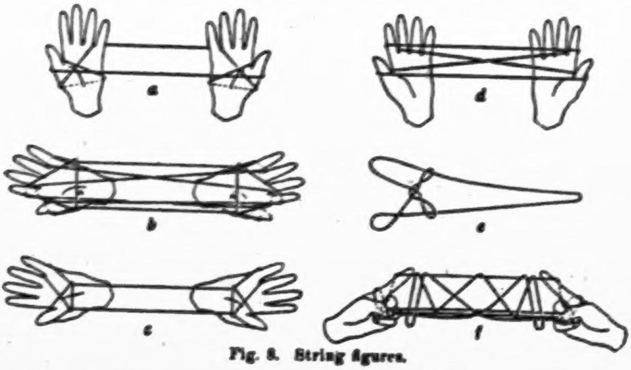

Fig. 8. String figures.

The figure of the stolen baby is called swĕnsowa'tķeas, taking from the cradle. Put each hand through the loop so that it lies on the back of each wrist. Lift the radial[131] string with each little finger from the ulnar side and the ulnar string from the radial side with each thumb, so as to form a loop on these four fingers (fig. 8a). Insert each

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[114]
[128]

[131] Following the terminology of Rivers and Haddon (String Figures, 147) the thumb-side of the hand or finger is called radial, the little finger-side ulnar. Hence strings on these sides are called radial and ulnar strings. A loop near the butt end of a finger is proximal, near the tip distal. Loops may lie on the palmar or dorsal side of each finger.

index finger under the intersection on the opposite palm. Using the lips, lift the loop from the back of each wrist so that it rests in front of all the fingers (fig. 8*b*). With each index catch the strings at A and pull them through the loops on each index while allowing the latter to slip off the dorsal side of the index. This forms a horizontal rectangle at the center which represents the cradle. This is narrowed by bunching the fingers of each hand. A little stick is thrust through this with the lips; this is the baby. Let slip the loops from each index finger. Pull the hands apart and the stick will fly toward one of them. (The resulting figure is shown in fig. 8c.) The hands represent two Old [776] Women spirits (wlle'aḳak) fighting over the baby; the one who gets the stick wins.

A second figure forms Tca'ḳiaḳ, Little Boy spirit. The loop is placed over the right thumb and the left thumb and index finger. Hold both strings against the palm with the three other fingers of the left hand. Insert the right index under the loop over the left thumb and index from the dorsal proximal side (i.e., from the direction of the wrist). Release the strings held by the other fingers of the left hand. This gives figure 8*d*.[188] . . . . The final figure showing Tca'ḳiaḳ is given by figure 8*e*.

The third figure, sunrise (sa'basdIni'gi), is shown in figure 8*f*. Pulling the hands apart makes the middle loop stand as a triangular figure, representing the appearance of a mountain peak gradually emerging against the dawn. This construction is begun with the loop passing across the dorsal side of the left thumb and little finger and the palmar sides of the other three. Give the loop one complete twist (so that the ulnar string, e.g., of the left hand, is on the ulnar side at the right) and insert the thumb and little fingers of the right hand similarly. Pick up the palm loop of each hand from the proximal side with the opposite index. Hold the radial string on each index against the palm with the middle and ring fingers. Insert each index under the ulnar strings of each thumb from the proximal side, lifting the thumb loops off onto the indexes. Care must be taken to keep these loops at the tips of the indexes. Release the strings held by middle and ring fingers. With each thumb carry the radial string of the proximal loop on each index under (past the proximal side) the ulnar string on the little fingers. Bring back the thumb bearing a loop of this ulnar string. Slip little fingers out of the loops. (At this point my notes fail.)

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[188] Unfortunately my field notes play me false: I cannot give the intermediate stages for either this or the following figure. [128]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

539 What is coming out of my mouth? Black substance is hanging down from my mouth (158, 56).
What do I suck [bite] out? The disease I am sucking out[213] (155, 17).

I have recorded several songs the use of which I do not know. A shaman's song is about a mythical hero, Wawiwŏ'ķ!os, who is represented as singing.

ga'no wawi'awŏk
I am Wawiwŏ'ķ!os.

Nancy dreamed a song about the pole and pendant (wa"lasdŭ'pka) which stands before a shaman's earth-lodge.

wa" li'sasa nos nos
shaman's pole I I
nisowa'lis tu'ntani
shaman's pole hanging on.
I am the pole and the cord hangs from me.

[821] The rainbow is the spirit of Wile'aķaķ, Dwarf Old Woman. In a song she says that she swallows it like a sword.

wile'aķaķni	wile'aķaķni	stŏ'ngi	wi"teliŏķ
Dwarf Old Woman	something long	swallowed	rainbow

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

128 In addition to omens and miscellaneous beliefs that have no proper place elsewhere in this account I have resuméd below all cases of beliefs which have their setting in the social and economic life of these people. I have not repeated here beliefs touched on in other parts of this section on shamanism.

763 The omens of death or disaster are varied. The thrush tells of an approaching enemy: wī'mpis ᴇgɛ'pkwa, they are coming. The horned owl also warns; mm, mm, mm, kŏkdᴇlŏ'n skiu'klu, who sent me? Or he predicts: ma'ķlaķs gᴇlĕķ gᴇlĕķ gᴇlĕķ, someone will die. Gatschet recorded similar constructions of the call of a crow, the howling of coyote or dog, a cat's mewing, or a hen's clamor just after sunset.[214] One may suggest that these associations are derived from the association of the sunset with the land of the dead which lies in the west. On the other hand the call of the loon at early dawn is a sign that someone will kill another. Yet this may really be a case in point, for then the general association would be with any night cry, since night is the time when the dead arise and roam.

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[213] Chorus while the shaman bites and sucks the patient.
[214] 1:88, 133.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

IV. THE KLAMATH AND WESTERN CULTURE

THE PLACE OF KLAMATH CULTURE

101 128 The place of the Klamath in western culture has been obscure and has, I think, been mistakenly appraised. In this section I have gone beyond the immediate task of defining it in order to build out on its northern border the synthesis of Californian cultures furnished by Kroeber.

101 114 Any attempt at placing the Klamath is rendered difficult by the paucity of information for large areas in the northwestern states. There is little enough on western Washington, but even less for the region east of the Cascade range, and practically nothing for the whole of Oregon. The southern Plateau is unknown save for the Nez Percé; its eastern section (Kutenai to Flathead) is another complete blank. Satisfactorily complete accounts now available can be numbered on the fingers: Gunther's Klallam, Haeberlin and Gunther's southern Puget Sound groups, Olson's manuscript notes on the Quinault, another manuscript on the Wishram by Sapir and the present writer, Teit's slight but highly suggestive notes on the Middle Columbia Salish, Spinden's Nez Percé, and the valuable collection of historical references gathered by Lewis. The situation is better for the Fraser river section of the Plateau, thanks to Teit's several accounts of the interior Salish. The stock of information on the Basin is slender and that for northern California none too voluminous. Nevertheless it seems possible to place the Klamath by a cautious use of these fragmentary data.

The present section will attempt to summarize the situation, with particular reference to material culture. The sections that follow analyze the shamanistic complex, social organization, and the girls' rites in greater detail.

*171 101 The food habits of the Klamath, and in fact their general material culture, places them squarely with the Plateau peoples. They are as much a river people as the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap, although the river in their instance is a minor stream (the Williamson river) and substituted in part by flooded marshes. As a river people, their primary foodstuff is fish; vegetal foods, water-lily seed, roots, and the like, form a considerable part of their provender, yet a lesser one.

shaman who seeks to recover the soul of a sick man uses "a manikin 171* made of wood and cedar bark. When a conjurer wants to make use of 755 this manikin he gives it to a person who has no guardian spirit, who shakes it for him, and they two go to the country of the ghosts." 756 Boas states that this type of cure was derived by the Chinook from the Chehalis. Such sticks, carved and painted with reference to their guardians, and here described as manikins, are common property to those with spirit helpers from Oregon northward. When a Quinault shaman goes to cure, he is regularly accompanied by an aid who holds and rattles his carved stick. Here again illness is due to soul loss but there is no journey to the land of the dead.[485]

In quite another direction the Pomo appear with an assistant for the curing shaman. He shakes the shaman's rattle and sings his songs. As Kroeber remarks, the appearance of an assistant in this [114] quarter is unusual, and in the present state of our knowledge not connected by distribution with the instances cited above.[486]

One cannot escape the impression that this provision of a speaker for the shaman is linked with the chief's spokesman of many tribes of the west. The Northwest Coast type of spokesman is known as far south as the Wishram on the Columbia and perhaps in coastal Oregon. In the Basin, from eastern Washington to northern Arizona, there is word-for-word repetition of formal speeches. There is no chief's speaker in the intervening area from Wishram to Maidu, but there is for the shaman. When we realize that in this region, chiefs are socially eclipsed by shamans, we may well argue that a substitution has taken place. Objection may be made, however, that this is equally true in the Basin, where, so far as we know, shamans do not have speakers.

Accessory Elements

The distribution of analogues of the Klamath shamans' feats is 128 quite irregular, to judge by the few notes I have collected, but this is 756 undoubtedly due to incompleteness of information. Merely to put these on record, I present them here.

The Klamath shaman swallows fire; so does the Lillooet and 171* Thompson. Live coals are eaten by Quinault secret society performers, 756

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[485] Boas, Doctrine of Souls, 40, Chinook Texts, 207; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[486] Handbook, 258.

selves the superiors of those among whom they are resident. Once the 171*
sentiment had become lodged in the group its fruition was made inev- 174
itable by the imitation of others. 583

With Kroeber, who has so expressed himself on the subject of the 554
Yurok,[559] I do not believe that the levirate and sororate were born of 556
this special development of purchase. Both customs have a nearly universal distribution in North America. It seems rather that such existing practices were drawn into the developing marriage complex of this area.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The background for a study of social stratification has been laid 128 •
in the preceding section. I will here deal with chieftainship, its relations to wealth and heredity, and related topics.

Social stratification was but weakly developed among the Klamath. 554
Social standing did not depend directly on heredity and there was 556
apparently little difference in wealth from richest to poorest. Since wealth was inherited there was at least some stability to family standing. The marriage purchase gave respectability to the union; it did
not fix the standing of the couple by reason of the amount paid. Yet [56]
there was some differentiation based on wealth, a continuous gradation from the wealthiest to the slaves.

The wealthiest individuals were called lō'ki, rich men. This was 556
also the term by which chiefs were styled. My interpretation of the
Indian's statements is that those prominent individuals, who exer- 622
cised functions which would elsewhere have led to their being called chiefs, were at the same time the wealthiest. A chief became such primarily by successful leadership in war, coupled with some background of spirit power, wealth, personal qualities, especially ability as an advisor, with some suggestion of hereditary interest.

The chiefly functions emphasized were leadership in war and 622
haranguing the people. The chief could not issue injunctions, he re- [701]
ceived no tribute, and was in no way responsible for the conduct or debts of his people. Just prior to reservation days there was intro-
duced from Columbia river the practice of chiefs sitting as judges. [565]
While chiefs were set off from the mass, this did not imply any sense of caste stratification. Their wives and children were not known by a distinctive class term.

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[559] Handbook, 31.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

114
122 search under a separate grant, and provided facilities for other students, Miss Deanne Rasmussen, who studied child-rearing practices, and Dr. and Mrs. Brian A. DuToit, who made a brief survey of the small community of Beatty, to amplify our observations in Chiloquin.

000 In addition to all of these, others who were carrying on studies at the same time provided many insights. Here may be mentioned Dr. and Mrs. Robert F. Spencer, Dr. William N. Fenton, and Dr. M. A. R. Barker. Similarly, my colleagues in the department of anthropology have been an unfailing source 128 of stimulation. Among them, Drs. Luther Cressman, H. G. Barnett, and Vernon Dorjahn have made the greatest contribution. Drs. Cressman, Dorjahn, and Martin Schmitt, during my temporary absence from the country, undertook to oversee the drawing of several of the maps and the assembly of photographs.

127 Archival materials have come from several sources. I am indebted to officials of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, for certain manuscripts in the Bancroft Collections; to the Robert H. Lowie Museum, of that University, for use of materials from the collection of C. Hart Merriam; to Dr. Thomas Vaughan and the Oregon Historical Society for use of the typescript copy of Joel Palmer's pocket diary; and to Martin Schmitt, Elizabeth Findley, and the Library of the University of Oregon for use of the Lindsay and O. C. Applegate Papers, and for many kindnesses.

The General Services Administration Records Center in Seattle provided archival materials from Klamath Agency reports, while the Portland Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, under Don C. Foster and Martin B. Holm, placed at our disposal many official files. Likewise, officials of the Klamath General Council and the Tribal Executive Committee gave us every courtesy and made available back files of tribal minutes. Finally, it would be 000 remiss not to acknowledge the assistance given the study by the Klamath Management Specialists, the city officials of Chiloquin, and officers of Klamath County agencies.

128 Above all, the Klamath people and the residents of Chiloquin have provided us with the individual perspectives which here I have sought to place within a larger frame. Several have kindly read the resultant manuscript on Chiloquin and have suggested

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

revisions of no small merit. They include the late William C. Lorenz and his wife, Claudia, Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy Gienger, Seldon Kirk and his daughter, Lelia, and Mr. and Mrs. Joe Ortis. 128

A quiet, though indispensible role has been played by my wife, and a number of her insights have found their way, unacknowledged, into these pages. 000

The Klamath research, through the years, has received support now gratefully acknowledged, from the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Fund for the Republic, and the Faculty Research Program of the University of Oregon. 122 Two chapters of this volume have previously been published: Chapter Two appeared as "The Klamath Indians and the treaty of 1864," *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* 57 (1956 : 229-73; and Chapter Seventeen as "Livelihood and tribal government on the Klamath Indian reservation," *Human Organization,* 20 (1961-62): 172-80. They are reprinted here by permission. 128

THEODORE STERN

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KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION[1]

By

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

The communication of knowledge from one generation to another is a subtle process in any culture, and especially so among primitive groups with no clearly defined and well formulated educational system. Any study of primitive education is, therefore, difficult to demarcate. In its broadest sense, education might be defined as the formation of manners and habits by means of instruction, by both physical and moral discipline. The acquisition of all attitudes, knowledge, and skills can be included in education. A thorough investigation would have to answer the question of where, when, and how the individual acquires each item of his adult personality. 121

Obviously, no complete picture of education in any primitive group can be drawn after a single season in the field. The present study makes no pretense of being definitive. It is our intent to show the gradual development of the Klamath child from infancy to adulthood as he receives physical, religious, and moral training, as well as instruction in the food gathering techniques and skilled crafts of his culture. Undoubtedly many phases of the culture have been slighted, but we have tried to show in a general way the type of instruction and encouragement given the maturing child. 114 Klamath ethnography has been well known for years through the works of Gatschet (1890), Coville (1898, 1904), Dorsey (1901), Barrett (1910), Spier (1930), Voegelin (1942), and others. 128 For that reason, the details of language, material

[text continues on top of p. 339-B]

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Parenthood with its attendant responsibilities is not taken lightly by the average Klamath. 581 593 One gets married for the express purpose of raising a large family, and the couple with several strong sons and hardworking daughters is highly respected in the community. 842 A childless couple, on the other hand, is looked upon with contempt and pity. Barrenness is sometimes con-

[text continues on bottom of p. 339-B]

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[1] The present study is based on data collected for the University of California during a two-month stay on the Klamath Indian reservation in southern Oregon in the summer of 1947. Much of the material presented in this paper was gathered by Mrs. Betty T. Dasey, and the research represents our joint efforts. [122]

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION[1]

By

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

128 culture, social and political organization are
not described here except in their effect on
124 education. Wherever particular items are mentioned,
we specifically asked our informants for
a description, even though they had been described
in previous ethnographies. Such accounts
may thus be taken as corroborating
earlier evidence unless otherwise specified in
the text.

131 The Klamath reside in their old territory
in southern Oregon, but the aboriginal way of
178 life has long since disappeared. Today they are
241 farmers and ranchers, but a considerable part of
the earlier culture remains alive in the memories
233 of a few oldsters. Our seven informants
(4 men and 3 women) were all in their late
178 seventies or eighties and had participated in
the last phases of the aboriginal culture as
115 children. It is regrettable that it was necessary
to reconstruct childhood training from the
reminiscences of elderly individuals. Doubtless
much of the material represents the ideal rather
than the actual pattern of education. The
ideals do, however, give a definite insight into
what was considered important in the upbringing
of children, whether these standards were always
maintained or not. Since there is little or
nothing in the early literature on this subject,
there is no way of comparing impressions received
from old people who are admittedly looking
back to "the good old days" with impressions
of objective eyewitnesses to the old ways as
they were really practiced.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Barrenness is sometimes considered
cause for divorce. Since the blame
842 seems to fall most commonly on the woman, her
husband's parents may suggest that he send her
586 away and get a wife who can provide him with
children. Ordinarily, though, the parents-in-
606 law are more lenient with a barren woman.
Most Klamath express a preference for boys. A
842 variety of reasons are offered, the most common
being that boys are less bother than girls.
"Girls are always getting into trouble, and you
just raise them for someone else because they go
off to their husbands when they get married."
Once the child is born, however, there seems to
be no special favoritism shown to boys. One

M
K situated about upper Klamath Lake and in the mountains to the
101 east; except for a part of the Modoc in Oklahoma. It is the
131 object of the present paper to discuss briefly the conditions of
M aboriginal life among these people, due consideration being given
K their natural environment and the influence of surrounding
128 peoples upon them.

TERRITORY.

M The territory occupied by the Klamath Lake and Modoc
K Indians lies chiefly in the drainage basins of Upper and Lower
101 Klamath lakes and Tule or Rhett lake. From a point near the
131 confluence of Keen creek with Klamath river the western boundary
of their territory probably extended along the watershed
separating the Klamath lake and Rogue river drainages, to the
K foothills of the mountain in which Crater lake is situated. It
823 should be noted, however, that the Klamath, while they feared
Crater lake, did go upon certain occasions to the lake and seem
not to have been molested there by other Indians. It would seem
that the lake was looked upon as a sort of territory of mutual
rights by the peoples in its vicinity. They visited it when they
desired to acquire great merit in hunting or other pursuits in
which supernatural power was necessary. To go and bathe in
this wonderful lake was a brave thing to do, and made a man
lucky for hunting or other similar pursuits and made him very
K strong for war. It would appear that the relations formerly
131 existing between the Klamath and the people of the Rogue river
648 drainage were not at all friendly, so that the Klamath seldom
ventured as far west as the crest of the range. They did on
occasion make up large parties and go up to the crest of the
range for the purpose of hunting, but small parties rarely ventured
so far. The region for some distance to the west and
northwest of Crater lake was also visited by the Klamath for the
purpose of gathering berries in season.

K
101 On the north the boundary extended as far as to the headwaters
131 of Deschutes river, thus including the whole drainage
133 basin of Klamath marsh.[1] On the east the boundary probably

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K
[101] [1] The Bureau of Ethnology's map in Bulletin 30 gives to the Lutuami
[114] territory as far north in the Deschutes drainage as latitude 44. See also volume I of this Bulletin, 779, 1907.

121 had been founded. There was, for example, no evidence for anything remotely
181 approximating a "Native Oriented" group on the reservation. Moreover, it became
[154] apparent that a particular style of personal adjustment was by no means
characteristic of the majority of individuals throughout their life-spans.
So called "Transitional" modes of adjustment, for example, might be used to
characterize the confused orientations, the value conflicts, and the disorganized
family life of persons early in their life arc, but the same persons frequently
settled down to a respectable, stable "Elite Acculturated" mode of existence
in middle age. Or this sequence might frequently be reversed.

125 However, the formal sampling approach was jettisoned primarily because of the
123 many refusals among the samples. That such a reaction might reflect important
variables and hence prejudice the reliability of the consequent approach was
considered, but it was apparent that the major cause for refusal was the absence
of an existing friendship relation between subjects and field-worker
(or some influential intermediary). Moreover, an analysis of the status of those
who refused indicated that this reaction was neither confined to nor clustered
within any identifiable grouping.

125 For these reasons, attention was given to securing what may be called a deliberately
representative sample of the reservation population. The criteria of
representativeness included variations in social roles assumed by the subjects
(occupation, sex, leadership, and so on), variations in role performance, differences
[123] in standards and values, and age differences. When appropriate subjects
were known personally by the Anthropologist, they were approached directly.
If no friendship relation existed, potential subjects were, less frequently,
approached through the recommendations and aid of an intermediary, or, finally,
a direct effort was made to become acquainted with a suitable subject. In all
instances, an existing friend relationship proved the more successful mode of
approach. For reasons to be suggested in the next section, there are few Klamath
persons whose influence is both high and extensive, and, conversely, few who
[123] can easily accept external imposition of controls. Thus intermediaries, whatever
their manifest status, rarely could elicit the cooperation of more than one
suitable subject. The result of this effort was a set of Rorschach and Thematic
Apperception Test Records, and short life-histories on a sample of fifty four
persons, which sample could for the purposes of the research be considered as
●[128] reasonably representative of the target population. The ten case studies in this
report were selected from the original sample so as to provide as much variety
as possible in the limited confines of these pages.

Aside from the problems of obtaining an adequately representative sample, there
is another aspect of the field method used in the Klamath study which may be of
[123] some interest. In each instance the potential subject was made aware of the intentions
of the field worker and the purposes of testing and interviewing. It
[181] will be clear from the next section that the contemporary Klamath are in no relevant
sense "primitive," nor are they an isolated population. Indeed, many subjects
125 were familiar with the "ink-blot" test from television programs, movies,
177 or hearsay information. More generally, the major task, that of identifying
ambiguous stimuli, was associated with the simple game of "seeing faces in the
clouds" or figures in rock formations. Further, most Klamath under fifty years
of age are sufficiently experienced in the practices of American culture to
have some personal familiarity with the "test situation," whether personality,
aptitude, vocational, or intelligence. Thus there was a shared basis for this
peculiar form of interaction.

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 101
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's 177
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy, [184]
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present [224]
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly 648
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties:
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an artificial
construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local [829]
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet 178
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-residence
with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural [181]
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been transferred 648
to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural [241]
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber industry
has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have [511]
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

121 125 114

Piotrowski's stress on analyzing the percept, rather than the verbalized response (hence, perceptanalysis) is an example of his emphasis on a careful scrutiny of the manner in which *the subject* is approaching the task presented by the Rorschach examination. The errors resulting from a too hasty reliance on the subject's verbal report range from assuming the response "bat" to Card I is a W, when it might have been a rare detail to scoring an F- for any statistically infrequent response when a careful inquiry might have revealed an accurate, original, and well-organized percept. Ultimately, of course, we are dependent on the subject to tell us what he sees and how he is seeing it, but a sensitive, careful inquiry can help the subject communicate in words the images he has created. When our goal is an understanding of the adjustment of an individual Klamath, this attempt to see the blot as the subject sees it enables us to approach — with empathy, if you will — the subject's own manner of perceiving the blot stimulus.

However, Piotrowski's method of interpretation rests on firmer footing than this perhaps vague statement that an attempt is made to empathize with the subject. Piotrowski has stated, in explicit principles and definitions, the interpretive significance which he attaches to the various kinds of responses. Although these principles were used as guidelines, they were not adhered to in a dogmatic fashion.

125 128•

For example, the Rorschachs were scored carefully, but not rigidly. An illustration of this distinction is the scoring of form level. Much has been written about this pseudo-problem; the Beck-Klopfer controversy concerning a statistical versus an evaluative basis for form-level scoring has generated much heat. The present approach may seem at first blush to beg the question, but a moment's analysis indicates that the scoring is always done keeping in mind that the ultimate purpose of the test is interpretation. Thus, if a response is clearly an F+ response, i.e., the form of the image corresponds without question to the blot area, there is no scoring difficulty. However, if the subject gives a response which is neither clearly F+ nor F- (and for Beck, is statistically infrequent), but rather gives a response which might almost be justified, but not quite, the scorer need not sit in a quandary; to my way of thinking he need indicate merely that the subject has produced a response with this kind of borderline form level. (More detailed analyses of various approaches to form level have been described by Phillips & Smith, 1954; Klopfer, 1954). If the subject produces this kind of response often, we conclude that he often responds to life in a manner which does not include a careful evaluation of the situation, but that he does not behave in an obviously idiosyncratic manner. More precise interpretations may be formulated in the specific instance, of course. Piotrowski's scoring F± for vague responses such as "clouds," "rocks," or "bays," is an example of his attempt to formalize this approach to scoring borderline responses.

121 125 [128]

As a corollary to the emphasis on Ego interpretations, an attempt was made to evaluate the adequacy of the subjects' adjustment, and in the attempt, to uncover the person's strengths and assets, as well as his flaws and weaknesses. The task consisted, in part, of gauging the extent to which his particular adaptive mechanisms enable him to cope adequately with his impulses and feelings in the context of his environment — to what extent his life style meshed satisfactorily with his life space. Since the Rorschachs were interpreted by the psychologist initially without information concerning the subject's life history, this entailed a careful examination of the balance of components in the protocols themselves. In this process much emphasis was placed on the organizational quality of the responses. The research on genetic-level scoring of the Rorschach

Section IV. Summary and Conclusions

In concluding this report rather than to attempt a detailed synthesis of all aspects of the preceding case studies we intend to pursue some of the implications of certain striking characteristics of Klamath personalities. Aside from this descriptive effort we also intend to derive, hypothetically, an association between these personality attributes and Klamath acculturation experiences. 121

Certainly the most pervasively shared attribute of Klamath personalities is the one we have chosen to call guarded restraint. This label is intended to designate the general attitude towards self and interpersonal relationships which has emerged from the analysis of Rorschach records, life-history materials, and observations of behavior. Guarded restraint, therefore, may be taken to mean the prevalent suspicious and guarded attitude towards life of the Klamath subjects, their wariness as regards significant others, and their apprehensions as regards their environment generally. This attribute, as we conceive it, has many facets. It includes an unconscious as well as a more deliberate muting of responsiveness to the actions and the mere presence of others, a shallow, non-committal attitude towards membership in various social groups and the goals of these groups, and a characteristic which ranges from simple lack of trust to outright fear of the behavioral milieu. 156 157 [12]

Stated in largely psycho-dynamic terms the notion of guarded restraint may seem somewhat ambiguous. The empirical referents on the level of observable behavior are, however, highly visible. They may be observed in a wide variety of behavior settings, from the informal and unstructured relations within a teenage clique or an adult drinking group to the more organized setting of the family and household. 121

The psycho-cultural phenomena we have labeled as guarded restraint over-laps with what others have called Klamath individualism. Seen in this perspective, we may, perhaps, introduce a somewhat richer way of analyzing and gaining insight into the nuances of Klamath behavioral styles. This approach is, we hope, something more than just a different way of looking at the manifest separatism and incohesiveness of family groups, a more fruitful manner of examining the atomistic structure of Klamath reservation sodalities, and a means of appreciating the psycho-dynamic causation of the constant fractionation of Klamath political groupings. The evidence of these case studies, then, suggests that few Klamath are capable of fully identifying with other persons or of committing their loyalties to concerted group action. 121 157 [156]

We feel that this major descriptive conclusion is, in large part, a product of the case study method used in analyzing the Rorschachs. Moreover, it is our belief that this conclusion could not have been obtained from an analysis of a composite psychogram based on formal scores. As anyone who has ever read reports based upon the statistical or modal personality approach well knows, such reports are ridden with dynamic cliches and are largely sterile until filled out with examples of the qualitative features of individual records. In this report Levine has entirely discarded the lumping of group scores and concentrated upon an analysis of qualitative features of individual records buttressed and supported by the use of formal scores and relationships. The importance of this approach is shown by the fact that the reserve and guardedness that characterizes Klamath does not always show up in individual test records in the same form. Most frequently an important clue is had from the presence of restrained, watchful, wary figures in human and animal movement responses. Indeed, this type of movement 125 128 [157]

125
128 response provided some of the first clues as regards this important personality
attribute (Clifton 1960). But other test evidence, as well as life history and
[157] observational data, leads to the same conclusion, regardless of the presence or
absence of a restrained movement response.
[124]

157 One facet of Klamath guardedness and restraint is the general reluctance of
157 Klamath individuals to reveal or communicate to others their needs, wishes, in-
156 terests, or concerns. This may, in part, be seen as a function of suspicion,
of fearful concern with the possible reactions of others, but another character-
istic of Klamath persons may be associated with this reserve. The reference here
is to a general, overt, and conscious devaluation of the self. The Klamath sel-
[125] dom have much good and often much that is bad to say of themselves. Although
this characteristic is not directly manifested in the Rorschach records, these
records do indicate the presence of multiple and conflicting, or unacceptable
prototypal roles.

Another aspect of Klamath guardedness seems to be a precipitate of the very high investment of energies in sheer self-protecting maneuvers, and the time spent in the avoidance of entangling committments to group life. We feel that the Klamath have so over-invested in reserve and self-protection that they have little time or energy to expend on other activities or upon other aspects of their situation. This, we feel, may be responsible for another shared component of Klamath character, their inability in laying plans for the future, and the minimal expenditure upon creative effort. By way of contrast, the Klamath do concentrate upon the superficially rewarding or painful aspects of their current situation.

121 The analysis so far points to a general isolation of Klamath individuals from
156 significant, durable human associations. Given the facts of Klamath reservation
culture we consider that this characteristic is probably adaptive, although it
155 might not seem so if measured against an ideal model of mental health based upon
65[the functioning of west European, urban, middle-class persons. Considering the
[171] realities of the Klamath situation, guarded restraint in itself may hardly be
considered as pathological. Yet so great a reserve and so extensive an insula-
[158] tion of the self from important human transactions may be a major source of stress
and may predispose Klamath individuals to variant forms of mental illnesses.

157 Several of the cases contained in this report provide evidence for this hypothesis.
In the instance of Slim, for example, we find that a superficially adequate ad-
158 justment may simply be the manifestation of an obsessive control over and reduc-
[121] tion of emotional and intellectual processes to the point of a tentative diag-
nosis of alpha schizophrenia. The cases of Susan, Nell, Fidel and Sparrow are examples of extremely loose, unrealistic and disorganized thinking with overtones, in some instances, of an almost paranoid suspiciousness, or a reliance upon bizarre, highly personal fantasy. Evidence for a well defined idiosyncratic role or personna which is very poorly integrated with the rest of the personality is seen in the cases of Slim's false optimism, Carrie's brashness, and Aunt May's superficial warmth. We suggest that these more disordered aspects of adjustment may profitably be seen, in part, as a function of a generally poor contact with others, reduced insight into the self and others, and extensive social isolation. The mediating difficulty may well be a relative absence of opportunities to validate beliefs and convictions. Thus in many respects adaptive, Klamath guarded restraint probably serves as a precipitating factor in thinking disorders, sociopathic adaptations, alpha schizophrenia, and paranoid delusions.

128 The validity of this assessment does not depend upon these ten case studies alone.
127 Very similar if more limited conclusions were obtained in a previous, independent

analysis of 53 Klamath Rorschachs and 33 Thematic Apperception Tests, with 128
additional evidence derived from participant observation and life history data [127]
(Clifton 1960). Moreover, the assessment agrees, in large part, with the ob-
servations and conclusions of other field workers working independently. The
significant point is that Levine, working blind from records of persons he has
never observed has reinforced and expanded upon previous evaluations of Klamath
character.

A second hypothesis about the Klamath which arises from our study — an hypothesis 121
of which we are less certain when compared with the observation that they are
a people who may be viewed as guarded and restrained — is the finding that "in 157
the total kin network the influence of the male is weak..." and "whether or not 562
there is a male attached to the household group, the wife-mother is usually the
power figure." This finding, based on the anthropological data, is theoreti- [156]
cally congruent, almost startlingly so, with the fact that the more imaginative,
creative, rich — healthy, if you will — Klamath Rorschach records were produced
by the women in the sample, while the men's records were typically stereotyped
and constricted, and often unrealistic, disorganized or suspicious. The statis- [127]
tical comparisons (Clifton 1960) as well as the individual Rorschach analysis
(Chapter III) convey this impression very clearly. [128]

The importance of these findings can be viewed profitably in the light of con- 121
temporary psychoanalytic theory, especially in relation to the concepts of iden-
tification and modeling in child development. The theory holds that the child
identifies with, i.e., adapts the characteristics, attitudes, and values, of his
parents because he envies them; they are the powerful people who receive the
rewards and gratifications which he is denied. In classical psychoanalytic theory,
the boy is said to identify with the father because the father is the power figure
in the family and receives the love of the mother. Although Freud never was as
content with his psychology of women as he was with the Oedipus Complex, pre-
sumably similar processes account for feminine psychology. The classical Oedipus [128]
Complex has been modified in order to integrate more satisfactorily with cross-
cultural data, and it is in this more flexible framework that the present re-
sults can be understood best.

In those societies in which the father is not a stable, respected member of the 121
family the process of identification is not as straightforward: the growing boy
does not want to be like his weak father; he cannot identify with an absent
father figure; yet he is biologically unable to be like his mother. The theory
holds that his identification as a person will not be well integrated or complete.
In the Klamath family, the mother is the stable figure, the one who commands the 121
boy's respect. Since a consistent and integrated identification is needed for a
healthy development of the ego, we are not surprised to find that the males in 156
our Klamath sample show signs of poor ego structure. The women, on the other 562
hand, come off much better and one may hypothesize that they are able to make a 593
more integrated identification with the wife-mother figure in the Klamath family.

It may be necessary for a well-stated theoretical position to distinguish between 121
two qualities of the parent which are confounded in the present discussion: sta-
bility of the model on the one hand and the extent to which the parent receives
rewards, on the other. The general theoretical position, however, states that
those societies in which the father is more stable, receives more of the respect
and material reward, or is more powerful will be societies in which the boys can
establish their roles more readily. On the other hand, in groups like the Klamath, 121
in which the father is weak or absent, we can expect to see signs of role conflict, 156
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593

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

Smithsonian Institution,
Bureau of Ethnology,
Washington, D. C., June 25, 1890.

121 Sir: I have the honor to transmit to you my report upon the Klamath
Indians of Southwestern Oregon, the result of long and patient study. It
deals with their beliefs, legends, and traditions, their government and social
life, their racial and somatic peculiarities, and, more extensively, with their
126 language. To this the reader is introduced by numerous ethnographic
124 "Texts," suggested or dictated by the Indians themselves, and accompanied
by an interlinear translation and by "Notes," a method which I regard as
the most efficient means of becoming acquainted with any language. In
121 this report I have given prominence to the exposition of the language,
129 because I consider language to be the most important monument of the
American Indian. Archæology and ethnography are more apt to acquaint
us with *facts* concerning the aborigines, but language, when properly investigated, gives us the *ideas* that were moving the Indian's mind, not only
recently but long before the historic period.

Repeated and prolonged visits to the people of the northern as well as
of the southern chieftaincy have yielded sufficient material to enable me to
classify the language of both united tribes as belonging to a distinct family.
101 In their territorial seclusion from the nearer Indian tribes they show anthropologic differences considerable enough to justify us in regarding them as
a separate nationality.

197. There is probably no language spoken in North America possessed
of a nominal inflection more developed than the Klamath, although in
this particular, in the phonetic elements and in the syllabic reduplication
pervading all parts of speech, it shows many analogies with the Sahaptin

197 dialects. The analytic character of the language and its synthetic character balance each other pretty evenly, much as they do in the two classic languages of antiquity.

128 Concerning the ethnography of both chieftaincies and the mythology of the Modoc Indians, I have gathered more material than could be utilized for the report, and I hope to publish it at a later day as a necessary supplement to what is now embodied in the two parts of the present volume.

Very respectfully, yours,

Albert S. Gatschet.

Hon. J. W. Powell,
Director of the Bureau of Ethnology.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

THE KLAMATH INDIANS OF SOUTHWESTERN OREGON.

By Albert S. Gatschet.

ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF THE PEOPLE.

INTRODUCTION.

101 The Klamath people of North American Indians, the subject of this
131 descriptive sketch, have inhabited from time immemorial a country upon
the eastern slope of the Cascade Range, in the southwestern part of the
133 territory now forming the State of Oregon. That territory is surrounded
134 by mountain ridges and by elevations of moderate height, and watered by
streams, lakes, marshes, and pond-sources issuing from the volcanic sands
covering the soil. The secluded position of these Indians within their
mountain fastnesses has at all times sheltered them against the inroads of
alien tribes, but it has also withheld from them some of the benefits which
only a lively intercourse and trade with other tribes are able to confer.
132 The climate of that upland country is rough and well known for its sudden
changes of temperature, which in many places render it unfavorable to
137 agriculture. But the soil is productive in edible roots, bulbs, berries, and
136 timber, the limpid waters are full of fish and fowl, and game was plentiful
before the white man's rifle made havoc with it. Thus the country was
capable of supplying a considerable number of Indians with food, and they
never manifested a desire to migrate or "be removed to a better country."

● 128 The topography of these highlands, which contain the headwaters of the
Klamath River of California, will be discussed at length after a mention of
the scanty literature existing upon this comparatively little explored tract of
land.

773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

● 128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to
suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a
future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however,
be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is
free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during
the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of
suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency buildings,
532 which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face
flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also
artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the language
538 fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of
success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration,
assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to
this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes
which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be
the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

115 she has succeeded in acquiring more mental training than Indians usually acquire on reservations.

4. *Charles Preston*, a pure-blood Klamath Lake Indian, born about 1840, is now stationed as interpreter at the subagency of Yaíneks. Preston had previously sojourned five years at Oregon City on the Willámet River and vicinity, and there he learned to converse in English quite fluently, acquiring also the idiom of the Wasco Indians, of which he has furnished me over three hundred of the most usual terms. During a stay of three weeks which he made at the Klamath Lake Agency, I obtained from him valuable grammatic and lexical information, texts, popular songs, and proper names, and revised with him the Modoc dictionary.

5. *Sergeant Morgan*, a pure-blood Indian, living at Koháshti, born about 1830, and jocosely called "*Sergeant*" on account of his wearing an old sergeant's uniform which he had obtained from soldiers at Fort Klamath. From this good-natured, intelligent old Indian I obtained a few short texts and some ethnologic information especially relating to mythologic and shamanic subjects.

6. "*The Captain*" or "*Captain Jim*", a pure-blood Indian, living at the junction of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, about five miles from the Agency buildings. When I saw him he was about fifty years old, and as he spoke but Klamath and Chinook jargon, all the mythology which he remembered was obtained through Minnie Froben. He received his nickname "*Captain*" from having been a help on a steamboat plying on the Willámet River, Oregon.

7–11. Other informants of whose assistance I have availed myself are mentioned at the head of the texts. They were *Johnson*, the head chief of the Modocs at Yaíneks; the conjurer *Kákash* or *Doctor John*; and several young Indians then scarcely over twenty-five years of age: *Pete*, *Frank*, and *Long John's Ben*. All of them are pure-blood Indians.

128 To facilitate the study of the Klamath language, and to increase the popular interest in the acquisition of Indian languages in general, I have inserted with the texts an interlinear translation, and subjoined to them a variety of commenting notes of linguistic, ethnographic, and historic import. The large majority of the Indian words could be rendered in their literal meaning; but in some instances, where literal translation was nearly

128 impossible, the *sense* of the word or phrase was reproduced as faithfully as could be done within the narrow space allotted. Words in brackets were inserted only to render the sentence complete.

But to the student striving after a thorough understanding of the texts all these helps will prove of partial assistance only. A thorough study of the Grammar ought in fact to precede their perusal, and reference to all the three portions of the work will frequently be necessary.

The material portion of a language can be faithfully conveyed to our understanding only by the correct pronunciation of its words, sentences [194] or texts. Hence all that is said of Klamath *phonetics* must be studied first, and more especially the alternating processes, the proclisis and enclisis, the sounds not occurring in English (as the linguals, the aspirate χ, the vowel ü), and first of all the pronouncing list of alphabetic sounds, which is subjoined. To initiate readers into the distinction, empirically obtained from the mouths of the natives, between the clear vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*, and the dumb or deep-sounding *á*, *é*, *í*, *ú*, the earlier pages of the texts contain more indications than are given in the later. In certain terms long vowels can turn into short, and short into long ones. Special attention must be paid also to the study of elisions, apocopes, metatheses, etc.

[193] In the *morphologic* part of the Grammar, the verbal and nominal paradigms are particularly recommended to the student's attention, and a previous knowledge of the mode of forming the distributive reduplication from the absolute form is indispensable to the reader of my Texts, not only for their full comprehension, but even for the use of the Dictionary. The suffix of the future tense is written *-uapka*, to distinguish it from a homonymous form *-wapka*, of different signification. The apocopes occurring in the conversational style of language will soon be recognized as such by the reader; for example, *-tk* for *-tko*, *-ks* for *-kshi*, dropping of *-a*, *-ash*, etc.

To make the study of the Texts too easy by a flood of notes would be as obnoxious to the true interests of science, as to present unsolved too heavy grammatic difficulties to intellects yet untrained in the modes of Indian speech. Scholars may decide to what degree I have succeeded in avoiding both extremes.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

II.

×539
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787
825

Kiä'm	k̲'leká	tchû'shni;	tsúyunk	hû'ksa	tsóχatk	pi'l	kiä'm,	nánuktua
Fish	remain dead	forever;	therefore	those	dead (people)	(exist) only	as fish,	as all kinds of

kiä'm,	nánuktua	mák̲laksni	tsók̲atk.	Hä'	n'	hû'nk	hû'nkiash	shläát	skû'k-
fish,	all kinds	of Indians	dead.	If	I		(of a deceased)	should behold	the

shash,	k̲'läkát	ni	hû'nk	släók;	hä'toks	ni	shuíshaltk,	tchēk	gíug	k̲á-i
spirit,	would die	I	it	through seeing;	but if	I	recur to magic songs,	then		not

siúgat	nis.
he may kill	me.

NOTES.

[128] My efforts towards obtaining exhaustive texts from the natives concerning their belief in the transmigration of human souls were not crowned with entire success. Of the two items obtained, No. II is intended as a commentary of No. I, both treating [262] of the presence of human souls in fish. The cause why so many Indian tribes shun the flesh of certain fish lies in the fact that these species were seen feeding upon the bodies of drowned men and swimming around them. This induced the belief that man's soul will pass into the organisms of these finny inhabitants of the wave, even ×539 775 787 192 when death has resulted from other causes than from drowning. According to Hill, the Mák̲laks believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances. But in *one* status only they become visible to them; when Indians are bewitched by the irresistible, magic spell of a conjurer or of a wicked genius. Then they enter into a tamánuash-dream, and when they see a dead person's spirit in such a dream, they are almost certain to [755] die from it. Only the intervention of the conjurer and of his song-medicine can save them from perishing; rigorous fasting and ascetic performances cannot be then dispensed with, and with all that no certitude of his final rescue is to be had.

[769] Here as elsewhere the pronouns hûk, húnkiash etc., are inserted instead of the unpronounceable name of the deceased, and mean: *dead person, spirit.*

129, 2. pil mák̲laks; only dead Indians, not dead white men, because during their life-time these did not believe in the skû'ks; this belief is a privilege of the Indians.

129, 2. Hushti'χak etc. This sentence runs as follows: Tchē'ktoks hushti'χa ak nish, hûk tchē'k nish síuksh shanahō'li, wakiánhua tchēk p'násh (or pû'sh) nû'sh shuíshaltki gíug shanahō'li: "if he (the bad genius) makes me only dream in that manner, then he intends either to kill me, or perhaps he wants me to keep the song-medicine [756] for myself." To keep the song-medicine, shuíshli, is to undergo fasts and ascetic performances under the supervision of some conjurer for an almost unlimited time, five years at least.

129, 3. 4. Hä'toks ni' shläát etc.: if I should see (the dead) while I am *awake.*

[193] 129, 4. Skû'ks-kiäm, a compound word, may be rendered by spirit-fish, letiferous fish.

130, 1. Kiä'm k̲'leká etc. The rather obscure sense of this statement may be made comprehensible by the following: "When fish are dead, they are dead forever; hence

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

FOREWORD

The Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, 114
University of California, Berkeley, was fortunate to have Mr. M. A. R. 12
Barker as one of its field workers during the summers of 1955, 1956, and 1957. He had come to us from the University of Washington where he had had good training under Professors Melville Jacobs and Fang-Kuei Li and, after a year's further training at the University of California, he chose Klamath as his field language. Having located some good informants living in Chiloquin, Oregon, he was able to make an intensive study of the language and to obtain full materials for a grammar, a set of texts, and a dictionary.

Since 1957 Barker has been connected with the Institute of Islamic 114
Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, where he teaches Urdu, Arabic, and general linguistics. In the midst of these many other duties, 128
Barker has found time to write up and send to the Survey a series of Monographs on the Klamath language. The present work, Klamath Texts, was sent to us first, but after the morphemic analysis was complete and the dictionary had been prepared, he sent us a list of corrections which he wished to have inserted in the typescript of the Texts. Working under our direction, Mr. Haruo Aoki, advanced graduate student and research assistant in linguistics, has carefully incorporated the necessary corrections. A few other minor changes have been introduced by the Survey's unofficial editor. For the most part these were dictated by the necessity of presenting the Klamath materials in more than one volume—the typescript of the Dictionary alone is nearly a thousand pages long! The changes are as follows: (1) What was originally an appendix to the Dictionary, namely Klamath Place Names with Map, has been removed from that position and included as an appendix to the present, shorter volume, the Texts. (2) The first paragraph of the Introduction to the Texts has been rewritten to include the names of the Klamath informants for the texts, since these do not otherwise appear except in the Introduction to the Grammar. (3) Bibliographic references are given in full wherever needed, since the Bibliography does not appear in the present volume but is included with the Grammar.

FOREWORD

128 The plates contain prints of black and white negatives produced from Kodachrome slides taken by Barker. It was regrettably not possible to include pictures of all of Barker's informants; some of the slides had too many deep shadows to make satisfactory black and white copies.

Mary R. Haas

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

INTRODUCTION

114 The texts presented here were collected during the summers of 1955,
1956, and 1957 which were spent among the Klamath Indians at Chiloquin,
122 Oregon. The field work was carried out under the auspices of the Survey
of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of
115 California, Berkeley. The narrators of the myth texts were Mr. Robert
David, Mrs. Pansy Ohles, and Mr. Grover Pompey; the ethnographic materials were obtained from the first two of these and from Mrs. Aggie Butler, Mrs. Grover Pompey, and Miss Irene Skellock.

126 Most of these texts were recorded directly on tape, but some were taken down first in dictated form and were taped later. Of the myths, only Texts 1 and 7 were not recorded on tape. Of the ethnographic materials, Texts 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, and 35 were dictated only.

[124] No really exhaustive attempt was made to obtain a complete collection of Klamath myth texts. Instead, the author aimed at a representative collection of materials, including myths told by several informants, autobiographical experiences, ethnographic texts, historical incidents, conversation, and also the responses to a series of elicitation pictures (Text 39). It was felt that these texts would provide, on the one hand, good illustrative material for further linguistic studies in Klamath, and, on the other hand, a representative sampling of myths and ethnographic material of interest to the folklorist and ethnologist.

114 The collections of Klamath myths so far published are limited to A. S. Gatschet's "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. II, pts. 1 and 2, Washington, 1890) and some brief song and medicine texts in Leslie Spier's "Klamath Ethnography" (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, 1930). More recently, Dr. Theodore Stern of the University of Oregon has collected a large number of Klamath myths. The author understands that Dr. Spier also possesses a collection of myths. It is urgently hoped that both of these will be published in the near future.

128 The present collection is divided into two major parts: Myths, and
773 Ethnographic Texts. The former contains tales about the inhabitants of

128 the prehuman world, when everything spoke and had life (as Mrs. Ohles
773 put it). The primordial human inhabitants of this world (the /psewdiwa·s/)
[776] are only casually mentioned, and the main figures are the mighty culture-transformers Gmoḱaḿč, ćečte·sis, and Sqeĺaḿč. The last two may be alternate names for the same figure, and the informants translated both
128 freely as "Old Marten" or "Old Mink." These beings travel through the
776 world, meeting monsters and inimical beings and destroying them, teaching the /psewdiwa·s/ how to live, and aiding those in trouble. Texts 19 and 20 contain incidents involving hostile, powerful beings and modern humans. Text 21 seems to involve modern humans also, but may refer to the /psewdiwa·s/.

128 The second part of the Texts contains material on food-gathering, historical occurrences, ethnographic descriptions, autobiographical incidents, etc. Text 38 consists of a free conversation between two informants and the author.

The translation of these texts presented considerable difficulties. To render the Klamath morpheme by morpheme—or even word by word—is, of course, impossible. This necessitated the addition of whole new phrases, at times, in order fully to cover the Klamath meaning. An attempt was made to keep the Klamath phrase junctures (/,/, /./, etc.) intact, although this has sometimes produced sentences which are thoroughly un-English.

Some of the Klamath material has been translated with great freedom. This is particularly true of the series of particles (sentence-connectives, etc.). Such sequences as /čoy/, /čoy honk ʔat/, /čoy čik/, /čoy da·ta/, etc., have been rendered as "So," "And," "Then," "So then," "And then," "So now," etc. The full force of these elements cannot be rendered into English without making the English sentence unintelligible. Forms like /či honk/ (lit. "as it") and /naʔas gi/ (lit. "thus did, thus made") have been freely translated as "(he) said, says," since this is the nearest English parallel of their use in Klamath.

Material in the translations which did not seem entirely justified from the Klamath alone has been inserted into the English enclosed in [. . .].

Parentheses have been employed in the Klamath to enclose English interpolations, asides to the investigator, etc.

Quotation marks have been used with several distinct purposes: (1) to enclose direct speech—material quoted by the speaker as being the speech of another (there is nothing in the phonemics to indicate this, but it is done for clarity's sake); (2) to enclose words quoted from the other language (i.e., words from English used in the Klamath, and words from

128 Klamath in the English sections). "Quoted" here has the technical meaning of "occurring as an integral part of an utterance in Language A, while belonging to the phonological system of Language B." For example, /kant sa nen do· č̓osak "Smith River" ʔigatga./ "Those which they always went to get there on 'Smith River.'" Here "Smith River" followed the English phonological system entirely. Where borrowed words follow the Klamath system, they are quoted in Klamath phonemics but are marked in the translations by quotation marks. Thus, /ʔi·t sa hon gi./ "They 'eat' it."

The symbols '. . .' mark quoted material occurring within quotation marks, as described above.

Place names, proper names, names of unknown plants, etc. have usually been left in Klamath, though without quotation marks. Exceptions to this practice are made whenever the name is easily translatable, or whenever a place is well known to English readers. For example, /č̓asga·y/ "Weasel." /č̓a·sis/ "Skunk," /gi·was/ "Crater Lake."

The transcription is phonemic with the sole exception of juncture. The texts have been rewritten here in "slow speech" (i.e., with all of the morphophonemic junctures occurring as phonemic junctures). This has been done in order to facilitate morphological and syntactic analysis. Thus, /čoysongat/ "so they now" has been written out in its slow speech form: /čoy sa honk ʔat/. Between morphophonemic junctures, however, all material is written phonemically.

[P. 4 is blank]

here with her previous impersonal narrations and with the even less personal text styles of other informants, whose stories and ethnographic material were always given as objective verbal "essays." 124

Some time after the text was recorded and analyzed, the author felt the need of having the entire myth on tape, rather than half in notebook form and half on tape. Mrs. Ohles kindly agreed to begin the story over again and told it right up to the point where she had switched to the tape-recorder before. This second tape-recorded beginning is appended to the text and serves for a comparison between pen and notebook dictation and tape-recorded discourse. [126]

Mrs. Ohles felt that material irrelevant to the story should be stricken, since it made the story "incorrect." The author feels, however, that such side remarks illustrate Klamath conversational style and give insight into her attitudes toward the myths and towards other facets of semi-acculturated Klamath culture. This material is, therefore, reproduced within parentheses both in the Klamath text and in the translation. Her English remarks are conventionally spelled but otherwise unchanged. [128]

Introductory Note to Text 5

#539
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124

This text, like Text 4 above, seems to be only a fragment of a much longer myth cycle. Gatschet's published collection[35] does not contain a story about Swa·ya, but Curtin's "Myths of the Modocs"[36] includes one myth about this character. It seems worthwhile to record Mrs. Ohles' version here in hopes that future work among the Klamaths will fill in the gaps.

[128] The text has been edited somewhat to delete false starts, hesitation forms, and irrelevant material. In one or two places forgotten material was added later at the time of translation.

5. The Story of Swa·ya

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

#539

(1) dińa· hok swa·yaʔa·kĺam ṕkisap čoy ptisap datksi či·ya. (2) čoy honk koẃe hadakt sas wetdatga. (3) hiswaqḱa hok hadakt dič ǰle·ḱatk, dič sle·ḱa gitk. (4) čoy honk na·nok waytas honks snempatbli, hok koẃe. (5) čoy honk snaqtanća homas snempatčńank goq̓a·kḱatdat.[37] (6) snempatblidamnank čoy be·n spimnibli, be·n snempatčńa. (7) čoy honk kani hak naʔas, ṕkisa honk, "dam dal ʔi hon homas gist we·wía?" (She said, "Do you trust her to do that?" And [his mother] said, "Yes, she's good. She'll keep my baby from crying, and she puts it to sleep that way.") (8) čoy honk ʔat na·nok waytas honk ʔa·di· nalk snempatčńa. (9) čoy honk be·n spimnibli. (10) čoy honk ʔat ṗalla, snempatčńank honk. (11) čoy honk dola mbaíwank gena.

(12) čoy honk ʔat do· gatbambli, do· hak honk či·ya—dam ẏayńatdat, wage·nha ʔewsdat, wage·nha dat hak honk či·ya. (13) čoy honk sʔa·Maks honk geli·danga honk, q̓oyse·ẃok honk, do·st hok či·ya. (14) čoy honk

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[35] Gatschet, Albert S., *op. cit.* See p. 22 above.

[36] Curtin, Jeremiah, Myths of the Modocs, Boston, 1912.

[124] [37] Mrs. Ohles later elaborated upon the action described here. Frog takes baby Swa·ya and places him upon a leaf (or some such thing—Mrs. Ohles was not certain just what) and lets him float down the river, then pulls him back in again by a cord. This soothes Swa·ya and puts him to sleep. She gradually extends the cord until he is completely out of sight. Then she jumps in and swims off with him.

PART TWO: ETHNOGRAPHIC TEXTS

Introductory Note to Text 22

"Wokas" is the generic term for the seed of the common pond lily (Nymphaea polysepala). In the old days much of the Klamath Marsh (estimated by some early writers at about 10,000 acres) was covered with these plants, and there were long, shallow bays filled with them on both sides of Klamath Lake. Much of Klamath economic life was concerned with the gathering, preparation, and cooking of this plant. 824 [133] [433]

It is not proposed here to give a complete description of the various processes involved in "wokas"-manufacture. Good explanations of this economic complex will be found in Coville,[69] Gatschet,[70] and Spier.[71] The following text (and the two shorter ones by Mrs. Pompey which come after it) are intended only to illustrate Klamath narrative style and to indicate those features of "wokas"-making which were salient in the view of the informants. 252 [114] [128]

22. Wokas Preparation

(Mrs. Aggie Butler)

539*
222

(1) Long ago the Indians used to gather wokas, with a canoe. (2) And standing up on it they gathered wokas. (3) They bent down to pull them off, that wokas. (4) And they pulled off only the good ones, and some were unripe. (5) And having punctured it [with a fingernail] they saw [whether it was ripe or not]. (6) And they picked the yellow ones. (7) On becoming ripe it looks good, big. (8) And having picked those only, they threw them on the canoe and went. (9) And some were termed "snont́apĺaqs." (10) And one was called "abokẃas." (11) It was ripe. (12) And they put them down [in the canoe] apart. 501

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[69] Coville, Frederick V., "Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians," Report of the United States National Museum for 1902, pp. 727-739, Washington, 1904. [113]

[70] Gatschet, op. cit.

[71] Spier, Leslie, "Klamath Ethnography," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, Berkeley, 1930. [113]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 129]

that Modoc said once. (28) They never forgot it, [their] doing thus, 539*
[their] killing the Indians wrongfully [lit. "badly"]. 173
(29) And I have only related little bits of it. (30) But I know a great 648
deal, but I am not telling all of it, however. (31)—How the Indians used [721]
to fight amongst themselves, always they fought even among themselves.
(32) Even among themselves they enslaved someone's child, and sold it. [567]
(33) That much is all I will tell. (34) I have nothing else to tell.

Introductory Note to Text 28

This text is a continuation of the foregoing by Mrs. Butler's sister. 124
Both are part of a recorded conversation about Klamath history in general, 128
and no particular attempt was made to formalize the texts into "stories." When Mrs. Butler had finished her historical narrative above, the topic turned to the Modoc War, and Miss Skellock began to discuss their father's role in that conflict. Rightfully, this text should include the remarks in English which led up to the Klamath portion, and also an explanation and continuation in English which follows it. Limitations of space require that these English parts be edited and abbreviated, however.

Introductory Remarks in English

"Our father was a scout in the Modoc War. He was with the white 539*
soldiers and went to those Lava Beds where the Modocs were." 726
648
173

28. Recollection of the Modoc War

(Miss Irene Skellock)

(1) My father went there, to the battleground. (2) And he was with the white men. (3) And he was a soldier—ah—a "scout." (4) And they were falling on both sides of him, soldiers. (5) And if they shot one, the soldier behind him marched up to the front. (6) However, they never shot him. (7) And he, however, was afraid of seeing (?) those Modoc Indians only. (8) So he lived in fear, thus they said, and some of those Klamath Indians who went with him, they also were afraid. (9) And that's all I'm going to tell [in Klamath].

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 143]

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

autobiographical incidents. The end of the tape arrived just as Mrs. Cowan was beginning to feel tired, and the conversation came to an abrupt end. 124

The tape has been considerably edited to remove false starts, English portions, fragmentary or unintelligible sections, and other such "noise." The author's questions were originally asked in broken Klamath, and this has been put into English in order not to give rise to mistaken statements about the language. As was done above, personal names have been omitted out of respect for the individuals involved. Utterances by different Klamath speakers are indicated by their initials, viz., AC, PO, and RC, and the author's utterances are marked by PB. 124 128

38. A Conversation (among several)

539*
124
[824]

(1) PO: Yes, little Coyote, on whom [Gmoḱaḿč] stuck those things—that we call cattails, which was the reason, his fur is bad.

PB: Do you know any myths?

(2) PO: Could you tell a myth to me? (3) I wonder if you would tell a myth?

(4) AC: I don't know how. I don't know how to tell myths.

(5) PO: Do you remember when the white men first came? (6) Do you remember that?

(7) AC: The girls [i.e., nurses] asked me there in the "hospital" thus, "How long have you lived, how long?" (8) So I said, "There were no white people here at all, when I travelled around here." [173]

(9) PO: How big were you, when the white men came? (10) How big were you, when the white men came—when you recall the white men coming for the first time. (11) How big?

(12) AC: Yes, I was big [i.e., "grown up"], big. (13) I know a lot. (14) I was big when they fought the war [i.e., the Modoc War], over there, across there. (15) I being big, I know a lot. (16) But there were no white people anywhere around here, there were none—thus I told those white people [i.e., the nurses]. (17) There were none. (18) Only we Indians were many around here, Klamath Falls people. (19) Many Indians' land this was, [I?] said. (20) "ʔo···," they said, "Yes..." (21) So I have lived so long, I said. (22) "You have lived a very long time," they said, "It was long ago, when there were no white people, long ago," they said to me, the girls there, from the "hospital."

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 159]

APPENDIX

KLAMATH PLACE NAMES WITH MAP

128

The accompanying map of place names has been largely adapted from 127
Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography" (University of California Publica- 103
tions in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, 1930. The present 114
writer has checked and retranscribed most of Spier's forms: only seven [124]
of Spier's place names could not be obtained from the author's informants. No attempt was made to recheck Spier's supporting geographical and ethnographic data, however.

Ninety-two new place names have also been added to the map. Many of these are not settlements (as Spier specifies for his list), but are places used for food gathering, places named for some outstanding natural feature, places named after some mythological person or event, etc. The author has appended what descriptive material he could obtain to each new place name in the list.

Forty-five additional place names are not shown on the map but are 12.8
included in the Dictionary. These are either uncertain as to location or 103
are places not found within the limits of the map.

The map has been renumbered to accomodate the new place names, [127]
but Spier's original numbers are given after each entry for purposes of
comparison. It must be noted that geographical locations on the map are [124]
only approximate and in some cases quite hypothetical (e.g., where the informant could only recall that a given place was "about two or three miles over that way").

Forms are given in phonemics only and are translated wherever possible. The morphophonemic forms of these names are listed under "place names" in the English-Klamath section of the Dictionary, along with some indication of their morphemic content.

M
K
101
131

end of Horse Fly valley and Lockey Flat, passing in the vicinity of Keno Spring, and thence westward through, or in the vicinity of. the village of Dairy. It passed a short distance north of Bale's lake and Olene and appears to have left the whole of Lost River valley in the territory of the Modoc. It passed either along the eastern shore of, or through, Lower Klamath lake. Further than this no definite information was obtained concerning this secondary boundary.

ENVIRONMENT.

M
K
• 13
[184]

The natural environment of the Lutuami, a high, mountainous and volcanic region, filled with lakes and marshes, influenced their culture in many ways. The two lakes, Upper Klamath and Tule or Rhett lake, formed the centers of population for the two divisions, the Klamath and the Modoc. Along the western shore of these lakes, and of Lower Klamath lake, as well as along the high plateau to the east of Upper Klamath lake, there were considerable forests of conifers which provided material for canoes and houses as well as a part of the food supply. In fact the whole western portion of the territory is well forested. The eastern part, however, notably about Yainax agency and eastward, is to a great extent a semi-desert, sage-brush country. In this eastern region there are many fertile valleys, as for instance, along Sprague and Sycan rivers, but on the whole the territory is by no means so desirable for habitation as that about Upper Klamath lake and Klamath marsh, where the soil is very rich and productive. The old fault line in which Upper and Lower Klamath lakes and Klamath marsh are situated has existed so long that a large area has silted in and formed a very fertile country, which provided in aboriginal times an abundance of various tubers, seeds, and other vegetable foods. Among the most important natural features of this region are the great tracts of marshy land. These marshes are covered constantly with water from a few inches to several feet in depth. In these, particularly in Klamath marsh, is found the staple article of food among the Klamath, and to a certain extent also among the Modoc, the yellow water-lily, *Nymphia polysepala.* Large areas of marsh are completely covered with this water-lily to the ex-

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR 10 ●
Modoc NS17

M clusion of almost everything else. The seeds of this plant,
K gathered and preserved in three different manners, as described
● 13 in detail by Coville,[*] form the staple article of food and thus
correspond to acorns used over the greater part of California.
About Tule or Rhett lake and the smaller lakes of that vicinity
there are fewer marshes and consequently a s[illegible]ler supply of
the water-lily. Thus the Modoc were much less abundantly supplied with this staple than were the Klamath, who are said to
have had on Klamath marsh alone over ten thousand acres of
these plants. The chief vegetable food of the Modoc seems to
have been tubers and bulbs, notably camass and ipos.

M The extensive lakes of this region naturally bring great num-
K bers of water birds of various kinds, including swans, geese,
136 ducks, and wading birds, the majority of which were used by the
Indians as food and in various ways. The skins of swans, geese,
and other birds with especially fine down, were made into
feather blankets, swaddling clothes, etc. Fish were abundant in
the lakes, salmon and salmon trout being especially esteemed by
M the Indians. The presence of this large supply of water birds
K and fish developed certain specialized implements for their cap-
223 ture. For taking birds there were what may be termed a ring-
M pointed arrow, and a special net. There were several methods
K of taking fish, the most important being by the large triangular
226 dip-net used in the dug-out canoe, as shown in pl. 10.

501 The country provided also an abundance of the usual animals,
M such as deer, elk, antelope, and others used for food; and coyotes,
K gray wolves, foxes, badgers, wildcats, rabbits, and various fur-
136 bearing animals furnishing blankets and clothing.
237

BUILDINGS.

M The houses of the Klamath and Modoc were of two kinds. In
K this region where the snow on the higher peaks is always in
342 sight, and where it often reaches a depth of several feet in winter,
[133] a warm and durable house is necessary. This was provided by
[132] the semi-subterranean earth lodge, which was of the usual central
California form, and had a pit from a foot to three or four feet

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[113] [*] Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians, Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Institution, 1902, 727-739.

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Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common 101
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 177
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 130
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological [184]
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy,
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present [224]
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties: 648
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an ar- [829]
tificial construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would 178
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-resi-
dence with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural [181]
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been trans- 648
ferred to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural [241]
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber indus-
try has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have [511]
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

INTRODUCTION

The present study is based on information gathered among the 114 Klamath for the University of California during two visits, each for a month, in 1925 and 1926. Klamath material culture was partly known from Barrett's description of his collection made twenty years ago. The immediate need appeared to be a study of their religion and social organization. Gatschet's account of The Klamath Indians published in 1890 contains many data on shamans' songs and allied topics, but it does not provide any systematic notion of their meaning.

The Klamath still live in their old home in southern Oregon, but 131 their ancient culture exists only in their memories, save as the older 178 people keep up domestic pursuits. Yet even middle-aged people have a very good knowledge of it. My elderly informants had all participated in the old life in their youth. 115 These were Nancy Phillips, Pat Kane, and Coley Ball, all three about seventy, and Thomas Lang, about fifty-five. With the exception of Mrs. Phillips they gave information in English: in her case (the most valuable material) Mr. Lang and his son Delford acted as interpreters.

The social life of the Klamath is so much a thing of the past that 128 only its formal aspects can now be recovered. An intimate picture is impossible. But to avoid a stilted expression I have written the account in the historical present. The description of material culture and economic life is not complete. It is still partly extant among the Klamath and well worth investigating.

In a final section I have attempted to place the Klamath in a setting of western cultures as a whole. This has been difficult because of the lack of comparative data from much of the northwest; further, only a fraction of the published accounts is available to me at this writing (in Norman, Oklahoma).

The phonetic scheme is the simpler system of the Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages (Smithsonian Misc. Coll., 66, no. 6, 1916), modified as:

ä as in *Allen*, pronounced more like *Ellen*.
ŋ as in si*ng*.
ᴇ indefinite, obscure vowel; very short duration.
ḳ very far back.
k cerebral; tongue tip probably turned back as Gatschet states (the sequence kr also occurs).
g cerebral; may be the same sound.

[p. vii]

The Klamath numbered 3000 in the historic period, the Modoc not so many. This is the testimony of Tom Lang, yet the number is much too large. Palmer[18] put their number at 415 in thirteen villages in 1854, but his list of villages indicates that he counted only the ä'ukckni (Klamath marsh) division. This would be about eighty-three families, a reasonable average of six houses to a settlement. At the time, however, the Klamath were said to be considerably reduced, and I was told of twenty-nine or more ä'ukckni settlements dating from this period, and said to be all occupied at the time. Yet, as no great epidemic was reported, it is doubtful that the population had been diminished by half. Possibly the occupation of the sites was more seasonal than I was told: a movement to Klamath marsh in summer, returning to the warmer Williamson valley in winter. Assuming a partial reduction and some fluctuating occupation, we may arbitrarily set the ä'ukckni at half as many again, say 600. The ä'ukckni settlements numbered half of the total and my informants' impression was that in population they were as many as all the other divisions together. This would mean that the Klamath as a whole numbered only 1200. Palmer's figure would give a mere 800, and the evidence of the settlements, a possible 2000. Our twelve hundred is not far from that of Kroeber, who set the combined Klamath and Modoc population at 2000, two-thirds of them being Klamath.[19] Mooney's estimate of 800 seems low.[20] 174 161

Early Contacts with the Whites

Contacts with the whites date back to 1825 or somewhat earlier. In 1826–27 Peter Ogden spent two months among the Klamath.[21] His first meeting with them seems to have been on Klamath marsh. 175

> Wednesday, 30th Nov. [1826]. Course south to Clammitt River [Klamath marsh?] 25 miles from River of the Falls [Deschutes]. Mr. McKay proceeded ahead to an Indian village distant 3 miles. It was composed of 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. Their tents are constantly guarded. They regretted we had opened a communication from the mountains. They said "The Nez Percés have made different attempts to reach our village but could not succeed. Even last summer we discovered a war party of Cayuse and Nez Percés in search of us; but they did not find us. Now they will have yr. road to follow. We have no fire arms. Still we fear them not. [131] [361] [342] [721]

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[18] Quoted by Gatschet, 1:lviii.

[19] Kroeber, Handbook, 320.

[20] Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 18.

[21] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

Frémont also remarked on the scarcity of their horses.[22]

Frémont reached Klamath lake again May 6, 1846. He commented on the outlet, Link river, "this is a great fishing station for the Indians." His statement on the distribution of their settlements coincides with my information. [231] [226]

> They have fixed habitations around the shores of the lake, particularly at the outlet and inlet [Williamson river], and along the inlet up to the swamp meadow [Klamath marsh], where I met the Tlamaths in the winter of '43–'44, and where we narrowly escaped disaster. . . . . The Indians made me understand that there was another large river [Williamson river] which came from the north and flowed into the lake at the northern end, and that the principal village was at its mouth, where also they caught many fish. [361] [131] [133]

Frémont's party made a circuit of the lake. It is curious that he does not mention the settlements about Pelican lake on the western side, which he could hardly have avoided. On the other hand it is not clear how closely his memoirs follow his diary. Attacked while on the western side, his party reciprocated by raiding a village on the opposite side, perhaps one of those on Williamson river just above the present highway bridge. [726]

> Behind the sage-bushes where they had taken their stand every Indian had spread his arrows on the ground in fan-like shape, so that they would be ready to his hand. . . . . Quantities of fish were drying, spread on scaffolds, or hung up on frames. The huts, which were made of tall rushes and willows, like those on the savannah above [Klamath marsh], were set on fire, and the fish and scaffolds were all destroyed.[23] [252] [342] [726]

The first invaders remembered by the Klamath came from the north about 1835. The stories about them have now a legendary flavor. The first group was mounted; the Klamath dubbed them mpĕ'tkoks (from mĕtc!a', to pack about) from their roving habits. An alternative name, pásai'ŭks (French-Canadian in Chinook jargon), more surely identifies them. During their brief stay at the mouth of Williamson river they bought fat dogs of the Klamath, which to the latter's amazement, they ate. For these they gave buttons and metal disks with a central perforation (wika'lkal). 173 437 648

Almost as early was a white contingent moving northward on the west side of Klamath lake. The Indians watched them unseen. They were impressed with the horses, axes, and the food of the whites. 173 648 177

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[22] Frémont, Narrative, 122.

[23] Frémont, Memoirs, 483, 484, 494.

173 When the latter broke camp they left behind a little flour, which the
177 Indians carried home and divided. They rubbed it on their palms and
[302] smeared their faces.[24]

648 Other early whites came from the southeast on horseback. This
marked the beginning of the great migration by way of the Modoc
648 country to the Pacific slope. On the whole the Klamath came off remarkably well in their relations with the whites. The full brunt of immigration was borne by Modoc and Pit River peoples. The Klamath were spared the Oregon wars of the fifties, which all but annihilated the tribes of western Oregon and northern California.[25] The earliest white settlements in the neighborhood were about the present Jacksonville, Medford, and Ashland. The first white settlement within Klamath territory was near the village of kowa'edi at the northern end of the lake. This was about 1860–65, hence may have reference to the first agency established there. Subsequent relations have been on the whole quite amicable. The Klamath took no part in the Modoc war of 1872–73.

Habitat

131 The territory of the Klamath is on the high plateau of eastern
133 Oregon, in the shallow basin wherein lies the group of lakes that give rise to Klamath river. The southern half of this basin about lower Klamath and Tule lakes is Modoc territory, extending southward across the lava beds in the direction of Pit river. The northern half, which lies against the Cascade range, is the home of the Klamath.

The Klamath properly reside on Klamath lake (or as it was formerly known, upper or middle Klamath lake), on Klamath marsh,
[361] and on Williamson river, which connects them. At least, most of the permanent winter settlements are on these three waters, with a scattering on their tributaries. Summer camps are established over a much wider territory, as far, it would seem, as the natural limits of this drainage area.

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[263] [24] Salt was equally unknown to them at this time.

[174] [648] [25] A somewhat obscure account was given me of the inclusion of Klamath in the great round-up of western Oregon Indians on Siletz (?) reservation in the fifties. These had been wintering at the Dalles and were herded with the Indians there. The Upland Takelma and Molala were penned in together and fed by the soldiers. Some died every day; the Klamath suspected that they were poisoned. The Klamath were kept apart, and, thanks to the strenuous arguments of their chief Lale'ks, were not only freed but supplied with beef and an escort of soldiery to conduct them back to their own country.

The western and southern limits of the range are easiest to define 101
because of the topography and the proximity of other tribes. To the 131
east and north the open deserts and broken country extend indefinitely. 133
The nearest of the shifting settlements of Northern Paiute on the east
at Goose and Summer lakes are sixty and more miles from Klamath
lake. Those of the Warm Springs tribes are one hundred and fifty
miles distant, more than halfway across Oregon. Teit's data show [175]
that more than a century ago the neighbors of the Klamath in this
direction were the Sahaptins at no great distance and beyond them
Molala and Cayuse.

The wide plain south of Klamath Falls seems to have been unoc- 101
cupied. The Modoc lived south of the Lost River hills about Tule lake
and on lower Klamath lake. My Klamath informant doubted that 131
they lived on Miller lake, or had permanent settlements on Lost river. 174
Both tribes congregated at one place only for the early spring fishing,
namely on Lost river, a mile or more below the buttes at Olene. The [226]
Klamath camp site is on the north bank, the Modoc on the south.

The southern boundary of Klamath territory skirts the Klamath 101
valley from this place as far downstream as Spencer creek, near the
California-Oregon line, below the canyon of the Klamath. Below this 131
on the river are the Shasta, whose northernmost outposts are on Shovel
creek and north of the river on Jennie creek. The Klamath have no [226]
settlements on the river, but fish, hunt, and gather roots at such points [224]
as Keno, Spencer creek (ma'lbuk̦'is), and at laik'ĕlmi, five or six miles [222]
upstream from Dorris (?).

The western boundary is the Cascade watershed, including, however, territory on the northwest side of Mount Pitt (Mount McLoughlin) and again southwest of Crater lake. The Klamath hunt northwest of this conspicuous mountain in a region of many streams called la'ndjli (possibly an American name). Fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake is Huckleberry mountain (iwumkă'ni, huckleberry place) where the Klamath meet the Molala similarly engaged in berry picking. The latter regularly occupy the highlands of the upper Rogue river drainage above Trail creek or some point below Prospect. These Molala form a southern extension of that tribe from the upper Umpqua drainage.

The northern and eastern boundaries are somewhat indefinite. Palmer stated:

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> East of the Cascade mountains, and south of the 44th parallel, is a country not attached particularly to any agency. That portion at the eastern base of this range, extending twenty-five or thirty miles east, and south to the California line, is the country of the Klamath Indians.[36]

This is essentially correct although the boundary might better be set somewhat farther south to exclude the headwaters of the Deschutes, in earlier times the home of Sahaptin peoples. The country north of Klamath marsh is considered too open and cold for settlement. On the eastern border are a series of lakes (Silver, Summer, Abert, Goose) and rims which give on the desert to the east. There are Northern Paiute settlements on the eastern sides of Summer and Goose lakes, perhaps those of the Walpahpas mentioned by Meacham.

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> The meeting with the Klamath and Snakes was one of interest to all parties, from the fact that they had been enemies, and the chiefs had not met in person since peace was restored. Living in the country intervening [presumably Summer to Goose lakes] was a small tribe of Wal-pah-pas, who are half Snake and half Klamath. They were mediators, though sometimes fighting on alternate sides, as interest or affront gave occasion.[37]

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Sycan river, Sycan marsh, and Yamsay mountain are summer resorts of the Klamath, who had their easternmost settlement (hledleluë'luke) somewhere west of Gearhart mountain. Chewaucan marsh, between Summer and Abert lakes, was probably also visited, although I was not told so. Its name is Klamath, probably tcuwa'kän, arrowhead place, derived from the abundance of arrowhead or wappatoo roots (tcuwa') gathered there.[38]

SETTLEMENTS

221

The occupation of this territory is determined by the manner of life. The fixed villages are the winter residences to which people return year after year. Early spring finds them leaving for favorable fishing stations where there are successive fish runs. Through the summer they move to the prairies to gather edible roots and berries or to the mountain and desert to hunt. During most of this time families are widely scattered and the winter villages quite deserted, but with the ripening of pond lily seeds in the marshes during August [262] and September they again congregate. The pond lilies grow in enormous quantities, the seeds (wo'kas) constituting a staple second only in importance to fish.

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[36] Palmer in Report, Comm. Indian Affairs, 262, 1854.

[37] Meacham, Wigwam and War-path, 232.

[38] Coville, Notes, 90.

361

The towns listed below are mostly winter settlements. Each held one or more earth-lodges. There may be more than are listed on Sprague river, the only part of the region I did not visit. With this exception I think none have been overlooked.[29] The towns are grouped in the list according to tribal subdivisions.

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I. *Klamath marsh—Williamson river group* (*ă'ukckni*).—Settlements are in two principal groups: along the southern margin of Klamath marsh and on the lower Williamson river. Although a few more were indicated in the latter region, I was told that the winter population at the marsh is the larger. They do not live on the western side of the marsh, as the snow-fed streams there are too cold for fish. The upper part of Williamson river, a rugged canyon, is unoccupied, but the towns are practically continuous from above the Sprague river junction down to the point where the river leaves the hills. Several others are on the lake front near-by. Evidently the middle Sprague river settlements should be included with this subdivision, but there is some doubt. Towns there are widely separated and extend a considerable distance up the river; the easternmost is somewhere west of Gearhart mountain. I am not certain that Sycan river is regularly occupied; roots are dug there. Sycan marsh is not occupied; it is a summering place for ă'ukckni, for those of Yainax in particular.

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1, mū'tcuia'ksi, near the bridge toward the eastern end of Klamath marsh.

2, k'ʀtaiwa's, along the eastern side of the marsh. A cremation pile lies south of this town.

3, gūpgūa'ḳsi, houses stretching for perhaps two miles here, with a cremation pile near-by.

4, i'wal, and 5, kla'djōḳsi, houses for some distance along this tongue extending into the marsh. A third cremation pile is east of i'wal.

6, du'ˈIlḳūt, a very large town, perhaps a hundred house pits in an area three hundred yards by one hundred. Others extend along the marsh to the east.[30] All the tribelets congregated at this spot in the summer to gather lily seeds.

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[114]

[29] Gatschet lists sites (1:xxviii footnote, 142, *passim*). Many of his items are only place names; no permanent town is included that is not also in my list. In a *few* instances he has misinterpreted his information.

[172]

[30] This would be an excellent site for archaeological exploitation. House pits here are more distinct than any others I have seen; elsewhere they have been leveled by the plow.

103 131 7, awa'lwaskän, at least five earth-lodges here. Houses scattered between this site and the last.

361 8, wa'ktale's, and 9, la'laks, slope steps,[31] two settlements on the higher ground where Williamson river leaves the marsh. The second had twenty houses on both sides of the stream.

[226] [114] 10, lobö'kstsöksi, on the bluff on the left bank of the Sprague river at the railroad bridge, with a few houses on the opposite side. There is a dam for salmon here. Gatschet gives the locality name as ktaí-tú-pakshi, standing rock.[32]

11, A site on the south side of Sprague river below the dam.

12, ḳ!ötewă'ëts is a large winter settlement about two miles above the dam on the south bank of this river.

[823] [226] 13, komă'ëksi is a site on both sides of the river south of Braymill, four miles from Chiloquin. There is a cave here which was the home of KEmü'kümps, the culture hero. Near-by is wo'kstat, the site of the only first-fish rites among the Klamath.

14, ḳa'umkän is about six miles above this cave. Many people lived on both sides of the river there. A cremation pile is there, probably the only one on Sprague river. The place takes its name from a spring (ḳa'üm) on the western bank.

Whether there were permanent settlements above this on the river is difficult to say. At least there were settlements (15) of some sort on the river near Yainax before the coming of the whites.

16, hiedicluë'luke, a settlement west of Gearhart mountain.

[226] 17, bEzükse'was (from bEzüks, obsidian); there are many people in this town on the right bank which extends for a mile below the Sprague river mouth. On the opposite side, ha'potgüs, is a dam in which spring fish are caught; near-by are a few summer houses.

[251] [226] 18, tákalma'keda, a town half a mile long on the right bank. The houses are on the bottomland along the river with quite a number on the opposite flat (19), called k'tai'di, lava. A little south is a part of this settlement, called glă'tapak'is. Of the distinct pits at tákalma'keda, four are about twenty-five feet in diameter, one, fifteen feet. Northward from the town are a considerable number of storage pits and a fish dam.

20, djigiă's, houses on the river level on both banks and on a higher bench on the right. There is a ford here.

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[31] Gatschet, 1:74. Several other camping places in the vicinity on upper Williamson river are also mentioned.

[32] *Op. cit.*, 1:76.

21, ķ!o'ltawas, a town of ten or fifteen earth-lodges on the left bank, with houses on the right bank extending to the next settlement downstream. There are otter (ķ!olt) holes in the right bank, hence the name. A mythical otter that lived here is seen in a rock standing in the water; on his back are his children, smaller rocks. 103 131 361 [823]

22, at'awīkc, "to catch fish in still water," six to a dozen houses on the right bank; a few on the left. The water here is quiet; fish are caught with the trolling net. [226]

23, ya'ak (ya'ac, willows), two dozen or more houses on the right bank. This was the largest river site in early reservation days, the road from Link river (Klamath falls) fording the river here. Of three house pits together, with their margins nearly in contact, two are twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter, the other fully five feet more. A cremation pile stands on the hill above this town. It is now leveled by marauders, as are all the others in this country, but it apparently covered an area forty feet in diameter.

24, tsa'k'wi, houses on the right bank with a few on the left.

25, wĭtă'mŭmpsi, bear's place (wĭtă'm, black bear). This is a high bluff on the right bank above an eddy in the sharp bend in the river; the scene of vision questing. A large shaman's earth-lodge is located here. Fish are caught all year long above this town. [823] [756]

26, goyᴇmske'ᴇgls, crawfish crawl out, or kiẓke'trũs, small lizard, a town half a mile long beginning a quarter-mile above the highway bridge. The houses are on the abrupt slope right to the river's brink, and some on the little bluff above. There are pits of perhaps forty or more houses here, but at least half are dome-shaped cooking houses, for they are for the most part only six to ten feet in diameter, with few as much as fifteen feet. One of eighteen feet has its dome-shaped kitchen lodge clearly indicated on the north side. [226] [343]

27, wᴇla'lksi, named for a big quaking-aspen (wᴇla'l) there, is on the eastern shore of Agency lake. A few ā'ukckni live here in winter, in five or six small houses.

28, loķ'o'gūt, warm, a little warm spring near which are two houses on the higher land near Agency lake. [133]

29, tcŏ'klalŭmps, service berry, which grows here abundantly, is a town of one or two small houses overlooking the lake where the Chiloquin road meets the lake highway.

Other towns may have been at ya'mzi, on the western side of Yamsay mountain, and ķokenă'okᴇ, Spring creek, a large northern affluent of Klamath marsh.

103 • 131 361 II. *Agency lake group* (*kowa'cdikni*).—The winter home of these people is on Agency lake, the northern arm of Klamath lake. My questioning did not make it wholly certain that this group is independent of ă'ukckni. In fact they join them at k'ᴇtai'di (19) on Williamson river for the spring fishing.

[756] [226] 44, kowa'cdi is close to the mouth of Wood river. The site is a quarter-mile long. One informant stated that it contained twenty houses, another two earth-lodges (one a shaman's), not incompatible statements. A spring here permits fish to remain all winter. A few houses are at another spring a quarter-mile east.

[133] III. *Lower Williamson river group* (*du'kwakni*).—These settlements are close to the mouth of Williamson river. This region, du'kwa, is one of marsh, separated by a considerable section of open and higher plain (pᴇnŏ'ŋs) from the nearest ă'ukckni settlements. Pᴇnŏ'ŋs seems not to have been occupied in pre-reservation days, although du'kwakni and ă'ukckni now live there. Du'kwa people seem also to live across the lake at Pelican bay, the home of the gu'mbŏtkni. But whether this is a regular thing, or only a matter of my du'kwa informant's [222] personal history, I am not sure. At any rate they go to dig roots in the marshes of the western and northern sides of Klamath lake in summer, not to Klamath marsh. Their winter settlements are on the isolated bits of higher ground within a mile of the river mouth, and on the marsh front immediately south. Most of these settlements, too, are on the right bank of the river.

30, mo'aḳsda, five or seven earth-lodges on the left bank nearly a mile above the mouth. Five more houses stood on the opposite bank with numerous springs behind them and the du'kwakni cremation pile a half-mile above.

31, wickămdi, four or five houses on the right bank below this, one or two a little below, then a cluster of four and another of two farther downstream.

32, la'wa'lstŏt, three houses on the point forming the right side of the river mouth.

33, mo'giŋkünks, the largest settlement in this district with five or six earth-lodges and as usual a number of small structures. This is on the left bank a quarter-mile above the mouth. One or two houses are on this side immediately at the river mouth.

34, djiŋgüs, four or five houses at a spring on the lake front to the east of the mouth, with one or two more farther in the marsh.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18]

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361 [222] [132] IV. *Pelican bay group (gu'mbötkni).*—This includes the Pelican bay district (gu'mböt) on the west side of the lake, the settlements along Four Mile creek, and those on the marsh north of the lake. Runs of fish are plentiful on Wood river in the spring when the snow melts on the mountains. People come up along the river in the summer digging camas. But above Fort Klamath there is too much snow to live during the winter.

35, sle'taksi, a group of two or three earth-lodges on the west side of Seven Mile creek near its mouth. A little spring here keeps the water warm enough for fish even in winter.

36, wudö'kän is a settlement in the marsh a mile from the last, and east of Seven Mile creek.

37, iwünau'ts, two earth-lodges on the western side of a little creek emptying into the lake two miles east of Recreation P. O. Houses are scattered along the marsh shore to the northern side of Pelican bay.

[823] [756] 38, dünö'ksi, an open space overlooking the northern end of Pelican bay and containing many earth-lodges. Others are on the lower level, lɛlä'ksti, close to the bay. This is immediately north of the mouth of Four Mile creek. A cremation pile stands a hundred yards north of this town on the slope above the bay, beyond an outcrop of rocks said to be transformed shamans. A big lodge of a shaman on the lower level has a pit twenty-eight feet in diameter; another earth-lodge pit is nearly twenty feet across.

39, *e'o'k̦ai, four or five earth-lodges a few hundred yards up Four Mile creek on the left bank.*

[756] *40, wa'lö'kdi, four to eight earth-lodges, one a shaman's, somewhat farther up the creek on the opposite side.*

41, Wak̦'a'k, a winter settlement south of the high ridge south of Odessa. North of the settlement is a sweat-lodge used by mourners.

42, gai'löks or gaila'lk̦s is on the point south of Odessa or more probably between Howard and Shoalwater bays. No winter settlements here but a camping place where du'kwakni and gu'mbötkni roasted camas in the spring.

[136] 43, stö'kmate, Eagle point, is a similar spring camp site. In the hot springs here are harmless black snakes (kamdila'k) which crawl over the swimmers. Curiously, in view of the Klamath tendency to localize their tales, there is no story concerning this locality.

Two other localities may belong to this group: 63, e'o'k̦ak̦, gulch, on Wood river toward the mountains, and 64, e'uk̦wa'lkai on the east

side of Wood river in much the same locality. These may be the 103
same site. 131 •

V. *Klamath Falls group (iuʺ laloŋkni)*.—All the people of the lake 361
from Modoc point southward are named for their principal locality, iuʺlaloŋᴇ, Klamath falls. Despite the large area, they are relatively few in number. In summer they resort to the marshes west of the lake or fish on Lost river. The district along the eastern shore of the lake from Modoc point nearly to Algoma is called neʺluḳsi (neʺluḳs, a late sunrise), from the circumstance that a low mountain here cuts off the morning sunlight.

45, kᴇt!ai'ksi, point of rock, a promontory two miles or so northwest of Modoc point, is their northernmost settlement.

46, suwiakă'čks, jump over, is a large village at Modoc point. It extended on both sides of the headland and for three-quarters of a mile south. The place takes its name from a large rock (about three and a half feet high) which stands a half-mile south of the point. It was a trial of skill to run uphill and jump over the rock. Bare island (au'cmi) opposite is their camp site, and has no permanent settlements.

47, iulă'u, promontory, is a fishing village occupied in early spring. Pictographs are painted on the rock slide north of this.

48, diu'wiaks (named for its little spring, di'wik) is a winter
settlement at the railroad point Ouxy. Little fish ran in the spring [226]
early in the year.

49, ḳau'ŏmŏt, a half-mile south, is, like all these lake sites, crowded along the foot of the mountain on the lake shore. There are many
earth-lodges about a large spring here. The lodge rings are so clear [172]
that this would be a good place for archaeological excavations. Its
name is from ḳau'ŏm, a place where fish run.

50, dī'tk!aḳs, boiling spring, is now known as Barclay spring. [133]
There are many earth-lodges north and south of this. Two cremation piles are to the north on the highway, one distant a hundred yards on a rock slide, the second twice as far and directly on the southern boundary of the reservation. Unlike the cremation piles on Williamson river, no glass beads or iron was to be found at this second site.
South of Barclay spring by three hundred yards is a deep nameless [231]
spring into which pups are thrown to train them for hunting. A large
sweat-lodge used by mourners is situated at the foot of the slope near [343]
the angle of the marsh east of Algoma.

103 51, kölwa'l, a point, is Rattlesnake point at Algoma. Only a few
131 live here during the winter but it is a favorite resort in the autumn
361 when chokecherries and wild plums ripen.

[222] 52, wuḳ!o'twas, wood knot, Buck island, is so called because the island in the lake is likened to a knot in a piece of wood. In addition to old house pits here not occupied by any group of the historic period, there are a few winter houses on the southern end and summer camps at the northern end where plums could be gathered. It was a favorite sport to dive from the rocks (called sohowă'ēks, diving) on the northern shore.

53, lama'teksi, a place on top of the end of something, is on the point east of Buck island, and 54, k!su'nk!ai, grassy place, is three-fourths of a mile south on the shore. Many people are at both localities during the winter. There may be old house sites here like those on Buck island. Wa'toŋks is a hill a half-mile east where wild plums are
[823] picked. There is an outcrop of white rock high on the hillside above iu'li (meaning deep in), the end of the marsh east of these settlements. This is said to be the net of Kᴇmŭ'kümps, the culture hero, spread to dry.

55, iwau'wŏnᴇ, meaning against the side hill, is a large settlement
[764] on both sides of Link river at the highway bridge. A crematory is on
[726] the hilltop on the east side a quarter-mile north. Shasta sometimes swam the river south of the village or crossed by the islet below the little lake Ewauna to attack the group on the east bank. This settlement is at the lower end of the falls (Klamath falls) that constitute
[226] Link river in its brief passage through its gorge. This is one of the principal fishing places of the region and advantage is taken of the
[823] ledges that form the falls for the construction of fish dams. But these, like all others in Klamath territory, are attributed to the culture hero, Kᴇmŭ'kümps.[33]

56, iu'"laloŋᴇ, meaning on the end, is the largest village of the southern lake people and gives its name to the whole group. There are earth-lodges on both sides of the falls but particularly on the western bank from the river mouth to within half a mile of the present power dam. There are many at the point at the river mouth (hence the name of the site) and thence extend westward about a little bay. A group of tall upstanding rocks at the point, called ḳ!taigī'ŋklᴇ, hole

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[114] [33] Gatschet's reference (1:94, 97) to the Indians scooping up fish from the dry bed of the stream when a strong south wind drives back the waters in the lake seems like a purely mythical reference, but is confirmed by Clarke (Rock Piles, 41).

103

through the rock, had only a narrow way between them to allow 131
passage along the shore. On a point of rocks on the hill above stands
a cremation pile. A hillock west of the bay is called lalau′ḳ!ŏt, flat, 361
for the many flat rocks on top. The opposite point of the river mouth
also has a settlement, called tc!a′tc!ŏmai, for some unidentified bird.

57, wĕḳā′ĕla, fallen tree, is a settlement of moderate size on the shore a mile west of the river mouth, now intersected by the road.

58, wut!ana′kŏḳs, a low gap, and 59, iup!a′tŏna, end place, are summer sites respectively at the ends of a little marsh (now drained) on the west side of the lake.

60, woḳsa′lks, lily seed (wokas) picking place, is a summer camp [222]
on the north shore of Wokas marsh. When leaving in the fall it is
customary to sink the canoes at the edge of the marsh, hide the grind- [501]
ing slabs in the juniper thicket, and pack by a regular trail to [415]
dĕ′ktcŏŋks, whence they return to the winter villages.

61, dĕ′ktcŏŋks, netting place, is a camp site on the west shore of [226]
Klamath lake opposite Buck island. Midway between this site and
the island is a favorite place for catching fish at night with a tri-
angular scoop net. The point Skillet Handle is called iuwa″lᴇ, end of
a point, and a flat-topped mountain west of Wocus bay, seolŏpġls.

62, sa′stltḳa′wals, Shasta stand on end, is Squaw point where a few [823]
Klamath falls people might be found in winter. There are holes in
the rocks here in which they pound to make the wind blow, pounding
in those on the south side, for instance, to bring a south wind.

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS

The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or 101
possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct dis- 619
trict, and practically autonomous. This is separatism of the familiar
Californian order. Nevertheless, the cohesion rising from a common
dialect, common culture, and a uniform reaction against all non-
tribesmen, which on occasion leads to jointly taking the field against
them, produces a tribal solidarity resembling that of the Plains people.

The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the modern name Klamath for the Klamath marsh—Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they

The subdivisions or tribelets are:

I. ă'ukekni, the people of Klamath marsh and middle Williamson river, the Klamath proper. Evidently the Sprague river people are included here; there is some doubt, but I am even more doubtful whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague river as Yainax in pre-reservation times. 101 131 619

II. kowa'edikni, those of a village of that name on Agency lake. They may be ă'ukekni.

III. du'kwakni, on the delta of Williamson river. These are more closely affiliated with the Pelican bay people than with ă'ukekni.

IV. gu'mbötkni, those of Pelican bay and the marsh to the north.

V. iu"laloŋkni, the people of Klamath falls (Link river) and the eastern shore of Klamath lake.

The names are those of the districts they occupy with the suffix -kni, those of, people of: ă'ukei, Klamath marsh; du'kwa, the district about the mouth of Williamson river; gu'mböt, Pelican bay, possibly taking its name from Rocky point; iu"laloŋᴇ, on the end, the village at the outlet of the lake into Link river.

It is now difficult to get a true estimate of the size of these groups. The ă'ukekni count twenty-nine or more settlements, half of the total; of the others iu"laloŋkni have thirteen, gu'mbötkni seven or more, du'kwakni five, and kowa'edikni, one. The towns vary considerably in size, yet this mere count agrees closely with the populational proportions as my several informants phrased them. The ă'ukekni are by far the largest group, perhaps as large as all the others together. Nancy Phillips recalls the large number of children who played together at gu'mböt, Pelican bay. At this place the settlements do form a large compact group. Next in order she places the du'kwa group, then those clustering about iu"laloŋᴇ at Klamath falls, and goyᴇmske'ᴇgls on Williamson river. The settlements on Williamson river are small and scattered, but she places their joint population above the gu'mbötkni. The iu"laloŋkni were comparatively few despite their large territory. Of the ă'ukekni more lived at Klamath marsh even in winter than on Williamson river. The huge size of a single site, du"llḳüt, bears this out. 361 162 [115]

Consonant with their unequal size is it that the principal chief, at least in early reservation days, was the principal chief of the ă'ukekni; all others were distinctly subordinate in prestige. According to one informant, himself a du'kwa man, the ă'ukekni are the highest people. Kᴇmü'kümps, the culture hero, made them first, best, and strongest; later he made the others. 619 622 [829]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Shasta NS21

grown up among the Klamath, Klamath in speech and custom, were K 567
not tempted to begin life anew elsewhere. Some, at least, had con- K
siderable prestige. Pit River Charley, for instance, a freed slave, [786]
returned from his people in 1873 with novel rites which were engrafted [177]
on the Ghost dance then newly come to the Klamath.[62]

Trade is probably of no great consequence within the tribe although K
it figures intertribally. Contacts were few and frequently unfriendly 439
until after the coming of the whites. The exception is the neighboring 221
Modoc groups; others are too distant. Winters are too severe for 361
travel and trade, but summers find the Warm Springs people in residence with the Klamath. These similarly set out for Warm Springs and the Dalles when the grass begins to grow, camping there in the open during the summer, and building mat-covered structures of
earth-lodge shape (wakĕ'ploḳs) if they stay through the winter. K
Slaves, Pit River bows, and beads are taken there to trade for horses, 439
blankets, buffalo skins, parfleches, beads (probably dentalium shells), 436
dried salmon, and lampreys.[63] Two slave children are valued at five 567
horses, several buffalo skins, and some beads. This is not far from the values recorded by Taylor in 1859; one woman was worth five or six horses, a boy one horse.[64]

The Molala are also visitors and are met on the headwaters of the K
Rogue west of Crater lake. From them buckskins are obtained for 648
pond-lily seed and beads. Relations with the Shasta have not always [437]
been unfriendly; some of the Klamath Falls group and Modoc married S
with them, possibly only since the white advent. The nearest Shasta 131
settlements at Shovel and Jennie creeks can be reached afoot several K
days' journey down the Klamath. Laik'ĕlmi is a jointly occupied 648
fishing site somewhat upstream but below the Klamath canyon. Skins [226]
and skin blankets are traded for Shasta beads. Dixon states that [437]
Shasta trade with the Klamath is slight.[65]

In the period 1860–70 the few Shasta remaining in their territory congregated S
on the lower Shasta river and near the frontier town, Yreka. They were 131
reached by crossing the Black Mountain range. At that time this was a S
much mixed group, principally half-breeds. My informant Tom Lang, taken [302]
there as a youngster, remarked how he was afraid of their highly tattooed faces.

Intercourse and marriage went on freely with the Modoc. They K
were visited on Tule and Lower Klamath lakes, and joined for the 648
fishing on Lost River near Olene. 131
226

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[62] Spier, Ghost Dance of 1870, 45, 51.

[63] Cf. Gatschet, 1:93; 2:436.

[64] *Op. cit.*, 1:lx.

[65] The Shasta, 436.

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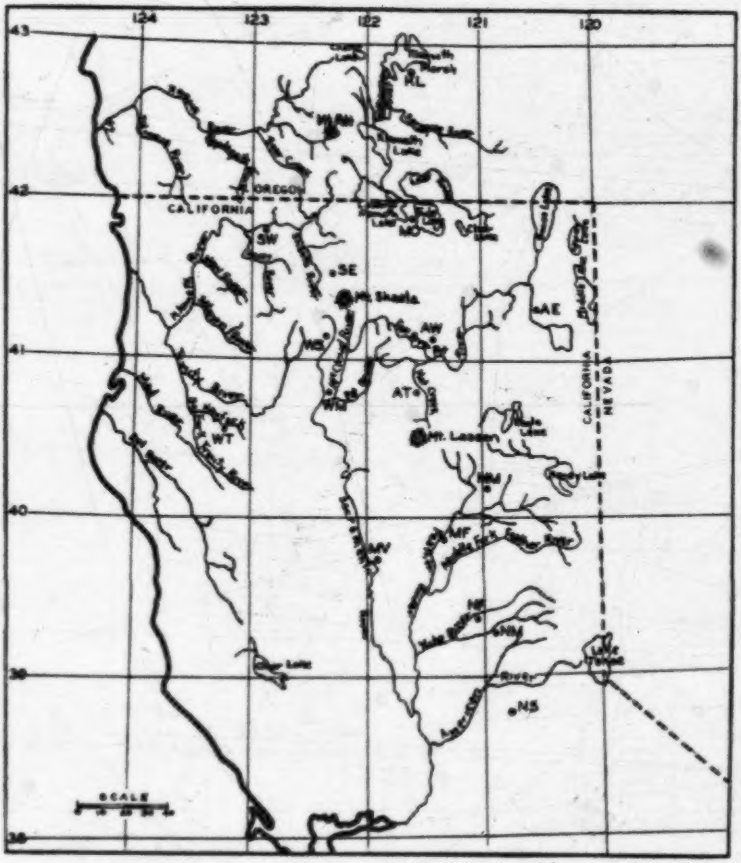
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Klamath Marsh
KL
Klamath Lake
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
MO
SW
SE
Mt. Shasta
AE
AW
WS
AT
WM
WT
Mt. Lassen
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
MF
Middle Fork Feather River
MV
NS
American River
Lake Tahoe
SCALE

Map 1. Area surveyed and localities to which cultural data from the several tribal groups refer.

and they tended to retain a greater concern with hunting, a con- M 133
dition which archeology tells us was characteristic of the early 226
Klamath, but which the latter came somewhat to relinquish with 224
their concentration upon the product of the waters. Likewise, 433
the Modoc seem to have placed a somewhat greater premium M
upon the gathering of wild seeds, in a typically Basin-California [222]
manner. Nonetheless, fishing was by no means neglected, and [361]
their villages lay principally about Lower Klamath, Tule, and Clear lakes, as well as upon Lost River which roughly parallels the Sprague in its westward course, until it bends south to empty its waters into Tule Lake.

Protected by relatively inhospitable land to the north, by K
broken hills to the east and south, and by the Cascades on the M
west, the Klamath-Modoc homeland fostered a culture somewhat 131 •
provincial in character, owing to its remoteness from major 101
centers of development, yet distinctive in style. Neither people occupied, for any distance, the Klamath River, which drains the Klamath Lakes and falls through its canyon to the Pacific; and neither seems to have been directly affected by the culture that emerged along its lower reaches among the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa.

Favored though they were by contrast to the Great Basin, the K
Klamath uplands did not support a large aboriginal population. M
The Klamath and Modoc together have variously been estimated 161
to have totaled between twelve hundred and two thousand, the Klamath having about double the numbers of their southern kinsmen. Population densities provide a further perspective. Those for the Shasta immediately to the southwest and for the Oregon Coast were roughly ten times as great as that of the Klamath-Modoc. The Kalapuya of the Willamette Valley and the Takelma of the Upper Rogue furnished figures about twice as great, and the Achomawi and Atsugewi of the Pit River drainage south of the Modoc had densities four times the value for our tribes. Within the Plateau, the Sahaptin-speaking peoples of the middle Columbia and the Blue Mountains approximated their figure. In the Great Basin and the Southern Plateau, the Shoshonean Bannock, Northern Paiute, and Shoshone provided figures only one quarter as great. If the figure is taken to reflect the intensity of land use, the Klamath Basin was on a par with the

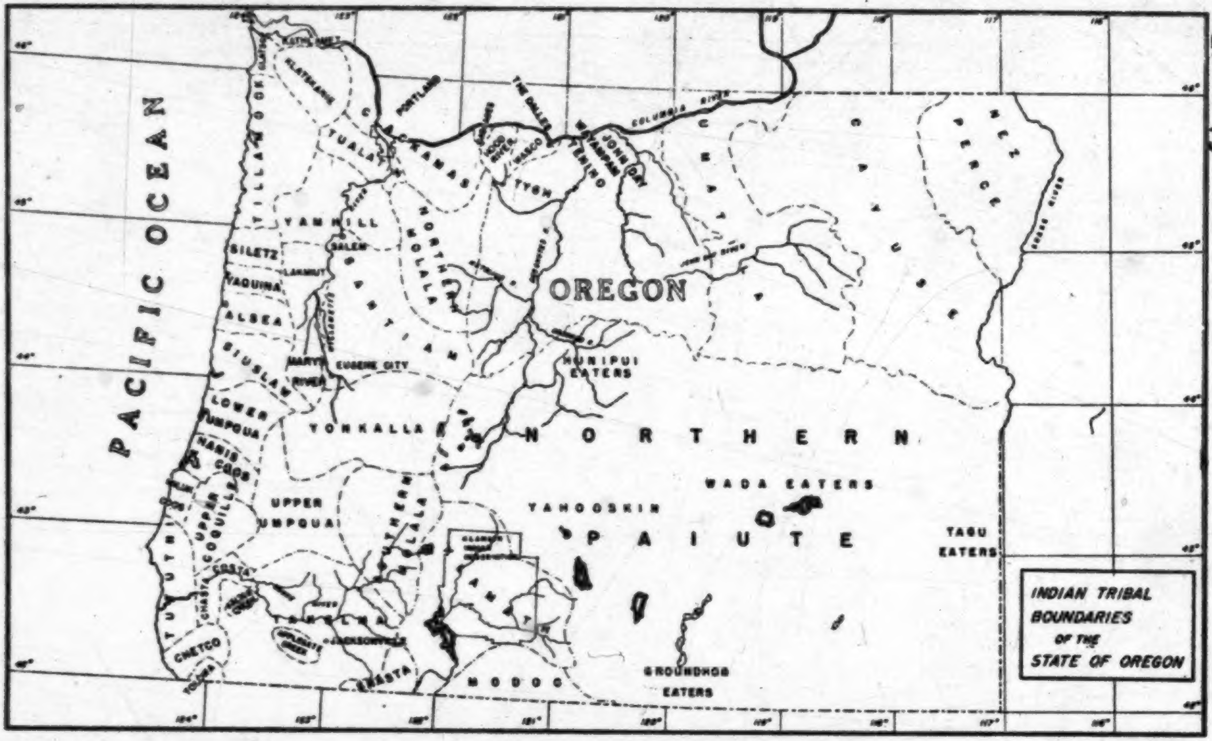
PACIFIC OCEAN
OREGON
CLATSOP
KATHLAMET
CLATSKANIE
TILLAMOOK
PORTLAND
TUALATIN
CLACKAMAS
THE DALLES
HOOD RIVER
WASCO
TYGH
TENINO
JOHN DAY
COLUMBIA RIVER
YAMHILL
SILETZ
YAQUINA
ALSEA
SALEM
LAKMIUT
NORTHERN MOLALLA
SANTIAM
MARYS RIVER
EUGENE CITY
SIUSLAW
LOWER UMPQUA
HANIS
COOS
YONKALLA
UPPER UMPQUA
UPPER COQUILLE
SOUTHERN MOLALLA
TUTUTNI
CHASTA COSTA
TAKELMA
JACKSONVILLE
CHETCO
TOLOWA
SHASTA
MODOC
KLAMATH
HUNIPUI EATERS
NORTHERN PAIUTE
WADA EATERS
YAHOOSKIN
TAGU EATERS
GROUNDHOG EATERS
UMATILLA
CAYUSE
NEZ PERCE
JOHN DAY RIVER
INDIAN TRIBAL BOUNDARIES OF THE STATE OF OREGON

Adapted from "Indian Tribes and Languages of the Old Oregon Country" (Portland, Ore.: Oregon Historical Society, 1958). Data compiled by Claude Schaeffer. (Used by permission of the Oregon Historical Society.)

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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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[P. 280]

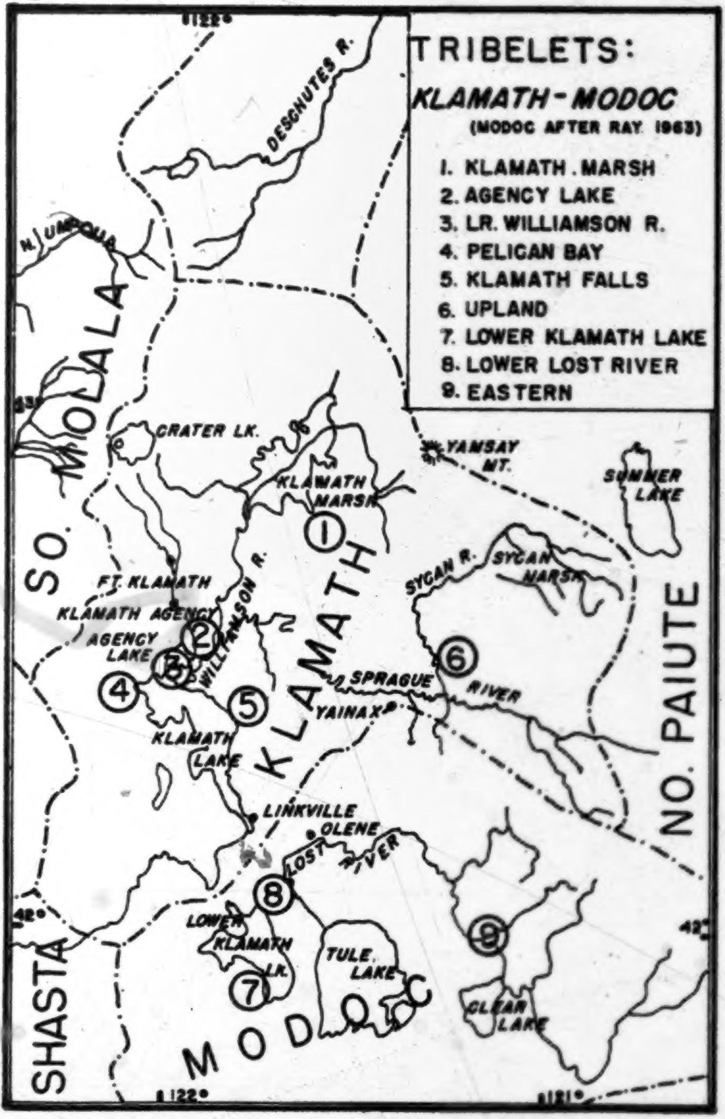
TRIBELETS:
KLAMATH-MODOC
(MODOC AFTER RAY 1963)
1. KLAMATH MARSH
2. AGENCY LAKE
3. LR. WILLIAMSON R.
4. PELICAN BAY
5. KLAMATH FALLS
6. UPLAND
7. LOWER KLAMATH LAKE
8. LOWER LOST RIVER
9. EASTERN
122°
DESCHUTES R.
N. UMPQUA
SO. MOLALA
43°
CRATER LK.
KLAMATH MARSH
YAMSAY MT.
SUMMER LAKE
KLAMATH
SYCAN R.
SYCAN MARSH
FT. KLAMATH
KLAMATH AGENCY
AGENCY LAKE
WILLIAMSON R.
SPRAGUE RIVER
YAINAX
KLAMATH LAKE
NO. PAIUTE
LINKVILLE
OLENE
LOST RIVER
42°
LOWER KLAMATH LK.
TULE LAKE
CLEAR LAKE
SHASTA
MODOC
122°
121°
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The northern corridor should be understood to extend to 44° N. The Modoc area extends in the southwest to the base of Mount Shasta, not shown on the map. Based for the Klamath on Spier, 1930, and for the Modoc on Ray, 1963.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

[p.281]

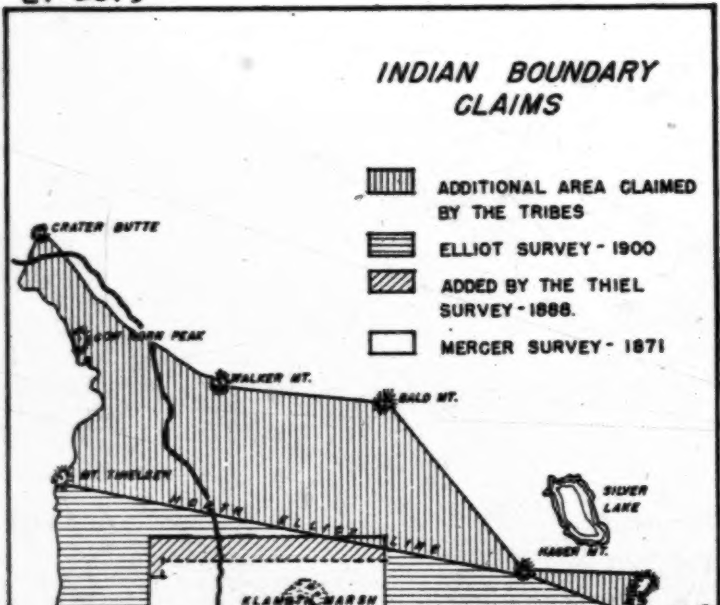
INDIAN BOUNDARY CLAIMS
ADDITIONAL AREA CLAIMED BY THE TRIBES
ELLIOT SURVEY - 1900
ADDED BY THE THIEL SURVEY - 1888.
MERGER SURVEY - 1871
CRATER BUTTE
COW HORN PEAK
WALKER MT.
BALD MT.
MT. THIELSEN
NORTH ELLER LINE
SILVER LAKE
HAGER MT.
KLAMATH MARSH
YAMSAY MT.
CRATER LAKE
MT. SCOTT
BRADY BUTTE
LONG BELL LUMBER CO. CLAIM
WILLIAMSON
RIVER
SYCAN MARSH
SUMMER LAKE
OREGON CENTRAL MILITARY ROAD
SPRAGUE RIVER
BRIDGE
FT. KLAMATH
AGENCY
KO-WAS-TI
PELICAN BUTTE
CHILOQUIN
MODOC POINT
LAKE OF WOODS
BARKLEY SPRINGS
YAINAX
GEARHART MT.
HORSE FLY MT.

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Adapted from a map prepared by Otis H. Johnson. (From Johnson, 1957.)

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P.282]

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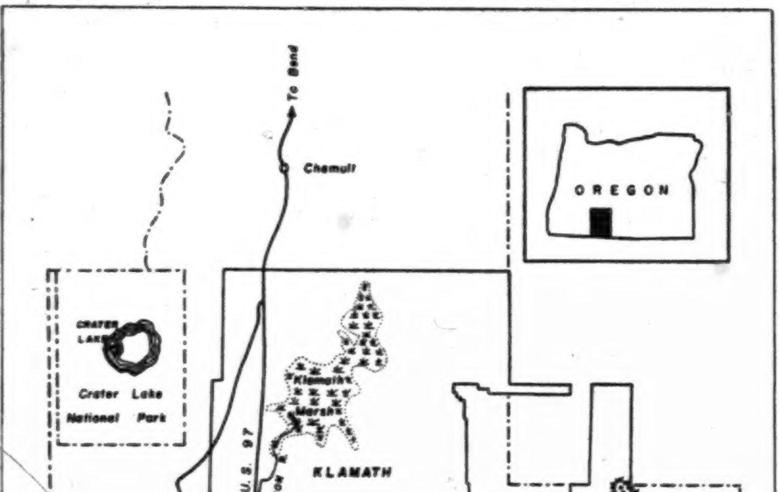
To Bend
Chemult
OREGON
Crater Lake
Crater Lake National Park
Klamath Marsh
U.S. 97
Williamson R.
KLAMATH INDIAN RESERVATION
Ft. Klamath
Klamath Agency
Agency Lake
Chiloquin
Sprague River
Sycan River
Modoc Point
Sprague River
Beatty
Bly
ORE 66
To Lakeview
Jackson Co.
Klamath Co.
Klamath Co.
Lake Co.
Upper Klamath Lake
KLAMATH FALLS
Dairy
Bonanza
ORE 66
To Ashland
U.S. 97
Lower Klamath Lake
10 MILES

KLAMATH INDIAN RESERVATION
AND
KLAMATH COUNTY, OREGON

4: Pearsall E-5 (1947) 1950 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1875)

[p. 339-B]

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION[1]

by

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

128 culture, social and political organization are
not described here except in their effect on
124 education. Wherever particular items are men-
tioned, we specifically asked our informants for
a description, even though they had been de-
scribed in previous ethnographies. Such ac-
counts may thus be taken as corroborating
earlier evidence unless otherwise specified in
the text.

131 The Klamath reside in their old territory
178 in southern Oregon, but the aboriginal way of
life has long since disappeared. Today they are
241 farmers and ranchers, but a considerable part of
the earlier culture remains alive in the memo-
233 ries of a few oldsters. Our seven informants
(4 men and 3 women) were all in their late
178 seventies or eighties and had participated in
the last phases of the aboriginal culture as
115 children. It is regrettable that it was neces-
sary to reconstruct childhood training from the
reminiscences of elderly individuals. Doubtless
much of the material represents the ideal rather
than the actual pattern of education. The
ideals do, however, give a definite insight into
what was considered important in the upbringing
of children, whether these standards were always
maintained or not. Since there is little or
nothing in the early literature on this subject,
there is no way of comparing impressions re-
ceived from old people who are admittedly look-
ing back to "the good old days" with impressions
of objective eyewitnesses to the old ways as
they were really practiced.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Barrenness is sometimes con-
sidered cause for divorce. Since the blame
842 seems to fall most commonly on the woman, her
husband's parents may suggest that he send her
586 away and get a wife who can provide him with
children. Ordinarily, though, the parents-in-
606 law are more lenient with a barren woman.
Most Klamath express a preference for boys. A
842 variety of reasons are offered, the most common
being that boys are less bother than girls.
"Girls are always getting into trouble, and you
just raise them for someone else because they go
off to their husbands when they get married."
Once the child is born, however, there seems to
be no special favoritism shown to boys. One

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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IN
AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY
VOL. 5 NO. 4

[p. 239]

THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE KLAMATH LAKE AND MODOC INDIANS OF NORTHEASTERN CALIFORNIA AND SOUTHERN OREGON.

000

BY

S. A. BARRETT.

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Implements of war 246
Hunting implements 246
Fishing implements 247
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INTRODUCTION.

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The following information concerning the Lutuami or Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians of northeastern California and southern Oregon was obtained during the summer of 1907 as a part of the work of the Ethnological and Archaeological Survey of California, maintained by the University of California through the generosity of Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst. These Indians now live almost entirely on Klamath Indian reservation in Oregon,

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5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M
K situated about upper Klamath Lake and in the mountains to the
101 east; except for a part of the Modoc in Oklahoma. It is the
131 object of the present paper to discuss briefly the conditions of
M aboriginal life among these people, due consideration being given
K their natural environment and the influence of surrounding
128 peoples upon them.

TERRITORY.

M The territory occupied by the Klamath Lake and Modoc
K Indians lies chiefly in the drainage basins of Upper and Lower
101 Klamath lakes and Tule or Rhett lake. From a point near the
131 confluence of Keen creek with Klamath river the western boundary
of their territory probably extended along the watershed
separating the Klamath lake and Rogue river drainages, to the
K foothills of the mountain in which Crater lake is situated. It
823 should be noted, however, that the Klamath, while they feared
Crater lake, did go upon certain occasions to the lake and seem
not to have been molested there by other Indians. It would seem
that the lake was looked upon as a sort of territory of mutual
rights by the peoples in its vicinity. They visited it when they
desired to acquire great merit in hunting or other pursuits in
which supernatural power was necessary. To go and bathe in
this wonderful lake was a brave thing to do, and made a man
lucky for hunting or other similar pursuits and made him very
K strong for war. It would appear that the relations formerly
131 existing between the Klamath and the people of the Rogue river
648 drainage were not at all friendly, so that the Klamath seldom
ventured as far west as the crest of the range. They did on
occasion make up large parties and go up to the crest of the
range for the purpose of hunting, but small parties rarely ventured
so far. The region for some distance to the west and
northwest of Crater lake was also visited by the Klamath for the
K purpose of gathering berries in season.

101 On the north the boundary extended as far as to the headwaters
131 of Deschutes river, thus including the whole drainage
133 basin of Klamath marsh.[1] On the east the boundary probably

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[101] [1] The Bureau of Ethnology's map in Bulletin 30 gives to the Lutuami
territory as far north in the Deschutes drainage as latitude 44. See also
[114] volume I of this Bulletin, 779, 1907.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

extended far enough to include the drainage into Sycan marsh, and thence on toward the south, passing several miles east of the town of Bly and including the whole of the Sprague river drainage.[2] The southern part of the eastern boundary probably passed somewhat east of Clear lake and around the head of Lost river. The southern boundary was probably the divide between the drainage of Klamath and Rhett lakes and that of Pitt river.

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The Lutuami[3] are divided into two slightly different dialectic divisions: the Klamath Lake, usually known simply as Klamath, occupying a comparatively large territory about Upper Klamath lake, the northern part of Lower Klamath lake, Klamath marsh, and the region to the east; and the Modoc, occupying the region about Rhett lake and the southern end of Lower Klamath lake. One informant mentioned a third dialect, which he said was spoken by the people formerly living on Link river and about Linkville or what is now known as Klamath Falls. In view of the slight lexical differences between the Klamath and Modoc dialects, it seems very probable that if a third linguistic division did exist it was inconsiderable and not more than a sub-dialectic variation. At any rate the only linguistic units recognized by the people themselves are the two dialects spoken by the Klamath and the Modoc. The fact that the two divisions speak slightly differently, does not seem to appeal to the people themselves so much as the fact that they were in former times politically disunited, and were in fact, upon certain occasions at least, at war.

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As nearly as could be determined the boundary between the Klamath and Modoc territories extended through the northern

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[2] This is the boundary generally claimed by the Klamath. One Paiute informant, however, claimed that the territory of his people extended as far west as Yam Say peak and the Black hills, thus including Sycan marsh in the Paiute country. Like Klamath informants he stated that the boundary passed a few miles east of Bly.

[3] Gatschet, Contrib. N. A. Ethn., II, gives Lutuami as meaning lake, *i.e.*, Tule lake, in the Achomawi or Pit River language. The people have no name for themselves other than maklaks, person, Indian. Maklaks is possibly the source of our word Klamath, the origin of which is unknown. The Klamath Lake people are called in their own language Eukshikni maklaks or Euksknì maklaks, at the lake people, from Eukshi, which denotes specifically Klamath marsh, but also the adjoining country, including the eastern shore of Upper Klamath lake. Eukshi appears to be derived from eush, lake. The Modoc are called Montokni maklaks or Modokni maklaks, in the south people, from moatak, Tule lake. Moatak is a derivative from muat, south.

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end of Horse Fly valley and Lockey Flat, passing in the vicinity of Keno Spring, and thence westward through, or in the vicinity of, the village of Dairy. It passed a short distance north of Bale's lake and Olene and appears to have left the whole of Lost River valley in the territory of the Modoc. It passed either along the eastern shore of, or through, Lower Klamath lake. Further than this no definite information was obtained concerning this secondary boundary.

ENVIRONMENT.

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The natural environment of the Lutuami, a high, mountainous and volcanic region, filled with lakes and marshes, influenced their culture in many ways. The two lakes, Upper Klamath and Tule or Rhett lake, formed the centers of population for the two divisions, the Klamath and the Modoc. Along the western shore of these lakes, and of Lower Klamath lake, as well as along the high plateau to the east of Upper Klamath lake, there were considerable forests of conifers which provided material for canoes and houses as well as a part of the food supply. In fact the whole western portion of the territory is well forested. The eastern part, however, notably about Yainax agency and eastward, is to a great extent a semi-desert, sage-brush country. In this eastern region there are many fertile valleys, as for instance, along Sprague and Sycan rivers, but on the whole the territory is by no means so desirable for habitation as that about Upper Klamath lake and Klamath marsh, where the soil is very rich and productive. The old fault line in which Upper and Lower Klamath lakes and Klamath marsh are situated has existed so long that a large area has silted in and formed a very fertile country, which provided in aboriginal times an abundance of various tubers, seeds, and other vegetable foods. Among the most important natural features of this region are the great tracts of marshy land. These marshes are covered constantly with water from a few inches to several feet in depth. In these, particularly in Klamath marsh, is found the staple article of food among the Klamath, and to a certain extent also among the Modoc, the yellow water-lily, *Nymphia polysepala*. Large areas of marsh are completely covered with this water-lily to the ex-

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

THE KLAMATH INDIANS OF SOUTHWESTERN OREGON.

By Albert S. Gatschet.

ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF THE PEOPLE.

INTRODUCTION.

101 The Klamath people of North American Indians, the subject of this
131 descriptive sketch, have inhabited from time immemorial a country upon
the eastern slope of the Cascade Range, in the southwestern part of the
133 territory now forming the State of Oregon. That territory is surrounded
134 by mountain ridges and by elevations of moderate height, and watered by
streams, lakes, marshes, and pond-sources issuing from the volcanic sands
covering the soil. The secluded position of these Indians within their
mountain fastnesses has at all times sheltered them against the inroads of
alien tribes, but it has also withheld from them some of the benefits which
only a lively intercourse and trade with other tribes are able to confer.
132 The climate of that upland country is rough and well known for its sudden
changes of temperature, which in many places render it unfavorable to
137 agriculture. But the soil is productive in edible roots, bulbs, berries, and
136 timber, the limpid waters are full of fish and fowl, and game was plentiful
before the white man's rifle made havoc with it. Thus the country was
capable of supplying a considerable number of Indians with food, and they
never manifested a desire to migrate or "be removed to a better country."

128 The topography of these highlands, which contain the headwaters of the Klamath River of California, will be discussed at length after a mention of the scanty literature existing upon this comparatively little explored tract of land.

THE HOME OF THE PEOPLE.

131 657 648 The home of the Klamath tribe of southwestern Oregon lies upon the eastern slope of the southern extremity of the Cascade Range, and very nearly coincides with what we may call the headwaters of the Klamath River, the main course of which lies in Northern California. Its limits are outlined in a general manner in the first paragraph of the treaty concluded between the Federal Government and the Indians, dated October 14, 1864, which runs as follows: "The Indians cede all the country included between the water-shed of the Cascade Mountains to the mountains dividing Pit and McCloud Rivers from the waters on the north; thence along this water-shed eastwards to the southern end of Goose Lake; thence northeast to the southern end of Harney Lake;* thence due north to the forty-fourth degree of latitude; thence west along this same degree to Cascade Range." It must be remarked that the homes and hunting-grounds of two "bands" of the Snake Indians were included within these limits, for these people were also made participants to the treaty.

Here, as with all other Indian tribes, the territory claimed must be divided into two parts, the districts inclosing their habitual dwelling-places and those embodying their hunting and fishing grounds, the latter being of course much larger than the former and inclosing them. The habitual haunts and dwelling-places of the tribes were on the two Klamath Lakes, on Klamath Marsh, on Tule Lake, and on Lost River. Some of these localities are inclosed within the Klamath Reservation, of which we will speak below.

133 The Cascade Range is a high mountain ridge following a general direction from north to south, with some deflections of its main axis. The line of perpetual snow is at least 10,000 feet above the sea-level, and the altitude of the highest peaks about 12,000 to 14,000 feet. On the west side the sloping is more gradual than on the east side, where abrupt precipices and steep slopes border the Klamath highlands and the valley of Des Chutes River. The range is the result of upheaval and enormous volcanic

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* Harney Lake is the western portion of Malheur Lake, and now united with it into a single sheet of water.

000 one in a series of similar butcheries. Apparently it occurred in 1852, and
the particulars are all given in Texts, pages 13 and 14.

175 One of the earliest reports upon these tribes made to the Bureau of
101 Indian Affairs at Washington is that of Joel Palmer, Superintendent of
131 Indian Affairs for Oregon, dated Dayton, Oregon, September 11, 1854.
Palmer states that the lands of the Klamath Indians extend upon the eastern
base of the Cascade range for about thirty miles east, and that east of
them live the "Mo-docks," who speak the same language as the Klamaths;
and east of these again, extending farther south, are the "Mo-e-twas" (Pit
175 River Indians). These two last-named tribes have always evinced a deadly
648 hostility to the whites, and the Modocs boasted of having within the last
four years murdered thirty-six whites. Palmer entered into an agreement
with the Klamath Indians to keep the peace with the white people, and also
sent messengers to the Modocs and Pit Rivers, believing that henceforth
[161] the immigrants would be spared from their attacks. The Klamath Lakes
were then enfeebled by wars with the surrounding tribes and by conflicts
among themselves, and were said to number but four hundred and fifteen
souls. He counted seven villages on Upper Klamath Lake, two on Pliock
Creek (P'laíkni or Sprague River), three on Toqua Lake (Túkua), and one
175 on Coasto (Koháshti) Lake.* The Indians had some guns, horses, camp
411 equipage, and the aboriginal war-club and "elk-skin shield" (kaknō'lsh).
231 Little Klamath Lake he calls An-coose, a corruption of Agáwesh.

714 Neither Klamath Lake nor Modoc Indians have taken any part in the great Oregon war of 1854-'56, although their sympathies were of course strongly in favor of the aboriginal cause.

000 For the year 1854 Powers records a battle fought by Captain Judy against Modoc and Shasti Indians on the Klamath River, north of Yreka, in which some women of the Shasti were killed.

The Report of 1859 speaks of continued hostilities on the side of the Modocs against passing immigrants and of the murdering of a party of five white men in Jackson County, Oregon. Two of the murderers belonged to the tribe of Chief Lelékash, and three of the perpetrators were seized and killed by the Klamath Indians (page 392).

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* This would make only six, not seven, villages.

in importance to fish. Summer is also the time of travel and trade, 221
taking people as far as the Dalles where they may elect to spend the
winter. Winters are exceptionally severe at this altitude (4000 feet), [132]
with deep snow and lakes, marshes, and even streams solidly frozen.
Movement is stopped and unless a winter residence has been chosen [133]
which gives some possibility of fishing, starvation may be faced before 221
spring. These winter sites are in sheltered, sunny spots on running
streams or at springs warm enough to prevent ice from forming. The 361
families return in the fall, rebuild the earth-lodges from the remains [226]
of the previous year's structure, and are all snugly housed by mid-December. The only permanent settlements are the winter villages.
The summer residences are shifting, and while reoccupied from year
to year, there is no feeling that particular camping localities belong
to certain groups. The summer camps are rather indiscriminate aggregations of any Klamath, but the winter locations are so fixed of habit [628]
as to give a measure of political separatism to the several localities.

The case of Tom Lang's family is typical. Their permanent winter home is at iu'laloŋk, a large village on the west side of Link river at the foot of Klamath lake, hence Tom is considered one of the southern lake people, iu'ˑlaloŋkni generically. His family is accustomed to move for the spring fishing to ditk!aka, Barclay spring, or to Modoc point, both on the east side of the lake, where they erect temporary lodges. Crossing the lake to dö'ktcoŋks they leave their canoes and travel overland to woksa'lks on the north shore of Wokas marsh. Here Tom was born in July. When the berry and wokas harvest is ended they retrace their steps and take canoe to Algoma to pick wild plums, berries, etc. From there they drift back to their winter home.

The towns for the most part lie along Williamson river, on the southern side of Klamath marsh, and along the eastern shore of Klamath lake. As these are winter settlements, the open lake is avoided, and occupied only where warm springs outweigh its disadvantages.
They cluster along Williamson river whose sheltered valley is distinctly warmer than the lake front a few miles distant and where the [133]
running stream contains fish most of the year. [132]

The towns are not isolated, compact groups of houses, but stretch
along the banks for half a mile or more. In fact, the settlements on 361
Williamson river below the Sprague river junction form a practically 342
continuous string of houses for five or six miles, the house pits being, in many spots, crowded close together. Informants insisted that many of these were occupied at the same time. When we consider that these earth-lodges may have housed several families, there is strong suggestion of a considerable population.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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131 IV. *Pelican bay group* (*gu'mbŏtkni*).—This includes the Pelican bay district (gu'mbŏt) on the west side of the lake, the settlements
361 along Four Mile creek, and those on the marsh north of the lake. Runs of fish are plentiful on Wood river in the spring when the snow
[222] melts on the mountains. People come up along the river in the summer digging camas. But above Fort Klamath there is too much snow
[132] to live during the winter.

35, sle'taksi, a group of two or three earth-lodges on the west side of Seven Mile creek near its mouth. A little spring here keeps the water warm enough for fish even in winter.

36, wudŏ'kăn is a settlement in the marsh a mile from the last, and east of Seven Mile creek.

37, iwŭnau'ts, two earth-lodges on the western side of a little creek emptying into the lake two miles east of Recreation P. O. Houses are scattered along the marsh shore to the northern side of Pelican bay.

38, dŭnŏ'ksi, an open space overlooking the northern end of Pelican bay and containing many earth-lodges. Others are on the lower level,
[823] lɛlā'ksti, close to the bay. This is immediately north of the mouth of Four Mile creek. A cremation pile stands a hundred yards north of
[756] this town on the slope above the bay, beyond an outcrop of rocks said to be transformed shamans. A big lodge of a shaman on the lower level has a pit twenty-eight feet in diameter; another earth-lodge pit is nearly twenty feet across.

39, e'o'ḳai, four or five earth-lodges a few hundred yards up Four Mile creek on the left bank.

[756] 40, wa'lŏ'kdi, four to eight earth-lodges, one a shaman's, somewhat farther up the creek on the opposite side.

41, Waḳ'a'k, a winter settlement south of the high ridge south of Odessa. North of the settlement is a sweat-lodge used by mourners.

42, gai'lŏks or gaila'lḳs is on the point south of Odessa or more probably between Howard and Shoalwater bays. No winter settlements here but a camping place where du'kwakni and gu'mbŏtkni roasted camas in the spring.

[136] 43, stŏ'kmatc, Eagle point, is a similar spring camp site. In the hot springs here are harmless black snakes (kamdila'k) which crawl over the swimmers. Curiously, in view of the Klamath tendency to localize their tales, there is no story concerning this locality.

Two other localities may belong to this group: 63, e'o'ḳaḳ, gulch, on Wood river toward the mountains, and 64, e'uḳwa'lksi on the east

361 at the lake's edge, large and warm enough to prevent ice forming over
a large area. Winter is severe at this altitude (4000 feet), snowdrifts
[132] are deep, and Klamath lake freezes over to a depth of some ten inches
in late December. Such sheltered valleys as that of the Williamson
[133] river, while but a few miles from the open lake, are distinctly warmer.

The annual cycle of activities is dictated largely by the food
221 habits. It is customary to leave the winter villages in April or May,
when plant growth is well under way and the flat valleys have dried,
not to return until the snow falls again and houses need refurbishing.
When fish begin to run in the spring, the Klamath congregate at the
fishing places to stay for two months or more. For example, some
join the Modoc on Lost river for several weeks to catch and dry
fish. The spring and early summer are spent on the marshes and
prairies, gathering roots such as camas and ipos. When the camas
has been dried and stored, they move to the marshes, especially to
Klamath marsh, to harvest pond-lily seeds from mid-August to the
end of September. While the women are busy with this harvest, men
hunt mule deer, antelope, and other animals whose habitat is in eastern
Klamath territory. Late summer and autumn, seeds, berries, and
nuts are gathered, the Indians congregating where these are plentiful.
Many of those at Klamath marsh, for example, move directly to
Huckleberry mountain, southwest of Crater lake, to garner these
[484] berries. Summer and autumn are the seasons for journeying to visit
and trade, for raiding, and especially for laying up a store of fish
[726] against the coming winter. It must be understood that the winter
locations are not completely abandoned during this season, for many
[251] of them are favorably situated for these very activities. But it is
[361] customary for such a group as the ăukekni division, whose winter
residences cluster thickly along the middle Williamson river, to scatter
and meet again at Klamath marsh for the pond-lily harvest in
[805] August and September. (This is the beginning of the Klamath year.)
They begin to return to the winter sites in the latter month, to start
[342] rebuilding the earth-lodges for the coming winter, a task completed
in December, by which time full winter is at hand.[219]

501 The move to Klamath marsh of the people at the mouth of Williamson river, the du'kwakni, can be made by canoe only as far as ya'ak
221 on the middle river, where they join the ăukekni in packing afoot the
rest of the distance. When the water is high, canoes can go upstream
as far as bʌzŭkse'was at the mouth of Sprague river (see the maps,

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[219] See also Gatschet, 1:74–77.

used;[278] then grass or pine boughs, covered with dirt, are heaped half- 342
way up the side. The outer mats are held in place by tying them along the edges to poles propped against the side of the house. The rope (pĕḳ'os) used for this is three strand, braided of grass or the outer layer of tule. In placing the mats, a space about two feet across is left at the top for a smoke hole, and another only three and a half feet high for a doorway. One has to stoop to enter. The door is a mat like that of the summer house; it is not weighted nor tied down.

Drying racks are not placed inside the houses. All fish and meat [251]
are dried on racks near-by. [417]

Houses are not decorated, nor are the house posts carved or painted
except by shamans. These may paint them with horizontal stripes, 342
alternately red and white. One informant had it that men's faces,
snakes, lizards, and various other animals, not spirits, are painted on
the posts, but I am doubtful. Shamans also hung stuffed bird and [756]
animal skins about the interior. A wooden image and a stuffed crane
skin are set up outside on the northern side of the hatchway, i.e., above
the shaman's bed. Houses are not given individual names, Yurok 552
fashion, though the localizing tendency of the Klamath might have 171*
found an outlet in this.

The fireplace (sne'lŭḳs) in the earth-lodge is in the middle of the 354
floor, between the four center posts and under the open hatchway.
Neither a pit nor stones are used to confine the fire. Most of the time
there is no fire on the hearth, only in the morning and evening; at
other times the hatch is closed. A huge fire is built when it is nearly
sundown, and after the mat is drawn across the opening the heat is so
great that blankets may be dispensed with. This despite the severe [132]
winters; at this altitude (4000 feet) lakes and streams are frozen
solid. Fires are usually made by piling short lengths of wood in log- [133]
cabin (crib-work) fashion to a height of eighteen inches. They cook
when this is reduced to a bed of coals. A piece of rotten wood is
ignited to carry fire from one place to another.

Cooking ordinarily takes place outside the dwelling in a dome- 343
shaped house (sti'nä'c) erected near-by. An earth-lodge on lower 252
Williamson river, for example, set some fifty yards from the stream,
had its cooking lodge close to the bank. All the women of the house- 592
hold prepare their food together, even where several families have
joint tenancy. It is carried to the earth-lodge and there passed about

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[278] Barrett gives the successive layers as made of "a kind of reed," triangular-stemmed tule, and circular-stemmed tule (*op. cit.*, 244).

805 dino'lōpka, later forenoon.
sĕwö'tkɛ, midday.
gawilo'la, mid-afternoon.
di'ntkɛ sa''bas, sun nearly down.

The movement of the stars gives time at night. For instance, I was told that in winter, when they sit late telling stories, it is bedtime (lo'lalöks) when Orion's belt has risen two-thirds of the distance toward the zenith. This is about ten o'clock in mid-December. Midnight is literally (?) paĭndötklüm.

There is no year count, but these people have of course no difficulty in expressing spans of years. Similarly the seasons are of little significance. There are however four period names: sɛ'a'lüm, the beginning of fall, lo'ldöm, winter, when snow begins to fall in the mountains, sḳo'w'a, the beginning of spring, pö'tda, when roots, etc., begin to ripen. It was emphasized that these names refer properly to the opening of the seasons. There is no generic word for seasons; the year is called momo'watc or e'lo'la. Gatschet observes that as an alternative to the use of month names, they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as udsaksä'mi, "in the big sucker time," i-umä'mi, "in the berry season," etc.[403]

This seasonal count indicates that the year begins in early fall. It is marked by the end of the wild fruit season and the withering of the leaves. This corresponds to late August or early September.[404] The exact date is indefinite; it is marked by the appearance of a new moon, but bears no relation to the procession of the constellations.

Ten months are named which purport to pass for lunar months. That is, the Klamath month (sa''bas, month, moon, sun) is a period indefinitely fixed in the solar calendar, marked by the waxing and waning of the moon, and omitting the dark phases. These people are fully aware that ten named periods do not fit the twelve plus lunations of the year. No attempt is made to make them fit, to reckon an intercalary period. The ten months are merely ten roughly marked intervals of the year-round, whose beginning, duration, and end are left indefinite as of no particular concern, but which serve the convenient purpose of designating the several periods of the year. It is quite clear that while the Klamath are fully aware of the discrepan-

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[132] [403] Gatschet, 1:76.

[133] [404] It must be remembered that winter comes very early at this altitude (4000 feet). By mid-September ice forms on the ponds during the night. Gatschet's information confirms that of my best informants that August-September marks the opening of the year (1:74). This disposes of mid-winter and February-March as opening dates as mentioned by my other informants below.

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M middle Columbia, far below the Coast and California, and in turn
161 considerably above the Great Basin.[6]

000 The mind's eye, drawing upon descriptions of early explorers
and modern ethnographers,[7] can recreate the life of the early
nineteenth century. It is a life that moves through a succession
of activities with the seasons, each characterized by a community
of different size and constituency. On a miniscule scale they
resemble the "task groupings" which Anastasio has analysed in
the intertribal relations on the Plateau.[8]

K During the long winters, existence is centered in the permanent
M settlements, for the altitude of the Klamath Basin is over four
221 thousand feet and snow often drifts deep. An accrued depth of
132 six to eight feet is common; while in the exceptional winter of
133 1890-91 a figure of thirty feet, undoubtedly in drifts, was recorded
361 at the head of Agency Lake. Crude, circular bearpaw snowshoes
481 provide a poor means of winter travel, and the settlements tend
262 to become isolated; most people are forced to remain in the
villages, supplementing the meager winter catch with stores of
dried fish and meat, roots, seeds, and berries.

K From a distance, the winter settlement has the appearance of
M hillocks strung out along the bank or clustered in a sheltered
221 spot. In size it may range from several score houses—there are
361 perhaps a hundred house pits at one favored site on Klamath
342 Marsh, though not all may have been occupied at the same time
—down to tiny hamlets of one or two earth lodges and a few mat
huts.[9] Within the village, the earth lodges are the dominant structures,
K with the domed huts flanking them. In Klamath settlements,
M communal storage pits shelter the bulk of supplies; but the
343 Modoc prefer to conceal foodstuffs in household caches some
251 distance from the houses.

One Klamath woman recalled her childhood hamlet, part of
K a settlement totaling roughly two dozen houses,[10] on the lower
361 reaches of the Williamson River. Here she and her parents lived
342 with her maternal uncle, the shaman later known as Alex Wilson,
whose earth lodge was the largest in the hamlet. Nearby was
another lodge, the residence of Hunter Wilson, brother of Alex
and headman of the family group. Some four or five mat-covered
K lodges and huts stood in the vicinity, the larger ones closer to
[343] the water for cooking and the sewing of tule mats, the smaller

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> a mere change of externals, yet the white man's ways as the red man understood them were adopted with a rapidity unequalled in most Indian tribes. . . .
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> The vegetables grown that first year [corn, beans, turnips, carrots, peas, potatoes, artichokes, and onions][1] were a revelation and a delight to the Indians, who had previously lived so largely on small native roots. I have heard my father say that they were particularly captivated by beets which, with their red juice, they thought resembled "ittle-willy" [meat].[2]

In the effort to induce the Indians to cultivate their fields, the Agent seems to have enlisted the aid of the military. "I had about one-half acre broken for Blow," wrote Captain F. B. Sprague, "and he is at work like a white man, has it all fenced and cetera, & plants growing finally."[3]

[133] [132] The crops the first year were reported good, but subsequently they were killed by frosts or summer droughts. The elevation of the Klamath Plateau, some four thousand feet above sea level, limits farming even today. Reports are studded with the phrases, "heavy frosts," "unprecedented heat," "unusually dry and frosty." Surveying the blighted fields, the early Agents redoubled their efforts. In 1869, Applegate reported that "the teachers . . . have been for a greater part of the time engaged on the farms, along with Indian boys receiving instruction in manual labor. . . ." R. B. Hatton, schoolteacher, stiffly pointed out that he "was instructed to labor on the farms . . ." and the tenor of his remarks suggests that in so doing he had been diverted from what he considered his proper function.[4]

*657 *648 177 231 241 The following year, the new Agent, Captain O. C. Knapp, stated, "I again urge upon the Department the uselessness of trying to make this an agricultural reservation. . . . The Indians should be supplied with cattle and sheep, and they would soon become self-sustaining."[5] His words were echoed by Agent L. S. Dyar, in 1872: "These [crop] failures are very discouraging to the Indians as well as to the Agent, and demonstrate the necessity of paying more attention to the raising of cattle. . . ."[6]

*657 177 241 Nonetheless, from 1871 on, with the aid of the farmer, several Indians cultivated little farms along the Williamson River and the lake shore.[7] These in the following year amounted to some twelve to fifteen individuals who "have small patches of land of a few acres each fenced, on which they have, with the help of

M clusion of almost everything else. The seeds of this plant,
K gathered and preserved in three different manners, as described
13 in detail by Coville,[4] form the staple article of food and thus
correspond to acorns used over the greater part of California.
About Tule or Rhett lake and the smaller lakes of that vicinity
there are fewer marshes and consequently a smaller supply of
the water-lily. Thus the Modoc were much less abundantly supplied
with this staple than were the Klamath, who are said to
have had on Klamath marsh alone over ten thousand acres of
these plants. The chief vegetable food of the Modoc seems to
have been tubers and bulbs, notably camass and ipos.

M The extensive lakes of this region naturally bring great num-
K bers of water birds of various kinds, including swans, geese,
136 ducks, and wading birds, the majority of which were used by the
Indians as food and in various ways. The skins of swans, geese,
and other birds with especially fine down, were made into
feather blankets, swaddling clothes, etc. Fish were abundant in
the lakes, salmon and salmon trout being especially esteemed by
M the Indians. The presence of this large supply of water birds
K and fish developed certain specialized implements for their cap-
223 ture. For taking birds there were what may be termed a ring-
M pointed arrow, and a special net. There were several methods
K of taking fish, the most important being by the large triangular
226 dip-net used in the dug-out canoe, as shown in pl. 10.

501 The country provided also an abundance of the usual animals,
M such as deer, elk, antelope, and others used for food; and coyotes,
K gray wolves, foxes, badgers, wildcats, rabbits, and various fur-
136 bearing animals furnishing blankets and clothing.
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BUILDINGS.

M The houses of the Klamath and Modoc were of two kinds. In
K this region where the snow on the higher peaks is always in
342 sight, and where it often reaches a depth of several feet in winter,
[133] a warm and durable house is necessary. This was provided by
[132] the semi-subterranean earth lodge, which was of the usual central
California form, and had a pit from a foot to three or four feet

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[113] [4] Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians, Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Institution, 1902, 727-739.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

THE KLAMATH INDIANS OF SOUTHWESTERN OREGON.

By Albert S. Gatschet.

ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF THE PEOPLE.

INTRODUCTION.

101 The Klamath people of North American Indians, the subject of this
131 descriptive sketch, have inhabited from time immemorial a country upon
the eastern slope of the Cascade Range, in the southwestern part of the
133 territory now forming the State of Oregon. That territory is surrounded
134 by mountain ridges and by elevations of moderate height, and watered by
streams, lakes, marshes, and pond-sources issuing from the volcanic sands
covering the soil. The secluded position of these Indians within their
mountain fastnesses has at all times sheltered them against the inroads of
alien tribes, but it has also withheld from them some of the benefits which
only a lively intercourse and trade with other tribes are able to confer.
132 The climate of that upland country is rough and well known for its sudden
changes of temperature, which in many places render it unfavorable to
137 agriculture. But the soil is productive in edible roots, bulbs, berries, and
136 timber, the limpid waters are full of fish and fowl, and game was plentiful
before the white man's rifle made havoc with it. Thus the country was
capable of supplying a considerable number of Indians with food, and they
never manifested a desire to migrate or "be removed to a better country."

128 The topography of these highlands, which contain the headwaters of the Klamath River of California, will be discussed at length after a mention of the scanty literature existing upon this comparatively little explored tract of land.

133 the highest peaks confirm the eruptive origin of these mountains. The pure azure sky and the perpetual silence of nature reigning in these uplands add impressions of grandeur which it is impossible to describe. The sense of the beautiful has no gratification in the austere forms of these mountains, but the blue and limpid waters of the lakes, their numerous islands, and the lovely green of the shores, delight it in the highest degree.

133
137 The other eminences perceptible on the horizon lack the boldness of outline seen upon the main ridge, and with their dusky timbers deeply contrast with it. They seem monotonous and commonplace, and people easily impressed by colors will call them somber. The open country, whether marshes, plains, clearings, meadows, or bare hills, presents an extremely bleak aspect, especially when under the influence of a hot summer sun. Its unvarying yellowish hue, produced by the faded condition of the coarse grasses, renders it monotonous.

133 The solitude and serenity of these places exercise a quieting influence upon the visitor accustomed to the noisy scenes of our towns and cities. Noiselessly the brooks and streams pursue their way through the purifying volcanic sands; the murmur of the waves and the play of the water-birds, interrupted at times by the cry of a solitary bird, are the only noises to break the silence. Beyond the few settlements of the Indian and away from the post-road, scarcely any trace of the hand of man reminds us of the existence of human beings. There Nature alone speaks to us, and those who are able to read history in the formations disclosed before him in the steeper ledges of this solitary corner of the globe will find ample satisfaction in their study.

132 The Klamath plateau, though productive in game, fish, and sundry kinds of vegetable food, could never become such a great central resort of Indian populations as the banks of Columbia River. The causes for this lie in its secluded position and chiefly in its climate, which is one of abrupt changes. The dryness of the atmosphere maintains a clear sky, which renders the summer days intensely hot; the sun's rays become intolerable in the middle of the day at places where they are reflected by a sandy, alkaline, or rocky soil and not moderated by passing breezes. Rains and hailstorms are of rare occurrence, and gathering thunder clouds often dissolve or "blow

132 over," so that the running waters never swell, but show the same water level
throughout the year. Nights are chilly and really cold, for the soil reflects
against the clear sky all the heat received from the sun during the day, and
the dry night air pervading the highlands absorbs all the moisture it can.
[342] Winters are severe; snow begins to fall early in November, and in the later
months it often covers the ground four feet high, so that the willow lodges
(not the winter houses) completely disappear, and the inmates are thus sheltered
from the cold outside. The lakes never freeze over entirely, but ice
[241] forms to a great thickness. The cold nights produce frosts which are very
destructive to crops in the vicinity of the Cascade Range, but are less harmful
to gardening or cereals at places more distant; and in Lost River Valley,
at Yáneks—even at Linkville—melons, turnips, potatoes, and other vegetables
rarely fail. The mean annual temperature as observed some years ago
at Fort Klamath was 40.47° Fahr.

000 There are several instances in America where highlands have become
centers of an aboriginal culture. Such instances are the plateaus of Anahuac,
Guatemala, Bogotá, and of Titicaca Lake. They contained a dense
population, more cultured than their barbaric neighbors, whom they succeeded
in subjugating one after the other through a greater centralization
161 and unity of power. The Klamath highlands can be compared to the plateaus
above named in regard to their configuration, but they never nourished
a population so dense that it could exercise any power analogous to
that above mentioned. Moreover, there was no intellectual and centralizing
element among these Indians that could render them superior to their neighbors,
all of whom maintained about the same level of culture and intelligence

TOPOGRAPHIC LIST OF CAMPING PLACES.

361 To form a correct idea of the dissemination of Indians in this sparsely
inhabited country, the following lists of camping places will furnish serviceable
data. The grounds selected by the Máklaks for camping places are
of two kinds: either localities adapted for establishing a fishing or hunting
camp of a few days' or weeks' duration or for a whole summer season, or
[342] they are places selected for permanent settlement. Winter lodges (luldamalåksh)
or slab houses are often built at the latter places; whereas the

*539 773

tchik	hû'nk	nχí'-uliga	lắki;	kat	húk	hû't	tchúi	lalí'ga	Tûhû'shash.	Hû'n
then	to it	dripped	on fore-head;	which	thing		since	stuck	on Mud Hen.	This one

gétak	hû'nk	shkálkēla.
only		was hurt.

NOTES.

This is one of the most popular myths current among the É-ukishikni, and we shall find it partially repeated in another myth, recounted by Dave Hill. Aíshish and his father K'mukámtchiksh represent powers of nature engaged in everlasting strife for mutual extermination. In this myth K'múkamtch resorts to the following trick to destroy his offspring. Seeing young larks in a nest on the top of a sorrel-stalk, he informs him, that if he climbs up there, he can obtain a nest of eagles with all its inmates. Gladdened with the prospect of this capture, Aíshish climbs up, but the insidious father causes the plant to grow miraculously fast under him, so that descent becomes impossible, and Aíshish comes near perishing by hunger and exposure.

In the recollection and wording of some portions of the myth my informant was assisted by "Captain Jim."

94, 1–7. The short fragment of a creation myth preceding the Aíshish tale stands in no causal connection with it, and could as well be inserted elsewhere. Myths entering upon the *details* of the creation of the world by K'mukámtchiksh do not, as far as ascertained, exist among this people, but in their stead we have many myths for special creations (of man, animals, islands, mountains etc.). A grammatic analysis of the terms occurring in this fragment (from Lúpí nā'lsh to pátki gí) was inserted by me in the *American Antiquarian*, Vol. I, No. 3, pages 161–166, under the heading: "Mythologic Text in the Klamath Language of Southern Oregon."

[192] [193] 94, 1. Lúpí shutǎyéga is not to be considered as a repetition, for it means: when K'múkamtch began to create the world he made *us* before he made the fish, other animals, and the dam at Linkville. This is, of course, only a small fragment of all the creation myths of this people.

94, 2. shashapkēlía: to tell or count stories, myths or fables in the interest or for the pleasure of somebody; the í is here doubled to obtain a rhetorical effect.

94, 3. K'mú'kamtchish is a contraction of K'mû'kamtch tchish; Aíshish, K'múkamtch also. The longer form of the name of the deity occurs 95, 20.

94, 3. ká-akt, metathetically for kákat; kát is pron. relat. which, what, the thing which. nánuktua ká-akt gǎg comprehends all animate and inanimate creation.

94, 4. wá, uá, to stay, exist, live in; is always connected with an indirect object indicating the place, spot, locality or medium where the subject lives or exists.

94, 4–6. The construction of the sentence runs as follows: Tchúyunk (K'mukámtch) né-ulχa gí'tki gíug páplishash I-ulalónan, páltki tí'wish gint ndûlshámpkash mû' nkillipkash, mû'ash shlé-uyuk; "when a south wind blows, it will stop the waters from [133] rushing down rapidly over the cataract." The outlet of Upper Klamath Lake, called [132] Link River, runs from north to south, over the falls at Linkville; hence a powerful [226] south wind will stem the current of Link River above the falls, leave its bottom dry or almost dry, and enable the Indians to catch the fish swimming in the shallow water or wriggling in the mud. The rocky ledge under the cataract is supposed to be the gift of K'múkamtch.

Frémont also remarked on the scarcity of their horses.[22]

Frémont reached Klamath lake again May 6, 1846. He commented [231]
on the outlet, Link river, "this is a great fishing station for the
Indians." His statement on the distribution of their settlements [226]
coincides with my information.

> They have fixed habitations around the shores of the lake, particularly at [361]
> the outlet and inlet [Williamson river], and along the inlet up to the swamp
> meadow [Klamath marsh], where I met the Tlamaths in the winter of '43-'44, [131]
> and where we narrowly escaped disaster. . . . . The Indians made me under-
> stand that there was another large river [Williamson river] which came from [133] ●
> the north and flowed into the lake at the northern end, and that the principal
> village was at its mouth, where also they caught many fish.

Frémont's party made a circuit of the lake. It is curious that he
does not mention the settlements about Pelican lake on the western
side, which he could hardly have avoided. On the other hand it is
not clear how closely his memoirs follow his diary. Attacked while [726]
on the western side, his party reciprocated by raiding a village on the
opposite side, perhaps one of those on Williamson river just above
the present highway bridge.

> Behind the sage-bushes where they had taken their stand every Indian had
> spread his arrows on the ground in fan-like shape, so that they would be ready
> to his hand. . . . . Quantities of fish were drying, spread on scaffolds, or hung [252]
> up on frames. The huts, which were made of tall rushes and willows, like
> those on the savannah above [Klamath marsh], were set on fire, and the fish [342]
> and scaffolds were all destroyed.[23] [726]

The first invaders remembered by the Klamath came from the
north about 1835. The stories about them have now a legendary flavor. 173
The first group was mounted; the Klamath dubbed them mpĕ'tkoŋks 437
(from mĕtc!a', to pack about) from their roving habits. An alterna- 648
tive name, pásai'ūks (French-Canadian in Chinook jargon), more
surely identifies them. During their brief stay at the mouth of
Williamson river they bought fat dogs of the Klamath, which to the
latter's amazement, they ate. For these they gave buttons and metal
disks with a central perforation (wika'lkal).

Almost as early was a white contingent moving northward on the 173
west side of Klamath lake. The Indians watched them unseen. They 648
were impressed with the horses, axes, and the food of the whites. 177

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[22] Frémont, Narrative, 122.

[23] Frémont, Memoirs, 483, 484, 494.

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173 When the latter broke camp they left behind a little flour, which the
177 Indians carried home and divided. They rubbed it on their palms and
[302] smeared their faces.[24]

648 Other early whites came from the southeast on horseback. This
marked the beginning of the great migration by way of the Modoc
648 country to the Pacific slope. On the whole the Klamath came off
remarkably well in their relations with the whites. The full brunt of immigration was borne by Modoc and Pit River peoples. The Klamath were spared the Oregon wars of the fifties, which all but annihilated the tribes of western Oregon and northern California.[25] The earliest white settlements in the neighborhood were about the present Jacksonville, Medford, and Ashland. The first white settlement within Klamath territory was near the village of kowa'edi at the northern end of the lake. This was about 1860–65, hence may have reference to the first agency established there. Subsequent relations have been on the whole quite amicable. The Klamath took no part in the Modoc war of 1872–73.

Habitat

131 The territory of the Klamath is on the high plateau of eastern
133 Oregon, in the shallow basin wherein lies the group of lakes that give
rise to Klamath river. The southern half of this basin about lower Klamath and Tule lakes is Modoc territory, extending southward across the lava beds in the direction of Pit river. The northern half, which lies against the Cascade range, is the home of the Klamath.

The Klamath properly reside on Klamath lake (or as it was
formerly known, upper or middle Klamath lake), on Klamath marsh,
[361] and on Williamson river, which connects them. At least, most of the
permanent winter settlements are on these three waters, with a scattering on their tributaries. Summer camps are established over a much wider territory, as far, it would seem, as the natural limits of this drainage area.

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[263] [24] Salt was equally unknown to them at this time.

[25] A somewhat obscure account was given me of the inclusion of Klamath in
[174] the great round-up of western Oregon Indians on Siletz (?) reservation in the
fifties. These had been wintering at the Dalles and were herded with the
Indians there. The Upland Takelma and Molala were penned in together and
[648] fed by the soldiers. Some died every day; the Klamath suspected that they
were poisoned. The Klamath were kept apart, and, thanks to the strenuous
arguments of their chief Lale'ks, were not only freed but supplied with beef
and an escort of soldiery to conduct them back to their own country.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[facing p. 8] [A]

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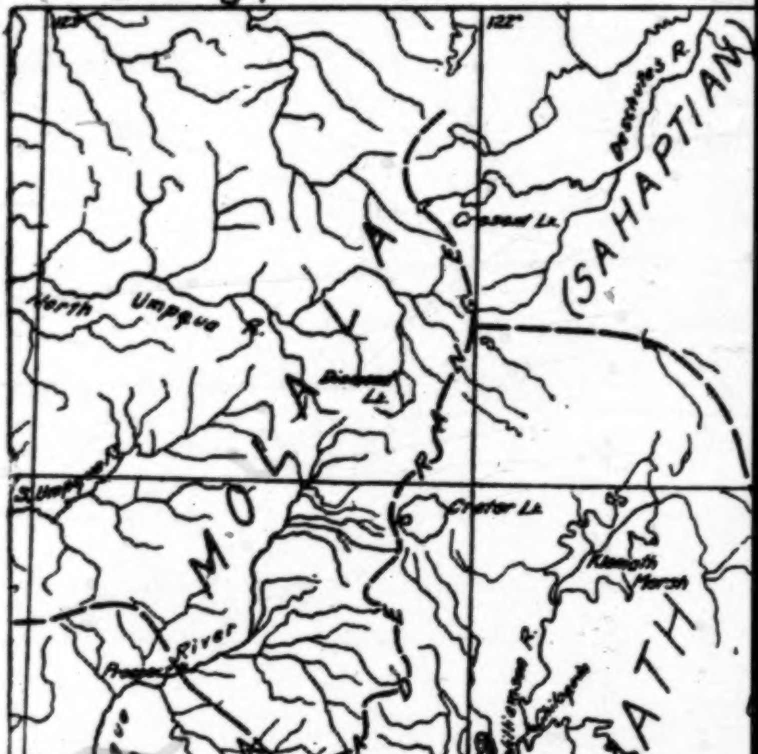
122°
122°
Deschutes R.
(SAHAPTIAN)
Crescent Lk.
North Umpqua R.
Diamond Lk.
S. Umpqua
MOLALA
Crater Lk.
Klamath Marsh
KLAMATH
River
Prospect
Rogue
Williamson R.
Table Rock
Mt. Pitt
Sprague
Yainax
Klamath Lake
Medford
Ashland
UPLAND TAKELMA
Klamath Falls
Olene
Lost River
Keno
River
Lower Klamath Lk.
Tule Lake
Klamath
Shovel Cr.
SHASTA
Yreka
Montague
MODOC

Fig. 1. Map of Klamath te

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[facing p. 8] [B]

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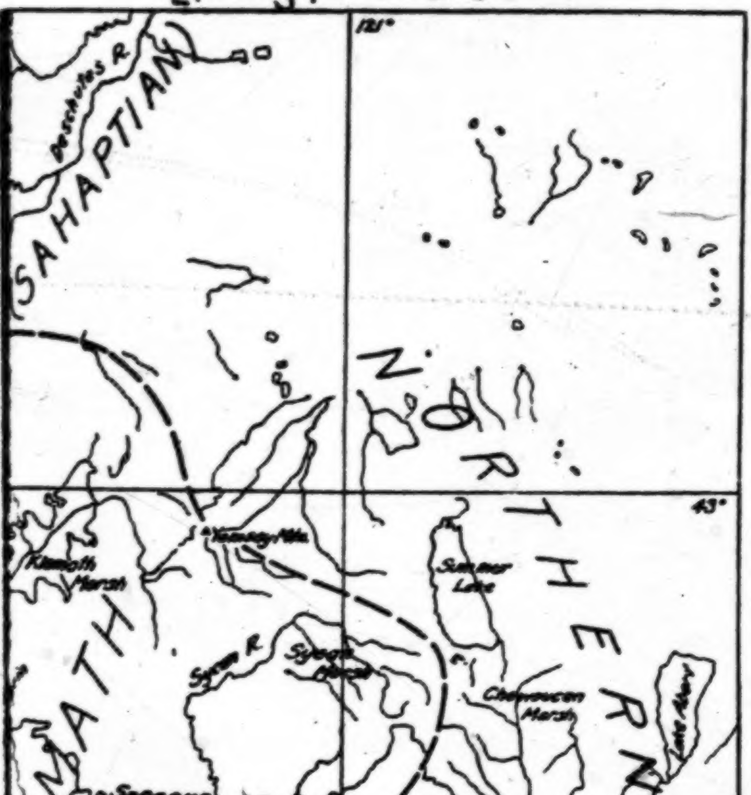

121°
43°
42°
Deschutes R.
(SAHAPTIAN)
NORTHERN PAIUTE
KLAMATH
MODOC
Yamsay Mtn.
Klamath Marsh
Summer Lake
Sycan R.
Sycan Marsh
Chewaucan Marsh
Lake Abert
Sprague River
Yainax
Klamath Falls
Lost River
Tule Lake
Lk.
Goose Lake

Map of Klamath territory.

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The western and southern limits of the range are easiest to define 131
because of the topography and the proximity of other tribes. To the
east and north the open deserts and broken country extend indefinitely. 133
The nearest of the shifting settlements of Northern Paiute on the east
at Goose and Summer lakes are sixty and more miles from Klamath
lake. Those of the Warm Springs tribes are one hundred and fifty
miles distant, more than halfway across Oregon. Teit's data show [175]
that more than a century ago the neighbors of the Klamath in this
direction were the Sahaptins at no great distance and beyond them
Molala and Cayuse.

The wide plain south of Klamath Falls seems to have been unoccupied. 101
The Modoc lived south of the Lost River hills about Tule lake
and on lower Klamath lake. My Klamath informant doubted that 131
they lived on Miller lake, or had permanent settlements on Lost river. 174
Both tribes congregated at one place only for the early spring fishing,
namely on Lost river, a mile or more below the buttes at Olene. The [226]
Klamath camp site is on the north bank, the Modoc on the south.

The southern boundary of Klamath territory skirts the Klamath 101
valley from this place as far downstream as Spencer creek, near the
California-Oregon line, below the canyon of the Klamath. Below this 131
on the river are the Shasta, whose northernmost outposts are on Shovel
creek and north of the river on Jennie creek. The Klamath have no [226]
settlements on the river, but fish, hunt, and gather roots at such points [224]
as Keno, Spencer creek (ma'lbuk'is), and at laik'ēlmi, five or six miles [222]
upstream from Dorris (?).

The western boundary is the Cascade watershed, including, however, territory on the northwest side of Mount Pitt (Mount McLoughlin) and again southwest of Crater lake. The Klamath hunt northwest of this conspicuous mountain in a region of many streams called la'ndjli (possibly an American name). Fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake is Huckleberry mountain (iwumkā'ni, huckleberry place) where the Klamath meet the Molala similarly engaged in berry picking. The latter regularly occupy the highlands of the upper Rogue river drainage above Trail creek or some point below Prospect. These Molala form a southern extension of that tribe from the upper Umpqua drainage.

The northern and eastern boundaries are somewhat indefinite. Palmer stated:

in importance to fish. Summer is also the time of travel and trade, 221
taking people as far as the Dalles where they may elect to spend the
winter. Winters are exceptionally severe at this altitude (4000 feet), [132]
with deep snow and lakes, marshes, and even streams solidly frozen.
Movement is stopped and unless a winter residence has been chosen [133] •
which gives some possibility of fishing, starvation may be faced before 221
spring. These winter sites are in sheltered, sunny spots on running 361
streams or at springs warm enough to prevent ice from forming. The
families return in the fall, rebuild the earth-lodges from the remains [226]
of the previous year's structure, and are all snugly housed by mid-December. The only permanent settlements are the winter villages.
The summer residences are shifting, and while reoccupied from year
to year, there is no feeling that particular camping localities belong
to certain groups. The summer camps are rather indiscriminate aggre- [628]
gations of any Klamath, but the winter locations are so fixed of habit
as to give a measure of political separatism to the several localities.

The case of Tom Lang's family is typical. Their permanent winter home is at iu'laloŋʞ, a large village on the west side of Link river at the foot of Klamath lake, hence Tom is considered one of the southern lake people, iu'ˈlaloŋkni generically. His family is accustomed to move for the spring fishing to ditk!aks, Barclay spring, or to Modoc point, both on the east side of the lake, where they erect temporary lodges. Crossing the lake to dö'ktcoŋks they leave their canoes and travel overland to woksa'lks on the north shore of Wokas marsh. Here Tom was born in July. When the berry and wokas harvest is ended they retrace their steps and take canoe to Algoma to pick wild plums, berries, etc. From there they drift back to their winter home.

The towns for the most part lie along Williamson river, on the
southern side of Klamath marsh, and along the eastern shore of Klamath lake. As these are winter settlements, the open lake is avoided,
and occupied only where warm springs outweigh its disadvantages.
They cluster along Williamson river whose sheltered valley is dis- [133]
tinctly warmer than the lake front a few miles distant and where the
running stream contains fish most of the year. [132]

The towns are not isolated, compact groups of houses, but stretch
along the banks for half a mile or more. In fact, the settlements on 361
Williamson river below the Sprague river junction form a practically 342
continuous string of houses for five or six miles, the house pits being,
in many spots, crowded close together. Informants insisted that
many of these were occupied at the same time. When we consider
that these earth-lodges may have housed several families, there is
strong suggestion of a considerable population.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

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(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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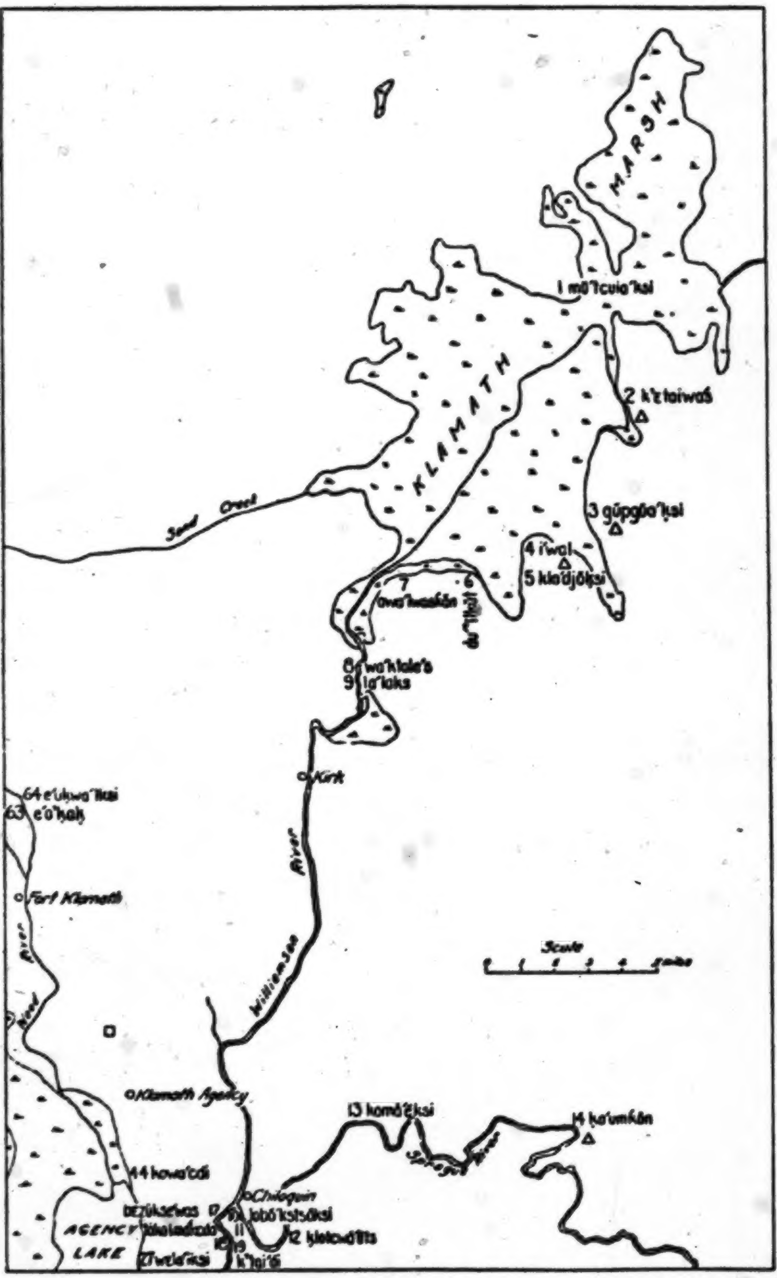
MARSH
KLAMATH
1 mō'lcuio'ksi
2 k'ɛ'taiwaš
3 gūpgōa'ksi
4 i'wal
5 kla'djōksi
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7
ōwa'hwaśkōn
dū'tilit
8 wa'ktale's
9 ia'laks
Sand Creek
Kirk
Williamson River
64 e'ukwa'ksi
63 e'o'kak
Fort Klamath
Wood River
Klamath Agency
13 komō'ɛksi
14 ko'umkōn
Sprague River
44 kowa'cdi
Chiloquin
bezū'kselwas 17
10 Iobō'kstsōksi
dokelmaksda
11
12 kletcwd'tits
18 19
k'ɪgi'ś
21 wela'ksi
AGENCY LAKE
Scale
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles

Fig. 2. Settlements in northern Klamath territory. Triangles represent cremation piles; rectangles, mourners' sweat-lodges.

[p. 12]

21, ḳ!o'ltawas, a town of ten or fifteen earth-lodges on the left 103
bank, with houses on the right bank extending to the next settlement 131
downstream. There are otter (ḳ!olt) holes in the right bank, hence 361
the name. A mythical otter that lived here is seen in a rock standing [823]
in the water; on his back are his children, smaller rocks.

22, at'awlke, "to catch fish in still water," six to a dozen houses [226]
on the right bank; a *few* on the left. The water here is quiet; fish are
caught with the trolling net.

23, ya'ak (ya'ac, willows), two dozen or more houses on the right bank. This was the largest river site in early reservation days, the road from Link river (Klamath falls) fording the river here. Of three house pits together, with their margins nearly in contact, two are twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter, the other fully five feet more. A cremation pile stands on the hill above this town. It is now leveled by marauders, as are all the others in this country, but it apparently covered an area forty feet in diameter.

24, tsa'k'wi, houses on the right bank with a few on the left.

25, wită'mŭmpsi, bear's place (wită'm, black bear). This is a [823]
high bluff on the right bank above an eddy in the sharp bend in the
river; the scene of vision questing. A large shaman's earth-lodge is [756]
located here. Fish are caught all year long above this town.

26, goyεmske'εgis, crawfish crawl out, or kiεke'trŭs, small lizard, [226]
a town half a mile long beginning a quarter-mile above the highway
bridge. The houses are on the abrupt slope right to the river's brink,
and some on the little bluff above. There are pits of perhaps forty or [343]
more houses here, but at least half are dome-shaped cooking houses,
for they are for the most part only six to ten feet in diameter, with
few as much as fifteen feet. One of eighteen feet has its dome-shaped
kitchen lodge clearly indicated on the north side.

27, wεla'lksi, named for a big quaking-aspen (wεla'l) there, is on the eastern shore of Agency lake. A few ă'ukckni live here in winter, in five or six small houses.

28, loḳ'o'gŭt, warm, a little warm spring near which are two houses [133]
on the higher land near Agency lake.

29, tcō'klalŭmps, service berry, which grows here abundantly, is a town of one or two small houses overlooking the lake where the Chiloquin road meets the lake highway.

Other towns may have been at ya'mzi, on the western side of Yamsay mountain, and ḳokenă'okε, Spring creek, a large northern affluent of Klamath marsh.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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103 131 361 II. *Agency lake group* (*kowa'cdikni*).—The winter home of these people is on Agency lake, the northern arm of Klamath lake. My questioning did not make it wholly certain that this group is independent of ă'ukekni. In fact they join them at k'ᴇtai'di (19) on Williamson river for the spring fishing.

[756] [226] 44, kowa'cdi is close to the mouth of Wood river. The site is a quarter-mile long. One informant stated that it contained twenty houses, another two earth-lodges (one a shaman's), not incompatible statements. A spring here permits fish to remain all winter. A few houses are at another spring a quarter-mile east.

• [133] III. *Lower Williamson river group* (*du'kwakni*).—These settlements are close to the mouth of Williamson river. This region, du'kwa, is one of marsh, separated by a considerable section of open and higher plain (pᴇnŏ'ŋs) from the nearest ă'ukekni settlements. Pᴇnŏ'ŋs seems not to have been occupied in pre-reservation days, although du'kwakni and ă'ukekni now live there. Du'kwa people seem also to live across the lake at Pelican bay, the home of the gu'mbŏtkni. But whether this is a regular thing, or only a matter of my du'kwa informant's [222] personal history, I am not sure. At any rate they go to dig roots in the marshes of the western and northern sides of Klamath lake in summer, not to Klamath marsh. Their winter settlements are on the isolated bits of higher ground within a mile of the river mouth, and on the marsh front immediately south. Most of these settlements, too, are on the right bank of the river.

30, mo'aķsda, five or seven earth-lodges on the left bank nearly a mile above the mouth. Five more houses stood on the opposite bank with numerous springs behind them and the du'kwakni cremation pile a half-mile above.

31, wickămdi, four or five houses on the right bank below this, one or two a little below, then a cluster of four and another of two farther downstream.

32, la'wa'lstŏt, three houses on the point forming the right side of the river mouth.

33, mo'giŋkŭnks, the largest settlement in this district with five or six earth-lodges and as usual a number of small structures. This is on the left bank a quarter-mile above the mouth. One or two houses are on this side immediately at the river mouth.

34, djiŋgŭs, four or five houses at a spring on the lake front to the east of the mouth, with one or two more farther in the marsh.

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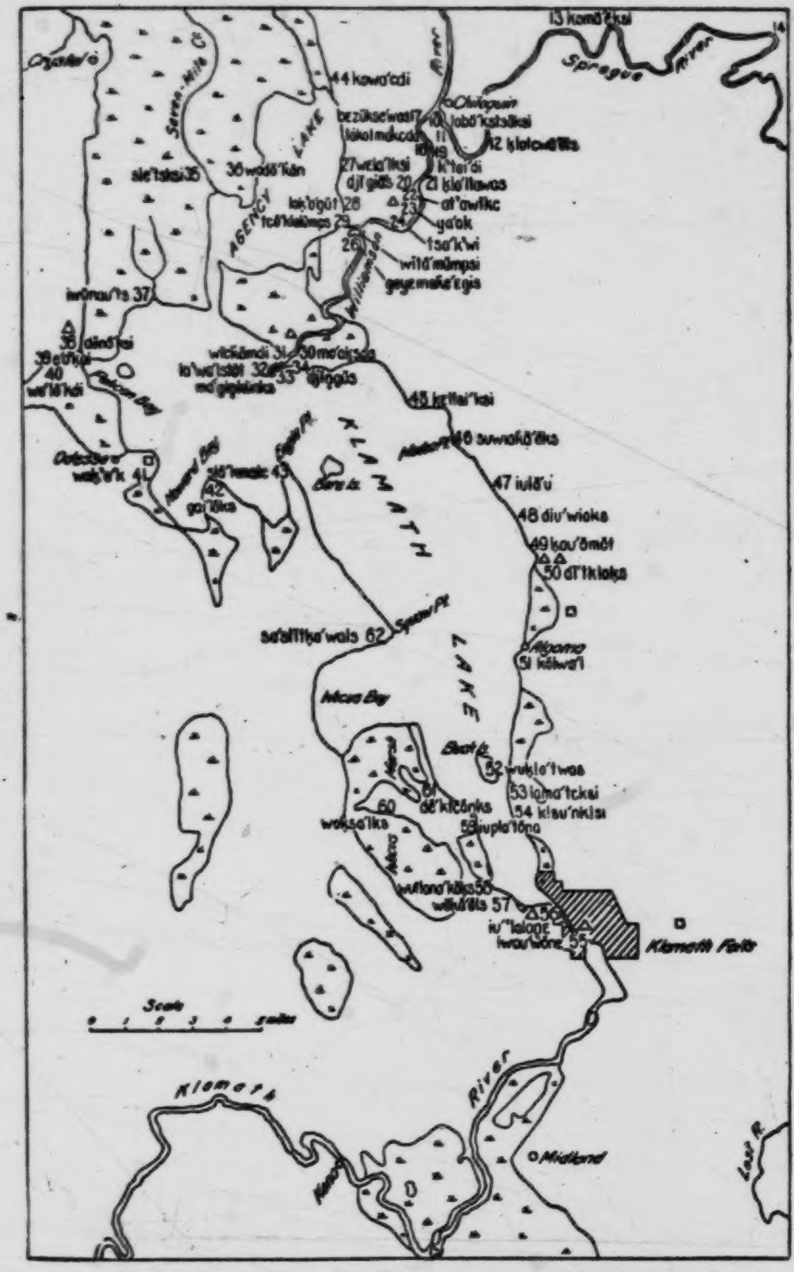
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Sprague River
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36 wadō'kān
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Seven-Mile Cr.
AGENCY LAKE
Williamson R.
iwōnau'ts 37
38 dāno'tai
39 etī'kai
40
wa'lō'hōi
Pelican Bay
wicōamdi 31
30 mo'aksda
lo'wa'lstōt 32
33
34
djīggūs
mō'gigiūnks
45 kɛlai'kai
Modoc Pt.
46 suwahō'dks
Odessa
wakɛ'nk 41
Howard Bay
slō'twak 43
42
ga'ltks
Eagle Pt.
Bare Is.
KLAMATH LAKE
47 iulō'u
48 diu'wioks
49 kau'ōmōt
50 dī'tklaks
Algoma
51 kōlwa'i
sa'altka'wals 62
Squaw Pt.
Moore Bay
Buck Is.
52 wuklo'twas
53 lamo'tckai
54 kisu'nkisi
61
dē'kicōnks
60
woksa'lks
59 iupla'lōna
wuflona'kōks 58
wihū'ēls 57
56
iu'lalone
iwau'wōne 55
Klamath Falls
Scale
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles
Klamath River
Midland
Lost R.

Fig. 3. Settlements in southern Klamath territory. Triangles represent cremation piles; rectangles, mourners' sweat-lodges.

[p.17]

side of Wood river in much the same locality. These may be the 103
same site. 131

V. *Klamath Falls group* (*iuʺ laloŋḳni*).—All the people of the lake
from Modoc point southward are named for their principal locality, 361
iuʺ laloŋᴇ, Klamath falls. Despite the large area, they are relatively few in number. In summer they resort to the marshes west of the lake or fish on Lost river. The district along the eastern shore of the lake from Modoc point nearly to Algoma is called neʺ luḳai (neʺ luḳs, a late sunrise), from the circumstance that a low mountain here cuts off the morning sunlight.

45, kᴇt!ai'ksi, point of rock, a promontory two miles or so northwest of Modoc point, is their northernmost settlement.

46, suwiakă'ĕks, jump over, is a large village at Modoc point. It extended on both sides of the headland and for three-quarters of a mile south. The place takes its name from a large rock (about three and a half feet high) which stands a half-mile south of the point. It was a trial of skill to run uphill and jump over the rock. Bare island (au'emi) opposite is their camp site, and has no permanent settlements.

47, iulă'u, promontory, is a fishing village occupied in early spring. Pictographs are painted on the rock slide north of this.

48, diu'wiaks (named for its little spring, di'wik) is a winter
settlement at the railroad point Ouxy. Little fish ran in the spring [226]
early in the year.

49, ḳau'ömöt, a half-mile south, is, like all these lake sites, crowded along the foot of the mountain on the lake shore. There are many
earth-lodges about a large spring here. The lodge rings are so clear [172]
that this would be a good place for archaeological excavations. Its name is from ḳau'öm, a place where fish run.

50, dI'tk!aḳs, boiling spring, is now known as Barclay spring. [133]
There are many earth-lodges north and south of this. Two cremation piles are to the north on the highway, one distant a hundred yards on a rock slide, the second twice as far and directly on the southern boundary of the reservation. Unlike the cremation piles on Williamson river, no glass beads or iron was to be found at this second site.
South of Barclay spring by three hundred yards is a deep nameless [231]
spring into which pups are thrown to train them for hunting. A large
sweat-lodge used by mourners is situated at the foot of the slope near [343]
the angle of the marsh east of Algoma.

361 at the lake's edge, large and warm enough to prevent ice forming over a large area. Winter is severe at this altitude (4000 feet), snowdrifts [132] are deep, and Klamath lake freezes over to a depth of some ten inches in late December. Such sheltered valleys as that of the Williamson • [133] river, while but a few miles from the open lake, are distinctly warmer.

The annual cycle of activities is dictated largely by the food 221 habits. It is customary to leave the winter villages in April or May, when plant growth is well under way and the flat valleys have dried, not to return until the snow falls again and houses need refurbishing. When fish begin to run in the spring, the Klamath congregate at the fishing places to stay for two months or more. For example, some join the Modoc on Lost river for several weeks to catch and dry fish. The spring and early summer are spent on the marshes and prairies, gathering roots such as camas and ipos. When the camas has been dried and stored, they move to the marshes, especially to Klamath marsh, to harvest pond-lily seeds from mid-August to the end of September. While the women are busy with this harvest, men hunt mule deer, antelope, and other animals whose habitat is in eastern Klamath territory. Late summer and autumn, seeds, berries, and nuts are gathered, the Indians congregating where these are plentiful. Many of those at Klamath marsh, for example, move directly to Huckleberry mountain, southwest of Crater lake, to garner these [484] berries. Summer and autumn are the seasons for journeying to visit and trade, for raiding, and especially for laying up a store of fish [726] against the coming winter. It must be understood that the winter [251] locations are not completely abandoned during this season, for many of them are favorably situated for these very activities. But it is [361] customary for such a group as the äukekni division, whose winter residences cluster thickly along the middle Williamson river, to scatter and meet again at Klamath marsh for the pond-lily harvest in [805] August and September. (This is the beginning of the Klamath year.) They begin to return to the winter sites in the latter month, to start [342] rebuilding the earth-lodges for the coming winter, a task completed in December, by which time full winter is at hand.[219]

501 The move to Klamath marsh of the people at the mouth of William- 221 son river, the du'kwakni, can be made by canoe only as far as ya'ak on the middle river, where they join the äukekni in packing afoot the rest of the distance. When the water is high, canoes can go upstream as far as bɛzūkse'was at the mouth of Sprague river (see the maps,

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[219] See also Gatschet, 1:74–77.

used;[373] then grass or pine boughs, covered with dirt, are heaped halfway 342
up the side. The outer mats are held in place by tying them along
the edges to poles propped against the side of the house. The rope
(pěķ'os) used for this is three strand, braided of grass or the outer
layer of tule. In placing the mats, a space about two feet across is
left at the top for a smoke hole, and another only three and a half feet
high for a doorway. One has to stoop to enter. The door is a mat like
that of the summer house; it is not weighted nor tied down.

Drying racks are not placed inside the houses. All fish and meat [251]
are dried on racks near-by. [417]

Houses are not decorated, nor are the house posts carved or painted
except by shamans. These may paint them with horizontal stripes, 342
alternately red and white. One informant had it that men's faces,
snakes, lizards, and various other animals, not spirits, are painted on
the posts, but I am doubtful. Shamans also hung stuffed bird and
animal skins about the interior. A wooden image and a stuffed crane [756]
skin are set up outside on the northern side of the hatchway, i.e., above
the shaman's bed. Houses are not given individual names, Yurok 552
fashion, though the localizing tendency of the Klamath might have 171*
found an outlet in this.

The fireplace (sne'lūķs) in the earth-lodge is in the middle of the 354
floor, between the four center posts and under the open hatchway.
Neither a pit nor stones are used to confine the fire. Most of the time
there is no fire on the hearth, only in the morning and evening; at
other times the hatch is closed. A huge fire is built when it is nearly
sundown, and after the mat is drawn across the opening the heat is so
great that blankets may be dispensed with. This despite the severe [132]
winters; at this altitude (4000 feet) lakes and streams are frozen
solid. Fires are usually made by piling short lengths of wood in log- [133]
cabin (crib-work) fashion to a height of eighteen inches. They cook
when this is reduced to a bed of coals. A piece of rotten wood is
ignited to carry fire from one place to another.

Cooking ordinarily takes place outside the dwelling in a dome- 343
shaped house (sti'nā'c) erected near-by. An earth-lodge on lower 252
Williamson river, for example, set some fifty yards from the stream,
had its cooking lodge close to the bank. All the women of the household 592
prepare their food together, even where several families have
joint tenancy. It is carried to the earth-lodge and there passed about

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[373] Barrett gives the successive layers as made of "a kind of reed," triangular-stemmed tule, and circular-stemmed tule (*op. cit.*, 244).

805 dino'löpka, later forenoon.
siwö'tkn, midday.
gawilo'la, mid-afternoon.
dī'atkn sa''bas, sun nearly down.

The movement of the stars gives time at night. For instance, I was told that in winter, when they sit late telling stories, it is bedtime (lo'lalöks) when Orion's belt has risen two-thirds of the distance toward the zenith. This is about ten o'clock in mid-December. Midnight is literally (?) psīndötklüm.

There is no year count, but these people have of course no difficulty in expressing spans of years. Similarly the seasons are of little significance. There are however four period names: sz'a'lüm, the beginning of fall, lo'ldöm, winter, when snow begins to fall in the mountains, sko'w'a, the beginning of spring, pö'tda, when roots, etc., begin to ripen. It was emphasized that these names refer properly to the opening of the seasons. There is no generic word for seasons; the year is called momo'wate or e'lo'la. Gatschet observes that as an alternative to the use of month names, they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as udsaksä'mi, "in the big sucker time," i-umä'mi, "in the berry season," etc.[403]

This seasonal count indicates that the year begins in early fall. It is marked by the end of the wild fruit season and the withering of the leaves. This corresponds to late August or early September.[404] The exact date is indefinite; it is marked by the appearance of a new moon, but bears no relation to the procession of the constellations.

Ten months are named which purport to pass for lunar months. That is, the Klamath month (sa''bas, month, moon, sun) is a period indefinitely fixed in the solar calendar, marked by the waxing and waning of the moon, and omitting the dark phases. These people are fully aware that ten named periods do not fit the twelve plus lunations of the year. No attempt is made to make them fit, to reckon an intercalary period. The ten months are merely ten roughly marked intervals of the year-round, whose beginning, duration, and end are left indefinite as of no particular concern, but which serve the convenient purpose of designating the several periods of the year. It is quite clear that while the Klamath are fully aware of the discrepan-

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[403] Gatschet, 1:76.

[132] [133] [404] It must be remembered that winter comes very early at this altitude (4000 feet). By mid-September ice forms on the ponds during the night. Gatschet's information confirms that of my best informants that August-September marks the opening of the year (1:74). This disposes of mid-winter and February-March as opening dates as mentioned by my other informants below.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

[p.251]

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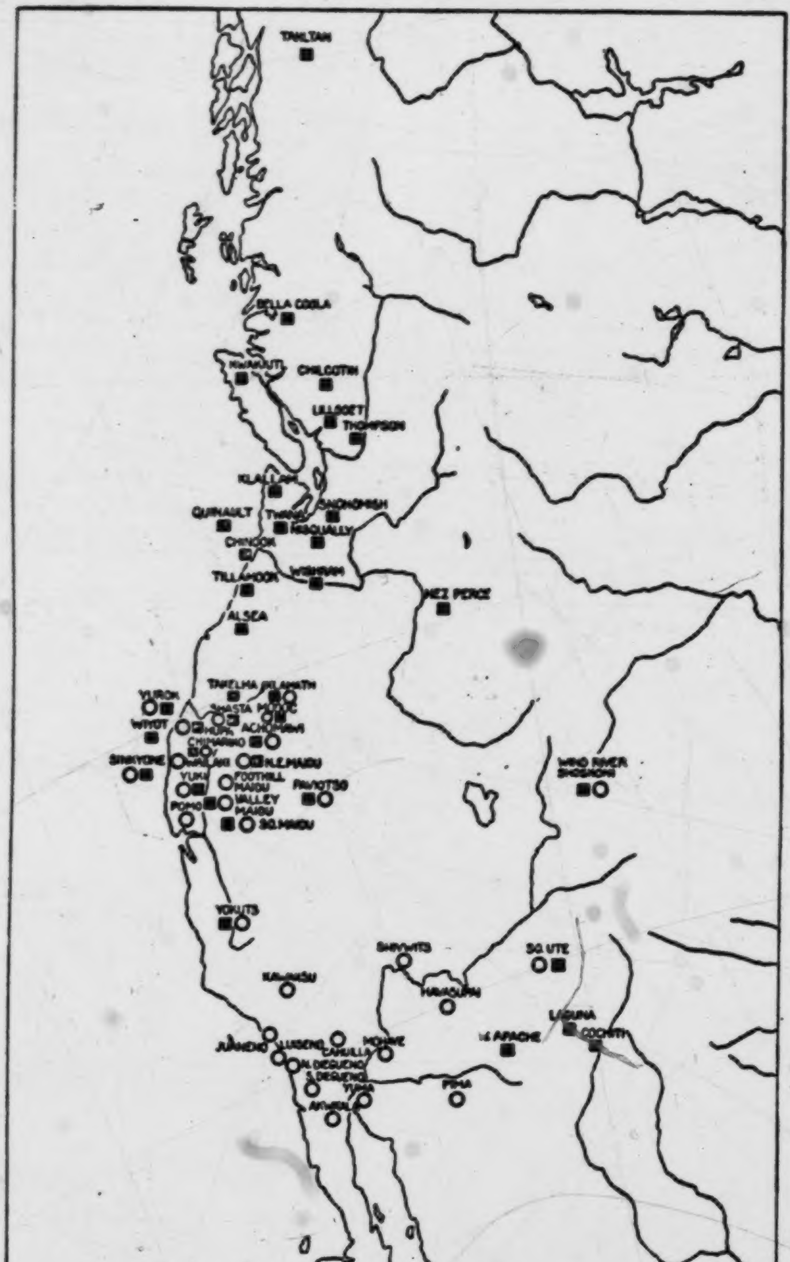
TAHLTAN
BELLA COOLA
KWAKIUTL
CHILCOTIN
LILLOOET
THOMPSON
KLALLAM
QUINAULT
TWANA
SNOHOMISH
NISQUALLY
CHINOOK
TILLAMOOK
WISHRAM
NEZ PERCE
ALSEA
TAKELMA
KLAMATH
YUROK
SHASTA
MODOC
WIYOT
HUPA
ACHOMAWI
CHIMARIKO
SINKYONE
WAILAKI
N.E.MAIDU
YUKI
FOOTHILL MAIDU
PAVIOTSO
WIND RIVER SHOSHONI
POMO
VALLEY MAIDU
SO.MAIDU
YOKUTS
SHIVWITS
SO. UTE
KAWAIISU
HAVASUPAI
LAGUNA
JUANENO
LUISENO
CAHUILLA
MOHAVE
W. APACHE
COCHITI
N. DIEGUENO
S. DIEGUENO
YUMA
PIMA
AKWA'ALA

Fig. 22. Distribution of the quest and dream as sources of spirit power in western North America. Squares indicate the quest; circles, the dream.

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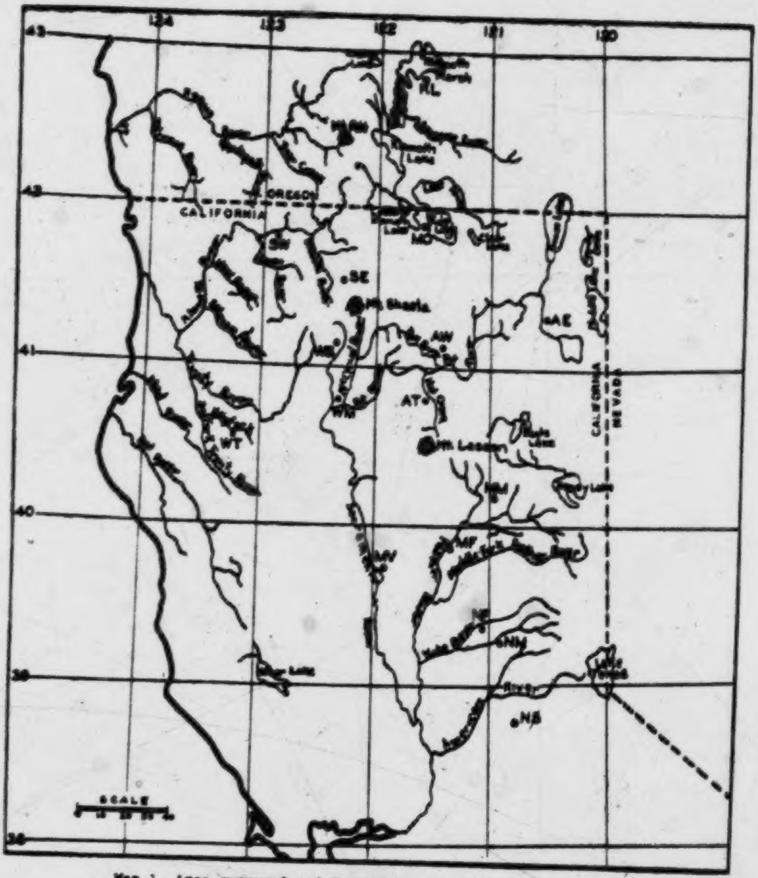
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KL
Klamath Lake
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
SH
SE
Mt. Shasta
AE
AW
MC
AT
WM
WT
Mt. Lassen
NM
MV
MF
NE
NM
Lake Tahoe
NS
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
SCALE

Map 1. Area surveyed and localities to which cultural data from the several tribal groups refer.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

ONE

[P. 3]

The Aboriginal Klamath-Modoc

EASTWARD FROM THE LOFTY CASCADES OF WASHINGTON AND OREGON 133
stretches the elevated and broken country of the central
Plateau. Across its face, rivers carry waters from northern water-
sheds and the slopes of the Rockies and, cleaving the mountain
barrier, flow to the sea. Upon the ladder of their waters, the hom- 136
ing salmon mount in seasonal surges to spawning grounds far to
the interior. It is a province once richly endowed in game, and,
early in the peopling of the New World, the Indian found it. In 172
the period toward the end of the Pleistocene period, while the 133
glaciers ebbed upon their centers, some eleven thousand years
ago,[2] some of his numbers camped along the Columbia, at the head of an estuary that in those days extended upriver to The Dalles, and left behind antler combs, stone bolas, blades, and the obscure and humble bric-a-brac of the camp. Further upriver, in the open lands of Lind Coulee, others hunted the bison. Below and east of the Plateau, unnamed tribesmen camped along the Pluvial lakes of the Great Basin, whose waters, now gradually drying up, attracted the waterfowl and animals that in turn drew the hunter. In the timeless dessication of its caves, at Fort Rock, Danger, Gypsum, and Lovelock their sandals, basketry, and spear-throwers have been found.

Along the southwestern flanks of the Cascades, a great fault had formed a crescentic trough some one hundred miles in length by twenty-five in breadth. Rivers and creeks fed marsh lands and broad lakes within this great highland and created an earthly paradise for the early hunter-fishermen. Their initial entry has been estimated at about ten thousand years ago, and by the time

K 172 133 the eruption of Mount Mazama created Crater Lake and strewed its pumice in thick beds over the countryside, some 6,500 years ago, they had long been in occupation.[3]

K M 101 172 Here, with the passage of time, the peoples later to receive the names of Klamath and Modoc began to take on their present way of life. Their cultural position was at once peripheral and strategic, for they lay at the boundaries of the emergent cultural provinces of the Great Basin, the Plateau, and California, and though they stemmed fundamentally from the Great Basin, they were also subject to influences flowing from California and the Plateau. Consistent with their relative geographical position and ecological resources, the Modoc diverged toward California and the Klamath toward the Plateau; and when in turn the influences of the North Pacific Coast—extending from southern Alaska to northern California—reached them, it was again the Klamath who were somewhat more receptive. Despite their differences, the two peoples retained a substantial common base: they spoke dialects of the same language and felt their political separation to have been a recent event.[4]

K M 101 197 Indeed, the linguistic evidence is consonant with a long autochthonous development within this region. Klamath-Modoc finds its closest linguistic congeners within the Plateau, in Cayuse, Molala, and the northern Sahaptin Tenino, Klickitat, Yakima, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Nez Percé. Taken together, these languages are seen as more distantly related to others spoken in Western Oregon and in the Sacramento-San Joaquin drainage of California, and like them are assigned to the Penutian phylum.[5] (See Map of Tribal Distribution in Oregon.)

K 133 226 361 433 For the Klamath, the dominant features of their landscape were the marshes and streams, with their rich resources of fish, mussels, and waterfowl. Their winter settlements, fringing the shores in settled places, were located where fish could be caught most of the year, clustered densely upon Klamath Marsh and the eastern shore of Agency and Upper Klamath lakes, extending down to Link River. They lay as well upon the Williamson River which runs in a bow some sixty miles, passing through the Marsh to empty into Upper Klamath Lake, and upon its eastern tributary, the Sprague. In their more open country to the south, the Modoc were less favored and less open to influences from fishing peoples,

M 133 226 224 433

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K
M middle Columbia, far below the Coast and California, and in turn
161 considerably above the Great Basin.[6]

000 The mind's eye, drawing upon descriptions of early explorers and modern ethnographers,[7] can recreate the life of the early nineteenth century. It is a life that moves through a succession of activities with the seasons, each characterized by a community of different size and constituency. On a miniscule scale they resemble the "task groupings" which Anastasio has analysed in the intertribal relations on the Plateau.[8]

K During the long winters, existence is centered in the permanent
M settlements, for the altitude of the Klamath Basin is over four
221 thousand feet and snow often drifts deep. An accrued depth of
132 six to eight feet is common; while in the exceptional winter of
133 1890-91 a figure of thirty feet, undoubtedly in drifts, was recorded
361 at the head of Agency Lake. Crude, circular bearpaw snowshoes
481 provide a poor means of winter travel, and the settlements tend
262 to become isolated; most people are forced to remain in the villages, supplementing the meager winter catch with stores of dried fish and meat, roots, seeds, and berries.

K From a distance, the winter settlement has the appearance of
M hillocks strung out along the bank or clustered in a sheltered
221 spot. In size it may range from several score houses—there are
361 perhaps a hundred house pits at one favored site on Klamath
342 Marsh, though not all may have been occupied at the same time
—down to tiny hamlets of one or two earth lodges and a few mat
huts.[9] Within the village, the earth lodges are the dominant struc-
K tures, with the domed huts flanking them. In Klamath settlements,
M communal storage pits shelter the bulk of supplies; but the
343 Modoc prefer to conceal foodstuffs in household caches some
251 distance from the houses.

One Klamath woman recalled her childhood hamlet, part of
K a settlement totaling roughly two dozen houses,[10] on the lower
361 reaches of the Williamson River. Here she and her parents lived
342 with her maternal uncle, the shaman later known as Alex Wilson,
whose earth lodge was the largest in the hamlet. Nearby was
another lodge, the residence of Hunter Wilson, brother of Alex
and headman of the family group. Some four or five mat-covered
K lodges and huts stood in the vicinity, the larger ones closer to
[343] the water for cooking and the sewing of tule mats, the smaller

[Klamath Reservation]

133
137

The Lower End. You are looking south, over the Klamath Basin. Wood River loops in the foreground of the picture. There is a glimpse of the western edge of Agency Lake and the Cascades loom on the horizon. (Courtesy L. S. Cressman.)

The Upper End. This is a view of the eastern side of the reservation, taken from a vantage point near Beatty, looking east.

[P. 48-A]

> *657 177 241 a mere change of externals, yet the white man's ways as the red man understood them were adopted with a rapidity unequalled in most Indian tribes. . . .
>
> The vegetables grown that first year [corn, beans, turnips, carrots, peas, potatoes, artichokes, and onions][1] were a revelation and a delight to the Indians, who had previously lived so largely on small native roots. I have heard my father say that they were particularly captivated by beets which, with their red juice, they thought resembled "ittle-willy" [meat].[2]

In the effort to induce the Indians to cultivate their fields, the Agent seems to have enlisted the aid of the military. "I had about one-half acre broken for Blow," wrote Captain F. B. Sprague, "and he is at work like a white man, has it all fenced and cetera, & plants growing finally."[3]

The crops the first year were reported good, but subsequently
• [133] [132] they were killed by frosts or summer droughts. The elevation of the Klamath Plateau, some four thousand feet above sea level, limits farming even today. Reports are studded with the phrases, "heavy frosts," "unprecedented heat," "unusually dry and frosty." Surveying the blighted fields, the early Agents redoubled their efforts. In 1869, Applegate reported that "the teachers . . . have been for a greater part of the time engaged on the farms, along with Indian boys receiving instruction in manual labor. . . ." R. B. Hatton, schoolteacher, stiffly pointed out that he "was instructed to labor on the farms . . ." and the tenor of his remarks suggests that in so doing he had been diverted from what he considered his proper function.[4]

*657 *648 177 231 241 The following year, the new Agent, Captain O. C. Knapp, stated, "I again urge upon the Department the uselessness of trying to make this an agricultural reservation. . . . The Indians should be supplied with cattle and sheep, and they would soon become self-sustaining."[5] His words were echoed by Agent L. S. Dyar, in 1872: "These [crop] failures are very discouraging to the Indians as well as to the Agent, and demonstrate the necessity of paying more attention to the raising of cattle. . . ."[6]

*657 177 241 Nonetheless, from 1871 on, with the aid of the farmer, several Indians cultivated little farms along the Williamson River and the lake shore.[7] These in the following year amounted to some twelve to fifteen individuals who "have small patches of land of a few acres each fenced, on which they have, with the help of

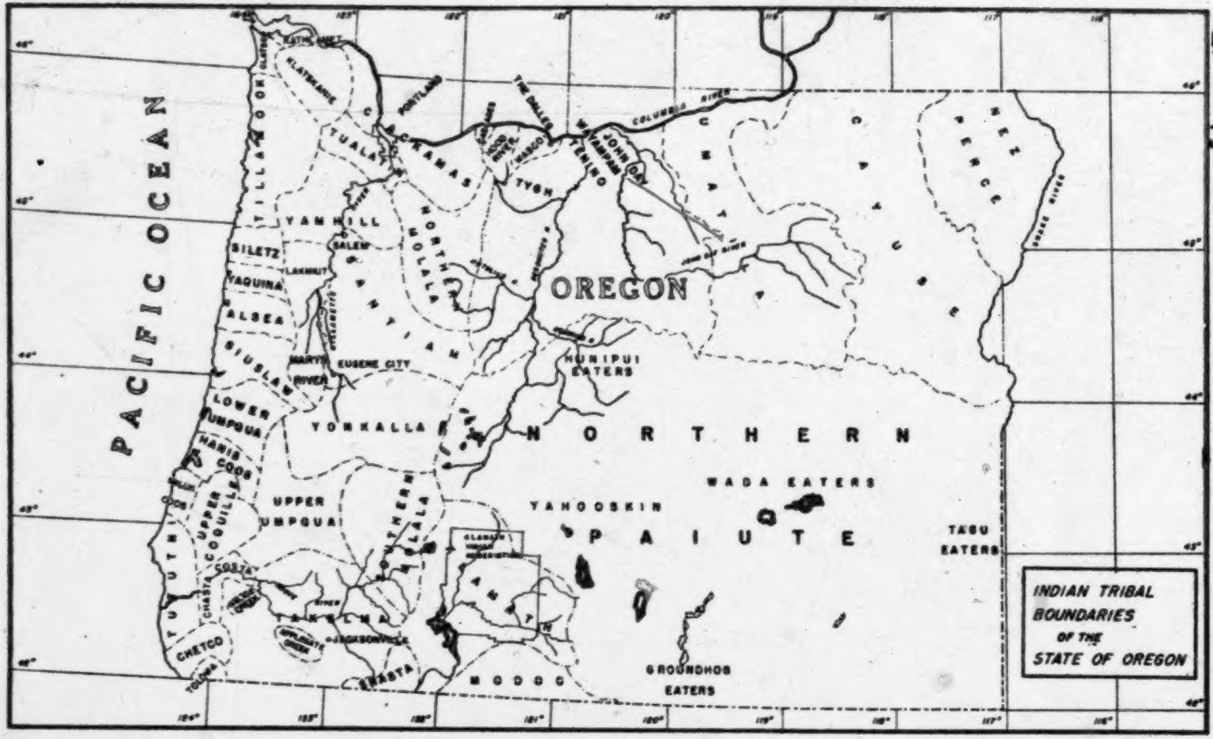
PACIFIC OCEAN
OREGON
CLATSOP
CLATSKANIE
PORTLAND
TILLAMOOK
TUALATIN
CLACKAMAS
THE DALLES
WASCO
TENINO
JOHN DAY
TYGH
COLUMBIA RIVER
YAMHILL
NORTHERN MOLALA
SALEM
SANTIAM
SILETZ
YAQUINA
ALSEA
SIUSLAW
MARYS RIVER
EUGENE CITY
LOWER UMPQUA
YONKALLA
HANIS COOS
UPPER COQUILLE
UPPER UMPQUA
SOUTHERN MOLALA
TUTUTNI
CHASTA COSTA
TAKELMA
APPLEGATE CREEK
JACKSONVILLE
CHETCO
TOLOWA
SHASTA
KLAMATH
MODOC
UMATILLA
CAYUSE
NEZ PERCE
SNAKE RIVER
JOHN DAY RIVER
HUNIPUI EATERS
NORTHERN PAIUTE
WADA EATERS
YAHOOSKIN
TAGU EATERS
GROUNDHOG EATERS
INDIAN TRIBAL BOUNDARIES OF THE STATE OF OREGON

Adapted from "Indian Tribes and Languages of the Old Oregon Country" (Portland, Ore.: Oregon Historical Society, 1958). Data compiled by Claude Schaeffer. (Used by permission of the Oregon Historical Society.)

[P.279]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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• 133

[P. 280]

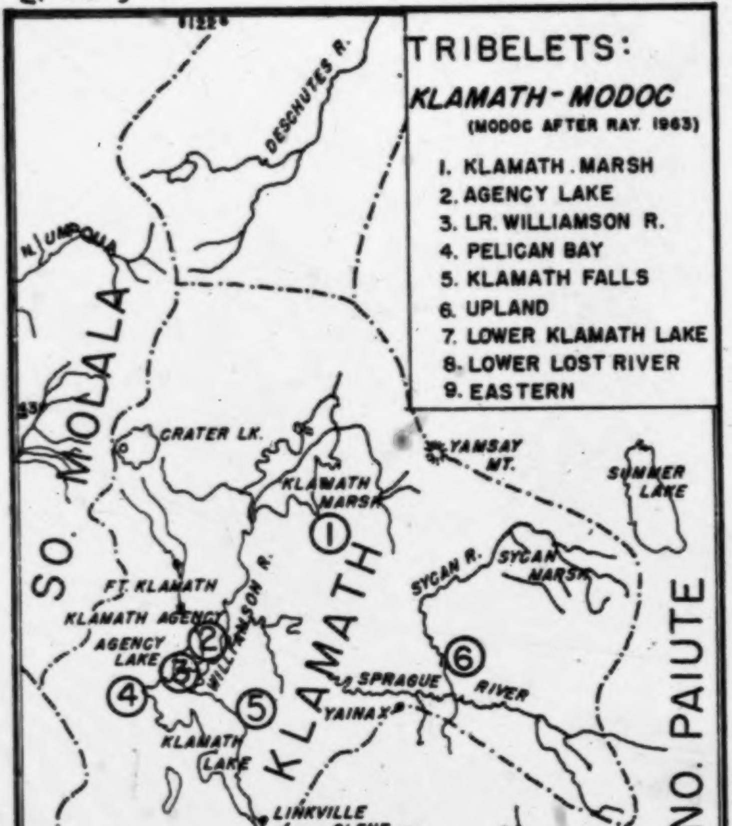
TRIBELETS:
KLAMATH-MODOC
(MODOC AFTER RAY 1963)
1. KLAMATH MARSH
2. AGENCY LAKE
3. LR. WILLIAMSON R.
4. PELICAN BAY
5. KLAMATH FALLS
6. UPLAND
7. LOWER KLAMATH LAKE
8. LOWER LOST RIVER
9. EASTERN
122°
DESCHUTES R.
N. UMPQUA
SO. MOLALA
43°
CRATER LK.
YAMSAY MT.
SUMMER LAKE
KLAMATH MARSH
KLAMATH
SYCAN R.
SYCAN MARSH
NO. PAIUTE
FT. KLAMATH
KLAMATH AGENCY
AGENCY LAKE
WILLIAMSON R.
SPRAGUE RIVER
YAINAX
KLAMATH LAKE
LINKVILLE
OLENE
LOST RIVER
42°
LOWER KLAMATH LK.
TULE LAKE
CLEAR LAKE
SHASTA
MODOC
122°
121°

The northern corridor should be understood to extend to 44° N. The Modoc area extends in the southwest to the base of Mount Shasta, not shown on the map. Based for the Klamath on Spier, 1930, and for the Modoc on Ray, 1963.

[Klamath Reservation]

[p. 281]

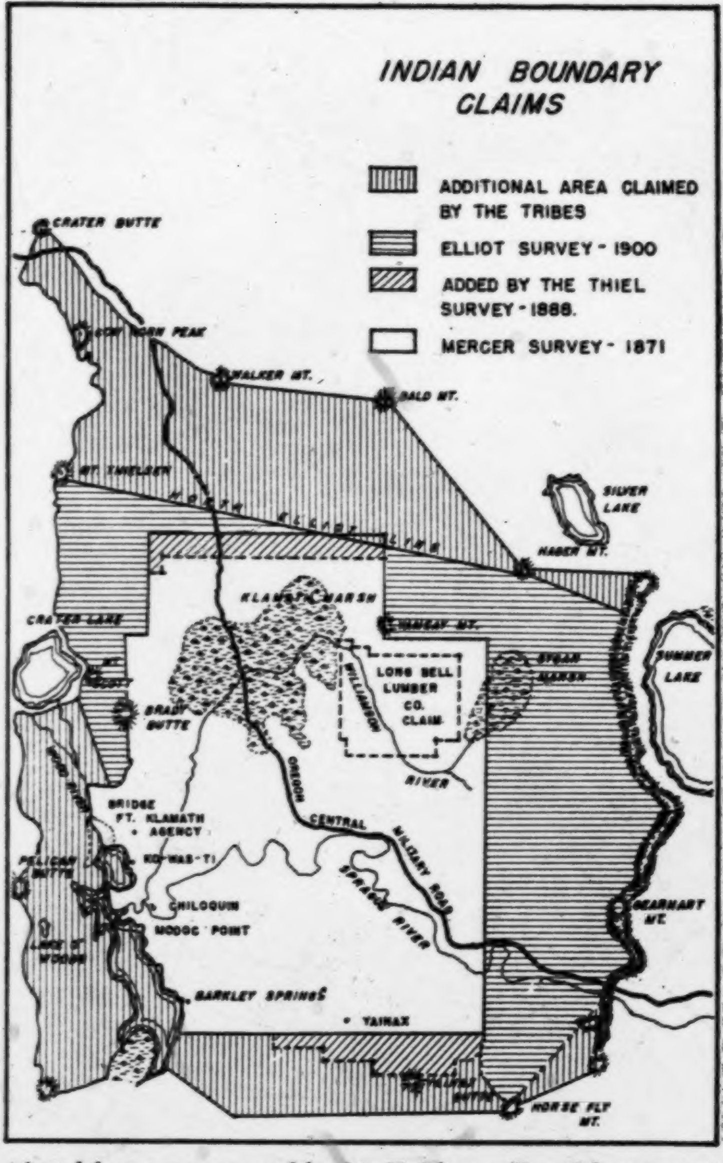
INDIAN BOUNDARY CLAIMS
ADDITIONAL AREA CLAIMED BY THE TRIBES
ELLIOT SURVEY - 1900
ADDED BY THE THIEL SURVEY - 1888.
MERCER SURVEY - 1871
CRATER BUTTE
COW HORN PEAK
WALKER MT.
BALD MT.
MT. THIELSEN
NORTH KLAMATH LINE
SILVER LAKE
HAGER MT.
KLAMATH MARSH
CRATER LAKE
YAMSAY MT.
MT. SCOTT
BRADY BUTTE
LONG BELL LUMBER CO. CLAIM
WILLIAMSON
RIVER
SYCAN MARSH
SUMMER LAKE
WOOD RIVER
BRIDGE
FT. KLAMATH
AGENCY
KO-WAS-TI
PELICAN BUTTE
CHILOQUIN
MODOC POINT
LAKE OF WOODS
OREGON CENTRAL MILITARY ROAD
SPRAGUE RIVER
GEARHART MT.
BARKLEY SPRINGS
YAINAX
HORSE FLY MT.

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103
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Adapted from a map prepared by Otis H. Johnson. (From Johnson, 1957.)

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P.282]

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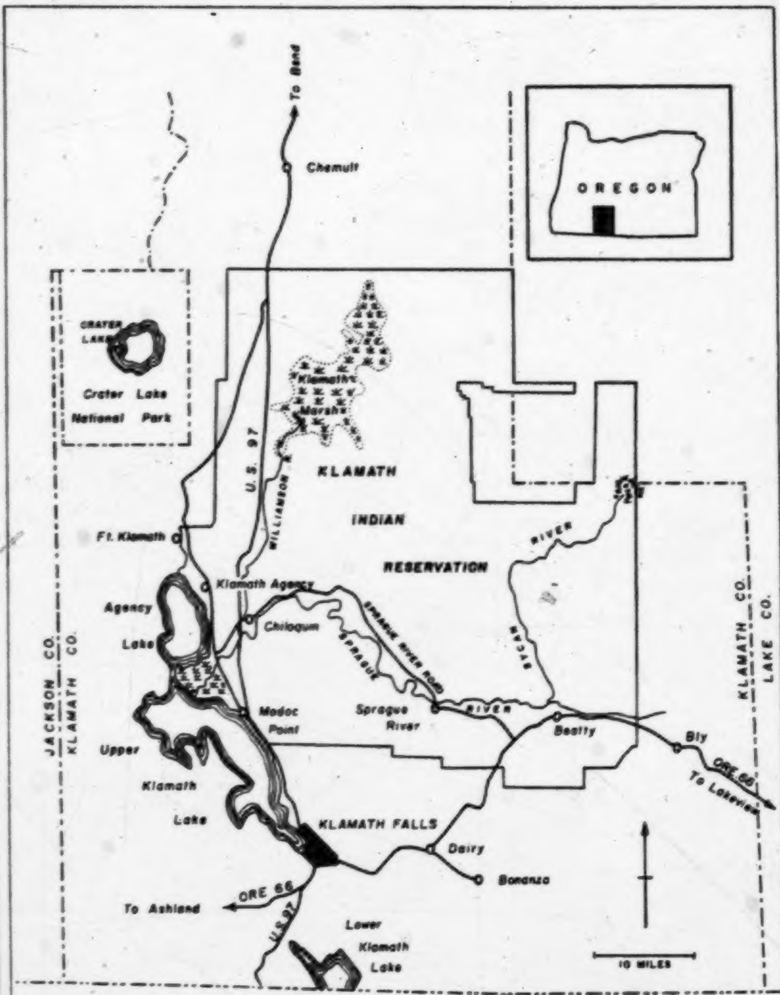
To Bend
Chemult
OREGON
CRATER LAKE
Crater Lake National Park
Klamath Marsh
U.S. 97
WILLIAMSON R.
KLAMATH
INDIAN
RESERVATION
RIVER
Ft. Klamath
Klamath Agency
Agency
Lake
Chiloquin
SPRAGUE RIVER ROAD
SPRAGUE
SYCAN
Modoc Point
Sprague River
RIVER
Beatty
Bly
ORE 66
To Lakeview
JACKSON CO.
KLAMATH CO.
KLAMATH CO.
LAKE CO.
Upper
Klamath
Lake
KLAMATH FALLS
Dairy
Bonanza
ORE 66
To Ashland
U.S. 97
Lower
Klamath
Lake
10 MILES

KLAMATH INDIAN RESERVATION
AND
KLAMATH COUNTY, OREGON

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M
K situated about upper Klamath Lake and in the mountains to the
101 east; except for a part of the Modoc in Oklahoma. It is the
131 object of the present paper to discuss briefly the conditions of
M aboriginal life among these people, due consideration being given
K their natural environment and the influence of surrounding
128 peoples upon them.

TERRITORY.

M The territory occupied by the Klamath Lake and Modoc
K Indians lies chiefly in the drainage basins of Upper and Lower
101 Klamath lakes and Tule or Rhett lake. From a point near the
131 confluence of Keen creek with Klamath river the western boundary
of their territory probably extended along the watershed
separating the Klamath lake and Rogue river drainages, to the
K foothills of the mountain in which Crater lake is situated. It
823 should be noted, however, that the Klamath, while they feared
Crater lake, did go upon certain occasions to the lake and seem
not to have been molested there by other Indians. It would seem
that the lake was looked upon as a sort of territory of mutual
rights by the peoples in its vicinity. They visited it when they
desired to acquire great merit in hunting or other pursuits in
which supernatural power was necessary. To go and bathe in
this wonderful lake was a brave thing to do, and made a man
lucky for hunting or other similar pursuits and made him very
K strong for war. It would appear that the relations formerly
131 existing between the Klamath and the people of the Rogue river
648 drainage were not at all friendly, so that the Klamath seldom
ventured as far west as the crest of the range. They did on
occasion make up large parties and go up to the crest of the
range for the purpose of hunting, but small parties rarely ventured
so far. The region for some distance to the west and
northwest of Crater lake was also visited by the Klamath for the
K purpose of gathering berries in season.

101 On the north the boundary extended as far as to the head-
131 waters of Deschutes river, thus including the whole drainage
133 basin of Klamath marsh.[1] On the east the boundary probably

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[101] [1] The Bureau of Ethnology's map in Bulletin 30 gives to the Lutuami
[114] territory as far north in the Deschutes drainage as latitude 44. See also volume I of this Bulletin, 779, 1907.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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Modoc NS17

K

extended far enough to include the drainage into Sycan marsh, 101 and thence on toward the south, passing several miles east of the 131 town of Bly and including the whole of the Sprague river drainage.[1] 133 The southern part of the eastern boundary probably passed somewhat east of Clear lake and around the head of Lost river. The southern boundary was probably the divide between the drainage of Klamath and Rhett lakes and that of Pitt river.

The Lutuami[2] are divided into two slightly different dialectic M divisions: the Klamath Lake, usually known simply as Klamath, K occupying a comparatively large territory about Upper Klamath 101 lake, the northern part of Lower Klamath lake, Klamath marsh, 197 and the region to the east; and the Modoc, occupying the region about Rhett lake and the southern end of Lower Klamath lake. One informant mentioned a third dialect, which he said was spoken by the people formerly living on Link river and about Linkville or what is now known as Klamath Falls. In view of the slight lexical differences between the Klamath and Modoc dialects, it seems very probable that if a third linguistic division did exist it was inconsiderable and not more than a sub-dialectic variation. At any rate the only linguistic units recognized by the people themselves are the two dialects spoken by the Klamath and the Modoc. The fact that the two divisions speak slightly differently, does not seem to appeal to the people themselves so much as the fact that they were in former times politically disunited, and were in fact, upon certain occasions at least, at war.

As nearly as could be determined the boundary between the M Klamath and Modoc territories extended through the northern K

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[1] This is the boundary generally claimed by the Klamath. One Paiute 131 informant, however, claimed that the territory of his people extended as far west as Yam Say peak and the Black hills, thus including Sycan marsh in the Paiute country. Like Klamath informants he stated that the boundary passed a few miles east of Bly.

[2] Gatschet, Contrib. N. A. Ethn., II, gives Lutuami as meaning lake, *i.e.*, Tule lake, in the Achomawi or Pit River language. The people have [114] no name for themselves other than maklaks, person, Indian. Maklaks is possibly the source of our word Klamath, the origin of which is un- [113] known. The Klamath Lake people are called in their own language Eukshikni maklaks or Eukskni maklaks, at the lake people, from Eukshi, which denotes specifically Klamath marsh, but also the adjoining country, including the eastern shore of Upper Klamath lake. Eukshi appears to be derived from eush, lake. The Modoc are called Moatokni maklaks or Modokni maklaks, in the south people, from moatak, Tule lake. Moatak is a derivative from muat, south.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR 10 ●
Modoc NS17

M clusion of almost everything else. The seeds of this plant,
K gathered and preserved in three different manners, as described
13 in detail by Coville,[4] form the staple article of food and thus
correspond to acorns used over the greater part of California.
About Tule or Rhett lake and the smaller lakes of that vicinity
there are fewer marshes and consequently a smaller supply of
the water-lily. Thus the Modoc were much less abundantly supplied
with this staple than were the Klamath, who are said to
have had on Klamath marsh alone over ten thousand acres of
these plants. The chief vegetable food of the Modoc seems to
have been tubers and bulbs, notably camass and ipos.

M The extensive lakes of this region naturally bring great num-
K bers of water birds of various kinds, including swans, geese,
136 ducks, and wading birds, the majority of which were used by the
Indians as food and in various ways. The skins of swans, geese,
and other birds with especially fine down, were made into
feather blankets, swaddling clothes, etc. Fish were abundant in
the lakes, salmon and salmon trout being especially esteemed by
M the Indians. The presence of this large supply of water birds
K and fish developed certain specialized implements for their cap-
223 ture. For taking birds there were what may be termed a ring-
M pointed arrow, and a special net. There were several methods
K of taking fish, the most important being by the large triangular
226 dip-net used in the dug-out canoe, as shown in pl. 10.

501 The country provided also an abundance of the usual animals,
M such as deer, elk, antelope, and others used for food; and coyotes,
K gray wolves, foxes, badgers, wildcats, rabbits, and various fur-
136 bearing animals furnishing blankets and clothing.
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BUILDINGS.

M The houses of the Klamath and Modoc were of two kinds. In
K this region where the snow on the higher peaks is always in
342 sight, and where it often reaches a depth of several feet in winter,
● [133] a warm and durable house is necessary. This was provided by
[132] the semi-subterranean earth lodge, which was of the usual central
California form, and had a pit from a foot to three or four feet

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[113] [4] Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians, Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Institution, 1902, 727-739.

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more acute than that at the stern. These canoes are from twelve to thirty feet in length but are very narrow in proportion, usually ranging between twenty and twenty-six inches in width. The opening of the canoe extends its full length and is usually two or three inches narrower than the full beam. Usually not over a quarter and never over a third of the log is cut away in making the canoe, the remaining three-quarters or two-thirds being then hollowed out to a thin shell varying from half an inch to a couple of inches in thickness, except at the prow and stern, where the thickness is considerably greater. The stern is somewhat thicker than the prow. The canoe is loaded with its greatest weight aft, which causes the prow to project considerably out of the water, and makes the canoe much easier to propel. This is carried to so great an extent that in the case of a single paddler in a large canoe the prow points upward at an angle of perhaps fifteen degrees from the surface of the water. When there is a second paddler, he kneels near the middle of the canoe, unless he is fishing or doing other work which requires that he be at the prow. The prow has always a somewhat greater overhang than the stern.

To propel a canoe one paddle each is required by the occupants. These paddles, always of cedar, vary in length from about three to five and a half feet, have handles an inch or so in diameter, and broad, very thin, blades. The paddle is dipped vertically and noiselessly, no pull being given until the blade is completely covered by the water. To lift it from the water again it is turned on its edge so that the width of the blade is almost parallel with the length of the boat. The handle of the paddle very often strikes the side of the canoe and in this manner, particularly at the stern where most of the paddling is done, the side of the gunwale is worn very smooth, showing a polished surface or even a notch, particularly on the right side of the older boats. Paddling is the ordinary method of propelling a canoe on deep water, for all such purposes as fishing, hunting, and general transportation. However, another and specialized implement is used, especially in wokas gathering. The water on the wokas marshes is shallow, rarely more than a couple of feet in depth, and the bottom consists of soft black mud completely

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5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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Modoc NS17

interlaced under the surface with the strong large roots of the water-lily. A pole of varying length is employed on these marshes and wherever there is occasion to travel over shallow water. The lower end of this pole is split for from four to six inches, and the two prongs thus made are turned sharply apart so that the angle between them is often as great as forty-five degrees. In this angle is set a small bar of bone or hard wood, thus making a cross-bar near the tips of the prongs. In pushing through the soft mud, the pole, on account of its split end, usually does not sink far before it strikes one of the strong roots of the water-lily, which then bears the stress of poling. Even if the pole does not strike a water-lily root, it sinks into the mud much less readily because of its split end.[7] M K 501 222 [133] •

One of the most interesting devices connected with fishing is the large triangular dip-net used on the open water of the lakes or the larger deep streams. This net is used on a pair of poles held apart by a cross-bar near the vertex of the angle formed by them. The net itself is attached to the poles at the sides and to this cross-bar at the rear, the tips of the poles being connected by a strong string upon which the front of the net is fastened. The method of manipulating this net is shown in the series of figures in pl. 10. Only one man appears in these illustrations, but usually two men go out to fish, one sitting in the stern of the canoe and paddling, the other in the prow and manipulating the net. While the net is being dipped, the fisherman in the stern paddles quite rapidly along and makes a great noise, swishing the water back and forth in order to scare the fish near the stern toward the prow. He also has a couple of short sticks with which, just before the net is to be raised, he drums upon the sides of the canoe in order to frighten as many as possible of the fish toward the prow. The fisherman in the prow finally raises the poles and brings up the net, placing the angle at which the poles meet under the prow of the boat, which, as has been stated, has a long, flat, upward slope. The cross-bar of the net poles is slipped over the top of the prow so as to prevent the points of the poles from falling back into the water. In this manner the points of the poles project from the prow like two great horns. Their M K 226

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[7] Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 4.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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Modoc NS17

fish basket, and one or two others. Twining is the only technique used, all coiled baskets coming from this region being extraneous to the true native culture. The majority of the conical burden baskets made of willow or hazel which are in use among the Klamath are made by themselves, though they do purchase from the Shasta to the southwest a burden basket which is more nicely finished than their own. M K 285 [139]

Together with this very specialized tule culture, resulting from the life of the people upon the immediate lake shore, go water foods, particularly wokas and fish, and the special implements devoted to the gathering of the wokas and to the capture of various animals, birds, and fish. Such for instance are the peculiar duck arrow, the large dip-net, the net used at night in connection with a light in the canoe for catching ducks and other water birds, the many-pointed fish spear, the two forms of bone hooks, the dug-out canoe, and the forked pole for propelling it in shallow water. The peculiar stone implements, such as the two-horned muller, L-shaped and discoidal pipes, and triangular net-sinker, are also noteworthy. M K 105 22 415 [133] [184] [501] [276]

The specialization of culture in this region is very striking indeed when it is compared with the culture of surrounding peoples, as for instance, the Paiute to the east, where coiled basketry predominates and tule work is almost unknown, and with that of the Indians of the Upper Columbia river region to the north, whose culture was very largely influenced by the buffalo or plains Indian culture. A comparison with the Oregon Indians is difficult not only because the Oregon cultures are comparatively little known, but because the majority of Oregon Indians, owing to their habitat, showed either a coast or a desert culture, which is not readily comparable with the inland lake environment and culture of the Klamath and Modoc. The Indians in certain respects most similar to the Lutuami in culture lived down the Klamath river in the northwestern part of California. Here are found such things as the stone maul and the large triangular fish net. Here also the basketry is entirely twined and in a large measure of comparatively soft materials; and the willow or hazel burden baskets are very similar in their general appearance, form, and particularly in the border finish. M K 105 101 171

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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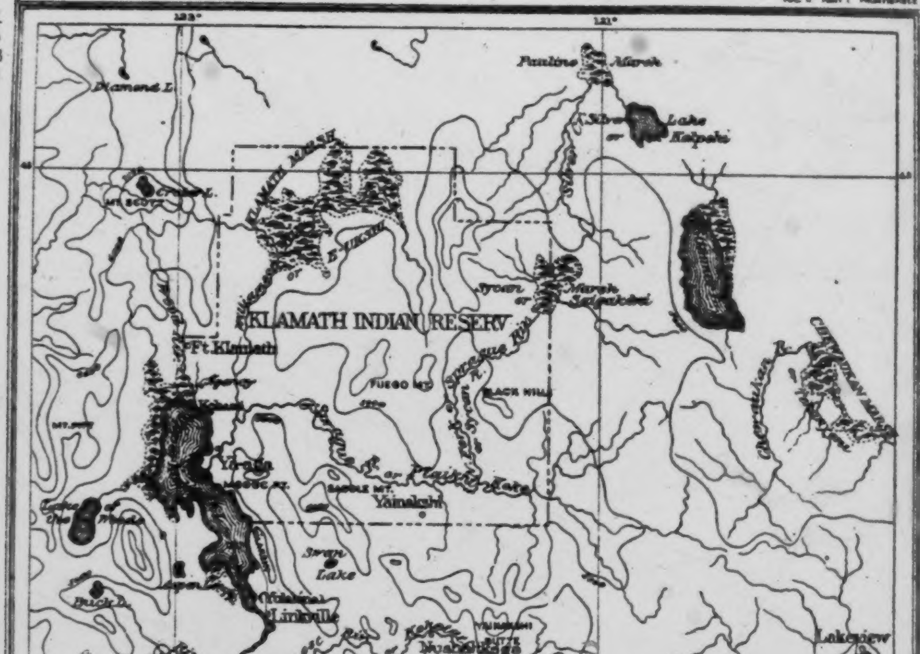
123°
121°
Diamond L.
Pauline Marsh
Silver Lake or Kalpshi
Crater L.
MT. SCOTT
KLAMATH MARSH
Williamson or E-ukshi
Sycan or
Marsh Saipaksh
KLAMATH INDIAN RESERV
Ft. Klamath
Spring
Black Hill
Tuego Mt.
Sprague Riv.
Yainax Butte
Sycan R.
Chewaucan R.
Yaneks
Modoc Mt.
Saddle Mt.
Yainakshi
Lake of the Woods
Swan Lake
Aspen L.
Buck L.
Linkville
Klamath Riv.
Lost Riv. or Nushaltkaga
Wright's Massacre
Tule Lake P.O.
Yainakshi Butte
BOUNDARY LINE
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
Lakeview
Dorris'
Fairchild's
Willow Cr.
Tule Lake or Modoc Lake
Bloody Pt.
Clear Lake or Tshapsx
Natural Bridge
Wright's Cave
Dry Lake
Cone Mtn.
Modoc Lava Beds
Timber Mt.
Cinder Cone
Medicine L.
Glass Mt.
Mt. Shasta
Pit Riv.
123°
121°

Scale: 15 miles to 1 inch.

MAP OF THE HEADWATERS OF THE KLAMATH RIVER.

By Albert S. Gatschet.

/facing p. 111/

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

THE KLAMATH INDIANS OF SOUTHWESTERN OREGON.

By Albert S. Gatschet.

ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF THE PEOPLE.

INTRODUCTION.

101 The Klamath people of North American Indians, the subject of this
121 descriptive sketch, have inhabited from time immemorial a country upon
the eastern slope of the Cascade Range, in the southwestern part of the
133 territory now forming the State of Oregon. That territory is surrounded
134 by mountain ridges and by elevations of moderate height, and watered by
streams, lakes, marshes, and pond-sources issuing from the volcanic sands
covering the soil. The secluded position of these Indians within their
mountain fastnesses has at all times sheltered them against the inroads of
alien tribes, but it has also withheld from them some of the benefits which
only a lively intercourse and trade with other tribes are able to confer.
132 The climate of that upland country is rough and well known for its sudden
changes of temperature, which in many places render it unfavorable to
137 agriculture. But the soil is productive in edible roots, bulbs, berries, and
136 timber, the limpid waters are full of fish and fowl, and game was plentiful
before the white man's rifle made havoc with it. Thus the country was
capable of supplying a considerable number of Indians with food, and they
never manifested a desire to migrate or "be removed to a better country."

128 The topography of these highlands, which contain the headwaters of the
Klamath River of California, will be discussed at length after a mention of
the scanty literature existing upon this comparatively little explored tract of
land.

THE HOME OF THE PEOPLE.

131 657 648 The home of the Klamath tribe of southwestern Oregon lies upon the eastern slope of the southern extremity of the Cascade Range, and very nearly coincides with what we may call the headwaters of the Klamath River, the main course of which lies in Northern California. Its limits are outlined in a general manner in the first paragraph of the treaty concluded between the Federal Government and the Indians, dated October 14, 1864, which runs as follows: "The Indians cede all the country included between the water-shed of the Cascade Mountains to the mountains dividing Pit and McCloud Rivers from the waters on the north; thence along this water-shed eastwards to the southern end of Goose Lake; thence northeast to the southern end of Harney Lake;* thence due north to the forty-fourth degree of latitude; thence west along this same degree to Cascade Range." It must be remarked that the homes and hunting-grounds of two "bands" of the Snake Indians were included within these limits, for these people were also made participants to the treaty.

Here, as with all other Indian tribes, the territory claimed must be divided into two parts, the districts inclosing their habitual dwelling-places and those embodying their hunting and fishing grounds, the latter being of course much larger than the former and inclosing them. The habitual haunts and dwelling-places of the tribes were on the two Klamath Lakes, on Klamath Marsh, on Tule Lake, and on Lost River. Some of these localities are inclosed within the Klamath Reservation, of which we will speak below.

133 The Cascade Range is a high mountain ridge following a general direction from north to south, with some deflections of its main axis. The line of perpetual snow is at least 10,000 feet above the sea-level, and the altitude of the highest peaks about 12,000 to 14,000 feet. On the west side the sloping is more gradual than on the east side, where abrupt precipices and steep slopes border the Klamath highlands and the valley of Des Chutes River. The range is the result of upheaval and enormous volcanic

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* Harney Lake is the western portion of Malheur Lake, and now united with it into a single sheet of water.

133 eruption, the series of the principal peaks, as the Three Sisters, Mount Jefferson, and Mount Hood, marking the general direction of the ridge.

The formation consists of a dark and hard basaltic and andesitic lava, which also forms numerous extinct volcanic cones and basins lying on the east side of the range (Mount Scott, Crater Lake, craters in Sprague River valley, etc.). This formation underlies the whole of the Klamath River headwaters, but stratified deposits cover it at many places, consisting of sandstone, infusorial marls, volcanic ashes, pumice-stone, etc. Prof. J. S. Newberry* describes this volcanic rock as "a dark vesicular trap".

East of the basin of the Klamath Lakes and south of the Columbia River water-shed lies an extensive territory extending to the east towards Owyhee River, and having its largest area in Nevada and Utah. It has been called the Great Basin of the Interior, and has an average altitude of 5,000 feet. The numerous fault-fissures intersecting it from north to south form its principal geologic feature. In the Quaternary period long and narrow lakes marked those faults on the obverse side of their dip; and even now, when evaporation has left these depressions almost dry, small bodies of water mark the site of the fissures even where erosion has obliterated most traces of a fracture of the earth's crust. The most conspicuous of these fissures in the basaltic formations are in Oregon, northern California and Nevada: the valley of Quinn River, Alvord Valley with Pueblo Valley, Guano Valley, Warner Lake with Long and Surprise Valley, Abert, Summer, and Silver Lake Valley. A geologic reconnaissance of the country west of this northwestern portion of the Great Basin, the central parts of which were once filled by the Quaternary Lake Lahontan, with its enormous drainage basin, would probably prove a similar origin for the two Klamath Lakes with Klamath Marsh, and for Goose Lake Valley.

These two secondary basins lie nearest the base of the great mountain wall of the Cascade Range, and therefore receive a larger share of the rain precipitated upon it than the more distant ones. The supply of water received during the year being thus larger than the annual evaporation, the excess flows off in the streams which drain the basin. There is much analogy between the basin of the Klamath Lakes and that of Pit River;

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* Pacific Railroad Reports, 1854–'55, vol. 6, part 2, pp. 34–39.

133 both form elongated troughs, and the waters escaping from them reach the lowlands through deep cuts in the resistant material. The difference lies only in this, that the drainage of the Klamath headwater basin has been less complete than that of the Sacramento and upper Pit River; and large portions of its surface are still occupied by bodies of water.

The lakes which show the location of longitudinal faults are the more shallow the more distant they are from the Cascade Range, and those which possess no visible outlet necessarily contain brackish water, as the alkaline materials in them are not removed by evaporation. It is a noticeable fact that those lakes which were nearest the seats and haunts of the Klamath Indians are all disposed in one large circle: Klamath Marsh, Upper and Lower Klamath Lakes, Rhett or Tule Lake, Clear or Wright Lake, Goose Lake, Abert Lake, Summer Lake, Silver Lake with Pauline Marsh. Besides this several other depressions now filled with marshes and alkali flats show the existence of former water-basins.

TOPOGRAPHIC NOTES.

The most prominent object of nature visible from the level parts of the Klamath Reservation is the Cascade Range with its lofty peaks. Seen from the east shore of Upper Klamath Lake, it occupies nearly one hundred and fifty degrees of the horizon. Though Shasta Butte, visible on the far south, does not properly belong to it, the ridge rises to high altitudes not very far from there, reaching its maximum height in the regular pyramid forming
[37] Mount Pitt. This pyramid is wooded on its slopes, and hides several mountain lakes—Lake of the Woods, Buck Lake, and Aspen Lake—on its southeastern base. Following in a northern direction are Union Peak, Mount Scott, and Mount Thielsen, with many elevations of minor size. At the southwestern foot of Mount Scott lies a considerable lake basin about twenty miles in circumference, and at some places two thousand feet below its rim. The water being of the same depth, this "Crater Lake" has been pointed out as probably the deepest lake basin in the world (1,996 feet by one sounding), and it also fills the largest volcanic crater known. At its southwestern end a conical island emerges from its brackish waters, which is formed of scoriæ—proof that it was once an eruption crater. The altitude of the

133 water's surface was found to be 6,300 feet; and this remarkable lake is but a short distance south of the forty-third degree of latitude. Capt. C. E. Dutton, of the U. S. Geological Survey, has made an examination of the lake and its surroundings, and gave a short sketch of it in the weekly "Science" of New York, February 26, 1886, from which an extract was published in the "Ausland" of Stuttgart, 1887, pp. 174, 175.

On the west side of Mount Scott and Crater Lake rise the headwaters of the North Fork of Rogue River, which run down the western slope, and a narrow trail crosses the ridge south of the elevation. Northeast of it and west of Walker's Range lies a vast level plain strewed with pulverized pumice-stone, and forming the water-shed between the affluents of the Klamath and those of Des Chutes River, a large tributary of the Columbia.

Upper Klamath Lake, with its beautiful and varied Alpine scenery, verdant slopes, blue waters, and winding shores, is one of the most attractive sights upon the reservation. Its principal feeder is Williamson River, a water-course rising about thirty miles northeast of its mouth. After passing through Klamath Marsh it pursues its winding course south through a cañon of precipitous hills, six miles in length; then reaches a wide, fertile valley, joins Sprague River coming from Yáneks and the east, and after a course of about sixty miles empties its volume of water into Upper Klamath Lake near its northern end. The elevation of this lake was found to be about eighty feet higher than that of Little Klamath Lake, which is 4,175 feet. Wood River, with its affluent, Crooked River, is another noteworthy feeder of the lake, whose shores are partly marshy, partly bordered by prairies and mountains. The lake is embellished by a number of pretty little islands, is twenty-five miles long in an air-line, and varies between three and seven miles in width. On the eastern shores the waters are more shallow than on the western.

[103] The waters of the lake first empty themselves through Link River (I-ulalóna), and after a mile's course fall over a rocky ledge at the town of Linkville. From there onward the stream takes the name of Klamath River. Passing through a marsh, it receives the waters of Little Klamath Lake, then winds its circuitous way towards the Pacific Ocean through a hilly and wooded country, cañons, and rapids, innavigable for craft of any

133 considerable size.* Hot springs of sulphuric taste flow westward east of Linkville, one of them showing a temperature of 190° Fahr.

The Klamath Reservation is studded with a large number of isolated and short volcanic hill ridges, with a general direction from northwest to southeast. South of Klamath Marsh there are elevations culminating at 5,650 and 6,000 feet, and in Fuego Mountain 7,020 feet are attained. Yámsi Peak, between Klamath Marsh and Sykan Marsh (5,170 feet) reaches an altitude of not less than 8,242 feet, thus rivaling many peaks of the
[657] Cascade Range. The Black Hills, south of Sykan (Saikéni) Marsh, rise to
133 6,410 feet, but are surpassed by several elevations south of Sprague River,
103 near the middle course of which the Yánéks Agency (4,450 feet) is situated. Sprague River (P'laíkni k̲ók̲e), the most considerable tributary of Williamson River, drains a valley rich in productive bottoms and in timber.

The basaltic ridge, which forms a spur of the Cascade Range and passes east of Fort Klamath (I-ukák), slopes down very abruptly toward the Quaternary lake basin, now forming a low marshy prairie and watered by Wood River (E-uk̲alkshíni k̲ók̲e), which enters upper Klamath Lake near Kohásbti and by Seven Mile Creek, nearer the Cascade Range. This basaltic spur, called Yánalti by the Indians, represents the eastern side of a huge fault-fissure. Its altitude constantly decreases until it is crossed by a rivulet one-eighth of a mile long, called Beetle's Rest (Tgúlutcham Kshutĕ'lsh), which issues from a pond, drives a mill, and then joins Crooked River (Yánalti k̲ók̲e, or Tutashtalíksini k̲ók̲e). This beautiful spring and stream were selected by the Government as the site for the Klamath Agency buildings. The old agency at Kohásbti (Guhuáshkshi or "Starting-place") on the lake, three miles south, was abandoned, and a subagency established at Yáneks. The agency buildings are hidden in a grove of lofty pine trees. South of these the ridge rises again and culminates in an elevation, called Pítsua (4,680 feet). The junction of Sprague and Williamson Rivers is marked by a rock called Ktái-Tupákshi, and described in Dictionary, page 149, as of mythic fame. South of Sprague River the ledge rises again, and, approaching close to the lake shore, forms Modoc Point, a bold head-

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[114] * I have not been able to visit *personally* other parts of the Klamath highlands than the eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake, from Fort Klamath to Linkville.

103 land, which culminates in an elevation east of it, measuring 6,650 feet, in
133 Nflaks Mountain (Nflakshi, "Daybreak"), on the lake shore, and in Swan Lake Point (7,200 feet), about eight miles from Klamath Lake. A deep depression south of this height is Swan Lake Valley (4,270 feet), and a high hill north of the two, near Sprague River, is called Saddle Mountain (6,976 feet). Yáneks Butte, with a summit of 7,277 feet, lies midway between the headwaters of Sprague River and the Lost River Valley. A long and steep ridge, called the Plum Hills, rises between Nflaks and the town of Linkville.

We now arrive at what is called the "Old Modoc Country." The main seat of the Modoc people was the valley of Lost River, the shores of Tule and of Little Klamath Lake. Lost River follows a winding course about as long as that of Williamson River, but lies in a more genial climate. The soil is formed of sandstone interstratified with infusorial marls. Nushaltkága is one of its northern side valleys. At the Natural Bridge (Tilhuántko) these strata have been upheaved by a fault, so that Lost River passes underneath. The sandstone is of volcanic origin, and contains pumice and black scoria in rounded masses, often of the size of an egg. The largest part of Tule Lake, also called Rhett Lake and Modoc Lake (Móatak, Móatokni é-ush), lies within the boundaries of California. It is drained by evaporation only, has extinct craters on its shores, and the celebrated Lava Beds, long inhabited by the Kómbatwash Indians, lie on its southern end.

Clear Lake, also called Wright Lake (by the Modocs, Tchápsχo), is a crater basin, with the water surface lying considerably below the surrounding country. Its outlet is a tributary of Lost River, but is filled with water in the cooler season only. Little or Lower Klamath Lake (Aká-ushkni é-ush) is fed by Cottonwood Creek, and on its southern side had several Indian settlements, like Agáwesh. It has an altitude of 4,175 feet, and belongs to the drainage basin of Klamath River. South of these lakes there are considerable volcanic formations, which, however, lie beyond the pale of our descriptive sketch.

133 Peculiar to this volcanic tract is the frequent phenomenon of the pond sources (wélwash, nushaltkága). These sources are voluminous springs of limpid water, which issue from the ground at the border of the ponds with

133 a strong bubbling motion, without any indication of other springs in the vicinity. They are met with in soil formed of volcanic sands and detritus, have a rounded shape with steep borders, and form the principal feeders of the streams into which they empty. Ponds like these mainly occur in wooded spots. Some of them have a diameter of one hundred feet and more, and are populated by fish and amphibians of all kinds.

The lake region east of the Reservation was often visited in the hunting and fishing season by the Klamath Lake, Modoc, and especially by the Snake Indians Goose Lake was one of the principal resorts of the Snake and the Pit River Indians; and even now the numerous rivulets flowing into it make its shores desirable to American stockmen and settlers. Warner [103] (or Christmas) Lake, fully thirty-five miles in length, was once enlivened by the troops camping at Fort Warner, on its eastern side.* Chewaukan Marsh (Tchuaχē'ni) has its name from the tchuá or "water potato", the fruit of *Sagittaria*, and is by its outlet connected with Abert Lake.

The Indians of the Reservation annually repair about the month of June to Klamath Marsh (É-ukshi) to fish, hunt, and gather berries and wókash or pond-lily seed, which is one of their staple foods. Its surface is somewhat less than that of Upper Klamath Lake. Its shores are high on the southeastern, low and marshy on the northwestern side. Water appears at single places only, insufficient to warrant the marsh being called, as it often is, a lake.

137 The Oregonian portions of the country described belong politically to Klamath and to Lake Counties, the county seats of which are Linkville and Lakeview, on the northern end of Goose Lake. The latter place also contains a United States land office.

FLORA AND FAUNA.

Vegetation usually gives a characteristic stamp to a country, but in arid districts, as those of the Klamath highlands, it is rather the geological features which leave an impress on our minds The further we recede from

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[113] * Goose and Warner Lakes are described in Lieutenant Wheeler's Report, Annual Report of Chief of Engineers, 1878 8°. Appendix N N, pp. 113–120. Goose Lake, by Stephen Powers, in "A Pony Ride on Pit River," Overland Monthly of San Francisco, October, 1874, pp. 342–351.

136 for small game, as field-mice, or for sedge-hens and smaller birds. The 192 largest bird of the country, the golden eagle, or Californian condor (p'laíwash), has become scarce. Blackbirds exist in large numbers, and are very destructive to the crops throughout Oregon. Other birds existing in several species are the owl, lark, woodpecker, and the pigeon. Migratory birds, as the humming-birds and mocking-birds, visit the Klamath uplands, especially the Lost River Valley, and stop there till winter.

The species of fish found in the country are the mountain trout, the salmon, and several species of suckers. Of the snake family the more frequent species are the garter-snake (wíshink), the black-snake (wámĕnigsh), and the rattlesnake (k̲é-ish, k̲ī'sh). Crickets and grasshoppers are roasted and eaten by the Indians, also the chrysalis of a moth (púlχuantch).

THE ASPECTS OF THE COUNTRY.

> Elle est riante ainsi que l'Italie,
> Terrible ainsi que les rives du Nord.

133 The Klamath plateau presents very different aspects and produces very different impressions, according to the observer's condition and the character of the localities he enters or beholds. Travelers coming over the monotonous rocky or alkaline plains extending between Malheur Lake and the Reservation are gladdened at the sight of rivulets and springs, imparting a fresher verdure to the unproductive soil, and greet with welcome the pineries which they behold at a distance. Feelings of the same kind penetrate the hearts of those who enter the highlands from the Pit River country of California when they come to the well-watered plains of Lost River after crossing the desolate lava formations lying between. The scenery can be called *grand* only there, where the towering ridge of the Cascade Mountains and the shining mirrors of the lakes at their feet confront the visitor, surprised to see in both a reproduction of Alpine landscapes in the extreme West of America.* The alternation of jagged and angular outlines with long level ridges on the horizon suggests, and the peculiar lava color retained by

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* The large pyramidal cone of Mount Pitt is a rather accurate duplicate of the celebrated Niesen Peak in the Bernese Oberland, Switzerland, as seen from its northern and eastern side.

133 the highest peaks confirm the eruptive origin of these mountains. The pure azure sky and the perpetual silence of nature reigning in these uplands add impressions of grandeur which it is impossible to describe. The sense of the beautiful has no gratification in the austere forms of these mountains, but the blue and limpid waters of the lakes, their numerous islands, and the lovely green of the shores, delight it in the highest degree.

133 The other eminences perceptible on the horizon lack the boldness of
137 outline seen upon the main ridge, and with their dusky timbers deeply contrast with it. They seem monotonous and commonplace, and people easily impressed by colors will call them somber. The open country, whether marshes, plains, clearings, meadows, or bare hills, presents an extremely bleak aspect, especially when under the influence of a hot summer sun. Its unvarying yellowish hue, produced by the faded condition of the coarse grasses, renders it monotonous.

133 The solitude and serenity of these places exercise a quieting influence upon the visitor accustomed to the noisy scenes of our towns and cities. Noiselessly the brooks and streams pursue their way through the purifying volcanic sands; the murmur of the waves and the play of the water-birds, interrupted at times by the cry of a solitary bird, are the only noises to break the silence. Beyond the few settlements of the Indian and away from the post-road, scarcely any trace of the hand of man reminds us of the existence of human beings. There Nature alone speaks to us, and those who are able to read history in the formations disclosed before him in the steeper ledges of this solitary corner of the globe will find ample satisfaction in their study.

132 The Klamath plateau, though productive in game, fish, and sundry kinds of vegetable food, could never become such a great central resort of Indian populations as the banks of Columbia River. The causes for this lie in its secluded position and chiefly in its climate, which is one of abrupt changes. The dryness of the atmosphere maintains a clear sky, which renders the summer days intensely hot; the sun's rays become intolerable in the middle of the day at places where they are reflected by a sandy, alkaline, or rocky soil and not moderated by passing breezes. Rains and hailstorms are of rare occurrence, and gathering thunder clouds often dissolve or "blow

361 [342] transitory camps are marked by frail willow lodges (látchash, stinā'sh) or other light structures. Indian camps are as a rule located near rivers, brooks, marshes, springs, or lakes. Hunters generally erect their lodges in convenient places to overlook a considerable extent of territory.

In the lists below the order in which the localities are mentioned indicates the direction in which they follow each other. I obtained them from the two interpreters of the reservation, Dave Hill and Charles Preston; and as regards the old Modoc country, from Jennie Lovwer, a Modoc girl living in the Indian Territory, who remembered these places from her youth. The grammatic analysis of the local names will in many instances be found in the Dictionary.

CAMPING PLACES ON KLAMATH MARSH.

103 361 The permanent dwellings upon this marsh have all been abandoned; but the Modocs and Klamath Lakes, together with some Snake Indians from Sprague River, resort there annually, when the pond-lily seed and the berries ripen, for a period of about six weeks. Its shores were permanently inhabited in 1853, when visited by the United States exploration party under [133] Lieutenants Williamson and Abbott, and even later. Dave Hill's list below follows the localities in their topographic order from northeast to southwest and along the southeastern elevated shore of the marsh, which at some places can be crossed on foot. A few rocky elevations exist also on the northeast end of the marsh.

Katā'gai "stumpy bushes."
Táktaklishkshi "reddish spot."
Yaúkĕlam Láshi "eagle wing."
Yásh-Lamā'dshi "projecting willow."
Spúklish Láwish "sweat lodge on promontory."
Mbáknalsi "at the withered tree."
Kmutchuyákshi "at the old man's rock;" a man-shaped rock formation near the open waters of the marsh and visible at some distance.
Lalawasχē'ni "slaty rock."
Taktχísh "cricket noise."
Tsásam Péwas "skunk's dive."
Ktai-Wasi "rocky hollow."
Snálaχēni "at the rock-pile."
Lúlpaḵat "chalk quarry."
Kapgā'kshi "dwarf-pine thicket."
Wáptasχāni "water moving through ponds perceptibly."
Tchókeam Paísh "pumice-stone nose."
Ḵáḵsi "raven's nest."
Íwal "land's end."
Luyánsti "within the circle."
Yaúkĕlam Snólash "eagle nest."
Tchíkas-Walákish "bird-watch;" secreted spot where hunters watch their feathered game.
Tuílkat "at the small rail pyramid."
Awaluashχē'ni "at the island."

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

103 361 Tχalamgíplis "back away from the west;" probably referring to a turn of the shoreline.

Wák-Talíksi "white pine on water-line."

Wíshiukam Tinuash "drowned snake;" place where a garter snake was found drowned in the open waters of the marsh.

Lgû'm-Á-ushi "coal lake," with waters looking as black as coal.

Súmde "at the mouth or outlet."

Núskai "skull-place;" a human skull was once found there. This is one of the spots where the natives submerge their dug-out canoes in the mud or sand at the bottom of the lake for the wintry season.

Some of the above places near the outlet are also mentioned in Pete's Text on the "Seasons of the Year," and the following additional may be inserted here from it (74, 15–17):

Lĕmé-isham Nutē'ks "impression of thunderbolt."

Lál'lăks "steep little eminence."

Stópalsh-tamā'dsh "peeled pine standing alone."

K̲ák̲-Kshéwalliksh "raven on the pole."

CAMPS ALONG WILLIAMSON RIVER.

[133] In this list Dave Hill enumerated old camps and present locations of lodges (1877) on both sides of Williamson River, from the lower end of Klamath Marsh (4,547 feet) to Upper Klamath Lake. The river runs for six miles or more through a ravine about two hundred feet deep, and the road follows it on the east side, leading over the hills. The wigwams are built in proximity to the river course. At its outlet Williamson River forms a delta, projecting far out into the lake, and filled with bulrushes.*

Kakagō'si "at the ford."

Samka-ushχā'ni "cliffs in the river;" a fishing place.

Yále-alant "clear waters."

Tánua-Lutlish "flat rocks under the water."

K̲ā'k̲-Talíksh, or K̲ā'k̲-Talish "twin rocky pillars."

Awalokákaskai "at the little island."

Mbúshaksham Wā'sh "where obsidian is found."

Tχálmakstant (supply: Ktái-Tupákshi) "on the west side of (Standing Rock)."

Tchpinókaskai "at the graveyard;" cemetery and ancient cremation ground of the É-ukshikni.

Ktá-iti "place of rocks."

Tchikāsi "at the submerged spot."

Kúltam Wā'sh "otter's home."

Stílakgish "place to watch fish."

Yá aga "little willows." Here the road from Linkville to Fort Klamath crosses Williamson River on a wooden bridge built by the United States Government; here is also the center of the Indian settlements on Williamson River.

Kúls-Tgé-ush, or Kúlsam-Tgé-us "badger standing in the water."

Witā'mamtsi "where the black bear was."

Kuyám-Skā-ika "crawfish trail."

Slánkoshkaōkai, or Shlankoshkshû'kshi "where the bridge was."

Kok̲ákai "at the brooklet."

Kuyága, a former cremation place in the vicinity of Yá aga.

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* Compare Professor Newberry's description, pp. 38, 39, and Lieutenant Williamson's report (part I), p. 66.

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tchik	hû'nk	nχi'-uliga	lá̈ki;	kat	húk	hû't	tchúi	lalí'ga	Tûhû'shash.	Hû'n
then	to it	dripped	on forehead;	which	thing		since	stuck	on Mud Hen.	This one

gétak	hû'nk	shkálkēla.
only		was hurt.

NOTES.

This is one of the most popular myths current among the É-ukishikni, and we shall find it partially repeated in another myth, recounted by Dave Hill. Aíshish and his father K'mukámtchiksh represent powers of nature engaged in everlasting strife for mutual extermination. In this myth K'múkamtch resorts to the following trick to destroy his offspring. Seeing young larks in a nest on the top of a sorrel-stalk, he informs him, that if he climbs up there, he can obtain a nest of eagles with all its inmates. Gladdened with the prospect of this capture, Aíshish climbs up, but the insidious father causes the plant to grow miraculously fast under him, so that descent becomes impossible, and Aíshish comes near perishing by hunger and exposure.

In the recollection and wording of some portions of the myth my informant was assisted by "Captain Jim."

94, 1–7. The short fragment of a creation myth preceding the Aíshish tale stands in no causal connection with it, and could as well be inserted elsewhere. Myths entering upon the *details* of the creation of the world by K'mukámtchiksh do not, as far as ascertained, exist among this people, but in their stead we have many myths for special creations (of man, animals, islands, mountains etc.). A grammatic analysis of the terms occurring in this fragment (from Lûpí nā'lsh to pátki gi) was inserted by me in the *American Antiquarian*, Vol. I, No. 3, pages 161–166, under the heading: "Mythologic Text in the Klamath Language of Southern Oregon."

192 94, 1. Lûpí shutä́yéga is not to be considered as a repetition, for it means: when
193 K'múkamtch began to create the world he made *us* before he made the fish, other animals, and the dam at Linkville. This is, of course, only a small fragment of all the creation myths of this people.

94, 2. shashapkēlía: to tell or count stories, myths or fables in the interest or for the pleasure of somebody; the i is here doubled to obtain a rhetorical effect.

94, 3. K'mú'kamtchish is a contraction of K'mû'kamtch tchish; Aíshish, K'múkamtch also. The longer form of the name of the deity occurs 95, 20.

94, 3. ká-akt, metathetically for kákat; kát is pron. relat. which, what, the thing which. nánuktua ká-akt gü̈g comprehends all animate and inanimate creation.

94, 4. wá, uá, to stay, exist, live in; is always connected with an indirect object indicating the place, spot, locality or medium where the subject lives or exists.

94, 4–6. The construction of the sentence runs as follows: Tchúyunk (K'mukámtch) né-ulχa gi'tki gíug páplishash I-ulalónan, páltki ti'wish gint udûlshámpkash mû' nkillipkash, mû'ash shlé-uyuk; "when a south wind blows, it will stop the waters from
133 rushing down rapidly over the cataract." The outlet of Upper Klamath Lake, called
132 Link River, runs from north to south, over the falls at Linkville; hence a powerful
226 south wind will stem the current of Link River above the falls, leave its bottom dry or almost dry, and enable the Indians to catch the fish swimming in the shallow water or wriggling in the mud. The rocky ledge under the cataract is supposed to be the gift of K'múkamtch.

/ 9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
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PART TWO: ETHNOGRAPHIC TEXTS

Introductory Note to Text 22

"Wokas" is the generic term for the seed of the common pond lily (*Nymphaea polysepala*). In the old days much of the Klamath Marsh (estimated by some early writers at about 10,000 acres) was covered with these plants, and there were long, shallow bays filled with them on both sides of Klamath Lake. Much of Klamath economic life was concerned with the gathering, preparation, and cooking of this plant. 824 [133] [433]

It is not proposed here to give a complete description of the various processes involved in "wokas"-manufacture. Good explanations of this economic complex will be found in Coville,[69] Gatschet,[70] and Spier.[71] The following text (and the two shorter ones by Mrs. Pompey which come after it) are intended only to illustrate Klamath narrative style and to indicate those features of "wokas"-making which were salient in the view of the informants. 252 [114] [128]

22. Wokas Preparation

(Mrs. Aggie Butler)

539* 222 501

(1) Long ago the Indians used to gather wokas, with a canoe. (2) And standing up on it they gathered wokas. (3) They bent down to pull them off, that wokas. (4) And they pulled off only the good ones, and some were unripe. (5) And having punctured it [with a fingernail] they saw [whether it was ripe or not]. (6) And they picked the yellow ones. (7) On becoming ripe it looks good, big. (8) And having picked those only, they threw them on the canoe and went. (9) And some were termed "snoníapíaqs." (10) And one was called "sbokẃas." (11) It was ripe. (12) And they put them down [in the canoe] apart.

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[69] Coville, Frederick V., "Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians," Report of the United States National Museum for 1902, pp. 727-739, Washington, 1904. [113]

[70] Gatschet, op. cit.

[71] Spier, Leslie, "Klamath Ethnography," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, Berkeley, 1930. [113]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 129]

[P.190]

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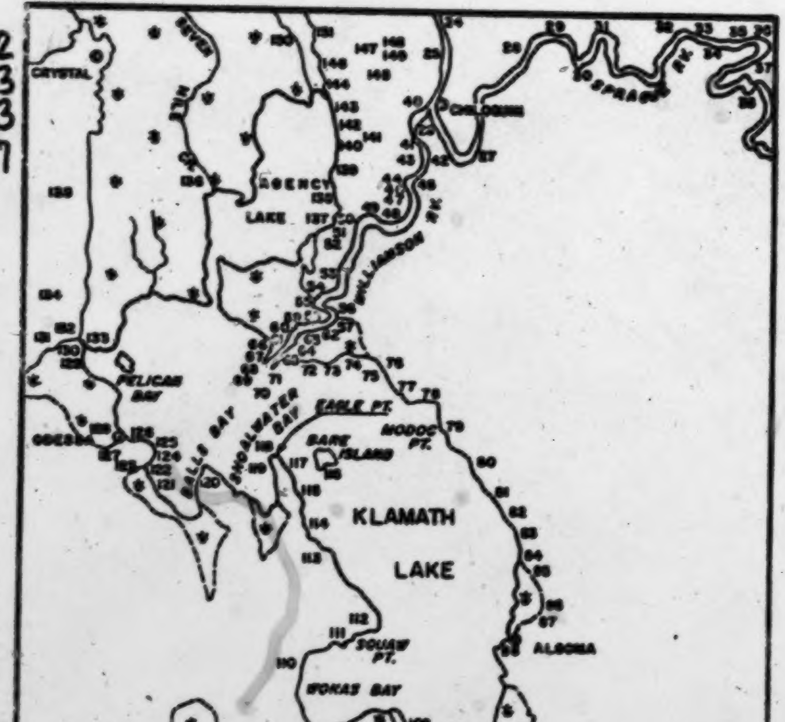
CRYSTAL
SEVEN MILE
AGENCY
LAKE
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WILLIAMSON RV.
PELICAN BAY
ODESSA
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SHOALWATER BAY
EAGLE PT.
MODOC PT.
BARE ISLAND
KLAMATH
LAKE
SQUAW PT.
WOKAS BAY
ALGOMA
CALEDONIA MARSH
BUCK IS.
WOKAS MARSH
KLAMATH
FALLS
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 5 MILES
KLAMATH RIVER
KENO
MIDLAND
KLAMATH RV.
LOST RV.

[Legend for above map appears on pp. 192-197--Analyst]

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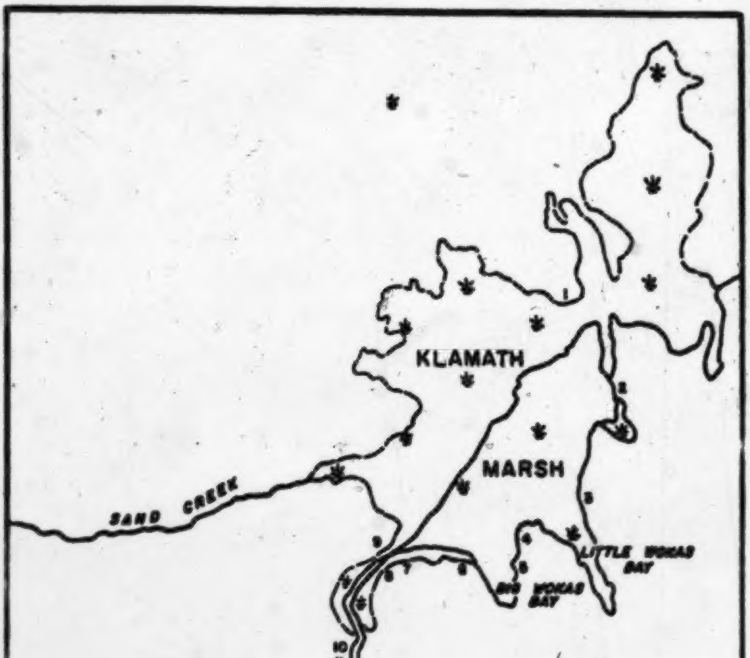
KLAMATH
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LITTLE WOKAS BAY
BIG WOKAS BAY
KIRK
WILLIAMSON RIVER
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 5 MILES
FORT KLAMATH
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WOOD RV.
KLAMATH AGENCY
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AGENCY LAKE
CHILOQUIN
RAGUE RV.

[Legend for above map appears on pp. 192-197--Analyst]

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KEY TO THE MAP OF PLACE NAMES

1. /moc̓o·ǰa·ks/. Spier 1.
2. /qdaywa·s/ "Rock-Nest." Spier 2.
3. /gapgaʔa·kksi/ "Little-Pine-Place." Spier 3.
4. /ʔiWʔa·l̓a/ "On-the-End." Spier 4.
5. /q̓la·ǰaksi/ "Blueberry-Place." Spier 5.
6. /doylḱst/. Spier 6.
7. /ʔawalwasge·ni/ "Island-Place." Spier 7.
8. /ga·qs ksawalye·ks/ "Carry-Crow-up-the-Hillside."
9. /c̓ik̓as waLaqk̓is/ "Bird-Lookout." A hill across from /ʔawalwasge·ni/.
10. /waktali·s/ "Lodgepole-Pine-Place" (?). Spier 8.
11. /lalʔa·ks/ "Little-Hill-Place." Spier 9.
12. /wisingam dinwas/ "Snake's-Lying-in-Water." A campsite for wokas-pickers.
13. /čaba·ni/ "Herd-Going-to-the-End." A dwelling.
14. /lḱom ʔews/ "Charcoal-Lake." The name of the small marsh shown on the map.
15. /somdi/ "Mouth-Place." A campsite where the river enters the forest.
16. /c̓omsʔam gotq̓aks/ "Sucker's-Going-up-out." A campsite near /somdi/.
17. /n̓osksi/ "Head-Place." Small village site near Kirk.
18. /sniWa·tgalsi/ "Eat-First-Place." A campsite.
19. /ʔeqčsalḱis/ "Sharpening-Instrument." A traveller's campsite.
20. /sqamdiwa·s/ "Sqamdi's-Den." The home of a dangerous mythological being. See Text 19.
21. /gosʔam gotq̓aks/ "Swan's-Going-up-out."
22. /yalyalʔant/ "Where-It-Is-Clear." Spring Creek.
23. /weq sqatq̓aks/ "Limbs-Stick-out-of-Water." A large spring.
24. /qbolWiʔamge·ni/ "Plant (sp.)-Place." A large village on both sides of the river.
25. /dali·ks/ "Standing-on-the-Bank." A village site.
26. /lobaqsksaksi/ "Chalk-Place." Spier 10.
27. /q̓ac̓w̓e·č/. Spier 12.

28. /ʔoqsoeʔam sloqtis/ "Cough's-Spitting-on." Also called /yawqsalks/ 103
"Medicine-Getting-Place." A rock on which consumptives spat 127
to gain a cure.
29. /g̣ome·ksi/ "Cave-Place." Spier 13. 102
30. /g̣oqṁa·kksi/ "Little-Caves-Place." 133
31. /hehǰi·ʔasamksi/ "Hehǰi·ʔas'-Place." The home of a mythological being. See Text 8.
32. /g̣oqq̇a·kksi/ "Little-Rivers-Place." A spring.
33. /kiwi·ki·na/ "Taking-out-of-Water-with-a-Pointed-Instrument." A spring.
34. /wačksi/ "Horse-Place."
35. /ṅa·ćaksi/ "Snipe-Place." A spring.
36. /kolsʔamksi/ "Badger's-Place."
37. /g̣awamg̣e·ni/ "Spring-Place." Spier 14.
38. /g̣oksi/ "Swan-Place." P.O. gave /ngoksi/.
39. /daqṅi/ "Sharp-One."
40. /mbosaksawa·s/ "Flint-Place." Spier 17.
41. /tg̣almaksća/ "West-Side." Spier 18.
42. /qdaydi/ "Rock-Place." Spier 19.
43. /g̣le·čṗaḱi·s/ "Clam-Eating." Small settlement.
44. /ǰigyes/. Spier 20.
45. /q̇oLtʔam wa·s/ "Otter's-Den." Spier 21.
46. /ʔaća·wiks/ "Long-Object-in-the-Sun-Place." Spier 22
47. /yaʔa·k/. Spier 23.
48. /ćaq̇wi/. Spier 24.
49. /kols tgews/ "Badger-Standing-in-Water."
50. /wiće·mʔamksi/ "Bear's-Place." Spier 25.
51. /g̣oẏalam ag̣eyqs/ "Crawfish-Crawling-up." Spier 26.
52. /sa·yḱaʔa·k neq̇i·s/ "Little-Plain-Lying-in-the-Way."
53. /qi·ʔa g̣itLas/ "Lizards-Poured-out-on." Williamson River Church.
54. /slanḱoksi/ "Bridge-Place." The bridge near Williamson River Church.
55. /ye·s kselwis/ "Willow-Beside-the-Edge."
56. /čoḱalwas/.
57. /wiẇapĺa·ks/ "Little-Alders-Place."
58. /qdawaldi/ "Cut-on-Top-Place." A village site.
59. /ṗnanksi/ "Burying-Place." An ancient burial ground.
60. /woqsdi/ "Cache-Place."
61. /loltṁalʔaqḱa/ "Little-Winter-House." A village on the east side of the river.

103 62. /bečmi/.
127 63. /spino·ksi/ "Grave-Place." A burial ground.
102 64. /mo·waksl̓a/ "On-the-South-Side." Spier 30.
65. /č̓ink̓os/ "Going-Across-with-the-Fin-Showing." Spier 34.
133 66. /sc̓olksi/ "Bubble-up-Place." A spring bubbles up here.
67. /wisgandi/ "Blow-Through-Place." Spier 31.
68. /laẃa·l̓sdat/ "At-Round-Object-on-the-End." Spier 32.
69. /mo· ginkanks/ "Big-Space-Around." Spier 33.
70. /dokwa/. The mouth of Williamson River.
71. /yawq̓lamksi/ "Bald-Eagle's-Place."
72. /č̓iya·l̓sʔamksi/ "Salmon's-Place."
73. /yay̓a·k̓a liwi·ki·na/ "Little-Willows-in-a-Group-along-the-Edge."
74. /ba·go·lsam bani·gis/ "Muledeer's-Wading-out."
75. /hiwwas/ "Spread-out-in-Water." A swampy island just offshore.
76. /toq̓asksi/ "Willow-Place."
77. /ya·s ksaẃa·l̓s/ "Willow-on-the-End."
78. /qdayksi/ "Rock-Place." Spier 45.
79. /sohi·yagye·ks/ "Jumping-Over-for-Fun." Spier 46.
80. /ʔiwli·wa/ "On-the-Very-Edge." Spier 47.
81. /čalčal̓a·ks/. A spring near /diwi·ʔa·ks/.
82. /diwi·ʔa·ks/ "Little-Rapids-Place." Spier 48.
83. /wilwaldi/. A spring north of /gawammat/.
84. /gawammat/ "In-the-Spring." Spier 49.
85. /ditq̓aks/ "Boiling-out." Spier 50.
86. /ni·Laqs/ "Sunrise." A place near Barclay Springs.
87. /ẃawʔa·qk̓alamksi/ "Little-Ears-Place." A cove that has the shape of an ear.
88. /kalẃa·l̓/ "Sharp-on-the-End." Spier 51.
89. /wq̓ol̓was/ "Knotted-in-Water." Buck Island; Spier 52.
90. /lam̓a·č/ "Round-Object-on-the-End." Spier 53.
91. /watanks/. A hill east of /lam̓a·č/.
92. /ʔiWLi/ "Is-Inside." A cove north of /ksonksi/.
93. /ksonksi/ "Grass-Place." Spier 54.
94. /wl̓i·č/. A hill north-east of Klamath Falls.
95. /mp̓aq̓wals/ "Dry-on-Top." A hill northeast of Klamath Falls.
96. /diwi·ʔa·ks/ "Little-Rapids-Place."
97. /ʔiWawn̓a/ "Propped-up-against." Spier 55.
98. /gitba·tanks/ "Poured-up-on-Shore." A narrow channel where the wind was reputed to blow the water back upstream.
99. /qday ginqis/ "Hole-Through-Rocks." A camping ground and a village site.

100. /ʔiWLaLLo·nʔa/ "All-along-the-Top." Klamath Falls; Spier 56. 103
101. /lalawq̓at/. 127
102. /č́ews hollamnas/ "Yellowhammer-Flying-along-the-Side." 102
103. /weqwe·Las/ "Falling-Downhill." Spier 57. 133
104. /lewsi/ "Round-Object-in-Water-Place." A small hill.
105. /tan̓aq̓aksi/. Spier 58.
106. /ʔiWba·tanʔa/ "Right-up-against." Spier 59.
107. /woksalks/ "Wokas-Getting-Place." Spier 60.
108. /dekčanks/ "Netting-Place." Skillethandle Point; Spier 61.
109. /heele·ks/ "Apparition-Place." A place where spirit-otters appear and swim around one's canoe.
110. /č́ayankadi/ "Berry (sp.)-Place."
111. /nǰaqǰaqk̓is/ "Ringing-Instrument." A large rock with a depression in it. When this depression was pounded with another rock, a wind arose.
112. /seesti tgaw̓a·l̓s/ "Shasta-Standing-on-the-End." Squaw Point; Spier 62.
113. /no·galks/ "Roasting-Place." Roots were roasted in pits here.
114. /č́a·q̓y̓a·k ksalamnas/ "Little-Boy-Lying-on-the-Hillside."
115. /qe·Yqe·Y̓lant/ "Where-It-Is-Rough." A campsite.
116. /ʔawsmi/. Bare Island.
117. /č́eqs dawals/ "Blackbird-Standing-on-Top."
118. /stakm̓a·č/ "Projecting-on-the-End." Eagle Point; Spier 43.
119. /qčo·lʔam n̓iwl̓aqs/ "Star's-Fall." A place on the beach near Eagle Point where a meteor fell. The informants reported that a glow was visible at the spot for some time afterwards.
120. /ge·lalks/ "Land-Place." Spier 42.
121. /čak lali·ks/ "Serviceberry-on-the-Bank." A serviceberry patch.
122. /q̓aǰi/. A small settlement.
123. /waq̓a·qksi/. Spier 41.
124. /wačksi/ "Horse-Place."
125. /č́a·q̓y̓a·k̓lamksi/ "Little-Boy's-Place." The home of /č́a·q̓y̓a·k/, a mythological character.
126. /l̓eql̓eqsdi/ "Twinkle-Place."
127. /qawk̓at/. A good cold spring. Said to be named after a mythological character who lives there.
128. /tlaqs p̓ak̓i·s/ "Mullet-Eating." A small spring where /tlaqs/ fish are caught.
129. /molsi/. Said to mean "Black-Swan-Place," but not certain. A spring.

103 130. /ǥawamksaksi/ "Spring-Place." Rocky Point. An old campground during the wokas-picking season.

127 131. /ʔiWqa·y̓a/ "Among-the-Bushes." Spier 39.

102 132. /dinne·kksi/ "Sunset-Place." Spier 38.

133 133. /sk̓awanks lakč̓wis/ "Wild-Parsnips-among-(Rocks)."

134. /sqoywas/ "Mound-in-Water." A spring back in the forest.

135. /ma·damsksi/. A spring three miles south of Crystal Spring at the head of Crystal Creek.

136. /sle·tsksi/ "Nettle-Cord-Place." Spier 35.

137. /čak lalamnas/ "Serviceberry-on-the-Hillside." Spier 29.

138. /l̓oqo·gat/. Spier 28.

139. /wlalksi/ "Cottonwood-Place." Also called /wlawlʔa·ks/ "Little-Cottonwoods-Place." Spier 37.

140. /ǥo·s liwli·ks/ "Trees-Standing-in-a-Group-on-the-Edge." A settlement.

141. /wele·q̓a·k̓lam sʔilks/ "Little-Old-Lady's-Well."

142. /ǥlaw̓a·kksi/ "Little-Sand-Place." A sandy beach.

143. /yay̓a·k̓aksaksi/ "Little-Willows-Place."

144. /ǥoWasdi/. Spier 44.

145. /qʔis yak̓ias/ "Rattlesnake-Cut-in-Two." A draw in the hills.

146. /toq̓asksi/ "Willow-Place." A small settlement.

147. /so·qetmi/. A place near where the highway from Williamson River to the north meets the highway from Chiloquin to the west.

148. /y̓ayn̓aʔa·ks/ "Little-Mountain-Place." A small bluff east of /so·qetmi/.

149. /ǥwemp̓le·ǥis/ "Tracking-Over." A hollow gap just below /y̓ayn̓aʔa·ks/.

150. /wawč̓a·k̓lamksi/ "Dogs'-Place." A marshy place where spirit-dogs could be seen.

151. /č̓ayanksdat/ "In-the-Berries (sp.)." A spring and village.

152. /tgol̓o·tsʔam ksews/ "Tgol̓o·ts'-Lying-in-Water." A place near the Klamath Agency where oily clay gives an iridescent effect to the water.

153. /yanaldi/. Agency Hill.

154. /ʔiWq̓a·qn̓i ǥoge/ "Around-the-Neck-River." Wood River.

155. /tgol̓o·tsʔam ksodi·lks/ "Tgol̓o·ts'-Lying-Underneath." A place about half a mile from Collier Park where two small creeks come together and make a waterfall and whirlpool.

156. /wa·ko ʔiwli·wa/ "Lodgepole-Pine-on-the-Very-Edge."

157. /qawdo·gi·sam či·s/ "Bird's (sp.)-Home." A small plain south of Fort Klamath. See Text 11.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

188. /honhomadi/.
189. /ʔiWq̓a·q/ "Around-the-Neck." Fort Klamath. Spier 63.

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127
102
133

The following place names are not numbered, but may be found on the map by their English translations.

Little Wokas Bay /paksa/.
Klamath Lake /ʔews/. (The generic term for "lake.")
Klamath Marsh /ʔewksi/.
Pelican Bay /gombat/.
Shoalwater Bay /t̓ilkoydi/.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

ELEVEN

[P.131]

The General Allotment Act

IN THE TREATY OF 1864, THE PROVISIONS FOR ASSIGNING INDIVIDUAL 648*
tracts had anticipated the more elaborate planning that twenty- 657*
three years later resulted in the Dawes—or General Allotment— 423
Act. The principal object of that legislation was to individualize the Indian by assigning him a private tract, to be held in trust by the United States for at least twenty-five years, and by granting him citizenship. In the minds of many, the act was a counterpart to the Homestead Act. Nickerson, arguing against the opening of Yainax as proposed in 1881 by a bill before Congress, had stated of the reservation:

> It is a rocky, volcanic country not one tenth of which would be [134] •
> taken under pre-emption or homestead laws were it thrown open
> for settlement. It is impossible for any person to live and support [137]
> a family on 160 acres of average land. It requires large ranges of this volcanic ashy soil to produce sufficient grass for an ordinary drove of cattle while a strip of low meadow land to produce hay and perhaps some grain is a necessity in successful stock raising in this climate.[1]

From the first, the news of imminent allotment was paired with the realization that left-over reservation lands were to be declared surplus and thrown open to purchase and homesteading by whites. The intelligence reached the Indians even while they were aroused by the barbed-wire encroachments of stockmen on the Upper End (which culminated in the slaying of a former member of the Indian police), coupled with disquieting rumors that the new government survey would exclude much of the valley of the Upper Sprague.[2] Fortunately, not until the following year did Emery receive instructions to evaluate

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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101 The Klamath people of North American Indians, the subject of this
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the eastern slope of the Cascade Range, in the southwestern part of the
133 territory now forming the State of Oregon. That territory is surrounded
134 by mountain ridges and by elevations of moderate height, and watered by
streams, lakes, marshes, and pond-sources issuing from the volcanic sands
covering the soil. The secluded position of these Indians within their
mountain fastnesses has at all times sheltered them against the inroads of
alien tribes, but it has also withheld from them some of the benefits which
only a lively intercourse and trade with other tribes are able to confer.
132 The climate of that upland country is rough and well known for its sudden
changes of temperature, which in many places render it unfavorable to
137 agriculture. But the soil is productive in edible roots, bulbs, berries, and
136 timber, the limpid waters are full of fish and fowl, and game was plentiful
before the white man's rifle made havoc with it. Thus the country was
capable of supplying a considerable number of Indians with food, and they
never manifested a desire to migrate or "be removed to a better country."

128 The topography of these highlands, which contain the headwaters of the Klamath River of California, will be discussed at length after a mention of the scanty literature existing upon this comparatively little explored tract of land.

124 hold affairs, and terms referring to colors; men more appropriate than women in instructing him about their hunts, fishing, travels, their legal customs, wars and raids, house-building, and similar work. Omit asking them about the deceased, for it makes them angry and sullen. They do not as a rule willfully lead the investigator into error when they see that he is in earnest. Errors often originate in preconceived notions or theories and inappropriate questions of the investigator, sometimes also in the want of abstract terms in the interpreter's language. To insure correctness in an Indian myth, animal story, or any relation whatever, it should first be taken down in Indian, and of this a verbatim translation secured.

114 Ethnographic sketches of both tribes, but chiefly of the Modocs, were published in the newspapers of the Pacific coast at the time of Ben Wright's massacre, but they were not accessible to me; more circumstantial were those written at the time of the Modoc war (1872–'73), and specimens of these may be seen in A. B. Meacham's publications, in the "Overland Monthly" of San Francisco, and in Stephen Powers's "The Modok," in Contributions III, pp. 252–262.

126 Ethnographic objects manufactured by and in actual use among both tribes were purchased at different periods by collectors. The National Museum in Washington owns several of them; but the most complete collection is probably the one made in 1882 by the Swiss naturalist, Alphons Forrer, a native of St. Gall, which was partly sold to the Ethnographic Museum of St. Gall, partly (eighty-five articles) to that of Berne, the capital of Switzerland. Forrer lived several months among the Klamaths, and thus was enabled to secure the best specimens. There are two hänäsish or "magic arrows," an implement which has probably become very scarce now. The majority of these objects are manufactured from wood, fur-
134 skin, and basket material. There is no suitable clay found in the Klamath
323 River Highlands, hence these Indians never made any pottery.

114 The report of Lieutenants Williamson and Abbot contains a large array of astronomic positions and of meteorologic observations made during the expedition, which will prove useful to later observers. The zoölogic, botanic, and geologic reports made by different scientists were considered of high value at the time they were first published. It will be remembered

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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131
361

IV. *Pelican bay group (gu'mbötkni)*.—This includes the Pelican bay district (gu'mböt) on the west side of the lake, the settlements along Four Mile creek, and those on the marsh north of the lake. Runs of fish are plentiful on Wood river in the spring when the snow melts on the mountains. People come up along the river in the summer digging camas. But above Fort Klamath there is too much snow to live during the winter. [222] [132]

35, sle'tsḳsi, a group of two or three earth-lodges on the west side of Seven Mile creek near its mouth. A little spring here keeps the water warm enough for fish even in winter.

36, wudö'kän is a settlement in the marsh a mile from the last, and east of Seven Mile creek.

37, iwünau'ts, two earth-lodges on the western side of a little creek emptying into the lake two miles east of Recreation P. O. Houses are scattered along the marsh shore to the northern side of Pelican bay.

38, dünö'ksi, an open space overlooking the northern end of Pelican bay and containing many earth-lodges. Others are on the lower level, lɛlä'ksti, close to the bay. This is immediately north of the mouth of Four Mile creek. A cremation pile stands a hundred yards north of this town on the slope above the bay, beyond an outcrop of rocks said to be transformed shamans. A big lodge of a shaman on the lower level has a pit twenty-eight feet in diameter; another earth-lodge pit is nearly twenty feet across. [823] [756]

39, e'o'kai, four or five earth-lodges a few hundred yards up Four Mile creek on the left bank.

[756] 40, wa'lö'kdi, four to eight earth-lodges, one a shaman's, somewhat farther up the creek on the opposite side.

41, Waḳ'a'k, a winter settlement south of the high ridge south of Odessa. North of the settlement is a sweat-lodge used by mourners.

42, gai'löks or gaila'lḳs is on the point south of Odessa or more probably between Howard and Shoalwater bays. No winter settlements here but a camping place where du'kwakni and gu'mbötkni roasted camas in the spring.

[136] 43, stö'kmate, Eagle point, is a similar spring camp site. In the hot springs here are harmless black snakes (kamdila'k) which crawl over the swimmers. Curiously, in view of the Klamath tendency to localize their tales, there is no story concerning this locality.

Two other localities may belong to this group: 63, e'o'ḳaḳ, gulch, on Wood river toward the mountains, and 64, e'uḳwa'lksi on the east

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

ONE

The Aboriginal Klamath-Modoc

EASTWARD FROM THE LOFTY CASCADES OF WASHINGTON AND OREGON 133
stretches the elevated and broken country of the central Plateau. Across its face, rivers carry waters from northern watersheds and the slopes of the Rockies and, cleaving the mountain barrier, flow to the sea. Upon the ladder of their waters, the hom- 136 •
ing salmon mount in seasonal surges to spawning grounds far to the interior. It is a province once richly endowed in game, and, early in the peopling of the New World, the Indian found it. In 172
the period toward the end of the Pleistocene period, while the 133
glaciers ebbed upon their centers, some eleven thousand years ago,[2] some of his numbers camped along the Columbia, at the head of an estuary that in those days extended upriver to The Dalles, and left behind antler combs, stone bolas, blades, and the obscure and humble bric-a-brac of the camp. Further upriver, in the open lands of Lind Coulee, others hunted the bison. Below and east of the Plateau, unnamed tribesmen camped along the Pluvial lakes of the Great Basin, whose waters, now gradually drying up, attracted the waterfowl and animals that in turn drew the hunter. In the timeless dessication of its caves, at Fort Rock, Danger, Gypsum, and Lovelock their sandals, basketry, and spear-throwers have been found.

Along the southwestern flanks of the Cascades, a great fault had formed a crescentic trough some one hundred miles in length by twenty-five in breadth. Rivers and creeks fed marsh lands and broad lakes within this great highland and created an earthly paradise for the early hunter-fishermen. Their initial entry has been estimated at about ten thousand years ago, and by the time

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M clusion of almost everything else. The seeds of this plant,
K gathered and preserved in three different manners, as described
13 in detail by Coville,[4] form the staple article of food and thus
correspond to acorns used over the greater part of California.
About Tule or Rhett lake and the smaller lakes of that vicinity
there are fewer marshes and consequently a smaller supply of
the water-lily. Thus the Modoc were much less abundantly supplied
with this staple than were the Klamath, who are said to
have had on Klamath marsh alone over ten thousand acres of
these plants. The chief vegetable food of the Modoc seems to
have been tubers and bulbs, notably camass and ipos.

M The extensive lakes of this region naturally bring great num-
K bers of water birds of various kinds, including swans, geese,
136 ducks, and wading birds, the majority of which were used by the
Indians as food and in various ways. The skins of swans, geese,
and other birds with especially fine down, were made into
feather blankets, swaddling clothes, etc. Fish were abundant in
the lakes, salmon and salmon trout being especially esteemed by
M the Indians. The presence of this large supply of water birds
K and fish developed certain specialized implements for their cap-
223 ture. For taking birds there were what may be termed a ring-
M pointed arrow, and a special net. There were several methods
K of taking fish, the most important being by the large triangular
226 dip-net used in the dug-out canoe, as shown in pl. 10.
501 The country provided also an abundance of the usual animals,
M such as deer, elk, antelope, and others used for food; and coyotes,
K gray wolves, foxes, badgers, wildcats, rabbits, and various fur-
136 bearing animals furnishing blankets and clothing.
237

BUILDINGS.

M The houses of the Klamath and Modoc were of two kinds. In
K this region where the snow on the higher peaks is always in
342 sight, and where it often reaches a depth of several feet in winter,
[133] a warm and durable house is necessary. This was provided by
[132] the semi-subterranean earth lodge, which was of the usual central
California form, and had a pit from a foot to three or four feet

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[113] [4] Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians, Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Institution, 1902, 727-739.

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137 278 to produce them. This is true to a certain extent; but as there are so many plants growing there that narcotize the fish, how is it that the country produces no medical plants for the cure of men's diseases? Of the plant shl!ē'dsh, at least, they prepare a drink as a sort of tea.

136 192 The fauna of the Klamath uplands appears to be richer in species than the vegetal growth. What first strikes the traveler's attention on the eastern shore of the Upper Lake is the prodigious number of burrows along the sandy road, especially in the timber, varying in size from a few inches to a foot in diameter. They are made by chipmunks of two species, and others are the dens of badgers, or of the blue and the more common brown squirrel. The coyote or prairie-wolf makes burrows also, but this animal has lately become scarce. No game is so frequent as the deer. This is either the black-tail deer, (shuá-i, *Cervus columbianus*), or the white tail deer (múshmush, *Cariacus virginianus macrurus*), or the mule-deer (pak̲ólesh, *Cervus macrotis*). Less frequent is the antelope (tché-u, *Antilocapra americana*), and most other four-legged game must be sought for now upon distant heights or in the deeper cañons, as the elk (vún), the bear in his three varieties (black, cinnamon, and grizzly; witä'm, náka, lû'k̲), the lynx (shlóa), the gray wolf (kä'-utchish), the silver or red fox (wán), the little gray fox (k̲étchk̲atch), the cougar (táslatch), and the mountain sheep (k̲ó-il). Beavers, otters, minks, and woodchucks are trapped by expert Indians on the rivers, ponds, and brooklets of the interior.

The shores of the water-basins are enlivened by innumerable swarms of water-fowls, (mä'mäkli), as ducks, geese, herons, and cranes. Some can be seen day by day swimming about gracefully or fishing at Modoc Point (Nflakshi) and other promontories, while others venture up the river courses and fly over swampy tracts extending far inland. Among the ducks the more common are the mallard (wē'ks), the long-necked kflidshiks; among the geese, the brant (lálak) and the white goose (waíwash). Other water-birds are the white swan (kúsh), the coot or mudhen (túhush), the loon (táplal), the pelican (yámal or kúmal), and the pinguin (kuítsis). Fish-hawks and bald-headed eagles (yaúχal) are circling about in the air to catch the fish which are approaching the water's surface unaware of danger. Marsh-hawks and other raptores infest the marshes and are lurking there

132 for small game, as field-mice, or for sedge-hens and smaller birds. The
192 largest bird of the country, the golden eagle, or Californian condor (p'laíwash), has become scarce. Blackbirds exist in large numbers, and are very destructive to the crops throughout Oregon. Other birds existing in several species are the owl, lark, woodpecker, and the pigeon. Migratory birds, as the humming-birds and mocking-birds, visit the Klamath uplands, especially the Lost River Valley, and stop there till winter.

The species of fish found in the country are the mountain trout, the salmon, and several species of suckers. Of the snake family the more frequent species are the garter-snake (wíshink), the black-snake (wámĕnigsh), and the rattlesnake (k̲é-ish, k̲í'sh). Crickets and grasshoppers are roasted and eaten by the Indians, also the chrysalis of a moth (púlχuantch).

THE ASPECTS OF THE COUNTRY.

> Elle est riante ainsi que l'Italie,
> Terrible ainsi que les rives du Nord.

133 The Klamath plateau presents very different aspects and produces very different impressions, according to the observer's condition and the character of the localities he enters or beholds. Travelers coming over the monotonous rocky or alkaline plains extending between Malheur Lake and the Reservation are gladdened at the sight of rivulets and springs, imparting a fresher verdure to the unproductive soil, and greet with welcome the pineries which they behold at a distance. Feelings of the same kind penetrate the hearts of those who enter the highlands from the Pit River country of California when they come to the well-watered plains of Lost River after crossing the desolate lava formations lying between. The scenery can be called *grand* only there, where the towering ridge of the Cascade Mountains and the shining mirrors of the lakes at their feet confront the visitor, surprised to see in both a reproduction of Alpine landscapes in the extreme West of America.* The alternation of jagged and angular outlines with long level ridges on the horizon suggests, and the peculiar lava color retained by

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* The large pyramidal cone of Mount Pitt is a rather accurate duplicate of the celebrated Niesen Peak in the Bernese Oberland, Switzerland, as seen from its northern and eastern side.

*539
533
755
70. *Song of the little wipēlī'wash forest-bird:*

Wipēli'wash nû shuí'sh gi,
wuiplé'wĕsh nû shuí'sh.

My own song I sing, I the wipēlíwash-bird.
I the wuipléwash am singing about myself.

71. *Song of the witkatkish-hawk:*

Gé-u aí hû tû' sáwals, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
witkatkísam gé-u sáwals. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

My head-crest this is, it is that of the witkatkish-hawk.

NOTES.

[825] The incantations obtained from Morgan are mostly of the kind called shuinō'tkish, and a large number of them are attributed to birds. Some of them probably exist in a more explicit form, which was not remembered, and the rhythmic or musical form was obtained of a part of them only. A literal translation of these song-lines is an impossibility in most instances, if their sense has to be rendered in full; I have therefore furnished only paraphrastic interpretations. The list is alphabetic, and was arranged after the names of the animals, or other personified objects, to which the incantations are attributed. Many of these songs are referred to in the "Subject List of Incantations" given by Morgan. *539 533 755 192

164; 1. Ktsálui, to be resplendent with colors, is mainly said of objects showing a blue or purple tinge: pû'ksam shláps ktsáluitko, the camass-plant has a bluish color. This verb is also used when speaking of the rainbow; of the lizard: 165; 14., also of the weasel's fur-skin: 169; 55.

[779] 164; 3. The use of these conjurer's arrows is mentioned 73, 5.

164; 4. Yámsam for Yámasham; cf. *Note* to 111, 4. Of the personified North wind the Indians say "he lives up in the mountains". On the north side the basin of [193] the Williamson River is closed up by high mountains. Gé-ish and génuish, génhuish means the action of going and that of having gone, or the present and the past going; both were translated by "*gait*", "*tread*", a term which does not differ much from the real meaning. Both terms also occur in the songs obtained from "Doctor" John, and are mainly used of quadrupeds, amphibians, and reptiles.

164; 4. kápa probably for gátpa (nû), "I have come".

[136] 165; 6. The yĕ'n sucker-fish is quite abundant in the lakes of the Klamath highlands and has been identified by Prof. E. D. Cope as the Catostomus labiatus.

165; 7. yéwa. In Morgan's series of incantations there are song-lines on wind-gusts, tempests, rain-storms and on the winds blowing from each of the four cardinal [821] points of the compass. These latter are not positively stated to be producers of disease, though they are dreaded on account of their force and violence. The East wind (yéwash) blowing over the alkaline or volcanic, arid lands of Southern Oregon sings: yéwa, yéwa (nû) which does not only signify "I blow from the East", but also "I am howling".

165; 11. Feigning to draw a rope or string from their own posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear.

K
alternately tule and a small cat-tail (watcŏ'k), the wefts are cords 285
made of the rolled outer layer of the tule (called ḳ!o'ᴇgi). These wefts are placed in pairs in simple tabby weave at intervals of one to three inches; they are not twined. The wefts are so thin and so tightly drawn that they barely show in the finished mat, but they produce a checkerboard effect (sŏlŭmtai') which gives this variety of mat its name. Possibly there is a fourth variety called ak!a'lŏks, an open twined mat, but of this I am not certain. All these mats are provided with a border of twisted strands of the same material caught in the weft cords.

M
Blankets woven of strips of rabbit skin are made by Modoc, not 281
by Klamath.

Coville states that "a long time ago the bark [of the cottonwood, K
kō-osh', *Populus balsamifera* L.], when peeled and split, was used in 114
the manufacture of an Indian cloth."[313] What this fabric can be I 285
do not know, unless bags are meant. 173

Ropes are made of three braided strands. The material is grass or the outer husk of the tule for such rough work as carrying wood. K
Strips of hide are sometimes used, but little elk hide is available for 283
pack ropes. Finer cords, such as those for fish lines and nets, are made of nettle (slets) bark fibers, of which there are three or four varieties (or perhaps phases). Other plant fibers, such as the Rocky Mountain flax (kŏl'-ä-käms, *Linum lewisii* Pursh.)[314] make stronger cords. Brown and gray nettles are most commonly used because of their strength.[315] Swamp-grass cords are used for sewing mats. Barrett notes that string made of brown milkweed is but little used and that all string is formed of two strands twisted together.[316] The latter point is confirmed by my own observations. Cords are made by placing two strands, or a doubled strand, side by side on the bare thigh; rolling them separately under the palm by a movement up the thigh, and by a quick reverse movement down the thigh, without raising the palm, rolling one around the other. Cord-making is a woman's art. K
A rope is called pĕḳ!os and cord gᴇnŭ'ḳs; braiding is k!ᴇbŏ'k!a and [462]
rolling p'tc!Iŋ.

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[313] Notes, 94.

[314] Coville, Notes, 99.

[315] Coville (Notes, 95) lists only one species, "the native species," *Urtica breweri* Wats.

[316] *Op. cit.*, 250. Coville indicates that milkweed (not, *Apocynum cannabinum* L.) does not occur in Klamath territory, but on Lost river where it is used by the Modoc (Notes, 103). K M [137]

[Klamath Reservation]

133
137

The Lower End. You are looking south, over the Klamath Basin. Wood River loops in the foreground of the picture. There is a glimpse of the western edge of Agency Lake and the Cascades loom on the horizon. (Courtesy L. S. Cressman.)

The Upper End. This is a view of the eastern side of the reservation, taken from a vantage point near Beatty, looking east.

[P. 48-A]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

ELEVEN

[P.131]

The General Allotment Act

IN THE TREATY OF 1864, THE PROVISIONS FOR ASSIGNING INDIVIDUAL 648*
tracts had anticipated the more elaborate planning that twenty- 657*
three years later resulted in the Dawes—or General Allotment— 423
Act. The principal object of that legislation was to individualize the Indian by assigning him a private tract, to be held in trust by the United States for at least twenty-five years, and by granting him citizenship. In the minds of many, the act was a counterpart to the Homestead Act. Nickerson, arguing against the opening of Yainax as proposed in 1881 by a bill before Congress, had stated of the reservation:

> It is a rocky, volcanic country not one tenth of which would be
> taken under pre-emption or homestead laws were it thrown open [134]
> for settlement. It is impossible for any person to live and support
> a family on 160 acres of average land. It requires large ranges [137] •
> of this volcanic ashy soil to produce sufficient grass for an ordinary drove of cattle while a strip of low meadow land to produce hay and perhaps some grain is a necessity in successful stock raising in this climate.[1]

From the first, the news of imminent allotment was paired with the realization that left-over reservation lands were to be declared surplus and thrown open to purchase and homesteading by whites. The intelligence reached the Indians even while they were aroused by the barbed-wire encroachments of stockmen on the Upper End (which culminated in the slaying of a former member of the Indian police), coupled with disquieting rumors that the new government survey would exclude much of the valley of the Upper Sprague.[2] Fortunately, not until the following year did Emery receive instructions to evaluate

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

THE KLAMATH INDIANS OF SOUTHWESTERN OREGON.

BY ALBERT S. GATSCHET.

ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF THE PEOPLE.

INTRODUCTION.

101 The Klamath people of North American Indians, the subject of this
131 descriptive sketch, have inhabited from time immemorial a country upon
the eastern slope of the Cascade Range, in the southwestern part of the
133 territory now forming the State ot Oregon. That territory is surrounded
134 by mountain ridges and by elevations of moderate height, and watered by
streams, lakes, marshes, and pond-sources issuing from the volcanic sands
covering the soil. The secluded position of these Indians within their
mountain fastnesses has at all times sheltered them against the inroads of
alien tribes, but it has also withheld from them some of the benefits which
only a lively intercourse and trade with other tribes are able to confer.
132 The climate of that upland country is rough and well known for its sudden
changes of temperature, which in many places render it unfavorable to
● 137 agriculture. But the soil is productive in edible roots, bulbs, berries, and
136 timber, the limpid waters are full of fish and fowl, and game was plentiful
before the white man's rifle made havoc with it. Thus the country was
capable of supplying a considerable number of Indians with food, and they
never manifested a desire to migrate or "be removed to a better country."

128 The topography of these highlands, which contain the headwaters of the Klamath River of California, will be discussed at length after a mention of the scanty literature existing upon this comparatively little explored tract of land.

133 both form elongated troughs, and the waters escaping from them reach the lowlands through deep cuts in the resistant material. The difference lies only in this, that the drainage of the Klamath headwater basin has been less complete than that of the Sacramento and upper Pit River; and large portions of its surface are still occupied by bodies of water.

The lakes which show the location of longitudinal faults are the more shallow the more distant they are from the Cascade Range, and those which possess no visible outlet necessarily contain brackish water, as the alkaline materials in them are not removed by evaporation. It is a noticeable fact that those lakes which were nearest the seats and haunts of the Klamath Indians are all disposed in one large circle: Klamath Marsh, Upper and Lower Klamath Lakes, Rhett or Tule Lake, Clear or Wright Lake, Goose Lake, Abert Lake, Summer Lake, Silver Lake with Pauline Marsh. Besides this several other depressions now filled with marshes and alkali flats show the existence of former water-basins.

TOPOGRAPHIC NOTES.

The most prominent object of nature visible from the level parts of the Klamath Reservation is the Cascade Range with its lofty peaks. Seen from the east shore of Upper Klamath Lake, it occupies nearly one hundred and fifty degrees of the horizon. Though Shasta Butte, visible on the far south, does not properly belong to it, the ridge rises to high altitudes not very far from there, reaching its maximum height in the regular pyramid forming [137] Mount Pitt. This pyramid is wooded on its slopes, and hides several mountain lakes—Lake of the Woods, Buck Lake, and Aspen Lake—on its southeastern base. Following in a northern direction are Union Peak, Mount Scott, and Mount Thielsen, with many elevations of minor size. At the southwestern foot of Mount Scott lies a considerable lake basin about twenty miles in circumference, and at some places two thousand feet below its rim. The water being of the same depth, this "Crater Lake" has been pointed out as probably the deepest lake basin in the world (1,996 feet by one sounding), and it also fills the largest volcanic crater known. At its southwestern end a conical island emerges from its brackish waters, which is formed of scoriæ—proof that it was once an eruption crater. The altitude of the

133 a strong bubbling motion, without any indication of other springs in the vicinity. They are met with in soil formed of volcanic sands and detritus, have a rounded shape with steep borders, and form the principal feeders of the streams into which they empty. Ponds like these mainly occur in wooded spots. Some of them have a diameter of one hundred feet and more, and are populated by fish and amphibians of all kinds.

The lake region east of the Reservation was often visited in the hunting and fishing season by the Klamath Lake, Modoc, and especially by the Snake Indians Goose Lake was one of the principal resorts of the Snake and the Pit River Indians; and even now the numerous rivulets flowing into it make its shores desirable to American stockmen and settlers. Warner [103] (or Christmas) Lake, fully thirty-five miles in length, was once enlivened by the troops camping at Fort Warner, on its eastern side.* Chewaukan Marsh (Tchuaχē'ni) has its name from the tchuá or "water potato", the fruit of *Sagittaria*, and is by its outlet connected with Abert Lake.

The Indians of the Reservation annually repair about the month of June to Klamath Marsh (É-ukshi) to fish, hunt, and gather berries and wókash or pond-lily seed, which is one of their staple foods. Its surface is somewhat less than that of Upper Klamath Lake. Its shores are high on the southeastern, low and marshy on the northwestern side. Water appears at single places only, insufficient to warrant the marsh being called, as it often is, a lake.

137 The Oregonian portions of the country described belong politically to Klamath and to Lake Counties, the county seats of which are Linkville and Lakeview, on the northern end of Goose Lake. The latter place also contains a United States land office.

FLORA AND FAUNA.

Vegetation usually gives a characteristic stamp to a country, but in arid districts, as those of the Klamath highlands, it is rather the geological features which leave an impress on our minds The further we recede from

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[113] * Goose and Warner Lakes are described in Lieutenant Wheeler's Report, Annual Report of Chief of Engineers, 1878 8°. Appendix N N, pp. 113–120. Goose Lake, by Stephen Powers, in "A Pony Ride on Pit River," Overland Monthly of San Francisco, October, 1874, pp. 342–351.

137 the Cascade Range and its more humid atmosphere the less vegetation is
developed. The lake shores and river banks, when not marshy, produce
the cottonwood tree and several species of willows, and the hills are covered
with the yellow or pitch pine and the less frequent western cedar. In the
western parts of the Reservation large tracts are timbered with pitch pine,
which seems to thrive exceedingly well upon the volcanic sands and
detritus of the hilly region. These pines (kō'sh) are about one hundred feet
in height, have a brownish-yellow, very coarse bark, and branch out into
limbs at a considerable height above the ground. They stand at intervals
of twenty to fifty feet from each other, and are free from manzanita bushes
and other undergrowth except at the border of the forest, leaving plenty of
space for the passage of wagons almost everywhere. A smaller pine species,
Pinus contorta (kápka, in Modoc k̲úga), which forms denser thickets near the
water, is peeled by the Indians to a height of twenty feet when the sap is
ascending, in the spring of the year, to use the fiber-bark for food. Up high
in the Cascade Range, in the midst of yellow pines, grows a conifera of taller
dimensions, the sugar-pine (ktéleam kō'sh). The hemlock or white pine
(wā'ko), the juniper (ktä'lo), and the mountain mahogany (yúkmalam) are
found in and south of Sprague River Valley.

[222] The lake shores and river banks produce more edible fruits and berries
[285] than the marshy tracts; and it is the shores of Klamath and Tule Lakes
[924] which mainly supply the Indian with the tule reed and scirpus, from which
the women manufacture mats, lodge-roofs, and basketry. The largest tule
species (má-i) grows in the water to a height of ten feet and over, and in
the lower end of its cane furnishes a juicy and delicate bit of food. Woods,
river sides, and such marshes as Klamath Marsh, are skirted by various
[222] kinds of bushes, supplying berries in large quantities. The edible bulbs,
as camass, k̲ō'l, l'bá, ipo, and others, are found in the prairies adjacent.
Pond-lilies grow in profusion on lake shores and in the larger marshes,
especially on the Wókash Marsh west of Linkville, and on Klamath Marsh,
as previously mentioned. The Lost River Valley is more productive in
many of these spontaneous growths than the tracts within the Reservation.

[278] It is claimed by the Klamath Lake Indians that they employ no drugs
of vegetal origin for the cure of diseases, because their country is too cold

137 278 to produce them. This is true to a certain extent; but as there are so many plants growing there that narcotize the fish, how is it that the country produces no medical plants for the cure of men's diseases? Of the plant shl!ē'dsh, at least, they prepare a drink as a sort of tea.

136 192 The fauna of the Klamath uplands appears to be richer in species than the vegetal growth. What first strikes the traveler's attention on the eastern shore of the Upper Lake is the prodigious number of burrows along the sandy road, especially in the timber, varying in size from a few inches to a foot in diameter. They are made by chipmunks of two species, and others are the dens of badgers, or of the blue and the more common brown squirrel. The coyote or prairie-wolf makes burrows also, but this animal has lately become scarce. No game is so frequent as the deer. This is either the black-tail deer, (shuá-i, *Cervus columbianus*), or the white tail deer (múshmush, *Cariacus virginianus macrurus*), or the mule-deer (paḵóleah, *Cervus macrotis*). Less frequent is the antelope (tché-u, *Antilocapra americana*), and most other four-legged game must be sought for now upon distant heights or in the deeper cañons, as the elk (vún), the bear in his three varieties (black, cinnamon, and grizzly; witä'm, náka, lû'ḵ), the lynx (shlóa), the gray wolf (kä'-utchish), the silver or red fox (wán), the little gray fox (ḵétchḵatch), the cougar (táslatch), and the mountain sheep (ḵó-il). Beavers, otters, minks, and woodchucks are trapped by expert Indians on the rivers, ponds, and brooklets of the interior.

The shores of the water-basins are enlivened by innumerable swarms of water-fowls, (mä'mäkli), as ducks, geese, herons, and cranes. Some can be seen day by day swimming about gracefully or fishing at Modoc Point (Nflakshi) and other promontories, while others venture up the river courses and fly over swampy tracts extending far inland. Among the ducks the more common are the mallard (wē'ks), the long-necked kflidshiks; among the geese, the brant (lálak) and the white goose (waíwash). Other water-birds are the white swan (kúsh), the coot or mudhen (túhush), the loon (táplal), the pelican (yámal or kúmal), and the pinguin (kuftsia). Fish-hawks and bald-headed eagles (yaúχal) are circling about in the air to catch the fish which are approaching the water's surface unaware of danger. Marsh-hawks and other raptores infest the marshes and are lurking there

133 the highest peaks confirm the eruptive origin of these mountains. The pure azure sky and the perpetual silence of nature reigning in these uplands add impressions of grandeur which it is impossible to describe. The sense of the beautiful has no gratification in the austere forms of these mountains, but the blue and limpid waters of the lakes, their numerous islands, and the lovely green of the shores, delight it in the highest degree.

137 The other eminences perceptible on the horizon lack the boldness of
137 outline seen upon the main ridge, and with their dusky timbers deeply contrast with it. They seem monotonous and commonplace, and people easily impressed by colors will call them somber. The open country, whether marshes, plains, clearings, meadows, or bare hills, presents an extremely bleak aspect, especially when under the influence of a hot summer sun. Its unvarying yellowish hue, produced by the faded condition of the coarse grasses, renders it monotonous.

133 The solitude and serenity of these places exercise a quieting influence upon the visitor accustomed to the noisy scenes of our towns and cities. Noiselessly the brooks and streams pursue their way through the purifying volcanic sands; the murmur of the waves and the play of the water-birds, interrupted at times by the cry of a solitary bird, are the only noises to break the silence. Beyond the few settlements of the Indian and away from the post-road, scarcely any trace of the hand of man reminds us of the existence of human beings. There Nature alone speaks to us, and those who are able to read history in the formations disclosed before him in the steeper ledges of this solitary corner of the globe will find ample satisfaction in their study.

132 The Klamath plateau, though productive in game, fish, and sundry kinds of vegetable food, could never become such a great central resort of Indian populations as the banks of Columbia River. The causes for this lie in its secluded position and chiefly in its climate, which is one of abrupt changes. The dryness of the atmosphere maintains a clear sky, which renders the summer days intensely hot; the sun's rays become intolerable in the middle of the day at places where they are reflected by a sandy, alkaline, or rocky soil and not moderated by passing breezes. Rains and hailstorms are of rare occurrence, and gathering thunder clouds often dissolve or "blow

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 94, 4. I-ulalónan or Yulalóna is the Indian name of the cascade of Link River
773 above the town of Linkville, and for that town itself. The origin of this name is ex-
192 plained in 94, 5. 6, for the verb i-ulalóna means to move forth and back, referring here
193 to the waters of the river receding under the pressure of the south wind.

103 94, 6. ítklank, partic. pres. of itkal, means here: obtaining by basketfuls.

137 94, 9. The kĕnáwat is a plant growing high in the warm climate of Northern California, especially in the ancient habitat of the Shasti Indians, and in this myth it suggested itself to the Indians on account of its property of growing very fast.

95, 3. gé'hlapka: he swung himself into the nest by climbing over the rim. Cf. *Note* to 68, 13.

95, 10. kaiχema K'mukámtchish for the regular form K'mukámtchash. Cf. 91, 8.

95, 15. skáyamtch etc. More plainly expressed this sentence runs as follows: sha skáyamna pásh tchish ámbu tchish; the first tchish being placed before pásh and appended to the apocopated skáyamna.

95, 16. shéwana here used differently from tchíya, which applies to liquids only.

95, 17. p'lû' ítchuank seems to be a quite modern interpolation, for it smells of pomade and hair-oil; but it is as ancient as the myth itself.

765 95, 23. 96, 2. 3. 4. Tchíka. I have rendered this bird-name elsewhere by "Chaffinch," and Klétish by "Sandhill Crane".

551 96, 3. shlámia, to feel insulted. She resented it as an insult that the child called her deceased husband by name; for it was a capital crime among the ancestors of the present Klamaths to call a dead person's name for many years after his demise.

96, 5. hû'tna is changed to hû'tan on account of being followed by a word commencing with k.

765 93, 6. stiya. The custom of widows to put pitch or resin on their heads at the death of their husbands was abolished only at the time when cremation became a thing of the past.

178 96, 6. galdsha-úyank is a more explicit form of the participle; the verb gáldshui being the contracted form of galdsháwi.

96, 8. yámnashla. He used the bristles of porcupines to make necklaces of.

96, 11. unakáka m'na was the son of Aíshish and of the above mentioned Tchíka.

96, 11. 12. K'mukámtcham qualifies pā'ks, not lúlukshtat.

96, 14. pakakóleshtka, verbal desiderative of pakakóla, to jerk away from. The suffix -óla indicates that K'múkamtch wore his tobacco-pipe tied to his body; he wore it on his neck.

96, 15. tchitchiks is used when speaking to children. It signifies *so, so!* and means: be quiet, shut up, stop!

96, 17. tchē'k kĕléwi. In similar connections this phrase very frequently ends a whole narrative in Modoc and Klamath. Here it means that Aíshish ceased to poke the pipe into the fire. Cf. 85, 10. 89, 7.

96, 18. medshá: he removed from that spot with all his wives and children. Ancient customs forbid the offspring to stay where the father had breathed his last.

96, 20. Gén húnk nánuk etc. This portion of the myth describes the destruction of all the living organisms on earth by a general conflagration caused by K'múkamtch. Myths of this kind are suggested by intense heat experienced in summer. This mode of destroying life on earth is less frequently met with in myths than the drowning in a general flood.

K
M
342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old
352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the
513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another
K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are
M [592] houses that hold more than two families and others that hold
K only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no
M longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content
342 888 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.

735 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women
K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered
M 142 the visitor[11] are of powerful frame—though of no more than
average height—and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily
K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber
M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early
291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing
[177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the
trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down
the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside
add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a
K mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in
M 302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips
301 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads,
ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum
K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy
M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face,
304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by
[142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter prac-
[177] tice, says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit
River neighbors of the Modoc.

K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys.
M 512 Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grand-
[857] father and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black
waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the
sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to
stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its
K M cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the
[252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it
[415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they
[177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath
NR10

[Klamath Reservation].

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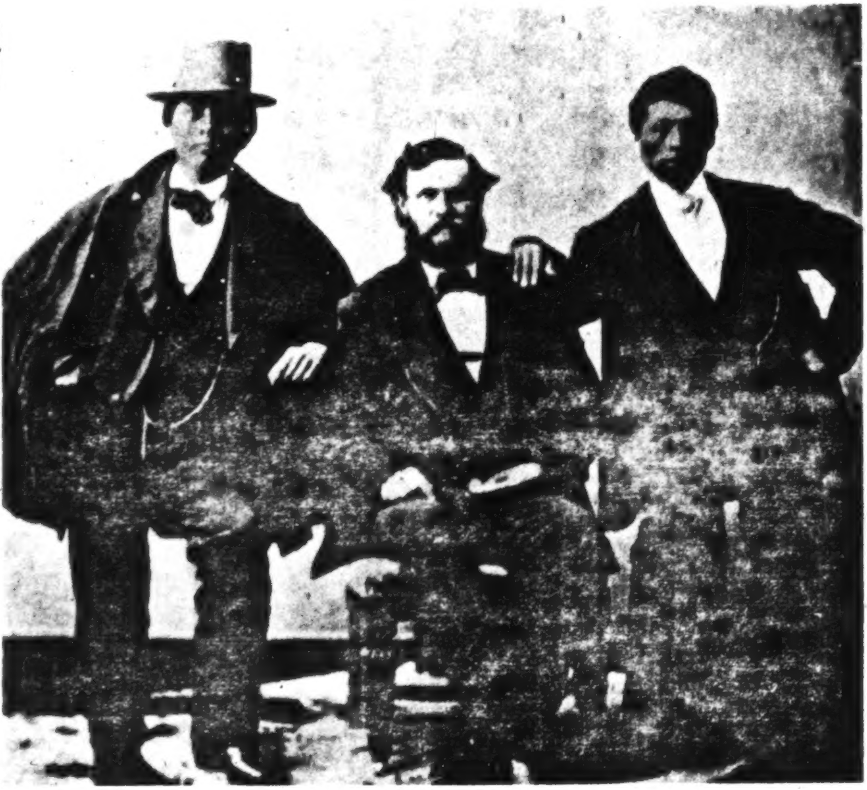

The first delegation: Tecumseh, O. C. Applegate, and Dave Hill on the lyceum tour of 1875. (From Riddle, 1914.)

[P. 80-B]

[Klamath Reservation]

[P. 144-A]

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Reservation figures just before the turn of the century. *Front row, left to right,* Monchnkasgitk, Long John, Lilu, Chief Agency George, Henry Blow; *back row, left to right,* Tom Chocktoot, Jack Palmer, O. C. Applegate, Jesse Kirk, and unknown reporter. (From Johnson, 1947.)

The new day. Jeff Riddle takes his mother, Winema, and his daughter, Minerva, for a ride. Jeff's book, *The Indian History of the Modoc War,* was just out. (From Hincks, 1915.)

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P. 144-B]

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Klamath lunching after fishing in the Sprague River. (From Hincks, 1915.)

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Ranchers on the Upper End in the 1920's. In the foreground stand Jesse Lee Kirk and Sam Watah, late Paiute shaman.

*648 in seventh and ninth grades—the beginning grades respectively
*657 for junior high and high school—was less than half the figure for
87 first grade in the same year. For tribal children, by contrast, the
563 figures for the advanced grades were each almost twice as large
as that for the first grade.

On an average, roughly one-half the small number of Klamath
children entering high school could be expected to graduate.
[125] That this record was not to be attributed to a difference in intellectual ability is intimated by the results of California mental maturity tests which, as administered to Klamath children as a whole at the fourth grade, yielded normal scores, averaging 96.9. When, however, the same children had reached the eighth grade, their average score had declined to 80.4.[6] A sharp drop in incentive had taken its toll.

The stresses within the school fell unequally upon Klamath boys and girls. Athletic prowess and artistic ability—both often conceived as racially innate and as masculine attributes—gave the boys legitimate avenues to social approval. At puberty, however, Klamath girls were often beginning to develop the physical
[142] massiveness that is so frequent in their racial constitution, but
[562] that at the same time is foreign to American ideals of beauty.
Some bore their lot with dignity and poise. Others courted a fleeting favor through promiscuity or took out their resentments in direct assault upon rivals or upon substitute figures. Direct violence against whites occurred in the schools at about this age, and most frequently involved girls. Still others sought alternatives outside the school, dropping out entirely, going away to vocational schools, or entering into early marriages.

*648 Indeed, for many of the tribal youth—boys as well as girls—
*657 confronted by a school experience that grew increasingly irrele-
871 vant as they became older, it was merely a matter of "serving
563 time" until they gained release by attaining the age of eighteen.
582 Many Klamath tended to marry young, and there were incentives
peculiar to their position. For a girl striving to escape the pressures and dissatisfactions of home life, the regimen of caring for younger siblings, and the boredom and vexation of the school, the importance and security of being a newlywed possessed a
[434] fairyland appeal. For the boy, the trust fund accumulated by
[429] the Agency for each minor, amounting in some instances to

5: **Barrett** **E-5** (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10 •
Modoc NS17

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K
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2

GRINDING AND SIFTING WOKAS SEEDS.

[p. 267]

000 staying before the Modoc war among the *Kúmbatwash-Modocs* (q. v.) in the lava beds south of Tule Lake.

A few families of hunting *Molale Indians*, congeners of the "Old Kayuse" Indians near Yumatilla River, were formerly settled at Flounce Rock, on the headwaters of Rogue River, and farther north in the Cascade range. The Klamath Indians were filled with hatred against them; they were by them called Tchakä'nkni, inhabitants of Tchakχē'ni, or the "service berry tract," and ridiculed on account of their peculiar, incorrect use of the Klamath language. In former times Molale Indians held all the northeastern slopes of the Willámĕt Valley, claiming possession of the hunting grounds; the bottom lands they left in the hands of the peaceably disposed, autochthonic race of the Kalapuya tribes, whom they call Mókai or Móke.

CHARACTERISTICS OF RACE.

142 These are either bodily or mental. To ascertain the former no measurements were made by me by means of instruments when I was among the Klamath Lake Indians, and hence all that follows rests upon ocular inspection. For Modoc skulls some accurate data are on hand, published by the United States Surgeon-General's Office, Washington, D. C.

The Mongolian features of prognathism and of high cheek bones are not very marked in this upland race, though more among the Modocs than in the northern branch. If it was not for a somewhat darker complexion and a strange expression of the eye, it would be almost impossible to distinguish many of the É-ukshikni men from Americans. The forehead is compressed in the tender age of childhood and looks rather low, but does not recede so acutely as might be expected from this treatment. Prognathism, where it exists, does not seem to be a consequence of head flattening. The cheek bones are more prominent than with us, but less than with the Central Californians. The fact that the head-man, Tatápkash, who was among the signers of the treaty of 1864, was called after this peculiarity shows that high cheek bones are rather uncommon. The nasal ridge is not aquiline, but very strong and forms an almost continuous line with the forehead. Convergence of the eyes is perceptible in a few individuals only, and anatomists have shown that it is nowhere produced by the structure of the skull

142 itself, but it is the result of the mother's manipulation on the baby's eyes, and causes them to look sleepy, the opening of the eyelids becoming narrower. (Cf. Texts 91, 5–8.)

These Indians have a piercing look and their eyeballs are of the deepest black, a circumstance which accounts for their great power of vision. In many Indians, namely in children, the white of the eye shows a blue tinge, perhaps the result of head flattening. The mouth is small and the teeth good; but with many Indians the thyroid cartilage, or Adam's apple, is very [302] prominent. The hair upon the head is straight and dark. I did not find it very coarse, but with many Modoc women it is said to be so and to grow to an extreme length. On other portions of the body the hair is short and scarce, the natives doing their best to weed it out, the beard especially, with metallic pincers or tweezers (hushmoklō´tkish), which they always carry with them. As among most American aborigines, the beard is of scanty growth. The late chief Lelékash wore a beard, but I never saw any Indian wearing one except Charles Preston, the Yáneks interpreter. The contents of the song 185;44 should also be noticed in this connection. Baldness is rare, and in fact it appears that the dearth of hairy covering of the skin is fully compensated in the Indian race by a more exuberant growth of hair upon the head, to protect them against excessive colds and the heat of the sun.

Among the Lake people the complexion is decidedly lighter than among the cinnamon-hued Modocs, and a difference between the sexes is hardly perceptible in this respect. Blushing is easily perceptible, though the change in color is not great. Those most approaching a white complexion like ours are numerous, but their skin is always of a yellowish lurid white. Owing to their outdoor life in the free and healthy mountain air, these Indians are well proportioned as to their bodily frame, and apparently robust; but their extremities, hands and feet, are rather small, as the extremities are of the majority of the North American Indians.

The average of Modoc men appear to be of a smaller stature than that of the Klamath Lake men, but in both tribes a notable difference exists between the length of body in the two sexes, most men being lank,

142 tall, and wiry, while the women are short and often incline to embonpoint. Nevertheless obesity is not more frequent there than it is with us. No better illustration of their bodily characteristics can be had than a collection of their personal names. These sketch the Indian in a striking and often an unenviable light, because they generally depict the extremes observed on certain individuals. The sex can not, or in a few instances only,
[551] be inferred from the name of a person. We frequently meet with designations like "Large Stomach," "Big Belly," "Round Belly," "Sharp Nose," "Grizzly's Nose," "Spare-Built," "Grease," "Crooked Neck," "Conical Head," "Wide-Mouth," "Small-Eyes," "Squinter," "Large Eyes," "Half-blind," or with names referring to gait, to the carriage of the body, to habitual acts performed with hands or feet, to dress, and other accidental matters.

165 With all these deformities, and many others more difficult to detect,
145 these Indians have bodies as well formed as those of the Anglo-American race, and in spite of their privations and exposure they live about as long as we do, though no Indian knows his or her age with any degree of accu-
164 racy. A very common defect is the blindness of one eye, produced by the smudge of the lodge-fire, around which they pass the long winter evenings.
304 With the majority of the Indians the septum of the nose hangs down at
301 adult age, for the nose of every Indian is pierced in early years, whether they afterwards wear the dentalium-shell in it or not.

000 Stephen Powers, who had good opportunities for comparing the Modocs with the tribes of Northern California, says of them:

> They present a finer physique than the lowland tribes of the Sacramento, taller and less pudgy, partly, no doubt, because they engage in the chase more than the latter. There is more rugged and stolid strength of feature than in the Shastika now living; cheek bones prominent; lips generally thick and sensual; noses straight as the Grecian, but depressed at the root and thick-walled; a dullish, heavy cast of feature; eyes frequently yellow where they should be white. They are true Indians in their stern immobility of countenance.*

Passing over to the psychic and mental qualities of these Oregonian natives, only a few characteristics can be pointed out by which they differ from the other Indians of North America. The Indian is more dependent

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* Contributions to North Amer. Ethnology, III, 252, 253. By Shastika he means the Shasti Indians of middle Klamath River, California.

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Mrs. Pansy [illegible]les

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Mrs. Jones, starting a basket

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

Robert David and granddaughter

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[115]

Billet Lobert

115
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252
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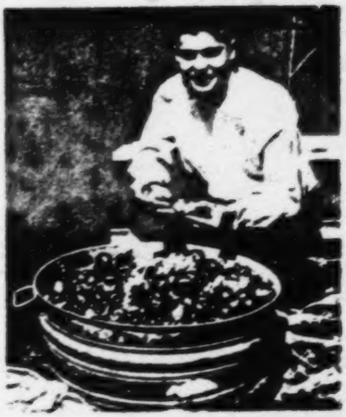

Andrew Ortiz, Jr.,
opening wokas pods

[Pp. 124-125 contain no ethnographic material]

*657
*648 tunities of the reservation. As they moved away, they extended
563 Indian experience into the midst of frontier society. During the
167 allotment period they in turn enlarged reservation perspectives.

*657 The majority of the interbreed children that appeared upon
*648 the early reservation, then, were the product of temporary or
563 unstable unions and appeared as fatherless children. The annual
162 reports are unrealistic as to their number. In 1885, for example, it was claimed that there were only 12 interbreeds in the total population of 919,[9] although to judge from later censuses, the number must have been several times as great.

*657 One of the long-range results of this intercourse was to reduce
*648 somewhat the difference in physical appearance that separated
563 the Indians from the surrounding population. Another—and more
[144] immediate—consequence, however, was to raise the divisive issue
[848] of illegitimacy among the Indians themselves and to introduce
[602] into the tribal body individuals who could claim only maternal kinsmen. Thus, one Klamath recalls his father, a stage driver in Klamath Falls, as a drunkard whom his mother finally left. The family returned to his maternal grandparents, in whose care the boy grew up. His mother subsequently married a man who ran a logging camp at Pelican Bay, a hard worker and good hunter who treated the boy well. Nonetheless, throughout his life he bore an animus against his father and in part against the heritage he represented.[10]

*657 Interracial unions were encouraged, not only by a dearth of
*648 white women but by an early preponderance of women among
563 the Klamath and by regulations which put an end to polygamy.
167 The early imbalance between the sexes was striking. The figures
[595] supplied by Captain Kelly for the adult Klamath in 1864 give a sex ratio of no more than 0.47.[11] Those for the Link River band two years later areonly a little higher for the adults, 0.52, although the overall figure is 0.64, since boys and girls are in approximate balance.[12]

[164] Neither sex-linked disease nor the practice of selective infanti-
[847] cide is known to have occurred among the Klamath, and the most probable explanation must be sought among such factors as differential exposure to rigorous training, warfare, and vicissitudes of the food quest, as well as to possible emigration of single men. O. C. Applegate, the only Agent to comment upon the im-

men. The major attractions, however, were the stores, the schools, 648* 657*
the movies, the excitement, and the entertainment. These advantages 16
seem likewise to have favored the shift to larger communities.

Thus, over an extended period of time, there has been a substantial and growing body of Klamath who, while retaining an equity in the tribal estate and membership in the tribal body, have come to dwell away from the reservation and who visit it infrequently, if at all. Their daily life is spent within a milieu, and in reliance upon a "personal community"—to use Jules Henry's expressive term[5]—made up largely of non-Klamath.

The heterogeneity of the Klamath is also reflected by their 648*
biological composition. While the characterization of the degree 657*
of Indian heritage, expressed as a "blood quantum," is open to 144 •
occasional error in individual instances, the figures taken in summation reveal significant differences. By 1955, only twenty-eight per cent of the absentee members could claim to be biologically of over one-half Indian ancestry, and even for those dwelling upon the reservation the corresponding figure was no more than fifty-four per cent. Within the reservation, in turn, Lower End Klamath were markedly less Indian by this measure, falling between the values for absentee and Upper End members.[6]

Like many other Indian groups, the Klamath population possesses 648*
a large segment of younger members, marking an increase 657*
over the early decades of the present century. In the days of 162
termination, those under twenty years of age comprised no fewer than forty-seven per cent of the total tribal membership, a figure exceeding that for the general population of the United States, of which only one-third fell within the corresponding bracket.[7] Although these figures are often interpreted as reflecting improved health conditions on the reservation, they also [563]
reflect an increased rate of marriage with non-Indians.

The variety of Klamath life during the latter days of their 648*
tribal existence may be illustrated by data from the Upper End 657*
community of Beatty, the Lower End city of Chiloquin, and 184
from the off-reservation communities of Klamath Falls and 361
Eugene-Springfield in the Willamette Valley.

Beatty and Chiloquin represent special facets of reservation

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657*
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Reservation:		
Chiloquin	30.5	
Modoc Point	0.3	
Klamath Agency	3.9	
Total Lower End		34.7
Sprague River	8.2	
Beatty	15.6	
Total Upper End		23.8
Klamath Falls	7.4	
Other Klamath County	2.0	
Klamath County		9.4
Willamette Valley		7.5
Other Oregon		7.1
California		9.3
Washington–Idaho		3.1
Other		5.1
		100.0

4. See n.3 for tabulation.

5. Henry (1958).

6. The figures come from a demographic review of a sample of tribal members above the age of sixteen, made as part of the Klamath Termination Study. For this restricted sample, the proportion of reservation population one-half or less in Indian heritage is 33 per cent. When calculated separately, the Lower End segment stands at 41 per cent, almost double the figure for the Upper End, with 24 per cent. 648* 657* 162 144 •

Available figures have made it necessary to compare the reservation and absentee memberships over the full age range, rather than to restrict consideration to those above sixteen. Upon this base, the over-all value for the reservation increases from the figure given above to 46 per cent, while that for the absentee membership, 72 per cent, is almost double. Thus the Lower End stands biologically intermediate between Upper End, with the highest Indian heritage, and the absentee segment, with the lowest.

7. Hadley (1957), p. 29. The figures for the United States are for 1957. 000

8. Du Toit (1959).

9. Stern and Swanson (1960).

648 Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation, by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members" with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.
[619]

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, gene-
144 tically, less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier com-
munities were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
[786] area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
[181] Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided in-
[556] creased opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal mem-
[434] bers, as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and for-
[251] feited bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[591] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

142 tall, and wiry, while the women are short and often incline to embonpoint. Nevertheless obesity is not more frequent there than it is with us. No better illustration of their bodily characteristics can be had than a collection of their personal names. These sketch the Indian in a striking and often an unenviable light, because they generally depict the extremes observed on certain individuals. The sex can not, or in a few instances only, [551] be inferred from the name of a person. We frequently meet with designations like "Large Stomach," "Big Belly," "Round Belly," "Sharp Nose," "Grizzly's Nose," "Spare-Built," "Grease," "Crooked Neck," "Conical Head," "Wide-Mouth," "Small-Eyes," "Squinter," "Large Eyes," "Half-blind," or with names referring to gait, to the carriage of the body, to habitual acts performed with hands or feet, to dress, and other accidental matters.

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Passing over to the psychic and mental qualities of these Oregonian natives, only a few characteristics can be pointed out by which they differ from the other Indians of North America. The Indian is more dependent

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* Contributions to North Amer. Ethnology, III, 252, 253. By Shastika he means the Shasti Indians of middle Klamath River, California.

000 on nature, physically and mentally, than we are.. What distinguishes the civilized man from the primitive man of our days and of prehistoric ages is his greater faculty of turning to account the patent and the hidden powers of nature, or the invention of handicrafts, arts, and sciences. In this the savage man lags far behind the man of culture, and although we often have to admire the ingenuity and shrewdness displayed by the American native in his hunting and fishing implements and practices, the art of agriculture, without which there can be no real human culture, has never been pursued to any considerable extent by the Indians living north of the thirtieth parallel of latitude.

512 The climate of their home compels the Máklaks Indians to lead an
157 active and laborious life. Except in the coldest days of winter they are
● [147] almost always engaged in some outdoor work, either hunting, fishing, or cutting wood, gathering vegetal food, or traveling on horseback. Pursuits like these and the pure, bracing air of the highlands render their constitutions hardy and healthy, their minds active, wide awake, and intelligent. They are quick-sighted and quick in their acts, but slow in expressing delight, wonder, astonishment, or disgust at anything they see. Often they do not grasp the meaning of what they observe being done by the white people, and thus appear to us indifferent to many of the highest attainments
177 of modern culture. Children and adults are prone to reject or slow to adopt
[178] the blessings of civilization, because many of these are of no practical use to a hunting and fishing people, and others are past their understanding.

The first things they generally adopt from the white people are the citizen's dress and handy articles of manufacture, as beads, tobacco, knives, guns, steel traps; also wagons and other vehicles; for when in possession of these last the horses, which they had obtained long before, can be put to better account They are also quick in adopting English baptismal names, sometimes discarding but oftener retaining their descriptive or burlesque nomenclature from the Klamath language. Gradually they adopt also with the money of the white man the elements of arithmetic, and learn to compute days and months according to his calendar. After another lapse of time they introduce some of the white man's laws, discard polygamy and slavery,

121 (Levine, 1960) has indicated that this may be an extremely important measure
125 of ego strength. Whether this is supported in cross-cultural work remains to
[114] be determined.

121 The emphasis throughout this phase of the research has been on the functioning
individual — how he adapts to his environment in general and, whenever possible,
15 how he behaves in interpersonal situations. In this regard Piotrowski's hypothesis that the movement responses reflect prototypal roles has been exploited extensively. By prototypal roles, Piotrowski means, "definite tendencies, deeply embedded in the subject and not easily modified, to assume repeatedly the same attitude or attitudes in dealing with others when matters felt to be important and personal are involved." (Piotrowski, 1957, p. 141). He makes it clear that he is referring to "psychological tendencies" only; in order to predict whether these tendencies will be expressed in overt behavior it is necessary to take into account many other variables (Principle of Interdependence of Components).

Piotrowski has written further that the FM (animal movement responses) reflect the subject's prototypal roles as they were prominent in the subject's past or as they influence his behavior in "states of lowered integration and in states of diminished consciousness and defective self-control," and, finally, that the m (inanimate movement responses) "indicate prototypal roles in life which the individual feels to be desirable and pleasant but unrealizable."

Thus, for example, if a subject gives only very active or aggressive human movement responses (e.g., "two boxers slugging it out") it is hypothesized that his prototypal role is of this nature. If his FM are passive and his M are aggressive, we conclude that his present prototypal role is aggressive, but that when drunk, for example, he is more likely to become docile.

In actual Rorschach interpretation the complexities of multiple roles, the influence of other Rorschach variables, the inconsistency of role patterns, and so on, must all be evaluated very carefully in order to arrive at a meaningful
121 and valid personality description. Although considerable care must be taken to
181 avoid oversimplifying these interpretive principles, their judicious application
is often very helpful and may have led to the most important conclusion of the
156 present investigation: that the Klamath are characterized by a guarded and
[171] restrained approach to life and interpersonal relations. This guarded restraint is different from the Trukese blocking and from the dull apathy of the Alorese. The Klamath initial reaction times are not nearly as long as the Trukese, nor are their dark shading responses as primitive and poorly organized. On the contrary, their initial reaction times are only slightly longer than would be expected from a U.S. White group and their dark shading responses are almost as well organized. The guarded restraint of the Klamath seemed to be neither the result of marked blocking nor apathy. A more detailed discussion of this hypothesis will be appropriate, however, after the case studies have been presented.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
587 3975. New husband pays widow's parents-in-law	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
3976. New husband asks widow's parents-in-law consent	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	.	+	–	.	–
3977. New husband pays widow's sister-in-law	–	–	–	–		•+	+	+	–	+	–	.	–	–	–	–
3978. New husband pays, gives gifts to widow's family	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	+
3979. Remarriage of widows rare, if husband good man	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 3980. Divorcee's former husband paid by new husband	–	–	–	•–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3981. Man sells wife to male bidder	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
o3982. New husband pays divorcee's parents	–	–	+	+	–	±	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
o3983. New husband asks divorcee's parents	–	–	–	–	–	±	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Intercourse																
833 3984. Bride scratches at 1st intercourse	–	–	+	–	–	–		(+)	–	–	.	.	•+	.	.	.
3985. Natural position lying on side	.		+										•+			
3986. Kissing unknown	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
[152 192] 3987. Exclamation of endearment for adults, children	+	+	–		+	•+	•+	+	+	+	.	–	+	+	–	–
3988. Virginity tests	.	.	•–				•+	•+	–	.	.	.	–	.	.	.
Promiscuity																
836 3989. Promiscuity any time	•–	–	+	+	–		+	+	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–
3990. At dances chiefly	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	–	.	+	–	–	+	–
3991. Promiscuity denied by informant	•–	–	•–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3992. Unchaste unmarried girl beaten, shaken, scolded	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
836 3993. Unmarried pregnant girl scolded, beaten		+	+			+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
848 3994. Father of bastard punished	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
3995. Killed by girl's relatives														+	+	–
3996. Obligated to marry girl	•+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3997. Might marry girl, not obligated	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–
3998. Payment for girl	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Transvestites																
Male																
838 3999. Male transvestites affirmed for group	+	•–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	–	•–	.	•–
4000. Sweat with women	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	(+)	–	–	.	–
4001. Perform women's work	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	(+)	–	–	.	–
4002. Wear women's clothes	+	–	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	(+)	–	–	.	–
4003. Live with normal man	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	.	–
4004. Special functions at funerals	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	–
[756] 4005. Some are shamans	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	(+)	–	–	.	–
4006. Nursing in war		–	–			–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	–
4007. Regarded indifferently by community	+	–	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	.	–
4008. Turn berdache at puberty, prepuberty	–		+			(+)		+	+	+	–	.	–	–	.	–
[587] 4009. Turn berdache postpuberty, later in life	+	–	–		+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	–
4010. Act upon dream	–	+	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	–
Female																
4011. Female transvestites affirmed for group	+	–	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4012. Live with woman	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
4012a. Live with man			–					+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4012b. Wear woman's clothes	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
[756] 4013. Some are shamans	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–

000 that woman; he acts just like a boss toward her."

3975. WT: Also, in Upper Trinity subarea of Wintu, informant had heard of 1 instance of mother-in-law killing daughter-in-law after husband died. "The mother-in-law didn't want that woman to take another husband, so she killed her with a bone needle [dagger?]. She was sorry after she did it; but she didn't like the woman having another husband who would look just like her son; it would make her [mother-in-law] feel badly."

[587] 3976. In case there is no brother-in-law to ask.

3977. If there is no brother-in-law to receive the payment. AW: Sister-in-law may dispose of widow to more-distant male relative of dead husband also.

3980. SW: A divorce "puts a man and woman clear away from each other"; no payment rendered former husband.

562 587 593 3981. Kl: If man does not like his wife for some reason, he announces, "Anyone who wants my wife can take her, if they give me something. If you people don't want her, I'll kill her." The men discuss it; husband repeats the announcement, sets date when he will kill woman; some man finally takes her for wife, gives the husband something; "that's how they save a woman, sometimes." No one knows what trouble between husband and wife prompts man to do this, and man never tells; he doesn't beat his wife, he just sells her. Only done occasionally; when informant was boy such sales still taking place; informant had seen one couple separated this way. Woman not captive.

000 Intercourse; promiscuity.--

3984. NF: Girl cries, fights husband, so girl's mother sleeps beside girl first night later sleeps with husband.

3985. NF: Do not allow people to sleep lying on back "like dead people"; lie on side and "put their heart in hiding" so no evil will befall sleepers.

● [152] [192] 3987. Purse lips and make sound, "čk, čk," repeatedly, close to baby's face. AW: Rub hands over baby's face or neck while making sound; same done between adults. AE: "Learned to make this sound from animals--badger, raccoon."

3988. SE: No virginity tests, but observe boy's actions around girls. AE: If girl's, boy's legs get "heavy" (tired) during girl's puberty dance, sign he or she is not virgin. Spectators watch to see whether this happens. WT: Can tell whether girl is virgin or not by shape of her abdomen, if firm, smooth, judge she is.

[548] [178] 3989. Kl: Prostitution with payment recent custom only.

3990. WM: Especially at girl's puberty dance.

836 3991. Kl: Said to have been extremely rare; "girls never ran around; pretty hard to get a woman." Girl's parents wanted girl to marry man who could get her lots of fish, so she would eat

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K M 609 In such a sphere, and in relations with strangers beyond, the myths picture encounters fraught with possible danger. They may be initiated by a trucial period which endures until, by proper guest-host behavior, by a claim of kinship or on the other hand by an act of aggression, the issue of "friend or foe" is precipitated. K M [574] Hospitality dictates that one receive and feed the stranger, though a visiting kinsman brings a gift of food or otherwise repays the kindness. If, however, hostility is decided upon, it rarely becomes open: instead, both sides proceed indirectly, under the guise of amicability, and employ followers or auxiliaries to encompass the destruction of the other. It is here that the prescient qualities of the hero, his access to assistants and to supernatural forces, are decisive.[19]

K 648 In ethnographic reality, the outer limits of society are marked by the boundaries of common speech. Beyond this, the Klamath maintain amity with the Molala, intermittent friendship and hostility toward the Warm Springs and other Columbia River Sahaptin, who sometimes raid them, and toward the Paiute; inveterate hostility toward the Takelma of the upper Rogue and other peoples west of the Cascades; and a predatory aggressiveness toward the Pit River and Shasta to the south, whom they increasingly raid for slaves and loot.

K M 571 156 [838] The horizons of such a society are not wide. With the exception of the shaman, a part-time specialist, each man and each woman has much the same skills and knowledge as his fellows. The aberrant individual can do no more than assume the dress and behavior of the other sex, ascribing his action to supernatural dictate. The transient forms of the community and the informal constraint it imposes, the paucity of activities that demand concerted action, go hand in hand with a permissiveness in the individual. When this takes aggressive form, it may threaten the very fabric of society.

K M 754 571 • 152 682 The covert expression of hostility is likely to invest relations beyond the natal family with fear and mistrust. Revenge can take the form of murder from ambush, sorcery to engender the illness or death of the enemy, or the stealthy destruction of his property.[20] One frequent cause of open slayings, and of the feuds that ensue, is suspicion that a shaman has brought about the death of one's kinsman. Commonly, such charges are leveled

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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against a member of another band or tribe, but malevolence or greed, it is thought, may sometimes lead a shaman to compound the illness or death of a fellow bandsman; and sometimes his spirits may act independently of him to bring the same end. Klamath recall with horror the unnatural event which took place in the present decade of the present century, when that suspicion caused a woman to slay her own mother for the fatal bewitchment of her child.

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To end a description of the aboriginal life of Klamath and Modoc in this manner is to risk too somber a balance. Loosely structured in society, modest in scale, precariously balanced against the winters, their cultures made possible a good life in which dignity and worth had a place. That those were not, however, the halcyon days sometimes depicted today is intimated by the words spoken in 1873 by the Klamath leader, Henry Blow. If they exaggerate as almost certainly they do, they still possess an essential truth:

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> Before the Bostons came there was no law. The strongest man took what he wanted and the man who had the most property and the most friends was the chief. It was a bad country in those times. Some men were bad and took away the property of other men. If a man was poor and had no friends, and had a beautiful squaw, some stronger man would steal his squaw and kill him if he resisted.[21] Might was right in those days and there was much fighting and killing everywhere. If a man was jealous because another was getting rich and had many friends, he would steal into his lodge and kill him when he was asleep, or lay in ambush to kill him as he went by. Those were bad times as we see now, since the Bostons have come and made law to protect every man's rights and property.[22]

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[152]●

their resolution. Just as clearly, she is extremely discouraged and demoralized. During the course of testing and questioning she was manifestly anxious from time to time, this being evident from a slight stammer, frequent parapraxes, and a tendency to over correct for errors. To the blank TAT card, #16, she told a story of a girl's reaction to the death of her mother and then cried painfully, trying to control herself.

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Rorschach Record

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	W M h	14"	To me it LL am sort of a...you know these fiction vampires. (Starts up from seat). LL a man standing right there and these could be his wings. (AE?) Here's his two hands, his feet. LL he has a belt on. That's about all.

(1) Whole. () The way he's standing...with his hands up in the air ready to pounce on you.

			II
(2)	D F ad	8"	Two little dogs...that's all I can figure...a cpl of little dogs. (AE?) That's about all.

(2) All grey, reversed. () Just the way the heads are shaped.

			III
(3)	D F a	3"	The red in the middle LL a butterfly.
(4)	W M h P		Two figures in the middle LL a cpl of men trying to pick up smth.
(5)	D mC fire		LL a couple of pieces of rope that's starting to burn.
(6)	D Fc ntr		LL a pool of water right here
(Add 27)	D F cg P		A hairbow.

(Add 27) Center red. Now that I look at it again it LL a hairbow. () Just the shape. (3) Center red. () It has the shape. () That's all. (4) All grey. (5) Side reds, reversed. () Just the way it's shaped. () LL the way fire usually flames up...a good start...burning. (6) Bottom center grey. () LL you're looking into...say like a glass ball in the movie and you see some image...and this LL an image of a pool of water. You see a pool of water in it. () No, it's got ripples in it.

			IV
(7)	W F (h)	13"	Now this LL am kind of a monster...looking up at him at an angle.
(8)	D F- a		And this LL the front part of a snail...the one that's beneath him. That's all I can see on this one.

(7) Whole. () Just an old fiction monster. () You can see his eyes right up in here. (Points to tiny dark slit-like area near top) (8) Bottom detail. () Oh, these two little feelers, I guess they call them on the side and the...horns, right in the middle.

			V
(9)	W F a P	18"	(Following rotation) This LL a bat. That's all I can see on this.

(9) Whole. () Just the way it was shaped.

*159
156 and anxiety associated with her responsibility in a double murder. She had
given a rifle as a present to a lover, and following a drinking party at her
house he had killed his brother and a stranger with it. Her thinking was extremely morbid. She expresses the wish that the more violent of her previous
husbands would return and kill her.

*159 In the testing and interview sessions Nell's behavior quite definitely was not
157 representative of her ordinary interactions, and once she felt somewhat relieved
she immediately got more distant, withdrawn, and unapproachable. During testing
[124] she exhibited a high level of manifest anxiety and an erratic pattern of interaction. She was alternately over-talkative and quick to reply or to initiate
•[152] a sequence, and then silent and down-cast. Her concern was real, for it was
known that she was under suspicion for complicity in the murder, but this was
not the root of her anxiety. What the connection was cannot be evaluated from
available evidence, but it may be that her conflicts were related to the trouble
her lover had gotten into, for it was his situation she wanted most to talk
[156] about. Normally she is relatively inflexible in her relationships and preserves
her withdrawn and isolated position at all costs. Her behavior then exhibits
a high level of drive, but is poorly organized, confused as to goals, and produces repeated overt conflict with lovers, husbands, her parents, her children,
work associates, other community members, and law enforcement agents. Still,
she expresses the need to be cared for and dominated consciously, as well as the
156 feeling that she was being persecuted and rejected. She feels herself to be an
entirely worthless person, and this evaluation is shared by the community at large.

Rorschach Record

125 Note: With little variation between cards, each was approached by the S. in
*159 the following manner: She would take the card, repeatedly twist it and turn
it, swiftly cover portions of the blot with her hand or fingers, hold it at
arms length, hold it closer and examine it carefully, lay it down momentarily
and stare off "thinking," and then after a silent delay of an average 145" spit
out a series of responses rapidly, as if they were hot peas.

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
		155"	I can look at them any way?...it doesn't even make sense. Do you want me to tell you right now?
(1)	W Mc' h		All I can think of is witches
(2)	Dr F a		and bats
(3)	D M hd		and these two things remind me of hands
(4)	Dr F ad		they look like deer horns, too
(5)	D M hd	P	This bottom part, it looks like a woman's body. That's all I can make out.
(6)	d F± music		These look like music. When you look at them they remind me of music notes, but they remind me of music.
(7)	D FM a		Now if I take this picture in half, it reminds me of something...like an animal standing on a high place looking over something...everything below him...that's about all.

(1: W) (What suggested?) Might be this...reminds me of a cape blowing out. These points remind me of a sharp hat. (Cape blowing?) Just like when you see them on

[157] very extreme when compared with white American Rorschach protocols. What is
*159 the meaning of this delay? What psychological processes are going on in the
interim? Her subsequent rapid delivery of varied and generally appropriate res-
(125) ponses suggests that she is, in fact, concentrating on the task at hand and
arriving at feasible solutions to the task which the examiner presented to her
("What does this look like to you?"). However, the question remains: why doesn't
she talk during this process?

*(152) One thing we know: she isn't apathetic or disinterested. On the contrary, underlying her delay, there is considerable feeling. Not only does she give four CF responses, but she gives diffuse responses to the blackness and shading elements of the cards. Her first responses to Cards IV, VI, VII, and VIII are vague, whole responses with little, if any, form element involved. Her delay and control do not allow her to succeed in integrating her feelings and impulses with the objective demands of the situation. In R17, for example, we are able to see the manner in which her mental processes may, on occasion, totally ignore the environmental requirements for appropriate behavior. Her response here is "pictures of duck hunters." On inquiry we learn, however, that there are no ducks and no hunters — only fog. Her perception, then, was of a vague, foggy, diffuse world; she enlivened it and peopled it in an elaborate manner through her own rich imagination. To what extent will she allow this rich imagination to overwhelm the demands of the external world? Her Rorschach responses indicate that this will occur often in a sporadic fashion, but that she will be able to recover from these periods and correctly evaluate the situation once again.

This over-ideation, — especially in the light of R26, "men plotting something" — suggests a distinct paranoid trend. She is suspicious of the motives of others and fearful of what the future has in store for her. Even natural forces are considered powerfully threatening; R20, for example, indicates that lightning is "trying to strike" the house.

An analysis of the roles reflected in the human movement responses suggest that this woman has managed to adopt a wide variety of role patterns. She has human movement responses which are verbally aggressive (R26), grasping (R3), guarded (R9), totally immobile (R15), as well as complex (R23). It is this rich, imaginative fantasy life which enables her to delay responding to the blots for such a long time. The reason she must delay is that she does not trust the environment and the people in it.

Some of her movement responses demand more careful analysis. Three of the eight
M are old ladies or witches; witches "are old and mean," she tells us. Since her
very first response to the test is also a "witch," it would be remiss not to try
to determine the personal significance of this response. We are probably on
reasonably safe ground assuming that it reflects her attitudes toward older
women and therefore some kind of mother figure. Her mother could not have been
very nurturing or warm, nor is she likely to see herself as a particularly nur-
turing person; she does not feel comfortable giving emotionally to others. On
the other hand, R3 suggests that she is not content to "do without." If rewards
(158) do not come easily, she is ready to "reach out" for it. At the same time, how-
ever, we must note the content of R15: "two girls sleeping...resting...laying."
Piotrowski has warned of the pathological significance of this kind of immobile
human movement response, suggesting as it does, a willingness to submit to the
external forces without a struggle.

Her animal movement responses are also suggestive of a suspicious and hostile role pattern; of the three FM, the first (R7) is "an animal looking over

Slim: Male, Age 30

Background Data

Slim's case was selected so as to illustrate the situation of a regularly em- 159*
ployed, well liked and respected young male. He is currently employed as a [464]
laborer in a lumber mill, and in the past has worked as a carpenter, and in
heavy industries in the mid-west. He has ten years of formal schooling, obtained [463]
his 12th grade certificate by examination while in military service, and for [871]
one month studied commercial art in Portland. [701]

Slim was born into a large, influential kin group, one which for several genera- [619]
tions has provided much of the tribe's leadership. While his own father has
not been so influential in tribal politics, preferring to work his ranch in-
stead, Slim grew up in association with male relatives noted for their forth-
right independence and leadership, and within a family tradition of progressive-
ness and self-improvement. Slim's early life was spent in alternating periods
of residence with his own father and mother on their ranch, and with his father's [591]
mother in her cabin on the Sycan marsh. This association with "Grandma" was [603]
partly in response to the gradual disintegration of relations between his father
and mother, and partly the result of his father's desire to have "Grandma" teach [593]
him some of the old lore. His mother became increasingly erratic, unpredic-
table, and violent, finally leaving his father. Slim felt badly rejected by [153]•
her and was never able to understnad why she would not accept his efforts to be
helpful. On the other hand, he was very close to his father and his grand-
mother. Today he recalls with satisfaction the many things these two persons
taught him, and dreams recurrently of being in the army, defending the reserva-
tion from attack, and checking in on the old lady to see if she is all right.
This dream is interesting because it expresses succinctly his style of relations
with superiors, for in the dream Slim asks permission of his squad leader to
leave, explains his reasons, then checks in on "Grandma," and returns to his duty.

After the 10th grade was completed, Slim quit school and worked on various ranches.
Early in the Korean war he consciously followed the model of an uncle, who was
a career soldier, and enlisted in the army. His service record was good, marred
only by what Slim feels were two justifiable periods of unauthorized absence,
and he voluntarily served with a combat unit in Korea. This army experience
considerably broadened Slim's horizons, and after his discharge he lived and
worked with an army buddy in the east for a year. Then Slim traveled and worked
in several places in the east and midwest. On two occasions his regular habits [461]
and good capacity for steady work were responsible for a promotion. Characteris-
tically, Slim enjoys this kind of reward, but he does not specifically strive
for advancement.

Slim has many skills, hobbies, and social graces. When young his father taught him to dig ditches, with the advice that this skill would always provide him with a job. He is an expert horseman and stock-keeper, and is a skilled hunter and woodsman who frequently guides his friends on hunting trips. He has learned carpentry, house-painting, and the operation of various industrial machines. More recently, he has turned to archery, sketching, and photography for hobbies to occupy his spare time. Then too, he is an amiable, jolly person who makes good company and who is well regarded as a friend. He is not married, and has never seriously considered marrying. He has had occasional sexual liaisons of a transitory nature, which he finds quite satisfying, and has been "going steady" for several years with an older woman, a person who is a grandmother in her own right.

157 125 the characteristics of the blot been organized intellectually and to what extent is he unable to accomplish this analysis? If he cannot accomplish this, there is a disorder of thinking present. Also, his response to Card II: the whole looks like an island, and the red looks like fire, therefore it looks like "fire on an island." At best it is a fabulized combination; at worst it is a contamination. Only a blatant schizophrenic would have gone to the pathological extreme and said "Fire Island." In addition there are no movement responses, there are only three popular responses and the F plus percent is only 56. Where are the control factors? The sum of color responses is 6; the sum of dark shading responses is 5; and there are not the indications of sufficient controls for this amount of emotional energy.

157 •153 On the other hand, there are a few responses which suggest that his intellectual ability has been greater than average. His knowledge of the word "obsidian," for example, bespeaks this ability,[1] as does the nature, although perhaps not the feasibility, of his "plans." This is not inconsistent with the statements made previously, but it does suggest a situation marked by increasingly greater interference with intellectual functioning.

157 ✗159 The absence of any human responses in his Rorschach suggests his lack of concern with genuine interpersonal relationships; all his talk of future plans and business suggests that he is interested in using people for his own gain rather than in having meaningful and warm interpersonal relationships. His reaction times are quick, supporting the notion that he is likely to act in an impulsive manner. Two of his FM (R2, R7) are "flying," reflecting perhaps his tendency to try to escape from the present situation in an unrealistic manner. His other FM response (R1) may be an indication of his view of human relations: aggressive, cold-blooded, eat or be eaten.

[158] In summary, then, the test reflects an elderly man, whose intellectual and emotional control appear inadequate. One wonders about the possibility of this man having been a chronic alcoholic and now suffering the effects of diffuse organic brain damage. He "talks big" but he probably doesn't "deliver the goods." There are indications that at one time in his life he may have had better than average intellectual ability and now is going downhill.

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[114] [1] This is, perhaps, the one place in these ten cases where a lack of knowledge concerning Klamath culture led the analyst astray. The Klamath are astride the western volcanic belt and one of the most frequent kinds of materials used in [823] their tool manufacture was obsidian. Hence Sparrow's use of the word reflects his interest in and awareness of an important local raw material.

time, few years have not seen at least one murder upon the reservation. 648* 657* 674

Lesser crimes have also been frequent. Of the 1958 sample of the reservation population above the age of sixteen, no fewer than forty-three per cent had been arrested for misdemeanor, seventeen per cent for felony. Liquor had led to arrest for thirty-seven per cent, and no fewer than forty-nine per cent were judged to have problems associated with drinking. The corresponding figures were slightly higher for those members living in Chiloquin, where opportunity, observation, and arresting officers were all more frequent. 648* 657* 273 [674]

In situations in which other peoples have sought redress in religious movements or covert sorcery, Klamath have more commonly fallen back upon drink and violence. For them the bottle has proven a maladaptive instrument, as shown by a recent survey of the causes of death of 139 members who expired during a period of four and one-half years: drinking was adjudged to be a contributory factor in no fewer than fifty-seven per cent of the deaths.[9] The violence which often caps drinking bouts is likewise self-destructive: for it often strikes close friends or family members. [154] • [165]

From the viewpoint of the city fathers, then, the Klamath have been an unruly segment of the citizenry; and the figures on law and order pose the difficulty confronting the community in the maintenance of an orderly life. Alternatively, however, those same figures represent a sizable income to be realized through the administration of the law. In the latter days of the reservation, as the Indians themselves were clearly aware,[10] the city seemed on the one hand to be profiting from the sale of beer and wine to tribal members and on the other to collect large fines from them when, under the influence of alcohol, they had fallen into the toils of the law. The implications of this policy, by which almost two-thirds of the income of the town was supplied, made many white citizens uneasy. The city fathers, concerned with a parsimonious administration, were not eager to seek a substitute and, indeed, any change would have presented obstacles.

So long as the tribal government remained to articulate their 648* 657* 178 571

121 had been founded. There was, for example, no evidence for anything remotely
181 approximating a "Native Oriented" group on the reservation. Moreover, it became
apparent that a particular style of personal adjustment was by no means
[154] characteristic of the majority of individuals throughout their life-spans.
So called "Transitional" modes of adjustment, for example, might be used to
characterize the confused orientations, the value conflicts, and the disorganized
family life of persons early in their life arc, but the same persons frequently
settled down to a respectable, stable "Elite Acculturated" mode of existence
in middle age. Or this sequence might frequently be reversed.

125 However, the formal sampling approach was jettisoned primarily because of the
many refusals among the samples. That such a reaction might reflect important
123 variables and hence prejudice the reliability of the consequent approach was
considered, but it was apparent that the major cause for refusal was the absence
of an existing friendship relation between subjects and field-worker
(or some influential intermediary). Moreover, an analysis of the status of those
who refused indicated that this reaction was neither confined to nor clustered
within any identifiable grouping.

125 For these reasons, attention was given to securing what may be called a deliberately
representative sample of the reservation population. The criteria of
representativeness included variations in social roles assumed by the subjects
(occupation, sex, leadership, and so on), variations in role performance, differences
[123] in standards and values, and age differences. When appropriate subjects
were known personally by the Anthropologist, they were approached directly.
If no friendship relation existed, potential subjects were, less frequently,
approached through the recommendations and aid of an intermediary, or, finally,
a direct effort was made to become acquainted with a suitable subject. In all
instances, an existing friend relationship proved the more successful mode of
approach. For reasons to be suggested in the next section, there are few Klamath
persons whose influence is both high and extensive, and, conversely, few who
[123] can easily accept external imposition of controls. Thus intermediaries, whatever
their manifest status, rarely could elicit the cooperation of more than one
suitable subject. The result of this effort was a set of Rorschach and Thematic
Apperception Test Records, and short life-histories on a sample of fifty four
persons, which sample could for the purposes of the research be considered as
[128] reasonably representative of the target population. The ten case studies in this
report were selected from the original sample so as to provide as much variety
as possible in the limited confines of these pages.

Aside from the problems of obtaining an adequately representative sample, there
is another aspect of the field method used in the Klamath study which may be of
[123] some interest. In each instance the potential subject was made aware of the intentions
of the field worker and the purposes of testing and interviewing. It
[181] will be clear from the next section that the contemporary Klamath are in no relevant
sense "primitive," nor are they an isolated population. Indeed, many subjects
125 were familiar with the "ink-blot" test from television programs, movies,
177 or hearsay information. More generally, the major task, that of identifying
ambiguous stimuli, was associated with the simple game of "seeing faces in the
clouds" or figures in rock formations. Further, most Klamath under fifty years
of age are sufficiently experienced in the practices of American culture to
have some personal familiarity with the "test situation," whether personality,
aptitude, vocational, or intelligence. Thus there was a shared basis for this
peculiar form of interaction.

159 psychotic symptoms, despite serious emotional disturbance, "because they control,
157 or have reduced, the intensity of their emotional and intellectual processes to such a degree as to produce hardly any specific and easily recognizable schizophrenic symptoms." Their "capacity for energy control (shading) exceeds their capacity for energy output (color)" (Piotrowski & Levine 1959: 223). Thus, having expended all their energy on controlling their behavior and feelings, they are left with little energy for constructive effort and planning (low W).

[171] This pattern may reflect a pathological adjustment in a white American whose culture demands long range planning and constructive effort. In the Klamath
[154] group, however, this emphasis on day-to-day pleasures and consideration for others may be more acceptable than the long range planning and self-aggrandizing behavior which is reportedly becoming the acceptable pattern in American suburbia. If this is true, this subject's adjustment may be perfectly fitted to his environment.

There is, however, additional, independent support for this description of this subject's personality. His preoccupation with the inner details (R2, R4, R24) indicate an approach to life characterized by over-cautiousness —almost suspiciousness — a peering into the situation, rather than an acceptance of it at face value. At the start of the test, he apparently requests clarification of the instructions. The analysis of the movement responses also will support this interpretation.

Despite the verbosity there is actually very little of this man's inner life reflected in this protocol. Rather than reveal himself, the S analyzes the subtle nuances of what is going on around him. He is like the "cat" on Card VIII, "he's watching something...I've no idea (what he's watching)...just watching...". The number of faces and the emphasis on "eyes" (especially the "dark beady eye" on Card IX) are also consistent with the interpretation that we are dealing with a suspicious person — he doesn't trust anyone very far. So all his energy (the little he has) is concentrated on analyzing the possible dangers in any situation, not viewing the situation for all the positive possibilities it offers.

His pace is generally even except for delays to Card IV and VI, the darkest, most ominous of the blots. Is he disorganized by the depressive implications
[154] of these stimuli? If so, we would conclude that he tries to deny the gloomy aspects of life. The sun on Card II is "coming up," not going down and there is a kind of exuberance in his response to Card X. One wonders if he isn't trying to act the part of an optimist, despite occasional qualms about this position.

The only human movement response in the record is R6: "a caricature of two people" and on the inquiry, in response to a question, "I guess they're dancing - jitterbugging I guess you'd call it." The movement was very slow in being verbalized, it was dehumanized (they are caricatures, not real) and it is stereotyped. As such, it probably does not reveal much of this man's conception of his role in
[156] life. Unless perhaps it means that he does not have a well-delineated prototypal role.

The FM, on the other hand, seem to reflect a more consistent image. R10 and R15 (the dog "looking straight at you" and the "watching bobcat") are both scorable as "guarded restraint" responses and indicate that this man's cautiousness, his "watchful waiting" have been past roles and are likely to appear in states of diminished control. He is not guilty or anxious about behaving in this manner.

in the "pink bear" response to Card VIII. However, the abundant formal indications of good adjustment must be kept in mind: the M: FM: m and the FC: CF: C ratios are all in the direction of "good" adjustment (6:4:2 and 3:1:0 respectively). 159* 157

In a record of this richness there are always a few responses which tease the interpreter because they promise so much and yet somehow their meaning remains elusive. Here I note R5 "...a couple of pieces of rope that's starting to burn... looks like the way fire usually flames up...a good start...burning." This is an original and is scored mC. Piotrowski's principle states that the m reflect "prototypal roles in life which the individual feels to be desirable and pleasant but unrealizable..." (Piotrowski 1957: 210). Can the "burning rope" response be interpreted as indicating that the subject feels it would be pleasant and desirable to "burn up"? Is she using "burn up" in the colloquial sense of experiencing fully and completely a feeling of anger? It would be consistent with our previous statements about her aggressive needs which are not being expressed. She would like to let herself get "burned up" at somebody, but she does not allow herself to.

We have a record, then, of an intelligent young lady who is utilizing her intellect and energy to deal with underlying feelings of tension and aggressiveness. Her major mechanisms appear to be the use of fantasy and intellectualization. She is often tense and anxious, but she is able to deal with these feelings in an appropriate manner. [154]

Sparrow: Male, Age 63

Background Data

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[156] Sparrow's case is cited because of his position on the lowest rung of the local
status hierarchy. He is known as a happy-go-lucky, worthless old drunk and is
generally considered as "lacking a few of his marbles." However, Sparrow is
[872] seldom publicly disparaged, for local citizens simply pay little attention to
[464] him. He has a sixth grade education, gained at the Agency school. He has
apparently never worked consistently at any job, and most of his work experience
[434] has been as a farm or ranch laborer. He is and has for years been totally dependent upon per capita income and the income from ranch lands owned by his mother,
with whom he lives. Their affairs are managed by a local businessman who some
years ago was appointed their guardian. He is the second eldest of four siblings.
After his father's death forty years ago, his mother remarried and bore two other
[586] children. He was married once when a young man, and after four years divorced
his wife because of "her shiftless ways." He is a semi-invalid, the result of
[164] an accident years ago when a drunken brother drove over him with a truck, crushing
[191] his pelvis. He speaks fluent Klamath, the result of constant association with
his aged mother who represents a direct link with the aboriginal Klamath past,
as well as adequate English, learned in school.

[733] Much of Sparrow's time is spent in jail for drunkenness, in the local tavern,
with one of the drinking cliques, or passed out in a doorway. When he is not
totally drunk he spends much of his time with his mother, for whom he cares in
his fashion. Occasionally he goes fishing in a nearby river. For at least
twenty five years, this has been the pattern of his activities.

*159 Sparrow has many skills, among the most striking of which is the ability to
"fly from here to the Agency without once touching the ground." There are
● 154 several dimensions to this delusion, one of which is an association, in Sparrow's
thinking, with the acquisition of power. When a young man he dreamed of acquiring the power to "rise up off the ground, like Jesus Christ." While such
a belief may have aboriginal correlates, there are no Klamath today who would
accept it as valid. Sparrow keeps this secret to himself, and relates it only
to strangers and transients from whom he intends to borrow money. His other
skills include the following: the ability to keep house and cook, harness making,
leather working, painting, canning food (the notion involves laying in stores
for the winter), tanning buckskin, wood carving, carpentry, poetry composition
(in Klamath), arrowhead making, making traditional basketry, stock raising,
restaurant management, and finally, the ability to bewitch rich old white ladies,
who are captivated by him and who drive him about in their white Cadillacs. The
latter may be associated with a recurrent dream of meeting with a white buffalo,
also a symbol of power, but it is difficult to say, for there were never any
buffalo near the Klamath, and it is more likely that he has got this idea from
reading western stories. Needless to say, most of these skills are quite delusional also. There is no evidence for any of them being more than this. Relating one or more of these is Sparrow's single style of interacting with others,
for in reaction to a question or another's anecdote he will sift about in his
memory until he comes up with one of his capacities which seems relevant. Very
frequently, the writer could not see where or how they were appropriate, but for
Sparrow there seemed to be some connection. He relates these matter of factly,
with only the most slight suggestion that they were self-enhancing, and no indication that he meant to justify himself, and will then coyly watch his listener
to see if he is properly impressed. This behavior tends to merge with Sparrow's

7

extensive plans for the future (e.g., opening a second-hand store and capitalizing on the poor buying habits of the "Indians.") none of which have much chance for materializing, but many displaying a fairly shrewd assessment of the local community. He can get quite enamoured with making these plans, and savors the profits in his current fantasy. 159* 154•

Sparrow was tested while in jail, this being the only likely time when he would be sober enough to see the blots clearly. 159* 124

Rorschach Record

159* 125

No.
of
Resp. Score Time Response

I

(1) W FM a 3" That LL a bug...some kind of a bug. It reminds me of a beetle bug in the water, that catches little minnows. (AE?)
(2) W FM a P It appears to be a butterfly too. Smth. like that.

(1) Whole. It LL it's swimming in the water...like catching little minnows. One of 'em will attract the minnow, another will catch it and pretty soon they'll have it cut in two...they've got pinchers. (2) () It looks like it's flying.

II

(3) W CF fire 10" (S. picks up a phone book and leafs through it. Looks for
F± geo number old white lady friend in nearby town, a lady that he could have married, who had two cadillacs, etc.) That looks more like a...looks like a...well I just couldn't very well describe...this LL fire down here and here...fire around an island or something like that. (AE?) No.

(3) Whole. (Compare Loc. Ch. Same?) No, that little picture doesn't look like it. () I saw the fire...then it resembled fire on an island. (Island?) Well—it looks that way to me, LL an island.

III

(4) W F± art 4" That LL a stamp on leather...I used to stamp leather, engrave silver, I'm also a harness maker...by trade. (S. now tells plans for setting up a business in town, to buy and sell used furniture, capitalizing on buying habits of the "Indians".)

(4) Whole. () It's a hand stamp to engrave leather. Looks like the stamp. (Not the impression) (What sort of design?) Just like a leaf—y'know, when you stamp leaves. (see r. 12)

IV

(5) W F- a 1" That looks more like a frog to me. (AE?)
(6) W c'c ntr Like a stone setting up this way—see? (Stands card up on end to demonstrate)

(5) Whole. () One of those big bull frogs. These look like his feet and here are his front feet, they aren't so big. () LL he's in the water swimming. (6) Whole. () Obsidian...you can polish obsidian that way and it comes out in different colors like these dif. colors in here. (Refers to lights and darks within outline)

V

(7) W FMc' a 0" That looks like one of those bats that fly in the night.
P

X Continued 125 159*

dying buckskin in dif. colors. You tan and dye buckskin and it looks like silk.

(15) Whole. See a man can take leather and dye it dif. colors like that.

Total Time: 17'. Note that the average time per response will reflect the unusually high level of verbalism, the anecdotes, comments, and introduced fantasy.

Scoring Summary

W	14	FM+	2	a	4
D	1	FMc'	1	ad	1
		Fc'±	1	art	2
		c'	1	ntr	6
Sum/c'	5	c'c	1	fire	1
Sum/c	2.5	FC	1	geo	2
Sum/C	6	CF	4	hh	1
F%	20	C	1	P	3
F+%	56	Fc±	1		
		F±	2		
		F-	1		

Conspicuous Features

(1) low F%
(2) long total time
(3) Sum/C
(4) no M
(5) obsidian
(6) vague W
(7) Sum/c'

Rorschach Interpretation

In reading this Rorschach protocol, one gets the impression of a gregarious, effervescent, kindly, but ineffectual elderly man. He lives in the past and the future, but not in the present. He probably is unable to deal with the mundane issues of his present reality situation so he concentrates on his past experiences or his future plans. This characteristic trait is reflected in the de-emphasis of D responses and his over-emphasis on vague and undifferentiated whole responses. 159* 157 [154]●

His emotional effervescence is reflected in the low F% (20%) and high Sum/C (6). His responses to the test tend to be largely of an emotional nature: shading, color, movement; they are not based on a cold intellectual, rational analysis of the blots. And so his life adjustment would be of this nature, i.e., determined largely by his feelings at any one moment.

One must consider seriously the possibility that this lack of intellectual control bespeaks of a serious psychological disorder --whether it be of an organic or functional nature. Is his response to Card IX a contamination, for example, "it's the shape of Australia and the green suggests grass. It's the color of an island." What is meant by the "color" of an island? To what extent have 157 125

something," the second (R16) is "a big vulture," the third (R22) is a "cougar 157
stepping lightly." All suggest the general attitude of caution and care which 159*
the subject seems to feel is necessary to avoid dangerous situations.

The comparison of M and FM responses suggests that the subject now enjoys a wider repertoire of roles than she had in the past. No one of her M's, however, is a healthy assertive one; each has its own particular idiosyncratic sign of the subject's inhibition, hostility and suspicion.

One particularly puzzling aspect of her Rorschach summary is the Sum/c:Sum/c' ratio. Piotrowski writes that usually a person gives either light shading or dark shading exclusively. When both are given in substantial quantity, he feels we are dealing with a pathological adjustment. His reasoning appears to be based on his notion that the c reflect a flight response to anxiety, while the c' represent a fight response — clearly incompatible. The present subject appears, indeed, to be torn between these two patterns of adjustment and her behavior is likely to alternate between them. Her actual response to the blots, of long delay followed by "spitting out" the responses, may be a case in point.

This young woman is, then, relying mainly on an extensive fantasy life to cope [154]
with pervasive and powerful pressures both from within herself and from the
environment. Despite a tendency to behave in a diffuse, over-emotional, and
poorly controlled manner at times, she seems by and large to be effecting an
adequate adjustment. Intermittent depressive moods, perhaps temper tantrums on
occasion, punctuate a volatile adjustment.

Rorschach Interpretation

157 *159 [125] The Rorschach test reflects a person who has managed a satisfactory adjustment largely through the inhibition of whatever originality and creativity he might have possessed. The extremely high a%, the limited range of content, the six populars and the absence of any original responses point to the stereotyped conventionality of this man's psychological process. This apparent dullness is not due, however, to a lack of capacity. His vocabulary, the presence of movement responses, and the occasional well organized whole response indicate that he has the potential to do more with his life than he now settles for.

The effects of this marked inhibition are numerous. Firstly, the extremely long initial reaction times, averaging close to a minute, are indicative of the blocking and caution which marks the record as a whole. Secondly, the color denial in R18 point to the hesitancy with which he approaches emotional situations. Thirdly, the nature of the human movement responses reflect internal conflict, tension, and blocking. The first M in the record (R4) highlights this man's feeling that he is hampered when he tries to express himself. He is not sure whether people can work together or whether efforts at cooperation end in conflict. But even if they work together, people must work extremely hard and are not likely to accomplish very much. This is not to say that this man has not accomplished much in actuality; on the contrary, he probably does work hard and may have substantial achievements to his credit. But, psychologically, he is blocked and wastes much energy in this internal struggle. [56]

The other human movement response (R12) is also not an assertive one; although it is not as blocked as R4, it is a restrained response — probably best classified as "guarded restraint." It does not contradict the interpretation made on the basis of R4. It adds several interesting facets, however. First is the exhibitionistic element; this man needs to be admired. Secondly, both his M's are female — attention is given to the breast in one and to the "big butt" in the other. This preoccupation bespeaks some conflict in his sexual role, which may be one of the dynamic factors in his general inhibition.

•[154] A final Rorschach indication of inhibition is the ambiequal experience balance (2:2.5), which according to Rorschach's original monograph points to an obsessive-compulsive adjustment. This man spends time and energy worrying about his psychological conflicts and possibly even about abstract or philosophical issues. For instance, during the inquiry of Card II, he asks, "What's the difference between form and shape?" Although he may merely be expressing some resentment toward the examiner and the inkblots, the other indications of obsessiveness, suggest that this question may be part of an overall pattern of doubting and indecision.

Although many of the FM are also guarded restraint movements, there is one that deserves special attention: "two birds falling to the ground...probably shot." This reflects a role concept in which the subject feels at the mercy of external forces; this would be much more disturbing if it had occurred in an M response. Appearing as it does in an animal movement, it suggests a role which he may experience in states of diminished consciousness or may have lived through in the past. It is clearly a role more appropriate under these circumstances. Is there any significance to the fact that this response follows the very blocked M ("two men trying to lift something")? Does the subject feel that if he makes too great an effort, he will "use up" all his energy and become helpless?

159
157 There are no indications of peculiar thinking or intellectual impairment, but the total absence of color responses does reflect a poverty of emotional responsiveness. She appears to be a laconic, taciturn youngster. Her free associations are stated briefly and not spontaneously elaborated.

157 156 The Rorschach gives us, then, the picture of a stereotyped, overly conventional adjustment. She is a "good" girl who does what she is told and uses her fantasy to gain the little instinctual gratification she gets. [154] The fact that her smile comes as she is describing "teenagers dancing" suggests that, like most youngsters her age, peer relationships are particularly important to her and that this is not an area of particular threat. It is probably the male authority figure who is her difficulty.

*159
156 177 This protocol contains the first overt comment concerning an acculturation process. One can perceive her distance from her father in her discussion of R10; "...it's supposed to get whoever they sing for well." Her objectivity here indicates that she is a part of the generation which is undergoing acculturation. She can apparently look, with distance, at her father's tribe's customs. [121] One wonders to what extent this cultural change is a factor in her difficult relations with her father, or whether — with Freud — it's the "universal Oedipus complex" we see here.

This is a conventional record to the point of constriction; 5 or 6P; F plus percent adequate; several M; no major shocks. Only the absence of color responses stands out. We are left with the question of how and why this youngster has [121] buried her feelings so completely? Although this is a brief record, we hazard the guess that it is the stress of acculturation which has created the overcontrol which characterizes this girl's adjustment (R10).

a weak differentiation of parental roles and the extension of 648*
surrogacy to grandparents or other kinsmen. In many instances, 657*
the father was either absent or aloof, and the chief burden of 592
child rearing fell upon the mother, who might shift it for several 593
hours or longer upon the slender shoulders of an older child. Among such families, parents often proved unpredictable, their excesses of affection and indulgence alternating with fits of anger, depression, and withdrawal. Rather than being consistently directed toward a program of training, parental behavior tended to be a response to a mood or an isolated element in the immediate situation. Even the admonitions of the elders, the traditional set speeches enjoining ideal behavior, frequently were made without reference to the immediate conduct of the child.

In children, this experience tended to generate a defensive 648*
isolation, a dependent craving which anticipated rebuff, and a 657*
marked hypersensitivity toward others concealed beneath an 592
outward manner of stoic indifference. One probable outcome 593
of childhood exposure such as this was the "guarded restraint" 155
which Clifton discerns as a marked characteristic of Klamath personality, an attribute which, it appears, lessens in severity only in old age.[3]

If there were few fixed and dependable social relationships 648*
in many Klamath families, there likewise was little predictability 657*
in daily routine. As Pierce notes, meals were rarely served at 592
fixed times or attended by the entire family. Instead, individuals 593
ate when hungry. Children rarely had regular chores or bedtime.[4] [264] [857]

It was in the training of children to become functioning mem- 648*
bers of society that the tribal families faced a central test of their 657*
effectiveness. Although it was not clear to what segment of that 592
society the children were to aspire, their elders were in agree- 593
ment in wishing well for them. Tribal orators, challenged upon 858
their personal aims, could disavow self-interest and strike a resonant chord by asserting that they were acting only for the good of their grandchildren. Adults, however dissatisfied they might be with their own achievement, might still hope to see a transcendent future for their sons and daughters. In the school, with its promise of equal opportunity to advance through merit, American society held out the means to implement that hope.

All too frequently, however, childhood experience in the 000

All too
*648 frequently, however, childhood experience in the
*657 event-centered activities of Klamath households, with their
871 diffusely focused social expectations, clashed with school routine.
563 For many young Klamath, coming from such a background,
(155) exposure to a clear-cut, hierarchial system which they entered
(592) from the bottom and to a sustained discipline proved stressful. The conflict between family subculture and that represented by the middle-class teachers, felt as well by white children, was experienced more sharply by the Klamath, not alone because the disparity was often objectively greater in their case, but because it came to be invested with ethnic judgments.

That tribal parents differed from white parents in educational background and intellectual interests is evident; and the differences upon the reservation have tended to persist despite the fact that the Klamath have long been subjected, like whites, to compulsory education and that since 1926 they have attended county schools. A comparison of a small sample of tribal members in Chiloquin with other segments of the population revealed that no fewer than fifty-two per cent of Tribal house heads and thirty-nine per cent of Interethnic house heads had stopped their education at grade school. For white house heads, the corresponding figure was only twenty-two per cent.[5] In the use of the public library, a branch of the county system lodged in Chiloquin's city hall, the figures for adults show white, Interethnic, and Indian users far outstripping the Tribal; and while among the children Interethnic users fell close to the Tribal figure, the latter still lagged behind all others. With a few individual exceptions, data on the periodicals taken in the home and attendance at concerts in Klamath Falls showed a corresponding gap.

*648 Thus the school experience marked a grave discontinuity in
*657 the life of many tribal families, and particularly among those
871 in which both parents were Klamath. The stresses mounted,
155 however, in the transitional years of junior high school, during the seventh and eighth grades. The reasons are not far to seek. The schools, viewed by whites, Indians, and a minority of tribal members as an objective preparation for a life in which the demands for training were ever mounting, offered little incentive to children who were convinced that a ceaseless flow of per capita dividends gave them an assured income for life. Klamath parents

648* 657* 871 155 •

often seemed to take the school for granted as just another of the rights granted them in the treaty of 1864.

648* 657* 871 563

For their part, whites often ignored the contributions made either on behalf of the Klamath or directly by them toward school support. Tribal parents tended to see in the school bureaucracy another manifestation of white surrogacy. Even at the time when an Indian—a non-Klamath employed at the Agency—was elected to the presidency of the PTA, the large majority of tribal members declined to join that body. On other occasions, students elected a tribal member and an Indian president of the senior class. Notwithstanding, issues which arose from time to time convinced some Klamath parents that the schools were racially biased. Although restive, they confined themselves to individual action, in angry criticism, occasional arguments with teachers, and rarely in assaults upon a teacher or principal.

648* 657* 87 563

In the Chiloquin grade school, most of the teachers were the wives of local men, having a comparatively long residence in the area and a familiarity with local conditions. At that level, the curriculum was largely undifferentiated and a policy of social promotion was followed. Consequently, the grade school offered conditions for a smoother adjustment than did the secondary school. Even so, truancy was more substantial among tribal children than white, and the imposition of discipline, often interpreted by indignant Klamath mothers as an expression of prejudice, was hedged with difficulties.

It was in the junior high school that the frictions rapidly mounted. Here, and increasingly in the high school, the modest educational assets—the two schools in 1950-51 had a combined staff of nine teachers—were strained by contending demands for both vocational training and a college-preparatory curriculum. With subject specialization, a professionally oriented teaching staff, composed primarily of men who had been hired from outside the area, dominated the school. Individually, they tended to be less permissive toward their students than their fellow teachers in the grade school. Promotion in high school was upon merit. Meanwhile, as students attained puberty, they came to be increasingly aware of the significance attached by their elders to racial differences. Disciplinary problems now mounted, and so did dropouts. The truancy rate (1956-57) for white children

Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have 593
other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are some- 855
times non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are
frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time, [581]
or to an older relative, or to an elder sibling. If the party occurs in the [181]
household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be
left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may [603]
find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence
and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of [155]•
the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one)
or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually
faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloof-
ness. The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and
both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating
fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little ex- [155]
perience with consistency in role relationships.

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, [602]
amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other
kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting 872
the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax, 861
permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear-
cut, specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not [593]
accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet [181]
these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and
attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu. [155]
In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to
be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly [156]
characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts.
This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture,
but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society.

In many respects the values and skills learned within the household to not ade- 155
quately prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of 156
regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the house-
hold may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may [871]
throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get
him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time
the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted,
the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in in-
feriority is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, con-
tributing in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebellious-
ness, or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation
of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school [563]
years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the [582]
areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites
is not an easy one.

It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child 882
are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child 156
may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete
with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he 155
is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors
cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into
an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high [871]

882
155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
[462] in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
426 example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented, and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

Susan: Female, Age 24

Background Data

156 Unlike Slim, Susan is not so well liked or respected. The occasion for this is
*159 specific, an unsanctioned pregnancy during her last year in high school and a
[848] more recent marriage to an entirely disreputable Mexican from Utah. This community
evaluation is accentuated because of the very high respect in which her
[582] own family is held. Everyone expected better of Susan.

[626] Susan has worked as a dishwasher in several cafeterias, both on and off the
*159 reservation, and moved to Utah so as to take a practical nursing course. She
found this training uncongenial, met and married her husband, and they returned
[464] to the reservation when his small business failed. Susan is a high school graduate.

[874] Susan's mode of selecting a husband parallels that of her mother, who met her
husband while hospitalized in New Mexico. Her father by birth is an Apache
*159 Indian, and by cultural affiliation a southwestern United States Spanish-American.
593 Without doubt, he is the most autocratic, stern, demanding, rigid adult male on
the reservation. Although a married woman with children of her own, Susan must
ask her father's permission to use the telephone or to walk downtown. Her mother
was Klamath and very well respected for her stable family life and for her active
participation in many community activities. Susan was extremely close to her
mother until her unexpected death several years ago. They were known as an inseparable
pair and her mother never went out of the house without her. The
mother's death was, perhaps, the major cause of Susan's failure to complete her
nurse's training. Susan's illegitimate pregnancy in high school was a considerable
shock to her mother and is, with her marriage, a continuing source of strain
•[155] with her father. Susan evidently feels that her behavior was a contributing
cause for her mother's death. She made a death-bed promise to her mother that
she would not be a loose girl and that she would marry and stay married to one
man. It was shortly thereafter that she married and returned to the reservation
to live with her father. There is much strain within this household, derived
from the relations between father and son-in-law, and from Susan's unsuccessful
efforts to serve two masters, for along with her marital relationship she evidently
[626] was trying to act as a replacement for her deceased mother's role. At the
same time her conduct has alienated her from the church, from family friends,
and from the community.

*159 The contact with Susan was made via her father, who told her that she should
[124] cooperate. Her father's motivation in this was not, as may be supposed, the conviction
that she needed testing because something was wrong with her, but involved
[123] a more general sentiment. He felt somewhat honored to have an "educated
man" visit his house and that such a contact was a good experience for his children.
[593] Susan accepted this like an obedient, dutiful daughter. She came readily,
with no indication of unwillingness, and relations with her were quite good,
perhaps because of the strains of her marginal position and her need to talk
with someone.

*159 Susan seemed an apathetic person whose feelings were dulled. If anything, her
reactions were those of an over-trained, too obedient child. She was not very
157 responsive or active, and would seldom talk except to answer a direct question.
Then she would, frequently with evident pain and anxiety, describe her feelings
and situations tersely and haltingly. Susan clearly wants more than her life
now gives her, but cannot define her present conflicts or see her way clear to

Rorschach Interpretation

157 *159 [125] The Rorschach test reflects a person who has managed a satisfactory adjustment largely through the inhibition of whatever originality and creativity he might have possessed. The extremely high a%, the limited range of content, the six populars and the absence of any original responses point to the stereotyped conventionality of this man's psychological process. This apparent dullness is not due, however, to a lack of capacity. His vocabulary, the presence of movement responses, and the occasional well organized whole response indicate that he has the potential to do more with his life than he now settles for.

The effects of this marked inhibition are numerous. Firstly, the extremely long initial reaction times, averaging close to a minute, are indicative of the blocking and caution which marks the record as a whole. Secondly, the color denial in R18 point to the hesitancy with which he approaches emotional situations. Thirdly, the nature of the human movement responses reflect internal conflict, tension, and blocking. The first M in the record (R4) highlights this man's feeling that he is hampered when he tries to express himself. He is not sure whether people can work together or whether efforts at cooperation end in conflict, But even if they work together, people must work extremely hard and are not likely to accomplish very much. This is not to say that this man has not accomplished much in actuality; on the contrary, he probably does work hard and may have substantial achievements to his credit. But, psychologically, he is blocked and wastes much energy in this internal struggle. [155]

The other human movement response (R12) is also not an assertive one; although it is not as blocked as R4, it is a restrained response — probably best classified as "guarded restraint." It does not contradict the interpretation made on the basis of R4. It adds several interesting facets, however. First is the exhibitionistic element; this man needs to be admired. Secondly, both his M's are female — attention is given to the breast in one and to the "big butt" in the other. This preoccupation bespeaks some conflict in his sexual role, which may be one of the dynamic factors in his general inhibition.

[154] A final Rorschach indication of inhibition is the ambiequal experience balance (2:2.5), which according to Rorschach's original monograph points to an obsessive-compulsive adjustment. This man spends time and energy worrying about his psychological conflicts and possibly even about abstract or philosophical issues. For instance, during the inquiry of Card II, he asks, "What's the difference between form and shape?" Although he may merely be expressing some resentment toward the examiner and the inkblots, the other indications of obsessiveness, suggest that this question may be part of an overall pattern of doubting and indecision.

Although many of the FM are also guarded restraint movements, there is one that deserves special attention: "two birds falling to the ground...probably shot." This reflects a role concept in which the subject feels at the mercy of external forces; this would be much more disturbing if it had occurred in an M response. Appearing as it does in an animal movement, it suggests a role which he may experience in states of diminished consciousness or may have lived through in the past. It is clearly a role more appropriate under these circumstances. Is there any significance to the fact that this response follows the very blocked M ("two men trying to lift something")? Does the subject feel that if he makes too great an effort, he will "use up" all his energy and become helpless?

157 "girls tied together by hair," and "guys on cliff handing something to one
*159 another." The "cannibal" and "punished girls" responses are certainly aggressive enough, but what of the cooperation implied in the "guys on a cliff" response? The "men dressed as bears" and the "puppet show" are playful, assertive and free, while the "fan dancer" reflects that extra gaiety of which the subject herself seems somewhat abashed (she "breaks out in laughter"). These are all human movement responses and thus the subject is capable of experiencing
[155] all the diverse rôles reflected. In a person with fewer other resources this might lead to unbearable conflicts, but in this woman there seem to be the strengths which make it possible for her generally to utilize this flexibility, despite the conflict. These additional resources are reflected in the use of color and shading (dark and light).

Her color responses are generally adequate and of a positive kind — although somewhat shallow. The presence of many responses to the black and white are interpreted by Oberholzer (1944) as further evidence of shallow, lazy affect. Thus, she probably does not get too deeply involved with people. She can get along with others moderately well, but she really does not need them.

[126] The presence of six popular responses and an F plus % above 80 are sufficient indication of her ability to attend to conventional aspects of the environment in a realistic manner, despite her tendency to experience her emotions.

[156] Nonetheless, there is the hesitancy in interpersonal relations which we have seen in most of the Klamath records. Here it is reflected in the disguise needed by the figures on Card II and the several aggressive M and FM responses. And she is still pretty unsure that the recent developments in her life are desirable; perhaps the old method of punishment was the best (R29). Probably the essential conflict in roles described above are the keynote of this woman's adjustment. Shall she "eat the carcass" or "lend a helping hand?" Shall she be a "fan dancer" or is any transgression punishable? The comments during the testing are both joking and veiled hostility: "Are you naturally pigeon-toed or do you just sit that way?"

But despite the richness of the record, the woman behind the record remains elusive. Could it be that her enormous flexibility in role taking has made it difficult for her to carry through one integrated life style to the extent which is necessary to call it her own? The Rorschach suggests that this may be the case. However, it is clear that her overall adjustment is a satisfactory one — perhaps eminently so.

are marked by alternate periods of (brooding?) silence and she is more than a 159*
little pretentious, as for example her response to TAT card #1, "Oh, that's 157
that famous European violinist...Levi Strauss." Her life has been characterized [156]
by many extremely stressful situations, but she does not seem easily discouraged,
and maintains her vigor and independence. She tends to over justify herself, as [155]•
if she had some doubt about certain of her characteristics, or as if she had
strong feelings of uncertainty or inadequacy. This is in strong contrast to her [156]
leadership role in her family, and her domination of many social situations. She
is also somewhat excitable and tends to directly express her emotions more than
many other Klamath.

The working relationship with Grandma was one of the best. When she first 159*
learned the writer was an Anthropologist she warmed to him immediately and 124
volunteered to take the tests. She was tested "on the job," at the top of a [123]
200 foot fire lookout tower in the midst of the Klamath forest.

Rorschach Record

159*
125

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	Dr FM a	11"	I DK what this represents...it LL...does it have to be the whole or part or what? () I imagine it LL a bat.
(2)	Dr F a		Then again a crab, and I DK what else it LL... there's the feelers.
(Add 24)	Dr F- at		More vertebrae

(1) Top third of card. Oh, I've seen a lot of bats LL that flying around at night ...with wings all spread out and you can't see nothing but the wings. (2) Top ½ of D1. (Add 24) Card down, entire center section extending to tips of Spaces. Now if you turn it around upside down it LL some more of the vertebrae. () What? Oh, just, just...I DK. Everything has a vertebrae and that's why.

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(3)	W M h	14"	By golly...I DK what this LL. You know my trouble is I don't read very much. What would this LL... just a quick glance at it...it LL a bunch of... a cpl of men going to test their strength...their hands clasped together...all tied together...men in disguise...can't be women.
(Add 25)	Dr F- at		Another vertebrae and part of brain
(Add 26)	D FM ad P		Two bears putting their noses together.

(3) Whole. (Add 25) Card down, Space and D11. Now I'll turn it upside down. Now LL another part of the vertebrae and maybe a little part of the brain. () I dunno! Just because it's going up that way. (C?) Oh no. The brain is supposed to be grey...grey matter they say. (Add 26) Card down, D8. Then this black part LL two bears putting their noses together...their little ears sticking over...why they're identical aren't they?

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
(4)	W M a	3"	These LL...still LL sm...I'm not sure it is...LL a These little grasshopper features LL grasshoppers... grasshoppers at play...they're playing.
(5)	D CF at		LL the throat and lungs and stomach and everything

125 128 [157] [124] response provided some of the first clues as regards this important personality attribute (Clifton 1960). But other test evidence, as well as life history and observational data, leads to the same conclusion, regardless of the presence or absence of a restrained movement response.

157 156 [125] One facet of Klamath guardedness and restraint is the general reluctance of Klamath individuals to reveal or communicate to others their needs, wishes, interests, or concerns. This may, in part, be seen as a function of suspicion, of fearful concern with the possible reactions of others, but another characteristic of Klamath persons may be associated with this reserve. The reference here is to a general, overt, and conscious devaluation of the self. The Klamath seldom have much good and often much that is bad to say of themselves. Although this characteristic is not directly manifested in the Rorschach records, these records do indicate the presence of multiple and conflicting, or unacceptable prototypal roles.

Another aspect of Klamath guardedness seems to be a precipitate of the very high investment of energies in sheer self-protecting maneuvers, and the time spent in the avoidance of entangling committments to group life. We feel that the Klamath have so over-invested in reserve and self-protection that they have little time or energy to expend on other activities or upon other aspects of their situation. This, we feel, may be responsible for another shared component of Klamath character, their inability in laying plans for the future, and the minimal expenditure upon creative effort. By way of contrast, the Klamath do concentrate upon the superficially rewarding or painful aspects of their current situation.

121 156 155 657 [171] [158] The analysis so far points to a general isolation of Klamath individuals from significant, durable human associations. Given the facts of Klamath reservation culture we consider that this characteristic is probably adaptive, although it might not seem so if measured against an ideal model of mental health based upon the functioning of west European, urban, middle-class persons. Considering the realities of the Klamath situation, guarded restraint in itself may hardly be considered as pathological. Yet so great a reserve and so extensive an insulation of the self from important human transactions may be a major source of stress and may predispose Klamath individuals to variant forms of mental illnesses.

157 158 [121] Several of the cases contained in this report provide evidence for this hypothesis. In the instance of Slim, for example, we find that a superficially adequate adjustment may simply be the manifestation of an obsessive control over and reduction of emotional and intellectual processes to the point of a tentative diagnosis of alpha schizophrenia. The cases of Susan, Nell, Fidel and Sparrow are examples of extremely loose, unrealistic and disorganized thinking with overtones, in some instances, of an almost paranoid suspiciousness, or a reliance upon bizarre, highly personal fantasy. Evidence for a well defined idiosyncratic role or personna which is very poorly integrated with the rest of the personality is seen in the cases of Slim's false optimism, Carrie's brashness, and Aunt May's superficial warmth. We suggest that these more disordered aspects of adjustment may profitably be seen, in part, as a function of a generally poor contact with others, reduced insight into the self and others, and extensive social isolation. The mediating difficulty may well be a relative absence of opportunities to validate beliefs and convictions. Thus in many respects adaptive, Klamath guarded restraint probably serves as a precipitating factor in thinking disorders, sociopathic adaptations, alpha schizophrenia, and paranoid delusions.

128 127 The validity of this assessment does not depend upon these ten case studies alone. Very similar if more limited conclusions were obtained in a previous, independent

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K In such a sphere, and in relations with strangers beyond, the
M myths picture encounters fraught with possible danger. They
609 may be initiated by a trucial period which endures until, by
proper guest-host behavior, by a claim of kinship or on the other
hand by an act of aggression, the issue of "friend or foe" is
K precipitated. Hospitality dictates that one receive and feed the
M stranger, though a visiting kinsman brings a gift of food or
[574] otherwise repays the kindness. If, however, hostility is decided
upon, it rarely becomes open: instead, both sides proceed indirectly, under the guise of amicability, and employ followers or auxiliaries to encompass the destruction of the other. It is here that the prescient qualities of the hero, his access to assistants and to supernatural forces, are decisive.[19]

K In ethnographic reality, the outer limits of society are marked
648 by the boundaries of common speech. Beyond this, the Klamath maintain amity with the Molala, intermittent friendship and hostility toward the Warm Springs and other Columbia River Sahaptin, who sometimes raid them, and toward the Paiute; inveterate hostility toward the Takelma of the upper Rogue and other peoples west of the Cascades; and a predatory aggressiveness toward the Pit River and Shasta to the south, whom they increasingly raid for slaves and loot.

K The horizons of such a society are not wide. With the ex-
M ception of the shaman, a part-time specialist, each man and each
571 woman has much the same skills and knowledge as his fellows.
• 156 The aberrant individual can do no more than assume the dress
[838] and behavior of the other sex, ascribing his action to supernatural
dictate. The transient forms of the community and the informal constraint it imposes, the paucity of activities that demand concerted action, go hand in hand with a permissiveness in the individual. When this takes aggressive form, it may threaten the very fabric of society.

K The covert expression of hostility is likely to invest relations
M beyond the natal family with fear and mistrust. Revenge can
754 take the form of murder from ambush, sorcery to engender the
571 illness or death of the enemy, or the stealthy destruction of his
152 property.[20] One frequent cause of open slayings, and of the feuds
682 that ensue, is suspicion that a shaman has brought about the
death of one's kinsman. Commonly, such charges are leveled

648*
of tribal members held aloof, while some members were no more 657*
than "Sunday" or "holiday" Shakers, attending services only at 795
wide intervals. 177

That there was no single Klamath response to culture contact 648*
even upon the reservation, must now be abundantly clear. It is 657*
also true that tribal members are not to be found extended along 184
a single continuum of change. No typology satisfactorily pre- 177
serves the mosaiclike pattern of the accommodation they have 178
made. For the course, even of institutional change, is the product, not of the engagement of reified "cultures," but of the countless individual choices expressed before concrete alternatives and projected against past experience. In the successive role-relationships into which they have entered, the biographies of some elderly Klamath suggest that there may well have been for them an inner continuity, not unchanging, which provided in their life-way a reference and a means of self-identification.[15] For many younger tribal members, however, the range of possible identification has become greater, while coercive restraints have weakened; and their selection among behaviors may be so conditioned by factors in the immediate situation as to appear inconsistent from one time to the next. Cultural confusion may well have resulted in their failure to form a stable self-image.

A central characteristic of modern Klamath relationships has 648*
been termed, for want of a happier phrase, "permissive diver- 657*
sity."[16] By this is meant a condition offering the individual a wide 156
latitude of choice among multiple and optional alternatives, per- 177
mitted modes being not only broad in range but diffusely de- 178
limited. Analyses of Klamath myths[17] and of the ethnological record suggest that this state, which corresponds in large measure to the "loose structuring" of Embree,[18] was characteristic of aboriginal Klamath culture, but it may well have been enhanced in reservation times by the breakdown of native agencies of control and by those other developments fostering individualism. The roots of its continuity lie in conditions of child-rearing, already reviewed, as well as in the social transactions of adult life.

The corresponding qualities in the individual are equally clear. For many Klamath, the interpersonal distance is of considerable magnitude, and constitutes a wary, defensive response to the

*648 anticipation of rebuff. It may have as its corollary a diffuse self-
*657 image, since the subject lacks any consistent delineation of his
• 156 characteristics from the reactions of his fellows. For some, as
177 well, there is a sense that a stable reference to self through time
178 is lacking, since each fresh experience tends to define it anew.
For the majority of tribal members observed over a period of time, enduring reference groups in which one could claim membership were limited to such entities as "Klamath Indian." As Clifton has put it:

> Persons as psychologically isolated as the Klamath must work hard at the business of maintaining their position. They cannot be expected to contribute much in the way of specific demands on others (outside of occasional impulsive outbursts), and they value situations where specific demands are not made on them. We seem to be confronted with a human group whose members share a primary orientation toward living which is organized around the need to be left alone to their own devices as individuals.[*]

Permissive diversity has found an expression in the manner in which individuals have fused life-ways out of historically disparate elements. This was particularly striking among the older Klamath, who in their youth had participated actively in traditional Klamath culture. Some, indeed, pointed to the essential similarity of native ethic and of Christianity; but others found no need to justify their choice. Life for them possessed a meaning that was involved less in the cultural source of its elements than in the condition of their combination.

*648 One old friend, then bedridden and since deceased, may serve
*657 to illustrate the point. As a child she had lived in an earth-lodge
159 and witnessed her uncle, the shaman, Alec Wilson, performing
177 his cures. Later, as a young woman, she became ill when dream-
178 ing of a shaman, and recovered only when he had been forced to
156 treat her. The gathering of traditional foods and the weaving of
baskets had been part of her skills. A sweat lodge stood outside her cabin. She spoke Klamath and knew the native myths and songs.

Yet equally, she was a product of the Agency school and had worked at the military post of Fort Klamath. When she married, she wed her husband at the Methodist Mission. Together, they ranched together on Klamath Marsh, and with her daughter and

grandchildren, she was a familiar figure in boomtown Chiloquin. 648*
Cured by the Shakers, she almost joined the church, then changed 657*
her mind. From her bed, she discussed a life-way that was an 159
indissoluble blend of diverse elements integrated by their per- 178
sonal import. When she narrated or discussed a Klamath myth, 177
her assimilation of a Christian ethic was evident in the delicate 156 •
manner in which she skirted obscene passages. In admonishing
her great-grandson, she spoke in the traditional manner, but in
English, the only tongue they shared. The English she spoke, like [191]
that of her boarding-school contemporaries, was likewise syncretic; for it bore the impress of Klamath sound patterns and grammatical categorization.

Individuals such as she, often happy to escape from the gray 648*
reality of age into nostalgic memory, initially struck the observer 657*
as conservative when contrasted with the young people: the boys 156
in Levis, cowboy boots, and leather jackets, the girls in jeans and 177
plaid shirts, who spoke little or no Klamath, and who loitered 178
in the cafes of Chiloquin hanging on the heavy beat of the jukebox. Yet at most, such folk were old-fashioned, and still retained the tastes and inclinations of long habit. Their commitment was selective. Those who still liked to dig the roots known as ipos did so, not with an aboriginal digging stick, but with the more durable iron counterpart made years ago by the Agency blacksmith; and they traveled to and from the grounds, not on horseback, but in the most modern of automobiles.

If there were tribal members who wanted to have as little as possible to do with whites, they did not thereupon stop speaking English or give up their houses, cars, and radios to accomplish this. They continued to purchase food and other necessary items from white merchants. Indeed, their hostility might find short shrift from another Klamath who commanded more knowledge of the traditional lore and still recounted the old myths to her grandchildren, yet possessed many friends among the whites.

Clearly, there was at Klamath in the latter days of the reserva- 648*
tion no clearly distinguishable category of the "native-oriented," 657*
in the sense of a preferential adherence to the institutions of 177
native life. Deliberate retentions rather served as the diacriticals 178
marking an ethnic nationality.[20] The use of the Klamath language [191]
to signify an Indian estate was one marker. It might be used on

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 surveillance; they have then had to make their peace in another
*657 community. In other instances, measures—for example, early
177 sawmills, drought cattle, loan funds—designed by the administration
to be instrumental in helping the Indians to attain distant goals of betterment, were diverted by tribal recipients to provide short-range benefits. Such action, present even in early times, became more pronounced as disillusionment set in; and organized forms of opposition were also added. In a formal character, there
[619] was an insistence upon the prerogatives that marked tribal
identity. Hence the highly emotional attachment to treaty rights, in however altered form hunting and fishing may be exploited; to the tribal government, however criticized its incumbents; and to the self-preserving myth of the past.

*648 There is, however, another side to the Klamath reaction which
*657 is to be seen in the anomic aspects of the life of Intermediate and
177 Inframodal segments of those dwelling in Chiloquin—although
182 this behavior was not limited to that city. Within Chiloquin,
184 those persons manifest many of the traits that Leighton terms
• 156 disintegrative: a high frequency of broken homes, of hostility,
crime, and delinquency; weak development of associations, recreation, communication, and leadership.[8] For the community as a whole, their effect is accurately characterized by his term. At the same time, their behavior had acquired such substantial predictability that the city fathers had come to rely upon it in the form of revenues from the municipal tavern and fines and trusty labor, for a considerable portion of the municipal budget. Under these circumstances, one might fairly say that a stabilized cultural pluralism existed.

*648 A situation like this cannot fail to leave psychological marks,
*657 and indeed Clifton,[9] observing that "there is very little evidence
177 to suggest, unequivocally, that guarded restraint was a dominant
156 component of aboriginal character structure," considers that
attribute to be largely a reaction to the complex unpredictabilities of the reservation. Indeed, the Klamath reaction has striking
[171] parallels in the "hostile dependence" of the Sioux[10] and the
"valuation group alienation" of the Aleut;[11] and it bears close resemblance to the situation described for the Ojibway by James,[12] who sees the personality traits he analyzes to have their source in the immediate context of white-Ojibway relations.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Those same traits others[13] had held to be conservatively Ojibway; 648*
and marking their counterparts among Menominee and other 657*
peoples the Spindlers[14] propose to see in them a common survival 177
of psychological characteristics shared widely by American Indians. 156 •
Underhill,[15] by contrast, accounts for the commonalty by 171
reference, like James, to experience in a shared situation, the reservation.

These differences of interpretation are by no means irreconcilable.
The writer would agree with James[16] that "the genesis of [114]
the modern Indian self lies in the social processes that constitute reservation life," but he would include among those processes such relationships as may have survived in the peculiar cultural environment furnished by the reservation.[17] Favored in persistence 648*
at Klamath have been generalized characteristics, rather 657*
than complex and specific traits. They have survived in part 156
because they are inculcated during childhood;[18] and the family, 177
within which child-rearing takes place, is one of the structures 178
that has retained distinctive qualities. They are sustained in the [571]
quality of primary relationships and are rooted in the individual, often at an unconscious level.[19] As Spencer observes, "The diffuseness of the social structure may be regarded as a survival from the heritage of the past, while individual activity continues to be couched in essentially aboriginal terms."[20] Reservation existence has provided, however, an ever changing context—albeit somewhat sheltered from the rapidly changing environs—in response to which enduring features have undergone modification.

To take the quality of guarded restraint, which Clifton regards 648*
as characteristic of the personality configuration of modern Klamath, 657*
one can indeed trace continuities with the past. In the 156
myths there are present themes of watchful waiting and the use 177
of subterfuge in dealing with strangers and foes, and a wary 178
reserve in conflict with affinals.[21] In traditional relationships, as 571 [538]
Spencer has shown, sub-rosa patterns of aggression characterized "hostility . . . driven underground" by public disapproval.[22] That covert revenge has persisted is evidenced by historic records of several murders, of such acts as the firing of a haystack in 1897, attributed by the victim in part to the perpetrators' "envy of his prosperity . . .";[23] and to modern incidents of the same nature. Today jealousy is frequently attributed to unspecified others,

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 usually Klamath by inference and to be identified only in part
*657 with feuding groups. It may well be that such a projection is an
• 156 indication in many modern Klamath of an alienation from their
177 own membership group. More central to the issue taken here,
178 however, is the probability that under the tensions of reservation
571 life guarded restraint, once restricted to a few role relationships,
has become generalized to a much broader range of contexts, while at the same time it has grown to be a pervasive characteristic of Klamath personality.

*648 The modern situation at Klamath, with its measure of human
*657 disengagement, apathy, and generated hostility, may be inter-
156 preted by some as justification for the abolition of the reservation
177 there and as an indictment of reservations everywhere. Such
178 conclusions are likely to be far too sweeping. The Klamath situa-
tion was a consequence of a reservation become a holding operation, with a program that had ground to a halt. Ironically, termination of the reservation was founded upon the premise that the Klamath had attained a successful level of integration with their white neighbors. It may not be concluded that problems have automatically been solved by the action taken; nor may it be maintained that other, less drastic steps, if taken in time, might not have proved more effective.

*648 For many Indian peoples reservations are a highly significant
*657 reality, constituting the only familiar homeland, the major con-
171 tinuity with the past, the sole real property, and the principal
token of the government's resolution to honor pledges made long ago. At the same time, chosen with an eye to native exploitation or to the needs of the small farm of the nineteenth century, they are often unfitted to support a population by current standards. They thus pose the dilemma embodied in schemes on the one hand for local development and on the other for the relocation of Indian families. Sweeping measures are inappropriate; each reservation merits consideration in its own terms. Yet it would be shortsighted to seek only for material advancement, essential though this is; for, as the Klamath instance shows, unless the program give men hope, they languish even in prosperity.

Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have 593
other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are sometimes 855
non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are [581]
frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time, [181]
or to an older relative, or to an older sibling. If the party occurs in the
household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be
left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may [603]
find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence [155]
and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of
the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one)
or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually
faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloofness.
The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and
both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating
fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little experience [155]
with consistency in role relationships.

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, [602]
amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other
kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting 872
the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax, 861
permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear-cut,
specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not [593]
accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet [181]
these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and [155]
attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu.
In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to
be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly [156]
characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts.
This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture,
but it hampers and restricts adaptation [illegible] larger society.

In many respects the values and skills [illegible] within the household to not adequately 155
prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of 156
regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the household [871]
may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may
throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get
him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time
the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted,
the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in inferiority
is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, contributing
in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebelliousness,
or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation
of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school [563]
years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the [582]
areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites
is not an easy one.

It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child 882
are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child 156
may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete 155
with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he
is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors
cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into
an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high [871]

882
155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
156 is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
[462] in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 ~~officials~~ has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
426 example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented, and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

121 (Levine, 1960) has indicated that this may be an extremely important measure
125 of ego strength. Whether this is supported in cross-cultural work remains to
[114] be determined.

121 The emphasis throughout this phase of the research has been on the functioning
15 individual — how he adapts to his environment in general and, whenever possible,
how he behaves in interpersonal situations. In this regard Piotrowski's hypothesis that the movement responses reflect prototypal roles has been exploited extensively. By prototypal roles, Piotrowski means, "definite tendencies, deeply embedded in the subject and not easily modified, to assume repeatedly the same attitude or attitudes in dealing with others when matters felt to be important and personal are involved." (Piotrowski, 1957, p. 141). He makes it clear that he is referring to "psychological tendencies" only; in order to predict whether these tendencies will be expressed in overt behavior it is necessary to take into account many other variables (Principle of Interdependence of Components).

Piotrowski has written further that the FM (animal movement responses) reflect the subject's prototypal roles as they were prominent in the subject's past or as they influence his behavior in "states of lowered integration and in states of diminished consciousness and defective self-control," and, finally, that the m (inanimate movement responses) "indicate prototypal roles in life which the individual feels to be desirable and pleasant but unrealizable."

Thus, for example, if a subject gives only very active or aggressive human movement responses (e.g., "two boxers slugging it out") it is hypothesized that his prototypal role is of this nature. If his FM are passive and his M are aggressive, we conclude that his present prototypal role is aggressive, but that when drunk, for example, he is more likely to become docile.

In actual Rorschach interpretation the complexities of multiple roles, the influence of other Rorschach variables, the inconsistency of role patterns, and
so on, must all be evaluated very carefully in order to arrive at a meaningful
121 and valid personality description. Although considerable care must be taken to
181 avoid oversimplifying these interpretive principles, their judicious application
is often very helpful and may have led to the most important conclusion of the
•156 present investigation: that the Klamath are characterized by a guarded and
[17] restrained approach to life and interpersonal relations. This guarded restraint
is different from the Trukese blocking and from the dull apathy of the Alorese. The Klamath initial reaction times are not nearly as long as the Trukese, nor are their dark shading responses as primitive and poorly organized. On the contrary, their initial reaction times are only slightly longer than would be expected from a U.S. White group and their dark shading responses are almost as well organized. The guarded restraint of the Klamath seemed to be neither the result of marked blocking nor apathy. A more detailed discussion of this hypothesis will be appropriate, however, after the case studies have been presented.

*159 ©156 Slim is a restrained, dignified person who is very accepting of his status as an Indian, but who does not make too much of it. For example, he dislikes the annual Indian get-togethers because of the gaudy commercialism. A person who admires a strong, consistent leader, Slim deliberately avoids unreliable and erratic persons, for which reason he does not much participate in the reservation drinking cliques. He is one of the most assertive and sociable Klamath known to the writer. In his interactions he maintains his dignified, independent stance, yet reacts freely and responsively to others. He gives little overt indication of hesitancy or inhibition, and if anything is perhaps mildly boastful and pretentious. If a phrase will describe his outstanding characteristics, it is a well-fed, complacent hedonism. There is one thing which his white friends have against him, and that is because he is well respected and liked they are displeased because they cannot draw him into more community activities, which invitations he rejects with the disclaimer that "I'm too itchy footed to join that, I may want to leave for Washington next week."

Rorschach Record

*159 125

No. of Resp.	Score		Time	Response
				I
(1)	d M	hd	27"	What do you do, just pick out what you see? () I can see a little face—kinda LL a long nosed woman with her hair blowing up like that (gestures). It's a bust. That's all I can think of. (AE?) (Rotates card)
(2)	d Fc	hd		Look at it again and it LL a cartoon character—one of those guys w/ a little pointed head, bat-wing ears, a tuft on top of his head, beady eyes... All I can see on this one.

(1) Outboard bulge on bottom half, the hair being D7. Down. () LL the wind is blowing from behind and threw her long hair right straight up.
(2) Interior part of upper "wing" just below animal "head."

No. of Resp.	Score		Time	Response
				II
(3)	D mc'C	ntr	15"	One here kinda LL the sun is coming up. (Rotates card and then chuckles)
(4)	d FcC	hd,cg		Here's some more faces...an old woman w/ a thin face, dark eyes, iron grey hair: from her neck up
(5)	S F	emb		This deal here (S) LL a shield—an insignia.
Add 24	d Fc	hd		A very pretty girl

(3) Bottom red, D11. Down. () Just—seen sun—like you see in some drawings: The ball of the sun coming up...those rays. (Comp. Loc. Ch.) No, it was the black with the red behind it. Now, I'm starting to pick out of this.
(Add 24) On cheek of right "bear," interior, Down. A very pretty girl with short curly hair, see here is the mouth and the teeth. (4) On neck of left bear, Card to right, interior. She's got kind of a reddish face. (5) Center Space. () Just some kind of an insignia or shield. (With card down)

No. of Resp.	Score		Time	Response
				III
(6)	W M	h P	15"	These LL two people. A caricature...how do you say that? () A caricature of two people.
(7)	D F	at		This here LL an abdomen and a long esophagus...I think they call it.
(8)	D Fc	ntr		This LL two hedges with a lane in between them and at the far end a little gate.

Susan: Female, Age 24

Background Data

•156 Unlike Slim, Susan is not so well liked or respected. The occasion for this is
*159 specific, an unsanctioned pregnancy during her last year in high school and a
[848] more recent marriage to an entirely disreputable Mexican from Utah. This community
[582] evaluation is accentuated because of the very high respect in which her own family is held. Everyone expected better of Susan.

[626] Susan has worked as a dishwasher in several cafeterias, both on and off the
*159 reservation, and moved to Utah so as to take a practical nursing course. She found this training uncongenial, met and married her husband, and they returned
[464] to the reservation when his small business failed. Susan is a high school graduate

[874] Susan's mode of selecting a husband parallels that of her mother, who met her
*159 husband while hospitalized in New Mexico. Her father by birth is an Apache Indian, and by cultural affiliation a southwestern United States Spanish-American.
593 Without doubt, he is the most autocratic, stern, demanding, rigid adult male on the reservation. Although a married woman with children of her own, Susan must ask her father's permission to use the telephone or to walk downtown. Her mother was Klamath and very well respected for her stable family life and for her active participation in many community activities. Susan was extremely close to her mother until her unexpected death several years ago. They were known as an inseparable pair and her mother never went out of the house without her. The mother's death was, perhaps, the major cause of Susan's failure to complete her nurse's training. Susan's illegitimate pregnancy in high school was a considerable shock to her mother and is, with her marriage, a continuing source of strain
[155] with her father. Susan evidently feels that her behavior was a contributing cause for her mother's death. She made a death-bed promise to her mother that she would not be a loose girl and that she would marry and stay married to one man. It was shortly thereafter that she married and returned to the reservation to live with her father. There is much strain within this household, derived from the relations between father and son-in-law, and from Susan's unsuccessful efforts to serve two masters, for along with her marital relationship she evidently
[626] was trying to act as a replacement for her deceased mother's role. At the same time her conduct has alienated her from the church, from family friends, and from the community.

*159 The contact with Susan was made via her father, who told her that she should
[124] cooperate. Her father's motivation in this was not, as may be supposed, the conviction that she needed testing because something was wrong with her, but involved
[123] a more general sentiment. He felt somewhat honored to have an "educated man" visit his house and that such a contact was a good experience for his children.
[593] Susan accepted this like an obedient, dutiful daughter. She came readily, with no indication of unwillingness, and relations with her were quite good, perhaps because of the strains of her marginal position and her need to talk with someone.

*159 Susan seemed an apathetic person whose feelings were dulled. If anything, her
157 reactions were those of an over-trained, too obedient child. She was not very responsive or active, and would seldom talk except to answer a direct question. Then she would, frequently with evident pain and anxiety, describe her feelings and situations tersely and haltingly. Susan clearly wants more than her life now gives her, but cannot define her present conflicts or see her way clear to

159 157 psychotic symptoms, despite serious emotional disturbance, "because they control, or have reduced, the intensity of their emotional and intellectual processes to such a degree as to produce hardly any specific and easily recognizable schizophrenic symptoms." Their "capacity for energy control (shading) exceeds their capacity for energy output (color)" (Piotrowski & Levine 1959: 223). Thus, having expended all their energy on controlling their behavior and feelings, they are left with little energy for constructive effort and planning (low W).

[171] [154] This pattern may reflect a pathological adjustment in a white American whose culture demands long range planning and constructive effort. In the Klamath group, however, this emphasis on day-to-day pleasures and consideration for others may be more acceptable than the long range planning and self-aggrandizing behavior which is reportedly becoming the acceptable pattern in American suburbia. If this is true, this subject's adjustment may be perfectly fitted to his environment.

There is, however, additional, independent support for this description of this subject's personality. His preoccupation with the inner details (R2, R4, R24) indicate an approach to life characterized by over-cautiousness —almost suspiciousness — a peering into the situation, rather than an acceptance of it at face value. At the start of the test, he apparently requests clarification of the instructions. The analysis of the movement responses also will support this interpretation.

Despite the verbosity there is actually very little of this man's inner life reflected in this protocol. Rather than reveal himself, the S analyzes the subtle nuances of what is going on around him. He is like the "cat" on Card VIII, "he's watching something...I've no idea (what he's watching)...just watching...". The number of faces and the emphasis on "eyes" (especially the "dark beady eye" on Card IX) are also consistent with the interpretation that we are dealing with a suspicious person — he doesn't trust anyone very far. So all his energy (the little he has) is concentrated on analyzing the possible dangers in any situation, not viewing the situation for all the positive possibilities it offers.

[154] His pace is generally even except for delays to Card IV and VI, the darkest, most ominous of the blots. Is he disorganized by the depressive implications of these stimuli? If so, we would conclude that he tries to deny the gloomy aspects of life. The sun on Card II is "coming up," not going down and there is a kind of exuberance in his response to Card X. One wonders if he isn't trying to act the part of an optimist, despite occasional qualms about this position.

[156] The only human movement response in the record is R6: "a caricature of two people" and on the inquiry, in response to a question, "I guess they're dancing - jitter-bugging I guess you'd call it." The movement was very slow in being verbalized, it was dehumanized (they are caricatures, not real) and it is stereotyped. As such, it probably does not reveal much of this man's conception of his role in life. Unless perhaps it means that he does not have a well-delineated prototypal role.

The FM, on the other hand, seem to reflect a more consistent image. R10 and R15 (the dog "looking straight at you" and the "watching bobcat") are both scorable as "guarded restraint" responses and indicate that this man's cautiousness, his "watchful waiting" have been past roles and are likely to appear in states of diminished control. He is not guilty or anxious about behaving in this manner.

Sparrow: Male, Age 63

Background Data

*159
[156] Sparrow's case is cited because of his position on the lowest rung of the local
status hierarchy. He is known as a happy-go-lucky, worthless old drunk and is
[872] generally considered as "lacking a few of his marbles." However, Sparrow is
seldom publicly disparaged, for local citizens simply pay little attention to
[464] him. He has a sixth grade education, gained at the Agency school. He has
apparently never worked consistently at any job, and most of his work experience
[434] has been as a farm or ranch laborer. He is and has for years been totally depen-
dent upon per capita income and the income from ranch lands owned by his mother,
with whom he lives. Their affairs are managed by a local businessman who some
years ago was appointed their guardian. He is the second eldest of four siblings.
After his father's death forty years ago, his mother remarried and bore two other
[586] children. He was married once when a young man, and after four years divorced
his wife because of "her shiftless ways." He is a semi-invalid, the result of
[164] an accident years ago when a drunken brother drove over him with a truck, crushing
[191] his pelvis. He speaks fluent Klamath, the result of constant association with
his aged mother who represents a direct link with the aboriginal Klamath past,
as well as adequate English, learned in school.

[733] Much of Sparrow's time is spent in jail for drunkenness, in the local tavern,
with one of the drinking cliques, or passed out in a doorway. When he is not
totally drunk he spends much of his time with his mother, for whom he cares in
his fashion. Occasionally he goes fishing in a nearby river. For at least
twenty five years, this has been the pattern of his activities.

*159 Sparrow has many skills, among the most striking of which is the ability to
154 "fly from here to the Agency without once touching the ground." There are
several dimensions to this delusion, one of which is an association, in Sparrow's
thinking, with the acquisition of power. When a young man he dreamed of acquiring the power to "rise up off the ground, like Jesus Christ." While such a belief may have aboriginal correlates, there are no Klamath today who would accept it as valid. Sparrow keeps this secret to himself, and relates it only to strangers and transients from whom he intends to borrow money. His other skills include the following: the ability to keep house and cook, harness making, leather working, painting, canning food (the notion involves laying in stores for the winter), tanning buckskin, wood carving, carpentry, poetry composition (in Klamath), arrowhead making, making traditional basketry, stock raising, restaurant management, and finally, the ability to bewitch rich old white ladies, who are captivated by him and who drive him about in their white Cadillacs. The latter may be associated with a recurrent dream of meeting with a white buffalo, also a symbol of power, but it is difficult to say, for there were never any buffalo near the Klamath, and it is more likely that he has got this idea from reading western stories. Needless to say, most of these skills are quite delusional also. There is no evidence for any of them being more than this. Relating one or more of these is Sparrow's single style of interacting with others, for in reaction to a question or another's anecdote he will sift about in his memory until he comes up with one of his capacities which seems relevant. Very frequently, the writer could not see where or how they were appropriate, but for Sparrow there seemed to be some connection. He relates these matter of factly, with only the most slight suggestion that they were self-enhancing, and no indication that he meant to justify himself, and will then coyly watch his listener to see if he is properly impressed. This behavior tends to merge with Sparrow's

Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively 159*
sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of [156]
the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the
last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She [464]
is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except [874]
for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her hus-
bands in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of
nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals
and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played
with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making
and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early
twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for
everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were [871]
sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from
home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, [857]
and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an
extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her [593]
parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking"
activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area,
with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruc- [868]
tion from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother.
Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were [191]
disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in
boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote
her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother
was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be
due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before [864]
she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was
at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she [626]
is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. [156]
She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of
their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband,
who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and [586]
divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five
other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never [156]
more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occa-
sionally one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts [588]
to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages,
and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house
(it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are tech-
nically illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this 159*
sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her. 156

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone,
particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first
advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request [124]
testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was
wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

*159
156 and anxiety associated with her responsibility in a double murder. She had
given a rifle as a present to a lover, and following a drinking party at her
house he had killed his brother and a stranger with it. Her thinking was extremely morbid. She expresses the wish that the more violent of her previous husbands would return and kill her.

*159 In the testing and interview sessions Nell's behavior quite definitely was not
representative of her ordinary interactions, and once she felt somewhat relieved
157 she immediately got more distant, withdrawn, and unapproachable. During testing
[124] she exhibited a high level of manifest anxiety and an erratic pattern of interaction. She was alternately over-talkative and quick to reply or to initiate
[152] a sequence, and then silent and down-cast. Her concern was real, for it was
known that she was under suspicion for complicity in the murder, but this was
not the root of her anxiety. What the connection was cannot be evaluated from
available evidence, but it may be that her conflicts were related to the trouble
her lover had gotten into, for it was his situation she wanted most to talk
[156] about. Normally she is relatively inflexible in her relationships and preserves
her withdrawn and isolated position at all costs. Her behavior then exhibits
a high level of drive, but is poorly organized, confused as to goals, and produces repeated overt conflict with lovers, husbands, her parents, her children,
work associates, other community members, and law enforcement agents. Still,
she expresses the need to be cared for and dominated consciously, as well as the
156 feeling that she was being persecuted and rejected. She feels herself to be an
entirely worthless person, and this evaluation is shared by the community at large.

Rorschach Record

125 Note: With little variation between cards, each was approached by the S. in
*159 the following manner: She would take the card, repeatedly twist it and turn
it, swiftly cover portions of the blot with her hand or fingers, hold it at
arms length, hold it closer and examine it carefully, lay it down momentarily
and stare off "thinking," and then after a silent delay of an average 145" spit out a series of responses rapidly, as if they were hot peas.

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
		155"	I can look at them any way?...it doesn't even make sense. Do you want me to tell you right now?
(1)	W Mc' h		All I can think of is witches
(2)	Dr F a		and bats
(3)	D M hd		and these two things remind me of hands
(4)	Dr F ad		they look like deer horns, too
(5)	D M hd P		This bottom part, it looks like a woman's body. That's all I can make out.
(6)	d F± music		These look like music. When you look at them they remind me of music notes, but they remind me of music.
(7)	D FM a		Now if I take this picture in half, it reminds me of something...like an animal standing on a high place looking over something...everything below him...that's about all.

(I: W) (What suggested?) Might be this...reminds me of a cape blowing out. These points remind me of a sharp hat. (Cape blowing?) Just like when you see them on

Carrie: Male, Age 38

Background Data

*156 Carrie is the model of a self-made, upwardly mobile, brash and back-slapping
*159 young American male. He is a tribal leader whose power is rooted in an amalgamation of various dissident elements, rather than in a large kin group, and a
[622] business man with numerous interests. He says, of himself, that "I have no occupation, as occupations go. I guess you might say I am a confidence man."

*159 Like the other subjects, Carrie was raised on a ranch by his parents. He is a high school graduate and a graduate of a junior college course in accounting.
[873] His work record suggests his ambition and his upward progression, for he started as a farm laborer, went to truck driving, then worked during World War II as
[464] a production machinist, completed his education, then worked for the Agency and, finally, was able to settle down to living off his several sources of income. He has never been out of the state except for short business trips. He spends most of his time on the reservation attending to tribal and his own business,
156 and participating in various voluntary and formal associations. More recently he has become active in politics on a local level and by some has been ear-marked
*159 as a "comer." His intellectual horizons are very wide, extending to a keen
[661] awareness of the difficulties faced by Dag Hammarskjold. His reputation is excellent and he is particularly esteemed by many Whites, although this esteem is
[626] not shared by all Klamath, which reflects only the factionalism of Klamath politics and, perhaps, the efforts of some to control a man who is too successful.

[184] Carrie has been married once and this marriage has lasted 15 years. He has six children and his family life, again, is precisely what might be expected of a successful young American. Carrie's entire style of life is entirely different from that of most other young Klamath men.

*159 Very little is known of Carrie's early life except that his background is rural Klamath and that his mother was a housewife and his father an indifferently and intermittantly employed laborer.

156 The writer never made much headway with understanding Carrie until the day he
124 was brow-beaten into taking the Rorschach. Before this time he had been seen only as an aggressive, back-slapping, competitive, and somewhat empty character. He had agreed to testing, but had managed to slip out of several appointments until one day when the entire complement of field workers descended on him during a visit, arguing and insisting that he had to set the example. Carrie was thus hung on his own petard, and when we walked into the testing room there was some question as to who was the most fearful of the consequences of this episode, Carrie or the examiner. Carrie was manifestly tense and fearful, but in a very short period of time relaxed and accepted the test situation. Rapport was excellent, and Carrie clearly defined the situation as one where he should discuss
156 his private concerns, motives, and sentiments. From sessions like this it became evident that Carrie's brash front consisted of a set of behaviors he saw as appropriate to his position. That is, the social Carrie was a well defined role. Behind this persona lay a genuine concern with the welfare of tribal members and their future, as well as strong personal aspirations, deep committments to family and community, and fears associated with his private feeling that he was not an adequate or relaxed "mixer." He stated, for example, that "I guess I just don't have the courage to get out, even among my own people. I'm not much of a talker and I guess you'd say I'm kind of backward. I really prefer to be alone by myself." Some of this apprehensiveness is associated

with his concern with losing the support of his constituents and his feeling that he was not really "in" with or a member of the White group. In many ways Carrie dreads the future, feeling that he has over-extended himself. Thus, as well as being the source of satisfaction, social esteem, and profit, Carrie's achievements are a continuing source of anxiety. He suffers the pangs of success. 156

Rorschach Record

125
159*

No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						I
(1)	D	F	a		45"	Oh, I see (rotates card) it looks like two different things to me. The one way it looks like a bug.
(2)	W	F	at			And this way it looks like the bottom vertebrate of an animal of some kind.

(1) (Entire center area, D1) That could be his legs. Some kind of a bug or a beetle. A water beetle maybe. () It was the form mostly. (2) (Down, center blot) () It was the form mostly—the shape.

						II
(3)	D	FM	a	P	43"	It has to look like something? Well this way it looks like two dogs that got their noses together...or sheep...or some animal.

(3) (Entire dark area, D8) See here...the darker ones...or even a bear...a couple of cub bears. It looks like they got their faces together. There it would be the form or shape...what's the difference between form and shape?...Just the darker ones. I couldn't distinguish anything with these red blots.

						III
(4)	W	M	h	P	50"	This looks like two people trying to lift something...lift something up off the ground.
(5)	D	FM	a			And two little objects falling. Looks like two birds falling to the ground.
(6)	D	FMC	a			This object in the middle looks something like a butterfly...a red butterfly.
(Add 22)	D	F	at			A skull

(4) (Black area, D13) They're pulling hard on this...either pulling together or against each other. (men or women?) Might be women because they got a big chest on them (chuckles). (5) (side red details, D21) They're probably shot the way they're falling. (6) (center red, D20) I couldn't think of anything there but a butterfly. (What kind of BF?) Well, it looks like it's in flight. (Add 22) (Bottom center, D18) That object that they're pulling on does look like a skull of some kind.

						IV
(7)	Dr	F	a		75"	(Several rotations) This thing reminds me of a bat...but it doesn't look like a bat.
(8)	Dr	Fc'-	a			The dark outline's got a face...it looks like a wild boar to me.

(7) (down, darkest parts of entire blot, indistinctly outlined) Not the whole thing just the darker part looks like a bat to me. (8) You can see the dark outline here. These are the tusks...and you can see the eyes. (down, same area. Both exclude D27 and D23).

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159
[156] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White segments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but
in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
[871] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
[586] fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of
the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of
numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
[597] an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has
spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was
closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became
dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
[874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She
took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if
she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[857] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child
nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she
had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them
her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., persons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an ad-
[608] visor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making
a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
[773] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my
glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its
walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is associated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is
noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites,
for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, because she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and
biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a
person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social
role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she
will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and
quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

notices whether others are noticing her. Still she does very little directly to call attention to herself, for beyond this concern she is basically extremely shy and inhibited. She is a highly pragmatic person, although she easily expresses strong emotionality. The test situation for Aunt May was simply one of the many strange requests, her good friends, the anthropologists, made of her. 159* 156

Rorschach Record

159*
125

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	W F a P	12"	It LL a bat
(2)	W F a		Then again it LL smth else...LL a...well, bird of some kind.
(3)	W F emblem		Then again it LL an emblem, say of a eagle. Can I turn It? ()
(4)	d m music		LL music flying around there...see these little ones. I don't know what you call it: sharps.
(5)	d F hd		LL some kind of a statue, cause of these little faces here.
(Add 54)	W F± ad		And then again a hide.
(Add 43)	D F ad		crawfish feet
(Add 44)	D F ad		deer horns

(1) Whole. () These parts here and here. And then again it LL a hide (Add 54, Whole) (2) Whole. (3) Whole, down. (4) Tiny spots below bottom of main blot, down. (5) Card reversed, bulge adjacent to center Ss. ("profile") () Here on this side...the eyes in here and the eyebrows (darker lines) and the ornament in her hair (D7). And these LL crawfish feet--pinchers. (Top center extensions, D4) or else (Add 44) deer horns that just begun to fork out. (Same Loc.)

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(6)	W M (h),Rc P	14"	(chuckles) What's this supposed to be, a masquerade ball? A couple of guys dancing... bears or smth...you can see their tusks.
(7)	Ws FCwc' Hh		In the center it LL a lamp hanging down...this white part...LL a fancy lamp of some kind. And the rest could be the shade...shadow.
(8)	W M (h),Rc		These guys have got their heads covered up and they're making a puppet show...the red stuff is their hands made up like birds.
(Add 45)	D F a P		An animal going that way and a fire.
(Add 46)	D CF fire		

(6) Whole. They're guys dressed up like bears. (7) Whole, space (seen as white) () Yes, just like the one hanging there, only more fancy. A white lamp. (8) Whole. Cd be making puppets...making mouths with their fingers (fingers=interior extensions on top red) They've got long hats on. (Add 45) Card reversed. This way it could be some kind of an animal going that way and that could be a fire. () That red in there and the shadow. (Not a whole, animals=entire grey; fire=bottom red...Adds 45 & 46).

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
(9)	W M (h)anat P	30"	(S. has taken up her sewing again.) The way you handed me this one...it LL two people picking smth. Cd be cannibals who just ate the carcass.

157
*159 "girls tied together by hair," and "guys on cliff handing something to one another." The "cannibal" and "punished girls" responses are certainly aggressive enough, but what of the cooperation implied in the "guys on a cliff" response? The "men dressed as bears" and the "puppet show" are playful, assertive and free, while the "fan dancer" reflects that extra gaiety of which the subject herself seems somewhat abashed (she "breaks out in laughter"). These are all human movement responses and thus the subject is capable of experiencing [155] all the diverse roles reflected. In a person with fewer other resources this might lead to unbearable conflicts, but in this woman there seem to be the strengths which make it possible for her generally to utilize this flexibility, despite the conflict. These additional resources are reflected in the use of color and shading (dark and light).

Her color responses are generally adequate and of a positive kind — although somewhat shallow. The presence of many responses to the black and white are interpreted by Oberholzer (1944) as further evidence of shallow, lazy affect. Thus, she probably does not get too deeply involved with people. She can get along with others moderately well, but she really does not need them.

[126] The presence of six popular responses and an F plus % above 80 are sufficient indication of her ability to attend to conventional aspects of the environment in a realistic manner, despite her tendency to experience her emotions.

•[156] Nonetheless, there is the hesitancy in interpersonal relations which we have seen in most of the Klamath records. Here it is reflected in the disguise needed by the figures on Card II and the several aggressive M and FM responses. And she is still pretty unsure that the recent developments in her life are desirable; perhaps the old method of punishment was the best (R29). Probably the essential conflict in roles described above are the keynote of this woman's adjustment. Shall she "eat the carcass" or "lend a helping hand?" Shall she be a "fan dancer" or is any transgression punishable? The comments during the testing are both joking and veiled hostility: "Are you naturally pigeon-toed or do you just sit that way?"

But despite the richness of the record, the woman behind the record remains elusive. Could it be that her enormous flexibility in role taking has made it difficult for her to carry through one integrated life style to the extent which is necessary to call it her own? The Rorschach suggests that this may be the case. However, it is clear that her overall adjustment is a satisfactory one — perhaps eminently so.

Weasel: Male, Age 29

Background Data

In contrast to all other subjects Weasel's role in the reservation community 159*
is a totally negative, destructive one, largely that of a supposedly vicious [156]•
criminal. He was born and raised on an economically un-productive ranch, which
for twenty years or more has been the location of continuous drinking parties.
Weasel was raised within a circle of a pack of older brothers, half-brothers, [593]
and step brothers, all of whom were bigger, stronger, and more capable than he. [733]
His father has been an alcoholic for thirty years and has rarely worked or contributed
much to the organization of the family, which as a co-residential [592]
household usually included more than a dozen persons. In all, Weasel had 17
full and part siblings, half of whom are now deceased, three directly as a result [165]
of drinking, three from acts of violence or car accidents.

Weasel's formal education ceased when he was 15, in the ninth grade, at which [871]
time he was arrested on a burglary charge. Since then he has spent six years
in reformatories or penal institutions. He was tested while in jail on an [674]
assault charge. Shortly thereafter he was found not-guilty, then re-arrested [697]
and sentenced on a different assault with a deadly weapon charge to three years
in the state penitentiary.

Weasel has repeatedly moved out of the circle of the family group, only to
fail "outside" and return to its sheltering arms. For a time Weasel was a [542]
professional boxer, but one without much skill or stamina. He never won a fight
and his face shows the evidence of the capabilities of his opponents. His
membership in this profession did not last long, and Weasel states, rather
proudly, that the Boxing Commission expelled him "For conduct unbecoming a
professional boxer." Weasel was once married (a common-law marriage, which [588]
for Weasel's primary reference groups is well sanctioned) but this lasted just
16 weeks. During this period Weasel stayed sober, the longest time he has spent [581]
without a drink since the age of 12. Weasel was consciously trying to reform [733]
himself, but now feels that he was a fool to ever try. Additionally, Weasel [156]
has repeatedly made a circuit of nearby towns and cities either singly or in
the company of a brother or friend. These visitations have more of the character [579]
of raids than anything else, and Weasel is usually arrested in one or another
place and either charged or shipped out of town. [697]

In addition to being a minor criminal Weasel is frequently also the scapegoat 159*
for the aggressions of stronger men than he. He constantly asks for trouble, 156
but has never given any evidence that he can back of his threats with appropriate
force. His successful acts of aggression have always been sneak attacks, [186]
or attacks on feeble old men or young boys. He seldom attempts to avoid the
consequences of these actions, and, indeed, is frequently not able to do so,
because of his extreme drunken condition. He seems to obtain some gratification
from the minor prestige afforded his performances in these roles, but this
gratification is highly personalized and is not recognized as appropriate by
others. It may be that he has been attempting to build up his standing and reputation
within his own circle by acting out the role of a "dangerous Indian,"
but it would seem that he has been singularly unsuccessful in this. One aspect
of this behavior is his reputed skill with a knife. On two occasions he wanted
to obtain vocational training, once as a barber, the other time as a butcher,
both times implying that this would be a simple extension of his native talent.

*159
125

R	8+1
W:M	7:0
M:Sum/C	0:4.5
Sum/C:Sum/c	4.5:2
Sum/c:Sum/c'	2:1.5
IRT	37"
IRT (color)	46"
IRT (nc)	28"

Conspicuous Features

(1) low R
(2) no M
(3) high Sum/C
(4) Content: R3, 9, 1
(5) aggression
(6) test-taking attitude
(7) vague W's

Rorschach Interpretation

*159 157 Aggressiveness, almost of a murderous kind, is the first impression one gets from this Rorschach record. Despite the fact that he gives only nine responses, we finish reading the record with the feeling that we know a great deal about this man, but we are no longer convinced of the extent to which he is comfortable with his feelings of hostility.

[158] Perhaps the single most conspicuous feature of the record is the blatant preoccupation with violence, especially in the context of such a brief record and in the light of the personalized quality of the verbalization: "When you press the gun up close to something and it goes off and makes this powder burn — the red spots look like blood." In addition to this hostile content (R3 and R9), analysis of the scoring summary indicates that the subject has inadequate control of these impulses. His Sum/C is 4.5, which is very high in a record of only nine responses, and there is no M and only one shading response. (After much deliberation, it was felt that there was insufficient evidence to score shading in R5.) Furthermore, only one of his responses was determined by the shape of the blot alone, indicating that in practically all situations the subject is likely to be directed by impulses and feelings, rather than by intellectual considerations. The possibility that the seven whole responses constitute ego control and personality organization is contradicted by an inspection of the nature of the W. Of these seven W responses, five and possibly a sixth must be considered vague, diffuse, primitive responses to the global impression of the blot.

There are a few possible indications of some control mechanisms which operate sporadically, however. For one thing, he does not blurt out his responses impulsively; there are relatively long initial reaction times to all the cards. Secondly, he does give attention to the shading elements (R2 and possibly R5). Nevertheless, these constitute insufficient controls for the tremendous energy available (Sum/c:Sum/C = 2:4.5).

The long initial reaction times, the few R and many of the verbalizations point to a guarded, suspicious approach to life. This finding, combined with the absence of M, is strongly suggestive of a paranoid adjustment. Life in general, and human relationships in particular, is seen as a struggle: the response closest to an M is the "fighting blackbirds." However, the subject does not have very strong attitudes about interpersonal relations. His feelings about people are shallow and ill-defined. He does not have close friendships: the figures on Card I, often seen as human, are seen by him through transparent jelly; he rejects Card III suggesting a human movement shock; and his few R suggest that he is unwilling to extend himself in the test situation.

[156] The "coat of arms" response suggests that what little feeling he has for human relationships is focused on the overt signs of social status. He is likely to

be very much involved with how he appears in the eyes of others. This attitude, 159*
together with his hostility and lack of impulse control, may get him into con- 157
siderable trouble through inappropriate attempts to attain some semblance of [156]
what he considers status. This may appear as "attention-getting" mechanisms.

There is no need to ponder the question of whether this man is actually the
aggressor or the victim. He is both. At times, he probably instigates the
trouble. But just as often he is likely to be punished for his transgressions.
On occasion he may act aggressively as a result of some fancied aggression.
He doesn't trust anyone; no one is likely to trust him. He is essentially an
isolated person. His minority group status probably fits easily into this con- [156]
ception of his role in life and his essential feelings of isolation and rejection.

However, his last responses (especially R6 and R8) appear to raise doubts about some of our interpretations. These almost effeminate —artistic, at least — color responses: "coral rocks" and "modern art," coming at the end of the record as they do, indicate that beneath this belligerent facade, we may come upon gentleness, sensitivity, and passivity which might surprise us. He is capable of moments of deep positive, perhaps aesthetic, feeling. We must raise the hypothesis that this young man is really a "softie" who is trying to deny this trait in himself or, in other words, he is just a big bluff.

This pattern may suggest the psychoanalytic hypothesis of paranoia, namely
repressed and projected homosexuality —if we define sexuality in broad enough
terms. The suspiciousness, belligerence, interpersonal isolation and latent
aesthetic sensitivity all are consistent with this notion. At least some sexual [158]
disturbance seems indicated by the way he mutilates the fox skin on VI; all the
extensions are cut off.

One aspect of this record remains puzzling: the relation between the c and c'. We get dark shading (c') on at least two occasions (R3, R9) and light shading on at least one (R2). If R5 is scored light shading, there is a balance of dark and light shading responses and indication of anxiety, control and neuroses. If, on the other hand, R5 is a dark shading response, the balance of determinants becomes even more extreme in the direction of lack of control. Piotrowski's principle is that the c' are given by people who fight rather than flee from anxiety provoking situations. My overall impression is that this subject is more likely to behave in the "fight" manner and thus get himself into a considerable amount of difficulty, but the possibility that R5 is a shading response is unsettling.

The m response on Card IX, when interpreted according to Piotrowski's principles, indicates that the subject would like to "explode" but feels incapable of this kind of behavior. Since this is a subjective feeling, it does not contradict the position that he does act out in an uncontrolled manner; rather, it suggests that, despite sporadic outbursts, he feels tense, as if he is operating under a constant head of steam that doesn't let up, even when he does blow off on occasion.

This m, the possibility that R5 is a c response, and the positive affect expressed in R6 and R8 indicate that, although the subject has violent moods, he is far from comfortable in this role. He is tense, anxious, frightened. There may be something about him which, at times, another person can understand and sympathize with.

In general though, he is wary of others, they are wary of him, and "trouble [156]
is brewing."

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 67

Background Data

*159
156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, particularly in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
[595] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
[733] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
[83] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
[587] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She
[871] completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri,
[178] California, and Mexico.

[657] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientatio
[464] and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five, and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
[577] Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
[177] a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values, and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[191] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that chil-
[871] dren today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
[593] no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this res-
[603] pect, Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
[867] spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, behaviors in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
[657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
[871] and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
[177] seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were rejected from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate inter-
156 changes and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses

are marked by alternate periods of (brooding?) silence and she is more than a little pretentious, as for example her response to TAT card #1, "Oh, that's that famous European violinist...Levi Strauss." Her life has been characterized by many extremely stressful situations, but she does not seem easily discouraged, and maintains her vigor and independence. She tends to over justify herself, as if she had some doubt about certain of her characteristics, or as if she had strong feelings of uncertainty or inadequacy. This is in strong contrast to her leadership role in her family, and her domination of many social situations. She is also somewhat excitable and tends to directly express her emotions more than many other Klamath. 159* 157 [156]* [155] [156]

The working relationship with Grandma was one of the best. When she first learned the writer was an Anthropologist she warmed to him immediately and volunteered to take the tests. She was tested "on the job," at the top of a 200 foot fire lookout tower in the midst of the Klamath forest. 159* 124 [123]

Rorschach Record

159* 125

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	Dr FM a	11"	I DK what this represents...it LL...does it have to be the whole or part or what? () I imagine it LL a bat.
(2)	Dr F a		Then again a crab, and I DK what else it LL... there's the feelers.
(Add 24)	Dr F- at		More vertebrae

(1) Top third of card. Oh, I've seen a lot of bats LL that flying around at night ...with wings all spread out and you can't see nothing but the wings. (2) Top ½ of D1. (Add 24) Card down, entire center section extending to tips of Spaces. Now if you turn it around upside down it LL some more of the vertebrae. () What? Oh, just, just...I DK. Everything has a vertebrae and that's why.

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(3)	W M h	14"	By golly...I DK what this LL. You know my trouble is I don't read very much. What would this LL... just a quick glance at it...it LL a bunch of... a cpl of men going to test their strength...their hands clasped together...all tied together...men in disguise...can't be women.
(Add 25)	Dr F- at		Another vertebrae and part of brain
(Add 26)	D FM ad P		Two bears putting their noses together.

(3) Whole. (Add 25) Card down, Space and D11. Now I'll turn it upside down. Now LL another part of the vertebrae and maybe a little part of the brain. () I dunno! Just because it's going up that way. (C?) Oh no. The brain is supposed to be grey...grey matter they say. (Add 26) Card down, D8. Then this black part LL two bears putting their noses together...their little ears sticking over...why they're identical aren't they?

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
(4)	W M a	3"	These LL...still LL sm...I'm not sure it is...LL a These little grasshopper features LL grasshoppers... grasshoppers at play...they're playing.
(5)	D CP at		LL the throat and lungs and stomach and everything

6

Scoring Summary

*159
125

W	7	M	2	h	1
D	12+3	FM	2+2 (1-)	hdx	1
Dr	3+3	F	13 (6 1/3-) + 7 (5-)	a	7+1
d	+1	C	1	ad	2+1
S	+2	CF	2	at	10+6
		Fc'	+2	fd	1
				germs	+1
				P	6+2

R	22+9
IRT	17.2"
IRTc	28.6"
IRTnc	5.8"
W:M	7:2
M:Sum/C	2:3.5
Sum/C:Sum/c	3.5:0
Sum/c:Sum/c'	0:2
F+%	52

Conspicuous Features

(1) high at
(2) low F+%
(3) FC:CF:C ratio
(4) hdx
(5) reverberation of spinal column and brain
(6) "disguised" M

Rorschach Interpretation

*159
157 The Rorschach reflects a woman who is extraordinarily preoccupied with disease (at = 10+5). If she is not physically ill, she is hypochondriacal and perhaps suffering from somatic delusions (at R; F+%, 52). She is likely to be very ill at ease in interpersonal relationships (M on Card II), probably because she is demanding of attention from others (C:CF:FC). I wonder if she doesn't use physical illness in order to be taken care of.

[156] The test results indicate that she views interpersonal relations as terrifying struggles in which she may be "demolished" by others. Since her only M in human content is "a couple of men testing their strength" and her Sum/C:Sum/c is 3.5:0, we would say this is how she acts in interpersonal relations at this time. She "tests her strength" — but cautiously. The figures are "in disguise," they are not to be trusted. In meeting people she has to decide whether she is strong enough to be safe, or whether they are so strong that they would harm her.

The FM, on the other hand, are aggressive "climbing up to demolish something," "germ attacking the lung," "bugs attacking throat." This is the enormous aggressiveness of which she is afraid, but it also indicates that she is capable of experiencing this kind of hostility toward others. Under stress or "in states of diminished consciousness" we may see some extremely aggressive behavior on her part.

Since I scored R20 as a pure C response and there are 2CF and no FC, we must conclude that S does become overly emotional at times. They may be "crying spells" or expressions of the anger indicated in the preceding paragraph which she is unable to control. I scored R8 and R12 as Fc' but they may be Fc. If they are Fc' they support the notion that our S has little control over her feelings. The great variability of her initial reaction times also bespeaks of sporadic impulsivity and feelings of anxiety.

*159
158 The more one thinks about it, the more pathological the picture becomes. F plus percent is only 52 despite the 6 populars; there is a positional response on Card IX; there are a few peculiar verbalizations, e.g., the vertebrae and brain being referred to as "the center of man's being" and "the main part of life and

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159
*156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from
his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never
[461] worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen.
Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five
[871] school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from
the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at
[592] home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger sib-
lings may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal
[434] income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly
[657] for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the
bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very
reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit
[582] Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging
[648] company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the
logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually
[221] away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when
drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father
does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household
[593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his
father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion
knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this per-
[848] son is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity,
which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's
*159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards
156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or
593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting,
and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits
the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls,
and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt
and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common
[421] activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to
one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his belongings, and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom she spends much time.

*159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks
156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the
law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time
[673] loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his
buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom
[512] awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away
from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which
may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

Fidel quit school because of what he defines as "family trouble," and this failure is probably equally due to his lack of support and training at home, as well as from the mildly hostile, indifferent posture he maintains. He expresses bitter contempt for his family, for the filthy house, for the lack of regular hours, and for the frequent squabbles. His isolation from this group is adequately measured by his lack of knowledge of the interests and affiliations of family members. His contempt for them is balanced by his father's derogatory, competitive attitude towards his son and his mother's indifference. Fidel stands thus, mildly hostile, ambivalent, and infinitely bored, at the brink of independent adulthood. 159* 156• 593 [871] 159* 157

Rorschach Record 159* 125

No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						I
(1)	WS	FM	ad		2"	Well I dunno...could be some kind of animal. (AE?) Just LL a dog or smth looking at you...its ears hanging over. (Rotates card) How are you supposed to look at it, anyway? () (Rotates card and looks at it briefly, but not attentively, looks at E. and waits for him to finish writing.)

(1) Whole, space. () Well—the ears hanging over the side and the two eyes (S) and the mouth (S). LL its head. () LL it's looking at you.

No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						II
(2)	D	FMc'	ad	P	27"	(Much rotation) (Laughs) LL a couple of dogs w/their noses together—how come they put different colored ink in them? That's the way it looks—both ways,
(3)	D	FMc'	ad			upside down and the other way.

(2) All grey. () Just the black part. () Well—it LL a dog's head w/ears sticking out and the nose up against the other one. () Just the...it LL the shadows of two dogs w/their noses together. () Just the outline—the silhouette.

No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						III
(4)	W	M	h	P	17"	This one LL two guys dancing. (AE?) I can't make anth else out on there.

(4) All grey. () Just the black part. (Men?) Well, I dunno. Could be a cpl of kids cause that's the way they dance. (Boys/girls?) Could be either a boy or a girl or two boys or two girls...just LL people dancing.

No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						IV
(5)	W	FM	a		33"	I don't know what the heck this is...some kind of bug with wings or (rotating card)
(6)	D	F	ad			some kind of horse head or something...everybody sees these different, huh? () Nothing else but a big black ink spot.

(5) Whole, down. () I dunno what kind...just like it's reaching for you or smth. (Frightening?) Could be. (6) Headlike bottom center, D23, down. looking at it from above.

No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						V
(7)	W	FM	a	P	17"	That LL a bat with its wings out—down. Turn him
(8)	W	FM	a			upside down and it LL you got him spread out.

159*
125

W:M	7:6
M:Sum/C	6:0
M:FM:m	6:6:0
IRTc	18.6"
IRTnc	27.5"

Conspicuous Features

(1) M = 6
(2) FM = 6
(3) No. C.R.
(4) R 11
(5) Range of content
(6) Also sees percepts upside down.

Rorschach Interpretation

159*
157
[156]*

Three aspects of this Rorschach protocol stand out: the absence of color responses; the emphasis on movement (of his 14 scorable responses, 12 involved human or animal movement); and the nature of the movement response on Card VIII (R12): "He looks like he's got a grin — I mean a mean look on his face." The content of this movement response suggests that the subject is strongly ambivalent about his role in human relationships. His immediate response to an interpersonal situation is an open, friendly one, but for some reason he shifts to a more aggressive menacing role. It is as if he tries to conceal his immediately positive response to people behind a "mean look."

On the face of it, the absence of color responses seems incompatible with the hypothesis that this man is involved emotionally — either positively or negatively — with other people. However, when we note that the subject is not indifferent to the color aspects of the cards, the interpretation becomes not inconsistent, but richer. In response to Card II, for example, he states, "How come they put different colored ink in them?" The absence of color responses suggests not that the subject is uninterested in personal relationships, but that, since he is unable or unwilling to integrate the color aspects of the blot with the shape of the blot, he probably reacts to the emotional aspects of interpersonal relationships, but does not make the effort required to integrate his feelings with the demands of reality.

How are we to interpret the fact that of 14 responses the subject has 12 movement responses? We must conclude that he has a rich and extensive inner life; he probably gives much thought to the significance and meaning of a situation without giving any overt indication of this thought. The fact that he waits for the examiner to finish writing, for example, indicates that he is aware of what is going on around him.

Five of this subject's six human movement responses are of the guarded restraint variety: "two girls looking at each other," "a man standing there" and so on. His prototypal role, then, involves watchful waiting and a tendency to inhibit the expression of feeling; this inhibition has apparently generalized to a considerable extent (narrow range of content). Perhaps the most revealing response, though, is the frightening "bug with wings" on Card IV. There is a feeling of dark shock here; he tells us after 33 seconds that he doesn't know "what the heck this is." And, on the basis of the inquiry, "It's reaching for you or something" we would have to conclude that the subject is frightened by the aggression implied here.

On four of the cards — involving eight of his fourteen responses — the subject gives an identical response to the blot when seen upside down as when seen right side up: "That's the way it looks — both ways, upside down and the other way." Although this mode of response does occur on occasion, rarely does it assume

#159 157 the proportions it does in this case. What is the meaning of it? There seem to be two general kinds of explanations possible. The first involves the notion that the subject's perception is generally vague, so that the specific requirements of the blot are of little importance. He gives the response largely based on internal needs, so it matters little which way he holds the blot.

The second possibility suggests that the subject is indecisive; he can't make up his mind. He isn't able to decide which end is up. These two possibilities are not at all exclusive and there is reason to believe that both are involved (e.g., he can't decide on the sex of the figures in R4; his responses are not well delineated; and on two cards he never does make up his mind).

The most disturbing aspect of the protocol, however, is R13: "something with a fish coming out of its head." This is at least a fabulized combination and as such indicates a looseness of associative processes — a disorder of thinking. The fact that he gives it without comment and that it appears in a relatively brief record makes it more ominous. It suggests strongly that this man is not always able to control his thinking and that he may come to unrealistic conclusions based on very slim evidence.

Since there is not much evidence of strong feelings, however, there seems to be no reason to think that the subject will act in a peculiar fashion. He may have some strange ideas, but they are not likely to influence his behavior very much.
156 The protocol suggests that this man actually tries to do very little. Because of his fear and distrust of others, he tries to hide from them — possibly behind a somewhat belligerent facade.

Lily: Female, Age 15

Background Data

Lily is an attractive young high school freshman. She is now repeating her 159* 156●
freshman year, due to various difficulties the year before. One of these involved her cursing the principal, for which she was temporarily expelled, to [873]
be returned by her mother the next day. She spent the rest of the year in
silent rebellion. This incident is not too serious, for more than anything [561)
else it indicates the strength of her attachment to a close-knit girls peer-group which is slightly wild and which makes it a matter of honor to oppose
adults. There is little additional evidence of any serious hostility or rebelliousness. Lily is the eldest of two children; she has an elder half-sister,
her mother's illegitimate daughter; and she has lived all of her life on the
reservation.

Lily's major activities and concerns are those of a typical, small town teen-age girl. She attends school, "hangs around" a local teen age center, flirts [883]
with the boys — White and Indian, dances — at her home or the home of a friend,
and listens to records. She comes from one of the most stable families on the
reservation. Her mother is Klamath, a grade school graduate who worked her way [874]
through two years of business school, evenings, in a nearby city. Her mother in
recent years has begun to assume a position of leadership in certain community
activities, particularly recreation and education. Additionally, she has for [571]
long been the advisor for numerous relatives. Her mother verbalizes great fear
and anxiety associated with this "getting out" and has done so only under considerable external pressure. Her father is a California Indian who is the model [177]
of local White conceptions of masculinity. That is, he is vigorous and physically powerful, a hard, reliable, steady worker in a logging company, a hard [464]
"Saturday Night" style drinker, absolutely fearless, and a masterful fighter
in brawls. His fights are the focus of several local folk anecdotes, and suggest [157]
his excellent reputation, for he protects the underdog, takes on the bully (by
the half-dozen, if necessary), neatly dispatches all and never bears a grudge.

Lily is a more flexible and less submissive person that she would seem on first 159*
acquaintance. The difficulty with knowing her is that she wears a completely 157
impassive, rigid, unexpressive mask before all. One morning after knowing her
for a year the writer walked by her and then stopped, mildly startled, for Lily
had smiled (slightly) and mumbled "Good Morning" under her breath. She is also [123)
less inhibited than this mask of impassivity would suggest, as is evident from
her behavior with her peers and parents, but in all instances she prefers to
communicate with slight gestures and to make do with very few words. She is,
in fact, a remarkably self-possessed, poised, and reserved adolescent girl, a
consequence of which is that she is far more graceful than many other local girls
her own age. But, generally, her responses only minimally involve her with 159*
others. She is always among people, but not always with them. Her reserve does 156
not dissipate much with continued acquaintance, but is a constant feature of her
mode of adjusting to others. She never talks freely and her terse responses to
the blots and TAT cards are paralleled by an equal economy in all personal relationships. There is no evidence to suggest that she is suspicious or distrustful of others, although she can be quite persistent in avoiding people she does
not like.

VIII Continued 159*

It LL brush. (Fire?) This bottom part. (Bottom pink & orange) () The color didn't 125 help for the fire. () Down in my Dad's tribe they're medicine men. They go out in the hills and stand over a fire and sing and it's supposed to get whoever they sing for well. (11) Both side pink, D57. Just LL a bear climbing up a hill or something. Here's his front legs, and his rear ones, his ears and his face.

IX

Rejection 27" I don't see anything on this one.

X

(12) D FM a,(h) 31" This up here LL a monster I seen in movies.
(13) S F- hd This LL a face, eyes, nose, and a moustache.

(12) All top grey, D67. () I seen a movie and it looked something like that... a little bat like thing (points to D68)...they stick fangs in people's necks and make these people obey this monster. () The center part is the monster. (Center column of top detail) (13) Bottom center S, below & including middle blue, inside side pinks. It made me think of those old time bartenders with their hair (center blue, D70) parted in the middle and their moustache (bottom green, D70) curled up.

Total Time: 12'

Scoring Summary

W	5 (1S)	M	3	h	4
S	1	Mc'	1	hd	1
D	7	FM	3	a	3
R	13	FMc'	1	ad	2
		F+	3	bell	1
		F-	1	mask	1
W:M	5:4	Fc	1	cg	1
M:Sum/C	4:0			P	6
Sum/C:Sum/c	0:1.0				
M:FM:m	4:4:0				
IRT	15.8"				
IRTc	13.4"				
IRTnc	18.8"				

Conspicuous Features

(1) EB = 4:0
(2) 8 of 13R either M or FM
(3) 6 Pop
(4) Phobic responses (R6, R12)

Rorschach Interpretation

159*
157
[156]

This adolescent girl — for whom "a smile is rare" — appears to be an intense, introspective person: movement is involved in eight of her thirteen responses. But there is insufficient responsiveness to external stimuli (no color responses with the possible exception of R10) and too much of her fantasy appears morbid or at least phobic ("Dracula" on Card IV and "monster" on Card X). Is she really this terrified of authority? The test suggests "yes," but that she won't admit it readily.

*159

157 There are no indications of peculiar thinking or intellectual impairment, but the total absence of color responses does reflect a poverty of emotional responsiveness. She appears to be a laconic, taciturn youngster. Her free associations are stated briefly and not spontaneously elaborated.

157 156 [154] The Rorschach gives us, then, the picture of a stereotyped, overly conventional adjustment. She is a "good" girl who does what she is told and uses her fantasy to gain the little instinctual gratification she gets. The fact that her smile comes as she is describing "teenagers dancing" suggests that, like most youngsters her age, peer relationships are particularly important to her and that this is not an area of particular threat. It is probably the male authority figure who is her difficulty.

*159

156 177 [121] This protocol contains the first overt comment concerning an acculturation process. One can perceive her distance from her father in her discussion of R10: "...it's supposed to get whoever they sing for well." Her objectivity here indicates that she is a part of the generation which is undergoing acculturation. She can apparently look, with distance, at her father's tribe's customs. One wonders to what extent this cultural change is a factor in her difficult relations with her father, or whether — with Freud — it's the "universal Oedipus complex" we see here.

[121] This is a conventional record to the point of constriction: 5 or 6P; F plus percent adequate; several M; no major shocks. Only the absence of color responses stands out. We are left with the question of how and why this youngster has buried her feelings so completely? Although this is a brief record, we hazard the guess that it is the stress of acculturation which has created the overcontrol which characterizes this girl's adjustment (R10).

Section IV. Summary and Conclusions

In concluding this report rather than to attempt a detailed synthesis of all 121
aspects of the preceding case studies we intend to pursue some of the implications of certain striking characteristics of Klamath personalities. Aside from this descriptive effort we also intend to derive, hypothetically, an association between these personality attributes and Klamath acculturation experiences.

Certainly the most pervasively shared attribute of Klamath personalities is the 156
one we have chosen to call guarded restraint. This label is intended to desig- 157
nate the general attitude towards self and interpersonal relationships which has
emerged from the analysis of Rorschach records, life-history materials, and ob- [12]
servations of behavior. Guarded restraint, therefore, may be taken to mean the prevalent suspicious and guarded attitude towards life of the Klamath subjects, their wariness as regards significant others, and their apprehensions as regards their environment generally. This attribute, as we conceive it, has many facets. It includes an unconscious as well as a more deliberate muting of responsiveness to the actions and the mere presence of others, a shallow, non-committal attitude towards membership in various social groups and the goals of these groups, and a characteristic which ranges from simple lack of trust to outright fear of the behavioral milieu.

Stated in largely psycho-dynamic terms the notion of guarded restraint may seem 121
somewhat ambiguous. The empirical referents on the level of observable behavior are, however, highly visible. They may be observed in a wide variety of behavior settings, from the informal and unstructured relations within a teen-age clique or an adult drinking group to the more organized setting of the family and household.

The psycho-cultural phenomena we have labeled as guarded restraint over-laps 121
with what others have called Klamath individualism. Seen in this perspective, 157
we may, perhaps, introduce a somewhat richer way of analyzing and gaining insight into the nuances of Klamath behavioral styles. This approach is, we hope, something more than just a different way of looking at the manifest separatism and incohesiveness of family groups, a more fruitful manner of examining the atomistic structure of Klamath reservation sodalities, and a means of appreciating the psycho-dynamic causation of the constant fractionation of Klamath political
groupings. The evidence of these case studies, then, suggests that few Klamath [156]
are capable of fully identifying with other persons or of committing their loyalties to concerted group action.

We feel that this major descriptive conclusion is, in large part, a product of 125
the case study method used in analyzing the Rorschachs. Moreover, it is our 128
belief that this conclusion could not have been obtained from an analysis of a composite psychogram based on formal scores. As anyone who has ever read reports based upon the statistical or modal personality approach well knows, such reports are ridden with dynamic cliches and are largely sterile until filled out with examples of the qualitative features of individual records. In this report Levine has entirely discarded the lumping of group scores and concentrated upon an analysis of qualitative features of individual records buttressed and supported by the use of formal scores and relationships. The importance of this approach
is shown by the fact that the reserve and guardedness that characterizes Klamath [157]
does not always show up in individual test records in the same form. Most frequently an important clue is had from the presence of restrained, watchful, wary figures in human and animal movement responses. Indeed, this type of movement

125 128 [157] [124] response provided some of the first clues as regards this important personality attribute (Clifton 1960). But other test evidence, as well as life history and observational data, leads to the same conclusion, regardless of the presence or absence of a restrained movement response.

157 156 [125] One facet of Klamath guardedness and restraint is the general reluctance of Klamath individuals to reveal or communicate to others their needs, wishes, interests, or concerns. This may, in part, be seen as a function of suspicion, of fearful concern with the possible reactions of others, but another characteristic of Klamath persons may be associated with this reserve. The reference here is to a general, overt, and conscious devaluation of the self. The Klamath seldom have much good and often much that is bad to say of themselves. Although this characteristic is not directly manifested in the Rorschach records, these records do indicate the presence of multiple and conflicting, or unacceptable prototypal roles.

Another aspect of Klamath guardedness seems to be a precipitate of the very high investment of energies in sheer self-protecting maneuvers, and the time spent in the avoidance of entangling committments to group life. We feel that the Klamath have so over-invested in reserve and self-protection that they have little time or energy to expend on other activities or upon other aspects of their situation. This, we feel, may be responsible for another shared component of Klamath character, their inability in laying plans for the future, and the minimal expenditure upon creative effort. By way of contrast, the Klamath do concentrate upon the superficially rewarding or painful aspects of their current situation.

121 156 155 657 [171] [158] The analysis so far points to a general isolation of Klamath individuals from significant, durable human associations. Given the facts of Klamath reservation culture we consider that this characteristic is probably adaptive, although it might not seem so if measured against an ideal model of mental health based upon the functioning of west European, urban, middle-class persons. Considering the realities of the Klamath situation, guarded restraint in itself may hardly be considered as pathological. Yet so great a reserve and so extensive an insulation of the self from important human transactions may be a major source of stress and may predispose Klamath individuals to variant forms of mental illnesses.

157 158 [121] Several of the cases contained in this report provide evidence for this hypothesis. In the instance of Slim, for example, we find that a superficially adequate adjustment may simply be the manifestation of an obsessive control over and reduction of emotional and intellectual processes to the point of a tentative diagnosis of alpha schizophrenia. The cases of Susan, Nell, Fidel and Sparrow are examples of extremely loose, unrealistic and disorganized thinking with overtones, in some instances, of an almost paranoid suspiciousness, or a reliance upon bizarre, highly personal fantasy. Evidence for a well defined idiosyncratic role or personna which is very poorly integrated with the rest of the personality is seen in the cases of Slim's false optimism, Carrie's brashness, and Aunt May's superficial warmth. We suggest that these more disordered aspects of adjustment may profitably be seen, in part, as a function of a generally poor contact with others, reduced insight into the self and others, and extensive social isolation. The mediating difficulty may well be a relative absence of opportunities to validate beliefs and convictions. Thus in many respects adaptive, Klamath guarded restraint probably serves as a precipitating factor in thinking disorders, sociopathic adaptations, alpha schizophrenia, and paranoid delusions.

128 127 The validity of this assessment does not depend upon these ten case studies alone. Very similar if more limited conclusions were obtained in a previous, independent

analysis of 53 Klamath Rorschachs and 33 Thematic Apperception Tests, with 128
additional evidence derived from participant observation and life history data [127]
(Clifton 1960). Moreover, the assessment agrees, in large part, with the observations and conclusions of other field workers working independently. The significant point is that Levine, working blind from records of persons he has never observed has reinforced and expanded upon previous evaluations of Klamath character.

A second hypothesis about the Klamath which arises from our study — an hypothesis 121
of which we are less certain when compared with the observation that they are
a people who may be viewed as guarded and restrained — is the finding that "in 157
the total kin network the influence of the male is weak..." and "whether or not 562
there is a male attached to the household group, the wife-mother is usually the
power figure." This finding, based on the anthropological data, is theoreti- [156]•
cally congruent, almost startlingly so, with the fact that the more imaginative, creative, rich — healthy, if you will — Klamath Rorschach records were produced by the women in the sample, while the men's records were typically stereotyped
and constricted, and often unrealistic, disorganized or suspicious. The statis- [127]
tical comparisons (Clifton 1960) as well as the individual Rorschach analysis
(Chapter III) convey this impression very clearly. [128]

The importance of these findings can be viewed profitably in the light of con- 121
temporary psychoanalytic theory, especially in relation to the concepts of identification and modeling in child development. The theory holds that the child identifies with, i.e., adapts the characteristics, attitudes, and values, of his parents because he envies them; they are the powerful people who receive the rewards and gratifications which he is denied. In classical psychoanalytic theory, the boy is said to identify with the father because the father is the power figure in the family and receives the love of the mother. Although Freud never was as content with his psychology of women as he was with the Oedipus Complex, pre-
sumably similar processes account for feminine psychology. The classical Oedipus [128]
Complex has been modified in order to integrate more satisfactorily with cross-cultural data, and it is in this more flexible framework that the present results can be understood best.

In those societies in which the father is not a stable, respected member of the 121
family the process of identification is not as straightforward: the growing boy does not want to be like his weak father; he cannot identify with an absent father figure; yet he is biologically unable to be like his mother. The theory holds that his identification as a person will not be well integrated or complete.
In the Klamath family, the mother is the stable figure, the one who commands the 121
boy's respect. Since a consistent and integrated identification is needed for a
healthy development of the ego, we are not surprised to find that the males in 156
our Klamath sample show signs of poor ego structure. The women, on the other 562
hand, come off much better and one may hypothesize that they are able to make a
more integrated identification with the wife-mother figure in the Klamath family. 593

It may be necessary for a well-stated theoretical position to distinguish between 121
two qualities of the parent which are confounded in the present discussion: stability of the model on the one hand and the extent to which the parent receives rewards, on the other. The general theoretical position, however, states that those societies in which the father is more stable, receives more of the respect and material reward, or is more powerful will be societies in which the boys can
establish their roles more readily. On the other hand, in groups like the Klamath, 121
in which the father is weak or absent, we can expect to see signs of role conflict, 156

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121
156 vague identification and, since it is largely through identification that the
562 super-ego is established, weak super-egos.

593 It has been suggested that what we have called guarded restraint may be a "front"
121 maintained only when Klamath are interacting with whites. The point is that
156 guarded restraint may be another name for the extreme suspicion and reserve of
many enclaved or colonized minority groups vis-a-vis representatives of the
177 dominant culture (Underhill 1960). It cannot be denied that, in fact, reserve
[171] and suspicion do characterize much of the relationship between Klamath and Whites,
but the reserve and restraint which so characterize Klamath persons is not solely
a function of such situations. We agree that guarded restraint is one important
consequence of acculturative contacts, but the evidence of observation and life
histories clearly indicate that this is a personality attribute manifest in many
[829] situations exclusive of the presence of outsiders. Life history subjects, for
example, speak of the "Indianness" of their parents, meaning precisely an aloof,
reserved style of interaction. Many other informants verbalize reactions to the
endemic if latent suspiciousness of Klamath life. Thus guarded restraint is not
purely an observer construct with a referent limited to the test situation. Certainly, a measure of reserve and suspicion may serve utilitarian functions when
interacting with strangers, but the same characteristic makes strangers out of
neighbors.

121 Underhill's suggestion does raise the issue of a broader connection between
156 guarded restraint and the impact of acculturation. If there is such an association then we should expect to find these attributes widely distributed among
177 other acculturated populations, especially those which have been exposed to the
171 imposition of external political and administrative controls, and deculturation
or detribalization. That there may be some validity to this hypothesis is sugges-
157 ted by the fact that attempts to communicate our findings to observers with experience among other acculturated populations frequently evoke memories of similarity in character. What we have called guarded restraint has been suggested as characteristic of the contemporary Southern Ute (Stewart 1961) and especially the Mountain or Towoac Ute (Canan 1961), and of the Cree, Northern Athabascan, and Eskimo (Heinrich 1961). In each instance there are differences, but differences which seem to play upon a common theme.

Personality attributes analogous to what we have called guarded restraint have repeatedly been discerned among other more or less acculturated North American Indian populations. Thus Barnouw describes the Wisconsin Chippewa as emotionally isolated, suspicious of outsiders, and fearful of expressing emotions overtly (Barnouw 1950: 22-23). Klopfer's analysis of Chippewa Rorschachs suggests that "...the individual is under pressure to become as emotionally independent of his environment as possible, and to expect very little from others." (Barnouw 1950: 27). The Ojibwa have been described as emotionally restrained, suspicious, and anxious (Hallowell 1955: 350). Hallowell's interpretation of these characteristics is that they constitute persistent aboriginal components of Ojibwa character structure. In a similar fashion, the Native-Oriented Menomini have been described by Spindler as a group characterized by a non-defensive reduction of emotional display, whose perception is narrowed to only a very selective portion of their environment, and who are further characterized by a non-manipulatory passivity. Outside of the presumed character structure of the Eastern Woodlands, the most widely distributed "aboriginal" characteristics of North American Indians, generally, are given by the Spindlers as non-demonstrative emotionality, great reserve, individual autonomy, and a generalized fear of the world as dangerous (Spindler and Spindler 1957: 148).

On the face of these parallel descriptions it would seem that the Klamath are 121
similar, as regards guarded restraint, to a variety of differently situated, 156
differentially acculturated North American Indian populations, populations with
diverse cultural heritages. These similarities are, of course, susceptible to 157
different explanations. It would be a simple matter, for example, to explain 171
away the similarities as false, that is, as being a function of unreliable tech- 177
niques of assessment and highly ambiguous descriptive constructs or constructs
lacking in validity. Aside from being no explanation at all, this approach would [114]
involve discarding most of the available cross-cultural psychological data as
well as existing assessments of the personality dynamics of North American Indians.
Although this is the course advocated by many methodological puritans in the area
of culture and personality research we choose to accept the similarities as valid.

A second way of explaining these similarities might invoke the assumption of an
underlying "North American Indian" character structure or basic personality ana-
logous to Devereux's delineation of a core personality type for the Plains
(Devereux 1951). Accepting this assumption the persistence of core traits must
then somehow be accounted for. In the instance of the Plains, Devereux presents
one possibility, namely that acculturation has resulted in a "stripped-down"
and impoverished personality type (Devereux 1951: 25). Somewhat differently,
Hallowell and his followers have argued that basic personality somehow manages
to weather the vicissitudes of history and acculturation (Hallowell 1955: 309;
Spindler 1955: 151). The common feature of both of these explanations is the [114]
assumption of an underlying, basic set of psychological characteristics linked
to aboriginal prototypes and common to the population occupying a given culture
area.

In the instance of the Klamath there is very little evidence to suggest, un- 121
equivocally, that guarded restraint was a dominant component of aboriginal char- 156
acter structure. The information is scanty and points to the definite presence
of great reserve and considerable suspicion, but only as one mode of interper- 157
sonal relations among others. Moreover, the Klamath reservation situation does 177
not allow a comparison of differentially acculturated groups after the model
used by Hallowell for the Ojibwa, and the effort to apply Spindler's technique [657]
of an internal comparison raised more problems than it resolved in this setting.
Finally, the evidence from the Klamath psychological data indicates that, if [171]
anything, older members of the tribe are less reserved and suspicious. In short,
we cannot assert from available evidence that guarded restraint was basic or
dominant in aboriginal Klamath character structure. We suggest that at minimum
this characteristic was present, but that it did not receive the emphasis it
now gets.

Aside from this difficulty, there are a great many conceptual problems associated 121
with the postulation of an underlying, basic trait of guarded restraint for the 156
North American Indians generally. We feel that it is stretching the point to
attempt to account for present similarities among unrelated cultures of such 157
different cultural heritages with a construct so broad. Due to the absence of 171
firm measures of aboriginal character structure this approach to explanation also
involves substantial methodological problems which are not easily resolved.

Instead of explaining contemporary similarities in either of these ways it is 121
possible to view modern Indian populations in the light of common acculturative
experiences and their status as dependent wards, as enclaved minority groups, 156
and as persons who have been promised much but who have attained little. Spindler 157
has suggested that when acculturation conditions permit both a ready identification 171
177

121 with the values of the dominant culture and provide access to the institutiona-
156 lized means of attaining desired goals there will be a successful psychological
157 adaptation to dominant standards, but that when these conditions do not exist
171 then there may be overt change in the content of culture unaccompanied by changes
in psychological characteristics (Spindler 1955: 199). In the same way, Hallo-
177 well suggests that constant association with powerful external agents, multiple
conflicting sources of reward and punishment and the ridicule and invidious com-
parisons which too frequently accompany acculturation situations may result in
extreme feelings of insecurity, personality maladjustment, and what he calls the
"frustration of maturity" (Hallowell 1955: 329).

Spindler's dual hypotheses are, of course, not the only alternative consequences of acculturation situations. We feel that between these polarities there are different modes of adaptation open, modes similar to those suggested by Hallowell. [178] We therefore assert, hypothetically, that the defensive, guarded, reserved style of interaction now characteristic of the Klamath is the product of the deterioration and decay of major patterns of aboriginal Klamath culture, a prolonged exposure to and considerable identification with the values and standards of the dominant White society, and the persistent denial of access to the means and instrumentalities necessary to achieve these goals and to live up to the standards. We argue, in this way, that there are a great many similarities between diverse American Indian populations as noted by many observers, that these similarities do not constitute the residue of generic Indian character traits, but that they are a function of a common depressed minority group status within contemporary American society. Our analysis of this is that these components, specifically, the guardedness, the reserve, the suspicion, and the lack of involvement in creative group activity, are very much analogous to what various sociologists speak of as alienation or anomie (Merton 1957: 121-194; Nettler 1957; Seeman 1961).

X Continued

159*
125

(23) Darker inboard portion of top of large red Ds. () It was just the outline here at the top. (Add 26) Both animal-like parts of top grey. I wouldn't know what to call this. It LL some kind of an animal or bug ready to fight...here's the antennae, the eyes, and the mouths, both are open. Wouldn't know what to call them.

Total Time: 23'

Scoring Summary

W	3	M	2	a	6+1
D	12+1	FM	3+1	ad	4+1
Dr	1+1	FMc	2	h	1
d	6+1	FMc'	1	hd	5+1
S	1	FMcc'	1	ntr	6
		mc'C	1	cg	1
		CcF	1	emb	1
R	23+3	FcC	1	at	1
W:M	3:2	Fc	4+1	art	1
M:Sum/C	2:2	Fc±	2+1	Pop	3
Sumc:SumC	9:2	F	2		
Sumc:Sum/c'	9:1.5	F±	1		
IRT	18.9"	Fc'	1		
IRT (col)	13.4"				
IRT (non col)	29.3"				
F+%	94				

Conspicuous Features

(1) low W
(2) high Sum/c
(3) high d

Rorschach Interpretation

159*
157•

The few W, the emphasis on shading, and the large number of d highlight this man's approach to life. He is concerned about minute details and subtle nuances, but relatively neglectful of general considerations or extensive plans for the future. This is both his strength and his weakness. He talks about his "drawing" and comments "I could make a good drawing out of that," but he does not have the motivation, ambition, perseverance, or overall organization which a successful artistic creation requires. He may act the part of an artist, but it is doubtful if he is actually very productive or creative.

On the other hand, this attention to detail enables him to react sensitively and probably with tact in interpersonal relations. He is careful and likely to be concerned with the feelings of others. He rarely acts inappropriately or inconsiderately and, with his above average intelligence, may be relatively successful in life.

The low W and the Sum/c greater than Sum/C would, in a white American, suggest the pattern of the "alpha schizophrenic." Piotrowski's concept of the "alpha schizophrenic" is based on the hypothesis that some people do not manifest overt

159 psychotic symptoms, despite serious emotional disturbance, "because they control,
157 or have reduced, the intensity of their emotional and intellectual processes to such a degree as to produce hardly any specific and easily recognizable schizophrenic symptoms." Their "capacity for energy control (shading) exceeds their capacity for energy output (color)" (Piotrowski & Levine 1959: 223). Thus, having expended all their energy on controlling their behavior and feelings, they are left with little energy for constructive effort and planning (low W).

[171] This pattern may reflect a pathological adjustment in a white American whose culture demands long range planning and constructive effort. In the Klamath
[154] group, however, this emphasis on day-to-day pleasures and consideration for others may be more acceptable than the long range planning and self-aggrandizing behavior which is reportedly becoming the acceptable pattern in American suburbia. If this is true, this subject's adjustment may be perfectly fitted to his environment.

There is, however, additional, independent support for this description of this subject's personality. His preoccupation with the inner details (R2, R4, R24) indicate an approach to life characterized by over-cautiousness —almost suspiciousness — a peering into the situation, rather than an acceptance of it at face value. At the start of the test, he apparently requests clarification of the instructions. The analysis of the movement responses also will support this interpretation.

Despite the verbosity there is actually very little of this man's inner life reflected in this protocol. Rather than reveal himself, the S analyzes the subtle nuances of what is going on around him. He is like the "cat" on Card VIII, "he's watching something...I've no idea (what he's watching)...just watching...". The number of faces and the emphasis on "eyes" (especially the "dark beady eye" on Card IX) are also consistent with the interpretation that we are dealing with a suspicious person — he doesn't trust anyone very far. So all his energy (the little he has) is concentrated on analyzing the possible dangers in any situation, not viewing the situation for all the positive possibilities it offers.

His pace is generally even except for delays to Card IV and VI, the darkest, most ominous of the blots. Is he disorganized by the depressive implications
[154] of these stimuli? If so, we would conclude that he tries to deny the gloomy aspects of life. The sun on Card II is "coming up," not going down and there is a kind of exuberance in his response to Card X. One wonders if he isn't trying to act the part of an optimist, despite occasional qualms about this position.

The only human movement response in the record is R6: "a caricature of two people" and on the inquiry, in response to a question, "I guess they're dancing - jitterbugging I guess you'd call it." The movement was very slow in being verbalized, it was dehumanized (they are caricatures, not real) and it is stereotyped. As such, it probably does not reveal much of this man's conception of his role in
[156] life. Unless perhaps it means that he does not have a well-delineated prototypal role.

The FM, on the other hand, seem to reflect a more consistent image. R10 and R15 (the dog "looking straight at you" and the "watching bobcat") are both scorable as "guarded restraint" responses and indicate that this man's cautiousness, his "watchful waiting" have been past roles and are likely to appear in states of diminished control. He is not guilty or anxious about behaving in this manner.

The few M's, the rejection of Card VII, the long IRT to Card VI, and the great 159*
distance involved in his percept on Card VI point to some difficulties in his 157●
heterosexual adjustment, the precise nature of which cannot be determined.

In summary, this man's reality contact is unimpaired; he has no thinking disorder; he is not psychotic. There is only the remnants of an intelligent, artistic person utilizing his energy to maintain an adequate adjustment to a difficult situation, to continue his interpersonal relationships in a moderately satisfactory manner, and to protect himself from too painful self-awareness.

Susan: Female, Age 24

Background Data

156
*159 Unlike Slim, Susan is not so well liked or respected. The occasion for this is
specific, an unsanctioned pregnancy during her last year in high school and a
[848] more recent marriage to an entirely disreputable Mexican from Utah. This com-
munity evaluation is accentuated because of the very high respect in which her
[582] own family is held. Everyone expected better of Susan.

[626] Susan has worked as a dishwasher in several cafeterias, both on and off the
*159 reservation, and moved to Utah so as to take a practical nursing course. She
found this training uncongenial, met and married her husband, and they returned
[464] to the reservation when his small business failed. Susan is a high school graduate.

[874] Susan's mode of selecting a husband parallels that of her mother, who met her
husband while hospitalized in New Mexico. Her father by birth is an Apache
*159 Indian, and by cultural affiliation a southwestern United States Spanish-American.
593 Without doubt, he is the most autocratic, stern, demanding, rigid adult male on
the reservation. Although a married woman with children of her own, Susan must
ask her father's permission to use the telephone or to walk downtown. Her mother
was Klamath and very well respected for her stable family life and for her active
participation in many community activities. Susan was extremely close to her
mother until her unexpected death several years ago. They were known as an in-
separable pair and her mother never went out of the house without her. The
mother's death was, perhaps, the major cause of Susan's failure to complete her
nurse's training. Susan's illegitimate pregnancy in high school was a consider-
able shock to her mother and is, with her marriage, a continuing source of strain
[155] with her father. Susan evidently feels that her behavior was a contributing
cause for her mother's death. She made a death-bed promise to her mother that
she would not be a loose girl and that she would marry and stay married to one
man. It was shortly thereafter that she married and returned to the reservation
to live with her father. There is much strain within this household, derived
from the relations between father and son-in-law, and from Susan's unsuccessful
efforts to serve two masters, for along with her marital relationship she evi-
[626] dently was trying to act as a replacement for her deceased mother's role. At the
same time her conduct has alienated her from the church, from family friends,
and from the community.

*159 The contact with Susan was made via her father, who told her that she should
[124] cooperate. Her father's motivation in this was not, as may be supposed, the con-
viction that she needed testing because something was wrong with her, but in-
[123] volved a more general sentiment. He felt somewhat honored to have an "educated
man" visit his house and that such a contact was a good experience for his chil-
[593] dren. Susan accepted this like an obedient, dutiful daughter. She came readily,
with no indication of unwillingness, and relations with her were quite good,
perhaps because of the strains of her marginal position and her need to talk
with someone.

*159 Susan seemed an apathetic person whose feelings were dulled. If anything, her
reactions were those of an over-trained, too obedient child. She was not very
•157 responsive or active, and would seldom talk except to answer a direct question.
Then she would, frequently with evident pain and anxiety, describe her feelings
and situations tersely and haltingly. Susan clearly wants more than her life
now gives her, but cannot define her present conflicts or see her way clear to

159* 157● [152]

their resolution. Just as clearly, she is extremely discouraged and demoralized. During the course of testing and questioning she was manifestly anxious from time to time, this being evident from a slight stammer, frequent parapraxes, and a tendency to over correct for errors. To the blank TAT card, #16, she told a story of a girl's reaction to the death of her mother and then cried painfully, trying to control herself.

Rorschach Record

159* 125

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	W M h	14"	To me it LL sm sort of a...you know these fiction vampires. (Starts up from seat). LL a man standing right there and these could be his wings. (AE?) Here's his two hands, his feet. LL he has a belt on. That's about all.

(1) Whole. () The way he's standing...with his hands up in the air ready to pounce on you.

			II
(2)	D F ad	8"	Two little dogs...that's all I can figure...a cpl of little dogs. (AE?) That's about all.

(2) All grey, reversed. () Just the way the heads are shaped.

			III
(3)	D F a	3"	The red in the middle LL a butterfly.
(4)	W M h P		Two figures in the middle LL a cpl of men trying to pick up smth.
(5)	D mC fire		LL a couple of pieces of rope that's starting to burn.
(6)	D Fc ntr		LL a pool of water right here
(Add 27)	D P cg P		A hairbow.

(Add 27) Center red. Now that I look at it again it LL a hairbow. () Just the shape. (3) Center red. () It has the shape. () That's all. (4) All grey. (5) Side reds, reversed. () Just the way it's shaped. () LL the way fire usually flames up...a good start...burning. (6) Bottom center grey. () LL you're looking into...say like a glass ball in the movie and you see some image...and this LL an image of a pool of water. You see a pool of water in it. () No, it's got ripples in it.

			IV
(7)	W F (h)	13"	Now this LL sm kind of a monster...looking up at him at an angle.
(8)	D F- a		And this LL the front part of a snail...the one that's beneath him. That's all I can see on this one.

(7) Whole. () Just an old fiction monster. () You can see his eyes right up in here. (Points to tiny dark slit-like area near top) (8) Bottom detail. () Oh, these two little feelers, I guess they call them on the side and the...horns, right in the middle.

			V
(9)	W F a P	18"	(Following rotation) This LL a bat. That's all I can see on this.

(9) Whole. () Just the way it was shaped.

I Continued

159*
125

(22)	D F	a	P	The ones in blue LL crabs.
(23)	D F	a		This here LL a sea horse.
(24)	Dr M-	h		The two figures on the side, yellow grey and pink, LL some kind of women shooting guns at these sea horses.
(25)	D F	a		One in green LL an insect w/long feelers.
(26)	D F-	a		These two up here LL two bull frogs. That's all I see.

(21) Whole. () The way they're shaped. Like the two in blue are shaped like crabs and the two in pink like sea horses. (22) Side blue. (23) Large pink area. () The way they're shaped, long bodies. (24) Side yellow, grey, and brown. (Brown-grey, D77="guns") (25) All bottom green. () The two little green dots LL eyes kinda bugged out, and then the feelers. (26) Top grey. () Well the way they're shaped...their legs are kinda shaped like frogs, and frog's mouths.

Total Time: 14'

Scoring Summary

W	9	M	4 (1-)	h	6
D	14+1	MC+	1	(h)	2
Dr	4	Mc'+	1	a	12
		FM	2	ad	3
		FMC	1	fi	1
R	26+1	FMc	1	ntr	4+1
W:M	9:6	m	1	cg	+1
M:Sum/C	6:2.5	mC	1	P	5+1
Sum/C:Sum/c	2.5:2.0	CF	1		
M:FM:m	6:4:2	Fc	2		
FC:CF:C	3:1:0	F+	8 (4-) +1		
IRTt	14.8"				
IRTc	14"				
IRTnc	15.6"				
F+%	67				

Conspicuous Features

(1) Quality and number of W
(2) Quality and number of M
(3) Overall balance
(4) 2 m
(5) 5 Pop.

Rorschach Interpretation

159*
157

This is a rich and complex Rorschach protocol and reflects a subtle adjustment to life. Not only does the subject give 6 good quality M, 9 well organized W, Sum/C = 2.5 and Sum/c = 2, but many of her responses are highly integrated and she often utilizes blends of determinants. She has more M than FM and more FC than CF. Thus the test indicates that she is an intelligent, sensitive person who is making an active and appropriate adjustment to life.

She gives an adequate number of responses and, although her approach emphasizes W, her W attempts are usually successful. The occasional slip in organization

*159 (e.g., on Card VIII: "pink bears hanging onto a guy's hat" and "women shooting
●157 sea horses" on Card X) indicate that she may be occasionally loose in her thinking, over-sensitive, and wrong in her interpretations of motives of other people. However, the overall richness, originality and subtlety of the record — along with five popular responses, suggests that she functions more than adequately in most social situations. There is a possibility that her F plus percent is lower than would be consistent with this conclusion, but a careful inspection of the four F minus and one M minus indicate that these are borderline in quality, not really poor.

The most conspicuous feature of the record is the emphasis on movement: her "experience type" is 6:2.5 and there are 3 FM and 2 m responses. Thus, of her 26 responses 11 involve movement; in almost one half of her responses she contributes something to the response which is not in the blot itself. This indicates the characteristic tendency of the imaginative person. She has that life within her which is independent of outer experience. Because of the 9W and Sum/C=2.5, this imaginative life is more than daydreaming; she is able to accomplish something tangible as well.

The content of her responses, however, suggests that what she accomplishes may not always be completely productive or creative; there is too much fear and aggression. The presence of m support this notion. Her very first responses strikes the aggression-fear chord which resounds through the record and probably occupies her thoughts and dreams: ..."a ...fiction vampire...his hands up in the air ready to pounce on you...". Only somewhat less terrifying is "the old fiction monster" on Card IV. We must postulate the presence of a stern punitive parent figure — more likely the father than the mother.

There are, however, plenty of aggressive women in the record as well: on Card X "...women shooting guns at...sea horses" and on Card VII "...a woman walking right down the middle and the two big figures...are running away from her." It is this latter response which reflects the subtlety of this girl's imaginative life, and the flexibility of her adjustment. She seems to be able to experience both the role of the figure whose presence frightens others as well as the role of the frightened one who runs away. This raises the question as to whether the subject is identifying with the aggressor or the victim. It is probably only rarely that the subject identifies solely as one or the other. People who conceptualize the world as a place where one hurts others probably also are able to identify as victims. In fact, one might hypothesize that the extent to which one cannot assume either role constitutes — to that extent — a rigidity of adjustment.

In the present case, there seems to be little difficulty. She can be either an aggressor or a victim, although in terms of number of aggressive vs. victimized responses, we could conclude that she is more psychologically at ease in the role of the aggressor. The likelihood of such overt aggression is very slim. The fact that the aggression appears in M responses, not color responses; the presence of shading; the postural M on Card I; the blocked M on Card III — all these factors reflect appropriate control mechanisms. This assertiveness suggests that the S assumes a dominant role in interpersonal relations. She gives women a "gun" in R24. Is she dissatisfied with the feminine role? Can we postulate the existence of penis envy in this woman? Possibly. But once again these conflicts are well controlled.

It may be that the tension created by this control of her strong aggressive needs constitutes the cause of the occasional lapse of adequate thinking noted in the "pink bear" response to Card VIII. However, the abundant formal indications of good adjustment must be kept in mind: the M: FM: m and the FC: CF: C ratios are all in the direction of "good" adjustment (6:4:2 and 3:1:0 respectively). 159* 157

In a record of this richness there are always a few responses which tease the interpreter because they promise so much and yet somehow their meaning remains elusive. Here I note R5 "...a couple of pieces of rope that's starting to burn... looks like the way fire usually flames up...a good start...burning." This is an original and is scored mC. Piotrowski's principle states that the m reflect "prototypal roles in life which the individual feels to be desirable and pleasant but unrealizable..." (Piotrowski 1957: 210). Can the "burning rope" response be interpreted as indicating that the subject feels it would be pleasant and desirable to "burn up"? Is she using "burn up" in the colloquial sense of experiencing fully and completely a feeling of anger? It would be consistent with our previous statements about her aggressive needs which are not being expressed. She would like to let herself get "burned up" at somebody, but she does not allow herself to.

We have a record, then, of an intelligent young lady who is utilizing her intellect and energy to deal with underlying feelings of tension and aggressiveness. Her major mechanisms appear to be the use of fantasy and intellectualization. [154] She is often tense and anxious, but she is able to deal with these feelings in an appropriate manner.

X Continued 125 159*

dying buckskin in dif. colors. You tan and dye buckskin and it looks like silk.

(15) Whole. See a man can take leather and dye it dif. colors like that.

Total Time: 17'. Note that the average time per response will reflect the unusually high level of verbalism, the anecdotes, comments, and introduced fantasy.

Scoring Summary

W	14	FM+	2	a	4
D	1	FMc'	1	ad	1
		Fc'±	1	art	2
		c'	1	ntr	6
Sum/c'	5	c'c	1	fire	1
Sum/c	2.5	FC	1	geo	2
Sum/C	6	CF	4	hh	1
F%	20	C	1	P	3
F+%	56	Fc±	1		
		F±	2		
		F-	1		

Conspicuous Features

(1) low F%
(2) long total time
(3) Sum/C
(4) no M
(5) obsidian
(6) vague W
(7) Sum/c'

Rorschach Interpretation

In reading this Rorschach protocol, one gets the impression of a gregarious, effervescent, kindly, but ineffectual elderly man. He lives in the past and the future, but not in the present. He probably is unable to deal with the mundane issues of his present reality situation so he concentrates on his past experiences or his future plans. This characteristic trait is reflected in the de-emphasis of D responses and his over-emphasis on vague and undifferentiated whole responses. 159* 157● [154]

His emotional effervescence is reflected in the low F% (20%) and high Sum/C (6). His responses to the test tend to be largely of an emotional nature: shading, color, movement; they are not based on a cold intellectual, rational analysis of the blots. And so his life adjustment would be of this nature, i.e., determined largely by his feelings at any one moment.

One must consider seriously the possibility that this lack of intellectual control bespeaks of a serious psychological disorder --whether it be of an organic or functional nature. Is his response to Card IX a contamination, for example, "it's the shape of Australia and the green suggests grass. It's the color of an island." What is meant by the "color" of an island? To what extent have 157 125

157 125 the characteristics of the blot been organized intellectually and to what extent is he unable to accomplish this analysis? If he cannot accomplish this, there is a disorder of thinking present. Also, his response to Card II: the whole looks like an island, and the red looks like fire, therefore it looks like "fire on an island." At best it is a fabulized combination; at worst it is a contamination. Only a blatant schizophrenic would have gone to the pathological extreme and said "Fire Island." In addition there are no movement responses, there are only three popular responses and the F plus percent is only 56. Where are the control factors? The sum of color responses is 6; the sum of dark shading responses is 5; and there are not the indications of sufficient controls for this amount of emotional energy.

157 153 On the other hand, there are a few responses which suggest that his intellectual ability has been greater than average. His knowledge of the word "obsidian," for example, bespeaks this ability,[1] as does the nature, although perhaps not the feasibility, of his "plans." This is not inconsistent with the statements made previously, but it does suggest a situation marked by increasingly greater interference with intellectual functioning.

157 x159 The absence of any human responses in his Rorschach suggests his lack of concern with genuine interpersonal relationships; all his talk of future plans and business suggests that he is interested in using people for his own gain rather than in having meaningful and warm interpersonal relationships. His reaction times are quick, supporting the notion that he is likely to act in an impulsive manner. Two of his FM (R2, R7) are "flying," reflecting perhaps his tendency to try to escape from the present situation in an unrealistic manner. His other FM response (R1) may be an indication of his view of human relations: aggressive, cold-blooded, eat or be eaten.

158 In summary, then, the test reflects an elderly man, whose intellectual and emotional control appear inadequate. One wonders about the possibility of this man having been a chronic alcoholic and now suffering the effects of diffuse organic brain damage. He "talks big" but he probably doesn't "deliver the goods." There are indications that at one time in his life he may have had better than average intellectual ability and now is going downhill.

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114 823 [1] This is, perhaps, the one place in these ten cases where a lack of knowledge concerning Klamath culture led the analyst astray. The Klamath are astride the western volcanic belt and one of the most frequent kinds of materials used in their tool manufacture was obsidian. Hence Sparrow's use of the word reflects his interest in and awareness of an important local raw material.

*159
156 and anxiety associated with her responsibility in a double murder. She had
given a rifle as a present to a lover, and following a drinking party at her
house he had killed his brother and a stranger with it. Her thinking was extremely morbid. She expresses the wish that the more violent of her previous
husbands would return and kill her.

*159 In the testing and interview sessions Nell's behavior quite definitely was not
representative of her ordinary interactions, and once she felt somewhat relieved
•157 she immediately got more distant, withdrawn, and unapproachable. During testing
[124] she exhibited a high level of manifest anxiety and an erratic pattern of interaction. She was alternately over-talkative and quick to reply or to initiate
[152] a sequence, and then silent and down-cast. Her concern was real, for it was
known that she was under suspicion for complicity in the murder, but this was
not the root of her anxiety. What the connection was cannot be evaluated from
available evidence, but it may be that her conflicts were related to the trouble
her lover had gotten into, for it was his situation she wanted most to talk
[156] about. Normally she is relatively inflexible in her relationships and preserves
her withdrawn and isolated position at all costs. Her behavior then exhibits
a high level of drive, but is poorly organized, confused as to goals, and produces repeated overt conflict with lovers, husbands, her parents, her children,
work associates, other community members, and law enforcement agents. Still,
she expresses the need to be cared for and dominated consciously, as well as the
156 feeling that she was being persecuted and rejected. She feels herself to be an
entirely worthless person, and this evaluation is shared by the community at large.

Rorschach Record

125 Note: With little variation between cards, each was approached by the S. in
*159 the following manner: She would take the card, repeatedly twist it and turn
it, swiftly cover portions of the blot with her hand or fingers, hold it at
arms length, hold it closer and examine it carefully, lay it down momentarily
and stare off "thinking," and then after a silent delay of an average 145" spit
out a series of responses rapidly, as if they were hot peas.

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
		155"	I can look at them any way?...it doesn't even make sense. Do you want me to tell you right now?
(1)	W Mc' h		All I can think of is witches
(2)	Dr F a		and bats
(3)	D M hd		and these two things remind me of hands
(4)	Dr F ad		they look like deer horns, too
(5)	D M hd P		This bottom part, it looks like a woman's body. That's all I can make out.
(6)	d F± music		These look like music. When you look at them they remind me of music notes, but they remind me of music.
(7)	D FM a		Now if I take this picture in half, it reminds me of something...like an animal standing on a high place looking over something...everything below him...that's about all.

(I: W) (What suggested?) Might be this...reminds me of a cape blowing out. These points remind me of a sharp hat. (Cape blowing?) Just like when you see them on

X Continued

(26) D M h These grey ones remind me of two men plotting something. That's it. 125 159*

(24: side blue, D76) Both of them. () Dunno, because of all the lines going out. (25: W) That would be just the colors. (26: all of top grey, D67) Now they're not even shaped like men, but it's just like they were men. (What are they plotting?) I don't know. (Up to no good?) Uh-huh!

Total Time: 39'

Scoring Summary

W	9	M	6	h	6
D	12	MCc'	1	hd	2
Dr	5 (1S)	Mc'	1	a	5
d	1	FM	3	ad	2
		CcF	1	music	1
		CF	3	fi	1
R	27	cc'm	1	ntr	4
W:M	9:8	c'	1	blood	1
M:Sum/C	8:4.5	c	2	cg	1
Sum/c:Sum/C	7.5:4.5	Fc	2 (1/3-)	indian	1
Sum/c:Sum/c'	7.5:3.5	F	6 (1/3-)	clouds	1
F+%	88			fd	1
IRT	123.1"			rec	1
FC:CF:C	1:4:0			P	3

Conspicuous Features

(1) low F%
(2) vague W's
(3) long IRT
(4) nature of M
(5) shading emphasis
(6) R17

Rorschach Interpretation

Of this young woman's 27 responses to the blots only six are based completely on the shape of the blot. The balance of determinants, however, suggests that she probably has sufficient control over this emotional lability to effect an adequate adjustment (M:Sum/C = 8:4.5; Sum/c:Sum/C = 5:4.5). An extensive fantasy life and caution, motivated by fear, enable her to respond in an appropriate and realistic manner much of the time. However, in five of her nine whole responses she pays little or no attention to the shape of the blot (R13, R17, R20, R21, R25). These constitute vague, diffuse responses and indicate that much of her behavior is of this nature: diffuse, over-emotional, poorly controlled, primitive. If she is able to control her affectivity then, it is not the result of an easy, automatic control; it is, rather, control based on fear and inhibition. 157● 159* (125)

Her long delay before responding stands out as a characteristic feature of her record. Her initial reaction time is probably the longest of the sample and is (125)

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125 very extreme when compared with white American Rorschach protocols. What is the meaning of this delay? What psychological processes are going on in the interim? Her subsequent rapid delivery of varied and generally appropriate responses suggests that she is, in fact, concentrating on the task at hand and arriving at feasible solutions to the task which the examiner presented to her ("What does this look like to you?"). However, the question remains: why doesn't she talk during this process?

152 One thing we know: she isn't apathetic or disinterested. On the contrary, underlying her delay, there is considerable feeling. Not only does she give four CF responses, but she gives diffuse responses to the blackness and shading elements of the cards. Her first responses to Cards IV, VI, VII, and VIII are vague, whole responses with little, if any, form element involved. Her delay and control do not allow her to succeed in integrating her feelings and impulses with the objective demands of the situation. In R17, for example, we are able to see the manner in which her mental processes may, on occasion, totally ignore the environmental requirements for appropriate behavior. Her response here is "pictures of duck hunters." On inquiry we learn, however, that there are no ducks and no hunters — only fog. Her perception, then, was of a vague, foggy, diffuse world; she enlivened it and peopled it in an elaborate manner through her own rich imagination. To what extent will she allow this rich imagination to overwhelm the demands of the external world? Her Rorschach responses indicate that this will occur often in a sporadic fashion, but that she will be able to recover from these periods and correctly evaluate the situation once again.

This over-ideation, — especially in the light of R26, "men plotting something" — suggests a distinct paranoid trend. She is suspicious of the motives of others and fearful of what the future has in store for her. Even natural forces are considered powerfully threatening; R20, for example, indicates that lightning is "trying to strike" the house.

An analysis of the roles reflected in the human movement responses suggest that this woman has managed to adopt a wide variety of role patterns. She has human movement responses which are verbally aggressive (R26), grasping (R3), guarded (R9), totally immobile (R15), as well as complex (R23). It is this rich, imaginative fantasy life which enables her to delay responding to the blots for such a long time. The reason she must delay is that she does not trust the environment and the people in it.

Some of her movement responses demand more careful analysis. Three of the eight M are old ladies or witches; witches "are old and mean," she tells us. Since her very first response to the test is also a "witch," it would be remiss not to try to determine the personal significance of this response. We are probably on reasonably safe ground assuming that it reflects her attitudes toward older women and therefore some kind of mother figure. Her mother could not have been very nurturing or warm, nor is she likely to see herself as a particularly nurturing person; she does not feel comfortable giving emotionally to others. On the other hand, R3 suggests that she is not content to "do without." If rewards
158 do not come easily, she is ready to "reach out" for it. At the same time, however, we must note the content of R15: "two girls sleeping...resting...laying." Piotrowski has warned of the pathological significance of this kind of immobile human movement response, suggesting as it does, a willingness to submit to the external forces without a struggle.

Her animal movement responses are also suggestive of a suspicious and hostile role pattern; of the three FM, the first (R7) is "an animal looking over

something," the second (R16) is "a big vulture," the third (R22) is a "cougar 157
stepping lightly." All suggest the general attitude of caution and care which 159*
the subject seems to feel is necessary to avoid dangerous situations.

The comparison of M and FM responses suggests that the subject now enjoys a wider repertoire of roles than she had in the past. No one of her M's, however, is a healthy assertive one; each has its own particular idiosyncratic sign of the subject's inhibition, hostility and suspicion.

One particularly puzzling aspect of her Rorschach summary is the Sum/c:Sum/c' ratio. Piotrowski writes that usually a person gives either light shading or dark shading exclusively. When both are given in substantial quantity, he feels we are dealing with a pathological adjustment. His reasoning appears to be based on his notion that the c reflect a flight response to anxiety, while the c' represent a fight response — clearly incompatible. The present subject appears, indeed, to be torn between these two patterns of adjustment and her behavior is likely to alternate between them. Her actual response to the blots, of long delay followed by "spitting out" the responses, may be a case in point.

This young woman is, then, relying mainly on an extensive fantasy life to cope [154]
with pervasive and powerful pressures both from within herself and from the
environment. Despite a tendency to behave in a diffuse, over-emotional, and
poorly controlled manner at times, she seems by and large to be effecting an
adequate adjustment. Intermittant depressive moods, perhaps temper tantrums on
occasion, punctuate a volatile adjustment.

Rorschach Interpretation

•157 *159 [125] The Rorschach test reflects a person who has managed a satisfactory adjustment largely through the inhibition of whatever originality and creativity he might have possessed. The extremely high a%, the limited range of content, the six populars and the absence of any original responses point to the stereotyped conventionality of this man's psychological process. This apparent dullness is not due, however, to a lack of capacity. His vocabulary, the presence of movement responses, and the occasional well organized whole response indicate that he has the potential to do more with his life than he now settles for.

The effects of this marked inhibition are numerous. Firstly, the extremely long initial reaction times, averaging close to a minute, are indicative of the blocking and caution which marks the record as a whole. Secondly, the color denial in R18 point to the hesitancy with which he approaches emotional situations. Thirdly, the nature of the human movement responses reflect internal conflict, tension, and blocking. The first M in the record (R4) highlights this man's feeling that he is hampered when he tries to express himself. He is not sure whether people can work together or whether efforts at cooperation end in conflict. But even if they work together, people must work extremely hard and are not likely to accomplish very much. This is not to say that this man has not accomplished much in actuality; on the contrary, he probably does work hard and may have substantial achievements to his credit. But, psychologically, he is blocked and wastes much energy in this internal struggle. [156]

The other human movement response (R12) is also not an assertive one; although it is not as blocked as R4, it is a restrained response — probably best classified as "guarded restraint." It does not contradict the interpretation made on the basis of R4. It adds several interesting facets, however. First is the exhibitionistic element; this man needs to be admired. Secondly, both his M's are female — attention is given to the breast in one and to the "big butt" in the other. This preoccupation bespeaks some conflict in his sexual role, which may be one of the dynamic factors in his general inhibition.

[154] A final Rorschach indication of inhibition is the ambiequal experience balance (2:2.5), which according to Rorschach's original monograph points to an obsessive-compulsive adjustment. This man spends time and energy worrying about his psychological conflicts and possibly even about abstract or philosophical issues. For instance, during the inquiry of Card II, he asks, "What's the difference between form and shape?" Although he may merely be expressing some resentment toward the examiner and the inkblots, the other indications of obsessiveness, suggest that this question may be part of an overall pattern of doubting and indecision.

Although many of the FM are also guarded restraint movements, there is one that deserves special attention: "two birds falling to the ground...probably shot." This reflects a role concept in which the subject feels at the mercy of external forces; this would be much more disturbing if it had occurred in an M response. Appearing as it does in an animal movement, it suggests a role which he may experience in states of diminished consciousness or may have lived through in the past. It is clearly a role more appropriate under these circumstances. Is there any significance to the fact that this response follows the very blocked M ("two men trying to lift something")? Does the subject feel that if he makes too great an effort, he will "use up" all his energy and become helpless?

The FM are much more varied than the M and suggest that the S has had to give up certain modes of behavior. The extreme passivity (R5), the aggression (R10), and affection (R3) are all roles which are now outside his repertoire. Although his controls appear adequate, there are indications that some impulses remain which may indeed require control (R17, R8). 157* 159*

All in all, though, the subject appears to have evolved a satisfactory adjustment. Under better circumstances, he might have been freer, more relaxed, and more creative. As it is, he operates under tension, but probably accomplishes a considerable amount.

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159 [156] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White segments
of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but
in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
[871] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
[586] fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of
the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of
numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
[597] an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has
spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was
closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became
dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
[874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She
took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if
she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[857] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child
nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she
had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them
her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., persons
she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an advisor,
[608] and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making
a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
[273] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my
glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its
walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is associated
with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is
noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites,
for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, because
she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

•[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and
biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a
person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps,
like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social
role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she
will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and
quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

Scoring Summary

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W	22+3	M	6+2	a	16
WS	1	FM	5(-1)	ad	3
D	14+9	FMC	1	h	8
d	5	FMc	1	hd	2
		Mc	+2	at	1
		m	1	ntr	5
R	42+12	FCw c'	1	emb	1
IRTc	20"	FCw	1+1	music	1
IRTnc	20.2"	Fc'	3(1-)+1	rc	1
W:M	22:6	Fc	2	hh	2
M:Sum/C	6:4.5	CF	3+1	cg	2
Sum/C:Sum/c	4.5:2.5	FC	2(1-)	obj	1
Sum/c:Sum/c'	2.5:3	F	17(3.3-) + 7(1 2/3-)	P	6+2
M:FM:m	6:7:1				
FC:CF:C	3:3:0				
F plus %	78				

Conspicuous Features

(1) Total R
(2) Emphasis on Movement
(3) EB = 6:4.5
(4) Pop
(5) c'

Rorschach Interpretation

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This is a rich, moderately well-balanced record, except possibly for over-emphasis on W and consequent inattention to the usual details. However, the whole responses are generally adequate, the M responses are good, and the color responses balanced. The subject is apparently a woman who tends to deal with the overall situation, occasionally to the exclusion of the practical details of day-to-day living. She seems to be striving, planning as if in an attempt to achieve something. The high W and the emblem on Card I are consistent with this need to attain something. She has a wide range of interests and possibly is somewhat more cultured than most Klamath (R4, for example).

On the other hand, she is not a "driven" person, in the sense that she does not allow herself to have a good time. During the testing she apparently enjoys herself. She laughs, she sews, and she appears to be relaxed. She gives her rich imagination free rein, and rarely does it get beyond her control. Occasionally it does, as it will with anybody who just lets themselves go. (Note the "monkey standing on his tail" on Card VI).

Only seventeen of her 42 responses involved merely form as a determinant. The other twenty-five responses are determined either by kinesthetic (internal) stimuli, color, shading or a combination of these elements. Thus, the woman is relaxed enough to allow her emotions to influence her responses. Her comments also appear particularly relaxed, e.g., "I dunno what the devil these things are," or "Don't you write that down, you crook!" But what are her emotions and needs? Where in this full record shall we find the clues to her inner life?

Her six movement responses are very diverse: "men dressed as bears dancing," "guys making a puppet show," "fan dancers," "cannibal who just ate a carcass,"

*157 *159 "girls tied together by hair," and "guys on cliff handing something to one another." The "cannibal" and "punished girls" responses are certainly aggressive enough, but what of the cooperation implied in the "guys on a cliff" response? The "men dressed as bears" and the "puppet show" are playful, assertive and free, while the "fan dancer" reflects that extra gaiety of which the subject herself seems somewhat abashed (she "breaks out in laughter"). These are all human movement responses and thus the subject is capable of experiencing [155] all the diverse roles reflected. In a person with fewer other resources this might lead to unbearable conflicts, but in this woman there seem to be the strengths which make it possible for her generally to utilize this flexibility, despite the conflict. These additional resources are reflected in the use of color and shading (dark and light).

Her color responses are generally adequate and of a positive kind — although somewhat shallow. The presence of many responses to the black and white are interpreted by Oberholzer (1944) as further evidence of shallow, lazy affect. Thus, she probably does not get too deeply involved with people. She can get along with others moderately well, but she really does not need them.

[126] The presence of six popular responses and an P plus % above 80 are sufficient indication of her ability to attend to conventional aspects of the environment in a realistic manner, despite her tendency to experience her emotions.

[156] Nonetheless, there is the hesitancy in interpersonal relations which we have seen in most of the Klamath records. Here it is reflected in the disguise needed by the figures on Card II and the several aggressive M and FM responses. And she is still pretty unsure that the recent developments in her life are desirable; perhaps the old method of punishment was the best (R29). Probably the essential conflict in roles described above are the keynote of this woman's adjustment. Shall she "eat the carcass" or "lend a helping hand?" Shall she be a "fan dancer" or is any transgression punishable? The comments during the testing are both joking and veiled hostility: "Are you naturally pigeon-toed or do you just sit that way?"

But despite the richness of the record, the woman behind the record remains elusive. Could it be that her enormous flexibility in role taking has made it difficult for her to carry through one integrated life style to the extent which is necessary to call it her own? The Rorschach suggests that this may be the case. However, it is clear that her overall adjustment is a satisfactory one — perhaps eminently so.

Weasel was tested while in jail. He agreed to take the tests via an intermediary, and was anxious and tense throughout the session. But because of numerous experiences in correctional institutions he was quite suave concerning the test situation; he has had them in batteries, the MMPI, the Bender Gestalt, the Picture Frustration Test, some variant of the TAT, but never the "ink-blot" test. The jail situation provided no special stress, and the testing lead to the development of something of a friendship relation with the examiner.

Rorschach Record

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I (S. entered the testing room visibly agitated, surveyed the room carefully and suspiciously.) What are you going to do to me? () No, I'm not worried, my hands are just sweating, that's all. (Looks under table at tape recorder) That isn't on, is it? () Etc.
(1)	W F emblem	30"	(Laughs) And is this supposed to LL smth? Well... well...it LL some kind of...Well I don't know. If it wasn't for the little spots it would LL some kind of coat of arms. (AE?) Trying to think of smth I seen one time...may be in fiction
(2)	D Fc (h)		A long, coated jelly...looked like that. Some kind of an animal...it was in this stuff, this jelly; but I don't know what this stuff wd be out here. (AE?) Maybe I'm kinda dense, but no more out here.

(1) Whole. (What kind?) I dunno to be truthful. () No, just the way it's shaped. I never have seen many coats of arms, but that's what it puts me in mind of. (2) Center detail, D1. () I dunno, it was supposed to be transparent. It was fiction, now I remember it. Some people was supposed to go to the moon in a rocket and came back with it. After it started growing it turned into a great big monster, a show on TV or a movie. (Fc here, as shading determined percept, which was seen as a figure thru the transparent jelly)

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(3)	W,S c'C blood bullet hole	40"	LL a bullet hole. When you press the gun up close to smth and it goes off and makes this powder burn. The red spots LL they're blood. (AE?) That's about it.

(3) Whole, Space. () Just the blackness. I never have been close to a powder burn, but that's what it LL. () Those red spots. Maybe it just dropped down up there, but it LL it's splattered there (bottom red).

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
		27"	Doesn't look like anything, drawing a blank
(Add 9)	Dr Fc'C a, blood		Blackbirds with blood from their fighting.

(Add 9) (Anything now?) Is that the way I had it before? () Now it LL a cpl of black-birds. I dunno what this could be unless it was blood from their fighting. () I see their head and their beak and their little wing. () Dunno, they're black and the shape of their head and beak. () The red spots. (Entire top half of card from "waist" up, including reds)

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R	8+1
W:M	7:0
M:Sum/C	0:4.5
Sum/C:Sum/c	4.5:2
Sum/c:Sum/c'	2:1.5
IRT	37"
IRT (color)	46"
IRT (nc)	28"

Conspicuous Features

(1) low R
(2) no M
(3) high Sum/C
(4) Content: R3, 9, 1
(5) aggression
(6) test-taking attitude
(7) vague W's

Rorschach Interpretation

*159 •157 Aggressiveness, almost of a murderous kind, is the first impression one gets from this Rorschach record. Despite the fact that he gives only nine responses, we finish reading the record with the feeling that we know a great deal about this man, but we are no longer convinced of the extent to which he is comfortable with his feelings of hostility.

[158] Perhaps the single most conspicuous feature of the record is the blatant preoccupation with violence, especially in the context of such a brief record and in the light of the personalized quality of the verbalization: "When you press the gun up close to something and it goes off and makes this powder burn — the red spots look like blood." In addition to this hostile content (R3 and R9), analysis of the scoring summary indicates that the subject has inadequate control of these impulses. His Sum/C is 4.5, which is very high in a record of only nine responses, and there is no M and only one shading response. (After much deliberation, it was felt that there was insufficient evidence to score shading in R5.) Furthermore, only one of his responses was determined by the shape of the blot alone, indicating that in practically all situations the subject is likely to be directed by impulses and feelings, rather than by intellectual considerations. The possibility that the seven whole responses constitute ego control and personality organization is contradicted by an inspection of the nature of the W. Of these seven W responses, five and possibly a sixth must be considered vague, diffuse, primitive responses to the global impression of the blot.

There are a few possible indications of some control mechanisms which operate sporadically, however. For one thing, he does not blurt out his responses impulsively; there are relatively long initial reaction times to all the cards. Secondly, he does give attention to the shading elements (R2 and possibly R5). Nevertheless, these constitute insufficient controls for the tremendous energy available (Sum/c:Sum/C = 2:4.5).

The long initial reaction times, the few R and many of the verbalizations point to a guarded, suspicious approach to life. This finding, combined with the absence of M, is strongly suggestive of a paranoid adjustment. Life in general, and human relationships in particular, is seen as a struggle: the response closest to an M is the "fighting blackbirds." However, the subject does not have very strong attitudes about interpersonal relations. His feelings about people are shallow and ill-defined. He does not have close friendships: the figures on Card I, often seen as human, are seen by him through transparent jelly; he rejects Card III suggesting a human movement shock; and his few R suggest that he is unwilling to extend himself in the test situation.

[156] The "coat of arms" response suggests that what little feeling he has for human relationships is focused on the overt signs of social status. He is likely to

be very much involved with how he appears in the eyes of others. This attitude, 159*
together with his hostility and lack of impulse control, may get him into con- 157●
siderable trouble through inappropriate attempts to attain some semblance of
what he considers status. This may appear as "attention-getting" mechanisms. [156]

There is no need to ponder the question of whether this man is actually the aggressor or the victim. He is both. At times, he probably instigates the trouble. But just as often he is likely to be punished for his transgressions. On occasion he may act aggressively as a result of some fancied aggression. He doesn't trust anyone; no one is likely to trust him. He is essentially an isolated person. His minority group status probably fits easily into this conception of his role in life and his essential feelings of isolation and rejection. [156]

However, his last responses (especially R6 and R8) appear to raise doubts about some of our interpretations. These almost effeminate —artistic, at least — color responses: "coral rocks" and "modern art," coming at the end of the record as they do, indicate that beneath this belligerent facade, we may come upon gentleness, sensitivity, and passivity which might surprise us. He is capable of moments of deep positive, perhaps aesthetic, feeling. We must raise the hypothesis that this young man is really a "softie" who is trying to deny this trait in himself or, in other words, he is just a big bluff.

This pattern may suggest the psychoanalytic hypothesis of paranoia, namely
repressed and projected homosexuality —if we define sexuality in broad enough
terms. The suspiciousness, belligerence, interpersonal isolation and latent
aesthetic sensitivity all are consistent with this notion. At least some sexual [158]
disturbance seems indicated by the way he mutilates the fox skin on VI; all the
extensions are cut off.

One aspect of this record remains puzzling: the relation between the c and c'. We get dark shading (c') on at least two occasions (R3, R9) and light shading on at least one (R2). If R5 is scored light shading, there is a balance of dark and light shading responses and indication of anxiety, control and neuroses. If, on the other hand, R5 is a dark shading response, the balance of determinants becomes even more extreme in the direction of lack of control. Piotrowski's principle is that the c' are given by people who fight rather than flee from anxiety provoking situations. My overall impression is that this subject is more likely to behave in the "fight" manner and thus get himself into a considerable amount of difficulty, but the possibility that R5 is a shading response is unsettling.

The m response on Card IX, when interpreted according to Piotrowski's principles, indicates that the subject would like to "explode" but feels incapable of this kind of behavior. Since this is a subjective feeling, it does not contradict the position that he does act out in an uncontrolled manner; rather, it suggests that, despite sporadic outbursts, he feels tense, as if he is operating under a constant head of steam that doesn't let up, even when he does blow off on occasion.

This m, the possibility that R5 is a c response, and the positive affect expressed in R6 and R8 indicate that, although the subject has violent moods, he is far from comfortable in this role. He is tense, anxious, frightened. There may be something about him which, at times, another person can understand and sympathize with.

In general though, he is wary of others, they are wary of him, and "trouble is brewing." [156]

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 87

Background Data

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156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, particularly
in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
[593] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma
William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
[733] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
[83] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by
three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
[587] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She
[871] completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and
she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri,
[178] California, and Mexico.

[657] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father
for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation
[464] and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous
bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal
penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her
sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five,
and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their
violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how
such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
[577] Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams
is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
[177] a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values,
and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of
either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and
has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[191] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her
English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that children
[871] today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I
can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
[593] no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her
children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this respect,
[603] Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
[867] spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, behaviors
in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of
place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations
with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at
riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them
coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
[657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was
carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
[871] and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who
[177] promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were rejected
from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
● 157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate interchanges
156 and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses

are marked by alternate periods of (brooding?) silence and she is more than a little pretentious, as for example her response to TAT card #1, "Oh, that's that famous European violinist...Levi Strauss." Her life has been characterized by many extremely stressful situations, but she does not seem easily discouraged, and maintains her vigor and independence. She tends to over justify herself, as if she had some doubt about certain of her characteristics, or as if she had strong feelings of uncertainty or inadequacy. This is in strong contrast to her leadership role in her family, and her domination of many social situations. She is also somewhat excitable and tends to directly express her emotions more than many other Klamath. 159* 157• [156] [155] [156]

The working relationship with Grandma was one of the best. When she first learned the writer was an Anthropologist she warmed to him immediately and volunteered to take the tests. She was tested "on the job," at the top of a 200 foot fire lookout tower in the midst of the Klamath forest. 159* 124 [123]

Rorschach Record

159* 125

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			I
(1)	Dr FM a	11"	I DK what this represents...it LL...does it have to be the whole or part or what? () I imagine it LL a bat.
(2)	Dr F a		Then again a crab, and I DK what else it LL... there's the feelers.
(Add 24)	Dr F- at		More vertebrae

(1) Top third of card. Oh, I've seen a lot of bats LL that flying around at night ...with wings all spread out and you can't see nothing but the wings. (2) Top ¼ of D1. (Add 24) Card down, entire center section extending to tips of Spaces. Now if you turn it around upside down it LL some more of the vertebrae. () What? Oh, just, just...I DK. Everything has a vertebrae and that's why.

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			II
(3)	W M h	14"	By golly...I DK what this LL. You know my trouble is I don't read very much. What would this LL... just a quick glance at it...it LL a bunch of... a cpl of men going to test their strength...their hands clasped together...all tied together...men in disguise...can't be women.
(Add 25)	Dr F- at		Another vertebrae and part of brain
(Add 26)	D FM ad P		Two bears putting their noses together.

(3) Whole. (Add 25) Card down, Space and D11. Now I'll turn it upside down. Now LL another part of the vertebrae and maybe a little part of the brain. () I dunno! Just because it's going up that way. (C?) Oh no. The brain is supposed to be grey...grey matter they say. (Add 26) Card down, D8. Then this black part LL two bears putting their noses together...their little ears sticking over...why they're identical aren't they?

No. of Resp.	Score	Time	Response
			III
(4)	W M a	3"	These LL...still LL sm...I'm not sure it is...LL a These little grasshopper features LL grasshoppers... grasshoppers at play...they're playing.
(5)	D CF at		LL the throat and lungs and stomach and everything

*159
125

Scoring Summary

W	7	M	2	h	1
D	12+3	FM	2+2 (1-)	hdx	1
Dr	3+3	F	13 (6 1/3-) + 7 (5-)	a	7+1
d	+1	C	1	ad	2+1
S	+2	CF	2	at	10+6
		Fc'	+2	fd	1
				germs	+1
R	22+9			P	6+2

IRT	17.2"
IRTc	28.6"
IRTnc	5.8"
W:M	7:2
M:Sum/C	2:3.5
Sum/C:Sum/c	3.5:0
Sum/c:Sum/c'	0:2
F+%	52

Conspicuous Features

(1) high at
(2) low F+%
(3) FC:CF:C ratio
(4) hdx
(5) reverberation of spinal column and brain
(6) "disguised" M

Rorschach Interpretation

*159 *157 The Rorschach reflects a woman who is extraordinarily preoccupied with disease (at = 10+5). If she is not physically ill, she is hypochondriacal and perhaps suffering from somatic delusions (at R; F+%, 52). She is likely to be very ill at ease in interpersonal relationships (M on Card II), probably because she is demanding of attention from others (C:CF:FC). I wonder if she doesn't use physical illness in order to be taken care of.

[156] The test results indicate that she views interpersonal relations as terrifying struggles in which she may be "demolished" by others. Since her only M in human content is "a couple of men testing their strength" and her Sum/C:Sum/c is 3.5:0, we would say this is how she acts in interpersonal relations at this time. She "tests her strength" — but cautiously. The figures are "in disguise," they are not to be trusted. In meeting people she has to decide whether she is strong enough to be safe, or whether they are so strong that they would harm her.

The FM, on the other hand, are aggressive "climbing up to demolish something," "germ attacking the lung," "bugs attacking throat." This is the enormous aggressiveness of which she is afraid, but it also indicates that she is capable of experiencing this kind of hostility toward others. Under stress or "in states of diminished consciousness" we may see some extremely aggressive behavior on her part.

Since I scored R20 as a pure C response and there are 2CF and no FC, we must conclude that S does become overly emotional at times. They may be "crying spells" or expressions of the anger indicated in the preceding paragraph which she is unable to control. I scored R8 and R12 as Fc' but they may be Fc. If they are Fc' they support the notion that our S has little control over her feelings. The great variability of her initial reaction times also bespeaks of sporadic impulsivity and feelings of anxiety.

*159 158 The more one thinks about it, the more pathological the picture becomes. F plus percent is only 52 despite the 6 populars; there is a positional response on Card IX; there are a few peculiar verbalizations, e.g., the vertebrae and brain being referred to as "the center of man's being" and "the main part of life and

the person's being;" there are overly emotional reactions to blots: "it's terri- 159*
fying if some kind of disease attacks you." And finally all the color comment 158
indicates she is affected by the color but cannot integrate it appropriately.
Thus, she responds emotionally but cannot bring these feelings under control.
A statement of her feelings of impotence or "intellectual passivity" (Piotrowski
1950) is her comment on Card III: "But why the grasshoppers should be playing,
I don't know."

Are there any personality strengths to balance this pathological picture? Just 159*
the six popular responses. These are liberally sprinkled throughout the record.
We would have to conclude then that she is generally able to respond in a socially 157●
acceptable and conventional manner. However, the somatic preoccupations and
poor emotional control are evident throughout. She seems to make an effort to
maintain satisfactory relations with others. She is ready to accept responsi-
bility for difficulties ("You know my trouble is I don't read very much"); al-
though distanciated, her second M response is the pleasant "grasshoppers playing;"
she does respond positively to the "lovely coloring." However, these are all
based on content, rather than determinants, and as such are probably much more
superficial indicators.

This personality description would not be complete without at least some comment 121
concerning the possible influence of the age of the subject and the role expec- 888
tations of this age group among the Klamath. Since this analysis has been done
without the benefit of this latter information, it can only be remarked that, to 157
the extent that elderly people are allowed greater latitude in their behavior,
to that extent this woman's adjustment will be considered acceptable, rather
than pathological. In any case, however, she is probably terrified by disease
and death. One wonders if the change in cultural attitudes toward disease and
death may have left her bereft of a set of beliefs which might have helped her
at this point in her life.

159*
156
593
[871]

Fidel quit school because of what he defines as "family trouble," and this failure is probably equally due to his lack of support and training at home, as well as from the mildly hostile, indifferent posture he maintains. He expresses bitter contempt for his family, for the filthy house, for the lack of regular hours, and for the frequent squabbles. His isolation from this group is adequately measured by his lack of knowledge of the interests and affiliations of family members. His contempt for them is balanced by his father's derogatory, competitive attitude towards his son and his mother's indifference. Fidel stands thus, mildly hostile, ambivalent, and infinitely bored, at the brink of independent adulthood. 159* 157

Rorschach Record

159*
125

No. of Resp.	Score			Time	Response
					I
(1)	WS	FM	ad	2"	Well I dunno...could be some kind of animal. (AE?) Just LL a dog or smth looking at you...its ears hanging over. (Rotates card) How are you supposed to look at it, anyway? () (Rotates card and looks at it briefly, but not attentively, looks at E. and waits for him to finish writing.)

(1) Whole, space. () Well—the ears hanging over the side and the two eyes (S) and the mouth (S). LL its head. () LL it's looking at you.

No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						II
(2)	D	FMc'	ad	P	27"	(Much rotation) (Laughs) LL a couple of dogs w/their noses together—how come they put different colored ink in them? That's the way it looks—both ways,
(3)	D	FMc'	ad			upside down and the other way.

(2) All grey. () Just the black part. () Well—it LL a dog's head w/ears sticking out and the nose up against the other one. () Just the...it LL the shadows of two dogs w/their noses together. () Just the outline—the silhouette.

No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						III
(4)	W	M	h	P	17"	This one LL two guys dancing. (AE?) I can't make anth else out on there.

(4) All grey. () Just the black part. (Men?) Well, I dunno. Could be a cpl of kids cause that's the way they dance. (Boys/girls?) Could be either a boy or a girl or two boys or two girls...just LL people dancing.

No. of Resp.	Score			Time	Response
					IV
(5)	W	FM	a	33"	I don't know what the heck this is...some kind of bug with wings or (rotating card)
(6)	D	F	ad		some kind of horse head or something...everybody sees these different, huh? () Nothing else but a big black ink spot.

(5) Whole, down. () I dunno what kind...just like it's reaching for you or smth. (Frightening?) Could be. (6) Headlike bottom center, D23, down. looking at it from above.

No. of Resp.	Score				Time	Response
						V
(7)	W	FM	a	P	17"	That LL a bat with its wings out—down. Turn him
(8)	W	FM	a			upside down and it LL you got him spread out.

159*
125

W:M	7:6
M:Sum/C	6:0
M:FM:m	6:6:0
IRTc	18.6"
IRTnc	27.5"

Conspicuous Features

(1) M = 6
(2) FM = 6
(3) No. C.R.
(4) R 14
(5) Range of content
(6) Also sees percepts upside down.

Rorschach Interpretation

159*
157
[156]

Three aspects of this Rorschach protocol stand out: the absence of color responses; the emphasis on movement (of his 14 scorable responses, 12 involved human or animal movement); and the nature of the movement response on Card VIII (R12): "He looks like he's got a grin — I mean a mean look on his face." The content of this movement response suggests that the subject is strongly ambivalent about his role in human relationships. His immediate response to an interpersonal situation is an open, friendly one, but for some reason he shifts to a more aggressive menacing role. It is as if he tries to conceal his immediately positive response to people behind a "mean look."

On the face of it, the absence of color responses seems incompatible with the hypothesis that this man is involved emotionally — either positively or negatively — with other people. However, when we note that the subject is not indifferent to the color aspects of the cards, the interpretation becomes not inconsistent, but richer. In response to Card II, for example, he states, "How come they put different colored ink in them?" The absence of color responses suggests not that the subject is uninterested in personal relationships, but that, since he is unable or unwilling to integrate the color aspects of the blot with the shape of the blot, he probably reacts to the emotional aspects of interpersonal relationships, but does not make the effort required to integrate his feelings with the demands of reality.

How are we to interpret the fact that of 14 responses the subject has 12 movement responses? We must conclude that he has a rich and extensive inner life; he probably gives much thought to the significance and meaning of a situation without giving any overt indication of this thought. The fact that he waits for the examiner to finish writing, for example, indicates that he is aware of what is going on around him.

Five of this subject's six human movement responses are of the guarded restraint variety: "two girls looking at each other," "a man standing there" and so on. His prototypal role, then, involves watchful waiting and a tendency to inhibit the expression of feeling; this inhibition has apparently generalized to a considerable extent (narrow range of content). Perhaps the most revealing response, though, is the frightening "bug with wings" on Card IV. There is a feeling of dark shock here; he tells us after 33 seconds that he doesn't know "what the heck this is." And, on the basis of the inquiry, "It's reaching for you or something" we would have to conclude that the subject is frightened by the aggression implied here.

On four of the cards — involving eight of his fourteen responses — the subject gives an identical response to the blot when seen upside down as when seen right side up: "That's the way it looks — both ways, upside down and the other way." Although this mode of response does occur on occasion, rarely does it assume

*159 the proportions it does in this case. What is the meaning of it? There seem
•157 to be two general kinds of explanations possible. The first involves the notion that the subject's perception is generally vague, so that the specific requirements of the blot are of little importance. He gives the response largely based on internal needs, so it matters little which way he holds the blot.

The second possibility suggests that the subject is indecisive; he can't make up his mind. He isn't able to decide which end is up. These two possibilities are not at all exclusive and there is reason to believe that both are involved (e.g., he can't decide on the sex of the figures in R4; his responses are not well delineated; and on two cards he never does make up his mind).

The most disturbing aspect of the protocol, however, is R13: "something with a fish coming out of its head." This is at least a fabulized combination and as such indicates a looseness of associative processes — a disorder of thinking. The fact that he gives it without comment and that it appears in a relatively brief record makes it more ominous. It suggests strongly that this man is not always able to control his thinking and that he may come to unrealistic conclusions based on very slim evidence.

Since there is not much evidence of strong feelings, however, there seems to be no reason to think that the subject will act in a peculiar fashion. He may have some strange ideas, but they are not likely to influence his behavior very much.
[156] The protocol suggests that this man actually tries to do very little. Because of his fear and distrust of others, he tries to hide from them — possibly behind a somewhat belligerent facade.

Lily: Female, Age 15

Background Data 159*

Lily is an attractive young high school freshman. She is now repeating her 156
freshman year, due to various difficulties the year before. One of these in-
volved her cursing the principal, for which she was temporarily expelled, to [873]
be returned by her mother the next day. She spent the rest of the year in
silent rebellion. This incident is not too serious, for more than anything [561]
else it indicates the strength of her attachment to a close-knit girls peer-
group which is slightly wild and which makes it a matter of honor to oppose
adults. There is little additional evidence of any serious hostility or re-
belliousness. Lily is the eldest of two children; she has an elder half-sister,
her mother's illegitimate daughter; and she has lived all of her life on the
reservation.

Lily's major activities and concerns are those of a typical, small town teen- [883]
age girl. She attends school, "hangs around" a local teen age center, flirts
with the boys — White and Indian, dances — at her home or the home of a friend,
and listens to records. She comes from one of the most stable families on the
reservation. Her mother is Klamath, a grade school graduate who worked her way [874]
through two years of business school, evenings, in a nearby city. Her mother in
recent years has begun to assume a position of leadership in certain community [571]
activities, particularly recreation and education. Additionally, she has for
long been the advisor for numerous relatives. Her mother verbalizes great fear
and anxiety associated with this "getting out" and has done so only under con-
siderable external pressure. Her father is a California Indian who is the model [177]
of local White conceptions of masculinity. That is, he is vigorous and physi-
cally powerful, a hard, reliable, steady worker in a logging company, a hard [464]
"Saturday Night" style drinker, absolutely fearless, and a masterful fighter
in brawls. His fights are the focus of several local folk anecdotes, and suggest [157]•
his excellent reputation, for he protects the underdog, takes on the bully (by
the half-dozen, if necessary), neatly dispatches all and never bears a grudge.

Lily is a more flexible and less submissive person that she would seem on first 159*
acquaintance. The difficulty with knowing her is that she wears a completely 157
impassive, rigid, unexpressive mask before all. One morning after knowing her
for a year the writer walked by her and then stopped, mildly startled, for Lily
had smiled (slightly) and mumbled "Good Morning" under her breath. She is also [123]
less inhibited than this mask of impassivity would suggest, as is evident from
her behavior with her peers and parents, but in all instances she prefers to
communicate with slight gestures and to make do with very few words. She is,
in fact, a remarkably self-possessed, poised, and reserved adolescent girl, a
consequence of which is that she is far more graceful than many other local girls
her own age. But, generally, her responses only minimally involve her with 159*
others. She is always among people, but not always with them. Her reserve does
not dissipate much with continued acquaintance, but is a constant feature of her 156
mode of adjusting to others. She never talks freely and her terse responses to
the blots and TAT cards are paralleled by an equal economy in all personal re-
lationships. There is no evidence to suggest that she is suspicious or distrus -
ful of others, although she can be quite persistent in avoiding people she does
not like.

VIII Continued 159*

It LL brush. (Fire?) This bottom part. (Bottom pink & orange) () The color didn't help for the fire. () Down in my Dad's tribe they're medicine men. They go out in the hills and stand over a fire and sing and it's supposed to get whoever they sing for well. (11) Both side pink, D57. Just LL a bear climbing up a hill or something. Here's his front legs, and his rear ones, his ears and his face. 125

IX

Rejection 27" I don't see anything on this one.

X

(12) D FM a,(h) 31" This up here LL a monster I seen in movies.
(13) S F- hd This LL a face, eyes, nose, and a moustache.

---

(12) All top grey, D67. () I seen a movie and it looked something like that... a little bat like thing (points to D68)...they stick fangs in people's necks and make these people obey this monster. () The center part is the monster. (Center column of top detail) (13) Bottom center S, below & including middle blue, inside side pinks. It made me think of those old time bartenders with their hair (center blue, D70) parted in the middle and their moustache (bottom green, D70) curled up.

Total Time: 12'

Scoring Summary

W	5 (1S)	M	3	h	4
S	1	Mc'	1	hd	1
D	7	FM	3	a	3
R	13	FMc'	1	ad	2
		F+	3	bell	1
		F-	1	mask	1
		Fc	1	cg	1
				P	6

W:M	5:4
M:Sum/C	4:0
Sum/C:Sum/c	0:1.0
M:FM:m	4:4:0
IRT	15.8"
IRTc	13.4"
IRTnc	18.8"

Conspicuous Features

(1) EB = 4:0
(2) 8 of 13R either M or FM
(3) 6 Pop
(4) Phobic responses (R6, R12)

Rorschach Interpretation

This adolescent girl — for whom "a smile is rare" — appears to be an intense, 159* introspective person: movement is involved in eight of her thirteen responses. 157 But there is insufficient responsiveness to external stimuli (no color responses with the possible exception of R10) and too much of her fantasy appears morbid or at least phobic ("Dracula" on Card IV and "monster" on Card X). Is she really [156] this terrified of authority? The test suggests "yes," but that she won't admit it readily.

159
157 There are no indications of peculiar thinking or intellectual impairment, but the total absence of color responses does reflect a poverty of emotional responsiveness. She appears to be a laconic, taciturn youngster. Her free associations are stated briefly and not spontaneously elaborated.

157 The Rorschach gives us, then, the picture of a stereotyped, overly conventional
156 adjustment. She is a "good" girl who does what she is told and uses her fantasy
to gain the little instinctual gratification she gets. The fact that her smile
[154] comes as she is describing "teenagers dancing" suggests that, like most youngsters
her age, peer relationships are particularly important to her and that this is
not an area of particular threat. It is probably the male authority figure who
is her difficulty.
*159

156 This protocol contains the first overt comment concerning an acculturation
177 process. One can perceive her distance from her father in her discussion of
R10; "...it's supposed to get whoever they sing for well." Her objectivity
here indicates that she is a part of the generation which is undergoing accul-
turation. She can apparently look, with distance, at her father's tribe's cus-
[121] toms. One wonders to what extent this cultural change is a factor in her diffi-
cult relations with her father, or whether — with Freud — it's the "universal
Oedipus complex" we see here.

This is a conventional record to the point of constriction: 5 or 6P; F plus per-
cent adequate; several M; no major shocks. Only the absence of color responses
stands out. We are left with the question of how and why this youngster has
[121] buried her feelings so completely? Although this is a brief record, we hazard
the guess that it is the stress of acculturation which has created the over-
control which characterizes this girl's adjustment (R10).

Section IV. Summary and Conclusions

In concluding this report rather than to attempt a detailed synthesis of all 121
aspects of the preceding case studies we intend to pursue some of the implica-
tions of certain striking characteristics of Klamath personalities. Aside from
this descriptive effort we also intend to derive, hypothetically, an association
between these personality attributes and Klamath acculturation experiences.

Certainly the most pervasively shared attribute of Klamath personalities is the 156
one we have chosen to call guarded restraint. This label is intended to desig- 157
nate the general attitude towards self and interpersonal relationships which has
emerged from the analysis of Rorschach records, life-history materials, and ob- [12]
servations of behavior. Guarded restraint, therefore, may be taken to mean the
prevalent suspicious and guarded attitude towards life of the Klamath subjects,
their wariness as regards significant others, and their apprehensions as regards
their environment generally. This attribute, as we conceive it, has many facets.
It includes an unconscious as well as a more deliberate muting of responsiveness
to the actions and the mere presence of others, a shallow, non-committal attitude
towards membership in various social groups and the goals of these groups, and
a characteristic which ranges from simple lack of trust to outright fear of the
behavioral milieu.

Stated in largely psycho-dynamic terms the notion of guarded restraint may seem 121
somewhat ambiguous. The empirical referents on the level of observable behavior
are, however, highly visible. They may be observed in a wide variety of be-
havior settings, from the informal and unstructured relations within a teen-
age clique or an adult drinking group to the more organized setting of the family
and household.

The psycho-cultural phenomena we have labeled as guarded restraint over-laps 121
with what others have called Klamath individualism. Seen in this perspective, 157
we may, perhaps, introduce a somewhat richer way of analyzing and gaining in-
sight into the nuances of Klamath behavioral styles. This approach is, we hope,
something more than just a different way of looking at the manifest separatism
and incohesiveness of family groups, a more fruitful manner of examining the
atomistic structure of Klamath reservation sodalities, and a means of appreciating
the psycho-dynamic causation of the constant fractionation of Klamath political
groupings. The evidence of these case studies, then, suggests that few Klamath [156]
are capable of fully identifying with other persons or of committing their loyal-
ties to concerted group action.

We feel that this major descriptive conclusion is, in large part, a product of 125
the case study method used in analyzing the Rorschachs. Moreover, it is our 128
belief that this conclusion could not have been obtained from an analysis of a
composite psychogram based on formal scores. As anyone who has ever read reports
based upon the statistical or modal personality approach well knows, such reports
are ridden with dynamic cliches and are largely sterile until filled out with
examples of the qualitative features of individual records. In this report
Levine has entirely discarded the lumping of group scores and concentrated upon
an analysis of qualitative features of individual records buttressed and suppor-
ted by the use of formal scores and relationships. The importance of this approach
is shown by the fact that the reserve and guardedness that characterizes Klamath [157]
does not always show up in individual test records in the same form. Most fre-
quently an important clue is had from the presence of restrained, watchful, wary
figures in human and animal movement responses. Indeed, this type of movement

125
128 response provided some of the first clues as regards this important personality attribute (Clifton 1960). But other test evidence, as well as life history and
[157] observational data, leads to the same conclusion, regardless of the presence or
[124] absence of a restrained movement response.

One facet of Klamath guardedness and restraint is the general reluctance of
157 Klamath individuals to reveal or communicate to others their needs, wishes, in-
156 terests, or concerns. This may, in part, be seen as a function of suspicion,
of fearful concern with the possible reactions of others, but another characteristic of Klamath persons may be associated with this reserve. The reference here is to a general, overt, and conscious devaluation of the self. The Klamath sel-
[125] dom have much good and often much that is bad to say of themselves. Although this characteristic is not directly manifested in the Rorschach records, these records do indicate the presence of multiple and conflicting, or unacceptable prototypal roles.

Another aspect of Klamath guardedness seems to be a precipitate of the very high investment of energies in sheer self-protecting maneuvers, and the time spent in the avoidance of entangling committments to group life. We feel that the Klamath have so over-invested in reserve and self-protection that they have little time or energy to expend on other activities or upon other aspects of their situation. This, we feel, may be responsible for another shared component of Klamath character, their inability in laying plans for the future, and the minimal expenditure upon creative effort. By way of contrast, the Klamath do concentrate upon the superficially rewarding or painful aspects of their current situation.

121 The analysis so far points to a general isolation of Klamath individuals from
156 significant, durable human associations. Given the facts of Klamath reservation
155 culture we consider that this characteristic is probably adaptive, although it might not seem so if measured against an ideal model of mental health based upon
65 the functioning of west European, urban, middle-class persons. Considering the
[171] realities of the Klamath situation, guarded restraint in itself may hardly be considered as pathological. Yet so great a reserve and so extensive an insula-
[158] tion of the self from important human transactions may be a major source of stress and may predispose Klamath individuals to variant forms of mental illnesses.

[157] Several of the cases contained in this report provide evidence for this hypothesis.
158 In the instance of Slim, for example, we find that a superficially adequate adjustment may simply be the manifestation of an obsessive control over and reduc-
[121] tion of emotional and intellectual processes to the point of a tentative diagnosis of alpha schizophrenia. The cases of Susan, Nell, Bidel and Sparrow are examples of extremely loose, unrealistic and disorganized thinking with overtones, in some instances, of an almost paranoid suspiciousness, or a reliance upon bizarre, highly personal fantasy. Evidence for a well defined idiosyncratic role or personna which is very poorly integrated with the rest of the personality is seen in the cases of Slim's false optimism, Carrie's brashness, and Aunt May's superficial warmth. We suggest that these more disordered aspects of adjustment may profitably be seen, in part, as a function of a generally poor contact with others, reduced insight into the self and others, and extensive social isolation. The mediating difficulty may well be a relative absence of opportunities to validate beliefs and convictions. Thus in many respects adaptive, Klamath guarded restraint probably serves as a precipitating factor in thinking disorders, sociopathic adaptations, alpha schizophrenia, and paranoid delusions.

128 The validity of this assessment does not depend upon these ten case studies alone.
127 Very similar if more limited conclusions were obtained in a previous, independent

analysis of 53 Klamath Rorschachs and 33 Thematic Apperception Tests, with 128
additional evidence derived from participant observation and life history data [127]
(Clifton 1960). Moreover, the assessment agrees, in large part, with the observations and conclusions of other field workers working independently. The significant point is that Levine, working blind from records of persons he has never observed has reinforced and expanded upon previous evaluations of Klamath character.

A second hypothesis about the Klamath which arises from our study — an hypothesis 121
of which we are less certain when compared with the observation that they are
a people who may be viewed as guarded and restrained — is the finding that "in 157
the total kin network the influence of the male is weak..." and "whether or not 562
there is a male attached to the household group, the wife-mother is usually the
power figure." This finding, based on the anthropological data, is theoreti- [156]
cally congruent, almost startlingly so, with the fact that the more imaginative, creative, rich — healthy, if you will — Klamath Rorschach records were produced by the women in the sample, while the men's records were typically stereotyped
and constricted, and often unrealistic, disorganized or suspicious. The statis- [127]
tical comparisons (Clifton 1960) as well as the individual Rorschach analysis
(Chapter III) convey this impression very clearly. [128]

The importance of these findings can be viewed profitably in the light of con- 121
temporary psychoanalytic theory, especially in relation to the concepts of identification and modeling in child development. The theory holds that the child identifies with, i.e., adapts the characteristics, attitudes, and values, of his parents because he envies them; they are the powerful people who receive the rewards and gratifications which he is denied. In classical psychoanalytic theory, the boy is said to identify with the father because the father is the power figure in the family and receives the love of the mother. Although Freud never was as content with his psychology of women as he was with the Oedipus Complex, pre-
sumably similar processes account for feminine psychology. The classical Oedipus [128]
Complex has been modified in order to integrate more satisfactorily with cross-cultural data, and it is in this more flexible framework that the present results can be understood best.

In those societies in which the father is not a stable, respected member of the 121
family the process of identification is not as straightforward: the growing boy does not want to be like his weak father; he cannot identify with an absent father figure; yet he is biologically unable to be like his mother. The theory holds that his identification as a person will not be well integrated or complete.
In the Klamath family, the mother is the stable figure, the one who commands the 121
boy's respect. Since a consistent and integrated identification is needed for a
healthy development of the ego, we are not surprised to find that the males in 156
our Klamath sample show signs of poor ego structure. The women, on the other
hand, come off much better and one may hypothesize that they are able to make a 562
more integrated identification with the wife-mother figure in the Klamath family. 593

It may be necessary for a well-stated theoretical position to distinguish between 121
two qualities of the parent which are confounded in the present discussion: stability of the model on the one hand and the extent to which the parent receives rewards, on the other. The general theoretical position, however, states that those societies in which the father is more stable, receives more of the respect and material reward, or is more powerful will be societies in which the boys can
establish their roles more readily. On the other hand, in groups like the Klamath, 121
in which the father is weak or absent, we can expect to see signs of role conflict, 156
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156 vague identification and, since it is largely through identification that the
562 super-ego is established, weak super-egos.

593 It has been suggested that what we have called guarded restraint may be a "front"
121 maintained only when Klamath are interacting with whites. The point is that
156 guarded restraint may be another name for the extreme suspicion and reserve of
many enclaved or colonized minority groups vis-a-vis representatives of the
177 dominant culture (Underhill 1960). It cannot be denied that, in fact, reserve
[171] and suspicion do characterize much of the relationship between Klamath and Whites,
but the reserve and restraint which so characterize Klamath persons is not solely
a function of such situations. We agree that guarded restraint is one important
consequence of acculturative contacts, but the evidence of observation and life
histories clearly indicate that this is a personality attribute manifest in many
[829] situations exclusive of the presence of outsiders. Life history subjects, for
example, speak of the "Indianness" of their parents, meaning precisely an aloof,
reserved style of interaction. Many other informants verbalize reactions to the endemic if latent suspiciousness of Klamath life. Thus guarded restraint is not purely an observer construct with a referent limited to the test situation. Certainly, a measure of reserve and suspicion may serve utilitarian functions when interacting with strangers, but the same characteristic makes strangers out of neighbors.

121 Underhill's suggestion does raise the issue of a broader connection between
156 guarded restraint and the impact of acculturation. If there is such an association then we should expect to find these attributes widely distributed among
177 other acculturated populations, especially those which have been exposed to the
171 imposition of external political and administrative controls, and deculturation
or detribalization. That there may be some validity to this hypothesis is sugges-
157 ted by the fact that attempts to communicate our findings to observers with experience among other acculturated populations frequently evoke memories of similarity in character. What we have called guarded restraint has been suggested as characteristic of the contemporary Southern Ute (Stewart 1961) and especially the Mountain or Towoac Ute (Canan 1961), and of the Cree, Northern Athabascan, and Eskimo (Heinrich 1961). In each instance there are differences, but differences which seem to play upon a common theme.

Personality attributes analogous to what we have called guarded restraint have repeatedly been discerned among other more or less acculturated North American Indian populations. Thus Barnouw describes the Wisconsin Chippewa as emotionally isolated, suspicious of outsiders, and fearful of expressing emotions overtly (Barnouw 1950: 22-23). Klopfer's analysis of Chippewa Rorschachs suggests that "...the individual is under pressure to become as emotionally independent of his environment as possible, and to expect very little from others." (Barnouw 1950: 27). The Ojibwa have been described as emotionally restrained, suspicious, and anxious (Hallowell 1955: 350). Hallowell's interpretation of these characteristics is that they constitute persistent aboriginal components of Ojibwa character structure. In a similar fashion, the Native-Oriented Menomini have been described by Spindler as a group characterized by a non-defensive reduction of emotional display, whose perception is narrowed to only a very selective portion of their environment, and who are further characterized by a non-manipulatory passivity. Outside of the presumed character structure of the Eastern Woodlands, the most widely distributed "aboriginal" characteristics of North American Indians, generally, are given by the Spindlers as non-demonstrative emotionality, great reserve, individual autonomy, and a generalized fear of the world as dangerous (Spindler and Spindler 1957: 148).

On the face of these parallel descriptions it would seem that the Klamath are 121
similar, as regards guarded restraint, to a variety of differently situated, 156
differentially acculturated North American Indian populations, populations with
diverse cultural heritages. These similarities are, of course, susceptible to 157
different explanations. It would be a simple matter, for example, to explain
away the similarities as false, that is, as being a function of unreliable tech- 171
niques of assessment and highly ambiguous descriptive constructs or constructs 177
lacking in validity. Aside from being no explanation at all, this approach would [114]
involve discarding most of the available cross-cultural psychological data as
well as existing assessments of the personality dynamics of North American Indians.
Although this is the course advocated by many methodological puritans in the area
of culture and personality research we choose to accept the similarities as valid.

A second way of explaining these similarities might invoke the assumption of an
underlying "North American Indian" character structure or basic personality ana-
logous to Devereux's delineation of a core personality type for the Plains
(Devereux 1951). Accepting this assumption the persistence of core traits must
then somehow be accounted for. In the instance of the Plains, Devereux presents
one possibility, namely that acculturation has resulted in a "stripped-down"
and impoverished personality type (Devereux 1951: 25). Somewhat differently,
Hallowell and his followers have argued that basic personality somehow manages
to weather the vicissitudes of history and acculturation (Hallowell 1955: 309;
Spindler 1955: 151). The common feature of both of these explanations is the [114]
assumption of an underlying, basic set of psychological characteristics linked
to aboriginal prototypes and common to the population occupying a given culture
area.

In the instance of the Klamath there is very little evidence to suggest, un- 121
equivocally, that guarded restraint was a dominant component of aboriginal char- 156
acter structure. The information is scanty and points to the definite presence
of great reserve and considerable suspicion, but only as one mode of interper- 157
sonal relations among others. Moreover, the Klamath reservation situation does 177
not allow a comparison of differentially acculturated groups after the model
used by Hallowell for the Ojibwa, and the effort to apply Spindler's technique [657]
of an internal comparison raised more problems than it resolved in this setting.
Finally, the evidence from the Klamath psychological data indicates that, if [171]
anything, older members of the tribe are less reserved and suspicious. In short,
we cannot assert from available evidence that guarded restraint was basic or
dominant in aboriginal Klamath character structure. We suggest that at minimum
this characteristic was present, but that it did not receive the emphasis it
now gets.

Aside from this difficulty, there are a great many conceptual problems associated 121
with the postulation of an underlying, basic trait of guarded restraint for the 156
North American Indians generally. We feel that it is stretching the point to
attempt to account for present similarities among unrelated cultures of such 157
different cultural heritages with a construct so broad. Due to the absence of 171
firm measures of aboriginal character structure this approach to explanation also
involves substantial methodological problems which are not easily resolved.

Instead of explaining contemporary similarities in either of these ways it is 121
possible to view modern Indian populations in the light of common acculturative 156
experiences and their status as dependent wards, as enclaved minority groups,
and as persons who have been promised much but who have attained little. Spindler 157
has suggested that when acculturation conditions permit both a ready identification 171
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121 with the values of the dominant culture and provide access to the institutionalized
156 means of attaining desired goals there will be a successful psychological
157 adaptation to dominant standards, but that when these conditions do not exist
then there may be overt change in the content of culture unaccompanied by changes
171 in psychological characteristics (Spindler 1955: 199). In the same way, Hallowell
177 suggests that constant association with powerful external agents, multiple
conflicting sources of reward and punishment and the ridicule and invidious comparisons
which too frequently accompany acculturation situations may result in
extreme feelings of insecurity, personality maladjustment, and what he calls the
"frustration of maturity" (Hallowell 1955: 329).

Spindler's dual hypotheses are, of course, not the only alternative consequences
of acculturation situations. We feel that between these polarities there are
different modes of adaptation open, modes similar to those suggested by Hallowell.
[178] We therefore assert, hypothetically, that the defensive, guarded, reserved
style of interaction now characteristic of the Klamath is the product of
the deterioration and decay of major patterns of aboriginal Klamath culture, a
prolonged exposure to and considerable identification with the values and standards
of the dominant White society, and the persistent denial of access to the
means and instrumentalities necessary to achieve these goals and to live up to
the standards. We argue, in this way, that there are a great many similarities
between diverse American Indian populations as noted by many observers, that
these similarities do not constitute the residue of generic Indian character
traits, but that they are a function of a common depressed minority group status
within contemporary American society. Our analysis of this is that these components,
specifically, the guardedness, the reserve, the suspicion, and the lack
of involvement in creative group activity, are very much analogous to what various
sociologists speak of as alienation or anomie (Merton 1957: 121-194; Nettler 1957;
Seeman 1961).

000 on nature, physically and mentally, than we are. What distinguishes the civilized man from the primitive man of our days and of prehistoric ages is his greater faculty of turning to account the patent and the hidden powers of nature, or the invention of handicrafts, arts, and sciences. In this the savage man lags far behind the man of culture, and although we often have to admire the ingenuity and shrewdness displayed by the American native in his hunting and fishing implements and practices, the art of agriculture, without which there can be no real human culture, has never been pursued to any considerable extent by the Indians living north of the thirtieth parallel of latitude.

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157 The climate of their home compels the Máklaks Indians to lead an active and laborious life. Except in the coldest days of winter they are [147] almost always engaged in some outdoor work, either hunting, fishing, or cutting wood, gathering vegetal food, or traveling on horseback. Pursuits like these and the pure, bracing air of the highlands render their constitutions hardy and healthy, their minds active, wide awake, and intelligent. They are quick-sighted and quick in their acts, but slow in expressing delight, wonder, astonishment, or disgust at anything they see. Often they do not grasp the meaning of what they observe being done by the white people, and thus appear to us indifferent to many of the highest attainments 177 of modern culture. Children and adults are prone to reject or slow to adopt [178] the blessings of civilization, because many of these are of no practical use to a hunting and fishing people, and others are past their understanding.

The first things they generally adopt from the white people are the citizen's dress and handy articles of manufacture, as beads, tobacco, knives, guns, steel traps; also wagons and other vehicles; for when in possession of these last the horses, which they had obtained long before, can be put to better account They are also quick in adopting English baptismal names, sometimes discarding but oftener retaining their descriptive or burlesque nomenclature from the Klamath language. Gradually they adopt also with the money of the white man the elements of arithmetic, and learn to compute days and months according to his calendar. After another lapse of time they introduce some of the white man's laws, discard polygamy and slavery,

177 bury their dead instead of cremating them, and commence to acquire a smattering of English. Indian superstitions, conjurers' practices are not abandoned before the white man's ways have wrought a thorough change in their minds; and a regular school attendance by children can not be expected before this stage of progress has been reached.

157 [721] In his moral aspects the Klamath Indian is more coarse and outspoken than the white man, but in fact he is not better and not worse. He has attacked and enslaved by annual raids the defenseless California Indian simply because he was more aggressive, strong, and cunning than his victim; his family relations would be a disgrace to any cultured people, as would also be the method by which the chiefs rule the community. But the passions are not restrained among savages as they are or ought to be among us, and the force of example exhibited by Indians of other tribes is too strong for them to resist.

121 157 The character of men in the hunter stage depicts itself admirably well in the mythic and legendary stories of both chieftaincies. Low cunning and treacherous disposition manifest themselves side by side with a few traits of magnanimity hardly to be expected of a people formerly merged in a sort of zoolatric fetichism. There is, however, a considerable power of imagination and invention exhibited in these simple stories, and many of the ferocious beasts are sketched in a truly humorous vein.

Man's morals are the product of circumstances, and the white man who judges Indian morals from the Christian standard knows nothing of human nature or of ethnologic science. The moral ideas of every nation differ from those of neighboring peoples, and among us the moral system of every 000 century differs from that of the preceding one. The fact that the Modocs showed themselves more aggressive and murderous towards the white element than the Klamath Lake Indians may thus be explained by the different position of their homes. The latter being more secluded have not molested Americans sensibly, whereas the annals of the Modocs, who lived in an open country, are filled with bloody deeds. They are of a more secretive and churlish disposition, and what Stephen Powers, who saw them shortly after the Modoc war, says of them is, in some respects, true: "On the whole,

157 the characteristics of the blot been organized intellectually and to what extent
125 is he unable to accomplish this analysis? If he cannot accomplish this, there is a disorder of thinking present. Also, his response to Card II: the whole looks like an island, and the red looks like fire, therefore it looks like "fire on an island." At best it is a fabulized combination; at worst it is a contamination. Only a blatant schizophrenic would have gone to the pathological extreme and said "Fire Island." In addition there are no movement responses, there are only three popular responses and the F plus percent is only 56. Where are the control factors? The sum of color responses is 6; the sum of dark shading responses is 5; and there are not the indications of sufficient controls for this amount of emotional energy.

157 On the other hand, there are a few responses which suggest that his intellectual
153 ability has been greater than average. His knowledge of the word "obsidian," for example, bespeaks this ability,[1] as does the nature, although perhaps not the feasibility, of his "plans." This is not inconsistent with the statements made previously, but it does suggest a situation marked by increasingly greater interference with intellectual functioning.

157 The absence of any human responses in his Rorschach suggests his lack of concern with genuine interpersonal relationships; all his talk of future plans and busi-
* 159 ness suggests that he is interested in using people for his own gain rather than in having meaningful and warm interpersonal relationships. His reaction times are quick, supporting the notion that he is likely to act in an impulsive manner. Two of his FM (R2, R7) are "flying," reflecting perhaps his tendency to try to escape from the present situation in an unrealistic manner. His other FM response (R1) may be an indication of his view of human relations: aggressive, cold-blooded, eat or be eaten.

In summary, then, the test reflects an elderly man, whose intellectual and emotional control appear inadequate. One wonders about the possibility of this man
158 having been a chronic alcoholic and now suffering the effects of diffuse organic brain damage. He "talks big" but he probably doesn't "deliver the goods." There are indications that at one time in his life he may have had better than average intellectual ability and now is going downhill.

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114 [1] This is, perhaps, the one place in these ten cases where a lack of knowledge concerning Klamath culture led the analyst astray. The Klamath are astride the western volcanic belt and one of the most frequent kinds of materials used in
823 their tool manufacture was obsidian. Hence Sparrow's use of the word reflects his interest in and awareness of an important local raw material.

[157] very extreme when compared with white American Rorschach protocols. What is
*[159] the meaning of this delay? What psychological processes are going on in the
interim? Her subsequent rapid delivery of varied and generally appropriate res-
(125) ponses suggests that she is, in fact, concentrating on the task at hand and
arriving at feasible solutions to the task which the examiner presented to her
("What does this look like to you?"). However, the question remains: why doesn't
she talk during this process?

[152] One thing we know: she isn't apathetic or disinterested. On the contrary, underlying her delay, there is considerable feeling. Not only does she give four CF responses, but she gives diffuse responses to the blackness and shading elements of the cards. Her first responses to Cards IV, VI, VII, and VIII are vague, whole responses with little, if any, form element involved. Her delay and control do not allow her to succeed in integrating her feelings and impulses with the objective demands of the situation. In R17, for example, we are able to see the manner in which her mental processes may, on occasion, totally ignore the environmental requirements for appropriate behavior. Her response here is "pictures of duck hunters." On inquiry we learn, however, that there are no ducks and no hunters — only fog. Her perception, then, was of a vague, foggy, diffuse world; she enlivened it and peopled it in an elaborate manner through her own rich imagination. To what extent will she allow this rich imagination to overwhelm the demands of the external world? Her Rorschach responses indicate that this will occur often in a sporadic fashion, but that she will be able to recover from these periods and correctly evaluate the situation once again.

This over-ideation, — especially in the light of R26, "men plotting something" — suggests a distinct paranoid trend. She is suspicious of the motives of others and fearful of what the future has in store for her. Even natural forces are considered powerfully threatening; R20, for example, indicates that lightning is "trying to strike" the house.

An analysis of the roles reflected in the human movement responses suggest that this woman has managed to adopt a wide variety of role patterns. She has human movement responses which are verbally aggressive (R26), grasping (R3), guarded (R9), totally immobile (R15), as well as complex (R23). It is this rich, imaginative fantasy life which enables her to delay responding to the blots for such a long time. The reason she must delay is that she does not trust the environment and the people in it.

Some of her movement responses demand more careful analysis. Three of the eight
M are old ladies or witches; witches "are old and mean," she tells us. Since her
very first response to the test is also a "witch," it would be remiss not to try
to determine the personal significance of this response. We are probably on
reasonably safe ground assuming that it reflects her attitudes toward older
women and therefore some kind of mother figure. Her mother could not have been
very nurturing or warm, nor is she likely to see herself as a particularly nur-
turing person; she does not feel comfortable giving emotionally to others. On
the other hand, R3 suggests that she is not content to "do without." If rewards
•[158] do not come easily, she is ready to "reach out" for it. At the same time, how-
ever, we must note the content of R15: "two girls sleeping...resting...laying."
Piotrowski has warned of the pathological significance of this kind of immobile
human movement response, suggesting as it does, a willingness to submit to the
external forces without a struggle.

Her animal movement responses are also suggestive of a suspicious and hostile role pattern; of the three FM, the first (R7) is "an animal looking over

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R	8+1
W:M	7:0
M:Sum/C	0:4.5
Sum/C:Sum/c	4.5:2
Sum/c:Sum/c'	2:1.5
IRT	37"
IRT (color)	46"
IRT (nc)	28"

Conspicuous Features

(1) low R
(2) no M
(3) high Sum/C
(4) Content: R3, 9, 1
(5) aggression
(6) test-taking attitude
(7) vague W's

Rorschach Interpretation

*159 157 Aggressiveness, almost of a murderous kind, is the first impression one gets from this Rorschach record. Despite the fact that he gives only nine responses, we finish reading the record with the feeling that we know a great deal about this man, but we are no longer convinced of the extent to which he is comfortable with his feelings of hostility.

[158] Perhaps the single most conspicuous feature of the record is the blatant preoccupation with violence, especially in the context of such a brief record and in the light of the personalized quality of the verbalization: "When you press the gun up close to something and it goes off and makes this powder burn — the red spots look like blood." In addition to this hostile content (R3 and R9), analysis of the scoring summary indicates that the subject has inadequate control of these impulses. His Sum/C is 4.5, which is very high in a record of only nine responses, and there is no M and only one shading response. (After much deliberation, it was felt that there was insufficient evidence to score shading in R5.) Furthermore, only one of his responses was determined by the shape of the blot alone, indicating that in practically all situations the subject is likely to be directed by impulses and feelings, rather than by intellectual considerations. The possibility that the seven whole responses constitute ego control and personality organization is contradicted by an inspection of the nature of the W. Of these seven W responses, five and possibly a sixth must be considered vague, diffuse, primitive responses to the global impression of the blot.

There are a few possible indications of some control mechanisms which operate sporadically, however. For one thing, he does not blurt out his responses impulsively; there are relatively long initial reaction times to all the cards. Secondly, he does give attention to the shading elements (R2 and possibly R5). Nevertheless, these constitute insufficient controls for the tremendous energy available (Sum/c:Sum/C = 2:4.5).

The long initial reaction times, the few R and many of the verbalizations point to a guarded, suspicious approach to life. This finding, combined with the absence of M, is strongly suggestive of a paranoid adjustment. Life in general, and human relationships in particular, is seen as a struggle: the response closest to an M is the "fighting blackbirds." However, the subject does not have very strong attitudes about interpersonal relations. His feelings about people are shallow and ill-defined. He does not have close friendships: the figures on Card I, often seen as human, are seen by him through transparent jelly; he rejects Card III suggesting a human movement shock; and his few R suggest that he is unwilling to extend himself in the test situation.

[156] The "coat of arms" response suggests that what little feeling he has for human relationships is focused on the overt signs of social status. He is likely to

be very much involved with how he appears in the eyes of others. This attitude, 159*
together with his hostility and lack of impulse control, may get him into con- 157
siderable trouble through inappropriate attempts to attain some semblance of [156]
what he considers status. This may appear as "attention-getting" mechanisms.

There is no need to ponder the question of whether this man is actually the aggressor or the victim. He is both. At times, he probably instigates the trouble. But just as often he is likely to be punished for his transgressions. On occasion he may act aggressively as a result of some fancied aggression. He doesn't trust anyone; no one is likely to trust him. He is essentially an isolated person. His minority group status probably fits easily into this conception of his role in life and his essential feelings of isolation and rejection. [156]

However, his last responses (especially R6 and R8) appear to raise doubts about some of our interpretations. These almost effeminate —artistic, at least — color responses: "coral rocks" and "modern art," coming at the end of the record as they do, indicate that beneath this belligerent facade, we may come upon gentleness, sensitivity, and passivity which might surprise us. He is capable of moments of deep positive, perhaps aesthetic, feeling. We must raise the hypothesis that this young man is really a "softie" who is trying to deny this trait in himself or, in other words, he is just a big bluff.

This pattern may suggest the psychoanalytic hypothesis of paranoia, namely repressed and projected homosexuality —if we define sexuality in broad enough terms. The suspiciousness, belligerence, interpersonal isolation and latent aesthetic sensitivity all are consistent with this notion. At least some sexual disturbance seems indicated by the way he mutilates the fox skin on VI; all the extensions are cut off. [158]

One aspect of this record remains puzzling: the relation between the c and c'. We get dark shading (c') on at least two occasions (R3, R9) and light shading on at least one (R2). If R5 is scored light shading, there is a balance of dark and light shading responses and indication of anxiety, control and neuroses. If, on the other hand, R5 is a dark shading response, the balance of determinants becomes even more extreme in the direction of lack of control. Piotrowski's principle is that the c' are given by people who fight rather than flee from anxiety provoking situations. My overall impression is that this subject is more likely to behave in the "fight" manner and thus get himself into a considerable amount of difficulty, but the possibility that R5 is a shading response is unsettling.

The m response on Card IX, when interpreted according to Piotrowski's principles, indicates that the subject would like to "explode" but feels incapable of this kind of behavior. Since this is a subjective feeling, it does not contradict the position that he does act out in an uncontrolled manner; rather, it suggests that, despite sporadic outbursts, he feels tense, as if he is operating under a constant head of steam that doesn't let up, even when he does blow off on occasion.

This m, the possibility that R5 is a c response, and the positive affect expressed in R6 and R8 indicate that, although the subject has violent moods, he is far from comfortable in this role. He is tense, anxious, frightened. There may be something about him which, at times, another person can understand and sympathize with.

In general though, he is wary of others, they are wary of him, and "trouble is brewing." [156]

Scoring Summary

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W	7	M	2	h	1
D	12+3	FM	2+2 (1-)	hdx	1
Dr	3+3	F	13 (6 1/3-) + 7 (5-)	a-	7+1
d	+1	C	1	ad	2+1
S	+2	CF	2	at	10+6
		Fc'	+2	fd	1
				germs	+1
				P	6+2

R	22+9
IRT	17.2"
IRTc	28.6"
IRTnc	5.8"
W:M	7:2
M:Sum/C	2:3.5
Sum/C:Sum/c	3.5:0
Sum/c:Sum/c'	0:2
P+%	52

Conspicuous Features

(1) high at
(2) low F+%
(3) FC:CF:C ratio
(4) hdx
(5) reverberation of spinal column and brain
(6) "disguised" M

Rorschach Interpretation

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157 The Rorschach reflects a woman who is extraordinarily preoccupied with disease (at - 10+5). If she is not physically ill, she is hypochondriacal and perhaps suffering from somatic delusions (at R; F+%, 52). She is likely to be very ill at ease in interpersonal relationships (M on Card II), probably because she is demanding of attention from others (C:CF:FC). I wonder if she doesn't use physical illness in order to be taken care of.

[156] The test results indicate that she views interpersonal relations as terrifying struggles in which she may be "demolished" by others. Since her only M in human content is "a couple of men testing their strength" and her Sum/C:Sum/c is 3.5:0, we would say this is how she acts in interpersonal relations at this time. She "tests her strength" — but cautiously. The figures are "in disguise," they are not to be trusted. In meeting people she has to decide whether she is strong enough to be safe, or whether they are so strong that they would harm her.

The FM, on the other hand, are aggressive "climbing up to demolish something," "germ attacking the lung," "bugs attacking throat." This is the enormous aggressiveness of which she is afraid, but it also indicates that she is capable of experiencing this kind of hostility toward others. Under stress or "in states of diminished consciousness" we may see some extremely aggressive behavior on her part.

Since I scored R20 as a pure C response and there are 2CF and no FC, we must conclude that S does become overly emotional at times. They may be "crying spells" or expressions of the anger indicated in the preceding paragraph which she is unable to control. I scored R8 and R12 as Fc' but they may be Fc. If they are Fc' they support the notion that our S has little control over her feelings. The great variability of her initial reaction times also bespeaks of sporadic impulsivity and feelings of anxiety.

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158 The more one thinks about it, the more pathological the picture becomes. F plus percent is only 52 despite the 6 populars; there is a positional response on Card IX; there are a few peculiar verbalizations, e.g., the vertebrae and brain being referred to as "the center of man's being" and "the main part of life and

the person's being;" there are overly emotional reactions to blots: "it's terrifying 159*
if some kind of disease attacks you." And finally all the color comment 158*
indicates she is affected by the color but cannot integrate it appropriately.
Thus, she responds emotionally but cannot bring these feelings under control.
A statement of her feelings of impotence or "intellectual passivity" (Piotrowski
1950) is her comment on Card III: "But why the grasshoppers should be playing,
I don't know."

Are there any personality strengths to balance this pathological picture? Just 159*
the six popular responses. These are liberally sprinkled throughout the record. 157
We would have to conclude then that she is generally able to respond in a socially
acceptable and conventional manner. However, the somatic preoccupations and
poor emotional control are evident throughout. She seems to make an effort to
maintain satisfactory relations with others. She is ready to accept responsibility
for difficulties ("You know my trouble is I don't read very much"); although
distanciated, her second M response is the pleasant "grasshoppers playing;"
she does respond positively to the "lovely coloring." However, these are all
based on content, rather than determinants, and as such are probably much more
superficial indicators.

This personality description would not be complete without at least some comment 121
concerning the possible influence of the age of the subject and the role expectations
of this age group among the Klamath. Since this analysis has been done 888
without the benefit of this latter information, it can only be remarked that, to 157
the extent that elderly people are allowed greater latitude in their behavior,
to that extent this woman's adjustment will be considered acceptable, rather
than pathological. In any case, however, she is probably terrified by disease
and death. One wonders if the change in cultural attitudes toward disease and
death may have left her bereft of a set of beliefs which might have helped her
at this point in her life.

125
128 response provided some of the first clues as regards this important personality
attribute (Clifton 1960). But other test evidence, as well as life history and
[157] observational data, leads to the same conclusion, regardless of the presence or
absence of a restrained movement response.
[124]

157 One facet of Klamath guardedness and restraint is the general reluctance of
157 Klamath individuals to reveal or communicate to others their needs, wishes, in-
156 terests, or concerns. This may, in part, be seen as a function of suspicion,
of fearful concern with the possible reactions of others, but another character-
istic of Klamath persons may be associated with this reserve. The reference here
is to a general, overt, and conscious devaluation of the self. The Klamath sel-
[125] dom have much good and often much that is bad to say of themselves. Although
this characteristic is not directly manifested in the Rorschach records, these
records do indicate the presence of multiple and conflicting, or unacceptable
prototypal roles.

Another aspect of Klamath guardedness seems to be a precipitate of the very high investment of energies in sheer self-protecting maneuvers, and the time spent in the avoidance of entangling committments to group life. We feel that the Klamath have so over-invested in reserve and self-protection that they have little time or energy to expend on other activities or upon other aspects of their situation. This, we feel, may be responsible for another shared component of Klamath character, their inability in laying plans for the future, and the minimal expenditure upon creative effort. By way of contrast, the Klamath do concentrate upon the superficially rewarding or painful aspects of their current situation.

121 The analysis so far points to a general isolation of Klamath individuals from
156 significant, durable human associations. Given the facts of Klamath reservation
culture we consider that this characteristic is probably adaptive, although it
155 might not seem so if measured against an ideal model of mental health based upon
657 the functioning of west European, urban, middle-class persons. Considering the
[171] realities of the Klamath situation, guarded restraint in itself may hardly be
considered as pathological. Yet so great a reserve and so extensive an insula-
[158] tion of the self from important human transactions may be a major source of stress
and may predispose Klamath individuals to variant forms of mental illnesses.

157 Several of the cases contained in this report provide evidence for this hypothesis.
158 In the instance of Slim, for example, we find that a superficially adequate ad-
justment may simply be the manifestation of an obsessive control over and reduc-
[121] tion of emotional and intellectual processes to the point of a tentative diag-
nosis of alpha schizophrenia. The cases of Susan, Nell, Fidel and Sparrow are examples of extremely loose, unrealistic and disorganized thinking with overtones, in some instances, of an almost paranoid suspiciousness, or a reliance upon bizarre, highly personal fantasy. Evidence for a well defined idiosyncratic role or personna which is very poorly integrated with the rest of the personality is seen in the cases of Slim's false optimism, Carrie's brashness, and Aunt May's superficial warmth. We suggest that these more disordered aspects of adjustment may profitably be seen, in part, as a function of a generally poor contact with others, reduced insight into the self and others, and extensive social isolation. The mediating difficulty may well be a relative absence of opportunities to validate beliefs and convictions. Thus in many respects adaptive, Klamath guarded restraint probably serves as a precipitating factor in thinking disorders, sociopathic adaptations, alpha schizophrenia, and paranoid delusions.

128 The validity of this assessment does not depend upon these ten case studies alone.
127 Very similar if more limited conclusions were obtained in a previous, independent

by the death of several on each side, the feud continues until payment 726
is made. Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried 628
out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery.

A chief may intervene; so I was told, though I doubt it. Chiefs do 728
accompany parleying parties and other men may echo their words. 622
Beyond that there seems to be nothing to their position but personal prestige which has been enhanced by developments since reservation days. Lɛle'ks and his successors among the ă'ukekni seem to have made much of their position. Pat's father and Te!i'wi, both du'kwakni, killed a iu"lalonɛ man at stö'kmatc, Eagle Point. They were taken to Klamath marsh and each beaten five times at the order of this chief. This was in pre-reservation days, or at least prior to the establishment
of the agency in 1864 (?). Nevertheless this is not aboriginal, but, [177]
according to Nancy Phillips, these "laws" were brought by her cousin from the north.

The group that owes recompense, having lost fewer men, goes to 728
the other offering payment to even the score. The value of a man's life is not a fixed item, as it is for the lower Klamath river tribes; this despite the similarity of marriage payment and the slur on children not born of a purchased mother. My informants professed ignorance of what should be paid, yet it can hardly be doubted that recompense accorded with a man's wealth and prestige.

Children who are captured are kept; settling the score does not mean that they are restored, though this may well be only in case they have been sold. Their fate depends on their captors, who may elect to rear them as their own children. More commonly they are miserably treated, made to sleep with the dogs, fetch water, etc., and beaten if
they are lazy. They are as quickly sold at Warm Springs and the [437]
Dalles as are foreign captives. With the latter at least there is an advantage in immediately disposing of them, that they do not grow up to carry back to their own people precise knowledge of the habits and topography of the Klamath world.

Kö'kdiŋks of du'kwa was a chief (lö'ki) in warfare. He would tell his tribes- 159 •
men to get ready to fight with the iu"laloŋkni, *for instance*. He was always 701
in the forefront of battle. When a youth he went out to seek power by bathing
and wandering through the mountains at night. His mother had told him that 721
long before those of iu"lalonɛ had slain his father, Lë"l'wis, a du'kwa shaman accused of poisoning one of them. He wanted to become a warrior to have

159 revenge. While he was swimming in deep water at du'kwa he found a human
701 leg in his grasp; it had been given him by the ghosts.[40] Then he became
721 ''mean,'' revengeful, and led his people down the lake to iu'ʻlaloŋɛ for vengeance.

He grew aggressive and attacked gu'mbŏt, kowa'edi, and other towns. He
was a hard man to hit; they could not kill him in open battle. His du'kwakni
159 band went up Williamson river to the ă'ukekni town at bæzūkse'was. Before
the fight opened, Po'moks, an ă'ukekni from far up Sprague river, came
701 to him and announced that he would join him. Kŏ'ḳdiŋks agreed because he
was a relative. During the battle Po'moks slipped behind Kŏ'ḳdiŋks and shot
726 him. That was the only way they could best him; since then there has been
no feud with du'kwa.

Quite in accord with Klamath custom, Kŏ'ḳdiŋks band was accompanied by a du'kwa shaman named čḳts'as. When one of his side was shot, this shaman ran to him, extracted the arrow, and sucked the wound.

726 Pat's uncle of gu'mbŏt and Nancy's father of du'kwa went to iu'ʻlaloŋɛ where they killed a man.

Some gu'mbŏt men went to Buck island and killed a man there. Immediately a party followed them back and killed a man at gu'mbŏt.

A brave man from du'kwa lived at gu'mbŏt. The gu'mbŏtkni traveled with him to kill iu'ʻlaloŋkni, ă'ukekni, and kowa'edikni. He stole women everywhere, carrying them to gu'mbŏt as his wives. He tried to kill some gu'mbŏt men whom he accused of tampering with them, but they dispatched him. After he was cremated all these women returned to their homes.

An attack might be expected at any time. The Upland Takelma (Ha'nis or Wa'lŭmskni), for instance, raid the Williamson river district. Crossing by the ridges south of Crater lake, they travel down the ridge separating that river from Klamath lake. From this eminence they can see the smokes of a large part of Klamath territory. Gatschet describes such a raid, plausibly dating it between 1848
175 and 1855.[41]

726 The Takelma descended on bæzūkse'was in the middle Williamson valley at salmon fishing time. Most of the warriors were away at Klamath marsh to welcome some northern Indians. Crossing the river the Takelma attacked at dawn, killing a few old people, but they were put to rout by the fierce onslaught of but five cuirassed Klamath, men of nilŭksi, the Modoc Point district. They were pursued by the whole force of Klamath, hastily summoned from the marsh. Some escaped, others were found dead of starvation or wounds where they had hidden in the mountains.

Five old women were once left behind at Klamath marsh to gather lily seeds. They brought their canoes down to the falls, as far as they could go. All they could not carry they buried there to leave through the winter. A Paiute lurking on the opposite bank followed them down to the falls. He killed all five with his arrows. When their relatives found them overdue, they went to search. The Paiute, having stayed in the neighborhood to steal horses, was tracked and killed.[42]

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[40] So my informant said, but she surely meant spirits.

[41] The Klamath Indians, 1:16-18.

[42] Gatschet records a similar Paiute raid on Williamson river or perhaps the same (1:28).

á'ukekni were sisters from his own settlement on Williamson river above 582
bʌzükse'was, a third was from that town, and the fourth from glă'tspak'is, a 595
mile or so down river. His daughter by the Modoc wife was counted á'ukekni;
while living at k'taidi she married an á'ukekni of Yainax.

A gu'mböt man, Wokau'k!alls, married two Molala sisters.

Girls usually marry within a year or so after puberty, which is marked, at least among the well-to-do, by a big dance. Betrothals may have been arranged while the couple were yet pre-adolescent, presents having been exchanged by the families. They are expected to carry out the agreement after the girl's dance, payments being made again. Should one of them die another match may be arranged with the same family, but not of necessity. Poor and rich alike arrange such betrothals. 584

How far great disparity of age occurs I do not know, but it does happen that an older man marries a young girl. A shaman for instance may be given a daughter by a man too poor to reward him otherwise. [582] [756]

But it must not be thought that there is no choice. On the contrary, the majority of marriages follow the desire of the couples. Elopements take place and although the levirate is the rule, much depends on the widow's willingness. Yet a girl's consent is not necessary. Despite her protests she may be carried to her husband's home. If she runs home she is almost invariably taken back again. That she would be driven to suicide is doubtful; one informant never heard of such a thing; another stated she would hang herself and in this event her parents had to return the gifts of the groom. 583 587 [762]

An orphan girl of du'kwa lived with her mother's brother. She was married against her will to a man of k'taidi. She clung to the ladder of the earth-lodge but they pulled her away and dragged her up-river to k'taidi. Next morning she ran home and never went back. Nothing had been paid for her at the time but she was given in return for valuables contributed to the cremation of a relative of hers some time before by her husband's relatives. Immediately after this she married a man at Klamath marsh; whether payment was then made is not remembered. 583 159

Elopements occur but payment is so much insisted on as a sign of respectability that parents guard their daughters with great care. This is at least true where the family wealth makes a suitable payment imperative. It is unthinkable that a chief's daughter should be permitted to enter an unceremonious, clandestine union. The poor and forward have little to lose. Modest demeanor is expected of a girl. 583 834

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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834 836 [881] She dances with downcast eyes in her adolescent rite; she sits apart and does not talk with male visitors at home. A man seen prowling about the camp is shouted away. A girl who does not wish to be molested will go over to her mother to sleep. A father will whip a daughter who has clandestine visitors, and his son for misconduct. No obligations may be assumed for which no payment is made.

583 [836] Despite the fact that elopements are frowned on, clandestine visits and elopements are frequent. The girl's parents may follow a runaway couple and force her to return with them. It is usual however for the families to accept the fact and make gifts in proper form.

583 • 159 585 The most lavish marriage display ever known was that of Lɛle'ks' only daughter, Go'solülb. They were living at táka'lmakeda during the fishing season when Ski'lüls of Yainax eloped with her. They fled riding double; the horse fell with them while fording the river, but they escaped to Yainax. Soon after the girl returned alone. It took a month to get ready to conduct a proper marriage. Lɛle'ks made the trip across the mountains to Jacksonville to get store goods. A great many people went with them to Yainax, the majority taking gifts of horses, blankets, clothing, or anything they had. One man with nothing better stripped himself of his only shirt. It must be remembered that such Plains shirts were then newly fashionable and hence valuable. They gave the horses they rode there, hoping for reciprocal gifts on which to return. Horses to a total of ten were given the groom's people. They gave horses and other gifts in return. Payment having been made the affair was considered as honorably ended, and as though the groom had sent an emissary in proper order.

583 554 Marriage without payment brings a slur on the children to be cast in the teeth by quarreling women. "Your children are worth nothing; you were not bought." Children taunt each other in the same way. They are respected in proportion to the amount changing hands at their parents' marriage, but this does not mean that a man's life is assessed at this sum. Nor is there any suggestion here that husband and wife are financially accountable to each other for injuries to their children. Marriage payment is prescribed not alone because it fixes social status in a general way but because, as one informant phrased it, it is decidedly unlucky not to make payment. So it is, for the couple have made an unsuccessful start of their social career.

The amount is not prescribed but varies with the wealth of the individuals. A chief gives a slave and more; a poor man buys with food. A chief will not give his daughter for nothing; the groom must
583 continue to bring gifts even after marriage. The valuables customarily exchanged are slaves, horses, blankets, beads, food (pond-lily seed and roots), elk and other hides, and strings of beads. Pat Kane's father gave five fathoms of glass trade beads. It is important to

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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756 838 As both sexes are shamans there was no need for the transformation had this been the goal.

Mūksamse'lapli, also called White Sindey, was the berdache shaman. He tried to laugh like a woman. He was twice married, first to a Molala man named Tel'ptcl, later to a Klamath, Tc!o'möks. The latter is known to me as a normal old man who has since raised a family of his own. White Sindey made considerable pretense to shamanistic powers, but was rather scouted. He performed and reacted like an ordinary shaman.

159 838 One of my informants now in his sixties had been a berdache in his youth. I had observed his general unmasculine behavior but it was not until my visit of the second year that another informant gave the reason. He lives alone, takes pride in his cooking and the care of his house, weaves baskets for sale as women do, and still wears a basket hat, which no Klamath man now will. He is fleshy, slow, and distinctly feminine in gait and gestures, and speaks with the higher pitch of women's voices. Yet his transvestite state was given up nearly half a century ago. He is shrewd enough, though mild mannered, yet I confess that I suspected no abnormality. When about sixteen years old he was at the Dalles where an old woman shaman of the place took a fancy to him. He however was afraid that she would harm him so he put on woman's dress. He wore his hair long, prepared lily seeds, wove mats and baskets; all typical women's pursuits. He has never married. After learning his history I brought up the subject of marriage with him. He claimed that he had once been married, his wife having died twenty years ago, and in answer to the question why he had not remarried replied: "Some men like it that way."

838 159 622 The most striking case is that of the chief Lᴇle'ks. As an adolescent he wore women's dress and performed the appropriate tasks. One day after returning from the lily seed harvest he lay down to sleep. They placed a bow and arrow and a punt pole by his side, the latter a symbol of women's work. They stood over him and shouted. As he jumped to his feet he grasped the bow, thus determining his future. He ran off to Mount Scott (t!u'msümᴇni), staying through the night on the mountain in quest of a supernatural experience. As he was returning he smelled the sweaty odor of running horses. He left off women's dress and actions from that time. He became lucky in every way, acquired wealth, especially in horses, and prestige, and became the foremost chief the Klamath have known. His

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[622]

subsequent career seems quite normal unless exception be made of his seven wives!

A woman named Co'pak lived like a man although she retained women's dress. She married a woman who lived with her a long time and finally died. She observed the usual mourning, wearing a bark belt as a man does at this time to prevent the back from growing bowed. She tried to talk like a man and invariably referred to herself as one.

Another woman still living has had relations with both women and men. She never adopted men's garb but told them that she was a man. She is today a common prostitute, an abnormal, irascible person. Those she lived with were all older women, not young girls. This practice is known as sawa'linãa, to live as partners. They say of such: they have lots of partners, friends (anewã'ëts doma' sawa' linãa'sgitkt). Other Klamath of any standing have always avoided her and her women partners. She was never married to a man.

HOUSE GROUPS

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It is now difficult to get evidence on household composition. Houses vary in size, to judge by the existing pits, from twelve feet in diameter to as much as thirty-five feet. The larger houses must have held a number of families and as many as ten or twelve persons. One described below had five families, numbering twenty.

The majority of the inmates of a house can usually trace some relationship. This is also true of most of the inhabitants of a settlement. For example, the village mo'giŋkünks had half a dozen earth-lodges, of which three held the families of two brothers and their father's male cousin. Residence is normally patrilocal. In the cases which follow the connecting relatives are for the most part related in the first degree. [591]

An earth-lodge on the lower Williamson river built about 1870, and measuring thirty feet in diameter, contained five men, their wives and children, whose respective portions of the house are shown in figure 4. This was known as the home of the shaman Boke's; the others were related to his wife.

1. Boke's, wife, and two children.
2. Lek!o'c; wife and two children.
3. Wokau'k!alis, a widower, whose two wives had been Molala sisters.[76]

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[76] Their Molala names were Sjowa' and A'li'ak.

do keep up their ordinary occupation in part during this time. They 841 dig roots for instance, but others must care for the products further, else the women will never find any more.

There is no comparable rite for boys at puberty. Nevertheless the 881 time when a boy's voice deepens is recognized as propitious for seeking power. He is sent into the mountains for perhaps five days, to wander [787] at night, running continually, piling up rocks, swimming in the mountain pools and eddies of the rivers, fasting the while until a song comes to him in a dream. He must use a head-scratcher. Preadolescent boys [866] are tossed into the river or whipped while they sleep. If the boy whimpers he will be a weakling; he is expected to jump up and shout, I have cited above the case of Lɛle'ks who was so treated at puberty, it seems, and thus lost his transvestite habits.

When I [Pat Kane] was a little boy of seven or ten, my father sometimes 866 threw me into the river while I slept. I did not ask why. Finally he told me, 159 "I do not want to kill you. I do it so that when you are grown you will not easily get sick, so that if you are shot you will recover quickly." I always bathed in the river as a boy and you see that I have never even had rheumatism until recently.

DEATH AND MOURNING

Klamath funereal observances are personal, non-ceremonial, and 764 somewhat unique in that they provide occasions for the seeking of power. There are no mourning anniversaries. [765]

Cremation is the universal practice, even for suicides, the newborn, and the stillborn. Only the bodies of secretly aborted infants are buried in the bush. The body of a man killed in war is brought [727] home for cremation.[86]

Some Klamath men were trapping in the mountains west of Crater lake about eighty years ago when they were met by some Upland Takelma who killed four or five. One boy alone escaped and made his way back to Klamath marsh at night. The Takelma took scalps, hands, and feet of the dead, and held a dance. Many Klamath went to fetch the bodies, which they brought to Klamath marsh for incineration.

Near each group of settlements is a spot where all cremations take place. It is somewhat apart from the settlements but not isolated.

Three of these serve the Klamath marsh people; on the eastern side of the marsh near the towns k'ɛtaiwas (2, see maps, figs. 1-3), gūpgúa'kai (3), and l'wal (4). For others of this division of the tribe, there is one on Sprague

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[86] Cremation was given up forty or more years ago ("in about 1868," Gatschet, 1:86). The first burial was that of a Molala man, married to a Klamath woman, who was killed by a Klamath. [177] [178]

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[622] The shaman himself is, or was, the outstanding figure of Klamath society. [177] He had no rival in the chiefs, the rich man, until the coming of the whites brought a redistribution of emphasis in Klamath life. Chiefs had previously been persons of little influence.

771 *171 All this is familiar enough among Indians; the Klamath differ only in particulars. In its several aspects, their religion, as well as its practice, is one with that of the Great Basin, Plateau, and Mackenzie tribes.

THE POWER QUEST

787 The quest for supernatural aid is open to everyone, men and women, boys and girls. It is a constantly recurring feature of their lives. Everyone, perhaps without exception, seeks the powers at least once during his lifetime and further experiences seem to be repeatedly sought.

[881] The first occasion is always puberty. I doubt that boys and girls are expected to be uniformly successful in securing aid at this time, because, it was said, at shamanistic performances those who had power might sing their songs. This may imply that the others either never [765] acquired power or had lost it. My informants' frequent emphasis on the period of mourning for a husband, wife, or child marks this, too, as a peculiarly pregnant period when power may be successfully sought. At least at such a time a man loses his power and must seek [844] again if he wishes to regain it. A man also seeks power at the birth of a first child. But it is not only the crises of life that provide [756] occasion; the quest may be undertaken at any time, and it is the practice of such as gamblers and shamans to renew and enhance their [525] powers by frequent attempts. The quest is called spŭ'tu.

The experience does not ordinarily include a vision, but is made manifest in a song heard in a dream. In some instances where a vision is had, a dream song follows, but it is clear that the latter is the essential experience. In the following case a man and a woman had identical visions but to the man alone fell the experience leading to power.

787 • 159 The grandfather of a Klamath Falls shaman went to stŏ'kmōte, the point of Eagle Ridge, in the evening. There is a spot in the lake where bubbles rise. Horses lived in this long ago (!). When this man reached the headland he saw two pinto horses, with long manes, rearing against each other from the water. He was not frightened but took off his clothes and plunged into the water in order to secure power. When he recovered consciousness he found himself again on land. From that time he was lucky; he began to get many pintos, large horses. Because of this experience his grandson, the shaman, also acquired, in his turn, spirit songs of all kinds.

An old woman, gathering wood at this place, also saw two horses in the water. Turning to her husband she said, "There are horses standing over there," but when they looked again, the horses had disappeared. Such a disappearance (tᴇke'tḳa) is a sign that a relative will die; one of her relatives died after this. 787 [159]

Visions evidently follow one of two formulae. Either, as above, the spirit appears standing in the water and then disappears, or it drags the swimmer below the water for the purpose of devouring him, as instanced below.

One word swi'ls means song and spirit being. A certain dualism is involved here. Spirits are definite beings that dwell in the mountains and in the water. On the other hand all songs are called swi'ls, including those for amusement and non-shamanistic dancing, which bear no reference to spirits. That is, spirits and songs are certainly recognized as separate entities. Nevertheless, when it is said that a man has a Coyote swi'ls, for example, it means that he has the appropriate song or songs and that this animal is his supernatural helper. The spirit never manifests itself but in the song; the singer is the vehicle, the voice of the spirit. Song and spirit are one and the same thing. 787 776 533

Power is sought in lonely spots on the mountains, in mountain pools, in eddies in the rivers, in all places where spirits are known to dwell. A boy is sent into the mountains on a vigil of several days, perhaps five, at puberty, that is, when his voice changes. He seeks power that he may acquire property, be a good hunter, become rich, a chief, and be able to do all the things that are difficult. (One does not need power to be a fisherman, for instance.) He must fast and must not touch his hands to his face, but must use a scratcher instead. He must sleep without covering and warm himself only occasionally by a little fire. He runs about constantly throughout the night, piling rocks into high piles[147] (called sᴇwa'l) and swimming in the mountain pools. He prays, calling loudly to the spirits, and finally gets an answer. At night he may see a spirit with blood flowing from his mouth; then he faints and when he wakes he too will have a hemorrhage (djăkglĕkgĕ'ḳa). He "nearly dies" before he secures the song. 787 881

It is possible that girls also seek power at puberty. Their dance at this time takes place at night; during the day they sleep in the brush or on the near-by hills. Then a song may be dreamed. One [562] informant had it that they spend the night piling rocks like boys, returning at daylight, but I consider it very unlikely that a girl

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[147] Clarke, Rock Piles, 40, refers to the many piles of four or five boulders placed on one another which occur in this country.

787 would be allowed to go unattended. Women well along in years, how-
881 ever, follow the regular practice, at least as to bathing in the spirit
562 places.

787 The same method is pursued by the mourner, gambler, or shaman who seeks power, but swimming in the deep river eddies was more
756 frequently mentioned in this connection. These seekers are almost
525 always men, but older strong-willed women will attempt it. Power may be sought at any time during the year, but they do not dive for it until the first willow buds appear (in the seventh month, March or April). I presume that deep snows and ice in the mountains preclude earlier attempts.

787 During the day the seeker sweats and fasts, waiting in the brush until nightfall. He then goes to the river and dives to the bottom in search of the spirit. He must not be frightened even if he sees some-
[756] thing moving under the water. He prays before diving, "I want to be a shaman. Give me power. Catch me. I need the power." Sometimes he comes up unconscious, blood streaming from his mouth and nose. He must wait until the flow stops before going home.[148] This night he hears nothing because he has been frightened by the spirit, nor will he eat the following day for fear of falling ill. On the following night or soon after, he hears the song of the spirit as it sings beneath the water. He may dream of hunting deer, acquiring horses, of success in gambling or with women, and of marriage. One informant dreamed of being in an earth-lodge. When he wakes the
[539] seeker sings about the subject of his dream. One song dreamed by an old woman is

e′ha e′ha e′ha e′ha e′ha
(repeated four times)
noai′meso spu′ŋgötgŏple′ spŭ′ŋgötgŏple′
I am the one pursuing you.

It seems that, like a boy at puberty, this seeker, after swimming, may go to the mountains to fast and pile rocks. He may remain there for some time, but one exceptionally rapid quest was cited. Nancy's father having lost a child, he went swimming in Crater lake; before evening he had become a shaman.

787 A power quest under unusual circumstances is that of Lɛle′ks. This man, the most prominent and successful chief of the last century,
• 159 was a berdache in his youth. His people wanted him to give up woman's garb. One day when he lay asleep they placed a woman's

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[148] Gatschet also describes this (*op. cit.*, 1:82–84).

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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canoe pole and a bow and arrows beside him. Shouting suddenly, they woke him and as he leaped up he seized the bow, thus determining his future life. Running off to Mount Scott he spent the night there. As he was returning he smelled the sweaty odor of running horses. In later life he was lucky in everything; much wealth, especially horses, came to him. 787 159

Dreams of the same sort came to men or to old women without being deliberately sought. Should a man have several such visions, he may decide to become a shaman, whereupon he undertakes the customary fire dance of the novice. But if he chooses to ignore them, the power and the opportunity slip away. 787

Last night I [Pat] dreamed a song: I am nearly a shaman. Yesterday I tried to catch fish but it rained too hard. I then went to town but I could not get what I wanted. So I returned home, ate, and lay down. I dreamed that my horses fell in the mire when I drove near the mountain. I wanted to save them but I could not raise them. I heard a woman's song behind me. [539]

dje′udjĭs	snaĭwăs
feathers all over	woman
Helen	sna′wăs
[his daughter's name]	woman

The fish did not like me; they did not let me catch any. They made the bad dream. This is the same way as a shaman dreams.

Another dream, though not of this type, may be inserted here.

Last night I (Coley) dreamed I was chased by a big, black man; not a Negro, just hard to distinguish. He had nearly caught me when I woke and heard the chickens squawking.

There is only a slight tendency to the inheritance of the shaman's art. The case cited above where a shaman received spirit songs because his grandfather had an experience is hardly to the point, since these experiences are so common that every shaman must have had a close relative who obtained power. But my informant's statement that when a powerful shaman dies his child may become a shaman is borne out by her own case. His spirits and his clairvoyant powers (dode′ŭks, dreaming) are released by his death and must go to some-one else. If his relatives keep his pipe or other paraphernalia about, it is certain that his spirits will come to one of them. 756

Nancy's father, who died before she was born, was a shaman. When she was quite small and could first understand, she began to dream of Frog, a big woman spirit. Sometimes she would jump up at night and run, afraid of the dream. The spirits persisted in trying to make her accept until she was grown; finally she heard their voices whispering close behind her. She was about twenty and had several children at the time. Her relatives did not want her to become a shaman. 159 756 787

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

159 756 787 Her older sister (i.e., mother's sister's daughter) gave her medicine so that the spirits would no longer bother her. Two of Nancy's children became sick. A shaman, Alec Wilson, diagnosed their case as due to Nancy's refusal to answer the spirits, to begin the shamanistic performance. Another shaman was called in to relieve her of the spirits. He did it very quickly; he had three or four spirits to lead each of Nancy's "to their side." He used the songs of these spirits immediately, for they were now his. These two spirits were Thunder (lɛme'is) and Falcon (ɛndo'gis). Had Nancy wanted to become a shaman she would have called the people together in order to demonstrate to them in a fire dance.

778 A partial list of spirit places (spŭ'tuks) in Klamath territory is gleaned from my notes. As I made little inquiry about the southern and eastern parts of their country, it happens that most of these lie in the north. They are about equally divided between localities in the Cascade mountains and deep eddies of Williamson river. Undoubtedly some of the rocks described as transformed people, animals, etc., are thought of as places where spirits reside, but as I was not told that power was sought there I have not included them in this list.

Ge'wŭs, Crater lake. People were stolen and taken down into Crater lake by beings there. Some say they have found no water in the lake. Instead there were rocks as big as trees and deep tunnels in the bottom. There are animals, snakes, and a sort of people who live at (or in) the ocean. Men swim in the lake at night to get spirit aid.

778 787 A second site is ma'kwalḳs, a point of rock projecting over Crater lake from the western cliff. The seeker clambers down and piles rocks on the point.

On the northwestern side of Ghost's Nest mountain, which lies southwest from Crater lake, is a saucer-shaped bed of rocks overlooking the whole countryside. Lads built their fires near-by and lie in this in order to see a spirit. On the eastern side of the mountain are piles of four or five large rocks, erected by seekers.

Ho'tkakönks, Mare's Egg spring, is six miles north of Cherry creek on the western side of Agency Lake marsh. They swim here at night. Once men found no water in this pool but a big man, with hair covering his body, standing in it. When they returned he had disappeared and the pool again held water.

Pau'usnĕḳŭs, Harriman (?) mountain southeast of Mount Pitt. The Klamath say this is higher than Mount Pitt; indeed, being nearer, it appears higher. Two accounts pertaining to this mountain may refer to the same incident.

Long ago a Klamath climbed it, but he never returned, for he died of the cold wind although it was summer.

A Pelican bay man, who died long ago, once went to a lake on this mountain at sundown to seek power by swimming. He saw men in it, the backs of some,

> 175 648 [797] told him about the Holy Spirit that was to come to the whole world and visit its remotest parts. When he came back from the Dalles he told his people about it but found them groping in perfect darkness. . . . They would not believe him and told him he lied. He had watched long for the coming of the Holy Spirit and had never doubted that he should see him. He had heard Mr. Meacham talk for many days. . [and] now he saw that he was not like other men and knew that he must be the Holy Spirit come at last to bring gracious gifts for all tribes. . . ."[16]

175 177 648 622 Others—and they were to become more influential—lived for some time with whites and became convinced that the best policy for the Klamath was one of peace. They included Lileks, who in the course of the trading excursions to the north dwelled for several years at The Dalles and was exposed there, no doubt, to the examples of authority set by whites as well as by the Columbia River tribes themselves. Another was Dave Hill, who, starting about 1859, lived approximately five years in Oregon City. Allen David, later to succeed Lileks as head chief in reservation days, was "well versed in the ways of the white man, from travel among the Willamette settlement." Another was Charley Preston who, like Hill, had spent five years at Oregon City, working for white farmers and had become "quite civilized and learned many of the white man's ways. He returned to his tribe and became a headman. . . ."[17]

175 159 622 [595] Men such as these became the leaders of a "peace party" among the Klamath, and their views achieved dominance in the growing centralization of power among the Klamath. Lileks may have consolidated the ascendancy he presently achieved as head of this group by marriages beyond his tribelet: to the four wives from his own, Klamath Marsh, division, he added one each from the Lower Williamson and Klamath Falls groups, as well as one from the Modoc. [177] [681] From the Columbia he or a contemporary brought back new "laws," which included the institution of flogging as punishment for murder or for persistent quarreling. In one instance, ascribed by Spier, with some question, to pre-reservation days, when two men of the Lower Williamson River tribelet slew a Klamath Falls man, Lileks had them haled to Klamath Marsh, where each was beaten five times.[18]

175 648 When, in 1858, it was indicated that Klamath and Rogue

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

No sooner had the party of nine pupils finally gotten under 648*
way than Applegate received a letter from the Commissioner 657*
calling attention to a letter sent him, apparently by Jesse Kirk 871
himself. In it, the writer accused Police Captain Joseph Kirk, a part-Modoc, and Judge Jack Palmer, a Lower End Klamath, of using their influence against sending children to nonreservation schools. "There are two parties here," wrote Applegate, "who [865]
oppose each other on nearly all propositions, the two leaders of which are Captain Joseph Kirk and Rev. Jesse Kirk, half brothers, and who are among our most advanced and able men." He promised to refer the matter to Gen. A. C. Hawley, a Special Agent then visiting Klamath.[15]

Ironically, Jesse Kirk's stand was soon reversed. Soon after he had deposited his sons at Carlisle, the elder boy, Clayton, in company with another pupil, Joseph Ball, ran away and was only recaptured in Pittsburgh. In Applegate's view, Joe Ball, an interbreed and a product of the public school in Klamath Falls, was the ringleader of the escapade and had led his more impressionable companion astray.[16] The senior Kirk thereupon sought to have both sons returned, and Applegate tried to put him off.[17] To Major Pratt at Carlisle he wrote ruefully:

> . . . I have been reconsidering the idea of sending you a class and even regret that I did send the class of nine, as things have turned out. It is hard to get pure bloods to go, and the pressure to get away from the reservation to our non-reservation schools is almost invariably from the mixed element. The Klamaths and Modocs are a determined lot and Rev. Jesse Kirk, son of a resolute old warchief, is no exception to the rule. A short time ago the principal champion of Carlisle he is now ready to move Heaven and Earth to secure the return of his boys since Clayton's escapade, and I wish they were all back.[18]

This action brought into confrontation an embattled Agent 648*
and the defiant leaders of the reservation. In Jesse Kirk the 657*
Indians has as leader a product of those very "civilizing" forces 622
upon which the government had rested sanguine hopes. The son 159 •
and namesake of one of the treaty signatories, we have encountered him previously as schoolboy and carpenter's apprentice, as interpreter and as ordained Methodist preacher. In 1886 a representative of the Indian Rights Association characterized him as "a superior man, in poor health and great poverty, . . .

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 *657 622 • 159 working without salary or assistance of any kind, for the moral and religious improvement of his people. He has a great thirst for knowledge, but has no books, not even a Bible, only some torn fragments of an old one."[19] From Nickerson's time on he had served as judge in the Court of Indian Offenses, while he had likewise been in the forefront of several actions earlier detailed. Thus, in 1896 he was one of five men advocating that money received for pasture be distributed equally among tribal members and that the price for grazing be raised.[20]

Applegate, who had long known him, had gone out of his way to endorse Kirk's financial credit. That he tended to be somewhat slow in paying his debts is more than suggested by a partisan letter written late in the clash by one of Applegate's friends, formerly a trader at the Agency.[21] There is little question that the attention Kirk received magnified his own opinion of his status. In Washington, he gave as his title, "Delegate and Representative Agent of the Klamath Indians of Oregon," suggestive of the equality with the U.S. Indian Agent toward which he aspired. Indeed, ambition of this character, blunted by an administrative surrogacy, was one of the unacknowledged ingredients of the new spirit abroad on the reservation.

*648 *657 571 159 On the Upper End, Henry Jackson, at the summit of his power, chafed under restraint. A former employer recalled him in the time of his power,

> . . . riding day after day like a feudal lord accompanied by his buskined and bespurred henchmen, often white men among them, looking after his cattle on a thousand hills. Henry Jackson is generous and hospitable. No weary traveller is turned away from his mansion, no matter what his race may be, and of the many Indians who appeal to him for financial aid, few are refused. Especially are the people of his home tribe welcomed to his bounty, and when any of them come to Klamath from the Moatwas land on Pit River, his house is their home. He has been known to go to Bonanza, the nearest white Trading Post, and make his neighbors happy by calling for their accounts, amounting to hundreds of dollars, and settling them in full.[22]

Knott C. Egbert, superintendent of the Yainax school and the administrator in charge of the Upper End, saw Henry Jackson somewhat differently. Upon the pages of his reports the "feudal lord" appears as a man defiant of authority and addicted to drink.

His son, Ralph, is depicted as a ne'er-do-well, a ruffian, and a 648*
drunkard. (He later died while awaiting trial for cattle theft.) 657*
His indulgent father, it was said, was convinced that Ralph had 571
a weak heart, and would pay his fine rather than see him in jail. 159
There are manifest in Henry Jackson as in Jesse Kirk some of the same values evinced by the early Klamath: kin-loyalty honored above abstract ethical mandates, merit gauged by generosity, and the dissimulation of hostility are three among them.

As Egbert saw it, "The Jackson outfit are so used to lawlessness and successful concealment afterward that they have gotten to thinking that they have a right to almost anything and then hire witnesses to lie them out of the scrapes. Then too they are all afraid of the czar, Ralph." Alluding to the murder of the Modoc shaman which Henry Jackson had been suspected of instigating, he added, "I will also be afraid of him if they are allowed to go on till they think they can duplicate the killing of Dr. George in the Caucasian race."[23]

The Jacksons in turn were linked to Jeff Riddle, whose daughter Ralph had married. There were, indeed, limits beyond which Riddle would not go. His father had known Applegate well from Modoc War days on, and when stranded on the lyceum tour had relied upon Applegate's generosity for funds. Even after Applegate had resigned his position, Riddle continued to correspond intimately with him.[24] When Ralph beat his wife, Jeff Riddle preferred charges against him.[25] These circumstances aside, Jeff Riddle exemplifies one of the less-partisan leaders who stood somewhat aside from attacks on Applegate but was nonetheless restive under administrative restraint. Later the author of *The Indian History of the Modoc War* (1914), he was first and
foremost a patriot of his people. With others, he focused his bit- 648*
terness against the Indian police, who as "Agency men" consti- 657*
tuted the immediate embodiment of administrative sanctions. 625
Such critics were quick to ferret out and to report derelictions [159]
on the part of the police lieutenant[26] and to oppose other members of the force. Of one such man, Egbert wrote:

> Jeff and others are bitter against Ike Mose as policeman mainly because, I think, he will arrest one of the big men as quickly as one of the smaller prize, so called. Jeff has made his brag that Ike will not be on the force July 4th. For this reason, as well

*648 anticipation of rebuff. It may have as its corollary a diffuse self-
*657 image, since the subject lacks any consistent delineation of his
156 characteristics from the reactions of his fellows. For some, as
177 well, there is a sense that a stable reference to self through time
178 is lacking, since each fresh experience tends to define it anew.
For the majority of tribal members observed over a period of time, enduring reference groups in which one could claim membership were limited to such entities as "Klamath Indian." As Clifton has put it:

> Persons as psychologically isolated as the Klamath must work hard at the business of maintaining their position. They cannot be expected to contribute much in the way of specific demands on others (outside of occasional impulsive outbursts), and they value situations where specific demands are not made on them. We seem to be confronted with a human group whose members share a primary orientation toward living which is organized around the need to be left alone to their own devices as individuals.[39]

Permissive diversity has found an expression in the manner in which individuals have fused life-ways out of historically disparate elements. This was particularly striking among the older Klamath, who in their youth had participated actively in traditional Klamath culture. Some, indeed, pointed to the essential similarity of native ethic and of Christianity; but others found no need to justify their choice. Life for them possessed a meaning that was involved less in the cultural source of its elements than in the condition of their combination.

*648 One old friend, then bedridden and since deceased, may serve
*657 to illustrate the point. As a child she had lived in an earth-lodge
• 159 and witnessed her uncle, the shaman, Alec Wilson, performing
177 his cures. Later, as a young woman, she became ill when dream-
178 ing of a shaman, and recovered only when he had been forced to
156 treat her. The gathering of traditional foods and the weaving of
baskets had been part of her skills. A sweat lodge stood outside her cabin. She spoke Klamath and knew the native myths and songs.

Yet equally, she was a product of the Agency school and had worked at the military post of Fort Klamath. When she married, she wed her husband at the Methodist Mission. Together, they ranched together on Klamath Marsh, and with her daughter and

grandchildren, she was a familiar figure in boomtown Chiloquin. Cured by the Shakers, she almost joined the church, then changed her mind. From her bed, she discussed a life-way that was an indissoluble blend of diverse elements integrated by their personal import. When she narrated or discussed a Klamath myth, her assimilation of a Christian ethic was evident in the delicate manner in which she skirted obscene passages. In admonishing her great-grandson, she spoke in the traditional manner, but in English, the only tongue they shared. The English she spoke, like that of her boarding-school contemporaries, was likewise syncretic; for it bore the impress of Klamath sound patterns and grammatical categorization. 648* 657* 159 178 177 156 [191]

Individuals such as she, often happy to escape from the gray reality of age into nostalgic memory, initially struck the observer as conservative when contrasted with the young people: the boys in Levis, cowboy boots, and leather jackets, the girls in jeans and plaid shirts, who spoke little or no Klamath, and who loitered in the cafes of Chiloquin hanging on the heavy beat of the jukebox. Yet at most, such folk were old-fashioned, and still retained the tastes and inclinations of long habit. Their commitment was selective. Those who still liked to dig the roots known as ipos did so, not with an aboriginal digging stick, but with the more durable iron counterpart made years ago by the Agency blacksmith; and they traveled to and from the grounds, not on horseback, but in the most modern of automobiles. 648* 657* 156 177 178

If there were tribal members who wanted to have as little as possible to do with whites, they did not thereupon stop speaking English or give up their houses, cars, and radios to accomplish this. They continued to purchase food and other necessary items from white merchants. Indeed, their hostility might find short shrift from another Klamath who commanded more knowledge of the traditional lore and still recounted the old myths to her grandchildren, yet possessed many friends among the whites.

Clearly, there was at Klamath in the latter days of the reservation no clearly distinguishable category of the "native-oriented," in the sense of a preferential adherence to the institutions of native life. Deliberate retentions rather served as the diacritics marking an ethnic nationality.[20] The use of the Klamath language to signify an Indian estate was one marker. It might be used on 648* 657* 177 178 [191]

6: Clifton and Levine

NR10 Klamath NR10

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[For life history materials based upon case studies, see category 116, pp. 15-72.]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 Pacific Coast, tribal members lived in urban centers as well: in
*657 the cities of the Willamette Valley, in Portland, where about a hundred dwelled, in Seattle to the north and Sacramento and San Francisco to the south. Beyond this area and eastward to the Atlantic Coast the number dropped sharply, although there were tribal members as far distant as Massachusetts. Only a handful of the absentee members lived on other reservations.[3]
[619] Tribal families residing in the same city demonstrated little tendency to form a compact ethnic enclave.

*648 Within the reservation, tribal members in the Lower End
*657 communities of Chiloquin, Modoc Point, and Klamath Agency
489 were almost half again as numerous as those in the Upper End
[491] towns of Sprague River and Beatty.[4] (See map of Klamath Indian Reservation.) Travel between the Lower End and Klamath Falls, the largest city in the county and its administrative seat, was relatively easy by comparison with the Upper End, and the advantage remained even after a market road was constructed linking the latter directly with the county seat. As a result, Beatty and Sprague River long had closer ties with such towns on the eastern periphery as Bly, Bonanza, and Lakeview, far smaller communities than Klamath Falls, and correspondingly less complex from an institutional standpoint.

*648 During the first years of the termination program, between
*657 the publication of the provisional and final rolls of the Tribe, the
• 16 change of address of tribal members reflected the migration currents. Within the reservation, movement ran from smaller to larger communities. Between the reservation and the outer world, the records show almost three times as many Klamath departing as returning. Those leaving the reservation were drawn to cities, rather than the rural countryside or the smaller towns. Although the rate of movement had accelerated in those days, the trends hold true for the entire postallotment period.

A survey of the motives which at an earlier time had brought Klamath to Chiloquin and to Klamath Falls shows that consumer values ranked high. A few had come to seek jobs, particularly to the county seat, for the narrow range of opportunities on the reservation offered little choice. Others left the reservation to escape what they regarded as the stultification of reservation life or the demands upon the ambitious made by the claims of kins-

648* 657* 16

men. The major attractions, however, were the stores, the schools, the movies, the excitement, and the entertainment. These advantages seem likewise to have favored the shift to larger communities.

Thus, over an extended period of time, there has been a substantial and growing body of Klamath who, while retaining an equity in the tribal estate and membership in the tribal body, have come to dwell away from the reservation and who visit it infrequently, if at all. Their daily life is spent within a milieu, and in reliance upon a "personal community"—to use Jules Henry's expressive term[5]—made up largely of non-Klamath.

648* 657* 144

The heterogeneity of the Klamath is also reflected by their biological composition. While the characterization of the degree of Indian heritage, expressed as a "blood quantum," is open to occasional error in individual instances, the figures taken in summation reveal significant differences. By 1955, only twenty-eight per cent of the absentee members could claim to be biologically of over one-half Indian ancestry, and even for those dwelling upon the reservation the corresponding figure was no more than fifty-four per cent. Within the reservation, in turn, Lower End Klamath were markedly less Indian by this measure, falling between the values for absentee and Upper End members.[6]

648* 657* 162

Like many other Indian groups, the Klamath population possesses a large segment of younger members, marking an increase over the early decades of the present century. In the days of termination, those under twenty years of age comprised no fewer than forty-seven per cent of the total tribal membership, a figure exceeding that for the general population of the United States, of which only one-third fell within the corresponding bracket.[7] Although these figures are often interpreted as reflecting improved health conditions on the reservation, they also reflect an increased rate of marriage with non-Indians. [563]

648* 657* 184 361

The variety of Klamath life during the latter days of their tribal existence may be illustrated by data from the Upper End community of Beatty, the Lower End city of Chiloquin, and from the off-reservation communities of Klamath Falls and Eugene-Springfield in the Willamette Valley.

Beatty and Chiloquin represent special facets of reservation

The Klamath numbered 3000 in the historic period, the Modoc not so many. This is the testimony of Tom Lang, yet the number is much too large. Palmer[18] put their number at 415 in thirteen villages in 1854, but his list of villages indicates that he counted only the ä'ukckni (Klamath marsh) division. This would be about eighty-three families, a reasonable average of six houses to a settlement. At the time, however, the Klamath were said to be considerably reduced, and I was told of twenty-nine or more ä'ukckni settlements dating from this period, and said to be all occupied at the time. Yet, as no great epidemic was reported, it is doubtful that the population had been diminished by half. Possibly the occupation of the sites was more seasonal than I was told: a movement to Klamath marsh in summer, returning to the warmer Williamson valley in winter. Assuming a partial reduction and some fluctuating occupation, we may arbitrarily set the ä'ukckni at half as many again, say 600. The ä'ukckni settlements numbered half of the total and my informants' impression was that in population they were as many as all the other divisions together. This would mean that the Klamath as a whole numbered only 1200. Palmer's figure would give a mere 800, and the evidence of the settlements, a possible 2000. Our twelve hundred is not far from that of Kroeber, who set the combined Klamath and Modoc population at 2000, two-thirds of them being Klamath.[19] Mooney's estimate of 800 seems low.[20] 174 161 •

Early Contacts with the Whites

Contacts with the whites date back to 1825 or somewhat earlier. In 1826–27 Peter Ogden spent two months among the Klamath.[21] His first meeting with them seems to have been on Klamath marsh. 175

> Wednesday, 30th Nov. [1826]. Course south to Clammitt River [Klamath marsh?] 25 miles from River of the Falls [Deschutes]. Mr. McKay proceeded ahead to an Indian village distant 3 miles. It was composed of 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. Their tents are constantly guarded. They regretted we had opened a communication from the mountains. They said "The Nez Percés have made different attempts to reach our village but could not succeed. Even last summer we discovered a war party of Cayuse and Nez Percés in search of us; but they did not find us. Now they will have yr. road to follow. We have no fire arms. Still we fear them not. [131] [361] [342] [721]

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[18] Quoted by Gatschet, 1:lviii.

[19] Kroeber, Handbook, 320.

[20] Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 18.

[21] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

[141] They are well provided with bows and arrows. They have only one horse.
Snow is so deep, horses perish for want of food. In winter, they live on roots.
[231] In summer on antelope and fish.

December 1st. 30 Clammite Indians paid us a visit: fine men in good condition, but wretchedly clad. They say the river to the ocean is far distant and beaver they do not know. They say the Indians become more numerous as we advance to the ocean. . . . .

[342] Tuesday 6th. Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square
made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defence against arrows but not
[161] balls. 200 of them collected about our camp and traded 4 days. The 2 chiefs
delivered traps lost by Mr. McDonald last year with 8 beaver. This is much in
[439] favor of their honesty. On our march this day, we passed the camps from wh.
Mr. McDonald turned back last year and are consequently strangers to the country in advance.

[161] Thursday 8th. About 300 Indians around our camp. We advanced 6 miles south following the river south. I estimate the Clammitte nation 250 men.

Monday 12th. Reached the lake [Klamath lake?] 1½ × 15 miles well wooded with maple and hazel; course S.

[361] The second visit on record is that of Frémont, who reached the northern shore of Klamath marsh on December 10, 1843. He saw smoke at what appeared to be the middle of the marsh and along the opposite shore. An unoccupied northern shore agrees with my own information. The following day he visited the village "in the middle of the lake (or savannah)," which appears to be one of those at the outlet of the marsh.

[342] The huts were grouped together on the bank of the [Klamath] river, which, from being spread out in a shallow marsh at the upper end of the lake, was collected here into a single stream. They were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams.

Almost like plants, these people seem to have adapted themselves to the soil,
and to growing on what the immediate locality afforded. Their only sub-
[226] sistence at this time appeared to be a small fish, great quantities of which, that
had been smoked and dried, were suspended on strings about the lodge. Heaps
[252] of straw were lying around; and their residence in the midst of grass and
rushes had taught them a peculiar skill in converting this material to useful
[285] purposes. Their shoes were made of straw or grass, which seemed well adapted
for a snowy country; and the women wore on their head a closely woven
[291] basket, which made a very good cap. Among other things, were parti-colored
mats about four feet square, which we purchased to lay on the snow under our
blankets, and to use for table cloths.

[231] Numbers of singular-looking dogs, resembling wolves, were sitting on the tops of the huts. . . . .

[648] They made us comprehend that they were at war with the people who lived to the southward and to the eastward; but I could obtain from them no certain information. . . . .

This morning the camp was thronged with Tlamath Indians from the southeastern shore of the lake. . . . .

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

and they tended to retain a greater concern with hunting, a condition M 133
which archeology tells us was characteristic of the early 226
Klamath, but which the latter came somewhat to relinquish with 224
their concentration upon the product of the waters. Likewise, 433
the Modoc seem to have placed a somewhat greater premium M
upon the gathering of wild seeds, in a typically Basin-California [222]
manner. Nonetheless, fishing was by no means neglected, and [361]
their villages lay principally about Lower Klamath, Tule, and Clear lakes, as well as upon Lost River which roughly parallels the Sprague in its westward course, until it bends south to empty its waters into Tule Lake.

Protected by relatively inhospitable land to the north, by K
broken hills to the east and south, and by the Cascades on the M
west, the Klamath-Modoc homeland fostered a culture somewhat 131
provincial in character, owing to its remoteness from major 101
centers of development, yet distinctive in style. Neither people occupied, for any distance, the Klamath River, which drains the Klamath Lakes and falls through its canyon to the Pacific; and neither seems to have been directly affected by the culture that emerged along its lower reaches among the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa.

Favored though they were by contrast to the Great Basin, the K
Klamath uplands did not support a large aboriginal population. M
The Klamath and Modoc together have variously been estimated 161
to have totaled between twelve hundred and two thousand, the Klamath having about double the numbers of their southern kinsmen. Population densities provide a further perspective. Those for the Shasta immediately to the southwest and for the Oregon Coast were roughly ten times as great as that of the Klamath-Modoc. The Kalapuya of the Willamette Valley and the Takelma of the Upper Rogue furnished figures about twice as great, and the Achomawi and Atsugewi of the Pit River drainage south of the Modoc had densities four times the value for our tribes. Within the Plateau, the Sahaptin-speaking peoples of the middle Columbia and the Blue Mountains approximated their figure. In the Great Basin and the Southern Plateau, the Shoshonean Bannock, Northern Paiute, and Shoshone provided figures only one quarter as great. If the figure is taken to reflect the intensity of land use, the Klamath Basin was on a par with the

7

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K
M middle Columbia, far below the Coast and California, and in turn
• 161 considerably above the Great Basin.[6]

000 The mind's eye, drawing upon descriptions of early explorers and modern ethnographers,[7] can recreate the life of the early nineteenth century. It is a life that moves through a succession of activities with the seasons, each characterized by a community of different size and constituency. On a miniscule scale they resemble the "task groupings" which Anastasio has analysed in the intertribal relations on the Plateau.[8]

K During the long winters, existence is centered in the permanent
M settlements, for the altitude of the Klamath Basin is over four
221 thousand feet and snow often drifts deep. An accrued depth of
132 six to eight feet is common; while in the exceptional winter of
133 1890-91 a figure of thirty feet, undoubtedly in drifts, was recorded
361 at the head of Agency Lake. Crude, circular bearpaw snowshoes
481 provide a poor means of winter travel, and the settlements tend
262 to become isolated; most people are forced to remain in the villages, supplementing the meager winter catch with stores of dried fish and meat, roots, seeds, and berries.

K From a distance, the winter settlement has the appearance of
M hillocks strung out along the bank or clustered in a sheltered
221 spot. In size it may range from several score houses—there are
361 perhaps a hundred house pits at one favored site on Klamath
342 Marsh, though not all may have been occupied at the same time —down to tiny hamlets of one or two earth lodges and a few mat huts.[9] Within the village, the earth lodges are the dominant struc-
K tures, with the domed huts flanking them. In Klamath settlements,
M communal storage pits shelter the bulk of supplies; but the
343 Modoc prefer to conceal foodstuffs in household caches some
251 distance from the houses.

One Klamath woman recalled her childhood hamlet, part of
K a settlement totaling roughly two dozen houses,[10] on the lower
361 reaches of the Williamson River. Here she and her parents lived
342 with her maternal uncle, the shaman later known as Alex Wilson, whose earth lodge was the largest in the hamlet. Nearby was another lodge, the residence of Hunter Wilson, brother of Alex and headman of the family group. Some four or five mat-covered
K lodges and huts stood in the vicinity, the larger ones closer to
[343] the water for cooking and the sewing of tule mats, the smaller

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

TEN

[P.125]

The Changing Environs

THE ISOLATION OF THE RESERVATION HAD NEVER BEEN MORE THAN A 657* relative condition. From early days the soldiers at Fort Klamath, 648* the settlers on Wood River and the Upper Sprague, together [361] with the growing towns of Linkville and Lakeview, made its [166] seclusion far less than absolute. A policy that permitted the [464] freighting runs to Jacksonville and Ashland or the pass system by which perhaps three-fourths of the men and their families were permitted to leave the reservation for as long as four months to work for whites: these greatly diminished the policy controls exercised by the Agent.

In the period ahead, however, boundaries were to be further [161] dissolved. In 1882 Nickerson could declare, "This reservation contains as many inhabitants to the square mile as Lake County or Eastern Oregon."[2] Homesteaders were even then filling up the land, and the rate accelerated as Linkville—become Klamath Falls—and Lakeview responded to the market and communication needs of the region. When the Southern Pacific railroad reached Klamath Falls in 1909, the resource relationships in the Klamath Basin changed radically. Reservation timber, previously [313] of little commercial value, suddenly possessed great worth and the mills in Klamath Falls and neighboring communities soon became reliant upon it. The Oregon, Central, and Eastern railroad ran up the Sprague River Valley, while by 1911 the Southern Pacific had pushed north across the western face of the reservation to Kirk. In 1923 work was resumed on the latter line to complete the Natron Cutoff from the Willamette Valley; three years later it was completed. Thereafter, the Lower End lay on a main line.

Thus, to the cattlemen and sheepmen operating on the reser- [563] vation under grazing leases were added railway gangs, then

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

*657 logging camps and mill towns. In 1930, at a time when the total
*648 enrollment of the tribe was some 1,250 persons, the predomi-
[563] nantly non-Indian population of one such reservation town,
• [161] Chiloquin, and its environs was roughly 1,850, a figure which
placed it second in size in the entire county. Indian-white relationships in such communities could no longer be adequately
regulated by the Agent. Moreover, improved means of communi-
[484] cation made it possible for an Indian to travel off the reservation
at will and thus beyond the reach of Agency authority. Most
[434] important of all, income from grazing leases, claims against the
government, and land and timber sales gave him the equality
of the marketplace.

*648 The maintenance of boundaries was justified in official corre-
*657 spondence of the eighties by the fate of those Indians who went
166 off the reservation. "Quite a number of the Indians," wrote
423 Emery, "obtain passes and go out to seek a living among the
whites. They usually camp in the suburbs of our little towns. With few exceptions these Indians become thriftless vagabonds. . . ."[3]

In 1884, Nickerson felt it necessary to counter the proposal of Judge W. S. Moore, of Linkville, that Sammy Andy, an Indian who had been working for Moore on pass, be allowed to locate permanently at Linkville and be released from the control of the U.S. Indian Agent.

> As there is no land that this man can secure as a homestead [he concluded], . . . [and] as I have no assurance that he has means sufficient to purchase a home suitable for his support, I do not approve of nor advise that the request be granted at present. Judge Moore has been very kind to this Indian, but should he die or move away, the Indian would be in a poor position to live, and would be subject to many serious temptations.[4]

The need for a general policy became apparent when several Modoc families who had never been on the reservation preempted homesteads in the Tule Basin. A reservation Indian, upon the advice of an attorney, likewise renounced his tribal relations and took up a homestead. "He has become deficient under his supposed citizenship," reported Nickerson, "and says he will not allow the Police to arrest him. . . . There is a white man

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 *657 619 641 Tribal membership was, as we have seen, only one of several political roles in which Klamath might participate, and in some measure it lay athwart the others. Citizenship in the United States, granted generally to American Indians in 1924, affiliation with state, county, and municipality: these political memberships are explicit in character, conditional upon the fulfillment of stated requirements and with the exercise of well-defined rights. Superficially, tribal membership appears to possess a similar character. In the admission of new members, both the establishment of qualifications and the decision upon individual candidates rested with the Tribe, though subject to review by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Applicants had to be of Klamath parentage on at least one side, and those of one-quarter or more Klamath heritage were automatically admitted upon application. In 1945 a clause was added permitting adoption of members of one-sixteenth heritage, contingent upon assurances that they would reside upon the reservation and participate in tribal activities.

[161] [162] In practice, Indian heritage of any sort, and not merely that stemming from the Klamath Tribe, was reckoned in; and token assurances of participation and residence have conventionally been accepted. Of the final enrollment of 2,133 tribal members, 86 fell within the category of one-sixteenth quantum. Of these, 12 dwelt on the reservation and another 12 in Klamath Falls, the remaining 62 residing at some distance from the seat of tribal government. Once enrolled, members have not been subject to review, save when their original qualifications were called into question.

[602] [621] In a membership that was not conditional upon performance, the Tribe had a great deal in common with such ascriptive entities as the family and ramified kin, the traditional tribe, and the broad regional communities into which the latter had tended to cluster.

[602] Family loyalties have been at once strong and selective. At times, they have provided continuities of interest within a single line. Here, for example, were the Rev. Jesse Kirk, himself the son of a treaty signatory, and his sons, Clayton, Seldon, and Jesse Lee; here old chief Monchnkasgitk, and his sons, Harrison and Henry Brown; here Judge William Crawford, his wife, Eliza, and their son, Wade; here Henry Jackson, his half-brother, Ike, and the latter's son, Boyd Jackson.

000 For the recency of separation of the Modoc, see Gatschet (1890), Pt. 1, pp. 13, 14, n.13, 1.

5. See Sapir, reprinted in Mandelbaum (1951), pp. 169-78.

K M [114] [161] 6. Mooney (1928), p. 18, gives a value for the Klamath of 800 and for the Modoc, 400 persons. Kroeber (1925), p. 320, sets the combined figure at 2,000 and estimates that the Klamath have always numbered more than twice the Modoc population. Spier (1930), p. 5, reaches total figures in agreement with Kroeber. Kroeber (1939), pp. 136-38, reverts to Mooney's values in estimating tribal densities.

7. For the latter, chiefly Barrett (1910), Coville (1897, 1904), Curtin (1912), Curtis (1924), Dorsey (1901), Gatschet (1890), Kroeber (1925), Powers (1877), Ray (1963), and Spier (1930), the last two being the most important sources, respectively, for Modoc and Klamath.

8. Anastasio (1955). The changing societal constellations each directed toward a common task also resemble the "structural poses" described by Gearing (1962), for the eighteenth-century Cherokee, with the difference that the social groups entering into the constellations among the Klamath and Modoc are, by comparison, far more diffuse and less well defined.

9. Spier (1930), p. 13, site 6.

10. See Spier (1930), p. 15, site 23. The settlement size follows Spier.

11. As the Klamath pungently express it, "They even divide up a flea." Barker (1963), pp. 162-63.

K [648] [625] 12. An Agent once requested waiver of the stipulation that Indian police must stand five feet eight inches in height, since few Klamath men could qualify.

13. Dorsey (1901), p. 21.

14. Quoted in Pearsall (1950), pp. 348 ff. For details of wokas preparation, see Coville (1904).

15. Spencer (1956), pp. 77 ff. From time to time, I heard much the same speech directed by this woman to the boy, aged twelve. As Spencer remarks, at no time did his immediate actions give occasion for her harangue. She was, however, much concerned over some of his associates.

K M [594] 16. The term "natal family" is employed as a more graceful alternative to the conventional "family of orientation," to denote the nuclear unit into which the individual is born and within which he is reared. For similar reasons, I have preferred the term "marital family" to denote the "family of procreation," a similar entity seen from the vantage of the married partners who stand at its head. See Murdock (1949), p. 13, for a discussion of the original terms.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

000 to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 11, 1905). Letters in the O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

74. Levi Walker, Chairman, and Elmer Lynch, Secty., *Minutes of Meeting* (March 2, 1905); *Report of Committee* (March 2, 1905), signatures lacking in office copy.

75. *Report of Committee* (March 2, 1905).

76. F. H. Mills to Dudley and Michener (Feb. 23, 1905), National Archives microfilm, Frames 3018–28.

77. C. F. Larrabee, Acting Commr., to O. C. Applegate (April 1, 1905 [Grande Ronde], May 1, 1906 [Klamath]). O. C. Applegate *Papers.* Applegate's quest for an Inspectorship in the Indian Service, however, was unavailing. F. E. Leupp, Commr. to Henry L. Benson (Dec. 19, 1905); Benson to O. C. Applegate (Jan. 8, 1906). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

78. Anna C. Egan, Supt. Klamath School, to O. C. Applegate (July 18, 1905). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

79. J. W. Evans to O. C. Applegate (March 26, 1906). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

80. Klamath Falls *Republican* (Dec. 6, 1906), p. 1.

81. K. C. Egbert, Siletz, to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 18, 1905; March 22, 1905). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

THIRTEEN. MODERN KLAMATH: DEMOGRAPHY AND ECONOMY

1. Lange (1953), pp. 87 ff. In Pelican Rapids and Chickamon, respectively, may be seen the county seat and the reservation community. The author was manager of a woods camp on the reservation in the early thirties. Residents deny, however, that Chiloquin's Main Street was divided as Lange described, though they recognize it in Klamath Falls.

2. The data derive from an analysis of demographic data as-
*648 sembled by Jack Pierce for the Klamath Termination Project, under
*657 the direction of Dr. Vincent Ostrom and the writer. Utilizing the pro-
• 161 visional enrollment of the tribe as published in the *Federal Register*
162 (May 13, 1955), 2,118 members, Pierce drew a random sample comprising 719 individuals. From among them were abstracted two subsets, comprising those individuals resident on the reservation and those dwelling in such urban centers as Klamath Falls, Springfield, and Eugene. Since data were few on children below the age of sixteen, they were eliminated from the subsets, which then numbered, respectively, 228 and 43.

3. Tabulation of residence of 718 individuals in the random sample, n.2, expressed as per cent.

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Reservation:		
Chiloquin	30.5	
Modoc Point	0.3	
Klamath Agency	3.9	
Total Lower End		34.7
Sprague River	8.2	
Beatty	15.6	
Total Upper End		23.8
Klamath Falls	7.4	
Other Klamath County	2.0	
Klamath County		9.4
Willamette Valley		7.5
Other Oregon		7.1
California		9.3
Washington–Idaho		3.1
Other		5.1
		100.0

4. See n.3 for tabulation.

5. Henry (1958).

6. The figures come from a demographic review of a sample of tribal members above the age of sixteen, made as part of the Klamath Termination Study. For this restricted sample, the proportion of reservation population one-half or less in Indian heritage is 33 per cent. When calculated separately, the Lower End segment stands at 41 per cent, almost double the figure for the Upper End, with 24 per cent.

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Available figures have made it necessary to compare the reservation and absentee memberships over the full age range, rather than to restrict consideration to those above sixteen. Upon this base, the over-all value for the reservation increases from the figure given above to 46 per cent, while that for the absentee membership, 72 per cent, is almost double. Thus the Lower End stands biologically intermediate between Upper End, with the highest Indian heritage, and the absentee segment, with the lowest.

7. Hadley (1957), p. 29. The figures for the United States are for 1957. 000

8. Du Toit (1959).

9. Stern and Swanson (1960).

Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
648 towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation, by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically, less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
[657] efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
[786] 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
[181] in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
[556] wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal mem-
[434] bers, as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and for-
[651] feited bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

132 over," so that the running waters never swell, but show the same water level
throughout the year. Nights are chilly and really cold, for the soil reflects
against the clear sky all the heat received from the sun during the day, and
the dry night air pervading the highlands absorbs all the moisture it can.
[342] Winters are severe; snow begins to fall early in November, and in the later
months it often covers the ground four feet high, so that the willow lodges
(not the winter houses) completely disappear, and the inmates are thus sheltered
from the cold outside. The lakes never freeze over entirely, but ice
[241] forms to a great thickness. The cold nights produce frosts which are very
destructive to crops in the vicinity of the Cascade Range, but are less harmful
to gardening or cereals at places more distant; and in Lost River Valley,
at Yáneks—even at Linkville—melons, turnips, potatoes, and other vegetables
rarely fail. The mean annual temperature as observed some years ago
at Fort Klamath was 40.47° Fahr.

000 There are several instances in America where highlands have become
centers of an aboriginal culture. Such instances are the plateaus of Anahuac,
Guatemala, Bogotá, and of Titicaca Lake. They contained a dense
population, more cultured than their barbaric neighbors, whom they succeeded
in subjugating one after the other through a greater centralization
161 and unity of power. The Klamath highlands can be compared to the plateaus
above named in regard to their configuration, but they never nourished
a population so dense that it could exercise any power analogous to
that above mentioned. Moreover, there was no intellectual and centralizing
element among these Indians that could render them superior to their neighbors,
all of whom maintained about the same level of culture and intelligence

TOPOGRAPHIC LIST OF CAMPING PLACES.

361 To form a correct idea of the dissemination of Indians in this sparsely
inhabited country, the following lists of camping places will furnish serviceable
data. The grounds selected by the Máklaks for camping places are
of two kinds: either localities adapted for establishing a fishing or hunting
camp of a few days' or weeks' duration or for a whole summer season, or
[342] they are places selected for permanent settlement. Winter lodges (luldamaláksh)
or slab houses are often built at the latter places; whereas the

000 one in a series of similar butcheries. Apparently it occurred in 1852, and the particulars are all given in Texts, pages 13 and 14.

175 101 131 One of the earliest reports upon these tribes made to the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Washington is that of Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, dated Dayton, Oregon, September 11, 1854. Palmer states that the lands of the Klamath Indians extend upon the eastern base of the Cascade range for about thirty miles east, and that east of them live the "Mo-docks," who speak the same language as the Klamaths; and east of these again, extending farther south, are the "Mo-e-twas" (Pit 175 649 River Indians). These two last-named tribes have always evinced a deadly hostility to the whites, and the Modocs boasted of having within the last four years murdered thirty-six whites. Palmer entered into an agreement with the Klamath Indians to keep the peace with the white people, and also sent messengers to the Modocs and Pit Rivers, believing that henceforth [161] the immigrants would be spared from their attacks. The Klamath Lakes were then enfeebled by wars with the surrounding tribes and by conflicts among themselves, and were said to number but four hundred and fifteen souls. He counted seven villages on Upper Klamath Lake, two on Pliock Creek (P'laíkni or Sprague River), three on Toqua Lake (Túkua), and one 175 411 231 on Coasto (Kohâshti) Lake.* The Indians had some guns, horses, camp equipage, and the aboriginal war-club and "elk-skin shield" (kaknō'lsh). Little Klamath Lake he calls An-coose, a corruption of Agáwesh.

714 Neither Klamath Lake nor Modoc Indians have taken any part in the great Oregon war of 1854–'56, although their sympathies were of course strongly in favor of the aboriginal cause.

000 For the year 1854 Powers records a battle fought by Captain Judy against Modoc and Shasti Indians on the Klamath River, north of Yreka, in which some women of the Shasti were killed.

The Report of 1859 speaks of continued hostilities on the side of the Modocs against passing immigrants and of the murdering of a party of five white men in Jackson County, Oregon. Two of the murderers belonged to the tribe of Chief Lelékash, and three of the perpetrators were seized and killed by the Klamath Indians (page 392).

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* This would make only six, not seven, villages.

175 changed their settlements, as hunting nations are in the habit of doing.
648 Thus Pauline Marsh, near Silver Lake, and Pauline Lake, on one of the head springs of Des Chutes River, were both named after the Snake chief Panaína of our Texts. The bands established upon the Reservation since the treaty was concluded are called Walpapi and Yahushkin. At first they ran off and committed depredations in the vicinity, whereupon the Government was compelled to force them back. General Crook made several expeditions in the execution of the task. These campaigns were short and decisive, and the Klamath Lake scouts engaged in them did good service, as evidenced by General Crook's reports[*] and Dave Hill's Text, pages 28–33. Upon the defeat and killing of Panaína, the Walpapi chief, the tribe finally quieted down and remained neutral in the commotion caused by the Modoc war of 1872–'73.

175 161 164 No indications are at hand of the number of Indians formerly inhabiting the headwaters of the Klamath River. Before the first census was taken estimates deserving no credence were made, varying from one thousand to two thousand Indians. In those times the scourges of small-pox, syphilis, and whisky did not inflict such terrible ravages as they do now among the Indians; but instead of these the continual tribal quarrels, family vengeance, the ordeals of witchcraft, dearth of food, and the inhuman treatment of the females must have claimed many more victims than at
[523] present. Emigration and intermarriages with other tribes were rather the
[167] exception than the rule, and are so even now.

THE TREATY OF 1864.

175 648 During the ten years following Wright's massacre the country began to assume a somewhat different aspect through the agricultural and stock-raising settlements of white people that sprung up in Lost River Valley, around Little Klamath Lake and in other places. The cession of lands to the "Oregon Central Military Road Company" from Eugene City, in Willámet Valley, through the Cascade range, across the Klamath Marsh, to

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[113] [*] Contained in the Report of the Secretary of War, 1868–'69, Part I, pp 69, 70, dated September 2, 1867, and March 19, 1868. The troops killed twenty-four Snake Indians in the expedition of 1867. See also Texts, Note to 28, 14.

648 1888 and 500 broken by them; 10,000 acres were inclosed by fences.
657 The crops of 1888 amounted to 8,000 bushels of wheat, 4,000 of oats and
241 barley, 1,000 bushels of vegetables, 3,000 tons of hay; and 500 pounds of
231 butter were manufactured. Of lumber 100,000 feet were sawed. The
313 Indians transported with their own teams 500 tons of freight, and thereby
434 earned $1,500. The two boarding-schools, one at the Klamath Agency
and the other at Yáneks, in the same year boarded 215 pupils at a cost to
the Government of $18,764—about $10.40 a month per capita.

311 The number of acres contained within the Klamath Reservation is 1,056,000, and of these only about 20,000 acres are considered to be tillable land. The rest is occupied by woods, marshes, rocks, and other hindrances to cultivation.

797 The school and church interests are in the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which also has a vote in the appointment of the United States agent.

657 The statistics of population have furnished reliable data only from the
161 time when annuities were first distributed among these Indians. This ne-
162 cessitated an annual count of each family, giving the number of the individuals belonging to each. One of these was made during my presence on the reserve on October 30, 1877, before the winter supplies were dealt out to the tribe. The summary is as follows:

David Hill, chief, at Agency and on Williamson River	225
P'lú, head chief, at the bridge, Williamson River	122
Long John, chief	103
Jack, chief	92
Lílo, chief	23
Total	565

The census taken in the Sprague River Valley, Yáneks subagency, furnished the following figures, Klamath Lake Indians and Modocs being indiscriminately included:

Littlejohn, chief	14
Skóntchish, chief	18
Modoc Johnson, head chief	71
Ben, chief	61
Brown, chief	30
Total	194

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

161 The Snake Indians were not counted at that time, but were assumed
657 to have the same population as in 1876: 137. This gives a total of Indians
162 for the Reservation of 896. This count included about eight mixed bloods and seven Warm Spring Indians from the Des Chutes River. The boarding-school at the Klamath Agency then had eighteen pupils of both sexes.

The reports of the Indian Commissioner for 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, and 1884 can not be fully relied on, since they give the same figures for *each* of these years with an unvarying total of 1,023 Indians—Klamaths, 707; Modocs, 151; Snake Indians, 165.

The report of 1888, Joseph Emery agent, gives 788 Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians and 145 Snake Indians, a total of 933 individuals.

Probably the most reliable data were furnished by the Indian census made in 1881 for the United States Census Bureau, from March to August:

	Klamaths.	Modocs.	Molale.	Snakes.	Totals.
Total of tribes on Reservation	676	122	55	165	1,018
Number of males	286	58	30	80	454
Number of females	390	64	25	85	564
Unmarried at fourteen years and upwards	109	6	9	11	135
Number married	286	55	14	65	420
Number of full bloods	664	122	53	165	1,004
Number of mixed bloods	12	....	2	....	14
Number below twenty-one years	291	58	35	89	473
Number above twenty-one years	385	64	20	76	545
Supported one half or more by civilized industries	36	6	7	....	49
Supported one-half or more by Government	38	3	....	2	43
Number wearing citizens' dress	630	112	55	165	962
Acres under cultivation	2,249	140	36	....	2,425
Number attending school	36	1	....	3	40

This enumeration is remarkable on account of the large number of Molale Indians mentioned in it, an element of the population which is nowhere else designated as such in the periodical reports made by the agents.

VARIOUS ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTICES.

I.

* 539 619 161 É-ukshikni vunépni laláki gítko. Tiná hundred ndankshaptánkni
The Lake people four chiefs have. Once hundred (and) eight times
té-unip hihashuátchχash pé-ulatko É-ushtat, túnepni tá-unep máklaks
ten men (are) at the Lake, five times ten persons
É-ukshikni Yaínakshi. Tiná hundred pēn láp pé-ula látchash. Tumántka
of the Lake people at Yáneks. Once hundred and two (are) lodges. By the crowd
shute-uápka lakí.
will be elected a chief.

302 É-ukshikni hushmō'kla hushmoklō'tkishtka; kinkán' smō'k gī'tk,
The Lake men remove the beard with hair-pincers; spare beard they have,
atínsh lák gī'tko. Shiáshgatko lák; snawédshash kaílish pan lák gitk. Hä
long hair having. Is cut (their) hair; a woman belt down to hair wears. If
snáwedshash hishuátchχash mbû'shni, hûnk ktû'tchka; hishuákshash wátch
a female with a man consorts, they crop (her) hair; the man for horses
sχókta: tû'm wátch wuχó-we.
they fine: many horses he has to give up.

372 Shû'dsha lóloks slikuíshtka; tsússak m'nálamtana látchash shû'dsha.
They kindle the fire by fire drill; constantly close to their lodges they have a fire.
Lakí kshiulakgishχéni géna nanukä'nash ndéna: "tída ul wéwal-
A chief to the dance-house goes (and) to all cries out: "straight stand
χat! tchä'lχet nánuk! wawálχat! shúinat! híshuaksh pīl shúinat! Nû
up! sit down ye all! stand up! sing! the men only must sing! Myself
533 tchúinuapk! ī tchuī'n! túla shuín! Tiä'mantk shuī'sh. Átĕnish ewá
I will sing! you sing! with (me) sing! (I am) hungry for songs. Now I have enough
shuī'sh; átĕni kĕléwi shuī'sh."—"Slámuapk ī nánuk! shuáktchuapk ī nánuk!
of songs; now I quit singing." "Stop singing ye all! cry and weep ye every one!
Ká-i ī shlámuapk, shuínuapk ī nánuk. Nánuk tíds wawálχat! shlä-uápkat
Not ye cease to sing, but sing all of ye. All straight stand up! (and) look at
k'lekápksh!"
the corpse!"

II.

000 Ká-iu Bóshtinash gátpish, Mō'dokni mbá-ush shulō'tantko, pupuitlantchámpkash
Before the Americans arrived, the Modocs in buckskins (were) dressed, with fringes on
ka-ilalápsh-kitko, vúnām mbá-ush tchutchi-esháltko.
in leggings dressed, (of) elk's skin dressed in caps.
Shelóluka shtétmashtka ngē'shtka shenótanka; tchiktchikáshtka snawédshash
(When) fighting with poisoned arrows they fought; for hatchets a woman
shkéa. Hä' tchilloyága lō'k shiúka ámka táslatch, át hûk
they bought. If a young man a grizzly killed or a cougar, then
sheshalólesh kĕléχa.
a warrior he became.

The subdivisions or tribelets are:

I. ă'ukekni, the people of Klamath marsh and middle Williamson 101
river, the Klamath proper. Evidently the Sprague river people are 131
included here; there is some doubt, but I am even more doubtful 619
whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague river as
Yainax in pre-reservation times.

II. kowa'edikni, those of a village of that name on Agency lake. They may be ă'ukekni.

III. du'kwakni, on the delta of Williamson river. These are more closely affiliated with the Pelican bay people than with ă'ukekni.

IV. gu'mbŏtkni, those of Pelican bay and the marsh to the north.

V. iu"laloŋkni, the people of Klamath falls (Link river) and the eastern shore of Klamath lake.

The names are those of the districts they occupy with the suffix -kni, those of, people of: ă'ukei, Klamath marsh; du'kwa, the district about the mouth of Williamson river; gu'mbŏt, Pelican bay, possibly taking its name from Rocky point; iu"laloŋᴇ, on the end, the village at the outlet of the lake into Link river.

It is now difficult to get a true estimate of the size of these groups. 361
The ă'ukekni count twenty-nine or more settlements, half of the total; 162 •
of the others iu"laloŋkni have thirteen, gu'mbŏtkni seven or more,
du'kwakni five, and kowa'edikni, one. The towns vary considerably
in size, yet this mere count agrees closely with the populational pro-
portions as my several informants phrased them. The ă'ukekni are
by far the largest group, perhaps as large as all the others together.
Nancy Phillips recalls the large number of children who played [115]
together at gu'mbŏt, Pelican bay. At this place the settlements do
form a large compact group. Next in order she places the du'kwa
group, then those clustering about iu"laloŋᴇ at Klamath falls, and
goyᴇmske'ᴇgls on Williamson river. The settlements on Williamson
river are small and scattered, but she places their joint population
above the gu'mbŏtkni. The iu"laloŋkni were comparatively few
despite their large territory. Of the ă'ukekni more lived at Klamath
marsh even in winter than on Williamson river. The huge size of a
single site, du"llkūt, bears this out.

Consonant with their unequal size is it that the principal chief, at 619
least in early reservation days, was the principal chief of the ă'ukekni; 622
all others were distinctly subordinate in prestige. According to one
informant, himself a du'kwa man, the ă'ukekni are the highest people. [829]
Kᴇmū'kŭmps, the culture hero, made them first, best, and strongest;
later he made the others.

K *657 *648 726 M 657 648 726 were mustered out of service. Subsequently, when Jack and his followers slew the Peace Commissioners, Oliver Applegate reported that the reservation Indians were ready to take the warpath against them in revenge, but they were not called upon.[40]

K *657 *648 728 M 657 648 728 In the end, the Modoc were defeated and the leaders tried at Fort Klamath. During the hearing, they attempted to implicate the Klamath, with claims that Link River Jack had cached ammunition for them and that Schonchin—"the noblest Roman of them all!" exploded Oliver Applegate indignantly—had brought them a message from Allen David promising aid if they would hold out a little longer. The countercharges proved misdirected as defense; and in the presence of the reservation Indians and other spectators the leaders of the hostiles were hanged or committed to Alcatraz; and the remainder, 153 in number, were shipped off to Fort Quapaw, Indian Territory.[41]

K *657 *648 M 657 648 With the end of the war, the reservation became in effect a closed political system. The only exception was Ocheho's band of Paiute, which alternated between the reservation and their Warner Valley homeland until 1876, when the major part of them remained off the reservation for good. K [643] Meanwhile, with no salary forthcoming to offset the heavy financial burdens of his office, Allen David resigned, and Henry Blow was elected in his stead.[42]

K *657 *648 622 643 The statement made in 1877 by Dave Hill gives a fair idea of the chiefs of the time and contrasts the hierarchy at the Agency with the comparatively open order at Yainax.

> M 657 648 622 643 We Lake People live here thus: Blow is chief of all, and I, Dave Hill, am chief second to Blow, Long John after Dave, then too Link River Jack after Long John, and Lilu. Pit River Charley is chief of the Pit River people at the Lake. Ben and Littlejohn are the chiefs, and Schonchin is chief of the Yainax people. Johnson is chief of the Modoc at Yainax. George Kuatilak also is Modoc chief after Johnson. Chocktoot is chief of the Paiute.[43]

K • [162] M [162] Gatschet's list for the same year, which includes the adherents for each leader, differs somewhat from that of Hill. At the Lower End, the chiefs, all Klamath, and the number of their followers were: Blow, head chief (122), Hill (225), Long John (103), Link River Jack (92), and Lilu (23). At Yainax, the Modoc bands

K
comprised those of Modoc Johnson, head chief (71), and Schon- 657*
chin (18). The Upland Klamath leaders were Brown [i.e. Monchn- 648*
kasgitk] (30), Ben (61), and Littlejohn (14). 622
643

Gatschet thus omits Pit River Charley at the Lower End and 162 •
the adherents of George Kuatilak and Chocktoot at Yainax, but M
includes that of Monschnkasgitk. If the Klamath and Modoc 657
followings are separately totaled, the figures agree closely with 648 622
those of the statistical summary for that year,[44] suggesting that 643
the Pit River chief was subsumed under one of the Klamath 162
leaders and George Kuatilak under Modoc Johnson. Note that
the Paiute, who seem to be predominantly Walpapi, account for
137, almost half the Yainax total of 331, while the Lower End,
with 565, then contained almost twice as many people.

The replacement of leaders had already gone far: Of the chiefs K
listed above, only five, Blow, Jack, Lilu, Schonchin, and Monchn- 657* 648*
kasgitk, had been prominent enough in 1864 to sign the treaty; 622
and only Lilu, Monchnkasgitk, and Schonchin were then noted 643
chiefs.[45] By 1877, their followings had dwindled, amounting to M
only a fraction of their previous numbers. Most of the losses had 657
been to Agency men advancing in favor. Among them Dave Hill 648 622
far outstripped even Henry Blow, the head chief, in adherents. 643

Beneath this system, we know from the accounts of elderly
Indians, a system of informal local headmen continued. Some K
of these individuals were, indeed, also favored with a measure 657*
of government support. Among them were some of the older 648*
chiefs, now out of official power. Lileks was put in charge of a 622
ferry across the river—probably the Williamson—where he kept
track of passengers by drawing pictures of a man, mules, and so
on.[46] Allen David, still a chief, figured among the progressive
Indians for some years. In 1883, however, his quiet opposition to
Agency inroads upon the remaining chiefly authority drew re-
marks from Nickerson:

> There is but one man, Allen David, 3rd chief, who in any way proves a hinderance [sic] to the discharge of duties of the police. He does not do this openly, but covertly and slily, and is ready with a denial when charged with it. I have been seriously thinking of depriving him of his position and power as one of the cheifs [sic]. Indeed, I think the time is not far distant when this tribe will be better off without any chiefs whatever.[47]

*657
*648 tunities of the reservation. As they moved away, they extended
563 Indian experience into the midst of frontier society. During the
167 allotment period they in turn enlarged reservation perspectives.

*657 The majority of the interbreed children that appeared upon
*648 the early reservation, then, were the product of temporary or
563 unstable unions and appeared as fatherless children. The annual
• 162 reports are unrealistic as to their number. In 1885, for example,
it was claimed that there were only 12 interbreeds in the total
population of 919,[9] although to judge from later censuses, the
number must have been several times as great.

*657 One of the long-range results of this intercourse was to reduce
*648 somewhat the difference in physical appearance that separated
563 the Indians from the surrounding population. Another—and more
[144] immediate—consequence, however, was to raise the divisive issue
[848] of illegitimacy among the Indians themselves and to introduce
[602] into the tribal body individuals who could claim only maternal
kinsmen. Thus, one Klamath recalls his father, a stage driver in
Klamath Falls, as a drunkard whom his mother finally left. The
family returned to his maternal grandparents, in whose care the
boy grew up. His mother subsequently married a man who ran
a logging camp at Pelican Bay, a hard worker and good hunter
who treated the boy well. Nonetheless, throughout his life he
bore an animus against his father and in part against the heritage
he represented.[10]

*657 Interracial unions were encouraged, not only by a dearth of
*648 white women but by an early preponderance of women among
563 the Klamath and by regulations which put an end to polygamy.
162 The early imbalance between the sexes was striking. The figures
[595] supplied by Captain Kelly for the adult Klamath in 1864 give a
sex ratio of no more than 0.47.[11] Those for the Link River band
two years later areonly a little higher for the adults, 0.52, although
the overall figure is 0.64, since boys and girls are in
approximate balance.[12]

[164] Neither sex-linked disease nor the practice of selective infanticide
[847] is known to have occurred among the Klamath, and the most
probable explanation must be sought among such factors as
differential exposure to rigorous training, warfare, and vicissitudes
of the food quest, as well as to possible emigration of single
men. O. C. Applegate, the only Agent to comment upon the im-

balance, ascribed it to war and stated that in 1864, "the females 657*
were largely in the majority . . . a condition which continues . . . 648*
to this day."[13] 563
162

That the sources were indeed to be found in the conditions of native life is suggested by the circumstance that subsequently the imbalance was reduced: about 1875, the overall ratio was 0.72; while by the latter part of the period, from 1885 to 1906, it had reached an average of 0.87. It has since continued upward, to attain the approximate equality that characterizes the white neighbors of the Klamath.

Freed slaves constituted a second novel element in the popula- 657*
tion. Marriage to a slave had once been scorned, though Chief 648*
Chiloquin himself had married a Shasta slave; and even today 567
some stigma is attached to slave descent, albeit it is likely to be 178
brought up only as damaging gossip. Both sentimental family 177
attachments—a traditional attitude transcending acknowledged differences[14]—and recognition of the achievement of former slaves went far to ameliorate their position. One slave, Charlie Pitt, had been raised with his captor's son, Drummer David, in fraternal amity. The bond remained strong through life, and Charlie willed David his property when he died.[15] Another, one of three captured Pit River brothers, escaped to friendly whites who raised him in Ashland and gave him the distinguished name of Stonewall Jackson. In 1878 he returned to the Agency and the following year became a sawyer's apprentice. In recommending an increase in salary for him, Nickerson remarked that he "speaks the English language fluently, & is what may be called a civilized Indian." With several offers at better wages off the reservation, he wished to remain until he could qualify as a competent sawyer.[16] The best known of the slaves was Henry Jackson, whose rise has already been sketched. It is worth noting that he married the daughter of a Modoc chief, and that tribal members from over the reservation were not too proud to accept his bounty.

The altered social order was characterized by greatly in- 657*
creased mobility. An entire new range of opportunities was open 648*
to those who possessed or could develop new skills. Opportunity, 555
however, fell unequally, for the major new enterprises and posi- 177
tion in nineteenth-century America were masculine. As they were 178
incorporated into the regular activities of the Agency and within [562]

3: Stern (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17
Northern Paiute NR13

[Klamath Reservation]

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circumscribed. Because the step involved a wholesale commitment, 657*
those bold enough to marry whites, as already noted, 648*
tended to pass out of reservation society. One or two women in 562
the early days sought to demonstrate they they could support 177
themselves as well as men were capable of doing, but they were 178
clearly exceptional.[18] K

Confronted by shifting social values, tribesmen on the reserva- 657*
tion still could take assurance from a value acknowledged both 648*
by the whites and by their traditional culture. The high prestige 556
assigned to industry and to its material manifestation, wealth, 181
proved a common denominator upon which to rank the ability of 178
men engaged in new activities. In the new day, Plains garments, K
horses, and slaves were outmoded, and were replaced by a house [177]
and outbuildings, a fenced farm or ranch, wagons and buggies,
and plenty of livestock. K

Within this context, the family also changed as movements 657*
within the reservation, the construction of smaller frame dwellings, 648*
and the cultivation of individual farms reduced household 592
size to approximately that of a single conjugal family. Some idea 177
of the shift may be gained by comparing subsistence rolls from 178
the administration of Lindsay Applegate[19] with data from the K
end of the period. A summary of issues made in 1872-73 to heads 657*
of families of Klamath, Modoc, and Yahuskin Snakes lists 54 648*
families totaling 658 persons. The majority were from Klamath 592
Marsh, with some from Link River and Sprague River bands and 162 •
several Modoc. One is possibly Paiute. The other two pages N M
duplicate some of the individuals, listing Schonchin's band of 657
Modoc, some eight "houses" comprising 97 individuals; Ocheho's 648
band of Warner Valley Paiute, 17 "houses" and 161 persons; 592
Chocktoot's band of Paiute, 13 "houses" and 113 persons; and 162
the Sprague River band of Monchnkasgitk, 8 "houses" and 97
individuals. A tally made in 1866 by one Jackson Jones (Link
River Jack ?), "Chief of Ulalona," lists for the Link River band
22 men, 18 boys, 42 women, and 20 girls in five houses.[20]

An analysis of these three lists reveals interesting facts about K 657*
the contemporary social groupings. Where the two censuses overlap, 648*
there is overall agreement, although the figures for individual 592
households differ slightly. For the census of the Klamath at 162
large, the average household size is approximately 12 persons,

*657 and this corresponds fairly closely with averages from the listing
*648 of Upper End bands. Only the Link River tally is aberrant, with
592 an average of about 20, far above the figure to be obtained from
• 162 those Link River households included in the census of the tribe at
large. Since the tally was made in September, it may reflect the open living conditions of that season.[21]

*657 Household size ranges from 27 persons down to 2, the latter
*648 figure for the household of a widow. Households of known chiefs
—taking as criterion a signatory to the treaty of 1864—are well
592 above the average, ranging generally between 22 and 15, with
622 only those of the Modoc, Schonchin, and the Paiute, Ocheho,[22]
162 falling below. However, as will be seen, chiefly households were not the largest in absolute figures: those of some of their followers exceeded them. The large households indicated here
[178] point to the continued presence of the extended family as a
residential group.

*657 By contrast, the census of Slabtown, a small settlement near the
*648 Agency occupied primarily by Agency employees in 1901, shows
13 households comprising house head, wife, and from three
592 children down to none, with an average of 1.4. In one family a
162 girl past school age, and in another a grown son, were among
the children. In addition to those children at home, the families had others in school, in the same numerical range and with the same average. The total family size ranged from 2 to 8, with an average of 4.7. Because some of the family heads, perhaps all, were young at this time, family size may thus have been somewhat skewed.[23] Nonetheless, the contrast of these households comprising conjugal families with those occupied by extended families forty years earlier clearly demonstrates the residential fractionation of the larger units.

*657 A seasonal mobility still characterized the Klamath family.
*648 Nickerson mentioned in 1884 that the heads of reservation families—from one-half to two-thirds of the men—had been away for
166 the last four months, and added, "They generally take their
families with them on such occasions."[24] Similarly, in a predecessor of Slabtown, over fifty families engaged in hauling logs on sleds to the sawmill camped in tents in January to be near their work.[25]

000 Of all the societal relationships, the government sought directly

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

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allotments on the public domain, Applegate advocated that they 657*
relinquish them in favor of tracts upon the reservation.[28] 423

For tribal members, the enrollment of outsiders was often 619
objectionable; although opposition was less to their being [623]
granted allotments upon the reservation than to admitting them to equal shares in the tribal funds. By the terms of the McLaughlin Agreement of 1901 settling boundary claims, over a half-million dollars had been entered to tribal credit, part of which then became available to tribal members in per capita payments. As Applegate wrote to one off-reservation member, "there are a good many who would like to see people who do not live on the Reservation cut off from all benefits of the Treaty."[29]

In 1903, Applegate had estimated that there were "about 185 nonresidents, a number of them allottees though not residing on the reservation—with them are about 80 children of school age, many of whom are attending white schools."[30]

Analysis of the annuity payments from trust shares sent out 648*
between November, 1907, and January, 1908, reveals interesting 657*
characteristics of the nonresident membership. Omitting shares 619
to 13 students (8 girls, 5 boys) at off-reservation schools, payments went to 6 married couples, in which both parties were enrolled members, and to 39 women and 14 men either single or married to nonenrolled spouses. In addition, shares were sent to these adults for a total of 51 children. Children's shares were sent to 4 married, enrolled couples, to 14 enrolled mothers, and to only 2 enrolled fathers. While other explanations are plausible, the figures are highly suggestive of a preponderance of off-reservation marriages between Indian women and white men.

From the point of view of geographical distribution, the off- 648*
reservation population is also of interest. The table below, which 657*
excludes scholars sent away to government schools, presents the 162
salient features:

CALIFORNIA		20
South	5	
North (including San Francisco)	15	
OREGON		88
Southern Coast	4	
Klamath Basin	66	

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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• 162

(Klamath Falls, 40		
Fort Klamath, 21		
Merrill, 4		
Bly, 1)		
Eastern Oregon	10	
Willamette Valley	7	
Warm Spring Res.	1	
WASHINGTON		1
SCHOOLS (adults only)		8
Chemawa	2	
Fort Bidwell	6	
Total		117

Of the off-reservation members, those at Fort Klamath and Klamath Falls were to be of most immediate importance,[31] for many of them continued in touch with some of the progressive leaders. Thus, as time went on, Fort Klamath became the headquarters for Jesse Kirk, whose allotment was nearby, for William Crawford, for William Ball, and for the returned Modoc, Charles S. Hood.

M 648 657 162 The band of absentee Modoc formed an important increment to the reservation population. At Quapaw, in what was then Indian Territory, they had won the praise of Commissioner E. A. Hayt, who had shown their farms to another former hostile, Chief Joseph of the Nez Percés, to encourage his people to make similar progress.[32] In 1884, Steamboat Frank, formerly a Hot Creek warrior under Captain Jack, later a member of A. B. Meacham's troupe, and now a minister of the denomination of Friends, returned to visit his relatives and, as it turned out, kindled religious fervor with his preaching.[33] M [797]

K *648 *657 162 M 648 657 162 Following 1886 several other Modoc were permitted to revisit their old homeland. Not until 1902, however, did the Klamath meet in council to hear the Modoc delegates, Rev. Samuel Clinton and Charles S. Hood, submit the proposal that the Modoc be permitted to return and take up homes on the reservation. They failed to carry their point,[34] but subsequently it was approved; and the following year Charles Hood led a party of his people to the Upper End. Applegate counted 21 and stated that 47 others also wished to come.[35]

K M [423] Early in 1909 an act of Congress finally authorized their allotment at Klamath. Within the month Superintendent Wilson was

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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visited by a large delegation of Klamath, headed by Henry Wilson, member of the tribal council, who wished to send the Superintendent to Washington on a number of issues, of which the first was that "we have heard that the Modoc Indians are to come back here and get lands and money the same as we do; we do not like that and want our side explained to you. . . ."[36] Later that year, the Superintendent certified 16 Modoc for allotment, observing however, "I do not believe that Congress intended to simply let the Modocs return and get allotments and then return to Oklahoma to live. This is, however, exactly what some of them intend to do."[37]

Allotment thus brought back to the reservation persons who had already made extensive adjustment to the larger society. Applegate, indeed, asserted that "nearly all of these people who have been allotted lands have become residents of the reservation,"[38] but the figures already reviewed show a sizable number remaining away. Despite the fact they did not in any other way identify their interests with the reservation community, they received equities in lands and in the undivided tribal fund.

Finally, the right of tribal members to allotment was affected by the closure of the rolls. The original allotments had been made in 1895 and were resumed in 1909. At that time, however, considerable discontent was generated by the exclusion of all children born after April 15, 1910. Those born later, although tribal members and as such retaining an equity in tribal property, did not receive a share of land. Their parents agitated for two years to have allotments issued to them. Although they were granted permission to select tracts on behalf of their children, it was with the understanding that their choice would have no legal status. Meanwhile, the Bureau opposed allotments for these new members. Not until the Yamsay Judgment of 1938, with the successful conclusion of the Military Road suit, were funds set aside by the Klamath Tribe for in-lieu payments of $1,500 to each unallotted member.

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In this manner, then, allotments were made. To qualify, an individual had to be a tribal member, born before the terminal date in 1910. Membership was determined at times by the tribal council, at times by the Agent, employing a standard that wavered between the two criteria of proven kinship and habitual

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men. The major attractions, however, were the stores, the schools, 657*
the movies, the excitement, and the entertainment. These ad- 16
vantages seem likewise to have favored the shift to larger communities.

Thus, over an extended period of time, there has been a substantial and growing body of Klamath who, while retaining an equity in the tribal estate and membership in the tribal body, have come to dwell away from the reservation and who visit it infrequently, if at all. Their daily life is spent within a milieu, and in reliance upon a "personal community"—to use Jules Henry's expressive term[5]—made up largely of non-Klamath.

The heterogeneity of the Klamath is also reflected by their 648*
biological composition. While the characterization of the degree 657*
of Indian heritage, expressed as a "blood quantum," is open to 144
occasional error in individual instances, the figures taken in summation reveal significant differences. By 1955, only twenty-eight per cent of the absentee members could claim to be biologically of over one-half Indian ancestry, and even for those dwelling upon the reservation the corresponding figure was no more than fifty-four per cent. Within the reservation, in turn, Lower End Klamath were markedly less Indian by this measure, falling between the values for absentee and Upper End members.[6]

Like many other Indian groups, the Klamath population pos- 648*
sesses a large segment of younger members, marking an increase 657*
over the early decades of the present century. In the days of 162.
termination, those under twenty years of age comprised no fewer than forty-seven per cent of the total tribal membership, a figure exceeding that for the general population of the United States, of which only one-third fell within the corresponding
bracket.[7] Although these figures are often interpreted as re- [563]
flecting improved health conditions on the reservation, they also
reflect an increased rate of marriage with non-Indians.

The variety of Klamath life during the latter days of their 648*
tribal existence may be illustrated by data from the Upper End 657*
community of Beatty, the Lower End city of Chiloquin, and 184
from the off-reservation communities of Klamath Falls and 361
Eugene-Springfield in the Willamette Valley.

Beatty and Chiloquin represent special facets of reservation

*648 history. Beatty, in the upper valley of the Sprague, lies between
*657 the town of Sprague River, some fourteen miles below it, and
184 Bly, roughly the same distance away over the eastern boundary
361 of the reservation. It drew some of its population from Yainax,
when that subagency was closed, as well as from Paiute Camp
[797] to the east. Beatty's nucleus had been the Methodist mission and
store, to which other establishments presently were added, and
houses began to be built about them. White ranchers have
[563] moved in to work the allotted land they bought or rented, usually
bringing their families with them. Others, white, Indian—using
that term for non-Klamath—and Negro, have married tribal
members.

(871) By 1959, however, when the community was studied,[8] it was
in a sharp decline: for in the 1940's the local school had been
[797] closed in a consolidation with the one at Bly; the Methodist
[313] mission had been reduced to an adjunct of the principal mission
on Williamson River, at the Lower End; and the lumber mill
at Sprague River had ceased operations. The community had
• [162] survived, though on a greatly reduced scale, with a population
totaling 136 persons, 105 of them tribal members, prevailingly of
Modoc and Paiute derivation, 5 Indians from other reservations,
25 whites, and 1 Negro.

Chiloquin, located at the confluence of the Sprague and Williamson rivers, was the largest community on the reservation, with a population then almost seven times that of Beatty.[9] A mill and market town which burgeoned when tribal timber was opened by the advent of the railroad, Chiloquin was incorporated as a city in 1926 and soon afterward boasted a population, including adjacent woods camps, of approximately two thousand. In its heyday, when along with Modoc Point, Braymill, and Sprague River it pulsed with activity, Chiloquin was a lusty and sometimes rowdy city, enjoying the wicked sobriquet of "The Little Chicago of the West." Below the surface was a structure which provided an institutional extension of American civic life elsewhere. A bank, a newspaper, telephone company, hotels and rooming houses, schools and churches, a boxing association and occasional Chatauqua, moving picture house, taxi company, Ladies' Community Club, Commerce Club, Masons and V.F.W., lawyers, dentists, and doctors: all these shared space with dancehalls, card rooms, bootleggers, pimps, and prostitutes.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

The depression and the subsequent loss of mills through fire 648*
and economic distress stripped Chiloquin temporarily of many 657*
of her specialized services. By the time she had emerged from 184
the slump a decade after World War II, improved communica- 361
tions had enabled Klamath Falls, twenty times as large and only thirty miles away, to supplant Chiloquin in many functions which had previously been discharged locally. Nonetheless, in the course of recovery some services were regained. With an institutional complexity that far transcended that of Beatty, Chiloquin, an enclave of the state of Oregon within the federal jurisdiction of the reservation, offered tribal residents a foretaste of the life that lay beyond reservation boundaries. In 1958 more than thirty per cent of the entire tribal membership had mailing addresses there.

In examining the households of Beatty and Chiloquin, re- 648*
spectively 31 and 297 in number, it is convenient to distinguish 657*
two categories among those including tribal members. That 621
designated Interethnic is headed by a tribal member married to 184
a partner of another ethnic group, white, Mexican, alien Indian, 563
or other. The second, in which both partners are tribal members, 592
will be designated Tribal. The term Klamath will subsume both. [162] •

Klamath households in the rural community of Beatty in 1959 comprised well over eighty per cent of the community, the remaining households being largely white. By contrast, in Chiloquin (1949-50) white households were twice the Beatty percentage; while Klamath households amounted only to little over half the population. The remaining ten per cent was made up of other minorities, Mexican, Negro, and Indian. Within the next decade continuing trends in Chiloquin increased the disparity, as white households gained at the expense of all other components.

The figures for Interethnic marriages harmonize with this picture of white preponderance in the larger community. When the total marital record is considered, including successive mates, it is seen that unions with whites comprise only slightly more than one-fifth of the total for reservation members, almost one-third for the Chiloquin segment, and well over three-quarters for a small sample of off-reservation Klamath.[10] Among the Interethnic households of Beatty, the non-Klamath partner was more frequently Indian than white, while in Chiloquin he was

*648 generally white. When it is considered that in American society
*657 the husband maintains significant external relationships,[11] it
184 seems significant that in both Chiloquin and Beatty in some three-
621 fourths of the Interethnic households the husband was an out-
563
592 sider and the wife a Klamath.

ECONOMIC LIFE

*648 From an economic standpoint, tribal members occupied a
*657 subsidiary position in reservation communities. Their participa-
621 tion in productive activities as a whole was small. In 1958, a
434 sample of the reservation population showed the following eco-
464 nomic profile: presently engaged in business or ranching, eigh-
• 162 teen per cent; previous record of such experience, eleven per cent; no such experience, forty-eight per cent; no data, twenty-three per cent. The figures for those resident in Chiloquin showed, if anything, a lesser degree of direct participation. Available records on a small absentee sample (but one with a higher proportion of women) do not reveal a higher degree of economic experience. The figures are: presently engaged in business or ranching, seven per cent; previous record of such experience, twenty-one per cent; no such experience, seventy per cent; no data, two per cent.

*648 The record of scanty business experience is in large measure
*657 a consequence of the steady flow of income from tribal timber.
434 In 1950, the $800 per capita payments enabled a Klamath family of four to exceed the median income for all families in the county.
454 Since they could also hunt and fish throughout the year, and many families did, their actual income was considerably higher. There was thus little incentive to work to supplement timber revenues. The Meriam committee, to be sure, had observed years before, in the course of their comprehensive study of Indian administration, that the Klamath per capitas were too small for investment and thus tended to be disbursed for current living expenses;[12] but it is also true that, lacking investment experience, tribal members who realized substantial sum from the sale of allotments too often treated them as windfalls to be squandered, rather than as capital capable of bringing further financial returns.

000 Comparison with the record of white performances places the

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Comparison
with the record of white performances places the 648*
tribal picture in perspective. In Beatty, six out of seven white 657*
househeads were employed. A sample taken in 1950 including 464
almost every white household in Chiloquin showed that all the [illegible]72
men save those who were ill or retired were gainfully employed, 171
and that in thirty-seven per cent of the households wives or junior
members also held jobs.

By this token, the Klamath had come to occupy a marginal 648*
position as economic producers. That this had not always been 657*
true is shown by the record of those who in the early days of 464
Chiloquin had tried their hand at business; and several continued 433
to maintain themselves by ranching or business. The large majority of the men, however, were content to labor seasonally as unskilled farmhands. The undependability of some workers had generated an adverse reputation among potential employers for the Klamath as a whole. The industrious Klamath came to be viewed as exceptional.

Thus, even on their own reservation, the Klamath stood beneath the shadow of economic structures dominated by whites. This condition was, of course, true for the reservation as a unit; for distant interests dictated that it should be devoted to the production of lumber, beef, power, and to communications. Within the several communities the major enterprises were also controlled by whites. To be sure, there were checks upon the
ruthless exercise of economic power. Local awareness of interdependence, [623]
the intimate acquaintance developed in the daily life of a small community, and the knowledge that the tribal council controlled the fate of timber contracts upon which the community depended: all these served to temper purely economic
decisions. The exercise of a credit system by storekeepers [452]
in the face of lower prices in Klamath Falls, the good faith they expected of their customers, and the occasional need for hired hands by ranchers, were equally conducive to restraint.

Klamath families who chose to farm were often similar to their [241]
white counterparts in the concentration which they devoted to their farming; and they often exchanged labor or equipment with white neighbors. There were few successful farmers among
tribal members, perhaps no more than a dozen in all. By contrast, [233]
there were those in the countryside who chose to follow other
time-honored values than industry, giving precedence to per-

7

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 *657 619 641 Tribal membership was, as we have seen, only one of several political roles in which Klamath might participate, and in some measure it lay athwart the others. Citizenship in the United States, granted generally to American Indians in 1924, affiliation with state, county, and municipality: these political memberships are explicit in character, conditional upon the fulfillment of stated requirements and with the exercise of well-defined rights. Superficially, tribal membership appears to possess a similar character. In the admission of new members, both the establishment of qualifications and the decision upon individual candidates rested with the Tribe, though subject to review by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Applicants had to be of Klamath parentage on at least one side, and those of one-quarter or more Klamath heritage were automatically admitted upon application. In 1945 a clause was added permitting adoption of members of one-sixteenth heritage, contingent upon assurances that they would reside upon the reservation and participate in tribal activities.

In practice, Indian heritage of any sort, and not merely that stemming from the Klamath Tribe, was reckoned in; and token assurances of participation and residence have conventionally [161] been accepted. Of the final enrollment of 2,133 tribal members, • [162] 86 fell within the category of one-sixteenth quantum. Of these, 12 dwelt on the reservation and another 12 in Klamath Falls, the remaining 62 residing at some distance from the seat of tribal government. Once enrolled, members have not been subject to review, save when their original qualifications were called into question.

In a membership that was not conditional upon performance, [602] the Tribe had a great deal in common with such ascriptive en- [621] tities as the family and ramified kin, the traditional tribe, and the broad regional communities into which the latter had tended to cluster.

Family loyalties have been at once strong and selective. At times, they have provided continuities of interest within a single [602] line. Here, for example, were the Rev. Jesse Kirk, himself the son of a treaty signatory, and his sons, Clayton, Seldon, and Jesse Lee; here old chief Monchnkasgitk, and his sons, Harrison and Henry Brown; here Judge William Crawford, his wife, Eliza, and their son, Wade; here Henry Jackson, his half-brother, Ike, and the latter's son, Boyd Jackson.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

000 to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 11, 1905). Letters in the O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

74. Levi Walker, Chairman, and Elmer Lynch, Secty., *Minutes of Meeting* (March 2, 1905); *Report of Committee* (March 2, 1905), signatures lacking in office copy.

75. *Report of Committee* (March 2, 1905).

76. F. H. Mills to Dudley and Michener (Feb. 23, 1905), National Archives microfilm, Frames 3018–28.

77. C. F. Larrabee, Acting Commr., to O. C. Applegate (April 1, 1905 [Grande Ronde], May 1, 1906 [Klamath]). O. C. Applegate *Papers.* Applegate's quest for an Inspectorship in the Indian Service, however, was unavailing. F. E. Leupp, Commr. to Henry L. Benson (Dec. 19, 1905); Benson to O. C. Applegate (Jan. 8, 1906). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

78. Anna C. Egan, Supt. Klamath School, to O. C. Applegate (July 18, 1905). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

79. J. W. Evans to O. C. Applegate (March 26, 1906). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

80. Klamath Falls *Republican* (Dec. 6, 1906), p. 1.

81. K. C. Egbert, Siletz, to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 18, 1905; March 22, 1905). O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

THIRTEEN. MODERN KLAMATH: DEMOGRAPHY AND ECONOMY

1. Lange (1953), pp. 87 ff. In Pelican Rapids and Chickamon, respectively, may be seen the county seat and the reservation community. The author was manager of a woods camp on the reservation in the early thirties. Residents deny, however, that Chiloquin's Main Street was divided as Lange described, though they recognize it in Klamath Falls.

2. The data derive from an analysis of demographic data as-
*648 sembled by Jack Pierce for the Klamath Termination Project, under
*657 the direction of Dr. Vincent Ostrom and the writer. Utilizing the pro-
161 visional enrollment of the tribe as published in the *Federal Register*
• 162 (May 13, 1955), 2,118 members, Pierce drew a random sample com-
prising 719 individuals. From among them were abstracted two subsets, comprising those individuals resident on the reservation and those dwelling in such urban centers as Klamath Falls, Springfield, and Eugene. Since data were few on children below the age of sixteen, they were eliminated from the subsets, which then numbered, respectively, 228 and 43.

3. Tabulation of residence of 718 individuals in the random sample, n.2, expressed as per cent.

Reservation:			648*
Chiloquin	30.5		657*
Modoc Point	0.3		161
Klamath Agency	3.9		162 •
Total Lower End		34.7	
Sprague River	8.2		
Beatty	15.6		
Total Upper End		23.8	
Klamath Falls	7.4		
Other Klamath County	2.0		
Klamath County		9.4	
Willamette Valley		7.5	
Other Oregon		7.1	
California		9.3	
Washington–Idaho		3.1	
Other		5.1	
		100.0	

4. See n.3 for tabulation.

5. Henry (1958).

6. The figures come from a demographic review of a sample of 648*
tribal members above the age of sixteen, made as part of the Klamath 657*
Termination Study. For this restricted sample, the proportion of reser- 162
vation population one-half or less in Indian heritage is 33 per cent. 144
When calculated separately, the Lower End segment stands at 41 per
cent, almost double the figure for the Upper End, with 24 per cent.

Available figures have made it necessary to compare the reservation and absentee memberships over the full age range, rather than to restrict consideration to those above sixteen. Upon this base, the over-all value for the reservation increases from the figure given above to 46 per cent, while that for the absentee membership, 72 per cent, is almost double. Thus the Lower End stands biologically intermediate between Upper End, with the highest Indian heritage, and the absentee segment, with the lowest.

7. Hadley (1957), p. 29. The figures for the United States are for 000
1957.

8. Du Toit (1959).

9. Stern and Swanson (1960).

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common 101
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 177
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological [184]
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy, [224]
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly 648
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties:
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an artificial [829]
construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would 178
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-residence
with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been transferred 648
to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not [241]
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber industry [511]
has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

648 657 241 231 313 434 1888 and 500 broken by them; 10,000 acres were inclosed by fences. The crops of 1888 amounted to 8,000 bushels of wheat, 4,000 of oats and barley, 1,000 bushels of vegetables, 3,000 tons of hay; and 500 pounds of butter were manufactured. Of lumber 100,000 feet were sawed. The Indians transported with their own teams 500 tons of freight, and thereby earned $1,500. The two boarding-schools, one at the Klamath Agency and the other at Yáneks, in the same year boarded 215 pupils at a cost to the Government of $18,764—about $10.40 a month per capita.

311 The number of acres contained within the Klamath Reservation is 1,056,000, and of these only about 20,000 acres are considered to be tillable land. The rest is occupied by woods, marshes, rocks, and other hindrances to cultivation.

797 The school and church interests are in the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which also has a vote in the appointment of the United States agent.

657 161 162 The statistics of population have furnished reliable data only from the time when annuities were first distributed among these Indians. This necessitated an annual count of each family, giving the number of the individuals belonging to each. One of these was made during my presence on the reserve on October 30, 1877, before the winter supplies were dealt out to the tribe. The summary is as follows:

David Hill, chief, at Agency and on Williamson River	225
P'lú, head chief, at the bridge, Williamson River	122
Long John, chief	103
Jack, chief	92
Lílo, chief	23
Total	565

The census taken in the Sprague River Valley, Yáneks subagency, furnished the following figures, Klamath Lake Indians and Modocs being indiscriminately included:

Littlejohn, chief	14
Skóntchish, chief	18
Modoc Johnson, head chief	71
Ben, chief	61
Brown, chief	30
Total	194

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

161 The Snake Indians were not counted at that time, but were assumed
657 to have the same population as in 1876: 137. This gives a total of Indians
162 for the Reservation of 896. This count included about eight mixed bloods and seven Warm Spring Indians from the Des Chutes River. The boarding-school at the Klamath Agency then had eighteen pupils of both sexes.

The reports of the Indian Commissioner for 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, and 1884 can not be fully relied on, since they give the same figures for *each* of these years with an unvarying total of 1,023 Indians—Klamaths, 707; Modocs, 151; Snake Indians, 165.

The report of 1888, Joseph Emery agent, gives 788 Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians and 145 Snake Indians, a total of 933 individuals.

Probably the most reliable data were furnished by the Indian census made in 1881 for the United States Census Bureau, from March to August:

	Klamaths.	Modocs.	Molale.	Snakes.	Totals.
Total of tribes on Reservation	676	122	55	165	1,018
Number of males	286	58	30	80	454
Number of females	390	64	25	85	564
Unmarried at fourteen years and upwards	109	6	9	11	135
Number married	286	55	14	65	420
Number of full bloods	664	122	53	165	1,004
Number of mixed bloods	12	....	2	....	14
Number below twenty-one years	291	58	35	89	473
Number above twenty-one years	385	64	20	76	545
Supported one half or more by civilized industries	36	6	7	....	49
Supported one-half or more by Government	38	3	....	2	43
Number wearing citizens' dress	630	112	55	165	962
Acres under cultivation	2,249	140	36	....	2,425
Number attending school	36	1	....	3	40

This enumeration is remarkable on account of the large number of Molale Indians mentioned in it, an element of the population which is nowhere else designated as such in the periodical reports made by the agents.

*657 *648 563 167 tunities of the reservation. As they moved away, they extended Indian experience into the midst of frontier society. During the allotment period they in turn enlarged reservation perspectives.

*657 *648 563 162 The majority of the interbreed children that appeared upon the early reservation, then, were the product of temporary or unstable unions and appeared as fatherless children. The annual reports are unrealistic as to their number. In 1885, for example, it was claimed that there were only 12 interbreeds in the total population of 919,[9] although to judge from later censuses, the number must have been several times as great.

*657 *648 563 [144] [848] [602] One of the long-range results of this intercourse was to reduce somewhat the difference in physical appearance that separated the Indians from the surrounding population. Another—and more immediate—consequence, however, was to raise the divisive issue of illegitimacy among the Indians themselves and to introduce into the tribal body individuals who could claim only maternal kinsmen. Thus, one Klamath recalls his father, a stage driver in Klamath Falls, as a drunkard whom his mother finally left. The family returned to his maternal grandparents, in whose care the boy grew up. His mother subsequently married a man who ran a logging camp at Pelican Bay, a hard worker and good hunter who treated the boy well. Nonetheless, throughout his life he bore an animus against his father and in part against the heritage he represented.[10]

*657 *648 563 162 [595] Interracial unions were encouraged, not only by a dearth of white women but by an early preponderance of women among the Klamath and by regulations which put an end to polygamy. The early imbalance between the sexes was striking. The figures supplied by Captain Kelly for the adult Klamath in 1864 give a sex ratio of no more than 0.47.[11] Those for the Link River band two years later areonly a little higher for the adults, 0.52, although the overall figure is 0.64, since boys and girls are in approximate balance.[12]

• [164] [847] Neither sex-linked disease nor the practice of selective infanticide is known to have occurred among the Klamath, and the most probable explanation must be sought among such factors as differential exposure to rigorous training, warfare, and vicissitudes of the food quest, as well as to possible emigration of single men. O. C. Applegate, the only Agent to comment upon the im-

measure of official sanction. "I have recently induced their chiefs 657*
and people," he reported, "to dispense with one half or more of 648*
their native doctors, each chief and his people selecting one to 756
retain. They came into this plan more readily than I had appre- 622
hended."[8] On a visit to the Agency, Lindsay Applegate came 178
upon the new system and, in a letter bristling with indignation, 177
wrote "[Nickerson] turned to me and remarked that they ware
his indian docters that he had invited the indians to furnish to
practice with his docter at the same time [.]"[9]

Meanwhile, the growing success of the medical program upon 657*
the reservation sapped the authority of the shamans in what was 648*
their last legitimate field. The personality of Dr. Royal, who had 756
doubled as chief of police, apparently did much to win over 164 •
some of the chiefs, as did his treatment of syphilitic cases among 177
the Indians. (Since, as Roork had remarked, the disease had been 178
contracted by Indians in the course of their annual trading trips
to Oregon City and other points,[10] it may have had a higher
incidence in chiefly families.) They desired to retain him and,
wrote Nickerson in advocating this, "Should he remain permanently the chiefs have agreed to do all they can to do away with
their Indian doctors. These Indian doctors have heretofore had
almost unbounded sway over the people."[11]

In outlawing shamanistic activities, the Agency in effect drove 657*
a wedge between the shaman and his ritual assistants: the inter- 648*
preter, caller, and singers. Since a curing seance was a public 756
demonstration, it involved too many participants to be concealed 177
easily; and the shamans, formerly among the most respected and 178
feared members of the tribe, were not given to skulking. More- [778]
over, in native theory, supernatural power waxes with use; and
when performances were no longer given frequently, that power
declined.

Recalled H. N.:

> I always seen David Hill go among the people and interpret the agent's words. Sally [the shaman] said, "I didn't do it myself, but my medicine do it. It's up to my medicine. If I do it, it's the medicine's fault." But David Hill said, "It's better for you to quit than to have trouble for yourself, or your family. That's what the agent wants."
>
> . . .
>
> Nobody ever called her after the orders were given. They might help minor things. I watched Sally. I watched her doctor.

Sparrow: Male, Age 63

Background Data

*159
[156] Sparrow's case is cited because of his position on the lowest rung of the local
status hierarchy. He is known as a happy-go-lucky, worthless old drunk and is
[872] generally considered as "lacking a few of his marbles." However, Sparrow is
seldom publicly disparaged, for local citizens simply pay little attention to
[161] him. He has a sixth grade education, gained at the Agency school. He has
apparently never worked consistently at any job, and most of his work experience
[434] has been as a farm or ranch laborer. He is and has for years been totally depen-
dent upon per capita income and the income from ranch lands owned by his mother,
with whom he lives. Their affairs are managed by a local businessman who some
years ago was appointed their guardian. He is the second eldest of four siblings.
After his father's death forty years ago, his mother remarried and bore two other
[586] children. He was married once when a young man, and after four years divorced
his wife because of "her shiftless ways." He is a semi-invalid, the result of
[164] an accident years ago when a drunken brother drove over him with a truck, crushing
[191] his pelvis. He speaks fluent Klamath, the result of constant association with
his aged mother who represents a direct link with the aboriginal Klamath past,
as well as adequate English, learned in school.

[233] Much of Sparrow's time is spent in jail for drunkenness, in the local tavern, with one of the drinking cliques, or passed out in a doorway. When he is not totally drunk he spends much of his time with his mother, for whom he cares in his fashion. Occasionally he goes fishing in a nearby river. For at least twenty five years, this has been the pattern of his activities.

*159 Sparrow has many skills, among the most striking of which is the ability to
154 "fly from here to the Agency without once touching the ground." There are
several dimensions to this delusion, one of which is an association, in Sparrow's thinking, with the acquisition of power. When a young man he dreamed of acquiring the power to "rise up off the ground, like Jesus Christ." While such a belief may have aboriginal correlates, there are no Klamath today who would accept it as valid. Sparrow keeps this secret to himself, and relates it only to strangers and transients from whom he intends to borrow money. His other skills include the following: the ability to keep house and cook, harness making, leather working, painting, canning food (the notion involves laying in stores for the winter), tanning buckskin, wood carving, carpentry, poetry composition (in Klamath), arrowhead making, making traditional basketry, stock raising, restaurant management, and finally, the ability to bewitch rich old white ladies, who are captivated by him and who drive him about in their white Cadillacs. The latter may be associated with a recurrent dream of meeting with a white buffalo, also a symbol of power, but it is difficult to say, for there were never any buffalo near the Klamath, and it is more likely that he has got this idea from reading western stories. Needless to say, most of these skills are quite delusional also. There is no evidence for any of them being more than this. Relating one or more of these is Sparrow's single style of interacting with others, for in reaction to a question or another's anecdote he will sift about in his memory until he comes up with one of his capacities which seems relevant. Very frequently, the writer could not see where or how they were appropriate, but for Sparrow there seemed to be some connection. He relates these matter of factly, with only the most slight suggestion that they were self-enhancing, and no indication that he meant to justify himself, and will then coyly watch his listener to see if he is properly impressed. This behavior tends to merge with Sparrow's

142 tall, and wiry, while the women are short and often incline to embonpoint. Nevertheless obesity is not more frequent there than it is with us. No better illustration of their bodily characteristics can be had than a collection of their personal names. These sketch the Indian in a striking and often an unenviable light, because they generally depict the extremes observed on certain individuals. The sex can not, or in a few instances only, [551] be inferred from the name of a person. We frequently meet with designations like "Large Stomach," "Big Belly," "Round Belly," "Sharp Nose," "Grizzly's Nose," "Spare-Built," "Grease," "Crooked Neck," "Conical Head," "Wide-Mouth," "Small-Eyes," "Squinter," "Large Eyes," "Half-blind," or with names referring to gait, to the carriage of the body, to habitual acts performed with hands or feet, to dress, and other accidental matters.

165 145 With all these deformities, and many others more difficult to detect, these Indians have bodies as well formed as those of the Anglo-American race, and in spite of their privations and exposure they live about as long as we do, though no Indian knows his or her age with any degree of accuracy. 164 A very common defect is the blindness of one eye, produced by the smudge of the lodge-fire, around which they pass the long winter evenings. 304 301 With the majority of the Indians the septum of the nose hangs down at adult age, for the nose of every Indian is pierced in early years, whether they afterwards wear the dentalium-shell in it or not.

000 Stephen Powers, who had good opportunities for comparing the Modocs with the tribes of Northern California, says of them:

> They present a finer physique than the lowland tribes of the Sacramento, taller and less pudgy, partly, no doubt, because they engage in the chase more than the latter. There is more rugged and stolid strength of feature than in the Shastika now living; cheek bones prominent; lips generally thick and sensual; noses straight as the Grecian, but depressed at the root and thick-walled; a dullish, heavy cast of feature; eyes frequently yellow where they should be white. They are true Indians in their stern immobility of countenance.*

Passing over to the psychic and mental qualities of these Oregonian natives, only a few characteristics can be pointed out by which they differ from the other Indians of North America. The Indian is more dependent

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* Contributions to North Amer. Ethnology, III, 252, 253. By Shastika he means the Shasti Indians of middle Klamath River, California.

175 648 changed their settlements, as hunting nations are in the habit of doing. Thus Pauline Marsh, near Silver Lake, and Pauline Lake, on one of the head springs of Des Chutes River, were both named after the Snake chief Panaína of our Texts. The bands established upon the Reservation since the treaty was concluded are called Walpapi and Yahushkin. At first they ran off and committed depredations in the vicinity, whereupon the Government was compelled to force them back. General Crook made several expeditions in the execution of the task. These campaigns were short and decisive, and the Klamath Lake scouts engaged in them did good service, as evidenced by General Crook's reports[*] and Dave Hill's Text, pages 28–33. Upon the defeat and killing of Panaína, the Walpapi chief, the tribe finally quieted down and remained neutral in the commotion caused by the Modoc war of 1872–'73.

175 161 164 No indications are at hand of the number of Indians formerly inhabiting the headwaters of the Klamath River. Before the first census was taken estimates deserving no credence were made, varying from one thousand to two thousand Indians. In those times the scourges of small-pox, syphilis, and whisky did not inflict such terrible ravages as they do now among the Indians; but instead of these the continual tribal quarrels, family vengeance, the ordeals of witchcraft, dearth of food, and the inhuman treatment of the females must have claimed many more victims than at present. Emigration and intermarriages with other tribes were rather the exception than the rule, and are so even now. [563] [167]

THE TREATY OF 1864.

175 648 During the ten years following Wright's massacre the country began to assume a somewhat different aspect through the agricultural and stock-raising settlements of white people that sprung up in Lost River Valley, around Little Klamath Lake and in other places. The cession of lands to the "Oregon Central Military Road Company" from Eugene City, in Willámet Valley, through the Cascade range, across the Klamath Marsh, to

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[113] [*] Contained in the Report of the Secretary of War, 1868–'69, Part I, pp 69, 70, dated September 2, 1867, and March 19, 1868. The troops killed twenty-four Snake Indians in the expedition of 1867. See also Texts, Note to 28, 14.

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*657 first encountered Christianity at the school. There were studies,
872 though the most lasting impressions were made in references to
[797] Indian wars in the histories.[21] Above all there was the heavy
[829] labor, for the development of the industrial program coincided
[464] with the period when able-bodied men were leaving the reservation on passes to work for whites; and the support not only of the schools but in some measure of other Agency programs devolved upon the scholars. As E. L. Applegate admitted, "the truth is, the labor is very heavy upon those old enough or intelligent enough to render any assistance; 110 people [in the school] constitute a large family."[22] Work on the school farm required the pupils to return in two-week shifts over the summer. A contest for control over this work force developed between Applegate and the Superintendent of the Agency school, who presumed to take his orders directly from the Superintendent of Indian Schools in Washington.[23]

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There was competition from off-reservation schools over the
*657 older students. In 1881, Nickerson, perhaps prodded from above,
871 had attempted to send twelve superior students to the Indian school at Forest Grove—later removed to Chemawa, Oregon—but funds were not available to send them the 450 miles distant.[24] In a letter from Acting Commissioner E. L. Stevens, the role of those schools and their competition with Agency schools are clearly acknowledged. Declared Stevens:

> It is not the policy of this office to remove pupils from reservation to distant boarding schools without the consent of their parents.
>
> It is always the case that the removal from agency schools of the older and more intelligent pupils is, temporarily at least, a detriment to the schools; but it is believed that the superior advantages which can be had away from the Indian country, and the reflex influence on the families who thus commit themselves to civilization, more than compensate to the tribe for the loss occasioned to the schools.[25]

*648 In 1885, accordingly, nineteen students were sent away to
*657 school, and by spring, five had died. Eventually eight were dead,
871 and Emery wrote, "This great mortality has caused much dis-
• 165 satisfaction among my Indians; and any effort to remove any more children to this School will meet with serious opposition on

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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the part of the Indians."[26] The issue was not successfully reopened until the administration of O. C. Applegate.

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In the education for a new life which the schools essayed to impart—and this, against all diversions, was its chief task—the caliber of the teaching staff was crucial. It is difficult to evaluate the accomplishments of the teachers, for some were relatives or longtime friends of the Agent; and the adverse criticisms of such men as Emery sometimes cloak differences in educational outlook. Scattered through the records are remarks on the lack of prior school or Indian service experience. In one staff evaluation appears a notation on Thomas Davis, industrial teacher, "recommended by Governor Penoyer as his nephew. He is learning and is prepared to do better in the future."[27] Of another, J. W. Brandenberg, superintendent and principal teacher at the Yainax school, it was observed, "He has maintained good discipline in this School, though his methods of punishment may have been considered a little severely by the Department; he having resorted to the shackles in extreme cases. . . ."[28] These are commendatory remarks. Brandenberg was later removed by order of the Commissioner.

An extreme instance was detailed by E. L. Applegate in charges against Col. H. B. Compson, the Superintendent of the Agency School. After describing the squalor of his residence, Applegate proceeds:

> As an example of the civilized White men, he could and did knock down his wife in the presence of the school girls while, at the same time, their daughter, the assistant matron, belabored him over the head with a wagon whip. The matron herself was an invalid, but of sufficient spite and vim; as to inflict scars on different parts of the bodies of school girls, and even upon their faces and heads."[29]

In the light of conflicts over educational and disciplinary practices and the frequent partisanship, it is not surprising that there should have been a high turnover of staff. The Superintendent of the Agency boarding school noted in 1892 that over the previous seven years there had been on the average a change in Superintendent every six months, and that there was marked insubordination among the scholars.[30] Eight years later, the

time, few years have not seen at least one murder upon the 648*
reservation. 657*

Lesser crimes have also been frequent. Of the 1958 sample 674
of the reservation population above the age of sixteen, no fewer
than forty-three per cent had been arrested for misdemeanor,
seventeen per cent for felony. Liquor had led to arrest for thirty- 648*
seven per cent, and no fewer than forty-nine per cent were 657*
judged to have problems associated with drinking. The corre- 273
sponding figures were slightly higher for those members living in [674]
Chiloquin, where opportunity, observation, and arresting officers
were all more frequent.

In situations in which other peoples have sought redress in
religious movements or covert sorcery, Klamath have more [154]
commonly fallen back upon drink and violence. For them the
bottle has proven a maladaptive instrument, as shown by a [165]
recent survey of the causes of death of 139 members who expired during a period of four and one-half years: drinking was adjudged to be a contributory factor in no fewer than fifty-seven per cent of the deaths.[9] The violence which often caps drinking bouts is likewise self-destructive: for it often strikes close friends or family members.

From the viewpoint of the city fathers, then, the Klamath have been an unruly segment of the citizenry; and the figures on law and order pose the difficulty confronting the community in the maintenance of an orderly life. Alternatively, however, those same figures represent a sizable income to be realized through the administration of the law. In the latter days of the reservation, as the Indians themselves were clearly aware,[10] the city seemed on the one hand to be profiting from the sale of beer and wine to tribal members and on the other to collect large fines from them when, under the influence of alcohol, they had fallen into the toils of the law. The implications of this policy, by which almost two-thirds of the income of the town was supplied, made many white citizens uneasy. The city fathers, concerned with a parsimonious administration, were not eager to seek a substitute and, indeed, any change would have presented obstacles.

So long as the tribal government remained to articulate their 648*
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Weasel: Male, Age 29

Background Data

In contrast to all other subjects Weasel's role in the reservation community 159*
is a totally negative, destructive one, largely that of a supposedly vicious [156]
criminal. He was born and raised on an economically un-productive ranch, which
for twenty years or more has been the location of continuous drinking parties. [593]
Weasel was raised within a circle of a pack of older brothers, half-brothers,
and step brothers, all of whom were bigger, stronger, and more capable than he. [733]
His father has been an alcoholic for thirty years and has rarely worked or con-
tributed much to the organization of the family, which as a co-residential [592]
household usually included more than a dozen persons. In all, Weasel had 17 [165]●
full and part siblings, half of whom are now deceased, three directly as a re-
sult of drinking, three from acts of violence or car accidents.

Weasel's formal education ceased when he was 15, in the ninth grade, at which [871]
time he was arrested on a burglary charge. Since then he has spent six years [674]
in reformatories or penal institutions. He was tested while in jail on an
assault charge. Shortly thereafter he was found not-guilty, then re-arrested [697]
and sentenced on a different assault with a deadly weapon charge to three years
in the state penitentiary.

Weasel has repeatedly moved out of the circle of the family group, only to
fail "outside" and return to its sheltering arms. For a time Weasel was a [542]
professional boxer, but one without much skill or stamina. He never won a fight
and his face shows the evidence of the capabilities of his opponents. His
membership in this profession did not last long, and Weasel states, rather
proudly, that the Boxing Commission expelled him "For conduct unbecoming a
professional boxer." Weasel was once married (a common-law marriage, which [588]
for Weasel's primary reference groups is well sanctioned) but this lasted just [581]
16 weeks. During this period Weasel stayed sober, the longest time he has spent
without a drink since the age of 12. Weasel was consciously trying to reform [733]
himself, but now feels that he was a fool to ever try. Additionally, Weasel
has repeatedly made a circuit of nearby towns and cities either singly or in [156]
the company of a brother or friend. These visitations have more of the charac- [579]
ter of raids than anything else, and Weasel is usually arrested in one or a-
nother place and either charged or shipped out of town. [697]

In addition to being a minor criminal Weasel is frequently also the scapegoat 159*
for the aggressions of stronger men than he. He constantly asks for trouble, 156
but has never given any evidence that he can back of his threats with appro-
priate force. His successful acts of aggression have always been sneak attacks, [186]
or attacks on feeble old men or young boys. He seldom attempts to avoid the
consequences of these actions, and, indeed, is frequently not able to do so,
because of his extreme drunken condition. He seems to obtain some gratifica-
tion from the minor prestige afforded his performances in these roles, but this
gratification is highly personalized and is not recognized as appropriate by
others. It may be that he has been attempting to build up his standing and re-
putation within his own circle by acting out the role of a "dangerous Indian,"
but it would seem that he has been singularly unsuccessful in this. One aspect
of this behavior is his reputed skill with a knife. On two occasions he wanted
to obtain vocational training, once as a barber, the other time as a butcher,
both times implying that this would be a simple extension of his native talent.

142 tall, and wiry, while the women are short and often incline to embonpoint. Nevertheless obesity is not more frequent there than it is with us. No better illustration of their bodily characteristics can be had than a collection of their personal names. These sketch the Indian in a striking and often an unenviable light, because they generally depict the extremes observed on certain individuals. The sex can not, or in a few instances only,
[551] be inferred from the name of a person. We frequently meet with designations like "Large Stomach," "Big Belly," "Round Belly," "Sharp Nose," "Grizzly's Nose," "Spare-Built," "Grease," "Crooked Neck," "Conical Head," "Wide-Mouth," "Small-Eyes," "Squinter," "Large Eyes," "Half-blind," or with names referring to gait, to the carriage of the body, to habitual acts performed with hands or feet, to dress, and other accidental matters.

165 With all these deformities, and many others more difficult to detect,
145 these Indians have bodies as well formed as those of the Anglo-American race, and in spite of their privations and exposure they live about as long as we do, though no Indian knows his or her age with any degree of accu-
164 racy. A very common defect is the blindness of one eye, produced by the smudge of the lodge-fire, around which they pass the long winter evenings.
304 With the majority of the Indians the septum of the nose hangs down at
301 adult age, for the nose of every Indian is pierced in early years, whether they afterwards wear the dentalium-shell in it or not.

000 Stephen Powers, who had good opportunities for comparing the Modocs with the tribes of Northern California, says of them:

> They present a finer physique than the lowland tribes of the Sacramento, taller and less pudgy, partly, no doubt, because they engage in the chase more than the latter. There is more rugged and stolid strength of feature than in the Shastika now living; cheek bones prominent; lips generally thick and sensual; noses straight as the Grecian, but depressed at the root and thick-walled; a dullish, heavy cast of feature; eyes frequently yellow where they should be white. They are true Indians in their stern immobility of countenance.[*]

Passing over to the psychic and mental qualities of these Oregonian natives, only a few characteristics can be pointed out by which they differ from the other Indians of North America. The Indian is more dependent

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[*] Contributions to North Amer. Ethnology, III, 252, 253. By Shastika he means the Shasti Indians of middle Klamath River, California.

*648 *657 to be released from service. As the Agent of that period, Linus M. Nickerson, summarized matters, his carpenter, wagon- and plowmaker, blacksmith, superintendent of farming, farmer, and sawyer lapsed, while the treaty provided for a five-year continuance of physician, miller, two teachers, and the materials for shops mills, and agency buildings.[8] The Bureau at this point assumed responsibility for continuance of some of the staff and thus resolved the crisis.[9]

*648 *657 871 Later exigencies led to further modifications of staff, until the superintendent of the Yainax boarding school became responsible, in effect, to the Agent for the entire administration of the upper end of the reservation; and the interpreter, doubling as blacksmith, oversaw the issuing of rations to Indian employees and the destitute, and supervised the working prisoners. As more men • [166] [464] left the reservation in the eighties and nineties in search of employment, the labor force available for reservation maintenance dwindled, and the Agent had recourse to the older school boys as part of his work force. Since they were to spend half the day under the industrial teacher, a struggle for ascendancy over this functionary developed between Agent and school supervisor, a battle which more than once was marked by acerbity.

So complicated was the issue by the growing centralization of the management of reservation schools under a district superintendent of Indian schools in Washington, that Agent Joseph Emery had to be reassured: ". . . the Indian Agent is [the Office's] representative upon the Indian reservation . . . [and] it is my intention to properly support your authority in all legitimate cases."[10] Another circumstance was the location of the Klamath boarding school under the direct surveillance of the Agent. While his counterpart at Yainax controlled both school and subagency, the Superintendent of the Agency school chafed under the levies—and at times the direct interference—of the Agent. This was particularly true during the tenure of Emery, a former professor at the Agricultural College at Corvallis, who instituted a number of innovations in the school. That friction did not result solely from the play of exceptional personalities is shown by the circumstance that later Agents, E. L. Applegate and David W. Matthews, encountered similar trouble.[11]

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*657 *648 592 162 and this corresponds fairly closely with averages from the listing of Upper End bands. Only the Link River tally is aberrant, with an average of about 20, far above the figure to be obtained from those Link River households included in the census of the tribe at large. Since the tally was made in September, it may reflect the open living conditions of that season.[21]

*657 *648 592 622 162 Household size ranges from 27 persons down to 2, the latter figure for the household of a widow. Households of known chiefs —taking as criterion a signatory to the treaty of 1864—are well above the average, ranging generally between 22 and 15, with only those of the Modoc, Schonchin, and the Paiute, Ocheho,[22] falling below. However, as will be seen, chiefly households were not the largest in absolute figures: those of some of their followers exceeded them. The large households indicated here [178] point to the continued presence of the extended family as a residential group.

*657 *648 592 162 By contrast, the census of Slabtown, a small settlement near the Agency occupied primarily by Agency employees in 1901, shows 13 households comprising house head, wife, and from three children down to none, with an average of 1.4. In one family a girl past school age, and in another a grown son, were among the children. In addition to those children at home, the families had others in school, in the same numerical range and with the same average. The total family size ranged from 2 to 8, with an average of 4.7. Because some of the family heads, perhaps all, were young at this time, family size may thus have been somewhat skewed.[23] Nonetheless, the contrast of these households comprising conjugal families with those occupied by extended families forty years earlier clearly demonstrates the residential fractionation of the larger units.

*657 *648 166 A seasonal mobility still characterized the Klamath family. Nickerson mentioned in 1884 that the heads of reservation families—from one-half to two-thirds of the men—had been away for the last four months, and added, "They generally take their families with them on such occasions."[24] Similarly, in a predecessor of Slabtown, over fifty families engaged in hauling logs on sleds to the sawmill camped in tents in January to be near their work.[25]

000 Of all the societal relationships, the government sought directly

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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TEN

[P.125]

The Changing Environs

THE ISOLATION OF THE RESERVATION HAD NEVER BEEN MORE THAN A relative condition. From early days the soldiers at Fort Klamath, the settlers on Wood River and the Upper Sprague, together with the growing towns of Linkville and Lakeview, made its seclusion far less than absolute. A policy that permitted the freighting runs to Jacksonville and Ashland or the pass system by which perhaps three-fourths of the men and their families were permitted to leave the reservation for as long as four months to work for whites: these greatly diminished the policy controls exercised by the Agent. 657* 648* [361] [166] [464]

In the period ahead, however, boundaries were to be further dissolved. In 1882 Nickerson could declare, "This reservation contains as many inhabitants to the square mile as Lake County or Eastern Oregon."[1] Homesteaders were even then filling up the land, and the rate accelerated as Linkville—become Klamath Falls—and Lakeview responded to the market and communication needs of the region. When the Southern Pacific railroad reached Klamath Falls in 1909, the resource relationships in the Klamath Basin changed radically. Reservation timber, previously of little commercial value, suddenly possessed great worth and the mills in Klamath Falls and neighboring communities soon became reliant upon it. The Oregon, Central, and Eastern railroad ran up the Sprague River Valley, while by 1911 the Southern Pacific had pushed north across the western face of the reservation to Kirk. In 1923 work was resumed on the latter line to complete the Natron Cutoff from the Willamette Valley; three years later it was completed. Thereafter, the Lower End lay on a main line. [161] [313]

Thus, to the cattlemen and sheepmen operating on the reservation under grazing leases were added railway gangs, then [563]

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*657 logging camps and mill towns. In 1930, at a time when the total
*648 enrollment of the tribe was some 1,250 persons, the predomi-
[563] nantly non-Indian population of one such reservation town,
[161] Chiloquin, and its environs was roughly 1,850, a figure which
placed it second in size in the entire county. Indian-white re-
lationships in such communities could no longer be adequately
regulated by the Agent. Moreover, improved means of communi-
[484] cation made it possible for an Indian to travel off the reservation
at will and thus beyond the reach of Agency authority. Most
[434] important of all, income from grazing leases, claims against the
government, and land and timber sales gave him the equality
of the marketplace.

*648 The maintenance of boundaries was justified in official corre-
*657 spondence of the eighties by the fate of those Indians who went
• 166 off the reservation. "Quite a number of the Indians," wrote
423 Emery, "obtain passes and go out to seek a living among the
whites. They usually camp in the suburbs of our little towns.
With few exceptions these Indians become thriftless vaga-
bonds. . . ."[3]

In 1884, Nickerson felt it necessary to counter the proposal of Judge W. S. Moore, of Linkville, that Sammy Andy, an Indian who had been working for Moore on pass, be allowed to locate permanently at Linkville and be released from the control of the U.S. Indian Agent.

> As there is no land that this man can secure as a homestead [he concluded], . . . [and] as I have no assurance that he has means sufficient to purchase a home suitable for his support, I do not approve of nor advise that the request be granted at present. Judge Moore has been very kind to this Indian, but should he die or move away, the Indian would be in a poor position to live, and would be subject to many serious temptations.[4]

The need for a general policy became apparent when several Modoc families who had never been on the reservation preempted homesteads in the Tule Basin. A reservation Indian, upon the advice of an attorney, likewise renounced his tribal relations and took up a homestead. "He has become deficient under his supposed citizenship," reported Nickerson, "and says he will not allow the Police to arrest him. . . . There is a white man

among them who is their counselor, . . . and who tells the 648*
Indians on the reservation that they can leave the reservation 657*
when they please."[5] Despite the contrary views of the U.S. 166•
District Attorney, two years later the Commissioner held that 423
any adult Indian or the head of a family was free to take a homestead on the public domain, and was further exempted from paying entry fees or commission.[6] When the General Allotment Act came into force next year, provision was made that nonreservation Indians might be allotted on the public domain.[7]

As reservation control weakened, there was an increase in the 648*
incidence of crime. Dyar had had to contend with "professional" 657*
gamblers in his day, with the prostitution of Indian women, and 694
with a few instances of bootlegging. When two Agency employees were killed in separate incidents little more than a month apart, the events had "had a very disheartening effect upon these [Indians] and many of them [were] for the time inclined to let go all holds and go back to their old customs."[8] Significantly one of those deaths, a shooting by a white sheepherder, occurred along the public road through the reservation.

Soon, across the reservation line on Wood River beyond Fort Klamath, saloons began to spring up. Nickerson stopped one man, a discharged soldier from Fort Klamath, and seized the liquor he was transporting to that oasis. He thereupon found himself facing extensive litigation, for the man had influential associates in Linkville. Before he was done with this and other cases arising from enforcement of the liquor regulations, the Agent was out of pocket nearly $1,000 in his own defense.

Although bootlegging, quarrels, and some shootings continued 648*
to involve whites, frictions began to develop with alien "half- 657*
breeds." The death of one of the employees slain in Dyar's time 674
was at first attributed to a "half-breed"; another was involved in 563
shooting up a saloon in the Wood River settlement; it was at least an outside Indian, a Pit River, who shot an Indian policeman at the Lost River fishery in 1883, and an interbreed who slew police lieutenant David Hill at the same place nine years later. An interbreed served as contact man for a saloonkeeper of the Wood River settlement, and another was accused of bootlegging in the nearby woods and at the autumn camps on Huckleberry

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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1870, demanding that whites living with Indian women and 657*
fathering children upon them be required to marry them or that 648*
the women be sent back and punished by law.[6] 563

The previous year, the Agent responsible for Indians in the vicinity of Jacksonville had reported a total of 60 Indians, 28 of them Klamath or Modoc, comprising Indian women living in casual unions with whites, together with their children. "The head quarters of the persons keeping these women," he continued, "is at Kanaka Flat about two (2) miles from this town.
At that point there is an establishment called a 'Dance House' [547]
where whiskey is sold and where women are plied with liquor and debauched in the most shameless manner." He advocated removing the women to their reservations, and this was subsequently done.[7]

As time went on, however, a small but growing number of stable marriages appeared in the areas fringing the reservation; and others, contracted about the same period, later came to light in more distant regions in the course of allotting tribal members.
One such marriage was that of the Kentuckian, Frank Riddle, 648*
and Winema, the Modoc heroine of the war between her people 657*
and the whites. To judge from Meacham, who in turn quotes an 563
informant—perhaps O. C. Applegate, who knew the family well 177
—Winema was an early advocate for the acceptance of the new ways she herself had adopted.

> "In the evening you would see the women and men gather around Wi-ne-ma while she told them of the wonderful things she had seen among the white people, of their manners and social customs; of the laws and rules of life; of their way of making law; making machinery, its uses, &c. For hours they would listen while she talked, and to her, much of the advancement of the Indians at Klamath and Yai-nax may be attributed."[8]

Clearly, along with other features there were qualities of self-enhancement in her new role.

Few mixed couples even tried to remain on the reservation. 657*
The official and lay attitude was disdainful of "squaw men," and 648*
they in turn must have been reluctant to subject themselves to 563
the minute regulations of Agency life and the limited economic 167 •
opportunities there. Too, they may have found the kinsmen of their wives both abundant and demanding. For their part, the wives may have been eager to reach beyond the limited oppor-

*657 tunities of the reservation. As they moved away, they extended
*648 Indian experience into the midst of frontier society. During the
563
• 167 allotment period they in turn enlarged reservation perspectives.

*657 The majority of the interbreed children that appeared upon
*648 the early reservation, then, were the product of temporary or
563 unstable unions and appeared as fatherless children. The annual
162 reports are unrealistic as to their number. In 1885, for example,
it was claimed that there were only 12 interbreeds in the total population of 919,[9] although to judge from later censuses, the number must have been several times as great.

*657 One of the long-range results of this intercourse was to reduce
*648 somewhat the difference in physical appearance that separated
563 the Indians from the surrounding population. Another—and more
[144] immediate—consequence, however, was to raise the divisive issue
[848] of illegitimacy among the Indians themselves and to introduce
[602] into the tribal body individuals who could claim only maternal
kinsmen. Thus, one Klamath recalls his father, a stage driver in Klamath Falls, as a drunkard whom his mother finally left. The family returned to his maternal grandparents, in whose care the boy grew up. His mother subsequently married a man who ran a logging camp at Pelican Bay, a hard worker and good hunter who treated the boy well. Nonetheless, throughout his life he bore an animus against his father and in part against the heritage he represented.[10]

*657 Interracial unions were encouraged, not only by a dearth of
*648 white women but by an early preponderance of women among
563 the Klamath and by regulations which put an end to polygamy.
162 The early imbalance between the sexes was striking. The figures
[595] supplied by Captain Kelly for the adult Klamath in 1864 give a
sex ratio of no more than 0.47.[11] Those for the Link River band two years later areonly a little higher for the adults, 0.52, although the overall figure is 0.64, since boys and girls are in approximate balance.[12]

[164] Neither sex-linked disease nor the practice of selective infanti-
[847] cide is known to have occurred among the Klamath, and the most
probable explanation must be sought among such factors as differential exposure to rigorous training, warfare, and vicissitudes of the food quest, as well as to possible emigration of single men. O. C. Applegate, the only Agent to comment upon the im-

[Klamath Reservation]

FIFTEEN

[P. 205]

Family and School

648* 657* 602 178

WHITES AND KLAMATH ON THE RESERVATION RECOGNIZED IN FAMILY ties a bond that might be useful as well in formal enterprises. Several leading businesses in Chiloquin relied in part upon consanguinity and upon marital ties to recruit members and ensure continuity of control. Similarly, among the Klamath, during the bidding for tracts of tribal property in the course of termination, members characteristically acted in kin groups to undertake purchases that were beyond the resources of a single individual. In primary relations among both groups, visiting patterns and the occasional appearance of extended family households betokened the continued strength of ties reaching beyond the nuclear family.

[167] [563]

For the whites who had come originally from outside the reservation, kinship ties stretched to distant places and there were comparatively few relatives close at hand. Of the whites in Chiloquin in 1950, although fifty-six per cent had moved from a previous residence in Oregon, fewer than forty per cent came from the reservation, from Klamath Falls, or from southwestern Oregon. Only a handful had raised children and in turn had seen grandchildren being reared in the town.[1]

[587] [596]

The Klamath, with many kinsmen still upon the reservation, saw the network of relationship close at hand, however tangled it might be by the intricacies of remarriage. To be sure, the extended family as a residential group was not prominent, for in Chiloquin there were but two such households and in Beatty one. The strength of the bonds manifested themselves in other ways. Tribal residents in the city of Springfield, in the Willamette Valley, several of whom asserted that they had originally moved away to escape the importunities of kinsmen, had made the move as nuclear families over a period of several decades. None-

*648 off Chocktoot Street: to the postoffice to get the government
*657 allowance [sic!] of $600 a year; to the bank to get the cash; to
563 the iceman around the corner; to parts unknown; and then to the
181 justice of the peace."[6]

There were several reasons why the views concerning the
*648 Klamath should become increasingly invidious with time. Al-
*657 though they had come to adopt most of the outward trappings
563 of American culture, those who remained on the reservation often
181 displayed a style of life at variance with that of white neighbors,
571 until some of the latter came to see the differences as innate. In
• [[167] Chiloquin, the influx of southern whites after World War II was
said to have sharpened the stereotype: it seemed in fact to be maintained in less-qualified fashion among them. Antagonistic bias was least in evidence in Beatty, more strongly evinced in Chiloquin, and most apparent in Klamath Falls. Away from the reservation, Klamath tended to be absorbed in the larger category of American Indian, and to lose their special tribal identity.

*648 The impact of a felt discrimination was heightened for the
*657 Klamath by a sensitivity to slights in situations which whites
563 regarded as devoid of bias. Tribal members have been keenly
571 aware of the pairing of public equality and private bias. As one
elderly and highly respected Klamath matron in Chiloquin saw it:

> The Four Hundred are those who live among the Indians but feel that they are better than the Indian. The [poorer] people are more fussy. . . . They will talk to the Indians on the street and are friendly when they want business, but otherwise they don't know them.[7]

Indeed, intimate social intercourse has been discouraged by both sides. Comparison of the names of whites mentioning tribal members in a sociometric test conducted in Chiloquin with those included in a census of Klamath drinking cliques ten years later revealed that only a handful of individuals crossed the social boundary. From a general standpoint, Klamath and whites were virtually exclusive in their intimate associations. Those few whites who drank with Klamath and named Klamath among their friends were low in the esteem of their peers. Among tribal members, individuals who consorted regularly with whites thereby

Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
648 towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
(167) the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation,
by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically,
less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities
were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
[786] area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
[181] Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased
[556] opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
[436] had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members,
[434] as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited
[251] bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

175 changed their settlements, as hunting nations are in the habit of doing.
648 Thus Pauline Marsh, near Silver Lake, and Pauline Lake, on one of the head springs of Des Chutes River, were both named after the Snake chief Panaína of our Texts. The bands established upon the Reservation since the treaty was concluded are called Walpapi and Yahushkin. At first they ran off and committed depredations in the vicinity, whereupon the Government was compelled to force them back. General Crook made several expeditions in the execution of the task. These campaigns were short and decisive, and the Klamath Lake scouts engaged in them did good service, as evidenced by General Crook's reports[*] and Dave Hill's Text, pages 28–33. Upon the defeat and killing of Panaína, the Walpapi chief, the tribe finally quieted down and remained neutral in the commotion caused by the Modoc war of 1872–'73.

175 No indications are at hand of the number of Indians formerly inhabit-
161 ing the headwaters of the Klamath River. Before the first census was
164 taken estimates deserving no credence were made, varying from one thousand to two thousand Indians. In those times the scourges of small-pox, syphilis, and whisky did not inflict such terrible ravages as they do now among the Indians; but instead of these the continual tribal quarrels, family vengeance, the ordeals of witchcraft, dearth of food, and the inhuman treatment of the females must have claimed many more victims than at
[563] present. Emigration and intermarriages with other tribes were rather the
[167] exception than the rule, and are so even now.

THE TREATY OF 1864.

175 During the ten years following Wright's massacre the country began
648 to assume a somewhat different aspect through the agricultural and stock-raising settlements of white people that sprung up in Lost River Valley, around Little Klamath Lake and in other places. The cession of lands to the "Oregon Central Military Road Company" from Eugene City, in Willámet Valley, through the Cascade range, across the Klamath Marsh, to

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[13] [*] Contained in the Report of the Secretary of War, 1868–'69, Part I, pp 69, 70, dated September 2, 1867, and March 19, 1868. The troops killed twenty-four Snake Indians in the expedition of 1867. See also Texts, Note to 28, 14.

● 171

[For information on distributional evidence for cultural traits among the Klamath, see category 116, pp. 224-325.]

101 619 occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of any sharp geographic division, rivers or ranges, such as we should expect to figure in political separatism. There are only three or four miles of open, unoccupied country between the middle Williamson river group and that at the river mouth, for instance, or between the latter and the northernmost outposts of the Klamath falls people about Modoc point. The cases of doubtful divisions really stress this point. Kowa'cdi on the lake shore may belong with the middle Williamson division; though only three miles away over a low range of hills, it is somewhat isolated. Similarly the Sprague river settlements toward Yainax, usually included in the same group, are in quite a different district.

721 619 [171] The third feature pointing to their separatism is the frequent feuds between them. It is quite clear that these involve the tribelets; they never occur between the settlements of a single division. The point will be clearer if we contrast Yurok sentiments. There feuds are between the towns or with only a group of kinsmen within a town, and at most when several towns are involved in a joint cause, it appears rather that kinsmen and their friends have been drawn in.[34] [567] Further, feuds are carried on much as warfare with foreigners; property is destroyed, women and children enslaved. Such slaves can be retained indefinitely or sold again. We may wonder however if they are not restored when a settlement is bought, or at most retained only to even the score in lives.

The identity of these groups resolves itself solely into such aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. [621] At the other extreme, the towns are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large part a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole.

115 197 184 Only one informant, Pat Kane, suggested dialectic and cultural differentiation. The dialect groupings he gave are purely geographic. He also assigned shamanistic tricks, medical practices, and games to the several divisions, which all other informants emphatically denied. I could observe no linguistic differences and Gatschet recorded none.

000 The subdivisions or tribelets are:

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[34] Kroeber, Handbook, 49.

WARFARE AND FEUDS

721 Klamath warfare is deserving of the name in contrast to the conflicts of the northern Californian tribes. Raids are carried into foreign parts for plunder, slaves, and revenge, and received in turn. No single town or tribelet is alone concerned: warriors are drawn [171] from the Klamath at large. This is in marked contrast to the Yurok and their neighbors, e.g., whose foreign wars seem but an extension of the private quarrels that set town against town, and in which the large body of Yurok may remain neutral. Warfare is here not mere retaliation, murder for murder, but is engendered by patriotic motive and tangible benefits.

There can be little doubt that the Klamath attitude is due to their contact with tribes of warlike habit to the north and east. Raids from that direction had to be met and countered. The interesting circumstance is that the Pit river people were under a similar compulsion but apparently made no effort to cope with the raids by reciprocating. So far as I can learn they never ventured against the Klamath despite their equivalence or even superiority of numbers. The cause for the difference seems to be that the Klamath had reason to raid; slaves and [437] plunder were important to them. There was a market for these [231] articles at the Dalles with much-coveted horses to be had in return. The Achomawi had no such outlet. I would not underestimate the [619] difference in tribal solidarity, which may have been entirely lacking among the Achomawi, but the suggestion is that such solidarity may in this instance be a function of a common cause against a common enemy. The Klamath had their share of internecine warfare.

648 Besides the close bond with the Modoc, normally friendly relations are maintained with the Molala across the Cascades, the Wătă'nkni (Warm Springs people) of the Deschutes, and the Wishram-Wasco 648 at the Dalles. Warfare is directed toward all other directions. Raids are exchanged with the Shasta several days' journey down the Kla- 721 math river, the Upland Takelma on the Rogue river, and the Northern [231] Paiute (Snake) of the desert to the east. The Klamath fight the Kalapuya and take horses from the Warm Springs Indians.[88] Since horses were obtained by them, raids may be expected of the Ya'mŏkni two hundred or more miles away; northerners generically, but in this

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[88] Gatschet, 1:18.

Women also accompany a war party according to one informant, 726
but this is denied by another. They cook or paddle; that is easily 562
understood, but I am inclined to believe that they actually participate
in conflict. Perhaps the solution is that they accompany feudists, but
do not go on extended raids into enemy territory. Some are said to
fight with the men, shouting and jumping about to add to the terrifying
effect of the surprise. Armed with short spears by preference,
they help to catch women and children and to slay the aged as they
run to hide.

Leaders of the party are appointed by the chief, usually men of 701
affluence and commonly his relatives. There may be four or five
leaders of a single large party. The qualities expected of them are
bravery, ability to maintain their good sense in the excitement, and
to go without sleep. Chiefs became such largely by the prestige of
successful leadership in battle.

The war party proceed well-nigh naked and afoot no matter what 726
the weather. It is of some interest that even after the advent of the
horse they prefer to go afoot. This is reminiscent of the Blackfoot, [231]
but in our case at least may indicate how recent is the acquisition of
the horse. My information suggests the second quarter of the last [171]
century for the coming of the horse, and the wars were over by about
1865. The raid against the Upland Takelma mentioned above was
undertaken afoot. But this is not really a case in point because it is
doubtful that there were then horse trails across these timbered mountains.
The introduction of the horse facilitated long-range raiding.
Gatschet's informant describes its use against the Pit river tribes
about 1848–50; even then it was a ride of three days and a night.[46]
Canoe travel was of little importance in any but expeditions within
their own territory. [501]

A warrior's armament includes bow, club, and sometimes spear, 726
with shield and body armor. Fighting is wholly individual; there is
no sort of battle array. After the first rush of a surprise attack, they 411
fight by preference from cover. No line of bowmen ever fights in the
open, nor do lancers make a concerted charge. The sinew-backed war
bow is a powerful short-range weapon.[47] Arrow shafts are wooden,
the heads of stone loosely affixed so as to remain in the wound when

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[46] *Op. cit.*, 1:19–27.

[47] Frémont observed that in 1846 he saw Indians behind the bushes with their arrows spread fan-wise so as to be ready at hand (Memoirs, 494).

411 the shaft is withdrawn. The tips are not poisoned.[48] However they
726 believe that those made of obsidian obtained on a mountain west of
Klamath lake are poisonous. A tale has it that an Upland Takelma
[539] shot a presumably mythical man, called Tcewis hu'lūms (alighting
flicker), there. Crow laughed and he turned into the pillar of rock
still standing. This is presumably the widely known tale of the shattered
701 rock-monster. A war leader, a rich man, carries several quivers;
one under each arm and a third across his back. The short stabbing
411 lance is stone headed; the club simply a straight stick or one bearing
714 a knot for a head. Armor is the familiar long skin tunic and wooden
slat armor of waistcoat shape. The round hand shield is used, but not
the curtain shield, i.e., a skin hung before the body. Sock-like skin
gloves sometimes protect the forearms.

It is planned to arrive in enemy territory at the end of the day.
726 Several good runners are sent forward as scouts (gau'ulū'kdja) to
[191] look for smoke from enemy fires. Scouts do not use animal cries like
those of the Northern Paiute. The camps are surprised at dawn, for,
(171) in addition to the confusion, there is the advantage of a long day in
which to make good an escape. Yet the fight may last several days, I
was told, but it is more likely that the raiders withdraw at once unless
beset by a rallied foe. One thing sets off the intensity of this conflict
from that of the Arizona Havasupai as I found it; there never occurs
here the gesture of bravado of drawing off for refreshment before
[554] returning to the attack. Yet there is something formal about these
fights too; the leaders make a point of engaging with men of like rank
in the forefront of battle, although they do not disdain lesser men.
Warriors do not pat the mouth as they charge (go'lgi); this is done
727 only in the scalp dance. The foray usually ends with the fleeing of the
ablebodied among the enemy, the killing of the infirm, and the capture
of women, children, and such property as beads and quivers.

(114) These are kept by their captors; perhaps some division of the spoil
is made. Disputes are inevitable; Gatschet's informant describes how
he wantonly shot down a girl whom he claimed as his due rather than
let another have her.[49] Pat Kane told me that all the booty is carried
to the principal chief who asks for an accounting of the dead and
slaves. The leader enumerates how each man took slaves or scalps and
how the opposing chiefs were killed. The trophies of these chiefs are
exhibited. I doubt his statement, unless he had in mind the prestige

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[48] Gatschet's informant credits the Modoc with poisoned arrows (*op. cit.*, 1:90).

[49] *Op. cit.*, 1:23.

peculiar to the chief Lxle'ks, to whom they were accustomed to trade their slaves for transportation to the north. On the other hand this may be a reflection of the Plains custom of reciting coups. 727

Scalps are of liberal size, including the whole skin above the ears and brows, as is generally the case among western Indians. Bodies are dismembered for trophies; hands, feet, ears, heart, the lips cut away as one piece, genitals, and the whole head. (One informant denied that the head is taken entire.) Trophies are never taken from women nor from any men except leaders, the best fighters. There may then be some truth in the statement of Gatschet's informant that they disdained scalping Pit river people.[60] Kroeber has pointed out that the northwestern Californians as far east as the Shasta neither scalp nor hold a victory (scalp) dance.[61] Klamath practice is in accord with more general custom. [114] [171]

The scalp dance (sa'tca) is one of rejoicing over vengeance achieved. Hence the invitation issues from a relative of the avenged, not of necessity from a chief. Dancing begins immediately on the return of the war party and lasts two to five nights depending on the size of the group that collects. A minor raid is of course a matter of only local concern, but an affair of consequence brings everyone to a celebration for the full five days dictated by tribal pattern. Gatschet's informant recounted how on one occasion they made their captives dance before them at the first camp on their homeward journey.[62] 727 535

Older people of both sexes take part in the dance as well as the returned warriors. The young are barred and children especially must be kept at a distance. Quiet, decorous conduct is expected of those who do not dance, else they would be shot, for at this time the dancers are violent. Faces are painted white or red; hair is tied as for the war dance. They fast or at least eat no meat nor fish. This is the taboo that the Klamath impose during every crisis. There is no special purification for those who have slain an enemy.

The dance takes place in an open place, the very one on which the war dance was held, according to one informant. A huge fire is kept burning at the middle, where captured bows and quivers hang on a pole. The captives are huddled at its base, the older ones with their wrists tied before them.

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[60] *Op. cit.*, 1:19.

[61] Handbook, 844.

[62] *Op. cit.*, 1:20.

2: Voegelin

NR10 Klamath NR10

● 171

[For a comparative distributional listing of cultural traits shared or not shared with other northeastern California tribes, see Category 116, whole source.]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Comparison with the record of white performances places the 648* tribal picture in perspective. In Beatty, six out of seven white 657* househeads were employed. A sample taken in 1950 including 464 almost every white household in Chiloquin showed that all the 162 men save those who were ill or retired were gainfully employed, 171 • and that in thirty-seven per cent of the households wives or junior members also held jobs.

By this token, the Klamath had come to occupy a marginal 648* position as economic producers. That this had not always been 657* true is shown by the record of those who in the early days of 464 Chiloquin had tried their hand at business; and several continued 437 to maintain themselves by ranching or business. The large majority of the men, however, were content to labor seasonally as unskilled farmhands. The undependability of some workers had generated an adverse reputation among potential employers for the Klamath as a whole. The industrious Klamath came to be viewed as exceptional.

Thus, even on their own reservation, the Klamath stood beneath the shadow of economic structures dominated by whites. This condition was, of course, true for the reservation as a unit; for distant interests dictated that it should be devoted to the production of lumber, beef, power, and to communications. Within the several communities the major enterprises were also controlled by whites. To be sure, there were checks upon the ruthless exercise of economic power. Local awareness of inter- [623] dependence, the intimate acquaintance developed in the daily life of a small community, and the knowledge that the tribal council controlled the fate of timber contracts upon which the community depended: all these served to temper purely economic decisions. The exercise of a credit system by storekeepers [452] in the face of lower prices in Klamath Falls, the good faith they expected of their customers, and the occasional need for hired hands by ranchers, were equally conducive to restraint.

Klamath families who chose to farm were often similar to their [241] white counterparts in the concentration which they devoted to their farming; and they often exchanged labor or equipment with white neighbors. There were few successful farmers among tribal members, perhaps no more than a dozen in all. By contrast, [233] there were those in the countryside who chose to follow other time-honored values than industry, giving precedence to per-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 *657 563 where after attending public school or the Catholic academy, she took special training or found a job. About that time she met her future husband, a white employed as a laborer in logging, millwork, or construction. Evidently, he then stood below her in socioeconomic status, although in a superior ethnic bracket. The subsequent advance of the husband, after their marriage, may be regarded in no small degree as the result of her own drive and ambition as well as his. Such couples rarely returned to the reservation; and their life together was undoubtedly an extension of that first step, before they met, which had taken her away from the reservation.

ACCULTURATION

*648 *657 177 [171] [434] The suggestion has recently been made for the Ojibway that the sociocultural position they now maintain on their reservation in Wisconsin represents an accommodation to the standards of living of lower status whites.[11] At Klamath, the circumstances that might have reduced tribal members to a similar economic condition have been offset by income from leases and from tribal timber. The question may still be posed, however: to what degree does Klamath life on the reservation represent the direct acculturative influence of those whites, particularly of lower-class status, whom they most closely approximate?

The historical record, already reviewed, shows clearly that many early contacts of a persistent character were with whites whom Agents with some justification regarded as outcasts or renegades from their own society; but, their influence although it was undoubtedly felt, did not compare with the broader programs of the official staff, directed at the whole Klamath population and implemented through influential leaders. A few individuals such as Frank Riddle stand out; but their own ties tended to be with administrators like Oliver Applegate. The major individuals to offer opposing counsel were former Agency employees or individuals of substance in neighboring towns. Klamath recognized the tokens of success, and were unlikely to follow persons who showed every evidence of failure in their own lives.

There is some warrant for seeing in the Klamath situation a structural convergence. On the one hand, the skills and roles acquired by Klamath in the early days of the reservation during

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

EFFECT OF TERMINATION

After some ninety years of existence, the federal government 648*
brought to an end the Klamath Indian reservation. At Menom- 657*
inee, which was terminated at the same time, the reservation 619
became a county and the tribal body, converted into a corpora- [171] •
tion, was to continue the management of tribal timber and other assets.[25] The decision at Klamath was otherwise. With the closing of the tribal rolls, there was no longer succession to membership in the Klamath Tribe; and although the body of remaining members under trust was to be designated by the same title, it also had a closed membership and—if its members did not elect to end it sooner—would expire with the death of the last of the individuals who had entered it at termination.

The movement for termination of Indian tribes formed part 000
of a broad revolt against the philosophy of the New Deal, a movement which gained strength in the latter years of the Truman administration and reached full power in the first years of the Eisenhower presidency. In a campaign directed against what was conceived to be an encroaching statism, it was seen as repugnant for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to maintain an indefinite paternalistic supervision over the lives of a racial segment of the American citizenry. By some, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was reckoned a misguided effort to maintain an existence for Indians separate from the main currents of American life. The view drew adherents from those who saw in reservations, as in national parks and forests, bureaucratic restraint of free enterprise. They hailed an administration pledged at once to give greater opportunity to the Indians and to a "businesslike" conduct of government that would prune unnecessary waste from the management of national affairs.

Clearly, the decision to alter the status of the Klamath was 648*
not an isolated one—witness House Concurrent Resolution 108 657*
of the 83rd Congress—and the solution that was proposed, the 619
devolution of responsibility to local agencies, formed part of a national shift in policy.[26] One must add that the Klamath had long been among the tribes considered particularly eligible for release from federal supervision. Yet it is clear, and the details have been related elsewhere,[27] that under legislative pressure

EIGHTEEN

[P.259]

Conclusion

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KLAMATH TRIBE UNDER THE PROVISIONS 648*
of the Treaty of 1864 comprised a program of directed change, 657*
paralleling in its general features the relationships of the United 171 •
States government with diverse other Indian peoples. Because a common policy lay behind the administration of Indian affairs, the history that unfolded at Klamath was similar at many points to developments on other reservations. Since, however, unique characteristics of Klamath culture entered into the equation, and common events were locally mediated, that policy had different effects in execution.

Within the spectrum of American Indian cultures, it was im- 648*
portant that the tribes brought upon the Klamath reservation 657*
were unacquainted with agriculture, but had some knowledge of, 241
and esteem for horse-herding; that while they lacked traditions 233
of large-scale political organization, they placed a premium upon 619
industry and the acquisition of material wealth. These attributes, 181
while by no means unique, were distinctive in their combination; 177
and they gain significance when seen from the perspective of 178
the policy objectives of the government. Similarly, the circumstance that many individuals had already undergone extensive acculturation beyond the Klamath country provided the early Agents with native allies already won over to the prospects of change.

Even the application of a common policy exhibited special 648*
features. Two instances should illustrate the point. The recogni- 657*
tion of the tribal claim to a large domain, together with the [423]
retention of surplus lands after allotment, laid the basis for a [619]
corporate wealth equaled by only a few other reservation peoples. [434]
Later, the rejection of the Indian Reorganization Act during the Collier administration placed the Klamath among a minority of

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10.

[Klamath Reservation]

the "dependent domestic nations" of Justice Marshall's famous 648*
decision. Many Klamath, now that they possessed funds to secure 657*
their material desires, lost incentive to strive. Lacking oppor- 177
tunities for training in competence except that offered in youth [434]
at school or—peripherally—in tribal government, many proceeded to demonstrate their unfitness to handle their own affairs. Spicer[5] [171] •
has noted how reservations in the Southwest suffered from being isolated economically from the surrounding regions. This was less the case at Klamath: in the timber exploitation, the reservation was all too closely identified with the dominant needs of the Klamath Basin and the West Coast, to say nothing of the nation at large. Instead, the ultimate needs of the Klamath had dropped out of the calculations.

In a recent analysis of the assimilation of minority groups in 000
American society,[6] Gordon identifies with the major society dimensions of integration which he designates as cultural, structural, marital, and identificational. In his view, cultural assimilation in visible externals is likely to take place first, probably in conjunction with entrance into formal, secondary relationships. Not, however, until members pass into those intimate social relationships termed primary with members of the host society have they achieved a crucial stage in assimilation. Thereafter, Gordon assumes that marital, then identificational, assimilation will follow with time.

Klamath may demur that they do not wish to submerge their 648*
identity through assimilation with Americans, but at least they 657*
have long sought parity. At first through their own efforts, then 177
later through their dividends from timber, they have acquired many of the attributes that are to be equated with Gordon's cultural category. Assimilated at this level, they have failed to be received at their own appraisal into the social system. Geertz[7] has postulated a model of change involving a cumulative imbalance between social and cultural dimensions which may have partial applicability here, for the Klamath have felt keenly the lag in admission to social relationships of which cultural properties already acquired form the symbols.

Caught in limbo, the Klamath have reacted in diverse ways, many of them characteristically individual and indirect. Some have evaded the situation by moving from under reservation

*648 surveillance; they have then had to make their peace in another
*657 community. In other instances, measures—for example, early
177 sawmills, drought cattle, loan funds—designed by the adminis-
tration to be instrumental in helping the Indians to attain distant goals of betterment, were diverted by tribal recipients to provide short-range benefits. Such action, present even in early times, became more pronounced as disillusionment set in; and organized forms of opposition were also added. In a formal character, there
[619] was an insistence upon the prerogatives that marked tribal
identity. Hence the highly emotional attachment to treaty rights, in however altered form hunting and fishing may be exploited; to the tribal government, however criticized its incumbents; and to the self-preserving myth of the past.

*648 There is, however, another side to the Klamath reaction which
*657 is to be seen in the anomic aspects of the life of Intermediate and
177 Inframodal segments of those dwelling in Chiloquin—although
182 this behavior was not limited to that city. Within Chiloquin,
184 those persons manifest many of the traits that Leighton terms
156 disintegrative: a high frequency of broken homes, of hostility,
crime, and delinquency; weak development of associations, recreation, communication, and leadership.[8] For the community as a whole, their effect is accurately characterized by his term. At the same time, their behavior had acquired such substantial predictability that the city fathers had come to rely upon it in the form of revenues from the municipal tavern and fines and trusty labor, for a considerable portion of the municipal budget. Under these circumstances, one might fairly say that a stabilized cultural pluralism existed.

*648 A situation like this cannot fail to leave psychological marks,
*657 and indeed Clifton,[9] observing that "there is very little evidence
177 to suggest, unequivocally, that guarded restraint was a dominant
156 component of aboriginal character structure," considers that
attribute to be largely a reaction to the complex unpredictabilities of the reservation. Indeed, the Klamath reaction has striking
[171] parallels in the "hostile dependence" of the Sioux[10] and the
"valuation group alienation" of the Aleut;[11] and it bears close resemblance to the situation described for the Ojibway by James,[12] who sees the personality traits he analyzes to have their source in the immediate context of white-Ojibway relations.

Those same traits others[13] had held to be conservatively Ojibway; 648*
and marking their counterparts among Menominee and other 657*
peoples the Spindlers[14] propose to see in them a common survival 177
of psychological characteristics shared widely by American Indians. 156
Underhill,[15] by contrast, accounts for the commonalty by 171 •
reference, like James, to experience in a shared situation, the reservation.

These differences of interpretation are by no means irreconcilable. The writer would agree with James[16] that "the genesis of [114]
the modern Indian self lies in the social processes that constitute reservation life," but he would include among those processes such relationships as may have survived in the peculiar cultural
environment furnished by the reservation.[17] Favored in persis- 648*
tence at Klamath have been generalized characteristics, rather 657*
than complex and specific traits. They have survived in part 156
because they are inculcated during childhood;[18] and the family, 177
within which child-rearing takes place, is one of the structures 178
that has retained distinctive qualities. They are sustained in the [571]
quality of primary relationships and are rooted in the individual, often at an unconscious level.[19] As Spencer observes, "The diffuseness of the social structure may be regarded as a survival from the heritage of the past, while individual activity continues to be couched in essentially aboriginal terms."[20] Reservation existence has provided, however, an ever changing context—albeit somewhat sheltered from the rapidly changing environs—in response to which enduring features have undergone modification.

To take the quality of guarded restraint, which Clifton regards 648*
as characteristic of the personality configuration of modern Kla- 657*
math, one can indeed trace continuities with the past. In the 156
myths there are present themes of watchful waiting and the use 177
of subterfuge in dealing with strangers and foes, and a wary 178
reserve in conflict with affinals.[21] In traditional relationships, as 571
Spencer has shown, sub-rosa patterns of aggression characterized [538]
"hostility . . . driven underground" by public disapproval.[22] That covert revenge has persisted is evidenced by historic records of several murders, of such acts as the firing of a haystack in 1897, attributed by the victim in part to the perpetrators' "envy of his prosperity . . .";[23] and to modern incidents of the same nature. Today jealousy is frequently attributed to unspecified others,

*648 usually Klamath by inference and to be identified only in part
*657 with feuding groups. It may well be that such a projection is an
156 indication in many modern Klamath of an alienation from their
177 own membership group. More central to the issue taken here,
178 however, is the probability that under the tensions of reservation
571 life guarded restraint, once restricted to a few role relationships,
has become generalized to a much broader range of contexts, while at the same time it has grown to be a pervasive characteristic of Klamath personality.

*648 The modern situation at Klamath, with its measure of human
*657 disengagement, apathy, and generated hostility, may be inter-
156 preted by some as justification for the abolition of the reservation
177 there and as an indictment of reservations everywhere. Such
178 conclusions are likely to be far too sweeping. The Klamath situation was a consequence of a reservation become a holding operation, with a program that had ground to a halt. Ironically, termination of the reservation was founded upon the premise that the Klamath had attained a successful level of integration with their white neighbors. It may not be concluded that problems have automatically been solved by the action taken; nor may it be maintained that other, less drastic steps, if taken in time, might not have proved more effective.

*648 For many Indian peoples reservations are a highly significant
*657 reality, constituting the only familiar homeland, the major con-
171 tinuity with the past, the sole real property, and the principal token of the government's resolution to honor pledges made long ago. At the same time, chosen with an eye to native exploitation or to the needs of the small farm of the nineteenth century, they are often unfitted to support a population by current standards. They thus pose the dilemma embodied in schemes on the one hand for local development and on the other for the relocation of Indian families. Sweeping measures are inappropriate; each reservation merits consideration in its own terms. Yet it would be shortsighted to seek only for material advancement, essential though this is; for, as the Klamath instance shows, unless the program give men hope, they languish even in prosperity.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M K 343 plunges into the lake or a pool in the river or whatever water there may be at hand. This practice seems to have been medicinal. It was used as a habitual means of warding off disease as well as of curing it.

The second form of sweathouse was of similar size and construction except that it had a saddle roof which was covered with several inches of earth instead of a dome-shaped roof covered with matting. The door of this structure was placed at one end and was usually quite small. It was closed by a blanket or tule mat during the sweating.

There was no large "sweathouse" used for ceremonial purposes as in the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada region to the south. All ceremonies were held out of doors, chiefly in the summer.

IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.[5]

M K 411 The influence of the unusual environment in which the Klamath and Modoc live is also very noticeable in the implements made and used by them, particularly in the various devices for the capture of fish and water birds.

The chief implements of war were the bow and arrow and a [171] rather short javelin. The war bow was of the general type of the northwestern part of California, having a sinew back and sharply upcurved ends. The arrow was made in the ordinary manner, with light wood or cane shaft, hard wood foreshaft, and a moderately large obsidian, or sometimes flint, point.

The javelin or spear was fairly short. Its shaft was made of heavy wood. Its point, usually of obsidian, varied from two to [178] six inches in length. These javelins, like war bows and arrows, [756] are no longer in existence, though the obsidian heads are quite plentiful about old village and camp sites. They are now used [525] by medicine-men in doctoring, and also by gamblers, who place them under the large mats used for gambling to insure good luck, especially in the game called sakalis.

HUNTING IMPLEMENTS.

M K 224 The implements used in hunting animals were usually the bow and arrow. Ensnaring animals was little practiced by the

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[5] The Klamath names of the various implements, etc., here described are given by Gatschet in his dictionary, *op. cit.*

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M place to place, a tule raft was sometimes used, particularly by
K war parties. Several large bundles of tule, sometimes two feet
501 in diameter and eight or ten, or even fifteen feet in length, were
[726] lashed together to form a raft. It is said to have been propelled
by lying down along the edges and really swimming the raft by
dipping the hands into the water with a motion similar to that
used in paddling.

M One of the most characteristic features of the culture of the
K region is the flat triangular platter made of tule and used for
serving food, particularly broiled or otherwise cooked fish and
285 roasted meat. Such trays are shown in pl. 13, figs. 1, 4, 6, and
415 vary greatly in size. Circular baskets of coarse tule, such as that
[262] in fig. 3 of the same plate, are more rarely found. Occasionally
they are bound about the rim with a hoop. More or less flat trays
of several other forms are also used. One such tray is shown in
fig. 5 of the same plate.

M Though not used at the present time, a tule sack was formerly
K made for the transportation and storage of wokas. This sack
was made of unsplit tule, but was of sufficiently close weave to
285 prevent the wokas from running through. These sacks were
415 sometimes made so large that when filled with the wokas seed,
222 which is comparatively light in weight, they were so heavy that
a man of ordinary strength, or a woman, would not attempt to
carry more than one at a time.

M There are several forms of rigid baskets made with willow or
other sticks, particularly the conical burden basket (pl. 16, fig. 3)
K which was used largely in gathering foods such as wild plums;
285 and the flat, more or less triangular, openwork basket with a
handle (pl. 16, figs. 1 and 2),[13] used as a sieve and as a grater as
[171] well as a general receptacle. In the loop handle this basket
differs from most of those of similar form found in various parts
of California. It is used for sifting the wokas after drying, the
seeds passing through the interstices of the basket, and separating
from the larger fragments of the pods. Also camass, ipos, and
other roots and tubers are rubbed on this basket in order to grate
off or scrape off the skin of the tuber. In addition to being made of
round willow stems, these baskets are also made of the split roots

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[13] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc. NS17

M
fish basket, and one or two others. Twining is the only technique K
used, all coiled baskets coming from this region being extraneous
to the true native culture. The majority of the conical burden 285
baskets made of willow or hazel which are in use among the [139]
Klamath are made by themselves, though they do purchase from
the Shasta to the southwest a burden basket which is more nicely
finished than their own. M

K
Together with this very specialized tule culture, resulting 105
from the life of the people upon the immediate lake shore, go 22
water foods, particularly wokas and fish, and the special imple- 415
ments devoted to the gathering of the wokas and to the capture
of various animals, birds, and fish. Such for instance are the [133]
peculiar duck arrow, the large dip-net, the net used at night in [184]
connection with a light in the canoe for catching ducks and other [501]
water birds, the many-pointed fish spear, the two forms of bone
hooks, the dug-out canoe, and the forked pole for propelling it
in shallow water. The peculiar stone implements, such as the [276]
two-horned muller, L-shaped and discoidal pipes, and triangular
net-sinker, are also noteworthy.

The specialization of culture in this region is very striking M
indeed when it is compared with the culture of surrounding K
peoples, as for instance, the Paiute to the east, where coiled
basketry predominates and tule work is almost unknown, and 105
with that of the Indians of the Upper Columbia river region to 101
the north, whose culture was very largely influenced by the 171 ●
buffalo or plains Indian culture. A comparison with the Oregon Indians is difficult not only because the Oregon cultures are comparatively little known, but because the majority of Oregon Indians, owing to their habitat, showed either a coast or a desert culture, which is not readily comparable with the inland lake environment and culture of the Klamath and Modoc. The Indians in certain respects most similar to the Lutuami in culture lived down the Klamath river in the northwestern part of California. Here are found such things as the stone maul and the large triangular fish net. Here also the basketry is entirely twined and in a large measure of comparatively soft materials; and the willow or hazel burden baskets are very similar in their general appearance, form, and particularly in the border finish.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

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Dug-out canoes, though of a somewhat different form, are also made in northwestern California, and in general the art of working wood is well developed there. In fact, it is so well developed that the most characteristic wooden implements of northwestern California are not paralleled among the Klamath and Modoc or any of the California Indians. The Klamath and Modoc also have the earth house and the tule mat house, the tule raft, and the tule moccasin, and they also burn the dead, in all which respects they differ from the Indians of northwestern California. In these respects they agree with the Indians of a large part of the great Central California culture area, sometimes more closely with peoples that are near-by, such as the adjacent Achomawi, sometimes, especially in single characteristics, with those more distant. On the whole, however, the Lutuami must be placed in a class by themselves, at least as regards their material culture, with their specialized tule and stone objects, and implements for use on the water, and their characteristic foods. In large part this specialization is the outcome of habitat in a restricted and unusual environment of large, shallow, inland lakes.

[p.261 is blank]

Because it is for several reasons considered important, the fact that each 125
Klamath subject was, in general terms, made aware of the intentions of the 123
examiner and the logic of the test procedure should be emphasized. Recently,
Hauck has described a different approach used for research among the Unitah- 125
Ouray Ute, where he modified the usual Rorschach procedure by concealing the 114
purposes of the test beneath a supposedly innocuous "cover story" (Hauck 1955: 10).

This approach to field testing is subject to criticism on several grounds. In 125
the first place, it is somewhat less than ethical to conceal the purposes of a 123
test so as to facilitate cooperation, and then to publish results in line with (114)
original intentions. Occasionally, this approach has been used in culture and personality research. It entails the assumption of a kind of mechanical meaningfulness of any responses to projective tests, however administered, and whatever the test taking attitude of the subject. At a minimum, the subject has the right of knowing what he is involved in and the privilege of refusing. Secondly, where clinical methods of interpretation are to be employed, it is essential that field research using projective tests as closely as possible approximate the clinical situation. This assumes that the cooperating research subject is more apt to reveal important aspects of himself if he clearly understands the
intentions of the examiner. Indeed, one purpose of projective testing is to 12
facilitate communication about difficult topics, not to unduly impede it with artificial barriers.

Another aspect of this issue is that most American Indian populations include 12
some members with higher education, or, like the Klamath, others with some 177
awareness of the "ink-blot" or the "picture" test via spectatorship in the mass (171)
media. Because of this awareness, any subterfuge or concealment of test objectives may be publically revealed and further distorted. The consequence of this can only be a confused or negative appraisal of field research and field researchers. Given the existing wariness and suspicion of many American Indian populations and their concern with their status as "Guinea Pigs," such an outcome is not very desirable. Finally, it is quite conceivable that another field worker might want to pursue similar research in a situation where the purposes of a test have been concealed. If so, he will have to support the original lie, either by accepting it or by expanding upon it.

Quite frequently, the success of field research in the area of culture and 12
personality studies turns upon obtaining an adequate sampling of a population in a very limited period of time. Perhaps, as is suggested by the extensive sampling of Hallewell and the Spindlers in repeated field sessions, it is the time factor which is crucial. In terms of the ethics of research, the validity of results, the richness of materials collected, the possible consequences of distorting objectives so as to obtain cooperation, and the implications for future field work, the alternative approach of using a "cover story" to obtain quick results is not desirable.

The Klamath personality research grew out of Clifton's participation in a larger 114
study of Klamath reservation culture. The initial, unpublished, evaluation of the test and life history data was intended to improve understanding of the psychological consequences of acculturation in the Klamath case and to give additional depth to other studies of styles of Klamath behavior. This first approximation, although suggestive, did not prove entirely satisfactory, largely because of too mechanical a utilization of what are, in the trade, called "standard interpretative hypotheses." In short, the initial report was too cookbookish. At the same time the possibility of bias had to be considered,

648 Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
364 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reserva-
tion, by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal mem-
[619] bers" with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, gene-
tically, less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier com-
munities were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
[784] 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
[181] Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
[556] wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided in-
creased opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal mem-
[434] bers, as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and for-
[551] feited bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

882
155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
[462] of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
426 for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented, and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

and the modes of behaving through which the Klamath interact with their be- 181
havioral milieu. For this reason it is not to be supposed that White exclusion- 657
ism or Agency policy alone are the significant antecedents of the stable
pluralism of reservation life. For a Klamath to leave the amorphous atmosphere
of his home or the circle of his drinking pals to enter into the unfamiliar and
unprepared-for activities of White life is a source of fear and anxiety.

Thus, however it may seem to the outsider, the existing way of life on the
Klamath reservation offers substantial predictability to tribal members, a place
to live, a corporate body with which to identify, and multiple stable human
relationships. As a cultural system it may be stable in form although changing
in detail, and therefore this novel set of human relationships is not likely
to quickly disappear. The Klamath today may not be the same persons who were [177]
settled on the reservation a century ago, and aboriginal Klamath, Modoc, and
Paiute cultural attributes may have disappeared, yet they are still self-con- [171]
sciously Indian. In studies of acculturation, it is frequently argued that groups
like the Klamath are marginal, that is, hung suspended between two cultural 181
worlds. We feel that such a metaphor is both confusing and misleading. It 657
assumes the presence of a reasonably intact cultural alter of aboriginal design
and a unilineal path of acculturation process. As indicated above, the former 121
is not present on the contemporary Klamath reservation. As to the latter, we
argue that the structural consequences of acculturation are many, and a lineal
assimilation process is only one of them. The Klamath situation, we feel, is
that of an unassimilated minority group which is itself very actively engaged in
maintaining its special position and which is subject to multiple external
pressures for maintaining its present boundaries. The Klamath are, therefore,
in a position analogous to religious and racial enclaves. They are a group
distinct from and in some ways opposed to American culture who fit, as it were,
into a special niche in the larger structure of American society. If the term
marginality is to be used with reference to any Klamath individual it can only
refer to his orientation towards conflicting reference groups in the heterogeneous
contemporary community.

Section III. Approach to the Rorschach Protocols

The interpretive approach to the Rorschach protocols was dictated to a large 121
extent by the overall purpose of the investigation. An avowedly inductive 125
and idiographic study requires a broadly clinical, not a narrowly statistical,
analysis of the obtained Rorschach responses. The conclusions reached on the
basis of this kind of research may be considered hypotheses to be tested in
controlled deductive research.

The validity of the Rorschach method for personality exploration is not at issue in the present study; there are obviously more clear-cut and efficient research methods available for that purpose. Rather, the test is being utilized as one means of gaining insights about the adaptive mechanisms of individuals in a particular sub-group that is undergoing an acculturation process — a case-study approach. These insights may lead hopefully to theoretical advances in that area of study called Culture and Personality.

From this statement of the general purpose of the research, several specific 121
methodological decisions follow. It becomes clear immediately that there will
be no comparisons of groups by statistical methods and few statistical tabula-
tions of group means and standard deviations. There will be no description of
that artificial construct — the modal Klamath personality. On the contrary,

121 (Levine, 1960) has indicated that this may be an extremely important measure
125 of ego strength. Whether this is supported in cross-cultural work remains to
[114] be determined.

121 The emphasis throughout this phase of the research has been on the functioning
15 individual — how he adapts to his environment in general and, whenever possible, how he behaves in interpersonal situations. In this regard Piotrowski's hypothesis that the movement responses reflect prototypal roles has been exploited extensively. By prototypal roles, Piotrowski means, "definite tendencies, deeply embedded in the subject and not easily modified, to assume repeatedly the same attitude or attitudes in dealing with others when matters felt to be important and personal are involved." (Piotrowski, 1957, p. 141). He makes it clear that he is referring to "psychological tendencies" only; in order to predict whether these tendencies will be expressed in overt behavior it is necessary to take into account many other variables (Principle of Interdependence of Components).

Piotrowski has written further that the FM (animal movement responses) reflect the subject's prototypal roles as they were prominent in the subject's past or as they influence his behavior in "states of lowered integration and in states of diminished consciousness and defective self-control," and, finally, that the m (inanimate movement responses) "indicate prototypal roles in life which the individual feels to be desirable and pleasant but unrealizable."

Thus, for example, if a subject gives only very active or aggressive human movement responses (e.g., "two boxers slugging it out") it is hypothesized that his prototypal role is of this nature. If his FM are passive and his M are aggressive, we conclude that his present prototypal role is aggressive, but that when drunk, for example, he is more likely to become docile.

In actual Rorschach interpretation the complexities of multiple roles, the influence of other Rorschach variables, the inconsistency of role patterns, and so on, must all be evaluated very carefully in order to arrive at a meaningful
121 and valid personality description. Although considerable care must be taken to
181 avoid oversimplifying these interpretive principles, their judicious application
is often very helpful and may have led to the most important conclusion of the
156 present investigation: that the Klamath are characterized by a guarded and
[171] restrained approach to life and interpersonal relations. This guarded restraint is different from the Trukese blocking and from the dull apathy of the Alorese. The Klamath initial reaction times are not nearly as long as the Trukese, nor are their dark shading responses as primitive and poorly organized. On the contrary, their initial reaction times are only slightly longer than would be expected from a U.S. White group and their dark shading responses are almost as well organized. The guarded restraint of the Klamath seemed to be neither the result of marked blocking nor apathy. A more detailed discussion of this hypothesis will be appropriate, however, after the case studies have been presented.

159 157 psychotic symptoms, despite serious emotional disturbance, "because they control, or have reduced, the intensity of their emotional and intellectual processes to such a degree as to produce hardly any specific and easily recognizable schizophrenic symptoms." Their "capacity for energy control (shading) exceeds their capacity for energy output (color)" (Piotrowski & Levine 1959: 223). Thus, having expended all their energy on controlling their behavior and feelings, they are left with little energy for constructive effort and planning (low W).

[171] [154] This pattern may reflect a pathological adjustment in a white American whose culture demands long range planning and constructive effort. In the Klamath group, however, this emphasis on day-to-day pleasures and consideration for others may be more acceptable than the long range planning and self-aggrandizing behavior which is reportedly becoming the acceptable pattern in American suburbia. If this is true, this subject's adjustment may be perfectly fitted to his environment.

There is, however, additional, independent support for this description of this subject's personality. His preoccupation with the inner details (R2, R4, R24) indicate an approach to life characterized by over-cautiousness —almost suspiciousness — a peering into the situation, rather than an acceptance of it at face value. At the start of the test, he apparently requests clarification of the instructions. The analysis of the movement responses also will support this interpretation.

Despite the verbosity there is actually very little of this man's inner life reflected in this protocol. Rather than reveal himself, the S analyzes the subtle nuances of what is going on around him. He is like the "cat" on Card VIII, "he's watching something...I've no idea (what he's watching)...just watching...". The number of faces and the emphasis on "eyes" (especially the "dark beady eye" on Card IX) are also consistent with the interpretation that we are dealing with a suspicious person — he doesn't trust anyone very far. So all his energy (the little he has) is concentrated on analyzing the possible dangers in any situation, not viewing the situation for all the positive possibilities it offers.

[154] His pace is generally even except for delays to Card IV and VI, the darkest, most ominous of the blots. Is he disorganized by the depressive implications of these stimuli? If so, we would conclude that he tries to deny the gloomy aspects of life. The sun on Card II is "coming up," not going down and there is a kind of exuberance in his response to Card X. One wonders if he isn't trying to act the part of an optimist, despite occasional qualms about this position.

[156] The only human movement response in the record is R6: "a caricature of two people" and on the inquiry, in response to a question, "I guess they're dancing - jitterbugging I guess you'd call it." The movement was very slow in being verbalized, it was dehumanized (they are caricatures, not real) and it is stereotyped. As such, it probably does not reveal much of this man's conception of his role in life. Unless perhaps it means that he does not have a well-delineated prototypal role.

The FM, on the other hand, seem to reflect a more consistent image. R10 and R15 (the dog "looking straight at you" and the "watching bobcat") are both scorable as "guarded restraint" responses and indicate that this man's cautiousness, his "watchful waiting" have been past roles and are likely to appear in states of diminished control. He is not guilty or anxious about behaving in this manner.

125
128 response provided some of the first clues as regards this important personality
attribute (Clifton 1960). But other test evidence, as well as life history and
[157] observational data, leads to the same conclusion, regardless of the presence or
absence of a restrained movement response.
[124]

One facet of Klamath guardedness and restraint is the general reluctance of
157 Klamath individuals to reveal or communicate to others their needs, wishes, in-
156 terests, or concerns. This may, in part, be seen as a function of suspicion,
of fearful concern with the possible reactions of others, but another character-
istic of Klamath persons may be associated with this reserve. The reference here
is to a general, overt, and conscious devaluation of the self. The Klamath sel-
[125] dom have much good and often much that is bad to say of themselves. Although
this characteristic is not directly manifested in the Rorschach records, these
records do indicate the presence of multiple and conflicting, or unacceptable
prototypal roles.

Another aspect of Klamath guardedness seems to be a precipitate of the very high investment of energies in sheer self-protecting maneuvers, and the time spent in the avoidance of entangling committments to group life. We feel that the Klamath have so over-invested in reserve and self-protection that they have little time or energy to expend on other activities or upon other aspects of their situation. This, we feel, may be responsible for another shared component of Klamath character, their inability in laying plans for the future, and the minimal expenditure upon creative effort. By way of contrast, the Klamath do concentrate upon the superficially rewarding or painful aspects of their current situation.

121 The analysis so far points to a general isolation of Klamath individuals from
156 significant, durable human associations. Given the facts of Klamath reservation
155 culture we consider that this characteristic is probably adaptive, although it
might not seem so if measured against an ideal model of mental health based upon
65 the functioning of west European, urban, middle-class persons. Considering the
[171] realities of the Klamath situation, guarded restraint in itself may hardly be
considered as pathological. Yet so great a reserve and so extensive an insula-
[158] tion of the self from important human transactions may be a major source of stress
and may predispose Klamath individuals to variant forms of mental illnesses.

157 Several of the cases contained in this report provide evidence for this hypothesis.
158 In the instance of Slim, for example, we find that a superficially adequate ad-
justment may simply be the manifestation of an obsessive control over and reduc-
[121] tion of emotional and intellectual processes to the point of a tentative diag-
nosis of alpha schizophrenia. The cases of Susan, Nell, Fidel and Sparrow are
examples of extremely loose, unrealistic and disorganized thinking with over-
tones, in some instances, of an almost paranoid suspiciousness, or a reliance
upon bizarre, highly personal fantasy. Evidence for a well defined idiosyncratic
role or personna which is very poorly integrated with the rest of the personality
is seen in the cases of Slim's false optimism, Carrie's brashness, and Aunt May's
superficial warmth. We suggest that these more disordered aspects of adjustment
may profitably be seen, in part, as a function of a generally poor contact with
others, reduced insight into the self and others, and extensive social isolation.
The mediating difficulty may well be a relative absence of opportunities to vali-
date beliefs and convictions. Thus in many respects adaptive, Klamath guarded
restraint probably serves as a precipitating factor in thinking disorders, socio-
pathic adaptations, alpha schizophrenia, and paranoid delusions.

128 The validity of this assessment does not depend upon these ten case studies alone.
127 Very similar if more limited conclusions were obtained in a previous, independent

121

156 vague identification and, since it is largely through identification that the
562 super-ego is established, weak super-egos.

593 It has been suggested that what we have called guarded restraint may be a "front"
121 maintained only when Klamath are interacting with whites. The point is that
guarded restraint may be another name for the extreme suspicion and reserve of
156 many enclaved or colonized minority groups vis-a-vis representatives of the
177 dominant culture (Underhill 1960). It cannot be denied that, in fact, reserve
171 and suspicion do characterize much of the relationship between Klamath and Whites,
but the reserve and restraint which so characterize Klamath persons is not solely
a function of such situations. We agree that guarded restraint is one important
consequence of acculturative contacts, but the evidence of observation and life
histories clearly indicate that this is a personality attribute manifest in many
829 situations exclusive of the presence of outsiders. Life history subjects, for
example, speak of the "Indianness" of their parents, meaning precisely an aloof,
reserved style of interaction. Many other informants verbalize reactions to the
endemic if latent suspiciousness of Klamath life. Thus guarded restraint is not
purely an observer construct with a referent limited to the test situation. Certainly,
a measure of reserve and suspicion may serve utilitarian functions when
interacting with strangers, but the same characteristic makes strangers out of
neighbors.

121 Underhill's suggestion does raise the issue of a broader connection between
156 guarded restraint and the impact of acculturation. If there is such an association
then we should expect to find these attributes widely distributed among
177 other acculturated populations, especially those which have been exposed to the
171 imposition of external political and administrative controls, and deculturation
or detribalization. That there may be some validity to this hypothesis is sugges-
157 ted by the fact that attempts to communicate our findings to observers with experience
among other acculturated populations frequently evoke memories of similarity
in character. What we have called guarded restraint has been suggested
as characteristic of the contemporary Southern Ute (Stewart 1961) and especially
the Mountain or Towoac Ute (Canan 1961), and of the Cree, Northern Athabascan,
and Eskimo (Heinrich 1961). In each instance there are differences, but differences
which seem to play upon a common theme.

Personality attributes analogous to what we have called guarded restraint have repeatedly been discerned among other more or less acculturated North American Indian populations. Thus Barnouw describes the Wisconsin Chippewa as emotionally isolated, suspicious of outsiders, and fearful of expressing emotions overtly (Barnouw 1950: 22-23). Klopfer's analysis of Chippewa Rorschachs suggests that "...the individual is under pressure to become as emotionally independent of his environment as possible, and to expect very little from others." (Barnouw 1950: 27). The Ojibwa have been described as emotionally restrained, suspicious, and anxious (Hallowell 1955: 350). Hallowell's interpretation of these characteristics is that they constitute persistent aboriginal components of Ojibwa character structure. In a similar fashion, the Native-Oriented Menomini have been described by Spindler as a group characterized by a non-defensive reduction of emotional display, whose perception is narrowed to only a very selective portion of their environment, and who are further characterized by a non-manipulatory passivity. Outside of the presumed character structure of the Eastern Woodlands, the most widely distributed "aboriginal" characteristics of North American Indians, generally, are given by the Spindlers as non-demonstrative emotionality, great reserve, individual autonomy, and a generalized fear of the world as dangerous (Spindler and Spindler 1957: 148).

On the face of these parallel descriptions it would seem that the Klamath are 121
similar, as regards guarded restraint, to a variety of differently situated, 156
differentially acculturated North American Indian populations, populations with
diverse cultural heritages. These similarities are, of course, susceptible to 157
different explanations. It would be a simple matter, for example, to explain
away the similarities as false, that is, as being a function of unreliable tech- 171
niques of assessment and highly ambiguous descriptive constructs or constructs 177
lacking in validity. Aside from being no explanation at all, this approach would [114]
involve discarding most of the available cross-cultural psychological data as
well as existing assessments of the personality dynamics of North American Indians.
Although this is the course advocated by many methodological puritans in the area
of culture and personality research we choose to accept the similarities as valid.

A second way of explaining these similarities might invoke the assumption of an
underlying "North American Indian" character structure or basic personality ana-
logous to Devereux's delineation of a core personality type for the Plains
(Devereux 1951). Accepting this assumption the persistence of core traits must
then somehow be accounted for. In the instance of the Plains, Devereux presents
one possibility, namely that acculturation has resulted in a "stripped-down"
and impoverished personality type (Devereux 1951: 25). Somewhat differently,
Hallowell and his followers have argued that basic personality somehow manages
to weather the vicissitudes of history and acculturation (Hallowell 1955: 309;
Spindler 1955: 151). The common feature of both of these explanations is the [114]
assumption of an underlying, basic set of psychological characteristics linked
to aboriginal prototypes and common to the population occupying a given culture
area.

In the instance of the Klamath there is very little evidence to suggest, un- 121
equivocally, that guarded restraint was a dominant component of aboriginal char-
acter structure. The information is scanty and points to the definite presence 156
of great reserve and considerable suspicion, but only as one mode of interper-
sonal relations among others. Moreover, the Klamath reservation situation does 157
not allow a comparison of differentially acculturated groups after the model 177
used by Hallowell for the Ojibwa, and the effort to apply Spindler's technique [657]
of an internal comparison raised more problems than it resolved in this setting. [171]
Finally, the evidence from the Klamath psychological data indicates that, if
anything, older members of the tribe are less reserved and suspicious. In short,
we cannot assert from available evidence that guarded restraint was basic or
dominant in aboriginal Klamath character structure. We suggest that at minimum
this characteristic was present, but that it did not receive the emphasis it
now gets.

Aside from this difficulty, there are a great many conceptual problems associated 121
with the postulation of an underlying, basic trait of guarded restraint for the
North American Indians generally. We feel that it is stretching the point to 156
attempt to account for present similarities among unrelated cultures of such 157
different cultural heritages with a construct so broad. Due to the absence of 171
firm measures of aboriginal character structure this approach to explanation also
involves substantial methodological problems which are not easily resolved.

Instead of explaining contemporary similarities in either of these ways it is 121
possible to view modern Indian populations in the light of common acculturative
experiences and their status as dependent wards, as enclaved minority groups, 156
and as persons who have been promised much but who have attained little. Spindler 157
has suggested that when acculturation conditions permit both a ready identification 171
177

121 with the values of the dominant culture and provide access to the institutiona-
156 lized means of attaining desired goals there will be a successful psychological
157 adaptation to dominant standards, but that when these conditions do not exist
then there may be overt change in the content of culture unaccompanied by changes
171 in psychological characteristics (Spindler 1955: 199). In the same way, Hallo-
177 well suggests that constant association with powerful external agents, multiple
conflicting sources of reward and punishment and the ridicule and invidious comparisons which too frequently accompany acculturation situations may result in extreme feelings of insecurity, personality maladjustment, and what he calls the "frustration of maturity" (Hallowell 1955: 329).

Spindler's dual hypotheses are, of course, not the only alternative consequences of acculturation situations. We feel that between these polarities there are different modes of adaptation open, modes similar to those suggested by Hallo-
[178] well. We therefore assert, hypothetically, that the defensive, guarded, reserved style of interaction now characteristic of the Klamath is the product of the deterioration and decay of major patterns of aboriginal Klamath culture, a prolonged exposure to and considerable identification with the values and standards of the dominant White society, and the persistent denial of access to the means and instrumentalities necessary to achieve these goals and to live up to the standards. We argue, in this way, that there are a great many similarities between diverse American Indian populations as noted by many observers, that these similarities do not constitute the residue of generic Indian character traits, but that they are a function of a common depressed minority group status within contemporary American society. Our analysis of this is that these components, specifically, the guardedness, the reserve, the suspicion, and the lack of involvement in creative group activity, are very much analogous to what various sociologists speak of as alienation or anomie (Merton 1957: 121-194; Nettler 1957; Seeman 1961).

000 they are rather a cloddish, indolent, ordinarily good-natured race, but treacherous at bottom, sullen when angered, notorious for keeping Punic faith. But their bravery nobody can deny."[*]

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD.

174 Before the middle of the nineteenth century the Máklaks people was unknown to mankind except to the nearest neighbors in Oregon and California. We are therefore justified in beginning its period of documentary history at that time, and in relegating to the domain of prehistorics all that is known of their previous condition. The information upon these points is furnished by three factors: tradition, archæologic remains, and language.

A. TRADITION BEARING UPON HISTORY.

121 Traditional folk-lore, when of the mythic order, generally dates from
773 an earlier epoch of fixation than historic traditions. The remote origin of *genuine* mythic folk-lore is sufficiently evidenced by the archaic terms embodied with it, by the repetition of the same phraseology for ages, and by the circumstance that all nations tend to preserve their religious ideas in an unchanged form. I am laying peculiar stress upon the term *genuine*, for Indians have often mixed recent ideas and fictions with archaic, original folk-lore and with ancient mythic ideas, the whole forming now one inextricable conglomerate which has the appearance of aboriginal poetic prose.

173 The Klamath people possess no historic traditions going further back
769 in time than a century, for the simple reason that there was a strict law
688 prohibiting the mention of the person or acts of a deceased individual by
171 *using his name*. This law was rigidly observed among the Californians no
784 less than among the Oregonians, and on its transgression the death penalty could be inflicted. This is certainly enough to suppress all historic knowledge within a people. How can history be written without names?

126 Many times I attempted to obtain a list of the former head chiefs of the two chieftaincies. I succeeded only in learning the names of two chiefs recently deceased, and no biographic details were obtainable.

174 This people belongs to the autochthonic nations of America, called so because they have lost all remembrances of earlier habitats or of migrations.

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[*] Contributions to Amer. Ethnology, III, p. 253.

802 171 The numeration system of a people is a relic of a remote age, and therefore of importance for tracing the ancient connections of tribes. The quinary system is the most frequent counting method in America, and often combines with the vigesimal. The pure quinary system prevails in Ara, in the Chimaríko, Yuki, and in the Shasti-Pit River family, in Sahaptin and Wayíletpu, and it is also the system found in Klamath. Curiously enough, the Maidu Indians count by fifteens, and the decimal system forms the basis [801] of the Wintún, Mutsun, and Selish dialects. The mystic or "sacred" number occurring hundreds of times in mythologic stories is *five* among all the Oregonian tribes.

197 To sum up the result of the above linguistic inquiry, it may be stated that our present knowledge does not allow us to connect the Klamath language genealogically with any of the other languages compared, but *that it stands as a linguistic family for itself.* It has adopted elements from the tongues spoken in its neighborhood; and a common element, chiefly pronominal, underlies several of these and the American languages in general.

THE HISTORIC PERIOD.

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ καὶ πιστὰ πάντα κάκιστα γίγνεται.

174 175 127 On account of the superstition previously alluded to, the traditional historic lore which forms so attractive a feature in the unwritten literature of the nations east of the Rocky Mountains and of Mexico is wanting entirely among the Máklaks, and we have to rely upon the meager reports of travelers and Government agents for accounts of the condition of the tribes in the earlier part of this century. Such notices of historic events are as follows:

000 According to a tradition recorded by Stephen Powers, an epidemic of small-pox broke out among the Modoc Indians in 1847, by which one hundred and fifty individuals perished.

The earliest historic conflict which can be ascertained with some chronological accuracy is the massacre of eighteen immigrants to Oregon by individuals of the Modoc tribe, and Ben Wright's massacre, consequent upon that bloody deed. The massacre of the immigrants occurred at a place on Tule or Rhett Lake, since called Bloody Point. Undoubtedly this was only

772 months brings on the seasons with the new life seen sprouting up every-
773 where during spring and summer. So the quadrupeds and birds which are
776 the first to appear after the long winter months are considered as the wives
821 of Aíshish, and the flowers of summer vegetation are the beads of his gar-
ments. He enjoys more popularity than his father, for the moon's light is
mild, not burning nor offensive, nor does it dry up vegetation and make
men and beasts drowsy like the rays of the midday sun. Many nations
also believe that the changes of weather are partly due to the phases of the
moon. Although the "Birth of Aíshish" myth obtained by me represents
Aíshish rather as the adopted than as the real son of K'múkamtch, other
myths state him to be his son resulting from the union of the sun-disk to
the red sky of the morning or evening, symbolized by the woman Le-tka-
[19] káwash. We must recall to mind that the term for *father*, p'tíshap, in
Modoc t'shíshap, is really the *nourisher, feeder*, and not the progenitor, for
it is a derivative from t'shín *to grow*.* Most other mythologies consider the
relation of sun to moon as that of man to wife, or of wife to man (cf. Deus
Lunus), but here the thing is different. There are no female characters of
importance in Klamath mythology, nor does the language distinguish
grammatically between the sexes.

821 The difficulty which we experience to distinguish solar and lunar dei-
171 ties from each other in some of the American religions is caused by the
197 circumstance that in many languages of this western hemisphere the term
for ***sun*** and for ***moon*** is the same. In such languages both orbs are distinguished from each other by being called day-luminary, or night-sun, night-luminary, and with some tribes the belief has been found, that both are actually the same celestial body, one being merely the image or shadow of the other. In the Maskoki languages hási answers for both, but the moon is commonly called ní'li hási or "night sun." In the Tonica language táχtchiksh, abbrev. táχtchi stands for sun, moon, and star, but the moon is usually named lá-u táχtchi "night luminary," the stars táχtchi tipulá, while the sun is either áχshukun táχtchi, "day luminary" or simply táχtchi. Of the Tinné languages many have tsā, sā, of the Algonkin languages kísis or parallel forms for both celestial bodies, separate distinctions being

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* Cf. the Grammar, in Appendix VI, p. 710.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

821 added for "day" and "night." In the Tsimsián and in some of the Selish
171 dialects the terms for both also agree, but in the Shoshonian and Pueblo
197 languages they differ entirely. In Utah and other Shoshonian dialects the term for moon shows the archaic or reverential suffix -pits, -püts previously noticed (ma-atáwa-pits in Utah), which closely corresponds to *παλαίφατος* as used in the Homeric poems.

While the sun divides time into days, seasons, and years, our sections of time called weeks (quarters of the moon) and months (lunations, moons) are due to the revolutions of the moon. This is what caused the Klamath Indians to call both orbs by the same name: shápash *the one who tells*, which signifies: "which tells the time," or "time measurer." For the moon a parallel form exists in the Timucua, once spoken in Florida: acu-hiba *star which tells*, viz: "star measuring the time" and in the name of the Egyptian moon-god Tehuti, called Thoth by the Greeks,[*] also in our Germanic *mân*, English: *moon*, Germ. *Mond*, "the measurer."

Here as elsewhere the moon appears under different names, for in Klamath she is also called uk̲aúχōsh "the one broken to pieces." This term never applies to the sun, but only to the moon in the four phases, as a
[192] changeable body.[†] Originally this was only an epithet of the moon, but in course of time it gave origin to a separate deity, for Uk̲aúχōsh distinctly appears as moon-god in a myth, which relates his marriage to Wekétash, a frog-woman living with ten beautiful sisters on the west side of Upper Klamath Lake. Uk̲aúχōsh now carries her, the frog, in his heart, and this is what we are wont to call "the man in the moon." Should only a little bit be left of him when in the bear's mouth (referring to eclipse), she would be able to bring him to life again.

LEMÉ-ISH OR THUNDER.

776 All elementary deities in the Klamath religion, except K'múkamtch and Aíshish, are mysterious, shadowy beings, not sufficiently anthropomor-

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[*] Various functions are assigned to Tehuti; his symbol is the *ibis-crane*, whose long, pacing steps evidently suggested to the myth-makers of Egypt the idea, that he was measuring the earth. The name Tehuti is derived from the Egyptian verb teχu *to be full*, for the measuring of liquids, grains, etc., is effected by *filling vases* possessed of certain cubic dimensions.

[†] Derived from uk̲á-uk̲na *to knock to pieces.*

773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to
suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a
future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however,
be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is
free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during
the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of
suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency build-
532 ings, which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face
flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also
artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the lan-
538 guage fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of
success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration, assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

CREMATION OF THE DEAD.

OBTAINED FROM J. C. D. RIDDLE IN THE MODOC DIALECT.

*539 764 [171] É-ukshíkni Mō'dokni tutenépni waitólan kēléksht vûmí'. At ídshí'sht
The Klamath (and) Modocs on the fifth day after decease bury. When bringing out
Lakes (the bodies)

lā'pi géna tídsh shutedshnóka. At gátpamnan käílatat wawálχa wawaíha
two go (ahead), well to make (all) ready. Then having arrived on the ground they sit down (and) wait
(men)

kēlekápkash itpanō'pkasht. Skentanápkash at itpanō'pkasht kshet'läχíp-
the dead person to be brought. Sewed up for transportation (and) tied trans-

kash wátchtat at tchpînû'tat ítpa. Hekshatlēkítko k'leχápkash lûpí' wátch
versely on a horse to the burying- they Carrying transversely the deceased ahead the horse
ground bring.

géna; k'leχápkăm nánuk shá-amoksh tâpí' gálampaga.
marches; of the deceased all relations behind follow in a file.

Tánkni máklāks kshélχa k'lekápkash, wátch shiúka, ksháwal at hûnk
The ancient Indians laid down the corpse, the horse they killed, deposited then the

k'lekápkash ánko kedshlákstat, wátch hûnk tchúi ktēdéga, wátchăm
deceased of wood on a pile, the horse then cut up, the horse's

tchû'leks nánukash k'lekápkash í'dshχa. Lákiăm tpéwash vuní'pi hihas-
flesh all over the corpse strewed. Chief's by orders four

suátchχash lóloksh shnuitámpka. Pipĕlántan luelualóyan shnuitámpka
men the fire were keeping up. On both sides standing by they kept (it) up

tchû'shak pítchash tchēk, tchúi sha k'léwi. Lû'lûksh shpítcht tchúi tχálăm
constantly, it went out until, then they quit. The fire being out then in the midst

lûksláksht at hibéna, lûksláksh néwisht tchí'sh shekē'lke, käíla kē'la-unan
of the ashes (a hole) they the ashes, the remains also they raked into earth throwing over
dug. (it).

tchúi ktá-i lkáppa. Vûmí-û'lan nánuk tchí'shtala kikantchámpĕle. Ge-
then stones (they) piled After burial all towards home they marched back single Hav-
up. file.

luipgáp'lîn p'nā'lăm tchi'-íshtat k'lekápkăm tchí'sh shnélχan tchúi nánuk
ing returned to their settlement, of deceased the lodge burning down then all

máklāks shemáshla. K'lekápkăm tchíwishtat ktái lélktcha; k'leχápkăm
Indians removed elsewhere. Of deceased on the late dwell- stones they left; of deceased
ing-place

shá-amoksh hádaktna genō'ga ktá-i hádâkt nutolā'ktcha.
(any) relative by this spot passing a stone on it threw.

Hä kaní tû'ma weweshâltko k'léχa, pēn húnkĕlam wé-ash k'léka
If somebody much offspring-having died, again his children after death

hatóktok hûnk vûmí'; nánka atí' ídshnan hatû'ktok pēn vûmí'.
right there them they buried; some from bringing at this very again they buried.
afar (them) spot

NOTES.

* 539 764 Cremating the dead is a practice which was abolished by the chiefs on the territory of the reservation in or about 1868. At the Indian graveyard north of the Williamson River a hill of 12 feet altitude, where the corpses of Indians of the Klamath Lake (not Modoc) chieftaincy were burnt, is still visible and untouched since then. With the exception of the sentence from Skentanápkash to ítpa, the first paragraph refers to the present as well as to the former mode of funeral, while the second describes [171] the ancient mode of cremation. Cremation prevailed also among the Snake and Pai-Uta Indians, living in the vicinity of the Mák̲laks; cf. Dr. W. T. Hoffman, Pahute Cremation; Cremation among the Digger Indians, in Proceedings of the Am. Philosophical Soc., Philadelphia; vol. XIV, p. 297 sq., 414 sq., (1876). According to Stephen Powers, cremation prevailed among the Pomos of Northern California, west of the Sacramento River, and the Erio, a tribe living at the mouth of Russian River, believe that all deceased Indians will become grizzly bears if not disposed of in this manner. The Indians inhabiting the shores of Middle and Lower Columbia River placed their dead on platforms erected on hills, or into the canoes of which they had been the owners; the Kalapuyas on both sides of the Willamet River buried their dead by inhumation.

000 Our notice makes no mention of the mourning ceremony among the Modocs, by which widows had their long hair cut off at the funeral of their husbands, then dripped the resin from the pyre, liquefied by the heat, upon their bared heads, vowing not to marry again before this ghastly head-cover had worn off by length of time. The Modocs cremated their dead on any day *from the first* to the fifth day after decease, according to choice.

*539 764 [801] [171] **85, 1.** ţutenépni. Here we have again the sacred number five occurring so often in the traditions, myths and customs of the Oregonian tribes. Cf. 70, 1. 3. 82, 6. 88, 4.

85, 1. Instead of ídsha may be used Klamath Lake ílχa (*or* éna) lulukshåldshuk, to bring out for cremation. The northern dialect uses vumí only in the sense of putting dried provisions into the ground. A funeral is ílktcha in the Modoc dialect.

85, 2. shutédshna: they remove obstacles upon the road or trail, such as fallen trees or logs; they clear the passage. kăflatat means here the same as tchpinû'tat, 85, 4.

[192] **85, 2.** wawaſha. Another form of the verb waſha is said to exist in the Modoc dialect: wawaſha; its distributive form: wawawaſha.

85, 3. itpanŏ'pkasht is the synizesis of itpanuápkasht.

85, 6. Tánkni; the term mā'ntchni is often used instead.

85, 7. ánko for ánkuam kedshlákstat.

85, 10. pítchash for Klamath Lake pítchkash, "until it has gone out".

85, 11. Modoc hibéna or ipéna for the Klamath Lake yépa, yépona: to dig a hole.

85, 11. néwisht. Of this term the original meaning seems to be "thrown by hand into the air", a manipulation resorted to by some Indians, though not here, with the burnt ashes of the deceased.

85, 12. lk̲áppa. These piles of stones evidently were, as well as the piles erected on the spot of the burnt lodge, intended as monuments of the deceased. These cairns are of considerable size, and can be seen in the old Modoc country at the present time.

85, 16. pĕn húnkĕlam etc. Pĕn introduces the verb vûmi', and k̲'léka is a verb coordinate to vûmi': "his children die, right there again they bury them."

000 Nkā'kgiuga t'shi'shap p'kī'shap taúnäpni waíta k̲á-i tchû'leks pán,
After a childbirth the father (and) the mother ten days no meat eat,
shápēle mák̲lāksām tchī'sh pásh pán; túnepni wäíta lomkóka, nadshksap-
bread, the Indians also food eat; five days they sweat, sixth
tánkni at wäitólan shulótish p'nálām nánuk púedsha.
then day over, garments their own all cast away.

Tishiwápkash wä'k gítko shuentchága p'gī'shap hû'nkēlām wä'k tk̲uyá;
Crooked limbs having a babe mother its the limbs rubs;
hä lish kaá k̲alk̲álish lû'lp gítko hû'nkēlām p'gī'shap lû'lp tk̲uyá nepátka,
if too rounded eyes having its mother the eyes rubs with hand,
k̲ik̲annéga lû'lpût nepátka, tchúi shishatchēlō'tka; at tídsh tchēk shûtû'lan
applies to the eyes the hands, then spreads (them) apart; then well finally after arranging
k̲ēléwi. Húmasht taks hû Mō'dokni giúga ktaktanapátko shítko shlé-ish
she stops. Therefore the Modocs sleepy- alike to look at
nánuki. Hä lish k̲ó-idshi wawákish gi suéntchām, p'kī'shap taks tídsh
all are. If misshaped the ears are of the babe, the mother aright
shû'ta, patádsha suéntchām wawákash, nenpága, peptchága. Naishlashlák-
shapes (them). she stretches the babe's both ears, little hands, little feet. Toad-
gish-gítko ktcháyash tchī'sh wéktat itá'nī'sh tchī'sh.
horned beetles with fangs also on the arms she lays, on the neck also.

NOTES.

*539 With the exception of the first, these ethnographic notices concern the people composing the southern chieftaincy as much as those of the northern.

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I. The four items of section I are worded in the Klamath Lake dialect, and were obtained from Frank, a young Indian settled at Kuyamskä'-iksi, "the Crab's River-Trail," on the Williamson River.

90, 1 etc. The census figures given in the first paragraph refer to one of the latest counts made of the individuals in the tribe, probably to that of 1876.

90, 1. vunépni laláki gítko. Correctly worded, this phrase would read vunepä'nash lalák̲iash, or vunépnish, or at least vunépni lalák̲iash gítko.

90, 2. pé-ulatko ought to be used only when units are mentioned after the decads of figures. If the relator wanted to say, 180 men were counted, the verb shä'tui, shétui would be the proper term. Cf. *Note* to 70, 8. 9.

90, 3. Tumántka, "by the many", by the crowd: by the majority of the men in the tribe.

90, 7. hishuátchyash is a form for the word *man*, *male*, common to Klamath Lakes and Modocs, but more frequently used among the latter. The reverse is true of the form híshuaksh.

90, 10–13. Part first of the fourth notice refers to dances at the communal dance-lodge, organized and directed by chiefs. The chief starts the songs; sometimes the men, sometimes the women sing in chorus; or a song may be sung by all present. When the chief sees one, who does not sing, he cries out: "i tchuín; túla shuín 1!" All dances are accompanied by songs or other music.

90, 10 ul probably stands for ûn, û'n, û'na, a conjunction more frequently used in the Modoc than in the Klamath Lake dialect.

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*539 K̲ák̲ tχû'tχatk̲ish; tsúi sa lúluk sa k̲ák̲am tχû'tχatkash, tsúi sa
A raven is a soothsayer; and they believing the raven's repeated prophecy, they
825 shenótank̲a; pits hû'nk pán k̲ák̲ mák̲laks.
fight each other; it also eats, the raven, (dead) men.
787

787 Tuníksh mák̲laks shuína tchû'χapkam m'nálam shashámokshan;
Dreams the natives sing about dead their relatives;
húmasht sháhunk gíug kíukayunk flags.
for this same reason they stick out flags.

525 Tmélhak gítko shaklō'tkish tídsh tínχa; tû'm íχaga. Tmélhak tä'dsh
A tmélhak-squirrel having, the gambler well succeeds; much he wins. The tmélhak (is) certainly
777
825 sháyuaks; shakálshtat lak̲í, tíds sualaliámpkatko.
of much account; in the game (it is) chief, well managing (it).

Tcháshash mû'na lushántsnank mbáwa skí's; tsúi mák̲laks nánuk
The skunk deep down while scratching a hole emitted a blast; upon this people all
825 hushtsóga tsáshash-kíuks. Snáwedsh shanahóliuk spû'nshna p'laiwáshan
killed the skunk-conjurer. A wife seeking he carried off the eagle's
tû'paks ktanápkash. Shléank tchawíka p'laíwash, wí-udsna ánkutka
sister when asleep. Seeing (this) became furious eagle, beat with a club
tchásēs, wí-udsish k̲'läká, tsúi k̲ó-i pílui. Ndopóg ktsō'l hämotsípka:
the skunk, the beaten one died, then badly stunk. Smelling (it) the stars said:
"pátkal!" at p'laíwash pátkalp'le, stópatchka, tsúi gémpĕle túpakshash
"get up!" and eagle rose up again, washed the face, then went home sister
m'na énank.
his taking with him.

II.

*539 Hä shaklō'tkish pí'sham shnû'lash ntággal, shaklō'tkish tídsh vumí',
If a gambler of humming-bird the nest finds, (and) the gambler well hides (it) away,
525 k̲aítoks kaní vuiní'χi. Hä kó-e shléa pahápkash, pē'tch ktákta sk̲ä'tish
not any one conquers (him). If a frog he finds dried-up, the leg he cuts off left
825
777 tapí'dshnish vumí'; húmashtak shû'ta shaklō'tkish, k̲aítoks kaní vuiní'χi.
hind (leg), hides away; (if) thus acts the gambler, (then) not any one beats (him).
Hä kaní tchatchlaíptcha shlä'-a (kinkáni tût wá), tídsh tí'nχa. Hä kaní
If any one a kind of fire-bug finds (scarce there they are), good luck it brings. If any one
mā'ntchnish mák̲lāksām shtáp shuálka, pahápkash käíla-shushatí'shash
old-fashioned Indian arrow-head saves, dried-up a mole
tchí'sh, hû'kt humáshtak tídsh tí'nχa tchí'sh.
also, he in the same way well succeeds also.

171 É-ukshikni Mō'dokni lóla p'laikí'shash lák̲iash, shtínta tchísh wengúpkam shkō'kshash.
The Klamath Lakes (and) Modocs believe in the heavenly ruler, revere also of the deceased the spirits.
776
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000 Mō'dokni shtûpuyúka túnäpni wäíta túnäpni pshín gshiúlak̲a káyak
The Modocs at first menstruation five days (and) five nights dance never
ktáktí'nan; wewánuish ta-unä'pni wäíta k̲á-i tchû'lēks pán.
sleeping; the females for ten days no meat eat.

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*539 [787] Hä' i shma-htcháktak yaínatat, ká-i i ûn késh shlé-etak; hä'-atoks i ká-i shma-htcháktak, tû'm i ûn késh shlé-etak.
If you let your shadow fall on the hill, not you ipo will find; but if you not let your shadow fall, much you ipo will find.

/000 Móatuash, k'le-ugtkinápkasht tchíalash Móatuashäm kóketat, ká-i mhû' lúela skó; Mō'dokni tchí'sh lóla shuátash kíäm tchûká shátma, humásht-gisht ká-i lúela.
The Pit River Indians, (lest) would cease to come the salmon up the Pit River, not grouses they kill in spring time; the Modocs also assume, sage-hens the fish to swim up stream invite, therefore not they kill (them).

NOTES.

*539 171 I. What is contained in these short items refers equally to the Klamath Lake and to the Modoc people, although those contained under I. were obtained from various informants belonging to the former chieftaincy.

[192] 133, 2. páka to howl, bark; pák'la to howl repeatedly, to howl for a while; pák-luipka to howl for a while in the distance towards somebody.

[177 231] 133, 4. 5. The cat and the chicken being but recently introduced among these tribes, this superstition must have been transferred to them from other animals. By inversion, the words tchíkiu gû'lu, *the hen*, appear here widely separated from each other.

[192] 133, 6. Kú-i tchämlûk has to be resolved into: kú-i tchē mál (for málash) hú'k: "bad then for you this is!" Cruel fights will follow.

133, 7-11. This story is not clearly worded, but we are taught by it how these Indians are conversing among each other with laconic breviloquence. An Indian living in the vicinity has heard the whining of the dog which means death to his owner. He goes there, shoots the man and takes to his heels. A relative of the murdered man comes up and is mistaken by others for the murderer. They deprive him of his wife, his property and his liberty; he becomes a madman on account of the injustice done to him.

[825] 134, 1. 2. The raven (kák) is supposed to be a bird of fatal augury, because he was seen devouring the flesh of dead Indians. Compare: General *Note* on page 130.

[202] 134, 4. kíukayunk. They adjust a rag or piece of skin to a pole and stick out that improvised *flag* on the top of the lodge to notify neighbors that they had a dream last night and desire an interpreter for it.

[525 825] 134, 5. One of the legs of a dead black tmélhak-squirrel is cut off and laid under the gaming-disk or the pá'hla to insure luck to the player.

134, 7-12. Tchásháš etc. This is a fragmentary extract of a scurrilous skunk-myth, which I have not been able to obtain in full from my informant, the Modoc chief Johnson, who speaks the Klamath dialect. This myth is well known through the whole of Oregon, for parts of it are embodied in a popular and melodious song of the Mólale tribe, whose ancient home is the country east and southeast of Oregon City and Portland.

134, 7. 8. máklaks nánuk is the direct object of hushtsóga; the skunk killed them by his stench.

[601] 134, 9. tû'paks stands for tû'pakshash; túpakship, abbreviated túpaksh, is properly the younger sister, as called by or with reference to an elder brother, while pa-ánip

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*539 171 is the elder sister, called so by or with reference to a younger brother. Two other terms exist for the relative age of sisters among themselves.

[601] **134, 11.** pátkalp'le. The myth adds, that the eagle got up again at dinner-time and that after washing the face he took a nap before taking his sister home.

[525] [777] **II.** These items were all obtained in the Modoc dialect from J. C. D. Riddle. Many of the articles mentioned as gamblers' amulets are supposed to bring good luck to the gambler on account of their *scarcity*, which must have made them more interesting to the aboriginal mind than other objects of a brighter exterior.

[192] **134, 13.** ntággal, ndákal: to find accidentally; shléa: to find, generally, after a search. vumí' is to hide away either on one's own person or in the ground.

134, 16. 18. tídsh tínχa is to succeed, to be lucky; without tídsh in: hútoks tínχantko gi, that man is lucky.

[411] **134, 17.** shtáp is a black arrow-head made of obsidian, a volcanic rock found in several places in these highlands.

135, 1. hä'-atoks is formed from hä toks with intercalation of the declarative particle a.

[192] [193] [825] **135, 3.** k̲'le-ugtki-uápkasht is a periphrastic conjugational form composed of giuápkasht, of the verb gi, and of k̲'lé-utka, the usitative of k̲'léwi, to cease, stop, terminate; -utka has turned into -ugt- by metathesis. Literally: "would habitually cease to be in the Pit River." mhû', the grouse, is called by the Klamath Lakes tmû'.

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REFLECTIONS OF EVERY-DAY LIFE

MONOLOGUES IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY JOHNSON, CHIEF OF THE MODOCS

K̲á-i	mish	nû	ó-it	nû	tidsä'wa	nté-ish,	shliútuk	mä'makla	pá-uk	shlínk
Not	you	I	to let have	I	like	(my) bow,	for shooting	ducks	to eat	killing (them)

ndektí'shtka.	Tidsä'wa	k̲á-i	mish	úya,	tû	génuapka	úyamnank	nté-ish
with arrows.	I like	not	to you	to give (it),	over there	I will go	taking along	bow and arrows

gé-u,	hishlátsanuapka.	Yó-ishi!	tatála	k̲ä'gi,	k̲á-i	shláa	tatákni	yû'lχ;
my,	(and) will amuse myself by shooting.	Are lost!	right (ahead)	they are not,	not	I found (them)	where	they went down;

yó-ishin,	mā'ns	k̲á-ika.	Ūnds	mbúsant	pēn	k̲áyakuapk.
they are lost,	for a long time	I searched.	Some-time	to-morrow	again	I will look out (for them).

Shikútchipk	tchiká	kĕmutsátk;	undsē'ks	séwanuapk	páthi	giúga
Walks on stick	an old	decrepit (man);	some time	I will give (him)		to eat

méhiess;	yuyálks	tsi	pá-uk	hûn	tchē'k	tídsh	kí'-uapk.	Kí'shtchipk	huk
trout;	being poor	thus	through eating	of it	then	at once	he will feel.	Comes to me	this

snéwedsh;	onī'sh	kíäm	shéwant i;	tû'm	nû'sh	shewantamnuápka	sáwalktko
woman;	to her	fish	you may give;	plenty	to me	she will continue to give	having received presents.

Kámp'kuk	k̲éliak	pásh	tiä'ma.	Undsē't	kátchkal	pa-uápk	gé-utala steínash.
The indigent	without	food	is hungry.	By and by	tobacco	I will chew	to my heart's content.

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Sanáhole	kátchkal	titchéwank;	ū'nds	pēn	mbúsant	pá-uapk	kátchgal
I like	tobacco	well enough;	by and by	again	to-morrow	I will chew	tobacco

pátkēlank.	Kaní	shlé-uapka	ū'ns	stoyuápka;	tóla	pákuapka	ū'ntch;	pēn
while getting up.	Outdoor (anybody)	should I see,	then	I'll cut off (some for him);	with (me)	he will smoke (it)	then;	again

wutuápka	kinkáni	kátchgal;	kinkáni,	k̲á-i	túmi,	tchē'k	pēn	túmi	pákuapka, 8
I shall spend	a little	tobacco;	(but) little,	not	much,	afterwards	again	much	I will smoke,

pakólank	sχólakuapka.
(and) after smoking	go to bed.

NOTES.

Of the two paragraphs of "Reflections" submitted, the first refers to the loss of some hunter's arrows, which had been loaned to somebody together with the bow. The second speaks in a rather egotistical sense of the pleasure which is afforded by succoring helpless and indigent people.

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[193]

136, 3. k̲ä'gi. This refers to some arrows, which cannot be found at the spot, to which they seemed to fly.

136, 4. 5. Untchēk, abbreviated undsē, ū'ntch, únda, ūns, points to some undetermined epoch in the *future:* by and by, after a lapse of time, some time from now; undsē't, 136, 8., through apocope and synizesis, stands for untsē'k at; undsē'ks for untchēk tchish.

136, 5. Shikútchipk tchiká kēmutaátk, grammatically incomplete forms standing for skikutchípka t'shíka kēmutaátko. The word *stick* is not expressed in the text, but the suffix -ipka, united to shikútcha, expresses the idea of "walking while leaning oneself upon something or somebody". Cf. láyipka, to point the gun at the one speaking; tilō'dshipka, to see somebody coming towards oneself.

136, 6. kí'shtchipka, to step towards the one speaking; cf. *Note* to 136, 5.

136, 7. onī'sh for húnish, cf. ó'skank for hū'shkanka, 65, 1. Húnish is the objective case of hū'n; but this pronoun is not regularly used when speaking of animate beings; hū'nkiash would be grammatically correct.

136, 7. shéwant i. The words onī'sh kiā̆m shéwant i are supposed to be directed to one belonging to the speaker's household.

136, 8. The term kátchkal, tobacco, expresses the idea of an *intermixture* of several kinds of weeds or leaves for the purpose of smoking them.

136, 8. pa-uápk. A more appropriate term than this for masticating tobacco is: kátchkal kpū'yumna.

137, 1. titchéwank. This is in fact the participle of a verb: "I like tobacco, being fond of it."

137, 2. stoyuápka: I shall cut off a piece from a stick of pressed tobacco and give it to him. Cf. stuyákishka, to clip the hair.

137, 3. kinkáni kátchgal. If this and the following were not worded in the conversational slang, it would read: kinkánish kátchgal; kinkánish, k̲á-i túma, tchē'k pēn túma (or tū'm) etc.

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137, 3. k̲á-i túmi. Indians are not often seen to smoke continuously as we do; those inhabiting the Klamath Reserve take a few whiffs from their small, often home-made pipe, then pass it to the neighbor and emit the smoke through the nose. Sometimes they swallow the smoke for the purpose of intoxication, and the elder women smoke just like the men. Cigars offered to them are cut small and serve to fill up their tobacco-pipe.

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MISCELLANEOUS SONGS

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE AND MODOC DIALECTS.

1. K̲ó-i ak a nä′pka Yámatkni gatpam′nóka ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑

Disastrous times we had when the Northern Indians arrived.

2. Nä′nu wíka-shítko múkash hä′ma –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I hear the owl's cry and very near it seems to be.

3. Mbû′shant käíla hämō′la, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
shitchákta nä′ts käíla, ⏑ –́ – | –́ ⏑
shiukuapkúka nä′ts kä′la. – – –́ | ⏑ – –́ | ⏑

In the morning the Earth resounded,
Incensed at us was the Earth,
For to kill us wanted the Earth.

4. Wákaptch nen hí′tksh Ê-ukshi nē′pka,
nû′ kam hí′tksh telû′lit.

To see how Klamath Marsh appears from there,
I wish to look down on it from that height.

5. K̲ú-idshi nû kí′pash nû lulína

Dressed in poor garments I stray around.

6. Tutíχash nû lulína ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑

I am going astray while dreaming.

7. Kapkáblandaks! ō′kst a tkaléga ndéwa ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

Be silent! her body arises from the dead to scream!

8. Mû′ni nû lak̲í gí, k̲á-i kánam shlékish; –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ‖ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
k̲ó-idsha ne-ulχóga käíla tilangédsha. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ‖ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am a potent chief, nobody controls me;
The mischief-doing world I upset.

9. "Käíla nû shulēmokē′dsha", –́ ⏑ ⏑́ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
kē′nta käílatat tgí′kēlan shuína. – ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑

"I take the Earth up in my arms and with it whirl around in a dance";
On this soil I am standing and singing [the above words].

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10. Aíshish kaí nû sha-ûlō'la, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑
yuhanéash kaí nû sha-ûlō'la. ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I Aíshish I shall brandish, I shall brandish my huge sword.

11. Aíshishash hûn gáldshui, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
hû' mish hû' shnekshituápka. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑

Go to meet Aíshish; he will save you.

12. Tídsh hûn liulekán tchiálash shakatchóāla!

Halloo! let us form a circle and screen the salmon against sun-heat!

13. Kilidshi'ga shépolamna –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑

They carry long-necked ducks on their backs.

14. Kaukátsi Yaína wō'n a shû-û'dshant î! –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Follow up the elk and chase him upon Kaukátsi Mountain!

NOTES.

The first eight songs are worded in the Klamath Lake dialect, the third is of a mythic character. Songs 7–12 are worded in Modoc; 8 and 9 are K'mukámtchiksh songs. A few songs or fragments of such, which would come nearest to what we call nursery or Mother Goose's songs, will be found in the Myth of the Bear and the Antelope: 120, 11. 12. 13. 121, 9. 17. 122, 12. 13.

192; 1. This song is sung by women only, and seems to point to an ancient invasion of the country by tribes from the North or from Columbia River.

[825] [821] [192]

192; 2. The owl's cry is of fatal augury.

192; 3. Girls' song. When at sunrise a haze or fog extends over the country, this is supposed to be a sign of the Earth's wrath against men.

192; 5. ki'pash is no word at all, but seems to stand for gitko-ptchi.

192; 7. The Indians were reticent about the meaning of this song, and hence I presumed that ō'k was intended to mean some deceased person, since these are spoken of as hû'k, *he, she*. Then the sense would be: "Be silent! that dead squaw is arising to sing a loud song." One Indian informed me that ō'ksta meant a squaw, and pronounced it ō'ksht (húnkisht?). Cf. *Note* to 35, 8 and page 130, second *Note*.

[192] [193]

192; 8. These trochaic verses are called the K'mukámtchiksh-song, and a variant, tuálam, exists for kánam. The alliteration of the k's and n's is very conspicuous. The meaning was given as follows: "I the omnipotent and unseen ruler of the universe will chastise and turn it over for the manifold crimes committed in it by Indians and men of other races."

192; 9. This is another K'múkamtch-song, in which he menaces to destroy the world for its misdoings. I have put the first line in quotation marks, because it forms the words or text of the song. The first line is sung about a dozen times before the second is sung once.

193; 10. Christian song, referring to the day of last judgment. Aíshish, who is a deity representing the powers of nature with animal attributes, has been in the mind of some Modocs identified with Jesus.

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193; 11. Song of Christian origin, in which Aishish is also identified with Jesus for no other reason than a fancied similarity of names.

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193; 12. When of a party of fishing girls one catches a salmon or other large fish, all the others quit their lines, arrive on the spot, roast the fish while singing these words and eat it up.

193; 13. This song is common to Modocs and Klamath Lakes and is descriptive of children amusing themselves with ducks. Pretty melody.

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TUNES AND SONGS WITHOUT WORDS.

WAR WHOOPS.

wéaha wea wéyaha, kawē'ha kaweiha, kawē'ha
kä' kä' kä', wéha wea wéyaha
nóke nóke nóke . . . . . .
howienā' howienā', tchálam tchálam wiéna wienā
howienā' howienā', tchálam etc.
hí ellová hí ellová hí ellová
nkeíha nχeíha nχeíya, nkeíya . . . . . . nχé-u.
ä'-oho ä'-ohō e-ohó . . . . . . í-ihi, i-ihi-ī, í-uhu

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HUMMING TUNES.

diainaíni diananána, diataínia diatanána
tánanani nannanani, taninananí tanni naninananí
tainánni taninánna, tainaína taninaíni, tánanana
täni tayanáni tani nä'nēnani
nanaté téannana nanaté nanatéana natéana
kanenaténa nenankanéna tenanénate
nianainán kianainán, kianainía nainan nainían
kalena tená, kalena tená, kalena tená
nawetana nawetíya, nawetana nawetía

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líggaiha líggaiha, hā'hai líggaiha,
ē bi tchúima, líggaiha líggaiha.
wídshiggaya hī'a, wídshiggaya hī'a
hä' hō wídshiggaya hō; hä' hō hä' hō, wídshiggaya hō.
yuhilī' yuhalī' gáya, yuhilī' yuhalī' gáya

*539 tä'-inánnăn nä'-innánnăn, tā'-innánnăn nä'-innánnăn
533 tá naniánai nániana, tá naniánai nániāna
171 walwiléga palpiléga, walwiléga palpiléga
pálpilēga pálpilēga, pálpilēga etc.

DANCING TUNES.

A. *Tunes heard during Puberty-Dances.*

535 hō'-wina wē'na tchálam tchálam wéna
881 úha u-ai hai hai hévēlālī,
háhai u-ai hehai hévēlālī.
witcha kenná, wítcha kéna kenō', wítcha kenna kenó
nû kēno kēno kéno, n'ō kēno u'o kēno kénō

B. *Tunes adopted from Shasti Indians.*

*539
533 huí'no hō hotino hû-û huino hû'tnino kû'ino hō-o
177 wínna hádina háwina, há-ina ā-ā, háwina ná-ina
tóyo wínno hoyo wínna nó, weyawinna nó, heyowinná
ho owínno heyä'nlia kina ho-owínna heyä'nlia kena
he-ännowinná, innatá lowinna, he-eänno wínna
hewä' iwinnaná ō wí'nna óhō häna wínna óhō
hännanáwiya ná-uya náyua hännaná-uya ō-uya
héwa enna hé-au wennéā hé-aunné heyawenné
ha wennō hahiyó wennó wennó ha wenna, awenó hewō
hó ninu henú henó inû' ho-inú hóninō-u henû'

C. *Dance and war tunes adopted from Snake Indians.*

háwinna haú-inna nō', í'nna hawínna háwinna nō'
hé-a wennē, a héa, heahē, héa wennē
haweā' wennā, hau-á, hawenná ē'nna, hawá

D. *Dancing tune heard from Warm Spring Indians.*

kaní luya . . . . . uya tasí wene nāsi

*539 generation, while others contain words of the language actually in use but ground down
533 or defaced in such a manner as to make them unintelligible. The variations in which these songs are sung are infinite in number, since they are fancifully produced at the will of the singer. I thought it sufficient to give a few of these variations only, and took care to mark the higher pitch of the voice, a sort of musical arsis, by the accentuation. The majority of them form an accompaniment to the motions made while gambling.

115 **194**; 9–17 were obtained from a young Indian, Frank, living on the Williamson River. Cf. page 91, second *Note*.

194; 16. kalena tená is rendered by: "ye are all dead at once"; which means: all of you have lost in the game.

171 **194**; 18–195; 4. Playing tunes sung by Modoc and Klamath Lake Indians when sitting at a spélshna or other game, also while musing, travelling or working; given by Jeff. C. D. Riddle. The person who deals the sticks in the spélshna-game is the one who sings the tune.

171 **194**; 18 and 19. 20 and 21. 22. Melodious tunes sung by Modocs and recently introduced among these Indians.

195; 2. 3. These are among the most frequent tunes hummed while playing the spélshna-game. Like 3 and 4, 1 and 2 are often sung alternately.

195; 3. 4. These words are made up from the terms by which butterflies are called: walwilégash, yapalpuléash.

A. These dance-tunes, **195**; 5–9, are in use among the Klamath Lake people and were obtained from Minnie Froben. The first of them sounds almost like **194**; 4. 5. Little bells are often rung while dances are performed and dance-tunes are sung. Women and girls of the Modoc tribe end their songs with a protracted i-ū, while the men habitually conclude them with a loud u-ó'hu.

B and D. Obtained from Dave Hill; sung among the Klamath Lake people.

C. Given by Long John's Ben. They begin with the sound h-, like the majority of the Shasti tunes.

E. All obtained from Jeff. C. D. Riddle.

196; 1. Repeated indefinitely, as soon as dancing assumes a *quicker* measure. Compare with it the song of the skunk **162**; 7, that of the quiver, **163**; 8, and *Notes*.

196; 3. stáni, *full*, seems to allude to the formation of a ring for dancing. Cf. stá hashámpka **23**, 12. and what is said of **196**; 7.

196; 4. 5. The last group in this tune, hoyó winnâ'-â', serves sometimes as a refrain, sometimes as a stop.

196; 7. Of foreign introduction, as shown by the sound r. Sung in alternation with stán, stán **196**; 3 and said to come from Warm Spring Indians. **196**; 2 sounds very much like: "how do you do, sir?"

196; 8. Probably contains the words: k̲'leká a hû, "he, she is dead"; kōlayá-a serves as a refrain, sometimes as a stop.

196; 9. The day before the funeral of Púkish, mentioned in Doctor John's trial, I heard his aged mother sing this tune. Other mourners in the funeral tent sang what is contained in **196**; 8. 10.

196; 10. Funeral tune heard from Snake Indians at Yáneks, on Klamath reservation. They join hands and sing this melancholy tune for hours; the higher the deceased stood in his tribe, the longer lasts the wailing.

771 To treat aboriginal Klamath religion under three headings of shamanism,
[791] power quest, and cosmology is patent oversimplification. In nature and
[551] content these features formed an integrated configuration reflecting a major
cultural preoccupation. It is true that the shaman in each community played
a dominant role and in his capacity as curer, magician, and entertainer com-
[787] manded the utmost in social prestige. On the other hand, as was common in
western North America, every individual, at puberty and thereafter, deliberately and repeatedly sought contact with a variably defined spirit world.
Thus Klamath culture had a variation of the American Indian guardian-
773 spirit theme. Less specifically formalized, and so perhaps, less well integrated,
776 were the elements of myth and tale, the rationalizations for the presence of
various natural phenomena, for eschatology, and for the general conception
of the universe. Like adjacent tribes, the Klamath interested themselves in
animal spirits. These were of particular importance in providing shamanistic
power. In the individual power quest, however, the sources from which spiritual
forces emanated were less specifically defined. A rather wide range of super-
natural powers was recognized, some being animals, some vaguely anthro-
pomorphic, others relating to such natural features as mountains, streams,
rocks, or even landmarks like Crater Lake. In respect to these forces an
involved folklore has arisen which allows some classification of the Klamath
[775] concepts of the supernatural. In this realm, for example, are views about
the abode of the dead and the nature of ghosts and souls, these being carefully
differentiated from nonhuman spirits.[3] Here too is a body of myth relating
to superhuman dwarf men and women, to the forces in specific places or
natural phenomena in the Klamath terrain, and finally, the most important
for this discussion, to the culture hero, the anthropomorphic Kemu'kemps.[4]

[171] Kemu'kemps, while not usually identified with an animal spirit, has many
characteristics suggesting the folklore regarding Coyote in the Plateau-
Basin. He is at once creator and trickster, angrily forbidding in some contexts,
indifferent in others, and in still others a ludicrous buffoon.

[825] Essentially human in conceptualization (a myth complex relating to a
[821] human hero also occurs in adjacent regions), Kemu'kemps is sometimes
identified with the marten, whose younger brother is weasel, and with the
winds.[5] In the myths assembled by Gatschet, he constantly rivals his magically
born son 'Ayšiš, whose destruction he repeatedly plans, often with the result
[821] of encompassing his own. Weather, such as rain or heat, was also attributed
to him. Kemu'kemps is also the creator, and there are numerous folktales
which tell how he brought various locations into being. At his instigation,

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[113] 1939), cf. 145-149; Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distributions: Northeastern California* (Anthropological Records, 7: 2, Berkeley, 1942).

[3] Spier, 1930, pp. 100 ff.

[113] [4] Cf. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (U. S. Geological Survey, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Washington, 1890), pt. 1, lxxix-lxxxv, and pt. 2, 138-140. A summary is also given by Spier, 1930, loc. cit.

[5] Gatschet, 1890, pt. 1, lxxxii-iii.

The towns listed below are mostly winter settlements. Each held one or more earth-lodges. There may be more than are listed on Sprague river, the only part of the region I did not visit. With this exception I think none have been overlooked.[29] The towns are grouped in the list according to tribal subdivisions. 361

I. *Klamath marsh—Williamson river group* (*ă'ukckni*).—Settlements are in two principal groups: along the southern margin of Klamath marsh and on the lower Williamson river. Although a few more were indicated in the latter region, I was told that the winter population at the marsh is the larger. They do not live on the western side of the marsh, as the snow-fed streams there are too cold for fish. The upper part of Williamson river, a rugged canyon, is unoccupied, but the towns are practically continuous from above the Sprague river junction down to the point where the river leaves the hills. Several others are on the lake front near-by. Evidently the middle Sprague river settlements should be included with this subdivision, but there is some doubt. Towns there are widely separated and extend a considerable distance up the river; the easternmost is somewhere west of Gearhart mountain. I am not certain that Sycan river is regularly occupied; roots are dug there. Sycan marsh is not occupied; it is a summering place for ă'ukckni, for those of Yainax in particular. 131 361

1, mŭ'tcuia'ksi, near the bridge toward the eastern end of Klamath marsh. 131 361 103

2, k'ɛtaiwa's, along the eastern side of the marsh. A cremation pile lies south of this town.

3, gūpgūa'ķsi, houses stretching for perhaps two miles here, with a cremation pile near-by.

4, i'wal, and 5, kla'djōķsi, houses for some distance along this tongue extending into the marsh. A third cremation pile is east of i'wal.

6, du"llķūt, a very large town, perhaps a hundred house pits in an area three hundred yards by one hundred. Others extend along the marsh to the east.[30] All the tribelets congregated at this spot in the summer to gather lily seeds.

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[29] Gatschet lists sites (1:xxviii footnote, 142, *passim*). Many of his items are only place names; no permanent town is included that is not also in my list. In a *few* instances he has misinterpreted his information. [114]

[30] This would be an excellent site for archaeological exploitation. House pits here are more distinct than any others I have seen; elsewhere they have been leveled by the plow. [172]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

side of Wood river in much the same locality. These may be the same site. 103 131

V. *Klamath Falls group (iu'' lalo'ŋkni).*—All the people of the lake from Modoc point southward are named for their principal locality, 361 iu'' laloŋɛ, Klamath falls. Despite the large area, they are relatively few in number. In summer they resort to the marshes west of the lake or fish on Lost river. The district along the eastern shore of the lake from Modoc point nearly to Algoma is called ne'' luḳsi (ne'' luḳs, a late sunrise), from the circumstance that a low mountain here cuts off the morning sunlight.

45, kɛt!ai'ksi, point of rock, a promontory two miles or so northwest of Modoc point, is their northernmost settlement.

46, suwiakă'ĕks, jump over, is a large village at Modoc point. It extended on both sides of the headland and for three-quarters of a mile south. The place takes its name from a large rock (about three and a half feet high) which stands a half-mile south of the point. It was a trial of skill to run uphill and jump over the rock. Bare island (au'emi) opposite is their camp site, and has no permanent settlements.

47, iulă'u, promontory, is a fishing village occupied in early spring. Pictographs are painted on the rock slide north of this.

48, diu'wiaks (named for its little spring, di'wik) is a winter settlement at the railroad point Ouxy. Little fish ran in the spring [226] early in the year.

49, ḳau'ŏmŏt, a half-mile south, is, like all these lake sites, crowded along the foot of the mountain on the lake shore. There are many earth-lodges about a large spring here. The lodge rings are so clear that this would be a good place for archaeological excavations. Its [172] name is from ḳau'ŏm, a place where fish run.

50, dI'tk!aḳs, boiling spring, is now known as Barclay spring. [133] There are many earth-lodges north and south of this. Two cremation piles are to the north on the highway, one distant a hundred yards on a rock slide, the second twice as far and directly on the southern boundary of the reservation. Unlike the cremation piles on Williamson river, no glass beads or iron was to be found at this second site. South of Barclay spring by three hundred yards is a deep nameless [231] spring into which pups are thrown to train them for hunting. A large [343] sweat-lodge used by mourners is situated at the foot of the slope near the angle of the marsh east of Algoma.

ONE

[P.3]

The Aboriginal Klamath-Modoc

EASTWARD FROM THE LOFTY CASCADES OF WASHINGTON AND OREGON 133
stretches the elevated and broken country of the central
Plateau. Across its face, rivers carry waters from northern watersheds and the slopes of the Rockies and, cleaving the mountain
barrier, flow to the sea. Upon the ladder of their waters, the homing salmon mount in seasonal surges to spawning grounds far to 136
the interior. It is a province once richly endowed in game, and,
early in the peopling of the New World, the Indian found it. In 172
the period toward the end of the Pleistocene period, while the 133
glaciers ebbed upon their centers, some eleven thousand years
ago,[2] some of his numbers camped along the Columbia, at the head of an estuary that in those days extended upriver to The Dalles, and left behind antler combs, stone bolas, blades, and the obscure and humble bric-a-brac of the camp. Further upriver, in the open lands of Lind Coulee, others hunted the bison. Below and east of the Plateau, unnamed tribesmen camped along the Pluvial lakes of the Great Basin, whose waters, now gradually drying up, attracted the waterfowl and animals that in turn drew the hunter. In the timeless dessication of its caves, at Fort Rock, Danger, Gypsum, and Lovelock their sandals, basketry, and spear-throwers have been found.

Along the southwestern flanks of the Cascades, a great fault had formed a crescentic trough some one hundred miles in length by twenty-five in breadth. Rivers and creeks fed marsh lands and broad lakes within this great highland and created an earthly paradise for the early hunter-fishermen. Their initial entry has been estimated at about ten thousand years ago, and by the time

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K 172 133 the eruption of Mount Mazama created Crater Lake and strewed its pumice in thick beds over the countryside, some 6,500 years ago, they had long been in occupation.[3]

K M 101 172 Here, with the passage of time, the peoples later to receive the names of Klamath and Modoc began to take on their present way of life. Their cultural position was at once peripheral and strategic, for they lay at the boundaries of the emergent cultural provinces of the Great Basin, the Plateau, and California, and though they stemmed fundamentally from the Great Basin, they were also subject to influences flowing from California and the Plateau. Consistent with their relative geographical position and ecological resources, the Modoc diverged toward California and the Klamath toward the Plateau; and when in turn the influences of the North Pacific Coast—extending from southern Alaska to northern California—reached them, it was again the Klamath who were somewhat more receptive. Despite their differences, the K M 101 197 two peoples retained a substantial common base: they spoke dialects of the same language and felt their political separation to have been a recent event.[4]

Indeed, the linguistic evidence is consonant with a long autochthonous development within this region. Klamath-Modoc finds its closest linguistic congeners within the Plateau, in Cayuse, Molala, and the northern Sahaptin Tenino, Klickitat, Yakima, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Nez Percé. Taken together, these languages are seen as more distantly related to others spoken in Western Oregon and in the Sacramento-San Joaquin drainage of California, and like them are assigned to the Penutian phylum.[5] (See Map of Tribal Distribution in Oregon.)

K 133 226 361 433 For the Klamath, the dominant features of their landscape were the marshes and streams, with their rich resources of fish, mussels, and waterfowl. Their winter settlements, fringing the shores in settled places, were located where fish could be caught most of the year, clustered densely upon Klamath Marsh and the eastern shore of Agency and Upper Klamath lakes, extending down to Link River. They lay as well upon the Williamson River which runs in a bow some sixty miles, passing through the Marsh to empty into Upper Klamath Lake, and upon its eastern tributary, M 133 226 224 433 the Sprague. In their more open country to the south, the Modoc were less favored and less open to influences from fishing peoples,

Notes

ONE. THE ABORIGINAL KLAMATH-MODOC

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1. "Nolis Gaeni" (The Afterworld), narrated in Klamath by Lula Lang. Stern (1962), p. 112, original footnotes omitted.

2. There is now mounting evidence, even from the Northwest itself, suggesting that man may have been in western America for perhaps three times as great a period.

3. Cressman (1956), pp. 470, 463 ff. This work is the principal source for the archeological summary. It may be remarked that Clark (1953), pp. 53-55, records a Klamath legend of what purports to be this eruption.

4. The cultural position of the Klamath-Modoc has been variously assessed. Kroeber (1925), pp. 334-35, initially saw their position as essentially Californian; later (1939), p. 51, he removed the Northeastern Californian segment, including those tribes and the Achomawi-Atsugewi, to the Great Basin. Spier (1930), p. 233, saw Klamath material culture of Plateau type, with strong leanings toward northeastern California, their social system as of Northwest Coast, and their religious institutions of Northern California-Western Oregon, form. In his view, the Modoc inclined somewhat more toward California. Driver and Massey (1957), Map 2, place both peoples in the Plateau.

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M
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Ray alone has seen the differences between the two peoples as so great as to justify passing the California-Plateau boundary between them. Thus (1939), p. 148, he treats the Klamath as the southernmost of the tribes of the American Plateau, although one that exhibits variations stemming from California and the Basin; and again (1963), pp. v, xii, while conceding that the Modoc are highly divergent from the tribes of California, asserts that the Modoc "shared fewer culturally diagnostic traits with the Klamath than they did with the Achomawi." The latter statement seems at odds with the culture element survey of Wheeler-Voegelin (1942), p. 250, and remains to be sustained. Nonetheless, Ray has performed a useful service in correcting the view that Modoc culture was merely an offshoot of that of the already specialized Klamath.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

Another stone implement is the single-grooved, flat-bottomed K 412
arrow straightener, such as is shown in pl. 21, fig. 9. A perforated wooden arrow straightener, of the form shown in fig. 5 of the same plate, is still used.

Implements of obsidian and of flint are common. Arrowheads K 411
and large spear points, as also knives which were formerly fitted
into wooden handles, are yet to be found. These points are found [172] •
by the Indians in various parts of the country where they have K
been used and left by former inhabitants. They are chiefly [755]
employed at present as charms in medicine and gambling. A [525]
gambler may take a large obsidian knife or spear point and, after
singing the proper song, place it under the large tule mat upon [304]
which the game is being played, to insure good luck. In addition to their use in medicine as charms they are also employed for purposes of scarification.

Stone pipes of several forms (pl. 22, figs. 8, 9, 10) are still K 276
used. The discoidal form shown in figure 10, which is quite unusual for the Pacific slope, appears to have been less used in aboriginal times than the obtuse-angled form shown in figure 8.

GAMES.

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The Lutuami, like most aboriginal peoples, had many games K
for both adult and young. It will not be necessary to go into 524
details here, as the subject has been treated by Dr. George A. 114
Dorsey[a] and Mr. Stewart Culin.[b]

BASKETRY.

The basketry of the Klamath and Modoc, which is always M
twined, may be classified under two heads: soft or pliable basketry K
and stiff or rigid basketry. The former predominates very 285
largely and all the finer baskets are made in this manner. The materials used for this sort of basketry are as follows. The skin of the leaves of the cat-tail tule forms the white material which is used as the groundwork of almost all of the finer baskets. The M K [113]

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[a] Certain Gambling Games of the Klamath Indians, Amer. Anthr., n. s. III, 14-27, 1901.

[b] Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., 136, 247, 291, 328, 479, 550, 659, 740, 1907.

773 As a result of their seclusion, all their geogonic and creation myths are
[776] acting around the headwaters of Klamath River and in Lost River Valley,
and the first man is said to have been created by their national deity,
K'mukámtchiksh, at the base of the lofty Cascade Range, upon the prairie
drained by Wood River. I have obtained no myth disclosing any knowledge
of the ocean, which is scarcely one hundred and fifty miles distant in
[192] an air line from their seats. They have no flood or inundation myths that
are not imported from abroad; and what is of special importance here, their
terms for *salt* (ā'dak, shõ'lt) are *not their own*, but are derived from foreign
languages.

173 There is an animal story embodied in the Texts, page 131, forming
773 No. II of the "Spell of the Laughing Raven," containing the sentence:
"Hereupon the Klamath Lake people began fighting the Northerners." I
believed at first that this contained a historic reminiscence of some intertribal
war, but now am rather doubtful about it. The song 192; 1 was
supposed by some Indians to be a very old reminiscence, while others
referred it to the presence of the Warm Spring scouts in the Modoc war.

I conclude from the foregoing facts that historic traditions do not exist
among these mountaineer Indians. If there are any, I was unable to obtain
000 them. The racial qualities of the Modocs, and still more those of the
É-ukshikni, indicate a closer resemblance with Oregonians and Columbia
River tribes than with Shoshonians and Californians.

B. ARCHÆOLOGIC REMAINS.

211 The Klamath people have not evinced any more propensity for erecting
monuments of any kind than they have for perpetuating the memory
[346] of their ancestors in song or tradition. In fact, structures the probable
[226] age of which exceeds one hundred years are very few. Among these may
be particularized the three ceremonial sweat-lodges and perhaps some of
the river-barrages, intended to facilitate the catch of fish, if they should
turn out to be of artificial and not of natural origin. In the Lost River
172 Valley is a well, claimed by Modocs to be Aishish's gift—probably one of
312 the large natural springs or wélwash which are seen bubbling up in so
many places upon the reservation Stephen Powers reports that near the

172 shores of Goose Lake, chiefly at Davis Creek, a number of stone mortars
3 12 are found, fashioned with a sharp point to be inserted into the ground, and that in former times Modoc, Payute, and Pit River Indians contended in many bloody battles for the possession of this thickly inhabited country, though none of them could obtain any permanent advantage.* Since the manufacture of this kind of mortars can not be ascribed with certainty to the Modocs, we are not entitled to consider them as antiquarian relics of this special people. The three sudatories and the river barrages are regarded as the gifts of Kmukámtch, a fact which testifies to their remote antiquity. Excavations (wásh) forming groups are found on many of the more level spots on the Reservation, near springs or brooks. They prove the existence of former dug-out lodges and camps.

C. LINGUISTIC AFFINITIES.

121 Anthropologic researches upon the origin of a people do not always
197 lead to decisive results as to the qualities of the primitive race of that people, for the majority of all known peoples are compounds from different races, and thus the characteristics of them must be those of a medley race. As to antiquity, language is second to race only, and much more ancient than anything we know of a people's religion, laws, customs, dress, implements, or style of art. Medley languages are not by any means so frequent as medley races, and less frequent still in America than in the eastern hemisphere; for in this western world the nations have remained longer in a state of isolation than in Asia and Europe, owing to the hunting and fishing pursuits to which the natives were addicted—pursuits which favor isolation and are antagonistic to the formation of large communities and states. This explains why we possess in America a relatively larger number of linguistic families than the Old World when compared to the areas of the respective continents. It also explains why races coincide here more closely with linguistic families than anywhere else on the surface of the globe. Instances when conquering races have prevailed upon other nations to abandon their

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* Contributions to North Amer. Ethnology, III, p. 252. Davis Creek enters Goose Lake from the southeast. The U. S. Geological Survey map marks "Old Indian Villages" in latitude 41° 37′ and longitude 120° 36′, to the southwest of that basin.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

175

Frémont also remarked on the scarcity of their horses.[22]

Frémont reached Klamath lake again May 6, 1846. He commented on the outlet, Link river, "this is a great fishing station for the Indians." His statement on the distribution of their settlements coincides with my information. [231] [226]

> They have fixed habitations around the shores of the lake, particularly at the outlet and inlet [Williamson river], and along the inlet up to the swamp meadow [Klamath marsh], where I met the Tlamaths in the winter of '43–'44, and where we narrowly escaped disaster. . . . . The Indians made me understand that there was another large river [Williamson river] which came from the north and flowed into the lake at the northern end, and that the principal village was at its mouth, where also they caught many fish. [361] [131] [133]

Frémont's party made a circuit of the lake. It is curious that he does not mention the settlements about Pelican lake on the western side, which he could hardly have avoided. On the other hand it is not clear how closely his memoirs follow his diary. Attacked while on the western side, his party reciprocated by raiding a village on the opposite side, perhaps one of those on Williamson river just above the present highway bridge. [726]

> Behind the sage-bushes where they had taken their stand every Indian had spread his arrows on the ground in fan-like shape, so that they would be ready to his hand. . . . . Quantities of fish were drying, spread on scaffolds, or hung up on frames. The huts, which were made of tall rushes and willows, like those on the savannah above [Klamath marsh], were set on fire, and the fish and scaffolds were all destroyed.[23] [252] [342] [726]

The first invaders remembered by the Klamath came from the north about 1835. The stories about them have now a legendary flavor. The first group was mounted; the Klamath dubbed them mpĕ'tkoŋks (from mĕtc!a', to pack about) from their roving habits. An alternative name, pásai'ūks (French-Canadian in Chinook jargon), more surely identifies them. During their brief stay at the mouth of Williamson river they bought fat dogs of the Klamath, which to the latter's amazement, they ate. For these they gave buttons and metal disks with a central perforation (wika'lkal). 173 437 648

Almost as early was a white contingent moving northward on the west side of Klamath lake. The Indians watched them unseen. They were impressed with the horses, axes, and the food of the whites. 173 648 177

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[22] Frémont, Narrative, 122.

[23] Frémont, Memoirs, 483, 484, 494.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

173 When the latter broke camp they left behind a little flour, which the
177 Indians carried home and divided. They rubbed it on their palms and
[302] smeared their faces.[24]

648 Other early whites came from the southeast on horseback. This
marked the beginning of the great migration by way of the Modoc
648 country to the Pacific slope. On the whole the Klamath came off
remarkably well in their relations with the whites. The full brunt of immigration was borne by Modoc and Pit River peoples. The Klamath were spared the Oregon wars of the fifties, which all but annihilated the tribes of western Oregon and northern California.[25] The earliest white settlements in the neighborhood were about the present Jacksonville, Medford, and Ashland. The first white settlement within Klamath territory was near the village of kowa'edi at the northern end of the lake. This was about 1860–65, hence may have reference to the first agency established there. Subsequent relations have been on the whole quite amicable. The Klamath took no part in the Modoc war of 1872–73.

Habitat

131 The territory of the Klamath is on the high plateau of eastern
133 Oregon, in the shallow basin wherein lies the group of lakes that give
rise to Klamath river. The southern half of this basin about lower Klamath and Tule lakes is Modoc territory, extending southward across the lava beds in the direction of Pit river. The northern half, which lies against the Cascade range, is the home of the Klamath.

The Klamath properly reside on Klamath lake (or as it was
formerly known, upper or middle Klamath lake), on Klamath marsh,
[361] and on Williamson river, which connects them. At least, most of the
permanent winter settlements are on these three waters, with a scattering on their tributaries. Summer camps are established over a much wider territory, as far, it would seem, as the natural limits of this drainage area.

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[263] [24] Salt was equally unknown to them at this time.

[25] A somewhat obscure account was given me of the inclusion of Klamath in
[174] the great round-up of western Oregon Indians on Siletz (?) reservation in the
fifties. These had been wintering at the Dalles and were herded with the
[648] Indians there. The Upland Takelma and Molala were penned in together and fed by the soldiers. Some died every day; the Klamath suspected that they were poisoned. The Klamath were kept apart, and, thanks to the strenuous arguments of their chief Lalo'ka, were not only freed but supplied with beef and an escort of soldiery to conduct them back to their own country.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

K 285
alternately tule and a small cat-tail (watcō'k), the wefts are cords made of the rolled outer layer of the tule (called ķ!o'sgi). These wefts are placed in pairs in simple tabby weave at intervals of one to three inches; they are not twined. The wefts are so thin and so tightly drawn that they barely show in the finished mat, but they produce a checkerboard effect (sölümtai') which gives this variety of mat its name. Possibly there is a fourth variety called ak!a'lōks, an open twined mat, but of this I am not certain. All these mats are provided with a border of twisted strands of the same material caught in the weft cords.

M 281
Blankets woven of strips of rabbit skin are made by Modoc, not by Klamath.

K 114 285 173
Coville states that "a long time ago the bark [of the cottonwood, kō-osh', *Populus balsamifera* L.], when peeled and split, was used in the manufacture of an Indian cloth."[313] What this fabric can be I do not know, unless bags are meant.

K 283
Ropes are made of three braided strands. The material is grass or the outer husk of the tule for such rough work as carrying wood. Strips of hide are sometimes used, but little elk hide is available for pack ropes. Finer cords, such as those for fish lines and nets, are made of nettle (sleta) bark fibers, of which there are three or four varieties (or perhaps phases). Other plant fibers, such as the Rocky Mountain flax (kōl'-ä-käms, *Linum lewisii* Pursh.)[314] make stronger cords. Brown and gray nettles are most commonly used because of their strength.[315] Swamp-grass cords are used for sewing mats. Barrett notes that string made of brown milkweed is but little used and that all string is formed of two strands twisted together.[316] The latter point is confirmed by my own observations. Cords are made by placing two strands, or a doubled strand, side by side on the bare thigh; rolling them separately under the palm by a movement up the thigh, and by a quick reverse movement down the thigh, without raising the palm, rolling one around the other. Cord-making is a woman's art. K [462]
A rope is called pěķ!os and cord gənū'ķs; braiding is k!əbō'k!a and rolling p'tc!Iŋ.

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[313] Notes, 94.

[314] Coville, Notes, 99.

[315] Coville (Notes, 95) lists only one species, "the native species," *Urtica breweri* Wats.

[316] *Op. cit.*, 250. Coville indicates that milkweed (not, *Apocynum cannabinum* L.) does not occur in Klamath territory, but on Lost river where it is used by the Modoc (Notes, 103). K M [137]

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

000 they are rather a cloddish, indolent, ordinarily good-natured race, but treacherous at bottom, sullen when angered, notorious for keeping Punic faith. But their bravery nobody can deny."*

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD.

174 Before the middle of the nineteenth century the Mák̲laks people was unknown to mankind except to the nearest neighbors in Oregon and California. We are therefore justified in beginning its period of documentary history at that time, and in relegating to the domain of prehistorics all that is known of their previous condition. The information upon these points is furnished by three factors: tradition, archæologic remains, and language.

A. TRADITION BEARING UPON HISTORY.

121 Traditional folk-lore, when of the mythic order, generally dates from
773 an earlier epoch of fixation than historic traditions. The remote origin of *genuine* mythic folk-lore is sufficiently evidenced by the archaic terms embodied with it, by the repetition of the same phraseology for ages, and by the circumstance that all nations tend to preserve their religious ideas in an unchanged form. I am laying peculiar stress upon the term ***genuine***, for Indians have often mixed recent ideas and fictions with archaic, original folk-lore and with ancient mythic ideas, the whole forming now one inextricable conglomerate which has the appearance of aboriginal poetic prose.

173 The Klamath people possess no historic traditions going further back
769 in time than a century, for the simple reason that there was a strict law
688 prohibiting the mention of the person or acts of a deceased individual by
171 *using his name.* This law was rigidly observed among the Californians no
784 less than among the Oregonians, and on its transgression the death penalty could be inflicted. This is certainly enough to suppress all historic knowledge within a people. How can history be written without names?

[126] Many times I attempted to obtain a list of the former head chiefs of the two chieftaincies. I succeeded only in learning the names of two chiefs recently deceased, and no biographic details were obtainable.

174 This people belongs to the autochthonic nations of America, called so because they have lost all remembrances of earlier habitats or of migrations.

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* Contributions to Amer. Ethnology, III, p. 253.

773 776 As a result of their seclusion, all their geogonic and creation myths are acting around the headwaters of Klamath River and in Lost River Valley, and the first man is said to have been created by their national deity, K'mukámtchiksh, at the base of the lofty Cascade Range, upon the prairie drained by Wood River. I have obtained no myth disclosing any knowledge of the ocean, which is scarcely one hundred and fifty miles distant in an air line from their seats. They have no flood or inundation myths that 192 are not imported from abroad; and what is of special importance here, their terms for *salt* (ā'dak, shō'lt) are *not their own*, but are derived from foreign languages.

173 773 There is an animal story embodied in the Texts, page 131, forming No. II of the "Spell of the Laughing Raven," containing the sentence: "Hereupon the Klamath Lake people began fighting the Northerners." I believed at first that this contained a historic reminiscence of some intertribal war, but now am rather doubtful about it. The song 192; 1 was supposed by some Indians to be a very old reminiscence, while others referred it to the presence of the Warm Spring scouts in the Modoc war.

I conclude from the foregoing facts that historic traditions do not exist among these mountaineer Indians. If there are any, I was unable to obtain 000 them. The racial qualities of the Modocs, and still more those of the É-ukshikni, indicate a closer resemblance with Oregonians and Columbia River tribes than with Shoshonians and Californians.

B. ARCHÆOLOGIC REMAINS.

211 The Klamath people have not evinced any more propensity for erecting monuments of any kind than they have for perpetuating the memory 346 226 of their ancestors in song or tradition. In fact, structures the probable age of which exceeds one hundred years are very few. Among these may be particularized the three ceremonial sweat-lodges and perhaps some of the river-barrages, intended to facilitate the catch of fish, if they should turn out to be of artificial and not of natural origin. In the Lost River 172 312 Valley is a well, claimed by Modocs to be Aishish's gift—probably one of the large natural springs or wélwash which are seen bubbling up in so many places upon the reservation Stephen Powers reports that near the

121 more useful dates and facts. Such results as these may be confidently looked for when several dialects of one linguistic family can be compared; and a careful comparison of one language with others spoken in the vicinity, belonging to the same or a different family, will always be attended with beneficial results for the increase of our scientific knowledge.

124 The aboriginal literary monuments printed below are authentic national
127 records of a brave and industrious mountain tribe of Indians. Ethnologic notices have at a comparatively early period been gathered concerning the Modocs and Klamath Lake Indians, but most of them were of doubtful scientific value, because the information was gathered from them in the English language, which they understood but very imperfectly. Even now, the dates and facts recounted by them, as well as by Indians of many other tribes, in English, are so extremely confused, that only texts written in their own language can give us a clear insight into their traditions, myths, and mode of thinking.

538 No Indian tribe possesses a history of itself reaching back further than two or three generations, unless it has been recorded by whites at an early date, and what goes beyond this limit is tradition, on which we must be careful not to place any implicit reliance. But mythology records in a certain sense the intellectual history as well as the metaphysical ideas of a people, and thus by the gathering of the numerous mythic tales and legends of the Máklaks a start at least is made for the investigation of their intellectual development. A very moderate estimate puts at several hundred the more generally circulated myths of the Klamath Lake or É-ukshikni alone, and the number of their popular song-lines, so interesting and unique in many respects, may be called infinite, for their number is increased every day by new ones. The bulk of their mythic folklore is of great poetic beauty, freshness, and originality, and, like that of other tribes, full of childlike "naïveté." This latter characteristic forms one of their greatest attractions, and the animal myths of every uncultured people will prove attractive, because they were invented for religious or poetic and not for
[173] didactic purposes. To some of the myths given below we may confidently ascribe an antiquity of over three centuries, for their archaic terms

538 and locutions, repeated from generation to generation, are not always understood
[173] at the present day by the young people, who most attentively listen to the aged rhapsodists, when they expound these miraculous stories in the lurid glare of the nocturnal campfire. Nothing in them indicates a migration of these upland tribes from any part of the country into their present homes, and hence the Mák̲laks must have had undisturbed possession of the headwaters of Klamath River for some centuries prior to the advent of the white population.

197 The various texts obtained clearly exhibit the character of the language
538 actually spoken and the difference existing between the two dialects,
124 but they do not all possess the same linguistic value. The texts of Dave Hill and others are worded in the conversational language of the tribe, which in many particulars differs from the more elaborate and circumstantial mode of speech which appears in the mythic tales given by
124 Minnie Froben. The "Modoc War" and some of the shorter pieces could be
126 obtained only by putting down the English first and then getting sentence for sentence in the dialect, whereas the best worded stories and specimens were written in continuous dictation. All texts obtained were carefully revised first with the informants, then with other natives, and all the necessary explanations added at the time.

533 From a purely linguistic view the popular songs or song-lines are the most valuable contributions. The melodies of some of their number deserve to be called pretty, according to our musical taste. To the natives all of them appear harmonious; but when the Western Indian calls some melody "pretty," guided by his musical principles, he very frequently does so in opposition to what our ear tells us to call by this predicate.

124 The Klamath Lake dialect was spoken by the majority of the contributors
191 to my linguistic anthology. I obtained these specimens, with the exclusion of the Modoc texts, in the autumn of 1877, at the Klamath Reservation, Lake County, Oregon. Though many of these natives speak the Chinook jargon more fluently than English, I never availed myself, for obtaining any information whatever, of that imperfect and hybrid medium, through which the Indians of the Northwest carry on so much of their intercourse.

É-UKSHKNI SHÉLLUAL WALAMSKI'SHASH.

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FIGHTS BETWEEN KLAMATH LAKE AND ROGUE RIVER INDIANS.

GIVEN BY WAWÁLIKS, OR DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Lap'ní' sha shéllual Walamskí'sas É-ushkni. Tīná sha luluágsla
Twice they fought the Rogue Rivers the Lake tribe. One time they enslaved
tû'm, tínatoks a k̲á-i luluágsla, puedsā'mpĕli sa hû'nk.
many, but the second time not they made slaves, put to flight they.
3 Tĭtná É-ukskni ktaklí'sh géna Wálamsi; tsúi slää tû'ma tchí'pksh.
The first time the Lake tribe arrayed for war went to Rogue River Valley and found many encamped.
Tsúi gakiámna tchí'sh (ní'shtāk gákiamna), tsúi ní'lka, tsúi Wálamsknī
Then they surrounded the lodges (the same night they surrounded) then it dawned, and the Rogue Rivers
papátkal shûshû'dshapĕlish. Tchúi É-ukskni shuí'lpka, tsúi tí'ntkal sa,
rose from sleep (and) built their fires again. Then the Lake men laid themselves on the ground, then started up they
6 yō'ta sha, tchúi ngä'-isa tû'm Walamskí'shash, lák̲iash a sí'ûga; "Taktákli"
shot they, and wounded many Rogue River Indians (and) the chief killed "The Red"
tchí'huk sä'satk Wálamsknī lak̲í. Tsúi sa nelī'na lák̲ias hû'nk, nánχatch
so was called the Rogue River chief. Then they scalped chief the some others
sha nelí'na; tû'm tánkt hushtchók̲a sa, lúluagsla tû'm wéwanuish ndénd-
they scalped a good many killed they, made slaves of many women chil-
9 gan's tchí'sh. Tsúi gépgap'l É-ukskni, tsúi gatpampĕlí sa; tsúi sûkû'lki
dren also. Then withdrew the Lake men and home went they. afterwards they assembled
yákanuapkuk lák hû'nk, tsúi sa yä'ka, tsúi sa wálas tsí's täwá lák ipmā'-
for dancing over the scalps and they sang and danced and they a pole also set up the scalps sticking on
tsank, tátχĕlam tálaag tû'shtoks gakí'ma sá-atchûk. Túnepni sá-atsa
its top, in the midst just of the place where they moved in a circle scalp-dancing. Five (nights) scalp-danced
12 sa ní'shta, gä'tak hû'nk sa lû'luags wä'k shnû'shnĕχank shníkshû'lχa
they all night finally them they slaves by the arms seizing forced to dance
lóloks wiggáta
fire close by.

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Titná lû'ks t'shí'n spû'ntpisham; tsúyuk gúikaka gä'mpĕle. Tsúyuk
Some (other) time a slave grew up in the power of his abductors, then escaped (and) returned. Then he
15 sapíya gatpámpalank, tsúi sas hû'k ä'pka sayuáktant hû'k käíla gíug.
made disclosures after getting home, and (his tribe) that man brought well acquainted this with country being.
Tsúi gátpa tumí' mák̲laks Mbû'saks=sáwals tsiäls-hä'mi, tsúi gákua K̲óke,
And arrived many Rogue Rivers to the "Obsidian-Place" at salmon-time and they crossed Williamson River,
tsúi gákiamna látchas. K̲ä'gi híhassuaks tánkt; géna sa nánuk Ä'-uksi
and surrounded the lodges. There were no warriors (there) that time had gone all of them to Klamath Marsh

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gēlédanktsuk Yámakisas. Tapí'ta sha gátpa Wálamskni tchí'shtat. Tsúi
to bid welcome to Des Chutes River Indians. Afterwards (they) came the Rogue Rivers to the camps. Then
nē'lka: tsúi sa gû'lki, at sa senótank. Tánkt hushtsóka; tû'nipni hak
it dawned, then they attacked, now they fought. That time they killed (some); five only
mákl̄ēka Ní'lakskni tánkt, tsûi hû'k sa senótank kpû'tsampēli sas kiklō's
were encamped men from Nilakshi that time, and these they fought, put to flight them in their war-fury
hû'k tû'nepni. Ká-i hû'nk vû'sa tumá máklaks kakaknólatk gíug.
those five men. Not they feared many Indian (foes) elkskin-cuirassed being.

Tsúi gátpampēli nánuk E-ukskní' hûk, at sa haítsna Walamskí'sas.
After this returned the whole Lake tribe, now they pursued the Rogue Rivers.
Tsúi sa sláá hû'nk tû'nipnis híhassuaksas, tsúi sa wû'la hû'nkiast tû'nipäns,
And they met those five men, and they asked those five men,
kát hûk tánkt mák'lēχa: "tatátuk máklaks gátpa?" Tsúi huk sä'gsa nû
who there that time had encamped whereto the Rogue Rivers had gone? And replied I:
"ká-i ní vû'ssa; shawígank gäká ní mû'msh tumí'." Tchúi ní ná-ash gí sa-
"not I am afraid; in my fury start out I (even against) a large number." Then I so spoke to
walinä ash gé-u: "gäkán a nā't! û'tch nā'lsh hushtchō'ktgi! gekuánapka
fellow-fighters mine: "will start out we! never mind! us they may kill. I will proceed
kaní!" A nā't gä'ka, at nā'lsh sha ngé-isha, tsúi nát shawí'ga ká-a,
outside (our camp)." And we proceeded, now us they wounded, and we became furious very,
tsúi nát kpû'dsa hû'nkiash Walamskí'shash.
and we drove back those Rogue Rivers.

Tsúi vûssá nā'lsh, kokä'tat gewá sa, udodámkua sa; tsúi sa sä'ksa
Thereupon they took fright at us, into the river leaped they, swam over they; and they reported
ná-ast hû'ksa tû'nepní. Tsúi É-ukskni ná-asht gí: "haítsnat sas pä'n,
thus (to us) these five men. Then the Lake men thus said: "pursue ye them once more,
hushtchóktat haítsnank." Tsúi sa penō'dsa, tsúi nánka gaggiáha penō'-
kill ye (them) pursuing." And they pursued, and some hid themselves before the
dsasam, tiä'mishtka tsúi nánka hátkak tsóka, nánka toks gä'mpēle. Ngeísätk
pursuers, by starvation then some right there perished, some however returned home. Wounded
hû'nk sa shléshla tsókapks tcha.
(on us) they found dead ones also.

Tchíssa Walamskísh séllual títná a. Ká-i sa tuá siúka E-ukskí'sas,
In this manner (they) the Rogue Rivers made warfare at one time. Not they any killed Lake men,
[727] tánkakak siúka wewalä'ksas k'mutchápkas tchí'sh. At gä'tak ní sáyuakta,
only a few (they) killed old women old men too. That is all I know
hû'masht sä'llual Ä'-ukskní Walamskí'shash; ká-i tatá lû'luagsla Ä'-ukskí'-
how fought the Lake tribe against the Rogue Rivers; never they made slaves of the Lake
shash wuiní'χiank sellólok nánukash-käílakni, É-ukskní pí'la lû'luagsla
tribe conquering by war those from tribes all-around; the Lake men alone enslaved
nánukash-kí'sas gä'nta käílatat, ká-i tatá yuyálks-sitk sû'ta máklaks
all surrounding Indians in this country, never sorry-alike rendered the Indians
Ä-ukskí'sas.
the Lake tribe.

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Sá-adas	tsi's	Moatuásas	tsi's	ûdúyua,	Sastiásh	tsis	Walamskí'sh	tsis
The Snakes	too,	the Pit Rivers	too	(they) whipped	the Shastis	too,	the Rogue Rivers	too,

Mókeash	tsi's	ûdúyua	Ä'-ukskni.	Wäitängi'sham	tsí's	tí'tatna	tĕméska
the Kalapuyas	too	whipped	the Lake tribe.	From the Warm Spring Indians	also	at various times	took away

wáts	É-ushkni.
horses	the Lake men.

NOTES.

[124] 16. Dave Hill took part himself in one of these skirmishes. His historical accounts are all given in the conversational style, which almost throughout substitutes the [175] simple *s* for *sh*. I have not been able to determine the exact dates of these Rogue River raids; but they must have occurred before the end of 1855, when the Oregon war broke out, for after its termination most of the Rogue River Indians were removed from their old homes to the coast reservations of Northwestern Oregon. The raids occurred in the early youth of Dave Hill, who was born about 1840; so they may be placed between the years 1848 and 1855.

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16, 2. tínatoks forms antithesis to tína of the preceding clause. The literal meaning of both is: "one time ..... the other time."

16, 3. Wálamsi. The suffix -i, -í, is the adverbial particle hí, and forms a *locative case*, mainly found in local and topographical terms, as in Yámsi, Kakágosi, Ktaíwashi; also in a few generic nouns designating localities, encampments, mountains, etc.

16, 5. shûshû'dshapĕlish. The suffixed -sh is the pronoun sha, *they*, and in this suffixed form also appears as -tch, -s. This verb stands in the distributive form; shúdshapĕll, to rebuild a fire, being the absolute form.

16, 7. nánχatch, for nánχa tchish, "others also".

16, 10. yákanuapkuk, verbal causative of the future of yákna. The forms yä'kna, yä'ka, yékna, yéka, are preferable to yákna, yáka.

[727] 16, 11. sá-atsa. It is a common custom among western, and some eastern, wild tribes to force their captives to dance in honor of the victory gained over their own tribe. This is done especially during the scalp-dances.

16, 14. Titná lû'ka, etc. Here begins the account of a raid made by the Rogue River Indians upon the Klamath Lake settlements. It may have occurred one year after the raid previously narrated.

16, 15. sapíya, etc. After escaping, he informed his own countrymen of all the local conditions of the Klamath Lake people and their country, and used all his topographical knowledge in guiding their warriors to the attack.

17, 1 and 2. Tsúi nĕ'lka. Indians and uncivilized races in all portions of the world begin their raids upon the enemy before dawn, or at the earliest appearance of daylight.

17, 9. gäkán and gekuánapka, inflectional metathesis for gäkná and gekánnapka.

17, 14. hushtchŏ'ktat for hushtchŏ'kat ät, ät (*ye*) being repeated twice.

17, 16. tsókapks tcha is a contraction from tsokápkash tchí'sh a.

17, 17. Tchíssa, for tchí sha: thus they.

17, 20. sellólok: synizesis of the longer form shéllualuk, shellualúga: through fighting.

17, 21. yuyálks=sítk, abbreviated from yuyálkish=shítko, looking like persons mourning over their lost companions, or made sorrowful by bondage to Indians of a foreign tribe.

É-UKSKNI SÉLLUAL MOATUÁSHASH.

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PIT RIVER INDIANS RAIDED BY KLAMATH LAKE WARRIORS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

E-ukskni títatna séllual Sástias; tsúasak toks séllual, tû'm hû'shtchoχ
The Lake men not often warred against the Shasti; continually however fought, (and) many killed

Móatuashash. Ä'-ukskni lû'luagslats tû'm nánuk skō'ʔhs. K̲á-i hû'k
Pit River men. The Lake men enslaved also many every spring-time. Not (are) they

k̲í'llitk̲, ká-a wō'sēs shläō'tak Ă-ukskí'sas tí'nsna, k̲á-itat sa nellī'n̲at
bellicose, very despondent at the mere sight of Lake men they ran away, never they scalped

hû'stchok̲-huya hak sä; tû'm tát sa hustsók̲a Móatuash. K̲á-itata sí'ukat
killed only they; many then they killed Pit River men. Never massacred

Ă-ukskísas Móatuash.
the Lake men the Pit Rivers.

WAWÁLIKS LUPÍ' SHÉLLUAL MOATUÁSHASH.

DAVE HILL'S FIRST FIGHT WITH THE PIT RIVER INDIANS.

Kitchkánin tánkt nû géna sikĕnitgí'k pí'la úyamnatk. Tsúi nād
Being a boy I that time I went a small pistol only carrying. And we

É-ukskni gelō'la pá-uk K̲ok̲áksakshi, nā'sh nā'ds Bóshtin tû'la. Tsúi
Lake men dismounted for repast at Little River, one with us American (coming). Then

hishtchákta hátakt; wáts mbá-uta na-ä'nam; sawíka híshuaksh hunkánti
they had a contest there; (one man's) horse was wounded by another (man); became angry the man thereat

wátch m'na mbá-utisht, tsúi hushtópakta sha lóloksgīsh: tchí sha hátokt
horse his having been shot, and pulled out they (their) guns: so they there

gelō'lank shewátχastka. Tsúi géna, tû' pē'n mák̲lēχa sha, tsúi sa mbû'sant
dismounted about noon-time. Then traveled, far again camped they, then they in the morning

géna pä'n, tsúi sa mák̲'lēχa Wû'ksalks, tsúi sa pä'n géna mbû'sant,
travelled again, and they camped at Wókas-Place, then they again went on next morning.

tsúi pä'n sa mák̲'lēχa Tiûnō'lsh; gítaks p'laíkishtka sáppăsh. Tsúi sa
and again they encamped at Tiunolsh; there (was) near culmination point the sun. And they

kákta, tsúi sa mû'lua lí'tχi, tsúi sa psín géna, ní'shta sha géna
held siesta, then they made ready in the evening, and they at night travelled, all night they went on

tûk̲láktsnank.
stopping at intervals.

Tsúi mbû'sant shläá Móatuashash tchī'pksh, tsúi gû'lki nād, tchúi
And next morning we saw the Pit Rivers encamped, and attacked we, and

tí'nsna Móatuash, vussō'k sas tillī'ndsa wéwanuish; tsúi sa lû'luagsla.
ran away the Pit Rivers, frightened them they abandoned (their) women; then they (them) made slaves.

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Nā'sh nî lû'gsla snawä'ds. Shlä'popkan hátakt shänótanksht ndánni
One I captured female. Noticed I there engaged in fighting three
bíhassuaksh Móatuash; É-ukskni toks lápik. Tsúi wigábănî shenótank-
men Pit Rivers; Lake men but two were And a short while skirmished
húya shash, tsúi kä'ktsna sha, tsúi hō'pelitsnank ámbutat géna; k̲ú-idsi
with them, then fled they, and dodging missiles into the water went; impracticable.
ámbu hátakt híuhiuatk. Tsúi nish ká-a kä'dshíka, tsúi nî kakí'dsapēle, at
the water there giving way. And me greatly it fatigued, and I went by turns,
tchúi k̲ēléwi; tû' géna Móatuash k̲'läwísham at. Tsúi É-ukskni gä'pgapēli
then I made halt; away went the Pit Rivers when (shooting) had counsel. Then the Lake men returned
kábhiank tchípkash wéwanuish, tsúi sa shläá yástat lí'ukaipksh. Tsúi sa
looking out for the assembled women, and they found (them) in the willows crowded. And they
shuû'shnχa, nû'ts nāsh shnû'ka, tsúi gepgápēli É-ukskni k̲á-i shash tuá
seized them, I also one took, then withdrew the Lake men and of them none
shlít, Móatuashash pí'la sa síûga tánkak.
was shot Pit Rivers only they killed a few.

Nāsh sē'gsa tánkt É-ukskni sûkō'lkipăluk. Tsúi Tiunō'leshtat mák̲'lak-
All of us ordered then the Lake men to reassemble. Then at Tiunolsh they camped
pēle, tsúi sa pä'n shnikshō'lχa lû'luags hátakt mak̲laksksáksi. Tsúi
again, and they also made dance each slave there before the Indians. And
gépgapēli sha mbúsant, tsúi sha Móatak mák̲lakpēle, tsúi hátokt mak̲laks-
went away they next day, and they at Modoc Lake encamped, and just there Indians
ksáksi gûkí'kak lúluags. K̲á-i sa hû'nk haítchant; unák tā'ds mû'luapēle
(away from) ran away captives. Not they them pursued; early however got ready again.
Tsúi sa guhuáshktcha, tsúi sa gelō'la K̲ok̲ä'ksaks; tsúi sa sakatpampēlé-
And they started out, and they dismounted at Little River; then they wanted to perform
astka gi: "Kálăm málăm tidsí' wáts gí, hû'k ăt lupí' gátpampēli-uapk!
a race: "To whom of ye fleet horses are, those ye first shall return home!
ksí'utăkiank ăt génuapk!"
faster (than we) ye travel!"

Tsúi sa géna, tsúi luélualχ nánka wátch, nánχatoks gátpampēle
Then they went ahead, and gave out some horses, some others returned
É-uksi lí'tχi. Tsúi sa tchía gátpampēlank, tsúi gé-u gúikak hû'k lû'gs
to Klamath Marsh at night-fall Then they stayed (there) after return, then by me ran away the slave
spuní'sh; ná-ens hissuáksas spuní'n hû'nk. Tsúyuk hunkēlámskni gúikak,
the transferred one; to another man I had given her. And she from his lodge ran away,
nánχatoks sa éna Ampχä'ni sésatui tchû'k wátchat; tsúi sa í'tpa tû'm
but others they brought to the Dalles, traded (them) there for horses; and they brought many
wátch hû'nk lû'gs sesatuí'tkuk.
horses those slaves having sold.

Tsín sáyuakta tí'na Móatuashash séllualst É-ukskni.
Thus I know (how) once with the Pit Rivers fought the Lake men.

WAWÁLIKS TAPÍ′ SHÉLLUALSHA MOATUÁSHASH.

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[4 11]

DAVE HILL'S SECOND FIGHT WITH THE PIT RIVER INDIANS.

Ná-äntka skō′shtka nû géna; tínkt nté-ish ní í′-amnatk géna lóloks-
Next spring-time I set out; then bow and arrows I carrying started a ri-

gish tchish. Tû′ nād mák̲lĕχa; tsúi nád hátokt mû′shmûsh lúela, Bóshtin
fle also. Far off we camped; and we there an ox butchered, an American

tpä-ók nā′lsh hishtchák̲tnuk Moatuáshash. Tsúi nat shenotankákska hátak.
inviting us, for he had become angry at the Pit Rivers. Then we almost fought there.

Nánka tchillúk Nûshaltχagakí′shash kaknō′ls tĕméshka; nāt hûnkantí
Some men siding with the Headwater-Modocs cuirasses abstracted; we thereat

sawíkank lā′p nat kaknō′lsh shlétχa. Tsúi nat k̲á-i hû′nk slé-ipĕle
getting angry two we cuirasses took away. And we not them returned

né-uχálp′lish gí′ntak lák̲iām E-ukskí′sham; tsúi nat mā′ns-gítk slä′-ipĕle.
the repeated orders in spite of of the chief of the Lake men; but we at last returned them.

Hû′masht nat hátokt mák̲lĕχank; tchúi nat géna mbû′sant, tchúi nat
Thus (did, acted) we there while camping; then we traveled next day, and we

tû′ mák̲lĕka Mû′atak. Tsúi nat mbû′sant géna, tsúi nat tû′ mák̲lĕk′
over there camped on Modoc Lake. And we in the morning started out, and we over there camped

Tiunō′lsh. Móatokni nánka sá-ulantchna, tsúi sa ksí′ulĕχ kí′uks suawínuk
at Tiunolsh. Modocs some went with (us), and they danced a conjurer when examined

sas kánts sliuápkst: "hä slíuápkst, tchä mā′lsh ngátuapk ná′hlis"; tsúi
them who might be shot: "if ye will be shot, then to you will snap the bowstring"; and

lā′p ngáta ná′hlis. Tsúi nāt mbû′sant géna, tû′ nat atí′ géna lupí′ nálam
two snapped bowstrings. Then we next morning started out, far we off travelled first our

hû′nk séllaluish guní′ta. Tsúi nat waíta yaínatat télhapkank kmákok
war-expedition further. Then we passed the day from a mountain overlooking to spy

Moatuáshash; tchúi nat shläá tchí′pksh; k̲úitsant tchía ktáyat.
the Pit Rivers; and we saw (them) encamped; inaccessible they stayed in rocks.

Tsúi nád pä′ktgist gákiamna, tsúi gû′lki; tsúi nā′ts shläá Móatuash,
And we at dawn surrounded, then attacked (them); and us discovered the Pit Rivers,

tsúi wetō′li lalí′shtat; k̲ok̲álam hûk pálkuish mûná tû. Hátokt gakáyapguk
and slid down the slope; of a river there (was) the dry bed deep-down. At that place entering the woods

nánχa Móatuash lí′wank i-ō′ta; tû′m shash ngä′-isha Moatokí′shash, Lank-
some Pit River men gathering shot (at us); many (them) they wounded Modoc men, Long-

Tsánash tchish slí′ksga nχak-ksaksí′na; ngä′-ish hû′k ngak-ksáksh
John also they came near wounding on head-top right there; bullet that on the head-top

ntí′kshtcha. Ná-ends tchish nû′sh shlín Móatokish. Tsúi nat lé wak ká-a:
grazed. Another too in the head was shot (a) Modoc man. And we (were) undecided very:

lí′wa hû′k tû mû′na sha lĕméwaliĕkshtat í-utíla; nánuk wéwansni hátokt
were crowded those down-below they driftwood-heap under; all women and all there

173 lí'-upka tû' mû'na. Tchúi ní tû' hátokt p'léntant tchí'wishksaksi gí; tchúi
*539 were lumped together deep below. Then I just there above their camping-place was; and

726 hátokt ní'sh a gishí': "Lä' a nat wák ka-á; lä' nat wák galdsawiá-a!" tsí sa,
there I while stayed: "Not we know what to do, not we (know) how to approach closely!" so they (said),

hátokt ní'sh gí'shí. Tsúi ní hû'tχí, tsúi láp nísh nté-isalta hû'tχipsh. Tsúi
there I while was. Thereupon I leaped down, then two men at me shot arrows as I leaped. Then

ní hû'tsna tû', tsúi ní hû'tpa híhassuaksas hátokt lí-uká-ísí hátakt tchúyunk
I ran over there, and I reached running the (Lake) men there collected there then

senótankash. Tsúi ní'sh sa läwä'-ûla hû'kuapksht k̲û'k̲alam palkuí'sham;
fighting. But me they not allowed to run across the river's dry bottom;

hátakt guní'gshtant nánka É-ukskni lé-uptcha; senótank ktáyat lí'uptsank.
that spot opposite some Lake men had gathered behind; they were fighting rocks hiding behind.

Tsúi nísh nánka: "k̲á-i gí; k̲á-i hû'tsa, shliuápka m'sh!" tsí n's sa
And to me a few: "Don't do it; don't run, they will shoot you!" so to me they

hátaktk̲. Tsúi ní: "hû'tchanuapk" tchí ní kí', "wiká an' gáldsuish sána-
there said. Then I: "I shall rush over" so I said, "closely I to approach I

hōli" tchín hátaktk "K̲á-i k̲í'lank pí'la í-ū'ta, tû'm at ngä'-isha; ū'ts
want" thus I there said. "Not in quick succession they shoot, many are wounded; never

gint, shlí'tki nûsh!" tsín at gí. A ní hō'tsnan at, tsúi nísh k̲ák̲í'ha, tsúi
mind, let them shoot me!" so I now said. Then I ran towards (them), and me they missed, and

hutapĕnō'lshi n's náyĕns Móatokní shlí'n pä'n núsh; tsúi káhaha shlí'shăm
after I had reached there running another Modoc was shot also in the head; and he ached through his wounding.

Tsúi nat léwak nä'-ulĕka, tsúi ní ná-astg: "hággi! í'sh ktíyuiakí'at!"
Then we were at a loss for arranging, and I so spoke: "look here! me lift up there ye!"

tsí' ní gi. Tsúi ní'sh sha ktíwí'χi, tsúi ní ktsí'tsā, tchúi ní gíta Moatuáshash
so I said. And me they placed on top, and I crept forward, then I there the Pit Rivers

ní télshapka wiká lí'wapksh; nánuk ní tíds shlä'popka shash. Tsúi ní
I perceived close by crowded in one body; all I perfectly well saw (of) them. And I

ktchigí'dsapĕli tû' stíldsampĕlók sas; tsúi ní: "ktíwalχat nā-éntch
crept back over yonder to report to them; and I: "post ye up another man

tchkash" tchí' ní gí. Ktchí'tpampălank shapíya sas, tchúi sa: "wák
besides" so I said. Having crept back I reported to them, and they: "how

haítch i gí?" tchi n'sh sa gí. Tchúi "ní nánukash shlä'shki" tchí' ní gí;
there is it?" so to me they said. Upon this "I all of them can see" so I said;

shapíya shash, tsúi sa ktíwí'χi na-ä'nds tchkash. Tsúi nat lā'p k̲'lĕ'ka, tsúi
I told them, and they lifted up another (man) too. Then we two were there, and

nat ktsí'ktsa, tsúi nat sas tû' shlä'popk, a ní ná-asht gí: "hágga shlä'k!"
we crept along, and we them down there perceived, and I so said: "let me shoot!"

Tsúi hû'k ná-as hátokt, tû'shtûk Móatuash lí'wa, nánuk sa hû'nk ngä'-is
And to one man there, where the Pit Rivers were gathered, all (others) to him (their) arrows

säwána, ná-adsiak hû'nk í-û'ta satslχámitk lû'paks. Tsúi tchín a ní
handed, none but he was shooting scratch-painted with chalk. And thus I now I

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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shléwal lóloksgish, tsúi ní shlín hû'nk, kát hûk yū'ta, tsúi ndéwanga; tsí
cocked (my) gun, and I shot him, the one who was shooting and he fell; thus
tánkt at nat síuga hû'nkst.
at last we killed that fellow.

At hû'ksa líwatk tû'm wáltka tánkt. Tsúi Múatokni nánχa tû'mĕnatk
Now they, crowded together, much talked then. And Modocs some understood
Móatuasam hémkanks; tsúi hû'k tû'mĕna at Móatuasam wáltoks. Hû'k
of the Pit Rivers the language; and they understood of the Pit Rivers the discourse. They
shapíya nā'tch: "átĕnen gakáyōluapka, nen sa skuyokayō'la wewáni-
notified us: "presently they will get away, they send out of the bush the fe-
shash; ná-asht nen wáltka." Tsúi gakayúluk É-ukskni shíshatχa
males; so they say." Then leaving the woods the Lake men picked out
wéwanuish, tsúi hû'k kí'nualk sa; nánχa huhashtlína kaítua shnû'kuk.
women, then went on the hill they; some quarreled none having obtained.
Tsúi núts häméχe: "shnû'kshtkan nā'sh siwák hû'nk ātí'nsh hûk lák gítk!";
And I too said: "want to get I one girl this long hair wearing!";
tsúi ní'sh sha ká-i wä'-ula. Tsúi ní ká-i sãm wä'walsh shlín, tsúi hûk
but to me they not allowed (her). Then I not they conceding shot, and she
nde-ukuä'lap'l; hû'nk n'únk shlín siwága.
rolled down (the hill); that I killed girl.

Tsúi tánkt at híhassuaks at tinkayúla, tsúi ní shlín pä'n nás hátakt,
Thereupon the (Pit River) men ran out of the bush, and I shot another (man) there,
tsúi at nánχa tiní'χi. Shtá tok sa É-ukskni hashámpka; tsúi sas gawí'na
when some went up hill. Compactly they the Lake men encircled (them); then them rejoined
hû'ksa, kák at tiní'χi tsa, ndánni híhassuaks, nā'sh gitsgánits hissuákga.
those, who just had gone up the hill, (viz:) three men, one young also boy.
Tsúyunk vû'ssa É-ukskni, tsúi hû'k Móatuash tí'nχansha; tû' atí yaínatat
Then were frightened the Lake men, as the Pit Rivers ran out of the circle; over yonder to the mountains
tûshtámpkank ä-óho-uátchna, tsúi shnûshnáta. Tchúi ní nû hû'lipĕli, tsúi
coming near they halloed while running, and built fires. Thereupon I I entered again (the cañon), and
ní hōpĕlánsa, tsúi ní hupáklĕχa láp-'a híhassuaksas. Tsúi ní'sh hû'k
I followed up (the dry creek), and I encountered two men. And at me they
lápukantka shlatámpk, tsúi nā's téwi, káhhia n's; wiggá n's hû'nk káibha,
both at a time drew the bow, and one shot, (but) missed me; by a hair-breadth me he missed,
ná-äns tsí'n shlín nepní'ni nguldshótan, nté-ish tchish nχä'wa. Tsúi
the other man then I hit, about the hand I struck (him), the bow also broke. And
gútalχa hûk ngä'-ish tókstala; tsúi ndé-ulχ. Náshtoks hukáyapk, tsúi
entered the bullet in the navel; and he fell. The other rushed into the thicket and
tí'ntpa sa É-ukskni tánkt, tsúi sa hû'nk síuga kándan hû'nk shlín. Tsúi
arrived (they) the Lake men at last, and they him killed whom I had shot. Then
hû'k nā's hukáyapk mā'ns hû'k tchakáyank í-û'ta; tsúi sa shlín tû'kni
the one who went into the woods for some time (he) sitting down was shooting; then they shot (him) from

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

173 p'lä'ntankni kínshakpkank. Tsnī'pal sa shlín; ná-äns shlín, hû'k tchaká-
the hill-top pointing gone downward. In the shoulder they shot (him); another (Lake) man he had shot, he who was sitting in the
539 yan, wä'k E-ukskī'shas.
726 woods, in the arm a Lake man.

Tsúi nat at gä'tak, a nát sukû'lkip'l' tû'shtok spuká shlī'tk É-ukskni.
After this we ceased (fighting), and we reassembled where lay a wounded Lake man.
727 Nátak hû'nk hī'shlan Móatuashash ksápok; láki ngû'mshka ngä'-ish hû'k.
758 Ourselves him we shot at each other, a Pit River man thinking (him to be); (his) forehead had fractured bullet the.
Tsúi nat wátsat shutä'la má-i skû'lhash pet; tsúi nat ksä'lapk hû'nk shlípks;
Then we upon a horse prepared a tule-mat ambulance-bed; and we lifted into (it) that wounded man;
kayúds hûk klä'kat. Tsúi nat guháshktcha shewatχû'lsī; tsúi nat gä'-ûna
not yet he had died. And we started out in the afternoon; and we slowly
géna hû'nk ngä'-isapksh ä'nok ndánna: nūs nû'sh shli'tk Móatokni
went on those wounded carrying three (men): one in the head wounded a Modoc
ngä'-ishtka, náshtoks wä'k shlī'tk hû'mtsantkak, náshtoks hû'k luluksgä'-
by an arrow, another in the arm shot in the same manner was, another one this with a
ishtka, kánda nat hû'nk wátsat shutä'lank ä'na. Tchúi nat mák'lakp'l'
gun, whom we upon a horse imbedding brought. And we camped on our return trip
hī'uhiush tχálamta.
of the marsh westward.

Tsúyuk pä'ktgish lû'pia wénga; tchúi nat mbû'sant at ksī'utakiank
Then they daylight before died; and we in the early hours now fasting
gépgapēle, láp'ni hak gátpampēle É-uksi. Nā'sh nat hátaktak kókēlam
returned, in two days from there we returned to Klamath Marsh. One we right there of slime
utû'ldsanuish wigáta gáwal híssuaks; tsû'tskam snû'lash säkülalō'nank
the dry bottom close by found a man; squirrel's a hole having covered up
kshû'sha taluálχan. Käbatχō'le sa, tchúi wétta híssuaks käbatχō'lsham;
he lay inside lying on back. Uncovered they (him), then laughed the man while they unearthed him;
tsúi sa shpī'tkal, tsúi sa spû'nshna wikáhak; tsúi sa nánka Ä'-ukskni
and they raised (him) up, and they took (him) to a short distance; then some Lake men
lûgsálshtkak, nánχa síukstkak (lä'witchta sha mû'ns lû'gsalsh), nánχa
make a slave wanted, some wanted to kill (not wanted they an adult man to enslave), a few (were)
mā'sa nát staínas hishlá-uk. Tchí nánχa gī'ank síukshtka; tchúi sa síuka,
sorrowful (of) us at heart to have shot at companions. Thus some saying wanted to kill (him); and they killed,
at kléka hûk. Wák tchíhuk pä'tch gítk! stíkshui-shitk hû'k tutī'la stákēlins-
and died he. How so (curious) he feet had! beetle-like they projected at the
ksaksī. Tsíssa hû'nk hátokt tánktē nát hû'nk tatátēnat sukō'lkip'l spû'ks-
heel. Thus they at that place when we that time we formed a crowd where the
ksaksi, tánkt sa hû'nk gáwal kíkaskánkatk.
men lay, then they that (Pit River man) found while walking about.

Tsí ni tamēnō'tka tiná tapí' a ni tchúi tánksknī ká-itata gē'nt
Thus I was out there once for the last time, I from that time never went

173 selluálshuk. Ndánnitaksni tamĕnō'tka; tiná nat k̲áyak sheuótánkatk,
fighting. Three times I was there; once we not at all were fighting,

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726 kínkák i nat lúluagsla. Tchín at nat at gä'tak ndáni támĕnotk.
few only there we enslaved. So I, when we quit (fighting), three times had been there.

NOTES.

197 19. The long and fertile valley of the Pit River, an eastern affluent of the Sacramento River, is inhabited by several tribes of Indians who speak dialects of the same language family. Of the peculiarities of these tribes, Stephen Powers has given the first comprehensive sketch in the Overland Monthly, 1874, pp. 412–416, and in Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. III, pp. 267–274. The various tribes greatly differ in their physical and mental qualities. The Pacamallies, on Hat Creek, at the lower end of the valley, were much dreaded by peaceable travellers on account of their sudden attacks from an ambush. The Indians in Big Valley are a fleshy, stout, and physically well-made people, while the Hot Spring Valley people has become deteriorated through prolonged national misfortune. Against both of these the slaving raids of the Klamaths and Modocs were mainly directed.

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727 19, 2. The raids were undertaken by the Klamaths and Modocs just before wókash-time; that is, in April and May. They had no other purpose than to make slaves of the females and children of the unwarlike, poor, and suffering Pit River Indians, and to keep them either at their homes or sell them for ponies, provisions, beads, etc., at the Dalles to the Columbia River tribes. Adult men were not enslaved, but killed outright if captured. Similar instances of suppression of weaker tribes of the West by warlike Indians who were their neighbors are those of the Kayuses on Middle Columbia River, of the Yuki between Sacramento River and the Pacific Ocean, of the Húpa on Trinity River, Cal., all of whom were, at the advent of the whites, the terror of the districts surrounding their homes.

648 19, 3. shläótak for shläóta ak; the Pit Rivers ran away at the *mere sight* of the Klamath men; k̲á-i tata siúkat, the Pit Rivers never killed any Klamath men. Both statements are exaggerations; Hill's own account and Toby Riddle's biographic notice tend to prove the contrary.

727 19, 3. nellínat, or nell'nat. When they had killed an enemy, they did not follow the custom of the Oregonians of taking the scalp. This custom is not found among any of the Central Californian tribes.

193 19, 4. hû'stchok̲-huya; by the suffix -huya, -uya, the action of the verb is shown to take place at intervals, or in a small degree. "They did only little damage by killing or massacring." Cf. sheuótank-huya, 20, 2, and -uya in the "List of Suffixes".

196 19, 4. tú'm tát sa. Change of the subjects introduced by the pronoun sha, sa, in consecutive sentences, is sometimes observed, as here and in 19, 16; 20, 3. Hill often uses sha when speaking of the Klamath Lake men, where nat, *we*, would be more appropriate.

193 19, 6. Kitchkanin nû for kitchkáni nû (or ni) nû. Pronouns and particles are repeated quite frequently.

19, 11. Wúksalks is a camping-place distant about six miles from Linkville. It was not possible for me to obtain definite information about the trail followed most generally in those raids, but Dave Hill said that from there they went due south. He

173 was born about the year 1840, and since he was a boy then, carrying only a pistol, this
*539 raid may have taken place about the year 1858. His second raid, which was under-
726 taken the year afterward, was made when he was nearly twenty years old. After this
he stayed five years in Oregon City, on the Lower Willámet River.

19, 16, and 20, 1. What is said here up to the word snawä'ds is evidently an anticipation of what follows in 20, 6. 7.

[192] 19, 16. sas tillindsa, or shash tiḷindsha: shash is apposition to wéwanuish, which stands here, as frequently, for wewanuíshash; 23, 5, we find: wewánishash.

20, 2. lápik for lápi gi: "two are, two were."

[487] 20, 9. Tiunō'leshtat. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Pit River country was estimated at three days' Indian travel; but it often took four days to reach there on horseback.

[192] 20, 10 and 11. maklaksksáksi refers to the encampment and immediate surroundings of the Indian captors, the Klamath Lake men and the Modocs, who had gone with them.

[487] 20, 13. guhuáshktcha. They seem to have returned home over the same trail which they had followed in going south. They passed between Little Klamath and Rhett Lake, which latter is also called Tule and Modoc Lake.

[193] 20, 17. tsúi gé-u, etc. This sentence has to be construed as follows: tsúi gúikaka hú'k lû'gs spunísh gé-u: "hereupon that slave, transferred by me, ran away."

21, 2 and 3. Bóshtin tpä-ók. This man was an American settler on Lost River,
[648] who, with other settlers, had previously attacked one of the Pit River tribes, in punishment for depredations committed. In the fight which took place, some whites were killed by the Pit Rivers, and this prompted the abovementioned settler to slaughter an ox for the Lake men, in order to raise their spirits for deadly revenge on the common enemy. The beef was slaughtered and eaten at his farm.

21, 5. Tsúi nat, etc. This incident was explained to me by Dave Hill, as follows: The famous Captain George was at that time war-chief both of the Klamaths and the Modocs. He had ordered Kiukamtch, the head-man of the Nushaltkága-Modocs, to join the expedition against the Pit Rivers. His refusal to go prompted Dave Hill and others to deprive him of his elk-skin cuirasses; but finally, to secure success to the expedition, the parfleshes were returned to their owners.

[193] 21, 7. Húmasht nat. A verb like gi or shúta has to be supplied.

21, 12. séllaluish, translated here by "war-expedition", still retains its verbal nature; for it is connected with two temporal *adverbs:* lupi' and húnk. More circumstantially the sentence can be rendered: "we rode far beyond the terminal point of our previous raiding campaign."

[193] 21, 18. léwak, a verb composed of two particles. Gétak and kánktak, formed almost in the same manner, are also used as verbs. Below, léwak is separated into its two components by a pronoun: lä nät wák ka-á; lä' nät wák gatdsawiá-a.

21, 19. wéwansni. The terminal -ni turns the wéwanuish into a kind of adjectival phrase. See the peculiar use made of this ending in the Dictionary and in the Grammar.

22, 8. hátaktk. The final k is the verb gi, ki, "said"; tchin hátaktk is: tchí nû hátakt gi.

[302] 22, 21. shatchlχámia is one of the various modes of painting face and body in use among the western Indians. White paint was put on in this manner (see Dictionary) only when the Indians were on the war-path. From the same verbal base is derived

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173 shatchō'lgi, to contract the half-opened hand or fingers. Compare also: shatχā'dsha, *539 shátuaχa, shátĕlakish.

726 **23, 6. gakayúluk** refers to the women, not to the Klamath men. These latter retired with the captured females to the top of a hill, to secure themselves better against further hostile attacks. shíshatχa, distributive form of shíatχa.

23, 11. tinkayúla. The Pit River men ran out of the timber to flee from further attacks, and some ran up the steep bank from the dry river-bed. While they did so, the Lake men surrounded them and completely closed the circle (shtá hashámpka). Nevertheless, some of them managed to break through the intervals; this frightened the Klamath men, and then the other Pit Rivers also escaped towards the hills.

23, 12–14. The three men and the boy who went up the hill belonged to the Pit Rivers. The Klamath Lake warriors were so surprised at their sudden return to their surrounded companions, that the Pit Rivers had an opportunity to escape during the confusion.

193 196 **24, 4. Nátak.** The sentence has to be construed: nátak híshlan hû'nk, Moatuáshash hû'nk ksápok. "None others but ourselves shot at him; though he was one of our men, we thought him to be a Pit River man".

24, 4. láki. He had been shot in the eye-bone.

24, 6. k̲lă'kat stands for k̲lii'ka at; cf. **28**, 12. gátpant for gátpna at.

24, 6. shewatχû'lal: for shewatχō'lash i, or shewatχō'lish i; the i appearing here not as a local, but as a temporal case-suffix. shewátχa, *noon*; lit.: the day divides itself in two; shewatχō'la, *afternoon*, the day has divided itself in two *a while ago*.

24, 8. luluksgī'-ish, uncommon form for lúluksgish, lóloksgish, *rifle, gun*, lit. "fire-maker".

24, 17. síukshtka stands for the full form síukshtka gi.

24, 18. tutī'la. By inadvertence the distributive form is used here instead of the absolute form tuíla, for the Pit River man spoken of had an abnormal fleshy excrescence on *one* foot only.

25, 1. shéllualshuk: he means fighting with the Pit River Indians.

25, 1. ndánnitaksni, incomplete grammatic form for ndannitánkshni.

25, 2. kinka-ak i, only a few; meaning females of the Pit River tribes.

É-UKSNI SÉLLUAL SÁTAS.

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HOW THE LAKE MEN FOUGHT THE SNAKE INDIANS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

LUPÍ SÉLLUAL. THE FIRST FIGHT.

Sā′t gátpa tiná tû É-uksî; K̲ók̲etat slää́ wéwanuish E-ukskí′sas
Snake Indians went once over to Klamath Marsh; on Williamson River they saw females of the Lake tribe
vû′nshatk gépkapsh. Tchúi sákatlank gépka wewanuíshash mák̲′lakuapkst;
in canoes approaching. Then going along the trail they came up (waiting till) the women had gone to their camp;
tsúi mák̲′lĕka wéwanuish, tsúi hátakt gátpa Sā′t, tsúi ngä′-isa wéwaläks
then went to camp the women, and near (them) came the Snakes, and wounded the old women
pí′la. Tánkt Ä′-ukskni, húktoks híssuaks gépka, k̲′lewidshápka lúela gíug
only. That time the Lake tribe, (when) these (hostile) men arrived, had gone away for killing
kiä′m.
fish.

Tsúi at hushtsóχ hû′nk wewalä′ksas Sā′t, tchúi gämpĕle; tánktak
And massacred those aged females the Snake men, then returned; pretty soon
tchúi Ä′-ukskni híhassuaks gasáktsna. Tsúi mák̲′lĕχ hûk Sā′t lak̲í Nχítsá-
after this the Lake the men pursued. And encamped that Snake chief Dried-
Tsû′ks (nā′sht hû′k sésatk Sā′t lak̲í kilû′s); tsúi É-ukskni slää́ mák̲′lĕχapks.
Leg (so he was called Snake (the) chief-bern); then the Lake men espied him to be encamped.
Tsúi gû′lgí sha, tsúi tí′usna Sā′t, tsúi síuka hû′nk Nχítsá-Tsû′ksas Sā′tas
Then charged they, and ran away the Snakes, and they killed him Dried-Leg the Snake
lák̲ias. Tchúi nánka Sā′t gämpĕle, nánχatoks hû′shtchōk.
leader. Upon this some Snake men went home, but others were killed.

Tchí séllual títná Shā′tash. Kpudsámpĕli sha hû′nk Sā′tas, tchúi
Thus they fought one time the Snakes. Drove back they those Snakes, and
k̲á-itata gátpant Shā′t; at vushá E-ukskí′shash.
never again came the Snakes; (for) they feared the Lake tribe.

LÛ′LDATKÍSH BÓSHTINASH TÛ′LA SHENÓTANKA SHÁTASH.

DAVE HILL FIGHTS THE SNAKE INDIANS ON THE SIDE OF THE AMERICANS.

Shiúlka nā′lsh ká-ag Mr. Huntington; Sá-atas í′tpa Moadokí′sh tchish
Collected us long ago Mr. Huntington; the Snakes he brought, the Modocs also,
nā′lsh tchí′sh í′tpa gí′ta, tchúi tchiá nat nā′dsag. Tchúi tí′na illólolatk
us likewise he brought here, then lived we in one spot. Then one year-elapsed

173 Shā't gúikak. Hû'k lápi laláki: Sā't ná-as Tchatchåktchaksh ná-asht
the Snakes went away There (were) two chiefs: Snake man one Tchatchåktchaksh so

*539 sésatk, nā'sh tchĭg: Panaína tchĭ' sésatk. Tchúi sō'ldshas shawíga, tsúi
named, one (man) besides: Panaina so named. Upon this the military was aroused, and

648 géna; tû' Spá-ish Valley gátpa shō'lsash hû'k, tsúi sakemáwank hátokt
set out; far off to Surprise Valley marched the soldiers, and rendez-vousing there

726 mû'lua: lā'p mépoks géna shū'ldshash; nā'sh Lieutenant Oatman ná-asht
got ready: two companies went (of) soldiers: one Lieut. Oatman thus

shéshatk laki shū'ldshash, nā'sh tchík Lieutenant Small ná-asht shéshatk
named (was) chief of soldiers, one besides Lieut. Small thus named (was)

laki shû'ldshash. Tû' nat tálaaks yámtītal géna.
chief of soldiers. (From) there we straight northwards proceeded.

Tsúi nat é-ushtat géluandsa, tsúi náts shlä'pka Shā't; kī'lilks shläá;
Then we a lake went around, and us noticed the Snakes; the dust they perceived;

tchúi yaínatal kakólakpka, nánχa é-ushtat gä'-upkapk (Warner Lake, tchí
then Warner Ridge we climbed, some through the lake waded (Warner Lake, so

hûk nā'sh hû'k sésatk é-us). Tchúi Camp Warner mák'lěk tiná nat waíta;
that one named (was) lake). Then at Camp Warner camped one we day and night;

tsúi nat guháshktcha tálaat tχalamtī'tal. Tchúi nat telō'lī "Tchéwam
then we started out directly towards west. And we looked down "Antelope's

Stû'" tchíhuk sésatk käfla; tsúi nat lápi gulī'ndsa (skuyû'i natch hû'k
Trail", so this named (is) locality; then two of us went down (into it) (detached us the (two)

laláki), tsúi shnä'-uldsha nat. Tchúi nat tälō'li; gälō'la nat k'makuápkuk
commanders), and galloped off we. And we scouted; dismounted we to reconnoitre

Sátas máklaksaa, tsúi nat wawápk k'makká nat, tsúi mā'ntsag gī'tk lā'pi
the Snake Indians, and we sat down (and) spied we, then shortly afterwards two

Sā't tû'kni gepgápēle: kokagtálkni gépgap'l'. Tsúi tilō'dshipk nat, tsúi
Snake men from a distance returned: over a rivulet they came back. And saw them coming we, then

tálaak gutī'lapkap'lī nats; tsúi nat wál'hha kawaliä'kuapk sä'-ug. Tchúi
towards (us) they descended while rounding a hill us; and we watched (them) they would ascend believing. But

ká-i gawaliä'ga, hī'tok tû' gátpampēle tchī'-ishtat m'na; nat mā'nts-gī'tk
not they came up, but from there away they returned to camp theirs; we after a while

gä'lapgapēle shtilshampēli-uápkuk. Tsúi nat gä'mpēli, tsúi nā'ts gayá-itsampk shū'ldshash huk, lúpiak nats gälχalgí'pka.
rode back to report again. When we came back, (in front) of us had advanced the military, before we had fully descended from the hill.

Tsúi tû'-hak náts a gépksi at shlä'pka, tsúi tássuīpk, tsúi ktaítal
Then a long way behind (the soldiers) when we came down they saw (the Snakes), and charged (them), and to the rocks

tī'nshampk Sá-at hûk. Sänótanksi nat sash gátpa, tsúi tû' shlíkshgan's
scampered off the Snakes. At the moment of fighting we them (the soldiers) reached, and nearly shot me

a Sā't. Tû'taks hûk shō'ldshash nánuk ga-ólěka kpū'lχuk Sā'tas; li-mī'l-
the Snakes. Far up the soldiers all climbed up to dislodge the Snakes; the packer

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män pí'la yána shláka wátch hû'nk. Tsúi sa senótank; wátch nā'sh hátakt
of army baggage close below guarded horses (theirs). Now they fought; horse a single over there
tkálamna, tsúi nā'sh É-ukskni shnuktsástkak hû'nk wátch. Tsúi ni
stood on a hill, when one Lake man started to catch that horse. And I
3 lewé-ula: "shli-uapkám'sh sha, liukáyank a í-û'ta!" tchín gî; "huíya!"
tried to dissuade (him): "will shoot you they, lying in ambush they are firing!" so I said; "don't go!"
nā'st ni hémkank: "huíya!" Tsúi géna k̲í'llikankank, tsúi Sā't hûk téwi
so I spoke: "don't go!" And he went speeding off, and the Snakes at him fired
gatpánkshkshi hû'nk wáts. Tsúi k̲üdsûksaksína lä'k̲shktsa gä'-ish hû'k.
when he had almost reached the horse And right on the chin took (his) skin off bullet that.
6 Tsúi nat k̲á-i hû'nk snû'kat wátch húnk; tsúi hûk Sā't tí'nsna kát hû'k
And we not caught horse that; and the Snakes ran away who him
shlí'kshga. Tsúi nat kpû'laktsa tû' atí ga-û'lχa; nánuk hûk Sā't gáktsui
had almost shot. Then we pursued (them and) high up (in the hills) we ascended; all the Snakes went into
wali'shtat, kû'mets hátakt guli' tû'mi híhassuaks. Tsúi hátokt gi'ank
the rock-cliffs, the caves also there entered many men. And in there staying
9 sawí'ka hûk Sā't, suashuála sa hû'nk ktá-i, tsúi vû'ssa shū'ldshash. At
became angry the Snakes, (and) piled up they rocks, and became afraid the troops. Then
yána tí'lχa sháppāsh, tsúi nat gémpēle.
downwards inclined the sun, and we returned (to camp).

Káyaktsna shúldshash wéwanuish; u-í'tsna sha, tsúi nû shläá
Pursued the soldiers women; they marched in front file, then I perceived
12 hissuákshas ktáyat tsutí'la. Mû'ni k̲ä'lo hátakt túya; húnkant tsíg
a man the rocks underneath. A tall juniper-tree there stood below; against it then
ts'hálamnank láyipk lû'luksgishtka. Tsúi ndé-ulχan shlä-ánk hû'nkt layí-
sitting close he pointed (at me) with his gun. And I let me fall seeing him point-
pakst, tsúi ni sí'ktsaslan wiká; tsúi ni shli'wal nánuyank tχä'lχa; tchúi
ing. and I crawled aside a little; and I cocked making ready (and) stood up; and
15 ní'sh lés'ma gē'tal tā'ds, láyipk tû'shtal lupí' shlä-ō'lan's. Tsúi ni shlí'n;
me he did not see at that spot, he pointed where at first he had seen me. Then I fired;
pató n shlí'n, tsŭi ndéwankā; tsúi ni hō'tχe, tsúi ni pä'n shlín nû'sh
in the cheek I hit (him), and he fell then I sprang towards (him), and I again shot (him) in the head
sikĕní'tkstka. Tsúi sō'ldshash tí'ntpa, tsúi nelí'na nû, tsúi kúiχan Sā'tas
with a pistol. Then the soldiers arrived, and scalped (him). I and recognized I Snake man
18 hú'nk, kándan hû'nk shí'uga. Gitákni hû'k P'laíkni; E-ukskíshash
that, whom I had killed. Hailing he from Sprague River; to a Klamath Lake (woman)
mbushéaltk; ná-asht hû'k shésatk Lápa-K̲íu-gí'tk; tchíbuk shésatk. At
he was married; so he (was) called Two-Rumps-having; thus he (was) named. Now
nat nelí'nulank at gémpēle mak̲'láktsûk, at tí'nnäga. Tsúi nat mák̲'lĕχ;
we having done scalping (him) returned for encamping, and (the sun) was setting. Then we camped;
21 k̲ók̲ag hátakt tú'nsna, saígataks hátokt kí; hû'nkant tchí'k hû'k k̲ok̲ág
a brook there was running by, a prairie right there was; through it then that stream

173 tû'nsχantsa yáshaltk. Tchúi kissä'mi shû'dsha Sā't; tû' wali'sh î-utíla
*539 was running studded with willows. Then at nightfall made a fire the Snakes; there the cliffs below
648 tû'shtuk kû'mme. Mû' ská tánkt slä'wi; tsúi psín gátpa Sā't î-úta.
726 there (was) a cave. Very cold that time (the wind) blew; and in the night came the Snakes (and) fired.
Tsúi shúldshash vû'ssa. tsúi nat mû'lua, a nat guhuáshktsa, psínak
And the soldiers took fright, and we got ready, and we marched, the same night
mû'atan nat géna; nishtá nat géna. Tû' nat yaínatat pä'ktgî, tsû'i nat
southwards we went; the whole night we marched. Far away we on the mountains were at dawn, then we
ni'lka.
stopped there in the early hours.

Lû'luagslash tánkt lápksapt wéwanuish; äná nat hû'nk, tsúi nat pän
They enslaved that time seven women; brought we those, then we again
mák'lëχ Nä'wapksh yámakstan gä'dsa tχálamna. Tsúi kokág hátakt
encamped from Goose Lake north side of a little to the west. And a brook there
tû'nsna; tsúi psin gátpa Sā't, tsúi ká-i nat káktant; ni'shta nat ká-i
is running; and at night came the Snakes, and not we slept; all night we not
káktant. Tsúi mbúsant pän gátpa Sā't; yaína-ag kúita nats hûk tû'pka,
slept. And next morning again came the Snakes; a hillock back of us stood,
tsúi hátakt li'wal Sā't, tsúi kakî'hha shō'ldshash; atí hû'nk kakî'hha.
and there gathered the Snakes, and missed (them) the soldiers; by a long way them they missed.
Tsúi nat watsátka täluak-húya; tsúi gáya-a nā'ts hû'k Sā't. Mbúsant
Then we on horseback rode after them; and were hiding before us the Snakes. In the morning
nat gépgap'lî; at gä'tak Sátas slää, tsúi nat gátpampēle. Tsúi shû'ldshash
we returned; no longer any Snakes found we, and we went back home. And the military
hû'k shäwána wewán'sh nā'ls hû'nk, Sā'tas wáts tchish lā'p. A nat gatpámpēle gí'ta E-ukák; hû'ktoks Lieutenant Small tû' shîpî'tk Nä'wapksh
gave women to us those, of the Snake tribe horses also two. Then we returned here to Fort Klamath; but he Lieut. Small over there separated Goose Lake
guní'gstant gémpaluk Spá-ish Valleytála. Lā'p Sátas wéwanuish ä'na.
opposite for returning to Surprise Valley. Two Snake females he took with him.

NOTES.

28. The various bands of Snake Indians inhabiting Oregon east of the Cascade Mountains are gaining their sustenance chiefly by the chase. This accounts for their constant wanderings and ubiquitous presence sometimes at Camp Harney, or the Owyhee and Snake River, at other times near Warner Lake, or the Klamath Marsh.

The date of this raid could not be determined; it may have preceded the fight related below by ten or twenty years.

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28, 1. É-uksi, "to Klamath Marsh"; on Williamson River (Kóke), which forms the outlet of the Marsh, the Snakes saw women of the Lake tribe crossing or passing down the river in their dug-out canoes, which they use for gathering wókash (the seed of the pond-lily) on the Marsh.

173 28, 2. gépkapsh, formed by syllabic elision from gepkápkash; cf. 29, 19.

*539 28, 2. sákatla, to come up, to arrive by the trail.

726 28, 3 and 4. wéwalüks pi'la, the old women only; the younger ones, on whom prin-
648 cipally devolves the work of wókash-gathering, found time to escape in their canoes
[193] from the raiders.

[192] 28, 4. k̲'lewidshápka. The men had gone fishing to distant places, leaving their
[222] females in the camp, not apprehensive of any hostile attack.

[192] 28, 8. kilō'́s, or k̲ilû's, is the epithet given to "Dry-Leg", the Snake chief; it means a bold fighter, leader of a fighting band; literally: "irate, wrathful", and may be here taken as an equivalent to "war-chief" (sessalólish lak̲í).

[193] 28, 13. Moádoki'sh, apocopated for Moadokíshash; also 28, 1: wéwannish (wé-
[192] wan'sh) for wewannishash (shläá gépkapsh). Nā'lsh tchi'sh, *us* also; that is, we of the
[657] Klamath Lake tribe, were gathered by Mr. Perit Huntington into one district, the newly
established Klamath Reservation. A large number of the Lake People were then scattered about Klamath Marsh, which is visited by them now in summer only for fishing, gathering wókash and berries, and for hunting.

[657] 28, 14. Dave Hill, now interpreter (lúldatkish) at the Klamath Lake Agency, took
[175] a part in this short but interesting expedition, in the capacity of an Indian scout. He
fixes himself the date of it by the words "tína illolólatko", or a *full* year after the Indians had been gathered on the Reservation by Mr. Perit Huntington. The treaty was concluded on October 14, 1864, and the campaign was undertaken in 1866 by a small body of American troops for the purpose of bringing back to the Reservation a band of Snake Indians who had run away from it. This unruly tribe, jealous of its former independence, has left the Reservation even since then, and could only after much exertion be induced to return. The fights took place west of Warner Lake, and north of the border-line between California and Nevada, within the former haunts of these western Shoshonis.

[175] The Report of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867, page 99 sq., mentions this expedition in the following laconic terms: "October 27, 1866, troops consisting of 21 men, First Oregon infantry, and five Indian Klamath scouts, under Lieutenant Oatman, and 27 men, First Oregon cavalry, under Lieutenant Small, had a fight with a band of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [should read: Abert], in the Klamath country, Southern Oregon. The Indians had so chosen their position that the troops were obliged to dismount to attack them. The fight lasted one and a half hour, and 14 Indians were killed and many wounded."

On page 100 of the same Report, another fight against Snake Indians is spoken of: "Late in November, 1866, in a conflict between the troops and Snake Indians near Fort Klamath, 10 Snake Indians were killed by the troops, and three more by the friendly Klamath and Moadocs who accompanied them." This may have been the same fight as the one above, reported with much less accuracy of detail.

[103] 29, 3. Spá-ish Valley, name corrupted from Surprise Valley. This valley is situated in the northeastern angle of California, and on the shore of its two alkali lakes several American settlements have sprung up. A few Snake Indians live peaceably around Fort Bidwell, which is located at the northern extremity of the valley.

29, 10. tálaat t̲zalamti'tal, consonantic assimilation for tálaak t̲zalamti'tal, due west.

[192] 29, 17 and 19. nā'ts, natch, for nā'ls, nā'lsh, nā'lash, *us*; náts a gépksi, for nā'lash a gépkash f.

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29, 17 and 18. gayá-itsampk. The advance of the troops was ordered in consequence of Hill's report that Snake Indians had been seen by him and his fellow-scout.

[192] **29, 19. tû′=hak;** hak means: on this side of something or somebody, referring to an object located between the speaker and something more distant.

29, 19 and 20. shlä′pka (for shlä′apka) and tássuipk (for tássui-ápk) "they saw and attacked them in Hill's absence"; tínshampk "they scampered off unseen by Hill". If [193] [196] the simplex verbal forms shlä′a, tássui (or táshui), tínshna were used, they would imply that Hill then saw the Snake Indians himself, that he was among the troops charging them, and that he had seen them *in person* scampering off.

30, 3. lewé-ula really means: not to permit, not to allow, to forbid.

[192] **30, 3. tchín gi,** short for tchí ni gi: "so I said."

30, 5. Instead of **gatpánkshkshi** could also stand in the text: **gatpannápkshi**; the final -i being used in a temporal sense in both terms.

[193] **30, 8. kû′meta,** contr. from kû′mme tchish, or from kû′metat tchish.

30, 9. snashuála, etc. They piled up rocks to serve them as barricades to shoot from behind.

[192] **30, 11. u-l′tsna,** distributive form of ó-itchna; see Dictionary.

31, 7. Nä′wapksh, etc. Transcribed into the fuller and more explicit grammatic [193] [196] forms, this phrase would read: Nä′wapkash yamakíshtana kétcha tχálamna, "to the northwest of Goose Lake." For Nä′wapksh, Né-uapksh, see Dictionary.

31, 13. This campaign terminated in a decided victory over the runaway Snake warriors, but failed to accomplish its real purpose of bringing them back to the Reserve. Nevertheless, these Indians had been severely chastised by losing quite a number of men killed and wounded, and seven women of their tribe captured by the military.

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Mō′DOKNI MÁK̲LAKS SHÉLLUAL.

THE MODOC WAR.

OBTAINED FROM THE RIDDLE FAMILY IN THE MODOC DIALECT.

Shálam	1869	A. B.	Meacham	shuashuláliampkish	nánuk	mák̲lăkshash
In the autumn	of 1869	A. B.	Meacham	the superintendent	over all	Indians

shualaliámpka	Tχálamtala;	Mōdokí′shăsh	hushtánka	ne-ulákshgishi	K̲ók̲e-
kept watch	in Oregon;	the Modocs	he met	at the council-ground	on Lost

tat	wigátan	tchussní′nish	slánkosh;	nûsh	snawédshăsh	gé-u	túla	shátēla
River	near	the Natural	Bridge;	me	wife	mine	together	he hired

lutatkátki.
to be interpreters.

At	nā	nánuk	ne-ulakgishχē′ni	gátpa;	nánuk	mák̲laksh	wawápka,
Then	we	all	to council-ground	went;	the whole	tribe	was sitting there,

vûní′pni	hundred	pēn	ndā′ni	tá-unep	pēn	vúnip	pé-ula	hihashuátchχăsh,
four	hundred	besides	three	tens	besides	four		men,

III.

*539 773 K'múkamtch hû'nk nákosh hû'nk táplalash né-ulχa shno-uyalátki
K'múkamtch a dam the loon ordered to destroy

shash. K'múkamtch hû'nk pî tpä'wa táplalash shnewî'tki gíug, pî k̲á-i
to them. K'múkamtch he ordered the loon to destroy (it), (but) no

tuá kiä'm lúeluak. Hû'ksha hû'nk nakushkshákshni k̲ú-idsha kiä'm
fish to kill. Those who dwelt at the dam rotten fish

nutuyakía nákosh gä'tant, K'mukámtchish shíuguk, k̲ú-idsha kiä'm pátki
threw over the dam to the other side of, (for) K'múkamtch to kill, rotten fish (he) go-

gíug. Tchúi K'múkamtch sháwiguk k̲ú-i sham nákûsh shû'ta; tchúi
ing to eat. Then K'múkamtch in wrath their dam spoiled; upon this

nákushχēnkni shlámiuk shtí'ya shishí'dsha shû'ktaldshank lák. Tchúi
the dam-neighbors in mourning pitch put on head, cutting off (their) hair. Then

*539 773 K̲á-ag wétanta shash, ktá-i sha k̲'léka. Tchúyunk K'mukámtch lúpaksh
the Raven laughed at them, rocks they became. Hereupon K'múkamtch chalk

192 shna-ulámna taplálash.
spit over the loon.

NOTES.

823 I. This myth intends to explain the existence of the large number of rocks found at the locality called Shúyuχalkshi.

196 193 131, 2. K̲á-ak̲amtch. The adjectives -amtch, -ámtchiksh appended to animal names designate mythologic characters. Adjectives of an equal meaning occur in all the western languages, as far as these have been studied. Cf. *Note* to 126, 11. 12.

825 II. In this myth, as well as in other grizzly bear stories recorded in this volume, this bear is always killed, conquered or cheated by his quicker and more cunning adversaries. Nevertheless his clumsy form and narrow, ferocious intellect are very popular among the tribes, who have invented and still invent numerous stories to illustrate his habits and disposition.

103 131, 5. K̲íuti is the name of an Indian camping-place situated a short distance north of Modoc Point, on eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake.

193 131, 6. hátkok qualifies shkû'lχa and yámnash is the indirect object of shûlû'tamantk. Shkû'lχa, nánuk yámnash shûlû'tamantko, wawakshnátko tchish: "he lay down to sleep, keeping all his neckwear on himself, and not taking off his moccasins." Shûlû'tamna can in other connections refer to the clothing, but here it has special reference to the beads.

131, 11. kti'ukuela. Tradition reports, that Old Grizzly was pushed over some of the high rocks at Modoc Point.

173 131, 13. Yámakishash etc. In these words may be recorded the reminiscence of an ancient fight between the Klamath people and some Northern tribe which had come South on a hunting expedition. A Klamath song-line given in this volume also recalls
*539 an ancient inroad made by the "Northerners". The grizzly bear represented the
773 Klamath tribe, the wolf the Northern Oregonians, perhaps as ancient totem signs; the
825 bear having been killed by an intruder, the Klamaths had to take revenge for the insult.

823 III. The object of this myth is to explain, among other things, the origin of the white spots on the head and back of the loon (táplal). But the myth as given in the

6

27. Some Historical Incidents

(Mrs. Aggie Butler)

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(1) Now I will tell, something, a little to you [pl.]. (2) We Indians lived in the distant past, and we lived correctly [lit. "well"], not doing anything [bad]. (3) And there were many of us Klamath Indians living everywhere, all along the shores of the Lake.

(4) And once the white men attacked us old ladies gathering wokas. (5) And they almost killed there, shot some. (6) And he was among them—(Proper name)—he, [of] whom the white people are so very proud. (7) He was there with them. (8) And [he?] shot one of the women, in the face, and it showed.

(9) And some did not hide from them, and they left them alone in their winter-houses, living. (10) And the Indians, those Klamath men, were away hunting for some time, and on their returning [the women] told them. (11) And the women [told] them what the white people had done to them, and they almost tracked them, but they did not do anything again, to that white man.

(12) And then the Warmsprings people always used to quarrel with them, and having come, they made slaves, of the Klamaths. (13) And the Klamaths having tracked them, killed some, having taken the women back. (14) So thus the people of the old days always fought wars here. (15) And they [did] the very same way to the Pit River Indians, having gone, the Klamaths, and they enslaved their children too. (16) They raised them, however. (17) And some never went away from them, [for] they loved some of them. (18) They did the same thing to the Paiutes. (19) And they made slaves of the Paiutes also, and they grew up right there, so they live there today, those Paiutes who used to be slaves there.

[726]
[567]

(20) And the white people did evil to the Indians, and once that one called (Proper name), to the Rogue River Indians. (21) And that white man wanted all of them to dig, on his land. (22) And having dug something, then he killed some of them there, and threw them down into that ditch. (23) And he covered them [with] earth, the children too. (24) And one who escaped told of it. (25) And because of being thus at that time, when the Modocs made war [i.e., the Modoc War], then one of the chiefs spoke thus, "Let them not do it to us, as that (Proper name) [did] to the Pit River Indians awhile ago! (26) Perhaps they want to do the same to us. (27) They want to 'speak' to us Modocs in the same fashion,"

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 141]

that Modoc said once. (28) They never forgot it, [their] doing thus, 539*
[their] killing the Indians wrongfully [lit. "badly"]. 173●

(29) And I have only related little bits of it. (30) But I know a great 648
deal, but I am not telling all of it, however. (31)—How the Indians used
to fight amongst themselves, always they fought even among themselves. [721]
(32) Even among themselves they enslaved someone's child, and sold it. [567]
(33) That much is all I will tell. (34) I have nothing else to tell.

Introductory Note to Text 28

This text is a continuation of the foregoing by Mrs. Butler's sister. 124
Both are part of a recorded conversation about Klamath history in general, 128 and no particular attempt was made to formalize the texts into "stories." When Mrs. Butler had finished her historical narrative above, the topic turned to the Modoc War, and Miss Skellock began to discuss their father's role in that conflict. Rightfully, this text should include the remarks in English which led up to the Klamath portion, and also an explanation and continuation in English which follows it. Limitations of space require that these English parts be edited and abbreviated, however.

Introductory Remarks in English

"Our father was a scout in the Modoc War. He was with the white 539*
soldiers and went to those Lava Beds where the Modocs were." 726

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28. Recollection of the Modoc War

(Miss Irene Skellock)

(1) My father went there, to the battleground. (2) And he was with the white men. (3) And he was a soldier—ah—a "scout." (4) And they were falling on both sides of him, soldiers. (5) And if they shot one, the soldier behind him marched up to the front. (6) However, they never shot him. (7) And he, however, was afraid of seeing (?) those Modoc Indians only. (8) So he lived in fear, thus they said, and some of those Klamath Indians who went with him, they also were afraid. (9) And that's all I'm going to tell [in Klamath].

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 143]

Concluding Remarks in English

"He said that whenever someone was killed in front of them they had to jump into their place. Oh, he said he sure was scared! He was with those white soldiers fighting the Modocs in the Lava Beds." 539* 726 648 173

Mrs. Butler adds: "He told how they had to go to the war, because they (the white people) told them that they'd take all the Klamath Indians away, if they didn't go. All those who went were related, since they didn't want them to take anybody away. Others, some of them, refused and took their canoes across to Pelican Bay. Some did not want to get into the war. One man, a good shot, said, 'I'm not going. I'm going to die! They can kill me right here. I don't want to go.' But they never took him."

29. Menstruation Practices

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

539* 841

(1) When a woman has her menstrual period, she does not come to eat because of menstruation. (2) [She] does not eat with us. (3) [She] does not bathe, does not get wet. (4) [She] will not get chilled. (5) [She] does not feel well, and does not put her hand in water.

30. The Second Coming

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

539* 776 787

(1) According to God's promise [lit. "rule"]. (2) All the earth will burn up. (3) And at that time God will return again.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]

autobiographical incidents. The end of the tape arrived just as Mrs. Cowan was beginning to feel tired, and the conversation came to an abrupt end. 124

The tape has been considerably edited to remove false starts, English portions, fragmentary or unintelligible sections, and other such "noise." The author's questions were originally asked in broken Klamath, and this has been put into English in order not to give rise to mistaken statements about the language. As was done above, personal names have been omitted out of respect for the individuals involved. Utterances by different Klamath speakers are indicated by their initials, viz., AC, PO, and RC, and the author's utterances are marked by PB. 124 128

38. A Conversation (among several)

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[824]

(1) PO: Yes, little Coyote, on whom [Gmoḱaṁč] stuck those things—that we call cattails, which was the reason, his fur is bad.

PB: Do you know any myths?

(2) PO: Could you tell a myth to me? (3) I wonder if you would tell a myth?

(4) AC: I don't know how. I don't know how to tell myths.

(5) PO: Do you remember when the white men first came? (6) Do you remember that?

(7) AC: The girls [i.e., nurses] asked me there in the "hospital" thus, "How long have you lived, how long?" (8) So I said, "There were no white people here at all, when I travelled around here." [173]

(9) PO: How big were you, when the white men came? (10) How big were you, when the white men came—when you recall the white men coming for the first time. (11) How big?

(12) AC: Yes, I was big [i.e., "grown up"], big. (13) I know a lot. (14) I was big when they fought the war [i.e., the Modoc War], over there, across there. (15) I being big, I know a lot. (16) But there were no white people anywhere around here, there were none—thus I told those white people [i.e., the nurses]. (17) There were none. (18) Only we Indians were many around here, Klamath Falls people. (19) Many Indians' land this was, [I?] said. (20) "ʔo···," they said, "Yes..." (21) So I have lived so long, I said. (22) "You have lived a very long time," they said, "It was long ago, when there were no white people, long ago," they said to me, the girls there, from the "hospital."

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 159]

(23) PO: Would you tell something good, do thus (?) [at our] asking? 539*
(24) That's what he wants, this one, and he asked me thus, a little while 124
ago, "Why are there so many house-pits, on the Marsh? (25) Did they 173 •
live there at that time, even in the winter?" (26) And I said, "I do not
know." (27) Did they live there on the Marsh in the wintertime? [361]

(28) AC: Yes, all. (29) They lived everywhere. (30) Many there on the Marsh too, many lived all around it. (31) They lived [there] every day, even in winter. (32) And these Indians lived around here, many, the same way these [people lived] also up above, all the length of the river. (33) These living places were over there, those house-pits. [342]
(34) Thus (Proper name) said to me long ago, "What did this used to be?"
(35) So I said, "Our grandfathers used to live there, that—at that Ḉome·kai.
(36) The house-pit was on this side long ago, that of my Grandfather (father's father)." (37) Thus that (Proper name) told me. (38) It was there. (39) And they called [them] "ʔiwli·wakni·" that house-pit lies there, he told me. (40) And in that same way those (Proper name) are our grandfathers, as I told [her, i.e., the questioner mentioned above in Sentence (34)]. (41) So [she] said, "Yes, was it thus? (42) No one told me," [she] said. (43) "Yes, these were living places all around here, [103]
this, this was Q̇ačẃe·č, this mountain—the mountain was called Q̇ačwe·č."

(44) PO: What is that Q̇ačwe·č?

(45) It is something from the old times—some myth. (46) All of the mountains were named some way. (47) Thus said (Another proper name) long ago, "What is that ČniWi·ls? (48) ČniWi·ĺs, what is it?" (49) We do not know. (50) We did not name the mountains. (51) Thus mountains were named thus around. (52) Perhaps when God made this, He named the mountains, thus. (53) I asked many, old persons, and they did not know it. (54) Truly they did not know it, [and] I also do not know.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 161]

(83) And did anybody tell this one the myth from over there, that is a good myth. (84) It is [about] Crater Lake. 539* 124

(85) PO: Probably no one. (86) I do not know it.

(87) AC: Yes, it is a very good myth [about] over there. (88) They told me something thus, that it was a very, very good myth. (89) However, [I] don't know it, because these [meaning her wits] are gone, being old. (Interruption.)

(90) AC: Thus he asked me, how they lived long ago.

(91) PO: Could you tell it?

(92) AC: Now he has stopped it [i.e., the machine].

(93) PO: Now he has done something—started it up again. (94) Now you can begin to tell, if you wish, anything at all. (95) Whatever you remember, tell that. (96) Now I have told it to you, and he will put it on there [i.e., on the tape]. (97) Now it is—something?—going—now it is revolving.

(98) AC: People were good, we Indians a long time ago. (99) We were good people. (100) And I have told my—we were good people long ago. (101) We took even a little bit of food [i.e., all we had] for [someone]. (102) And, even though there was no food here, then we took for [somebody], something. (103) And it was this. (104) And doing it thus it is called "They even divide up a flea." (105) Thus was the Indians' way. (106) Thus they used to call it. (108) To someone, even a little bit of food they took there. (109) Yes, for another, and they gave some food, even [though it was] from a small amount, even if there was no food, just being very sympathetic at that time. (110) Living with a great struggle [lit. "having become very tired"], they got food. (111) Yes, even old ladies like these went off to dig roots. (112) They slung [a basket] of this kind on their shoulders, and even the weak, now they knew that there would be nothing to eat in the winter. (113) And because of that, they buried some food. 539* 124 173* [431] [222] [251]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 165]

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one] was ever angry?" (150) And he was never one who got angry. (151) He was good. (152) I told this one. (153) They were there at Q̓oWasdi, (Proper name¹), and (Proper name²), and—who—(Proper name³). (154) They were talking. (155) Someone else perhaps was talking too, whom they called "č̓opbaqs." (156) And they were laughing. (157) So I eavesdropped on them—I am an eavesdropper, as I told this one. (158) And he said to them, whether they had ever seen (Proper name³), being angry, or perhaps in a bad mood, or perhaps annoyed. (159) No, no [one] had ever seen [him thus]. (160) Then (Proper name¹) said, "But I have seen him angry once." (161) "ʔa···, when?" said that (Proper name³). (162) Then (Proper name¹) said, "When you were jerking at your horse's bridle!" (163) Then they roared with laughter. (164) Thus I told this one. (165) And I told June also, who always used to come and see you awhile back. (166) She is singing there, at Sheridan. (167) There where they call it thus, there where the Indians from all over are gathering. (168) She will sing there on Sunday, in the evening. (169) She must have arrived, there. (170) And she will sing dressed in a skin [dress], June. (171) She is my—my elder sister's daughter, who always comes to see you.

(172) AC: Yes, niece. (173) She is my [relation] on both sides. (174) I, her grandmother, to me—she considered me her little sister. (175) Yes, she called me her little sister, her grandmother. (176) So my picture of her which I was keeping, of the old lady, it is gone, someone has stolen it from me. (177) It is gone. (178) [I] thought to give it back [and] looked for it long ago. (179) I looked for it, but it was missing.

(The machine was temporarily turned off at this point.)

(180) AC: Moss [sp. *Evernia vulpina*].

(181) PO: (I never could think of that!) How was that black one called?

(182) AC: Moss [another species]. (183) They "ate" it, ate. (184) Having "roasted" it, having "roasted" it, they ate. (185) That black moss too, they ate it.

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

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(186) PO: I saw Little Fire [woman's name] eating it long ago—moss.

PB: What do they call a fern?

(187) PO: How is a "fern" called? (188) That which they mix in with flowers, it grows like flowers, but has no flowers. (189) "Fern," that which the white people call "fern." (190) I can't show you any.

(191) RC: That which they always used to get there on Smith River. (192) That which is something—only foliage.

(193) PO: Which are large, it grows very long.

(194) AC: "čya·wisam," perhaps?

(195) PO: How?

(196) AC: It is "čya·wisam." (197) Yes, [they] eat its leaves like wokas, which are red, those leaves.

(198) PO: No.

(199) RC: Which are long ones.

(200) PO: The like of which we put on top [of a grave]—mixed in with flowers. (201) They are only those long, long leaves. (202) Perhaps having gotten some somewhere, we can show you, sometime.

(203) RC: Before [going] there to the graveyard, people used to get flowers, and then they mixed in that sort, which are long, long leaves.

(204) AC: Those which you [pl.] call "sunflowers"?

(205) PO: No.

PB: Then what would you call sunflowers?

(206) PO: "Sunflowers," I don't know.

(207) AC: Yes, now I have forgotten it. (208) How was it called—but that was applied [lit. "long object put on"], it was medicine, sunflower roots. (209) To be applied, the ones underneath. (210) Having thus become sick, [one] rubs it on oneself, the roots.

PO: Those are the sunflower roots, but she can't remember the sunflowers.

PB: And did the Klamath eat the sunflower seeds?

(211) PO: Did we used to eat that sort?

(212) AC: Yes, they were eaten, good, those seeds. (213) And they were just like sifted [wokas], the seeds. (214) They were "lopi·li·nas." (215) Having roasted them, the pod pops up, little black ones. (216) And only the seeds being thus, like sifted [wokas]. (217) [They] tasted good. (218) Yes, the Indians ate everything, all. (219) "Popping" it all

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

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well, that wokas, tule eyes [i.e., tule roots], as they called it, white like this. (220) It was popped. (221) Indians ate everything, everything, they lived thus long ago. (222) And they lived well, they dug [roots] like this also, the Indians' potato [Sagittaria latifolia]—the Indians' "sweet potatoes." (223) Good, sweet, looking thus inside. (?) (224) But it was round, good.

PB: And what is "qlańe"?

(225) AC: "qlańa," yes. (226) It was good, even as food. (227) "Parsnips"—this just like a peeling [skin? membrane?] it bloomed. (228) Yes, it blooms just like "parsnips," but it smelled bad, that. (229) Smelled bad —it was "poison." (230) But it had blooms thus, blooming just like qlańa, however that stink of parsnips was not there [i.e., she here is speaking about "poison parsnips"—"sḱawanksam"]. (231) That was poison parsnips [Cicutum douglasii], bad. (232) It bloomed just thus, thus, like "qlańa." (233) But that "qlańa" was good—tasted good, sweet. (234) Good to eat raw also, and [as well as] having boiled and "cooked" it. [252]

PB: What did the Klamath call "garlic" or "onion"?

(235) PO: Which the white people call "onion," or "wild onion."

(236) AC: That is "pni." (237) It is from over there, something good like that. (238) They were little, like little "turnips," bitter. (239) They were in bunches. (240) They grew over there, to the east, here. (241) At Ya·ńi there. (242) [I] wanted Ransom to go and get some, to plant them, on some dry earth like this in the ground—thus there are many, many bright flowers. (243) They are good flowers. (244) However they are just like those onions, smelling just so. (245) But they have called them "pni." (246) They ate it well, the Paiutes. (247) It tasted good, sweet, having put it in a roasting pit, they "roast" it. (248) With all its skin having done thus to it, they ate it.

PB: Could you tell me what a "wa·l" is?

(249) PO: What was that "wa·l"? (250) "wa·l"! (251) "He didn't give his Granny the big 'wa·l'!"

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

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(252) AC: "wa·l"—it is good also. (253) My mother always used to find it somewhere, I don't know how long it thus was. (254) They were this big, here. (255) However, [they] were long, tapering, that "wa·l." (256) It tasted good. (257) I do not know it, I never followed her around long ago, when she dug that kind. (258) But she dug [for roots] knowing everything. (259) I do not know it, that "wa·l" thus.

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[173]
[262]

(260) PO: Its name is all I know. (261) They told [about it] in myths for [us].

(262) AC: It tasted just thus. (263) It was very good thus. (Interruption, and the machine was turned off.)

(264) PO: . . . "ksegi·." (265) Why would they say that? (266) "He 'ksegi·' me," as [they said].

(267) AC: Here, close by, I am deaf now!

(268) PO: "ksegi·"—why would they say that, "He 'ksegi·' me," as [they said].

(269) AC: When he lived with me. (270) If I would live with you, there at your place, then you would say, "She always 'ksegi·' me." (271) Thus you would say.

(272) AC: Then there is one more even, just about like it. (273) "nčegi·."

(274) PO: Didn't I [tell] you so! (275) "nčegi·!"

(276) AC: "nčegi·," that is one even. (277) "Now I will take offence [i.e., "nčegiwapk"] at him." (278) "Now [I] will quarrel [with him]. (279) For a long time I ignored him, but now I take offence. (280) So now I will take offence."

(281) PO: How did you [say] it first? (282) How would I say it, if you lived with me?

(283) AC: "ksegi·."

(284) PO: (That last one means I never paid any attention for a long time, but I will now, take offence to what this other person says and quarrel with them or fight with them or whatever.) So I know it for the first time, having become so old. (Interruption.)

PB: What is a "pḱa·sip"?

(285) PO: Which is that something—Grandfather [mother's father] and Grandfather [father's father]? (286) On the father's side, or perhaps on the mother's side? [601]

(287) AC: Yes, he is on the mother's side, that "pḱa·sip." (288) And he is on the father's side however, the "bloksip." (289) The "pǫ́oli·p" is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 175]

174 161 The Klamath numbered 3000 in the historic period, the Modoc not so many. This is the testimony of Tom Lang, yet the number is much too large. Palmer[18] put their number at 415 in thirteen villages in 1854, but his list of villages indicates that he counted only the ä'ukckni (Klamath marsh) division. This would be about eighty-three families, a reasonable average of six houses to a settlement. At the time, however, the Klamath were said to be considerably reduced, and I was told of twenty-nine or more ä'ukckni settlements dating from this period, and said to be all occupied at the time. Yet, as no great epidemic was reported, it is doubtful that the population had been diminished by half. Possibly the occupation of the sites was more seasonal than I was told: a movement to Klamath marsh in summer, returning to the warmer Williamson valley in winter. Assuming a partial reduction and some fluctuating occupation, we may arbitrarily set the ä'ukckni at half as many again, say 600. The ä'ukckni settlements numbered half of the total and my informants' impression was that in population they were as many as all the other divisions together. This would mean that the Klamath as a whole numbered only 1200. Palmer's figure would give a mere 800, and the evidence of the settlements, a possible 2000. Our twelve hundred is not far from that of Kroeber, who set the combined Klamath and Modoc population at 2000, two-thirds of them being Klamath.[19] Mooney's estimate of 800 seems low.[20]

Early Contacts with the Whites

175 Contacts with the whites date back to 1825 or somewhat earlier. In 1826–27 Peter Ogden spent two months among the Klamath.[21] His first meeting with them seems to have been on Klamath marsh.

> Wednesday, 30th Nov. [1826]. Course south to Clammitt River [Klamath marsh?] 25 miles from River of the Falls [Deschutes]. Mr. McKay proceeded ahead to an Indian village distant 3 miles. It was composed of 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. Their tents are constantly guarded. They regretted we had opened a communication from the mountains. They said "The Nez Percés have made different attempts to reach our village but could not succeed. Even last summer we discovered a war party of Cayuse and Nez Percés in search of us; but they did not find us. Now they will have yr. road to follow. We have no fire arms. Still we fear them not. [131] [361] [342] [721]

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[18] Quoted by Gatschet, 1:lviii.

[19] Kroeber, Handbook, 320.

[20] Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 18.

[21] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

173 When the latter broke camp they left behind a little flour, which the
177 Indians carried home and divided. They rubbed it on their palms and
[302] smeared their faces.[24]

648 Other early whites came from the southeast on horseback. This marked the beginning of the great migration by way of the Modoc
648 country to the Pacific slope. On the whole the Klamath came off remarkably well in their relations with the whites. The full brunt of immigration was borne by Modoc and Pit River peoples. The Klamath were spared the Oregon wars of the fifties, which all but annihilated the tribes of western Oregon and northern California.[25] The earliest white settlements in the neighborhood were about the present Jacksonville, Medford, and Ashland. The first white settlement within Klamath territory was near the village of kowa'cdi at the northern end of the lake. This was about 1860–65, hence may have reference to the first agency established there. Subsequent relations have been on the whole quite amicable. The Klamath took no part in the Modoc war of 1872–73.

Habitat

131 The territory of the Klamath is on the high plateau of eastern
133 Oregon, in the shallow basin wherein lies the group of lakes that give rise to Klamath river. The southern half of this basin about lower Klamath and Tule lakes is Modoc territory, extending southward across the lava beds in the direction of Pit river. The northern half, which lies against the Cascade range, is the home of the Klamath.

The Klamath properly reside on Klamath lake (or as it was formerly known, upper or middle Klamath lake), on Klamath marsh,
[361] and on Williamson river, which connects them. At least, most of the permanent winter settlements are on these three waters, with a scattering on their tributaries. Summer camps are established over a much wider territory, as far, it would seem, as the natural limits of this drainage area.

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[263] [24] Salt was equally unknown to them at this time.

[25] A somewhat obscure account was given me of the inclusion of Klamath in the great round-up of western Oregon Indians on Siletz (?) reservation in the
[174] fifties. These had been wintering at the Dalles and were herded with the Indians there. The Upland Takelma and Molala were penned in together and fed by the soldiers. Some died every day; the Klamath suspected that they
[648] were poisoned. The Klamath were kept apart, and, thanks to the strenuous arguments of their chief Lale'ks, were not only freed but supplied with beef and an escort of soldiery to conduct them back to their own country.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

The western and southern limits of the range are easiest to define 101
because of the topography and the proximity of other tribes. To the 131
east and north the open deserts and broken country extend indefinitely. 133
The nearest of the shifting settlements of Northern Paiute on the east
at Goose and Summer lakes are sixty and more miles from Klamath
lake. Those of the Warm Springs tribes are one hundred and fifty
miles distant, more than halfway across Oregon. Teit's data show [175]
that more than a century ago the neighbors of the Klamath in this
direction were the Sahaptins at no great distance and beyond them
Molala and Cayuse.

The wide plain south of Klamath Falls seems to have been unoc- 101
cupied. The Modoc lived south of the Lost River hills about Tule lake 131
and on lower Klamath lake. My Klamath informant doubted that 174 •
they lived on Miller lake, or had permanent settlements on Lost river.
Both tribes congregated at one place only for the early spring fishing,
namely on Lost river, a mile or more below the buttes at Olene. The [226]
Klamath camp site is on the north bank, the Modoc on the south.

The southern boundary of Klamath territory skirts the Klamath 101
valley from this place as far downstream as Spencer creek, near the 131
California-Oregon line, below the canyon of the Klamath. Below this
on the river are the Shasta, whose northernmost outposts are on Shovel
creek and north of the river on Jennie creek. The Klamath have no [226]
settlements on the river, but fish, hunt, and gather roots at such points [224]
as Keno, Spencer creek (ma'lbuķ'is), and at laik'ĕlmi, five or six miles [222]
upstream from Dorris (?).

The western boundary is the Cascade watershed, including, however, territory on the northwest side of Mount Pitt (Mount McLoughlin) and again southwest of Crater lake. The Klamath hunt northwest of this conspicuous mountain in a region of many streams called la'ndjli (possibly an American name). Fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake is Huckleberry mountain (iwumkă'ni, huckleberry place) where the Klamath meet the Molala similarly engaged in berry picking. The latter regularly occupy the highlands of the upper Rogue river drainage above Trail creek or some point below Prospect. These Molala form a southern extension of that tribe from the upper Umpqua drainage.

The northern and eastern boundaries are somewhat indefinite. Palmer stated:

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

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The topography directs Shasta attacks against southern settlements. Coming by the open country along the Klamath river, they attack iwau'wōnᴇ at Klamath Falls, sometimes swimming the river there. Or they cross by the little island to the south to surprise the settlement on the east bank. Many years ago a large body of Ya'mŏkkni, northerners, descended on the Klamath on Sycan marsh in the northeastern corner of their territory. These may have been marauding bands of Shoshoni and Bannock, fought by the soldiery of Fort Klamath in the summer of 1864.[43] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of Indians coming south about 1876 or earlier by way of the Warm Springs country from the Snake river range east of Lewiston, Idaho.

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Northern Paiute scouts use various calls in order to keep contact with one another, imitating the crow by day, coyote in the evening, and owls at night; unlike Klamath scouts. When these are heard, women and children take to canoes, staying on the water until morning. The screech owl is thought to call, kŏkᴇdĕ'l aḳiu'ki'u, who sent me? A thrush (sḳo''lĕ) names who is coming, wī'mpis ᴇge'pkwa, they are coming.

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Klamath hunting in the Cascades might meet Upland Takelma from across the range. On one occasion (perhaps about 1850) a party of five or six was wiped out with the exception of a boy who made his way at night, arriving footsore at Klamath marsh. Those who fetched the bodies for cremation found that the Takelma had taken scalps, hands, and feet as trophies. Two of those killed were brothers to the maternal grandfather of my informant, Coley. A wife of this grandfather was an Upland Takelma woman, perhaps a slave, who was a sister to the Upland Takelma chief Tŏḳtŏ'ḳli 'red). They killed her in revenge. She had been living among them at the marsh for years but had no children. The reciprocal raid can be reconstructed from Gatschet's information[44] and my own. The expedition was undertaken at the call of Lᴇle'ks, the most prominent ā'ukekni chief and a distant relative of Coley's grandfather. Men of all the tribelets took part. Crossing the mountains on foot, they found the Takelma encamped in Molala territory at the head of Rogue river. They attacked as the Takelma rose at dawn, scalping many and carrying off women and children. Among those killed was Tŏḳtŏ'ḳli, whose hands and heart they took. After the man was shot, Lᴇle'ks lanced him through the throat. Lᴇle'ks invited all the Klamath to a huge scalp dance at Klamath marsh. During the dances a wife of Coley's grandfather danced about with the heart in her teeth. The captives were dragged by their arms and forced to dance close to the fire.

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A preparatory performance, called nī'ḳĕba, is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance,

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[43] Gatschet, 1:lxii.

[44] *Op. cit.*, 1:16.

strand as wefts.[384] Designs, at least, are formed with wefts of cane 285
(t'k!ōp) and dyed tule (mo'ḳwas). Only the outer layer of the cane 291
is used; this is yellowish-white. This strip is flat, and being stiff, cannot be twisted; the tule weft being fully flexible, wraps around both warp and cane weft. The effect is unique; at alternate warps the cane weft appears passing horizontally, at the others the tule weft makes a wrapped stitch over warp and cane weft (fig. 15). Due to the technique the tule weft lies flat like a ribbon. Women's hats bear designs. Men's hats have none, but when the hat is completed the part covered by nettle weft (the central portion of the top) is painted. The brim of a man's hat is entirely woven with wefts of dyed tule (and cane?).

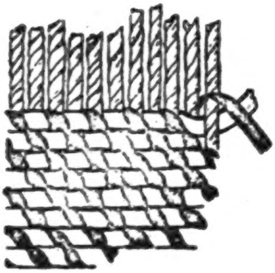

Fig. 15. Modified simple twine stitch of basket hats.

The several structural parts of such twined baskets are named. 285
The area of weaving at the center of the base, with which the basket is begun, is called dzle'lūḳs; the base of the basket, tse'lalwIs; the rounding margin of the base as it merges into the side, sto'li; and the turned-back warps of the rim, wo'lgōtk. Twining in general is lĕtca'; specifically this is simple twine. A twine stitch over two warps is la'pwiōmnōtk (lap, two); over three, ski'tgaltantk; over four, wuni'bäntka lĕtc!a (wuni'p, four). It is possible that ski'tgaltantk means three-strand twining rather than three-warp diagonal twine. There is no name for open twine construction, so far as I know. It may be called gIga'ŋka, many holes (from gI'nḳa, hole). Cat-tail cord for wefting is solō'tepas; such cord is wrapped around the hand to make a roll for storage. Warps (of the tule only?) are called twäch.[385]

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[384] Coville (Notes, 94) states that in former times the bark of the aspen (vō'-lāl, *Populus tremuloides* Michx.) was used to make hats. [114]

[385] Coville (Notes, 92) also notes the use of the rush (tsin-ā-ō, *Juncus balticus* Willd.) in the weaving of light baskets. [174]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

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301 length is "a little too much." The unit, according to one informant,
is the length of the extended left arm to the upper end of the humerus,
or across the chest in addition to the point of the right shoulder. The
other gave the unit as a doubled string from the extended left hand
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to the sternum; that is, a fathom. One thing is clear, that there is
[436] no great concern for dentalia as money, as among the lower Klamath
tribes. The strings are not standardized either as to length or size of
the individual shells. Long dentalia are more valuable than the short,
but my informants never knew anyone to argue over the precise length
of a shell. Both men agreed that the several kinds of beads, or at
least the best, are not worked by the Klamath, but come from the
K
south. They are either found in raided Achomawi-Atsugewi camps
[721] or are traded from these people or possibly the Shasta. Both were
[439] certain that the shells are not obtained from the north. This is something of a puzzle, because the Columbia river people have dentalia and
[177] use them extensively in trade. Furthermore, the ultimate point of
origin of the shells is the coast of Washington and British Columbia.
[174] The discrepancy in the statement is further accentuated by the Yurok
statement that the shells came to them both along the coast and down
the Klamath river.[309]

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Finger rings are not made, nor bracelets, except for young children.
[189] The cast skin of a water snake is wrapped around their wrists
so that they will swim well.

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Face painting is general, a daily usage, not confined to gala events,
302 but more obvious at that time. The shaman's body is painted red
during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use,
[756] white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to
[822] war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white. I have
pointed out elsewhere[310] that red paint is associated with warfare by
the Basin tribes and their Californian and Arizonan neighbors. Here
it may be added that black is used by Plains warriors. At dances
white pigment, found along the creek banks, is smeared on the palms
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which are then pressed on the face or on a woman's smooth hair to
[317] form patterns. Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few
localities in the mountains near Crater lake. The Northern Paiute
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are said to have quantities of it, however.

[317] In winter women smear their faces, hands, and arms with a mixture of charcoal and pitch, or deer grease, or of pitch and grease
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[309] Kroeber, Handbook, 22.

[310] Havasupai Ethnography, 207.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
• 174 Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[622] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

[721] It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-
[567] holding existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their dis-
tribution established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kin-
177 ship terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
[622] southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[619] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctive-
101 ness from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
105 to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some northwestern influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

* 171 in conformity with northwestern views. The sense of obligation was
[591] weakly developed; the levirate was a mere custom, the sororate rare;
birth of heirs played no part in their scheme of things. In brief, the
[587] Klamath derived the sense of social standing based on wealth from
[583] the northwestern center, and the mechanism of marriage purchase to
effect it, but no more.

• 174 I am not inclined to indulge in an historical reconstruction of the northwestern marriage complex. But if it be in order, it seems better to suggest that the ancient, undifferentiated custom was the practice of mutual giving, subsequently formalized with the growth of concepts of wealth and rank on the Northwest Coast. The alternative is to hold that these attitudes and practices diffused from that center only after they attained full flower there. If this were so we should expect to find the specific forms of Northwest Coast procedure at a greater distance. I am very doubtful that ideas and sentiments diffuse as such, though I may have given that impression in some of the summary statements above. It seems rather that particular practices are imitated, and if but imperfectly copied or made rational in their new context, then alone do we say that merely the underlying idea has been borrowed.

* 171 In the present case social stratification based on wealth had spread
174 over a wide area; wife purchase with it. I conceive that members of
the imitating tribes observed the aggrandizement that went with
583 wealth and took occasion among their fellows to insist on a similar,
554 and in their eyes proper, respect for themselves and their wealth
when opportunity offered. The spread of the marriage purchase cus-
556 tom must have been one of the most effective mechanisms for the
spread of the sense of rank. Boas has already made such a case for the Kwakiutl and their neighbors. By marriage with the northern tribes among whom privilege concepts were highly developed, the Kwakiutl obtained these privileges through their wives.[667] The mechanism is clearly transparent in the Klallam preference for marriages to the north.[668] We are not told this of other tribes, to be sure, but it appeals to me that marriage into foreign tribes where payment for their women was demanded would inevitably bring in its train the notion that these women were in some way superior to those at home. This view is not drafted from thin air; among the tribes of Puget sound, e.g., the women of the more northerly tribes consider them-

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[667] Boas, Social Organization of North-Pacific Coast; Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 124.

[668] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 242.

selves the superiors of those among whom they are resident. Once the 171*
sentiment had become lodged in the group its fruition was made inev- 174
itable by the imitation of others. 583

With Kroeber, who has so expressed himself on the subject of the 554
Yurok,[389] I do not believe that the levirate and sororate were born of 556
this special development of purchase. Both customs have a nearly
universal distribution in North America. It seems rather that such
existing practices were drawn into the developing marriage complex
of this area.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The background for a study of social stratification has been laid 128
in the preceding section. I will here deal with chieftainship, its
relations to wealth and heredity, and related topics.

Social stratification was but weakly developed among the Klamath. 554
Social standing did not depend directly on heredity and there was 556
apparently little difference in wealth from richest to poorest. Since
wealth was inherited there was at least some stability to family stand-
ing. The marriage purchase gave respectability to the union; it did
not fix the standing of the couple by reason of the amount paid. Yet [56]
there was some differentiation based on wealth, a continuous gradation
from the wealthiest to the slaves.

The wealthiest individuals were called lō'ki, rich men. This was 556
also the term by which chiefs were styled. My interpretation of the
Indian's statements is that those prominent individuals, who exer- 622
cised functions which would elsewhere have led to their being called
chiefs, were at the same time the wealthiest. A chief became such
primarily by successful leadership in war, coupled with some back-
ground of spirit power, wealth, personal qualities, especially ability
as an advisor, with some suggestion of hereditary interest.

The chiefly functions emphasized were leadership in war and 622
haranguing the people. The chief could not issue injunctions, he re- [70]
ceived no tribute, and was in no way responsible for the conduct or
debts of his people. Just prior to reservation days there was intro-
duced from Columbia river the practice of chiefs sitting as judges. [565]

While chiefs were set off from the mass, this did not imply any
sense of caste stratification. Their wives and children were not known
by a distinctive class term.

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[389] Handbook, 31.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1860-1900)

• 174 622 756 Every evidence points to the recency of the rise of chieftainship among these people. It is doubtful that material differences in wealth and slave-holding existed prior to the opening of direct contact with the Columbia river tribes after 1800. Even then chiefs were of relatively minor importance. The shamans were the great men and the wealthiest, easily eclipsing the chiefs. As an instance I have cited the difficulty of obtaining the names of chiefs of pre-reservation days, whereas shamans are well remembered. It is clear that some of the local groups did not have chiefs. The relative dominance of the shaman persisted until reservation days. Prior to this time chiefs were barely differentiated leaders of the Great Basin type.

Basis of Chieftainship

* 171 622 565 554 The Northwest Coast tribes stood in sharp contrast to this simple social scheme. There existed a caste system, a division into aristocracy, commoners, and slaves. While the relative ranking was continuous from the noblest aristocrat to the meanest commoner, there was nevertheless a well defined consciousness of distinction between the grades. This aristocracy was based on lineage and wealth. Its highest members were the chiefs, ordinarily the wealthiest persons. Yet a chief might lose wealth but retain his rank by reason of his birth. Within each community were several chiefs of the first rank whose authority extended hardly beyond their immediate retainers. Their advice was followed rather than their dictates obeyed. They were, however, among the Kwakiutl, for example, the recipients of gifts from their followers, not so much by reason of right as to bespeak their future aid and to enrich them to the further glory of the whole group.[480]

A definite caste system of this type is traceable southward from British Columbia through coastal Washington and Oregon at least as far as the Alsea. It has been noted, for example, for Klallam, the Puget sound tribes, Chinook, Wishram, and Alsea. It did not appear in the interior among the upper Fraser river tribes, nor in eastern Washington as among the Okanagon and Middle Columbia Salish, nor in eastern Oregon among Klamath, Modoc, and Northern Paiute. At the southern extremity of this area of distribution a somewhat different situation prevailed. There was no rigid caste system, but differences of wealth were considerable and on these social standing

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[480] See Sapir, Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes, 360; Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 338, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1333 f., Social Organization of the Kwakiutl.

The northwestern type of speaker was known among Klallam, Quin- 171*
ault, and Wishram, and probably to all the intervening tribes.[575] 537
Their presence may also be suspected in coastal Oregon, for their
functions would have been quite consistent with the social sentiment 622
there. Some positiveness is lent to this by the presence of what seems to have been a chief's speaker among the Rogue river tribes participating in the treaty negotiations of September 10, 1855. It is recorded that the chief spoke to a man who shouted his words to the assembled warriors.[576] Certainly the speaker was absent in northwestern California. On the other hand, Drake's description of the Coast Miwok in 1579 makes it certain that the speaker was a recognized functionary further south.[577] The Basin type of word for word repeater occurred over a wide area, having been recorded for the Nez Percé, the Sahaptins of Priest Rapids on the Columbia, Southern Maidu, Paviotso (Northern Paiute), Kaibab Paiute (?), and Havasupai.[578] Something of the sort might have been expected among the Klamath; they share, however, a substitute, the shaman's speaker, with the northern California groups.

Slavery

Slave-raiding and slave-holding may not have developed among 174
the Klamath until the coming of the horse and the opening of a slave 567
traffic with the Columbia river tribes in the early nineteenth century.
It is probable that prior to that time there was only the mild interest
in holding captives found among their southern and eastern neigh-
bors. Their slaves were captives of war. Slave-holding and the meas- 171*
ure of wealth in terms of slaves were characteristic of all north-
western people. These were everywhere taken in war and sold. Slave- 567
holding of this type prevailed not only in western Washington to the Columbia but southward through Oregon (Tillamook, Alsea, Takelma, Upland Takelma,[579] and Shasta). Coos and others of western Oregon should undoubtedly be included. Slavery is not mentioned in Teit's account of the Middle Columbia Salish of eastern Washington, and does not appear consistent with their general mode of life.[580] Directly

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[575] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 306 f.; Olson, Quinault field notes; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

[576] Walling, History of Southern Oregon, 223.

[577] Kroeber, Handbook, 276.

[578] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, 255.

[579] Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 252, 267.

*171 southward of the Klamath there was no slavery; this is certain for 567 Northern and Southern Maidu,[561] and very probably Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northern Paiute. This seems generally true of California with the exception of the northwest (Yurok and probably their neighbors), where there was debt slavery, but where slaves were not measurable articles of wealth.

Summary

101 105 • 174 The general position of the Klamath in relation to surrounding tribes was in earlier days the simple social structure of the Basin peoples. Since the opening of the last century they have borrowed from the Columbia tribes some sense of social stratification based on wealth, slave-holding, and trading, enhanced importance for their chiefs coincident with a change in the basis of selection from war to wealth, and quite recently judicial functions for the chiefs. There was thus a shift in social dominance from shaman to chief.

GIRLS' PUBERTY RITES AND WOMEN'S OBSERVANCES

*171 562 881 787 It is characteristic of western America that adolescence ceremonies were held for girls rather than boys. This is not to ignore the wide extension of the guardian spirit quest, more regularly performed by boys than girls, nor the boys' initiation ceremonies of southern California and the Southwest, but the boys' activities were less commonly ritualized save in the southwestern sector. The boys' quest among the Klamath has been discussed in connection with shamanism.

The girls' rites in the west can best be understood with reference to a background of women's observances throughout the continent. *171 841 Certain features of women's behavior had a well-nigh universal distribution. The general conception was that woman during her periodical illnesses was a source of contamination to others or a peril to herself. A series of restrictions ensued; she was secluded or her movements restricted during the period. For her own well-being she must fast or at least refrain from fresh meat or fish, but the latter proscription was also rationalized as avoiding damage to the food supply, especially fishing. She must not touch hands to face or hair, using instead a scratching stick, must not wash nor arrange her hair, and must dispose of her garments before resuming her normal life.

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[560] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, esp. 122.

[561] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 206; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 44.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

000 they are rather a cloddish, indolent, ordinarily good-natured race, but treacherous at bottom, sullen when angered, notorious for keeping Punic faith. But their bravery nobody can deny."*

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD.

174 Before the middle of the nineteenth century the Máklaks people was unknown to mankind except to the nearest neighbors in Oregon and California. We are therefore justified in beginning its period of documentary history at that time, and in relegating to the domain of prehistorics all that is known of their previous condition. The information upon these points is furnished by three factors: tradition, archæologic remains, and language.

A. TRADITION BEARING UPON HISTORY.

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773 Traditional folk-lore, when of the mythic order, generally dates from an earlier epoch of fixation than historic traditions. The remote origin of *genuine* mythic folk-lore is sufficiently evidenced by the archaic terms embodied with it, by the repetition of the same phraseology for ages, and by the circumstance that all nations tend to preserve their religious ideas in an unchanged form. I am laying peculiar stress upon the term *genuine*, for Indians have often mixed recent ideas and fictions with archaic, original folk-lore and with ancient mythic ideas, the whole forming now one inextricable conglomerate which has the appearance of aboriginal poetic prose.

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784 The Klamath people possess no historic traditions going further back in time than a century, for the simple reason that there was a strict law prohibiting the mention of the person or acts of a deceased individual by *using his name*. This law was rigidly observed among the Californians no less than among the Oregonians, and on its transgression the death penalty could be inflicted. This is certainly enough to suppress all historic knowledge within a people. How can history be written without names?

[126] Many times I attempted to obtain a list of the former head chiefs of the two chieftaincies. I succeeded only in learning the names of two chiefs recently deceased, and no biographic details were obtainable.

174 This people belongs to the autochthonic nations of America, called so because they have lost all remembrances of earlier habitats or of migrations.

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* Contributions to Amer. Ethnology, III, p. 253.

802 171 The numeration system of a people is a relic of a remote age, and therefore of importance for tracing the ancient connections of tribes. The quinary system is the most frequent counting method in America, and often combines with the vigesimal. The pure quinary system prevails in Ara, in the Chimaríko, Yuki, and in the Shasti-Pit River family, in Sahaptin and Wayíletpu, and it is also the system found in Klamath. Curiously enough, the Maidu Indians count by fifteens, and the decimal system forms the basis [801] of the Wintún, Mutsun, and Selish dialects. The mystic or "sacred" number occurring hundreds of times in mythologic stories is *five* among all the Oregonian tribes.

197 To sum up the result of the above linguistic inquiry, it may be stated that our present knowledge does not allow us to connect the Klamath language genealogically with any of the other languages compared, but *that it stands as a linguistic family for itself.* It has adopted elements from the tongues spoken in its neighborhood; and a common element, chiefly pronominal, underlies several of these and the American languages in general.

THE HISTORIC PERIOD.

'Εκ δὲ τοῦ καὶ μικρὰ πάντα πάμπολλα γίγνεται.

174 175 127 On account of the superstition previously alluded to, the traditional historic lore which forms so attractive a feature in the unwritten literature of the nations east of the Rocky Mountains and of Mexico is wanting entirely among the Máklaks, and we have to rely upon the meager reports of travelers and Government agents for accounts of the condition of the tribes in the earlier part of this century. Such notices of historic events are as follows:

000 According to a tradition recorded by Stephen Powers, an epidemic of small-pox broke out among the Modoc Indians in 1847, by which one hundred and fifty individuals perished.

The earliest historic conflict which can be ascertained with some chronological accuracy is the massacre of eighteen immigrants to Oregon by individuals of the Modoc tribe, and Ben Wright's massacre, consequent upon that bloody deed. The massacre of the immigrants occurred at a place on Tule or Rhett Lake, since called Bloody Point. Undoubtedly this was only

The Klamath numbered 3000 in the historic period, the Modoc not 174 161 so many. This is the testimony of Tom Lang, yet the number is much too large. Palmer[18] put their number at 415 in thirteen villages in 1854, but his list of villages indicates that he counted only the ă'ukckni (Klamath marsh) division. This would be about eighty-three families, a reasonable average of six houses to a settlement. At the time, however, the Klamath were said to be considerably reduced, and I was told of twenty-nine or more ă'ukckni settlements dating from this period, and said to be all occupied at the time. Yet, as no great epidemic was reported, it is doubtful that the population had been diminished by half. Possibly the occupation of the sites was more seasonal than I was told: a movement to Klamath marsh in summer, returning to the warmer Williamson valley in winter. Assuming a partial reduction and some fluctuating occupation, we may arbitrarily set the ă'ukckni at half as many again, say 600. The ă'ukckni settlements numbered half of the total and my informants' impression was that in population they were as many as all the other divisions together. This would mean that the Klamath as a whole numbered only 1200. Palmer's figure would give a mere 800, and the evidence of the settlements, a possible 2000. Our twelve hundred is not far from that of Kroeber, who set the combined Klamath and Modoc population at 2000, two-thirds of them being Klamath.[19] Mooney's estimate of 800 seems low.[20]

Early Contacts with the Whites

Contacts with the whites date back to 1825 or somewhat earlier. 175 In 1826–27 Peter Ogden spent two months among the Klamath.[21] His first meeting with them seems to have been on Klamath marsh.

> Wednesday, 30th Nov. [1826]. Course south to Clammitt River [Klamath marsh?] 25 miles from River of the Falls [Deschutes]. Mr. McKay proceeded ahead to an Indian village distant 3 miles. It was composed of 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. Their tents are constantly guarded. They regretted we had opened a communication from the mountains. They said "The Nez Percés have made different attempts to reach our village but could not succeed. Even last summer we discovered a war party of Cayuse and Nez Percés in search of us; but they did not find us. Now they will have yr. road to follow. We have no fire arms. Still we fear them not. [131] [361] [342] [721]

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[18] Quoted by Gatschet, 1:lviii.

[19] Kroeber, Handbook, 320.

[20] Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 18.

[21] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

[411] [231] They are well provided with bows and arrows. They have only one horse. Snow is so deep, horses perish for want of food. In winter, they live on roots. In summer on antelope and fish.

December 1st. 30 Clammite Indians paid us a visit: fine men in good condition, but wretchedly clad. They say the river to the ocean is far distant and beaver they do not know. They say the Indians become more numerous as we advance to the ocean. . . . .

[342] [161] [439] Tuesday 6th. Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defence against arrows but not balls. 200 of them collected about our camp and traded 4 days. The 2 chiefs delivered traps lost by Mr. McDonald last year with 8 beaver. This is much in favor of their honesty. On our march this day, we passed the camps from wh. Mr. McDonald turned back last year and are consequently strangers to the country in advance.

[161] Thursday 8th. About 300 Indians around our camp. We advanced 6 miles south following the river south. I estimate the Clammitte nation 250 men.

Monday 12th. Reached the lake [Klamath lake?] 1⅛ × 15 miles well wooded with maple and hazel; course S.

[361] The second visit on record is that of Frémont, who reached the northern shore of Klamath marsh on December 10, 1843. He saw smoke at what appeared to be the middle of the marsh and along the opposite shore. An unoccupied northern shore agrees with my own information. The following day he visited the village "in the middle of the lake (or savannah)," which appears to be one of those at the outlet of the marsh.

[342] The huts were grouped together on the bank of the [Klamath] river, which, from being spread out in a shallow marsh at the upper end of the lake, was collected here into a single stream. They were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams.

[226] [252] [285] [291] Almost like plants, these people seem to have adapted themselves to the soil, and to growing on what the immediate locality afforded. Their only subsistence at this time appeared to be a small fish, great quantities of which, that had been smoked and dried, were suspended on strings about the lodge. Heaps of straw were lying around; and their residence in the midst of grass and rushes had taught them a peculiar skill in converting this material to useful purposes. Their shoes were made of straw or grass, which seemed well adapted for a snowy country; and the women wore on their head a closely woven basket, which made a very good cap. Among other things, were parti-colored mats about four feet square, which we purchased to lay on the snow under our blankets, and to use for table cloths.

[231] Numbers of singular-looking dogs, resembling wolves, were sitting on the tops of the huts. . . . .

[648] They made us comprehend that they were at war with the people who lived to the southward and to the eastward; but I could obtain from them no certain information. . . . .

This morning the camp was thronged with Tlamath Indians from the southeastern shore of the lake. . . . .

Frémont also remarked on the scarcity of their horses.[22]

Frémont reached Klamath lake again May 6, 1846. He commented on the outlet, Link river, "this is a great fishing station for the Indians." His statement on the distribution of their settlements coincides with my information. [231] [226]

> They have fixed habitations around the shores of the lake, particularly at the outlet and inlet [Williamson river], and along the inlet up to the swamp meadow [Klamath marsh], where I met the Tlamaths in the winter of '43–'44, and where we narrowly escaped disaster. . . . . The Indians made me understand that there was another large river [Williamson river] which came from the north and flowed into the lake at the northern end, and that the principal village was at its mouth, where also they caught many fish. [361] [131] [133]

Frémont's party made a circuit of the lake. It is curious that he does not mention the settlements about Pelican lake on the western side, which he could hardly have avoided. On the other hand it is not clear how closely his memoirs follow his diary. Attacked while on the western side, his party reciprocated by raiding a village on the opposite side, perhaps one of those on Williamson river just above the present highway bridge. [726]

> Behind the sage-bushes where they had taken their stand every Indian had spread his arrows on the ground in fan-like shape, so that they would be ready to his hand. . . . . Quantities of fish were drying, spread on scaffolds, or hung up on frames. The huts, which were made of tall rushes and willows, like those on the savannah above [Klamath marsh], were set on fire, and the fish and scaffolds were all destroyed.[23] [252] [342] [726]

The first invaders remembered by the Klamath came from the north about 1835. The stories about them have now a legendary flavor. The first group was mounted; the Klamath dubbed them mpĕ'tkoŋks (from mĕtc!a', to pack about) from their roving habits. An alternative name, pásai'ūks (French-Canadian in Chinook jargon), more surely identifies them. During their brief stay at the mouth of Williamson river they bought fat dogs of the Klamath, which to the latter's amazement, they ate. For these they gave buttons and metal disks with a central perforation (wika'lkal). 173 437 648

Almost as early was a white contingent moving northward on the west side of Klamath lake. The Indians watched them unseen. They were impressed with the horses, axes, and the food of the whites. 173 648 177

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[22] Frémont, Narrative, 122.

[23] Frémont, Memoirs, 483, 484, 494.

101 131 133 [175]

The western and southern limits of the range are easiest to define because of the topography and the proximity of other tribes. To the east and north the open deserts and broken country extend indefinitely. The nearest of the shifting settlements of Northern Paiute on the east at Goose and Summer lakes are sixty and more miles from Klamath lake. Those of the Warm Springs tribes are one hundred and fifty miles distant, more than halfway across Oregon. Teit's data show that more than a century ago the neighbors of the Klamath in this direction were the Sahaptins at no great distance and beyond them Molala and Cayuse.

101 131 174 [226]

The wide plain south of Klamath Falls seems to have been unoccupied. The Modoc lived south of the Lost River hills about Tule lake and on lower Klamath lake. My Klamath informant doubted that they lived on Miller lake, or had permanent settlements on Lost river. Both tribes congregated at one place only for the early spring fishing, namely on Lost river, a mile or more below the buttes at Olene. The Klamath camp site is on the north bank, the Modoc on the south.

101 131 [226] [224] [222]

The southern boundary of Klamath territory skirts the Klamath valley from this place as far downstream as Spencer creek, near the California-Oregon line, below the canyon of the Klamath. Below this on the river are the Shasta, whose northernmost outposts are on Shovel creek and north of the river on Jennie creek. The Klamath have no settlements on the river, but fish, hunt, and gather roots at such points as Keno, Spencer creek (ma'lbuḳ'is), and at laik'ĕlmi, five or six miles upstream from Dorris (*1*).

The western boundary is the Cascade watershed, including, however, territory on the northwest side of Mount Pitt (Mount McLoughlin) and again southwest of Crater lake. The Klamath hunt northwest of this conspicuous mountain in a region of many streams called la'ndjli (possibly an American name). Fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake is Huckleberry mountain (iwumkä'ni, huckleberry place) where the Klamath meet the Molala similarly engaged in berry picking. The latter regularly occupy the highlands of the upper Rogue river drainage above Trail creek or some point below Prospect. These Molala form a southern extension of that tribe from the upper Umpqua drainage.

The northern and eastern boundaries are somewhat indefinite. Palmer stated:

159
701 revenge. While he was swimming in deep water at du'kwa he found a human leg in his grasp; it had been given him by the ghosts.[40] Then he became
721 "mean," revengeful, and led his people down the lake to iu'ˣlaloŋx for vengeance.

He grew aggressive and attacked gu'mbōt, kowa'edi, and other towns. He was a hard man to hit; they could not kill him in open battle. His du'kwakni
159 band went up Williamson river to the ā'ukekni town at bʀzūkse'was. Before the fight opened, Po'moks, an ā'ukekni from far up Sprague river, came
701 to him and announced that he would join him. Kō'ḳdiŋks agreed because he was a relative. During the battle Po'moks slipped behind Kō'ḳdiŋks and shot
726 him. That was the only way they could beat him; since then there has been no feud with du'kwa.

Quite in accord with Klamath custom, Kō'ḳdiŋks band was accompanied by a du'kwa shaman named ĕkts'as. When one of his side was shot, this shaman ran to him, extracted the arrow, and sucked the wound.

726 Pat's uncle of gu'mbōt and Nancy's father of du'kwa went to iu'ˣlaloŋx where they killed a man.

Some gu'mbōt men went to Buck island and killed a man there. Immediately a party followed them back and killed a man at gu'mbōt.

A brave man from du'kwa lived at gu'mbōt. The gu'mbōtkni traveled with him to kill iu'ˣlaloŋkni, ā'ukekni, and kowa'edikni. He stole women everywhere, carrying them to gu'mbōt as his wives. He tried to kill some gu'mbōt men whom he accused of tampering with them, but they dispatched him. After he was cremated all these women returned to their homes.

An attack might be expected at any time. The Upland Takelma (Ha'nis or Wa'lūmskni), for instance, raid the Williamson river district. Crossing by the ridges south of Crater lake, they travel down the ridge separating that river from Klamath lake. From this eminence they can see the smokes of a large part of Klamath territory. Gatschet describes such a raid, plausibly dating it between 1848
175 and 1855.[41]

726 The Takelma descended on bʀzūkse'was in the middle Williamson valley at salmon fishing time. Most of the warriors were away at Klamath marsh to welcome some northern Indians. Crossing the river the Takelma attacked at dawn, killing a few old people, but they were put to rout by the fierce onslaught of but five cuirassed Klamath, men of nilûksi, the Modoc Point district. They were pursued by the whole force of Klamath, hastily summoned from the marsh. Some escaped, others were found dead of starvation or wounds where they had hidden in the mountains.

Five old women were once left behind at Klamath marsh to gather lily seeds. They brought their canoes down to the falls, as far as they could go. All they could not carry they buried there to leave through the winter. A Paiute lurking on the opposite bank followed them down to the falls. He killed all five with his arrows. When their relatives found them overdue, they went to search. The Paiute, having stayed in the neighborhood to steal horses, was tracked and killed.[42]

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[40] So my informant said, but she surely meant spirits.

[41] The Klamath Indians, 1:16–18.

[42] Gatschet records a similar Paiute raid on Williamson river or perhaps the same (1:28).

755 patella. One is allowed to burn completely; when the other is half-consumed the sufferer destroys it with a pinch and throws it away, telling it to carry off the pain. The dry bark of the black sage is used for this, chewed and shaped into conical pellets. One informant showed me some prepared from the sage-brush bands used by mourning women and deposited in the trees, which he had gathered. Another informant denied that such bands alone are used.

Rheumatism is also treated with skunk grease rubbed into the affected part and the flesh of the animal eaten.

Earache, deafness, and hemorrhage of the ear are treated by the application at night of poultices of cooked wild parsnip root.

Toothache is kima'dj p'an, ant eats, or literally düt ansma'sᴇ. It is so called because on breaking an extracted tooth they find in it a little worm with a black head, believed to be the larva of the ant, which has been eating the tooth. The sufferer rests his aching face on a stout stick, a paddle for instance, while he sleeps. Some one strikes the paddle a sharp rap; the sleeper is frightened and the aching gone. Pat Kane ascribed this to the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division (ă'ukckni) alone. The river-mouth people's (du'kwakni) method is to chew a bit of rotten fish, holding it on the aching tooth. The cure of the Pelican bay group (gu'mbŏtkni) is a cautery over the spot "breaking the tooth." Nancy denied the last two methods. Teeth are never extracted.

751 The Klamath used dog flesh in order to avoid smallpox (gotķ!ŏks, erupting) on at least one occasion. This was during a winter before the birth of my informants, now in their seventies. Many died because they had so few dogs. Ordinarily dog flesh is avoided, but on this
[177] occasion the flesh was eaten and the grease rubbed on the body. Considering the date[188] it may well be that this was a cure learned from French half-breeds on the Columbia.

278 For mumps, the root of a plant called sķŏssķŏtkgla'ks is rubbed on the swelling. (This waist-high plant grows near the river, is blue topped, with large green leaves.) Mumps has no native name because of its recency.

For colds the root of the yayo'ķaķ plant, found in the mountains, is chewed and swallowed. A poultice of this is also applied to a swelling, then covered with pitch.

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[175] [231] [188] Powers states that about 1847 smallpox killed 150 Modocs (Tribes of California, 254). This is the widespread epidemic of that date which led to the Cayuse uprising against the Whitman mission in southeastern Washington (Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, 1:224). Taylor mentions its presence on the Humboldt and Bear rivers, Nevada, prior to 1853 (Taylor, Oregon Bound, 147, 155).

- 175

[For information on the history of the establishment of the Klamath reservation, see categories 648 and 657.]

Introduction

[P. XV]

DURING THE LAST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THE RESERVA- 121
tion came to be regarded by Indian policy makers as an instru- 657*
ment for directed culture change, depending for its success upon 648*
effective control over the governed and the selective modification of their culture toward that of the dominant society. The following pages detail the manner in which that policy figured in the transformation of several Indian societies in south-central Oregon, who came collectively to be known as the Klamath Tribe.

If we are to see the reservation in perspective, we must know its local antecedents. It is essential to know something of the aboriginal past from which the Indian signatories had sprung and of the modification in their lives wrought by the period of contact prior to their treaty agreement to enter upon reservation life. To isolate the contractual parties, Indian and white, from the events of settlement, tribal dislocation, and cultural confrontation that made the reservation a desirable solution for both would deprive the decision of its historical import. In the same way, it would be misleading to examine the reservation as if it
existed in the isolation that was part of its ideal character. When (175) •
Treaty Commissioner Huntington wrote in 1867,

> The design of the Government is to segregate the Indians upon lands set apart for them, separate them from the pernicious influences which association with whites entail upon them, and to cultivate the good, moral, and intellectual qualities they may possess.

he was outlining a situation that proved difficult to maintain.

It is within the frame provided by this policy that the history 121
of the Klamath Tribe falls most readily into segments. The first 175
period ranges from the aboriginal threshold to the treaty of 1864 657*
648*

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

121 and the formation of the reservation. For the next twenty years,
• 175 until the General Allotment Act of 1887, the control of the
* 657 Agency proved most effective, perhaps in part because the most
* 648 violent eruption, the Modoc War of 1872-73, polarized loyalties and removed dissidents. From the time of allotment in severalty, control over the course of change began to abate the effectiveness of Agency supervision; and with the opening of the reservation to massive commercial lumbering in the second decade of the twentieth century it declined rapidly. In the final years, until the termination of the reservation by law in 1954, the Agency did little more than preside over a population which, in essential respects, had passed beyond its power to control.

By that account, Agency rule was on the wane for some seventy of the ninety years which the reservation lasted, and was disputed by a war during the first decade. However, effective supervision was maintained longer in some areas than in others; and some powers, rather than lapsing, were passed on to local state, county, or municipal agencies. As a result, the picture is not to be summed up along a single dimension, but like history everywhere, must be seen in detail.

TWO

[P.22]

The Frontier Condition

726 FOR MANY YEARS THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WILLAMETTE AND CO-
648 lumbia valleys bypassed the tribes of the Klamath Basin.[1] In-
175 directly, however, they felt the first remote influences, as the
Sahaptin-speaking tribes of the middle Columbia, equipped with the superior weapons of the trading posts and mounted on horses acquired from the Shoshonean bands to the south, began to raid up the Deschutes Valley to take Klamath slaves.[2] The Klamath
[231] were at a disadvantage: in 1826 Peter Skene Ogden, of the
[411] Hudson's Bay Company, found them with but a single horse and uneasily awaiting raids by joint parties of Cayuse and Nez Percés; and even by midcentury they had only one firearm among them.[3] The scantiness of the local beaver made their territory of little interest to the company, however, and they came to enjoy a reputation as fierce warriors which preserved them
[101] for some time from settlers. Nonetheless, they were known even then to the tribes of the Columbia, for Ogden applied to them a name, "Clammite," that was not their own and seems to stem from Chinookan.[4]

648 Some ten years after Ogden passed through, a party of French-
175 Canadian trappers made their way into the region and on their return to The Dalles took along some Klamath.[5] From that time on, contact with the tribes at that great Indian trading center increased. Klamath parties moved down the Deschutes Valley, making their way either to The Dalles itself, or branching westward down the north fork of the Santiam along what came to be known as the Klamath Trail, through the settlement of the northern Molala, thence to the Kalapuya on the outskirts of
648 Oregon City. There, in 1843, one missionary recorded the visit
567 of "a large party of the Clamath tribe, fierce and warlike . . .
439 with about twenty slaves, [who] sold most or all of them. Some,
435 I was informed, were sold for three horses each,
175 some cheaper."[6]

I was informed were sold for three horses each, some cheaper."[6] 000

In the changing conditions of the early nineteenth century, K
the Klamath were caught up in currents generated from without. 175 •
The advent of horses and of firearms made it possible for the 177
tribes of the east-central Plateau, the eastern Salish and eastern 648
Sahaptin, to cross the Rocky Mountains, to hunt buffalo and [231]
enter into relations, both peaceful and bellicose, with the tribes [411]
of the Plains. As they came under Plains influence, the appeal K
of Plains garb, of parfleches and tipis, grew.[7] The Klamath were [291]
attracted to these new goods, and the clothing at least came to [556]
replace or supplement traditional forms of wealth.

Moreover, the horse and the gun had revolutionized warfare K M
patterns. Although traditional enemies beyond the Cascades 175
were preoccupied with white settlers, on the east the Paiute were 177
gradually developing mounted bands of great mobility and 726
striking power. The Klamath and Modoc were not slow to seek 231
the new instruments of war. 411

The opening trade to the north brought a corresponding K M
intensification of the raids carried south into the territory of the 175
Pit River tribes—the Achumawi and Atsugewi—to capture women 177
and children, Pit River bows, and other loot. As Chiloquin, one 721
of the leaders of the time, recalled:

> When the Snakes [Northern Paiute] made war on us that made us keen to fight other Indians and we made war without provocation on the Pitt Rivers, Shastas and Rogue Rivers, but they never made willing war on us. Those wars lasted a great many years. We found we could make money by war, for we sold the provisions and property captured for horses and other things we needed. It was like soldiers nowadays who fight for money. We made war because we made money by it and we rather got to like it anyhow. The Snakes provoked us to make war on them.[8]

With developing warfare and the accumulation of foreign K M
wealth came a gradual transformation of Klamath, and to a 175
lesser extent, of Modoc society. The forays into hostile country 178
enlarged the scale of the war party. Chiloquin speaks of a body 726
totaling one hundred warriors, which included, according to Spier,
members of all the Klamath tribelets, and took in some Modoc as
well.[9] A joint raid on the part of Umpqua, Upland Takelma, and
other western tribes brought one such retaliatory reprisal about

K

M
175 1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-
178 scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes.
726 The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging
K M scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty,
175 brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of
726 which based their power upon eminence in war and possession
182 of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers,
622 and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times
565 to cement alliances with shamans.

556 Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean
756 weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power
[754] was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of
us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain
persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would
die."[11]

K The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties.
M
175 A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-
178 bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader
622 increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers
619 from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country.
628 As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance ren-
726 dered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment
of worth.

K In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary
622 principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his
father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother
175 as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill,
a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David,
later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain
George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not
essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks,
K of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite
[838] in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the
power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

K A minor factor in these developments may have been the
195 interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in
643 order that they might deal more effectively with responsible
648 leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs
177 met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

Kalapuya settlements in the vicinity of Oregon City, and induced 175 177
them to be regulated by the same rules as were the Nez Percés 643
and to appoint a single paramount chief. A disaffected Indian from 648
The Dalles, however, subsequently joined the party as it was making its way homeward and provoked a quarrel in which those favoring the Agent's proposal were slain.[13]

While these events were taking place, the Klamath country 175
was again being visited, at first by occasional parties whom the 648
Indians watched unseen. In the years 1844-45 a mixed party of Walla Walla, Spokane, and Cayuse, under the Walla Walla chief, Piupiumaksmaks, passed through the Klamath region en route to California to buy cattle. In 1843 and again in 1846 the Klamath were visited by the explorer, John C. Frémont. In his earlier visit, the martial captain, in order to quell "the treacherous disposition, which is a remarkable characteristic of the Indians south of the Columbia," fired a round from his howitzer over Klamath Marsh. Although his action was scarcely calculated to allay the suspicions of the Indians, he was shown the same courtesy as had been extended Peter Skene Ogden years before. A village chief—the father of David Hill—and his wife came out to meet the party and guided them east toward Summer Lake.

Frémont's second entrance, in 1846, was less fortunate. In that year, moving up from California, he passed through Modoc country and thereafter up the west shore of Upper Klamath Lake, where he was attacked by a party that had followed him from the southern end of the lake. Three of his Delaware Indians were slain. Although his attackers probably were from the Klamath Falls tribelet, Frémont's reprisal was directed instead at a village of the Lower Williamson group. Neither women nor children were spared in the attack. The slaughter left a legacy of hatred that did much to draw some of the Klamath into the Molala war.[14]

By the time of Frémont's second visit to the Kamath country, [1731]
the Indians of Oregon had been sorely stricken. Diseases brought by the whites had ravaged the tribes of the Columbia and Willamette valleys. The Hudson's Bay Company had sought to assure a firm supply of furs in the country it controlled and thus to maintain just and amicable relations with the Indians; and many of its employees had taken Indian wives. It was now being

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

175 supplanted by immigrants from the wagon trains and ships. 648 Some of the newcomers were from areas in which echoes of the frontier still lingered.

From the first, the settlers were active rivals of the Indians for lands and resources. They brought wives who were often repelled by the Indian way of life, and who established for themselves an insular world in which the Indian could find little place. Where they did not directly displace the natives, their swine uprooted camas and cous and their sheep browsed on berries. After an area had been inhabited by settlers for a time, it could no longer support the Indians, save as degraded and drunken remnants. The newcomers, as a whole, found little to respect in Indian culture; and many Indians who tried to follow the missionary's road found that it did not lead to the easy acquisition of the material wealth and status of the Americans. To the disillusioned apostates, finally, can be added those enraged by the lawless deeds of small bands of renegades, both Indian and white.

These events and others of local character lay behind the Cayuse slayings at the Whitman mission in 1847. In that same year, Crooked Finger, the leader of the closely related Northern Molala, visited the Umpqua, Rogue River, Pit River, Modoc, and Klamath, seeking recruits for an uprising timed to take advantage of the absence of local settlers in the military campaign against the Cayuse. Even as preparations were under way, emissaries from the Cayuse are said to have visited his camp in Molala country; but the settlers, forewarned, struck first. In the ensuing fighting, approximately eighty Klamath were involved, comprising over half of Crooked Finger's supporters, and a Klamath chief, Red Blanket, was slain. The triumphant whites gave the survivors three days to leave, and they departed along the Klamath Trail, bearing their dead with them.[15]

During these troubled times, the experience of the Klamath beyond their homeland was consistent: the white man was too powerful to be withstood. Comparable power, said some, must be sought in the white man's way. Link-River Jo, a Klamath sub-[597] chief, recalled in later years his contact in the 1840's with missionaries at The Dalles who

> told him about the Holy Spirit that was to come to the whole 175
> world and visit its remotest parts. When he came back from the 648
> Dalles he told his people about it but found them groping in [797]
> perfect darkness. . . . They would not believe him and told him
> he lied. He had watched long for the coming of the Holy Spirit
> and had never doubted that he should see him. He had heard
> Mr. Meacham talk for many days. . [and] now he saw that he
> was not like other men and knew that he must be the Holy
> Spirit come at last to bring gracious gifts for all tribes. . . .[16]

Others—and they were to become more influential—lived for 175
some time with whites and became convinced that the best 177
policy for the Klamath was one of peace. They included Lileks, 648
who in the course of the trading excursions to the north dwelled 622
for several years at The Dalles and was exposed there, no doubt, to the examples of authority set by whites as well as by the Columbia River tribes themselves. Another was Dave Hill, who, starting about 1859, lived approximately five years in Oregon City. Allen David, later to succeed Lileks as head chief in reservation days, was "well versed in the ways of the white man, from travel among the Willamette settlement." Another was Charley Preston who, like Hill, had spent five years at Oregon City, working for white farmers and had become "quite civilized and learned many of the white man's ways. He returned to his tribe and became a headman. . . ."[17]

Men such as these became the leaders of a "peace party"
among the Klamath, and their views achieved dominance in the 175
growing centralization of power among the Klamath. Lileks may 159
have consolidated the ascendancy he presently achieved as head 622
of this group by marriages beyond his tribelet: to the four wives [595]
from his own, Klamath Marsh, division, he added one each from
the Lower Williamson and Klamath Falls groups, as well as one
from the Modoc. From the Columbia he or a contemporary [177]
brought back new "laws," which included the institution of [681]
flogging as punishment for murder or for persistent quarreling. In one instance, ascribed by Spier, with some question, to prereservation days, when two men of the Lower Williamson River tribelet slew a Klamath Falls man, Lileks had them haled to Klamath Marsh, where each was beaten five times.[18]

When, in 1858, it was indicated that Klamath and Rogue 175
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[Klamath Reservation]

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175 River renegades had slain five prospectors on a tributary of the
648 Rogue River, the whites apprehended three Klamath involved
in the affair, "whom the Klamaths voluntarily killed to prevent
trouble; that tribe being now desirous of standing well with the
K U.S. Government."[19] It is probable that the hand of Lileks is to
[622] be discerned in this matter also. In brief, his power and that of
Chiloquin, often termed his second chief, was challenged only
by Captain George, leader of a faction hostile to the whites, and
by Monchnkasgitk, leader of the remote Upland tribelet.

K Thus the frontier condition brought a heightened rate of inter-
175 tribal warfare and of intertribal trading. It gave the Klamath
648 both peaceful and bellicose exposure to whites, largely outside
177 the Klamath homeland. In the awareness of new ways of life
[721] beyond the limited range of which their fathers had been con-
[439] scious the Klamath of the first half of the nineteenth century
became diversified in outlook. Enriched with new goods, Klamath
culture prospered, although in comparison with the levels
K achieved by the whites it seemed poorer than ever. Warfare had
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721 consolidated power and wealth in the hands of leaders and the
648 magnitude of their operations drew Klamath and Modoc into an
175 uneasy cooperation.

622 Indeed, in many of these developments the Modoc participated
K only to a small degree. In disposing of those slaves destined to
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175 be sold at The Dalles, the Klamath and occasionally the Warm
567 Springs peoples acted as middlemen; in consequence the Modoc
721 did not come as fully under the influence of the Columbia River
177 tribes, nor did they amass as much wealth. The development of
556 a chiefly class among them was feebler, and the tribelets co-
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643 alesced under a single acknowledged leader only tardily and
525 incompletely.[20]

619 When in 1846 an exploring party under Jesse and Lindsay
M Applegate laid out an alternate emigrant route known as the
175 South Road, they directed it from Fort Hall down through Modoc
648 country and past the winter settlements on Tule and Lower
721 Klamath lakes, then west of the Cascades and north to the
Willamette settlements. The Modoc bitterly resented the invasion of their homeland and waged war against the wagon
trains, a war which in turn brought reprisals from the settlers.
In 1852, after the Modoc had extensively damaged several trains

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and manhandled some of the survivors, the citizens of Yreka, a mining town in California southwest of the Modoc country, organized a party led by one Ben Wright. Under the guise of a council, they met some forty-six Modoc, to whom they offered a feast of poisoned beef. When the Modoc, forewarned by a Warm Springs Indian, declined to eat, Wright and his followers shot and killed all but five of them.[21]

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By contrast, the Klamath peace party withheld their hand. As Chiloquin later recalled an event of that year, a party under Captain Jim Crosby pursued some of the Modoc in the direction of Silver Lake.

> The troops did not find the Modocs but at Oux-y [at the north end of Klamath Marsh] killed some Klamaths. They killed a few up on the marsh, some on Williamson River and a good many on both sides of Klamath Lake, but this did not precipitate a war with my people. Even if they felt like avenging the death of the people, they knew they could not contend against the whites long, for they had learned they were as numerous as the trees on the mountains.
>
> Below the Dalles on the Columbia River a Modoc murdered one of the McKays or one of old Tom McKay's friends.[22] The murderer made his escape to the Modoc country, but was pursued as far as Oux-y by McKay's friends. The chief Chim-tolk and my brother, Beaded Hat, who was a sub-chief, and three men pursued the murderer and brought him back to Oux-y and there killed him.[23]

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For the emergent leaders of the Klamath, the maintenance of a consistent policy toward neighboring settlers posed problems of control. Similar difficulties beset the whites. From 1852 on, some men were accepted within tribal territory by the Indians as personally known and trustworthy. Wallace Baldwin, who ran cattle on land south of the present site of Klamath Falls, was one to whom Indians made gifts of roots, wokas, and game. Judge F. Adams in 1856 was grazing two thousand head of cattle in the vicinity of Keno; having made terms with the Indians, he was not molested. Wendolen Nus ranged stock in Klamath country in 1858-59, and, following a sojourn in the John Day region, returned in the 1860's to become the first permanent settler in the Klamath Basin. From 1857 on, the fur trader, Marty Frain, made an annual trip out of Yreka for the spring fishing at Lost River. Frain is quoted as saying that the Indians would be

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

175 peaceable save for the whites who from time to time slew some
648 of them without provocation.[24]

The Indians had provocation in plenty. With the opening of the goldfields in northern California, would-be miners passed from the Willamette Valley through the Klamath country. There were the border ruffians living on the fringe of society, to whom the judgment of the Rev. Samuel Parker might justly apply. "Their demoralizing influence . . . with the Indians," he exclaimed, "has been lamentable, and they have imposed upon them in all the ways that sinful propensities dictate. It is said they have sold them packs of cards at high prices, calling them the bible; and have told them if they should refuse to give white men wives, God would be angry with them and punish them eternally, etc."[25] Some of the depredations ascribed to Indians were their doing.

Even the more responsible settlers found it difficult to escape being tangled in indiscriminate reprisals. Early in 1854 four men were slain near Lower Klamath Lake, and in May of the same year settlers attacked the Indians at Klamath Ferry. In almost every case the government placed the responsibility upon the whites, a view the latter repudiated indignantly.[26]

Armed escorts provided for the immigrant trains discouraged direct and massive assaults, but did not entirely eliminate them. Meanwhile, bands comprising individuals from several tribes were harrying transient prospectors, settlers, and particularly immigrants plodding full-laden through tribal territory.

In 1862 Joseph A. Chaffee established a ferry across the Klamath River and another at the lower end of Klamath Lake, after having paid the sum of one hundred dollars which the bands required of him. The Indians then extorted a second fare from each of his passengers and after two weeks drove Chaffee away. He reported that they levied a charge of one dollar a night for grass upon those passing through the country and robbed small and defenseless parties. These bands, well armed, were said to comprise Modoc, Paiute, and Snakes (Northern Paiute), who asserted "that in case of difficulty, they will be supported by all these different tribes of Indians."[27]

The rapid settlement of the country made evident that some control must be extended over the tribes of southern Oregon. As

early as 1849, Jesse Applegate, who had glimpsed the Klamath Basin as a leader of the South Road expedition, introduced a bill into territorial legislature to charter an association, The Klamath Company, to treat with the Indians and purchase lands [illegible]om them.[28] Since these powers were reserved to the government, the bill failed of passage. In 1854, Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, desired to see at first hand the country and its people, whose "thieving propensities" had been a source of complaint. Consequently he persuaded a Klamath chief whom he encountered in Oregon City to bring together his people for a council at Klamath Lake.

Together with an interpreter, a Warm Springs guide, and the chief he made his way southward up the valley of the Deschutes and into Klamath country. It was mid-August and the tribesmen were doubtless out gathering wokas. Messengers sent to summon the Modoc, Paiute, and Pit River tribes proved to be fruitless; and only members of the Klamath Marsh, Agency Lake, and Lower Williamson River tribelets came in to the council. Palmer warned them of ". . . our determination to punish those who committed acts of violence and theft against our people, and [listened] to their replies and promises of good conduct. . . ." He then made some presents and the council broke up "with an apparent good feeling." Years later, Henry Blow was to contrast his liberality by inference with the parsimony of the government under the treaty.[29]

Palmer came away favorably impressed with the Klamath country as a place to colonize—i.e. remove—the Indians from the Willamette and Umpqua valleys. Of the three full Indian Agents under his control, he felt that the Agent for the southeastern district should reside in the vicinity of Klamath Lake, and that should the reservation he envisaged come into being a cavalry detachment should be posted there.[30]

The plan to remove the western tribes beyond the Cascades was subsequently dropped, but other phases of the plan were soon put into operation. Mounting hostilities, although not within Klamath territory, gave it impetus. Indeed, the surveying expedition under Lt. R. S. Williamson that pursued its way the next year through Klamath country and up the river that now bears his name, encountered no difficulty en route, but emerged from

175 648 its sojourn in eastern Oregon into the midst of the Rogue River and Yakima wars of 1855.[31]

Although behind them the Klamath settlements remained at peace, Klamath in the troubled areas were caught up in the dragnet. When the special agent for the upper Umpqua Valley was collecting the friendly Umpqua in order to shift them temporarily to the site of a proposed reservation, at the request of local citizens he also received some 35 Klamath, "who willingly surrendered their arms and ammunition." Again, in the roundup of approximately 1,440 Indians of coastal Oregon and the Willamette Valley in 1856, awaiting removal to permanent reservations, were members of tribes with whom no treaties had yet been concluded, who usually wintered in the Willamette Valley, and who in those troubled times sought the protection of the Indian department. Among them were 141 Klamath.[32] Even Lileks, out hunting deer in the mountains with some men of the Pelican Bay tribelet, was picked up, as were his companions. With their families they were taken to Oregon City and confined for some time until Lileks was able to secure their release.[33]

In the Klamath country itself, the alarms of war persistently pointed to the Klamath as hostile. Settlers reported the tribesmen armed and threatening on the Santiam and the Kalapuya, 202 and saw signal fires burning along the Klamath Trail from the Lakes to Oregon City.[34]

In the aftermath of warfare grew a new determination to end the recurrent hostilities. Wrote Commissioner of Indian Affairs James W. Denver in 1857:

> I know of no alternative to the present unsatisfactory and dangerous state of things but the adoption of early measures for the extinguishment of [Indian] title, and their colonization on properly located reservations, using and applying the consideration agreed to be allowed to them for their lands to subsist and clothe them until they can be taught and influenced to support and sustain themselves. The losses and damage to the government and to the citizens resulting from another general outbreak on the part of these Indians would probably fully equal, if not exceed, in amount what would be necessary to buy out and colonize them, so that they could be effectively controlled, if not improved and civilized.[35]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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In Oregon, Indian Agent G. H. Abbott promptly paid a visit to the Klamath for the twin purpose of concluding treaties with Klamath and Modoc and of selecting a site for an agency. The legislative session of 1858-59 instructed the delegate to Congress to press for the establishment of both agency and a military post in the Klamath country. Once more in 1860 the legislature urged that treaties be signed with the remaining unreduced tribes of Oregon and that military posts be authorized at Warm Springs and in the Klamath region.[36] The outbreak of the Civil War delayed action until the following year.

Meanwhile, the hostile bands in southern Oregon grew bolder. They operated particularly in the zones beyond tribal territory, where the wagon trains, laden with potential loot and owned by nameless strangers who had no claim to consideration, were a fit counterpart to the villages of the Pit Rivers. For at least one leader an additional spur for the attack was provided by the fear that the country would soon fill up with strangers.

This man was the Klamath Lake chief, Kiluampch, "Old Brave," also known as Captain George. He was a brother of Allen David, who, however, held quite different views. It was during Captain George's period of dominance that Chief Sam of the Rogue River hostiles reported in 1852 that "the Indians at the Klamath Lake country had agreed to kill off all that might come in that way. That they do not intend to let any more whites come into their country." Two years later, as Judge A. M. Rosborough wrote Colonel Drew, the Klamath met with emissaries from the tribes of the Illinois, Rogue, and Upper Klamath rivers to plan concerted war upon the whites, with the bands of Shasta and Scott's Valleys attending but declining to take part. "The Upper Klamath or Klamath Lake Indians," he added, "(with the exception of the tribe [of] which La Lakes is chief) commenced their depredations by killing Whites and stealing stock, and a report was current among the friendly Indians that these hostiles intended to destroy the immigrants as fast as they came from the Valley of the Humboldt."[37]

Captain George, like his brother, had been exposed to the American settlements but had been antagonized in the process. "George," wrote Elijah Steele, "had acquired some knowledge

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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of the English language, and fully comprehended the civil war under which our unfortunate country is now suffering, and he thought, or professed to think, that if all the Indians unite they could kill off all the whites and retake the country." He and another chief, known as Skookum John—a man suspected of instigating trouble in 1856—were reputed to counsel war continuously.[38]

In power, the redoubtable hostile had few peers. As of about [624] 1859, he was war chief of both Klamath and Modoc, in which capacity he divested a Modoc chief of his elk-skin cuirasses for refusing to join an expedition against the Pit River tribes. Indeed, [622] Henry Blow later averred that Captain George had superseded Lileks as chief for a time, during which he had entered into a treaty—with whom is uncertain, though possibly with Rosborough or Steele in Northern California—and had been promised pay as head chief.[39]

In its own time, the government moved to contain the threat posed by his ascendancy. The necessary action embraced both military and civil commitments, and the contentions engendered lie vividly upon the pages of the day.

Outstanding among the individuals involved were members of the numerous Applegate clan, whose destinies were to be intertwined with the Klamath for almost a half-century. They were led by the doughty Lindsay Applegate, who had crossed the plains with his brothers, Jesse and Charles, and their families in the great migration of 1843. A staunch Union man and a Republican, he then resided at Ashland Mills, across the Cascades from the Klamath country. Of his extensive family, mention should be made of four of his sons, Elisha, who held the office of surveyor general, Ivan, Lucien, and Oliver. As a member of the state legislature, Lindsay Applegate had been instrumental in securing passage of the joint resolution calling for the establishment of a military post in the Klamath country. During the Rogue River War, he had served with distinction as captain of a company of mounted volunteers. His second-in-command on that occasion had been J. W. Perit Huntington, married to a daughter of brother Charles, and a man with whom he shared the conviction that the Indians must be dealt with firmly but justly.[40]

Acting out of Northern California from the mining town of Yreka, south of the Modoc country, were A. M. Rosborough and his friend and successor, Judge Elijah Steele. They followed a policy in independence of that in Oregon and exercised a restraint in dealing with the hostiles which Applegate and his associates were to denounce as coddling. Animosities between the two states were involved: the Californians with some justification maintained that the Oregonians were bent on making a profit from the location of the military post.[41]

As if it were not enough to find a schism within the ranks of those civilians who were to be responsible for the handling of Indian affairs, further complications arose. The military campaign was entrusted to a company of volunteers led by Colonel Charles S. Drew, who hailed from the town of Jacksonville, a few miles distant from Ashland Mills and its economic rival. Drew, as Steele averred, had come under the influence of Gen. George Wright, commanding the Department of the Pacific, and was aligned with him in violent disagreement with the leniency displayed toward the natives by the Indian Bureau. Applegate and his friends darkly suspected Drew of seditious views; and the implication is strong that they felt Drew was endeavoring, through harsh measures, to foment a general Indian war which would divert much needed troops from the fighting on the eastern seaboard.[42]

About 1861, the Rogue iver settlements were plagued by an influx of Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, who were soon supporting themselves by trading with the whites, by theft, and by prostitution of their women. They expressed themselves as eager to sell their lands, but in their new location they were "a constant source of annoyance and terror" to the settlers. Consequently, anticipating an immediate danger, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, William H. Rector, appointed Lindsay Applegate to the post of special Indian agent for the Indians of southern Oregon to deal with these and related matters. Shortly thereafter, Elisha Applegate rode off to Salem carrying a petition from the people of Jackson County for a reservation at Klamath Lake.[43]

The new military post was authorized and in 1863 it took form in the heart of the Klamath country, between Fort Creek and Wood River. Bitterly, Lindsay Applegate, once more a private

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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citizen—his office having lapsed for lack of authorized pay—denounced the location in a letter to Huntington, now Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon. "Drew . . . and his *Copperhead* friends, have already committed an outrage in the country, by locating the Fort in a place, where it entirely fails to accomplish the objects for which a post was ordered, solely I believe for selfish and factious purposes of their clan."[44]

Drew, while recommending that treaties be concluded with Lileks' and Old George's bands of Klamath, and with certain other groups, roundly scored these tribes as "a horde of practical thieves, highwaymen, and murderers, cowardly sycophants before the white man's face, and perfidious assassins behind his back". He annexed to his report a detailed list of hostilities in the Klamath Lake – Tule Lake – Goose Lake region from the opening of the South Road down to the time of his report. Following one such attack in 1856 which left at least thirty-nine fatalities, and in which the abduction of women and children was suspected, as he claimed, "the Indians of Umpqua valley exhibited an unusual number of dresses and other articles of female apparel,* which they alleged they had obtained from the Indians at Klamath Lake".[45]

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Drew moved with dispatch. To the south, the long-standing warfare waged by Klamath and Modoc against Shasta and Pit River tribes had ended by embroiling them with the settlers. Suspecting the whites of having sided with the Shasta, who had slain several of their warriors, the hostile Klamath and Modoc under Captain George had, in the words of Steele, "commenced depredations by stealing the cattle of the frontier settlements, robbing travellers passing through their country, and uttering threats of murder and war on the opening of the spring." Acting upon a petition by citizens and a letter from Sub-agent Amos E. Rogers, Drew promptly arrested Captain George and summarily hanged him. George's troublesome colleague, Skookum John, met his death in the same action. At one stroke the bellicose faction had been decapitated.[46]

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So draconian a measure did not pass without comment. In a confidential letter to Huntington, Rogers wrote from Jacksonville, intimating that it had all been planned beforehand by Drew and other Copperheads at a "turkey and champaign dinner" at

Captain T'Vault's. "The party who met at this dinner," he insisted, "freely discussed the policy of this arest* and execution. It was determined that the charges contained in the petition of citizens and my letter to Drew was sufficient to arrest and hang the Indian . . . without trial or further evidence. The insolence that Drew complained of was, of course, but a pretext."[47] 175 648

The Indians, not surprisingly, found these measures profoundly unsettling, and sought out their friend, Lindsay Applegate. 'I was visited a few days ago by Lake indians," he recounted to Huntington early in 1864,

> who said that they had been instructed by thier people, to learn of me, whether thier country was to be taken from them or not without compensation, and if they were to be made slaves. They say Col. Drew has taken possession without thier having any assurance that they would ever get anything for thier country, and that it would shortly be over run by settlers.
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> They complain bitterly of these things, [but] say they do not want war with the whites. . . . If the Bill now before Congress proposing to make treaties with these indians, passes, we will be saved in all probability from an indian war, for the course that Drew is pursuing toward them will I think, if not counteracted in some way, certainly lead to war. . . ."[48]

In June, Huntington, having communicated with his opposite in California, Austin E. Wiley, made his way to the new post, Fort Klamath, to confer with the Klamath and Modoc chiefs and those headmen that could be assembled in preparation for a treaty council the following October. He reported that they were "friendly with the whites and have been for some time. Their desire to treat for the sale of their lands has been known for some time. . . ." He was pleased to learn that Capt. William Kelly, finding the Indians in a suffering condition during the previous winter, had advanced them foodstuffs out of his own stores. It was an act of statemanship pronounced by Huntington to have "a most salutory effect in conciliating the Indians, and rendering future control of them easy and economical."[49]

In California a few months earlier, another peacemaker had been at work. Elijah Steele, who had succeeded his friend, Rosborough, as Indian Agent, had returned in mid-February from San Francisco to find a large gathering of Indians encamped

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* Original spelling has been adhered to in all reports and letters.

K 175 648 near his house, whom his wife "had been lecturing . . . upon the best way to live with each other, and with other people." They were the chastened tribes whose hostilities Drew had summarily suppressed, now gathered under their peace chiefs: K M 175 648 the Klamath were here under Lileks, the Modoc under Schonchin, and the Shasta bands under their several chiefs.

Steele saw an opportunity to stabilize the frontier, and set about to conclude a treaty. He justified his action by the belief that the country of the Klamath and Modoc extended into California, that "an unhappy difference existed between [Agent Amos E. Rogers at] Jacksonville and the military department [i.e. Drew]," and that there was impending danger of an outbreak of hostilities.

He and interested citizens now found it relatively easy to reach an agreement with the tribes whereby they consented to live in peace and friendship with one another, to give up to the soldiers for punishment any person who violated this principle; to live on the same terms with non-Indians, permitting them free passage through their country and charging them only for ferry passage across rivers or guiding them on their way. They further agreed not to get drunk or to steal when in the settlements or white camps, or to rob the Chinese sluice-miners; to remain out of town at night, to refrain from selling Indian children of their own or other tribes or from selling women to any save an Indian, unless the purchaser agreed to marry her before a judge.

The Klamath and Modoc convenanted not to raid the Pit River tribes and to submit to the regulation of the officers at Fort Klamath. In the settled country, except when hunting, Indians were not to carry bows and arrows or firearms, and they were not to bring the latter into the settlements, except to be repaired. In return, they were granted permission to visit the settlements when provided with a pass from the officers at Fort Klamath, and were assured of protection while there.[50]

M 175 648 643 In his capacity as counselor of the Indians, Steele also intervened in a disputed Modoc leadership. Their dominant chief, Schonchin, had served as spokesman for the Modoc, still a loose congeries of bands, and had led them since his succession in 1846. In his earlier days, he had fought valiantly against the whites.

> I thought [he recollected in later years] if we killed all the white men we saw, that no more would come. We killed all we could;

> but they came more and more like new grass in the spring. I M
> looked around and saw that many of our young men were dead 175
> and could not come back to fight. My heart was sick. My people 648
> were few. I threw down my gun. I said, "I will not fight again." 643
> I made friends with the white man."[51]

Despite the fact that Schonchin was favorably disposed toward M 175
the whites and had represented the Modoc in an agreement at 648
which Steele had presided, Steele heeded more militant factions 643
which sought to replace him. Two chief contenders came forward: 578
the extremist, John Schonchin, a younger brother of the
chief who was then absent, and the somewhat more moderate M
Kintpuash, whom Steele dubbed Captain Jack. At the election, [666]
the tribesmen in attendance chose the latter, and Steele designated
him chief of all the Modoc.

In the course of the council, under the mistaken belief that M
Modoc territory lay largely within California, Steele negotiated 175
a treaty with that tribe whereby they pledged their readiness to 648
relinquish all their territory in exchange for assurances that they would be permitted to retain the area about Tule Lake. Since Steele was not authorized to enter into agreements of this character, his treaty was not ratified by Congress, although the Modoc remained unaware of that fact. Shortly thereafter, he was removed from office by a political maneuver.[52]

Less than a month after the Yreka council, the newspapers K
carried the news that Congress had appropriated $20,000 to effect M
a treaty and purchase the lands of the Klamath, Modoc, and 175 •
Paiute. Late in June, Huntington was instructed to effect the 648
treaty, and in August he visited the tribes for a preliminary conference. About the same time, Lileks and a delegation of Klamath are said to have waited on their friend, Captain Kelly, to propose that such a treaty be entered into. Early in October, Huntington, together with Agent William Logan to represent the absent superintendent for California, repaired once more to Fort Klamath to enter into the treaty.

The parties to the treaty, according to Huntington, included K M
21 Klamath chiefs and headmen, led by Lileks and Chiloquin, 175
representing 710 Klamath then present. Of the signatories who 648
can be identified, at least 9 were Klamath Marsh men. The 622
Modoc were led by Schonchin, still recognized as head chief by M
Huntington, and included the Klamath-Modoc interbreed, Chief 643

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K M George (Sleketatk), Captain Jack, and one Chuck-e-i-ox
175 (Njakeaks).[53] They are said to have represented 339 Modoc.
648 Finally, there were two Paiute, who signed for some 22 members
622 then present of a group known as the Yahuskin band of Snakes.[54]
M The Walpapi Snakes, under their crafty leader, Panaina, were
[643] also to have been included, but they withdrew and were dealt
with in a separate treaty in August, 1865.[55]

Captain Kelly, who was present, gives figures for the tribes that differ somewhat from those of Huntington. He notes that all the Klamath, including their slaves, were present, and numbered 133 males over fifteen years of age, 286 women, and 214 children. Of the Modoc, 46 men, 15 women, and 16 children were in attendance. "About 40 of the Modoc warriors," he adds, "were absent with the women and children in their own country. They have about the same proportion of women and children as the Klamaths." Finally, the Snakes numbered 11 men, 5 women, and 6 children.[56] It is possible that the absent Modoc included members of the party advocating continued resistance.

Many years later, the Upland Klamath leader, Monchnkasgitk, recalled the treaty making:

> Huntington came to Council Grove and sent out invitations to all the Indians to meet him to discuss a treaty about the lands. I went as chief with Seven Warm Springs Indians to the first meeting at Council Grove. I met La Lake, head chief, and Chiloquen, chiefs of the Klamaths; also Captain Jack, Schonchen, and Chief George of the Modocs.
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> Huntington met me there with the man who wrote for him, and another white man. We were there about a week and talked three days about the treaty. We built our first camp fire under a big pine tree which I think is still there. Huntington made a speech and said: "I have come from Washington, from the Great Father, to see about buying your land and have brought [with] me the things to pay for it." He then showed up fishhooks, beads, buttons, coarse blankets, and red paint. Huntington finished his speech by saying, "Tell me how much land you want to save for yourselves?" The chiefs went back to the camp and talked among themselves and agreed, and the next day told Huntington they wanted the land from the three snow mountains and the Cascades (the three sisters) from there to Steens Mountain; thence southerly along the mountains east of Goose Lake Valley to the California line, then westerly to the Cascades, taking in the Tule Lake country; then back to the beginning.

[Klamath Reservation]

Parenthetically, it may be observed that this tract encompasses in a general way the entire holdings of the three signatory groups, save that the Modoc included only the land reserved for them under the treaty with Steele earlier in the year. K M 175 648 •

> Huntington replied [Monchnkasgitk continues] that was "too much land for you to take care of and hold, and I want you to go back to your camp and think it over, and then point out to me land near your homes here, which you can hold and take care of." So we went to camp and all talked it over for many hours, and finally agreed on Lee Lakes proposition, that we should keep the land to Tom sum ne, then to His chok sal as, Bal la wisk se, Tsne whel ste e los, Ba ha, Chok chok e lisk se, then to Kal wal by Ish tish e wax.
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> To this Huntington agreed, saying, "That is all right; and the matter is now finished. You will be closed up, like in a high fence, so no one can get over to you, or their cattle get over, nor can you get out to them without permission; so, tomorrow I will issue you all the things I have, and to-night we will have a big dance."
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> The next day the things Huntington had were issued and they all went and signed the treaty.[57]

The Klamath, Nash observes, are reported to have signed the treaty willingly but both Modoc and Paiute did so only with reluctance.[58]

In the designation of boundaries, the seeds for future contention were sown. As members of the Boundary Commission observed in 1896:

> The two Commissioners of the Government, with their assistants, proceeded into a country practically unknown to them to treat with an assemblage of Indians who were ignorant of the fundamental principles of the matter to be discussed, the Indian language having no words expressing the idea of direction, by equivalents of the points of the compass, or distance by measures of miles, yards, etc.[*] To this day the older Indians can only designate direction by pointing, and distance by fractions of a day's travel; hence their topographical descriptions were very vague, unless confined to particular points. It is not surprising, therefore, that confusion should ensue when the agreement, reached after days of discussion, under such conditions, was condensed into a few lines of our language.[*]

The terms of the treaty mark the passage of the Indians—who came to be designated the Klamath Tribe—from a state of sovereign independence to a place under the government of the K 175 648

175 United States, and more directly under the supervision of an
648 Agent. Part of the Agent's duties were "to promote the well-being of the Indians, advance them in civilization, and especially agriculture, and . . . secure their moral improvement and education."[61]

The Tribe thus engaged to enter upon a program of extensive change designed to make its members into farmers by American standards, sending their children to school, and utilizing the services of a physician. It was even envisaged that they should at some time privately own the land they tilled, though without the power to alienate it. The terms of payment make it very probable that both parties to the treaty thought the Indians would be able to attain self-sufficiency by the end of twenty years. The reservation was to be set apart for the Indians, subject to the will of the President of the United States, with rights of way for railroads and public roads reserved for United States citizens, and with governmental option to move other tribes upon it in the future. The Indians agreed to submit to "all laws and regulations which the United States may prescribe for their government and conduct," including that banning their use of liquor, to remain upon the reservation, save when given temporary leave by the Agent, and to relinquish independent military action. They were confirmed in their exclusive right to take fish, roots, seeds, and berries within the reserved area, and were to be protected there against the trespass of any unauthorized white.[62]

The prominent role that governmental planning assigned to economic self-sufficiency and to isolation from outside interference is set forth in the words in which Huntington in his report justified the choice of site.

> In determining the bounds of the reservation, I sought primarily to secure a tract of country which had local advantages for supporting a colony of Indians by industrial pursuits. . . . A second object, and one scarcely less important, was to so locate the tribes that their separation from whites would be as nearly complete as possible. This reservation is not likely to be traversed by any important line of travel, and but a small portion of it will be coveted by whites for settlement.[63]

With slight amendments the treaty was signed once more in December, 1869, by the chiefs and headmen of the Indians, ratified by Congress, and signed into law and proclaimed February 17, 1870.

appointed sergeants of the force. "This," he added, "would give 657*
these chiefs something to do & a support. They would be interested 648*
terested in watching their people and in keeping good order."[81] 625
The move also would counter the opposition to the police among 622
the chiefs themselves, led by Allen David.

Once the force was authorized, Nickerson became aware of 657*
its peculiar jurisdictional limitations. When he sent the police 648*
625

[175] •

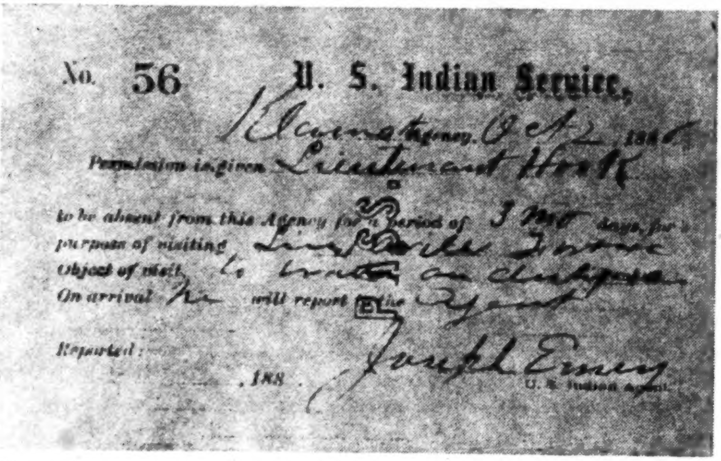

No. 56 U. S. Indian Service,

Klamath Agency, Oct 2 1886

Permission is given Lieutenant Hook

to be absent from this Agency for a period of 3 Mo days, for purpose of visiting Linkville [illegible]

Object of visit to [illegible] on duty

On arrival he will report to the Agent

Reported:

, 188

Joseph Emery
U. S. Indian Agent.

This pass authorized an Indian police officer to leave the reservation for three months while on duty in the Linkville area. 1886.

to Linkville to round up Indians absent without passes and to pursue Indian horse thieves, he was informed that they had no power to make arrests off the reservation: the United States authorities must be notified to act. Yet when the turbulent Spokane Ike shot Skookum Doctor and fled, to be captured by the Indian police near Prineville, the U.S. District Attorney declined jurisdiction, saying that it lay either with the state courts or
with the tribe. Accordingly, "the chiefs in council, acting as a 657*
grand jury, accused Spokane Ike of the crime of murder. A court 648*
was held, the Indian Agent presiding. A jury, of twelve of the 622
most intelligent Indians of the tribe was selected. . . ." Both by 592
the testimony of a witness and by his own statement the defend- 695
ant was found guilty of murder in the first degree. Upon further 000

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common 101
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 177
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological [184]
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy, [224]
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties: 648
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an artificial [829]
construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet 178
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-residence
with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been transferred 648
to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural [241]
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber industry [511]
has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
648 towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation,
by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically,
less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities
were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
[786] 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
[181] in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
[556] wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased
opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members,
[434] as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited
[651] bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

802 171 The numeration system of a people is a relic of a remote age, and therefore of importance for tracing the ancient connections of tribes. The quinary system is the most frequent counting method in America, and often combines with the vigesimal. The pure quinary system prevails in Ara, in the Chimaríko, Yuki, and in the Shasti-Pit River family, in Sahaptin and Wayíletpu, and it is also the system found in Klamath. Curiously enough, the Maidu Indians count by fifteens, and the decimal system forms the basis [801] of the Wintún, Mutsun, and Selish dialects. The mystic or "sacred" number occurring hundreds of times in mythologic stories is *five* among all the Oregonian tribes.

197 To sum up the result of the above linguistic inquiry, it may be stated that our present knowledge does not allow us to connect the Klamath language genealogically with any of the other languages compared, but *that it stands as a linguistic family for itself.* It has adopted elements from the tongues spoken in its neighborhood; and a common element, chiefly pronominal, underlies several of these and the American languages in general.

THE HISTORIC PERIOD.

'Εκ δὲ τοῦ καὶ πιστὰ πάντα κἀπίελπτα γίγνεται.

174 175 127 On account of the superstition previously alluded to, the traditional historic lore which forms so attractive a feature in the unwritten literature of the nations east of the Rocky Mountains and of Mexico is wanting entirely among the Máklaks, and we have to rely upon the meager reports of travelers and Government agents for accounts of the condition of the tribes in the earlier part of this century. Such notices of historic events are as follows:

000 According to a tradition recorded by Stephen Powers, an epidemic of small-pox broke out among the Modoc Indians in 1847, by which one hundred and fifty individuals perished.

The earliest historic conflict which can be ascertained with some chronological accuracy is the massacre of eighteen immigrants to Oregon by individuals of the Modoc tribe, and Ben Wright's massacre, consequent upon that bloody deed. The massacre of the immigrants occurred at a place on Tule or Rhett Lake, since called Bloody Point. Undoubtedly this was only

000 one in a series of similar butcheries. Apparently it occurred in 1852, and
the particulars are all given in Texts, pages 13 and 14.

175 One of the earliest reports upon these tribes made to the Bureau of
101 Indian Affairs at Washington is that of Joel Palmer, Superintendent of
131 Indian Affairs for Oregon, dated Dayton, Oregon, September 11, 1854.
Palmer states that the lands of the Klamath Indians extend upon the eastern
base of the Cascade range for about thirty miles east, and that east of
them live the "Mo-docks," who speak the same language as the Klamaths;
and east of these again, extending farther south, are the "Mo-e-twas" (Pit
175 River Indians). These two last-named tribes have always evinced a deadly
648 hostility to the whites, and the Modocs boasted of having within the last
four years murdered thirty-six whites. Palmer entered into an agreement
with the Klamath Indians to keep the peace with the white people, and also
sent messengers to the Modocs and Pit Rivers, believing that henceforth
[161] the immigrants would be spared from their attacks. The Klamath Lakes
were then enfeebled by wars with the surrounding tribes and by conflicts
among themselves, and were said to number but four hundred and fifteen
souls. He counted seven villages on Upper Klamath Lake, two on Pliock
Creek (P'laíkni or Sprague River), three on Toqua Lake (Túkua), and one
175 on Coasto (Koháshti) Lake.* The Indians had some guns, horses, camp
411 equipage, and the aboriginal war-club and "elk-skin shield" (kaknō'lsh).
231 Little Klamath Lake he calls An-coose, a corruption of Agáwesh.

714 Neither Klamath Lake nor Modoc Indians have taken any part in the
great Oregon war of 1854–'56, although their sympathies were of course
strongly in favor of the aboriginal cause.

000 For the year 1854 Powers records a battle fought by Captain Judy
against Modoc and Shasti Indians on the Klamath River, north of Yreka,
in which some women of the Shasti were killed.

The Report of 1859 speaks of continued hostilities on the side of the Modocs against passing immigrants and of the murdering of a party of five white men in Jackson County, Oregon. Two of the murderers belonged to the tribe of Chief Lelékash, and three of the perpetrators were seized and killed by the Klamath Indians (page 392).

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* This would make only six, not seven, villages.

• 175 622 Alexander S. Taylor has the following passage in his "California Farmer" of June 22, 1860: "Cumtukus, Lalacks, Schonches, and Tertupkark are names of chiefs among Klamath Lake Indians of the Oukskenah tribe. The big Klamath Lake is called Toakwa." Except the first, the above head-men were all identified in the Dictionary with the well-known names of Lelékash, Skóntchish (a Modoc chief) and Tatápkaksh. Cumtukni, who died about 1866, is mentioned by Stephen Powers as a great orator, prophet, and rain-maker.[†]

175 648 726 Whether the two incursions made upon the Klamath Lake people by the Rogue River Indians of Tinné lineage, across the Cascade range, of which detailed accounts were furnished in our Texts by Dave Hill, took place about 1855 or earlier I have not the means of ascertaining. The Lake tribe were not slow in inflicting vengeance upon the attacking party, for they crossed the mountain pass and fell upon the camps of their enemies, making sad havoc among them.

Frequent disputes and encounters occurred between the two chieftaincies and the *Shasti Indians* around Yreka, California; but the warlike qualities of the latter were often too strong for the aggressors, and the conflicts were not very bloody.[†] With the Pit River or Móatwash tribe the matter was different. They were not, like the Shasti, possessed of the warrior spirit, and therefore had to suffer terribly from the annual raids perpetrated upon them. In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place at The Dalles. Some of these raids were provoked by horse-stealing, others by greed for gain and plunder, and the aggressors never suffered heavily thereby. When they began is not known, but the treaty of 1864 000 put an end to them. The recitals in the Texts, pages 19–27 and 54, 55,

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[*] Overland Monthly, 1873, June number, page 540. His appearance had something fascinating for the Indians, and some are said to have traveled two hundred miles to consult him. His name appears to be Kúmĕtakni = "coming from a cave," or "living in a cave."

[†] One of these fights took place between the Shasti, Modoc, and Trinity River Indians for the possession of an obsidian quarry north of Shasta Butte, mentioned by B. B. Redding in American Naturalist, XIII, p. 668, et seq., and Archiv f. Anthropologie, XIV, p. 425.

000 give us graphic sketches of these intertribal broils. Some of the eastern Pit Rivers seem to have lived on friendly terms with the Modocs; but the bands farther south, especially the Hot Spring and Big Valley Indians, were the principal sufferers by these incursions. In a raid of 1857 fifty-six of their women and children were enslaved and sold on the Columbia River for Cayuse ponies, one squaw being rated at five or six horses and a boy one horse.*

The Pit River Indians were a predatory tribe also, and very dangerous to the immigrants passing through their country to northwestern Oregon. Their continued depredations made it a duty of the Government to inflict upon them a heavy chastisement, and Maj. Gen. George Crook, commanding the Colorado Department of the United States Army, was intrusted with its execution. This campaign of 1867 is described by him as follows:†

> I continued the campaign into the Pit River country with Company H, First Cavalry, Lieutenant Parnelle; Company D, Twenty-third Infantry, Lieutenant Madigan, First Cavalry, commanding; and Archie McIntosh, with his twenty Fort Boisé Indian scouts. We found on Pit River a party of warriors in camp. They fled. The next day we discovered a large party of warriors in the bluffs on the river. We had a severe fight, lasting two days and nights. They effected their escape by means of holes and crevices in the ground. A great many were killed, among whom were some of note; how many could not be ascertained. Our loss was Lieutenant Madigan and three men killed, and eight soldiers and one citizen wounded.

The more unruly portion of these Indians were subsequently removed to the Round Valley Reservation, California, and about two hundred are still in their old homes.

175 648 Between the Klamaths and the neighboring Snake tribes there was always a sort of disaffection, based upon difference of race, language, and habits; but whether their earlier relations were always those of open hostility or not is past finding out.‡ The wording of the treaty makes it probable that the hunting grounds north and east of their present seats on Sprague River were shared in common by both, and that the Snake Indians frequently

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[113] *Alex. S. Taylor, "California Farmer," May, 1859.

† Report of the Secretary of War, 1868-'69, Part I, p. 69, dated August 22, 1867. Stephen Powers refers to this fight in Contributions III, p. 268.

‡ One of the Texts, p. 28, shows that the Snakes in one instance attacked and massacred in a very cowardly way some women near the outlet of Williamson River.

175 changed their settlements, as hunting nations are in the habit of doing. 648 Thus Pauline Marsh, near Silver Lake, and Pauline Lake, on one of the head springs of Des Chutes River, were both named after the Snake chief Panaína of our Texts. The bands established upon the Reservation since the treaty was concluded are called Walpapi and Yahushkin. At first they ran off and committed depredations in the vicinity, whereupon the Government was compelled to force them back. General Crook made several expeditions in the execution of the task. These campaigns were short and decisive, and the Klamath Lake scouts engaged in them did good service, as evidenced by General Crook's reports * and Dave Hill's Text, pages 28–33. Upon the defeat and killing of Panaína, the Walpapi chief, the tribe finally quieted down and remained neutral in the commotion caused by the Modoc war of 1872–'73.

175 No indications are at hand of the number of Indians formerly inhabit- 161 ing the headwaters of the Klamath River. Before the first census was 164 taken estimates deserving no credence were made, varying from one thousand to two thousand Indians. In those times the scourges of small-pox, syphilis, and whisky did *not inflict such terrible ravages as they do now* among the Indians; but instead of these the continual tribal quarrels, family vengeance, the ordeals of witchcraft, dearth of food, and the inhuman treatment of the females must have claimed many more victims than at [523] present. Emigration and intermarriages with other tribes were rather the [167] exception than the rule, and are so even now.

THE TREATY OF 1864.

175 During the ten years following Wright's massacre the country began 648 to assume a somewhat different aspect through the agricultural and stock-raising settlements of white people that sprung up in Lost River Valley, around Little Klamath Lake and in other places. The cession of lands to the "Oregon Central Military Road Company" from Eugene City, in Willámet Valley, through the Cascade range, across the Klamath Marsh, to

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[13] * Contained in the Report of the Secretary of War, 1868–'69, Part I, pp 69, 70, dated September 2, 1867, and March 19, 1868. The troops killed twenty-four Snake Indians in the expedition of 1867. See also Texts, Note to 28, 14.

175 Warner Lake, and thence to the boundary of Idaho, with its "six miles
648 limit" grants on both sides, took place before the conclusion of the treaty.

In order to subject the troublesome Snake and Modoc tribes to a stricter control, and to secure more protection to settlers and the immigrants traveling through Oregon, Fort Klamath was established north of Upper Klamath Lake, in Lake County, and garrisoned with several companies, who were of great service in preserving order in these sparsely inhabited tracts. The Klamath Lake Indians were more inclined to keep up friendship with the white people than the other tribes, nevertheless some turbulent characters among them necessitated military restraint.

The Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the Northern District of California, Judge E. Steele, adjusted some grave difficulties between the Shasti and the Máklaks Indians, which threatened to break out into a terrible war of devastation against the Shasti and the white settlers alike. Some of the Máklaks "braves" had been killed upon the lands of white settlers, and the injured Indians had begun retaliation already. Colonel Drew, stationed at Fort Klamath (who fought marauding bands of Shoshoni and Bannocks during the summer of 1864), had arrested and executed "Captain" George, a Klamath Lake chief, for criminal acts, and killed an Indian commonly known as Skukum John. The chiefs and some representative Indians of the contending tribes met Judge Steele near Yreka, California, on February 14, 1864, and for some trifling consideration agreed to forego all further hostilities among themselves, to allow free passage to anybody traveling through their territories, and to maintain terms of friendship with all whites, negroes, and Chinese. The Modocs also made the special promise to harass no longer the Pit River Indians by annual raids. It also appears from Mr. Steele's allocution to the Indians that they had been selling to whites and others Indian children of their own and of other tribes, and also squaws, the latter mainly for the purpose of prostitution.*

The establishment of Fort Klamath, the increase of white men's settlements, the possibility of Indian outbreaks on account of the greater vicinity of the farms to the Indian villages, and the desire of the Indians themselves to obtain rations, supplies, and annuities brought the opportunity of a

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* Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1864, pp. 84, 85 and 108–110.

175 148 treaty with these Indians more forcibly before the Government than ever before. In compliance with instructions from Indian Commissioner William P. Dole, Superintendent J. W. Perit Huntington, accompanied by Agent Logan, went through the Des Chutes Valley to Fort Klamath, and found there a large number of Indians of both sexes assembled, seven hundred and ten of whom were Klamath Lake, three hundred and thirty-nine Modoc people, and twenty-two of the Yahuskin band of Snake Indians. They unanimously concurred in the desire that Lindsey Applegate, a settler of Jackson County, Oregon, be appointed as their agent. The treaty was concluded on the 14th of October, 1864, and duly signed by the contracting parties, including twenty-six chiefs and principal men of the tribes. Huntington's estimate of funds necessary for fulfilling treaty stipulations and subsisting the Indians the first year amounted to a total of $69,400. The text of the treaty being too long for insertion entire, I restrict myself here to the contents of the principal paragraphs:

175 148 657 Article 1 stipulates the cession of the territory described above (p. xvi), and sets apart as a *reservation* for the tribes referred to the tract included within the limits following: Beginning upon the Point of Rocks, about twelve miles south of the mouth of Williamson River,* the boundary follows the eastern shore north to the mouth of Wood River; thence up Wood River to a point one mile north of the bridge at Fort Klamath; thence due east to the summit of the ridge which divides the upper and middle Klamath Lakes (now called Klamath Marsh and Upper Klamath Lake); thence along said ridge to a point due *east* of the north end of the upper lake; thence due east, passing the said north end of the upper lake to the summit of the mountains on the east side of the lake; thence along said mountain to the point where Sprague's River is intersected by the Ish-tish-ea-wax Creek (probably Meryl Creek); then in a southerly direction to the summit of the mountain, the extremity of which forms the Point of Rocks; thence along said mountain to the place of beginning. The tribes will remove to this reservation immediately after the ratification of the treaty and remain thereon. No whites, except employés and officers of the United States Government, are allowed to reside upon this tract, and the Indians have

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*At the foot of Nílakshi Mountain.

175 the exclusive right of taking fish and gathering edible roots, seeds, and
648 berries within the reservation. Provision is made by which the right of
657 way for public roads and railroads across said reservation is reserved to
citizens of the United States.

Article 2. As a payment for the ceded lands the Indians shall receive $8,000 per annum for a period of five years, $5,000 per annum for the next five years, and the sum of $3,000 per annum for the five years next succeeding.

Article 3 provides for the payment of $35,000 for removing the Indians to the reservation, subsisting them during the first year, and providing them with clothing, teams, tools, seeds, etc.

313 Articles 4 and 5 provide for the establishment of a saw-mill, a flouring-
256 mill, a manual-labor school, and hospital buildings, all to be maintained
874 and supplied with working material at the expense of the United States for
783 the period of twenty years. Employés for running these establishments
shall be paid and housed by the Government also.

423 Article 6 reserves the right to the Government to provide each Indian
family with lands in severalty to the extent of forty to one hundred and twenty acres, and to guarantee possession to them. Indians are not allowed to alienate these lands.

Article 9. The Indians acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and pledge themselves to be friendly with all citizens thereof, to commit no depredations upon the persons or property of said citizens, and to refrain from carrying on any war upon other Indian tribes.

273 Article 10 prohibits the sale and use of liquors upon the Reservation,
and Article 11 permits the Government to locate other Indian tribes thereon, the parties to this treaty not losing any rights thereby.

The treaty was proclaimed February 17, 1870.

Like most of the treaties concluded between the United States Government and the Indian tribes, this compact was made much more to the advantage of the white man than of his red brother. Not only were the stipulated annuities rather small for a body of Indians, which was then considered to number about two thousand people, but these annuities were

175 to be paid only after the ratification of the treaty by the President and the 648 Senate, which did not take place till five years after the conclusion, viz, 657 February 17, 1870. Meanwhile the Indians were always subject to the possibility of being removed from the homes of their ancestors by the stroke of a pen. The bungling composition of the document appears from the fact that a grave mistake was committed by inserting the term "east" instead of *west* (italicized in our text above), and by not mentioning the land grant made to the Oregon Central Military Wagon Road Company before 1864, which, when insisted upon, would, with its twelve-mile limits, take away the best parts of the Reserve, the Sprague River Valley, for instance. At the time when I visited the country, in the autumn of 1877, the Klamath Lake Indians showed much animosity against the settlers establishing themselves within their domain. The company having left many portions of their projected wagon road unfinished, Congress, by act approved March 2, 1889, directed the Attorney-General to cause suits to be brought within six months from that date, in the name of the United States, in the United States Circuit Court for Oregon, to try the questions, among others, of the seasonable and proper completion of said road, and to obtain judgments, which the court was authorized to render, declaring forfeited to the United States all lands lying conterminous with those parts of the road which were not constructed in accordance with the requirements of the granting act. (Cf. on this subject Ex. Doc. 131, House of Representatives, Forty-ninth Congress, first session, and Ex. Doc. 124, Senate, Fiftieth Congress.)

The first representative of the Government, Subagent Lindsey Applegate, erected some buildings at the northwest point of Upper Klamath Lake, called Skohuáshki (abbr. Kohá́shti); but as early as 1866 he called attention to the fact that the place had no suitable water-power, but that three miles above the little creek at Beetle's Rest was a most excellent motor for driving a saw-mill and a grist-mill, and, being on the edge of the pine woods, was a well-fitted and shady place for the agency buildings. This advice was followed in 1868, two years before the ratification of the 177 treaty. In the same year the old practice of cremating dead bodies was 764 abandoned and inhumation introduced. The grave-yard was established around the ash-pile of cremation, still visible in 1877, and in 1878 a second

177 cemetery was inaugurated between the Williamson River and Modoc Point,
764 one mile and a half south of the bridge.

175 President U. S. Grant's peace policy in regard to the Indians was
648 inaugurated by act of Congress dated April 10, 1869. The supervision of
657 the Indian agencies was placed in the hands of the authorities of religious
797 denominations, a board of commissioners appointed,* and the spiritual interests of that reservation turned over to the Methodist Church.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCHES ON THESE INDIANS.

114 The study of the ethnography of a tribe usually precedes that of its language; sometimes both are pursued simultaneously, and this is undoubtedly the correct method. In the case of the Máklaks, Horatio Hale,† the linguist of Ch. Wilkes's United States Exploring Expedition (1838–1842), and still holding forth as a pioneer in his lines of research, took down a vocabulary from a Klamath Lake Indian whom he met on the Columbia River in 1841. No ethnographic remarks upon the tribe accompany this vocabulary, probably because information obtained from interpreters, who speak the Chinook jargon only, is notoriously unreliable.

Next in time follow the extensive explorations of John Charles Frémont‡ of the interior basin west of the Rocky Mountains and of the Pacific coast from 1843 to 1844, and again from 1845 to 1846, during which the Klamath Lakes and Klamath Marsh were visited and explored. His reports contain graphic sketches of all that was seen and observed by his parties; but scientific accuracy is often wanting, and many countries are described without giving the Indian local names, which are indispensable to identification.

The acquisition of the Pacific coast by the United States (California in 1846, Oregon in 1848) naturally suggested projects of connecting the two oceans by a transcontinental railroad, starting from the Mississippi River and reaching to the Bay of San Francisco. The Central Govern-

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* Cf. Revised Statutes of the United States, second edition, 1878, p. 350.

† Born in Newport, New Hampshire, in 1817.

‡ Born at Savannah, Georgia, January 21, 1813; candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1856; died in New York City, July 13, 1890.

114 that these explorations were the starting-point of all further researches upon the Pacific coast, and as such they are creditable to the men with whom and the epoch at which they originated.

The topographic map of the Klamath headwaters is now being prepared by the U. S. Geological Survey. It is laid out upon a scale of 1 to 250,000, with contour intervals of 200 feet, the rivers and water sheets in blue. The sheets are named as follows: Ashland, Klamath,* Shasta, Modoc Lava Bed, Alturas—the last three belonging to California. The surveys were made from 1883 to 1887 by Henry Gannett, chief geographer, A. H. Thompson, geographer in charge; triangulation by the George M. Wheeler survey, by Mark B. Kerr; and topography, by Eugene Ricksecker and partly by Mark B. Kerr.

THE MODOC WAR OF 1872–1873.

175 648 657 The well-known maxim, "it is cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them," has forced itself upon the governments of all American countries in such indelible characters that it has become a rule for them to conclude treaties with the different "nations" to keep them at peace, feed them by rations or annuities, and confine them within the limits of certain territories. The treaty of 1864 was not attended [illegible] all the favorable results expected. The Snake Indians ran off from the Reservation during April, 1866, the Modocs in 1865. The latter tribe were not compelled to leave their old domain, now ceded to the United States, till 1869. Moreover, it always takes several years to gather straying Indians upon a reservation after a treaty has become an accomplished fact. 000 The Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, Mr. Meacham, on December 30, 1869, after a long and excited "talk," succeeded in bringing two hundred and fifty-eight Modocs to Modoc Point, upon the reservation allotted to them. On April 26, 1870, the supply of rations was exhausted, and the more obstinate half of the tribe left the Reservation again for the old domain upon Lost River and the lakes, whereas the other half, under Skóntchish, went to Yáneks, on Sprague River, where the Superintendent located them. All Modocs

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* The name for the sheet east of Klamath has not yet been determined.

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Sá-adas	tsi's	Moatuásas	tsí's	ûdúyua,	Sastiásh	tsís	Walamskí'sh	tsis
The Snakes	too,	the Pit Rivers	too	(they) whipped	the Shastis	too,	the Rogue Rivers	too,

Mókeash	tsi's	ûdúyua	Ä'-ukskni.	Wäitängí'sham	tsí's	tí'tatna	tĕméska
the Kalapuyas	too	whipped	the Lake tribe.	From the Warm Spring Indians	also	at various times	took away

wáts	Ē-ushkni.
horses	the Lake men.

NOTES.

[124] 16. Dave Hill took part himself in one of these skirmishes. His historical accounts are all given in the conversational style, which almost throughout substitutes the [175] simple *s* for *sh*. I have not been able to determine the exact dates of these Rogue River raids; but they must have occurred before the end of 1855, when the Oregon war broke out, for after its termination most of the Rogue River Indians were removed from their old homes to the coast reservations of Northwestern Oregon. The raids occurred in the early youth of Dave Hill, who was born about 1840; so they may be placed between the years 1848 and 1855.

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16, 2. tínatoks forms antithesis to tína of the preceding clause. The literal meaning of both is: "one time . . . . . the other time."

16, 3. Wálamsi. The suffix -i, -í, is the adverbial particle hí, and forms a *locative case*, mainly found in local and topographical terms, as in Yámsi, Kakágosi, Ktaíwashi; also in a few generic nouns designating localities, encampments, mountains, etc.

16, 5. shûshû'dshapĕlish. The suffixed -sh is the pronoun sha, *they*, and in this suffixed form also appears as -tch, -s. This verb stands in the distributive form; shúdshapĕli, to rebuild a fire, being the absolute form.

16, 7. nánχatch, for nánχa tchish, "others also".

16, 10. yákanuapkuk, verbal causative of the future of yákna. The forms yä'kna, yä'ka, yékna, yéka, are preferable to yákna, yáka.

[727] 16, 11. sá-atsa. It is a common custom among western, and some eastern, wild tribes to force their captives to dance in honor of the victory gained over their own tribe. This is done especially during the scalp-dances.

16, 14. Titná lû'ks, etc. Here begins the account of a raid made by the Rogue River Indians upon the Klamath Lake settlements. It may have occurred one year after the raid previously narrated.

16, 15. sapíya, etc. After escaping, he informed his own countrymen of all the local conditions of the Klamath Lake people and their country, and used all his topographical knowledge in guiding their warriors to the attack.

17, 1 and 2. Tsûi nĕ'lka. Indians and uncivilized races in all portions of the world begin their raids upon the enemy before dawn, or at the earliest appearance of daylight.

17, 9. gäkán and gekuánapka, inflectional metathesis for gäkná and gekánuapka.

17, 14. huşhtchŏ'ktat for hushtchŏ'kat ät, ät (*ye*) being repeated twice.

17, 16. tsóķapks tcha is a contraction from tsoķápkash tchí'sh a.

17, 17. Tchíssa, for tchí sha: thus they.

17, 20. sellólok: synizesis of the longer form shéllualuk, shellualúgs: through fighting.

17, 21. yuyálks=sitk, abbreviated from yuyálkish=shítko, looking like persons mourning over their lost companions, or made sorrowful by bondage to Indians of a foreign tribe.

173 **28, 2.** gépkapsh, formed by syllabic elision from gepkápkash; cf. **29**, 19.

*539 **28, 2.** sákatla, to come up, to arrive by the trail.

726 **28**, 3 and 4. wéwaliks pi'la, the old women only; the younger ones, on whom prin-
648 cipally devolves the work of wókash-gathering, found time to escape in their canoes
[193] from the raiders.

[192] **28, 4.** k̲lewidshápka. The men had gone fishing to distant places, leaving their
[222] females in the camp, not apprehensive of any hostile attack.

[192] **28**, 8. kilō's, or k̲ilū's, is the epithet given to "Dry-Leg", the Snake chief; it means a bold fighter, leader of a fighting band; literally: "irate, wrathful", and may be here taken as an equivalent to "war-chief" (sessalólish lak̲i).

[193] **28**, 13. Moadoki'sh, apocopated for Moadokíshash; also **28**, 1: wéwanuish (wé-
[192] wan'sh) for wewannishash (shlüá gépkapsh). Nā'lsh tchí'sh, *us* also; that is, we of the
[657] Klamath Lake tribe, were gathered by Mr. Perit Huntington into one district, the newly established Klamath Reservation. A large number of the Lake People were then scattered about Klamath Marsh, which is visited by them now in summer only for fishing, gathering wókash and berries, and for hunting.

[657] **28, 14.** Dave Hill, now interpreter (lúldatkish) at the Klamath Lake Agency, took
[175] a part in this short but interesting expedition, in the capacity of an Indian scout. He fixes himself the date of it by the words "tína illolólatko", or a *full* year after the Indians had been gathered on the Reservation by Mr. Perit Huntington. The treaty was concluded on October 14, 1864, and the campaign was undertaken in 1866 by a small body of American troops for the purpose of bringing back to the Reservation a band of Snake Indians who had run away from it. This unruly tribe, jealous of its former independence, has left the Reservation even since then, and could only after much exertion be induced to return. The fights took place west of Warner Lake, and north of the border-line between California and Nevada, within the former haunts of these western Shoshonis.

[175] The Report of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867, page 99 sq., mentions this expedition in the following laconic terms: "October 27, 1866, troops consisting of 21 men, First Oregon infantry, and five Indian Klamath scouts, under Lieutenant Oatman, and 27 men, First Oregon cavalry, under Lieutenant Small, had a fight with a band of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [should read: Abert], in the Klamath country, Southern Oregon. The Indians had so chosen their position that the troops were obliged to dismount to attack them. The fight lasted one and a half hour, and 14 Indians were killed and many wounded."

On page 100 of the same Report, another fight against Snake Indians is spoken of: "Late in November, 1866, in a conflict between the troops and Snake Indians near Fort Klamath, 10 Snake Indians were killed by the troops, and three more by the friendly Klamath and Moadocs who accompanied them." This may have been the same fight as the one above, reported with much less accuracy of detail.

[103] **29, 3.** Spá·ish Valley, name corrupted from Surprise Valley. This valley is situated in the northeastern angle of California, and on the shore of its two alkali lakes several American settlements have sprung up. A few Snake Indians live peaceably around Fort Bidwell, which is located at the northern extremity of the valley.

29, 10. tálaat tχalamti'tal, consonantic assimilation for tálaak tχalamti'tal, due west.

[192] **29**, 17 and 19. nā'ts, natch, for nā'ls, nā'lsh, nā'lash, *us*; náts a gépksi, for nā'lash a gépkash í.

NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

By Robert F. Spencer

773 IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians
177 of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of
178 aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among
[779] other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in
the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of
interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of
their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way
and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching
Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer
[182] can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the
folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common
economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies
combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising
to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations.
A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to
find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal
myth.

175 Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation
177 from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal
to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its
culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which
[222] it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In
[226] its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent
gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes
[631] of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic
[621] economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separatistic
[771] hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly
[791] developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest
and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points
to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

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[101] [1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949,
[122] on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund, 1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

[113] [2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

775 Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6]
776 the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath
[823] Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while
the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his
command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in
a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds,
heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men.
Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the
theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal
Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning
him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge
of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal
culture.

To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting
177 of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifi-
175 cations in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroach-
[121] ment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into
hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc.
Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were
ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected
pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon.
[791] An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result
[797] proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of
Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology,
White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to
an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society,
and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a
resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a
half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and
[182] patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental
administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization
of society and personality on the reservation.

175 Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western
668 American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements,
the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the
European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

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[825] [6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven,
Ka'äkemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many
modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all
were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

[113] [7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural
Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*,
ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

[113] [9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington
Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

Here Christian

175 elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath
668 traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The
177 acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather
[578] than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

175 By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had
177 burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with
[668] essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so
[797] lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values
[791] were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One infor-
[533] mant tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power) have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important
771 movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the
175 Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with
177 longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orienta-
795 tion, the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology; but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements
[755] also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are employed (for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil,
178 and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult,
771 too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services.
795 The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

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[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kemps was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

[113] [11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

[113] [12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

[113] [13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.

Frémont also remarked on the scarcity of their horses.[22]

Frémont reached Klamath lake again May 6, 1846. He commented [231]
on the outlet, Link river, "this is a great fishing station for the
Indians." His statement on the distribution of their settlements [226]
coincides with my information.

> They have fixed habitations around the shores of the lake, particularly at [361]
> the outlet and inlet [Williamson river], and along the inlet up to the swamp
> meadow [Klamath marsh], where I met the Tlamaths in the winter of '43–'44, [131]
> and where we narrowly escaped disaster. . . . . The Indians made me under-
> stand that there was another large river [Williamson river] which came from [133]
> the north and flowed into the lake at the northern end, and that the principal
> village was at its mouth, where also they caught many fish.

Frémont's party made a circuit of the lake. It is curious that he
does not mention the settlements about Pelican lake on the western
side, which he could hardly have avoided. On the other hand it is
not clear how closely his memoirs follow his diary. Attacked while [726]
on the western side, his party reciprocated by raiding a village on the
opposite side, perhaps one of those on Williamson river just above
the present highway bridge.

> Behind the sage-bushes where they had taken their stand every Indian had
> spread his arrows on the ground in fan-like shape, so that they would be ready
> to his hand. . . . . Quantities of fish were drying, spread on scaffolds, or hung [252]
> up on frames. The huts, which were made of tall rushes and willows, like
> those on the savannah above [Klamath marsh], were set on fire, and the fish [342]
> and scaffolds were all destroyed.[23] [726]

The first invaders remembered by the Klamath came from the
north about 1835. The stories about them have now a legendary flavor. 173
The first group was mounted; the Klamath dubbed them mpĕ'tkoŋks 437
(from mĕtc!a', to pack about) from their roving habits. An alterna- 648
tive name, pásai'ūks (French-Canadian in Chinook jargon), more
surely identifies them. During their brief stay at the mouth of
Williamson river they bought fat dogs of the Klamath, which to the
latter's amazement, they ate. For these they gave buttons and metal
disks with a central perforation (wika'lkal).

Almost as early was a white contingent moving northward on the 173
west side of Klamath lake. The Indians watched them unseen. They 648
were impressed with the horses, axes, and the food of the whites. 177

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[22] Frémont, Narrative, 122.

[23] Frémont, Memoirs, 483, 484, 494.

173 When the latter broke camp they left behind a little flour, which the
177 Indians carried home and divided. They rubbed it on their palms and
[302] smeared their faces.[24]

648 Other early whites came from the southeast on horseback. This
marked the beginning of the great migration by way of the Modoc
648 country to the Pacific slope. On the whole the Klamath came off
remarkably well in their relations with the whites. The full brunt of immigration was borne by Modoc and Pit River peoples. The Klamath were spared the Oregon wars of the fifties, which all but annihilated the tribes of western Oregon and northern California.[25] The earliest white settlements in the neighborhood were about the present Jacksonville, Medford, and Ashland. The first white settlement within Klamath territory was near the village of kowa'edi at the northern end of the lake. This was about 1860–65, hence may have reference to the first agency established there. Subsequent relations have been on the whole quite amicable. The Klamath took no part in the Modoc war of 1872–73.

Habitat

131 The territory of the Klamath is on the high plateau of eastern
133 Oregon, in the shallow basin wherein lies the group of lakes that give
rise to Klamath river. The southern half of this basin about lower Klamath and Tule lakes is Modoc territory, extending southward across the lava beds in the direction of Pit river. The northern half, which lies against the Cascade range, is the home of the Klamath.

The Klamath properly reside on Klamath lake (or as it was formerly known, upper or middle Klamath lake), on Klamath marsh,
[361] and on Williamson river, which connects them. At least, most of the
permanent winter settlements are on these three waters, with a scattering on their tributaries. Summer camps are established over a much wider territory, as far, it would seem, as the natural limits of this drainage area.

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[263] [24] Salt was equally unknown to them at this time.

[25] A somewhat obscure account was given me of the inclusion of Klamath in
[174] the great round-up of western Oregon Indians on Siletz (?) reservation in the
fifties. These had been wintering at the Dalles and were herded with the Indians there. The Upland Takelma and Molala were penned in together and
[648] fed by the soldiers. Some died every day; the Klamath suspected that they
were poisoned. The Klamath were kept apart, and, thanks to the strenuous arguments of their chief Lalc'ks, were not only freed but supplied with beef and an escort of soldiery to conduct them back to their own country.

by the death of several on each side, the feud continues until payment 726
is made. Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried 628
out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery.

A chief may intervene; so I was told, though I doubt it. Chiefs do 728
accompany parleying parties and other men may echo their words.
Beyond that there seems to be nothing to their position but personal 622
prestige which has been enhanced by developments since reservation days. Lɛle'ks and his successors among the ä'ukckni seem to have made much of their position. Pat's father and Tc!i'wi, both du'kwakni, killed a iu"lalong man at stŏ'kmatc, Eagle Point. They were taken to Klamath marsh and each beaten five times at the order of this chief. This was in pre-reservation days, or at least prior to the establishment of the agency in 1864 (?). Nevertheless this is not aboriginal, but, [177]
according to Nancy Phillips, these "laws" were brought by her cousin from the north.

The group that owes recompense, having lost fewer men, goes to 728
the other offering payment to even the score. The value of a man's life is not a fixed item, as it is for the lower Klamath river tribes; this despite the similarity of marriage payment and the slur on children not born of a purchased mother. My informants professed ignorance of what should be paid, yet it can hardly be doubted that recompense accorded with a man's wealth and prestige.

Children who are captured are kept; settling the score does not mean that they are restored, though this may well be only in case they have been sold. Their fate depends on their captors, who may elect to rear them as their own children. More commonly they are miserably treated, made to sleep with the dogs, fetch water, etc., and beaten if they are lazy. They are as quickly sold at Warm Springs and the [437]
Dalles as are foreign captives. With the latter at least there is an advantage in immediately disposing of them, that they do not grow up to carry back to their own people precise knowledge of the habits and topography of the Klamath world.

Kŏ'hdiŋks of du'kwa was a chief (lŏ'ki) in warfare. He would tell his tribes- 159
men to get ready to fight with the iu"laloŋkni, for instance. He was always 701
in the forefront of battle. When a youth he went out to seek power by bathing
and wandering through the mountains at night. His mother had told him that 721
long before those of iu"lalong had slain his father, Lɛ"l'wis, a du'kwa shaman
accused of poisoning one of them. He wanted to become a warrior to have

After the dance, scalps and trophies are usually preserved by those 727
who called the dance, relatives of the avenged man. They are dried 535
and stored far from their homes to be brought out and danced over at
each new scalp dance. Sometimes bits of the scalp are sewn in rows [177]
down each breast of a woman's dress, a Plains custom impossible, of
course, before the introduction of these Plains-like garments. Both [291]
practices are un-Californian.

There is a question whether the notched rattle (ulo'ks) is played in 727
the war and scalp dances. Neither drums, which the Klamath formerly
lacked, nor rattles are used. Only one man, Ma'gai', whose day was 535
well before the middle of the last century, knew the notched rattle. 534
He knew all about war. He had overheard the Upland Takelma
singing to it, according to one informant, and always used their songs
when the Klamath made war on them. No resonator is used; the
notched stick is rested directly on the ground and rasped with
another stick.[34]

CHIEFTAINSHIP

Chiefs are of but minor significance in Klamath life. In contrast 622
my informants invariably stressed the importance of the shamans. As 756
an instance the largest house pits pointed out were always those of
shamans. This relative unimportance of the chiefs was true at least
until just before reservation days. At that time contact with the 622
Columbia river tribes, whose concepts of chieftainship were sharp and
deeprooted, coupled with the developing trade which began to make
considerable differences in wealth among the Klamath, operated to
enhance the position of the chiefs, the rich men. It is significant that
Lɛle'ks, their most prominent chief, had spent several years of continuous residence at the Dalles. All this was sharply accentuated on
the establishment of the reservation by the government's recognition
of lay leaders while frowning on the shamans. It must be distinctly [114]
understood that the picture Gatschet draws of chiefly powers is non-
aboriginal.[35] In fact, his principal informant, David Hill, was one of [115]
the newly raised chiefs who, we must believe, was not inclined to
underrate his new importance. Both my best informants, Nancy

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[34] The familiar association of this rasping sound with the voice of the frog and its use in a social dance (the Bear dance of the Basin Shoshoneans) are both unknown to the Klamath.

[35] Gatschet, 1:58–62.

His wife and children are commoners and not known by distinctive terms. 622

The emphasis among the chiefly functions is clearly on leadership in war and haranguing the people. Every morning before daylight he addresses them and again in the evening until the sun is well down. I am somewhat dubious that this procedure is as standardized as my informant had it. The address runs on fighting and acquiring spirit aid. He warns against hostile raiders; tells them to rise before daybreak; tells the young people to seek visions. "If you get a spirit, you cannot be killed; you will never fall sick; you will live to be old." But he has no word as to where they shall hunt or fish or carry on other routine activities. [701]

A chief has no speaker as a shaman has. Such might have been expected here, for Paviotso, Wishram, and Nez Percé chiefs have. [756]

A chief is not looked to to preserve peace. Old men may interfere in quarrels, but these are no especial concern of a chief. Nevertheless the word of an influential chief might end a feud. Just prior to reservation days the practice was introduced of tieing up and lashing quarrelsome men at the word of a chief. This was brought from the north by the cousin of my informant Nancy. It has a decided un-aboriginal flavor. A chief is under no obligation to help his people pay blood money, nor to assist them when starving. These are matters for relatives alone; they may die for all he is concerned. [7] * [177] •

SLAVES, TRADE, AND WEALTH

Slaves are captives of war, some of whom are kept by the Klamath but the majority are carried to the Dalles to be sold. They seem to have been numerous. Gatschet quotes a statement of Taylor in 1859 that in the raid on the Pit river people two years previously fifty-six of their women and children had been taken and sold on the Columbia river.[88] Doubt has been cast both on the number of slaves and the frequency of the raids as described by early writers. Kroeber, for instance, scouts the idea of yearly raids on the Achomawi and suggests that a few actual cases have been exaggerated.[89] Whatever the case be with regard to annual raids, I am certain that the evidences are too many and too circumstantial to permit of doubt that raids were 567

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[88] 1:lx.

[89] Handbook, 319.

K
grown up among the Klamath, Klamath in speech and custom, were 567
not tempted to begin life anew elsewhere. Some, at least, had con- K
siderable prestige. Pit River Charley, for instance, a freed slave, [786]
returned from his people in 1873 with novel rites which were engrafted [177]
on the Ghost dance then newly come to the Klamath.[62]

Trade is probably of no great consequence within the tribe although K
it figures intertribally. Contacts were few and frequently unfriendly 439
until after the coming of the whites. The exception is the neighboring 221
Modoc groups; others are too distant. Winters are too severe for 361
travel and trade, but summers find the Warm Springs people in residence with the Klamath. These similarly set out for Warm Springs and the Dalles when the grass begins to grow, camping there in the open during the summer, and building mat-covered structures of
earth-lodge shape (wakĕ'ploks) if they stay through the winter. K
Slaves, Pit River bows, and beads are taken there to trade for horses, 439
blankets, buffalo skins, parfleches, beads (probably dentalium shells), 436
dried salmon, and lampreys.[63] Two slave children are valued at five 567
horses, several buffalo skins, and some beads. This is not far from the values recorded by Taylor in 1859; one woman was worth five or six horses, a boy one horse.[64]

K
The Molala are also visitors and are met on the headwaters of the 648
Rogue west of Crater lake. From them buckskins are obtained for
pond-lily seed and beads. Relations with the Shasta have not always [437]
been unfriendly; some of the Klamath Falls group and Modoc married S
with them, possibly only since the white advent. The nearest Shasta 131
settlements at Shovel and Jennie creeks can be reached afoot several K
days' journey down the Klamath. Laik'ĕlmi is a jointly occupied 648
fishing site somewhat upstream but below the Klamath canyon. Skins
and skin blankets are traded for Shasta beads. Dixon states that [226]
Shasta trade with the Klamath is slight.[65] [437]

In the period 1860–70 the few Shasta remaining in their territory congregated S
on the lower Shasta river and near the frontier town, Yreka. They were 131
reached by crossing the Black Mountain range. At that time this was a S
much mixed group, principally half-breeds. My informant Tom Lang, taken [302]
there as a youngster, remarked how he was afraid of their highly tattooed faces.

K
Intercourse and marriage went on freely with the Modoc. They
were visited on Tule and Lower Klamath lakes, and joined for the 648
fishing on Lost River near Olene. 131
226

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[62] Spier, Ghost Dance of 1870, 45, 51.

[63] Cf. Gatschet, 1:93; 2:436.

[64] *Op. cit.*, 1:lx.

[65] The Shasta, 436.

648 fishing on Lost river near Olene. A shallow bowl-shaped twined
[439] basket, called ķ!we'lu, is obtained from the Modoc, who in turn trade
it from Pit river. There is no direct trade with the latter people.

231 Horses were first acquired in any number about 1840. They had
• 177 been previously acquainted with them in the hands of whites who
crossed their country about this time; dates are uncertain. Ogden
in 1826 remarked on a single horse seen as though it was a rarity
231 among them.[66] The first sources were Warm Springs and perhaps
177 some group immediately east of that place. These were obtained by
chiefs; others were too poor in slaves to buy them. The name given
437 the new animal follows the common habit, wa'tcag from wate, dog.
Saddles (pā'olās) were first made of antelope hide. Here, as in the Plains, horses served as a stimulator of contacts, especially with the Columbia river peoples. As I have remarked, their introduction seems responsible for the rapid increase in wealth, the flow of northern ideas concerning social stratification, importance of wealth and of slave-holding, Plains costume, and those predatory habits which furnished the withal to maintain the new status.

237 Buffalo (yo'ho) skins are obtained at second hand; the Klamath
177 know that their origin is east of the Umatilla, that is, in Idaho.
Buffalo never ranged into this country, although they reached the
437 Harney Lake district. But very few skins ever make their way into
527 Klamath hands; only men with many slaves can afford them. They
are wanted to cover a gambler's hands in the stick game, an opportunity for ostentation.

177 Parfleches (sķö'psöli, folded up) are traded from Warm Springs
437 people and Sahaptins beyond them on the Columbia. They are not
415 made by Klamath.

Incidentally, many older people have fluent command of Chinook
*171 jargon. They, or somewhat doubtfully the Modoc, are the southern-
most people with whom this trade jargon is current. Kroeber remarks
437 on the fragments in use by Yuki and Shasta.[67] Naturally enough, it
191 served a purpose with the Columbia river peoples alone and was of but
small value with the whites coming from California.

556 It is interesting to know what constituted wealth among the Klamath, but with the old life now gone it is difficult to get direct evidence. However, certain things alone were spoken of when describing

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[66] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

[67] Handbook, 208, 319.

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wealthy individuals. In approximate frequency of mention are slaves, horses, beads—and not always dentalium—food, archers' equipment, furs and hides, especially elk hides, Plains type garments, armor, large houses, buffalo skins, canoes. It is just as interesting to observe what things were not mentioned as valuable, or so to a lesser degree: baskets, nets, mortars, etc. In a word, articles of value in foreign commerce, articles of dress and adornment, of war, ritual, and sustenance, have value; domestic utensils have not. Some of the phrases describing wealthy men are illuminating. A war leader is chosen in part for his riches: he would own five quivers (five is the pattern number); he goes into battle with a quiver under each arm and one on his back. If his bowstring is cut he has another. A rich man has fur blankets, coyote and wolf pelts.

Dentalium shell beads do not function as money here as on the lower Klamath river. They are strung in fathom or half-fathom lengths, but neither length of string nor size of shell is standardized. The longer individual shells are more valuable but no one is known to haggle over the precise length as Yurok and their neighbors do. 436

MARRIAGE

A marriage payment is a social obligation. It is not a negotiated transaction as with the Yurok, Hupa, and Karok, for example, where indeed the social status of the family is measured in exact accord to the sum paid for the bride. Here failure to pay, which can be only a confession of inability, leads only to a lowering in social esteem. It is consonant with this that the bride is in no sense a chattel; she may leave her husband at will, and she certainly cannot be disposed of as a possession. Bride purchase is as inapplicable a term as can be found for the Klamath practice. In the interchange of presents which follows marriage the advantage lies most frequently with the husband's family. Payment constitutes an obligation, a seal of respectability. This is the well-nigh universal situation in North America if payments enter at all; it is a far cry from the commercial, contractual bride purchase of Africa, for example. The peculiarity of the Klamath is that failure to pay constitutes a social stigma. This is clearly explicable as a function of their geographic position, lying between the tribes to the west, with their clear-cut monetary evaluations of social relations, and the tribes of the Great Basin to the east, utterly devoid of any such sentiments. 583 [171]* [626] [177]

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177 of any such sentiments. It also seems that the reciprocal visits by which the marriage is consummated, with their exchange of presents, is a reflection at a distance of the Northwest Coast potlatch, perhaps its most southerly extension.

582 Beyond the ability to pay, the choice of a mate is restricted only by kinship. No relative of any degree may be married; the children, they contend, will not survive. Common residence is for example no bar to marriage. Step-brothers and sisters, being unrelated, are free to marry even though they have grown up together. Several men now living here married their step-sisters. Sibling terms are not used between step-siblings, though they have half-brothers and sisters in common.

There is no village exogamy despite the relationship of most co-villagers. Yet there is a great deal of shifting residence especially among the several settlements of each division. Marriage within or without the tribelet is immaterial. Such evidence as exists however suggests that the tendency is for marriage within the subdivision. The data are few but summarize in this fashion:

Husband	Wife					
	ă'ukekni	du'kwakni	gu'mbötkni	iu''laloqkni	Modoc	Molala
ă'ukekni	8	1	——	1	1	1
du'kwakni	......	1	1	......	......	......
gu'mbötkni	......	......	1	......	......	2
iu''laloqkni	......	2	......	1	......	......

Of the ă'ukekni marriages among themselves, two above were with co-villagers, I have no data for other endogamous marriages.

Explicitly the data are the following: Pat Kane's father and his paternal grandparents were du'kwakni, his mother and her parents gu'mbötkni. These tribelets are more closely linked than with the others. His father lived at the time of his marriage at wudö'kän, a gu'mböt village north of Klamath lake; his mother with her people lived at sle'tsksi just across Seven Mile creek. Pat himself was born and grew up at mo'giqkånks, the du'kwa village at the mouth of Williamson river. His father's sisters married a man at iu''laloqx on Klamath falls.

Tom Long's father was white; his mother lived at iu''laloqx. Both her parents were also iu''laloqkni; her mother was related to Modoc and Shasta.

Nancy Phillips is ă'ukekni, born at k'taidi on Williamson river. Her father was ă'ukekni although he lived at du'kwa. His mother was of the du'kwakni. Nancy's mother was ă'ukekni of k'taidi village; her parents in turn both ă'ukekni, the father from k'taidi also, the mother from glä'tspaŁ'is on the opposite river bank.

[595] The chief Lalo'ks had seven co-wives; four, ă'ukekni, one each, du'kwakni and Modoc, and one from ne''lukni hence probably iu''laloqkni. Two of the

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

do keep up their ordinary occupation in part during this time. They dig roots for instance, but others must care for the products further, else the women will never find any more. 841

There is no comparable rite for boys at puberty. Nevertheless the time when a boy's voice deepens is recognized as propitious for seeking power. He is sent into the mountains for perhaps five days, to wander at night, running continually, piling up rocks, swimming in the mountain pools and eddies of the rivers, fasting the while until a song comes to him in a dream. He must use a head-scratcher. Preadolescent boys are tossed into the river or whipped while they sleep. If the boy whimpers he will be a weakling; he is expected to jump up and shout. I have cited above the case of Lɛle'ks who was so treated at puberty, it seems, and thus lost his transvestite habits. 881 [787] [866]

> When I [Pat Kane] was a little boy of seven or ten, my father sometimes threw me into the river while I slept. I did not ask why. Finally he told me, "I do not want to kill you. I do it so that when you are grown you will not easily get sick, so that if you are shot you will recover quickly." I always bathed in the river as a boy and you see that I have never even had rheumatism until recently. 866 159

DEATH AND MOURNING

Klamath funereal observances are personal, non-ceremonial, and somewhat unique in that they provide occasions for the seeking of power. There are no mourning anniversaries. 764 [765]

Cremation is the universal practice, even for suicides, the newborn, and the stillborn. Only the bodies of secretly aborted infants are buried in the bush. The body of a man killed in war is brought home for cremation.[98] [727]

> Some Klamath men were trapping in the mountains west of Crater lake about eighty years ago when they were met by some Upland Takelma who killed four or five. One boy alone escaped and made his way back to Klamath marsh at night. The Takelma took scalps, hands, and feet of the dead, and held a dance. Many Klamath went to fetch the bodies, which they brought to Klamath marsh for incineration.

Near each group of settlements is a spot where all cremations take place. It is somewhat apart from the settlements but not isolated.

> Three of these serve the Klamath marsh people; on the eastern side of the marsh near the towns k'ɛtaiwas (2, see maps, figs. 1-3), gŭpgŭa'ksi (3), and l'wal (4). For others of this division of the tribe, there is one on Sprague

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[98] Cremation was given up forty or more years ago ("in about 1868," Gatschet, 1:86). The first burial was that of a Molala man, married to a Klamath woman, who was killed by a Klamath. [177] [178]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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525 variety and one longer one are stuck into the ground before each group of players. These are called kee'ic, which, according to Gatschet, is derived from ksh'ena, to carry off.[116] Three of the sets described by Culin have each six counters.

The hider rattles the four sticks against the under-side of the hiding basket which rests on the ground before him and allows it to drop over them as he leaves them on the ground. The guesser must specify the order in which the sticks are arranged, which he does with a very characteristic gesture. If he is correct the sticks are thrown to him to hide. If he is wrong, the hider draws one or two small counters from his opponent's stock. The longer counter is taken last. For two arrangements, B and C below, he takes two counters; for A or D he takes one. The game is won when one side has all fourteen (no'ga, to win all the stakes; go'le, to win).

Each arrangement of the sticks has a name and a definite gesture which the guesser uses to describe it. He claps his hands once when his decision is made and brings his hand down or across in front as may be.

Name	*Arrangement*	*Gesture*
A. sḳo'tōs (?)	▮▮❘❘	Moves right hand to the right.
B. yo'sḳis	❘▮▮❘	Moves right index finger down the center.
C. sḳē'tc!ōs	▮❘❘▮	Moves first and second fingers of the right hand down the center.
D. woi'is (or bōḳe?)	▮❘▮❘ (or ❘▮❘▮)	Moves right thumb to the right to point out the thin sticks or the forefinger to the left for the thick sticks (reversing the movements for the second arrangement).

[114] Dorsey gives a somewhat different procedure. First, he is probably right in stating that for the opposite arrangement of A (with the slender sticks to the left) the hand is moved to the left. But he states that the guess for this position does not matter, since whether right or wrong, the sticks do not change hands and the hider gains no counters. Further, by his account, after a wrong guess is made and one counter forfeited, the hider arranges only one stick of each kind for the next guess. Both Dorsey and Gatschet give the name vuish, vū'ish to arrangement A.

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177 The hand game is of recent introduction; of this all were in agreement. It was brought from the far north by a man called Spo'kăn, possibly one of that Salish tribe, before the Modoc war. He came from Warm Springs and married a Klamath. He introduced the accompanying songs as well and its name nai'ătia.[117]

[116] *Op. cit.*, 1:79.

[117] My informant had never heard the name lóipas recorded by Dorsey (*op. cit.*, 22).

276
756 rattlesnake skin. This may be used by the shaman only during the ceremonies, but I think not. The tubular pipe is not Klamath. A [177] long tubular pipe, with a small mouthpiece, found by the Indians at Pelican bay, had been described to my informant as the probable possession of a shaman who resided there. This is probably a trade piece.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 The only true musical instrument known to the Klamath is the flute. This with three varieties of rattle and the hand drum make up the sum of their instruments. The musical bow is a plaything.

The flute (slo'lūs) is played for amusement and in courting; [562] curiously enough it is played by women as well as men even when courting. Its music is called su'lulu. Various sounds are imitated on 534 the flute, such as the noise of flying pelicans' wings. The melodies include those of shaman's songs, although it is never used in shamanis- 533 tic rites. I do not know that song is ever accompanied by flute. It [756] seems more probable that the melodies of certain songs are considered appropriate flute music.[141] There are flute songs about the turtle and deer. The song for the antelope is:

[539]

gaiyo'	gaiyo'wa	gaiyo'	gaiyo'wa
chewing			
tcĕwōm	aiĕ'nol	tĕli'dōŋga	
antelope	me	am browsing	
slewi's	aiĕ'nol	tĕli'dōŋga	
wind	me	am browsing.	

He browses along (toward me?) when the wind strikes him (?).

A flute song for the mountain sheep is:

hotūks	nis	sĕwā'ĕt	geoge'lɛ	wiĕ'sōm
that	allows	me	that earth	mountain sheep
dostōn	hoiha'nsɛ		lall'sdōt	
where I	run on the ledge		on the steep hill.	

These are not magical songs for calling game but solely for amusement.

Another song referring to any bird is:

djīkgasītgo	djīkgasītgo	nenea
flutterer		flapping.

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[141] Gatschet gives the text of several songs, which, because they are neither appropriate to shamanistic or puberty rites, may belong to this category (1:189, 192).

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This is the open flute, lacking tongue or reed, and played by blowing across the open end while it is held vertically or horizontally. So I was told, but it is more probable that the vertical is the only position used. These are manufactured from branches of the ḳoḳo'dŏm bush or the elder (slo'lŭsɛm), from which the pith is easily removed, or from the long legs of cranes. The wooden flutes are three-quarters of an inch in diameter, one to two feet long, with three holes (or four or five ?) for finger stops burned at odd intervals.

[881]

The deer-hoof rattle (sŏ'ḳtsŏḳs) is probably the only one of the three Klamath rattles that is of any antiquity among them. It is used exclusively in the girl's adolescence rites. The Klamath form is a slender pole four to seven feet long with a cord along the upper third to which bunches of deer dew claws (ḳ'o'djlŋks) are tied at intervals. The butt is pounded on the ground to jar the hooflets.

[786]
[177] •

Of the other two types, the clap rattle is the familiar cleft stick, the split end of which is struck against the palm. This was used in the Ghost dance of 1870 and in no other connection. It was derived from the Pit river peoples. The notched rattle (ulo'ks) is known to have been played by one man who learned it from the Upland Takelma. It may have been used in the war and scalp dances. This is the familiar notched stick set on the ground and rasped with another stick; no resonator is used.[142]

[177]

The hand drum has no great antiquity among the Klamath but was in use before the coming of the whites. It was derived from some northern tribe, probably those of Warm Springs. Its very name, bŏ'mbŏm, is the common word in eastern Oregon and Washington. It is used only in the social dances, which are themselves of no great consequence. The drum is the familiar shallow tambourine affair, with only one head. Thongs crossed on the open face furnish a hand grip. Drums are constructed of a flattened juniper bough bent into a ring of one to two feet in diameter. Heads of badger and antelope hide are best; they yield the loudest sound. The drum was not decorated until lately, when stars were painted on the head. This is said to have been learned of the whites, but is more likely derived from the modern version of the Smoḥallah cult, the so-called Pompom religion of eastern Washington and Oregon. The drum stick (wo'tanote) is a stick wrapped with mink hide to form a knob.

[531]
[177]

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[142] There is no association of the sound with the voice of the *frog* nor with the rain, nor is it used in social dances, as in the Great Basin area.

[533]
[171]*

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[622] [177] • The shaman himself is, or was, the outstanding figure of Klamath society. He had no rival in the chiefs, the rich man, until the coming of the whites brought a redistribution of emphasis in Klamath life. Chiefs had previously been persons of little influence.

771 *171 All this is familiar enough among Indians; the Klamath differ only in particulars. In its several aspects, their religion, as well as its practice, is one with that of the Great Basin, Plateau, and Mackenzie tribes.

THE POWER QUEST

787 The quest for supernatural aid is open to everyone, men and women, boys and girls. It is a constantly recurring feature of their lives. Everyone, perhaps without exception, seeks the powers at least once during his lifetime and further experiences seem to be repeatedly sought.

[881] The first occasion is always puberty. I doubt that boys and girls are expected to be uniformly successful in securing aid at this time, because, it was said, at shamanistic performances those who had power might sing their songs. This may imply that the others either never [765] acquired power or had lost it. My informants' frequent emphasis on the period of mourning for a husband, wife, or child marks this, too, as a peculiarly pregnant period when power may be successfully sought. At least at such a time a man loses his power and must seek [844] again if he wishes to regain it. A man also seeks power at the birth of a first child. But it is not only the crises of life that provide [756] occasion; the quest may be undertaken at any time, and it is the practice of such as gamblers and shamans to renew and enhance their [525] powers by frequent attempts. The quest is called spū'tu.

The experience does not ordinarily include a vision, but is made manifest in a song heard in a dream. In some instances where a vision is had, a dream song follows, but it is clear that the latter is the essential experience. In the following case a man and a woman had identical visions but to the man alone fell the experience leading to power.

787 159 The grandfather of a Klamath Falls shaman went to stō'kmōte, the point of Eagle Ridge, in the evening. There is a spot in the lake where bubbles rise. Horses lived in this long ago (!). When this man reached the headland he saw two pinto horses, with long manes, rearing against each other from the water. He was not frightened but took off his clothes and plunged into the water in order to secure power. When he recovered consciousness he found himself again on land. From that time he was lucky; he began to get many pintos, large horses. Because of this experience his grandson, the shaman, also acquired, in his turn, spirit songs of all kinds.

This is a spirit. Doubtful as spirits are certain other stones; yati's 776
which stands at I'wal, and nĕ'ḳnŭḳ, a group of stones back of
Du"llḳŭt, both towns on Klamath marsh. These are "shaman 776
stones"; evidently once living things, for it was said that they were 756
transformed when Crow laughed at them.

A Molala struck one of the nĕ'ḳnŭḳ stones with a basket, saying, "How can this rock have power?" He soon sickened and died. The nĕ'ḳnŭḳ is a shaman.

SHAMANISM

The shaman (ḳiu'ks) is one who has acquired more than usual 756
spirit power. This is a relative matter; some shamans have considerably more power than others, and everyone who has got power is in some degree capable of using it as a shaman does. One of my informants, for example, now avowedly a member of the pseudo-Christian Shaker sect, maintains that he too is a little qualified; he can make it rain. Shamanism is completely individualistic among the Klamath; there are no shamanistic organizations.

It is clear that the shaman is the most important individual in 756
Klamath society, taking precedence over rich men, the chiefs. Shamans' houses are the largest in the village and they have at least as 622
much property as wealthy laymen. Invariably my informants spoke first of shamans in describing outstanding individuals. Their behavior and practices were readily formulated, whereas I experienced considerable difficulty in learning the functions and even the names of chiefs.
It is reasonably certain that the status of the chiefs, that is the rich [178]
men, was relatively unimportant until the introduction of horses in
the middle of the last century stimulated trading with the Columbia [177]
river tribes and perhaps brought in some of the northern view of the importance of wealth and chieftaincy. There is no doubt that the position of chiefs was strengthened by the habit of the whites of dealing with chiefs and other prominent laymen.

Shamans are both men and women, but unlike the Shasta, the 756
majority are men. My informants mentioned many men shamans
during the course of my visits, and this probably did not exhaust 562
their memories; but on request they could muster only four women [170]*
shamans and one berdache. Women never acquire the prestige of men for they are rarely credited with such unusual powers as men. They cannot wander in the mountains nor dive for power so well as men;

756 292 [302]

(?) buckskin shirt, and wrist and neckbands of weasel. Some shamans wear a necklace of grizzly bear claws. (Other men never wear bear claws.) His face is painted black. Then he is powerful to cure, sawi'gan gī'na. Gatschet describes a band of otter skin worn round the neck and bearing various shells, feathers, bird scalps, etc.; hence it "must unite the magic powers of them all."[161]

Some articles of shaman's regalia are in the collections of the Field Museum. A bear-skin cap (no. 61563?) consists of the head skin, decorated on two or three sides with circular disks of buckskin ornamented with quillwork. These are one and three-quarters inches in diameter, and bear three concentric equidistant rings of quillwork, the most central containing a cross of the same.

A shaman's wand "used in curing ceremonies" (no. 61676) is a three-foot shaft bearing bunches of feathers bound on at two points, with a bundle of dew claws tied to the butt. The feathers are gray; they are bound at points about one-third of the distance from each end of the shaft. The bindings and the shaft have been painted red. The dew claws are pendant on individual thongs, each of which is wrapped with quills at two points.

291 292 [177]

The prescriptions affecting the dress of the laity at the shamanistic performances are illuminating. Everyday dress, at least for wealthier individuals, is of the Plains type; moccasins, skin shirt, long leggings, and breech clout for the men and long skin dress for women. Poorer people wear skirts of tule or buckskin and are barefoot. But the latter garb is obligatory at these dances. This is clearly another instance of conservatism in the field of religion, for the marginal position of the Klamath to the area in which Plains garments are worn, and the known recency of manifold contacts with the Plains-like tribes of the Columbia suggest that Plains dress is a recent acquisition. The hair hangs loosely down the back but is tied about close to the head. As usual basket hats are worn. Dancers, however, wear hats made of animals which are spirits.

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Taboos and other restrictions on shamans are only feebly developed. A shaman must avoid a menstruant woman; in fact, women who live in a shaman's house must leave their homes at these periods, whereas otherwise this is not usual. Etiquette requires that anyone crossing the lodge must pass in back of a seated shaman, at least when he shows signs of communing with his spirits or is eating. This holds whether a performance is going on or not. Otherwise blood gushes from his mouth and he falls unconscious. One informant had seen this happen to the berdache shaman White Sindey while she was eating. The result is the same if anything falls in front of a shaman. There are

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[161] *Op. cit.*, 1:172.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

755 patella. One is allowed to burn completely; when the other is half-consumed the sufferer destroys it with a pinch and throws it away, telling it to carry off the pain. The dry bark of the black sage is used for this, chewed and shaped into conical pellets. One informant showed me some prepared from the sage-brush bands used by mourning women and deposited in the trees, which he had gathered. Another informant denied that such bands alone are used.

Rheumatism is also treated with skunk grease rubbed into the affected part and the flesh of the animal eaten.

Earache, deafness, and hemorrhage of the ear are treated by the application at night of poultices of cooked wild parsnip root.

Toothache is kima'dj p'an, ant eats, or literally dŭt ansma'sz. It is so called because on breaking an extracted tooth they find in it a little worm with a black head, believed to be the larva of the ant, which has been eating the tooth. The sufferer rests his aching face on a stout stick, a paddle for instance, while he sleeps. Some one strikes the paddle a sharp rap; the sleeper is frightened and the aching gone. Pat Kane ascribed this to the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division (ā'ukckni) alone. The river-mouth people's (du'kwakni) method is to chew a bit of rotten fish, holding it on the aching tooth. The cure of the Pelican bay group (gu'mbŏtkni) is a cautery over the spot "breaking the tooth." Nancy denied the last two methods. Teeth are never extracted.

751 The Klamath used dog flesh in order to avoid smallpox (gotķ!ōks, erupting) on at least one occasion. This was during a winter before the birth of my informants, now in their seventies. Many died because they had so few dogs. Ordinarily dog flesh is avoided, but on this [177] occasion the flesh was eaten and the grease rubbed on the body. Considering the date[166] it may well be that this was a cure learned from French half-breeds on the Columbia.

278 For mumps, the root of a plant called sķōssķōtkgla'ks is rubbed on the swelling. (This waist-high plant grows near the river, is blue topped, with large green leaves.) Mumps has no native name because of its recency.

For colds the root of the yayo'ķaķ plant, found in the mountains, is chewed and swallowed. A poultice of this is also applied to a swelling, then covered with pitch.

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[175] [931] [166] Powers states that about 1847 smallpox killed 150 Modocs (Tribes of California, 254). This is the widespread epidemic of that date which led to the Cayuse uprising against the Whitman mission in southeastern Washington (Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, 1:224). Taylor mentions its presence on the Humboldt and Bear rivers, Nevada, prior to 1853 (Taylor, Oregon Bound, 147, 155).

on the other. The blade is turned parallel to the canoe at the end of 501 each stroke. The size and shape of the blade are well adapted to his position so low in the water, for the stroke is effective and splashless. At intervals he dips his hands to prevent blistering them on the paddle handle.

A punt pole (lɛkö'ķ) is also used, especially in the shallow marsh. This is eight to ten feet long, with the lower end split and held open by an inserted wooden block. The punt pole is a young lodgepole pine (wä'-kō), stripped of bark, according to Coville.[286]

Sails are not used on canoes.

Anyone may make a canoe. Even a widow may fashion it for herself. One such had seen her father make them many times when she was a girl. Naturally skill varies very much.

Rafts or balsas, formed of large bundles of tules lashed together, were used, according to Barrett,[287] particularly by war parties. These were paddled with the hands.

Alternative methods for winter transportation may be noted here. It is customary to pack on the back through the snow, not to fashion a sled. But something of the sort is used over ice, a bundle of willows, called spi'klōs.

VARIOUS MANUFACTURES AND TOOLS

Woodworking is undeveloped among the Klamath, whereas it 322 might have been expected that the expertness of the Yurok or the Wishram would have made itself felt here. The only noteworthy uses of wood are for dug-out canoes, rough planks for the earth-lodge roof, and carved figures set up by shamans. The planks are only rough segments of hollow trees; the canoes are without fineness of line and crude in craftsmanship. Northwest Coast social organization [177] rather than craftsmanship has left its mark on the Klamath and their neighbors.

Fire is more rapid and effective in trimming large masses of wood 313 than the stone and bone tools at their command. Hence it is gen- 372 erally used for felling trees, cutting logs to the desired length, and shaping canoes, but it is customarily used for smaller objects as well, such as pointing a digging-stick. When they wish to fell a tree, a deep notch is cut into it at the base with elk-horn pick and maul. A

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[286] Notes, 89.

[287] Material Culture, 256.

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[222] sifting basket is used to screen seeds such as wokas, "as a grater to remove the skins of roots and tubers,"[343] or as a larger beater. The ladle serves to scoop floating wokas seeds from the surface of the water. The seed beater and sifting baskets are made of willows, or of split juniper roots; the ladle of tules. Each of these is made of a group of warps bent into oval shape, the central portion filled in with additional warps, and the whole woven in open twine by a continuous weft passing back and forth across them. One example examined is eighteen inches long with a maximum breadth of nine. The three fundamental warps, which are bent in a loop, are each comprised of two willow rods. The first few additional warps are fastened in by doubling them and twining them over the proximal end of the three fundamentals. The weft, a doubled willow twig, is then twined across the warps now in place, beginning at one side of the proximal end of the basket. Reaching the edge warp it is brought back across the structure for a second row, and so on continuously. A second set of additional warps is inserted by doubling them around the second row of wefting. Where further warps are needed to fill a space, wefts are transformed into warps as described for the conical burden baskets. The loose ends of the warps at the distal (handle) end of the basket are bound into two bundles, which are further bound to each other, to provide a grip. Essentially this construction is in a basket figured by Barrett in which the two bundles of warp ends are bound together to form a loop handle.[344] When fine seeds are to be beaten, a pad of twined tules (later horse hide) was inserted in the bowl of the seed beater.

An example in the Field Museum collections (no. 61785) is peculiar in that the warps are not kept parallel, as in other specimens, but are bent in zigzag fashion from one weft round to the next, so that the final appearance of the fabric resembles diagonal wicker work.

[177] Recently the Klamath living at Yainax on the eastern part of the reservation have learned to make sifting baskets in imitation of their neighbors, the Northern Paiute. An example I collected is of the same general nature as the Klamath sifters, but broadly elliptical rather than ovate. This is woven in compact diagonal twine, regularly crossing the warps in pairs but occasionally carelessly slipping into three warp stitches. The warps are willow twigs set close together, the wefts split willow twigs. The underlying construction is the

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[343] Barrett, Material Culture, 274.

[344] Material Culture, pl. 16, fig. 2.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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Northern Paiute NR13

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Woven bags for storage purposes, such as holding wokas and other seeds, are called wa'klo and t'a'yis. The former are of the size and shape of our pillow cases and made with warp and weft of nettle cords; the latter are of tule. Barrett records that the latter were so large that, filled with wokas seed, one alone was sufficient load.[248] Gatschet names two sizes of sack, wi'llishik (the larger sacks generically) and w'aχoks. The former holds fifty pounds of seed, the latter twice that amount.[249] Perhaps these are made in the same fashion; my information applies to the former. These are flat bags. The warps are doubled at their midpoints, so that one end will form the warp on the nearer side of the bag with the other half as warp of the other side. The weft is a simple twine stitch woven continuously around the bag, i.e., first on the nearer side, then passing to the other, and so on. Weaving begins at the points of doubling of the warps so that the bottom of the bag is closed, a mere fold in the fabric. Modern examples of this type of bag are woven in diagonal twine, but this is in imitation of fabrics of the whites. One such specimen alternates rows of diagonal twine with wefts inserted in tabby-weave.

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Certain flat bowls called k!we'lu are not made by the Klamath, but originate among the Pit river peoples who trade them to the Modoc. These are of solid twine weave and highly decorated.

Coiled basketry is rare among the Klamath. In fact, I was told it was never made, yet the same woman informant gave the following description of the water basket (name unknown to her). This is a bucket-shaped affair, possibly twelve inches high, with a mouth diameter of ten inches. It lacks a bail. The coil has a two-rod foundation of split tamarack twigs (wa'ku), sewn with tamarack roots (wa'ku ᴇmwä'wŭk). Stitching is on the nearer face, proceeding from left to right, working from the outside. That is, the coil is counterclockwise to one looking into the mouth of the basket. This bears no designs, nor is it painted. It receives a coating of pitch on the outside

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to render it watertight. I suggest that this type of basket is of recent introduction in imitation of Northern Paiute technique, although their baskets have constricted necks, I was told. Coiling is called slič'nsis, sewing.

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The Northern Paiute also make coiled bowls on a two-rod foundation, although they normally use a single rod. These rods are round willow twigs; split willow is used for the sewing. The foundation rods are so placed that the

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[248] *Op. cit.*, 256.

[249] 1:76.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

343 as in "one big family." This is inevitably a matter of personal preference;
252 some dwellings have two cooking lodges attached, the families
592 eating separately and sharing food only as friendship dictates. The
mortars and grinding slabs are kept in the cooking-lodge. The intro-
[177] duction of flour has wrought a change in these habits. Loaves of
bread are baked in the ashes in the earth-lodge itself. Flour is always
[262] shared among the inmates. I was assured that there was no earlier
custom resembling this.

264 But two meals a day are eaten, morning and evening. I was also
told that there is no regular period for meals. Visitors are given
574 something on their arrival, such as a little pond-lily seed, but no stress
is placed on this phase of hospitality. A sort of grace is said before
eating.

352 The entire floor of the earth-lodge or summer mat-house is carpeted
with mats except for the space within the four central posts. Thicker
piles of these for beds are placed all around the walls, but the best
352 locations are at the sides (*O*, fig. 19). Children might sleep in the
corners. People always sleep with their feet toward the fire, no
513 matter in what direction their heads then lie.[374]

Beds (slai'is) are of mats of various sorts. Rich people use tule, the twined mats (slai'is) being preferred to the sewn (st!ōps). One or more of these laid on dry grass serves as a mattress, or they sleep directly on the grass. One or two more form the covering. The few who have them use grizzly bear, coyote, wolf, lynx (? slowa'), or deer pelts, or several *Bassariscus* (? slĕt) skins sewn together, for mattress and blanket (sa'walc). A blanket for a little child is made from the skin of a red fox, a stretched raccoon skin, or several marten skins sewn together. Blankets (called sōlŭmtai') are also made of tule and cat-tail twined to produce a checkerboard decoration. Others are made of tules with the wing feathers of water fowl (pelicans, geese, swans, ducks, etc.) caught in one face. These are called lă'cdălap'ö'tᴇ, wing feathers (lac) put together. Another type of feather blanket (called ḳ'a'lyᴇ) is made of the dried skins of waterfowl twisted with a cord to form a fluffy rope. This is twined with cords inserted at intervals to form the blanket. Pillows (sᴇ'o'lhas) are a heap of grass, or anything else, even wood, but the wooden headrest of the lower Klamath river tribes is unknown. Gatschet records a sack stuffed with mallard duck down for a pillow.[375]

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[374] I could find no notion that a sleeper is affected by moonlight.

[375] 1:144.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Costume is scanty for both men and women. Poorer individuals 291
are equipped with simply a fringed skirt and nothing more beyond 291
basketry hats. The wealthier, however, affect a dress which strongly
resembles that of the Plains tribes. Such men are clad in breech- 556
clout, leggings, moccasins, and on gala days buckskin shirts; women,
in the long dress of Plains type, with short leggings and moccasins. 177
This Plains costume seems to be of recent introduction; traditional feeling to that effect is reflected in the proscription of its use during shamanistic performances and in the Ghost dance of 1870–73. This might also be inferred from the fact that the Klamath represent its most westerly extension, or nearly so, in this quarter. Plains influences have reached the Klamath through the Columbia river tribes, with whom direct contact dates only from the beginning of the last century. We may hazard the guess that this costume does not date back before 1800 among the Klamath, and is perhaps not so old.

The fringed skirt is a garment which completely encircles the 291
wearer's waist, not an apron nor two aprons. It is formed of tule, or sage-brush bark, or possibly of buckskin strips, braided in cords which hang thickly from the belt. These pendants are closely set at the front and back, and hang but scantily over the hips. Distinctive names for the front and back parts (respectively hlsci'ska, hangs between the legs, and hlstco'llc, hangs behind) suggest its relation to the familiar two-apron garment of California. Men's skirts do not reach the knee; women's hang below it.

The man's shirt (tculi's) is of the Plains poncho type. This is a large skin with a hole in the middle, put on over the head. It reaches to the upper thighs and hangs loosely over the arms, without any attempt at sleeves, but is tied together under the arms. When only small skins are to be had, two of these are sewed together along the shoulders. Front and back are the same, the neck hole is round, and they are indifferent as to which side hangs in front.[279]

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[279] A shirt illustrated in a photograph shown me had deep fringes along its lower border and on the seams joining the sleeves to the body of the garment. The sleeves indicate that this is a modern derivative of the old garment. I was told that a fringe is sometimes placed horizontally across the chest. A man's shirt in the collections of the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 67883) has a short fringed opening down the breast from the neck hole, and a border of beads on the low collar rising around the neck.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

291 The familiar triangular flaps below the neck in Plains shirts are
[756] lacking. Shamans alone paint their shirts, others who attempt it
would be poisoned by them. The designs are spots, circles, and lines,
[531] not pictures. While I do not know the character of these designs,
this suggests the protective shirts of the Ghost dance of 1890. Inas-
[177] much as we must assume that the shirt reached the Klamath from the east, and it is possible that Plains influences are quite recent, it is possible that the shirt, or at least its decoration, came only in Ghost dance days. Nor are shirts worn at all times; they are too valuable, "they might wear out"; which represents their unusualness in the view of the Klamath.

Breechclouts (haewi'skis) are made of buckskin, and nothing else. They are worn by women too, but not with the buckskin dress. It seems that the flaps which hang over the belt are short, for they are said to be long only if the skin happened to be long. The belt is only a thin string, presumably a leather thong, for poor people make it of the soft bark of the tule.

Men's leggings are thigh-length or calf-length (called respectively
[184] snásni'ks and mldĕ's);[330] women wear only the latter. These are of buckskin or fur, but poor people make them of tules. Barrett illustrates one of the latter sort made in twined technique. The full-length leggings are tied to the belt at one point, the hips. In a photograph shown me, little deer dew claws were hung pendant from the front of the leggings just below the knees.

Moccasins are worn at all times by the men, at home or when traveling, whereas women sometimes go barefoot at home in the summer. For the most part, moccasins are woven of tule or swamp grass; very few are made of skin. Barrett observes that the buckskin moccasins are for summer wear, the winter ones of tule.[331] This is very probably the case, as the tule affair is intended primarily to hold a layer of dry grass next the foot.

Tule moccasins (wipgá') are made in open twine. The fabric is brought together over the toe, but is quite without a heel. A cord laced through the loops along each side draws it up around the foot.
[171] They resemble those of the Paviotso.[332] For traveling they make
[531] moccasins of this type of swamp grass, which is stronger than tule; those for home use are of tule and bear decorations.

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[330] Gatschet gives mitash, mitas, *from* Chinook jargon mimdash, derived from French mitasse (2:221).

[331] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17, 19.

[332] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 218, fig. 5*b*, *c*.

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[171]*

The skin moccasin (dŭmi'wẕ) differs from that of central and northwestern California, in being made of two pieces. Like the Californian affair, it is a one-piece moccasin in pattern, with a seam up the top from the toe and another up the heel, but it also has a D-shaped inset over the instep which is continued upward into a tongue. Some specimens have an additional strip around the ankle, sewed to the edge of the main piece, and which can be worn turned up or down. The drawstring passes around the ankle and across in front of the tongue.[383] Moccasins are made of deer or elk hide,[384] with the hair inside, or even of beaver or badger skin. The last is a very strong skin; the moccasins will last a year or two. (Otter and raccoon skins are not used.) Cut to pattern (fig. 21*a*), they are folded lengthwise, stitched up the instep, across the toe, across the heel, and up the heel. The tongue (stai'skŏpk) is then sewed in over the instep. The procedure in connection with sewing the heel is peculiar. The slit *A–A* is first made; the sides brought together so that the points *A*, *B*, and *C* match; the cross seam (*A–A*) sewn, then the vertical one (*B–C*). This leaves a loop inside the moccasin at the heel. The moccasin is then turned inside out, so that the loop is on the outside. The corner of this is then cut off on the lines *D–D*. This forms a tab protruding at the heel. These seams are not lapped but sewn with a through-and-through stitch, hence when the moccasin is turned inside out, the seams at the heel, at least, are on the outside. Sewing is done with an awl and sinew.

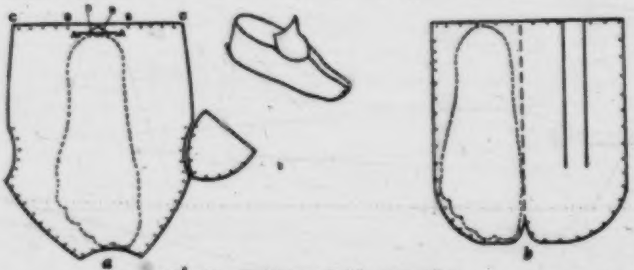

Fig. 21. Patterns of skin moccasins.

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Another type of deer-skin moccasin (wŏkcna') made in imitation of Warm Springs and Yakima style, has come into use since the boy-

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[383] Illustrated by Barrett, pl. 17.

[384] The same informant stated on another occasion that elk hide is not used for footgear.

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177 hood of my elderly informant. This is a simple one-piece affair, shown diagrammatically in figure 21*b*. The upper is cut to form a long tongue. It is sewn along the toe and one side, and up the heel.[265]

481 Snowshoes may be conveniently described at this place. The snowshoe (ni') is the circular Californian form; a hoop of tough service berry wood, about twelve inches long by six wide.[266] Within the hoop is a net of thongs on which the foot is placed; tie strings are drawn up about the ankle. My woman informant drew a sketch showing five parallel longitudinal thongs crossed transversely by five others, [114] also parallel, thus forming a simple rectangular web. This may well have been merely diagrammatic, since five is the pattern number. Kroeber illustrates a more intricate pattern of webbing, a central lozenge filled by transverse lashings and connected with the frame by others.[267] Barrett illustrates a snowshoe with still a third style of web. This seems to be a single longitudinal strip of skin, crossed by three others.[268] Such shoes are also used when wading in the marshes.

291 Mittens (wäkä'pks) of coyote or other fur are worn in cold weather, possibly by men alone. They are also used for protection in war. [714] These are sock-like, without fingers, and of arm or elbow length. A muffler (sau'kaks) is also made of skin.

291 The woman's skin dress (gokc) is the long woman's garment of the Plains tribes, completely covering the body to the mid-calf. 177 Unlike the corresponding man's shirt, these are worn most of the time, especially in winter. In summer the lighter unbeaded dresses are [535] used. This is not essentially a dance costume, although worn at the war and scalp dances. But these are held outdoors at night; and [756] during the shaman's dances in the earth-lodge, the fringed skirt only is worn because of the great heat. It is possible, of course, that this is a rationalization of etiquette, for if the shaman's dance is older than the forms of war and scalp dance now in use, there may be an association of the older fringed skirt with one and the newer skin dress with the other. There can be little doubt that the fringed skirt is the antecedent form. Plains influences appear to be recent, and

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* [171] [265] This has been redrawn from a sketch made by my informant. On the Yakima reservation moccasins of this type have a tab at the heel, which my informant may have omitted.

[266] Coville (Notes, 94) states that "the frames of snowshoes are usually made of willow wood. The mesh in old times was commonly made of the Rocky Mountain flax, *Linum lewisii*, less commonly of nettle fiber, *Urtica breweri*."

[267] Handbook, fig. 68a; evidently taken from Mason, Aboriginal American Basketry, 215.

[268] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17.

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the Klamath use of the typical Plains woman's costume is an extreme marginal case in the west.

Being of buckskin, not of elk hide, two skins are necessary for the dress. These are sewn together across the shoulders, leaving a short space for the insertion of the head. The neck ends of the skins are always across the shoulders, since this is the widest part of the skin. The contour of the dress is the familiar one, the natural contour of the dressed skin with the legs lopped off. Cape-like extensions, formed by the skin of the forelegs, hang loosely over the arms. All the edges are slit into fringes and the front and back are tied together by these under the arms and down the sides. These are not belted in Plains style.

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A woman's belt made of strips of bark fiber is illustrated by Barrett; others are made of human hair.[illegible] While Barrett is probably right in stating that these are part of everyday dress, I was told that the belt (k'ai'lls) is worn at the puberty dance, when a first child is born, or when an infant dies.

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The dress of earlier times had no ornamentation, but it now has the yoke-shaped decoration of Plains type and rows of pendants. The yoke is not a separate piece, but the quill-work design, and in more recent days the beadwork, is applied directly on the dress. Formerly rows of elk teeth were sometimes used. There is no special name for the yoke; like any beadwork, this part is called Iti's or Ita'ntkos. The yoke of one dress seen dipped below each armpit and again markedly at the middle of breast and back. It was comprised of a series of horizontal stripes in beads of contrasting colors which paralleled this wavy lower margin of the yoke. Three horizontal rows of pendants crossed front and back; one following this lower margin, another just above the knees, and the third near the bottom of the dress. These pendant strings, which hang in pairs, are wound with colored porcupine quills; thimbles and Chinese cash are sometimes threaded on them. A deep fringe (bowi's) is sometimes made to fasten along the lower margin of the yoke, at the bottom of the dress, and around the short sleeves. This is fabricated from a piece of buckskin, nine or more inches deep, slit into fine fringes so as to leave them connected by only a half-inch strip of skin. Beads may be strung on these. Similar strips of fringe are attached to a man's shirt. Hair that is cut off in mourning is tied in little rolls all over the dress; a man uses

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[illegible] *Op. cit.*, 258, pl. 17.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

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301 length is "a little too much." The unit, according to one informant,
is the length of the extended left arm to the upper end of the humerus,
or across the chest in addition to the point of the right shoulder. The
other gave the unit as a doubled string from the extended left hand
K to the sternum; that is, a fathom. One thing is clear, that there is
[436] no great concern for dentalia as money, as among the lower Klamath
tribes. The strings are not standardized either as to length or size of
the individual shells. Long dentalia are more valuable than the short,
but my informants never knew anyone to argue over the precise length
of a shell. Both men agreed that the several kinds of beads, or at
least the best, are not worked by the Klamath, but come from the
K south. They are either found in raided Achomawi-Atsugewi camps
[721] or are traded from these people or possibly the Shasta. Both were
[439] certain that the shells are not obtained from the north. This is something of a puzzle, because the Columbia river people have dentalia and
[177] use them extensively in trade. Furthermore, the ultimate point of
origin of the shells is the coast of Washington and British Columbia.
[174] The discrepancy in the statement is further accentuated by the Yurok
statement that the shells came to them both along the coast and down
the Klamath river.[399]

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[189] Finger rings are not made, nor bracelets, except for young children. The cast skin of a water snake is wrapped around their wrists
so that they will swim well.

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302 Face painting is general, a daily usage, not confined to gala events,
but more obvious at that time. The shaman's body is painted red
during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use,
[756] white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to
[822] war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white. I have
pointed out elsewhere[400] that red paint is associated with warfare by
the Basin tribes and their Californian and Arizonan neighbors. Here
it may be added that black is used by Plains warriors. At dances
white pigment, found along the creek banks, is smeared on the palms
K which are then pressed on the face or on a woman's smooth hair to
[317] form patterns. Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few
localities in the mountains near Crater lake. The Northern Paiute
NP are said to have quantities of it, however.

[317] In winter women smear their faces, hands, and arms with a mix-
K ture of charcoal and pitch, or deer grease, or of pitch and grease

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[399] Kroeber, Handbook, 22.

[400] Havasupai Ethnography, 207.

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60, nōtaksōpt dō'nkni te'ēwūnip.
70, la'pksōpt dō'nkni te'ēwūnip.
80, da'nksōpt dō'nkni te'ēwūnip.
90, nōtakā'ēks dō'nkni te'ēwūnip.
98, nōtakā'ēks dō'nkni te'ēwūnip pe'ēn da'nksōpt.
100, te'ēwūnipni te'ēwūnip.
101, te'ēwūnipni te'ēwūnip pe'ēnas.

The numbers eleven to nineteen are abbreviated forms, the full form for sixteen, for instance, is nō'taksōptial'ᴇ ha te'ēwūnip ōnt.

Even without extended etymological analysis, which I am not prepared to make, the basis of this numeration is transparent. One to six, nine, and ten are individual stems; seven is based on two, and eight on three. This suggests a quinary and decimal basis. From twenty up the basic count is by tens. Intermediate integers are so many tens plus the units, as in English. The exception is such an integer as twenty-one which looks like "two tens plus." Why the form for sixty and above differs from the lower round numbers, I do not know.

These numbers are used in counting all classes of objects. Gatschet remarks that classifiers "are appended to the numeral to indicate the shape or exterior of the objects counted."[411] The only other number I found was a score, the ten fingers and toes together, na'sat. There are no similar collective terms for the fingers of one hand or of both. Only a circumlocution can be used, like lugawa'wals, the fingers, or pĕtcō'mnᴇlugawa'wals, the toes all together (pĕtc is foot). Ordinarily the ordinal numbers are not used in counting the fingers; one does not usually say one finger, but specifies it by name. The toes are enumerated like the fingers.[412]

The following list of colors was recorded:

822

tōktō'kli, red.
tlo'tlalwi, green.
mĕtcmō'tcli, blue.
spa'lptcli, yellow.
kōp'kauli' brown.
bō'cbōcli, black.
ba'lbali, white.
ge'lōpel, gray (English, gray ?), means dirty.

My informant said that the word for blue was in use before the coming of the whites; she denied that there was a single word for blue-green. This implies that the familiar blue-green confusion was lacking here. I did not test any of these people for their color sense with color-wools.

[177]

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[411] 1:523.

[412] For the finger names, see the list of months above.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Southeast Salish NR19

This is undoubtedly true equally of all the tribes lying in the Columbia K
drainage from the Rockies to the Cascades. It is known to be so of 262
tribes as far apart as the Wishram and the Lower Kutenai,[413] and of 171*
others lying between, as the Middle Columbia Salish and the Nez Percé
in their original condition. K

The Nez Percé case calls for explanation. The present culture of 171*
the Nez Percé is Plains-like. But there can be little doubt that much, 105
if not the overwhelming part of the Plains traits among them, dates
only from the introduction of horses into the Snake-Columbia basin, 177 •
sometime between 1750 and 1800. With the horse came not only horse
gear and all the elements of Plains nomadism, but the opportunity for
buffalo hunting and trading on an extensive scale in the Plains. Many
of the Snake-Columbia tribes began to make periodic visits beyond
the Rockies from this time. Teit's account of the Middle Columbia SS
Salish makes it quite clear that prior to the coming of the horse, 114
typical Plateau culture, practically devoid of Plains elements, pre-
vailed over the entire area. Even the picture of life among the Nez 105
Percé and their neighbors presented to Lewis and Clark as late as 177
1804–6 was far more that of the Plateau at large than it is in our own K
day. The earlier situation is largely obscured by the fact that the 171*
Yakima and Klickitat in their eastern Washington location have many
Plains-like features. Teit's investigations make it reasonably certain, 105
however, that the situation prior to the end of the eighteenth century 177
was quite different. At that time eastern Washington to south of the
Columbia river was occupied by Salish tribes with typical Plateau
culture. Subsequently the Yakima-Klickitat moved northward, prob-
ably from east central Oregon, to their historic habitat.[414] It seems
reasonable to assume that up to that time they, like the Nez Percé, had
little in the way of Plains culture. K

Even today the food habits of the Sahaptins are not those of the 171*
Plains. What I am suggesting here is that the balance of vegetal 177
products and fish, now nearly even, rather favored fish in the days 178
before hunting was so readily followed. 262

So far as general habits of life go, the river culture of the Klamath K
links them also with the tribes on the lower reaches of the Klamath 101
river. But their food habits do not quite coincide. Yurok, Hupa, and K
Shasta all make a larger use of acorns than of fish, although observers 171*

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[413] Chamberlain, Kootenay, 183.

[414] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish; a map showing the early distribution is included in Haeberlin, *et al.*, Coiled Basketry in British Columbia. 262

Taken as a whole Klamath material culture is of Plateau type with 171*
strong leanings toward northeastern California. But their social and 101
religious culture has a different aspect. While basically of the
extremely simple Basin-Plateau type, social habits reflect the Northwest 105
Coast, religious ones rather those of northern California and
western Oregon.

The basis of Klamath religious experience is that of the northern 171*
interior, the Basin, and the Northwest Coast, in distinction to California
and the Southwest. The experience is deliberately sought and 771
the power obtained is of a generalized, unspecialized nature. In this
they resemble as well the generality of North Americans. Even their
spirits are of the sort universal east of the Pacific coast. Specific
Northwest Coast influence appears in the circumscription of general
spirit repossession to the midwinter month. On the other hand, the
shaman novice's inaugural dance, which gives at least as much color
to Klamath shamanism, is characteristic of northern California and
western Oregon. The Klamath form of it is, rather, Oregonian.
Details of shamanism, on the other hand, link more firmly with
northern, especially northeastern, California.

Social organization is extremely simple, and it is quite patent that 171*
as late as the end of the eighteenth century, it resembled that of the
Basin and Plateau in every particular. Even now social stratification
is only weakly developed. Chiefs were only recently set off from the
mass, their functions vague and their influence slight. At the very 171*
moment that Klamath society began to break down with the coming of 177 •
the whites, they first imported from the Columbia river judicial functions
for the chiefs. Chiefs are the wealthiest individuals, but they 622
are not chiefs because they are wealthy. Their selection is still based
on principles of personal ability. The basis of this differentiation,
wealth, came from the same direction, but the accompanying principle
of the Northwest Coast, caste stratification, never reached here; nor
did the chief's adjunct, a speaker or advocate, although this functionary
is known in the Plateau and Basin as well as in the Northwest.
At the other end of the scale, slavery is apparently an old institution, 171*
but was of little importance until wealth began to figure among them. 567
The Northwest Coast concept of status based on wealth appears again
in marriage, here regularly by purchase. But social estimation did 171*
not rest on the amount paid, which was in fact very little. With so
slight an emphasis on rank and wealth, those northwestern corollaries, 556
local exogamy to maintain the one and the family compact following 584

*171 on the other, were entirely absent among the Klamath. Nevertheless
556 the mechanism of the Northwest Coast for the exchange of presents,
584 the potlatch, does appear here in the form of prescribed reciprocal
visits between the families of bride and groom. It has not been clearly
recognized that these features of Northwest Coast social life have
spread even farther from that focus into the northern Plains and to
north central California.

*171 Of the slender stock of Klamath ceremonials, the scalp dance is
widely known, the war or incitement dance is common to northwestern
535 California and perhaps all of Oregon. Kroeber has pointed out that
726 so far as California is concerned scalp and war dances are mutually
exclusive in their distributions.[418] But the Klamath, like all others
*171 of eastern Oregon, carry out both dances. The girls' adolescence rite
of the Klamath is one with those of western Oregon and northern
881 California. This is a local phrasing of similar rites known from
Alaska to the Southwest, but lacking east of the Sierra-Cascades.
Specific details of the Klamath affair are closer to northern Cali-
*171 fornian forms than to those of Oregon. The Ghost dance of 1870 was
evanescent among them. Its first form was that characteristic of the
original dance of Nevada; later it was overlaid by features char-
acteristic of central California.[419]

• 177 Some historical relief emerges in this survey. It is definitely
traceable in some details and can be established inferentially for more
basic elements. The most recent stratum of adopted traits is post-
[285] reservation, i.e., later than 1865. This includes two types of basketry
derived from the Northern Paiute settled on the reservation, a sifting
basket and a coiled water bucket, and the Ghost dance. The earlier
[668] form of the Ghost dance was instituted by the same group of Paiute
in 1870 or '71. This was the familiar circle of dancers, whose leaders
[343] dreamed new regulations; its ideology the return of the dead. In
1873 a Pit River introduced central Californian elements; a dance
[534] lodge, probably the clap-stick rattle, new songs, etc. To the same
[533] stratum belongs the imitation of the Warm Springs-Yakima one-piece
moccasin.

[291] Other elements are recognized as pertaining to pre-reservation
177 days, but probably not earlier than the middle of the last century:
the hand drum derived from the north, and perhaps the social dances
534 in which it is used; the hand game brought by a Spokane (?) man.

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535 [418] Kroeber, Handbook, 144, 844.

[419] Spier, Ghost Dance.

The judicial function of chiefs, dispensing fines and punishments, is 177
known to have been derived from the Columbia river tribes at 622
this time.

Some trade articles not manufactured by the Klamath also pertain 439
to this era: parfleches, skin bags, and buffalo hides from Warm
Springs and the Dalles, flat basketry bowls from Pit river through
the Modoc, and beads, even dentalia, from the same southern source
or from the Shasta.

The second quarter of the last century saw the coming of the 177
horse. Ogden remarked on only one among them in 1826, but they
began to be obtained in numbers, probably from Warm Springs, about 231
1840. There can be little question that with the horse came elements
of Plains culture from the half-Plains tribes of the Columbia-Snake,
the adoption of predatory habits, and the great stimulus to slave-raiding
and to slave-trading with the people at the Dalles on the
Columbia.

Both tradition and inference assign Plains traits to this period. 177
The relative newness of Plains style of dress is attested by the incompleteness
with which it was adopted. It was never the universal garb, [291]
but confined to the wealthiest, and, most significantly, proscribed at
the performances of shamans and the Ghost dance. Further, men
did not wear Plains costume to war and set out on their raids afoot, [714]
even after the acquisition of horses, which suggests that the new
accouterment and habits had not taken firm root. The circular shield,
which also was never in general use, may well have come in at this
time. The earlier types of Plains garments here were only simply [291]
decorated or not at all. It is known that the elaborate beading of the
yoke and the use of scalps, etc., for appendages on women's dress, and [531]
the painted designs on men's shirts, are much more recent than the
first adoption of these garments. These local changes probably reflect
a similar transformation in decoration in the southern Plateau.
Possibly the dome-shaped sweat-lodge was introduced at this early [343]
period. It seems to have been displacing the small earth-covered
affair for some time. But the latter is also generically the eastern
type, not the Californian, and is without doubt older than this incursion
of Plains elements in the early nineteenth century. Finally, I
cannot avoid the feeling that the sense of tribal solidarity, in which,
even though but slightly developed, the Klamath differ from their
Californian neighbors, dates from this contact with Plains-like peoples.

177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.
Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
174 only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[622] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
[721] carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-
[567] holding existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their dis-
177 tribution established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kin-
ship terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
[622] southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[619] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctive-
101 ness from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
105 to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some north-
western influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

*171 From this perspective the Klamath complex takes its place with
756 the relatively simple shamanism of the northwestern interior and the
Basin, overlaid with elements shared by tribes of the northwestern
coast and those of northern, or better, northwestern California.

Shamanism bulks large in the social scheme of the Klamath as it
does in the interior Plateau and the Basin, for the reason that competing
[881] rituals are lacking. Beyond the girls' rite, the war and scalp
dances, and for a brief time the Ghost dance, the Klamath have nothing
[535] but shamans' performances. The winter ritual of the Northwest
Coast extends only to central coastal Washington, the potlatch only
to the Columbia river. The wealth display dances of northwestern
[726] California do not penetrate even to the Shasta; those of the central
Californian Kuksu cult not beyond the head of the Sacramento. Elements
[784] of these ritual systems do indeed appear among the Klamath,
*171 but the dances as such are absent.

796 The Klamath hold the acquisition of supernatural power within
the reach of anyone. In this they accord with the generality of North
*171 Americans and differ emphatically from the Californians for whom
power descends only on the few. The Klamath form of quest followed
787 by a dream in which power comes links the common quest of
America with the dream experience of California. The Northwest
Coast, its interior, and the Basin are a unit with the Klamath in that
the quest is for power of a general sort, not for visions yielding specific
sanctions as in the Plains. The spirits whose benevolence is sought
are birds and animals as in the interior, the Plains and eastward, not
the mystic supernaturals of the Northwest Coast. The source of
power and disease among the northwest Californians, the "pain"
*171 objects, do not appear among them in any form. The Klamath concept
of disease is the very general North American one of intrusion;
753 the soul-loss concept of the Northwest Coast and tribes to the Columbia
is unknown here.

*171 The Klamath novitiate dance for shamans is shared by groups from
the Sacramento to the Columbia. It is the northern demonstration of
756 ability rather than the initiation and mastery of power of the northern
Californians. The repeated dance of the Yurok prevails through
Shasta and Modoc, but the single Klamath dance is of the interior
type.

*171 The Northwest Coast winter ritual makes its appearance here only
756 in its general aspects. Klamath shamanistic seances are held only in
midwinter and this is also the time for repossession by spirits among

796
• 177

171*

the people at large as well as the shamans. Inasmuch as both these features are northwestern and non-Californian, they must be looked on as influences from the north. 177 756

The following sections attempt to substantiate these generalizations. 796

Spirits

Those spirits of which the Klamath seek power are conceived as animals, birds, reptiles, fish, sometimes as natural phenomena, and in a few instances as supernaturals, anthropomorphic and akin to the characters of their mythology. Their number is indefinitely large. Each may be said to constitute a genus of spirits; e.g., "the Coyote spirit" is properly a group of coyote spirits. Members of the class are not singled out for individualization. 776

The spirits of other tribes of the northwestern sector are of the same type. All the interior tribes on into California and all others of Oregon for whom we have information hold to this conception: Thompson, Lillooet, Wishram, Nez Percé, Takelma, Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Maidu, and Wintun. There are undoubtedly differences among them in the type of spirit most frequently sought; thus, natural phenomena bulk larger in the Thompson mind. Further, objects, some as trivial as the nipple of a gun, figure as spirits among the Thompson, Lillooet, Snohomish, Nisqually, Nez Percé, Achomawi, and Atsugewi.[636] 171* 776

A concept of a different sort holds sway on the coast from Vancouver island to the Columbia river. There the principal spirits are supernaturals of mythological character. These are necessarily restricted in numbers since they are highly individualized, and correlatively the powers they bestow are particularized. Where information is available, these creatures are credited, as among the Klallam, with a social existence of human pattern: they live in houses, are provided with servants, and travel in canoes. This is the predominating spirit concept among the Kwakiutl, Klallam, Snohomish, Nisqually, and Quinault. The slight information on Chinook spirits suggests supernaturals of the same sort. This is not to deny that animals and birds figure among the Klallam and Puget Sound Salish, and that among the Quinault there are a few bird spirits that retain their

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[636] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 354; The Lillooet, 283; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247 f.; Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 35; Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130 (skins and feathers of spirits); Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218; Angulo, Religious Feeling, 356.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2536. Any time	–	–	–	+		–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	535
2537. Several bands assemble together	+	–	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	
2538. Young people dance, mainly	–	+									–	–	–		–	–	
2539. Purpose mainly pleasure	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	[789]
2540. To make seeds grow	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2541. Dance around center post	–	+	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–	
2542. Juniper tree	–	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2543. Dance around fire	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2544. All dancers sing	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[533]
†2545. Special singers	–	–	–	–		–	2	–	4	–	–	1	–		–	–	
2546. Each local group sings own songs, in turn	+	–	+			+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2547. Split-stick rattle accompaniment	–	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2548. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	+			+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2549. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–		–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[562]
2550. Men choose partners	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2551. Dance in 1 circle	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2552. Dance in 2 concentric circles	+	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
2553. Dance in 2 circles next to each other	–	–	–			+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2554. Sexes alternate	+	–	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2555. Sexes dance opposite each other in 1 circle	+	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2556. Quick shuffle step	+	(+)	+	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
2557. Hopping step	–	.	–	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2558. Stamp both feet, moving slightly									+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2559. Start: counterclockwise	+	(+)	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2560. Reverse: dance clockwise	–	.	–	+		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2561. When dance stops, all shout	+	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2562. Good singer dance leader	+	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2563. Band or district chief dance leader	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	[622]
2564. Clowns	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2565. Act of own accord; not appointed	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	[522]
o2566. Duration of dance, nights	1	½	1	1		1	1	3	1	2	–	2	–		–	–	
2567. Dance occasion for courting	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2568. Visitors camp in circular brush corral	–	–	+	–		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[574]
2569. Visitors feasted by hosts	–	–	+			+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
Sweat "Dance"																	
2570. Held inside sweat house											+	+	+		–	–	[515]
2571. At night											+	+	+		–	–	
2572. Any time of year												+	+		–	–	
2573. Both sexes participate											+	+	–		–	–	
2574. Hot fire in sweat house											+	+	+		–	–	
2575. 1 singer; hits center pole with stick											+	–	–		–	–	[523]
2576. Split-stick rattle used											–	+	–		–	–	
2577. Participants stand in 1 spot, dance until exhausted											+	+	+		–	–	
2578. Swim after dancing											+	+	+		–	–	[481]
Bear Dances																	
2579. Bear dance aboriginal	–	–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+	[177]
2580. Given for good time	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2581. Given to dress bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2582. Held in spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
2583. Held in winter	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
2584. Held any time, in good weather	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2585. Danced in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+	
2586. Danced in open	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	–	
o2587. Whole gathering lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	–		–	2	

000 lows, (2) larger cradle for older infant, same shape, material; with or without hood. WT, WM: (1) Cradle used for newborn infant. (2) Cradle for older infant. WT: Cradle slenderer than one sketched in Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 8j, p. 133. WS: Only 1 type sitting cradle used.

1343. SE: "Never have used basket toe-type cradle; that's Happy Camp (Karuk); in old days those Happy Camp people never came up around Yreka."

1344-1346. Mo: Refers to cradle for newborn infant (see note 1342-1352).

1348. Mo: Refers to cradle for newborn infant.

1349-1350. Mo: Refers to cradle for older infant (see note 1342-1352).

1351. Mo, SE: Refers to cradle for older infant.

1352. See note 1364a. Mo: Refers to cradle for older infant. SE: Cradles for newborn, older infants both have leg rest. Cradle for newborn infant has separate soft tule bed and leg rest of rolled grass. Cradle for older infant has piece of tule mat, rolled, as leg rest. "If you don't have that seat (roll) on, child will slip down and choke." At, AW, WM, WS: Bed on cushion at bottom for infant to sit on; no transverse-bar leg rest.

854 1353. Kl: Three types of lying cradle used:
(1) Tule cradle for newborn infant. (2) Willow
cradle for older infant. (3) Board cradle; said
[17] to be of comparatively recent (pre-white?) in-
troduction among Kl, but informant did not know
from what tribe it was borrowed. Type (2)
cradle only used if type (3) not available. Kl
000 refer to all their cradles as of lying type, but
infant can also half-sit in them. Mo: See left
figure. "The board is new, after Whites' time."
At: See right figure. Specimen seen; adopted

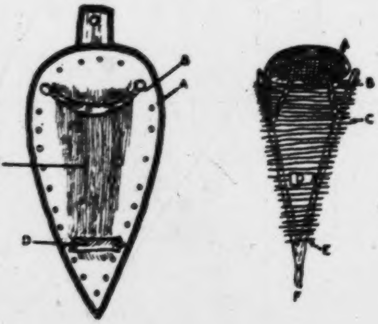

(Left) A, holes to pass lashing through; B, hoop for cradle hood; C, separate tule bed; D, cross-bar rest for infant's legs.

(Right) A, hood of basketry; B, basketry splints (?) to support hood; C, transverse rods, to form bed; lashed to frame with sinew; D, leg rest; E, forked stick frame; F, point to stick in ground.

[195-A]

000 1612. MM: With burnt pepperwood gourds.

[301] [304] [177] 1614. Kl: "Nose plugs and earrings are new; the Klamath learned to use them from the Molala Indians and the S [California] Indians. They never made holes in their nose and ears in old times." SW: Awl used chiefly to pierce noses; sometimes point of quill, but latter makes too small a hole. WM: Male, female mourner if desirous of inflicting loss on others similar to that he has experienced, retires to small sweat house (Lut) and pierces nasal septum with small manzanita stick. Addresses bloody stick, telling it he wishes other persons to die; stays in sweat house 6-7 days, leaving stick in nose until hole has healed; then takes out stick and gives it to relative, shaman usually, to keep and use in poisoning people. WS: By sick persons only, occasionally.

Deformation, mutilations.--

[304] 1617. Kl: See note 1614. SW: Porcupine quill used; keeps ear lobes from becoming sore.

1620. At: Men, women. AE: Women.

[304] [177] 1621. Kl: Learned to tattoo from Shasta (Achomawi?) when informant boy (ca. 50 years ago). "Two Kl women went [S] to see Shasta; when they returned, 1 old woman tattooed herself" with 3 lines on chin radiating from mouth; "people saw it and liked it, and lots of old women did it then. The first old woman thought it made her look pretty." Informant had also seen 1 old man, with circles tattooed under eyes, and connecting line over nose, but "didn't like it; it looked funny." Men's tattooing on arms also recent custom. Mo informants confirmed slight use of tattoo by Kl; commented upon how heavily Shasta tattoo. Mo: Recent (?). SW informant denied Mo, Wintu women tattoo; however, Mo informant attributed tattooing to Tule Lake Mo groups. WM: Little tattooing among WM; if tattoo very much, spirits will take person away. More tattooing among Trinity, Weaverville Wintu groups (Nomsus).

1622. AW: Boys occasionally only. WT: Men on arms, when wife dies only.

1625. WT: 3 narrow stripes put on girl's chin; vertical lines across cheeks added later, when girl is grown woman.

1626. WT: See note 1625.

1627. WT: Women.

1629. SW: Upper-arm marks to measure dentalia; men, only. WT, WM: Men. WM: Men tattoo as therapeutic measure only.

[304] [422] 1633. Obsidian knife, generally. MV: With white rock, procured from river and smashed for sharp edge.

[757] 1638. Therapeutic measure; see elements 4473-4474.

1641. Mo: "Proud of eyebrows, eyelashes; wouldn't pull them." NS: Hot ashes applied; "eyebrows never grow back."

1642. NS: See preceding note.

1647. MV: Face rubbed with warm rock, so beard will not grow quickly.

1648. SE, WT, MF, NM: Rarely; old men only.

Dress

Headgear, robes.--

291 [184] 1713. Kl: Brim on men's caps, painting of men's caps, denied for Klamath Marsh groups (see Spier, Klamath, pp. 182-183). WT: "Worn at Willow Creek [Hupa] and on McCloud River [WM], but not among WT." WM: Upriver people [WS] give WM women basket caps occasionally.

1715. See Spier, Klamath, fig. 13,c, p. 180. Specimen of Kl woman's basket cap shown to all informants to verify this element.

1718. AW: If man wears basket cap, he is ridiculed. AE: Never worn by men.

1723. Worn in winter. SE: Feathers attached
000 to it. AW: Brimless.

1726. SW: Worn habitually by men to keep hair down, as women wear basket cap. Not used for packing, as men pack on shoulders.

1729. WM: In war, or war dance; covered with duck skins.

1730. SW: Used by shamans, but not by ordinary persons, except for dances (see element 1943). MV: Tule band to keep hair back.

1734. SW: "Goes with Big Head dance."

[226] [292] 1735. Kl: Tule mat (ste'holas) 3 ft. wide, 4-5 ft. long, used when fishing in daytime on ice; fisherman covers head with mat "to make it dark underneath so that he can see into the water plainly." At: Tule eyeshade woven, "like blinders"; projected from each side of wearer's head; tied on by band around head. Informant's husband used such when fishing for trout in boat at night so light would not get into his eyes.

1736. Mo: Charcoal mixed with pitch.

1737. MV: Used commonly in cold weather, especially by women when outside pounding food.

1741. At: Used in rainy weather by few people only.

[291] 1743. Kl, WS, MM: Worn thus by men and women. Mo, At, AW, MF, NM: By men only. SE, WT, WM: By women only. (See note 1744.)

1744. SE, WT, WM, NM: Worn thus by men. At, AW, AE, MF: By women.

1747. AW: N of "real" Achomawi, group at Dany (Suk'mawi) use bearskin caps. But "real Achomawi were river Indians; they stayed around the rivers, fished; every man had a canoe, and belonged to the river. They went out [hunting] for a little while, then returned to the river."

1749. Mo: Puma "costly" robe.

1750. SE: Beaver hides. WS: Worn by men and women.

Shirts and gowns.--

1751. SW: For everyday wear women's dress consists of 2 whole buckskins, seamed up both sides, tied over both shoulders.

291 439 177 1752. Kl: Bought women's buckskin dresses from Molala, NW of the Kl, and the Warm Springs Indians. "The Molala made them, the Kl bought them, and learned how to make them. That was quite a long time ago, about 90 years; long before the

177 291 439 Modoc War [1872-73]. There were no White people in the Kl country yet, or at Portland. The Kl traded with the Molala and the Warm Springs Indians and the Yakima; the Warm Springs and Yakima had more horses; the Kl had only a few." SE: 000 From Warm Springs Indians. "Those Indians up there are much smarter. The SE traded bone beads [dentalia] for women's buckskin dresses and men's shirts from them; SE went N and got otter skins for button [clamshell disk] beads."

[291] 1753. Varies, according to size of woman wearer. AW: 2-3 skins. WT: 1 skin, if from big buck.

1755. WT: 2 front legs used to tie skin at back of neck.

1757. Crude-type dress, little better than 2 whole skins, tied together over shoulders and at sides, to cover front and back of wearer.

[291] 1758. SW: Tied at shoulders, but not at waist.

[177] 1768. Kl: Glass trade beads.

[531] 1770. SW: Men's everyday shirt. At: "Atsugewi men wore buckskin all the time; that's why they called him rich." AE: Recency of buckskin shirt denied.

[177] [291] [439] 1771. Kl: Men's buckskin shirt acquired from Molala about same period as women's buckskin gown (see note 1752). SE: See note 1752.

1772. MM: 1-2 skins.

1773. See note 1757.

1780. SW: Sleeves, of elbow or wrist length, sometimes set into armholes, especially for winter wear.

1784. At: Lacking on buckskin shirt, but 2 bone beads sewed onto front of poncho-type shirt (see element 1785).

1785. At: Worn by Madesi Achomawi also.

Loin coverings.--

1786. SE, SW, At, AE: Worn by men, women. WT, MM: Worn by men. SW: Women wear breechclout underneath skirts, but never use it as sole garment, as men often do. AW: All breechclouts (i·čiti) pass between legs, but different methods of tying them at waist; some are tied at sides. AE: Whole buckskin, legs left on; trimmed narrow where it passes between legs. Ends pass over belt tied around waist; flaps hang down over belt in back, front, "like little aprons." Men, some women wear them always; women generally in summer.

1787. SW: Breechclout made from smoked buckskin, tanned soft. If wet, rubbed and reworked until soft again. Flap of breechclout falls down in front over belt.

1788. SW: For makeshift garment only.

1793. MM: Worn in summer.

1794. MF: Tanned, with hair removed.

1795. According to size of woman.

1796. Skins sewed or tied together; tail left on back skin.

1798. MM: Winter only.

1801. SW: Informant credited Kammatwa and Katiruk groups, between Shasta proper and Karuk

[199-A]

000 filling pipe from his tobacco pouch in turn and passing it. Smoker makes loud guttural noise as he smokes.

2067. AW: Most popular time for smoking, but "some old men smoke in morning, after eating, or any time."

2068. SW: Do not smoke in dwelling, where women living; pipe will be defiled by woman's presence and be worthless for use when making medicine, preparing to hunt. MV: Seldom smoke in dwelling house; chiefly in assembly house, before going to sleep.

2069. Middle-aged, elderly men; not young men.

2071. Mo: In small amount, as medicine, for nausea.

2072. Kl: Offerings not, however, lacking; see note 5197. WS: Occasionally smoked as an offering; "not much."

2075. AW: Shaman smokes, blows smoke and his "poison" (animate object) in direction of victim, telling poison: "Now go." WM: Smoke tobacco to mountains when praying, worshipping. WS: See note 2072.

MUSIC AND DRAWING

Musical Instruments

Drums.--

534
177
2076. Kl: Formerly lacked drum; "learned about it from groups to N [before informant born]. Kl used to go N, to the Dalles; there they saw the drum, and how those people used it. (They danced with it. Sometimes the Kl visited up there 1, 2, 3 years.) They brought back the dance that they learned from those people, and the drum. Lots of Kl went over there, before the white people came to this country; they weren't trading except that they took wokus [water lily seeds] and gave it to some Indians over there, but mainly they were just friends." Cp. Spier, Klamath, p. 89. For details of dance with which drum was introduced among Kl, see
000 notes 2529. SE: Double-headed, circular hide drum, hanitomtomiL. Consists of 2 circular willow hoops, ca. 6 in. (?) apart; top, bottom, sides buckskin covered; buckskin covering sewed to willow hoops. No specimen seen. Beaten to call people to assembly house. "One Indian [SE] used to make this drum, in my grandmother's day." Probably recent but pre-White, as Spier suggests for Kl (Klamath, p. 89). SW: Informant believed drum old but could not assign any use for it; not used in gambling, as it is among Karuk. AW: "Mo had a drum, round, with antelope-hide head; painted red; held in 1 hand. They came here from Tule Lake; some people used that drum here, at Stonecoal and Big Valley." AE: Recency of drum denied.

2083. See elements 834-838 and notes, especially as regards WM entry. MV: Besides foot drum,

[203-A]

000 also used board as drum. See element 3670; also cf. Densmore, Musical Instruments, pp. 114-115.

2084. AW: Basket drummed with pack strap, to frighten away bear. MF, NF, NM: Use of pack strap for this purpose denied. MF: Drum on basket, in night ceremony held during April, when men, women sing for good seed crops, plentiful game for year. NF: Men scrape, drum basket when singing in assembly house; no dance. NS: Taboo to drum basket; "must not play with a basket." MV: Basket patted with hands.

Rattles, rasp.--

[534] 2085. Kl: Spier (Klamath, p. 90) doubts whether any large cocoons in Kl area. SW, At, AW, AE, WT, WM, WS, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Cocoons suitable for rattles available in area. WS: Cocoon rattle used for Big Head dance.

2088. At: 30* cocoons. AW, MM: 5-6. WS, NF: 4-5. NS: 3-5. MV: 5-10.

[534] [759] 2089. Kl: Shamans do not use any variety rattle. At: Cocoon rattle dangerous; shaman never keeps it in house, or shows it to people, except when doctoring. When he shakes rattle, "it is as though he is asking his power for help." AW: Poisonous for anyone other than shaman to handle.

2093. SW: Gray papery sack, ca. 5 in. long, 2-3 in. wide; neither cocoon nor wasp's nest, but resembling these, used as rattle; broken mussel shells put inside it; used by children.

2097. WT: Refers to single-split rattle.

2098, 2099. WT: Refers to multiple-split rattle.

2101. WT: Refers to single-split rattle.

2103. AW, WM, WS, MF: By shamans only. MM: Snake rattles regarded as poisonous.

2108. SE: 7-8 hoofs.

2111. Mo: Obsidian arrowheads shaken inside open-mouthed basket cap, to encourage men to go to war.

● [534] [177] 2114. Kl: 2 notched rasps, held in hand, "played like a fiddle." No basket. Recency denied. Cp. Spier, Klamath, p. 35.

Bull-roarer; whistles and flutes.--

[534] [177] 2116. Kl: Learned from Whites.

2120. At: Children, twirling bull-roarer for fun, ordered to stop, because sound produces sickness.

2130. Mo: Used when hunting ducks. SW: Used for any dance. WS: 2 types whistle; (1) of bone, old; (2) of elder, recent.

2131, 2133-2134. WS: Refers to older type bone whistle.

2136. WS: Used for Ghost (Dream) dance only; recent.

2147. Mo: Whipsnakes around elderberry bushes. See note 2161. SE: Also not good to handle elderberry bush; gives person headache. MV: Whistling with lips also taboo at any time.

2148. MV: Any variety of snake will come to whistler.

[203-B]

000 2334. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2326.

2335. WM: Refers to recent many-stick game. See note 2326.

2336. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2326.

2337. WM: Refers to recent many-stick game. See note 2326.

2339, 2341. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2326.

2342. SW: Score kept orally. Counters are played with, as part of gambling outfit. WM: 15 counters for recent many-stick game; 20 counters used for old grass game. See note 2326.

2345, 2348. WM: Grass game. See note 2326.

Hand or grass game.--

524 2349. Among several groups, more than 1 type
hand or grass game played. Whenever entry refers
to one type only, note indicates to which type.
If entry refers to all types played by group, no
[179] note appended. Kl: Learned to play hand game
from Warm Springs Indians; also from Paiute;
latter "just natural gamblers." Game popular
among Kl before informant born. "Many new games
000 among Kl now." At: Type (1), old form of hand
game, similar to old Mo game (see note 2368).
Type (2), recent, 4-bone-type hand game, learned
from Kl. AE: Type (1), men's hand game. Type
(2), women's hand game. WM: Type (1) grass hand
game, Xeni. Type (2), recent form of hand game,
cu'us, introduced about 20 years ago, perhaps
from Stillwater area. "People from there came
and said, 'Let's play hand game.'" WS: Type (1),
grass game, k'eni, old. Type (2), "hand game,"
no other name. Recent, learned from Paiute about
30 years ago. Type (3), women's hand game, a·rus;
old. If men play type (3), use larger set of
bones. MV: Type (1), men's hand game. Type (2),
women's hand game.

2350. AE, MV: Refers to type (1) game. WS: Refers to types (1), (3). See note 2349.

2351. At, AE, MV: Refers to type (2) games. WS: Refers to types (2), (3). See note 2349.

2352. AE: Refers to men's hand game. WM: Refers to recent form hand game. See note 2349.

2353-2354. AE: Refers to men's hand game. WM: Refers to recent form. See note 2349.

2355. At: Refers to recent type. AE: Refers to men's hand game. See note 2349.

2357, 2359. AE: Some doubt concerning entry.

2360. AW: Unmarked bone is "live" bone.

2361. WM: Called "ace," in recent form hand game. WS: Marked bone called pak (bone) in women's hand game. See note 2349. MF: Called "string bone and slick bone."

2362. AE: Refers to men's hand game. WM: Refers to recent form hand game. See note 2349.

2364. At, WM: Refers to recent form hand game. AE: Refers to men's hand game, an old type but only recently played with bone or horn bones. See note 2349.

2365. AE: Refers to women's hand game. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2349.

[205-B]

00D 2366. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2349.

2367. AE: Refers to women's hand game.

2368. Mo: Fact that only 1 player at time holds objects causes Mo to distinguish clearly between their form of hand game (nanadeyes) and "Paiute-Achomawi" 4-bone hand game (which is also recent Kl form). This 4-bone form never adopted by Mo. At: Refers to recent "hand game," and women's hand game. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2349.

2369. At, WM: Refers to recent form hand game. See note 2349.

2370. WM: Refers to recent form. WS, MV: Refers to women's hand game. See note 2349.

2371. WS: Refers to recent "hand game." MV: Refers to men's hand game. See note 2349.

2377. WS: Refers to recent hand game and women's hand game. MV: Refers to men's hand game. See note 2349.

2378. WM, WS: Refers to recent form hand game; also, among WS, to women's hand game. See note 2349.

2379. WS: Refers to grass game. MV: Refers to men's hand game. See note 2349.

2381. WM: 15 counters for grass game; 5 counters for recent form hand game. See note 2349.

2387. WM, WS: Refers to grass game. See note 2349.

2388. WM, WS: Refers to recent hand game and, for WS, women's hand game also.

Stick hiding; dice games; objects thrown in air.--

2399. AW: Single stick, piece of rock, hidden in bare hand (but not between fingers); 2 hands extended, hider sings short song. Opposite side guesses which hand contains stick; played merely for fun, between 2 women, or 2 boys, 2 girls; MM: Informant's daughter had seen it played at mission school at Greenville, Plumas Co.; father unfamiliar with it. NM: Name of game, tikil (see note 2435) or wotokit.

[524] 2406. Mo, MF, NM: Said to be aboriginal.
2410. Kl: Possibly learned from Paiute; beaver
[177] teeth. Mo: Ground-hog-teeth dice.
[237] 2415. NM: Informant positive no counters.

2429. MF: Deer bones.

2435. NM: Name of game, tikil. Informant had seen it played at Mooretown also, among MF group.

2439. At, AW: Women's digging sticks. MF: See NM note, following. NM: Name of game, tikil (see note 2435). Informant had seen game played at Mooretown also, among a MF group. Use of women's digging stick in game denied.

2445. AW: Sometimes 12 used instead.

2453. AW: Comparatively large rock.

2458. AW: 2-4.

2465. NF: For 3 days after gambling.

Amusements

Toys; contests; storytelling.--

2469. SW: Like Pomo top, Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 41,a, p. 449.

[206-A]

000 2475. MV: Shoe-leather disk, also top of tin can used for recent buzzers. Using buzzer "makes people sick; don't use it much."

2483. SE: Name for buzzer similar to that for bird that makes whirring noise at night; when playing with buzzer people say they "are making the deer fat."

2484. WM: "The puisus (Achomawi) play this, but WM never do."

2485. WT: Informant had never seen Indians play this; had seen Whites doing it.

2489. AW: Names of 2 figures: Sundown; Spider's House.

[524] 2490. Kl, Mo, SW, AW: Popular moving figure is that of "2 coyotes running from each other."

2492. Mo: If play in summer, ensuing winter will be severe.

2494. SW: Figures made during first quarter of moon, in spring especially, to make moon grow (by stretching string).

2494a. Mo: Both informants stated stilts aboriginal. At: "Danced on ice with stilts". Like Mo informant, At informant had used stilts as girl.

2505. WT: Willow-bark bag, sand inside.

2508. Mo: 5-6.

2520. Mo, MM, MF: Narrators presented with small amount of food by auditors; MS: uncertain about this; MV: denied. Not inquired into for other groups. MF: Myths told to youths, men only (during secret society initiation?); informant for this group a woman.

[538] [855] 2522. Kl: Belief held more in jest than in earnest; told to small children who "would never go to sleep."

2523. SW: If myths told toward spring, look out for rattlesnake.

[481] [883] 2527. Kl: Youths "made to swim in winter anyway"; no rule which applies to myth telling per se.

Social Dances

Circle dances.--

535 177 2529. Kl: See note 2076. Dance Kl brought back from N with drum was "a round dance; men and women danced, holding hands, men on 1 side, women on other of single circle, with fire inside in middle. It was held any time of year, but mostly in summer, just for fun. Given at night; people stopped dancing around midnight. [No leader who brought it back, or no data on such.] One man might say, 'Let's have fun'; people told each other; they came and danced. The drummer was the leader; he sang, and the men and women dancers sang too. The drummer stood by himself; just 1 man drummed. The [179] Kl no longer give this dance; the old people have mostly died." Mo: Dance relatively slight affair; 000 "a few young people assemble for 'evening joy' dance; join hands and go around fire in circle; old man watches them. When they become reckless, he stops dance." SW: Circle dance (k'aphek), an old summer dance, given for pleasure sometimes;

[206-B]

K M 342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old
352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the
513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another
K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are
M [592] houses that hold more than two families and others that hold
K only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no
M 342 longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content
888 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.

735 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women
K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered
M 142 the visitor[11] are of powerful frame—though of no more than
average height—and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily
K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber
M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early
291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing
[177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the
trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down
the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside
add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a
K mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in
M 302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips
301 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads,
ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum
K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy
M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face,
304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by
[142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter practice,
[177] says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit
River neighbors of the Modoc.

K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys.
M 512 Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grandfather
[857] and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black
waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the
sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to
stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its
K M cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the
[252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it
[415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they
[177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

I was informed were sold for three horses each, some cheaper."[6] 000

In the changing conditions of the early nineteenth century, K
the Klamath were caught up in currents generated from without. 175
The advent of horses and of firearms made it possible for the 177
tribes of the east-central Plateau, the eastern Salish and eastern 648
Sahaptin, to cross the Rocky Mountains, to hunt buffalo and [231]
enter into relations, both peaceful and bellicose, with the tribes [411]
of the Plains. As they came under Plains influence, the appeal K
of Plains garb, of parfleches and tipis, grew.[7] The Klamath were [291]
attracted to these new goods, and the clothing at least came to [556]
replace or supplement traditional forms of wealth.

Moreover, the horse and the gun had revolutionized warfare K M
patterns. Although traditional enemies beyond the Cascades 175
were preoccupied with white settlers, on the east the Paiute were 177
gradually developing mounted bands of great mobility and 726
striking power. The Klamath and Modoc were not slow to seek 231
the new instruments of war. 411

The opening trade to the north brought a corresponding K M
intensification of the raids carried south into the territory of the 175
Pit River tribes—the Achumawi and Atsugewi—to capture women 177
and children, Pit River bows, and other loot. As Chiloquin, one 721
of the leaders of the time, recalled:

> When the Snakes [Northern Paiute] made war on us that made us keen to fight other Indians and we made war without provocation on the Pitt Rivers, Shastas and Rogue Rivers, but they never made willing war on us. Those wars lasted a great many years. We found we could make money by war, for we sold the provisions and property captured for horses and other things we needed. It was like soldiers nowadays who fight for money. We made war because we made money by it and we rather got to like it anyhow. The Snakes provoked us to make war on them.[8]

With developing warfare and the accumulation of foreign K M
wealth came a gradual transformation of Klamath, and to a 175
lesser extent, of Modoc society. The forays into hostile country 178
enlarged the scale of the war party. Chiloquin speaks of a body 726
totaling one hundred warriors, which included, according to Spier,
members of all the Klamath tribelets, and took in some Modoc as
well.[9] A joint raid on the part of Umpqua, Upland Takelma, and
other western tribes brought one such retaliatory reprisal about

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K

M
175 1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-
178 scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes.
726 The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging
K M scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty,
175 brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of
726 which based their power upon eminence in war and possession
182 of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers,
622 and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times
565 to cement alliances with shamans.

556 Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean
756 [754] weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power
was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of
us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain
persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would
die."[11]

K M The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties.
175 A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-
178 bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader
622 increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers
619 from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country.
628 As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance ren-
726 dered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment
of worth.

K In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary
622 principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his
175 father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother
as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill,
a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David,
later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain
George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not
essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks,
K [838] of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite
in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the
power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

K A minor factor in these developments may have been the
195 interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in
643 order that they might deal more effectively with responsible
648 leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs
● 177 met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

175
Kalapuya settlements in the vicinity of Oregon City, and induced 177
them to be regulated by the same rules as were the Nez Percés 643
and to appoint a single paramount chief. A disaffected Indian from 648
The Dalles, however, subsequently joined the party as it was making its way homeward and provoked a quarrel in which those favoring the Agent's proposal were slain.[13]

While these events were taking place, the Klamath country 175
was again being visited, at first by occasional parties whom the 648
Indians watched unseen. In the years 1844-45 a mixed party of Walla Walla, Spokane, and Cayuse, under the Walla Walla chief, Piupiumaksmaks, passed through the Klamath region en route to California to buy cattle. In 1843 and again in 1846 the Klamath were visited by the explorer, John C. Frémont. In his earlier visit, the martial captain, in order to quell "the treacherous disposition, which is a remarkable characteristic of the Indians south of the Columbia," fired a round from his howitzer over Klamath Marsh. Although his action was scarcely calculated to allay the suspicions of the Indians, he was shown the same courtesy as had been extended Peter Skene Ogden years before. A village chief—the father of David Hill—and his wife came out to meet the party and guided them east toward Summer Lake.

Frémont's second entrance, in 1846, was less fortunate. In that year, moving up from California, he passed through Modoc country and thereafter up the west shore of Upper Klamath Lake, where he was attacked by a party that had followed him from the southern end of the lake. Three of his Delaware Indians were slain. Although his attackers probably were from the Klamath Falls tribelet, Frémont's reprisal was directed instead at a village of the Lower Williamson group. Neither women nor children were spared in the attack. The slaughter left a legacy of hatred that did much to draw some of the Klamath into the Molala war.[14]

By the time of Frémont's second visit to the Kamath country, [731]
the Indians of Oregon had been sorely stricken. Diseases brought by the whites had ravaged the tribes of the Columbia and Willamette valleys. The Hudson's Bay Company had sought to assure a firm supply of furs in the country it controlled and thus to maintain just and amicable relations with the Indians; and many of its employees had taken Indian wives. It was now being

> told him about the Holy Spirit that was to come to the whole 175
> world and visit its remotest parts. When he came back from the 648
> Dalles he told his people about it but found them groping in [797]
> perfect darkness. . . . They would not believe him and told him he lied. He had watched long for the coming of the Holy Spirit and had never doubted that he should see him. He had heard Mr. Meacham talk for many days. . [and] now he saw that he was not like other men and knew that he must be the Holy Spirit come at last to bring gracious gifts for all tribes. . . ."[16]

Others—and they were to become more influential—lived for 175
some time with whites and became convinced that the best 177 •
policy for the Klamath was one of peace. They included Lileks, 648
who in the course of the trading excursions to the north dwelled 622
for several years at The Dalles and was exposed there, no doubt, to the examples of authority set by whites as well as by the Columbia River tribes themselves. Another was Dave Hill, who, starting about 1859, lived approximately five years in Oregon City. Allen David, later to succeed Lileks as head chief in reservation days, was "well versed in the ways of the white man, from travel among the Willamette settlement." Another was Charley Preston who, like Hill, had spent five years at Oregon City, working for white farmers and had become "quite civilized and learned many of the white man's ways. He returned to his tribe and became a headman. . . ."[17]

Men such as these became the leaders of a "peace party"
among the Klamath, and their views achieved dominance in the 175
growing centralization of power among the Klamath. Lileks may 159
have consolidated the ascendancy he presently achieved as head 622
of this group by marriages beyond his tribelet: to the four wives [595]
from his own, Klamath Marsh, division, he added one each from the Lower Williamson and Klamath Falls groups, as well as one
from the Modoc. From the Columbia he or a contemporary [177]
brought back new "laws," which included the institution of [681]
flogging as punishment for murder or for persistent quarreling. In one instance, ascribed by Spier, with some question, to pre-reservation days, when two men of the Lower Williamson River tribelet slew a Klamath Falls man, Lileks had them haled to Klamath Marsh, where each was beaten five times.[18]

When, in 1858, it was indicated that Klamath and Rogue 175
648

175 River renegades had slain five prospectors on a tributary of the
648 Rogue River, the whites apprehended three Klamath involved
in the affair, "whom the Klamaths voluntarily killed to prevent
trouble; that tribe being now desirous of standing well with the
K U.S. Government."[19] It is probable that the hand of Lileks is to
[622] be discerned in this matter also. In brief, his power and that of
Chiloquin, often termed his second chief, was challenged only
by Captain George, leader of a faction hostile to the whites, and
by Monchnkasgitk, leader of the remote Upland tribelet.

Thus the frontier condition brought a heightened rate of inter-
K
175 tribal warfare and of intertribal trading. It gave the Klamath
648 both peaceful and bellicose exposure to whites, largely outside
177 the Klamath homeland. In the awareness of new ways of life
[721] beyond the limited range of which their fathers had been con-
[439] scious the Klamath of the first half of the nineteenth century
became diversified in outlook. Enriched with new goods, Klamath
culture prospered, although in comparison with the levels
K achieved by the whites it seemed poorer than ever. Warfare had
M
721 consolidated power and wealth in the hands of leaders and the
648 magnitude of their operations drew Klamath and Modoc into an
175 uneasy cooperation.

622 Indeed, in many of these developments the Modoc participated
K only to a small degree. In disposing of those slaves destined to
M
175 be sold at The Dalles, the Klamath and occasionally the Warm
567 Springs peoples acted as middlemen; in consequence the Modoc
721 did not come as fully under the influence of the Columbia River
177 tribes, nor did they amass as much wealth. The development of
556 a chiefly class among them was feebler, and the tribelets co-
M
643 alesced under a single acknowledged leader only tardily and
525 incompletely.[20]

619 When in 1846 an exploring party under Jesse and Lindsay
M Applegate laid out an alternate emigrant route known as the
175 South Road, they directed it from Fort Hall down through Modoc
648 country and past the winter settlements on Tule and Lower
721 Klamath lakes, then west of the Cascades and north to the
Willamette settlements. The Modoc bitterly resented the in-
vasion of their homeland and waged war against the wagon
trains, a war which in turn brought reprisals from the settlers.
In 1852, after the Modoc had extensively damaged several trains

*648 the neighboring settlers were in part made up of men with
*657 Indian wives, and in part, too, of former employees of the
[464] Agency.[19] They were not always respectful of the dignity of the
Agent and frequently challenged his authority. At times, as in
the strife of the 1880's with the stockmen on the eastern border of
the reservation, the clashes assumed an almost warlike character.

• 177 Despite these preoccupations and deterrents, work somehow
433 proceeded. Not all Indians wanted the progress, with all its circumscriptions,
*657 that was gradually unfolded before them, and not
all who desired it were capable of achieving it. Nonetheless, the
lure of a farm and a herd of horses or cattle of one's own, to be
able to have a wagon and be a man of substance, to use the coffee,
sugar, salt, beef, flour, and baking-soda that had become the new
necessities, to dress well: these opportunities, open only to a few
entrepreneurs in the old days of raid-and-trade, now became
available to any who would work hard and subject himself to
177 an alien discipline. It was just this regimen that whole generations
*657 of children were subjected to in the schools. In the main,
871 the program in the early period was a success. The reasons why
its success was no more than qualified are set forth below.

*648 The tasks the government set itself were manifold. The Indians
*657 of independent tribes and bands were to be confined within a
177 reservation and there brought into a single polity. Within twenty
years they were to be transformed into self-sufficient farmers and
their feet set upon a road marked by the use of "citizens' dress,"
of modern homes, preferably situated on individual farms, by
ability to speak English and even to read and write in that medium,
and the abandonment of their own faith for Christianity.
Annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs carry a
statistical summary for all reservations of the state of "civilization"
of the Indians, couched in these and similar terms. Narrative
reports of the Agents dwell time and again upon the inculcation
of proper aspirations, extending at times even to the
minutiae of observance. "During the last two or three years,"
states Linus M. Nickerson (1884) with satisfaction, "I have not
[864] known a burial when the coffin has not been covered with a good
quality of black cloth or velvet and where the trimmings have
not been equally good."[20]

[Klamath Reservation]

FOUR

[P.52]

Clothing, Names, and Houses

*648 SOME OF THE OBJECTIVES SET FORTH BY GOVERNMENTAL POLICY
*657 called for programs of broad institutional transformation in
• 177 economy, political structure, and religion, and for only slightly less sweeping modifications in the family. Indian life was to assume the pattern of the rural, homesteading families of postbellum America. To judge by the wording of the treaty, a generation was deemed sufficient at least to launch the changes.[1] Meanwhile, the young were to be schooled to take up that new life—a life yet to be realized by their parents.

The dangers of increasing intergenerational frictions, of augmenting stresses between different segments of the tribesmen, were not directly faced. Among them, individuals responded to the opportunity according to their differing capacities and inclinations. Those who forged to the front in the early days of the reservation included a number of persons already familiar with life in the white settlements; and the Agency threw its weight behind them and cited their cumulative development as evidence of the wisdom of government policy. When so construed, however, their achievements created administrative expectations for their fellow tribesmen that proved unrealistic.

In enumerating the features that would be taken as indexes of progress in the statistical reports, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was doing no more than seeking common denominators of acculturation, readily observed and counted. At the same time, there was a temptation for local administrators to manipulate the
[291] markers and satisfy the indexes directly. Thus white clothing was
[342] issued directly as part of the annuities and houses were built for
[554] Indian leaders. To these practices, and toward such acts as the
[553] bestowal of new names, there was no organized opposition, and
acceptance was rapid.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

acceptance was rapid. They will serve as a simple introduction to 648* 657*
the programs as a whole and to some of the underlying factors. 177

CLOTHING AND NAMES

An individual's acceptance of white clothing and names affected only himself. 177
Consequently, it waited less upon consensus 291
than did the assumption of a reservation political order, a change- 657*
over to farming, or even the decision to build a house in the new fashion. Moreover, both clothes and names, external manifestations of a new status, were supplementary to those already worn. Their addition to the stock already on hand did not at first require that native counterparts be discarded. The same eagerness shown toward Plains-type garments was now exhibited toward those new, prestigeful novelties: the blankets, trade cloth, and surplus military uniforms issued as part of the treaty annuities.

Although some of the first trade flannel was made into banners,[2] a monthly report of 1872 notes that it was being "cut into dresses for the old women and calico [is] purchased for lining."[3] A photograph of Dave Hill and Tecumseh, two Agency employees, taken in Washington in 1875,[4] shows them impeccably clad in the fashion of the day. It is unlikely that their garb could have been matched among the men on the reservation, yet the easy availability of men's clothing in the form of surplus uniforms gave men an advantage over their wives in the attainment of the new mode. For lack of suitable models, women's clothing lagged, but by 1877 the Agent could state, "The women try to imitate the fashion of dress, and many show a commendable neatness in their apparrel. They adorn themselves in many instances with native styles of ornament; but they generally couple with this cleanliness of person and dress; but all, both men and women, adopt and seem to prefer the American style of dress."[5]

Along with their easy acceptance of the new clothing, the 657*
Klamath also "readily" agreed to cut their hair.[6] This was a 177
significant step, for close-cropped hair was worn only by 602
mourners, and to wear the hair in this fashion at another time might bring on a bereavement. Here the example of the whites
may have provided encouragement for the step. Moreover, the 657*
whole sphere of funerary practices was undergoing change; some 177 764

*657 two years earlier, about 1868, Chief Lileks had induced his tribesmen
• 177 to abandon the practice of cremation in favor of the inhumation
764 he had observed in trips to Jacksonville, Yreka, and The
*657 Dalles.[7] With burial came new symbols of mourning and, apparently,
177 a partial relinquishment of the association with cropping
765 the hair. A few conservative individuals, however, still
302 resorted to the practice over a half century later.

[178] Naming the Indians was a matter of administrative necessity.
*657 Officials, faced with the duty of identifying their charges, labored
177 under the task of reducing unfamiliar sounds and lengthy, incomprehensible
551 names into writing. For the Klamath, the addition
553 of another name posed no problem. It had been native practice to use age terms for the very young—"My name is *niskag* (young girl)," one woman recalls telling her teacher—and to employ relationship terms when addressing kinsmen and occasional names in referring to others. The occasional names, of which an individual might have more than one, were often far from complimentary. Thus the literal meaning of the name of the Upland chief, Monchnkasgitk, is "One-who-has-a-big-belly;" while that of the individual later known as Allen David was "Black Anus."

Many new names were assigned when annuities were issued or when children entered school.

> It became one of the functions of the interpreter and clerk [recounts Good] to rename the stalwart braves, who were highly delighted with such commonplace appellations as "Joe Wilson" and "George Brown." "This is your name," he would say, writing it on a card, "and if you forget what it is, ask anyone who can read, and he will tell you." The bestower of names was sometimes amused at the corruptions arising from the Indians' peculiar pronunciation, as when "John Wesley" became "Whistler" and one who went forth as "Simeon" returned as "Sammy Andy."[8]

It may be added that the soldiers at the Fort and the settlers were also responsible for such names as "Great Eastern," "Old Faithful," "Skinflint," and "Skedaddle."[9]

*657

Housing

177 A relatively greater effort was needed to induce the Indians
342 to abandon what Agent L. S. Dyar characterized as "their warm,

ill-ventilated, native houses,"[10] in favor of log and frame dwell- 657*
ings. The advantages of the new structures were not evident to 177 •
the Indians,[11] and the labor required to build them was consider- 342
able. A small sawmill was set up in 1870, but at first its output 657*
was diverted primarily to Agency buildings. Somehow, the lum- 177
ber even after that time did not seem to go for housing. 313

> The completion of a sawmill [declares the roseate prose of A. B. Meacham, superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon] has worked a great reformation, inspiring them to extraordinary exertion to amass property of various kinds. . . . They have donned the white man's costume, taken the ax, cross-cut saw, and hauled to the mill a half-million feet of timber, and today are lumber merchants with stock in trade constantly on hand, evincing shrewdness and business integrity that makes an agent's heart strong to work with and for them."[12]

The following year, 1872, Agent L. S. Dyar was at length able 657*
to report that "four good frame houses have been built for the 177
Indians, and two more [are] well under way."[13] They were built 342
for the leading men: for Chiloquin, Francis, Hunter Wilson,
Henry Blow, "Sergeant" Morgan, the daughter of Lileks, and
Link River Jack. On the Upper End, the commissary in charge
of the subagency urged, "During the ensuing two or three months
the houses promised Chiefs Barcley, Ben and Chocktoosh a year
ago should be built. . . ."[14] These houses were small, one-room [352]
frame structures, vulnerable to the winter cold, but furnished
with a bed, table, and four chairs.

Among the Indian advocates of the new dwellings were such men as Dave Hill and later Jesse Kirk, who, as elderly Indians today recall, used to ride around among their people counseling, "You've got to quit the old ways, change your houses, live like white people." They met opposition. Chief Lilu declined to leave his earth lodge for the house the government had built for him. As late as 1891, Agent D. W. Matthews noted that there was still "an occasional wik-e-up, which some of the aged prefer."[15]

> An Agent [recounted an elderly Indian of this time] used to go around from place to place and told the Indians that they must make homes for themselves of rough lumber, and get away from the wikiup. I heard him tell my father. My father said, "All right, if I can get the lumber." An old carpenter helped my father make the rough house. He must have been educated be-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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> *657 cause he knew how to make the house and handle the saw and
> 342 hammer. . . . I was glad because I could stay in a wood house
> • 177 and not a wikiup. Our rough house was wood all around and
> the roof was a regular roof. The roof was rough and tough. We
> had just one room. On one end of the house we had a stove. . . .
> [My mother] had a friend come over and help her cook on the
> stove. . . . We had tule mats in there because we couldn't get
> beds or other furniture. We had cracks all around. I was glad
> [592] and rolled around on the mats. We didn't have two families in
> this home like in the wikiup. Just my family."[16]

As families began to cultivate individual farms, to fence their land, and to erect barns and other outbuildings, some homes began to approach in quality those of the white farmers in the surrounding region. And, as they did, the Indian houses came to reflect a widening span between persons in standard of living.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

FIVE

[P.57]

Economy

AGRICULTURE

657*
IT WAS FUNDAMENTAL TO OTHER PARTS OF THE PROGRAM OF 648*
planned change that the Indians cease to depend upon fishing, 433
gathering, and hunting, and that they turn instead to farming. In this way and only in this way, the administration believed, could they be tied to the land within reach of Agency influence. The experience would teach them the virtues of industry, and they would become self-supporting. At first, it was acknowledged, they would have to eke out the produce of their farms with the yield of the native food quest and the rations that formed part of the treaty annuities. In time, the success of farming would render unnecessary those supplements.

With this plan before them, the early Agents fell to with a 657*
will. In 1866, when Lindsay Applegate established the Agency, 177 •
241

> . . .the little party. . .did not waste much time in beginning operations in their settlement. Two cabins were built, fields fenced, and a large vegetable garden planted, in all of which the Indians assisted to the extent of their ability, without compensation and evidently in a holiday spirit. A field of about thirty acres of bald barley, wheat, and oats was enclosed by a temporary fence in a day or two. The operation of the breaking plow was watched with great interest, and Chief Mosenkoskit of the Sprague River band insisted upon handling it himself. Unaccustomed to this kind of exercise, it was all the powerful sachem could do to maintain his balance as the oxen dragged the swaying plow through the heavy sod, but he was thrilled with a vision of the power of the plow and all it might mean to his people, and expressed himself as eager for the time when such work might go forward in his own beautiful Sprague River country. The Chief's enthusiasm for the plow is typical of the attitude of the whole tribe, toward the white man's civilization. It may perhaps be truthfully said that this enthusiasm too often expressed itself in

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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> *657 a mere change of externals, yet the white man's ways as the red
> • 177 man understood them were adopted with a rapidity unequalled
> 241 in most Indian tribes. . . .
>
> The vegetables grown that first year [corn, beans, turnips, carrots, peas, potatoes, artichokes, and onions][1] were a revelation and a delight to the Indians, who had previously lived so largely on small native roots. I have heard my father say that they were particularly captivated by beets which, with their red juice, they thought resembled "ittle-willy" [meat].[2]

In the effort to induce the Indians to cultivate their fields, the Agent seems to have enlisted the aid of the military. "I had about one-half acre broken for Blow," wrote Captain F. B. Sprague, "and he is at work like a white man, has it all fenced and cetera, & plants growing finally."[3]

The crops the first year were reported good, but subsequently
[133] they were killed by frosts or summer droughts. The elevation
[132] of the Klamath Plateau, some four thousand feet above sea level,
limits farming even today. Reports are studded with the phrases, "heavy frosts," "unprecedented heat," "unusually dry and frosty." Surveying the blighted fields, the early Agents redoubled their efforts. In 1869, Applegate reported that "the teachers . . . have been for a greater part of the time engaged on the farms, along with Indian boys receiving instruction in manual labor. . . ." R. B. Hatton, schoolteacher, stiffly pointed out that he "was instructed to labor on the farms . . ." and the tenor of his remarks suggests that in so doing he had been diverted from what he considered his proper function.[4]

*657 The following year, the new Agent, Captain O. C. Knapp,
*648 stated, "I again urge upon the Department the uselessness of
177 trying to make this an agricultural reservation. . . . The Indians
231 should be supplied with cattle and sheep, and they would soon
241 become self-sustaining."[5] His words were echoed by Agent L. S.
Dyar, in 1872: "These [crop] failures are very discouraging to the Indians as well as to the Agent, and demonstrate the necessity of paying more attention to the raising of cattle. . . ."[6]

*657 Nonetheless, from 1871 on, with the aid of the farmer, several
177 Indians cultivated little farms along the Williamson River and
241 the lake shore.[7] These in the following year amounted to some
twelve to fifteen individuals who "have small patches of land of a few acres each fenced, on which they have, with the help of

the employes, usually raised a little grain and a few vegetables."[8] 657*
Dyar viewed their efforts as praiseworthy, but unlikely of success. 177 •
"Although there is but little probability that the seed planted will 241
yield an abundant harvest," he observed, "yet I think it is better to gratify and encourage them by helping them all I can in their efforts at Agriculture as in doing so they are acquiring habits of industry and at the same time are preparing themselves to take care of the cattle which they now have and which I hope to see rapidly increase."[9]

Although Dyar continued to do everything in his power to 657*
advance stock raising, even converting the proceeds from the 648*
sale of hides into cattle for distribution to the Indians,[10] he still 241
lamented the impracticability of farming. "Were this a good 231
agricultural country," he remarked, "they would soon become 177
self-supporting and could they be induced to go to the Indian Territory it would be far better for them. As it is they must rely on stock and their old native food for subsistence."[11]

The hope for farming bloomed perennially. J. H. Roork, who 657*
succeeded Dyar, spoke of his ambition "to be successful in introducing 648*
such grains [and hardy fruits] here as will yield a reasonable 241
compensation to labor."[12] Soon thereafter, his superiors 177
were sagely advising him, "Your account of the failure of your efforts to raise field or garden crops . . . suggests the expediency of turning your attention to stock raising. . . ."[13]

When Roork had admitted defeat in 1878, and Agent Linus Nickerson in 1885, the new administrator, Joseph Emery, a professor from the State Agricultural College, sallied into the fray. With a determination that scoffed at the experiences of his predecessors he announced,

> I have not been able to depress the mountains nor lower our altitude above the sea, yet I believe, from experiments made the present year in a number of localities, that agriculture can be made a comparative success on the Klamath Agency. For years the Indians had received no encouragement to till the soil, and the great scarcity of implements on the agency made it impossible to accomplish much this year in the way of agriculture.[14]

Wistfully he remarked,

> If I had the plows to loan, I could set more than 100 Indians to work this spring tilling the soil. . . .[15] Fifty or more Indians have procured a little grain, and these will sow this spring from 1 to

> *657 10 acres of land. I am commanded, to go among the Indians
> *648 with my farmer and direct them in plowing, sowing, planting,
> 241 etc, and see that they have the necessary tools and know how to
> • 177 use them.

Vegetables, he thought, could be sold at Fort Klamath and Linkville; grain would always find a market at some price.[16] In order to heighten the incentives, Emery reported,

> I have found it necessary. . .to make temporary divisions of lands suited to Agriculture.
>
> During the Spring and Summer months, I laid off, assisted by Indian boys, about 50 farms, chaining boundary lines; the Indians greatly desired the work to be continued, each Indian agreed to fence and cultivate a portion of the land assigned to him.
>
> The plots laid off ranging from 30 to 120 acres—according to treaty stipulations."[17]

[625] The next year, however, he had recourse to the Indian police. "During the present Spring," he reported, "they have assisted in enforcing the general order that all able-bodied Indians will be required to do some work in Agriculture. I owe much to the police for the marked advance made this year in the lines of agriculture."[18] By these methods he soon had three quarters of the available adults helping, nearly every family seeding from 2 to 20 acres.[19] The following year he reported that "nine tenths of the Indians have been induced to engage in the work of agriculture,"[20] but the year after, with a record 2,400 acres sown, he was complaining about the "unprecedented heat"—and was moving on to greener pastures.[21] When he returned for another tour in 1896-97, however, he resumed the same program.

[829] Lindsay Applegate had remarked, some thirty years earlier, that the Indians "look upon the whites as superior beings. . . ."[22] It must have been difficult, even with the best will, to maintain that estimate in the face of administrative obstinacy of this order.

STOCK RAISING

*657
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177 Meanwhile, with the discovery that the upper valley of the Sprague provided satisfactory condition for winter range, stock raising had gradually come to the fore. In prereservation days, horses had constituted an important form of wealth, and cattle were now accepted into the pecuniary system. By 1879, Agent

Linus Nickerson, who had formerly been superintendent of 657*
farming, reported some two thousand head of cattle upon the 231
reservation. Including the Agency herd, the average was some- 177 •
thing less than two head of cattle per tribal member. He added, "Some of the Indians are already raising beef cattle for the market. With the income they are able to supply their families with flour, sugar, coffee, etc." He claimed ten times that number could be carried by the reservation, a total that could be attained in five years, after which the tribe would become entirely self-supporting.[23] A severe winterkill next year, which destroyed seventy-five per cent of the cattle and forty per cent of the horses staggered his hopes.[24]

Despite such checks, however, the stock-raising program slowly recovered. With issues of yearlings (300 head in 1881)[25] and with natural increase, the herds grew. As they did, the farming program turned increasingly toward producing the hay needed for winter feed. Even blighted grain could be salvaged as hay. By 1883, Nickerson could report, "several large ranches,"[26]
and that year instituted the practice of buying Agency beef [439]
from the Indians. Buyers from San Francisco were at Yainax, he reported, and were offering $40.00 a head for the fifty fine animals on sale there.[27] Under the impetus of this demand, Nickerson reported, "a considerable number of enterprising Indian families are moving to [Yainax] and taking up fencing stock ranches. In two or three years, about one half of the population on the reservation will have settled there."[28]

By 1886, Agent Emery reported 1,485 head of cattle, 3,640 head of horses, 340 "half-breeds" (mules) and 195 hogs. The value set by the Indians on horses, together with a higher survival rate, led to an increase in ponies which was economically undesirable and Emery counseled the Indians to sell their ponies and buy cattle.[29] The quality of stock was a recurrent concern, and later Agents took steps to improve the breeds.

Logging

From the first, the Klamath demonstrated an eagerness to 657*
turn new opportunities to advantage, coupled with an indepen- 177
dence that sometimes strained administrative patience. When 313
the sawmill was completed in 1870, they promptly began to haul

*657 sawlogs in wagons issued to the head chief for this purpose.[30]
• 177 The lumber was earmarked for constructing Indian dwellings,
313 with twenty per cent (at least in later times) set aside as a milling
fee. In 1871, the Agent, requiring lumber to complete the grist mill, proposed to buy sawlogs from the Indians, the money to be invested in livestock, to be their individual property but to be kept in the Agency herd. "Probably one half of the logs," he added, "belong to the chief and I want him to lead off in buying stock instead of spending thier [sic] money."[31]

*657 By 1873, Dyar reported the Klamath were selling lumber to
177 Fort Klamath and other parties.[32] This trade soon became lucra-
313 tive, and when the elimination of employee subsistence allowance
439 threatened to bring on the miller's resignation, the Indians de-
cided to pay him the extra amount themselves.[33]

*657 Two years later, however, the Commissioner called Dyar's
*648 attention to a Supreme Court ruling of 1873, which held that
177 timber, like the land it grew upon, remained in trust status. Trees
cut incidental to the clearing of the land might be sold; but if
313 cut for sale the timber became the property of the United
439 States.[34] From time to time, Agents encountered this ruling anew.
Thus E. M. Marble, Acting Commissioner, pointed out in 1881 that, while Indians might hire out to cut timber, they had no property claim in the reservation stands.[35] The Indians then proposed to cut and sell dead and fallen timber, which was permitted. However, they also felled green timber and then requested permission to raft it down and sell it at a sawmill near Linkville.[36] Under the double guise of felling sawlogs for housing and cutting dead and fallen timber, a considerable illicit traffic went on with outside parties. Indians would resort to such devices as buying supplies from whites who wanted lumber and then proposing to pay the bill with lumber. The whites involved included one who had been carpenter at the Agency, but all stoutly avowed they did not know it was contrary to law. The Indians engaged in the venture numbered some of the most enterprising men, including at least three chiefs.[37] With the rise of towns around the reservation, the demand grew until in 1896 the sale of lumber to whites was estimated to exceed a quarter-million board feet, three-fourths of it cut from green timber.[38]

For the Klamath, their operations in the timber market were

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more than an exercise in resourcefulness and industry: they 698*
provided experience and allies in evading what must have 177 •
seemed a senseless legal prohibition. 313
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EMPLOYMENT

Other employment supplied the Indians with cash to purchase 657*
items for which they were acquiring a taste. At the Agency, 177
Lindsay Applegate took the lead by hiring laborers for rations 464
of shorts (flour),[39] and from that time on Indians filled a variety 465
of subordinate offices, on the farm and roads, as interpreters, police, artisans and, later, in the schools.

Early in the history of the reservation, they began to work off the reservation for outside parties, John Meacham, following the directions of his brother, the superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon, stipulated that the Klamath were to work four days on the reservation roads before expecting a pass to leave the reservation.[40] By 1877, Dyar was reporting that "the Indians make rails, chop wood off the reservation for citizens, some thirty or forty having been thus engaged."[41] They were soon drawn into haying and other harvest activities.

Among those who befriended them was "Sikes Worden, Post Trader at the Post, who kindly refuses to employ any but Indians for work which they can do. He will thus reimburse the Indian wood choppers, hay makers, etc. from a thousand to twelve hundred dollars per year."[42] According to figures given elsewhere, a woodcutter might receive $45.00 to $60.00 for thirty to forty cords of wood, while summer haying and harvest work might bring between $50.00 and $200.00 apiece.[43] By 1888, fully one hundred Indians were working as summer farmhands.[44]

FREIGHTING

Freighting was another major enterprise for the Indians. When 657*
Huntington had brought the first annuity goods down from The 177
Dalles in the fall of 1867, young O. C. Applegate had led his 489
"ax and rifle company," whose number included seven chiefs,
to meet it.[45] Several years later, when they had accumulated [439]
money from odd work, the Klamath made their way down to
Jacksonville and Ashland, some one hundred miles distant, and
bought flour at a little over one-third the price it would cost at

*657 the Agency, packing it home on ponies. Some brought back as
177 much as two thousand to three thousand pounds.[46]

489 This feat convinced Dyar of the practicability of hiring the In-
[439] dians to pack the annuity wheat from the Rogue River Valley for grinding into flour at the Agency grist mill.[47] In 1875, accompanied by two employees, they transported 100,000 pounds of flour from Ashland at a considerable saving "beside the experience acquired . . . and the confidence given them in their ability to accomplish what they undertake.[48] Under Dyar's urging and their own needs they requested that their annuities be changed from the " 'little things' (tenas ictas) as they term the blankets, clothing, etc. which they have heretofore recd." to mules and cattle. "The mule," observed Dyar, "is particularly adapted to the ways and use of the Indians in their efforts at farming, teaming, etc. . . ."[49] Two years later, encouraged by such instances, the Bureau instituted the general policy of employing Indians to haul Agency supplies.[50]

By 1881, the autumn trip to buy supplies in the Rogue River Valley drew the heads of some one hundred fifty families with an average of forty dollars each to spend.[51] In his report for the following year, Nickerson quoted a notice from the *Ashland Tidings* of October 27, 1882:

> *Indian traders*—About forty wagons, almost every one drawn by four horses, were brought to town by Indians from the Klamath Reservation after flour and other provisions last Tuesday. They filled the streets completely, and made a lively scene, until they moved on to their camping ground near the Eagle Mills. Nearly all the Indians had good harness and wagons, and dressed well. They are improving every year.[52]

With the acquisition of wagons and harness, the Indians began to take freighting jobs for the military at Fort Klamath and private parties at the growing town of Linkville. Twenty teams
[434] freighting during the month of August, 1889, earned approxi-
mately fifty dollars apiece.[53] The total income from this source five years before had been $5,500.[54]

*657
OTHER VENTURES

177 Indians now set their hands to other, lesser pursuits. In 1873,
434 Dyar reported that "A few with no help but instructions from
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employees built a substantial bridge about 100 yards in length 657*
across the Williamson River, on which they propose to collect 177 •
toll. This will support several families."[55] Nothing more is heard 434
of the venture and subsequent work on bridges and roads took on [499]
a public character. A few women occasionally sold baskets and [494]
berries, and older Indians, generally women, were sometimes [462]
issued cinch rings and wove cinches as a means of support.[56]

Fur trapping provided an early source of income for some 657*
men.[57] At first, beaver, marten, and otter were especially sought, 177
and the available catch soon became depleted. By 1882, the 434
Klamath were turning to panther, bear, wolf, and coyote, preda- 224
tors which Nickerson claimed discouraged them from raising sheep. "The Indians," he reported, "now hunt them for their fur and receive quite an income from hunting and killing them."[58] Carried on over the late fall and winter months, the fur trade realized a total of $300.00 for those who followed it.[59] By 1891, however, the revenue from trapping was on the decline.[60]

Native Foods

In the original designs of the government, farming and other 657*
"civilized" enterprises were supposed to supplant such ab- 648*
original pursuits as fishing, hunting, and gathering. From the 433
Agent's viewpoint, the retention of native subsistence methods presented two major disadvantages. Not only did the traditional occupations coincide in season with farming, but they drew the Indians from under the direct surveillance of the Agency, and even off the reservation. The issuance of rations, though designed to provide a substitute during the transitional period, was restricted as much as possible, in order to allow more funds for other purposes.

It is clear from the graphic descriptions of the early Agents 657*
that they were well aware of the Indians' strong reliance upon 648*
native foods. The fish in Lost River, observed Dyar, ran from 433
two to four weeks earlier than in the streams within the reserve. 226
By late winter even the supplies of rations had been exhausted, and the Klamath eagerly awaited the news from the south. "If the Indians are not allowed to go to Lost River in the Spring," O. C. Applegate had pointed out, "then they will have to be subsisted during the month of March."[61] The Lost River fishery 657*
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*657 continued to be exploited for fifty years, until the owners of the
• 177 abutting land put an end to it. On the reservation, the Sprague
226 and Williamson continue to supply a catch, although the drying
[251] of fish for the winter, common enough on the Lower End until
about thirty years ago, has now passed into disuse.

*657 Similarly root gathering continued to be an important activity
178 for many years, leading Nickerson to suggest that several of the
177 palatable and nourishing roots used by the Indians for food
222 "could be materially improved by continued cultivation."[62] "Root
[412] probes," or "camas diggers," as well as "fish spears" and fish
[227] hooks were forged by Agency blacksmiths for years.[63]

*657 Wokas long remained a staple for the Klamath. In 1881 Nicker-
178 son, noting that each family gathered some five to fifteen bushels,
added "this wokus, with dried fish, forms a large portion of the
222 food of those who have not the money with which to purchase
262 flour and groceries."[64] About the turn of the century, Coville observed a thriving wokas-gathering industry with a vast expanse of marsh to exploit, and speculated on the possibility of processing the seed commercially as a breakfast food.[65] The decline of wokas gathering parallels in time the Indian's diminishing use of dried fish, another winter food.

*657 A similar course can be traced for those fall activities, hunting
177 and berrying. From at least 1872, Indians were reported leaving
178 the reservation in September to hunt and gather berries in the
222 Cascades.[66] In addition, the men on occasion went on a spring
224 hunt for antelope and mule deer at the north end of the reservation.[67] Gradually the fall berrying and hunting came to be concentrated at the "huckleberry patch" on Huckleberry Mountain, southwest of Crater Lake. Hunting has continued to be both a sport and a means of providing food; and if the preparation of jerky has declined, it is because the freezer has displaced it.
[251] The drying of berries and wild fruits has been rendered obsolete by canning. There is local testimony that the killing off of predators by fur hunters and stock raisers has caused an increase of deer upon the reservation itself. It is not infrequent for a single family to consume six to fifteen or more deer in the course of a year. One tribal leader from the Upper End, a man then less than forty years of age, remarked in 1958 that until his family

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moved to Klamath Falls when he was nine years old, he had 177 •
eaten only venison and had never tasted beef. 178
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In their continued loyalty to traditional foods, the Klamath 224
were responsive to several advantages beyond—but including— 657*
appeal to the palate. The techniques involved in securing them 178
were relatively simple and familiar, imposing few demands upon 177
the individual for capital investment in tools and labor, required 262
little in regularity of routine, and involved the cooperation of only small groups. Participation was direct, self-controlled, and provided an immediate reward.

Consequently, the issues of beef and flour were assimilated in use to native staple foods, rather than replacing them entirely. Flour was given the name that also denoted a meal made from ground seeds and cattail roots. It must be borne in mind that the rations were issued at times when other foods were largely exhausted, and probably because of this certain anomalies were introduced. Since the issues were public and general, there was no need, as there had been formerly, to conceal foodstuffs from neighbors. Thus, bread and biscuits were the first foods to be baked in the coals of the house fire, rather than in a special outside cooking hut; and, perhaps because of the method of issue, the food was shared by household, rather than by an individual family.[68] The practice of eating while the food lasted strained Agency resources: the Commissary at Yainax estimated that an Indian could easily dispose daily of two pounds each of beef and flour.[69]

The example provided by white cooking, the use of salt, sugar, 657*
and baking soda, as well as new foodstuffs, together with the 177
general acquisition of such utensils as the kettle, coffeepot, and 178
spider, extended the variety of culinary techniques and even 262
enhanced the preparation of native dishes. One woman recalls 263
the ease with which one could hull wokas with a coffee grinder; 415
and when a kinsman borrowed that useful instrument, she used her wokas mulling stones to grind coffee beans. Through it all, native foods continued to be favored, and the observation that "the Indian [school] children are very fond of fish" is nearly as true today as it was in 1893.[70] 657*

An analysis of the statistical and narrative reports of the 177
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*657 •177 178 262

Agents shows that they consistently tended to undervalue the contribution made by native foods to the Klamath economy. From the first statistical entry in 1882, when they are estimated to contribute forty per cent of the food supply, native foods steadily decline in the records, leveling off from 1888 to 1893 at approximately twenty per cent, and, after a spirited fluctuation from then to 1901, rising slowly to ten per cent in 1904. That dependency upon these foods declined from total to partial reliance is admissible. O. C. Applegate, while Superintendent, reported that by the turn of the century some of the food resources had begun to dwindle under intensive use. He found the fish less abundant than in the halcyon days of the first Agent, and observed that both water fowl and prairie chickens had been overhunted.[71]

While conceding the decline, a critic may well find fault with the bland assessment of Elisha Applegate a decade earlier (1891) that native food quests were then "indulged in more as incidents and to add variety of life than as occupations to be seriously depended upon."[72] The year after Applegate made his report, one graduate of the Indian school, upon returning home, saw things in a different light. "Whenever I got job, I pitched hay. I did fishing and hunting, and I had plenty to eat all the time . . . lots of deer meat, and I used to pick wokas too."[73] If this was an indulgence, it was in sheer survival.

The sources of error are not hard to find. Administrators could form only the most general opinion of the contributions made by native foods, and must have tended to judge from the examples provided by Indian employees immediately at hand and from the more acculturated Indians. Moreover, their reports were in part designed to illustrate the progress which their charges had made away from their former customs. Accordingly, they understated the degree to which native economic activities conditioned the acceptance of new modes of earning a livelihood and supplemented those which had been taken up.

*657 177 178 221 433 [313] [464] [489]

Consider, by way of example, the pursuits which in the 1880's could be combined according to taste, need, and season.

Lumbering and logging were winter and spring enterprises, with intermittent logging taking place in the fall. Labor for the contractor at the Fort and for settlers ran from spring through

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fall; while freighting, limited by road conditions, had the same range of seasons. 177 178 221

For the farmer, splitting rails and fencing started in the winter and ranged toward spring, as did the clearing of ground. Plowing and sowing of grain might start in March, while vegetable gardens were not planted before May or June. Harvesting and haying took place in late summer and threshing in the fall. 433 [464] [489] [241]

The stockman rounded up and branded his cattle at first in the fall and later in the spring. He sold his beef in the fall, then drove his herd to winter in the upper valley of the Sprague. [231]

Those who relied upon aboriginal foods fished in the late winter and early spring, dug roots or hunted antelope and mule deer in late spring, gathered wokas, wild fruits and berries in the fall, hunted in the Cascades in the fall, and trapped for furs in the winter.

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Beyond this lay the domestic cycle. Homes were built or repaired in the spring and fall, supplies were bought in the fall, and fuel was gathered in the fall and winter. 342 356 313

This summary, bald as it is, will illustrate the fact that many more ventures were now open to the enterprising, as well as a wider range of relationships. It was possible to draw from several cycles activities that were seasonally compatible. Thus, when the harvests were in, fully one-half to two-thirds of the men might leave the reservation on passes to work for whites, taking their families with them.[74] Frequent crop failures drove many to seek outside employment to provide for the coming winter. Because new tastes had given rise to new needs, many at this time forsook those traditional pursuits that conflicted with more lucrative employment. Nor did money alone lie at the root of those preferences. Work for white settlers and freighting provided variety and seasonal mobility, opportunities to meet people, to change scenery, and to escape on occasion beyond the rule (however benevolent in intent) of the Agent. 657* 433 464 177 178

The new opportunities were open primarily to men, consonant with the roles of the sexes in nineteenth-century rural America. For them the new system, aside from a certain administrative favoritism, provided an equal chance for advancement. It is no accident that a number of the earliest employees of the Agency were Pit River Indians, of whom it was later said: ". . . as a 657* 433 177 178 [567]

*657 433 •177 178 567 general thing, they are quite prosperous, and energetic, having learned how to work well as slaves for the Klamaths."[75] One of them, the Indian named Skedaddle, formerly the slave of Chief Lilu, was first employed as farm laborer by the Agency.[76] During the Modoc War he enlisted under the name Henry Jackson. In 1883, he reappears as an interpreter at Yainax, in which office he cut hay and cared for the Agency herd as well as butchering the beef cattle.[77] Subsequently, he contracted with white ranchers to split rails, taking half his pay in cash, half in cattle, eventually amassing a sizable herd, which multiplied until it amounted to some eight hundred head of cattle and five hundred head of horses and mules.[78]

ANNUITIES

*657 *648 It was Agency policy to develop the quality of industry and to ensure the growth of individual enterprise. From this standpoint, the annuity system, in providing rations, was a device to surmount agricultural failures, to carry the Indians through the winter, and to keep them settled quietly upon the reservation. At the same time, there was a danger, of which the Agents were soon aware, that such issues would sap the self-reliance of their charges. As early as 1865 when Lindsay Applegate took over their supervision, he found that, though the Klamath and Yahuskin were well enough supplied with native foods to sustain them through the winter, it was necessary to quiet "their loud clamorings for flour." Accordingly he "made some moderate issues to the chiefs and, through them, to some of their subjects who seemed rather needy." The issue, it would seem, was sought as a right and as an exemplification of the good faith of the government, for he adds, "I became convinced at this time of a growing disaffection among the Indians, on account of the tardiness of the government in fulfilling treaty stipulations."[79]

Discontent was compounded by the suspicion, possibly inspired by unofficial advisors among the whites, that inferior goods were being palmed off in the annuities.

> I was approached today [recounted Captain Sprague to Applegate in 1867] by a Sub-Chief who requested me in the name of all Sub Chiefs to be present at the distribution, and in case the goods distributed were not of good quality and deficient in quantity to note the fact and represent to the authorities at

ferred.[90] At another time, he seems to have proposed issuing seven mowing machines and four sulky rakes to leading and competent Indians, but was firmly instructed by the Commissioner, "as these articles are intended for the use of all, it is not considered advisable to allow individuals to have the entire control of them." He was instructed instead to loan them out.[91] 657* 648*

"As these Indians become more civilized," observed Nickerson, "their demands upon the mechanics become more frequent and pressing."[92] Indeed, he had to advise the Commissioner against the policy of issuing condemned articles to the Indians since "they will bring them to the shops and demand that they be repaired."[93] It is plain that the frequent call, as a matter of due right, upon the services of Agency personnel lay at the bottom of Nickerson's desire to decentralize equipment by issue through the chiefs. To counter these demands, he had Indians trained to operate the mowing machines, sulky rakes, and other agricultural equipment. When Indian farmers desired to use a machine, the operator was to be paid for his labor and the use of his team. Nickerson added, "I have notified those Indians who are able to do so that next year they will be required to purchase their own machinery for haying purposes. Some of them are already laying aside money for that purpose."[94] Emery instituted a similar program whereby individuals paid an Indian workman for repairs made in the shop on their wagons.[95]

The ownership of a wagon required considerable outlay, more than some persons could muster. Hence, as Emery noted, wagons, plows, and other implements, as well as cattle and horses, often were held in common by two or three Indians.[96] [422]

With their introduction to an economy in which money served as a mediator in relationships there are indications that the Indians began to develop the view that all positions advocated by the Agency must carry remuneration. Nickerson, reviewing possible candidates for Indian judge, found himself obliged to state, "Those persons with most financial ability are least disposed to serve without compensation and generally least well qualified for such service."[97] New forms of wealth had come in, new desires, new needs, and native society was transformed in the effort to attain them. [177] [178] [434]

*657 *648 622 time had come, he summoned his people "to receive his solemn admonishments err [sic] his spirit take flight." Soon recovering, he voiced to the Agency farmer, S. D. Whitemore, the suspicion that the shaman who had cured him, and whose professional charges had stripped him of all his effects, had been in league with the subchiefs to bring about his death; and he requested that the shaman be imprisoned by the military. Later events made it clear that Monchnkasgitk had been a leader in the conspiracy, plotting to take the place of the old chief. Thereupon, Whitemore, then in charge of the Agency, called a council, at which he "stated that it will be highly necessary to consult their, and the government agent, or the change could not be regonized [sic]. . . . I learned that after a lengthy consultation with the indians has [sic] become impressed with the belief that Mosen Kasket and his band have no hostile intentions."[7]

[558] With Agency backing, Lileks once more was restored to a position of relative authority, but his recourse to outside support caused his personal prestige to decline. He thus had to resort increasingly to formal instruments to bolster his power and to implement the changes he sought. When one Spokane Ike slew
[682] his child in Jacksonville, Lileks asked that the Agent order all Indians back upon the reservation. Spokane Ike was tried by the Indian court, Lileks presiding, and was fined fifty dollars.

[692] Lileks took readily to the court, and Whitemore reported, "The indians are holding court dayly [sic]. I am not informed of the nature of their cases." O. C. Applegate described one session thus: "A few days ago the Grand Court of Klamath set, Chief LaLakes presiding, and many men were convicted of many
[681] crimes. One in particular had stolen a number of women, 20 mink skins and otherwise trampeled [sic] on the rights of his people, he now wears shackles and a heavy log chain and chops wood for La Lakes."[8]

*648 *657 622 The head chief was by no means an advocate of indiscriminate change. He favored inhumation of the dead, which he had witnessed among the whites in his travels to Jacksonville, Yreka,
•177 and The Dalles, over the native practice of cremation; and about
[764] 1868 he secured its adoption.[9] On the other hand, when the
[567] proposal was made in 1865 to liberate the slaves, Lileks was prominent in voicing his displeasure, undoubtedly backed by

other chiefs who were the principal slaveholders. "The Indians," 648*
reported Lindsay Applegate, "have declared that if such was to 657*
be the case, they would kill all of the Pitt River Indians among 622
them or run them off to other places to trade for horses."[10] Per- 177•
haps in deference to that feeling, the slaves were not liberated 567
until 1869, after Lileks had been deposed.

Within the reservation polity, the ailing and senile Lileks 657*
proved increasingly difficult to control. Growing autocratic 648*
toward his followers, he stubbornly opposed Agency policy. 622
Meanwhile, Monchnkasgitk, sensing his weakness, was waxing troublesome in a new bid for power. Early in 1868, Whitemore reported that the Klamath were venting a "more turbulent spirit one with another," and that they were flourishing arms and axes upon one another. Lileks now openly admitted that he could no longer control them.[11]

Meanwhile, the administration had progressively lost confidence in the turbulent chiefs and came instead to rely upon younger men such as Allen David, Henry Blow, Dave Hill, and Charley Preston, who combined a warlike record sufficient to give them standing in Klamath eyes with a dependable advocacy of white ways. These were men with whom young Oliver Applegate found strong mutual ties. When Lileks lost sway over the Klamath, it seemed natural to Applegate to move while he was temporarily in charge of the Agency to depose him.

The manner in which he did so is illustrative of the direct intervention by which the adminstration subsequently shaped political affairs. Applegate's own notation is sufficiently succinct.

> A few days ago [he wrote his brother in the spring of 1869] I had a great Council with the indians and tried some chiefs for various offences. Two of them (La Lakes & Moshenkosket) finding themselves about to be impeached, resigned. A grand Convention was held and candidates nominated for President. The campaign is now fairly open with Allen David & Blow in nomination.[12]

The matter as he later recalled it in greater detail was something more than the convention he deemed it:

> The younger Captain Applegate [narrated his daughter] took charge of the affair and called a meeting of the Indians at Kowasta in the early summer of 1868 [sic]. Here, seated on the

> *657 A large number of Indian offences come before this Court for
> *648 trial, consisting mainly of family quarrels, disputes about the
> 692 ownership of property and acts of licentiousness.[68]

With the accidental death of Crain, Jesse Kirk was appointed in his stead.[69]

Thus, within a generation the administration had replaced the popular leaders with those among them who were Agency employees, and in turn had supplanted them with the products of its schools. Legally constituted authority was administered through the Agency, at first through a customary court of chiefs and later
[625] through a Court of Indian Offenses. The Indian police, who took
their orders directly from the Agent, were satisfactory to him as the instrument of his hand. Not so the courts, which tended instead to constitute seats of power alternative to that of the Agent. The result was to be that Agents tended to strengthen the police while circumscribing the functions of the courts.

*657 Meanwhile, beyond the administrative structure thrived an
*648 unacknowledged informal leadership, based as in former days
622 upon wealth and accomplishment. Unlike that of the Agency, it
571 was not restricted in position nor limited narrowly in function.
This was a leadership in which employees could also participate; and it was presently to see such diverse men as the old chiefs, Monchnkasgitk, Henry Blow, and Allen David, make cause with Dave Hill, and he with young Jesse Kirk, and he in turn with Jeff Riddle, son of Frank Riddle and Winema, the heroine of the Modoc War, and with Henry Jackson, the wealthy exslave. In this sense at least E. L. Applegate was right when he observed:

> • [179] The tribal distinction among the Indians on this Reservation is
> [178] practically disregarded by the Indians, and the ancient preju-
> [101] dices are rapidly fading away. The general name of Klamath People seems to be superseding all other distinctions.[70]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

SEVEN

[P.95]

Social Change

WITHIN LESS THAN TEN YEARS AFTER THE RESERVATION HAD BEEN 648*
established, two communities had developed. The one at the 657*
Lower End was composed primarily of Klamath, with a small 361
number of freed slaves. Yainax was far less homogeneous. Near
the subagency were the Upland Klamath and the Modoc, while
some ten miles beyond lay Paiute Camp. With the beginning
of stock raising, the fine grazing lands of the Upper End drew
Klamath from the Agency side.[1] The Klamath Marsh settle-
ments, formerly the area of densest concentration, had been
abandoned as a winter residence in favor of warmer localities
about Upper Klamath Lake. Although O. C. Applegate later [731]
intimated the move was caused by losses from smallpox and other
introduced diseases,[2] the general advantages of proximity to
Agency and Fort may also have recommended it. Settlements on
the Lower End now clustered about the Agency and upon the
lower course of Williamson River. Only a scattering of houses
extended along the Sprague as far as Lilu's seat at Kawumkan
Springs, approximately ten miles above its mouth.[3] Beyond that
point, almost thirty miles intervened between the two com-
munities.

In their settlements, former foes were brought together: Peli- 657*
can Bay and other bands on the Williamson, Klamath and Wal- 648*
papi at Yainax. Band affiliations, which rested on kinship and 621
long association, continued to be strong for some time even within 619
the new settings. Thus members of the Pelican Bay band some- 177 •
times shared foodstuffs, and the claim that their parents stemmed 178
from the same tribelet long provided a bond strong enough to
enable one person to borrow from another. By the end of the
period, however, band identities had been largely relinquished
as peoples intermingled. In their place developed ties of varying

*657 strengths reflecting emergent neighborhoods; common employ-
*648 ment at the Agency, or as freighters and as work crews; shared
621 church interests; and, with time, friendships formed at school.
619 The growing importance of the adjacent white settlements and
• 177 the administrative colonies at the Agency and at Yainax set in
178 relief the larger community of the Indian reservation.

*657 Klamath relationships with members of the Agency staff seem
*648 to have been restricted largely to those demanded by their official duties. Their scanty numbers would in any case have made contact with them infrequent for the great body of the population, and the whites tended to maintain a closed community in their social relationships. An important exception to the general social insulation were some of the more acceptable members of the families of Indian employees, who were sometimes hired as help and thus received a conditional entrée to the houses of whites. Off the reservation, special protector-employer roles seem to have been assumed by such men as Sykes Worden, contractor and post trader at Fort Klamath, O. C. Applegate, and several others.

By far the most unhindered contacts were made at Fort Klamath. The freedom of the individual from social constraint in the early days is evinced in the situation John Meacham found.

> Certain Indian women [he remarked] . . . had established several habitations in the vicinity of the Agency. They were in the habit of hanging around the office, the quarters, private houses and other buildings of the Agency, losing no opportunity of insinuating themselves into the presence of the employes. They were saucy, impudent and lewd in the extreme.

He therefore placed the post off limits for women unless they had legitimate business, an order that "met with the hearty approval of the Indian men and the faithful observance of the women."[4] The practice was not stopped, however, and Dyar, who tried to institute a pass system to control the traffic, noted that "soldiers are in the habit of frequently visiting the Indian camps below this point—sometimes remaining over night."[5]

*657 Native marital practice posed no very great obstacle to a white
*648 who wished to consort with an Indian woman. In the nature of
563 things many of these unions were casual, but others possessed a more permanent character, though often common law in form. Indignant settlers in the Klamath Valley circulated a petition in

1870, demanding that whites living with Indian women and 657*
fathering children upon them be required to marry them or that 648*
the women be sent back and punished by law.[6] 563

The previous year, the Agent responsible for Indians in the vicinity of Jacksonville had reported a total of 60 Indians, 28 of them Klamath or Modoc, comprising Indian women living in casual unions with whites, together with their children. "The head quarters of the persons keeping these women," he continued, "is at Kanaka Flat about two (2) miles from this town. At that point there is an establishment called a 'Dance House' [547] where whiskey is sold and where women are plied with liquor and debauched in the most shameless manner." He advocated removing the women to their reservations, and this was subsequently done.[7]

As time went on, however, a small but growing number of stable marriages appeared in the areas fringing the reservation; and others, contracted about the same period, later came to light in more distant regions in the course of allotting tribal members. One such marriage was that of the Kentuckian, Frank Riddle, 648*
and Winema, the Modoc heroine of the war between her people 657*
and the whites. To judge from Meacham, who in turn quotes an 563
informant—perhaps O. C. Applegate, who knew the family well 177 •
—Winema was an early advocate for the acceptance of the new ways she herself had adopted.

> "In the evening you would see the women and men gather around Wi-ne-ma while she told them of the wonderful things she had seen among the white people, of their manners and social customs; of the laws and rules of life; of their way of making law; making machinery, its uses, &c. For hours they would listen while she talked, and to her, much of the advancement of the Indians at Klamath and Yai-nax may be attributed."[8]

Clearly, along with other features there were qualities of self-enhancement in her new role.

Few mixed couples even tried to remain on the reservation. 657*
The official and lay attitude was disdainful of "squaw men," and 648*
they in turn must have been reluctant to subject themselves to 563
the minute regulations of Agency life and the limited economic 167
opportunities there. Too, they may have found the kinsmen of their wives both abundant and demanding. For their part, the wives may have been eager to reach beyond the limited oppor-

balance, ascribed it to war and stated that in 1864, "the females 657*
were largely in the majority . . . a condition which continues . . . 648*
to this day."[13] 563
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That the sources were indeed to be found in the conditions of native life is suggested by the circumstance that subsequently the imbalance was reduced: about 1875, the overall ratio was 0.72; while by the latter part of the period, from 1885 to 1906, it had reached an average of 0.87. It has since continued upward, to attain the approximate equality that characterizes the white neighbors of the Klamath.

Freed slaves constituted a second novel element in the popula- 657*
tion. Marriage to a slave had once been scorned, though Chief 648*
Chiloquin himself had married a Shasta slave; and even today 567
some stigma is attached to slave descent, albeit it is likely to be 178
brought up only as damaging gossip. Both sentimental family 177
attachments—a traditional attitude transcending acknowledged differences[14]—and recognition of the achievement of former slaves went far to ameliorate their position. One slave, Charlie Pitt, had been raised with his captor's son, Drummer David, in fraternal amity. The bond remained strong through life, and Charlie willed David his property when he died.[15] Another, one of three captured Pit River brothers, escaped to friendly whites who raised him in Ashland and gave him the distinguished name of Stonewall Jackson. In 1878 he returned to the Agency and the following year became a sawyer's apprentice. In recommending an increase in salary for him, Nickerson remarked that he "speaks the English language fluently, & is what may be called a civilized Indian." With several offers at better wages off the reservation, he wished to remain until he could qualify as a competent sawyer.[16] The best known of the slaves was Henry Jackson, whose rise has already been sketched. It is worth noting that he married the daughter of a Modoc chief, and that tribal members from over the reservation were not too proud to accept his bounty.

The altered social order was characterized by greatly in- 657*
creased mobility. An entire new range of opportunities was open 648*
to those who possessed or could develop new skills. Opportunity, 555
however, fell unequally, for the major new enterprises and posi- 177
tion in nineteenth-century America were masculine. As they were 178
incorporated into the regular activities of the Agency and within [562]

*657 the surrounding white neighborhood, the men came to take up
*648 roles narrowly and specifically defined in American terms and
555 to rephrase them in terms of their closest native counterparts.[17]
177 Thus, in the political field, judges and Indian police enlarged
178 the formal duties of office with some of the powers traditionally exerted by chiefs. Assimilation of roles, however, progressed in both directions; and in the end even relationships within Indian society upon the reservation were modified toward the American system. This was only partially the consequence of conscious imitation on the part of the Indians or of change directly instituted by the whites. In some measure, it came as the undesigned byplay of a modification made for another purpose.

*657 This, for example, was one of the effects of the educational
*648 system and its particular instrument, the boarding school. Be-
871 cause boarding school spanned the time of life upon which the
177 Klamath vision quest and the girls' puberty rite fell, those native
178 experiences were largely eliminated; and change of status was
[881] signaled instead by the final return from school. Education was designed for an altered future, but it increased intergenerational
[561] strife, as elders, their accumulated wisdom rendered obsolete in a changed setting, confronted youths skeptical in the superiority of their book-won knowledge. From the vantage of program, this was unfortunate—if inevitable—for the Agent depended for cooperation upon those same vexed adults.

To be sure, much of the change instituted might be regarded as supplementing and enlarging—rather than replacing—native content, for many a Klamath who was a schoolboy in those days today combines the learning of his elders with the lessons taught him in the schools. Participation in two orders juxtaposed for them made manifest the relativity of each one. For those youths, the new order was not to be taken on simple assertion; it had to demonstrate its superiority in a manner not required by those born into it.

*657 With all the changes that tended to distort the social order,
*648 women were less directly affected than were their husbands and
562 children. Their roles were still principally internal to the family,
177 as wife and mother; and though opportunities for employment
178 were beginning to open for them in the schools, their contacts with the ambient American culture were more fleeting and more

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circumscribed. Because the step involved a wholesale commit- 657*
ment, those bold enough to marry whites, as already noted, 648*
tended to pass out of reservation society. One or two women in 562
the early days sought to demonstrate they they could support 177
themselves as well as men were capable of doing, but they were 178
clearly exceptional.[18]

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Confronted by shifting social values, tribesmen on the reserva- 657*
tion still could take assurance from a value acknowledged both 648*
by the whites and by their traditional culture. The high prestige 556
assigned to industry and to its material manifestation, wealth, 181
proved a common denominator upon which to rank the ability of 178
men engaged in new activities. In the new day, Plains garments, K
horses, and slaves were outmoded, and were replaced by a house [177]
and outbuildings, a fenced farm or ranch, wagons and buggies,
and plenty of livestock.

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Within this context, the family also changed as movements 657*
within the reservation, the construction of smaller frame dwell- 648*
ings, and the cultivation of individual farms reduced household 592
size to approximately that of a single conjugal family. Some idea 177
of the shift may be gained by comparing subsistence rolls from 178
the administration of Lindsay Applegate[19] with data from the
end of the period. A summary of issues made in 1872-73 to heads K 657*
of families of Klamath, Modoc, and Yahuskin Snakes lists 54 648*
families totaling 658 persons. The majority were from Klamath 592
Marsh, with some from Link River and Sprague River bands and 162
several Modoc. One is possibly Paiute. The other two pages N M
duplicate some of the individuals, listing Schonchin's band of 657
Modoc, some eight "houses" comprising 97 individuals; Ocheho's 648
band of Warner Valley Paiute, 17 "houses" and 161 persons; 592
Chocktoot's band of Paiute, 13 "houses" and 113 persons; and 162
the Sprague River band of Monchnkasgitk, 8 "houses" and 97
individuals. A tally made in 1866 by one Jackson Jones (Link
River Jack ?), "Chief of Ulalona," lists for the Link River band
22 men, 18 boys, 42 women, and 20 girls in five houses.[20]

An analysis of these three lists reveals interesting facts about K 657*
the contemporary social groupings. Where the two censuses over- 648*
lap, there is overall agreement, although the figures for individual 592
households differ slightly. For the census of the Klamath at 162
large, the average household size is approximately 12 persons,

Of all the societal
relationships, the ~~government~~ *Social Change* sought directly 103
to change only those within the family. It was clear that a nation 657*
that was soon to impose upon the Mormons the American, and 648*
not the Biblical family, would permit no special marital practices 595
among the Indians. Polygamy was banned, although not retro- 177 •
actively for unions such as those of Allen David and Monchn- 178
kasgitk, which had been contracted prior to January 1, 1870.
Some leaders themselves appear to have advocated the change in
a desire to emulate whites. In 1877, Gatschet noted that there
were still two or three polygamous men.[26] Since polygamy had [556]
been a mark of the affluent, the ban, like the emancipation of the
slaves that preceded it, served to erode the status of the tradi-
tional chiefs.

An effort was also made to place under the authority of the 657*
court of chiefs certain relationships which had formerly been 648*
regulated privately between the families or individuals con- 622
cerned. In the legal code instituted when the court was estab- 692
lished, the consecration of marriage was made the function of 685
the head chief, to whom the groom was to pay a fee of five, three, 583
or two dollars or the same amount in horses, graduated according [643]
to his means. It was again the chiefs who punished fornication [684]
and polygamy and performed divorce.[27] The traditional ritual [586]
of marriage still was being practiced by some families in the 1890's[28] but the gift exchanges between the families concerned which set a public seal on the union were superseded, and the controls exerted by the family over the couple were thereby diminished. The effects of these and other changes were recognized by Gatschet. "Matrimonial reverses . . . among the Klamath [he declared] . . are one of the unavoidable consequences of the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers at Fort Klamath."[29]

With time, the seal upon marriage came to be set by the 657*
Methodist church and its ethics in turn permitted the independ- 648*
ent of spirit to flout tradition. One woman recalled that upon 581
the death of her husband his family proposed that she wed his 587
brother in customary manner, but she refused out of regard for 177
the memory of her husband and the sanctity of the bond of their 178
marriage in the church.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*657 The removal of property interests in the marriage on the part
*648 of the natal families of the couple, together with the general
581 upheaval of society, brought to the fore the practice of common-
588 law marriage, previously an unusual form of union. In time, such
• 177 a marriage, if generally acknowledged as stable, was officially
178 termed an "Indian custom" marriage, and recognized by authorities and Indians alike. Many unions, however, were unstable, and genealogies reveal that then as now it was common to find individuals who had had as many as three mates. Indeed, the woman previously mentioned as refusing to marry her husband's brother subsequently consorted informally with her ranch foreman.

*657 Thus by the end of the period of its firmest control, the gov-
*648 ernment had altered the family in form to correspond to that
177 idealized in American society. It had done away with the special
593 status of slaves. Children were removed from the physical cus-
[567] tody of their parents and sent away to school, to be returned as adolescents at odds with the ways of their parents. These were individual measures, not calculated for their total impact. The approach to social, as to other aspects of change, was predicated upon the individual and upon the conjugal family. It failed to envisage the need to create bodies that would give strength and continuity to a reservation community.

> *657 To prevent a *practice* is one thing, to change the belief in the
> *648 theory which actuated that practice is quite another thing. Thus
> 756 while it is very true the *practice* of medicine by Indian doctors
> 178 is abolished yet I am fully warranted in saying that there is not
> half a dozen Indians on the Reservation who are not as firm as ever in the belief of "spiritual medicine." Even Head Chief Allan David grave, sedate, and logical as he is in most things, acknowledged to me the other day that he *still believed* and was afraid to punish the Doctors.[2]

Notwithstanding his appreciation of the difficulty in eradicating belief in this way, Meacham continued to war against the shamans, causing Link River Doctor, whom Knapp had imprisoned, to be arrested and tried for having openly defied the order against shamanistic practice.[3] Meanwhile, he hailed the ministrations of the agency physician as demonstrating "that an efficient, patient and intelligent physician can do more than almost any other person in rooting out thier [sic] faith in thier own 'spiritual' medicine, and thus opening the way for the white man's customs, laws and religion."[4]

Not all shamans were initially singled out, for many were held in esteem. Of his paternal grand-aunt, a shaman, a present-day informant recalled, "She was like a preacher and all respected her. Chief Chiloquin always called her first when he had a meeting because she had a good brain. . . . Sally had a strong power
*657 [i.e. tutelary spirit]. . . ."[5] Tecumseh, an early Agency employee
*648 and Dave Hill's companion during the lyceum tour of 1875, was
756 a noted shaman. It was the parvenu chiefs, replacing Lileks and
754 Chiloquin, who abetted the Agents; and initially, as in the code
622 set forth by Dave Hill, their censure was directed only against
• 177 sorcery. Indeed, Hill's wife wrote him that she had taken their
178 ailing child to a female shaman to be cured.[6] As Henry Blow
remarked, "Since there is a white man's law among us the doctors are afraid to kill for malice or money as they did long ago, but exert the same power to heal the sick as they did."

*657 Significantly, when the court of chiefs tried Doctor John, a
*648 shaman, for having bewitched and thus slain another, the chief
756 witness against him was Sally, the woman shaman mentioned
622 above, who testifyed that in her dreams her shamanistic powers
177 had seen those of the accused.[7]

178 In 1880, Nickerson took a further step toward reducing the
[754] number of shamans, but thereby gave those who remained a

measure of official sanction. “I have recently induced their chiefs 657*
and people,” he reported, “to dispense with one half or more of 648*
their native doctors, each chief and his people selecting one to 756
retain. They came into this plan more readily than I had appre- 622
hended.”[8] On a visit to the Agency, Lindsay Applegate came 178
upon the new system and, in a letter bristling with indignation, 177
wrote “[Nickerson] turned to me and remarked that they ware his indian docters that he had invited the indians to furnish to practice with his docter at the same time [.]”[9]

Meanwhile, the growing success of the medical program upon 657*
the reservation sapped the authority of the shamans in what was 648*
their last legitimate field. The personality of Dr. Royal, who had 756
doubled as chief of police, apparently did much to win over 164
some of the chiefs, as did his treatment of syphilitic cases among 177
the Indians. (Since, as Roork had remarked, the disease had been 178
contracted by Indians in the course of their annual trading trips to Oregon City and other points,[10] it may have had a higher incidence in chiefly families.) They desired to retain him and, wrote Nickerson in advocating this, “Should he remain permanently the chiefs have agreed to do all they can to do away with their Indian doctors. These Indian doctors have heretofore had almost unbounded sway over the people.”[11]

In outlawing shamanistic activities, the Agency in effect drove 657*
a wedge between the shaman and his ritual assistants: the inter- 648*
preter, caller, and singers. Since a curing seance was a public 756
demonstration, it involved too many participants to be concealed 177
easily; and the shamans, formerly among the most respected and 178
feared members of the tribe, were not given to skulking. More- [178]
over, in native theory, supernatural power waxes with use; and when performances were no longer given frequently, that power declined.

Recalled H. N.:

> I always seen David Hill go among the people and interpret the agent’s words. Sally [the shaman] said, “I didn’t do it myself, but my medicine do it. It’s up to my medicine. If I do it, it’s the medicine’s fault.” But David Hill said, “It’s better for you to quit than to have trouble for yourself, or your family. That’s what the agent wants.”
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> . . .
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> Nobody ever called her after the orders were given. They might help minor things. I watched Sally. I watched her doctor.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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> *657 She worked all night once, and I thought there must be some-
> *648 thing to it. But her power got small. You know what the Chris-
> 756 tians say, "Backslide," not working strong enough. She said, "My
> • 177 help is getting small."[11]

178 Alec Wilson was a shaman, one of perhaps three in the lower
Williamson River area. After the Agency had outlawed shaman-
istic curing, he gave up his practice. Later, his child fell ill. His
wife railed at him, "You call yourself an Indian doctor! Why
don't you do something? Can't you see your own child is dying?"
Helplessly, he explained, "My tricks [i.e. powers] are all gone,
have left me; I can't do nothing without my tricks."

Though prohibited, shamanistic activities continued into re-
cent times. In 1897, Emery dealt severely with two instances of
curing at Paiute Camp, awarding a month at hard labor each to
Doctor Sam and Tom Godowa for attempting a shamanistic cure
of the latter's daughter and a week in jail to Tom Chocktoot,
headman of the Paiute, for a similar effort on behalf of Pete
Pauline's daughter. Chocktoot had also to return the sack of flour
K and blanket he had received as his fee.[13] A number of adults who
[838] were products of the boarding school recall the transvestite
shaman, White Cindy. One man was cured by him in the early
1890's;[14] and a woman who fell ill through dreaming of him
underwent the required shamanistic cure, although she was a
Methodist. Henry Jackson is said to have retained shamans to
perform cures at his house, and he is widely suspected to have
hired the assassin of the Modoc shaman, Doctor George, in 1899,
* K on the suspicion that he had encompassed the death of his sons.[15]
*648 While the campaign against the shamans was proceeding,
*657 other events had taken place. In 1871, a Paiute had introduced
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668 upon the Upper End (Yainax) the nativistic Ghost Dance reli-
177 gion; and Doctor George, at that time not yet a shaman, had
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648 brought it to the Tule Lake Modoc. There it was taken up by the
657 Modoc shaman, Curley-haired Doctor, and played an ideological
756 role during the Modoc War. A Klamath commoner named
668 O'Toole brought the religion to the Lower End, at the Lakes,
177 where a dance was organized by Allen David (then head chief),
Lobert, a headman and shaman, O'Toole, and Frank Chilks,
another commoner. No Agency employees among the Indians
participated.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

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After the end of the Modoc War, a second movement, the 657ff
Earthlodge Cult, was brought to the reservation by two Pit River 668
Indians, Henry Jackson and Pit River Charley, who had learned 177 •
about it while visiting relatives in northern California. Shortly 178
after this cult was introduced, a delegation of Klamath and Modoc from both Ends of the reservation visited Falls City, California, and Fort Crook to witness dances and seek the "message." Gradually, the Earthlodge Cult passed into a second phase, known as the Dream Dance. At the Upper End, the leaders were again Doctor George and Monchnkasgitk, while at the Lower they included Allen David, Jason Howard, a commoner, Chanchan, a shaman from Pelican Bay, O'Toole, and Lobert. The Paiute abstained from both the earlier and the later phases of this cult. The movement effectively stopped about 1878 with the building of the Methodist Church.

Nash, whose account has been followed here, has set forth the ritual and the theological content of each movement and has convincingly analyzed the social tensions and individual drives, so far as they can be recovered, that gave significance to the movements. The Ghost Dance was given antiwhite content by the Tule Lake Modoc, but not by the other groups. [184] The Earthlodge Cult, on the other hand, was strongly antiwhite at the Upper End, but not at the Agency. Around this time the Indians were becoming alarmed by reports that they were going to be exterminated by the troops and agitated by the boundary line and military road disputes, which especially affected the Upper End. Such fears may have contributed to the growth and local character of the Earthlodge Cult.

Viewed together, these movements constituted a progressive accommodation to the Klamath scene. As Nash characterizes it:

> The Ghost Dance represented a sharp break with Modoc and Klamath ritual tradition. The Earthlodge Cult was more in accord with this tradition, and the Dream Dance was still more consonant with it, and in the course of its development became incorporated into it. At the same time the aboriginal distinction [756] between the ritual experience of shamans and the ritual experience of nonshamans was broken down. Participants in the Dream Dance, particularly the strong dreamers, began acting like shamans; and shamans who participated in the Dream Dance acted more like ordinary men. . . . As the Dream Dance grew older, the traditional gap between shamans and non-

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shamans widened again as ordinary people ceased dreaming, and shamans incorporated Dream Dance symbols and practices into their rituals.[16]

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While these nativistic movements were going on, the first steps were being taken to provide Christian training to replace the native faith which was being discredited. In 1872, Thomas Pearne, an educated Indian from the Yakima reservation, had been appointed interpreter. During that year, until his resignation to return to Washington Territory in the following spring, he carried on missionary work among the Klamath, bringing thirty-six into the church. Among them was Lileks, who at his death three years later was numbered among the "Praying Indians."[17] [622]

The following year, the Reverend James Harer was appointed Commissary at Yainax, where for a brief period he preached at religious meetings which were well attended.[18] By 1876, the Agent at the Lower End and the farmer at Yainax still were holding forth. Employees had volunteered to advance half the salary for a missionary if the Methodist Missionary Society would match the amount; but nothing came of it.[19] Roork, the following year, took a number of the principal men and women, along with some scholars from the Indian School, to the annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Salem, probably in another appeal for a missionary.[20]

The flavor of those early meetings is preserved in one of the letters to Dave Hill, dictated in 1875 by Allen David.

> After we had had our talk at the Agency I sent word for all the people to come to my house to talk about these things, and see who would agree to listen to what Dave, Tecumseh and I had said, and who would get our hearts and who would not. I told them to come on Sunday the Lord's day and we would all the same as mammook [make, hold] church, we would make good hearts and the Lord would mammook close nanish [take good care of] us on his day. So some Yainax Inds.—Brown Mosenkosket and some Modocs, some Lake Inds., some Chiloquin's people and some of all the Inds. came. Chikaskane first spoke and said that at first he had a bad heart. That the chiefs first listened to the Agents and got their hearts and then tried to get the other Inds. to get the same hearts; that they had put him in the guard house which was right, and Mr. Dyar was also right for he was in the wrong and all the same as said to the Chiefs

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> Make them better men and women." He was a Methodist preacher and was a big man. He had a loud voice and was a good singer. He was awfully strict. He didn't want the Indians to get into trouble. He said, "If you don't mind me, I will put you in jail or put a ball and chain on you." And he did. So the Indians behaved well, you know. I understood what he said, and it sounded good to me and after they interpreted his sermon in Klamath, the old Indians liked it too. Testimonies were then given. . . . The preacher read from the scriptures and made sermon. . . . He said, "I want people to come together and work together as one."[illegible]

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The emergence of native preachers provides another illustration of the confrontation of native and American roles. From the Indian viewpoint, the role of shaman did not coincide with that of the American preacher, for in aboriginal times the shaman's duties had encompassed curative powers, and through sorcery and counter-sorcery he had come to wield quasipolitical influence as well. Now healing lay within the duties of the Agency physician, while political sway had passed progressively, first to the raid-and-trade leaders and latterly to the Agency chiefs.

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On the other hand, points of resemblance existed between the traditional role of the chief and that of the preacher. The sermon, the most distinctive and formal exercise of the minister, as the Indian saw him, corresponded most closely with the exhortations to a better life given by chiefs to followers and by elders to the young. The correspondence of preaching with political authority was furthered by the circumstance that a number of Agents had assumed the responsibility of preaching to the Indians. Among those realizing the linkage in their actions were Dave Hill and, to a lesser extent, Lileks, Allen David, and Henry Blow. Jesse Kirk, soon to become a preacher, later applied that office to political ends.

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In the Klamath view of the supernatural order, syncretism set in early, probably as the result of an Indian effort to reconcile native and Christian belief. The trickster-transformer figure of Gmukamps, known in myth by the epithets, "Earth-Maker" and "The One Above," became identified by some with God, although his trickster exploits led others to reject this. Within the first decade of reservation life, Christian dualism, seizing upon the first correspondence, became responsible for the coining of

another figure, known only as "The One Below," to represent the 648*
Devil. This figure appears in a Klamath version of the Garden 657*
of Eden recorded by Gatschet[29]—a tale no longer recalled today. 776
The identification of Gmukamps with God is strengthened in 177 •
Indian eyes by his mythical foster-parentage of the hero, Aisis. 178
As one Modoc, a fundamentalist preacher, has put it:

> you know, Gmukamps and Aisis—that's nothing but God and Jesus. The Indians knew the story of the Bible, but they were ignorant in those days. They thought that the lakes they performed their miracles around were the Klamath lakes; they didn't know it was really the Sea of Galilee.[30]

Looking back over the entire field of change from the last 657*
decades of the nineteenth century, the observer could discern 648*
major acculturative trends. The Klamath who entered upon the 177
treaty had already undergone pervasive, though largely un- 178
directed modification. Thereafter, they were subjected to a consistent policy of change which, despite defects in execution, outside interference, and an intervening war, was maintained for well over a generation. Within this frame, a reservation culture had taken shape, embodying a synthesis of white and Indian lifeways. By the middle of the next century, only a handful of tribesmen would be left who could report from direct knowledge events of pretreaty days; the remaining elders would be products of the synthesis.

Measured by the indexes which the Bureau employed to
register progress, the advance was evident. When that formula- [464]
tive period was ended, a large number of the Klamath were [511]
productively engaged in work of "civilized" character, and their
material wants had come to approximate those of their white
neighbors. Many were conversant, and a few literate, in English, [191]
and their numbers were increasing steadily. The extended family, [212]
at least among the progressive, had made way for the more [596]
mobile and assimilable conjugal family. In the schools, a new [594]
generation was being trained to embrace as natural and desirable [871]
a way of life which the Church, in turn, commended as good to
old and young alike. Expectations seemed to lie within the grasp
of those willing to work to achieve them.

Beneath the surface upon which these changes could be traced, [571]
however, lay cleavages and disconformities as yet unfathomed

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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*648 that were to threaten their success. Under the pressure of change,
*657 the Klamath had responded in diverse ways and had drawn
• 177 apart. A program addressed to a single people–if drawn from
178 several tribal cultures–had now to cope with a growing variety
571 of subgroups shaped by the acculturative experiences they had
undergone. Loosely structured as the native societies had been, they had nonetheless been clearly delimited. Participation in American culture now greatly extended their limits, and beyond the reservation the simple clarity of the social relationships they knew soon became distorted. As they participated in the life that went on beyond the reservation, the Klamath grew conscious of roles that not merely diverged from those of native society but at times were even lacking there.

In the new setting, expectations blossomed, on the part of whites as well as of the Indians, for which the reservation provided inadequate soil. A central goal in administrative planning was the inculcation of individualism, a characteristic ideal of American society of that day. The pursuit of self-interest must, however, have its limits; otherwise it trespasses upon the interests of others. Even in the days of the "robber barons" of nineteenth-century enterprise, American culture provided a context of value and structure within which individualism flourished, and which set limits upon untrammeled license. On the reservation, the creation of a similar context proved difficult indeed; it might even be said that the planners seemed unaware of the need to establish such restraints. As a result, they left the field free for the burgeoning of narrow self-interest.

Tribal society had been small in scale,[31] marked by scanty numbers and intensive face-to-face relations. Self-interest had been present here as well, but it had been subjected to major restraints by family and village. In transforming this society, the Agency had placed a premium upon explicit and formal controls exercised by its staff and by those Indians closely dependent upon it. A major characteristic of reservation society was the extent to which the Agency had become implicated in its being. Administrators, seeking to transform that society, strove to remove a strictly Klamath leadership as an intermediate variable in control, in the well-founded fear that such leaders might prove too independent. In so doing, they enlarged the gulf separating

political authority from the governed. The Klamath, in turn, be- 657*
came increasingly unresponsive to political control vested in an 648*
alien administration. Consequently, when the Agency later be- 177 •
came aware of the need to limit the growth of rampant individ- 178
ualism, it no longer was heeded. Moreover, the dissolution of 571
other restraining bodies had gone on apace, until at the end of
the period of control there were left as social stabilizers only a
weakened extended family, shifting neighborhoods, and the
followings of popular, informal leaders.

On the threshold of allotment in severalty, with its further stress upon separatism, the prospect was not auspicious.

[P. 122 is blank]

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share of the principal from the tribal fund, the per capitas, 648*
begun two years before, were flowing in from timber sales. By 657*
1926 they were $500 annually, and four years later had risen to 434
$700. Though they thereafter declined slightly, they rose again to 313
a figure in excess of $800. Acess to these funds gave the Indians a considerable measure of economic independence. A family of four, at the 1926 figure, received $2,000 from timber receipts alone, an income sufficient to provide for all their needs or to indulge some of their luxury cravings. Where "money talked," it afforded access to many areas previously closed. Having money gave at least partial emancipation from Agency surveillance.

Indeed, from the days of allotment on, the growth of a money 648*
economy upon the reservation had been an emergent theme. 657*
Amounts of money that Indians had been able to secure prior to 434
that time, though important in their economy, had not given them 452
the same degree of independence as was later to be theirs. After allotment, anticipation of income from leasing and from other
sources increased the volume of purchases on credit. To his [454]
knowledge, Emery reported in 1897, no Indian had funds deposited with the Agent or with any bank, firm, or person.[102] Although in the next few years O. C. Applegate transmitted checks drawn by a number of Indians to cover debts they had incurred, the practice was less a payment from accumulated savings than a convenience in handling money. What the correspondence strikingly shows was the practice of buying on expectation. Then as now risks were involved, and many individuals in the parlance of the day were rather difficult to "bring to time." That difficulty had sometimes to be surmounted by asking local men of property, such as Henry Jackson, to stand behind an impecunious would-be customer. At times the Agent exerted moral pressure upon a delinquent debtor, but under some conditions he declined to serve as collection agent. Repossession of property for nonpayment often ran against the jurisdictional barrier of the reservation line.

Along with access to individual real property went the transla- 648*
tion of traditional relationships into a more pecuniary idiom. Such 657*
tribal members as Robert Wilson and his wife, William Crawford, 178
and Jesse Kirk purchased insurance policies.[103] A number of 571 [177] •
Indians hired farmhands, both white and Indian, instead of draw- [464]
ing exclusively or even principally upon kinsmen.

reserved for Indian cattlemen was ample, and that indeed the 648*
tribe was losing between $6,000 and $8,000 a year on land with- 657*
held for their use but not grazed. "Even this, he went on to say, 423
"did not seem to satisfy a number of Indians, and as a result the 427
tribal council recently [1926], passed a resolution to close the 563
range next year." He recommended that the Bureau disapprove 311
the tribal action.[122] During the remainder of his tenure, the issue of leasing the tribal range recurred at least twice more; and it arose from time to time to plague his successors.[123]

The desire to convert equal access to tribal resources into a pro 648*
rata share of rentals found a counterpart in such measures as 657*
those involving tribally supported programs for lumber. The lum- 313
ber mills operated for years by the Agency had been partially intended to supply materials for building houses and barns, but by 1908 only the mill at Yainax remained, and the Indians were no longer bringing in enough logs to keep the sawyer busy.[124]

With the establishment of sawmills on the reservation, the government mill drew less and less traffic. It was moved to a new location in 1927, but although there was no commercial sawmill within twenty miles, business was not measurably improved.[125] By 1930 it functioned only a short period each year for those members who wished to haul their own logs and pay twenty per cent of the lumber to defray milling expenses. Reported Arnold:

> During the past two years a few disgruntled Indians who do not avail themselves of the opportunity of obtaining lumber through their own efforts have objected to its operation on the theory that is being operated at the expense of the tribe for the benefit of a few of the Indians. Due to this criticism, the future of the sawmill is uncertain.

Soon thereafter the mill was closed.[126]

These were some of the expectations among the Indians created 648*
by increasing contact with a free-enterprise system. Individuals 657*
came to see that tribal membership entailed not only the restric- 619
tions imposed by Agency regulation but pecuniary returns as well. [177] •
Those members dwelling off the reservation discovered that they could realize their pro rata share of tribal income without being subjected to supervision in expending it. Moreover, insofar as the Superintendent was willing and able to take decisions into

[Klamath Reservation]

THIRTEEN

[P. 185]

Modern Klamath: Demography and Economy

ALTHOUGH THEY LACK THE DRAMA OF CULTURAL CONFRONTATION, 648*
the years since the barriers of the reservation crumbled have 657*
been eventful ones for the Klamath, and deserve minute study. 619
The wealth of material makes such a treatment inappropriate, 177•
and recommends instead a summary approach. Viewed as a 178
whole, a half-century of change has been marked by progression, with no major discontinuities. Geographically, physically, culturally, and socially, the Klamath lost special attributes they had once shared; yet, held together by a joint history, through participation in a tribal government, and by interest in a tribal estate held in common, they retained their identity as Klamath. This was a period in which, compared to the dominant society, the Klamath passed into a condition of reduced power, unable even to control the tribal assets save through a veto, constituting an ethnic minority in the communities where they resided, even within the reservation.

One of the indexes of latterday Klamath diversity has been 648*
their geographic distribution. At the turn of the century, approxi- 657*
mately ten per cent of the tribal membership resided off the reservation.[2] By 1955 the number had mounted to over forty per cent; and three years later, after termination, it exceeded fifty per cent of the Tribe. As had been true earlier, the absentee members were grouped concentrically about the reservation. Perhaps a quarter of their number resided within Klamath County in towns adjacent to the reservation. Outside the county, they were scattered throughout areas of southern Oregon and northern California where Klamath had long had ties. Along the

*648

*657 missiveness. Their ranches often took on the appearance of rural
464 slums, and were the scenes of drinking parties and brawls.
433 Economically profitable or not, ranching constituted the most
233 common occupation for those who were employed. It offered special advantages. The land was usually an inherited allotment and, together with cattle and improvements, was often nontaxable. Outdoor work with livestock was a familiar activity; it permitted considerable latitude to the farmer in adjusting his routine. There was space to live.

*648 Whether dwelling in town or on a ranch, tribal members
*657 continued to seek native foods; but these activities had come to
433 occupy a different place in their lives. Men of all ages still fished
and hunted; many families still gathered huckleberries; and
22 elderly women at least continued to dig for the succulent roots
262 of ipos and camas and to gather wokas. The latter foods, how-
177 ever, were sought as cherished delicacies, now rare; while
178 journeys to the berry fields assumed the character of an outing. Much of the fishing had acquired a strongly sportive aspect and was carried on by angling. Only the spearing of mullet during the spring runs and the hunting of deer and waterfowl seriously served food demands. The larger game animals, which had figured in only a small way in Klamath diet and played a more important role among the Modoc, had become abundant upon the reservation as ranchers killed off predators. Tribal members often hunted them from a car or spotlighted them at night. Waterfowl were often shot as they sat upon the water. Fifteen deer would see a household through the year; and a number of Klamath families met all their meat requirements by hunting and fishing, being content to buy an occasional cut in town to add variety to their diet.

*648 "Meat hunting" thus continued to ignore sportive conventions,
although fishing had in part given way to them. At the same
*657 time, individual Klamath were wont to play with those conven-
224 tions by entering contests for the biggest buck or rainbow; and
226 they delighted in underscoring white failures to abide by their
181 own standards of sportsmanship. For the Klamath, hunting and fishing possessed particular virtue as an attribute of an Indian estate. The ability to pursue fish and game without regard to season was a signal right cherished by the Indians and valued

*648 theless, analysis showed that they aggregated two extended
*657 families together with one other nuclear family unrelated to
602 either. The earlier arrivals had attracted relatives, but they had
178 been selective, encouraging some and in at least one instance
giving the cold shoulder to a kinsman deemed undesirable, when he paid them an exploratory visit. For their part, they were scrupulous in choosing compatible relatives to visit on their occasional brief returns to the reservation.

[736] That kinship bonds, selectively utilized, were still in force is shown not only by such action as the bidding for tribal tracts, but in the assumption of responsibility for the care of children from a broken home. Although choice was exercised among relatives, and the uncongenial among close kindred might be passed over in favor of more distant, but more compatible, relations, the principle first evoked was that of consanguinity. In the majority of instances, primary reliance was placed upon parents and children, upon siblings, grandparents, and grandchildren.

*648 Among kinsmen, there was an enlargement of the sphere of
*657 individual, at the expense of common, property. At times it took
602 bizarre extremes. In one adult household, for example, each
421 member's foodstuffs were separately stored and even individually
• 177 cooked; and each independently purchased his supply of the
178 wood to be burned in a common stove. There was evident in
family interdependence what might be termed a pecuniarization of relationships, a conversion of traditional reciprocal obligations into the common denominator of coin. Already evident in the early days of allotment, it had grown with time, taking on as it did a onesidedness that was increasingly dysfunctional. Money could be extracted by the importunate from kinsmen still sensi-
[888] tive to the charge of stinginess. The aged, dependent upon their children for tenderness, were often likely to be besieged by their requests for "loans" from lease and per capita checks, and once those funds were dissipated, might then be left without enough to maintain themselves. Some families, like the ranchers previously described, were beginning to resist such demands, but for those still immersed in tribal society, refusal was difficult.

*648 The weakening of kin bonds entailed the disappearance of
*657 feud groups, entities that formerly had drawn principally upon
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578
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kinship loyalties and that had provided relatively stable focal 648*
interests about which allegiances might cluster. The anonymous 657*
destruction of property as a time-honored method of exacting 602
personal revenge remained even in the last days of the reserva- 578
tion, when the jacklight shooting of a cow was construed as the 178
malicious act of a foe. Distrust thus engendered was likely in 177
turn to lead to a search for potential allies, especially among kinsmen and cronies. Local legend in Chiloquin still recounts the memorable gunfight between two tribal families in the days before its incorporation, one firing from the railway depot while the other entrenched itself in the family hotel. At the first few shots the stationmaster, a newcomer to town, was flushed from the depot; and when the fusillades were stilled he left town, never to return.

As law and order became more firmly established over the reservation, and extended families, their members scattered on separate allotments and among the reservation towns, became
dispersed, retaliatory obligations declined. In the end, feudatory 648*
alignment left their mark chiefly in a continued reluctance of 657*
former opponents to drink together or otherwise associate. The 602
drinking cliques, with their stable membership cores, reflected 578
these antipathies: three decades after the gunfight mentioned 273
above, the families involved still did not consort together. Only 178
one person, and she an affinal, had crossed the line. 177
[573]

Indeed, the violence of more recent years, as remarked, lay far less between families than it did within them, for many of the quarrels that precipitated assaults arose in the course of drinking parties, and thus antagonized persons who were accustomed to associate together. Although there was a degree of mobility in the membership of such parties, and clashes at times might involve a visitor, many instances of homicide arose out of family disputes. That the tensions thus vented were generated by the changes in familial roles seems at least partially true, to judge by an examination of court cases; but they were affected indirectly by other segments of the psychosocial system, such as the relations with whites. Such disputes, however, could only weaken the family, and that at a time when family solidarity had become a less imperative need.

Within the reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally 000

Within the
*648 reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally
*657 esteemed attributes had lost place. Age was no longer accorded
561 respect, for the wisdom of experience seemed irrelevant under
593 the new conditions, and in the environing society the emphasis
577 was upon youthful qualities. The premium upon industry as an
434 ideal for old and young alike had become submerged by the
178 golden flow of per capitas which rewarded equally the wastrel
• 177 and the unremitting toiler. Remarked one man wryly, "I can
make more money raising Klamath than I can raising cattle."[2]
Under these changes, paternal authority had declined sharply.
"Why should I listen to you?" demanded one adolescent son of
his father. "I've got just as much money saved up [in a compulsory trust fund] as you have!"

*648 By contrast, the status of the mother within the household
*657 had been enhanced. Housekeeping and child rearing constituted
562 concrete activities that possessed a high measure of continuity
434 with the past, of a type normally respected in her counterpart
177 in white society. Access to her own per capitas had raised the
178 economic standing of a wife to a par with that of her husband.
[623] The relative changes in local roles, together with the passage
of woman's suffrage in the nation at large, had become reflected
in the increasing prominence of women in the debates of the
General Council.

*648 The major point of contrast between white and tribal house-
*657 holds on the reservation was the relatively greater fluidity among
563 the Klamath, as reflected in the record of sequent marriages,
58 the figures for common-law unions, and the broken families. In
this respect, Beatty did not differ significantly from Chiloquin.
Interethnic marriages—those between a Klamath and a nontribal
partner—were more stable than those contracted between tribal
members.

*648 Household composition makes it clear that the traditional
*657 valuation of kin had by no means been entirely relinquished.
592 In a number of instances, Klamath, particularly women, had
587 taken in the children of collateral kin. Remarriage produced
[178] composite families, in which the couple reared not only their
own children but the offspring of previous unions of one or both
partners.

*648 Consequently, Klamath households exhibited a diversity of
*657 form, size, and composition, frequently characterized as well by
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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 *657 563 where after attending public school or the Catholic academy, she took special training or found a job. About that time she met her future husband, a white employed as a laborer in logging, millwork, or construction. Evidently, he then stood below her in socioeconomic status, although in a superior ethnic bracket. The subsequent advance of the husband, after their marriage, may be regarded in no small degree as the result of her own drive and ambition as well as his. Such couples rarely returned to the reservation; and their life together was undoubtedly an extension of that first step, before they met, which had taken her away from the reservation.

ACCULTURATION

*648 *657 • 177 [171] [434] The suggestion has recently been made for the Ojibway that the sociocultural position they now maintain on their reservation in Wisconsin represents an accommodation to the standards of living of lower status whites.[11] At Klamath, the circumstances that might have reduced tribal members to a similar economic condition have been offset by income from leases and from tribal timber. The question may still be posed, however: to what degree does Klamath life on the reservation represent the direct acculturative influence of those whites, particularly of lower-class status, whom they most closely approximate?

The historical record, already reviewed, shows clearly that many early contacts of a persistent character were with whites whom Agents with some justification regarded as outcasts or renegades from their own society; but, their influence although it was undoubtedly felt, did not compare with the broader programs of the official staff, directed at the whole Klamath population and implemented through influential leaders. A few individuals such as Frank Riddle stand out; but their own ties tended to be with administrators like Oliver Applegate. The major individuals to offer opposing counsel were former Agency employees or individuals of substance in neighboring towns. Klamath recognized the tokens of success, and were unlikely to follow persons who showed every evidence of failure in their own lives.

There is some warrant for seeing in the Klamath situation a structural convergence. On the one hand, the skills and roles acquired by Klamath in the early days of the reservation during

the course of their employment by whites—to mention but one 648*
sphere—were even then associated in American society with 657*
inferior status, as involving largely manual labor. The course of 177 •
technological change tended to reduce those skills further in prestige. The Klamath remaining upon the reservation generally confined themselves to occupations of this level.

In these and similar contexts, tribal members entered into [464]
relationship with whites, both as coworkers and as employee or rarely—as with Henry Jackson's hired hands—as employer. Within this context, they had the opportunity to model behavior upon a wide range of examples, and were not restricted to whites of similar socioeconomic status. The Klamath girls who worked as domestics in Klamath Falls at the turn of the century had many opportunities to observe the life of middle-class families.

Yet individual change is only part of the picture, interwoven 648*
as it often is in the fabric of institutional change. In such a struc- 657*
ture as the Indian Shaker movement on the reservation are to 795
be seen the summation of a number of individual commitments 177
to a new creed, and thus the emergence of an institutionalized 178
consensus. For each participant, the commitment must have had a highly individual significance, in the light of his condition and belief prior to entering the sect. A brief résumé of the history of that movement at Klamath will illustrate the complexity of the factors surrounding institutional change.

The Indian Shaker movement had its inception on Puget Sound in 1882, but expanded vigorously only after a favorable court ruling a decade later.[12] A messianic faith, it incorporated elements of native belief and practice along with many aspects drawn from Catholic and Protestant Christianity. As it spread, it vied with and was influenced by other syncretic faiths as well as Christian sects, from which its converts and opponents came.

The Klamath church traces its origin to the East End leader, Henry Jackson, who had been instrumental in bringing the Earthlodge cult from northern California. Now, in 1914, forty years later, stricken with what was to prove his last illness, he turned his eyes northward, inspired by what he had heard from the unorganized local converts about the Shakers and their cures. When they declined to treat him themselves—perhaps the fate of the shaman, Dr. George, was still etched in their minds—he

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 sent a mission to the Yakima reservation in the state of Washing-
*657 ton. The leaders who came down worked over him for some
795 time, but concluded that his case was hopeless; and indeed he
• 177 soon died. Notwithstanding this initial failure, the Shakers be-
178 came firmly established. A tribal member, one Stanley Pedro, offered them his dance hall and, drawing a parallel with the better known movement of Europe and the eastern United States, urged that the movement be named the Annie Lee religion. The church, located on the outskirts of Chiloquin, became a focal point from which influences subsequently fanned out to the Siletz reservation on the Oregon coast and to Smith and Klamath Rivers to the southwest. By the circumstance of its location, it drew members primarily from the Klamath proper of the Lower End.

The church met with no official threat. Gone was the day when an Agent might freely move against a religion of which he disapproved. Wrote the Acting Superintendent mildly in 1917, "They are somewhat fanatical and they indulge in some ceremonies that savor very much of ancient Indian customs but their creed contains some very good things. . . ."[13] He or a successor is said to have sent a member of the Indian police to observe the ceremonies, and the latter recalls that he reported with warm favor on the practices he witnessed.[14]

Several features are significant in the establishment of the church at Klamath. It came from other Indian groups along the Columbia which had previously been cultural donors, although the earlier cults received had come rather from the south. As adopted, the Shaker religion was seen as an Indian faith, its syncretism not acknowledged. Proponents thereafter came to underscore the uniqueness of its development by denying that native shamanistic elements or specifically Christian features lay at its core. At the same time, the freedom for inspired expression led converts at Klamath further to modify the received doctrine.
[953) Illness brought on through the agency of ghosts and the receipt of power through songs are but two such reinterpretations. Klamath communicants likewise differed in not eschewing coffee, normally forbidden in other congregations.

The growth did not take place in a vacuum. Such Pentecostal faiths as the Four Square Gospel were on the move soon after the church had come into being. In 1926, missionaries of that

sect were permitted to make temporary use of the Shaker church 648*
building until their own structure could be erected. Tribal mem- 657*
bers were drawn into entrant fundamentalist sects as well as the 795
Shaker faith, and on the occasion of revivals Shakers freely 177 •
visited their services. 178

Together with some of those sects, the Shaker faith embodied [787] many of the demonstrative acts, in dramatized testimonial, visions, and the inspired state known as "the shakes," which had been largely abandoned by other churches that had become more staid with the passage of time. Its cures were the most spectacular demonstration of its power, and many of its converts came to it in this way. At the same time, it drew no very large membership: in 1925, Spier found only twenty Klamath thus affiliated. Any claim to the exclusive allegiance of members—an aspect of the Christian heritage—made heavy way against the broad tolerance in things religious characteristic of the Klamath.

The member of the Indian police who had found favorably for the Shakers was cured by them on another occasion, rang bells in the services, and even sparked a drive to improve the appearance of the church. With equal concern, he contributed heavily to the Four Square Gospel mission, which he felt was beneficial to the "coming generation." His formal affiliation continued with the Methodist Church, and he was often in attendance at the Williamson River Mission. Nor did commitment to Christianity dim his evident belief in the validity of aboriginal Klamath religion. In his mind, and the minds of many other elderly Klamath, there was no need to select narrowly and exclusively a single revelation of the divine order on earth.

The fundamentalist churches—the "emotional" churches, as 648*
they were disparagingly dubbed by some white Methodists in 657*
Chiloquin—appealed primarily to whites and ethnic minorities of 795
lower social status, and indeed participation in their services 563
was a factor weighed in status evaluation. Accordingly, these 177
sects brought tribal communicants into intimate contact with those components of the community, providing the basis for a certain degree of acculturation as well as of intermarriage. A few of the Mexican Interethnic unions stemmed from these associations, and at least one white Interethnic couple was regularly affiliated with the Negro church.

The Shaker church, however, was an ethnic church of some

*648 rigidity, and while its members freely attended the services of
*657 other sects, they were selective in admitting non-Klamath to their
795 worship. It was finally upon the issue of its Indian character that
177 the church was riven. The immediate circumstance was the effort
[563] of the "Annie Lee" faction to introduce the Bible into the ritual.
*648 A stout minority of the members refused to allow this, observing,
*657 in the words of one member, "The Indian has his religion: God
795 speaks to him through the 'shakes.' The white man hasn't got
578 them; he has to use the Bible." The contest soon came to litiga-
177 tion, during which the conservatives held services in private dwellings, while their rivals occupied the church building. Some years later, while the issue dragged on, a fire destroyed the structure; but the "Annie Lee" faction possessed sufficient vigor to rebuild it. Increasingly, that group had been gravitating toward the Four Square Gospel; and when the church was rebuilt it came to be used jointly with another fundamentalist sect.

*648 Thus, even the maintenance of an "Indian" religion, objectively
*657 syncretic in form and content, is sought by a state charter of
795 incorporation and internal disputes are placed before the courts
177 for decision. Moreover, its growth parallels the revivalistic move-
[692] ment of fundamentalist sects upon the West Coast; it vies with them for members; and its destiny is finally interwoven with theirs. Any theory that sees in the growth of such a religion a reaction of the Klamath people to pressures of the time must consider that special history and account for the parallel growth of other sects among non-Klamath at about the same time. For the Klamath, those sects must be regarded alternant to the Shaker faith in providing opportunities for expression. In assessing the features that attracted converts, the appeal of familiar Christian practice, known from earlier Methodist services, must be reckoned, as well as those features which were strictly aboriginal. For some, indeed, the identity of the church as Indian may have been compelling, as fostering an image of independence from the almost overwhelming presence of American culture.

To evaluate the impact of the Shaker Church from the members involved is hazardous. Although only a handful of individuals became exclusively committed to the Shaker way, its impact extended far beyond their ranks. At the same time, the majority

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of tribal members held aloof, while some members were no more 657*
than "Sunday" or "holiday" Shakers, attending services only at 795
wide intervals. 177

That there was no single Klamath response to culture contact 648*
even upon the reservation, must now be abundantly clear. It is 657*
also true that tribal members are not to be found extended along 184
a single continuum of change. No typology satisfactorily pre- 177
serves the mosaiclike pattern of the accommodation they have 178
made. For the course, even of institutional change, is the product, not of the engagement of reified "cultures," but of the countless individual choices expressed before concrete alternatives and projected against past experience. In the successive role-relationships into which they have entered, the biographies of some elderly Klamath suggest that there may well have been for them an inner continuity, not unchanging, which provided in their life-way a reference and a means of self-identification.[15] For many younger tribal members, however, the range of possible identification has become greater, while coercive restraints have weakened; and their selection among behaviors may be so conditioned by factors in the immediate situation as to appear inconsistent from one time to the next. Cultural confusion may well have resulted in their failure to form a stable self-image.

A central characteristic of modern Klamath relationships has 648*
been termed, for want of a happier phrase, "permissive diver- 657*
sity."[16] By this is meant a condition offering the individual a wide 156
latitude of choice among multiple and optional alternatives, per- 177
mitted modes being not only broad in range but diffusely de- 178
limited. Analyses of Klamath myths[17] and of the ethnological record suggest that this state, which corresponds in large measure to the "loose structuring" of Embree,[18] was characteristic of aboriginal Klamath culture, but it may well have been enhanced in reservation times by the breakdown of native agencies of control and by those other developments fostering individualism. The roots of its continuity lie in conditions of child-rearing, already reviewed, as well as in the social transactions of adult life.

The corresponding qualities in the individual are equally clear. For many Klamath, the interpersonal distance is of considerable magnitude, and constitutes a wary, defensive response to the

*648 anticipation of rebuff. It may have as its corollary a diffuse self-
*657 image, since the subject lacks any consistent delineation of his
156 characteristics from the reactions of his fellows. For some, as
• 177 well, there is a sense that a stable reference to self through time
178 is lacking, since each fresh experience tends to define it anew.
For the majority of tribal members observed over a period of time, enduring reference groups in which one could claim membership were limited to such entities as "Klamath Indian." As Clifton has put it:

> Persons as psychologically isolated as the Klamath must work hard at the business of maintaining their position. They cannot be expected to contribute much in the way of specific demands on others (outside of occasional impulsive outbursts), and they value situations where specific demands are not made on them. We seem to be confronted with a human group whose members share a primary orientation toward living which is organized around the need to be left alone to their own devices as individuals.[39]

Permissive diversity has found an expression in the manner in which individuals have fused life-ways out of historically disparate elements. This was particularly striking among the older Klamath, who in their youth had participated actively in traditional Klamath culture. Some, indeed, pointed to the essential similarity of native ethic and of Christianity; but others found no need to justify their choice. Life for them possessed a meaning that was involved less in the cultural source of its elements than in the condition of their combination.

*648 One old friend, then bedridden and since deceased, may serve
*657 to illustrate the point. As a child she had lived in an earth-lodge
159 and witnessed her uncle, the shaman, Alec Wilson, performing
177 his cures. Later, as a young woman, she became ill when dream-
178 ing of a shaman, and recovered only when he had been forced to
156 treat her. The gathering of traditional foods and the weaving of
baskets had been part of her skills. A sweat lodge stood outside her cabin. She spoke Klamath and knew the native myths and songs.

Yet equally, she was a product of the Agency school and had worked at the military post of Fort Klamath. When she married, she wed her husband at the Methodist Mission. Together, they ranched together on Klamath Marsh, and with her daughter and

grandchildren, she was a familiar figure in boomtown Chiloquin. 648*
Cured by the Shakers, she almost joined the church, then changed 657*
her mind. From her bed, she discussed a life-way that was an 159
indissoluble blend of diverse elements integrated by their personal 178
import. When she narrated or discussed a Klamath myth, 177 •
her assimilation of a Christian ethic was evident in the delicate 156
manner in which she skirted obscene passages. In admonishing
her great-grandson, she spoke in the traditional manner, but in
English, the only tongue they shared. The English she spoke, like [191]
that of her boarding-school contemporaries, was likewise syncretic;
for it bore the impress of Klamath sound patterns and grammatical categorization.

Individuals such as she, often happy to escape from the gray 648*
reality of age into nostalgic memory, initially struck the observer 657*
as conservative when contrasted with the young people: the boys 156
in Levis, cowboy boots, and leather jackets, the girls in jeans and 177
plaid shirts, who spoke little or no Klamath, and who loitered 178
in the cafes of Chiloquin hanging on the heavy beat of the jukebox. Yet at most, such folk were old-fashioned, and still retained the tastes and inclinations of long habit. Their commitment was selective. Those who still liked to dig the roots known as ipos did so, not with an aboriginal digging stick, but with the more durable iron counterpart made years ago by the Agency blacksmith; and they traveled to and from the grounds, not on horseback, but in the most modern of automobiles.

If there were tribal members who wanted to have as little as possible to do with whites, they did not thereupon stop speaking English or give up their houses, cars, and radios to accomplish this. They continued to purchase food and other necessary items from white merchants. Indeed, their hostility might find short shrift from another Klamath who commanded more knowledge of the traditional lore and still recounted the old myths to her grandchildren, yet possessed many friends among the whites.

Clearly, there was at Klamath in the latter days of the reserva- 648*
tion no clearly distinguishable category of the "native-oriented," 657*
in the sense of a preferential adherence to the institutions of 177
native life. Deliberate retentions rather served as the diacriticals 178
marking an ethnic nationality.[20] The use of the Klamath language [191]
to signify an Indian estate was one marker. It might be used on

*648 formal occasions in the General Council in a demonstration of
*657 decorative oratory; and there it might also serve a speaker to
• 177 shut out a heckler who knew only English. In such a session, a
178 member in the audience, although fluent in English, might de-
191 mand the services of an interpreter for the purpose of underscoring his Indian status. Similar functions were served when Klamath was spoken in the presence of whites. The ability to shift from one language to another, or from one behavioral modality to another, was akin to the behavior which Polgar has described in the "biculturation" of Fox children.[21]

*648 In the latter days of the reservation, there were few occasions
*657 when tribal members came together for traditional events, and
177 the sessions of the General Council constituted the main remain-
178 ing tribal gathering. Such individuals as our old friend mentioned
623 above had their closest and most continuous relations with chil-
619 dren and grandchildren, who by no means shared their outlook.
571 On the occasional visits of their aged peers, these elders exchanged memories and expressed common concerns which were as much the product of the parallel roles they then performed in their respective families as of the time in which they had grown up.

*648 Such accommodation as there has been to American culture has
*657 not only changed through time with alterations in the state of
177 Klamath and American cultures; but at any single time, Klamath
178 have drawn diversely from what was available. Thus, the small
184 number of families in Chiloquin that have attained a measure of social acceptance by whites of middle or high status have done so by manifesting the appropriate life style. In so doing, unless they are able deftly to shift role-orientations, being now Klamath, now white, they have had to sacrifice close relations with their kin. "Some of my family I never see any more," remarked one such woman, "and I don't want to see them." They often forbade their children to play with undesirable tribal children. Insistence upon household neatness, fastidious emphasis upon personal cleanliness, punctuality, and adherence to self-standards usually accompanied these attitudes.

Inframodal behavior among Klamath in turn has by no means been random in form, but has approximated already established patterns in the dominant culture; often combining them in ways

that seem bizarre. In evading prohibition, as already noted, tribal 648*
members learned successively to operate stills, to patronize and 657*
to serve as bootleggers, and to drink alcoholic extracts. For local 177
roughs, the pug and the cowboy provided glamorous models; 178
and several youths ventured upon the hard trail of the profes- 184
sional boxer. [883]
Although cowboy hats and boots were still worn in the latter days of the reservation, they were giving way among this set to the ducktail haircut and the leather jacket. Drag racing and drinking were pursuits as common among tribal adolescents in Chiloquin as among their peers elsewhere. The intermittent use of marijuana cigarettes and an occasional Pachuco tattoo were evidence of the selective adoption of Inframodal practices.

As a category, the inframodal Klamath were often the immediate descendants of some of the elderly individuals already mentioned, dependent upon them for money once they had squandered their own funds, sometimes residing with them, sometimes "shacking up" in a separate household in a common-law union. They formed but one range of the main body of tribal members, among whom they found associates perhaps as often
as they did among their own sort. They did not habitually asso- [571]
ciate with Inframodal peers among other racial groups, but [573]
characteristically remained in small tribal cliques, of which the [273]
drinking groups were the chief stable expression.[22]

Those tribal members still on the reservation comprised a main body, upon which three lobes might be distinguished: the elders, the Inframodal, and those conformant to American standards. The latter alone had tended to become almost completely cut off from the major body of their fellow tribesmen, save for a few leaders, who had been able to keep the respect of both whites and Klamath. The remainder constituted a single society of strong egalitarian persuasions.

While recognizing that a single criterion must fail as a device 648*
for sorting out categories which are the product of such com- 657*
plexity, a first approximation was attempted in an analysis of the 177
records of a random sample of tribal members in Chiloquin.[23] As 178
sorting criteria, the subjects were first scaled against five some- 184
what overlapping entries involving behavior before the law. Then, 125
working symmetrically from the extremes of the scale, they were

*648 divided into three segments as nearly equal in size as possible.[24]
*657 The symmetrical cuts resulted in a Conformant segment, prevailingly
• 177 law-abiding in record, almost twice as large as the Inframodal
178 category at the other end, which consisted of these
184 persons with the highest record of violations. The Intermediate
125 membership was slightly larger than that of the Conformant.[25]

The characteristics of each of these categories, when contrasted, tend to confirm statements made previously. Members of the Conformant segment were least Indian biologically and included the highest proportion of women. They seem to have come from comparatively smaller families and, with the Intermediate subjects, seem to have received far more adequate parental care than did the Inframodal category. Educational achievements are less distinctive, reflecting the compulsory nature of schooling on the reservation, but again the Inframodal segment lags behind the others in school grade completed. In the measure of engagement in business or ranching and in record of money management, the distinctions are decisive, with the Conformant category far outstripping its fellows and the Inframodal segment at the bottom. Finally, in both the percentage of those married and living with spouse and family as well as in the stability of residence the same order is seen.

In the second part of the study, the thirty Klamath subjects who had given Dr. Clifton responses to the Murray Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)[26] were assigned by judgment to the three segments, the protocols of each category being treated together by a method of analysis previously employed in examining Klamath mythology.[27] When all of the modern TAT segments were combined and contrasted with the myths, the responses were seen to reflect changes which had in fact taken place through time. Thus a trend toward a universalistic outlook
[602] was reflected, along with lessened attention to the ramifications
[594] of kinship, a reduction of the family itself to nuclear form, and
[554] a concurrent diversification of role relationships toward individuals
[571] acting impersonally as employer, policeman, doctor, or teacher. A secularization of life may also be reflected by the scant consideration of religion in the modern protocols.

[571] When the modern TAT segments were compared, the Conformant subjects were seen to place a strong emphasis upon support

given the family by neighbors as well as by the impersonal agents 648*
of society, while making little mention of any kinsmen beyond 657*
the immediate, two-generation family. Members of this category, 177 •
who objectively were least Indian genetically and who mani- 178
fested the highest measure of intermarriage with whites, were 184
the only ones to introduce racial comments in their responses. 125
This may well be taken as evidence of their sensitivity to a [571]
marginal condition. In treating intrafamilial roles, they saw a [829]
strong paternal figure (lacking in the protocols of the other two [593]
segments), but they viewed his authority as one against which
the son repeatedly rebelled. Moreover, contrary to their own
superior record of family stability, members of the Conformant
category envisaged the marital bond as frequently threatened
by feminine interlopers. Here again is an indication that the
Conformant families, like the most acculturated among Vogt's
Navaho veterans,[28] had achieved their condition only at the cost
of gnawing anxiety.

By contrast, both of the remaining TAT segments tended to [602]
stress kinship, for in their protocols a greater reliance is placed
upon grandparents and more remote kinsmen, with correspondingly less dependence upon friends, neighbors, or impersonal
agents. Indeed, the Inframodal subjects tended to view the
latter with suspicion and outright hostility. In neither segment [593]
was the paternal role seen as prominent; and the mother instead
occupied a central position, not disciplining, but strongly supporting her children. Sibling relations, which in the Conformant category had been seen as continuing through life, stood on a lower level among the intermediate subjects, who viewed the bond as existing only in childhood; and were negligible among the Inframodal segment. Similarly, the marital bond appeared to be conceived by Intermediate members as weak, being marked by a succession of casual liaisons, while the Inframodal saw strife between the couple, rather than outside interference, as disrupting the union.

By contrast with Conformant subjects, members of the other
two categories exhibited a far less realistic view of the conditions [829]
making possible achievement, but they did so in different ways. Those of the Intermediate segment seemed to see conformance as a necessary factor for success, although their behavioral record

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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*648 showed them in fact to be deficient here, and they made complex,
*667 conditional statements about it. They seemed uncertain about
• 177 the manner in which a prosperous life was to be achieved. The
178 scofflaw members of the Inframodal category, by contrast, saw
184 accomplishment as the result of individual strengths, rather than
125 of surrogate support. In this, having regard for their family form,
829 they may be regarded as fairly realistic; but attainment for them
often took fantastic forms. One might say that they were content to play with the idea but were unprepared to put it into practice. In their treatment of crime and violence they took a realistic view, as against the Conformant subjects, who also gave it prominence, or the Intermediate category, who seldom discussed it; and they often saw them from the perspective of the violator. Conformant concern with crime and violence, by contrast, was coupled with the view that punishment, often involving remorse as well, was both merited and certain.

*648 Several general comments may be offered. In the first place, the
*657 Conformant subjects stand somewhat apart from members of
177 the other two categories in adherence to standards dominant
178 among whites. A matter of some note is the size of the group.
184 While the size of segments was determined by the purposes of
the study, the impression is strong that a larger proportion of tribal members would seem to be attuned already to values honored in American society than have been accepted by their white peers. Social acceptance, from this point of view, has lagged behind the formation of acceptable attitudes.

There are reasons for this. On the one hand, a number of tribal members approve these attitudes as merely reflecting those of the traditional Klamath. Some of them, despite Conformant behavior, decline to choose white associates if it means giving up ties with Klamath kin and friends. Then, too, among whites the formation of acceptable attitudes and behavior must be accompanied by other qualifications, discussed earlier. Major white stereotypes, as can be seen, have been formed about behavior and attitudes found principally among the minority of Klamath who fall into the Inframodal segment, and these have been extended to characterize tribal members as a whole.

Finally, behavior of Inframodal type is more complex than may appear at first. It was present, in somewhat different form, in

aboriginal Klamath culture; it has assumed some of the aspects 648*
of criminal behavior among whites; and as already noted is 657*
turned against the institutions of the whites and the persons of 177 •
Klamath. If Inframodal individuals are seen as rejecting the 178
ambient culture, they spurn only selected parts of it; and they 184
might have rebelled in similar fashion had they lived in the
native society a century and a half earlier.

There is much that continues to link most tribal members together. The assessment of an earlier paper seems valid.

> An individual may act in a manner that both we and the Klamath define as anti-social. Affected kinfolk may object, but their voice is muted and their efforts frequently null. Yet outside of the group immediately affected, the offender may find ready acceptance and even approval, so long as he has not violated the cultural standards of independence, of indifference to pain, danger, or personal inconvenience, of open-handed liberality, of steadfastness to a friend, and of a shrewd opportunism to others. But because there is now no homogeneous mode of behavior governing relations with members of social groups, and no effective coercive agent, Klamath behavior today probably departs more widely from the mode than it did in aboriginal times.[29] [571]

Thus, in various ways the Klamath have come to be differentially distributed, even within the confines of one small reservation town. Members have become acculturated in behavior and attitude to varying degrees and in divergent directions. Through [563] intermarriage, they have come to manifest a range of biological features, some more acceptable than others to non-Klamath. Finally, they have come to be ranked by whites upon a social gradient, although as a whole they are assigned an inferior position. In turn, historical, cultural, ethnic, and social considerations have led most tribal members to eschew their placement and to maintain a life somewhat apart. A major factor in their sense of separateness is the identity accorded corporate image by the tribal government. The following chapter reviews that institution.

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[Klamath Reservation]

SEVENTEEN

[P.236]

The Tribal Government

*648 FOR NEARLY FIFTY YEARS FOLLOWING ALLOTMENT, THE KLAMATH
*657 tribal government constituted the formal instrument for arriving
619 at common objectives, the ultimate guardian against encroach-
646 ments upon Klamath treaty rights, and the corporate symbol of Indian status. Its form and operations sensitively reflected the interplay of continued efforts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to mold Indian life and the Indian reaction to those efforts. They gave evidence as well of the diversity of opinion which presently arose among tribal members as to the future in which they wished to live.[1]

[423] Central to the importance of the tribal government was the considerable wealth over which it presided: at the close of allotment, tribal property amounted to over 860,000 acres of land, roughly three-fourths of it in prime timber, owned corporately by some 1,150 members. By contrast, the Umatilla reservation, in the northeast section of the state, in 1908 possessed fewer than 2,000 acres in unallotted tribal lands for a comparable (893) membership.

*648 The principal body of the tribal organization was the General
*657 Council, a successor to those sessions convened on occasion in
646 times past to discuss matters of common concern. Such *ad hoc*
623 councils had formerly been found useful to the federal government for mustering a representative Indian body; but with the development of an executive body, the General Council also emerged as a more regular entity. Like its predecessors, it was
[562] originally composed of all the men of the Tribe; after the pas-
[177] sage of the Nineteenth Amendment, the women were added to their number.

*648 Since the highly rationalized bureaucracy of the government
*657 found the occasional councils too unwieldly to handle the in-
646

While the political strength of a family is seen not only in the 648*
succession of interest but in a propensity for members of a family 657*
to vote *en bloc*, this is far from invariably true. The schism 619
separating Jesse Kirk from his half-brother, Joseph, is one prominent 602
instance—and by no means the only one—to the contrary. [665]
In fact, alignment within the family and extended kin has often [578]
been modified by contending considerations.

Nonetheless, for some leaders the solidarity of family sometimes 648*
took precedence over impartiality in the discharge of office. 657*
One tribal council member is quoted as defending his action 661
favoring certain enrollments by the explanation ". . . that since 602
two children were his niece's children, he felt that it was his duty 619
to guard the interests of his minor relatives."[8] Political leaders, seeking to emphasize the purity of their motives, needed to go no further in justification than to declare that they sought only the welfare of their grandchildren.

Although intermarriage and alternative associations have long 648*
overlaid clear identification with the several peoples who had 657*
entered into the treaty, such affiliations have continued to exert 663
political force, however greatly diminished in recent years. In 621
turn, they related to the two broad communities on the reservation. 619
The Lower End remained predominantly Klamath, while Modoc, Paiute, as well as a number of Klamath and Pit River, comprised the Upper End community some forty miles away.
Even after the closing of the subagency at Yainax, the populations [184]
of Sprague River and Beatty continued to reflect the special character of the eastern reservation.

In turn, the relatively easier access of the Lower End to outside [177]•
influences—a subject already reviewed in discussing modern tribal demography—superimposed the effects of differential acculturation and intermarriage upon the traditional subtribal
allegiances that distinguished the two Ends. Difficulty of travel 648*
along the road from the Agency to Yainax had given rise to the 657*
practice, long maintained, of holding separate councils at each 621
place. Thus at the two Ends there had developed political communities 665
responsive to their own local leaders. Harrison Brown, 619
in 1931, played upon a familiar theme when he recognized in Wade Crawford, a leader from the Lower End ". . . a young man who is not a full-blood, who is trying to stir up trouble, and we

EIGHTEEN

Conclusion

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KLAMATH TRIBE UNDER THE PROVISIONS 648*
of the Treaty of 1864 comprised a program of directed change, 657*
paralleling in its general features the relationships of the United 171
States government with diverse other Indian peoples. Because a common policy lay behind the administration of Indian affairs, the history that unfolded at Klamath was similar at many points to developments on other reservations. Since, however, unique characteristics of Klamath culture entered into the equation, and common events were locally mediated, that policy had different effects in execution.

Within the spectrum of American Indian cultures, it was im- 648*
portant that the tribes brought upon the Klamath reservation 657*
were unacquainted with agriculture, but had some knowledge of, 241
and esteem for horse-herding; that while they lacked traditions 233
of large-scale political organization, they placed a premium upon 619
industry and the acquisition of material wealth. These attributes, 181
while by no means unique, were distinctive in their combination; 177
and they gain significance when seen from the perspective of 178
the policy objectives of the government. Similarly, the circumstance that many individuals had already undergone extensive acculturation beyond the Klamath country provided the early Agents with native allies already won over to the prospects of change.

Even the application of a common policy exhibited special 648*
features. Two instances should illustrate the point. The recogni- 657*
tion of the tribal claim to a large domain, together with the [423]
retention of surplus lands after allotment, laid the basis for a [619]
corporate wealth equaled by only a few other reservation peoples. [434]
Later, the rejection of the Indian Reorganization Act during the Collier administration placed the Klamath among a minority of

*648 tribes across the country. The issue was fought employing terms
*657 then common in rural Oregon, which were echoed on the Uma-
*648 tilla reservation, which also rejected the Act. Opponents at both
*657 places contended that the act represented an attempt to impose
171 Communism upon the Indian. Since tribal and personal wealth
at Umatilla was far more modest than at Klamath, the rejection was not so much the act of a reservation plutocracy as a reflection of regional biases present in American society at large.

*648 When this has been said, there remains much, even within the
*657 seemingly unique, at Klamath that transcends the local sphere.
177 The following remarks single out for consideration only one
segment of that history, the period of directed change. Yet it is significant for understanding the period that federal supervision of the Klamath was preceded by a half-century of unguided change, the extent of which was not wholly comprehended by early officials; and that it in its turn was followed by a time in which the administration, while continuing to preside, had once more lost essential control over the subject people. The impact of reservation policy was profoundly modified within that context.

000 Directed change[2] involves the control by a superordinate
people over the behavior of a subject group such that it guides the modification of their behavior in accordance with a plan of superordinate choice. It thus differs from planned change, in which a people modifies its own behavior according to design. Control in the former situation may range from physical coercion, and even the elimination of recalcitrants in the subject society, to the arts of gentle persuasion. All this is directed to the end of rendering the subject people compliant to the measures and goals imposed upon them. The tactic of control may encourage the development of a responsive regulating system within the subordinate society, of whatever nature it may be—political, economic, religious, societal, or a combination of these—in such a way that the guiding group may most efficiently transmit directive pressures to the individual members of the subject population. Vital also is the exclusion of contradictory influences, either from without or from members of the administrative staff.

Strategic concerns govern the choice of goals. Are the subject peoples to be made privy to the grand design, or should they initially be set objectives which, though limited, are soon attain-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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able? What of the priority to be assigned to goals? Are some 000 achievements the necessary precondition to others? Should different segments of the subject people be directed to the attainment of special goals? At what rate should change occur? These illustrations do no more than sample the field.

No agent of change is an advocate of indiscriminate change. He is interested in encouraging modifications in certain areas, but he may well find that in order to attain his goals he must inhibit change at other places. To this may be added that the peoples subject to directed change may well gauge the desirability of the goals imposed upon them by the degree to which they are also the goals of the surrogate peoples. Too, since in directed change the primary advocates are external to the society of those experiencing it, the instrumentalities by which they intervene may prove irreconcilable, not only with the goals seen by the subject people but even with those they themselves seek to impose.

Thus at Klamath a basic incongruity existed between the indi- 648* vidualization of Klamath society and the coercive means some- 657* times employed to achieve that end. A similar disparity lay be- 177 • tween the ideal of an egalitarian American life and the reality of the hierarchical relationship between Agency staff and the Klamath people.

Here were major sources of stress. Implicit in the program was a period of tutelage marked by asymmetrical relationships. In fact, however, the social system of the reservation bore the marks of a castelike hierarchy,[3] in which informal social relations between Agency staff and the Klamath were exceptional. To be sure, tribal members entered into significant secondary relationships as Agency employees and in work-roles off the reservation; and in later times those ties provided the basis for entering into more intimate relations.

What was baffling was this: The material achievements stressed by the administration—in dress, housing, and economy—were often sought as eagerly by the Klamath, and they gradually came around to sending their children to school and going to church themselves. Yet all of these changes, profound though they were, seemed to bring them no closer to an acceptance as equals. As Seldon Kirk was wont to remark in council,

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> When the White men made a treaty with the Klamath in 1864, they said, "In twenty years you will be just like White men, no difference." But when twenty years went by, no White men. And they said, "Twenty years more." After that time still no White men. It is now nearly ninety years, and I ask you, "When will we be like White men?"

This is not meant to claim that the reservation system had failed of the goals which had originally been set. Children were educated and adults retrained to American ways, and in considerable measure the training took hold. Even the resistance of later days often carried the stamp of considerable sophistication. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, after a generation of rule, success had so far operated as to make the system too rigid for the will of the subject people. They were now highly diverse in biological character and in experience, were no longer confined to the reservation, and were open to outside influence at every level. The coming of allotments, the realization of property, and the anticipation of citizenship, while improving the Klamath lot, made them at once impatient with the residual restraints.

By this time, the administrative machinery for handling Indians had become formidably complex; yet, beset with the multiple identities of the Indian, the Bureau had failed to distinguish among its charges upon some scale of acculturative competence.[4] The Bureau was bound largely to the polar concepts of the Indian as subject to supervision and the Indian as citizen with rights to the enjoyment of his property. In its dual responsibility as custodian and as teacher, the Bureau has often found the former an easier task.

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[464]

Perhaps the greatest single instance of that preference in action was the decision permitting the commercial cutting of tribal timber. This was a step advocated by influential Klamath and by administrators alike, yet its effects proved disastrous to ranching enterprises then under way. The Klamath did not come forward to take employment in logging and milling. Nonetheless, Agency operations now could take their stand upon the firm index of success afforded by management of the tribal estate—an index to which superior governmental bodies were attuned. The maintenance of a tribal estate in trust, in its turn, perpetuated the ambivalence of the Klamath position, which in this quality recalls

the "dependent domestic nations" of Justice Marshall's famous 648*
decision. Many Klamath, now that they possessed funds to secure 657*
their material desires, lost incentive to strive. Lacking opportunities 177 •
for training in competence except that offered in youth [434]
at school or—peripherally—in tribal government, many proceeded
to demonstrate their unfitness to handle their own affairs. Spicer[5] [171]
has noted how reservations in the Southwest suffered from being isolated economically from the surrounding regions. This was less the case at Klamath: in the timber exploitation, the reservation was all too closely identified with the dominant needs of the Klamath Basin and the West Coast, to say nothing of the nation at large. Instead, the ultimate needs of the Klamath had dropped out of the calculations.

In a recent analysis of the assimilation of minority groups in 000
American society,[6] Gordon identifies with the major society dimensions of integration which he designates as cultural, structural, marital, and identificational. In his view, cultural assimilation in visible externals is likely to take place first, probably in conjunction with entrance into formal, secondary relationships. Not, however, until members pass into those intimate social relationships termed primary with members of the host society have they achieved a crucial stage in assimilation. Thereafter, Gordon assumes that marital, then identificational, assimilation will follow with time.

Klamath may demur that they do not wish to submerge their 648*
identity through assimilation with Americans, but at least they 657*
have long sought parity. At first through their own efforts, then 177
later through their dividends from timber, they have acquired many of the attributes that are to be equated with Gordon's cultural category. Assimilated at this level, they have failed to be received at their own appraisal into the social system. Geertz[7] has postulated a model of change involving a cumulative imbalance between social and cultural dimensions which may have partial applicability here, for the Klamath have felt keenly the lag in admission to social relationships of which cultural properties already acquired form the symbols.

Caught in limbo, the Klamath have reacted in diverse ways, many of them characteristically individual and indirect. Some have evaded the situation by moving from under reservation

*648 surveillance; they have then had to make their peace in another
*657 community. In other instances, measures—for example, early
• 177 sawmills, drought cattle, loan funds—designed by the administration to be instrumental in helping the Indians to attain distant goals of betterment, were diverted by tribal recipients to provide short-range benefits. Such action, present even in early times, became more pronounced as disillusionment set in; and organized forms of opposition were also added. In a formal character, there
[619] was an insistence upon the prerogatives that marked tribal
identity. Hence the highly emotional attachment to treaty rights, in however altered form hunting and fishing may be exploited; to the tribal government, however criticized its incumbents; and to the self-preserving myth of the past.

*648 There is, however, another side to the Klamath reaction which
*657 is to be seen in the anomic aspects of the life of Intermediate and
177 Inframodal segments of those dwelling in Chiloquin—although
182 this behavior was not limited to that city. Within Chiloquin,
184 those persons manifest many of the traits that Leighton terms
156 disintegrative: a high frequency of broken homes, of hostility, crime, and delinquency; weak development of associations, recreation, communication, and leadership.[8] For the community as a whole, their effect is accurately characterized by his term. At the same time, their behavior had acquired such substantial predictability that the city fathers had come to rely upon it in the form of revenues from the municipal tavern and fines and trusty labor, for a considerable portion of the municipal budget. Under these circumstances, one might fairly say that a stabilized cultural pluralism existed.

*648 A situation like this cannot fail to leave psychological marks,
*657 and indeed Clifton,[9] observing that "there is very little evidence
177 to suggest, unequivocally, that guarded restraint was a dominant
156 component of aboriginal character structure," considers that attribute to be largely a reaction to the complex unpredictabilities of the reservation. Indeed, the Klamath reaction has striking
[171] parallels in the "hostile dependence" of the Sioux[10] and the
"valuation group alienation" of the Aleut;[11] and it bears close resemblance to the situation described for the Ojibway by James,[12] who sees the personality traits he analyzes to have their source in the immediate context of white-Ojibway relations.

Those same traits others[13] had held to be conservatively Ojibway; and marking their counterparts among Menominee and other peoples the Spindlers[14] propose to see in them a common survival of psychological characteristics shared widely by American Indians. Underhill,[15] by contrast, accounts for the commonalty by reference, like James, to experience in a shared situation, the reservation.

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These differences of interpretation are by no means irreconcilable. The writer would agree with James[16] that "the genesis of the modern Indian self lies in the social processes that constitute reservation life," but he would include among those processes such relationships as may have survived in the peculiar cultural environment furnished by the reservation.[17] Favored in persistence at Klamath have been generalized characteristics, rather than complex and specific traits. They have survived in part because they are inculcated during childhood;[18] and the family, within which child-rearing takes place, is one of the structures that has retained distinctive qualities. They are sustained in the quality of primary relationships and are rooted in the individual, often at an unconscious level.[19] As Spencer observes, "The diffuseness of the social structure may be regarded as a survival from the heritage of the past, while individual activity continues to be couched in essentially aboriginal terms."[20] Reservation existence has provided, however, an ever changing context—albeit somewhat sheltered from the rapidly changing environs—in response to which enduring features have undergone modification.

[114] 648* 657* 156 177 178 [571]

To take the quality of guarded restraint, which Clifton regards as characteristic of the personality configuration of modern Klamath, one can indeed trace continuities with the past. In the myths there are present themes of watchful waiting and the use of subterfuge in dealing with strangers and foes, and a wary reserve in conflict with affinals.[21] In traditional relationships, as Spencer has shown, sub-rosa patterns of aggression characterized "hostility . . . driven underground" by public disapproval.[22] That covert revenge has persisted is evidenced by historic records of several murders, of such acts as the firing of a haystack in 1897, attributed by the victim in part to the perpetrators' "envy of his prosperity . . .";[23] and to modern incidents of the same nature. Today jealousy is frequently attributed to unspecified others,

648* 657* 156 177 178 571 [538]

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*648 usually Klamath by inference and to be identified only in part
*657 with feuding groups. It may well be that such a projection is an
156 indication in many modern Klamath of an alienation from their
• 177 own membership group. More central to the issue taken here,
178 however, is the probability that under the tensions of reservation
571 life guarded restraint, once restricted to a few role relationships, has become generalized to a much broader range of contexts, while at the same time it has grown to be a pervasive characteristic of Klamath personality.

*648 The modern situation at Klamath, with its measure of human
*657 disengagement, apathy, and generated hostility, may be inter-
156 preted by some as justification for the abolition of the reservation
177 there and as an indictment of reservations everywhere. Such
178 conclusions are likely to be far too sweeping. The Klamath situation was a consequence of a reservation become a holding operation, with a program that had ground to a halt. Ironically, termination of the reservation was founded upon the premise that the Klamath had attained a successful level of integration with their white neighbors. It may not be concluded that problems have automatically been solved by the action taken; nor may it be maintained that other, less drastic steps, if taken in time, might not have proved more effective.

*648 For many Indian peoples reservations are a highly significant
*657 reality, constituting the only familiar homeland, the major con-
171 tinuity with the past, the sole real property, and the principal token of the government's resolution to honor pledges made long ago. At the same time, chosen with an eye to native exploitation or to the needs of the small farm of the nineteenth century, they are often unfitted to support a population by current standards. They thus pose the dilemma embodied in schemes on the one hand for local development and on the other for the relocation of Indian families. Sweeping measures are inappropriate; each reservation merits consideration in its own terms. Yet it would be shortsighted to seek only for material advancement, essential though this is; for, as the Klamath instance shows, unless the program give men hope, they languish even in prosperity.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

March 24, 1875

539 **TECUMSEH**
DEAR BROTHER

I write to let you know that George's little babe is dead and will
be buried today. George says that he don't want you to get a sick
[764] tumtum about it. That he thinks it is all right. That he is going to do
[177] as White men do—that is—bury it decently, with one blanket—some
white sal[*]—and a nice white shirt only, in the coffin. He wants you to
be contented and happy, as he, and all of his people are.

Allie

[*] Cloth

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79. *Report* . . . , U.S. 39th Cong., 2d sess., p. 89.

80. F. B. Sprague to Lindsay Applegate (Nov. 16, 1867). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

81. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Sept. 9, 1874).

82. E. P. Smith, Commr., to L. S. Dyar (Sept. 27, 1875).

83. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 44th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1876–77), Vol. 4, Pt. 5, 524.

84. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Nov. 25, 1880).

85. *Message of the President of the United States and Accompanying Documents to the Two Houses of Congress,* U.S. 39th Cong., 1st sess. (1865–66), *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, p. 271.

86. Letter, Knapp to Parker (May 2, 1870), quoted in Nash (1937), p. 391; in *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 41st Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1870–71), Vol. 4, Pt. 4, 532.

87. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Sept. 3, 1875).

88. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Dec. 16, 1880).

89. Thomas M. Nichol, Acting Commr., to L. M. Nickerson (Feb. 17, 1881).

90. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Dec. 7, 1880). K

91. H. Price, Commr., to L. M. Nickerson (June 2, 1881). See also another proposal by Nickerson to issue shop tools through the chiefs, so that shops could be maintained in various localities. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Jan. 26, 1884), as well as the proposal by E. L. Applegate to issue tools and farm implements to competent Indians. E. L. Applegate to T. J. Morgan, Commr. (Jan. 15, 1890). [412] [177]

92. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge (Jan. 1, 1881), report for December of preceding year.

93. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Sept. 12, 1884).

94. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Aug. 1, 1883), report for July.

95. J. Emery to J. D. C. Atkins, Commr. (Aug. 1, 1887), report for July.

96. J. Emery to T. J. Morgan, Commr. (Aug. 24, 1889).

97. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (May 28, 1883).

SIX. POLITICAL CHANGES

1. He was the first Modoc signatory to the treaty. *Statutes at Large,* Vol. 16 (1871), p. 710.

2. George B. Curry, Col., 1st Oregon Infantry, to J. W. P. Huntington (Nov. 17, 1865), O. C. Applegate *Papers.*

3. In a letter from E. Steele to Commanding Officer, Fort Klamath, M 657 648

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

M walked with the cradle on her back, it was bound down with a
K piece of buckskin, and there was in some cases a harder material
304 used in connection with the buckskin, such as a small piece of
854 board, or a piece of willow basketry. These headbands were, of
course, properly padded to prevent actual injury to the child's
head, but the pressure was sufficient and was so adjusted that it
caused a decided flattening of both the front and back of the
M head. The younger generation has not been subjected to this
K cradle treatment and does not show the flattening, but among the
[178] older Klamath and Modoc the flattening is very pronounced.
M K Probably due to the influence of the Shoshonean peoples to the
854 east, the cradle board finds some use among the Lutuami, but the
• 177 woven tule and willow cradles are typical of the region.

M In addition to the various articles of dress mentioned in speaking
K of the uses of tule, the Klamath and Modoc make a belt
291 either from the fiber of the inner bark of certain trees or from
286 human hair. These are worn by the women in every-day dress.
Plate 17, fig. 7, shows one of these belts of fiber.

287 As a brush for dressing the hair the tail of the porcupine is
M used (pl. 22, fig. 2). Usually the longer spines are removed and
K the skin of the tail is then stuffed either with shredded tule or
302 with shredded sage-brush bark. In dressing the hair the brush
237 is drawn through it directly against the points of the spines,
which, as may be seen from the illustration, lie almost flat.

K As before mentioned the Klamath have many vegetable foods
262 in addition to the wokas. Most of these are derived from small
plants, but the pine furnishes one. The inner bark of some of
the species of pine is much esteemed as a food and there is a
[237] special implement used in taking it. This knife-like bone implement
(pl. 22, fig. 5) is used in separating the inner from the
outer bark, and is usually made from a deer rib or from a rib
of one of the other large animals.

SUMMARY.

M The Klamath and Modoc people possess a specialized culture,
K due largely to the extensive use of tule in the making of houses,
285 basketry, and various utensils. The only baskets made of a
harder material are conical burden baskets, triangular sifters, a

6:Clifton & Levine E,P-4,5 (1958-1959) 1963 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Reservation

Foreword

114 I shall not comment in this Foreword, which Dr. Clifton graciously asked me to write, on the technical qualities of these studies in the Culture and Personality tradition. It is of particular significance to me that this study of personalities should be added to the impressive series on the life history of a people, a series of studies, of a single people, probably unique in anthropology. The prehistory, the ethnography, the ethno-history, the linguistics, the period of white contact on the reservation and its vicissitudes, and the termination of the reservation have all been studied in detail and comprehensively. Dr. Clifton's study, while not a specific part of the series of studies directly relating to the processes involved in implementing the federal legislation terminating the reservation, was closely related to them. From the point of view of those of us who hope that Social Science will provide the information on which public policy is based it would have been fortunate to have used the rich fund of actual and potential information on the Klamath Indians to provide a sound demonstration of the use of scientific knowledge to formulate public policy. The results of the kind of study made by Dr. Clifton added to the other information available would have provided the basic data for a significant demonstration of how wise planning in the use of scientific knowledge might be used to formulate a policy, humane, significant in terms of human values and as an expression of enlightened democratic government. The political arm of the government, however, ignored completely the scientific [177] resources at its disposal. The analysis of personalities so effectively set forth in this study makes it quite clear to all except the most naive that the problems of adjustment which have been so apparent during the period of the Klamath Reservation were not automatically solved by the final act of Termination. But that will be another story.

L.S. Cressman

Eugene, Oregon
June 30, 1961

121 had been founded. There was, for example, no evidence for anything remotely
181 approximating a "Native Oriented" group on the reservation. Moreover, it became
054 apparent that a particular style of personal adjustment was by no means
characteristic of the majority of individuals throughout their life-spans.
So called "Transitional" modes of adjustment, for example, might be used to characterize the confused orientations, the value conflicts, and the disorganized family life of persons early in their life arc, but the same persons frequently settled down to a respectable, stable "Elite Acculturated" mode of existence in middle age. Or this sequence might frequently be reversed.

125 However, the formal sampling approach was jettisoned primarily because of the
123 many refusals among the samples. That such a reaction might reflect important
variables and hence prejudice the reliability of the consequent approach was considered, but it was apparent that the major cause for refusal was the absence of an existing friendship relation between subjects and field-worker (or some influential intermediary). Moreover, an analysis of the status of those who refused indicated that this reaction was neither confined to nor clustered within any identifiable grouping.

125 For these reasons, attention was given to securing what may be called a deliberately
representative sample of the reservation population. The criteria of representativeness included variations in social roles assumed by the subjects (occupation, sex, leadership, and so on), variations in role performance, differences
123 in standards and values, and age differences. When appropriate subjects
were known personally by the Anthropologist, they were approached directly.
If no friendship relation existed, potential subjects were, less frequently, approached through the recommendations and aid of an intermediary, or, finally, a direct effort was made to become acquainted with a suitable subject. In all instances, an existing friend relationship proved the more successful mode of approach. For reasons to be suggested in the next section, there are few Klamath persons whose influence is both high and extensive, and, conversely, few who
123 can easily accept external imposition of controls. Thus intermediaries, whatever
their manifest status, rarely could elicit the cooperation of more than one suitable subject. The result of this effort was a set of Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Test Records, and short life-histories on a sample of fifty four persons, which sample could for the purposes of the research be considered as
128 reasonably representative of the target population. The ten case studies in this
report were selected from the original sample so as to provide as much variety as possible in the limited confines of these pages.

Aside from the problems of obtaining an adequately representative sample, there is another aspect of the field method used in the Klamath study which may be of
123 some interest. In each instance the potential subject was made aware of the intentions
of the field worker and the purposes of testing and interviewing. It
181 will be clear from the next section that the contemporary Klamath are in no relevant
sense "primitive," nor are they an isolated population. Indeed, many
125 subjects were familiar with the "ink-blot" test from television programs, movies,
177 or hearsay information. More generally, the major task, that of identifying
ambiguous stimuli, was associated with the simple game of "seeing faces in the clouds" or figures in rock formations. Further, most Klamath under fifty years of age are sufficiently experienced in the practices of American culture to have some personal familiarity with the "test situation," whether personality, aptitude, vocational, or intelligence. Thus there was a shared basis for this peculiar form of interaction.

Because it is for several reasons considered important, the fact that each 125
Klamath subject was, in general terms, made aware of the intentions of the 123
examiner and the logic of the test procedure should be emphasized. Recently,
Hauck has described a different approach used for research among the Unitah- 125
Ouray Ute, where he modified the usual Rorschach procedure by concealing the 114
purposes of the test beneath a supposedly innocuous "cover story" (Hauck 1955: 10).

This approach to field testing is subject to criticism on several grounds. In 125
the first place, it is somewhat less than ethical to conceal the purposes of a 123
test so as to facilitate cooperation, and then to publish results in line with
original intentions. Occasionally, this approach has been used in culture and (114)
personality research. It entails the assumption of a kind of mechanical meaningfulness
of any responses to projective tests, however administered, and whatever
the test taking attitude of the subject. At a minimum, the subject has the right
of knowing what he is involved in and the privilege of refusing. Secondly,
where clinical methods of interpretation are to be employed, it is essential
that field research using projective tests as closely as possible approximate
the clinical situation. This assumes that the cooperating research subject is
more apt to reveal important aspects of himself if he clearly understands the
intentions of the examiner. Indeed, one purpose of projective testing is to 12
facilitate communication about difficult topics, not to unduly impede it with
artificial barriers.

Another aspect of this issue is that most American Indian populations include 12
some members with higher education, or, like the Klamath, others with some 177
awareness of the "ink-blot" or the "picture" test via spectatorship in the mass (171)
media. Because of this awareness, any subterfuge or concealment of test objectives
may be publically revealed and further distorted. The consequence of this
can only be a confused or negative appraisal of field research and field researchers.
Given the existing wariness and suspicion of many American Indian
populations and their concern with their status as "Guinea Pigs," such an outcome
is not very desirable. Finally, it is quite conceivable that another field
worker might want to pursue similar research in a situation where the purposes
of a test have been concealed. If so, he will have to support the original lie,
either by accepting it or by expanding upon it.

Quite frequently, the success of field research in the area of culture and 12
personality studies turns upon obtaining an adequate sampling of a population
in a very limited period of time. Perhaps, as is suggested by the extensive
sampling of Hallowell and the Spindlers in repeated field sessions, it is the time
factor which is crucial. In terms of the ethics of research, the validity of
results, the richness of materials collected, the possible consequences of
distorting objectives so as to obtain cooperation, and the implications for
future field work, the alternative approach of using a "cover story" to obtain
quick results is not desirable.

The Klamath personality research grew out of Clifton's participation in a larger 114
study of Klamath reservation culture. The initial, unpublished, evaluation
of the test and life history data was intended to improve understanding of the
psychological consequences of acculturation in the Klamath case and to give
additional depth to other studies of styles of Klamath behavior. This first
approximation, although suggestive, did not prove entirely satisfactory, largely
because of too mechanical a utilization of what are, in the trade, called
"standard interpretative hypotheses." In short, the initial report was too
cookbookish. At the same time the possibility of bias had to be considered,

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 101
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's 177
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological [184]
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy,
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present [224]
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly 648
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties:
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an ar- [829]
tificial construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet 178
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-resi-
dence with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been trans- 648
ferred to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural [241]
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber indus-
try has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have [511]
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
648 towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
36 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation,
by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically,
less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
[657] efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities
[726] were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
[786] 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
[181] in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
[556] wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased
opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members,
434 as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited
[251] bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
[848] out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
[177] is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
596 there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
[177] extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, *de facto* groupings
rather than *de jure*. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organiza-
[594] tion of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obliga-
592 tory responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-
592 father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly ex-
treme cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual owner-
ship of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with re-
gard to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
434 children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

882
155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
156 is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
[462] in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
426 example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circum-
829 vented, and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
657 familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

and the modes of behaving through which the Klamath interact with their behavioral 181
milieu. For this reason it is not to be supposed that White exclusionism 657
or Agency policy alone are the significant antecedents of the stable
pluralism of reservation life. For a Klamath to leave the amorphous atmosphere
of his home or the circle of his drinking pals to enter into the unfamiliar and
unprepared-for activities of White life is a source of fear and anxiety.

Thus, however it may seem to the outsider, the existing way of life on the
Klamath reservation offers substantial predictability to tribal members, a place
to live, a corporate body with which to identify, and multiple stable human
relationships. As a cultural system it may be stable in form although changing
in detail, and therefore this novel set of human relationships is not likely
to quickly disappear. The Klamath today may not be the same persons who were [177]
settled on the reservation a century ago, and aboriginal Klamath, Modoc, and
Paiute cultural attributes may have disappeared, yet they are still self-consciously [171]
Indian. In studies of acculturation, it is frequently argued that groups
like the Klamath are marginal, that is, hung suspended between two cultural 181
worlds. We feel that such a metaphor is both confusing and misleading. It 657
assumes the presence of a reasonably intact cultural alter of aboriginal design
and a unilineal path of acculturation process. As indicated above, the former 121
is not present on the contemporary Klamath reservation. As to the latter, we
argue that the structural consequences of acculturation are many, and a lineal
assimilation process is only one of them. The Klamath situation, we feel, is
that of an unassimilated minority group which is itself very actively engaged in
maintaining its special position and which is subject to multiple external
pressures for maintaining its present boundaries. The Klamath are, therefore,
in a position analogous to religious and racial enclaves. They are a group
distinct from and in some ways opposed to American culture who fit, as it were,
into a special niche in the larger structure of American society. If the term
marginality is to be used with reference to any Klamath individual it can only
refer to his orientation towards conflicting reference groups in the heterogeneous
contemporary community.

Section III. Approach to the Rorschach Protocols

The interpretive approach to the Rorschach protocols was dictated to a large 121
extent by the overall purpose of the investigation. An avowedly inductive 125
and idiographic study requires a broadly clinical, not a narrowly statistical,
analysis of the obtained Rorschach responses. The conclusions reached on the
basis of this kind of research may be considered hypotheses to be tested in
controlled deductive research.

The validity of the Rorschach method for personality exploration is not at issue
in the present study; there are obviously more clear-cut and efficient research
methods available for that purpose. Rather, the test is being utilized as one
means of gaining insights about the adaptive mechanisms of individuals in a
particular sub-group that is undergoing an acculturation process — a case-study
approach. These insights may lead hopefully to theoretical advances in
that area of study called Culture and Personality.

From this statement of the general purpose of the research, several specific 121
methodological decisions follow. It becomes clear immediately that there will
be no comparisons of groups by statistical methods and few statistical tabulations
of group means and standard deviations. There will be no description of
that artificial construct — the modal Klamath personality. On the contrary,

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159 Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White seg-
[156] ments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but
in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
[871] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
[586] fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of
the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of
numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
[597] an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has
spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was
closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became
dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
[874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She
took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if
she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[857] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child
nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she
had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
•177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them
her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., per-
[608] sons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an ad-
visor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making
a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
[273] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my
glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its
walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is asso-
ciated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is
noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites,
for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, be-
cause she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 67

Background Data

*159
156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, particularly in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
[593] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma
William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
[733] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
[83] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by
three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
[587] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She
[871] completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and
she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri,
[178] California, and Mexico.

[651] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father
for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation
[464] and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous
bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal
penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her
sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five,
and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their
violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how
such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
[577] Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams
is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
[177] a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values,
and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of
either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and
has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[191] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her
English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that children
[871] today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I
can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
[593] no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her
children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this respect,
[603] Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal,
[867] behaviors in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of
place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations
with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at
riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them
coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
[657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was
carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
[871] and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
[177] seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who
promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were rejected
from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate interchanges
156 and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses

Lily: Female, Age 15

Background Data 159*

Lily is an attractive young high school freshman. She is now repeating her 156
freshman year, due to various difficulties the year before. One of these in-
volved her cursing the principal, for which she was temporarily expelled, to [873]
be returned by her mother the next day. She spent the rest of the year in
silent rebellion. This incident is not too serious, for more than anything [561]
else it indicates the strength of her attachment to a close-knit girls peer-
group which is slightly wild and which makes it a matter of honor to oppose
adults. There is little additional evidence of any serious hostility or re-
belliousness. Lily is the eldest of two children; she has an elder half-sister,
her mother's illegitimate daughter; and she has lived all of her life on the
reservation.

Lily's major activities and concerns are those of a typical, small town teen- [883]
age girl. She attends school, "hangs around" a local teen age center, flirts
with the boys — White and Indian, dances — at her home or the home of a friend,
and listens to records. She comes from one of the most stable families on the
reservation. Her mother is Klamath, a grade school graduate who worked her way [874]
through two years of business school, evenings, in a nearby city. Her mother in
recent years has begun to assume a position of leadership in certain community [571]
activities, particularly recreation and education. Additionally, she has for
long been the advisor for numerous relatives. Her mother verbalizes great fear
and anxiety associated with this "getting out" and has done so only under con-
siderable external pressure. Her father is a California Indian who is the model [177]
of local White conceptions of masculinity. That is, he is vigorous and physi-
cally powerful, a hard, reliable, steady worker in a logging company, a hard [464]
"Saturday Night" style drinker, absolutely fearless, and a masterful fighter
in brawls. His fights are the focus of several local folk anecdotes, and suggest [157]
his excellent reputation, for he protects the underdog, takes on the bully (by
the half-dozen, if necessary), neatly dispatches all and never bears a grudge.

Lily is a more flexible and less submissive person that she would seem on first 159*
acquaintance. The difficulty with knowing her is that she wears a completely 157
impassive, rigid, unexpressive mask before all. One morning after knowing her
for a year the writer walked by her and then stopped, mildly startled, for Lily
had smiled (slightly) and mumbled "Good Morning" under her breath. She is also [123]
less inhibited than this mask of impassivity would suggest, as is evident from
her behavior with her peers and parents, but in all instances she prefers to
communicate with slight gestures and to make do with very few words. She is,
in fact, a remarkably self-possessed, poised, and reserved adolescent girl, a
consequence of which is that she is far more graceful than many other local girls
her own age. But, generally, her responses only minimally involve her with 159*
others. She is always among people, but not always with them. Her reserve does 156
not dissipate much with continued acquaintance, but is a constant feature of her
mode of adjusting to others. She never talks freely and her terse responses to
the blots and TAT cards are paralleled by an equal economy in all personal re-
lationships. There is no evidence to suggest that she is suspicious or distrust-
ful of others, although she can be quite persistent in avoiding people she does
not like.

*159
157 There are no indications of peculiar thinking or intellectual impairment, but the total absence of color responses does reflect a poverty of emotional responsiveness. She appears to be a laconic, taciturn youngster. Her free associations are stated briefly and not spontaneously elaborated.

157 The Rorschach gives us, then, the picture of a stereotyped, overly conventional
156 adjustment. She is a "good" girl who does what she is told and uses her fantasy
to gain the little instinctual gratification she gets. The fact that her smile
[154] comes as she is describing "teenagers dancing" suggests that, like most youngsters
her age, peer relationships are particularly important to her and that this i.
not an area of particular threat. It is probably the male authority figure who
is her difficulty.

*159
156 This protocol contains the first overt comment concerning an acculturation
*177 process. One can perceive her distance from her father in her discussion of
R10: "...it's supposed to get whoever they sing for well." Her objectivity
here indicates that she is a part of the generation which is undergoing accul-
turation. She can apparently look, with distance, at her father's tribe's cus-
[121] toms. One wonders to what extent this cultural change is a factor in her diffi-
cult relations with her father, or whether — with Freud — it's the "universal
Oedipus complex" we see here.

This is a conventional record to the point of constriction: 5 or 6P; F plus per-
cent adequate; several M; no major shocks. Only the absence of color responses
stands out. We are left with the question of how and why this youngster has
[121] buried her feelings so completely? Although this is a brief record, we hazard
the guess that it is the stress of acculturation which has created the over-
control which characterizes this girl's adjustment (R10).

121
156 vague identification and, since it is largely through identification that the
562 super-ego is established, weak super-egos.

593 It has been suggested that what we have called guarded restraint may be a "front"
121 maintained only when Klamath are interacting with whites. The point is that
guarded restraint may be another name for the extreme suspicion and reserve of
156 many enclaved or colonized minority groups vis-a-vis representatives of the
177 dominant culture (Underhill 1960). It cannot be denied that, in fact, reserve
[171] and suspicion do characterize much of the relationship between Klamath and Whites,
but the reserve and restraint which so characterize Klamath persons is not solely
a function of such situations. We agree that guarded restraint is one important
consequence of acculturative contacts, but the evidence of observation and life
histories clearly indicate that this is a personality attribute manifest in many
[829] situations exclusive of the presence of outsiders. Life history subjects, for
example, speak of the "Indianness" of their parents, meaning precisely an aloof,
reserved style of interaction. Many other informants verbalize reactions to the
endemic if latent suspiciousness of Klamath life. Thus guarded restraint is not
purely an observer construct with a referent limited to the test situation. Certainly, a measure of reserve and suspicion may serve utilitarian functions when
interacting with strangers, but the same characteristic makes strangers out of
neighbors.

121 Underhill's suggestion does raise the issue of a broader connection between
156 guarded restraint and the impact of acculturation. If there is such an association then we should expect to find these attributes widely distributed among
177 other acculturated populations, especially those which have been exposed to the
171 imposition of external political and administrative controls, and deculturation
or detribalization. That there may be some validity to this hypothesis is sugges-
157 ted by the fact that attempts to communicate our findings to observers with experience among other acculturated populations frequently evoke memories of similarity in character. What we have called guarded restraint has been suggested as characteristic of the contemporary Southern Ute (Stewart 1961) and especially the Mountain or Towoac Ute (Canan 1961), and of the Cree, Northern Athabascan, and Eskimo (Heinrich 1961). In each instance there are differences, but differences which seem to play upon a common theme.

Personality attributes analogous to what we have called guarded restraint have repeatedly been discerned among other more or less acculturated North American Indian populations. Thus Barnouw describes the Wisconsin Chippewa as emotionally isolated, suspicious of outsiders, and fearful of expressing emotions overtly (Barnouw 1950: 22-23). Klopfer's analysis of Chippewa Rorschachs suggests that "...the individual is under pressure to become as emotionally independent of his environment as possible, and to expect very little from others." (Barnouw 1950: 27). The Ojibwa have been described as emotionally restrained, suspicious, and anxious (Hallowell 1955: 350). Hallowell's interpretation of these characteristics is that they constitute persistent aboriginal components of Ojibwa character structure. In a similar fashion, the Native-Oriented Menomini have been described by Spindler as a group characterized by a non-defensive reduction of emotional display, whose perception is narrowed to only a very selective portion of their environment, and who are further characterized by a non-manipulatory passivity. Outside of the presumed character structure of the Eastern Woodlands, the most widely distributed "aboriginal" characteristics of North American Indians, generally, are given by the Spindlers as non-demonstrative emotionality, great reserve, individual autonomy, and a generalized fear of the world as dangerous (Spindler and Spindler 1957: 148).

On the face of these parallel descriptions it would seem that the Klamath are 121
similar, as regards guarded restraint, to a variety of differently situated, 156
differentially acculturated North American Indian populations, populations with 157
diverse cultural heritages. These similarities are, of course, susceptible to
different explanations. It would be a simple matter, for example, to explain 171
away the similarities as false, that is, as being a function of unreliable tech-
niques of assessment and highly ambiguous descriptive constructs or constructs 177
lacking in validity. Aside from being no explanation at all, this approach would [114]
involve discarding most of the available cross-cultural psychological data as
well as existing assessments of the personality dynamics of North American Indians.
Although this is the course advocated by many methodological puritans in the area
of culture and personality research we choose to accept the similarities as valid.

A second way of explaining these similarities might invoke the assumption of an underlying "North American Indian" character structure or basic personality analogous to Devereux's delineation of a core personality type for the Plains (Devereux 1951). Accepting this assumption the persistence of core traits must then somehow be accounted for. In the instance of the Plains, Devereux presents one possibility, namely that acculturation has resulted in a "stripped-down" and impoverished personality type (Devereux 1951: 25). Somewhat differently, Hallowell and his followers have argued that basic personality somehow manages to weather the vicissitudes of history and acculturation (Hallowell 1955: 309; Spindler 1955: 151). The common feature of both of these explanations is the [114]
assumption of an underlying, basic set of psychological characteristics linked to aboriginal prototypes and common to the population occupying a given culture area.

In the instance of the Klamath there is very little evidence to suggest, un- 121
equivocally, that guarded restraint was a dominant component of aboriginal char- 156
acter structure. The information is scanty and points to the definite presence 157
of great reserve and considerable suspicion, but only as one mode of interper-
sonal relations among others. Moreover, the Klamath reservation situation does 177
not allow a comparison of differentially acculturated groups after the model
used by Hallowell for the Ojibwa, and the effort to apply Spindler's technique [657]
of an internal comparison raised more problems than it resolved in this setting. [171]
Finally, the evidence from the Klamath psychological data indicates that, if
anything, older members of the tribe are less reserved and suspicious. In short,
we cannot assert from available evidence that guarded restraint was basic or
dominant in aboriginal Klamath character structure. We suggest that at minimum
this characteristic was present, but that it did not receive the emphasis it
now gets.

Aside from this difficulty, there are a great many conceptual problems associated 121
with the postulation of an underlying, basic trait of guarded restraint for the 156
North American Indians generally. We feel that it is stretching the point to
attempt to account for present similarities among unrelated cultures of such 157
different cultural heritages with a construct so broad. Due to the absence of 171
firm measures of aboriginal character structure this approach to explanation also
involves substantial methodological problems which are not easily resolved.

Instead of explaining contemporary similarities in either of these ways it is 121
possible to view modern Indian populations in the light of common acculturative 156
experiences and their status as dependent wards, as enclaved minority groups,
and as persons who have been promised much but who have attained little. Spindler 157
has suggested that when acculturation conditions permit both a ready identification 171
177

121 156 157 171 177 with the values of the dominant culture and provide access to the institutionalized means of attaining desired goals there will be a successful psychological adaptation to dominant standards, but that when these conditions do not exist then there may be overt change in the content of culture unaccompanied by changes in psychological characteristics (Spindler 1955: 199). In the same way, Hallowell suggests that constant association with powerful external agents, multiple conflicting sources of reward and punishment and the ridicule and invidious comparisons which too frequently accompany acculturation situations may result in extreme feelings of insecurity, personality maladjustment, and what he calls the "frustration of maturity" (Hallowell 1955: 329).

[178] Spindler's dual hypotheses are, of course, not the only alternative consequences of acculturation situations. We feel that between these polarities there are different modes of adaptation open, modes similar to those suggested by Hallowell. We therefore assert, hypothetically, that the defensive, guarded, reserved style of interaction now characteristic of the Klamath is the product of the deterioration and decay of major patterns of aboriginal Klamath culture, a prolonged exposure to and considerable identification with the values and standards of the dominant White society, and the persistent denial of access to the means and instrumentalities necessary to achieve these goals and to live up to the standards. We argue, in this way, that there are a great many similarities between diverse American Indian populations as noted by many observers, that these similarities do not constitute the residue of generic Indian character traits, but that they are a function of a common depressed minority group status within contemporary American society. Our analysis of this is that these components, specifically, the guardedness, the reserve, the suspicion, and the lack of involvement in creative group activity, are very much analogous to what various sociologists speak of as alienation or anomie (Merton 1957: 121-194; Nettler 1957; Seeman 1961).

000 on nature, physically and mentally, than we are. What distinguishes the civilized man from the primitive man of our days and of prehistoric ages is his greater faculty of turning to account the patent and the hidden powers of nature, or the invention of handicrafts, arts, and sciences. In this the savage man lags far behind the man of culture, and although we often have to admire the ingenuity and shrewdness displayed by the American native in his hunting and fishing implements and practices, the art of agriculture, without which there can be no real human culture, has never been pursued to any considerable extent by the Indians living north of the thirtieth parallel of latitude.

512 The climate of their home compels the Máklaks Indians to lead an
157 active and laborious life. Except in the coldest days of winter they are
[147] almost always engaged in some outdoor work, either hunting, fishing, or
cutting wood, gathering vegetal food, or traveling on horseback. Pursuits like these and the pure, bracing air of the highlands render their constitutions hardy and healthy, their minds active, wide awake, and intelligent. They are quick-sighted and quick in their acts, but slow in expressing delight, wonder, astonishment, or disgust at anything they see. Often they do not grasp the meaning of what they observe being done by the white people, and thus appear to us indifferent to many of the highest attainments
177 of modern culture. Children and adults are prone to reject or slow to adopt
[178] the blessings of civilization, because many of these are of no practical use
to a hunting and fishing people, and others are past their understanding.

The first things they generally adopt from the white people are the citizen's dress and handy articles of manufacture, as beads, tobacco, knives, guns, steel traps; also wagons and other vehicles; for when in possession of these last the horses, which they had obtained long before, can be put to better account They are also quick in adopting English baptismal names, sometimes discarding but oftener retaining their descriptive or burlesque nomenclature from the Klamath language. Gradually they adopt also with the money of the white man the elements of arithmetic, and learn to compute days and months according to his calendar. After another lapse of time they introduce some of the white man's laws, discard polygamy and slavery,

177 bury their dead instead of cremating them, and commence to acquire a smattering of English. Indian superstitions, conjurers' practices are not abandoned before the white man's ways have wrought a thorough change in their minds; and a regular school attendance by children can not be expected before this stage of progress has been reached.

157 [721] In his moral aspects the Klamath Indian is more coarse and outspoken than the white man, but in fact he is not better and not worse. He has attacked and enslaved by annual raids the defenseless California Indian simply because he was more aggressive, strong, and cunning than his victim; his family relations would be a disgrace to any cultured people, as would also be the method by which the chiefs rule the community. But the passions are not restrained among savages as they are or ought to be among us, and the force of example exhibited by Indians of other tribes is too strong for them to resist.

121 157 The character of men in the hunter stage depicts itself admirably well in the mythic and legendary stories of both chieftaincies. Low cunning and treacherous disposition manifest themselves side by side with a few traits of magnanimity hardly to be expected of a people formerly merged in a sort of zoolatric fetichism. There is, however, a considerable power of imagination and invention exhibited in these simple stories, and many of the ferocious beasts are sketched in a truly humorous vein.

Man's morals are the product of circumstances, and the white man who judges Indian morals from the Christian standard knows nothing of human nature or of ethnologic science. The moral ideas of every nation differ from those of neighboring peoples, and among us the moral system of every century differs from that of the preceding one. 000 The fact that the Modocs showed themselves more aggressive and murderous towards the white element than the Klamath Lake Indians may thus be explained by the different position of their homes. The latter being more secluded have not molested Americans sensibly, whereas the annals of the Modocs, who lived in an open country, are filled with bloody deeds. They are of a more secretive and churlish disposition, and what Stephen Powers, who saw them shortly after the Modoc war, says of them is, in some respects, true: "On the whole,

175 to be paid only after the ratification of the treaty by the President and the
648 Senate, which did not take place till five years after the conclusion, viz,
657 February 17, 1870. Meanwhile the Indians were always subject to the possibility of being removed from the homes of their ancestors by the stroke of a pen. The bungling composition of the document appears from the fact that a grave mistake was committed by inserting the term "east" instead of *west* (italicized in our text above), and by not mentioning the land grant made to the Oregon Central Military Wagon Road Company before 1864, which, when insisted upon, would, with its twelve-mile limits, take away the best parts of the Reserve, the Sprague River Valley, for instance. At the time when I visited the country, in the autumn of 1877, the Klamath Lake Indians showed much animosity against the settlers establishing themselves within their domain. The company having left many portions of their projected wagon road unfinished, Congress, by act approved March 2, 1889, directed the Attorney-General to cause suits to be brought within six months from that date, in the name of the United States, in the United States Circuit Court for Oregon, to try the questions, among others, of the seasonable and proper completion of said road, and to obtain judgments, which the court was authorized to render, declaring forfeited to the United States all lands lying conterminous with those parts of the road which were not constructed in accordance with the requirements of the granting act. (Cf. on this subject Ex. Doc. 131, House of Representatives, Forty-ninth Congress, first session, and Ex. Doc. 124, Senate, Fiftieth Congress.)

The first representative of the Government, Subagent Lindsey Applegate, erected some buildings at the northwest point of Upper Klamath Lake, called Skohuáshki (abbr. Koháshti); but as early as 1866 he called attention to the fact that the place had no suitable water-power, but that three miles above the little creek at Beetle's Rest was a most excellent motor for driving a saw-mill and a grist-mill, and, being on the edge of the pine woods, was a well-fitted and shady place for the agency buildings. This advice was followed in 1868, two years before the ratification of the
177 treaty. In the same year the old practice of cremating dead bodies was
764 abandoned and inhumation introduced. The grave-yard was established around the ash-pile of cremation, still visible in 1877, and in 1878 a second

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

177 cemetery was inaugurated between the Williamson River and Modoc Point,
764 one mile and a half south of the bridge.

175 President U. S. Grant's peace policy in regard to the Indians was
648 inaugurated by act of Congress dated April 10, 1869. The supervision of
657 the Indian agencies was placed in the hands of the authorities of religious
[797] denominations, a board of commissioners appointed,* and the spiritual interests of that reservation turned over to the Methodist Church.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCHES ON THESE INDIANS.

114 The study of the ethnography of a tribe usually precedes that of its language; sometimes both are pursued simultaneously, and this is undoubtedly the correct method. In the case of the Mák̲laks, Horatio Hale,† the linguist of Ch. Wilkes's United States Exploring Expedition (1838–1842), and still holding forth as a pioneer in his lines of research, took down a vocabulary from a Klamath Lake Indian whom he met on the Columbia River in 1841. No ethnographic remarks upon the tribe accompany this vocabulary, probably because information obtained from interpreters, who speak the Chinook jargon only, is notoriously unreliable.

Next in time follow the extensive explorations of John Charles Frémont‡ of the interior basin west of the Rocky Mountains and of the Pacific coast from 1843 to 1844, and again from 1845 to 1846, during which the Klamath Lakes and Klamath Marsh were visited and explored. His reports contain graphic sketches of all that was seen and observed by his parties; but scientific accuracy is often wanting, and many countries are described without giving the Indian local names, which are indispensable to identification.

The acquisition of the Pacific coast by the United States (California in 1846, Oregon in 1848) naturally suggested projects of connecting the two oceans by a transcontinental railroad, starting from the Mississippi River and reaching to the Bay of San Francisco. The Central Govern-

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* Cf. Revised Statutes of the United States, second edition, 1878, p. 350.

† Born in Newport, New Hampshire, in 1817.

‡ Born at Savannah, Georgia, January 21, 1813; candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1856; died in New York City, July 13, 1890.

000 could not remain unpunished. Brought before a jury at Fort Klamath, Kíntpuash, Chief Skóntchish, Black or Húka Jim, and Boston Charley were condemned to the gallows and hung at the Fort October 3, 1873, while two accessories to the deed—Bántcho and Slŭ'lks (now George Denny)—were condemned to incarceration at Fort Alcatraz, San Francisco Bay.*

Thus ended the long-contested struggle of the little Modoc band against the Oregon and California volunteers and the regular troops of the United States Army. Certainly the heroism and ingenuity displayed by the Modocs would have been worthy of a better cause, and would have passed down to posterity in the brightest colors of patriotism had not the murderous "entreacte" and Canby's death deprived the struggle of its heroic luster. The unworthy termination of this war is well typified by the fact that the skeleton of the Modoc captain is now dangling as an anatomical specimen in the museum of the Surgeon-General's Office, at Washington, District of Columbia.

STATISTICS.

648 From the end of the Modoc war to the present year the condition of
● 177 affairs has not changed much in the Klamath Highlands. The reports of
178 the United States agent repeat the same story of progress towards civiliza-
657 tion every year; but in view of the difficulty of bringing a hunter tribe into the high road of Christian culture and industrial progress we can not attach much credence to such reports so long as they are couched in generalities and do not contain special facts attesting mental improvement by schooling.

648 In agriculture success is possible only in the Sprague River Valley,
657 but pasturing will succeed almost on every spot of the Reservation. The
[241] report of 1888, compared with that of 1880, shows a considerable improve-
[231] ment in this direction. The 2,500 horses and mules counted in 1880 had increased to 4,532 in 1888; the 200 head of cattle to 2,201. In the latter year the number of swine figured 208, of domestic fowl, 1,000. Of the 20,000 tillable acres of land 1,400 were cultivated by the Indians in

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* Slŭ'lks was released, and stays now at the Modoc Reservation, Indian Territory, with Scarface Charley and some other warriors of that war.

773 776 to touch the ground. He then stole all the fruits in the garden and went with them to his underground abode.

Then K'múkamtch, who had observed all this from a distance, arrived and knocked at the top of the house. This time it was the man who opened. When asked what had become of the fruits he excused himself by stating that Munatálkni had taken all of them. This put K'múkamtch into such a rage that he threw the woman out of the house and whipped her to death. Then he cut open the eyelids of both, which previously had been fastened together, and the man said: "I can see the sun." K'múkamtch then instructed the man how to make his livelihood by using the bow and arrow, and how to manufacture sinew-strings and obsidian arrow-heads. Upon this he brought the man's sister into life again and both went into the mountains to hunt, for they had nothing to eat. Ever after this K'múkamtch remained angry with them.

This is but the commencement of a long tale designed to show the miraculous growth of the family which sprang from the first man and woman, and their progress in the life-sustaining arts and manufactures. [177] There is no doubt that the above is a singular distortion of the Bible tale concerning Adam and Eve in paradise. The question which remains to be solved is this, whether or not Munatálkni himself is borrowed also from the Jewish story. If he is, then in connection with him we may recall Aíshish, who, according to some Modocs, is nobody else but Jesus Christ, who two thousand years ago passed through Lost River Valley and dug a deep well there which he presented to the Modocs—all this on account of a phonetic similarity between the names Aíshish and Jesus.

The remainder of the story is exactly like what other Oregonian myths relate concerning the origin of mankind and is incontestably of Indian origin. No further mention is made in it of Munatálkni.

SHŪ'KASH OR WHIRLWIND.

773 776 821 Another of the numerous elementary deities is the Whirlwind or Shū'kash. An interesting mythic tale about it, which I have obtained among the Modocs in the Indian Territory, makes of the Shū'kash an engine brought into play from time to time with tremendous effect by the

775 821 The common belief of the Oregonians is that after death the soul travels the path traveled by the sun, which is the westward path; there it joins in the spirit-land (ē'ni) the innumerable souls which have gone the same way before.* If the deceased was a chief, commander, or man of note, his "heart" can be seen going west in the form of a shooting star. The Egyptian belief was that the soul of the dead was following Atum, the sinking sun, to the west; and since then innumerable nations and tribes have adhered to the same belief.

From the Texts obtained from Dave Hill, pp. 129, 130, we learn that other abodes of dead men's spirits are the bodies of living fish. Perhaps Hill learned of this belief among the maritime and river Indians with whom he lived on the Columbia River, where the idea of fish eating corpses could suggest itself more readily than upon the lakes of the Klamath highlands. The *Notes* which I added to these curious texts give all the explanations which it is at present possible to give. It appears from them that such spirits can enter the bodies of "spirit-fish," that one skúks can see another, and that Indians, not white men, sometimes see the skúks, but at the peril of their lives. A distinction is also made between good and bad skúks, the latter being probably those who render the Indian's sleep uncomfortable by unpleasant dreams.

776 821 Some natural phenomena often appear to these Indians in the form of specters or hobgoblins, as clouds, water-spouts, snow-storms, columns of dust, etc Noisily and rapidly they pursue their lonely path, and their gigantic, terrific frames reach up to the skies; whoever meets them unawares is knocked down senseless or killed outright, or must exchange his body for another. Some of these specters look dark on one side and light on the other.

177 775 821 In northern latitudes, where polar lights are frequently visible, they are supposed by the Indians to represent the dance of the dead, and whenever Christianity is introduced among them they identify this beautiful spectacle with the last judgment, when the spirits of the deceased move about in the expectation of the coming Christ.

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* Cf. Dictionary, sub voce ē'ni and Grammar, Appendix VI, p. 702. The Warm Spring Indians call the spirit-land: ayayáni. See also Texts, p. 174; 11.

*539 hishuáksh m'na wudópka, tsúi nî snawä'dshash hû'nk nä'-ulχ, k̲á-i hû'nk
622 husband here whips, then I wife that punish, not the
692 hishuákshash, láp súndē.
husband, for two weeks.

[593] [683] Tsúi tchik kíuks tchî'sh títatna tawí shash, tsúi hûk k̲'lĕká tawí'sh.
Then a conjurer also at times bewitches them, and dies the bewitched one.

[683] Tsúi nî nä'-ulχa, tsúi tû'nip sháppash spû'lhi·síukst; tsúi tchik wátch nísh
Then I try (him), and for five months imprison for manslaughter; and (if) horses to me

[593] sχókta tû'nip, tsúi nî k̲á-i spû'lhit sχoktí'sht nísh. Tsúi tch lak̲í ts ktû'pka
he pays five, then I not may imprison (him), he having paid me. And (if) a chief beats

m'na snáwädsh, tsúi nî snä'kĕlua; gä'tak lak̲í gî hûk.
his wife, then I remove (him); no longer chief remains he.

NOTES.

[177] **58–62.** The legal practices, regulations, and ordinances given here by a subchief of the Klamath Lake tribe are observed by all the chiefs, and are apparently fashioned after American models. The principle which seems to guide most of the judicial decisions of the chiefs, is given in one (59, 20. 21) of these regulations: "If a chief makes law like white people, that will be right."* This article is composed of three parts:

Part I. List of the chiefs acting as judges on the reservation in 1877.

Part II. Legal customs governing the Klamath Lake people.

Part III. Instances of application of these legal customs; amount of fines, terms of imprisonment, etc. These are the "*novellæ*" of Klamath legislation.

58, 1–3. P'lú, Lilu, and some other headmen mentioned here have signed the treaty of Oct. 14, 1864.

[563] [657] 58, 4. Móatuash. There are only two Pit River *families* living on the whole reservation.

58, 8. Tcháktot belongs to the Yahúskin tribe of Snake Indians. Cf. Ind. Aff. Report 1873, p. 324.

[193] 58, 10 etc. The future tense employed in these behests, regulations and defenses recalls the French future used in an impressive manner instead of the imperative: *tu ne tueras point, tu ne déroberas point.*

58, 10. shlí-uapk shash. The pronoun shash has here almost the force of a reciprocal pronoun, for the meaning of the sentence is: "do not shoot at people of your own tribe." The same is true of sas in palluápk sas, 58, 10; 58, 13 (twice); pálla shash, 61, 14.

[194] 58, 10. ksaggayuapkámsni is pronounced as one word, as the removal of the accent from the syllable -uápk demonstrates; and so in many of the following verbs standing in the future tense. For the sake of clearness, I have preferred to resolve these forms graphically into their component elements.

[192] [193] 58, 11. wátsam, etc. The possessive wátsam stands here instead of the instrumental case watsátka through attraction from wännikísham. Tchíkla here means to ride away on another's horse, the horse being missed by his owner.

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* Dave Hill introduces himself in the first person as chief; but many of these decisions can be given by the headchief only, not by any of the subchiefs, to whose number Dave Hill belonged. The Modocs at Yáneks claim to observe these regulations; the Snake Indians do not.

*539 58, 15. shetcháktanuapk stands for the more common form: shitcháktanuapk.

622 692 58, 16. nánuktua shéshatuish m'na: "all what your husband has transferred to your parents to obtain your hand"; m'na stands for hishuáksham. Cf. 61, 8.

193 192 59, 7. mish, *you, to you*, is often used in this article for málash, málsh, *ye, to ye*, in allocutions to two or more persons. This is a way of expressing what may be called the "inclusive plural of the second person". This mode of speaking is observed in m's lápuk, 59, 7; lápuk mish, 59, 7. In the same manner 1 stands for ăt, 59, 8: 1 sissók-uapk, if ye whip each other; also 60, 22.

59, 9. 1 mi stands for mish mi.

59, 17. hă k̲úi gí'uapk: if he should fail to do his duty; 59, 19. hă tídsh gí'uapk: if he does his duty well; nanuktuánta: in every respect.

59, 22. í'χaks mí: what you may win by betting on the horses engaged in the race.

60, 2. kä'lish is the objective case of kä'liak, kéliak, "not having", the simple form of which, without -ak, would be kä'li or kä'liu (kä'li hû).

583 60, 11. túma wátch gitk. The horses have, of course, to be transferred to the parents of the bride and not to any of the chiefs.

231 60, 12. wátch. The horses owned by the Klamath Lake and Modoc people are valued from 20 to 25 dollars each; they descend from the hardy, enduring race of Cayuse ponies, and were originally obtained by bartering commodities with the Columbia River Indians at the Dalles, Oregon.

192 193 60, 15. wátch spuni'-uapka; wátch refers to *one* horse only, for the verb spuni', to transfer, is used of one (living) object only; shăwána is: to give *many* objects. "Not even one horse your wife has to give to you, if she leaves you; but if you leave her, you must give her several."

60, 17. láp snawä'dshla. Polygamy was abolished by the headmen of the tribe shortly after the establishment of the reservation, and this ruling was one of the greatest benefits ever conferred upon that tribe by the progress of civilization. But those 177 595 who had several wives then were not compelled to dismiss all but one and so in 1877 two or three men were still polygamists. The irascible and excitable disposition of the Modoc and Klamath females must have produced many chin-music intermezzos with their husbands at the time when polygamy was predominant.

61, 3. K̲á-i mí'sh etc. In this paragraph, in: k̲í'tgik, kάktak, hémkanktgik, gitkik, the terminal k contains the abbreviated gi, which joined to the foregoing nû, n means 193 *I said*. The construction runs as follows: Hû'nk ni gi k̲á-i mish k̲í'tgi; nánuktuanta káktak gi píla m's n hû'nk hémkanktki gi; nä'-ulakt gí'tki 1 snawä'dshash tchí'sh káktak gi píl. K̲á-i etc.

61, 6. tchik. This particle does not mean *if*, but cannot be rendered *here* (and below) with a more appropriate word. It is identical with tchĕk, *then*. A subordinate clause is here expressed by a co-ordinate one. Cf. 61, 9. 10. 12. 62, 4.

192 193 61, 6. któktatska: "we clip their hair in every instance", is the distributive form of któtchka, któtska, occurring in 58, 16.

61, 9. Tsúi etc. This inverted sentence has to be construed as follows: Tsúi tchish nósh híshuaksh wutódshish snawä'dsh m'na pä'n hû'nk snúkp'la, tsúi nä'-ulĕkan etc.

*539 755

Wudoká	hushtsóχa	sha	kíuksas	sálχitnuk	kléksht	húnk	snawédshash.
Struck	(and) killed	they	the conjurer	for being bewitched (and)	having died	this	woman.

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Tsúi	sa	lúluksla	snawédsh	kíuksam	síuks;	hû'nk	sa	kíuksas	ä'mpēle
And		cremated	the woman	by the conjurer	killed;	him	they	the conjurer	brought back

tchī'shtal,	tsúi	sa	lúluksla	máklaks.
to (his) lodge,	and		cremated (him)	the people.

NOTES.

68, 1 etc. This is a pretty good illustration of the method of doctoring by suction adopted in similar tamánuash cases. Persons sent out to call for the conjurer do not enter his cabin, but loudly halloo outside till he appears; in this instance he is supposed to sing his medicine songs amidst the solitary wilds of the mountain slopes.

192 177 68, 1. mū'ntch-gī'tk. This temporal adverb places the mode of punishment described by the informant among the *ancient* customs of the people. Compared to what is stated here, the trial of Doctor John shows a material modification in the dealings with suspected conjurers, attributable to the influence of the white population.

192 193 68, 1. 10. salχíta is always used in a passive signification, "to be afflicted with the tamánuash spell or bewitching power", which conjurers can send out at will.

68, 1. 2. The words inclosed in quotation marks *anticipate* all that follows up to 68, 10.

68, 2. 8. a-i. This particle has the signification: "undeniably, evidently".

754 68, 5. shû'ta hû'nk. The "working" of a conjurer on a patient's body consists in rubbing, pressing, magnetizing, in blowing on it, and in pouring water over the face or 753 other parts. Sucking out the object which caused the disease is of course the principal operation called for to effect a cure.

68, 5. mû'ns; it is not stated whether this hánshish was a frog, a worm, a small stick, or any such thing; this is immaterial, for the Indian strictly believes that the article was removed from the patient's body and that it caused the disease.

192 68, 6. hántsantking and 68, 8: shúkpaltaking stand for hántchantki ging and shukpalítki ging; cf. shû'kpēli.

192 193 68, 6. hántchipka properly means: "he sucks towards himself"; husatchipgápēle "he throws up again to himself"; viz. into his mouth, so as to be able to take it out with his hands.

68, 7. lútatkish is the conjurer's assistant. His office is to repeat his tunes or speeches before those present in the lodge, to expound or explain his sayings, to start songs and tunes in his stead, and to perform such manipulations as mentioned here.

68, 8. k'lä'ksh, contracted from k'läkápkash, the dead, the deceased; k'lekápkash telshámpka, to be on the point of death.

192 68, 8. tché-ulχa: he rises from his seat on the ground, or on a blanket near the patient's couch, for the purpose of leaving.

756 69, 1. hushtsóχa. The killing of a doctor or doctress by the relatives of the patient who died under his or her treatment was nothing unusual in the Columbia Basin until quite recently. In some tribes the third failure in curing brought certain death on the conjurer, especially when he had received his reward in advance.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

PRESENT MODE OF INHUMATION.

GIVEN BY MINNIE FROBEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

539 764 177 [115]

Hishuákshash snawédshash gíntak k̲'lē'ksht tchúi sha hû'nk bőxtka
Male or female upon having died then they (him or [illegible]) in a coffin

ísha húnkantka waítashtka ámpka waitólank tchísh. Pápkashti shû'tank
bury on the same day or one day past also. Of lumber they are making

box, shnutchlû'ktagiank k̲áyak tadsh tálakank Bóshtinam-shítko. Pú-
a coffin, planing (it). not however they are painting (it) in the American shape. Small

pakuak gí'ntak a sha nánuktua ílχóta, shulótish gíntak, kmä' tchi'sh,
drinking-cups thereupon they of every kind (him), bury with clothing hereupon, skull-caps too,

yámnash tchísh, tálatoks k̲á-i. Hä' nen wä'g'n kä'git, wátchatka sha hû'nk
beads too, but money not. If a wagon is not on hand, on horses they them

énank í'lχtcha. Tû'mi shashā'moks ílksχē'ni shash, túmi wéwanuish
carrying out bury. Many relatives to the grave them, many women

tchí'sh, hihassuáksh tchí'sh, k̲á-i tatáksni, gasháktsína shash ílksχē'ni.
too, men also, (but) no children, follow them to grave.

Ílksgísh yépontk tû'nep nádshgshapt pē'tch atí gintégatk.
The graves are dug five (or) six feet deep into the ground going.

Wä'g'n a lû'pi géna ílksχēni, sháshamoks tchī'k kí'nshaksna; hû'd-
The wagon first goes to the grave, relatives hereupon walk in file; those

shatoks atíkni gátpa, wátchatka gátpa. Ilkshχē'ni a sha shnúka nē'p
who from afar come, on horses come. At the grave they seize by the hand

k̲'lākápkash, a tchíks hû'nk unégank kélua käfla ílχuk, tánktak tchiksh
the deceased, then him lowering fill up the earth to bury (him), simultaneously also

a hû'nk luátpishluk shúina. Gakiámnank tû'k sha tχálamtana gû''hliank
over him for mourning they sing. Forming a circle from it they through the middle passing

shnû'ka stélapksh nē'p, lupí'tal tchík sha gékampēle; télishtoks wudámatko
shake (his) right hand, to the first place then they return; (his) face is covered

handkerchipátka: "Tchá shék̲ug mí'sh nû shnúka nē'p; tchá at tchí' m'sh
by a handkerchief: "Now to bid good bye to you I shake (seize) hand; now thus to you

nû shék̲a gēn waítash; géna mí at hukí'sh!"
I bid farewell this day; gone is your spirit!"

Títatnatoks flags mák̲laks kí'utchna ílksχēni wä'ginat; shashámoksh
Sometimes flags an Indian sticks up at the grave on the wagon; the relatives

láp kí'mbaks gasháktchna, wéwanuish násh kí'mbaks, híhashuaksh tchí'sh
in two files follow, the women in one file, the males too

*539 764 násh túnshish. Nā'sh käflatoks nādsháshak tchpí'nualank, nánuk titads-
in one row. On one ground all together they are burying, every provided

177 χátko pil ílktch spûshpaktchámpka, shushtedshχátko wáshash wuwatuáp-
with boards grave they make mound-shaped, fenced in prairie-wolves to keep

kasht ké-utchishash tchí'sh. K̲á-i mā'ntch gítko sha hû'nk spû'klitcha
off grey wolves also. Not long after this they go to sweat

765 tútenäpni waítash. Wátch a lúluagsh tchí'sh k̲á-i tatá mā'ntch gínkanka
for five days. Horses s'aves also no longer they bring there

luélkish, m'nátoks sha wátch shéshatui shkútashtat í'lχûtchlûk.
to kill, but his own they horses trade off for blankets to bury him in.

NOTES.

This short notice describes a funeral (isha) of the Klamath Lake tribe in the mode as adopted from the Americans not long after the treaty of 1864, when cremation of bodies was abolished. Whatsoever of the ancient customs in disposing of the dead is still observed, the reader will easily gather from the present sketch.

87, 3. tálaka means to go forth and back with the hand; hence to rub with the palm of the hand, to rub paint on, to paint.

87, 5. Hä' nen wä'g'n. In this connection they can also say: hä' nem wä'g'n; and for wátchatka: wátchetka.

87, 11. tánktak, in this connection, is a compound of tánkt and ak, not of tánk and tak: "just at that time."

87, 17. láp kímbaks gasháktchna: they follow the corpse, which is placed on the wagon, in two files *on horseback;* kímbaks is apposition to shashámoks.

88, 1. Nā'sh etc. The appearance of their graveyard (tchpinû) near the Williamson River does not differ much from that of our cemeteries; it lies in the midst of the woods. For titadsχátko see Dictionary.

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*539 766 [115]

FUNERAL OF WARRIORS.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY "SERGEANT" MORGAN, AN INDIAN FROM KOHÁSHTI.

[726] [825] Ní'shta hä'ma mû'kash tχû'tχuk: "mák̲laks k̲'lä'k̲!" Tsúi gátpa
All night long screeches the big owl presaging: "people die!" Then come

mák̲laks ktaklí'sh, tsúi shneshnalχō'ta hushtsóχok. Nā's wípka hû ámbotat,
men parflesh-cuirassed, and while burning down lodges murder they. One (man) escaped into the water,

tsúi shtí'ldshna tû' sa-amoksámkshi m'na; gená shtí'ldshnuk. Tsúi gépka
and reported over there at relative's house his; he went (there) to announce. Then came

tumí' mák̲laks wa-u'htákiug; tsúi shenótank gē'kshta túnip hushtsóχ shenó-
many people to disperse (them); and while fighting on one side five were killed in

tankok. Gē'kshta tchkash hushtsóχa túm, nánka géna kä'ktsnuk vû'shuk;
battle. On other side also were killed many, some started to run away from fear;

*539 Hä' i shma-'htcháktak yaínatat, k̲á-i i ûn k̲ésh shlé-etak; hä'-atoks
If you let your shadow fall on the hill, not you ipo will find; but if

[787] i k̲á-i shma-'htcháktak, tû'm i ûn k̲ésh shlé-etak.
you not let your shadow fall, much you ipo will find.

000 Móatuash, k̲'le-ugtkiuápkasht tchíalash Móatuashăm k̲ók̲etat, k̲á-i mhû'
The Pit River Indians, (lest) would cease to come the salmon up the Pit River, not grouse

lúela skó; Mō'dokni tchí'sh lóla shuátash kíăm tchûk̲á shátma, humásht-
they kill in spring time; the Modocs also assume, sage-hens the fish to swim up stream invite, there-

gisht k̲á-i lúela.
fore not they kill (them).

NOTES.

*539 171 I. What is contained in these short items refers equally to the Klamath Lake and to the Modoc people, although those contained under I. were obtained from various informants belonging to the former chieftaincy.

[192] 133, 2. páka to howl, bark; pák'la to howl repeatedly, to howl for a while; pák-luipka to howl for a while in the distance towards somebody.

[177] [231] 133, 4. 5. The cat and the chicken being but recently introduced among these tribes, this superstition must have been transferred to them from other animals. By inversion, the words tchíkin gû'lu, *the hen*, appear here widely separated from each other.

[192] 133, 6. K̲ú-i tchämlûk has to be resolved into: k̲ú-i tchē mál (for málash) hú'k: "bad then for you this is!" Cruel fights will follow.

133, 7–11. This story is not clearly worded, but we are taught by it how these Indians are conversing among each other with laconic breviloquence. An Indian living in the vicinity has heard the whining of the dog which means death to his owner. He goes there, shoots the man and takes to his heels. A relative of the murdered man comes up and is mistaken by others for the murderer. They deprive him of his wife, his property and his liberty; he becomes a madman on account of the injustice done to him.

[825] 134, 1. 2. The raven (k̲ák̲) is supposed to be a bird of fatal augury, because he was seen devouring the flesh of dead Indians. Compare: General *Note* on page 130.

[202] 134, 4. kíukayunk. They adjust a rag or piece of skin to a pole and stick out that improvised *flag* on the top of the lodge to notify neighbors that they had a dream last night and desire an interpreter for it.

[525] [825] 134, 5. One of the legs of a dead black tmélhak-squirrel is cut off and laid under the gaming-disk or the pá'hla to insure luck to the player.

134, 7–12. Tcháshăsh etc. This is a fragmentary extract of a scurrilous skunk-myth, which I have not been able to obtain in full from my informant, the Modoc chief Johnson, who speaks the Klamath dialect. This myth is well known through the whole of Oregon, for parts of it are embodied in a popular and melodious song of the Mólale tribe, whose ancient home is the country east and southeast of Oregon City and Portland.

134, 7. 8. mák̲laks nánuk is the direct object of hushtsóga; the skunk killed them by his stench.

[201] 134, 9. tû'paks stands for tû'pakshash; túpakship, abbreviated túpaksh, is properly the younger sister, as called by or with reference to an elder brother, while pa-ánip

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

I.

*539
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Nálam p'tíshap, kat p'laí tchía: Nánuk nā'd hû'nk mî shéshash kátak
Our father, which on high lives: All of us thy name truly
shtî'nta. Mî húshkanksh gû'ta nā'lsh. Î hû'nk vû'nhuapk génta käílatat,
worship. Thy mind come to us. Thou wilt achieve on this earth,
wákaktak p'laítalknî gi. Shéwan î nálsh gē'n waítash nálam pála-ash
equally as (thou) on high dost. Give thou us this day our bread
nánuk waítashtat. Hä nálsh tuá k̲ó-idshi gíntanuapk, k̲á-i hûn, p'laítalkni,
every on day. If on us anything wicked should stick on, not it, thou on high.
hû'shkank î! húmashtak nā'd k̲á-i hû'shkankuapk, hä kaní nálsh k̲ú-i
mind thou! just as we not would mind it, if somebody us wrong
gî'uapk. K̲á-i nálsh î tuá shutétki k̲ú-idsha, î înúhuashkpak hak nálsh
should do. Not to us thou anything let do wicked, (but) thou keep away only from us
tuá k̲ú-idsha. Húmasht giúg mi né-ulaks, nk̲î'llitk tchî'sh, ktchálshkash
anything wicked. For thine (is) the rule, force also, glory
tchîsh tchúshniak. Húmashtak an hûn gîtk gi!
also forever. Thus I it to be say!

II.

Nálam t'shî'shap, p'laí tchía: Mî shéshash nánuk stínta; mî k̲óχpash
Our father, on high (who) livest: Thy name all revere; thy mind
gáltchui nanukä'nash nā'l. Gitá tchî'sh käíla humashták gi, wákaktoksh
come to every one (of) us. Here too on earth in the same manner be done, just as
p'laí ki. Nálash gēn waítash shápĕle shéwan î. K̲á-i nálash k̲ó-i shû'tä,
on high is done. To us this day bread give thou. Not us wicked render thou,
húmasht nálam mák̲laks-shítko stínta. I huáshgi nálamtant k̲ó-idsha
equally as our men-kindred (we) love. Thou keep off from our bad
steínashtat k̲óχpash; tídsh nálam steínash shútä. Mî tála litchlítchli, mî
(from) heart thoughts; good our heart make thou. Thine alone (is the) power, thy
steínash litchlítchli tchússak, mû'ni lák̲iam steínash. Húmasht toks tídsh.
heart strong (is) perpetually, great of the Lord the heart. Thus (it will be) well.

NOTES.

These versions of the Lord's Prayer are good instances of what can be attained, without using too many circumlocutions, in rendering religious, moral and other abstract ideas in a language deficient in many of them.

[192] For reign and kingdom no words exist, and they had to be rendered by hû'shkanksh, or in Modoc k̲óχpash, "mind", né-ulaks, "rule, law"; sin and forgive were

*539 rendered by "something wicked" and "not to mind"; for "thy will be done" stands
782 "achieve thou". Power and glory become "force, impetuosity" and "radiance", and
177 daily bread: "flour on every day". In the Modoc version, the wording of which is
192 inferior to that of version I, the use of similar expedients will be observed.

193 I. In the Klamath Lake dialect; by Minnie Froben.

139, 6. inúhuashkpak, phonetic inversion for inuhuashkápk' i; see Dictionary.

139, 7. ktchálshkash, from the word ktchálχa, to shine, to be radiant, resplendent.

139, 8. gitk, in an hûn gítk gi, is the verbal intentional gitki.

II. In the Modoc dialect; by the Riddle family.

139, 10. Gitá käfla is equivalent to gĕ'nta käilatat; in humashták gi the verb gi has to be taken in the *passive* sense.

139, 11. k̲ó-i shû'tä: "do not render us wicked." For shútä compare 111, 15. and *Note.*

139, 12. húmasht nálam. Between these words and the preceding ones there is a lacune in the text. mák̲laks-shitko, "our kindred": those who look like ourselves.

139, 13. 14. In mi tála litchlítchli the adjective strong stands for "strength, power", while in mi steínash litchlítchli it is used in its adjective signification. In this language abstract ideas are sometimes rendered by adjectives and by verbal adjectives in -tko.

DIALOGUES

I.

*539 **Tsématk.** Tatá lish sha ksíulakuapk?
When they will dance?

Skă'lag. Pá-ak k̲á-i an sháyuakta! uná a sha ná-asht she-édshtat mat
Not I know! once they so (said), on Saturday
sha nánuk shûkû'lki-uapk kshí'ulχish.
they all will assemble for the dance.

Kápuak. Tátai tchĭ'k sha kshíulakuapk? Plĕ'nkamkshi á? tám hak
Where after all they are going to dance? At Frank's house? perhaps
haítch i hû'nk shlääátk? k̲úi a sha nen hûnk máshish gish shápa.
(did) you him see? seriously they him diseased to be say.

Skă'lag. Káyak an hátokt gátpantk, ná-asht tă'dsh toks nû tû'mĕna gén
Not I there was going, thus however I heard this
mbû'shant píl, mat pá-ula: gät tóks nû wátch káyaktgûk, kúinag
morning only, (that) he was eating: out there I of my horses while returning from the search, away from any house
gépgapĕle.
I returned.

Kápuak. Tám haítch i nä'gsh shíwaksh shlääá gúni, gémpktch Kúyamtsχĕksh, Ellen Débidam mû'kag shétaltchapksh mă'shisht?
(Did) you absent from home the girl see over there, who went to Kúyamtsχĕksh, of Allen David a baby to visit having fallen sick?

Skă'lag. K̲á-i an tû'sh shleá pûsh.
Not I anywhere saw her.

Kápuak. Í.
Is that so?

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"Nakótk	Wi'tlas	k̲ok̲état	hi	tchi'sh	luélks-kiäm	gi'-uapk;	na-ást	shé-
"By (its) dam	Witlash	in Williamson River	there	also	a fish-killing place	shall be;	thus	

shash	élχa	ni:	Ktá-i-Tupáksi.	Mbû'saks	nä'st	shéshatk	mák̲laks	gi'-uapk;
name	give	I:	Rocks-where-stand.	"Obsidian"	so	called	a people	shall exist;

Smä'k	nä'st	sésatk	gi'-uapk	mák̲laks	gi'ta.	Kä'katils	nä'st	sésatk	gí-uapk
"Hairy"	so	named	shall exist	a people	there.	"Armpit-hairy"	so	called	shall exist

gi'ta	mák̲laks."
there	a people."

NOTES.

All Mák̲laks admit that K'múkamtch created their country, the earth and the universe, but as to the special process by which he created them they seem to have no definite idea, though they possess a multitude of myths for special creations.

Most of the places mentioned in this item are situated around Upper Klamath Lake. That they are localities inhabited for centuries past, and identified with the history of the tribe is proved by the fact that their naming is ascribed to K'múkamtch. The most noticeable of them are no doubt the three sweat-houses, all of which are of remote antiquity, and were put to use only when families were mourning the loss of one of their members. Two of them are quoted here: Wakáksi or Käilalkshíni spúklish on west side of Lake and Ē-ukalksi, a short distance south of Fort Klamath. The third lies about three miles south of Modoc Point; it is called Ká-ashkshi spúklish.

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142, 1. käíla. About the meaning of this term in creation myths, cf. *Note* 96, 23. In other connections, in the present text, käíla or kä'la means spot, locality.

142, 2. 3. Tulish. To enable the Indians to catch fish at that place, K'múkamtch built for them, as tradition has it, an obstruction resembling a beaver-dam. Cf. nakótk, 143, 1.; gitl for gita hi.

142, 3. 5. Túkua and Koháshti are camping- and fishing-places on the eastern shore of the Lake. At Shuyakē'kish the Indians leap over rocks for amusement.

142, 5. ná-asni, ná'sni stands for ná-asht ni: "thus I".

142, 5. 11. Gúmbat is called Rocky Point by the white population, and lies on the western shore of Upper Klamath Lake. A-usmi is an island of the Lake.

142, 6. Wakáksi or Wáka is named after the tuákish-fowl whose cry is wáka wáka.

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142, 6–10. 12–16. These mourning customs are gradually disappearing at the present time. One reason for this is the progressive assimilation of the tribes to American customs, another is the circumstance, that all of the three ancient sweat-houses are situated outside of the reservation limits.

142, 15. ndánnántak is composed of ndánnanti or ndánnantat ak: "only for three (kinds of relatives)".

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143, 1. Nákotk is the instrumental case of nákōsh, lumber-dam: "on account of its dam Witlas will be a fish-killing locality." A loon destroyed that dam by forcing its way under it; one of our texts gives this myth. Cf. 132, 1–8 and *Note* to 74, 2.

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143, 2. 3. Mbû'saks, Smä'k and Kä'katils are names given in contempt or derision of the respective tribes; the latter to Indians living at the Dalles of Columbia River, Smä'k to a tribe living south of that locality. Cf. 103, 2. 3. Mbû'saks is a name for the Snake Indians.

*539 tä'-inánnăn nä'-innánnăn, tä'-innánnăn nä'-innánnăn
533 tá naniánai nániana, tá naniánai nániāna
[177] walwiléga palpiléga, walwiléga palpiléga
pálpilēga pálpilēga, pálpilēga etc.

DANCING TUNES.

A. *Tunes heard during Puberty-Dances.*

[535] hō'-wina wē'na tchálam tchálam wéna
[881] úha u-ai hai hai hévēlālt,
  háhai u-ai hehai hévēlālt.
witcha kenná, wítcha kéna kenō', wítcha kenna kenó
nû kēno kēno kéno, n'ō kēno u'o kēno kénō

B. *Tunes adopted from Shasti Indians.*

*539
533 huí'no hō hotino hû-û huino hû'tnino kû'ino hō-o
177 wínna hádina háwina, há-ina ā-ā, háwin[illegible]-ina
tóyo wínno hoyo wínna nó, weyawinna [illegible]owinná
ho owínno heyä'nlia kina ho-owínna hey[illegible] kena
he-ännowinná, innatá lowinna, he-eänno wínna
hewä' iwinnaná ō wí'nna óhō häna wínna óhō
hännanáwiya ná-uya náyua hännaná-uya ō-uya
héwa enna hé-au wennéā hé-aunné heyawenné
ha wennō hahiyó wennó wennó ha wenna, awenó hewō
hó nínu henú henó ínû' ho-ínú hóninō-u henû'

C. *Dance and war tunes adopted from Snake Indians.*

háwinna haú-inna nō', í'nna hawínna háwinna nō'
hé-a wennē, a héa, heahē, héa wennē
haweā' wennā, hau-á, hawenná ē'nna, hawá

D. *Dancing tune heard from Warm Spring Indians.*

kaní luya . . . . . . uya tasí wene nāsi

E. *Modoc dancing tunes.*

*539 533 177 héo héo héo héo, héo heo héo heo
haúdidusä haudidúsä haudídusä haúdidusä
stán stán stáni assi stáni assi
hoyó-inna hoyó-inna,
    hoyó winna hoyó winna, hoyó winnā'-ā'.
háwĕnĕn-í' hawĕnnĕnáha, hawĕnnĕnáha háwĕnĕn-í'
íwop tcharlē kómtuhō'

TUNES HEARD AT FUNERALS.

*539 533 kélakennu kélakennu kélakennu kélakenu . . . . . . kēlayá-a
láhaha láhaha láhaha láhaha . . . . . .
hihihi . . . . . . yuyaya yuyaya . . . . . . hihihi . . . . . .
héya heúa héya heúa héya heúa

NOTES.

000 **194**; 1–8. These whoops and tunes were sung by Modoc warriors when on the war-path, or after their return in remembrance of their exploits. The whoops were chanted and howled while going round in a circle for one to two hours; even now they are heard on solemn occasions. This uniform performance was, however, interrupted sometimes by feigned attacks on a supposed hostile force lying in ambush or marching past. A scalp-dance tune, beginning with nk̲eíha, is added, also battle cries.

194; 2. The kä' kä' kä' refrain serves as an incidental interruption of the wéaha- and other whoops. They pronounce it almost voicelessly by tapping their hands upon the blown-up mouth or cheeks in a quick measure.

194; 3. The nók̲e nók̲e is sung either as an introduction to the howienā'-whoop, or as a conclusion to it. It is pronounced in a similar manner as the kä' kä', and often accentuated nokē'.

194; 7. This scalp-dance tune is one of the many heard at these dances during the earlier Modoc wars. A peeled tree, sometimes twenty feet high, was planted into the ground, otter and rabbit skins fastened on or near the top, and below them the scalps of the enemies killed in battle. Forming a wide ring around this pole (wálash) the tribe danced, stood or sat on the ground, looking sometimes at solitary dancers, moving and yelling (yä'ka) around the pole, or at others, who tried to shake it, or at fleet horses introduced to run inside of the ring. Circular dances are of course performed by joining hands.

194; 8. These are the war-whoops alluded to in **23**, 15. Cf. ä-oho-û'tchna in Dictionary.

*539 533 **194**; 9 etc. I include under the heading "humming tunes" lively tunes of short, ever returning periods of words whose signification is generally obliterated. Some of them may include archaic words and forms no longer understood by the present

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

By Robert F. Spencer

773 IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians
177 of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of
178 aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among
[179] other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in
the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of
interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of
their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way
and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching
Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer
[182] can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the
folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common
economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies
combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising
to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations.
A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to
find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal
myth.

175 Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation
177 from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal
to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its
culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which
[222] it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In
[226] its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent
gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes
[631] of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic
[621] economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separatistic
[771] hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly
[791] developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest
and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points
to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

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[101] [1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949,
[122] on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund,
1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by
research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

[113] [2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

773 776 [823] Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6] the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

177 175 [721] To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifications in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroachment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon. [797] An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result [797] proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and [182] patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

175 668 Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

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[825] [6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'ākemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

[113] [7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

[113] [9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

Here Christian
175 elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath
668 traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The
177 acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost
[578] Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather
than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the
pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive
against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt
at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete
with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting
pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream
Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

175 By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had
177 burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with
[668] essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic
competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so
[797] lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values
[791] were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic
practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One informant
[533] tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power)
have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in
that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important
771 movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the
175 Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with
177 longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused
slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orienta-
795 tion, the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology;
but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross
as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence
of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements
[755] also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are employed
(for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's
body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers
vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil,
178 and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult,
771 too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some
years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services.
795 The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

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[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kemps was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

[113] [11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

[113] [12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

[113] [13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.

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771 reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors,
178 the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

[182] The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are
allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some
771 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal
795 and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in
184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to
[797] those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on
the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual
[571] or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members
find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies
as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions to aboriginal concepts.

771 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The
177 Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation
is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals,
184 while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display
or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely. Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious
questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly
curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes
[755] demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this considera-
[757] tion, shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally
accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged
with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects
of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

183 The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there.
[773] For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter
are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two,
183 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first
224 deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away,
he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation
today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too,
the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy
that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem
from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is
825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath
[197] but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a har-
[763] binger of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear
it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means
183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter,
the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed
among western tribes.

178 But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past
which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

178 latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence
that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on
the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often
recur.

787 The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, ap-
[881] parently regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was
usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power
[785] obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts
existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating,
[533] and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath
emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word
/ƚuw'i·s/ meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on
787 context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from
177 without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior
[792] associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly in-
dividualized and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality,
it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers,
the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions.
One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with
the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The
examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older in-
formants. Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions as-
sociated with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me,
782 "Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and
776 old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.'
823 I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I
774 say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over
787 there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains
and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I
dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it."
She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to
Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up,
up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man
standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I
773 don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The in-
formant refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of
whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena:
"When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They
said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never
did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it
was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a
[797] real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those
things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

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[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

782 Other informants also give a hint of this attitude. Even where there is
776 sophistication by virtue of education or long-time residence away from the
823 group, one encounters statements like that of a woman, half-Klamath, half-
Caucasian: "Those old Indians had a lot of sense. They kind of felt at home
774 around here and they would get a lift just from talking to the mountains
787 and lakes. It was like praying and it made them feel at peace. When I get up in the morning, I look first over there [at Mt. Pitt] and it makes me feel good too. Not that I pray in the old Indian way; that's just idolatry. But it's like the scenery kind of gets ahold of you even if I been seeing it all my
787 life."

776 A possible indication of this attitude appears in the repeated warnings to
855 children to avoid certain rocks and cliffs. "You might fall down and hurt
823 yourself" is of course quite true; on the other hand, places about which some modern Klamath parents feel particularly uneasy were associated aboriginally with power sources. A strong drive in the past was fear that a child might be
784 harmed through contact with "power." Every effort was made to keep the child away from the shaman, the sweat lodge, the mourning place, and the
841 like. (It may be noted that menstrual blood was placed near the cradled child to negate forces whose mere presence could harm the inexperienced.) These attitudes toward nature and the surrounding natural phenomena, at least as sources of uneasiness, still exist among younger Klamath of today.

773 Also obtainable is evidence on attitudes toward the culture hero. Some
776 offer a rational systematization of beliefs concerning him. Generally, this
● 177 involves some interpretation in the light of Christian reasoning. Kemu'kemps, because of his essentially human characteristics, readily lends himself to identification with the Christian God. The middle-aged woman quoted above, struck by the linguistic parallels, notes: "Those old Indians were really
273 Christians. It's only the liquor around here that makes the unbelief and trouble. Kemu'kemps means the 'Old One'; that's God. He revealed himself to the Indians long before the Americans [sic] came. He had a son, too, 'Ayšiš, that's just like Jesus. He created the world, just like it says in the Bible. If only those old Indians had been able to see it, they were close to God all the time. They lived good upright lives under his guidance. Another word for Kemu'kemps in our language is *Playtul'kni·*; that means the 'One on High,' 'Somebody up there.' That's the name we give God in our language now. It's all the same."

Not all informants are so definite in their syncretism. One elderly woman remarked: "Who is Kemu'kemps? I don't know. Sometimes I think he's God, but sometimes I think he must be Devil. Maybe he was just a story the old Indians made up. But they called him Playtul·kni· and that means God. My grandson asked me, 'Gramma, who's Kemu'kemps?' I say, 'I don't know. Maybe he's like God.' " In another connection she remarked: "I think that Kemu'kemps is Devil. He gets people into trouble; he leads them into temptation. When I was a little girl, they said to me, 'He's no good; don't believe that any more.' But I don't know. I see the icicles and I think of the wind and Kemu'kemps. He made the world and they call him Playtul'kni·. The Devil

773 is Mu·natul'kni· ("The One Below"). They say Kemu'kemps is everywhere
776 and that's like God. I think about that sometimes."

177 Undoubtedly, a confusion arises because of the adoption by missionaries,
[792] years ago, of terms for the Christian God which the Klamath had applied to the culture hero. The overlapping of Christian and native concepts is readily seen and provides a basis for debate and doubt.[15] It may be profitable to note some of the views and to determine how variable present attitudes are. There is scarcely any standardization except a very prevalent view that Kemu'kemps is somehow real.

The statements which follow were made by Klamath in response to the general question: What is Kemu'kemps? One man, aged about seventy-four, remarked to Hiroto Zakoji, University of Oregon: "Kemu'kemps disappears when he wants to. He tells what will happen and it happens exactly. He gives power to the Indian doctors [shamans] and sends them their songs. But I heard in stories that Kemu'kemps does bad things; he does tricks. I think he is mean, too. God in the Bible is mean sometimes, too. In the Bible it says that God is a jealous god. That's in the first Genesis [sic] and the Ten Commandments says that, too . . . . Sometimes I think Kemu'kemps is the Devil himself. There is a place near the dam over near Chiloquin on this side of the river. There is a big rock sticking out over there near a cave. Kemu'kemps tricks people to go there and dance when a girl reaches the age [puberty]. He misleads people. But God sometimes does bad things; he made Adam and Eve, but he also made the apple."

Two older male informants told separately versions of a myth about Kemu'kemps as a trickster. In the tale, the culture hero set what appeared to be venison up on poles. When the people present asked for some, he at once welcomed them to a feast. To their horror, they found that they were eating Kemu'kemps' feces. The hero laughed and disappeared. The remarks of a man, aged sixty-two, are of interest: "Can you imagine him doing a thing like that? I think that's just a disgusting old Indian story. God wouldn't do a thing like that, so Kemu'kemps must be Devil. But God made plagues in Egypt and maybe that's what this was like."

Although some informants conclude that the culture hero is an older revelation of the Christian God, others, as may be seen, are equally convinced that he is allied with or is the Christian Satan. But the ambivalent attitude appears to be most characteristic. H. Zakoji, of the University of Oregon, reports the following statement from a 74-year-old male informant: "I don't know what he is, God or Devil or what he is. According to the Bible, we worship one God. Nobody ever saw God and white people say that. That's what gets me. Kemu'kemps dealt with the Indians only. He must be before Christ came and he must have disappeared when Christ came." In another connection, he said to me: "If Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came, then Christ conquered him. They say when Christ died, he conquered sin and the Devil.

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[113] [15] These statements suggest the views of Father Wilhelm Schmidt and their implications as given in his *High Gods of North America* (Oxford, 1933), especially chap. 8.

773 That's why Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came. But then I remember 776 them talking when I was young about how Kemu'kemps was coming back. 177 That was all lies so I guess Kemu'kemps must be the Devil. Still, they say he created all just like God. I don't know how to figure it."

Mention was made above that the culture hero had a son who was born miraculously. The possible relationship between 'Ayšiš and Jesus has caught the fancy of some. A man of seventy comments: "Yes, Kemu'kemps and God are one and the same. There's a story that says how Kemu'kemps saved a woman's baby when she jumped into the fire and that baby was raised as his own son. I don't believe it. God created all living things. He made the Devil, too. I think 'Ayšiš is the Devil because he's always trying to get the best of his father. We old Indians knew about God but we didn't know about our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

A 56-year-old woman remarked: "Yes, Kemu'kemps is God and he had a son, just like Jesus. 'Ayšiš even dies and comes alive again in the old Indian stories, and that's like the Christians teach. And that Holy Ghost business, that's the power that God gives. The Indians knew about that. That's why you say 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' "

But so concise a syncretism of aboriginal and Christian religious elements [184] is rare. Younger people vary greatly in belief. One man, about thirty-eight, noted: "Kemu'kemps? They told us stories about him when we were kids. They said he's like God. It doesn't matter to me. Maybe he is; they always say how he made everything around here. Maybe he did; things get that way somehow." A 31-year-old woman remarked: "Kemu'kemps stuff is what they tell kids. That's old Indian devil-talk. I don't know nothing about it." And a 16-year-old girl stated: "I've heard my grandmother talk about Kemu'kemps. That's kind of scary stuff like the dead coming back to haunt [823] you. There's a cave up on the Sprague River where they say Kemu'kemps used to live. Maybe he still lives there. Anyway, I wouldn't walk up that road in the dark."

A woman of about fifty-five, when questioned about the religious training [869] she gave the grandchild entrusted to her care, answered: "Children learn about the Bible very fast. I tell my granddaughter the old Bible stories and she likes to hear them. But I steer off of that old Indian stuff. I think we ought to get away from those old Indian superstitions. I'll sure get mad if anybody scares her with stories about those old Indian things like Kemu'kemps."

Her statement sets the tone for the future. The old beliefs are being lost, and although still very general, they stand out most vividly only in the minds of those who were raised in the period of the second Ghost Dance and the analogous revivalistic movements which followed it. While they obtained, during their upbringing, a detailed background of native Klamath mythology, they succeed, according to their own inclinations, in passing on their point of view to their descendants, or they may fail to do so. The attitudes indicated above are individual; no debate about the nature of Kemu'kemps or related [795] concepts has been noted. While the formally organized religious groups, including the Shakers (however dependent on the aboriginal patterns of

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

723 shamanism and curing), consistently oppose any such conceptual survival,
776 the point does not emerge as a significant controversy.

Thus, despite the decline of Klamath culture, something of the aboriginal
177 world-view persists. If the unformalized aspects of culture have a greater life-
[795] expectancy than the formalized and institutionalized ones, then the point of view reflected in myth, a series of cultural premises, must in some form outlast the setting of the point of view into motion through actual behavior. This has apparently happened among the Klamath. The overt behavioral aspects are gone entirely, but some individuals uneasily attempt to bridge a gap. The mechanisms which produced a Ghost Dance and a Shaker Cult are now merely vestigial but still present.

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will be that way too, sometime. (41) All of us will be thus, we will grow old." (42) Thus my old man [father?] told us—often to us in the evening—even in the evening he spoke to [us] thus. (43) In the evening, [as] we were sitting around the fire, in our house.

(44) And he always advised me thus, "Living like that is good," he said. (45) "If you do anything [wrong] like that, then you will never be able to live here—if you would be a trouble-maker—no. (46) Everything would hem you in, evil. (47) And the law would also follow you. (48) They will always catch you," he said. (49) "[You] can never hide from the law today. (50) The white men have brought us the law. (51) So we will do thus—now we follow it, we have with them—divided it recently—since we divided up the country with them—so we will do thus. (52) We will live as they have told us, having laid down the law on this reservation. (53) And they want us to live in this way, as long as we do not do thus, evil. (54) Then they would take us there, and they would put us inside, there where you do not come back out." (55) Thus they told us, long ago. (56) That's as far as [I will tell it]. [177]

Introductory Note to Text 38

The informants for this text were Mrs. Amanda Cowan, Mrs. Pansy Ohles, and Mrs. Cowan's son, Ransome. Mr. Andrew Ortiz, Jr., a young Klamath friend who does not speak the language but who has a great interest in the old ways, was also present.

Mrs. Cowan is reputed to be the oldest living member of the Klamath tribe, and her age was variously reported as 100, 102, and 104. She retains all her faculties, and the day the author's party visited her, she was spry and cheerful and delighted to help the author understand her language.

Mrs. Ohles began the conversation by describing one of Mr. David's myths (Text 13), which she had heard on the author's tape recorder, to Mrs. Cowan. The machine was turned on at this time, and the conversation was left to run more or less freely thereafter. Later, the author asked about various Klamath forms whose meaning he was unsure of, and also about animals and plants, hoping to add to the corpus. Near the end of the session, Mrs. Ohles discussed kinship relationships and [126]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

[For information on the current status of aboriginal mythology, see 8: Spencer, category 116.]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

INTRODUCTION

The present study is based on information gathered among the Klamath for the University of California during two visits, each for a month, in 1925 and 1926. Klamath material culture was partly known from Barrett's description of his collection made twenty years ago. The immediate need appeared to be a study of their religion and social organization. Gatschet's account of The Klamath Indians published in 1890 contains many data on shamans' songs and allied topics, but it does not provide any systematic notion of their meaning. 114

The Klamath still live in their old home in southern Oregon, but their ancient culture exists only in their memories, save as the older people keep up domestic pursuits. Yet even middle-aged people have a very good knowledge of it. My elderly informants had all participated in the old life in their youth. These were Nancy Phillips, Pat Kane, and Coley Ball, all three about seventy, and Thomas Lang, about fifty-five. With the exception of Mrs. Phillips they gave information in English: in her case (the most valuable material) Mr. Lang and his son Delford acted as interpreters. 131 178 115

The social life of the Klamath is so much a thing of the past that only its formal aspects can now be recovered. An intimate picture is impossible. But to avoid a stilted expression I have written the account in the historical present. The description of material culture and economic life is not complete. It is still partly extant among the Klamath and well worth investigating. 128

In a final section I have attempted to place the Klamath in a setting of western cultures as a whole. This has been difficult because of the lack of comparative data from much of the northwest; further, only a fraction of the published accounts is available to me at this writing (in Norman, Oklahoma).

The phonetic scheme is the simpler system of the Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages (Smithsonian Misc. Coll., 66, no. 6, 1916), modified as:

ä as in *Allen*, pronounced more like *Ellen*.
ŋ as in *sing*.
ᴇ indefinite, obscure vowel; very short duration.
ḳ very far back.
ṛ cerebral; tongue tip probably turned back as Gatschet states (the sequence kr also occurs).
g̣ cerebral; may be the same sound.

[p. vii]

do keep up their ordinary occupation in part during this time. They 841
dig roots for instance, but others must care for the products further, else the women will never find any more.

There is no comparable rite for boys at puberty. Nevertheless the 881
time when a boy's voice deepens is recognized as propitious for seeking power. He is sent into the mountains for perhaps five days, to wander [787]
at night, running continually, piling up rocks, swimming in the mountain pools and eddies of the rivers, fasting the while until a song comes to him in a dream. He must use a head-scratcher. Preadolescent boys [866]
are tossed into the river or whipped while they sleep. If the boy whimpers he will be a weakling; he is expected to jump up and shout. I have cited above the case of Lᴇle'ks who was so treated at puberty, it seems, and thus lost his transvestite habits.

> When I [Pat Kane] was a little boy of seven or ten, my father sometimes 866
> threw me into the river while I slept. I did not ask why. Finally he told me, 159
> "I do not want to kill you. I do it so that when you are grown you will not easily get sick, so that if you are shot you will recover quickly." I always bathed in the river as a boy and you see that I have never even had rheumatism until recently.

DEATH AND MOURNING

Klamath funereal observances are personal, non-ceremonial, and 764
somewhat unique in that they provide occasions for the seeking of power. There are no mourning anniversaries. [765]

Cremation is the universal practice, even for suicides, the newborn, and the stillborn. Only the bodies of secretly aborted infants are buried in the bush. The body of a man killed in war is brought [727]
home for cremation.[98]

> Some Klamath men were trapping in the mountains west of Crater lake about eighty years ago when they were met by some Upland Takelma who killed four or five. One boy alone escaped and made his way back to Klamath marsh at night. The Takelma took scalps, hands, and feet of the dead, and held a dance. Many Klamath went to fetch the bodies, which they brought to Klamath marsh for incineration.

Near each group of settlements is a spot where all cremations take place. It is somewhat apart from the settlements but not isolated.

> Three of these serve the Klamath marsh people; on the eastern side of the marsh near the towns k'ᴇtaiwas (2, see maps, figs. 1–3), gūpgūa'ksi (3), and l'wal (4). For others of this division of the tribe, there is one on Sprague

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[98] Cremation was given up forty or more years ago ("in about 1868," Gatschet, 1:86). The first burial was that of a Molala man, married to a Klamath woman, who was killed by a Klamath. [177]
[178]

This is a spirit. Doubtful as spirits are certain other stones; yati'a 776
which stands at I'wal, and nē'ķnūķ, a group of stones back of
Du'"Ilķūt, both towns on Klamath marsh. These are "shaman 776
stones"; evidently once living things, for it was said that they were 756
transformed when Crow laughed at them.

A Molala struck one of the nē'ķnūķ stones with a basket, saying, "How can this rock have power?" He soon sickened and died. The nē'ķnūķ is a shaman.

SHAMANISM

The shaman (ķiu'ks) is one who has acquired more than usual 756
spirit power. This is a relative matter; some shamans have considerably more power than others, and everyone who has got power is in some degree capable of using it as a shaman does. One of my informants, for example, now avowedly a member of the pseudo-Christian Shaker sect, maintains that he too is a little qualified; he can make it rain. Shamanism is completely individualistic among the Klamath; there are no shamanistic organizations.

It is clear that the shaman is the most important individual in 756
Klamath society, taking precedence over rich men, the chiefs. Sha-
mans' houses are the largest in the village and they have at least as 622
much property as wealthy laymen. Invariably my informants spoke first of shamans in describing outstanding individuals. Their behavior and practices were readily formulated, whereas I experienced considerable difficulty in learning the functions and even the names of chiefs.
It is reasonably certain that the status of the chiefs, that is the rich
men, was relatively unimportant until the introduction of horses in [178]
the middle of the last century stimulated trading with the Columbia
river tribes and perhaps brought in some of the northern view of the [177]
importance of wealth and chieftaincy. There is no doubt that the position of chiefs was strengthened by the habit of the whites of dealing with chiefs and other prominent laymen.

Shamans are both men and women, but unlike the Shasta, the 756
majority are men. My informants mentioned many men shamans
during the course of my visits, and this probably did not exhaust 562
their memories; but on request they could muster only four women [171]*
shamans and one berdache. Women never acquire the prestige of men for they are rarely credited with such unusual powers as men. They cannot wander in the mountains nor dive for power so well as men;

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

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two lie in the same vertical plane.[340] The split willow strands are flat and are so placed as to break joints, leaving uncovered sections of the foundation rods exposed between the coil stitches.

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In former days hats were the only baskets decorated by the introduction of designs. Today the majority of baskets are twined bowls, intended largely for sale to the whites, to which these decorations have been transferred. Or, one might legitimately say that the modern bowls are degenerate examples of the old hats, since the techniques are practically identical.

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As to the materials used in decoration, Barrett observes that the "designs are usually worked out in the reddish brown roots of the tule, though the outer leaf skin of a certain jointed rush [*Phragmites?*] which provides a shiny, creamy white material is also used. For the finer baskets the quills of the porcupine, dyed yellow by means of a yellow moss, probably the widely used *Evernia vulpina*, are used,"[341] or more rarely, tule leaf, aged to yellow, according to Merrill. The latter also notes that rarely tule and porcupine quills are dyed a bright pink with the root of an unknown plant.[342] Alder bark (wip'-läm, *Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt.) furnishes an orange dye, according to Coville,[343] which may have been used for basket materials. The bark is peeled from the tree in spring or scraped at other seasons, and boiled in water. Coville also states that tule strands are dyed black, and called mŏk'-wäs. "Ordinarily this is accomplished by immersing the tule stems in the black mud of sluggish springs containing iron. A superior color, however, is obtained by the addition of a quantity of wokas hulls, which contain a large amount of tannin. The same result is now frequently secured by these Indians by prolonged soaking of the tule stems in an iron kettle, in water containing a liberal amount of the hulls."[344]

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A number of designs placed on bowls and hats were recorded (fig. 17).[345] These bear names, and according to my information, the habit of naming them antedates the whites. Decoration is generically

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[340] My notes not being altogether clear on this point, they have been corrected by Miss Isabel Kelly.

[341] *Op. cit.*, 254. Coville (Notes, 88) confirms this identification (native name, shwă'-wi-säm) and adds that the quills are obtained from the Modoc, but I see no reason why they should not obtain their own.

[342] P. 221.

[343] Notes, 94.

[344] Wokas, 737; Notes, 92.

[345] These are arranged so that the rim of the basket must be understood to be above the design, that is, in the order of their manufacture. My notes are uncertain whether figure 17i is correctly placed.

343 is gable-shaped, the ridgepole being supported at each end on a pair of struts thrust obliquely into the margin of the pit. Sticks and bark resting on this form the roof; a layer of dry grass and dirt covers the whole. This stands three and a half feet above the ground. The entrance, which is quite small, is covered by a mat (fig. 20).

Stones, heated outside, are rolled into a hollow in the lodge. There does not seem to be any prescribed place for this, as among other peoples. The stones are said to be at the rear in the winter lodge, and anywhere in the summer affair, but in a winter lodge that I saw, the hollow was near the doorway to the right of one entering, and at the back in a summer lodge. For the use of five or ten men, I was [801] told, a large summer lodge has the stones at the center. Five is the Klamath pattern number, but it was said that there was no prescription of the number who may enter at one time, nor of the number of times they sweat. Water is thrown on the hot stones after they are somewhat cooled, otherwise the steam would scald the inmates. There is a certain amount of rivalry on the part of those who have the water to drive the others out by raising steam; sometimes four or five have it at one time.[376]

They talk to the stones when sprinkling them, asking to be cured, to live long, work well, to have luck in gambling, and to get spirits. This is the same as talking to the water when swimming on a vision quest. "The stones are 'doctor'; the water is 'doctor.'" They talk to [562] the wind, the mountains, the water. Everyone outside is quiet. Men and women go into these lodges together.

Coville observes that "the branches and twigs of the 'cedar,' (*Librocedrus decurrens* Torr.) are often used in administering a sweat bath to a sick person."[377]

343 The three sweat-lodges used solely by mourners closely resemble the "winter" lodge. In fact, the lodge just north of Klamath Agency does not differ in any respect. I have seen but one of the other two, that near Algoma. This is now a U-shaped wall of stones which once bore a rough gable roof covered with dirt. It is much larger than the [178] winter lodge, enclosing an area ten by twenty feet.[378] It may be suggested that conservatism has preserved the type for this use, while for secular uses it has been, or is being, supplanted by the dome-shaped lodge.

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[376] For a tale describing such rivalry, see p. 37.

[377] Notes, 88.

[378] For its description and use, see pp. 73 f.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Southeast Salish NR19

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This is undoubtedly true equally of all the tribes lying in the Columbia 262
drainage from the Rockies to the Cascades. It is known to be so of
tribes as far apart as the Wishram and the Lower Kutenai,[113] and of 171*
others lying between, as the Middle Columbia Salish and the Nez Percé
in their original condition. K

The Nez Percé case calls for explanation. The present culture of 171*
the Nez Percé is Plains-like. But there can be little doubt that much, 105
if not the overwhelming part of the Plains traits among them, dates
only from the introduction of horses into the Snake-Columbia basin, 177
sometime between 1750 and 1800. With the horse came not only horse
gear and all the elements of Plains nomadism, but the opportunity for
buffalo hunting and trading on an extensive scale in the Plains. Many
of the Snake-Columbia tribes began to make periodic visits beyond
the Rockies from this time. Teit's account of the Middle Columbia SS
Salish makes it quite clear that prior to the coming of the horse, 114
typical Plateau culture, practically devoid of Plains elements, pre- 105
vailed over the entire area. Even the picture of life among the Nez
Percé and their neighbors presented to Lewis and Clark as late as 177
1804–6 was far more that of the Plateau at large than it is in our own K
day. The earlier situation is largely obscured by the fact that the 171*
Yakima and Klickitat in their eastern Washington location have many
Plains-like features. Teit's investigations make it reasonably certain, 105
however, that the situation prior to the end of the eighteenth century 177
was quite different. At that time eastern Washington to south of the
Columbia river was occupied by Salish tribes with typical Plateau
culture. Subsequently the Yakima-Klickitat moved northward, prob-
ably from east central Oregon, to their historic habitat.[114] It seems
reasonable to assume that up to that time they, like the Nez Percé, had
little in the way of Plains culture. K

Even today the food habits of the Sahaptins are not those of the 171*
Plains. What I am suggesting here is that the balance of vegetal 177
products and fish, now nearly even, rather favored fish in the days 178•
before hunting was so readily followed. 262

So far as general habits of life go, the river culture of the Klamath K
links them also with the tribes on the lower reaches of the Klamath 101
river. But their food habits do not quite coincide. Yurok, Hupa, and K
Shasta all make a larger use of acorns than of fish, although observers 171*

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[113] Chamberlain, Kootenay, 183. 262

[114] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish; a map showing the early distribution is included in Haeberlin, *et al.*, Coiled Basketry in British Columbia.

ELEMENTS DENIED

BASIC ECONOMY

Hunting

223 Snares, nets, traps, booths and blinds.--Bag
net used for waterfowl. Poles with stones as
224 weights for deadfall. Pitfall with noose in
bottom of pit. Arrow with string attached. Decoys,
disguises; other hunting techniques.--
Wooden head used as visual decoy. Live birds
used as decoys (At: recently only). Live mammals
[178] used as decoys (Kl: recently only). Hide
fan, to smoke out rodents. Butchering of large
game.--Deer's eyes eaten raw by hunter.

Fishing

226 Nets; weirs, scaffolds, pens; traps.--Tule-wrapped clay ball sinkers. Bag net dragged. Shell rattle on net. Stick pens, not associated with weirs. Basketry or pole trough. Angling; other techniques.--Feather "fly." Hair "fly." Hair string or ball. Knot or block on end of line. Shooting fish taboo. Lamprey gaff. Buckeye used for poisoning fish. Fishing observances.--Special disposal of salmon or other fishbones. First-fish rite: priest or chief catches first fish; only priest or chief eats first fish; similar rite for lampreys.

Gathering

222 Gathering techniques and observances; preagriculture.--Stone ring weighted digging stick. Digging stick with footrest. Bone or horn pointed digging stick. Stone pointed digging stick. Horn seed beater. Seed knife. Agriculture. Irrigation of wild-seed crops.

Domesticated Animals and Pets

231 Dogs, birds, bear, etc.--Domesticated animals, other than dog. Named after owner's totem. Separate dog house, conical, thatched. Own totem animal kept.

Food and Its Handling

262 Animals eaten.--Road runner (informants from
825 all groups except MF, NF, MV ignorant as to any
bird by this name, which indicates its probable
absence. MF, NF do not eat it, MV regard it as
poisonous.) Buzzard (WS, MM, NF, NM informants
stated buzzard absent from area). Crabs. Slugs.
252 Frogs. Food preparation.--Small mammals pounded
before eating. Dried meat or fish ground, berries
added. Bone awl for lamprey splitting.
Acorns leached in openwork basket. Acorn "coffee"
(NS: modern). Stone boiling in stone
bowls; in hide in ground; in paunch in ground.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

BASIC 1

Hunting

Driving and pursuing.--

000 2. AE: Antelope doctor sings (charms) antelope; animals come toward round tule corral, with single entrance. People stationed outside corral wave branches to frighten antelope, head them toward entrance. Woman inside corral kill (club?) antelope. Done in spring, for antelope only; not for deer.

5. WT: Noose hung at funnel end.

6. As described by Dixon, Maidu, 192-193. SW: Deer driven along straight-line fence, in winter; no pit.

7. AW: Over cliff into snow, on Pit River.

8. See also element 113. SW: Fat deer run down from mountains by hunters into river in autumn; other hunters shoot deer as it floats down-river.

9. E.g., in narrow canyon.

10. Mo: Net of this type mentioned in myth; not actually used. SW: Snares set on deer trails, but deer not driven down trails. See element 28. At, AW: Set net up above water, on long poles; approach net at night in canoe (no light on canoe) and birds fly into net. AW: Also drive rabbits into nets, but only occasionally.

11. Kl: See note 44.

[224] 12. Kl: Mountain encircled with fire in daytime; 30-40 men, some women, gather the deer. Mo: At night, for deer.

14. SW: Elk especially hard to kill; run elk down, in order to shoot it.

15. NS: 2-3 men or more pursue wounded deer 4-5 days sometimes.

21. AE: Hunters on snowshoes run herds of deer into narrow canyons; snow "has to have a crust on it, to hurt deers' legs."

23. AE: In fall only, when water scarce and big bucks fat, hunter tracks buck with dog; "he camps right on the deer's trail until he shoots it; usually it takes 2 days."

Snares, nets, traps.--

24. MV: Use bow and arrow chiefly in hunting; boys use sling. Eat deer mainly in fall; rest of year eat salmon, sucker, sturgeon, ducks, vegetable food. "The people didn't have a hard time getting a living here in the valley, so they didn't use so many snares, nets, traps, for game."

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26. Kl: Informant stated several times that Klamath Marsh group did not eat rabbits, squirrels, other small mammals. "Lately they do, though; they eat ground hogs." He could give no reason for former nonuse of small mammals. Spier, Klamath, 156-157, lists porcupine, beaver, ground hog, mink, otter, raccoon, jack rabbit,

[169-A]

ON THE ELEMENT LIST

ECONOMY

224 cottontail rabbit, ground squirrel, tree squirrels
[178] as having been eaten, but observes (p. 155) that
"the Klamath are not much given to hunting." Cp.
[262] elements 361-380. Mo: Secure rabbits only if
chance upon them. MM: Rabbits scarce; kill 1 or
2 occasionally; no nets, surround.

28. Kl: Noose, k'nIs; set up on sapling, or limb of tree, at night, for deer. Smaller nooses set on ends of poles on riverbanks at night for ducks. SE, SW: Deer snares used only at night; Mo, At, AW, AE, WT; day and night.

29. Kl: See note 28.

31. Kl: See note 26. AE: Twine snares suspended from clumps of sagebrush. This is a recent method of securing rabbits.

223 32. At: Woodpeckers; noose suspended over hole; end of noose tied to branch of tree.

36. For geese and duck; described by Dixon, Maidu, 195.

39. AW: See note 10.

40. WM: Ducks, geese, fly across McCloud area, but rarely light on McCloud River; do light on Upper Sacramento River; plentiful on Pit River. MM: Ducks obtainable occasionally in winter only; not many.

42. At, AW: See note 10.

224 44. Kl: Large net set on stakes in wide, closed circle, to surround herd of antelope. Brush fastened to top of net. Clumps of brush (within area encompassed by net) set afire at several spots, to frighten out antelope; when latter run out men stationed inside net wave the brush affixed to top of net, and others shoot antelope; women sometimes secure antelope barehanded, if animals exhausted. Surrounds (nel'qa) with nets such as these held in Williamson River, Klamath Marsh areas; "wherever they saw lots of antelope in valley."

000 47. WT: During mating season of gray squirrels, stretch nets around tree trunk, 2-3 ft. from base of trunk; no opening in net; as squirrels frolic from 1 tree to other, they are caught in nets.

51. SE, MM: Woodpeckers removed by hand from nest; eaten and topknot saved. At: See note 32. NF, NS: Woodpecker holes stopped with grass. MV: Shot with bow and arrow, in fall.

52. MV: Net draped over cascara bushes, where quail roost.

53. SW: Basket similar to platter shown in Dixon, Shasta, p. 400, fig. 76a, used. WM, WS: Long tubular basket, with small round mouth at 1 end, woven of willows, set inside brush double lean-to in winter. Snow on ground inside lean-to cleared off and acorn meal sprinkled on bare ground; when birds inside house eating meal man throws rocks at walls of lean-to; frightened birds fly into basket; man crawls into lean-to and secures birds in the basket. Same device

[169-B]

262 510. Kl: Inner bark of yellow pine secured
824 in June; by July "too hard."
512. Eaten fresh, raw or cooked on coals;
000 dried, for winter, strung on willow withe. MM,
NF: Ground burned for better crop; denied by
MV. MV: Cooked with fish.

Eating customs.--
515. WT, WM, WS: For acorn soup.
516. WM: For acorn soup. WS: For acorn soup and deermeat.
[264] 519. Kl: Eat any time during day; sometimes
men eat alone, sometimes men, women, children eat together.
521. Fresh food cooked and served. WT: Fresh batch food not cooked; "they dish out whatever they have on hand and set it before the visitors."
524. NF, MV: With buckskin.

Storage of food.--
525. AW: Acorns stored chiefly in pits; "too cold here in winter for outdoor granaries; have to bury acorns."
527. Bark used as cover for top; dirt piled up around stump.
528. Mo: Poles occasionally laid across boughs of cedar tree; tule sacks containing food stored on this pole platform. AW: Food stored on platform in oak tree; "poison" (animate) set on top of food; if any person, animal appears to steal food, poison shoots thief.
530. For illustration of this type, see Kroeber, Handbook pl. 38. WT: Informant, shown picture of granary just referred to, stated WT use similar granary, but that it is thatched (?) to some extent on sides.
531. NM, NS, MV: 4 upright posts only, for frame. NM: Hole in bottom, to take acorns out. MV: Hole in side.
532. AE: Food, hides hung up in branches of junipers; popular method of storage.
[251] 533. Kl: Recent custom; "may have done it
[178] formerly also." NS: Used for temporary purposes only.
539. AW: If leaving village for a time, bury acorns in pit dug inside sweat house; cover hole with tule mats, etc.

Exchange of food.--
540. Kl: "Whoever has no food, Indians give
262 him some; they help each other, just like 1
437 family." MV: Informant emphasized fact that between villages food given as gift, but also mentioned that mountain varieties of acorns are purchased from MF, MM groups.
542. AE: Food divided in time of famine.
545. Kl: If 2 men hunting, meat divided
224 equally; if more than 2, killer gets slightly larger share. Mo: Killer keeps deer hide. SW:
000 If 2 men, killer gets most; if meat cut up, cooked or dried and divided in camp, all receive equal share. If driving deer into river, driver gets head, hide, foreleg of deer. At: Killer

000 2 arrows simultaneously from bow in war; informant's father authority for this.

1048. MM: For shooting game. For shooting in war, arrow is underneath bow.

1049. SE, SW, At, AW: Rich man uses skin of gray fox, otter; ordinary man uses skin of raccoon, wildcat, kit fox, fawn. WT: Spotted fawnskin. WM: Rich man uses otter, fisher skin; sign of wealth. Ordinary man uses fawn, wildcat skin.

1064. Mo: Purchased or traded for; wealthy persons only.

[411
726
178] 1067. Kl: Denied for pre-white days; "now people use spears." At: Ascribed to Kl; denied for At. AW: "Yana used obsidian knife on an 8-ft. stick."

Daggers, slings, bola; armor.--

1071. AW: Obsidian "butcher knife"; jabbed.

1073a. WT, WM, WS: See 2853 and note.

1078. Mo: Natural clay balls, or moist clay picked up, rolled between hands.

1080. NF, NM: Single rock, shaped, 1 end heavier than other, tied to 1 end of string. A NF relative of informant, who had never seen any specimens of this implement but had heard it described, voluntarily likened it to bola.

714
824 1081. Kl: Made of split serviceberry stalks, woven into form of tunic; tied together on right side, under armpit.

1082. Kl: 1-piece; no sleeves; 2 arm holes; tied together on 1 side and at top, over 1 shoulder. Arrow unable to penetrate such. AE: Ascribed to Kl; said to have been made "like an apron, lacking any back piece."

000 1084. AW: String in center, by which to hold shield. Used also against guns, in recent times, but "didn't work."

Household Implements

Mortars and pestles.--

[412] 1085. Among several groups bedrock mortar used chiefly for substances which require hard pounding, such as acorns. AW: Pit mortar in solid rock, used by shaman to pound his poison; regarded as "dangerous." AE: Informant stated pit mortars occur in vicinity of Fall River (AW area); used, according to him, to pound acorns in (see above). MV: No rocky outcrops suitable for this type mortar present in area.

1090. MV: "People did not want to have anything to do with objects which had been already made." See also note 1093.

1091. Mo: Small mortars used to keep paint in. SW: Not only mortar, but small stone pestle of "dangerous" variety (found, not manufactured) used by doctor. When treating patient, shaman sends this pestle upward; it travels by short cut to road which dead traverse, and blocks this road, so dead person cannot travel over it; "then there is a chance for the doctor to cure the person, since the road is blocked." Old

000 decorated with this overlay; therefore boiling baskets not decorated.

1303. AE: Imported, mainly, from Paiute groups adjoining AE on E, but a few also manufactured by AE. Have used them "for many years; the Paiute got that jug from a little horntoad that lives out on the desert; he had one of these, so they learned from him. Then the AE learned from the Paiute, a long time ago."

1305. AE: Some dislike expressed for pitch coating; water tastes "bitter."

1306. AW: Three types used: (1) large basket, used for transporting fine seeds. (2) large, used for carrying wood, acorns, other large objects. (3) smaller than first type and made to sit flat on ground. Used in conjunction with beater, when collecting fine seeds; during day's gathering woman dumps contents of this seed basket into larger basket of first type, which is true pack basket, and carries seeds home in latter. Distribution of such a separate seed-collecting basket probably widespread in California, but as matter not enquired into fully enough among various groups, all conical seed baskets are classed herein as pack baskets, although seldom regarded as such by those making and using them. WT: Three types used: (1) Large basket with designs on it; used for packing. (2) Large basket, used as pack basket. (3) Smaller basket with designs; used to beat seeds into. Some question as to whether third type has rounded bottom or is truncated cone, but it sits by itself at any rate.

1307-1308. AW: Refer to large pack basket used for acorns only. WT: Refers to large plain pack basket.

1309. SE: Specimens of such, attributed to Shasta, seen in display at Lassen National Park Museum. AW: Refers to small seed gathering basket (type 3; see note 1306).

1311. AW: Refers to large pack basket (type 2; see note 1306).

1312. AW, WT: Entry refers to types (1) and (3); see note 1306.

1313. SE, SW: Specimens of close-twined conical burden baskets, attributed to Shasta, seen in collection of Lassen National Park Museum, however. AW, WT: Refers to type (1) only; see note 1306.

1314. WT: Entry refers to type (3) only; see note 1306.

1315. AW: Entry refers to type (3) only; see note 1306.

1317. AW, WT: Entries refer to types (1) and (3) only; see note 1306.

285
531
237
178

Baskets: decoration.--

1337. Kl: Formerly used in natural color, now dyed yellow. Kl, Mo: Used on "expensive" baskets only.

000 1338. At: "Shiny feathers from duck's neck; used sparingly. NS: Woman making feather-decorated basket remains indoors until basket

000 completed; reason unknown. MV: Small basketry disks, used as earrings, only variety feather-decorated basketry ware.

1340. NS: Woodpecker and quail crests used. MV: Woodpecker, quail, and mallard duck feathers used.

285 1341. Kl: Black, white, tan; porcupine quills
531 natural color formerly; now dyed yellow. Mo:
237 Yellow, black and white, plus tan background.
178 WM, WS: Red, black, white, yellow, plus tan.
NM, NS: Red, white or tan, black. No specimens of any 4-color baskets seen.

Cradles.--

854 1342-1352. Two types cradles entered under elements 1342-1352 for several groups. If entry refers to 1 of 2 types only, note records to which entry refers. Positive entry without note means entry applies to both types. For additional data on use of cradles see 3263-3286. Kl: Cradles of indeterminate type, between sitting and lying forms; have been somewhat arbitrarily entered as
000 lying form (see 1353-1363). Mo: Indeterminate type, like Kl, but apparently used more as sitting than lying cradles. Type (1) first cradle, for newborn babe; shallow tule basket cradle. Type (2) second cradle, for older infant; willow cradle with pointed bottom that can be stuck in ground. SE: (1) First cradle; board (see left figure). (2) Second cradle for older infant, Y-frame (see right figure). Informant emphatic infant sits in both types cradle, "with feet hanging down," although child could also lie down in both types. SW: Types (1), (2) for newborn infants, older infants differ only in size; both always used as sitting cradles. At: (1) soft tule cradle, used 2-3 months. (2) Same shape cradle, used for older infant. AW: (1) small cradle for newborn infant, twined, of wil-

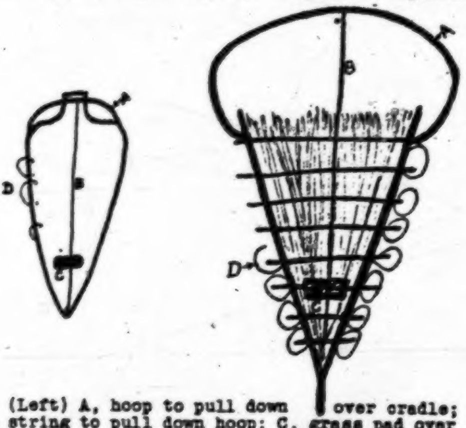

(Left) A, hoop to pull down over cradle; B, string to pull down hoop; C, grass pad over which child's legs dangle; D, lashings.
(Right) A, willow hoop; B, string to pull down hoop; C, rolled tule mat over which child's legs dangle; D, lashings.

000 2475. MV: Shoe-leather disk, also top of tin can used for recent buzzers. Using buzzer "makes people sick; don't use it much."

2483. SE: Name for buzzer similar to that for bird that makes whirring noise at night; when playing with buzzer people say they "are making the deer fat."

2484. WM: "The puisus (Achomawi) play this, but WM never do."

2485. WT: Informant had never seen Indians play this; had seen Whites doing it.

2489. AW: Names of 2 figures: Sundown; Spider's House.

[524] 2490. Kl, Mo, SW, AW: Popular moving figure is that of "2 coyotes running from each other."

2492. Mo: If play in summer, ensuing winter will be severe.

2494. SW: Figures made during first quarter of moon, in spring especially, to make moon grow (by stretching string).

2494a. Mo: Both informants stated stilts aboriginal. At: "Danced on ice with stilts". Like Mo informant, At informant had used stilts as girl.

2505. WT: Willow-bark bag, sand inside.

2508. Mo: 5-6.

2520. Mo, MM, MF: Narrators presented with small amount of food by auditors; NS: uncertain about this; MV: denied. Not inquired into for other groups. NF: Myths told to youths, men only (during secret society initiation?); informant for this group a woman.

[538] [855] 2522. Kl: Belief held more in jest than in earnest; told to small children who "would never go to sleep."

2523. SW: If myths told toward spring, look out for rattlesnake.

[481] [883] 2527. Kl: Youths "made to swim in winter anyway"; no rule which applies to myth telling per se.

Social Dances

Circle dances.--

535 177 2529. Kl: See note 2076. Dance Kl brought back from N with drum was "a round dance; men and women danced, holding hands, men on 1 side, women on other of single circle, with fire inside in middle. It was held any time of year, but mostly in summer, just for fun. Given at night; people stopped dancing around midnight. [No leader who brought it back, or no data on such.] One man might say, 'Let's have fun'; people told each other; they came and danced. The drummer was the leader; he sang, and the men and women dancers sang too. The drummer stood by himself; just 1 man drummed. The
● [178] Kl no longer give this dance; the old people have mostly died." Mo: Dance relatively slight affair;
000 "a few young people assemble for 'evening joy' dance; join hands and go around fire in circle; old man watches them. When they become reckless, he stops dance." SW: Circle dance (k'aphek), an old summer dance, given for pleasure sometimes;

[206-B]

000 3773. WT: Each month when period begins menstruant stands over nest of piss ants, allows ants to crawl up her legs and bite her, to induce menopause.

Marriage

Child betrothal.--

584 3774. Kl: Boy and girl know nothing of arrangement; boy's father asks girl's, "What do you think about it; you're going to let her get married when she grows up; what do you think?" Girl's father says, "Yes; I think it [will] be all right." Boy's father then gives girl's people food; "that's how they hold her. When girl grows up, perhaps another boy tries to get her [to marry him]; her father says, 'No; you already belong to that boy over there; we already gave you to those folks.' Boy's father then tells his boy to go get girl, and boy goes after her, and brings her back to his father's house for about 5 days. Even if girl doesn't like youth, she has to comply, and her parents have to give her to her betrothed." Before marriage, boy may take gifts to girl's parents--buckskin, and such. Child betrothal an old form
● [178] of marriage; informant had never seen it carried out in his lifetime. SW: Boy's father sends
000 buckskin load of money by friend to girl's father; latter "sits there and looks at money, and finally accepts it; or, if he doesn't, boy's father may hire shaman to bewitch girl, so she becomes loose woman. AW: Practiced by wealthy. After betrothal arranged, "don't allow any other man to touch that girl." Child betrothal characterized by informant as "real old-time trade." MM: Here, as among other groups, child betrothal highly approved form of marriage. Couples may be of about same age, or young girl may be paid for by old man, who marries her after she reaches puberty.

3775. AE: Usually boy's father goes to girl's family, taking hides, food with him; if girl's father does not wish to enter into agreement, he does not touch present. However, girl's father, if headman, can also start negotiations, if he wishes to. If girl and boy of 2 different local groups betrothed, boy's family "have somebody [who lives near girl] watch the girl until she is grown to see how good or how mean she is."

3776. SE: At time of actual marriage only. WT: See note 3781.

3777. Mo: Boy's side gives meat, girl's side, roots. But concept of "buying" girl recognized, although exchange of gifts also emphasized. SE: Exchange of gifts at time of actual marriage only. At: Boy's side gives meat, girl's side acorns and baskets, while children are young. AE: Exchange some presents, not many.

[584 3777a. Kl, Mo: Denied any taboos; children
784 ignorant that they are betrothed until grown.
858] SE: After boy and girl are betrothed, taboo for them to see each other's face. Boy wears buffalo

[223-A]

00 or elkhide over head when going out of house; is "bashful." If betrothed wishes to give him bad luck, she climbs up on top of sweat house and looks down inside when he is in there eating; this makes him sick.

3781. SW: Man, A, may hire shaman to kill someone on his, A's, behalf. For this, A pays shaman by giving him his daughter, for shaman's son to espouse when both children grow up. Issue of such union are "very valuable"; they are valued "beyond any price." WT: Marked reaction against using child to pay debt. "Chinese do that; they buy women; we never did this."

3783. At: 10 strings shell beads standard payment for bride; paid only at time of marriage. MV: Beads given to girl's mother; she sends back yellowhammer bands, and other ornaments, to boy's family.

Bride purchase.--

584 3785. Kl: Youth's parents tell youth, "You'd better go over and get that woman [naming her], if you want her." Youth says, "Yes, I'll take her, if she likes me." So he goes over to girl's family's house, talks to girl alone; she may refuse, but if she accepts him he brings her back to his father's house, where she sleeps with him 3-5 nights. Girl then returns to her home, unescorted. At end of 5 days her relatives (father, mother, mother's relatives, some neighbors--perhaps 10 people altogether) escort her back to her husband's family's house; take gifts of food, which they present to his mother. In return, groom's family gives dried meat and suckers to bride's parents. Latter distribute these gifts among all people who have come with them. Both families eat together; bride and groom sit together on mat (see elements 3818-3819a). Bride's party departs same day they came, except for bride's mother, who may stay for 3 days, teaching girl how to live, telling her to "work hard all the time; don't let anybody tell you what to do; I'll tell you myself what you can do." In recent times, groom's and bride's fathers have both made speeches at time of marriage observance; tell couple how they are going to live, and other things. Informant had seen them do this

● [178] when a boy. Also, recently, groom's father gives horses and clothes for girl; her family also gives groom's same, "just like a trade. In early

000 days, though, just gave food." AW: Youth's father goes to girl's father's house and talks to her parents, saying, "I like you; we'll 'treat' one another; I'd like to see those young folk stay together." The girl's father smokes, then says, "All right." Sometimes he asks his wife; she tells him it's up to him [father], all on him. Sometimes he says, "No, I can't do that." After this is settled, youth's father collects food and shell currency, then takes these things, together with his family, over to girl's father; big feast given. "It's just as though he's paying for that girl." If both families "have lots

[223-B]

000 that woman; he acts just like a boss toward her."

3975. WT: Also, in Upper Trinity subarea of Wintu, informant had heard of 1 instance of mother-in-law killing daughter-in-law after husband died. "The mother-in-law didn't want that woman to take another husband, so she killed her with a bone needle [dagger?]. She was sorry after she did it; but she didn't like the woman having another husband who would look just like her son; it would make her [mother-in-law] feel badly."

[587] 3976. In case there is no brother-in-law to ask.

3977. If there is no brother-in-law to receive the payment. AW: Sister-in-law may dispose of widow to more-distant male relative of dead husband also.

3980. SW: A divorce "puts a man and woman clear away from each other"; no payment rendered former husband.

562 587 593 3981. Kl: If man does not like his wife for some reason, he announces, "Anyone who wants my wife can take her, if they give me something. If you people don't want her, I'll kill her." The men discuss it; husband repeats the announcement, sets date when he will kill woman; some man finally takes her for wife, gives the husband something; "that's how they save a woman, sometimes." No one knows what trouble between husband and wife prompts man to do this, and man never tells; he doesn't beat his wife, he just sells her. Only done occasionally; when informant was boy such sales still taking place; informant had seen one couple separated this way. Woman not captive.

000 Intercourse; promiscuity.--

3984. NP: Girl cries, fights husband, so girl's mother sleeps beside girl first night latter sleeps with husband.

3985. NP: Do not allow people to sleep lying on back "like dead people"; lie on side and "put their heart in hiding" so no evil will befall sleepers.

[152] [192] 3987. Purse lips and make sound, "čk, čk," repeatedly, close to baby's face. AW: Rub hands over baby's face or neck while making sound; same done between adults. AE: "Learned to make this sound from animals--badger, racccoon."

3988. SE: No virginity tests, but observe boy's actions around girls. AE: If girl's, boy's legs get "heavy" (tired) during girl's puberty dance, sign he or she is not virgin. Spectators watch to see whether this happens. WT: Can tell whether girl is virgin or not by shape of her abdomen, if firm, smooth, judge she is.

[548] [178] 3989. Kl: Prostitution with payment recent custom only.

3990. WM: Especially at girl's puberty dance.

836 3991. Kl: Said to have been *extremely rare*; "girls never ran around; pretty hard to get a woman." Girl's parents wanted girl to marry man who could get her lots of fish, so she would eat

836 well after she married; advised her to take such
for husband. Youths never went round for women
[178] by themselves, formerly; both girls and youths
adhered to marriage rules. SE: Admitted, but said
000 to have been very rare, however. 2 women usually
accompanied girl whenever she went anywhere "in
order to see that men didn't bother her." At:
Mother kept girl beside her during night at fiestas (see also note 3960).

[836
848] 3996. Kl: Must marry girl; youth's parents tell him, "Get that baby back." Youth gets girl, without paying anything for her.

3997. WS: "Very few did marry the girl."

Transvestites

[838] 3999. Mo, MM, MV: Known by informants to exist among such tribes as "Pit River" (Achomawi) and Kl, but denied positively for informants' own groups. SW: Informant himself had many traits of transvestite, although he dressed in men's clothes; most of elements listed positively below for SW are entered from volunteered data and observation of facts rather than as result of direct questioning. At: Referred to as ya'wa'. NM: "In early days didn't have any [transvestites]"; informant knew of only 2 hermaphrodites (?), a Mexican at Auburn and a half-breed woman.

4008. "Because born that way."

4009. AW: Informant for At stated, "1 Pit River (Achomawi) woman, after she'd had children, dreamt to be like that."

[838] 4011. See note 3999. At: Referred to as brumaiwi. Wear false penis (?), made of pitch, suspended from belt.

Death

Treatment of corpse.--

[764] 4021. Kl: Body laid on pyre immediately, left lying there overnight; early next morning burned.

4025. Mo: Shamans only. WM: Painted red. Sun dogs considered sign of shaman's death, "because paint dead red." Red clouds presage death of someone.

4027. MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Yellowhammer-quill band also laid with body. MF, NS: Also basket cut, so it will lie flat like plaque on top of chest; this buried with body. Cut basket on body lacking among NM, MV; dubious for NF.

4028. WT: Elkhide article of great value; chief wrapped in such, and grave "almost filled with shell currency and other valuables. Many visitors come from distance and bring world of things to put in chief's grave." WM: "Other groups [of Wintu] wrap body in bearskin cloak"; WM do not, except in rare instances where head, claws cut off old bearskin, and latter put in grave. New skin never treated thus. MV: Wrap wealthy in bearskin.

4030. NF: Also children up to 2-3 years old buried on their cradle.

[228-B]

strung on it. He never kills bird or animal of same species as his guardian spirit(s), but someone else kills these for him, gives feathers, skins to him. SE: See note 4946. SW: Novice acquires pole, with 10 different objects (feathers, skins) on it; this sacred, kept outside house when not being used during shamanistic performance; at latter, shaman brings pole, plants it in ground outside patient's house. See note 4992. At: After man begins to doctor patients he acquires eagle down, woodpecker feathers, yellowhammer band. Ties these feathers inside his whistle. Also acquires bunch supernatural feathers (kaku) which he keeps tied up on willow branch, near creek; when shaman dies, blood drips from these kaku feathers. When shaman first discovers these feathers they are singing; he walks up to them and picks them up. WM: Shamans pass on their feathers, when old and near death, to another shaman; "keep passing them on from 1 to another. Sometimes the feathers tell doctor to put them in the water ['bury' them]; or feathers may say, 'No, I want to be alive, give me to another doctor.'" If, on receiving the feathers a shaman does not know how to handle them, he tells them he cannot keep them and is going to put them in the water.

4871. At: See preceding At note. Shaman never brings these feathers inside house, or uses them in curing performance; there may be children playing around who might make too much noise; feathers might become disturbed, poison people.

4872. At: See note 4870 At.

4873. At: Also, if man dreams "good" (acquires luck) after birth of child, "he never tells about his dream; if he does, he won't have any luck."

Sucking doctors: doctor-making rites.--

4874. SE, SW: 2 dances entered for each of these groups: (1) dance which novice performs alone in sweat house immediately after obtaining vision; (2) public winter dance in sweat house, following which a novice shaman may start curing. If SE, SW entries for elements 4875-4924 relate to one type dance only, note explains to which; if entries relate to both types dance, no note.

[756] 4874a. Kl: Spier, Klamath, p. 113, says rites
[178] last 5 nights and days; my informant, who had
[184] danced at these performances, said 1, but probably he was referring to more recent curtailed performances. WT: 1-4.

4875. SE: Novice dances 3 nights, alone; public winter dance lasts 2 nights. WM: 4-5 nights.

4877. NF: Doctor dance (yomuse) starts in morning; at noon eat dinner; in afternoon dance again, then eat supper; then dance all night around fire. By daylight dance is over. Men, women shamans dance; women hold fox hides, wildcat hides on sticks, while dancing; men dance inside circle of women dancers, and wear yellowhammer bands on their heads. Novice doctors join in dance. During daytime dancing, shamans, in turn, hold cocoon rattle on stick, gaze straight

[242-A]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

I was informed were sold for three horses each, some cheaper."[6] 000

In the changing conditions of the early nineteenth century, K
the Klamath were caught up in currents generated from without. 175
The advent of horses and of firearms made it possible for the 177
tribes of the east-central Plateau, the eastern Salish and eastern 648
Sahaptin, to cross the Rocky Mountains, to hunt buffalo and [231]
enter into relations, both peaceful and bellicose, with the tribes [411]
of the Plains. As they came under Plains influence, the appeal K
of Plains garb, of parfleches and tipis, grew.[7] The Klamath were [291]
attracted to these new goods, and the clothing at least came to [556]
replace or supplement traditional forms of wealth.

Moreover, the horse and the gun had revolutionized warfare K M
patterns. Although traditional enemies beyond the Cascades 175
were preoccupied with white settlers, on the east the Paiute were 177
gradually developing mounted bands of great mobility and 726
striking power. The Klamath and Modoc were not slow to seek 231
the new instruments of war. 411

The opening trade to the north brought a corresponding K M
intensification of the raids carried south into the territory of the 175
Pit River tribes—the Achumawi and Atsugewi—to capture women 177
and children, Pit River bows, and other loot. As Chiloquin, one 721
of the leaders of the time, recalled:

> When the Snakes [Northern Paiute] made war on us that made us keen to fight other Indians and we made war without provocation on the Pitt Rivers, Shastas and Rogue Rivers, but they never made willing war on us. Those wars lasted a great many years. We found we could make money by war, for we sold the provisions and property captured for horses and other things we needed. It was like soldiers nowadays who fight for money. We made war because we made money by it and we rather got to like it anyhow. The Snakes provoked us to make war on them.[8]

With developing warfare and the accumulation of foreign K M
wealth came a gradual transformation of Klamath, and to a 175
lesser extent, of Modoc society. The forays into hostile country 178 •
enlarged the scale of the war party. Chiloquin speaks of a body 726
totaling one hundred warriors, which included, according to Spier,
members of all the Klamath tribelets, and took in some Modoc as
well.[9] A joint raid on the part of Umpqua, Upland Takelma, and
other western tribes brought one such retaliatory reprisal about

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

M
175 1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-
178 scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes.
726 The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging
K M scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty,
175 brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of
726 which based their power upon eminence in war and possession
182 of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers,
622 and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times
565 to cement alliances with shamans.

556 Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean
756 weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power
[754] was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of
us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain
persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would
die."[11]

K The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties.
M
175 A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-
178 bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader
622 increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers
619 from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country.
628 As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance ren-
726 dered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment
of worth.

K In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary
622 principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his
father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother
175 as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill,
a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David,
later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain
George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not
essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks,
K of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite
[838] in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the
power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

K A minor factor in these developments may have been the
195 interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in
643 order that they might deal more effectively with responsible
648 leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs
177 met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

*657 177 764 two years earlier, about 1868, Chief Lileks had induced his tribesmen to abandon the practice of cremation in favor of the inhumation he had observed in trips to Jacksonville, Yreka, and The
*657 177 765 302 Dalles.[7] With burial came new symbols of mourning and, apparently, a partial relinquishment of the association with cropping the hair. A few conservative individuals, however, still resorted to the practice over a half century later.

• [178] Naming the Indians was a matter of administrative necessity.
*657 177 551 553 Officials, faced with the duty of identifying their charges, labored under the task of reducing unfamiliar sounds and lengthy, incomprehensible names into writing. For the Klamath, the addition of another name posed no problem. It had been native practice to use age terms for the very young—"My name is *niskag* (young girl)," one woman recalls telling her teacher—and to employ relationship terms when addressing kinsmen and occasional names in referring to others. The occasional names, of which an individual might have more than one, were often far from complimentary. Thus the literal meaning of the name of the Upland chief, Monchnkasgitk, is "One-who-has-a-big-belly;" while that of the individual later known as Allen David was "Black Anus."

Many new names were assigned when annuities were issued or when children entered school.

> It became one of the functions of the interpreter and clerk [recounts Good] to rename the stalwart braves, who were highly delighted with such commonplace appellations as "Joe Wilson" and "George Brown." "This is your name," he would say, writing it on a card, "and if you forget what it is, ask anyone who can read, and he will tell you." The bestower of names was sometimes amused at the corruptions arising from the Indians' peculiar pronunciation, as when "John Wesley" became "Whistler" and one who went forth as "Simeon" returned as "Sammy Andy."[8]

It may be added that the soldiers at the Fort and the settlers were also responsible for such names as "Great Eastern," "Old Faithful," "Skinflint," and "Skedaddle."[9]

*657

HOUSING

177 342 A relatively greater effort was needed to induce the Indians to abandon what Agent L. S. Dyar characterized as "their warm,

employees built a substantial bridge about 100 yards in length 657*
across the Williamson River, on which they propose to collect 177
toll. This will support several families."[55] Nothing more is heard 434
of the venture and subsequent work on bridges and roads took on [499]
a public character. A few women occasionally sold baskets and [494]
berries, and older Indians, generally women, were sometimes [462]
issued cinch rings and wove cinches as a means of support.[56]

Fur trapping provided an early source of income for some 657*
men.[57] At first, beaver, marten, and otter were especially sought, 177
and the available catch soon became depleted. By 1882, the 434
Klamath were turning to panther, bear, wolf, and coyote, preda- 224
tors which Nickerson claimed discouraged them from raising
sheep. "The Indians," he reported, "now hunt them for their
fur and receive quite an income from hunting and killing them."[58]
Carried on over the late fall and winter months, the fur trade
realized a total of $300.00 for those who followed it.[59] By 1891,
however, the revenue from trapping was on the decline.[60]

NATIVE FOODS

In the original designs of the government, farming and other 657*
"civilized" enterprises were supposed to supplant such ab- 648*
original pursuits as fishing, hunting, and gathering. From the 433
Agent's viewpoint, the retention of native subsistence methods
presented two major disadvantages. Not only did the traditional
occupations coincide in season with farming, but they drew the
Indians from under the direct surveillance of the Agency, and
even off the reservation. The issuance of rations, though designed
to provide a substitute during the transitional period, was re-
stricted as much as possible, in order to allow more funds for
other purposes.

It is clear from the graphic descriptions of the early Agents 657*
that they were well aware of the Indians' strong reliance upon 648*
native foods. The fish in Lost River, observed Dyar, ran from 433
two to four weeks earlier than in the streams within the reserve. 226
By late winter even the supplies of rations had been exhausted,
and the Klamath eagerly awaited the news from the south. "If
the Indians are not allowed to go to Lost River in the Spring,"
O. C. Applegate had pointed out, "then they will have to be
subsisted during the month of March."[61] The Lost River fishery 657*
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*657 continued to be exploited for fifty years, until the owners of the
177 abutting land put an end to it. On the reservation, the Sprague
226 and Williamson continue to supply a catch, although the drying
[251] of fish for the winter, common enough on the Lower End until
about thirty years ago, has now passed into disuse.

*657 Similarly root gathering continued to be an important activity
• 178 for many years, leading Nickerson to suggest that several of the
177 palatable and nourishing roots used by the Indians for food
222 "could be materially improved by continued cultivation."[62] "Root
[412] probes," or "camas diggers," as well as "fish spears" and fish
[227] hooks were forged by Agency blacksmiths for years.[63]

Wokas long remained a staple for the Klamath. In 1881 Nickerson,
*657 noting that each family gathered some five to fifteen bushels,
178 added "this wokus, with dried fish, forms a large portion of the
222 food of those who have not the money with which to purchase
262 flour and groceries."[64] About the turn of the century, Coville observed a thriving wokas-gathering industry with a vast expanse of marsh to exploit, and speculated on the possibility of processing the seed commercially as a breakfast food.[65] The decline of wokas gathering parallels in time the Indian's diminishing use of dried fish, another winter food.

*657 A similar course can be traced for those fall activities, hunting
177 and berrying. From at least 1872, Indians were reported leaving
178 the reservation in September to hunt and gather berries in the
222 Cascades.[66] In addition, the men on occasion went on a spring
224 hunt for antelope and mule deer at the north end of the reservation.[67] Gradually the fall berrying and hunting came to be concentrated at the "huckleberry patch" on Huckleberry Mountain, southwest of Crater Lake. Hunting has continued to be both a sport and a means of providing food; and if the preparation of jerky has declined, it is because the freezer has displaced it.
[251] The drying of berries and wild fruits has been rendered obsolete by canning. There is local testimony that the killing off of predators by fur hunters and stock raisers has caused an increase of deer upon the reservation itself. It is not infrequent for a single family to consume six to fifteen or more deer in the course of a year. One tribal leader from the Upper End, a man then less than forty years of age, remarked in 1958 that until his family

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moved to Klamath Falls when he was nine years old, he had 177
eaten only venison and had never tasted beef. 178 •
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In their continued loyalty to traditional foods, the Klamath 224
were responsive to several advantages beyond—but including— 657*
appeal to the palate. The techniques involved in securing them 178
were relatively simple and familiar, imposing few demands upon 177
the individual for capital investment in tools and labor, required 262
little in regularity of routine, and involved the cooperation of only small groups. Participation was direct, self-controlled, and provided an immediate reward.

Consequently, the issues of beef and flour were assimilated in use to native staple foods, rather than replacing them entirely. Flour was given the name that also denoted a meal made from ground seeds and cattail roots. It must be borne in mind that the rations were issued at times when other foods were largely exhausted, and probably because of this certain anomalies were introduced. Since the issues were public and general, there was no need, as there had been formerly, to conceal foodstuffs from neighbors. Thus, bread and biscuits were the first foods to be baked in the coals of the house fire, rather than in a special outside cooking hut; and, perhaps because of the method of issue, the food was shared by household, rather than by an individual family.[68] The practice of eating while the food lasted strained Agency resources: the Commissary at Yainax estimated that an Indian could easily dispose daily of two pounds each of beef and flour.[69]

The example provided by white cooking, the use of salt, sugar, 657*
and baking soda, as well as new foodstuffs, together with the 177
general acquisition of such utensils as the kettle, coffeepot, and 178
spider, extended the variety of culinary techniques and even 262
enhanced the preparation of native dishes. One woman recalls 263
the ease with which one could hull wokas with a coffee grinder; 415
and when a kinsman borrowed that useful instrument, she used her wokas mulling stones to grind coffee beans. Through it all, native foods continued to be favored, and the observation that "the Indian [school] children are very fond of fish" is nearly as true today as it was in 1893.[70]
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An analysis of the statistical and narrative reports of the 177
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*657 177 178 262 Agents shows that they consistently tended to undervalue the contribution made by native foods to the Klamath economy. From the first statistical entry in 1882, when they are estimated to contribute forty per cent of the food supply, native foods steadily decline in the records, leveling off from 1888 to 1893 at approximately twenty per cent, and, after a spirited fluctuation from then to 1901, rising slowly to ten per cent in 1904. That dependency upon these foods declined from total to partial reliance is admissible. O. C. Applegate, while Superintendent, reported that by the turn of the century some of the food resources had begun to dwindle under intensive use. He found the fish less abundant than in the halcyon days of the first Agent, and observed that both water fowl and prairie chickens had been overhunted.[71]

While conceding the decline, a critic may well find fault with the bland assessment of Elisha Applegate a decade earlier (1891) that native food quests were then "indulged in more as incidents and to add variety of life than as occupations to be seriously depended upon."[72] The year after Applegate made his report, one graduate of the Indian school, upon returning home, saw things in a different light. "Whenever I got job, I pitched hay. I did fishing and hunting, and I had plenty to eat all the time . . . lots of deer meat, and I used to pick wokas too."[73] If this was an indulgence, it was in sheer survival.

The sources of error are not hard to find. Administrators could form only the most general opinion of the contributions made by native foods, and must have tended to judge from the examples provided by Indian employees immediately at hand and from the more acculturated Indians. Moreover, their reports were in part designed to illustrate the progress which their charges had made away from their former customs. Accordingly, they understated the degree to which native economic activities conditioned the acceptance of new modes of earning a livelihood and supplemented those which had been taken up.

*657 177 Consider, by way of example, the pursuits which in the 1880's could be combined according to taste, need, and season.

178 221 433 [313] [464] [489] Lumbering and logging were winter and spring enterprises, with intermittent logging taking place in the fall. Labor for the contractor at the Fort and for settlers ran from spring through

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fall; while freighting, limited by road conditions, had the same range of seasons. 221

For the farmer, splitting rails and fencing started in the winter 433 and ranged toward spring, as did the clearing of ground. Plow- [464] ing and sowing of grain might start in March, while vegetable [489] gardens were not planted before May or June. Harvesting and [241] haying took place in late summer and threshing in the fall.

The stockman rounded up and branded his cattle at first in the [231] fall and later in the spring. He sold his beef in the fall, then drove his herd to winter in the upper valley of the Sprague.

Those who relied upon aboriginal foods fished in the late winter and early spring, dug roots or hunted antelope and mule deer in late spring, gathered wokas, wild fruits and berries in the fall, hunted in the Cascades in the fall, and trapped for furs in the winter. 657*

Beyond this lay the domestic cycle. Homes were built or re- 221 paired in the spring and fall, supplies were bought in the fall, 342 and fuel was gathered in the fall and winter. 356 313

This summary, bald as it is, will illustrate the fact that many 657* more ventures were now open to the enterprising, as well as a 433 wider range of relationships. It was possible to draw from 464 several cycles activities that were seasonally compatible. Thus, 177 when the harvests were in, fully one-half to two-thirds of the 178 men might leave the reservation on passes to work for whites, taking their families with them.[74] Frequent crop failures drove many to seek outside employment to provide for the coming winter. Because new tastes had given rise to new needs, many at this time forsook those traditional pursuits that conflicted with more lucrative employment. Nor did money alone lie at the root of those preferences. Work for white settlers and freighting provided variety and seasonal mobility, opportunities to meet people, to change scenery, and to escape on occasion beyond the rule (however benevolent in intent) of the Agent.

The new opportunities were open primarily to men, consonant 657* with the roles of the sexes in nineteenth-century rural America. 433 For them the new system, aside from a certain administrative 177 favoritism, provided an equal chance for advancement. It is no 178 accident that a number of the earliest employees of the Agency [567] were Pit River Indians, of whom it was later said: ". . . as a

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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*657 general thing, they are quite prosperous, and energetic, having
433 learned how to work well as slaves for the Klamaths."[75] One of
177 them, the Indian named Skedaddle, formerly the slave of Chief
•178 Lilu, was first employed as farm laborer by the Agency.[76] During
567 the Modoc War he enlisted under the name Henry Jackson. In 1883, he reappears as an interpreter at Yainax, in which office he cut hay and cared for the Agency herd as well as butchering the beef cattle.[77] Subsequently, he contracted with white ranchers to split rails, taking half his pay in cash, half in cattle, eventually amassing a sizable herd, which multiplied until it amounted to some eight hundred head of cattle and five hundred head of horses and mules.[78]

ANNUITIES

*657 It was Agency policy to develop the quality of industry and
*648 to ensure the growth of individual enterprise. From this standpoint, the annuity system, in providing rations, was a device to surmount agricultural failures, to carry the Indians through the winter, and to keep them settled quietly upon the reservation. At the same time, there was a danger, of which the Agents were soon aware, that such issues would sap the self-reliance of their charges. As early as 1865 when Lindsay Applegate took over their supervision, he found that, though the Klamath and Yahuskin were well enough supplied with native foods to sustain them through the winter, it was necessary to quiet "their loud clamorings for flour." Accordingly he "made some moderate issues to the chiefs and, through them, to some of their subjects who seemed rather needy." The issue, it would seem, was sought as a right and as an exemplification of the good faith of the government, for he adds, "I became convinced at this time of a growing disaffection among the Indians, on account of the tardiness of the government in fulfilling treaty stipulations."[79]

Discontent was compounded by the suspicion, possibly inspired by unofficial advisors among the whites, that inferior goods were being palmed off in the annuities.

> I was approached today [recounted Captain Sprague to Applegate in 1867] by a Sub-Chief who requested me in the name of all Sub Chiefs to be present at the distribution, and in case the goods distributed were not of good quality and deficient in quantity to note the fact and represent to the authorities at

ferred.[90] At another time, he seems to have proposed issuing seven mowing machines and four sulky rakes to leading and competent Indians, but was firmly instructed by the Commissioner, "as these articles are intended for the use of all, it is not considered advisable to allow individuals to have the entire control of them." He was instructed instead to loan them out.[91] 657* 648*

"As these Indians become more civilized," observed Nickerson, "their demands upon the mechanics become more frequent and pressing."[92] Indeed, he had to advise the Commissioner against the policy of issuing condemned articles to the Indians since "they will bring them to the shops and demand that they be repaired."[93] It is plain that the frequent call, as a matter of due right, upon the services of Agency personnel lay at the bottom of Nickerson's desire to decentralize equipment by issue through the chiefs. To counter these demands, he had Indians trained to operate the mowing machines, sulky rakes, and other agricultural equipment. When Indian farmers desired to use a machine, the operator was to be paid for his labor and the use of his team. Nickerson added, "I have notified those Indians who are able to do so that next year they will be required to purchase their own machinery for haying purposes. Some of them are already laying aside money for that purpose."[94] Emery instituted a similar program whereby individuals paid an Indian workman for repairs made in the shop on their wagons.[95]

The ownership of a wagon required considerable outlay, more than some persons could muster. Hence, as Emery noted, wagons, plows, and other implements, as well as cattle and horses, often were held in common by two or three Indians.[96] [422]

With their introduction to an economy in which money served as a mediator in relationships there are indications that the Indians began to develop the view that all positions advocated by the Agency must carry remuneration. Nickerson, reviewing possible candidates for Indian judge, found himself obliged to state, "Those persons with most financial ability are least disposed to serve without compensation and generally least well qualified for such service."[97] New forms of wealth had come in, new desires, new needs, and native society was transformed in the effort to attain them. [177] [178] [434]

> *657 A large number of Indian offences come before this Court for
> *648 trial, consisting mainly of family quarrels, disputes about the
> 692 ownership of property and acts of licentiousness.[68]

With the accidental death of Crain, Jesse Kirk was appointed in his stead.[69]

Thus, within a generation the administration had replaced the popular leaders with those among them who were Agency employees, and in turn had supplanted them with the products of its schools. Legally constituted authority was administered through the Agency, at first through a customary court of chiefs and later
[625] through a Court of Indian Offenses. The Indian police, who took their orders directly from the Agent, were satisfactory to him as the instrument of his hand. Not so the courts, which tended instead to constitute seats of power alternative to that of the Agent. The result was to be that Agents tended to strengthen the police while circumscribing the functions of the courts.

*657 Meanwhile, beyond the administrative structure thrived an
*648 unacknowledged informal leadership, based as in former days
622 upon wealth and accomplishment. Unlike that of the Agency, it
571 was not restricted in position nor limited narrowly in function.
This was a leadership in which employees could also participate; and it was presently to see such diverse men as the old chiefs, Monchnkasgitk, Henry Blow, and Allen David, make cause with Dave Hill, and he with young Jesse Kirk, and he in turn with Jeff Riddle, son of Frank Riddle and Winema, the heroine of the Modoc War, and with Henry Jackson, the wealthy exslave. In this sense at least E. L. Applegate was right when he observed:

> [179] The tribal distinction among the Indians on this Reservation is
> [178] practically disregarded by the Indians, and the ancient preju-
> [101] dices are rapidly fading away. The general name of Klamath
> People seems to be superseding all other distinctions.[70]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

SEVEN

[P.95]

Social Change

WITHIN LESS THAN TEN YEARS AFTER THE RESERVATION HAD BEEN 648*
established, two communities had developed. The one at the 657*
Lower End was composed primarily of Klamath, with a small 361
number of freed slaves. Yainax was far less homogeneous. Near the subagency were the Upland Klamath and the Modoc, while some ten miles beyond lay Paiute Camp. With the beginning of stock raising, the fine grazing lands of the Upper End drew Klamath from the Agency side.[1] The Klamath Marsh settlements, formerly the area of densest concentration, had been abandoned as a winter residence in favor of warmer localities
about Upper Klamath Lake. Although O. C. Applegate later [731]
intimated the move was caused by losses from smallpox and other introduced diseases,[2] the general advantages of proximity to Agency and Fort may also have recommended it. Settlements on the Lower End now clustered about the Agency and upon the lower course of Williamson River. Only a scattering of houses extended along the Sprague as far as Lilu's seat at Kawumkan Springs, approximately ten miles above its mouth.[3] Beyond that point, almost thirty miles intervened between the two communities.

In their settlements, former foes were brought together: Peli- 657*
can Bay and other bands on the Williamson, Klamath and Wal- 648*
papi at Yainax. Band affiliations, which rested on kinship and 621
long association, continued to be strong for some time even within 619
the new settings. Thus members of the Pelican Bay band some- 177
times shared foodstuffs, and the claim that their parents stemmed 178
from the same tribelet long provided a bond strong enough to enable one person to borrow from another. By the end of the period, however, band identities had been largely relinquished as peoples intermingled. In their place developed ties of varying

*657 strengths reflecting emergent neighborhoods; common employ-
*648 ment at the Agency, or as freighters and as work crews; shared
621 church interests; and, with time, friendships formed at school.
619 The growing importance of the adjacent white settlements and
177 the administrative colonies at the Agency and at Yainax set in
• 178 relief the larger community of the Indian reservation.

*657 Klamath relationships with members of the Agency staff seem
*648 to have been restricted largely to those demanded by their official
duties. Their scanty numbers would in any case have made contact with them infrequent for the great body of the population, and the whites tended to maintain a closed community in their social relationships. An important exception to the general social insulation were some of the more acceptable members of the families of Indian employees, who were sometimes hired as help and thus received a conditional entrée to the houses of whites. Off the reservation, special protector-employer roles seem to have been assumed by such men as Sykes Worden, contractor and post trader at Fort Klamath, O. C. Applegate, and several others.

By far the most unhindered contacts were made at Fort Klamath. The freedom of the individual from social constraint in the early days is evinced in the situation John Meacham found.

> Certain Indian women [he remarked] . . . had established several habitations in the vicinity of the Agency. They were in the habit of hanging around the office, the quarters, private houses and other buildings of the Agency, losing no opportunity of insinuating themselves into the presence of the employes. They were saucy, impudent and lewd in the extreme.

He therefore placed the post off limits for women unless they had legitimate business, an order that "met with the hearty approval of the Indian men and the faithful observance of the women."[4] The practice was not stopped, however, and Dyar, who tried to institute a pass system to control the traffic, noted that "soldiers are in the habit of frequently visiting the Indian camps below this point—sometimes remaining over night."[5]

*657 Native marital practice posed no very great obstacle to a white
*648 who wished to consort with an Indian woman. In the nature of
563 things many of these unions were casual, but others possessed a
more permanent character, though often common law in form. Indignant settlers in the Klamath Valley circulated a petition in

balance, ascribed it to war and stated that in 1864, "the females 657*
were largely in the majority . . . a condition which continues . . . 648*
to this day."[13] 563
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That the sources were indeed to be found in the conditions of native life is suggested by the circumstance that subsequently the imbalance was reduced: about 1875, the overall ratio was 0.72; while by the latter part of the period, from 1885 to 1906, it had reached an average of 0.87. It has since continued upward, to attain the approximate equality that characterizes the white neighbors of the Klamath.

Freed slaves constituted a second novel element in the popula- 657*
tion. Marriage to a slave had once been scorned, though Chief 648*
Chiloquin himself had married a Shasta slave; and even today 567
some stigma is attached to slave descent, albeit it is likely to be 178
brought up only as damaging gossip. Both sentimental family 177
attachments—a traditional attitude transcending acknowledged differences[14]—and recognition of the achievement of former slaves went far to ameliorate their position. One slave, Charlie Pitt, had been raised with his captor's son, Drummer David, in fraternal amity. The bond remained strong through life, and Charlie willed David his property when he died.[15] Another, one of three captured Pit River brothers, escaped to friendly whites who raised him in Ashland and gave him the distinguished name of Stonewall Jackson. In 1878 he returned to the Agency and the following year became a sawyer's apprentice. In recommending an increase in salary for him, Nickerson remarked that he "speaks the English language fluently, & is what may be called a civilized Indian." With several offers at better wages off the reservation, he wished to remain until he could qualify as a competent sawyer.[16] The best known of the slaves was Henry Jackson, whose rise has already been sketched. It is worth noting that he married the daughter of a Modoc chief, and that tribal members from over the reservation were not too proud to accept his bounty.

The altered social order was characterized by greatly in- 657*
creased mobility. An entire new range of opportunities was open 648*
to those who possessed or could develop new skills. Opportunity, 555
however, fell unequally, for the major new enterprises and posi- 177
tion in nineteenth-century America were masculine. As they were 178
incorporated into the regular activities of the Agency and within [562]

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*657 the surrounding white neighborhood, the men came to take up
*648 roles narrowly and specifically defined in American terms and
555 to rephrase them in terms of their closest native counterparts.[17]
177 Thus, in the political field, judges and Indian police enlarged
• 178 the formal duties of office with some of the powers traditionally exerted by chiefs. Assimilation of roles, however, progressed in both directions; and in the end even relationships within Indian society upon the reservation were modified toward the American system. This was only partially the consequence of conscious imitation on the part of the Indians or of change directly instituted by the whites. In some measure, it came as the undesigned byplay of a modification made for another purpose.

*657 This, for example, was one of the effects of the educational
*648 system and its particular instrument, the boarding school. Be-
871 cause boarding school spanned the time of life upon which the
177 Klamath vision quest and the girls' puberty rite fell, those native
178 experiences were largely eliminated; and change of status was
[881] signaled instead by the final return from school. Education was designed for an altered future, but it increased intergenerational
[561] strife, as elders, their accumulated wisdom rendered obsolete in a changed setting, confronted youths skeptical in the superiority of their book-won knowledge. From the vantage of program, this was unfortunate—if inevitable—for the Agent depended for cooperation upon those same vexed adults.

To be sure, much of the change instituted might be regarded as supplementing and enlarging—rather than replacing—native content, for many a Klamath who was a schoolboy in those days today combines the learning of his elders with the lessons taught him in the schools. Participation in two orders juxtaposed for them made manifest the relativity of each one. For those youths, the new order was not to be taken on simple assertion; it had to demonstrate its superiority in a manner not required by those born into it.

*657 With all the changes that tended to distort the social order,
*648 women were less directly affected than were their husbands and
562 children. Their roles were still principally internal to the family,
177 as wife and mother; and though opportunities for employment
178 were beginning to open for them in the schools, their contacts with the ambient American culture were more fleeting and more

3: Stern (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
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circumscribed. Because the step involved a wholesale commit- 648*
ment, those bold enough to marry whites, as already noted, 562
tended to pass out of reservation society. One or two women in 177
the early days sought to demonstrate they they could support 178 •
themselves as well as men were capable of doing, but they were
clearly exceptional.[18]

K
Confronted by shifting social values, tribesmen on the reserva- 657*
tion still could take assurance from a value acknowledged both 648*
by the whites and by their traditional culture. The high prestige 556
assigned to industry and to its material manifestation, wealth, 181
proved a common denominator upon which to rank the ability of 178
men engaged in new activities. In the new day, Plains garments, K
horses, and slaves were outmoded, and were replaced by a house [177]
and outbuildings, a fenced farm or ranch, wagons and buggies,
and plenty of livestock.

K
Within this context, the family also changed as movements 657*
within the reservation, the construction of smaller frame dwell- 648*
ings, and the cultivation of individual farms reduced household 592
size to approximately that of a single conjugal family. Some idea 177
of the shift may be gained by comparing subsistence rolls from 178
the administration of Lindsay Applegate[19] with data from the K
end of the period. A summary of issues made in 1872-73 to heads 657*
of families of Klamath, Modoc, and Yahuskin Snakes lists 54 648*
families totaling 658 persons. The majority were from Klamath 592
Marsh, with some from Link River and Sprague River bands and 162
several Modoc. One is possibly Paiute. The other two pages N M
duplicate some of the individuals, listing Schonchin's band of 657
Modoc, some eight "houses" comprising 97 individuals; Ocheho's 648
band of Warner Valley Paiute, 17 "houses" and 161 persons; 592
Chocktoot's band of Paiute, 13 "houses" and 113 persons; and 162
the Sprague River band of Monchnkasgitk, 8 "houses" and 97
individuals. A tally made in 1866 by one Jackson Jones (Link
River Jack ?), "Chief of Ulalona," lists for the Link River band
22 men, 18 boys, 42 women, and 20 girls in five houses.[20]

K
An analysis of these three lists reveals interesting facts about 657*
the contemporary social groupings. Where the two censuses over- 648*
lap, there is overall agreement, although the figures for individual 592
households differ slightly. For the census of the Klamath at 162
large, the average household size is approximately 12 persons,

*657 and this corresponds fairly closely with averages from the listing
*648 of Upper End bands. Only the Link River tally is aberrant, with
592 an average of about 20, far above the figure to be obtained from
162 those Link River households included in the census of the tribe at
large. Since the tally was made in September, it may reflect the
open living conditions of that season.[21]

*657 Household size ranges from 27 persons down to 2, the latter
*648 figure for the household of a widow. Households of known chiefs
592 —taking as criterion a signatory to the treaty of 1864—are well
622 above the average, ranging generally between 22 and 15, with
162 only those of the Modoc, Schonchin, and the Paiute, Ocheho,[22]
falling below. However, as will be seen, chiefly households were
not the largest in absolute figures: those of some of their followers
exceeded them. The large households indicated here
[178] point to the continued presence of the extended family as a
residential group.

*657 By contrast, the census of Slabtown, a small settlement near the
*648 Agency occupied primarily by Agency employees in 1901, shows
592 13 households comprising house head, wife, and from three
162 children down to none, with an average of 1.4. In one family a
girl past school age, and in another a grown son, were among the children. In addition to those children at home, the families had others in school, in the same numerical range and with the same average. The total family size ranged from 2 to 8, with an average of 4.7. Because some of the family heads, perhaps all, were young at this time, family size may thus have been somewhat skewed.[23] Nonetheless, the contrast of these households comprising conjugal families with those occupied by extended families forty years earlier clearly demonstrates the residential fractionation of the larger units.

*657 A seasonal mobility still characterized the Klamath family.
*648 Nickerson mentioned in 1884 that the heads of reservation families—from
166 one-half to two-thirds of the men—had been away for
the last four months, and added, "They generally take their families with them on such occasions."[24] Similarly, in a predecessor of Slabtown, over fifty families engaged in hauling logs on sleds to the sawmill camped in tents in January to be near their work.[25]

000 Of all the societal relationships, the government sought directly

[Klamath Reservation]

Of all the societal
relationships, the government sought directly
to change only those within the family. It was clear that a nation 657*
that was soon to impose upon the Mormons the American, and 648*
not the Biblical family, would permit no special marital practices 595
among the Indians. Polygamy was banned, although not retro- 177
actively for unions such as those of Allen David and Monchn- 178 •
kasgitk, which had been contracted prior to January 1, 1870.
Some leaders themselves appear to have advocated the change in
a desire to emulate whites. In 1877, Gatschet noted that there
were still two or three polygamous men.[26] Since polygamy had [556]
been a mark of the affluent, the ban, like the emancipation of the
slaves that preceded it, served to erode the status of the traditional chiefs.

An effort was also made to place under the authority of the 657*
court of chiefs certain relationships which had formerly been 648*
regulated privately between the families or individuals con- 622
cerned. In the legal code instituted when the court was estab- 692
lished, the consecration of marriage was made the function of 685
the head chief, to whom the groom was to pay a fee of five, three, 583
or two dollars or the same amount in horses, graduated according [643]
to his means. It was again the chiefs who punished fornication [684]
and polygamy and performed divorce.[27] The traditional ritual [586]
of marriage still was being practiced by some families in the 1890's[28] but the gift exchanges between the families concerned which set a public seal on the union were superseded, and the controls exerted by the family over the couple were thereby diminished. The effects of these and other changes were recognized by Gatschet. "Matrimonial reverses . . . among the Klamath [he declared] . . are one of the unavoidable consequences of the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers at Fort Klamath."[29]

With time, the seal upon marriage came to be set by the 657*
Methodist church and its ethics in turn permitted the independ- 648*
ent of spirit to flout tradition. One woman recalled that upon 581
the death of her husband his family proposed that she wed his 587
brother in customary manner, but she refused out of regard for 177
the memory of her husband and the sanctity of the bond of their 178
marriage in the church.

*657 The removal of property interests in the marriage on the part
*648 of the natal families of the couple, together with the general
581 upheaval of society, brought to the fore the practice of common-
588 law marriage, previously an unusual form of union. In time, such
177 a marriage, if generally acknowledged as stable, was officially
• 178 termed an "Indian custom" marriage, and recognized by authorities and Indians alike. Many unions, however, were unstable, and genealogies reveal that then as now it was common to find individuals who had had as many as three mates. Indeed, the woman previously mentioned as refusing to marry her husband's brother subsequently consorted informally with her ranch foreman.

*659 Thus by the end of the period of its firmest control, the gov-
*648 ernment had altered the family in form to correspond to that
179 idealized in American society. It had done away with the special
593 status of slaves. Children were removed from the physical cus-
[567] tody of their parents and sent away to school, to be returned as adolescents at odds with the ways of their parents. These were individual measures, not calculated for their total impact. The approach to social, as to other aspects of change, was predicated upon the individual and upon the conjugal family. It failed to envisage the need to create bodies that would give strength and continuity to a reservation community.

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NINE

[p.111]

Religion

THE FINAL FIELD OF PLANNED CHANGE TO BE COSIDERED IS THAT OF 657*
religion. The traditional American separation of church and 648*
state did not obtain in the early history of the reservation, which, 797
during the Grant administration, was entrusted to the Methodist Church. Several Agents, beginning with Dyar, and more than one employee, were ordained ministers. Although for some years the church did not send a missionary upon the reservation, religious services were held and the Word preached. The Annual Conference of the Methodist Church on several occasions served as a sounding board for intrigues on the part of white employees against the Agent.

Nor was religion divorced from political control on the native 657*
side. It will be recalled that shamans had been dominant figures 648*
before the rise of the centralizing chiefs, and that subsequently 756
their power often buttressed that of individual chiefs. The con- 178 •
tinued presence of that influence now challenged the rule of the Agent. Lindsay Applegate later, in his roughhewn spelling, characterized the "Indian doctor" as "the dangers imposter who was the grate Bareer aganst their siviliseation . . ." adding "I made him giv Back the property that he had taken from his people By his false pretences [.] when he got two Bissy I put him in the guard hose[.]"[1] Captain Knapp brought similar pressure to bear in an effort to remove interference with proposed medical innovations. John Meacham, who succeeded him, commented upon the futility of his drastic measures:

> This was well and the Captain deserves credit for it, but it had about as much effect in eradicating these superstitious notions from the minds of the Indians as would the execution of the Pope of Rome and the proscription of every priest in Christendom in abolishing from the earth the papal theory of religion.

> *657 To prevent a *practice* is one thing, to change the belief in the
> *648 theory which actuated that practice is quite another thing. Thus
> 756 while it is very true the *practice* of medicine by Indian doctors
> • 178 is abolished yet I am fully warranted in saying that there is not
> half a dozen Indians on the Reservation who are not as firm as ever in the belief of "spiritual medicine." Even Head Chief Allan David grave, sedate, and logical as he is in most things, acknowledged to me the other day that he *still believed* and was afraid to punish the Doctors.[2]

Notwithstanding his appreciation of the difficulty in eradicating belief in this way, Meacham continued to war against the shamans, causing Link River Doctor, whom Knapp had imprisoned, to be arrested and tried for having openly defied the order against shamanistic practice.[3] Meanwhile, he hailed the ministrations of the agency physician as demonstrating "that an efficient, patient and intelligent physician can do more than almost any other person in rooting out thier [sic] faith in thier own 'spiritual' medicine, and thus opening the way for the white man's customs, laws and religion."[4]

Not all shamans were initially singled out, for many were held in esteem. Of his paternal grand-aunt, a shaman, a present-day informant recalled, "She was like a preacher and all respected her. Chief Chiloquin always called her first when he had a meeting because she had a good brain. . . . Sally had a strong power
*657 [i.e. tutelary spirit]. . . ."[5] Tecumseh, an early Agency employee
*648 and Dave Hill's companion during the lyceum tour of 1875, was
756 a noted shaman. It was the parvenu chiefs, replacing Lileks and
754 Chiloquin, who abetted the Agents; and initially, as in the code
622 set forth by Dave Hill, their censure was directed only against
177 sorcery. Indeed, Hill's wife wrote him that she had taken their
178 ailing child to a female shaman to be cured.[6] As Henry Blow
remarked, "Since there is a white man's law among us the doctors are afraid to kill for malice or money as they did long ago, but exert the same power to heal the sick as they did."

*657 Significantly, when the court of chiefs tried Doctor John, a
*648 shaman, for having bewitched and thus slain another, the chief
756 witness against him was Sally, the woman shaman mentioned
622 above, who testifyed that in her dreams her shamanistic powers
177 had seen those of the accused.[7]

178 In 1880, Nickerson took a further step toward reducing the
[754] number of shamans, but thereby gave those who remained a

measure of official sanction. “I have recently induced their chiefs 657*
and people,” he reported, “to dispense with one half or more of 648*
their native doctors, each chief and his people selecting one to 756
retain. They came into this plan more readily than I had apprehended.”[8] 622
On a visit to the Agency, Lindsay Applegate came 178 •
upon the new system and, in a letter bristling with indignation, 177
wrote “[Nickerson] turned to me and remarked that they ware his indian docters that he had invited the indians to furnish to practice with his docter at the same time [.]”[9]

Meanwhile, the growing success of the medical program upon 657*
the reservation sapped the authority of the shamans in what was 648*
their last legitimate field. The personality of Dr. Royal, who had 756
doubled as chief of police, apparently did much to win over 164
some of the chiefs, as did his treatment of syphilitic cases among 177
the Indians. (Since, as Roork had remarked, the disease had been 178
contracted by Indians in the course of their annual trading trips to Oregon City and other points,[10] it may have had a higher incidence in chiefly families.) They desired to retain him and, wrote Nickerson in advocating this, “Should he remain permanently the chiefs have agreed to do all they can to do away with their Indian doctors. These Indian doctors have heretofore had almost unbounded sway over the people.”[11]

In outlawing shamanistic activities, the Agency in effect drove 657*
a wedge between the shaman and his ritual assistants: the inter- 648*
preter, caller, and singers. Since a curing seance was a public 756
demonstration, it involved too many participants to be concealed 177
easily; and the shamans, formerly among the most respected and 178
feared members of the tribe, were not given to skulking. More- [178]
over, in native theory, supernatural power waxes with use; and when performances were no longer given frequently, that power declined.

Recalled H. N.:

> I always seen David Hill go among the people and interpret the agent's words. Sally [the shaman] said, “I didn't do it myself, but my medicine do it. It's up to my medicine. If I do it, it's the medicine's fault.” But David Hill said, “It's better for you to quit than to have trouble for yourself, or your family. That's what the agent wants.”
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> Nobody ever called her after the orders were given. They might help minor things. I watched Sally. I watched her doctor.

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> She worked all night once, and I thought there must be something to it. But her power got small. You know what the Christians say, "Backslide," not working strong enough. She said, "My help is getting small."[12]

Alec Wilson was a shaman, one of perhaps three in the lower Williamson River area. After the Agency had outlawed shamanistic curing, he gave up his practice. Later, his child fell ill. His wife railed at him, "You call yourself an Indian doctor! Why don't you do something? Can't you see your own child is dying?" Helplessly, he explained, "My tricks [i.e. powers] are all gone, have left me; I can't do nothing without my tricks."

Though prohibited, shamanistic activities continued into recent times. In 1897, Emery dealt severely with two instances of curing at Paiute Camp, awarding a month at hard labor each to Doctor Sam and Tom Godowa for attempting a shamanistic cure of the latter's daughter and a week in jail to Tom Chocktoot, headman of the Paiute, for a similar effort on behalf of Pete Pauline's daughter. Chocktoot had also to return the sack of flour and blanket he had received as his fee.[13] K [838] A number of adults who were products of the boarding school recall the transvestite shaman, White Cindy. One man was cured by him in the early 1890's;[14] and a woman who fell ill through dreaming of him underwent the required shamanistic cure, although she was a Methodist. Henry Jackson is said to have retained shamans to perform cures at his house, and he is widely suspected to have hired the assassin of the Modoc shaman, Doctor George, in 1899, on the suspicion that he had encompassed the death of his sons.[15]

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While the campaign against the shamans was proceeding, other events had taken place. In 1871, a Paiute had introduced upon the Upper End (Yainax) the nativistic Ghost Dance religion; and Doctor George, at that time not yet a shaman, had brought it to the Tule Lake Modoc. There it was taken up by the Modoc shaman, Curley-haired Doctor, and played an ideological role during the Modoc War. A Klamath commoner named O'Toole brought the religion to the Lower End, at the Lakes, where a dance was organized by Allen David (then head chief), Lobert, a headman and shaman, O'Toole, and Frank Chilks, another commoner. No Agency employees among the Indians participated.

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After the end of the Modoc War, a second movement, the 657* Earthlodge Cult, was brought to the reservation by two Pit River 668 Indians, Henry Jackson and Pit River Charley, who had learned 177 about it while visiting relatives in northern California. Shortly 178 • after this cult was introduced, a delegation of Klamath and Modoc from both Ends of the reservation visited Falls City, California, and Fort Crook to witness dances and seek the "message." Gradually, the Earthlodge Cult passed into a second phase, known as the Dream Dance. At the Upper End, the leaders were again Doctor George and Monchnkasgitk, while at the Lower they included Allen David, Jason Howard, a commoner, Chanchan, a shaman from Pelican Bay, O'Toole, and Lobert. The Paiute abstained from both the earlier and the later phases of this cult. The movement effectively stopped about 1878 with the building of the Methodist Church.

Nash, whose account has been followed here, has set forth the ritual and the theological content of each movement and has convincingly analyzed the social tensions and individual drives, so far as they can be recovered, that gave significance to the movements. The Ghost Dance was given antiwhite content by the Tule Lake Modoc, but not by the other groups. The Earth- [184] lodge Cult, on the other hand, was strongly antiwhite at the Upper End, but not at the Agency. Around this time the Indians were becoming alarmed by reports that they were going to be exterminated by the troops and agitated by the boundary line and military road disputes, which especially affected the Upper End. Such fears may have contributed to the growth and local character of the Earthlodge Cult.

Viewed together, these movements constituted a progressive accommodation to the Klamath scene. As Nash characterizes it:

> The Ghost Dance represented a sharp break with Modoc and Klamath ritual tradition. The Earthlodge Cult was more in accord with this tradition, and the Dream Dance was still more consonant with it, and in the course of its development became incorporated into it. At the same time the aboriginal distinction [156] between the ritual experience of shamans and the ritual experience of nonshamans was broken down. Participants in the Dream Dance, particularly the strong dreamers, began acting like shamans; and shamans who participated in the Dream Dance acted more like ordinary men. . . . As the Dream Dance grew older, the traditional gap between shamans and non-

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177 shamans widened again as ordinary people ceased dreaming,
• 178 and shamans incorporated Dream Dance symbols and practices
756 into their rituals.[16]

*648 While these nativistic movements were going on, the first steps
*657 were being taken to provide Christian training to replace the
797 native faith which was being discredited. In 1872, Thomas Pearne, an educated Indian from the Yakima reservation, had been appointed interpreter. During that year, until his resignation to return to Washington Territory in the following spring, he carried on missionary work among the Klamath, bringing
[622] thirty-six into the church. Among them was Lileks, who at his death three years later was numbered among the "Praying Indians."[17]

The following year, the Reverend James Harer was appointed Commissary at Yainax, where for a brief period he preached at religious meetings which were well attended.[18] By 1876, the Agent at the Lower End and the farmer at Yainax still were holding forth. Employees had volunteered to advance half the salary for a missionary if the Methodist Missionary Society would match the amount; but nothing came of it.[19] Roork, the following year, took a number of the principal men and women, along with some scholars from the Indian School, to the annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Salem, probably in another appeal for a missionary.[20]

The flavor of those early meetings is preserved in one of the letters to Dave Hill, dictated in 1875 by Allen David.

> After we had had our talk at the Agency I sent word for all the people to come to my house to talk about these things, and see who would agree to listen to what Dave, Tecumseh and I had said, and who would get our hearts and who would not. I told them to come on Sunday the Lord's day and we would all the same as mammook [make, hold] church, we would make good hearts and the Lord would mammook close nanish [take good care of] us on his day. So some Yainax Inds.—Brown Mosenkosket and some Modocs, some Lake Inds., some Chiloquin's people and some of all the Inds. came. Chikaskane first spoke and said that at first he had a bad heart. That the chiefs first listened to the Agents and got their hearts and then tried to get the other Inds. to get the same hearts; that they had put him in the guard house which was right, and Mr. Dyar was also right for he was in the wrong and all the same as said to the Chiefs

> *648 Make them better men and women." He was a Methodist
> *657 preacher and was a big man. He had a loud voice and was a
> 797 good singer. He was awfully strict. He didn't want the Indians to get into trouble. He said, "If you don't mind me, I will put you in jail or put a ball and chain on you." And he did. So the Indians behaved well, you know. I understood what he said, and it sounded good to me and after they interpreted his sermon in Klamath, the old Indians liked it too. Testimonies were then given. . . . The preacher read from the scriptures and made sermon. . . . He said, "I want people to come together and work together as one."[3]

*648 The emergence of native preachers provides another illustra-
*657 tion of the confrontation of native and American roles. From
793 the Indian viewpoint, the role of shaman did not coincide with
756 that of the American preacher, for in aboriginal times the sha-
177 man's duties had encompassed curative powers, and through
• 178 sorcery and counter-sorcery he had come to wield quasipolitical influence as well. Now healing lay within the duties of the Agency physician, while political sway had passed progressively, first to the raid-and-trade leaders and latterly to the Agency chiefs.

*648 On the other hand, points of resemblance existed between the
*657 traditional role of the chief and that of the preacher. The sermon,
793 the most distinctive and formal exercise of the minister, as the
622 Indian saw him, corresponded most closely with the exhortations
537 to a better life given by chiefs to followers and by elders to the
177 young. The correspondence of preaching with political authority
178 was furthered by the circumstance that a number of Agents had assumed the responsibility of preaching to the Indians. Among those realizing the linkage in their actions were Dave Hill and, to a lesser extent, Lileks, Allen David, and Henry Blow. Jesse Kirk, soon to become a preacher, later applied that office to political ends.

*648 In the Klamath view of the supernatural order, syncretism set
*657 in early, probably as the result of an Indian effort to reconcile
776 native and Christian belief. The trickster-transformer figure of
177 Gmukamps, known in myth by the epithets, "Earth-Maker" and
"The One Above," became identified by some with God, although
178 his trickster exploits led others to reject this. Within the first decade of reservation life, Christian dualism, seizing upon the first correspondence, became responsible for the coining of

another figure, known only as "The One Below," to represent the 648*
Devil. This figure appears in a Klamath version of the Garden 657*
of Eden recorded by Gatschet[29]—a tale no longer recalled today. 776
The identification of Gmukamps with God is strengthened in 177
Indian eyes by his mythical foster-parentage of the hero, Aisis. 178
As one Modoc, a fundamentalist preacher, has put it:

> you know, Gmukamps and Aisis—that's nothing but God and Jesus. The Indians knew the story of the Bible, but they were ignorant in those days. They thought that the lakes they performed their miracles around were the Klamath lakes; they didn't know it was really the Sea of Galilee.[30]

Looking back over the entire field of change from the last 657*
decades of the nineteenth century, the observer could discern 648*
major acculturative trends. The Klamath who entered upon the 177
treaty had already undergone pervasive, though largely un- 178
directed modification. Thereafter, they were subjected to a consistent policy of change which, despite defects in execution, outside interference, and an intervening war, was maintained for well over a generation. Within this frame, a reservation culture had taken shape, embodying a synthesis of white and Indian lifeways. By the middle of the next century, only a handful of tribesmen would be left who could report from direct knowledge events of pretreaty days; the remaining elders would be products of the synthesis.

Measured by the indexes which the Bureau employed to
register progress, the advance was evident. When that formula- [464]
tive period was ended, a large number of the Klamath were [511]
productively engaged in work of "civilized" character, and their
material wants had come to approximate those of their white
neighbors. Many were conversant, and a few literate, in English, [191]
and their numbers were increasing steadily. The extended family, [212]
at least among the progressive, had made way for the more [596]
mobile and assimilable conjugal family. In the schools, a new [594]
generation was being trained to embrace as natural and desirable [871]
a way of life which the Church, in turn, commended as good to old and young alike. Expectations seemed to lie within the grasp of those willing to work to achieve them.

Beneath the surface upon which these changes could be traced, [571]
however, lay cleavages and disconformities as yet unfathomed

*648 that were to threaten their success. Under the pressure of change,
*657 the Klamath had responded in diverse ways and had drawn
177 apart. A program addressed to a single people–if drawn from
• 178 several tribal cultures–had now to cope with a growing variety
571 of subgroups shaped by the acculturative experiences they had
undergone. Loosely structured as the native societies had been, they had nonetheless been clearly delimited. Participation in American culture now greatly extended their limits, and beyond the reservation the simple clarity of the social relationships they knew soon became distorted. As they participated in the life that went on beyond the reservation, the Klamath grew conscious of roles that not merely diverged from those of native society but at times were even lacking there.

In the new setting, expectations blossomed, on the part of whites as well as of the Indians, for which the reservation provided inadequate soil. A central goal in administrative planning was the inculcation of individualism, a characteristic ideal of American society of that day. The pursuit of self-interest must, however, have its limits; otherwise it trespasses upon the interests of others. Even in the days of the "robber barons" of nineteenth-century enterprise, American culture provided a context of value and structure within which individualism flourished, and which set limits upon untrammeled license. On the reservation, the creation of a similar context proved difficult indeed; it might even be said that the planners seemed unaware of the need to establish such restraints. As a result, they left the field free for the burgeoning of narrow self-interest.

Tribal society had been small in scale,[31] marked by scanty numbers and intensive face-to-face relations. Self-interest had been present here as well, but it had been subjected to major restraints by family and village. In transforming this society, the Agency had placed a premium upon explicit and formal controls exercised by its staff and by those Indians closely dependent upon it. A major characteristic of reservation society was the extent to which the Agency had become implicated in its being. Administrators, seeking to transform that society, strove to remove a strictly Klamath leadership as an intermediate variable in control, in the well-founded fear that such leaders might prove too independent. In so doing, they enlarged the gulf separating

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political authority from the governed. The Klamath, in turn, became increasingly unresponsive to political control vested in an alien administration. Consequently, when the Agency later became aware of the need to limit the growth of rampant individualism, it no longer was heeded. Moreover, the dissolution of other restraining bodies had gone on apace, until at the end of the period of control there were left as social stabilizers only a weakened extended family, shifting neighborhoods, and the followings of popular, informal leaders.

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On the threshold of allotment in severalty, with its further stress upon separatism, the prospect was not auspicious.

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share of the principal from the tribal fund, the per capitas, 648*
begun two years before, were flowing in from timber sales. By 657*
1926 they were $500 annually, and four years later had risen to 434
$700. Though they thereafter declined slightly, they rose again to 313
a figure in excess of $800. Acess to these funds gave the Indians a considerable measure of economic independence. A family of four, at the 1926 figure, received $2,000 from timber receipts alone, an income sufficient to provide for all their needs or to indulge some of their luxury cravings. Where "money talked," it afforded access to many areas previously closed. Having money gave at least partial emancipation from Agency surveillance. 648*

Indeed, from the days of allotment on, the growth of a money 657*
economy upon the reservation had been an emergent theme. 434
Amounts of money that Indians had been able to secure prior to 452
that time, though important in their economy, had not given them the same degree of independence as was later to be theirs. After allotment, anticipation of income from leasing and from other sources increased the volume of purchases on credit. To his [454]
knowledge, Emery reported in 1897, no Indian had funds deposited with the Agent or with any bank, firm, or person.[102] Although in the next few years O. C. Applegate transmitted checks drawn by a number of Indians to cover debts they had incurred, the practice was less a payment from accumulated savings than a convenience in handling money. What the correspondence strikingly shows was the practice of buying on expectation. Then as now risks were involved, and many individuals in the parlance of the day were rather difficult to "bring to time." That difficulty had sometimes to be surmounted by asking local men of property, such as Henry Jackson, to stand behind an impecunious would-be customer. At times the Agent exerted moral pressure upon a delinquent debtor, but under some conditions he declined to serve as collection agent. Repossession of property for nonpayment often ran against the jurisdictional barrier of the reservation line.

Along with access to individual real property went the transla- 648*
tion of traditional relationships into a more pecuniary idiom. Such 657*
tribal members as Robert Wilson and his wife, William Crawford, 178 •
and Jesse Kirk purchased insurance policies.[103] A number of 571 [177]
Indians hired farmhands, both white and Indian, instead of drawing exclusively or even principally upon kinsmen. [464]

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ing exclusively or even principally upon kinsmen. A responsible man sometimes was appointed guardian of an estate, as was William Crawford in the case of the minor, Frederick Schonchin.[104] Indians sometimes volunteered to assume a somewhat analogous relationship even for nonkin. Thus William Ball, a prosperous interbreed, proposed to feed, clothe, and bury an aged and destitute couple from the Warm Springs reservation, "providing he can get their allotments to use while they live, and become the actual owner of their lands after death."[105] [591] As interpersonal relations became increasingly concerned with the manipulation of property, litigation in the tribal court gained volume and acerbity.[106]

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The Board of Indian Commissioners had foreseen that undivided tribal funds might perpetuate the "Indian problem" that allotment had been designed to solve, and they advocated breaking them up.[107] Among the Klamath were a number of persons, stemming principally from the more acculturated members, who shared the same sentiments toward unallotted lands. Paralleling the stress upon individual pecuniary interests, they developed what may be termed claims against the tribal equity. In one instance, Celia DuFault, sister-in-law of William Crawford, and a nonresident member, claimed part of the Klamath school farm as her allotment;[108] in another, the returned Modoc, Charles S. Hood, made inquiries concerning the Yainax school farm with an eye, it was alleged, to a similar allotment for himself and his children.[109]

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These efforts must be viewed in the context of corresponding measures on the part of whites. The conflicting claims and suits had delayed the completion of allotment, and hence the sale of surplus lands, into a time when it became obvious that the tribal timber possessed great value. The government then decided that the surplus lands would be retained and the timber exploited for the tribal benefit. There were various plans, however, to contest the retention on an undivided tribal equity. In 1909, the eight-man tribal council requested that a bill be prepared "giving the Klamath Allottees an additional 160 acres of timber land on this reservation; and that this be done at once in order that the surplus lands may then be disposed of otherwise."[110]

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Meanwhile, O. C. Applegate had remarked favorably upon a

[Klamath Reservation]

THIRTEEN

[P.185]

Modern Klamath: Demography and Economy

ALTHOUGH THEY LACK THE DRAMA OF CULTURAL CONFRONTATION, 648*
the years since the barriers of the reservation crumbled have 657*
been eventful ones for the Klamath, and deserve minute study. 619
The wealth of material makes such a treatment inappropriate, 177
and recommends instead a summary approach. Viewed as a 178
whole, a half-century of change has been marked by progression, with no major discontinuities. Geographically, physically, culturally, and socially, the Klamath lost special attributes they had once shared; yet, held together by a joint history, through participation in a tribal government, and by interest in a tribal estate held in common, they retained their identity as Klamath. This was a period in which, compared to the dominant society, the Klamath passed into a condition of reduced power, unable even to control the tribal assets save through a veto, constituting an ethnic minority in the communities where they resided, even within the reservation.

One of the indexes of latterday Klamath diversity has been 648*
their geographic distribution. At the turn of the century, approxi- 657*
mately ten per cent of the tribal membership resided off the reservation.[2] By 1955 the number had mounted to over forty per cent; and three years later, after termination, it exceeded fifty per cent of the Tribe. As had been true earlier, the absentee members were grouped concentrically about the reservation. Perhaps a quarter of their number resided within Klamath County in towns adjacent to the reservation. Outside the county, they were scattered throughout areas of southern Oregon and northern California where Klamath had long had ties. Along the

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*657 missiveness. Their ranches often took on the appearance of rural
464 slums, and were the scenes of drinking parties and brawls.
433 Economically profitable or not, ranching constituted the most
*233 common occupation for those who were employed. It offered special advantages. The land was usually an inherited allotment and, together with cattle and improvements, was often nontaxable. Outdoor work with livestock was a familiar activity; it permitted considerable latitude to the farmer in adjusting his routine. There was space to live.

*648 Whether dwelling in town or on a ranch, tribal members
*657 continued to seek native foods; but these activities had come to
433 occupy a different place in their lives. Men of all ages still fished
22 and hunted; many families still gathered huckleberries; and
262 elderly women at least continued to dig for the succulent roots
262 of ipos and camas and to gather wokas. The latter foods, how-
177 ever, were sought as cherished delicacies, now rare; while
178 journeys to the berry fields assumed the character of an outing. Much of the fishing had acquired a strongly sportive aspect and was carried on by angling. Only the spearing of mullet during the spring runs and the hunting of deer and waterfowl seriously served food demands. The larger game animals, which had figured in only a small way in Klamath diet and played a more important role among the Modoc, had become abundant upon the reservation as ranchers killed off predators. Tribal members often hunted them from a car or spotlighted them at night. Waterfowl were often shot as they sat upon the water. Fifteen deer would see a household through the year; and a number of Klamath families met all their meat requirements by hunting and fishing, being content to buy an occasional cut in town to add variety to their diet.

*648 "Meat hunting" thus continued to ignore sportive conventions,
*657 although fishing had in part given way to them. At the same
224 time, individual Klamath were wont to play with those conven-
224 tions by entering contests for the biggest buck or rainbow; and
226 they delighted in underscoring white failures to abide by their
181 own standards of sportsmanship. For the Klamath, hunting and fishing possessed particular virtue as an attribute of an Indian estate. The ability to pursue fish and game without regard to season was a signal right cherished by the Indians and valued

time, few years have not seen at least one murder upon the reservation. 648* 657* 674

Lesser crimes have also been frequent. Of the 1958 sample of the reservation population above the age of sixteen, no fewer than forty-three per cent had been arrested for misdemeanor, seventeen per cent for felony. Liquor had led to arrest for thirty-seven per cent, and no fewer than forty-nine per cent were judged to have problems associated with drinking. The corresponding figures were slightly higher for those members living in Chiloquin, where opportunity, observation, and arresting officers were all more frequent. 648* 657* 273 [674]

In situations in which other peoples have sought redress in religious movements or covert sorcery, Klamath have more commonly fallen back upon drink and violence. For them the bottle has proven a maladaptive instrument, as shown by a recent survey of the causes of death of 139 members who expired during a period of four and one-half years: drinking was adjudged to be a contributory factor in no fewer than fifty-seven per cent of the deaths.[9] The violence which often caps drinking bouts is likewise self-destructive: for it often strikes close friends or family members. [154] [765]

From the viewpoint of the city fathers, then, the Klamath have been an unruly segment of the citizenry; and the figures on law and order pose the difficulty confronting the community in the maintenance of an orderly life. Alternatively, however, those same figures represent a sizable income to be realized through the administration of the law. In the latter days of the reservation, as the Indians themselves were clearly aware,[10] the city seemed on the one hand to be profiting from the sale of beer and wine to tribal members and on the other to collect large fines from them when, under the influence of alcohol, they had fallen into the toils of the law. The implications of this policy, by which almost two-thirds of the income of the town was supplied, made many white citizens uneasy. The city fathers, concerned with a parsimonious administration, were not eager to seek a substitute and, indeed, any change would have presented obstacles.

So long as the tribal government remained to articulate their 648* 657* 178• 571

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

FIFTEEN

[P. 205]

Family and School

WHITES AND KLAMATH ON THE RESERVATION RECOGNIZED IN FAMILY 648*
ties a bond that might be useful as well in formal enterprises. 657*
Several leading businesses in Chiloquin relied in part upon consanguinity 602
and upon marital ties to recruit members and ensure 178 •
continuity of control. Similarly, among the Klamath, during the bidding for tracts of tribal property in the course of termination, members characteristically acted in kin groups to undertake purchases that were beyond the resources of a single individual. In primary relations among both groups, visiting patterns and the occasional appearance of extended family households betokened the continued strength of ties reaching beyond the nuclear family.

For the whites who had come originally from outside the [167]
reservation, kinship ties stretched to distant places and there [563]
were comparatively few relatives close at hand. Of the whites in Chiloquin in 1950, although fifty-six per cent had moved from a previous residence in Oregon, fewer than forty per cent came from the reservation, from Klamath Falls, or from southwestern Oregon. Only a handful had raised children and in turn had seen grandchildren being reared in the town.[1]

The Klamath, with many kinsmen still upon the reservation, [587]
saw the network of relationship close at hand, however tangled
it might be by the intricacies of remarriage. To be sure, the [596]
extended family as a residential group was not prominent, for in Chiloquin there were but two such households and in Beatty one. The strength of the bonds manifested themselves in other ways. Tribal residents in the city of Springfield, in the Willamette Valley, several of whom asserted that they had originally moved away to escape the importunities of kinsmen, had made the move as nuclear families over a period of several decades. None-

*648 theless, analysis showed that they aggregated two extended
*657 families together with one other nuclear family unrelated to
602 either. The earlier arrivals had attracted relatives, but they had
178 been selective, encouraging some and in at least one instance
giving the cold shoulder to a kinsman deemed undesirable, when
he paid them an exploratory visit. For their part, they were
scrupulous in choosing compatible relatives to visit on their
occasional brief returns to the reservation.

[736] That kinship bonds, selectively utilized, were still in force is shown not only by such action as the bidding for tribal tracts, but in the assumption of responsibility for the care of children from a broken home. Although choice was exercised among relatives, and the uncongenial among close kindred might be passed over in favor of more distant, but more compatible, relations, the principle first evoked was that of consanguinity. In the majority of instances, primary reliance was placed upon parents and children, upon siblings, grandparents, and grandchildren.

*648 Among kinsmen, there was an enlargement of the sphere of
*657 individual, at the expense of common, property. At times it took
602 bizarre extremes. In one adult household, for example, each
421 member's foodstuffs were separately stored and even individually
177 cooked; and each independently purchased his supply of the
178 wood to be burned in a common stove. There was evident in
family interdependence what might be termed a pecuniarization
of relationships, a conversion of traditional reciprocal obligations
into the common denominator of coin. Already evident in the
early days of allotment, it had grown with time, taking on as it
did a onesidedness that was increasingly dysfunctional. Money
could be extracted by the importunate from kinsmen still sensi-
[888] tive to the charge of stinginess. The aged, dependent upon their
children for tenderness, were often likely to be besieged by their
requests for "loans" from lease and per capita checks, and once
those funds were dissipated, might then be left without enough
to maintain themselves. Some families, like the ranchers previously described, were beginning to resist such demands, but for
those still immersed in tribal society, refusal was difficult.

*648 The weakening of kin bonds entailed the disappearance of
*657 feud groups, entities that formerly had drawn principally upon
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kinship loyalties and that had provided relatively stable focal 648*
interests about which allegiances might cluster. The anonymous 657*
destruction of property as a time-honored method of exacting 602
personal revenge remained even in the last days of the reserva- 578
tion, when the jacklight shooting of a cow was construed as the 178
malicious act of a foe. Distrust thus engendered was likely in 177
turn to lead to a search for potential allies, especially among kinsmen and cronies. Local legend in Chiloquin still recounts the memorable gunfight between two tribal families in the days before its incorporation, one firing from the railway depot while the other entrenched itself in the family hotel. At the first few shots the stationmaster, a newcomer to town, was flushed from the depot; and when the fusillades were stilled he left town, never to return.

As law and order became more firmly established over the reservation, and extended families, their members scattered on separate allotments and among the reservation towns, became
dispersed, retaliatory obligations declined. In the end, feudatory 648*
alignment left their mark chiefly in a continued reluctance of 657*
former opponents to drink together or otherwise associate. The 602
drinking cliques, with their stable membership cores, reflected 578
these antipathies: three decades after the gunfight mentioned 273
above, the families involved still did not consort together. Only 178
one person, and she an affinal, had crossed the line. 177
[573]

Indeed, the violence of more recent years, as remarked, lay far less between families than it did within them, for many of the quarrels that precipitated assaults arose in the course of drinking parties, and thus antagonized persons who were accustomed to associate together. Although there was a degree of mobility in the membership of such parties, and clashes at times might involve a visitor, many instances of homicide arose out of family disputes. That the tensions thus vented were generated by the changes in familial roles seems at least partially true, to judge by an examination of court cases; but they were affected indirectly by other segments of the psychosocial system, such as the relations with whites. Such disputes, however, could only weaken the family, and that at a time when family solidarity had become a less imperative need.

Within the reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Within the
*648 reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally
*657 esteemed attributes had lost place. Age was no longer accorded
561 respect, for the wisdom of experience seemed irrelevant under
593 the new conditions, and in the environing society the emphasis
577 was upon youthful qualities. The premium upon industry as an
434 ideal for old and young alike had become submerged by the
• 178 golden flow of per capitas which rewarded equally the wastrel
177 and the unremitting toiler. Remarked one man wryly, "I can make more money raising Klamath than I can raising cattle."[2] Under these changes, paternal authority had declined sharply. "Why should I listen to you?" demanded one adolescent son of his father. "I've got just as much money saved up [in a compulsory trust fund] as you have!"

*648 By contrast, the status of the mother within the household
*657 had been enhanced. Housekeeping and child rearing constituted
562 concrete activities that possessed a high measure of continuity
434 with the past, of a type normally respected in her counterpart
177 in white society. Access to her own per capitas had raised the
178 economic standing of a wife to a par with that of her husband.
[623] The relative changes in local roles, together with the passage
of woman's suffrage in the nation at large, had become reflected in the increasing prominence of women in the debates of the General Council.

*648 The major point of contrast between white and tribal house-
*657 holds on the reservation was the relatively greater fluidity among
563 the Klamath, as reflected in the record of sequent marriages,
58 the figures for common-law unions, and the broken families. In this respect, Beatty did not differ significantly from Chiloquin. Interethnic marriages—those between a Klamath and a nontribal partner—were more stable than those contracted between tribal members.

*648 Household composition makes it clear that the traditional
*657 valuation of kin had by no means been entirely relinquished.
592 In a number of instances, Klamath, particularly women, had
587 taken in the children of collateral kin. Remarriage produced
[178] composite families, in which the couple reared not only their own children but the offspring of previous unions of one or both partners.

*648 Consequently, Klamath households exhibited a diversity of
*657 form, size, and composition, frequently characterized as well by
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the course of their employment by whites—to mention but one 648*
sphere—were even then associated in American society with 657*
inferior status, as involving largely manual labor. The course of 177
technological change tended to reduce those skills further in
prestige. The Klamath remaining upon the reservation generally
confined themselves to occupations of this level.

In these and similar contexts, tribal members entered into [464]
relationship with whites, both as coworkers and as employee or
rarely—as with Henry Jackson's hired hands—as employer. Within
this context, they had the opportunity to model behavior upon a
wide range of examples, and were not restricted to whites of
similar socioeconomic status. The Klamath girls who worked as
domestics in Klamath Falls at the turn of the century had many
opportunities to observe the life of middle-class families.

Yet individual change is only part of the picture, interwoven 648*
as it often is in the fabric of institutional change. In such a struc- 657*
ture as the Indian Shaker movement on the reservation are to 795
be seen the summation of a number of individual commitments 177
to a new creed, and thus the emergence of an institutionalized 178 •
consensus. For each participant, the commitment must have had
a highly individual significance, in the light of his condition and
belief prior to entering the sect. A brief résumé of the history of
that movement at Klamath will illustrate the complexity of the
factors surrounding institutional change.

The Indian Shaker movement had its inception on Puget Sound in 1882, but expanded vigorously only after a favorable court ruling a decade later.[12] A messianic faith, it incorporated elements of native belief and practice along with many aspects drawn from Catholic and Protestant Christianity. As it spread, it vied with and was influenced by other syncretic faiths as well as Christian sects, from which its converts and opponents came.

The Klamath church traces its origin to the East End leader, Henry Jackson, who had been instrumental in bringing the Earthlodge cult from northern California. Now, in 1914, forty years later, stricken with what was to prove his last illness, he turned his eyes northward, inspired by what he had heard from the unorganized local converts about the Shakers and their cures. When they declined to treat him themselves—perhaps the fate of the shaman, Dr. George, was still etched in their minds—he

*648 sent a mission to the Yakima reservation in the state of Washing-
*657 ton. The leaders who came down worked over him for some
795 time, but concluded that his case was hopeless; and indeed he
177 soon died. Notwithstanding this initial failure, the Shakers be-
• 178 came firmly established. A tribal member, one Stanley Pedro, offered them his dance hall and, drawing a parallel with the better known movement of Europe and the eastern United States, urged that the movement be named the Annie Lee religion. The church, located on the outskirts of Chiloquin, became a focal point from which influences subsequently fanned out to the Siletz reservation on the Oregon coast and to Smith and Klamath Rivers to the southwest. By the circumstance of its location, it drew members primarily from the Klamath proper of the Lower End.

The church met with no official threat. Gone was the day when an Agent might freely move against a religion of which he disapproved. Wrote the Acting Superintendent mildly in 1917, "They are somewhat fanatical and they indulge in some ceremonies that savor very much of ancient Indian customs but their creed contains some very good things. . . ."[13] He or a successor is said to have sent a member of the Indian police to observe the ceremonies, and the latter recalls that he reported with warm favor on the practices he witnessed.[14]

Several features are significant in the establishment of the church at Klamath. It came from other Indian groups along the Columbia which had previously been cultural donors, although the earlier cults received had come rather from the south. As adopted, the Shaker religion was seen as an Indian faith, its syncretism not acknowledged. Proponents thereafter came to underscore the uniqueness of its development by denying that native shamanistic elements or specifically Christian features lay at its core. At the same time, the freedom for inspired expression led converts at Klamath further to modify the received doctrine.
[153] Illness brought on through the agency of ghosts and the receipt of power through songs are but two such reinterpretations. Klamath communicants likewise differed in not eschewing coffee, normally forbidden in other congregations.

The growth did not take place in a vacuum. Such Pentecostal faiths as the Four Square Gospel were on the move soon after the church had come into being. In 1926, missionaries of that

sect were permitted to make temporary use of the Shaker church 648*
building until their own structure could be erected. Tribal mem- 657*
bers were drawn into entrant fundamentalist sects as well as the 795
Shaker faith, and on the occasion of revivals Shakers freely 177
visited their services. 178 •

Together with some of those sects, the Shaker faith embodied [787]
many of the demonstrative acts, in dramatized testimonial, visions, and the inspired state known as "the shakes," which had been largely abandoned by other churches that had become more staid with the passage of time. Its cures were the most spectacular demonstration of its power, and many of its converts came to it in this way. At the same time, it drew no very large membership: in 1925, Spier found only twenty Klamath thus affiliated. Any claim to the exclusive allegiance of members—an aspect of the Christian heritage—made heavy way against the broad tolerance in things religious characteristic of the Klamath.

The member of the Indian police who had found favorably for the Shakers was cured by them on another occasion, rang bells in the services, and even sparked a drive to improve the appearance of the church. With equal concern, he contributed heavily to the Four Square Gospel mission, which he felt was beneficial to the "coming generation." His formal affiliation continued with the Methodist Church, and he was often in attendance at the Williamson River Mission. Nor did commitment to Christianity dim his evident belief in the validity of aboriginal Klamath religion. In his mind, and the minds of many other elderly Klamath, there was no need to select narrowly and exclusively a single revelation of the divine order on earth.

The fundamentalist churches—the "emotional" churches, as 648*
they were disparagingly dubbed by some white Methodists in 657*
Chiloquin—appealed primarily to whites and ethnic minorities of 795
lower social status, and indeed participation in their services 563
was a factor weighed in status evaluation. Accordingly, these 177
sects brought tribal communicants into intimate contact with those components of the community, providing the basis for a certain degree of acculturation as well as of intermarriage. A few of the Mexican Interethnic unions stemmed from these associations, and at least one white Interethnic couple was regularly affiliated with the Negro church.

The Shaker church, however, was an ethnic church of some

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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of tribal members held aloof, while some members were no more 657*
than "Sunday" or "holiday" Shakers, attending services only at 795
wide intervals. 177

That there was no single Klamath response to culture contact 648*
even upon the reservation, must now be abundantly clear. It is 657*
also true that tribal members are not to be found extended along 184
a single continuum of change. No typology satisfactorily pre- 177
serves the mosaiclike pattern of the accommodation they have 178 •
made. For the course, even of institutional change, is the product, not of the engagement of reified "cultures," but of the countless individual choices expressed before concrete alternatives and projected against past experience. In the successive role-relationships into which they have entered, the biographies of some elderly Klamath suggest that there may well have been for them an inner continuity, not unchanging, which provided in their life-way a reference and a means of self-identification.[15] For many younger tribal members, however, the range of possible identification has become greater, while coercive restraints have weakened; and their selection among behaviors may be so conditioned by factors in the immediate situation as to appear inconsistent from one time to the next. Cultural confusion may well have resulted in their failure to form a stable self-image.

A central characteristic of modern Klamath relationships has 648*
been termed, for want of a happier phrase, "permissive diver- 657*
sity."[16] By this is meant a condition offering the individual a wide 156
latitude of choice among multiple and optional alternatives, per- 177
mitted modes being not only broad in range but diffusely de- 178
limited. Analyses of Klamath myths[17] and of the ethnological record suggest that this state, which corresponds in large measure to the "loose structuring" of Embree,[18] was characteristic of aboriginal Klamath culture, but it may well have been enhanced in reservation times by the breakdown of native agencies of control and by those other developments fostering individualism. The roots of its continuity lie in conditions of child-rearing, already reviewed, as well as in the social transactions of adult life.

The corresponding qualities in the individual are equally clear. For many Klamath, the interpersonal distance is of considerable magnitude, and constitutes a wary, defensive response to the

*648 anticipation of rebuff. It may have as its corollary a diffuse self-
*657 image, since the subject lacks any consistent delineation of his
156 characteristics from the reactions of his fellows. For some, as
177 well, there is a sense that a stable reference to self through time
• 178 is lacking, since each fresh experience tends to define it anew.
For the majority of tribal members observed over a period of time, enduring reference groups in which one could claim membership were limited to such entities as "Klamath Indian." As Clifton has put it:

> Persons as psychologically isolated as the Klamath must work hard at the business of maintaining their position. They cannot be expected to contribute much in the way of specific demands on others (outside of occasional impulsive outbursts), and they value situations where specific demands are not made on them. We seem to be confronted with a human group whose members share a primary orientation toward living which is organized around the need to be left alone to their own devices as individuals.[10]

Permissive diversity has found an expression in the manner in which individuals have fused life-ways out of historically disparate elements. This was particularly striking among the older Klamath, who in their youth had participated actively in traditional Klamath culture. Some, indeed, pointed to the essential similarity of native ethic and of Christianity; but others found no need to justify their choice. Life for them possessed a meaning that was involved less in the cultural source of its elements than in the condition of their combination.

*648 One old friend, then bedridden and since deceased, may serve
*657 to illustrate the point. As a child she had lived in an earth-lodge
159 and witnessed her uncle, the shaman, Alec Wilson, performing
177 his cures. Later, as a young woman, she became ill when dream-
178 ing of a shaman, and recovered only when he had been forced to
156 treat her. The gathering of traditional foods and the weaving of
baskets had been part of her skills. A sweat lodge stood outside her cabin. She spoke Klamath and knew the native myths and songs.

Yet equally, she was a product of the Agency school and had worked at the military post of Fort Klamath. When she married, she wed her husband at the Methodist Mission. Together, they ranched together on Klamath Marsh, and with her daughter and

grandchildren, she was a familiar figure in boomtown Chiloquin. 648*
Cured by the Shakers, she almost joined the church, then changed 657*
her mind. From her bed, she discussed a life-way that was an 159
indissoluble blend of diverse elements integrated by their personal 178
import. When she narrated or discussed a Klamath myth, 177
her assimilation of a Christian ethic was evident in the delicate 156
manner in which she skirted obscene passages. In admonishing
her great-grandson, she spoke in the traditional manner, but in
English, the only tongue they shared. The English she spoke, like [191]
that of her boarding-school contemporaries, was likewise syncretic;
for it bore the impress of Klamath sound patterns and grammatical categorization.

Individuals such as she, often happy to escape from the gray 648*
reality of age into nostalgic memory, initially struck the observer 657*
as conservative when contrasted with the young people: the boys 156
in Levis, cowboy boots, and leather jackets, the girls in jeans and 177
plaid shirts, who spoke little or no Klamath, and who loitered 178
in the cafes of Chiloquin hanging on the heavy beat of the jukebox. Yet at most, such folk were old-fashioned, and still retained the tastes and inclinations of long habit. Their commitment was selective. Those who still liked to dig the roots known as ipos did so, not with an aboriginal digging stick, but with the more durable iron counterpart made years ago by the Agency blacksmith; and they traveled to and from the grounds, not on horseback, but in the most modern of automobiles.

If there were tribal members who wanted to have as little as possible to do with whites, they did not thereupon stop speaking English or give up their houses, cars, and radios to accomplish this. They continued to purchase food and other necessary items from white merchants. Indeed, their hostility might find short shrift from another Klamath who commanded more knowledge of the traditional lore and still recounted the old myths to her grandchildren, yet possessed many friends among the whites.

Clearly, there was at Klamath in the latter days of the reserva- 648*
tion no clearly distinguishable category of the "native-oriented," 657*
in the sense of a preferential adherence to the institutions of 177
native life. Deliberate retentions rather served as the diacriticals 178
marking an ethnic nationality.[20] The use of the Klamath language [191]
to signify an Indian estate was one marker. It might be used on

*648 formal occasions in the General Council in a demonstration of
*657 decorative oratory; and there it might also serve a speaker to
177 shut out a heckler who knew only English. In such a session, a
• 178 member in the audience, although fluent in English, might demand
191 the services of an interpreter for the purpose of underscoring his Indian status. Similar functions were served when Klamath was spoken in the presence of whites. The ability to shift from one language to another, or from one behavioral modality to another, was akin to the behavior which Polgar has described in the "biculturation" of Fox children.[21]

*648 In the latter days of the reservation, there were few occasions
*657 when tribal members came together for traditional events, and
177 the sessions of the General Council constituted the main remaining
178 tribal gathering. Such individuals as our old friend mentioned
623 above had their closest and most continuous relations with children
619 and grandchildren, who by no means shared their outlook.
571 On the occasional visits of their aged peers, these elders exchanged memories and expressed common concerns which were as much the product of the parallel roles they then performed in their respective families as of the time in which they had grown up.

*648 Such accommodation as there has been to American culture has
*657 not only changed through time with alterations in the state of
177 Klamath and American cultures; but at any single time, Klamath
178 have drawn diversely from what was available. Thus, the small
184 number of families in Chiloquin that have attained a measure of social acceptance by whites of middle or high status have done so by manifesting the appropriate life style. In so doing, unless they are able deftly to shift role-orientations, being now Klamath, now white, they have had to sacrifice close relations with their kin. "Some of my family I never see any more," remarked one such woman, "and I don't want to see them." They often forbade their children to play with undesirable tribal children. Insistence upon household neatness, fastidious emphasis upon personal cleanliness, punctuality, and adherence to self-standards usually accompanied these attitudes.

Inframodal behavior among Klamath in turn has by no means been random in form, but has approximated already established patterns in the dominant culture; often combining them in ways

that seem bizarre. In evading prohibition, as already noted, tribal 648*
members learned successively to operate stills, to patronize and 657*
to serve as bootleggers, and to drink alcoholic extracts. For local 177
roughs, the pug and the cowboy provided glamorous models; 178 •
and several youths ventured upon the hard trail of the profes- 184
sional boxer. [883]
Although cowboy hats and boots were still worn in the latter days of the reservation, they were giving way among this set to the ducktail haircut and the leather jacket. Drag racing and drinking were pursuits as common among tribal adolescents in Chiloquin as among their peers elsewhere. The intermittent use of marijuana cigarettes and an occasional Pachuco tattoo were evidence of the selective adoption of Inframodal practices.

As a category, the inframodal Klamath were often the immediate descendants of some of the elderly individuals already mentioned, dependent upon them for money once they had squandered their own funds, sometimes residing with them, sometimes "shacking up" in a separate household in a common-law union. They formed but one range of the main body of tribal members, among whom they found associates perhaps as often
as they did among their own sort. They did not habitually asso- [571]
ciate with Inframodal peers among other racial groups, but [573]
characteristically remained in small tribal cliques, of which the [273]
drinking groups were the chief stable expression.[22]

Those tribal members still on the reservation comprised a main body, upon which three lobes might be distinguished: the elders, the Inframodal, and those conformant to American standards. The latter alone had tended to become almost completely cut off from the major body of their fellow tribesmen, save for a few leaders, who had been able to keep the respect of both whites and Klamath. The remainder constituted a single society of strong egalitarian persuasions.

While recognizing that a single criterion must fail as a device 648*
for sorting out categories which are the product of such com- 657*
plexity, a first approximation was attempted in an analysis of the 177
records of a random sample of tribal members in Chiloquin.[23] As 178
sorting criteria, the subjects were first scaled against five some- 184
what overlapping entries involving behavior before the law. Then, 125
working symmetrically from the extremes of the scale, they were

*648 divided into three segments as nearly equal in size as possible.[24]
*657 The symmetrical cuts resulted in a Conformant segment, pre-
177 vailingly law-abiding in record, almost twice as large as the In-
•178 framodal category at the other end, which consisted of these
184 persons with the highest record of violations. The Intermediate
125 membership was slightly larger than that of the Conformant.[25]

The characteristics of each of these categories, when contrasted, tend to confirm statements made previously. Members of the Conformant segment were least Indian biologically and included the highest proportion of women. They seem to have come from comparatively smaller families and, with the Intermediate subjects, seem to have received far more adequate parental care than did the Inframodal category. Educational achievements are less distinctive, reflecting the compulsory nature of schooling on the reservation, but again the Inframodal segment lags behind the others in school grade completed. In the measure of engagement in business or ranching and in record of money management, the distinctions are decisive, with the Conformant category far outstripping its fellows and the Inframodal segment at the bottom. Finally, in both the percentage of those married and living with spouse and family as well as in the stability of residence the same order is seen.

In the second part of the study, the thirty Klamath subjects who had given Dr. Clifton responses to the Murray Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)[26] were assigned by judgment to the three segments, the protocols of each category being treated together by a method of analysis previously employed in examining Klamath mythology.[27] When all of the modern TAT segments were combined and contrasted with the myths, the responses were seen to reflect changes which had in fact taken place through time. Thus a trend toward a universalistic outlook
[602] was reflected, along with lessened attention to the ramifications
[594] of kinship, a reduction of the family itself to nuclear form, and
[554] a concurrent diversification of role relationships toward individ-
[571] uals acting impersonally as employer, policeman, doctor, or
teacher. A secularization of life may also be reflected by the scant consideration of religion in the modern protocols.

[571] When the modern TAT segments were compared, the Conform-
ant subjects were seen to place a strong emphasis upon support

given the family by neighbors as well as by the impersonal agents 648*
of society, while making little mention of any kinsmen beyond 657*
the immediate, two-generation family. Members of this category, 177
who objectively were least Indian genetically and who mani- 178
fested the highest measure of intermarriage with whites, were 184
the only ones to introduce racial comments in their responses. 125
This may well be taken as evidence of their sensitivity to a [571]
marginal condition. In treating intrafamilial roles, they saw a [829]
strong paternal figure (lacking in the protocols of the other two [593]
segments), but they viewed his authority as one against which the son repeatedly rebelled. Moreover, contrary to their own superior record of family stability, members of the Conformant category envisaged the marital bond as frequently threatened by feminine interlopers. Here again is an indication that the Conformant families, like the most acculturated among Vogt's Navaho veterans,[28] had achieved their condition only at the cost of gnawing anxiety.

By contrast, both of the remaining TAT segments tended to [602]
stress kinship, for in their protocols a greater reliance is placed upon grandparents and more remote kinsmen, with correspondingly less dependence upon friends, neighbors, or impersonal agents. Indeed, the Inframodal subjects tended to view the
latter with suspicion and outright hostility. In neither segment [593]
was the paternal role seen as prominent; and the mother instead occupied a central position, not disciplining, but strongly supporting her children. Sibling relations, which in the Conformant category had been seen as continuing through life, stood on a lower level among the intermediate subjects, who viewed the bond as existing only in childhood; and were negligible among the Inframodal segment. Similarly, the marital bond appeared to be conceived by Intermediate members as weak, being marked by a succession of casual liaisons, while the Inframodal saw strife between the couple, rather than outside interference, as disrupting the union.

By contrast with Conformant subjects, members of the other
two categories exhibited a far less realistic view of the conditions [829]
making possible achievement, but they did so in different ways. Those of the Intermediate segment seemed to see conformance as a necessary factor for success, although their behavioral record

*648 showed them in fact to be deficient here, and they made complex,
*657 conditional statements about it. They seemed uncertain about
177 the manner in which a prosperous life was to be achieved. The
• 178 scofflaw members of the Inframodal category, by contrast, saw
184 accomplishment as the result of individual strengths, rather than
125 of surrogate support. In this, having regard for their family form,
829 they may be regarded as fairly realistic; but attainment for them often took fantastic forms. One might say that they were content to play with the idea but were unprepared to put it into practice. In their treatment of crime and violence they took a realistic view, as against the Conformant subjects, who also gave it prominence, or the Intermediate category, who seldom discussed it; and they often saw them from the perspective of the violator. Conformant concern with crime and violence, by contrast, was coupled with the view that punishment, often involving remorse as well, was both merited and certain.

*648 Several general comments may be offered. In the first place, the
*657 Conformant subjects stand somewhat apart from members of
177 the other two categories in adherence to standards dominant
178 among whites. A matter of some note is the size of the group.
184 While the size of segments was determined by the purposes of the study, the impression is strong that a larger proportion of tribal members would seem to be attuned already to values honored in American society than have been accepted by their white peers. Social acceptance, from this point of view, has lagged behind the formation of acceptable attitudes.

There are reasons for this. On the one hand, a number of tribal members approve these attitudes as merely reflecting those of the traditional Klamath. Some of them, despite Conformant behavior, decline to choose white associates if it means giving up ties with Klamath kin and friends. Then, too, among whites the formation of acceptable attitudes and behavior must be accompanied by other qualifications, discussed earlier. Major white stereotypes, as can be seen, have been formed about behavior and attitudes found principally among the minority of Klamath who fall into the Inframodal segment, and these have been extended to characterize tribal members as a whole.

Finally, behavior of Inframodal type is more complex than may appear at first. It was present, in somewhat different form, in

aboriginal Klamath culture; it has assumed some of the aspects 648*
of criminal behavior among whites; and as already noted is 657*
turned against the institutions of the whites and the persons of 177
Klamath. If Inframodal individuals are seen as rejecting the 178
ambient culture, they spurn only selected parts of it; and they 184
might have rebelled in similar fashion had they lived in the
native society a century and a half earlier.

There is much that continues to link most tribal members together. The assessment of an earlier paper seems valid.

> An individual may act in a manner that both we and the Klamath define as anti-social. [571] Affected kinfolk may object, but their voice is muted and their efforts frequently null. Yet outside of the group immediately affected, the offender may find ready acceptance and even approval, so long as he has not violated the cultural standards of independence, of indifference to pain, danger, or personal inconvenience, of open-handed liberality, of steadfastness to a friend, and of a shrewd opportunism to others. But because there is now no homogeneous mode of behavior governing relations with members of social groups, and no effective coercive agent, Klamath behavior today probably departs more widely from the mode than it did in aboriginal times.[8]

Thus, in various ways the Klamath have come to be differentially distributed, even within the confines of one small reservation town. Members have become acculturated in behavior and attitude to varying degrees and in divergent directions. [563] Through intermarriage, they have come to manifest a range of biological features, some more acceptable than others to non-Klamath. Finally, they have come to be ranked by whites upon a social gradient, although as a whole they are assigned an inferior position. In turn, historical, cultural, ethnic, and social considerations have led most tribal members to eschew their placement and to maintain a life somewhat apart. A major factor in their sense of separateness is the identity accorded corporate image by the tribal government. The following chapter reviews that institution.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 in the Klamath language.[15] In this setting, the chairman and
*657 principal leaders sought with great difficulty to operate under
646 Robert's Rules of Order. Council minutes record numerous in-
619 stances in which many of those present cast no vote.

In this, as in other political contexts, the observer could sense what some members admitted readily: a reluctance to commit themselves to decisions that might lead to dangerous consequences on either side. As in their dealings with the Agency, individuals accepted as a right what those controlling the executive had to offer, and declined to be bound thereby. Factional charge and innuendo had so sapped confidence in the Klamath leadership that interviews conducted in the course of termination revealed that all but one of the respondents (118 in all) favored a management plan administered by unknown trustees over an organization headed by their own members.[16]

It was not, however, factionalism alone that was at the root
• [178] of the uncertainty. The long dependence of individuals upon per
capitas, and the corresponding lack of experience in pursuing a livelihood, understandably enough made many wary of any change that might threaten the economic niche in which they dwelt. Moreover, on many of the more complex issues involving property their very lack of experience made them easily swayed
[666] by irrelevancies. Not infrequently, Seldon Kirk, when presiding
over a vote of the General Council, would query, "I wonder how many of you know what you were voting for?"—and, calling for a reballoting, would see the issue solidly reversed.

*648 If they were uncertain in the exercise of their power, tribal
*657 members nonetheless felt a strong need to display it. Real and
619 fancied acts of coercion had left a legacy of alienation, to which
the impersonal bureaucratic operation of the Agency only added. In a span during which tribal membership had done little more than double, the Agency staff had swelled from an early 5 members to an ultimate figure of 139, some twenty-five times as great. With expansion, the Agency program had become compartmentalized, each division taking on a life of its own and growing endlessly ramified. Bureaucratization, together with the frequent turnover in the upper echelons of administration, led to increasing impersonalization of relations. Subtly, the training of Klamath

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

EIGHTEEN

[P.259]

Conclusion

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KLAMATH TRIBE UNDER THE PROVISIONS 648*
of the Treaty of 1864 comprised a program of directed change, 657*
paralleling in its general features the relationships of the United 171
States government with diverse other Indian peoples. Because a common policy lay behind the administration of Indian affairs, the history that unfolded at Klamath was similar at many points to developments on other reservations. Since, however, unique characteristics of Klamath culture entered into the equation, and common events were locally mediated, that policy had different effects in execution.

Within the spectrum of American Indian cultures, it was important 648*
that the tribes brought upon the Klamath reservation 657*
were unacquainted with agriculture, but had some knowledge of, 241
and esteem for horse-herding; that while they lacked traditions 233
of large-scale political organization, they placed a premium upon 619
industry and the acquisition of material wealth. These attributes, 181
while by no means unique, were distinctive in their combination; 177
and they gain significance when seen from the perspective of 178
the policy objectives of the government. Similarly, the circumstance that many individuals had already undergone extensive acculturation beyond the Klamath country provided the early Agents with native allies already won over to the prospects of change.

Even the application of a common policy exhibited special 648*
features. Two instances should illustrate the point. The recognition 657*
of the tribal claim to a large domain, together with the [423]
retention of surplus lands after allotment, laid the basis for a [619]
corporate wealth equaled by only a few other reservation peoples. [434]
Later, the rejection of the Indian Reorganization Act during the Collier administration placed the Klamath among a minority of

Those same traits others[13] had held to be conservatively Ojibway; 648*
and marking their counterparts among Menominee and other 657*
peoples the Spindlers[14] propose to see in them a common survival 177
of psychological characteristics shared widely by American In- 156
dians. Underhill,[15] by contrast, accounts for the commonalty by 171
reference, like James, to experience in a shared situation, the
reservation.

These differences of interpretation are by no means irrecon-
cilable. The writer would agree with James[16] that "the genesis of [114]
the modern Indian self lies in the social processes that constitute
reservation life," but he would include among those processes
such relationships as may have survived in the peculiar cultural
environment furnished by the reservation.[17] Favored in persis- 648*
tence at Klamath have been generalized characteristics, rather 657*
than complex and specific traits. They have survived in part 156
because they are inculcated during childhood;[18] and the family, 177
within which child-rearing takes place, is one of the structures 178
that has retained distinctive qualities. They are sustained in the [571]
quality of primary relationships and are rooted in the individual,
often at an unconscious level.[19] As Spencer observes, "The diffuseness of the social structure may be regarded as a survival from the heritage of the past, while individual activity continues to be couched in essentially aboriginal terms."[20] Reservation existence has provided, however, an ever changing context—albeit somewhat sheltered from the rapidly changing environs—in response to which enduring features have undergone modification.

To take the quality of guarded restraint, which Clifton regards 648*
as characteristic of the personality configuration of modern Kla- 657*
math, one can indeed trace continuities with the past. In the 156
myths there are present themes of watchful waiting and the use 177
of subterfuge in dealing with strangers and foes, and a wary 178
reserve in conflict with affinals.[21] In traditional relationships, as 571
Spencer has shown, sub-rosa patterns of aggression characterized [538]
"hostility . . . driven underground" by public disapproval.[22] That covert revenge has persisted is evidenced by historic records of several murders, of such acts as the firing of a haystack in 1897, attributed by the victim in part to the perpetrators' "envy of his prosperity . . .";[23] and to modern incidents of the same nature. Today jealousy is frequently attributed to unspecified others,

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 usually Klamath by inference and to be identified only in part
*657 with feuding groups. It may well be that such a projection is an
156 indication in many modern Klamath of an alienation from their
177 own membership group. More central to the issue taken here,
• 178 however, is the probability that under the tensions of reservation
571 life guarded restraint, once restricted to a few role relationships, has become generalized to a much broader range of contexts, while at the same time it has grown to be a pervasive characteristic of Klamath personality.

*648 The modern situation at Klamath, with its measure of human
*657 disengagement, apathy, and generated hostility, may be interpreted
156 by some as justification for the abolition of the reservation
177 there and as an indictment of reservations everywhere. Such
178 conclusions are likely to be far too sweeping. The Klamath situation was a consequence of a reservation become a holding operation, with a program that had ground to a halt. Ironically, termination of the reservation was founded upon the premise that the Klamath had attained a successful level of integration with their white neighbors. It may not be concluded that problems have automatically been solved by the action taken; nor may it be maintained that other, less drastic steps, if taken in time, might not have proved more effective.

*648 For many Indian peoples reservations are a highly significant
*657 reality, constituting the only familiar homeland, the major continuity
171 with the past, the sole real property, and the principal token of the government's resolution to honor pledges made long ago. At the same time, chosen with an eye to native exploitation or to the needs of the small farm of the nineteenth century, they are often unfitted to support a population by current standards. They thus pose the dilemma embodied in schemes on the one hand for local development and on the other for the relocation of Indian families. Sweeping measures are inappropriate; each reservation merits consideration in its own terms. Yet it would be shortsighted to seek only for material advancement, essential though this is; for, as the Klamath instance shows, unless the program give men hope, they languish even in prosperity.

[p.339-B]

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION [1]

by

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

128 culture, social and political organization are
not described here except in their effect on
124 education. Wherever particular items are men-
tioned, we specifically asked our informants for
a description, even though they had been de-
scribed in previous ethnographies. Such ac-
counts may thus be taken as corroborating
earlier evidence unless otherwise specified in
the text.

131 The Klamath reside in their old territory
in southern Oregon, but the aboriginal way of
178 life has long since disappeared. Today they are
241 farmers and ranchers, but a considerable part of
the earlier culture remains alive in the memo-
233 ries of a few oldsters. Our seven informants
(4 men and 3 women) were all in their late
178 seventies or eighties and had participated in
the last phases of the aboriginal culture as
115 children. It is regrettable that it was neces-
sary to reconstruct childhood training from the
reminiscences of elderly individuals. Doubtless
much of the material represents the ideal rather
than the actual pattern of education. The
ideals do, however, give a definite insight into
what was considered important in the upbringing
of children, whether these standards were always
maintained or not. Since there is little or
nothing in the early literature on this subject,
there is no way of comparing impressions re-
ceived from old people who are admittedly look-
ing back to "the good old days" with impressions
of objective eyewitnesses to the old ways as
they were really practiced.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Barrenness is sometimes con-
sidered cause for divorce. Since the blame
842 seems to fall most commonly on the woman, her
husband's parents may suggest that he send her
586 away and get a wife who can provide him with
children. Ordinarily, though, the parents-in-
606 law are more lenient with a barren woman.
Most Klamath express a preference for boys. A
842 variety of reasons are offered, the most common
being that boys are less bother than girls.
"Girls are always getting into trouble, and you
just raise them for someone else because they go
off to their husbands when they get married."
Once the child is born, however, there seems to
be no special favoritism shown to boys. One

M K 343 plunges into the lake or a pool in the river or whatever water there may be at hand. This practice seems to have been medicinal. It was used as a habitual means of warding off disease as well as of curing it.

The second form of sweathouse was of similar size and construction except that it had a saddle roof which was covered with several inches of earth instead of a dome-shaped roof covered with matting. The door of this structure was placed at one end and was usually quite small. It was closed by a blanket or tule mat during the sweating.

There was no large "sweathouse" used for ceremonial purposes as in the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada region to the south. All ceremonies were held out of doors, chiefly in the summer.

IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.[8]

M K 411 The influence of the unusual environment in which the Klamath and Modoc live is also very noticeable in the implements made and used by them, particularly in the various devices for the capture of fish and water birds.

[171] The chief implements of war were the bow and arrow and a rather short javelin. The war bow was of the general type of the northwestern part of California, having a sinew back and sharply upcurved ends. The arrow was made in the ordinary manner, with light wood or cane shaft, hard wood foreshaft, and a moderately large obsidian, or sometimes flint, point.

The javelin or spear was fairly short. Its shaft was made of heavy wood. Its point, usually of obsidian, varied from two to [178] six inches in length. These javelins, like war bows and arrows, [756] are no longer in existence, though the obsidian heads are quite plentiful about old village and camp sites. They are now used [525] by medicine-men in doctoring, and also by gamblers, who place them under the large mats used for gambling to insure good luck, especially in the game called sakalis.

HUNTING IMPLEMENTS.

M K 224 The implements used in hunting animals were usually the bow and arrow. Ensnaring animals was little practiced by the

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[8] The Klamath names of the various implements, etc., here described are given by Gatschet in his dictionary, *op. cit.*

STONE IMPLEMENTS.

412 Several forms of stone implements are quite commonly found
[262] among the Klamath. Most characteristic of these is the two-
horned muller (pl. 21, fig. 2), used with the flat, very thin metate
[324] in grinding wokas, the chief food of the region. The process of
grinding with these implements is shown in pl. 12, fig. 1. The
muller is held so that the horns or ears point from the operator
and the grinding is done on the stroke of the muller from the
operator, the stroke toward the operator being very light indeed.
[252] A second form of muller, described by informants, but not now
in use, has a loop instead of the two horns. No special cere-
monial or religious significance seems to be attached to either of
these forms. Another, very small metate and a small grinding
stone or muller (pl. 21, fig. 1) are employed in the grinding of
certain seeds which are parched and used as food. The motion in
grinding with the small muller is circular, not backward and
forward as in the case of the larger one. These small milling
implements are also used by girls as playthings in the grinding
of wokas and other seeds.

Small mortars and pestles are quite commonly used at the present time and are still made by the people of this region. They are used chiefly by old people whose teeth are poor, for grinding dried fish and meat, though they are also employed in grinding seeds. The pestles used with these mortars are more or less crude. Those shown in pl. 21, figs. 3 and 4 are exceptionally well fashioned. A typical mortar is shown in fig. 6 of the same plate.

Another special implement of stone is the maul (pl. 21, fig. 8).
This, unlike the pestle, is always made with a decided conical
form. It varies up to five inches or so in diameter, and is from
[313] six to perhaps ten inches in length. It was used in driving the
elkhorn and mountain-mahogany wedges which were employed
in splitting trees, particularly for canoe making, as has been
[178] already described. Neither the wedge nor any other elkhorn
227 implement is now to be found in this region. Grooved sinkers
of elliptical or triangular form are used on the gill net. One
of these triangular sinkers is shown in pl. 21, fig. 7.

M
K walked with the cradle on her back, it was bound down with a
piece of buckskin; and there was in some cases a harder material
304 used in connection with the buckskin, such as a small piece of
854 board, or a piece of willow basketry. These headbands were, of
course, properly padded to prevent actual injury to the child's
head, but the pressure was sufficient and was so adjusted that it
caused a decided flattening of both the front and back of the
M head. The younger generation has not been subjected to this
K cradle treatment and does not show the flattening, but among the
[178] older Klamath and Modoc the flattening is very pronounced.
M K Probably due to the influence of the Shoshonean peoples to the
854 east, the cradle board finds some use among the Lutuami, but the
177 woven tule and willow cradles are typical of the region.

M In addition to the various articles of dress mentioned in speak-
K ing of the uses of tule, the Klamath and Modoc make a belt
291 either from the fiber of the inner bark of certain trees or from
286 human hair. These are worn by the women in every-day dress.
287 Plate 17, fig. 7, shows one of these belts of fiber.

As a brush for dressing the hair the tail of the porcupine is
M used (pl. 22, fig. 2). Usually the longer spines are removed and
K the skin of the tail is then stuffed either with shredded tule or
302 with shredded sage-brush bark. In dressing the hair the brush
237 is drawn through it directly against the points of the spines,
which, as may be seen from the illustration, lie almost flat.

K As before mentioned the Klamath have many vegetable foods
262 in addition to the wokas. Most of these are derived from small
plants, but the pine furnishes one. The inner bark of some of
the species of pine is much esteemed as a food and there is a
[237] special implement used in taking it. This knife-like bone imple-
ment (pl. 22, fig. 5) is used in separating the inner from the
outer bark, and is usually made from a deer rib or from a rib
of one of the other large animals.

SUMMARY.

M The Klamath and Modoc people possess a specialized culture,
K due largely to the extensive use of tule in the making of houses,
285 basketry, and various utensils. The only baskets made of a
harder material are conical burden baskets, triangular sifters, a

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common 101
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 177
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological [184]
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy, [224]
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly 648
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties:
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an ar- [829]
tificial construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet 178
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-resi-
dence with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been trans- 648
ferred to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural [241]
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber indus- [511]
try has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are exclusively 621
White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office outside [575]
the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local [794]
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are frequently [651]
tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously,
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chiloquin [674]
during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a reconstituted 648
"Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be administered 657
by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal supervision
has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual 619
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Attendance
at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

592
Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification.
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 67

*159
Background Data

156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, particularly
in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
593 Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma
William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
733 like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
83 She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by
three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
587 having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She
871 completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and
she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri,
178 California, and Mexico.

657 Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father
for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation
464 and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous
bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal
penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her
sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five,
and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their
violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how
such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
577 Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams
is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
177 a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values,
and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of
either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and
has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

191 Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her
English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that children
871 today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I
can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
593 no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her
children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this respect,
603 Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, behaviors
867 in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of
place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations
with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at
riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them
coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
657 She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was
carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
871 and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who
177 promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were rejected
from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate interchanges
and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses
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121 with the values of the dominant culture and provide access to the institutiona-
156 lized means of attaining desired goals there will be a successful psychological
157 adaptation to dominant standards, but that when these conditions do not exist
then there may be overt change in the content of culture unaccompanied by changes
171 in psychological characteristics (Spindler 1955: 199). In the same way, Hallo-
177 well suggests that constant association with powerful external agents, multiple
conflicting sources of reward and punishment and the ridicule and invidious com-
parisons which too frequently accompany acculturation situations may result in
extreme feelings of insecurity, personality maladjustment, and what he calls the
"frustration of maturity" (Hallowell 1955: 329).

Spindler's dual hypotheses are, of course, not the only alternative consequences
of acculturation situations. We feel that between these polarities there are
different modes of adaptation open, modes similar to those suggested by Hallo-
[178] well. We therefore assert, hypothetically, that the defensive, guarded, re-
served style of interaction now characteristic of the Klamath is the product of
the deterioration and decay of major patterns of aboriginal Klamath culture, a
prolonged exposure to and considerable identification with the values and stan-
dards of the dominant White society, and the persistent denial of access to the
means and instrumentalities necessary to achieve these goals and to live up to
the standards. We argue, in this way, that there are a great many similarities
between diverse American Indian populations as noted by many observers, that
these similarities do not constitute the residue of generic Indian character
traits, but that they are a function of a common depressed minority group status
within contemporary American society. Our analysis of this is that these com-
ponents, specifically, the guardedness, the reserve, the suspicion, and the lack
of involvement in creative group activity, are very much analogous to what various
sociologists speak of as alienation or anomie (Merton 1957: 121-194; Nettler 1957;
Seeman 1961).

000 could not remain unpunished. Brought before a jury at Fort Klamath, Kíntpuash, Chief Skóntchish, Black or Húka Jim, and Boston Charley were condemned to the gallows and hung at the Fort October 3, 1873, while two accessories to the deed—Bántcho and Slū'lks (now George Denny)—were condemned to incarceration at Fort Alcatraz, San Francisco Bay.*

Thus ended the long-contested struggle of the little Modoc band against the Oregon and California volunteers and the regular troops of the United States Army. Certainly the heroism and ingenuity displayed by the Modocs would have been worthy of a better cause, and would have passed down to posterity in the brightest colors of patriotism had not the murderous "entreacte" and Canby's death deprived the struggle of its heroic luster. The unworthy termination of this war is well typified by the fact that the skeleton of the Modoc captain is now dangling as an anatomical specimen in the museum of the Surgeon-General's Office, at Washington, District of Columbia.

STATISTICS.

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From the end of the Modoc war to the present year the condition of affairs has not changed much in the Klamath Highlands. The reports of the United States agent repeat the same story of progress towards civilization every year; but in view of the difficulty of bringing a hunter tribe into the high road of Christian culture and industrial progress we can not attach much credence to such reports so long as they are couched in generalities and do not contain special facts attesting mental improvement by schooling.

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In agriculture success is possible only in the Sprague River Valley, but pasturing will succeed almost on every spot of the Reservation. The report of 1888, compared with that of 1880, shows a considerable improvement in this direction. The 2,500 horses and mules counted in 1880 had increased to 4,532 in 1888; the 200 head of cattle to 2,201. In the latter year the number of swine figured 208, of domestic fowl, 1,000. Of the 20,000 tillable acres of land 1,400 were cultivated by the Indians in

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* Slū'lks was released, and stays now at the Modoc Reservation, Indian Territory, with Scarface Charley and some other warriors of that war.

000 on nature, physically and mentally, than we are. What distinguishes the civilized man from the primitive man of our days and of prehistoric ages is his greater faculty of turning to account the patent and the hidden powers of nature, or the invention of handicrafts, arts, and sciences. In this the savage man lags far behind the man of culture, and although we often have to admire the ingenuity and shrewdness displayed by the American native in his hunting and fishing implements and practices, the art of agriculture, without which there can be no real human culture, has never been pursued to any considerable extent by the Indians living north of the thirtieth parallel of latitude.

512 The climate of their home compels the Mák̲laks Indians to lead an
157 active and laborious life. Except in the coldest days of winter they are
[147] almost always engaged in some outdoor work, either hunting, fishing, or
cutting wood, gathering vegetal food, or traveling on horseback. Pursuits
like these and the pure, bracing air of the highlands render their constitutions
hardy and healthy, their minds active, wide awake, and intelligent.
They are quick-sighted and quick in their acts, but slow in expressing delight,
wonder, astonishment, or disgust at anything they see. Often they
do not grasp the meaning of what they observe being done by the white
people, and thus appear to us indifferent to many of the highest attainments
177 of modern culture. Children and adults are prone to reject or slow to adopt
[178] the blessings of civilization, because many of these are of no practical use
to a hunting and fishing people, and others are past their understanding.

The first things they generally adopt from the white people are the citizen's dress and handy articles of manufacture, as beads, tobacco, knives, guns, steel traps; also wagons and other vehicles; for when in possession of these last the horses, which they had obtained long before, can be put to better account. They are also quick in adopting English baptismal names, sometimes discarding but oftener retaining their descriptive or burlesque nomenclature from the Klamath language. Gradually they adopt also with the money of the white man the elements of arithmetic, and learn to compute days and months according to his calendar. After another lapse of time they introduce some of the white man's laws, discard polygamy and slavery,

773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to
suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a
future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however,
be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is
free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during
the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of
suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency build-
532 ings, which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face
flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also
artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the lan-
538 guage fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of
success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Allitera-
tion, assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to
this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes
which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be
the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

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sas tánkak. Tsúi wiggátak tchía, tsúi wä'kala, tsúi hûk mukák k̲'läká.
to them not many. Then together they lived, and she became mother, and the babe died.

Tsúi hû'nk pän wutódsna, tsúi pän mbusé-alpĕle. K̲ú-idshi hû'k snawéds;
Then her again he gave up, and again lived with (her). Mischievous (is) that woman;

tsû'ssak sû'la sha, hissuáks hû'k wû'lantana: "tám mí'sh setû'lχa kaní?
constantly haggled they, husband the used to ask (her): "(did) with you consort anybody?

sä'gs' ish, k̲á-i sa-í'shiank." Tsí sa hû'n kí nánuk spunä'ks; tsúi sí'ssûka
tell me, not concealing." So they said every night; then they fought

ná-asht gíug. Tsúi sa k̲ú-i sû'ta pipĕlángshtan staínas, tsúi sa k̲ú-i tchía.
for saying so. And they embittered mutually hearts, and they wretchedly lived.

Hû'masht-gíug tû'mĕni laláki näʹ-ulχa, túmĕni huskiû'tankpĕle. Tína
On this subject often the chiefs ruled, many times made them live together again. Once

snáwäds hûk pálla hishuáks m'na shû'ldsisas shätō'lχ; vû'nsatka hûnk
woman that deceived husband her (and) with a soldier copulated; in canoe (she)

[684]

sk̲ä'na pállank sas sûldsámkshi. Tsí hûk shû'ta titná huk snawä'ds; tsúi
rowed away abstracting (it) from them to the troops. Thus acted at a time that woman; and

laláki näʹ-ulχa hû'nksht Pû'lam snawä'dsas; ktû'tsga sa hûk laláki sätó-
the chiefs tried that Ball's wife; cut hair off they the chiefs for hav-

lakst sû'ldsisas. Tchúi pän kédsa Paúl; Waitängí'shash tsí's setō'lχ tánkt.
ing slept with soldier. Then again left (her) Ball; with a Warm Spring man too he lodged then.

Tsúi pän mbusé-alpla, tsúi sas wáts sk̲ókta pän, tsúi sha pän ak sissō'ka;
And again he lived with (her), and to them horses he paid over once more and they again quarreled;

at sa k̲ú-i hak tsía tsússak, tsúi laláki pänak hû'skiûtka. Tsúi pän
they wretchedly lived always, and the chiefs once more made them live together. And again

mbû'se-alp'l, tû'sh spungátgapĕle É-ustat tchí'pkshi hûnk snawä'dsas. Pû'l
he lived with (her), over there he brought back on Lake shore home the wife. Ball

toks hí'wi hímboks tánkt, tchúi hí'-i lélktcha tchí'ktchik spû'nktchapaluk.
hauled logs then, and there abandoned the wagon to bring (her) back.

Tsúi spû'ntpampĕle, tsúi näʹ-ulχa sha pä'n, spû'lhi sa Pû'lash, tsúi sa
And he brought (her) back, and tried they again, imprisoned they Ball, and he and she

sχókta sas pä'n wátch, tsúi sa spunkámpĕle pän, tsúi sa pän hû'nk
paid them once more horses, and they set (him) free again, and they again

sumsä'-alank tsía.
marrying lived.

Wakák tsik sa tchía, k̲á-i ní tû'mĕnat.
How since they have lived, not I learnt.

NOTES.

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Matrimonial reverses like the one given in this narrative are by no means uncommon among the Klamaths of the present day. They are one of the unavoidable consequences of the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers at Fort Klamath.

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huk	tchékēl' a	gépka.	Tsúi	wéwan'sh	gûlí'	winō'tnish;	shashuakí'sh	tchí'sh,
the	blood	comes up.	Then	women	enter	who form chorus;	people who call the conjurer	too,

lutatkí'sh	tchísh,	shuashuáktchish	matchatgí'sh	tchísh	gulí'	látchashtat
the song-repeater	too,	bewailers,	listeners	also	enter	lodge

m'na.
his.

NOTES.

[178] The ascetic performances and ceremonies here described are going into disuse at the present time. When they were fully observed, the bereaved husband wandered alone through the woods and wilds (spótu) for five days, but to the widow these observances extended over a shorter time. For this purpose both sexes wore warm clothing, but took to worn-out blankets or old articles of raiment, and used wisps of the serviceberry-bush as belts.

[192] [526] **83,** 1. shpótû: strong and unusual bodily exercise, running up hill, plunging etc. was and is still considered beneficial to the body, and is much in favor with the Indians. Cf. **82,** 10. 11.

[192] [193] **83,** 1. hissuáksûk for híshuaksh ak; the husband *alone*, not in company of others; pä'nē for pä'n a, pēn a, cf. átēnen for át a nen; and sē for sha, they, **82,** 4.

83, 2. ka-ítua pát or p'át: he eats nothing at the time while wandering; pánk, p'ánk might stand here instead of pát; tû'tahna: for dozing they did not lie down, but tried to catch a little sleep while walking and wandering.

83, 2. shlaá, and tchákēle **83,** 5, forms sometimes used in conversation instead of shläá, shleá; tchä'kēle, tchékēli. Cf. yáka for yä'ka, yéka: *Note* to **16,** 10.

83, 3. húshtí'ktamna; the suffix -tamna shows that pshín stands for nánuk pshí'n gí'sh: "nightly, every night."

83, 4. siunō'tish and shuí'sh are both tamánuash-songs, but of a different character. See Dictionary. Shlä'popka: he sees in his dreams what he has heard mentioned in the songs. To sing or repeat songs started by the conjurer devolves almost exclusively on the women present at the ceremony.

83, 5. súmat: into the mouth; their blood, disturbed by the constant excitement produced by the night rambles, ascends to the throat, and is sometimes spit out by them.

84, 2. shuashuáktchish. By their loud and noisy lamentations (shuáktcha, to cry, to weep) they expect to avert from the bereaved husband the effects of the tamánuash-spell (shuí'sh) which he has seen in his dreams.

84, 2. matchátgish: those listening to the words uttered by the conjurer and his repeater or expounder; they are of both sexes and also act as bewailers.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 773 192 193 103 137

94, 4. I-ulalónan or Yulalóna is the Indian name of the cascade of Link River above the town of Linkville, and for that town itself. The origin of this name is explained in 94, 5. 6, for the verb i-ulalóna means to move forth and back, referring here to the waters of the river receding under the pressure of the south wind.

94, 6. ítklank, partic. pres. of ítkal, means here: obtaining by basketfuls.

94, 9. The kĕnáwat is a plant growing high in the warm climate of Northern California, especially in the ancient habitat of the Shasti Indians, and in this myth it suggested itself to the Indians on account of its property of growing very fast.

95, 3. gé'hlapka: he swung himself into the nest by climbing over the rim. Cf. *Note* to 66, 13.

95, 10. kaiχema K'mukámtchish for the regular form K'mukámtchash. Cf. 91, 8.

95, 15. skáyamtch etc. More plainly expressed this sentence runs as follows: sha skáyamna pásh tchish ámbu tchish; the first tchish being placed before pásh and appended to the apocopated skáyamna.

95, 16. shéwana here used differently from tchíya, which applies to liquids only.

95, 17. p'lû' ítchuank seems to be a quite modern interpolation, for it smells of pomade and hair-oil; but it is as ancient as the myth itself.

765 95, 23. 96, 2. 3. 4. Tchíka. I have rendered this bird-name elsewhere by "Chaffinch," and Klétish by "Sandhill Crane".

551 96, 3. shlámia, to feel insulted. She resented it as an insult that the child called her deceased husband by name; for it was a capital crime among the ancestors of the present Klamaths to call a dead person's name for many years after his demise.

96, 5. hû'tna is changed to hû'tan on account of being followed by a word commencing with k.

765 96, 6. stiya. The custom of widows to put pitch or resin on their heads at the death of their husbands was abolished only at the time when cremation became a thing of the past.

178 96, 6. galdsha-ú̆yank is a more explicit form of the participle; the verb gáldshui being the contracted form of galdsháwi.

96, 8. yámnashla. He used the bristles of porcupines to make necklaces of.

96, 11. unakáka m'na was the son of Aíshish and of the above mentioned Tchíka.

96, 11. 12. K'mukámtcham qualifies pă'ks, not lúlukshtat.

96, 14. pakakóleshtka, verbal desiderative of pakakóla, to jerk away from. The suffix -óla indicates that K'múkamtch wore his tobacco-pipe tied to his body; he wore it on his neck.

96, 15. tchitchiks is used when speaking to children. It signifies *so, so!* and means: be quiet, shut up, stop!

96, 17. tchē'k kĕléwi. In similar connections this phrase very frequently ends a whole narrative in Modoc and Klamath. Here it means that Aíshish ceased to poke the pipe into the fire. Cf. 85, 10. 89, 7.

96, 18. medshá: he removed from that spot with all his wives and children. Ancient customs forbid the offspring to stay where the father had breathed his last.

96, 20. Gén hûnk nánuk etc. This portion of the myth describes the destruction of all the living organisms on earth by a general conflagration caused by K'múkamtch. Myths of this kind are suggested by intense heat experienced in summer. This mode of destroying life on earth is less frequently met with in myths than the drowning in a general flood.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

* 539 **148, 2–4.** Yánakänin for yanakänini; cf. suffix -ni, -nini in Dictionary. mä'nsh for
262 mä'ntch. pä'shtak for páhasht ak, cf. pä'sht, 147, 17. for páhasht.

824 **148, 5.** Nú'tak. This grass belongs to the genus Glycerium, as identified by Dr.
E. Foreman, and produces a tiny, grayish bright seed of tchípash size. The flowers
192 are of a light red color. The grass is found around the agency buildings and grows
about one foot high.

148, 7. Páwash properly means *tongue*.

148, 11. Pû'ks or *camass*. Its bulb is one of the principal food-articles of all the northwestern Indians, but does not grow in profusion in the warmer portions of California. It is of the magnitude of the walnut, very saccharine and nutritious, ripens in May and June, and by the roasting or baking process described in the text becomes as hard as stone. The Máklaks call it after pû'ka *to roast*, the Shasti name is sók, the Pit River name ähualé, while the name kamas, "sweet," is of Nutka origin. The botanists call the plant Scilla or Camassia esculenta. Cf. *Note* to 146, 1.

148, 14. ípakt, metathesis of ípkat, the conditional of ípka to lie there, to remain.

222 **148, 16.** púlχuantch. The gathering of this pupa or chrysalid and of its caterpillar,
462 the sχeshí'sh, is chiefly done by the women of the tribes, who find them imbedded at
252 no great depth in the sandy ground around pine trees. Another chrysalid, the kûlí'gs,
is collected and roasted by them in the same way and tastes like eggs. kshû'n puetílank: putting grass under the chrysalids, not under the heated stones. The stones are replaced by other heated ones, as soon as they have cooled off; the larva assumes a black color after roasting and tastes like eggs. See púlχuantch in Dictionary.

221 **148, 19.** guiχakshä'mighshta. The season of the year, when the exodus of the whole
222 tribe to Klamath Marsh takes place, where pond-lily seed is collected for the winter,
193 is about the middle of June. The ending -ta is an abbreviation of the case suffix -tat.
Three seasons are stated in the text, when the peeling of the inner or fibre bark of small pine trees is performed; of these the camass-season precedes the exodus to Klamath Marsh by a few weeks only, and the fishing season lasts from February to the end of the summer. Of course, the peeling of the kápka-pine coincides with the season when the sap ascends through the young tree. The bark is removed from about five feet to fifteen or twenty feet above the ground, and most of the beautiful pines treated in this manner are doomed to premature decay, though many survive the operation. The aspect of a forest with some of the pine trees peeled is rather singular.

148, 21. shánks hak, contraction of shánkish hak or ak.

149, 1. ka tánian for ka taniáni "so much in width or extent." The bud of the táksish has a width of about half an inch. Cf. *Note* to 146, 1.

149, 3. 4. tók. This aquatic grass grows about two feet high; by ó-ushtat is meant, here and in tsi'kal: Upper Klamath Lake.

194 **149, 3.** pä'lpali, vocalic dissimilation of pálpali or pä'lpäli; cf. taktä'kli 149, 14.

149, 5. Tchí'psam is a prairie grass on which the brown tchípash-seed grows.
This seed is extremely small, and it takes a long time before a sufficient quantity of it is
178 gathered to afford a meal for a family. Still smaller is the nútak-seed, and both are
striking instances of the persistence of the Indians in keeping up their old mode of living, when by agriculture and stock-raising they could procure provisions with infinitely less trouble and in much shorter time.

NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

By Robert F. Spencer

773 IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians 177 of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of 178 aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among [179] other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer [182] can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations. A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal myth.

175 Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation 177 from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which [222] it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In [226] its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes [631] of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic [621] economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separa- [771] tistic hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly [791] developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

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[101] [122] [1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949, on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund, 1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

[113] [2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

771 reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors,
178 the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

182 The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are
allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some
771 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal
795 and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in
184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to
797 those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on
the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual
571 or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members
find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies
as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions
to aboriginal concepts.

771 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The
177 Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation
is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals,
184 while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display
or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely.
Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious
questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly
curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes
755 demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this consideration,
757 shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally
accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged
with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects
of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

183 The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there.
773 For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter
are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two,
183 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first
224 deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away,
he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation
today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too,
the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy
that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem
from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is
825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath
191 but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a harbinger
763 of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear
it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means
183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter,
the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed
among western tribes.

178 But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past
which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

178 latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence
that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on
the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often
recur.

787 The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, ap-
881 parently regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was
usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power
785 obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts
existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating,
533 and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath
emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word
/ɬuw'i·s/ meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on
787 context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from
177 without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior
797 associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly in-
dividualized and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality,
it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers,
the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions.
One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with
the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The
examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older in-
formants. Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions as-
sociated with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me,
782 "Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and
776 old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.'
823 I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I
774 say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over
787 there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains
and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I
dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it."
She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to
Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up,
up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man
standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I
773 don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The in-
formant refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of
whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena:
"When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They
said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never
did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it
was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a
797 real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those
things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

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[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

539* [222] (13) And having returned there, having filled the canoe, so having unloaded it, it is in just one place. (14) And it stays piled up there for a long time. (15) So it becomes dry on top, and rots underneath. (16) And perhaps they washed it, and all that was not good would float up to the surface. (17) And only the wokas sank to the bottom.

[251] (18) And they spread it out on a mat long ago. (19) And having spread it out there, so it dried out. (20) When it had dried, perhaps "three weeks"—(laughter)—three weeks having passed perhaps it has dried.

(21) And next they sift it well, until it is dry. (22) They do it all well, and they put it into sacks now. (23) And to make food, they parched it. (24) And at that time long ago they used parching-mats. (25) And having put coals on there, they roasted it, that wokas.

(26) And having roasted it well, they ground it with a muller. (27) Sitting spraddle-legged they ground wokas. (28) And then having finishe [516] that, they dipped it all to one side. (29) And all the chaff came up, on top. (30) And having put it to one side, they ground it again.

(31) And now they made food. (32) Long ago it was, before when our [178] • things, dishpans, were not there. (33) And at that time there they did it in a "čakía" [i.e., a type of basket], "čakía" as they termed it. (34) [415] And in that they first heated rocks, and they put the wokas into water. (35) Then they threw the stones into the water, in that "qalla" [another basket type], to boil it at that time, a [modern] boiling-pot being absent. (36) Thus they made wokas long ago.

(37) And that second kind, which I called "sbokẃas," they soured it apart. (38) And they took it off the top, while it was still wet. (39) Having gotten it ripe, they took it off the top. (40) And those were round, those "sbokẃas" were. (41) It was called "sbokẃas." (42) And again having ground that "sbokẃas," then again in just the same manner having put it in among coals next, they parched it. (43) Again they parched it. (44) They parched it, and it tasted good.

(45) And one other, that one being called "čini·q̓am." (46) It was not ripe wokas, and it tasted bad. (47) It was bitter, and they thus made it round, having parched it. (48) That's as much as they said.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

31. A Meteor

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) The stars fall like rain. (2) And they covered me with a mat. 539*
(3) And on falling into the water [they made a sound] "čiW čiW"! 821
(4) And I peeked out from under. (5) And I was very much afraid.

32. A Funeral

(Miss Irene Skellock)

(1) When a person died, long ago they used to cremate him. (2) But 539*
recently they have not done thus, when I was small. (3) And there where 764
we lived, nearby a woman died. (4) And they gave things to each other. [178]
(5) They gave to us—a dishpan, a washpan. (6) And one man said, "Whatever they will give you [pl.], you [pl.] must give back likewise." (7) And we—did nothing—[did] not have any use for it. (8) However, we brought it back for him, the very same kind, just as they had given to us.

(9) Then we went there. (10) And we put flowers on for [the deceased?]. (11) And we went there—Sidaykedi. (12) And we slept on the ground, having arrived there. (13) Then those people sang all night. (14) But we did not understand anything of what they did. (15) We only heard them, they beat a drum. (16) And they [sang] thus, "ʔi···!" (17) Only that we heard there.

(18) Then early the next morning they took [the corpse] off to bury it. (19) And having arrived there, [at] the graveyard, then all the people took up a handful of earth. (20) And they having picked it up, they marched [past the grave], and threw it down into it. (21) And on finishing, then they now put all sorts of things on top [of the coffin]. (22) They put plates on, knives, spoons, forks. (23) And now having finished doing thus, then we went back down [the hill] to eat. (24) And now everyone went home. (25) The next morning everyone returned home, to Chiloquin.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 147]

M
787 as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing
756 they are the shaman's "helpers."

K However differently they construe the degree of individual
M access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that
787 human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those
K who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer
M [782] in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtu-
[772] ous striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the
universe appears basically to be a moral order.

K In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The
M annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the
• 181 progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon
461 industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme
that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic
K exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this
M 461 virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to
556 maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a follow-
595 ing. Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the
K common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a
M contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent
622 men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In
556 war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his
[881] panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man
[701] of property is likely to be decked with many valuables con-
[764] tributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the
[538] man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowl-
[256] edge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send
out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power
in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to
K the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in
622 the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:
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> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee—to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

against a member of another band or tribe, but malevolence or greed, it is thought, may sometimes lead a shaman to compound the illness or death of a fellow bandsman; and sometimes his spirits may act independently of him to bring the same end. Klamath recall with horror the unnatural event which took place in the present decade of the present century, when that suspicion caused a woman to slay her own mother for the fatal bewitchment of her child.

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To end a description of the aboriginal life of Klamath and Modoc in this manner is to risk too somber a balance. Loosely structured in society, modest in scale, precariously balanced against the winters, their cultures made possible a good life in which dignity and worth had a place. That those were not, however, the halcyon days sometimes depicted today is intimated by the words spoken in 1873 by the Klamath leader, Henry Blow. If they exaggerate as almost certainly they do, they still possess an essential truth:

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> Before the Bostons came there was no law. The strongest man took what he wanted and the man who had the most property and the most friends was the chief. It was a bad country in those times. Some men were bad and took away the property of other men. If a man was poor and had no friends, and had a beautiful squaw, some stronger man would steal his squaw and kill him if he resisted." Might was right in those days and there was much fighting and killing everywhere. If a man was jealous because another was getting rich and had many friends, he would steal into his lodge and kill him when he was asleep, or lay in ambush to kill him as he went by. Those were bad times as we see now, since the Bostons have come and made law to protect every man's rights and property."

3: Stern (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17
Northern Paiute NR13

[Klamath Reservation]

K

circumscribed. Because the step involved a wholesale commitment, 657*
those bold enough to marry whites, as already noted, 648*
tended to pass out of reservation society. One or two women in 562
the early days sought to demonstrate they they could support 177
themselves as well as men were capable of doing, but they were 178
clearly exceptional.[18]

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Confronted by shifting social values, tribesmen on the reservation 657*
still could take assurance from a value acknowledged both 648*
by the whites and by their traditional culture. The high prestige 556
assigned to industry and to its material manifestation, wealth, 181 •
proved a common denominator upon which to rank the ability of 178
men engaged in new activities. In the new day, Plains garments, K
horses, and slaves were outmoded, and were replaced by a house [177]
and outbuildings, a fenced farm or ranch, wagons and buggies,
and plenty of livestock.

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Within this context, the family also changed as movements 657*
within the reservation, the construction of smaller frame dwellings, 648*
and the cultivation of individual farms reduced household 592
size to approximately that of a single conjugal family. Some idea 177
of the shift may be gained by comparing subsistence rolls from 178
the administration of Lindsay Applegate[19] with data from the K
end of the period. A summary of issues made in 1872-73 to heads 657*
of families of Klamath, Modoc, and Yahuskin Snakes lists 54 648*
families totaling 658 persons. The majority were from Klamath 592
Marsh, with some from Link River and Sprague River bands and 162
several Modoc. One is possibly Paiute. The other two pages K M
duplicate some of the individuals, listing Schonchin's band of 657
Modoc, some eight "houses" comprising 97 individuals; Ocheho's 648
band of Warner Valley Paiute, 17 "houses" and 161 persons; 592
Chocktoot's band of Paiute, 13 "houses" and 113 persons; and 162
the Sprague River band of Monchnkasgitk, 8 "houses" and 97
individuals. A tally made in 1866 by one Jackson Jones (Link
River Jack ?), "Chief of Ulalona," lists for the Link River band
22 men, 18 boys, 42 women, and 20 girls in five houses.[20]

An analysis of these three lists reveals interesting facts about K
the contemporary social groupings. Where the two censuses overlap, 657*
there is overall agreement, although the figures for individual 648*
households differ slightly. For the census of the Klamath at 592
large, the average household size is approximately 12 persons, 162

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*657 missiveness. Their ranches often took on the appearance of rural
464 slums, and were the scenes of drinking parties and brawls.
433 Economically profitable or not, ranching constituted the most
233 common occupation for those who were employed. It offered special advantages. The land was usually an inherited allotment and, together with cattle and improvements, was often nontaxable. Outdoor work with livestock was a familiar activity; it permitted considerable latitude to the farmer in adjusting his routine. There was space to live.

*648 Whether dwelling in town or on a ranch, tribal members
*657 continued to seek native foods; but these activities had come to
433 occupy a different place in their lives. Men of all ages still fished
22 and hunted; many families still gathered huckleberries; and elderly women at least continued to dig for the succulent roots
262 of ipos and camas and to gather wokas. The latter foods, how-
177 ever, were sought as cherished delicacies, now rare; while
178 journeys to the berry fields assumed the character of an outing. Much of the fishing had acquired a strongly sportive aspect and was carried on by angling. Only the spearing of mullet during the spring runs and the hunting of deer and waterfowl seriously served food demands. The larger game animals, which had figured in only a small way in Klamath diet and played a more important role among the Modoc, had become abundant upon the reservation as ranchers killed off predators. Tribal members often hunted them from a car or spotlighted them at night. Waterfowl were often shot as they sat upon the water. Fifteen deer would see a household through the year; and a number of Klamath families met all their meat requirements by hunting and fishing, being content to buy an occasional cut in town to add variety to their diet.

*648 "Meat hunting" thus continued to ignore sportive conventions,
*657 although fishing had in part given way to them. At the same
224 time, individual Klamath were wont to play with those conven-
tions by entering contests for the biggest buck or rainbow; and
226 they delighted in underscoring white failures to abide by their
• 181 own standards of sportsmanship. For the Klamath, hunting and fishing possessed particular virtue as an attribute of an Indian estate. The ability to pursue fish and game without regard to season was a signal right cherished by the Indians and valued

as well by envious whites. Indeed, prominent among the local 648*
advantages which white residents stated bound them to Chiloquin 657*
were the advantages offered by the reservation for hunting 224
and fishing. At the same time, the whites tended to regard those 226
pursuits as no more than recreational avocations; and if the 181 •
Klamath were sometimes credited with inherent aptitudes for
the chase, they were also looked down upon for devoting so
much time to "play," and for ignoring, as many did, the white
canons of sportsmanship.

Conflicting viewpoints were likewise evinced in the relationships 648*
of tribal members seen as consumers. While there were 657*
wide differences in actual behavior both among and between 571
whites and Indians, relationships came often to be governed by
stereotypes. This was particularly so in the larger communities, [621]
in instances in which individuals were not personally known to [184]
each other.

Those relationships were in fact strongly conditioned by the 648*
peculiar status of the tribal members who relied upon per capitas 657*
for their income. Few Klamath on the reservation had ever 434
banked money, and the absence of a bank in Chiloquin since the 571
depression, or in any other reservation town, made necessary 452
the institution of a credit system.[18] Since much Indian property [453]
was held in trust by the government, which thus could not be
advanced as security, merchants had to rely heavily upon a
knowledge of the individual in advancing credit. Reservation
stores resorted to a credit system to compete with the businesses
in Klamath Falls, and through a more intimate acquaintance
with tribal members could assess the risk more skillfully than
those—particularly the newcomers—in the county seat. At the
same time, the expense of operating such a system was one of
the factors in advancing prices in reservation stores. Thus merchants,
who not infrequently did their own private shopping in
Klamath Falls, were galled to see tribal customers, whom they
had carried on credit, patronizing competitors in the larger city
as soon as they had received their per capitas.

In attempting to collect outstanding debts, merchants could 648*
not count upon the Superintendents, but had to resort to moral 657*
suasion and threaten to cut off further credit. Some Superintendents 434
did assist in bringing pressure to bear upon delinquent 452

spectrum of the town they were ranked with alien Indians, and 648*
combined with Mexicans and Negroes. As such, they were people 657*
of color, and their conduct and low status were sometimes alike 563
regarded as the products of inherent deficiencies. A character so fixed upon the group made it still more difficult for the individual to rise upon the social scale.

The image of the Klamath that has been conjured up has been 648*
a complex one. Among whites, joke and anecdote have developed 657*
about varying attributes, as Klamath have been viewed, now as 563
romantic figures, now as naïve or degraded. In Chiloquin, it was 181 •
sometimes maintained that the Klamath proper, who made up much of the immediate Indian population, were inferior in character to the Modoc, who were both more remote—dwelling as they did on the Upper End—and had a war of resistance to their credit as well. Seen historically, romantic anecdotes began to gain local currency when Indian culture was a thing of the past and perspective had endowed with glamor the events of earlier days. The Klamath Falls *Express* spoke in this vein early in the twentieth century. Of one pathetic old lady living in a hovel on the outskirts of town, it observed, "Princess Matilda . . . [is] a full blood Klamath and royal Indian blood courses through her veins. Her brother was chief of the Link river band of Klamaths. . . ."[4] From the more general stereotype of the Indian were drawn the figures of the stoic hunter, the child of nature; the orator; the superior athlete; and the natural artist.

At times, the Klamath have been regarded as quaintly naïve, and some individuals have taken wry pleasure in fulfilling this expectation. The *Express* in 1907 carried an anecdote concerning William A. Moore, product of the reservation schools, former Indian judge, and later the owner of a hotel in Chiloquin. Moore was depicted as seeking to retrieve, and thus to nullify, the marriage license of a friend, the while saying, "Me want to buy him back; how much he cost?"[5]

Still other anecdotes painted the Klamath as dirty, immoral—"My children are *not* illegitimate," one woman was quoted as saying. "I know the father of each one!"—often a drunkard, violent, lazy, and improvident. "They say in Chiloquin," related the automobile editor of the Portland *Sunday Oregonian* in 1931, "that a popular promenade for the Indians scarcely takes them

*648 off Chocktoot Street; to the postoffice to get the government
*657 allowance [sic!] of $600 a year; to the bank to get the cash; to
563 the iceman around the corner; to parts unknown; and then to the
• 181 justice of the peace."[6]

There were several reasons why the views concerning the
*648 Klamath should become increasingly invidious with time. Al-
*657 though they had come to adopt most of the outward trappings
563 of American culture, those who remained on the reservation often
181 displayed a style of life at variance with that of white neighbors,
571 until some of the latter came to see the differences as innate. In
[167] Chiloquin, the influx of southern whites after World War II was said to have sharpened the stereotype: it seemed in fact to be maintained in less-qualified fashion among them. Antagonistic bias was least in evidence in Beatty, more strongly evinced in Chiloquin, and most apparent in Klamath Falls. Away from the reservation, Klamath tended to be absorbed in the larger category of American Indian, and to lose their special tribal identity.

*648 The impact of a felt discrimination was heightened for the
*657 Klamath by a sensitivity to slights in situations which whites
563 regarded as devoid of bias. Tribal members have been keenly
571 aware of the pairing of public equality and private bias. As one elderly and highly respected Klamath matron in Chiloquin saw it:

> The Four Hundred are those who live among the Indians but feel that they are better than the Indian. The [poorer] people are more fussy. . . . They will talk to the Indians on the street and are friendly when they want business, but otherwise they don't know them.[7]

Indeed, intimate social intercourse has been discouraged by both sides. Comparison of the names of whites mentioning tribal members in a sociometric test conducted in Chiloquin with those included in a census of Klamath drinking cliques ten years later revealed that only a handful of individuals crossed the social boundary. From a general standpoint, Klamath and whites were virtually exclusive in their intimate associations. Those few whites who drank with Klamath and named Klamath among their friends were low in the esteem of their peers. Among tribal members, individuals who consorted regularly with whites thereby

[Klamath Reservation]

EIGHTEEN

[P.259]

Conclusion

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KLAMATH TRIBE UNDER THE PROVISIONS 648*
of the Treaty of 1864 comprised a program of directed change, 657*
paralleling in its general features the relationships of the United 171
States government with diverse other Indian peoples. Because a common policy lay behind the administration of Indian affairs, the history that unfolded at Klamath was similar at many points to developments on other reservations. Since, however, unique characteristics of Klamath culture entered into the equation, and common events were locally mediated, that policy had different effects in execution.

Within the spectrum of American Indian cultures, it was im- 648*
portant that the tribes brought upon the Klamath reservation 657*
were unacquainted with agriculture, but had some knowledge of, 241
and esteem for horse-herding; that while they lacked traditions 233
of large-scale political organization, they placed a premium upon 619
industry and the acquisition of material wealth. These attributes, 181 •
while by no means unique, were distinctive in their combination; 177
and they gain significance when seen from the perspective of 178
the policy objectives of the government. Similarly, the circumstance that many individuals had already undergone extensive acculturation beyond the Klamath country provided the early Agents with native allies already won over to the prospects of change.

Even the application of a common policy exhibited special 648*
features. Two instances should illustrate the point. The recogni- 657*
tion of the tribal claim to a large domain, together with the [423]
retention of surplus lands after allotment, laid the basis for a [619]
corporate wealth equaled by only a few other reservation peoples. [434]
Later, the rejection of the Indian Reorganization Act during the Collier administration placed the Klamath among a minority of

121 had been founded. There was, for example, no evidence for anything remotely
181 approximating a "Native Oriented" group on the reservation. Moreover, it became
154 apparent that a particular style of personal adjustment was by no means
characteristic of the majority of individuals throughout their life-spans.
So called "Transitional" modes of adjustment, for example, might be used to
characterize the confused orientations, the value conflicts, and the disorganized
family life of persons early in their life arc, but the same persons frequently
settled down to a respectable, stable "Elite Acculturated" mode of existence
in middle age. Or this sequence might frequently be reversed.

125 However, the formal sampling approach was jettisoned primarily because of the
123 many refusals among the samples. That such a reaction might reflect important
variables and hence prejudice the reliability of the consequent approach was
considered, but it was apparent that the major cause for refusal was the absence
of an existing friendship relation between subjects and field-worker
(or some influential intermediary). Moreover, an analysis of the status of those
who refused indicated that this reaction was neither confined to nor clustered
within any identifiable grouping.

125 For these reasons, attention was given to securing what may be called a deliberately
representative sample of the reservation population. The criteria of
representativeness included variations in social roles assumed by the subjects
(occupation, sex, leadership, and so on), variations in role performance, differences
123 in standards and values, and age differences. When appropriate subjects
were known personally by the Anthropologist, they were approached directly.
If no friendship relation existed, potential subjects were, less frequently,
approached through the recommendations and aid of an intermediary, or, finally,
a direct effort was made to become acquainted with a suitable subject. In all
instances, an existing friend relationship proved the more successful mode of
approach. For reasons to be suggested in the next section, there are few Klamath
persons whose influence is both high and extensive, and, conversely, few who
123 can easily accept external imposition of controls. Thus intermediaries, whatever
their manifest status, rarely could elicit the cooperation of more than one
suitable subject. The result of this effort was a set of Rorschach and Thematic
Apperception Test Records, and short life-histories on a sample of fifty four
persons, which sample could for the purposes of the research be considered as
128 reasonably representative of the target population. The ten case studies in this
report were selected from the original sample so as to provide as much variety
as possible in the limited confines of these pages.

Aside from the problems of obtaining an adequately representative sample, there
is another aspect of the field method used in the Klamath study which may be of
123 some interest. In each instance the potential subject was made aware of the intentions
of the field worker and the purposes of testing and interviewing. It
181 will be clear from the next section that the contemporary Klamath are in no relevant
sense "primitive," nor are they an isolated population. Indeed. many subjects
125 were familiar with the "ink-blot" test from television programs, movies,
177 or hearsay information. More generally, the major task, that of identifying
ambiguous stimuli, was associated with the simple game of "seeing faces in the
clouds" or figures in rock formations. Further, most Klamath under fifty years
of age are sufficiently experienced in the practices of American culture to
have some personal familiarity with the "test situation," whether personality,
aptitude, vocational, or intelligence. Thus there was a shared basis for this
peculiar form of interaction.

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common 101
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 177
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological [184]
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy,
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present [224]
population, White or Klamath. [220]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly 648
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties:
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an artificial [829]
construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet 178
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-residence
with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]•
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been transferred 648
to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural [241]
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber industry
has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have [511]
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

648 Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation,
by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically,
less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities
were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
[786] 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
[181] Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
[556] wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased
opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members,
[434] as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited
[251] bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[591] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
[848] out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
[177] is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
596 there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
[177] aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, de facto groupings
rather than de jure. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organization of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
[594] co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obligatory responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
592 nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-
592 father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly extreme cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual ownership of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with regard to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
434 children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have 593
other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are sometimes 855
non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are [581]
frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time,
or to an older relative, or to an elder sibling. If the party occurs in the [181]
household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be
left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may
find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence [603]
and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of [155]
the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one)
or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually
faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloofness.
The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and
both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating
fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little experience [155]
with consistency in role relationships.

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, [602]
amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other
kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting 872
the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax, 861
permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear
cut, specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not [593]
accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet [181]
these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and [155]
attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu.
In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to
be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly [156]
characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts.
This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture,
but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society.

In many respects the values and skills learned within the household to not adequately 155
prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of 156
regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the household [871]
may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may
throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get
him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time
the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted,
the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in inferiority
is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, contributing
in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebelliousness,
or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation
of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school [563]
years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the [582]
areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites
is not an easy one.

It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child 882
are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child 156
may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete 155
with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he
is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors
cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into
an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high [871]

882 155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
[462] of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits
include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers
are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience
with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
426 example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swansen
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented,
and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-
reservation population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

and the modes of behaving through which the Klamath interact with their behavioral milieu. For this reason it is not to be supposed that White exclusionism or Agency policy alone are the significant antecedents of the stable pluralism of reservation life. For a Klamath to leave the amorphous atmosphere of his home or the circle of his drinking pals to enter into the unfamiliar and unprepared-for activities of White life is a source of fear and anxiety. 181 657

Thus, however it may seem to the outsider, the existing way of life on the Klamath reservation offers substantial predictability to tribal members, a place to live, a corporate body with which to identify, and multiple stable human relationships. As a cultural system it may be stable in form although changing in detail, and therefore this novel set of human relationships is not likely to quickly disappear. [177] The Klamath today may not be the same persons who were settled on the reservation a century ago, and aboriginal Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute cultural attributes may have disappeared, yet they are still self-consciously Indian. [171] In studies of acculturation, it is frequently argued that groups like the Klamath are marginal, that is, hung suspended between two cultural worlds. 181 We feel that such a metaphor is both confusing and misleading. 657 It assumes the presence of a reasonably intact cultural alter of aboriginal design 121 and a unilineal path of acculturation process. As indicated above, the former is not present on the contemporary Klamath reservation. As to the latter, we argue that the structural consequences of acculturation are many, and a lineal assimilation process is only one of them. The Klamath situation, we feel, is that of an unassimilated minority group which is itself very actively engaged in maintaining its special position and which is subject to multiple external pressures for maintaining its present boundaries. The Klamath are, therefore, in a position analogous to religious and racial enclaves. They are a group distinct from and in some ways opposed to American culture who fit, as it were, into a special niche in the larger structure of American society. If the term marginality is to be used with reference to any Klamath individual it can only refer to his orientation towards conflicting reference groups in the heterogeneous contemporary community.

Section III. Approach to the Rorschach Protocols

121 125 The interpretive approach to the Rorschach protocols was dictated to a large extent by the overall purpose of the investigation. An avowedly inductive and idiographic study requires a broadly clinical, not a narrowly statistical, analysis of the obtained Rorschach responses. The conclusions reached on the basis of this kind of research may be considered hypotheses to be tested in controlled deductive research.

The validity of the Rorschach method for personality exploration is not at issue in the present study; there are obviously more clear-cut and efficient research methods available for that purpose. Rather, the test is being utilized as one means of gaining insights about the adaptive mechanisms of individuals in a particular sub-group that is undergoing an acculturation process — a case-study approach. These insights may lead hopefully to theoretical advances in that area of study called Culture and Personality.

121 From this statement of the general purpose of the research, several specific methodological decisions follow. It becomes clear immediately that there will be no comparisons of groups by statistical methods and few statistical tabulations of group means and standard deviations. There will be no description of that artificial construct — the modal Klamath personality. On the contrary,

121 125 [114] (Levine, 1960) has indicated that this may be an extremely important measure of ego strength. Whether this is supported in cross-cultural work remains to be determined.

121 15 The emphasis throughout this phase of the research has been on the functioning individual — how he adapts to his environment in general and, whenever possible, how he behaves in interpersonal situations. In this regard Piotrowski's hypothesis that the movement responses reflect prototypal roles has been exploited extensively. By prototypal roles, Piotrowski means, "definite tendencies, deeply embedded in the subject and not easily modified, to assume repeatedly the same attitude or attitudes in dealing with others when matters felt to be important and personal are involved." (Piotrowski, 1957, p. 141). He makes it clear that he is referring to "psychological tendencies" only; in order to predict whether these tendencies will be expressed in overt behavior it is necessary to take into account many other variables (Principle of Interdependence of Components).

Piotrowski has written further that the FM (animal movement responses) reflect the subject's prototypal roles as they were prominent in the subject's past or as they influence his behavior in "states of lowered integration and in states of diminished consciousness and defective self-control," and, finally, that the m (inanimate movement responses) "indicate prototypal roles in life which the individual feels to be desirable and pleasant but unrealizable."

Thus, for example, if a subject gives only very active or aggressive human movement responses (e.g., "two boxers slugging it out") it is hypothesized that his prototypal role is of this nature. If his FM are passive and his M are aggressive, we conclude that his present prototypal role is aggressive, but that when drunk, for example, he is more likely to become docile.

In actual Rorschach interpretation the complexities of multiple roles, the influence of other Rorschach variables, the inconsistency of role patterns, and so on, must all be evaluated very carefully in order to arrive at a meaningful
121 and valid personality description. Although considerable care must be taken to
181 avoid oversimplifying these interpretive principles, their judicious application
156 is often very helpful and may have led to the most important conclusion of the present investigation: that the Klamath are characterized by a guarded and
[171] restrained approach to life and interpersonal relations. This guarded restraint is different from the Trukese blocking and from the dull apathy of the Alorese. The Klamath initial reaction times are not nearly as long as the Trukese, nor are their dark shading responses as primitive and poorly organized. On the contrary, their initial reaction times are only slightly longer than would be expected from a U.S. White group and their dark shading responses are almost as well organized. The guarded restraint of the Klamath seemed to be neither the result of marked blocking nor apathy. A more detailed discussion of this hypothesis will be appropriate, however, after the case studies have been presented.

K
M

175 1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-
178 scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes.
726 The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging
K M scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty,
175 brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of
726 which based their power upon eminence in war and possession
• 182 of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers,
622 and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times
565 556 to cement alliances with shamans.

756 Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean
[754] weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power
was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of
us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain
persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would
die."[11]

K M The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties.
175 A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-
178 bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader
622 increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers
619 from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country.
628 As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance ren-
726 dered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment
of worth.

K In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary
622 principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his
175 father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother
as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill,
a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David,
later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain
George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not
essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks,
K [838] of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite
in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the
power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

K A minor factor in these developments may have been the
195 interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in
643 order that they might deal more effectively with responsible
648 leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs
177 met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

In turn, by appropriate vote
*648 within ninety days, the General Council might—and on occasion
*657 did—reverse the action of its Executive Committee. Finally, by a
642 petition of at least one-fourth of the eligible voters, an action of
646 the General Council might be submitted to a referendum of tribal
[666] members.[3]

In the succession of tribal bodies, the interest of the government was not solely the convenience of securing formal sanction in property matters concerning the common interest of enrolled
[182] members. The tribal government was to provide as well a regular channel by which the government might assess tribal opinion, consult with leaders, and announce programs; and it was to furnish tribal members with experience in responsible citizenship. Through this instrument, a representative body was to be articulated with Bureau administration, its decisions being rendered concrete in official minutes and subjected to review by higher administrative echelons.

Tribal rule is municipal in character, as seen in the restricted scope of its powers.[4] The narrow administrative domain with which the Klamath executive dealt is suggested by the names of the permanent adjuncts of the Executive Committee, the Tribal Loan Board and the Enrollment Committee. In 1947, some fifteen tribal members and one other were employed in General Council and Loan Board activities. By contrast, the Superintendent employed 123 persons, including 31 tribal members and 40 Indians from other groups, in the administration of agency, health, extension, law and order, roads, forestry and grazing, and irrigation.[5] Over these areas the Executive Committee might exercise a veto by cutting from the proposed Agency budget tribal funds allocated to an unwanted item. In this way, the hospital, bull pool, and tribal herd have occasionally been threatened. Ordinarily, however, the Executive Committee took no positive action in the development of a budget. Understandably, Klamath efforts to appoint a tribal member to serve as watchdog over Agency administration were not kindly received.

[693] In the formulation of general policy, the executive drew upon the advice of the tribal attorney, as well as upon unofficial counsel, both sought and volunteered. All major policy decisions required approval by the General Council and were subject to review within the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department

*648 surveillance; they have then had to make their peace in another
*657 community. In other instances, measures—for example, early
177 sawmills, drought cattle, loan funds—designed by the administration to be instrumental in helping the Indians to attain distant goals of betterment, were diverted by tribal recipients to provide short-range benefits. Such action, present even in early times, became more pronounced as disillusionment set in; and organized forms of opposition were also added. In a formal character, there
[619] was an insistence upon the prerogatives that marked tribal identity. Hence the highly emotional attachment to treaty rights, in however altered form hunting and fishing may be exploited; to the tribal government, however criticized its incumbents; and to the self-preserving myth of the past.

*648 There is, however, another side to the Klamath reaction which
*657 is to be seen in the anomic aspects of the life of Intermediate and
177 Inframodal segments of those dwelling in Chiloquin—although
• 182 this behavior was not limited to that city. Within Chiloquin,
184 those persons manifest many of the traits that Leighton terms
156 disintegrative: a high frequency of broken homes, of hostility, crime, and delinquency; weak development of associations, recreation, communication, and leadership.[8] For the community as a whole, their effect is accurately characterized by his term. At the same time, their behavior had acquired such substantial predictability that the city fathers had come to rely upon it in the form of revenues from the municipal tavern and fines and trusty labor, for a considerable portion of the municipal budget. Under these circumstances, one might fairly say that a stabilized cultural pluralism existed.

*648 A situation like this cannot fail to leave psychological marks,
*657 and indeed Clifton,[9] observing that "there is very little evidence
177 to suggest, unequivocally, that guarded restraint was a dominant
156 component of aboriginal character structure," considers that attribute to be largely a reaction to the complex unpredictabilities of the reservation. Indeed, the Klamath reaction has striking
[171] parallels in the "hostile dependence" of the Sioux[10] and the "valuation group alienation" of the Aleut;[11] and it bears close resemblance to the situation described for the Ojibway by James,[12] who sees the personality traits he analyzes to have their source in the immediate context of white-Ojibway relations.

NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

By Robert F. Spencer

773 IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians 177 of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of 178 aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among 179 other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer 182 can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations. A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal myth.

175 Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation 177 from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which 222 it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In 226 its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes 631 of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic 621 economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separa-771 tistic hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly 791 developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

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101 122 [1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949, on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund, 1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

113 [2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

773 776 [823] Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6] the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

177 175 [721] To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifications in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroachment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon. [791] [797] An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and [182] patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

175 668 Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

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[825] [6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'äkemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

[113] [7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

[113] [9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

795
771 reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors,
178 the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

182 The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are
allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some
771 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal
795 and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in
184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to
797 those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on
the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual
571 or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members
find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies
as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions
to aboriginal concepts.

771 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The
Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation
177 is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals,
184 while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display
or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely.
Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious
questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly
curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes
755 demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this consideration,
757 shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally
accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged
with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects
of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

183 The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there.
773 For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter
are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two,
183 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first
224 deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away,
he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation
today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too,
the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy
that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem
from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is
825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath
191 but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a harbinger
763 of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear
it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means
183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter,
the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed
among western tribes.

178 But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past
which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

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101 occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of
619 any sharp geographic division, rivers or ranges, such as we should
expect to figure in political separatism. There are only three or four miles of open, unoccupied country between the middle Williamson river group and that at the river mouth, for instance, or between the latter and the northernmost outposts of the Klamath falls people about Modoc point. The cases of doubtful divisions really stress this point. Kowa'edi on the lake shore may belong with the middle Williamson division; though only three miles away over a low range of hills, it is somewhat isolated. Similarly the Sprague river settlements toward Yainax, usually included in the same group, are in quite a different district.

721 The third feature pointing to their separatism is the frequent feuds
619 between them. It is quite clear that these involve the tribelets; they
never occur between the settlements of a single division. The point
[171] will be clearer if we contrast Yurok sentiments. There feuds are
between the towns or with only a group of kinsmen within a town,
and at most when several towns are involved in a joint cause, it
appears rather that kinsmen and their friends have been drawn in.[24]
[567] Further, feuds are carried on much as warfare with foreigners;
property is destroyed, women and children enslaved. Such slaves can be retained indefinitely or sold again. We may wonder however if they are not restored when a settlement is bought, or at most retained only to even the score in lives.

The identity of these groups resolves itself solely into such aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for
itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns
[621] are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large part a body
of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole.

115 Only one informant, Pat Kane, suggested dialectic and cultural
197 differentiation. The dialect groupings he gave are purely geographic.
He also assigned shamanistic tricks, medical practices, and games to
• 184 the several divisions, which all other informants emphatically denied.
I could observe no linguistic differences and Gatschet recorded none.

000 The subdivisions or tribelets are:

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[24] Kroeber, Handbook, 49.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

This is also a man's game played by about six in a row on each side. Two men are each provided with two short bones, one of each pair marked with a black band. These two change the bones from hand to hand as they sway from side to side crossing and uncrossing their arms, their companions accompanying them with swaying and song the while. The opponents guess the hands which hold the unmarked bones. Twelve sticks for counters are stuck upright between the contenders. As with the four-stick game the successful guess wins the right to hide the bones; at each failure the hiding party takes counters from the neutral pile and, when this is exhausted, from the opponent's winnings. Here too the guess is indicated by a particular and characteristic gesture. In the diagram below the bones are represented as in the hands of two men seated side by side; the crosses indicate the marked, circles the plain bones. 524

Name	*Arrangement*	*Movement*	*Counters taken by hiders*
yo'sKls	xoox	Hand edgewise down middle	2
skĕ'tclös	oxxo	Prone hand forward	2
woi'is[118]	xoxo (or oxox)	Forefinger to right (or left for the second arrangement).	1

When each side has six stick counters, it is called ŏtano'ga, now cooked. The side getting all twelve wins.

Dorsey describes the bones as three inches in length, two wound about the middle with buckskin. The wound pair are called skútash, tied around, or hi'cwöks, men, the others solsas, female (?). The counters he renders kshesh.[119]

My informant reported that the Pit river people have short bones which they roll in grass between their hands, and toss into the air. [184] •

The beaver-tooth dice game (sko'sĕ) has its usual simple form. It is played perhaps more frequently in winter than in summer, and while primarily a woman's game, both men and women play together. The dice are the four crescentic incisor teeth of a beaver, ground hog, or ground squirrel, or bits of wood.[120] The upper teeth (called hlc-

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[118] These names, which are identical with those for the four-stick game, were given by the same informant but on a different occasion. The names given here are probably correct for both games, hence Dorsey, Gatschet, and my own doubtful alternative for D above, are evidently all wrong. Arrangement A cannot occur in the hand game, of course, since each man must have an assorted pair. [114]

[119] Dorsey, *op. cit.*, 22. In 1930 I collected two sets in which one pair was encircled by a carved and painted fillet. [126]

[120] The Northern Paiute use long sticks for this game, according to this informant. [171]*

114

342 lodges is curious. "It [a Klamath marsh village] was composed of 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. . . . . Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defense against arrows but not balls."[368] Frémont notes "they were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams." At another place "the huts . . . . were made of tall rushes and willows."[369] [361]

342 There is considerable variation in the size of houses, even those of one type. Earth-lodges range in diameter from twelve to thirty feet or more, the larger accommodating several families. The largest pit I saw measured thirty-five feet in diameter. The largest earth-lodges are invariably those of shamans, larger even that those of chiefs. This is not only the statement of my several informants, but on every site I visited the largest pits were pointed out to me as the former residences of shamans. The shaman's lodge, to be sure, houses the winter performances, but this also implies that shamans are the wealthiest individuals, or were so at least before the ascendancy of the chiefs during the last century. Winter houses are commonly larger than the corresponding summer mat-covered forms. • 184 [756] [622]

342 The semi-subterranean earth-lodge is erected over a shallow pit (sloko'ps). This is commonly but knee deep, but the thirty-five-foot pit mentioned above had been excavated waist deep or even more. All the clearly defined house pits that I saw were circular, but I got the impression from one informant that the house might be somewhat squared. This is probably the case only with the summer mat-lodge: wu'kē'plōk̦s. The circle is not measured in any way. The pit is dug with digging sticks, the earth thrown back all around the excavation with storage baskets (tlūk̦s) or slabs of pine bark.

The roof has the form of a truncated, wedge-shaped cone, resting as it does on the circular periphery of the pit but with its upper truncated surface an elongated rectangle. The main frame is formed by four central posts, set to form the corners of this rectangle.[370] The tops of these are connected by stringers. Poles extending obliquely

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[368] Elliott, The Ogden Journals, 210.

[369] Frémont, Narrative, 122; Memoirs, 494.

[417] [370] Barrett implies a single center post ("climbs down . . . . by means of steps cut into the center pole itself," p. 244), but this was denied by my informants.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

291 [756] [531] [177] The familiar triangular flaps below the neck in Plains shirts are lacking. Shamans alone paint their shirts, others who attempt it would be poisoned by them. The designs are spots, circles, and lines, not pictures. While I do not know the character of these designs, this suggests the protective shirts of the Ghost dance of 1890. Inasmuch as we must assume that the shirt reached the Klamath from the east, and it is possible that Plains influences are quite recent, it is possible that the shirt, or at least its decoration, came only in Ghost dance days. Nor are shirts worn at all times; they are too valuable, "they might wear out"; which represents their unusualness in the view of the Klamath.

Breechclouts (haewi'skis) are made of buckskin, and nothing else. They are worn by women too, but not with the buckskin dress. It seems that the flaps which hang over the belt are short, for they are said to be long only if the skin happened to be long. The belt is only a thin string, presumably a leather thong, for poor people make it of the soft bark of the tule.

[184] Men's leggings are thigh-length or calf-length (called respectively snäsni'ks and midë's);[380] women wear only the latter. These are of buckskin or fur, but poor people make them of tules. Barrett illustrates one of the latter sort made in twined technique. The full-length leggings are tied to the belt at one point, the hips. In a photograph shown me, little deer dew claws were hung pendant from the front of the leggings just below the knees.

Moccasins are worn at all times by the men, at home or when traveling, whereas women sometimes go barefoot at home in the summer. For the most part, moccasins are woven of tule or swamp grass; very few are made of skin. Barrett observes that the buckskin moccasins are for summer wear, the winter ones of tule.[381] This is very probably the case, as the tule affair is intended primarily to hold a layer of dry grass next the foot.

[171] [531] Tule moccasins (wipgä') are made in open twine. The fabric is brought together over the toe, but is quite without a heel. A cord laced through the loops along each side draws it up around the foot. They resemble those of the Paviotso.[382] For traveling they make moccasins of this type of swamp grass, which is stronger than tule; those for home use are of tule and bear decorations.

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[380] Gatschet gives mitash, mitas, from Chinook jargon mindash, derived from French mitasse (2:221).

[381] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17, 19.

[382] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 218, fig. 5b, c.

OOO used occasionally in summer also, on mountain near spring.

59. NF: Slender straight pieces of willow stuck in ground in circle; 3-4 openings left in circle; willow roof over top. Acorn meal scattered on ground inside trap; birds unable to find way out; removed by person watching trap.

62. NS: Used in winter.

65. Long slender acorns from live oaks used.

68. At: For bear; acorn bait.

69. AW, WT, WM, MM, MF, NF, NS: Single stone deadfall used for catching mice. MM, MF, NF, NS: Used for catching rats; WM, WS: not used for rats. MM, MF: Used for ground squirrels; WM, WS, NF, NS: not used for ground squirrels.

[224] 71. Kl: Pitfall (benč) used for deer; Spier says Kl did not use (Klamath, p. 158); 2 informants questioned, both denied pitfall a recent innovation. SW: Hole wider at bottom than at top; used for small animals only. AW: Dig pits with digging stick; if find ground to be too hard, leave pit unfinished.

76. AE: For coyotes.

Booths and blinds.--

80. SW: Hunters hide behind bushes in open country, where antelope found.

87a. WM: See note 40.

89. Mo: Tules matted over prow and sides of boat; hunter inside.

[224] [417] 92. Kl: Pumice stone enclosures (wa'akkIs) 6 ft. in diameter, no roof; built by single hunter.

94. SW: No pit, but bonfires built at deer licks, and deer shot as they come to fire. Also hunter conceals self at deer licks, on moonlight nights, to shoot deer.

Disguises, decoys.--

[224] [184] 95. Deer head generally, but among some groups antelope heads also. Kl: Spier (Klamath, p. 158) says Kl did not use disguise, but my informant described it, said used by Kl of Klamath Marsh. NF: Hunter wears yellowhammer-band headdress to attract deer's attention.

96. AW: Prong horn head used only; none of neck skin left attached.

98. SE: Mink hides fastened over deerskin in summer, when deer shedding, to make disguise look more natural (Jake Smith, informant).

101. AW: Tules used for disguise; for ducks only, when driving them toward net (see note 10, also element 42).

[223] [373] 106. Kl: Jack light. Put fire at 1 end of canoe; tule mats around fire. As canoe floats down-river ducks fly down to light; shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes ducks so thick they put out the fire. Done at night, in freezing weather. At: Fire set on 1 end of canoe, for ducks; flares not used but attributed by informant to Madesi Achomawi. AW: Small fire carried in 1 end of canoe, at night, over which boatmen warm hands only. "People at Big Bend (Madesi

[170-A]

Dress

Headgear, robes.--

291 [184] 1713. Kl: Brim on men's caps, painting of men's caps, denied for Klamath Marsh groups (see Spier, Klamath, pp. 182-183). WT: "Worn at Willow Creek [Hupa] and on McCloud River [WM], but not among WT." WM: Upriver people [WS] give WM women basket caps occasionally.

1715. See Spier, Klamath, fig. 13,c, p. 180. Specimen of Kl woman's basket cap shown to all informants to verify this element.

1718. AW: If man wears basket cap, he is ridiculed. AE: Never worn by men.

1723. Worn in winter. SE: Feathers attached to it. AW: Brimless. 000

1726. SW: Worn habitually by men to keep hair down, as women wear basket cap. Not used for packing, as men pack on shoulders.

1729. WM: In war, or war dance; covered with duck skins.

1730. SW: Used by shamans, but not by ordinary persons, except for dances (see element 1943). MV: Tule band to keep hair back.

1734. SW: "Goes with Big Head dance."

[226] [292] 1735. Kl: Tule mat (ste'holas) 3 ft. wide, 4-5 ft. long, used when fishing in daytime on ice; fisherman covers head with mat "to make it dark underneath so that he can see into the water plainly." At: Tule eyeshade woven, "like blinders"; projected from each side of wearer's head; tied on by band around head. Informant's husband used such when fishing for trout in boat at night so light would not get into his eyes.

1736. Mo: Charcoal mixed with pitch.

1737. MV: Used commonly in cold weather, especially by women when outside pounding food.

1741. At: Used in rainy weather by few people only.

[291] 1743. Kl, WS, MM: Worn thus by men and women. Mo, At, AW, MF, NM: By men only. SE, WT, WM: By women only. (See note 1744.)

1744. SE, WT, WM, NM: Worn thus by men. At, AW, AE, MF: By women.

1747. AW: N of "real" Achomawi, group at Dany (Suk'mawi) use bearskin caps. But "real Achomawi were river Indians; they stayed around the rivers, fished; every man had a canoe, and belonged to the river. They went out [hunting] for a little while, then returned to the river."

1749. Mo: Puma "costly" robe.

1750. SE: Beaver hides. WS: Worn by men and women.

Shirts and gowns.--

1751. SW: For everyday wear women's dress consists of 2 whole buckskins, seamed up both sides, tied over both shoulders.

291 439 177 1752. Kl: Bought women's buckskin dresses from Molala, NW of the Kl, and the Warm Springs Indians. "The Molala made them, the Kl bought them, and learned how to make them. That was quite a long time ago, about 90 years; long before the

[198-B]

000 [see note 282] with using shredded willow-bark skirts, "woven at top like a mat, with fringe all the way down. They were too poor to afford buckskin skirts for their women." WT: Woven, "like a gunny sack." MV: Woven willow-bark skirt; extends nearly to ankle; hangs from grass belt. Bark from 2 varieties of willow shredded, left to soak over winter in mud; in spring washed well in clear water for 2-3 days. Underneath this bark skirt woman wears long single front apron of grass, pictured in Dixon, Maidu, fig. 35, p. 163. When woman sits, this grass underapron is tucked between legs.

1802. AE: Sewed tule skirts used formerly; informant dubious concerning style of skirt.

1803. WT: Worn by women. WS: Worn by men.

1807. Mo: Worn by poor people.

1808. At: Women for everyday wear use (1) small shredded tule front apron, deer-hide back apron; (2) 2 buckskin aprons, front one larger than back one. AE: Worn by men. At, WM, WS, MM: Worn by women. NF: Worn by men, women. WM: Front apron of maple bark, back apron of buckskin. When woman sits, she draws front apron in between legs and sits on it.

1813. AE: Man going to war wears small front kilt of shredded sagebrush or greasewood bark, also back kilt of same, but even smaller than front one.

1816. For illustrations of this type skirt see Du Bois, Wintu, pl. 3, p. 147; Goddard, Hupa, pl. 8, fig. 2; Dixon, Shasta, fig. 92, p. 410. Mo: Import braided-grass apron-skirts (snakčas), pine-nut string skirts (nokčas) from Achomawi.

1820. Mo: Wealthy women only, wear.

1822. SW: Seamed up sides, tied at hips; ankle length.

Muffs, mittens; footgear, leggings.--

291
184

1823. Kl: Spier, Klamath, p. 210, states Kl used mittens or mufflike arm garment; my informant said not used by Klamath Marsh group. AW: Muffler of mink, weasel skin also used, for cold weather.

1828. AE: Cased wood-rat skins; used by men in winter when hunting. MF: Buckskin gauntlets with fingers. Term for these, wolosi k'ɛlko, translated as "put one's hand in it"; probably post-White, but informant stated that "when White men came the Indians threw these gloves away."

1830. SE: 2 types: (1) ankle length; (2) boot length. Unless specified in notes or otherwise, entries for elements 1830-1846 refer to both types. At: Pounded grass, or occasionally tule slippers, worn inside moccasins in winter. WM: Not worn in Stillwater area to S.

1831. Mo: Made from tanned buckskin.

1832. Mo: Made from rawhide, with hair left on.

1834. AW: Rich man's moccasins made from neck hide of buck. Poor persons use doe hide.

1836. Not counting added sole. SE: 2 pieces

000 them. "They tell their arrows to be good and to try and hold up, not to be weak; just as though talking to person. Do this for hour or so, only."

2824. AE, WT, WS: 2-3 days.

2826. WM: 2-3 nights.

2836. At: In war against Wintu (see note 2770) made effigy of Wintu woman, with willow withes and sunflower leaves, and shot at it. Also man "grabbed wife, pulled her around, boasted that was what he was going to do with Wintun women." In excitement of dance, 1 man also shot his own dog.

2841. NS: If use paint when visiting Miwok, for example, it is used to denote that visit is peaceful and visitors do not want any quarrels; usually use red paint, applied in stripes to face. Also use same for dances; informant did not know whether such used for war.

2844. Chalk used most frequently. Large deposits in At, AW area. SW: White paint preeminently war paint.

2852. NF: Yellowhammer-quill headband, or beaver-fur fillet worn; also feather belts with long "tail" pendant in rear; this attire so fascinated enemy, that latter "forgot to shoot."

2853. WT, WM, WS: Used as dagger, sometimes (cf. Du Bois, Wintu, p. 125).

Procedure

Declaration and manner of fighting; captives; booty and scalps.--

726 2855. Kl: In feud arising from seduction of married women, 10-20 men may line up on 2 sides, ready to fight, unless settlement is made by payment.

2856. Kl: War party encircles village; when 2 ends of encircling line come near each other, use owl calls as signal they are near by, and as signal to attack by rushing in upon village.

2858. NF: Young men go first, in attack upon village; older men bring up the rear.

[184] 2859. Kl: See note 2856. My information for Kl runs contra to Spier's (Klamath, p. 29). AE: Use crow calls, not owl calls. All other entries refer to owl calls.

2860. Kl: Use clubs in attack, to hit sleeping victim; if latter jumps up, knock him down. After first attack, use bow and arrows; continue fighting for most of day in village; at night return home.

000 2865. SW: Only in intertribal wars; no prisoners taken in intratribal feuds.

[727] 2866. SE, WM: Captive's arm tied to that of capturer's, on return journey of war party; this denied for Kl, WS; Mo uncertain. No rope ("captive leader") used by Kl, Mo, SE, WT, WM, WS. WS: Young women and married women whose husbands had been killed during fighting.

2869. WT: Keep woman or child captive for about month; then hold dance, and shoot her with

[211-A]

strung on it. He never kills bird or animal of same species as his guardian spirit(s), but someone else kills these for him, gives feathers, skins to him. SE: See note 4946. SW: Novice acquires pole, with 10 different objects (feathers, skins) on it; this sacred, kept outside house when not being used during shamanistic performance; at latter, shaman brings pole, plants it in ground outside patient's house. See note 4992. At: After man begins to doctor patients he acquires eagle down, woodpecker feathers, yellowhammer band. Ties these feathers inside his whistle. Also acquires bunch supernatural feathers (kaku) which he keeps tied up on willow branch, near creek; when shaman dies, blood drips from these kaku feathers. When shaman first discovers these feathers they are singing; he walks up to them and picks them up. WM: Shamans pass on their feathers, when old and near death, to another shaman; "keep passing them on from 1 to another. Sometimes the feathers tell doctor to put them in the water ['bury' them]; or feathers may say, 'No, I want to be alive, give me to another doctor.'" If, on receiving the feathers a shaman does not know how to handle them, he tells them he cannot keep them and is going to put them in the water.

4871. At: See preceding At note. Shaman never brings these feathers inside house, or uses them in curing performance; there may be children playing around who might make too much noise; feathers might become disturbed, poison people.

4872. At: See note 4870 At.

4873. At: Also, if man dreams "good" (acquires luck) after birth of child, "he never tells about his dream; if he does, he won't have any luck."

Sucking doctors: doctor-making rites.--

4874. SE, SW: 2 dances entered for each of these groups: (1) dance which novice performs alone in sweat house immediately after obtaining vision; (2) public winter dance in sweat house, following which a novice shaman may start curing. If SE, SW entries for elements 4875-4924 relate to one type dance only, note explains to which; if entries relate to both types dance, no note.

[756
[178
[184

4874a. Kl: Spier, Klamath, p. 113, says rites last 5 nights and days; my informant, who had danced at these performances, said 1, but probably he was referring to more recent curtailed performances. WT: 1-4.

4875. SE: Novice dances 3 nights, alone; public winter dance lasts 2 nights. WM: 4-5 nights.

4877. NF: Doctor dance (yomuse) starts in morning; at noon eat dinner; in afternoon dance again, then eat supper; then dance all night around fire. By daylight dance is over. Men, women shamans dance; women hold fox hides, wildcat hides on sticks, while dancing; men dance inside circle of women dancers, and wear yellowhammer bands on their heads. Novice doctors join in dance. During daytime dancing, shamans, in turn, hold cocoon rattle on stick, gaze straight

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K 361 342 343

for the seclusion of menstruant or parturient women, contact with whom is particularly injurious to shamans.

K M 342

The earth lodges, frequently dismantled in the spring after becoming waterlogged by the melting snows, are rebuilt in the fall. They are semisubterranean, built within a circular pit one to four feet in depth—the Modoc excavations tend to be somewhat deeper than the Klamath—and range in diameter from twelve feet for a single family to over thirty-five feet for the residence of a shaman. Four central posts support horizontal plates, with a split-log beam slanting down from each corner into the ground beyond the edge of the pit. Horizontal stringers between the beams in turn bear a layer of rafters, laid side by side around the house. Cracks are chinked with sticks and bark; and the surface is covered successively with rough matting, with grass laid along the lower edge, and finally with dirt. On top, rough planks are laid between the plates, leaving a hatchway that serves simultaneously as smoke hole and entrance.

K m [184] •

A similar structure, erected over a shallow depression or none at all, lacking the earth covering, and with side entrance, might also be used during the winter, but is most frequently the residence of warmer weather. The house is constructed by its future residents: working together, says Ray, Modoc may take a month to build an earth lodge.

K m 342 352 353 [417] [354]

Both Klamath and Modoc conceive of the house as facing east, and on that side a stairway ascends. Within, a ladder thrusts through the hatchway, and down this the visitor climbs, being careful, if a woman, to manage her fringed skirt to observe the proper modesty. Once below and standing beside the central fireplace, he makes out the dim details. Behind him, at the front of the house, firewood is stacked in tiers, while across the back a partition has been made behind which are stored foodstuffs and gear. Many houses dispense with a partition, and supplies are kept on the ledge between pit and wall. From the rafters dried fish and roots hang.

K M 342 352 513

The floor is covered with mats, which sometimes extend up the walls. Along the walls the members of the household sit or sleep upon a bedding of mats thrown over grass, with an occasional blanket woven of tule and cattail, sometimes with feathers worked in, or of animal pelt. The left side of the house, as the visitor faces forward, is reserved for the family

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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six spayed heifers, and of course they desire to dispose of them."[74] 648* 657* 231

Stock raising, administrators agreed, was the industry best suited to the reservation and to the Indian. Several persons, among them Henry Jackson, had accumulated large herds, and it was thought that their example and a favorable administrative climate would encourage others to take it up. With the issuance of the treaty stock, the total of Indian-owned cattle had been raised to 11,000. They were, however, unequally distributed, for [184] • while some of the Indians possessed herds described as "good-sized," others had only the four head issued.[75]

A report on 205 school graduates practicing stock raising in 1910 characterizes 28 as successful, 133 as fairly successful, 43 as failures, and 1 as a total failure. Although no criteria are given, allusions to these individuals in correspondence, together with the evaluations of modern informants tend to corroborate their placement in the list. Is should not be surprising that a number of Agency employees appear among the successful, and that several troublemakers were among the failures. Perhaps significantly, two tribal leaders of the time, Jefferson Riddle and Clayton Kirk, were assigned to the latter group. Some men who had previously been successful, in other endeavors were not making a go of stock raising. Thus Stonewall Jackson, who had formerly done well in raising potatoes in the Modoc Point area,[76] was now listed as unsuccessful as a stock raiser.

A fair degree of success did not always, however, imply an 648* equal competence at handling money; for at least one man so 657* listed was at that time being rationed in funds.[77] There is no 434 clear correlation between the number of interbreeds and the degree of success in ranching.[78] It might be added that two years before 58 men had been given permission to manage their own allotments. Of them, the 1910 report lists 15 as successful, 30 as fairly successful, and 5 as failures. Eight do not appear on the 1910 list.[79] The earlier action, falling selectively on those deemed more qualified, shows that administrative action did recognize individual ability.

Nonetheless, with the development, beginning in 1913, of a [313] lumber industry exploiting tribal timber and providing per

648* 657* 16

men. The major attractions, however, were the stores, the schools, the movies, the excitement, and the entertainment. These advantages seem likewise to have favored the shift to larger communities.

Thus, over an extended period of time, there has been a substantial and growing body of Klamath who, while retaining an equity in the tribal estate and membership in the tribal body, have come to dwell away from the reservation and who visit it infrequently, if at all. Their daily life is spent within a milieu, and in reliance upon a "personal community"—to use Jules Henry's expressive term[5]—made up largely of non-Klamath.

648* 657* 144

The heterogeneity of the Klamath is also reflected by their biological composition. While the characterization of the degree of Indian heritage, expressed as a "blood quantum," is open to occasional error in individual instances, the figures taken in summation reveal significant differences. By 1955, only twenty-eight per cent of the absentee members could claim to be biologically of over one-half Indian ancestry, and even for those dwelling upon the reservation the corresponding figure was no more than fifty-four per cent. Within the reservation, in turn, Lower End Klamath were markedly less Indian by this measure, falling between the values for absentee and Upper End members.[6]

648* 657* 162

Like many other Indian groups, the Klamath population possesses a large segment of younger members, marking an increase over the early decades of the present century. In the days of termination, those under twenty years of age comprised no fewer than forty-seven per cent of the total tribal membership, a figure exceeding that for the general population of the United States, of which only one-third fell within the corresponding bracket.[7] Although these figures are often interpreted as reflecting improved health conditions on the reservation, they also reflect an increased rate of marriage with non-Indians. [563]

648* 657* 184 361

The variety of Klamath life during the latter days of their tribal existence may be illustrated by data from the Upper End community of Beatty, the Lower End city of Chiloquin, and from the off-reservation communities of Klamath Falls and Eugene-Springfield in the Willamette Valley.

Beatty and Chiloquin represent special facets of reservation

*648 history. Beatty, in the upper valley of the Sprague, lies between
*657 the town of Sprague River, some fourteen miles below it, and
• 184 Bly, roughly the same distance away over the eastern boundary
361 of the reservation. It drew some of its population from Yainax,
when that subagency was closed, as well as from Paiute Camp
[797] to the east. Beatty's nucleus had been the Methodist mission and
store, to which other establishments presently were added, and
houses began to be built about them. White ranchers have
[563] moved in to work the allotted land they bought or rented, usually
bringing their families with them. Others, white, Indian—using
that term for non-Klamath—and Negro, have married tribal
members.

[871] By 1959, however, when the community was studied,[8] it was
in a sharp decline: for in the 1940's the local school had been
[797] closed in a consolidation with the one at Bly; the Methodist
[313] mission had been reduced to an adjunct of the principal mission
on Williamson River, at the Lower End; and the lumber mill
at Sprague River had ceased operations. The community had
[162] survived, though on a greatly reduced scale, with a population
totaling 136 persons, 105 of them tribal members, prevailingly of
Modoc and Paiute derivation, 5 Indians from other reservations,
25 whites, and 1 Negro.

Chiloquin, located at the confluence of the Sprague and Williamson rivers, was the largest community on the reservation, with a population then almost seven times that of Beatty.[9] A mill and market town which burgeoned when tribal timber was opened by the advent of the railroad, Chiloquin was incorporated as a city in 1926 and soon afterward boasted a population, including adjacent woods camps, of approximately two thousand. In its heyday, when along with Modoc Point, Braymill, and Sprague River it pulsed with activity, Chiloquin was a lusty and sometimes rowdy city, enjoying the wicked sobriquet of "The Little Chicago of the West." Below the surface was a structure which provided an institutional extension of American civic life elsewhere. A bank, a newspaper, telephone company, hotels and rooming houses, schools and churches, a boxing association and occasional Chatauqua, moving picture house, taxi company, Ladies' Community Club, Commerce Club, Masons and V.F.W., lawyers, dentists, and doctors: all these shared space with dance-halls, card rooms, bootleggers, pimps, and prostitutes.

The depression and the subsequent loss of mills through fire 648*
and economic distress stripped Chiloquin temporarily of many 657*
of her specialized services. By the time she had emerged from 184•
the slump a decade after World War II, improved communica- 361
tions had enabled Klamath Falls, twenty times as large and only thirty miles away, to supplant Chiloquin in many functions which had previously been discharged locally. Nonetheless, in the course of recovery some services were regained. With an institutional complexity that far transcended that of Beatty, Chiloquin, an enclave of the state of Oregon within the federal jurisdiction of the reservation, offered tribal residents a foretaste of the life that lay beyond reservation boundaries. In 1958 more than thirty per cent of the entire tribal membership had mailing addresses there.

In examining the households of Beatty and Chiloquin, re- 648*
spectively 31 and 297 in number, it is convenient to distinguish 657*
two categories among those including tribal members. That 621
designated Interethnic is headed by a tribal member married to 184
a partner of another ethnic group, white, Mexican, alien Indian, 563
or other. The second, in which both partners are tribal members, 592
will be designated Tribal. The term Klamath will subsume both. [162]

Klamath households in the rural community of Beatty in 1959 comprised well over eighty per cent of the community, the remaining households being largely white. By contrast, in Chiloquin (1949-50) white households were twice the Beatty percentage; while Klamath households amounted only to little over half the population. The remaining ten per cent was made up of other minorities, Mexican, Negro, and Indian. Within the next decade continuing trends in Chiloquin increased the disparity, as white households gained at the expense of all other components.

The figures for Interethnic marriages harmonize with this picture of white preponderance in the larger community. When the total marital record is considered, including successive mates, it is seen that unions with whites comprise only slightly more than one-fifth of the total for reservation members, almost one-third for the Chiloquin segment, and well over three-quarters for a small sample of off-reservation Klamath.[10] Among the Interethnic households of Beatty, the non-Klamath partner was more frequently Indian than white, while in Chiloquin he was

*648 generally white. When it is considered that in American society
*657 the husband maintains significant external relationships,[11] it
184 seems significant that in both Chiloquin and Beatty in some three-
621 fourths of the Interethnic households the husband was an out-
563
592 sider and the wife a Klamath.

Economic Life

*648 From an economic standpoint, tribal members occupied a
*657 subsidiary position in reservation communities. Their participa-
621 tion in productive activities as a whole was small. In 1958, a
434 sample of the reservation population showed the following eco-
464 nomic profile: presently engaged in business or ranching, eigh-
162 teen per cent; previous record of such experience, eleven per cent; no such experience, forty-eight per cent; no data, twenty-three per cent. The figures for those resident in Chiloquin showed, if anything, a lesser degree of direct participation. Available records on a small absentee sample (but one with a higher proportion of women) do not reveal a higher degree of economic experience. The figures are: presently engaged in business or ranching, seven per cent; previous record of such experience, twenty-one per cent; no such experience, seventy per cent; no data, two per cent.

*648 The record of scanty business experience is in large measure
*657 a consequence of the steady flow of income from tribal timber.
434 In 1950, the $800 per capita payments enabled a Klamath family
454 of four to exceed the median income for all families in the county. Since they could also hunt and fish throughout the year, and many families did, their actual income was considerably higher. There was thus little incentive to work to supplement timber revenues. The Meriam committee, to be sure, had observed years before, in the course of their comprehensive study of Indian administration, that the Klamath per capitas were too small for investment and thus tended to be disbursed for current living expenses;[12] but it is also true that, lacking investment experience, tribal members who realized substantial sum from the sale of allotments too often treated them as windfalls to be squandered, rather than as capital capable of bringing further financial returns.

000 Comparison with the record of white performances places the

as well by envious whites. Indeed, prominent among the local 648*
advantages which white residents stated bound them to Chilo- 657*
quin were the advantages offered by the reservation for hunting 224
and fishing. At the same time, the whites tended to regard those 226
pursuits as no more than recreational avocations; and if the 181
Klamath were sometimes credited with inherent aptitudes for the chase, they were also looked down upon for devoting so much time to "play," and for ignoring, as many did, the white canons of sportsmanship.

Conflicting viewpoints were likewise evinced in the relation- 648*
ships of tribal members seen as consumers. While there were 657*
wide differences in actual behavior both among and between 571
whites and Indians, relationships came often to be governed by
stereotypes. This was particularly so in the larger communities, [621]
in instances in which individuals were not personally known to [184]
each other.

Those relationships were in fact strongly conditioned by the 648*
peculiar status of the tribal members who relied upon per capitas 657*
for their income. Few Klamath on the reservation had ever 434
banked money, and the absence of a bank in Chiloquin since the 571
depression, or in any other reservation town, made necessary 452
the institution of a credit system.[13] Since much Indian property [453]
was held in trust by the government, which thus could not be advanced as security, merchants had to rely heavily upon a knowledge of the individual in advancing credit. Reservation stores resorted to a credit system to compete with the businesses in Klamath Falls, and through a more intimate acquaintance with tribal members could assess the risk more skillfully than those—particularly the newcomers—in the county seat. At the same time, the expense of operating such a system was one of the factors in advancing prices in reservation stores. Thus merchants, who not infrequently did their own private shopping in Klamath Falls, were galled to see tribal customers, whom they had carried on credit, patronizing competitors in the larger city as soon as they had received their per capitas.

In attempting to collect outstanding debts, merchants could 648*
not count upon the Superintendents, but had to resort to moral 657*
suasion and threaten to cut off further credit. Some Superinten- 434
dents did assist in bringing pressure to bear upon delinquent 452

of tribal members held aloof, while some members were no more 648* 657*
than "Sunday" or "holiday" Shakers, attending services only at 795
wide intervals. 177

That there was no single Klamath response to culture contact 648*
even upon the reservation, must now be abundantly clear. It is 657*
also true that tribal members are not to be found extended along 184 •
a single continuum of change. No typology satisfactorily pre- 177
serves the mosaiclike pattern of the accommodation they have 178
made. For the course, even of institutional change, is the product, not of the engagement of reified "cultures," but of the countless individual choices expressed before concrete alternatives and projected against past experience. In the successive role-relationships into which they have entered, the biographies of some elderly Klamath suggest that there may well have been for them an inner continuity, not unchanging, which provided in their life-way a reference and a means of self-identification.[15] For many younger tribal members, however, the range of possible identification has become greater, while coercive restraints have weakened; and their selection among behaviors may be so conditioned by factors in the immediate situation as to appear inconsistent from one time to the next. Cultural confusion may well have resulted in their failure to form a stable self-image.

A central characteristic of modern Klamath relationships has 648*
been termed, for want of a happier phrase, "permissive diver- 657*
sity."[16] By this is meant a condition offering the individual a wide 156
latitude of choice among multiple and optional alternatives, per- 177
mitted modes being not only broad in range but diffusely de- 178
limited. Analyses of Klamath myths[17] and of the ethnological record suggest that this state, which corresponds in large measure to the "loose structuring" of Embree,[18] was characteristic of aboriginal Klamath culture, but it may well have been enhanced in reservation times by the breakdown of native agencies of control and by those other developments fostering individualism. The roots of its continuity lie in conditions of child-rearing, already reviewed, as well as in the social transactions of adult life.

The corresponding qualities in the individual are equally clear. For many Klamath, the interpersonal distance is of considerable magnitude, and constitutes a wary, defensive response to the

*648 formal occasions in the General Council in a demonstration of
*657 decorative oratory; and there it might also serve a speaker to
177 shut out a heckler who knew only English. In such a session, a
178 member in the audience, although fluent in English, might de-
191 mand the services of an interpreter for the purpose of underscoring his Indian status. Similar functions were served when Klamath was spoken in the presence of whites. The ability to shift from one language to another, or from one behavioral modality to another, was akin to the behavior which Polgar has described in the "biculturation" of Fox children.[21]

*648 In the latter days of the reservation, there were few occasions
*657 when tribal members came together for traditional events, and
177 the sessions of the General Council constituted the main remain-
178 ing tribal gathering. Such individuals as our old friend mentioned
623 above had their closest and most continuous relations with chil-
619 dren and grandchildren, who by no means shared their outlook.
571 On the occasional visits of their aged peers, these elders ex*changed memories* and expressed common concerns which were as much the product of the parallel roles they then performed in their respective families as of the time in which they had grown up.

*648 Such accommodation as there has been to American culture has
*657 not only changed through time with alterations in the state of
177 Klamath and American cultures; but at any single time, Klamath
178 have drawn diversely from what was available. Thus, the small
• 184 number of families in Chiloquin that have attained a measure of social acceptance by whites of middle or high status have done so by manifesting the appropriate life style. In so doing, unless they are able deftly to shift role-orientations, being now Klamath, now white, they have had to sacrifice close relations with their kin. "Some of my family I never see any more," remarked one such woman, "and I don't want to see them." They often forbade their children to play with undesirable tribal children. Insistence upon household neatness, fastidious emphasis upon personal cleanliness, punctuality, and adherence to self-standards usually accompanied these attitudes.

Inframodal behavior among Klamath in turn has by no means been random in form, but has approximated already established patterns in the dominant culture; often combining them in ways

that seem bizarre. In evading prohibition, as already noted, tribal 648*
members learned successively to operate stills, to patronize and 657*
to serve as bootleggers, and to drink alcoholic extracts. For local 177
roughs, the pug and the cowboy provided glamorous models; 178
and several youths ventured upon the hard trail of the professional 184•
boxer. Although cowboy hats and boots were still worn in [883]
the latter days of the reservation, they were giving way among this set to the ducktail haircut and the leather jacket. Drag racing and drinking were pursuits as common among tribal adolescents in Chiloquin as among their peers elsewhere. The intermittent use of marijuana cigarettes and an occasional Pachuco tattoo were evidence of the selective adoption of Inframodal practices.

As a category, the inframodal Klamath were often the immediate descendants of some of the elderly individuals already mentioned, dependent upon them for money once they had squandered their own funds, sometimes residing with them, sometimes "shacking up" in a separate household in a common-law union. They formed but one range of the main body of tribal members, among whom they found associates perhaps as often
as they did among their own sort. They did not habitually associate [571]
with Inframodal peers among other racial groups, but [573]
characteristically remained in small tribal cliques, of which the [273]
drinking groups were the chief stable expression.[22]

Those tribal members still on the reservation comprised a main body, upon which three lobes might be distinguished: the elders, the Inframodal, and those conformant to American standards. The latter alone had tended to become almost completely cut off from the major body of their fellow tribesmen, save for a few leaders, who had been able to keep the respect of both whites and Klamath. The remainder constituted a single society of strong egalitarian persuasions.

While recognizing that a single criterion must fail as a device 648*
for sorting out categories which are the product of such complexity, 657*
a first approximation was attempted in an analysis of the 177
records of a random sample of tribal members in Chiloquin.[23] As 178
sorting criteria, the subjects were first scaled against five somewhat 184
overlapping entries involving behavior before the law. Then, 125
working symmetrically from the extremes of the scale, they were

*648 divided into three segments as nearly equal in size as possible.[24]
*657 The symmetrical cuts resulted in a Conformant segment, prevailingly
177 law-abiding in record, almost twice as large as the Inframodal
178 category at the other end, which consisted of these
• 184 persons with the highest record of violations. The Intermediate
125 membership was slightly larger than that of the Conformant.[25]

The characteristics of each of these categories, when contrasted, tend to confirm statements made previously. Members of the Conformant segment were least Indian biologically and included the highest proportion of women. They seem to have come from comparatively smaller families and, with the Intermediate subjects, seem to have received far more adequate parental care than did the Inframodal category. Educational achievements are less distinctive, reflecting the compulsory nature of schooling on the reservation, but again the Inframodal segment lags behind the others in school grade completed. In the measure of engagement in business or ranching and in record of money management, the distinctions are decisive, with the Conformant category far outstripping its fellows and the Inframodal segment at the bottom. Finally, in both the percentage of those married and living with spouse and family as well as in the stability of residence the same order is seen.

In the second part of the study, the thirty Klamath subjects who had given Dr. Clifton responses to the Murray Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)[26] were assigned by judgment to the three segments, the protocols of each category being treated together by a method of analysis previously employed in examining Klamath mythology.[27] When all of the modern TAT segments were combined and contrasted with the myths, the responses were seen to reflect changes which had in fact taken place through time. Thus a trend toward a universalistic outlook
[602] was reflected, along with lessened attention to the ramifications
[594] of kinship, a reduction of the family itself to nuclear form, and
[554] a concurrent diversification of role relationships toward individuals
[571] acting impersonally as employer, policeman, doctor, or
teacher. A secularization of life may also be reflected by the scant consideration of religion in the modern protocols.

[571] When the modern TAT segments were compared, the Conformant subjects were seen to place a strong emphasis upon support

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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given the family by neighbors as well as by the impersonal agents 648*
of society, while making little mention of any kinsmen beyond 657*
the immediate, two-generation family. Members of this category, 177
who objectively were least Indian genetically and who mani- 178
fested the highest measure of intermarriage with whites, were 184•
the only ones to introduce racial comments in their responses. 125
This may well be taken as evidence of their sensitivity to a [571]
marginal condition. In treating intrafamilial roles, they saw a [829]
strong paternal figure (lacking in the protocols of the other two [593]
segments), but they viewed his authority as one against which the son repeatedly rebelled. Moreover, contrary to their own superior record of family stability, members of the Conformant category envisaged the marital bond as frequently threatened by feminine interlopers. Here again is an indication that the Conformant families, like the most acculturated among Vogt's Navaho veterans,[28] had achieved their condition only at the cost of gnawing anxiety.

By contrast, both of the remaining TAT segments tended to [602]
stress kinship, for in their protocols a greater reliance is placed upon grandparents and more remote kinsmen, with correspondingly less dependence upon friends, neighbors, or impersonal agents. Indeed, the Inframodal subjects tended to view the latter with suspicion and outright hostility. In neither segment [593]
was the paternal role seen as prominent; and the mother instead occupied a central position, not disciplining, but strongly supporting her children. Sibling relations, which in the Conformant category had been seen as continuing through life, stood on a lower level among the intermediate subjects, who viewed the bond as existing only in childhood; and were negligible among the Inframodal segment. Similarly, the marital bond appeared to be conceived by Intermediate members as weak, being marked by a succession of casual liaisons, while the Inframodal saw strife between the couple, rather than outside interference, as disrupting the union.

By contrast with Conformant subjects, members of the other
two categories exhibited a far less realistic view of the conditions [829]
making possible achievement, but they did so in different ways. Those of the Intermediate segment seemed to see conformance as a necessary factor for success, although their behavioral record

*648 showed them in fact to be deficient here, and they made complex,
*657 conditional statements about it. They seemed uncertain about
177 the manner in which a prosperous life was to be achieved. The
178 scofflaw members of the Inframodal category, by contrast, saw
• 184 accomplishment as the result of individual strengths, rather than
125 of surrogate support. In this, having regard for their family form,
829 they may be regarded as fairly realistic; but attainment for them
often took fantastic forms. One might say that they were content to play with the idea but were unprepared to put it into practice. In their treatment of crime and violence they took a realistic view, as against the Conformant subjects, who also gave it prominence, or the Intermediate category, who seldom discussed it; and they often saw them from the perspective of the violator. Conformant concern with crime and violence, by contrast, was coupled with the view that punishment, often involving remorse as well, was both merited and certain.

*648 Several general comments may be offered. In the first place, the
*657 Conformant subjects stand somewhat apart from members of
177 the other two categories in adherence to standards dominant
178 among whites. A matter of some note is the size of the group.
184 While the size of segments was determined by the purposes of
the study, the impression is strong that a larger proportion of tribal members would seem to be attuned already to values honored in American society than have been accepted by their white peers. Social acceptance, from this point of view, has lagged behind the formation of acceptable attitudes.

There are reasons for this. On the one hand, a number of tribal members approve these attitudes as merely reflecting those of the traditional Klamath. Some of them, despite Conformant behavior, decline to choose white associates if it means giving up ties with Klamath kin and friends. Then, too, among whites the formation of acceptable attitudes and behavior must be accompanied by other qualifications, discussed earlier. Major white stereotypes, as can be seen, have been formed about behavior and attitudes found principally among the minority of Klamath who fall into the Inframodal segment, and these have been extended to characterize tribal members as a whole.

Finally, behavior of Inframodal type is more complex than may appear at first. It was present, in somewhat different form, in

aboriginal Klamath culture; it has assumed some of the aspects 648*
of criminal behavior among whites; and as already noted is 657*
turned against the institutions of the whites and the persons of 177
Klamath. If Inframodal individuals are seen as rejecting the 178
ambient culture, they spurn only selected parts of it; and they 184
might have rebelled in similar fashion had they lived in the
native society a century and a half earlier.

There is much that continues to link most tribal members together. The assessment of an earlier paper seems valid.

> An individual may act in a manner that both we and the Klamath define as anti-social. Affected kinfolk may object, but their voice is muted and their efforts frequently null. Yet outside of the group immediately affected, the offender may find ready acceptance and even approval, so long as he has not violated the cultural standards of independence, of indifference to pain, danger, or personal inconvenience, of open-handed liberality, of steadfastness to a friend, and of a shrewd opportunism to others. But because there is now no homogeneous mode of behavior governing relations with members of social groups, and no effective coercive agent, Klamath behavior today probably departs more widely from the mode than it did in aboriginal times.* [571]

Thus, in various ways the Klamath have come to be differentially
distributed, even within the confines of one small reservation
town. Members have become acculturated in behavior and
attitude to varying degrees and in divergent directions. Through [563]
intermarriage, they have come to manifest a range of biological
features, some more acceptable than others to non-Klamath.
Finally, they have come to be ranked by whites upon a social
gradient, although as a whole they are assigned an inferior position.
In turn, historical, cultural, ethnic, and social considerations
have led most tribal members to eschew their placement
and to maintain a life somewhat apart. A major factor in their
sense of separateness is the identity accorded corporate image
by the tribal government. The following chapter reviews that
institution.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

While the political strength of a family is seen not only in the 648*
succession of interest but in a propensity for members of a family 657*
to vote *en bloc*, this is far from invariably true. The schism 619
separating Jesse Kirk from his half-brother, Joseph, is one promi- 602
nent instance—and by no means the only one—to the contrary. [665]
In fact, alignment within the family and extended kin has often [578]
been modified by contending considerations.

Nonetheless, for some leaders the solidarity of family some- 648*
times took precedence over impartiality in the discharge of office. 657*
One tribal council member is quoted as defending his action 661
favoring certain enrollments by the explanation ". . . that since 602
two children were his niece's children, he felt that it was his duty 619
to guard the interests of his minor relatives."[8] Political leaders,
seeking to emphasize the purity of their motives, needed to go no
further in justification than to declare that they sought only the
welfare of their grandchildren.

Although intermarriage and alternative associations have long 648*
overlaid clear identification with the several peoples who had 657*
entered into the treaty, such affiliations have continued to exert 563
political force, however greatly diminished in recent years. In 621
turn, they related to the two broad communities on the reserva- 619
tion. The Lower End remained predominantly Klamath, while
Modoc, Paiute, as well as a number of Klamath and Pit River,
comprised the Upper End community some forty miles away.
Even after the closing of the subagency at Yainax, the populations [184] •
of Sprague River and Beatty continued to reflect the special
character of the eastern reservation.

In turn, the relatively easier access of the Lower End to out- [177]
side influences—a subject already reviewed in discussing modern
tribal demography—superimposed the effects of differential ac-
culturation and intermarriage upon the traditional subtribal
allegiances that distinguished the two Ends. Difficulty of travel 648*
along the road from the Agency to Yainax had given rise to the 657*
practice, long maintained, of holding separate councils at each 621
place. Thus at the two Ends there had developed political com- 665
munities responsive to their own local leaders. Harrison Brown, 619
in 1931, played upon a familiar theme when he recognized in
Wade Crawford, a leader from the Lower End ". . . a young man
who is not a full-blood, who is trying to stir up trouble, and we

*648 surveillance; they have then had to make their peace in another
*657 community. In other instances, measures—for example, early
177 sawmills, drought cattle, loan funds—designed by the administration to be instrumental in helping the Indians to attain distant goals of betterment, were diverted by tribal recipients to provide short-range benefits. Such action, present even in early times, became more pronounced as disillusionment set in; and organized forms of opposition were also added. In a formal character, there
[619] was an insistence upon the prerogatives that marked tribal
identity. Hence the highly emotional attachment to treaty rights, in however altered form hunting and fishing may be exploited; to the tribal government, however criticized its incumbents; and to the self-preserving myth of the past.

*648 There is, however, another side to the Klamath reaction which
*657 is to be seen in the anomic aspects of the life of Intermediate and
177 Inframodal segments of those dwelling in Chiloquin—although
182 this behavior was not limited to that city. Within Chiloquin,
• 184 those persons manifest many of the traits that Leighton terms
156 disintegrative: a high frequency of broken homes, of hostility, crime, and delinquency; weak development of associations, recreation, communication, and leadership.[8] For the community as a whole, their effect is accurately characterized by his term. At the same time, their behavior had acquired such substantial predictability that the city fathers had come to rely upon it in the form of revenues from the municipal tavern and fines and trusty labor, for a considerable portion of the municipal budget. Under these circumstances, one might fairly say that a stabilized cultural pluralism existed.

*648 A situation like this cannot fail to leave psychological marks,
*657 and indeed Clifton,[9] observing that "there is very little evidence
177 to suggest, unequivocally, that guarded restraint was a dominant
156 component of aboriginal character structure," considers that attribute to be largely a reaction to the complex unpredictabilities of the reservation. Indeed, the Klamath reaction has striking
[171] parallels in the "hostile dependence" of the Sioux[10] and the
"valuation group alienation" of the Aleut;[11] and it bears close resemblance to the situation described for the Ojibway by James,[12] who sees the personality traits he analyzes to have their source in the immediate context of white-Ojibway relations.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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end of Horse Fly valley and Lockey Flat, passing in the vicinity of Keno Spring, and thence westward through, or in the vicinity of, the village of Dairy. It passed a short distance north of Bale's lake and Olene and appears to have left the whole of Lost River valley in the territory of the Modoc. It passed either along the eastern shore of, or through, Lower Klamath lake. Further than this no definite information was obtained concerning this secondary boundary.

ENVIRONMENT.

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[184]

The natural environment of the Lutuami, a high, mountainous and volcanic region, filled with lakes and marshes, influenced their culture in many ways. The two lakes, Upper Klamath and Tule or Rhett lake, formed the centers of population for the two divisions, the Klamath and the Modoc. Along the western shore of these lakes, and of Lower Klamath lake, as well as along the high plateau to the east of Upper Klamath lake, there were considerable forests of conifers which provided material for canoes and houses as well as a part of the food supply. In fact the whole western portion of the territory is well forested. The eastern part, however, notably about Yainax agency and eastward, is to a great extent a semi-desert, sage-brush country. In this eastern region there are many fertile valleys, as for instance, along Sprague and Sycan rivers, but on the whole the territory is by no means so desirable for habitation as that about Upper Klamath lake and Klamath marsh, where the soil is very rich and productive. The old fault line in which Upper and Lower Klamath lakes and Klamath marsh are situated has existed so long that a large area has silted in and formed a very fertile country, which provided in aboriginal times an abundance of various tubers, seeds, and other vegetable foods. Among the most important natural features of this region are the great tracts of marshy land. These marshes are covered constantly with water from a few inches to several feet in depth. In these, particularly in Klamath marsh, is found the staple article of food among the Klamath, and to a certain extent also among the Modoc, the yellow water-lily, *Nymphia polysepala.* Large areas of marsh are completely covered with this water-lily to the ex-

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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fish basket, and one or two others. Twining is the only technique K
used, all coiled baskets coming from this region being extraneous
to the true native culture. The majority of the conical burden 285
baskets made of willow or hazel which are in use among the [139]
Klamath are made by themselves, though they do purchase from
the Shasta to the southwest a burden basket which is more nicely
finished than their own. M

Together with this very specialized tule culture, resulting K 105
from the life of the people upon the immediate lake shore, go 22
water foods, particularly wokas and fish, and the special imple- 415
ments devoted to the gathering of the wokas and to the capture
of various animals, birds, and fish. Such for instance are the [133]
peculiar duck arrow, the large dip-net, the net used at night in [184]
connection with a light in the canoe for catching ducks and other
water birds, the many-pointed fish spear, the two forms of bone [501]
hooks, the dug-out canoe, and the forked pole for propelling it
in shallow water. The peculiar stone implements, such as the [276]
two-horned muller, L-shaped and discoidal pipes, and triangular
net-sinker, are also noteworthy.

The specialization of culture in this region is very striking M
indeed when it is compared with the culture of surrounding K
peoples, as for instance, the Paiute to the east, where coiled
basketry predominates and tule work is almost unknown, and 105
with that of the Indians of the Upper Columbia river region to 101
the north, whose culture was very largely influenced by the 171
buffalo or plains Indian culture. A comparison with the Oregon Indians is difficult not only because the Oregon cultures are comparatively little known, but because the majority of Oregon Indians, owing to their habitat, showed either a coast or a desert culture, which is not readily comparable with the inland lake environment and culture of the Klamath and Modoc. The Indians in certain respects most similar to the Lutuami in culture lived down the Klamath river in the northwestern part of California. Here are found such things as the stone maul and the large triangular fish net. Here also the basketry is entirely twined and in a large measure of comparatively soft materials; and the willow or hazel burden baskets are very similar in their general appearance, form, and particularly in the border finish.

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 125
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common 101
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's 177
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the
reservation's population. 162

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological [184]
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy,
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present [224]
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties: 648
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an ar-
tificial construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local [829]
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would 178
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-resi-
dence with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been trans- 648
ferred to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural [241]
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber indus-
try has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have [511]
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

Carrie: Male, Age 36

Background Data

156 Carrie is the model of a self-made, upwardly mobile, brash and back-slapping
*159 young American male. He is a tribal leader whose power is rooted in an amalgama-
tion of various dissident elements, rather than in a large kin group, and a
[622] business man with numerous interests. He says, of himself, that "I have no
occupation, as occupations go. I guess you might say I am a confidence man."

*159 Like the other subjects, Carrie was raised on a ranch by his parents. He is a
high school graduate and a graduate of a junior college course in accounting.
[873] His work record suggests his ambition and his upward progression, for he started
as a farm laborer, went to truck driving, then worked during World War II as
[464] a production machinist, completed his education, then worked for the Agency and,
finally, was able to settle down to living off his several sources of income.
He has never been out of the state except for short business trips. He spends
most of his time on the reservation attending to tribal and his own business,
156 and participating in various voluntary and formal associations. More recently
*159 he has become active in politics on a local level and by some has been ear-marked
as a "comer." His intellectual horizons are very wide, extending to a keen
[66] awareness of the difficulties faced by Dag Hammarskjold. His reputation is ex-
cellent and he is particularly esteemed by many Whites, although this esteem is
[622] not shared by all Klamath, which reflects only the factionalism of Klamath politics
and, perhaps, the efforts of some to control a man who is too successful.

*[184] Carrie has been married once and this marriage has lasted 15 years. He has six
children and his family life, again, is precisely what might be expected of a
successful young American. Carrie's entire style of life is entirely different
from that of most other young Klamath men.

*159 Very little is known of Carrie's early life except that his background is rural
Klamath and that his mother was a housewife and his father an indifferently and
intermittantly employed laborer.

156 The writer never made much headway with understanding Carrie until the day he
124 was brow-beaten into taking the Rorschach. Before this time he had been seen
only as an aggressive, back-slapping, competitive, and somewhat empty character.
He had agreed to testing, but had managed to slip out of several appointments
until one day when the entire couplement of field workers descended on him during
a visit, arguing and insisting that he had to set the example. Carrie was thus
hung on his own petard, and when we walked into the testing room there was some
question as to who was the most fearful of the consequences of this episode,
Carrie or the examiner. Carrie was manifestly tense and fearful, but in a very
short period of time relaxed and accepted the test situation. Rapport was ex-
cellent, and Carrie clearly defined the situation as one where he should discuss
156 his private concerns, motives, and sentiments. From sessions like this it be-
came evident that Carrie's brash front consisted of a set of behaviors he saw
as appropriate to his position. That is, the social Carrie was a well defined
role. Behind this persona lay a genuine concern with the welfare of tribal
members and their future, as well as strong personal aspirations, deep committ-
ments to family and community, and fears associated with his private feeling
that he was not an adequate or relaxed "mixer." He stated, for example, that
"I guess I just don't have the courage to get out, even among my own people.
I'm not much of a talker and I guess you'd say I'm kind of backward. I really
prefer to be alone by myself." Some of this apprehensiveness is associated

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159
[156] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White seg-
ments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but
in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
[871] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
[586] fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of
the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of
numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
[597] an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has
spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was
closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became
dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
[874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She
took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if
she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[857] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child
nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a [illegible]rch, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she
had stood outside, wishing she [illegible] enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate ci[illegible] Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom el[illegible]hite ladies will associate, and with them
her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., per-
[608] sons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an ad-
visor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making
a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
[278] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my
glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its
walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is asso-
ciated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is
noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites,
for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, be-
cause she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and
biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a
person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social
role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she
will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and
quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

000 Nkā'kgiuga t'shi'shap p'ki'shap taúnäpni waíta k̲á-i tchû'leks pán,
After a childbirth the father (and) the mother ten days no meat eat,
shápĕle mák̲lăksăm tchi'sh pásh pán; túnepni wäíta lomkóka, nadshksap-
bread, the Indians also food eat; five days they sweat, sixth
tánkni at wäitólan shulótish p'nálăm nánuk púedsha.
then day over, garments their own all cast away.

Tishiwápkash wä'k gítko shuentchága p'gi'shap hû'nkĕlăm wä'k tk̲uyá;
Crooked limbs having a babe mother its the limbs rubs;
hä lish kaá k̲alk̲álish lû'lp gítko hû'nkĕlăm p'gi'shap lû'lp tk̲uyá nepátka,
if too rounded eyes having its mother the eyes rubs with hand,
k̲ik̲annéga lû'lpŭt nepátka, tchúi shishatchĕlō'tka; at tídsh tchēk shûtû'lan
applies to the eyes the hands, then spreads (them) apart; then well finally after arranging
k̲ĕléwi. Húmasht taks hû Mō'dokni giúga ktaktanapátko shítko shlé-ish
she stops. Therefore the Modocs sleepy- alike to look at
nánuki. Hä lish k̲ó-idshi wawákish gi suéntchăm, p'ki'shap taks tídsh
all are. If misshaped the ears are of the babe, the mother aright
shû'ta, patádsha suéntchăm wawákash, nenpága, peptchága. Naishlashlák-
shapes (them). she stretches the babe's both ears, little hands, little feet. Toads-
gish-gítko ktcháyash tchi'sh wéktat itá ni'sh tchi'sh.
horned beetles with fangs also on the arms she lays, on the neck also.

NOTES.

*539 With the exception of the first, these ethnographic notices concern the people composing the southern chieftaincy as much as those of the northern.

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I. The four items of section I are worded in the Klamath Lake dialect, and were obtained from Frank, a young Indian settled at Kuyamskä'-iksi, "the Crab's River-Trail," on the Williamson River.

90, 1 etc. The census figures given in the first paragraph refer to one of the latest counts made of the individuals in the tribe, probably to that of 1876.

90, 1. vunépni lalák̲i gítko. Correctly worded, this phrase would read vunepä'nash lalák̲iash, or vunépnish, or at least vunépni lalák̲iash gítko.

90, 2. pé-ulatko ought to be used only when units are mentioned after the decads of figures. If the relator wanted to say, 180 men were counted, the verb shä'tui, shétui would be the proper term. Cf. *Note* to 70, 8. 9.

90, 3. Tumántka, "by the many", by the crowd: by the majority of the men in the tribe.

90, 7. hishuátchχash is a form for the word *man*, *male*, common to Klamath Lakes and Modocs, but more frequently used among the latter. The reverse is true of the form híshuaksh.

90, 10–13. Part first of the fourth notice refers to dances at the communal dance-lodge, organized and directed by chiefs. The chief starts the songs; sometimes the men, sometimes the women sing in chorus; or a song may be sung by all present. When the chief sees one, who does not sing, he cries out: "i tchuín; túla shuín i!" All dances are accompanied by songs or other music.

90, 10 ul probably stands for ûn, û'n, û'na, a conjunction more frequently used in the Modoc than in the Klamath Lake dialect.

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771 reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors,
178 the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

182 The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are
allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some
771 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal
795 and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in
184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to
797 those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on
the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual
571 or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members
find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies
as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions
to aboriginal concepts.

771 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The
177 Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation
is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals,
184 while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display
or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely.
Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious
questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly
curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes
755 demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this consideration,
757 shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally
accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged
with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects
of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

183 The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there.
773 For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter
are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two,
183 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first
224 deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away,
he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation
today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too,
the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy
that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem
from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is
825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath
191 but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a harbinger
763 of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear
it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means
183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter,
the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed
among western tribes.

178 But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past
which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

773 That's why Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came. But then I remember
776 them talking when I was young about how Kemu'kemps was coming back.
777 That was all lies so I guess Kemu'kemps must be the Devil. Still, they say
he created all just like God. I don't know how to figure it."

Mention was made above that the culture hero had a son who was born miraculously. The possible relationship between 'Ayšiš and Jesus has caught the fancy of some. A man of seventy comments: "Yes, Kemu'kemps and God are one and the same. There's a story that says how Kemu'kemps saved a woman's baby when she jumped into the fire and that baby was raised as his own son. I don't believe it. God created all living things. He made the Devil, too. I think 'Ayšiš is the Devil because he's always trying to get the best of his father. We old Indians knew about God but we didn't know about our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

A 56-year-old woman remarked: "Yes, Kemu'kemps is God and he had a son, just like Jesus. 'Ayšiš even dies and comes alive again in the old Indian stories, and that's like the Christians teach. And that Holy Ghost business, that's the power that God gives. The Indians knew about that. That's why you say 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' "

But so concise a syncretism of aboriginal and Christian religious elements
184 is rare. Younger people vary greatly in belief. One man, about thirty-eight, noted: "Kemu'kemps? They told us stories about him when we were kids. They said he's like God. It doesn't matter to me. Maybe he is; they always say how he made everything around here. Maybe he did; things get that way somehow." A 31-year-old woman remarked: "Kemu'kemps stuff is what they tell kids. That's old Indian devil-talk. I don't know nothing about it." And a 16-year-old girl stated: "I've heard my grandmother talk about Kemu'kemps. That's kind of scary stuff like the dead coming back to haunt
823 you. There's a cave up on the Sprague River where they say Kemu'kemps used to live. Maybe he still lives there. Anyway, I wouldn't walk up that road in the dark."

A woman of about fifty-five, when questioned about the religious training
869 she gave the grandchild entrusted to her care, answered: "Children learn about the Bible very fast. I tell my granddaughter the old Bible stories and she likes to hear them. But I steer off of that old Indian stuff. I think we ought to get away from those old Indian superstitions. I'll sure get mad if anybody scares her with stories about those old Indian things like Kemu'kemps."

Her statement sets the tone for the future. The old beliefs are being lost, and although still very general, they stand out most vividly only in the minds of those who were raised in the period of the second Ghost Dance and the analogous revivalistic movements which followed it. While they obtained, during their upbringing, a detailed background of native Klamath mythology, they succeed, according to their own inclinations, in passing on their point of view to their descendants, or they may fail to do so. The attitudes indicated above are individual; no debate about the nature of Kemu'kemps or related
795 concepts has been noted. While the formally organized religious groups, including the Shakers (however dependent on the aboriginal patterns of

estranged themselves from Klamath society. Few, indeed, had 648*
attempted to cross the chasm; and fewer were able to straddle it. 657*
Klamath, on their part, entertained strong prejudices. Some 563
were matters of ancient history. Klamath and Modoc were dis- 571
dainful of Paiute and Pit River, and the epithets, 'daughter of a [186]
Paiute!' or 'slave!' still stung. At the time of allotment, when many members had come back upon the reservation, while the numbers of those calling themselves Klamath had soared, the absolute number of Pit River had declined. Evidently, members of mixed parentage were passing into the more prestigious category. Toward other minority groups tribal members displayed various attitudes. Indians from nearby reservations were generally well received, but those from afar were resented, particularly if they held Agency jobs coveted by the Klamath.

Whites tended to lump all Indians together, and the accomplishments of some nonlocal Indians elevated the general Indian status in the popular view. Nonetheless, tribal members were wont to regard them as trespassers. Toward Mexicans, with whom they occasionally intermarried, they were on terms of approximate equality. Negroes were viewed with strong disdain and two tribal families of part-Negro ancestry often were the object of pointed remarks.

Among themselves, Klamath also sometimes reflected the biases 648*
of the major society. Younger men have been heard to express 657*
a preference for a wife of lighter pigmentation. The epithet, "You 829
big, black Indian!" was occasionally hurled between angry children; and one woman who reported this recalled how shocked she was, in her early teens, when she realized that it was true, that she was indeed an Indian. Against the valuation on light color there is, however, another view. Those of darker hue not infrequently voice their pride in this token of racial purity, and some speak disparagingly of the "half-breeds," alleging that they stem from lewd intercourse with the soldiery of old Fort Klamath. One young leader with a high degree of Indian ancestry, in considering the division of tribal property under termination, ingeniously proposed that each member receive a share proportional to his direct biological Klamath heritage. In the end, pigmentation offers no certain index of ethnic self-image: for

Weasel: Male, Age 29

Background Data

In contrast to all other subjects Weasel's role in the reservation community 159* is a totally negative, destructive one, largely that of a supposedly vicious [156] criminal. He was born and raised on an economically un-productive ranch, which for twenty years or more has been the location of continuous drinking parties. [593] Weasel was raised within a circle of a pack of older brothers, half-brothers, and step brothers, all of whom were bigger, stronger, and more capable than he. [733] His father has been an alcoholic for thirty years and has rarely worked or contributed much to the organization of the family, which as a co-residential [592] household usually included more than a dozen persons. In all, Weasel had 17 [165] full and part siblings, half of whom are now deceased, three directly as a result of drinking, three from acts of violence or car accidents.

Weasel's formal education ceased when he was 15, in the ninth grade, at which [871] time he was arrested on a burglary charge. Since then he has spent six years [674] in reformatories or penal institutions. He was tested while in jail on an assault charge. [697] Shortly thereafter he was found not-guilty, then re-arrested and sentenced on a different assault with a deadly weapon charge to three years in the state penitentiary.

Weasel has repeatedly moved out of the circle of the family group, only to fail "outside" and return to its sheltering arms. [542] For a time Weasel was a professional boxer, but one without much skill or stamina. He never won a fight and his face shows the evidence of the capabilities of his opponents. His membership in this profession did not last long, and Weasel states, rather proudly, that the Boxing Commission expelled him "For conduct unbecoming a professional boxer." Weasel was once married [588] (a common-law marriage, which for Weasel's primary reference groups is well sanctioned) [581] but this lasted just 16 weeks. During this period Weasel stayed sober, the longest time he has spent without a drink since the age of 12. [733] Weasel was consciously trying to reform himself, but now feels that he was a fool to ever try. Additionally, Weasel has repeatedly made a circuit of nearby towns and cities either singly or in [156] the company of a brother or friend. [579] These visitations have more of the character of raids than anything else, and Weasel is usually arrested in one or another place and either charged or shipped out of town. [697]

In addition to being a minor criminal Weasel is frequently also the scapegoat 159* for the aggressions of stronger men than he. 156 He constantly asks for trouble, but has never given any evidence that he can back of his threats with appropriate force. [186] His successful acts of aggression have always been sneak attacks, or attacks on feeble old men or young boys. He seldom attempts to avoid the consequences of these actions, and, indeed, is frequently not able to do so, because of his extreme drunken condition. He seems to obtain some gratification from the minor prestige afforded his performances in these roles, but this gratification is highly personalized and is not recognized as appropriate by others. It may be that he has been attempting to build up his standing and reputation within his own circle by acting out the role of a "dangerous Indian," but it would seem that he has been singularly unsuccessful in this. One aspect of this behavior is his reputed skill with a knife. On two occasions he wanted to obtain vocational training, once as a barber, the other time as a butcher, both times implying that this would be a simple extension of his native talent.

7:Gatschet . E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

772 months brings on the seasons with the new life seen sprouting up everywhere
773 during spring and summer. So the quadrupeds and birds which are
776 the first to appear after the long winter months are considered as the wives
821 of Aíshish, and the flowers of summer vegetation are the beads of his garments. He enjoys more popularity than his father, for the moon's light is mild, not burning nor offensive, nor does it dry up vegetation and make men and beasts drowsy like the rays of the midday sun. Many nations also believe that the changes of weather are partly due to the phases of the moon. Although the "Birth of Aíshish" myth obtained by me represents Aíshish rather as the adopted than as the real son of K'múkamtch, other myths state him to be his son resulting from the union of the sun-disk to the red sky of the morning or evening, symbolized by the woman Le-tka-
[19] káwash. We must recall to mind that the term for *father*, p'tíshap, in Modoc t'shíshap, is really the *nourisher, feeder*, and not the progenitor, for it is a derivative from t'shín *to grow.** Most other mythologies consider the relation of sun to moon as that of man to wife, or of wife to man (cf. Deus Lunus), but here the thing is different. There are no female characters of importance in Klamath mythology, nor does the language distinguish grammatically between the sexes.

821 The difficulty which we experience to distinguish solar and lunar deities
171 from each other in some of the American religions is caused by the
197 circumstance that in many languages of this western hemisphere the term for *sun* and for *moon* is the same. In such languages both orbs are distinguished from each other by being called day-luminary, or night-sun, night-luminary, and with some tribes the belief has been found, that both are actually the same celestial body, one being merely the image or shadow of the other. In the Maskoki languages hási answers for both, but the moon is commonly called ní'li hási or "night sun." In the Tonica language táχtchiksh, abbrev. táχtchi stands for sun, moon, and star, but the moon is usually named lá-u táχtchi "night luminary," the stars táχtchi tipulá, while the sun is either áχshukun táχtchi, "day luminary" or simply táχtchi. Of the Tinné languages many have tsā, sā, of the Algonkin languages kísis or parallel forms for both celestial bodies, separate distinctions being

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* Cf. the Grammar, in Appendix VI, p. 710.

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726

Sá-adas	tsí's	Moatuásas	tsí's	ûdúyua,	Sastiásh	tsis	Walamskí'sh	tsis
The Snakes	too,	the Pit Rivers	too	(they) whipped	the Shastis	too,	the Rogue Rivers	too,

Mókeash	tsi's	ûdúyua	Ä'-ukskni.	Wäitängí'sham	tsí's	tí'tatna	tĕméska
the Kalapuyas	too	whipped	the Lake tribe.	From the Warm Spring Indians	also	at various times	took away

wáts	É-ushkni.
horses	the Lake men.

NOTES.

[124] [175] 16. Dave Hill took part himself in one of these skirmishes. His historical accounts are all given in the conversational style, which almost throughout substitutes the simple *s* for *sh*. I have not been able to determine the exact dates of these Rogue River raids; but they must have occurred before the end of 1855, when the Oregon war broke out, for after its termination most of the Rogue River Indians were removed from their old homes to the coast reservations of Northwestern Oregon. The raids occurred in the early youth of Dave Hill, who was born about 1840; so they may be placed between the years 1848 and 1855.

173 *539 726 19 16, 2. tínatoks forms antithesis to tína of the preceding clause. The literal meaning of both is: "one time ..... the other time."

16, 3. Wálamsi. The suffix -i, -í, is the adverbial particle hí, and forms a *locative case*, mainly found in local and topographical terms, as in Yámsi, Kakágosi, Ktaíwashi; also in a few generic nouns designating localities, encampments, mountains, etc.

16, 5. shûshû'dshapĕlish. The suffixed -sh is the pronoun sha, *they*, and in this suffixed form also appears as -tch, -s. This verb stands in the distributive form; shúdshapĕli, to rebuild a fire, being the absolute form.

16, 7. nánχatch, for nánχa tchish, "others also".

16, 10. yákanuapkuk, verbal causative of the future of yákna. The forms yä'kna, yä'ka, yékna, yéka, are preferable to yákna, yáka.

[727] 16, 11. sá-atsa. It is a common custom among western, and some eastern, wild tribes to force their captives to dance in honor of the victory gained over their own tribe. This is done especially during the scalp-dances.

16, 14. Titná lû'ka, etc. Here begins the account of a raid made by the Rogue River Indians upon the Klamath Lake settlements. It may have occurred one year after the raid previously narrated.

16, 15. sapíya, etc. After escaping, he informed his own countrymen of all the local conditions of the Klamath Lake people and their country, and used all his topographical knowledge in guiding their warriors to the attack.

17, 1 and 2. Tsúi nĕ'lka. Indians and uncivilized races in all portions of the world begin their raids upon the enemy before dawn, or at the earliest appearance of daylight.

17, 9. gäkán and geknánapka, inflectional metathesis for gäkná and gekánnapka.

17, 14. huṣhtchŏ'ktat for hushtchŏ'kat ät, ät (*ye*) being repeated twice.

17, 16. tsókapka tcha is a contraction from tsokápkash tchí'sh a.

17, 17. Tchíssa, for tchí sha: thus they.

17, 20. sellólok: synizesis of the longer form shéllualuk, shellualúga: through fighting.

17, 21. yuyálks=sitk, abbreviated from yuyálkish=shítko, looking like persons mourning over their lost companions, or made sorrowful by bondage to Indians of a foreign tribe.

3. Little Porcupine and Coyote

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

#539 (1) ʔat ni dmoye·gwapk. (2) če·li·k mat he·t geega gaḱo·s goga. diḱa·. (3) čoy ʔamnali·nalla, ʔamnali·nalla. (4) čoy yoho· lagi· gistq́apsa. (5) čoy naʔas, "naʔas, "dwa· lis ʔi waq gi? (6) dwa· ʔi q̇ač swaqča?" (7) čoy honk naʔas, "geegok ʔan gaḱo·s swaqča. (8) saḿa·Wawli ʔan do·ksla gaḱo·s, ḿa·sipks sle·čok—gew sʔa·Maks."

(9) čoy honk naʔas, "gida hay ʔis kčiLapgi, qe·mat!" (10) "ʔa···, q̇ay." či honk, "snińo·wwapk hay ʔina." (11) "q̇ay dak! gida hay ʔis togitdat čaĺamagi!" (12) čoy honk naʔas, "q̇ay. snińo·wwapk hay ʔina." (13) čoy honk naʔas, "qbellat hay ʔis ẃinta, čoy nis ni spiḱo·wapk." (14) čoy honk naʔas, "q̇ay. ḿoq̇aLiwapk ʔan." (15) čoy honk naʔas gi, "ya···, gida hay ʔis ẃinta, ni·sdat!" (16) "q̇ay. sgičkčank, hay ʔina woĺo·wwapk." (17) "ya···, tabi·tant hay ʔis kčiLi·!" (18) "ʔi·, ʔi·, ʔi·, ʔi·!" (19) "homas če· hay ni gaḱo·t." (20) čoy honk ʔat kčiLi·, tabi·tant.

(21) čoy honk ʔat gaḱo·s banḱwa honk won—yoho·ĺst. (22) čoy honk naʔas, "q̇ay ʔan dič hoslta." (23) čoy na·nok honk ṗan, honk balla. (24) čoy leĺamẏe·qs. (25) na·nok honk ṗan. (26) čoy honk ʔat gaba·tis če·, sdaynas honk sĺogi·. (27) čoy honk welga ʔat. (28) čoy honk ʔat kčiqamblyank naʔas gi, "waq hay bas nis giwk? (29) sgičkčank woĺo·wasamni. (30) čoy ḱst dye·mipks, detdye·ḿa ʔa na·t. (31) mo··· ʔa na·t detdye·ḿa. (32) čoy honk ʔat hoḿas giwk saḿa·Wawli ge·ks siwks. (33) čoy ma·mo nis ge· ksaḱwa gida."

(34) čoy naʔas, gallalli·no·tank honk naʔas, "le ča·nink dwantga doLi·s woli·na! (35) le ča·nink dwantga yoho· lagi· neaga!"[11] (36) čoy honk

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[19] [11] /le ča·nink dwantga doLi·s woli·na/ and /le ča·nink dwantga· lagi· neaga/ are mythic utterances and are only partially translatable in terms of the present corpus. /le ča·nink/, translated by Mrs. Ohles as "I wish . . .," may be the negative particle (le) and some form of (ča·ń) "to not know how to do." /dwantga/ "with what?, with something" is clear. /doLi·s/ may be analysed as ‖dʸoLys‖. (dʸ) 45-v "to act upon a single erect object, stick up"; (oLy) 10sv "into, inside"; (s) 34sv "noun ending": "erect object sticking up in." /woli·na/ contains (w) 45-v "to act with a long object" and (oli·na) 10sv "off the side, edge." Mrs. Ohles stated that this item seemed to mean "whittle," but she was not certain. The remaining forms (/yoho·/, /lagi·/, and /neaga/) are clear. Both utterances are "sung" in a high, faint, far-away tone, trailing away at the end into voicelessness. They are delivered in an even, rhythmical metre, stressed vowels being abnormally lengthened: /le čá·nink dwántga doLí·s wolí·ná/ and /le čá·nink dwántga yohó· lagí· néagá/.

#539

(91) čoy honk goni· na·ĺ, na?as ?o·ĺs honk ho·t—čaƙa·ẏank he·ma. (92) ho·t hok dola gi, sqelaṁčas. (93) čoy honk na?as, "?o···ĺ, ?o···ĺ," ?o·ĺs či honk gi.[36] (94) čoy honk hok sa dinčipgatk na?as, "?a·di· ?at gena·, nen lis qyosa he·ma," či honk. (95) ?o·ĺs honk he·ma na?as—ma·mas hok čaƙa·ẏank gida he·ma. (96) čoy sa honk ?at glewi·, hoṁas gist.

(97) čoy honk ?at lembli hok sqelaṁč, ?at do· honk ?at, ?at honk yiwgokbli honk čanga·ẏa·ks. (98) "hont ?ams ni nen s?abi·ya," či honk. (99) "?at ẏa ?i s?aywakta?" na?as honk wola·.

(100) čoy honk—ƙečča nen q̓ay dič—gitgo hok lobi· da·ts čis."[37] (101) ?i·—q̓ay, wenni ?a nen s?aba·. (102) hadakt hok le·w či·ya, honk ni s?abo·la ?ona·. (103) čoy da·ts ?oč gin hi·t hak git gi—?oč gin ?ońče·?an giwapk.

(104) čoy honk ?at yiwgokblyo·lank na?as, "geno·twapk na·t sas," na?as honk, "geno·twapk na·t sas! (105) do· hadaktdaĺ, gi·wasdaĺ." (106) ?at honk ṁolẃa sqelaṁč, s?awi·gank honk ?at. (107) čoy honk ?at do·—honkt honk do· ?at gotgyank gitgo gi—le·was ?at honk siwga, genank sa. (108) čoy honk gitgo gi, q̓ay honk s?aywakta kakni ho·t sa kat dola honks. (109) čoy honk siwgank, ?at hoṁas peĺe·ƙa na·nok čole·ks. (110) peĺe·ƙa honk le·was čole·ks honk na·nok. (111) čoy hoṁas gyank, noníotgi, hi·t Wali·sdat gyank.

(112) čoy honk na?as, "ge· sqeĺam bosakĺas! (113) ge· sqeĺam čo·ks! (114) ge· sqeĺam sdaynas!" na?as honk. (115) ?at wbetgi. (116) čoy honk sqačtq̓akdamnank hok sa, na·nok woĺa·. (116) ?at hok ba···ltgi hok. (117) qaq̓o· bil honk dankt hok woĺa·, hokt le·w kat hok či·ya, gi·was. (118) čoy honk ho·t tabi·ge·n na?as gi, "ge· sqeĺam sdaynas!" či honk, "ge· sqeĺam sdaynas!" či honk. (119) noĺo·ča honk na?as, "ge· sqeĺam sdaynas!" (120) čoy honk ?at gitgo gi—?at na·nok hoṁas gist. (121) blay sa—honk domi· hok hompči či·ya. (122) čoy sa q̓ay q̓aY?an, dada·t sa noĺo·tgi. (123) čoy honk kani sṅoga·, ge·tantkni·, wage·n gida·tantkni·—honkt, kant honk wbetgi.

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[19] [36] The sequence /?o···ĺ, ?o···ĺ/ represents Dove's cry and forms the onomatopoetic basis for this bird's name. This utterance was given in a faint, high, far-away voice. The faintness of Dove's cry made Sqeĺaṁč's pursuers believe that he had outdistanced them, although he was really close by.

[124] [37] At this point Mr. David recalled a portion of the story which he had omitted. He explained that it should have been inserted somewhere near Sentence 83 of the present text. Sentences 107 through 111 are more or less a résumé of the action, resulting in the killing of Le·w. Sentences 104 through 106 were improvised material giving continuity to the story in spite of the error. Sentences 112 through 127 form the main part of the omitted section.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

K 721 648

The topography directs Shasta attacks against southern settlements. Coming by the open country along the Klamath river, they attack iwau′wönx at Klamath Falls, sometimes swimming the river there. Or they cross by the little island to the south to surprise the settlement on the east bank. Many years ago a large body of Ya′mökkni, northerners, descended on the Klamath on Sycan marsh in the northeastern corner of their territory. These may have been marauding bands of Shoshoni and Bannock, fought by the soldiery of Fort Klamath in the summer of 1864.[43] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of Indians coming south about 1876 or earlier by way of the Warm Springs country from the Snake river range east of Lewiston, Idaho. K [174]

NP K [191]

Northern Paiute scouts use various calls in order to keep contact with one another, imitating the crow by day, coyote in the evening, and owls at night; unlike Klamath scouts. When these are heard, women and children take to canoes, staying on the water until morning. The screech owl is thought to call, kökxdĕ′l sḳiu′ki′u, who sent me? A thrush (sḳo′′lĕ) names who is coming, wī′mpis xge′pkwa, they are coming.

K 721 648 [727]

Klamath hunting in the Cascades might meet Upland Takelma from across the range. On one occasion (perhaps about 1850) a party of five or six was wiped out with the exception of a boy who made his way at night, arriving footsore at Klamath marsh. Those who fetched the bodies for cremation found that the Takelma had taken scalps, hands, and feet as trophies. Two of those killed were brothers to the maternal grandfather of my informant, Coley. A wife of this grandfather was an Upland Takelma woman, perhaps a slave, who was a sister to the Upland Takelma chief Töḳtö′ḳli ′red). They killed her in revenge. She had been living among them at the marsh for years but had no children. The reciprocal raid can be reconstructed from Gatschet's information[44] and my own. The expedition was undertaken at the call of Lxle′ks, the most prominent ă′ukckni chief and a distant relative of Coley's grandfather. Men of all the tribelets took part. Crossing the mountains on foot, they found the Takelma encamped in Molala territory at the head of Rogue river. They attacked as the Takelma rose at dawn, scalping many and carrying off women and children. Among those killed was Töḳtö′ḳli, whose hands and heart they took. After the man was shot, Lxle′ks lanced him through the throat. Lxle′ks invited all the Klamath to a huge scalp dance at Klamath marsh. During the dances a wife of Coley's grandfather danced about with the heart in her teeth. The captives were dragged by their arms and forced to dance close to the fire. K [727]

K 726 535

A preparatory performance, called nī′ḳĕba, is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance,

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[43] Gatschet, 1:lxii.

[44] *Op. cit.*, 1:16.

411 726 the shaft is withdrawn. The tips are not poisoned.[48] However they believe that those made of obsidian obtained on a mountain west of Klamath lake are poisonous. A tale has it that an Upland Takelma [539] shot a presumably mythical man, called Teewis hu'lūms (alighting flicker), there. Crow laughed and he turned into the pillar of rock still standing. This is presumably the widely known tale of the shattered rock-monster. 701 A war leader, a rich man, carries several quivers; one under each arm and a third across his back. 411 The short stabbing lance is stone headed; the club simply a straight stick or one bearing 714 a knot for a head. Armor is the familiar long skin tunic and wooden slat armor of waistcoat shape. The round hand shield is used, but not the curtain shield, i.e., a skin hung before the body. Sock-like skin gloves sometimes protect the forearms.

726 It is planned to arrive in enemy territory at the end of the day. Several good runners are sent forward as scouts (gau'ulū'ḳdja) to [191] look for smoke from enemy fires. Scouts do not use animal cries like those of the Northern Paiute. [171] The camps are surprised at dawn, for, in addition to the confusion, there is the advantage of a long day in which to make good an escape. Yet the fight may last several days, I was told, but it is more likely that the raiders withdraw at once unless beset by a rallied foe. One thing sets off the intensity of this conflict from that of the Arizona Havasupai as I found it; there never occurs here the gesture of bravado of drawing off for refreshment before [554] returning to the attack. Yet there is something formal about these fights too; the leaders make a point of engaging with men of like rank in the forefront of battle, although they do not disdain lesser men. Warriors do not pat the mouth as they charge (go'lgi); this is done 727 only in the scalp dance. The foray usually ends with the fleeing of the ablebodied among the enemy, the killing of the infirm, and the capture of women, children, and such property as beads and quivers.

[114] These are kept by their captors; perhaps some division of the spoil is made. Disputes are inevitable: Gatschet's informant describes how he wantonly shot down a girl whom he claimed as his due rather than let another have her.[49] Pat Kane told me that all the booty is carried to the principal chief who asks for an accounting of the dead and slaves. The leader enumerates how each man took slaves or scalps and how the opposing chiefs were killed. The trophies of these chiefs are exhibited. I doubt his statement, unless he had in mind the prestige

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[48] Gatschet's informant credits the Modoc with poisoned arrows (*op. cit.*, 1:90).

[49] *Op. cit.*, 1:23.

648 fishing on Lost river near Olene. A shallow bowl-shaped twined
[439] basket, called ķ!we'lu, is obtained from the Modoc, who in turn trade it from Pit river. There is no direct trade with the latter people.

231 Horses were first acquired in any number about 1840. They had
177 been previously acquainted with them in the hands of whites who crossed their country about this time; dates are uncertain. Ogden in 1826 remarked on a single horse seen as though it was a rarity
231 among them.[66] The first sources were Warm Springs and perhaps
177 some group immediately east of that place. These were obtained by chiefs; others were too poor in slaves to buy them. The name given
437 the new animal follows the common habit, wa'tcag from watc, dog. Saddles (pā'olās) were first made of antelope hide. Here, as in the Plains, horses served as a stimulator of contacts, especially with the Columbia river peoples. As I have remarked, their introduction seems responsible for the rapid increase in wealth, the flow of northern ideas concerning social stratification, importance of wealth and of slave-holding, Plains costume, and those predatory habits which furnished the withal to maintain the new status.

237 Buffalo (yo'ho) skins are obtained at second hand; the Klamath know that their origin is east of the Umatilla, that is, in Idaho.
177 Buffalo never ranged into this country, although they reached the
437 Harney Lake district. But very few skins ever make their way into
527 Klamath hands; only men with many slaves can afford them. They are wanted to cover a gambler's hands in the stick game, an opportunity for ostentation.

177 Parfleches (sķō'psōli, folded up) are traded from Warm Springs
437 people and Sahaptins beyond them on the Columbia. They are not made by Klamath.
415

* 171 Incidentally, many older people have fluent command of Chinook jargon. They, or somewhat doubtfully the Modoc, are the southernmost people with whom this trade jargon is current. Kroeber remarks
437 on the fragments in use by Yuki and Shasta.[67] Naturally enough, it
● 191 served a purpose with the Columbia river peoples alone and was of but small value with the whites coming from California.

556 It is interesting to know what constituted wealth among the Klamath, but with the old life now gone it is difficult to get direct evidence. However, certain things alone were spoken of when describing

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[66] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

[67] Handbook, 308, 319.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

THREE

[P.45]

The Klamath Agency

THE TREATY BROUGHT TOGETHER TWO PEOPLES, INDIAN AND WHITE, 648* in a program of directed change and marked a termination of tribal autonomy. From records still available, it seems improbable that the treaty commissioners made any attempt to place before the Indians the weighted advantages and disadvantages of the step being urged upon them.[1] They had been directed to secure a treaty and they seem to have argued well its attractive features. Within the Indian councils, the individuals best [623] qualified to speak upon the matter were those who had been attracted to white ways and thus had become most conversant with them. The discussions, carried on through the medium of [191] • Chinook jargon, contained much that was not included in the written treaty, but in the Indian view they were equally binding.

When the Indians passed under the governance of an Agent, 648* they gradually found that their commitments brought unanticipated 657* consequences. The new garment they had donned was another man's suit, not cut to their proportions, and if it was loose in some places, it pinched unexpectedly in others. The system of roles they were asked to assume was in many ways incommensurate with that they had known. They found themselves subjected to constrains that often seemed harsh and uncomprising and that were circumscribed by obscure administrative rulings which seemed to have little bearing upon their advancement.

Although there was some comfort in the knowledge that all were taking the step together, the new life yielded rewards to a somewhat different array of qualities and skills than had the old; and some persons surged forward while others lagged or held back. The relatively homogeneous society of native times, already somewhat diversified in the days of early contact, now

An apprenticeship system had earlier been set up, with an Indian assigned to each artisan as assistant and understudy. Nickerson noted in 1882 that while "[the apprentices] are doing as well as uneducated Indians can be expected to do, not one of them . . . has had any school training, and but one can write his name."[17] Presently schoolboys began to take over some of these positions. 648* 657* 872

Many factors bore upon the effectiveness of the teaching. Elderly individuals today can recall the first bewildered days at school—sometimes relieved by the kindness of such teachers as one nicknamed by the children "Hummingbird"—but at best it was a difficult experience. "Nine tenths of them," wrote Emery of the newcomers, "know nothing of [English]. At first, when called to recite, they will dart under the seats, and have to be coaxed and helped from their hiding places by the hand of the teacher."[18] Not always was such tenderness displayed. Although one man, now deceased, recalled a generally pleasant experience and the kindnesses of matrons and teachers,[19] a contemporary bitterly recollected: 648* 657* 872 876

> In school they didn't allow us to talk in Klamath. We were punished if they caught us talking in Klamath. They would make us hold up a stick with our hands high. Sometimes they would make an older boy hold a fence rail on his back and walk around a tree stump. Sometimes one whole hour at a time. I never had to do that. Sometimes I would see the teacher or principal whip a boy with a good-sized willow. Sometimes they would make the boy take off his shirt and then the boy would never get over it. I felt that sometimes we boys should get together and give the teacher a whipping to see how he liked it. In the old Klamath days, the parents would switch the child on the legs or sometimes on his butt, but never that way—hard like that. . . . [191] •
>
> At school I had it pretty tough. I was cold and hungry. When we made noise at table, we had to be punished without any food. I had to take food from the table. Fish at night. The children had to steal apples.

Detailed as meatcutter, he recalls that the choicest cuts went to employees, the necks and ribs to the children. And he concludes, "I learned how to steal at school to keep from going hungry."[20]

There were games and ice skating, and the brass band. For the adolescents there were illicit sexual adventures. Some children 648* 657* 872 [857] [883]

another figure, known only as "The One Below," to represent the 648*
Devil. This figure appears in a Klamath version of the Garden 657*
of Eden recorded by Gatschet[29]—a tale no longer recalled today. 776
The identification of Gmukamps with God is strengthened in 177
Indian eyes by his mythical foster-parentage of the hero, Aisis. 178
As one Modoc, a fundamentalist preacher, has put it:

> you know, Gmukamps and Aisis—that's nothing but God and Jesus. The Indians knew the story of the Bible, but they were ignorant in those days. They thought that the lakes they performed their miracles around were the Klamath lakes; they didn't know it was really the Sea of Galilee.[30]

Looking back over the entire field of change from the last 657*
decades of the nineteenth century, the observer could discern 648*
major acculturative trends. The Klamath who entered upon the 177
treaty had already undergone pervasive, though largely undirected 178
modification. Thereafter, they were subjected to a consistent policy of change which, despite defects in execution, outside interference, and an intervening war, was maintained for well over a generation. Within this frame, a reservation culture had taken shape, embodying a synthesis of white and Indian lifeways. By the middle of the next century, only a handful of tribesmen would be left who could report from direct knowledge events of pretreaty days; the remaining elders would be products of the synthesis.

Measured by the indexes which the Bureau employed to
register progress, the advance was evident. When that formula- [464]
tive period was ended, a large number of the Klamath were [511]
productively engaged in work of "civilized" character, and their
material wants had come to approximate those of their white
neighbors. Many were conversant, and a few literate, in English, [191]
and their numbers were increasing steadily. The extended family, [212]
at least among the progressive, had made way for the more [596]
mobile and assimilable conjugal family. In the schools, a new [594]
generation was being trained to embrace as natural and desirable [871]
a way of life which the Church, in turn, commended as good to
old and young alike. Expectations seemed to lie within the grasp
of those willing to work to achieve them.

Beneath the surface upon which these changes could be traced, [571]
however, lay cleavages and disconformities as yet unfathomed

grandchildren, she was a familiar figure in boomtown Chiloquin. 648*
Cured by the Shakers, she almost joined the church, then changed 657*
her mind. From her bed, she discussed a life-way that was an 159
indissoluble blend of diverse elements integrated by their personal 178
import. When she narrated or discussed a Klamath myth, 177
her assimilation of a Christian ethic was evident in the delicate 156
manner in which she skirted obscene passages. In admonishing
her great-grandson, she spoke in the traditional manner, but in
English, the only tongue they shared. The English she spoke, like [191]
that of her boarding-school contemporaries, was likewise syncretic;
for it bore the impress of Klamath sound patterns and grammatical
categorization.

Individuals such as she, often happy to escape from the gray 648*
reality of age into nostalgic memory, initially struck the observer 657*
as conservative when contrasted with the young people: the boys 156
in Levis, cowboy boots, and leather jackets, the girls in jeans and 177
plaid shirts, who spoke little or no Klamath, and who loitered 178
in the cafes of Chiloquin hanging on the heavy beat of the jukebox.
Yet at most, such folk were old-fashioned, and still retained
the tastes and inclinations of long habit. Their commitment was
selective. Those who still liked to dig the roots known as ipos did
so, not with an aboriginal digging stick, but with the more
durable iron counterpart made years ago by the Agency blacksmith;
and they traveled to and from the grounds, not on horseback,
but in the most modern of automobiles.

If there were tribal members who wanted to have as little as possible to do with whites, they did not thereupon stop speaking English or give up their houses, cars, and radios to accomplish this. They continued to purchase food and other necessary items from white merchants. Indeed, their hostility might find short shrift from another Klamath who commanded more knowledge of the traditional lore and still recounted the old myths to her grandchildren, yet possessed many friends among the whites.

Clearly, there was at Klamath in the latter days of the reservation 648*
no clearly distinguishable category of the "native-oriented," 657*
in the sense of a preferential adherence to the institutions of 177
native life. Deliberate retentions rather served as the diacriticals 178
marking an ethnic nationality.[20] The use of the Klamath language [191]
to signify an Indian estate was one marker. It might be used on

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 formal occasions in the General Council in a demonstration of
*657 decorative oratory; and there it might also serve a speaker to
177 shut out a heckler who knew only English. In such a session, a
178 member in the audience, although fluent in English, might de-
• 191 mand the services of an interpreter for the purpose of underscoring his Indian status. Similar functions were served when Klamath was spoken in the presence of whites. The ability to shift from one language to another, or from one behavioral modality to another, was akin to the behavior which Polgar has described in the "biculturation" of Fox children.[21]

*648 In the latter days of the reservation, there were few occasions
*657 when tribal members came together for traditional events, and
177 the sessions of the General Council constituted the main remain-
178 ing tribal gathering. Such individuals as our old friend mentioned
623 above had their closest and most continuous relations with chil-
619 dren and grandchildren, who by no means shared their outlook.
571 On the occasional visits of their aged peers, these elders exchanged memories and expressed common concerns which were as much the product of the parallel roles they then performed in their respective families as of the time in which they had grown up.

*648 Such accommodation as there has been to American culture has
*657 not only changed through time with alterations in the state of
177 Klamath and American cultures; but at any single time, Klamath
178 have drawn diversely from what was available. Thus, the small
184 number of families in Chiloquin that have attained a measure of social acceptance by whites of middle or high status have done so by manifesting the appropriate life style. In so doing, unless they are able deftly to shift role-orientations, being now Klamath, now white, they have had to sacrifice close relations with their kin. "Some of my family I never see any more," remarked one such woman, "and I don't want to see them." They often forbade their children to play with undesirable tribal children. Insistence upon household neatness, fastidious emphasis upon personal cleanliness, punctuality, and adherence to self-standards usually accompanied these attitudes.

Inframodal behavior among Klamath in turn has by no means been random in form, but has approximated already established patterns in the dominant culture; often combining them in ways

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are 621
exclusively White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office [575]
outside the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [794]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are [651]
frequently tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously,
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In [674]
Chiloquin during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a 648
reconstituted "Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be 657
administered by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal
supervision has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. 619
Attendance at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

Sparrow: Male, Age 63

Background Data

*159
156 Sparrow's case is cited because of his position on the lowest rung of the local
status hierarchy. He is known as a happy-go-lucky, worthless old drunk and is
generally considered as "lacking a few of his marbles." However, Sparrow is
872 seldom publicly disparaged, for local citizens simply pay little attention to
464 him. He has a sixth grade education, gained at the Agency school. He has
apparently never worked consistently at any job, and most of his work experience
434 has been as a farm or ranch laborer. He is and has for years been totally dependent upon per capita income and the income from ranch lands owned by his mother,
with whom he lives. Their affairs are managed by a local businessman who some
years ago was appointed their guardian. He is the second eldest of four siblings.
After his father's death forty years ago, his mother remarried and bore two other
586 children. He was married once when a young man, and after four years divorced
his wife because of "her shiftless ways." He is a semi-invalid, the result of
164 an accident years ago when a drunken brother drove over him with a truck, crushing
191 his pelvis. He speaks fluent Klamath, the result of constant association with
his aged mother who represents a direct link with the aboriginal Klamath past,
as well as adequate English, learned in school.

733 Much of Sparrow's time is spent in jail for drunkenness, in the local tavern,
with one of the drinking cliques, or passed out in a doorway. When he is not
totally drunk he spends much of his time with his mother, for whom he cares in
his fashion. Occasionally he goes fishing in a nearby river. For at least
twenty five years, this has been the pattern of his activities.

*159 Sparrow has many skills, among the most striking of which is the ability to
"fly from here to the Agency without once touching the ground." There are
154 several dimensions to this delusion, one of which is an association, in Sparrow's
thinking, with the acquisition of power. When a young man he dreamed of acquiring the power to "rise up off the ground, like Jesus Christ." While such
a belief may have aboriginal correlates, there are no Klamath today who would
accept it as valid. Sparrow keeps this secret to himself, and relates it only
to strangers and transients from whom he intends to borrow money. His other
skills include the following: the ability to keep house and cook, harness making,
leather working, painting, canning food (the notion involves laying in stores
for the winter), tanning buckskin, wood carving, carpentry, poetry composition
(in Klamath), arrowhead making, making traditional basketry, stock raising,
restaurant management, and finally, the ability to bewitch rich old white ladies,
who are captivated by him and who drive him about in their white Cadillacs. The
latter may be associated with a recurrent dream of meeting with a white buffalo,
also a symbol of power, but it is difficult to say, for there were never any
buffalo near the Klamath, and it is more likely that he has got this idea from
reading western stories. Needless to say, most of these skills are quite delusional also. There is no evidence for any of them being more than this. Relating one or more of these is Sparrow's single style of interacting with others,
for in reaction to a question or another's anecdote he will sift about in his
memory until he comes up with one of his capacities which seems relevant. Very
frequently, the writer could not see where or how they were appropriate, but for
Sparrow there seemed to be some connection. He relates these matter of factly,
with only the most slight suggestion that they were self-enhancing, and no indication that he meant to justify himself, and will then coyly watch his listener
to see if he is properly impressed. This behavior tends to merge with Sparrow's

Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively [159*]
sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of [156]
the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the [464]
last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She
is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except [874]
for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her hus-
bands in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of
nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals
and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played
with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making
and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early
twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for
everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were [871]
sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from
home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, [857]
and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an
extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her [593]
parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking"
activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area,
with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruc- [368]
tion from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother.
Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were [191]
disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in
boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote
her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother
was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be
due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before [864]
she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was
at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she [626]
is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. [156]
She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of
their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband,
who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and [586]
divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five
other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never [156]
more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occa-
sionally one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts [588]
to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages,
and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house
(it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are tech-
nically illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this [59*]
sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her. [56]

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone,
particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first
advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request [124]
testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was
wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 67

*159
Background Data

156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, particularly
in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
[595] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma
William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
[733] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
[83] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by
three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
[587] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She
[871] completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and
she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri,
[178] California, and Mexico.

[657] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father
for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation
[464] and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous
bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal
penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her
sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five,
and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their
violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how
such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
[577] Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams
is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
[177] a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values,
and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of
either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and
has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[191] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her
English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that children
[871] today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I
can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
[593] no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her
children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this respect,
[603] Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
[867] spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, behaviors
in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of
place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations
with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at
riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them
coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
[657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was
carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
[871] and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
[177] seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who
promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were rejected
from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate interchanges
and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses
156

11✓ stage before the publication of the present volume. Even the author experienced considerable difficulties before he could pass beyond that limit. [191] When he reached the reservation agency he found not over three or four individuals who were able to speak a tolerable English, and the knowledge of this tongue is absolutely necessary to any one who aspires to the position of an interpreter of his own language in those parts. The Indians were nearly all pure bloods, and most of them knew scarcely more than a dozen English terms. Many could converse in Chinook jargon, but the majority, especially the females, were not acquainted even with this precarious means of intercourse. Indeed, these people must be slow in acquiring an Aryan language like English, for it presents so many character- [193] istics entirely opposite to those of Klamath. English is not provided with reduplication, prefixes of form, nor with the multiple suffixes of Klamath; it differs from it also by its more complex syntactic structure, its imperfect nominal inflection, by its distinctive form for the nominal plural, the gradation of the adjective and adverb effected by suffixation, its personal inflection of the verb, and a long array of irregular and auxiliary verbs.

12✓ Thus it will be easily perceived that the obtaining of correct and reliable ethnographic and linguistic information in such a tribe is fraught with many difficulties. Sometimes it is practicable to get the terms for visible objects by making gesture signs or by pointing at the objects, but it just as often misleads; and if the investigator has to do with people who know no other language than their own, he must revise his notes with many of them before he can place any trust in what he has written down from dictation. [191] The Indians and mixed bloods who have made some progress in the acquisition of English pronounce *f* as *p*, *v* as *b*, *r* as *l*—are modeling English after their own language, using *he* for our *he, she, it, they, him, her, them;* all this being hû'k, hû't, hû'nk for them. They do not know how to use our conjunctions, a defect which makes all the tales, myths, and other textual information unintelligible. The only means of obtaining results is to pick out the best people from the crowd and to train them for awhile for the purpose wanted, until they are brought so far as to feel or understand the scope of the investigator. Women will be found more useful than men to inform him about myths, animal stories, the gathering of vegetable food, house-

538 and locutions, repeated from generation to generation, are not always understood
[173] at the present day by the young people, who most attentively listen to
the aged rhapsodists, when they expound these miraculous stories in the lurid
glare of the nocturnal campfire. Nothing in them indicates a migration of
these upland tribes from any part of the country into their present homes,
and hence the Máklaks must have had undisturbed possession of the headwaters
of Klamath River for some centuries prior to the advent of the
white population.

197 The various texts obtained clearly exhibit the character of the language
538 actually spoken and the difference existing between the two dialects,
124 but they do not all possess the same linguistic value. The texts of
Dave Hill and others are worded in the conversational language of the
tribe, which in many particulars differs from the more elaborate and circumstantial
mode of speech which appears in the mythic tales given by
124 Minnie Froben. The "Modoc War" and some of the shorter pieces could be
126 obtained only by putting down the English first and then getting sentence
for sentence in the dialect, whereas the best worded stories and specimens
were written in continuous dictation. All texts obtained were carefully
revised first with the informants, then with other natives, and all the necessary
explanations added at the time.

533 From a purely linguistic view the popular songs or song-lines are the
most valuable contributions. The melodies of some of their number deserve
to be called pretty, according to our musical taste. To the natives all of
them appear harmonious; but when the Western Indian calls some melody
"pretty," guided by his musical principles, he very frequently does so in
opposition to what our ear tells us to call by this predicate.

124 The Klamath Lake dialect was spoken by the majority of the contributors
191 to my linguistic anthology. I obtained these specimens, with the
exclusion of the Modoc texts, in the autumn of 1877, at the Klamath
Reservation, Lake County, Oregon. Though many of these natives speak
the Chinook jargon more fluently than English, I never availed myself, for
obtaining any information whatever, of that imperfect and hybrid medium,
through which the Indians of the Northwest carry on so much of their
intercourse.

795
771 reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors,
178 the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

[182] The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are
allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some
771 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal
795 and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in
184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to
[797] those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on
the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual
[571] or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members
find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies
as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions
to aboriginal concepts.

771 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The
177 Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation
is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals,
184 while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display
or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely.
Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious
questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly
curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes
[755] demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this consideration,
[757] shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally
accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged
with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects
of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

183 The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there.
[773] For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter
are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two,
183 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first
224 deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away,
he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation
today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too,
the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy
that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem
from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is
825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath
[197] but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a harbinger
[763] of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear
it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means
183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter,
the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed
among western tribes.

178 But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past
which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

1: Spier NR10 Klamath NR10

104,
192

[For vocabulary associated with games, see category 524, pp. 76-86; included in curing songs, see category 755, pp. 123-125; used in reference to various named parts of the house, see category 342, p. 201; used for numerals, see category 802, pp. 222-223.]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
587 3975. New husband pays widow's parents-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
3976. New husband asks widow's parents-in-law consent	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	.	+	-	.	-
3977. New husband pays widow's sister-in-law	-	-	-	-		•+	+	+	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-
3978. New husband pays, gives gifts to widow's family	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	-	+
3979. Remarriage of widows rare, if husband good man	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 3980. Divorcee's former husband paid by new husband	-	-	-	•-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3981. Man sells wife to male bidder	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o3982. New husband pays divorcee's parents	-	-	+	+	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o3983. New husband asks divorcee's parents	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intercourse																
833 3984. Bride scratches at 1st intercourse	-	-	+	-	-	-		(+)	-	-	.	.	•+	.	.	.
3985. Natural position lying on side	.		+										•+			
3986. Kissing unknown	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
[152] [192] 3987. Exclamation of endearment for adults, children	+	+	-		+	•+	•+	+	+	+	.	-	+	+	-	-
3988. Virginity tests	.	.	•-				•+	•+	-	.	.	.	-	.	.	.
Promiscuity																
836 3989. Promiscuity any time	•-	-	+	+	-		+	+	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
3990. At dances chiefly	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	.	+	-	-	+	-
3991. Promiscuity denied by informant	•-	-	•-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
3992. Unchaste unmarried girl beaten, shaken, scolded	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
886 3993. Unmarried pregnant girl scolded, beaten		+	+			+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
848 3994. Father of bastard punished	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
3995. Killed by girl's relatives														+	+	-
3996. Obligated to marry girl	•+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
3997. Might marry girl, not obligated	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-
3998. Payment for girl	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transvestites																
Male																
838 3999. Male transvestites affirmed for group	+	•-	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•-	-	-	•-	.	•-
4000. Sweat with women	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4001. Perform women's work	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4002. Wear women's clothes	+	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4003. Live with normal man	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
4004. Special functions at funerals	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
[756] 4005. Some are shamans	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4006. Nursing in war		-	-			-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
4007. Regarded indifferently by community	+	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	-	.	-
4008. Turn berdache at puberty, prepuberty	-		+			(+)		+	+	+	-	.	-	-	.	-
[587] 4009. Turn berdache postpuberty, later in life	+	-	-		+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
4010. Act upon dream	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
Female																
4011. Female transvestites affirmed for group	+	-	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012. Live with women	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012a. Live with man			-					+	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012b. Wear women's clothes	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
[756] 4013. Some are shamans	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-

000 that woman; he acts just like a boss toward her."

3975. WT: Also, in Upper Trinity subarea of Wintu, informant had heard of 1 instance of mother-in-law killing daughter-in-law after husband died. "The mother-in-law didn't want that woman to take another husband, so she killed her with a bone needle [dagger?]. She was sorry after she did it; but she didn't like the woman having another husband who would look just like her son; it would make her [mother-in-law] feel badly."

[587] 3976. In case there is no brother-in-law to ask.

3977. If there is no brother-in-law to receive the payment. AW: Sister-in-law may dispose of widow to more-distant male relative of dead husband also.

3980. SW: A divorce "puts a man and woman clear away from each other"; no payment rendered former husband.

562 587 593 3981. Kl: If man does not like his wife for some reason, he announces, "Anyone who wants my wife can take her, if they give me something. If you people don't want her, I'll kill her." The men discuss it; husband repeats the announcement, sets date when he will kill woman; some man finally takes her for wife, gives the husband something; "that's how they save a woman, sometimes." No one knows what trouble between husband and wife prompts man to do this, and man never tells; he doesn't beat his wife, he just sells her. Only done occasionally; when informant was boy such sales still taking place; informant had seen one couple separated this way. Woman not captive.

000 Intercourse; promiscuity.--

3984. NF: Girl cries, fights husband, so girl's mother sleeps beside girl first night latter sleeps with husband.

3985. NF: Do not allow people to sleep lying on back "like dead people"; lie on side and "put their heart in hiding" so no evil will befall sleepers.

[152] [192] 3987. Purse lips and make sound, "čk, čk," repeatedly, close to baby's face. AW: Rub hands over baby's face or neck while making sound; same done between adults. AE: "Learned to make this sound from animals--badger, raccoon."

3988. SE: No virginity tests, but observe boy's actions around girls. AE: If girl's, boy's legs get "heavy" (tired) during girl's puberty dance, sign he or she is not virgin. Spectators watch to see whether this happens. WT: Can tell whether girl is virgin or not by shape of her abdomen, if firm, smooth, judge she is.

[548] [178] 3989. Kl: Prostitution with payment recent custom only.

3990. WM: Especially at girl's puberty dance.

836 3991. Kl: Said to have been extremely rare; "girls never ran around; pretty hard to get a woman." Girl's parents wanted girl to marry man who could get her lots of fish, so she would eat

[228-A]

137 to produce them. This is true to a certain extent; but as there are so many
278 plants growing there that narcotize the fish, how is it that the country produces no medical plants for the cure of men's diseases? Of the plant shlē'dsh, at least, they prepare a drink as a sort of tea.

136 The fauna of the Klamath uplands appears to be richer in species than
192 the vegetal growth. What first strikes the traveler's attention on the eastern shore of the Upper Lake is the prodigious number of burrows along the sandy road, especially in the timber, varying in size from a few inches to a foot in diameter. They are made by chipmunks of two species, and others are the dens of badgers, or of the blue and the more common brown squirrel. The coyote or prairie-wolf makes burrows also, but this animal has lately become scarce. No game is so frequent as the deer. This is either the black-tail deer, (shuá-i, *Cervus columbianus*), or the white tail deer (múshmush, *Cariacus virginianus macrurus*), or the mule-deer (pak̲ólesh, *Cervus macrotis*). Less frequent is the antelope (tché-u, *Antilocapra americana*), and most other four-legged game must be sought for now upon distant heights or in the deeper cañons, as the elk (vún), the bear in his three varieties (black, cinnamon, and grizzly; witä'm, náka, lû'k̲), the lynx (shlóa), the gray wolf (kä'-utchish), the silver or red fox (wán), the little gray fox (k̲étchk̲atch), the cougar (táslatch), and the mountain sheep (k̲ó-il). Beavers, otters, minks, and woodchucks are trapped by expert Indians on the rivers, ponds, and brooklets of the interior.

The shores of the water-basins are enlivened by innumerable swarms of water-fowls, (mä'mäkli), as ducks, geese, herons, and cranes. Some can be seen day by day swimming about gracefully or fishing at Modoc Point (Nílakshi) and other promontories, while others venture up the river courses and fly over swampy tracts extending far inland. Among the ducks the more common are the mallard (wē'ks), the long-necked kílidshiks; among the geese, the brant (lálak) and the white goose (waíwash). Other water-birds are the white swan (kúsh), the coot or mudhen (túhush), the loon (táplal), the pelican (yámal or kúmal), and the pinguin (kuítsia). Fish-hawks and bald-headed eagles (yaúχal) are circling about in the air to catch the fish which are approaching the water's surface unaware of danger. Marsh-hawks and other raptores infest the marshes and are lurking there

136 for small game, as field-mice, or for sedge-hens and smaller birds. The 192 largest bird of the country, the golden eagle, or Californian condor (p'laíwash), has become scarce. Blackbirds exist in large numbers, and are very destructive to the crops throughout Oregon. Other birds existing in several species are the owl, lark, woodpecker, and the pigeon. Migratory birds, as the humming-birds and mocking-birds, visit the Klamath uplands, especially the Lost River Valley, and stop there till winter.

The species of fish found in the country are the mountain trout, the salmon, and several species of suckers. Of the snake family the more frequent species are the garter-snake (wíshink), the black-snake (wámĕnigsh), and the rattlesnake (k̲é-ish, k̲í'sh). Crickets and grasshoppers are roasted and eaten by the Indians, also the chrysalis of a moth (púlχuantch).

THE ASPECTS OF THE COUNTRY.

> Elle est riante ainsi que l'Italie,
> Terrible ainsi que les rives du Nord.

133 The Klamath plateau presents very different aspects and produces very different impressions, according to the observer's condition and the character of the localities he enters or beholds. Travelers coming over the monotonous rocky or alkaline plains extending between Malheur Lake and the Reservation are gladdened at the sight of rivulets and springs, imparting a fresher verdure to the unproductive soil, and greet with welcome the pineries which they behold at a distance. Feelings of the same kind penetrate the hearts of those who enter the highlands from the Pit River country of California when they come to the well-watered plains of Lost River after crossing the desolate lava formations lying between. The scenery can be called *grand* only there, where the towering ridge of the Cascade Mountains and the shining mirrors of the lakes at their feet confront the visitor, surprised to see in both a reproduction of Alpine landscapes in the extreme West of America.* The alternation of jagged and angular outlines with long level ridges on the horizon suggests, and the peculiar lava color retained by

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* The large pyramidal cone of Mount Pitt is a rather accurate duplicate of the celebrated Niesen Peak in the Bernese Oberland, Switzerland, as seen from its northern and eastern side.

773 As a result of their seclusion, all their geogonic and creation myths are
776 acting around the headwaters of Klamath River and in Lost River Valley, and the first man is said to have been created by their national deity, K'mukámtchiksh, at the base of the lofty Cascade Range, upon the prairie drained by Wood River. I have obtained no myth disclosing any knowledge of the ocean, which is scarcely one hundred and fifty miles distant in an air line from their seats. They have no flood or inundation myths that
192 are not imported from abroad; and what is of special importance here, their terms for *salt* (ā'dak, shō'lt) are *not their own*, but are derived from foreign languages.

173 There is an animal story embodied in the Texts, page 131, forming
773 No. II of the "Spell of the Laughing Raven," containing the sentence: "Hereupon the Klamath Lake people began fighting the Northerners." I believed at first that this contained a historic reminiscence of some intertribal war, but now am rather doubtful about it. The song 192; 1 was supposed by some Indians to be a very old reminiscence, while others referred it to the presence of the Warm Spring scouts in the Modoc war.

I conclude from the foregoing facts that historic traditions do not exist among these mountaineer Indians. If there are any, I was unable to obtain
000 them. The racial qualities of the Modocs, and still more those of the É-ukshikni, indicate a closer resemblance with Oregonians and Columbia River tribes than with Shoshonians and Californians.

B. ARCHÆOLOGIC REMAINS.

211 The Klamath people have not evinced any more propensity for erecting monuments of any kind than they have for perpetuating the memory
346 of their ancestors in song or tradition. In fact, structures the probable
226 age of which exceeds one hundred years are very few. Among these may be particularized the three ceremonial sweat-lodges and perhaps some of the river-barrages, intended to facilitate the catch of fish, if they should turn out to be of artificial and not of natural origin. In the Lost River
172 Valley is a well, claimed by Modocs to be Aishish's gift—probably one of
312 the large natural springs or wélwash which are seen bubbling up in so many places upon the reservation. Stephen Powers reports that near the

193 Wintún dialects, süχ in Yuki, sit, si-it in Mutsun (coast dialects), sa in
197 Santa Barbara, tcháwa in some dialects of Maidu. It is justifiable to regard Kl. shúm as an ancient *possessive case* of the sí, sa *tooth* of Central Californian languages; cf. what is said concerning the suffix -im.

tút *tooth* appears related to tuχt *tooth* of Sayusla, a dialect of Yakwina and also to tit of the Sahaptin dialects; ititi "his tooth" in Walawála.

tchi-, *tsi-* is a radical often used on the Pacific coast referring to water or liquids, their motions, and the acts performed with or within the watery element. While in Klamath it figures as a prefix only, q. v., other tongues make use of it as a radical. Tchí is *water* in Yákwina, in Takílma, and in the Yuchi of the Savannah River; in Zuñi 'tcháwe is *water* ('t alveolar) in Nója tchúdshe. The Sahaptin dialects show it in Warm Spring tchū'sh *water*, atá-tchash *ocean;* in Klikatat tcháwas *water*, atá-tchis *ocean*, tcháwat *to drink;* while in Nez-Percé tchū'sh changes to kúsh. Chinook has 'ltchúkwa *water*, Ch. J. salt-tchuk *ocean*, but the Selish languages employ a radix se-u'l, si-u'l, shá-u instead to designate any liquid.

wá *to exist, live, to be within*, and *to grow* or *generate* is a radix to be traced in many of the Western tongues. In Klamath we refer to wá and its numerous derivatives, as wawápka *to sit* or *be on the ground*, wá-ish *productive*, wá-ishi, wéwanuish, wē'k *arm* and *limb of tree*, lit. "what is growing upon," wē'ka *offspring*, wékala, wásh *hole to live in*, wā'shla (a) *to dig a burrow*, (b) *ground-squirrel*, and many others. In Kwákiutl wāts, wátsa is *dog*, but originally "living being, animal," and is represented in Klamath by wāsh *prairie-wolf*, wátch *horse*, watchága *dog*, lit. "little animal," the idea of "domesticated" or "belonging to man" to be supplied. In Chinook the suffix -uks (for -waks) points to living beings also. The Sahaptin languages show this root in wásh *to be, exist*, in Nez Percé wáχosh *alive*, wátash *place, field, earth*, in Yákima wakχash *living*, and in other terms.

AFFINITIES IN WESTERN LANGUAGES.

192 Many of the Western families exhibit but little or no affinity in their
197 lexicon with the Klamath language, the reason being undoubtedly that they are but little explored. Thus in *Mutsun* a single term only was found to correspond: tcháya *shallow basket* in the dialect of Soledad; *cf.* tchála and

192 tchákéla, by which two kinds of root baskets are specified in Klamath. 197 The Sayúsla tséokwa *leg* answers to tchū'ks, Mod. tchókash *leg* and to shō'ksh, Mod. tchē-ō'ksh *crane*, this bird being called after its long legs. The *Shoshoni* stock, with its extensive array of dialects, spoken in the closest vicinity of the Klamath people, is almost devoid of any resemblances; cf. k̲á-i *not*, and nápal *egg*, compared with nobáve in Payute, nobávh Chemehuevi, nópavh Shoshoni. This probably rests on no real affinity. In the *Noja* language, spoken near Redding, California, putsi *humming-bird* corresponds to Kl. pí'shash, and tcháshina, tcháshi, a small *skunk* species, to Kl. tcháshish. For *Wintún* may be compared Kl. pán *to eat* with ba, bah; k̲álo *sky* (from k̲álk̲ali, round, globiform) with k'áltse *sky*.

From *Selish* saíga' *field* the Kl. saíga, saíka *prairie, field, meadow* was certainly borrowed, and t'táze *grasshopper* of Kalispelm reappears here in ta'htá-ash and in Mod. kamtáta. Kaúkawak *yellow* of *Chinook* is kauká-uli, kevkévli *brown* of Kl.; and ténas *young, recent* reappears in Kl. té-ini *new, young*, te-iniwá-ash *young woman;* cf. ténāse *infant* in Aht dialect of Vancouver Island. The long array of words which Klamath has borrowed from Chinook jargon are enumerated in Grammar, pages 220–222.

Maídu.—An uncommon number of affinities are found to exist between Klamath and the Maídu dialects east of the Sacramento River. Of these terms some are not loan words, but appear to be derived from some common stock.

halá *slope of mountain;* Kl. lála, hlála *to slope downwards.*

kála *hot-water basket;* Maídu, k̲óllo *cup-basket.*

káwe *eel;* Maídu, kowó.

ngúlu, k̲úlu, k̲úlo *female animal;* Maídu dialects: kü'le, kü'lle, kúla, *woman, wife*, and *female animal.* This word also composes the terms *father* and *child*, and hence means "to generate"

pán *to eat:* Maídu, d. pen, pap, pā, pepe *to eat;* pán *to smoke* in Maídu, corresponds to Kl. páka; páni, pan is *tobacco* in Maídu.

pēn, pä'n *again, a second time;* Maídu, pēne *two.*

vúlal, úlal *cottonwood tree;* Maídu, wílili.

From the *Shasti* language Modoc has borrowed more than Klamath Lake, and the terms as far as known are all mentioned in the Dictionary.

192 They are ípō, ipshúna, etchmū'nna, ā'dak, hápush (cf. also hápa *kangaroo*
197 *rat* and *striped squirrel* in Noja) and probably also kála *hot-water basket*, mádna *sunflower*.

Its southeastern or *Pit River* dialect shows a number of terms probably not loaned, but resting upon some indefinite common affinity. Thus édshash *milk, breast, udder* is in Pit River ídshit *female breast* (cf. Ara: útchis *milk*), wán *silver fox*, dim. wánaga, in Pit River kwán *silver fox* and wan- in wanekpúsha *fox;* käíla *earth* is in Pit River kéla, taktákli *red* is taχtáχe, tídshi *good* is túsai, túshi, kō'sh *pine tree* is kashú.

The only families in which a considerable number of terms possibly rests upon a real and not fancied kinship are those of Wayiletpu and Sahaptin.

WAYÍLETPU DIALECTS.

Wayiletpu, of which two dialects only are known or accessible to us, Kayuse and Molale, shows the following affinities:

Kl. gí *to be, to exist*, Molale, gísht *he is*, gíshlai *he will be.* Compare to this in Maídu: bishi *alive* and *dwelling place;* Wintún: bim *to be* (present tense).

Kl. kē, kēk *this;* Kayuse, ka, kē, ke, kai *this, this one.*

Kl. gu, kū, kunē *that;* Kayuse, ku, kâ, kŭ yúwant *that man*, káppik *they.*

Kl. ína, d. yána *downward*, yaína *mountain;* Molale, yángint *elevation.*

Kl. lák *forehead;* Molale, lakunui *face.*

Kl. lā'pi, lāp *two;* Molale, lápka *two*, lápitka *seven;* Kayuse, lipúyi, líplint *two;* líplil *twins.*

Kl. lúkua *to be hot, warm*, lókuash *warm, hot*, and *heat*, lúluks *fire;* Kayuse lokoyai *warm, hot.*

Kl. mukmúkli *cinnamon-complexioned* (originally "downy"), tch'múka *to be dark* (as night); Molale, móka *dark*, mukimuki *dark complexioned;* múkimuk'-waí "black man," *negro.*

Kl. mpáto, páto *cheek*, cf. patpátli; Molale, páktit *cheek.*

Kl. nā'dsh *one;* Kayuse, na *one;* Molale, nánga *one*, composes nápitka *six.*

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

192 Kl. nánuk *all*, nánka *some, a part of;* Kayuse, náng, nanginâ-a *all;*
197 Molale, nángkai *all.*

Kl. nápal *egg;* Kayuse, lúpil, laupen *egg.*

Kl. pán *to eat;* Kayuse, pitánga; Molale, pá-ast to eat.

Kl. páwatch *tongue;* Kayuse, púsh; Molale, apá-us.

Kl. pä'χtgi *to dawn, the dawn;* Molale, pákast *morning.*

Kl. píla *on one's body, on the bare skin;* Kayuse, pí'li *meat;* Molale pí'l *body.*

Kl. shuaí *black-tailed deer;* Molale, suaí *deer* and *white-tailed deer.*

Kl. túmi *many, much;* Molale, tám *many.*

Kl. waíta *to pass a day and night*, or *a day*, waítash *day;* Kayuse, ewé-iu or uwâya, wéya *day*, u-áwish, huéwish ~~*sun;*~~ Molale, wásh *day* and *sun*, wásam *summer-time.*

Kl. wáko *white pine;* Molale, wákant, wákint, wákunt *log.*

Kl. wēk *limb of tree;* Kayuse, pasiwä'ku *limb of tree.*

Kl. wekétash *green frog;* Molale, wákatinsh *frog.*

In the morphologic part we also detect a number of close analogies between the two families:

hash-, hish-, is a prefix forming a sort of causative verbs by anathesis in Molale, like h-sh of Klamath; e. g., íshi *he said*, hisháshi *he replied.*

-gála, -kála, a Molale case-suffix *to, toward*, corresponds to -tála *toward* of Klamath.

-im, -am forms the possessive case in Wayfleptu; am in Klamath.

p- is prefix in terms of relationship in both families, and -p also occurs as suffix in these and other terms; cf. Sahaptin.

Distributive forms are made by syllabic reduplication in Kayuse exactly in the same manner as in Klamath: yámua *great*, d. yiyímu; laháyis *old*, d. lalháyis; luástu *bad*, d. laluástu; suáyu *good*, d. sasuáyu.

SAHAPTIN DIALECTS.

The *Sahaptin* dialects coincide with Klamath just as strikingly in some of the words and grammatic forms as do those of Wayíletpu, and it is singular that in a number of these *all three* mutually agree, as in lúkua, mukmúkli, and two numerals.

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Kl. ka-uká-uli, kevkévli, ke-uké-uli *brown;* Nez-Percé, ka-uχká-uχ *drab, light yellow, dark cream.*

Kl ke, kēk *this;* Nez-Percé, ki, pl. kima *this;* adv. kina *here,* kimtam *near.*

Kl. kitchkáni *little,* adv. kítcha, kétcha; kuskus, Nez Percé, *small, little;* ikkes, Yákima; kískis, Warm Spring.

Kl. ktá-i *rock, stone;* ktä't *hard,* Yakima.

Kl. lā'pi, lāp *two;* lápit, lépīt *two,* Nez Percé; napit, Walawála; nä'pt, Warm Spring.

Kl. lúkua *to be warm, hot,* lókuash and lushlúshli *warm;* lúluks *fire;* luóχuts *warm,* Nez Percé; ilúksha *fire* in Nez Percé and Walawala; ílksh, Warm Spring; elusha *to burn,* lókautch *cinders,* Yakima; láχuiχ, láhoiχ *warm,* Yakima; láχwai, Warm Spring.

Kl. mukmúkli, makmákli *cinnamon-colored;* máχsmaχs, Nez Percé, *yellow;* máχsh, Yakima and Warm Spring (also as múksh *blonde, auburn,* Warm Spring).

Kl. mû'lk *worm, maggot,* mānk, *fly;* muχlimuχlí *fly,* Warm Spring.

Kl. múshmush *cattle, cow,* originally meant "lowing like cattle," from the Sahaptin mú *cattle;* cf. Texts, Note to 13, 13.

Kl. nā'dsh *one;* nā'χs, lā'χs, Yakima; nä'χsh, Warm Spring.

Kl. nánka *some, a portion of;* nánka *some* in several Sahaptin dialects.

Kl. páwatch *tongue;* páwish, Nez Percé.

Kl. pé-ip *daughter;* pap, Nez Percé, Warm Spring, *daughter* (not one's own).

Kl. pí *he, she,* p'na, m'na *him, her;* pína *self, oneself, himself,* etc., Nez Percé; píni *he, this one,* Warm Spring.

Kl. taktákli *level, even, flat;* tíkai *flat,* Yakima; cf. tä-i'h *bottom land.*

Kl. tatáksni *children;* (na)títait *man,* Yakima; titókan *people,* Nez Percé.

Kl. tchĕmúka, tsmúka *to be dark,* cf. mukmúkli; tsĕmúχtsĕmuχ *dark brown* (prieto), *of dark complexion, black,* Nez Percé; shmúk, Yakima; tchmū'k, Warm Spring, *dark;* shmukakúsha *to blacken,* Yakima.

Kl. vû'nsh, u-únsh *boat, canoe, dug-out;* wássas *boat,* Yakima, Warm Spring.

192 197 Of agreements in the morphologic part of grammar we notice considerable analogy in the inflection of the Sahaptin substantive with its numerous case forms:

Reduplication for inflectional purposes is syllabic also, but not so generally in use as in Klamath; Nez Percé táyits *good*, abbr. ta'hs; plur. tita'hs.

Kl. -kni, ending of adj. "coming from;" -pkinih, subst. case, *from;* init *house*, initpkinih *from a house*, in Nez Percé.

p- prefix forms most names of relationship: píka *mother*, píap *elder brother*, pet *sister;* -p as suffix appears in Nez Percé asχap *younger brother*, asip *sister* (ísip Walawala). The prefix pi- forms reciprocal verbs; hak-, hah-, radix of verb *to see*, forms pihaksih *to see each other*.

Kl. -na is transitional case-suffix; cf. Nez Percé kína *here*, from pron. ki *this*.

CONCLUSIONS.

197 The conclusions which can be drawn with some degree of safety from the above linguistic data and some mythologic facts, concerning the prehistoric condition of the people which occupies our attention, are not unimportant, and may be expressed as follows:

Although it is often a difficult matter to distinguish the loan words in the above lists from the words resting upon ancient affinity, the table shows that the real loan-words of the Máklaks were borrowed from vicinal tribes only, as the Shasti, and that those which they hold in common with other tribes more probably rest on a stock of words common to both, as the pronominal roots. The affinity with Maidu appears more considerable than that with other Californian tribes only because the Maidu dialects have been studied more thoroughly. Scarcely any affinity is traceable with the coast dialects of Oregon and California, and none with the Tinné dialects, though the Umpkwa and Rogue River Indians lived in settlements almost conterminous with those of the Máklaks. The latter were acquainted with the Pacific Ocean only by hearsay, for they have no original word for *salt* or *tide*, nor for any of the larger salt-water fish or mammals, and their term for sea is a *compound* and not a simple word: múni é-ush "great water-sheet," just as the Peruvians of the mountains call the ocean "mother-lake," mamacocha. The scanty knowledge of the sea, which was scarcely one hundred

THE ELEMENTARY DEITIES.

771 In the Klamath theology the deities of the elements have preserved almost intact their character as representatives of the powers of nature. Imperfectly anthropomorphized as they are, they appear rather as spirits than as gods; all of them, the Earth perhaps excepted, are of the male sex. [193] Like the animal genii they assume the adjectival suffix -ámtchiksh, abbr. -amtch *bygone, ancient, belonging to the past,*[*] though less among the Modocs than in the northern chieftaincy. The splendor, power, and awe-inspiring qualities of these superhuman beings is not diminished in the least by the grotesque exterior and acts ascribed to some of them. The sky gods were more plastically defined by popular imagination than the subterranean deities, and hence we begin our sketch with the former.

K'MÚKAMTCH.

> Ille mihi par esse deo videtur,
> Ille, si fas est, superare divos.

The chief deity of the Klamath people, the creator of the world and of mankind, is K'múkamtch, or the "Old Man of the Ancients," the "Primeval Old Man." [192] The full form of the name is K'muk'-ámtchiksh, and Modocs frequently use the shorter form Kĕmúsh, K'músh, an abbreviation of k'mútcha, *he has grown old, he is old,* or of its participle k'mutchátko, *old.* He is also named P'tísh-amtch nálam, *our old father.* He was also designated P'laitálkni, *the one on high,* though the term is now used for the God of the Christians. In every way he is analogous to the "old man above" or the "chief in the skies" of the Indians of Central California.

773 What the Indians say and think of their chief deity I have outlined 776 in the Dictionary, pages 138–140, and what follows here will substantiate 772 the data given there. Though K'múkamtch is reputed to have created the earth, what is really meant is only the small portion of the globe known to and inhabited by this mountaineer tribe, and not the immense terrestrial globe, with its seas and continents. Neither have these Indians an idea of what the universe really is when they call him the creator and

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[*] In Nahuatl we may compare the reverential suffix -tzin, and in Shoshoni dialects the parallel one of -pitch, -bits; e. g., múbu *owl* in Bannock is mû'mbits *owl* in the Shoshoni of Idaho.

773 maintainer of the universe. The Indians do not claim that he created
776 the world with all in it by one single and simultaneous act, but when he is
772 creating, metamorphosing, or destroying, his acts are always special, directed
[823] towards certain objects only. After making the earth, the lakes, islands, prairies, and mountains he gave a name to each locality (p. 142, 1 sqq.). Some of these names must be regarded as giving indications as to the earliest places inhabited by these Indians, especially when they designate fish-traps and ceremonial sudatories. Thus on Upper Klamath Lake we find Kû'mbat, Túkwa, Tulísh, Kohásbti as fishing places, Ktá-i-Tupáksi and Yulalóna as fish-traps, the special gifts of the deity to the people. Other places of this kind are Shuyakē'kish and Ktá-i-Tupáksi. In the old Modoc country, on Lower Klamath Lake, there is a rock shaped like a crescent and called Shapashχē'ni, because "sun and moon once lived there." On Sprague River there is a hill called "at K'múkamtch's Lodge"—K'mútcham Látsaashkshi. Other legendary residences of the deity were at Yámsi, "Northwind's residence," a high mountain east of Klamath Marsh; others on Tule Lake, at Nílakshi Mountain; and finally K'múkamtch was changed into the rock Ktá-iti, which stands in the Williamson River (q. v.). The old people of both chieftaincies remember many localities alleged to have been the theater of his miraculous deeds.

K'múkamtch creates the Indians from the purplish berry of the service-tree or shad-bush (*Amelanchier canadensis*, in Kl. tchák), and the color of both has evidently suggested this idea. He also provides for man's sustenance by supplying him with game and fish and the means to capture them;
[192] also with the necessary vegetal products. Objects noticeable through their peculiar shape are called after him, e. g., the *thistle*, the piercer of K'múkamtch, K'mukámtcham k̲ă'k̲. A peculiar haze sometimes perceptible in the west or northwest, shnúish, is regarded as his precursor or that of his son Aíshish.

Although but a passing mention is made of a wife or wives of his, K'múkamtch has a family. The myths speak* of a father, of a daughter, and of Aíshish, his son "by adoption," as members of it. The name of his

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* Cf. Texts, pg. 100, 2: sk̲ăk̲i'sh p'tís-lûlsham. Mention is made of one-eyed wives of Skē'l and of Tcháshkai.

821 added for "day" and "night." In the Tsimsián and in some of the Selish
171 dialects the terms for both also agree, but in the Shoshonian and Pueblo
197 languages they differ entirely. In Utah and other Shoshonian dialects the term for moon shows the archaic or reverential suffix -pits, -püts previously noticed (ma-atáwa-pits in Utah), which closely corresponds to *παλαίφατος* as used in the Homeric poems.

While the sun divides time into days, seasons, and years, our sections of time called weeks (quarters of the moon) and months (lunations, moons) are due to the revolutions of the moon. This is what caused the Klamath Indians to call both orbs by the same name: shápash *the one who tells*, which signifies: "which tells the time," or "time measurer." For the moon a parallel form exists in the Timucua, once spoken in Florida: acu-hiba *star which tells*, viz: "star measuring the time" and in the name of the Egyptian moon-god Tehuti, called Thoth by the Greeks,* also in our Germanic *mân*, English: *moon*, Germ. *Mond*, "the measurer."

Here as elsewhere the moon appears under different names, for in Klamath she is also called uk̲aúχōsh "the one broken to pieces." This term never applies to the sun, but only to the moon in the four phases, as a
[192] changeable body.† Originally this was only an epithet of the moon, but in course of time it gave origin to a separate deity, for Uk̲aúχōsh distinctly appears as moon-god in a myth, which relates his marriage to Wekétash, a frog-woman living with ten beautiful sisters on the west side of Upper Klamath Lake. Uk̲aúχōsh now carries her, the frog, in his heart, and this is what we are wont to call "the man in the moon." Should only a little bit be left of him when in the bear's mouth (referring to eclipse), she would be able to bring him to life again.

LEMÉ-ISH OR THUNDER.

776 All elementary deities in the Klamath religion, except K'múkamtch and Aíshish, are mysterious, shadowy beings, not sufficiently anthropomor-

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* Various functions are assigned to Tehuti; his symbol is the *ibis-crane*, whose long, pacing steps evidently suggested to the myth-makers of Egypt the idea, that he was measuring the earth. The name Tehuti is derived from the Egyptian verb teχu *to be full*, for the measuring of liquids, grains, etc., is effected by *filling vases* possessed of certain cubic dimensions.

† Derived from uk̲á-uk̲na *to knock to pieces*.

776 question is of volcanic origin. The natives avoid going near the lake or
823 even ascending the surrounding heights.* Earthquakes are often ascribed by foreign nations to giants stretched out below, who are shifting their underground position. Giants often appear also as ravishers, ogres, and man-eaters, like the Scandinavian Yättur, and two giant-women of the Elip tilikum or "Primeval People," were changed into two columns of sandstone, near the Yákima country, on Middle Columbia River, for having preyed upon the human race.†

776 *Dwarfs.*—A miraculous dwarf is mentioned under the name of na'hnias, whose foot-prints, as small as those of a child, are sometimes seen upon the
[756] snow-clad slopes of the Cascade Range by the natives. But the dwarfish creatures who make them can be seen only by those initiated into the mysteries of witchcraft, who by such spirit-like beings are inspired with a
[192] superior kind of knowledge, especially in their treatment of disease. The name is derived either from néna *to swing the body from one to the other side*, or from nainάya *to shiver, tremble*

[823] [825] Another dwarf genius, about four feet high, *Gwinwin*, lived on Williamson River, where he habitually sat on the top of his winter lodge and killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird.

The Klamaths appear to know about certain spirits having bodies of a diminutive size, but the characteristics of such are not distinct enough to permit identification with the *fairies*, Erdmännchen or Kabeiroi of European mythologies.

ANIMAL DEITIES.

776 The deification of animals in the primitive forms of religion is highly
825 instructive, and instances are so numerous that it would take a series of volumes to comprehend its details. Animal stories and shamanism are

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* Among the summits of the San Juan Mountains, New Mexico, there is to-day a lake bounded by precipitous walls, and there is a little island in the center of the lake with a hole in it, and something sticks out of the hole that looks like the top of a ladder, and "this is the place through which our ancestors emerged from the fourth into the fifth or present world." The Návajos never approach near to it, but they stand on high summits around, and view from afar their natal waters. (From Návajo Creation Myth, Am. Antiquarian, V, 1883, p. 213.)

† G. Gibbs in Pacific Railroad Reports, I, 411.

173 was born about the year 1840, and since he was a boy then, carrying only a pistol, this
*539 raid may have taken place about the year 1858. His second raid, which was under-
726 taken the year afterward, was made when he was nearly twenty years old. After this he stayed five years in Oregon City, on the Lower Willámet River.

19, 16, and 20, 1. What is said here up to the word snawä'ds is evidently an anticipation of what follows in 20, 6. 7.

[192] 19, 16. sas tillindsa, or shash tilindsha: shash is apposition to wéwanuish, which stands here, as frequently, for wewanuíshash; 23, 5, we find: wewánishash.

20, 2. lápik for lápi gi: "two are, two were."

[487] 20, 9. Tiunō'leshtat. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Pit River country was estimated at three days' Indian travel; but it often took four days to reach there on horseback. .

[192] 20, 10 and 11. maklaksksákai refers to the encampment and immediate surroundings of the Indian captors, the Klamath Lake men and the Modocs, who had gone with them.

[487] 20, 13. guhuáshktcha. They seem to have returned home over the same trail which they had followed in going south. They passed between Little Klamath and Rhett Lake, which latter is also called Tule and Modoc Lake.

[193] 20, 17. tsúi gé-u, etc. This sentence has to be construed as follows: tsúi gúikaka hú'k lú'gs spunísh gé-u: "hereupon that slave, transferred by me, ran away."

21, 2 and 3. Bóshtin tpä-ók. This man was an American settler on Lost River, [648] who, with other settlers, had previously attacked one of the Pit River tribes, in punishment for depredations committed. In the fight which took place, some whites were killed by the Pit Rivers, and this prompted the abovementioned settler to slaughter an ox for the Lake men, in order to raise their spirits for deadly revenge on the common enemy. The beef was slaughtered and eaten at his farm.

21, 5. Tsúi nat, etc. This incident was explained to me by Dave Hill, as follows: The famous Captain George was at that time war-chief both of the Klamaths and the Modocs. He had ordered Kiukamtch, the head-man of the Nushaltkága=Modocs, to join the expedition against the Pit Rivers. His refusal to go prompted Dave Hill and others to deprive him of his elk-skin cuirasses; but finally, to secure success to the expedition, the parfleshes were returned to their owners.

[193] 21, 7. Húmasht nat. A verb like gi or shúta has to be supplied.

21, 12. séllaluish, translated here by "war-expedition", still retains its verbal nature; for it is connected with two temporal *adverbs:* lupí' and hŭnk. More circumstantially the sentence can be rendered: "we rode far beyond the terminal point of our previous raiding campaign."

[193] 21, 18. léwak, a verb composed of two particles. Gétak and kánktak, formed almost in the same manner, are also used as verbs. Below, léwak is separated into its two components by a pronoun: lä nŭt wák ka-á; lä' nŭt wák gŭldsawiá-a.

21, 19. wéwansni. The terminal -ni turns the wéwanuish into a kind of adjectival phrase. See the peculiar use made of this ending in the Dictionary and in the Grammar.

22, 8. hátaktk. The final k is the verb gi, ki, "said"; tchín hátaktk is: tchí nŭ hátakt gi.

[302] 22, 21. shatchlχámia is one of the various modes of painting face and body in use among the western Indians. White paint was put on in this manner (see Dictionary) only when the Indians were on the war-path. From the same verbal base is derived

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

173 **28, 2.** gépkapsh, formed by syllabic elision from gepkápkash; cf. 29, 10.

*539 **28, 2.** sákatla, to come up, to arrive by the trail.

726 **28, 3** and 4. wéwaliāks pi'la, the old women only; the younger ones, on whom prin-
648 cipally devolves the work of wókash-gathering, found time to escape in their canoes
193 from the raiders.

192 **28, 4.** k'lewidshápka. The men had gone fishing to distant places, leaving their
222 females in the camp, not apprehensive of any hostile attack.

192 **28, 8.** kilō's, or kilū's, is the epithet given to "Dry-Leg", the Snake chief; it means a bold fighter, leader of a fighting band; literally: "irate, wrathful", and may be here taken as an equivalent to "war-chief" (sessalólish lakí).

193 **28, 13.** Moadoki'sh, apocopated for Moadokíshash; also **29,** 1: wéwanuish (wé-
192 wan'sh) for wewannishash (shlää gépkapsh). Nā'lsh tchi'sh, *us* also; that is, we of the
657 Klamath Lake tribe, were gathered by Mr. Perit Huntington into one district, the newly
established Klamath Reservation. A large number of the Lake People were then scattered about Klamath Marsh, which is visited by them now in summer only for fishing, gathering wókash and berries, and for hunting.

657 **28, 14.** Dave Hill, now interpreter (lúldatkish) at the Klamath Lake Agency, took
175 a part in this short but interesting expedition, in the capacity of an Indian scout. He
fixes himself the date of it by the words "tína illolólatko", or a *full* year after the Indians had been gathered on the Reservation by Mr. Perit Huntington. The treaty was concluded on October 14, 1864, and the campaign was undertaken in 1866 by a small body of American troops for the purpose of bringing back to the Reservation a band of Snake Indians who had run away from it. This unruly tribe, jealous of its former independence, has left the Reservation even since then, and could only after much exertion be induced to return. The fights took place west of Warner Lake, and north of the border-line between California and Nevada, within the former haunts of these western Shoshonis.

175 The Report of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867, page 99 sq., mentions this expedition in the following laconic terms: "October 27, 1866, troops consisting of 21 men, First Oregon infantry, and five Indian Klamath scouts, under Lieutenant Oatman, and 27 men, First Oregon cavalry, under Lieutenant Small, had a fight with a band of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [should read: Abert], in the Klamath country, Southern Oregon. The Indians had so chosen their position that the troops were obliged to dismount to attack them. The fight lasted one and a half hour, and 14 Indians were killed and many wounded."

On page 100 of the same Report, another fight against Snake Indians is spoken of: "Late in November, 1866, in a conflict between the troops and Snake Indians near Fort Klamath, 10 Snake Indians were killed by the troops, and three more by the friendly Klamath and Moadocs who accompanied them." This may have been the same fight as the one above, reported with much less accuracy of detail.

103 **29, 3.** Spá-ish Valley, name corrupted from Surprise Valley. This valley is situated in the northeastern angle of California, and on the shore of its two alkali lakes several American settlements have sprung up. A few Snake Indians live peaceably around Fort Bidwell, which is located at the northern extremity of the valley.

29, 10. tálaat tχalamti'tal, consonantic assimilation for tálaak tχalamti'tal, due west.

192 **29, 17** and 19. nā'ts, natch, for nā'ls, nā'lsh, nā'lash, *us*; náts a gépksi, for nā'lash a gépkash i.

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29, 17 and 18. gayá-itsampk. The advance of the troops was ordered in consequence of Hill's report that Snake Indians had been seen by him and his fellow-scout.

192 29, 19. tû'=hak; hak means: on this side of something or somebody, referring to an object located between the speaker and something more distant.

29, 19 and 20. shlă'pka (for shlă'apka) and tássuipk (for tássui-apk) "they saw and attacked them in Hill's absence"; tínshampk "they scampered off unseen by Hill". If the simplex verbal forms shlă'a, tássui (or táshui), tínshna were used, they would imply that Hill then saw the Snake Indians himself, that he was among the troops charging them, and that he had seen them *in person* scampering off.
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30, 3. lewé-ula really means: not to permit, not to allow, to forbid.

192 30, 3. tchín gi, short for tchí ni gi: "so I said."

30, 5. Instead of gatpánkshkshi could also stand in the text: gatpanuápkshi; the final -i being used in a temporal sense in both terms.

193 30, 8. kû'meta, contr. from kû'mme tchish, or from kû'metat tchish.

30, 9. snashuála, etc. They piled up rocks to serve them as barricades to shoot from behind.

192 30, 11. u-í'tsna, distributive form of ó-itchna; see Dictionary.

31, 7. Nă'wapksh, etc. Transcribed into the fuller and more explicit grammatic forms, this phrase would read: Nă'wapkash yamakíshtana kétcha tχálamna, "to the northwest of Goose Lake." For Nă'wapksh, Né-uapksh, see Dictionary.
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31, 13. This campaign terminated in a decided victory over the runaway Snake warriors, but failed to accomplish its real purpose of bringing them back to the Reserve. Nevertheless, these Indians had been severely chastised by losing quite a number of men killed and wounded, and seven women of their tribe captured by the military.

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MŌ'DOKNI MÁK̲LAKS SHÉLLUAL.

THE MODOC WAR.

Obtained from the Riddle Family in the Modoc Dialect.

Shálam	1869	A.	B.	Meacham	shuashuláliampkish	nánuk	mák̲lākshash
In the autumn	of 1869	A.	B.	Meacham	the superintendent	over all	Indians

shualaliámpka	Tχálamtala;	Mōdokí'shăsh	hushtánka	ne-ulákshgíshi	K̲ók̲e-
kept watch	in Oregon;	the Modocs	he met	at the council-ground	on Lost

tat	wigátan	tchussní'nish	slánkosh;	nûsh	snawédshăsh	gé-u	túla	shátĕla
River	near	the Natural	Bridge;	me	wife	mine	together	he hired

lutatkátki.
to be interpreters.

At	nā	nánuk	ne-ulakgishχē'ni	gátpa;	nánuk	mák̲laksh	wawápka,
Then	we	all	to council-ground	went;	the whole	tribe	was sitting there,

vûní'pni	hundred	pēn	ndā'ni	tá-unep	pēn	vúnip	pé-ula	hihashuátchχăsh,
four	hundred	besides	three	tens	besides	four		men,

*539 622 692 hishuáksh m'na wudópka, tsúi nî snawä'dshash hû'nk nä'-ulχ, k̲á-i hû'nk
husband here whips, then I wife that punish, not the
hishuákshash, láp súndē.
husband, for two weeks.

[593] [683] Tsúi tchik kíuks tchí'sh títatna tawí shash, tsúi hûk k̲'lĕká tawí'sh.
Then a conjurer also at times bewitches them, and dies the bewitched one.

[683] Tsúi nî nä'-ulχa, tsúi tû'nip sháppash spû'lhi·síukst; tsúi tchik wátch nish
Then I try (him), and for five months imprison for manslaughter; and (if) horses to me

[593] sχókta tû'nip, tsúi nî k̲á-i spû'lhit sχoktí'sht nísh. Tsúi tch lak̲í ts ktû'pka
he pays five, then I not may imprison (him), he having paid me. And (if) a chief beats

m'na snáwädsh, tsúi nî snä'kĕlua; gä'tak lak̲í gî hûk.
his wife, then I remove (him); no longer chief remains he.

NOTES.

[177] **58–62.** The legal practices, regulations, and ordinances given here by a subchief of the Klamath Lake tribe are observed by all the chiefs, and are apparently fashioned after American models. The principle which seems to guide most of the judicial decisions of the chiefs, is given in one (59, 20. 21) of these regulations: "If a chief makes law like white people, that will be right."* This article is composed of three parts:

Part I. List of the chiefs acting as judges on the reservation in 1877.

Part II. Legal customs governing the Klamath Lake people.

Part III. Instances of application of these legal customs; amount of fines, terms of imprisonment, etc. These are the "*novellæ*" of Klamath legislation.

58, 1–3. P'lú, Lilu, and some other headmen mentioned here have signed the treaty of Oct. 14, 1864.

[563] [657] **58, 4.** Móatuash. There are only two Pit River *families* living on the whole reservation.

58, 8. Tcháktot belongs to the Yahúskin tribe of Snake Indians. Cf. Ind. Aff. Report 1873, p. 324.

[193] **58, 10 etc.** The future tense employed in these behests, regulations and defenses recalls the French future used in an impressive manner instead of the imperative: *tu ne tueras point, tu ne déroberas point.*

58, 10. shlí-uapk shash. The pronoun shash has here almost the force of a reciprocal pronoun, for the meaning of the sentence is: "do not shoot at people of your own tribe." The same is true of sas in palluápk sas, 58, 10; 58, 13 (twice); pálla shash, 61, 14.

[194] **58, 10.** ksaggayuapkámsni is pronounced as one word, as the removal of the accent from the syllable -uápk demonstrates; and so in many of the following verbs standing in the future tense. For the sake of clearness, I have preferred to resolve these forms graphically into their component elements.

[192] [193] **58, 11.** wátsam, etc. The possessive wátsam stands here instead of the instrumental case watsátka through attraction from wännikísham. Tchíkla here means to ride away on another's horse, the horse being missed by his owner.

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* Dave Hill introduces himself in the first person as chief; but many of these decisions can be given by the headchief only, not by any of the subchiefs, to whose number Dave Hill belonged. The Modocs at Yáneks claim to observe these regulations; the Snake Indians do not.

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*539 58, 15. shetcháktanuapk stands for the more common form: shitcháktanuapk.

622 58, 16. nánuktua shéshatuish m'na: "all what your husband has transferred to
692 your parents to obtain your hand"; m'na stands for hishuáksham. Cf. 61, 8.

[193] [192] 59, 7. mish, *you, to you,* is often used in this article for málash, málsh, *ye, to ye,* in allocutions to two or more persons. This is a way of expressing what may be called the "inclusive plural of the second person". This mode of speaking is observed in m's lápuk, 59, 7; lápuk mish, 59, 7. In the same manner 1 stands for ăt, 59, 8: 1 sissók-uapk, if ye whip each other; also 60, 22.

59, 9. 1 mi stands for mish mi.

59, 17. hă k̲úi gí'uapk: if he should fail to do his duty; 59, 19. hă tídsh gí'uapk: if he does his duty well; nanuktuánta: in every respect.

59, 22. í'χaks mí: what you may win by betting on the horses engaged in the race.

60, 2. kă'lish is the objective case of kă'liak, kéliak, "not having", the simple form of which, without -ak, would be kă'li or kă'liu (kă'li hû).

[583] 60, 11. túma wátch gitk. The horses have, of course, to be transferred to the parents of the bride and not to any of the chiefs.

[231] 60, 12. wátch. The horses owned by the Klamath Lake and Modoc people are valued from 20 to 25 dollars each; they descend from the hardy, enduring race of Cayuse ponies, and were originally obtained by bartering commodities with the Columbia River Indians at the Dalles, Oregon.

[192] [193] 60, 15. wátch spuni'-uapka; wátch refers to *one* horse only, for the verb spuni', to transfer, is used of one (living) object only; shŭwána is: to give *many* objects. "Not even one horse your wife has to give to you, if she leaves you; but if you leave her, you must give her several."

[177] [595] 60, 17. láp snawă'dshla. Polygamy was abolished by the headmen of the tribe shortly after the establishment of the reservation, and this ruling was one of the greatest benefits ever conferred upon that tribe by the progress of civilization. But those who had several wives then were not compelled to dismiss all but one, and so in 1877 two or three men were still polygamists. The irascible and excitable disposition of the Modoc and Klamath females must have produced many chin-music intermezzos with their husbands at the time when polygamy was predominant.

[193] 61, 3. K̲á-i mi'sh etc. In this paragraph, in: k̲í'tgik, káktak, hémkanktgik, gitkik, the terminal k contains the abbreviated gi, which joined to the foregoing nû, n means *I said.* The construction runs as follows: Hû'nk ni gi k̲á-i mish k̲í'tgi; nánuktuanta káktak gi píla m's n hû'nk hémkanktki gi; nă'-ulakt gí'tki 1 snawă'dshash tchí'sh káktak gi pil. K̲á-i etc.

61, 6. tchik. This particle does not mean *if,* but cannot be rendered *here* (and below) with a more appropriate word. It is identical with tchĕk, *then.* A subordinate clause is here expressed by a co-ordinate one. Cf. 61, 9. 10. 12. 62, 4.

[192] [193] 61, 6. któktatska: "we clip their hair in every instance", is the distributive form of któtchka, któtska, occurring in 56, 16.

61, 9. Tsúi etc. This inverted sentence has to be construed as follows: Tsúi tchiash hishuaksh wutódshish snawă'dsh m'na pă'n hû'nk snúkp'la, tsúi nă'-ulĕkan etc.

*539 683 [697] Tsúi Tétĕmadshish hû'nk shemtchálχa tawí'sht Doctor Johnash k'lekáp-
Then Aunt Susie discovered that had bewitched Dr. John, the de-

kash; tsúi mbù'shant waitólank ná-ent waítashtka í'lktcha; Doctor Johnash
ceased; and next day being over on other day buried (him); Dr. John

tchí'sh sha shpúnshna, at kléwiank sha Doctor Johnash shpúnshampĕlank
also they conveyed, now after their return Dr. John taking along

shpúlhi, tchúi sha ká-ishuank skúkum-house mpámpatkia tchíkĕminatka.
imprisoned, and they locking the strong-house nailed (it) down with (iron-) nails.

Tchikéskni Shkélaksh tû'la shpúlhi Doctor Johnash. Tchúi tchiwí'χa
Tchikéskni Skélag with imprisoned Dr. John. And he sat in

hátokt, tchúi hû'ksha gä'mpĕle spulhí'tkuk. Pän ndā'ni tchēk waitólank
therein, and these men went home after imprisonment. Again three at last days past

Shχélag gátpa ktû'tp'nuk pā'sh; tchúi Sχélag gä'mpĕle káyak hassasuákiank
Skélag came to bring (him) food; and Skélag returned not at all having spoken

Doctor Johnash. Pän géna Sχélag ndáni waitólank pásh äníyuk; shû'lip-
to Dr. John. Again went Skélag three days elapsed victuals to bring; hand-

kank p'laíkni hak shéwana Doctor Johnash, P'lú toks lápĕni shéwana
ing from above there he gave (them) to Dr. John, Blow however twice gave

náyant waítashtat. Hû'kt píl nā'dshek; hû'ksha toks, nánka ká-i hû'masht
another on day. This one (was) the only one; those (men) (did), other (men) not like (him)

shéwanat shí'ukshtka gíug Doctor Johnash. Tchúshak lápi sha shíkĕnitksh
gave (any food) kill in order to Dr. John. Constantly two (men) they a pistol

[657] shishí'tilatk shlíutuapkug hû'nk. Agency tchúi gépksht tapí' tí'ta shash,
were carrying in their dress to fire on him. To the Agency (they) had gone after a while they,

ktíugíulank ká-ishtish, tchúi wátch hátokt tkû'tkapksh shláank gé'hlap-
he kicked open the door-cover, and a horse there standing finding (he) mounted

tchapka, m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Tchúi gí'ta hushótpa agency, tchúi
it, his son having come (with the horse). Then here he rode up to the agency, and

yá-uks-mĕnámksh gátpĕnank gulí'. Tchúi agencí'nish lákiash hashashu-
in the physician's house coming entered. And to the agent he ap-

ákia, Mínnīash shabamúyank shnû'ntatka lákiash hashashuakítki gíug.
plied, for Minnie sending to interpret the agent for conversing with.

NOTES.

64, 1. In September 1877 Púkish, an elderly Indian, died after a very short illness on the western side of Upper Klamath Lake. The rumor that he had been bewitched and thereby feloniously killed by Kákash, one of the conjurers who treated him, soon gained credence, and the excitement in the tribe ran high. The first account of the occurrence was obtained by one of the subchiefs, who, with his colleagues, passed sentence over the unfortunate Kákash.

[192] [193] [551] [769] **64, 1.** hû't, "this one", forms one of the substitutes for names of deceased persons, which no Indian dares to pronounce. Hû't refers to a person standing visibly *before* the speaker, and it is remarkable that the dead are referred to by this pronoun, and not by a pronoun marking distance out of sight, like húkt, hû'kta etc. Cf. hû't híshuaksh, **64**, 9., gén, **64**, 2., hû'nk pí'sh, **64**, 5., **68**, 11. etc The subject nánka kukíaks does not exclude the use of the subject pronoun sha, *they*, the account being worded in the conversational style.

*539 683 [551] [756] 64, 1. Tetĕmádshish or Aunt Susie is one of the numerous female "doctors", who eke out a scanty living from some patients of the Klamath Lake tribe. She received the above name for having been a washerwoman to the soldiers stationed at Fort Klamath, and the nickname Wúya-ak was bestowed on her on account of her predilection for small sucker fish.

64, 2. sämtsálχa. The means employed by her to discover that Dr. John had cast upon the patient a spell of a deadly character, were the singing or recital of tamánnash songs, and the *dreams* which she had on that subject. Her tamánnash songs had *seen* those of the accused conjurer. See 65, 9. The great majority of the tribe still believes in the possibility of witchcraft.

64, 7. The two sentences contained in this line anticipate the result of the whole trial, and the popular verdict. The proper place for them would be after 65, 15.

64, 9. Tuá ni etc. The defense made by Dr. John in his own case is not an unable one, nor is it devoid of oratorical powers. But if the arguments were delivered in the order as given by Dave Hill, they ought to have followed each other in a more logical order to attain their full effect.

64, 10. wák lish etc. The logical connection existing between this sentence and the foregoing has to be supplied by: "why should he have been my personal enemy?"

[192] 64, 10, 11, 13 etc. i, ik stands here for ät (*ye*); because, when the headchief is addressed in council, all the others are addressed also. Lóli stands for lóla i. The trial took place on Williamson River.

64, 13. kúkamtchish. The distributive form is used here instead of the absolute verbal k'mú'tchish, because old age comes on *gradually, by degrees.*

64, 16. tchi insh instead of tchi nish; the language likes juxtaposition of two short equal vowels, even when a metathesis is required.

65, 3. Kátak etc. Aunt Susie's opinion, given just after Púkish's death and some time *before* the trial, did not fail to have a striking effect on the superstitious judges and tribe, for her arguments perfectly agree with the national ideas. But to us the arguments seem so weak, that no conviction seems justified, if not based on other evidence.

65, 9. nä'nsak etc. "Your defense does not disprove any of the points advanced against you."

[192] 65, 11. K'mukámtsam nä'-ulaks: "the old customs of the people."

[124] 65, 16. The second account of this tamánnash-case was obtained a few weeks after the trial; Dr. John was present at the agency buildings at the time of the dictation, furnishing the facts to my informant.

[697] 66, 4. ká-ishnank etc. This underground jail was in such an unhealthy condition that Dr. John could not have lived in it through the tenth part of his long term of imprisonment.

[625] 66, 5. Tchikéskni and Skélag, names of two watchmen (i-álhish); the chiefs appoint watchmen from time to time. Skélag is "the young weasel" and Tchikéskni "man living at Tchikési camping-place". They were armed with pistols to foil any attempt at escape.

[192] 66, 10. nä'dshek for nä'dsh ak: "the only one". Compare nádshiak, 60, 21; waítak, 56, 7. and *Notes.*

[192] [193] 66, 12. shishi'tilatk. The past participle often stands for forms of periphrastic conjugation: shishítilatko gi, they *were* carrying in their dress. Cf. illólatko, 55, 20.

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[192]
[193]

68, 13. gé'hlaptchapka. The verb gelápka means to step on, to mount, ascend; with 'h infixed, to mount upon something by using one's hands; ge'hláptcha is to perform this while on the way, while going or travelling; gé'hlaptchapka, to perform this at a distance from other people and unseen by them. Doctor John escaped, aided by his son, in the midnight hour.

68, 14. m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Gatpĕnóta is a derivative of gátp'na with a durative signification, the suffix -óta pointing to an action performed while another is going on. "His son having arrived close by, while he was imprisoned."

68, 16. shnû'ntatka, verbal intentional of shnû'nta, the suffix -tka being sometimes substituted for the usual -tki, -tki gíug.

PUNISHMENT OF MANSLAUGHTER THROUGH WITCHCRAFT.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

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[115]

Tína mák̲laks mä'ntch-gī'tk ná-asht gī: "tû salχī'ta snawédsh gé-u
Once man long ago thus spoke: "over there is bewitched wife my

shíllalsht! ī a-i táwi!" Tsúi tchíkash skúyui suákitsatki gíug; tsúi géna
having fallen sick; you bewitched (her)!" Then an old man he sent out to call a conjurer; and he started

tchíka suákitsuk, tsúi shuákiuk ndéna, tsúyuk túmĕna shuíshuk, kíuksam
the old man to fetch the conjurer, and to call him out halloed, and he heard the magic songs, conjurers'

yaínatat shuī'sh; áti ha shuíshuk. Tsúi géna kíuks tsutánsuk, tû'shtaks a
on the mountain songs; far away (are) songs those. Then goes the conjurer to treat (her), to the spot where

salχíta. At shû'ta hû'nk, tchúi hántsna. Gétpa mû'ns súmmatka, shuī'shuk
she lies bewitched. Now he works on her, and sucks. Comes out a big thing through (his) mouth, to sing

tpéwa, summátka hántsantkiug. Tsúi hántchipka, tsúi putá, tsúi húsatchip-
he orders (those present), with (his) mouth while he would suck on. Then he sucks out, and feels choked, and throws up

gapēle hánshish m'na; sχû'dχa lútatkish. At hû'k sχótka, k̲ú-i hukī' tsutísh
again sucked-out article his; swallows (it) (his) expounder. Now (after) he has swallowed (it), worse that (patient) being treated

gī'ntak, k̲ú-i gī, wigá telsámpka k̲'lä'ksh. Kiúks hû'k tché-ulχa shû'kpal-
in spite of, worse (she) is, almost she looks towards the spirit land. Conjurer the starts to leave wanting to

takiug k̲ú-i gī'sht k̲á-i gī'lχisht pásh; tchúi hû'k ná-asht gī kálamtak
retire worse because she turned (and) not passing through (bowels) the food; hereupon he thus speaks whose own

snéwedsh shī'la shalχī'tnuk, kíukshash: "ī a-i táwi húnksh." Tchúyuk
wife is sick for being bewitched, to the conjurer: "you have bewitched her." But

sakámka kíuks: "k̲á-i a nû táwit! shī'laka hût!" kíuks tchúi nä'sht
opposes denial the conjurer: "not I did bewitch (her)! had become sick (before) she!" conjurer then so

hémkank. At k̲'léka snawédsh.
said. Now dies the woman.

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Wudoká	hushtsóχa	sha	kíuksas	sálχitnuk	k̲léksht	húnk	snawédshash.
Struck	(and) killed	they	the conjurer	for being bewitched (and)	having died	this	woman.

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Tsúi	sa	lúluksla	snawédsh	kíuksam	síuks;	hû'nk	sa	kíuksas	ă'mpĕle
And		cremated	the woman	by the conjurer	killed;	him	they	the conjurer	brought back

tchī'shtal,	tsúi	sa	lúluksla	mák̲laks.
to (his) lodge,	and		cremated (him)	the people.

NOTES.

68, 1 etc. This is a pretty good illustration of the method of doctoring by suction adopted in similar tamánuash cases. Persons sent out to call for the conjurer do not enter his cabin, but loudly halloo outside till he appears; in this instance he is supposed to sing his medicine songs amidst the solitary wilds of the mountain slopes.

192 177 68, 1. mă'ntch-gi'tk. This temporal adverb places the mode of punishment described by the informant among the *ancient* customs of the people. Compared to what is stated here, the trial of Doctor John shows a material modification in the dealings with suspected conjurers, attributable to the influence of the white population.

192 193 68, 1. 10. salχíta is always used in a passive signification, "to be afflicted with the tamánuash spell or bewitching power", which conjurers can send out at will.

68, 1. 2. The words inclosed in quotation marks *anticipate* all that follows up to 68, 10.

68, 2. 8. a-i. This particle has the signification: "undeniably, evidently".

754 68, 5. shû'ta hû'nk. The "working" of a conjurer on a patient's body consists in rubbing, pressing, magnetizing, in blowing on it, and in pouring water over the face or 753 other parts. Sucking out the object which caused the disease is of course the principal operation called for to effect a cure.

68, 5. mû'ns; it is not stated whether this hánshish was a frog, a worm, a small stick, or any such thing; this is immaterial, for the Indian strictly believes that the article was removed from the patient's body and that it caused the disease.

192 68, 6. hántsantking and 68, 8: shúkpaltaking stand for hántchantki gíng and shukpalítki gíng; cf. shû'kpĕli.

68, 6. hántchipka properly means: "he sucks towards himself"; husatchipgápĕle 192 193 "he throws up again to himself"; viz. into his mouth, so as to be able to take it out with his hands.

68, 7. lútatkish is the conjurer's assistant. His office is to repeat his tunes or speeches before those present in the lodge, to expound or explain his sayings, to start songs and tunes in his stead, and to perform such manipulations as mentioned here.

68, 8. k̲'lă'ksh, contracted from k̲'läkápkash, the dead, the deceased; k̲'lekápkash telshámpka, to be on the point of death.

192 68, 8. tché-ulχa: he rises from his seat on the ground, or on a blanket near the patient's couch, for the purpose of leaving.

756 69, 1. hushtsóχa. The killing of a doctor or doctress by the relatives of the patient who died under his or her treatment was nothing unusual in the Columbia Basin until quite recently. In some tribes the third failure in curing brought certain death on the conjurer, especially when he had received his reward in advance.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

SHAMANIC DANCE-DIRECTIONS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

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"Wálok mat tû'nepni waitólat nát génuapka kshiuläktsuápkuk we-
"For sweating during five days we shall go to have a dance the

walä'ksh tchísh. At géntak í'lksat pán a. Wû'sa ní lúskuapkug. K̲ílank
old women also. Ye (men) shall go on a feast to eat. I fear I may get too warm. Loud

ät tsuínuapk; túnepni ät nûtísh tsuí'nuapk. At tchísh híhashuaksh ksíu-
ye must sing; at five ye fires ye have to sing. Ye too (women and) fellows begin

laktampka lítstakiank; untsä'g nä'tnag pá-uapk tû'm mbû'shant. "Sílalsh
to dance with exertion; by and by then ye shall eat plenty to-morrow. "Disease

mat nä'baknapk" kíuks ná-asht shápa, yayayá-as mat ná-asht sápa; "kû't-
will come on" the shaman thus says, some tamánuash-medicine (to him) "it is so" says; "of small-

kaks mat síssalaluapk" yayayá-as mat ná-ast shápa. Suássuaktch mák̲-
pox it says will suffer (the people)" the tamánuash just so says. Are weeping peo-

laks nánuk wussóga kû'tχaks. Ná-ast kíuks wálok sápa: "Tánni ílksh
ple all afraid of smallpox. So the shaman before sweating speaks: "How many food-baskets

shä'tu ät? tánkëni at í'lksh? Lápni tá-unepanta pä'n túnep pé-ula;
do ye count? how many already baskets? Twice ten and five;

kánk a ní sä'tû."
so many I count."

NOTES.

70, 1 etc. This is a fair specimen of the careless, jargon-like conversational style in vogue among the É-ukshikni, and without commentaries and glosses it would be impossible to get at the true meaning.

751 These directions are intended to gather the people at the communal dance-house for a dance lasting five nights. The dance is performed around the fires with almost superhuman exertions, in order to produce profuse perspiration and to prevent thereby any infection by disease. 192 The conjurer or shaman is charged with the inauguration of all dances, most of which are of a religious character. This kind of sweating is called "wála", while sweating in a temazcalli or sweat-house is "spúkli". The kíuks is introduced as speaking all these words. The particle mat indicates that the words given are those of another than of the narrator.

192 70, 1. waitólat; in common parlance: túnepni waítash gí'ulank, or: túnepni gíulank, or in Modoc túnepni waitólan.

796 70, 1. kshíulaktcha different from ksíulö̆χa; see Grammar (List of suffixes). These dances take place in winter time and are held from two to four times every season.

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888 70, 2. wewalä'ksh. This is one of the festivities from which old women are not excluded; they often take part in the dance themselves.

*539 755 70, 2. í'lks (from élχa, ílχa, *to lay down*) is the full dish, basket, or bucket (kála), on which the victuals are brought in; but it means also the food itself, and the dance-feast on which they are eaten. Locative case: í'lksat.

192 70, 3. shuína is often incorrectly pronounced tauína.

194 70, 3. nutí'sh; verbally: while burning fivefold; while five fires are blazing.

70, 3. At tchí'sh: the young men, who strip themselves naked down to the hips during the performance, begin their dance after the women have had one turn.

192 70, 5. nā'bakuapk: see népka, in Dictionary.

193 70, 5. yayayá-as means a certain tamánuash witchcraft which inspires the conjurer: the conjurer tells the people just what (ná-ast) the yayayá-as said to him.

70, 6. 7. *s, sh* is here in three words doubled to *ss*: shíshalaluapka, shuashnáktcha, and wusóga; kû'tχaks forms the indirect object of the first of these verbs.

192 70, 7. wálok sápa. The kíuks gets the inspiration from the yayayá-as only after sweating; then he can tell (sápa) the people, *when* the disease will come.

70, 8. tánkēni: after tánkēni at í'lksh supply ítpa? (did ye bring in?).

70, 8. 9. shā'tu, sā'tu for the more usual form shā'tua; pā'n after tá-unepanta is incorrect and unnecessary; this conjunction should stand there only after ta-unépni or tá-unep.

DETAILS OF A CONJURER'S PRACTICE.

115 GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY MINNIE FROBEN.

Mák̲laks	shuákiuk	kíukaash	k̲á-i	gû'l'hi	húnkēlam	ládshashtat,	ndéna
Indians	in calling	the conjurer	not	enter	his	into lodge,	they halloo

sha'hmóknok;	kíuksh	toks	wán	kiukáyank	mû'luash	m'na	kaníta	pí'sh.
to call (him) out;	the conjurer		red fox	hanging out on a pole.	as sign	his	outside	"of him".

Kukíaks	tchû'tanish	gátp'nank	wigáta	tchélχa	mā'shipksh.	Lútatkish
Conjurers	when treating	approaching	close by	sit down	the patient.	The expounder

wigáta	kíukshēsh	tcha'hlánshna.	Shuyéga	kíuks,	wéwanuish	tchĭk	winóta
close to	the conjurer	sits down.	Starts choruses	the conjurer,	females	then	join in singing

liukiámnuank	nadshā'shak	tchûtchtníshash.	Hánshna	mā'shish	hû'nk
crowding around him	simultaneously	while he treats (the sick).	He sucks	diseased	that

hishuákshash,	tátktish	í'shkuk,	hantchípka	tchĭ'k	kukuága,	wishinkága,
man,	the disease	to extract,	he sucks out	then	a small frog,	small snake,

mû'lkaga,	k̲ák̲o	gí'ntak,	káhaktok	nánuktua	nshendshkáne.	Ts'û'ks	toks
small insect,	bone	afterwards,	whatsoever	anything	small.	A leg	

ké-usht	tchékēle	ítkal;	lúlp	toks	mā'shisht	tchékēlitat	lgû'm	shû'kēlank
being fractured	the (bad) blood	he extracts;	eyes	but	being sore	into blood	coal	mixing

k̲ĭ'tua	lû'lpat,	kû'tash	tchish	kshéwa	lúlpat	pû'klash	tuiχámpgatk
he pours	into the eyes,	a louse	too	introduces	into the eye	the white of eye	protruding

ltúiχaktgi	gíug.
for eating out.	

NOTES.

*539 755 71, 1. shuákia does not mean "*to call on somebody*" generally, but only "*to call on the conjurer* or medicine man".

71, 2. wán stands for wánam nī'l: the fur or skin of a red or silver fox; kaníta pī'sh stands for kanítana látchash m'nálam: "outside of his lodge or cabin". The meaning of the sentence is: they raise their voices to call him out. Conjurers are in the habit of fastening a fox-skin outside of their lodges, as a business sign, and to let it dangle from a rod stuck out in an oblique direction.

71, 3. tchélχa. During the treatment of a patient who stays in a winter-house, the lodge is often shut up at the top, and the people sit in a circle inside in utter darkness.

[193] [192] 71, 5. linkiámnank. The women and all who take a part in the chorus usually sit in a circle around the conjurer and his assistant; the suffix -mna indicates close proximity. Nadshā'shak qualifies the verb winóta.

[192] 71, 5. tchûtchtníshash. The distributive form of tchû't'na refers to each of the *various* manipulations performed by the conjurer on the patient.

71, 5. mā'shish, shortened from māshípkash, mā'shipksh, like k'lā'ksh from k'lākápkash, 68, 8.

[193] [192] 71, 6. 7. There is a stylistic incongruity in using the distributive form only in kukuága (kúe, *frog*), káhaktok, and in nshendshkáne (nshekáni, ndshékani, tsékani, tchékĕni, *small*), while inserting the absolute form in wishinkága (wíshink, *garter-snake*) and in káko; mû'lkaga is more of a generic term and its distributive form is therefore not in use.

71, 7. káhaktok for ká-akt ak; ká-akt being the transposed distributive form kákat, of kát, which, what (pron. relat.).

[192] 71, 8. lgû'm. The application of remedial *drugs* is very unfrequent in this tribe; and this is one of the reasons why the term "conjurer" or "shaman" will prove to be a better name for the medicine man than that of "Indian doctor".

71, 9. kû'tash etc. The conjurer introduces a louse into the eye to make it eat up the protruding white portion of the sore eye.

KÁLAK.

THE RELAPSE.

[115] GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY DAVE HILL.

Hä náyäns hissuáksas mā'shitk kálak, tsúi kíuks nä'-ulakta tchutánuapkuk.
When another man fell sick as a relapse, then the conjurer concludes to treat (him).

Tchúi tchúta; tchúi yá-uks huk shläá kálak a gēk.
And he treats; and remedy this finds out (that) relapsed he.

Tchí huk shuí'sh sápa.
Thus the song-remedy indicates.

Tsúi nä'sh shuí'sh sáyuaks hû'mtcha kálak, tchúi nánuk hûk shuí'sh tpä'wa hû'nksht kaltchitchíkshash heshnampĕlítki gíug.
And one song-remedy having found out (that) of the kind of relapsed (he is), then all these remedies indicate (that) him the spider (-remedy) would cure.

Tchúi
Then

*539 755 hû'k káltchitchiks yá-uka; ubá-us hûk káltchitchiksam tchutĕnō'tkish.
the spider treats him: a piece of deer-skin of the spider (is) the curing-tool.

Tsúi húnkantka ubá-ustka tchutá; tätáktak huk kálak mā'sha, gä'tak
Then by means of that deer-skin he treats (him); just the size of the spot that relapse is infected, so much

ubá-ush ktû'shka tä'tak huk mā'sha. Tsúi hûk káltchitchiks siunóta
of deer-skin he cuts out as where he is suffering. Then the "spider" song is started

nä'dsk̲ank hû'nk ubá-ush. Tchû'yuk p'laíta nétatka skútash, tsúi sha hû'nk
while applying that skin-piece. And he over it he stretches a blanket, and they it

udû'pka hänä'shishtka, tsûi hû'k gutä'ga tsulä'kshtat; gä'tsa lûpí kiatéga,
strike with conjurer's arrows, then it enters into the body; a particle firstly enters,

tsúi tsulē'ks k̲'läká, tchúi at pushpúshuk shlē'sh hûk ubá-ush. Tsúi mā'ns
then (it) body becomes, and now dark it to look at that skin-piece. Then after a while

tánkĕni ak waítash hû'k pûshpúshli at mā'ns-gitk tsulä'ks-sitk shlä'sh. Tsí
after so and so many days that black (thing) at last (is) flesh-like to look at. Thus

ní sáyuakta; túmi hû'nk sháyuakta hû'masht-gisht tchutī'sht; tsúyuk
I am informed; many men know, (thus) in this manner were effected cures; and he then

tsúshni wä'mpĕle.
always was well again.

NOTES.

[192] [193] 72, 1. náyäns hissuáksas: another man than the conjurers of the tribe. The objective case shows that mā'shitk has to be regarded here as the participle of an impersonal verb: mā'sha nûsh, and mā'sha nû, it ails me, I am sick.

72, 1. kálak, relapse. Relapse is not substantive, but adjective in the sense of a person having fallen back into the same disease by which he was afflicted before; kálkĕla, to fall sick.

[533] 72, 2. yá-uks is remedy in general, spiritual as well as material. Here a tamánuash song is meant by it, which, when sung by the conjurer, will furnish him the certainty if his patient is a relapse or not. There are several of these medicine-songs, but all of them (nánuk hû'k shuí'sh) when consulted point out the spider-medicine as the one to apply in this case. The spider's curing-instrument is that small piece of buckskin (ubá-ush) which has to be inserted under the patient's skin. It is called the spider's medicine because the spider-song is sung during its application. A spider-song in use among the Modocs is given below.

73, 5. hă'näshish appears as the subject of an incantation song in the song-list of Sergeant Morgan.

73, 5. gutä'ga. The whole operation is concealed from the eyes of spectators by a skin or blanket stretched over the patient and the hands of the operator.

73, 5. kiatéga. The buckskin piece has an oblong or longitudinal shape in most instances, and it is passed under the skin sideways and very gradually.

73, 7. tánkĕni ak waítash. Dave Hill gave as an approximate limit five days' time.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

NOTES.

*539 221 This text intends to give a sketch of the various occupations of the northern tribe or É-ukshikni in every month of the year, and is partially worded in a form which may be called dramatic. These statements are not always arranged in logical order, but a profusion of ethnologic details gives intrinsic value to them.

[805] The months of the Máklaks year do not coincide with the months of our calendar, for they extend from one new moon to the next one, and therefore should be more properly called *moons* or *lunations*. Twelve and a half of them make up the year, and they are counted on the fingers of both hands. The first moon of their year begins on the first new moon after their return from the wókash-harvest at Klamath Marsh, which is the time when all the provisions and needful articles have been gathered in [796] [224] for the winter. Work is then stopped and the communal dances begin, the doctor-dances as well as those conducted by the chiefs, and everybody participates in them except those who are out hunting in the mountains during the latter part of the year. This mode of counting the moons on the digits was once popular, but on account of its imperfections it is now forgotten by the majority of the tribe. Instead of it they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as: udsaksä'mi, "in the big sucker time"; i-umä'mi, "in the berry season", or they use our calendar months.

The first moon mentioned in our text, gáptche, answers generally to our May. The two next moons are counted on the thumb and forefinger of the hand not used immediately before; with this last moon their year has come to an end. The next five moons are counted again on the digits of the first hand, and so forth. The half moon making up their full year is not accounted for in this text.

[823] [226] 74, 2. Ktaí-Túpakshi is a locality of renown in the folklore of the Klamath tribe. It lies near the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, on the property of an Indian named Tchéloχins. The otílks is the fish-dam (from utíla), where the Indians wade in the water with their dip-nets and catch the fish while it ascends the river in spring-time in enormous quantities. This fish-dam does not reach the water's surface.

[193] 74, 2. The direct object of lúela is kápto, its subject máklaks hö'ank.

74, 3. kámalsh pahá means: they dry the fish which they have just caught by exposing it to the sun on limbs of trees, and then make kámalsh by pounding it. Kámalsh is a derivative from gáma, to pound.

[192] 74, 3. kó-iχaga is identical with gúikaka; derived from kúi, "away, far off"; guiχátchka is: to start out annually to the prairies where roots etc. are harvested.

[262] [222] 74, 5. saká a pö'ks: they eat *sometimes* the camass raw, but only at the time when digging it. Bulbs, roots, pods, chrysalids and berries are gathered by women only.

[251] 74, 6. pahá at p.; this is equivalent to pahátko pö'ks iwídshat. They bake the camass and put it in their cachés at the place where they intend to stay next winter.

[796] [222] [192] 74, 8. shníkanua. During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process, the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the women, and they go to work again in their canoes.

[415] 74, 9. shiulína. From the preceding we should expect shiulínat, lulínat.

74, 10. wíllishik is the generic term for larger kinds of provision-sacks; it means here a sack of fifty pounds seed or grain, while the wáχoks holds hundred pounds. In pálasham-wáχoksh, however, the latter word is taken in its *generic* sense of sack, bag.

*539 221 [192] All these different kinds of sacks or bags were originally made of bulrush-stalks (tule) and the táyash was made of straw.

[415] 74, 11. kaítua nû kä'ila. The sense is incomplete. Probably sháynakta is left out: "I do not know of any in the whole country", käíla often standing for käílatat.

[192] 74, 14. áwalues. There are several islands in the shallow waters of the vast extent of Klamath Marsh, but only *one* is meant here.

[103] 74, 15. wö'ns ílktsat. They submerge their dug-outs at several places on the beach, where they are certain to find them in the next wókash-season.

[504] [103] 74, 17. pi'la wí'hla (or píla wíllush) contains perhaps a proper name of a locality, or stands in connection with Tóilkat, "at the Rail-Pyramid"; wílhaslash means top, apex. The stations from the "Ford" to "Bird's Lookout" are passed by the tribe when they return home with the lily-seed harvest-crop. "They drop the rifle" is: they take a rest. All these localities are either on the open waters of Klamath Marsh or on Williamson River, which forms its outlet.

[484] [492] 75, 1. iwí-idsha wókash. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Williamson River is from 20 to 25 miles, and horses carrying wókash can make it in one day. The next day they return to carry another load.

[482] 75, 2. nátoks waítuapk: we will lie over one day to let our horses rest, or recover from the swellings on their backs. Nátoks stands for nát toks.

[824] 75, 5. klá-ads is probably a kind of wild prunes. See Dictionary: kělátch.

[192] 75, 8. wídsika íwam. "Some are economical with their own berries, and prefer not to scatter them in the hands of others"; íwam, huckleberry, has become the generic term for all berries, and i-umä'mi is "*berry-season*".

[346] 75, 11. spû'klish here means the large communal sweat-house; it is used frequently for dances and kshiuwál'χishtat, contr. kshiû'l'χishtat might stand instead of spúklishtat.

75, 11. papiä'na, vocalic dissimilation for papa-éna; derived from pán, to eat.

[193] 75, 13. atí'sh etc. "Heap ye up that hay in two stacks, which must have a lengthy, long-stretching, and not a high, cone-shaped form!" For heaping up long stacks one verb is here used, and another for making the high, round ones.

Pö'LAM SHUMSHE-ÉLSHTAT SHASHAPKĚLÉASH.

A SKETCH OF BALL'S MARRIED LIFE.

[115] GIVEN BY DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 593 Póluk kä'liak snáwäds t'shín. Tsúi snawä'dshla Pámpiam pä'-ia lupí';
Ball he without a wife grew up. Then he married Pámpi's daughter at first;
tsúi wä'kala, tsúi tatá mántsak mbusä'lan gi. Tsúi kä'tsa, tsúi mbusä'-
and she had a babe, and then quite a while he lived with (her). Then he left (her), and lived with
alpěli pän, tsúi pän kétsa sissû'kuk tsû'ssak. Násh wä'ka sham kläká, nä'sh
(her) again, and again left (her) quarrelling continually. One babe to them died, another
tchía; at sa sipí'tχa, tsúi nä's shnawä'dshla pän Látsam pä'-ia; wáts sïwána
lived; still they separated, then one (woman) he married after (this) Látchash's daughter; horses he gave

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*539 593 77, 1. The name Púl is pronounced in very different ways, and most people think it is the English name Ball; Póluk is Pŭ'l hû'k; tchía, "lived", would be preferable to t'shin in this connection.

192 77, 2. 3. kă'tsa, kétsa properly means to cast away; here: to abandon, leave; almost identical with wutódsna occurring below, 78, 2.

77, 4. săwána sas: he did not give many horses for her to her parents.

78, 8. pállank sas. This shash properly refers to Pámpi and his family, for Púl's wife took the dug-out canoe of Pámpi and rowed with it to the soldiers. This was in the northeastern part of Upper Klamath Lake, and occurred in the winter of 1876–'77.

103 78, 13. É-ustat is the location of the old agency buildings at Koháshti, in northeast corner of Upper Klamath Lake.

192 78, 14. hí'-i. On that occasion Ball left his wagon in the midst of the woods; hi, hí-i means "on the ground".

657 692 897 78, 15. nă'ulχa sha pă'n. About the middle of September 1877 a strong escort of Indians brought Ball and his wife to the "law-house" at the Klamath agency to be tried by the chiefs. A delay of several days occurred before he was confronted with the judges, and during the time he was imprisoned at the "skúkum-house", a strong log cabin at the agency serving as jail. He is still a very young man, and on being brought there he was allowed to ride on horseback with a rifle on his shoulders. His father is an Indian from the Spokane tribe, and Spúkăn is his name.

192 78, 16. sχókta, to pay a fine; to be fined (by the chiefs). See: "Legal Customs", 62, 5.

GAMES OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROBEN.

H

I.

*539 525

É-ukshikni	shákĕluk	shí-í'χaga	yámnash,	wátch,	skútash	tchish.
The Lake people	in gambling	win from each other	beads,	horses,	blankets	also.

Vû'nip	shulshéshlank;	láp	mû'mĕni,	sχû'tash	tchish	lápi	ndshekáne.
With four (sticks)	they play the stick-game;	(there are) two	thick (sticks),	skin-covered sticks	also	two	slender.

Ndshékansh	sha	sχétchashtka	shlín,	mû'mĕnish	toksh	a	yû'shakĕnank
At the slender (sticks)	they	with index and middle finger	guess,	at the thick (ones)	however	(they)	with index finger

shlín;	vû'ish	sha	klátchnank	shlín,	tχopowátka	tch	lénank	shlín.	Wû'ishtka
guess;	at the vûish	they	moving hand sideways	guess,	with the thumb	also	making a side move	they guess at.	By the vûish

toks	sha	nā'shak	kshē'sh	wí-uka;	sχétchashtka	sha	láp	wí-uka	kshē'sh,
	they	only one	counting-stick	(one) win;	with index and middle finger	they	two	win	counting-sticks,

yû'shχish	spélshisht.	Tchúi	sa	kĕléwi	udúiwisham	í'χaguk	nánuk.
the index	having put forward.	Then	they	stop,	from the losers	when they have won	all (stakes).

II.

*539
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562

É-ukshikni	wéwanuish	sk̲û'sha	pû'mam	tútatka	lĕmátchat	kē'ltamank.
The Klamath Lake	females	play a game	beavers'	with teeth,	on a rubbing stone	letting (them) drop.

Shúshmalua-kīpksh	p'laítala	tút	nánuk	nī'kualksht	lā'p	kshē'sh	yánkua.
Where they are marked	upside	teeth	all	having fallen,	two	checks	they win.

Kukaluák	taksh	takanī'lkuk	gélχa,	tsúi	sha	nā'sh	kshē'sh	wí·uχa.
Both female (teeth) only	(if)	falling right side up	come down,	then	they	one	check	win.

Lálak̲iak	tchīsh	takanī'lχuk	gélχa,	hû'nkant	tchīsh	a	nā'sh	wí-uka	kshē'sh.
Both male (teeth) only	(if)	falling right side up	come down,	on that account	also		one	(they) gain	check.

Kshawínasht	tûksh	k̲aítua	wí-uχant;	tchúi	sha	nánuk	héshkûsh	shī-ī'χaguk
Falling unequally	however	nothing	they win;	and	they	all	the stakes	having won from each other

kĕléwi.	Wéwanuish	pīla	sk̲û'sha,	híhashuaksh	pīl shákalsh.
quit.	Women	only	play (this game),	men	only play the stick-game.

III.

É-ukskni	wéwanuish	tchī'mma-uk	tínkanka	nánuk	shuékûsh	shésham-
The Klamath Lake	women	in playing tchimmá-ash	run forth and back,	every one	(willow-) poles	hold-

tchantk.	Pípĕlangshtant	yû'ashlank	tátχĕlam	shalχuétgīsh	téwa	ánku,
ing.	On either side	for fixing bases	in the middle	of the starting-places	(they) plant	sticks,

tchúi	sha	wutû'walχa	shuekō'shtka	tchímma-ash.	Kawû'tank	sha	vu-
then	they	throw up	with (their) poles	the game-string.	Having caught (it)	they	throw

tû'dshna,	tchúi	sha	tínshna	hátoktala,	shû'dshnuk	tchímma-ash	shútualsha.
(it to others),	then	they	run	over there,	while chasing each other	the game-string	they throw.

Túkni	y̲á'hlkīsh	wûtû-ípĕle	shiwákuash	m'na;	tchúi	sha	kíudshna	léna,
One party	the poles	throw back	to the girls	(on) their (side);	and	they	run off	run aside,

shû'dshna	yû'ashtala	sha	tchúi.
chase each other	to the bases	they	then.

NOTES.

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I. The game described in this paragraph is played with four shúlshesh-sticks. From this term is formed a denominative verb, shulshéshla: to play the stick-game. It is a guessing game, and the guesses are made known by putting fingers forward, a gesture which is called spélshna. Hence spélshna, sometimes corrupted into spéldshna, is used as a term equivalent to shulshéshla, to play the stick-game; and a third verb for this pastime is shákalsha. More minute descriptions of the three games will follow elsewhere.

79, 1. shi-i'χaga is the reciprocal form of ī'χaga *to win, gain*, occurring below. These terms mainly refer to gains made in gambling.

79, 2. shulshéshlank stands here for the periphrastic shulshéshlank gi, or the simple shulshéshla. Derived from shúlshesh, and this from shúla, to hand over, to pass to another.

79, 2. sχû'tash, not to be confounded with skútash, *blanket*, forms apposition to lápi udshekáne. The two slender game-sticks are wrapped in narrow strips of buckskin leather (skúta, to wrap in).

*539 525 79, 3. sχétcha, to extend two fingers, viz. the index and the middle finger; the instrumental case of the verbal substantive, sχétchashtka: by extending these two fingers.

192 193 79, 3. shlín, to shoot, to shoot forward, to hit; figuratively used for the rapid motion of the hand in guessing at the location of the sticks lying under the tray or pá'hla. yû'shakna, yúshkĕna, or yû'sχa, to put forward, to use the index finger. In this game that finger is called yû'shχish, and not by its usual name, spéluish.

79, 4. vû'ish is the location of the thicker sticks coupled on one side, and of the thinner ones on the other; the gesture for guessing at it is to make a side motion with the hand, thumb included. In the text, the sense would become clearer by wording it thus: vû'ish sha népatka tχopowátka tch lénank shlín, "they guess at the vúish, whirling around with the hand, thumb included." Léna is to perform a circular motion; klátchna, a side motion.

79, 5. sχétchashtka sha láp wí-uka. Sχétchashtka collides here apparently with yû'shχish spélshisht; it seems to stand for: "they win two checks, if they have guessed right at the slender sticks".

79, 5. wí-uka. They win one (nā'shak) of the six checks or counting-sticks, if the party opposite did not guess correctly.

II. To play at dropping beavers' teeth (shk̲û'sha) is the subject of this paragraph; the game itself is sk̲úshash. The four teeth of the beaver are marked for this game by the incision of parallel lines or crosses on one side, and a small piece of woolen or other cloth is inserted into the hollow to prevent breaks in falling. The two longer or upper teeth of the beaver are called the *male* (lak̲í), the pair of lower and shorter the *female* teeth (gúlo, kúlu; distributive form: kúkalu). The teeth are dropped on a hard, level substance, as a metate or grinding stone, to make them lie flat. The marked side of the teeth wins, if it is turned up after dropping. The teeth of the woodchuck (mú-i, mói) serve for the same purpose.

80, 2. Shúshmalua-kipksh stands for shúshmaluash=gípshtka or =gípkashtka, the instrumental case of the participle gitko, possessed of: "(if they fall down) on that side, where each is possessed of marks" (shúmaluash).

80, 2–4. kshĕ'sh. In this game of beavers' teeth (púmam tút), or woodchucks' teeth (múyam tút) they use twelve check-sticks to count their gains with. The game is played by two persons, or by two partners on each side.

80, 5. Kshawínasht tûksh. Kshawína means several teeth to fall down, but, as the prefix ksh- indicates, only *one* tooth with the marked or winning side up.

III. The tchimmá-ash game is played almost exclusively by females. The tchimmá-ash is a string about 2–3 feet long, to the ends of which sticks or pieces of cloth are tied; it is taken up and thrown forward by two flexible willow rods (shuékûsh, wá'hlkish) to playmates, who divide themselves into two parties. Before the commencement of the game, two limits (yúash) are meted out on the ground, which serve as bases. Both of them are located between the lines of starting (shalχuétgish).

80, 7. shuékûsh: *two* poles; players hold one of them in each hand.

80, 9. Kawû'tank refers to the playmates of the opposite party, who are bound to catch the flying tchimmá-ash.

80, 11. shiwákuash seems to be a dissimilation of shiwáka-ash.

80, 11. kíudshna léna, or better: kíudshnank léna.

*539 the ground, both ends being bent over. The process gone through while sweating is
343 the same in both kinds of lodges, with the only difference as to time. The ceremonies
515 mentioned 82, 4–13., all refer to sweating in the mourners' sweat-lodges. The suda-
765 tories of the Oregonians have no analogy with the *estufas* of the Pueblo Indians of
[193] New Mexico, as far as their construction is concerned. Cf. *Notes* to 70, 1. 75, 11.

[192] 82, 1. lápa spû'klish, two sweat-lodges, stands for two *kinds* of sweat-lodges.

82, 5. shashámoks=lólatko forms *one* compound word: one who, or: those who have lost relatives by death; cf. ptísh=lûlsh, pgísh=lûlsh; hishuákga ptísh=lúlatk, male orphan whose father has died. In the same manner, k̲ĕlekátko stands here as a participle referring simultaneously to híshuaksh and to snáwedsh wénuitk, and can be rendered by "*bereaved*". Shashámoks, distr. form of shá-amoks, is often pronounced sheshámaks. Túmi etc. means, that many others accompany to the sweat-lodge, into which about six persons can crowd themselves, bereaved husbands, wives or parents, because the deceased were related to them. Cf. lĕ'pk̲'leχa, lĕ'pk̲'lekatko.

82, 6. Shiúlakiank etc. For developing steam the natives collect only such stones for heating as are neither too large nor too small; a medium size seeming most appropriate for concentrating the largest amount of heat. The old sweat-lodges are surrounded with large accumulations of stones which, to judge from their blackened exterior, have served the purpose of generating steam; they weigh not over 3 to 5 pounds in the average, and in the vicinity travelers discover many small cairns, not over four feet high, and others lying in ruins. The shrubbery around the sudatory is in many localities tied up with willow wisps and ropes.

82, 10. Spukli-uápka mä'ntch means that the sweating-process is repeated many times during the five days of observance; they sweat at least twice a day.

LUÁTPÍSHLA SNÉWEDSH M'NA.

LAMENT OVER A WIFE'S LOSS.

OBTAINED FROM DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 765 787

Snáweds	k̲'leká.	Tsúi	tsik	shpótû	hissuáksûk,	pä'wa	tsúi,	pä'nĕ
A wife	dies.	Upon this		strengthens himself	(her) husband alone,	plunges	then,	again

mákual,	sta-ótank	k̲aítua	pát;	tsúi	tûti'χ	yaínatat	tû'tshna.	Tsúi	shlaá
camps out,	famished	nothing	eats;	then	(he) dreams, (and)	on the mountains	he does.	Then	he sees

mák̲laks,	tûti'χ	hûnk	ná-asht;	tsúi	gä'mpĕle	ládsashtat,	tsúi	psín	hûshtĭ'k-
people,	dreams	(he)	thus;	then	he returns	to (his) lodge,	and	at night	he frequently

tamna,	tsúi	shlä'popk,	tsúi	at	shlä'popk	siunotí'sh	tchkash.	Tsúi at	shuí'sh
dreams,	and	has visions,	and	then	he has hallucinations	of (female) choruses	also.	And	magic songs

hû'k	nä'sht	ki:	"tchä'kĕli	gékanuapka,	súmat	tsúk	at géka	tchákĕle"!	tsúi
these	thus	say:	"blood	will come up,	to the throat	in time	comes up	blood"!	then

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huk	tchékĕl' a	gépka.	Tsúi	wéwan'sh	gûlí'	winō'tnish;	shashuakí'sh	tchí'sh,
the	blood	comes up.	Then	women	enter	who form chorus;	people who call the conjurer	too,

lutatkí'sh	tchish,	shuashuáktchish	matchatgí'sh	tchish	gulí'	látchashtat	m'na.
the song-repeater	too,	bewailers,	listeners	also	enter	lodge	his.

NOTES.

[178] The ascetic performances and ceremonies here described are going into disuse at the present time. When they were fully observed, the bereaved husband wandered alone through the woods and wilds (spótu) for five days, but to the widow these observances extended over a shorter time. For this purpose both sexes wore warm clothing, but took to worn-out blankets or old articles of raiment, and used wisps of the serviceberry-bush as belts.

[192] [526] **83, 1.** shpótû: strong and unusual bodily exercise, running up hill, plunging etc. was and is still considered beneficial to the body, and is much in favor with the Indians. Cf. 82, 10. 11.

[192] [193] **83, 1.** hissuáksûk for híshuaksh ak; the husband *alone*, not in company of others; pä'nĕ for pä'n a, pĕn a, cf. átĕnen for át a nen; and sĕ for sha, they, 82, 4.

83, 2. ka-ítua pát or p'át: he eats nothing at the time while wandering; páuk, p'ánk might stand here instead of pát; tû'tahna: for dozing they did not lie down, but tried to catch a little sleep while walking and wandering.

83, 2. shlaá, and tchákĕle 83, 5, forms sometimes used in conversation instead of shläá, shleá; tchä'kĕle, tchékĕli. Cf. yáka for yä'ka, yéka: *Note* to 16, 10.

83, 3. hûshtí'ktamna; the suffix -tamna shows that pshin stands for nánuk pshí'n gí'sh: "nightly, every night."

83, 4. siunō'tish and shuí'sh are both tamánuash-songs, but of a different character. See Dictionary. Shlä'popka: he sees in his dreams what he has heard mentioned in the songs. To sing or repeat songs started by the conjurer devolves almost exclusively on the women present at the ceremony.

83, 5. súmat: into the mouth; their blood, disturbed by the constant excitement produced by the night rambles, ascends to the throat, and is sometimes spit out by them.

84, 2. shuashuáktchish. By their loud and noisy lamentations (shuáktcha, to cry, to weep) they expect to avert from the bereaved husband the effects of the tamánuash-spell (shuí'sh) which he has seen in his dreams.

84, 2. matchátgish: those listening to the words uttered by the conjurer and his repeater or expounder; they are of both sexes and also act as bewailers.

NOTES.

* 539 764 Cremating the dead is a practice which was abolished by the chiefs on the territory of the reservation in or about 1868. At the Indian graveyard north of the Williamson River a hill of 12 feet altitude, where the corpses of Indians of the Klamath Lake (not Modoc) chieftaincy were burnt, is still visible and untouched since then. With the exception of the sentence from Skentanápkash to ítpa, the first paragraph refers to the present as well as to the former mode of funeral, while the second describes [171] the ancient mode of cremation. Cremation prevailed also among the Snake and Pai-Uta Indians, living in the vicinity of the Máklaks; cf. Dr. W. T. Hoffman, Pahute Cremation; Cremation among the Digger Indians, in Proceedings of the Am. Philosophical Soc., Philadelphia; vol. XIV, p. 297 sq., 414 sq., (1876). According to Stephen Powers, cremation prevailed among the Pomos of Northern California, west of the Sacramento River, and the Erio, a tribe living at the mouth of Russian River, believe that all deceased Indians will become grizzly bears if not disposed of in this manner. The Indians inhabiting the shores of Middle and Lower Columbia River placed their dead on platforms erected on hills, or into the canoes of which they had been the owners; the Kalapuyas on both sides of the Willamet River buried their dead by inhumation.

000 Our notice makes no mention of the mourning ceremony among the Modocs, by which widows had their long hair cut off at the funeral of their husbands, then dripped the resin from the pyre, liquefied by the heat, upon their bared heads, vowing not to marry again before this ghastly head-cover had worn off by length of time. The Modocs cremated their dead on any day *from the first* to the fifth day after decease, according to choice.

*539 764 [801] [171] 85, 1. ṭutenépni. Here we have again the sacred number five occurring so often in the traditions, myths and customs of the Oregonian tribes. Cf. 70, 1. 3. 82; 6. 88, 4.

85, 1. Instead of ídsha may be used Klamath Lake ílχa (*or* éna) lulukshàldshuk, to bring out for cremation. The northern dialect uses vumí only in the sense of putting dried provisions into the ground. A funeral is ílktcha in the Modoc dialect.

85, 2. shutédshna: they remove obstacles upon the road or trail, such as fallen trees or logs; they clear the passage. kăflatat means here the same as tchpinŭ'tat, 85, 4.

● [192] 85, 2. wawaíha. Another form of the verb waíha is said to exist in the Modoc dialect: wawaíha; its distributive form: wawawaíha.

85, 3. itpanū'pkasht is the synizesis of itpanuápkasht.

85, 6. Tánkui; the term mă'ntchni is often used instead.

85, 7. ánko for ánkuam kedshlákstat.

85, 10. pítchash for Klamath Lake pitchkash, "until it has gone out".

85, 11. Modoc hibéna or ipéna for the Klamath Lake yépa, yépona: to dig a hole.

85, 11. néwisht. Of this term the original meaning seems to be "thrown by hand into the air", a manipulation resorted to by some Indians, though not here, with the burnt ashes of the deceased.

85, 12. lḳáppa. These piles of stones evidently were, as well as the piles erected on the spot of the burnt lodge, intended as monuments of the deceased. These cairns are of considerable size, and can be seen in the old Modoc country at the present time.

85, 16. pĕn húnkĕlam etc. Pĕn introduces the verb vúmi', and ḳ'léka is a verb coordinate to vúmi': "his children die, right there again they bury them."

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tsúi sha shiū́'lgip'l tsóχapksh, tsúi sa ánkuala tû'm, tsúi sa kshû'iwal lû'lukshaluapkug.
then they collected the fallen, and they cut limbs (of trees) many, and they laid on the pyre to cremate (him).

Tsúi sa nutá hû'k, nánuktua núta; pualála sha hû'nkēlam tû'kanksh.
Then they fired it, the whole' they fired, cast into they his quiver.

Stútχishla sha yutátkug; k'lékaht shtútχishla.
Sorrowfully wept they in mourning; at his death they wept.

At hû'k nánuk nátspka tchulä'ks, at sa nánuk gä'mbēle lólokshaltkuk.
Now that whole was burnt up body, then they all returned from cremating.

Gátpampēle tchī'shtat shishásahka sha lák hû'k snáwedsh hû'nkēlam wenóya; hissuáksh m'na k'lékaht wenóya.
They came back to homes (and) cut off they hair to wife his, who was widowed; husband her having died she became widow.

Shtíē shupēlóka nû'ss wenóyuk, tsúi spúklitch.
Resin she laid on (her) head because widowed, then went sweating.

Túnlpni spúkēli, k'lä'wi at; at gä'mbēle, kiä'm pán. At gä'tak.
Five (days) she sweated, stopped then; and returned home, (and) fish ate. That's the end.

NOTES.

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The style of this little piece is far from what we would call accomplished, and of incongruencies and unnecessary repetitions there are a score. The fight in which the five warriors were killed is imputed to the presaging, night-long cry of an ear-owl, and in ancient times Indians seem to have been justified by universal custom in attacking and killing their neighbors if an owl or raven was vociferating at night in close proximity to the lodge or lodges of these unfortunate people.

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88, 7. hushtsóχok for hushtsóχa hûk.

88, 9. 10. hushtsóχa is used here in an active sense, but is better translated by the passive form.

89, 1. kshúiwala has for direct object tsóχapksh, the dead body. For the same operation the verb kshäwala, kshäwal is also frequently used: 85, 6. From here the informant begins to speak of *one* body only, as if only one warrior, not many, had been killed in this battle. Cf. *Note* to 89, 5.

89, 2. húnkēlam stands in this line for hunkēlámsham or p'nálam: "their, theirs".

89, 5. lák. After their return they cut off the hair of the widow and then she put pitch or resin on the head. In most tribes they did it *at the time* of cremation, while they witnessed the action of the flames upon the body.

89, 5. hûk snáwedsh: one widowed wife only is mentioned here instead of many: "*pars pro toto*"-construction. This sentence, if built regularly, would run as follows: shishásahka sha lák hû'nkēlam snawédshash, kát hûk wenóya; hissuákshash m'na k'lékaht wenóya.

89, 7. spû'kēli, to sweat in the sweat-lodge, viz. in one of the three sweat-lodges given by K'múkamtch to the Klamath Lake people: spû'klitcha, spû'klidsha, to start out for sweating there. Cf. lumkóka and wála. To eat fish only, and no meat, means *to fast* on fish.

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93, 1. ka-i spûní vushúk: the subject of spûní, Ê-ukskni máklaks, is left out by inadvertence. Some Wascoes wanted to marry into another tribe; for "one Wasco man" stands here for "some men of the Wasco people."

93, 3. 4. Ampχă'ni, contraction of ambuχĕ'ni "thither, where the water is", where the waters rush down in a cataract, or in răpids. The rapids of the Columbia River at the Dalles impede navigation.

93, 7. sasságanki gi! ye are in peril, when going to the Dalles and being Indians, therefore take care of yourselves! i stands for ât; cf. 64, 10 and *Note;* 90, 13. 14.

93, 7. 9. Instead of ká-i nû shtínta may be said also, in this connection, ká-i nû shanáhole; instead of tánkt ni gĕnt: gĕ'ntĕni, gĕ'nt a ni; instead of Tídshi hă'k: tídshăk, tídshi hă gi.

K'MUKÁMTCHAM AÍSHISHAM TCHÍSH SHASHAPKĔLÉASH.

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K'MÚKAMTCH ATTEMPTS THE DESTRUCTION OF HIS SON AÍSHISH.

[115]

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROBEN.

Lûpí nă'lsh hûnk K'múkamtch shutăyéga; ná-asht nă'lsh hûnk gá-ag
At first us K'múkamtch began to create; so to us long ago

kĕmûtchátk shashapkĕlí-i'a génta kiiflatat. Tchía hû'k lă'pi shá-ûngaltk
an old man told the myth this world about. Lived the two related as son and father,

Aíshish K'mû'kamtchish; né-ulχa hûnk gĕ'n, nánuktua ká-akt hû'k găg,
Aíshish (and) K'múkamtch; resolved this one, (that) all things, whichever (are) here, (and)

nánuktua kiă'm ámbutat wá, gítki gíug. Tchúyunk pă'n I-ulalónau
all kinds of fish, in the water (which) live, should come into existence. Then again at the outlet at Linkville

tchkash né-ulχa páplishash gí'tki gíug, mû' gint nkí'llipsh tí'wish ndû'l-
also he caused a dam to come into existence, very there rapidly the rushing waters running

shampksh páltki, mû'ash shlé-uyuk, tchúyunk máklaksash kiă'm í'tklank
down to leave dry, the south wind when blows, and hereupon the Indians the fish scooping up

pálshtat pátki gi.
on the bottom left dry should feed upon.

Tchúi păn húmasht gíulank K'mukámtch únaka tchkash m'na Aíshi-
Hereupon having performed this K'múkamtch son then his Aíshish

shash shtílta p'laíwasham shnû'lash, shléank kĕnáwatat shkúlelam wewéka
sent after an eagle's eyrie, perceiving up on a kĕnáwat-stalk of a lark the young ones

hû'nk shû'kayank, shnepĕ'mpemuk vunaká m'na. Snáwedsh spû'ntχashtka
hanging (on it), in order to entrap son his. A wife to abduct (from him)

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tchik	hû'nk	nχī'-uliga	lāki;	kat	húk	hû't	tchúi	lalī'ga	Tûhû'shash.	Hû'n
then	to it	dripped	on forehead;	which	thing		since	stuck	on Mud Hen.	This one
gétak	hû'nk	shkálkēla.								
only		was hurt.								

NOTES.

This is one of the most popular myths current among the É-ukshikni, and we shall find it partially repeated in another myth, recounted by Dave Hill. Aíshish and his father K'mukámtchiksh represent powers of nature engaged in everlasting strife for mutual extermination. In this myth K'múkamtch resorts to the following trick to destroy his offspring. Seeing young larks in a nest on the top of a sorrel-stalk, he informs him, that if he climbs up there, he can obtain a nest of eagles with all its inmates. Gladdened with the prospect of this capture, Aíshish climbs up, but the insidious father causes the plant to grow miraculously fast under him, so that descent becomes impossible, and Aíshish comes near perishing by hunger and exposure.

In the recollection and wording of some portions of the myth my informant was assisted by "Captain Jim."

94, 1–7. The short fragment of a creation myth preceding the Aíshish tale stands in no causal connection with it, and could as well be inserted elsewhere. Myths entering upon the *details* of the creation of the world by K'mukámtchiksh do not, as far as ascertained, exist among this people, but in their stead we have many myths for special creations (of man, animals, islands, mountains etc.). A grammatic analysis of the terms occurring in this fragment (from Lûpí nä'lsh to pátki gí) was inserted by me in the *American Antiquarian*, Vol. I, No. 3, pages 161–166, under the heading: "Mythologic Text in the Klamath Language of Southern Oregon."

192 193 94, 1. Lûpí shutäyéga is not to be considered as a repetition, for it means: when K'múkamtch began to create the world he made *us* before he made the fish, other animals, and the dam at Linkville. This is, of course, only a small fragment of all the creation myths of this people.

94, 2. shashapkēlía: to tell or count stories, myths or fables in the interest or for the pleasure of somebody; the i is here doubled to obtain a rhetorical effect.

94, 3. K'mú'kamtchish is a contraction of K'mû'kamtch tchish; Aíshish, K'múkamtch also. The longer form of the name of the deity occurs 95, 20.

94, 3. ká-akt, metathetically for kákat; kát is pron. relat. which, what, the thing which. nánuktua ká-akt gäg comprehends all animate and inanimate creation.

94, 4. wá, uá, to stay, exist, live in; is always connected with an indirect object indicating the place, spot, locality or medium where the subject lives or exists.

94, 4–6. The construction of the sentence runs as follows: Tchúyunk (K'mukámtch)
né-ulχa gī'tki gíug páplishash I-ulalónan, páltki tī'wish gint ndûlshámpkash mû' nkil-
lipkash, mû'ash shlé-uyuk; "when a south wind blows, it will stop the waters from
133 rushing down rapidly over the cataract." The outlet of Upper Klamath Lake, called
132 Link River, runs from north to south, over the falls at Linkville; hence a powerful
226 south wind will stem the current of Link River above the falls, leave its bottom dry or
almost dry, and enable the Indians to catch the fish swimming in the shallow water
or wriggling in the mud. The rocky ledge under the cataract is supposed to be the
gift of K'múkamtch.

*539 773 192 193 94, 4. I-ulalónan or Yulalóna is the Indian name of the cascade of Link River above the town of Linkville, and for that town itself. The origin of this name is explained in 94, 5. 6, for the verb i-ulalóna means to move forth and back, referring here to the waters of the river receding under the pressure of the south wind.

[103] 94, 6. ítklank, partic. pres. of ítkal, means here: obtaining by basketfuls.

[137] 94, 9. The kĕnáwat is a plant growing high in the warm climate of Northern California, especially in the ancient habitat of the Shasti Indians, and in this myth it suggested itself to the Indians on account of its property of growing very fast.

95, 5. gé'hlapka: he swung himself into the nest by climbing over the rim. Cf. *Note* to 66, 13.

95, 10. kaíχema K'mukámtchish for the regular form K'mukámtchash. Cf. 91, 8.

95, 15. skáyamtch etc. More plainly expressed this sentence runs as follows: sha skáyamna pásh tchish ámbu tchish; the first tchish being placed before pásh and appended to the apocopated skáyamna.

95, 16. shéwana here used differently from tchíya, which applies to liquids only.

95, 17. p'lû' ítchuank seems to be a quite modern interpolation, for it smells of pomade and hair-oil; but it is as ancient as the myth itself.

[765] 95, 23. 96, 2. 3. 4. Tchíka. I have rendered this bird-name elsewhere by "Chaffinch," and Klétish by "Sandhill Crane".

[551] 96, 3. shlámia, to feel insulted. She resented it as an insult that the child called her deceased husband by name; for it was a capital crime among the ancestors of the present Klamaths to call a dead person's name for many years after his demise.

96, 5. hû'tna is changed to hû'tan on account of being followed by a word commencing with k.

[765] 96, 6. stíya. The custom of widows to put pitch or resin on their heads at the death of their husbands was abolished only at the time when cremation became a thing of the past.

[178] 96, 6. galdsha-úyank is a more explicit form of the participle; the verb gáldshui being the contracted form of galdsháwi.

96, 8. yámnashla. He used the bristles of porcupines to make necklaces of.

96, 11. nuakáka m'na was the son of Aíshish and of the above mentioned Tchíka.

96, 11. 12. K'mukámtcham qualifies pä'ks, not lúlukshtat.

96, 14. pakakóleshtka, verbal desiderative of pakakóla, to jerk away from. The suffix -óla indicates that K'múkamtch wore his tobacco-pipe tied to his body; he wore it on his neck.

96, 15. tchitchiks is used when speaking to children. It signifies *so, so!* and means: be quiet, shut up, stop!

96, 17. tche'k kĕléwi. In similar connections this phrase very frequently ends a whole narrative in Modoc and Klamath. Here it means that Aíshish ceased to poke the pipe into the fire. Cf. 85, 10. 89, 7.

96, 18. medshá: he removed from that spot with all his wives and children. Ancient customs forbid the offspring to stay where the father had breathed his last.

96, 20. Gén húnk nánuk etc. This portion of the myth describes the destruction of all the living organisms on earth by a general conflagration caused by K'múkamtch. Myths of this kind are suggested by intense heat experienced in summer. This mode of destroying life on earth is less frequently met with in myths than the drowning in a general flood.

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96, 21. kínyäga. Aíshish held the tray over himself, his whole family, and his lodge. The same prefix ki- reappears in a nasalized form in nχí'-ulíga: 97, 1. It is nasalized there on account of the preceding -k in hû'nk.

96, 23. käíla. Where I have rendered this term by "world", as here and elsewhere in creation myths and myths of a similar character, it does not signify the whole surface of the earth as known to us, but only that section of country which is known to that tribe of Indians. Thus ancient creation myths only describe the creation of that part of country where these myths originated; the creation myths of coast tribes will include the ocean in their term for "world".

825 96, 23. Túhush talpatkóla. Mud Hen, one of Aíshish's five wives, looked out from under the roof of Aíshish's lodge or shed to see what was going on. This fiction explains the round dark spot visible on the mud-hen's head; its round form is indicated by the prefix la- in lalíga.

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AÍSHISHAM SHASHAPKĒLÉASH.

A MYTHIC TALE ABOUT AÍSHISH.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Shashapkēlo-uápkan Aíshishash:
I am going to tell a story about Aíshish:

Aíshish mat sákla tû'ma mákluks íyamnatko; shuédshnuk mat sha
Aíshish, they say, gambled many people having with him; when gambling on their way, so they say, they

shnéna lû'loka. Yámnashptchi mat lû'loks Aíshisham, Wanákalam käkä'kli 3
built fires. Purple-Lime (was), as reported, the fire of Aíshish, of Silver Fox yellow

lû'loks, K'múkamtcham shlíyaksak. Tsúi sa slō'kla; Aíshish shlín túlaak,
the fire (was), of K'múkamtch (it was) smoke only. Then they shot at the mark; Aíshish hit (it) straight,

Wanáka yû'tlansna. K'mukámts tû' hak yû'l'ka, nánka toks tû' hak a-áti
Little Silver Fox missed the mark. K'múkamtch this side of mark struck, the others but farther side of the mark

hak yû'l'ka; tuí sa húmasht gíulank sákaliäga. Túm sa héshkû, tsúi sas 6
struck; right then they after so doing commenced gambling. Many things they bet on, then over them

Aíshish í'kak; séwatkashtka nánuk wátchpka, tsúi sa gä'mpēle. At tû'
Aíshish won; about noon all men had lost all they had, then they went home. Ever

tsússak í'χak nánuk sas.
since he won them all.

Tû'nipnish wéwan's gitk Aíshish: Tûhû'sh násh snáweds Aíshisham, 9
Five wives had Aíshish: Mud Hen (was) one wife of Aíshish,

Stókua násh snáwedsh, Klí'tish násh, Wä'ks násh, Tsí'ka násh snáwedsh.
Long-tail Squirrel one wife, Sand-hill Crane one, Mallard one, Chaffinch one wife.

NOTES.

*539
773 Portions of the same myth, though differently connected, will be found in the
192 mythic tale: K'múkamtch attempts the destruction of his son Aíshish. Both narra-
372 tives are complementary to each other in some important details.

484 99, 3. shnéna. It is the custom of gamblers to build fires at every place where they stop on their road or trail. Any party of travelling Indians will do so when stopping on their way. Cf. 23, 15.

99, 3. Yámnashptchi. Several adjectives designating colors are taken from articles of dress in both dialects: tolalúptchi, green; tchχé-utchχe-ushptchi, a shade of blue; and spálptchi, light-yellow, is called after a face-paint made of a kind of clay.

825 99, 3. Wanákalam lû'loka. The fire of Young Silver Fox was yellow or yellowish, not only because the fur of this fox-species turns from silvery white into yellowish by the change of seasons, but also, because this animal represents in mythic stories the halo around the sun. Cf. shakatcháliah in Dictionary. Wanáka always figures as the companion of the principal national deity, K'múkamtch.

99, 7. wátchpka: to stake everything in one's possession and then lose it all; wí-uka, to win all the stakes lost by the others.

99, 10. 100, 5. Stókua or Stúknaga was, according to another of my informants, a fish of this name, and not a squirrel. The other wives of Aishish all have names of birds.

100, 3. luélks: K'múkamtch had inherited a locality where his father was in the habit of hunting and killing the giant-eagle (p'laíwash). Thinking of this place, K'mukámtch went there with his son Aíshish, after scheming a stratagem to let him perish there. To kill the eagles, it was necessary to climb a pine-tree; this K'múkamtch was afraid of doing, and wanted to send up there his son instead.

100, 9. shnúlas toks etc. The lark had her young in the nest of an eagle.

100, 10. sûlû'tantsa. He dressed himself in Aíshish's garments, as appears from the foregoing mythic tale.

100, 15. sas. Dave Hill often uses shash, sas in an almost reciprocal sense: while (or: for) going to gamble among themselves. This pronoun does not depend here on shnéna, as we might assume. Cf. *Note* to 58, 10. It refers to the playmates of Aíshish, who set out with K'múkamtch, whom they thought to be their beloved Aíshish on account of the dress he had abstracted from him. In 100, 14 shash was explained to me by "from them", viz. from the wives of Aíshish, in whose lodge K'múkamtch had passed the night.

100, 18. gä'pkat for gépka at: did not come now, or: has not come yet.

101, 2. gä'tak. This adverb gives to understand, that they were loth or too tired to play any longer for stakes, because their beloved Aíshish was not present. "To cease or stop gambling" simply, would be expressed by saklóla.

101, 4. shtí'a etc. Cf. *Notes* to 89, 5; 90, 6; and general *Note*, on page 88.

193 101, 4. shí'daho wenépi, rather unusual forms for shí'daha hû vunépni. Hû, "up, above, on head," has coalesced with shí'daha into one word.

101, 5. Klíti'sam. Aíshish heard the cries of Klétish only, because of all the birds which are believed to be his wives, the long-necked sandhill crane is the loudest and noisiest.

825 101, 8. gatpampēlísa for gatpámpēli sha, as tchísa for tchí sa.

*539 101, 8. p'tisá m'na for p'tisha m'nálam.

773 101, 10. k̲ak̲ó bēlat for: k̲ak̲ó pil at.

192 101, 11. p'tissap sam. Sham, sam "their", is found standing instead of m'nálam, 193 p'nálam, or húnkēlamsham in the conversational form of language. Cf. 107, 13. 103, 4.

101, 13. liwátkal. They lifted up the famished Aishish, almost reduced to a skeleton, and seated him upright in the nest; they imparted new strength and life to him by feeding him.

101, 16. k̲édsha, to grow, forms k̲édshna, k̲edshnúta; n's is: nû'sh, to me, with me, under me; a sort of *dativus commodi.*

ORIGIN OF HUMAN RACES. DURATION OF HUMAN LIFE.

[115]

GIVEN BY "CAPTAIN JIM" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

K'mû'kamtch hû'nk at né-ulχa ná-asht gén: Hû'nk E-ukshikíshash
K'múkamtch ruled as follows: The Klamath Lake
tchák mák̲laks shû'ta; tchúi pén K̲ä'k̲ak̲ilsh tchágsh mák̲laks shû'ta;
from a service-berry bush people he made; hereupon the Käkakilsh from skunks people made;
yámatală génûta shûshtédshna. E-ukshkíshash ktchálχishtat í'lχa, Bósh-
northwards while he had gone he created (them) on his way. The Klamath Lakes in the sun-heat he laid down, the white
tinash toks shûtólank máhieshtat í'lχa; húmasht gíug nä'd mák̲laks mû'-
people however after creating (them) in the shade laid down; therefore we Indians (are)
makmûkli, Bóshtin toksh papálpali. É-ush guní'gshta käilalí'a.
dark, the white race but light-complexioned. The sea beyond he made a world for them.

At sha pä'n ne-ulakiéga, K'múkamtch mû'nk tchí'sh shkishkí'sh tchísh
Then they began to legislate, K'múkamtch, mole also, fly-bug also,
wishí'nk tchísh. Mû'nk häméχe: "Nû a gû'ggamtchíshash mák̲lakshash
garter-snake also. Mole said: "I of old age the human beings
gí'tki gí!" Húnkanti wíshink ná-asht häméχe: "nû'toks gémptcha
to become want!" On that subject garter-snake thus spoke: "and I thus-made
mák̲lakshash gí'tki gí!" Tchíhunk wí'shink shkíntchishχagóta: "gá-ash
the men to become order!" Thus garter-snake while shedding its skin: "this way
nû hû'nk mák̲lakshash k̲'léktgi: tí'dshok nétnāk gít k'mû'tchatk gíntak
I the men to become (want): having grown then to be of old age though
tchíltgipēletám'nûk." Húnkanti mû'nk ná-asht heméχe: "nû a gémptcha
always to grow young again." On that subject mole thus said: "but I thus-made
pshe-utíwashash gí'tki gí: gû'ggamtchishash!" Pí muimû'yuk: "gá-asht
the human beings to become want: decrepit by age!" (And) it shivering (said): "thus
nû pse-utíwashash gí'tki gí!" Skí'shkish tchish ná-asht tok nä'-ulχa
I the human beings to become want!" Fly-bug also thus voted

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mû'nkash túlak. Pl skí'shkish ná-asht: "kúi tádsh ak hû'k túmi pshe-
mole along with. It the fly-bug thus (said): "very cruelly many human
utíwash gíug kí'shtchkank hiétalt nûsh".
beings among, when stepping (on me) (will) crush me".

Tchí'hunk pā't háshtaltal né-ûlχûg. Tchúi sha pälpeliéga; mû'nk
Thus they mutually disputed for action. Then they began working; the mole
yaína shuteyéga; shtû'ya yaínaluk. At pí'pil húnta né-ulχa K'mukám-
mountains began to make; it made gang-ways to throw up mountains. Now alone thus (it) made after K'múkamtch
tchām shutólash.
had finished creating.

NOTES.

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103, 3. tchák. There is evidently a *jeu de mots* intended between tchák and tcháksh. Which northern tribe the Kākakilsh were, my informant and other Indians were unable to say; it is a nickname, derived from kā'k, of some Oregonian tribe held in contempt by the Máklaks, and any reference to it causes great merriment to the Klamath Lake Indians. Máklaks is in both places separated from the tribal name by inversion; tchák and tchágsh form apposition to these tribal names and to máklaks, and for tchágsh we would expect tcháshlsh, which is the usual form of the word.

103, 5. Ê-ush. The sea or ocean, which is meant here, is múni é-ush, while é-ush means a lake, lagoon or large pond.

103, 6. ne-ulakiéga. Three of the lower animals are here brought together to confer with K'múkamtch to determine the duration of man's life, and every one voted according to its own experience. Stephen Powers mentions a mythic story comparable to this, heard by him among the Pit River Indians (Contrib. to North Amer. Ethnology, vol. III, p. 273): "The coyote and the fox participated in the creation of men and animals, the first being an evil spirit, the other good. They quarreled as to *whether they should let men live always* or *not*. The coyote said: "if they want to die, let them die"; but the fox said: "if they want to come back, let them come back." But nobody ever came back, for the coyote prevailed."

103, 9. 10. After shkintchishχagóta supply heméχe, and after k'léktgi: gi.

[193] 103, 10. tí'dsok, or tít'shok, distributive form of t'shók, of the verb t'shín to grow. Cf. tít'sha, 107, 12.

103, 12. pshe-utíwash, abbreviated pshé-utuash, an archaic word used only in the *collective* sense of people, human beings. It occurs only in mythic stories. Cf. 105, 8.

104, 4. shtû'ya. This fiction was suggested by the manner in which moles throw up mole-hills and shows that the ancient myth-makers were not without a humoristic vein.

104, 4. pí'pil. Every mountain was thrown up by the mole alone, each one separately. The special creation of K'múkamtch was *man*, and whatsoever stands in direct connection with his existence, welfare and customs, as fishing-places, islands, funereal sweat-lodges etc.

104, 4. húnta, abbreviation of húntala: by proceeding in *this* manner, in the *same* manner.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

NOTES.

*539 773 [825] In preference to any other beast, the prairie-wolf, small wolf, or coyote (as he is called in the West after an Aztec term meaning "digger, burrower") became connected in the mind of the Indian with the creation of the moon and the origin of the months or moons, because in moonlit nights he is heard howling from nightfall to dawn; sometimes alone, sometimes in packs of several dozen at a time. His querulous, whining howl is likened by the Indians with a "speaking to the moon". Our tale above is based upon the double sense of *moon* and *month*, in which the term shápash (the "indicator," from shápa to tell, indicate) is used. The idea of the creation of twice twelve moons originated in the delusion that in every period called *new* moon, moons were really made or manufactured *new* by the creator. The number twenty-four was perhaps suggested by the observation of lunar eclipses, or mock moons appearing in hazy weather. The coyote as the creator of the moons (and the creator of the universe among the Central Californians) naturally desired to have as many moons as possible; while K'múkamtch, as the wolf's antagonist, thought it better for the benefit of his own
*539 creation, the human beings, not to make the year too long. If the winter had to last
773 twelve months instead of six, how could they collect roots, bulbs, seed, fish, and game
● 192 enough to live through such a length of time?

105, 2. shipátχûkanka. Two moons being on the sky simultaneously would necessarily often cover and thereby eclipse or hurt each other.

105, 2. iggá-idshnank. The mother-coyote had hung up the twenty-four moons made by herself around the walls and ceiling of her winter-lodge, which in this myth signifies the sky. The suffix -ídshna points to her walking from one spot of the lodge to another while busy in suspending the moons.

[776] 105, 3. gú'hli'. A great deal of shrewdness is ascribed to the principal deity of the Klamath Lake people as well as to those of other *hunting* tribes. He manifests his astuteness in entering the coyote's lodge in her *absence* only, and to prepare a trick for her there.

105, 4. tát' né for táta nen.

[194] 105, 5. Hitá tchía! is pronounced as if it was *one* word only: hitátchia.

105, 6. shû'shamka, distributive form of sh'û'mka, to hum, grunt, to make hŭ hŭ. He grunted every time he planted another awl, sometimes in an interrogative tone of voice, and did it to disguise their secret planting into the ground.

105, 7. wákaitch composed of wák haitch; wásha-wéka composed of wásham wéaga; tχéwag or tχéwaga, diminutive of tχé-u first, first in order, eldest; cf. hû'ktag.

[193] 105, 7. tû'm haktch. This language has a term corresponding to our *too much* (tû'm tchátchui), but none which renders our *too* with accuracy. Adjectives or adverbs qualified by *too* are therefore pronounced with a higher pitch of voice and the quantity of their main vowel is increased when the Indian intends to express this adverb.

105, 10. wakaí, "why not," a combination of wák and ḳá-i.

105, 14. gatpanû'la gí'ta: he has come here and has left again.

[825] 105, 16. Kití'ta. The coyote-wolf, while rolling forth and back on the ground, as these animals are in the habit of doing, ran her belly into the bone-awls insidiously planted there by K'múkamtch, so that the entrails shed their contents on the lodge-floor.

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773 shlí'n K'mukámtsām hû'nk únakag; tchúi sa híshlan. Tsaskayákalam
shot of K'múkamtch the little son; then they shot at each other. Little Weasel's
vúnak hûnk shlín lû'pi K'mukámtcham vunáka; tchúi hû'nk hû'tkalpalank
boy shot first at K'múkamtch's son; then (that one) jumping up again
3 shlín Tchashgáyam únaka, tchúi tsóka lápuk.
shot Weasel's son, then perished both.

At sálĕki ptissísap sham. Tsashgái at káyaktsa, K'mukámts ká-i
Then missed (them) fathers their. Weasel went searching, (but) K'múkamtch not
káyaktcha, skû'lχa tä'dsh sá-utamank; slä'bopk hû'nitak tû' sas hishō'kst.
searched (for them), laid himself on bed but, wrapped up; he knew by himself, out there them to have killed each other.

NOTES.

Compare with this myth the first part of the "Mythic Tale of Old Marten" (Skélamtcham shashapkĕléash), which contains the same subject-matter.

[103] 107, 1. Yámat, contraction of Yámashi. This is the name given at present to a mountain North of Klamath Marsh; from this direction the cold winds (yámash) blow over the highlands on Upper Klamath Lake.

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773 107, 1. 3. 9. Tchásbgai sometimes occurs in the diminutive form Tchashgáyak, because the Weasel is regarded as the *younger* brother of the Marten.

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193 107, 2. saíkăn, a contraction of saigaχĕ'ni: they went *to* the prairie, where the women were digging the edible roots.

107, 3. Skä'lamts. I have given this myth elsewhere in a longer relation, where the part played here by K'múkamtch is played by Skélamtch. Even in Dave Hill's relation the Marten is called, but once only, by its real name Skélamtch; K'múkamtch and Skélamtch are mentioned *here* as identical. The term akĕ'l, when not employed in its mythologic sense, means a long piece or strip of tanned otter or marten skin, used for tying the hair, or for other purposes.

107, 3. 4. I'ktchatki snáwedş etc. One woman only is mentioned here, instead of the two, whom Weaslet was ordered to bring home as wives for his brother K'múkamtch and himself.

107, 5. wéwans a very common elision for wéwanuish.

107, 9. kaní ná-asht? ellipse for kaní ná-asht gi?

107, 10. nû ä'pkolatkik. Instead of this may be said also, ä'pkatki giula nû: "I strictly told (you) to bring in."

107, 13. sa waslalá. The two boys went together hunting chipmunks.

[411] 107, 14. sháwala to adjust stone-heads; shawalia, sa-ulía to adjust stone-heads for or in the interest of somebody. Flint-, obsidian- or iron heads are placed only on war-arrows or on arrows used in killing large game (ngé-ish, ngă'-ish); but the táldshi or lighter arrow, used in hunting birds, and the taldshiága, arrow used as boy's plaything, are usually provided with wooden points only.

107, 15. K'mukámts stûli aht pi'ts stands for K'mukámtchash stuli'sht pi'sh, the pronoun referring to the little son of K'múkamtch.

107, 15. shli'sht. In this sentence m'nálsh is the subject of shli'sht, and the direct object of shlin is not expressed.

107, 16. lä-udsha: they went out to play, from léwa, lä'wa to play.

*539 109, 1. shkä'shgatkaltk. A verbal adjective of shkátkēla, to carry on back; kä,
773 ka is the radical syllable, found also in kä'mat, *back*. This distributive form is appar-
192 ently due to vocalic dissimilation. Women carry conical baskets (yáki) on their backs
[482] when digging roots or bulbs, and throw them over their shoulders into these recep-
[193] tacles.

[222] 109, 2. 6. 8. Skélamtch. See Dave Hill's relation of the same myth; *Note* to 107, 3.
In speaking of somebody who acts on the sly, and differently from what he professes
and means to do, the Klamath Lake people will say: "He acts like Skélamtch." This
[193] is one of the few proverbial locutions, or at least figurative modes of speech that can
be traced in this tribe.

[291] 109, 3. kmä' is the rounded light cap usually worn by females, fitting tight to the skull. It is made of the stalks of aquatic plants, several species of them entering into the manufacture of each cap. The taking away of the skull-caps was intended as a signal for the women to go to their new homes.

109, 6. táta. The words of reprehension addressed by Old Marten to Weaslet are: "Did I ever order you to bring the caps of any other than of both the one-eyed women? I told you to get the caps of both one-eyed women only." Lápuk belongs to shtchûshχápkam, though separated from it by the inversion of the sentence; kmä' is left out.

[193] 109, 6. shtchûshχápkam. The distributive form of shtchû'χa is so difficult to articulate, that abbreviations of it like the above and others, have resulted. Shtchúχa is evidently the medial form of tchóχa, and its meaning is therefore "to suffer destruction on oneself." Cf. shtchúyampka.

109, 10. ni ä'pkatki. After ä'pkatki supply gi: "said, told."

109, 11. The text forgets to mention the calling in of the two one-eyed women.

109, 12. Shû'hank=shitk. In many mythic stories the newly-born children are made to grow miraculously fast, so that when a few days old they handle bow and arrows, and after a month or two they are adult people.

[194] 109, 13. ntéyäla, to make a bow or bows (nté-ish), nteyákäla, to make little bows (nteyága), nteyakalía or nteyakalíya, to make little bows *for somebody*.

109, 13. únak, *son*, is variously pronounced û'nak, vúnaka, wúnak; and so is its diminutive únakag, únakaga, vúnakak, *little son*, "*sonny*".

109, 15. híshla has two meanings, both *reciprocal:* to shoot at each other, and to shoot at the mark, *rivalling to outdo each other* in markmanship. Cf. 24, 17.

[193] 109, 15. Léwatkuk for léwatko hûk: they, after having played; participle of léwa to play.

110, 1. hûshûtánkapksh etc. "This was an approaching himself on the sly towards me" is the literal rendering of this sentence, in which the first term is a *nomen actionis*, a verbal indefinite. The two pronouns are governed by it.

110, 3. mish shli'shtka gi'uapk, if he should want to shoot you; if he should shoot at you purposely.

110, 4. Sháyuakta, "he knew." Omniscience and prescience are among the characteristic features of Old Marten, who is the personification of K'múkamtch. Cf. 107, 1. 3. 14. 108, 5. and *Note* to 107, 3.

110, 6. hútkalpēli, to rise up suddenly, to jump up again (though killed beforehand). Cf. 108, 2.

110, 11. "shui'ulatchgankan hû'n gi." Marten's son said, that his arrow, when

*539 dispatched after a chipmunk, struck a log or tree, glanced off from it and came very
773 near killing Weasel's little son.

192 110, 11. 21. guhásbktcha instead of guhuáshktcha, cf. Dictionary.

110, 17. vû'sho, breast, chest, is also pronounced wû'shu, û'shu; û'shutala, in the chest. k̲'lekiχátko is the distributive plural of k̲'lekátko; k̲'léka, to die.

[193] 110, 18. mä'nshaktch, so long; stands for mä'ntchak tchí. The terminal -ak has to be taken here and in 110, 14. in the sense of the diminutive suffix: "a little long".

110, 19. k̲ä'la to *do* or *act* in the sense of amusing oneself, playing, gesticulating, or acting in a loud, noisy, or grotesque manner.

111, 1. túnepanti. The partitive case in -ti, if it stands for túnepanta, is used here, because the bags of neckwear brought by Skélamtch were counted on the digits of one hand, while those of Weasel were counted on the fingers of the other.

111, 3. wewilína. Beads were left over to Old Marten, because he had brought more than five sacks full to the tchpínû or family burying ground, emptying only five sacks on the child's pyre. This was a fabulously extravagant expenditure, the beads standing high in price and the sacks or wíllishik being rated at more than one bushel each.

111, 4. Mû'sh and Yámsh, syncopated from Mû'ash and Yámash.

111, 9. eíχishtok Mû'shash. The South Wind had put his head out; that is, a south wind had been blowing when Little Weasel died and hence was supposed to be the real cause of his death.

[821] 111, 12. Lĕmé-ishash. From the following it appears, that the five Thunders represent more the flash of the lightning (lúepalsh) than the roll of the thunder. There
are many of them, because the thunder, when rolling over mountains and valleys, often
increases again in loudness after having almost died out, and five is the often recurring "sacred" number of the Oregonian and other Northwestern Indians. The radix
[193] of lĕmé-ish is *lam*, which indicates a circular, whirling motion. The five Thunders are
[342] brothers, living in a winter-lodge or earth-house: Lĕmé-isham tchî'sh, thought to be
a dark cave; their parents, the two Old Thunders, live in a káyata or low, small hut
covered with bulrush mats. The short episode 111, 12-17 does not refer to all the
five Thunders, but only to one of their number.

[321] 111, 13. tû'tash is the long white marine shell, known as dentalium; it is one of
[301] the most common Indian body-ornaments. The white resin flowing out of pine-trees
seems to be symbolized in this myth by the dentalium-shell.

111, 14. wák ish shû'tă, for wák shúta i nish: "somehow do (something) for me."

[193] 111, 20. In wä'shin are combined two locative particles: *í* and *n* (for na).

111, 22. mák̲laks tû'm (for tû'ma). The Thunders brought home as food many human beings struck by lightning.

112, 1. wanúnga, the distributive plural of û'nak; explained in the Dictionary.

112, 1. wennúni a tuá gátpa etc. Here and throughout this paragraph tuá means "some kind of."

112, 2. 3. shkaíni combines the meaning of strong with that of bad or mischievous, and answers to our *demoniac;* shkaíniak or shkaínihak stands for our comparative: stronger. The -tch, -s, -sh appended is an abbreviation of tcha, *now*, and shkáyent stands for shkaini at.

[342] 112, 3. Gékansha. Old Marten had entered the solid "earth-house" of the Thun-

*539 ders, while the Thunders stopped in the small kayáta which was the abode of their
773 parents. To enter such an earth-lodge a high ladder called ga-ulúlkish must be climbed
● 192 on the outside, and another ladder, as long or longer than the other (wakísh) leads into
[342] the interior. Pätchŏ'le nä'shak, pépätchle (for pépätchōle) lápok wakísh: "he had
[417] stepped once", "twice" down on the inside ladder; that is, he had made one step, two steps on it commencing from the top. Each one of the Thunders, when trying to penetrate into their own lodge, gets a little further down than the previous one, but all are driven out by the *chilling*, powerful spell of Skélamtch's headdress.

112, 7. gúlipēlánk. The second of the Thunders, frightened at the ill-success of his experiment, retired again to the low hut or kayáta, where the other Thunders were and where their parents dwelt. This word has two accents on account of shash being enclitic; cf. 111, 2. 112, 13. 113, 9.

112, 8. Tátχēlamni refers in this connection to the relative age of the brothers: "the third in age of the five Thunders."

112, 9. gekanshĕnû'nk: for gékanshna hû'nk. Cf. 113, 12. ktánshan nánui sχolχótak, for: ktánshna nánui shχolχóta ak.

112, 9. gû'tχitkt, a contraction of gû tkitko at.

[193] 112, 11. 12. "Ya! atí' a nä'lsh winnī'χitk tuä'ki." This was said by all the five Thunders simultaneously and *unisono*. In tuá' ki, á is altered into ä', almost ó. The inserted particle hû, û "in the distance, out there, over there" seems to have produced this change.

112, 15. lī'lhankshti l'tpa "he brought some venison," a phrase corresponding exactly to the French: "il apporta *du gibier*"; both nouns standing in the partitive case. These partitives are governed by another noun in 113, 6 (máḳlaksti) and 113, 7.

112, 21. pûelhí': they threw the dead Indians down into the lodge from its roof. The suffix -l- indicates a downward direction, like -fla, -kuéla etc., and occurs also in 112, 17, hä'mĕle, to speak in a downward direction, to shout to somebody standing below. The suffix -hi means down to the ground, or on the ground, earth, soil, and since the lodge-floor is the soil itself, it also means "into, or in the lodge or wigwam".

113, 2. íwa sha tchúi. They put into the bucket the bodies of the dead Indians to stew or boil them up.

113, 2. Nókshtak etc. The gray wolf, the marten and the weasel all being carnivores, there is nothing extraordinary in the fact that mythic fiction lets them participate in a meal consisting of human flesh.

113, 3. háshpa shash. Shash stands for máḳlaksash, the dead Indians.

113, 8. nánuk wû'ta. Marten ate up all the human flesh which he had taken out of the kála.

113, 8. shéwanank. The verb shéwana refers to a plurality of objects, the objects being sometimes expressed by a collective noun, as here (tchulē'ksh).

113, 9. Ké-udshiámtchkash stands for Ké-udshiamtch tchkash; nû'kla is to roast on coals; tchulē'ks is here venison meat.

113, 13. ka-uloktantktám'na. The verbal suffix -tám'na, which marks an action often repeated, or continued for a long time, is not here, as usually, appended to the simple form of the verb, but to its derivative in -tka.

113, 14. Tchékag. The blackbird has yellow eyes shining bright in the darkness,

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and on that account the myth makes it watchful at night. This is another bird-species than the *Merula*, known in Great Britain as blackbird.

114, 3. huhashtápkuak. They suspected each other of the trick, by which they had been tied together by the hair when in danger of being consumed by the raging flames, and in revenge stabbed each other. Huhashtápkuak is vocalic dissimilation for huhashtápka ak; cf. shiwákuash, 80, 11.

114, 8. k̲á′hhian. Weaslet missed the heart in the fire when striking at it.

114, 10. sháyuaksh: "You will not be able, or not be powerful enough, to do mischief." The last heart that flew up is a meteor going through the skies, while the four other hearts indicate successive thunder-claps. When a meteor is seen flying west, the tribes of the Columbia River will say: "That's a deceased big man's heart going to the Great Sea." Cf. *Note* to 41, 7.

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SHÁSHAPAMTCHAM TCHÉWAMTCHAM TCHÎSH SHASHAPK̲ĔLÉASH.

THE MYTH OF THE BEAR AND THE ANTELOPE.

GIVEN BY MINNIE FROBEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Sháshapamtch Tchéwamtch tû′la tchía. Sháshapamtch lápa weweásh
Old Grizzly Old Antelope with lived. Old She-Grizzly two children
gítko, Tchéwamtch tchish lápa weweásh gítko. Mbû′shant unák sha géna
had, She-Antelope also two children had. One morning early they went
mé-idshuk k̲ä′sh, k̲léwidshnank m′nálam weweásh tchī′shχēni. Tchúi Tché-
to dig ipo-roots, leaving their children at home. And Old
wamtch shtági m′na yä′ki lû′piak. Sháshapamtchash káyutch tuá k̲ä′sh
Antelope filled her seed-basket sooner than She-Grizzly (not) yet any ipo
mé-isht. Sháshapamtch hû′nk shpé-ukitchna; tchúi sha gē′mbĕle tchī′shtal.
had dug. Old Grizzly (them) kept on eating up; then they returned homewards.
Pä′n sha mbû′shant géna mé-idshuk k̲ä′sh; tchúi pä′n lû′piak Tché-
Again they next day went out to dig ipo; and again sooner Old
wamtch yä′ki shtági, Lû′k̲amtch gī′nka méya; pä′n sha gä′mpĕle. Gát-
Antelope (her) basket filled, Old Grizzly little dug; again they returned (home). After
pampĕlank sha k̲ä′sh shéshuan′ a m′nálam weweka. Tchúi sha lû′lalχank
return they the ipo each gave to their children. And they when going to bed
shtûlī′ m′nálam weweka; Sháshapamtch ná-asht shtûlī′ m′na weweka: "k̲á-i
left orders to their children; Old Grizzly thus enjoined to her cubs: "not
ā′t shuhû′lule-uapk látchashtat: steínash mā′lsh ndī′-ushkuapk! k̲á-i ā′t
ye shall skip down from the lodge: the hearts to ye would get loose! not ye
shampatiaχié-uapk: hû′walakuapk ā′t ánkutat; k̲á-i ā′t shik̲ī′k̲iuapk
shall jump over the logs: would run against ye (some) sticks; not ye shall dive
ámbutat: pû′tank ā′t k̲′lä′kuapk."
under the water: smothering ye might die."

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gíug)	tchû'kshtka	shχû'tka.	Sháshapamtch	gélapka	tchû'kshtat;	tátχĕ-
being)	on the leg	he crossed (her).	Old Grizzly	stopped	on the leg;	to the

lampani	gággūtk	ámpû	pû'nua	mákshatka.	Tchúi	wudû'pka	mákshatka
midst (of river)	coming	water	she drank	from the skull-cap.	And	she struck	with the skull-cap

Shû'ksham	tchû'ksh	punû'lank	u'hlítchug.	Shû'kamtch	shawíguk	Shásha-
Crane's	leg	after drinking,	to shake out (the water).	Old Crane	angried	Old

pamtchash	shnindû'wa	ámbutat;	tchúi	nté-ish	í'ktchapĕli	Shû'kamtch,
Grizzly	doused	into the water;	then	a bow	fetched at home	Old Crane,

ngé-ishan	Sháshapamtchash.	Wiwalága	tchûk	géknank	shlû'lûshtat,	Shō'k-
shot	Old Grizzly.	The young antelopes	then	came out	of the whistle,	Crane's

shăm	wewékalam	sha	hû'nk	táldshitko	ngé-ishan	Sháshapamtchash;	tchúi
	of the children	they		armed with the arrows,	shot	Old Grizzly;	then

sha	shiúga.
they	killed (her).

NOTES.

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The myth of the Bear and the Antelope is one of the most attractive and best stylicized of this collection. It forms a whole mythic story by itself, and not a series of myths like the preceding article. The Grizzly Bear's figure is drawn in very natural and characteristic outlines, and the same may be said of the other animals of the story. Some archaic words seem to prove that the myth has been handed down for many centuries to the present generation, which repeats it to the offspring with the *same* expressions as used by the parents. The archaic terms alluded to are Sháshapamtch, psépsha, pshe-utíwash, kúkui, tchitchû; probably also lepleputéa.

118, 1. 7. Sháshapamtch alternates in this tale with Lû'kamtch, the "Grizzly Bear of the Ancients," and so does lû'kaga with shasháptka. -ámtch, -ámtchiksh is the usual attribute "old" appended to mythologic characters. In the mythologic stories of the Indians bear-cubs always appear *two* in number, the older and the younger one. The same may be said of the majority of the other quadrupeds; cf. the two young of Old Antelope, in this story, and tχéwag, 105, 9, as well as of many of the personified powers of nature. Cf. the term lepleputéa.

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118, 7. 119, 2. gi'nk or kínka: a little, not much; mé-ishi contains the particle i or hi: "on the ground".

119, 9. pû'kpuka: she cracked hard ipo-roots, feigning to crack lice which she pretended to have found on the antelope's body. Picking lice from each others' heads (gútash kshíkla) and eating them is a disgusting practice which travellers have observed among all Indians of North and South America.

119, 10. nánuk: the whole of her body.

119, 11. ipĕnĕ'χi: to place something into a basket or receptacle which is already filled to the brim.

119, 20. 21. hû t málam etc. The construction is as follows: "málam p'gi'shap hû't máklĕχuk shû'dsha, p'gi'sha laggayápkash hû'nk killi't, hûnkiámsham shû'dshash": your mother made a fire out there because she must have passed the night there, and because she hung up this anus on a stick, while the Indians (who gave meat to both of us) had a camp-fire.

*539 120, 2. tchishkuapsht instead of tchishkuápkasht.

773 120, 10. vutátchkia is also pronounced utátchkia, hutátchkia. Earth-lodges which
● 192 open on the top can be closed by means of a large cover placed over the smoke-hole.

120, 11. leplepútéa or properly: leplep-putéa, "to play the smoke out game with two on each side," is a compound of lápěni *two* in the shorter form láp, and púta to be
194 smothering. Láp has changed its vowel into a shorter vowel, e, on account of removal
193 of accent, and is here redoubled by iterative, not by distributive reduplication. Cf. lepχléks from láp and k̲'léka. A series of points after lepleputéa indicates that the animals repeated this word an indefinite number of times, while the others were inside the lodge, and while pronouncing pută', they opened again to let them out.

120, 17. tchúχasht tchĕ'k kaishnû'la. Literally rendered, this means: having perished finally, they uncovered. The subject of tchúχasht, lû'lχagsh, has to be supplied from what precedes. The smoke of the burning rotten wood killed the cubs.

342 120, 19. ga-ulû'lkish, from ga-ulóla to go out, is the outside ladder of the In-
417 dian "mud-house" or winter-lodge, averaging in length from 10 to 15 feet; the inside ladder, wákish, is somewhat longer to reach the excavated floor.

120, 21. The complete wording of this sentence, in which sháptki stands for shápatki, would be: k̲á-i sháptki ging Lúk̲ash, gátpampělisht hû'nksh (hû'nkiash).

193 120, 22. ágguipkash, contraction of aggayápkash: aggáya to be hung up, or to be stuck into; said of long-shaped articles only.

121, 3. anulípka to take away something from another's lodge or house without asking for it; the suffix -ipka expressing the idea of "towards oneself." Anulípkuish, "what was once abstracted from others" appears here in the contracted form anuli'pkûtch; gé-u "by me, through me."

121, 9. tátatatakani shows repetition of the two first syllables of tatákani children, but at the same time means "where are the children?"

121, 15. shálgidsha; the antelopes placed the coals there to secure their flight from the Bear; had the coals been put there by somebody else, lákidsha would be used.

121, 22. 122, 7. hû'ktakag: familiar diminutive name given to the Grizzly Bear; hû'ktag, 121, 23., stands for one of the young antelopes.

122, 1. 2. Mbúshant tchĕ'k etc. The sense of this exclamatory sentence is as follows: "To-morrow at last I will play a sharp game with ye children, when in the day-time I can use my eyes to advantage." Lúlpatka is: lúlpatko a; "possessing eyes" is the primary signification of lúlpatko, but here it means "enabled to make use of the eyes". Cf. múkasham nû lúlpatko: I see as sharp as a horned owl. The distributive form pahépaha, of pahé, "during day-time" means "any time when the sun shines bright." Cf. pahéksh, noon-time.

122, 9. This blowing of personified objects of nature into sticks etc., is a fiction of which we have another instance in 111, 16.

122, 11. ndshenshkáni. See *Note* to 71, 6. 7.

122, 12. 13. tchiwá, tchi'tchu: tchi is a syllable found in many words referring to water and liquids, as tchíya to give water; tchiéga to overflow. This radical is no doubt an obsolete Klamath word for water and recalls the term tchû'k "water" in Chinook jargon: tltsuk in Lower Chinook, tl'tchuku in Clatsop; tchaúk in Nútka. It also occurs under various forms in the Sahaptin dialects. By this lake undoubtedly Upper Klamath Lake is meant. Cf. tchíwa in Dictionary.

*539 122, 15. ga tuá nink for ká-a tuá ni gíank; ká-a means here "vehemently, cruelly, sharply", tuá: "in some way or other".

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192 122, 16. shash géunish: after they had left the cave.

[193] 122, 20. "aíshing tū'dsh i shásh nen". Here nen stands for some finite verb; either shaná-uli i: you want to conceal them; or for ná-asht i shapíya: "you speak so, in order to conceal them".

122, 23. spū'kua. The spread-out legs of the Crane had to serve as a bridge to the Grizzly Bear, for there was no dug-out canoe at their disposal to cross the river.

122, 23. máksha néklank. Old Crane carried on his leg a vase or skull-cap that belonged to a dug-out canoe, but did not possess a canoe himself.

123, 3. u'hlítcha. Grizzly shook out the remainder of the water to let the skull-cap become dry. Skull-caps are used throughout as drinking vases.

123, 6. táldshitko. This sentence has to be construed: wíwalag, shō'kahām wewákalam táldshitko, ngé-ishan, and táldshitko stands for táldshi gítko: "the young antelopes, armed with the arrows of the Crane's children, shot" etc.

K'MUKÁMTCHIKSHAM SHASHAPKĒLÉASH.

000 THE MYTH OF K'MÚKAMTCH, THE FIVE LYNXES AND THE ANTELOPE.

OBTAINED FROM J. C. D. RIDDLE IN THE MODOC DIALECT.

K'múkamtchíktch hûnk géntko kāílatat, kāílash shutólan, túnep shléa
K'múkamtch walking earth upon, the world having created, five he saw
shlóa ánkotat wawakayápkash. Kaílio skútatko K'mukómtchigsh shpakága
lynxes on trees sitting. In a rabbit-blanket clad K'múkamtch tore to pieces
p'ná kaílio-skútash, heméχen: "tidshí' ûn gé-u skû'tash gítak shlû'a lue-
his rabbit-skin robe, (and) said: "a good to me robe will be the lynxes when
lóka." Ktái pe-uyégan shlóa kai'hhō'ta; nāsh shlóa hûtχídshnan húdshna.
I kill." Stones picking up the lynxes he missed; one lynx jumping down ran away.
Heméχen: "ē, ká-i tídshi skútash gi-uápka!" Pēn kai'hhō'ta ktayátka,
He said: "oh! not a good mantle it will become!" Again he missed with a stone,
pē'n nāsh shlóa hûtχídshnan hû'dshna. K'mukómtchigsh heméχen: "pē'n
another lynx jumping down ran off. K'múkamtch said: "again
nāsh hûtχídsha; at gé-u ketchgáne skútash gi-uápka." Ndáni shlóa wawag-
one skipped away; now my small mantle will become." The three lynxes sitting on
gáyan K'mukámtchāsh shushaluákta; pén ktayátka shlóa kaí'hha. Nā'sh
(trees) at K'múkamtch scoffed; again with a stone the lynxes he missed. Another
pēn hûtχídshna húdshna. K'mukómtchiksh häméχe: "kémat pí'la nísh
one jumped down (and) ran away. K'múkamtch said: "the back only to me

II.

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Kiä'm	k̲'leká	tchû'shni;	tsúyunk	hû'ksa	tsóχatk	pí'l	kiä'm,	nánuktua
Fish	remain dead	forever;	therefore	these	dead (people)	(exist) only	as fish,	as all kinds of

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kiä'm,	nánuktua	mák̲laksni	tsók̲atk.	Hä'	n'	hû'nk	hû'nkiash	shläát	skû'k-
fish,	all kinds	of Indians	dead.	If	I		(of a deceased)	should behold	the

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shash,	k̲'läkát	ní	hû'nk	släók;	hä'toks	ní	shuíshaltk,	tchēk	gíug	k̲á-i
spirit,	would die	I	it	through seeing;	but if	I	recur to magic songs,	then		not

siúgat	nia.
he may kill	me.

NOTES.

[128] My efforts towards obtaining exhaustive texts from the natives concerning their belief in the transmigration of human souls were not crowned with entire success. Of the two items obtained, No. II is intended as a commentary of No. I, both treating [262] of the presence of human souls in fish. The cause why so many Indian tribes shun the flesh of certain fish lies in the fact that these species were seen feeding upon the bodies of drowned men and swimming around them. This induced the belief that man's soul will pass into the organisms of these finny inhabitants of the wave, even *539 when death has resulted from other causes than from drowning. According to Hill, 775 the Mák̲laks believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of 787 living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore 192 cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances. But in *one* status only they become visible to them; when Indians are bewitched by the irresistible, magic spell of a conjurer or of a wicked genius. Then they enter into a tamánuash-dream, and when they see a dead person's spirit in such a dream, they are almost certain to [755] die from it. Only the intervention of the conjurer and of his song-medicine can save them from perishing; rigorous fasting and ascetic performances cannot be then dispensed with, and with all that no certitude of his final rescue is to be had.

[769] Here as elsewhere the pronouns hûk, húnkiash etc., are inserted instead of the unpronounceable name of the deceased, and mean: *dead person, spirit.*

129, 2. pîl mák̲laks; only dead Indians, not dead white men, because during their life-time these did not believe in the skû'ks; this belief is a privilege of the Indians.

129, 2. Hushti'χak etc. This sentence runs as follows: Tchë'ktoks hushti'χa ak nish, hûk tchë'k nish síuksh shanahö'li, wakiánhua tchēk p'násh (or pû'sh) nû'sh shuíshaltki gíug shanahö'li: "if he (the bad genius) makes me only dream in that manner, then he intends either to kill me, or perhaps he wants me to keep the song-medicine [756] for myself." To keep the song-medicine, shuíshli, is to undergo fasts and ascetic performances under the supervision of some conjurer for an almost unlimited time, five years at least.

129, 3. 4. Hä'toks ní' shläát etc.: if I should see (the dead) while I am *awake.*

[193] 129, 4. Skû'ks-kiäm, a compound word, may be rendered by spirit-fish, letiferous fish.

130, 1. Kiä'm k̲'leka etc. The rather obscure sense of this statement may be made comprehensible by the following: "When fish are dead, they are dead forever; hence

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the souls of all dead Indians continue to exist in the living fish, in all kinds of *living* fish only."

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130, 2. tsóχatk. This refers to Indians who have perished by a violent death, as well as to those who died in the natural way.

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THE SPELL OF THE LAUGHING RAVEN.

[115]

GIVEN BY "CAPTAIN JIM" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

I.

Shúyuχalkshi tchúyunk É-ukshikni máklaks hátokt shuyúχěla, túmi
At "dance-place" when the Klamath Lake people there pilpil-danced, many

hûk hátokt máklaks gî. K'múkamtch hátokt a géna. Tchúi Ká-akamtch
there people were. K'múkamtch there went. Then Old Raven

shash hátokt wétanta shúyûχalpksh, tchúi hû ktá-i k'lä'ka nánuk máklaks
at them there laughed when they danced, and rocks became all people

shúyukaltk hátokt.
dancing there.

II.

Yámakni hû'k Káyutchish gátpa Kî'uti kúitit; tchúyunk î'-úag
From the North Gray Wolf arrived Kluti above; then he stopped

shkû'lχa káyak tchî'sh gátpěnunk, nánuk shûlû'tamantk hátkok yámnash
(and) lay down (to sleep), not yet home having reached, in full dress at that spot beads

wáwakshnatk tchish; túla tchish hû'k gákatpantk î'uag sha hû'nk tû'kělχa.
with moccasins on too; together with (him) those coming stopped they (and) rested.

Tchúi Sháshapamtch hû'nk gáldsha-uyank Ké-utchiamtchash skû'lpkank
Then Old Grizzly approached Old Gray Wolf lying (and)

ktámpsh. Tchúi Sháshapamtch pálla Ke-utchíshash wákshna yámnash
asleep. And Old Grizzly stole from Gray Wolf the moccasins beads

tchish shûlû'dshnank wû'kshχēn génuapkug. Tchúi Ke-utchíamtch
also, (and) put them on, to the fishing-place for going. Upon this Old Gray Wolf

sχishû'lank ktî'ukuela Sháshapamtchash; vûd'hitakuéla ktáyat pállapksh
waking up threw down hill the Old Grizzly; he rolled (him) down over the rocks for having robbed

pásh wákshna yámnash tchish. Tchúi hû'nk shíuga pî Sháshapamtchash,
his of moccasins neckwear also. Then killed he the Old Grizzly,

tchúi É-ukshikni máklaks shellualtámpka Yámakishash, Sháshapamtchash
whereupon the Klamath Lake people commenced fighting the Northerners, (because) Old Grizzly

hûnk Kä'-utchishash shíugsht. Tchúi Ká-akamtch wétanta shash shél-
by Gray Wolf had been killed. Then Old Raven laughed at them when

lualpksh, ktá-i sha k'léka.
fighting, and rocks they became.

III.

*539 773 K'múkamtch hû'nk nákosh hû'nk táplalash né-ulχa shnó-uyalátki
K'múkamtch a dam the loon ordered to destroy
shash. K'múkamtch hû'nk pí tpä'wa táplalash shnewí'tki gíug, pí k̲á-i
to them. K'múkamtch he ordered the loon to destroy (it), (but) no
tuá kiä'm lúeluak. Hû'ksha hû'nk nakushkshákshni k̲ú-idsha kiä'm
fish to kill. Those who dwelt at the dam rotten fish
nutuyakía nákosh gä'tant, K'mukámtchish shíuguk, k̲ú-idsha kiä'm pátki
threw over the dam to the other side of, (for) K'múkamtch to kill, rotten fish (be) go-
gíug. Tchúi K'múkamtch sháwiguk k̲ú-i sham nákûsh shû'ta; tchúi
ing to eat. Then K'múkamtch in wrath their dam spoiled; upon this
nákushχēnkni shlámiuk shtí'ya shishí'dsha shû'ktaldshank lák. Tchúi
the dam-neighbors in mourning pitch put on head, cutting off (their) hair. Then
*539 773 K̲á-ag wétanta shash, ktá-i sha k̲'léka. Tchúyunk K'mukámtch lúpaksh
the Raven laughed at them, rocks they became. Hereupon K'múkamtch chalk
192 shna-ulámna taplálash.
spit over the loon.

NOTES.

[823] I. This myth intends to explain the existence of the large number of rocks found at the locality called Shúyuχalkshi.

[196 / 193] 131, 2. K̲á-ak̲amtch. The adjectives -amtch, -ámtchik̲sh appended to animal names designate mythologic characters. Adjectives of an equal meaning occur in all the western languages, as far as these have been studied. Cf. *Note* to 128, 11. 12.

[825] II. In this myth, as well as in other grizzly bear stories recorded in this volume, this bear is always killed, conquered or cheated by his quicker and more cunning adversaries. Nevertheless his clumsy form and narrow, ferocious intellect are very popular among the tribes, who have invented and still invent numerous stories to illustrate his habits and disposition.

[103] 131, 5. K̲íuti is the name of an Indian camping-place situated a short distance north of Modoc Point, on eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake.

[193] 131, 6. hátkok qualifies shkû'lχa and yámnash is the indirect object of shûlû'tamantk. Shkû'lχa, nánuk yámnash shûlû'tamantko, wawakshnátko tchish: "he lay down to sleep, keeping all his neckwear on himself, and not taking off his moccasins." Shûlû'tamna can in other connections refer to the clothing, but here it has special reference to the beads.

131, 11. ktí'ukuela. Tradition reports, that Old Grizzly was pushed over some of the high rocks at Modoc Point.

[173] 131, 13. Yámakishash etc. In these words may be recorded the reminiscence of an ancient fight between the Klamath people and some Northern tribe which had come South on a hunting expedition. A Klamath song-line given in this volume also recalls
*539 an ancient inroad made by the "Northerners". The grizzly bear represented the
773 Klamath tribe, the wolf the Northern Oregonians, perhaps as ancient totem signs; the
825 bear having been killed by an intruder, the Klamaths had to take revenge for the insult.

823 III. The object of this myth is to explain, among other things, the origin of the white spots on the head and back of the loon (táplal). But the myth as given in the

*539 [787] Hä' i shma-'htcháktak yaínatat, k̲á-i i ûn k̲ésh shlé-etak; hä'-atoks
If you let your shadow fall on the hill, not you ipo will find; but if
i k̲á-i shma-'htcháktak, tü'm i ûn k̲ésh shlé-etak.
you not let your shadow fall, much you ipo will find.

000 Móatuash, k̲'le-ugtkinápkasht tchíalash Móatuashăm k̲ók̲etat, k̲á-i mhû'
The Pit River Indians, (last) would cease to come the salmon up the Pit River, not grouses
lúela skó; Mō'dokni tchí'sh lóla shuátash kíăm tchûk̲á shátma, humásht-
they kill in spring time; the Modocs also assume, sage-hens the fish to swim up stream invite, there-
gisht k̲á-i lúela.
fore not they kill (them).

NOTES.

*539 171 I. What is contained in these short items refers equally to the Klamath Lake and to the Modoc people, although those contained under I. were obtained from various informants belonging to the former chieftaincy.

[192] 133, 2. páka to howl, bark; pák'la to howl repeatedly, to howl for a while; pákhúpka to howl for a while in the distance towards somebody.

[177] [231] 133, 4. 5. The cat and the chicken being but recently introduced among these tribes, this superstition must have been transferred to them from other animals. By inversion, the words tchíkin gû'lu, *the hen*, appear here widely separated from each other.

[192] 133, 6. K̲ú-i tchămlûk has to be resolved into: k̲ú-i tchĕ mál (for málash) hú'k: "bad then for you this is!" Cruel fights will follow.

133, 7–11. This story is not clearly worded, but we are taught by it how these Indians are conversing among each other with laconic breviloquence. An Indian living in the vicinity has heard the whining of the dog which means death to his owner. He goes there, shoots the man and takes to his heels. A relative of the murdered man comes up and is mistaken by others for the murderer. They deprive him of his wife, his property and his liberty; he becomes a madman on account of the injustice done to him.

[825] 134, 1. 2. The raven (k̲ák̲) is supposed to be a bird of fatal augury, because he was seen devouring the flesh of dead Indians. Compare: General *Note* on page 130.

[202] 134, 4. kíukayunk. They adjust a rag or piece of skin to a pole and stick out that improvised *flag* on the top of the lodge to notify neighbors that they had a dream last night and desire an interpreter for it.

[525] [825] 134, 5. One of the legs of a dead black tmélhak-squirrel is cut off and laid under the gaming-disk or the pá'hla to insure luck to the player.

134, 7–12. Tchásháăsh etc. This is a fragmentary extract of a scurrilous skunk-myth, which I have not been able to obtain in full from my informant, the Modoc chief Johnson, who speaks the Klamath dialect. This myth is well known through the whole of Oregon, for parts of it are embodied in a popular and melodious song of the Mólale tribe, whose ancient home is the country east and southeast of Oregon City and Portland.

134, 7. 8. mák̲laks nánuk is the direct object of hushtaóga; the skunk killed them by his stench.

[601] 134, 9. tû'paks stands for tû'pakshash; túpakship, abbreviated túpaksh, is properly the younger sister, as called by or with reference to an elder brother, while pa-ánip

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is the elder sister, called so by or with reference to a younger brother. Two other terms exist for the relative age of sisters among themselves.

134, 11. pátkalp'le. The myth adds, that the eagle got up again at dinner-time and that after washing the face he took a nap before taking his sister home.

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II. These items were all obtained in the Modoc dialect from J. C. D. Riddle. Many of the articles mentioned as gamblers' amulets are supposed to bring good luck to the gambler on account of their *scarcity*, which must have made them more interesting to the aboriginal mind than other objects of a brighter exterior.

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134, 13. ntággal, ndákal: to find accidentally; shléa: to find, generally, after a search. vumi' is to hide away either on one's own person or in the ground.

134, 16. 18. tídsh tínχa is to succeed, to be lucky; without tídsh in: hútoks tínχantko gi, that man is lucky.

[411]

134, 17. shtáp is a black arrow-head made of obsidian, a volcanic rock found in several places in these highlands.

135, 1. hä'-atoks is formed from hä toks with intercalation of the declarative particle a.

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135, 3. k̲'le-ugtki-uápkasht is a periphrastic conjugational form composed of gi-uápkasht, of the verb gi, and of k̲'lé-utka, the usitative of k̲'léwi, to cease, stop, terminate; -utka has turned into -ugt- by metathesis. Literally: "would habitually cease to be in the Pit River." mhû', the grouse, is called by the Klamath Lakes tmû'.

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REFLECTIONS OF EVERY-DAY LIFE

Monologues in the Klamath Lake Dialect by Johnson, Chief of the Modocs

K̲á-i	mish	nû	ó-it	nû	tidsä'wa	nté-ish,	shliútuk	mä'makla	pá-uk	shlínk
Not	you	I	to let have	I	like	(my) bow,	for shooting	ducks	to eat	killing (them)

ndektí'shtka.	Tidsä'wa	k̲á-i	mish	úya,	tû	génuapka	úyamnank	nté-ish
with arrows.	I like	not	to you	to give (it),	over there	I will go	taking along	bow and arrows

3 gé-u,	hishlátsanuapka.	Yó-ishi!	tatála	k̲ä'gi,	k̲á-i	shláa	tatákni	yû'lχ;
my,	(and) will amuse myself by shooting.	Are lost!	right (ahead)	they are not,	not	I found (them)	where	they went down;

yó-ishin,	mā'ns	k̲á-ika.	Ûnds	mbúsant	pēn	k̲áyakuapk.
they are lost,	for a long time	I searched.	Some-time	to-morrow	again	I will look out (for them).

Shikútchipk	tchiká	kĕmutsátk;	undsē'ks	séwanuapk	pátki	giúga
Walks on stick	an old	decrepit (man);	some time	I will give (him)		to eat

6 méhiess;	yuyálks	tsi	pá-uk	hûn	tchē'k	tídsh	kí'-uapk.	Kí'shtchipk	huk
trout;	being poor	thus	through eating	of it	then	at ease	he will feel.	Comes to me	this

snéwedsh;	oní'sh	kíäm	shéwant i;	tû'm	nû'sh	shewantamnuápka	sáwalktko
woman;	to her	fish	you may give;	plenty	to me	she will continue to give	having received presents.

Kámp'kuk	k̲éliak	pásh	tiä'ma.	Undsē't	kátchkal	pa-uápk	gé-utala	steínash.
The indigent	without	food	is hungry.	By and by	tobacco	I will chew	to my heart's content.	

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Sanáhole	kátchkal	titchéwank;	û'nds	pēn	mbúsant	pá-uapk	kátchgal	
I like	tobacco	well enough;	by and by	again	to-morrow	I will chew	tobacco	
pátkēlank.	Kaní	shlé-uapka	û'ns	stoyuápka;	tóla	pákuapka	û'ntch;	pēn
while getting up.	Outdoor (anybody)	should I see,	then	I'll cut off (some for him);	with (me)	he will smoke (it)	then;	again
wutuápka	kinkáni	kátchgal;	kinkáni,	k̲á-i	túmi,	tchē'k	pēn	túmi	pákuapka,
I shall spend	a little	tobacco;	(but) little,	not	much,	afterwards	again	much	I will smoke,
pakólank	sχólakuapka.							
(and) after smoking	go to bed.							

NOTES.

Of the two paragraphs of "Reflections" submitted, the first refers to the loss of some hunter's arrows, which had been loaned to somebody together with the bow. The second speaks in a rather egotistical sense of the pleasure which is afforded by succoring helpless and indigent people.

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136, 3. k̲ä'gi. This refers to some arrows, which cannot be found at the spot, to which they seemed to fly.

136, 4. 5. Untchēk, abbreviated undsē, û'ntch, únda, ûns, points to some undetermined epoch in the *future:* by and by, after a lapse of time, some time from now; undsē't, 136, 8., through apocope and synizesis, stands for untsē'k at; undsē'ks for untchēk tchish.

136, 5. Shikútchipk tchiká kēmutsátk, grammatically incomplete forms standing for shikutchípka t'shíka kēmutsátko. The word *stick* is not expressed in the text, but the suffix -ipka, united to shikútcha, expresses the idea of "walking while leaning oneself upon something or somebody". Cf. láyipka, to point the gun at the one speaking; tilō'dshipka, to see somebody coming towards oneself.

136, 6. kí'shtchipka, to step towards the one speaking; cf. *Note* to 136, 5.

136, 7. oní'sh for húnish, cf. ō'skank for hû'shkanka, 65, 1. Húnish is the objective case of hû'n; but this pronoun is not regularly used when speaking of animate beings; hû'nkiash would be grammatically correct.

136, 7. shéwant i. The words oní'sh kiā̆m shéwant i are supposed to be directed to one belonging to the speaker's household.

136, 8. The term kátchkal, tobacco, expresses the idea of an *intermixture* of several kinds of weeds or leaves for the purpose of smoking them.

136, 8. pa-uápk. A more appropriate term than this for masticating tobacco is: kátchkal kpû'yumna.

137, 1. titchéwank. This is in fact the participle of a verb: "I like tobacco, being fond of it."

137, 2. stoyuápka: I shall cut off a piece from a stick of pressed tobacco and give it to him. Cf. stuyákishka, to clip the hair.

137, 3. kinkáni kátchgal. If this and the following were not worded in the conversational slang, it would read: kinkánish kátchgal; kinkánish, k̲á-i túma, tchē'k pēn túma (or tû'm) etc.

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137, 3. k̲á-i túmi. Indians are not often seen to smoke continuously as we do; those inhabiting the Klamath Reserve take a few whiffs from their small, often home-made pipe, then pass it to the neighbor and emit the smoke through the nose. Sometimes they swallow the smoke for the purpose of intoxication, and the elder women smoke just like the men. Cigars offered to them are cut small and serve to fill up their tobacco-pipe.

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WAILINGS AT THE APPROACH OF THE FATAL HOUR.

GIVEN BY DOCTOR JOHN, OR K̲ÁKASH, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

"Ngä'-ish a ni tä'lχapksh, gé-u tä'lak, shlín antsa; shkék antsa nû'sh,
"An arrow me striking, my arrow, shot they; they broke (my) head,
shlín nish. Kán ish shlín? Tsuyä'sh ni shlín, gén ish tsuyä'sh mpáta,
they shot me. Who me shot? Through the cap I was struck, this me cap kills,
3 másha n'sh, shlín ish nû'sh, k̲á-a n's mā'sh', guhuá nish, a nish k̲á-a mā'sha!
it pains me, they shot me in the head, intensely me it pains, am swollen I, now me hard it pains!
Pásh ish shéwan i; k̲'lékuapkan pánuk; pálak shéwan i, a nish k̲á-a mā'sha,
Food me give you; I will die after eating; quickly give you, me very hard it pains,
tüä'matk k̲á-a, pálak shä'wan i." At shéwana nû, at pán; shnuk' át mí'dshû.
(I am) hungry very, quickly give you." And give (him) I, and he eats; he takes now the spoon.
6 "At k̲'léka, átěni k̲'léka; tsía at, k̲'leká taks nû; shlín nish nû'shtat.
"Now I expire, now I die; I live yet, dying but (am) I; they shot me in the head.
[764] A ni k̲'léka, ā'těni k̲'lekála." At k̲'leká. Shû'dsha lúluksla sa lû'lokshtat
Now I die, now I am sinking fast." Then he dies. Kindle a fire (and) cremate they in the fire
hû'nk k̲'lékapksh.
the deceased man.

NOTES.

This short incident of war is full of the most dramatic interest, and gives some idea of the oratorial powers of the average Indian. It was obtained from a man who undoubtedly had witnessed more than one similar scene during the numerous raiding expeditions made by his tribe before the conclusion of the treaty in 1864.

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138, 1. ngä'-ish a ni tä'lχapksh shlín antsa, forms of the conversational language standing for ngä'-ish a nish tälχápkash shlín a sha. gé-u tä'lak "my arrow," a poetic symbolism for the arrow that causes my death.

138, 1. shkék antsa for shkéka a sha, but nasalized like shlín antsa. Shkéka properly means to pierce, but is used in a medial sense.

138, 2. mpáta properly means to dry up by heat. The cap or hat is said here to kill the man by exciting an intolerable fever heat within him.

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138, 3. mā'sha n'sh. Some impersonal verbs can also assume the personal form of intransitive verbs: mā'sha nû and mā'sha nish: "it pains me"; kédshika nû and nish: "I feel tired". The Modoc dialect prefers the personal form.

138, 6. 7. atěni for at a ni. Cf. sě, 82, 4. tchä'lχet 90, 11. átěnish, atěni 90, 12. 13. gě'ntěni, *Note* to 93, 7. 9.

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THE LORD'S PRAYER.

I.

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Nálam p'tíshap, kat p'laí tchía: Nánuk nā'd hû'nk mî shéshash kátak
Our father, which on high lives: All of us thy name truly
shtî'nta. Mî húshkanksh gû'ta nā'lsh. Î hû'nk vû'nhuapk génta käílatat,
worship. Thy mind come to us. Thou wilt achieve on this earth,
wákaktak p'laítalknî gi. Shéwan î nálsh gē'n waítash nálam pála-ash 3
equally as (thou) on high dost. Give thou us this day our bread
nánuk waítashtat. Hă nálsh tuá k̲ó-idshi gíntanuapk, k̲á-i hûn, p'laítalkni,
every on day. If on us any-thing wicked should stick on, not it, thou on high,
hû'shkank î! húmashtak nā'd k̲á-i hû'shkankuapk, hă kaní nálsh k̲ú-i
mind thou! just as we not would mind it, if somebody us wrong
gî'uapk. K̲á-i nálsh î tuá shutétki k̲ú-idsha, î inúhuashkpak hak nálsh 6
should do. Not to us thou any-thing let do wicked, (but) thou keep away only from us
tuá k̲ú-idsha. Húmasht giúg mî né-ulaks, nk̲î'llitk tchî'sh, ktchálshkash
any-thing wicked. For thine (is) the rule, force also, glory
tchîsh tchúshniak. Húmashtak an hûn gîtk gi!
also forever. Thus I it to be say!

II.

Nálam t'shî'shap, p'laí tchía: Mî shéshash nánuk stínta; mî k̲óχpash 9
Our father, on high (who) livest: Thy name all revere; thy mind
gáltchui nanukă'nash nā'l. Gitá tchî'sh käíla humashták gi, wákaktoksh
come to every one (of) us. Here too on earth in the same manner be done, just as
p'laí ki. Nálash gēn waítash shápěle shéwan î. K̲á-i nálash k̲ó-i shû'tă,
on high is done. To us this day bread give thou. Not us wicked render thou,
húmasht nálam mák̲laks-shítko stínta. I huáshgi nálamtant k̲ó-idsha 12
equally as our men-kindred (we) love. Thou keep off from our bad
steínashtat k̲óχpash; tídsh nálam steínash shútă. Mî tála litchlítchli, mî
(from) heart thoughts; good our heart make thou. Thine alone (is the) power, thy
steínash litchlítchli tchússak, mû'ni lák̲iam steínash. Húmasht toks tídsh.
heart strong (is) perpetually, great of the Lord the heart. Thus (it will be) well.

NOTES.

These versions of the Lord's Prayer are good instances of what can be attained, without using too many circumlocutions, in rendering religious, moral and other abstract ideas in a language deficient in many of them.

[192] For reign and kingdom no words exist, and they had to be rendered by hû'shkanksh, or in Modoc k̲óχpash, "mind", né-ulaks, "rule, law"; sin and forgive were

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rendered by "something wicked" and "not to mind"; for "thy will be done" stands "achieve thou". Power and glory become "force, impetuosity" and "radiance", and daily bread: "flour on every day". In the Modoc version, the wording of which is inferior to that of version I, the use of similar expedients will be observed.

I. In the Klamath Lake dialect; by Minnie Froben.

139, 6. inúhuashkpak, phonetic inversion for inuhuashkápk' î; see Dictionary.

139, 7. ktchálshkash, from the word ktchálχa, to shine, to be radiant, resplendent.

139, 8. gitk, in an hûn gitk gi, is the verbal intentional gitki.

II. In the Modoc dialect; by the Riddle family.

139, 10. Gitá käfla is equivalent to gē'nta käflatat; in humashták gi the verb gi has to be taken in the *passive* sense.

139, 11. ḵó-i shû'tä: "do not render us wicked." For shútä compare 111, 15. and *Note*.

139, 12. húmasht nálam. Between these words and the preceding ones there is a lacune in the text. máḵlaks-shitko, "our kindred": those who look like ourselves.

139, 13. 14. In mî tála litchlítchli the adjective strong stands for "strength, power", while in mî steínash litchlítchli it is used in its adjective signification. In this language abstract ideas are sometimes rendered by adjectives and by verbal adjectives in -tko.

DIALOGUES.

I.

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Tsématk. Tatá lish sha ksíulakuapk?
When they will dance?

Skä'lag. Pá-ak ḵá-i an sháyuakta! uná a sha ná-asht she-édshtat mat
Not I know! once they so (said), on Saturday
sha nánuk shûkû'lki-uapk kshí'ulχish.
they all will assemble for the dance.

Kápuak. Tátai tchí'k sha kshíulakuapk? Plē'nkamkshi á? tám hak
Where after all they are going to dance? At Frank's house? perhaps
haítch î hû'nk shlääátk? ḵúi a sha nen hûnk máshish gish shápa.
(did) you him see? seriously they him diseased to be say.

Skä'lag. Káyak an hátokt gátpantk, ná-asht tä'dsh toks nû tû'mēna gén
Not I there was going, thus however I heard this
mbû'shant pîl, mat pá-ula: gät tóks nû wátch káyaktgûk, kúinag
morning only, (that) he was eating: out there I of my horses while returning from the search, away from any house
gépgapēle.
I returned.

Kápuak. Tám haítch î nä'gsh shíwaksh shlää gúni, gémpktch Kúy-
(Did) you absent from home the girl see over there, who went to
amtsχēksh, Ellen Débidam mû'kag shétaltchapksh mā'shisht?
Kû am Shä'vksht, of Allen David a baby to visit having fallen sick?

Skä'lag. Ḵá-i an tû'sh shleá pûsh. **Kápuak.** Î.
Not I anywhere saw her. Is that so?

*539 Skä'lag guhuáshktcha; Käptinámkshi tchkash sha vûlánkia: "Tát i
Skälak left; at the Captain's lodge also they inquired (of him): "where you
tamnû'tka?"
come from?"

Skä'lag. Gē'ɪ an wátch káyaktka, ksíulakshχēn genû'tuapkuk.
Through there I of (my) horse returned from the search, towards the dance-house while intending to go.

Captain. Táta haí tchí'k sha kshí'ulaktchuapk?
Where finally they are going to dance?

Skä'lag. Mbû'shant a sha she-édshtat kshíulaktchuapk Mbû'shak-Shiwáshkni, ák tchísh nánuk gépkuapk.
To-morrow they on Saturday will dance the dwellers at Mbû-shak-Shiwash, probably too all will come.

Tchúi guhuáshktcha gémbaluk.
Then he started off to go home.

II.

Hlékosh. Tát lísh mí û'nak?
Where (is) your son?

Pépakli. Le-utchólan kaní' úna geknō'la; le-utchólan tunepä'nish tatákiash túla.
For playing outdoors a while ago he went out; for playing five children with.

Hlékosh. Wakaítch gé-uga kaí gépgaple?
Why not returns he?

Pépakli. Tútaks atí léwa; hótaks tatáksni waíta léwapka; lítki gatpampēli-uápka.
Away far they play; those children the whole day will play; in the evening they will return home.

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I. Dialogue about a dance to be held on the Williamson River; in the Klamath Lake dialect, by Minnie Froben.

140, 2. Pá-ak ká-i an sháyuakta! is interpreted by "what do I know!"

140, 9. nä'gsh shíwaksh gémpktch stands for négsh shiwákash genápkash. It is very rare that diminutive nouns, like shíwak, shíwaga, assume the ending -ash in the objective case; cf. 23, 10. But shíwak means not only a little girl; it means an adult girl also, and is therefore inflected like snáwedsh.

140, 9. Kúyamtsχēksh. For this local name cf. Page 91, first *Note*. Frank and Allen David live both at that place, close to the steep western bank of the Williamson River, while the communal dance-house, a spacious, solid earth-lodge, lies further to the northeast.

141, 5. Mbû'shak-Shiwáshkni, term corrupted from Mbû'shaks-Shawálshkni: "the one who lives, or those who live at the locality of the obsidian arrowheads." Mbû'shaks-Shâwalsh lies on the eastern shore of the Williamson River. Cf. *Note* to 134, 17.

II. Dialogue in the Modoc dialect; by Toby Riddle.

141, 9. Léwa, to play, forms the derivates lé-utcha to go to play; lé-utchna to play while going, to play on the way, cf. shuédshna 99, 2.; le-utchóla to go to play in the distance.

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141, 11. gé-nga for the more common giuga, giug.

141, 12. léwapka to play in the distance, out of sight, or unseen by us; but here this term is more probably a synizesis of léwnapka, the future tense of léwa.

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NAMES BESTOWED ON UPPER KLAMATH LAKE LOCALITIES.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

K'mukámtch mat käfla shû'ta. Tsúyunks ä'-alk käfla shutólan:
K'múkamtch, so they say, the country made. The following names gave he, the country after creating:

Tuli'sh käfla E-ukski'shash shúta K'mukámts kiäm-luelkalí'a; Tulí'sh tsí-
"Tulish" place for the Lake people made K'múkamtch to be their fish-killing place; Tulish,

hunk ä'lχa. "At hû'nk käfla git ktaíksi Shúyakēksh tchín ä'lχa; gíti
thus he named it. "And that spot there where the rocks are, "Jumping-Rocks" so I name; here

shuyéakēks gi-uápka". E-ukskísas K'mukámts né-ulχank hemé χe:
a leaping place shall be". To the Lake people K'múkamtch ordering said:

"Tû'kua ná-asni kä'la nā'sni élχa gí'ta Tû'kua; Gû'mbat nā'sni git élχa;
"Túkua so I a spot, so I name here Túkua; Kúmbat so I there give name;

gíta Kä'lalksi nā'sni élχa gí'ta. Wakáksi spû'klishtat gí't i spû'kle-uapk;
there Dirt-hauling place, so I give name there. At Wáka in the sweat-house there you shall sweat;

hä' me wéash k̲'lä'kuapk gí't i spû'kle-uapk, hä' mi snáwedsh k̲ēlákuapk
if your child should die, there you shall sweat, if your wife should die,

gít i spû'kle-uapk túnepni gitá; túnepni spû'kle-uapk snawédsh, hä' mi
there you shall sweat five (days) there; five (days) shall sweat (you) wife, if your

hishuáktch k̲ēlä'kuapk. Túnepni spû'kle-uapk, tsúi k̲íllitk tsulä'ks gí'-
husband should die. Five (days) you shall sweat, then strong (your) body will

uapk, k̲á-i pálak i kĕmútchuapk."
become, not fast you will become old."

"Nāsht ni ne-û'lχa Á-usmi shéshuapk; nā'sni élχa gēn käfla.
"Thus I ordain Á-ushmi to be called; thus I give name to this spot.

Koháshti ná-ast ni élk̲a gí'ta. Ē-uk̲alkshi nā'sni élχa gí'ta; gí'tats spû'kle-
"Set out" thus I call that place. E-ukalkshi so I name this place; here also you shall

uapk, tuní'pni i spukle-uápka wéas k̲'lekáluk, tû'nipni snawédshēsh k̲ēle-
sweat, five (days) you shall sweat a child after losing, five (days) a wife after

káluk hishuáksh tchish; k̲á-itoks mi sa-ámoks k̲ēlékst k̲á-i i spû'kle-uapk,
losing, a husband also; but not, your relatives having died not (there) you shall sweat,

hä' mi sa-ámoks nánuktua tsók̲uapk. Ká-i i gitá spû'kle-uapk ndānnántak:
if your kinsmen of all degrees shall have died. Not you there will sweat but for three:

snawédshtat, hishuákshtat, wéashtat."
for wife, for husband, for child."

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"Nakótk Wi'tlas ḵoḵétat hí tchí'sh luélks-kiäm gí'-uapk; na-ást shé-
"By (its) dam Witlash in Williamson River there also a fish-killing place shall be; thus

shash élχa ni: Ktá-i-Tupáksi. Mbû'saks nä'st shéshatk máḵlaks gí'-uapk;
name give I: Rocks-where-stand. "Obsidian" so called a people shall exist;

Smä'k nä'st sésatk gí'-uapk máḵlaks gí'ta. Kä'katils nä'st sésatk gí-uapk
"Hairy" so named shall exist a people there. "Armpit-hairy" so called shall exist

gí'ta máḵlaks."
there a people."

NOTES.

All Máḵlaks admit that K'múkamtch created their country, the earth and the universe, but as to the special process by which he created them they seem to have no definite idea, though they possess a multitude of myths for special creations.

Most of the places mentioned in this item are situated around Upper Klamath Lake. That they are localities inhabited for centuries past, and identified with the history of the tribe is proved by the fact that their naming is ascribed to K'múkamtch. The most noticeable of them are no doubt the three sweat-houses, all of which are of remote antiquity, and were put to use only when families were mourning the loss of one of their members. Two of them are quoted here: Wakáksi or Käilalkshíni spúklish on west side of Lake and Ē-ukalksi, a short distance south of Fort Klamath. The third lies about three miles south of Modoc Point; it is called Ká-ashkshi spúklish.

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142, 1. käíla. About the meaning of this term in creation myths, cf. *Note* 98, 23. In other connections, in the present text, käíla or kä'la means spot, locality.

142, 2. 3. Tulísh. To enable the Indians to catch fish at that place, K'múkamtch built for them, as tradition has it, an obstruction resembling a beaver-dam. Cf. nakótk, 143, 1.; gíti for gíta hí.

142, 3. 5. Túkna and Koháshti are camping- and fishing-places on the eastern shore of the Lake. At Shuyakē'kish the Indians leap over rocks for amusement.

142, 5. ná-asui, ná'sni stands for ná-asht ni: "thus I".

142, 5. 11. Gúmbat is called Rocky Point by the white population, and lies on the western shore of Upper Klamath Lake. A-usmi is an island of the Lake.

142, 6. Wakáksi or Wáka is named after the tuákish-fowl whose cry is wáka wáka.

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142, 6–10. 12–16. These mourning customs are gradually disappearing at the present time. One reason for this is the progressive assimilation of the tribes to American customs, another is the circumstance, that all of the three ancient sweat-houses are situated outside of the reservation limits.

142, 15. ndânnántak is composed of ndánnanti or ndánnantat ak: "only for three (kinds of relatives)".

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143, 1. Nákotk is the instrumental case of nákōsh, lumber-dam: "on account of its dam Witlas will be a fish-killing locality." A loon destroyed that dam by forcing its way under it; one of our texts gives this myth. Cf. 132, 1–8 and *Note* to 74, 2.

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143, 2. 3. Mbû'saks, Smä'k and Kä'katils are names given in contempt or derision of the respective tribes; the latter to Indians living at the Dalles of Columbia River, Smä'k to a tribe living south of that locality. Cf. 103, 2. 3. Mbû'saks is a name for the Snake Indians.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON ANIMALS.

GIVEN BY JOHNSON, CHIEF AT YÁNEKS, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Nī'l	wéksa	pû'l'hka	mák̲laks	shû'lhashluk	sχō'lhok;	ktánuapkuk
The down	of mallard-duck	pull out	the Indians	to make pillows	to lie on;	for sleeping

sχō'lhank	nī'l	ikúgank	willishī'kat.
(and) resting	the down	they are putting into	pillow-cases.

3	Mbû'shant	nílaksht	wísχak	hä'ma.
	In the morning	at dawn	the wisχak-bird	sings.

Wátsak	wáwa a	gulíndshisham;	le	génug	wáwa.
Dogs	howl	because left behind;	for not	going (with them)	they howl.

Yá-ukal	tchaggáya	ánkutat	ä'-unank;	untsä'g	ā-unólank	húndshan-
Bald eagle	sits	on tree	replete with food;	after a while	after depleting himself	he will

6	uapk,	tó-ugshtant	húndsanuapk	Ä'-ushtat.
	fly off,	to the opposite shore	he will fly	of Upper Klamath Lake.

Tché-u	gankánkatchuapk;	tí'tnāk	mák̲lakuapk,	wakiánua	lápěni;
Antelopes	(people) are going to hunt;	once only	they will camp out,	or perhaps	twice;

shlíuk	gépgapluapka	pálak.	Úndsh	mbúshant	pä'-uapk	sχólăkok.
after shooting (antelopes)	they will return	at once.	Some time	next day	they will take a cold bath	to induce sleep.

9	K̲ó-i	shû'ta	wásh,	pálla	n'sh	wásh;	k̲ó-idshi	wásh.	Múatch	kpē'l
	Wickedly	acts	prairie-wolf,	steals	from me	prairie-wolf;	mischievous (is)	prairie-wolf.	A long	tail

gī'tko,	tidsá	nē'l	gítko	wásh.	Kinkáni	wásh	É-ushtat.
(he) has,	delicate	fur	has	prairie-wolf.	Scarce (are)	prairie-wolves	at Upper Klamath Lake.

Kaí-udshish	nísh	k̲ópk̲a;	k̲ílōs	k̲é-udsis;	shlá-a	nísh	talatskágantko
Gray wolf	me	bites;	impetuous	is gray wolf;	(when) sees	me,	jumps on my throat

12	k̲é-udshish.
	gray wolf.

NOTES.

[192] 144, 1. nī'l wéksa stands for nī'l wéksam; pû'l'hka for púlχa or púlk̲a: -'h-, "by hand."

144, 9. 10. These characteristics of the prairie- or coyote-wolf, which is so highly reverenced by the California tribes, place him between the wolf and the fox. Nē'l stands for nī'l and múatch for múnish. Tidsá is tídsha a.

[192 193] 144, 11. tslatskágantko; the verbal adjective of tchlakága stands here in the distributive form: "each time when he sees me, he jumps on my throat." The l of the second syllable is suppressed.

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Skáwanks pushpû'shlish shlapshaltko, k̲lä'kots, k̲édsha táletat; k̲ú-idshi, k̲á-i
has a dark flower, (is) a poisoner, grows on straight stalk; (tastes) bad, not

pákish. Pû'shχam kápkălam sχáwanks k̲ó-idse k̲'lä'kotk'sh.
eatable. The limbs of the young pine (and) wild parsnips (are) bad poisoners.

Slē'ds k̲á-i pakí'sh, múkmukli shláps, kiä'm-luelō'tksh; witsólslank é-ushtat
not eatable, downy flowers, a fish-killing-article; while net-fishing in Lake

shtí'lχa.
they put it into (the net).

Tī'líhash k'lûtsuō'tch-ánku vû'nshtat shtákla.
as a "swimming-sucker"-wood on canoe they stick up.

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Wákinsh a k̲édsha pánût. Mák̲laks íshka pánût lultámpkash shutelomá-
grows on the pan-tree. The Indians pick it on pan-tree sticking to smear themselves

shluk, lúshnank sha shnē'lakshtat. Tchúi tchík sha núksht wá-
with. roast (it) they on fire-place. Then they after baking with (it),

titka vukútank shushatelóma télish, p'nā'sh ktchálχishtka shkuk-
knives scraping (it), smear it on faces, themselves from sun-burns to pre-

luápkasht; p'lû' tak sha íwínank shtéwa.
serve; grease they putting into mix up.

NOTES.

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Several plants in this list appear, according to grammatic rule, in the possessive case -am, while their fruits or edible portion are introduced in the subjective case. To the former the substantive ánku or taélash has to be supplied. Small grasses are alimentary plants on account of their seeds only, while the larger aquatic grasses contain nutritive matter in their stalks. Of these notices the shortest and most laconic were obtained from Morgan, who did not enter into particulars concerning the preparation of aliments. By this list the articles on which these Indians feed are by no means exhausted; they eat almost everything found in nature which is not positively obnoxious to health and which contains a particle of nutritive matter, and hence a full list of their kitchen *répertoire* would be at least three times as long as the one obtained.

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146, 1. kak tán for ká ak tánni "so long only"; the length being shown by gesture of hand. Also expressed by ka taniáni, 149, 1. and *Note*. The yántch-plant grows to a length of 18 to 20 inches, the height of the camass- or pû'ks-plant.

146, 3. Kápiunksăm. The kápiunks-seed grows on a prairie-*grass*, like the tchípash- and nû'tak-seed.

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146, 7. 14. pálpal stands for pálpali (originally pálpal-li), having lost its terminal -i by apocope; pálpalish shlapshaltko incorporates the adjective *white* into the verbal adjective "having flowers". This phrase may be circumscribed by pálpalish shlápsh gítko. Cf. 123, 6. and *Note*, and 150, 1.

146, 8. wí-ukayant kěládshamat. Here the adjective in its locative case, used attributively, is united with the partitive case of the substantive, the original form of both being wi-ukáyantat kěládshamti; the subjective case: wi-ukáni kěládsham.

146, 12. Kěnáwat or horse sorrel is mentioned in an Aíshish-myth and does not

*539 262 824 grow so tall in the cold Klamath highlands as in the Californian and Oregonian valleys adjoining them to the southwest and west, where its height attains sometimes three feet. Cf. *Note* to 94, 9.

192 [193] **146, 14. Klána**, an aquatic or tule-grass, of which they eat a portion of the young stalk. The term "tule," from Aztec *tolin*, serves in the West to designate all kinds of rushes, stalks, and grass-like plants growing in the water and wet grounds. By k̲ók̲ĕtat are meant the Williamson and the Sprague Rivers.

147, 1. Klápa is the name of the eatable bulb or root growing on the púdshak-plant. The púdshak-grass becomes red in the autumn, when dry.

147, 3. Ktû'ks is the eatable root of a species of the cat-tail plant; táletat, locative case of tálish (or tálesh?), straight stem, from táltali "forming a straight, unbroken line." The ktû'ks grows in the water, like the wild parsnip (skáwanks); the natives dry the tender roots of the ktû'ks and bake them into a sort of bread. The epithet: "like wókash" probably refers to the *taste* of this kind of food.

147, 5. Kû'ktu. This plant attains a length of about 6 inches.

147, 6. 7. K̲áls is the globular bulb of the witchpai water-plant.

147, 8. K̲ä's, k̲ä'sh. This plant produces a hard, whitish, farinaceous bulb, which is commonly spoken of as ípo, a Shasti term, and is one of the most important food-articles of the Oregonian Indians. To dig or collect k̲ä'sh: k̲ä'shala, k̲ä'shla.

[252] [825] **147, 9–13. K̲ō'l**, also pronounced k̲û'l, gû'l, gúl, is a kind of Aralia. The root is eaten only when roasted, and is then very nutritious, though spreading an abominable smell. This odor is so penetrating that, as alleged, the grizzly bear will attack nobody who smells after roasted k̲ōl; to this we may add the restriction: "if he is not very hungry." John D. Hunter mentions in his "Manners and Customs of Indians," etc. (Phila. 1823, page 370) that the Osages ascribe to the plant washoba-pesha the power of scaring away the black bear. This plant is an annual growth possessing sudorific and cathartic properties. Washobe is the black bear, mitchú the grizzly bear in that Southern Dakota dialect.

147, 9. hû'mtcha gû'l: "the k̲ōl in this condition," viz: in the ripe state. The k̲ōl-plant is ripe when the stalk becomes red or reddish.

[193] **147, 10. méya.** Speaking of *many* women digging bulbs or roots, atá-ila, atä'-ila is the regular form; its proper signification is: "to fill up" "to fill" (the conical root-basket worn on back, yáki).

147, 10. 11. pû'kguishamtat: "to their old roasting place"; púkuishamat might stand instead. The locative suffix -tat, -at is here appended to a verbal substantive of púka, to roast, standing in the possessive case -am, and -u- is the infix marking past tense. The guttural k has become distended into kg.

147, 12. ĕ'nt or ĕ'nd for énat, conditional of éna. Instead of ĕ'nt, ídshant (for ídshnat) may stand in the Klamath Lake dialect.

147, 14. Lupí' etc. The import of this sentence is: "L'bá ripens in the month when autumn begins."

[285] **148, 1. Má-i** is the common reed or tule-grass growing sometimes to the height of 8 to 10 feet. The shallow borders of the lakes in the headlands of Klamath River are full of this growth, which is one of the most important economical plants for the Indian. Women manufacture from it mats, dishes, baskets, lodge covers, nets, sacks, bags, and the young stalk yields in its lower part a palatable marrow.

*539 262 824 192 148, 2–4. Yánakänin for yanakänini; cf. suffix -ni, -nini in Dictionary. mä'nsh for mä'ntch. pä'shtak for páhasht ak, cf. pä'sht, 147, 17. for páhasht.

148, 5. Nú'tak. This grass belongs to the genus Glycerium, as identified by Dr. E. Foreman, and produces a tiny, grayish bright seed of tchípash size. The flowers are of a light red color. The grass is found around the agency buildings and grows about one foot high.

148, 7. Páwash properly means *tongue*.

148, 11. Pû'ks or *camass*. Its bulb is one of the principal food-articles of all the northwestern Indians, but does not grow in profusion in the warmer portions of California. It is of the magnitude of the walnut, very saccharine and nutritious, ripens in May and June, and by the roasting or baking process described in the text becomes as hard as stone. The Máklaks call it after pû'ka *to roast*, the Shasti name is sók, the Pit River name ähnalé, while the name kamas, "sweet," is of Nutka origin. The botanists call the plant Scilla or Camassia esculenta. Cf. *Note* to 146, 1.

148, 14. ípakt, metathesis of ípkat, the conditional of ípka to lie there, to remain.

[222] [462] [252] 148, 16. púlχuantch. The gathering of this pupa or chrysalid and of its caterpillar, the χeshî'sh, is chiefly done by the women of the tribes, who find them imbedded at no great depth in the sandy ground around pine trees. Another chrysalid, the kûlí'ga, is collected and roasted by them in the same way and tastes like eggs. kahû'n puetílank: putting grass under the chrysalids, not under the heated stones. The stones are replaced by other heated ones, as soon as they have cooled off; the larva assumes a black color after roasting and tastes like eggs. See púlχuantch in Dictionary.

[221] [222] [193] 148, 19. guiχakshî'mighta. The season of the year, when the exodus of the whole tribe to Klamath Marsh takes place, where pond-lily seed is collected for the winter, is about the middle of June. The ending -ta is an abbreviation of the case suffix -tat. Three seasons are stated in the text, when the peeling of the inner or fibre bark of small pine trees is performed; of these the camass-season precedes the exodus to Klamath Marsh by a few weeks only, and the fishing season lasts from February to the end of the summer. Of course, the peeling of the kápka-pine coincides with the season when the sap ascends through the young tree. The bark is removed from about five feet to fifteen or twenty feet above the ground, and most of the beautiful pines treated in this manner are doomed to premature decay, though many survive the operation. The aspect of a forest with some of the pine trees peeled is rather singular.

148, 21. shánks hak, contraction of shánkish hak or ak.

149, 1. ka-tánian for ka taniáni "so much in width or extent." The bud of the táksish has a width of about half an inch. Cf. *Note* to 146, 1.

149, 3. 4. tók. This aquatic grass grows about two feet high; by é-ushtat is meant, here and in tsi'kal: Upper Klamath Lake.

[194] 149, 3. pä'lpali, vocalic dissimilation of pélpali or pä'lpäli; cf. taktä'kli 149, 14.

149, 5. Tchí'psam is a prairie grass on which the brown tchípash-seed grows. This seed is extremely small, and it takes a long time before a sufficient quantity of it is [178] gathered to afford a meal for a family. Still smaller is the nútak-seed, and both are striking instances of the persistence of the Indians in keeping up their old mode of living, when by agriculture and stock-raising they could procure provisions with infinitely less trouble and in much shorter time.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 149, 6. tü'ksh is probably the adessive case of tóke (ŏ) fire-place, hearth: tók-kshi.

262 149, 12. Tchuá is the long, cylindric root of the Sagittaria sagittifolia, an aquatic
824 plant common in the West and East of the United States. In Oregon the term *potato*
● 192 or wápatu (Chinook jargon) is most commonly heard for it. The name of Chewaukan
Marsh, a sink and low ground situated east of Upper Klamath Lake, is a corruption
[193] of Tchuaχĕ'ni: "where the arrow-leaf is found." The flower of the wápatu varies
between red, reddish and whitish.

149, 17. Tsuni'ka. The flower has a diameter from two to three inches.

149, 21. Kû'lχamsh is put on strings by the women and thus serves to attract the fish.

149, 21. ptchi'nk: after this word ought to be seen the picture of a tiny vegetal cylinder, about one inch long and slightly curved.

[386] 150, 1. Skáwanks or wild parsnip, a poisonous plant growing in wet places to the height of three feet.

150, 8. p'nä'sh, contracted from p'nálash, is the direct object (reflective) of shkukluápkasht: to guard themselves against becoming chapped by sun-burns. The wákinsh seems to be a kind of resin and furnishes a red paint, as does also the k'lépki.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSHAM SHUÍ'SH SHUINŎ'TKISH TCHÍSH.

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INCANTATION SONGS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

1. *Introductory song:*

Yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní *etc.* ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́
I sing, I sing, I sing (in chorus).

2. *Song, reference unknown:*

Wiwiwá! ní sháwalsh wítnank! ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑
Blown off! the plume-crest has disappeared from me!

3. *Song of the wind:*

Kanítala m'sh û shlewitaknû'la? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
népaksh a-i ní'sh shlewitaknû'la. ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
Who, I wonder, is blowing out of my mouth?
The disease is emanating from my mouth.

4. *The conjurer's song:*

Tuá kí nû shatashtaknû'la? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑
nä'paks nû shatashtaknû'la. –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑
tuá kí' nû shatashtatχí'sh? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́
nä'paks nû shatashtatχí'sh. –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́
What do I remove from my mouth?
The disease I extract from my mouth.
What is the thing I take out?
It is the disease I am taking out.

*539 533 755 Many Indians do not understand all these songs, which contain many archaic forms and words, and the conjurers themselves are generally loth to give their meaning, even if they should understand them. Some songs are of a stereotypic application in the treatment of all or the majority of the maladies. A close familiarity with the habits of animals of the forest manifests itself throughout, as well as in the mythic tales.

*539 533 755 The translations added by me are not literal; they render the meaning of the songs in a free and paraphrastic manner. In the metrics the accentuated syllables designate a higher pitch of the singing voice.

● 192 153; 2. Literally: "I blew off the feather-crest."

153; 3. To read: shléwi witχnû'lank, seems preferable in this connection. Cf. 35.

[292] 154; 6. On grand occasions young women were in the habit of dressing in buckskin robes, fringed with porcupine quills (shmáyalsh). In a myth the bull-frog was reported to wear constantly this kind of dress, and hence originated a sort of proverbial locution: kó-e shmashmáyalti: "the bull-frog in the shmáyalsh-dress." Cf. shmáyam. Zoologists call this frog: Rana pipiens.

154; 7. This is called washpaláksam shui'sh, the medicine-song of the washpálaksfox species, Vulpes velox. The exterior of this fox may be sketched by the words: ă'kelă'kĕla wátchag hû'tchnuk, a long-bodied dog is running or trotting. Cf. song 22.

154; 9. This is called the tuákshem shuinō'tkish or incantation sung by the crane itself through the mouth of the conjurer. Nobody could hear the bird's voice if the conjurer did not sing its song. A song, which the conjurer sings for himself and by which he does not interpret any animal or other object of nature, is called kiúksam shui'sh and is endowed with magic powers. In the West of the United States the tuákish is popularly known as shitepoke, in the East as fly-up-the-creek.

[825] 154; 10. The feathers of the yellow hammer are worn on neck as an ornament.

[301] 154; 12. This refers to a certain large bird not specified, which contracts its body, so that the head seems to be its largest part. When walking, the bird seems to roll around on the prairie. Pílan for píla nû.

154; 14. The object to which song 14 refers is not known.

154; 15. Walχátchaga is very probably, though not certainly, a kind of marten. Mantles were made of its fur. This rimed incantation is called walχátchkalam shuinō'tkish.

155; 16. Called: tchá́shisham shuinō'tkish; melody very pretty. The diphthong ui is pronounced here as *one* syllable. Skunks, while running around, are in the habit of holding straight up their bushy tails, which are almost as long as their bodies.

155; 17. This pretty song is chanted by the choristers while the kiuks feigns to suck out of the body the tiny object which is supposed to have caused the disease, and before he gets it out. k̲óga, k̲ók̲a means originally *to bite;* bite first, then suck the disease out.

155; 18. Pápkash is pronounced almost like pávkash; 144, 11. k̲ópk̲a like k̲óvka.

155; 19. Alludes to a peculiar nodding observed in lizards when running out of their holes and stopping at the issue.

155; 20. The animal to which this song refers is not known. Compare No. 16. 24. The literal meaning is: "The north wind blows around me from the distance."

155; 21. This song, with a beautiful melody, is the shuinō'tkish of a mouse species with pig-like proboscis.

*539 155; 22. Pékah, lékah, distr. lélakah crazy, maddened, intoxicated. This song is
533 sung also: lē-é'kah, lē-é'kah gená: ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑́ Cf. 154; 7.

755 155; 23. The weasel is squealing, because hunters have caught or trapped it.

● 192 156; 26. Probably refers to one of those birds to whom the power is attributed to bring about storms, fog, snow, or any change of the weather.

156; 27. Compare songs 2 and 3.

156; 28. This bug, perhaps a scarabee, bites the skin to suck out the disease from the wound.

156; 30. This is probably a song of the wind, not of the young silver-fox (as I was told), and I have translated it as such. The song No. 20 is analogous to it in every respect; the winds, which the Indians constantly compare with the spread of the disease, are frequently mentioned in these songs as blowing upon some animal or other object sent out by the conjurer to discover the whereabouts of the disease. Cf. No. 16. 20. 24. 25. 29. 30. 43. and 57.

156; 32. This song is said to allude to the circumstance that one fox's howl seems to sound like the cries of many foxes howling together. Lalálash are both sides of one and the same beast.

156; 33. With these monotonous sounds the tuákash or tuákish calls itself by its own cry: tuák, wák, tuák. Tuány̧i is: tuák ni gi "tuák I am crying." Cf. 154; 9. Two refrains to this line are formed by the two lines of No. 34.

156; 35. The *personified* disease spreads the germs of sickness through the atmosphere. This song is comparable to songs 3 and 45.

157; 37. The signification of h'îlantana could not be disclosed, but it seems to be similar to that of tîlantana.

157; 39. This small bird is dark, and has a red or yellow neck.

157; 43. Speaks of a fog drifting away from the mountains and turning into a cloud, which is drifting also.

157; 44. The bones of a dead person's skeleton are supposed to rattle against each other, the spirit being here identified with the skeleton.

157; 46. Often sung wélwashi gi; epenthetic syllables are frequent in these songs, *e. g.* walχátchika in song 15.

157; 47. The wáměnigsh or wámn'aks, a species of Pityophis, has large black spots and frequently occurs in the Klamath country. Tunulúla means to hang down over something as over a rock.

158; 48. This is sung when water is poured over the patient. A more literal translation would be: "I am resounding within the ground."

[823] 158; 50. Yaínalam shulúyualsh means round, cylindric or globiform objects standing in a row on a mountain. The den of the grizzly bear is supposed to be in the mountains or on a mountain top. Cf. song 36. My informants did not know what the objects were which stood in a series, but if any religious notions were connected with them, we may compare the three sacred rocks standing on a mountain top in Peruvian mythology. These rocks were fetishes indicative of stone worship, representing a mother with two sons. Another myth mentions four of them, representing Catequil (the god of thunder), Viracocha, a sun god and a fire god. The song No. 50 is sung by the chorus while the kíuks is dancing.

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8. *Song of the quiver:*

Yáhiash nû tadsí tadsí ⊥ ⏑ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑ | – ⏑ | ⊥

9. *Song by a companion of the old frog:*

Kú-e welékash nû wélwash tchalekíya ⏑ ⊥ | ⏑ ⊥ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⊥ | ⏑ ⊥ ⏑ ⏑

An old frog-woman I sit down at the spring.

10. *Song of the gáwi-bird:*

Sháwalish haí nû shlataníya ⊥ ⏑ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑ – ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑

A flint-headed arrow I am ready to dispatch.

11. *Song of the eagle-feather:*

Mû'kash a gí nû, gená nû, hō ⊥ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⊥ | ⏑ ⊥ | ⏑ ⊥

I am the eagle-feather, I am going down, hō!

12. *Song, reference unknown:*

K̲ú-i hai nen ksíul'ka

I feel too bad for dancing.

13. *Song of the dwarf:*

Na'hnías naní naní naní-a a á nanía . . . . . . naní, naní-i-ā

14. *Song, reference unknown:*

Käíla nû spí'amna ⊥ ⏑ ⏑ | ⊥ ⏑ ⏑

I am dragging out dirt.

15. *Song, reference unknown:*

Sháppashti nû lak̲í gí

I am the lord of the sun.

16. *Song of the shaiχish-bird:*

Shaiχí'sh gúluaga lulamnóla ⏑ ⊥ | ⏑ ⏑ ⊥ | ⏑ ⊥ | ⏑ ⊥ | ⏑

I the little black female bird am lost and strayed.

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162; 1. By others this song was given as follows: Nī'paks kinuína k̲alowát nû: "I the disease am meandering through the skies." This variant is evidently preferable to the one above.

162; 2. In the Sahaptin language of the Yákima, Washington Territory, a certain bird is called piúpiu; the Klamath Lakes call a spotted kind of woodpecker shpíu'hpush. Both terms are derived from an onomatopoetic radix piu, imitating the picking at the bark by the woodpecker.

162; 3. The túktuknash or fish-hawk, Pandiou carolinensis, occurs in large numbers on the lakes of the Klamath highlands. Like that of many other birds, its Indian name is derived onomatopoetically from its cry.

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163; 4. Of the yaúχal, white-headed or bald eagle, Haliaetus leucocephalus, another conjurer's song was obtained. Cf. 165; 5.

163; 5. The wording of this song could not be obtained with certainty.

163; 6. Stands for: ati tchelä'wash nû géna.

163; 7. té-i, té-i has no meaning, but simply serves to beat the measure when dancing with short steps.

163; 8. This song is said to be that of the quiver (tóksaksh) and its purport the same as that of No. 7. Yáhiash is a kind of aquatic bird.

163; 9. A similarly worded song is in the Modoc collection, given by Toby Riddle.

163; 10. Sháwalsh is here lengthened into sháwallsh for metrical reasons.

163; 11. This is a favorite song of a kíuks on the Williamson River, called Skúkum Doctor (stout doctor). Given by Dave Hill, also 12 and 13.

[772] 163; 13. Foot-prints not larger than those of a baby are sometimes discovered in the higher mountains of the Cascade Range. The Indians refer them to a dwarf called ná'hnias, whose body can be seen by the conjurers of the tribe only. The dwarf gives them his advice for curing the sicknesses of others and inspires them with a superior kind of knowledge.

163; 14–16 were dictated by an Indian whom I found at Linkville.

163; 15. The name of the animal, probably a bird, to which this conjurer's song refers was not obtained. Cf. shápsam ptchíwip in Dictionary.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSAM SHUÍ'SH.

* 539 533 755 [115]

INCANTATIONS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE CONJURERS.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN.

1. *Song of the Lake:*

Ktaálui gé-u é-ush

My lake is glittering in azure colors.

2. *Song of the rain-storm:*

Gé-u a-i népaks népka,
gûlkásh gé-u hû shuísh.

The disease produced by me has arrived,
I am the storm and wind and this is my song.

3. *Song of the conjurer's arrow:*

Gé-u a hû't hănă'sish

This here is my long magic arrow.

4. *Song of the North wind:*

Yámsam gé-u gē'-ish kápa –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑

I am the North wind, and in my path I am irresistible.

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70. *Song of the little wipĕlī'wash forest-bird:*

Wipĕlī'wash nû shuí'sh gi,
wuipléwĕsh nû shuí'sh.

My own song I sing, I the wipĕlíwash-bird.
I the wuipléwash am singing about myself.

71. *Song of the witkatkish-hawk:*

Gé-u aí hû tû' sáwals, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
witkatkísam gé-u sáwals. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

My head-crest this is, it is that of the witkatkish-hawk.

NOTES.

[825] The incantations obtained from Morgan are mostly of the kind called shuinō'tkish, and a large number of them are attributed to birds. Some of them probably exist in a more explicit form, which was not remembered, and the rhythmic or musical form was obtained of a part of them only. A literal translation of these song-lines is an impossibility in most instances, if their sense has to be rendered in full; I have therefore furnished only paraphrastic interpretations. The list is alphabetic, and was arranged after the names of the animals, or other personified objects, to which the incantations are attributed. Many of these songs are referred to in the "Subject List of Incantations" given by Morgan.

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164; 1. Ktsálui, to be resplendent with colors, is mainly said of objects showing a blue or purple tinge: pû'ksam shláps ktsáluitko, the camass-plant has a bluish color. This verb is also used when speaking of the rainbow; of the lizard: 165; 14., also of the weasel's fur-skin; 169; 55.

[772] 164; 3. The use of these conjurer's arrows is mentioned 73, 5.

164; 4. Yámsam for Yámasham; cf. *Note* to 111, 4. Of the personified North wind the Indians say "he lives up in the mountains". On the north side the basin of [193] the Williamson River is closed up by high mountains. Gé-ish and génuish, génhuish means the action of going and that of having gone, or the present and the past going; both were translated by "*gait*", "*tread*", a term which does not differ much from the real meaning. Both terms also occur in the songs obtained from "Doctor" John, and are mainly used of quadrupeds, amphibians, and reptiles.

164; 4. kápa probably for gátpa (nû), "I have come".

[136] 165; 6. The yĕ'n sucker-fish is quite abundant in the lakes of the Klamath highlands and has been identified by Prof. E. D. Cope as the Catostomus labiatus.

165; 7. yéwa. In Morgan's series of incantations there are song-lines on wind-gusts, tempests, rain-storms and on the winds blowing from each of the four cardinal points of the compass. These latter are not positively stated to be producers of dis- [821] ease, though they are dreaded on account of their force and violence. The East wind (yéwash) blowing over the alkaline or volcanic, arid lands of Southern Oregon sings: yéwa, yéwa (nû) which does not only signify "I blow from the East", but also "I am howling".

165; 11. Feigning to draw a rope or string from their own posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear.

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165; 13. It is by no means certain whether the above is the full wording of this song or not.

192 165; 16. nen involves the idea: "you hear it yourselves." Cf. 167; 36. 170; 59.

[534] 166; 17. kódsinksh was in this connection explained by lílhanksam stĕ'ksh. Conjurers' rattles are made of deer's claws.

166; 18. This hawk is a kind of sparrow-hawk, Falco sparverius.

166; 20. Compare the song of the weíwash-goose: 170; 60.

166; 21. This song of a female conjurer or "doctress" is quite analogous to the song 166; 17.

166; 22. The ḳála flies around in cold nights followed often by foggy mornings, hence the belief that it makes the fog.

166; 25. Compare the gray wolf's song, 165; 12., which forms alliteration to this.

166; 26. Refers very probably to the cremation of the dead.

[778] 167; 30. In line 2 the same object is alluded to as in line 3, kóltam sχī'l. This is a broad strip of dressed otter skin, ornamented in various ways with shells, feathers, bird-scalps, etc. To all these objects a magic power is attributed severally, and as they are now all united on one strip of skin, this strip must unite the magic powers of them all. The conjurer suspends the sχī'l on his neck and lets it dangle over his chest or back, according to the manipulations in which he is engaged at the time. It is considered as one of the most powerful of all the curing tools or múluash.

167; 32. Alludes to the grayish-white color of this bird, which burrows underground. This bird is also mentioned in 154; 12. and *Note;* cf. also 132, 7. 8.

[193] 168; 41. Sχī'pa is the abbreviated form of the possessive case in -am, as in wásha wéka 105, 9. and *Note* to 105, 7.; in: nī'l wéksa, 144, 1. cf. 165; 13.

168; 44. Interpreted by others: "I am scolding and threatening the earth".

169; 50. Another túktukuash-song is contained in 162; 3. cf. *Note.*

169; 52. Shaíkish is another name given to the tchákiuks.

169; 54. The kingfisher or Ceryle alcyon is called in Klamath Lake tchántchan, tsántsan, tchánshan after its cry: tchătchătchă, and chiefly feeds on salmon.

169; 56. The second line was referred by "Sergeant" Morgan to the otter. Cf. 177; 13.

170; 58. This alludes to the name of the bird, which imitates its twittering.

170; 62. This bird circles in the air to discover fish on the lake's surface and to pounce upon them. The tchuaísh is the red headed vulture or black buzzard: Cathartes aura. The Indian name is an imitation of the bird's cry.

170; 63. 64. The wákash-crane is identical with the tuákish, the name being derived from its cry. These birds creep along the edge of the water in search of small fish. Compare the tuákish-songs 154; 9. 156; 33. 34.

170; 65. This song is much better expressed in the series of Modoc incantations: 174; 13. Here as well as there alliteration is perceptible.

[193] 170; 67. After gé-u, the subject of the sentence, nä'paks or the disease, is omitted. In the name of the duck the final -s, -sh is geminated here in the possessive case, to stand for wa-u'htū'asam.

[194] 170; 68. In the onomatopoetic word wä'ks the dissimilation of the vowel into wä'-aks is frequently observed. Also pronounced wékash.

170; 69. The weíwash- or waíwash-goose is a long-necked white bird, commonly known as snow-goose: Anser hyperboreus.

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Kú'tcha-aga. Wínua nû a kû'tsag, shéshatk kû'tsag; pákish wák kû'tsag.
Wekétash. Nû ai weketásh gi; wéketa nû shahualtámpka, nû shahualtámpka, nû wekétash shéwa.
Mánk̲aga. Ná-asht shä'shatk, mánk̲ag shä'shatk.
Kaknólsh. Gä' a gé-u káknûlsh, gé-u hût káknûlsh; nû shlä-ípēle káknulsh, p'laiwash káknulsh.
Pápkash. Pápkash wálta gé-u a gé-ish; wálta gé-u gé-ish pápksham lû'lp; k̲ä'gi gé-u pápkash gé-ish.
Spú'klish. Nû ai spû'klish, ná-asht shä'shatk.
Shläkótkish. Gé-u a shläkō'tksh, gä' ki hû shlakō'tkish; wudsi'tsi ánku, túm udsí'tsi; túm í'lχi, túmi ánku, túmi gé-u ánku gi.
Pä'ksh. Shuí'sham gé-u pä'ksh; kátchgal gé-u shuí'sh.
Welékag. Nû ai welä'kag; nû a tchía welä'χatkank; gē'k a lû'lp, gē'k a múmuatch.

NOTES.

The majority of these songs are destitute of any interesting and characteristic features, and being of easy interpretation I gave them without translation, adding, however, the necessary remarks in the Dictionary. These phrases are common-place repetitions of some shamanic ideas current in the tribe, and are given in a low jargon or technical slang redundant in elisions and contractions. Only a few of their number are rhythmical. The pronoun nû, I, is often repeated three times in one sentence, in the form of ni, nû, an (a nû), ank (a nû gi), na (nû a). [193]

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Of the thirty-seven objects which have given origin to these songs sixteen do not occur in the shamanic songs given by other informants and two are given here under other headings: the *sky*, paíshash (under kálo), and the *marten*, Skélamtch (under pē'p). I have arranged all the songs in categories of natural objects.

[825]

K̲ák̲ash also furnished a series of limbs and organs of certain animals which were supposed to exercise supernatural powers, and therefore were made the subject of a shuí'sh, shuinótkish, or incantation. They are as follows: of the *black bear*, the head, snout, paws, fur and heart; of the *dog*, the head, hair, fur, ears, tail and paws; of the *weasel* (tcháshgai), the head, eyes, snout, nose, chin, long hair, paws and tail; of the *mink*, the paws, snout, fur, tail and heart; of the *shaé-ish-duck*, the head and legs; of the *salmon*, the head and fins; of the *fly*, the wings (lás, black or white) and legs. About the *young antelope* and *old woman's spirit* (wí'hag and welékaga) see below.

176; 2. wítsa. When the clear sky is said to blow with a shrill sound (wítsa), and thus "to sing its own song", this means that the winds are blowing fiercely through the air, high above the ground.

176; 3. This song on the grumbling or rattling earth (wálta, huálta) was made by Doctor John on the subject of his own imprisonment, the cause of which I have related elsewhere.

176; 4. Sháshapsh, Sháshapamtch is the mythologic name of the grizzly bear: 118, 1.

*539 533 192 [194] 177; 2. "There are two of us black bear cubs" refers to the circumstance that in mythologic tales two cubs only are found to belong to one bear family. Compare what is said of the gíwash, 177; 14. and *Note* to 118, 1. 7.

177; 5. The name of the young antelope is very differently pronounced. Its ears (mumû'atch wil'hágam) form the subject of a shuí'sh.

177; 13. Koyóma. The same idea is met with in 169; 56. 166; 24.

177; 14. gíwash (the *i* pronounced short) is the long, gray-colored squirrel.

178; 7. Pápkash. This song of the lumber-boards was more completely remembered than the one quoted 155; 18.

178; 12. Pä'ksh. A similar tobacco-pipe song is to be found 167; 33.

[754] 178; 13. welékag. Here as well as in all other portions of the globe the idea of sorcery and witchery is associated with that of old women (welékash, old woman; welekága old woman's spirit). Welä'χatka, to travel around or appear as an old woman's spirit.

NÁNUKTUA KIÚKSAM SHUÍ'SH.

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SUBJECT LIST OF VARIOUS KINDS OF INCANTATIONS IN USE AMONG THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN.

Yámash kiúksam shuí'sh, mû'ash, tχálamash, yéwash, slä'wish,
North wind has an incantation-song, south wind, west wind, east wind, gust of wind,
paíshash, lĕmé-ish, lúepalsh, któdshash, gulkásh.
cloud, thunder, lightning, rain, rain mixed with snow.

Sáppas kiúksam shuísh, sháp'sam stutí'sh; yaína, wálidsh, ktá-i sû'-
Sun has a tamánuash-song, mock-sun; mountain, rock-cliff, rocks
smaluatk, hä'nuash, yatí'sh, sámχa-ush, é-ush, wélwash, káwam, wäyá-
spotted, upright rocks, upright rocks, smaller, rocks in river, lake, water-spring, eel-spring, floating
lapsh.
ice.

Snáwedsh kiúksam shuí'sh, welékag, tsákiag, tsákiaga tsû'χatχant;
Woman has a tamánuash-song, old woman's spirit, little boy, little boy restless;
k'mutchä'witk: kó-idshi shuí'sh génti kä'ilati.
the old man: (is) an untoward song in this country.

Gû'tkaks kiúksam shuí'sh, gudítguls, shíllals, tátktish, lulúlish, tiló-
Small-pox is an incantation, belly-ache, chronic sickness, pain, cramps, cause
takna, tiä'mish.
of sickness, hunger.

Munána tatámnish kiúksam shuí'sh, kĕláyua, múkukag, wáshlaag,
Mole has a tamánuash-song, ground-mouse, field-mouse, chipmunk,

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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Lû'bak̲s, k̲lépki kiúk̲sam shuí'sh, tsé-usam skû'tatk, tsé-usam tsúyätk,
White chalk. red paint are doctors' songs, tchê-ush-dressed, tchê-ush-head-covered,
tsé-usam lā'sh, witkakísham lā's.
tchê-ush-feather, hawk's feather.

Kat'sitsutsuéas kiúksam shuísh, kat'hiáwash, lû'luks-skû'tchaltk,
Snow-flake witchcraft is a doctor's song, hair-tying, in fire-robed,
skû'ksam hä'kskish, hä'näsish.
spirit's walking-staff, conjurer's arrow.

NOTES.

[124] All these subjects of tamánuash songs were obtained pell-mell and jotted down in a confusion. A clear insight into the quality of the songs known to this Indian could be attained only by classifying them into categories, as those of natural agencies, the winds, rocks, genera of animals, plants, tools and articles of native dress. Morgan had heard all these songs sung in former years, but when I met him he could remember the texts of those 71 songs only, which are to be found from page 164 to page 171. Many songs of this subject list are sung by the Modoc conjurers also.

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Certain names of uncommon species of animals could not be rendered in English for want of information; to others the Dictionary will afford the best clue.

[193]
[866]
179; 4. káwam or k̲áwam is a possessive case, requiring as its complement ámpû or k̲ók̲e, kok̲eága. To bathe in eel-springs is deemed to be of great influence on character and personal courage, for the constant peril of being bitten by crabs, snakes and other reptiles must necessarily make the bathers scornful against sudden pains.

179; 6. tsû'χatχant, or in its full form: tsûχatχántko, has to be connected attributively with the foregoing word: taákiag tsû'χatχantko "a restless boy, a little boy unable to keep quiet on his seat."

[193] 180; 1. taaskáya wéash, kólta wéas show the apocopated form of the possessive before a vocalic sound. This is another example of the rule that Klamath seeks rather than avoids *hiatus*. Cf. stsá-usa-wálks 168; 45; 180; 23, and *Note* to 168; 41.

180; 5. spû'm; said to be the female of the fat shkä'-bird. There exist conjurers' songs about both, which I have given in this volume, page 167; 36. 168; 44.

180; 10. póp-tchikash seems to mean the "drinking *or* sipping bird" (cf. pópo-i).

180; 17. Lä-a-ámbotkish, "the one which refuses to drink" seems to be a newt, Amblystoma, according to the description given of it by the Indians.

180; 17. kóä. The toad or bull-frog tamánuash song is reputed to be the most efficient of all these incantations.

180; 18. Ámpuam lák is a film-like organism moving rapidly in spirals or meanders through the water, and supposed by rustics to originate from the long hair of horses. The primary signification of ámbutka, to be thirsty, is "to return to the water", and the distributive form a-ámbutka here indicates repetition.

180; 19. The list *of plants* is very small when compared to that of the animals, and embodies economical plants only.

180; 22. wásh means *place of residence* in general; but since all the objects in this category refer to the sweat-house, it may be referred to a removal of earth in the floor of this structure; lúloks is the fire burning in the centre of it.

181; 1. tsé-usam skû'tatk: "dressed with feathers of the yellow hammer or red shafted flicker."

NOTES.

*539 533 832 I. Erotic songs obtained from Chief Johnson, Minnie Froben, and others, in the Klamath Lake dialect. The twelve songs obtained from Minnie Froben are among the prettiest and most melodious, as for instance 9. 16. 17. 18. 25. 26., and the eighteen songs dictated by Johnson are of importance for the study of manners and customs, viz: 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. 19. 20. 28. 29. 41. 42. 43 etc.

With the Indians all of these and many other erotic songs pass under the name of *pilpil* or puberty songs. They include lines on signs of womanhood, courting, love sentiments, disappointments in love, marriage fees paid to parents, on marrying and on conjugal life. Some love songs have quite pretty melodies. A few songs of the present interesting series of song-lines seem to treat of commonplace subjects only, as 22. to 24.; 28. to 31., while others apparently contain nothing but heartless mockeries and satiric strictures, like 9. 28. 40. 44. But they all refer in fact to love-making and kindred sentiments, the satiric lines confirming the proverbial inclination of lovers to fight among themselves. I have deemed appropriate to gather all these songs under a heading which unmistakably expresses their real purport. *539 533 832 192

194 182; 1. The accent is laid sometimes on first, sometimes on second syllable. This word is abbreviated from yuyulinĕ'pka, as it occurs in the Modoc pilpil song. The event mentioned here is followed by a dance-feast; cf. shúyuχalsh, and 134, 21.

182; 4. ginhiéna "inside" means into a secluded spot, lodge or enclosure. O-ólka, ó'laka is the diminutive of ó'lsh, the grayish pigeon with the plaintive voice.

182; 7. gítknapka, a contraction of gítko gi-uápka 1.

583 182; 8. Pay a wedding gift is equivalent to purchasing a girl from her parents for a handsome consideration.

193 182; 11. Sung by women. The original as given to me does not contain the negative particle: Géntala nû haíkanka púshpushlish hishuákshash.

183; 12. yan'wán 1 stands for yanhuáni 1.

183; 13. kalí'napka: they are not only "dead but out of sight", as the suffix -apka indicates. This being an erotic song-line, kalínapka simply means that the females looked for are either asleep or absent, and not deceased, as kalína would seem to indicate. 'mutchéwatk for kĕmutchéwatko; cf. 136, 5.

183; 14. 15. These two songs follow a purely anapæstic metre, No. 15 adding two acatalectic syllables to its three anapæsts. Compare also the first line of 182; 7. with one supernumérary syllable. As for the contents of 183; 15. compare the analogous Modoc song 186; 51.

194 183; 17. Melody very engaging. In lúluash the second *u* is redoubled for metrical reasons. Dactylic rhythm prevails here, in 16, and in 182; 11.

183; 18. That is, while he was seeking young girls inside the kayátas. Melody very beautiful.

193 183; 19. wayósham, possessive case of waíwash, *q. v.*

183; 20. shkutántki stands for skútatko gî or shkutanátko gî: "he is wrapped in."

183; 21. The much more so, because he is in his festive garb, the pútash and lás stuck on his headdress.

184; 26. Melody very pretty. A young woman addresses these words to a lover.

184; 27. Sung by young women who have fallen out with their beaux.

*539 184; 28. Said to be an erotic song.

533 184; 29. luyä'nitki contracted from luyä'nitko gi. Cf. *Note* to 183; 20.

832 184; 30. ḳóḳtkinshkink. The proper meaning of this verb is "to set upon like a
192 dragon-fly". Shanáhual is an uncommon form for shanahō'li, the long ō being resolved
[193] into its component sounds. Cf. náwal, and 184; 35.: genuála for genō'la.

184; 31. Why did the wolf howl? The reason given is that he could not meet anybody. This wolf is a loving young man who was looking out for women.

184; 32. Sung by one woman and repeated by a female chorus. This song-line treats of the abandonment of a female by her husband or lover for some reason.

184; 33. Pretty melody. The song refers to a lover disappointed in his affections.

184; 33. tchíkla wátsatka is preferable to and more frequent than wátsat, wátchtat, cf. 183; 22. Alliteration is perceptible in this song-line.

184; 34. The wásh is the lover of the girl who sings this song; the lover is compared to a prairie-wolf on account of his importunity and lack of moderation. Comparisons of lovers with quadrupeds and birds are frequently met with.

184; 35. yóshinko for yó-ishiank ō, yó-ishink hû: he is running astray.

[193] 184; 37. shiwága. In the objective case sometimes inflected like snáwedsh *woman* 80, 11. sometimes as a diminutive noun, as here, and 33, 10. In 185; 40. shiwákshash stands incorrectly for shiwágash, through phonetic analogy with shíwamptchash in the same song

185; 30 to 44, perhaps including 45, have a literal and direct meaning, and besides this are intended to convey an indirect meaning, which is of an obscene character. The same may be said of songs 15 and 51.

185; 41. This melodious song alludes to the habit of mud-hens to rest and sprawl on the top of the waves; wílhaslasna depicts their motions while on the wave-top,
[194] willaslína the sprawling observed while they sail down from it. With slight phonetic variations, this same melody is also sung as follows: Tóhosh ō willaslin; wíllaslasna, willaslína; wíllasli ln.

185; 42. wí'l seems connected with the diminutive word wíl'haga, *young deer*.

[193] 185; 43. kí' nak ĕn gí', stands for gí' nak, nen gi: "he cries nak, so he cries"; assuming that ĕn is abbreviated from nen.

185; 45. This is a "dream" song.

185; 46. Pilpil song worded in another than the Máḳlaks language.

000 II. Erotic songs obtained from Toby Riddle and J. C. D. Riddle in the Modoc dialect. The Modoc pilpil songs obtained are all of a satiric character.

185; 47. See Klamath Lake pilpil songs 182; 1.

185; 48. See Klamath Lake collection of pilpil songs 182; 2.

186; 49. Pilpil tune sung by girls. Taína is equivalent to t'éna, teiniwá-ash etc.

186; 50. A song repeated for hours by young Modocs; it is of the true pilpil kind.

186; 51. Originally a pilpil song, but sung now by children playing hide and seek.

186; 52. This is a very popular and prettily tuned Modoc song.

186; 53. Sung by Modoc girls who feel themselves importuned by their lovers. Often the boys join them by singing it in chorus. This well-meant advice of sending the boys to the South, no doubt to the Pit River country, is to keep them at a distance, for the song refers to the appearance of the first signs of puberty. Watchágalam is full form of watchágam, for which wátcham is sometimes incorrectly substituted.

*539 also pass as puberty songs, but I have preferred to class these under the heading of
533 songs of satire. Some are sung with melodies, others are spoken and recited only.

522 I. Satiric songs obtained in the Klamath Lake dialect from Chief Johnson, Minnie Froben and others.

[193] 189; 1. ú'yank. In this term the prefix u- gives the shape in which the tobacco was given away.

189; 2. Refers to somebody going to the Dalles or other place along the Columbia River. Cf. page 93, *Note*.

[192 193] 189; 3. In this verse there are four particles pointing either to distance or to elevation (altitude): tû'sh, hu, the -u suffixed to nen (nen hu) and to tchflamna. This song is sung by a woman, who hears (nen) for the first time of this assembling of geese; shésha waíwash stands for shéshash waíwash, or shéshatko waíwash: birds called waíwash-geese.

189; 5. A young woman is the object of this song-line.

[237] 189; 6. Woodpecker-scalps of shining colors are still in use for ornamenting various articles of dress, implements, &c. u'hlutuína: he flaunts it and parades in it.

[192 193] 189; 7. Ká tal? who then? who after all? abbreviated from kaní tala. Dresses made of walχátchka-skins passed for the poorest and meanest of all garments.

[291] 190; 9. This is sung by men only.

190; 13. A satire on feminine voracity. Sung by Klamath women from Klamath Marsh. Cf. below, 190; 21.

190; 12. haktchámpesh; -pesh is the suffix ptchi phonetically altered, the word introducing a comparison of the "striding one" with the young klítish-crane in the same song. A sarcasm on a long-legged person with swinging gait.

190; 16. Regularly worded, this proverb-like verse would read as follows: Kă'-utchish gû'lu wō'n=lákiash shamĕnakía.

000 II. Satiric songs obtained in the Modoc dialect from Toby Riddle and J. C. D. Riddle.

190; 18. A tatler has received the deserved bodily punishment for his gossip-tales. Of the first word no grammatic analysis could be obtained in either tribe.

190; 19. The business of gathering edible roots devolves exclusively on women, but here an old man, Bin, who still lives among the Modoc at Yáneks, is indulging in this useful pastime. That 's where the point of the satire lies. Hlívash is a word unknown to the Klamath Lake people in the signification of "basket".

190; 20. Sung by the national deity when foiled in the attempt of killing five lynxes by throwing stones at them; repeated from the shashapkĕléash, page 126, 3. Cf. *Note*.

190; 21. To be found in another version among the Klamath Lake songs; there it refers to a female living on Klamath Marsh, not on Klamath Lake.

190; 22. This tune was with many similar ones improvised by the Modocs, who visited the East a short time after the Modoc war, on seeing crowds of blacks filling the streets. All Indians feel *at first* a peculiar very strong aversion against the Ethiopian race, though subsequently they often become friends and intermarry.

*539 10. Aíshish kaí nû sha-ûlō'la, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – – | –́ ⏑
533 yuhanéash kaí nû sha-ûlō'la. – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – – ⏑ | –́ ⏑
171

I Aíshish I shall brandish, I shall brandish my huge sword.

11. Aíshishash hûn gáldshui, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
hû' mish hû' shnekshituápka. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑

Go to meet Aíshish; he will save you.

12. Tídsh hûn liulekán tchiálash shakatchóāla!

Halloo! let us form a circle and screen the salmon against sun-heat!

13. Kilidshi'ga shépolamna –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑

They carry long-necked ducks on their backs.

14. Kaukátsi Yaína wō'n a shû-û'dshant i! –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Follow up the elk and chase him upon Kaukátsi Mountain!

NOTES.

The first eight songs are worded in the Klamath Lake dialect, the third is of a mythic character. Songs 7–12 are worded in Modoc; 8 and 9 are K'mukámtchiksh songs. A few songs or fragments of such, which would come nearest to what we call nursery or Mother Goose's songs, will be found in the Myth of the Bear and the Antelope: 120, 11. 12. 13. 121, 9. 17. 122, 12. 13.

192; 1. This song is sung by women only, and seems to point to an ancient invasion of the country by tribes from the North or from Columbia River.

825 192; 2. The owl's cry is of fatal augury.

821 192; 3. Girls' song. When at sunrise a haze or fog extends over the country, this
192 is supposed to be a sign of the Earth's wrath against men.

192; 5. ki'pash is no word at all, but seems to stand for gitko-ptchi.

192; 7. The Indians were reticent about the meaning of this song, and hence I presumed that ō'k was intended to mean some deceased person, since these are spoken of as hû'k, *he*, *she*. Then the sense would be: "Be silent! that dead squaw is arising to sing a loud song." One Indian informed me that ō'ksta meant a squaw, and pronounced it ō'ksht (húnkisht?). Cf. *Note* to 35, 8 and page 130, second *Note*.

192 192; 8. These trochaic verses are called the K'mukámtchiksh-song, and a variant,
193 tuálam, exists for kánam. The alliteration of the k's and n's is very conspicuous. The meaning was given as follows: "I the omnipotent and unseen ruler of the universe will chastise and turn it over for the manifold crimes committed in it by Indians and men of other races."

192; 9. This is another K'múkamtch-song, in which he menaces to destroy the world for its misdoings. I have put the first line in quotation marks, because it forms the words or text of the song. The first line is sung about a dozen times before the second is sung once.

193; 10. Christian song, referring to the day of last judgment. Aíshish, who is a deity representing the powers of nature with animal attributes, has been in the mind of some Modocs identified with Jesus.

(41) So they looked. (42) And they just kept quiet.

(43) Now then Bear prepared food. (44) "Come and eat! Come and eat!" 539*
(45) Then the little one [of Antelope's children] said, "It tastes like Mommy's milk."[2] (46) Then the biggest one nudged him, saying, "Careful!" (47) Then he secretly put it aside. (48) Because she ate quickly, Old Bear did not see. (49) And she thought they ate a lot.

(50) The biggest one did not sleep all night. (51) When the little one cried, he said, "Don't! Don't! Maybe she'll kill us next."

(52) Thus, the next day she said goodbye to them all. (53) Having said goodbye to them, she said [to Antelope's children], "Go over there and play!" (54) Then she advised her own little children, "Don't play anything now, or perhaps they will do something to you. (55) Don't play leap-frog![3] (56) Don't swim around! (57) Don't race! (58) Don't play jump! (59) Don't play anything!" (60) But she forgot one.

(61) So the little fawns said, "Let's play something![4] (62) Let's play something! (63) Swim-racing?" (64) "No!" [said the little bears]. (65) "You name something then!" (66) "We don't want to play." (67) "Let us play leap-frong!" (68) "No." (69) "Let us race!" (70) "No." (71) "Let us wrestle!" (72) "No." (73) "Then let us play 'Two-in-smother'!"[5] (74) "Yes, yes, yes!"

(75) Then they first closed up everything, of that house. (76) Then they filled it up with smoke. (77) Then they said, "We'll do it first." (78) And they will do thus, "Two-in-smother, two-in-smother! Smother! Smother!" (79) Now they opened the door; they ran out. (80) "You next!" (81) So they ran inside. (82) "Two-in-smother, two-in-smother, smother, smother!"

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[2] /ḱisi·bam ʔeči·s sitk ḿa·sʔa/ "It tastes like Mommy's milk" is baby-talk. Normal Klamath would be: /ṕkisam ʔečas sitk ḿa·sʔa/. The baby Antelope is here shown retaining the affix which occurs with kinship terms in their nominative form: /ṕkisap/ "mother." [195] [193]

[3] ‖sgntaŀygie·'wabg‖ : /sangaŀi·gye·waph/ "will jump over one another for sport." ((sg) 2pv "reflexive-reciprocal"; (ngaŀ) 45-v "to jump"; (oygi) 10sv "over, above"; (e·') 12sv "in sport, play, competition"; (wabg) 23sv "future"). This word has a closely similar meaning to ‖sgho·dwlye·gwabg‖ : /scho·wwalye·gwaph/ "will jump over each other," but this latter item seems to refer to jumping contests. [192] [196]

[4] /wiwʔa·ŀa·k/ "little fawns" is irregular. ‖rewiŀe'a·k‖ should : */wiwiŀeʔa·k/. (wiŀe) "fawn" must be stated as having an allomorph ‖wiʔa·l‖ only with (re) and followed by ('a·k). Otherwise ‖wiŀe‖ occurs. [193]

[5] This was Mrs. Ohles' own idea for a translation of /laplap ṗoŀe·/: "Two-in-smother." /laplap/ seems to be a distortion of (la·b) "two" plus (rdr). (ṗoŀ) 78v "to be out of breath, smother" occurs as a regular verb, but not with any affix /e·/, unless this be an otherwise non-occurring allomorph of (e·') 12sv "to do in sport, competition." [193]

#539 (132) čoy mis ni galamnbagwapk." (133) čoy sa honk ʔat glewi·ča wiće·ḿaḿčas qtampks hi·t hak.

(134) čoy sa honk ʔat be·n gena, be·n gena. (135) čoy honk ʔat ʔona·k sʔo·q̓aḿč s̓wewa. (136) čoy sa honk ʔat dintq̓apsa. (137) čoy honk naʔas, "koko·y! sgo·tgi na·ĺs! (138) hok ʔa na·ĺs tpočapga wiće·ḿaḿč!" (139) čoy sʔa·Maks giwk, sbok̓wi·ya sas. (140) čoy sa dink̓wa. (141) čoy sĺo·losdat psipno·goga. (142) čoy honk gaʔas sińamstnok, ḱawḱaẃa sdaynas.

(143) čoy wiće·ḿaḿč gatba. (144) "dam ʔi ćaĺakýas sleʔa? (145) dam sa gidaĺ gepga?" (146) "q̓ay ʔan sʔaywakta. (147) pač́it ʔan gatq̓apsa." (148) "q̓ay ḱiʔi! (149) ge· ʔa sam gweys. (150) ge· mi gida poćaḿč gwena. (151) sbok̓wi ʔis!" (152) naʔas qiWčank, "ya···!"

(153) sbok̓wa čoy ʔat datglam genank, ʔambo bonwa. (154) čoy ʔat wLića qma. (155) "q̓oʔhaʔhaʔhaʔha!" (156) sninćo·wa wiće·ḿaḿčas, mpetčńa. (157) čoy honk ʔat wiće·ḿaḿč glega.

2. Coyote and Badger

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) kois do··· wbawlʔaqdamna mna lolp. (2) čoy hok naʔas, "lololok!"[*] (3) čoy hok hewýaqbli. (4) "ya····, dič ʔan gen gi," či honk. (5) čoy honk be···n hak, "lolololok!" (6) čoy honk ẃas galč́wi, galč́wi. (7) "dwa· lis ʔi sʔotća?" (8) "gen ʔan gew lolp wbawlʔaqdamna." (9) "ho·t ʔa nen naʔas lmena?" (10) "ʔi·. lmeys sitk ʔa nen ho·t." (11) "ʔi·. dam čik hon no· č́is hoḿas gi?" (12) "ʔi·. wbawlʔaq hay mi lolp!" (13) čoy hok "lolololok," čoy hok hewýaqbli. (14) be·n hak ho·t naʔas, "ya···, mo· ʔa ge· dič, ya mi!" (15) čoy honk be·n wbawliga. (16) čoy be·n hok "lolololok," hewýaqbli. (17) čoy naʔas, "ya···, mo· hay ʔins gen dič hasýo·ga." (18) čoy naʔas, "ʔi·." (19) čoy be·n hak wbawliga, do···, wbawliga. (20) čoy dič gi. (21) čoy do····· wbawliga. čoy honk naʔas, "lolololok!", čoy honk hewýaqbli.

[192]

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[*] /lolololok!/ indicates the rumbling noise of thunder. The intonation contour of this sequence drops rapidly from an initial high pitch down to a very deep bass.

*539 (80) čoy honk naʔas gi, "sʔabi· ʔis na·ĺs, sʔabas! (81) dwa· ʔa na·t waq giwk, q̇elẏak ptisap, q̇elẏak ṕkisap?" (82) čoy honk q̇ay sas geqč́a. (83) "he· ʔi na·ĺs q̇ay sʔabi·wapk, sliwapk mis ni!" (84) čoy honk q̇ay geqč́a. (85) čoy honk ʔat ńsewe·č́ka mnatga dalčitga slin, paĺo·, kat ho·t bosbos sʔabasdat—ho·t gida gwena, dalč́iʔam.[19] (86) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, balaq hak ʔis ʔosgablyat! (87) sʔabi·wapk dak ma·ĺs ni!" (88) čoy honk ʔat sʔabi·ya sas naʔas, "ho·t hok hi·t či·ya, kat ma·ĺs snoq́o·Ye·ga." (Is that right? snoq́o·Ye·ga? q̇o·Ye·ks is "orphan," you know.) (89) "ʔambotdat hok či·ya, kat ma·ĺs snoq́o·Ye·ga. (90) hońas ʔa·t giwk q̇o·Ye·ks." (Phillip, you're the cruellest animal I ever did know for making me tell this!)

(91) čoy sa honk ʔat gembli. (92) newlga da·ts hok ńsewe·č́ka naʔas, "ʔi·. ʔat ʔa loldam gi." (93) naʔas, "čoy na·t ʔa slomtanwapk, na·nok psinks. (94) čoy na·t danqńi psinks giwlank—(q̇ay ni sʔaywakta—tewńip?—ʔaMḱa.) (95) tewńip psinks giwlank čoy ni honks lakč́wapk." (96) čoy sa honk ʔat newlga naʔas. (97) "ʔat slomtanwapk ʔa na·t."

(98) čoy sa honk ʔat gena. (99) čoy honk do···m sa kyem, me·maqla sʔopba·tamblidamna. (100) čoy sa honk dosLibli. (101) čoy sa naʔas, "sda··· gi, do· ʔili·nči·k!" pĺe·wa mna·ĺam. (102) čoy honk ʔat wbeli·na, wbeli·na, wbeli·na, naʔas, "hãhãʔ! hãhãʔ!" (103) čoy da·ts honk ʔat, be·n Na·ẏantga psinkstga gena. (104) —ẏaMtgi ʔeč ni nen! (105) dada·t sa slomtampga, domna naʔas, "gočgočgočgoji·p!"[20] (106) čoy honk ʔat pĺe·wip č́is domna. (107) čeq́ya honk do·, wqepĺaqsdat. (108) čoy honk naʔas, "hãhãmʔ! nen daks!" (109) čoy honk naʔas, "q̇ay dak sa dwa· waq gi." (But she'd be scared, all the time, you know. She knew that little girl would cut off her mother's head when she came out of water at night, and she was afraid she'd find it in there with the fish.

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[201] [124] [19] The little girl shot the sun in the cheek. Mrs. Ohles gestured to her own cheek here to clarify this, and /ho·t gida gwena, dalč́iʔam/ "it made a mark right here, of the arrow" refers to her gesture. She later remarked that the black spot is still to be seen on the sun's "cheek" and suggested it might be an Indian explanation of sunspots.

[192] [124] [20] The utterance /gočgočgočgoji·p/ was given in a loud whisper. It is apparently a mythic utterance, a distortion of /pgoji·p/ "aunt, father's sister." The action here was later clarified by Mrs. Ohles. Each time the two children went torch-fishing, their Aunt would appear from the water, leaning into the boat and crying "/gočgočgočgoji·p!/." The children remained perfectly still, hoping that she would eventually lean far enough into the boat for them to seize her and cut off her head. Their Grandmother, sitting at home, heard her daughter each time and knew the children would kill her. Hence her repeated sob, "/hãhãʔ/." (The symbol "ã" denotes a nasalized low central vowel. The utterance is anomalous to the phonemic system.)

[194] [193]

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*539 (13) "ča ʔičgas, q̇aWl̥i sialakLas!"[44] (14) čoy siwga honks ćasga·y. (15) "ča ʔičgas, kuskuskuskuskus, ʔičgas, čak loĺstq̇aks!"[45] (16) delo·ga ćasga·yas. (17) ʔat siso·ga. (18) be·n honkt siwga, ćasga·y. (19) naʔas gi, "hõ···, mo· bas q̇oy gi."[46] (20) kuskus, ʔičgas, mbastga nqewYapks!" (21) be·n hokt delo·ga ćasga·yas. (22) siso·ga. (23) be·n honkt gist, ćasga·y hončgas siwga. (24) "ča ʔičgas, ga̧lo· qa·qaqs!" (25) ʔat honktčgas siwga. (26) ʔat sa sedalo·ga, honktčgas siwga ćasga·y. (27) ćasgi·ps naʔas gi, "ča! hak na·tčgas!" (28) naʔas, "hihastqatćwapk na·t!" (29) čečte·sis naʔas, "ća·nis ʔan hoḿas gis." (30) "q̇ay, no· ʔams lobi· hoḿas giwapk." (31) čoy honk ʔat čečte·sis hihastqatćwapk sa. (32) naʔas, "waq hay sa honk hoḿas?" (33) "waq hay geḿas lis"—gaʔas lis honk sommat—gaʔas sommat solíaq̇kis mna hesl̓ʔa, dwantga histqatćwapk. (34) ʔat sa histqatća. (35) čečte·sis sdaLa·sga honkĺam ćasgi·psam som, sdaLa·sgnank siwga.

8. Hehji·ḱa

(Mr. Grover Pompey)

(1) či·ya tońipńi lo·s. (2) čoy honk naʔas hok—lo·s ʔona·k hončńa čoy hemčńa naʔas, "loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni ṕača, loha·nk, loha·nk!"[47] (2) hončńank, čoy ʔat hok gatba—hontba, hehji·ḱalamksi. (3) hehji·ḱa čawaltk mna wqepĺaqsdat, hottgićapga honk lo·sas, nqenčipgo·ta, "hehji·, hehji·, hehji·!"[48]

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[196] [44] /q̇aWl̥i sialakLas/ was said to mean "Brown spots over the eyes." ‖reesl^{v}ikLe‖ : /sialakLas/ "distributive round objects on top of, reflexive" bears out the translation, but the usual word for "brown" is /kaWkaWl̥i/ ({kaW}). The form /q̇aWl̥i/, otherwise unknown, could perhaps be set up as an allomorph of {kaW} 75v "to be brown."

[194] [45] /kuskuskuskuskus/ is nearly voiceless. Cf. Note 42. There is no apparent reason for the metathesis of /k/ and /s/.

[192] [194] [46] /hõ···/ is an exclamation of disappointment. The vowel is nasalized, and the tone drops from /3/ to /2/ or a little lower.

[194] [47] The segment /loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni ṕača·, loha·nk, loha·nk/ is spoken in a measured, heavily stressed tone and in a rather high, faint voice. This applies to further reoccurrences of this myth speech in utterances 18, 33, 52, 53, 75, and 76 of this myth.

[196] [194] [48] /hehji·, hehji·, hehji·!/ is the myth-speech of Hehji·ḱa. No further meaning for the segment /hehji·/ could be found. It is uttered here in a high pitched voice with a strong pitch drop on the final /i·/.

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*539 (4) čoy naʔas gi, "dwa· lis ne·pga? (5) waq ho·t giwk nońatía goni·—he· delča! (6) he· delča!" (7) čoy honk lo·s delčńa. (8) čoy honk ndoga, mna ńos honk ndogank siwga. (9) čoy homas gyank. hok hehǰi·ḱa ksembli, mna wqepíaqsdaí. (10) čoy honk wolo·Libli, mna wqepíaqs. (11) čoy honk ṕle·wip naʔas, "ʔe···, siwkiga dal ʔi Na·s?"[49] (12) čoy honk ʔat ṕle·wip na·nok honk poLq́ank čoy honk no·qía. (13) čoy sa honk ṗan. (14) ṗank sibač, čoy ʔe·ẇa. (15) čoy honk homas gyank ʔat sa loíallga.

(16) čoy be·n mbo·sant, čawal hehǰi·ḱa, mnadant wqepíaqsdat. (17) čoy lo·s Na·s be·n hontgalča, do·kni·. (18) hokčgas naʔas, hemčipga, "loha·nk, goda· ni ṗača, loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni ṗača!" (19) čoy honk ʔat hokčgas ʔat hontba—agolam mat gitk či·sdat—hehǰi·ḱalamksi. (20) hehǰi·ḱa be·n ho·qq́ya, čoy honkčgas wola, naʔas, "dwa· lis ne·pga goni·? (21) he· do· ne· gidaí—he· delča!" (22) čoy honk lo·s delčńa. (23) čoy honkčgas ndoga, ńos. (24) siwga. (25) čoy ksembli, wqepíaqsdaí mna. (26) čoy do· honk wolo·Li ṕle·wa mna poLq́atgi giwk. (27) čoy honk honkt poLq́ank, ʔat no·qíank, čoy sa ṗan. (28) ṗawlank ʔat be·n loíallga.

(29) ʔona· be·n batgal. (30) hehǰi·ḱa. (31) čawal hatkak loltḿalʔaqsdat mna—wqepíaqsdat mna.[50] (32) čoy honk lo·s be·n hokčgas hontgalčapga, do·kni·. (33) čoy naʔas hok hemčipga, "loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni ṗača, loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni gin ṗača!"

(34) čoy honk hontba—dat—hehǰi·ḱalamksi. (35) hehǰi·ḱa ho·wwalo·lča be·n hak. (36) do· ʔa ho·qq́ya. (37) čoy naʔas gi, "waq lis ʔi? (38) dwa· ne·pga goni· nen? (39) dwa· ho·t ne·pga?" (40) "dat hay?" (41) "ho·t lis goni·—ne·—nońatía—dwa· ho·t waq giwk nońatía? (42) he· delča!" (43) čoy hok lo·s delčńa. (44) čoy honktčgas be·n ndoga, ńos, siwga. (45) siwgank ksembli doʔotdaí, wqepíaqsdaí mna, wolo·Li. (46) "ye···, Na·s dal ʔi be·n siwga?" naʔas mna ṕle·wip. (47) čoy sa honk ṗan, ʔat no·qíank dič. (48) mo· ʔe·ẇa. (49) čoy ʔat be·n hak hon sponne·kdat honk.

(50) ʔona· be·n hak, čawal, hehǰi·ḱa. (51) čoy Na·s hok be·n ʔat lo·s hontgalčapga, ʔona·. (52) čoy homas hak hemčipga naʔas, "loha·nk, loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni ṗača. (53) loha·nk, goda· ni ṗača."

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[196] [49] The Grandmother's exclamation, here /ʔe···/ and elsewhere /ye···/ (utterances 46, 65, and 96), is uttered in a high, quavering tone that varies considerably in pitch.

[124] [192] [50] Mr. Pompey here became confused momentarily between the Klamath summer house (/wqepíaqs/) and the winter house (/loltḿalʔaqs/). He had previously stated that Hehǰi·ḱa lived in a /wqepíaqs/ at the time of the story.

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9. Skunk and His Sister-in-Law

(Mr. Robert David)

*539 (1) sʔabwapk ʔan—wiḱa·ńs gin hemkanks, kant ni sʔaywakta. (2) ga·ʔa·k ʔans—ma·ms ni q̇ay q̇a sʔaywaks. (3) čoy da·ts ni nent domns, kant nis gogmčatk sʔabi·ya. (4) ga·ʔa·k. (5) sʔasʔapgle·ʔa sa. (6) čoy nis sa sʔabi·ya. č́a·siss ni nen sʔabwapgok, kat ho·t ya·mat do·ksĺant goni·ksĺant goge mo·ńs či·ya. (7) čoy do·s nen basdin pačit naʔas ʔelga kalambya riba.[51] (8) hadakt hok do·ksĺant či·ya, č́a·sis. (9) gaḱwapk do· sle·čok mna tapýa. (10) tapýap honkĺam či·ya do·ksĺant. (11) čoy bi gina· či·ya, ʔiWWasga gina·ksĺa, honk mo·ńs goge gina·ksĺa. (12) čoy honk naʔas, sńewe·ts mna sʔabi·ya naʔas, "sponḱo·wapk ʔins. (13) sle·čas sańa·Wawli. (14) q̇ay ni ma·ns sleʔa gew honk tapýa." naʔas honk, č́a·sis hokt gi. (15) "ʔi·," či čik honk. (16) ʔat honk sponḱwa. (17) spončńank gogetdat hi·t, sponḱo·č́a wončJatga, wonč hadakt, naʔas honk sʔaba, wončJatga. (18) sgaḱwa sa honk ʔat do· spončńa. (19) čoy honk gena ʔat. (20) goWaskč́a honk do· ge·lantga.

(21) čoy hont honk dič́e·ẃa gaʔas honk sepe·wčok. (22) pe·wča honk qe·mat mna, na·nok hadakt lgelgaWapga honks, balbalʔi. (23) čoy honk dič ʔat so·Jo·qč́a, gida čis, kat ho·t lgoygi gidaĺ balbalʔi.[52] (24) honkt honk sańa·Wawli dič sle·s gis. (25) dič honk so·Jo·qčńank gena. čoy honk naʔas ʔat, "gen ni geńs ḱleča, gen ni geńs ḱleča!"[53] (26) na· honkĺam hemkanks dada·t hok gena, Na·čyak č́a·sis. (27) "gen ni geńs ḱleča, gen ni geńs ḱleča!" naʔas honk. (28) hont honk dič́e·ẃa ʔat ḿaYas mna sle·bapgok, dada·t honk gena, qbel honk woĺo·kankčńo·ta mna. (29) honkt honk dič́e·ẃa ʔat.

(30) čoy honk do··· ʔat gatbnank sleʔa doma··· čik hok maqlaqs hadakt či·ya. (31) čoy honk naʔas gi, "dat dal hok gew tapýap či·ya?" (32) čoy sa ʔala·Ya naʔas, "hi·t hok goni· či·ya." (33) čoy sas naʔas gi, "ʔi·, ma·ns ʔat nen q̇ay sleʔo·k, gen ni gaḱo·č́apga hon mo·ńs goge," naʔas honk sʔaba. (34) "ʔi·," či čik honk gi. (35) čoy honk či·ya ʔat

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[194]
[51] The allophonic pattern of /kalambya riba/ "Columbia River" is entirely Klamath, except for the anomalous /r/.
[124]
[196]
[52] Mr. David gestured to his head and back to indicate Skunk's stripe, the area referred to by /gida/ "here" and /gidaĺ/ "toward here."

[53] /gen ni geńs ḱleča/ "This is the way I hop along" is the myth speech tag-line for Skunk in this myth. It is pitched slightly higher and is rhythmically stressed. Mr. David himself points out the difference between such "myth speech" and ordinary discourse in Sentences 42 and 43 of this myth.
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#539 (124) čoy honk tabi·ge·n na?as, "ge· le·ẃam! le·ẃam ge· bosakías!" či honk. (125) ?at čik sa honk dintq́aga. (126) ?at sa honk ?at Walwi. (127) ?at sa gembli, hoḿas gyank, dosčambli ho·t sa ?at, sqel ćaaga·yas dola.

(128) čoy ḱada·di nen s?aywaks, nent či weli·ía, q́ay honk ho·skanga ?at. (129) nen da·ts ni ḱada·di dič s?aywaks honkt. (130) ga·?a·k ?ans ma·ms ne· dići·. (131) čoy da·ts ni nen ḱet s?aywakta. (132) q́ay ?an saña·Wawli s?aps dwa· ni q́ay s?aywakta.

11. The Qawdo·gi·s Brothers
(Mr. Robert David)

(1) diña· hok—domi· či·ya. (2) s?abwapk ni gitgẃas, qawdo·gi·sas. (3) qawdo·gi·s hok či·ya do·ksíant do·s hak git gombat wiḱa·t. (4) hadakt hok či·ya·. (5) čoy honk domna sa na?as, lilhanksas do···m lwela·, ?iWba·tan?a do·. (6) hi·t sa nen so·ča sa honk mo·. (7) čoy honk sle?a·—hokt Na·s qawdo·gi·s—hokt honk sle?a·, loloqs. (8) "waq dal do· ne· mo· hak nota·? lala·q́yamks," či honk gi. (9) čoy honk na?as ?at gi, "waq hay ćole·ks ?a sa ?itba, lweltga ?as lilhanks," na?as honk. (10) čoy honk hi·tkni· honk sle?a·, honk ḱada·di dalḱwank, do· ?iWba·tan?a, ?iWq́a·q goni·tant.

(11) čoy honk na?as gi, "ya··· genwapk ni gen," či honk. (12) čoy honk ?at goWaskća hok—sesatge·wńisaltk hok či·ya, woni·bi. (13) čoy honk čiḱa·?a·k na·Í hok goWaskća. (14) čoy honk gitgo—gena··· honk do·. (15) čoy honk hosdanga sas gina·t hak. (16) hompči hak, ho?ot hak hok—gmoḱamč (they call him)—gmoḱamč hok hosdanga ?at gina·t hak. (17) čoy honk na?as gi, hok qawdo·gi·s, "dwa· čik hok mo· hak nota·?" (18) waqt giwk na?as da·ts honk, "qawdo·gi· agoč agoč, qawdo·gi· agoč agoč," na?as honk giwta, gena· hokt qawdo·gi·s.[20] (19) "qawdo·gi· agoč agoč," na?as honk gitgo, ?iyyamnatk mna dalći, datdadwa na·nok, ḿolẃatk ?at honk waqt či honk gankankčok hoḿas.

(20) čoy honk ?at hok hosdanga, gmoḱamćas, wele·q́atk hok glegank. (21) čoy honk na?as gi, "gagya·mis sitk lilhanksam ćole·ks blew gi goni·,

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[20] The phrase /qawdo·gi· agoč agoč/ is again myth speech, a tag-line for the various Qawdo·gi·s brothers. It had no discoverable lexical meaning. It was spoken in a rhythmical manner, but was not noticeably high-pitched.

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(13) čoy sa do· gemblyank ʔat, sda· gyank wonč, čoy sa bẃečli·nank honk, Na·č́a·s hak gi. (14) čoy honk ʔat ma·ns bańi ẃetpga. (15) čoy hok qa·Wtgi plentant, čoy ńoṕa· ʔiWdi·la. (16) čoy sa honk ʔat wage·nha wjo·q́a honkt, čoy hok na·nok hokt q́ay dič́i· lme·ye·gwapk.[73] (17) čoy hok wokas bil honk lme·lga.

(18) čoy sa honk ʔo·wa sa stewLasdat ga·ʔa·k. (19) čoy honk ʔo·wank sa hadakt, čoy baha·. (20) dada·t hok baha·, wage·nha tri· wi·k—(laughter)—ndan sandi giwlank hok wage·n baha .

(21) čoy sa honk ʔat slačqačgas honk dič, bahapks če·t. (22) na·nok dič sʔotía, čoy sa ʔiwi·ga honk ʔat willsikgat. (23) čoy sa ṕas sʔotíok honk sʔo·ĺa·ĺa. (24) čoy hok dankt ga·ʔa·k ṕaLa sam hok gi. (25) čoy sa ḱlom hadakt ʔikLank, sno·ga sa honk, honkt wokas.

(26) čoy sa sno·go·lank beqsa lḿačjatga. (27) sqesqaqkyamnank sa· beqsa wokas. (28) čoy sa honk ʔat woNo·k honk, čoy sa sdilli·nča sa honk na·nok. (29) čoy hok čiLaq lme·ye·ga. plentant. (30) čoy sa honkt ʔlli·nank, čoy sa be·n ʔat honk beqsa.

(31) čoy sa honk ʔat ṕas sʔotía. (32) ga·ʔa·k hok lobi· dada· q́e·gi na·ĺam dwa·, sdipanks. (33) čoy sa honk dankt hi·t čakĺatdat gi, čakĺa či sa honk ʔelga. (34) čoy sa honkant qday sa lobi· snegalṕka, čoy hok wokas ʔambotdat ʔiwtk. (35) čoy sa honk qday wbewa·, honk qallatdat, hisčĺa·ĺok honk dankt, q́elýak č́iĺa·ĺo·ts giwk. (36) hoḿas sa ga·ʔa·k wokas sʔotía.

(37) čoy hok la·p wiqčisam, kant ni nen sbokẃas či ʔelga, honkt sa weli·tant snontṕa. (38) čoy sa honkt loli·na honk sa hoḿas ḿoq́aLĺapks hak ʔat. (39) hosno·gank čoy sa loli·na. (40) čoy honk hokt q́aq́alq́alʔi hokt gi, sbokẃas gi hokt. (41) hok sbokẃas či se·satk. (42) čoy honk be·n sbokẃas beqso·lank, čoy sa honktčgas be·n hoḿas hak lḱom ʔiwʔi·nank snaba·. (43) snaba· sa honkt be·n. (44) snaba· sa honkt, čoy dič ḿa·sʔa.

(45) čoy Na·s č́is, hok Na·s se·satk č́ini·q́am. (46) q́ay hok no·gatk wokas, čoy q́oy ḿa·sitk gi. (47) mṕoqamnatk hokt gi, č́oy sa hoḿas hak sʔotía q́aq́alq́alʔi hak snabank. (48) nen ḱet hak čič mat.

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[73] Mrs. Butler inserts /wage·nha/ "perhaps" here because there is an alternate method: instead of washing the wokas to rid it of the shells, one can completely dry it, crush the outer shells, and shake and winnow the seeds away from the chaff.

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(23) PO: nen hay ʔi dič ʔat sʔabwapk, naʔas gi, wolentiaáisam? (24) nsáe ʔa hon ho·t saáa·Wawli, ge·.[63] čoy naʔas nis ge· wola·, ni·ya, "waq sa honk giwk ho·t sloqo·ps domi·, ʔewksi? (25) dam mat sa dank hi·t či·ya·, loldam gin?" (26) čoy ni naʔas, "q̓ay ʔan sʔaywakta." (27) dam sa loldam či·ya· hi·t ʔewksi?

(28) AC: ʔi···, na·nok. (29) na·nok dak sa či·ya·. (30) domi· do·čis ʔewksi, domi· či·ya· ginḱi·ḿank. (31) na·nok waytas či·ya·, loldam gin. (32) čoy gida·na ge· maqlaqs či·ya·, domi·, ge· čis hoḿas hak blay, na·nok tompga goge.[64] (33) ge· či·ḱis ho·t do·tanna, ho·t sloqo·ps. (34) čoy naʔas hok nis dank (Proper name), "dwa· ge· waq giWi·s?" (35) čoy ni naʔas gi, "na·ĺam lis hok hi·t bloksisap či·ya· gida, ho·t—gome·ksi ho·t.[65] (36) ho·t hok gina· pelwi dank sloqo·ps hok, gew bloksam mat." (37) naʔas nis hok (Proper name of famous early chief) sʔabi·ya. (38) ho·t ʔa gida gi. (39) čoy sa honk naʔas ʔelga ʔiwli·wakni·—ho·t sloqo·ps hampga hi·t, naʔas nis.[66] (40) čoy hok hompči hak (Family name) hok na·ĺam bloksisap, či ʔan honk gist. (41) čoy či naʔas, "ʔi·, hoḿas dal hok? (42) q̓ay ʔans kani sʔabi·ya," naʔas či honk. (43) "ʔi·, ge· lis hok či·kankḱis gida·na gi, gen, ge· q̓ačẃe·č ho·t, ge· nen y̓ayńa—ho·t y̓ayńa naʔas se·satk q̓ačẃe·č."[67]

(44) PO: dwa· čik hok q̓ačẃe·č gi?

(45) AC: dwa· hak hok ga·ni hok dwa·—sʔasʔapgle·ʔas dwa·. (46) na·nok dwa· lis hok y̓ayńa waq hak ʔelgatk. (47) naʔas hok dank (Another person's name) ga·ʔa·k, "dwa· hok ne· čniWi·ĺs gi? (48) čniWi·ĺs lis, dwa· hok?"[68] (49) q̓ay ʔa na·t honk sʔaywakta. (50) q̓ay ʔa na·t ʔeʔalga y̓ayńa. (51) naʔas hak hok ge·t ʔeʔalgatk y̓ayńa ginkanga. (52) ʔaMḱa honk sʔotĺok hok blaydalkni· gen, naʔas ʔeʔalga y̓ayńa, naʔas čik. (53) dome·ńs ʔan honk wola·, gmočapks, čoy honk q̓ay sʔaywakta honk. (54) qadak hak honk q̓ay sʔaywakta, no·č honk q̓ay sʔaywakta. (55) ʔeʔalgatk hok na·nok

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[192] [63] /ge·/ "this, this one" here refers to the investigator, whom Mrs. Chiles indicated by a gesture.

[103] [64] Mrs. Cowan may have been referring to the town of Bligh (Klamath {blay}) or using the form in its meaning of "above, up." The river mentioned is probably the Williamson River, but may refer to some other stream.

[103] [65] /gome·ksi/ "Cave-place" was a large settlement in aboriginal times. See no. 29 on the accompanying map in the appendix.

[66] /ʔiwli·wa/ "on the edge" was a village site. It seems to be the same as that mentioned by Spier, op. cit., on his map as no. 47 (no. 30 on the accompanying map in the appendix).

[67] The lexical meaning of /q̓ačẃe·č/ could not be determined. For its location, see no. 27 on the accompanying map in the appendix.

[68] /čniWi·ĺs/ also was not analyzable. Mrs. Cowan did not give its location.

#539 ge· gini·gańća. (56) čoy nis la·bi danḱa·k wola· naʔas, "dat mat hok komčewi·s gi?" naʔas nis, "hadakt hak maqlaqs gitk, dat hok gi?" (57) čoy nis danḱa·k (Woman's name) ćis glegatk. "dat mat hok ni·Laqksi gi?"

(58) PO: dwa· hok komčewi·s?

(59) AC: ʔi·, naʔas hak lis hok se·satk ʔewksi. (60) ʔiwʔa·ĺa. (61) čoy či naʔas, "ge· lis ginYapga ni·Laqksi. (62) ho·t na·nok maqlaqsam či·ḱis, ho·t ge· sohi·yagye·ks—na·nok ginYapga, ʔiWLaLLo·ńakni·, domi· maqlaqs či·ya·."

(63) PO: dam mat ʔi ʔewksi se·sas sʔaywakta? (64)—waq sa se·sapks gist. (65) no· dak honk bil ho·skanga, dada·t ni ḱičḱa·ni do·st na·t ḿoho·salča ćosak—ĺkom ʔews. (66) čoy ʔan honk geaga gaẃals, paćit. (67) čoy sgotq̓aks, geaga ʔan honk paćit gaẃals. (68) čoy basdin honk ha·g krik či ʔelgank, do·st na·t dank q̓la·čía.[69] (69) čoy q̓e·gi hokt. (70) naʔas ni ge·ks sʔabi·ya, "q̓e·gi hok q̓la·č ʔat." (71) čoy dwa· bas hon si·p ẏa, wo·ía·?[70]

(72) AC: ʔi·, hompči mat hon lis na·nok wqeûgank. (73) gen lis gew dank haswa·s gida—mo· lbogapks, taktak síaslbis ge·t—čoy honk hok go·t na·nok honk ṗan.[71] (74) ho·t čik geye·kblitk do· stapga, kat hok dwa· taktak lotantk, hompčat honk.

(75) PO: dam mat ho·t se·satk go·t?

(76) AC: q̓ay ʔan ho·skanga.

PB: What is a "q̓wi·l"?

(77) AC: si·p dak hon naʔas ʔelga. (78) ge·tkni· maqlaqs mo·waía·kkni· q̓wi·l či.

PB: And one more, what is "swa·ya"?

(78) AC: dwa· mat?

(79) PO: swa·ya.

(80) AC: hok ẏa?—sʔasʔapgle·ʔas, kańs sa nen swa·yaʔa·k či. (81) swa·y—dwa· bas hok, q̓ay dak ni sʔaywakta. (82) sʔasʔapgle·ʔas ne·

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[103] [69] /ha·g krik/ "Hog Creek" might well have been put into quotations. The final /g/ is slightly unvoiced, however, more than an English /g/ in a comparable environment. Its location was not identified.

[194] [70] /si·p/ is English "sheep." Phonemically, it is Klamath.

[192] [71] /go·t/ is similarly English "goat." The flowering plant Mrs. Cowan referred to was blooming just outside her window. /do·/ "there" was explained with a gesture.

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(55) It was named all up [the rivér]. (56) So two persons] asked me a little while ago, "Where was that Komčewi·s?" he asked me, "where there were Indians, where was it?" (57) And (Woman's name) [who is] deceased, said to me too, "Where is that Ni·Laqksi?"

(58) PO: What is that Komčewi·s?

(59) AC: Yes, it is called thus on the Marsh. (60) At the end. (61) And [I] said, "This along the hillside is Ni·Laqksi. (62) They are all people's dwellings, that was this Sohi·yagye·ks—all along the hillside, Klamath Falls, many people lived [there]."

(63) PO: Do you know the names [of places] on the Marsh? (64)—How they are called. (65) I only remember, when I was little where we always used to go gathering mudhen eggs—at Charcoal Lake. (66) And now I can't find it. (67) And Sg̥otq́aks, I cannot find it now. (68) And what the white people called "Hog Creek," where we used to go and gather blueberries. (69) So they are gone. (70) Thus I told this one, "Those blueberries are gone now." (71) And I wonder if maybe those sheep, ate them up?

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(72) AC: Yes, having trampled it all down in that way. (73) [Just like] this of mine [which I] had planted here awhile ago—very big around, with red blooms there—and that goat ate it all up. (74) However, it has grown back and shoots are coming there, which have something red on them, that kind.

(75) PO: What was a "goat" called?

(76) AC: I don't recall.

PB: What is a "q́wi·l"?

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(77) AC: They called a "sheep" that. (78) Those Modoc Indians [called it] a "q́wi·l."

PB: And one more, what is "swa·ya"?

(78) AC: What?

(79) PO: swa·ya.

(80) AC: Is it?—a myth, which they called little "Swa·ya." (81) Swa·y—whatever he was, I do not know. (82) There is a myth thus.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 163]

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(114) PO: ʔi·. nempča lis mis nen ho·t saňa·Wawli s'ʔaps, waq sa qamalsňa, waq sa dwa· s'ʔotňa. paslok.

(115) AC: čoy na·t honk hoňas či·ye·ga. (116) hoňas či·tk ge·maqlaqs. pač̓it wenni gleg̓a·. (117) qadak honk wenni gleg̓a·.

(118) PO: basdin gleg̓a·.

(119) AC: ʔi·. wenni gleg̓a·. (120) čoy dwa· gin sa age·ʔa·, dwa· gin sa age·ʔa·. (121) dankt hok sa q̓ay hoňas gi. (122) s'ʔewanʔa ʔa sa, kinka·ňa gin p̓as s'ʔewanʔa. (123) ʔi·, si'ʔatg̓ok ga·ʔas, si'ʔatg̓ok sitk giwk. (124) hoňas honk dank či·[illegible]. hasaswa·Yank, mo· hasaswa·Yank. (125) pač̓it sa q̓ay hoňas gi. (126) da·la če· sňogwapk. (127) age·nank če· na·t p̓an. (128) gen gida sw̓ewa· sa, čoy sa pač̓it age·nank če· na·t kyem dwa· č̓legi·.

(129) PO: ga·ʔa·k sa q̓ay hoňas.

(130) AC: q̓ay hoňas. mo· hasaswa·Yank honk či·ya·. (131) čoy dankt hok dič ne·pga hoňas giwk, waq nen ni ge·ks naʔas gi.[77] (132) q̓e·gi dwa· pač̓it. (133) q̓e·gi dwa· ledomnas. (134) čoy honk s'ʔaywakta dank, dič ne·pga, domi· weti·s, dwa·, na·nok dwa· weti·s, na·nok dwa·. (135) do· sas ǰolayk̓iage·ni ptisap soyňa, na·nok si·či·p̓ank, montaňs bil solo·tnank.[78] (136) čoy honk na·nok hok sa·t na·nok gen gyank—ʔat sa do· genank, čoy sa honk gew ptisa· holli·nčapga. (137) čoy sa sdoq̓a···, "ʔi···!" (138) čoy honk hokt (Proper name's) giwisam sňewe·ts s'ʔawi·ga sas, solo·go·las gin s'ʔabo·k. (139) ʔi·, solo·go·la. (140) "gmočapks hay ʔa·t nen solo·go·la, ho·t ʔa čimangatk," naʔas honk hemkanga. (141) čoy honk naʔas, "haǰa···! ya··· dwa·!" naʔas.[79] (142) q̓ay mat dič hemkanga hok sa. (143) "q̓ay ho·t čimangatk. (144) gmočatk ho·t," naʔas sa·t hok we·w̓anwis. (145) čoy hok sasalkya sas. (146) čoy hoňas hok dank, domi· weti·s dwa·, domi· dič̓i· dwa·, datdadwa ledomnas. (147) gen waytas qapqap hak dwa·. (148) q̓ay waq dwa· gmaytlanʔa.

(149) PO: ge·ks ʔan s'ʔabi·ya naʔas, dada·t sa sogo·lgi, ndasni, la·bi gin, čoy sa naʔas gi, "dam ʔi s'ʔaywakta dada· kaňs s'ʔawi·kst?"

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[77] /ge·ks/ "this one" refers to her son, whom she indicated with a gesture.

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[78] /ǰolayk̓iage·ni/ "July Place" contains the English element "July." Mrs. Cowan here refers to the Fourth of July celebrations in the old days, but where and when this particular one was held is not known.

[79] /haǰa···!/ is supposed to represent Paiute speech, or at least some sort of Paiute interjection. The rest of their quoted utterance (/ya··· dwa·!/ is Klamath.

*539 (150) čoy q̓a···y ho·t sʔasʷi·gis. (151) dič̓i· ho·t gi. (152) ge·ks ni sʔabi·ya.[100] (153) ho·t sa dank do· p̓oWasdi, (Proper name¹), čoy (Proper name²), čoy—ago·—(Proper name²). (154) Waltga sa. (155) kani hak č̓is ʔaMƚa naʔas, kant sa naʔas ʔelga čopbaqs či. (156) čoy čik sa wlayqdamna nen. (157) čoy sas ni mamča·di·la—no· mamča·di·lis či hak ni ge·ks sʔabi·ya. (158) čoy sas naʔas, dam mat honk dada· sa (Proper name²) sleʔa·, qiLo·s se·wist, wage·nha q̓oy si·kslkst, wage·nha sijaqtis. (159) q̓a···y, q̓ay dada· sleʔa·. (160) čoy (Proper name¹) naʔas, "no· dak honks sleʔa· sʔawi·gapks diƚa·." (161) "ʔa···, dada· hay?" naʔas či honk hok (Proper name²). (162) čoy (Proper name²) naʔas gi, "dada·t lis ʔi wač mi spač̓a·ydatqƚa!" (163) čoy sa sdoqdamna. (164) nemas ni ge·ks sʔabi·ya. (165) čoy ni ǰo·nas č̓is sʔabi·ya, kat mis dank č̓osak sle·lgi. (166) do· hok swina·, se·ridan.[101] (167) do·st sa nen naʔas ʔelga do·, do·st hok maqlaqs na···soƚa·skni·sogo·lgi. (168) nen hok swinwapk sanditdat, litgi. (169) nen hok ʔat ʔakya gatba, do. (170) čoy mbaws solo·tnank swinwapk, ǰo·n. (171) hok ʔa gew—pƚa·lam gew be·p, kat mis č̓osak sle·lgi.

(172) AC: ʔi·, mago·q̓ap. (173) gew dak hok biblanksƚa gi. (174) no· honkƚam pƚe·wa hok nis—hok nis tapy̓alpgatk. (175) ʔi·, hok nis tapy̓alpga, pƚe·wip honkƚam. (176) čoy hok gew pikča nis honkƚam mbegapks, wele·q̓apgam, q̓e·gi hok, p̓allapga ʔams hok kani. (177) q̓e·gi hok. (178) naʔas honk ho·skanga neybliwapgok ga·yƚa dank. (179) ga·yƚa ʔan honk, čoy hok q̓e·gi hok.

(The machine was temporarily turned off at this point.)

(180) AC: sʷewsʔam.

(181) PO: (I never could think of that!) waq čik ho·t bosbosƚi se·satk?

(182) AC: ƚal. (183) ʔi·t sa hon gi, p̓an.[102] (184) lo·st gyank, lo·st gyank sa p̓an. (185) honk č̓is ƚal, p̓an sa honk.

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[192] [100] /ge·ks/ again refers to the investigator.

[551] [101] /ǰo·n/ "June" is the name of Mrs. Chiles' niece, Mrs. June Dick, who is quite
[533] well known on the Reservation and in Portland (her present home) as a singer.
[463] She had gone to *Sheridan, Wyoming*, to sing at the annual gathering of American Indian tribes there.

[192] [102] /ʔi·t/ is the English word "eat," and /lo·st/ is English "roast." In speaking to the investigator directly, Mrs. Cowan felt it necessary to employ frequent English words as supplements to her Klamath explanations.

*539 ho·t lolp, naʔas sa honk ʔelga, boqboq gaʔas.[105] (220) snaps gi. (221) na·nok dwa· ṕan maqlaqs, na·nok dwa·, ga·ʔa·k hoḿas či·ya·. (222) čoy dič či·ya·, meya· č́is gempči, maqlaqsʔam čwa—maqlaqsam "sweet potatoes." (223) dič́i·, Lo·yLoýatk, hoḿas hak swaktktis. (224) q́alq́alʔi da·ts gi, dič́i·.

PB: And what is 'qlańe'?

(225) AC: qlańa, ʔi·. (226) ho·t dič́i·, ho·t ṕas gin. (227) pa·snapsam lis—ho·t ge· č́eLaspči hokt, ho·t síaba·. (228) ʔi·, pa·snapsam lis č́is síaba·, čoy ho·t dak q́oy bilwitk, ho·t. (229) q́oy bilwitk—ho·t paysin. (230) čoy hoḿas da·ts síabatk, qlańa sitk síabatk, q́elýak da·ts hok pa·snapsam bilwis, q́oy. (231) ho·t ʔa síawanksam, q́oyč́i. (232) hoḿas hak síabatk, hoḿas, qlańa sitk. (233) dič́i· dak hok qlańa—dič ḿa·sitk, Lo·yLoýatk. (234) dič́i· č́is sangis ṕan, čoy čiḱa·ýank hok gyank.[106]

PB: What did the Klamath call "garlic" or "onion"?

(235) PO: kat ʔa sa "onion" basdin naʔas ʔelgank, "wild onion" či.

(236) AC: pni ho·t gi. (237) ge·ni čik ho·t, dič́i· hompči dwa·. (238) ho·t č́eḱa·ni, tata·napḱapči gi, ḿṗoqamnatk. (239) hompči hok sčisčapgatk. (240) hoḿas wa· ge·t, lobi·daí, gida. (241) ya·ńi ge·t do·. (242) ne· hompča sańa·Wawli le·nsam ʔikčas, haswa·tgi giwk, gempčant kna·tdat pčant hok ge·latdat—hoḿas domi··· kčalwitk síaps. (243) dič́a· síaps gi. (244) hompči da·ts ʔaʔalyanspči, neḿas hok bilwitk. (245) naʔas dak sa hon ʔelgank pni či. (246) dič ṕan, sa·t. (247) dič ḿa·sitk, Lo·yLoýa, bogatk lo·st gi. (248) na·nok čeLas mańi· sa honk gaʔas gyank ṕan.

PB: Could you tell me what a "wa·l" is?

(249) PO: dwa· ʔeč hok wa·l? (250) wa·l![107] (251) "le mna ṕle·wa mo·ńs wa·l ʔoye···!"

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[252] [105] /pa·p/ is English "pop." Mrs. Cowan referred to the "popping" of various
[192] seeds, much like modern popcorn. This was done to that type of very ripe wokas called /stokẃas/, to sunflower seeds, etc. The author had never heard of this process being applied to tule roots (/mayam lolp/).

[192] [106] /kok/ is English "cook."

[107] /wa·l/ was mentioned by Mrs. Ohles in connection with a hazily remembered portion of a myth. She thought it was a type of root, and this is borne out by
[192] Mrs. Cowan. She repeated the name (Sentence 250) in a louder tone of voice, since
[124] Mrs. Cowan tended to be slightly deaf. To further clarify what she meant, she added Sentence 251, which is the myth speech attributed to the chief character in
[196] the myth she could not quite recall. The form /ʔoye···/ wavers off into silence at the end. It seems to be ‖ s-ʔoya‖ : /ʔoya/ "gives a long object," but with modification of the final vowel.

#539

(252) AC: wa·l—hokt ćis dićí· gi. (253) hok gew pḱisap ćosak dat hak gaẃal, q̓ay ni s?aywakta ḱakda·ni hok hom̓as hak. (254) mo·m gida ga?as gitk.[106] (255) ?a·di·ńs da·ts, ?a·di· lentk, wa·l hok. (256) dič m̓a·sitk hok. (257) q̓ay ?an honk s?aywakta, q̓ay ?an honk gasaqkanga dankt, hompča meyat. (258) hok dak na·nok dwa· s?aywaktnank meya·. (259) q̓ay ?an honk s?aywakta hompča, wa·l hok.

(260) PO: nent hay no· hon s?aywakta se·sas bil. (261) s?as?apgle·-?i·ya.

(262) AC: honkt hok m̓a·sitk, hom̓as hak. (263) dićí· hok hom̓as hak gi. (Interruption, and the machine was turned off.)

(264) PO: . . . ksegi·. (265) dwa· sa nen waq giwk na?as gi? (266) "ho·t ?ans ksegi·." či.

(267) AC: gina·t wiḱa·na, nčoq̓a· ?at!

(268) PO: ksegi·—dwa· sa nen waq giwk na?as gi, "ho·t ?ans ksegi·." či?

(269) AC: dada· lis ho·t dola či·ya·. (270) he· mis ni dola či·t, do·na midamkɔi, čoy ?i na?as gi, "ho·t ćosak nis ksegi·." (271) na?as ?i git.

(272) AC: čoyč Na·s ne· gin, sohangapči. (273) nčegi·.

(274) PO: nent ?ams ni nen! (275) nčegi·!

(276) AC: nčegi·, Na·s ne· gin. (277) "?at ?an honks nčegiwapk." (278) "?at hisjaqtanwapk. (279) ma·ns ?an honks q̓ay geqćs, čoy nčegi·. (280) čoyč ?at ?an nčegiwapk."

(281) PO: waq lis ?i lobi·da·ńa? (282) waq ?an honk git, he· ?i no·s dola či·t?

(283) AC: ksegi·.

(284) PO: (That last one means I never paid any attention for a long time, but I will, now, take offence to what this other person says and quarrel with them or fight with them or whatever.) čoy ?an honk lobi·da·ńa s?aywakta, ?at mo· če· gmočank. (Interruption.)

PB: What is a "pḱa·sip"?

(285) PO: kaya·nWa dal hok gitgo—pḱa·sip čoy bloksip? (286) ptisamkedaĺ čoy wage·nhs pḱisamksía?

(287) AC: ?i·, pḱisamkedaĺ bi, hok pḱa·sip. (288) čoy hok dak ptisamkedaĺ, bloksip. (289) pq̓oli·p ḿewe·ts ge·ksíadaĺ, pḱa·sip.

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[106] /gida ga?as/ "here this way" refers to the gestured size of the /wa·l/—about three or four inches.

#539 (290) čoy bloksip, ṕe·wip—ʔat ho·t ḱanni gi. (291) ge·ksĺadaĺ lalʔa·bi hok gi.

PB: And what is a "pḱo·nip"?

(292) PO: pḱo·nip, dwa· hok? (293) waq hok nen hasʔa·Mḱa, kańs sa pḱo·nip naʔas ʔelga?

(294) AC: pḱo·nip dak ho·t pʔa·nip gi. (295) ho·t ʔa gew ḱoḱo·nip gi. (Great Uncle.)

(The conversation was carried on in English at this point, mostly about friends from the old days.)

(296) PO: . . . čoy waq dal hok se·satk gi, kańsĺet honk dola či·ya·—kańs honk dola či·ya·?

(297) AC: q̇ay, wiḱa· bańi ʔa mat honk hok sq̇olligo·ta. (298) mna da·k dwa·, waq da·k sa gin—mna da·k honk sʔa·Maks dwa· hak. (299) čoy ho·t sa hon hoḿas gyank ʔat hasʔa·Maḱatk. (300) ptisa· honk blogo·člank, honkĺam honk q̇e·gitk.[109]

(301) PO: ʔi·, honk hay ni ho·skanga.

(The conversation reverted to English and drifted to a recollection of a personal experience from Mrs. Ohles' childhood. The machine was turned off during this time and was only turned on again when she returned to Klamath.)

(302) PO: . . . čoy dank ḿa·sʔa dwa·. (303) čoy ma·ns q̇e·gi, ma·ns q̇e·gi. (304) čoy ndanni waytas q̇e·giwapgatk, čoy ma·ns na·ĺ q̇e·gi, ḿa·sʔok. (305) čoy honk hokt ʔat wosga na·ts, hokt (Proper name). (306) čoy hok gembli, čoy honk ḿa·sis gota·, honkčgas. (307) čoy ma·ms gatbamblyank na·ĺs be·n blay ʔembli, blaydaĺ.[110] (308) waq dal sa blay maqlaqsyalank ʔelga?

(309) AC: blay, či. (310) ge· dak nen gina·t ẏayńa.

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[192] [551] [576] [109] The form /q̇e·gitk/ is used for respectful mention of a dead person. It was considered impolite to mention the names of the other person's deceased relations in a conversation, and this was extended often to refer to the names of deceased friends and acquaintances. Compare the English "the dear departed."

[103] [193] [194] [110] Mrs. Ohles uses the form /blay/ here to mean only the town of Bligh. It may be that the vowel of the two repetitions of /blay/ in this sentence is somewhat longer than is usual for the Klamath morpheme {blay} "up, above." It is certainly longer than Mrs. Cowan's /blay, či/ in Sentence 309. If so, this may account for Mrs. Ohles' failure to recognize "Bligh" as Klamath {blay}.

#539

(22) ge· čik hiswaqs waća·ks mna sʔewanʔa. dwa· hak sʔewanʔa, ṗas ʔa sʔewanʔa. q̓ay qaq̓o·. ʔaMĺa ʔambo ćiya·.

(23) ge· čik ćiḱas gitgo—"quail"—sdasdo·lʔaqs ʔakýa gen qbičbambli ge· waća·k.

(24) ge· čik koĺa·k. ge· ʔa loldam—q̓elýak ge· ĺapaq go·s. čoy ge· waća·k koĺa·ks—q̓ay. q̓ay koĺa·k—kaýa·k ʔa ho·t. kaýa·ks ʔa so·čńa.

(25) ge· čik golpa waća·k.

(26) ge· čik mo·smo·s, ṗawa·. ýayńa, goge wiĺa·ĺa ʔakýa. ýayńa čik ho·t goni·tant. q̓ay ni sʔaywakta ka ýayńa gi.

(27) ge· čik ʔilga—ʔisalq̓i ʔakýa gen ʔilga. čoyč ge· ʔona·k hak—q̓ayo· ge· go·s ĺapq̓ala. ʔat ʔa sqoWa·.

(28) waq čik gen, q̓ay hak dič aličtnank spića· wač. ge· qnoqs q̓ay dič naq̓a·q̓atk. ʔaMĺa gemgemĺi ʔakýa wač giwk.

(29) ge· čik q̓elýak qakLas, q̓elýak qnoqs, q̓elýak na·nok dwa·. čoy da·ts ho·t čikLank gembli ʔakýa laćasdaĺ, ʔaMĺa sdeybaldaĺ gembli.

(30) ge· čik kĉiga·, ge·, ʔakýa ʔe·pals loykčok. kĉiga· lis ʔa ho·t.

(31) ya···, ge· čik dal wisink! ńewe·ts čoy la·bi hihaswaqs, čoy sa naʔas, "ya···, ho·t ʔa do·na wisink!" do·ksĺant ge· siʔatgatk (ʔakýa?). tgatgli·ga ʔa sa, čoy honk wisink do·ksĺant.[112]

(32) la·bi wisink. čoy hok sa hak ndanni ge·ksĺa be·n. q̓ay ʔan dićewa wisink.

(33) ya···, ʔat čik sas ge· tpoća·. Na·s ńiwLi, ńewe·ts hočćńa, hiswaqs ćis, čoy honk ńep mna wbeyye·gank hočćńa. ge· čik ĺoq̓ank ńiwLi gida, ʔaMĺa ńiwwa ʔambotdat.

(34) ge· čik dwa·? sʔabas ʔa dini·gi. čoy ge· gitgo—q̓ay dinne·ga. dini·gi ʔa sʔabas. ʔona·k lis ge·k sa ćosak gitgo—basdińam wonč—"sailboat"—agena·. čoy ge· ʔanko gida ʔali·ga.

(35) ge· wončjatga gena·, dinne·kdat ʔat. čoy naʔas gi, "ʔat ni gembli." gatba ʔa ho·t sle·tgi giwk ńewe·ts. ʔaMĺa mna hasńa·Wawlis.

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[192]
[196]

[112] Mrs. Chise was not sure about [sq̱ʔidgik] : /siʔatgatk/ "plural objects divided from themselves" for "abyss" or "chasm." She added /ʔakýa?/ "Maybe?" in an aside to the investigator.

*539 (36) ʔat ʔa sa gelwipga. čoy sa wáwa·li·kča. q̓ay da·ts sa sẃewča, q̓elýak sa sẃewo·ts. čoy ge· dinne·ga. ʔakýa, dinne·kńepga. —o···, gen ʔan q̓ay ale·ʔa·, komal gičo·kankt.[113]

(37) domi··· go·s. dwa· bas ge·? "peaches" ýa ʔiḱa·ýa? waq bas sa giwk q̓ay sʔaba·, čoy ni sʔaywaktank dwa· ʔelgwapgok. ge· waqĺaq tončńa—kaĺam ʔa ge· ge·la? ge· lis waqĺaq tončńa.

(38) ʔat hok ge· mo·m geča·, kant sa ʔilgo·la. ʔisalq̓i. q̓ay ni dwa· be·n aleʔa·. q̓ay kani loyḱa dwa·. q̓ayo· čis ʔisalq̓i no·ga.

(39) go·s dali·ks.[114] ho·t lis Na·čyak go·s dali·ga. ho·t ýeyńa do·ksĺant—"Mount MacLoughlin" ʔakýa?

(40) ńep hil hay ni aleʔa·. tq̓opo·. q̓oyči ńep. ge· ʔaMḱa q̓aLgaltk, q̓aLgaltk ńep gitk. Na·s mo· blitk, Na·s q̓ay.

(41) waq čik ge·? Jeglela? dilga ʔaMḱa ʔambo, wage·nha Jegle. ʔaMḱa sa gen lo·lča lis. wage·nha sasJaqwo·lank, ʔambotdat. q̓ay ni sʔaywakta.

(42) ge· sńewe·ts teybaldaĺ gena·, dwa· bas honk sʔo·wal—sʔapLas ʔakýa nekčok.

(43) gen ʔa honk sʔo·čńa, wage·nha nembli dwa·, do·tandaĺ. ge· lis neyyamnatk sʔapLas dwa·.

(44) ge· čik ʔanko ʔawal gida. dwa· ge· waq giwk, ʔanko gida? dam lis ge· kańs wĺiĺwapk?

(45) ʔo··, wĺiĺwapgok ʔa kańs ʔeqanča. ge· lis ʔoyyamnatk gena·. ʔaMḱa gańi· kańs ho·t wĺiĺwapk. ʔaMḱa mna sńewe·ts wdopgwapk.

(46) ge· čik sa "church" giča, spispi·yamnatk mna·ĺam ĺaĺakýas, dič ale·s. ʔi·, dič slialči·q̓atk na·nok, čoy sa ḿomatčočo·ýapga. ḿomatčočo·ýapgank sa gena·, q̓ay dak sa wLo·Laqẃe·ĺapga.

(47) ge· čik kakni? "Lone Ranger and Tonto"? q̓ay ni sʔaywakta dwa· ʔa gen, gitgo—Wali·sdat sa lẃolo·datga. laĺʔa dak hok q̓ay gemas. ge· dak Wali·s gi.

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[113] This last sentence refers to Picture Number 35. She had glanced back at it, while laying it aside, and suddenly noticed the silhouette of a bird against the sky.

[114] /go·s dali·ks/ may be an alternate form of the place name /go·s liwli·ks/ (no. 140 on the accompanying map in the appendix) or possibly of /dali·ks/ (no. 25 on the map).

[192]
[103]

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

RADICALS WHICH KLAMATH HOLDS IN COMMON WITH OTHER FAMILIES.

121 A number of radical syllables occur in the same or in cognate significations in several linguistic families of the Northwest, and some of them
197 extend even to the stocks east of the Rocky Mountains and of the Mississippi River. This fact is of great significance, as it proves certain early connections between these Indians, either loose or intimate. If the number of such common radices should be increased considerably by further research, the present attempt of classifying Pacific languages into stocks would become subject to serious doubts. From the quotations below I have carefully excluded all roots (and other terms) of onomatopoetic origin. I have made no distinction between pronominal and predicative roots, for a radical syllable used predicatively in one stock may have a pronominal function in another family

193 **-im**, *-ĕm*, *-am*, *-m* frequently occurs as a suffix for the possessive case
197 in the Pacific coast languages. Thus in Klamath -am is the usual suffix of that case, -lam being found after some vowels only; cf. Grammar, pages 317 et seq., and suffix -m, page 355; also pages 474–476. On page 475 I have called attention to the fact that -am occurs as marking the possessive case in the Piṭ River language; itósh̆ĕχam yánim *deer's foot-prints;* -am, -im in Molale: pshkaínshim, possessive of pshkaínsh *beard.* The Sahaptin dialects use -nmi, -mi, etc., to designate this case.

ka occurs in many languages as a demonstrative radix, though it often assumes an interrogative and relative signification and changes its vocalization. In Apache-Tinné dialects it is interrogative: χúte *who?* in Návajo; in the Creek ka is the relative particle, a substitute for our relative pronoun *who.*. In Yuki kau is *this* and *there;* in Yókat (California) ka- occurs in kahama *this*, kawío *here*, yokaú *there.* East of Mississippi River we have it in Iroquois dialects: kĕ′^{n} in kĕ′^{n}t'ho *here* (t'ho *place*); in Tuskarora: kyä' *that* or *this one* (pointing at it), kyä' nä^n *this one;* t'ho i-kän *that one is.** In the Klamath of Oregon this root composes kánk *so much*, káni *somebody*,

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* My authority for quotations from Iroquois dialects is Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt, of the Tuskarora tribe.

193 kaní? *who?* and kat *who*, pron. rel. As a suffix -ka, -ga is forming factitive
197 verbs and is of great frequency (cf. Part I, pp. 341, 342); ka-á, ká-a, kā is adverb: *greatly, strongly, very.*

ká-i and similar forms are serving to deny statements and to form negative and privative compounds. In Shoshoni dialects g'ai, ka, kats, karu-u, etc., stand for *no!* in Zuñi kwa is the *real* negative particle, like akaí! *no!* in Tonkawē. In Kwakiutl *no!* is kets and kie; in Pani káki; it also occurs in some northern dialects of Algonkin as kā, kawine etc. In Klamath k̲á-i is *no!* and *not;* it composes k̲íya *to lie* and such words as are mentioned in Grammar, p. 633; cf. also p. 644. In some of the Maskoki dialects -kō, -gō, -ku is the privative particle in adjectives and verbs.

mi is a pronominal demonstrative radix, like nu, ni, and also serves to express personal and possessive pronouns. In Creek ma *that* points to distant objects and also forms istä'mat *who* (interrogative). In many western families it expresses the second person: in Mutsun dialects men is *thou*, in Miwok mi; in Wintún mi, me is *thou*, met *thine, thy;* in Maidu mi is *thou*, mímem *ye*, mō'm, mú-um *that one;* in Yuki meh, mi is *thou* and in Pomo ma is *ye* (me *this*); in Ara and Sahaptin mi is transposed into im, *thou*. Shasti has mayi and Pit River mih, mi for *thou;* Sahaptin im, imk *thou*, ima, imak *ye*. In Klamath mi stands for *thy, thine*, mish for *thee, to thee*, but i for *thou;* -ma is a verbal suffix, q. v. There are languages where mi, ma makes up the radix for the first person and not for the second, as Sioux and Hidatsa of the Dakotan family; while in the Shoshoni dialects *thou* is omi, umi, um, em, etc., and in Yuma ma-a, mā. In the Nez Percé of Sahaptin ma is the interrogative pronoun *who?* and *which?* and also forms plurals when suffixed to nouns.

náka, the Kl. term for *cinnamon bear*, probably related to nákish *sole*, as the bears are *Plantigradæ*, has many parallels in American languages. The Yuma dialects have nagóa *bear* in Huálapai, nakatya, nogudia in Tonto; Yókat has nohóho *bear*, Alíkwa níkwiχ *grizzly bear*. If the yáka of Sahaptin is from nyáka, it belongs here also. East of Mississippi River there is only one species of the bear, the *black bear*. The radix nak-, nok- occurs in the Tonica language nókushi, and in the Maskoki dialects: nók'husi in Creek, nóχusi in Hitchiti, but níkta in Alibamu.

193 **nkól**, *nkū́'l*, *nχól* in Klamath designates the *gray white-tailed rabbit*, and
197 the same radix appears in kō'lta, k̲ólta *fish otter* and in kû'lsh *badger*. In the San Antonio language of Southern California the radix is represented by kôl *hare* (*rabbit* is map), in Kasuá (Sa. Barbara dialect) by kú'n, in Tonto by akolá, kulá, in Hualapai by gula. Even in the Inuit dialects we find for *rabbit:* ukalik (Hudson Bay), kwélluk (Kotzebue Sound).

nu or **ni.** A pronominal demonstrative radix n- followed by almost any vowel (na, nu, ni, etc.) is of great frequency in America as well as in the eastern hemisphere, where it often becomes nasalized: nga, ngi, etc. In American languages it forms personal possessive and demonstrative pronouns, prefixes and suffixes of nouns and verbs. In South America nu, nû designates the pronoun *I* or *me* so frequently that the explorer K. von der Steinen was prompted to call *Nu-languages* a large group of languages north and south of Amazon River, including Carib dialects. In America nu, ni designates more frequently the *first* person of the singular and plural (*I*, *we*) than the second *thou*, *ye*. It stands for the first person in Quichhua, Moxo, Tsoneka, in Nahuatl, the "Sonora" and Shoshoni languages, in Otomi, Yuma, the Tehua and Kera (*no* in hi-*no*-me *I*) dialects of New Mexico; in Wintún, Maidu, Wayłletpu, Sahaptin, and the numerous Algonkin dialects. For the second person it stands in Yákwina, Tonkawē, Atákapa, and in Dakota and Tinné dialects. As a demonstrative pronoun we find it used in many languages, *e. g.*, in the Onondaga of Iroquois, where nā'ye' means *that, that it is*, and nā'ⁿ (ā *long*) *this*. In Klamath nû, nî is *I*, nútoks *myself*, nish *me, to me;* nāt, nā *we*, nálam *ours;* -na is case suffix and transitional verbal suffix; n- prefix refers to objects *level*, *flat*, *sheet-* or *string-like*, or extending *towards the horizon*.

shúm, sû'm is the Klamath term for *mouth* of persons, of animals, and of rivers. Forms parallel to this are disseminated through many of the Pacific coast languages. In Kayuse it is súmχaksh, in Molale shímilk, in Nishinam and other Maidu dialects sim, in Yokat sama, shemah.[*] Intimately connected with *mouth* are the terms for *beard:* shú, shó, shwó in Sahaptin dialects, shimkémush in Kayuse, and for *tooth:* sí, shí in the

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[*] It occurs even in South America: 'sími in Kechua is *mouth* and *word;* shúm in the Patagón of Brazil, *lip;* Martius, Beiträge, II, 211.

193 197 Wintún dialects, sūχ in Yuki, sit, si-it in Mutsun (coast dialects), sa in Santa Barbara, tcháwa in some dialects of Maidu. It is justifiable to regard Kl. shúm as an ancient *possessive case* of the sí, sa *tooth* of Central Californian languages; cf. what is said concerning the suffix -im.

tút *tooth* appears related to tuχt *tooth* of Sayusla, a dialect of Yakwina and also to tit of the Sahaptin dialects; ititi "his tooth" in Walawála.

tchi-, *tsi-* is a radical often used on the Pacific coast referring to water or liquids, their motions, and the acts performed with or within the watery element. While in Klamath it figures as a prefix only, q. v., other tongues make use of it as a radical. Tchí is *water* in Yákwina, in Takílma, and in the Yuchi of the Savannah River; in Zuñi 'tcháwe is *water* ('t alveolar) in Nója tchúdshe. The Sahaptin dialects show it in Warm Spring tchū'sh *water*, atá-tchash *ocean;* in Klikatat tcháwas *water*, atá-tchis *ocean*, tcháwat *to drink;* while in Nez-Percé tchū'sh changes to kúsh. Chinook has 'ltchúkwa *water*, Ch. J. salt-tchuk *ocean*, but the Selish languages employ a radix se-u'l, si-u'l, shá-u instead to designate any liquid.

wá *to exist, live, to be within*, and *to grow* or *generate* is a radix to be traced in many of the Western tongues. In Klamath we refer to wá and its numerous derivatives, as wawápka *to sit* or *be on the ground*, wá-ish *productive*, wá-ishi, wéwanuish, wē'k *arm* and *limb of tree*, lit. "what is growing upon," wē'ka *offspring*, wékala, wásh *hole to live in*, wā'shla (a) *to dig a burrow*, (b) *ground-squirrel*, and many others. In Kwákiutl wāts, wátsa is *dog*, but originally "living being, animal," and is represented in Klamath by wāsh *prairie-wolf*, wátch *horse*, watchága *dog*, lit. "little animal," the idea of "domesticated" or "belonging to man" to be supplied. In Chinook the suffix -uks (for -waks) points to living beings also. The Sahaptin languages show this root in wásh *to be, exist*, in Nez Percé wáχosh *alive*, wátash *place, field, earth*, in Yákima wakχash *living*, and in other terms.

AFFINITIES IN WESTERN LANGUAGES.

192 197 Many of the Western families exhibit but little or no affinity in their lexicon with the Klamath language, the reason being undoubtedly that they are but little explored. Thus in *Mutsun* a single term only was found to correspond: tcháya *shallow basket* in the dialect of Soledad; *cf.* tchála and

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114 stage before the publication of the present volume. Even the author experienced considerable difficulties before he could pass beyond that limit. [191] When he reached the reservation agency he found not over three or four individuals who were able to speak a tolerable English, and the knowledge of this tongue is absolutely necessary to any one who aspires to the position of an interpreter of his own language in those parts. The Indians were nearly all pure bloods, and most of them knew scarcely more than a dozen English terms. Many could converse in Chinook jargon, but the majority, especially the females, were not acquainted even with this precarious means of intercourse. Indeed, these people must be slow in acquiring an Aryan language like English, for it presents so many characteristics [193] entirely opposite to those of Klamath. English is not provided with reduplication, prefixes of form, nor with the multiple suffixes of Klamath; it differs from it also by its more complex syntactic structure, its imperfect nominal inflection, by its distinctive form for the nominal plural, the gradation of the adjective and adverb effected by suffixation, its personal inflection of the verb, and a long array of irregular and auxiliary verbs.

124 Thus it will be easily perceived that the obtaining of correct and reliable ethnographic and linguistic information in such a tribe is fraught with many difficulties. Sometimes it is practicable to get the terms for visible objects by making gesture signs or by pointing at the objects, but it just as often misleads; and if the investigator has to do with people who know no other language than their own, he must revise his notes with many of them before he can place any trust in what he has written down from dictation. [191] The Indians and mixed bloods who have made some progress in the acquisition of English pronounce *f* as *p*, *v* as *b*, *r* as *l*—are modeling English after their own language, using *he* for our *he, she, it, they, him, her, them;* all this being hû'k, hû't, hû'nk for them. They do not know how to use our conjunctions, a defect which makes all the tales, myths, and other textual information unintelligible. The only means of obtaining results is to pick out the best people from the crowd and to train them for awhile for the purpose wanted, until they are brought so far as to feel or understand the scope of the investigator. Women will be found more useful than men to inform him about myths, animal stories, the gathering of vegetable food, house-

THE ELEMENTARY DEITIES.

776 In the Klamath theology the deities of the elements have preserved almost intact their character as representatives of the powers of nature. Imperfectly anthropomorphized as they are, they appear rather as spirits than as gods; all of them, the Earth perhaps excepted, are of the male sex. [193] Like the animal genii they assume the adjectival suffix -ámtchiksh, abbr. -amtch *bygone, ancient, belonging to the past,*[*] though less among the Modocs than in the northern chieftaincy. The splendor, power, and awe-inspiring qualities of these superhuman beings is not diminished in the least by the grotesque exterior and acts ascribed to some of them. The sky gods were more plastically defined by popular imagination than the subterranean deities, and hence we begin our sketch with the former.

K'MÚKAMTCH.

> Ille mihi par esse deo videtur,
> Ille, si fas est, superare divos.

The chief deity of the Klamath people, the creator of the world and of mankind, is K'múkamtch, or the "Old Man of the Ancients," the "Pri- [192] meval Old Man." The full form of the name is K'muk'-ámtchiksh, and Modocs frequently use the shorter form Kĕmúsh, K'músh, an abbreviation of k'mútcha, *he has grown old, he is old,* or of its participle k'mutchátko, *old.* He is also named P'tísh-amtch nálam, *our old father.* He was also designated P'laitálkni, *the one on high,* though the term is now used for the God of the Christians. In every way he is analogous to the "old man above" or the "chief in the skies" of the Indians of Central California.

773 What the Indians say and think of their chief deity I have outlined 776 in the Dictionary, pages 138–140, and what follows here will substantiate 772 the data given there. Though K'múkamtch is reputed to have created the earth, what is really meant is only the small portion of the globe known to and inhabited by this mountaineer tribe, and not the immense terrestrial globe, with its seas and continents. Neither have these Indians an idea of what the universe really is when they call him the creator and

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[*] In Nahuatl we may compare the reverential suffix -tzin, and in Shoshoni dialects the parallel one of -pitch, -bits; e. g., múbu *owl* in Bannock is mú'mbits *owl* in the Shoshoni of Idaho.

823 as poetical, that the Earth is our common mother. "She is dealing out her bountiful gifts to her children, the human beings, without envy or restraint, in the shape of corn, fruits, and esculent roots. Her eyes are the lakes and ponds disseminated over the green surface of the plains, her breasts are the hills and hillocks; and the rivulets and brooks irrigating the valleys are the milk flowing from her breasts." This is the poetical imagery in use among the Eastern Indians when the Earth is mentioned to them.* The idea that earthquakes and unaccountable tremors or noises within the body of the earth, also the malarial fevers, are the utterances of threat or displeasure at the misdoings of mankind, is as general among Indians as among other nations, and a consequence of the animistic tendency of primitive nations. The Indian prophet Smúχale at Priest Rapids, on Middle Columbia River, and his numerous followers, called the "Dreamers," from the implicit faith these Sahaptin sectarians place in dreams, dissuade their adherents from tilling the ground, as the white man does; "for it is a sin to wound or cut, tear up or scratch our common mother by agricultural pursuits; she will revenge herself on the whites and on the Indians following their example by opening her bosom and engulfing such malefactors for their misdeeds." This advice was probably caused by the common observation that ground recently broken up exhales miasmas deleterious to all people dwelling near.

[193] That the Earth was regarded as an animate if not personified being is
shown by the form käflash of the objective case (125, 1), this case being
formed in -ash only in terms applied to man and quadrupeds. Their myth
[821] of the earth's creation of course does not refer to the whole globe, but only
to the small part of North America known to these Indians. The earth's
interior is also the home of the Thunders, because lightnings are often
observed to shoot up from the earth into the skies.

[539] Special songs referring to the Earth are contained in 175; 16: käfla nû shuinálla; 176; 3 käfla ai nû wálta; 158; 48 käflanti nû shílshila—

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* After Tecumseh had delivered a speech to Governor Harrison at Vincennes, in 1811, he was offered a chair by the interpreter, who said to him: "Your father requests you to take a chair." To this Tecumseh made, with great dignity of expression, an answer which has since become classical: "*The sun is my father, and the earth is my mother; and on her bosom will I repose,*" and immediately seated himself, in the Indian manner, upon the ground.

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773 776 821 genius presiding over it. This genius is called Tchitchatsχä'-ash or "Big Belly;" he is represented to be an old man whose vigor of life is on the decrease. When he leaves his lodge, his appearance embodies the rain-laden, dark-hued, thick nimbus clouds overhanging the earth. When his engine* comes into action, he attracts by it all the objects within reach, he oppresses the earth with his weight, and forces wayfarers to walk in other paths than they intended to travel lest they may incur danger to life. When he has spent his force by this wanton display, he is rent by a stroke of lightning or a strong gust of wind; he is dissolved into atoms, and the bones filling his big paunch, which had produced the rattling noise attending the course of whirlwinds, fall down to the ground. Tsáskai, the Weasel, the brother of Marten, wrestling with the old man and conquering him after a hard struggle, is the mythic agent who brings about his final discomfiture.

SPIRIT DEITIES.

'Εκτέταμαι φοβερὰν φρένα, δείματι πάλλων.

775 776 No people has ever been discovered that did not believe in the return of human souls after death to their former homes in the form of ghosts. Ghosts or spirits hovering through space are invisible and may inflict damage to anybody without danger of being recognized; therefore they usually inspire awe and terror, and wherever the existence of these fanciful beings is recognized imagination fills the earth, the atmosphere, and the waters with such spooks. Not all of these are necessarily supposed to be the souls of the deceased, but they may also represent the souls of animals, the spirits of mountains, winds, the celestial bodies, and so forth, for animism has its widest sway in this sort of superstition. Very different qualities are ascribed to each of these hobgoblins or spooks. They are either gigantic or dwarfish in size, powerful or weak in body, attractive or repulsive, of [787] beneficial or wicked influence. They chiefly appear at night or in stormy weather; some are seen single, others in crowds, and a few of their number

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[193] * Shû'kash is the substantive of sh'hû'ka *to whirl about*, this being the medial distributive form of húka *to run about:* sh'huhóka, sh'hú·oka, sh'hû'ka "*to run about by itself in various directions.*"

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128 impossible, the *sense* of the word or phrase was reproduced as faithfully as could be done within the narrow space allotted. Words in brackets were inserted only to render the sentence complete.

But to the student striving after a thorough understanding of the texts all these helps will prove of partial assistance only. A thorough study of the Grammar ought in fact to precede their perusal, and reference to all the three portions of the work will frequently be necessary.

The material portion of a language can be faithfully conveyed to our understanding only by the correct pronunciation of its words, sentences [194] or texts. Hence all that is said of Klamath *phonetics* must be studied first, and more especially the alternating processes, the proclisis and enclisis, the sounds not occurring in English (as the linguals, the aspirate *χ*, the vowel *ü*), and first of all the pronouncing list of alphabetic sounds, which is subjoined. To initiate readers into the distinction, empirically obtained from the mouths of the natives, between the clear vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*, and the dumb or deep-sounding *á*, *é*, *í*, *ú*, the earlier pages of the texts contain more indications than are given in the later. In certain terms long vowels can turn into short, and short into long ones. Special attention must be paid also to the study of elisions, apocopes, metatheses, etc.

[193] In the *morphologic* part of the Grammar, the verbal and nominal paradigms are particularly recommended to the student's attention, and a previous knowledge of the mode of forming the distributive reduplication from the absolute form is indispensable to the reader of my Texts, not only for their full comprehension, but even for the use of the Dictionary. The suffix of the future tense is written *-uapka*, to distinguish it from a homonymous form *-wapka*, of different signification. The apocopes occurring in the conversational style of language will soon be recognized as such by the reader; for example, *-tk* for *-tko*, *-ks* for *-kshi*, dropping of *-a*, *-ash*, etc.

To make the study of the Texts too easy by a flood of notes would be as obnoxious to the true interests of science, as to present unsolved too heavy grammatic difficulties to intellects yet untrained in the modes of Indian speech. Scholars may decide to what degree I have succeeded in avoiding both extremes.

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173	selluálshuk.	Ndánnitaksni	taměnō'tka;	tiná	nat	ḵáyak	shenótankatk,
×539	fighting.	Three times	I was there;	once	we	not at all	were fighting.

726	kinkák	i	nat	lúluagsla.	Tchín	at	nat	at	gä'tak	ndáni	táměnotk.
	few only	there	we	enslaved.	So I,		when	we	quit (fighting),	three times	had been there.

NOTES.

[197] 19. The long and fertile valley of the Pit River, an eastern affluent of the Sacramento River, is inhabited by several tribes of Indians who speak dialects of the same language family. Of the peculiarities of these tribes, Stephen Powers has given the first comprehensive sketch in the Overland Monthly, 1874, pp. 412–416, and in Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. III, pp. 267–274. The various tribes greatly differ in their physical and mental qualities. The Pacamallies, on Hat Creek, at the lower end of the valley, were much dreaded by peaceable travellers on account of their sudden attacks from an ambush. The Indians in Big Valley are a fleshy, stout, and physically well-made people, while the Hot Spring Valley people has become deteriorated through prolonged national misfortune. Against both of these the slaving raids of the Klamaths and Modocs were mainly directed.

[721] [567] [727] 19, 2. The raids were undertaken by the Klamaths and Modocs just before wókash-time; that is, in April and May. They had no other purpose than to make slaves of the females and children of the unwarlike, poor, and suffering Pit River Indians, and to keep them either at their homes or sell them for ponies, provisions, beads, etc., at the Dalles to the Columbia River tribes. Adult men were not enslaved, but killed outright if captured. Similar instances of suppression of weaker tribes of the West by warlike Indians who were their neighbors are those of the Kayuses on Middle Columbia River, of the Yuki between Sacramento River and the Pacific Ocean, of the Húpa on Trinity River, Cal., all of whom were, at the advent of the whites, the terror of the districts surrounding their homes.

[248] 19, 3. shläótak for shläóta ak; the Pit Rivers ran away at the *mere sight* of the Klamath men; ḵá-i tata siúkat, the Pit Rivers never killed any Klamath men. Both statements are exaggerations; Hill's own account and Toby Riddle's biographic notice tend to prove the contrary.

[727] 19, 3. nellínat, or neli'nat. When they had killed an enemy, they did not follow the custom of the Oregonians of taking the scalp. This custom is not found among any of the Central Californian tribes.

• [193] 19, 4. hû'stchoḵ-huya; by the suffix -huya, -uya, the action of the verb is shown to take place at intervals, or in a small degree. "They did only little damage by killing or massacring." Cf. shenótank-huya, 20, 2, and -uya in the "List of Suffixes".

[196] 19, 4. tû'm tát sa. Change of the subjects introduced by the pronoun sha, sa, in consecutive sentences, is sometimes observed, as here and in 19, 16; 20, 3. Hill often uses sha when speaking of the Klamath Lake men, where nat, *we*, would be more appropriate.

[193] 19, 6. Kitchkanin nû for kitchkáni nû (or ni) nû. Pronouns and particles are repeated quite frequently.

19, 11. Wúksalks is a camping-place distant about six miles from Linkville. It was not possible for me to obtain definite information about the trail followed most generally in those raids, but Dave Hill said that from there they went due south. He

173 was born about the year 1840, and since he was a boy then, carrying only a pistol, this
*539 raid may have taken place about the year 1858. His second raid, which was under-
taken the year afterward, was made when he was nearly twenty years old. After this
726 he stayed five years in Oregon City, on the Lower Willámet River.

19, 16, and 20, 1. What is said here up to the word snawä'ds is evidently an anticipation of what follows in 20, 6. 7.

[192] 19, 16. sas tillindsa, or shash tilindsha: shash is apposition to wéwanuish, which stands here, as frequently, for wewanuíshash; 23, 5, we find: wewánishash.

20, 2. lápik for lápi gí: "two are, two were."

[487] 20, 9. Tiunō'leshtat. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Pit River country was estimated at three days' Indian travel; but it often took four days to reach there on horseback.

[192] 20, 10 and 11. maklakskaákai refers to the encampment and immediate surroundings of the Indian captors, the Klamath Lake men and the Modocs, who had gone with them.

[487] 20, 13. guhuáshktcha. They seem to have returned home over the same trail which they had followed in going south. They passed between Little Klamath and Rhett Lake, which latter is also called Tule and Modoc Lake.

[193] 20, 17. tsúi gé-u, etc. This sentence has to be construed as follows: tsúi gúikaka hú'k lū'gs spunísh gé-u: "hereupon that slave, transferred by me, ran away."

21, 2 and 3. Bóshtin tpā-ók. This man was an American settler on Lost River, [648] who, with other settlers, had previously attacked one of the Pit River tribes, in punishment for depredations committed. In the fight which took place, some whites were killed by the Pit Rivers, and this prompted the abovementioned settler to slaughter an ox for the Lake men, in order to raise their spirits for deadly revenge on the common enemy. The beef was slaughtered and eaten at his farm.

21, 5. Tsúi nat, etc. This incident was explained to me by Dave Hill, as follows: The famous Captain George was at that time war-chief both of the Klamaths and the Modocs. He had ordered Kiukamtch, the head-man of the Nushaltkágu=Modocs, to join the expedition against the Pit Rivers. His refusal to go prompted Dave Hill and others to deprive him of his elk-skin cuirasses; but finally, to secure success to the expedition, the parfleshes were returned to their owners.

[193] 21, 7. Húmasht nat. A verb like gí or shúta has to be supplied.

21, 12. séllaluish, translated here by "war-expedition", still retains its verbal nature; for it is connected with two temporal *adverbs:* lupí' and húnk. More circumstantially the sentence can be rendered: "we rode far beyond the terminal point of our previous raiding campaign."

[193] 21, 18. léwak, a verb composed of two particles. Gétak and kánktak, formed almost in the same manner, are also used as verbs. Below, léwak is separated into its two components by a pronoun: lä nāt wák ka-á; lä' nāt wák galdsawiá-a.

21, 19. wéwansni. The terminal -ni turns the wéwanuish into a kind of adjectival phrase. See the peculiar use made of this ending in the Dictionary and in the Grammar.

22, 8. hátaktk. The final k is the verb gi, ki, "said"; tchín hátaktk is: tchí nū hátakt gi.

[302] 22, 21. shatchlχámia is one of the various modes of painting face and body in use among the western Indians. White paint was put on in this manner (see Dictionary) only when the Indians were on the war-path. From the same verbal base is derived

173 shatchō'lgi, to contract the half-opened hand or fingers. Compare also: shatχä'dsha,
*539 shátuaχa, shátëlakish.

726 23, 6. gakayúluk refers to the women, not to the Klamath men. These latter retired with the captured females to the top of a hill, to secure themselves better against further hostile attacks. shíshatχa, distributive form of shíatχa.

23, 11. tinkayúla. The Pit River men ran out of the timber to flee from further attacks, and some ran up the steep bank from the dry river-bed. While they did so, the Lake men surrounded them and completely closed the circle (shtá hashámpka). Nevertheless, some of them managed to break through the intervals; this frightened the Klamath men, and then the other Pit Rivers also escaped towards the hills.

23, 12–14. The three men and the boy who went up the hill belonged to the Pit Rivers. The Klamath Lake warriors were so surprised at their sudden return to their surrounded companions, that the Pit Rivers had an opportunity to escape during the confusion.

● 193 196 24, 4. Nátak. The sentence has to be construed: nátak híshlan hû'nk, Moatuáshash hû'nk ksápok. "None others but ourselves shot at him; though he was one of our men, we thought him to be a Pit River man".

24, 4. láki. He had been shot in the eye-bone.

24, 6. k̲lä'kat stands for k̲lä'ka at; cf. 28, 12. gátpant for gátpna at.

24, 6. shewatχû'lsl: for shewatχō'lash l, or shewatχō'lish l; the l appearing here not as a local, but as a temporal case-suffix. shewátχa, *noon*; lit.: the day divides itself in two; shewatχō'la, *afternoon*, the day has divided itself in two *a while ago*.

24, 8. luluksgä'-ish, uncommon form for lúluksgish, lólokagish, *rifle*, *gun*, lit. "fire-maker".

24, 17. síukshtka stands for the full form síukshtka gi.

24, 18. tuti'la. By inadvertence the distributive form is used here instead of the absolute form tuíla, for the Pit River man spoken of had an abnormal fleshy excrescence on *one* foot only.

25, 1. shéllualshuk: he means fighting with the Pit River Indians.

25, 1. ndánnitakani, incomplete grammatic form for ndannitánkshni.

25, 2. kínka-ak i, only a few; meaning females of the Pit River tribes.

173 **28, 2.** gépkapsh, formed by syllabic elision from **gepkápkash**; cf. **29, 19.**

*539 **28, 2.** sákatla, to come up, to arrive by the trail.

726 **28, 3 and 4.** wéwalíks pi'la, the old women only; the younger ones, on whom prin-
648 cipally devolves the work of wókash-gathering, found time to escape in their canoes
[193] from the raiders.

[192] **28, 4.** k̲'lewidshápka. The men had gone fishing to distant places, leaving their
[222] females in the camp, not apprehensive of any hostile attack.

[192] **28, 8.** kilŏ's, or k̲ilû's, is the epithet given to "Dry-Leg", the Snake chief; it means
a bold fighter, leader of a fighting band; literally: "irate, wrathful", and may be here
taken as an equivalent to "war-chief" (sesaclólish lak̲i).

[193] **28, 13.** Moadoki'sh, apocopated for Moadokíshash; also **28, 1**: wówanuísh (wé-
[192] wan'sh) for wewanníshash (shlä́á gépkapsh). Nā'lsh tchi'sh, *us* also; that is, we of the
[657] Klamath Lake tribe, were gathered by Mr. Perit Huntington into one district, the newly
established Klamath Reservation. A large number of the Lake People were then scattered about Klamath Marsh, which is visited by them now in summer only for fishing, gathering wókash and berries, and for hunting.

[657] **28, 14.** Dave Hill, now interpreter (lúldatkish) at the Klamath Lake Agency, took
[175] a part in this short but interesting expedition, in the capacity of an Indian scout. He
fixes himself the date of it by the words "tína illolólatko", or a *full* year after the Indians had been gathered on the Reservation by Mr. Perit Huntington. The treaty was concluded on October 14, 1864, and the campaign was undertaken in 1866 by a small body of American troops for the purpose of bringing back to the Reservation a band of Snake Indians who had run away from it. This unruly tribe, jealous of its former independence, has left the Reservation even since then, and could only after much exertion be induced to return. The fights took place west of Warner Lake, and north of the border-line between California and Nevada, within the former haunts of these western Shoshonis.

[175] The Report of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867, page 99 sq.,
mentions this expedition in the following laconic terms: "October 27, 1866, troops consisting of 21 men, First Oregon infantry, and five Indian Klamath scouts, under Lieutenant Oatman, and 27 men, First Oregon cavalry, under Lieutenant Small, had a fight with a band of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [should read: Abert], in the Klamath country, Southern Oregon. The Indians had so chosen their position that the troops were obliged to dismount to attack them. The fight lasted one and a half hour, and 14 Indians were killed and many wounded."

On page 100 of the same Report, another fight against Snake Indians is spoken of: "Late in November, 1866, in a conflict between the troops and Snake Indians near Fort Klamath, 10 Snake Indians were killed by the troops, and three more by the friendly Klamath and Moadocs who accompanied them." This may have been the same fight as the one above, reported with much less accuracy of detail.

[103] **29, 3.** Spá-ish Valley, name corrupted from Surprise Valley. This valley is situated in the northeastern angle of California, and on the shore of its two alkali lakes several American settlements have sprung up. A few Snake Indians live peaceably around Fort Bidwell, which is located at the northern extremity of the valley.

[192] **29, 10.** tálaat tχalamti'tal, consonantic assimilation for tálaak tχalamti'tal, due west.

29, 17 and 19. nā'ts, natch, for nā'ls, nā'lsh, nā'lash, *us*; náts a gépksi, for nā'lash a gépkash í.

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726 648 **29, 17 and 18. gayá-itsampk.** The advance of the troops was ordered in consequence of Hill's report that Snake Indians had been seen by him and his fellow-scout.

[192] **29, 19. tú'-shak;** hak means: on this side of something or somebody, referring to an object located between the speaker and something more distant.

[193] [196] **29, 19 and 20. shlä'pka** (for shlä'apka) and tássuipk (for tássui-apk) "they saw and attacked them in Hill's absence"; tínshampk "they scampered off unseen by Hill". If the simplex verbal forms shlä'a, tássui (or táshui), tínshna were used, they would imply that Hill then saw the Snake Indians himself, that he was among the troops charging them, and that he had seen them *in person* scampering off.

30, 3. lewé-ula really means: not to permit, not to allow, to forbid.

[192] **30, 3. tchín gi,** short for tchí ni gi: "so I said."

30, 5. Instead of gatpánkshkshi could also stand in the text: gatpannápkshi; the final -i being used in a temporal sense in both terms.

[193] **30, 8. kú'meta,** contr. from kú'mme tchish, or from kú'metat tchish.

30, 9. snashuála, etc. They piled up rocks to serve them as barricades to shoot from behind.

[192] **30, 11. u-i'tsna,** distributive form of ó-itchna; see Dictionary.

[193] [196] **31, 7. Nä'wapksh, etc.** Transcribed into the fuller and more explicit grammatic forms, this phrase would read: Nä'wapkash yamakishtana kétcha tχálamna, "to the northwest of Goose Lake." For Nä'wapksh, Né-uapksh, see Dictionary.

31, 13. This campaign terminated in a decided victory over the runaway Snake warriors, but failed to accomplish its real purpose of bringing them back to the Reserve. Nevertheless, these Indians had been severely chastised by losing quite a number of men killed and wounded, and seven women of their tribe captured by the military.

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MŌ'DOKNI MÁKLAKS SHÉLLUAL.

THE MODOC WAR.

OBTAINED FROM THE RIDDLE FAMILY IN THE MODOC DIALECT.

Shálam 1869 A. B. Meacham shuashuláliampkish nánuk máklākshash
In the au-tumn of 1869 A. B. Meacham the superintendent over all Indians
shualaliámpka Tχálamtala; Mōdokí'shāsh hushtánka ne-ulákshgishi Kóke-
kept watch in Oregon; the Modocs he met at the council-ground on Lost
tat wigátan tchuseni'nish slánkosh; nûsh snawédshāsh gé-u túla shátēla
River near the Natural Bridge; me wife mine together he hired
lutatkátki.
to be interpreters.

At nā nánuk ne-ulakgishχē'ni gátpa; nánuk máklaksh wawápka,
Then we all to council-ground went; the whole tribe was sitting there,
vûni'pni hundred pēn ndā'ni tá-unep pēn vúnip pé-ula hihashuátchχāsh,
four hundred besides three tens besides four men,

*539 622 692 hishuáksh m'na wudópka, tsúi ní snawä'dshash hû'nk nä'-ulχ, k̲á-i hû'nk
husband her whips, then I wife that punish, not the
hishuákshash, láp súndē.
husband, for two weeks.

[593] [683] Tsúi tchik kíuks tchí'sh títatna tawí shash, tsúi hûk k̲'lěká tawí'sh.
Then a conjurer also at times bewitches them, and dies the bewitched one.

[683] Tsúi ni nä'-ulχa, tsúi tû'nip sháppash spû'lhi-síukst; tsúi tchik wátch nísh
Then I try (him), and for five months imprison for manslaughter; and (if) horses to me

[593] sχókta tû'nip, tsúi ní k̲á-i spû'lhit sχoktí'sht nísh. Tsúi tch lak̲í ts ktû'pka
he pays five, then I not may imprison (him), he having paid me. And (if) a chief beats

m'na snáwädsh, tsúi ní snä'kělua; gä'tak lak̲í gí hûk.
his wife, then I remove (him); no longer chief remains be.

NOTES.

[177] **58–62.** The legal practices, regulations, and ordinances given here by a subchief of the Klamath Lake tribe are observed by all the chiefs, and are apparently fashioned after American models. The principle which seems to guide most of the judicial decisions of the chiefs, is given in one (59, 20. 21) of these regulations: "If a chief makes law like white people, that will be right."* This article is composed of three parts:

Part I. List of the chiefs acting as judges on the reservation in 1877.

Part II. Legal customs governing the Klamath Lake people.

Part III. Instances of application of these legal customs; amount of fines, terms of imprisonment, etc. These are the "*novellæ*" of Klamath legislation.

58, 1–3. P'lú, Lilu, and some other headmen mentioned here have signed the treaty of Oct. 14, 1864.

[563] [657] **58, 4.** Móatuash. There are only two Pit River *families* living on the whole reservation.

58, 8. Tchákto̅t belongs to the Yahúskin tribe of Snake Indians. Cf. Ind. Aff. Report 1873, p. 324.

● [193] **58, 10 etc.** The future tense employed in these behests, regulations and defenses recalls the French future used in an impressive manner instead of the imperative: *tu ne tueras point, tu ne déroberas point.*

58, 10. shlí-uapk shash. The pronoun shash has here almost the force of a reciprocal pronoun, for the meaning of the sentence is: "do not shoot at people of your own tribe." The same is true of sas in pallnápk sas, 58, 10; 58, 13 (twice); pálla shash, 61, 14.

[194] **58, 10.** ksaggayuapkámani is pronounced as one word, as the removal of the accent from the syllable -uápk demonstrates; and so in many of the following verbs standing in the future tense. For the sake of clearness, I have preferred to resolve these forms graphically into their component elements.

[192] [193] **58, 11.** wátsam, etc. The possessive wátsam stands here instead of the instrumental case watsátka through attraction from wännikísham. Tchíkla here means to ride away on another's horse, the horse being missed by his owner.

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*Dave Hill introduces himself in the first person as chief; but many of these decisions can be given by the headchief only, not by any of the subchiefs, to whose number Dave Hill belonged. The Modocs at Yáneks claim to observe these regulations; the Snake Indians do not.

*539 58, 15. shetcháktanuapk stands for the more common form: shitcháktanuapk.

622 692 58, 16. nánuktua shéshatuish m'na: "all what your husband has transferred to your parents to obtain your hand"; m'na stands for hishuáksham. Cf. 61, 8.

● 193 192 59, 7. mish, *you*, *to you*, is often used in this article for málash, málsh, *ye*, *to ye*, in allocutions to two or more persons. This is a way of expressing what may be called the "inclusive plural of the second person". This mode of speaking is observed in m's lápuk, 59, 7; lápuk mish, 59, 7. In the same manner 1 stands for ăt, 59, 8: 1 sissók-uapk, if ye whip each other; also 60, 22.

59, 9. 1 mí stands for mish mi.

59, 17. hă k̲úi gí'uapk: if he should fail to do his duty; 59, 19. hă tídsh gí'uapk: if he does his duty well; nanuktuánta: in every respect.

59, 22. i'χaks mí: what you may win by betting on the horses engaged in the race.

60, 2. kă'lish is the objective case of kă'liak, kéliak, "not having", the simple form of which, without -ak, would be kă'li or kă'liu (kă'li hû).

583 60, 11. túma wátch gitk. The horses have, of course, to be transferred to the parents of the bride and not to any of the chiefs.

231 60, 12. wátch. The horses owned by the Klamath Lake and Modoc people are valued from 20 to 25 dollars each; they descend from the hardy, enduring race of Cayuse ponies, and were originally obtained by bartering commodities with the Columbia River Indians at the Dalles, Oregon.

192 193 60, 15. wátch spuní'-uapka; wátch refers to *one* horse only, for the verb spuní', to transfer, is used of one (living) object only; shăwána is: to give *many* objects. "Not even one horse your wife has to give to you, if she leaves you; but if you leave her, you must give her several."

177 595 60, 17. láp snawă'dshla. Polygamy was abolished by the headmen of the tribe shortly after the establishment of the reservation, and this ruling was one of the greatest benefits ever conferred upon that tribe by the progress of civilization. But those who had several wives then were not compelled to dismiss all but one, and so in 1877 two or three men were still polygamists. The irascible and excitable disposition of the Modoc and Klamath females must have produced many chin-music intermezzos with their husbands at the time when polygamy was predominant.

193 61, 3. K̲á-i mí'sh etc. In this paragraph, in: k̲í'tgik, káktak, hémkanktgik, gitkik, the terminal k contains the abbreviated gi, which joined to the foregoing nû, n means *I said*. The construction runs as follows: Hû'nk ni gi k̲á-i mish k̲í'tgi; nánuktuanta káktak gi píla m's n hû'nk hémkanktki gi; nă'-ulakt gí'tki 1 snawă'dshash tchí'sh káktak gi píl. K̲á-i etc.

61, 6. tchik. This particle does not mean *if*, but cannot be rendered *here* (and below) with a more appropriate word. It is identical with tchĕk, *then*. A subordinate clause is here expressed by a co-ordinate one. Cf. 61, 9. 10. 12. 62, 4.

192 193 61, 6. któktatska: "we clip their hair in every instance", is the distributive form of któtchka, któtska, occurring in 58, 16.

61, 9. Tsúi etc. This inverted sentence has to be construed as follows: Tsúi tchiláash híshuaksh wutódshish snawă'dsh m'na pă'n hû'nk snúkp'la, tsúi nă'-ulĕkan etc.

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Tsúi Tétĕmadshish hû'nk shemtchálχa tawí'sht Doctor Johnash k̲'lekáp-
Then Aunt Susie discovered that had bewitched Dr. John the de-
kash; tsúi mbû'shant waitólank ná-ent waítashtka í'lktcha; Doctor Johnash
ceased; and next day being over on other day buried (him); Dr. John
tchí'sh sha shpúnshna, at k̲léwiank sha Doctor Johnash shpúnshampĕlank
also they conveyed, now after their return Dr. John taking along
shpúlhi, tchúi sha k̲á-ishuank skúkum-house mpámpatkia tchíkĕminatka.
imprisoned, and they locking the strong-house nailed (it) down with (iron-) nails.
Tchikéskni Shkélaksh tû'la shpúlhi Doctor Johnash. Tchúi tchiwí'χa
Tchikéskni Skélag with imprisoned Dr. John. And he sat in
hátokt, tchúi hû'ksha gä'mpĕle spulhí'tkuk. Păn ndā'ni tchēk waitólank
therein, and these men went home after imprisonment. Again three at last days past
Shχélag gátpa ktû'tp'nuk pā'sh; tchúi Sχélag gä'mpĕle káyak hassasuákiank
Skélag came to bring (him) food; and Skélag returned not at all having spoken
Doctor Johnash. Păn géna Sχélag ndáni waitólank pásh äníyuk; shû'lip-
to Dr. John. Again went Skélag three days elapsed victuals to bring; hand-
kank p'laíkni hak shéwana Doctor Johnash, P'lú toks lápĕni shéwana
ing from above there he gave (them) to Dr. John, Blow however twice gave
náyant waítashtat. Hû'kt pīl nā'dshek; hû'ksha toks, nánka k̲á-i hû'masht
another on day. This one (was) the only one; those (men) (did), other (men) not like (him)
shéwanat shí'ukshtka gíug Doctor Johnash. Tchúshak lápi sha shíkĕnitksh
gave (any food) kill in order to Dr. John. Constantly two (men) they a pistol

[657]

shishí'tilatk shlíutuapkug hû'nk. Agency tchúi gépksht tapí' tí'ta shash,
were carrying in their dress to fire on him. To the Agency (they) had gone after a while they,
ktíugíulank k̲á-ishtish, tchúi wátch hátokt tkû'tkapksh shláank gé'hlap-
he kicked open the door-cover, and a horse there standing finding (he) mounted
tchapka, m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Tchúi gí'ta hushótpa agency, tchúi
it, his son having come (with the horse). Then here he rode up to the agency, and
yá-uks-mĕnámksh gátpĕnank gulí'. Tchúi agencí'nish lák̲iash hashashu-
in the physician's house coming entered. And to the agent he ap-
ákia, Mínnĭash shahamúyank shnû'ntatka lák̲iash hashashuakítki gíug.
plied, for Minnie sending to interpret the agent for conversing with.

NOTES.

64, 1. In September 1877 Púkish, an elderly Indian, died after a very short illness on the western side of Upper Klamath Lake. The rumor that he had been bewitched and thereby feloniously killed by K̲ák̲ash, one of the conjurers who treated him, soon gained credence, and the excitement in the tribe ran high. The first account of the occurrence was obtained by one of the subchiefs, who, with his colleagues, passed sentence over the unfortunate K̲ák̲ash.

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64, 1. hû't, "this one", forms one of the substitutes for names of deceased persons, which no Indian dares to pronounce. Hû't refers to a person standing visibly *before* the speaker, and it is remarkable that the dead are referred to by this pronoun, and not by a pronoun marking distance out of sight, like hûkt, hû'kta etc. Cf. hû't híshuaksh, 64, 9., gén, 64, 2., hû'nk pí'sh, 64, 5., 68, 11. etc. The subject nánka kukíaks does not exclude the use of the subject pronoun sha, *they*, the account being worded in the conversational style.

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*539 683 [551] [756] 64, 1. Tetĕmádshish or Aunt Susie is one of the numerous female "doctors", who eke out a scanty living from some patients of the Klamath Lake tribe. She received the above name for having been a washerwoman to the soldiers stationed at Fort Klamath, and the nickname Wúya-ak was bestowed on her on account of her predilection for small sucker fish.

64, 2. sämtsálχa. The means employed by her to discover that Dr. John had cast upon the patient a spell of a deadly character, were the singing or recital of tamánuash songs, and the *dreams* which she had on that subject. Her tamánuash songs had *seen* those of the accused conjurer. See 65, 9. The great majority of the tribe still believes in the possibility of witchcraft.

64, 7. The two sentences contained in this line anticipate the result of the whole trial, and the popular verdict. The proper place for them would be after 65, 15.

64, 9. Tuá ni etc. The defense made by Dr. John in his own case is not an unable one, nor is it devoid of oratorical powers. But if the arguments were delivered in the order as given by Dave Hill, they ought to have followed each other in a more logical order to attain their full effect.

64, 10. wák lish etc. The logical connection existing between this sentence and the foregoing has to be supplied by: "why should he have been my personal enemy?"

[192] 64, 10, 11, 13 etc. i, ik stands here for ăt (*ye*); because, when the headchief is addressed in council, all the others are addressed also. Lóli stands for lóla i. The trial took place on Williamson River.

64, 13. kúkamtchish. The distributive form is used here instead of the absolute verbal k'mû'tchish, because old age comes on *gradually, by degrees.*

64, 16. tchi ínah instead of tchi nish; the language likes juxtaposition of two short equal vowels, even when a metathesis is required.

65, 8. Kátak etc. Aunt Susie's opinion, given just after Púkish's death and some time *before* the trial, did not fail to have a striking effect on the superstitious judges and tribe, for her arguments perfectly agree with the national ideas. But to us the arguments seem so weak, that no conviction seems justified, if not based on other evidence.

65, 9. nä'nsak etc. "Your defense does not disprove any of the points advanced against you."

[192] 65, 11. K'mukámtsam nä'-ulaks: "the old customs of the people."

[124] 65, 16. The second account of this tamánuash-case was obtained a few weeks after the trial; Dr. John was present at the agency buildings at the time of the dictation, furnishing the facts to my informant.

[697] 66, 4. ká-ishnank etc. This underground jail was in such an unhealthy condition that Dr. John could not have lived in it through the tenth part of his long term of imprisonment.

[625] 66, 5. Tchikéskni and Skélag, names of two watchmen (i-álhish); the chiefs appoint watchmen from time to time. Skélag is "the young weasel" and Tchikéskni "man living at Tchikési camping-place". They were armed with pistols to foil any attempt at escape.

[192] 66, 10. nä'dshek for nä'dsh ak: "the only one". Compare nádshiak, 60, 21; waítak, 56, 7. and *Notes.*

[192] [193] 66, 12. shishi'tilatk. The past participle often stands for forms of periphrastic conjugation: shishítilatko gi, they *were* carrying in their dress. Cf. illólatko, 55, 20.

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68, 13. gé'hlaptchapka. The verb gelápka means to step on, to mount, ascend; with 'h infixed, to mount upon something by using one's hands; ge'hláptcha is to perform this while on the way, while going or travelling; gé'hlaptchapka, to perform this at a distance from other people and unseen by them. Doctor John escaped, aided by his son, in the midnight hour.

68, 14. m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Gatpĕnóta is a derivative of gátp'na with a durative signification, the suffix -óta pointing to an action performed while another is going on. "His son having arrived close by, while he was imprisoned."

68, 16. shnû'ntatka, verbal intentional of shnû'nta, the suffix -tka being sometimes substituted for the usual -tki, -tki gíug.

PUNISHMENT OF MANSLAUGHTER THROUGH WITCHCRAFT.

Obtained from "Sergeant" Morgan in the Klamath Lake Dialect.

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Tína mák̲laks mā'ntch-gī'tk ná-asht gí: "tû salχī'ta snawédsh gé-u
Once man long ago thus spoke: "over there is bewitched wife my

shíllalsht! ī a-i táwi!" Tsúi tchíkash akúyui suákitsatki gíug; tsúi géna
having fallen sick; you bewitched (her)!" Then an old man he sent out to call a conjurer; and he started

tchíka suákitsuk, tsúi shuákiuk ndéna, tsúyuk túmĕna shuíshuk, kíuksam
the old man to fetch the conjurer, and to call him out halloed, and he heard the magic songs, conjurers'

yaínatat shuī'sh; áti ha shuíshuk. Tsúi géna kíuks tsutánsuk, tû'shtaks a
on the mountain songs; far away (are) songs these. Then goes the conjurer to treat (her), to the spot where

salχíta. At shû'ta hû'nk, tchúi hántsna. Gétpa mû'ns súmmatka, shuī'shuk
she lies bewitched. Now he works on her, and sucks. Comes out a big thing through (his) mouth, to sing

tpéwa, summátka hántsantkiug. Tsúi hántchipka, tsúi putá, tsúi húsatchip-
he orders (those present), with (his) mouth while he would suck on. Then he sucks out, and feels choked, and throws up

gapēle hánshish m'na; sχû'dχa lútatkish. At hû'k sχótka, k̲ú-i hukí' tsutísh
again sucked-out article his; swallows (it) (his) expounder. Now (after) he has swallowed (it), worse that (patient) being treated

gí'ntak, k̲ú-i gí, wigá telsámpka k̲'lä'ksh. Kiúks hû'k tché-ulχa shû'kpal-
in spite of, worse (she) is, almost she looks towards the spirit land. Conjurer the starts to leave wanting to

takiug k̲ú-i gí'sht k̲á-i gí'lχisht pásh; tchúi hû'k ná-asht gí kálamtak
retire worse because she turned (and) not passing through (bowels) the food; hereupon he thus speaks whose own

snéwedsh shí'la shalχī'tnuk, kíukshash: "ī a-i táwi húnksh." Tchúyuk
wife is sick for being bewitched, to the conjurer: "you have bewitched her." But

sakámka kíuks: "k̲á-i a nû táwit! shī'laka hût!" kíuks tchúi nā'sht
opposes denial the conjurer: "not I did bewitch (her)! had become sick (before) she!" conjurer then so

hémkank. At k̲'léka snawédsh.
said. Now dies the woman.

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Wudoká	hushtsóχa	sha	kíuksas	sálχitnuk	k̲léksht	húnk	snawédshash.
Struck	(and) killed	they	the conjurer	for being bewitched (and)	having died	this	woman.

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Tsúi	sa	lúluksla	snawédsh	kíuksam	síuks;	hû'nk	sa	kíuksas	ä'mpēle
And		cremated	the woman	by the conjurer	killed;	him	they	the conjurer	brought back

tchī'shtal,	tsúi	sa	lúluksla	mák̲laks.
to (his) lodge,	and		cremated (him)	the people.

NOTES.

68, 1 etc. This is a pretty good illustration of the method of doctoring by suction adopted in similar tamánuash cases. Persons sent out to call for the conjurer do not enter his cabin, but loudly halloo outside till he appears; in this instance he is supposed to sing his medicine songs amidst the solitary wilds of the mountain slopes.

192 177 68, 1. mû'ntchegī'tk. This temporal adverb places the mode of punishment described by the informant among the *ancient* customs of the people. Compared to what is stated here, the trial of Doctor John shows a material modification in the dealings with suspected conjurers, attributable to the influence of the white population.

192 193 68, 1. 10. salχita is always used in a passive signification, "to be afflicted with the tamánuash spell or bewitching power", which conjurers can send out at will.

68, 1. 2. The words inclosed in quotation marks *anticipate* all that follows up to 68, 10.

68, 2. 8. a-i. This particle has the signification: "undeniably, evidently".

754 68, 5. shû'ta hû'nk. The "working" of a conjurer on a patient's body consists in rubbing, pressing, magnetizing, in blowing on it, and in pouring water over the face or 753 other parts. Sucking out the object which caused the disease is of course the principal operation called for to effect a cure.

68, 5. mû'ns; it is not stated whether this hánshish was a frog, a worm, a small stick, or any such thing; this is immaterial, for the Indian strictly believes that the article was removed from the patient's body and that it caused the disease.

192 68, 6. hántsantking and 68, 8: shúkpaltakiug stand for hántchantki gíug and shukpalítki gíug; cf. shû'kpēli.

192 193 68, 6. hántchipka properly means: "he sucks towards himself"; husatchipgápēle "he throws up again to himself"; viz. into his mouth, so as to be able to take it out with his hands.

68, 7. lútatkish is the conjurer's assistant. His office is to repeat his tunes or speeches before those present in the lodge, to expound or explain his sayings, to start songs and tunes in his stead, and to perform such manipulations as mentioned here.

68, 8. k̲'lä'ksh, contracted from k̲'läkápkash, the dead, the deceased; k̲'lekápkash telshámpka, to be on the point of death.

192 68, 8. tchí-ulχa: he rises from his seat on the ground, or on a blanket near the patient's couch, for the purpose of leaving.

756 69, 1. hushtsóχa. The killing of a doctor or doctress by the relatives of the patient who died under his or her treatment was nothing unusual in the Columbia Basin until quite recently. In some tribes the third failure in curing brought certain death on the conjurer, especially when he had received his reward in advance.

*539 755 70, 2. í'lks (from élχa, ílχa, *to lay down*) is the full dish, basket, or bucket (kála), on which the victuals are brought in; but it means also the food itself, and the dance-feast on which they are eaten. Locative case: í'lksat.

[192] 70, 3. shuína is often incorrectly pronounced tauína.

[194] 70, 3. nutí'sh; verbally: while burning fivefold; while five fires are blazing.

70, 3. At tchí'sh: the young men, who strip themselves naked down to the hips during the performance, begin their dance after the women have had one turn.

[192] 70, 5. nä'bakuapk: see népka, in Dictionary.

[193] 70, 5. yayayá-as means a certain tamánuash witchcraft which inspires the conjurer: the conjurer tells the people just what (ná-ast) the yayayá-as said to him.

70, 6. 7. *s, sh* is here in three words doubled to *ss*: shíshalaluapka, shuashuáktcha, and wusóga; kû'tχaks forms the indirect object of the first of these verbs.

[192] 70, 7. wálok sápa. The kíuks gets the inspiration from the yayayá-as only after sweating; then he can tell (sápa) the people, *when* the disease will come.

70, 8. tánkĕni: after tánkĕni at í'lksh supply ítpa? (did ye bring in?).

70, 8. 9. shä'tu, sä'tu for the more usual form shä'tua; pä'n after tá-unepanta is incorrect and unnecessary; this conjunction should stand there only after ta-unépni or tá-unep.

DETAILS OF A CONJURER'S PRACTICE.

[115]

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY MINNIE FROBEN.

Máklaks	shuákiuk	kíuksash	ká-i	gû'l'hi	húnkĕlam	ládshashtat,	ndéna
Indians	in calling	the conjurer	not	enter	his	into lodge,	they hallo

sha'hmóknok;	kíuksh	toks	wán	kiukáyank	mû'luash	m'na	kaníta	pí'sh.
to call (him) out;	the conjurer		red fox	hanging out on a pole	as sign	his	outside	"of him".

Kukíaks	tchû'tanish	gátp'nank	wigáta	tchélχa	mä'shipksh.	Lútatkish
Conjurers	when treating	approaching	close by	sit down	the patient.	The expounder

wigáta	kíukshĕsh	tcha'hlánshna.	Shuyéga	kíuks,	wéwanuish	tchĭk	winóta
close to	the conjurer	sits down.	Starts choruses	the conjurer,	females	then	join in singing

liukiámnank	nadshä'shak	tchûtchtníshash.	Hánshna	mä'shish	hû'nk
crowding around him	simultaneously	while he treats (the sick).	He sucks	diseased	that

hishuákshash,	tátktish	í'shkuk,	hantchípka	tchĭ'k	kukuága,	wishinkága,
man,	the disease	to extract,	he sucks out	then	a small frog,	small snake,

mû'lkaga,	káko	gí'ntak,	káhaktok	nánuktua	nshendshkáne.	Ts'û'ks	toks
small insect,	bone	afterwards,	whatsoever	anything	small.	A leg	

ké-usht	tchékĕle	ítkal;	lúlp	toks	mä'shisht	tchékĕlitat	lgû'm	shû'kĕlank
being fractured	the (bad) blood	he extracts;	eyes	but	being sore	into blood	coal	mixing

kí'tua	lû'lpat,	kû'tash	tchish	kshéwa	lúlpat	pû'klash	tuiχámpgatk
he pours	into the eyes,	a louse	too	introduces	into the eye	the white of eye	proceeding

ltúiχaktgi gíug.
for eating out.

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NOTES.

*539 755 71, 1. shuákia does not mean "*to call on somebody*" generally, but only "*to call on the conjurer* or medicine man".

71, 2. wán stands for wánam ní'l: the fur or skin of a red or silver fox; kaníta pí'sh stands for kanítana látchash m'nálam: "outside of his lodge or cabin". The meaning of the sentence is: they raise their voices to call him out. Conjurers are in the habit of fastening a fox-skin outside of their lodges, as a business sign, and to let it dangle from a rod stuck out in an oblique direction.

71, 3. tchélya. During the treatment of a patient who stays in a winter-house, the lodge is often shut up at the top, and the people sit in a circle inside in utter darkness.

[193] [192] 71, 5. liukiámnank. The women and all who take a part in the chorus usually sit in a circle around the conjurer and his assistant; the suffix -mna indicates close proximity. Nadshä'shak qualifies the verb winóta.

[192] 71, 5. tchûtchtníshash. The distributive form of tchû'tʼna refers to each of the *various* manipulations performed by the conjurer on the patient.

71, 5. mä'shish, shortened from mäshípkash, mä'shipksh, like k'lä'ksh from k'läkápkash, 68, 8.

[193] [192] 71, 6. 7. There is a stylistic incongruity in using the distributive form only in kukuága (kúe, *frog*), káhaktok, and in nshendshkáne (nshekáni, ndshékani, tsékani, tchékëni, *small*), while inserting the absolute form in wishinkága (wíshink, *garter-snake*) and in kåko; mû'lkaga is more of a generic term and its distributive form is therefore not in use.

71, 7. káhaktok for ká-akt ak; ká-akt being the transposed distributive form kákat, of kát, which, what (pron. relat.).

[192] 71, 8. lgû'm. The application of remedial *drugs* is very unfrequent in this tribe; and this is one of the reasons why the term "conjurer" or "shaman" will prove to be a better name for the medicine man than that of "Indian doctor".

71, 9. kû'tash etc. The conjurer introduces a louse into the eye to make it eat up the protruding white portion of the sore eye.

KÁLAK.

THE RELAPSE.

[115] GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY DAVE HILL.

Hä náyäns hissuáksas mä'shitk kálak, tsúi kíuks nä'-ulakta tchután-
When another man fell sick as a relapse. then the conjurer concludes to treat

uapkuk. Tchúi tchúta; tchúi yá-uks huk shlää kálak a gēk. Tchí huk
(him). And he treats; and remedy this finds out (that) relapsed he. Thus the

3 shuí'sh sápa. Tsúi nä'sh shuí'sh sáyuaks hû'mtcha kálak, tchúi nánuk hûk
song-remedy indicates. And one song-remedy having found out (that) of the kind of relapsed (he is), then all those

shuí'sh tpä'wa hû'nksht kaltchitchíkshash heshuampëlítki gíug. Tchúi
remedies indicate (that) him the spider (-remedy) would cure. Then

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hû'k	káltchitchiks	yá-uka;	ubá-us	hûk	káltchitchiksam	tchutĕnō'tkish.
the	spider	treats him;	a piece of deer-skin		of the spider	(in) the curing-tool.

Tsúi	húnkantka	ubá-ustka	tchutá;	tätáktak	huk	kálak	mā'sha,	gä'tak
Then	by means of that	deer-skin	he treats (him);	just the size of the spot	that	relapse	is infected,	so much

ubá-ush	ktû'shka	tä'tak	huk	mā'sha.	Tsúi	hûk	káltchitchiks	siunóta
of deer-skin	he cuts out	as where	he	is suffering.	Then		the "spider" song	is started

nä'dsk̲ank	hû'nk	ubá-ush.	Tchû'yuk	p'laíta	nétatka	skútash,	tsúi	sha	hû'nk
while applying	that	skin-piece.	And he	over it	he stretches	a blanket,	and	they	it

udû'pka	hänä'shishtka,	tsûi	hû'k	gutä'ga	tsulä'kshtat;	gä'tsa	lûpí	kiatéga,
strike	with conjurer's arrows,	then	it	enters	into the body;	a particle	firstly	enters,

tsúi	tsulē'ks	k̲'läká,	tchúi	at	pushpúshuk	shlē'sh	hûk	ubá-ush.	Tsúi	mā'ns
then	(it) body	becomes,	and	now	dark it	to look at	that	skin-piece.	Then	after a while

tánkĕni	ak	waítash	hû'k	pûshpúshli	at	mā'ns-gītk	tsulä'ks-sitk	shlä'sh.	Tsí
after so and so many		days	that	black (thing)		at last	(is) flesh-like	to look at.	Thus

nî	sáyuakta;	túmi	hû'nk	sháyuakta	hû'masht-gīsht	tchutī'sht;	tsúyuk
I	am informed;	many men		know,	(that) in this manner	were effected cures;	and he then

tsúshni	wä'mpĕle.
always	was well again.

NOTES.

[192]
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72, 1. náyäns hissuáksas: another man than the conjurers of the tribe. The objective case shows that mä'shitk has to be regarded here as the participle of an impersonal verb: mā'sha-nûsh, and mā'sha nû, it ails me, I am sick.

72, 1. kálak, relapse. Relapse is not substantive, but adjective in the sense of a person having fallen back into the same disease by which he was afflicted before; kálkĕla, to fall sick.

[533]

72, 2. yá-uks is remedy in general, spiritual as well as material. Here a tamánuash song is meant by it, which, when sung by the conjurer, will furnish him the certainty if his patient is a relapse or not. There are several of these medicine-songs, but all of them (nánuk hû'k shuí'sh) when consulted point out the spider-medicine as the one to apply in this case. The spider's curing-instrument is that small piece of buckskin (ubá-ush) which has to be inserted under the patient's skin. It is called the spider's medicine because the spider-song is sung during its application. A spider-song in use among the Modocs is given below.

73, 5. hä'näshish appears as the subject of an incantation song in the song-list of Sergeant Morgan.

73, 5. gutä'ga. The whole operation is concealed from the eyes of spectators by a skin or blanket stretched over the patient and the hands of the operator.

73, 5. kiatéga. The buckskin piece has an oblong or longitudinal shape in most instances, and it is passed under the skin sideways and very gradually.

73, 7. tánkĕni ak waítash. Dave Hill gave as an approximate limit five days' time.

NOTES.

*539 221 This text intends to give a sketch of the various occupations of the northern tribe or Ê-ukshikni in every month of the year, and is partially worded in a form which may be called dramatic. These statements are not always arranged in logical order, but a profusion of ethnologic details gives intrinsic value to them.

[805] The months of the Máklaks year do not coincide with the months of our calendar, for they extend from one new moon to the next one, and therefore should be more properly called *moons* or *lunations*. Twelve and a half of them make up the year, and they are counted on the fingers of both hands. The first moon of their year begins on the first new moon after their return from the wókash-harvest at Klamath Marsh, which is the time when all the provisions and needful articles have been gathered in for the winter. [796] [224] Work is then stopped and the communal dances begin, the doctor-dances as well as those conducted by the chiefs, and everybody participates in them except those who are out hunting in the mountains during the latter part of the year. This mode of counting the moons on the digits was once popular, but on account of its imperfections it is now forgotten by the majority of the tribe. Instead of it they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as: udsakalí'mi, "in the big sucker time"; i-umi'mi, "in the berry season", or they use our calendar months.

The first moon mentioned in our text, gáptche, answers generally to our May. The two next moons are counted on the thumb and forefinger of the hand not used immediately before; with this last moon their year has come to an end. The next five moons are counted again on the digits of the first hand, and so forth. The half moon making up their full year is not accounted for in this text.

[823] [226] 74, 2. Ktai-Túpakshi is a locality of renown in the folklore of the Klamath tribe. It lies near the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, on the property of an Indian named Tchéloχins. The otilks is the fish-dam (from utíla), where the Indians wade in the water with their dip-nets and catch the fish while it ascends the river in spring-time in enormous quantities. This fish-dam does not reach the water's surface.

● [193] 74, 2. The direct object of lúela is kápto, its subject máklaks hŏ'ank.

74, 3. kámalsh pahá means: they dry the fish which they have just caught by exposing it to the sun on limbs of trees, and then make kámalsh by pounding it. Kámalsh is a derivative from gáma, to pound.

[192] 74, 3. kó-iχaga is identical with gújkaka; derived from kúi, "away, far off"; guiχátchka is: to start out annually to the prairies where roots etc. are harvested.

[262] [222] [251] [796] [222] [192] [415] 74, 5. saká a pŏ'ks: they eat *sometimes* the camass raw, but only at the time when digging it. Bulbs, roots, pods, chrysalids and berries are gathered by women only.

74, 6. pahá at p.; this is equivalent to pahátko pŏ'ks iwídshat. They bake the camass and put it in their cachés at the place where they intend to stay next winter.

74, 8. shníkanua. During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process, the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the women, and they go to work again in their canoes.

74, 9. shiulína. From the preceding we should expect shiulínat, lulínat.

74, 10. wíllishik is the generic term for larger kinds of provision-sacks; it means here a sack of fifty pounds seed or grain, while the wáχoks holds hundred pounds. In pálasham-wáχoksh, however, the latter word is taken in its *generic* sense of sack, bag.

*539 221 [192] All these different kinds of sacks or bags were originally made of bulrush-stalks (tule) and the táyash was made of straw.

[415] 74, 11. k̲aítua nû kä'ila. The sense is incomplete. Probably sháyuakta is left out: "I do not know of any in the whole country", käila often standing for käilatat.

[192] 74, 14. áwalues. There are several islands in the shallow waters of the vast extent of Klamath Marsh, but only *one* is meant here.

[103] 74, 15. wō'ns ílktsat. They submerge their dug-outs at several places on the beach, where they are certain to find them in the next wókash-season.

[501] [103] 74, 17. pi'la wí'hla (or píla wíllash) contains perhaps a proper name of a locality, or stands in connection with Tóilkat, "at the Rail-Pyramid"; wílhaslash means top, apex. The stations from the "Ford" to "Bird's Lookout" are passed by the tribe when they return home with the lily-seed harvest-crop. "They drop the rifle" is: they take a rest. All these localities are either on the open waters of Klamath Marsh or on Williamson River, which forms its outlet.

[484] [492] 75, 1. iwí-idaha wókash. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Williamson River is from 20 to 25 miles, and horses carrying wókash can make it in one day. The next day they return to carry another load.

[482] 75, 2. nátoks waítuapk: we will lie over one day to let our horses rest, or recover from the swellings on their backs. Nátoks stands for nát toks.

[829] 75, 5. klá-eds is probably a kind of wild prunes. See Dictionary: kēlátch.

[192] 75, 8. wídaika íwam. "Some are economical with their own berries, and prefer not to scatter them in the hands of others"; íwam, huckleberry, has become the generic term for all berries, and i-umä'mi is "*berry-season*".

[316] 75, 11. spû'klish here means the large communal sweat-house; it is used frequently for dances and kshiuwálχishtat, contr. kshiû'lχishtat might stand instead of spúklishtat.

75, 11. papiä'na, vocalic dissimilation for papa-éna; derived from pán, to eat.

[193] 75, 13. atí'sh etc. "Heap ye up that hay in two stacks, which must have a lengthy, long-stretching, and not a high, cone-shaped form!" For heaping up long stacks one verb is here used, and another for making the high, round ones.

Pû'LAM SHUMSHE-ÉLSHTAT SHASHAPKĒLÉASH.

A SKETCH OF BALL'S MARRIED LIFE.

[115]

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 593 Póluk k̲ä'liak snáwäds t'shín. Tsúi snawä'dshla Pámpiam pä'-ia lupí';
Ball he without a wife grew up. Then he married Pámpi's daughter at first;
tsúi wä'kala, tsúi tatá mántsak mbusä'lan gí. Tsúi kä'tsa, tsúi mbusä'-
and she had a babe, and then quite a while he lived with (her). Then he left (her), and lived with
alpēli pän, tsúi pän kétsa sissû'kuk tsû'ssak. Násh wä'ka sham k̲läká, nä'sh
(her) again, and again left (her) quarreling continually. One babe to them died, another
tchía; at sa sipí'tχa, tsúi nä's shnawä'dshla pän Látsam pä'-ia; wáts säwána
lived; still they separated, then one (woman) he married after (this) Látchash's daughter; horses he gave

II.

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[562]

É-ukshikni	wéwanuish	sk̲û'sha	pû'mam	tútatka	lĕmátchat	kē'ltamank.
The Klamath Lake	females	play a game	beavers'	with teeth,	on a rubbing stone	letting (them) drop.

Shúshmalua-kîpksh	p'laítala	tút	nánuk	nî'kualksht	lā'p	kshē'sh	yánkua.
Where they are marked	upside	teeth	all	having fallen,	two	checks	they win.

Kukaluák	taksh	takanî'lkuk	gélχa,	tsúi	sha	nā'sh	kshē'sh	wí-uχa.
Both female (teeth) only	(if)	falling right side up	come down,	then	they	one	check	win.

Lálak̲iak	tchîsh	takanî'lχuk	gélχa,	hû'nkant	tchîsh	a	nā'sh	wí-uka	kshē'sh.
Both male (teeth) only	(if)	falling right side up	come down,	on that account	also		one	(they) gain	check.

Kshawínasht	tûksh	k̲aítua	wí-uχant;	tchúi	sha	nánuk	héshkûsh	shî-î'χaguk
Falling unequally	however	nothing	they win;	and	they	all	the stakes	having won from each other

kĕléwi.	Wéwanuish	pîla	sk̲û'sha,	híhashuaksh	pil shákalsh.
quit.	Women	only	play (this game),	men	only play the stick-game.

III.

É-ukskni	wéwanuish	tchî'mma-uk	tínkanka	nánuk	shuékûsh	shésham-
The Klamath Lake	women	in playing tchimmá-ash	run forth and back,	every one	(willow-) poles	hold-

tchantk.	Pípĕlangshtant	yû'ashlank	tátχĕlam	shalχuétgish	téwa	ánku,
ing.	On either side	for fixing bases	in the middle	of the starting-places	(they) plant	sticks,

tchúi	sha	wutû'walχa	shuekō'shtka	tchímma-ash.	Kawû'tank	sha	vu-
then	they	throw up	with (their) poles	the game-string.	Having caught (it)	they	throw

tû'dshna,	tchúi	sha	tínshna	hátoktala,	shû'dshnuk	tchímma-ash	shútualsha.
(it to others),	then	they	run	over there,	while chasing each other	the game-string	they throw.

Túkni	yá'hlkish	wûtû-ípĕle	shiwákuash	m'na;	tchúi	sha	kíudshna	léna,
One party	the poles	throw back	to the girls	(on) their (side);	and	they	run off	run aside,

shû'dshna	yû'ashtala	sha	tchúi.
chase each other	to the bases	they	then.

NOTES.

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I. The game described in this paragraph is played with four shúlshesh-sticks. From this term is formed a denominative verb, shulshéshla: to play the stick-game. It is a guessing game, and the guesses are made known by putting fingers forward, a gesture which is called spélshna. Hence spélshna, sometimes corrupted into spéldshna, is used as a term equivalent to shulshéshla, to play the stick-game; and a third verb for this pastime is shákalsha. More minute descriptions of the three games will follow elsewhere.

79, 1. shî-i'χaga is the reciprocal form of î'χaga *to win, gain*, occurring below. These terms mainly refer to gains made in gambling.

79, 2. shulshéshlank stands here for the periphrastic shulshéshlank gi, or the simple shulshéshla. Derived from shúlshesh, and this from shúla, to hand over, to pass to another.

79, 2. sχú'tash, not to be confounded with skútash, *blanket*, forms apposition to lápi ndshekáne. The two slender game-sticks are wrapped in narrow strips of buckskin leather (skúta, to wrap in).

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79, 3. sχétcha, to extend two fingers, viz. the index and the middle finger; the instrumental case of the verbal substantive, sχétchashtka: by extending these two fingers.

79, 3. shlín, to shoot, to shoot forward, to hit; figuratively used for the rapid motion of the hand in guessing at the location of the sticks lying under the tray or pá'hla. yû'shakna, yúshkĕna, or yû'sχa, to put forward, to use the index finger. In this game that finger is called yû'shχish, and not by its usual name, spéluish.

79, 4. vû'ish is the location of the thicker sticks coupled on one side, and of the thinner ones on the other; the gesture for guessing at it is to make a side motion with the hand, thumb included. In the text, the sense would become clearer by wording it thus: vû'ish sha népatka tχopowátka tch lénank shlín, "they guess at the vúish, whirling around with the hand, thumb included." Léna is to perform a circular motion; klátchna, a side motion.

79, 5. sχétchashtka sha láp wí-uka. Sχétchashtka collides here apparently with yû'shχish spélshisht; it seems to stand for: "they win two checks, if they have guessed right at the slender sticks".

79, 5. wí-uka. They win one (nā'shak) of the six checks or counting-sticks, if the party opposite did not guess correctly.

II. To play at dropping beavers' teeth (shḵû'sha) is the subject of this paragraph; the game itself is sḵúshash. The four teeth of the beaver are marked for this game by the incision of parallel lines or crosses on one side, and a small piece of woolen or other cloth is inserted into the hollow to prevent breaks in falling. The two longer or upper teeth of the beaver are called the *male* (laḵí), the pair of lower and shorter the *female* teeth (gúlo, kúlu; distributive form: kúkalu). The teeth are dropped on a hard, level substance, as a metate or grinding stone, to make them lie flat. The marked side of the teeth wins, if it is turned up after dropping. The teeth of the woodchuck (mú-i, móí) serve for the same purpose.

80, 2. Shúshmalua=kípksh stands for shúshmaluash=gípshtka or =gípkashtka, the instrumental case of the participle gítko, possessed of: "(if they fall down) on that side, where each is possessed of marks" (shúmaluash).

80, 2–4. kshĕ'sh. In this game of beavers' teeth (púmam tút), or woodchucks' teeth (múyam tút) they use twelve check-sticks to count their gains with. The game is played by two persons, or by two partners on each side.

80, 5. Kshawínasht tûksh. Kshawína means several teeth to fall down, but, as the prefix ksh- indicates, only *one* tooth with the marked or winning side up.

III. The tchimmá-ash game is played almost exclusively by females. The tchimmá-ash is a string about 2–3 feet long, to the ends of which sticks or pieces of cloth are tied; it is taken up and thrown forward by two flexible willow rods (shuékûsh, wá'hlkish) to playmates, who divide themselves into two parties. Before the commencement of the game, two limits (yúash) are meted out on the ground, which serve as bases. Both of them are located between the lines of starting (shalχuétgish).

80, 7. shuékûsh: *two* poles; players hold one of them in each hand.

80, 9. Kawû'tank refers to the playmates of the opposite party, who are bound to catch the flying tchimmá-ash.

80, 11. shiwákuash seems to be a dissimilation of shiwáka-ash.

80, 11. kíudshna léna, or better: kíudshnank léna.

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*539 the ground, both ends being bent over. The process gone through while sweating is
343 the same in both kinds of lodges, with the only difference as to time. The ceremonies
515 mentioned 82, 4–13., all refer to sweating in the mourners' sweat-lodges. The suda-
765 tories of the Oregonians have no analogy with the *estufas* of the Pueblo Indians of
● [193] New Mexico, as far as their construction is concerned. Cf. *Notes* to 70, 1. 75, 11.

[192] 82, 1. lápa spû'klish, two sweat-lodges, stands for two *kinds* of sweat-lodges.

82, 5. shashámoks-lólatko forms *one* compound word: one who, or: those who have lost relatives by death; cf. ptísh-lûlsh, pgísh-lûlsh; hishuákga ptísh-lúlatk, male orphan whose father has died. In the same manner, k̲ĕlekátko stands here as a participle referring simultaneously to híshuaksh and to snáwedsh wénuitk, and can be rendered by "*bereaved*". Shashámoks, distr. form of shá-amoks, is often pronounced sheshámaks. Túmi etc. means, that many others accompany to the sweat-lodge, into which about six persons can crowd themselves, bereaved husbands, wives or parents, because the deceased were related to them. Cf. lĕ'pk̲'leχa, lĕ'pk̲'lekatko.

82, 6. Shiúlakiank etc. For developing steam the natives collect only such stones for heating as are neither too large nor too small; a medium size seeming most appropriate for concentrating the largest amount of heat. The old sweat-lodges are surrounded with large accumulations of stones which, to judge from their blackened exterior, have served the purpose of generating steam; they weigh not over 3 to 5 pounds in the average, and in the vicinity travelers discover many small cairns, not over four feet high, and others lying in ruins. The shrubbery around the sudatory is in many localities tied up with willow wisps and ropes.

82, 10. Spukli-uápka mä'ntch means that the sweating-process is repeated many times during the five days of observance; they sweat at least twice a day.

LUÁTPÎSHLA SNÉWEDSH M'NA.

LAMENT OVER A WIFE'S LOSS.

OBTAINED FROM DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

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Snáweds	k̲'leká.	Tsúi	tsik	shpótû	hissuáksûk,	pä'wa	tsúi,	pä'nĕ
A wife	dies.	Upon this		strengthens himself	(her) husband alone,	plunges	then,	again

mákual,	sta-ótank	k̲aítua	pát;	tsúi	tûtí'χ	yaínatat	tû'tshna.	Tsúi	shlaá
camps out,	famished	nothing	eats;	then	(he) dreams, (and)	on the mountains	he dozes.	Then	he sees

mák̲laks,	tûtí'χ	hûnk	ná-asht;	tsúi	gä'mpĕle	ládsashtat,	tsúi	psín	hûshtí'k-
people,	dreams	(he)	thus;	then	he returns	to (his) lodge,	and	at night	he frequently

tamna,	tsúi	shlä'popk,	tsúi	at	shlä'popk	siunotí'sh	tchkash.	Tsúi	at	shuí'sh
dreams,	and	has visions,	and	then	he has hallucinations	of (female) choruses	also.	And		magic songs

hû'k	nā'sht	ki:	"tchä'kĕli	gékanuapka,	súmat	tsúk	at	géka	tchákĕle"!	tsúi
these	thus	say:	"blood	will come up,	to the throat	in time		comes up	blood"!	then

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huk	tchékĕl' a	gépka.	Tsúi	wéwan'sh	gûlí'	winō'tnish;	shashuakí'sh	tchí'sh,
the	blood	comes up.	Then	women	enter	who form chorus;	people who call the conjurer	too,

lutatkí'sh	tchish,	shuashuáktchish	matchatgí'sh	tchish	gulí'	látchashtat	m'na.
the song-repeater	too,	bewailers,	listeners	also	enter	lodge	his.

NOTES.

[178] The ascetic performances and ceremonies here described are going into disuse at the present time. When they were fully observed, the bereaved husband wandered alone through the woods and wilds (spótu) for five days, but to the widow these observances extended over a shorter time. For this purpose both sexes wore warm clothing, but took to worn-out blankets or old articles of raiment, and used wisps of the serviceberry-bush as belts.

[192] [526] 83, 1. shpótû: strong and unusual bodily exercise, running up hill, plunging etc. was and is still considered beneficial to the body, and is much in favor with the Indians. Cf. 82, 10. 11.

[192] [193] 83, 1. hissuáksûk for híshuaksh ak; the husband *alone*, not in company of others; pä'nĕ for pä'n a, pēn a, cf. átĕnen for át a nen; and sĕ for sha, they, 82, 4.

83, 2. ka-ítua pát or p'át: he eats nothing at the time while wandering; pánk, p'ánk might stand here instead of pát; tû'tahna: for dozing they did not lie down, but tried to catch a little sleep while walking and wandering.

83, 2. shlaá, and tchákĕle 83, 5, forms sometimes used in conversation instead of shläá, shleá; tchä'kĕle, tchékĕli. Cf. yáka for yä'ka, yéka: *Note* to 16, 10.

83, 3. hûshti'ktamna; the suffix -tamna shows that pahín stands for nánuk pahí'n gí'sh: "nightly, every night."

83, 4. siunō'tish and shuí'sh are both tamánuash-songs, but of a different character. See Dictionary. Shlä'popka: he sees in his dreams what he has heard mentioned in the songs. To sing or repeat songs started by the conjurer devolves almost exclusively on the women present at the ceremony.

83, 5. súmat: into the mouth; their blood, disturbed by the constant excitement produced by the night rambles, ascends to the throat, and is sometimes spit out by them.

84, 2. shuashuáktchish. By their loud and noisy lamentations (shuáktcha, to cry, to weep) they expect to avert from the bereaved husband the effects of the tamánuash-spell (shuí'sh) which he has seen in his dreams.

84, 2. matchátgish: those listening to the words uttered by the conjurer and his repeater or expounder; they are of both sexes and also act as bewailers.

*539 tsúi sha shiū'lgip'l tsóχapksh, tsúi sa ánkuala tû'm, tsúi sa kshû'iwal lû'-
766 Then they collected the fallen, and they cut limbs (of trees) many, and they laid on the pyre to

lukshaluapkug. Tsúi sa nutá hû'k, nánuktua núta; pualála sha hû'nkĕlam
cremate (him). Then they fired it, the whole they fired; cast into they his

tû'kanksh. Stútχishla sha yutátkug; k'léksht shtútχishla. At hû'k nánuk
quiver. Sorrowfully wept they in mourning; at his death they wept. Now that whole

nátspka tchulä'ks, at sa nánuk gä'mbĕle lólokshaltkuk. Gátpampĕle
was burnt up body, then they all returned from cremating. They came back

tchī'shtat shishásbka sha lák hû'k snáwedsh hû'nkĕlam wenóya; hissuáksh
to house (and) cut off they hair to wife his, who was widowed; husband

m'na k'léksht wenóya. Shtíĕ shupĕlóka nû'ss wenóyuk, tsúi spúklitch.
her having died she became widow. Resin she laid on (her) head because widowed, then went sweating.

Túnipni spúkĕli, k'lä'wi at; at gä'mbĕle, kiä'm pán. At gä'tak.
Five (days) she sweated, stopped then; and returned home, (and) fish ate. That's the end.

NOTES.

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The style of this little piece is far from what we would call accomplished, and of incongruencies and unnecessary repetitions there are a score. The fight in which the five warriors were killed is imputed to the presaging, night-long cry of an ear-owl, and in ancient times Indians seem to have been justified by universal custom in attacking and killing their neighbors if an owl or raven was vociferating at night in close proximity to the lodge or lodges of these unfortunate people.

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88, 7. hushtsóχok for hushtsóχa hûk.

88, 9. 10. hushtsóχa is used here in an active sense, but is better translated by the passive form.

89, 1. kshúiwala has for direct object tsóχapksh, the dead body. For the same operation the verb ksháwala, ksháwal is also frequently used: 85, 6. From here the informant begins to speak of *one* body only, as if only one warrior, not many, had been killed in this battle. Cf. *Note* to 89, 5.

89, 2. húnkĕlam stands in this line for hunkĕlámsham or p'nálam: "their, theirs".

89, 5. lák. After their return they cut off the hair of the widow and then she put pitch or resin on the head. In most tribes they did it *at the time* of cremation, while they witnessed the action of the flames upon the body.

89, 5. hûk snáwedsh: one widowed wife only is mentioned here instead of many: "*pars pro toto*"-construction. This sentence, if built regularly, would run as follows: shishásbka sha lák hû'nkĕlam snawédshash, kát hûk wenóya; hissuákshash m'na k'léksht wenóya.

89, 7. spû'kĕli, to sweat in the sweat-lodge, viz. in one of the three sweat-lodges given by K'múkamtch to the Klamath Lake people: spû'klitcha, spû'klidsha, to start out for sweating there. Cf. lumkóka and wála. To eat fish only, and no meat, means *to fast* on fish.

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93, 1. k̲á-i spûní vushúk: the subject of spûní, É-ukskni mák̲laks, is left out by inadvertence. Some Wascoes wanted to marry into another tribe; for "one Wasco man" stands here for "some men of the Wasco people."

93, 3. 4. Ampχä'ni, contraction of ambuχĕ'ni "thither, where the water is", where the waters rush down in a cataract, or in rapids. The rapids of the Columbia River at the Dalles impede navigation.

93, 7. sasságank 1 gi! ye are in peril, when going to the Dalles and being Indians, therefore take care of yourselves! 1 stands for ät; cf. 64, 10 and *Note;* 90, 13. 14.

93, 7. 9. Instead of k̲á-i nû shtínta may be said also, in this connection, k̲á-i nû shanáhole; instead of tánkt ni gĕnt: gĕ'ntĕni, gĕ'nt a ni; instead of Tídshi hä'k: tídshäk, tídshi hä gi.

K'MUKÁMTCHAM AÍSHISHAM TCHÎSH SHASHAPKĔLÉASH.

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K'MÚKAMTCH ATTEMPTS THE DESTRUCTION OF HIS SON AÍSHISH.

[115]

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROBEN.

Lûpí	nä'lsh	hûnk	K'múkamtch	shut[illegible]	ná-asht	nä'lsh	hûnk	gá-ag
At first	us		K'múkamtch	began [illegible]	so	to us		long ago

kĕmûtchátk	shashapk̲ĕlí-í'a	génta	käílatat	[illegible]chía	hû'k	lä'pi	shá-ûngaltk
an old man	told the myth	this	world about.	Lived	the	two	related as son and father,

Aíshish	K'mû'kamtchish;	né-ulχa	hûnk	gĕ'n,	nánuktua	ká-akt	hû'k	gäg,
Aíshish	(and) K'múkamtch;	resolved		this one,	(that) all things,	whichever	(are) here,	(and)

nánuktua	kiä'm	ámbutat	wá,	gítki	gíug.	Tchúyunk	pä'n	I-ulalónau
all kinds of	fish,	in the water	(which) live,	should come into existence.		Then	again	at the outlet at Linkville

tchkash	né-ulχa	páplishash	gí'tki	gíug,	mû'	gint	nk̲í'llipsh	tí'wish	ndû'lshampksh
also	he caused	a dam	to come into existence,		very	there	rapidly	the rushing waters	running down

páltki,	mû'ash	shlé-uyuk,	tchúyunk	mák̲laksaash	kiä'm	í'tklank
to leave dry,	the south wind	when blows,	and hereupon	the Indians	the fish	scooping up

pálshtat	pátki	gí.
on the bottom left dry	should feed upon.	

Tchúi	pän	húmasht	gíulank	K'mukámtch	únaka	tchkash	m'na	Aíshishash
Hereupon		having performed this		K'múkamtch	son	then	his	Aíshish

shtílta	p'laíwasham	shnû'lash,	shléank	kĕnáwatat	shkúlelam	wewéka
sent after	an eagle's	eyrie,	perceiving	up on a kĕnáwat-stalk	of a lark	the young ones

hû'nk	shû'kayank,	shnepĕ'mpemuk	vunaká	m'na.	Snáwedsh	spû'utχashtka
	hanging (on it),	in order to entrap	son	his.	A wife	to abduct (from him)

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tchik	hû'nk	nχí'-ulîga	lă̱ki;	kat	húk	hû't	tchúi	lalí'ga	Tûhû'shash.	Hû'n
then	to it	dripped	on fore-head;	which	thing		since	stuck	on Mud Hen.	This one

gétak	hû'nk	shkálkēla.
only		was hurt.

NOTES.

This is one of the most popular myths current among the É-ukishikni, and we shall find it partially repeated in another myth, recounted by Dave Hill. Aíshish and his father K'mukámtchiksh represent powers of nature engaged in everlasting strife for mutual extermination. In this myth K'múkamtch resorts to the following trick to destroy his offspring. Seeing young larks in a nest on the top of a sorrel-stalk, he informs him, that if he climbs up there, he can obtain a nest of eagles with all its inmates. Gladdened with the prospect of this capture, Aíshish climbs up, but the insidious father causes the plant to grow miraculously fast under him, so that descent becomes impossible, and Aíshish comes near perishing by hunger and exposure.

In the recollection and wording of some portions of the myth my informant was assisted by "Captain Jim."

94, 1–7. The short fragment of a creation myth preceding the Aíshish tale stands in no causal connection with it, and could as well be inserted elsewhere. Myths entering upon the *details* of the creation of the world by K'mukámtchiksh do not, as far as ascertained, exist among this people, but in their stead we have many myths for special creations (of man, animals, islands, mountains etc.). A grammatic analysis of the terms occurring in this fragment (from Lûpí nă'lsh to pátki gi) was inserted by me in the *American Antiquarian*, Vol. I, No. 3, pages 161–166, under the heading: "Mythologic Text in the Klamath Language of Southern Oregon."

192 94, 1. Lûpí shutăyéga is not to be considered as a repetition, for it means: when
193 K'múkamtch began to create the world he made *us* before he made the fish, other
animals, and the dam at Linkville. This is, of course, only a small fragment of all the
creation myths of this people.

94, 2. shashapkĕlía: to tell or count stories, myths or fables in the interest or for the pleasure of somebody; the i is here doubled to obtain a rhetorical effect.

94, 3. K'mú'kamtchish is a contraction of K'mû'kamtch tchish; Aíshish, K'múkamtch also. The longer form of the name of the deity occurs 95, 20.

94, 3. ká-akt, metathetically for kákat; kát is pron. relat. which, what, the thing which. nánuktua ká-akt găg comprehends all animate and inanimate creation.

94, 4. wá, uá, to stay, exist, live in; is always connected with an indirect object indicating the place, spot, locality or medium where the subject lives or exists.

94, 4–6. The construction of the sentence runs as follows: Tchúyunk (K'mukámtch)
né-ulχa gí'tki gíug páplishash I-ulalónan, páltki tí'wish gint ndûlshámpkash mû' nḵil-
lipkash, mû'ash shlé-uyuk; "when a south wind blows, it will stop the waters from
133 rushing down rapidly over the cataract." The outlet of Upper Klamath Lake, called
132 Link River, runs from north to south, over the falls at Linkville; hence a powerful
226 south wind will stem the current of Link River above the falls, leave its bottom dry or
almost dry, and enable the Indians to catch the fish swimming in the shallow water
or wriggling in the mud. The rocky ledge under the cataract is supposed to be the
gift of K'múkamtch.

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*539 94, 4. I-ulalónan or Yulalóna is the Indian name of the cascade of Link River
773 above the town of Linkville, and for that town itself. The origin of this name is ex-
192 plained in 94, 5. 6, for the verb i-ulalóna means to move forth and back, referring here
193 to the waters of the river receding under the pressure of the south wind.
[103] 94, 6. ítklank, partic. pres. of ítkal, means here: obtaining by basketfuls.
[137] 94, 9. The kĕnáwat is a plant growing high in the warm climate of Northern California, especially in the ancient habitat of the Shasti Indians, and in this myth it suggested itself to the Indians on account of its property of growing very fast.

95, 5. gé'hlapka: he swung himself into the nest by climbing over the rim. Cf. *Note* to 66, 13.

95, 10. kaiʒema K'mukámtchish for the regular form K'mukámtchash. Cf. 91, 8.

95, 13. skáyamtch etc. More plainly expressed this sentence runs as follows: sha skáyamna pásh tchish ámbu tchish; the first tchish being placed before pásh and appended to the apocopated skáyamna.

95, 16. shéwana here used differently from tchíya, which applies to liquids only.

95, 17. p'lû' ítchuank seems to be a quite modern interpolation, for it smells of pomade and hair-oil; but it is as ancient as the myth itself.

[765] 95, 23. 96, 2. 3. 4. Tchíka. I have rendered this bird-name elsewhere by "Chaffinch," and Klétish by "Sandhill Crane".

[551] 96, 3. shlámia, to feel insulted. She resented it as an insult that the child called her deceased husband by name; for it was a capital crime among the ancestors of the present Klamaths to call a dead person's name for many years after his demise.

96, 5. hû'tna is changed to hû'tan on account of being followed by a word commencing with k.

[765] 96, 6. stíya. The custom of widows to put pitch or resin on their heads at the death of their husbands was abolished only at the time when cremation became a thing of the past.

[178] 96, 6. galdsha-ńyank is a more explicit form of the participle; the verb gáldshui being the contracted form of galdsháwi.

96, 8. yámnashla. He used the bristles of porcupines to make necklaces of.

96, 11. unakáka m'na was the son of Aíshish and of the above mentioned Tchíka.

96, 11. 12. K'mukámtcham qualifies pā'ks, not lúlukshtat.

96, 14. pakakóleshtka, verbal desiderative of pakakóla, to jerk away from. The suffix -óla indicates that K'múkamtch wore his tobacco-pipe tied to his body; he wore it on his neck.

96, 15. tchítchiks is used when speaking to children. It signifies *so, so!* and means: be quiet, shut up, stop!

96, 17. tchē'k kēléwi. In similar connections this phrase very frequently ends a whole narrative in Modoc and Klamath. Here it means that Aíshish ceased to poke the pipe into the fire. Cf. 85, 10. 89, 7.

96, 18. medshá: he removed from that spot with all his wives and children. Ancient customs forbid the offspring to stay where the father had breathed his last.

96, 20. Gén húnk nánuk etc. This portion of the myth describes the destruction of all the living organisms on earth by a general conflagration caused by K'múkamtch. Myths of this kind are suggested by intense heat experienced in summer. This mode of destroying life on earth is less frequently met with in myths than the drowning in a general flood.

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96, 21. kíuyäga. Aíshish held the tray over himself, his whole family, and his lodge. The same prefix ki- reappears in a nasalized form in ngí'-ulliga: 97, 1. It is nasalized there on account of the preceding -k in hû'uk.

96, 23. kiüla. Where I have rendered this term by "world", as here and elsewhere in creation myths and myths of a similar character, it does not signify the whole surface of the earth as known to us, but only that section of country which is known to that tribe of Indians. Thus ancient creation myths only describe the creation of that part of country where these myths originated; the creation myths of coast tribes will include the ocean in their term for "world".

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96, 23. Túhush talpatkóla. Mud Hen, one of Aíshish's five wives, looked out from under the roof of Aíshish's lodge or shed to see what was going on. This fiction explains the round dark spot visible on the mud-hen's head; its *round* form is indicated by the prefix la- in laliga.

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Aíshisham shashapkéléash.

A MYTHIC TALE ABOUT AÍSHISH.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Shashapkēle-uápkan Aíshishash:
I am going to tell a story about Aíshish:

Aíshish mat sákla tû'ma mák̲laks íyamnatko; shuédshnuk mat sha
Aíshish, they say, gambled many people having with him; when gambling on their way, so they say, they

shnéna lû'loks. Yámnashptchi mat lû'loks Aíshisham, Wanákalam kükü'kli
built fires. Purple-Lilac (was), as reported, the fire of Aíshish, of Silver Fox yellow

lû'loks, K'múkamtcham shláyaksak. Tsúi sa slō'kla; Aíshish shlín tálaak,
the fire (was), of K'múkamtch (it was) smoke only. Then they shot at the mark; Aíshish hit (it) straight,

Wanáka yû'tlansna. K'mukámts tû' hak yû'l'ka, nánka toks tû' hak a-áti
Little Silver Fox missed the mark. K'múkamtch this side of mark struck, the others but far this side of the mark

hak yû'l'ka; tuí sa húmasht gíulank sákaliäga. Túm sa héshkû, tsúi sas
struck; right then they after so doing commenced gambling. Many things they bet on, then over them

Aíshish í'kak; séwatkashtka nánuk wátchpka, tsúi sa gä'mpēle. At tû'
Aíshish won; about noon all men had lost all they had, then they went home. Ever

tsússak í'χak nánuk sas.
since he won them all.

Tû'nipnish wéwan's gitk Aíshish: Tûhû'sh násh snáweds Aíshisham,
Five wives had Aíshish: Mud Hen (was) one wife of Aíshish,

Stókua násh snáwedsh, Klí'tish násh, Wä'ks násh, Tsí'ka násh snáwedsh.
Long-tail Squirrel one wife, Sand-hill Crane one, Mallard one, Chaffinch one wife.

NOTES.

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Portions of the same myth, though differently connected, will be found in the mythic tale: K'múkamtch attempts the destruction of his son Aishish. Both narratives are complementary to each other in some important details.

99, 3. **shnéna.** It is the custom of gamblers to build fires at every place where they stop on their road or trail. Any party of travelling Indians will do so when stopping on their way. Cf. 23, 15.

99, 3. **Yámnashptchi.** Several adjectives designating colors are taken from articles of dress in both dialects: tolalúptchi, green; tchχé-utchχe-ushptchi, a shade of blue; and spálptchi, light-yellow, is called after a face-paint made of a kind of clay.

[825] 99, 3. **Wanákalam lû'loka.** The fire of Young Silver Fox was yellow or yellowish, not only because the fur of this fox-species turns from silvery white into yellowish by the change of seasons, but also, because this animal represents in mythic stories the halo around the sun. Cf. shakatchálish in Dictionary. Wanáka always figures as the companion of the principal national deity, K'múkamtch.

99, 7. **wátchpka:** to stake everything in one's possession and then lose it all; wí-uka, to win all the stakes lost by the others.

99, 10. 100, 5. **Stókua** or Stúkuaga was, according to another of my informants, a fish of this name, and not a squirrel. The other wives of Aishish all have names of birds.

100, 3. **huélks:** K'múkamtch had inherited a locality where his father was in the habit of hunting and killing the giant-eagle (p'laíwash). Thinking of this place, K'mukámtch went there with his son Aishish, after scheming a stratagem to let him perish there. To kill the eagles, it was necessary to climb a pine-tree; this K'múkamtch was afraid of doing, and wanted to send up there his son instead.

100, 9. **shnúlas toks etc.** The lark had her young in the nest of an eagle.

100, 10. **sûlû'tantsa.** He dressed himself in Aishish's garments, as appears from the foregoing mythic tale.

100, 15. **saa.** Dave Hill often uses shash, sas in an almost reciprocal sense: while (or: for) going to gamble among themselves. This pronoun does not depend here on shnéna, as we might assume. Cf. *Note* to 58, 10. It refers to the playmates of Aishish, who set out with K'múkamtch, whom they thought to be their beloved Aishish on account of the dress he had abstracted from him. In 100, 14 shash was explained to me by "from them", viz. from the wives of Aishish, in whose lodge K'múkamtch had passed the night.

100, 18. **gä'pkat for gépka at:** did not come now, or: has not come yet.

101, 2. **gä'tak.** This adverb gives to understand, that they were loth or too tired to play any longer for stakes, because their beloved Aishish was not present. "To cease or stop gambling" simply, would be expressed by saklóla.

101, 4. **shti'a etc.** Cf. *Notes* to 89, 5; 96, 6; and general *Note*, on page 86.

[193] 101, 4. **shi'dsho wenépi,** rather unusual forms for shi'dsha hû vunépni. Hû, "up, above, on head," has coalesced with shi'dsha into one word.

101, 5. **Klíti'sam.** Aishish heard the cries of Klétish only, because of all the birds which are believed to be his wives, the long-necked sandhill crane is the loudest and noisiest.

[825] 101, 8. **gatpampêlissa for gatpámpêli sha, as tchíssa for tchí sa.**

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*539 101, 8. p'tisá m'na for p'tisha m'nálam.

773 101, 10. ka̱kó bēlat for: ka̱kó pil at.

192 101, 11. p'tissap sam. Sham, sam "their", is found standing instead of m'nálam,
193 p'nálam, or húnkēlamsham in the conversational form of language. Cf. 107, 13. 100, 4.

101, 13. liwátkal. They lifted up the famished Aishish, almost reduced to a skeleton, and seated him upright in the nest; they imparted new strength and life to him by feeding him.

101, 16. ke̱dsha, to grow, forms ke̱dshua, ke̱dshnúta; n's is: nû'sh, to me, with me, under me; a sort of *dativus commodi.*

ORIGIN OF HUMAN RACES. DURATION OF HUMAN LIFE.

[115]

GIVEN BY "CAPTAIN JIM" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

K'mû'kamtch hû'nk at né-ulχa ná-asht gén: Hû'nk E-ukshikíshash
K'múkamtch ruled as follows: The Klamath Lake

tchák mák̲laks shû'ta; tchúi pén K̲ä'k̲ak̲ilsh tchágsh mák̲laks shû'ta;
from a service-berry bush people he made; hereupon the Kä'kakilsh from skunks people made;

yámatală génûta shûshtédshna. E-ukshkíshash ktchálχishtat í'lχa, Bósh-
northwards while he had gone he created (them) on his way. The Klamath Lakes in the sun-heat he laid down, the white

tinash toks shûtólank máhieshtat í'lχa; húmasht gíug nä'd mák̲laks mû'-
people however after creating (them) in the shade laid down; therefore we Indians (are)

makmûkli, Bóshtin toksh papálpali. É-ush guní'gshta käilalí'a.
dark, the white race but light-complexioned. The sea beyond he made a world for them.

At sha pä'n ne-ulakiéga, K'múkamtch mû'nk tchí'sh shkíshkí'sh tchish
Then they began to legislate, K'múkamtch, mole also, fly-bug also,

wishí'nk tchish. Mû'nk hämé̱χe: "Nû a gû'ggamtchíshash mák̲lakshash
garter-snake also. Mole said: "I of old age the human beings

gí'tki gí!" Húnkanti wíshink ná-asht häméχe: "nû'toks gémptcha
to become want!" On that subject garter-snake thus spoke: "and I thus-made

mák̲lakshash gí'tki gí!" Tchíhunk wí'shink shkintchishχagóta: "gá-ash
the men to become order!" Thus garter-snake while shedding its skin: "this way

nû hû'nk mák̲lakshash k̲'léktgi: tí'dshok nétnäk gít k'mû'tchatk gíntak
I the men to become (want): having grown then to be of old age though

tchíltgipēletám'nûk." Húnkanti mû'nk ná-asht heméχe: "nû a gémptcha
always to grow young again." On that subject mole thus said: "but I thus-made

pshe-utíwashash gí'tki gí: gû'ggamtchishash!" Pí muimû'yuk: "gá-asht
the human beings to become want: decrepit by age!" (And) it shivering (said): "thus

nû pse-utíwashash gí'tki gí!" Skí'shkish tchish ná-asht tok nä'-ulχa
I the human beings to become want!" Fly-bug also thus voted

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mû'nkash túlak. Pi skí'shkish ná-asht: "k̲úi tádsh ak hû'k túmi pshe-
mole along with. It the fly-bag thus (said): "very cruelly many human
utíwash gíug kí'shtchkank hiétalt nûsh".
beings among when stepping (on me) (will) crush me".

Tchí'hunk pä't háshtaltal né-ûlχûg. Tchúi sha pälpeliéga; mû'nk
Thus they mutually disputed for action. Then they began working; the mole
yaína shuteyéga; shtû'ya yaínaluk. At pí'pil húnta né-ulχa K'mukám-
mountains began to make; it made gang-ways to throw up mountains. Now alone thus (it) made after K'múkamtch
tchăm shutólash.
had finished creating.

NOTES.

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103, 3. tchák. There is evidently a *jeu de mots* intended between tchák and tcháksh. Which northern tribe the Käkakilsh were, my informant and other Indians were unable to say; it is a nickname, derived from k̲ä'k̲, of some Oregonian tribe held in contempt by the Mák̲laks, and any reference to it causes great merriment to the Klamath Lake Indians. Mák̲laks is in both places separated from the tribal name by inversion; tchák and tchágsh form apposition to these tribal names and to mák̲laks, and for tchágsh we would expect tcháshish, which is the usual form of the word.

103, 5. É-ush. The sea or ocean, which is meant here, is múni é-ush, while é-ush means a lake, lagoon or large pond.

103, 6. ne-ulakiéga. Three of the lower animals are here brought together to confer with K'múkamtch to determine the duration of man's life, and every one voted according to its own experience. Stephen Powers mentions a mythic story comparable to this, heard by him among the Pit River Indians (Contrib. to North Amer. Ethnology, vol. III, p. 273): "The coyote and the fox participated in the creation of men and animals, the first being an evil spirit, the other good. They quarreled as to *whether they should let men live always* or *not*. The coyote said: "if they want to die, let them die"; but the fox said: "if they want to come back, let them come back." But nobody ever came back, for the coyote prevailed."

103, 9. 10. After shkintchishχagóta supply heméχe, and after k̲'léktgi: gi.

[193] **103, 10. tí'dsok,** or tit'shok, distributive form of t'shók, of the verb t'shin to grow. Cf. tit'sha, 107, 12.

103, 12. pshe-utíwash, abbreviated pshé-utuash, an archaic word used only in the *collective* sense of people, human beings. It occurs only in mythic stories. Cf. 105, 8.

104, 4. shtû'ya. This fiction was suggested by the manner in which moles throw up mole-hills and shows that the ancient myth-makers were not without a humoristic vein.

104, 4. pí'pil. Every mountain was thrown up by the mole alone, each one separately. The special creation of K'múkamtch was *man*, and whatsoever stands in direct connection with his existence, welfare and customs, as fishing-places, islands, funereal sweat-lodges etc.

104, 4. húnta, abbreviation of húntala: by proceeding in *this* manner, in the *same* manner.

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NOTES.

*539 In preference to any other beast, the prairie-wolf, small wolf, or coyote (as he is
773 called in the West after an Aztec term meaning "digger, burrower") became con-
[825] nected in the mind of the Indian with the creation of the moon and the origin of the
months or moons, because in moonlit nights he is heard howling from nightfall to
dawn; sometimes alone, sometimes in packs of several dozen at a time. His querulous,
whining howl is likened by the Indians with a "speaking to the moon". Our tale
above is based upon the double sense of *moon* and *month*, in which the term shápash (the
"indicator," from shápa to tell, indicate) is used. The idea of the creation of twice
twelve moons originated in the delusion that in every period called *new* moon, moons
were really made or manufactured *new* by the creator. The number twenty-four was
perhaps suggested by the observation of lunar eclipses, or mock moons appearing in
hazy weather. The coyote as the creator of the moons (and the creator of the universe
among the Central Californians) naturally desired to have as many moons as possible;
while K'múkamtch, as the wolf's antagonist, thought it better for the benefit of his own
*539 creation, the human beings, not to make the year too long. If the winter had to last
773 twelve months instead of six, how could they collect roots, bulbs, seed, fish, and game
192 enough to live through such a length of time?

105, 2. shipátχûkanka. Two moons being on the sky simultaneously would necessarily often cover and thereby eclipse or hurt each other.

105, 2. iggá-idshnank. The mother-coyote had hung up the twenty-four moons made by herself around the walls and ceiling of her winter-lodge, which in this myth signifies the sky. The suffix -ídshna points to her walking from one spot of the lodge to another while busy in suspending the moons.

[776] 105, 3. gû'hli'. A great deal of shrewdness is ascribed to the principal deity of the Klamath Lake people as well as to those of other *hunting* tribes. He manifests his astuteness in entering the coyote's lodge in her *absence* only, and to prepare a trick for her there.

105, 4. tát' né for táta nen.

[194] 105, 5. Hitá tchía! is pronounced as if it was *one* word only: hitátchia.

105, 6. shû'shamka, distributive form of sh'û'mka, to hum, grunt, to make hã hã. He grunted every time he planted another awl, sometimes in an interrogative tone of voice, and did it to disguise their secret planting into the ground.

105, 7. wákaitch composed of wák haitch; wásha-wéka composed of wásham wéaga; tχéwag or tχéwaga, diminutive of tχé-u first, first in order, eldest; cf. hû'ktag.

[193] 105, 7. tû'm haktch. This language has a term corresponding to our *too much* (tû'm tchátchui), but none which renders our *too* with accuracy. Adjectives or adverbs qualified by *too* are therefore pronounced with a higher pitch of voice and the quantity of their main vowel is increased when the Indian intends to express this adverb.

105, 10. wakaí, "why not," a combination of wák and ḳá-i.

105, 14. gatpanû'la gi'ta: he has come here and has left again.

[825] 105, 16. Kiti'ta. The coyote-wolf, while rolling forth and back on the ground, as these animals are in the habit of doing, ran her belly into the bone-awls insidiously planted there by K'múkamtch, so that the entrails shed their contents on the lodge-floor.

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shlí'n	K'mukámtsäm	hû'nk	únakag;	tchúi	sa híshlan.	Tsaakayákalam
shot	of K'múkamtch	the	little son;	then	they shot at each other.	Little Weasel's

vúnak	hûnk	shlín	lû'pi	K'mukámtcham	vunáka;	tchúi	hû'nk	hû'tkalpalank
boy		shot	first	at K'múkamtch's	son;	then	(that one)	jumping up again

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shlín	Tchashgáyam	únaka,	tchúi	tsók̲a	lápuk.
shot	Weasel's	son,	then	perished	both.

At	sálĕki	ptíssísap	sham.	Tsashgái	at	káyaktsa,	K'mukámts	k̲á-i
Then	missed (them)	fathers	their.	Weasel		went searching.	(but) K'múkamtch	not

káyaktcha,	sk̲û'lχa	tä'dsh	sá-utamank;	alä'bopk	hû'nitak	tû'	sas	hishō'kst.
searched (for them),	laid himself on bed	but,	wrapped up;	he knew	by himself,	out there	them	to have killed each other.

NOTES.

Compare with this myth the first part of the "Mythic Tale of Old Marten" (Skélamtcham shashapkĕléash), which contains the same subject-matter.

[103] 107, 1. Yámsi, contraction of Yámashi. This is the name given at present to a mountain North of Klamath Marsh; from this direction the cold winds (yámash) blow over the highlands on Upper Klamath Lake.

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773 107, 1. 3. 9. Tchášhgai sometimes occurs in the diminutive form Tchashgáyak, because the Weasel is regarded as the *younger* brother of the Marten.

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193 107, 2. saikän, a contraction of saigaχĕ'ni: they went *to* the prairie, where the women were digging the edible roots.

107, 3. Skĕ'lamts. I have given this myth elsewhere in a longer relation, where the part played here by K'múkamtch is played by Skélamtch. Even in Dave Hill's relation the Marten is called, but once only, by its real name Skélamtch; K'múkamtch and Skélamtch are mentioned *here* as identical. The term skĕ'l, when not employed in its mythologic sense, means a long piece or strip of tanned otter or marten skin, used for tying the hair, or for other purposes.

107, 3. 4. I'ktchatki snáweds etc. One woman only is mentioned here, instead of the two, whom Weaslet was ordered to bring home as wives for his brother K'múkamtch and himself.

107, 5. wéwans a very common elision for wéwannish.

107, 9. kaní ná-asht? ellipse for kaní ná-asht gi?

107, 10. nû ä'pkolatkik. Instead of this may be said also, ä'pkatki gínla nû: "I strictly told (you) to bring in."

107, 13. sa waslalá. The two boys went together hunting chipmunks.

[411] 107, 14. sháwala to adjust stone-heads; shawalta, sa-ulía to adjust stone-heads for or in the interest of somebody. Flint-, obsidian- or iron heads are placed only on war-arrows or on arrows used in killing large game (ngé-ish, ngä'-ish); but the táldshi or lighter arrow, used in hunting birds, and the taldshiága, arrow used as boy's plaything, are usually provided with wooden points only.

107, 15. K'mukámts stûli sht pi·ts stands for K'mukámtchash stuli'sht pi'sh, the pronoun referring to the little son of K'múkamtch.

107, 15. shli'sht. In this sentence m'nálsh is the subject of shli'sht, and the direct object of shlín is not expressed.

107, 16. lä -udsha: they went out to play, from léwa, lä'wa to play.

*539 773 192 [482] ● [193] [222] 109, 1. shkä'shgatkaltk. A verbal adjective of shkátkăla, to carry on back; kä, ka is the radical syllable, found also in kä'mat, *back*. This distributive form is apparently due to vocalic dissimilation. Women carry conical baskets (yáki) on their backs when digging roots or bulbs, and throw them over their shoulders into these receptacles.

109, 2. 6. 8. Skélamtch. See Dave Hill's relation of the same myth; *Note* to 107, 3. In speaking of somebody who acts on the sly, and differently from what he professes and means to do, the Klamath Lake people will say: "He acts like Skélamtch." [193] This is one of the few proverbial locutions, or at least figurative modes of speech that can be traced in this tribe.

[291] 109, 3. kmä' is the rounded light cap usually worn by females, fitting tight to the skull. It is made of the stalks of aquatic plants, several species of them entering into the manufacture of each cap. The taking away of the skull-caps was intended as a signal for the women to go to their new homes.

109, 6. táta. The words of reprehension addressed by Old Marten to Weaslet are: "Did I ever order you to bring the caps of any other than of both the one-eyed women? I told you to get the caps of both one-eyed women only." Lápuk belongs to shtchûshχápkam, though separated from it by the inversion of the sentence; kmä' is left out.

[193] 109, 6. shtchûshχápkam. The distributive form of shtchû'χa is so difficult to articulate, that abbreviations of it like the above and others, have resulted. Shtchúχa is evidently the medial form of tchóχa, and its meaning is therefore "to suffer destruction on oneself." Cf. shtchúyampka.

109, 10. ni ä'pkatki. After ä'pkatki supply gi: "said, told."

109, 11. The text forgets to mention the calling in of the two one-eyed women.

109, 12. Shû'hank-shitk. In many mythic stories the newly-born children are made to grow miraculously fast, so that when a few days old they handle bow and arrows, and after a month or two they are adult people.

[194] 109, 13. ntéyăla, to make a bow or bows (nté-ish), nteyákăla, to make little bows (nteyága), nteyakalía or nteyakalíya, to make little bows *for somebody*.

109, 13. únak, *son*, is variously pronounced û'nak, vúnaka, wúnak; and so is its diminutive únakag, únakaga, vúnakak, *little son*, "*sonny*".

109, 15. hishla has two meanings, both *reciprocal:* to shoot at each other, and to shoot at the mark, *rivalling to outdo each other* in markmanship. Cf. 24, 17.

[193] 109, 15. Léwatkuk for léwatko hûk: they, after having played; participle of léwa to play.

110, 1. hûshûtánkapksh etc. "This was an approaching himself on the sly towards me" is the literal rendering of this sentence, in which the first term is a *nomen actionis*, a verbal indefinite. The two pronouns are governed by it.

110, 3. mish shli'shtka gi'uapk, if he should want to shoot you; if he should shoot at you purposely.

110, 4. Sháyuakta, "he knew." Omniscience and prescience are among the characteristic features of Old Marten, who is the personification of K'múkamtch. Cf. 107, 1. 3. 14. 108, 5. and *Note* to 107, 3.

110, 6. hútkalpĕli, to rise up suddenly, to jump up again (though killed beforehand). Cf. 108, 2.

110, 11. "shui'ulatchganka hû'n gi." Marten's son said, that his arrow, when

*539 dispatched after a chipmunk, struck a log or tree, glanced off from it and came very
773 near killing Weasel's little son.

192 110, 11. 21. guháshktcha instead of guhuáshktcha, cf. Dictionary.

110, 17. vû'sho, breast, chest, is also pronounced wû'shu, û'shu; û'shutala, in the chest. ḵ'leklχátko is the distributive plural of ḵ'lekátko; ḵ'léka, to die.

[193] 110, 18. mä'nshaktch, so long; stands for mä'ntchak tchí. The terminal -ak has to be taken here and in 110, 14. in the sense of the diminutive suffix: "a little long".

110, 19. kä'la to *do or act* in the sense of amusing oneself, playing, gesticulating, or acting in a loud, noisy, or grotesque manner.

111, 1. túnepanti. The partitive case in -ti, if it stands for túnepanta, is used here, because the bags of neckwear brought by Skélamtch were counted on the digits of one hand, while those of Weasel were counted on the fingers of the other.

111, 3. wewilína. Beads were left over to Old Marten, because he had brought more than five sacks full to the tchpínû or family burying ground, emptying only five sacks on the child's pyre. This was a fabulously extravagant expenditure, the beads standing high in price and the sacks or wíllishik being rated at more than one bushel each.

111, 4. Mû'sh and Yámsh, syncopated from Mû'ash and Yámash.

111, 9. elχishtok Mû'shash. The South Wind had put his head out; that is, a south wind had been blowing when Little Weasel died and hence was supposed to be the real cause of his death.

[821] 111, 12. Lĕmé-ishash. From the following it appears, that the five Thunders represent more the flash of the lightning (lúepalsh) than the roll of the thunder. There are many of them, because the thunder, when rolling over mountains and valleys, often increases again in loudness after having almost died out, and five is the often recurring "sacred" number of the Oregonian and other Northwestern Indians. The radix [193] of lĕmé-ish is *lam*, which indicates a circular, whirling motion. The five Thunders are [342] brothers, living in a winter-lodge or earth-house: Lĕmé-isham tchî'sh, thought to be a dark cave; their parents, the two Old Thunders, live in a káyata or low, small hut covered with bulrush mats. The short episode 111, 12–17 does not refer to all the five Thunders, but only to one of their number.

[321] 111, 13. tû'tash is the long white marine shell, known as dentalium; it is one of [301] the most common Indian body-ornaments. The white resin flowing out of pine-trees seems to be symbolized in this myth by the dentalium-shell.

111, 14. wák ish shû'tă, for wák shúta î nish: "somehow do (something) for me."

[193] 111, 20. In wä'shin are combined two locative particles: *i* and *n* (for na).

111, 22. mákiaks tû'm (for tû'ma). The Thunders brought home as food many human beings struck by lightning.

112, 1. wanúnga, the distributive plural of û'nak; explained in the Dictionary.

112, 1. wennívi a tuá gátpa etc. Here and throughout this paragraph tuá means "some kind of."

112, 2. 3. shkaíni combines the meaning of strong with that of bad or mischievous, and answers to our *demoniac;* shkaíniak or shkaínihak stands for our comparative: stronger. The -tch, -s, -sh appended is an abbreviation of tcha, *now*, and shkáyent stands for shkaíni at.

[342] 112, 3. Gékansha. Old Marten had entered the solid "earth-house" of the Thun-

*539 773 192 [342] [417] ders, while the Thunders stopped in the small kayáta which was the abode of their parents. To enter such an earth-lodge a high ladder called ga-ulúlkish must be climbed on the outside. and another ladder, as long or longer than the other (wakísh) leads into the interior Pätchö'le nä'shak, pépätchle (for pépätchöle) lápok wakísh: "he had stepped once", "twice" down on the inside ladder; that is, he had made one step, two steps on it commencing from the top. Each one of the Thunders, when trying to penetrate into their own lodge, gets a little further down than the previous one, but all are driven out by the *chilling*, powerful spell of Skélamtch's headdress.

112, 7. gúlipälánk. The second of the Thunders, frightened at the ill-success of his experiment, retired again to the low hut or kayáta, where the other Thunders were and where their parents dwelt. This word has two accents on account of shash being enclitic; cf. 111, 2. 112, 13. 113, 9.

112, 8. Tátχëlamni refers in this connection to the relative age of the brothers: "the third in age of the five Thunders."

112, 9. gekanshĕnû'nk: for gékanshna hû'nk. Cf. 113, 12. ktánshan nánui sχolχótak, for: ktánshna nánui shχolχóta ak.

112, 9. gû'tχitkt, a contraction of gû tkitko at.

[193] 112, 11. 12. "Ya! ati' a nä'lsh winni'χitk tuä'ki." This was said by all the five Thunders simultaneously and *unisono*. In tuá' ki, á is altered into ä', almost ó. The inserted particle hû, û "in the distance, out there, over there" seems to have produced this change.

112, 15. li'lhankshti l'tpa "he brought some venison," a phrase corresponding exactly to the French: "il apporta *du gibier*"; both nouns standing in the partitive case. These partitives are governed by another noun in 113, 6 (máklaksti) and 113, 7.

112, 21. pûelhi': they threw the dead Indians down into the lodge from its roof. The suffix -l- indicates a downward direction, like -ila, -kuéla etc., and occurs also in 112, 17, hä'mële, to speak in a downward direction, to shout to somebody standing below. The suffix -hi means down to the ground, or on the ground, earth, soil, and since the lodge-floor is the soil itself, it also means "into, or in the lodge or wigwam".

113, 2. íwa sha tchúl. They put into the bucket the bodies of the dead Indians to stew or boil them up.

113, 2. Nókshtak etc. The gray wolf, the marten and the weasel all being carnivores, there is nothing extraordinary in the fact that mythic fiction lets them participate in a meal consisting of human flesh.

113, 3. háshpa shash. Shash stands for máklaksash, the dead Indians.

113, 8. nánuk wû'ta. Marten ate up all the human flesh which he had taken out of the kála.

113, 8. shéwanank. The verb shéwana refers to a plurality of objects, the objects being sometimes expressed by a collective noun, as here (tchulë'ksh).

113, 9. Ké-udshiámtchkash stands for Ké-udshiamtch tchkash; nû'kla is to roast on coals; tchulë'ks is here venison meat.

113, 13. ka-uloktantktám'na. The verbal suffix -tám'na, which marks an action often repeated, or continued for a long time, is not here, as usually, appended to the simple form of the verb, but to its derivative in -tka.

113, 14. Tchékag. The blackbird has yellow eyes shining bright in the darkness,

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gíug)	tchû'kshtka	shχû'tka.	Sháshapamtch	gélapka	tchû'kshtat;	tátχĕ-
being)	on the leg	he crossed (her).	Old Grizzly	stepped	on the leg;	to the

lampani	gággūtk	ámpû	pû'nua	mákshatka.	Tchúi	wudû'pka	mákshatka
midst (of river)	coming	water	she drank	from the skull-cap.	And	she struck	with the skull-cap

Shû'ksham	tchû'ksh	punû'lank	u'hlítchug.	Shû'kamtch	shawíguk	Shásha-
Crane's	leg	after drinking.	to shake out (the water).	Old Crane	angried	Old

pamtchash	shnindû'wa	ámbutat;	tchúi	nté-ish	í'ktchapĕli	Shû'kamtch,
Grizzly	doused	into the water;	then	a bow	fetched at home	Old Crane,

ngé-ishan	Sháshapamtchash.	Wiwalága	tchûk	géknank	shlû'lûshtat,	Shō'k-
shot	Old Grizzly.	The young antelopes	then	came out	of the whistle,	Crane's

shăm	wewékalam	sha	hû'nk	táldshitko	ngé-ishan	Sháshapamtchash;	tchúi
	of the children	they		armed with the arrows,	shot	Old Grizzly;	then

sha	shiúga.
they	killed (her).

NOTES.

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The myth of the Bear and the Antelope is one of the most attractive and best stylicized of this collection. It forms a whole mythic story by itself, and not a series of myths like the preceding article. The Grizzly Bear's figure is drawn in very natural and characteristic outlines, and the same may be said of the other animals of the story. Some archaic words seem to prove that the myth has been handed down for many centuries to the present generation, which repeats it to the offspring with the *same* expressions as used by the parents. The archaic terms alluded to are Sháshapamtch, paépsha, pshe-utíwash, kúkui, tchitchû; probably also lepleputéa.

118, 1. 7. Sháshapamtch alternates in this tale with Lû'k̲amtch, the "Grizzly Bear of the Ancients," and so does lû'k̲aga with shasliápka. -ámtch, -ámtchiksh is the usual attribute "old" appended to mythologic characters. In the mythologic stories of the Indians bear-cubs always appear *two* in number, the older and the younger one. The same may be said of the majority of the other quadrupeds; cf. the two young of Old Antelope, in this story, and tχéwag, 105, 9, as well as of many of the personified powers of nature. Cf. the term lepleputéa.

● [193]

118, 7. 119, 2. gi'nk or kínka: a little, not much; mé-ishl contains the particle l or hi: "on the ground".

119, 9. pû'kpuka: she cracked hard ipo-roots, feigning to crack lice which she pretended to have found on the antelope's body. Picking lice from each others' heads (gútash kshíkla) and eating them is a disgusting practice which travellers have observed among all Indians of North and South America.

119, 10. nánuk: the whole of her body.

119, 11. ipĕnĕ'χi: to place something into a basket or receptacle which is already filled to the brim.

119, 20. 21. hû t málam etc. The construction is as follows: "málam p'gi'shap hû't mák̲lĕχuk shû'dsha, p'gi'sha laggayápkash hû'nk killi't, hûnkiámsham shû'dshash": your mother made a fire out there because she must have passed the night there, and because she hung up this anus on a stick, while the Indians (who gave meat to both of us) had a camp-fire.

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*539 773 192 120, 2. tchishknapsht instead of tchishkuápkasht.

120, 10. vutátchkia is also pronounced utátchkia, hutátchkia. Earth-lodges which open on the top can be closed by means of a large cover placed over the smoke-hole.

[194] [193] 120, 11. lepleputéa or properly: leplep-putéa, "to play the smoke out game with two on each side," is a compound of lápĕni *two* in the shorter form láp, and púta to be smothering. Láp has changed its vowel into a shorter vowel, *e*, on account of removal of accent, and is here redoubled by iterative, not by distributive reduplication. Cf. lepχléks from láp and k̲'léka. A series of points after lepleputéa indicates that the animals repeated this word an indefinite number of times, while the others were inside the lodge, and while pronouncing putā', they opened again to let them out.

120, 17. tchúχasht tchĕ'k kaishnû'la. Literally rendered, this means: having perished finally, they uncovered. The subject of tchúχasht, lû'lχagsh, has to be supplied from what precedes. The smoke of the burning rotten wood killed the cubs.

[342] [417] 120, 19. ga-ulû'lkish, from ga-ulóla to go out, is the outside ladder of the Indian "mud-house" or winter-lodge, averaging in length from 10 to 15 feet; the inside ladder, wákish, is somewhat longer to reach the excavated floor.

120, 21. The complete wording of this sentence, in which sháptki stands for shápatki, would be: k̲á-i sháptki giug Lúk̲ash, gátpampĕlisht hû'nksh (hû'nkiash).

[193] 120, 22. ágguipksh, contraction of aggayápkash: aggáya to be hung up, or to be stuck into; said of long-shaped articles only.

121, 3. anulípka to take away something from another's lodge or house without asking for it; the suffix -ipka expressing the idea of "towards oneself." Anulípkuish, "what was once abstracted from others" appears here in the contracted form anuli'pkūtch; gé-u "by me, through me."

121, 9. tútatataksni shows repetition of the two first syllables of tatáksni children, but at the same time means "where are the children?"

121, 15. shálgidsha; the antelopes placed the coals there to secure their flight from the Bear; had the coals been put there by somebody else, lákidsha would be used.

121, 22. 122, 7. hû'ktakag: familiar diminutive name given to the Grizzly Bear; hû'ktag, 121, 23., stands for one of the young antelopes.

122, 1. 2. Mbúshant tchĕ'k etc: The sense of this exclamatory sentence is as follows: "To-morrow at last I will play a sharp game with ye children, when in the day-time I can use my eyes to advantage." Lúlpatka is: lúlpatko a; "possessing eyes" is the primary signification of lúlpatko, but here it means "enabled to make use of the eyes". Cf. múkasham nû lúlpatko: I see as sharp as a horned owl. The distributive form pshépsha, of pshé, "during day-time" means "any time when the sun shines bright." Cf. pshéksh, noon-time.

122, 9. This blowing of personified objects of nature into sticks etc., is a fiction of which we have another instance in 111, 16.

122, 11. ndshenshkáni. See *Note* to 71, 6. 7.

122, 12. 13. tchiwá, tchi'tchu: tchi is a syllable found in many words referring to water and liquids, as tchíya to give water; tchiéga to overflow. This radical is no doubt an obsolete Klamath word for water and recalls the term tchû'k "water" in Chinook jargon: tltsuk in Lower Chinook, tl'tchuku in Clatsop; tchaúk in Nútka. It also occurs under various forms in the Sahaptin dialects. By this lake undoubtedly Upper Klamath Lake is meant. Cf. tchíwa in Dictionary.

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*539 773 122, 13. ga tuá nink for ká-a tuá ni gíank; ká-a means here "vehemently, cruelly, sharply", tuá: "in some way or other".

192 122, 16. shash géuuish: after they had left the cave.

[193] 122, 20. "aishing tū'dsh i shásh nen". Here nen stands for some finite verb; either shaná-uli i: you want to conceal them; or for ná-asht i shapíya: "you speak so, in order to conceal them".

122, 23. spû'kua. The spread-out legs of the Crane had to serve as a bridge to the Grizzly Bear, for there was no dug-out canoe at their disposal to cross the river.

122, 23. máksha néklank. Old Crane carried on his leg a vase or skull-cap that belonged to a dug-out canoe, but did not possess a canoe himself.

123, 3. u'hlítcha. Grizzly shook out the remainder of the water to let the skull-cap become dry. Skull-caps are used throughout as drinking vases.

123, 6. táldshitko. This sentence has to be construed: wíwalag, shō'kshám wewákalam táldshitko, ngé-ishan, and táldshitko stands for táldshi gítko: "the young antelopes, armed with the arrows of the Crane's children, shot" etc.

K'MUKÁMTCHIKSHÅM SHASHAPKĔLÉASH.

000

THE MYTH OF K'MÚKAMTCH, THE FIVE LYNXES AND THE ANTELOPE.

OBTAINED FROM J. C. D. RIDDLE IN THE MODOC DIALECT.

K'múkamtchíktch hûnk géntko käflatat, käflash shutólan, túnep shléa
K'múkamtch walking earth upon, the world having created, five he saw
shlóa ánkotat wawakayápkash. Kaflio skútatko K'mukómtchigsh shpakága
lynxes on trees sitting. In a rabbit-blanket clad K'múkamtch tore to pieces
p'ná kaflio-skútash, heméχen: "tidshí' ûn gé-u skû'tash gítak shlû'a luelóka."
his rabbit-skin robe, (and) said: "a good to me robe will be the lynxes when I kill."
Ktái pe-uyégan shlóa k̲ai'hhō'ta; nāsh shlóa hûtχídshnan húdshna.
Stones picking up the lynxes he missed; one lynx jumping down ran away.
Heméχen: "ē, k̲á-i tídshi skútash gi-uápka!" Pēn k̲ai'hhō'ta ktayátka,
He said: "oh! not a good mantle it will become!" Again he missed with a stone,
pē'n nāsh shlóa hûtχídshnan hû'dshna. K'mukómtchigsh heméχen: "pē'n
another lynx jumping down ran off. K'múkamtch said: "again
nāsh hûtχídsha; at gé-u ketchgáne skútash gi-uápka." Ndáni shlóa wawaggáyan
one skipped away; now my small mantle will become." The three lynxes sitting on (trees)
K'mukámtchăsh shushaluákta; pén ktayátka shlóa k̲aí'hha. Nā'sh
at K'múkamtch scoffed; again with a stone the lynxes he missed. Another
pēn hûtχídshna húdshna. K'mukómtchiksh hăméχe: "k̲émat pí'la nish
one jumped down (and) ran away. K'múkamtch said: "the back only to me

II.

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Kiä'm k̲'leká tchû'shni; tsúyunk hû'ksa tsóχatk pí'l kiä'm, nánuktua
Fish remain dead forever; therefore those dead (people) (exist) only as fish, as all kinds of

kiä'm, nánuktua mák̲lak̲sni tsók̲atk. Hä' n' hû'nk hû'nkiash shläát skû'k-
fish, all kinds of Indians dead. If I (of a deceased) should behold the

shash, k̲'läkát ni hû'nk släók; hä'toks ni shuíshaltk, tchēk gíug k̲á-i
spirit, would die I it through seeing; but if I recur to magic songs, then not

siúgat nía.
he may kill me.

NOTES.

[128] My efforts towards obtaining exhaustive texts from the natives concerning their belief in the transmigration of human souls were not crowned with entire success. Of the two items obtained, No. II is intended as a commentary of No. I, both treating [262] of the presence of human souls in fish. The cause why so many Indian tribes shun the flesh of certain fish lies in the fact that these species were seen feeding upon the bodies of drowned men and swimming around them. This induced the belief that man's soul will pass into the organisms of these finny inhabitants of the wave, even ×539 775 787 192 when death has resulted from other causes than from drowning. According to Hill, the Mák̲laks believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances. But in *one* status only they become visible to them; when Indians are bewitched by the irresistible, magic spell of a conjurer or of a wicked genius. Then they enter into a tamánuash-dream, and when they see a dead person's spirit in such a dream, they are almost certain to [755] die from it. Only the intervention of the conjurer and of his song-medicine can save them from perishing; rigorous fasting and ascetic performances cannot be then dispensed with, and with all that no certitude of his final rescue is to be had.

[769] Here as elsewhere the pronouns hûk, húnkiash etc., are inserted instead of the unpronounceable name of the deceased, and mean: *dead person, spirit.*

129, 2. pll mák̲laks; only dead Indians, not dead white men, because during their life-time these did not believe in the skû'ks; this belief is a privilege of the Indians.

129, 2. Hushti'χak etc. This sentence runs as follows: Tchē'ktoks hushti'χa ak nish, hûk tchē'k nish síuksh shanahō'li, wakiánhua tchēk p'násh (or pû'sh) nû'sh shuíshaltki gíug shanahō'li: "if he (the bad genius) makes me only dream in that manner, then he intends either to kill me, or perhaps he wants me to keep the song-medicine [756] for myself." To keep the song-medicine, shuíshla, is to undergo fasts and ascetic performances under the supervision of some conjurer for an almost unlimited time, five years at least.

129, 3. 4. Hä'toks ni' shläát etc.: if I should see (the dead) while I am *awake.*

[193] 129, 4. Skû'ks-kiäm, a compound word, may be rendered by spirit-fish, letiferous fish.

130, 1. Kiä'm k̲'leká etc. The rather obscure sense of this statement may be made comprehensible by the following: "When fish are dead, they are dead forever; hence

III.

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K'múkamtch hû'nk nákosh hû'nk táplalash né-ulχa shno-uyalátki
K'múkamtch a dam the loon ordered to destroy
shash. K'múkamtch hû'nk pí tpä'wa táplalash shnewí'tki gíug, pí k̲á-i
to them. K'múkamtch he ordered the loon to destroy (it), (but) no
tuá kiä'm lúeluak. Hû'ksha hû'nk nakushkshákshni k̲ú-idsha kiä'm
fish to kill. Those who dwelt at the dam rotten fish
nutuyakía nákosh gä'tant, K'mukámtchish shíuguk, k̲ú-idsha kiä'm pátki
threw over the dam to the other side of, (for) K'múkamtch to kill, rotten fish (he) go-
gíug. Tchúi K'múkamtch sháwiguk k̲ú-i sham nákûsh shû'ta; tchúi
ing to eat. Then K'múkamtch in wrath their dam spoiled; upon this
nákushχēnkni shlámiuk shtí'ya shishí'dsha shû'ktaldshank lák. Tchúi
the dam-neighbors in mourning pitch put on head, cutting off (their) hair. Then
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K̲á-ag wétanta shash, ktá-i sha k̲'léka. Tchúyunk K'mukámtch lúpaksh
the Raven laughed at them, rocks they became. Hereupon K'múkamtch chalk
shna-ulámna taplálash.
spit over the loon.

NOTES.

823 I. This myth intends to explain the existence of the large number of rocks found at the locality called Shúyuχalkshi.

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131, 2. K̲á-ak̲amtch. The adjectives -amtch, -ámtchiksh appended to animal names designate mythologic characters. Adjectives of an equal meaning occur in all the western languages, as far as these have been studied. Cf. *Note* to 126, ll. 12.

825 II. In this myth, as well as in other grizzly bear stories recorded in this volume, this bear is always killed, conquered or cheated by his quicker and more cunning adversaries. Nevertheless his clumsy form and narrow, ferocious intellect are very popular among the tribes, who have invented and still invent numerous stories to illustrate his habits and disposition.

103 131, 5. K̲iuti is the name of an Indian camping-place situated a short distance north of Modoc Point, on eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake.

193 131, 6. hátkok qualifies shkû'lχa and yámnash is the indirect object of shûlû'tamantk. Shkû'lχa, nánuk yámnash shûlû'tamantko, wawakshnátko tchish: "he lay down to sleep, keeping all his neckwear on himself, and not taking off his moccasins." Shûlû'tamna can in other connections refer to the clothing, but here it has special reference to the beads.

131, 11. kti'ukuela. Tradition reports, that Old Grizzly was pushed over some of the high rocks at Modoc Point.

173 131, 13. Yámakishash etc. In these words may be recorded the reminiscence of an ancient fight between the Klamath people and some Northern tribe which had come South on a hunting expedition. A Klamath song-line given in this volume also recalls
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an ancient inroad made by the "Northerners". The grizzly bear represented the Klamath tribe, the wolf the Northern Oregonians, perhaps as ancient totem signs; the bear having been killed by an intruder, the Klamaths had to take revenge for the insult.

823 III. The object of this myth is to explain, among other things, the origin of the white spots on the head and back of the loon (táplal). But the myth as given in the

*539 171 is the elder sister, called so by or with reference to a younger brother. Two other terms exist for the relative age of sisters among themselves.

[601] 134, 11. pátkalp'le. The myth adds, that the eagle got up again at dinner-time and that after washing the face he took a nap before taking his sister home.

[525] [777] II. These items were all obtained in the Modoc dialect from J. C. D. Riddle. Many of the articles mentioned as gamblers' amulets are supposed to bring good luck to the gambler on account of their *scarcity*, which must have made them more interesting to the aboriginal mind than other objects of a brighter exterior.

[192] 134, 13. ntäggal, ndákal: to find accidentally; shléa: to find, generally, after a search. vumí' is to hide away either on one's own person or in the ground.

134, 16. 18. tídsh tínχa is to succeed, to be lucky; without tídsh in: hútoks tínχantko gi, that man is lucky.

[411] 134, 17. shtáp is a black arrow-head made of obsidian, a volcanic rock found in several places in these highlands.

135, 1. hä'-atoks is formed from hä toks with intercalation of the declarative particle a.

[192] [193] [825] 135, 3. k̲'le-ugtki-uápkasht is a periphrastic conjugational form composed of giuápkasht, of the verb gi, and of k̲'lé-utka, the usitative of k̲'léwi, to cease, stop, terminate; -utka has turned into -ugt- by metathesis. Literally: "would habitually cease to be in the Pit River." mhû', the grouse, is called by the Klamath Lakes tmû'.

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REFLECTIONS OF EVERY-DAY LIFE

MONOLOGUES IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY JOHNSON, CHIEF OF THE MODOCS

K̲á-i	mish	nû	ó-it	nû	tidsä'wa	nté-ish,	shliútuk	mä'makla	pá-uk	shlínk
Not	you	I	to let have	I	like	(my) bow,	for shooting	ducks	to eat	killing (them)

ndektí'shtka.	Tidsä'wa	k̲á-i	mish	úya,	tû	génuapka	úyamnank	nté-ish
with arrows.	I like	not	to you	to give (it),	over there	I will go	taking along	bow and arrows

3 gé-u,	hishlátsanuapka.	Yó-ishi!	tatála	k̲ä'gi,	k̲á-i	shláa	tatákni	yû'lχ;
my,	(and) will amuse myself by shooting.	Are lost!	right (ahead)	they are not,	not	I found (them)	where	they went down;

yó-ishin,	mā'ns	k̲á-ika.	Ûnds	mbúsant	pēn	k̲áyakuapk.
they are lost,	for a long time	I searched.	Some-time	to-morrow	again	I will look out (for them).

Shikútchipk	tchiká	kĕmutsátk;	undsē'ks	séwanuapk	pátki	giúga
Walks on stick	an old	decrepit (man);	some time	I will give (him)		to eat

6 méhiess;	yuyálks	tsi	pá-uk	hûn	tchē'k	tídsh	kí'-uapk.	Kí'shtchipk	huk
trout;	being poor	thus	through eating	of it	then	at ease	he will feel.	Comes to me	this

snéwedsh;	oní'sh	kíäm	shéwant í;	tû'm	nû'sh	shewantamnuápka	sáwalktko
woman;	to her	fish	you may give;	plenty	to me	she will continue to give	having received presents.

Kámp'kuk	k̲éliak	pásh	tiä'ma.	Undsē't	kátchkal	pa-uápk	gé-utala steínash.
The indigent	without	food	is hungry.	By and by	tobacco	I will chew	to my heart's content.

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Sanáhole	kátchkal	titchéwank;	û'nds	pēn	mbúsant	pá-uapk	kátchgal
I like	tobacco	well enough;	by and by	again	to-morrow	I will chew	tobacco

pátkĕlank.	Kaní	shlé-uapka	ū'ns	stoyuápka;	tóla	pákuapka	ū'ntch;	pēn
while getting up.	Outdoor (anybody)	should I see,	then	I'll cut off (some for him);	with (me)	he will smoke (it)	then;	again

wutuápka	kinkáni	kátchgal;	kinkáni,	k̲á-i	túmi,	tchē'k	pēn	túmi	pákuapka,
I shall spend	a little	tobacco;	(but) little,	not	much,	afterwards	again	much	I will smoke,

pakólank	sχólakuapka.
(and) after smoking	go to bed.

NOTES.

Of the two paragraphs of "Reflections" submitted, the first refers to the loss of some hunter's arrows, which had been loaned to somebody together with the bow. The second speaks in a rather egotistical sense of the pleasure which is afforded by succoring helpless and indigent people.

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[193]

136, 3. k̲ä'gi. This refers to some arrows, which cannot be found at the spot, to which they seemed to fly.

136, 4. 5. Untchĕk, abbreviated undsĕ, ū'ntch, únda, ûna, points to some undetermined epoch in the *future:* by and by, after a lapse of time, some time from now; undsĕ't, 136, 8., through apocope and synizesis, stands for untsĕ'k at; undsĕ'ks for untchĕk tchish.

136, 5. Shikútchipk tchiká kĕmutsátk, grammatically incomplete forms standing for shikutchípka t'shíka kĕmutsátko. The word *stick* is not expressed in the text, but the suffix -ipka, united to shikútcha, expresses the idea of "walking while leaning oneself upon something or somebody". Cf. láyipka, to point the gun at the one speaking; tilö'dshipka, to see somebody coming towards oneself.

136, 6. kí'shtchipka, to step towards the one speaking; cf. *Note* to 136, 5.

136, 7. oni'sh for húnish, cf. ó'skank for hû'shkanka, 65, 1. Húnish is the objective case of hû'n; but this pronoun is not regularly used when speaking of animate beings; hû'nkiash would be grammatically correct.

136, 7. shéwant i. The words oni'sh kiäm shéwant i are supposed to be directed to one belonging to the speaker's household.

136, 8. The term kátchkal, tobacco, expresses the idea of an *intermixture* of several kinds of weeds or leaves for the purpose of smoking them.

136, 8. pa-uápk. A more appropriate term than this for masticating tobacco is: kátchkal kpû'yumna.

137, 1. titchéwank. This is in fact the participle of a verb: "I like tobacco, being fond of it."

137, 2. stoyuápka: I shall cut off a piece from a stick of pressed tobacco and give it to him. Cf. stuyákishka, to clip the hair.

137, 3. kinkáni kátchgal. If this and the following were not worded in the conversational slang, it would read: kinkánish kátchgal; kinkánish, k̲á-i túma, tchē'k pēn túma (or tû'm) etc.

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137, 3. k̲á-i túmi. Indians are not often seen to smoke continuously as we do; those inhabiting the Klamath Reserve take a few whiffs from their small, often home-made pipe, then pass it to the neighbor and emit the smoke through the nose. Sometimes they swallow the smoke for the purpose of intoxication, and the elder women smoke just like the men. Cigars offered to them are cut small and serve to fill up their tobacco-pipe.

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WAILINGS AT THE APPROACH OF THE FATAL HOUR.

115

GIVEN BY DOCTOR JOHN, OR K̲ÁK̲ASH, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

"Ngä'-ish a ni tä'lχapksh, gé-u tä'lak, shlín antsa; shkék antsa nû'sh,
"An arrow me striking, my arrow, shot they; they broke (my) head,

shlín nish. Kán ish shlín? Tsuyä'sh ní shlín, gén ish tsuyä'sh mpáta,
they shot me. Who me shot? Through the cap I was struck, this me cap kills,

másha n'sh, shlín ish nü'sh, k̲á-a n's mā'sh', guhuá nish, a nish k̲á-a mā'sha!
it pains me, they shot me in the head, intensely me it pains, am swollen I, now me hard it pains!

Púsh ish shéwan i; k̲'lékuapkan pánuk; pálak shéwan i, a nish k̲á-a mā'sha,
Food me give you; I will die after eating; quickly give you, me very hard it pains,

tiä'matk k̲á-a, pálak shä'wan i." At shéwana nû, at pán; shnuk' át mí'dsû.
(I am) hungry very, quickly give you." And give (him) I, and he eats; he takes now the spoon.

"At k̲'léka, átĕni k̲'léka; tsía at, k̲'leká taks nû; shlín nish nû'shtat.
"Now I expire, now I die; I live yet, dying but (am) I; they shot me in the head.

764 **A ni k̲'léka, ā'tĕni k̲'lekála." At k̲'leká. Shû'dsha lúluksla sa lû'lokshtat**
Now I die, now I am sinking fast." Then he dies. Kindle a fire (and) cremate they in the fire

hû'nk k̲'lékapksh.
the deceased man.

NOTES.

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This short incident of war is full of the most dramatic interest, and gives some idea of the oratorial powers of the average Indian. It was obtained from a man who undoubtedly had witnessed more than one similar scene during the numerous raiding expeditions made by his tribe before the conclusion of the treaty in 1864.

138, 1. ngä'-ish a ni tä'lχapksh shlín antsa, forms of the conversational language standing for ngä'-ish a nish tälχápkash shlín a sha. gé-u tä'lak "my arrow," a poetic symbolism for the arrow that causes my death.

138, 1. shkék antsa for shkéka a sha, but nasalized like shlín antsa. Shkéka properly means to pierce, but is used in a medial sense.

138, 2. mpáta properly means to dry up by heat. The cap or hat is said here to kill the man by exciting an intolerable fever heat within him.

193 138, 3. mā'sha n'sh. Some impersonal verbs can also assume the personal form of intransitive verbs: mā'sha nû and mā'sha nish: "it pains me"; kédshika nû and nish: "I feel tired". The Modoc dialect prefers the personal form.

138, 6. 7. atĕni for at a ni. Cf. sĕ, 82, 4. tchä'lχet 90, 11. átĕnish, atĕni 90, 12. 13. gĕ'ntĕni, *Note* to 93, 7. 9.

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rendered by "something wicked" and "not to mind"; for "thy will be done" stands "achieve thou". Power and glory become "force, impetuosity" and "radiance", and daily bread: "flour on every day". In the Modoc version, the wording of which is inferior to that of version I, the use of similar expedients will be observed.

I. In the Klamath Lake dialect; by Minnie Froben.

139, 6. inúhuashkpak, phonetic inversion for inuhuashkápk' i; see Dictionary.

139, 7. ktchálshkash, from the word ktchálχa, to shine, to be radiant, resplendent.

139, 8. gitk, in an hûn gitk gi, is the verbal intentional gitki.

II. In the Modoc dialect; by the Riddle family.

139, 10. Gitá käfla is equivalent to gĕ'nta käflatat; in humashták gi the verb gi has to be taken in the *passive* sense.

139, 11. kó-i shû'tä: "do not render us wicked." For shútä compare 111, 15. and *Note*.

139, 12. húmasht nálam. Between these words and the preceding ones there is a lacune in the text. máklaks-shitko, "our kindred": those who look like ourselves.

139, 13. 14. In mi tála litchlítchli the adjective strong stands for "strength, power", while in mi steínash litchlítchli it is used in its adjective signification. In this language abstract ideas are sometimes rendered by adjectives and by verbal adjectives in -tko.

DIALOGUES.

I.

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TSÉMATK. Tatá lish sha ksíulakuapk?
When they will dance?

SKĂ'LAG. Pá-ak ká-i an sháyuakta! uná a sha ná-asht she-édshtat mat sha nánuk shûkû'lki-uapk kshí'ulχish.
Not I know! once they so (said), on Saturday they all will assemble for the dance.

KÁPUAK. Tátai tchí'k sha kshíulakuapk? Plē'nkamkshi á? tám hak haítch i hû'nk shläátk? kúi a sha nen hûnk máshish gish shápa.
Where after all they are going to dance? At Frank's house? perhaps (did) you him see? seriously they him diseased to be say.

SKĂ'LAG. Káyak an hátokt gátpantk, ná-asht tā'dsh toks nû tû'mēna gén mbû'shant pil, mat pá-ula: gät tóks nû wátch káyaktgûk, kúinag gépgapēle.
Not I there was going, thus however I heard this morning only, (that) he was eating: out there I of my horses while returning from the search, away from any house I returned.

KÁPUAK. Tám haítch i nä'gsh shíwaksh shläá gúni, gémpktch Kúyamtsχēksh, Ellen Débidam mû'kag shétaltchapksh mā'shisht?
(Did) you absent from home the girl see over there, who went to Kä am [illegible], of Allen David a baby to visit having fallen sick?

SKĂ'LAG. Ká-i an tû'sh shleá pûsh.
Not I anywhere saw her.

KÁPUAK. Ï.
Is that so?

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Skä'lag guhuáshktcha; Käptinámkshi tchkash sha vûlánkia: "Tát tamnû'tka?"
Skälak left; at the Captain's lodge also they inquired (of him): "where you come from?"

Skä'lag. Gē't an wátch káyaktka, ksíulakshχēn genû'tuapkuk.
Through there I of (my) horse returned from the search, towards the dance-house while intending to go.

Captain. Táta haí tchí'k sha kshí'ulaktchuapk?
Where finally they are going to dance?

Skä'lag. Mbû'shant a sha she-édshtat kshíulaktchuapk Mbû'shak-Shiwáshkni, ák tchish nánuk gépkuapk.
To-morrow they on Saturday will dance the dwellers at Mbû-shak-Shiwash, probably too all will come.

Tchúi guhuáshktcha gémbaluk.
Then he started off to go home.

II.

Hlékosh. Tát lish mí û'nak?
Where (is) your son?

Pépakli. Le-utchólan kaní úna geknō'la; le-utchólan tunepä'nish tatákiash túla.
For playing outdoors a while ago he went out; for playing five children with.

Hlékosh. Wakaítch gé-uga k̲aí gépgaple?
Why not returns he?

Pépakli. Tútaks atí léwa; hótaks tatáksni waíta léwapka; lítki gatpampēli-uápka.
Away far they play; those children the whole day will play; in the evening they will return home.

NOTES.

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I. Dialogue about a dance to be held on the Williamson River; in the Klamath Lake dialect, by Minnie Froben.

140, 2. Pá-ak k̲á-i an sháyuakta! is interpreted by "what do I know!"

140, 9. nä'gsh shíwaksh gémpktch stands for négsh shiwákash genápkash. It is very rare that diminutive nouns, like shíwak, shíwaga, assume the ending -ash in the objective case; cf. 23, 10. But shíwak means not only a little girl; it means an adult girl also, and is therefore inflected like snáwedsh.

140, 9. Kúyamtsχēksh. For this local name cf. Page 91, first *Note*. Frank and Allen David live both at that place, close to the steep western bank of the Williamson River, while the communal dance-house, a spacious, solid earth-lodge, lies further to the northeast.

141, 5. Mbû'shak-Shiwáshkni, term corrupted from Mbû'shaks-Shawálshkni: "the one who lives, or those who live at the locality of the obsidian arrowheads." Mbû'shaks-Shávalsh lies on the eastern shore of the Williamson River. Cf. *Note* to 134, 17.

II. Dialogue in the Modoc dialect; by Toby Riddle.

141, 9. Léwa, to play, forms the derivates lé-utcha to go to play; lé-utchna to play while going, to play on the way, cf. shuédshna 99, 2.; le-utchóla to go to play in the distance.

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141, 11. gi-nga for the more common giuga, giug.

141, 12. léwapka to play in the distance, out of sight, or unseen by us; but here this term is more probably a synizesis of léwnapka, the future tense of lówa.

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NAMES BESTOWED ON UPPER KLAMATH LAKE LOCALITIES.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

K'mukámtch mat käfla shû'ta. Tsúyunks ä'-alk käfla shutólan:

K'múkamtch, as they say, the country made. The following names gave he, the country after creating:

Tuli'sh käfla E-ukski'shash shúta K'mukámts kiäm-luelksli'a; Tuli'sh tsí-

"Tulish" place for the Lake people made K'múkamtch to be their fish-killing place; Tulish,

hunk ä'lχa. "At hû'nk käfla gít ktaíksi Shúyakēksh tchín ä'lχa; gitt

thus he named it. "And that spot there where the rocks are, "Jumping-Rocks" so I name; here

shuyéakēks gi-uápka". E-ukskísas K'mukámts né-ulχank hemé χe:

a leaping place shall be". To the Lake people K'múkamtch ordering said:

"Tû'kua ná-asni kä'la nä'sni élχa gí'ta Tû'kua; Gû'mbat nä'sni gít élχa;

"Túkua so I a spot, so I name here Túkua; Kúmbat so I there give name;

gíta Kä'lalksi nä'sni élχa gí'ta. Wakáksi spû'klishtat gí't i spû'kle-uapk;

there Dirt-healing place, so I give name there. At Wáka in the sweat-house there you shall sweat;

hä' me wéash k̲'lä'kuapk gí't i spû'kle-uapk, hä' mi snáwedsh k̲ēlákuapk

if your child should die, there you shall sweat, if your wife should die,

gít i spû'kle-uapk túnepni gitá; túnepni spû'kle-uapk snawédsh, hä' mi

there you shall sweat five (days) there; five (days) shall sweat (you) wife, if your

hishuáktch k̲ēlä'kuapk. Túnepni spû'kle-uapk, tsúi k̲íllitk tsulä'ks gí'-

husband should die. Five (days) you shall sweat, then strong (your) body will

uapk, k̲á-i pálak i kĕmútchuapk."

become, not fast you will become old."

"Näsht ni ne-û'lχa Á-usmi shéshuapk; nä'sni élχa gēn käíla.

"Thus I ordain Á-ushmi to be called; thus I give name to this spot.

Koháshti ná-ast ni élk̲a gí'ta. É-uk̲alkshi nä'sni élχa gí'ta; gí'tats spû'kle-

"Set out" thus I call that place. E-ukalkshi so I name this place; here also you shall

uapk, tuni'pni i spukle-uápka wéas k̲'lekáluk, tû'nipni snawédshĕsh k̲ēle-

sweat, five (days) you shall sweat a child after losing, five (days) a wife after

káluk hishuáksh tchish; k̲á-itoks mi sa-ámoks k̲ēlékst k̲á-i i spû'kle-uapk,

losing, a husband also; but not, your relatives having died not (then) you shall sweat,

hä' mi sa-ámoks nánuktua tsók̲uapk. Ká-i i gitá spû'kle-uapk ndännántak:

if your kinsmen of all degrees shall have died. Not you there will sweat but for three:

snawédshtat, hishuákshtat, wéashtat."

for wife, for husband, for child."

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*539 773 103 "Nakótk Wi'tlas k̲ok̲état hi tchi'sh luélks-kiäm gi'-uapk; na-ást shé-
"By (its) dam Witlash in Williamson River there also a fish-killing place shall be; thus

shash élχa ni: Ktá-i-Tupáksi. Mbû'saks nä'st shéshatk mák̲laks gi'-uapk;
name give I: Rocks-where-stand. "Obsidian" so called a people shall exist;

Smä'k nä'st sésatk gi'-uapk mák̲laks gi'ta. Kä'katils nä'st sésatk gí-uapk 3
"Hairy" so named shall exist a people there. "Armpit-hairy" so called shall exist

gi'ta mák̲laks."
there a people."

NOTES.

All Mák̲laks admit that K'múkamtch created their country, the earth and the universe, but as to the special process by which he created them they seem to have no definite idea, though they possess a multitude of myths for special creations.

Most of the places mentioned in this item are situated around Upper Klamath Lake. That they are localities inhabited for centuries past, and identified with the history of the tribe is proved by the fact that their naming is ascribed to K'múkamtch. The most noticeable of them are no doubt the three sweat-houses, all of which are of remote antiquity, and were put to use only when families were mourning the loss of one of their members. Two of them are quoted here: Wakáksi or Käilalkshini spúklish on west side of Lake and É-ukalksi, a short distance south of Fort Klamath. The third lies about three miles south of Modoc Point; it is called Ká-ashkshi spúklish.

*539 773 103 192 142, 1. käíla. About the meaning of this term in creation myths, cf. *Note* 96, 23. In other connections, in the present text, käíla or kä'la means spot, locality.

142, 2. 3. Tulish. To enable the Indians to catch fish at that place, K'múkamtch built for them, as tradition has it, an obstruction resembling a beaver-dam. Cf. nakótk, 143, 1.; giti for gíta hi.

142, 3. 5. Túkua and Kohásbti are camping- and fishing-places on the eastern shore of the Lake. At Shuyakë'kish the Indians leap over rocks for amusement.

142, 5. ná-asni, ná'sni stands for ná-asht ni: "thus I".

142, 5. 11. Gúmbat is called Rocky Point by the white population, and lies on the western shore of Upper Klamath Lake. A-usmi is an island of the Lake.

142, 6. Wakáksi or Wáka is named after the tuákish-fowl whose cry is wáka wáka.

765 177 142, 6–10. 12–16. These mourning customs are gradually disappearing at the present time. One reason for this is the progressive assimilation of the tribes to American customs, another is the circumstance, that all of the three ancient sweat-houses are situated outside of the reservation limits.

142, 15. ndünnántak is composed of ndánnanti or ndánnantat ak: "only for three (kinds of relatives)".

193 143, 1. Nákotk is the instrumental case of nákosh, lumber-dam: "on account of its dam Witlas will be a fish-killing locality." A loon destroyed that dam by forcing its way under it; one of our texts gives this myth. Cf. 132, 1–8 and *Note* to 74, 2.

829 143, 2. 3. Mbû'saks, Smä'k and Kä'katils are names given in contempt or derision of the respective tribes; the latter to Indians living at the Dalles of Columbia River, Smä'k to a tribe living south of that locality. Cf. 103, 2. 3. Mbû'saks is a name for the Snake Indians.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON ANIMALS.

GIVEN BY JOHNSON, CHIEF AT YÁNEKS, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Nī'l	wéksa	pû'l'hka	mák̲laks	shû'lhashluk	sχō'lhok;	ktánuapkuk
The down	of mallard-duck	pull out	the Indians	to make pillows	to lie on;	for sleeping

sχō'lhank	nī'l	ìkúgank	willishī'kat.
(and) resting	the down	they are putting into	pillow-cases.

Mbû'shant	nílakaht	wísχak	hä'ma.
In the morning	at dawn	the wisχak-bird	sings.

Wátsak	wáwa a	gulíndshisham;	le	génug	wáwa.
Dogs	howl	because left behind;	for not	going (with them)	they howl.

Yá-ukal	tchaggáya	ánkutat	ä'-unank;	untsä'g	ä-unólank	húndshan-
Bald eagle	sits	on tree	replete with food;	after a while	after depleting himself	he will

uapk,	tó-ugshtant	húndsanuapk	Ä'-ushtat.
fly off,	to the opposite shore	he will fly	of Upper Klamath Lake.

Tché-u	gankánkatchuapk;	tī'tnāk	mák̲lakuapk,	wakiánua	lápĕni;
Antelopes	(people) are going to hunt;	once only	they will camp out,	or perhaps	twice;

shlíuk	gépgapluapka	pálak.	Úndsh	mbúshant	pä'-uapk	sχólăkok.
after shooting (antelopes)	they will return	at once.	Some time	next day	they will take a cold bath	to induce sleep.

K̲ó-i	shû'ta	wásh,	pálla	n'sh	wásh;	k̲ó-idshi	wásh.	Múatch	kpē'l
Wickedly	acts	prairie-wolf,	steals	from me	prairie-wolf;	mischievous (is)	prairie-wolf.	A long	tall

gī'tko,	tidsá	nē'l	gítko	wásh.	Kinkáni	wásh	É-ushtat.
(he) has,	delicate	fur	has	prairie-wolf.	Scarce (are)	prairie-wolves	at Upper Klamath Lake.

Kaí-udshish	nísh	k̲ópk̲a;	k̲ílōs	k̲é-udsis;	shlá-a	nísh	tslatskágantko
Gray wolf	me	bites;	impetuous	is gray wolf;	(when) sees	me,	jumps on my throat

k̲é-udshish.
gray wolf.

NOTES.

[192] 144, 1. nī'l wéksa stands for nī'l wéksam; pû'l'hka for púlχa or púlk̲a: -'h-, "by hand."

144, 9. 10. These characteristics of the prairie- or coyote-wolf, which is so highly reverenced by the California tribes, place him between the wolf and the fox. Nē'l stands for nī'l and múatch for múnish. Tidsá is tídsha a.

[192 / 193] 144, 11. tslatskágantko; the verbal adjective of tchlakága stands here in the distributive form: "each time when he sees me, he jumps on my throat." The *l* of the second syllable is suppressed.

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Skáwanks pushpû'shlish shlapshháltko, k̲lä'kots, k̲édsha táletat; k̲ú-idshi, k̲á-i
has a dark flower, (is) a poisoner, grows on straight stalk; (tastes) bad, not
pákish. Pû'shχam kápkălam sχáwanks k̲ó-idse k̲'lä'kotk'sh.
eatable. The limbs of the young pine (and) wild parsnips (are) bad poisoners.

Slē'ds k̲á-i pakí'sh, múkmukli shláps, kiä'm-luelō'tksh; witsólslank é-ushtat
not eatable, downy flowers, a fish-killing-article; while net-fishing in Lake
shtí'lχa.
they put it into (the net).

Tī'lihash k'lûtsuō'tch-ánku vû'nshtat shtákla.
as a "swimming-sucker"-wood on canoe they stick up.

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Wákinsh a k̲édsha pánût. Mák̲laks íshka pánût lultámpkash shutelomá-shluk, lúshnank sha shnē'lakshtat. Tchúi tchík sha núksht wátitka vukútank shushatelóma télish, p'nä'sh ktchálχishtka shkukluápkasht; p'lû' tak sha íwínank shtéwa.
grows on the pan-tree. The Indians pick it on pan-tree sticking to smear themselves with. roast (it) they on fire-place. Then they after baking (it), with knives scraping (it), smear it on faces, themselves from sun-burns to preserve; grease they putting into mix up.

NOTES.

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Several plants in this list appear, according to grammatic rule, in the possessive case -am, while their fruits or edible portion are introduced in the subjective case. To the former the substantive ánku or tsélash has to be supplied. Small grasses are alimentary plants on account of their seeds only, while the larger aquatic grasses contain nutritive matter in their stalks. Of these notices the shortest and most laconic were obtained from Morgan, who did not enter into particulars concerning the preparation of aliments. By this list the articles on which these Indians feed are by no means exhausted; they eat almost everything found in nature which is not positively obnoxious to health and which contains a particle of nutritive matter, and hence a full list of their kitchen *répertoire* would be at least three times as long as the one obtained.

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146, 1. kak tán for ká ak tánni "so long only"; the length being shown by gesture of hand. Also expressed by ka taniáni, 149, 1. and *Note*. The yántch-plant grows to a length of 18 to 20 inches, the height of the camass- or pû'ks-plant.

146, 3. Kápiunksäm. The kápiunks-seed grows on a prairie-*grass*, like the tchípash- and nû'tak-seed.

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146, 7. 14. pálpal stands for pálpali (originally pálpal-li), having lost its terminal -i by apocope; pálpalish shlapshháltko incorporates the adjective *white* into the verbal adjective "having flowers". This phrase may be circumscribed by pálpalish shlápsh gitko. Cf. 123, 6. and *Note*, and 150, 1.

146, 8. wi-ukayant kĕládshamat. Here the adjective in its locative case, used attributively, is united with the partitive case of the substantive, the original form of both being wi-ukáyantat kĕládshamti; the subjective case: wi-ukáni kĕládsham.

146, 12. Kĕnáwat or horse sorrel is mentioned in an Aishish-myth and does not

*539 grow so tall in the cold Klamath highlands as in the Californian and Oregonian valleys
262 adjoining them to the southwest and west, where its height attains sometimes three
824 feet. Cf. *Note* to 94, 9.

172 **146, 14. Klána**, an aquatic or tule-grass, of which they eat a portion of the young
[193] stalk. The term "tule," from Aztec *tolin*, serves in the West to designate all kinds of
rushes, stalks, and grass-like plants growing in the water and wet grounds. By
k̲ók̲ĕtat are meant the Williamson and the Sprague Rivers.

• / **147, 1. Klápa** is the name of the eatable bulb or root growing on the púdshak-plant. The púdshak-grass becomes red in the autumn, when dry.

147, 3. Ktû'ks is the eatable root of a species of the cat-tail plant; táletat, locative case of tálish (or tálesh?), straight stem, from táltali "forming a straight, unbroken line." The ktû'ks grows in the water, like the wild parsnip (skáwanks); the natives dry the tender roots of the ktû'ks and bake them into a sort of bread. The epithet: "like wókash" probably refers to the *taste* of this kind of food.

147, 5. Kû'ktu. This plant attains a length of about 6 inches.

147, 6. 7. K̲áls is the globular bulb of the witchpai water-plant.

147, 8. K̲ä's, k̲ä'sh. This plant produces a hard, whitish, farinaceous bulb, which is commonly spoken of as ípo, a Shasti term, and is one of the most important food-articles of the Oregonian Indians. To dig or collect k̲ä'sh: k̲ä'shala, k̲ä'shla.

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[825] **147, 9–13. K̲ō'l**, also pronounced k̲û'l, gû'l, gúl, is a kind of Aralia. The root is eaten only when roasted, and is then very nutritious, though spreading an abominable smell. This odor is so penetrating that, as alleged, the grizzly bear will attack nobody who smells after roasted k̲ōl; to this we may add the restriction: "if he is not very hungry." John D. Hunter mentions in his "Manners and Customs of Indians," etc. (Phila. 1823, page 370) that the Osages ascribe to the plant washoba-pesha the power of scaring away the black bear. This plant is an annual growth possessing sudorific and cathartic properties. Washobe is the black bear, mitchú the grizzly bear in that Southern Dakota dialect.

147, 9. hû'mtcha gû'l: "the k̲ōl in this condition," viz: in the ripe state. The k̲ōl-plant is ripe when the stalk becomes red or reddish.

[193] **147, 10. méya.** Speaking of *many* women digging bulbs or roots, stá-ila, stä'-ila is the regular form; its proper signification is: "to fill up" "to fill" (the conical root-basket worn on back, yáki).

147, 10. 11. pû'kguishamtat: "to their old roasting place"; púkuishamat might stand instead. The locative suffix -tat, -at is here appended to a verbal substantive of púka, to roast, standing in the possessive case -am, and -u- is the infix marking past tense. The guttural k has become distended into kg.

147, 12. ĕ'nt or **ĕ'nd** for énat, conditional of éna. Instead of ĕ'nt, ídshant (for ídshnat) may stand in the Klamath Lake dialect.

147, 14. Lupí' etc. The import of this sentence is: "L'bá ripens in the month when autumn begins."

148, 1. Má-i is the common reed or tule-grass growing sometimes to the height of 8 to 10 feet. The shallow borders of the lakes in the headlands of Klamath River are full of this growth, which is one of the most important economical plants for the
[285] Indian. Women manufacture from it mats, dishes, baskets, lodge covers, nets, sacks, bags, and the young stalk yields in its lower part a palatable marrow.

*539 148, 2-4. Yánakänin for yanakänini; cf. suffix -ni, -nini in Dictionary. mä'nsh for
mä'ntch. pä'shtak for páhasht ak, cf. pä'sht, 147, 17. for páhasht.

262 148, 5. Nú'tak. This grass belongs to the genus Glycerium, as identified by Dr.
824 E. Foreman, and produces a tiny, grayish bright seed of tchípash size. The flowers
192 are of a light red color. The grass is found around the agency buildings and grows
about one foot high.

148, 7. Páwash properly means *tongue.*

148, 11. Pû'ks or *camass.* Its bulb is one of the principal food-articles of all the northwestern Indians, but does not grow in profusion in the warmer portions of California. It is of the magnitude of the walnut, very saccharine and nutritious, ripens in May and June, and by the roasting or baking process described in the text becomes as hard as stone. The Máklaks call it after pû'ka *to roast*, the Shasti name is sók, the Pit River name ikhualé, while the name kamas, "sweet," is of Nutka origin. The botanists call the plant Scilla or Camassia esculenta. Cf. *Note* to 146, 1.

148, 14. ípakt, metathesis of ípkat, the conditional of ípka to lie there, to remain.

222 148, 16. púlχuantch. The gathering of this pupa or chrysalid and of its caterpillar,
462 the syeshí'sh, is chiefly done by the women of the tribes, who find them imbedded at
252 no great depth in the sandy ground around pine trees. Another chrysalid, the kûlî'gs,
is collected and roasted by them in the same way and tastes like eggs. kshû'n puetílank: putting grass under the chrysalids, not under the heated stones. The stones are replaced by other heated ones, as soon as they have cooled off; the larva assumes a black color after roasting and tastes like eggs. See púlχuantch in Dictionary.

221 148, 19. guiχakshä'migshta. The season of the year, when the exodus of the whole
222 tribe to Klamath Marsh takes place, where pond-lily seed is collected for the winter,
193 is about the middle of June. The ending -ta is an abbreviation of the case suffix -tat.
Three seasons are stated in the text, when the peeling of the inner or fibre bark of small pine trees is performed; of these the camass-season precedes the exodus to Klamath Marsh by a few weeks only, and the fishing season lasts from February to the end of the summer. Of course, the peeling of the kápka-pine coincides with the season when the sap ascends through the young tree. The bark is removed from about five feet to fifteen or twenty feet above the ground, and most of the beautiful pines treated in this manner are doomed to premature decay, though many survive the operation. The aspect of a forest with some of the pine trees peeled is rather singular.

148, 21. shánks hak, contraction of shánkish hak or ak.

149, 1. ka tánian for ka taniáni "so much in width or extent." The bud of the tákśish has a width of about half an inch. Cf. *Note* to 146, 1.

149, 3. 4. tók. This aquatic grass grows about two feet high; by é-ushtat is meant, here and in tsi'kal: Upper Klamath Lake.

194 149, 3. pä'lpali, vocalic dissimilation of pálpali or pä'lpäli; cf. taktä'kli 149, 14.

149, 5. Tchí'psam is a prairie grass on which the brown tchípash-seed grows.
This seed is extremely small, and it takes a long time before a sufficient quantity of it is
178 gathered to afford a meal for a family. Still smaller is the nútak-seed, and both are
striking instances of the persistence of the Indians in keeping up their old mode of living, when by agriculture and stock-raising they could procure provisions with infinitely less trouble and in much shorter time.

*539 **149, 6.** tü'ksh is probably the adessive case of tóke (ō) fire-place, hearth: tók-kshi.

262 **149, 12.** Tchuá is the long, cylindric root of the Sagittaria sagittifolia, an aquatic 824 plant common in the West and East of the United States. In Oregon the term *potato* 192 or wápatu (Chinook jargon) is most commonly heard for it. The name of Chewaukan [193] Marsh, a sink and low ground situated east of Upper Klamath Lake, is a corruption of Tchuaχō'ni: "where the arrow-leaf is found." The flower of the wápatu varies between red, reddish and whitish.

149, 17. Tsuni'ka. The flower has a diameter from two to three inches.

149, 21. Kû'lχamsh is put on strings by the women and thus serves to attract the fish.

149, 21. ptchi'nk: after this word ought to be seen the picture of a tiny vegetal cylinder, about one inch long and slightly curved.

[386] **150, 1.** Skáwanks or wild parsnip, a poisonous plant growing in wet places to the height of three feet.

150, 8. p'nü'sh, contracted from p'nálash, is the direct object (reflective) of shkukluápkasht: to guard themselves against becoming chapped by sun-burns. The wákinsh seems to be a kind of resin and furnishes a red paint, as does also the k'lépki.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSHAM SHUÍ'SH SHUINŌ'TKISH TCHÍSH.

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INCANTATION SONGS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

1. *Introductory song:*

Yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní *etc.* ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́

I sing, I sing, I sing (in chorus).

2. *Song, reference unknown:*

Wiwiwá! ní sháwalsh wítnank! ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑

Blown off! the plume-crest has disappeared from me!

3. *Song of the wind:*

Kanítala m'sh û shlewitaknû'la? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
népaksh a-i ní'sh shlewitaknû'la. ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

Who, I wonder, is blowing out of my mouth?
The disease is emanating from my mouth.

4. *The conjurer's song:*

Tuá ki nû shatashtaknû'la? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑
nä'paks nû shatashtaknû'la. –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑
tuá kí' nû shatashtatχí'sh? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́
nä'paks nû shatashtatχí'sh. –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́

What do I remove from my mouth?
The disease I extract from my mouth.
What is the thing I take out?
It is the disease I am taking out.

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158; 51. The paint was put on expressly for the dance and smeared across her breast or anywhere on body; gûn for kē nû, gē nû, vowel û inverted.

158; 54. These spoken words are also repeated by the choristers. The repetition is very long and noisy and winds up in a howling. tutiχólatko, after having ceased to dream. This would imply, that after dreams fasting must be observed as a religious custom. k̲'lékshashtala for the correct form k̲'lekápkashtala. This phrase occurs in 68, 8., and is explained in *Note*.

158; 55. The meaning is rather obscure, probably owing to omissions.

Kiúksham shui'sh.

CONJURER'S INCANTATIONS.

[115]

Obtained from Chief Johnson and Sub-chief Dave Hill.

1. *Song of the disease:*

Nä'pakshtka hínui nû; k̲aluáshtat nû
By sickness I am prostrate; I am (now) up in the clear sky.

2. *Song of the woodpecker:*

Kóshash ká-a nû piupiutánna –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
I am picking hard at the bark of a pine tree.

3. *Song of the túktukuash-hawk:*

Kuáta nû tchiliká nû ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑
I am pinching hard.

4. *Song of the white-headed eagle:*

K̲aluáshtat nû tchutchúa ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑
I am croaking high up in the skies.

5. *Song of the weasel:*

Käflash nû shuína a ni yána ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́
From under the ground I am singing.

6. *Song of the mink:*

Atín tchelä'wash géna ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́
Ripples in the water-sheet I am spreading far and wide.

7. *Song of the skunk:*

Té-i, té-i, ksiúlχa –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
With shortened steps I am dancing.

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755 70. *Song of the little wipēlī'wash forest-bird:*

Wipēli'wash nû shuí'sh gi,
wuipléwĕsh nû shuí'sh.

My own song I sing, I the wipēlíwash-bird.
I the wuipléwash am singing about myself.

71. *Song of the witkatkish-hawk:*

Gé-u aí hû tû' sáwals, –́ – | –́ – – | –́ –
witkatkísam gé-u sáwals. –́ – | –́ – | –́ – | –́ –

My head-crest this is, it is that of the witkatkish-hawk.

NOTES.

[825] The incantations obtained from Morgan are mostly of the kind called shuinō'tkish, and a large number of them are attributed to birds. Some of them probably exist in a more explicit form, which was not remembered, and the rhythmic or musical form was obtained of a part of them only. A literal translation of these song-lines is an impossibility in most instances, if their sense has to be rendered in full; I have therefore furnished only paraphrastic interpretations. The list is alphabetic, and was arranged after the names of the animals, or other personified objects, to which the incantations are attributed. Many of these songs are referred to in the "Subject List of Incantations" given by Morgan. *539 533 755 192

164; 1. Ktsálui, to be resplendent with colors, is mainly said of objects showing a blue or purple tinge: pû'ksam shláps ktsáluitko, the camass-plant has a bluish color. This verb is also used when speaking of the rainbow; of the lizard: 165; 14., also of the weasel's fur-skin: 169; 55.

[779] 164; 3. The use of these conjurer's arrows is mentioned 73, 5.

164; 4. Yámsam for Yámasham; cf. *Note* to 111, 4. Of the personified North wind the Indians say "he lives up in the mountains". On the north side the basin of the Williamson River is closed up by high mountains. Gé-ish and génuish, génhuish means the action of going and that of having gone, or the present and the past going; both were translated by "*gait*", "*tread*", a term which does not differ much from the real meaning. Both terms also occur in the songs obtained from "Doctor" John, and are mainly used of quadrupeds, amphibians, and reptiles. [193]

164; 4. kápa probably for gútpa (nû), "I have come".

[136] 165; 6. The yē'n sucker-fish is quite abundant in the lakes of the Klamath highlands and has been identified by Prof. E. D. Cope as the Catostomus labiatus.

165; 7. yéwa. In Morgan's series of incantations there are song-lines on wind-gusts, tempests, rain-storms and on the winds blowing from each of the four cardinal points of the compass. These latter are not positively stated to be producers of disease, though they are dreaded on account of their force and violence. The East wind (yéwash) blowing over the alkaline or volcanic, arid lands of Southern Oregon sings: yéwa, yéwa (nû) which does not only signify "I blow from the East", but also "I am howling". [821]

165; 11. Feigning to draw a rope or string from their own posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear.

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165; 13. It is by no means certain whether the above is the full wording of this song or not.

165; 16. nen involves the idea: "you hear it yourselves." Cf. 167; 36. 170; 59.

[534] 166; 17. kódsinksh was in this connection explained by líllhanksam stĕ'ksh. Conjurers' rattles are made of deer's claws.

166; 18. This hawk is a kind of sparrow-hawk, Falco sparverius.

166; 20. Compare the song of the weíwash-goose: 170; 69.

166; 21. This song of a female conjurer or "doctress" is quite analogous to the song 166; 17.

166; 22. The kála flies around in cold nights followed often by foggy mornings, hence the belief that it makes the fog.

166; 25. Compare the gray wolf's song, 165; 12., which forms alliteration to this.

166; 26. Refers very probably to the cremation of the dead.

[778] 167; 30. In line 2 the same object is alluded to as in line 3, kóltam sχí'l. This is a broad strip of dressed otter skin, ornamented in various ways with shells, feathers, bird-scalps, etc. To all these objects a magic power is attributed severally, and as they are now all united on one strip of skin, this strip must unite the magic powers of them all. The conjurer suspends the sχí'l on his neck and lets it dangle over his chest or back, according to the manipulations in which he is engaged at the time. It is considered as one of the most powerful of all the curing tools or múluash.

167; 32. Alludes to the grayish-white color of this bird, which burrows underground. This bird is also mentioned in 154; 12. and *Note;* cf. also 132, 7. 8.

[193] 168; 41. Sχí'pa is the abbreviated form of the possessive case in -am, as in wásha wéka 105, 9. and *Note* to 105, 7.; in: ní'l wéksa, 144, 1. cf. 165; 13.

168; 44. Interpreted by others: "I am scolding and threatening the earth".

169; 50. Another túktukuash-song is contained in 162; 3. cf. *Note.*

169; 52. Shaíkish is another name given to the tchákiuks.

169; 54. The kingfisher or Ceryle alcyon is called in Klamath Lake tchántchan, tsántsan, tchánshan after its cry: tchătchătchă, and chiefly feeds on salmon.

169; 56. The second line was referred by "Sergeant" Morgan to the otter. Cf. 177; 13.

170; 58. This alludes to the name of the bird, which imitates its twittering.

170; 62. This bird circles in the air to discover fish on the lake's surface and to pounce upon them. The tchuaísh is the red headed vulture or black buzzard: Cathartes aura. The Indian name is an imitation of the bird's cry.

170; 63. 64. The wákash-crane is identical with the tuákish, the name being derived from its cry. These birds creep along the edge of the water in search of small fish. Compare the tuákish-songs 154; 9. 156; 33. 34.

170; 65. This song is much better expressed in the series of Modoc incantations: 174; 13. Here as well as there alliteration is perceptible.

[193] 170; 67. After gé-u, the subject of the sentence, nä'paks or the disease, is omitted. In the name of the duck the final -s, -sh is geminated here in the possessive case, to stand for wa-u'htü'asam.

[194] 170; 68. In the onomatopoetic word wä'ks the dissimilation of the vowel into wä'-aks is frequently observed. Also pronounced wékash.

170; 69. The weíwash- or waíwash-goose is a long-necked white bird, commonly known as snow-goose: Anser hyperboreus.

*539 *Kú'tcha-aga.* Wínua nû a kû'tsag, shéshatk kû'tsag; pákish wák kû'tsag.

533 *Wekétash.* Nû ai weketásh gi; wéketa nû shahualtámpka, nû shahualtámpka, nû wekétash shéwa.

Mánkaga. Ná-asht shä'shatk, mánkag shä'shatk.

Kaknólsh. Gä' a gé-u káknûlsh, gé-u hût káknûlsh; nû shlä-ípĕle káknulsh, p'laíwash káknulsh.

Pápkash. Pápkash wálta gé-u a gé-ish; wálta gé-u gé-ish pápksham lû'lp; kä'gi gé-u pápkash gé-ish.

Spú'klish. Nû ai spû'klish, ná-asht shä'shatk.

Shläkótkish. Gé-u a shläkō'tksh, gä' ki hû shlakō'tkish; wudsí'tsí ánku, túm udsí'tsí; túm í'lχi, túmi ánku, túmi gé-u ánku gi.

Pä'ksh. Shuí'sham gé-u pä'ksh; kátchgal gé-u shuí'sh.

Welékag. Nû ai welä'kag; nû a tchía welä'χatkank; gĕ'k a lû'lp, gĕ'k a múmuatch.

NOTES.

The majority of these songs are destitute of any interesting and characteristic features, and being of easy interpretation I gave them without translation, adding, however, the necessary remarks in the Dictionary. These phrases are common-place repetitions of some shamanic ideas current in the tribe, and are given in a low jargon or technical slang redundant in elisions and contractions. Only a few of their number are rhythmical. The pronoun nû, I, is often repeated three times in one sentence, in the form of ni, nû, an (a nû), ank (a nû gi), na (nû a).

● [193]
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Of the thirty-seven objects which have given origin to these songs sixteen do not occur in the shamanic songs given by other informants and two are given here under other headings: the *sky*, paíshash (under kálo), and the *marten*, Skélamtch (under pĕ'p). I have arranged all the songs in categories of natural objects.

[825] Kákash also furnished a series of limbs and organs of certain animals which were supposed to exercise supernatural powers, and therefore were made the subject of a shuí'sh, shuinótkish, or incantation. They are as follows: of the *black bear*, the head, snout, paws, fur and heart; of the *dog*, the head, hair, fur, ears, tail and paws; of the *weasel* (tcháshgai), the head, eyes, snout, nose, chin, long hair, paws and tail; of the *mink*, the paws, snout, fur, tail and heart; of the *shné-ish-duck*, the head and legs; of the *salmon*, the head and fins; of the *fly*, the wings (lás, black or white) and legs. About the *young antelope* and *old woman's spirit* (wíl'hag and welékaga) see below.

176; 2. wítsa. When the clear sky is said to blow with a shrill sound (wítsa), and thus "to sing its own song", this means that the winds are blowing fiercely through the air, high above the ground.

176; 3. This song on the grumbling or rattling earth (wálta, huálta) was made by Doctor John on the subject of his own imprisonment, the cause of which I have related elsewhere.

176; 4. Sháshapsh, Sháshapamtch is the mythologic name of the grizzly bear: 118, 1.

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Lû'baks, klépki kiúksam shuí'sh, tsé-usam skû'tatk, tsé-usam tsúyätk,
White chalk, red paint are doctors' songs, tché-nah-dressed, tché-nah-head-covered,
tsé-usam lä'sh, witkakísham lä's.
tché-nah-feather, hawk's feather.

Kat'sitsutsuéas kiúksam shuísh, kat'hiáwash, lû'luks-skû'tchaltk,
Snow-flake witchcraft is a doctor's song, hair-tying, in fire-robed,
skû'ksam hä'kskish, hä'näsish.
spirit's walking-staff, conjurer's arrow.

NOTES.

[124] All these subjects of tamánuash songs were obtained pell-mell and jotted down in a confusion. A clear insight into the quality of the songs known to this Indian could be attained only by classifying them into categories, as those of natural agencies, the winds, rocks, genera of animals, plants, tools and articles of native dress. Morgan had heard all these songs sung in former years, but when I met him he could remember the texts of those 71 songs only, which are to be found from page 164 to page 171. Many songs of this subject list are sung by the Modoc conjurers also.

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Certain names of uncommon species of animals could not be rendered in English for want of information; to others the Dictionary will afford the best clue.

[193] [866] 179; 4. káwam or k̲áwam is a possessive case, requiring as its complement ámpû or k̲ók̲e, kok̲eága. To bathe in eel-springs is deemed to be of great influence on character and personal courage, for the constant peril of being bitten by crabs, snakes and other reptiles must necessarily make the bathers scornful against sudden pains.

179; 6. tsû'χatχant, or in its full form: tsûχatχántko, has to be connected attributively with the foregoing word: taákiag tsû'χatχantko "a restless boy, a little boy unable to keep quiet on his seat."

[193] 180; 1. taaskáya wéash, kólta wéas show the apocopated form of the possessive before a vocalic sound. This is another example of the rule that Klamath seeks rather than avoids *hiatus*. Cf stsá-usa=wálks 168; 45; 180; 23, and *Note* to 168; 41.

180; 5. spû'm; said to be the female of the fat shkä'-bird. There exist conjurers' songs about both, which I have given in this volume, page 167; 36. 168; 44.

180; 10. póp=tchíkash seems to mean the "drinking *or* sipping bird" (cf. pópo-i).

180; 17. Lä=a-ámbotkish, "the one which refuses to drink" seems to be a newt, Amblystoma, according to the description given of it by the Indians.

180; 17. kóä. The toad or bull-frog tamánuash song is reputed to be the most efficient of all these incantations.

180; 18. Ámpuam lák is a film-like organism moving rapidly in spirals or meanders through the water, and supposed by rustics to originate from the long hair of horses. The primary signification of ámbutka, to be thirsty, is "to return to the water", and the distributive form a-ámbutka here indicates repetition.

180; 19. The list of *plants* is very small when compared to that of the animals, and embodies economical plants only.

180; 22. wásh means *place of residence* in general; but since all the objects in this category refer to the sweat-house, it may be referred to a removal of earth in the floor of this structure; lúloks is the fire burning in the centre of it.

181; 1. tsé-usam skû'tatk: "dressed with feathers of the yellow hammer or red shafted flicker."

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NOTES.

*539 I. Erotic songs obtained from Chief Johnson, Minnie Froben, and others, in the
533 Klamath Lake dialect. The twelve songs obtained from Minnie Froben are among the
832 prettiest and most melodious, as for instance 9. 16. 17. 18. 25. 26., and the eighteen songs
dictated by Johnson are of importance for the study of manners and customs, viz: 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. 19. 20. 28. 29. 41. 42. 43 etc.

With the Indians all of these and many other erotic songs pass under the name of *pilpil* or puberty songs. They include lines on signs of womanhood, courting, love sentiments, disappointments in love, marriage fees paid to parents, on marrying and on
*539 conjugal life. Some love songs have quite pretty melodies. A few songs of the present
533 interesting series of song-lines seem to treat of commonplace subjects only, as 22. to 24.;
832 28. to 31., while others apparently contain nothing but heartless mockeries and satiric
192 strictures, like 9. 28. 40. 44. But they all refer in fact to love-making and kindred sentiments, the satiric lines confirming the proverbial inclination of lovers to fight among themselves. I have deemed appropriate to gather all these songs under a heading which unmistakably expresses their real purport.

[194] 182; 1. The accent is laid sometimes on first, sometimes on second syllable. This word is abbreviated from yuyulinĕ'pka, as it occurs in the Modoc pilpil song. The event mentioned here is followed by a dance-feast; cf. shúyuχalsh, and 134, 21.

182; 4. ginhiéna "inside" means into a secluded spot, lodge or enclosure. O-ólka, ŏ'laka is the diminutive of ŏ'lsh, the grayish pigeon with the plaintive voice.

182; 7. gítkuapka, a contraction of gítko gi-uápka 1.

[583] 182; 8. Pay a wedding gift is equivalent to purchasing a girl from her parents for a handsome consideration.

[193] 182; 11. Sung by women. The original as given to me does not contain the negative particle: Géntala nû haíkanka púshpushlish hishuákshash.

183; 12. yan'wán 1 stands for yanhuáni 1.

183; 13. kalí'napka: they are not only "dead but out of sight", as the suffix -apka indicates. This being an erotic song-line, kalínapka simply means that the females looked for are either asleep or absent, and not deceased, as kalína would seem to indicate. 'mutchéwatk for kĕmutchéwatko; cf. 136, 5.

183; 14. 15. These two songs follow a purely anapæstic metre, No. 15 adding two acatalectic syllables to its three anapæsts. Compare also the first line of 182; 7. with one supernumérary syllable. As for the contents of 183; 15. compare the analogous Modoc song 186; 51.

[194] 183; 17. Melody very engaging. In lúluash the second *u* is redoubled for metrical reasons. Dactylic rhythm prevails here, in 16, and in 182; 11.

183; 18. That is, while he was seeking young girls inside the kayátas. Melody very beautiful.

[193] 183; 19. wayósham, possessive case of waíwash, *q. v.*

183; 20. shkutántki stands for skútatko gí or shkutanátko gí: "he is wrapped in."

183; 21. The much more so, because he is in his festive garb, the pátash and lás stuck on his headdress.

184; 26. Melody very pretty. A young woman addresses these words to a lover.

184; 27. Sung by young women who have fallen out with their beaux.

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*539 184; 28. Said to be an erotic song.

533 184; 29. luyā'nitki contracted from luyā'nitko gi. Cf. *Note* to 183; 20.

832 184; 30. k̲ók̲tkinshkiuk. The proper meaning of this verb is "to set upon like a
dragon-fly". Shanáhual is an uncommon form for shanahṓ'li, the long ō being resolved
192 into its component sounds. Cf. náwal, and 184; 35.: genuála for genṓ'la.
[193]

184; 31. Why did the wolf howl? The reason given is that he could not meet anybody. This wolf is a loving young man who was looking out for women.

184; 32. Sung by one woman and repeated by a female chorus. This song-line treats of the abandonment of a female by her husband or lover for some reason.

184; 33. Pretty melody. The song refers to a lover disappointed in his affections.

184; 33. tchíkla wátsatka is preferable to and more frequent than wátsat, wátchtat, cf. 183; 22. Alliteration is perceptible in this song-line.

184; 34. The wásh is the lover of the girl who sings this song; the lover is compared to a prairie-wolf on account of his importunity and lack of moderation. Comparisons of lovers with quadrupeds and birds are frequently met with.

184; 35. yóshinko for yó-ishiank ō, yó-ishink hû: he is running astray.

[193] 184; 37. shiwága. In the objective case sometimes inflected like snáwedsh *woman* 80, 11. sometimes as a diminutive noun, as here, and 33, 10. In 185; 40. shiwákshash stands incorrectly for shiwágash, through phonetic analogy with shíwamptchash in the same song.

185; 39 to 44, perhaps including 45, have a literal and direct meaning, and besides this are intended to convey an indirect meaning, which is of an obscene character. The same may be said of songs 15 and 51.

185; 41. This melodious song alludes to the habit of mud-hens to rest and sprawl on the top of the waves; wílhaslaana depicts their motions while on the wave-top,
willaslína the sprawling observed while they sail down from it. With slight phonetic
[194] variations, this same melody is also sung as follows: Tóhosh ō wíllaslīn; willaslaana,
willaslina; wíllaslī ín.

185; 42. wi'l seems connected with the diminutive word wíl'haga, *young deer*.

[193] 185; 43. ki' nak ĕn gi', stands for gi' nak, nen gi: "he cries nak, so he cries"; assuming that ĕn is abbreviated from nen.

185; 45. This is a "dream" song.

185; 46. Pilpil song worded in another than the Mák̲laks language.

000 II. Erotic songs obtained from Toby Riddle and J. C. D. Riddle in the Modoc dialect. The Modoc pilpil songs obtained are all of a satiric character.

185; 47. See Klamath Lake pilpil songs 182; 1.

185; 48. See Klamath Lake collection of pilpil songs 182; 2.

186; 49. Pilpil tune sung by girls. Taína is equivalent to *t'éna, tciniwá-ash* etc.

186; 50. A song repeated for hours by young Modocs; it is of the true pilpil kind.

186; 51. Originally a pilpil song, but sung now by children playing hide and seek.

186; 52. This is a very popular and prettily tuned Modoc song.

186; 53. Sung by Modoc girls who feel themselves importuned by their lovers. Often the boys join them by singing it in chorus. This well-meant advice of sending the boys to the South, no doubt to the Pit River country, is to keep them at a distance, for the song refers to the appearance of the first signs of puberty. Watchágalam is full form of watchágam, for which wátcham is sometimes incorrectly substituted.

*539 also pass as puberty songs, but I have preferred to class these under the heading of
533 songs of satire. Some are sung with melodies, others are spoken and recited only.

522 I. Satiric songs obtained in the Klamath Lake dialect from Chief Johnson, Minnie Frobeu and others.

● [193] 189; 1. ú'yank. In this term the prefix u- gives the shape in which the tobacco was given away.

189; 2. Refers to somebody going to the Dalles or other place along the Columbia River. Cf. page 93, *Note*.

[192] 189; 3. In this verse there are four particles pointing either to distance or to eleva-
[193] tion (altitude): tú'sh, hu, the -u suffixed to nen (nen hu) and to tchfilamna. This song is sung by a woman, who hears (nen) for the first time of this assembling of geese; shésha waíwash stands for shéshash waíwash, or shéshatko waíwash: birds called waíwash-geese.

189; 5. A young woman is the object of this song-line.

[237] 189; 6. Woodpecker-scalps of shining colors are still in use for ornamenting various articles of dress, implements, &c. u'hlutuína: he flaunts it and parades in it.

[192] 189; 7. Ká tal? who then? who after all? abbreviated from kaní tala. Dresses
[193] made of walχátchka-skins passed for the poorest and meanest of all garments.

[271] 190; 9. This is sung by men only.

190; 13. A satire on feminine voracity. Sung by Klamath women from Klamath Marsh. Cf. below, 190; 21.

190; 12. haktchámpesh; -pesh is the suffix ptchi phonetically altered, the word introducing a comparison of the "striding one" with the young klítish-crane in the same song. A sarcasm on a long-legged person with swinging gait.

190; 16. Regularly worded, this proverb-like verse would read as follows: Kă'-utchish gú'lu wō'n=lákiash shamĕnakía.

000 II. Satiric songs obtained in the Modoc dialect from Toby Riddle and J. C. D. Riddle.

190; 18. A tatler has received the deserved bodily punishment for his gossip-tales. Of the first word no grammatic analysis could be obtained in either tribe.

190; 19. The business of gathering edible roots devolves exclusively on women, but here an old man, Bin, who still lives among the Modoc at Yáneks, is indulging in this useful pastime. That 's where the point of the satire lies. Hlívash is a word unknown to the Klamath Lake people in the signification of "basket".

190; 20. Sung by the national deity when foiled in the attempt of killing five lynxes by throwing stones at them; repeated from the shashapkĕléash, page 126, 3. Cf. *Note*.

190; 21. To be found in another version among the Klamath Lake songs; there it refers to a female living on Klamath Marsh, not on Klamath Lake.

190; 22. This tune was with many similar ones improvised by the Modocs, who visited the East a short time after the Modoc war, on seeing crowds of blacks filling the streets. All Indians feel *at first* a peculiar very strong aversion against the Ethiopian race, though subsequently they often become friends and intermarry.

*539
533
171
10. Aíshish kaí nû sha-ûlō'la, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – – ⏑ | –́ ⏑
yuhanéash kaí nû sha-ûlō'la. – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – – ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I Aíshish I shall brandish, I shall brandish my huge sword.

11. Aíshishash hûn gáldshui, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
hû' mish hû' shnekshituápka. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑

Go to meet Aíshish; he will save you.

12. Tídsh hûn liulekán tchiálash shakatchóāla!

Halloo! let us form a circle and screen the salmon against sun-heat!

13. Kilidshí'ga-shépolamna –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑

They carry long-necked ducks on their backs.

14. Kaukátsi Yaína wō'n a shû-û'dshant i! –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Follow up the elk and chase him upon Kaukátsi Mountain!

NOTES.

The first eight songs are worded in the Klama[illegible] Lake dialect, the third is of a mythic character. Songs 7–12 are worded in Modoc; 8 and 9 are K'mukámtchiksh songs. A few songs or fragments of such, which would come nearest to what we call nursery or Mother Goose's songs, will be found in the Myth of the Bear and the Antelope: 120, 11. 12. 13. 121, 9. 17. 122, 12. 13.

192; 1. This song is sung by women only, and seems to point to an ancient invasion of the country by tribes from the North or from Columbia River.

825
821
192

192; 2. The owl's cry is of fatal augury.

192; 3. Girls' song. When at sunrise a haze or fog extends over the country, this is supposed to be a sign of the Earth's wrath against men.

192; 5. kí'pash is no word at all, but seems to stand for gítko-ptchi.

192; 7. The Indians were reticent about the meaning of this song, and hence I presumed that ō'k was intended to mean some deceased person, since these are spoken of as hú'k, *he*, *she*. Then the sense would be: "Be silent! that dead squaw is arising to sing a loud song." One Indian informed me that ō'ksta meant a squaw, and pronounced it ō'ksht (húnkisht?). Cf. *Note* to 35, 8 and page 130, second *Note*.

192
193

192; 8. These trochaic verses are called the K'mukámtchiksh-song, and a variant, tuálam, exists for kánam. The alliteration of the k's and n's is very conspicuous. The meaning was given as follows: "I the omnipotent and unseen ruler of the universe will chastise and turn it over for the manifold crimes committed in it by Indians and men of other races."

192; 9. This is another K'múkamtch-song, in which he menaces to destroy the world for its misdoings. I have put the first line in quotation marks, because it forms the words or text of the song. The first line is sung about a dozen times before the second is sung once.

193; 10. Christian song, referring to the day of last judgment. Aíshish, who is a deity representing the powers of nature with animal attributes, has been in the mind of some Modocs identified with Jesus.

(41) So they looked. (42) And they just kept quiet.

(43) Now then Bear prepared food. (44) "Come and eat! Come and eat!" (45) Then the little one [of Antelope's children] said, "It tastes like Mommy's milk."[2] (46) Then the biggest one nudged him, saying, "Careful!" (47) Then he secretly put it aside. (48) Because she ate quickly, Old Bear did not see. (49) And she thought they ate a lot. 539*

(50) The biggest one did not sleep all night. (51) When the little one cried, he said, "Don't! Don't! Maybe she'll kill us next."

(52) Thus, the next day she said goodbye to them all. (53) Having said goodbye to them, she said [to Antelope's children], "Go over there and play!" (54) Then she advised her own little children, "Don't play anything now, or perhaps they will do something to you. (55) Don't play leap-frog![3] (56) Don't swim around! (57) Don't race! (58) Don't play jump! (59) Don't play anything!" (60) But she forgot one.

(61) So the little fawns said, "Let's play something![4] (62) Let's play something! (63) Swim-racing?" (64) "No!" [said the little bears]. (65) "You name something then!" (66) "We don't want to play." (67) "Let us play leap-frong!" (68) "No." (69) "Let us race!" (70) "No." (71) "Let us wrestle!" (72) "No." (73) "Then let us play 'Two-in-smother'!"[5] (74) "Yes, yes, yes!"

(75) Then they first closed up everything, of that house. (76) Then they filled it up with smoke. (77) Then they said, "We'll do it first." (78) And they will do thus, "Two-in-smother, two-in-smother! Smother! Smother!" (79) Now they opened the door; they ran out. (80) "You next!" (81) So they ran inside. (82) "Two-in-smother, two-in-smother, smother, smother!"

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[2] /ḱisi·bam ʔeči·s sitk ṁa·s·ʔa/ "it tastes like Mommy's milk" is baby-talk. Normal Klamath would be: /pḱisam ʔečas sitk ṁa·s·ʔa/. The baby Antelope is here shown retaining the affix which occurs with kinship terms in their nominative form: /pḱisap/ "mother." [195] [193]

[3] ‖sentaÍygie·'wabg‖ : /sangaÍi·gye·wapk/ "will jump over one another for sport." ((se) 2pv "reflexive-reciprocal"; (ngaÍ) 48-v "to jump"; (oygi) 10sv "over, above"; (e·') 13sv "in sport, play, competition"; (wabg) 23sv "future"). This word has a closely similar meaning to ‖scho·dwlye·gwabg‖ : /scho·wwalye·gwapk/ "will jump over each other," but this latter item seems to refer to jumping contests. [192] [196]

[4] /wiwʔa·Ía·k/ "little fawns" is irregular. ‖rewiÍe'a·k‖ should : */wiwiÍeʔa·k/. (wiÍe) "fawn" must be stated as having an allomorph ‖wiʔa·l‖ only with (re) and followed by ('a·k). Otherwise ‖wiÍe‖ occurs. [193]

[5] This was Mrs. Chiles' own idea for a translation of /leplep ṗoÍe·/: "Two-in-smother." /leplep/ seems to be a distortion of (la·b) "two" plus (rér). (ṗoÍ) 78v "to be out of breath, smother" occurs as a regular verb, but not with any affix /e·/, unless this be an otherwise non-occurring allomorph of (e·') 13sv "to do in sport, competition." [193]

*539 (80) čoy honk naʔas gi. "sʔabi· ʔis na·ĺs, sʔabas! (81) dwa· ʔa na·t waq giwk, q́elýak ptisap, q́elýak pḱisap?" (82) čoy honk q́ay sas geqč́a. (83) "he· ʔi na·ĺs q́ay sʔabi·wapk, sliwapk mis ni!" (84) čoy honk q́ay geqč́a. (85) čoy honk ʔat sńewe·čḱa mnatga dalčitga slin, paĺo·, kat ho·t bosbos sʔabasdat—ho·t gida gwena, dalč́iʔam.[19] (86) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, balaq hak ʔis ʔosgablyat! (87) sʔabi·wapk dak ma·ĺs ni!" (88) čoy honk ʔat sʔabi·ya sas naʔas, "ho·t hok hi·t či·ya, kat ma·ĺs snoq́o·Ye·ga." (Is that right? snoq́o·Ye·ga? q́o·Ye·ks is "orphan," you know.) (89) "ʔambotdat hok či·ya, kat ma·ĺs snoq́o·Ye·ga. (90) bońas ʔa·t giwk q́o·Ye·ks." (Phillip, you're the cruellest animal I ever did know for making me tell this!)

(91) čoy sa honk ʔat gembli. (92) newlga da·ts hok sńewe·čḱa naʔas, "ʔi·. ʔat ʔa loldam gi." (93) naʔas, "čoy na·t ʔa slomtanwapk, na·nok psinks. (94) čoy na·t danqńi psinks giwlank—(q́ay ni sʔaywakta—tewńip?—ʔaMka.) (95) tewńip psinks giwlank čoy ni honks lakč́wapk." (96) čoy sa honk ʔat newlga naʔas. (97) "ʔat slomtanwapk ʔa na·t."

(98) čoy sa honk ʔat gena. (99) čoy honk do···m sa kyem, me·maqla sʔopba·tamblidamna. (100) čoy sa honk dosLibli. (101) čoy sa naʔas, "sda··· gi, do· ʔlli·nči·k!" pĺe·wa mna·ĺam. (102) čoy honk ʔat wbeli·na, wbeli·na, wbeli·na, naʔas, "hãhãʔ! hãhãʔ!" (103) čoy da·ts honk ʔat, be·n Na·ýantga psinkstga gena. (104) —ýaMtgi ʔeč ni nen! (105) dada·t sa slomtampga, domna naʔas, "goč̣goč̣goč̣goji·p!"[20] (106) čoy honk ʔat pĺe·wip č́is domna. (107) čeq́ya honk do·, wqepĺaqsdat. (108) čoy honk naʔas, "hãhãmʔ! nen daks!" (109) čoy honk naʔas, "q́ay dak sa dwa· waq gi." (But she'd be scared, all the time, you know. She knew that little girl would cut off her mother's head when she came out of water at night, and she was afraid she'd find it in there with the fish.

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[201]
[124] [19] The little girl shot the sun in the cheek. Mrs. Ohles gestured to her own cheek here to clarify this, and /ho·t gida gwena, dalč́iʔam/ "it made a mark right here, of the arrow" refers to her gesture. She later remarked that the black spot is still to be seen on the sun's "cheek" and suggested it might be an Indian explanation of sunspots.

[192]
[124] [20] The utterance /goč̣goč̣goč̣goji·p/ was given in a loud whisper. It is apparently a mythic utterance, a distortion of /pgoji·p/ "aunt, father's sister." The action here was later clarified by Mrs. Ohles. Each time the two children went torch-fishing, their Aunt would appear from the water, leaning into the boat and crying "/goč̣goč̣goč̣goji·p!/." The children remained perfectly still, hoping that she would eventually lean far enough into the boat for them to seize her and cut off her head. Their Grandmother, sitting at home, heard her daughter each time and knew the children would kill her. Hence her repeated sob, "/hãhãʔ!/." (The symbol "ã" denotes a nasalized low central vowel. The utterance is anomalous to the phonemic system.)

[194]
[193]

#539 (30) hok ƛočća·ʔa·k honk ʔat mbosaks mna wa·ƛ̓itga lača·ẏa, na·nok honk ćo·ks. (31) na·nok honk lača·ẏa ćo·ks. (32) "ʔat ʔa q̓e·gi be·n. (33) ʔo·č gint."

(34) ʔat honk bamba·tambli, yawakangatk, ʔat honk hoki lʔe·ƛ̓iʔaks bli honk ʔat gitgo gaẃal. (35) čoy ʔat goyki·nabli. (36) čoy honk ʔat aleʔa, "ya···, waq dal nis? (37) gen ʔans gaẃs lača·yipga, ćo·ks, peči!" (38) ʔat honk gena. (39) čoy honk ʔat ma·ne gitk ƛočća·ʔa·k gotq̓akbli, gotq̓akbli ʔambotdat. (40) čoy honk ʔat whila·ʔat ʔiditgo·labli mna ƛ̓a·ẏas. (41) čoy honk ʔilqbli mna ƛ̓a·ẏas či·adat. (42) "waq ʔans newƛ̓aqtanWi·wapk?" (43) hasaswa·kẏa bida·k hemkanga, "ʔans newƛ̓aqWi·ya." (44) čoy honk na· ƛada·di hak.

7. Old Mink and Nighthawk

(Mr. Grover Pompey)[41]

(1) ćečte·sis dola ćasga·yas ʔa gatba ćasgi·psamksi. (2) ćasgi·ps naʔas gi, "hoksakdanq̓ña ʔa na·t wawća·k na·ƛam." (3) ćečte·sis naʔas, "q̓ay ho·t gew waća·k. (4) q̓ay hoksakdangwapk ʔa na·t." (5) ćečte·sis naʔas gi, "ho·t dak tapẏap gew."

(6) be·n naʔas ćasgi·ps, "q̓ay, ho·t dići· siso·gis silk sle·a. (7) hoksakdanq̓ña ʔa na·t honkẏes!" (8) ćečte·sis naʔas gi, "ʔi·." (9) ćasgi·ps naʔas gi, "ʔi lobi· gi. suksuksuksuksuk, gapga gwaća·sis!"[42] (10) hok sedalo·ga ćasga·yas.[43] (11) ćasga·y honk ʔat ʔi·me ʔalamna qe·matdat. (12) ćasga·y honk ʔat siwga, ʔi·metga.

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[126]
[124]
[41] This text was not taken on tape, but only by dictation. Mr. Pompey stated that this incident was but a small part of a longer myth cycle, though he could not recall more than fragments of the rest of it. Cf. Mr. David's text in which Q̓alo·qa·qaqs appears (Text 17).

[196]
[42] The sequence /suksuksuksuksuk/ is almost voiceless, and the syllables are uttered at a rapid rate of speed. This and whistling were said to be the commonest methods of calling a dog in ancient days.

[231]
[193]
[196]
[43] The use of {se} "reflexive-reciprocal action" (Ipv) is not clear here. [sedalwga] means "attack each other" or "attack oneself," but the utterance contains an "accusative" /ćasga·yas/. Utterances in which {se} has reciprocal meaning invariably have all parties to the action as subjects.

#539

dak honk hasanwis, sa sqoldatq̇is sa honk, čoy sa honk geaga hasanwis, qwa·t honk sagwačdangatk hokt. (39) čoy sa honk sʔaywakta hoḿas, gaga·ńa hok hoḿas. (40) čoy honk ni domna naʔas ḱet.[67]

21. The Bear

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) nent ni be·n ḱa·s wiḱa·ńs sʔabwapk, kast ni sʔaywakta. (2) honk čik ni ho·skanga ḱečča. (3) ga·ʔa·k ni nen domna naʔas, do·s honk ʔewksi do·s hak hi·t—čoy ḱičḱa·ńs honk loq̇a·k sńoga·. (4) čoy honk maqlaqs ksepgabli gina·daĺ, do·st ho·t mbosaksawa·s gida. (5) čoy goni· hi·t, lobaqsksi či sa hon ʔelgank hi·t, goge wiḱa·t. (6) hi·t hok domi··· maqlaqs či·ya·, wqeṕlaqsdat, na·nok dwantdat. (7) hi·t maqlaqs či·ya· ga·ʔa·k, loldam gin. (8) čoy hok hi·tkni· hok maqlaqs. (9) ʔat honk hokt sʔaywakta, loq hok, gaibamblyok hadakt do· q̇e·gist mna ḱičḱa·ńs. (10) čoy honk gweys sam haYčipga ʔat.

(11) čoy honk sʔaba· q̇oye·ẇank q̇a···, hokt loq, sńewe·ts hok. (12) čoy honk naʔas, "kańs sitk nis sa gen," či honk, "kat no· čis swaq̇a·delwas pe·watk," naʔas honk.[68] (13) "no·č dak swaq̇a·delwas ni pe·watk," či honk, "spodo·tgiwk hon," naʔas honk. (14) naʔas honk sdalta, "spodo·tk ni hadakt, ʔambotdat do·st hok qwa·ḱatk ʔambo, q̇ay hadakt kani q̇a gatbant. (15) čoy honk hompči naʔas hok ʔelgank, "swaq̇a·delwas ni pe·watk," či honk. (16) ʔat honk sʔawi·gok, naʔas gi.

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[124]
[776]

[67] Mr. David changed to English after finishing this text and related some further incidents about the Gaga·ńa. They were tiny people, he said, who dressed strangely and were sometimes naked. They lived out in the timber but were especially numerous around Summer Lake (/ʔiwwa/). They were seen not only by the Klamaths but by other tribes and by white men as well. He described one such occurrence in his youth, when a white man driving a team of horses on "the mountain" (Crater Lake?) was stopped by a tiny little man who clung to the wheel of the wagon. All the strength of the horses was insufficent to move him. Mr. David mentioned a further occurrence in which a *Paiute* saw a group of Gaga·ńa playing in a meadow and thought they were children. When he tried to pick one up, he could not lift it, and its body was hard and rock-like.

[193]

[68] Mr. David did not know the exact location of /swaq̇a·delwas/. This word seems to contain (d°l) 48-v "to look," (ew) 10ev "into the water, flat place," and the noun ending (s). The sequence /swaq̇a·/ is unanalyzable.

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35. Amusing A Baby

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

*539 (1) boqs. (2) ge·s. (3) leYas. (4) dawi·qs. (5) ṫo·l.

(6) bambaWaq, bambaWaq, aqeĺam tapy̓a snoy̓o·digyo·ta.[51]

(7) woy̓a·, woy̓a·, woy̓a·.
(8) dip, dip, dip. . . .

36. Teasing the Old Men

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) momča·k waẃa·ťa·ẃa. (2) čoy ni gisčipga. (3) čoy nis gew blogo·čip na?as, "ge· ?a gepga sitti·na."[52] (4) čoy ni na?as, "dam dal hok ne· dič ḿa·s?a, qaq̓o· ma·ĺam p̓as? (5) sĺesalq̓apks sko·ks p̓ap̓i·s!" (6) čoy honk wetno·ta gembalyank, be·ya mna na?as, "?ans hok ?elga. (7) čoy če·!" (8) "waq hayč mis ?elga?" (9) "sko·ks p̓ap̓i·s!" (10) čoy sa weta·, weta···!

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[196] [193] [51] The sequence /aqeĺam tapy̓a snoy̓o·digyo·ta/ was translated by Mrs. Ohles but is not fully analyzable. /snoy̓o·digyo·ta/ contains {o·t} 20sv "instrumental," and {s} "noun ending." /sno/ might be {sn̥} 2pv "causative," and /y̓o·di/ might be {y̓o·} 48-v "to shoot pl." plus {odí} 7-8v "to do transitively." Or this may be {s} 2pv "transitive" plus {nᵛ} 48-v "to burn" plus other suffix material.

[124] [52] /sitti·na/ seems to be a nickname for Mrs. Ohles, but the investigator neglected to ask her its significance.

#539 (290) čoy bloksip. pḱe·wip—ʔat ho·t ḱanmi gi. (291) ge·ksḱadaí lalʔa·bi hok gi.

PB: And what is a "pḱo·nip"?

(292) PO: pḱo·nip, dwa· hok? (293) waq hok nen hasʔa·Mḱa, kańs sa pḱo·nip naʔas ʔelga?

(294) AC: pḱo·nip dak ho·t pʔa·nip gi. (295) ho·t ʔa gew ḱoḱo·nip gi. (Great Uncle.)

(The conversation was carried on in English at this point, mostly about friends from the old days.)

(296) PO: . . . čoy waq dal hok se·satk gi. kańsíet honk dola či·ya·—kańs honk dola či·ya·?

(297) AC: q̓ay, wiḱa· bańi ʔa mat honk hok sq̓ollgo·ta. (298) mna da·k dwa·, waq da·k sa gin—mna da·k honk sʔa·Maks dwa· hak. (299) čoy ho·t sa hon hom̓as gyank ʔat hasʔa·Maḱatk. (300) ptisa· honk blogo·člank, honkíam honk q̓e·gitk.[187]

(301) PO: ʔi·, honk hay ni ho·skanga.

(The conversation reverted to English and drifted to a recollection of a personal experience from Mrs. Ohles' childhood. The machine was turned off during this time and was only turned on again when she returned to Klamath.)

(302) PO: . . . čoy dank m̓a·sʔa dwa·. (303) čoy ma·ns q̓e·gi. ma·ns q̓e·gi. (304) čoy ndanni waytas q̓e·giwapgatk. čoy ma·ns na·í q̓e·gi. m̓a·sʔok. (305) čoy honk hokt ʔat woaga na·ta, hokt (Proper name). (306) čoy hok gembli, čoy honk m̓a·sis gota·, honkčgas. (307) čoy ma·ma gatbamblyank na·ís be·n blay ʔembli, blaydaí.[188] (308) waq dal sa blay maqlaqsyalank ʔelga?

(309) AC: blay, čí. (310) ge· dak nen gińa·t y̓ayńa.

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[192] [551] [576] [187] The form /q̓e·gitk/ is used for respectful mention of a dead person. It was considered impolite to mention the names of the other person's deceased relations in a conversation, and this was extended often to refer to the names of deceased friends and acquaintances. Compare the English "the dear departed."

[103] [193] [194] [188] Mrs. Ohles uses the form /blay/ here to mean only the town of Bligh. It may be that the vowel of the two repetitions of /blay/ in this sentence is somewhat longer than is usual for the Klamath morpheme (blay) "up, above." It is certainly longer than Mrs. Cowan's /blay, či/ in Sentence 309. If so, this may account for Mrs. Ohles' failure to recognize "Bligh" as Klamath (blay).

128 impossible, the *sense* of the word or phrase was reproduced as faithfully as could be done within the narrow space allotted. Words in brackets were inserted only to render the sentence complete.

But to the student striving after a thorough understanding of the texts all these helps will prove of partial assistance only. A thorough study of the Grammar ought in fact to precede their perusal, and reference to all the three portions of the work will frequently be necessary.

The material portion of a language can be faithfully conveyed to our understanding only by the correct pronunciation of its words, sentences [194] or texts. Hence all that is said of Klamath *phonetics* must be studied first, and more especially the alternating processes, the proclisis and enclisis, the sounds not occurring in English (as the linguals, the aspirate χ, the vowel ü), and first of all the pronouncing list of alphabetic sounds, which is subjoined. To initiate readers into the distinction, empirically obtained from the mouths of the natives, between the clear vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*, and the dumb or deep-sounding *á*, *é*, *í*, *ú*, the earlier pages of the texts contain more indications than are given in the later. In certain terms long vowels can turn into short, and short into long ones. Special attention must be paid also to the study of elisions, apocopes, metatheses, etc.

[193] In the *morphologic* part of the Grammar, the verbal and nominal paradigms are particularly recommended to the student's attention, and a previous knowledge of the mode of forming the distributive reduplication from the absolute form is indispensable to the reader of my Texts, not only for their full comprehension, but even for the use of the Dictionary. The suffix of the future tense is written *-uapka*, to distinguish it from a homonymous form *-wapka*, of different signification. The apocopes occurring in the conversational style of language will soon be recognized as such by the reader; for example, *-tk* for *-tko*, *-ks* for *-kshi*, dropping of *-a*, *-ash*, etc.

To make the study of the Texts too easy by a flood of notes would be as obnoxious to the true interests of science, as to present unsolved too heavy grammatic difficulties to intellects yet untrained in the modes of Indian speech. Scholars may decide to what degree I have succeeded in avoiding both extremes.

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LIST OF SOUNDS OCCURRING IN THE KLAMATH LANGUAGE.

a	as in *alarm, wash;* German, *Mann, hat;* French, *pas, gras, flanc.*
ā	longer sound of *a*, as in *far, father, smart, tart;* German, *schaden, lahm, Fahne.*
â	as in *law, all, fall, tall, taught.*
ä	as in *hat, man, fat, ass, slash.*
b	as in *blab, bold;* German, *beben;* French, *barbe.*
d	as in *dread, did;* German, *das, dürfen;* French, *de, darder.*
dsh	as in *judge, julep, George, dudgeon.*
e	as in *then, swell, met;* German, *schwebt;* French, *belle, selle.*
ĕ	as in last syllable of *preacher, butler, tippler;* German, *Bücher;* French, *le, je, me.*
ē	as in *they, fade, jade, shade;* German, *stehlen;* French, *chaire, maire.*
g	as in *gig, gull;* German, *gross;* French, *gros, grand, orgueil.*
g	lingual guttural produced by bending the tip of the tongue backward, resting it against the palate, and when in this position trying to pronounce *g* in *gag, gamble, again.*
h	as in *hag, haul, hoot;* German, *haben, Hals.*
i	as in *marine;* German, *richten;* French, *ici, patrie.*
ī	longer sound of *i*, as in *bee, glee, reef;* German, *spiegeln, Stiefel.*
ĭ	as in *still, rim, whim, split;* German, *finster, schlimm, Wille;* when *long*, it is *i* in German *ihn, schielen.*
y	as in *year, yolk;* German, *Jahr;* French, *yeux;* not used as a vowel.
k	as in *kick, kernel;* German, *Kamm, Kork;* French, *soc, coque, quand;* Spanish, *quedar, quizá.*
k̲	lingual guttural produced like g by bending the tip of the tongue backward, holding it against the palate, and then trying to pronounce *k, c,* in *kindness, killing, cool, craft.* The tongue must be placed more firmly against the fore portion of the palate than in the g, in order to allow less breath to escape.
χ	the aspirate guttural in *lachen, trachten, Rachen, Sache,* as pronounced in Southern Germany; not occurring in English, French, or Italian; Spanish, *mujer, dejar;* Scotch, *loch.* It has nothing in common with the English *x.*

l	as in *lull*, *loon*, *lot;* German, *Lilie;* French, *lance.*
m	as in *madam*, *mill*, *mimic*, *mum;* German, *Memme.*
mb	as in *ramble*, *gamble*, *nimble.*
mp	as in *sample*, *thumping.*
n	as in *nun*, *net*, *noose;* German, *nein;* French, *nuire.*
ng	as in *ring*, *bang*, *singing;* German, *singen*, *hangen.*
nk	as in *prank*, *rink*, *spunk;* German, *Schwank;* French, *cinquante.*
nk̲	a combination of n with k̲.
nχ	a combination of n with χ.
o	as in *home*, *lonely*, *most;* German, *Molken;* French, *sotte.*
ō	longer sound of *o*, as in *note*, *rope;* German, *Floh*, *Boot*, *roth;* French, *sauter.*
ö	as in *bird*, *burn*, *surd;* German, *blöde*, *Römer;* French, *deuil*, *cœur.*
p	as in *pipe*, *papa;* German, *Puppe;* French, *pied.*
s	as in *sad*, *sale*, *soul*, *smell;* German, *Seele*, *Sichel;* French, *sauce*, *seul.*
sh	as in *shaft*, *shingle;* German, *Schale*, *schön;* French, *chercher.*
t	as in *trot*, *tell*, *tiptop;* German, *Tafel;* French, *tour.*
tch	as in *church*, *chaff*, *choke;* German, *hätscheln;* Italian, *cicerone;* Spanish, *chaparral*, *chicha.*
u	as in *smooth*, *truth;* German, *Fuss;* French, *loup*, *poutre*, *outrage.*
ū	longer sound of *u*, as in *crude*, *flume*, *fool;* German, *Stuhl*, *Ruhr*, *Blume;* French, *lourd*, *sourd.*
û	as in *full*, *pull;* German, *Flucht*, *Kluft*, *Russland;* Italian, *lungo.*
ü	not in English; German, *kühl*, *Gefühl;* French, *lune*, *puce.*
v	as in *valve*, *veer*, *vestige;* German, *Wolke*, *Wasser*, *weben;* French, *vautour*, *veut.*
w	the û before vowels; *water*, *waste*, *wolf*, *wish*, *wayward;* in German it corresponds nearest to short *u*, not to *w;* nearly as French *ou* in *oui*, *ouate.*
z	as in *zeal*, *zone*, *frozen;* German, *Hase;* French, *zèle*, *rose.*

The English *x* is rendered by *gs* or *ks*, the German *z* by *ds* or *ts*, all being compound articulations. The two points on *a*, *o*, *u* (*ä*, *ö*, *ü*) are not signs of diæresis; they mark softened vowels.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

194 The pronunciation of the *diphthongs* may be easily inferred from their component vowels; it is as follows:

ai	as in *life, mine, sly, die, dye.*
au	as in *mouse, loud, arouse.*
ei	a combination of *e* and *i* resembling the vowel sounds in the word *greyish*, united into a diphthong.
yu *or* iu	as in *pure, few, union.*
oi	as in *loin, groin, alloy.*
wa *or* ua	as in *watch, wash;* French, *loi, roi.*
wi *or* ui	as in *squid, win, switch.*

All the diphthongs being of an adulterine character, they can generally be separated into two vowels, and then are hyphenized, as in *i-u, o-i, á-i, a-ú.*

GRAPHIC SIGNS.

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ˡ	arrested sound: skóˡhs, *spring time;* tchúˡka, *to swim up stream.*
'	apostrophe marking elision of a vowel, of ĕ or any other sound: heshuámp'li for heshuámpĕli, *to recover one's health.*
-	hiatus, separating two vowels as belonging to two different syllables: pála-ash, *flour;* lĕmé-ish, *thunder;* or two consonants: tsiä̆ls-hä̆'mi, *at salmon-time.*
-	separates the parts of compound terms: skúks-kiä'm, *spirit-fish* or *letiferous fish.*
'	acute; the only accent used for marking emphasized syllables.
¯	vowel pronounced long: mū'ni, *large, great.*
˘	vowel pronounced short, except ĕ, to which a distinct sound is given: yúmăltkă, *to return from berry-harvest.*

*539 622 hishuáksh m'na wudópka, tsúi ní snawä'dshash hû'nk nä'-ulχ, k̲á-i hû'nk
husband here whips, then I wife that punish, not the

692 hishuákshash, láp súndē.
husband, for two weeks.

[593] [683] Tsúi tchik kíuks tchí'sh títatna tawí shash, tsúi hûk k̲'lĕká tawí'sh.
Then a conjurer also at times bewitches them, and dies the bewitched one.

[683] Tsúi ní nä'-ulχa, tsúi tû'nip sháppash spû'lhi·síukst; tsúi tchik wátch nísh
Then I try (him), and for five months imprison for manslaughter; and (if) horses to me

[593] sχókta tû'nip, tsúi ní k̲á-i spû'lhit sχoktí'sht nísh. Tsúi tch lak̲í ts ktû'pka
he pays five, then I not may imprison (him), he having paid me. And (if) a chief beats

m'na snáwädsh, tsúi ní snä'kĕlua; gä'tak lak̲í gí hûk.
his wife, then I remove (him); no longer chief remains he.

NOTES.

[177] **58–62.** The legal practices, regulations, and ordinances given here by a subchief of the Klamath Lake tribe are observed by all the chiefs, and are apparently fashioned after American models. The principle which seems to guide most of the judicial decisions of the chiefs, is given in one (59, 20. 21) of these regulations: "If a chief makes law like white people, that will be right."* This article is composed of three parts:

Part I. List of the chiefs acting as judges on the reservation in 1877.

Part II. Legal customs governing the Klamath Lake people.

Part III. Instances of application of these legal customs; amount of fines, terms of imprisonment, etc. These are the "*novellæ*" of Klamath legislation.

58, 1–3. P'lú, Lilu, and some other headmen mentioned here have signed the treaty of Oct. 14, 1864.

[563] [657] **58, 4.** Móatuash. There are only two Pit River *families* living on the whole reservation.

58, 8. Tcháktot belongs to the Yahúskin tribe of Snake Indians. Cf. Ind. Aff. Report 1873, p. 324.

[193] **58, 10 etc.** The future tense employed in these behests, regulations and defenses recalls the French future used in an impressive manner instead of the imperative: *tu ne tueras point, tu ne déroberas point.*

58, 10. shlí-uapk shash. The pronoun shash has here almost the force of a reciprocal pronoun, for the meaning of the sentence is: "do not shoot at people of your own tribe." The same is true of sas in palluápk sas, 58, 10; 58, 13 (twice); pálla shash, 61, 14.

● [194] **58, 10.** ksaggayuapkámsni is pronounced as one word, as the removal of the accent from the syllable -uápk demonstrates; and so in many of the following verbs standing in the future tense. For the sake of clearness, I have preferred to resolve these forms graphically into their component elements.

[192] [193] **58, 11.** wátsam, etc. The possessive wátsam stands here instead of the instrumental case watsátka through attraction from wännikísham. Tchíkla here means to ride away on another's horse, the horse being missed by his owner.

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* Dave Hill introduces himself in the first person as chief; but many of these decisions can be given by the headchief only, not by any of the subchiefs, to whose number Dave Hill belonged. The Modocs at Yáneks claim to observe these regulations; the Snake Indians do not.

6

*539 755 70, 2. í'lks (from élχa, ílχa, *to lay down*) is the full dish, basket, or bucket (kála), on which the victuals are brought in; but it means also the food itself, and the dance-feast on which they are eaten. Locative case: í'lksat.

[192] 70, 3. shuína is often incorrectly pronounced tsuína.

[194] 70, 3. nutí'sh; verbally: while burning fivefold; while five fires are blazing.

70, 3. At tchí'sh: the young men, who strip themselves naked down to the hips during the performance, begin their dance after the women have had one turn.

[192] 70, 5. nā'bakuapk: see népka, in Dictionary.

[193] 70, 5. yayayá-as means a certain tamánuash witchcraft which inspires the conjurer: the conjurer tells the people just what (ná-ast) the yayayá-as said to him.

70, 6. 7. *s*, *sh* is here in three words doubled to *ss*: shíshalaluapka, shuashuáktcha, and wusóga; kû'tχaks forms the indirect object of the first of these verbs.

[192] 70, 7. wálok sápa. The kíuks gets the inspiration from the yayayá-as only after sweating; then he can tell (sápa) the people, *when* the disease will come.

70, 8. tánkĕni: after tánkĕni at í'lksh supply ítpa? (did ye bring in?).

70, 8. 9. shā'tu, sā'tu for the more usual form shā'tua; pā'n after tá-unepanta is incorrect and unnecessary; this conjunction should stand there only after ta-unépni or tá-unep.

DETAILS OF A CONJURER'S PRACTICE.

[115]

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY MINNIE FROBEN.

Mák̲laks	shuákiuk	kíuksash	k̲á-i	gû'l'hi	húnkĕlam	ládshashtat,	ndéna
Indians	is calling	the conjurer	not	enter	his	into lodge,	they halloo

sha'hmóknok;	kíuksh	toks	wán	kiukáyank	mû'luash	m'na	kaníta	pí'sh.
to call (him) out;	the conjurer		red fox	hanging out on a pole	as sign	his	outside	"of him".

Kukíaks	tchû'tanish	gátp'nank	wigáta	tchélχa	mā'shipksh.	Lútatkish	3
Conjurers	when treating	approaching	close by	sit down	the patient.	The expounder	

wigáta	kíukshĕsh	tcha'hlánshna.	Shuyéga	kíuks,	wéwanuish	tchĭk	winóta
close to	the conjurer	sits down.	Starts choruses	the conjurer,	females	then	join in singing

liukiámnank	nadshā'shak	tchûtchtníshash.	Hánshna	mā'shish	hû'nk
crowding around him	simultaneously	while he treats (the sick).	He sucks	diseased	that

hishuákshash,	tátktish	í'shkuk,	hantchípka	tchī'k	kukuága,	wishinkága,	6
man,	the disease	to extract,	he sucks out	then	a small frog,	small snake,	

mû'lkaga,	k̲ák̲o	gí'ntak,	kákaktok	nánuktua	nshendshkáne.	Ts'û'ks	toks
small insect,	bone	afterwards,	whatsoever	anything	small.	A leg	

ké-usht	tchékĕle	ítkal;	lúlp	toks	mā'shisht	tchékĕlitat	lgû'm	shû'kĕlank
being fractured	the (bad) blood	he extracts;	eyes	but	being sore	into blood	coal	mixing

k̲í'tua	lû'lpat,	kû'tash	tchish	kshéwa	lúlpat	pû'klash	tuiχámpgatk	9
he pours	into the eyes,	a louse	too	introduces	into the eye	the white of eye	protruding	

ltúiχaktgi	gíug.
for eating out.	

NOTES.

*539 In preference to any other beast, the prairie-wolf, small wolf, or coyote (as he is
773 called in the West after an Aztec term meaning "digger, burrower") became con-
[825] nected in the mind of the Indian with the creation of the moon and the origin of the
months or moons, because in moonlit nights he is heard howling from nightfall to
dawn; sometimes alone, sometimes in packs of several dozen at a time. His querulous,
whining howl is likened by the Indians with a "speaking to the moon". Our tale
above is based upon the double sense of *moon* and *month*, in which the term shápash (the
"indicator," from shápa to tell, indicate) is used. The idea of the creation of twice
twelve moons originated in the delusion that in every period called *new* moon, moons
were really made or manufactured *new* by the creator. The number twenty-four was
perhaps suggested by the observation of lunar eclipses, or mock moons appearing in
hazy weather. The coyote as the creator of the moons (and the creator of the universe
among the Central Californians) naturally desired to have as many moons as possible;
while K'múkamtch, as the wolf's antagonist, thought it better for the benefit of his own
*539 creation, the human beings, not to make the year too long. If the winter had to last
773 twelve months instead of six, how could they collect roots, bulbs, seed, fish, and game
192 enough to live through such a length of time?

105, 2. shipátχúkanka. Two moons being on the sky simultaneously would necessarily often cover and thereby eclipse or hurt each other.

105, 2. iggá-idshnank. The mother-coyote had hung up the twenty-four moons made by herself around the walls and ceiling of her winter-lodge, which in this myth signifies the sky. The suffix -ídshna points to her walking from one spot of the lodge to another while busy in suspending the moons.

[776] 105, 3. gú'hli'. A great deal of shrewdness is ascribed to the principal deity of the Klamath Lake people as well as to those of other *hunting* tribes. He manifests his astuteness in entering the coyote's lodge in her *absence* only, and to prepare a trick for her there.

105, 4. tát' né for táta nen.

[194] 105, 5. Hitá tchía! is pronounced as if it was *one* word only: hitátchia.

105, 6. shû'shamka, distributive form of sh'û'mka, to hum, grunt, to make hă hă. He grunted every time he planted another awl, sometimes in an interrogative tone of voice, and did it to disguise their secret planting into the ground.

105, 7. wákaitch composed of wák haitch; wásha-wéka composed of wásham wéaga; tχéwag or tχéwaga, diminutive of tχé-u first, first in order, eldest; cf. hû'ktag.

[193] 105, 7. tû'm haktch. This language has a term corresponding to our *too much* (tû'm tchátchui), but none which renders our *too* with accuracy. Adjectives or adverbs qualified by *too* are therefore pronounced with a higher pitch of voice and the quantity of their main vowel is increased when the Indian intends to express this adverb.

105, 10. wakaí, "why not," a combination of wák and ḳá-i.

105, 14. gatpanû'la gi'ta: he has come here and has left again.

[825] 105, 16. Kiti'ta. The coyote-wolf, while rolling forth and back on the ground, as these animals are in the habit of doing, ran her belly into the bone-awls insidiously planted there by K'múkamtch, so that the entrails shed their contents on the lodge-floor.

*539 773 192 482 193 222 109, 1. shkä'shgatkaltk. A verbal adjective of shkátkĕla, to carry on back; kă, ka is the radical syllable, found also in kä'mat, *back*. This distributive form is apparently due to vocalic dissimilation. Women carry conical baskets (yáki) on their backs when digging roots or bulbs, and throw them over their shoulders into these receptacles.

193 109, 2. 6. 8. Skélamtch. See Dave Hill's relation of the same myth; *Note* to 107, 3. In speaking of somebody who acts on the sly, and differently from what he professes and means to do, the Klamath Lake people will say: "He acts like Skélamtch." This is one of the few proverbial locutions, or at least figurative modes of speech that can be traced in this tribe.

291 109, 3. kmä' is the rounded light cap usually worn by females, fitting tight to the skull. It is made of the stalks of aquatic plants, several species of them entering into the manufacture of each cap. The taking away of the skull-caps was intended as a signal for the women to go to their new homes.

109, 6. táta. The words of reprehension addressed by Old Marten to Weaslet are: "Did I ever order you to bring the caps of any other than of both the one-eyed women? I told you to get the caps of both one-eyed women only." Lápuk belongs to shtchûshχápkam, though separated from it by the inversion of the sentence; kmä' is left out.

193 109, 6. shtchûshχápkam. The distributive form of shtchû'χa is so difficult to articulate, that abbreviations of it like the above and others, have resulted. Shtchúχa is evidently the medial form of tchóχa, and its meaning is therefore "to suffer destruction on oneself." Cf. shtchúyampka.

109, 10. ni ä'pkatki. After ä'pkatki supply gi: "said, told."

109, 11. The text forgets to mention the calling in of the two one-eyed women.

109, 12. Shû'hank-shitk. In many mythic stories the newly-born children are made to grow miraculously fast, so that when a few days old they handle bow and arrows, and after a month or two they are adult people.

194 109, 13. ntéyäla, to make a bow or bows (nté-ish), nteyákäla, to make little bows (nteyága), nteyakalia or nteyakalíya, to make little bows *for somebody*.

109, 13. únak, *son*, is variously pronounced û'nak, vúnaka, wúnak; and so is its diminutive únakag, únakaga, vúnakak, *little son*, "*sonny*".

109, 15. híshla has two meanings, both *reciprocal:* to shoot at each other, and to shoot at the mark, *rivalling to outdo each other* in markmanship. Cf. 24, 17.

193 109, 15. Léwatkuk for léwatko hûk: they, after having played; participle of léwa to play.

110, 1. hûshûtánkapksh etc. "This was an approaching himself on the sly towards me" is the literal rendering of this sentence, in which the first term is a *nomen actionis*, a verbal indefinite. The two pronouns are governed by it.

110, 3. mish shli'shtka gi'uapk, if he should want to shoot you; if he should shoot at you purposely.

110, 4. Shúyuakta, "he knew." Omniscience and prescience are among the characteristic features of Old Marten, who is the personification of K'múkamtch. Cf. 107, 1. 3. 14. 108, 5. and *Note* to 107, 3.

110, 6. hútkalpěli, to rise up suddenly, to jump up again (though killed beforehand). Cf. 108, 2.

110, 11. "shui'ulatchgankan hû'n gi." Marten's son said, that his arrow, when

*539 **120, 2.** tchishkuapsht instead of tchishkuápkasht.

773 192 **120, 10.** vutátchkia is also pronounced utátchkia, hutátchkia. Earth-lodges which open on the top can be closed by means of a large cover placed over the smoke-hole.

[194] [193] **120, 11.** lepleputéa or properly: leplep=putéa, "to play the smoke out game with two on each side," is a compound of lápēni *two* in the shorter form láp, and púta to be smothering. Láp has changed its vowel into a shorter vowel, *e*, on account of removal of accent, and is here redoubled by iterative, not by distributive reduplication. Cf. lepχléks from láp and k̲'léka. A series of points after lepleputéa indicates that the animals repeated this word an indefinite number of times, while the others were inside the lodge, and while pronouncing pută', they opened again to let them out.

120, 17. tchúχasht tchĕ'k kaishnû'la. Literally rendered, this means: having perished finally, they uncovered. The subject of tchúχasht, lû'lχagsh, has to be supplied from what precedes. The smoke of the burning rotten wood killed the cubs.

[342] [417] **120, 19.** ga-ulû'lkish, from ga-ulóla to go out, is the outside ladder of the Indian "mud-house" or winter-lodge, averaging in length from 10 to 15 feet; the inside ladder, wákish, is somewhat longer to reach the excavated floor.

120, 21. The complete wording of this sentence, in which sháptki stands for shápatki, would be: k̲á-i sháptki giug Lúk̲ash, gátpampēlisht hû'nksh (hû'nkiash).

[193] **120, 22.** ágguipksh, contraction of aggayápkash: aggáyn to be hung up, or to be stuck into; said of long-shaped articles only.

121, 3. anulípka to take away something from another's lodge or house without asking for it; the suffix -ipka expressing the idea of "towards oneself." Anulípkuish, "what was once abstracted from others" appears here in the contracted form anuli'pkûtch; gé-u "by me, through me."

121, 9. tátatatakani shows repetition of the two first syllables of tatáksni children, but at the same time means "where are the children?"

121, 15. shálgidsha; the antelopes placed the coals there to secure their flight from the Bear; had the coals been put there by somebody else, lákidsha would be used.

121, 22. 122, 7. hû'ktakag: familiar diminutive name given to the Grizzly Bear; hû'ktag, 121, 23., stands for one of the young antelopes.

122, 1. 2. Mbúshant tchĕ'k etc: The sense of this exclamatory sentence is as follows: "To-morrow at last I will play a sharp game with ye children, when in the day-time I can use my eyes to advantage." Lúlpatka is: lúlpatko a; "possessing eyes" is the primary signification of lúlpatko, but here it means "enabled to make use of the eyes". Cf. múkasham nû lúlpatko: I see as sharp as a horned owl. The distributive form pahépaha, of pahé, "during day-time" means "any time when the sun shines bright." Cf. pahéksh, noon-time.

122, 9. This blowing of personified objects of nature into sticks etc., is a fiction of which we have another instance in 111, 16.

122, 11. ndshenshkáni. See *Note* to 71, 6. 7.

122, 12. 13. tchiwá, tchi'tchu: tchi is a syllable found in many words referring to water and liquids, as tchíya to give water; tchiéga to overflow. This radical is no doubt an obsolete Klamath word for water and recalls the term tchû'k "water" in Chinook jargon: tltsuk in Lower Chinook, tl'tchuku in Clatsop; tchaúk in Nútka. It also occurs under various forms in the Sahaptin dialects. By this lake undoubtedly Upper Klamath Lake is meant. Cf. tchíwa in Dictionary.

*539 148, 2-4. Yánakänin for yanakäníni; cf. suffix -ni, -nini in Dictionary. mä'nsh for
262 mä'ntch. pä'shtak for páhasht ak, cf. pä'sht, 147, 17. for páhasht.

824 148, 5. Nú'tak. This grass belongs to the genus Glycerium, as identified by Dr.
E. Foreman, and produces a tiny, grayish bright seed of tchípash size. The flowers
192 are of a light red color. The grass is found around the agency buildings and grows
about one foot high.

148, 7. Páwash properly means *tongue.*

148, 11. Pú'ks or *camass.* Its bulb is one of the principal food-articles of all the northwestern Indians, but does not grow in profusion in the warmer portions of California. It is of the magnitude of the walnut, very saccharine and nutritious, ripens in May and June, and by the roasting or baking process described in the text becomes as hard as stone. The Máklaks call it after pû'ka *to roast*, the Shasti name is sók, the Pit River name ähualé, while the name kamas, "sweet," is of Nutka origin. The botanists call the plant Scilla or Camassia esculenta. Cf. *Note* to 148, 1.

148, 14. ípakt, metathesis of ípkat, the conditional of ípka to lie there, to remain.

[222] 148, 16. púlχuantch. The gathering of this pupa or chrysalid and of its caterpillar,
[462] the χeshí'sh, is chiefly done by the women of the tribes, who find them imbedded at
[252] no great depth in the sandy ground around pine trees. Another chrysalid, the kûlí'gs,
is collected and roasted by them in the same way and tastes like eggs. kshû'n puetílank: putting grass under the chrysalids, not under the heated stones. The stones are replaced by other heated ones, as soon as they have cooled off; the larva assumes a black color after roasting and tastes like eggs. See púlχuantch in Dictionary.

[221] 148, 19. guiχakshä'mígshta. The season of the year, when the exodus of the whole
[222] tribe to Klamath Marsh takes place, where pond-lily seed is collected for the winter,
[193] is about the middle of June. The ending -ta is an abbreviation of the case suffix -tat.
Three seasons are stated in the text, when the peeling of the inner or fibre bark of small pine trees is performed; of these the camass-season precedes the exodus to Klamath Marsh by a few weeks only, and the fishing season lasts from February to the end of the summer. Of course, the peeling of the kápka-pine coincides with the season when the sap ascends through the young tree. The bark is removed from about five feet to fifteen or twenty feet above the ground, and most of the beautiful pines treated in this manner are doomed to premature decay, though many survive the operation. The aspect of a forest with some of the pine trees peeled is rather singular.

148, 21. shánks hak, contraction of shánkish hak or ak.

149, 1. ka tánian for ka taniáni "so much in width or extent." The bud of the táksish has a width of about half an inch. Cf. *Note* to 148, 1.

149, 3. 4. tók. This aquatic grass grows about two feet high; by é-ushtat is meant, here and in tsí'kal: Upper Klamath Lake.

(194) 149, 3. pä'lpali, vocalic dissimilation of pálpali or pä'lpäli; cf. taktä'kli 149, 14.

149, 5. Tchí'psam is a prairie grass on which the brown tchípash-seed grows.
This seed is extremely small, and it takes a long time before a sufficient quantity of it is
(178) gathered to afford a meal for a family. Still smaller is the nútak-seed, and both are
striking instances of the persistence of the Indians in keeping up their old mode of living, when by agriculture and stock-raising they could procure provisions with infinitely less trouble and in much shorter time.

*539
533
755
192

165; 13. It is by no means certain whether the above is the full wording of this song or not.

165; 16. nen involves the idea: "you hear it yourselves." Cf. 167; 36. 170; 59.

[534] 166; 17. kódsinksh was in this connection explained by líłhanksam stĕ'ksh. Conjurers' rattles are made of deer's claws.

166; 18. This hawk is a kind of sparrow-hawk, Falco sparverius.

166; 20. Compare the song of the weíwash-goose: 170; 69.

166; 21. This song of a female conjurer or "doctress" is quite analogous to the song 166; 17.

166; 22. The ḳáls flies around in cold nights followed often by foggy mornings, hence the belief that it makes the fog.

166; 25. Compare the gray wolf's song, 165; 12., which forms alliteration to this.

166; 26. Refers very probably to the cremation of the dead.

[778] 167; 30. In line 2 the same object is alluded to as in line 3, kóltam sχí'l. This is a broad strip of dressed otter skin, ornamented in various ways with shells, feathers, bird-scalps, etc. To all these objects a magic power is attributed severally, and as they are now all united on one strip of skin, this strip must unite the magic powers of them all. The conjurer suspends the sχí'l on his neck and lets it dangle over his chest or back, according to the manipulations in which he is engaged at the time. It is considered as one of the most powerful of all the curing tools or múluash.

167; 32. Alludes to the grayish-white color of this bird, which burrows underground. This bird is also mentioned in 154; 12. and *Note;* cf. also 132, 7. 8.

[193] 168; 41. Sχí'pa is the abbreviated form of the possessive case in -am, as in wásha wéka 105, 9. and *Note* to 105, 7.; in: ní'l wéksa, 144, 1. cf. 165; 13.

168; 44. Interpreted by others: "I am scolding and threatening the earth".

169; 50. Another túktukuash-song is contained in 162; 3. cf. *Note.*

169; 52. Shaíkish is another name given to the tchákiuks.

169; 54. The kingfisher or Ceryle alcyon is called in Klamath Lake tchántchan, tsántsan, tchánshan after its cry: tchătchătchă, and chiefly feeds on salmon.

169; 56. The second line was referred by "Sergeant" Morgan to the otter. Cf. 177; 13.

170; 58. This alludes to the name of the bird, which imitates its twittering.

170; 62. This bird circles in the air to discover fish on the lake's surface and to pounce upon them. The tchuaísh is the red headed vulture or black buzzard: Cathartes aura. The Indian name is an imitation of the bird's cry.

170; 63. 64. The wákash-crane is identical with the tuákish, the name being derived from its cry. These birds creep along the edge of the water in search of small fish. Compare the tuákish-songs 154; 9. 156; 33. 34.

170; 65. This song is much better expressed in the series of Modoc incantations: 174; 13. Here as well as there alliteration is perceptible.

[193] 170; 67. After gé-u, the subject of the sentence, nä'paks or the disease, is omitted. In the name of the duck the final -s, -sh is geminated here in the possessive case, to stand for wa-u'htû'asam.

[194] 170; 68. In the onomatopoetic word wä'ks the dissimilation of the vowel into wä'-aks is frequently observed. Also pronounced wékash.

170; 69. The weíwash- or waíwash-goose is a long-necked white bird, commonly known as snow-goose: Anser hyperboreus.

*539 533 192 177; 2. "There are two of us black bear cubs" refers to the circumstance that in mythologic tales two cubs only are found to belong to one bear family. Compare what is said of the gíwash, 177; 14. and *Note to* 118, 1. 7.

[194] 177; 5. The name of the young antelope is very differently pronounced. Its ears (mumû'atch wil'hágam) form the subject of a shuí'sh.

177; 13. Koyóma. The same idea is met with in 169; 56. 166; 24.

177; 14. gíwash (the í pronounced short) is the long, gray-colored squirrel.

178; 7. Pápkash. This song of the lumber-boards was more completely remembered than the one quoted 155; 18.

178; 12. Pä'ksh. A similar tobacco-pipe song is to be found 167; 33.

[754] 178; 13. welékag. Here as well as in all other portions of the globe the idea of sorcery and witchery is associated with that of old women (welékash, old woman; welekága old woman's spirit). Welä'χatka, to travel around or appear as an old woman's spirit.

NÁNUKTUA KIÚKSAM SHUÍ'SH.

*539 533

SUBJECT LIST OF VARIOUS KINDS OF INCANTATIONS IN USE AMONG THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN.

Yámash kiúksam shuí'sh, mû'ash, tχálamash, yéwash, slä'wish,
North wind has an incantation-song, south wind, west wind, east wind, gust of wind,
paíshash, lĕmé-ish, lúepalsh, któdshash, gulkásh.
cloud, thunder, lightning, rain, rain mixed with snow.

Sáppas kiúksam shuísh, sháp'sam stutí'sh; yaína, wálidsh, ktá-i sû'-
Sun has a tamánuash-song. mock-sun; mountains, rock-cliff, rocks
smaluatk, hä'nuash, yatí'sh, sámχa-ush, é-ush, wélwash, káwam, wäyá-
spotted, upright rocks, upright rocks, smaller, rocks in river, lake, water-spring, eel-spring, floating
lapsh.
ice.

Snáwedsh kiúksam shuí'sh, welékag, tsákiag, tsákiaga tsû'χatχant;
Women has a tamánuash-song, old woman's spirit, little boy, little boy restless;
k'mutchä'witk: kó-idshi shuí'sh génti kä'ilati.
the old man: (is) an untoward song in this country.

Gû'tkaks kiúksam shuí'sh, gudítguls, shíllals, tátktish, lulúlish, tiló-
Small-pox is an incantation, belly-ache, chronic sickness, pain, cramps, cause
takna, tiä'mish.
of sickness, hunger.

Munána tatámnish kiúksam shuí'sh, kĕláyua, múkukag, wáshlaag,
Mole has a tamánuash-song, ground-mouse, field-mouse, chipmunk,

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

NOTES.

*539 I. Erotic songs obtained from Chief Johnson, Minnie Froben, and others, in the
533 Klamath Lake dialect. The twelve songs obtained from Minnie Froben are among the
832 prettiest and most melodious, as for instance 9. 16. 17. 18. 25. 26., and the eighteen songs
dictated by Johnson are of importance for the study of manners and customs, viz: 6.
7. 8. 10. 11. 19. 20. 28. 29. 41. 42. 43 etc.

With the Indians all of these and many other erotic songs pass under the name of
pilpil or puberty songs. They include lines on signs of womanhood, courting, love
sentiments, disappointments in love, marriage fees paid to parents, on marrying and on
*539 conjugal life. Some love songs have quite pretty melodies. A few songs of the present
533 interesting series of song-lines seem to treat of commonplace subjects only, as 22. to 24.;
832 28. to 31., while others apparently contain nothing but heartless mockeries and satiric
192 strictures, like 9. 28. 40. 44. But they all refer in fact to love-making and kindred
sentiments, the satiric lines confirming the proverbial inclination of lovers to fight
among themselves. I have deemed appropriate to gather all these songs under a
heading which unmistakably expresses their real purport.

[194] 182; 1. The accent is laid sometimes on first, sometimes on second syllable. This word is abbreviated from yuyulinē'pka, as it occurs in the Modoc pilpil song. The event mentioned here is followed by a dance-feast; cf. shúyuχalsh, and 134, 21.

182; 4. ginhiéna "inside" means into a secluded spot, lodge or enclosure. O-ólka, ó'laka is the diminutive of ó'lsh, the grayish pigeon with the plaintive voice.

182; 7. gítkuapka, a contraction of gítko gi-uápka i.

[583] 182; 8. Pay a wedding gift is equivalent to purchasing a girl from her parents for a handsome consideration.

[193] 182; 11. Sung by women. The original as given to me does not contain the negative particle: Géntala nû haíkanka púshpushlish hishuákshash.

183; 12. yan'wán i stands for yanhuáni i.

183; 13. kali'napka: they are not only "dead but out of sight", as the suffix -apka indicates. This being an erotic song-line, kalínapka simply means that the females looked for are either asleep or absent, and not deceased, as kalína would seem to indicate. 'mutchéwatk for kěmutchéwatko; cf. 136, 5.

183; 14. 15. These two songs follow a purely anapæstic metre, No. 15 adding two acatalectic syllables to its three anapæsts. Compare also the first line of 182; 7. with one supernumérary syllable. As for the contents of 183; 15. compare the analogous Modoc song 186; 51.

[194] 183; 17. Melody very engaging. In lúluash the second *u* is redoubled for metrical reasons. Dactylic rhythm prevails here, in 16, and in 182; 11.

183; 18. That is, while he was seeking young girls inside the kayátas. Melody very beautiful.

[193] 183; 19. wayósham, possessive case of waíwash, *q. v.*

183; 20. shkutántki stands for skútatko gí or shkutanátko gí: "he is wrapped in."

183; 21. The much more so, because he is in his festive garb, the pátash and lás stuck on his headdress.

184; 26. Melody very pretty. A young woman addresses these words to a lover.

184; 27. Sung by young women who have fallen out with their beaux.

*539 **184; 28.** Said to be an erotic song.

533 **184; 29.** luyā'nitki contracted from luyā'nitko gi. Cf. *Note* to 183; 20.

832 192 [193] **184; 30.** ķóktkinshkiuk. The proper meaning of this verb is "to set upon like a dragon-fly". Shanáhual is an uncommon form for shanahō'li, the long ō being resolved into its component sounds. Cf. náwal, and 184; 35.: genuála for genō'la.

184; 31. Why did the wolf howl? The reason given is that he could not meet anybody. This wolf is a loving young man who was looking out for women.

184; 32. Sung by one woman and repeated by a female chorus. This song-line treats of the abandonment of a female by her husband or lover for some reason.

184; 33. Pretty melody. The song refers to a lover disappointed in his affections.

184; 33. tchíkla wátsatka is preferable to and more frequent than wátsat, wátchtat, cf. 183; 22. Alliteration is perceptible in this song-line.

184; 34. The wásh is the lover of the girl who sings this song; the lover is compared to a prairie-wolf on account of his importunity and lack of moderation. Comparisons of lovers with quadrupeds and birds are frequently met with.

184; 35. yóshinko for yó-ishiank ō, yó-ishiuk hû: he is running astray.

[193] **184; 37.** shiwága. In the objective case sometimes inflected like snáwedsh *woman* 80, 11. sometimes as a diminutive noun, as here, and 83, 10. In 185; 40. shiwákshash stands incorrectly for shiwágash, through phonetic analogy with shíwamptchash in the same song

185; 39 to 44, perhaps including 45, have a literal and direct meaning, and besides this are intended to convey an indirect meaning, which is of an obscene character. The same may be said of songs 15 and 51.

185; 41. This melodious song alludes to the habit of mud-hens to rest and sprawl on the top of the waves; wílhaslasna depicts their motions while on the wave-top, willaslína the sprawling observed while they sail down from it. With slight phonetic [199] variations, this same melody is also sung as follows: Tóhosh ō wíllaslin; wíllaslasnu, willaslina; wíllaslí în.

185; 42. wí'l seems connected with the diminutive word wíl'haga, *young deer*.

[193] **185; 43.** kí' nak ĕn gí', stands for gí' nak, nen gí: "he cries nak, so he cries"; assuming that ĕn is abbreviated from nen.

185; 45. This is a "dream" song.

185; 46. Pilpil song worded in another than the Máķlaks language.

000 II. Erotic songs obtained from Toby Riddle and J. C. D. Riddle in the Modoc dialect. The Modoc pilpil songs obtained are all of a satiric character.

185; 47. See Klamath Lake pilpil songs 182; 1.

185; 48. See Klamath Lake collection of pilpil songs 182; 2.

186; 49. Pilpil tune sung by girls. Taína is equivalent to t'éna, teíniwá-ash etc.

186; 50. A song repeated for hours by young Modocs; it is of the true pilpil kind.

186; 51. Originally a pilpil song, but sung now by children playing hide and seek.

186; 52. This is a very popular and prettily tuned Modoc song.

186; 53. Sung by Modoc girls who feel themselves importuned by their lovers. Often the boys join them by singing it in chorus. This well-meant advice of sending the boys to the South, no doubt to the Pit River country, is to keep them at a distance, for the song refers to the appearance of the first signs of puberty. Watchágalam is full form of watchágam, for which wátcham is sometimes incorrectly substituted.

(83) And they let them out. (84) Again they went back inside. (85) "Two-in-smother, two-in-smother, smother, smother!" (86) And then, "Two-in-smother, smother, smother, smother-r-r-r. . . !" (87) "So smother there!" [Antelope's children said.] (88) And now, "Smother-r-r-r. . . ."[6] 539*

(89) Now they said, "Now they have died. (90) What shall we do now?" (91) So he said, "Having caused them to embrace each other, having stood them up in the doorway, having propped open their eyes and mouth. (92) And they'll look like they're laughing, when the Mother comes home. (93) And she won't suspect anything." (94) And they then advised everything, "Do not tell where we have gone." (95) But they just forgot Awl.

(96) Then they went down into the hearth. (97) They just shut [the way behind them with] a coal. (98) Then they went and went, ran and ran. (99) They did not stop anywhere, [but] ran and ran.

(100) Now Old Bear came back. (101) She said, "What are you grinning at so much? (102) I just barely got home . . ." (103) And she said, "Ohhhh! They have played a trick on me!" (104) She called and called, "Where are you? Whe-e-ere are yo-u-u?" (105) And thus, "Answer me! Answer me!" (106) Nobody said anything. (107) Then she said, "Where did they go? Where did they go? (108) Do you know? Do you know?" (109) Nobody said anything. (110) Nobody paid attention. (111) Then she said to Awl, "Do you know?" (112) "How stupid this one is! (113) You started it. (114) What are you so sick about?" (115) "Where did they go? (116) Only you can tell me. (117) If you won't tell me, then I'll break you in two." (118) "Ohhh, they went down right there."

(119) So she just barely squeezed in her hind-end. (120) Then she went, tracking them. (121) Now the little one got tired. (122) Then the bigger one said, "We'll crawl into the log right here" [pointing to a hollow log].

(123) Then she overtook them there. (124) "Yes," she said, "Tomorrow I'll play with you with daytime eyes."[7] (125) Then Old Bear went to sleep.

(126) Then the biggest one awoke. (127) And he said, "Ohhh, now this one has caught up with us!" (128) Then he said to the little one, "Do-o-on't you cry!" (129) And he said, "Perhaps you'll wake her up." (130) Then he threw a little piece of wood over her, perhaps a pine cone [to see if she were sound asleep]. (131) Then he said, "Hah! Now! You jump over her first!

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[6] Sentences 86 and 88 become progressively more falsetto toward the end, drawing out to a voiceless [E·] *for* dramatic purposes. Sentence 87 is shouted with much vehemence. [194] [196]

[7] /peepea lolpbetga/ "with daytime eyes" is also distorted speech for dramatic effect. No form *[rrepee] : /peepea/ exists in normal speech; {pee} "daytime" does not otherwise occur with any of the {re} morphemes in the corpus. [196]

#539

(85) čoy honk ćoye·s naĺa·ĺank—honk baĺa·ʔasam naʔas.[13] "siktgi ge·! siktgi ge·!" (86) čoy honk be·n hak gatbamblyank wĺi·ĺa, wdopga, wĺi·ĺa, wdopga. (87) čoy be·n hak ksslqća ǵlegapks gist—ǵleqs se·wok. (88) čoy honk ṕehṕe·bji·ʔa če·li·k. (89) čoy honk naʔas ho·skanga, "waq bas ni giwapk?" (90) čoy honk naʔas, "ma·ns na·lk ni sbogwapk paćit." (91) čoy honk ʔat sboga, sboga. (92) ma·ns hok q̇e·gi, hok ẃaḱa. (93) čoy honk ʔat siktgi. (94) čoy honk ʔat ba·ĺa·ʔasam nqe···nkanga, nqe···nkanga, nqe···nkanga, "siktgi ge···! siktgi ge···!" (95) čoy honk kiwĺa·ĺa ʔat če·li·k, ba·ĺa·ʔasam honk. (96) čoy honk ʔat lali·ga q̇aĺatk loloqsdat.

(97) čoy honk na···nok honk ǵo·s ʔimni, honk ćole·ks. (98) na·nok qdeĺe·ḱank, na·nok—ʔeLWis bil q̇ay wqe·ẃa. (99) čoy honk ńos laḿa·ćank lamni, do··· blay—dwant waqpčant bas ǵo·sdat, q̇ay ni sʔaywakta. (100) čoy dak čik mo·ni ǵo·s.

(101) čoy honk ʔat ẃaḱa gatbambli, "ya···, ʔat na·t ṕawapk! ʔat na·t ṕawapk! yakyakyakyakyak! ʔat na·t ṕawapk, ʔat na·t ṕawapk!"[14] (102) čoy honk hayĺa·ĺa. (103) čoy hok geḿas ćoye·s sle·s gyank, čaĺa·ĺa loloqsdat. (104) čoy honḱ naʔas, "waq bas nis gi! (105) dat dal gena? ya···!" (106) čoy detdye·mipks papakpakḱanga, hokt ẃawḱa.

(107) čoy naʔas gi, "dat lis ʔi gi? (108) dat ʔi gi?" (109) čoy honk ʔat ǵo·sdat dalmni. (110) "ya···, do· dal ʔi ʔiwallǵa? (111) dam ʔins ćleyank git? (112) mo··· ʔa na·t yoẏalqs sitk! (113) detdye·ḿa ʔa na·t! (114) ćleyank ʔis!" (115) "q̇ay. q̇ay ma·ĺs." (116) "hon hay ʔis Na·s gin LaṕakLas loy!" (117) "q̇ay." (118) "ćleyank ʔis la·lasti·!" (119) "q̇ay." (120) "bosakĺas ʔis loyank!" (121) "q̇ay." (122) "mo··· ʔa na·t detdye·ḿa. (123) hon gin ʔis qaq̇o·, qe·matti·!" (124) "ʔi, ʔi·," či honk, "na·nok hay ʔowi·lǵat!" (125) naʔas, "geḿas ʔa na·nok ʔowi·ĺagwapk, čoy ʔat q̇awwapk gen!" (126) hahanwipgank čik sa ʔat q̇awwapgok, dadalmnipga. (127) čoy honk ʔat woĺo·qwe·La honk. (128) čoy honk na···nok lwela. (129) Na·s hok tabi·ni, ḱičḱa·ni na·lk, hokt hok ʔat go·qi·wa. (130) q̇ay sa honkt siwga, nanqa lwela. (131) čoy hoḿas ge· gyank, ʔat domi··· be·n ẃas gi. (132) q̇ay honk na·nok ćo·q̇ok, hok Na·čyak či·yank, čoy honk ʔat mo· be·n dom ǵlekbli. (133) ʔi·. nen ʔat ḱada·di hak.

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[196]

[13] No difference could be discerned by the informant between /ćoye·s/ and /ba·ĺa·ʔasam/. The former is the common word for "hat," while the latter occurs only in this myth. The informant was not sure whether /ba·ĺa·ʔasam/ had any semantic or formal connexion with /ba·ĺa·ʔas/ "flour."

[194]
[196]

[14] All of the quoted material in sentence 101 is in falsetto, indicating the voices of the coyote children eagerly coming to feast. Each syllable is heavily stressed and rhythmically delivered: /ʔát ná·t ṕáwápk!/, etc.

*539 (80) čoy honk naʔas gi, "sʔabi· ʔis na·ĺs, sʔabas! (81) dwa· ʔa na·t waq giwk, q̇elẏak ptisap, q̇elẏak pt́isap?" (82) čoy honk q̇ay sas geqč́a. (83) "he· ʔi na·ĺs q̇ay sʔabi·wapk, sliwapk mis ni!" (84) čoy honk q̇ay geqč́a. (85) čoy honk ʔat sńewe·č́ka mnatga dalčitga slin, paĺo·, kat ho·t bosbos sʔabasdat—ho·t gida gwena, dalč́iʔam.[19] (86) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, balaq hak ʔis ʔoegablyat! (87) sʔabi·wapk dak ma·ĺs ni!" (88) čoy honk ʔat sʔabi·ya sas naʔas, "ho·t hok hi·t či·ya, kat ma·ĺs snoq̇o·Ye·ga." (Is that right? snoq̇o·Ye·ga? q̇o·Ye·ks is "orphan," you know.) (89) "ʔambotdat hok či·ya, kat ma·ĺs snoq̇o·Ye·ga. (90) hoḿas ʔa·t giwk q̇o·Ye·ks." (Phillip, you're the cruellest animal I ever did know for making me tell this!)

(91) čoy sa honk ʔat gembli. (92) newiga da·ts hok sńewe·č́ka naʔas, "ʔi·. ʔat ʔa loldam gi." (93) naʔas, "čoy na·t ʔa slomtanwapk, na·nok psinks. (94) čoy na·t danqńi psinks giwlank—(q̇ay ni sʔaywakta—tewńip?—ʔaḾka.) (95) tewńip psinks giwlank čoy ni honks lakč́wapk." (96) čoy sa honk ʔat newiga naʔas. (97) "ʔat slomtanwapk ʔa na·t."

(98) čoy sa honk ʔat gena. (99) čoy honk do···m sa kyem, me·maqla sʔopba·tamblidamna. (100) čoy sa honk dosLibli. (101) čoy sa naʔas, "sda··· gi, do· ʔili·nči·k!" ṕle·wa mna·ĺam. (102) čoy honk ʔat wbeli·na, wbeli·na, wbeli·na, naʔas, "hãhãʔ! hãhãʔ!" (103) čoy da·ts honk ʔat, be·n Na·ẏantga psinkstga gena. (104) —ẏaMtgi ʔeč ni nen! (105) dada·t sa slomtampga, domna naʔas, "gočgočgočgoji·p!"[20] (106) čoy honk ʔat ṕle·wip č́is domna. (107) čeq̇ya honk do·, wqepĺaqsdat. (108) čoy honk naʔas, "hãhãmʔ! nen daks!" (109) čoy honk naʔas, "q̇ay dak sa dwa· waq gi." (But she'd be scared, all the time, you know. She knew that little girl would cut off her mother's head when she came out of water at night, and she was afraid she'd find it in there with the fish.

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[201] [19] The little girl shot the sun in the cheek. Mrs. Ohles gestured to her own cheek here to clarify this, and /ho·t gida gwena, dalč́iʔam/ "it made a mark right here, of [124] the arrow" refers to her gesture. She later remarked that the black spot is still to be seen on the sun's "cheek" and suggested it might be an Indian explanation of sunspots.

[20] The utterance /gočgočgočgoji·p/ was given in a loud whisper. It is apparently [192] a mythic utterance, a distortion of /pgoji·p/ "aunt, father's sister." The action here [124] was later clarified by Mrs. Ohles. Each time the two children went torch-fishing, their Aunt would appear from the water, leaning into the boat and crying "/gočgočgočgoji·p!/." The children remained perfectly still, hoping that she would eventually lean far enough into the boat for them to seize her and cut off her head. Their Grandmother, sitting at [194] home, heard her daughter each time and knew the children would kill her. Hence her repeated sob, "/hãhãʔ:/." (The symbol "ã" denotes a nasalized low central vowel. The [193] utterance is anomalous to the phonemic system.)

#539 (263) mo·⋯ nis goWa, čo·ks." (264) čoy honk naʔas gi, "kitú ʔis gen!" (265) čoy honk naʔas, "ya·⋯, laq ʔa ge· gi!" (266) kitía honk, hok be·p, gmoḱaḿčam be·p. (267) čoy honk naʔas, (—ýaMtgi balaq hak—) "laq́altk ʔa ge·!" či honk, "ya·⋯, ʔaMḱa ʔi tapýaltk!" (268) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·." (269) čoy honk ʔat ḿoḱa·k swaqča, swaqča. (270) čoy sa na·⋯nok wiqčisti· se·sas sʔewanʔa. (John, Peter, and so forth. They named him every name they could think of.) (271) čoy honk hok swaqča, goni·ĺḱa hok ǵlega. (On and on he cried, you know; that's what that goni·ĺḱa means.) (272) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔaysis. ʔaysis ʔa ge· gi." (273) čoy honk ʔat q̓a pakstgi. (274) q̓ay hok swaqča, ḿoḱa·k.

(275) čoy honk ʔat mo·⋯ čin. (276) čoy honk doma· we·ẃańs gitk, kakakýas hak. (sʔaywakta ʔi, kakýas we·ẃańs gist.) (277) ćoko·s, q̓lidi·s, ćíḱa, słoḱwa, —čoy Na·s ʔo·č ʔa—We·qs.

(278) čoy honk ćosak hok gmoḱaḿč kselwi. (279) čoy honk hok słoḱwaʔa·k ćo·⋯sak soḱatsis. (280) čoy honk hok gmoḱaḿč naʔas gi, "waq bas ge·ks giwk, q̓a nalk stinta? (281) ge·ks nalk ʔa stinta. (282) ge·ks ćosak dols gi, q̓ay honkýas nanqaýe·ńs we·ẃańs." (283) čoy honk We·qs q̓a—gitgoʔ—sqass ćosak. (284) "q̓ay ʔa no·s stinta. (285) słoḱwaʔa·ks bo·t stinta." (286) čoy honk gmoḱaḿč ʔat wičta honk, słoḱwaʔa·ks. (287) čoy honk ʔat ʔankẃalča (—waqpči bas ʔanko, q̓ay ni sʔaywakta. čoy da·ts hok ćosak ǰoǰyo·ki·na. Sparks flew out from that wood anyway, and he wanted to burn słoḱwaʔa·k so she'd throw her blanket off of her where she was naked all the time, because she was always picking her old bugs. maqlaqsyalank ʔams ni sʔabi·yo·ls —waq dal ʔi? q̓a hak wneqi·s!)

(288) čoy honk ʔat loip mna sepo·lgank gida—gida sepo·lga.[27] (289) čoy honk ʔat kselwi, gmoḱaḿč. (290) čoy honk ʔat ǰoyo·ki·na, čoy notía słoḱwaʔa·ks. (291) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔutututu!"[28] (292) čoy honk ʔat hok gmoḱaḿč naʔas, "ʔU·!"[29] (293) ʔat honk sleʔalla, dwa·.

(294) čoy honk ʔat newlga siwgwapgok ʔaysiess. (295) čoy honk homas danktkni· newlga honk. (296) čoy honk ćosak giskanga do·⋯na. (297) čoy honk ʔat ćnaw—ćnaw ʔakýaʔ—ćnaw gaẃal do·, sa·ýḱaldat. (298) čoy ćnawwat sqoĺelam sńoLas gaẃal. (299) čoy gatbamblyank,

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[196] [27] The informant here indicated by a gesture that /gida/ "right here" meant "on the ground between his legs."

[196] [28] Little Słoḱwa's exclamation begins voiced and high-pitched and descends to a very low note. It is progressively less voiced and ends voiceless.

[94] [29] This utterance is produced by an ingoing air current rather than an outgoing one. It is otherwise a mid-high back rounded vowel. The symbol [U·] has been arbitrarily chosen to stand for this anomalous phone, which occurs nowhere else in the corpus.

*539 (13) "ča ʔičgas, q̓aWĺi sislakLas!"[44] (14) čoy siwga honks ćasga·y. (15) "ča ʔičgas, kuskuskuskuskus, ʔičgas, čak loĺatq̓aks!"[45] (16) delo·ga ćasga·yas. (17) ʔat siso·ga. (18) be·n honkt siwga, ćasga·y. (19) naʔas gi. "hõ···, mo· bas q̓oy gi."[46] (20) kuskus, ʔičgas, mbastga sqewYapks!" (21) be·n hokt delo·ga ćasga·yas. (22) siso·ga. (23) be·n honkt gist, ćasga·y hončgas siwga. (24) "ča ʔičgas, ǵalo· qa·qaqs!" (25) ʔat honktčgas siwga. (26) ʔat sa sedalo·ga, honktčgas siwga ćasga·y. (27) ćasgi·ps naʔas gi, "ča! hak na·tčgas!" (28) naʔas, "hihastqatćwapk na·t!" (29) čečte·sis naʔas; "ća·nis ʔan homas gis." (30) "q̓ay, no· ʔams lobi· homas giwapk." (31) čoy honk ʔat čečte·sis hihastqatćwapk sa. (32) naʔas, "waq hay sa honk homas?" (33) "waq hay gemas lis"—gaʔas lis honk sommat—gaʔas sommat solĺaqkis mna hesl ʔa, dwantga histqatćwapk. (34) ʔat sa histqatća. (35) čečte·sis sdaLa·sga honkĺam ćasgi·psam som, sdaLa·sgnank siwga.

8. Hehǰi·ḱa

(Mr. Grover Pompey)

(1) či·ya toníṕńi lo·s. (2) čoy honk naʔas hok—lo·s ʔona·k hončńa čoy hemčńa naʔas, "loha·nk, loha·nk, ǵoda· ni ṕača, loha·nk, loha·nk!"[47] (2) hončńank, čoy ʔat hok gatba—hontba, hehǰi·ḱalamksi. (3) hehǰi·ḱa čawaltk mna wqepĺaqsdat, hottgićapga honk lo·sas, nqenčipgo·ta, "hehǰi·, hehǰi·, hehǰi·!"[48]

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[196] [44] /q̓aWĺi sislakLas/ was said to mean "Brown spots over the eyes." [reesl^{V}ikLs] : /sislakLas/ "distributive round objects on top of, reflexive" bears out the translation, but the usual word for "brown" is /kaWkaWĺi/ ({kaW}). The form /q̓aWĺi/, otherwise unknown, could perhaps be set up as an allomorph of {kaW} 73v "to be brown."

[194] [45] /kuskuskuskuskus/ is nearly voiceless. Cf. Note 42. There is no apparent reason for the metathesis of /k/ and /s/.

[192] [194] [46] /hõ···/ is an exclamation of disappointment. The vowel is nasalized, and the tone drops from /3/ to /2/ or a little lower.

[194] [47] The segment /loha·nk, loha·nk, ǵoda· ni ṕača·, loha·nk, loha·nk/ is spoken in a measured, heavily stressed tone and in a rather high, faint voice. This applies to further reoccurrences of this myth speech in utterances 18, 33, 52, 53, 75, and 76 of this myth.

[196] [194] [48] /hehǰi·, hehǰi·, hehǰi·!/ is the myth-speech of Hehǰi·ḱa. No further meaning for the segment /hehǰi·/ could be found. It is uttered here in a high pitched voice with a strong pitch drop on the final /i·/.

9. Skunk and His Sister-in-Law

(Mr. Robert David)

*539 (1) sʔabwapk ʔan—wiḱa·ńs gin hemkanks, kant ni sʔaywakta. (2) ga·ʔa·k ʔans—ma·ms ni q̇ay q̇a sʔaywaks. (3) čoy da·ts ni nent domna, kant nis gogmčatk sʔabi·ya. (4) ga·ʔa·k. (5) sʔasʔapǥle·ʔa sa. (6) čoy nis sa sʔabi·ya, ća·sisas ni nen sʔabwapgok, kat ho·t ya·mat do·ksĺant goni·ksĺant ǥoǥe mo·ńs či·ya. (7) čoy do·s nen basdin pačit na·ʔas ʔelǥa kalambya riba."[31] (8) hadakt hok do·ksĺant či·ya, ća·sis. (9) ǥaḱwapk do· sle·čok mna tapýa. (10) tapýap honkĺam či·ya do·ksĺant. (11) čoy bi gina· či·ya, ʔiWWasga gina·ksĺa, honk mo·ńs ǥoǥe gina·ksĺa. (12) čoy honk naʔas, sńewe·ts mna sʔabi·ya naʔas, "sponḱo·wapk ʔins. (13) sle·čas sańa·Wawli. (14) q̇ay ni ma·ns sleʔs gew honk tapýa," naʔas honk, ća·sis hokt gi. (15) "ʔi·," či čik honk. (16) ʔat honk sponḱwa. (17) spončńank ǥogetdat hi·t, sponḱo·ća wončJatga, wonč hadakt, naʔas honk sʔaba, wončJatga. (18) sǥaḱwa sa honk ʔat do· spončńa. (19) čoy honk gena ʔat. (20) goWaskća honk do· ǥe·lantga.

(21) čoy hont honk dićе·ẃa gaʔas honk sepe·wčok. (22) pe·wča honk qe·mat mna, na·nok hadakt lǥelǥaWapga honks, balbalʔi. (23) čoy honk dič ʔat so·Jo·qća, gida ćis, kat ho·t lǥoyǥi gidaĺ balbalʔi.[32] (24) honkt honk sańa·Wawli dič sle·s gis. (25) dič honk so·Jo·qčńank gena. čoy honk naʔas ʔat, "gen ni geńs ḱleča, gen ni geńs ḱleča!"[33] (26) ne· honkĺam hemkanks dada·t hok gena, Na·čyak ća·sis. (27) "gen ni geńs ḱleča, gen ni geńs ḱleča!" naʔas honk. (28) hont honk dićе·ẃa ʔat ṁaYas mna sle·bapgok, dada·t honk gena, qbel honk woĺo·kankčńo·ta mna. (29) honkt honk dićе·ẃa ʔat.

(30) čoy honk do··· ʔat gatbnank sleʔa doma··· čik hok maqlaqs hadakt či·ya. (31) čoy honk naʔas gi, "dat dal hok gew tapýap či·ya?" (32) čoy sa ʔala·Ya naʔas, "hi·t hok goni· či·ya." (33) čoy sas naʔas gi, "ʔi·, ma·ns ʔat nen q̇ay sleʔo·k, gen ni gaḱo·ćapga hon mo·ńs ǥoǥe," naʔas honk sʔaba. (34) "ʔi·," či čik honk gi. (35) čoy honk či·ya ʔat

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[194] [31] The allophonic pattern of /kalambya riba/ "Columbia River" is entirely Klamath, except for the anomalous /r/.

[124] [32] Mr. David gestured to his head and back to indicate Skunk's stripe, the area re-
[196] ferred to by /gida/ "here" and /gidaĺ/ "toward here."

[33] /gen ni geńs ḱleča/ "This is the way I hop along" is the myth speech tag-line for
[194] Skunk in this myth. It is pitched slightly higher and is rhythmically stressed. Mr. David himself points out the difference between such "myth speech" and ordinary dis-
[192] course in Sentences 42 and 43 of this myth.

#539

(62) "čoy ʔa·di· ʔakýa ʔambo ʔo·č," naʔas honk ho·skanga geno·ta. (63) čoy honk be·n goni· na·Í—be·n na·Í ʔat hoqqa·yilga dwantdat. (64) čoy honk naʔas gi, "dwantdat mi nen hoqqa·yilga?" (65) "no·s hay ʔi nen čakgat," či honk. (66) "čakʔam mat hay ʔins nen," či honk. (67) čoy honk gena··. (68) "do· ʔat ʔa nen dič Walta," naʔas honk, čoy honk do· ʔat gena· ʔa·di·. (69) "q̓a ʔan ʔambotga."

(70) čoy honk ʔat be·n hottallga ḱičḱa·ýant dwantdat. (71) čoy honk naʔas gi, "dwantdat min nen hottallga?" (72) čoy honk naʔas gi, "wlallat hay ʔins nen hottallga." (73) "ʔi·, ʔi·—ya···, ʔat nen wiḱa· ʔambo sitk," ʔat honk naʔas ĹeqĹeqpgank hemkanga, wiḱa· ʔa nen ʔat ʔambo giwk. (74) čoy honk ʔat gena· be·n. (75) čoy honk ʔat gitgo do· ʔat naʔas, hoqqa·yilga honk naʔas, "čoy honk dwantdat ni nen be·n hoqqa·ýa? (76) dwantdat min nen hoqqa·yilga?" (77) "ya·sdat hay ʔins nen," čič mat honk ʔat. (78) "ʔa̰···," či honk, "ya···, ʔat ʔakýa ge· wiḱa· ʔambo," či honk ʔat.[44] (79) gena·, balaq hak gakyamnčńank honk.

(80) čoy honk ʔat qadak hak gotgi honk, gempči hok goq̓a·k. (81) hok mo·ni ntolčńa, mo·ni bobano·ks, na·nok dwa·lam—lilhanksʔam, datdadwa hadakt bobanwa. (82) "ʔe···," či čik honk, bonwa, do···m, ksewank ʔambotdat bi honk. (83) bonwa do···m.

(84) čoy honk ʔat gatba čew ho·t. (85) čew honk bono·lagiwk gatba. (86) "waq lis ʔi gen giwk gene·ńa?" (87) "hak ʔis sleʔi! (88) haga ʔis delwi gen lolp!" naʔas, "q̓ay ʔans nen dič lolp gi," ḱolýa· honk naʔas gi. (89) "wiḱa·tant ʔis ʔeytnank delwi!" naʔas honk gi. (90) čoy honk ʔat gitgo hońas, delwa honk hok. (91) čoy honk ʔát sńoga·, la·ṕok lolp, ho·t ḱolýa·. (92) spospatga honk čewas lolp. (93) ʔat honk spospatgank bi sisýo·goga. (94) ʔat honk hottgalća, hońas gičńank.

(95) čoy honk ʔat hok q̓ay gena· dat, hi·t hak honk tgotga, čawa·Ya honk, sʔaywakta honk gatbnokst kańs hi·t be·n. (96) čoy honk ho·t—sgo·ʔ—gmoḱamč ho·t—damnon hadakt na·noḱa·s ho·t hońas hak, sʔaywaks giwk. (97) čoy honk naʔas gi, "waq lis ʔi gen gi?" či honk. (98) čoy honk naʔas gi, "waq hay ʔans gen, ẃas paĹʔaqs," či honk, "ẃas paĹʔaqs, ʔi·, ẃas paĹʔaqs ʔans hok geńs sʔotía. (99) čoy ʔans spospatkća ʔans lolp." (100) "ʔi·," či honk. (101) "ʔi saíwa·Yi ʔis!" naʔas honk hokt. (102) "saíwa·Yi ʔis gen, lolp ʔis sʔode·balyi·wapk!"

(103) "ʔi·," či čik honk. (104) čoy honk čelgank hadakt, goq̓a·kḱatdat honk, ʔitgank datdadwa ge·la, dića··· hompča. (105) čoy honk hońas sʔotía gaʔas, di···č honk sʔotía, nćenćak. (106) čoy honk ʔat na·Í ʔiĹĹaĹĹo·ńa hompčat, kat ho·t ćelćelʔi dwa·, kčalwitk dići·. (107) čoy

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[194]

[44] The interjection /ʔa̰···/ is made with an ingressive air stream. Otherwise it is approximately the quality of [a·].

23. Picking Wokas

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

#539 (1) wokaĺa ʔa na·t ʔewsdat. (2) ʔisga na·t. (3) čoy na·t honk ʔig̣oga q́očẃallat, čoy na·t ʔembli honkt či·sdaĺ. (4) čoy be·raldat na·t ẃetg̣oga, snonĺaṕilg̣ok.[73] (5) hoḿas na·t wokas na·ĺam be·Lbeĺa, waqt sa honk sa dank ni·ya sʔotĺa. (6) čoy hok q́ay da·ts hadakt wiḱa·tant hok. (7) čoy na·t ʔep̣gablyank honk be·raldat ʔig̣oga. (8) čoy sa·war giṫgi giwk.[74] (9) ńopṫgi giwk na·t honk be·raldat ʔig̣oga. (10) čoy na·t ʔat honk dič če· hoḿas giwapk. (11) čoy honk ʔat sdilli·na, dič sdilli·nank naʔas honk, čoy gitgo—ke·ĺa·ẃa, sannat.[75] (12) bahtgiwk. (13) čoy honk ʔat ke·pbe·ĺs na·t honk, bahtgiwk dič. (14) čoy na·t ʔig̣oga na·ĺam willsikgat. (15) čoy hok ḱada·dit hok. (16) ʔat ṕas sʔotĺa na·t honk, bahapks če· dič. (17) čoy na·t ʔat ṕan honk.

24. Cooking Wokas

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

(1) ṕaLatdat ʔikLa wokas. (2) ĺkom plentant ʔikLa wokasdat. (3) čoy siwi·, pniwtanʔo·ts. (4) ĺkom honk ʔikLasdat pniwtanʔa hosno·g̣ok honk siwi·s mna wokas.

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[124]
[194]

[73] In speaking to the investigator, Mrs. Pompey felt more at home in English, since at that time the investigator knew so little Klamath. She thus inserts /be·raldat/ "in the barrel." The phonemic structure is Klamath, except for the anomalous /r/, but ‖d̲‖ after ‖l‖ should occur as /l/, giving ‖be·rald̲at‖ : */be·rallat/.

[74] The form /sa·war/ is English, but conforms to Klamath phonological pattern except for /r/. It might well have been put in quotation marks as a form quoted from another language.

[75] /sannat/ is likewise from English. Here, however, ‖sand̲at‖ : /sannat/ as it should.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963

NR10 Klamath NR10

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25. Grinding Seeds

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

*539 (1) mpa·ƙank lo·q, ?ligank, ga·ma. (2) ga·mank honk lo·q čiƙa·ƙank hosno·ga. (3) čoy ṗan homas giwk. (4) dič ma·s?a.

26. Killing Fish

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) git lis yana· ge·t, yana· ge·t, mbosaksawa·s yanƙi·t maqlaqsas ga·?a·k s?otû·ya.[76] (2) čoy do·st sas s?abi·ya na?as, "git ?i lwelwapk ?i kyem!"—kat hi·t či·ya· yana·, maqlaqs. (3) čoy honkyes honk na?as gi. "ƙada·di sqo, gentdat s?abasdat, čoy sogo·lagyank ?at gen lwelwapk kyem," na?as honk, "git ni sdawa·—sdaba·tanwapk, gen, gogetdat."

(4) čoy ?at hompčat s?otía, qday hok ga?as, waqt sa hon de·m ƙeyn s?otía."[77] (5) homas hok do· yana·, na·nok ẃetpga, sle·s pačit gin.

(6) čoy honk hadakt ?at ćosak maqlaqs gatba, na·nok ?iLo·ls. (7) čoy honk hi·tkni· be·n Na·s s?otía git ge·t wiƙa·, lobaqskal, či sa ?elga hi·t. (8) git ge·t blay, lobaqskal. (9) "čoy honk ?a·t ?a ƙinƙa·ni git či·ya·," či honk, "čoy honk homas giwapk, ƙada·di haƙ ho·t kyem čenwapk," na?as honk. (10) "ho·t datdadwa, kyem, kant ni nen s?abi·ya ma·ts lweltgi giwk, kant ?a·t hon ṗan, ƙada·di hak ho·t čenwapk. (11) q̇ay do·daƙ. (12) q̇ay ho·t do·daƙ gogetdat čenwapk. (13) ƙada·di hak," na?as honk ?at s?abi·ya sas hokt.

(14) čoy sa honk homas hok maqlaqs git, ga·?a·k ni sle?a·, dada· ni ƙičƙa·ni. (15) čoy sa ?at memćapgank—sqo—čoy sa honk ?at lwela·. (16) lwela· sa honk hompčat, kyem, na·nok. (17) čoy sa gempča gogo·ƙa

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[124] [76] Mr. David had just been speaking about the various culture-transformers in English and had recently finished telling Text 18. The subject of this entire first section is thus one (or more?) of these powerful beings.

[194] [77] The form /de·m/ "dam" is phonemically Klamath, but might have been put into quotation marks as a quoted item.

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ge· gini·gané̌a. (56) čoy nis la·bi dańka·k wola· naʔas, "dat mat hok komčewi·s gi?" naʔas nis, "hadakt hak maqlaqs gitk, dat hok gi?" (57) čoy nis dańka·k (Woman's name) ćis glegatk, "dat mat hok ni·Laqksi gi?"

(58) PO: dwa· hok komčewi·s?

(59) AC: ʔi·, naʔas hak lis hok se·satk ʔewksi. (60) ʔiwʔa·ĺa. (61) čoy či naʔas, "ge· lis ginYapga ni·Laqksi. (62) ho·t na·nok maqlaqsam či·ḱis, ho·t ge· sohi·yagye·ks—na·nok ginYapga. ʔiWLaLLo·ńakni·, domi· maqlaqs či·ya·."

(63) PO: dam mat ʔi ʔewksi se·sas sʔaywakta? (64)—waq sa se·sapks gist. (65) no· dak honk bil ho·skanga. deda·t ni ḱičḱa·ni do·st na·t ĺoho·salča ćosak—ĺḱom ʔews. (66) čoy ʔan honk geaga gaẃala, pačit. (67) čoy sgotq́aks, geaga ʔan honk pačit gaẃala. (68) čoy basdin honk ha·g krik či ʔelgank, do·st na·t dank q́la·čía.[69] (69) čoy q́e·gi hokt. (70) naʔas ni ge·ks sʔabi·ya, "q́e·gi hok q́la·č ʔat." (71) čoy dwa· bas hon si·p ẏa. wo·ĺa·?[70]

(72) AC: ʔi·, hompči mat hon lis na·nok wqeĺigank. (73) gen lis gew dank haswa·s gida—mo· lbogapks, taktak síaslbis ge·t—čoy honk hok go·t na·nok honk ṗan.[71] (74) ho·t čik geye·kblitk do· stapga, kat hok dwa· taktak lotantk, hompčat honk.

(75) PO: dam mat ho·t se·satk go·t?

(76) AC: q́ay ʔan ho·skanga.

PB: What is a "q́wi·l"?

(77) AC: si·p dak hon naʔas ʔelga. (78) ge·tkni· maqlaqs mo·waĺa·kni· q́wi·l či.

PB: And one more, what is "swa·ya"?

(78) AC: dwa· mat?

(79) PO: swa·ya.

(80) AC: hok ẏaʔ—sʔasʔapgle·ʔas, kańs sa nen swa·yaʔa·k či. (81) swa·y—dwa· bas hok, q́ay dak ni sʔaywakta. (82) sʔasʔapgle·ʔas ne·

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[103] [69] /ha·g krik/ "Hog Creek" might well have been put into quotations. The final /g/ is slightly unvoiced, however, more than an English /g/ in a comparable
[194] environment. Its location was not identified.

[70] /si·p/ is English "sheep." Phonemically, it is Klamath.
[192] [71] /go·t/ is similarly English "goat." The flowering plant Mrs. Cowan referred to was blooming just outside her window. /do·/ "there" was explained with a gesture.

#539 (290) čoy bloksip, pĺe·wip—ʔat ho·t ḱanni gi. (291) ge·kĺadaĺ lalʔa·bi hok gi.

PB: And what is a "pḱo·nip"?

(292) PO: pḱo·nip, dwa· hok? (293) waq hok nen hasʔa·Mḱa, kańs sa pḱo·nip naʔas ʔelg̣a?

(294) AC: pḱo·nip dak ho·t pʔa·nip gi. (295) ho·t ʔa gew ḱoḱo·nip gi. (Great Uncle.)

(The conversation was carried on in English at this point, mostly about friends from the old days.)

(296) PO: . . . čoy waq dal hok se·satk gi, kańsĺet honk dola či·ya·—kańs honk dola či·ya·?

(297) AC: q̇ay, wiḱa· bańi ʔa mat honk hok sq̇olligo·ta. (298) mna da·k dwa·, waq da·k sa gin—mna da·k honk sʔa·Maks dwa· hak. (299) čoy ho·t sa hon hoḿas gyank ʔat hasʔa·Maḱatk. (300) ptisa· honk blog̣o·člank, honkĺam honk q̇e·gitk.[109]

(301) PO: ʔi·, honk hay ni ho·skanga.

(The conversation reverted to English and drifted to a recollection of a personal experience from Mrs. Ohles' childhood. The machine was turned off during this time and was only turned on again when she returned to Klamath.)

(302) PO: . . . čoy dank ḿa·sʔa dwa·. (303) čoy ma·ns q̇e·gi, ma·ns q̇e·gi. (304) čoy ndanni waytas q̇e·giwapgatk, čoy ma·ns na·ĺ q̇e·gi, ḿa·sʔok. (305) čoy honk hokt ʔat woega na·ts, hokt (Proper name). (306) čoy hok gembli, čoy honk ḿa·sis gota·, honkčgas. (307) čoy ma·ma gatbamblyank na·ĺs be·n blay ʔembli, blaydaĺ.[110] (308) waq dal sa blay maqlaqsyalank ʔelg̣a?

(309) AC: blay, či. (310) ge· dak nen gina·t ẏayńa.

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[192] [551] [576] [109] The form /q̇e·gitk/ is used for respectful mention of a dead person. It was considered impolite to mention the names of the other person's deceased relations in a conversation, and this was extended often to refer to the names of deceased friends and acquaintances. Compare the English "the dear departed."

[103] [193] [194] [110] Mrs. Ohles uses the form /blay/ here to mean only the town of Bligh. It may be that the vowel of the two repetitions of /blay/ in this sentence is somewhat longer than is usual for the Klamath morpheme {blay} "up, above." It is certainly longer than Mrs. Cowan's /blay, či/ in Sentence 309. If so, this may account for Mrs. Ohles' failure to recognize "Bligh" as Klamath {blay}.

(41) So they looked. (42) And they just kept quiet.

(43) Now then Bear prepared food. (44) "Come and eat! Come and eat!" 539* (45) Then the little one [of Antelope's children] said, "It tastes like Mommy's milk."[2] (46) Then the biggest one nudged him, saying, "Careful!" (47) Then he secretly put it aside. (48) Because she ate quickly, Old Bear did not see. (49) And she thought they ate a lot.

(50) The biggest one did not sleep all night. (51) When the little one cried, he said, "Don't! Don't! Maybe she'll kill us next."

(52) Thus, the next day she said goodbye to them all. (53) Having said goodbye to them, she said [to Antelope's children], "Go over there and play!" (54) Then she advised her own little children, "Don't play anything now, or perhaps they will do something to you. (55) Don't play leap-frog![3] (56) Don't swim around! (57) Don't race! (58) Don't play jump! (59) Don't play anything!" (60) But she forgot one.

(61) So the little fawns said, "Let's play something![4] (62) Let's play something! (63) Swim-racing?" (64) "No!" [said the little bears]. (65) "You name something then!" (66) "We don't want to play." (67) "Let us play leap-frong!" (68) "No." (69) "Let us race!" (70) "No." (71) "Let us wrestle!" (72) "No." (73) "Then let us play 'Two-in-smother'!"[5] (74) "Yes, yes, yes!"

(75) Then they first closed up everything, of that house. (76) Then they filled it up with smoke. (77) Then they said, "We'll do it first." (78) And they will do thus, "Two-in-smother, two-in-smother! Smother! Smother!" (79) Now they opened the door; they ran out. (80) "You next!" (81) So they ran inside. (82) "Two-in-smother, two-in-smother, smother, smother!"

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[2] /kisi·bam ʔeči·s sitk m̓a·sʔa/ "it tastes like Mommy's milk" is baby-talk. Normal Klamath would be: /p̓kisam ʔečas sitk m̓a·sʔa/. The baby Antelope is here shown retaining the affix which occurs with kinship terms in their nominative form: /p̓kisap/ "mother." [195] [193]

[3] ‖sentaƚygie·ˀwabg‖ : /sangaƚi·gye·wapk/ "will jump over one another for sport." ((se) 2pv "reflexive-reciprocal"; (ngaƚ) 48-v "to jump"; (oygi) 10sv "over, above"; (e·ˀ) 13sv "in sport, play, competition"; (wabg) 23sv "future"). This word has a closely similar meaning to ‖scho·dwlye·gwabg‖ : /scho·wwalye·gwapk/ "will jump over each other," but this latter item seems to refer to jumping contests. [192] [196]

[4] /wiwʔa·ƚa·k/ "little fawns" is irregular. ‖rewiƚe'a·k‖ should : */wiwƚeʔa·k/. (wiƚe) "fawn" must be stated as having an allomorph ‖wiʔa·l‖ only with (re) and followed by ('a·k). Otherwise ‖wiƚe‖ occurs. [193]

[5] This was Mrs. Ohles' own idea for a translation of /leplep p̓oƚe·/: "Two-in-smother." /leplep/ seems to be a distortion of (la·b) "two" plus (rér). (p̓oƚ) 78v "to be out of breath, smother" occurs as a regular verb, but not with any affix /e·/, unless this be an otherwise non-occurring allomorph of (e·ˀ) 13sv "to do in sport, competition." [193]

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mourning: ƛoho·s, q̓lidi·s—ah, I started to say something in English again!) (364) čoy síckwaʔa·k, ho·t sesde·wyank gmoƛaḿčas dola či·ya, ma·ms q̓oyga gmoƛaḿčas, bas hoḿas mna wnaga sponigast.

(365) čoy honk ʔat ʔaysis galbambli. (366) čoy honk čiƛa wnagalik. (367) čoy honk stinƛitk—dwa·-bas ya wokas sʔotía, wage·nha dwa· hak honk ga·ma. (368) čoy honk hak ƛoƛa·k sʔaywakta ʔaysisas. (369) čoy honk naʔas, "tisi·p! tisi·p!"[36] (370) "ǰiǰi·kst ǰiǰi·kst q̓ay sa neḿas!" (371) "ya···, waq dal ʔi gen giwk, ƛo·q̓a? (372) ge· dak ni gen gida gi." (373) čoy honk naʔas, "čikčikčikčik!" hontanʔa, hontanʔa ʔat galbamblist. (374) q̓a··· honk ʔat q̓oyse·w̓a, ʔaysisas—čiƛa. (375) čoy honk ʔat we·w̓aƛe ʔaky̓a mna siʔo·lgibli.

(376) čoy honk ʔat mna we·ƛa tbe·wa gmoƛaḿčam sdaynas noƛo·ƛa·ƛatgi giwk. (q̓ay ni dič ho·skanga—ʔaMƛa midant sʔasʔapgle·ʔasdat sʔaba waq gist.) (377) čoy da·ts so· ho·skanga toḿipƛi sdaynas gitk, hok gmoƛaḿč. (378) čoy honk pačǰat mna ʔilga mna sdaynas. (nent ʔa nen ni q̓ay dič ho·skanga, hoḿas ni giwk. q̓ay diče·w̓a sʔasʔapgle·ʔas!) (379) čoy da·ts honk sdaynas noƛo·ƛa·ƛa, gmoƛaḿčam. (380) čoy honk ʔat nčiwčƛa hok sdaynas. (381) nčiwwallga. (382) čoy honk ʔat sdiy̓a sitk na···nok ntintaqtgi, na·nok!

(383) čoy honk ʔaysis ʔidi·la—dwantda bas? gometdat y̓a? wage·nha y̓ayńatdat—dwantda hak sas honk ʔidi·la. (384) čoy naʔas, "q̓ay delditgo·li!" (385) čoy dak hok dilga geḿas, dwa·, sdiy̓a sitk. (386) čoy honk ƛoho·s q̓ay dodamnis, delditgo·la. (387) čoy honk ntiqpq̓a gida. (388) čoy Na·y̓e·ƛs čis (—they've got brown spots on their noses where that is supposed to have dripped on them.) ntiqpq̓a lis sas hok. (389) čoy honk ʔat notƛank, honk godi·labli. (390) (čoy ni q̓ay ho·skanga waq gitgo gist, waq ne·bakst, ʔat dankt gyo·lank. (391) ʔat ʔaky̓a ne· ƛada·di hak, q̓ay ni sʔaywakta. (392) ʔaMƛa ni qtanča sʔasʔapgle·si sas.)

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[36] "/tisi·p! tisi·p!/" is baby-talk for /ptisap/ "father." Cf. "/ƛisi·bam ʔečas sitk ƛa·sʔa./" in Text 1 and in Note 2.

772 773 into the fire, and K'múkamtch, regretting to have arrived too late, managed, however, to withdraw from her back the baby, and to rescue it. He wept as he carried the child off in his arms. But where should he place it? If he placed it on his forehead it would look quite ugly, thought he; therefore he placed it on his knee and went home. He complained that he had an ulcer upon his knee, and asked his daughter to open it, for it pained him excruciatingly. She spread a sheet under the knee and another over it, to squeeze the ulcer open He exclaimed: "It hurts me terribly! Go easy! Be careful!" Then she replied: "What is the matter with you? Something like hair comes out in a bunch from the core. Why does it look like hair?" And when the baby appeared on the surface and began to cry she said: "What have you been doing? I have suspected you for quite a while before!" And the babe cried and cried, until the "father" proposed to give a name to him. None was found to answer, for the child cried on and on. Then he proposed to call it Aishflam'nash ("the one secreted about the body"). This stopped its cries somewhat, but not entirely; so he proposed the name Aíshish, and then it became restful and quiet. So the child grew up with this name, then lived in the company of K'múkamtch, became an expert in making shirts, and when gambling won all the stakes, even from his father, who became jealous on account of his superiority.*

This is the extent of the myth so far as needed for our purpose. The jealousy of the grim and demoniac K'múkamtch against his more popular son forms the subject of a considerable number of Aíshish myths, which are highly imaginative and interesting. By various stratagems based on low cunning he brings his son into perilous positions, from which he is rescued only with the utmost difficulty by others, or is perishing in the attempt to save himself. Meantime he is robbed of his garments by his "father." These constant persecutions finally force Aíshish to revenge himself upon his father, who is killed by him repeatedly, but not by any means so often as he is killed himself.

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[196] *The connection of the mythic *pyre* of self-sacrifice with the *dawn* is not only based on similarity of nature, but also on etymological grounds; for the verb nī'lka, *it dawns*, with slight vocalic change turns into nélka, nélχa, *to be on fire*. Cf. the Latin *aurora*, which is a derivative of urere, *to burn*, and Appendix VI to Grammar, pp. 706. 707.

173	selluálshuk.	Ndánnitaksni	taměnō'tka;	tiná	nat	k̲áyak	shenótankatk,
×539	fighting.	Three times	I was there;	once	we	not at all	were fighting.

726	kinkák	i	nat	lúluagsla.	Tchín	at	nat	at	gä'tak	ndáni	táměnotk.
	few only	there	we	enslaved.	So I,	when	we		quit (fighting),	three times	had been there.

NOTES.

[197] 19. The long and fertile valley of the Pit River, an eastern affluent of the Sacramento River, is inhabited by several tribes of Indians who speak dialects of the same language family. Of the peculiarities of these tribes, Stephen Powers has given the first comprehensive sketch in the Overland Monthly, 1874, pp. 412–416, and in Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. III, pp. 267–274. The various tribes greatly differ in their physical and mental qualities. The Pacamallies, on Hat Creek, at the lower end of the valley, were much dreaded by peaceable travellers on account of their sudden attacks from an ambush. The Indians in Big Valley are a fleshy, stout, and physically well-made people, while the Hot Spring Valley people has become deteriorated through prolonged national misfortune. Against both of these the slaving raids of the Klamaths and Modocs were mainly directed.

[721] [567] [727] 19, 2. The raids were undertaken by the Klamaths and Modocs just before wókash-time; that is, in April and May. They had no other purpose than to make slaves of the females and children of the unwarlike, poor, and suffering Pit River Indians, and to keep them either at their homes or sell them for ponies, provisions, beads, etc., at the Dalles to the Columbia River tribes. Adult men were not enslaved, but killed outright if captured. Similar instances of suppression of weaker tribes of the West by warlike Indians who were their neighbors are those of the Kayuses on Middle Columbia River, of the Yuki between Sacramento River and the Pacific Ocean, of the Húpa on Trinity River, Cal., all of whom were, at the advent of the whites, the terror of the districts surrounding their homes.

[648] 19, 3. shliiótak for shliióta ak; the Pit Rivers ran away at the *mere sight* of the Klamath men; k̲á-i tata siúkat, the Pit Rivers never killed any Klamath men. Both statements are exaggerations; Hill's own account and Toby Riddle's biographic notice tend to prove the contrary.

[727] 19, 3. nellínat, or nell'nat. When they had killed an enemy, they did not follow the custom of the Oregonians of taking the scalp. This custom is not found among any of the Central Californian tribes.

[193] 19, 4. hû'stchok̲-huya; by the suffix -huya, -uya, the action of the verb is shown to take place at intervals, or in a small degree. "They did only little damage by killing or massacring." Cf. shenótank-huya, 20, 2, and -uya in the "List of Suffixes".

[196] 19, 4. tú'm tát sa. Change of the subjects introduced by the pronoun sha, sa, in consecutive sentences, is sometimes observed, as here and in 19, 16; 20, 3. Hill often uses sha when speaking of the Klamath Lake men, where nat, *we*, would be more appropriate.

[193] 19, 6. Kitchkanin nû for kitchkáni nû (or ni) nû. Pronouns and particles are repeated quite frequently.

19, 11. Wúksalks is a camping-place distant about six miles from Linkville. It was not possible for me to obtain definite information about the trail followed most generally in those raids, but Dave Hill said that from there they went due south. He

173 *539 726 shatchŏ'lgi, to contract the half-opened hand or fingers. Compare also: shatχä'daha, shátuaχa, shátĕlakish.

23, 6. gakayúluk refers to the women, not to the Klamath men. These latter retired with the captured females to the top of a hill, to secure themselves better against further hostile attacks. shíshatχa, distributive form of shíatχa.

23, 11. tinkayúla. The Pit River men ran out of the timber to flee from further attacks, and some ran up the steep bank from the dry river-bed. While they did so, the Lake men surrounded them and completely closed the circle (shtá hashámpka). Nevertheless, some of them managed to break through the intervals; this frightened the Klamath men, and then the other Pit Rivers also escaped towards the hills.

23, 12–14. The three men and the boy who went up the hill belonged to the Pit Rivers. The Klamath Lake warriors were so surprised at their sudden return to their surrounded companions, that the Pit Rivers had an opportunity to escape during the confusion.

193 196 24, 4. Nátak. The sentence has to be construed: nátak híshlan hû'nk, Moatuáshash hû'nk ksápok. "None others but ourselves shot at him; though he was one of our men, we thought him to be a Pit River man".

24, 4. láki. He had been shot in the eye-bone.

24, 6. ḵlä'kat stands for ḵlä'ka at; cf. 23, 12. gátpant for gátpna at.

24, 6. shewatχû'lshi: for shewatχŏ'lash i, or shewatχŏ'lish i; the i appearing here not as a local, but as a temporal case-suffix. shewátχa, *noon*; lit.: the day divides itself in two; shewatχŏ'la, *afternoon*, the day has divided itself in two *a while ago*.

24, 8. luluksgĭ'-ish, uncommon form for lúluksgish, lóloksgish, *rifle, gun*, lit. "fire-maker".

24, 17. sínkshtka stands for the full form síukshtka gi.

24, 18. tutí'la. By inadvertence the distributive form is used here instead of the absolute form tuíla, for the Pit River man spoken of had an abnormal fleshy excrescence on *one* foot only.

25, 1. shéllualshuk: he means fighting with the Pit River Indians.

25, 1. ndánnitaksni, incomplete grammatic form for ndannitánkshni.

25, 2. kínka-ak i, only a few; meaning females of the Pit River tribes.

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726 648 **29, 17 and 18.** gayá-itsampk. The advance of the troops was ordered in consequence of Hill's report that Snake Indians had been seen by him and his fellow-scout.

[192] **29, 19.** tú'=hak; hak means: on this side of something or somebody, referring to an object located between the speaker and something more distant.

29, 19 and 20. shlä'pka (for shlä'apka) and tássuipk (for tássui-apk) "they saw and attacked them in Hill's absence"; tínshampk "they scampered off unseen by Hill". If [193] [196] the simplex verbal forms shlä'a, tássui (or táshui), tínshna were used, they would imply that Hill then saw the Snake Indians himself, that he was among the troops charging them, and that he had seen them *in person* scampering off.

30, 3. lewé-ula really means: not to permit, not to allow, to forbid.

[192] **30, 3.** tchín gi, short for tchí ni gi: "so I said."

30, 5. Instead of gatpánkshkshi could also stand in the text: gatpanuápkshi; the final -i being used in a temporal sense in both terms.

[193] **30, 8.** kú'meta, contr. from kú'mme tchish, or from kú'metat tchish.

30, 9. snashuála, etc. They piled up rocks to serve them as barricades to shoot from behind.

[192] **30, 11.** u-í'tsna, distributive form of ó-itchna; see Dictionary.

31, 7. Nä'wapksh, etc. Transcribed into the fuller and more explicit grammatic [193] [196] forms, this phrase would read: Nä'wapkash yamakíshtana kétcha tχálamna, "to the northwest of Goose Lake." For Nä'wapksh, Né-uapksh, see Dictionary.

31, 13. This campaign terminated in a decided victory over the runaway Snake warriors, but failed to accomplish its real purpose of bringing them back to the Reserve. Nevertheless, these Indians had been severely chastised by losing quite a number of men killed and wounded, and seven women of their tribe captured by the military.

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MŌ'DOKNI MÁKLAKS SHÉLLUAL.

THE MODOC WAR.

OBTAINED FROM THE RIDDLE FAMILY IN THE MODOC DIALECT.

Shálam 1869 A. B. Meacham shuashulálliampkish nánuk máklākshash
In the autumn of 1869 A. B. Meacham the superintendent over all Indians

shualaliámpka Tχálamtala; Mōdokí'shăsh hushtánka ne-ulákshgishi Kóke-
kept watch in Oregon; the Modocs he met at the council-ground to Lost

tat wigátan tchussní'nish slánkosh; nûsh snawédshăsh gé-u túla shátēla
River near the Natural Bridge; me wife mine together he hired

lutatkátki.
to be interpreters.

At nā nánuk ne-ulakgíshχē'ni gátpa; nánuk máklaksh wawápka,
Then we all to council-ground went; the whole tribe was sitting there,

vûní'pni hundred pēn ndā'ni tá-unep pēn vúnip pé-ula hihashuátchχăsh,
four hundred besides three tens besides four men,

III.

*539 773 K'múkamtch hû'nk nákosh hû'nk táplalash né-ulχa shno-uyalátki
K'múkamtch a dam the loon ordered to destroy
shash. K'múkamtch hû'nk pî tpä'wa táplalash shnewî'tki gíug, pî ká-i
to them. K'múkamtch he ordered the loon to destroy (it), (but) no
tuá kiä'm lúeluak. Hû'ksha hû'nk nakushkshákshni kú-idsha kiä'm
fish to kill. Those who dwelt at the dam rotten fish
nutuyakía nákosh gä'tant, K'mukámtchish shíuguk, kú-idsha kiä'm pátki
threw over the dam to the other side of, (for) K'múkamtch to kill, rotten fish (he) go-
gíug. Tchúi K'múkamtch sháwiguk kú-i sham nákûsh shû'ta; tchúi
ing to eat. Then K'múkamtch in wrath their dam spoiled; upon this
nákushχēnkni shlámiuk shtî'ya shishî'dsha shû'ktaldshank lák. Tchúi
the dam-neighbors in mourning pitch put on head, cutting off (their) hair. Then
*539 773 192 Ká-ag wétanta shash, ktá-i sha k'léka. Tchúyunk K'mukámtch lúpaksh
the Raven laughed at them, rocks they became. Hereupon K'múkamtch chalk
shna-ulámna taplálash.
spit over the loon.

NOTES.

[823] I. This myth intends to explain the existence of the large number of rocks found at the locality called Shúyuχalkshi.

[196 193] 131, 2. Ká-akamtch. The adjectives -amtch, -ámtchiksh appended to animal names designate mythologic characters. Adjectives of an equal meaning occur in all the western languages, as far as these have been studied. Cf. *Note* to 126, ll. 12.

[825] II. In this myth, as well as in other grizzly bear stories recorded in this volume, this bear is always killed, conquered or cheated by his quicker and more cunning adversaries. Nevertheless his clumsy form and narrow, ferocious intellect are very popular among the tribes, who have invented and still invent numerous stories to illustrate his habits and disposition.

[103] 131, 5. Kiuti is the name of an Indian camping-place situated a short distance north of Modoc Point, on eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake.

[193] 131, 6. hátkok qualifies shkû'lχa and yámnash is the indirect object of shûlû'tamantk. Shkû'lχa, nánuk yámnash shûlû'tamantko, wawakshnátko tchish: "he lay down to sleep, keeping all his neckwear on himself, and not taking off his moccasins." Shûlû'tamna can in other connections refer to the clothing, but here it has special reference to the beads.

131, 11. kti'ukuela. Tradition reports, that Old Grizzly was pushed over some of the high rocks at Modoc Point.

[173] 131, 13. Yámakishash etc. In these words may be recorded the reminiscence of an ancient fight between the Klamath people and some Northern tribe which had come South on a hunting expedition. A Klamath song-line given in this volume also recalls
*539 an ancient inroad made by the "Northerners". The grizzly bear represented the
773 Klamath tribe, the wolf the Northern Oregonians, perhaps as ancient totem signs; the
825 bear having been killed by an intruder, the Klamaths had to take revenge for the insult.
823 III. The object of this myth is to explain, among other things, the origin of the white spots on the head and back of the loon (táplal). But the myth as given in the

*539
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[278]

Skáwanks pushpû'shlish shlapshháltko, k̲lä'kots, k̲édsha táletat; k̲ú-idshi, k̲á-i
has a dark flower, (is) a poisoner, grows on straight stalk; (tastes) bad, not

pákish. Pû'shχam kápkălam sχáwanks k̲ó-idse k̲'lä'kotk'sh.
eatable. The limbs of the young pine (and) wild parsnips (are) bad poisoners.

Slĕ'ds k̲á-i pakí'sh, múkmukli shláps, kiä'm-luelō'tksh; witsólslank é-ushtat
not eatable, downy flowers, a fish-killing-article; while net-fishing in Lake

shti'lχa.
they put it into (the net).

Tī'líhash k'lûtsuō'tch-ánku vû'nshtat shtákla.
as a "swimming-sucker"-wood on canoe they stick up.

[222]
[302]

Wákinsh a k̲édsha pánût. Mák̲laks íshka pánût lultámpkash shutelomá-
grows on the pan-tree. The Indians pick it on pan-tree sticking to smear themselves

shluk, lúshnank sha shnē'lakshtat. Tchúi tchík sha núksht wá-
with, roast (it) they on fire-place. Then they after baking (it), with

titka vukútank shushatelōma télish, p'nä'sh ktchálχishtka shkuk-
knives scraping (it), smear it on faces, themselves from sun-burns to pre-

luápkasht; p'lû' tak sha íwínank shtéwa.
serve; grease they putting into mix up.

NOTES.

[193]
[196]

Several plants in this list appear, according to grammatic rule, in the possessive case -am, while their fruits or edible portion are introduced in the subjective case. To the former the substantive ánku or tsélash has to be supplied. Small grasses are alimentary plants on account of their seeds only, while the larger aquatic grasses contain nutritive matter in their stalks. Of these notices the shortest and most laconic were obtained from Morgan, who did not enter into particulars concerning the preparation of aliments. By this list the articles on which these Indians feed are by no means exhausted; they eat almost everything found in nature which is not positively obnoxious to health and which contains a particle of nutritive matter, and hence a full list of their kitchen *répertoire* would be at least three times as long as the one obtained.

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146, 1. kak tán for ká ak tánni "so long only"; the length being shown by gesture of hand. Also expressed by ka taniáni, **149, 1.** and *Note.* The yántch-plant grows to a length of 18 to 20 inches, the height of the camass- or pû'ks-plant.

148, 3. Kápiunksăm. The kápiunks-seed grows on a prairie-*grass*, like the tchípash- and nû'tak-seed.

[193]

146, 7. 14. pálpal stands for pálpali (originally pálpal-li), having lost its terminal -i by apocope; pálpalish shlapsháltko incorporates the adjective *white* into the verbal adjective "having flowers". This phrase may be circumscribed by pálpalish shlápsh gitko. Cf. **123, 6.** and *Note*, and **150, 1.**

146, 8. wi-ukayant kĕládshamat. Here the adjective in its locative case, used attributively, is united with the partitive case of the substantive, the original form of both being wi-ukáyantat kĕládshamti; the subjective case: wi-ukáni kĕládsham.

146, 12. Kĕnáwat or horse sorrel is mentioned in an Aíshish-myth and does not

PART ONE: MYTHS

1. Old Bear and Antelope
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) Black Bear had two children. (2) Antelope had two children. (3) And every day they went to gather ipos. (4) Now Old Bear was very lazy. (5) And Old Bear said, "These fleas are killing me, making me itch. (6) Pick my fleas here!" (7) So she looked for fleas. (8) "There are no fleas. (9) I don't see anything." (10) "Let me pick you over!" (11) Antelope said, "No. My head doesn't itch (me)." (12) "Let me see!" (13) So then Antelope lowered her head. (14) Old Bear put ipos into her mouth. (15) Then Old Bear bit [at Antelope's neck. Mrs. Ohles made a clicking sound with her teeth to indicate Old Bear was crunching up the ipos and pretending to find fleas on Antelope.] (16) "Many, many fleas!" (17) Antelope was terrified, her heart thumping. (18) Then they went home. 539*

(19) Then at evening time, now they had finished eating. (20) Then they lay down. (21) And Old Bear went right to sleep. (22) Then Antelope said, "Don't go to sleep! Don't go to sleep! (23) I will tell you something. (24) She is really planning something. (25) She said I had many, many fleas. (26) Then she bit at me, the neck. (27) So if she does something to me—and perhaps she'll kill me. (28) Don't you do anything! (29) If indeed she returns alone, you'll know she did something to me. (30) Perhaps she'll kill me. (31) So you must escape!"

(32) Again they went to dig roots every day. (33) Then she bit off [Antelope's] head. (34) And she hung up her "lights" in a tree.[1] (35) Then they flickered in the dark. (36) And now Bear returned. (37) Now she just barely got back [because of the weight of Antelope's meat, which she was carrying]. (38) Thus, "We found very, very much. (39) And your Mother stayed there, where the fire burns. (40) Look there!" [She pointed towards Antelope's "lights," which could be seen flickering like a campfire in the distance.]

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[1] ‖jila·ʼs‖ : /jila·ʔas/ "lights, internal organs of an animal" is treated as a round object in Klamath: ‖lʼaša·yiʼa‖ : /laša·ya/ "puts a round object up high." They flicker because they belong to a myth-being. [196]

(41) So they looked. (42) And they just kept quiet.

(43) Now then Bear prepared food. (44) "Come and eat! Come and eat!" 539*
(45) Then the little one [of Antelope's children] said, "It tastes like Mommy's milk."[2] (46) Then the biggest one nudged him, saying, "Careful!" (47) Then he secretly put it aside. (48) Because she ate quickly, Old Bear did not see. (49) And she thought they ate a lot.

(50) The biggest one did not sleep all night. (51) When the little one cried, he said, "Don't! Don't! Maybe she'll kill us next."

(52) Thus, the next day she said goodbye to them all. (53) Having said goodbye to them, she said [to Antelope's children], "Go over there and play!" (54) Then she advised her own little children, "Don't play anything now, or perhaps they will do something to you. (55) Don't play leap-frog![3] (56) Don't swim around! (57) Don't race! (58) Don't play jump! (59) Don't play anything!" (60) But she forgot one.

(61) So the little fawns said, "Let's play something![4] (62) Let's play something! (63) Swim-racing?" (64) "No!" [said the little bears]. (65) "You name something then!" (66) "We don't want to play." (67) "Let us play leap-frong!" (68) "No." (69) "Let us race!" (70) "No." (71) "Let us wrestle!" (72) "No." (73) "Then let us play 'Two-in-smother'!"[5] (74) "Yes, yes, yes!"

(75) Then they first closed up everything, of that house. (76) Then they filled it up with smoke. (77) Then they said, "We'll do it first." (78) And they will do thus, "Two-in-smother, two-in-smother! Smother! Smother!" (79) Now they opened the door; they ran out. (80) "You next!" (81) So they ran inside. (82) "Two-in-smother, two-in-smother, smother, smother!"

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[2] /kisi·bam ˀeči·s sitk m̓a·sˀa/ "it tastes like Mommy's milk" is baby-talk. Normal Klamath would be: /pḱisam ˀečas sitk m̓a·sˀa/. The baby Antelope is here shown retaining the affix which occurs with kinship terms in their nominative form: /pḱisap/ "mother." [195] [193]

[3] ‖se̲ntaĺygie·ˈwabg‖ : /sangaĺi·gye·wapk/ "will jump over one another for sport." ({se̲} 2pv "reflexive-reciprocal"; {ngaĺ} 45-v "to jump"; {oygi} 10sv "over, above"; {e·ˈ} 13sv "in sport, play, competition"; {wabg} 23sv "future"). This word has a closely similar meaning to ‖se̲ho·d̲wlye·gwabg‖ : /soho·wwalye·gwapk/ "will jump over each other," but this latter item seems to refer to jumping contests. [192] [196]

[4] /wiwˀa·ĺa·k/ "little fawns" is irregular. ‖re̲wiĺe·ˈa·k‖ should : */wiwiĺeˀa·k/. {wiĺe} "fawn" must be stated as having an allomorph ‖wiˀa·l‖ only with {re̲} and followed by {ˈa·k}. Otherwise ‖wiĺe‖ occurs. [193]

[5] This was Mrs. Ohles' own idea for a translation of /leplep ṗoĺe·/: "Two-in-smother." /leplep/ seems to be a distortion of {la·b} "two" plus {r̲é̲r̲}. {ṗoĺ} 78v "to be out of breath, smother" occurs as a regular verb, but not with any affix /e·/, unless this be an otherwise non-occurring allomorph of {e·ˈ} 13sv "to do in sport, competition." [193]

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(83) And they let them out. (84) Again they went back inside. (85) "Two-in-smother, two-in-smother, smother, smother!" (86) And then, "Two-in-smother, smother, smother, smother-r-r-r. . . !" (87) "So smother there!" [Antelope's children said.] (88) And now, "Smother-r-r-r. . ."[6]

(89) Now they said, "Now they have died. (90) What shall we do now?" (91) So he said, "Having caused them to embrace each other, having stood them up in the doorway, having propped open their eyes and mouth. (92) And they'll look like they're laughing, when the Mother comes home. (93) And she won't suspect anything." (94) And they then advised everything, "Do not tell where we have gone." (95) But they just forgot Awl.

(96) Then they went down into the hearth. (97) They just shut [the way behind them with] a coal. (98) Then they went and went, ran and ran. (99) They did not stop anywhere, [but] ran and ran.

(100) Now Old Bear came back. (101) She said, "What are you grinning at so much? (102) I just barely got home . . ." (103) And she said, "Ohhhh! They have played a trick on me!" (104) She called and called, "Where are you? Whe-e-ere are yo-u-u?" (105) And thus, "Answer me! Answer me!" (106) Nobody said anything. (107) Then she said, "Where did they go? Where did they go? (108) Do you know? Do you know?" (109) Nobody said anything. (110) Nobody paid attention. (111) Then she said to Awl, "Do you know?" (112) "How stupid this one is! (113) You started it. (114) What are you so sick about?" (115) "Where did they go? (116) Only you can tell me. (117) If you won't tell me, then I'll break you in two." (118) "Ohhh, they went down right there."

(119) So she just barely squeezed in her hind-end. (120) Then she went, tracking them. (121) Now the little one got tired. (122) Then the bigger one said, "We'll crawl into the log right here" [pointing to a hollow log].

(123) Then she overtook them there. (124) "Yes," she said, "Tomorrow I'll play with you with daytime eyes."[7] (125) Then Old Bear went to sleep.

(126) Then the biggest one awoke. (127) And he said, "Ohhh, now this one has caught up with us!" (128) Then he said to the little one, "Do-o-on't you cry!" (129) And he said, "Perhaps you'll wake her up." (130) Then he threw a little piece of wood over her, perhaps a pine cone [to see if she were sound asleep]. (131) Then he said, "Hah! Now! You jump over her first!

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[6] Sentences 86 and 88 become progressively more falsetto toward the end, drawing out to a voiceless [E·] for dramatic purposes. Sentence 87 is shouted with much vehemence. [194] [196]

[7] /peepea lolphatga/ "with daytime eyes" is also distorted speech for dramatic effect. No form *[rrepee] : /peepea/ exists in normal speech; (pee) "daytime" does not otherwise occur with any of the (re) morphemes in the corpus. [196]

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(22) "ʔi·," či honk, "be·n ʔan giwapk, diňa·k!" (23) naʔas, "be·n ʔan giwapk. ʔat glewi·wapk." (24) čoy honk ʔat do··· wbawliga (25) čoy, "lolololololok!" (26) be·n hokt wbawliga, do··· blay. (27) čoy honk ga·q honk kiko·čňa.

(28) čoy honk ʔat koĺa·k hoččňank, gembli. (29) "waq bas nis giwk, sna·wi·ga," či honk, "gew dal hok newĺaqáti·?"

(30) čoy honk ʔat snaṕa·ča, ẇasas. (31) čoy honk ʔat ge· lotalʔalga. (32) na·nok dwant lotanʔa. (33) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔamma·! dwantda dal ni nen nĺoqta?" (34) "no·s hay ʔi nen lotallga, go·sdat." (35) be·n, "ʔi·. q̇ay hayč mis ni." (36) čoy honk be·n gena, gena. (37) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔamma·! dwantda mis ni nen?" (38) "gen hay ʔins ḱatdat," či honk. (39) gena, be·n gena. (40) q̇ay ʔa saňa·Wawli sas sʔaywaktantgi giwk bas ṗaṗa·čapks gist. (41) čoy honk gena, be·n dwanta nĺoqta. (42) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔamma·! dwantda mis ni nen?" (43) čoy honk naʔas, "no·s hay ʔi nen ćwidiyyat." (44) čoy honk ʔat, ćwidi honk ṗawlank, gena— (45) lolpĺa ẇe· ʔa lobi·.[9]

(46) čoy ʔat hoňas gyank, tataktak dadalmni. (47) "ya···," či honk, "kaňs bas ni gentga heanbe·mbeňa?" (48) čoy honk naʔas, "gida ʔan tgodagwapk. (49) čoy ni galo·dal delčambagwapk. (50) čoy ni dalmnibagwapk. (51) čoy honk kani ʔakẏa ʔis ĺle·wapk."

(52) čoy honk čew—dam mat čew? (53) q̇ay ni sʔaywakta—kani ʔa gatba. (54) čoy honk naʔas, "dwa· lis ʔi gen dalmnipga?" (55) "gen ʔan memye·k ʔa·yʔaẏa."[10] (56) "ʔi·," či honk. (57) "q̇ay dal ʔi hon sleʔa, memye·k? (58) domi··· ʔa memye·k, čoyyamna." (59) čoy honk naʔas, "q̇ay." (60) čoy, "waq dal ʔi gen giwk, tataktak dedalne·ks —waq hay mi lolp giwk?" (61) čoy honk naʔas, "dam čik mis ni si·ẏo·tank gitgo git. (62) ʔaMḱa memye·k no·ćis sle·t."

(63) "ʔi·," či honk. (64) čoy honk ẇaḱa sʔewanʔa mna lolp honk—dwa· bas?—čewas ẏa?—ʔaMḱa. (65) čoy honk ʔat gena. (66) čoy honk naʔas, "q̇a···y dat ni dwa· sleʔa!" (67) "čoy hi·t hak ge·la sda·ni we·," či honk. (68) "waq bas nis giwk solo·go·la tataktakĺis sweso·ne·kst gist." (69) čoy nen ḱada·di hak ni bo·skanga ʔat.

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[9] Coyote makes "eyes" out of the bright red berries of this plant to fill his empty sockets.

[196]

[10] /memye·k/ was translated by Mrs. Ohles as "the little things you see when you've got your eyes tightly closed—like little worms or germs or spots." This may be {remeye·g} "dist. move up, rise." ({re} lpv "dist. action"; {me} 48-v "to carry, pack, move"; {eye·g} 11sv "up, rising"). Since this analysis is not certain, this item will be separately listed in the Lexicon.

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naʔas gi. ẇaḱa honk domna. "ya···, dwa· nen haḱa! (37) dwa· nen gi?" (38) "le ča·nink dwantga doLi·s woli·na!" (39) "ʔa···, q̓ay dič gi." či honk. (40) "le ča·nink dwantga yoho· lagi· neaga!" (41) "ya···, dič ʔa nen!" či honk.[18] (42) čoy honk hoččńa. čoy be·n čelga. (43) čoy naʔas, "le ča·nink dwantga doLi·s woli·na!" (44) "ʔa···, nen dak q̓ay dič." či honk. (45) čoy honk čelga. (46) čoy be·n hak naʔas, hok če·li·k. "le ča·nink dwantga yoho· lagi· neaga!" (47) "nen dak dič gi!" či honk. (48) be·n hoččńa wiḱa· na·k. (49) "le ča·nink dwantga doLi·s woli·na!" (50) "ʔa···, nen dak q̓oy gi." či honk, q̓ay hok siktgyank či·ya.

(51) čoy honk ʔat ẇaḱa honk wiḱa· galčwi ʔat. (52) čoy honk naʔas, "waq lis ʔi?" (53) čoy naʔas, "dwa· ʔi nen, čiḱa·?" (54) "q̓ay dwa·." (55) "naʔas ʔams ni nčoq̓a, 'yoho· lagi· neaga'." (56) "ʔi·, ho·t ʔa do·na sboga." (57) "ge· hayč gew wa·ĺi. (58) gentga neagi!" (59) "q̓ay. dmeagas hay ʔins nen saṅa·Wawliwapk." (60) "q̓ay dak mis ni dmeagwapk. (61) saĺwa·Ywapk· ʔams ni nen." (62) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·."

(63) čoy sa honk ʔat neagank na···nok, čoy naʔas gi, "dam bas ʔins genti· čleyt?" (64) "q̓ay," či honk, "q̓ay ʔams ni čleyt. (65) q̓ay hay ʔins dada· dič gi. (66) čosak hak hay ʔins q̓oy hesne·pgi·ya." (67) čoy honk naʔas, "q̓ay dak mis ni q̓oy hesne·pgi·ya. he· ʔins čleyank git. (68) domi··· ʔa gew ĺaĺakeni, čoy gew sṅewe·ts, čoy na·t detdye·ḿa. (69) čoy sangaĺi·giwapk hay mis gentda." (70) "q̓ay. wini·git hay ʔins." (71) čoy naʔas, "hak hay na·t soyṅiṅa? (72) čoy na·t gen sle·wapk kaĺam gist." (73) "q̓ay," či honk, "wini·git dak ʔins honkant čis."

(74) čoy honk ʔat wĺi·ĺa če·li·ks. (75) wĺi·ĺa, wĺi·ĺa, wĺi·ĺa, čoy honk ʔat sboga, če·li·k, glegatk sitk. (76) čoy honk ba·ĺa·ʔasam mna naĺa·lča. (77) "he· ge· siktgiwapk, čoy ʔins nqenkangwapk, čoy ni ge·ks wĺi·ĺwapk, gatbamblyank." (78) čoy honk ʔat gena ẇas, ʔikčablyok mna wewe·ʔas. (79) čoy honk gena, gena, gena, čoy ʔat siktgi če·li·k.

(80) čoy hok ba·ĺa·ʔasam čaĺa·ĺank naʔas, "siktgi ge···! siktgi ge···!" (81) čoy honk gatbamblyank wĺi·ĺa, wĺi·ĺa, wĺi·ĺa, wĺi·ĺa. (82) be·n hak sboga, glegatk sitk. (83) čoy honk be·n hoččńa ʔikčablyok sas. (84) čoy ʔat be·n siktgi če·li·k.

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[196]

[18] Coyote's utterances in this section are given in a fierce stage whisper, contrasting with little Porcupine's high and faint repetitions of /le ča·nink/, etc. These whispered utterances are those within quotation marks in sentences 36, 37, 39, 41, 44, 47, and 50.

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(85) čoy honk čoye·s naĺa·ĺank—honk baĺa·ʔasam naʔas,[13] "siktgi ge·! siktgi ge·!" (86) čoy honk be·n hak gatbamblyank wĺi·ĺa, wdopga, wĺi·ĺa, wdopga. (87) čoy be·n hak kselqča glegapks gist—gleqs se·wok. (88) čoy honk ṗelṗe·bji·ʔa če·li·k. (89) čoy honk naʔas ho·skanga, "waq bas ni giwapk?" (90) čoy honk naʔas, "ma·ns naĺk ni sbogwapk pačit." (91) čoy honk ʔat sboga, sboga. (92) ma·ns hok q̓e·gi, hok ẃaka. (93) čoy honk ʔat siktgi. (94) čoy honk ʔat ba·ĺa·ʔasam nqe···nkanga, nqe···nkanga, nqe···nkanga, "siktgi ge···! siktgi ge···!" (95) čoy honk kiwĺa·ĺa ʔat če·li·k, ba·ĺa·ʔasam honk. (96) čoy honk ʔat lali·ga qṗaĺatk loloqsdat.

(97) čoy honk na···nok honk go·s ʔimni, honk čole·ks. (98) na·nok qdeĺe·ḱank, na·nok—ʔeLWis bil q̓ay wqe·ẃa. (99) čoy honk ńos lama·čank lamni, do··· blay—dwant waqpčant bas go·sdat, q̓ay ni sʔaywakta. (100) čoy dak čik mo·ni go·s.

(101) čoy honk ʔat ẃaka gatbambli, "ya···, ʔat na·t ṗawapk! ʔat na·t ṗawapk! yakyakyakyakyak! ʔat na·t ṗawapk, ʔat na·t ṗawapk!"[14] (102) čoy honk hayĺa·ĺa. (103) čoy hok geḿas čoye·s sle·s gyank, čaĺa·ĺa loloqsdat. (104) čoy honk naʔas, "waq bas nis gi! (105) dat dal gena? ya···!" (106) čoy detdye·mipks ṗepakpakkanga, hokt ẃawka.

(107) čoy naʔas gi, "dat lis ʔi gi? (108) dat ʔi gi?" (109) čoy honk ʔat go·sdat dalmni. (110) "ya···, do· dal ʔi ʔiwallga? (111) dam ʔins čleyank git? (112) mo··· ʔa na·t yoẏalqs sitk! (113) detdye·ḿa ʔa na·t! (114) čleyank ʔis!" (115) "q̓ay. q̓ay ma·ĺs." (116) "hon hay ʔis Na·s gin LaṗakLas loy!" (117) "q̓ay." (118) "čleyank ʔis la·lasti·!" (119) "q̓ay." (120) "bosakĺas ʔis loyank!" (121) "q̓ay." (122) "mo··· ʔa na·t detdye·ḿa. (123) hon gin ʔis qaq̓o·, qe·matti·!" (124) "ʔi, ʔi·," či honk, "na·nok hay ʔowi·lgat!" (125) naʔas, "geḿas ʔa na·nok ʔowi·ĺagwapk, čoy ʔat q̓awwapk gen!" (126) hahanwipgank čik sa ʔat q̓awwapgok, dadalmnipga. (127) čoy honk ʔat woĺo·qwe·La honk. (128) čoy honk na···nok lwela. (129) Na·s hok tabi·ni, ḱičḱa·ni na·lk, hokt hok ʔat go·qi·wa. (130) q̓ay sa honkt siwga, sanqa lwela. (131) čoy hoḿas ge· gyank, ʔat domi··· be·n ẃas gi. (132) q̓ay honk na·nok čo·q̓ok, hok Na·čyak či·yank, čoy honk ʔat mo· be·n dom glekbli. (133) ʔi·. nen ʔat ḱada·di hak.

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[196]

[13] No difference could be discerned by the informant between /čoye·s/ and /ba·ĺa·ʔasam/. The former is the common word for "hat," while the latter occurs only in this myth. The informant was not sure whether /ba·ĺa·ʔasam/ had any semantic or formal connexion with /ba·ĺa·ʔas/ "flour."

[194]
[196]

[14] All of the quoted material in sentence 101 is in falsetto, indicating the voices of the coyote children eagerly coming to feast. Each syllable is heavily stressed and rhythmically delivered: /ʔát ná·t ṗáwápk!/, etc.

#539 (41) nkas lis losa mna, hok sqoĺe. (42) čoy honk naʔas wele·qs, "waq bas ni gen giwapk?" (43) čoy honk ʔat naʔas gi, "ʔi·. hisčawapk ni gen hiswaqs. (44) ge· dak sńewe·ts hompči hak giwapk, waqči ge·ĺam pgoji·p. (45) čoy ni q̇a··· sińamsta."

(46) čoy honk le waq ga·ʔa. (47) čoy honk naʔas, "sdiẏa ʔat ni dom snača·ḱa." (48) čoy honk hasnčakdanga, qe·matdat.[17] (49) ʔat hok la·ba ńos gitk." (50) čoy honk sdoli· hiswaqḱaʔas, "q̇a···y ʔi ʔeyĺaqpgank, gisčńok. (51) q̇ay ʔi mi ṁaYas sle·wapk! (52) q̇ay ʔi dada· ẏo·wallgwapk mi dalči, jiji·ks mis giwk."

(53) čoy honk ʔat mo·ni giwk, čoy honk ʔat qa·siye·ga. (54) "waq bas nis giwk pĺe·wip q̇ay saṅa·Wawli ẏo·waltgi giwk gew dalči?" (55) čoy honk ʔat č́wi·didiks domna, go·sdat čaḱa·ẏank, naʔas, "ẏo·wallgi hay ʔi, čoy ʔi sle·wapk!" (56) čoy honk ʔat ẏo·wallga. (57) čoy honk do·blay gena dalči. (At this point Mrs. Ohles changed from dictation to the tape recorder. She begins with the last two utterances above.)

(58) čoy honk ʔat ẏo·wallga. (59) čoy honk do··· gamni hok dalči. (60) čoy honk ʔat geḿas gyank gotgibli.[18] (61) čoy honk da···lʔa·k datglam honk ńos—gaʔas. (62) čoy honk gida ho·llga, sńewe·čḱa. (63) čoy honk ʔat hok hiswaqḱa naʔas, "datkni· lis ʔi? (64) kani ʔi gi?" (65) čoy honk naʔas, tobaksip. no· ʔa mi tobaksip." (That little girl started talking then—I don't know why she never talked before.)
(66) "neḿas dal nis nen giwk," či honk, "pĺe·wip na·ĺam q̇ay saṅa·Wawli nis dalči ẏo·wallqtgi giwk. ʔi·!" (67) čoy sa honk ʔat gembli.

(68) čoy honk wele·qs naʔas gi, "ʔat ʔi sʔaywakta dwa· mis ni waq giwk wowi·tampga." (I don't know—I think that's the word for it though—kept advising you, telling you all the time not to do this and that.)
(69) čoy honk ʔat hok sńewe·čḱa č́osak gena dola, gankankča. (70) čoy honk naʔas gi, "waq dal na·t giwk? q̇elẏak ptisap, q̇elẏak pḱisap?" (71) naʔas, "waq giwk č́osak pĺe·wip na·ĺam swaqča? (72) waq na·t giwk geḿas či·ya? (73) ʔat hayč ge·t dini·gińapga. (74) do· na·t genwapk, čoy na·t sʔabasas sliwapk, he· na·ls q̇ay sʔabi·wapk. (75) ho·t bil ʔa sʔaywakta, sʔabas, dwa· ne·bakst."

(76) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·." (77) čoy sa honk ʔat gena. (78) čoy sa honk do··· ʔat čaẃa·Ya. (79) ʔat hok sʔabas dini·gińapga, ʔat dini·gi.

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[196] [17] This means literally "And [she] caused to stick together, on the back." It seems to imply "back to back."

[201] [124] [18] Literally, "And now, having done this way, it came back down." At this point Mrs. Ohles gestured to show how the boy's arrow fell; i.e., straight down, point first between the little boy and his sister, cutting the pitch which held them together. /geḿas gyank/ "having done this way" refers to Mrs. Ohles' gesture.

#539 (150) q̓ay kani walg̣a. (151) čoy honk ʔat, če···t hak honk ʔaš, saqda s̓ʔabi·ya. (152) "waq hay hi·t ʔa sa gone·kča, hon sa lkom salšiča. (153) čoy sa ʔat gena." (154) čoy honk sas ʔa gasaqčńa. (155) čoy da·ts honk do··· ƛ́aƛ́akani gena (—danqńi waytas, q̓ay ni s̓ʔaywakta—). (156) ma·ns da·ts sa gena.

(157) čoy honk ʔat hok hiswaqša dalči mna y̓o·ša·y̓a g̣o·sdat. (158) čoy honk swa···qča, swaqča, g̣saga honk ʔotg̣iblis. (159) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔotg̣ibli· ʔis!" honk mna tobaksa. (160) "ʔotg̣ibli· ʔis gen!" (161) "q̓ay. waq čik mi ni s̓ʔa·Maks gi?" (162) "tobaksip hay ʔi gew!" (163) "q̓ay." (164) "psa·q̓ip?" (165) "q̓ay." (166) "waq lis gi—pḱisap?" (167) "q̓ay." (168) čoy honk na·nok s̓ʔa·Maks honk hasʔa·Mḱa. (169) čoy honk hok sńewe·čḱa naʔas gi. "q̓ay." (170) čoy honk ʔat g̣e·Jigo·k hok, tapy̓ap naʔas, "sńewe·ts hay ʔi gew!" (171) "ʔi·!" či honk, čoy honk balaq hak ʔotg̣iblyi·ya. (172) mo·g̣illitgi hok sńewe·ts. (173) čoy honk ʔat sa gena, ʔat sa somse·ƛa, satapy̓altk.

(174) čoy honk hok pƛe·wip sam sas galamnapga. (175) čoy honk naʔas, "hãhãʔ! gent dak ni s̓ʔaywakta! (176) gemas sas giwapkst. (177) q̓oyči ho·t, hompči hak waqpčit ho·t kańs sa hon siwkčapga." (178) čoy honk ʔat gena, gena. (179) čoy honk ʔat kosƛa. (180) ʔat honk sleʔa, do·s sam loƛalbakWi·s.

(181) čoy honk ʔat loq honk siwga, hok hiswaqs, hiswaqs ʔat giwk. (182) čoy honk pƛe·wip naʔas, "waq bas nis dič hak nidwalla!"[23] (183) čoy honk ʔat slaḱa·yča, neegank, (—dwantda bas q̓ay ni s̓ʔaywakta—g̣o·sdat, wag̣e·nha himbakedat—). (184) dwantda hak slaḱa·yča, ni·l. (185) čoy honk ʔat gena. (186) čoy sa ʔat do· dat hak gatba. (187) čoy honk ʔat hadakt honk spodo·ye·ga hok, ʔat hiswaqs giwk. (188) čoy honk sas gasaqčńa, gasaqčńa. (189) čoy honk naʔas, "waq bas lis nis dič nidwallank gen, slelg̣ačńi·ya?" (190) čoy honk ʔat honkant kčisga, ni·llat. (191) čoy honk hok loq gi. (192) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔat sas ni giwapk!" (193) čoy honk ʔat gena.

(194) čoy honk ʔat dat mbo·sant hok hiswaqs naʔas, "he· gew sliči·qs ńiwtg̣iwapk, laḱa·yčnank—he· gew sliči·qs ńiwtg̣iwapk, čoy s̓ʔaywaktanwapk

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[196] [23] The meaning of this utterance is not clear from the context. The Grandmother seems to say, "How very well [he] guessed me!" This seems to imply that the boy wished her to become a bear, find him and his sister, and kill them. This development is reasonable if one postulates that the boy felt so guilty about his incestuous relationship that he wished to die—or at least hoped that his Grandmother would catch up and kill his evil sister.

#539 waq nis gist. (195) ʔaMḱa hok gida lobi· gatbanwapk, wage·nha no·s hok lobi· gaẃalwapk. (196) q̇ay da·ts ʔi woswapk!" (197) ʔat sam we·ḱa gitk. (198) we·saltk sa ʔat. (199) čoy honk ʔat spodo·ča. (200) čoy honk hok sńewe·ts do···m ʔankẃala, do···m.

(201) čoy honk ʔat ʔočče· gatba, pie·wip mna·lam. (202) "ya···, q̇a ʔan ge·Jigatk. (203) ʔat ni gatba.[24] (205) dič hay ʔa·t gen či·ya, dič sʔotlank, na·nok dwa·." (206) "ʔi·." (207) čoy honk naʔas, "dat lis ne· gi?" (208) čoy honk naʔas, "do· hok spodo·." (209) čoy naʔas gi, "ʔi·, sle·čwapk hay ni gen." (210) "ʔi·." (211) "čoy ni ʔaMḱa q̇a dye·mipks gatbambliwapk." (212) "ʔi·."

(213) čoy honk ʔat gena. (214) čoy honk ʔat so·čńa na···nok do·s hak hok spodo·, y̓ayńa, ĺaqĺaqĺant. (215) čoy honk ʔat, q̇a ʔat honk ge·Jigo·k, mongam sĺoysdat howwa. (216) čoy honk ʔat ṗan, hok pie·wip, hok loq giwk.

(217) čoy honk gembli ʔat, do· či·sdaĺ. (218) sliči·qs hok ńiwtgi. (219) čoy honk ʔat qallati· ʔambo ćiss, "q̇a gin ʔambo·gs gatbanwapk." (220) ʔat hok sńewe·ts, hok hoḿas, histanḱitk mna ḿoḱa·k. (221) čoy honk do···m da·ts hok qday ʔiĺa·ĺank, snegalpḱa.

(222) čoy honk ʔat gatba, loq̇aḿč. (223) naʔas, "ya···, ʔambotgs ʔans." (224) čoy honk naʔas," ho·t hayč do·na ćiss. (225) snačḱa·-Wapgatk ʔambo." (226) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, dič hay ʔins honk gen!" (227) čoy honk bonwa, bonwa. (228) čoy honk qday wbeLi·, q̇iw! (ʔat ḱada·di hak ni sʔaba pač́it. ge·Jiga ʔans ʔat.) [Here Mrs. Ohles took a short rest and then began again.]

(229) ʔat hok loq̇aḿč naʔas (—waq lis ʔi gen? dwa· ʔi waq gi? lelgi! lelgi! hosto·qtoqpgs dak ʔins, lapq̇apgok gen gida. ʔat ʔins hasy̓aMtgi dwa· sʔabo·k. hostaqĺaq![25]

(230) čoy honk ʔat bonwa, bonwa. (231) čoy honk ʔat bonwo·lank naʔas, "ya···. gida ʔans nen twač́i·ḱa, nkas. (232) dom hak ni bonwa ʔambo." (233) čoy honk naʔas, "gida ʔis gisgi! (234) gida ʔis gisWa!"

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[196] [24] Utterances 202 and 203 are given in a high, faint voice, indicating the Grandmother's age and fatigue.

[126] [124] [196] [25] The remarks in parentheses here are addressed to the author, who was holding the microphone too close to Mrs. Ohles' face. It is interesting to note that she spontaneously treats the microphone as a "round object" (e.g., ‖ľeĺgi!‖ "Put down a round object!"). The author, as an outsider to the Klamath world-view, might have been tempted to treat it as a long object or even as a rope-like object.

#539 (263) mo··· nis goWa, čo·ks." (264) čoy honk naʔas gi, "kitÚ ʔis gen!" (265) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, laq ʔa ge· gi!" (266) kitća honk, hok be·p, gmoǩaḿčam be·p. (267) čoy honk naʔas, (—ẏaMtgi balaq hak—) "laq́altk ʔa ge·!" či honk, "ya···, ʔaMǩa ʔi tapẏaltk!" (268) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·." (269) čoy honk ʔat ḿoǩa·k swaqča, swaqča. (270) čoy sa na···nok wiqčisti· se·sas sʔewanʔa. (John, Peter, and so forth. They named him every name they could think of.) (271) čoy honk hok swaqča, goni·Íǩa hok glega. (On and on he cried, you know; that's what that goni·Íǩa means.) (272) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔaysis. ʔaysis ʔa ge· gi." (273) čoy honk ʔat q̓a paksgi. (274) q̓ay hok swaqča, ḿoǩa·k.

(275) čoy honk ʔat mo··· čin. (276) čoy honk doma· we·ẃańs gitk, kakakẏas hak. (sʔaywakta ʔi, kakẏas we·ẃańs gist.) (277) ćoho·s, q̓lidi·s, číǩa, síoǩwa, —čoy Na·s ʔo·č ʔa—We·qs.

(278) čoy honk ćosak hok gmoǩaḿč kselwi. (279) čoy honk hok síoǩwaʔa·k ćo···sak soǩstsía. (280) čoy honk hok gmoǩaḿč naʔas gi, "waq bas ge·ks giwk, q̓a nalk stinta? (281) ge·ks nalk ʔa stinta. (282) ge·ks ćosak dola gi, q̓ay honkẏas nanqaẏe·ńs we·ẃańs." (283) čoy honk We·qs q̓a—gitgo?—sq̓ása ćosak. (284) "q̓ay ʔa no·s stinta. (285) síoǩwaʔa·ks ho·t stinta." (286) čoy honk gmoǩaḿč ʔat wičta honk, síoǩwaʔa·ks. (287) čoy honk ʔat ʔankẃalča (—waqpči bas ʔanko, q̓ay ni sʔaywakta. čoy da·ts hok ćosak ǰoǰyo·ki·na. Sparks flew out from that wood anyway, and he wanted to burn síoǩwaʔa·k so she'd throw her blanket off of her where she was naked all the time, because she was always picking her old bugs. maqlaqsyalank ʔams ni sʔabi·yo·la —waq dal ʔi? q̓a hak wneqi·s!)

(288) čoy honk ʔat lolp mna sepo·lgank gida—gida sepo·lga.[27] (289) čoy honk ʔat kselwi, gmoǩaḿč. (290) čoy honk ʔat ǰoyo·ki·na, čoy notía síoǩwaʔa·ks. (291) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔutututu!"[28] (292) čoy honk ʔat hok gmoǩaḿč naʔas, "ʔU·!"[29] (293) ʔat honk sleʔalla, dwa·.

(294) čoy honk ʔat newlga siwgwapgok ʔaysisas. (295) čoy honk homas danktkni· newlga honk. (296) čoy honk ćosak giskanga do···na. (297) čoy honk ʔat ćnaw—ćnaw ʔakẏa?—ćnaw gaẃal do·, sa·yǩatdat. (298) čoy ćnawwat sqolelam sńoLas gaẃal. (299) čoy gatbamblyank,

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[196] [27] The informant here indicated by a gesture that /gida/ "right here" meant "on the ground between his legs."

[196] [28] Little Síoǩwa's exclamation begins voiced and high-pitched and descends to a very low note. It is progressively less voiced and ends voiceless.

[194] [29] This utterance is produced by an ingoing air current rather than an outgoing one. It is otherwise a mid-high back rounded vowel. The symbol [U·] has been arbitrarily chosen to stand for this anomalous phone, which occurs nowhere else in the corpus.

#539

(337) čoy honk hok sa čeče·li·k naʔas, "če·li, če·li, na·ĺs ʔam kani lelq̓iq̓it! če·li, če·li, na·ĺs ʔam kani lelq̓iq̓it!"[31] (338) čoy sa honk swino·ta, sminkaƛ̓iWa honk ʔaysisas. (339) čoy honk ʔat dič̓amks gin gyo·ta, sboga hadakt.

(340) bompča sas sa·tĺa bas hekagisĺi·yatgi giwk. (You've seen the knobs on trees? He asked them to make him a cane out of that—with a young tree knob on it, I guess you would say. q̓ay ni sʔaywakta waq se·sapks gist.) (341) čoy honk naʔas, "čoy ni siko·ye·kdamnwapk, q̓elýant ma·ĺs." (342) čoy dada·t honk ʔat dič̓amks giwk, čoy honk neńampča hak sboga hadakt. (343) čoy honk čeče·li·k gatbnank, naʔas, "če·li, če·li, na·ĺs ʔam kani lelq̓iq̓it!" (344) be·n sa ksiwiga, ksiwiga. (345) sa·ča sa honk silalpks gi se·ẃatk. (346) čoy honk sas ʔat lwela. (347) ʔat honk na·nok če·lis honk lelq̓iq̓ya. (348) geḿas qdoqdasga sam peč. (349) čoy honk ʔat sma·yammatga yamnas sʔosʔatĺi·ya. (dam ʔi dada· ĺahĺa·hʔasam yamnas sleʔa? ʔi·. ĺahĺa·hʔas yamnas sawq̓a·q̓atk.) (350) čoy honk ʔat sas hoḿas wakanaĺi·ya. (351) čoy sa honk q̓a··· saýa·ḿa. (352) hahastamnis č̓is ʔakýa sʔotĺa. (q̓ay ni dič ho·skanga-ma···ns ni q̓ay domna nen sʔasʔapgle·ʔas. ʔaMĸ́a ƛ̓ičƛ̓a·ni, dada· ni tabi·ge·ni domna.)

(353) čoy meya sa ge·s, boqs—na·nok dwa· sa stayLa. (354) čoy honk ĺahĺa·hʔas bil q̓a··· ẏaMĸ́a. (355) čoy honk naʔas, "*ĺaĺaĺaĺaĺa!*"[32] (356) čoy honk bablaq wenta honks wakana. (357) čoy honk naʔas, "*ĺaĺaĺaĺaĺa!*" (—Rub its legs together, you know, and fly up in the air? That's what it means. That's a heck of a way to say it, but that's what it is.)

(358) čoy honk ʔat naʔas gi, "ʔat ni gembliwapk. ʔi·." (359) čoy ʔat sas sʔeqga. (360) "dič da·ts ʔa·t či·wapk! (361) ʔat ʔa·t gen na·nok dwa· gitk." (And he fixed everything nice for them before he left.) (362) čoy honk ʔat gembli.

(363) čoy honk We·qs bil, honk naʔas, "We·qe·qe·q! no·s hay dak ʔaysis stintisamni! We·qe·qe·q! no·s hay dak ʔaysis stintisamni!"[33] (She didn't care whether he was dead or what happened to him—all the others were

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[196] [31] Mrs. Ohles supplied the translation for the Porcupines' mythic utterances. /če·li, če·li/ is a distortion of /če·lis/ "porcupine," and /lelq̓iq̓it/ may be ‖rel^v erréyat‖. ‖l^v eq̓ya‖ means "puts a round object in the road, way," but it may either have a specialized meaning (presumably "on the wrist") or this may be another morpheme.

[196] [32] This utterance begins on a high pitch and descends to voicelessness.

[196] [33] Mallard's cry was said to be onomatopoetic. Not only does the mallard cry "/We·qe·qe·q!/" but also "/no·s hay dak ʔaysis stintisamni/." The translation of this latter portion is Mrs. Ohles'. It seems to mean "ʔaysis rather intended to love me!" No negative appears, but Mrs. Ohles translated it as "ʔaysis never tried to love me."

(63) čoy honk q́a··· saẏa·nWa·ʔa. (64) čoy honk ʔat makiga qoqdinksamks. (65) čoy honk q́ay sa honk we·wía qtantgi giwk. (66) q́oy sa domnas, qoqdingok.[17] (67) hihaswaʒs bil ʔa sa qoqdinks gi. (68) čoy honk ʔat swa·ya ʔa·k naʔas gi, "mo· ʔans ge·k sa snomčakLa!" (69) čoy honk ʔat nanqa we·ẃańs sʔotía, honk qoqdinks. (70) čoy honk homas gyank ʔat domi··· qoqdinks gi. we·ẃańs nanqa giwk.

(71) čoy honk ʔat hok qoqdinks q́a··· papsis. (72) čoy mbo·sant honk ʔat gena. (73) čoy Na·s qoqdinks pino·čńank naʔas gi, "ʔat ʔa gew sńewe·ts kosía. (74) weq na·t giwapk?" (75) čoy honk naʔas, "mo· hak bas ẏa ʔa·t nis sneg̣e·ǰiga!" (76) čoy honk naʔas gi, "homas hay ʔi giwapk!" (77) čoy honk sas sʔabi·ya, dwa· hak sas sʔaẃa·Ya. (Just like you go to an Indian doctor and ask him what to do. "My wife is pregnant." And he told them what clothes to get, or moss, or whatever they used at that time—rabbitskins or something.) (78) sʔaẃa·Ya dwa· hak sas sńoqtgi giwk.

(79) čoy honk ʔat gena. (80) čoy honk ʔat sleʔa, čewas. (81) čoy honk ʔat ẏaMtgi. (82) hok qoqdinks q́a hak honks hesbamtgidamna. (83) čoy honk ʔat slin, honk čew. (84) čoy honk ṕkisa mna siwga. (85) čoy honk ʔat homas giwk q́oye·ẃa. (86) "he· ni gew ṕkisa siwgat, čoy ni kańs gin siwgat!" naʔas honk ʔat.

(87) čoy da·ts honk ʔat komlʔamks gatba. (88) ẏaMtgi ni kaíamksi lobi· gatba. (89) čoy da·ts ʔat komlʔamks gatba, tońipńi hok, setge·wńaltk, tońipńi. (90) čoy sa honk ṕaṕa·ćatk, na·nok ṕaṕa·ćatk. (91) čoy sa honk ʔat no·qía mna·íam kyem. (92) čoy sas honk ʔat gmayo·k, na·nok honk ksoksasga. (93) tońip sa honk kyem no·qíank ṕan, hok komal. (94) čoy honk na·nok ksoksasga hadakt. (95) čoy honk ʔat hok komal wo·nip hak ṕan. (96) čoy sa honk g̣esga sle·s, čoy da·ts sas honk gayahʔa. (97) čoy honk čakćo·yank na·nok sas ṕan, honk. (One from each of them.) (98) čoy honk ʔat Na·s—tg̣e·w ʔakẏa, wage·nha tabi·ni—naʔas, "wo·ni·p hak ʔan sg̣osg̣atg̣a." (99) čoy honk naʔas, "no· hayč woni·p hak!" (100) be·n Na·s, "no· hayč woni·p hak! (101) waq totńip hayč na·t gida no·qía! (102) čoy síewi·salwapk hay na·t!" (103) čoy sa honk ʔat wqapq́a mna·íam Las. (104) čoy honk ʔat q́a··· kililḱo·tank síewi· hadakt. (105) čoy honk naʔas gi, "no··· ʔa ma···ís

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[17] The word /qoqdinks/ has the basic meaning "dragonfly," but it is commonly used as an expression for "batchelor." Since the batchelors talk all night and do not let him sleep. Swa·ya turns some into women and thus settles them down. This myth incident seems to reflect in story form the linguistic phenomenon of double meaning—or could the double meaning of /qoqdinks/ be derived from the myth?

nen gi! (106) no··· ʔa ma···ĺs woĺalla! (107) no··· ʔa ma···ĺs ksoksasgalla!"[*] (108) čoy honk naʔas gi, "hak ʔa! kani nen?" (109) "no··· ʔa nen! swa·yaʔa·k!" (110) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, kokoy! (kokoy, blogo·č́ip—I don't know which.) (111) hokt ʔa na·ĺs nen." (112) "be·n dak ma·ĺs ni ʔikči·wapk." (113) čoy sa honk ʔat q̓oyse·ẃa. (114) čoy sas ʔat honk sẃewči·ya. (And everything was all right. ʔat ni ḱada·di hak sʔaywakta nent č́is.)

8. Gmoḱaḿč and Little Bullhead

(Mr. Grover Pompey)

(1) ʔi·, gmoḱaḿč. (2) hok gelwipga ḱočč́aʔa·ks. (3) čoy sleʔa ḱočč́alam honkt ĺa·ýas, lowi·pgapks, doma·. (4) čoy honk ʔat sleʔank naʔas, "ʔat hay no· gena." (5) čoy honk genank ge·t wiḱa·, čoy honk na·nok gegatdi·ls mna—čoy honk na·nok sisʔasgank gegatdi·ls mna, maqlaqs sʔotĺa. (6) čoy honk ʔat gembli. (7) lobi· ho·ččńa, ḱočč́aʔa·ḱlamksi. (8) čoy honk ʔat nqe···nčńa, "maqla···qs ʔa gepga! ho·wwi, ho·wwi!" (9) ʔona· gent giwls, ho·wwo·la, ʔat nidwallok honk, ḱočč́aʔa·k. (10) naʔas gi, "dwa· hak ʔa nen ge· ʔiye·gwapk!" (11) čoy honk mna ĺa·ýas ʔi·ye·gank, ʔidi·la, whila·ʔat ʔiWdi·la, na·nok ʔidi·la. (12) čoy hoḿas gyank q̓e·gi, ʔat hok q̓e·gi.

(13) čoy hok ho·ččipga, "he····! maqlaqs ʔa gepga! ho·wwi, ho·wwi! (14) ĺa·ýas hon ʔilqčńank, ho·wwi!" (15) ho·ččipga, ho·ččipga, nqenčipga naʔas. (16) čoy čik honk naʔas—ʔat honk či·sge·ni gatba hadakt, či·sksaksi—"waq dal?" (17) ʔat honk gatba či·sksaksi, q̓e·gi hok ḱočč́aʔa·k, q̓e·gi. (18) "waq dal gi? (19) nidwalla ča nis! (20) nidwalla ča nis! (21) waq bas ni giwapk? (22) dam bas gida gi?"

(23) čoy honk ʔat bano·ye·ga, ʔat yawskanga. (24) "ʔaMḱa hok gida, ʔambotdat." (25) ʔambotdat hok yawskanga. (26) "ge· ʔa nen gi, gida giwk sitk. (27) gida ʔa nen giwk sitk. (28) nen lis gida lʔe·ḱlʔeḱa. (29) nen ʔa lʔe·ḱlʔeḱa giwk sitk!"

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[*] The quoted material in utterances 105, 106, and 107 is given in a high, faint, far-away voice, since Swa·ya wished to fool the blind Pelicans as to his location.

#539 (30) hok ḱočč́aʔa·k honk ʔat mbosaks mna wa·ĺitga lača·ẏa, na·nok honk č́o·ks. (31) na·nok honk lača·ẏa č́o·ks. (32) "ʔat ʔa q̇e·gi be·n. (33) ʔo·č gint."

(34) ʔat honk bamba·tambli, yawskangatk, ʔat honk hokt lʔe·ḱlʔaks bil honk ʔat gitgo gaẃal. (35) čoy ʔat goyḱi·nabli. (36) čoy honk ʔat sleʔa, "ya···, waq dal nis? (37) gen ʔans geńs lača·yipga, č́o·ks, poč!" (38) ʔat honk gena. (39) čoy honk ʔat ma·ns gitk ḱočč́aʔa·k gotq̇akbli, gotq̇akbli ʔambotdat. (40) čoy honk ʔat whila·ʔat ʔiditgo·labli mna ĺa·ẏas. (41) čoy honk ʔilqbli mna ĺa·ẏas či·sdat. (42) "waq ʔans sewĺaqtanWi·wapk?" (43) hasaswa·ḱẏa bida·k hemkanga, "ʔans sewĺaqWi·ya." (44) čoy honk ne· ḱada·di hak.

7. Old Mink and Nighthawk

(Mr. Grover Pompey)[41]

(1) č́ečte·sis dola č́asga·yas ʔa gatba č́asgi·psamksi. (2) č́asgi·ps naʔas gi, "hoksakdanq̇ńa ʔa na·t wawč́a·k na·ĺam." (3) č́ečte·sis naʔas, "q̇ay ho·t gew wač́a·k. (4) q̇ay hoksakdangwapk ʔa na·t." (5) č́ečte·sis naʔas gi, "ho·t dak tapẏap gew."

(6) be·n naʔas č́asgi·ps, "q̇ay, ho·t dič́i· siso·gis sitk sle·a. (7) hoksakdanq̇ńa ʔa na·t honkẏes!" (8) č́ečte·sis naʔas gi, "ʔi·." (9) č́asgi·ps naʔas gi, "ʔi lobi· gi. suksuksuksuksuk, g̓apga g̓wač́a·sis!"[42] (10) hok sedalo·ga č́asga·yas.[43] (11) č́asga·y honk ʔat ʔi·me ʔalamna qe·matdat. (12) č́asga·y honk ʔat siwga, ʔi·metga.

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[126] [124] [41] This text was not taken on tape, but only by dictation. Mr. Pompey stated that this incident was but a small part of a longer myth cycle, though he could not recall more than fragments of the rest of it. Cf. Mr. David's text in which Q̇alo·qa·qaqs appears (Text 17).

[196] [42] The sequence /suksuksuksuksuk/ is almost voiceless, and the syllables are uttered at a rapid rate of speed. This and whistling were said to be the commonest methods of calling a dog in ancient days.

[231] [193] [196] [43] The use of (se̲) "reflexive-reciprocal action" (2pv) is not clear here. [se̲dalwga] means "attack each other" or "attack oneself," but the utterance contains an "accusative" /č́asga·yas/. Utterances in which (se̲) has reciprocal meaning invariably have all parties to the action as subjects.

(13) "ča ʔičgas, q̓aWl̓i sislakLas!"[44] (14) čoy siwga honks č̓asga·y. (15) "ča ʔičgas, kuskuskuskuskus, ʔičgas, čak lol̓stq̓aks!"[45] (16) delo·ga č̓asga·yas. (17) ʔat siso·ga. (18) be·n honkt siwga, č̓asga·y. (19) naʔas gi, "hõ···, mo· bas q̓oy gi."[46] (20) kuskus, ʔičgas, mbastga nqewYapks!" (21) be·n hokt delo·ga č̓asga·yas. (22) siso·ga. (23) be·n honkt gist, č̓asga·y hončgas siwga. (24) "ča ʔičgas, galo· qa·qaqs!" (25) ʔat honktčgas siwga. (26) ʔat sa sedalo·ga, honktčgas siwga č̓asga·y. (27) č̓asgi·ps naʔas gi, "ča! hak na·tčgas!" (28) naʔas, "hihastqatč̓wapk na·t!" (29) čečte·sis naʔas, "č̓a·nis ʔan hom̓as gis." (30) "q̓ay, no· ʔams lobi· hom̓as giwapk." (31) čoy honk ʔat čečte·sis hihastqatč̓wapk sa. (32) naʔas, "waq hay sa honk hom̓as?" (33) "waq hay gem̓as lis"—gaʔas lis honk sommat—gaʔas sommat sol̓l̓aqk̓is mna heslʔa, dwantga histqatč̓wapk. (34) ʔat sa histqatč̓a. (35) čečte·sis sdaLa·sga honkl̓am č̓asgi·psam som, sdaLa·sgnank siwga.

8. Hehǰi·k̓a

(Mr. Grover Pompey)

(1) či·ya ton̓ipn̓i lo·s. (2) čoy honk naʔas hok—lo·s ʔona·k hončn̓a čoy hemčn̓a naʔas, "loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni p̓ača, loha·nk, loha·nk!"[47] (2) hončn̓ank, čoy ʔat hok gatba—hontba, hehǰi·k̓alamksi. (3) hehǰi·k̓a čawaltk mna wqepl̓aqsdat, hottgič̓apga honk lo·sas, nqenčipgo·ta, "hehǰi·, hehǰi·, hehǰi·!"[48]

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[196] [44] /q̓aWl̓i sislakLas/ was said to mean "Brown spots over the eyes." [reselʸikLa] : /sislakLas/ "distributive round objects on top of, reflexive" bears out the translation, but the usual word for "brown" is /kaWkaWl̓i/ ((kaW)). The form /q̓aWl̓i/, otherwise unknown, could perhaps be set up as an allomorph of (kaW) 73v "to be brown."

[194] [45] /kuskuskuskuskus/ is nearly voiceless. Cf. Note 42. There is no apparent reason for the metathesis of /k/ and /s/.

[192] [194] [46] /hõ···/ is an exclamation of disappointment. The vowel is nasalized, and the tone drops from /3/ to /2/ or a little lower.

[194] [47] The segment /loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni p̓ača·, loha·nk, loha·nk/ is spoken in a measured, heavily stressed tone and in a rather high, faint voice. This applies to further reoccurrences of this myth speech in utterances 18, 33, 52, 53, 75, and 76 of this myth.

[196] [194] [48] /hehǰi·, hehǰi·, hehǰi·!/ is the myth-speech of Hehǰi·k̓a. No further meaning for the segment /hehǰi·/ could be found. It is uttered here in a high pitched voice with a strong pitch drop on the final /i·/.

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(4) čoy naʔas gi, "dwa· lis ne·pga? (5) waq ho·t giwk nońatía goni·—he· delča! (6) he· delča!" (7) čoy honk lo·s delčńa. (8) čoy honk ndoga, mna ńos honk ndogank siwga. (9) čoy hoḿas gyank, hok hehǰi·ḱa ksembli, mna wqepíaqsdaí. (10) čoy honk wo[í]o·Libli, mna wqepíaqs. (11) čoy honk ṕie·wip naʔas, "ʔe···, siwkiga dal ʔi Na·s?"[49] (12) čoy honk ʔat ṕie·wip na·nok honk poLq́ank čoy honk no·qía. (13) čoy sa honk ṕan. (14) ṕank sibač, čoy ʔe·ẃa. (15) čoy honk hoḿas gyank ʔat sa loíallga.

(16) čoy be·n mbo·sant, čawal hehǰi·ḱa, mnadant wqepíaqsdat. (17) čoy lo·s Na·s be·n hontgalč́a, do·kni·. (18) hokčgas naʔas, hemčipga, "loha·nk, goda· ni ṕača, loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni ṕača!" (19) čoy honk ʔat hokčgas ʔat hontba—sgolam mat gitk či·sdat—hehǰi·ḱalamksi. (20) hehǰi·ḱa be·n ho·q́ya, čoy honkčgas wola, naʔas, "dwa· lis ne·pga goni·? (21) he· do· ne· gidaí—he· delča!" (22) čoy honk lo·s delčńa. (23) čoy honkčgas ndoga, ńos. (24) siwga. (25) čoy ksembli, wqepíaqsdaí mna. (26) čoy do· honk wo[í]o·Li ṕie·wa mna poLq́atgi giwk. (27) čoy honk honkt poLq́ank, ʔat no·qíank, čoy sa ṕan. (28) ṕawlank ʔat be·n loíallga.

(29) ʔona· be·n batgal. (30) hehǰi·ḱa. (31) čawal hatkak loltḿalʔaqsdat mna—wqepíaqsdat mna.[50] (32) čoy honk lo·s be·n hokčgas hontgalč́apga, do·kni·. (33) čoy naʔas hok hemčipga, "loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni ṕača, loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni gin ṕača!"

(34) čoy honk hontba—dat—hehǰi·ḱalamksi. (35) hehǰi·ḱa ho·wwalo·lč́a be·n hak. (36) do· ʔa ho·q́ya. (37) čoy naʔas gi, "waq lis ʔi? (38) dwa· ne·pga goni· nen? (39) dwa· ho·t ne·pga?" (40) "dat hay?" (41) "ho·t lis goni·—ne·—nońatía—dwa· ho·t waq giwk nońatía? (42) he· delča!" (43) čoy hok lo·s delčńa. (44) čoy honktčgas be·n ndoga, ńos, siwga. (45) siwgank ksembli doʔotdaí, wqepíaqsdaí mna, wo[í]o·Li. (46) "ye···, Na·s dal ʔi be·n siwga?" naʔas mna ṕie·wip. (47) čoy sa honk ṕan, ʔat no·qíank dič. (48) mo· ʔe·ẃa. (49) čoy ʔat be·n hak hon sponne·ksdat honk.

(50) ʔona· be·n hak, čawal, hehǰi·ḱa. (51) čoy Na·s hok be·n ʔat lo·s hontgalč́apga, ʔona·. (52) čoy hoḿas hak hemčipga naʔas, "loha·nk, loha·nk, loha·nk, goda· ni ṕača. (53) loha·nk, goda· ni ṕača."

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[196]

[49] The Grandmother's exclamation, here /ʔe···/ and elsewhere /ye···/ (utterances 46, 65, and 96), is uttered in a high, quavering tone that varies considerably in pitch.

[124]
[192]

[50] Mr. Pompey here became confused momentarily between the Klamath summer house (/wqepíaqs/) and the winter house (/loltḿalʔaqs/). He had previously stated that Hehǰi·ḱa lived in a /wqepíaqs/ at the time of the story.

9. Skunk and His Sister-in-Law

(Mr. Robert David)

*539 (1) sʔabwapk ʔan—wiƙa·ńs gin hemkanks, kant ni sʔaywakta. (2) ga·ʔa·k ʔans—ma·m̥s ni q̓ay q̓a sʔaywaks. (3) čoy da·ts ni nent domna, kant nis gogmčatk sʔabi·ya. (4) ga·ʔa·k. (5) sʔasʔapg̹le·ʔa sa. (6) čoy nis sa sʔabi·ya. č̓a·sisas ni nen sʔabwapgok, kat ho·t ya·mat do·ksĺant goni·ksĺant g̹og̹e mo·ńs či·ya. (7) čoy do·s nen basdin pač̓it naʔas ʔelg̹a kalambya riba."[51] (8) hadakt hok do·ksĺant či·ya, č̓a·sis. (9) gaƙwapk do· sle·čok mna tapy̓a. (10) tapy̓ap honkĺam či·ya do·ksĺant. (11) čoy bi gina· či·ya, ʔiWWasga gina·ksĺa, honk mo·ńs g̹og̹e gina·ksĺa. (12) čoy honk naʔas, sńewe·ts mna sʔabi·ya naʔas, "sponƙo·wapk ʔins. (13) sle·čas sn̓a·Wawli. (14) q̓ay ni ma·ns sleʔa gew honk tapy̓a," naʔas honk, č̓a·sis hokt gi. (15) "ʔi·," či čik honk. (16) ʔat honk sponƙwa. (17) spončńank g̹og̹etdat hi·t, sponƙo·č̓a wončJatga, wonč hadakt, naʔas honk sʔaba, wončJatga. (18) sg̹aƙwa sa honk ʔat do· spončńa. (19) čoy honk gena ʔat. (20) goWaskč̓a honk do· g̹e·lantga.

(21) čoy hont honk dič̓e·ẃa gaʔas honk sepe·wčok. (22) pe·wča honk qe·mat mna, na·nok hadakt lgelgaWapga honks, balbalʔi. (23) čoy honk dič ʔat so·Jo·qč̓a, gida č̓is, kat ho·t lgeygi gidaĺ balbalʔi.[52] (24) honkt honk sańa·Wawli dič sle·s gis. (25) dič honk so·Jo·qčńank gena. čoy honk naʔas ʔat, "gen ni geńs ƙleča, gen ni geńs ƙleča!"[53] (26) ne· honkĺam hemkanks dada·t hok gena, Na·čyak č̓a·sis. (27) "gen ni geńs ƙleča, gen ni geńs ƙleča!" naʔas honk. (28) hont honk dič̓e·ẃa ʔat ḿaYas mna sle·bapgok, dada·t honk gena, qbel honk woĺo·kankčč̓o·ta mna. (29) honkt honk dič̓e·ẃa ʔat.

(30) čoy honk do··· ʔat gatbnank sleʔa doma··· čik hok maqlaqs hadakt či·ya. (31) čoy honk naʔas gi, "dat dal hok gew tapy̓ap či·ya?" (32) čoy sa ʔala·Ya naʔas, "hi·t hok goni· či·ya." (33) čoy sas naʔas gi, "ʔi·, ma·ns ʔat nen q̓ay sleʔo·k, gen ni gaƙo·č̓apga hon mo·ńs g̹og̹e," naʔas honk sʔaba. (34) "ʔi·," či čik honk gi. (35) čoy honk či·ya ʔat

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[194] [51] The allophonic pattern of /kalambya riba/ "Columbia River" is entirely Klamath, except for the anomalous /r/.

[124] [196] [52] Mr. David gestured to his head and back to indicate Skunk's stripe, the area referred to by /gida/ "here" and /gidaĺ/ "toward here."

[194] [192] [53] /gen ni geńs ƙleča/ "This is the way I hop along" is the myth speech tag-line for Skunk in this myth. It is pitched slightly higher and is rhythmically stressed. Mr. David himself points out the difference between such "myth speech" and ordinary discourse in Sentences 42 and 43 of this myth.

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*539 (124) čoy honk tabi·ge·n naʔas, "ge· le·ẇam! le·ẇam ge· bosakías!" či honk. (125) ʔat čik sa honk dintq̓aga. (126) ʔat sa honk ʔat Walwi. (127) ʔat sa gembli, hoḿas gyank, dosčambli ho·t sa ʔat, sqel časga·yas dola.

(128) čoy ḱada·di nen sʔaywaks, nent či weli·ĺa, q̓ay honk ho·skanga ʔat. (129) nen da·ts ni ḱada·di dič sʔaywaks honkt. (130) ga·ʔa·k ʔans ma·ms ne· diči·. (131) čoy da·ts ni nen ḱet sʔaywakta. (132) q̓ay ʔan saña·Wawli sʔaps dwa· ni q̓ay sʔaywakta.

11. The Qawdo·gi·s Brothers

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) diña· hok—domi· či·ya. (2) sʔabwapk ni gitgẃas, qawdo·gi·sas. (3) qawdo·gi·s hok či·ya do·ksíant do·s hak git gombat wiḱa·t. (4) hadakt hok či·ya·. (5) čoy honk domna sa naʔas, lilhanksas do···m lwela·, ʔiWba·tanʔa do·. (6) hi·t sa nen so·ča sa honk mo·. (7) čoy honk sleʔa·—hokt Na·s qawdo·gi·s—hokt honk sleʔa·, loloqs. (8) "waq dal do· ne· mo· hak nota·? lala·qẏamks," či honk gi. (9) čoy honk naʔas ʔat gi, "waq hay čole·ks ʔa sa ʔitba, lweltga ʔas lilhanks," naʔas honk. (10) čoy honk hi·tkni· honk sleʔa·, honk ḱada·di dalḱwank, do· ʔiWba·tanʔa, ʔiWq̓a·q goni·tant.

(11) čoy honk naʔas gi, "ya··· genwapk ni gen," či honk. (12) čoy honk ʔat goWaskča hok—sesatge·wńisaltk hok či·ya, woni·bi. (13) čoy honk čiḱa·ʔa·k na·í hok goWaskča. (14) čoy honk gitgo—gena··· honk do·. (15) čoy honk hosdanga sas gina·t hak. (16) hompči hak, hoʔot hak hok —gmoḱaḿč (they call him)—gmoḱaḿč hok hosdanga ʔat gina·t hak. (17) čoy honk naʔas gi, hok qawdo·gi·s, "dwa· čik hok mo· hak nota·?" (18) waqt giwk naʔas da·ts honk, "qawdo·gi· sgoč sgoč, qawdo·gi· sgoč sgoč," naʔas honk giwta, gena· hokt qawdo·gi·s.[38] (19) "qawdo·gi· sgoč sgoč," naʔas honk gitgo, ʔiyyamnatk mna dalči, datdadwa na·nok, ḿolẃatk ʔat honk waqt či honk gankankčok hoḿas.

(20) čoy honk ʔat hok hosdanga, gmoḱaḿčas, wele·q̓atk hok glegank. (21) čoy honk naʔas gi, "gagya·mis sitk lilhanksam čole·ks blew gi goni·,

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[38] The phrase /qawdo·gi· sgoč sgoč/ is again myth speech, a tag-line for the various Qawdo·gi·s brothers. It had no discoverable lexical meaning. It was spoken in a rhythmical manner, but was not noticeably high-pitched.

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"sebwatgank mi hon lolp, čoy bwawlʔagwapk, čoy ʔi domnwapk. (25) he· blay ʔi wbawlʔaqt, čoy dič gi," či honk, "gilʔank Waltantk."

(26) čoy honk hoḿas ʔa sas wbawliga mna lolp, sisʔatgank honk, ḱolẏa· ʔat. (27) čoy honk lmena·, ʔat naʔas ʔat gi···lʔank. (28) hokt honk lmeni·ya, čikḱa hokt. (29) hokt honk q̇ay honk bi ḱolẏa·—q̇ay honk sʔaywakta, bi giwk. (30) čoy naʔas honk ho·skanga, "no· ʔa nen—ʔat lmena· nene·ńs!"

(31) čoy honk naʔas gi, "he· ʔi do· blay gawligank ẏayńatdat, hoḿas bwawlʔaqt mi lolp, čoy ho·t ma···ns lmena·, gilʔank, waq či nen domna blay do· lmeyst." (32) naʔas honk hokt sʔabi·ya čikḱa honks. (33) "blay bwawlʔagwapk, lolp mi hon," či honk, "čoy honk hoḿas ʔa·di··· gawligank ẏayńatdat. (34) ʔat honk do· gitgo hoḿas gi ʔat, sisʔatgank honk lolp ʔat bwawliga bla···y. (35) čoy honk dińa· hok Walta naʔas, ʔat honk lmelmni·k sʔabi·ya hoḿas gitgi giwk. (36) dińa· ʔa snaWalta ʔat naʔas lmena· gi···lʔank. (37) ʔat hok hewẏaqbli be·n lolp. (38) čoy sa honk naʔas gi—"ʔat ni blay nalk bwawlʔagwapk," či honk, "gilʔank nen dič Walta." naʔas honk ḱolẏa· hokt. (39) čoy honk ʔat bwawliga bla···y, do· ʔa·di·. (40) čoy honk do· blay hiʔit hak ga·q śnosnga lolp honkĺam. (41) ʔi·, ga·q honk do· śnosngank ʔat, kiko·kanga lolp honkĺam! [laughter].

(42) čoy ʔat ma·ns honk ge·Jiga ni·s, čaẃa·Yok giwẏaqbliwapkst bas honk lolp. (43) čoy honk q̇e···gi lolp honkĺam. (44) q̇ay hok giwẏaqbli, ma···ns. (45) čoy honk ʔat goWaskča, "ya···, q̇oy nis ʔat gi!" či honk ʔat, "waq bas ni gen giwapk?" či honk. (46) "q̇a··· ʔans ʔambotga," naʔas honk gi. (47) čoy honk ʔat goWaskča, sgilo·lgank gotgiča honk ẏayńa.

(47) čoy honk hottalʔaqčńa, dwantdat—"dwantdat mis ni nen hottalliga?" naʔas honk. (48) "no·s hay ʔi nen ĺoĺasdat!" či honk. (49) čoy honk be·n naʔas gi, be·n honk goni· nalk hottalliga. (50) čoy honk naʔas, "dwantdat min nen hottalliga?" či honk. (51) čoy honk naʔas, "go·sdat hay ʔins nen," či honk. (52) čoy honk ʔat gena· hi·t—diča· ʔa nen Walta.[49] (53) "ʔaMḱs ʔan gaẃalwapk ʔambo," naʔas honk gena·. (54) "q̇a ʔan ʔambotga." (55) čoy honk hoqqa·yiliga qwa·ĺant hompčant, śĺasĺapts ʔam mat. (56) čoy honk naʔas, "dwantdat min nen?" (57) naʔas, "no·s hay ʔi nen śĺasĺaptsʔam hottalliga." (58) čoy honk hoqqa·yiliga. (59) čoy honk hoḿas gi, "ʔō···", či honk gi. (60) gena· honk. (61) q̇ay honk diče·ẃa.

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[49] /diča ʔa nen Walta./ "It sounded good." refers to the sound of running water, which Coyote fancies he hears in the distance. The sequence of objects indicate his progress toward water: first a dried stump, then a ponderosa pine, then snowbrush and saugus-berry bushes (fairly neutral as regards their nearness to water), and finally cottonwood trees and willows, which grow close to streams.

dokdokẃas plentant hak ma·ts honkangwapk, q̇ay hok sńogwapk dwa· ʔat," či honk, naʔas honk ho·t sa ʔat newíaqta. (37) čoy sa honk hom̓as ʔat ma···ns bańi gi.

(38) ʔat čik honk hoʔot dokdokẃas ʔat hontba. yaNWa· sle·s gyank. (39) doma· dak honk ho·t sa ʔat komal ʔipgank, hompčat na···nok dwa·, lwela· sa honk hompčat kyem didačč́a nanqa. (40) komal ho·t sa sdisdančńank, ʔambo montanna sa sdinčńa, čoy sa hon sńoga·, ka hakt plent ʔambo si·ksiĺkapks gin hompča dič́a· gi. (41) hom̓as ho·t sa loíablanč́a, či sa honk ʔelga.[42] (42) čoy sa honk hom̓as gyank ʔat na·nok honk ṗan.

(43) čoy honk ʔat hoʔot geaga sńoqs dwa· ʔat. (44) q̇e·gi hok. (45) čoy hok ʔat hondabnank sas naʔas, "ʔi·," či honk, "no· ʔat dye·m̓a ʔan ʔat," či honk, "q̇ay ni dwa· sleʔa·. (46) q̇ay ʔan sʔaywakta waq giwk," či honk. (47) "q̇ay dwa· kyem mpettq̇aga. (48) q̇ay ni dwa· sleʔa·—gen ni hompbablanʔa, hompbablanʔa, na···nok waytas. (49) čoy ni q̇ay dwa· sleʔa·," naʔas sas honk gi.

(50) "ʔi," či čik honk. (51) "ʔi ʔa didačč́a lwela·, na·t dak hon q̇oyč́a," naʔas honk ho·t sat komal ʔat. (52) "ʔi hon didačč́a ṗa! (53) na·t dak hon lme·čipgapks ṗawapk, waqt ʔi na·ts sʔabi·ya," či honk, naʔas honk ʔat gi. (54) ʔat sa honk sʔaywakta honks, geaga sńoqs. (55) ʔat honk hom̓as gena·.

(56) čoy sas honk ʔat hoʔot dokdokẃas naʔas gi, "yoẏalgat ʔis," či honk, "yoẏalgat ʔis! (57) sʔewanʔank ʔis gat," či honk, "q̇ay ʔis hom̓as gat—ʔa·t ʔans hon hom̓as gi ʔat—ʔan sʔaywakta," či honk. (58) "ʔa·t hon hom̓as lwela· na·nok," či honk, ʔat sas sle·bapga saʔi·syank, dokdokẃas, ho·t honkango·ta. (59) ʔat honk honkẏes bíl swallalYampga waqt gist sat. (60) čoy honk ʔat tabi· gatbnank naʔas gi, "ʔa·t hon hom̓as gis lis," či honk, "ʔat ʔan sʔaywakta," či honk. (61) "ʔa·t ʔans hom̓as gi," či honk, "gew da·ts ho·t gi," či honk, "no· ʔa ma·ts hon q̇ay dič gi lobi·," naʔas honk gi. (62) "čoy ʔat nis hon ʔaMka saẃalga, hom̓as giwk," naʔas honk gi. (63) "čoyč ʔat ma·ts ni q̇ay hom̓as giwapk," naʔas honk. (64) naʔas sas honk ʔat ʔapʔota·. (65) "he· ʔis deli·nat ʔat—ʔo·č ʔis deli·nat—ʔat ʔa·t dak ʔans wini·gi!" naʔas honk sʔaba·.

(66) čoy honk ho·t sa domi··· či·ya· hompča komal. (67) hom̓as ho·t sa komal—dada·t hom̓as dwa· waq gi—čoy sa sogo·lagyo·ta. (68) sogo·lagyo·ta sa dwa· sa q̇a sańa·Wawli hompča sńoqs, ʔambotdat. (69) čoy sa honk sogo·lagyo·ta na···nok. (70) čoy sa honk ʔat hom̓as gyank ʔat sńoga·, do···m sa didačč́a gin sńoga· hom̓as gyank. (71) čoy hom̓as hok, naʔas hok, gena· dank—ga·ʔa·k. (72) čoy hok dye·mis ne·pga ma···ns bańi,

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[42] ‖re·lʸobleq̇a‖ : /loíablanč́a/ "floated distributive round objects downstream," refers to the large fish-nets used by Klamath fishermen. Mr. David makes a simile here between the dipping beaks of the Pelicans and this type of fish-net.

35. Amusing A Baby

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

#539 (1) boqs. (2) ge·s. (3) leYas. (4) dawi·qs. (5) ƛo·l.

(6) bambaWaq, bambaWaq, sqsĺam tapy̓a snoy̓o·digyo·ta.[81]

(7) woy̓a·, woy̓a·, woy̓a·.
(8) dip, dip, dip, . . .

36. Teasing the Old Men

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) momča·k waw̓a·ĺa·w̓a. (2) čoy ni g̣isčipga. (3) čoy nis gew blogo·čip naʔas, "ge· ʔa gepga sitti·na."[82] (4) čoy ni naʔas, "dam dal hok ne· dič m̓a·sʔa, qaq̓o· ma·ĺam p̓as? (5) sĺesĺq̓apks sko·ks p̓ap̓i·s!" (6) čoy honk wetno·ta gembalyank, be·ya mna naʔas, "ʔans hok ʔelg̣a. (7) čoy če·!" (8) "waq hayč mis ʔelg̣a?" (9) "sko·ks p̓ap̓i·s!" (10) čoy sa weta·, weta···!

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[196] [193] [81] The sequence /sqsĺam tapy̓a snoy̓o·digyo·ta/ was translated by Mrs. Ohles but is not fully analyzable. /snoy̓o·digyo·ta/ contains {o·t} 20sv "instrumental," and {s} "noun ending." /sno/ might be {sne} 2pv "causative," and /y̓o·di/ might be {y̓o·} 45-v "to shoot pl." plus {odĺ} 7-8v "to do transitively." Or this may be {s} 2pv "transitive" plus {nʸ} 45-v "to burn" plus other suffix material.

[124] [82] /sitti·na/ seems to be a nickname for Mrs. Ohles, but the investigator neglected to ask her its significance.

#539 naʔas honk. (83) čoy honk ge·ks q̇ay kani sʔasʔapgle·ʔi·ya ge·tńis, hokt hok dič́i· sʔasʔapgle·ʔas. (84) ge· gi·waskni· hok.[92]

(85) PO: q̇ay ʔakýa kani. (86) no· lis q̇ay sʔaywakta.

(87) AC: ʔi·. dič́i· hok doʔotńi ho·t sʔasʔapgle·ʔas hok. (88) gitgo sa nis honk nen sʔaba· hak nen naʔas, dič́i··· hok sʔasʔapgle·ʔas hok giwk. (89) q̇ay da·ts honks sʔaywaks, ge· lis q̇e·gyok, gmočatk.[93] (Interruption.)

(90) AC: hompča ʔa mat nis honk wola·, waq sa honk či·ye·ga dank hoḿas gi.

(91) PO: dam či sʔabat?

(92) AC: ʔat ʔa hosakḱya.[94]

(93) PO: ʔat ʔa gitgo gi—be·n ʔa snoye·ga. (94) ʔat hay ʔi sʔabye·kt, he· ʔi saña·Wawli, dwa· gin. (95) dwa· hakt ʔi ho·skanga, honkt sʔabi·. (96) ʔat mis ni nen sʔabi·ya, čoy ho·t hi·t ʔitanwapk. (97) ʔat ho·t—gitgo?—gena·—ʔat ho·t waḱi·č́a.[95]

(98) AC: dič́i· lis hok maqlaqs, dankńi na·t maqlaqs. (99) dič́i· na·t honk maqlaqs. (100) čoy sʔabi·ya ʔan hon gen gew[96]—dič́i· ʔa na·t dank maqlaqs. (101) ḱinḱa·ńs gin na·t ṗas ʔeni·ya. (102) čoy, ma·ms hok q̇e·gi ṗas gida, čoy na·t ʔeni·ya, dwa·. (103) čoy hokt gi. (104) čoy hokt hoḿas hak giWi·s ne· naʔas so·sa, "ḱoḱas gin ʔa sa segwatga." (105) ʔat hok naʔas hok hoḿas giWi·s maqlaqsʔam. (107) hoḿas honk nen ʔelga naʔas. (108) kańs hak honkt, ḱinḱa·ńs gin ṗas ʔeni·ya do·. (109) ʔi·. Na·ýe·ńs, čoy sʔewanʔa sa dwa·č ṗas, ḱinḱa·ýanti· gin, ma·ms q̇e·gi ṗas, q̇a yoýalqs sitk dankt hok. (110) mo· ge·Jigank či·yank, čoy ṗas snoga·. (111) ʔi·, gempči gin wele·q̇atk goWaskča meyčok. (112) gempča haslanč́a, čoy honk yaNWa·ni gin, ʔat honk sʔaywakta q̇ay dwa· ṗawapgok loldam. (113) čoy hoḿas giwk, honk ʔilga ṗas dwa·.

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[103] [92] /gi·waskni·/ "from Crater Lake" refers to the myth by Mr. David (Text 10), or some version of it.

[196] [93] /ge·/ in the sequence /ge· lis q̇e·gyok/ "because this is gone" refers to Mrs. Cowan's brains. She made a humorous gesture at her head and added /gmočatk/ "old."

[196] [94] [hosho̱ḵḱya] : /hosakḱya/ "caused it to jump shut" is usually used in Klamath for "locked (a door), shut tightly," but here Mrs. Cowan refers to the tape recorder, which she thought the investigator had turned off.

[95] Mrs. Ohles was searching for a word to describe the operation of the tape recorder. She first used /gena·/ "goes," but decided that this was wrong and so employed /waḱi·č́a/ "revolves" (lit. "falls around"?)

[96] Mrs. Cowan omitted the word for "son" here and instead indicated him by a gesture of her head.

(186) PO: hont hay ni aleʔa· honk loloqḱaʔas ṕas dank–ḱal.

PB: What do they call a fern?

(187) PO: waq či se·satk "fern"? (188) kant sa mat leĺe·wsam sokĺa, leĺe·wsam sitk geča·, q̓elẏak da·ts leĺe·wsam. (189) "fern," kant nen basdin "fern" či ʔelga. (190) geaga ʔame ni dwa· heale·wapk.

(191) RC: kant sa nen do· ćosak "Smith River" ʔigatga.[103] (192) kat ho·t gitgo–tapaq bil.

(193) PO: kat ho·t mo·mni, ʔa···di· geča·.

(194) AC: čya·wisam, ʔakẏa?

(195) PO: waq mat?

(196) AC: čya·wisam lis. (197) ʔi·, hompča sĺape wokas sitk ṕan, kat ho·t taktakĺi, sĺape ho·t.

(198) PO: q̓ay.

(199) RC: kat ho·t ʔa·di·ni.

(200) PO: kampča na·t ʔiʔačq̓a–sokĺa leĺe·wsammat. (201) ťapaq bil lis ho·t ʔa···di·ni. (202) ʔaMḱa mis na·t dat sńogank heale·t, dada·.

(203) RC: maqlaqs ʔa ge·t ʔiʔačqge·ni lopẏa ʔigatga leĺe·wsam, čoy sa hompča sokĺank, kat ho·t ʔa·di·ni, ťapaq.

(204) AC: kant ʔa·t naʔas ʔelga "sunflowers"?

(205) PO: q̓ay.

PB: Then what would you call sunflowers?

(206) PO: "sunflowers" lis, q̓ay ni eʔaywakta.

(207) AC: ʔi·, honkt ʔa nen ʔat sebamtgi. (208) waq dal ho·t se·satk —ho·t dak ʔoti·s, yawqs gi, magi·p.[104] (209) ʔoti·s, mona·ni. (210) ḿa·sis gaʔas gyank satĺa·ḱa gaʔas, magi·p.

PO: Those are the sunflower roots, but she can't remember the sunflowers.

PB: And did the Klamath eat the sunflower seeds?

(211) PO: dam ʔeč mat na·t hompča ṕan?

(212) AC: ʔi·, ṕapi·s dak ho·t gi, dički·, hok lo·q. (213) čoy homas siwli·ns sitk ho·t gaʔas, lo·q. (214) lopi·li·nas ho·t gi. (215) sao·gank hokt, hohi·ye·ga nćete hok, bobasbostḱa·ni. (216) čoy hok lo·q bil hok gaʔas gist, siwli·ns sitk. (217) dič ma·sitk. (218) ʔi·, na·nok dwa· maqlaqs ṕan, na·nok. (219) na·nok dič pa·p gis, woksam ho·t hok, mayam

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[103] "Smith River" was a source of ferns for funerals.

[104] /ʔoti·s/ may possibly be ‖ʔʷotnys‖ "long-object-attached-to," referring to its medicinal quality as a poultice. Mrs. Ohles was not certain whether /magi·p/ was really the name of the sunflower root or whether this was another root.

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ho·t lolp, naʔas sa honk ʔelga, boqboq gaʔas.[105] (220) snaps gi. (221) na·nok dwa· ṗan maqlaqs, na·nok dwa·, ga·ʔa·k hoṁas či·ya·. (222) čoy dič či·ya·, meya· č̓is gempči, maqlaqsʔam čwa—maqlaqsam "sweet potatoes." (223) dič̓i·, Lo·yLoẏatk, hoṁas hak swaktktis. (224) q̇alq̇alʔi da·ts gi, dič̓i·.

PB: And what is 'qlaṅe'?

(225) AC: q̈laṅa, ʔi·. (226) ho·t dič̓i·, ho·t ṗas gin. (227) pa·snapsam lis—ho·t ge· č̓eLaspči hokt, ho·t sl̓aba·. (228) ʔi·, pa·snapsam lis č̓is sl̓aba·, čoy ho·t dak q̇oy bilwitk, ho·t. (229) q̇oy bilwitk—ho·t paysin. (230) čoy hoṁas da·ts sl̓abatk, qlaṅa sitk sl̓abatk, q̇elẏak da·ts hok pa·snapsam bilwis, q̇oy. (231) ho·t ʔa sḱawanksam, q̇oyči. (232) hoṁas hak sl̓abatk, hoṁas, qlaṅa sitk. (233) dič̓i· dak hok qlaṅa—dič ṁa·sitk, Lo·yLoẏatk. (234) dič̓i· č̓is sangis ṗan, čoy čiḱa·ẏank kok gyank.[106]

PB: What did the Klamath call "garlic" or "onion"?

(235) PO: kat ʔa sa "onion" basdin naʔas ʔelgank, "wild onion" či.

(236) AC: pni ho·t gi. (237) ge·ni čik ho·t, dič̓i· hompči dwa·. (238) ho·t č̓eḱa·ni, tata·napḱapči gi, mṗoqamnatk. (239) hompči hok sčisčapgatk. (240) hoṁas wa· ge·t, lobi·dal̓, gida. (241) ya·ṅi ge·t do·. (242) ne· hompča saṅa·Wawli le·nsam ʔikčas, haswa·tgi giwk, gempčant kna·tdat pčant hok ge·latdat—hoṁas domi··· kčalwitk sl̓aps. (243) dič̓a· sl̓aps gi. (244) hompči da·ts ʔaʔalyanspči, neṁas hok bilwitk. (245) naʔas dak sa hon ʔelgank pni či. (246) dič ṗan, sa·t. (247) dič ṁa·sitk, Lo·yLoẏa, bogatk lo·st gi. (248) na·nok č̓eLas maṅi· sa honk gaʔas gyank ṗan.

PB: Could you tell me what a "wa·l" is?

(249) PO: dwa· ʔeč hok wa·l? (250) wa·l![107] (251) "le mna ṗl̓e·wa mo·ṅs wa·l ʔoye···!"

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[252] [105] /pa·p/ is English "pop." Mrs. Cowan referred to the "popping" of various seeds, much like modern popcorn. This was done to that type of very ripe wokas called /sbokl̓as/, to sunflower seeds, etc. The author had never heard of this process being applied to tule roots (/mayam lolp/).
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[192] [106] /kok/ is English "cook."

[107] /wa·l/ was mentioned by Mrs. Ohles in connection with a hastily remembered portion of a myth. She thought it was a type of root, and this is borne out by Mrs. Cowan. She repeated the name (Sentence 250) in a louder tone of voice, since Mrs. Cowan tended to be slightly deaf. To further clarify what she meant, she added Sentence 251, which is the myth speech attributed to the chief character in the myth she could not quite recall. The form /ʔoye···/ wavers off into silence at the end. It seems to be |ʸʔoya| : /ʔoya/ "gives a long object," but with modification of the final vowel.
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(22) ge· čik hiswaqs wačá·ks mna sʔewanʔa. dwa· hak sʔewanʔa, ṗas ʔa sʔewanʔa. q̇ay qaq̇o·. ʔaMḱa ʔambo čiya·.

(23) ge· čik čiḱas gitgo—"quail"—sdasdo·lʔaqs ʔaḱya gen qbitbambli ge· wača·k.

(24) ge· čik koĺa·k. ge· ʔa loldam—q̇elẏak ge· ĺapaq go·s. čoy ge· wača·k koĺa·ks—q̇ay. q̇ay koĺa·k—kaẏa·k ʔa ho·t. kaẏa·ks ʔa so·čńa.

(25) ge· čik gelpa wača·k.

(26) ge· čik mo·smo·s, ṗawa·. ẏayńa, goge wiḱa·ĺa ʔaḱya. ẏayńa čik ho·t goni·tant. q̇ay ni sʔaywakta ka ẏayńa gi.

(27) ge· čik ʔilga—ʔisalq̇i ʔaḱya gen ʔilga. čoyč ge· ʔona·k hak—q̇ayo· ge· go·s ĺapq̇ala. ʔat ʔa sqoWa·.

(28) waq čik gen, q̇ay hak dič aličtnank spića· wač. ge· qnoqs q̇ay dič naq̇a·q̇atk. ʔaMḱa gemgemĺi ʔaḱya wač giwk.

(29) ge· čik q̇elẏak qakLas, q̇elẏak qnoqs, q̇elẏak na·nok dwa·. čoy da·ts ho·t čikLank gembli ʔaḱya lačasdaĺ, ʔaMḱa sdeybaldaĺ gembli.

(30) ge· čik kčiga·, ge·, ʔaḱya ʔe·pals loykčok. kčiga· lis ʔa ho·t.

(31) ya···, ge· čik dal wisink! ńewe·ts čoy la·bi hihaswaqs, čoy sa naʔas, "ya···, ho·t ʔa do·na wisink!" do·ksĺant ge· siʔatgatk (ʔaḱya?). tgatgli·ga ʔa sa, čoy honk wisink do·ksĺant.[113]

(32) la·bi wisink. čoy hok sa hak ndamni ge·ksĺa be·n. q̇ay ʔan diče·ẇa wisink.

(33) ya···, ʔat čik sas ge· tpoča·. Na·s ńiwLi, ńewe·ts hoččńa, hiswaqs čis, čoy honk ṅep mna wbeyye·gank hoččńa. ge· čik ĺoq̇ank ńiwLi gida, ʔaMḱa ńiwwa ʔambotdat.

(34) ge· čik dwa·? sʔabas ʔa dini·gi. čoy ge· gitgo—q̇ay dinne·ga. dini·gi ʔa sʔabas. ʔona·k lis ge·k sa čosak gitgo—basdińam wonč—"sailboat"—sgena·. čoy ge· ʔanko gida ʔali·ga.

(35) ge· wončjatga gena·, dinne·kadat ʔat. čoy naʔas gi, "ʔat ni gembli." gatba ʔa ho·t ale·tgi giwk ńewe·ts. ʔaMḱa mna hasńa·Wawlis.

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[113] Mrs. Ohles was not sure about |se̱ʔidgdk| : /siʔatgatk/ "plural objects divided from themselves" for "abyss" or "chasm." She added /ʔaḱya?/ "Maybe?" in an aside to the investigator.

KLAMATH ETHNOGRAPHY

BY

LESLIE SPIER

I. KLAMATH SOCIAL LIFE

THE KLAMATH AND THEIR TERRITORY

Tribal Relations and Population

The Klamath are the northern of the two major dialectic groups 101
of the Lutuami linguistic stock, the other, the Modoc. Dialectically 197
there is little difference, but of the two the Klamath have the richer,
more specialized culture.

The Klamath recognize a number of local autonomous subdivisions 101
but consider themselves a social unit. They call themselves ma'klaks,
men;[1] all other tribes are known by directional or locality names. The
origin of the designation Klamath is obscure; incidentally they pronounce
this klă'mĕt, much as the early travelers wrote it. It is not a
native name and evidently differs so much from native forms that
none of my informants even attempted an etymology. Curiously
enough, all the Klamath reserve the name for the Klamath marsh-Williamson
river subdivision (ā'ukckni); others are "Klamath" only
by courtesy. The reason may be that this is not only the numerically [114]
strongest subdivision, but the reservation on which they are now concentrated
is little more than the old ā'ukckni territory. Gatschet
suggested that the name is a Yurok word.

Its earliest use is perhaps that of Ogden in 1826. He uses the name "Clammitte" before reaching the country, possibly learning it among the Columbia river tribes. Yet members of his party had visited the Klamath country the year previous and may have learned it there. Elliott suggests an origin in "French Clair-metis, meaning a light mist or cloud."[2] Incidentally there is now no good reason for

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[1] Gatschet states that the form ma'klaks (ma'klaks in my orthography) means one of themselves, máklaks, any other Indian (Gatschet, 1, xxxiii). My informants denied the existence of any such distinction, and indeed of the first form.

[2] Elliott, Ogden *Journals*, 202.

[p. 1]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

101 619 occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of any sharp geographic division, rivers or ranges, such as we should expect to figure in political separatism. There are only three or four miles of open, unoccupied country between the middle Williamson river group and that at the river mouth, for instance, or between the latter and the northernmost outposts of the Klamath falls people about Modoc point. The cases of doubtful divisions really stress this point. Kowa'edi on the lake shore may belong with the middle Williamson division; though only three miles away over a low range of hills, it is somewhat isolated. Similarly the Sprague river settlements toward Yainax, usually included in the same group, are in quite a different district.

721 619 [171] The third feature pointing to their separatism is the frequent feuds between them. It is quite clear that these involve the tribelets; they never occur between the settlements of a single division. The point will be clearer if we contrast Yurok sentiments. There feuds are between the towns or with only a group of kinsmen within a town, and at most when several towns are involved in a joint cause, it appears rather that kinsmen and their friends have been drawn in.[34] [567] Further, feuds are carried on much as warfare with foreigners; property is destroyed, women and children enslaved. Such slaves can be retained indefinitely or sold again. We may wonder however if they are not restored when a settlement is bought, or at most retained only to even the score in lives.

The identity of these groups resolves itself solely into such aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for [621] itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large part a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole.

115 197 184 Only one informant, Pat Kane, suggested dialectic and cultural differentiation. The dialect groupings he gave are purely geographic. He also assigned shamanistic tricks, medical practices, and games to the several divisions, which all other informants emphatically denied. I could observe no linguistic differences and Gatschet recorded none.

000 The subdivisions or tribelets are:

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[34] Kroeber, Handbook, 49.

K 172 133 the eruption of Mount Mazama created Crater Lake and strewed its pumice in thick beds over the countryside, some 6,500 years ago, they had long been in occupation.[3]

K M 101 172 Here, with the passage of time, the peoples later to receive the names of Klamath and Modoc began to take on their present way of life. Their cultural position was at once peripheral and strategic, for they lay at the boundaries of the emergent cultural provinces of the Great Basin, the Plateau, and California, and though they stemmed fundamentally from the Great Basin, they were also subject to influences flowing from California and the Plateau. Consistent with their relative geographical position and ecological resources, the Modoc diverged toward California and the Klamath toward the Plateau; and when in turn the influences of the North Pacific Coast—extending from southern Alaska to northern California—reached them, it was again the Klamath who were somewhat more receptive. Despite their differences, the two peoples retained a substantial common base: they spoke dialects of the same language and felt their political separation to have been a recent event.[4] K M 101 • 197

Indeed, the linguistic evidence is consonant with a long autochthonous development within this region. Klamath-Modoc finds its closest linguistic congeners within the Plateau, in Cayuse, Molala, and the northern Sahaptin Tenino, Klickitat, Yakima, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Nez Percé. Taken together, these languages are seen as more distantly related to others spoken in Western Oregon and in the Sacramento-San Joaquin drainage of California, and like them are assigned to the Penutian phylum.[5] (See Map of Tribal Distribution in Oregon.)

K 133 226 361 433 For the Klamath, the dominant features of their landscape were the marshes and streams, with their rich resources of fish, mussels, and waterfowl. Their winter settlements, fringing the shores in settled places, were located where fish could be caught most of the year, clustered densely upon Klamath Marsh and the eastern shore of Agency and Upper Klamath lakes, extending down to Link River. They lay as well upon the Williamson River which runs in a bow some sixty miles, passing through the Marsh to empty into Upper Klamath Lake, and upon its eastern tributary, the Sprague. In their more open country to the south, the Modoc were less favored and less open to influences from fishing peoples,

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extended far enough to include the drainage into Sycan marsh, and thence on toward the south, passing several miles east of the town of Bly and including the whole of the Sprague river drainage.[2] The southern part of the eastern boundary probably passed somewhat east of Clear lake and around the head of Lost river. The southern boundary was probably the divide between the drainage of Klamath and Rhett lakes and that of Pitt river.

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The Lutuami[3] are divided into two slightly different dialectic divisions: the Klamath Lake, usually known simply as Klamath, occupying a comparatively large territory about Upper Klamath lake, the northern part of Lower Klamath lake, Klamath marsh, and the region to the east; and the Modoc, occupying the region about Rhett lake and the southern end of Lower Klamath lake. One informant mentioned a third dialect, which he said was spoken by the people formerly living on Link river and about Linkville or what is now known as Klamath Falls. In view of the slight lexical differences between the Klamath and Modoc dialects, it seems very probable that if a third linguistic division did exist it was inconsiderable and not more than a sub-dialectic variation. At any rate the only linguistic units recognized by the people themselves are the two dialects spoken by the Klamath and the Modoc. The fact that the two divisions speak slightly differently, does not seem to appeal to the people themselves so much as the fact that they were in former times politically disunited, and were in fact, upon certain occasions at least, at war.

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As nearly as could be determined the boundary between the Klamath and Modoc territories extended through the northern

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[2] This is the boundary generally claimed by the Klamath. One Paiute informant, however, claimed that the territory of his people extended as far west as Yam Say peak and the Black hills, thus including Sycan marsh in the Paiute country. Like Klamath informants he stated that the boundary passed a few miles east of Bly.

[3] Gatschet, Contrib. N. A. Ethn., II, gives Lutuami as meaning lake, *i.e.*, Tule lake, in the Achomawi or Pit River language. The people have no name for themselves other than maklaks, person, Indian. Maklaks is possibly the source of our word Klamath, the origin of which is unknown. The Klamath Lake people are called in their own language Eukshikni maklaks or Euksknì maklaks, at the lake people, from Eukshi, which denotes specifically Klamath marsh, but also the adjoining country, including the eastern shore of Upper Klamath lake. Eukshi appears to be derived from eush, lake. The Modoc are called Moatokni maklaks or Modokni maklaks, in the south people, from moatak, Tule lake. Moatak is a derivative from muat, south.

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7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., June 25, 1890.

121 SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you my report upon the Klamath
Indians of Southwestern Oregon, the result of long and patient study. It
deals with their beliefs, legends, and traditions, their government and social
life, their racial and somatic peculiarities, and, more extensively, with their
126 language. To this the reader is introduced by numerous ethnographic
124 "Texts," suggested or dictated by the Indians themselves, and accompanied
by an interlinear translation and by "Notes," a method which I regard as
the most efficient means of becoming acquainted with any language. In
121 this report I have given prominence to the exposition of the language,
129 because I consider language to be the most important monument of the
American Indian. Archæology and ethnography are more apt to acquaint
us with *facts* concerning the aborigines, but language, when properly investigated, gives us the *ideas* that were moving the Indian's mind, not only
recently but long before the historic period.

Repeated and prolonged visits to the people of the northern as well as
of the southern chieftaincy have yielded sufficient material to enable me to
classify the language of both united tribes as belonging to a distinct family.
101 In their territorial seclusion from the nearer Indian tribes they show anthropologic differences considerable enough to justify us in regarding them as
a separate nationality.

197 There is probably no language spoken in North America possessed
of a nominal inflection more developed than the Klamath, although in
this particular, in the phonetic elements and in the syllabic reduplication
pervading all parts of speech, it shows many analogies with the Sahaptin

197 dialects. The analytic character of the language and its synthetic character balance each other pretty evenly, much as they do in the two classic languages of antiquity.

128 Concerning the ethnography of both chieftaincies and the mythology of the Modoc Indians, I have gathered more material than could be utilized for the report, and I hope to publish it at a later day as a necessary supplement to what is now embodied in the two parts of the present volume.

Very respectfully, yours,

ALBERT S. GATSCHET.

Hon. J. W. POWELL,
Director of the Bureau of Ethnology.

TRIBAL NAMES AND SUBDIVISIONS.

101 The two bodies of Indians forming the subject of the present report are people of the same stock and lineage through race, language, institutions, [197] customs, and habitat. In language they radically differ from the neighboring peoples called Snake, Rogue River, Shasti, and Pit River Indians, as well as from the other inhabitants of Oregon, California, and Nevada.

For the *Klamath people* of Southwestern Oregon there exists no general tribal name comprehending the two principal bodies, except Mák̲laks, *Indian*. This term when pronounced *by themselves* with a lingual k̲ has a reflective meaning, and points to individuals speaking their language, Modocs as well as Klamath Lake Indians; when pronounced with our common k it means *Indian* of any tribe whatsoever, and *man, person* of any nationality. The derivation of mák̲laks will be found in the Dictionary. I have refrained from using it in the title and body of my work to designate these Oregon Indians because it would be invariably mispronounced as mä'kläks by the white people, and the peculiar sound of the k̲ would be mispronounced also. To call them simply *Klamath Indians* or *Klamaths* would lead to confusion, for the white people upon the Pacific coast call the Shasti, the Karok or Ara, the Hupa, the Yurok or Alíkwa Indians on Klamath River of California, the Shasti upon the Siletz Reservation, Oregon, and our Mák̲laks all Klamaths. It was therefore necessary to select the compound appellation, "the Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon." The Warm Spring and other Sahaptin Indians possess a generic name for all the Indians living upon this reservation and its vicinity: Aígspaluma, abbr. Aígspalo, Aíkspalu, *people of the chipmunks*, from the innumerable rodents peopling that pine-covered district. This term comprises Snake, Payute, and Modoc Indians, as well as the Klamath Lake people. The name of Klamath or Tlámat, Tlamet River, probably originated at its mouth, in the Alíkwa language.

The two main bodies forming the Klamath people are (1) the Klamath Lake Indians; (2) the Modoc Indians.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

THE KLAMATH LAKE INDIANS.

101 197 The Klamath Lake Indians number more than twice as many as the Modoc Indians. They speak the northern dialect and form the northern chieftaincy, the head chief residing now at Yá-aga, on Williamson River. 361 103 Their dwellings are scattered along the eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake (É-ush) and upon the lower course of Williamson (K̲ók̲etat) and Sprague Rivers (P'laí). They call themselves É-ukshikni mák̲laks, abbreviated into É-ukshikni, É-ukskni, Ă-uksni *people at the lake.* The Shasti near Yreka, Cal., call them Aúksiwash, some western Shasti: Makaítserk; by the Pit River Indians they are called Alámmimakt ísh, from Alámmig, their name for Upper Klamath Lake; by the Kalapuya Indians, Athlámeth; by the Snake Indians, Sáyi.

According to locality the Klamath Lake people may be subdivided into the following groups: The people at the agency; the people at Koháshti, at Yá-aga, at Modoc Point and upon Sprague River. Their settlements at Klamath Marsh, at Nílaks and at Linkville are now abandoned; the last named (Yulalóna) was held by them and the Modocs in common.

THE MODOC INDIANS.

000 The Modoc Indians speak the southern dialect, and before the war of 1872–1873 formed the southern division or chieftaincy, extending over Lost River Valley (K̲ók̲etat) and the shores of Little Klamath and Tule Lake. Of their number one hundred and fifty or more live on middle course of Sprague River; some have taken up lands in their old homes, which they cultivate in their quality of American citizens, and the rest are exiles upon the Quapaw Reservation, Indian Territory. They call themselves Móatokni mák̲laks, abbreviated Móatokni, Mō'dokni, Mō'dokish, *living at Moatak,* this being the name of Modoc or Tule Lake: "in the extreme south." A portion of the Pit River Indians calls them Lutuámi, "*lake,*" by which Tule Lake is meant; another, through a difference of dialect, Lutmáwi. The Shasti Indians of Yreka call them Pχánai, the Sahaptins upon and near Columbia River call them Mówatak, the Snake Indians, Saidoka.

The more important local divisions of this people were the groups at Little Klamath Lake (Agáweshkni), the Kúmbatwash and the Pásχanuash

172 shores of Goose Lake, chiefly at Davis Creek, a number of stone mortars
3 12 are found, fashioned with a sharp point to be inserted into the ground, and that in former times Modoc, Payute, and Pit River Indians contended in many bloody battles for the possession of this thickly inhabited country, though none of them could obtain any permanent advantage.* Since the manufacture of this kind of mortars can not be ascribed with certainty to the Modocs, we are not entitled to consider them as antiquarian relics of this special people. The three sudatories and the river barrages are regarded as the gifts of Kmukámtch, a fact which testifies to their remote antiquity. Excavations (wásh) forming groups are found on many of the more level spots on the Reservation, near springs or brooks. They prove the existence of former dug-out lodges and camps.

C. LINGUISTIC AFFINITIES.

121 Anthropologic researches upon the origin of a people do not always
197 lead to decisive results as to the qualities of the primitive race of that people, for the majority of all known peoples are compounds from different races, and thus the characteristics of them must be those of a medley race. As to antiquity, language is second to race only, and much more ancient than anything we know of a people's religion, laws, customs, dress, implements, or style of art. Medley languages are not by any means so frequent as medley races, and less frequent still in America than in the eastern hemisphere; for in this western world the nations have remained longer in a state of isolation than in Asia and Europe, owing to the hunting and fishing pursuits to which the natives were addicted—pursuits which favor isolation and are antagonistic to the formation of large communities and states. This explains why we possess in America a relatively larger number of linguistic families than the Old World when compared to the areas of the respective continents. It also explains why races coincide here more closely with linguistic families than anywhere else on the surface of the globe. Instances when conquering races have prevailed upon other nations to abandon their

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* Contributions to North Amer. Ethnology, III, p. 252. Davis Creek enters Goose Lake from the southeast. The U. S. Geological Survey map marks "Old Indian Villages" in latitude 41° 37′ and longitude 120° 36′, to the southwest of that basin.

121 own languages are scarcely heard of on this hemisphere, but the annals of 197 the eastern parts of the globe make mention of such.

Whenever it is shown that the language of some American people is akin to the language of another, so that both are dialects of a common linguistic family, a more cogent proof of their common genealogic origin is furnished than lies in a similarity of laws, customs, myths, or religion. To decide the question of affinity between two languages is generally an easy, but sometimes a very difficult task. When a relatively large number of roots and affixes having the same function coincide in both, this argues in favor of affinity. The coincidence of single terms in them is never fortuitous, but we have to find out whether such terms are loan words or belong to the stock of words of the languages under process of investigation. Other terms show an external resemblance which is not based on real identity of their radicals, but only on a deceptive likeness of signification.

From all this the reader will perceive that we can not expect to steer clear of shoals and breakers in determining by the aid of language the affinities of our Klamath Indians. But the inquiries below, whether successful or not, will at least aid future somatologists in solving the problem whether linguistic areas coincide or not with racial areas upon the Pacific coast between the Columbia River and the Bay of San Francisco. In making these investigations we must constantly bear in mind that the track of the migrations was from north to south, parallel to the Pacific coast, which is sufficiently evidenced by the progress of some Selish, Tinné, Sahaptin, and Shoshoni tribes in a direction that deviates but inconsiderably from a meridional one.

To establish a solid basis for these researches, a list of the Pacific coast linguistic families is submitted, which will assist any reader to judge of the distances over which certain loan words have traveled to reach their present abodes. The country from which a loan word has spread over a number of other family areas is often difficult to determine, because these languages have not all been sufficiently explored. The families below are enumerated according to the latest results of investigation. Some of them may in the future be found to be dialects of other stocks. The Californian tribes have been mapped and described in Stephen Powers's "Tribes of California"; Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. III.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

121 The *Shoshoni* family extends through eastern Oregon, Nevada, southern
197 Idaho, Utah, parts of Wyoming and California, and embodies the tribes of the Snake Indians, the Shoshoni, from whom the Comanches separated centuries ago, the Paviótso and Bannok (Panaíti), the Pai-uta, Uta, Móki, and the Kawúya branch of California. This family occupies an area almost as large as the Selish stock, but the population is very thinly scattered over the vast territory of the inland basin.

Washo Indians, near Carson, Nevada, inclosed on all sides except on the west by Shoshoni tribes.

Selish Indians occupy Washington, portions of the Oregon coast and of Vancouver Island, northern Idaho (from which they extend into Montana), the Fraser River Valley, and the adjoining coast of British Columbia. Some dialects of this family are remarkable through a profusion of consonantic clusters. *Chinook* dialects show many Selish affinities.

Sahaptin family, dwelling around middle Columbia and Lower Snake River. An offshoot of it—the Warm Spring Indians—settled in Des Chutes Valley, Oregon.

Wayiletpu is a Sahaptin name given to the Kayuse people on the Yumatilla Reservation, which has abandoned its former tongue, called the "Old Kayuse," to adopt the Yumatilla dialect of Sahaptin. Molale is related to old Kayuse; its former area was east of Oregon City.

Tinné or *Athapaskan* tribes, wherever they appear near the Pacific coast, are intruders from the northern plains around Mackenzie River and the headwaters of the upper Yukon. Those still existing on the Pacific coast are the Umpqua and Rogue River, the Húpa and Wailáki Indians, whereas the Tlatskanai and Kwalhioqua have disappeared.

The following three families on and near the Oregon coast were explored by Rev. Owen J. Dorsey in 1884 (Amer. Antiquarian, 1885, pp. 41, 42):

Yákwina, subdivided into Alsĭ, Yakwina on the bay of the same name, Kú-itch on the Lower Umpqua River, and Sayusla.

Kus, Coos Indians on Coos Bay and Múlluk on Lower Coquille River.

Takilma or Takelma Indians, south of the Kus, on middle course of Rogue River.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

121 197 The *Kalapuya* Indians once occupied the entire Willámět River Valley save its southeastern portions. Its best studied dialect is Atfálati, also called Tuálati and Wápatu Lake.

On the lower Klamath River, California, and in its vicinity, there are four tribes of small areas speaking languages which require further investigations to decide upon their affinities. At present their languages are regarded as representing distinct families, as follows:

Ara, Ara-ara or Karok, on both sides of Klamath River.

Alíkwa or Yurok, at the mouth of Klamath River.

Wishosk or Wīyot, on Humboldt Bay.

Chimariko or Chimalákwe, on Trinity River and environs.

The *Pomo* dialects are spoken along the California coast and along its water-courses from 39° 30′ to 38° 15′ latitude.

Yuki dialects were spoken in the mountains of the Californian Coast Range upon two distinct areas.

Wintún (from witú, wintú *man, Indian*) is spoken in many dialects upon a wide area west of Sacramento River from its mouth up to Shasta Butte.

Noja, spoken near Round Mountain, Sacramento Valley.

Maidu (from maídu *man, Indian*) dialects are heard upon the east side of Sacramento River from Fort Redding to the Cósumnes River and up to the water-shed of the Sierra Nevada.

Shasti dialects properly belong to the middle course of Klamath River and to the adjoining parts of Oregon; the language of *Pit River* or Achomawi, southeast of the Shasti area, is cognate with it.

Mutsun dialects, north and south of San Francisco Bay, are cognate with the Miwok dialects, which are heard from the San Joaquin River up to the heights of the Sierra Nevada. The littoral family of the *Esselen* is inclosed upon all sides by the Mutsun dialects. We have vocabularies from the eighteenth century, but its existence as a *separate* family has been put in evidence but lately by H. W. Henshaw in American Anthropologist, 1890, pp. 45–50.

RADICALS WHICH KLAMATH HOLDS IN COMMON WITH OTHER FAMILIES.

121 A number of radical syllables occur in the same or in cognate significations in several linguistic families of the Northwest, and some of them 197 extend even to the stocks east of the Rocky Mountains and of the Mississippi River. This fact is of great significance, as it proves certain early connections between these Indians, either loose or intimate. If the number of such common radices should be increased considerably by further research, the present attempt of classifying Pacific languages into stocks would become subject to serious doubts. From the quotations below I have carefully excluded all roots (and other terms) of onomatopoetic origin. I have made no distinction between pronominal and predicative roots, for a radical syllable used predicatively in one stock may have a pronominal function in another family

193 **-im,** *-ĕm, -am, -m* frequently occurs as a suffix for the possessive case 197 in the Pacific coast languages. Thus in Klamath -am is the usual suffix of that case, -lam being found after some vowels only; cf. Grammar, pages 317 et seq., and suffix -m, page 355; also pages 474–476. On page 475 I have called attention to the fact that -am occurs as marking the possessive case in the Pit River language; itóshĕχam yánim *deer's foot-prints;* -am, -ím in Molale: pshkaínshim, possessive of pshkaínsh *beard.* The Sahaptin dialects use -nmi, -mi, etc., to designate this case.

ka occurs in many languages as a demonstrative radix, though it often assumes an interrogative and relative signification and changes its vocalization. In Apache-Tinné dialects it is interrogative: χáte *who?* in Návajo; in the Creek ka is the relative particle, a substitute for our relative pronoun *who.*, In Yuki kau is *this* and *there;* in Yókat (California) ka- occurs in kahama *this*, kawío *here*, yokaú *there.* East of Mississippi River we have it in Iroquois dialects: kĕ'ⁿ in kĕ'ⁿt'ho *here* (t'ho *place*); in Tuskarora: kyä' *that* or *this one* (pointing at it), kyä' nïiⁿ *this one;* t'ho i-kän *that one is.** In the Klamath of Oregon this root composes kánk *so much*, káni *somebody*,

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* My authority for quotations from Iroquois dialects is Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt, of the Tuskarora tribe.

193 kaní? *who?* and kat *who*, pron. rel. As a suffix -ka, -ga is forming factitive
197 verbs and is of great frequency (cf. Part I, pp. 341, 342); ka-á, ká-a, kā is adverb: *greatly, strongly, very.*

k̲á-i and similar forms are serving to deny statements and to form negative and privative compounds. In Shoshoni dialects g'ai, ka, kats, karu-u, etc., stand for *no!* in Zuñi kwa is the *real* negative particle, like akaí! *no!* in Tonkawē. In Kwakiutl *no!* is kets and kie; in Pani káki; it also occurs in some northern dialects of Algonkin as kā, kawine etc. In Klamath k̲á-i is *no!* and *not;* it composes k̲íya *to lie* and such words as are mentioned in Grammar, p. 633; cf. also p. 644. In some of the Maskoki dialects -kō, -gō, -ku is the privative particle in adjectives and verbs.

mi is a pronominal demonstrative radix, like nu, ni, and also serves to express personal and possessive pronouns. In Creek ma *that* points to distant objects and also forms istä'mat *who* (interrogative). In many western families it expresses the second person: in Mutsun dialects men is *thou*, in Miwok mi; in Wintún mi, me is *thou*, met *thine, thy;* in Maidu mi is *thou*, mímem *ye*, mō'm, mú-um *that one;* in Yuki meh, mi is *thou* and in Pomo ma is *ye* (me *this*); in Ara and Sahaptin mi is transposed into im, *thou.* Shasti has mayi and Pit River mih, mi for *thou;* Sahaptin im, imk *thou*, ima, imak *ye.* In Klamath mi stands for *thy, thine*, mish for *thee, to thee*, but i for *thou;* -ma is a verbal suffix, q. v. There are languages where mi, ma makes up the radix for the first person and not for the second, as Sioux and Hidatsa of the Dakotan family; while in the Shoshoni dialects *thou* is omi, umi, um, em, etc., and in Yuma ma-a, mā. In the Nez Percé of Sahaptin ma is the interrogative pronoun *who?* and *which?* and also forms plurals when suffixed to nouns.

náka, the Kl. term for *cinnamon bear*, probably related to nákish *sole*, as the bears are *Plantigradæ*, has many parallels in American languages. The Yuma dialects have nagóa *bear* in Huálapai, nakatya, nogudia in Tonto; Yókat has nohóho *bear*, Alíkwa níkwiχ *grizzly bear.* If the yáka of Sahaptin is from nyáka, it belongs here also. East of Mississippi River there is only one species of the bear, the *black bear.* The radix nak-, nok- occurs in the Tonica language nókushi, and in the Maskoki dialects: nók'husi in Creek, nóχusi in Hitchiti, but níkta in Alibamu.

193 **nkól,** *nkú'l, nχól* in Klamath designates the *gray white-tailed rabbit,* and 197 the same radix appears in kō'lta, k̲ólta *fish otter* and in kû'lsh *badger.* In the San Antonio language of Southern California the radix is represented by kôl *hare* (*rabbit* is map), in Kasuá (Sa. Barbara dialect) by kú'n, in Tonto by akolá, kulá, in Hualapai by gula. Even in the Inuit dialects we find for *rabbit:* ukalik (Hudson Bay), kwélluk (Kotzebue Sound).

nu or **ni.** A pronominal demonstrative radix n- followed by almost any vowel (na, nu, ni, etc.) is of great frequency in America as well as in the eastern hemisphere, where it often becomes nasalized: nga, ngi, etc. In American languages it forms personal possessive and demonstrative pronouns, prefixes and suffixes of nouns and verbs. In South America nu, nû designates the pronoun *I* or *me* so frequently that the explorer K. von der Steinen was prompted to call *Nu-languages* a large group of languages north and south of Amazon River, including Carib dialects. In America nu, ni designates more frequently the *first* person of the singular and plural (*I, we*) than the second *thou, ye.* It stands for the first person in Quichhua, Moxo, Tsoneka, in Nahuatl, the "Sonora" and Shoshoni languages, in Otomi, Yuma, the Tehua and Kera (*no* in hi-*no*-me *I*) dialects of New Mexico; in Wintún, Maidu, Wayfletpu, Sahaptin, and the numerous Algonkin dialects. For the second person it stands in Yákwina, Tonkawē, Atákapa, and in Dakota and Tinné dialects. As a demonstrative pronoun we find it used in many languages, *e.g.*, in the Onondaga of Iroquois, where nä'ye' means *that, that it is,* and nä'ⁿ (ä *long*) *this.* In Klamath nû, nî is *I,* nútoks *myself,* nish *me, to me;* nāt, nā *we,* nálam *ours;* -na is case suffix and transitional verbal suffix; n- prefix refers to objects *level, flat, sheet-* or *string-like,* or extending *towards the horizon.*

shúm, sû'm is the Klamath term for *mouth* of persons, of animals, and of rivers. Forms parallel to this are disseminated through many of the Pacific coast languages. In Kayuse it is súmχaksh, in Molale shímilk, in Nishinam and other Maidu dialects sim, in Yokat sama, shemah.[*] Intimately connected with *mouth* are the terms for *beard:* shú, shó, shwó in Sahaptin dialects, shimkémush in Kayuse, and for *tooth:* sí, shí in the

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[*] It occurs even in South America: 'simi in Kechua is *mouth* and *word;* shúm in the Patagón of Brazil, *lip;* Martius, Beiträge, II, 211.

193 197 Wintún dialects, süχ in Yuki, sit, si-it in Mutsun (coast dialects), sa in Santa Barbara, tcháwa in some dialects of Maidu. It is justifiable to regard Kl. shúm as an ancient *possessive case* of the sí, sa *tooth* of Central Californian languages; cf. what is said concerning the suffix -im.

1 **tút** *tooth* appears related to tuχt *tooth* of Sayusla, a dialect of Yakwina and also to tit of the Sahaptin dialects; ititi "his tooth" in Walawála.

tchi-, *tsi-* is a radical often used on the Pacific coast referring to water or liquids, their motions, and the acts performed with or within the watery element. While in Klamath it figures as a prefix only, q. v., other tongues make use of it as a radical. Tchí is *water* in Yákwina, in Takílma, and in the Yuchi of the Savannah River; in Zuñi 'tcháwe is *water* ('t alveolar) in Nója tchúdshe. The Sahaptin dialects show it in Warm Spring tchū'sh *water*, atá-tchash *ocean;* in Klikatat tcháwas *water*, atá-tchis *ocean*, tchávat *to drink;* while in Nez-Percé tchū'sh changes to kúsh. Chinook has 'ltchúkwa *water*, Ch. J. salt-tchuk *ocean*, but the Selish languages employ a radix se-u'l, si-u'l, shá-u instead to designate any liquid.

wá *to exist, live, to be within*, and *to grow* or *generate* is a radix to be traced in many of the Western tongues. In Klamath we refer to wá and its numerous derivatives, as wawápka *to sit* or *be on the ground*, wá-ish *productive*, wá-ishi, wéwanuish, wē'k *arm* and *limb of tree*, lit. "what is growing upon," wē'ka *offspring*, wékala, wásh *hole to live in*, wā'shla (a) *to dig a burrow*, (b) *ground-squirrel*, and many others. In Kwákiutl wāts, wátsa is *dog*, but originally "living being, animal," and is represented in Klamath by wāsh *prairie-wolf*, wátch *horse*, watchága *dog*, lit. "little animal," the idea of "domesticated" or "belonging to man" to be supplied. In Chinook the suffix -uks (for -waks) points to living beings also. The Sahaptin languages show this root in wásh *to be, exist*, in Nez Percé wáχosh *alive*, wátash *place, field, earth*, in Yákima wakχash *living*, and in other terms.

AFFINITIES IN WESTERN LANGUAGES.

192 197 Many of the Western families exhibit but little or no affinity in their lexicon with the Klamath language, the reason being undoubtedly that they are but little explored. Thus in *Mutsun* a single term only was found to correspond: tcháya *shallow basket* in the dialect of Soledad; *cf.* tchála and

192 tchákéla, by which two kinds of root baskets are specified in Klamath.
197 The Sayúsla tséokwa *leg* answers to tchū'ks, Mod. tchókash *leg* and to shō'ksh, Mod. tchē-ō'ksh *crane*, this bird being called after its long legs. The *Shoshoni* stock, with its extensive array of dialects, spoken in the closest vicinity of the Klamath people, is almost devoid of any resemblances; cf. k̲á-i *not*, and nápal *egg*, compared with nobáve in Payute, nobávh Chemehuevi, nópavh Shoshoni. This probably rests on no real affinity. In the *Noja* language, spoken near Redding, California, putsi *humming-bird* corresponds to Kl. pí'shash, and tcháshina, tcháshi, a small *skunk* species, to Kl. tcháshish. For *Wintún* may be compared Kl. pán *to eat* with ba, bah; k̲álo *sky* (from k̲álk̲ali, round, globiform) with k'áltse *sky*.

From *Selish* saíga *field* the Kl. saíga, saíka *prairie*, *field*, *meadow* was certainly borrowed, and t'táze *grasshopper* of Kalispelm reappears here in ta'htá-ash and in Mod. kamtáta. Kaúkawak *yellow* of *Chinook* is kauká-uli, kevkévli *brown* of Kl.; and ténas *young*, *recent* reappears in Kl. té-ini *new*, *young*, te-iniwá-ash *young woman;* cf. ténāse *infant* in Aht dialect of Vancouver Island. The long array of words which Klamath has borrowed from Chinook jargon are enumerated in Grammar, pages 220–222.

Maídu.—An uncommon number of affinities are found to exist between Klamath and the Maídu dialects east of the Sacramento River. Of these terms some are not loan words, but appear to be derived from some common stock.

halá *slope of mountain;* Kl. lála, hlála *to slope downwards.*

kála *hot-water basket;* Maídu, k̲óllo *cup-basket.*

káwe *eel;* Maídu, kowó.

ngúlu, k̲úlu, k̲úlo *female animal;* Maídu dialects: kü'le, kü'lle, kúla, *woman*, *wife*, and *female animal*. This word also composes the terms *father* and *child*, and hence means "to generate"

pán *to eat:* Maídu, d. pen, pap, pā, pepe *to eat;* pán *to smoke* in Maídu, corresponds to Kl. páka; páni, pan is *tobacco* in Maídu.

pēn, pä'n *again, a second time;* Maídu, pēne *two.*

vúlal, úlal *cottonwood tree;* Maídu, wílili.

From the *Shasti* language Modoc has borrowed more than Klamath Lake, and the terms as far as known are all mentioned in the Dictionary.

192 They are ípō, ipshúna, etchmū'nna, ā'dak, hápush (cf. also hápa *kangaroo*
197 *rat* and *striped squirrel* in Noja) and probably also kála *hot-water basket*, mádna *sunflower*.

Its southeastern or *Pit River* dialect shows a number of terms probably not loaned, but resting upon some indefinite common affinity. Thus édshash *milk, breast, udder* is in Pit River ídshit *female breast* (cf. Ara: útchis *milk*), wán *silver fox*, dim. wánaga, in Pit River kwán *silver fox* and wan- in wanekpúsha *fox;* käíla *earth* is in Pit River kéla, taktákli *red* is taχtáχe, tídshi *good* is tússi, túshi, kō'sh *pine tree* is kashú.

The only families in which a considerable number of terms possibly rests upon a real and not fancied kinship are those of Wayiletpu and Sahaptin.

WAYÍLETPU DIALECTS.

Wayíletpu, of which two dialects only are known or accessible to us, Kayuse and Molale, shows the following affinities:

Kl. gí *to be, to exist*, Molale, gísht *he is*, gíshlai *he will be*. Compare to this in Maídu: bishi *alive* and *dwelling place;* Wintún: bim *to be* (present tense).

Kl. kē, kēk *this;* Kayuse, ka, kĕ, ke, kai *this, this one*.

Kl. gu, kū, kunē *that;* Kayuse, ku, kâ, ku yúwant *that man*, káppik *they*.

Kl. ína, d. yána *downward*, yaína *mountain;* Molale, yángint *elevation*.

Kl. lák *forehead;* Molale, lakunui *face*.

Kl. lā'pi, lāp *two;* Molale, lápka *two*, lápitka *seven;* Kayuse, lipúyi, líplint *two;* líplil *twins*.

Kl. lúkua *to be hot, warm*, lókuash *warm, hot*, and *heat*, lúluks *fire;* Kayuse lokoyai *warm, hot*.

Kl. mukmúkli *cinnamon-complexioned* (originally "downy"), tch'múka *to be dark* (as night); Molale, móka *dark*, mukimuki *dark complexioned;* múkimuk'-waí "black man," *negro*.

Kl. mpáto, páto *cheek*, cf. patpátli; Molale, páktit *cheek*.

Kl. nā'dsh *one;* Kayuse, na *one;* Molale, nánga *one*, composes nápitka *six*.

192 Kl. nánuk *all*, nánka *some, a part of;* Kayuse, náng, nanginâ-a *all;* 197 Molale, nángkai *all*.

Kl. nápal *egg;* Kayuse, lúpil, laupen *egg*.

Kl. pán *to eat;* Kayuse, pitánga; Molale, pá-ast to eat.

Kl. páwatch *tongue;* Kayuse, púsh; Molale, apá-us.

Kl. pä'χtgi *to dawn, the dawn;* Molale, pákast *morning*.

Kl. píla *on one's body, on the bare skin;* Kayuse, pí'li *meat;* Molale pí'l *body*.

Kl. shuaí *black-tailed deer;* Molale, suaí *deer* and *white-tailed deer*.

Kl. túmi *many, much;* Molale, tám *many*.

Kl. waíta *to pass a day and night*, or *a day*, waítash *day;* Kayuse, ewé-iu or uwâya, wéya *day*, u-áwish, huéwish *sun;* Molale, wásh *day* and *sun*, wásam *summer-time*.

Kl. wáko *white pine;* Molale, wákant, wákint, wákunt *log*.

Kl. wēk *limb of tree;* Kayuse, pasiwä'ku *limb of tree*.

Kl. wekétash *green frog;* Molale, wákatinsh *frog*.

In the morphologic part we also detect a number of close analogies between the two families:

hash-, hish-, is a prefix forming a sort of causative verbs by anathesis in Molale, like h-sh of Klamath; e. g., íshi *he said*, hisháshi *he replied*.

-gála, -kála, a Molale case-suffix *to, toward*, corresponds to -tála *toward* of Klamath.

-im, -am forms the possessive case in Wayíleptu; am in Klamath.

p- is prefix in terms of relationship in both families, and -p also occurs as suffix in these and other terms; cf. Sahaptin.

Distributive forms are made by syllabic reduplication in Kayuse exactly in the same manner as in Klamath: yámua *great*, d. yiyímu; laháyis *old*, d. lalháyis; luástu *bad*, d. laluástu; suáyu *good*, d. sasuáyu.

SAHAPTIN DIALECTS.

The *Sahaptin* dialects coincide with Klamath just as strikingly in some of the words and grammatic forms as do those of Wayíletpu, and it is singular that in a number of these *all three* mutually agree, as in lúkua, mukmúkli, and two numerals.

192 Kl. ka-uká-uli, kevkévli, ke-uké-uli *brown;* Nez-Percé, ka-uχká-uχ
197 *drab, light yellow, dark cream.*

Kl. ke, kēk *this;* Nez-Percé, ki, pl. kima *this;* adv. kina *here,* kimtam *near.*

Kl. kitchkáni *little,* adv. kítcha, kétcha; kuskus, Nez Percé, *small, little;* ikkes, Yákima; kískis, Warm Spring.

Kl. ktá-i *rock, stone;* ktä't *hard,* Yakima.

Kl. lā'pi, lāp *two;* lápit, lépīt *two,* Nez Percé; napit, Walawála; nä'pt, Warm Spring.

Kl. lúkua *to be warm, hot,* lókuash and lushlúshli *warm;* lúluks *fire;* luóχuts *warm,* Nez Percé; ilúksha *fire* in Nez Percé and Walawala; ílksh, Warm Spring; elusha *to burn,* lókautch *cinders,* Yakima; láχuiχ, láhoiχ *warm,* Yakima; láχwai, Warm Spring.

Kl. mukmúkli, makmákli *cinnamon-colored;* máχsmaχs, Nez Percé, *yellow;* máχsh, Yakima and Warm Spring (also as múksh *blonde, auburn,* Warm Spring).

Kl. mû'lk *worm, maggot,* mānk, *fly;* muχlimuχlí *fly,* Warm Spring.

Kl. múshmush *cattle, cow,* originally meant "lowing like cattle," from the Sahaptin mú *cattle;* cf. Texts, Note to 13, 13.

Kl. nā'dsh *one;* nä'χs, lä'χs, Yakima; nä'χsh, Warm Spring.

Kl. nánka *some, a portion of;* nánka *some* in several Sahaptin dialects.

Kl. páwatch *tongue;* páwish, Nez Percé.

Kl. pé-ip *daughter;* pap, Nez Percé, Warm Spring, *daughter* (not one's own).

Kl. pí *he, she,* p'na, m'na *him, her;* pína *self, oneself, himself,* etc., Nez Percé; píni *he, this one,* Warm Spring.

Kl. taktákli *level, even, flat;* tíkai *flat,* Yakima; cf. tä-i'h *bottom land.*

Kl. tatáksni *children;* (na)títait *man,* Yakima; titókan *people,* Nez Percé.

Kl. tchĕmúka, tsmúka *to be dark,* cf. mukmúkli; tsĕmúχtsĕmuχ *dark brown* (prieto), *of dark complexion, black,* Nez Percé; shmúk, Yakima; tchmū'k, Warm Spring, *dark;* shmukakúsha *to blacken,* Yakima.

Kl. vû'nsh, u-únsh *boat, canoe, dug-out;* wássas *boat,* Yakima, Warm Spring.

192 197 Of agreements in the morphologic part of grammar we notice considerable analogy in the inflection of the Sahaptin substantive with its numerous case forms:

Reduplication for inflectional purposes is syllabic also, but not so generally in use as in Klamath; Nez Percé táyits *good*, abbr. ta'hs; plur. tita'hs.

Kl. -kni, ending of adj. "coming from;" -pkinih, subst. case, *from;* init *house*, initpkinih *from a house*, in Nez Percé.

p- prefix forms most names of relationship: píka *mother*, píap *elder brother*, pet *sister;* -p as suffix appears in Nez Percé asχap *younger brother*, asip *sister* (ísip Walawala). The prefix pi- forms reciprocal verbs; hak-, hah-, radix of verb *to see*, forms pihaksih *to see each other*.

Kl. -na is transitional case-suffix; cf. Nez Percé kína *here*, from pron. ki *this*.

CONCLUSIONS.

197 The conclusions which can be drawn with some degree of safety from the above linguistic data and some mythologic facts, concerning the prehistoric condition of the people which occupies our attention, are not unimportant, and may be expressed as follows:

Although it is often a difficult matter to distinguish the loan words in the above lists from the words resting upon ancient affinity, the table shows that the real loan-words of the Máklaks were borrowed from vicinal tribes only, as the Shasti, and that those which they hold in common with other tribes more probably rest on a stock of words common to both, as the pronominal roots. The affinity with Maidu appears more considerable than that with other Californian tribes only because the Maidu dialects have been studied more thoroughly. Scarcely any affinity is traceable with the coast dialects of Oregon and California, and none with the Tinné dialects, though the Umpkwa and Rogue River Indians lived in settlements almost conterminous with those of the Máklaks. The latter were acquainted with the Pacific Ocean only by hearsay, for they have no original word for *salt* or *tide*, nor for any of the larger salt-water fish or mammals, and their term for sea is a *compound* and not a simple word: múni é-ush "great water-sheet," just as the Peruvians of the mountains call the ocean "mother-lake," mamacocha. The scanty knowledge of the sea, which was scarcely one hundred

197 and fifty miles distant from the mountain homes of the Klamath people, proves more than anything else their protracted isolation from other tribes and also their absence from the sea-coast during their stay about the headwaters of the Klamath River.

No connection is traceable between the languages of the Klamath and the Shoshoni Indians, both immediate neighbors, nor with the Kalapuya, Chinook, and Selish dialects north of them. They must have remained strangers to each other as far back as language can give any clue to prehistoric conditions. The Sahaptin and Wayfletpu families are the only ones with whom a distant kinship is not altogether out of the question. Some of the terms common to these languages could have been acquired by the Máklaks through their frequent visits at the Dalles, the great rendezvous and market-place of the Oregonian and of many Selish tribes. Friendly intercourse with the Warm Spring Indians (Lókuashtkni) existed long ago and exists now; friendly connections of this kind are frequently brought about by racial and linguistic affinity, just as inveterate enmity is often founded upon disparity of race and language.*

The resemblances in the lexical part of the three families are not unimportant, but in view of the small knowledge we have of either and of the large number of words in these languages showing neither affinity nor resemblance, we have to maintain the classification prevailing at present and to regard their dialects as pertaining to three linguistic families. Sahaptin shows more likeness in phonetics and in morphology with Wayfletpu than with Klamath.

Nowhere is syllabic reduplication so well developed in Oregon and about Columbia River as in the three families above mentioned and in Selish, the distributive as well as the iterative. The latter exists in every language, but of the former no traces could be detected in the Kalapuya and Northern Californian languages, and but few in Shoshoni dialects, though in Mexico it is frequent. This point will prove very important in tracing ancient migrations.

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* We may compare the long-lasting friendly relations once existing between the Lenápe and Sháwano, the Shoshoni and Bannock (Panaíti), the Chicasa and the Kasíhta (a Creek tribe), the Illinois and the Miami Indians.

802 171 The numeration system of a people is a relic of a remote age, and therefore of importance for tracing the ancient connections of tribes. The quinary system is the most frequent counting method in America, and often combines with the vigesimal. The pure quinary system prevails in Ara, in the Chimaríko, Yuki, and in the Shasti-Pit River family, in Sahaptin and Wayíletpu, and it is also the system found in Klamath. Curiously enough, the Maidu Indians count by fifteens, and the decimal system forms the basis [801] of the Wintún, Mutsun, and Selish dialects. The mystic or "sacred" number occurring hundreds of times in mythologic stories is *five* among all the Oregonian tribes.

● 197 To sum up the result of the above linguistic inquiry, it may be stated that our present knowledge does not allow us to connect the Klamath language genealogically with any of the other languages compared, but *that it stands as a linguistic family for itself.* It has adopted elements from the tongues spoken in its neighborhood; and a common element, chiefly pronominal, underlies several of these and the American languages in general.

THE HISTORIC PERIOD.

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ καὶ πιστὰ πάντα κἄπιστα γίγνεται.

174 175 127 On account of the superstition previously alluded to, the traditional historic lore which forms so attractive a feature in the unwritten literature of the nations east of the Rocky Mountains and of Mexico is wanting entirely among the Máklaks, and we have to rely upon the meager reports of travelers and Government agents for accounts of the condition of the tribes in the earlier part of this century. Such notices of historic events are as follows:

000 According to a tradition recorded by Stephen Powers, an epidemic of small-pox broke out among the Modoc Indians in 1847, by which one hundred and fifty individuals perished.

The earliest historic conflict which can be ascertained with some chronological accuracy is the massacre of eighteen immigrants to Oregon by individuals of the Modoc tribe, and Ben Wright's massacre, consequent upon that bloody deed. The massacre of the immigrants occurred at a place on Tule or Rhett Lake, since called Bloody Point. Undoubtedly this was only

772 months brings on the seasons with the new life seen sprouting up everywhere
773 during spring and summer. So the quadrupeds and birds which are
776 the first to appear after the long winter months are considered as the wives
821 of Aíshish, and the flowers of summer vegetation are the beads of his garments. He enjoys more popularity than his father, for the moon's light is mild, not burning nor offensive, nor does it dry up vegetation and make men and beasts drowsy like the rays of the midday sun. Many nations also believe that the changes of weather are partly due to the phases of the moon. Although the "Birth of Aíshish" myth obtained by me represents Aíshish rather as the adopted than as the real son of K'múkamtch, other myths state him to be his son resulting from the union of the sun-disk to the red sky of the morning or evening, symbolized by the woman Le-tka-
[19] káwash. We must recall to mind that the term for *father*, p'tíshap, in Modoc t'shíshap, is really the *nourisher, feeder*, and not the progenitor, for it is a derivative from t'shín *to grow*.* Most other mythologies consider the relation of sun to moon as that of man to wife, or of wife to man (cf. Deus Lunus), but here the thing is different. There are no female characters of importance in Klamath mythology, nor does the language distinguish grammatically between the sexes.

821 The difficulty which we experience to distinguish solar and lunar deities
171 from each other in some of the American religions is caused by the
197 circumstance that in many languages of this western hemisphere the term for *sun* and for *moon* is the same. In such languages both orbs are distinguished from each other by being called day-luminary, or night-sun, night-luminary, and with some tribes the belief has been found, that both are actually the same celestial body, one being merely the image or shadow of the other. In the Maskoki languages hási answers for both, but the moon is commonly called ní'li hási or "night sun." In the Tonica language táχtchiksh, abbrev. táχtchi stands for sun, moon, and star, but the moon is usually named lá-u táχtchi "night luminary," the stars táχtchi tipulá, while the sun is either áχshukun táχtchi, "day luminary" or simply táχtchi. Of the Tinné languages many have tsā, sā, of the Algonkin languages kísis or parallel forms for both celestial bodies, separate distinctions being

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* Cf. the Grammar, in Appendix VI, p. 710.

821 added for "day" and "night." In the Tsimsián and in some of the Selish
171 dialects the terms for both also agree, but in the Shoshonian and Pueblo
197 languages they differ entirely. In Utah and other Shoshonian dialects the term for moon shows the archaic or reverential suffix -pits, -püts previously noticed (ma-atáwa-pits in Utah), which closely corresponds to *παλαίφατος* as used in the Homeric poems.

While the sun divides time into days, seasons, and years, our sections of time called weeks (quarters of the moon) and months (lunations, moons) are due to the revolutions of the moon. This is what caused the Klamath Indians to call both orbs by the same name: shápash *the one who tells*, which signifies: "which tells the time," or "time measurer." For the moon a parallel form exists in the Timucua, once spoken in Florida: acu-hiba *star which tells*, viz: "star measuring the time" and in the name of the Egyptian moon-god Tehuti, called Thoth by the Greeks,* also in our Germanic *mán*, English: *moon*, Germ. *Mond*, "the measurer."

Here as elsewhere the moon appears under different names, for in Klamath she is also called uk̲aúχōsh "the one broken to pieces." This term never applies to the sun, but only to the moon in the four phases, as a
192 changeable body.† Originally this was only an epithet of the moon, but in course of time it gave origin to a separate deity, for Uk̲aúχōsh distinctly appears as moon-god in a myth, which relates his marriage to Wekétash, a frog-woman living with ten beautiful sisters on the west side of Upper Klamath Lake. Uk̲aúχōsh now carries her, the frog, in his heart, and this is what we are wont to call "the man in the moon." Should only a little bit be left of him when in the bear's mouth (referring to eclipse), she would be able to bring him to life again.

LÉMÉ-ISH OR THUNDER.

776 All elementary deities in the Klamath religion, except K'múkamtch and Aíshish, are mysterious, shadowy beings, not sufficiently anthropomor-

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* Various functions are assigned to Tehuti; his symbol is the *ibis-crane*, whose long, pacing steps evidently suggested to the myth-makers of Egypt the idea, that he was measuring the earth. The name Tehuti is derived from the Egyptian verb teχu *to be full*, for the measuring of liquids, grains, etc., is effected by *filling vases* possessed of certain cubic dimensions.

† Derived from uk̲á-uk̲ua *to knock to pieces*.

538 and locutions, repeated from generation to generation, are not always under-
[173] stood at the present day by the young people, who most attentively listen to the aged rhapsodists, when they expound these miraculous stories in the lurid glare of the nocturnal campfire. Nothing in them indicates a migration of these upland tribes from any part of the country into their present homes, and hence the Mák̲laks must have had undisturbed possession of the headwaters of Klamath River for some centuries prior to the advent of the white population.

197 The various texts obtained clearly exhibit the character of the lan-
538 guage actually spoken and the difference existing between the two dia-
124 lects, but they do not all possess the same linguistic value. The texts of Dave Hill and others are worded in the conversational language of the tribe, which in many particulars differs from the more elaborate and circumstantial mode of speech which appears in the mythic tales given by
124 Minnie Froben. The "Modoc War" and some of the shorter pieces could be
126 obtained only by putting down the English first and then getting sentence for sentence in the dialect, whereas the best worded stories and specimens were written in continuous dictation. All texts obtained were carefully revised first with the informants, then with other natives, and all the necessary explanations added at the time.

533 From a purely linguistic view the popular songs or song-lines are the most valuable contributions. The melodies of some of their number deserve to be called pretty, according to our musical taste. To the natives all of them appear harmonious; but when the Western Indian calls some melody "pretty," guided by his musical principles, he very frequently does so in opposition to what our ear tells us to call by this predicate.

124 The Klamath Lake dialect was spoken by the majority of the con-
191 tributors to my linguistic anthology. I obtained these specimens, with the exclusion of the Modoc texts, in the autumn of 1877, at the Klamath Reservation, Lake County, Oregon. Though many of these natives speak the Chinook jargon more fluently than English, I never availed myself, for obtaining any information whatever, of that imperfect and hybrid medium, through which the Indians of the Northwest carry on so much of their intercourse.

173 selluálshuk.	Ndánnitaksni	tamĕnō'tka;	tiná	nat	k̲áyak	shenótankatk,
fighting.	Three times	I was there;	once	we	not at all	were fighting.

×539 726 kink̲ák	i	nat	lúluagsla.	Tchín	at	nat	at	gä'tak	ndáni	támĕnotk.
few only	there	we	enslaved.	So I,	when	we	quit (fighting),	three times	had been there.	

NOTES.

197 19. The long and fertile valley of the Pit River, an eastern affluent of the Sacramento River, is inhabited by several tribes of Indians who speak dialects of the same language family. Of the peculiarities of these tribes, Stephen Powers has given the first comprehensive sketch in the Overland Monthly, 1874, pp. 412–416, and in Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. III, pp. 267–274. The various tribes greatly differ in their physical and mental qualities. The Pacamallies, on Hat Creek, at the lower end of the valley, were much dreaded by peaceable travellers on account of their sudden attacks from an ambush. The Indians in Big Valley are a fleshy, stout, and physically well-made people, while the Hot Spring Valley people has become deteriorated through prolonged national misfortune. Against both of these the slaving raids of the Klamaths and Modocs were mainly directed.

721 567 727 19, 2. The raids were undertaken by the Klamaths and Modocs just before wókash-time; that is, in April and May. They had no other purpose than to make slaves of the females and children of the unwarlike, poor, and suffering Pit River Indians, and to keep them either at their homes or sell them for ponies, provisions, beads, etc., at the Dalles to the Columbia River tribes. Adult men were not enslaved, but killed outright if captured. Similar instances of suppression of weaker tribes of the West by warlike Indians who were their neighbors are those of the Kayuses on Middle Columbia River, of the Yuki between Sacramento River and the Pacific Ocean, of the Húpa on Trinity River, Cal., all of whom were, at the advent of the whites, the terror of the districts surrounding their homes.

648 19, 3. shläótak for shläóta ak; the Pit Rivers ran away at the *mere sight* of the Klamath men; k̲á-i tata siúkat, the Pit Rivers never killed any Klamath men. Both statements are exaggerations; Hill's own account and Toby Riddle's biographic notice tend to prove the contrary.

727 19, 3. nellínat, or nell'nat. When they had killed an enemy, they did not follow the custom of the Oregonians of taking the scalp. This custom is not found among any of the Central Californian tribes.

193 19, 4. hû'stchok̲-huya; by the suffix -huya, -uya, the action of the verb is shown to take place at intervals, or in a small degree. "They did only little damage by killing or massacring." Cf. shenótank-huya, 20, 2, and -uya in the "List of Suffixes".

196 19, 4. tû'm tát sa. Change of the subjects introduced by the pronoun sha, sa, in consecutive sentences, is sometimes observed, as here and in 19, 16; 20, 3. Hill often uses sha when speaking of the Klamath Lake men, where nat, *we*, would be more appropriate.

193 19, 6. Kitchkanin nû for kitchkáni nû (or ni) nû. Pronouns and particles are repeated quite frequently.

19, 11. Wúksalks is a camping-place distant about six miles from Linkville. It was not possible for me to obtain definite information about the trail followed most generally in those raids, but Dave Hill said that from there they went due south. He

516 Sitting positions are of wide latitude; of course they sit directly on
the ground. Almost any position is assumed except sitting on the
crossed ankles. Both sexes sit with their legs crossed before them,
[291] Turk-fashion, or with the legs extending straight before them, in
which case women cross their ankles. It must be remembered that the
[501] common dress of both sexes is the string skirt. They kneel while
paddling, both sexes alike, sitting on their heels. This is quite possible
because the gunwale of a laden canoe is only a few inches above the
water.

201 The Klamath sometimes use the lips for unostentatious pointing,
but they more commonly point with the forefinger. In a common
516 position of rest, a seated individual places one hand on the other over
the abdomen.

758 To curse a man his dead are mentioned, not necessarily by name;
[539] in fact the reference may be quite indirect. In a tale the skunks say
to Coyote, "You are the son of a person always on the lake," knowing
full well that his father was dead. I was told of two men jocularly
calling each other tc!ima'ntk, widower. One named the dead wife of
the other and was covered with embarrassment because the grandson
of that woman, who was present, was provoked. An old man may be
called wa'köntk, adolescent boy, or akotc, a man with a first child, in
[114] derision. This is nearly equivalent to a curse. Gatschet gives the
expression akö'ksam käïla gén I, go to hell! (or more literally, go to
the ghosts) which may well be aboriginal. But watchágalam wéash,
you son [child] of a bitch! and watchágalam pé-ip, you old bitch!,
strike me as apt translations from frontier vernacular.[166]

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[166] Gatschet, 2:319, 477.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
Directions																
823 4458. 4 cardinal directions	°(+)	+	+	+	.	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
4459. 6 cardinal directions	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
4460. 8 cardinal directions	−	−	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4461. Waterflow for directions	−	−	−	°+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4462. Directions indicated by place names	−	−	−	°+	+	°+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4463. Sunrise, sunset terms for E, W	−		+	°+		+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
823 4464. Direction indicated by pursing lips	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
201 o4465. Plus twitching nose, glancing with eyes		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	±	−	−
4466. Plus hand against cheek, pointing	−	+				+	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
°4467. Used for privacy, mainly		+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	.	−	−
4468. Direction indicated by pointing hand, finger.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs																
Therapeutic Practices																
757 4469. Practices for curing illnesses	+	+	+	°+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	+	+
4470. Piss ants, for rheumatism, tuberculosis	+	−	+						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4471. Drink boiled decoction of	+	−	+						−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4472. Sit on nest of, let "water" remain on body	−	−	−						+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[752] °4473. Cautery	°+	+	+		°+				+	°+	+	−	−		−	−
4474. If blister rises, cure will be effected	+	+	+						+	°−	+	−	−		−	−
[752] 4475. Blood letting			°+	°+	−	−	+	−	−	°+	−	−	+		+	+
4476. Cut made with flint knife			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		+	+
4477. Vapor baths, patient covered with robe	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	°+	−	+	−		−	+
4478. Steaming in small steam house, mud and ashes													−		+	−
4479. Poultices	+	+							+						+	+
4480. Sucker skin, for snake bites.	−	−	−						+	−	−	−	−		−	−
4481. Plant poultices with warm rock inside															+	+
4482. Smoking: wild parsnip, for headaches, colds	−		−						+	+	°+	°+	−		.	.
4483. Plant and root decoctions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4484. Datura (jimsonweed) root	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	°+
4485. Decoctions for wounds			°+								°+	.	°+		°+	.
Herb Doctoring; Beliefs Concerning Ailments																
4486. Herbalists	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
755 4487. Informal "doctoring" only	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+		−	−
757 4488. Informal and formal doctoring	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−		+	+
278 4489. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	+
4490. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4491. Mostly women	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+		−	−
4492. Herbalist may also be sucking shaman.	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	°−		+	+
4493. Knowledge inherited	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−
4494. Dreamt	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	°+	−	−	−	−		−	−
4495. Taught free by older person	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+
4496. Taught free by doctor, to relation only													−		°+	−
4497. Formula spoken when gathering plants.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		.	°+
4498. Treatment private, at patient's house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+

*539 (41) nkas lis losa mna, hok sqoĺs. (42) čoy honk na?as wele·qs, "waq bas ni gen giwapk?" (43) čoy honk ?at na?as gi, "?i·. hisčawapk ni gen hiswaqs. (44) ga· dak sńewe·ts hompči hak giwapk, waqči ge·ĺam pgoji·p. (45) čoy ni q̇a··· siĺamsta."

(46) čoy honk le waq ga·?a. (47) čoy honk na?as, "sdiẏa ?at ni dom snača·ḱa." (48) čoy honk hassčakdanga, qe·matdat.[17] (49) ?at hok la·ba ńos gitk." (50) čoy honk sdoli· hiswaqḱa?as, "q̇a···y ?i ?eyĺaqpgank, gisčńok. (51) q̇ay ?i mi ḿaYas sle·wapk! (52) q̇ay ?i dada· ẏo·wallgwapk mi dalči, jiji·ks mis giwk."

(53) čoy honk ?at mo·ni giwk, čoy honk ?at qa·siye·ga. (54) "waq bas nis giwk pĺe·wip q̇ay sańa·Wawli ẏo·waltgi giwk gew dalči?" (55) čoy honk ?at čwi·didiks domna, go·sdat čaḱa·ẏank, na?as, "ẏo·wallgi hay ?i, čoy ?i sle·wapk!" (56) čoy honk ?at ẏo·wallga. (57) čoy honk do·blay gena dalči. (At this point Mrs. Ohles changed from dictation to the tape recorder. She begins with the last two utterances above.)

(58) čoy honk ?at ẏo·wallga. (59) čoy honk do··· gamni hok dalči. (60) čoy honk ?at gemas gyank gotgibli.[18] (61) čoy honk da···l?a·k datglam honk ńos—ga?as. (62) čoy honk gida ho·llga, sńewe·čḱa. (63) čoy honk ?at hok hiswaqḱa na?as, "datkni· lis ?i? (64) kani ?i gi?" (65) čoy honk na?as, tobaksip. no· ?a mi tobaksip." (That little girl started talking then—I don't know why she never talked before.) (66) "nemas dal nis men giwk," či honk, "pĺe·wip na·ĺam q̇ay sańa·Wawli nis dalči ẏo·wallqtgi giwk. ?i·!" (67) čoy sa honk ?at gembli.

(68) čoy honk wele·qs na?as gi, "?at ?i s?aywakta dwa· mis ni waq giwk wowi·tampga." (I don't know—I think that's the word for it though—kept advising you, telling you all the time not to do this and that.)

(69) čoy honk ?at hok sńewe·čḱa čosak gena dola, gankankča. (70) čoy honk na?as gi, "waq dal na·t giwk? q̇elẏak ptisap, q̇elẏak pḱisap?" (71) na?as, "waq giwk čosak pĺe·wip na·ĺam swaqča? (72) waq na·t giwk gemas či·ya? (73) ?at hayč ge·t dini·gińapga. (74) do· na·t genwapk, čoy na·t s?abasas sliwapk, he· na·ls q̇ay s?abi·wapk. (75) ho·t bil ?a s?aywakta, s?abas, dwa· ne·bakst."

(76) čoy honk na?as, "?i·." (77) čoy sa honk ?at gena. (78) čoy sa honk do··· ?at čaẃa·Ya. (79) ?at hok s?abas dini·gińapga, ?at dini·gi.

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[196] [17] This means literally "And [she] caused to stick together, on the back." It seems to imply "back to back."

[201] [124] [18] Literally, "And now, having done this way, it came back down." At this point Mrs. Ohles gestured to show how the boy's arrow fell; i.e., straight down, point first between the little boy and his sister, cutting the pitch which held them together. /gemas gyank/ "having done this way" refers to Mrs. Ohles' gesture.

*539 (80) čoy honk naʔas gi. "sʔabi· ʔis na·ís. sʔabas! (81) dwa· ʔa na·t waq giwk, q̓elýak ptisap, q̓elýak pḱisap?" (82) čoy honk q̓ay sas geqč́a. (83) "he· ʔi na·ís q̓ay sʔabi·wapk, aliwapk mis ni!" (84) čoy honk q̓ay geqč́a. (85) čoy honk ʔat sńewe·č́ka mnatga dalč́itga alin, paío·, kat ho·t bosbos sʔabasdat—ho·t gida gwena, dalč́iʔam.[19] (86) čoy honk naʔas, "ya···, balaq hak ʔis ʔoagablyat! (87) sʔabi·wapk dak ma·ís ni!" (88) čoy honk ʔat sʔabi·ya sas naʔas, "ho·t hok hi·t či·ya, kat ma·ís snoq̓o·Ye·ga." (Is that right? snoq̓o·Ye·ga? q̓o·Ye·ks is "orphan," you know.) (89) "ʔambotdat hok či·ya, kat ma·ís snoq̓o·Ye·ga. (90) hosńas ʔa·t giwk q̓o·Ye·ks." (Phillip, you're the cruellest animal I ever did know for making me tell this!)

(91) čoy sa honk ʔat gembli. (92) newlga da·ts hok sńewe·č́ka naʔas, "ʔi·. ʔat ʔa loldam gi." (93) naʔas, "čoy na·t ʔa slomtanwapk, na·nok psinks. (94) čoy na·t danq̓ńi psinks giwlank—(q̓ay ni sʔaywakta—tewńip?—ʔaMḱa.) (95) tewńip psinks giwlank čoy ni honks lakč́wapk." (96) čoy sa honk ʔat newlga naʔas. (97) "ʔat slomtanwapk ʔa na·t."

(98) čoy sa honk ʔat gena. (99) čoy honk do···m sa kyem, me·maqla sʔopba·tamblidamna. (100) čoy sa honk dosLibli. (101) čoy sa naʔas, "sda··· gi, do· ʔili·nči·k!" ṕle·wa mna·ínam. (102) čoy honk ʔat wbeli·na, wbeli·na, wbeli·na, naʔas, "hãhãʔ! hãhãʔ!" (103) čoy da·ts honk ʔat, be·n Na·y̓antga psinkstga gena. (104) —y̓aMtgi ʔeč ni nen! (105) dada·t sa slomtampga, domna naʔas, "gočgočgočgoji·p!"[20] (106) čoy honk ʔat ṕle·wip č́is domna. (107) čeq̓ya honk do·, wqepíaqsdat. (108) čoy honk naʔas, "hãhãmʔ! nen daks!" (109) čoy honk naʔas, "q̓ay dak sa dwa· waq gi." (But she'd be scared, all the time, you know. She knew that little girl would cut off her mother's head when she came out of water at night, and she was afraid she'd find it in there with the fish.

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[201] [124] [19] The little girl shot the sun in the cheek. Mrs. Ohles gestured to her own cheek here to clarify this, and /ho·t gida gwena, dalč́iʔam/ "it made a mark right here, of the arrow" refers to her gesture. She later remarked that the black spot is still to be seen on the sun's "cheek" and suggested it might be an Indian explanation of sunspots.

[192] [124] [20] The utterance /gočgočgočgoji·p/ was given in a loud whisper. It is apparently a mythic utterance, a distortion of /pgoji·p/ "aunt, father's sister." The action here was later clarified by Mrs. Ohles. Each time the two children went torch-fishing, their Aunt would appear from the water, leaning into the boat and crying "/gočgočgočgoji·p!/." The children remained perfectly still, hoping that she would eventually lean far enough into the boat for them to seize her and cut off her head. Their Grandmother, sitting at home, heard her daughter each time and knew the children would kill her. Hence her repeated sob, "/hãhãʔ!/." (The symbol "ã" denotes a nasalized low central vowel. The utterance is anomalous to the phonemic system.) [194] [193]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Hunting Observances																
[224] o137. First kill taboo to youth	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
138. To youth's parents also	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+
139. Kill taboo until marriage	−	−	−	−	•−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
140. Youth switched after first kill	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
141. Before he goes to kill first deer	+	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	[illegible]	[illegible]	−	−	−	−	−	−
142. Taboo to voice intent to hunt deer	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[illegible]	[illegible]	−	−	−	−	−	+
o143. Hunter fasts morning or day of hunt	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	±	−	+
[934] 144. Sexual continence before hunt	−	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[276] 145. Tobacco smoked ritually before hunt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	•+	−	•+
146. Root incense before hunt	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
[783] 147. Weapons smoked over fire	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
148. Hunter smokes self over fire	.	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	−	+	+	+	•−	+	−
149. Root chewed before hunt	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
150. Sweating before hunt	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
[515] 151. With scarification and bleeding	[illegible]	+	•+	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
152. Hunter prays while sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•−	−	•−	−	−	−
153. Shell bead burnt as offering	−										+	+	+	−	−	•−
[515] 154. Bathing before hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
155. Body swabbed with medicine	−	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	+	•+
156. Deer doctor charms game prior to hunt	−	+	+			•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
157. Antelope doctor charms game prior to hunt	−	+	.		o	o	+	−	o	o	o	−	o	−	o	−
158. Ceremony before group hunt	−	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
159. Singing	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Praying	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
161. Dancing	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
162. Hoof rattle	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	+	−
163. Cocoon rattle	−		−		−			−	−		+	+	+	+	−	−
163a. Split-stick rattle	−	−	•R	−	−	•R		+	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	•+
164. Headdress	−	−	+			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	−
165. Conducted by shaman	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
166. Acorn-soup dinner									•+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+
167. Ceremony after hunt	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	.	+	•+	−	+
[782] 168. Offerings made for success of hunt	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•.	•+
168a. Eagle down	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−
168b. Tobacco	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	.	−
[754] 169. Shaman goes on hunt to charm game	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•−	+	−
170. Bear spoken to in den or woods	•−	•+	•+	+	•+	•−	o	−	+	.	+	•+	o	.	(−)	•
171. Addressed by kin term	−	.	+	−	+	−	o	−	−	.	+	+	o	.	(−)	+
172. Apologetic speech after killing	−	−	+	•−	+	−	o	−	+	.	+	+	o	.	−	+
173. Meat eaten in one house	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	+	(+)	o	.	+	−
174. All who eat must wash, be continent	−	+	+	•−							+	+	o	.	+	−
175. Remains in tree or hidden in woods	−	−	+	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	+	−	o	.	−	−
176. Remains burnt	−	−	−			+	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	.	−	+
177. Killing pregnant bear causes death, misfortune	−	.	−	+	−	−	o	−	−	−	.	+	o	.	−	−
[202] 178. Smoke or fire signals when 2 or more hunt together	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
179. Shouting as signal	−	−							+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
180. To obtain aid in packing kill	+	•+	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+
Butchering of Large Game																
181. Large game butchered in woods	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	•−	+	+
182. Lying	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
183. Eyes cut out	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
184. Given to child to eat raw	−	−	−	•−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
185. Nose cut or tied	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
186. Paunch cleaned, filled with blood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+
187. Carcass packed home whole	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	+	+	+	−	+

7

175 its sojourn in eastern Oregon into the midst of the Rogue River
648 and Yakima wars of 1855.[31]

Although behind them the Klamath settlements remained at peace, Klamath in the troubled areas were caught up in the dragnet. When the special agent for the upper Umpqua Valley was collecting the friendly Umpqua in order to shift them temporarily to the site of a proposed reservation, at the request of local citizens he also received some 35 Klamath, "who willingly surrendered their arms and ammunition." Again, in the roundup of approximately 1,440 Indians of coastal Oregon and the Willamette Valley in 1856, awaiting removal to permanent reservations, were members of tribes with whom no treaties had yet been concluded, who usually wintered in the Willamette Valley, and who in those troubled times sought the protection of the Indian department. Among them were 141 Klamath.[32] Even Lileks, out hunting deer in the mountains with some men of the Pelican Bay tribelet, was picked up, as were his companions. With their families they were taken to Oregon City and confined for some time until Lileks was able to secure their release.[33]

In the Klamath country itself, the alarms of war persistently
pointed to the Klamath as hostile. Settlers reported the tribes-
[202] men armed and threatening on the Santiam and the Kalapuya,
and saw signal fires burning along the Klamath Trail from the
Lakes to Oregon City.[34]

In the aftermath of warfare grew a new determination to end the recurrent hostilities. Wrote Commissioner of Indian Affairs James W. Denver in 1857:

> I know of no alternative to the present unsatisfactory and dangerous state of things but the adoption of early measures for the extinguishment of [Indian] title, and their colonization on properly located reservations, using and applying the consideration agreed to be allowed to them for their lands to subsist and clothe them until they can be taught and influenced to support and sustain themselves. The losses and damage to the government and to the citizens resulting from another general outbreak on the part of these Indians would probably fully equal, if not exceed, in amount what would be necessary to buy out and colonize them, so that they could be effectively controlled, if not improved and civilized.[35]

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 Hä' i shma-'htcháktak yaínatat, k̲á-i i ûn k̲ésh shlé-etak; hä'-atoks
If you let your shadow fall on the hill, not you ipo will find; but if

[787] i k̲á-i shma-'htcháktak, tü'm i ûn k̲ésh shlé-etak.
you not let your shadow fall, much you ipo will find.

000 Móatuash, k̲'le-ugtkinápkasht tchíalash Móatuashäm k̲ók̲etat, k̲á-i mhû'
The Pit River Indians, (lest) would cease to come the salmon up the Pit River, not grouses

lúela skó; Mō'dokni tchí'sh lóla shuátash kíäm tchûk̲á sháṭma, humásht-
they kill in spring time; the Modocs also assume, sage-hens the fish to swim up stream invite, there-

gisht k̲á-i lúela.
fore not they kill (them).

NOTES.

*539 171 I. What is contained in these short items refers equally to the Klamath Lake and to the Modoc people, although those contained under I. were obtained from various informants belonging to the former chieftaincy.

[192] 133, 2. páka to howl, bark; pák'la to howl repeatedly, to howl for a while; pák-lnipka to howl for a while in the distance towards somebody.

[177 231] 133, 4. 5. The cat and the chicken being but recently introduced among these tribes, this superstition must have been transferred to them from other animals. By inversion, the words tchíkin gû'lu, *the hen*, appear here widely separated from each other.

[192] 133, 6. K̲ú-i tchämlûk has to be resolved into: k̲ú-i tchē mál (for málash) hû'k: "bad then for you this is!" Cruel fights will follow.

133, 7–11. This story is not clearly worded, but we are taught by it how these Indians are conversing among each other with laconic breviloquence. An Indian living in the vicinity has heard the whining of the dog which means death to his owner. He goes there, shoots the man and takes to his heels. A relative of the murdered man comes up and is mistaken by others for the murderer. They deprive him of his wife, his property and his liberty; he becomes a madman on account of the injustice done to him.

[825] 134, 1. 2. The raven (k̲ák̲) is supposed to be a bird of fatal augury, because he was seen devouring the flesh of dead Indians. Compare: General *Note* on page 130.

● [202] 134, 4. kínkayunk. They adjust a rag or piece of skin to a pole and stick out that improvised *flag* on the top of the lodge to notify neighbors that they had a dream last night and desire an interpreter for it.

[525 825] 134, 5. One of the legs of a dead black tmélhak-squirrel is cut off and laid under the gaming-disk or the pá'hla to insure luck to the player.

134, 7–12. Tcháshäsh etc. This is a fragmentary extract of a scurrilous skunk-myth, which I have not been able to obtain in full from my informant, the Modoc chief Johnson, who speaks the Klamath dialect. This myth is well known through the whole of Oregon, for parts of it are embodied in a popular and melodious song of the Mólale tribe, whose ancient home is the country east and southeast of Oregon City and Portland.

134, 7. 8. mák̲laks nánuk is the direct object of hushtsóga; the skunk killed them by his stench.

[601] 134, 9. tû'paks stands for tû'pakshash; túpakship, abbreviated túpaksh, is properly the younger sister, as called by or with reference to an elder brother, while pa-ánip

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2708. Speaks twice daily, from top of sweat house	−	*+	*+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	624
2710. Moral lectures to children	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
2711. Stops disputes, chief's orders	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2712. Acts as dance manager	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	*+	[203]
2713. Acts as messenger man	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2714. Talks at ceremonies	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
2715. Clowns and ridicules	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
Clowns																	
2716. Informal clowning, joking, only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	*+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	522
2717. Formal clowns	−	−	−	−	*+	−	−	*−	*−	−	−	*+	*+	−	−	*+	
2718. Office distinct from crier's	−	−	−	−		−	−	+	+	−	−	+	*−	−	−	−	
2719. Hereditary	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
2720. Appointed by chief	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	
2721. Lifelong	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	
2722. Clowns at ceremonies	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	*+	−	−	+	
2723. Wears acorn necklace	−	−	−							−	−	+	+	−	−	*+	
2724. Paid	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	[645]
2725. Helps dreamer call spirits													+	−	−	−	
Messengers																	
o2726. No. male messengers per village or local group	−	−	(3)	2	−	−	1	*1	*3	2	*5	2	1	2	−	−	203
2727. No. variable for intratribal matters	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	*+	
2728. Individuals serve in temporary capacity only.	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	
2728a. Official messenger for war matters only	−		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2729. Competency and willingness chief criteria for selection of	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2729a. Must be good speaker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	
2730. Appointed by chief	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2731. Hereditary, paternal line	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	
2732. Lifelong tenure	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	
2733. If incompetent, discharged	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2734. Paid if travels a distance	−	+	−		*+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
2735. Paid occasionally; given board	−	+	+				+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	
2736. Carries messages for chief or headman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	
2737. Travels about; gathers news	+	+	+								+	+	+	−	−	−	
*2738. Welcomes guests	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	+	+	+	+	+	+		.	−	
2739. Orders hunt for chief	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+		+	−	
2739a. Attends to fire at ceremonies	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2740. Women messengers	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2741. Carry messages for anyone	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[562]
o2742. Number going together	−	−	−	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2743. Suitability only criterion	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2744. Travel only short distances	−	+	−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2745. Act in temporary capacity only	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Fire Tender																	
†2746. No. per village or local group	*−	−	1	1	−	−	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	624
2747. Lifelong office	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	R+	−	+	+	+	−	+	372
2748. Temporary office only	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	R−	+	−	−	−	+	−	
2749. Hereditary in paternal line	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	(+)	−	+	[611]
2750. Appointed by chief	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	R+	+	−	−	−	+	−	
2751. Chief acts as fire tender	−	−	−									+	−	+	−	−	
*2752. Clown acts as fire tender	−	−	−									−	+	−	−	+	[522]
2753. Attends to fire in assembly house	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2754. Keeps assembly house clean	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	R	+	+	+		−	+	
2755. Has 1 assistant	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(R)	+	+	−		+	+	

Yet the most laborious wood- 462
working task, the making of canoes, is sometimes undertaken by
women. I do not know who tans skins, but since the manufacture [501]
of all garments and moccasins is done by women, this suggests that [281]
they prepare the skins as well. Mats and baskets are made by women
and in considerable quantity. This is a sedentary pursuit which
dovetails nicely into leisure moments of household duties. Mortars, [285]
metates, and their adjuncts are fashioned by women, though I suspect
that men may lend a hand. Nets are manufactured by men, but by [415]
a few women also. Ropes and cords are made by women. All these [284]
suggest a somewhat heavier share borne by women.

There is a further factor which must be kept in mind. In winter, [283]
movement is impeded by intense cold and heavy snowfall, so that all
members of the family must stay close at home. Hence the men might 211
be thought to have enforced inactivity thrust upon them during this
season. But the facts are probably otherwise. This is a period of
great scarcity, even famine, especially at the end of a long winter,
and it behooves the men to act and act quickly in search of food.
The ardors and perils then forced on them surely make demands upon
whatever leisure they may have at this time.

FOOD AND ITS ACQUISITION

Klamath life is not that of a lake people, but a river and marsh 262
culture, for the simple reason that their primary food is fish. The
large lakes of this region are solidly frozen in winter, and fish, which
are not abundant there at the best, can hardly be had in winter. It
is otherwise with the swift rivers and creeks; these are always open
and fish are always present in abundance.[218]

Fish is the staple; after this ranks water-lily seed (wokas) and to 262
a lesser extent other roots; deer and other game are only of minor
importance. It is difficult at this late date to know whether fish or 224
lily-seed was eaten in greater quantity, but there is no doubt that, of 226
necessity, more attention was given the year round to fishing, since 222
the seed is harvested only from the middle of August to the end of
September.

Winter villages, the permanent settlements, are located where fish 361
may be had at that time, beside running streams and near springs

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[218] In view of the excellent descriptions of Klamath environment given by
Gatschet, Barrett (pp. 240-243), and Coville (Wokas, A Primitive Food, 727-
728) it is unnecessary to add another here. (See also pp. 8-10 of the present
work.) [114]

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KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS

Counting, Calendar, Directions

Counting

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4416. Finger count for months	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	802
4417. Finger count for objects	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	805
4418. Begin counting on thumb	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	·	+	
4419. Begin count on 4th finger	–	+	+	·	+	–	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	·	–	
4420. End on 4th finger of other hand	–	+	+	·	+	–	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	·	–	
4421. Count on toes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
4422. Mnemonic devices	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4423. Knotted string for measuring time intervals	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[211] ●
4424. Knotted string for messages	–	–	–	•–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4425. Stick for 1, 5, 10, 100 objects	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
4426. Stick counters used in games	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4427. Rocks to count objects	–		·						+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	
4428. Marks on house to measure time intervals	+	–	+					+	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	·	–	
4429. Scratch on ground for 10 and 100	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	·	–	–	·	–	
4430. Stick poker burned to mark month's duration													+	–	•+	–	
4431. Sack with berries in it	–		–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Calendar

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
‡4432. Number of seasons	4	4	4	4	5	(3)	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	•2	4	4	805
o4433. Number of names for moons	10	·	·	10	10	•12	•10	14	7	7	4	–	•12	·	·	·	
4434. Names descriptive	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	·	·	·	
4435. Finger names	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	–	–	
4436. Winter solstice observed	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4437. Calendar begins winter solstice	•+	+	·	•+	(+)	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	·	(+)	·	+	–	
4438. Summer month counted	+	·	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	–	–	·	+	·	·	+	
4439. Month begins on new moon	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
4439a. Stars as month markers	•+	–	·	•+	–	·	•+	+	+	–	+	·	·	·	–	–	
4440. Month record kept	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
4441. Sticks put away													·	+	–	–	
4442. Stones put in sack	–	·	·	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	
4442a. Knots tied in string		·	·			+	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	
4443. Old man keeps record	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	
4444. By memory only	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	(–)	(–)	–	–	–	
4445. Old people argue which month	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	·	+	•+	[578]
4446. Fisticuffs	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	·	·	+	+	
4447. Solstices observed by marks or shadow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4448. Summer solstice	+	+	–	+	·	•+			+	•–	+	+	+	·	·	+	
4449. Winter solstice	+	+	+	+	+	•+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4450. In sweat house	–	·	•+	•+	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	·	·	·	
4451. Trees or mountains	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4452. Sunrise and sunset	+	+	–			–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•+	
4453. Sunrise only	–	–	+			+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	
4454. Sun's monthly position observed	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	–	•–	+	+	·	·	·	+	
4455. Marks on shadows from trees, mountains	+	·	–	+	·	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	·	·	·	+	
4456. Marks in sweat house	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·	·	·	–	
4457. Daily sunrise, sunset observed	+		–	+					•+	+	–	+	·	·	–	+	

773 As a result of their seclusion, all their geogonic and creation myths are
[776] acting around the headwaters of Klamath River and in Lost River Valley, and the first man is said to have been created by their national deity, K'mukámtchiksh, at the base of the lofty Cascade Range, upon the prairie drained by Wood River. I have obtained no myth disclosing any knowledge of the ocean, which is scarcely one hundred and fifty miles distant in an air line from their seats. They have no flood or inundation myths that
[192] are not imported from abroad; and what is of special importance here, their terms for *salt* (s'dak, shŏ'lt) are *not their own*, but are derived from foreign languages.

173 There is an animal story embodied in the Texts, page 131, forming
773 No. II of the "Spell of the Laughing Raven," containing the sentence: "Hereupon the Klamath Lake people began fighting the Northerners." I believed at first that this contained a historic reminiscence of some intertribal war, but now am rather doubtful about it. The song 192; 1 was supposed by some Indians to be a very old reminiscence, while others referred it to the presence of the Warm Spring scouts in the Modoc war.

I conclude from the foregoing facts that historic traditions do not exist among these mountaineer Indians. If there are any, I was unable to obtain
000 them. The racial qualities of the Modocs, and still more those of the É-ukshikni, indicate a closer resemblance with Oregonians and Columbia River tribes than with Shoshonians and Californians.

B. ARCHÆOLOGIC REMAINS.

211 The Klamath people have not evinced any more propensity for erecting monuments of any kind than they have for perpetuating the memory
[346] of their ancestors in song or tradition. In fact, structures the probable
[226] age of which exceeds one hundred years are very few. Among these may be particularized the three ceremonial sweat-lodges and perhaps some of the river-barrages, intended to facilitate the catch of fish, if they should turn out to be of artificial and not of natural origin. In the Lost River
172 Valley is a well, claimed by Modocs to be Aishish's gift—probably one of
312 the large natural springs or wélwash which are seen bubbling up in so many places upon the reservation Stephen Powers reports that near the

825 Some beliefs concern the nature of wild animals. The "cat" (da'slats, *Bassariscus* sp.) kills deer by wrapping his long tail around their necks. The mountain lion is very dangerous; it is afraid only of fire. One cannot escape it by climbing into a small tree, because the lion will dig it up. When bears fight, the female is always victor. She always buries the male. The grizzly bear during his hibernation sleeps a month on each side alternately. "I do not know who watched them," my informant remarked. The grizzly is a notorious thief, breaking into the winter stores buried near the villages. But to call him that is dangerous, for he then pursues you. The chipmunk or ground squirrel (ts!īl'as) hibernates like a bear from November until the spring, they believe. When boys shoot at this animal it changes into a frog.

• 212

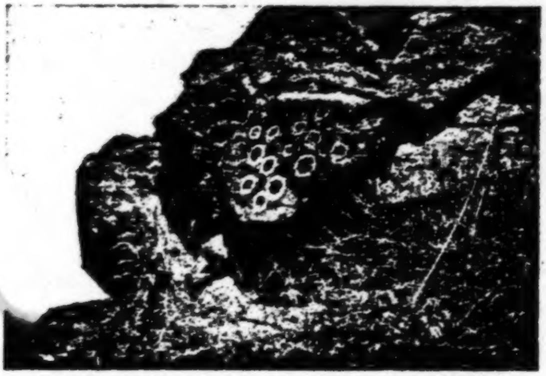

Fig. 9. Pictographs on the eastern side of Klamath lake.

824 Elder is supposed to grow on cremation piles; perhaps it does.

212 The Klamath do not make pictographs. There are however a few
756 in their country, said to have been made by Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, the culture
773 hero. They refer to them as shaman's mu'lwas, paraphernalia or,
better, objects pertaining to a shaman. They are repainted from time
to time by old men, "who work for a shaman," by which my inform-
ant may have meant shaman's interpreters. They are all of simple
212 form. My informants knew of only two pictographs (sŭ'malo'ta) in
the whole Klamath country. Those on a rock slide on the eastern
shore of Klamath lake south of Modoc point are shown in figure 9.
This is near the former fishing village Iulă'u (47). There are a dozen
circles in white paint, the largest four or five inches in diameter.

Another set of graphs is on the rocks at the southern end of Buck island. A tale concerning one of these figures tells of a man shot in the eye with a straw so that the blood streamed down his face. This suggests the form of the figure, which I did not see. One informant said that the figure of a lizard was also sometimes drawn. 212

Klamath territory abounds in rocks conceived as petrified mythical beings. Where the tales provide no other explanation, it is held that the transformation was effected by Crow laughing at them. Back of the village Du'"ilḳŭt on the southern side of Klamath marsh is a group of small boulders, called nĕ'ḳnŭḳ, "doctor" stones. Should a little child play among these he will become crazy. A similar group lies north of Dŭnŏ'ksi on Pelican bay. Another series of rocks is some twenty miles above Chiloquin on Sprague river. The westernmost is the house of Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps; to the north is a sharp mountain, blai'was, the golden eagle; the third is wīkwīks, magpie; the fourth, maiti'ḳtŏḳ, a person, the fifth ḳ!adjī'tcwatcwe'ĕs, a person; sixth, g̣ăo'djīs, wolf; and the last, djī'ktu, mouse hawk. A cave at Komă'ĕksi (13) on Sprague river is another house of Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps. It is a stī'nas, a dome-shaped lodge. As he covered it with second-grade mats (stĕholas) it now leaks. Inside is a pile of rocks said to be his tunic armor. Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps' net spread out to dry is an outcrop of white rocks on the hillside a few miles north of Klamath Falls. 823

another figure, known only as "The One Below," to represent the 648*
Devil. This figure appears in a Klamath version of the Garden 657*
of Eden recorded by Gatschet[29]—a tale no longer recalled today. 776
The identification of Gmukamps with God is strengthened in 177
Indian eyes by his mythical foster-parentage of the hero, Aisis. 178
As one Modoc, a fundamentalist preacher, has put it:

> you know, Gmukamps and Aisis—that's nothing but God and Jesus. The Indians knew the story of the Bible, but they were ignorant in those days. They thought that the lakes they performed their miracles around were the Klamath lakes; they didn't know it was really the Sea of Galilee.[30]

Looking back over the entire field of change from the last 657*
decades of the nineteenth century, the observer could discern 648*
major acculturative trends. The Klamath who entered upon the 177
treaty had already undergone pervasive, though largely un- 178
directed modification. Thereafter, they were subjected to a consistent policy of change which, despite defects in execution, outside interference, and an intervening war, was maintained for well over a generation. Within this frame, a reservation culture had taken shape, embodying a synthesis of white and Indian lifeways. By the middle of the next century, only a handful of tribesmen would be left who could report from direct knowledge events of pretreaty days; the remaining elders would be products of the synthesis.

Measured by the indexes which the Bureau employed to
register progress, the advance was evident. When that formula- [464]
tive period was ended, a large number of the Klamath were [511]
productively engaged in work of "civilized" character, and their
material wants had come to approximate those of their white
neighbors. Many were conversant, and a few literate, in English, [191]
and their numbers were increasing steadily. The extended family, [212]
at least among the progressive, had made way for the more [596]
mobile and assimilable conjugal family. In the schools, a new [594]
generation was being trained to embrace as natural and desirable [871]
a way of life which the Church, in turn, commended as good to old and young alike. Expectations seemed to lie within the grasp of those willing to work to achieve them.

Beneath the surface upon which these changes could be traced, [571]
however, lay cleavages and disconformities as yet unfathomed

many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit and compelling in its demands.

K M 756 796

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers.

K M 221 261 [356]

K M [574] [685] [756] [796] [789]

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

K M 261 22

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already, in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and Sprague.

K M 221 361

K M [501]

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers

K 226 823

K M 226 103 648

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K
M draws upland Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute and gives to the
226 nearby settlement, the easternmost of the permanent villages of
183 the Klamath, the name, "Sucker-fishery." Others make their way
648 K to stone weirs, built, it is said, by Gmukamps himself, or to the
M lakes to fish with a variety of dip nets, gill net baskets, the two-
226 pronged harpoon and the multibarbed spear. At night, men set
forth in canoes upon the lake to fish by torchlight. Set lines are
K put out infrequently. While the men catch the fish–suckers,
M [251] salmon, and trout–their wives work ceaselessly, splitting them
and laying them in the sun to dry.

K Released from the protracted confinement to the winter settle-
M ments, tribesmen eagerly renew bonds with relatives and friends
221 from other villages. Related families may rendezvous to travel
222 together down to the fisheries and set up their lodges side by
[571] side. Then, as spring advances and the runs of suckers and
[602] salmon abate, the fishing settlements break up and parties of
[226] two or three families fan out along the flats and meadows to dig
[103] roots: the succulent camas, the nutlike ipos, yans, and the arrow-
root for which Chewaucan Marsh is named. In the watery flats
they seek the roots of tule and cattail; elsewhere they pick wild
K celery and mosses. There are the eggs of swan and other water-
M fowl to gather; trout in the streams to be caught; and for the
22 Modoc, antelope and mountain sheep to hunt. At this time, some
[361] areas are occupied that at other times are too cold or barren.

K If there is danger of hostile attack, the parties coalesce; and
M 22 under all circumstances they maintain a wary lookout. In the
726 north small bands make cautious excursions into the upper valley
of the Deschutes, watchful for raiding parties of Cayuse, Nez
K Percés, Warm Springs, and Paiute. Toward the east, Sycan and
M Chewaucan marshes are dug over by Klamath and Paiute. Fré-
222 mont once found the latter tract furrowed as if it had been
252 plowed. In many places the stone-lined earth ovens in which
camas and other vegetal foods were baked for winter storage
can still be seen.

K As the long summer days wear on, the pond-lily seeds, known
M as wokas, begin to ripen on the marshes, and once more the
221 people draw together. The Modoc congregate especially along
222 Tule and Lower Klamath Lake, while some join the Klamath
648 on Wokas Marsh. Many Klamath, together with a few Modoc

*648

*657 missiveness. Their ranches often took on the appearance of rural
464 slums, and were the scenes of drinking parties and brawls.
433 Economically profitable or not, ranching constituted the most
233 common occupation for those who were employed. It offered special advantages. The land was usually an inherited allotment and, together with cattle and improvements, was often nontaxable. Outdoor work with livestock was a familiar activity; it permitted considerable latitude to the farmer in adjusting his routine. There was space to live.

*648 Whether dwelling in town or on a ranch, tribal members
*657 continued to seek native foods; but these activities had come to
433 occupy a different place in their lives. Men of all ages still fished
and hunted; many families still gathered huckleberries; and
• 22 elderly women at least continued to dig for the succulent roots
262 of ipos and camas and to gather wokas. The latter foods, how-
177 ever, were sought as cherished delicacies, now rare; while
178 journeys to the berry fields assumed the character of an outing. Much of the fishing had acquired a strongly sportive aspect and was carried on by angling. Only the spearing of mullet during the spring runs and the hunting of deer and waterfowl seriously served food demands. The larger game animals, which had figured in only a small way in Klamath diet and played a more important role among the Modoc, had become abundant upon the reservation as ranchers killed off predators. Tribal members often hunted them from a car or spotlighted them at night. Waterfowl were often shot as they sat upon the water. Fifteen deer would see a household through the year; and a number of Klamath families met all their meat requirements by hunting and fishing, being content to buy an occasional cut in town to add variety to their diet.

*648 "Meat hunting" thus continued to ignore sportive conventions,
*657 although fishing had in part given way to them. At the same
224 time, individual Klamath were wont to play with those conven-
tions by entering contests for the biggest buck or rainbow; and
226 they delighted in underscoring white failures to abide by their
181 own standards of sportsmanship. For the Klamath, hunting and fishing possessed particular virtue as an attribute of an Indian estate. The ability to pursue fish and game without regard to season was a signal right cherished by the Indians and valued

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

fish basket, and one or two others. Twining is the only technique M K
used, all coiled baskets coming from this region being extraneous
to the true native culture. The majority of the conical burden 285
baskets made of willow or hazel which are in use among the [139]
Klamath are made by themselves, though they do purchase from
the Shasta to the southwest a burden basket which is more nicely
finished than their own. M

Together with this very specialized tule culture, resulting K
from the life of the people upon the immediate lake shore, go 105
water foods, particularly wokas and fish, and the special implements 22
devoted to the gathering of the wokas and to the capture 415
of various animals, birds, and fish. Such for instance are the [133]
peculiar duck arrow, the large dip-net, the net used at night in [184]
connection with a light in the canoe for catching ducks and other
water birds, the many-pointed fish spear, the two forms of bone [501]
hooks, the dug-out canoe, and the forked pole for propelling it
in shallow water. The peculiar stone implements, such as the [276]
two-horned muller, L-shaped and discoidal pipes, and triangular
net-sinker, are also noteworthy.

The specialization of culture in this region is very striking M
indeed when it is compared with the culture of surrounding K
peoples, as for instance, the Paiute to the east, where coiled
basketry predominates and tule work is almost unknown, and 105
with that of the Indians of the Upper Columbia river region to 101
the north, whose culture was very largely influenced by the 171
buffalo or plains Indian culture. A comparison with the Oregon Indians is difficult not only because the Oregon cultures are comparatively little known, but because the majority of Oregon Indians, owing to their habitat, showed either a coast or a desert culture, which is not readily comparable with the inland lake environment and culture of the Klamath and Modoc. The Indians in certain respects most similar to the Lutuami in culture lived down the Klamath river in the northwestern part of California. Here are found such things as the stone maul and the large triangular fish net. Here also the basketry is entirely twined and in a large measure of comparatively soft materials; and the willow or hazel burden baskets are very similar in their general appearance, form, and particularly in the border finish.

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131
> East of the Cascade mountains, and south of the 44th parallel, is a country not attached particularly to any agency. That portion at the eastern base of this range, extending twenty-five or thirty miles east, and south to the California line, is the country of the Klamath Indians.[26]

This is essentially correct although the boundary might better be set somewhat farther south to exclude the headwaters of the Deschutes, in earlier times the home of Sahaptin peoples. The country north of Klamath marsh is considered too open and cold for settlement. On the eastern border are a series of lakes (Silver, Summer, Abert, Goose) and rims which give on the desert to the east. There are Northern Paiute settlements on the eastern sides of Summer and Goose lakes, perhaps those of the Walpahpas mentioned by Meacham.

648
> The meeting with the Klamath and Snakes was one of interest to all parties, from the fact that they had been enemies, and the chiefs had not met in person since peace was restored. Living in the country intervening [presumably Summer to Goose lakes] was a small tribe of Wal-pah-pas, who are half Snake and half Klamath. They were mediators, though sometimes fighting on alternate sides, as interest or affront gave occasion.[27]

101
131
221
Sycan river, Sycan marsh, and Yamsay mountain are summer resorts of the Klamath, who had their easternmost settlement (hlodle-luĕ'luke) somewhere west of Gearhart mountain. Chewaucan marsh, between Summer and Abert lakes, was probably also visited, although I was not told so. Its name is Klamath, probably tcuwa'kän, arrowhead place, derived from the abundance of arrowhead or wappatoo roots (tcuwa') gathered there.[28]

SETTLEMENTS

221 The occupation of this territory is determined by the manner of life. The fixed villages are the winter residences to which people return year after year. Early spring finds them leaving for favorable fishing stations where there are successive fish runs. Through the summer they move to the prairies to gather edible roots and berries or to the mountain and desert to hunt. During most of this time families are widely scattered and the winter villages quite deserted, but with the ripening of pond lily seeds in the marshes during August
[262] and September they again congregate. The pond lilies grow in enormous quantities, the seeds (wo'kas) constituting a staple second only
in importance to fish.

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[26] Palmer in Report, Comm. Indian Affairs, 262, 1854.

[27] Meacham, Wigwam and War-path, 232.

[28] Coville, Notes, 90.

in importance to fish. Summer is also the time of travel and trade, 221 •
taking people as far as the Dalles where they may elect to spend the
winter. Winters are exceptionally severe at this altitude (4000 feet), [132]
with deep snow and lakes, marshes, and even streams solidly frozen.
Movement is stopped and unless a winter residence has been chosen [133]
which gives some possibility of fishing, starvation may be faced before 221
spring. These winter sites are in sheltered, sunny spots on running
streams or at springs warm enough to prevent ice from forming. The 361
families return in the fall, rebuild the earth-lodges from the remains [226]
of the previous year's structure, and are all snugly housed by mid-December. The only permanent settlements are the winter villages. The summer residences are shifting, and while reoccupied from year to year, there is no feeling that particular camping localities belong
to certain groups. The summer camps are rather indiscriminate aggre- [628]
gations of any Klamath, but the winter locations are so fixed of habit as to give a measure of political separatism to the several localities.

The case of Tom Lang's family is typical. Their permanent winter home is at iuʹlaloŋk, a large village on the west side of Link river at the foot of Klamath lake, hence Tom is considered one of the southern lake people, iuʹʹlaloŋkni generically. His family is accustomed to move for the spring fishing to ditklaks, Barclay spring, or to Modoc point, both on the east side of the lake, where they erect temporary lodges. Crossing the lake to dĕʹktcoŋks they leave their canoes and travel overland to wokasʹlks on the north shore of Wokas marsh. Here Tom was born in July. When the berry and wokas harvest is ended they retrace their steps and take canoe to Algoma to pick wild plums, berries, etc. From there they drift back to their winter home.

The towns for the most part lie along Williamson river, on the southern side of Klamath marsh, and along the eastern shore of Klamath lake. As these are winter settlements, the open lake is avoided, and occupied only where warm springs outweigh its disadvantages.
They cluster along Williamson river whose sheltered valley is dis- [133]
tinctly warmer than the lake front a few miles distant and where the [132]
running stream contains fish most of the year.

The towns are not isolated, compact groups of houses, but stretch 361
along the banks for half a mile or more. In fact, the settlements on
Williamson river below the Sprague river junction form a practically 342
continuous string of houses for five or six miles, the house pits being, in many spots, crowded close together. Informants insisted that many of these were occupied at the same time. When we consider that these earth-lodges may have housed several families, there is strong suggestion of a considerable population.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Shasta NS21

grown up among the Klamath, Klamath in speech and custom, were K 567
not tempted to begin life anew elsewhere. Some, at least, had considerable K
prestige. Pit River Charley, for instance, a freed slave, [786]
returned from his people in 1873 with novel rites which were engrafted [177]
on the Ghost dance then newly come to the Klamath.[42]

Trade is probably of no great consequence within the tribe although K
it figures intertribally. Contacts were few and frequently unfriendly 439
until after the coming of the whites. The exception is the neighboring 221
Modoc groups; others are too distant. Winters are too severe for 361
travel and trade, but summers find the Warm Springs people in residence
with the Klamath. These similarly set out for Warm Springs
and the Dalles when the grass begins to grow, camping there in the
open during the summer, and building mat-covered structures of
earth-lodge shape (wakĕ'ploks) if they stay through the winter. K
Slaves, Pit River bows, and beads are taken there to trade for horses, 439
blankets, buffalo skins, parfleches, beads (probably dentalium shells), 436
dried salmon, and lampreys.[43] Two slave children are valued at five 567
horses, several buffalo skins, and some beads. This is not far from
the values recorded by Taylor in 1859; one woman was worth five or
six horses, a boy one horse.[44]

The Molala are also visitors and are met on the headwaters of the K
Rogue west of Crater lake. From them buckskins are obtained for 648
pond-lily seed and beads. Relations with the Shasta have not always [437]
been unfriendly; some of the Klamath Falls group and Modoc married S
with them, possibly only since the white advent. The nearest Shasta 131
settlements at Shovel and Jennie creeks can be reached afoot several K
days' journey down the Klamath. Laik'ĕlmi is a jointly occupied 648
fishing site somewhat upstream but below the Klamath canyon. Skins [226]
and skin blankets are traded for Shasta beads. Dixon states that [437]
Shasta trade with the Klamath is slight.[45]

In the period 1860–70 the few Shasta remaining in their territory congregated S
on the lower Shasta river and near the frontier town, Yreka. They were 131
reached by crossing the Black Mountain range. At that time this was a S
much mixed group, principally half-breeds. My informant Tom Lang, taken [302]
there as a youngster, remarked how he was afraid of their highly tattooed faces.

Intercourse and marriage went on freely with the Modoc. They K
were visited on Tule and Lower Klamath lakes, and joined for the 648
fishing on Lost River near Olene. 131
226

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[42] Spier, Ghost Dance of 1870, 45, 51.

[43] Cf. Gatschet, 1:93; 2:436.

[44] *Op. cit.*, 1:lx.

[45] The Shasta, 436.

756 784 no food taboos; shamans and others can eat their spirit animals. The only taboo of conduct peculiar to any spirit known is the prohibition against wearing footgear by one who has a dog spirit. For example, a Molala-Klamath halfbreed, the wife of the chief Li'lu, who dreamed of this spirit, never wore any protection for her feet even in the winter snows.

756 The shaman is cremated and his house burned like other Klamath. Usually his regalia, feathers and skins, are destroyed with the house. This must wait for calm weather; then only an old woman dare burn them. Immediately a storm rises, with strong winds and thunder, but lasts only a night. When the shaman dies and again when his body is burned, storms rage for several days.

THE SHAMANISTIC PERFORMANCE

755 221 756 While curing of necessity takes place at any time, shamanistic performances are given at only one time during the year. This is a nameless period, the fourth month (December–January), in midwinter,[182] the coldest period when the lake is frozen and the timber cracks with the cold. By this time all the earth-lodges are reconstructed and the Klamath are settled in their winter quarters. This is a period of enforced inactivity, what with the intense cold, the deep snows, and their inability to hunt and fish. Furthermore, the seances cannot be held any later in the winter for then they begin to run short of provisions, I was told, which is undoubtedly true and yet may be a rationalization. This brings to mind the winter sacred period of the Northwest Coast tribes, with its quiet dictated by a fear of profanation. It is not sacred to the ordinary Klamath; spirits are sought at any time. It is significant only to shamans and others who have spirits.

Shamans make a point of giving their performances every winter. A number of them may join for the purpose. The novice waits for winter to prove the coming of his power and only after this does he attempt to cure. The advent of power is called dodi'ḳalgŏt. Non-shamans who have a little power, perhaps a single spirit, may sing their own songs at a shaman's performance if the spirit impels them.

756 The shaman informally[183] invites the participants to his home for

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805 [182] There is a discrepancy here in that the Klamath reckon a year of ten months, and these lunar periods begin with the lunation of August. My informants made it quite clear, however, that, although they specified the fourth month, they meant the period about Christmas.

[183] Knotted invitation strings, for instance, are unknown.

361 at the lake's edge, large and warm enough to prevent ice forming over
a large area. Winter is severe at this altitude (4000 feet), snowdrifts
[132] are deep, and Klamath lake freezes over to a depth of some ten inches
[133] in late December. Such sheltered valleys as that of the Williamson
river, while but a few miles from the open lake, are distinctly warmer.

The annual cycle of activities is dictated largely by the food
221 habits. It is customary to leave the winter villages in April or May,
when plant growth is well under way and the flat valleys have dried,
not to return until the snow falls again and houses need refurbishing.
When fish begin to run in the spring, the Klamath congregate at the
fishing places to stay for two months or more. For example, some
join the Modoc on Lost river for several weeks to catch and dry
fish. The spring and early summer are spent on the marshes and
prairies, gathering roots such as camas and ipos. When the camas
has been dried and stored, they move to the marshes, especially to
Klamath marsh, to harvest pond-lily seeds from mid-August to the
end of September. While the women are busy with this harvest, men
hunt mule deer, antelope, and other animals whose habitat is in eastern
Klamath territory. Late summer and autumn, seeds, berries, and
nuts are gathered, the Indians congregating where these are plentiful.
Many of those at Klamath marsh, for example, move directly to
Huckleberry mountain, southwest of Crater lake, to garner these
[484] berries. Summer and autumn are the seasons for journeying to visit
and trade, for raiding, and especially for laying up a store of fish
[726] against the coming winter. It must be understood that the winter
[251] locations are not completely abandoned during this season, for many
of them are favorably situated for these very activities. But it is
[361] customary for such a group as the ăukekni division, whose winter
residences cluster thickly along the middle Williamson river, to scatter and meet again at Klamath marsh for the pond-lily harvest in
[805] August and September. (This is the beginning of the Klamath year.)
They begin to return to the winter sites in the latter month, to start
[342] rebuilding the earth-lodges for the coming winter, a task completed
in December, by which time full winter is at hand.[219]

501 The move to Klamath marsh of the people at the mouth of Williamson river, the du'kwakni, can be made by canoe only as far as ya'ak
221 on the middle river, where they join the ăukekni in packing afoot the
rest of the distance. When the water is high, canoes can go upstream
as far as bızŭkse'was at the mouth of Sprague river (see the maps,

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[219] See also Gatschet, 1:74–77.

figs. 1–3). When returning in the fall, they take canoe as far as Kirk, 501
storing the vessels in the lake bottom there until the next season, and 221 ●
packing the rest of the distance to their craft on the middle river,
some twenty miles distant.

A similar seasonal migration of the Klămath falls group takes them to Barclay spring and Modoc point on the lake front for the spring fishing. Crossing the lake to dĕ'ktcŏŋks, they leave canoe and march by a well-defined trail to Wocus marsh for the lily-seed harvest. At the end of their stay, they sink the canoes used on the marsh in the water at woḳsa'lks, hide grinding slabs and similar articles in the juniper thickets, and retrace their way across the lake to Algoma. After gathering wild fruits there they return to the falls for the winter.[220]

When one considers that the countryside teems with a wide variety 221
of animal life in summer, and the seeming abundance of seeds, roots,
and fish, it is difficult to comprehend the change that winter brings. 731
Yet outright starvation in winter must have been frequent. The constant refrain of Ogden, who visited the country in the winter of 1826, bears on the scarcity of game, the near approach to starvation, throughout the months his party was there.[221] Yet it is not incredible in view of the deep snows that cover the land, the thick ice on lake and marsh, when travel is at a minimum and fish can no longer be taken. Snow falls early, in November, and lies on the ground in exceptional years well into May. The early spring, when winter stores have run low, is the critical period. When the lake remains frozen unduly long and snow still falls, starvation sets in. Then horses are killed, and finally the hides or even dressed elk skins are roasted in
their extremity. Nothing will induce them to turn to dog flesh.[222] [262]
When the snow leaves the prairies, they hasten to glean whatever roots have escaped the previous season's harvest. Then too a few trout may be had to eke out their subsistence.

Fishing

Fish, the primary food stuff, can be taken almost anywhere in 226
Klamath territory, but the supply is more plentiful in some sections than in others. Williamson river is one; fish can be caught there the year round, but in many other streams they run only in the spring.

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[220] Compare Gatschet, 1:xxix.

[221] Elliott, The Peter Skene Ogden Journals.

[222] This has served as a specific against smallpox, however.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	226
282. 1st salmon	•-	•o	•+	•+	•-	•-	•o	•+	•+	•-	•o	•+	•+	•o	•+	•+	
283. 1st sucker	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
284. 1st steelhead trout	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	
285. Taboo to catch salmon before rite	-	o	-	+	-	-	o	+	-	-	-	.	+	o	+	+	[784]
286. Steelhead	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	
287. Suckers	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
288. Taboo to eat salmon before rite	-	o	-	+	-	-	o	+	-	-	-	+	+	o	+	+	
289. Steelhead	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
290. Suckers	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
291. Spring of year	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
292. Priest prepares for rite	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	
293. Neighboring tribe holds (salmon) rite	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
294. Old man catches 1st fish	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
295. Anyone may catch 1st fish for rite	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	
296. Anyone may eat 1st fish	-	+	-	•-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
297. First (2) suckers burned	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
298. All of 1st catch eaten immediately	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
299. Punishment for removal of portion	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
300. Taboo against leaving in basket overnight	-								•+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	[784]

Gathering

Gathering Techniques and Observances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
•300a. Poles, staves for gathering acorns, pine cones	-	+	+	+	+	•[illegible]	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	222
•300b. Shepherd's crook stave	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	•+	
•301. Forked stick grapple	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	
•302. Straight pole	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
303. Straight pole with cross bar	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	
304. Also used for wood gathering	-	-	+								-	+	+	+	-	+	
305. Limbs shaken with hands, feet	-	-	+		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
•306. Sapling as ladder for climbing trees	-	-	+	•+	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
307. Double-pole ladder, buckskin rungs	-	-	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
308. Digging stick	•+	+	+	•+	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
309. Plain, pointed at one end	-	-	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	
310. Plain, bipointed	-	-	+	+	-	-	[illegible]	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
311. Crutch handled	+	+	+	•R	+	[illegible]	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
312. Seed plants sometimes broken by hand		•+	+	-	+	-	-		+	-	-		-	-	-	-	
313. 1st-fruits rite	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
314. Observed for: acorns	o	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	
315. Pine nuts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-						+	-	+	-	
316. Wokus (water lily seeds)	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
317. Ipos bulbs (Calochortus sp.)		+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
318. Manzanita berries						o	o						-	+	+	•o	
319. Annual; observed in	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	[221]
320. Springtime	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	
321. Midsummer	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
322. Fall of year	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
‡323. Number of days	10	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	[535]
324. Dancing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	
325. Praying	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	[782]
326. Singing	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	
326a. Feasting on 1st fruit	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	[533]
327. 1st fruit gathered thrown away	-	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	•+	•+	+	

Preagriculture (Other than Tobacco)

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
328. Burning for better wild-seed crops	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	•+	•+	•+	.	+	-	241

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
684. Separate hole	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	342
685. Hole rectangular or square	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	
685a. Secondary entry	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	(−)	∓	∓	∓	(+)	−	−	+	∓	
686. Ground level	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
687. Side or end of house	−	−	−	+	∓	∓	∓	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
688. For children	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	(−)	−	∓	+	−	−	−	−	+	
689. For deer, wood	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	∓	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
690. Draft hole	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	(−)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
691. Smoke hole	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	+	−	
692. Ceremonial use only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
693. Single fireplace	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	∓	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
694. Center of house	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	∓	∓	−	−	+	+	+	+	
695. Between center and door	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	∓	−	∓	∓	−	−	−	−	
696. Between draft hole and center post	−	−	−	−	+	∓	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
697. Beside main (ground) entrance.	−	−	−	−	−	∓	−	−	∓	∓	−	−	−	−	−	−	
698. On surface or in shallow depression	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	∓	+	+	−	+	+	+	∓	
699. In definite pit	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	∓	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
700. Cooking fire outside dwelling	+	+	∓	−	−	∓	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
701. Smoke hole	∓	+	+	+	+	∓	+	+	∓	∓	+	+	+	+	+	+	
702. Draft hole in rear of house	−	−	−	+	+	∓	+	−	∓	∓	∓	·	−	−	−	∓	
703. House ladder	+	+	−	∸	+	∓	+	+	∸	∓	∓	∓	−	−	∸	∓	
704. Notched plank or log	−	−	−	∸	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	
705. 2 poles, rungs tied between	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
706. Center post as ladder	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	∓	+	−	−	−	−	
707. Crosspieces lashed on	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
708. Interior wall coverings	−	−	−		+	∓	+		∓	∓	+	+	−	−	−	+	
709. Tule mats	−	−	−		−	∓	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
710. Hides	−	−	−		+	−	+		−	−	+	(+)	−	−	−	−	
711. Bark slabs to bank walls	−	−	−		−	−	−		∸	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	
712. Planks to bank walls	−	−	−		−	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
713. Bed scaffolds	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	∓	
714. Floor coverings and pallets	+	+	+	(∸)	+	+	+	+	∓	∓	+	+	+	+	+	+	
715. Mats	+	+	+	(−)	+	∓	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	
716. Loose grass or boughs	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
717. Pine-needle pallet	+	+	−		−	∓	−	−	∓	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
718. Wooden stool	−	−	−	(∓)	∓	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
719. Individually owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	∓	∓	+	+	+	+	·	∓	[423]
720. Chief nominal owner	−	+	+	+	+	∓	+	−	+	∓	∓	∓	+	+	·	−	
721. Rich man	+	+	−	+	+	∓	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	
722. Shaman	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
722a. Communally owned	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	∓	∓	−	−	−	−	·	∓	
723. Used as living house	+	+	+	∓	+	+	+	−	∓	∓	+	+	∓	−	−	∓	
724. 1-family	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	
725. Multifamily	+	+	+	−	+	∓	∓	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	
726. To sleep in, only	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
727. For sleeping, cooking	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	∓	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	
728. Serves as sweat house	−	(+)	+	∓	∓	∓	∓	+	∸	∓	∓	∓	+	+	−	−	[562]
729. Serves as assembly house	+	+	+	∓	∓	∓	+	+	∓	∓	∓	∓	+	+	+	∓	
730. Open to both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	∓	+	+	+	+	−	−	
731. Open to men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	∓	−	−	−	−	+	+	
732. Women admitted only during ceremonies	−	−	−	∓	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	[756]
733. Used for shamanistic activities.	∓	∓	∓	∓	(−)	(−)	∓	∓	∓	∓	∓	∓	∓	∓	∓	+	
733a. Winter use mainly	+	+	∓	−	+	−	∓	−	−	∓	+	∓	−	−	−	∓	[221] ●
734. Summer use mainly	−	−	−	−	∸	−	−	−	−	−	∸	∓	−	−	−	−	
735. Used throughout year	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	∓	−	−	+	+	+	∓	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524	2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
	2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
	2490. Moving figures	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
	2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	·	+	−	+
	2492. Done in winter only	+	•+	−	−						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	2493. Done any time, for fun	−	−	+							+	−	+	+	+	−	+
[481]	2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	−	•+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	2494a. Stilts	−	•+	−	−	•+	R	−	−	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−

Contests

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
526	2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2497. To throw man down	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
	2499. No tripping allowed	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	·	−
	2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	−	+	+	·
	2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								−	+	+	+	+	+
	2502. Dodging	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	(−)	−	+	−	+
	2503. Stones	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	−
	2504. Hard objects inside geese	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
	2505. Sand bag	−	−	−					•+	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
	2506. Tule, grass balls	−	+	−					−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	+
	2507. Two sides	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
	o2508. Number on each side	−	•5	−			1	·	15	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
	2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562]	2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[857]	2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	·	−
	2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	−	+	·	+
	2515. To mark and back	−	−	−			+	+	−	+	−	·	+	+	+	−	+
	2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+			+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·	+
	2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·	+

Storytelling

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
528	2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
	2520. Myths told at night	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•·		•+	•+
[516]	2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	·		−	+
	2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	•+	+	−			+		+	−	+	−	−	·		−	−
[784]	2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·		+	+
	2524. Rattlesnake will bite	−	+	·		+	+	+	+	−	·	+	−	·		·	−
	2525. Winter will come quickly	+	−	·						+	·	+	−	·		·	−
[887]	2526. Narrated by old people only	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	·		+	+
[515]	2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	•−	+	+			+				+	−	+	·		+	+
	2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	−	+	+			+				+	−	+	·		+	+

Social Dances

Circle Dances

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
535	2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	•R	•+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	−	R	−		−	−
[417]	2530. Performed in brush corral	−	−	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
	2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
[224]	2532. At fall rabbit hunt	−	−	−	−		−	+	−		−	−	−	−		−	−
● [221]	2533. In springtime	−	−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
	2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
[226]	2535. During communal fishing periods	+	+	+							+	−	−	−		−	−

K M middle Columbia, far below the Coast and California, and in turn
161 considerably above the Great Basin.[6]

The mind's eye, drawing upon descriptions of early explorers
000 and modern ethnographers,[7] can recreate the life of the early
nineteenth century. It is a life that moves through a succession
of activities with the seasons, each characterized by a community
of different size and constituency. On a miniscule scale they
resemble the "task groupings" which Anastasio has analysed in
the intertribal relations on the Plateau.[8]

K During the long winters, existence is centered in the permanent
M settlements, for the altitude of the Klamath Basin is over four
221 thousand feet and snow often drifts deep. An accrued depth of
132 six to eight feet is common; while in the exceptional winter of
133 1890-91 a figure of thirty feet, undoubtedly in drifts, was recorded
361 at the head of Agency Lake. Crude, circular bearpaw snowshoes
481 provide a poor means of winter travel, and the settlements tend
262 to become isolated; most people are forced to remain in the
villages, supplementing the meager winter catch with stores of
dried fish and meat, roots, seeds, and berries.

K From a distance, the winter settlement has the appearance of
M hillocks strung out along the bank or clustered in a sheltered
221 spot. In size it may range from several score houses—there are
361 perhaps a hundred house pits at one favored site on Klamath
342 Marsh, though not all may have been occupied at the same time
—down to tiny hamlets of one or two earth lodges and a few mat
huts.[9] Within the village, the earth lodges are the dominant structures,
K tures, with the domed huts flanking them. In Klamath settlements,
M communal storage pits shelter the bulk of supplies; but the
343 Modoc prefer to conceal foodstuffs in household caches some
251 distance from the houses.

One Klamath woman recalled her childhood hamlet, part of
K a settlement totaling roughly two dozen houses,[10] on the lower
361 reaches of the Williamson River. Here she and her parents lived
342 with her maternal uncle, the shaman later known as Alex Wilson,
whose earth lodge was the largest in the hamlet. Nearby was
another lodge, the residence of Hunter Wilson, brother of Alex
and headman of the family group. Some four or five mat-covered
K lodges and huts stood in the vicinity, the larger ones closer to
[343] the water for cooking and the sewing of tule mats, the smaller

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

Families K M

eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where 412
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K M
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [364]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K M
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M
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K 756 796 [221] shamans, individually or in a group, give public performances to invited audiences. It is at this time, too, that novices first demonstrate their powers. The guests bring their own food, depositing it outside the shaman's house, and take their place by families K M [778] [531] along the wall. A ceremonial pole has been erected outside, bearing painted designs and hung with symbols of the shaman's tutelary spirits. Inside, the house posts are also painted, and stuffed birds and animals, representing the shaman's powers, hang from the beams: they transform a residence into a holy place. The shaman wears sacred regalia, including a fillet of woodpecker scalps, and spectators must be clad in traditional K M [858] clothing. Children are excluded from all but the sleight-of-hand demonstrations at night, since at other times they might be imperiled. Modoc children are not allowed to attend any part of the seances.

Each shaman has an interpreter—who habitually assists him in curing as well—and who summons the spirits from their distant places, lights the shaman's pipe, repeats his words, and provides other aid. For the performance a caller is also chosen and, together with one or more singers, he leads the audience in dancing and in singing the sacred songs of the shaman.

For five days and nights—only nights for the Modoc—the performance continues. During this time the shaman, when he is not dancing, sits or lies on his bed and observes a fast. The first ceremony is a fire dance by the shaman and helpers while the caller invokes the spirits; it is followed by the singing of the spirit songs. Among the Modoc, successive nights are spent in singing the spirit songs, and for those shamans who are richly endowed with spirit associates, there is no repetition. In the longer Klamath ceremonies—which extend through the day as well—evenings are given over to shamanistic performances, restricted by the K M [789] Modoc to the final evening. Each shaman must demonstrate his ability to swallow fire and arrowheads; and some swallow splints, sticks, or prodigious quantities of water. The powers of many enable them to produce fish, pond-lily seeds, or blood in a basket of water; and some animate the stuffed skins suspended from the ceiling as well. During the entire five-day period the congregation follows ritual prescription. On no other occasion are this many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit and compelling in its demands. K M 756 796

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social bonds are threatened. K M 221 • 261 [356] During this time, says Ray, Modoc take pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers. K M [574] [685] [756] [796] [789]

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing. K M 261 22

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. K M 221 361 The decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. K M [501] Already, in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and Sprague.

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, which ensures a propitious run. K 226 823 On the lower reaches of Lost River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers K M 226 103 648

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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M draws upland Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute and gives to the
226 nearby settlement, the easternmost of the permanent villages of
103 the Klamath, the name, "Sucker-fishery." Others make their way
648 K to stone weirs, built, it is said, by Gmukamps himself, or to the
M lakes to fish with a variety of dip nets, gill net baskets, the two-
226 pronged harpoon and the multibarbed spear. At night, men set
forth in canoes upon the lake to fish by torchlight. Set lines are
K put out infrequently. While the men catch the fish—suckers,
M [251] salmon, and trout—their wives work ceaselessly, splitting them
and laying them in the sun to dry.

K Released from the protracted confinement to the winter settle-
M ments, tribesmen eagerly renew bonds with relatives and friends
221 from other villages. Related families may rendezvous to travel
222 together down to the fisheries and set up their lodges side by
[571] side. Then, as spring advances and the runs of suckers and
[602] salmon abate, the fishing settlements break up and parties of
[226] two or three families fan out along the flats and meadows to dig
[103] roots: the succulent camas, the nutlike ipos, yans, and the arrow-
root for which Chewaucan Marsh is named. In the watery flats
they seek the roots of tule and cattail; elsewhere they pick wild
K celery and mosses. There are the eggs of swan and other water-
M fowl to gather; trout in the streams to be caught; and for the
22 Modoc, antelope and mountain sheep to hunt. At this time, some
[361] areas are occupied that at other times are too cold or barren.

K If there is danger of hostile attack, the parties coalesce; and
M 22 under all circumstances they maintain a wary lookout. In the
726 north small bands make cautious excursions into the upper valley
of the Deschutes, watchful for raiding parties of Cayuse, Nez
K Percés, Warm Springs, and Paiute. Toward the east, Sycan and
M Chewaucan marshes are dug over by Klamath and Paiute. Fré-
222 mont once found the latter tract furrowed as if it had been
252 plowed. In many places the stone-lined earth ovens in which
camas and other vegetal foods were baked for winter storage
can still be seen.

K As the long summer days wear on, the pond-lily seeds, known
M as wokas, begin to ripen on the marshes, and once more the
221 people draw together. The Modoc congregate especially along
222 Tule and Lower Klamath Lake, while some join the Klamath
648 on Wokas Marsh. Many Klamath, together with a few Modoc

and Paiute, meet on the broad expanses of Klamath Marsh, K M
where, as Coville observes, over ten thousand acres of ripening 221
plants promise in good years an abundance not to be exhausted 222 [648]
by the demands of man. In later times Agents describe wokas as the most important single food of the Indians; and its specialized preparation is one of the most distinct features of their subsistence technology. Its importance is emphasized further by K
the circumstance that the month of its harvest, August, marks [805]
the beginning of the Klamath year. The wokas-gathering is preceded by shamanistic performances to ensure a plentiful crop. K M [756] [789]

Daily, the dugout canoes, somewhat smaller than those used in fishing and ordinary transport, slip out from the camps upon the K M
broad expanse of the waters. In the openwork bags twined from 50
tules, the pods accumulate until the canoe is full. One old woman 222
recalled how she and a girlhood chum learned how to collect the pond-lily seeds:

> We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were always lots of extra poles lying K
> around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for M
> lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules [252]
> to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them."[14]

While the women, old men, and children are occupied on the K M
marshes some of the men fare forth to hunt. The favored grounds 224
are in the east, where Klamath and Modoc pursue antelope, mule

season however is now late, and frosts warn that winter is near. K M 222 By mid-October, they have begun the homeward journey to their 517 settlements, there to rebuild the earth lodges, gather firewood, K M and prepare for the long siege of winter. 221 •

Throughout the cycles of the seasons, the tribesmen live under 361 a sense of dependent involvement in a universe that was created K in the mythic age by supernatural beings who, establishing the M 82 present order, also chose their present form within it. Among the creatures of this world, man is less the exploiter than a fellow being, a relationship honored by returning to the water the gall of a fish that had been caught in order that the fish be requickened, as well as in the annual ceremonies of the first sucker and the ripened wokas. Each individual may draw close to the sources of power; and among the Klamath neither age nor sex is a barrier. The young boy at puberty may be sent on K vigil to sacred place—in mountains and at certain rivers or lakes— 881 there to fast, pile stones, run, and swim. 787 In time, he may faint, awaken with blood gushing from his mouth, and hear the song that is his power. A girl during the time of her puberty dance goes off to sleep apart during the day; then she too may hear a song. Those mourning a deceased mate or child may "travel," K [765] seeking solace and power, for the spirit confers power through pity. Those who seek help desire a specific power, and they may K 787 pray for prowess in hunting, gambling, in attracting a mate, or in acquiring wealth. One who already has a spirit associate may seek for others; and some, either through inheritance or by the successive acquisition of tutelaries, may go on to become shamans. Some persons may reject the call. One middle-aged woman recounts a waking dream she had in her girlhood of a stag in full antlers rising out of the waters. Had she followed the opening thus offered she might have acquired great power, but she was afraid and let the chance slip by.

Among the Modoc, says Ray, powers come only to those who M 787 seek to become shamans. The call, which comes in a dream, is 756 legitimate only in mature men and women past menopause and [885] may not be experienced in old age. The seeker, like his Klamath counterpart, undertakes a five-day quest; but the chief of the spirit abodes in which he spends his vigil are the house pits of deceased shamans. Those spirits that come to him choose him

*657 177 178 262 Agents shows that they consistently tended to undervalue the contribution made by native foods to the Klamath economy. From the first statistical entry in 1882, when they are estimated to contribute forty per cent of the food supply, native foods steadily decline in the records, leveling off from 1888 to 1893 at approximately twenty per cent, and, after a spirited fluctuation from then to 1901, rising slowly to ten per cent in 1904. That dependency upon these foods declined from total to partial reliance is admissible. O. C. Applegate, while Superintendent, reported that by the turn of the century some of the food resources had begun to dwindle under intensive use. He found the fish less abundant than in the halcyon days of the first Agent, and observed that both water fowl and prairie chickens had been overhunted.[71]

While conceding the decline, a critic may well find fault with the bland assessment of Elisha Applegate a decade earlier (1891) that native food quests were then "indulged in more as incidents and to add variety of life than as occupations to be seriously depended upon."[72] The year after Applegate made his report, one graduate of the Indian school, upon returning home, saw things in a different light. "Whenever I got job, I pitched hay. I did fishing and hunting, and I had plenty to eat all the time . . . lots of deer meat, and I used to pick wokas too."[73] If this was an indulgence, it was in sheer survival.

The sources of error are not hard to find. Administrators could form only the most general opinion of the contributions made by native foods, and must have tended to judge from the examples provided by Indian employees immediately at hand and from the more acculturated Indians. Moreover, their reports were in part designed to illustrate the progress which their charges had made away from their former customs. Accordingly, they understated the degree to which native economic activities conditioned the acceptance of new modes of earning a livelihood and supplemented those which had been taken up.

*657 177 Consider, by way of example, the pursuits which in the 1880's could be combined according to taste, need, and season.

178 221 433 [313] [464] [489] Lumbering and logging were winter and spring enterprises, with intermittent logging taking place in the fall. Labor for the contractor at the Fort and for settlers ran from spring through

fall; while freighting, limited by road conditions, had the same 657* 177
range of seasons. 178 221•

For the farmer, splitting rails and fencing started in the winter 433
and ranged toward spring, as did the clearing of ground. Plow- [464]
ing and sowing of grain might start in March, while vegetable [489]
gardens were not planted before May or June. Harvesting and [241]
haying took place in late summer and threshing in the fall.

The stockman rounded up and branded his cattle at first in the [231]
fall and later in the spring. He sold his beef in the fall, then drove his herd to winter in the upper valley of the Sprague.

Those who relied upon aboriginal foods fished in the late winter and early spring, dug roots or hunted antelope and mule deer in late spring, gathered wokas, wild fruits and berries in the fall, hunted in the Cascades in the fall, and trapped for furs
in the winter. 657*

Beyond this lay the domestic cycle. Homes were built or re- 221
paired in the spring and fall, supplies were bought in the fall, 342
and fuel was gathered in the fall and winter. 356

This summary, bald as it is, will illustrate the fact that many 313
more ventures were now open to the enterprising, as well as a 657*
wider range of relationships. It was possible to draw from 433
several cycles activities that were seasonally compatible. Thus, 464
when the harvests were in, fully one-half to two-thirds of the 177
men might leave the reservation on passes to work for whites, 178
taking their families with them.[74] Frequent crop failures drove many to seek outside employment to provide for the coming winter. Because new tastes had given rise to new needs, many at this time forsook those traditional pursuits that conflicted with more lucrative employment. Nor did money alone lie at the root of those preferences. Work for white settlers and freighting provided variety and seasonal mobility, opportunities to meet people, to change scenery, and to escape on occasion beyond the rule (however benevolent in intent) of the Agent.

The new opportunities were open primarily to men, consonant 657*
with the roles of the sexes in nineteenth-century rural America. 433
For them the new system, aside from a certain administrative 177
favoritism, provided an equal chance for advancement. It is no 178
accident that a number of the earliest employees of the Agency [567]
were Pit River Indians, of whom it was later said: ". . . as a

[p.343-B]

524 857 play with a tiny bow of willow, little more than a toy, which they learn to make from an older boy or from their father. But by the time a boy is six or seven his father presents him with a real bow made from juniper. It is smaller than the large yew war and hunting bows of the men, and the arrows are blunt. The boys practice shooting at targets around the camp. They will not begin to do any hunting for several years, but groups of boys imitate the shooting contests of their elders. These will be described in more detail in a later section since it is older boys who spend the most time in these pursuits.

868 857 481 Another favorite activity of all Klamath children is swimming. Very young children are not allowed near the water, but by five or six years of age the child is paddling around in shallow water under the watchful eye of parents or of older children who help the younger ones to learn. The teacher holds the child around the waist and tells him to splash with his arms and legs. In other instances the child learns by himself or by verbal instructions. One informant related the following incident:

> I thought I was swimming when I had my feet on the bottom. Someone laughed at me and said that wasn't swimming. He told me to kick my feet, too.

524 857 Several games are played in the water. The children race to see who will be the first to get into the water. Then, teams of four or five line up opposite each other and splash until one side gives up. There are also diving contests to see who can go the farthest underwater before coming to the surface.

In addition to the active outdoor play of children, which is possible only in the summer months, there are games and amusements which can be played indoors at any time.[35] Many of these are enjoyed equally by adults and by children.

Individuals of both sexes and all ages enjoy top spinning. Adults show the children how to set the tops in motion by twirling the stem between their palms, but then the children play by themselves. The children also learn from adults or older children how to make their own tops of bark, wood, or pine pitch. The best ones, according to informants, are from hardened pitch.

> We used to go out and get pine gum and chew it all up. Then we made it flat and round with our hands and got some boys to fix the hole in the middle for the stick. You have to put the gum in cold water till it gets hard. They lasted pretty good unless we dropped them or left them out in the sun.

221 During the winter there is little economic activity, and families spend most of the time in

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[35] Klamath games and amusements are described in detail by Dorsey (1901), pp. 14-27, Spier, pp. 76-86, and Voegelin, elements 2170-2528.

221 [592] [517] [857] the warmth of the winter dwelling. There are usually two or three related families sharing a single winter house; and evenings are spent in playing games, telling stories, or gossiping, as well as in making baskets and manufacturing fish nets. Small children are not allowed outdoors in the cold, but older ones go out some days to slide on the ice or downhill on pieces of bark.

[524] Cat's cradle is a popular pastime engaged in by both adults and children in the winter. The number of possible figures is great. Coyote, Skunk, Bear, Bullfrog's Tail, Owl's Eyes, Sunrise, Boy Running, and Man Chasing a Rabbit are but a few of the many that most individuals can make. Children learn how to make the figures from adults or from older children. However, if the children play at cat's cradle very often, the string is taken away with the comment, "You'll stretch the months if you do that so much." There is apparently no such restriction on adults.

In one version of string figures an adult fixes a loop in the string. A child is told to put his finger through the loop, which is then pulled tight around the finger; and he must tell his name before he can be released.

538 [221] Every night throughout the winter months myths are told. They are never told in the summer or daytime lest the narrator age quickly. Most myths serve for amusement, not being regarded as especially sacred. Stories about Creator are taken somewhat more seriously than others. "You have to keep quiet and listen to them." It is from the Creator myths that children first learn about sacred beings.

There are many stories explaining the origin of local geographic features. Most of the myths have personified animal characters. There are a few tales that offer advice to the children. After stories about hunting or gathering, the teller may turn to the children and say, "If you want to be a good man (or woman), do like that."

In contrast to many other tribes there is very little formality connected with the telling of myths among the Klamath. In the evening an old man or woman starts to tell stories, and others gather around. Young adults never tell them because a storyteller begins to age rapidly.

The children lie down to listen; they may request their favorites and are free to complain that the narrator is not telling the story right, if they do not like his particular version. A few old people are recognized as the best raconteurs.

Adults also listen to the stories and make requests. Certain characters are especially liked; and children often ask for tales about Little Weasel, Chipmunk, Coyote, and Skunk. Skunk is funny because he thinks himself very clever, but all his undertakings are fiascos. After a Skunk story, children are warned, "Don't be like that." A few stories, such as those about Owl, are told to frighten children into behaving. As the evening wears on, the children fall asleep one by one. Indeed, one of the main

[p. 347A]

857 526 far. Some contests utilize a stationary target. In others, arrows and darts are shot at a rolling ring. The rings used by boys are smaller than the men's.

868 Boys soon learn to make their own willow darts for the games, are proud of them, and often decorate them by wrapping green tules [531] around them in designs. The darts are then blackened in the fire and the tules unwrapped, leaving white markings where the tules had been. Such negative pyrographic patterns are common on canoe poles and paddles. Girls similarly decorate sticks "just for fun"; they do not enter into the dart contests. The boys do not learn to make their own bows and arrows until puberty or after.

Training in the techniques of fishing, gathering, hunting, and various manufactures begins in late childhood. [262] The principal food of the Klamath is fish, but vegetable products and game are also used. 221 The spring, summer, and fall months are spent in travel for the seasonal food supply. Early spring sees a move to fishing grounds along the river. In the summer, families move to the prairies for roots and berries. Some go to the mountains to hunt. In August and September families congregate to gather the wild water-lily seed along the marshes. In the fall there are hunts, and all return to the winter villages where they will remain through the coldest months of the year.[63]

226 868 The first sucker run in the spring is of special significance and attended by ritual and taboo.[64] Small children are warned to stay away from the river, lest they get sick. The first catch is divided among all; the entrails are carefully gathered up and thrown back into the river to insure the continued abundance of fish. It is the children who are sent with the entrails to the proper spot on the river. [251] While the men continue fishing, the women clean and dry the fish for winter storage. Girls of eight or nine help their mothers by collecting willow branches and arranging the fish on them to dry.

After the first run, the restrictions are relaxed. Children are then allowed to gather along the banks and watch, so long as they do not bother the men. Boys help by dipping fish out of the water by hand and by scaring fish toward the nets; but they do not work with the nets, which take at least two full-grown men to handle.

868 226 Spears are also used for taking fish. Boys of ten or older are taken out by their fathers into shallow water to learn how to watch for the air bubbles that indicate the presence of fish. The father shows the boy how to impale the victim on a many-pointed spear and finally lift it from the water with a single-pointed gaff. For

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[63] Spier, pp. 10 f.

[64] Varieties of fish caught, fishing techniques, and customs connected with fishing are treated in Barrett (1910), pp. 249-251, Spier, pp. 147-155, and Voegelin, elements 190-300.

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159
156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from
his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never
[461] worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen.
Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five
[871] school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from
the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at
[592] home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger sib-
[434] lings may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal
income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly
[657] for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the
bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very
reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit
[582] Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging
company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the
[648] logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually
•[221] away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when
drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father
does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household
[593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his
father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion
knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this per-
[848] son is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity,
which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's
*159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards
156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or
593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting,
and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits
the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls,
and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt
and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common
[421] activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to
one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his be-
longings, and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle
for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not
borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which
engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the
father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom
she spends much time.

*159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks
156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the
law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time
[673] loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his
buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom
[512] awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away
from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which
may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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[115]

THE MONTHS OF THE YEAR.

OBTAINED FROM "PETE" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

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[226] [251] [222] [252] [262]

Gáptsatka É-ukshikni mák̲laks páha udsáks; lúela kápto Yá-ag;
In the month of the small finger the Lake Indians dry the large sucker; kill gudgeons at the Bridge;

Ktaí-Túpakshi tk̲álmakstant otí'lks lúela hō'ank. At sa kó-iχaktchuapka,
of Standing-Rock to the westward fish-dam kill when jumping. Now they will leave home (soon),

at kámals pahá; kó-iχaga, k̲ä'shla sa, k̲olálsuapk mat sa, tawiksálsuapk
and dry fish they prepare; they leave, go after ipos they, will gather kol they, will gather tantks

mat s at, pō'ksalsuapk mat sa, at sa pópakuapk sátnalhuapka sa, suaítlal-uapk; saká a pō'ks.
they, will dig camass they, they will bake (it), roast it (3 days) they, roast it (1 day); eat raw camass.

[251] [222]

Tχópowatka pahá at pō'ks iwídshat, at É-uksi génuapka woksalsuap-
In the thumb-month dried then camass they put under ground, now for Klamath Marsh they will start to gather

kátki giug; káyudsh nû'k̲a wókash. At nû'ka wókash, wóksalsha at túnepni
lily-seed; not yet is ripe pond-lily seed. Now has ripened lily-seed, they gather (it) for five

waítash, kánktak wókslat Eúkshikni. Sníkanua nadshgshaptánkni waítash;
days, so long may gather (it) the Lake people. They let it ripen during six days;

nadshgshaptánkni waítash wókash shutä'shlat, awō'lat, péksat, shiulína,
during six days the nuphar-seed they grind, cook, rub fine, winnow,

[435] lulína. Nā'sh wíllishik pálasham-wáχoksh láp tála, lχálχamnishti lulínash
make flour. One sack of the flour-bags two dollars, in a long, heavy sack the ground-up wókash

[222] túnep tála. Nû'χatk wókash iwiχí'e k̲á-itua nû käíla. "Tánk a íwíχa i?
five dollars. Roasted lily-seed filled in sacks none in the country. "How many did fill you?

[229] lápkshapta kán íwí'χa willíshik?" "nû té-unip willí'shik iwí'χa!" Wé-
seven who did fill sacks?" "I ten sacks have filled up!" Wo-

wan'sh pí'la wō'kahla, hí'hassuaks gánkanka paχō'les, tchä'-u. At sa héwi-
men only gather wókash, the men hunt mule-deers, antelopes. Now they will haul

[251] uapk, skúya wókash. At a sha í hí'wi-uapk; áwalues sk̲éna, máktsina
(it) home, crush lily-seed. Just they home will bring it; to the island they row, camp there

[501] Nû'shkshi, wō'ns í'lktsat Lĕmé-isham Nutē'ks, Vushí'nkam Tínuash, Lál'lāks,
at Skull-place, canoes they put away in lake bottom at Thunderbolt, at "Snake-Drowned", at "Slope-steps"

Lkō'm Ā'-ush; k̲ák̲okish lólokagish ktélχa, Stópalsh-Tamā'dsh, Tó-ilkat
at Black Lake; at the ford the rifle drop, at Peeled-Pine, at Bell-Pyramid

pí'la wí'hla; tchía nánuk K̲ák̲-Ksháwaliäksh; nánka tchía Tchíkass-
stops every one at Raven's Place; some (will) stop at Bird's

Walákgishtat.
Lookout.

*539 Spéluishtka at héwi, iwí-idsha wókash. Nāt a génanuapk! nánuk
In the index-month they haul, take home the lily-seed. We will go there! all
221 [222] nat éna! nátoks waítuapk, wewálha wátch, hū'masht nat gī waíta wéwal-
of us carry it! but we will wait one day, are sore (our) horses, therefore we wait one day because
hasht wátch kä'mat. Nad gitá piénuapk pólōk̲uantch, ktälowalshuápka
are sore horses on back. We there will scrape up moth-chrysalids, gather pine-nuts
nād. Tchatchápēlu, hóllaksh, tūtánksham, hahashkemólsham, lolóloisam,
we. Sweet resin, winged pine-nuts, blackberry, black cherry, wild gooseberry,
tsinéχam, klá-ads, wáshlalam íwam nā'd stá-ila. K̲ó-idse, shtéaltk ktä'lo.
sort of wókash, prunes, squirrels' huckleberries we gather. Of bad taste, full of resin pine-nuts (are)

[231] [222] [251] [252] [272] Tχópowatka í-umämi wátch lalá-a; gépgapēle mák̲laks k̲ēlü'wiank,
In the thumb-month at berry-time mares foal; return the Indians having done (gathering),
at wéwanuish o-olalóna, at sa í'-umaltka. Bū'nuapka tchä'kēle í'wam,
the females dry berries by the fire, they return from berry-gathering. They will drink red juice of huckleberries,
tchilálat hûn í'wam. Ánshat ánika shash í'wam; wí'dsika nánka í'wam.
boil the berries. You may go and ask them for huckleberries; retentive some (are) of berries.
Túpeluish aní'k tēlū'ks, tchákēla n's skaí tak; tsákēlatka n's skaítki stá.
To next lodge I send tule-basket, willow-basket to me to give in; in the basket to me to give it filled.
Pahápk tchísh íwam lúitki n's léwitchta á. K̲á-i sheshätuí'shtka.
Dried too huckleberries to give to me they did not want. Not I intend to sell them.

[796] [346] [222] Spéluishtka spū'klishtat kshíwalχa, papiä'na luldamalákstat. At hû'k
In the index-month in the sweat-house they dance, inaugurate by feast the winter-house. Now such a man
kshū'n híwidshuapk, at hū't hí'wi; túnepni nā'd shópelakuapk. "Tū'sh
hay will haul home, and that man hauls (it) in; in five (stacks) we will stack (it) up. "Where
nû shópelakuapk"? "lápash í'lχat, atí'sh shuí'nshnank í'lχat; í' tchkash í
I shall stack it"? "in two stacks heap it ye, in a long-stretching (stack) stacking heap it ye! you also you
nū'sh shatuáyuapk mbúsant. Únīpni waítash í n's shatuáyuapka."
me must help to-morrow. Four days you me must help."

Tátχēlam hehátχe túpak.
In the midfinger-month fall the leaves.

Gáptchēlam shinák̲tishtka kä'na.
In the ring-finger month it is snowing.

Gáptsatka mû kä'na.
In the month of the small finger heavily it snows.

Tχópowatka wétko é-ush; kéna.
In the thumb-month is frozen the lake; it is snowing.

[796] Spéluishtka ktō'tsa mû; wála kshiúlgishtat.
In the index-month it rains much; they dance in the dance-house.

Tátχēlam tsuám lúela Nílaksi Tsuyakē'ksni.
In the midfinger-month large suckers kill at Nilaks the Linkville Indians.

[226] Gáptsēlam shináktishtka udsáksalsha K̲ók̲ētat, kä'shla sa.
In the ring-finger month they take large suckers in Lost River, (and) get ipos.

NOTES.

*539 221 This text intends to give a sketch of the various occupations of the northern tribe or É-ukshikni in every month of the year, and is partially worded in a form which may be called dramatic. These statements are not always arranged in logical order, but a profusion of ethnologic details gives intrinsic value to them.

[805] The months of the Máklaks year do not coincide with the months of our calendar, for they extend from one new moon to the next one, and therefore should be more properly called *moons* or *lunations*. Twelve and a half of them make up the year, and they are counted on the fingers of both hands. The first moon of their year begins on the first new moon after their return from the wókash-harvest at Klamath Marsh, which is the time when all the provisions and needful articles have been gathered in [796] for the winter. Work is then stopped and the communal dances begin, the doctor-[224] dances as well as those conducted by the chiefs, and everybody participates in them except those who are out hunting in the mountains during the latter part of the year. This mode of counting the moons on the digits was once popular, but on account of its imperfections it is now forgotten by the majority of the tribe. Instead of it they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as: udsaksä'mi, "in the big sucker time"; i-umä'mi, "in the berry season", or they use our calendar months.

The first moon mentioned in our text, gáptche, answers generally to our May. The two next moons are counted on the thumb and forefinger of the hand not used immediately before; with this last moon their year has come to an end. The next five moons are counted again on the digits of the first hand, and so forth. The half moon making up their full year is not accounted for in this text.

[823] 74, 2. Ktai-Túpakshi is a locality of renown in the folklore of the Klamath tribe. [226] It lies near the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, on the property of an Indian named Tchélo*χ*ins. The otílks is the fish-dam (from utila), where the Indians wade in the water with their dip-nets and catch the fish while it ascends the river in spring-time in enormous quantities. This fish-dam does not reach the water's surface.

[193] 74, 2. The direct object of lúela is kápto, its subject máklaks hō'ank.

74, 3. kámalsh pahá means: they dry the fish which they have just caught by exposing it to the sun on limbs of trees, and then make kámalsh by pounding it. Kámalsh is a derivative from gáma, to pound.

[192] 74, 3. kó-i*χ*aga is identical with gúikaka; derived from kúi, "away, far off"; gui*χ*átchka is: to start out annually to the prairies where roots etc. are harvested.

[262] 74, 5. saká a pō'ks: they eat *sometimes* the camass raw, but only at the time when [222] digging it. Bulbs, roots, pods, chrysalids and berries are gathered by women only.

[251] 74, 6. pahá at p.; this is equivalent to pahátko pō'ks iwídshat. They bake the camass and put it in their cachés at the place where they intend to stay next winter.

[796] 74, 8. shníkanua. During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process, [222] the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges [192] public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the [415] women, and they go to work again in their canoes.

74, 9. shiulína. From the preceding we should expect shiulínat, lulínat.

74, 10. wílishik is the generic term for larger kinds of provision-sacks; it means here a sack of fifty pounds seed or grain, while the wá*χ*oka holds hundred pounds. In pálasham-wá*χ*oksh, however, the latter word is taken in its *generic* sense of sack, bag.

*539 221 [192] All these different kinds of sacks or bags were originally made of bulrush-stalks (tule) and the táyash was made of straw.

[415] 74, 11. k̲aítua nû kä'ila. The sense is incomplete. Probably shäyuakta is left out: "I do not know of any in the whole country", käíla often standing for käílatat.

[192] 74, 14. áwalues. There are several islands in the shallow waters of the vast extent of Klamath Marsh, but only *one* is meant here.

[103] 74, 15. wō'ns íiktsat. They submerge their dug-outs at several places on the beach, where they are certain to find them in the next wókash-season.

[501] [103] 74, 17. pi'la wi'hla (or píla wíllash) contains perhaps a proper name of a locality, or stands in connection with Tóilkat, "at the Rail-Pyramid"; wílhaslash means top, apex. The stations from the "Ford" to "Bird's Lookout" are passed by the tribe when they return home with the lily-seed harvest-crop. "They drop the rifle" is: they take a rest. All these localities are either on the open waters of Klamath Marsh or on Williamson River, which forms its outlet.

[484] [492] 75, 1. iwí-idsha wókash. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Williamson River is from 20 to 25 miles, and horses carrying wókash can make it in one day. The next day they return to carry another load.

[482] 75, 2. nátoks waítuapk: we will lie over one day to let our horses rest, or recover from the swellings on their backs. Nátoks stands for nát toks.

[824] 75, 5. klá-ads is probably a kind of wild prunes. See Dictionary: kĕlátch.

[192] 75, 8. widsika íwam. "Some are economical with their own berries, and prefer not to scatter them in the hands of others"; íwam, huckleberry, has become the generic term for all berries, and i-umä'mi is "*berry-season*".

[346] 75, 11. spû'klish here means the large communal sweat-house; it is used frequently for dances and kshiuwál χishtat, contr. kshiû'lχishtat might stand instead of spúklishtat.

75, 11. papiä'na, vocalic dissimilation for papa-éna; derived from pán, to eat.

[193] 75, 13. atí'sh etc. "Heap ye up that hay in two stacks, which must have a lengthy, long-stretching, and not a high, cone-shaped form!" For heaping up long stacks one verb is here used, and another for making the high, round ones.

PŬ'LAM SHUMSHE-ÉLSHTAT SHASHAPKÉLÉASH.

A SKETCH OF BALL'S MARRIED LIFE.

[115]

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 593 Póluk k̲ä'liak snáwäds t'shín. Tsúi snawä'dshla Pámpiam pä'-ia lupí';
Ball he without a wife grew up. Then he married Pámpi's daughter at first;
tsúi wä'kala, tsúi tatá mántsak mbusä'lan gí. Tsúi kä'tsa, tsúi mbusä'-
and she had a babe, and then quite a while he lived with (her). Then he left (her), and lived with
alpeli pän, tsúi pän kétsa sissû'kuk tsû'ssak. Násh wä'ka sham k̲läká, nä'sh
(her) again, and again left (her) quarrelling continually. One babe to them died, another
tchía; at sa sipí'tχa, tsúi nä's shnawä'dshla pän Látsam pä'-ia; wáts säwána
lived; still they separated, then one (woman) he married after (this) Látchash's daughter; horses he gave

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

Ámpχänkni mák̲laks.

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AN OPINION ABOUT THE WASCO INDIANS.

Obtained in the Klamath Lake Dialect from Charles Preston.

Ámpχänkni gátpa mû shanáholiuk snáwedsh, k̲á-i spûní vushúk;
One Wasco came very much desiring a wife, (but) not gave from fear;
Ámpχänkni shawígatk; k̲íya Ámpχänkni. Génuapk túmi É-ukskni
the Wascoes are irritable; Liars are the Wascoes. Would go many Lake men
Ámpχäni sheshatuíknapk lû'ksh mä'ntch-gítko; skútash shanáholiuk 3
to the Dalles, would trade off slaves formerly; blankets (they) wanted
pä'niak, skútash î'ktsa Ámpχäni yámnash tchîsh. Nūsh sápash gépgapē-
being unclothed, blankets they fetched at the Dalles beads also. In one month they would
liuapk, taíalsh épkuapk, káwi tchîsh épkuapk. Tánni sha géna? té-unipni
return, salmon they would bring, lamprey-eels too bring. How many of them did go? ten men
a-i sha géna, snáwedsh tchîsh géna, k̲á-i sha i-a vû'sha Ampχänkníshash. 6
they went, (a) woman also went, not they of course feared the Wascoes.
Ámpχänkni ak sas hushtsóχuapk; sasságanki î gî! K̲á-i nû shtínta
The Wascoes them might kill; imperilled ye are! Not I like
Ampχänkníshash, k̲á-i tídshi, k̲á-i tídsh hû'shkank. Hä' tidshí gîtk
the Wasco people, not good (they are), not well intentioned. If good-hearted were
mák̲laks Ámpχänkni, tánkt nî gē'nt, sasságuk k̲á-i géna. Tídshi hä'k 9
people the Wascoes, then I may go there, being in peril I will not go. Good if to be
túmēnank génuapka nû.
I hear (them) shall go I (there).

NOTES.

The Wasco Indians form a portion of the Upper Chinook Indians of Columbia River. Their ancient homes were around and at the Dalles, and a few of them still live there, while others now inhabit a section of the Warm Spring Indian reservation on Des Chutes River, Oregon. The Dalles formerly were, and are still to a certain extent, the locality, where all the tribes of the Columbia River Basin sold and bartered their products and commodities. The Warm Spring Indians call the Wascoes: Waskopam, "men of the grass region"; the Klákamas-Chinooks call them Guithlasko. The Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians also were among the frequenters of the intertribal market, exchanging there the slaves caught on their raids for ponies, provisions etc., when they went down to the Dalles on their annual trips. My Indian informant, Charles Preston, had lived long at the Dalles, and also gave me a list of Wasco words and sentences.

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*539 148, 2-4. Yánakänin for yanakänini; cf. suffix -ni, -nini in Dictionary. mä'nsh for mä'ntch. pä'shtak for páhasht ak, cf. pä'sht, 147, 17. for páhasht.

262 148, 5. Nú'tak. This grass belongs to the genus Glycerium, as identified by Dr.
824 E. Foreman, and produces a tiny, grayish bright seed of tchípash size. The flowers
192 are of a light red color. The grass is found around the agency buildings and grows
about one foot high.

148, 7. Páwash properly means *tongue*.

148, 11. Pú'ks or *camass*. Its bulb is one of the principal food-articles of all the northwestern Indians, but does not grow in profusion in the warmer portions of California. It is of the magnitude of the walnut, very saccharine and nutritious, ripens in May and June, and by the roasting or baking process described in the text becomes as hard as stone. The Máklaks call it after pú'ka *to roast*, the Shasti name is sók, the Pit River name ähualé, while the name kamas, "sweet," is of Nutka origin. The botanists call the plant Scilla or Camassia esculenta. Cf. *Note* to 146, 1.

148, 14. ípakt, metathesis of ípkat, tne conditional of ípka to lie there, to remain.

[222] 148, 16. púlyuantch. The gathering of this pupa or chrysalid and of its caterpillar,
[462] the syeshl'sh, is chiefly done by the women of the tribes, who find them imbedded at
[252] no great depth in the sandy ground around pine trees. Another chrysalid, the kûll'ga,
is collected and roasted by them in the same way and tastes like eggs. kshû'n puetilank: putting grass under the chrysalids, not under the heated stones. The stones are replaced by other heated ones, as soon as they have cooled off; the larva assumes a black color after roasting and tastes like eggs. See púlyuantch in Dictionary.

[221] 148, 19. guiyakshä'mighshta. The season of the year, when the exodus of the whole
[222] tribe to Klamath Marsh takes place, where pond-lily seed is collected for the winter,
[193] is about the middle of June. The ending -ta is an abbreviation of the case suffix -tat.
Three seasons are stated in the text, when the peeling of the inner or fibre bark of small pine trees is performed; of these the camass-season precedes the exodus to Klamath Marsh by a few weeks only, and the fishing season lasts from February to the end of the summer. Of course, the peeling of the kápka-pine coincides with the season when the sap ascends through the young tree. The bark is removed from about five feet to fifteen or twenty feet above the ground, and most of the beautiful pines treated in this manner are doomed to premature decay, though many survive the operation. The aspect of a forest with some of the pine trees peeled is rather singular.

148, 21. shánks hak, contraction of shánkish hak or ak.

149, 1. ka tánian for ka taniáni "so much in width or extent." The bud of the táksish has a width of about half an inch. Cf. *Note* to 146, 1.

149, 3. 4. tók. This aquatic grass grows about two feet high; by ó-ushtat is meant, here and in tal'kal: Upper Klamath Lake.

(194) 149, 3. pä'lpali, vocalic dissimilation of pálpali or pä'lpäli; cf. taktä'kli 149, 14.

149, 5. Tchí'psam is a prairie grass on which the brown tchípash-seed grows.
This seed is extremely small, and it takes a long time before a sufficient quantity of it is
(178) gathered to afford a meal for a family. Still smaller is the nútak-seed, and both are
striking instances of the persistence of the Indians in keeping up their old mode of living, when by agriculture and stock-raising they could procure provisions with infinitely less trouble and in much shorter time.

The western and southern limits of the range are easiest to define because of the topography and the proximity of other tribes. To the east and north the open deserts and broken country extend indefinitely. The nearest of the shifting settlements of Northern Paiute on the east at Goose and Summer lakes are sixty and more miles from Klamath lake. Those of the Warm Springs tribes are one hundred and fifty miles distant, more than halfway across Oregon. Teit's data show that more than a century ago the neighbors of the Klamath in this direction were the Sahaptins at no great distance and beyond them Molala and Cayuse. 101 131 133 [175]

The wide plain south of Klamath Falls seems to have been unoccupied. The Modoc lived south of the Lost River hills about Tule lake and on lower Klamath lake. My Klamath informant doubted that they lived on Miller lake, or had permanent settlements on Lost river. Both tribes congregated at one place only for the early spring fishing, namely on Lost river, a mile or more below the buttes at Olene. The Klamath camp site is on the north bank, the Modoc on the south. 101 131 174 [226]

The southern boundary of Klamath territory skirts the Klamath valley from this place as far downstream as Spencer creek, near the California-Oregon line, below the canyon of the Klamath. Below this on the river are the Shasta, whose northernmost outposts are on Shovel creek and north of the river on Jennie creek. The Klamath have no settlements on the river, but fish, hunt, and gather roots at such points as Keno, Spencer creek (ma'lbuḳ'is), and at laik'ělmi, five or six miles upstream from Dorris (?). 101 131 [226] [224] [222]

The western boundary is the Cascade watershed, including, however, territory on the northwest side of Mount Pitt (Mount McLoughlin) and again southwest of Crater lake. The Klamath hunt northwest of this conspicuous mountain in a region of many streams called la'ndjli (possibly an American name). Fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake is Huckleberry mountain (iwumkä'ni, huckleberry place) where the Klamath meet the Molala similarly engaged in berry picking. The latter regularly occupy the highlands of the upper Rogue river drainage above Trail creek or some point below Prospect. These Molala form a southern extension of that tribe from the upper Umpqua drainage.

The northern and eastern boundaries are somewhat indefinite. Palmer stated:

103 131 361 II. *Agency lake group (kowa'cdikni).*—The winter home of these people is on Agency lake, the northern arm of Klamath lake. My questioning did not make it wholly certain that this group is independent of ă'ukckni. In fact they join them at k'ᴇtai'di (19) on Williamson river for the spring fishing.

[756] [226] 44, kowa'cdi is close to the mouth of Wood river. The site is a quarter-mile long. One informant stated that it contained twenty houses, another two earth-lodges (one a shaman's), not incompatible statements. A spring here permits fish to remain all winter. A few houses are at another spring a quarter-mile east.

[133] [222] III. *Lower Williamson river group (du'kwakni).*—These settlements are close to the mouth of Williamson river. This region, du'kwa, is one of marsh, separated by a considerable section of open and higher plain (pᴇnö'ŋs) from the nearest ă'ukckni settlements. Pᴇnö'ŋs seems not to have been occupied in pre-reservation days, although du'kwakni and ă'ukckni now live there. Du'kwa people seem also to live across the lake at Pelican bay, the home of the gu'mbötkni. But whether this is a regular thing, or only a matter of my du'kwa informant's personal history, I am not sure. At any rate they go to dig roots in the marshes of the western and northern sides of Klamath lake in summer, not to Klamath marsh. Their winter settlements are on the isolated bits of higher ground within a mile of the river mouth, and on the marsh front immediately south. Most of these settlements, too, are on the right bank of the river.

30, mo'aḳsda, five or seven earth-lodges on the left bank nearly a mile above the mouth. Five more houses stood on the opposite bank with numerous springs behind them and the du'kwakni cremation pile a half-mile above.

31, wīckămdi, four or five houses on the right bank below this, one or two a little below, then a cluster of four and another of two farther downstream.

32, la'wa'lstöt, three houses on the point forming the right side of the river mouth.

33, mo'giŋkünks, the largest settlement in this district with five or six earth-lodges and as usual a number of small structures. This is on the left bank a quarter-mile above the mouth. One or two houses are on this side immediately at the river mouth.

34, djīŋgüs, four or five houses at a spring on the lake front to the east of the mouth, with one or two more farther in the marsh.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18]

103 131 361 [222] [132] IV. *Pelican bay group (gu'mbötkni).*—This includes the Pelican bay district (gu'mböt) on the west side of the lake, the settlements along Four Mile creek, and those on the marsh north of the lake. Runs of fish are plentiful on Wood river in the spring when the snow melts on the mountains. People come up along the river in the summer digging camas. But above Fort Klamath there is too much snow to live during the winter.

35, sle'tsksi, a group of two or three earth-lodges on the west side of Seven Mile creek near its mouth. A little spring here keeps the water warm enough for fish even in winter.

36, wudö'kän is a settlement in the marsh a mile from the last, and east of Seven Mile creek.

37, iwünau'ts, two earth-lodges on the western side of a little creek emptying into the lake two miles east of Recreation P. O. Houses are scattered along the marsh shore to the northern side of Pelican bay.

[823] [756] 38, dünö'ksi, an open space overlooking the northern end of Pelican bay and containing many earth-lodges. Others are on the lower level, lɛlä'ksti, close to the bay. This is immediately north of the mouth of Four Mile creek. A cremation pile stands a hundred yards north of this town on the slope above the bay, beyond an outcrop of rocks said to be transformed shamans. A big lodge of a shaman on the lower level has a pit twenty-eight feet in diameter; another earth-lodge pit is nearly twenty feet across.

39, e'o'ḳai, four or five earth-lodges a few hundred yards up Four Mile creek on the left bank.

[756] 40, wa'lö'kdi, four to eight earth-lodges, one a shaman's, somewhat farther up the creek on the opposite side.

41, Waḳ'a'k, a winter settlement south of the high ridge south of Odessa. North of the settlement is a sweat-lodge used by mourners.

42, gai'löks or gaila'lḳs is on the point south of Odessa or more probably between Howard and Shoalwater bays. No winter settlements here but a camping place where du'kwakni and gu'mbötkni roasted camas in the spring.

[136] 43, stö'kmate, Eagle point, is a similar spring camp site. In the hot springs here are harmless black snakes (kamdila'k) which crawl over the swimmers. Curiously, in view of the Klamath tendency to localize their tales, there is no story concerning this locality.

Two other localities may belong to this group: 63, e'o'ḳaḳ, gulch, on Wood river toward the mountains, and 64, e'uḳwa'lksi on the east

103
131 51, kölwa'l, a point, is Rattlesnake point at Algoma. Only a few live here during the winter but it is a favorite resort in the autumn
361 when chokecherries and wild plums ripen.

52, wuk!o'twas, wood knot, Buck island, is so called because the
[222] island in the lake is likened to a knot in a piece of wood. In addition to old house pits here not occupied by any group of the historic period, there are a few winter houses on the southern end and summer camps at the northern end where plums could be gathered. It was a favorite sport to dive from the rocks (called sohowă'ĕks, diving) on the northern shore.

53, lama'teksi, a place on top of the end of something, is on the point east of Buck island, and 54, k!su'nk!si, grassy place, is three-fourths of a mile south on the shore. Many people are at both localities during the winter. There may be old house sites here like those on Buck island. Wa'toŋks is a hill a half-mile east where wild plums are
[823] picked. There is an outcrop of white rock high on the hillside above iu'li (meaning deep in), the end of the marsh east of these settlements. This is said to be the net of Kᴇmū'kūmps, the culture hero, spread to dry.

55, iwau'wōnᴇ, meaning against the side hill, is a large settlement
[764] on both sides of Link river at the highway bridge. A crematory is on the hilltop on the east side a quarter-mile north. Shasta sometimes
[726] swam the river south of the village or crossed by the islet below the little lake Ewauna to attack the group on the east bank. This settlement is at the lower end of the falls (Klamath falls) that constitute
[226] Link river in its brief passage through its gorge. This is one of the principal fishing places of the region and advantage is taken of the
[823] ledges that form the falls for the construction of fish dams. But these, like all others in Klamath territory, are attributed to the culture hero, Kᴇmū'kūmps.[33]

56, iu'"laloŋᴇ, meaning on the end, is the largest village of the southern lake people and gives its name to the whole group. There are earth-lodges on both sides of the falls but particularly on the western bank from the river mouth to within half a mile of the present power dam. There are many at the point at the river mouth (hence the name of the site) and thence extend westward about a little bay. A group of tall upstanding rocks at the point, called k!taigī'ŋkʟs, hole

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[114] [33] Gatschet's reference (1:94, 97) to the Indians scooping up fish from the dry bed of the stream when a strong south wind drives back the waters in the lake seems like a purely mythical reference, but is confirmed by Clarke (Rock Piles, 41).

through the rock, had only a narrow way between them to allow 103
passage along the shore. On a point of rocks on the hill above stands 131
a cremation pile. A hillock west of the bay is called lalau'ķ!ŏt, flat, 361
for the many flat rocks on top. The opposite point of the river mouth
also has a settlement, called tc!a'tc!ŏmsi, for some unidentified bird.

57, wĕķă'ĕla, fallen tree, is a settlement of moderate size on the shore a mile west of the river mouth, now intersected by the road.

58, wut!ana'kŏķs, a low gap, and 59, iup!a'tŏna, end place, are summer sites respectively at the ends of a little marsh (now drained) on the west side of the lake.

60, woķsa'lks, lily seed (wokas) picking place, is a summer camp [222]
on the north shore of Wokas marsh. When leaving in the fall it is
customary to sink the canoes at the edge of the marsh, hide the grind- [501]
ing slabs in the juniper thicket, and pack by a regular trail to [415]
dĕ'ktcŏŋks, whence they return to the winter villages.

61, dĕ'ktcŏŋks, netting place, is a camp site on the west shore of [226]
Klamath lake opposite Buck island. Midway between this site and
the island is a favorite place for catching fish at night with a tri-
angular scoop net. The point Skillet Handle is called iuwa''lx, end of
a point, and a flat-topped mountain west of Wocus bay, scolŏpġls.

62, sa'stltķa'wals, Shasta stand on end, is Squaw point where a few [823]
Klamath falls people might be found in winter. There are holes in
the rocks here in which they pound to make the wind blow, pounding
in those on the south side, for instance, to bring a south wind.

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS

The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or 101
possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct dis- 619
trict, and practically autonomous. This is separatism of the familiar Californian order. Nevertheless, the cohesion rising from a common dialect, common culture, and a uniform reaction against all non-tribesmen, which on occasion leads to jointly taking the field against them, produces a tribal solidarity resembling that of the Plains people.

The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the modern name Klamath for the Klamath marsh—Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

III. ECONOMIC LIFE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 At this late date it is difficult to define the sexual division of labor with precision. Some impression derives, however, from random observations let drop during the course of these inquiries.

One of my informants summarized the division of domestic activities in this wise. Women fetch wood and gather food. Old men as well as women grind and pound seeds. Men lie about all the time, working but once in a while. They hunt, fish, and in the winter build houses.

Undoubtedly he is justified in his view that man's work is spasmodic, woman's work in preparation of food and the care of the home a more continuous round of labor. Such in fact is the picture of native life in perhaps all parts of the continent. Yet a fairer view of their economic participation shows a more equal division of activities.

[226] These may be summarized as follows: Men, but women too, are the fishers. Inasmuch as their primary dependence is on fish, the men's activities in this direction constitute well-nigh a year-round [224] pursuit. Men are hunters, but hunting is desultory. Even here women participate, for it is noted at least that they occasionally lie in wait in canoes to kill floundering deer driven into the water. Root and seed-gathering is woman's work; I am not certain that men [222] assist even in harvesting fruit. Seeds, especially pond-lily seeds, form the second staple in Klamath life. Preparation of food is wholly [252] woman's work, save as they are assisted by old men, perhaps only those who have no women members of their families to undertake the [251] task. Storing food and drying it may be wholly feminine occupations as well. At least where foods are concerned the man's work is sufficiently time-filling, but the woman's much more so.

[342] With manufactures, the division is somewhat more even. Housebuilding, one of the main activities, is a function of both sexes, and [313] is no small part of the domestic routine. Timbers are prepared and erected by men, grass and dirt spread over the structure by women, [322] and the house pit dug by both. Woodworking and the manufacture [411] of weapons are masculine activities. Yet the most laborious wood-

Yet the most laborious wood- 462
working task, the making of canoes, is sometimes undertaken by
women. I do not know who tans skins, but since the manufacture [501]
of all garments and moccasins is done by women, this suggests that [281]
they prepare the skins as well. Mats and baskets are made by women
and in considerable quantity. This is a sedentary pursuit which
dovetails nicely into leisure moments of household duties. Mortars, [285]
metates, and their adjuncts are fashioned by women, though I suspect
that men may lend a hand. Nets are manufactured by men, but by [415]
a few women also. Ropes and cords are made by women. All these [284]
suggest a somewhat heavier share borne by women.

There is a further factor which must be kept in mind. In winter, [283]
movement is impeded by intense cold and heavy snowfall, so that all
members of the family must stay close at home. Hence the men might 211
be thought to have enforced inactivity thrust upon them during this
season. But the facts are probably otherwise. This is a period of
great scarcity, even famine, especially at the end of a long winter,
and it behooves the men to act and act quickly in search of food.
The ardors and perils then forced on them surely make demands upon
whatever leisure they may have at this time.

FOOD AND ITS ACQUISITION

Klamath life is not that of a lake people, but a river and marsh 262
culture, for the simple reason that their primary food is fish. The
large lakes of this region are solidly frozen in winter, and fish, which
are not abundant there at the best, can hardly be had in winter. It
is otherwise with the swift rivers and creeks; these are always open
and fish are always present in abundance.[218]

Fish is the staple; after this ranks water-lily seed (wokas) and to 262
a lesser extent other roots; deer and other game are only of minor
importance. It is difficult at this late date to know whether fish or 224
lily-seed was eaten in greater quantity, but there is no doubt that, of 226
necessity, more attention was given the year round to fishing, since 222
the seed is harvested only from the middle of August to the end of
September.

Winter villages, the permanent settlements, are located where fish 361
may be had at that time, beside running streams and near springs

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[218] In view of the excellent descriptions of Klamath environment given by Gatschet, Barrett (pp. 240–243), and Coville (Wokas, A Primitive Food, 727–728) it is unnecessary to add another here. (See also pp. 8–10 of the present work.) [114]

> 223 from the lower end, which is sharpened to a point, the net is attached. The upper end of the rods are beveled on one side, and inserted into a rude socket, in the end of a shaft ten feet long.
>
> Armed with this trap, the hunter crawls on the ground until he is within safe distance of the mother-bird and her little flock, when, suddenly springing up, the old birds, geese or ducks, as the case may be, fly away, while the little ones flee toward the water. The Indian launches the shaft with the net attached in such a way that the net spreads to its utmost size, the sharpened points of the rods pierce the ground, and, the upper end having left the socket on the shaft, stand in a circular row, holding the net and contents to the ground.[271]

252 A few data were gathered on the manner of preparing game for food. The flesh of such animals as porcupine, beaver, badger, and raccoon is boiled. The viscera are not eaten. The skin is peeled from a beaver's tail after it is roasted. Mink and otter are also pit-roasted, but not boiled. The paws of the grizzly are baked in ashes
263 and then skinned.

Salt was not known until the advent of the whites.

Insects are probably no regular article of diet, but Gatschet
222 records that women gather moth chrysalids in the month spe'lwis
252 (forefinger, i.e., late August and September). The ground is scraped up with a paddle to gather the chrysalids (pû'l$_\chi$uantch); they are pit-roasted between layers of grass, with a covering of bits of bark and earth.[272]

Seed and Root Gathering

222 In summer the Klamath congregate in several districts to gather pond-lily seeds, roots, and wild fruits: the great swamps and prairies of Klamath marsh, about northern Klamath lake (Agency lake) and Pelican bay, and Wocus marsh west of the lake. The prairie southwest of Fort Klamath is a meeting point for those from middle Williamson river, from its mouth, and from Pelican bay. The huckleberry patch some fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake (called iwumkä'ni, huckleberry place; iwum, huckleberry) is a favorite camping place. Here Molala from west of the Cascade range join them. Williamson river people (äukckni) on Klamath marsh cross directly westward to this spot afoot.

[962] Root and seed gathering is woman's work. They tell of old women digging roots alone who were killed by grizzlies.

The principal seed supply of the Klamath is from the pods of the water lily (wo'kas), which grows extensively in the marshes and along the lake borders. It was estimated that Klamath marsh alone 222 contained 10,000 acres of the plant in 1902. This seems an exceptionally abundant food supply, but the difficulty is that a day's harvest is relatively small. A woman may pick from four to six bushels of pods in a day, but the seed content is only one-fourth as great. Gatschet's informant implies that the season's activities netted an individual seven to ten sacks of ground seed, each of fifty pounds content.[273] The season is from the middle of August to the end of September.

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[271] Meacham, Wigwam and Warpath, 282.

[272] 1:76, 148.

So complete an account of the wokas industry has been given by [114] Coville[274] that only a summary is needed here.

The preference is for the fully ripened, open seed pods, but as these constitute only a fraction of the day's harvest, the partly ripened pods are subjected to a special process to force maturity, with a variety of further treatments depending on the stage they reach. The various grades of seeds, in the order of preference and maturity, are known, according to Coville, as spokwas, stontablaks, lowak, nokapk, and chiniakum. This is truly the order of maturity, but the native preference as foods, as stated by Nancy Phillips, differs: spo'k̦was, the fully matured seed, lolī'nc, cooked and ground seed, snōps, ground and parched, and si'wullnc, the cleaned seed of rotted pods.

It must be borne in mind that the hard-shelled kernels are found 251 in a mucilaginous mass within the pod. The fully ripened pods, called spo'k̦was, are fermented in a pit for one to five weeks, the mucilaginous matter washed out, and the seeds drained. When the process must be hurried, the pods, mature or otherwise, are steamed in a fire. These steamed pods are called a'wal; separated into two grades, the better is known as no'gōtk, the inferior, tc!ini'x̣k̦um. The seeds of these pods are freed of their sticky coating by mixing them with absorbent pulverized rotten wood, charcoal, or ashes. Like spo'k̦was, these two grades of seed are prepared by parching in a tray basket with live coals, grinding them lightly to remove the shells, which are then winnowed out, leaving the free, fresh kernels called lolī'nc. This is either dried and stored, or parched to make snōps. The latter is eaten dry, or mixed with water, whole kernels or ground, to make a mush called shlotish. The greater part of the harvest consists of

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[273] 1:74, 76.

[274] Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians. I have enquired concerning his description, but have nothing substantial to add.

251 food. Gatschet adds that these are beaten from the plants with paddles early in autumn and pounded in a mortar. Those of *Polygonum* are gathered, the hulls rubbed off by hand, and the seeds parched and often ground. Gatschet says the seeds are beaten off into baskets at the end of the summer. This meal is either eaten dry or mixed with water and boiled, a process which turns the material red. The seeds of a marsh grass, *Panicularia*, are a favorite food. Tarweed seeds are often used and those of *Mentzelia*. The minute seeds of a low grass, *Agrostis*, and those of slew grass are eaten. The seeds of the former at least are beaten from the plants by women in the familiar manner. Other seeds are used less frequently: those of the sugar pine, the common cane, tule (mä'-ēm lä'-wäls), amaranth, and dock. There are three species of dock used for food, each with a native name. The seeds of *Sisymbrium* are parched, ground on a metate, and eaten as mush. This plant is more plentiful in the Modoc country. The seedlike carpels of *Triglochin* are parched and eaten, sometimes in a decoction.

262 The leaves and stems of *Rumex* are eaten fresh, and the seeds are eaten when ripe. The young shoots of the wild parsnip are used and the aromatic leaves of *Sium* are eaten as a relish.[277] To these I can add that the leaves of koko'dom, a bush used for making flutes (not elder), are eaten green.

Roots constitute an important element of diet. Those most commonly gathered are those of marsh plants or of plants that grow in the open prairies: the roots of the water lily, tule, cat-tail, ipos, camas, arrowhead, etc.

222 Wild potatoes or arrowhead, a small sweet tuber, are plentiful about the mouth of Williamson river, for example, and are procured by the canoe load. Coville observes that the plant (tcuwa') is so common on Chewaucan marsh (between Summer and Abert lakes) as to give its name to the locality. Frémont saw there that "large patches of ground had been torn up by the squaws in digging for roots, as if a farmer had been preparing the land for grain." Gatschet's information was that the plant was scarce in the neighborhood of the agency.[278] They are roasted in the ashes and eaten. When the intention is to store them, they are pit-roasted and set away in large tule sacks. For winter use these roasted roots are boiled long in water. [252] [251]

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[277] The last is confirmed by my own information.

[278] Coville, Notes, 90; Gatschet, 1:149.

222 262 Camas is abundant; it is sometimes eaten raw at the time it is gathered, but is usually baked and stored.[279] Coville states that it is gathered about April 1. It will keep indefinitely.

251 Ipos is one of the earliest spring plants gathered for food, according to Coville, "the roots being dug about the 1st of May, at which time the contents are soft and milky. The root is commonly dried and eaten raw." A closely related tuber (the yampa of the Utes) is an equally common article of food.[280] A tuber called yantch (*Calochortus?*) is eaten, which resembles camas and is described by Gatschet as cylindrical and in size as large as the thumb.[281] While the onion-like roots of *Peucedanum* are a staple of the Modoc, they are occasionally used by the Klamath. The roots are strung on cords or kept in sacks. The mealy interior is soft enough to be eaten when dry or they may be mashed and boiled.

Young tules are pulled up from canoes, the lower white portion being retained. These are palatable only when fresh.[282] The tuberous base, called khā-āls', of a sedge is eaten. The short rootstocks of the cat-tail are eaten late in the season, when full of stored food, under the name ktōks. Similarly the young rootstocks of the common burreed late in summer develop at their ends tubers which have a sweetish taste and are used for food. The bulbous expansion at the base of the stem, similar in its qualities, is likewise eaten, and is called klop'-ā.

[114] Undoubtedly other roots are used, the only poisonous one according to the Indian's account being the wild parsnip. Coville lists at least another, "poison camas," scā'-ō or scou (*Zygadenus venosus* Wats).[283]

The nutlets of k!ol (*Valeriana*) are pit-roasted. Coville gives the following account of the procedure: "In cooking, a hole perhaps a meter or more (about 3 or 4 feet) in diameter and half as deep is dug in the ground and lined with stones. A fire is then built in the hole, and after burning for a sufficient time is cleared out. Fresh grass is next laid over the hot stones, then k-ōl', then more grass, and the whole covered with earth. The mass is then allowed to cook and steam the rest of the day and over night, when the pit is opened and the cooked roots are ready for eating." Gatschet adds that they are

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[279] Gatschet, *op. cit.*, 76.

[280] Coville, Notes, 101.

[281] Gatschet, 1:146; Coville, Notes, 93.

[282] Gatschet, 1:148.

[283] Notes, 93.

then pounded.[284] "The odor of the root is very disagreeable to white 222
people, to such a degree, indeed, that the use of the plant about the 262
agency was formerly forbidden."[285] Because of its odor, it is placed 251
in storage pits to keep animals away.

Acorns are absent from the Klamath diet. The oak grows only 222
about Klamath falls but the nuts are not used. The nuts of the
so-called chinquapin bush, growing in the higher mountains, are
sometimes gathered. The hazelnut, which grows along the Klamath
river north to Pelican bay, is occasionally used for food.

The principal fruit foods are huckleberries, service berries, chokecherries,
currants, and wild plums. Huckleberries are gathered in
enormous quantities, especially at Huckleberry mountain, southwest
of Crater lake, where the Klamath congregate in the third week in
August. These are sometimes boiled so that the liquor may be drunk. [272]
Besides the common huckleberry, a low variety of the mountain slopes
is eaten fresh or dry. Service berries grow everywhere. The fruit
is gathered in large quantities in August, spread out on mats to dry, 222
and kept for winter use, a practice followed with all other berries 262
where practicable. The fruit of the chokecherry is gathered in large
quantities in September and dried. Yellow-flowered currant and common 251
currant berries are frequently gathered. The gooseberry and the
raspberry, which grow at Modoc point, are eaten fresh or dried.
Blackberries, the green berries of manzanita, and elder-berries are
articles of food. The berries of a bush honeysuckle or "cranberry"
are always eaten fresh, but never to any extent. No attempt is made
to dry strawberries, which are not abundant. Wild plums are abundant
about the eastern shore of Klamath lake from Modoc point southward
and in the vicinity of Summer lake. These are eaten fresh or
dried, sometimes after being pitted. Wild rose haws, which ripen in
September, are dried and pounded to grind the seeds.

Bearded moss (k!al), which hangs from the boughs, is pit-roasted; the product is bo'ka. Coville states that "black moss," a lichen, probably the same, is a famine food.[286]

Pine gum is also eaten. In the spring, usually in May, a broad 222
strip of the bark of a young yellow pine is removed, and the sweet 262
mucilaginous layer of newly formed tissue (stop'-älch) between the
bark and the sap wood is scraped off and eaten. This is a frequent

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[284] 1:147.

[285] Coville, Notes, 105.

[286] Notes, 87.

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262 practice. Gatschet notes the use of bone implements to peal off the bark.[287] In April the cambium layer of the lodgepole pine is similarly scraped off and eaten.

222 A few additional food plants are mentioned by Gatschet, which seem not to be included in Coville's extensive list. Klápa is evidently
262 a cylindric root; klû, a rounded root growing in the Modoc country.
114 A large bulb of a low plant (tauni'ka) is eaten. Wátksām is presumably a root. Páwash is a plant said to resemble k!ol (*Valeriana*),
824 hence it may be that the nutlets are used. It grows chiefly at Yainax. They are baked, pounded, and dried. Kēla'tch is a small blue berry, gathered after the wokas season; it is dried and boiled. Another is wáshlalam ſwam, squirrel's huckleberries. The white buds of ktû'ks, growing on a straight stalk, are eaten, as well as those of wi'wi, a similar plant. No description is given of the edible portions of other plants: kû'ktû, kās, ta'ksish, tók, tsi'kal (*Phragmites ?*), and tsuák.[288]

The native and scientific names of these plants follow, mainly as given in Coville's paper. These are listed in the order of mention above.

Seeds

222 Goosefoot, kotca'nīks, *Chenopodium fremonti* Wats.
Rye-grass, glü'bi, *Elymus condensatus* Presl.
824 Lbä, *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt. and *B. deltoidea* Nutt.
Käp'-i-önks, *Polygonum douglasii* Greene.
Marsh grass, käm'-chö-dä''-lis, *Panicularia fluitans* (L.) Kuntze.
Tarweed, gö'-ē-whä, *Madia glomerata* Hook.
Lö'-läs, *Mentzelia albicaulis* Dougl.
A low grass, nö'-täk, *Agrostis perennans* (Walt.) Tuckerm.
Slew grass, chäp'-tö, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) Host.
Sugar pine, ktä'-lö, *Pinus lambertiana* Dougl.
Common cane, *Phragmites phragmites* (L.) Karst.
Tule, mä'-i, *Scirpus lacustris occidentalis* Wats.
A small amaranth, *Amarantus blitoides* Wats.
Dock, gö'-klaks, *Rumex salicifolius* Weinm.
Western tansy mustard, te!i'pas, *Sisymbrium incisum* Engelm.
A rush-like perennial, gil-lēn'-ä, *Triglochin maritima* L.

Herbage

Ken-ä'-wät, *Rumex geyeri* (Meisn.) Trelease.
Wild parsnip, pöd'-chö, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.
Wä'-käm, *Sium cicutaefolium* Gmel.
Mint, mäch-äs'-säm, *Mentha canadensis* L.

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[287] Gatschet, 1:149. See also Barrett, Material Culture, pl. 22, fig. 5.
[288] Gatschet, 1:146–150, 75.

Roots

Wild potatoes or arrowhead, tcuwa', *Sagittaria arifolia* Nutt. 222 •
Camas, pō'ks, *Quamasia quamash* (Pursh) Coville. 824
Ipos, *Carum oregonum* Wats.
"Yampa," adälk, *Carum gairdneri* (Hook. and Arn.) Gray.
Yantch, *Calochortus macrocarpus* Dougl (?).
An onion-like root, *Peucedanum canbyi*.
A tall sedge, wich'-pi, *Carex* sp.
Cat-tail, pō'päs, *Typha latifolia* L.
Bur-reed, pōd'chăk, *Sparganium eurycarpum* Engelm.

Nuts and Fruits

K!ol, *Valeriana edulus* Nutt.
Chinquapin bush, *Castanopsis chrysophylla minor* (Hook.) A.DC.
Hazelnut, *Corylus californica* (DC.) Rose.
Huckleberry, lurum, *Vaccinium membranaceum* Dougl.
Low huckleberry, *Vaccinium scoparium* Leiberg.
Service berry, chăk'-ăm (tc!aí'oŋks), *Amelanchier alnifolia* Pursh.
Chokecherry, de-wich'-kăsh, *Prunus demissa* (Nutt.) Walp.
Yellow-flowered currant, chōms'-kăm, *Ribes aureum* Pursh.
Common currant, chmâr'-lăk, *Ribes cereum* Dougl.
Gooseberry, lhō-lō'-ēlō-ō-săm, *Ribes oxyacanthoides saxosum* (Hook.) Coville.
Raspberry, măs'-lă, *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.
Blackberry, tō-tănk'-săm, *Rubus vitifolius* Cham. and Schlect.
Manzanita, shle-shlăp-shăm, *Arctostaphylos patula* Greene.
Elder, elō'-lō-săm, *Sambucus glauca* Nutt.
Bush honeysuckle or "cranberry," ō'-tăm, *Lonicera conjugialis* Kell.
Strawberry, jō'-i-jiks, *Fragaria virginiana* Duschene.
Wild plums, to-mō-lō, *Prunus subcordata* Benth.
Wild rose, tewi'dl, *Rosa fendleri* Crepin.

Lichens

Black moss, *Alectoria fremontii* Tuckerm.

Gum

Young yellow pine, kăp'-kă, *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.
Lodgepole pine, wă'-kō, *Pinus murrayana* Balf.

Food is stored in the ground. The only exception is fish placed to 251 dry on scaffolds. The food is put into long tule sacks which are placed at the outer margin of the earth-lodge between the timbers, where they are buried in the earth covering of the roof. Large communal storage pits (pᴇnō'ŋks) are dug near the houses. Some of the Williamson river sites are surrounded by wide expanses of such pits. These are about fifteen feet in diameter, about three feet deep. A group of neighbors combine to dig and use such a pit. Tule mats are heaped over the sacks before the dirt covering. Caves are occa-

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

251 sionally used, the entrance blocked with stones. In all these cases, 824 an evil-smelling plant, called k̦!ol (*Valeriana edulis* Nutt.) is buried with food in order to keep animals from digging it up. Grizzly bears are particularly destructive of caches, but even they avoid this plant. Gatschet's information was that they would even flee from one who carried the plant about him.[200] Human thieves are also known to ransack these hoards. A family commonly buries its extra stores in this fashion when temporarily away from home. Such storage is called p'nana.

222 The first fruits of a young hunter or root gatherer are looked upon as something altogether special. They must be abandoned if future 224 success is to be assured. While I received conflicting versions of the young deerslayer's procedure, they agree that he cannot eat his kill. One informant had it that the first deer is abandoned by the hunter and never eaten. If he has companions, he does [illegible]t even show it to them and must present the second one slain to one of them. Another informant agreed that he cannot partake of the flesh of the first deer, but his parents make a feast of it, giving away articles in honor of the occasion. Similarly a young woman destroys by burning the first roots she gathers alone, and does not exhibit her success to anyone. The second basketful is distributed among her companions, and only after this may she keep what she gathers. Analogously a man leaves the first fish or game he takes after the loss of a close relative, and a gambler gives away his first gains after reacquiring power following the death of a relative. The practice of abandoning such fruits is called săpu'tsa. Unlike the comparable case of the novice deer hunter, no celebration is held for a little girl who gathers roots under her elders' tutelage.

264 Meals are not eaten at regular intervals, I was told, but that they eat all day long "like horses." Of this I am doubtful: what may have been implied was that food was available at any time during the day. I was also told that a meal was eaten in the morning and again in the evening. Travelers at least made no regular stops for meals and if necessary cooked in their canoes over little fires built on protecting layers of dirt.

A sort of grace is said before eating. Morsels of food are cast all about, to the land, the mountains, the old house pits, cremation piles, stones that are transformed people, etc., so as to feed them before one feeds himself. They say bū'pwi'amzni gĕnige'lz gĕnidelo'telpkz, to

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[200] Gatschet, 1:147.

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Storage baskets (tlûḳs) are used to hold plums and other edibles, or as containers for smaller twined baskets in which small articles are placed. These are made in much the same manner as the globose burden basket previously described. The material for warp and weft is the large tule, and the weave is technically open twine; but the tule elements are so broad that there is little interstitial space. Barrett describes them as "more or less globose or flatly cylindrical rigid baskets . . . . used for general storage purposes."[341] One such I bought is nearly conical. Another I saw is roughly cylindrical but bulges two-thirds of the way to the top. It has a height of fifteen inches, both base and mouth diameters of that dimension, and a maximum diameter of eighteen inches a third of the distance from the rim. This is woven in simple twine throughout; on the sides the twine rounds are about one inch apart. The margin of the base has the familiar three-strand twine round to stiffen the structure. (Some baskets of this type lack this marginal reinforcement.) Additional warps are inserted in the manner described for the conical burden basket above. The border treatment is similar to that described by O. T. Mason for the conical burden basket. Like that, the turned-down warps are caught in a row of simple twine. It differs however in that this basket made in simple twine has its last round in the body of the basket of three-strand twine. Further, the upper ends of the warps are neither braided nor twisted together, but are gathered in pairs (or threes ?); each pair is then crossed with the adjacent pair, and the ends then turned back and caught in the simple twine row as noted. In the basket which I collected each warp consists of two tule strands. Its border finish is similar to that just described in that there is an open space immediately below the rim where each double warp crosses the adjacent double warp. However the ends are treated in the manner of the solid twined baskets; one element of a warp is cut short at the rim, the other turned down to be caught in the second twine stitch succeeding. A bail or handle provided for this basket is braided of three strands of tule.

[222]

The seed beater (wĕḳs), the winnowing or sifting basket (ti'a), and the basketry ladle (năp or se'-ot ăko'-olks),[342] although identical in method of manufacture, differ in size and function. These are shallow, oval baskets of rough open twine construction. The seed beater is used to beat seeds, etc., into a burden basket carried in the free hand. The

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[341] *Op. cit.*, 257.

[342] Coville, Wokas, 729. Coville also notes the use of rush (*Juncus*) in the manufacture of small spoons for temporary use (Notes, 92).

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[222] sifting basket is used to screen seeds such as wokas, "as a grater to remove the skins of roots and tubers,"[343] or as a larger beater. The ladle serves to scoop floating wokas seeds from the surface of the water. The seed beater and sifting baskets are made of willows, or of split juniper roots; the ladle of tules. Each of these is made of a group of warps bent into oval shape, the central portion filled in with additional warps, and the whole woven in open twine by a continuous weft passing back and forth across them. One example examined is eighteen inches long with a maximum breadth of nine. The three fundamental warps, which are bent in a loop, are each comprised of two willow rods. The first few additional warps are fastened in by doubling them and twining them over the proximal end of the three fundamentals. The weft, a doubled willow twig, is then twined across the warps now in place, beginning at one side of the proximal end of the basket. Reaching the edge warp it is brought back across the structure for a second row, and so on continuously. A second set of additional warps is inserted by doubling them around the second row of wefting. Where further warps are needed to fill a space, wefts are transformed into warps as described for the conical burden baskets. The loose ends of the warps at the distal (handle) end of the basket are bound into two bundles, which are further bound to each other, to provide a grip. Essentially this construction is in a basket figured by Barrett in which the two bundles of warp ends are bound together to form a loop handle.[344] When fine seeds are to be beaten, a pad of twined tules (later horse hide) was inserted in the bowl of the seed beater.

An example in the Field Museum collections (no. 61785) is peculiar in that the warps are not kept parallel, as in other specimens, but are bent in zigzag fashion from one weft round to the next, so that the final appearance of the fabric resembles diagonal wicker work.

[177] Recently the Klamath living at Yainax on the eastern part of the reservation have learned to make sifting baskets in imitation of their neighbors, the Northern Paiute. An example I collected is of the same general nature as the Klamath sifters, but broadly elliptical rather than ovate. This is woven in compact diagonal twine, regularly crossing the warps in pairs but occasionally carelessly slipping into three warp stitches. The warps are willow twigs set close together, the wefts split willow twigs. The underlying construction is the

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[343] Barrett, Material Culture, 274.

[344] Material Culture, pl. 16, fig. 2.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	NV
85. Deer	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
86. Birds	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
87. Bird snaring, noose on stick	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
87a. Ambush on watercraft	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
88. On tule balsa	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
89. On dugout, run into tules	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
90. On log raft	−	−	−			−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
91. Ambush of plant material	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
92. Stone walls or enclosure, for deer	•+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	−	−	−
93. Hunter concealed in pit	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
94. At moonrise, at deer licks	+	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
Disguises, Decoys																
95. Animal head worn by hunter	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+
96. With horns	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
97. Without horns	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
98. Entire skin worn	+	+	•+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	.	−	−
99. Only horns worn	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	−
100. Hunter walks with two canes	−	−	+						+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
101. Brush worn or carried by hunter	−	−	+	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
102. For deer	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
103. For rodents	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
104. When driving birds toward nets	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
105. Stuffed bird-skin decoy, floating	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
106. Flares, jacklight to attract waterfowl	•+	+	−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	•+	−
107. Leaf or grass calls for game	+	.	+	+	−	R	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Imitation of fawn crying	+	+	+	+	+	•R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
109. Whistling with lips for deer	−	•+	+	−	+	R	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
110. For rabbits	−	−	+		−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		+	−
111. Shouting, for deer	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+		+	+
112. "Honking" so ducks will light	−	+	+			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Other Hunting Techniques																
113. Large game shot in water			+			•+		−	.	−	+	.	−	+	−	(−)
114. Bear killed inside den	−	+	+			•+	•o				+	+	o	.	−	•−
115. Bear smoked out	−	+	±	+	•+	−	o	+	•+	+	+	+	o	.	+	−
116. Dipod at mouth of den	•+	+	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	.	−	−
117. Vertical stakes at mouth of den	−	.	−	•+	−	−	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	.	−	−
118. Rodents smoked out	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
119. Pine needles used for fire	−	+	+	+	+	−	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
120. Fire blown with mouth	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•−
121. Basket fan used	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
122. Brush fan used	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
123. Feather fan used	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
124. Stick thrust down rodent's hole	−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
125. Sharpened	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
126. Hooked stick or gaff	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
127. Rodents drowned out	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
128. Rats' nests burned	−	•+	−	+	.	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
129. Rats' nests prodded with stick	−	−	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
130. Jumped on	−	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
131. Duck fledglings clubbed	+	•+	+								−	+	−	−	.	•−
132. Insects caught	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
132a. In trench, pit	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	•+
133. Shaken down from trees, or picked off branches	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	−
134. Hand-gathered early in morning	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
135. Obtained by burning field	−	−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
136. "Whipped" into pack basket		+	−	−		•+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−

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2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	MP	NM	NS	MV	226
282. 1st salmon	·−	·o	·+	·+	·−	·−	·o	·+	·+	·−	·o	·+	·+	·o	·+	·+	
283. 1st sucker	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
284. 1st steelhead trout	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	
285. Taboo to catch salmon before rite	−	o	−	+	−	−	o	+	−	−	−	·	+	o	+	+	[784]
286. Steelhead	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	
287. Suckers	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
288. Taboo to eat salmon before rite	−	o	−	+	−	−	o	+	−	−	−	+	+	o	+	+	
289. Steelhead	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
290. Suckers	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
291. Spring of year	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	
292. Priest prepares for rite	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	·+	−	−	−	
293. Neighboring tribe holds (salmon) rite	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
294. Old man catches 1st fish	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
295. Anyone may catch 1st fish for rite	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	
296. Anyone may eat 1st fish	−	+	−	·−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
297. First (2) suckers burned	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
298. All of 1st catch eaten immediately	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
299. Punishment for removal of portion	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
300. Taboo against leaving in basket overnight	−								·+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	[784]

Gathering

Gathering Techniques and Observances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	MP	NM	NS	MV	
300a. Poles, staves for gathering acorns, pine cones	−	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	222
300b. Shepherd's crook stave	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	·+	
301. Forked stick grapple	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	
302. Straight pole	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	
303. Straight pole with cross bar	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	
304. Also used for wood gathering	−	−	+								−	+	+	+	−	+	
305. Limbs shaken with hands, feet	−	−	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
306. Sapling as ladder for climbing trees	−	−	+	·+	+	·+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	
307. Double-pole ladder, buckskin rungs	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
308. Digging stick	·+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
309. Plain, pointed at one end	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	
310. Plain, bipointed	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
311. Crutch handled	+	+	+	·R	+	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
312. Seed plants sometimes broken by hand		·+	+	−	+	−	−		+	−	−		−	−	−	−	
313. 1st-fruits rite	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	
314. Observed for: acorns	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	·+	+	+	+	+	·+	
315. Pine nuts	−	−	−	−	−	−	−						+	−	+	−	
316. Wokus (water lily seeds)	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
317. Ipos bulbs (Calochortus sp.)		+	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
318. Manzanita berries						o	o						−	+	+	·o	
319. Annual; observed in	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[221]
320. Springtime	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	
321. Midsummer	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
322. Fall of year	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*323. Number of days	10	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	1	1	1	1	1	1	
324. Dancing	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	[535]
325. Praying	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[782]
326. Singing	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	
326a. Feasting on 1st fruit	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[538]
327. 1st fruit gathered thrown away	−	·+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	+	·+	·+	+	

Preagriculture (Other than Tobacco)

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	MP	NM	NS	MV	
328. Burning for better wild-seed crops	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	·+	·+	·+	·	+	−	241

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
529. Thatched	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	251
530. Roughly coiled, in shape tubular bin.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
531. Posts set upright in ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	(-)	+	•+	•+	•+	
532. Goods wrapped, hung from branch of tree	-	-	+				•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
533. Storage in pit outside	•(+)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	
534. Storage indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
534a. In baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
535. In twined tule "sacks"	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
536. Vegetable foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
537. Dried meat, salted or plain	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
538. Dried fish or salmon flour	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	
539. Storage in pit inside sweat house	-					•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Exchange of Food

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
540. Food sold	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	•+	262
541. Traded or borrowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	437
542. Mainly in time of famine	-	+	-	-	-	-	•-	+	-	-	+	+		+	+	-	
543. Mainly in winter, early spring	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
544. Game divided	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	224
545. Killer gets most or certain parts	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+		
546. Meat equally divided among hunters	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
547. Large game divided among whole camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

Ownership of Productive Areas

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
548. Fishing places privately owned	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	-	423
549. Fishing places jointly owned, owners unrelated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	226
550. Fishing places owned by village group	+	+	-	-		•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
551. Anyone may take some of owner's catch.	-	-	-						+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
552. Fishing places rented for share of catch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
553. Fish weir privately owned	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	423
554. Hunting land or spots privately owned	-	-	+	•-	-	•-	•-	-	+	-	+	-	-	•+	+	-	[224]
555. Seed tracts privately owned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
556. Seed tracts owned by village group		+				+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
557. Trees privately owned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
558. Trees owned by village group	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
559. Trees claimed for single season only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
560. Only trees distant from village	-	-	-						+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
561. Tribal or group boundaries marked by topographic features	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
562. Tobacco plot privately owned	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	[276]
563. Land for single season only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
564. Tobacco plot owned by village	-	-	-			-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
565. Village site owned by group	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[361]

Division of Labor

Subsistence Pursuits

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
566. Hunting: men only	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
567. Rat and mouse catching: men and women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
568. Men	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	[224]
569. Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
570. Gathering insects, grubs: men and women	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	[222]
571. Men	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	
572. Women	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
573. Fishing: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[226]
574. Men only net, spear fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	
575. Women use basket to catch fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
576. Acorn gathering: men and women	•o	•o	+	+	–	•–	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
577. Men, youths climb trees	o	o	+	+	–	–	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[222]
578. Women gather, transport acorns	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
579. Pine-nut gathering: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
580. Men climb trees, knock down cones	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	
581. Men and women gather cones	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
582. Women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
583. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
584. Men and women transport cones	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
585. Women only	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	
586. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
587. Men and women prepare pine nuts	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
588. Men only	+	.	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
589. Women only	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	
590. Gathering of small seeds: women only	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(–)	+	+	
591. Cooking: men and women	+	+	–						+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	
592. Women prepare, cook plant foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[251]
593. Men only, cook meat	–	+	–						–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	
594. Women only, cook meat	–	–	+						–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	
595. Men and women cook meat	+	–	–						•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
596. Carrying water near camp: men and women	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[312]
597. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
598. Women only	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	
599. Carrying water long distance: men and women.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
600. Men only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	
601. Women only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
602. Fire making: men and women	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	[372]
603. Men only	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
604. Wood gathering: "kindling" wood, men and women	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
605. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	[313]
606. Women only	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
607. Wood gathering: large logs, men and women	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
608. Men only	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
609. Women only	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Manufacturing Activities

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
610. Baskets: women only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
611. Skin, feather blankets: men and women make	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
612. Men only or chiefly	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	(–)	+	+	–	+	[281]
613. Women only or chiefly	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	[287]
614. Nets: men only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[284]
615. Cord: men and women make	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
616. Men, generally	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[283]
617. Skin tanning: men and women	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[281]
618. Men only	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
619. Women only	+	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
620. Clothing: men and women make	–	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	[294]
621. Men only	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	
622. Women only	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	
623. Moccasins: men and women make	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
624. Men only	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
625. Women only	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
626. Fish traps: men make	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	[227]
627. Women	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	+	
628. Winter house: men and women build	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
629. Men only	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[342]
630. Summer house: men and women build	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
631. Men only	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	
632. Women only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

SMOKING AND TOBACCO

Pipes and Pipe Sacks

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Pipes

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
2006. Tubular-type pipe	+	•(-)	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
2007. 1-piece	+	-	+	+	•+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2008. Solid wood	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2009. Elder or other pithy stalk	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2010. Stone	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2011. Found, not manufactured	(+)	-		•+	-						+	-	-	-	-	.
2012. 2-piece	•+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
2013. Stone bowl	•+	-	.	+	-	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
2014. Cane stem	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2015. Elder stem	-	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2016. Solid wooden stem	•+	-	+	(+)	-	-	•+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	.	-
2017. Stem stuck into bowl	+	-	.	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
2018. Stem mortised into bowl	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2019. Optional use of stem	-												+	+	+	-
2020. Concave-shaped bowl	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2021. Convex-shaped bowl	•+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2022. Bulb bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2023. Double-bulb bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2024. Obtuse-angled pipe	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2025. Stone bowl	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2026. Wooden stem	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2027. Right-angled pipe	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2028. Stone bowl	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2029. Wooden bowl	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2030. Wooden stem	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[415]

Pipe Sacks

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
2031. Pipe sack of cased fur	-	.	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
2032. Pipe sack of buckskin	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2033. Pipe kept in small basket													+	+		-
2034. Pipe kept in ground, head of bed	+	.	+			+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	.	-

Tobacco

Cultivation and Gathering

[222]
[249]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
2035. Gathered wild	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2036. Cultivated or semicultivated	-	+	+	+	-	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2037. Sown	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2038. Log or brush burned, sown in ashes	-	-	+			-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2039. Log or brush burned, for volunteer crop	-	.	.	+	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2040. Seeds sown next year, same spot	-	-	.	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2041. Ground cultivated with digging stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
2042. Plants thinned	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-
2043. Pruned	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2044. Irrigated	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2045. Gathered when yellow	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	.
2046. Gathered when green	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.
2047. Leaves only, or mainly, picked	-	.	-	+		+		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
2048. Stalk occasionally pulled up	-	+	-	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-

ELEMENTS DENIED

BASIC ECONOMY

Hunting

223 Snares, nets, traps, booths and blinds.--Bag
net used for waterfowl. Poles with stones as
224 weights for deadfall. Pitfall with noose in
bottom of pit. Arrow with string attached. Decoys,
disguises; other hunting techniques.--
Wooden head used as visual decoy. Live birds
[178] used as decoys (At: recently only). Live mammals
used as decoys (Kl: recently only). Hide
fan, to smoke out rodents. Butchering of large
game.--Deer's eyes eaten raw by hunter.

Fishing

226 Nets; weirs, scaffolds, pens; traps.--Tule-wrapped clay ball sinkers. Bag net dragged. Shell rattle on net. Stick pens, not associated with weirs. Basketry or pole trough. Angling; other techniques.--Feather "fly." Hair "fly." Hair string or ball. Knot or block on end of line. Shooting fish taboo. Lamprey gaff. Buckeye used for poisoning fish. Fishing observances.--Special disposal of salmon or other fishbones. First-fish rite: priest or chief catches first fish; only priest or chief eats first fish; similar rite for lampreys.

Gathering

● 222 Gathering techniques and observances; pre-agriculture.--Stone ring weighted digging stick. Digging stick with footrest. Bone or horn pointed digging stick. Stone pointed digging stick. Horn seed beater. Seed knife. Agriculture. Irrigation of wild-seed crops.

Domesticated Animals and Pets

231 Dogs, birds, bear, etc.--Domesticated animals, other than dog. Named after owner's totem. Separate dog house, conical, thatched. Own totem animal kept.

Food and Its Handling

262 Animals eaten.--Road runner (informants from
825 all groups except MF, NF, MV ignorant as to any
bird by this name, which indicates its probable
absence. MF, NF do not eat it, MV regard it as
poisonous.) Buzzard (WS, MM, NF, NM informants
stated buzzard absent from area). Crabs. Slugs.
252 Frogs. Food preparation.--Small mammals pounded
before eating. Dried meat or fish ground, berries
added. Bone awl for lamprey splitting.
Acorns leached in openwork basket. Acorn "coffee"
(NS: modern). Stone boiling in stone
bowls; in hide in ground; in paunch in ground.

226 787 first catch of suckers on spot. "If they don't eat it all up there, people won't catch any more suckers." After these observances, all suckers caught can be transported home to be eaten, dried.

284. SW: Wait until Karuk give White Deerskin dance at end of July before eating steelhead (rainbow trout); if any steelheads caught in salmon net before Karuk dance given, they must be thrown back into river. Fishermen who disregard this rule are in danger of being killed.

292. NF: "Dreamer" or singing shaman.

294. Kl: First 2 suckers.

296. SW: First run taboo to adolescent girls.

226 689 299. Kl: Old man in charge of rite tells youth, "Don't you pack those fish home on the first day; eat well; don't carry them around, or break their backbones." If youth disobeys, sticks bound from wrist to shoulder on boy's arms, and then bent upward and broken, thus breaking boy's arms at elbow; boy sometimes died. Any of old men present administer this punishment.

300. WM: See note 282.

Gathering

000 Gathering techniques and observances.--

300a. See note 357. AW: Pick up acorns from ground by hand; do not beat trees.

300b. Used to bend down limbs within hand's reach. MV: Obtained pine nuts at Lookout (in MF area); man intending to go for such, continent night before he starts. To obtain pine cones, he climbs tree, hooks branches with staff, cuts off cones.

301. Used to bend down limbs.

302. Used for whipping, knocking acorns and pine cones off limbs.

306. Branches left on pole, to serve as footholds. SW: Wrap grapevine around fir pole, or leave limbs on pole for footholds. AW: Native twine wrapped around sapling for foothold; limb left on sapling at upper end to serve as hook; pole hooked onto upper branches of tree, as climber progresses upward.

[222 824] 308. Kl, SW: Made of mountain mahogany.

311. SW: Iron bar across top end. AE: Use crutch-handled type mostly, but sometimes plain bipointed one as well.

312. Mo: Break or pull up entire plant of lamb's-quarters, pile plants on bare hard ground, and beat out seeds with long straight stick.

313. NS: Prepare meal for group, when first batch of any wild fruit gathered. Example, for manzanita berries, make large quantity of cider with first gathered berries, all drink. MV: Headman goes out and tests acorns for ripeness; tells people when they are ripe. His wife then goes out, secures 1 pack-basketful of acorns; dries them, and in about 6 days she is able to make 2 baskets of acorn mush from them. These she takes into assembly house; there members of secret society pray over mush and eat it; then everyone can go out and gather acorns.

[175-B]

000 314. MM: Large group of people gather acorns, in fall; make large batch acorn soup out of first crop; shaman or old man prays; mush then distributed to all present, eaten. After this each family may cook its own acorn mush separately. (Custom still observed.) MV: See note 313.

● 222 316. Kl: When wokus ripe, shaman does not allow anyone to pick them at first; he tells all the women to gather wokus, cook them and bring them to him in daytime. Shaman then sings, and men, women join him in singing for 2-3 hours; he then eats some of the wokus first, then everyone else eats it. Shaman instructs people to gather wokus for 5 days following, after that to refrain from gathering any for 5 days; at end of 10-day period people can gather wokus whenever they wish (for about 1 month, until end of crop).

000 317. At: 3 types 1st-fruits rites for ipos roots described. (1) In May, first ipos roots gathered sung over by shaman. Latter examines some of roots; prophecies whether any women are going to be sick. If they are, tells all women to dig roots; they do so 1 entire day, then bring them home in evening and dump them in 1 spot. All female doctors sing over these roots for half night, to make women healthy. Each woman then takes home the roots she has dug, but leaves handful or so for shamans, who cook and eat them. (2) General feast, to which women bring ipos, men fish, after shaman has dug first roots; shaman in charge. (3) First ipos roots any woman digs, in spring, she throws away; says: "Don't make me poor; give me good luck; you may have this one," and throws root in back of her. Prayer addressed to (?). Informant herself never eats any of first day's digging of roots; this however is not a general rule. Woman throws away root thus "to make her healthy"; no similar observance for other roots, or for acorns.

318. MV: Foothill Maidu bring manzanita berries down to valley Maidu when they attend latter's dances, burnings.

327. Mo: First of any variety root, seed crop thrown on ground to "feed earth first." MP, NM, NS: First morsel of each prepared new-fruit product thrown in fire, as offering.

Preagriculture.--

328. MM, MP, NP: For better crop mushrooms, principally; sometimes for wild seeds also.

329. AE: When seeds begin to ripen in patches out on hill, 2-3 women take sticks 4-5 ft. long and walk "forward and back, forward and back," flaying plants with sticks; "next year there will be a big crop there because lots of seeds have been scattered."

[241] 329a. Responses negative throughout area, but a few comments made in connection with question are of interest. AW: "When they (want to) 'irrigate,' they sing for cloud!" MV: Large ponds in area dry up in summer; wild-seed plants grow plentifully in moist bottoms of these dried-up

[176-A]

000 kept tied by leg. Fed squirrels, raw meat. Do not pluck, cut wings; ultimately freed. WT: Grouse kept. NS: Eagles kept. See elements 5198-5206a. MV: "Don't allow eagle to be kept." Eagle and swan feathers used chiefly for great variety of feather ornaments, etc., that MV make; eagle shot with bow and arrows when feathers needed.

348. AE: See note 347. WM: In basket, when young.

[231] 350. NS: After eagle killed.

351. Kl: When cub gets "mean," kill it.

352. WT: "Deer wish one bad luck, if one keeps fawn as pet; people die very shortly if they keep a pet fawn."

353. Mo: Skunk. SE: Mink. WT: Cottontail rabbits, squirrels.

Food and Its Handling

Staple foods.--

354. SW: In discussing horn utensils, informant said, "The Hupa, Karuk, Yurok bought horn from the Shasta for spoons. They didn't hunt much down-river; mostly fished, so they didn't use much deermeat. Fish is first, deermeat second, among down-river tribes; it's the other way around for the Shasta." AE: Deer and antelope; latter mentioned frequently by informant. WS: Deer hunted chiefly in winter; "best way to get them is in snow."

[261] 355. Kl: Starvation periods affirmed; "in winter whole families died, all around this [Williamson] River, 100 years ago." Good deal of deer, elk, antelope meat eaten although fish staple food. AW: Starvation periods denied; "people didn't know anything about starving here, in old times; they had plenty of fish, ducks, deer, acorns, roots; people from Alturas (AE) came down here in winter." (See also note 1747.) MV: "Plenty of food, year round; if 1 variety of acorn fails 1 year, have plenty of other varieties; not like people up in foothills, where have only 1 variety; if this fails, they starve. Also have plenty of game: fish, ducks, deer in fall."

[262] 357. Kl, Mo: Acorns not used. SE, SW: Acorns used extensively; pine nuts not used much. At, AW: Acorns used extensively; little use of sugar-pine nuts. AE: No oaks in area; a few pine nuts from piñon pine obtained in Hammawi area to E; parties camp there for 3-4 weeks in October, some years. WT: Acorns, digger and sugar-pine nuts gathered. WM, WS, MM, MF, NF: Acorns and pine nuts gathered. NM: Acorns and sugar-pine nuts gathered. NS: Acorns and pine nuts. MV: 4 varieties of acorns in area--live oak, white oak, tan oak, and valley oak; mountain-oak acorns imported, are richest in oil. Pine nuts obtained at Lookout (in MF area); see note 300b.

358. At: Important small seed food; 3 varieties. AW: Important seed food.

[222] 359. Kl, Mo, SE, At, AW, AE: Dig ipos roots;

000 [222] plentiful in Hat Creek (At) area; also rob gopher holes of stored roots. WT: "Wild potatoes [sp.?] about only root crop." WS: "No roots in area."

[222] 360. AE: Plentiful in area; in contrast to Kl, who still gather wokus to some extent, AE no longer "bother with them; people say now 'I'm not a bird.'" MF: Water lilies "poisonous."

Animals eaten.--

361. That is, as food, not merely during famines or epidemics.

261 362. Kl: "Long time ago [pre-White], when all people dying [in some sort of epidemic] and Indian medicines didn't work, man said he was going to try dog meat [as a cure]; he roasted a dog and ate it, and it cured him"; others followed suit, and also recovered. Kl ate dog meat only on such an occasion (cp. Spier, Klamath, p. 130). A long time after this, the White people purchased dogs from the Kl with shell beads, and ate them." At: "3 persons once ate dog, during epidemic; it made them well; dog is good medicine." Also eaten in time of famine.

000 363, 364. Mo: Eaten only during times of scarcity.

365. At: Eaten whenever procurable.

366, 366a. Mo: Grizzly bear eaten only by few people. AE: Grizzly and brown bears lacking in area but sometimes hunted to W.

369. AW: Antelope lacking in area; sometimes hunted to E.

370. AW: Eaten by some persons only.

[224] [262] 372. Tail eaten. Kl: Beavers shot in springtime, from canoe. AW: Eaten by some persons only.

373. AW, WS: Eaten by some persons only.

374. WM: Some persons eat, not all. Raccoons tracked to den in winter, and dug out.

375. Mo: Highly esteemed.

376. Kl: See note 26.

380. AW: Mole hide used, but mole not eaten.

382. At: Killed only in wintertime.

387. Mo: Flavor disliked; but eaten in times of scarcity.

391. MM: Caught in fish net.

[231] [262] 392. Kl: Catch and keep them, but do not eat them. At: Eaten by Goose Valley (Aporige) group of At. AW: "Goose Valley people (see above) very fond of turtle, eat lots of them."

394. SE: Lizard used for poison, "scalp of lizard and frog pounded together, put in food as poison."

395. SW: People of Shasta Valley and vicinity of Montague eat crickets, but crickets lacking in SW area. If SW people visiting in Shasta Valley at right time, they gather, eat crickets. Insects pounded into meal, stored. AW: Not many grasshoppers eaten; those that are, are boiled. Eaten by Dixie Valley (Aporige) people in large quantities. WM: Crickets lacking in area, but gathered on trips to S.

396. Mo: Eat 4 varieties.

397. MV: Angleworms made into soup are "good medicine."

[177-B]

Division of Labor

Subsistence pursuits.--

000 566. SW: "A man could go out to help his wife gather food if he wanted to, but she couldn't go with him to hunt. She might camp with him [on hunt], but she had to stay in camp." AW: If girl 9-10 shoots bow and arrow, her forefinger will become sore and she will lose arm and hand. (Girls, then, precluded from doing much practicing with these weapons.) Does not make grown woman sick, though, if she handles bow and arrows. Women do not hunt much; they accompany husband, usually, and help pack home deer.

571. NM: Old men, chiefly.

222 462 576. Kl: Wokus (water lily seeds) main seed crop; men do not assist in gathering wokus, nor in digging roots or picking huckleberries. "In early days men didn't do any of women's work, and women couldn't do any of men's work, either." Mo: If man not good hunter, he helps gather wokus, or dig roots; "he has to eat. But other men tease him, ask him, 'why don't you learn to hunt?'" AW: Coyote decreed "that women gather, pound acorns, and collect wood, and that men hunt--that's what Coyote said. But if a man isn't going hunting some mornings, and has time, he gathers wood." 000

579. MV: Men only go outside area to gather pine nuts; see note 300b.

590. At: Man, however, "sometimes goes out with wife, and packs home whatever she gathers; he's sorry for her, and the woman doesn't want to get them alone." AE: Men and women. NM: Few if any small seeds gathered.

593. MM: Permissible to bring deermeat into house where women stay, but men cook deermeat.

595. WM, WS: See note 545.

600. SW: Rarely necessary, as "always live, camp near water."

607. AW: Man's ability to obtain wood, important consideration in eyes of his future parents-in-law. In summer, woman packs wood in pack basket, in winter man packs it.

Manufacturing activities.--

614. MV: Some women make small nets.

615. SE: Men make heavy cord, women fine cord.

616. MV: Women assist.

619. Mo: "Men help; perhaps scrape hide, when not busy hunting. But women generally tan it."

620. SW: Men, women each make own clothing. AW: "Not many women tan buckskin or make clothes; just a few."

HOUSES AND SHELTERS

342 In this section two or more types of houses are sometimes entered under the same complex. Whenever this has been done, if no note is ap-

[Klamath Reservation]

K
M draws upland Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute and gives to the
226 nearby settlement, the easternmost of the permanent villages of
103 the Klamath, the name, "Sucker-fishery." Others make their way
648 K to stone weirs, built, it is said, by Gmukamps himself, or to the
M lakes to fish with a variety of dip nets, gill net baskets, the two-
226 pronged harpoon and the multibarbed spear. At night, men set
forth in canoes upon the lake to fish by torchlight. Set lines are
K put out infrequently. While the men catch the fish—suckers,
M [251] salmon, and trout—their wives work ceaselessly, splitting them
and laying them in the sun to dry.

K Released from the protracted confinement to the winter settle-
M ments, tribesmen eagerly renew bonds with relatives and friends
221 from other villages. Related families may rendezvous to travel
• 222 together down to the fisheries and set up their lodges side by
[571] side. Then, as spring advances and the runs of suckers and
[602] salmon abate, the fishing settlements break up and parties of
[226] two or three families fan out along the flats and meadows to dig
[103] roots: the succulent camas, the nutlike ipos, yans, and the arrow-
root for which Chewaucan Marsh is named. In the watery flats
they seek the roots of tule and cattail; elsewhere they pick wild
K celery and mosses. There are the eggs of swan and other water-
M fowl to gather; trout in the streams to be caught; and for the
22 Modoc, antelope and mountain sheep to hunt. At this time, some
[361] areas are occupied that at other times are too cold or barren.

K If there is danger of hostile attack, the parties coalesce; and
M
22 under all circumstances they maintain a wary lookout. In the
726 north small bands make cautious excursions into the upper valley
of the Deschutes, watchful for raiding parties of Cayuse, Nez
K Percés, Warm Springs, and Paiute. Toward the east, Sycan and
M Chewaucan marshes are dug over by Klamath and Paiute. Fré-
222 mont once found the latter tract furrowed as if it had been
252 plowed. In many places the stone-lined earth ovens in which
camas and other vegetal foods were baked for winter storage
can still be seen.

K As the long summer days wear on, the pond-lily seeds, known
M as wokas, begin to ripen on the marshes, and once more the
221 people draw together. The Modoc congregate especially along
222 Tule and Lower Klamath Lake, while some join the Klamath
648 on Wokas Marsh. Many Klamath, together with a few Modoc

and Paiute, meet on the broad expanses of Klamath Marsh, K M 221 222 [248] where, as Coville observes, over ten thousand acres of ripening plants promise in good years an abundance not to be exhausted by the demands of man. In later times Agents describe wokas as the most important single food of the Indians; and its specialized preparation is one of the most distinct features of their subsistence technology. Its importance is emphasized further by K [805] the circumstance that the month of its harvest, August, marks the beginning of the Klamath year. The wokas-gathering is preceded by shamanistic performances to ensure a plentiful crop. K M [756] [789]

Daily, the dugout canoes, somewhat smaller than those used in K M 50 222 fishing and ordinary transport, slip out from the camps upon the broad expanse of the waters. In the openwork bags twined from tules, the pods accumulate until the canoe is full. One old woman recalled how she and a girlhood chum learned how to collect the pond-lily seeds:

> We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were always lots of extra poles lying K M around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules [252] to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them."[14]

While the women, old men, and children are occupied on the K M 224 marshes some of the men fare forth to hunt. The favored grounds are in the east, where Klamath and Modoc pursue antelope, mule

K M deer, and mountain sheep with bow and arrow and dogs. The
224 Modoc, who rely more upon hunting than do the Klamath, go
M out in small parties of co-villagers, then separate to stalk the
224 game. Before the hunt they sweat to render themselves ritually
[783] pure. On the hunt, they may wear disguises and use calls to lure
game. Only in the autumn do collective drives take place. Then
Modoc men and women, sometimes employing fire, herd antelope
or deer into a rude pound where they are dispatched. The
Pelican Bay people of Upper Klamath Lake drive deer into the
water near their village, where the women, waiting in canoes,
kill them. Waterfowl are taken by men sitting in canoes, using
M [223] nets, or they are hunted by jacklight, much as in fishing. Nets
are used also to trap beaver, otter, and rabbits. When a hunter
has killed one of the larger animals, he is expected to be generous
in distributing portions to his friends, relatives, and the needy.

K When the wokas crop is done, other wild seeds ripen, and the
M women move out to garner them with beaters, conical gathering
• 222 baskets, and mats. For Klamath these seeds are less important
than for the Modoc, and they withdraw earlier toward the Cascades,
and particularly to Harriman, Pitt, and Huckleberry
mountains. The Modoc linger in the lowlands to gather berries,
then they too withdraw. In the mountains, only camas may now
be ripe; but fruits such as the huckleberries, serviceberries,
chokecherries, and wild plums especially draw them. These are
gathered in large quantities and eaten fresh or dried for winter
storage. The berry grounds, however, are attractive to others,
and many a woman, preoccupied with a berry bush, spends her
last mortal seconds in the realization that a grizzly, and not
K M another person, is feeding on the far side. During this time, some
224 of the men set deadfalls for small furbearers or venture beyond
the mountains to hunt deer and elk with the Southern Molala.
K M Others organize war parties to raid the Upland Takelma of the
721 upper Rogue River Valley, the Pit River and Shasta to the south,
or the Paiute to the east.

K The gatherings, both at wokas beds and the berry patches,
M provide welcome opportunity for relaxation from the day's labors.
222 Footracing, gambling with the stick-game or beaver-tooth dice,
517 hockey, and other sports enliven the evenings, while the old
people sit and gossip and young lovers advance their cause. The

[Klamath Reservation]

season however is now late, and frosts warn that winter is near. K M 222
By mid-October, they have begun the homeward journey to their 517
settlements, there to rebuild the earth lodges, gather firewood, K M
and prepare for the long siege of winter. 221

Throughout the cycles of the seasons, the tribesmen live under 361
a sense of dependent involvement in a universe that was created K M
in the mythic age by supernatural beings who, establishing the 82
present order, also chose their present form within it. Among the creatures of this world, man is less the exploiter than a fellow being, a relationship honored by returning to the water the gall of a fish that had been caught in order that the fish be requickened, as well as in the annual ceremonies of the first sucker and the ripened wokas. Each individual may draw close to the sources of power; and among the Klamath neither age
nor sex is a barrier. The young boy at puberty may be sent on K
vigil to sacred place—in mountains and at certain rivers or lakes— 881
there to fast, pile stones, run, and swim. In time, he may faint, 787
awaken with blood gushing from his mouth, and hear the song that is his power. A girl during the time of her puberty dance
goes off to sleep apart during the day; then she too may hear a K
song. Those mourning a deceased mate or child may "travel," [765]
seeking solace and power, for the spirit confers power through
pity. Those who seek help desire a specific power, and they may K
pray for prowess in hunting, gambling, in attracting a mate, or 787
in acquiring wealth. One who already has a spirit associate may seek for others; and some, either through inheritance or by the successive acquisition of tutelaries, may go on to become shamans. Some persons may reject the call. One middle-aged woman recounts a waking dream she had in her girlhood of a stag in full antlers rising out of the waters. Had she followed the opening thus offered she might have acquired great power, but she was afraid and let the chance slip by.

Among the Modoc, says Ray, powers come only to those who M 787
seek to become shamans. The call, which comes in a dream, is 756
legitimate only in mature men and women past menopause and [885]
may not be experienced in old age. The seeker, like his Klamath counterpart, undertakes a five-day quest; but the chief of the spirit abodes in which he spends his vigil are the house pits of deceased shamans. Those spirits that come to him choose him

*657 continued to be exploited for fifty years, until the owners of the
177 abutting land put an end to it. On the reservation, the Sprague
226 and Williamson continue to supply a catch, although the drying
[251] of fish for the winter, common enough on the Lower End until
about thirty years ago, has now passed into disuse.

*657 Similarly root gathering continued to be an important activity
178 for many years, leading Nickerson to suggest that several of the
177 palatable and nourishing roots used by the Indians for food
• 222 "could be materially improved by continued cultivation."[62] "Root
[412] probes," or "camas diggers," as well as "fish spears" and fish
[227] hooks were forged by Agency blacksmiths for years.[63]

Wokas long remained a staple for the Klamath. In 1881 Nicker-
*657 son, noting that each family gathered some five to fifteen bushels,
178 added "this wokus, with dried fish, forms a large portion of the
222 food of those who have not the money with which to purchase
262 flour and groceries."[64] About the turn of the century, Coville observed a thriving wokas-gathering industry with a vast expanse of marsh to exploit, and speculated on the possibility of processing the seed commercially as a breakfast food.[65] The decline of wokas gathering parallels in time the Indian's diminishing use of dried fish, another winter food.

*657 A similar course can be traced for those fall activities, hunting
177 and berrying. From at least 1872, Indians were reported leaving
178 the reservation in September to hunt and gather berries in the
222 Cascades.[66] In addition, the men on occasion went on a spring
224 hunt for antelope and mule deer at the north end of the reservation.[67] Gradually the fall berrying and hunting came to be concentrated at the "huckleberry patch" on Huckleberry Mountain, southwest of Crater Lake. Hunting has continued to be both a sport and a means of providing food; and if the preparation of jerky has declined, it is because the freezer has displaced it.
[251] The drying of berries and wild fruits has been rendered obsolete by canning. There is local testimony that the killing off of predators by fur hunters and stock raisers has caused an increase of deer upon the reservation itself. It is not infrequent for a single family to consume six to fifteen or more deer in the course of a year. One tribal leader from the Upper End, a man then less than forty years of age, remarked in 1958 that until his family

657*

moved to Klamath Falls when he was nine years old, he had eaten only venison and had never tasted beef. 177 178 222 •

In their continued loyalty to traditional foods, the Klamath were responsive to several advantages beyond—but including—appeal to the palate. The techniques involved in securing them were relatively simple and familiar, imposing few demands upon the individual for capital investment in tools and labor, required little in regularity of routine, and involved the cooperation of only small groups. Participation was direct, self-controlled, and provided an immediate reward. 224 657* 178 177 262

Consequently, the issues of beef and flour were assimilated in use to native staple foods, rather than replacing them entirely. Flour was given the name that also denoted a meal made from ground seeds and cattail roots. It must be borne in mind that the rations were issued at times when other foods were largely exhausted, and probably because of this certain anomalies were introduced. Since the issues were public and general, there was no need, as there had been formerly, to conceal foodstuffs from neighbors. Thus, bread and biscuits were the first foods to be baked in the coals of the house fire, rather than in a special outside cooking hut; and, perhaps because of the method of issue, the food was shared by household, rather than by an individual family.[68] The practice of eating while the food lasted strained Agency resources: the Commissary at Yainax estimated that an Indian could easily dispose daily of two pounds each of beef and flour.[69]

The example provided by white cooking, the use of salt, sugar, and baking soda, as well as new foodstuffs, together with the general acquisition of such utensils as the kettle, coffeepot, and spider, extended the variety of culinary techniques and even enhanced the preparation of native dishes. One woman recalls the ease with which one could hull wokas with a coffee grinder; and when a kinsman borrowed that useful instrument, she used her wokas mulling stones to grind coffee beans. Through it all, native foods continued to be favored, and the observation that "the Indian [school] children are very fond of fish" is nearly as true today as it was in 1893.[70] 657* 177 178 262 263 415

657*

An analysis of the statistical and narrative reports of the 177 178 262

[p. 348A]

> 50 868 and saw us. They laughed and laughed and said, "Look, she doesn't know how to use the pole." Then they told me how to push it a little way at a time and lift it up and push again.

Some children start to use paddles by themselves, too. Adults see them trying to do so and tell them how to kneel in the bottom and dip the paddle in and out of the water without splashing. Light cedar paddles are used, and small ones are made for children. Similarly, shorter poles are often made for the children.

222 868 462 [262] The principal vegetable food of the Klamath is the seed of the wild water-lily, known as wokas. Many other seed, root, and berry products are also utilized in varying amounts.[26] It is the women who do the gathering, and there is a strong feeling that a girl cannot learn too soon to contribute to the family food supply by helping her mother gather these products, although youngsters are never forced into work.

Even very small girls receive a tiny digging stick as a toy. With the sticks the girls play around the camp, digging up clumps of grass to be used as "camas" and "ipos" for feeding their dolls. Children often accompany their mothers after berries, seeds, and roots. They are allowed to run about as they please and only help if they wish. When they get tired or hungry, they go back to camp. Both boys and girls help occasionally with berrying. Parents complain that the youngsters eat more than they save, but do not scold them.

251 868 Part of the activity during the berrying season is, of course, the drying of the berries for storage. One woman recalls seeing this as a child and wanting to help.

> Up in the mountains I saw how they dried huckleberries. They dug a little ditch and put the berries in and made a fire alongside. You have to watch the fire for a day and a night. I remember seeing this when I was about ten. I wanted to dry some berries, too; but my mother didn't want me to use any of her berries. She said I might ruin them so I'd have to get my own. I went and picked some, and she showed me how to dry them.

222 868 When a girl is nine or ten, her mother gives her a real digging stick of slightly smaller dimensions than her own. The girl is also given a small carrying basket to wear on her back and a basket to put the roots in before they are transferred to the carrying basket. The mother shows the girl where to go to get the best roots and how to insert the stick to loosen the earth all the way around the root before prying it out. Apparently there is little attempt to force the girl to work hard the first

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[26] Coville (1897), pp. 87-103, idem (1904), pp. 725-739, and Spier, pp. 166 f.

222 868 few times, but many girls are proud of their ability to dig a lot of roots, for which they receive praise at home.

> I liked to dig up camas where the dirt was soft. My mother had a long stick, and I had a little one. I had a basket on my back and a little basket in my hand. My, I thought it was smart to be able to dig up those roots. I was sorry when evening came, and we had to go home. We brought the camas home and dumped them on the ground to dry. 252 868 When I saw my mother fix a pit for baking the camas, I wanted to do the same. My girl friend ~~and I~~ had a hard time getting the bark to put in the pit, but we did it. We had to get grass and a lot of wood, too. You have to make the rocks hot just like for a sweatbath and put them in the pit with wet grass over so the camas will steam. Then the camas is put in with dirt over it and a fire on top. My mother watched me when I made the pit and told me when I got the wrong kind of grass; she said it would make the camas taste bitter. I kept asking my mother how to do it, and she told me.

222 852 Several informants stated that the first roots a girl digs are of special importance. They are given to her grandmother, who blesses the girl with a statement to the effect that henceforth the girl will be a good worker. 224 852 Not all families seem to follow this custom. The first fruits custom is more strictly followed for the first large game a boy kills.[27]

222 The wokas harvest from mid-August to late September is a time for general gatherings and activities, one of the most pleasantly anticipated times of the year.[28] Women go out in the canoes early in the morning and remain on the marsh all day. Apparently the mother does not really urge or coerce her daughter to start helping with the wokas. As with other products, it may be the girl herself who takes the initiative.

> 222 868 We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were

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[27] Compare Spier, p. 168, and Voegelin, element 137.

[28] The most complete account of wokas gathering is found in Coville (1904), pp. 725-739.

222 868 always lots of extra poles lying around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them.

A girl gradually learns to gather all of the wild products which are used, gaining most of the knowledge of where and when to gather the different crops simply by accompanying her mother. The mother tells the girl where to find the best seeds, berries, and roots. She tells her daughter to look for huckleberries near springs and moist places; she shows her how to follow the little trail left by squirrels in storing nuts; in short, she gives her the information that means the difference between being a good and a mediocre provider.

251 Enough food must be collected from spring to fall to last through the winter, and it is imperative to store it so as to prevent spoilage. Roots are put in caches in the ground. Seeds are stored in sacks between the timbers on the roof of the winter house in such a way that the sacks can be opened from inside the house. Young girls are not trusted with the preparation of the storage pits because an error might ruin [868] the family's entire winter supply. Sometimes girls fix small pits for the roots they have dug by themselves.

I dug up the dirt and put away my sacks of ipos and camas. Then I covered them just the way I saw the old people do.

252 868 A girl begins to learn to cook when she is about ten. As with most other skills, some girls acquire this at an earlier age than others. A girl first learns to roast fish, her mother watching and telling her to be sure that it is cooked thoroughly. A woman also teaches her girl to roast ducks, showing her how to turn the bird so that it will not burn.

Preparation of seed and root foods is more difficult, since they must be ground or pounded before use. The mother shows the girl how to use a flat metate and two-horned muller for wokas. Many girls start to grind wokas first for their dolls.

I was just playing the first time I helped another girl grind the wokas. We used a wokas leaf like the mat they put the

M K 501 more acute than that at the stern. These canoes are from twelve to thirty feet in length but are very narrow in proportion, usually ranging between twenty and twenty-six inches in width. The opening of the canoe extends its full length and is usually two or three inches narrower than the full beam. Usually not over a quarter and never over a third of the log is cut away in making the canoe, the remaining three-quarters or two-thirds being then hollowed out to a thin shell varying from half an inch to a couple of inches in thickness, except at the prow and stern, where the thickness is considerably greater. The stern is somewhat thicker than the prow. The canoe is loaded with its greatest weight aft, which causes the prow to project considerably out of the water, and makes the canoe much easier to propel. This is carried to so great an extent that in the case of a single paddler in a large canoe the prow points upward at an angle of perhaps fifteen degrees from the surface of the water. When there is a second paddler, he kneels near the middle of the canoe, unless he is fishing or doing other work which requires that he be at the prow. The prow has always a somewhat greater overhang than the stern.

To propel a canoe one paddle each is required by the occupants. These paddles, always of cedar, vary in length from about three to five and a half feet, have handles an inch or so in diameter, and broad, very thin, blades. The paddle is dipped vertically and noiselessly, no pull being given until the blade is completely covered by the water. To lift it from the water again it is turned on its edge so that the width of the blade is almost parallel with the length of the boat. The handle of the paddle very often strikes the side of the canoe and in this manner, particularly at the stern where most of the paddling is done, the side of the gunwale is worn very smooth, showing a polished surface or even a notch, particularly on the right side of the older boats. Paddling is the ordinary method of propelling a
M canoe on deep water, for all such purposes as fishing, hunting,
K and general transportation. However, another and specialized
222 implement is used, especially in wokas gathering. The water on
501 the wokas marshes is shallow, rarely more than a couple of feet
[133] in depth, and the bottom consists of soft black mud completely

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

the Klamath. These mats may be made with both warp and weft of tule in plain twining, though the best mats are made with nettle-string weft. K 285

Tule is also used in making one form of quiver, such as that shown in pl. 20, fig. 1. It is said that these tule quivers were used chiefly by people of moderate means, the more well-to-do class having quivers made of skin. Tule caps such as that shown in pl. 17, fig. 6, were worn by the men. For summer wear moccasins of buckskin, such as that shown in pl. 17, fig. 5, were always used, but for winter wear moccasins of tule (pl. 17, figs. 2, 4, and pl. 19, fig. 2) were employed. A layer of dry grass was placed in the bottom to make them warm, and it is said that one might in the dead of winter walk with comparative comfort through marshes where the water is extremely cold. With these tule moccasins are worn tule leggings, such as that shown in pl. 17, fig. 3. Another form of footwear is the circular snow-shoe of wood and rawhide (pl. 17, fig. 1). A similarly shaped but somewhat smaller shoe is worn in wading about in the mud of the marshes. The women also wore a cape or, more properly speaking, a blanket, made of shredded tule or of sage-brush bark, or of a combination of the two. Where the wokas grows close in shore, and where the water is shallow and other conditions such as a moderately hard bottom are favorable, the women often drag about canoe-shaped baskets or rafts, as they might be called (pl. 19, fig. 3), into which the wokas is gathered. The weight of the wokas of course sinks the basket down partially below the surface of the water, but it always manages to keep sufficiently above water to prevent the wokas from floating away. M K 285 411 M K 291 M K 285 222

Another special implement used in harvesting the water-lily is the spoon-shaped basket shown in pl. 13, fig. 2.[12] After the dehiscence of the pods of the water-lily the seeds with their coating form a mucilaginous mass which floats on the surface of the water. This mass is scooped up with the spoon and placed in a basket in the canoe. These seeds, called spŏ'kwas, are kept in water until used, since they lose their flavor if allowed to dry.

Another use for tule is in the making of rafts. While the dug-out canoe above described was the chief means of traveling from M K 501 [726]

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[12] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

M
K place to place, a tule raft was sometimes used, particularly by
war parties. Several large bundles of tule, sometimes two feet
501 in diameter and eight or ten, or even fifteen feet in length, were
[726] lashed together to form a raft. It is said to have been propelled
by lying down along the edges and really swimming the raft by
dipping the hands into the water with a motion similar to that
used in paddling.

M One of the most characteristic features of the culture of the
K region is the flat triangular platter made of tule and used for
285 serving food, particularly broiled or otherwise cooked fish and
285 roasted meat. Such trays are shown in pl. 13, figs. 1, 4, 6, and
415 vary greatly in size. Circular baskets of coarse tule, such as that
[262] in fig. 3 of the same plate, are more rarely found. Occasionally
they are bound about the rim with a hoop. More or less flat trays
of several other forms are also used. One such tray is shown in
fig. 5 of the same plate.

M Though not used at the present time, a tule sack was formerly
K made for the transportation and storage of wokas. This sack
was made of unsplit tule, but was of sufficiently close weave to
285 prevent the wokas from running through. These sacks were
415 sometimes made so large that when filled with the wokas seed,
222 which is comparatively light in weight, they were so heavy that
a man of ordinary strength, or a woman, would not attempt to
carry more than one at a time.

M There are several forms of rigid baskets made with willow or
K other sticks, particularly the conical burden basket (pl. 16, fig. 3)
which was used largely in gathering foods such as wild plums;
285 and the flat, more or less triangular, openwork basket with a
handle (pl. 16, figs. 1 and 2),[13] used as a sieve and as a grater as
[171] well as a general receptacle. In the loop handle this basket
differs from most of those of similar form found in various parts
of California. It is used for sifting the wokas after drying, the
seeds passing through the interstices of the basket, and separating
from the larger fragments of the pods. Also camass, ipos, and
other roots and tubers are rubbed on this basket in order to grate
off or scrape off the skin of the tuber. In addition to being made of
round willow stems, these baskets are also made of the split roots

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[13] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 13.

Fig. 1.—Triangular platter of tule basketry in plain twining. Used for serving food and for fanning coals in parching wokas. Museum number 1-12693. Length 31 cm.

Fig. 2.—Spoon of tule basketry, used for gathering floating wokas seeds. Museum number 1-12772. Length 38 cm.

Fig. 3.—Flat circular basket of tule used as a food tray. Museum number 1-14295. Diameter 43 cm.

Fig. 4.—Triangular platter of tule basketry in plain twining. Used for serving food. Museum number 1-12695. Length 72 cm.

Fig. 5.—Two-handled tray of tule basketry. Museum number 1-14125. Length 64 cm.

Fig. 6.—Triangular platter of tule basketry in plain twining. Used for serving food. Museum number 1-14272. Length 34 cm.

137 the Cascade Range and its more humid atmosphere the less vegetation is developed. The lake shores and river banks, when not marshy, produce the cottonwood tree and several species of willows, and the hills are covered with the yellow or pitch pine and the less frequent western cedar. In the western parts of the Reservation large tracts are timbered with pitch pine, which seems to thrive exceedingly well upon the volcanic sands and detritus of the hilly region. These pines (kō'sh) are about one hundred feet in height, have a brownish-yellow, very coarse bark, and branch out into limbs at a considerable height above the ground. They stand at intervals of twenty to fifty feet from each other, and are free from manzanita bushes and other undergrowth except at the border of the forest, leaving plenty of space for the passage of wagons almost everywhere. A smaller pine species, *Pinus contorta* (kápka, in Modoc k̲úga), which forms denser thickets near the water, is peeled by the Indians to a height of twenty feet when the sap is ascending, in the spring of the year, to use the fiber-bark for food. Up high in the Cascade Range, in the midst of yellow pines, grows a conifera of taller dimensions, the sugar-pine (ktéleam kō'sh). The hemlock or white pine (wā'ko), the juniper (ktä'lo), and the mountain mahogany (yúkmalam) are found in and south of Sprague River Valley.

222 285 824 The lake shores and river banks produce more edible fruits and berries than the marshy tracts; and it is the shores of Klamath and Tule Lakes which mainly supply the Indian with the tule reed and scirpus, from which the women manufacture mats, lodge-roofs, and basketry. The largest tule species (má-i) grows in the water to a height of ten feet and over, and in the lower end of its cane furnishes a juicy and delicate bit of food. Woods, river sides, and such marshes as Klamath Marsh, are skirted by various 222 kinds of bushes, supplying berries in large quantities. The edible bulbs, as camass, k̲ō'l, l'bá, ipo, and others, are found in the prairies adjacent. Pond-lilies grow in profusion on lake shores and in the larger marshes, especially on the Wókash Marsh west of Linkville, and on Klamath Marsh, as previously mentioned. The Lost River Valley is more productive in many of these spontaneous growths than the tracts within the Reservation.

278 It is claimed by the Klamath Lake Indians that they employ no drugs of vegetal origin for the cure of diseases, because their country is too cold

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tû'nsχantsa	yáshaltk.	Tchúi	kissä'mi	shû'dsha	Sā't;	tû'	wali'sh	î-utíla
was running	studded with willows.	Then	at nightfall	made a fire	the Snakes;	there	the cliffs	below

tû'shtuk	kû'mme.	Mû'	sk̲á	tánkt	slä'wi;	tsúi	psín	gátpa	Sā't	î-úta.
there (was)	a cave.	Very	cold	that time	(the wind) blew;	and	in the night	came	the Snakes	(and) fired.

Tsúi	shúldshash	vû'ssa.	tsúi	nat	mû'lua,	a	nat	guhuáshktsa,	psínak
And	the soldiers	took fright,	and	we	got ready,	and	we	marched,	the same night

mû'atan	nat	géna;	nishtá	nat	géna.	Tû'	nat	yaínatat	pä'ktgî,	tsû'i	nat
southwards	we	went;	the whole night	we	marched.	Far away	we	on the mountains	were at dawn.	then	we

ní'lka.
stopped there in the early hours.

Lû'luagslash	tánkt	lápksapt	wéwanuish;	äná	nat	hû'nk,	tsúi	nat	pän
They enslaved	that time	seven	women;	brought	we	those,	then	we	again

mák̲'lëχ	Nä'wapksh	yámakstan	gä'dsa	tχálamna.	Tsúi	k̲ok̲ág	hátakt
encamped	from Goose Lake	north side of	a little	to the west.	And	a brook	there

tû'nsna;	tsúi	psin	gátpa	Sā't,	tsúi	k̲á-i	nat	káktant;	ní'shta	nat	k̲á-i
is running;	and	at night	came	the Snakes,	and	not	we	slept;	all night	we	not

káktant.	Tsúi	mbúsant	pän	gátpa	Sā't;	yaína-ag	kúita	nats	hûk	tû'pka,
slept.	And	next morning	again	came	the Snakes;	a hillock	back of	us		stood,

tsúi	hátakt	lí'wal	Sā't,	tsúi	k̲ak̲î''hha	shō'ldshash;	atí	hû'nk	k̲ak̲î''hha.
and	there	gathered	the Snakes,	and	missed (them)	the soldiers;	by a long way	them	they missed.

Tsúi	nat	watsátka	täluak-húya;	tsúi	gáya-a	nā'ts	hû'k	Sā't.	Mbúsant
Then	we	on horseback	rode after them;	and	were hiding	before us	the	Snakes.	In the morning

nat	gépgap'lî;	at	gä'tak	Sátas	släá,	tsúi	nat	gátpampēle.	Tsúi	shû'ldshash
we	returned;		no longer	any Snakes	found we,	and	we	went back home.	And	the military

hû'k	shäwána	wewán'sh	nā'ls	hû'nk,	Sā'tas	wáts	tchîsh	lā'p.	A	nat	gatpámpēle
	gave	women	to us	those,	of the Snake tribe	horses	also	two.	Then	we	returned

gí'ta	E-uk̲ák̲;	hû'ktoks	Lieutenant	Small	tû'	shîpí'tk	Nä'wapksh
here	to Fort Klamath;	but he	Lieut.	Small	over there	separated	Goose Lake

guní'gstant	gémpaluk	Spá-ish	Valleytála.	Lā'p	Sátas	wéwanuish	ä'na.
opposite	for returning	to Surprise	Valley.	Two	Snake	females	he took with him.

NOTES.

28. The various bands of Snake Indians inhabiting Oregon east of the Cascade Mountains are gaining their sustenance chiefly by the chase. This accounts for their constant wanderings and ubiquitous presence sometimes at Camp Harney, or the Owyhee and Snake River, at other times near Warner Lake, or the Klamath Marsh.

The date of this raid could not be determined; it may have preceded the fight related below by ten or twenty years.

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28, 1. É-uksi, "to Klamath Marsh"; on Williamson River (K̲ók̲e), which forms the outlet of the Marsh, the Snakes saw women of the Lake tribe crossing or passing down the river in their dug-out canoes, which they use for gathering wókash (the seed of the pond-lily) on the Marsh.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc N517

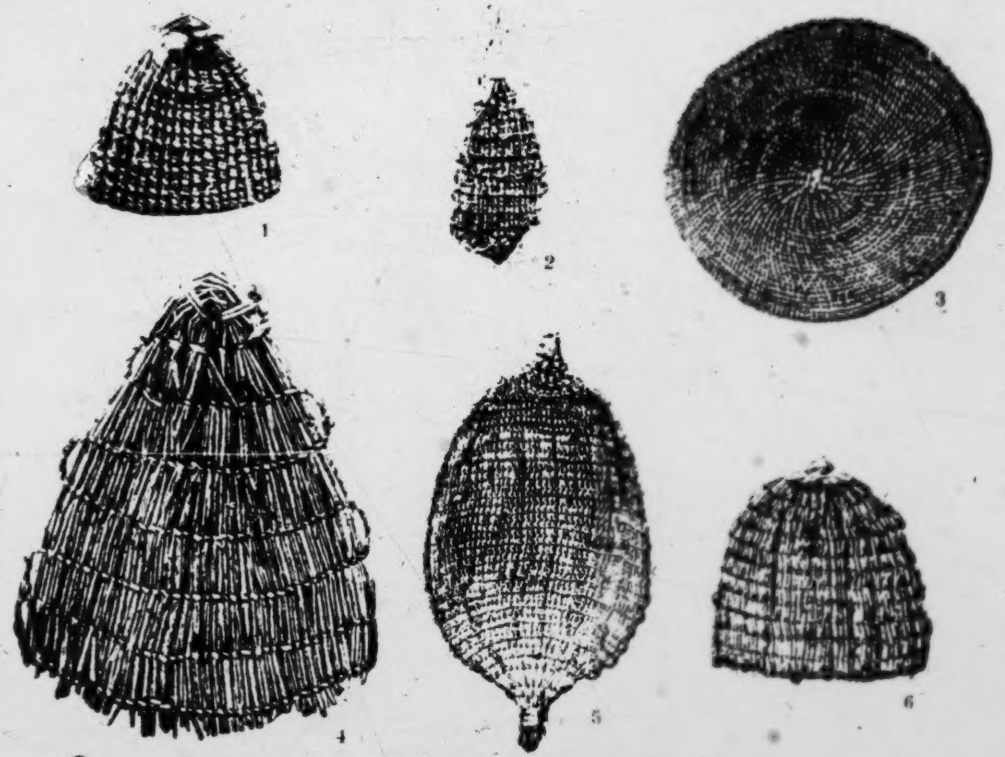

FOOD RECEPTACLES AND DIPPER OF TULE BASKETRY.

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[p. 269]

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

173 28, 2. gépkapsh, formed by syllabic elision from gepkápkash; cf. 29, 10.

*539 28, 2. sákatla, to come up, to arrive by the trail.

726 28, 3 and 4. wéwalüks pi'la, the old women only; the younger ones, on whom prin-
648 cipally devolves the work of wókash-gathering, found time to escape in their canoes
[193] from the raiders.

[192] 28, 4. k̲'lewidshápka. The men had gone fishing to distant places, leaving their
[222] females in the camp, not apprehensive of any hostile attack.

[192] 28, 8. kilō's, or k̲ilú's, is the epithet given to "Dry-Leg", the Snake chief; it means a bold fighter, leader of a fighting band; literally: "irate, wrathful", and may be here taken as an equivalent to "war-chief" (sesaclólish lak̲i).

[193] 28, 13. Moadokí'sh, apocopated for Moadokíshash; also 28, 1: wéwanuish (wé-
[192] wan'sh) for wewanuíshash (shlüá gépkapsh). Nā'lsh tchí'sh, *us* also; that is, we of the
[657] Klamath Lake tribe, were gathered by Mr. Perit Huntington into one district, the newly established Klamath Reservation. A large number of the Lake People were then scattered about Klamath Marsh, which is visited by them now in summer only for fishing, gathering wókash and berries, and for hunting.

[657] 28, 14. Dave Hill, now interpreter (lúldatkish) at the Klamath Lake Agency, took
[175] a part in this short but interesting expedition, in the capacity of an Indian scout. He fixes himself the date of it by the words "tína illolólatko", or a *full* year after the Indians had been gathered on the Reservation by Mr. Perit Huntington. The treaty was concluded on October 14, 1864, and the campaign was undertaken in 1866 by a small body of American troops for the purpose of bringing back to the Reservation a band of Snake Indians who had run away from it. This unruly tribe, jealous of its former independence, has left the Reservation even since then, and could only after much exertion be induced to return. The fights took place west of Warner Lake, and north of the border-line between California and Nevada, within the former haunts of these western Shoshonis.

[175] The Report of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867, page 99 sq., mentions this expedition in the following laconic terms: "October 27, 1866, troops consisting of 21 men, First Oregon infantry, and five Indian Klamath scouts, under Lieutenant Oatman, and 27 men, First Oregon cavalry, under Lieutenant Small, had a fight with a band of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [should read: Abert], in the Klamath country, Southern Oregon. The Indians had so chosen their position that the troops were obliged to dismount to attack them. The fight lasted one and a half hour, and 14 Indians were killed and many wounded."

On page 100 of the same Report, another fight against Snake Indians is spoken of: "Late in November, 1866, in a conflict between the troops and Snake Indians near Fort Klamath, 10 Snake Indians were killed by the troops, and three more by the friendly Klamath and Moadocs who accompanied them." This may have been the same fight as the one above, reported with much less accuracy of detail.

[103] 29, 3. Spá-ish Valley, name corrupted from Surprise Valley. This valley is situated in the northeastern angle of California, and on the shore of its two alkali lakes several American settlements have sprung up. A few Snake Indians live peaceably around Fort Bidwell, which is located at the northern extremity of the valley.

29, 10. tálaat tχalamti'tal, consonantic assimilation for tálaak tχalamti'tal, due west.

[192] 29, 17 and 19. nā'ts, natch, for nā'ls, nā'lsh, nā'lash, *us*; náts a gépkai, for nā'lash a gépkash í.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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THE MONTHS OF THE YEAR.

OBTAINED FROM "PETE" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

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Gáptsatka É-ukshikni mák̲laks páha udsáks; lúela kápto Yá-ag;
In the month of the small finger / the Lake / Indians / dry / the large sucker; / kill / gudgeons / at the Bridge;

Ktaí-Túpakshi tk̲álmakstant otí'lks lúela hō'ank. At sa kó-iχaktchuapka,
of Standing-Rock / to the westward / fish-dam / kill / when jumping. / Now they / will leave home (soon),

at kámals pahá; kó-iχaga, k̲ä'shla sa, k̲olálsuapk mat sa, tawiksálsuapk
and / dry fish / they prepare; / they leave, / go after ipos they, / will gather kol / they. / will gather tawika

mat s at, pō'ksalsuapk mat sa, at sa pópakuapk sátnalhuapka sa, suaítlaluapk; saká a pō'ks.
they, / will dig camass / they, / they / will bake (it), / roast it (3 days) / they, / roast it (1 day); / eat raw / camass.

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Tχópowatka pahá at pō'ks iwídshat, at É-uksi génuapka woksalsuapkátki giug; káyudsh nû'k̲a wókash. At nû'ka wókash, wóksalsha at túnepni
In the thumb-month / dried / then / camass / they put under ground, / now / for Klamath Marsh / they will start / to gather lily-seed; / not yet / is ripe / pond-lily seed. / Now / has ripened / lily-seed, / they gather (it) / for five

waítash, kánktak wókslat Eúkshikni. Sníkanua nadshgshaptánkni waítash;
days, / so long / may gather (it) / the Lake people. / They let it ripen / during six / days;

nadshgshaptánkni waítash wókash shutä'shlat, awō'lat, péksat, shiulína,
during six / days / the nuphar-seed / they grind, / cook, / rub fine, / winnow,

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lulína. Nä'sh willishik pálasham-wáχoksh láp tála, lχálχamnishti lulínash
make flour. / One / sack / of the flour-bags / two / dollars, / in a long, heavy sack / the ground-up wókash

222

túnep tála. Nû'χatk wókash iwiχí'e k̲á-itua nû käfla. "Tánk a iwíχa i?
five / dollars. / Roasted / lily-seed / filled in sacks / none / in the country. / "How many / did fill you?

229

lápkshapta kán iwí'χa willíshik?" "nû té-unip willí'shik iwí'χa!" Wéwan'sh pí'la wō'kshla, hí'hassuaks gánkanks paχō'les, tchä'-u. At sa héwiuapk̲, skúya wókash. At a sha i hí'wi-uapk; áwalues sk̲éna, máktsina
seven / who / did fill / sacks?" / "I / ten / sacks / have filled up!" / Women / only / gather wókash, / the men / hunt / mule-deers, / antelopes. / Now they will haul (it) home, / crush / lily-seed. / Just / they home / will bring it; / to the island / they row, / camp there

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Nû'shkshi, wō'ns í'lktsat Lĕmé-isham Nutē'ks, Vushí'nkam Tínuash, Lál'lāks,
at Skull-place, / canoes / they put away in lake bottom / at Thunderbolt, / at "Snake-Drowned", / at "Slope-steps"

Lkō'm Ä'-ush; k̲ák̲okish lóloksgish ktélχa, Stópalsh-Tamā'dsh, Tó-ilkat
at Black Lake; / at the ford / the rifle / drop, / at Peeled-Pine, / at Rail-Pyramid

pí'la wí'hla; tchía nánuk K̲ák̲-Ksháwaliäksh; nánka tchía Tchíkass-Walákgishtat.
stops / every one / at Raven's Place; / some / (will) stop / at Bird's Lookout.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 Spéluishtka at héwi, iwí-idsha wókash. Nāt a génanuapk! nánuk
In the index-month they haul, take home the lily-seed. We will go there! all
221 [222] nat éna! nátoks waítuapk, wewálha wátch, hû'masht nat gî waíta wéwal-
of us carry it! but we will wait one day, are sore (our) horses, therefore we wait one day because
hasht wátch kä'mat. Nad gitá piénuapk pólōkuantch, ktälowalshuápka
are sore horses on back. We there will scrape up moth-chrysalids, gather pine-nuts
nād. Tchatchápēlu, hóllaksh, tûtánksham, hahashkemólsham, lolóloisam,
we. Sweet resin, winged pine-nuts, blackberry, black cherry, wild gooseberry,
tsinéχam, klá-ads, wáshlalam íwam nā'd stá-ila. Kó-idse, shtéaltk ktä'lo.
sort of wókash, prunes, squirrels' huckleberries we gather. Of bad taste, full of resin (are) pine-nuts.

[231] [222] [251] [252] [272] Tχópowatka í-umāmi wátch lalá-a; gépgapēle máklaks kēlä'wiank,
In the thumb-month at berry-time mares foal; return the Indians having done (gathering),
at wéwanuish o-olalóna, at sa í'-umaltka. Bû'nuapka tchä'kēle í'wam,
the females dry berries by the fire, they return from berry-gathering. They will drink red juice of huckleberries,
tchilálat hûn í'wam. Ánshat ánika shash í'wam; wí'dsika nánka í'wam.
boil the berries. You may go and ask them for huckleberries; retentive some (are) of berries.
Túpeluish aní'k tēlû'ks, tchákēla n's skaí tak; tsákēlatka n's skaítki stá.
To next lodge I send tule-basket, willow-basket to me to give in; in the basket to me to give it filled.
Pahápk tchísh íwam lúitki n's léwitchta á Ká-i sheshätuí'shtka.
Dried too huckleberries to give to me they did not want. Not I intend to sell them.

[796] [346] [222] Spéluishtka spû'klishtat kshíwalχa, papiä'na luldamalákstat. At hû'k
In the index-month in the sweat-house they dance, inaugurate by feast the winter-house. Now such a man
kshū'n híwidshuapk, at hû't hí'wi; túnepni nā'd shópelakuapk. "Tû'sh
hay will haul home, and that man hauls (it) in; in five (stacks) we will stack (it) up. "Where
nû shópelakuapk"? "lápash í'lχat, atí'sh shuí'nshnank í'lχat; í' tchkash i
I shall stack it"? "In two stacks heap it ye, in a long-stretching (stack) stacking heap it ye! you also you
nû'sh shatuáyuapk mbúsant. Únipni waítash i n's shatuáyuapka."
me must help to-morrow. Four days you me must help."

Tátχēlam hehátχe túpak.
In the midfinger-month fall the leaves.

Gáptchēlam shináktishtka kä'na.
In the ring-finger month it is snowing.

Gáptsatka mû kä'na.
In the month of the small finger heavily it snows.

Tχópowatka wétko é-ush; kéna.
In the thumb-month is frozen the lake; it is snowing.

[796] Spéluishtka ktō'tsa mû; wála kshiúlgishtat.
In the index-month it rains much; they dance in the dance-house.

Tátχēlam tsuám lúela Nílaksi Tsuyakē'ksni.
In the midfinger-month large suckers kill at Nílaks the Linkville Indians.

[226] Gáptsēlam shináktishtka udsáksalsha Kókētat, kä'shla sa.
In the ring-finger month they take large suckers in Lost River, (and) get ipos.

NOTES.

*539 221 This text intends to give a sketch of the various occupations of the northern tribe or É-ukshikni in every month of the year, and is partially worded in a form which may be called dramatic. These statements are not always arranged in logical order, but a profusion of ethnologic details gives intrinsic value to them.

[805] The months of the Mák̲laks year do not coincide with the months of our calendar, for they extend from one new moon to the next one, and therefore should be more properly called *moons* or *lunations*. Twelve and a half of them make up the year, and they are counted on the fingers of both hands. The first moon of their year begins on the first new moon after their return from the wókash-harvest at Klamath Marsh, which is the time when all the provisions and needful articles have been gathered in [796] [224] for the winter. Work is then stopped and the communal dances begin, the doctor-dances as well as those conducted by the chiefs, and everybody participates in them except those who are out hunting in the mountains during the latter part of the year. This mode of counting the moons on the digits was once popular, but on account of its imperfections it is now forgotten by the majority of the tribe. Instead of it they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as: udsaksă'mi, "in the big sucker time"; í-umă'mi, "in the berry season", or they use our calendar months.

The first moon mentioned in our text, gáptche, answers generally to our May. The two next moons are counted on the thumb and forefinger of the hand not used immediately before; with this last moon their year has come to an end. The next five moons are counted again on the digits of the first hand, and so forth. The half moon making up their full year is not accounted for in this text.

[823] [226] 74, 2. Ktaí-Túpakshi is a locality of renown in the folklore of the Klamath tribe. It lies near the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, on the property of an Indian named Tchéloχins. The otilks is the fish-dam (from utíla), where the Indians wade in the water with their dip-nets and catch the fish while it ascends the river in spring-time in enormous quantities. This fish-dam does not reach the water's surface.

[193] 74, 2. The direct object of lúela is kápto, its subject mák̲laks hŏ'ank.

74, 3. kámalsh pahá means: they dry the fish which they have just caught by exposing it to the sun on limbs of trees, and then make kámalsh by pounding it. Kámalsh is a derivative from gáma, to pound.

[192] 74, 3. kó-iχaga is identical with gúikaka; derived from kúi, "away, far off"; gui-χátchka is: to start out annually to the prairies where roots etc. are harvested.

[262] 74, 5. saká a pŏ'ks: they eat *sometimes* the camass raw, but only at the time when digging it. Bulbs, roots, pods, chrysalids and berries are gathered by women only.

[222] 74, 6. pahá at p.; this is equivalent to pahátko pŏ'ks iwídshat. They bake the [251] camass and put it in their cachés at the place where they intend to stay next winter.

[796] 74, 8. shníkanua. During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process, [222] the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges [192] public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the women, and they go to work again in their canoes.

[415] 74, 9. shiulína. From the preceding we should expect shiulínat, lulínat.

74, 10. wílishik is the generic term for larger kinds of provision-sacks; it means here a sack of fifty pounds seed or grain, while the wáχoks holds hundred pounds. In pálasham-wáχoksh, however, the latter word is taken in its *generic* sense of sack, bag.

*539 109, 1. shkä'shgatkaltk. A verbal adjective of shkátkēla, to carry on back; kä,
773 ka is the radical syllable, found also in kä'mat, *back*. This distributive form is appar-
192 ently due to vocalic dissimilation. Women carry conical baskets (yáki) on their backs
[482] when digging roots or bulbs, and throw them over their shoulders into these recep-
[193] tacles.

[222] 109, 2. 6. 8. Skélamtch. See Dave Hill's relation of the same myth; *Note* to 107, 3.
In speaking of somebody who acts on the sly, and differently from what he professes
and means to do, the Klamath Lake people will say: "He acts like Skélamtch." This
[193] is one of the few proverbial locutions, or at least figurative modes of speech that can
be traced in this tribe.

[291] 109, 3. kmä' is the rounded light cap usually worn by females, fitting tight to the skull. It is made of the stalks of aquatic plants, several species of them entering into the manufacture of each cap. The taking away of the skull-caps was intended as a signal for the women to go to their new homes.

109, 6. táta. The words of reprehension addressed by Old Marten to Weaslet are: "Did I ever order you to bring the caps of any other than of both the one-eyed women? I told you to get the caps of both one-eyed women only." Lápuk belongs to shtchûshχápkam, though separated from it by the inversion of the sentence; kmä' is left out.

[193] 109, 6. shtchûshχápkam. The distributive form of shtchû'χa is so difficult to articulate, that abbreviations of it like the above and others, have resulted. Shtchúχa is evidently the medial form of tchóχa, and its meaning is therefore "to suffer destruction on oneself." Cf. shtchúyampka.

109, 10. ni ä'pkatki. After ä'pkatki supply gi: "said, told."

109, 11. The text forgets to mention the calling in of the two one-eyed women.

109, 12. Shû'hank-shitk. In many mythic stories the newly-born children are made to grow miraculously fast, so that when a few days old they handle bow and arrows, and after a month or two they are adult people.

[194] 109, 13. ntéyäla, to make a bow or bows (nté-ish), nteyákäla, to make little bows (nteyága), nteyakalía or nteyakalíya, to make little bows *for somebody*.

109, 13. únak, *son*, is variously pronounced û'nak, vúnaka, wúnak; and so is its diminutive únakag, únakaga, vúnakak, *little son*, "*sonny*".

109, 15. híshla has two meanings, both *reciprocal*: to shoot at each other, and to shoot at the mark, *rivalling to outdo each other* in markmanship. Cf. 24, 17.

[193] 109, 15. Léwatkuk for léwatko hûk: they, after having played; participle of léwa to play.

110, 1. hûshûtánkapksh etc. "This was an approaching himself on the sly towards me" is the literal rendering of this sentence, in which the first term is a *nomen actionis*, a verbal indefinite. The two pronouns are governed by it.

110, 3. mish shli'shtka gí'uapk, if he should want to shoot you; if he should shoot at you purposely.

110, 4. Sháyuakta, "he knew." Omniscience and prescience are among the characteristic features of Old Marten, who is the personification of K'múkamtch. Cf. 107, 1. 3. 14. 108, 5. and *Note* to 107, 3.

110, 6. hútkalpēli, to rise up suddenly, to jump up again (though killed beforehand). Cf. 109, 2.

110, 11. "shui'nlatchgankan hû'n gi." Marten's son said, that his arrow, when

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"reptile," "amphibian" or "plant." Even the English language had to borrow these terms from Latin. The Klamath Lakes often use kŏ'sh (pine) generically for "tree," and wishink "garter snake" for "snake," the Modocs wámĕnigsh (black snake) for the same order of reptiles, these species being the most frequent of their kind in their respective countries. Birds are hohánkankatk as well as quadrupeds, because they fly "in a straight line".

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ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES.

LIST OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN AND MINNIE FROBEN.

Yántch kálkali, tχópo-pátpan, pakí'sh; kak tán: 18"; käílatat lû'sha,
cylindric, thumb so large as, eatable; so long: 18"; on ground it lies,
ktaíyatat lushá. Shlápe pushpúshli, lä'pi shlápsh.
on rocks it lies. The flowers (are) dark, two flowers (to it).

Kápiunksĭm k̲édsha saígatat; lû'k pûpashpúsh-tkani, lúiχitk tchí'pshash.
grows in the prairie; the seeds (are) blackish, larger than tchípash.

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Wéwanuish hûnk shtä'ila wékank yákitka páta-gíulshēmi. Pék-
The women gather (it) by beating (it) into seed-baskets at summer's end. By
shank sha hû'nk gápiunks shúta; tchilála sha títatna. Wû'kash-
grinding they kápiunks prepare; boil (it) they sometimes. Wókash-
shitk máshetk kápiunks.
like tastes kápiunks.

Káshma k̲édsa walídsat, käílatat ushá; pálpal shlápsh, tamō'k pí'luitk.
grows on rock cliffs, on the ground lies; white (is) flower, after fish smelling.

Kĕlátch k̲édsha wí-ukayant kĕládshamat; kĕládsh ntchekáni mämätch-
grows on the low kĕládsh-bushes; kĕládsh-berry small blue
mä'tchli lálkaya. Wéwanuish kĕládshla wâkslólank; shpahá sha
grow on bushes. The females collect (it) after wókash-season; dry (it) they
tchúi ishkû'lank, í'lχa sha shpáhank í'lkshlûk lúldam, tchilálank
then after gathering, keep they (it) by drying to preserve (it) for winter, boiling (it)
tchēk sha pán.
then they eat (it).

Kĕnáwat k̲édsha saígatat, tsélas ka tánni 1', pakí'sh; p'lái shláps pushpúshli,
grows on prairie, stalk so long 1', eatable; on top the flower is dark,
tídsh piluítko.
good smelling.

Kláma pálpalish shlápshaltk p'laí, k̲édsha k̲ók̲etat, pákish, tíds másitk; má-
a white flower having on top, grows in rivers, is eatable, well tasting; the
k̲laks pán.
Indians eat (it).

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*539 *Klápe* kálkali, pakí'sh; ka tánni 3"; taktákli pû'dshak, tápaχ kitchkáni.
is cylindric, esculent; so long: three inches; red (is) the púdshak-grass, (its) leaves small.

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824 *Klá'* kálkali lutí'sh; kedshá Móatok; pakísh.
is a rounded root; grows in Modoc country; (it is) esculent.

Ktū'ks wókash-shítko, kédsha táletat; ktû'ksam shlápsh pû'pash, pálpali, pakí'sh.
sugar-alike, grows on straight stalk; of the ktū'ks the bud (is) (its) top, is white, is eatable.

Ké'ktś û'sha käílatat, pakí'sh; gémtchi tsélas: O.
lies on the ground, eatable; so shaped (its) stalk:

Kä'ls kálkali, pakí'sh; mû'na lû'sha ámbutat; kitchkáni shlápsh wítchpayam.
globular, eatable; deep down it lies in the water; small is (the) flower of the wókash.

Kä's wé-uχalks tsélash gí'tk, shlápsh gítk; pakí'sh.
a forked stem having, flower having; palatable.

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Kōl. Táktaklī tchélash gû'lam nû'kuk. Í-ukak máklaks hû'mtcha gû'l shtä'-ila túm, gítatoks ká-i tuá kōl. Ámtatka sha méya pû'kguishamtat shiû'lagiank, tchúi sha pû'ka; í'kagank pä'n shtápka ktáyatka. Kó-i pí'luitk, tídshi tadsh pä'sh; hä kaní kō'l ē'nt, lû'k hû'nksh shtí'kok vû'shat.
Red (is) the stalk of the kol when ripe. Around Fort Klamath the Indians this kind of kol gather in quantity, but here (at agency) not there is any kol. With a stick they dig (it) to their roasting-place bringing it, then they roast (it); taking it out again they pound (it) with stones. Badly flavored, good however a food; if anybody kol carries on him, a grizzly bear him smelling will flee.

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L'bá. Lupí' sha'hlmalχō'tchtat shápashtat l'bá nóka; wéwanuish stä'-ila yákitka wékank tíatka. Tsúi sha ítpampalank shpáha, shutéshluk sha gáma; skátka gáma gä'mkishtat. Wíllishikat sha íkû'ga pä'sht, tchúi sa vûmí vumí'shtat wíllishikat íkúgank.
At the first autumn-commencement in (that) month l'bá ripens; the females gather (it) in baskets, beating (it) with a paddle. And they bringing it home dry (it) for cooking they pound (it); with a pestle (they) pound in a mortar. Into sacks they fill (it) in after drying, and they bury (it) in cache, in sacks after putting it.

Léhiash kedshá Móatok; gí'tatoks É-ukshi ká-i léyash kédshant. Tánapsh-shítko shlē'sh léyash; wí-uka lē'ntk léyash; tchélash toks lé-isham nä'sh pétch atí taktákli shlápsh gí'tk. Móatokni shnitchí'χa lépuinatk páläsh shû'tank léhiash. Kú-i mä'shetk.
grows in Modoc land; but right here (at agency) in Lake country not léyash is growing. Turnip alike to look at (is) léyash; not very deep lies léyash; stalk of léyash (is) one foot tall, red flower having. The Modocs fry (it) in frying pans into bread making léyash. Badly tasting (it is).

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 262 824 [222] *Má-i.* E-ukshikni máyalshuk vū'nshatka aχéna shléank é-ushtat.
The Lake people for tule-gathering in canoes row out finding (it) in lakes.

Tchélash sha shnû'kank íshka, yánaush pîl p'ánk púedsha. Yánakänîn
The stalks they seizing pull up. their lower ends only eating throw away (the rest). Each at the lower end

pálpali gî nép pánani. Stá-ila sha kshunē'mi, k̲á-i mā'nsh î'pka
white is hand-long. Gather (it) they at grass-time, not long (can) lie

má-i; pā'shtak sha púedsha k̲ú-i k̲léksht.
tule; as soon as dried they cast (it) away. bad having become.

[222] [462] *Nû'tak* k̲édsha ntchékayant kshû'nat shaígatat; lû'k tchípashptchi gî.
grows on small grass-stalks in prairies; seeds tchipash-alike are.

Kápiunks-shítko stä'-ila nû'tak wéwanuish wékank yákitka.
Kápiunks just like gather nútak the women, by beating (it) into baskets.

Páwash a k̲édsha aitχáměnash k̲ō'l, k̲á-i k̲ú-i pî'luitk k̲û'lam-shítk, lúiluyatk
grows smaller than kol not stinking kol-like, sweet

toks kpápshash. Yaínakshi pîl sha túm shléa. Tchélash pá-usham
but to taste. At Yánaks only they much (of it) find. Stalk of páwash

wí-ukani, mû'kmukapsh pálpalsh shlápsh gî'tk. Pû'ka sha hû'nk
is low, feathered (and) white flowers having. Bake they

páwash, tchúi sha gáma, shpáhank sha î'lχa lû'ldam páshluk.
páwash, then they pound (it), after drying (it) they preserve for winter gathering in.

[252] *Pû'ks* nánukash-käíla k̲édsha tû'm, títatna k̲á-i tû'mi. Pû'ks k̲édsha
everywhere grows in quantities, sometimes not in profusion. Camass grows

Óregon saígatat, tchékěnish metsmétslish lelé-usam gî'tk tchélash;
on Oregonian prairies, minute blue flowers having (its) stalk;

pû'ks tchék'ni ónions-shîtko shléash pálpali shánkitk gíug, pukátk
camass small onions-similarly looking, is whitish raw being, when baked

[251] tchēk lulluyatk mā'sha nóχuk. Pahátko mā'ntch gî'ntak î'pakt
then sweetly tastes when it is done. When dried, a long time afterwards it may remain,

túměni illólash k̲á-i k̲ó-i k̲'lékant. Shláps tsmō'k píluitk.
for many years not spoiled may become. The flower fish-stink smells after.

[252] *Pû'lχuantch.* Píena mák̲laks pû'lχuantchluk pienû'tkishtka; pû'ka a sha
Scrape up the ground the Indians for gathering the chrysalids with a paddle; roast (them) they

ktáyatat k̲élpokshtat kshū'n puetílank, wáldsha tchík sha kshún,
with stones heated, grass putting under, lay on top then they grass,

kné-udshi lokáptchχa, tchúi sha käíla k̲ä'lua pû'kûg púlχuantch.
rough bark pile up on top, then they with earth fill up for roasting the chrysalids.

Stópalsh. Mák̲laks kiamā'mi guiχakshä'migshta stópalsha pûkshämí' tch. K̲ak̲owátka
The people in fishing-season, at home-leaving time peel trees, in camass-season also. With bones

sha kiulō'la stópalsh; kápka sha stópěla. Lúiluyatk stópalsh;
they peel off the inner bark; small pine-trees they peel. Of sweet taste the bark;

shánks hak sha pán. Kánt î- hûn shläá shtopalhuí'sh kû'sh
just raw they eat it. So many you (of them) find peeled off pine-trees

î táměnug. K̲á-i kū'sh nánuk tchû'ka stópaluish; nánka tchúk̲a.
you when traveling. Not pine-trees all perish which were peeled; some dry up.

*539 262 824 *Táksish* kálkali, pakí'sh; láwal ka tánian slápshtat; kä'ilatat lû'sha, k̲á-i
cylindric, palatable; is wide that much at the bud; on the ground it lies, not
pí'luitko.
has smell.

Tók pä'lpali kshū'n, k̲édsha é-ushtat.
is a whitish grass, grows in Lake.

Tsí'kal atíni kshū'n, k̲édsha é-ushtat.
(is a) high grass, grows in Lake.

● 222 462 252 264 *Tchí'psam* k̲édsha kshū'n-ptchi páta tchí'k nók̲a Tchúi mák̲laks tchípash
grows grass-like (and) in summer-time ripens. Then Indians tchipash
shtä'ila, wéwanuish wéka ulä'χuga yákitat. Lúlukshtka tü'ksh a
gather, the women beat (it) into haul (it) in seed-baskets. In the hot coals in a fire
tchípash shnū'χa, tchúi tchí'k sha humashtgíulank péksha lem-
the tchipash they parch, and after they having thus done grind (it) on the
atchátka shilaklgí'shtka yí-ulalónank; a tchí'ksh hû'nk pekshólank
metate with the rubbing-stone rubbing; now then having done grinding
pän éwa pálatka ámbu kítuínank, tchúi sha hûmasht-gí'ulank
again they empty (it) upon a matted dish water pouring into (it), then they after thus doing
patámpka wawálχank népatka hlópa. Gí'ta tchípash k̲á-i tû'm
begin to eat (it) sitting around with hands sop it up. Right here tchipash not in quantities
k̲édshant, Móatok pí'la toksh tû'm wawáwish gi.
(is) growing, the Modoc country only however much (of it) productive is

222 252 *Tchuá* kálkali: tχopó-shítko, gét pi tchuá; k̲édsha ámbutat; ntchendshkáni
cylindric: thumb-like, so it (is) wápatu; grows in waters; rather small
tchuá, tchúyunk mák̲laks íshka tchúi tchilálank pán; kúkanka sha
(is) wápatu, and it the Indians pulling out and boiling eat; masticate they
tútatka. Taktä'kli tchuálam shlápsh; kinkáni tchuá.
with (their) teeth Purple (is) of wild-potato the flower; scarce (is) wápatu (here).

Tsuák käílatat lû'sha, pakí'sh; ka tánni tsélas: láp pē'tch; kakálkalish shláps
on ground extends, (is) eatable; so long is the stalk: two feet; round flowers
p'lái gí'tko.
on top having.

Tsuní'ka k̲édsha käílant, é-ushtat, walí'dshat; pakí'sh. Shlápsh 2" lawá-
grows on ground, on Lake, on cliffs; eatable. The flowers 2" are
latk, tídsh piluítko, mû lbû'ka gítk; kä'latat lû'sha.
wide, nicely smelling, a large bulb having; on ground it lies.

Wátksäm mû'na û'sha kä'latat, pakí'sh; k̲édsa walídsat, pä'lpali shlápsh.
deep lies in ground, eatable; grows among cliffs, white (is) flower.

Wí'wi atíni, k̲édsha táletat; pakí'sh shlápsh; k̲étsa pálpali.
is tall, grows on straight stalks; eatable (is) the bud; grows white.

To THE ABOVE ARE ADDED A FEW NON-ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES:

226 *Kú'lχamsh* tû'sh a tû'pka käílatat, k̲á-i pakí'sh, ptchí'uk: kiä'm-luelō'tksh
upwards stands from ground, not eatable, thus looking: as a fish-killing-article
witsólslank vû'nsat tamádsank téwas; kitchkáni shláps.
while net-fishing, in the canoe they fasten (it) on bow the forked net; small (is) the flower.

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Skáwanks pushpû'shlish shlapshháltko, k̲lä'kota, k̲édsha táletat; k̲ú-idshi, k̲á-i pákish. Pú'shχam kápkālam sχáwanks k̲ó-idse k̲'lä'kotk'sh.
has a dark flower, (is) a poisoner, grows on straight stalk; (tastes) bad, not eatable. The limbs of the young pine (and) wild parsnips (are) bad poisoners.

Slē'ds k̲á-i pakí'sh, múkmukli shláps, kiä'm-luelō'tksh; witsólslank é-ushtat shti'lχa.
not eatable, downy flowers, a fish-killing article; while net-fishing in Lake they put it into (the net).

Tī'líhash k'lûtsuō'tch-ánku vû'nshtat shtákla.
as a "swimming-sucker"-wood on canoe they stick up.

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Wákinsh a k̲édsha pánût. Mák̲laks íshka pánût lultámpkash shutelomá-shluk, lúshnank sha shnē'lakshtat. Tchúi tchík sha núksht wátitka vukútank shushatelóma télish, p'nā'sh ktchálχishtka shkukluápkasht; p'lû' tak sha íwínank shtéwa.
grows on the pan-tree. The Indians pick it on pan-tree sticking to smear themselves with. roast (it) they on fire-place. Then they after baking with (it), knives scraping (it), smear it on faces, themselves from sun-burns to preserve; grease they putting into mix up.

NOTES.

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Several plants in this list appear, according to grammatic rule, in the possessive case -am, while their fruits or edible portion are introduced in the subjective case. To the former the substantive ánku or tsélash has to be supplied. Small grasses are alimentary plants on account of their seeds only, while the larger aquatic grasses contain nutritive matter in their stalks. Of these notices the shortest and most laconic were obtained from Morgan, who did not enter into particulars concerning the preparation of aliments. By this list the articles on which these Indians feed are by no means exhausted; they eat almost everything found in nature which is not positively obnoxious to health and which contains a particle of nutritive matter, and hence a full list of their kitchen *répertoire* would be at least three times as long as the one obtained.

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146, 1. kak tán for ká ak tánni "so long only"; the length being shown by gesture of hand. Also expressed by ka taniáni, 149, 1. and *Note*. The yántch-plant grows to a length of 18 to 20 inches, the height of the camass- or pû'ks-plant.

146, 3. Kápiunksām. The kápiunks-seed grows on a prairie-*grass*, like the tchípash- and nû'tak-seed.

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146, 7. 14. pálpal stands for pálpali (originally pálpal-li), having lost its terminal -i by apocope; pálpalish shlapshháltko incorporates the adjective *white* into the verbal adjective "having flowers". This phrase may be circumscribed by pálpalish shlápsh gítko. Cf. 123, 6. and *Note*, and 150, 1.

146, 8. wí-ukayant kēládshamat. Here the adjective in its locative case, used attributively, is united with the partitive case of the substantive, the original form of both being wi-ukáyantat kēládshamti; the subjective case: wi-ukáni kēládsham.

146, 12. Kēnáwat or horse sorrel is mentioned in an Aíshish-myth and does not

* 539 148, 2-4. Yánakänin for yanakänini; cf. suffix -ni, -nini in Dictionary. mä'nsh for
262 mä'ntch. pä'shtak for páhasht ak, cf. pä'sht, 147, 17. for páhasht.

148, 5. Nú'tak. This grass belongs to the genus Glycerium, as identified by Dr.
824 E. Foreman, and produces a tiny, grayish bright seed of tchípash size. The flowers
192 are of a light red color. The grass is found around the agency buildings and grows
about one foot high.

148, 7. Páwash properly means *tongue*.

148, 11. Pû'ks or *camass*. Its bulb is one of the principal food-articles of all the northwestern Indians, but does not grow in profusion in the warmer portions of California. It is of the magnitude of the walnut, very saccharine and nutritious, ripens in May and June, and by the roasting or baking process described in the text becomes as hard as stone. The Máklaks call it after pû'ka *to roast*, the Shasti name is sók, the Pit River name âhualó, while the name kamas, "sweet," is of Nutka origin. The botanists call the plant Scilla or Camassia esculenta. Cf. *Note* to 148, 1.

148, 14. ípakt, metathesis of ípkat, the conditional of ípka to lie there, to remain.

[222] 148, 16. púlχuantch. The gathering of this pupa or chrysalid and of its caterpillar,
[462] the syeshí'sh, is chiefly done by the women of the tribes, who find them imbedded at
[252] no great depth in the sandy ground around pine trees. Another chrysalid, the kûlí'ga,
is collected and roasted by them in the same way and tastes like eggs. kahû'n puetílank: putting grass under the chrysalids, not under the heated stones. The stones are replaced by other heated ones, as soon as they have cooled off; the larva assumes a black color after roasting and tastes like eggs. See púlχuantch in Dictionary.

[221] 148, 19. guiχakshlí'mígshta. The season of the year, when the exodus of the whole
[222] tribe to Klamath Marsh takes place, where pond-lily seed is collected for the winter,
[193] is about the middle of June. The ending -ta is an abbreviation of the case suffix -tat.
Three seasons are stated in the text, when the peeling of the inner or fibre bark of small pine trees is performed; of these the camass-season precedes the exodus to Klamath Marsh by a few weeks only, and the fishing season lasts from February to the end of the summer. Of course, the peeling of the kápka-pine coincides with the season when the sap ascends through the young tree. The bark is removed from about five feet to fifteen or twenty feet above the ground, and most of the beautiful pines treated in this manner are doomed to premature decay, though many survive the operation. The aspect of a forest with some of the pine trees peeled is rather singular.

148, 21. shánks hak, contraction of shánkish hak or ak.

149, 1. ka tánian for ka taniáni "so much in width or extent." The bud of the táksish has a width of about half an inch. Cf. *Note* to 148, 1.

149, 3. 4. tók. This aquatic grass grows about two feet high; by ó-ushtat is meant, here and in tsi'kal: Upper Klamath Lake.

(194) 149, 3. pä'lpali, vocalic dissimilation of pálpali or pä'lpäli; cf. taktä'kli 149, 14.

149, 5. Tchl'peam is a prairie grass on which the brown tchípash-seed grows.
This seed is extremely small, and it takes a long time before a sufficient quantity of it is
(178) gathered to afford a meal for a family. Still smaller is the nútak-seed, and both are
striking instances of the persistence of the Indians in keeping up their old mode of living, when by agriculture and stock-raising they could procure provisions with infinitely less trouble and in much shorter time.

NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

BY ROBERT F. SPENCER

773 177 178 [776] IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer [182] can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations. A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal myth.

175 177 Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which [222] [226] it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes [631] [621] [771] [791] of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separatistic hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

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[101] [122] [1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949, on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund, 1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

[113] [2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

PART TWO: ETHNOGRAPHIC TEXTS

Introductory Note to Text 22

"Wokas" is the generic term for the seed of the common pond lily (Nymphaea polysepala). In the old days much of the Klamath Marsh (estimated by some early writers at about 10,000 acres) was covered with these plants, and there were long, shallow bays filled with them on both sides of Klamath Lake. Much of Klamath economic life was concerned with the gathering, preparation, and cooking of this plant. 824 [133] [433]

It is not proposed here to give a complete description of the various processes involved in "wokas"-manufacture. Good explanations of this economic complex will be found in Coville,[69] Gatschet,[70] and Spier.[71] The following text (and the two shorter ones by Mrs. Pompey which come after it) are intended only to illustrate Klamath narrative style and to indicate those features of "wokas"-making which were salient in the view of the informants. 252 [114] [128]

22. Wokas Preparation
(Mrs. Aggie Butler)

539*
222•
501

(1) Long ago the Indians used to gather wokas, with a canoe. (2) And standing up on it they gathered wokas. (3) They bent down to pull them off, that wokas. (4) And they pulled off only the good ones, and some were unripe. (5) And having punctured it [with a fingernail] they saw [whether it was ripe or not]. (6) And they picked the yellow ones. (7) On becoming ripe it looks good, big. (8) And having picked those only, they threw them on the canoe and went. (9) And some were termed "snonťapĺaqs." (10) And one was called "sbokẃas." (11) It was ripe. (12) And they put them down [in the canoe] apart.

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[69] Coville, Frederick V., "Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians," Report of the United States National Museum for 1902, pp. 727-739, Washington, 1904. [113]

[70] Gatschet, op. cit.

[71] Spier, Leslie, "Klamath Ethnography," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, Berkeley, 1930. [113]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 129]

(13) And having returned there, having filled the canoe, so having unloaded it, it is in just one place. 539* [222] (14) And it stays piled up there for a long time. (15) So it becomes dry on top, and rots underneath. (16) And perhaps they washed it, and all that was not good would float up to the surface. (17) And only the wokas sank to the bottom.

(18) And they spread it out on a mat long ago. (19) And having spread it out there, so it dried out. [251] (20) When it had dried, perhaps "three weeks"—(laughter)—three weeks having passed perhaps it has dried.

(21) And next they sift it well, until it is dry. (22) They do it all well, and they put it into sacks now. (23) And to make food, they parched it. (24) And at that time long ago they used parching-mats. (25) And having put coals on there, they roasted it, that wokas.

(26) And having roasted it well, they ground it with a muller. (27) Sitting spraddle-legged they ground wokas. (28) And then having finishe [516] that, they dipped it all to one side. (29) And all the chaff came up, on top. (30) And having put it to one side, they ground it again.

(31) And now they made food. (32) Long ago it was, before when our [178] things, dishpans, were not there. (33) And at that time there they did it in a "čakĺa" [i.e., a type of basket], "čakĺa" as they termed it. [415] (34) And in that they first heated rocks, and they put the wokas into water. (35) Then they threw the stones into the water, in that "qalla" [another basket type], to boil it at that time, a [modern] boiling-pot being absent. (36) Thus they made wokas long ago.

(37) And that second kind, which I called "sbokẃas," they soured it apart. (38) And they took it off the top, while it was still wet. (39) Having gotten it ripe, they took it off the top. (40) And those were round, those "sbokẃas" were. (41) It was called "sbokẃas." (42) And again having ground that "sbokẃas," then again in just the same manner having put it in among coals next, they parched it. (43) Again they parched it. (44) They parched it, and it tasted good.

(45) And one other, that one being called "č̓ini·q̓am." (46) It was not ripe wokas, and it tasted bad. (47) It was bitter, and they thus made it round, having parched it. (48) That's as much as they said.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

23. Picking Wokas

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

539*
222•
251
415

(1) We gathered wokas on the Lake. (2) We picked it. (3) And we put it into gunny sacks, and we took it back, home. (4) And we threw it into a "barrel," to sour it. (5) Thus we fixed our wokas, just as they make it recently. (6) So then, however, it was not there for long [Informant's translation ?]. (7) And having brought it back, we put it into a "barrel." (8) And to become "sour." (9) To sour we put it into the "barrel." (10) So until it's well done it is that way. (11) Now then we dip it off, having dipped it off well thus, then something—we spread it out, in the "sun." (12) To get dry. (13) Now then we spread it back and forth, to dry out well. (14) Then we put it into our sacks. (15) And that's as far as it goes. (16) Now we make food, having dried it well. (17) So now we eat it.

24. Cooking Wokas

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

539*
252

(1) [One] puts the wokas on a parching-mat. (2) [One] puts coals on top of the wokas. (3) Then shakes it while blowing on it. (4) [One] blows on the coals on it to cook one's shaken wokas [i.e., the wokas which one is shaking back and forth on the parching-mat].

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133]

(55) It was named all up [the river]. (56) So two persons] asked me a little while ago, "Where was that Komčewi·s?" he asked me, "where there were Indians, where was it?" (57) And (Woman's name) [who is] deceased, said to me too, "Where is that Ni·Laqksi?" 539* 124

(58) PO: What is that Komčewi·s?

(59) AC: Yes, it is called thus on the Marsh. (60) At the end. (61) And [I] said, "This along the hillside is Ni·Laqksi. (62) They are all people's dwellings, that was this Sohi·yagye·ks—all along the hillside, Klamath Falls, many people lived [there]."

(63) PO: Do you know the names [of places] on the Marsh? (64)—How they are called. (65) I only remember, when I was little where we always used to go gathering mudhen eggs—at Charcoal Lake. (66) And now I can't find it. (67) And Sgotq̓aks, I cannot find it now. (68) And what the white people called "Hog Creek," where we used to go and gather blueberries. (69) So they are gone. (70) Thus I told this one, "Those blueberries are gone now." (71) And I wonder if maybe those sheep, ate them up? [103] [222]

(72) AC: Yes, having trampled it all down in that way. (73) [Just like] this of mine [which I] had planted here awhile ago—very big around, with red blooms there—and that goat ate it all up. (74) However, it has grown back and shoots are coming there, which have something red on them, that kind.

(75) PO: What was a "goat" called?

(76) AC: I don't recall.

PB: What is a "q̓wi·l"?

(77) AC: They called a "sheep" that. (78) Those Modoc Indians [called it] a "q̓wi·l." [192]

PB: And one more, what is "swa·ya"?

(78) AC: What?

(79) PO: swa·ya.

(80) AC: Is it?—a myth, which they called little "Swa·ya." (81) Swa·y—whatever he was, I do not know. (82) There is a myth thus.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 163]

(83) And did anybody tell this one the myth from over there, that is a good myth. (84) It is [about] Crater Lake. 539* 124

(85) PO: Probably no one. (86) I do not know it.

(87) AC: Yes, it is a very good myth [about] over there. (88) They told me something thus, that it was a very, very good myth. (89) However, [I] don't know it, because these [meaning her wits] are gone, being old. (Interruption.)

(90) AC: Thus he asked me, how they lived long ago.

(91) PO: Could you tell it?

(92) AC: Now he has stopped it [i.e., the machine].

(93) PO: Now he has done something—started it up again. (94) Now you can begin to tell, if you wish, anything at all. (95) Whatever you remember, tell that. (96) Now I have told it to you, and he will put it on there [i.e., on the tape]. (97) Now it is—something?—going—now it is revolving.

(98) AC: People were good, we Indians a long time ago. (99) We were good people. (100) And I have told my—we were good people long ago. (101) We took even a little bit of food [i.e., all we had] for [someone]. (102) And, even though there was no food here, then we took for [somebody], something. 539* 124 173 [431] (103) And it was this. (104) And doing it thus it is called "They even divide up a flea." (105) Thus was the Indians' way. (106) Thus they used to call it. (108) To someone, even a little bit of food they took there. (109) Yes, for another, and they gave some food, even [though it was] from a small amount, even if there was no food, just being very sympathetic at that time. (110) Living with a great struggle [lit. "having become very tired"], they got food. [222] (111) Yes, even old ladies like these went off to dig roots. (112) They slung [a basket] of this kind on their shoulders, and even the weak, now they knew that there would be nothing to eat in the winter. [251] (113) And because of that, they buried some food.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 165]

A deadfall trap (sna'ndŏtslŏks) is set in the Cascades or along their foot to take such animals as marten, fisher, fox, and coyote. This is constructed of logs, with the entrance blocked in such a fashion that the animal entering must spring the trap. I was unable to get a description of the trigger. 224

Waterfowl are shot, caught in nets, or hunted with a jack-light. 223 The arrows used for these birds are of cane with foreshafts of wood sufficiently light to float. Near the tip, to serve as a barb, the foreshaft has a wad or ring of pitch, or of pitch and sinew, or carved from the shaft, as described by Barrett.[269]

The long nets (nut) for waterfowl are set up in the marshy margins of the lakes where ducks commonly congregate. These are fifty or sixty feet long by three wide. They are set under water, reaching quite to the bottom and hardly appearing above the surface, for the purpose is to catch the birds as they dive. The net is watched day and night. People may even sleep and cook in a canoe to be near it. While my information is that flying birds are not caught in these, Barrett is probably correct that they have such use. The net is stretched upright above the surface and dropped on the birds as they fly or swim into it.

The birds are also caught with the aid of a jack-light and net as they rest on the water at night. This method (slŭ'mta) is used with success where they flock in warm, unfrozen spots such as the mouth of Williamson river and Pelican bay. A fire is built in the prow of a canoe; a triangular scoop net, commonly used for fishing, is held upright behind it.[270] Pitchy wood is used to provide a bright light; the canoe is protected by a thick layer of dirt. The ducks flying toward the light are caught in the net or fall into the canoe where they are clubbed. Four or five men armed with clubs and bows sometimes go together in a large canoe.

Diving birds are sometimes taken with the many-pointed fish spear, according to Barrett. But a curious variant of it has been described by Meacham. [114]

> The young fowls are captured in nets. The arrangement is quite cunning, and, although primitive in construction, evinces some inventive genius. A circular net is made three feet in diameter, and to the outer edge are attached eight or ten small rods of half-inch diameter, and about fifteen inches in length; three inches

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[269] Material Culture, 347. My informant denied Barrett's statement that the primary purpose of the ring is to cause the arrow to skip over the surface and strike in the flock, though this undoubtedly happens. [114]

[270] Barrett (*loc. cit.*) has the fire behind the net.

223 from the lower end, which is sharpened to a point, the net is attached. The upper end of the rods are beveled on one side, and inserted into a rude socket, in the end of a shaft ten feet long.

Armed with this trap, the hunter crawls on the ground until he is within safe distance of the mother-bird and her little flock, when, suddenly springing up, the old birds, geese or ducks, as the case may be, fly away, while the little ones flee toward the water. The Indian launches the shaft with the net attached in such a way that the net spreads to its utmost size, the sharpened points of the rods pierce the ground, and, the upper end having left the socket on the shaft, stand in a circular row, holding the net and contents to the ground.[271]

252 A few data were gathered on the manner of preparing game for food. The flesh of such animals as porcupine, beaver, badger, and raccoon is boiled. The viscera are not eaten. The skin is peeled from a beaver's tail after it is roasted. Mink and otter are also pit-roasted, but not boiled. The paws of the grizzly are baked in ashes and then skinned.

263 Salt was not known until the advent of the whites.

Insects are probably no regular article of diet, but Gatschet
222 records that women gather moth chrysalids in the month spe'lwis
252 (forefinger, i.e., late August and September). The ground is scraped
up with a paddle to gather the chrysalids (pû'l$_\chi$uanteh); they are
pit-roasted between layers of grass, with a covering of bits of bark
and earth.[272]

Seed and Root Gathering

222 In summer the Klamath congregate in several districts to gather pond-lily seeds, roots, and wild fruits: the great swamps and prairies of Klamath marsh, about northern Klamath lake (Agency lake) and Pelican bay, and Wocus marsh west of the lake. The prairie southwest of Fort Klamath is a meeting point for those from middle Williamson river, from its mouth, and from Pelican bay. The huckleberry patch some fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake (called iwumkä'ni, huckleberry place; iwum, huckleberry) is a favorite camping place. Here Molala from west of the Cascade range join them. Williamson river people (äukekni) on Klamath marsh cross directly westward to this spot afoot.

[462] Root and seed gathering is woman's work. They tell of old women digging roots alone who were killed by grizzlies.

The principal seed supply of the Klamath is from the pods of the water lily (wo'kas), which grows extensively in the marshes and

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[271] Meacham, Wigwam and Warpath, 282.

[272] 1:76, 148.

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CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS LIST

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element affirmed by informant.
−	Element denied by informant.
(+)	Element affirmed, but some doubt concerning it on part of informant or ethnographer.
(−)	Element denied, but with qualifications as in the preceding.
·	Element enquired about, but informant uncertain regarding it.
o	Absent because lacking or impossible in the environment. (Not to be confused with the symbol o preceding an element number, and which is explained below.)
R	Element said to be of comparatively recent introduction.
•	Further information concerning item is contained in the section "Ethnographic Notes on the Element List."
Blank	Element not enquired for by ethnographer.

The following symbols precede element numbers:

†	For statistical computations, the number or letter entries under this element have been read as plus.
‡	For statistical computations, the element has been broken into two or more (e.g., 1 foot or less; more than 1 foot).
o	For statistical computations, the element has been eliminated.

ELEMENTS	OCCURRENCE																
	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
BASIC ECONOMY																	
Hunting																	
Driving and Pursuing																	
1. Driving game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	224
2. Into enclosure	−	+	−	+	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3. Circular	−		−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	
4. With pit	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	
5. With V-shaped wings	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	
•6. Along fence, hunters in pits				•+							+	+	+	−	−	−	
7. Over cliff	−	+	+	−	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	
•8. Into water or mud	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+		−	+	−	(−)	
•9. To or past concealed hunter	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
10. Into trap, net or snare	+	•−	+	•−	•+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	
11. Surround by hunters	•−					+	+	−	−	+	−						
12. Surround by fire	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	
13. Dog used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	[231]
14. Pursuing game	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
15. Wounded animal only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	
16. Single hunter	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	
17. Group of hunters	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
18. In relays	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
19. Race: swiftest kills deer	−		+			+	+	−	+	−		·		−	−	+	
20. Shout to frighten quarry	−	+	+								+	·	−	−	−	+	
21. Hunters on snowshoes	+	+	+			+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	o	−	o	o	
22. Dog used	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	[231]
23. Trailing or tracking game	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Snares, Nets, Traps																	
24. Fence with nooses in gaps	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	•−	
25. For deer	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
26. For rabbits	•−	•−	−	+	+	−	−	+	o	+	•−	+	−	−	−	−	
27. For quail	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	[223]

2: Voegelin E-5 (19[illegible]) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	MP	NM	NS	MV
223 28. Noose above trail for deer, elk	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
224 29. Noose on bent sapling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
30. For deer, other large game	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
31. For small mammals	–	+	–	+	–	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
32. For birds	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
33. Noose on stick, hand held	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	.	+	+	.	+
34. For small mammals	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	.	+	+	.	+
35. For birds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	.	+	–	.	+
36. Cord with suspended nooses	+	+	–			+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	(+)
37. Long vertical net set in straight line	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
38. For deer	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
39. For rabbits	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	o	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
40. For waterfowl	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
41. Set under water	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
42. Set above water	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
43. For land birds	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
44. Vertical net set in circle, no openings	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
45. For deer	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
46. For antelope	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
47. For rabbits, squirrels	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
48. Bag-shaped net	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
49. For small mammals	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
50. For birds	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
51. Woodpecker	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
52. Quail	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
53. Basket trap for birds	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	3
54. Figure 4 trigger	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
55. Seed or meal bait	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
56. For woodpeckers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
57. For quail	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
58. For all variety winter birds	–	–		+	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
59. Slat or stick drop-box trap	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–
60. Figure-4 trigger	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–
61. Deadfall	–	–	–	+	+	+	R	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
62. Single stone	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
63. Single log	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
64. Figure-4 trigger	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
65. Stone propped up with acorn	–		–						+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
66. Meat bait	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
67. Seed bait	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
68. For large mammals	–	–	–	+	+	?	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
69. For small mammals	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
70. For birds	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
71. Pitfall	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
o72. Depth in feet	5	6	–	2	7	8	6	–	–	–	6	6	6	–	–	–
73. Covered with sticks and dirt	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
74. Water in bottom			–				+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
75. Stake in bottom for impalement	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
76. For carnivores	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
77. For artiodactyls	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
78. For rodents	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Booths and Blinds																
79. Booths and blinds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
80. Natural ambush	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
81. Brush fence or enclosure	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
82. Roofed	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
83. Peekhole to shoot, snare through	+	+							+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
84. For game shooting	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–

2: Voegelin E-S (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

223 ●
224

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
85. Deer	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
86. Birds	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
87. Bird snaring, noose on stick	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
87a. Ambush on watercraft	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
88. On tule balsa	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
89. On dugout, run into tules	+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
90. On log raft	–	–	–			–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
91. Ambush of plant material	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
92. Stone walls or enclosure, for deer	•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	–	–	–
93. Hunter concealed in pit	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
94. At moonrise, at deer licks	+	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
Disguises, Decoys																
95. Animal head worn by hunter	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+
96. With horns	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
97. Without horns	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
98. Entire skin worn	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	–
99. Only horns worn	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–
100. Hunter walks with two canes	–	–	+						+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
101. Brush worn or carried by hunter	–	–	+	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
102. For deer	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
103. For rodents	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
104. When driving birds toward nets	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
105. Stuffed bird-skin decoy, floating	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
106. Flares, jacklight to attract waterfowl	•+	+	–	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	•+	–
107. Leaf or grass calls for game	+	.	+	+	–	R	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Imitation of fawn crying	+	+	+	+	+	•R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
109. Whistling with lips for deer	–	•+	+	–	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
110. For rabbits	–	–	+		–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		+	–
111. Shouting, for deer	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+		+	+
112. "Honking" so ducks will light	–	+	+			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other Hunting Techniques																
113. Large game shot in water			+			•+		–	.	–	+	.	–	+	–	(+)
114. Bear killed inside den	–	+	+			•+	•o				+	+	o	.	–	•–
115. Bear smoked out	–	+	±	+	•+	–	o	+	•+	+	+	+	o	.	+	–
116. Dipod at mouth of den	•+	+	–	–	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	.	–	–
117. Vertical stakes at mouth of den	–	.	–	•+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	.	–	–
118. Rodents smoked out	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
119. Pine needles used for fire	–	+	+	+	+	–	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
120. Fire blown with mouth	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•–
121. Basket fan used	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
122. Brush fan used	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
123. Feather fan used	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
124. Stick thrust down rodent's hole	–	+	+	–	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
125. Sharpened	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
126. Hooked stick or gaff	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
127. Rodents drowned out	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
128. Rats' nests burned	–	•+	–	+	.	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
129. Rats' nests prodded with stick	–	–	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
130. Jumped on	–	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
131. Duck fledglings clubbed	+	•+	+								–	+	–	–	.	•–
132. Insects caught	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
132a. In trench, pit	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	•+
133. Shaken down from trees, or picked off branches	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	–
134. Hand-gathered early in morning	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
135. Obtained by burning field	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+	+	•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
136. "Whipped" into pack basket		+	–	–		•+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–

222

ELEMENTS DENIED

BASIC ECONOMY

Hunting

223 Snares, nets, traps, booths and blinds.--Bag
net used for waterfowl. Poles with stones as
224 weights for deadfall. Pitfall with noose in
bottom of pit. Arrow with string attached. Decoys,
disguises; other hunting techniques.--
Wooden head used as visual decoy. Live birds
[178] used as decoys (At: recently only). Live mammals
used as decoys (Kl: recently only). Hide
fan, to smoke out rodents. Butchering of large
game.--Deer's eyes eaten raw by hunter.

Fishing

226 Nets; weirs, scaffolds, pens; traps.--Tule-wrapped clay ball sinkers. Bag net dragged. Shell rattle on net. Stick pens, not associated with weirs. Basketry or pole trough. Angling; other techniques.--Feather "fly." Hair "fly." Hair string or ball. Knot or block on end of line. Shooting fish taboo. Lamprey gaff. Buckeye used for poisoning fish. Fishing observances.--Special disposal of salmon or other fishbones. First-fish rite: priest or chief catches first fish; only priest or chief eats first fish; similar rite for lampreys.

Gathering

222 Gathering techniques and observances; pre-agriculture.--Stone ring weighted digging stick. Digging stick with footrest. Bone or horn pointed digging stick. Stone pointed digging stick. Horn seed beater. Seed knife. Agriculture. Irrigation of wild-seed crops.

Domesticated Animals and Pets

231 Dogs, birds, bear, etc.--Domesticated animals, other than dog. Named after owner's totem. Separate dog house, conical, thatched. Own totem animal kept.

Food and Its Handling

262 Animals eaten.--Road runner (informants from
825 all groups except MF, NF, MV ignorant as to any
bird by this name, which indicates its probable
absence. MF, NF do not eat it, MV regard it as
poisonous.) Buzzard (WS, MM, NF, NM informants
stated buzzard absent from area). Crabs. Slugs.
252 Frogs. Food preparation.--Small mammals pounded
before eating. Dried meat or fish ground, berries
added. Bone awl for lamprey splitting.
Acorns leached in openwork basket. Acorn "coffee"
(NS: modern). Stone boiling in stone
bowls; in hide in ground; in paunch in ground.

ON THE ELEMENT LIST

ECONOMY

224 cottontail rabbit, ground squirrel, tree squirrels
[178] as having been eaten, but observes (p. 155) that
"the Klamath are not much given to hunting." Cp.
[262] elements 361-380. Mo: Secure rabbits only if
chance upon them. MM: Rabbits scarce; kill 1 or
2 occasionally; no nets, surround.

28. Kl: Noose, k'nIs; set up on sapling, or limb of tree, at night, for deer. Smaller nooses set on ends of poles on riverbanks at night for ducks. SE, SW: Deer snares used only at night; Mo, At, AW, AE, WT; day and night.

29. Kl: See note 28.

31. Kl: See note 26. AE: Twine snares suspended from clumps of sagebrush. This is a recent method of securing rabbits.

223 32. At: Woodpeckers; noose suspended over hole; end of noose tied to branch of tree.

36. For geese and duck; described by Dixon, Maidu, 195.

39. AW: See note 10.

40. WM: Ducks, geese, fly across McCloud area, but rarely light on McCloud River; do light on Upper Sacramento River; plentiful on Pit River. MM: Ducks obtainable occasionally in winter only; not many.

42. At, AW: See note 10.

224 44. Kl: Large net set on stakes in wide, closed circle, to surround herd of antelope. Brush fastened to top of net. Clumps of brush (within area encompassed by net) set afire at several spots, to frighten out antelope; when latter run out men stationed inside net wave the brush affixed to top of net, and others shoot antelope; women sometimes secure antelope barehanded, if animals exhausted. Surrounds (nel'qa) with nets such as these held in Williamson River, Klamath Marsh areas; "wherever they saw lots of antelope in valley."

ODO 47. WT: During mating season of gray squirrels, stretch nets around tree trunk, 2-3 ft. from base of trunk; no opening in net; as squirrels frolic from 1 tree to other, they are caught in nets.

51. SE, MM: Woodpeckers removed by hand from nest; eaten and topknot saved. At: See note 32. NF, NS: Woodpecker holes stopped with grass. MV: Shot with bow and arrow, in fall.

52. MV: Net draped over cascara bushes, where quail roost.

53. SW: Basket similar to platter shown in Dixon, Shasta, p. 400, fig. 76a, used. WM, WS: Long tubular basket, with small round mouth at 1 end, woven of willows, set inside brush double lean-to in winter. Snow on ground inside lean-to cleared off and acorn meal sprinkled on bare ground; when birds inside house eating meal man throws rocks at walls of lean-to; frightened birds fly into basket; man crawls into lean-to and secures birds in the basket. Same device

[169-B]

000 used occasionally in summer also, on mountain near spring.

59. NF: Slender straight pieces of willow stuck in ground in circle; 3-4 openings left in circle; willow roof over top. Acorn meal scattered on ground inside trap; birds unable to find way out; removed by person watching trap.

62. NS: Used in winter.

65. Long slender acorns from live oaks used.

68. At: For bear; acorn bait.

69. AW, WT, WM, MM, MF, NF, NS: Single stone deadfall used for catching mice. MM, MF, NF, NS: Used for catching rats; WM, WS: not used for rats. MM, MF: Used for ground squirrels; WM, WS, NF, NS: not used for ground squirrels.

[224] 71. Kl: Pitfall (benč) used for deer; Spier says Kl did not use (Klamath, p. 158); 2 informants questioned, both denied pitfall a recent innovation. SW: Hole wider at bottom than at top; used for small animals only. AW: Dig pits with digging stick; if find ground to be too hard, leave pit unfinished.

76. AE: For coyotes.

Booths and blinds.--

80. SW: Hunters hide behind bushes in open country, where antelope found.

87a. WM: See note 40.

89. Mo: Tules matted over prow and sides of boat; hunter inside.

[224 417] 92. Kl: Pumice stone enclosures (wa'akkIs) 6 ft. in diameter, no roof; built by single hunter.

94. SW: No pit, but bonfires built at deer licks, and deer shot as they come to fire. Also hunter conceals self at deer licks, on moonlight nights, to shoot deer.

Disguises, decoys.--

[224 184] 95. Deer head generally, but among some groups antelope heads also. Kl: Spier (Klamath, p. 158) says Kl did not use disguise, but my informant described it, said used by Kl of Klamath Marsh. NF: Hunter wears yellowhammer-band headdress to attract deer's attention.

96. AW: Prong horn head used only; none of neck skin left attached.

98. SE: Mink hides fastened over deerskin in summer, when deer shedding, to make disguise look more natural (Jake Smith, informant).

101. AW: Tules used for disguise; for ducks only, when driving them toward net (see note 10, also element 42).

[223 373] 106. Kl: Jack light. Put fire at 1 end of canoe; tule mats around fire. As canoe floats down-river ducks fly down to light; shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes ducks so thick they put out the fire. Done at night, in freezing weather. At: Fire set on 1 end of canoe, for ducks; flares not used but attributed by informant to Madesi Achomawi. AW: Small fire carried in 1 end of canoe, at night, over which boatmen warm hands only. "People at Big Bend (Madesi

[170-A]

000 ponds which form, in effect, natural irrigation system.

Domesticated Animals and Pets

Dogs.--

231 330. Kl: Single variety, prick ears, short tail, short hair, about 18 in. high; varicolored (?). Man or woman may own either male, female
000 dog; no rule. Mo: Single small variety, prick ears, short hair, brown and black. SE: Small variety; large prick ears. At: About size of fox, coyote; small prick ears; short hair and long hair, fawn or brown colored. AW: 2 varieties. Small dog, 12 in. high, short hair; not used for hunting, "just stayed around house." Large dog (qɔ'lɔha·), "pretty nearly as big as a calf," used for hunting. Both varieties enter into mythology; Butterfly (aponaha) "who had power and could do anything, made the big dogs. He had a little dog in his sack; he was going to fight Kowilla (a big lizard, a bad man), who had a big dog. Aponaha blew on his little puppy and told him to 'grow, grow,' so that he could fight Kowilla's big dog. The puppy grew, and whipped the big dog." AE: Single variety, similar to coyote in appearance; prick ears, short hair, tawny; small-to-medium size; females generally have only 1-2 pups. WM: Prick ears, short hair. MF, NF: Dogs imported; high priced; difficult to obtain. People go "to a sharp country (see below, NS), throw a round rock down a slope; bitch chases the rock, and while she is away, people steal her pups from her hole; never try to catch mother of the pups." NS: Mt. Diablo known as sukumyama (dog mountain); bitch has hole there; men roll large stone down mountain, bitch chases it; meantime men steal her pups from hole.

331. AE: Dogs scarce; owned by rich men only.

334. SW: Name dogs after animal; bad tempered dog named for grizzly, good hunting dogs for wolf, puma. WT: Names of nickname variety: "log," "'porch'--because dog was always lying on porch."

335. See 13, 22, note for 23.

[231] 336. Kl, Mo, SE, AE, WT, MM: Dogs "sniff" instead of barking, as signal of strangers' approach. SE: Huč, huč (sic 'em). AE: Never bark; "trained not to bark away back; hit them if they did."

337. Mo: Stay in "kitchen" or cook house. WM, WS: Stay in porch of dwelling house.

343. At: Widow keeps husband's dog.

344. SW: "Against the rule to bury dogs."

346. SW: Hung or given to relative of deceased. WT: Could give no reason for custom, except that "dogs like to be hung thus; it makes his spirit glad; if buried, dog's spirit is dissatisfied, because not treated right."

Birds, bear cubs, etc.--

[223] 347. Kl: Shoot eagles, to secure their feathers. SW: Eagles only; kept tied by leg, beside spring. When grown freed; dangerous. AE: Eagles; kept when young in heavy tule basket cage; later

[176-B]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K M 512 [264] [782]

Families eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred places.

K M [887] [854] [302] [412] [285]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.

K M [313] [223] [226]

If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.

K M [343] [515] [783] [857] [264]

Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat-houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together again until evening.

K M [364] [524]

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is said to hasten the advent of spring.

K M [784]

String figures must not be played in this season, for they make the months grow longer.

K M [538]

As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

K M 221 756 796

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample,

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

M clusion of almost everything else. The seeds of this plant,
K gathered and preserved in three different manners, as described
13 in detail by Coville,[4] form the staple article of food and thus
correspond to acorns used over the greater part of California.
About Tule or Rhett lake and the smaller lakes of that vicinity
there are fewer marshes and consequently a smaller supply of
the water-lily. Thus the Modoc were much less abundantly supplied
with this staple than were the Klamath, who are said to
have had on Klamath marsh alone over ten thousand acres of
these plants. The chief vegetable food of the Modoc seems to
have been tubers and bulbs, notably camass and ipos.

M The extensive lakes of this region naturally bring great num-
K bers of water birds of various kinds, including swans, geese,
136 ducks, and wading birds, the majority of which were used by the
Indians as food and in various ways. The skins of swans, geese,
and other birds with especially fine down, were made into
feather blankets, swaddling clothes, etc. Fish were abundant in
the lakes, salmon and salmon trout being especially esteemed by
M the Indians. The presence of this large supply of water birds
K and fish developed certain specialized implements for their cap-
● 223 ture. For taking birds there were what may be termed a ring-
M pointed arrow, and a special net. There were several methods
K of taking fish, the most important being by the large triangular
226 dip-net used in the dug-out canoe, as shown in pl. 10.

501 The country provided also an abundance of the usual animals,
M such as deer, elk, antelope, and others used for food; and coyotes,
K gray wolves, foxes, badgers, wildcats, rabbits, and various fur-
136 bearing animals furnishing blankets and clothing.
237

BUILDINGS.

M The houses of the Klamath and Modoc were of two kinds. In
K this region where the snow on the higher peaks is always in
342 sight, and where it often reaches a depth of several feet in winter,
[133] a warm and durable house is necessary. This was provided by
[132] the semi-subterranean earth lodge, which was of the usual central
California form, and had a pit from a foot to three or four feet

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[113] [4] Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians, Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Institution, 1902, 727-739.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M K 224 M K 223

Klamath and Modoc, though a noose set in a trail was sometimes used for deer. For taking the many species of water birds which are so abundant about the lakes, there were several interesting devices. The most specialized and unusual of these is an arrow made with a cane shaft and a point of mountain-mahogany. An ordinary wood-pointed arrow tends to go directly into the water at the angle at which it strikes the surface. A small ring, usually of sinew and pitch, but sometimes carved out of the foreshaft itself, being placed near the point, the arrow is deflected upward as it strikes the water, and skips along over the surface so that it is likely to kill at least one out of a flock of birds. The two forms of hunting arrows, the plain wood-pointed and the ring-pointed, together with the ordinary unbacked wooden bow and the tule quiver, are shown in pl. 20.

A long narrow net stretched in an upright position near the surface of the water is used in the capture of ducks and other water birds. As a flock of birds swims or flies into this net it is let down by men on the shore who hold the ropes which keep the upper edge of the net taut. By paddling out in a canoe the birds which are entangled in the meshes may be easily removed. As another means of taking large numbers of birds two men go out in a canoe at night and erect a large triangular net on the prow. A fire is kindled toward the middle of the canoe and the bright light causes the birds to fly from various directions toward the net.

The many-pointed fish spear, to be described later, is also used to a limited extent in the capture of water birds. They are speared from the canoe as they dive through the water.

FISHING IMPLEMENTS.

M K 226 M K 501

For fishing a number of specialized implements are used. The dug-out canoe (pl. 10),[a] while it is not used exclusively for fishing, is an absolute necessity to a fisherman's life. The dug-out is made from a log, usually fir, since the knots in the fir are much more durable and will not come out as do the knots in pine and cedar. The canoe is simply a log hollowed out by burning and adzing, and with the bottom sloping upward at an angle at each end. The angle of the slope at the prow is considerably

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[a] See also Coville, *op cit.*, pl. 4, 5.

The western and southern limits of the range are easiest to define 101
because of the topography and the proximity of other tribes. To the 131
east and north the open deserts and broken country extend indefinitely. 133
The nearest of the shifting settlements of Northern Paiute on the east
at Goose and Summer lakes are sixty and more miles from Klamath
lake. Those of the Warm Springs tribes are one hundred and fifty
miles distant, more than halfway across Oregon. Teit's data show [175]
that more than a century ago the neighbors of the Klamath in this
direction were the Sahaptins at no great distance and beyond them
Molala and Cayuse.

The wide plain south of Klamath Falls seems to have been unoccupied. 101
The Modoc lived south of the Lost River hills about Tule lake
and on lower Klamath lake. My Klamath informant doubted that 131
they lived on Miller lake, or had permanent settlements on Lost river. 174
Both tribes congregated at one place only for the early spring fishing,
namely on Lost river, a mile or more below the buttes at Olene. The [226]
Klamath camp site is on the north bank, the Modoc on the south.

The southern boundary of Klamath territory skirts the Klamath 101
valley from this place as far downstream as Spencer creek, near the
California-Oregon line, below the canyon of the Klamath. Below this 131
on the river are the Shasta, whose northernmost outposts are on Shovel
creek and north of the river on Jennie creek. The Klamath have no [226]
settlements on the river, but fish, hunt, and gather roots at such points [224] •
as Keno, Spencer creek (ma'lbuḳ'is), and at laik'ĕlmi, five or six miles [222]
upstream from Dorris (?).

The western boundary is the Cascade watershed, including, however, territory on the northwest side of Mount Pitt (Mount McLoughlin) and again southwest of Crater lake. The Klamath hunt northwest of this conspicuous mountain in a region of many streams called la'ndjli (possibly an American name). Fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake is Huckleberry mountain (iwumkä'ni, huckleberry place) where the Klamath meet the Molala similarly engaged in berry picking. The latter regularly occupy the highlands of the upper Rogue river drainage above Trail creek or some point below Prospect. These Molala form a southern extension of that tribe from the upper Umpqua drainage.

The northern and eastern boundaries are somewhat indefinite. Palmer stated:

tlements are pitted against each other. Wrestling is a sport for men 524
and boys. The village suwiakă'ěks, jump over, at Modoc point takes its name from contests of jumping over a rock there. This is about three and a half feet high and the approach is up a hillside. The Klamath are fond of diving; certain places on the lake are favorites, as the rocks on the northern shore of Buck island. Poles are balanced on the forefinger; this nameless sport is indulged in by boys alone. Ball juggling is unknown.[159]

The so-called ring and pin or cup and ball game (coķ!o'ķ!os) among the Klamath consists of an elliptical or lozenge-shaped bundle of tule rushes to one end of which is fastened the cord which at its other end is attached to the butt of the pin. In a specimen I collected the bundle is very light, fashioned from the inner layers of tule stem into a mass an inch and a half long with a diameter half that dimension. The cord is a mere filament eight inches long, twisted of dried nettle bark. The pin is a porcupine quill (smai'ěm) as long as the ball. The ball is allowed to hang pendant; by a quick plunge of the pin straight down, an attempt is made to pierce the point of attachment of cord and ball. This "breaks the month" (shapashpatcha, according to Dorsey).[160] It is considered great luck, for it will shorten the month and hasten the coming of the spring. It is a pastime of young and old of either sex during the long winter nights spent in the earth-lodge.

Top spinning is not confined to any season nor any ages. The top (hěsta'lgeas) is a pointed stick thrust through a disk of wood or bark or a lump of pine gum. It is twirled between the palms. The contest is to see whose top spins longest.

A buzzer (ake'oķe'wis ?) is made of an astragalus bone of a deer 224
and a sinew from the deer's back. The looped cord passes through two holes in the bone. The loop is swung in the familiar fashion to twist it; pulling on it makes the bone spin. The buzzing sound produced says, poke'wŏt poke'wŏt, drive the deer out, evidently a charm. Near Pelican bay are tongues of land extending into the marsh from the foot of the mountain. Deer were driven out onto these and killed, or forced into the water where women in canoes waited to kill them. The buzzing is a "sign of this."

The bullroarer is a boy's plaything; it has no significance. This 524
is a paddle-shaped piece of wood, about fourteen inches long, pro-

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[159] Gatschet records the term shikukángŏtch for stilts (*op. cit.*, 2:307). I am sure I would have been told of stilts had these been aboriginal.

[160] *Op. cit.*, 21.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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III. ECONOMIC LIFE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 At this late date it is difficult to define the sexual division of labor with precision. Some impression derives, however, from random observations let drop during the course of these inquiries.

One of my informants summarized the division of domestic activities in this wise. Women fetch wood and gather food. Old men as well as women grind and pound seeds. Men lie about all the time, working but once in a while. They hunt, fish, and in the winter build houses.

Undoubtedly he is justified in his view that man's work is spasmodic, woman's work in preparation of food and the care of the home a more continuous round of labor. Such in fact is the picture of native life in perhaps all parts of the continent. Yet a fairer view of their economic participation shows a more equal division of activities.

[226] These may be summarized as follows: Men, but women too, are the fishers. Inasmuch as their primary dependence is on fish, the men's activities in this direction constitute well-nigh a year-round [224] pursuit. Men are hunters, but hunting is desultory. Even here women participate, for it is noted at least that they occasionally lie in wait in canoes to kill floundering deer driven into the water. Root [222] and seed-gathering is woman's work; I am not certain that men assist even in harvesting fruit. Seeds, especially pond-lily seeds, form the second staple in Klamath life. Preparation of food is wholly [252] woman's work, save as they are assisted by old men, perhaps only those who have no women members of their families to undertake the [251] task. Storing food and drying it may be wholly feminine occupations as well. At least where foods are concerned the man's work is sufficiently time-filling, but the woman's much more so.

[342] With manufactures, the division is somewhat more even. House-building, one of the main activities, is a function of both sexes, and [313] is no small part of the domestic routine. Timbers are prepared and erected by men, grass and dirt spread over the structure by women, [322] and the house pit dug by both. Woodworking and the manufacture [411] of weapons are masculine activities. Yet the most laborious wood-

Yet the most laborious wood-working task, the making of canoes, is sometimes undertaken by women. I do not know who tans skins, but since the manufacture of all garments and moccasins is done by women, this suggests that they prepare the skins as well. Mats and baskets are made by women and in considerable quantity. This is a sedentary pursuit which dovetails nicely into leisure moments of household duties. Mortars, metates, and their adjuncts are fashioned by women, though I suspect that men may lend a hand. Nets are manufactured by men, but by a few women also. Ropes and cords are made by women. All these suggest a somewhat heavier share borne by women. 462 [501] [281] [285] [415] [284]

There is a further factor which must be kept in mind. In winter, movement is impeded by intense cold and heavy snowfall, so that all members of the family must stay close at home. Hence the men might be thought to have enforced inactivity thrust upon them during this season. But the facts are probably otherwise. This is a period of great scarcity, even famine, especially at the end of a long winter, and it behooves the men to act and act quickly in search of food. The ardors and perils then forced on them surely make demands upon whatever leisure they may have at this time. [283] 211

FOOD AND ITS ACQUISITION

Klamath life is not that of a lake people, but a river and marsh culture, for the simple reason that their primary food is fish. The large lakes of this region are solidly frozen in winter, and fish, which are not abundant there at the best, can hardly be had in winter. It is otherwise with the swift rivers and creeks; these are always open and fish are always present in abundance.[218] 262

Fish is the staple; after this ranks water-lily seed (wokas) and to a lesser extent other roots; deer and other game are only of minor importance. It is difficult at this late date to know whether fish or lily-seed was eaten in greater quantity, but there is no doubt that, of necessity, more attention was given the year round to fishing, since the seed is harvested only from the middle of August to the end of September. 262 224 226 222

Winter villages, the permanent settlements, are located where fish may be had at that time, beside running streams and near springs 361

this fashion. To judge by the quantities of fresh-water clamshells at the old house sites, clams are also an article of diet. 262

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[218] In view of the excellent descriptions of Klamath environment given by Gatschet, Barrett (pp. 240–243), and Coville (Wokas, A Primitive Food, 727–728) it is unnecessary to add another here. (See also pp. 8–10 of the present work.) [114]

All varieties of fish are dried in the sun, not smoked.[238] The fish is slit down the back, entrails and backbone removed, the head cut off, and the flanks opened. Of the drying of salmon, Coville observes "it was their custom, after a fish was split open, to lay in the body cavity a yarrow stem (lăl-wăl'-săm, *Achillea millefolium* L.) with its leaves and flowers still attached. This treatment, by holding the fish open, hastens the drying process and prevents the decomposition that would be likely to follow if the walls were allowed to collapse. My informant knew of no special significance attached to the use of this particular plant and of no special adaptability it had for this purpose, except that it did not give the dried fish such a bad taste as some other plants."[239] A hole is cut through the fish so that they can be strung on poles, which are placed in rows on a high scaffold or set across branches of a tree. Sometimes the head is left on and the poles passed through a hole near the tail. The cache is covered with bits of board and bark. Dry fish are pounded up to make kámalsh.[240] 251

Parties returning from fishing excursions to Lost river in Modoc country sometimes cook their catch in a hot spring east of the railway station in the present town of Klamath Falls. 252

Hunting

While game is varied and plentiful in the Klamath country, the Klamath are not much given to hunting. As one informant phrased it, "We know very little about hunting deer." Their attitude is betrayed by the exaggerated value put on elk hides, although elk were plentiful. And while fish can be taken by anyone, success in hunting is assured only to one who has spirit power. In a word, the Klamath prefer the easier exploitation of stream, marsh, and prairie to invasion of the forest-clad mountains which invite only the solitary seeker after power. 224

They hunt outside their territory westward across the Cascades, but not so far as the valleys of the Rogue river system. That region is held by enemies, the Upland Takelma of the Ashland-Table Rock region. Antelope and mountain sheep are hunted in the lava beds south of Modoc territory. Mule deer are pursued in the desert to

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[238] Meacham refers to drying whitefish over fires (see above).

[239] Notes, 105.

[240] Gatschet, 1:76.

• 224 the east, which takes them to the border of hostile Northern Paiute country.

In their own territory, the larger game animals are abundant. Elk are everywhere, perhaps more numerous to the north in the Cascades. Deer and antelope are plentiful. Deer, as well as ducks and other game, abound in the open country south of Klamath Falls toward the Lost River hills. A small blacktail deer is found in the Cascade mountains. Wolves, coyotes, black and grizzly bears, and other predatory beasts are common. Game birds, especially waterfowl, are abundant about the marshy lakes.

224
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825

The following list shows their discriminations among the game.[241]

Eaten

Deer, generically, li'lhünks.
Blacktailed deer, mu'amüs.
Small red deer, swai'.[243] (The meat is very good and the tallow sweet.)
Mule deer, bargu'ls (lives in the east near the desert).
Elk, wün (excellent meat).
Antelope, teä'u (taken in Klamath marsh).
Mountain sheep, wi'ēs.
Black bear, witä'm.
Grizzly bear, lok (paws and flesh eaten).
Porcupine, tee'lis (perhaps eaten only recently).[250]
Beaver, pum.
Ground hog, mu'i.
Mink, kli'p'a.
Otter, k!ult (eaten by some).
Raccoon, wa'tekinз.

Not eaten

Wolf, kaio'tcia.[242]
Coyote, was.
Red fox, wan (found west of Klamath lake).
Black fox, he'hai.[244]
Marmot (?fisher), wa'lkōteka.[245]
Bob-cat (or lynx?), slowa' (or slēt).[246]
Bassariscus (?), da'slata.[247]
Cougar, koi'yaka'wäs.[248]
Marten, pä'zp.[249]
Weasel, telōegai.
Skunk, tca'sls (eaten only as a cure for rheumatism).
Badger, kols.
Mountain beaver, pum (or gitckani pum, small beaver, or puma'k, beaver cub).[251]
Chipmunk, wa'sls.
Larger chipmunk, tsil'l'as.

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[241] All identifications were made by my informants, except *Bassariscus*.

[242] The name suggests the English (< Aztec) word coyote, but repeated inquiry failed to reveal any other name for the animal.

[243] Having a black (or white?) tail; long straight horns with a slight hook at the tip, pointed forward; eats roots and leaves, not grass. Nancy Phillips says this has horns like other deer, and is identical with the black-tailed deer, save that the tail is slightly longer.

[244] My informant suggested that this is a Chinook jargon word.

[245] Black; larger than the last; can climb trees; whistles.

[246] Spotted; short tail; pendant cheeks; eighteen inches to two feet tall; seen but not often killed.

[247] Striped; long striped tail. This is not often killed, because they fear it.

[248] Larger than the last; screams like a woman and whistles; seen on the highest mountains, but not killed for fear of it.

[249] Red; like a mink but lives in the mountains.

* [171] [250] The Modoc eat porcupine and chipmunk, according to my Klamath information.

[251] Not killed.

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Eaten

Jack rabbit, kai.
Cottontail rabbit, k!oik!ois (or tc!wö'ganẕ).
Ground squirrel, mẕaa's (occasionally eaten).
Tree squirrel, giu'was.[252]
Larger tree squirrel, kā'nĕōn.[254]
Waterfowl, generically, mā'mūklẕ.
Pelican, ku'mal.
Goose, los.
Swan, kos.
Brant, la" lōḳ.[257]
China brant, lōḳlōḳ.[257, 258]
White brant, wai'was.
Sandhill crane, k!līti'a.[259]
Blue crane, so.o'ks.
Loon, döpial.
Small loon, ḳo'ḳiuḳs (not eaten by children for fear of sickness).
————, èngu'k.[257, 260]
Gull, ku'l'a.[261]
Smallest gull, ḳlōt'la'was.[257, 262]
Mudhen, teho's.
Teal, tc!āks.[257]
Mallard duck, wā'ēka.[257]
Pintail (or Sprague) duck, golks.[263]
Canvas-back duck, go'la.
Butterball duck, bōmba'ktls.
Wood duck, djīkdjīks.
Small duck, koḳa'swẖ.[264]
Blackjack duck, sne'is.
Fishduck, tc!ō'kẕnos.[265]
Blackbird, djū'ḳs (occasionally eaten).
Redwing blackbird, kōkō'klauūs.[257]

Not eaten

Wood rat, ḳotca'.
Mouse, mūḳ!o'kẕ.
Small mouse, blai'nẕhūtcnā's (or nōnw' ō'kūs).[253]
Shrew, cu'lai.[255]
Small gull, ḳlā'ēte.[256]

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[252] Calls giu, gin.

[253] Very small?; white; long tail; lives in the ground.

[254] A foot long, with long bushy tail; blue; lives in the mountains.

[255] Three inches long; long pointed black nose "like a grizzly bear's"; very scarce.

[256] Has swallow tail.

[257] Named in imitation of its call.

[258] Like a goose.

[259] Scarce.

[260] Black; long neck sticks out of water.

[261] Cf. English gull.

[262] Smaller than ḳlā'ēte; white; forked tail.

[263] Long white neck.

[264] A little duck with big head and neck.

[265] Red head.

• 224 The Klamath are evidently catholic in their tastes, excluding among larger animals only the out-and-out carnivores.

Most land animals are taken with the bow. Snares are not used, even for birds, and the deadfall trap finds only occasional use. Snares (knës) for deer, an important hunting device of northwestern California,[266] are said to be used by the Molala. Several hunting methods which might have been expected here are unknown: driving deer or antelope into an enclosure (chute-and-pound) or over a cliff, and the use of nets for taking rabbits.[267] The first is a Great Basin practice; the latter used both there and in California. Nor are pits dug on deer trails.

Deer driving of an alternative nature is practiced in at least one locality. At Pelican bay tongues of land extend into the marsh from the toe of the timbered mountains. The deer are driven onto these, where they can be readily shot, or pursued into the water where women wait in canoes to slay them. The humming sound of a buzzer made of a deer astragalus bone is a "sign of this."

The Klamath do not stalk the deer in disguise, but my informant ascribed this to the people at Yainax, i.e., Modoc or Paiute. They stuff the head skin of a deer to wear over their own heads, but add no horns; the body is covered by the attached deer hide.[268]

231 [224] Dogs are used in hunting, but not to the same extent as with the Molala, who employ them to track deer or drive game toward the hunter. The dogs are described as small, slim, with short legs, the hind legs crooked. They were short-haired, had erect ears, short faces, with sometimes black marks on the upper eyelids, called ķ!au'li. A rock south of Barclay spring is famous as a place to train hunting dogs. The puppy is thrown into a near-by spring while the master hides behind the rock. [552] A dog's name is given for individual markings or happenings, as wano'mgoķs, marten bites him. One received the name of a man, ķoi'yās, because the dog was brown(?). Dogs are called by name, or tc!ĭsk, tc!ĭsk. They are chased away, cccc gē'ka, get out. To encourage them to fight, one says, kūc, kūc, kūc.

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[114]

[266] Kroeber, Handbook, 817. Barrett (Material Culture, 246) states that Klamath and Modoc took deer in snares, but I am certain he is mistaken.

* [171]

[267] Despite a myth referring to this, my informant did not know whether the Northern Paiute use it.

[268] There is, however, an antelope headdress in the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 61678) which is ascribed to the Klamath. It is formed of the whole head skin of the animal, but is hardly more than a cap. Pendant from the rear is a bunch of hawk(?) feathers.

A deadfall trap (sna'ndŏtalŏks) is set in the Cascades or along their foot to take such animals as marten, fisher, fox, and coyote. This is constructed of logs, with the entrance blocked in such a fashion that the animal entering must spring the trap. I was unable to get a description of the trigger. 224

Waterfowl are shot, caught in nets, or hunted with a jack-light. 223 The arrows used for these birds are of cane with foreshafts of wood sufficiently light to float. Near the tip, to serve as a barb, the foreshaft has a wad or ring of pitch, or of pitch and sinew, or carved from the shaft, as described by Barrett.[369]

The long nets (nut) for waterfowl are set up in the marshy margins of the lakes where ducks commonly congregate. These are fifty or sixty feet long by three wide. They are set under water, reaching quite to the bottom and hardly appearing above the surface, for the purpose is to catch the birds as they dive. The net is watched day and night. People may even sleep and cook in a canoe to be near it. While my information is that flying birds are not caught in these, Barrett is probably correct that they have such use. The net is stretched upright above the surface and dropped on the birds as they fly or swim into it.

The birds are also caught with the aid of a jack-light and net as they rest on the water at night. This method (slŭ'mta) is used with success where they flock in warm, unfrozen spots such as the mouth of Williamson river and Pelican bay. A fire is built in the prow of a canoe; a triangular scoop net, commonly used for fishing, is held upright behind it.[370] Pitchy wood is used to provide a bright light; the canoe is protected by a thick layer of dirt. The ducks flying toward the light are caught in the net or fall into the canoe where they are clubbed. Four or five men armed with clubs and bows sometimes go together in a large canoe.

Diving birds are sometimes taken with the many-pointed fish spear, according to Barrett. But a curious variant of it has been described by Meacham. [114]

> The young fowls are captured in nets. The arrangement is quite cunning, and, although primitive in construction, evinces some inventive genius. A circular net is made three feet in diameter, and to the outer edge are attached eight or ten small rods of half-inch diameter, and about fifteen inches in length; three inches

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[369] Material Culture, 247. My informant denied Barrett's statement that the primary purpose of the ring is to cause the arrow to skip over the surface and strike in the flock, though this undoubtedly happens. [114]

[370] Barrett (*loc. cit.*) has the fire behind the net.

251 [824] sionally used, the entrance blocked with stones. In all these cases, an evil-smelling plant, called k!ol (*Valeriana edulis* Nutt.) is buried with food in order to keep animals from digging it up. Grizzly bears are particularly destructive of caches, but even they avoid this plant. Gatschet's information was that they would even flee from one who carried the plant about him.[209] Human thieves are also known to ransack these hoards. A family commonly buries its extra stores in this fashion when temporarily away from home. Such storage is called p'nana.

222 224 The first fruits of a young hunter or root gatherer are looked upon as something altogether special. They must be abandoned if future success is to be assured. While I received conflicting versions of the young deerslayer's procedure, they agree that he cannot eat his kill. One informant had it that the first deer is abandoned by the hunter and never eaten. If he has companions, he does not even show it to them and must present the second one slain to one of them. Another informant agreed that he cannot partake of the flesh of the first deer, but his parents make a feast of it, giving away articles in honor of the occasion. Similarly a young woman destroys by burning the first roots she gathers alone, and does not exhibit her success to anyone. The second basketful is distributed among her companions, and only after this may she keep what she gathers. Analogously a man leaves the first fish or game he takes after the loss of a close relative, and a gambler gives away his first gains after reacquiring power following the death of a relative. The practice of abandoning such fruits is called säpu'tsa. Unlike the comparable case of the novice deer hunter, no celebration is held for a little girl who gathers roots under her elders' tutelage.

264 Meals are not eaten at regular intervals, I was told, but that they eat all day long "like horses." Of this I am doubtful: what may have been implied was that food was available at any time during the day. I was also told that a meal was eaten in the morning and again in the evening. Travelers at least made no regular stops for meals and if necessary cooked in their canoes over little fires built on protecting layers of dirt.

A sort of grace is said before eating. Morsels of food are cast all about, to the land, the mountains, the old house pits, cremation piles, stones that are transformed people, etc., so as to feed them before one feeds himself. They say bū'pwi'amʀni gĕnige'lʀ gĕnidelo'telpkʀ, to

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[209] Gatschet, 1:147.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

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CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS LIST

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element affirmed by informant.
−	Element denied by informant.
(+)	Element affirmed, but some doubt concerning it on part of informant or ethnographer.
(−)	Element denied, but with qualifications as in the preceding.
·	Element enquired about, but informant uncertain regarding it.
o	Absent because lacking or impossible in the environment. (Not to be confused with the symbol o preceding an element number, and which is explained below.)
R	Element said to be of comparatively recent introduction.
•	Further information concerning item is contained in the section "Ethnographic Notes on the Element List."
Blank	Element not enquired for by ethnographer.

The following symbols precede element numbers:

†	For statistical computations, the number or letter entries under this element have been read as plus.
‡	For statistical computations, the element has been broken into two or more (e.g., 1 foot or less; more than 1 foot).
o	For statistical computations, the element has been eliminated.

ELEMENTS	OCCURRENCE																
	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
BASIC ECONOMY																	
Hunting																	
Driving and Pursuing																	
1. Driving game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	224
2. Into enclosure	−	+	−	+	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3. Circular	−		−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	
4. With pit	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	
5. With V-shaped wings	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	
†6. Along fence, hunters in pits				•+							+	+	+	−	−	−	
7. Over cliff	−	+	+	−	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	
†8. Into water or mud	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+		−	+	−	(−)	
†9. To or past concealed hunter	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
10. Into trap, net or snare	+	•−	+	•−	•+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	
11. Surround by hunters	•−					+	+	−	−	+	−						
12. Surround by fire	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	
13. Dog used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	[231]
14. Pursuing game	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
15. Wounded animal only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	
16. Single hunter	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	
17. Group of hunters	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
18. In relays	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
19. Race: swiftest kills deer	−		+			+	+	−	+	−		·		−	−	+	
20. Shout to frighten quarry	−	+	+								+	·	−	−	−	+	
21. Hunters on snowshoes	+	+	+			+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	o	−	o	o	
22. Dog used	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	[231]
23. Trailing or tracking game	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Snares, Nets, Traps																	
24. Fence with nooses in gaps	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	•−	
25. For deer	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
26. For rabbits	•−	•−	−	+	+	−	−	+	o	+	•−	+	−	−	−	−	
27. For quail	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	[223]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
223 28. Noose above trail for deer, elk	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
224 29. Noose on bent sapling	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
30. For deer, other large game	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
31. For small mammals	•-	+	-	+	-	+	•R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
32. For birds	+	-	-	+	•+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
33. Noose on stick, hand held	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	.	+	+	.	+
34. For small mammals	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	.	+	+	.	+
35. For birds	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	.	+	-	.	+
36. Cord with suspended nooses	+	+	-			+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	(+)
37. Long vertical net set in straight line	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
38. For deer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
39. For rabbits	-	+	-	-	+	•+	+	-	o	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
40. For waterfowl	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	•o	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-
41. Set under water	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-
42. Set above water	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
43. For land birds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
44. Vertical net set in circle, no openings	•+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
45. For deer	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
46. For antelope	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
47. For rabbits, squirrels	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
48. Bag-shaped net	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
49. For small mammals	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
50. For birds	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
51. Woodpecker	-	-	•-	-	•-	-	-	-	+	-	•-	-	•-	-	•-	•-
52. Quail	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+
53. Basket trap for birds	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	+	•+	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-
54. Figure 4 trigger	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
55. Seed or meal bait	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
56. For woodpeckers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
57. For quail	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
58. For all variety winter birds	-	-		+	-	-	-		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
59. Slat or stick drop-box trap	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	•-	-	-	-
60. Figure-4 trigger	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	-
61. Deadfall	-	-	-	+	+	+	R	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
62. Single stone	-	-	-	-	+	+	R	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	•+	-
63. Single log	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
64. Figure-4 trigger	-	-	-	-	+	+	R	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-
65. Stone propped up with acorn	-		-						+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-
66. Meat bait	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
67. Seed bait	-	-	-	-	+	+	R	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-
68. For large mammals	-	-	-	+	•+	R	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
69. For small mammals	-	-	-	-	+	•+	R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	•+	-
70. For birds	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
71. Pitfall	•+	+	-	•+	+	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
o72. Depth in feet	5	6	-	2	7	8	6	-	-	-	6	6	6	-	-	-
73. Covered with sticks and dirt	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
74. Water in bottom			-				+	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-
75. Stake in bottom for impalement	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-
76. For carnivores	-	+	-	-	+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
77. For artiodactyls	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
78. For rodents	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Booths and Blinds																
79. Booths and blinds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
80. Natural ambush	+	+	+	•+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
81. Brush fence or enclosure	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
82. Roofed	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
83. Peekhole to shoot, snare through	+	+							+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
84. For game shooting	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
85. Deer	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
86. Birds	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
87. Bird snaring, noose on stick	−	−	−	−	(R)	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
87a. Ambush on watercraft	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
88. On tule balsa	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
89. On dugout, run into tules	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
90. On log raft	−	−	−			−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
91. Ambush of plant material	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
92. Stone walls or enclosure, for deer	•+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	−	−	−
93. Hunter concealed in pit	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
94. At moonrise, at deer licks	+	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
Disguises, Decoys																
95. Animal head worn by hunter	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+
96. With horns	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
97. Without horns	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
98. Entire skin worn	+	+	•+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	.	−	−
99. Only horns worn	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	−
100. Hunter walks with two canes	−	−	+						+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
101. Brush worn or carried by hunter	−	−	+	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
102. For deer	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
103. For rodents	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
104. When driving birds toward nets	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
105. Stuffed bird-skin decoy, floating	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
106. Flares, jacklight to attract waterfowl	•+	+	−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	•+	−
107. Leaf or grass calls for game	+	.	+	+	−	R	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Imitation of fawn crying	+	+	+	+	+	•R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
109. Whistling with lips for deer	−	•+	+	−	+	R	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
110. For rabbits	−	−	+		−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		+	−
111. Shouting, for deer	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+		+	+
112. "Honking" so ducks will light	−	+	+			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Other Hunting Techniques																
113. Large game shot in water	.		+			•+		−	.	−	+	.	−	+	−	(−)
114. Bear killed inside den	−	+	+			•+	•o				+	+	o	.	−	•−
115. Bear smoked out	−	+	±	+	•+	−	o	+	•+	+	+	+	o	.	+	−
116. Dipod at mouth of den	•+	+	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	.	−	−
117. Vertical stakes at mouth of den	−	.	−	•+	−	−	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	.	−	−
118. Rodents smoked out	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
119. Pine needles used for fire	−	+	+	+	+	−	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
120. Fire blown with mouth	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•−
121. Basket fan used	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
122. Brush fan used	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
123. Feather fan used	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
124. Stick thrust down rodent's hole	−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
125. Sharpened	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
126. Hooked stick or gaff	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
127. Rodents drowned out	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
128. Rats' nests burned	−	•+	−	+	.	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
129. Rats' nests prodded with stick	−	−	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
130. Jumped on	−	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
131. Duck fledglings clubbed	+	•+	+								−	+	−	−	.	•−
132. Insects caught	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
132a. In trench, pit	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	•+
133. Shaken down from trees, or picked off branches	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	−
134. Hand-gathered early in morning	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
135. Obtained by burning field	−	−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
136. "Whipped" into pack basket		+	−	−		•+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Hunting Observances																
224 o137. First kill taboo to youth	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	·±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+
138. To youth's parents also	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
139. Kill taboo until marriage	–	–	–	–	·–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
140. Youth switched after first kill	–	–	–	+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
141. Before he goes to kill first deer	+	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
142. Taboo to voice intent to hunt deer	–	·–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
o143. Hunter fasts morning or day of hunt	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	±	–	+
[934] 144. Sexual continence before hunt	–	+	+	·+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[276] 145. Tobacco smoked ritually before hunt	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·–	+	+	+	+	·+	–	·+
[783] 146. Root incense before hunt	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
147. Weapons smoked over fire	–	+	+	+	·+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
148. Hunter smokes self over fire	.	+	+	+	+	·+	+	–	·+	–	+	+	+	·–	+	–
149. Root chewed before hunt	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
[515] 150. Sweating before hunt	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
151. With scarification and bleeding	–	+	·+	·+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
152. Hunter prays while sweating	·+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	·–	–	·–	–	–	–
153. Shell bead burnt as offering	–										+	+	+	–	–	·–
[515] 154. Bathing before hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
155. Body swabbed with medicine	–	·+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	·+	–	+	–	+	·+
156. Deer doctor charms game prior to hunt	–	+	+			·+	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
157. Antelope doctor charms game prior to hunt	–	+	.		o	o	+	–	o	o	o	–	o	–	o	–
158. Ceremony before group hunt	–	+	+	+	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	·+
159. Singing	–	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Praying	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
161. Dancing	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
162. Hoof rattle	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	+	–
163. Cocoon rattle	–		–		–			–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–
163a. Split-stick rattle	–	–	·R	–	–	·R		+	–	–	–	–	.	–	.	·+
164. Headdress	–	–	+			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	.	–
165. Conducted by shaman	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
166. Acorn-soup dinner									·+	·+			·+	·+	·+	·+
167. Ceremony after hunt	–	–	·+	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	·+	.	+	·+	–	+
[782] 168. Offerings made for success of hunt	+	+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	–	–	–	·+	·+	·+	·+	·.	·+
168a. Eagle down	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–
168b. Tobacco	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	–
[754] 169. Shaman goes on hunt to charm game	–	–	–	–	·+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	·–	+	–
170. Bear spoken to in den or woods	·–	·+	·+	+	·+	·–	o	–	+	.	+	·+	o	.	(–)	·+
171. Addressed by kin term	–	.	+	–	+	–	o	–	–	.	+	+	o	.	(–)	+
172. Apologetic speech after killing	–	–	+	·–	+	–	o	–	+	.	+	+	o	.	–	+
173. Meat eaten in one house	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	–	–	–	+	(+)	o	.	+	–
174. All who eat must wash, be continent	–	+	+	·–							+	+	o	.	+	–
175. Remains in tree or hidden in woods	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	–	–	–	+	–	o	.	–	–
176. Remains burnt	–	–	–			+	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	.	–	+
177. Killing pregnant bear causes death, misfortune	–	.	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	.	+	o	.	–	–
[200] 178. Smoke or fire signals when 2 or more hunt together	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
179. Shouting as signal	–	–							+	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+
180. To obtain aid in packing kill	+	·+	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+
Butchering of Large Game																
181. Large game butchered in woods	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	·+	·–	+	+
182. Lying	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
183. Eyes cut out	–	–	–	+	+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
184. Given to child to eat raw	–	–	–	·–	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
185. Nose cut or tied	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
186. Paunch cleaned, filled with blood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	·+	+
187. Carcass packed home whole	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
188. Deer bones, remains hidden in woods	-	+	•+	•+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	-	+
189. Thrown away in woods	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
Fishing																
Nets																
190. Long flat nets	+	+	-	+	+	+	•+	•+	•(-)	+	-	-	•-	•+	•+	+
191. Gill net	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	+
192. Seine net	-	-	.	+	+	-	•-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	•+	+
193. Perforated stone sinkers	-	+	.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
194. Grooved stone sinkers	+	+	.	-	+	•-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
195. Wooden floats	-	-	.	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	-	-
196. Tule floats	+	+	.	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
197. Bag net, not dipped or scooped	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
198. Set	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
199. On A-frame	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
200. Tule floats	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
201. Small, dived with	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-
202. Dip or scoop net	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	+
203. On A-frame	•+	•+	+	-	-	•-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+
204. Kite-shaped frame	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
205. Circular mouth, 1 handle	•+	+	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
•206. Bow and arrow type	-	-				•+	•+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	.	+
207. Circular mouth, 2 handles	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
208. On semicircular pole, no other handle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
•209. Rectangular pouch net	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
210. For lampreys also	o	-	+	-	o	-	-	-	o	-	+	+	-	-	.	+
211. Roots put on set lines	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Weirs, Scaffolds, Pens																
212. Straight across stream	•(+)	+	+	+	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
213. Converging	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
214. Diagonal or semicircular	•+	-	-	+		-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
†215. Openings in weir	(3)	1	1	•2	1	•1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
216. Pen with each door	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
217. Door closed by hand	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
218. Net in opening	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
219. Trap in opening	-	-	-			-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
220. Movable weir of willow, etc., woven, dragged	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
221. Men form line across stream	-	+	.	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
•222. Fish driven into weir, net, or trap	(+)	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
223. Platform on weir	•(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+
224. Dipod supports for weir	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
225. Single-post supports for weir	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
226. Scaffold without weir	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
227. Floor or booth on scaffold for harpooning	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
•228. White rocks on bottom to increase visibility	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
•229. Stone pens or dams	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Traps																
230. Long basketry trap, cylindrical	•+	+	+	+	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
231. Conical basketry trap, inner cone	-	-	-	-	+	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
232. Conical, opening at apex	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
•233. Flat, rectangular base trap, open top	-	-	-					+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
234. Fish scooped up in basket	+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	•+	+

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
529. Thatched	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	251
530. Roughly coiled, in shape tubular bin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
531. Posts set upright in ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	(-)	+	•+	•+	•+	
532. Goods wrapped, hung from branch of tree	-	-	+				•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
533. Storage in pit outside	(•+)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	
534. Storage indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
534a. In baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
535. In twined tule "sacks"	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
536. Vegetable foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
537. Dried meat, salted or plain	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
538. Dried fish or salmon flour	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	
539. Storage in pit inside sweat house	-					•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Exchange of Food																	
540. Food sold	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	•+	262
541. Traded or borrowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	437
542. Mainly in time of famine	-	+	-	-	-	-	•-	+	-	-	+	+		+	+	-	
543. Mainly in winter, early spring	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
544. Game divided	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	224
545. Killer gets most or certain parts	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+		
546. Meat equally divided among hunters	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
547. Large game divided among whole camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Ownership of Productive Areas																	
548. Fishing places privately owned	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	-	423
549. Fishing places jointly owned, owners unrelated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
550. Fishing places owned by village group	+	+	-	-		•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	226
551. Anyone may take some of owner's catch	-	-	-						+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
552. Fishing places rented for share of catch	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	.	-	
553. Fish weir privately owned	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	423
554. Hunting land or spots privately owned	-	-	+	•-	-	•-	•-	-	+	-	+	-	-	•+	+	-	
555. Seed tracts privately owned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[224]
556. Seed tracts owned by village group		+				+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
557. Trees privately owned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
558. Trees owned by village group	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
559. Trees claimed for single season only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
560. Only trees distant from village	-	-	-						+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
561. Tribal or group boundaries marked by topographic features	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
562. Tobacco plot privately owned	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	[276]
563. Land for single season only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
564. Tobacco plot owned by village	-	-	-			-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
565. Village site owned by group	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[361]
Division of Labor																	
Subsistence Pursuits																	
566. Hunting: men only	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
567. Rat and mouse catching: men and women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
568. Men	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	[224]
569. Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
570. Gathering insects, grubs: men and women	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	
571. Men	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	[222]
572. Women	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
573. Fishing: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
574. Men only net, spear fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	[226]
575. Women use basket to catch fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
767b. Earth covering partial	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	343
768. Earth covering all over	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
768a. Main entrance through roof	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
768b. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
768c. Flush	+	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
768d. In end of house	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
768e. Secondary entrance at ground level	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
769. Sliding wooden door	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
769a. Stone paved "porch"	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
769b. Steam or hot-rock heat	+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
770. Direct-fire heat	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
770a. Small, for 1-4 persons	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
770b. Large, for group	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
770c. Used throughout year	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
771. Used in winter only	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
772. Used by both sexes	+	+	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
773. Used by men only	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	[512]
774. Used by mourners only	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
775. Communally owned	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–		

Plains-Type Sweat House

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
776. Plains-type sweat house	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
777. Dome shaped	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
778. Mat covered	+	+	+	+	R	–	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
778a. Hide covered	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
779. Brush, bough covered	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
780. Small, for 1-3 persons	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
781. Steam heat	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
782. Used throughout year	–	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)		–	–	–	–	–	+	–
783. Used in summer only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)		+	–	–	–	–	–	–

Sweating Customs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
784. Individual sweating	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	515
785. Sweating in groups of 2-4, or larger	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
786. Women sometimes sweat with men	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	[512]
787. Women sometimes sweat separately	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
788. Sweating daily or every 2-3 days	+	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
789. Sweaters sit or crouch	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
790. Sweaters lie down	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	
791. Sweaters "dance around"	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
792. Formalized sweat dance	–	–				–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	(+)	[535]
793. Sweaters kneel	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
794. All men sleep in sweat house occasionally	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	[513]
795. Male mourners sleep in sweat house	+	+		–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
796. Unmarried old men sleep, eat in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	
797. Men gamble in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
798. Men work (handicrafts) in sweat house	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
799. Youths gather fuel for sweating	–	–		+		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
800. Office of fire maker	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	.	+	+	+	+	[312]
801. Competitive sweat groups	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	[372]
802. All sweators sing	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	[533]
803. 1 man sings for group	–	–				–	–	(+)	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
804. Sweat for success in hunting	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	.	–	–	–	[224]
805. Sweat for success in gambling	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	[528]
806. Sweat for general good luck	+	+		+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	[777]
807. Sweat as cure for disease	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	–	
808. Scarify selves, let blood drip on hot rocks	–	+	+	+				–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[757]
809. Sweat to cleanse body	–	–	+	+		+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	[304]

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2490. Moving figures	·+	·+	+	·+	+	·+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	·	+	−	+
2492. Done in winter only	+	·+	−	−						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2493. Done any time, for fun	−	−	+							+	−	+	+	+	−	+
[481] 2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	−	·+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2494a. Stilts	−	·+	−	−	·+	R	−	−	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−
Contests																
526 2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. To throw man down	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. No tripping allowed	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	·	−
2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	−	+	+	·
2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								−	+	+	+	+	+
2502. Dodging	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	(−)	−	+	−	+
2503. Stones	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	−
2504. Hard objects inside geese	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
2505. Sand bag	−	−	−					·+	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
2506. Tule, grass balls	−	+	−					−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	+
2507. Two sides	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
c2508. Number on each side	−	·5	−			1	·	15	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+
[857] 2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	·	−
2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	·	+
2515. To mark and back	−	−	−			+	+	−	+	−	·	+	+	+	−	−
2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+			+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·	+
2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·	+
Storytelling																
538 2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2520. Myths told at night	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	·		·+	·+
[516] 2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	·		−	+
2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	·+	+	−			+		+	−	+	−	−	·		−	−
[784] 2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·		+	+
2524. Rattlesnake will bite	−	+	·		+	+	+	+	−	·	+	−	·		·	−
2525. Winter will come quickly	+	−	·						+	·	+	−	·		·	−
[887] 2526. Narrated by old people only	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	·		+	+
[515] 2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	·−	+	+			+				+	−	+	·		+	+
2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	−	+	+			+				+	−	+	·		+	+
Social Dances																
Circle Dances																
535 2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	·R	·+	+	·+		+	+	+	+	+	−	R	−		−	−
[417] 2530. Performed in brush corral	−	−	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
[224] 2532. At fall rabbit hunt	−	−	−	−		−	+	−		−	−	−	−		−	−
[221] 2533. In springtime	−	−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
[226] 2535. During communal fishing periods	+	+	+							+	−	−	−		−	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2627. Both paternal, maternal	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	.	.	+	622
2628. Primogeniture	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	·+	+	.	–	–	+	[611]
2629. Oldest member paternal lineage	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
2630. Only if direct heir too young	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2631. Brother of deceased chief	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	.	+	+	+	
2632. Only if direct heir too young			+						+	–	·+	–	.	–	–	–	
2633. Brother's son	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	+	
Qualifications for Appointment																	
2634. Character and knowledge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	[556]
2635. Possession of wealth	–	–	+	.	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2636. Good speaker, and "talks to everyone"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
Appointment																	
2637. Chosen at assembly of elders	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	.	+	+	+	[623]
2638. Chosen at assembly of all males	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	–	.	–	–	–	[562]
2639. Women sometimes attend and speak			–				+	–	–	–	.	+	.	–	–	–	
2640. Incumbent may select successor	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	+	
2641. New leader may be appointed before incumbent dies	–	+	+				+	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	+	–	
2642. Headmen of other groups select or help select new leader	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	+	
2643. Approval of community required	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	.	–	–	–	
Tenure																	
2644. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2645. Dependent on satisfactory behavior	–	–	+	+	+	·+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	
2646. May be deposed by killing	–	–	–	+	–	·+	–	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	.	·–	
Title																	
2647. Individual title	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	
2648. Title extended to children	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	
2649. To daughter only	–	–	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2650. Daughter called by special title													–	–	·+	–	
2651. Title extended to wife; "chief's wife"	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	.	–	+	
Insignia																	
2652. Wears "hairpin" with quail crest at ceremonies																+	[301]
2653. Chief only person who uses eagle feathers													–	–	+	–	[237]
Activities and Duties																	
2654. Hunts, fishes for self	+	+	–	[illegible]	–	–	–	·–	–	+	·+	+	–	–	+	–	
2655. Relatives hunt, fish for him	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2656. All give chief food free	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	·+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
2657. Food bought for chief	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2658. Feeds visitors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	
2659. Impoverished thereby	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[574]
2660. Provides most of food for ceremonies	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	·+	+	+	+	+	+	
2661. Directs communal economic activities	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	[224]
2662. Deer drives	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
2663. Antelope, duck hunts, etc.	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
846	3208. Merely stays indoors	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
784	‡3209. For ... days	5	5	–	5	–	–	–	*4	–	*4	–	–	6	·	28	28
	3210. Until child's cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	*3211. Sleeps little	–	+	+			+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	–	–	·	+
	3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535]	3212a. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481]	3213. Runs	+	+	+	–	*+	*+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3214. First child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3215. Breaks up wood		–	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3216. Brings back firewood	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3217. Piles up rocks	*+	*+	*+										–	–	–	–
[787]	o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	*–	–	–	+	±	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3220. First 4-5 children only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481]	3221. Swims	·	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	·	–
	3222. In spring in mountains	–	+	–			–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	·	–
[252]	3223. Cooks for self and children	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3224. Bathing taboo	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	·	–
[515]	o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	–	–	*4	–	–	*4	–	*4	–	*4	+	3	–	–	·	–
	†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	–	5	*4	–	–	*4	–	+	*4	*4	+	–	–	–	·	–
	3227. Certain activities taboo.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[224]	‡3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	*4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
	†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	*4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
	†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	*4	*2	+	3	+	6	+	30
	3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[525]	†3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	–	28	*2	+	3	+	+	·	+
	3233. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
[276]	3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	·	–
[484]	†3235. Traveling taboo ... days	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	*2	+	3	+	+	+	40
	3236. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	†*3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	–	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	*2	+	3	+	–	+	*28
[262]	†3238. Fresh fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	+	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
	†3239. Dried fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	–	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
[261]	†3240. Salt taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	5	+	–	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312]	3241. Cold water taboo	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3242. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	3243. Until child smiles first time													–	–	+	–
	3244. Eats with wife	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3245. Uses own receptacles	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
	3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
[292]	3247. Special belt worn	(+)	+	–	–	+	–	*+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
	3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	*+	*+	+	–	–	–
	3249. Combing hair taboo	+	*+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3250. Until navel has healed	·	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3252. Bathes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	*+	–	–	–	+	*+	+	+	–
	3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
	3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3255. Gives away old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	3256. Burns old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3257. Throws away old clothes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[526]	3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	+	+								+	–	–	–	–	–
[224]	3259a. Shoots at target	–	–	+	–	*+						–	·	–	–	–	–
	3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	–	+	+	–	*+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
[525]	3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	–	–	–		*+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	·	–
	3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							*+	+	*+	+

ELEMENTS DENIED

BASIC ECONOMY

Hunting

223 Snares, nets, traps, booths and blinds.--Bag
net used for waterfowl. Poles with stones as
224 weights for deadfall. Pitfall with noose in
bottom of pit. Arrow with string attached. Decoys,
disguises; other hunting techniques.--
Wooden head used as visual decoy. Live birds
[178] used as decoys (At: recently only). Live mammals
used as decoys (Kl: recently only). Hide
fan, to smoke out rodents. Butchering of large
game.--Deer's eyes eaten raw by hunter.

Fishing

226 Nets; weirs, scaffolds, pens; traps.--Tule-wrapped clay ball sinkers. Bag net dragged. Shell rattle on net. Stick pens, not associated with weirs. Basketry or pole trough. Angling; other techniques.--Feather "fly." Hair "fly." Hair string or ball. Knot or block on end of line. Shooting fish taboo. Lamprey gaff. Buckeye used for poisoning fish. Fishing observances.--Special disposal of salmon or other fishbones. First-fish rite: priest or chief catches first fish; only priest or chief eats first fish; similar rite for lampreys.

Gathering

222 Gathering techniques and observances; pre-agriculture.--Stone ring weighted digging stick. Digging stick with footrest. Bone or horn pointed digging stick. Stone pointed digging stick. Horn seed beater. Seed knife. Agriculture. Irrigation of wild-seed crops.

Domesticated Animals and Pets

231 Dogs, birds, bear, etc.--Domesticated animals, other than dog. Named after owner's totem. Separate dog house, conical, thatched. Own totem animal kept.

Food and Its Handling

262 Animals eaten.--Road runner (informants from
825 all groups except MF, NF, MV ignorant as to any
bird by this name, which indicates its probable
absence. MF, NF do not eat it, MV regard it as
poisonous.) Buzzard (WS, MM, NF, NM informants
stated buzzard absent from area). Crabs. Slugs.
252 Frogs. Food preparation.--Small mammals pounded
before eating. Dried meat or fish ground, berries
added. Bone awl for lamprey splitting.
Acorns leached in openwork basket. Acorn "coffee"
(NS: modern). Stone boiling in stone
bowls; in hide in ground; in paunch in ground.

Hunting

Driving and pursuing.--

000 2. AE: Antelope doctor sings (charms) antelope; animals come toward round tule corral, with single entrance. People stationed outside corral wave branches to frighten antelope, head them toward entrance. Woman inside corral kill (club?) antelope. Done in spring, for antelope only: not for deer.

5. WT: Noose hung at funnel end.

6. As described by Dixon, Maidu, 192-193. SW: Deer driven along straight-line fence, in winter; no pit.

7. AW: Over cliff into snow, on Pit River.

8. See also element 113. SW: Fat deer run down from mountains by hunters into river in autumn; other hunters shoot deer as it floats down-river.

9. E.g., in narrow canyon.

10. Mo: Net of this type mentioned in myth; not actually used. SW: Snares set on deer trails, but deer not driven down trails. See element 28. At, AW: Set net up above water, on long poles; approach net at night in canoe (no light on canoe) and birds fly into net. AW: Also drive rabbits into nets, but only occasionally.

11. Kl: See note 44.

● [224] 12. Kl: Mountain encircled with fire in daytime; 30-40 men, some women, gather the deer. Mo: At night, for deer.

14. SW: Elk especially hard to kill; run elk down, in order to shoot it.

15. NS: 2-3 men or more pursue wounded deer 4-5 days sometimes.

- 21. AE: Hunters on snowshoes run herds of deer into narrow canyons; snow "has to have a crust on it, to hurt deers' legs."

23. AE: In fall only, when water scarce and big bucks fat, hunter tracks buck with dog; "he camps right on the deer's trail until he shoots it; usually it takes 2 days."

Snares, nets, traps.--

24. MV: Use bow and arrow chiefly in hunting; boys use sling. Eat deer mainly in fall; rest of year eat salmon, sucker, sturgeon, ducks, vegetable food. "The people didn't have a hard time getting a living here in the valley, so they didn't use so many snares, nets, traps, for game."

262
178
224
26. Kl: Informant stated several times that Klamath Marsh group did not eat rabbits, squirrels, other small mammals. "Lately they do, though; they eat ground hogs." He could give no reason for former nonuse of small mammals. Spier, Klamath, 156-157, lists porcupine, beaver, ground hog, mink, otter, raccoon, jack rabbit,

[169-A]

ON THE ELEMENT LIST

ECONOMY

224 cottontail rabbit, ground squirrel, tree squirrels
[178] as having been eaten, but observes (p. 155) that
[262] "the Klamath are not much given to hunting." Cp.
elements 361-380. Mo: Secure rabbits only if
chance upon them. MM: Rabbits scarce; kill 1 or
2 occasionally; no nets, surround.

28. Kl: Noose, k'nis; set up on sapling, or limb of tree, at night, for deer. Smaller nooses set on ends of poles on riverbanks at night for ducks. SE, SW: Deer snares used only at night; Mo, At, AW, AE, WT; day and night.

29. Kl: See note 28.

31. Kl: See note 26. AE: Twine snares suspended from clumps of sagebrush. This is a recent method of securing rabbits.

223 32. At: Woodpeckers; noose suspended over hole; end of noose tied to branch of tree.

36. For geese and duck; described by Dixon, Maidu, 195.

39. AW: See note 10.

40. WM: Ducks, geese, fly across McCloud area, but rarely light on McCloud River; do light on Upper Sacramento River; plentiful on Pit River. MM: Ducks obtainable occasionally in winter only; not many.

42. At, AW: See note 10.

224 44. Kl: Large net set on stakes in wide, closed circle, to surround herd of antelope. Brush fastened to top of net. Clumps of brush (within area encompassed by net) set afire at several spots, to frighten out antelope; when latter run out men stationed inside net wave the brush affixed to top of net, and others shoot antelope; women sometimes secure antelope barehanded, if animals exhausted. Surrounds (nel'qa) with nets such as these held in Williamson River, Klamath Marsh areas; "wherever they saw lots of antelope in valley."

000 47. WT: During mating season of gray squirrels, stretch nets around tree trunk, 2-3 ft. from base of trunk; no opening in net; as squirrels frolic from 1 tree to other, they are caught in nets.

51. SE, MM: Woodpeckers removed by hand from nest; eaten and topknot saved. At: See note 32. NF, NS: Woodpecker holes stopped with grass. MV: Shot with bow and arrow, in fall.

52. MV: Net draped over cascara bushes, where quail roost.

53. SW: Basket similar to platter shown in Dixon, Shasta, p. 400, fig. 76a, used. WM, WS: Long tubular basket, with small round mouth at 1 end, woven of willows, set inside brush double lean-to in winter. Snow on ground inside lean-to cleared off and acorn meal sprinkled on bare
4 ground; when birds inside house eating meal man throws rocks at walls of lean-to; frightened birds fly into basket; man crawls into lean-to and secures birds in the basket. Same device

COD used occasionally in summer also, on mountain near spring.

59. NF: Slender straight pieces of willow stuck in ground in circle; 3-4 openings left in circle; willow roof over top. Acorn meal scattered on ground inside trap; birds unable to find way out; removed by person watching trap.

62. NS: Used in winter.

65. Long slender acorns from live oaks used.

68. At: For bear; acorn bait.

69. AW, WT, WM, MM, MF, NF, NS: Single stone deadfall used for catching mice. MM, MF, NF, NS: Used for catching rats; WM, WS: not used for rats. MM, MF: Used for ground squirrels; WM, WS, NF, NS: not used for ground squirrels.

[224] 71. Kl: Pitfall (benč) used for deer; Spier says Kl did not use (Klamath, p. 158); 2 informants questioned, both denied pitfall a recent innovation. SW: Hole wider at bottom than at top; used for small animals only. AW: Dig pits with digging stick; if find ground to be too hard, leave pit unfinished.

76. AE: For coyotes.

Booths and blinds.--

80. SW: Hunters hide behind bushes in open country, where antelope found.

87a. WM: See note 40.

89. Mo: Tules matted over prow and sides of boat; hunter inside.

[224] [417] 92. Kl: Pumice stone enclosures (wa'akkIs) 6 ft. in diameter, no roof; built by single hunter.

94. SW: No pit, but bonfires built at deer licks, and deer shot as they come to fire. Also hunter conceals self at deer licks, on moonlight nights, to shoot deer.

Disguises, decoys.--

[224] [184] 95. Deer head generally, but among some groups antelope heads also. Kl: Spier (Klamath, p. 158) says Kl did not use disguise, but my informant described it, said used by Kl of Klamath Marsh. NF: Hunter wears yellowhammer-band headdress to attract deer's attention.

96. AW: Prong horn head used only; none of neck skin left attached.

98. SE: Mink hides fastened over deerskin in summer, when deer shedding, to make disguise look more natural (Jake Smith, informant).

101. AW: Tules used for disguise; for ducks only, when driving them toward net (see note 10, also element 42).

[223] [373] 106. Kl: Jack light. Put fire at 1 end of canoe; tule mats around fire. As canoe floats down-river ducks fly down to light; shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes ducks so thick they put out the fire. Done at night, in freezing weather. At: Fire set on 1 end of canoe, for ducks; flares not used but attributed by informant to Madesi Achomawi. AW: Small fire carried in 1 end of canoe, at night, over which boatmen warm hands only. "People at Big Bend (Madesi

000 Achomawi) use fire in canoe to get ducks." NS: Flares to attract geese.

107. Among all groups, for deer. NM, NS: For mountain quail also; NF, MV, for rabbits also.

108. AW: Paper whistle used for purpose.

109. Mo: Elderberry whistle also used, to call buck.

111. Done when hunter "wants to make deer stand, to shoot him."

112. When flock flying overhead.

Other hunting techniques.--

113. See also element 8. AW: In winter, when snow heavy, deer jump into lake; "nobody chases him, he just goes down to the water." 2 hunters in canoe pursue deer until near enough to shoot.

114. AW: Brown bear rarely killed. One AW (Dexter Johnson) stated that "bear is a person; people can't do anything with him. They can't kill him because they have no power to; flint doesn't do any good against bear." Grizzlies, according to same source, killed by mythical persons, who "live by themselves, in holes in the rim rock, on the mountains"; when one such kills a grizzly, the Achomawi get the grease (from carcass). AE: Very few bears in area. MV: See note 170.

115. At: Pine-pitch torches piled inside mouth of den and lit. WM: "If (brown) bear will not come out of den when talked to, smoked out."

● [224] 116. Kl: 2 green poles, 6 ft. long, planted in ground on each side of entrance to bear den; 2 men stand beside poles; as bear, hearing noise outside, emerges growling from den each man grasps upper end of pole opposite him and bears down on it; poles are thus crossed to form dipod which presses down on bear's neck; other men then shoot bear. If 2 bears in 1 den, hunters ran off as second emerged. Bears killed in fall, winter.

117. SW: Grizzly bear "lives underground like ground squirrel; when people see grizzly den they hold war dance for 1 whole night, next day set up vertical poles outside mouth of den. Then smoke bear out; as he comes out of den he tries to pull the poles toward him, with his claws, instead of pushing against them to get out, as he is doing this, men shoot him in the neck."

120. WM, MV: See note 698.

124. AW: After rodents have been smoked to death in holes.

126. At: Pole with sharpened branch left on at 1 end; resembles gaff.

128. Mo: Nests burned, because rats steal winter food. Rats killed as they run out, and bodies thrown into fire, but not eaten; rats, mice "too nasty."

131. Mo: Men route out duck fledglings in tules, women club them with poles. MV: Young ducks caught by hand in tules; not clubbed.

132. SW: Yellow-jacket larvae obtained by building fire under nest, smoking out larvae.

132a. MV: Water sprinkled in hole and grasshoppers driven in.

[170-B]

000 133. SE: Picked off trees only. At, MM, MF, NM, NS: Shaken down from trees, or picked off. At: Pack basket held up under tree, early in morning, and crickets shaken into it.

135. SW: Crickets. WM: Grasshoppers obtained outside of home area, in vicinity of Stillwater; in fall Stillwater people invite McCloud people to burn flat for grasshoppers.

136. AW: Men, women form large circle; beat grasshoppers into large pack baskets with seed beaters; later roast them.

Hunting observances.--

● [224] 137. Kl: "If youth eats that meat, he can't kill any more game. So he brought it home and gave it to his mother, and she gave it away (to nonrelatives). Neither she nor father of youth could eat it, because boy wouldn't kill any more game then." Mo: Same as for Kl. Also see note 279. AE: When boy 15 or 16 years old, piece size of trout taken out of lower leg of first deer he kills; this piece hung up, and youth given 2 arrows, to shoot at it. If he misses, he has to wait until he kills another deer before he can eat any of the meat; if he hits the target he can eat meat of first kill, and will not be crippled. MV: First kill taken into assembly house, prayed over by leaders of secret society, then eaten by them.

139. At: First time youth eats deer, eats neck part only. AW: Deermeat taboo to youth for 1 year after he makes his first kill, which is about time that he marries, also.

140. At: Youth switched: "Coyote told people to do this"; also smoked with tobacco by his father, who talks to him, then sends him out into mountains for 5 days at least to seek for power. Informant's husband (At man) had stayed out for nearly month at this time.

142. Mo: "Hunters don't talk about it much; just tell their relatives at home, so latter know where they are."

144. SW: For 5 nights. Rule applies to deer, bear hunting, but not to fishing.

145. WM: Young men (such as hunters) never smoke tobacco. NM, MV: Old man smokes for hunter.

147. At: Also talk to bow and arrows.

148. AW: Hunter smokes weapons and self, to kill human odor, before going hunting; cedar or fir used. WM: Pine. NM: Old man smokes for hunter; prays, blows smoke over hunter.

150. SW: Done frequently.

151. SE: Cuts calf of leg and arm with flint, rubs roots on cut, for hunting luck. SW: Only those hunters who have come in contact with menstruating woman cut themselves. Cut arm at shoulder; let blood run down arm onto hot quartz rocks in steam sweat house; blood, together with hunter's bad luck, burnt.

224 152. Kl: In evening before hunt, sweat, talk (pray) to rocks used in steam-type sweat house. No smoking. Night before hunt 2 hunters or more

224 "just talk to the mountains"; no shaman; no offerings. MM, NF: Hunter prays when offering shell
000 bead; no sweating.

153. MV: Broken, so that rattlesnake will not bite hunters.

155. Mo: Large variety of sage. MM: Cedar. MV: Wormwood.

156. AW: No hunt; deer-calling ceremony described by Dexter Johnson. At sun up, shaman makes it sprinkle, then sings in back of line of tules stretched out in front of village. Deer come, 1 at a time, as he calls them, and jump into square pit about 6 ft. deep; people kill them, eat them. This doctor "had a strong power to do this; he did it for everybody in his tribe; he got people something to eat, this way." AE: Sings for several hours so he himself can kill deer. "After hunters leave, early in morning, to kill deer, deer doctor may sit around camp all morning and sing; in afternoon he goes to mountains, and kills 3-4 deer; returns and tells people to go get them. The other hunters return, unsuccessful." WM: Hunters give shaman deer bones painted with soot (yarmit) and minkskin (bisus); he wraps skin on right wrist and ties deer bones strung on buckskin on his right hand, then sings all night previous to hunt, so hunters will see "the biggest buck." Next morning hunters go out and secure deer.

158. At: Shaman also sings half night for hunters in woods, after they go out camping. AW: Shaman sings all night, prophecies success of hunt. AE: In fall mainly, for group hunt (ca. 10+ men); deer doctor with power from weasel may sing all night before hunt. Hunters give him pieces of marrow from lower leg of deer; these he puts in small holes in ground; these holes have live coals in them. He is feeding his power so it will give the hunters whom he accompanies good luck. During winter each man usually goes hunting by himself. WT: All men who are going as group to hunt lie on their backs and sing all night prior to hunt; leader of hunt (who knows the songs best) leads the singing. Shaman also helps; it is he who does most of the "charming." Singers hold slender stick about 20 in. long in their hands and hit their chests with stick as they lie singing. NM: Singing by shaman at night after soup dinner, in assembly house; everyone attends; no fire in house. MV: Leaders of secret society pray that hunters will sight game, before men set out for fall deer hunt. Do not "talk to" or charm game.

159. SW: Sing deer song or mountain song.

163a. SE, AW: Split stick, struck against chest. MV: Split stick rattled in hand.

166. WM, WS: Acorn soup and venison dinner eaten after hunt, by men only (see note 545). NF, NM, NS, MV: Eaten night before hunt, in assembly house.

167. SE: When hunter brings deer home, takes branch of fir, burns it a little, and waves it over deer carcass. Significance of this unknown

000 plentiful in Hat Creek (At) area; also rob gopher
[222] holes of stored roots. WT: "Wild potatoes [sp.?] about only root crop." WS: "No roots in area."

[222] 360. AE: Plentiful in area; in contrast to Kl, who still gather wokus to some extent, AE no longer "bother with them; people say now 'I'm not a bird.'" MF: Water lilies "poisonous."

Animals eaten.--

361. That is, as food, not merely during famines or epidemics.

261 362. Kl: "Long time ago [pre-White], when all people dying [in some sort of epidemic] and Indian medicines didn't work, man said he was going to try dog meat [as a cure]; he roasted a dog and ate it, and it cured him"; others followed suit, and also recovered. Kl ate dog meat only on such an occasion (cp. Spier, Klamath, p. 130). A long time after this, the White people purchased dogs from the Kl with shell beads, and ate them." At: "3 persons once ate dog, during epidemic; it made them well; dog is good medicine." Also eaten in time of famine.

000 363, 364. Mo: Eaten only during times of scarcity.

365. At: Eaten whenever procurable.

366, 366a. Mo: Grizzly bear eaten only by few people. AE: Grizzly and brown bears lacking in area but sometimes hunted to W.

369. AW: Antelope lacking in area; sometimes hunted to E.

370. AW: Eaten by some persons only.

[224] 372. Tail eaten. Kl: Beavers shot in spring-
[262] time, from canoe. AW: Eaten by some persons only.

373. AW, WS: Eaten by some persons only.

374. WM: Some persons eat, not all. Raccoons tracked to den in winter, and dug out.

375. Mo: Highly esteemed.

376. Kl: See note 26.

380. AW: Mole hide used, but mole not eaten.

382. At: Killed only in wintertime.

387. Mo: Flavor disliked, but eaten in times of scarcity.

391. MM: Caught in fish net.

[231] 392. Kl: Catch and keep them, but do not eat
[262] them. At: Eaten by Goose Valley (Aporige) group of At. AW: "Goose Valley people (see above) very fond of turtle, eat lots of them."

394. SE: Lizard used for poison, "scalp of lizard and frog pounded together, put in food as poison."

395. SW: People of Shasta Valley and vicinity of Montague eat crickets, but crickets lacking in SW area. If SW people visiting in Shasta Valley at right time, they gather, eat crickets. Insects pounded into meal, stored. AW: Not many grasshoppers eaten; those that are, are boiled. Eaten by Dixie Valley (Aporige) people in large quantities. WM: Crickets lacking in area, but gathered on trips to S.

396. Mo: Eat 4 varieties.

397. MV: Angleworms made into soup are "good medicine."

[177-B]

262 510. Kl: Inner bark of yellow pine secured
824 in June; by July "too hard."
512. Eaten fresh, raw or cooked on coals;
000 dried, for winter, strung on willow withe. MM,
NF: Ground burned for better crop; denied by
MV. MV: Cooked with fish.

Eating customs.--

515. WT, WM, WS: For acorn soup.

516. WM: For acorn soup. WS: For acorn soup and deermeat.

[264] 519. Kl: Eat any time during day; sometimes men eat alone, sometimes men, women, children eat together.

521. Fresh food cooked and served. WT: Fresh batch food not cooked; "they dish out whatever they have on hand and set it before the visitors."

524. NF, MV: With buckskin.

Storage of food.--

525. AW: Acorns stored chiefly in pits; "too cold here in winter for outdoor granaries; have to bury acorns."

527. Bark used as cover for top; dirt piled up around stump.

528. Mo: Poles occasionally laid across boughs of cedar tree; tule sacks containing food stored on this pole platform. AW: Food stored on platform in oak tree; "poison" (animate) set on top of food; if any person, animal appears to steal food, poison shoots thief.

530. For illustration of this type, see Kroeber, Handbook pl. 38. WT: Informant, shown picture of granary just referred to, stated WT use similar granary, but that it is thatched (?) to some extent on sides.

531. NM, NS, MV: 4 upright posts only, for frame. NM: Hole in bottom, to take acorns out. MV: Hole in side.

532. AE: Food, hides hung up in branches of junipers; popular method of storage.

[251
178] 533. Kl: Recent custom; "may have done it formerly also." NS: Used for temporary purposes only.

539. AW: If leaving village for a time, bury acorns in pit dug inside sweat house; cover hole with tule mats, etc.

Exchange of food.--

262 540. Kl: "Whoever has no food, Indians give
437 him some; they help each other, just like 1
family." MV: Informant emphasized fact that between villages food given as gift, but also mentioned that mountain varieties of acorns are purchased from MF, MM groups.

542. AE: Food divided in time of famine.

224 545. Kl: If 2 men hunting, meat divided
equally; if more than 2, killer gets slightly
larger share. Mo: Killer keeps deer hide. SW:
000 If 2 men, killer gets most; if meat cut up,
cooked or dried and divided in camp, all receive equal share. If driving deer into river, driver gets head, hide, foreleg of deer. At: Killer

[180-A]

and Paiute, meet on the broad expanses of Klamath Marsh, K M where, as Coville observes, over ten thousand acres of ripening 221 plants promise in good years an abundance not to be exhausted 222 [248] by the demands of man. In later times Agents describe wokas as the most important single food of the Indians; and its specialized preparation is one of the most distinct features of their subsistence technology. Its importance is emphasized further by K the circumstance that the month of its harvest, August, marks [805] the beginning of the Klamath year. The wokas-gathering is pre- K M ceded by shamanistic performances to ensure a plentiful crop. [756]

Daily, the dugout canoes, somewhat smaller than those used in [789] fishing and ordinary transport, slip out from the camps upon the K M broad expanse of the waters. In the openwork bags twined from 50 tules, the pods accumulate until the canoe is full. One old woman 222 recalled how she and a girlhood chum learned how to collect the pond-lily seeds:

> We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were always lots of extra poles lying K M around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules [252] to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them."[16]

While the women, old men, and children are occupied on the K M marshes some of the men fare forth to hunt. The favored grounds 224 are in the east, where Klamath and Modoc pursue antelope, mule

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K M 224 M 224 [783] deer, and mountain sheep with bow and arrow and dogs. The Modoc, who rely more upon hunting than do the Klamath, go out in small parties of co-villagers, then separate to stalk the game. Before the hunt they sweat to render themselves ritually pure. On the hunt, they may wear disguises and use calls to lure game. Only in the autumn do collective drives take place. Then Modoc men and women, sometimes employing fire, herd antelope or deer into a rude pound where they are dispatched. The Pelican Bay people of Upper Klamath Lake drive deer into the water near their village, where the women, waiting in canoes, kill them. Waterfowl are taken by men sitting in canoes, using M [223] nets, or they are hunted by jacklight, much as in fishing. Nets are used also to trap beaver, otter, and rabbits. When a hunter has killed one of the larger animals, he is expected to be generous in distributing portions to his friends, relatives, and the needy.

K M 222 When the wokas crop is done, other wild seeds ripen, and the women move out to garner them with beaters, conical gathering baskets, and mats. For Klamath these seeds are less important than for the Modoc, and they withdraw earlier toward the Cascades, and particularly to Harriman, Pitt, and Huckleberry mountains. The Modoc linger in the lowlands to gather berries, then they too withdraw. In the mountains, only camas may now be ripe; but fruits such as the huckleberries, serviceberries, chokecherries, and wild plums especially draw them. These are gathered in large quantities and eaten fresh or dried for winter storage. The berry grounds, however, are attractive to others, and many a woman, preoccupied with a berry bush, spends her last mortal seconds in the realization that a grizzly, and not K M 224 another person, is feeding on the far side. During this time, some of the men set deadfalls for small furbearers or venture beyond the mountains to hunt deer and elk with the Southern Molala. K M 721 Others organize war parties to raid the Upland Takelma of the upper Rogue River Valley, the Pit River and Shasta to the south, or the Paiute to the east.

K M 222 517 The gatherings, both at wokas beds and the berry patches, provide welcome opportunity for relaxation from the day's labors. Footracing, gambling with the stick-game or beaver-tooth dice, hockey, and other sports enliven the evenings, while the old people sit and gossip and young lovers advance their cause. The

employees built a substantial bridge about 100 yards in length 657*
across the Williamson River, on which they propose to collect 177
toll. This will support several families."[55] Nothing more is heard 434
of the venture and subsequent work on bridges and roads took on [499]
a public character. A few women occasionally sold baskets and [494]
berries, and older Indians, generally women, were sometimes [462]
issued cinch rings and wove cinches as a means of support.[56]

Fur trapping provided an early source of income for some 657*
men.[57] At first, beaver, marten, and otter were especially sought, 177
and the available catch soon became depleted. By 1882, the 434
Klamath were turning to panther, bear, wolf, and coyote, predators 224
which Nickerson claimed discouraged them from raising
sheep. "The Indians," he reported, "now hunt them for their
fur and receive quite an income from hunting and killing them."[58]
Carried on over the late fall and winter months, the fur trade
realized a total of $300.00 for those who followed it.[59] By 1891,
however, the revenue from trapping was on the decline.[60]

NATIVE FOODS

In the original designs of the government, farming and other 657*
"civilized" enterprises were supposed to supplant such aboriginal 648*
pursuits as fishing, hunting, and gathering. From the 433
Agent's viewpoint, the retention of native subsistence methods
presented two major disadvantages. Not only did the traditional
occupations coincide in season with farming, but they drew the
Indians from under the direct surveillance of the Agency, and
even off the reservation. The issuance of rations, though designed
to provide a substitute during the transitional period, was restricted
as much as possible, in order to allow more funds for
other purposes.

It is clear from the graphic descriptions of the early Agents 657*
that they were well aware of the Indians' strong reliance upon 648*
native foods. The fish in Lost River, observed Dyar, ran from 433
two to four weeks earlier than in the streams within the reserve. 226
By late winter even the supplies of rations had been exhausted,
and the Klamath eagerly awaited the news from the south. "If
the Indians are not allowed to go to Lost River in the Spring,"
O. C. Applegate had pointed out, "then they will have to be
subsisted during the month of March."[61] The Lost River fishery 657*
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*657 continued to be exploited for fifty years, until the owners of the
177 abutting land put an end to it. On the reservation, the Sprague
226 and Williamson continue to supply a catch, although the drying
[251] of fish for the winter, common enough on the Lower End until
about thirty years ago, has now passed into disuse.

*657 Similarly root gathering continued to be an important activity
178 for many years, leading Nickerson to suggest that several of the
177 palatable and nourishing roots used by the Indians for food
222 "could be materially improved by continued cultivation."[62] "Root
[412] probes," or "camas diggers," as well as "fish spears" and fish
[227] hooks were forged by Agency blacksmiths for years.[63]

Wokas long remained a staple for the Klamath. In 1881 Nicker-
*657 son, noting that each family gathered some five to fifteen bushels,
178 added "this wokus, with dried fish, forms a large portion of the
222 food of those who have not the money with which to purchase
262 flour and groceries."[64] About the turn of the century, Coville observed a thriving wokas-gathering industry with a vast expanse of marsh to exploit, and speculated on the possibility of processing the seed commercially as a breakfast food.[65] The decline of wokas gathering parallels in time the Indian's diminishing use of dried fish, another winter food.

*657 A similar course can be traced for those fall activities, hunting
177 and berrying. From at least 1872, Indians were reported leaving
178 the reservation in September to hunt and gather berries in the
222 Cascades.[66] In addition, the men on occasion went on a spring
224 hunt for antelope and mule deer at the north end of the reser-
vation.[67] Gradually the fall berrying and hunting came to be concentrated at the "huckleberry patch" on Huckleberry Mountain, southwest of Crater Lake. Hunting has continued to be both a sport and a means of providing food; and if the preparation of jerky has declined, it is because the freezer has displaced it.
[251] The drying of berries and wild fruits has been rendered obsolete
by canning. There is local testimony that the killing off of predators by fur hunters and stock raisers has caused an increase of deer upon the reservation itself. It is not infrequent for a single family to consume six to fifteen or more deer in the course of a year. One tribal leader from the Upper End, a man then less than forty years of age, remarked in 1958 that until his family

657*

moved to Klamath Falls when he was nine years old, he had 177 178
eaten only venison and had never tasted beef. 222

In their continued loyalty to traditional foods, the Klamath 224 •
were responsive to several advantages beyond—but including— 657*
appeal to the palate. The techniques involved in securing them 178
were relatively simple and familiar, imposing few demands upon 177
the individual for capital investment in tools and labor, required 262
little in regularity of routine, and involved the cooperation of
only small groups. Participation was direct, self-controlled, and
provided an immediate reward.

Consequently, the issues of beef and flour were assimilated in use to native staple foods, rather than replacing them entirely. Flour was given the name that also denoted a meal made from ground seeds and cattail roots. It must be borne in mind that the rations were issued at times when other foods were largely exhausted, and probably because of this certain anomalies were introduced. Since the issues were public and general, there was no need, as there had been formerly, to conceal foodstuffs from neighbors. Thus, bread and biscuits were the first foods to be baked in the coals of the house fire, rather than in a special outside cooking hut; and, perhaps because of the method of issue, the food was shared by household, rather than by an individual family.[68] The practice of eating while the food lasted strained Agency resources: the Commissary at Yainax estimated that an Indian could easily dispose daily of two pounds each of beef and flour.[69]

The example provided by white cooking, the use of salt, sugar, 657*
and baking soda, as well as new foodstuffs, together with the 177
general acquisition of such utensils as the kettle, coffeepot, and 178
spider, extended the variety of culinary techniques and even 262
enhanced the preparation of native dishes. One woman recalls 263
the ease with which one could hull wokas with a coffee grinder; 415
and when a kinsman borrowed that useful instrument, she used
her wokas mulling stones to grind coffee beans. Through it all,
native foods continued to be favored, and the observation that
"the Indian [school] children are very fond of fish" is nearly as
true today as it was in 1893.[70]

657*
An analysis of the statistical and narrative reports of the 177
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*648

*657 missiveness. Their ranches often took on the appearance of rural
464 slums, and were the scenes of drinking parties and brawls.
433 Economically profitable or not, ranching constituted the most
233 common occupation for those who were employed. It offered special advantages. The land was usually an inherited allotment and, together with cattle and improvements, was often nontaxable. Outdoor work with livestock was a familiar activity; it permitted considerable latitude to the farmer in adjusting his routine. There was space to live.

*648 Whether dwelling in town or on a ranch, tribal members
*657 continued to seek native foods; but these activities had come to
433 occupy a different place in their lives. Men of all ages still fished
22 and hunted; many families still gathered huckleberries; and
elderly women at least continued to dig for the succulent roots
262 of ipos and camas and to gather wokas. The latter foods, how-
177 ever, were sought as cherished delicacies, now rare; while
178 journeys to the berry fields assumed the character of an outing. Much of the fishing had acquired a strongly sportive aspect and was carried on by angling. Only the spearing of mullet during the spring runs and the hunting of deer and waterfowl seriously served food demands. The larger game animals, which had figured in only a small way in Klamath diet and played a more important role among the Modoc, had become abundant upon the reservation as ranchers killed off predators. Tribal members often hunted them from a car or spotlighted them at night. Waterfowl were often shot as they sat upon the water. Fifteen deer would see a household through the year; and a number of Klamath families met all their meat requirements by hunting and fishing, being content to buy an occasional cut in town to add variety to their diet.

*648 "Meat hunting" thus continued to ignore sportive conventions,
*657 although fishing had in part given way to them. At the same
224 time, individual Klamath were wont to play with those conven-
• 224 tions by entering contests for the biggest buck or rainbow; and
226 they delighted in underscoring white failures to abide by their
181 own standards of sportsmanship. For the Klamath, hunting and fishing possessed particular virtue as an attribute of an Indian estate. The ability to pursue fish and game without regard to season was a signal right cherished by the Indians and valued

as well by envious whites. Indeed, prominent among the local 648*
advantages which white residents stated bound them to Chiloquin 657*
were the advantages offered by the reservation for hunting 224
and fishing. At the same time, the whites tended to regard those 226
pursuits as no more than recreational avocations; and if the 181
Klamath were sometimes credited with inherent aptitudes for the chase, they were also looked down upon for devoting so much time to "play," and for ignoring, as many did, the white canons of sportsmanship.

Conflicting viewpoints were likewise evinced in the relation- 648*
ships of tribal members seen as consumers. While there were 657*
wide differences in actual behavior both among and between 571
whites and Indians, relationships came often to be governed by
stereotypes. This was particularly so in the larger communities, [621]
in instances in which individuals were not personally known to [184]
each other.

Those relationships were in fact strongly conditioned by the 648*
peculiar status of the tribal members who relied upon per capitas 657*
for their income. Few Klamath on the reservation had ever 434
banked money, and the absence of a bank in Chiloquin since the 571
depression, or in any other reservation town, made necessary 452
the institution of a credit system.[13] Since much Indian property [453]
was held in trust by the government, which thus could not be advanced as security, merchants had to rely heavily upon a knowledge of the individual in advancing credit. Reservation stores resorted to a credit system to compete with the businesses in Klamath Falls, and through a more intimate acquaintance with tribal members could assess the risk more skillfully than those—particularly the newcomers—in the county seat. At the same time, the expense of operating such a system was one of the factors in advancing prices in reservation stores. Thus merchants, who not infrequently did their own private shopping in Klamath Falls, were galled to see tribal customers, whom they had carried on credit, patronizing competitors in the larger city as soon as they had received their per capitas.

In attempting to collect outstanding debts, merchants could 648*
not count upon the Superintendents, but had to resort to moral 657*
suasion and threaten to cut off further credit. Some Superinten- 434
dents did assist in bringing pressure to bear upon delinquent 452

222 few times, but many girls are proud of their
ability to dig a lot of roots, for which they
868 receive praise at home.

> I liked to dig up camas where the dirt was soft. My mother had a long stick, and I had a little one. I had a basket on my back and a little basket in my hand. My, I thought it was smart to be able to dig up those roots. I was sorry when evening came, and we had to go home. We brought the camas home and dumped them on the ground to dry.
> 252 When I saw my mother fix a pit for baking the camas, I wanted to do the same. My girl
> 868 friend and I had a hard time getting the bark to put in the pit, but we did it. We had to get grass and a lot of wood, too. You have to make the rocks hot just like for a sweatbath and put them in the pit with wet grass over so the camas will steam. Then the camas is put in with dirt over it and a fire on top. My mother watched me when I made the pit and told me when I got the wrong kind of grass; she said it would make the camas taste bitter. I kept asking my mother how to do it, and she told me.

222 Several informants stated that the first
852 roots a girl digs are of special importance. They are given to her grandmother, who blesses the girl with a statement to the effect that henceforth the girl will be a good worker. Not
224 all families seem to follow this custom. The first fruits custom is more strictly followed
852 for the first large game a boy kills.[27]

222 The wokas harvest from mid-August to late September is a time for general gatherings and activities, one of the most pleasantly anticipated times of the year.[28] Women go out in the canoes early in the morning and remain on the marsh all day. Apparently the mother does not really urge or coerce her daughter to start helping with the wokas. As with other products, it may be the girl herself who takes the initiative.

> 222 We thought we'd get some wokas. We
> 868 knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were

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[27] Compare Spier, p. 168, and Voegelin, element 137.

[28] The most complete account of wokas gathering is found in Coville (1904), pp. 725-739.

252 868 seeds on, and then ground them up. We were in a hurry to grind the seeds and run down to the water to wash them. My mother told us we'd just waste the wokas if we did it that way. It was hard to move the grinder right to get the seeds to roll off the stone. My mother told me the stone had to be a little rough to grind the wokas right.

285 868 In late childhood girls also begin to learn how to make mats, baskets, and clothing.[29] Of these, mat making is considered the easiest and is the first attempted. Even in early childhood most girls try to weave tule mats. They make small dome-shaped lodges for their dolls and cover them with mats. The mother or grandmother helps the child whenever there is time. When the girl begins to make larger, more utilitarian mats, her mother gives her the materials and shows her how to use them.

In the wintertime girls sit beside their mother or grandmother as the elders make baskets. The girl is given some of the tules to split with her thumbnail and twist on her thigh. If the girl's twists come unraveled, nothing is said because the materials can be used again. The girls usually soon tire of twisting tules, and they are allowed to do as many or as few as they wish.

Small baskets are made for girls, and often the first basket a girl makes by herself is a tiny one for her dolls. The mother or grandmother starts the basket and shows the girl how to weave it. If the girl's baskets keep coming unraveled, she is teased a little and watched till she gets it correctly. Later the girl makes larger baskets with designs in tule root or porcupine quills. Certain designs are known as "beginners' designs" because they are simple to make. Other designs are much more complex, in particular those which adorn the basket hats. Few girls learn to make the large decorated baskets before they reach maturity. A girl often learns basketry from her mother-in-law.

291 593 Clothing for the entire family is made by the mother. In pre-white times dress for the wealthy was of the Plains type. Poorer people wore skirts of tule or buckskin and went barefoot. Capes of tule or shredded sagebrush bark were also worn. Very young children went naked. The mother prepares the tules and other materials for skirts and capes, and she is the one to tan and sew hides for skin clothing.

294 868 The making of clothes is one of the last skills a girl acquires before marriage. In fact, some do not learn the art until after that time. Hides are so valuable that the mother does not want to risk having the girl spoil one.

224 868 Most boys in late childhood aspire to become good hunters. Game food is far less important in the Klamath diet than fish or wokas, and

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[29] For descriptions of these materials and techniques of manufacture, see Coville (1897), pp. 88-95, Barrett, pp. 253-257, Spier, pp. 173-193, 207-217, and Voegelin, elements 1245-1341, 1388-1416, 1451-1476, 1713-1957a.

[p. 350A]

224 868 not all men are good hunters.[30] Hides are valuable, however, and a good hunter gains prestige. Part of the rigid physical training of the boys is directed toward preparing them for hunting. They are told, "Only smart ones who aren't lazy can be good hunters."

As previously mentioned, boys begin to learn the use of bow and arrow when very young. After learning to shoot at targets, groups of boys hunt birds and squirrels near camp. They kill these easily with their small bows and light arrows. Parents are very proud of boys who can get many animals. The boys also go

[text continues on top of p. 350-B]

CONCLUSION

124 Since the data presented here were collected from elderly individuals and not from direct observations on a living culture, one should perhaps be rather cautious in arriving at any conclusions about Klamath education. Most informants were bitter about the breakdown of culture which they have seen in the present generation of young Indians. They often reiterated their belief that children were much better reared in the old days. There are, however, certain generalizations which may be validly drawn.

861 There is really no formal education in the sense of organized, planned instruction of the young. Yet most families expect their children to conform to certain ideals, and the parents work for the achievement of these goals.

854 For the first two or three years of life, the child's every want is supplied by his mother. It is she who feeds him, attends to his needs, and watches him most closely, although the father or older siblings may tend the child for short periods. The infant receives little or no fondling, but he is often the center of attraction for the adults of his house group who pause and talk to him as they pass his cradle.

857 867 In about his third year, the child is thrust into active play with his age-mates. He learns that he is expected to be brave, strong, and fearless. He receives praise from parents and other relatives if he is fast and ambitious. If he is lazy or cowardly, he is teased and scolded. Girls as well as boys must learn to be active, energetic, and competitive.

[text continues on bottom of p. 350-B]

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[30] For hunting methods and customs, see Barrett, pp. 246 f., Spier, pp. 155-160, and Voegelin, elements 1-189.

[p. 350-B]

224 after ducks in the canoes. A few informants
868 said that boys give away for luck the first
duck or squirrel that they kill, just as they
[787] will later give away their first deer. The
hunting of deer and other large game is done
only by grown men, especially those who have
sought and received special supernatural power
[721] either at the time of puberty or later. The
art of warfare is another pursuit reserved for
the fully grown although much of the physical
training of boys is directed toward building
strong and fearless warriors.

CONCLUSION

861 The child learns much through the medium of imitative play in which he plays at being grown-up. A large part of the play is spontaneous, but much is inaugurated and encouraged by parents or older children who show the younger ones how to entertain themselves.

As the child grows older he gradually acquires the skills with which he must be familiar. The greatest part of this knowledge comes from accompanying parents or grandparents in their daily routine of work. Adults often explain how things are done, but they have no well formulated program of education. The youngster is often the one to ask to be allowed to perform certain tasks. He is praised if he starts to help at an early age and is given what instructions he needs to carry out the work in which he has evinced an interest.

There are a few aspects of the culture which the Klamath themselves consider important enough to warrant formalized instruction. These are primarily concerned with demeanor and conduct. Children receive daily lectures on subjects of this nature, and are scolded or whipped when they do not live up to the standards. Physical training, especially for older boys, is also emphasized.

In all aspects of child training, the most important unit is the immediate family. The father in particular exhorts his children to live correctly; but the mother, grandparents, and other relatives also talk to the children.

On the whole, it can be said that Klamath parents do not have a conscious program of instruction for children in the techniques of ordinary daily activity. They do, however, feel a great responsibility to bring up their children well in the fundamentals of Klamath comportment.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M plunges into the lake or a pool in the river or whatever water
K there may be at hand. This practice seems to have been medici-
343 nal. It was used as a habitual means of warding off disease as
well as of curing it.

The second form of sweathouse was of similar size and construction except that it had a saddle roof which was covered with several inches of earth instead of a dome-shaped roof covered with matting. The door of this structure was placed at one end and was usually quite small. It was closed by a blanket or tule mat during the sweating.

There was no large "sweathouse" used for ceremonial purposes as in the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada region to the south. All ceremonies were held out of doors, chiefly in the summer.

IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.[5]

M The influence of the unusual environment in which the
K Klamath and Modoc live is also very noticeable in the implements
made and used by them, particularly in the various devices for
411 the capture of fish and water birds.

The chief implements of war were the bow and arrow and a
[171] rather short javelin. The war bow was of the general type of the northwestern part of California, having a sinew back and sharply upcurved ends. The arrow was made in the ordinary manner, with light wood or cane shaft, hard wood foreshaft, and a moderately large obsidian, or sometimes flint, point.

The javelin or spear was fairly short. Its shaft was made of heavy wood. Its point, usually of obsidian, varied from two to
[178] six inches in length. These javelins, like war bows and arrows,
are no longer in existence, though the obsidian heads are quite
[756] plentiful about old village and camp sites. They are now used
[525] by medicine-men in doctoring, and also by gamblers, who place them under the large mats used for gambling to insure good luck, especially in the game called sakalis.

HUNTING IMPLEMENTS.

M The implements used in hunting animals were usually the bow
K and arrow. Ensnaring animals was little practiced by the
224

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[5] The Klamath names of the various implements, etc., here described are given by Gatschet in his dictionary, *op. cit.*

M K 224 M K 223

Klamath and Modoc, though a noose set in a trail was sometimes used for deer. For taking the many species of water birds which are so abundant about the lakes, there were several interesting devices. The most specialized and unusual of these is an arrow made with a cane shaft and a point of mountain-mahogany. An ordinary wood-pointed arrow tends to go directly into the water at the angle at which it strikes the surface. A small ring, usually of sinew and pitch, but sometimes carved out of the foreshaft itself, being placed near the point, the arrow is deflected upward as it strikes the water, and skips along over the surface so that it is likely to kill at least one out of a flock of birds. The two forms of hunting arrows, the plain wood-pointed and the ring-pointed, together with the ordinary unbacked wooden bow and the tule quiver, are shown in pl. 20.

A long narrow net stretched in an upright position near the surface of the water is used in the capture of ducks and other water birds. As a flock of birds swims or flies into this net it is let down by men on the shore who hold the ropes which keep the upper edge of the net taut. By paddling out in a canoe the birds which are entangled in the meshes may be easily removed. As another means of taking large numbers of birds two men go out in a canoe at night and erect a large triangular net on the prow. A fire is kindled toward the middle of the canoe and the bright light causes the birds to fly from various directions toward the net.

The many-pointed fish spear, to be described later, is also used to a limited extent in the capture of water birds. They are speared from the canoe as they dive through the water.

FISHING IMPLEMENTS.

M K 226 M K 501

For fishing a number of specialized implements are used. The dug-out canoe (pl. 10),[a] while it is not used exclusively for fishing, is an absolute necessity to a fisherman's life. The dug-out is made from a log, usually fir, since the knots in the fir are much more durable and will not come out as do the knots in pine and cedar. The canoe is simply a log hollowed out by burning and adzing, and with the bottom sloping upward at an angle at each end. The angle of the slope at the prow is considerably

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[a] See also Coville, *op cit.*, pl. 4, 5.

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common 101
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 177
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy, [184]
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present [224]
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly 648
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties:
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an ar- [829]
tificial construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet 178
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements; the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-resi-
dence with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been trans- 648
ferred to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural [241]
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber indus-
try has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have [511]
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

*539
221
[115]

THE MONTHS OF THE YEAR.

OBTAINED FROM "PETE" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

[226] [251] Gáptsatka É-ukshikni máklaks páha udsáks; lúela kápto Yá-ag;
In the month of the small finger · the Lake · Indians · dry · the large sucker; · kill · gudgeons · at the Bridge;

[222] [252] Ktaí-Túpakshi tkálmakstant otí'lks lúela hō'ank. At sa kó-iχaktchuapka,
of Standing-Rock · to the westward · fish-dam · kill · when jumping. · Now · they · will leave home (soon),

[262] at kámals pahá; kó-iχaga, kä'shla sa, kolálsuapk mat sa, tawiksálsuapk
and · dry fish · they prepare; · they leave, · go after ipos · they, · will gather kol · they. · will gather tawiks

mat s at, pō'ksalsuapk mat sa, at sa pópakuapk sátnalhuapka sa, suaítlaluapk; saká a pō'ks.
they, · will dig camass · they, · they · will bake (it), · roast it (3 days) · they, · roast it (1 day); · eat raw · camass.

[251] [222] Tχópowatka pahá at pō'ks iwídshat, at É-uksi génuapka woksalsuap-
In the thumb-month · dried · then · camass · they put under ground, · now · for Klamath Marsh · they will start · to gather

kátki giug; káyudsh nû'ka wókash. At nû'ka wókash, wóksalsha at túnepni
lily-seed; · not yet · is ripe · pond-lily seed. · Now · has ripened · lily-seed, · they gather (it) · for five

waítash, kánktak wókslat Eúkshikni. Sníkanua nadshgshaptánkni waítash;
days, · so long · may gather (it) · the Lake people. · They let it ripen · during six · days;

nadshgshaptánkni waítash wókash shutä'shlat, awō'lat, péksat, shiulína,
during six · days · the nuphar-seed · they grind, · cook, · rub fine, · winnow,

[435] lulína. Nā'sh wíllishik pálasham-wáχoksh láp tála, lχálχamnishti lulínash
make flour. · One · sack · of the flour-bags · two · dollars, · in a long, heavy sack · the ground-up wókash

[222] túnep tála. Nû'χatk wókash iwiχí'e ká-itua nû käfla. "Tánk a íwíχa í?
five · dollars. · Roasted · lily-seed · filled in sacks · none · in the country. · "How many · did fill · you?

[224] lápkshapta kán íwí'χa willíshik?" "nû té-unip willí'shik iwí'χa!" Wé-
seven · who · did fill · sacks!" · "I · ten · sacks · have filled up!" · Wo-

wan'sh pí'la wō'kshla, hí'hassuaks gánkanka paχō'les, tchä'-u. At sa héwi-
men · only · gather wókash, · the men · hunt · mule-deers, · antelopes. · Now they will haul

[251] [501] uapk, skúya wókash. At a sha í hí'wi-uapk; áwalues skéna, máktsina
(it) home, · crush · lily-seed. · Just · they home · will bring it; · to the island · they row, · camp there

Nû'shkshi, wō'ns í'lktsat Lĕmé-isham Nutē'ks, Vushí'nkam Tínuash, Lál'lāks,
at Skull-place, · canoes · they put away in lake bottom · at Thunderbolt, · at "Snake-Drowned", · at "Slope-steps"

Lkō'm Ă'-ush; kákokish lóloksgish ktélχa, Stópalsh-Tamā'dsh, Tó-ilkat
at Black Lake; · at the ford · the rifle · drop, · at Peeled-Pine, · at Rail-Pyramid

pí'la wí'hla; tchía nánuk Kák-Ksháwaliäksh; nánka tchía Tchíkass-Walákgishtat.
stops · every one · at Raven's Place; · some · (will) stop · at Bird's Lookout.

NOTES.

*539 221 This text intends to give a sketch of the various occupations of the northern tribe or Ê-ukshikni in every month of the year, and is partially worded in a form which may be called dramatic. These statements are not always arranged in logical order, but a profusion of ethnologic details gives intrinsic value to them.

805 The months of the Máḵlaks year do not coincide with the months of our calendar, for they extend from one new moon to the next one, and therefore should be more properly called *moons* or *lunations*. Twelve and a half of them make up the year, and they are counted on the fingers of both hands. The first moon of their year begins on the first new moon after their return from the wókash-harvest at Klamath Marsh, which is the time when all the provisions and needful articles have been gathered in 796 224 for the winter. Work is then stopped and the communal dances begin, the doctor-dances as well as those conducted by the chiefs, and everybody participates in them except those who are out hunting in the mountains during the latter part of the year. This mode of counting the moons on the digits was once popular, but on account of its imperfections it is now forgotten by the majority of the tribe. Instead of it they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as: udsakshä'mi, "in the big sucker time"; i-umä'mi, "in the berry season", or they use our calendar months.

The first moon mentioned in our text, gáptche, answers generally to our May. The two next moons are counted on the thumb and forefinger of the hand not used immediately before; with this last moon their year has come to an end. The next five moons are counted again on the digits of the first hand, and so forth. The half moon making up their full year is not accounted for in this text.

823 226 74, 2. Ktaí-Túpakshi is a locality of renown in the folklore of the Klamath tribe. It lies near the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, on the property of an Indian named Tchéloχins. The otílks is the fish-dam (from utíla), where the Indians wade in the water with their dip-nets and catch the fish while it ascends the river in spring-time in enormous quantities. This fish-dam does not reach the water's surface.

193 74, 2. The direct object of lúela is kápto, its subject máḵlaks hō'ank.

74, 3. kámalsh pahá means: they dry the fish which they have just caught by exposing it to the sun on limbs of trees, and then make kámalsh by pounding it. Kámalsh is a derivative from gáma, to pound.

192 74, 3. kó-iχaga is identical with gúikaka; derived from kúi, "away, far off"; guiχátchka is: to start out annually to the prairies where roots etc. are harvested.

262 74, 5. saká a pō'ks: they eat *sometimes* the camass raw, but only at the time when digging it. Bulbs, roots, pods, chrysalids and berries are gathered by women only.

222 251 74, 6. pahá at p.; this is equivalent to pahátko pō'ks iwídshat. They bake the camass and put it in their cachés at the place where they intend to stay next winter.

796 222 192 74, 8. shníkanua. During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process, the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the women, and they go to work again in their canoes.

415 74, 9. shiulína. From the preceding we should expect shiulínat, lulínat.

74, 10. wíllishik is the generic term for larger kinds of provision-sacks; it means here a sack of fifty pounds seed or grain, while the wáχoks holds hundred pounds. In pálasham-wáχoksh, however, the latter word is taken in its *generic* sense of sack, bag.

795
771 reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors,
178 the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

182 The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are
allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some
771 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal
795 and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in
184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to
797 those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on
the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual
571 or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members
find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies
as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no
concessions to aboriginal concepts.

771 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The
177 Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation
is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals,
184 while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display
or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches
entirely. Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious
questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly
curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes
755 demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this
757 consideration, shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally
accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged
with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects
of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern
conceptualization.

183 The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there.
773 For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter
are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two,
183 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first
224 deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away,
he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation
today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too,
the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy
that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem
from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is
825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath
191 but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a
763 harbinger of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear
it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means
183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter,
the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed
among western tribes.

178 But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past
which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

175

> [411] [231] They are well provided with bows and arrows. They have only one horse. Snow is so deep, horses perish for want of food. In winter, they live on roots. In summer on antelope and fish.
>
> December 1st. 30 Clammite Indians paid us a visit: fine men in good condition, but wretchedly clad. They say the river to the ocean is far distant and beaver they do not know. They say the Indians become more numerous as we advance to the ocean. . . . .
>
> [342] [161] [439] Tuesday 6th. Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defence against arrows but not balls. 200 of them collected about our camp and traded 4 days. The 2 chiefs delivered traps lost by Mr. McDonald last year with 8 beaver. This is much in favor of their honesty. On our march this day, we passed the camps from wh. Mr. McDonald turned back last year and are consequently strangers to the country in advance.
>
> [161] Thursday 8th. About 300 Indians around our camp. We advanced 6 miles south following the river south. I estimate the Clammitte nation 250 men.
>
> Monday 12th. Reached the lake [Klamath lake?] 1⅓ × 15 miles well wooded with maple and hazel; course S.

[361] The second visit on record is that of Frémont, who reached the northern shore of Klamath marsh on December 10, 1843. He saw smoke at what appeared to be the middle of the marsh and along the opposite shore. An unoccupied northern shore agrees with my own information. The following day he visited the village "in the middle of the lake (or savannah)," which appears to be one of those at the outlet of the marsh.

> [342] The huts were grouped together on the bank of the [Klamath] river, which, from being spread out in a shallow marsh at the upper end of the lake, was collected here into a single stream. They were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams.
>
> [226] [252] [285] [291] Almost like plants, these people seem to have adapted themselves to the soil, and to growing on what the immediate locality afforded. Their only subsistence at this time appeared to be a small fish, great quantities of which, that had been smoked and dried, were suspended on strings about the lodge. Heaps of straw were lying around; and their residence in the midst of grass and rushes had taught them a peculiar skill in converting this material to useful purposes. Their shoes were made of straw or grass, which seemed well adapted for a snowy country; and the women wore on their head a closely woven basket, which made a very good cap. Among other things, were parti-colored mats about four feet square, which we purchased to lay on the snow under our blankets, and to use for table cloths.
>
> [231] Numbers of singular-looking dogs, resembling wolves, were sitting on the tops of the huts. . . . .
>
> [648] They made us comprehend that they were at war with the people who lived to the southward and to the eastward; but I could obtain from them no certain information. . . . .
>
> This morning the camp was thronged with Tlamath Indians from the southeastern shore of the lake. . . . .

175

Frémont also remarked on the scarcity of their horses.[32]

Frémont reached Klamath lake again May 6, 1846. He commented on the outlet, Link river, "this is a great fishing station for the Indians." His statement on the distribution of their settlements coincides with my information. [231] [226]

> They have fixed habitations around the shores of the lake, particularly at the outlet and inlet [Williamson river], and along the inlet up to the swamp meadow [Klamath marsh], where I met the Tlamaths in the winter of '43–'44, and where we narrowly escaped disaster. . . . . The Indians made me understand that there was another large river [Williamson river] which came from the north and flowed into the lake at the northern end, and that the principal village was at its mouth, where also they caught many fish. [361] [131] [133]

Frémont's party made a circuit of the lake. It is curious that he does not mention the settlements about Pelican lake on the western side, which he could hardly have avoided. On the other hand it is not clear how closely his memoirs follow his diary. Attacked while on the western side, his party reciprocated by raiding a village on the opposite side, perhaps one of those on Williamson river just above the present highway bridge. [726]

> Behind the sage-bushes where they had taken their stand every Indian had spread his arrows on the ground in fan-like shape, so that they would be ready to his hand. . . . . Quantities of fish were drying, spread on scaffolds, or hung up on frames. The huts, which were made of tall rushes and willows, like those on the savannah above [Klamath marsh], were set on fire, and the fish and scaffolds were all destroyed.[33] [252] [342] [726]

The first invaders remembered by the Klamath came from the north about 1835. The stories about them have now a legendary flavor. 173 The first group was mounted; the Klamath dubbed them mpĕ'tkoŋks 437 (from mĕtc!a', to pack about) from their roving habits. An alterna- 648 tive name, pásai'ūks (French-Canadian in Chinook jargon), more surely identifies them. During their brief stay at the mouth of Williamson river they bought fat dogs of the Klamath, which to the latter's amazement, they ate. For these they gave buttons and metal disks with a central perforation (wika'lkal).

Almost as early was a white contingent moving northward on the 173 west side of Klamath lake. The Indians watched them unseen. They 648 were impressed with the horses, axes, and the food of the whites. 177

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[32] Frémont, Narrative, 122.

[33] Frémont, Memoirs, 483, 484, 494.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

The western and southern limits of the range are easiest to define 101
because of the topography and the proximity of other tribes. To the 131
east and north the open deserts and broken country extend indefinitely. 133
The nearest of the shifting settlements of Northern Paiute on the east
at Goose and Summer lakes are sixty and more miles from Klamath
lake. Those of the Warm Springs tribes are one hundred and fifty
miles distant, more than halfway across Oregon. Teit's data show [175]
that more than a century ago the neighbors of the Klamath in this
direction were the Sahaptins at no great distance and beyond them
Molala and Cayuse.

The wide plain south of Klamath Falls seems to have been unoc- 101
cupied. The Modoc lived south of the Lost River hills about Tule lake 131
and on lower Klamath lake. My Klamath informant doubted that
they lived on Miller lake, or had permanent settlements on Lost river. 174
Both tribes congregated at one place only for the early spring fishing,
namely on Lost river, a mile or more below the buttes at Olene. The [226] •
Klamath camp site is on the north bank, the Modoc on the south.

The southern boundary of Klamath territory skirts the Klamath 101
valley from this place as far downstream as Spencer creek, near the
California-Oregon line, below the canyon of the Klamath. Below this 131
on the river are the Shasta, whose northernmost outposts are on Shovel
creek and north of the river on Jennie creek. The Klamath have no [226]
settlements on the river, but fish, hunt, and gather roots at such points [224]
as Keno, Spencer creek (ma'lbuḳ'is), and at laik'ĕlmi, five or six miles [222]
upstream from Dorris (?).

The western boundary is the Cascade watershed, including, however, territory on the northwest side of Mount Pitt (Mount McLoughlin) and again southwest of Crater lake. The Klamath hunt northwest of this conspicuous mountain in a region of many streams called la'ndjli (possibly an American name). Fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake is Huckleberry mountain (iwumkă'ni, huckleberry place) where the Klamath meet the Molala similarly engaged in berry picking. The latter regularly occupy the highlands of the upper Rogue river drainage above Trail creek or some point below Prospect. These Molala form a southern extension of that tribe from the upper Umpqua drainage.

The northern and eastern boundaries are somewhat indefinite. Palmer stated:

in importance to fish. Summer is also the time of travel and trade, 221
taking people as far as the Dalles where they may elect to spend the
winter. Winters are exceptionally severe at this altitude (4000 feet), [132]
with deep snow and lakes, marshes, and even streams solidly frozen.
Movement is stopped and unless a winter residence has been chosen [133]
which gives some possibility of fishing, starvation may be faced before 221
spring. These winter sites are in sheltered, sunny spots on running
streams or at springs warm enough to prevent ice from forming. The 361
families return in the fall, rebuild the earth-lodges from the remains
of the previous year's structure, and are all snugly housed by mid- [226] •
December. The only permanent settlements are the winter villages.
The summer residences are shifting, and while reoccupied from year
to year, there is no feeling that particular camping localities belong
to certain groups. The summer camps are rather indiscriminate aggre- [628]
gations of any Klamath, but the winter locations are so fixed of habit
as to give a measure of political separatism to the several localities.

The case of Tom Lang's family is typical. Their permanent winter home is at iu'laloŋɛ, a large village on the west side of Link river at the foot of Klamath lake, hence Tom is considered one of the southern lake people, iu'ˑlaloŋkni generically. His family is accustomed to move for the spring fishing to ditk!aks, Barclay spring, or to Modoc point, both on the east side of the lake, where they erect temporary lodges. Crossing the lake to dĕ'ktcoŋks they leave their canoes and travel overland to wokas'lks on the north shore of Wokas marsh. Here Tom was born in July. When the berry and wokas harvest is ended they retrace their steps and take canoe to Algoma to pick wild plums, berries, etc. From there they drift back to their winter home.

The towns for the most part lie along Williamson river, on the
southern side of Klamath marsh, and along the eastern shore of Klamath lake.
As these are winter settlements, the open lake is avoided,
and occupied only where warm springs outweigh its disadvantages.
They cluster along Williamson river whose sheltered valley is dis- [133]
tinctly warmer than the lake front a few miles distant and where the
running stream contains fish most of the year. [132]

The towns are not isolated, compact groups of houses, but stretch 361
along the banks for half a mile or more. In fact, the settlements on
Williamson river below the Sprague river junction form a practically 342
continuous string of houses for five or six miles, the house pits being,
in many spots, crowded close together. Informants insisted that
many of these were occupied at the same time. When we consider
that these earth-lodges may have housed several families, there is
strong suggestion of a considerable population.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

103
131

7, awa'lwaskän, at least five earth-lodges here. Houses scattered between this site and the last.

361

8, wa'ktale's, and 9, la'laks, slope steps,[21] two settlements on the higher ground where Williamson river leaves the marsh. The second had twenty houses on both sides of the stream.

[226]
[114]

10, lobö'kstsöksi, on the bluff on the left bank of the Sprague river at the railroad bridge, with a few houses on the opposite side. There is a dam for salmon here. Gatschet gives the locality name as ktaí-tú-pakshi, standing rock.[22]

11, A site on the south side of Sprague river below the dam.

12, ḳ!ötewă'ĕts is a large winter settlement about two miles above the dam on the south bank of this river.

[823]
[226]

13, komă'ĕksi is a site on both sides of the river south of Braymill, four miles from Chiloquin. There is a cave here which was the home of Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero. Near-by is wo'kstat, the site of the only first-fish rites among the Klamath.

14, ḳa'umkăn is about six miles above this cave. Many people lived on both sides of the river there. A cremation pile is there, probably the only one on Sprague river. The place takes its name from a spring (ḳa'ŭm) on the western bank.

Whether there were permanent settlements above this on the river is difficult to say. At least there were settlements (15) of some sort on the river near Yainax before the coming of the whites.

16, hĭedĭcluĕ'luke, a settlement west of Gearhart mountain.

[226]

17, bᴇzŭkse'was (from bᴇzŭks, obsidian); there are many people in this town on the right bank which extends for a mile below the Sprague river mouth. On the opposite side, ha'potgŭs, is a dam in which spring fish are caught; near-by are a few summer houses.

[251]
[226]

18, tákalma'keda, a town half a mile long on the right bank. The houses are on the bottomland along the river with quite a number on the opposite flat (19), called k'tai'di, lava. A little south is a part of this settlement, called glă'tspak'is. Of the distinct pits at tákalma'keda, four are about twenty-five feet in diameter, one, fifteen feet. Northward from the town are a considerable number of storage pits and a fish dam.

20, djígiă's, houses on the river level on both banks and on a higher bench on the right. There is a ford here.

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[21] Gatschet, 1:74. Several other camping places in the vicinity on upper Williamson river are also mentioned.

[22] *Op. cit.*, 1:76.

21, ḳ!o′ltawas, a town of ten or fifteen earth-lodges on the left bank, with houses on the right bank extending to the next settlement downstream. There are otter (ḳ!olt) holes in the right bank, hence the name. A mythical otter that lived here is seen in a rock standing in the water; on his back are his children, smaller rocks. 103 131 361 [823]

22, at′awikc, "to catch fish in still water," six to a dozen houses on the right bank; a few on the left. The water here is quiet; fish are caught with the trolling net. [226]

23, ya′ak (ya′ac, willows), two dozen or more houses on the right bank. This was the largest river site in early reservation days, the road from Link river (Klamath falls) fording the river here. Of three house pits together, with their margins nearly in contact, two are twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter, the other fully five feet more. A cremation pile stands on the hill above this town. It is now leveled by marauders, as are all the others in this country, but it apparently covered an area forty feet in diameter.

24, tsa′k′wi, houses on the right bank with a few on the left.

25, wĭtă′mŭmpsi, bear's place (wĭtă′m, black bear). This is a high bluff on the right bank above an eddy in the sharp bend in the river; the scene of vision questing. A large shaman's earth-lodge is located here. Fish are caught all year long above this town. [823] [756]

26, goyᴇmske′ᴇgls, crawfish crawl out, or kiᴇke′trŭs, small lizard, a town half a mile long beginning a quarter-mile above the highway bridge. The houses are on the abrupt slope right to the river's brink, and some on the little bluff above. There are pits of perhaps forty or more houses here, but at least half are dome-shaped cooking houses, for they are for the most part only six to ten feet in diameter, with few as much as fifteen feet. One of eighteen feet has its dome-shaped kitchen lodge clearly indicated on the north side. [226] [343]

27, wᴇla′lksi, named for a big quaking-aspen (wᴇla′l) there, is on the eastern shore of Agency lake. A few ă′ukckni live here in winter, in five or six small houses.

28, loḳ′o′gŭt, warm, a little warm spring near which are two houses on the higher land near Agency lake. [133]

29, tcŏ′klalŭmps, service berry, which grows here abundantly, is a town of one or two small houses overlooking the lake where the Chiloquin road meets the lake highway.

Other towns may have been at ya′mzi, on the western side of Yamsay mountain, and ḳokenă′okᴇ, Spring creek, a large northern affluent of Klamath marsh.

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103 131 361 II. *Agency lake group* (*kowa'cdikni*).—The winter home of these people is on Agency lake, the northern arm of Klamath lake. My questioning did not make it wholly certain that this group is independent of ä'ukckni. In fact they join them at k'ɛtai'di (19) on Williamson river for the spring fishing.

[756] [226] 44, kowa'cdi is close to the mouth of Wood river. The site is a quarter-mile long. One informant stated that it contained twenty houses, another two earth-lodges (one a shaman's), not incompatible statements. A spring here permits fish to remain all winter. A few houses are at another spring a quarter-mile east.

[133] III. *Lower Williamson river group* (*du'kwakni*).—These settlements are close to the mouth of Williamson river. This region, du'kwa, is one of marsh, separated by a considerable section of open and higher plain (pɛnō'ɣs) from the nearest ä'ukckni settlements. Pɛnō'ɣs seems not to have been occupied in pre-reservation days, although du'kwakni and ä'ukckni now live there. Du'kwa people seem also to live across the lake at Pelican bay, the home of the gu'mbōtkni. But whether this is a regular thing, or only a matter of my du'kwa informant's [222] personal history, I am not sure. At any rate they go to dig roots in the marshes of the western and northern sides of Klamath lake in summer, not to Klamath marsh. Their winter settlements are on the isolated bits of higher ground within a mile of the river mouth, and on the marsh front immediately south. Most of these settlements, too, are on the right bank of the river.

30, mo'ak̦sda, five or seven earth-lodges on the left bank nearly a mile above the mouth. Five more houses stood on the opposite bank with numerous springs behind them and the du'kwakni cremation pile a half-mile above.

31, wickāmdi, four or five houses on the right bank below this, one or two a little below, then a cluster of four and another of two farther downstream.

32, la'wa'lstōt, three houses on the point forming the right side of the river mouth.

33, mo'giŋkūnks, the largest settlement in this district with five or six earth-lodges and as usual a number of small structures. This is on the left bank a quarter-mile above the mouth. One or two houses are on this side immediately at the river mouth.

34, djiŋgūs, four or five houses at a spring on the lake front to the east of the mouth, with one or two more farther in the marsh.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18]

side of Wood river in much the same locality. These may be the same site. 103 131

V. *Klamath Falls group (iu″laloŋkni).*—All the people of the lake 361 from Modoc point southward are named for their principal locality, iu″laloŋᴇ, Klamath falls. Despite the large area, they are relatively few in number. In summer they resort to the marshes west of the lake or fish on Lost river. The district along the eastern shore of the lake from Modoc point nearly to Algoma is called ne″luḳsi (ne″luḳs, a late sunrise), from the circumstance that a low mountain here cuts off the morning sunlight.

45, kᴇt!ai'ksi, point of rock, a promontory two miles or so northwest of Modoc point, is their northernmost settlement.

46, suwiakā'ēks, jump over, is a large village at Modoc point. It extended on both sides of the headland and for three-quarters of a mile south. The place takes its name from a large rock (about three and a half feet high) which stands a half-mile south of the point. It was a trial of skill to run uphill and jump over the rock. Bare island (au'emi) opposite is their camp site, and has no permanent settlements.

47, iulā'u, promontory, is a fishing village occupied in early spring. Pictographs are painted on the rock slide north of this.

48, diu'wiaks (named for its little spring, di'wik) is a winter settlement at the railroad point Ouxy. Little fish ran in the spring [226]. early in the year.

49, ḳau'ōmōt, a half-mile south, is, like all these lake sites, crowded along the foot of the mountain on the lake shore. There are many earth-lodges about a large spring here. The lodge rings are so clear [172] that this would be a good place for archaeological excavations. Its name is from ḳau'ōm, a place where fish run.

50, dī'tk!aḳs, boiling spring, is now known as Barclay spring. [133] There are many earth-lodges north and south of this. Two cremation piles are to the north on the highway, one distant a hundred yards on a rock slide, the second twice as far and directly on the southern boundary of the reservation. Unlike the cremation piles on Williamson river, no glass beads or iron was to be found at this second site. South of Barclay spring by three hundred yards is a deep nameless [231] spring into which pups are thrown to train them for hunting. A large sweat-lodge used by mourners is situated at the foot of the slope near [343] the angle of the marsh east of Algoma.

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361 51, kölwa'l, a point, is Rattlesnake point at Algoma. Only a few live here during the winter but it is a favorite resort in the autumn when chokecherries and wild plums ripen.

[222] 52, wuk!o'twas, wood knot, Buck island, is so called because the island in the lake is likened to a knot in a piece of wood. In addition to old house pits here not occupied by any group of the historic period, there are a few winter houses on the southern end and summer camps at the northern end where plums could be gathered. It was a favorite sport to dive from the rocks (called sohowă'ēks, diving) on the northern shore.

53, lama'teksi, a place on top of the end of something, is on the point east of Buck island, and 54, k!su'nk!ai, grassy place, is three-fourths of a mile south on the shore. Many people are at both localities during the winter. There may be old house sites here like those on Buck island. Wa'toŋks is a hill a half-mile east where wild plums are
[823] picked. There is an outcrop of white rock high on the hillside above iu'ĭĭ (meaning deep in), the end of the marsh east of these settlements. This is said to be the net of Kᴇmŭ'kūmps, the culture hero, spread to dry.

[764] 55, iwau'wōnᴇ, meaning against the side hill, is a large settlement on both sides of Link river at the highway bridge. A crematory is on
[726] the hilltop on the east side a quarter-mile north. Shasta sometimes swam the river south of the village or crossed by the islet below the little lake Ewauna to attack the group on the east bank. This settlement is at the lower end of the falls (Klamath falls) that constitute
[226] Link river in its brief passage through its gorge. This is one of the principal fishing places of the region and advantage is taken of the
[823] ledges that form the falls for the construction of fish dams. But these, like all others in Klamath territory, are attributed to the culture hero, Kᴇmŭ'kūmps.[33]

56, iu"laloŋᴇ, meaning on the end, is the largest village of the southern lake people and gives its name to the whole group. There are earth-lodges on both sides of the falls but particularly on the western bank from the river mouth to within half a mile of the present power dam. There are many at the point at the river mouth (hence the name of the site) and thence extend westward about a little bay. A group of tall upstanding rocks at the point, called k!taigī'ŋkls, hole

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[114] [33] Gatschet's reference (1:94, 97) to the Indians scooping up fish from the dry bed of the stream when a strong south wind drives back the waters in the lake seems like a purely mythical reference, but is confirmed by Clarke (Rock Piles, 41).

103
through the rock, had only a narrow way between them to allow
passage along the shore. On a point of rocks on the hill above stands 131
a cremation pile. A hillock west of the bay is called lalau'ḳ!ōt, flat, 361
for the many flat rocks on top. The opposite point of the river mouth
also has a settlement, called tc!a'tc!ōmai, for some unidentified bird.

57, wĕḳă'ēla, fallen tree, is a settlement of moderate size on the shore a mile west of the river mouth, now intersected by the road.

58, wut!ana'kōḳs, a low gap, and 59, iup!a'tōna, end place, are summer sites respectively at the ends of a little marsh (now drained) on the west side of the lake.

60, woḳsa'lks, lily seed (wokas) picking place, is a summer camp [222]
on the north shore of Wokas marsh. When leaving in the fall it is
customary to sink the canoes at the edge of the marsh, hide the grinding [501]
slabs in the juniper thicket, and pack by a regular trail to [415]
dĕ'ktcōŋks, whence they return to the winter villages.

61, dĕ'ktcōŋks, netting place, is a camp site on the west shore of [226] •
Klamath lake opposite Buck island. Midway between this site and
the island is a favorite place for catching fish at night with a triangular scoop net. The point Skillet Handle is called iuwa''lᴇ, end of
a point, and a flat-topped mountain west of Wocus bay, scolŏpġla.

62, sa'stītḳa'wals, Shasta stand on end, is Squaw point where a few [823]
Klamath falls people might be found in winter. There are holes in
the rocks here in which they pound to make the wind blow, pounding
in those on the south side, for instance, to bring a south wind.

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS

The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or 101
possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct district, and practically autonomous. This is separatism of the familiar 619
Californian order. Nevertheless, the cohesion rising from a common dialect, common culture, and a uniform reaction against all nontribesmen, which on occasion leads to jointly taking the field against them, produces a tribal solidarity resembling that of the Plains people.

The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the modern name Klamath for the Klamath marsh—Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they

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K
grown up among the Klamath, Klamath in speech and custom, were 567
not tempted to begin life anew elsewhere. Some, at least, had con- K
siderable prestige. Pit River Charley, for instance, a freed slave, [786]
returned from his people in 1873 with novel rites which were engrafted [177]
on the Ghost dance then newly come to the Klamath.[62]

Trade is probably of no great consequence within the tribe although K
it figures intertribally. Contacts were few and frequently unfriendly 439
until after the coming of the whites. The exception is the neighboring 221
Modoc groups; others are too distant. Winters are too severe for 361
travel and trade, but summers find the Warm Springs people in residence with the Klamath. These similarly set out for Warm Springs and the Dalles when the grass begins to grow, camping there in the open during the summer, and building mat-covered structures of
earth-lodge shape (wakĕ'ploks) if they stay through the winter. K
Slaves, Pit River bows, and beads are taken there to trade for horses, 439
blankets, buffalo skins, parfleches, beads (probably dentalium shells), 436
dried salmon, and lampreys.[63] Two slave children are valued at five 567
horses, several buffalo skins, and some beads. This is not far from the values recorded by Taylor in 1859; one woman was worth five or six horses, a boy one horse.[64]

The Molala are also visitors and are met on the headwaters of the K
Rogue west of Crater lake. From them buckskins are obtained for 648
pond-lily seed and beads. Relations with the Shasta have not always [437]
been unfriendly; some of the Klamath Falls group and Modoc married S
with them, possibly only since the white advent. The nearest Shasta 131
settlements at Shovel and Jennie creeks can be reached afoot several
days' journey down the Klamath. Laik'ĕlmi is a jointly occupied K
fishing site somewhat upstream but below the Klamath canyon. Skins 648
and skin blankets are traded for Shasta beads. Dixon states that [226]
Shasta trade with the Klamath is slight.[65] [437]

In the period 1860–70 the few Shasta remaining in their territory congregated S
on the lower Shasta river and near the frontier town, Yreka. They were 131
reached by crossing the Black Mountain range. At that time this was a S
much mixed group, principally half-breeds. My informant Tom Lang, taken [302]
there as a youngster, remarked how he was afraid of their highly tattooed faces.

Intercourse and marriage went on freely with the Modoc. They K
were visited on Tule and Lower Klamath lakes, and joined for the 648
fishing on Lost River near Olene. 131
226

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[62] Spier, Ghost Dance of 1870, 45, 51.

[63] Cf. Gatschet, 1:93; 2:436.

[64] *Op. cit.*, 1:lx.

[65] The Shasta, 436.

756 789 • 226 The shaman is called on to exercise this art when the weather is unpropitious and the food supply in danger. If the ice stays late in the spring so that they cannot fish, they go to the shaman to get him to make it rain. If it rains but no fish come, they ask him again to bring the fish. The first catch is always divided so that everyone has something to relieve his hunger.

756 226 Should the fish disappear from the mouth of Williamson river, for example, an old man will ask a shaman to discover the cause. He invites them to assist in the singing-dancing performance in his lodge to call the spirits, which in this case is expedited to two nights instead of the usual five. It appears that a shaman above them on the river, growing jealous of their success in fishing, has sent a spirit mink under the water to drive the fish away or take them to some other people. The spirit that makes the fish run is a big sluggish snake. The shaman causes two female snakes to lie in the mouth of the river. Then he tells the fishermen to try their luck and to bring him a fish, male (ķō'ktsiala) or female ('lū'ksāls), from each net. This performance is called kie'rmalo'ᴇ, to make fish.

756 Rivalry among the shamans is glaringly apparent. It not only appears in the shamanistic tricks where the results are tangible and visible but extends for obvious reasons to superior claims of weather control and to the detection and conquest of other shamans' sickness-bringing spirits, with the dispatch of malignant spirits in turn. Contests in manipulating the weather are not a special form of shamanistic activity among the Klamath, and I doubt that they are among other American tribes where the practice has been described.

> A Modoc put a spirit on Mount Shasta to make it snow. The spirit caused sickness as well. A Klamath shaman performed the usual dance-song ceremony and discovered that the Modoc shaman was at the bottom of the mischief. He sent one of his own spirits to catch the spirit on the mountain and enslave it. When it was caught the Modoc died.
>
> A very powerful Modoc shaman, Black Sage-brush Head, had a stone pipe. Whenever he wanted to smoke, the pipe lit itself, or rather a spirit did it. He visited Ctai'is, a Klamath shaman living at the mouth of Williamson river, and exchanged pipes with him. After his return home, Ctai'is found the pipe missing. Later they had word from the Modoc that the pipe had returned to him.[100]

There is no question that the rivalry cuts deeper at times. A shaman accused of causing sickness stands in danger of his life, and the matter may turn on the relative personalities of the rivals. It is patent then why foreign shamans are accused, Modoc and Paiute for

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[100] This appealed to the humor of my informants enormously.

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789 one part of Klamath territory, on the eastern shore of Klamath lake and southward. A bracelet made of the shed skin of a water snake (wī'siŋk) will make a little child swim well. Girl's hair is singed so that it will grow long.

881 Menstrual regulations prescribe that at first menstruation girls may not eat meat or fish else they will get sick. They must use a head-scratcher and run toward the dawn. Their clothing and bands must be burned. Older menstruants are permitted dried fish and 841 may do without the scratcher. Women must not care for the roots they gather while in this condition, else they will fail to find them in [756] the future. Shamans must avoid menstruants else they lose their power.

765 The same food restrictions are imposed on mourners, who also use the head-scratcher. If they touch hands to face it will wrinkle, to hair it will turn gray. They must spit into a hole. Mourners must use special sweat-lodges. A woman's bands are hung on the trees near-by. Men wear bark belts so that their backs will not grow stooped. The house in which a death takes place must be burned with its contents. Mourners must abandon their first kill or harvest, or their gains at gambling, and give the second away. Similarly novice hunters and root-gatherers give away their first fruits, a gambler his first gains after acquiring power. Mourners must not fish nor cross a river else the fish will disappear. These mourners' observances have largely a purificatory intent.

821 A storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned.

823 Klamath marsh, which is now almost wholly dry, is known to have been in that condition on earlier occasions, for instance, about 1840 and again about 1860. On the former occasion it was so dry that its southern arm could be crossed on horseback between the settlements Du"llkūt and I'wal. They did not know what caused it. As a remedy a man would be dispatched to one of the spirit pools in the Cascade mountains (as Crater and Diamond lakes) to bring back water in a squirrel or chipmunk skin to pour into the marsh.

● 226 The first fish rite of these people is held at one place alone, Komä'ĕksi on Sprague river. Why at this point, is anything but obvious. The first sucker caught is burned to ashes, others must be roasted on the spot, otherwise no more will follow. The gall of fish caught with difficulty, as when speared through the ice, must be thrown back into the water else the fish will avoid the fisher.

III. ECONOMIC LIFE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 At this late date it is difficult to define the sexual division of labor with precision. Some impression derives, however, from random observations let drop during the course of these inquiries.

One of my informants summarized the division of domestic activities in this wise. Women fetch wood and gather food. Old men as well as women grind and pound seeds. Men lie about all the time, working but once in a while. They hunt, fish, and in the winter build houses.

Undoubtedly he is justified in his view that man's work is spasmodic, woman's work in preparation of food and the care of the home a more continuous round of labor. Such in fact is the picture of native life in perhaps all parts of the continent. Yet a fairer view of their economic participation shows a more equal division of activities.

[226] These may be summarized as follows: Men, but women too, are
the fishers. Inasmuch as their primary dependence is on fish, the
men's activities in this direction constitute well-nigh a year-round
[224] pursuit. Men are hunters, but hunting is desultory. Even here
women participate, for it is noted at least that they occasionally lie
in wait in canoes to kill floundering deer driven into the water. Root
and seed-gathering is woman's work; I am not certain that men
[222] assist even in harvesting fruit. Seeds, especially pond-lily seeds, form
the second staple in Klamath life. Preparation of food is wholly
[252] woman's work, save as they are assisted by old men, perhaps only
those who have no women members of their families to undertake the
[251] task. Storing food and drying it may be wholly feminine occupations
as well. At least where foods are concerned the man's work is
sufficiently time-filling, but the woman's much more so.

[342] With manufactures, the division is somewhat more even. House-
building, one of the main activities, is a function of both sexes, and
[313] is no small part of the domestic routine. Timbers are prepared and
erected by men, grass and dirt spread over the structure by women,
[322] and the house pit dug by both. Woodworking and the manufacture
of weapons are masculine activities. Yet the most laborious wood-
[411]

Yet the most laborious wood- 462
working task, the making of canoes, is sometimes undertaken by
women. I do not know who tans skins, but since the manufacture [501]
of all garments and moccasins is done by women, this suggests that [281]
they prepare the skins as well. Mats and baskets are made by women
and in considerable quantity. This is a sedentary pursuit which
dovetails nicely into leisure moments of household duties. Mortars, [285]
metates, and their adjuncts are fashioned by women, though I suspect
that men may lend a hand. Nets are manufactured by men, but by [415]
a few women also. Ropes and cords are made by women. All these [284]
suggest a somewhat heavier share borne by women.

There is a further factor which must be kept in mind. In winter, [283]
movement is impeded by intense cold and heavy snowfall, so that all
members of the family must stay close at home. Hence the men might 211
be thought to have enforced inactivity thrust upon them during this season. But the facts are probably otherwise. This is a period of great scarcity, even famine, especially at the end of a long winter, and it behooves the men to act and act quickly in search of food. The ardors and perils then forced on them surely make demands upon whatever leisure they may have at this time.

FOOD AND ITS ACQUISITION

Klamath life is not that of a lake people, but a river and marsh 262
culture, for the simple reason that their primary food is fish. The large lakes of this region are solidly frozen in winter, and fish, which are not abundant there at the best, can hardly be had in winter. It is otherwise with the swift rivers and creeks; these are always open and fish are always present in abundance.[218]

Fish is the staple; after this ranks water-lily seed (wokas) and to 262
a lesser extent other roots; deer and other game are only of minor
importance. It is difficult at this late date to know whether fish or 224
lily-seed was eaten in greater quantity, but there is no doubt that, of 226
necessity, more attention was given the year round to fishing, since 222
the seed is harvested only from the middle of August to the end of
September.

Winter villages, the permanent settlements, are located where fish 361
may be had at that time, beside running streams and near springs

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[218] In view of the excellent descriptions of Klamath environment given by Gatschet, Barrett (pp. 240–243), and Coville (Wokas, A Primitive Food, 727–728) it is unnecessary to add another here. (See also pp. 8–10 of the present work.) [114]

figs. 1–3). When returning in the fall, they take canoe as far as Kirk, 501
storing the vessels in the lake bottom there until the next season, and 221
packing the rest of the distance to their craft on the middle river, some twenty miles distant.

A similar seasonal migration of the Klamath falls group takes them to Barclay spring and Modoc point on the lake front for the spring fishing. Crossing the lake to dĕ'ktcŏŋks, they leave canoe and march by a well-defined trail to Wocus marsh for the lily-seed harvest. At the end of their stay, they sink the canoes used on the marsh in the water at woḳsa'lks, hide grinding slabs and similar articles in the juniper thickets, and retrace their way across the lake to Algoma. After gathering wild fruits there they return to the falls for the winter.[220]

When one considers that the countryside teems with a wide variety 221
of animal life in summer, and the seeming abundance of seeds, roots, 731
and fish, it is difficult to comprehend the change that winter brings. Yet outright starvation in winter must have been frequent. The constant refrain of Ogden, who visited the country in the winter of 1826, bears on the scarcity of game, the near approach to starvation, throughout the months his party was there.[221] Yet it is not incredible in view of the deep snows that cover the land, the thick ice on lake and marsh, when travel is at a minimum and fish can no longer be taken. Snow falls early, in November, and lies on the ground in exceptional years well into May. The early spring, when winter stores have run low, is the critical period. When the lake remains frozen unduly long and snow still falls, starvation sets in. Then horses are killed, and finally the hides or even dressed elk skins are roasted in their extremity. Nothing will induce them to turn to dog flesh.[222] [262]
When the snow leaves the prairies, they hasten to glean whatever roots have escaped the previous season's harvest. Then too a few trout may be had to eke out their subsistence.

Fishing

Fish, the primary food stuff, can be taken almost anywhere in 226
Klamath territory, but the supply is more plentiful in some sections than in others. Williamson river is one; fish can be caught there the year round, but in many other streams they run only in the spring.

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[220] Compare Gatschet, 1:xxix.

[221] Elliott, The Peter Skene Ogden Journals.

[222] This has served as a specific against smallpox, however.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

226 For this reason, the greatest number of settlements cluster on that river. The runs of fish there begin in the early spring, are at their height in March and April, and continue, one variety following another, into the fall. According to Coley Ball seven kinds of fish run in the spring, followed in the fall by the larger varieties. Mid-September marks the end of the sucker run. The time of the salmon run is not clear. Gatschet's statement is that salmon ascend the Klamath river twice a year, in June and again in the autumn.[223] This is in agreement with my information, that the run comes in the middle-finger month, May-June, and that the large fish run in the fall. Pat Kane did not know whether there is more than one variety of salmon, which he called tcia'lᴇa.[224] They ascend all the rivers leading from Klamath lake (save Wood river, according to Ball), going as far up Sprague river as Yainax, but are stopped by the falls below the outlet of Klamath marsh. Other fish live in the marsh, however.

There are not many special attitudes toward fish nor restrictions
226 on their use. The principal restriction is that one bereaved of a
spouse or child may not fish nor even cross a river for fear the fish
765 will flee. This must have been a serious curtailment of the mourner's activities, considering the high infant mortality which must have existed. At the expiration of a year, the mourner must use a special sweat-lodge a second time before he can resume his occupation. Throughout this period he may not eat fish for fear of sickness.

226 Respecting any fish that is caught with difficulty, for instance those speared through the ice, its gall (bis) must be thrown back into the water else others will cease to come. The fish are thought to turn away if this rule is neglected as children turn aside from a morsel of fish they think too small. The practice is called notowa'ble s'mbotŏt, to throw back into the water.

In place of the first salmon ceremony common among the Northwest Coast tribes,[225] the Klamath have an observance over the first sucker. The locale is wo'kstat on the bank of Sprague river near the settlement komă'ĕksi, south of Braymill. Above this spot is a cave styled the home of Kᴇmü'kümps, the culture hero. The first sucker is

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[223] Gatschet, 2:436.

[224] Information from the lower Klamath river confirms these data. Salmon run through Yurok territory at the mouth of the river in April and in early autumn; the latter being perhaps the greater run, for at this time the Kepel dam rites are held (Kroeber, Handbook, 58, 60, 84).

[225] There is no first salmon ceremony, no prayers for salmon, no salmon heart magic like that of the Yurok, no prohibitions against speaking of the salmon, as among the Wishram, and no special relations or taboos connecting twins with the salmon.

226

roasted and allowed to burn to ashes. Those that follow must not be taken home but roasted there, else no more will come. If the rite is observed, suckers will be plentiful. Wo'kstat is the only place where the rite is held, the only place "where Kemŭ'kŭmps made this law."

[539]

> Kemŭ'kŭmps was living at komă'čski. He made a dome-shaped mat-lodge [the cave] using stĕholas mats to cover it [the poorest mats]. That is why it leaks. Right at his home he killed fish. The fish had great difficulty in swimming up there, so Kemŭ'kŭmps killed the first he saw. He roasted it right at the river bank. He did not take it; let it burn to ashes. He said, "This is the way the pesă'odiwas [humans, in mythical terminology] will do." After he did this, fish came in great numbers.

There is no individual ownership of fishing places, as with dams. Nor, for that matter, are there proprietary rights to hunting territories, berry or seed patches. A chief has no control, no ownership of fishing rights. Even those whose permanent dwellings are near the dams have no particular claim to them. To be sure, one might ask those who live near-by to fish in the spot for him, but solely because they know best how to use the nets there.

One reason for this is that the fish dams date from remote antiquity. They are, in fact, said to have been built by Kemŭ'kŭmps.[226] These are quite common in the rivers wherever a shelf of rock in the stream bed favors their construction. Their purpose is to create an eddy of still water in which the fish can be netted when they take refuge from the swift current. Most of these have been destroyed by the loggers who have cleared the channels of obstructions to float their logs. Gatschet seems to doubt that these are artificial constructions, but it is clear that only the foundation is a natural configuration. These are short dams (sa'mkauŭs) or wings of rocks extending out from one bank. One such in the low falls of middle Williamson river at takalma'keda takes advantage of a bend in the river bank to enclose a pool thirty-five feet across.[227] Weirs are not used in connection with dams; in fact they are unknown to the Klamath. [114]

227

Fish are taken mostly with nets (wĭtco'lhus).[228] As among professional fishermen everywhere, line fishing is hardly sufficiently profitable to be trifled with. Yet lines are sometimes used, as well as the spear, and there is some sporadic use of traps. There are several kinds of dip net as well as a gill net.

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[226] See Gatschet, Mythologic Text, 161.

[227] Other dams on Lost river are mentioned by Clarke (Rock Piles, 40).

[228] The Klamath do not poison fish. Gatschet has a curious reference to kûlχamah and alĕ'ds as "fish-killing-articles" put in the nets, but these are respectively flax and nettles used for net cordage! (1:150). [114]

226 In late September there are eddies in Klamath lake where small fish, called ķ!ö'ptu, go round and round. These are caught in dip nets which are slid under the fish. Chub, plentiful in Williamson river in spring, are driven into the rectangular pouch nets. Driven all night long, I was told, sufficient chubs were caught to fill two canoes.

227 A triangular dip net is the principal device for use on the open lake. This was called de'owüs by one informant, hïksu'la by another. Barrett has given an excellent description of it, which I quote in full.[229]

> 226 One of the most interesting devices connected with fishing is the large triangular dip net used on the open water of the lakes or the larger deep streams. This net is used on a pair of poles held apart by a cross-bar near the vertex of the angle formed by them. The net itself is attached to the poles at the sides and to this cross-bar at the rear, the tips of the poles being connected by a strong string upon which the front of the net is fastened. . . . Usually two men go out to fish, one sitting in the stern of the canoe and paddling, the other in the prow and manipulating the net. While the net is being dipped, the fisherman in the stern paddles quite rapidly along and makes a great noise, swishing the water back and forth in order to scare the fish near the stern toward the prow. He also has a couple of short sticks with which, just before the net is to be raised, he drums upon the sides of the canoe in order to frighten as many as possible of the fish toward the prow. The fisherman in the prow finally raises the poles and brings up the net, placing the angle at which the poles meet under the prow of the boat, which, as has been stated, has a long, flat, upward slope. The cross-bar of the net poles is slipped over the top of the prow [illegible] to prevent the points of the poles from falling back into the water. In [illegible] the points of the poles project from the prow like two great horns [illegible] tips are several feet from the surface of the water, so that the fish are [illegible] from jumping over the sides of the net and into free water. The man in the prow then hauls in the net, which tapers to a long pyramidal point. As he hauls the net in, it is laid over on the poles to the sides of the prow until finally the point of the net is reached. Here the fish are at last gathered together. It is then a simple matter to take them from the net and throw them either into the bottom of the boat itself or into coarse tule baskets made for the purpose. These baskets of tule are of two forms: a long canoe-shaped basket and the ordinary circular straight-walled basket. . . . . To manipulate a large net of this type, a canoe not less than sixteen or eighteen feet in length is required. Another net of this same type, but of smaller dimensions, is used in a similar manner on the more shallow streams or in the shallow water of the lake.

[227] The poles are of fir, twelve feet long and ten feet apart at their outer ends. The net, which is quite large, is fashioned of five rectangular sections, linked together by their long sides, and placed transversely to the main axis of the triangle. The mesh is an inch square. As an index of the value, Coley Ball gave a good milk cow for a single net. In using these nets it is usual to have other canoes approach from the front, splashing to frighten the fish into the net.

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[229] Material Culture, 249.

Several nets may be carried in as many canoes paddled side by side. 226 The fisherman in the prow, using the leverage of the poles over the gunwale, raises the net somewhat, but a heavy load will cause the prow to settle dangerously. The weight is relieved by those in the other canoes lifting out fish until he can manage the net alone. A favorite place for the use of this net by the southern lake people is above the riffles of Klamath falls. I probably misunderstood an informant who said that this net is used only in winter.

A rectangular net (lu'di'has) is much used, especially in the rivers. The net is a pouch nine feet long, its mouth threaded on a vertical pole at each side. The mouth is a rectangular opening, six feet wide and two high; fastened at the bottom to the pole, the sides can slip down and close the opening. Two men wade holding the poles erect, with the net floating behind them. Others drive the fish into the net. When it is filled, they move the poles into a horizontal position, dragging the net after them into quiet water; the weight causes the mouth to slide along the poles and close.

A circular scoop net (called lu'di'has like the last) is used from the bank. This is a hoop of service berry wood, three feet across, fastened at two points to a pole which crosses its diameter. The mouth of the net is fastened to the hoop; its bottom is closed in a line, not a point; it is three feet deep. The net is held with the hoop vertical while others scare fish into it. When full it is lifted out and dumped on the bank. There is no rope attached to the hoop to steady it such as is necessary in the swift waters of the Columbia.

There are several excellent places for the use of this net among the rocks of Klamath falls. In early spring high water flows through a channel into a pothole (gau'wam), some twenty feet in diameter. Fish are carried into it by the current. As they swim back, they are scooped up with the net from the mouth of the hole. In this manner, little white fish (ḳ!ö'ptu), suckers (tc!uwam), and trout (me'h!ās) are taken. On the eastern side of the falls opposite the pothole the current is very swift. It plunges into a hole in the bed, boiling up with great force at the downstream end. Little white fish are thrown up in the whirlpool. A man stationed on a rock, armed with a circular net, watches. He must jump into the water as it surges, scoop up the fish, and jump back before the current catches him. This is exceedingly dangerous, as he may be carried down into deep boiling water. This is called ġe'tba'ksalks.

The gill net, called a set net (dŏkwa, or wltso'las dĕ'ḳolga), may 227 not be aboriginal, or rather, my informant may have meant that

127 formerly it was not set on stakes. He referred to mention in a myth of its use as a hand net. At any rate, of recent years it is set on stakes in the lake or rivers. It has a small mesh, is forty or more feet in length, three feet in width, and provided with sticks or dry tule stems in order to float the upper edge, and sinkers in order to weight down the lower. The sinker (ɬlĕ′mdi'as) is a pebble three to four inches long, grooved about its middle through pecking it with a hard pointed stone.

284 462 Nets are manufactured by men, although a few women also make them. They have meshes of several sizes. A net gauge (tŏŋks) of bone or wood is used with a slender shuttle (tcŏ′mdlīkŭs) wound end over end.[230] Nettle bark cord is used, from either brown or gray nettles (slĕ′ĕts). Coville notes the use of Rocky mountain flax fibers.[231]

The fish traps used by the Klamath are strictly speaking not traps at all, since there is no closing device to prevent the escape of the fish. They are very little used. I was told of only one place where the device is used, a little stream above Spring creek on Williamson river, where the water is so clear that the actions of the fish can be watched in detail. There it is used only in winter to take trout. The trap (spuwᴇm) is a cylindrical basket of willow branches, woven in open twine, six feet long and two in diameter, closed at one end. The opposite end is open and not provided with reversed barbs or other device to prevent the fish leaving the trap. Cords are tied to it so [114] that it may be hauled up when the fish is seen to enter. A trap of this sort figured by Barrett,[232] but of only half this length, has one side extending somewhat beyond the mouth. Meacham describes a trap of somewhat different shape:

> 226 The Klamath mode of taking fish is peculiar to the Indians of this lake country. A canoe-shaped basket is made, with covering of willow work at each end, leaving a space of four feet in the middle top of the basket. This basket is carried out into the tules that adjoin the lakes, and sunk to the depth of two or three feet. The fishermen chew dried fish eggs and spit them in the water over the basket, until it is covered with the eggs, and then retire a short distance, waiting until the whitefish come in large numbers over the basket, when the fishermen cautiously approach the covered ends, and raise it suddenly, until the upper edge is above the water, and thus entrap hundreds of fish, that are about eight inches in length. These are transferred to the hands of the squaws, and by them are strung on ropes or sticks and placed over fires until cured, without salt, after which they are stored for winter use.[233]

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[230] Illustrated by Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 22.

[231] Coville, Notes, 99.

[232] *Op. cit.*, pl. 19.

[233] Meacham, Wigwam and Warpath, 283.

Even more simple is the taking of a variety of thick-skinned 226
minnow (t!ĕă'bᴇ). When the marshes begin to freeze, these congregate among the tules, when they may be scooped up with a basket.

Fish spears are not much used; even salmon are ordinarily taken 227
in nets. For one thing, Williamson river and Klamath lake outside of Pelican bay are much too dark for spearing. Salmon are sometimes speared from the river bank, which is quite low, or from the rocks at Klamath falls. No staging is needed as on the swift Columbia or the lower Klamath. The salmon spear (k'lc) is the usual two-pronged Northwest Coast-Californian variety; a shaft bearing two divergent prongs provided with detachable points. The shaft is fir; the lashed-on prongs of mountain mahogany[224] or service berry wood are of equal length. Each prong fits into a socket in the base of a bone point. The three-inch point is barbless. A cord tied through a hole in the middle of each point is fastened some distance back on the shaft.[225] Thus the head driven through the fish is detached from the prong, but the salmon is held fast to the shaft by the cords. A special club is not manufactured for killing salmon.

Fish are also speared through the ice of the lake with this instru- 226
ment. A wall of snow or tules is built about a little hole cut through the ice and covered with a tule mat to exclude the light. The fisherman lies at full length on a bed of grass or rushes with his head under this cover, protected from the cold by a blanketing of mats.

A second type of spear, called ḳa''lɛks, is used for suckers and 227
other fish whose habit it is to swim near the lake bottom. This is a long pole having a conical bundle of hard wood prongs (eighteen inches long) bound to one end. Their points are spread to a circle of five inches by a wooden hoop thrust down and bound among them. There are said to be twenty such prongs in a bundle; Barrett however [114]
notes half a dozen to fifteen;[226] and a spear with iron points which I saw had nine. This spear is used in dark, still waters. Poised above the spot where bubbles rise and jabbed down into the mud at a venture, it may pin a fish among the prongs. Another spear provided with a single barbed point is thrust into the fish to haul it up. The barb is made by binding a splinter of bone at an angle to the point of the foreshaft, which is of mountain mahogany.

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[224] Coville, Notes, 95.

[225] Illustrated by Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 22, fig. 4; also p. 251.

[226] *Op. cit.*, 251.

227 They rarely fish with hook and line. These are either hand lines, no rod being used, or set lines. The hooks (o'tkls) are of several forms. The simplest is the tail bone of a sucker which is naturally provided with spines to serve as barbs (fig. 10). Baited with the liver of sucker or trout, this is used to catch minnows which in turn serve as bait, though they are also eaten. Two larger fish hooks are described by Barrett.[237] "The smaller is a straight piece of bone pointed at both ends and attached to the line by means of sinew and pitch at the middle. . . . . A small fish or some fish eggs are used as bait, being placed so as to completely cover the bar of bone. The other form of hook is a bone shank with two bone points. . . . . The two points form angles of twenty-five or thirty degrees with the shank. The three pieces of bone are secured one to another by means of sinew and pitch. This hook is used chiefly in fishing for large fish such as salmon and salmon trout, and is baited with minnows. . . . . The main part of the line is of the gray nettle string, but the brown milkweed string, which is said to be somewhat stronger and also less visible

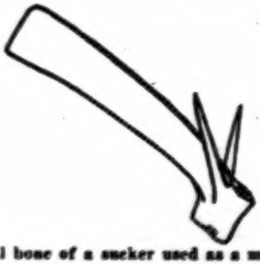

Fig. 10. Tail bone of a sucker used as a minnow hook.

226 in the water, is used as a sort of leader." My information is that the line (not or swe'us?) is nettle bark; brown or gray nettles are equally strong. Set lines (k'nau'us) are arranged to take trout at night; they are visited in the morning, a procedure called sokĕ'tean. Some twenty long poles are set into the mud of the lake, each bearing a thirty-foot line with a single hook. The hooked fish are clubbed or speared. Only five or ten are caught in a night in this fashion.

262 For want of ability to identify them, no attempt was made to obtain a list of the food fishes. In addition to those mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, minnows (ḳ!o'tōḳs) are eaten. There are several varieties: ḳ!a'am, blue minnows, mdlis, a larger variety, and the thick-skinned minnows mentioned above. Crawfish are taken from the streams. These are simply boiled and are soft enough to eat in

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[237] *Op. cit.*, 250; pl. 22.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
227 **Angling**																
235. Acute-angled hook, 1 barb	•-	+	•+	-	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-
236. Acute-angled hook, 2 barbs, bilateral	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
237. Gorge	•+	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
238. Meat, grasshopper on line; no hook	-		+	•+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
239. Several hooks on line	•+	+	+	-	+	-	.	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
Harpoons, Spears																
240. Harpoon, detachable point(s)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
241. Single toggle	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
242. Two toggles	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	+
243. Toggle of bone	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	.	+
244. Barbed toggle, three-piece	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	.	+
245. Simple toggle, one-piece	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	-	-
246. Harpoon used infrequently				+	•+	•+	+	-	-	•-	-	-	•+	-	+	-
247. Fish spear, fixed point(s)	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	.	.	-	+	-
248. One point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
249. Two points	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	.	.	.	-	-	-
250. More than two points	+	+	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	.	.	.	-	-	-
251. Circular arrangement of points	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	.	.	-	-	-
252. Points spread by ring	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	.	-	-	-
253. Wooden point(s)	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	.	.	.	-	+	-
254. Bone point(s)	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	.	.	-	-	-
255. Flaked stone point(s)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
256. Fish "spear," 1 point fixed, 1 detachable	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
257. Landing gaff	R	R	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
258. Hooked at end	•R	R	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
259. Straight stick, pointed end	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other Fishing Techniques																
226 260. Fish shot with bow and arrow	-	-	.	•+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-
261. Infrequently	-	-	.	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
262. Fish poisoning with plant substance	-	-	+	-	+	+	•+	•+	•-	-	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+
263. Fish caught with bare hands	•+	•+	+	-	-	•-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
264. Flares at night for fish	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
265. Harpooning, dipping fish through ice	•+	+	-	-	+	-	•+	-	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	o
266. Fish killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	+
267. Manufactured club	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	•+	.	.	•+
268. Natural stone	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	-
269. Piece of stick	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	.	-
270. Biting neck of fish	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	-
271. Breaking neck or back	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	.	.	-
272. Striking head on ground, rock	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	.	.	-
273. Fish creel of basketry	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	•(+)	-	-	•+	•+	+	.	•+	-
274. Fish carried on forked stick through gills or jaw	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
275. On string or withe	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	.	-	-
276. Fish carried in fish net, over shoulder												+	+	+	.	+
277. Fish laid head to tail, tied and packed on back	-	-							+	+	-	-	-	.	-	-
Fishing Observances																
[834] 278. Continence before fishing	+	+	•+	•-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-
[784] 279. 1st salmon, other fish taboo to youth	-	•+	+	-	•+	•+	•o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+
280. 1st trout	+	+	+	-	+	+	o	-	-	-	•+	•-	•-	•+	•+	•+
281. 1st-fish rite or observance	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	226
282. 1st salmon	•–	•o	•+	•+	•–	•–	•o	•+	•+	•–	•o	•+	•+	•o	•+	•+	
283. 1st sucker	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
284. 1st steelhead trout	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	
285. Taboo to catch salmon before rite	–	o	–	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	–	.	+	o	+	+	[784]
286. Steelhead	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
287. Suckers	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
288. Taboo to eat salmon before rite	–	o	–	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	–	+	+	o	+	+	
289. Steelhead	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
290. Suckers	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
291. Spring of year	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
292. Priest prepares for rite	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	
293. Neighboring tribe holds (salmon) rite	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
294. Old man catches 1st fish	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
295. Anyone may catch 1st fish for rite	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	
296. Anyone may eat 1st fish	–	+	–	•–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
297. First (2) suckers burned	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
298. All of 1st catch eaten immediately	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
299. Punishment for removal of portion	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
300. Taboo against leaving in basket overnight	–								•+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	[784]
Gathering																	
Gathering Techniques and Observances																	
300a. Poles, staves for gathering acorns, pine cones	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	222
300b. Shepherd's crook stave	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	
301. Forked stick grapple	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
302. Straight pole	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	
303. Straight pole with cross bar	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
304. Also used for wood gathering	–	–	+								–	+	+	+	–	+	
305. Limbs shaken with hands, feet	–	–	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
306. Sapling as ladder for climbing trees	–	–	+	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
307. Double-pole ladder, buckskin rungs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
308. Digging stick	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
309. Plain, pointed at one end	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	
310. Plain, bipointed	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
311. Crutch handled	+	+	+	•R	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
312. Seed plants sometimes broken by hand		•+	+	–	+	–	–		+	–	–		–	–	–	–	
313. 1st-fruits rite	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
314. Observed for: acorns	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	–	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	
315. Pine nuts	–	–	–	–	–	–	–						+	–	+	–	
316. Wokus (water lily seeds)	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
317. Ipos bulbs (Calochortus sp.)		+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
318. Manzanita berries						o	o						–	+	+	•o	
319. Annual; observed in	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[221]
320. Springtime	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	
321. Midsummer	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
322. Fall of year	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
‡323. Number of days	10	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	1	1	1	
324. Dancing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	[535]
325. Praying	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[782]
326. Singing	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
326a. Feasting on 1st fruit	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[538]
327. 1st fruit gathered thrown away	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	•+	+	
Preagriculture (Other than Tobacco)																	
328. Burning for better wild-seed crops	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	•+	•+	•+	.	+	–	241

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
529. Thatched	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	251
530. Roughly coiled, in shape tubular bin.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
531. Posts set upright in ground	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	(−)	+	•+	•+	•+	
532. Goods wrapped, hung from branch of tree	−	−	+				•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
533. Storage in pit outside	•(+)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	
534. Storage indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
534a. In baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
535. In twined tule "sacks"	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
536. Vegetable foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
537. Dried meat, salted or plain	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
538. Dried fish or salmon flour	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	
539. Storage in pit inside sweat house	−					•+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Exchange of Food

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
540. Food sold	•−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	262
541. Traded or borrowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	437
542. Mainly in time of famine	−	+	−	−	−	−	•−	+	−	−	+	+		+	+	−	
543. Mainly in winter, early spring	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
544. Game divided	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	224
545. Killer gets most or certain parts	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•	
546. Meat equally divided among hunters	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	
547. Large game divided among whole camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

Ownership of Productive Areas

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
548. Fishing places privately owned	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	•	(+)	−	+	−	423
549. Fishing places jointly owned, owners unrelated	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
550. Fishing places owned by village group	+	+	−	−		•+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	226
551. Anyone may take some of owner's catch.	−	−	−						+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
552. Fishing places rented for share of catch	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	.	−	
553. Fish weir privately owned	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	423
554. Hunting land or spots privately owned	−	−	+	•−	−	•−	•−	−	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	−	
555. Seed tracts privately owned	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[224]
556. Seed tracts owned by village group		+				+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
557. Trees privately owned	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
558. Trees owned by village group	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
559. Trees claimed for single season only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
560. Only trees distant from village	−	−	−						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
561. Tribal or group boundaries marked by topographic features	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
562. Tobacco plot privately owned	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	[276]
563. Land for single season only	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
564. Tobacco plot owned by village	−	−	−			−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	
565. Village site owned by group	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[361]

Division of Labor

Subsistence Pursuits

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
566. Hunting: men only	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
567. Rat and mouse catching: men and women	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	[224]
568. Men	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	
569. Women	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
570. Gathering insects, grubs: men and women	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	[222]
571. Men	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	
572. Women	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
573. Fishing: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[226]
574. Men only net, spear fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	
575. Women use basket to catch fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2490. Moving figures	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	.	+	−	+
2492. Done in winter only	+	•+	−	−						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2493. Done any time, for fun	−	−	+							+	−	+	+	+	−	+
[481] 2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	−	•+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2494a. Stilts	−	•+	−	−	•+	R	−	−	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−

Contests

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
526 2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. To throw man down	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. No tripping allowed	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	.	−
2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	−	+	+	.
2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								−	+	+	+	+	+
2502. Dodging	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	(−)	−	+	−	+
2503. Stones	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	−
2504. Hard objects inside geese	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2505. Sand bag	−	−	−					•+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2506. Tule, grass balls	−	+	−					−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	+
2507. Two sides	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
o2508. Number on each side	−	5	−			1	.	15	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[857] 2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	.	−
2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	.	+
2515. To mark and back	−	−	−			+	+	−	+	−	.	+	+	+	−	−
2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+			+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+
2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+

Storytelling

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
528 2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2520. Myths told at night	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•		•+	•+
[516] 2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.		−	+
2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	•+	+	−			+		+	−	+	−	−	.		−	−
[784] 2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
2524. Rattlesnake will bite	−	+	.		+	+	+	+	−	.	+	−	.		.	−
2525. Winter will come quickly	+	−	.						+	.	+	−	.		.	−
[887] 2526. Narrated by old people only	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
[515] 2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	•−	+	+			+				+	−	+	.		+	+
2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	−	+	+			+				+	−	+	.		+	+

Social Dances

Circle Dances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
535 2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	•R	•+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	−	R	−		−	−
[417] 2530. Performed in brush corral	−	−	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
[224] 2532. At fall rabbit hunt	−	−	−	−		−	+	−		−	−	−	−		−	−
[221] 2533. In springtime	−	−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
[226] 2535. During communal fishing periods	+	+	+							+	−	−	−		−	−

Fishing

Nets.--

000 190. AE: Streams small, consequently nets used not large. WT: 1 or 2 men, only, made fish nets: not everyone. WM: Du Bois, Wintu, p. 15, mentions use of net stretched across McCloud River, at Baird, for communal fish drive; my informant denied this; probably mistaken. NF: Except for Yuba River, streams in area small; high water in winter only. NM: See note 282. NS: A few of old men, only, make nets.

192. AE: Mentioned in myth, only; Owl had seine, but Weasel ran up and rolled log into it, tearing it up. NS: Net (bin), composed of several small flat nets fastened together for purpose, placed on and behind barrier of rocks, 2-3 ft. high, erected across stream at base of falls. As salmon attempt to leap barrier, fall into net; men stationed at each end of net lift it and fish taken out.

194. AW: Use natural stone for net sinker; no groove or perforation.

● 226 227 203. Kl: Used in springtime; dragged by 2 men, in river. Mo: 2 men to operate. AW: Not used; Madesi group on Pit River use it. WT, WM, WS: 1 man to operate. (For sketch see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 127, fig. 5.) WT: Used under falls.

205. Kl: See note 265. At: Not used much.

000 206. See Dixon, Maidu, p. 142, fig. 13; Du Bois, Wintu, p. 127. AW: For trout and suckers. AE: 4-5 grooved stone sinkers attached to bottom of net.

209. See Spier, Klamath, p. 151.

Weirs, scaffolds, pens.--

226 212. Kl: Spier, Klamath, p. 149, says "weirs . . . are unknown to the Klamath"; possibly my informant misunderstood my repeated questioning on this point, but his account of weir with 3 openings, from top of which men speared fish, is too circumstantial to be overlooked. AW: Weirs built across stream on Pit River, below falls at Pit 1 power house; nowhere else in area.

213. AW: Circular "corral" built of rocks, with single opening in center on downstream side.

214. Kl: See note 229.

000 215. SW: 2-3 openings. AW: Refers to corral-shaped weir; see note 213.

219. WT, WM, WS: See Du Bois, Wintu, p. 128, on fishtrap. WT: Willows, as well as rocks, used for converging sides of weir. Trap walls 3 ft. high; back end 3 ft. high and elevated above water ca. 3 ft. WS: Trap of this sort used during midsummer salmon run (see fig., this page; note 282): "as salmon tired and went down-river, caught in this trap." Such trap might be made at Shasta Retreat; men would then proceed up-river to Mossbrae Falls (kenwinispom) near Shasta Springs and sometimes put a lot of green leaves in water, to frighten salmon down-river into trap.

221. SW: In Rogue River, but not in Klamath River.

000 222. By men, women wading, beating water with long poles.

226 223. Kl: At night men sit on top of weir, with circular nets (see element 205); net salmon as they try to jump through openings in weir. MV: Men stand on top of weir, and net or club fish.

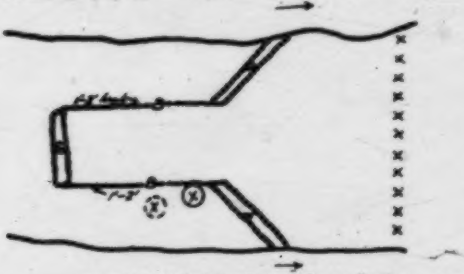

...., people frightening salmon downstream, spearing them; arrows point upstream; A, rock and brush dam; B, fir branches intertwined; C, brush piled up; Ⓧ, man clubbing fish; Ⓧ man to string up fish.

000 226. WT, WS: Salmon house (buki) lacking. WM have salmon house. For description see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 123. WS: Set 2 poles, in form of dipod, in river; rest 1 end of log in fork of dipod, other end on river bank; man stands on this log near dipod end and spears salmon; informant remembered 1 man "who could spear 2 salmon at a time; other men couldn't spear any." This type of scaffold referred to as tokamas.

228. Chalk, generally.

226
823 229. Kl: Stone dams attributed to mythical being. Consist of semicircle of rocks, curving out from bank, then in again toward bank, with opening on downstream end. 2 such semicircles, on opposite sides of Williamson River, W of Chiloquin (not in Klamath Marsh area proper). Men stand inside enclosure, netting fish, which other men frighten into nets. See Spier, Klamath, p. 149. Mo, AW, WT: Made by human beings.

Traps.--

227 230. Kl: Weighted with stone at each end. AE: 6-7 ft. long.

231. AW: Narrow end untied, to take out fish. Catch otters and minnows with this trap, also.

233. See note 219.

234. Mo: Willow pack basket used. NS: Seed beater (patai) used.

Angling.--

235. Kl: Hooks made of sucker's tailbone or of bone shank and 2 bone points (see Spier, Klamath, fig. 10, p. 154) denied by informant. SE: Sing while angling, to make fish swallow hook and keep on line. AW: Before fishing, man swallows food without chewing it, in imitation of fish swallowing hook and line. MM: Quincy MM informant (Maria Hedricks) stated bilateral

[173-B]

227 double-barbed bone hooks used; several tied on long string; 1 end of string tied to bush, other end which had hooks on it, tied around rock; rock thrown far out into stream. Indian Valley MM informant knew nothing of this.

237. Slender piece of bone, 2-3 in. long, ends pointed. Kl: Made of deer bone: baited with minnow; used at night.

238. SW: Meat tied on end of string for crawfish and catfish; line with fish on it drawn up slowly and flat basket shoved underneath fish when they get near surface of water. AW: Same technique used for crawfish. Fishlines dyed red with bark of tree (alder ?), so that fish cannot see line in water.

239. Kl: As many as 10 gorges fastened to line of native twine.

Harpoons, spears.--

241. SW: Rarely used.

246. At: Harpoon used for salmon, but due to scarcity of salmon in streams in area, harpoon used infrequently. AW, WS, NF: Harpoon used for salmon (see notes 219, 282). WS: Harpoon used in connection with scaffold (see note 226).

250. At: 4 points; used to spear trout, mainly, from boats.

253. Kl: Mountain mahogany wood.

258. Kl: Grapple or gaff recent; formerly raised end of spear slowly upward; impaled fish "sometimes came off" and escaped.

Other fishing techniques.--

000 260. SW: In still water of Modoc County; also in Klamath River; boys.

262. AE: Most of fish obtained, secured by this method. Women churn up water in stream after putting plants in it. NF, NS, MV: Soaproot used. AE, WT, MM, NM: Use of soaproot denied. MV: Also use horehound as fish poison. Data on use of turkey mullein (dove weed), manroot, ginsing too unreliable to include, as informants did not know common English names for plants used. WM: Soaproot used in Stillwater area as fish poison, but not in McCloud area, where "river runs too swiftly" to use fish poisons. WS: Soaproot obtained from vicinity of Redding, where plentiful; absent in Upper Sacramento region; not used for fish poison in latter area, although streams not so large as in McCloud area.

226 263. Kl: In spring only, when many fish running. Mo: By women. AW: Done frequently during salmon run at falls on Pit River at site of present Pit 1 power house; not done in any other streams within Achomawi area.

264. SW: Fires built alongside dams; pitch-pine torches used as flares also.

265. Kl: Round-mouthed net (see element 205) "just like a dipper" used in winter, only, to dip up fish through hole in ice. Men pound with poles on top of ice, dance, to frighten the fish. AE: Fish dipped up through hole in ice.

000 267. WS, MM, NF, MV: Club cut from limb of tree.

271. SE: When catching salmon in net, only.

[227] [415] 273. Kl: Twined tule basket, 14 in. high, 24 in. wide at top. Packed on back with pack strap; made, used expressly for carrying fish. Mo: Openwork twined conical willow pack basket used. WT: Willow basket, with small opening at top; widens out at bottom; bottom lined with leaves. Imitation of modern creel? MM, MF: "Use any sort of basket to pack home fish." NS: Pack basket.

Fishing observances.--

278. SE: When catching salmon in net, only. SW: See note 144. AW: Have "medicine" which counteracts any baneful effect. MV: When trapping salmon, do not eat any meat.

279. Mo: First of any species of fish or game youth secures taboo to him; if he ate it he would be "no account, have no luck in future." For salmon specifically, see note 282. At: First fish, game of any species taboo to youth and his parents. For salmon specifically, see note 282. AW: First deer, duck, fish boy kills taboo; also first deer, duck, fish youth catches after he has been sent out on vision quest and obtained vision should not be eaten by him. For salmon specifically, see note 282. At: See note 282. MV: First fish of any variety secured by youth treated same as first game (see note 137).

280. MM, NM, NS, MV: First sucker caught by youth taboo to him also; denied by MF, NF.

[226] 282. Kl: No salmon in Klamath Marsh, but abundant elsewhere in area; run in spring. Suckers, etc., abundant in marsh area. Mo: Mullet, trout chiefly, available in Tule Lake; no salmon. SE: Salmon plentiful in area; first salmon caught with line, after which salmon can be speared. SW: Salmon abundant in area. Shasta do nothing with first salmon they catch, but before they begin fishing, first salmon is caught down-river from them, by "a man who was raised at Hamburg [i.e., who belonged to Kammatwa group, a small buffer group between the Shasta proper and the Karuk, on the Klamath River; see Dixon, Shasta, p. 388, and Kroeber, Karok Towns, pp. 36-37]. Formerly he [Kammatwa man] caught this salmon in spring, at beginning of 'summer salmon' run; he used certain plants available at this season for rite. Perhaps he ate head, only, of this first salmon. Now, however, summer salmon run in September, and plants needed for rite are dried up by then." After this rite had been performed at Hamburg, the Shasta can catch summer salmon, dry and store them, but cannot eat them. Before they can eat fresh salmon, the Karuk down-river have to have given the White Deerskin dance (kuwarik - Shasta name). Shasta attend this dance as spectators; Shasta men avoid hunting at this time, so they will not see smoke from fire on mountains, which is built at beginning of dance. Previous to White Deerskin dance, the Shasta cannot catch or eat steelhead (rainbow

[174-B]

000 trout); see note 284. At: Not many salmon in Hat Creek; occasionally a good run. AW: Salmon ascend Pit River as far as falls at site of Pit 1 power house, in Achomawi area (see Kniffen, Achomawi, map 1). Trout, suckers, catfish, bass also found within area. AE: No salmon; very few streams, creeks; fish scarce. WT: Salmon in area. When salmon begin running, if couple have pubescent daughter following rite held so couple can eat salmon. Young men catch salmon; take it to home of old man "who uses cane"; this old man may be adolescent girl's grandfather. Old man's wife cooks the first fish, then old man prays over it for short time, facing sun and leaning on his cane; after this everyone present, except girl(s) nearing puberty, eats this first fish. For other salmon caught after first run, no prayers of this sort. Rite restricted to parents of girls entering puberty, not general practice. WM: Salmon plentiful in area. If leave first salmon in basket overnight, will not catch any more. WS: Salmon in area. No rites over first salmon, but in middle of summer, during July, people start fishing at nodalčohipom (Castle Crag depot, 5 mi. S of Dunsmuir) and fish up Sacramento River to Shasta Retreat across river from Dunsmuir. At every village on the way they dance; stay 3-5 days at each place; young people dance, "just for a good time at night as they make this trip; old people sleep. It takes them 2-3 weeks to make this trip; there may be 200-300 people on it. Camp at 3-5 different locations on way." MM: Few salmon in area; other varieties fish more abundant. MF: Salmon in area, more abundant. NF: No salmon nearer than Yuba River; sometimes go there to spear, net salmon. First salmon cooked, eaten at "dinner" by all. Salmon plentiful in Feather River, but NF group never went there to fish as this was in "another country." NM: No salmon or suckers in area; never go to Yuba River or Sacramento Valley to fish. Small fish, only, found in creeks in area; no large rivers in area; little emphasis on fishing, which is pursued in main with small flat gill net. NS: Salmon obtainable within area, in American River. No salmon caught until certain time in summer; first fish cooked, divided and eaten by all members of community, "for good luck." No comparable rite for any other variety of fish. MV: Salmon plentiful; first-salmon rite similar to first-acorn rite (see note 313).

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787
283. Kl: In spring old man (not shaman) catches first 2 suckers with nets at certain spot on Williamson River and throws them, alive, into fire which has been built on flat surface of deeply embedded rock near river. Fish burnt to foretell season's luck; "if they roll around when thrown in the fire, the people will have lots of fish; if they die quickly, quietly, there won't be many fish." Men, women, children gather at rock where rite held (only 1 place where this is done in whole of Kl area) and eat

226 787 first catch of suckers on spot. "If they don't eat it all up there, people won't catch any more suckers." After these observances, all suckers caught can be transported home to be eaten, dried.

284. SW: Wait until Karuk give White Deerskin dance at end of July before eating steelhead (rainbow trout); if any steelheads caught in salmon net before Karuk dance given, they must be thrown back into river. Fishermen who disregard this rule are in danger of being killed.

292. NF: "Dreamer" or singing shaman.

294. Kl: First 2 suckers.

296. SW: First run taboo to adolescent girls.

226 689 299. Kl: Old man in charge of rite tells youth, "Don't you pack those fish home on the first day; eat well; don't carry them around, or break their backbones." If youth disobeys, sticks bound from wrist to shoulder on boy's arms, and then bent upward and broken, thus breaking boy's arms at elbow; boy sometimes died. Any of old men present administer this punishment.

300. WM: See note 282.

Gathering

000 Gathering techniques and observances.--

300a. See note 357. AW: Pick up acorns from ground by hand; do not beat trees.

300b. Used to bend down limbs within hand's reach. MV: Obtained pine nuts at Lookout (in MF area); man intending to go for such, continent night before he starts. To obtain pine cones, he climbs tree, hooks branches with staff, cuts off cones.

301. Used to bend down limbs.

302. Used for whipping, knocking acorns and pine cones off limbs.

306. Branches left on pole, to serve as footholds. SW: Wrap grapevine around fir pole, or leave limbs on pole for footholds. AW: Native twine wrapped around sapling for foothold; limb left on sapling at upper end to serve as hook; pole hooked onto upper branches of tree, as climber progresses upward.

[222 824] 308. Kl, SW: Made of mountain mahogany.

311. SW: Iron bar across top end. AE: Use crutch-handled type mostly, but sometimes plain bipointed one as well.

312. Mo: Break or pull up entire plant of lamb's-quarters, pile plants on bare hard ground, and beat out seeds with long straight stick.

313. NS: Prepare meal for group, when first batch of any wild fruit gathered. Example, for manzanita berries, make large quantity of cider with first gathered berries, all drink. MV: Headman goes out and tests acorns for ripeness; tells people when they are ripe. His wife then goes out, secures 1 pack-basketful of acorns; dries them, and in about 6 days she is able to make 2 baskets of acorn mush from them. These she takes into assembly house; there members of secret society pray over mush and eat it; then everyone can go out and gather acorns.

[175-B]

Dress

Headgear, robes.--

291 1713. Kl: Brim on men's caps, painting of men's
[184] caps, denied for Klamath Marsh groups (see Spier, Klamath, pp. 182-183). WT: "Worn at Willow Creek [Hupa] and on McCloud River [WM], but not among WT." WM: Upriver people [WS] give WM women basket caps occasionally.

1715. See Spier, Klamath, fig. 13,c, p. 180. Specimen of Kl woman's basket cap shown to all informants to verify this element.

1718. AW: If man wears basket cap, he is ridiculed. AE: Never worn by men.

1723. Worn in winter. SE: Feathers attached
000 to it. AW: Brimless.

1726. SW: Worn habitually by men to keep hair down, as women wear basket cap. Not used for packing, as men pack on shoulders.

1729. WM: In war, or war dance; covered with duck skins.

1730. SW: Used by shamans, but not by ordinary persons, except for dances (see element 1943). MV: Tule band to keep hair back.

1734. SW: "Goes with Big Head dance."

[226] 1735. Kl: Tule mat (ste'holas) 3 ft. wide,
[292] 4-5 ft. long, used when fishing in daytime on ice; fisherman covers head with mat "to make it dark underneath so that he can see into the water plainly." At: Tule eyeshade woven, "like blinders"; projected from each side of wearer's head; tied on by band around head. Informant's husband used such when fishing for trout in boat at night so light would not get into his eyes.

1736. Mo: Charcoal mixed with pitch.

1737. MV: Used commonly in cold weather, especially by women when outside pounding food.

1741. At: Used in rainy weather by few people only.

[291] 1743. Kl, WS, MM: Worn thus by men and women. Mo, At, AW, MF, NM: By men only. SE, WT, WM: By women only. (See note 1744.)

1744. SE, WT, WM, NM: Worn thus by men. At, AW, AE, MF: By women.

1747. AW: N of "real" Achomawi, group at Dany (Suk'mawi) use bearskin caps. But "real Achomawi were river Indians; they stayed around the rivers, fished; every man had a canoe, and belonged to the river. They went out [hunting] for a little while, then returned to the river."

1749. Mo: Puma "costly" robe.

1750. SE: Beaver hides. WS: Worn by men and women.

Shirts and gowns.--

1751. SW: For everyday wear women's dress consists of 2 whole buckskins, seamed up both sides, tied over both shoulders.

291 1752. Kl: Bought women's buckskin dresses from
439 Molala, NW of the Kl, and the Warm Springs In-
177 dians. "The Molala made them, the Kl bought them, and learned how to make them. That was quite a long time ago, about 90 years; long before the

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

172 the eruption of Mount Mazama created Crater Lake and strewed
133 its pumice in thick beds over the countryside, some 6,500 years
ago, they had long been in occupation.[3]

K Here, with the passage of time, the peoples later to receive
M the names of Klamath and Modoc began to take on their present
101 way of life. Their cultural position was at once peripheral and
172 strategic, for they lay at the boundaries of the emergent cultural
provinces of the Great Basin, the Plateau, and California, and though they stemmed fundamentally from the Great Basin, they were also subject to influences flowing from California and the Plateau. Consistent with their relative geographical position and ecological resources, the Modoc diverged toward California and the Klamath toward the Plateau; and when in turn the influences of the North Pacific Coast—extending from southern Alaska to northern California—reached them, it was again the Klamath who were somewhat more receptive. Despite their differences, the
K two peoples retained a substantial common base: they spoke
M dialects of the same language and felt their political separation
101 to have been a recent event.[4]

197 Indeed, the linguistic evidence is consonant with a long autochthonous development within this region. Klamath-Modoc finds its closest linguistic congeners within the Plateau, in Cayuse, Molala, and the northern Sahaptin Tenino, Klickitat, Yakima, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Nez Percé. Taken together, these languages are seen as more distantly related to others spoken in Western Oregon and in the Sacramento-San Joaquin drainage of California, and like them are assigned to the Penutian phylum.[5] (See Map of Tribal Distribution in Oregon.)

K For the Klamath, the dominant features of their landscape were
133 the marshes and streams, with their rich resources of fish, mussels,
• 226 and waterfowl. Their winter settlements, fringing the shores in
361 settled places, were located where fish could be caught most of
433 the year, clustered densely upon Klamath Marsh and the eastern
shore of Agency and Upper Klamath lakes, extending down to Link River. They lay as well upon the Williamson River which runs in a bow some sixty miles, passing through the Marsh to empty into Upper Klamath Lake, and upon its eastern tributary,
M the Sprague. In their more open country to the south, the Modoc
133 were less favored and less open to influences from fishing peoples,
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224
433

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

Families K

eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food M 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [412]
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K M
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [364]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K M
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M 221 756 796

K

many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit M 756
and compelling in its demands. 796

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and K
serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and M 221
the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, 261
housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social [356]
bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take
pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or K
the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily cur- M [574]
tailed and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans [685]
who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still [756]
conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers. [796]

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating [789]
hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will K M
not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, 261
they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to 22
gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer
of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance
of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the deli- K
cate odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. M 221
Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied 361
through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The
decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to re-
maining in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. K
The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, M [501]
where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the
household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the
pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already,
in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and
Sprague.

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted K 226
the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, 823
which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost K
River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, M
where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, 226
catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream 103
tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers 648

[Klamath Reservation]

K M draws upland Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute and gives to the
226 nearby settlement, the easternmost of the permanent villages of
103 the Klamath, the name, "Sucker-fishery." Others make their way
648 K to stone weirs, built, it is said, by Gmukamps himself, or to the
M lakes to fish with a variety of dip nets, gill net baskets, the two-
226 pronged harpoon and the multibarbed spear. At night, men set
forth in canoes upon the lake to fish by torchlight. Set lines are
K put out infrequently. While the men catch the fish—suckers,
M [251] salmon, and trout—their wives work ceaselessly, splitting them
and laying them in the sun to dry.

K Released from the protracted confinement to the winter settle-
M ments, tribesmen eagerly renew bonds with relatives and friends
221 from other villages. Related families may rendezvous to travel
222 together down to the fisheries and set up their lodges side by
[571] side. Then, as spring advances and the runs of suckers and
[602] salmon abate, the fishing settlements break up and parties of
[226] two or three families fan out along the flats and meadows to dig
[103] roots: the succulent camas, the nutlike ipos, yans, and the arrow-
root for which Chewaucan Marsh is named. In the watery flats
they seek the roots of tule and cattail; elsewhere they pick wild
K celery and mosses. There are the eggs of swan and other water-
M fowl to gather; trout in the streams to be caught; and for the
22 Modoc, antelope and mountain sheep to hunt. At this time, some
[361] areas are occupied that at other times are too cold or barren.

K If there is danger of hostile attack, the parties coalesce; and
M under all circumstances they maintain a wary lookout. In the
22 226 north small bands make cautious excursions into the upper valley
of the Deschutes, watchful for raiding parties of Cayuse, Nez
K Percés, Warm Springs, and Paiute. Toward the east, Sycan and
M Chewaucan marshes are dug over by Klamath and Paiute. Fré-
222 mont once found the latter tract furrowed as if it had been
252 plowed. In many places the stone-lined earth ovens in which
camas and other vegetal foods were baked for winter storage
can still be seen.

K As the long summer days wear on, the pond-lily seeds, known
M as wokas, begin to ripen on the marshes, and once more the
221 people draw together. The Modoc congregate especially along
222 Tule and Lower Klamath Lake, while some join the Klamath
648 on Wokas Marsh. Many Klamath, together with a few Modoc

employees built a substantial bridge about 100 yards in length 657*
across the Williamson River, on which they propose to collect 177
toll. This will support several families."[55] Nothing more is heard 434
of the venture and subsequent work on bridges and roads took on [499]
a public character. A few women occasionally sold baskets and [494]
berries, and older Indians, generally women, were sometimes [462]
issued cinch rings and wove cinches as a means of support.[56]

Fur trapping provided an early source of income for some 657*
men.[57] At first, beaver, marten, and otter were especially sought, 177
and the available catch soon became depleted. By 1882, the 434
Klamath were turning to panther, bear, wolf, and coyote, preda- 224
tors which Nickerson claimed discouraged them from raising sheep. "The Indians," he reported, "now hunt them for their fur and receive quite an income from hunting and killing them."[58] Carried on over the late fall and winter months, the fur trade realized a total of $300.00 for those who followed it.[59] By 1891, however, the revenue from trapping was on the decline.[60]

NATIVE FOODS

In the original designs of the government, farming and other 657*
"civilized" enterprises were supposed to supplant such ab- 648*
original pursuits as fishing, hunting, and gathering. From the 433
Agent's viewpoint, the retention of native subsistence methods presented two major disadvantages. Not only did the traditional occupations coincide in season with farming, but they drew the Indians from under the direct surveillance of the Agency, and even off the reservation. The issuance of rations, though designed to provide a substitute during the transitional period, was restricted as much as possible, in order to allow more funds for other purposes.

It is clear from the graphic descriptions of the early Agents 657*
that they were well aware of the Indians' strong reliance upon 648*
native foods. The fish in Lost River, observed Dyar, ran from 433
two to four weeks earlier than in the streams within the reserve. 226 •
By late winter even the supplies of rations had been exhausted, and the Klamath eagerly awaited the news from the south. "If the Indians are not allowed to go to Lost River in the Spring," O. C. Applegate had pointed out, "then they will have to be subsisted during the month of March."[61] The Lost River fishery 657*
178
226

*657 continued to be exploited for fifty years, until the owners of the
177 abutting land put an end to it. On the reservation, the Sprague
• 226 and Williamson continue to supply a catch, although the drying
[251] of fish for the winter, common enough on the Lower End until
about thirty years ago, has now passed into disuse.

*657 Similarly root gathering continued to be an important activity
178 for many years, leading Nickerson to suggest that several of the
177 palatable and nourishing roots used by the Indians for food
222 "could be materially improved by continued cultivation."[62] "Root
[412] probes," or "camas diggers," as well as "fish spears" and fish
[227] hooks were forged by Agency blacksmiths for years.[63]

Wokas long remained a staple for the Klamath. In 1881 Nickerson,
*657 noting that each family gathered some five to fifteen bushels,
178 added "this wokus, with dried fish, forms a large portion of the
222 food of those who have not the money with which to purchase
262 flour and groceries."[64] About the turn of the century, Coville observed a thriving wokas-gathering industry with a vast expanse of marsh to exploit, and speculated on the possibility of processing the seed commercially as a breakfast food.[65] The decline of wokas gathering parallels in time the Indian's diminishing use of dried fish, another winter food.

*657 A similar course can be traced for those fall activities, hunting
177 and berrying. From at least 1872, Indians were reported leaving
178 the reservation in September to hunt and gather berries in the
222 Cascades.[66] In addition, the men on occasion went on a spring
224 hunt for antelope and mule deer at the north end of the reservation.[67] Gradually the fall berrying and hunting came to be concentrated at the "huckleberry patch" on Huckleberry Mountain, southwest of Crater Lake. Hunting has continued to be both a sport and a means of providing food; and if the preparation of jerky has declined, it is because the freezer has displaced it.
[251] The drying of berries and wild fruits has been rendered obsolete by canning. There is local testimony that the killing off of predators by fur hunters and stock raisers has caused an increase of deer upon the reservation itself. It is not infrequent for a single family to consume six to fifteen or more deer in the course of a year. One tribal leader from the Upper End, a man then less than forty years of age, remarked in 1958 that until his family

*648

*657 missiveness. Their ranches often took on the appearance of rural
464 slums, and were the scenes of drinking parties and brawls.
433 Economically profitable or not, ranching constituted the most
233 common occupation for those who were employed. It offered special advantages. The land was usually an inherited allotment and, together with cattle and improvements, was often nontaxable. Outdoor work with livestock was a familiar activity; it permitted considerable latitude to the farmer in adjusting his routine. There was space to live.

*648 Whether dwelling in town or on a ranch, tribal members
*657 continued to seek native foods; but these activities had come to
433 occupy a different place in their lives. Men of all ages still fished
22 and hunted; many families still gathered huckleberries; and
262 elderly women at least continued to dig for the succulent roots
177 of ipos and camas and to gather wokas. The latter foods, how-
178 ever, were sought as cherished delicacies, now rare; while journeys to the berry fields assumed the character of an outing. Much of the fishing had acquired a strongly sportive aspect and was carried on by angling. Only the spearing of mullet during the spring runs and the hunting of deer and waterfowl seriously served food demands. The larger game animals, which had figured in only a small way in Klamath diet and played a more important role among the Modoc, had become abundant upon the reservation as ranchers killed off predators. Tribal members often hunted them from a car or spotlighted them at night. Waterfowl were often shot as they sat upon the water. Fifteen deer would see a household through the year; and a number of Klamath families met all their meat requirements by hunting and fishing, being content to buy an occasional cut in town to add variety to their diet.

*648 "Meat hunting" thus continued to ignore sportive conventions,
*657 although fishing had in part given way to them. At the same
224 time, individual Klamath were wont to play with those conven-
226 tions by entering contests for the biggest buck or rainbow; and
181 they delighted in underscoring white failures to abide by their own standards of sportsmanship. For the Klamath, hunting and fishing possessed particular virtue as an attribute of an Indian estate. The ability to pursue fish and game without regard to season was a signal right cherished by the Indians and valued

as well by envious whites. Indeed, prominent among the local 648*
advantages which white residents stated bound them to Chilo- 657*
quin were the advantages offered by the reservation for hunting 224
and fishing. At the same time, the whites tended to regard those 226
pursuits as no more than recreational avocations; and if the 181
Klamath were sometimes credited with inherent aptitudes for the chase, they were also looked down upon for devoting so much time to "play," and for ignoring, as many did, the white canons of sportsmanship.

Conflicting viewpoints were likewise evinced in the relation- 648*
ships of tribal members seen as consumers. While there were 657*
wide differences in actual behavior both among and between 571
whites and Indians, relationships came often to be governed by
stereotypes. This was particularly so in the larger communities, [621]
in instances in which individuals were not personally known to [184]
each other.

Those relationships were in fact strongly conditioned by the 648*
peculiar status of the tribal members who relied upon per capitas 657*
for their income. Few Klamath on the reservation had ever 434
banked money, and the absence of a bank in Chiloquin since the 571
depression, or in any other reservation town, made necessary 452
the institution of a credit system.[13] Since much Indian property [453]
was held in trust by the government, which thus could not be advanced as security, merchants had to rely heavily upon a knowledge of the individual in advancing credit. Reservation stores resorted to a credit system to compete with the businesses in Klamath Falls, and through a more intimate acquaintance with tribal members could assess the risk more skillfully than those—particularly the newcomers—in the county seat. At the same time, the expense of operating such a system was one of the factors in advancing prices in reservation stores. Thus merchants, who not infrequently did their own private shopping in Klamath Falls, were galled to see tribal customers, whom they had carried on credit, patronizing competitors in the larger city as soon as they had received their per capitas.

In attempting to collect outstanding debts, merchants could 648*
not count upon the Superintendents, but had to resort to moral 657*
suasion and threaten to cut off further credit. Some Superinten- 434
dents did assist in bringing pressure to bear upon delinquent 452

857 far. Some contests utilize a stationary target. 526 In others, arrows and darts are shot at a rolling ring. The rings used by boys are smaller than the men's.

868 Boys soon learn to make their own willow darts for the games, are proud of them, and often decorate them by wrapping green tules [531] around them in designs. The darts are then blackened in the fire and the tules unwrapped, leaving white markings where the tules had been. Such negative pyrographic patterns are common on canoe poles and paddles. Girls similarly decorate sticks "just for fun"; they do not enter into the dart contests. The boys do not learn to make their own bows and arrows until puberty or after.

Training in the techniques of fishing, gathering, hunting, and various manufactures be- [262] gins in late childhood. The principal food of the Klamath is fish, but vegetable products and game are also used. The spring, summer, and 221 fall months are spent in travel for the seasonal food supply. Early spring sees a move to fishing grounds along the river. In the summer, families move to the prairies for roots and berries. Some go to the mountains to hunt. In August and September families congregate to gather the wild water-lily seed along the marshes. In the fall there are hunts, and all return to the winter villages where they will remain through the coldest months of the year.[23]

226 The first sucker run in the spring is of special significance and attended by ritual and 868 taboo.[24] Small children are warned to stay away from the river, lest they get sick. The first catch is divided among all; the entrails are carefully gathered up and thrown back into the river to insure the continued abundance of fish. It is the children who are sent with the entrails to the proper spot on the river. [251] While the men continue fishing, the women clean and dry the fish for winter storage. Girls of eight or nine help their mothers by collecting willow branches and arranging the fish on them to dry.

After the first run, the restrictions are relaxed. Children are then allowed to gather along the banks and watch, so long as they do not bother the men. Boys help by dipping fish out of the water by hand and by scaring fish toward the nets; but they do not work with the nets, which take at least two full-grown men to handle.

868 Spears are also used for taking fish. Boys 226 of ten or older are taken out by their fathers into shallow water to learn how to watch for the air bubbles that indicate the presence of fish. The father shows the boy how to impale the victim on a many-pointed spear and finally lift it from the water with a single-pointed gaff. For

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[23] Spier, pp. 10 f.

[24] Varieties of fish caught, fishing techniques, and customs connected with fishing are treated in Barrett (1910), pp. 249-251, Spier, pp. 147-155, and Voegelin, elements 190-300.

[p.347-B]

226 868 large fish, there is a harpoon with two detachable heads; the boy learns its use after he has mastered the other spears. Fish are often speared at night by torchlight. Here again it is the father who instructs the boy.

[227] Fish are also taken in a triangular dip net used from the bow of a canoe. This net is large and cumbersome, so that only a strong adult is able to manipulate it when full of fish. Younger fellows of ten or so help by beating their canoe paddles against the side of the boat to scare the fish toward the net. If they are in shallow water near the shore, the paddles are slapped against the tules. Often, a boy paddles the canoe while his father handles the net in the bow.

Line fishing is not of great importance, but this method is sometimes used and is often the first method a boy learns (usually by himself or from older boys); it is also the only one at which women occasionally help. There are at least two varieties of bone hook which are attached to a nettle-fiber line. Boys catch crawfish in their hands to use as bait.

227 887 The manufacture of nets is an important winter occupation of the old men and a few old women. Both men and women twist the nettle fiber into twine. Children like to watch the net making because they enjoy listening to the old people gossip or argue about how many months remain before the spring fish run. However, the children never help with this process. A fully grown man learns to manufacture nets from the old men. The manufacture of fish spears and harpoons is also left to mature men.

501 868 Before taking part in certain types of fishing, boys must know how to handle the canoes. This same ability is required for girls before they can go after water-lily seeds. Most families have two or more dugout canoes of varying lengths, which can be propelled by either pole or paddle.[35]

[857] Riding in canoes is not a new experience to the child, for infants on cradleboards are taken out in them. Older children often go out with their mother or father and sit or stand in one end of the canoe. The boat is apt to be unstable, and the child is warned not to tip it by moving around.

Parents need not urge children to learn how to handle a canoe, for they are all eager to do so. As one man put it, "Nowadays every kid wants to have a car. It used to be like that with canoes." Indeed, children sometimes "borrowed" canoes when no adults were present.

> The women were all out getting wokas so another girl and I took my aunt's extra canoe. I didn't know now to work the pole. I held onto the end of it and kept pushing till I almost fell over the edge of the canoe. Some people came by in another canoe

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[35] See Coville (1897), p. 89; idem (1904), p. 728; Barrett, pp. 247 f.; Spier, pp. 169-171; and Voegelin, elements 858-895.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

M clusion of almost everything else. The seeds of this plant,
K gathered and preserved in three different manners, as described
13 in detail by Coville,[a] form the staple article of food and thus
correspond to acorns used over the greater part of California. About Tule or Rhett lake and the smaller lakes of that vicinity there are fewer marshes and consequently a smaller supply of the water-lily. Thus the Modoc were much less abundantly supplied with this staple than were the Klamath, who are said to have had on Klamath marsh alone over ten thousand acres of these plants. The chief vegetable food of the Modoc seems to have been tubers and bulbs, notably camass and ipos.

M The extensive lakes of this region naturally bring great num-
K bers of water birds of various kinds, including swans, geese,
136 ducks, and wading birds, the majority of which were used by the
Indians as food and in various ways. The skins of swans, geese, and other birds with especially fine down, were made into feather blankets, swaddling clothes, etc. Fish were abundant in the lakes, salmon and salmon trout being especially esteemed by
M the Indians. The presence of this large supply of water birds
K and fish developed certain specialized implements for their cap-
223 ture. For taking birds there were what may be termed a ring-
M pointed arrow, and a special net. There were several methods
K of taking fish, the most important being by the large triangular
226 dip-net used in the dug-out canoe, as shown in pl. 10.
501 The country provided also an abundance of the usual animals,
M such as deer, elk, antelope, and others used for food; and coyotes,
K gray wolves, foxes, badgers, wildcats, rabbits, and various fur-
136 bearing animals furnishing blankets and clothing.
237

BUILDINGS.

M The houses of the Klamath and Modoc were of two kinds. In
K this region where the snow on the higher peaks is always in
342 sight, and where it often reaches a depth of several feet in winter,
[133] a warm and durable house is necessary. This was provided by
[132] the semi-subterranean earth lodge, which was of the usual central
California form, and had a pit from a foot to three or four feet

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[113] [a] Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians, Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Institution, 1902, 727-739.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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Modoc NS17

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Klamath and Modoc, though a noose set in a trail was sometimes K
used for deer. For taking the many species of water birds which 224
are so abundant about the lakes, there were several interesting M
devices. The most specialized and unusual of these is an arrow
made with a cane shaft and a point of mountain-mahogany. An K
ordinary wood-pointed arrow tends to go directly into the water 223
at the angle at which it strikes the surface. A small ring, usually of sinew and pitch, but sometimes carved out of the foreshaft itself, being placed near the point, the arrow is deflected upward as it strikes the water, and skips along over the surface so that it is likely to kill at least one out of a flock of birds. The two forms of hunting arrows, the plain wood-pointed and the ring-pointed, together with the ordinary unbacked wooden bow and the tule quiver, are shown in pl. 20.

A long narrow net stretched in an upright position near the surface of the water is used in the capture of ducks and other water birds. As a flock of birds swims or flies into this net it is let down by men on the shore who hold the ropes which keep the upper edge of the net taut. By paddling out in a canoe the birds which are entangled in the meshes may be easily removed. As another means of taking large numbers of birds two men go out in a canoe at night and erect a large triangular net on the prow. A fire is kindled toward the middle of the canoe and the bright light causes the birds to fly from various directions toward the net.

The many-pointed fish spear, to be described later, is also used to a limited extent in the capture of water birds. They are speared from the canoe as they dive through the water.

FISHING IMPLEMENTS. M

For fishing a number of specialized implements are used. The K
dug-out canoe (pl. 10),[a] while it is not used exclusively for 226
fishing, is an absolute necessity to a fisherman's life. The dug-
out is made from a log, usually fir, since the knots in the fir are M
much more durable and will not come out as do the knots in K
pine and cedar. The canoe is simply a log hollowed out by burn-
ing and adzing, and with the bottom sloping upward at an angle 501
at each end. The angle of the slope at the prow is considerably

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[a] See also Coville, *op cit.*, pl. 4, 5.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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Modoc NS17

interlaced under the surface with the strong large roots of the M
water-lily. A pole of varying length is employed on these K
marshes and wherever there is occasion to travel over shallow 501
water. The lower end of this pole is split for from four to six 222
inches, and the two prongs thus made are turned sharply apart [133]
so that the angle between them is often as great as forty-five degrees. In this angle is set a small bar of bone or hard wood, thus making a cross-bar near the tips of the prongs. In pushing through the soft mud, the pole, on account of its split end, usually does not sink far before it strikes one of the strong roots of the water-lily, which then bears the stress of poling. Even if the pole does not strike a water-lily root, it sinks into the mud much less readily because of its split end.[7]

One of the most interesting devices connected with fishing is M
the large triangular dip-net used on the open water of the lakes K
or the larger deep streams. This net is used on a pair of poles 226 •
held apart by a cross-bar near the vertex of the angle formed by them. The net itself is attached to the poles at the sides and to this cross-bar at the rear, the tips of the poles being connected by a strong string upon which the front of the net is fastened. The method of manipulating this net is shown in the series of figures in pl. 10. Only one man appears in these illustrations, but usually two men go out to fish, one sitting in the stern of the canoe and paddling, the other in the prow and manipulating the net. While the net is being dipped, the fisherman in the stern paddles quite rapidly along and makes a great noise, swishing the water back and forth in order to scare the fish near the stern toward the prow. He also has a couple of short sticks with which, just before the net is to be raised, he drums upon the sides of the canoe in order to frighten as many as possible of the fish toward the prow. The fisherman in the prow finally raises the poles and brings up the net, placing the angle at which the poles meet under the prow of the boat, which, as has been stated, has a long, flat, upward slope. The cross-bar of the net poles is slipped over the top of the prow so as to prevent the points of the poles from falling back into the water. In this manner the points of the poles project from the prow like two great horns. Their

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[7] Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 4.

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tips are several feet from the surface of the water, so that the fish are prevented from jumping over the sides of the net and into free water. The man in the prow then hauls in the net, which tapers to a long pyramidal point. As he hauls the net in, it is laid over on the poles to the sides of the prow until finally the point of the net is reached. Here the fish are at last gathered together. It is then a simple matter to take them from the net and throw them either into the bottom of the boat itself or into coarse tule baskets made for the purpose. These baskets of tule are of two forms: a long canoe-shaped basket and the ordinary circular straight-walled basket like that shown in pl. 14, fig. 4. To manipulate a large net of this type, a canoe not less than sixteen or eighteen feet in length is required. Another net of this same type, but smaller dimensions, is used in a similar manner on the more shallow streams or in the shallow water of the lake.

A small gill-net of very fine string is also used. This is weighted with elliptical sinkers of stone and floated with small tule floats similar to those used in parts of northwestern California. This net is stretched across a stream, or may even be used in the shallower waters of the lake. Usually however its use is restricted to streams at times when the fish are running. It is used only for small species of fish. Still another form of net used in the smaller streams is a dip-net with a pole and circular hoop. This is ordinarily used from the bank, but may also be used from a canoe. It is employed in taking small fish such as suckers.

The string most used in this region is made of fiber from the bark of the nettle. A brown milkweed string is also made, but is little used. All string is two-ply. Nets are made with a very long slender shuttle (pl. 22, fig. 11), on mesh-sticks of various sizes, depending upon the kind of net desired. A small mesh-stick is shown in figure 7 of the same plate.

Fish are also taken with hook and line. The main part of the line is of the gray nettle string, but the brown milkweed string, which is said to be somewhat stronger and also less visible in the water, is used as a sort of leader. Fish-hooks are of two forms, both of bone. The smaller is a straight piece of bone pointed at both ends and attached to the line by means of sinew and pitch at the middle. Such a hook with a fish-line as above described is shown in pl. 22, fig. 3. A small fish or some fish eggs are used as bait, being placed so as to completely cover the bar of bone. The other form of hook is a bone shank with two bone points, pl. 22, fig. 6. The two points form angles of twenty-five or thirty degrees with the shank. The three pieces of bone are secured one to another by means of sinew and pitch. This hook is used chiefly in fishing for large fish such as salmon and salmon trout, and is baited with minnows.

Three different kinds of fish spears are used. The ordinary harpoon with two detachable heads is found here and resembles in all respects the harpoon of the Californian peoples, except that the detachable points are not barbed as is the case in the greater part of California. The point, which is of bone, simply fits directly onto the end of the foreshaft with a plain socket, there being no barbs or other means of turning the point as the fish is gigged. The toggle-head is thrust completely through the fish so that the detachable point will slip off and turn at right angles, for it is attached at its middle to the string which holds it. A pair of such points are shown in plate 22, fig. 4. An unusual form of fish spear is also found. This consists of an ordinary pole handle with from half a dozen to fifteen hard wood points. These are held out in conical form by means of a small hoop which is placed inside of the cone and to which each of the hard wood points is securely bound. The use of this spear is chiefly for suckers and such other sluggish fish as are found in shallow water on the bottom of the lake. Since the water in these places is usually more or less muddy, it is impossible to see the bottom, but as the fish lies on the bottom bubbles arise from time to time, and the fisherman, having determined the approximate locality of the fish from these bubbles, carefully lowers this many-pointed spear to within a foot or even a few inches of the supposed location of the fish. Suddenly he jabs the spear and pins the fish to the bottom. With a second spear, provided nowadays with a double-pointed barbed iron head, he pierces the fish and brings it up.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 10.

● 226 Fig. 1.—Large triangular dip net at rest in canoe.

227 Fig. 2.—Net being dipped.

501 Fig. 3.—Net being raised.

Fig. 4.—Frame of net being fixed at prow of canoe preparatory to gathering in the net.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
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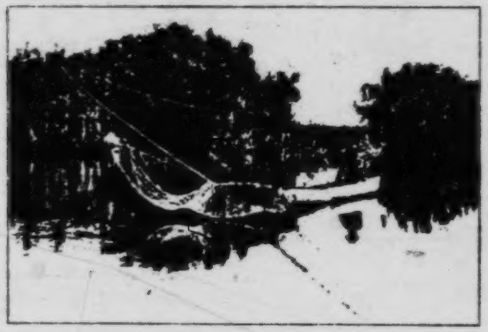

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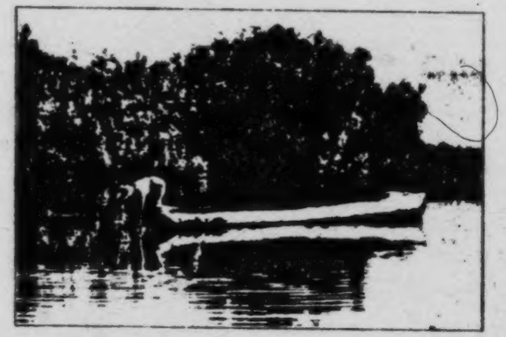

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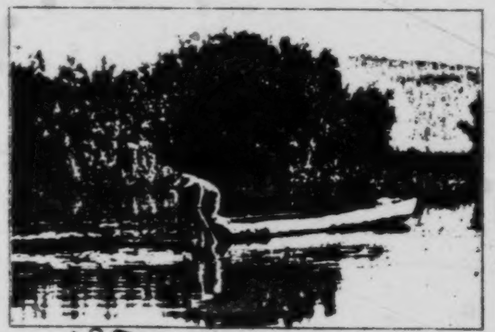

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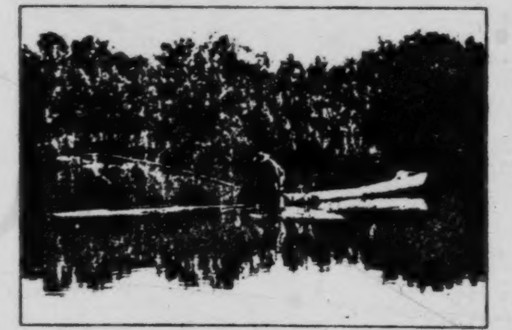

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CANOE AND DIP-NET.

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Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common 101
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 177
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the
reservation's population. 162

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy, [184]
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present [224]
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly 648
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties:
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an artificial [829]
construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would 178
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-residence
with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been transferred 648
to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural [241]
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber industry [511]
has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

773 As a result of their seclusion, all their geogonic and creation myths are
[776] acting around the headwaters of Klamath River and in Lost River Valley,
and the first man is said to have been created by their national deity,
K'mukámtchiksh, at the base of the lofty Cascade Range, upon the prairie
drained by Wood River. I have obtained no myth disclosing any knowledge
of the ocean, which is scarcely one hundred and fifty miles distant in
an air line from their seats. They have no flood or inundation myths that
[192] are not imported from abroad; and what is of special importance here, their
terms for *salt* (ā'dak, shŏ'lt) are *not their own*, but are derived from foreign
languages.

173 There is an animal story embodied in the Texts, page 131, forming
773 No. II of the "Spell of the Laughing Raven," containing the sentence:
"Hereupon the Klamath Lake people began fighting the Northerners." I
believed at first that this contained a historic reminiscence of some intertribal
war, but now am rather doubtful about it. The song 192; 1 was
supposed by some Indians to be a very old reminiscence, while others
referred it to the presence of the Warm Spring scouts in the Modoc war.

I conclude from the foregoing facts that historic traditions do not exist
among these mountaineer Indians. If there are any, I was unable to obtain
000 them. The racial qualities of the Modocs, and still more those of the
É-ukshikni, indicate a closer resemblance with Oregonians and Columbia
River tribes than with Shoshonians and Californians.

B. ARCHÆOLOGIC REMAINS.

211 The Klamath people have not evinced any more propensity for erecting
monuments of any kind than they have for perpetuating the memory
[346] of their ancestors in song or tradition. In fact, structures the probable
[226] age of which exceeds one hundred years are very few. Among these may
be particularized the three ceremonial sweat-lodges and perhaps some of
the river-barrages, intended to facilitate the catch of fish, if they should
turn out to be of artificial and not of natural origin. In the Lost River
172 Valley is a well, claimed by Modocs to be Aishish's gift—probably one of
312 the large natural springs or wélwash which are seen bubbling up in so
many places upon the reservation Stephen Powers reports that near the

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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THE MONTHS OF THE YEAR.

OBTAINED FROM "PETE" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

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226 251 Gáptsatka É-ukshikni mák̲laks páha udsáks; lúela kápto Yá-ag;
In the month of the small finger the Lake Indians dry the large sucker; kill gudgeons at the Bridge;
222 Ktaí-Túpakshi tk̲álmakstant oti'lks lúela hō'ank. At sa kó-iχaktchuapka,
of Standing-Rock to the westward. fish-dam kill when jumping. Now they will leave home (soon),
252 262 at kámals pahá; kó-iχaga, k̲ä'shla sa, k̲olálsuapk mat sa, tawiksálsuapk
and dry fish they prepare; they leave, go after ipos they, will gather kol they. will gather tawiks
mat s at, pō'ksalsuapk mat sa, at sa pópakuapk sátnalhuapka sa, suaítlal-
they. will dig camass they, they will bake (it), roast it (3 days) they, roast it
uapk; saká a pō'ks.
(1 day); eat raw camass.

251 222 Tχópowatka pahá at pō'ks iwídshat, at É-uksi génuapka woksalsuap-
In the thumb-month dried then camass they put under ground, now for Klamath Marsh they will start to gather
kátki giug; káyudsh nû'k̲a wókash. At nû'ka wókash, wóksalsha at túnepni
lily-seed; not yet is ripe pond-lily seed. Now has ripened lily-seed, they gather (it) for five
waítash, kánktak wókslat Eúkshikni. Sníkanua nadshgshaptánkni waítash;
days, so long may gather (it) the Lake people. They let it ripen during six days;
nadshgshaptánkni waítash wókash shutä'shlat, awō'lat, péksat, shíulína,
during six days the nuphar-seed they grind, cook, rub fine, winnow,
435 lulína. Nā'sh wíllishik pálasham-wáχoksh láp tála, îχálχamnishti lulínash
make flour. One sack of the flour-bags two dollars, in a long, heavy sack the ground-up wókash
222 túnep tála. Nû'χatk wókash iwiχî'e k̲á-itua nû käfla. "Tánk a îwíχa î?
five dollars. Roasted lily-seed filled in sacks none in the country. "How many did fill you?
224 lápkshapta kán îwî'χa willíshik?" "nû té-unip willî'shik iwî'χa!" Wé-
seven who did fill sacks?" "I ten sacks have filled up!" Wo-
wan'sh pî'la wō'kshla, hî'hassuaks gánkanka paχō'les, tchä'-u. At sa héwi-
men only gather wókash, the men hunt mule-deers, antelopes. Now they will haul
251 uapk̲, skúya wókash. At a sha î hî'wi-uapk; áwalues sk̲éna, máktsina
(it) home, crush lily-seed. Just they home will bring it; to the island they row, camp there
501 Nû'shkshi, wō'ns î'lktsat Lĕmé-isham Nutĕ'ks, Vushî'nkam Tínuash, Lál'lāks,
at Skull-place, canoes they put away in lake bottom at Thunderbolt, at "Snake-Drowned", at "Slope-steps"
Lkō'm Ä'-ush; k̲ák̲okîsh lóloksgîsh ktélχa, Stópalsh-Tamā'dsh, Tó-ilkat
at Black Lake; at the ford the rifle drop, at Peeled-Pine, at Rail-Pyramid
pî'la wî'hla; tchía nánuk K̲ák̲-Ksháwaliäksh; nánka tchía Tchíkass-
stops every one at Raven's Place; some (will) stop at Bird's
Walákgishtat.
Lookout.

*539 Spéluishtka at héwi, iwí-idsha wókash. Nāt a génanuapk! nánuk
In the index-month they haul, take home the lily-seed. We will go there! all

221 [222] nat éna! nátoks waítuapk, wewálha wátch, hû'masht nat gi waíta wéwal-
of us carry it! but we will wait one day, are sore (our) horses, therefore we wait one day because

hasht wátch kä'mat. Nad gitá piénuapk pólōkuantch, ktälowalshuápka
are sore horses on back. We there will scrape up moth-chrysalids, gather pine-nuts

nād. Tchatchápēlu, hóllaksh, tûtánksham, hahashkemólsham, lolóloisam,
we. Sweet resin, winged pine-nuts, blackberry, black cherry, wild gooseberry,

tsinéχam, klá-ads, wáshlalam íwam nā'd stá-ila. Kó-idse, shtéaltk ktä'lo.
sort of wókash, prunes, squirrels' huckleberries we gather. Of bad taste, full of resin pine-nuts (are)

[231] Tχópowatka í-umämi wátch lalá-a; gépgapēle máklaks kēlä'wiank,
In the thumb-month at berry-time mares foal; return the Indians having done (gathering),

[222] [251] at wéwanuish o-olalóna, at sa í'-umaltka. Bû'nuapka tchä'kēle í'wam,
the females dry berries by the fire, they return from berry-gathering. They will drink red juice of huckleberries,

[252] [272] tchilálat hûn í'wam. Ánshat ánika shash í'wam; wí'dsika nánka í'wam.
boil the berries. You may go and ask them for huckleberries; retentive some (are) of berries.

Túpeluish aní'k tēlû'ks, tchákēla n's skaí tak; tsákēlatka n's skaítki stá.
To next lodge I send tule-basket, willow-basket to me to give in; in the basket to me to give it filled.

Pahápk tchísh íwam lúitki n's léwitchta á. Ká-i sheshätuí'shtka.
Dried too huckleberries to give to me they did not want. Not I intend to sell them.

[796] Spéluishtka spû'klishtat kshíwalχa, papiä'na [illegible]uldamalákstat. At hû'k
In the index-month in the sweat-house they dance, inaugurate by feast the winter-house. Now such a man

[346] [222] kshū'n híwidshuapk, at hû't hí'wi; túnepni nā'd shópelakuapk. "Tû'sh
hay will haul home, and that man hauls (it) in; in five (stacks) we will stack (it) up. "Where

nû shópelakuapk"? "lápash í'lχat, atí'sh shuí'nshnank í'lχat; í' tchkash í
I shall stack it"? "in two stacks heap it ye, in a long-stretching (stack) stacking heap it ye! you also you

nû'sh shatuáyuapk mbúsant. Únípni waítash í n's shatuáyuapka."
me must help to-morrow. Four days you me must help."

Tátχēlam hehátχe túpak.
In the midfinger-month fall the leaves.

Gáptchēlam shináktishtka kä'na.
In the ring-finger month it is snowing.

Gáptsatka mû kä'na.
In the month of the small finger heavily it snows.

Tχópowatka wétko é-ush; kéna.
In the thumb-month is frozen the lake; it is snowing.

[796] Spéluishtka ktō'tsa mû; wála kshiúlgishtat.
In the index-month it rains much; they dance in the dance-house.

Tátχēlam tsuám lúela Nílaksi Tsuyakē'ksni.
In the midfinger-month Large suckers kill at Nílaks the Linkville Indians.

[226] Gáptsēlam shináktishtka udsáksalsha Kókētat, kä'shla sa.
In the ring-finger month they take large suckers in Lost River, (and) get ipos.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

NOTES.

*539 221 This text intends to give a sketch of the various occupations of the northern tribe or É-ukshikni in every month of the year, and is partially worded in a form which may be called dramatic. These statements are not always arranged in logical order, but a profusion of ethnologic details gives intrinsic value to them.

[805] The months of the Máklaks year do not coincide with the months of our calendar, for they extend from one new moon to the next one, and therefore should be more properly called *moons* or *lunations*. Twelve and a half of them make up the year, and they are counted on the fingers of both hands. The first moon of their year begins on the first new moon after their return from the wókash-harvest at Klamath Marsh, which is the time when all the provisions and needful articles have been gathered in [796] for the winter. Work is then stopped and the communal dances begin, the doctor- [224] dances as well as those conducted by the chiefs, and everybody participates in them except those who are out hunting in the mountains during the latter part of the year. This mode of counting the moons on the digits was once popular, but on account of its imperfections it is now forgotten by the majority of the tribe. Instead of it they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as: udsakalí'mi, "in the big sucker time"; i-umä'mi, "in the berry season", or they use our calendar months.

The first moon mentioned in our text, gáptche, answers generally to our May. The two next moons are counted on the thumb and forefinger of the hand not used immediately before; with this last moon their year has come to an end. The next five moons are counted again on the digits of the first hand, and so forth. The half moon making up their full year is not accounted for in this text.

[823] 74, 2. Ktaí-Túpakshi is a locality of renown in the folklore of the Klamath tribe. [226] It lies near the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, on the property of an Indian named Tchéloχins. The otílks is the fish-dam (from utíla), where the Indians wade in the water with their dip-nets and catch the fish while it ascends the river in spring-time in enormous quantities. This fish-dam does not reach the water's surface.

[193] 74, 2. The direct object of lúela is kápto, its subject máklaks hō'ank.

74, 3. kámalsh pahá means: they dry the fish which they have just caught by exposing it to the sun on limbs of trees, and then make kámalsh by pounding it. Kámalsh is a derivative from gáma, to pound.

[192] 74, 3. kó-iχaga is identical with gúikaka; derived from kúi, "away, far off"; guiχátchka is: to start out annually to the prairies where roots etc. are harvested.

[262] 74, 5. saká a pō'ks: they eat *sometimes* the camass raw, but only at the time when [222] digging it. Bulbs, roots, pods, chrysalids and berries are gathered by women only.

74, 6. pahá at p.; this is equivalent to pahátko pō'ks iwídshat. They bake the [251] camass and put it in their cachés at the place where they intend to stay next winter.

[796] 74, 8. shníkanua. During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process, [222] the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges [192] public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the women, and they go to work again in their canoes.

[415] 74, 9. shiulína. From the preceding we should expect shiulínat, lulínat.

74, 10. wílishik is the generic term for larger kinds of provision-sacks; it means here a sack of fifty pounds seed or grain, while the wáχoks holds hundred pounds. In pálasham-wáχoksh, however, the latter word is taken in its *generic* sense of sack, bag.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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tchik	hû'nk	nχí'-uliga	láki;	kat	húk	hû't	tchúi	lalí'ga	Tûhû'shash.	Hû'n
then	to it	dripped	on forehead;	which	thing		since	stuck	on Mud Hen.	This one

gétak	hû'nk	shkálkĕla.
only		was hurt.

NOTES.

This is one of the most popular myths current among the É-ukishikni, and we shall find it partially repeated in another myth, recounted by Dave Hill. Aíshish and his father K'mukámtchiksh represent powers of nature engaged in everlasting strife for mutual extermination. In this myth K'múkamtch resorts to the following trick to destroy his offspring. Seeing young larks in a nest on the top of a sorrel-stalk, he informs him, that if he climbs up there, he can obtain a nest of eagles with all its inmates. Gladdened with the prospect of this capture, Aíshish climbs up, but the insidious father causes the plant to grow miraculously fast under him, so that descent becomes impossible, and Aíshish comes near perishing by hunger and exposure.

In the recollection and wording of some portions of the myth my informant was assisted by "Captain Jim."

94, 1–7. The short fragment of a creation myth preceding the Aíshish tale stands in no causal connection with it, and could as well be inserted elsewhere. Myths entering upon the *details* of the creation of the world by K'mukámtchiksh do not, as far as ascertained, exist among this people, but in their stead we have many myths for special creations (of man, animals, islands, mountains etc.). A grammatic analysis of the terms occurring in this fragment (from Lûpí nä'lsh to pátki gi) was inserted by me in the *American Antiquarian*, Vol. I, No. 3, pages 161–166, under the heading: "Mythologic Text in the Klamath Language of Southern Oregon."

192 193 94, 1. Lûpí shutä'yéga is not to be considered as a repetition, for it means: when K'múkamtch began to create the world he made *us* before he made the fish, other animals, and the dam at Linkville. This is, of course, only a small fragment of all the creation myths of this people.

94, 2. shashapkĕlíia: to tell or count stories, myths or fables in the interest or for the pleasure of somebody; the i is here doubled to obtain a rhetorical effect.

94, 3. K'mú'kamtchish is a contraction of K'mû'kamtch tchish; Aíshish, K'múkamtch also. The longer form of the name of the deity occurs 95, 20.

94, 3. ká-akt, metathetically for kákat; kát is pron. relat. which, what, the thing which. nánuktua ká-akt gäg comprehends all animate and inanimate creation.

94, 4. wá, uá, to stay, exist, live in; is always connected with an indirect object indicating the place, spot, locality or medium where the subject lives or exists.

94, 4–6. The construction of the sentence runs as follows: Tchúyunk (K'mukámtch) né-ulχa gí'tki gíug páplishash I-ulalónan, páltki tí'wish gint udûlshámpkash mû' nkillipkash, mû'ash shlé-uyuk; "when a south wind blows, it will stop the waters from rushing down rapidly over the cataract." The outlet of Upper Klamath Lake, called Link River, runs from north to south, over the falls at Linkville; hence a powerful south wind will stem the current of Link River above the falls, leave its bottom dry or almost dry, and enable the Indians to catch the fish swimming in the shallow water or wriggling in the mud. The rocky ledge under the cataract is supposed to be the gift of K'múkamtch. 133 132 226

*539 262 824 *Táksish* kálkali, pakí'sh; láwal ka tánian slápshtat; kä'ilatat lû'sha, k̲á-i
cylindric, palatable; is wide that much at the bud; on the ground it lies, not
pí'luitko.
has smell.

Tók pä'lpali kshū'n, k̲édsha é-ushtat.
is a whitish grass, grows in Lake.

Tsí'kal atíni kshū'n, k̲édsha é-ushtat.
(is a) high grass, grows in Lake.

222 462 252 264 *Tchí'psam* k̲édsha kshū'n-ptchi páta tchí'k nók̲a Tchúi mák̲laks tchípash
grows grass-like (and) in summer-time ripens. Then Indians tchipash
shtä'ila, wéwanuish wéka ulä'χuga yákitat. Lúlukshtka tü'ksh a
gather, the women beat (it) into haul (it) in seed-baskets. In the hot coals in a fire
tchípash shnū'χa, tchúi tchí'k sha humashtgíulank péksha lemthe
the tchipash they parch, and after they having thus done grind (it) on the
atchátka shilaklgí'shtka yí-ulalónank; a tchí'ksh hû'nk pekshólank
metate with the rubbing-stone rubbing; now then having done grinding
pän éwa pálatka ámbu kítuínank, tchúi sha hûmasht-gí'ulank
again they empty (it) upon a matted dish water pouring into (it), then they after thus doing
patámpka wawálχank népatka hlópa. Gí'ta tchípash k̲á-i tû'm
begin to eat (it) sitting around with hands sop it up. Right here tchipash not in quantities
k̲édshant, Móatok pí'la toksh tû'm wawáwish gi.
(is) growing. the Modoc country only however much (of it) productive is

222 252 *Tchuá* kálkali: tχopó-shítko, gét pi tchuá; k̲édsha ámbutat; ntchendshkáni
cylindric: thumb-like, so it (is) wápatu; grows in waters; rather small
tchuá, tchúyunk mák̲laks íshka tchúi tchilálank pán; kúkanka sha
(is) wápatu, and it the Indians pulling out and boiling eat; masticate they
tútatka. Taktä'kli tchuálam shlápsh; kinkáni tchuá.
with (their) teeth Purple (is) of wild-potato the flower; scarce (is) wápatu (here).

Tsuák käílatat lû'sha, pakí'sh; ka tánni tsélas: láp pē'tch; kakálkalish shláps
on ground extends, (is) eatable; so long is the stalk: two feet; round flowers
p'lái gí'tko.
on top having.

Tsuní'ka k̲édsha käílant, é-ushtat, walí'dshat; pakí'sh. Shlápsh 2" lawálatk, tídsh piluítko, mû lbû'ka gítk; kä'latat lû'sha.
grows on ground, on Lake, on cliffs; eatable. The flowers 2" are wide, nicely smelling, a large bulb having; on ground it lies.

Wátksäm mû'na û'sha kä'latat, pakí'sh; k̲édsa walídsat, pä'lpali shlápsh.
deep lies in ground, eatable; grows among cliffs, white (is) flower.

Wí'wi atíni, k̲édsha táletat; pakí'sh shlápsh; k̲étsa pálpali.
is tall, grows on straight stalks; eatable (is) the bud; grows white.

TO THE ABOVE ARE ADDED A FEW NON-ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES:

226 *Kú'lχamsh* tû'sh a tû'pka käílatat, k̲á-i pakí'sh, ptchí'nk: kiä'm-luelō'tksh
upwards stands from ground, not eatable, thus looking: as a fish-killing-article
witsólslank vû'nsat tamádsank téwas; kitchkáni shláps.
while net-fishing in the canoe they fasten (it) on bow the forked net; small (is) the flower.

NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

BY ROBERT F. SPENCER

773 IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians
177 of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of
178 aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among
[776] other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in
the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of
interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of
their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way
and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching
Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer
[182] can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the
folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common
economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies
combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising
to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations.
A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to
find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal
myth.

175 Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation
177 from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal
to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its
culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which
[222] it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In
[226] its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent
gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes
[631] of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic
[621] economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separatistic
[771] hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly
[791] developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest
and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points
to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

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[101] [1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949,
[122] on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund,
1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by
research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

[113] [2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American
Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations
in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

25. Grinding Seeds

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

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(1) Having crushed the seeds, having gotten out [the kernels], [one] grinds [them]. (2) Having ground the seeds [and] having put them on to boil, [one] cooks [them]. (3) And [one] eats having done thus. (4) It tastes good.

26. Killing Fish

(Mr. Robert David)

539*
226

(1) Right down below here, below there, below Chiloquin he [i.e., Gmok̓am̓č] made it for the people long ago. (2) And there he said to them, "Here you will kill fish!"—those who lived down there, the people. (3) And he said to them, "As long as it is spring, in this month, so having gathered together now you will kill fish," he said, "Here I have dammed the water—will dam it right to the shore, this, in the river."

(4) Now he made something like that, of stone this way, just as they make a "dam" lately. (5) It is thus down there, all lying, visible even now.

(6) And people came there always now, every year. (7) And from there he [Gmok̓am̓č] made another near there, at Lobaqsksi, as they call it there. (8) Here above, Lobaqsksi. (9) "So you few live right here," he said, "And it will be thus, just so far will those fish swim," he said. (10) "Those kinds, fish, which I have told you [pl.] to kill, which you [pl.] eat, so far will they swim. (11) Not further. (12) They will not swim on further in the river. (13) Just so far," thus he told them now.

(14) And the people were thus here, I saw long ago, when I was small. (15) And now having moved [to this fishing spot]—[in] the spring—then they killed them. (16) They killed that kind, fish, all [kinds]. (17) And

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 135]

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[417]

(17) And they erected this kind of little pine trees—having taken off all the something—all the needles, having stripped off. (18) So then they hung them up there, those which they killed. (19) Fish of every sort whatsoever, even any trout they killed there at that time, when there were many trout. (20) And suckers the same way, in sucker-season, there where many, many suckers came. (21) And they crowded up against that, that which I told of [i.e., the dam], thus, that kind which he made for them thus. (22) That dam. (23) Now they crowded up against it. (24) And they killed them now at that sort of place. (25) And having made even various kinds of dippers, they killed them with that sort of thing also.

(26) And long ago people did not know these sorts of things, which they use nowadays. (27) However, [I] saw, how they did. (28) They killed very, very many—it looked red there, there they dried them, right there. (29) They dried all the fish. (30) So now having finished drying them, so now having done thus, they were something—they were stiff this way from drying. (31) They became stiff.

(32) Now then they pounded them all up in this way, having beaten them. (33) And then having done thus, they put them aside. (34) Now then they became soft. (35) It turned soft. (35) Then they gently pounded it flat, thus, with a rock, [or] with something else. (36) They pounded it all gently, and they put it down [in separate places], whoever got it. (37) If anyone had gotten a little, then they gave him some. (38) Thus were people long ago, not stingy. (39) They gave to each other, if someone were poor. (40) Then they gave [to him].

(41) And I saw it once, even a short time ago, when the soldiers lived at Fort Klamath, there. (42) And they having arrived there [at the fishing dam], they helped the Indians now. (43) They brought a huge fishnet of that sort. (44) A big one. (45) I saw it. (46) And the soldiers waded way out, there they waded around it, right up close to that [dam]. (47) And they after a long time thus, wanted to gather it all up, all that net. (48) Now a great many indeed had grasped it, [for] it wanted to go off [i.e., its weight and the current pulled it down river]. (49) And they having hitched on mules, having hitched on four mules, now with much difficulty they dragged it out for the Indians. (50) They killed very, very many. (51) Thus I saw once, long ago.

(52) And all the Indians got [some], they divided it up among themselves thus. (53) They piled up much, right there, all. (54) And they, the soldiers, did thus. (55) I too saw it once. (56) It was a good sight.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 137]

(57) Everything, trout mixed in, even trout were mixed in that. (58) Once they drew it out that way. (59) So the Indians' food was good. 539* 226* [648]

(60) And he had told them that long ago, someone—perhaps Gmoḱaḿč—to do thus. (61) Gmoḱaḿč helped the Indians. (62) It was never like that long ago, only the river flowed, they say. (63) And they were weak. (64) They were unable to kill fish. (65) And because they were thus, he told them thus, "I will make [something] for you [pl.], where you will kill [fish] every spring." (66) Thus he them, Gmoḱaḿč told, long ago. (67) [That] is as I know it, that much.

Introductory Note to Text 27

539* 648

In this text Mrs. Butler describes two incidents dealing with the cruelty of the early white settlers. Various renditions of these stories were also obtained from other informants. The first incident concerns a party of white men, led by a now-famous local figure, who came upon a party of Klamath women picking wokas, and wantonly shot one of them in the face. According to Mrs. Butler, the woman lived, and the scar still showed years later. The second occurrence concerns a group of Rogue River Indians (?) who were hired by a settler to dig a deep trench. Once the trench was dug, the settler and his men opened fire on the Indians and threw their bodies into this ready-made grave. According to Mrs. Butler's text, this incident was one of the sparks which led to the Modoc War. The names of these white men have been omitted from the text for obvious reasons.

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The informant also describes the customs of "raiding" and "slavery," as practiced by the Indians of Southern Oregon. She points out that this was a far different thing from the concept of slavery as found in Rome or ancient Egypt or Asia. Many of the children, originally stolen in childhood, grew up among their captors and received good treatment, eventually coming to love their new home more than the old.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

roasted and allowed to burn to ashes. Those that follow must not be 226 taken home but roasted there, else no more will come. If the rite is observed, suckers will be plentiful. Wo'kstat is the only place where the rite is held, the only place "where Kemū'kūmps made this law."

> Kemū'kūmps was living at komā'čaki. He made a dome-shaped mat-lodge [539] [the cave] using stčholas mats to cover it [the poorest mats]. That is why it leaks. Right at his home he killed fish. The fish had great difficulty in swimming up there, so Kemū'kūmps killed the first he saw. He roasted it right at the river bank. He did not take it; let it burn to ashes. He said, "This is the way the psā'odiwas [humans, in mythical terminology] will do." After he did this, fish came in great numbers.

There is no individual ownership of fishing places, as with dams. Nor, for that matter, are there proprietary rights to hunting territories, berry or seed patches. A chief has no control, no ownership of fishing rights. Even those whose permanent dwellings are near the dams have no particular claim to them. To be sure, one might ask those who live near-by to fish in the spot for him, but solely because they know best how to use the nets there.

One reason for this is that the fish dams date from remote antiquity. They are, in fact, said to have been built by Kemū'kūmps.[226] These are quite common in the rivers wherever a shelf of rock in the stream bed favors their construction. Their purpose is to create an eddy of still water in which the fish can be netted when they take refuge from the swift current. Most of these have been destroyed by the loggers who have cleared the channels of obstructions to float their logs. Gatschet seems to doubt that these are artificial constructions, but it is clear that only the foundation is a natural [114] configuration. These are short dams (sa'mkauūs) or wings of rocks extending out from one bank. One such in the low falls of middle Williamson river at tákalma'keda takes advantage of a bend in the river bank to enclose a pool thirty-five feet across.[227] Weirs are not used in connection with dams; in fact they are unknown to the Klamath.

Fish are taken mostly with nets (wltco'lhus).[228] As among pro- 227 fessional fishermen everywhere, line fishing is hardly sufficiently profitable to be trifled with. Yet lines are sometimes used, as well as the spear, and there is some sporadic use of traps. There are several kinds of dip net as well as a gill net.

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[226] See Gatschet, Mythologic Text, 161.

[227] Other dams on Lost river are mentioned by Clarke (Rock Piles, 40).

[228] The Klamath do not poison fish. Gatschet has a curious reference to kûlχamsh and slö'ds as "fish-killing-articles" put in the nets, but these are respectively flax and nettles used for net cordage! (1:150). [114]

226 In late September there are eddies in Klamath lake where small fish, called ķ!ō'ptu, go round and round. These are caught in dip nets which are slid under the fish. Chub, plentiful in Williamson river in spring, are driven into the rectangular pouch nets. Driven all night long, I was told, sufficient chubs were caught to fill two canoes.

227 A triangular dip net is the principal device for use on the open lake. This was called de'owūs by one informant, hlksu'la by another. Barrett has given an excellent description of it, which I quote in full.[229]

> 226 One of the most interesting devices connected with fishing is the large triangular dip net used on the open water of the lakes or the larger deep streams. This net is used on a pair of poles held apart by a cross-bar near the vertex of the angle formed by them. The net itself is attached to the poles at the sides and to this cross-bar at the rear, the tips of the poles being connected by a strong string upon which the front of the net is fastened. . . . Usually two men go out to fish, one sitting in the stern of the canoe and paddling, the other in the prow and manipulating the net. While the net is being dipped, the fisherman in the stern paddles quite rapidly along and makes a great noise, swishing the water back and forth in order to scare the fish near the stern toward the prow. He also has a couple of short sticks with which, just before the net is to be raised, he drums upon the sides of the canoe in order to frighten as many as possible of the fish toward the prow. The fisherman in the prow finally raises the poles and brings up the net, placing the angle at which the poles meet under the prow of the boat, which, as has been stated, has a long, flat, upward slope. The cross-bar of the net poles is slipped over the top of the prow so as to prevent the points of the poles from falling back into the water. In this manner the points of the poles project from the prow like two great horns. Their tips are several feet from the surface of the water, so that the fish are prevented from jumping over the sides of the net and into free water. The man in the prow then hauls in the net, which tapers to a long pyramidal point. As he hauls the net in, it is laid over on the poles to the sides of the prow until finally the point of the net is reached. Here the fish are at last gathered together. It is then a simple matter to take them from the net and throw them either into the bottom of the boat itself or into coarse tule baskets made for the purpose. These baskets of tule are of two forms: a long canoe-shaped basket and the ordinary circular straight-walled basket. . . . . To manipulate a large net of this type, a canoe not less than sixteen or eighteen feet in length is required. Another net of this same type, but of smaller dimensions, is used in a similar manner on the more shallow streams or in the shallow water of the lake.

[227] The poles are of fir, twelve feet long and ten feet apart at their outer ends. The net, which is quite large, is fashioned of five rectangular sections, linked together by their long sides, and placed transversely to the main axis of the triangle. The mesh is an inch square. As an index of the value, Coley Ball gave a good milk cow for a single net. In using these nets it is usual to have other canoes approach from the front, splashing to frighten the fish into the net.

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[229] Material Culture, 249.

Several nets may be carried in as many canoes paddled side by side. The fisherman in the prow, using the leverage of the poles over the gunwale, raises the net somewhat, but a heavy load will cause the prow to settle dangerously. The weight is relieved by those in the other canoes lifting out fish until he can manage the net alone. A favorite place for the use of this net by the southern lake people is above the riffles of Klamath falls. I probably misunderstood an informant who said that this net is used only in winter.

A rectangular net (lu'di'has) is much used, especially in the rivers. The net is a pouch nine feet long, its mouth threaded on a vertical pole at each side. The mouth is a rectangular opening, six feet wide and two high; fastened at the bottom to the pole, the sides can slip down and close the opening. Two men wade holding the poles erect, with the net floating behind them. Others drive the fish into the net. When it is filled, they move the poles into a horizontal position, dragging the net after them into quiet water; the weight causes the mouth to slide along the poles and close.

A circular scoop net (called lu'di'has like the last) is used from the bank. This is a hoop of service berry wood, three feet across, fastened at two points to a pole which crosses its diameter. The mouth of the net is fastened to the hoop; its bottom is closed in a line, not a point; it is three feet deep. The net is held with the hoop vertical while others scare fish into it. When full it is lifted out and dumped on the bank. There is no rope attached to the hoop to steady it such as is necessary in the swift waters of the Columbia.

There are several excellent places for the use of this net among the rocks of Klamath falls. In early spring high water flows through a channel into a pothole (gau'wam), some twenty feet in diameter. Fish are carried into it by the current. As they swim back, they are scooped up with the net from the mouth of the hole. In this manner, little white fish (ḳ!ŏ'ptu), suckers (tc!uwam), and trout (me'ḥ!ăs) are taken. On the eastern side of the falls opposite the pothole the current is very swift. It plunges into a hole in the bed, boiling up with great force at the downstream end. Little white fish are thrown up in the whirlpool. A man stationed on a rock, armed with a circular net, watches. He must jump into the water as it surges, scoop up the fish, and jump back before the current catches him. This is exceedingly dangerous, as he may be carried down into deep boiling water. This is called ġe'tba'ksalks.

The gill net, called a set net (dĕkwa, or wītso'las dĕ'ḳolga), may not be aboriginal, or rather, my informant may have meant that

Even more simple is the taking of a variety of thick-skinned minnow (t!ĕă'bɛ). When the marshes begin to freeze, these congregate among the tules, when they may be scooped up with a basket. 226

Fish spears are not much used; even salmon are ordinarily taken in nets. For one thing, Williamson river and Klamath lake outside of Pelican bay are much too dark for spearing. Salmon are sometimes speared from the river bank, which is quite low, or from the rocks at Klamath falls. No staging is needed as on the swift Columbia or the lower Klamath. The salmon spear (k'lc) is the usual two-pronged Northwest Coast-Californian variety; a shaft bearing two divergent prongs provided with detachable points. The shaft is fir; the lashed-on prongs of mountain mahogany[224] or service berry wood are of equal length. Each prong fits into a socket in the base of a bone point. The three-inch point is barbless. A cord tied through a hole in the middle of each point is fastened some distance back on the shaft.[225] Thus the head driven through the fish is detached from the prong, but the salmon is held fast to the shaft by the cords. A special club is not manufactured for killing salmon. 227

Fish are also speared through the ice of the lake with this instrument. A wall of snow or tules is built about a little hole cut through the ice and covered with a tule mat to exclude the light. The fisherman lies at full length on a bed of grass or rushes with his head under this cover, protected from the cold by a blanketing of mats. 226

A second type of spear, called ķa''lɛks, is used for suckers and other fish whose habit it is to swim near the lake bottom. This is a long pole having a conical bundle of hard wood prongs (eighteen inches long) bound to one end. Their points are spread to a circle of five inches by a wooden hoop thrust down and bound among them. There are said to be twenty such prongs in a bundle; Barrett however notes half a dozen to fifteen;[226] and a spear with iron points which I saw had nine. This spear is used in dark, still waters. Poised above the spot where bubbles rise and jabbed down into the mud at a venture, it may pin a fish among the prongs. Another spear provided with a single barbed point is thrust into the fish to haul it up. The barb is made by binding a splinter of bone at an angle to the point of the foreshaft, which is of mountain mahogany. 227 [114]

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[224] Coville, Notes, 98.

[225] Illustrated by Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 22, fig. 4; also p. 251.

[226] *Op. cit.*, 251.

227 They rarely fish with hook and line. These are either hand lines, no rod being used, or set lines. The hooks (o'tkIs) are of several forms. The simplest is the tail bone of a sucker which is naturally provided with spines to serve as barbs (fig. 10). Baited with the liver of sucker or trout, this is used to catch minnows which in turn serve as bait, though they are also eaten. Two larger fish hooks are described by Barrett.[237] "The smaller is a straight piece of bone pointed at both ends and attached to the line by means of sinew and pitch at the middle. . . . . A small fish or some fish eggs are used as bait, being placed so as to completely cover the bar of bone. The other form of hook is a bone shank with two bone points. . . . . The two points form angles of twenty-five or thirty degrees with the shank. The three pieces of bone are secured one to another by means of sinew and pitch. This hook is used chiefly in fishing for large fish such as salmon and salmon trout, and is baited with minnows. . . . . The main part of the line is of the gray nettle string, but the brown milkweed string, which is said to be somewhat stronger and also less visible in the water, is used as a sort of leader." 226 My information is that the line (not or swe'us?) is nettle bark; brown or gray nettles are equally strong. Set lines (k'nau'us) are arranged to take trout at night; they are visited in the morning, a procedure called sokĕ'tcan. Some twenty long poles are set into the mud of the lake, each bearing a thirty-foot line with a single hook. The hooked fish are clubbed or speared. Only five or ten are caught in a night in this fashion.

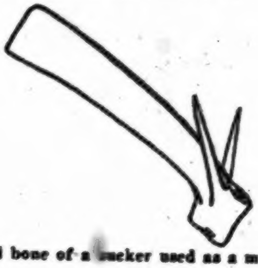

Fig. 10. Tail bone of a sucker used as a minnow hook.

262 For want of ability to identify them, no attempt was made to obtain a list of the food fishes. In addition to those mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, minnows (ḳ!o'tŏḳs) are eaten. There are several varieties: ḳ!a'am, blue minnows, xndīls, a larger variety, and the thick-skinned minnows mentioned above. Crawfish are taken from the streams. These are simply boiled and are soft enough to eat in

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[237] *Op. cit.*, 250; pl. 22.

same as that described above; several fundamental warps bent into elliptical form, a few additional warps turned back over the proximal edge of these, with the remaining warps doubled over the first few rows of twining. The wefting is done with continuous strands. The butt ends of the warps are merely held in place by the last rows of wefting. A willow rod is bound at intervals to the rim of the basket to stiffen it; the ends of the rod do not meet at the distal end. 285

Triangular fans (wīliu'ks) used in conjunction with the parching trays are also described by Barrett as platters "used for serving food, particularly broiled or otherwise cooked fish and roasted meat."[345] As plates they may be called sa'plūs. No details of their construction were obtained, but from Barrett's illustrations it appears that these are made by doubling a bundle of tules so that their free ends diverge, serving as warps. The bundle is roughly tied about at the joint to hold it together. The wefting is of tules in open simple twine. This is a continuous strand, apparently commencing at the joint or apex; where the wefts leave the web to enter for another row the weft elements are twisted around each other. The loose ends of the warps of one of the three baskets he figures protrude beyond the last twine row; in the other two the warps may have been turned back and caught in this row of stitches. [114]

Circular baskets made with coarse tule warps and wefts in close simple twine are more rarely found, according to this author. "Occasionally they are bound around the rim with a hoop." [114]

A vessel in the Field Museum (no. 61758), made in this fashion, is peculiar in that it is elliptical. It is about seven inches long, five wide, and three deep. A round of three-strand twine appears midway of the base, and again at the juncture of the base and side. Stiffening is also provided by a doubled strand of tule sewed lengthwise to the inside of the base.

Several other forms are found, among them a two-handled tray of tule. This is in open twine; a series of parallel warps bound together at each end, and wefted in simple twine stitch with a continuous strand. Similar to the last mentioned is a "large canoe-shaped basket of tule, in openwork plain twining, used as a receptacle in gathering wokas pods," which closely agrees in construction. A pouch of plain twined tule is of similar manufacture.[346]

A fish trap, with willow rod warps, and quivers of tule, are made in open twine, according to Barrett. The cradle for a newborn infant is also manufactured in open twine construction.[347] [227] [854]

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[345] *Op. cit.*, 256, pl. 13, figs. 1, 4, 6.

[346] Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 13, figs. 2, 5; pl. 10, fig. 3; pl. 14, fig. 1.

[347] *Op. cit.*, pl. 10, fig. 1; pl. 20, fig. 1; pl. 14, fig. 2.

171*
105

Their material culture at large follows the general alignment of their basic economy with the Plateau peoples. This can be made clear by the following tabulation of material culture traits shared by tribes in adjacent culture areas. A few items of social culture not discussed elsewhere are also entered. Only those traits for which comparative data could be readily found are included, which makes the list random rather than truly representative. It must be understood that the reference is only to the specific form in which the Klamath hold to the trait. Thus, the compound fire-drill stick is entered, and not the simple fire drill. In fact, traits of this sort, having a distribution over the whole continent, have been excluded as adding nothing to our

KLAMATH TRAITS SHARED BY TRIBES IN ADJACENT AREAS

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Houses	Earth-lodge	Plateau (Chilcotin to Middle Columbia and Wishram), N.E. California (where it merges into central Californian forms).	[342]
	Mat-lodge	Wishram, Nez Pereé, Middle Columbia?	[343]
Sweat-lodges	Dome-shaped	N.E. California, Basin, Plateau, Southwest rancherias, Plains, and eastward.	
	Earth-covered	Washington, Oregon (merges with central Californian type).	
Fishing	Dip nets	California, Plateau, Northwest Coast.	[227] •
	Dam; weir	N. California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
	Two-prong spear	California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
Digging stick	Cross-handle; curved point	Northwest Coast, Plateau?	[412]
Insect foods	Slight use	Oregon, S. Plateau, Basin, California.	[262]
Metate	Extensive use	California (late in N. California?), Basin, Plateau?, Southwest and southward.	[412]
Mortar	Stone	S. and central California (prehistoric in N. California); wooden mortars in Plateau.	
Canoe	Shovel nose	Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Columbia basin to N. California.	[501]
Baskets	Considerable use	California, Basin, Plateau.	[415]
	Twine	Northwest Coast S. into N. California.	
	Minor use of coil	Plateau, Basin, central and S. California.	
Bags	Woven	Made east of Cascades, S. to Klamath.	[286]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 230]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Ki	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
188. Deer bones, remains hidden in woods	–	+	•+	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	+
189. Thrown away in woods	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–

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Fishing

Nets

	Ki	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
190. Long flat nets	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	•+	•(–)	+	–	–	•–	•+	•+	+
191. Gill net	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+
192. Seine net	–	–	.	+	+	–	•–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	+
193. Perforated stone sinkers	–	+	.	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
194. Grooved stone sinkers	+	+	.	–	+	•–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
195. Wooden floats	–	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–
196. Tule floats	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
197. Bag net, not dipped or scooped	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
198. Set	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
199. On A-frame	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
200. Tule floats	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
201. Small, dived with	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
202. Dip or scoop net	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	+
203. On A-frame	•+	•+	+	–	–	•–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+
204. Kite-shaped frame	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
205. Circular mouth, 1 handle	•+	+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
*206. Bow and arrow type	–	–				•+	•+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	.	+
207. Circular mouth, 2 handles	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
208. On semicircular pole, no other handle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
*209. Rectangular pouch net	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
210. For lampreys also	o	–	+	–	o	–	–	–	o	–	+	+	–	–	.	+
211. Roots put on set lines	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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Weirs, Scaffolds, Pens

	Ki	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
212. Straight across stream	•(+)	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
213. Converging	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
214. Diagonal or semicircular	•+	–	–	+		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
†215. Openings in weir	(3)	1	1	•2	1	•1	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
216. Pen with each door	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
217. Door closed by hand	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
218. Net in opening	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
219. Trap in opening	–	–	–			–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
220. Movable weir of willow, etc., woven, dragged	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
221. Men form line across stream	–	+	.	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*222. Fish driven into weir, net, or trap	(+)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
223. Platform on weir	•(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
224. Dipod supports for weir	(+)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
225. Single-post supports for weir	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
226. Scaffold without weir	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
227. Floor or booth on scaffold for harpooning	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*228. White rocks on bottom to increase visibility	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*229. Stone pens or dams	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Traps

	Ki	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
230. Long basketry trap, cylindrical	•+	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
231. Conical basketry trap, inner cone	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
232. Conical, opening at apex	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*233. Flat, rectangular base trap, open top	–	–	–					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
234. Fish scooped up in basket	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	•+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
227 **Angling**																
235. Acute-angled hook, 1 barb	•−	+	•+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−
236. Acute-angled hook, 2 barbs, bilateral	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
237. Gorge	•+	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
238. Meat, grasshopper on line; no hook	−		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
239. Several hooks on line	•+	+	+	−	+	−	.	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
Harpoons, Spears																
240. Harpoon, detachable point(s)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
241. Single toggle	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
242. Two toggles	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	+
243. Toggle of bone	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	−	.	+
244. Barbed toggle, three-piece	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	.	+
245. Simple toggle, one-piece	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	−
246. Harpoon used infrequently				+	•+	•+	+	−	−	•−	−	−	•+	−	+	−
247. Fish spear, fixed point(s)	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	.	.	−	+	−
248. One point	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
249. Two points	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	.	.	.	−	−	−
250. More than two points	+	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	.	.	.	−	−	−
251. Circular arrangement of points	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	.	.	−	−	−
252. Points spread by ring	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	.	−	−	−
253. Wooden point(s)	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	.	.	.	−	+	−
254. Bone point(s)	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	.	.	−	−	−
255. Flaked stone point(s)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
256. Fish "spear," 1 point fixed, 1 detachable	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
257. Landing gaff	R	R	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
258. Hooked at end	•R	R	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
259. Straight stick, pointed end	−	−	−					+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Other Fishing Techniques																
226 260. Fish shot with bow and arrow	−	−	.	•+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−
261. Infrequently	−	−	.	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
262. Fish poisoning with plant substance	−	−	+	−	+	+	•+	•+	•−	−	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+
263. Fish caught with bare hands	•+	•+	+	−	−	•−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+
264. Flares at night for fish	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
265. Harpooning, dipping fish through ice	•+	+	−	−	+	−	•+	−	o	o	−	−	−	−	−	o
266. Fish killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	+
267. Manufactured club	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	•+	.	.	•+
268. Natural stone	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	−
269. Piece of stick	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	.	−
270. Biting neck of fish	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	−
271. Breaking neck or back	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	.	.	−
272. Striking head on ground, rock	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	.	.	−
273. Fish creel of basketry	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	•+	•+	+	.	•+	−
274. Fish carried on forked stick through gills or jaw	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
275. On string or withe	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	.	−	−
276. Fish carried in fish net, over shoulder												+	+	+	.	+
277. Fish laid head to tail, tied and packed on back	−	−							+	+	−	−	−	.	−	−
Fishing Observances																
[234] [235] 278. Continence before fishing	+	+	•+	•−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−
[78] 279. 1st salmon, other fish taboo to youth	−	•+	+	−	•+	•+	•o	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	•+
280. 1st trout	+	+	+	−	+	+	o	−	−	−	•+	•−	•−	•+	•+	•+
281. 1st-fish rite or observance	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
576. Acorn gathering: men and women	•o	•o	+	+	−	•−	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
577. Men, youths climb trees	o	o	+	+	−	−	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[222]
578. Women gather, transport acorns	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
579. Pine-nut gathering: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
580. Men climb trees, knock down cones	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
581. Men and women gather cones	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
582. Women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
583. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
584. Men and women transport cones	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
585. Women only	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	
586. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
587. Men and women prepare pine nuts	−	.	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
588. Men only	+	.	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
589. Women only	−	.	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	
590. Gathering of small seeds: women only	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(−)	+	+	
591. Cooking: men and women	+	+	−						+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	
592. Women prepare, cook plant foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[251]
593. Men only, cook meat	−	+	−						−	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	
594. Women only, cook meat	−	−	+						−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	
595. Men and women cook meat	+	−	−						•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
596. Carrying water near camp: men and women	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[312]
597. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
598. Women only	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
599. Carrying water long distance: men and women.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
600. Men only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
601. Women only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
602. Fire making: men and women	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[372]
603. Men only	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
604. Wood gathering: "kindling" wood, men and women	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
605. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	[313]
606. Women only	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	
607. Wood gathering: large logs, men and women	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
608. Men only	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
609. Women only	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Manufacturing Activities																	
610. Baskets: women only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
611. Skin, feather blankets: men and women make	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[291]
612. Men only or chiefly	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	(−)	+	+	−	+	
613. Women only or chiefly	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	[237]
614. Nets: men only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[284]
615. Cord: men and women make	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
616. Men, generally	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[283]
617. Skin tanning: men and women	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[281]
618. Men only	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
619. Women only	+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
620. Clothing: men and women make	−	−	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	[294]
621. Men only	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	
622. Women only	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	
623. Moccasins: men and women make	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
624. Men only	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	
625. Women only	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
626. Fish traps: men make	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	−	+	[227]
627. Women	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+	
628. Winter house: men and women build	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[342]
629. Men only	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
630. Summer house: men and women build	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
631. Men only	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	
632. Women only	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Fishing

Nets.--

000 190. AE: Streams small, consequently nets used not large. WT: 1 or 2 men, only, made fish nets: not everyone. WM: Du Bois, Wintu, p. 15, mentions use of net stretched across McCloud River, at Baird, for communal fish drive; my informant denied this; probably mistaken. NF: Except for Yuba River, streams in area small; high water in winter only. NM: See note 282. NS: A few of old men, only, make nets.

192. AE: Mentioned in myth, only; Owl had seine, but Weasel ran up and rolled log into it, tearing it up. NS: Net (bin), composed of several small flat nets fastened together for purpose, placed on and behind barrier of rocks, 2-3 ft. high, erected across stream at base of falls. As salmon attempt to leap barrier, fall into net; men stationed at each end of net lift it and fish taken out.

194. AW: Use natural stone for net sinker; no groove or perforation.

226 203. Kl: Used in springtime; dragged by 2 men,
227 in river. Mo: 2 men to operate. AW: Not used; Madesi group on Pit River use it. WT, WM, WS: 1 man to operate. (For sketch see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 127, fig. 5.) WT: Used under falls.

205. Kl: See note 265. At: Not used much.

000 206. See Dixon, Maidu, p. 142, fig. 13; Du Bois, Wintu, p. 127. AW: For trout and suckers. AE: 4-5 grooved stone sinkers attached to bottom of net.

209. See Spier, Klamath, p. 151.

Weirs, scaffolds, pens.--

226 212. Kl: Spier, Klamath, p. 149, says "weirs . . . are unknown to the Klamath"; possibly my informant misunderstood my repeated questioning on this point, but his account of weir with 3 openings, from top of which men speared fish, is too circumstantial to be overlooked. AW: Weirs built across stream on Pit River, below falls at Pit 1 power house; nowhere else in area.

213. AW: Circular "corral" built of rocks, with single opening in center on downstream side.

214. Kl: See note 229.

000 215. SW: 2-3 openings. AW: Refers to corral-shaped weir; see note 213.

219. WT, WM, WS: See Du Bois, Wintu, p. 128, on fishtrap. WT: Willows, as well as rocks, used for converging sides of weir. Trap walls 3 ft. high; back end 3 ft. high and elevated above water ca. 3 ft. WS: Trap of this sort used during midsummer salmon run (see fig., this page; note 282): "as salmon tired and went down-river, caught in this trap." Such trap might be made at Shasta Retreat; men would then proceed up-river to Mossbrae Falls (kenwinispom) near Shasta Springs and sometimes put a lot of green leaves in water, to frighten salmon down-river into trap.

221. SW: In Rogue River, but not in Klamath River.

OOD 222. By men, women wading, beating water with long poles.

226 223. Kl: At night men sit on top of weir, with circular nets (see element 205); net salmon as they try to jump through openings in weir. MV: Men stand on top of weir, and net or club fish.

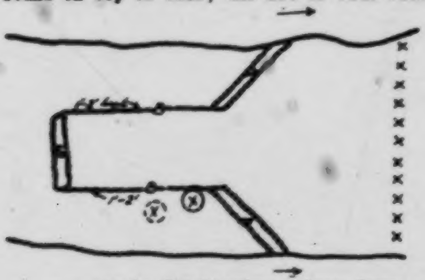

..., people frightening salmon downstream, spearing them; arrows point upstream; A, rock and brush dam; B, fir branches intertwined; C, brush piled up; ⓧ, man clubbing fish; ⓧ man to string up fish.

OOD 226. WT, WS: Salmon house (buki) lacking. WM have salmon house. For description see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 123. WS: Set 2 poles, in form of dipod, in river; rest 1 end of log in fork of dipod, other end on river bank; man stands on this log near dipod end and spears salmon; informant remembered 1 man "who could spear 2 salmon at a time; other men couldn't spear any." This type of scaffold referred to as tokamas.

228. Chalk, generally.

226
823 229. Kl: Stone dams attributed to mythical being. Consist of semicircle of rocks, curving out from bank, then in again toward bank, with opening on downstream end. 2 such semicircles, on opposite sides of Williamson River, W of Chiloquin (not in Klamath Marsh area proper). Men stand inside enclosure, netting fish, which other men frighten into nets. See Spier, Klamath, p. 149. Mo, AW, WT: Made by human beings.

Traps.--

227 230. Kl: Weighted with stone at each end. AE: 6-7 ft. long.

231. AW: Narrow end untied, to take out fish. Catch otters and minnows with this trap, also.

233. See note 219.

234. Mo: Willow pack basket used. NS: Seed beater (patai) used.

Angling.--

235. Kl: Hooks made of sucker's tailbone or of bone shank and 2 bone points (see Spier, Klamath, fig. 10, p. 154) denied by informant. SE: Sing while angling, to make fish swallow hook and keep on line. AW: Before fishing, man swallows food without chewing it, in imitation of fish swallowing hook and line. MM: Quincy MM informant (Maria Hedricks) stated bilateral

● 227 double-barbed bone hooks used; several tied on long string; 1 end of string tied to bush, other end which had hooks on it, tied around rock; rock thrown far out into stream. Indian Valley MM informant knew nothing of this.

237. Slender piece of bone, 2-3 in. long, ends pointed. Kl: Made of deer bone: baited with minnow; used at night.

238. SW: Meat tied on end of string for crawfish and catfish; line with fish on it drawn up slowly and flat basket shoved underneath fish when they get near surface of water. AW: Same technique used for crawfish. Fishlines dyed red with bark of tree (alder ?), so that fish cannot see line in water.

239. Kl: As many as 10 gorges fastened to line of native twine.

Harpoons, spears.--

241. SW: Rarely used.

246. At: Harpoon used for salmon, but due to scarcity of salmon in streams in area, harpoon used infrequently. AW, WS, NF: Harpoon used for salmon (see notes 219, 282). WS: Harpoon used in connection with scaffold (see note 226).

250. At: 4 points; used to spear trout, mainly, from boats.

253. Kl: Mountain mahogany wood.

258. Kl: Grapple or gaff recent; formerly raised end of spear slowly upward; impaled fish "sometimes came off" and escaped.

Other fishing techniques.--

000 260. SW: In still water of Modoc County; also in Klamath River; boys.

262. AE: Most of fish obtained, secured by this method. Women churn up water in stream after putting plants in it. NF, NS, MV: Soaproot used. AE, WT, MM, NM: Use of soaproot denied. MV: Also use horehound as fish poison. Data on use of turkey mullein (dove weed), manroot, ginsing too unreliable to include, as informants did not know common English names for plants used. WM: Soaproot used in Stillwater area as fish poison, but not in McCloud area, where "river runs too swiftly" to use fish poisons. WS: Soaproot obtained from vicinity of Redding, where plentiful; absent in Upper Sacramento region; not used for fish poison in latter area, although streams not so large as in McCloud area.

226 263. Kl: In spring only, when many fish running. Mo: By women. AW: Done frequently during salmon run at falls on Pit River at site of present Pit 1 power house; not done in any other streams within Achomawi area.

264. SW: Fires built alongside dams; pitch-pine torches used as flares also.

265. Kl: Round-mouthed net (see element 205) "just like a dipper" used in winter, only, to dip up fish through hole in ice. Men pound with poles on top of ice, dance, to frighten the fish. AE: Fish dipped up through hole in ice.

[174-A]

000 267. WS, MM, NF, MV: Club cut from limb of tree.

271. SE: When catching salmon in net, only.

[227 415] 273. Kl: Twined tule basket, 14 in. high, 24 in. wide at top. Packed on back with pack strap; made, used expressly for carrying fish. Mo: Openwork twined conical willow pack basket used. WT: Willow basket, with small opening at top; widens out at bottom; bottom lined with leaves. Imitation of modern creel? MM, MF: "Use any sort of basket to pack home fish." NS: Pack basket.

Fishing observances.--

278. SE: When catching salmon in net, only. SW: See note 144. AW: Have "medicine" which counteracts any baneful effect. MV: When trapping salmon, do not eat any meat.

279. Mo: First of any species of fish or game youth secures taboo to him; if he ate it he would be "no account, have no luck in future." For salmon specifically, see note 282. At: First fish, game of any species taboo to youth and his parents. For salmon specifically, see note 282. AW: First deer, duck, fish boy kills taboo; also first deer, duck, fish youth catches after he has been sent out on vision quest and obtained vision should not be eaten by him. For salmon specifically, see note 282. At: See note 282. MV: First fish of any variety secured by youth treated same as first game (see note 137).

280. MM, NM, NS, MV: First sucker caught by youth taboo to him also; denied by MF, NF.

[226 282. Kl: No salmon in Klamath Marsh, but abundant elsewhere in area; run in spring. Suckers, etc., abundant in marsh area. Mo: Mullet, trout chiefly, available in Tule Lake; no salmon. SE: Salmon plentiful in area; first salmon caught with line, after which salmon can be speared. SW: Salmon abundant in area. Shasta do nothing with first salmon they catch, but before they begin fishing, first salmon is caught down-river from them, by "a man who was raised at Hamburg [i.e., who belonged to Kammatwa group, a small buffer group between the Shasta proper and the Karuk, on the Klamath River; see Dixon, Shasta, p. 388, and Kroeber, Karok Towns, pp. 36-37]. Formerly he [Kammatwa man] caught this salmon in spring, at beginning of 'summer salmon' run; he used certain plants available at this season for rite. Perhaps he ate head, only, of this first salmon. Now, however, summer salmon run in September, and plants needed for rite are dried up by then." After this rite had been performed at Hamburg, the Shasta can catch summer salmon, dry and store them, but cannot eat them. Before they can eat fresh salmon, the Karuk down-river have to have given the White Deerskin dance (kuwarik - Shasta name). Shasta attend this dance as spectators; Shasta men avoid hunting at this time, so they will not see smoke from fire on mountains, which is built at beginning of dance. Previous to White Deerskin dance, the Shasta cannot catch or eat steelhead (rainbow

[174-B]

*657 continued to be exploited for fifty years, until the owners of the
177 abutting land put an end to it. On the reservation, the Sprague
226 and Williamson continue to supply a catch, although the drying
[251] of fish for the winter, common enough on the Lower End until
about thirty years ago, has now passed into disuse.

*657 Similarly root gathering continued to be an important activity
178 for many years, leading Nickerson to suggest that several of the
177 palatable and nourishing roots used by the Indians for food
222 "could be materially improved by continued cultivation."[62] "Root
[412] probes," or "camas diggers," as well as "fish spears" and fish
• [227] hooks were forged by Agency blacksmiths for years.[63]

*657 Wokas long remained a staple for the Klamath. In 1881 Nicker-
son, noting that each family gathered some five to fifteen bushels,
178 added "this wokus, with dried fish, forms a large portion of the
222 food of those who have not the money with which to purchase
262 flour and groceries."[64] About the turn of the century, Coville
observed a thriving wokas-gathering industry with a vast expanse of marsh to exploit, and speculated on the possibility of processing the seed commercially as a breakfast food.[65] The decline of wokas gathering parallels in time the Indian's diminishing use of dried fish, another winter food.

*657 A similar course can be traced for those fall activities, hunting
177 and berrying. From at least 1872, Indians were reported leaving
178 the reservation in September to hunt and gather berries in the
222 Cascades.[66] In addition, the men on occasion went on a spring
224 hunt for antelope and mule deer at the north end of the reservation.[67] Gradually the fall berrying and hunting came to be concentrated at the "huckleberry patch" on Huckleberry Mountain, southwest of Crater Lake. Hunting has continued to be both a sport and a means of providing food; and if the preparation of jerky has declined, it is because the freezer has displaced it.
[251] The drying of berries and wild fruits has been rendered obsolete
by canning. There is local testimony that the killing off of predators by fur hunters and stock raisers has caused an increase of deer upon the reservation itself. It is not infrequent for a single family to consume six to fifteen or more deer in the course of a year. One tribal leader from the Upper End, a man then less than forty years of age, remarked in 1958 that until his family

[p.347-B]

226 868 large fish, there is a harpoon with two detachable heads; the boy learns its use after he has mastered the other spears. Fish are often speared at night by torchlight. Here again it is the father who instructs the boy.

[227] Fish are also taken in a triangular dip net used from the bow of a canoe. This net is large and cumbersome, so that only a strong adult is able to manipulate it when full of fish. Younger fellows of ten or so help by beating their canoe paddles against the side of the boat to scare the fish toward the net. If they are in shallow water near the shore, the paddles are slapped against the tules. Often, a boy paddles the canoe while his father handles the net in the bow.

Line fishing is not of great importance, but this method is sometimes used and is often the first method a boy learns (usually by himself or from older boys); it is also the only one at which women occasionally help. There are at least two varieties of bone hook which are attached to a nettle-fiber line. Boys catch crawfish in their hands to use as bait.

227 887 The manufacture of nets is an important winter occupation of the old men and a few old women. Both men and women twist the nettle fiber into twine. Children like to watch the net making because they enjoy listening to the old people gossip or argue about how many months remain before the spring fish run. However, the children never help with this process. A fully grown man learns to manufacture nets from the old men. The manufacture of fish spears and harpoons is also left to mature men.

501 868 Before taking part in certain types of fishing, boys must know how to handle the canoes. This same ability is required for girls before they can go after water-lily seeds. Most families have two or more dugout canoes of varying lengths, which can be propelled by either pole or paddle.[25]

[857] Riding in canoes is not a new experience to the child, for infants on cradleboards are taken out in them. Older children often go out with their mother or father and sit or stand in one end of the canoe. The boat is apt to be unstable, and the child is warned not to tip it by moving around.

Parents need not urge children to learn how to handle a canoe, for they are all eager to do so. As one man put it, "Nowadays every kid wants to have a car. It used to be like that with canoes." Indeed, children sometimes "borrowed" canoes when no adults were present.

> The women were all out getting wokas so another girl and I took my aunt's extra canoe. I didn't know how to work the pole. I held onto the end of it and kept pushing till I almost fell over the edge of the canoe. Some people came by in another canoe

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[25] See Coville (1897), p. 89; idem (1904), p. 728; Barrett, pp. 247 f.; Spier, pp. 169-171; and Voegelin, elements 858-893.

STONE IMPLEMENTS.

412 Several forms of stone implements are quite commonly found
[262] among the Klamath. Most characteristic of these is the two-
horned muller (pl. 21, fig. 2), used with the flat, very thin metate
[324] in grinding wokas, the chief food of the region. The process of
grinding with these implements is shown in pl. 12, fig. 1. The
muller is held so that the horns or ears point from the operator
and the grinding is done on the stroke of the muller from the
operator, the stroke toward the operator being very light indeed.
[252] A second form of muller, described by informants, but not now
in use, has a loop instead of the two horns. No special ceremonial
or religious significance seems to be attached to either of
these forms. Another, very small metate and a small grinding
stone or muller (pl. 21, fig. 1) are employed in the grinding of
certain seeds which are parched and used as food. The motion in
grinding with the small muller is circular, not backward and
forward as in the case of the larger one. These small milling
implements are also used by girls as playthings in the grinding
of wokas and other seeds.

Small mortars and pestles are quite commonly used at the present time and are still made by the people of this region. They are used chiefly by old people whose teeth are poor, for grinding dried fish and meat, though they are also employed in grinding seeds. The pestles used with these mortars are more or less crude. Those shown in pl. 21, figs. 3 and 4 are exceptionally well fashioned. A typical mortar is shown in fig. 6 of the same plate.

Another special implement of stone is the maul (pl. 21, fig. 8).
This, unlike the pestle, is always made with a decided conical
form. It varies up to five inches or so in diameter, and is from
[313] six to perhaps ten inches in length. It was used in driving the
elkhorn and mountain-mahogany wedges which were employed
in splitting trees, particularly for canoe making, as has been
[178] already described. Neither the wedge nor any other elkhorn
implement is now to be found in this region. Grooved sinkers
227 of elliptical or triangular form are used on the gill net. One
of these triangular sinkers is shown in pl. 21, fig. 7.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

M
K

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 10.

226 Fig. 1.—Large triangular dip net at rest in canoe.

227 Fig. 2.—Net being dipped.

501 Fig. 3.—Net being raised.

Fig. 4.—Frame of net being fixed at prow of canoe preparatory to gathering in the net.

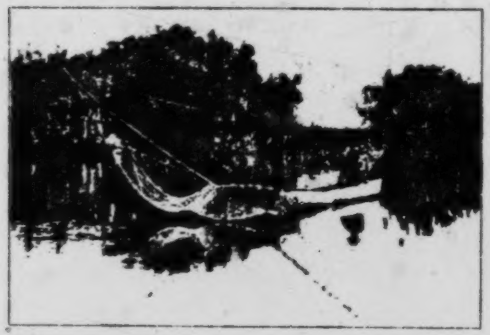

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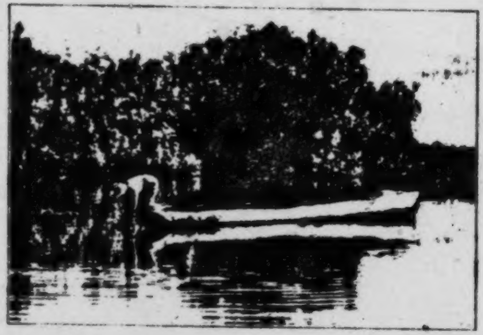

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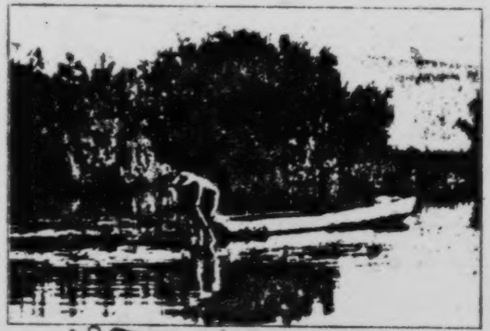

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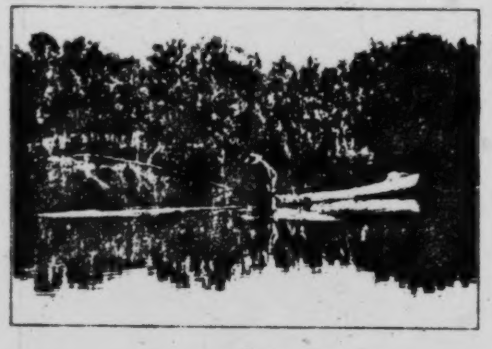

4

CANOE AND DIP-NET.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907), 1910

NR10 Klamath NR10

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[p. 263]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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[291]
[415]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 19.

Fig. 1.—Fish-trap of plain-twined basketry. The warp consists of willow rods. Museum number 1-12247. Length 89 cm.

Fig. 2.—Tule moccasin for winter wear, in use.

Fig. 3.—Large canoe-shaped basket of tule, in openwork-plain twining, used as a floating receptacle in gathering wokas pods. Museum number 1-12639. Length 141 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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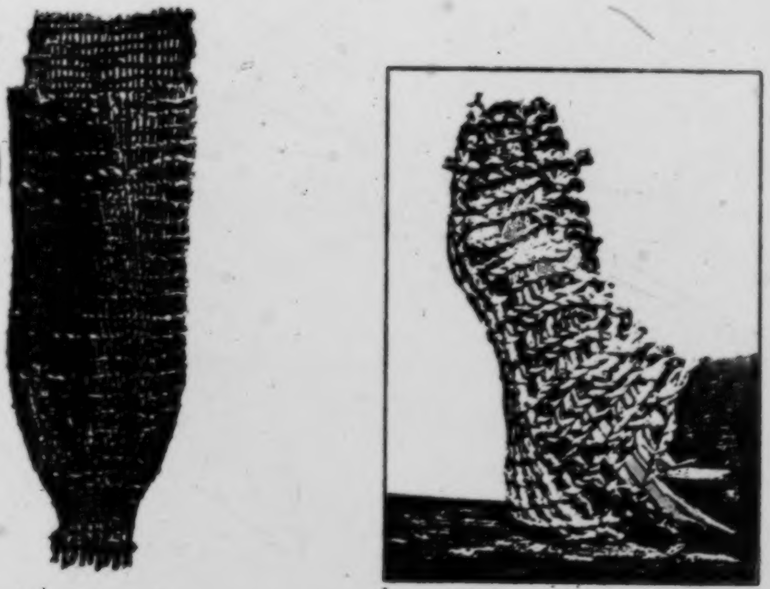
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FISH TRAP AND TULE MOCCASIN.

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K
[415]

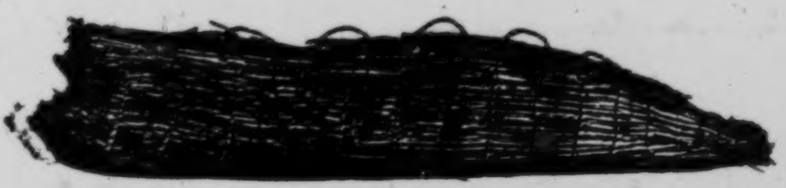
3

BASKET FOR GATHERING WOKAS.

[p.281]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910

NR10 Klamath NR10

Modoc NS17

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 22.

K

M Fig. 1.—Torch of sagebrush bark. Museum number 1-12815. Length 71 cm.

227 Fig. 2.—Comb made of the tail of a porcupine. Museum number 1-12678.
276 Length 21 cm.

Fig. 3.—Fishhook and line. The hook consists of a straight piece of
284 bone pointed at both ends. Museum number 1-12755. Length of hook 8 cm.

372 Fig. 4.—Pair of bone harpoon points, partly covered with pitch, for
412 spearing fish. Museum number 1-12768. Length of points 8 and 10 cm.

Fig. 5.—Bone knife for separating inner and outer bark of pine. Museum number 1-12682. Length 28 cm.

Fig. 6.—Pair of double-pointed bone fishhooks. Museum number 1-12763. Length of shank 12 cm.

Fig. 7.—Bone mesh-measure for making nets. Museum number 1-12680. Length 13 cm.

Fig. 8.—Obtuse-angled pipe bowl of stone. Museum number 1-12382. Height 9 cm.

Fig. 9.—Stone pipe bowl. Museum number 1-12580. Height 4 cm.

Fig. 10.—Pipe with discoidal bowl of stone and short wooden stem. Museum number 1-14137. Height 11 cm.

Fig. 11.—Shuttle with string for making nets. Museum number 1-12871. Length 70 cm.

5: **Barrett** E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

M
K
392
←
412
→

M
K
227
M
K
412
284
→

M
K
227
←
276
→

M
K
276

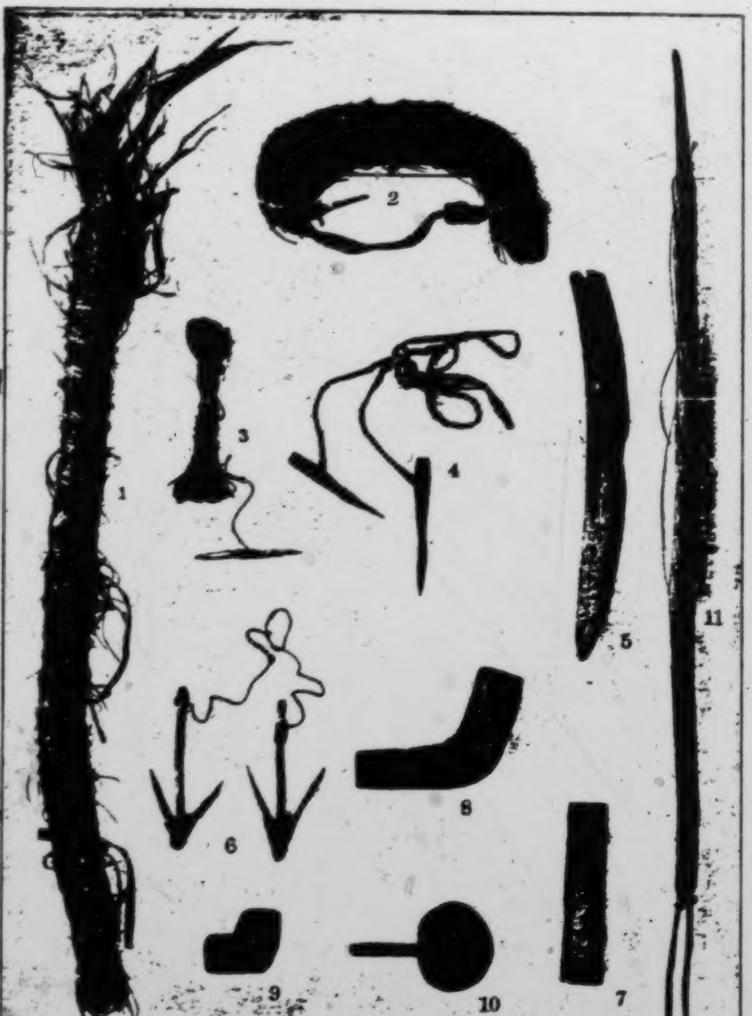

TORCH, COMB, FISHHOOKS, HARPOON POINTS, BONE KNIFE, MESH-MEASURER, PIPES, AND NETTING SHUTTLE.

[p. 287]

> [141] [231] They are well provided with bows and arrows. They have only one horse. Snow is so deep, horses perish for want of food. In winter, they live on roots. In summer on antelope and fish.
>
> December 1st. 30 Clammite Indians paid us a visit: fine men in good condition, but wretchedly clad. They say the river to the ocean is far distant and beaver they do not know. They say the Indians become more numerous as we advance to the ocean. . . . .
>
> [342] [161] [439] Tuesday 6th. Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defence against arrows but not balls. 200 of them collected about our camp and traded 4 days. The 2 chiefs delivered traps lost by Mr. McDonald last year with 8 beaver. This is much in favor of their honesty. On our march this day, we passed the camps from wh. Mr. McDonald turned back last year and are consequently strangers to the country in advance.
>
> [161] Thursday 8th. About 300 Indians around our camp. We advanced 6 miles south following the river south. I estimate the Clammitte nation 250 men.
>
> Monday 12th. Reached the lake [Klamath lake?] 1½ × 15 miles well wooded with maple and hazel; course S.

[361] The second visit on record is that of Frémont, who reached the northern shore of Klamath marsh on December 10, 1843. He saw smoke at what appeared to be the middle of the marsh and along the opposite shore. An unoccupied northern shore agrees with my own information. The following day he visited the village "in the middle of the lake (or savannah)," which appears to be one of those at the outlet of the marsh.

> [342] The huts were grouped together on the bank of the [Klamath] river, which, from being spread out in a shallow marsh at the upper end of the lake, was collected here into a single stream. They were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams.
>
> [226] [252] [285] [291] Almost like plants, these people seem to have adapted themselves to the soil, and to growing on what the immediate locality afforded. Their only subsistence at this time appeared to be a small fish, great quantities of which, that had been smoked and dried, were suspended on strings about the lodge. Heaps of straw were lying around; and their residence in the midst of grass and rushes had taught them a peculiar skill in converting this material to useful purposes. Their shoes were made of straw or grass, which seemed well adapted for a snowy country; and the women wore on their head a closely woven basket, which made a very good cap. Among other things, were parti-colored mats about four feet square, which we purchased to lay on the snow under our blankets, and to use for table cloths.
>
> [231] Numbers of singular-looking dogs, resembling wolves, were sitting on the tops of the huts. . . . .
>
> [648] They made us comprehend that they were at war with the people who lived to the southward and to the eastward; but I could obtain from them no certain information. . . . .
>
> This morning the camp was thronged with Tlamath Indians from the southeastern shore of the lake. . . . .

Frémont also remarked on the scarcity of their horses.[22]

Frémont reached Klamath lake again May 6, 1846. He commented on the outlet, Link river, "this is a great fishing station for the Indians." His statement on the distribution of their settlements coincides with my information. [231] [226]

> They have fixed habitations around the shores of the lake, particularly at the outlet and inlet [Williamson river], and along the inlet up to the swamp meadow [Klamath marsh], where I met the Tlamaths in the winter of '43–'44, and where we narrowly escaped disaster. . . . . The Indians made me understand that there was another large river [Williamson river] which came from the north and flowed into the lake at the northern end, and that the principal village was at its mouth, where also they caught many fish. [361] [131] [133]

Frémont's party made a circuit of the lake. It is curious that he does not mention the settlements about Pelican lake on the western side, which he could hardly have avoided. On the other hand it is not clear how closely his memoirs follow his diary. Attacked while on the western side, his party reciprocated by raiding a village on the opposite side, perhaps one of those on Williamson river just above the present highway bridge. [726]

> Behind the sage-bushes where they had taken their stand every Indian had spread his arrows on the ground in fan-like shape, so that they would be ready to his hand. . . . . Quantities of fish were drying, spread on scaffolds, or hung up on frames. The huts, which were made of tall rushes and willows, like those on the savannah above [Klamath marsh], were set on fire, and the fish and scaffolds were all destroyed.[23] [252] [342] [726]

The first invaders remembered by the Klamath came from the north about 1835. The stories about them have now a legendary flavor. The first group was mounted; the Klamath dubbed them mpĕ'tkoŋks (from mĕte!a', to pack about) from their roving habits. An alternative name, pásai'üks (French-Canadian in Chinook jargon), more surely identifies them. During their brief stay at the mouth of Williamson river they bought fat dogs of the Klamath, which to the latter's amazement, they ate. For these they gave buttons and metal disks with a central perforation (wika'lkal). 173 437 648

Almost as early was a white contingent moving northward on the west side of Klamath lake. The Indians watched them unseen. They were impressed with the horses, axes, and the food of the whites. 173 648 177

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[22] Frémont, Narrative, 122.

[23] Frémont, Memoirs, 483, 484, 494.

side of Wood river in much the same locality. These may be the 103
same site. 131

V. *Klamath Falls group (iu" laloŋkni).*—All the people of the lake 361
from Modoc point southward are named for their principal locality, iu"laloŋᴇ, Klamath falls. Despite the large area, they are relatively few in number. In summer they resort to the marshes west of the lake or fish on Lost river. The district along the eastern shore of the lake from Modoc point nearly to Algoma is called ne"luḳsi (ne"luḳs, a late sunrise), from the circumstance that a low mountain here cuts off the morning sunlight.

45, kᴇt!ai'ksi, point of rock, a promontory two miles or so northwest of Modoc point, is their northernmost settlement.

46, suwiakă'ĕks, jump over, is a large village at Modoc point. It extended on both sides of the headland and for three-quarters of a mile south. The place takes its name from a large rock (about three and a half feet high) which stands a half-mile south of the point. It was a trial of skill to run uphill and jump over the rock. Bare island (au'emi) opposite is their camp site, and has no permanent settlements.

47, iulă'u, promontory, is a fishing village occupied in early spring. Pictographs are painted on the rock slide north of this.

48, diu'wiaks (named for its little spring, di'wik) is a winter
settlement at the railroad point Ouxy. Little fish ran in the spring [226]
early in the year.

49, ḳau'ömöt, a half-mile south, is, like all these lake sites, crowded along the foot of the mountain on the lake shore. There are many
earth-lodges about a large spring here. The lodge rings are so clear [172]
that this would be a good place for archaeological excavations. Its name is from ḳau'öm, a place where fish run.

50, dī'tk!aḳs, boiling spring, is now known as Barclay spring. [133]
There are many earth-lodges north and south of this. Two cremation piles are to the north on the highway, one distant a hundred yards on a rock slide, the second twice as far and directly on the southern boundary of the reservation. Unlike the cremation piles on Williamson river, no glass beads or iron was to be found at this second site.
South of Barclay spring by three hundred yards is a deep nameless [231]
spring into which pups are thrown to train them for hunting. A large
sweat-lodge used by mourners is situated at the foot of the slope near [343]
the angle of the marsh east of Algoma.

WARFARE AND FEUDS

721 Klamath warfare is deserving of the name in contrast to the conflicts
of the northern Californian tribes. Raids are carried into
foreign parts for plunder, slaves, and revenge, and received in turn.
No single town or tribelet is alone concerned: warriors are drawn
[171] from the Klamath at large. This is in marked contrast to the Yurok
and their neighbors, e.g., whose foreign wars seem but an extension
of the private quarrels that set town against town, and in which the
large body of Yurok may remain neutral. Warfare is here not mere
retaliation, murder for murder, but is engendered by patriotic motive
and tangible benefits.

There can be little doubt that the Klamath attitude is due to their
contact with tribes of warlike habit to the north and east. Raids from
that direction had to be met and countered. The interesting circumstance
is that the Pit river people were under a similar compulsion
but apparently made no effort to cope with the raids by reciprocating.
So far as I can learn they never ventured against the Klamath despite
their equivalence or even superiority of numbers. The cause for the
difference seems to be that the Klamath had reason to raid; slaves and
[437] plunder were important to them. There was a market for these
articles at the Dalles with much-coveted horses to be had in return.
[231] The Achomawi had no such outlet. I would not underestimate the
difference in tribal solidarity, which may have been entirely lacking
[619] among the Achomawi, but the suggestion is that such solidarity may
in this instance be a function of a common cause against a common
enemy. The Klamath had their share of internecine warfare.

648 Besides the close bond with the Modoc, normally friendly relations
are maintained with the Molala across the Cascades, the Wütă'nkni
(Warm Springs people) of the Deschutes, and the Wishram-Wasco
648 at the Dalles. Warfare is directed toward all other directions. Raids
are exchanged with the Shasta several days' journey down the Kla-
721 math river, the Upland Takelma on the Rogue river, and the Northern
[231] Paiute (Snake) of the desert to the east. The Klamath fight the
Kalapuya and take horses from the Warm Springs Indians.[29] Since
horses were obtained by them, raids may be expected of the Ya'mökni
two hundred or more miles away; northerners generically, but in this

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[29] Gatschet, 1:18.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

connection the Sahaptins of the Columbia and the Cayuse seem 648
meant.[36] Both Ya'mōkni and Shasta made slaves among the Klamath. 721
How infrequent were these raids may be judged by the circumstance [567]
that my informants independently mentioned the half-dozen recorded
years ago by Gatschet, and no others.

The Pit river people, possibly only the Achomawi, may alone be
raided with impunity. Reciprocity on their part would lead them
only into the intervening territory of the hostile Modoc, who may well
have served the Klamath as a buffer. For their part the Klamath were [567]
stimulated by the lucrative traffic in slaves established with the Columbia
river tribes, and the majority of captives were by all accounts Pit
river people. Gatschet writes of these raids as a regular occurrence. 114
"In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround 437
the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their
homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place 567
at The Dalles"; and again, "the Lake men enslaved many every
spring time."[37] To be sure, consonant with Kroeber's view,[38] raiding [231] •
was undoubtedly accelerated by the appearance of the horse in the
north. Contacts were then more rapid, and the beast itself became
an important and desirable article to possess. But there can be no 567
doubt that the practice of taking slaves on Pit river was already
established. This is not only implied in the informants' statements,
but it must be kept in mind that slaves were an important element in
the society of the Wishram, Wasco, and their down-river neighbors.
This means that the Klamath were not only turning to slave-taking
as a lucrative traffic, but that slave-holding as indicative of social
distinction was becoming their habit by imitation.[39]

How frequently the Klamath made war as a whole is unknown. It 721
seems doubtful that concerted action was frequent. Perhaps large- 567

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[36] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of such a raid up the Deschutes about 187[illegible]. 619

[37] *Op. cit.*, 1:lix, 19.

[38] Handbook, 319.

[39] While the Klamath do not distinguish among the Pit river peoples raided, Kniffen's recent account of the Achomawi (Achomawi Geography) makes it clear that Klamath and Modoc descended most frequently on Achomawi settlements north of the Pit and also crossed it to Atsugewi territory in Hat Creek and Dixie valleys. The Achomawi proper about Fall river were subject to continual attack; the Hewisedawi, south of Goose lake, and the Astariwawi, near them on the Pit, bore the brunt. The Atsugewi divisions, Atsuge (Hat creek) and Aporige (Dixie valley), were also freely raided. The Atwamsini, on the middle Pit, and the Kosalektawi, on the extreme headwaters of the river, were reached much less frequently. The other groups of Achomawi were free from attack probably by reason of their inaccessibility; the Ilmawi, Itsatawi, and Madesi at the western end of their range, and the Hammawi on the extreme east.

Women also accompany a war party according to one informant, 726
but this is denied by another. They cook or paddle; that is easily 562
understood, but I am inclined to believe that they actually participate in conflict. Perhaps the solution is that they accompany feudists, but do not go on extended raids into enemy territory. Some are said to fight with the men, shouting and jumping about to add to the terrifying effect of the surprise. Armed with short spears by preference, they help to catch women and children and to slay the aged as they run to hide.

Leaders of the party are appointed by the chief, usually men of 701
affluence and commonly his relatives. There may be four or five leaders of a single large party. The qualities expected of them are bravery, ability to maintain their good sense in the excitement, and to go without sleep. Chiefs became such largely by the prestige of successful leadership in battle.

The war party proceed well-nigh naked and afoot no matter what 726
the weather. It is of some interest that even after the advent of the
horse they prefer to go afoot. This is reminiscent of the Blackfoot, [231]
but in our case at least may indicate how recent is the acquisition of [171]
the horse. My information suggests the second quarter of the last century for the coming of the horse, and the wars were over by about 1865. The raid against the Upland Takelma mentioned above was undertaken afoot. But this is not really a case in point because it is doubtful that there were then horse trails across these timbered mountains. The introduction of the horse facilitated long-range raiding. Gatschet's informant describes its use against the Pit river tribes about 1848–50; even then it was a ride of three days and a night.[46]
Canoe travel was of little importance in any but expeditions within [501]
their own territory.

A warrior's armament includes bow, club, and sometimes spear, 726
with shield and body armor. Fighting is wholly individual; there is
no sort of battle array. After the first rush of a surprise attack, they 411
fight by preference from cover. No line of bowmen ever fights in the open, nor do lancers make a concerted charge. The sinew-backed war bow is a powerful short-range weapon.[47] Arrow shafts are wooden, the heads of stone loosely affixed so as to remain in the wound when

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[46] *Op. cit.*, 1:19–27.

[47] Frémont observed that in 1846 he saw Indians behind the bushes with their arrows spread fan-wise so as to be ready at hand (Memoirs, 494).

648 fishing on Lost river near Olene. A shallow bowl-shaped twined
[439] basket, called ķ!we'lu, is obtained from the Modoc, who in turn trade
it from Pit river. There is no direct trade with the latter people.

• 231 Horses were first acquired in any number about 1840. They had
177 been previously acquainted with them in the hands of whites who
crossed their country about this time; dates are uncertain. Ogden
in 1826 remarked on a single horse seen as though it was a rarity
231 among them.[66] The first sources were Warm Springs and perhaps
177 some group immediately east of that place. These were obtained by
chiefs; others were too poor in slaves to buy them. The name given
437 the new animal follows the common habit, wa'teag from wate, dog.
Saddles (pă'olăs) were first made of antelope hide. Here, as in the Plains, horses served as a stimulator of contacts, especially with the Columbia river peoples. As I have remarked, their introduction seems responsible for the rapid increase in wealth, the flow of northern ideas concerning social stratification, importance of wealth and of slaveholding, Plains costume, and those predatory habits which furnished the withal to maintain the new status.

237 Buffalo (yo'ho) skins are obtained at second hand; the Klamath
177 know that their origin is east of the Umatilla, that is, in Idaho.
Buffalo never ranged into this country, although they reached the
437 Harney Lake district. But very few skins ever make their way into
527 Klamath hands; only men with many slaves can afford them. They
are wanted to cover a gambler's hands in the stick game, an opportunity for ostentation.

177 Parfleches (sķō'psōli, folded up) are traded from Warm Springs
437 people and Sahaptins beyond them on the Columbia. They are not
made by Klamath.

415 Incidentally, many older people have fluent command of Chinook
* 171 jargon. They, or somewhat doubtfully the Modoc, are the southernmost
people with whom this trade jargon is current. Kroeber remarks
437 on the fragments in use by Yuki and Shasta.[67] Naturally enough, it
191 served a purpose with the Columbia river peoples alone and was of but
small value with the whites coming from California.

556 It is interesting to know what constituted wealth among the Klamath, but with the old life now gone it is difficult to get direct evidence. However, certain things alone were spoken of when describing

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[66] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

[67] Handbook, 308, 319.

224 The Klamath are evidently catholic in their tastes, excluding among larger animals only the out-and-out carnivores.

Most land animals are taken with the bow. Snares are not used, even for birds, and the deadfall trap finds only occasional use. Snares (knēs) for deer, an important hunting device of northwestern California,[266] are said to be used by the Molala. Several hunting methods which might have been expected here are unknown: driving deer or antelope into an enclosure (chute-and-pound) or over a cliff, and the use of nets for taking rabbits.[267] The first is a Great Basin practice; the latter used both there and in California. Nor are pits dug on deer trails.

Deer driving of an alternative nature is practiced in at least one locality. At Pelican bay tongues of land extend into the marsh from the toe of the timbered mountains. The deer are driven onto these, where they can be readily shot, or pursued into the water where women wait in canoes to slay them. The humming sound of a buzzer made of a deer astragalus bone is a "sign of this."

The Klamath do not stalk the deer in disguise, but my informant ascribed this to the people at Yainax, i.e., Modoc or Paiute. They stuff the head skin of a deer to wear over their own heads, but add no horns; the body is covered by the attached deer hide.[268]

231 [224] Dogs are used in hunting, but not to the same extent as with the Molala, who employ them to track deer or drive game toward the hunter. The dogs are described as small, slim, with short legs, the hind legs crooked. They were short-haired, had erect ears, short faces, with sometimes black marks on the upper eyelids, called ķ!au'li. A rock south of Barclay spring is famous as a place to train hunting dogs. The puppy is thrown into a near-by spring while the master [552] hides behind the rock. A dog's name is given for individual markings or happenings, as wano'mgoķs, marten bites him. One received the name of a man, ķoi'yăs, because the dog was brown(?). Dogs are called by name, or tc!ïsk, tc!ïsk. They are chased away, cccc gĕ'ka, get out. To encourage them to fight, one says, kŭe, kŭe, kŭe.

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[114] [266] Kroeber, Handbook, 817. Barrett (Material Culture, 246) states that Klamath and Modoc took deer in snares, but I am certain he is mistaken.

× [171] [267] Despite a myth referring to this, my informant did not know whether the Northern Paiute use it.

[268] There is, however, an antelope headdress in the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 61678) which is ascribed to the Klamath. It is formed of the whole head skin of the animal, but is hardly more than a cap. Pendant from the rear is a bunch of hawk(?) feathers.

The judicial function of chiefs, dispensing fines and punishments, is 177
known to have been derived from the Columbia river tribes at 622
this time.

Some trade articles not manufactured by the Klamath also pertain 439
to this era: parfleches, skin bags, and buffalo hides from Warm Springs and the Dalles, flat basketry bowls from Pit river through the Modoc, and beads, even dentalia, from the same southern source or from the Shasta.

The second quarter of the last century saw the coming of the 177
horse. Ogden remarked on only one among them in 1826, but they
began to be obtained in numbers, probably from Warm Springs, about 231
1840. There can be little question that with the horse came elements of Plains culture from the half-Plains tribes of the Columbia-Snake, the adoption of predatory habits, and the great stimulus to slave-raiding and to slave-trading with the people at the Dalles on the Columbia.

Both tradition and inference assign Plains traits to this period. 177
The relative newness of Plains style of dress is attested by the incompleteness
with which it was adopted. It was never the universal garb, [291]
but confined to the wealthiest, and, most significantly, proscribed at
the performances of shamans and the Ghost dance. Further, men
did not wear Plains costume to war and set out on their raids afoot, [714]
even after the acquisition of horses, which suggests that the new
accouterment and habits had not taken firm root. The circular shield,
which also was never in general use, may well have come in at this
time. The earlier types of Plains garments here were only simply [291]
decorated or not at all. It is known that the elaborate beading of the
yoke and the use of scalps, etc., for appendages on women's dress, and [531]
the painted designs on men's shirts, are much more recent than the
first adoption of these garments. These local changes probably reflect
a similar transformation in decoration in the southern Plateau.
Possibly the dome-shaped sweat-lodge was introduced at this early [343]
period. It seems to have been displacing the small earth-covered
affair for some time. But the latter is also generically the eastern type, not the Californian, and is without doubt older than this incursion of Plains elements in the early nineteenth century. Finally, I cannot avoid the feeling that the sense of tribal solidarity, in which, even though but slightly developed, the Klamath differ from their Californian neighbors, dates from this contact with Plains-like peoples.

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS LIST

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element affirmed by informant.
−	Element denied by informant.
(+)	Element affirmed, but some doubt concerning it on part of informant or ethnographer.
(−)	Element denied, but with qualifications as in the preceding.
·	Element enquired about, but informant uncertain regarding it.
o	Absent because lacking or impossible in the environment. (Not to be confused with the symbol o preceding an element number, and which is explained below.)
R	Element said to be of comparatively recent introduction.
•	Further information concerning item is contained in the section "Ethnographic Notes on the Element List."
Blank	Element not enquired for by ethnographer.

The following symbols precede element numbers:

†	For statistical computations, the number or letter entries under this element have been read as plus.
‡	For statistical computations, the element has been broken into two or more (e.g., 1 foot or less; more than 1 foot).
o	For statistical computations, the element has been eliminated.

ELEMENTS	OCCURRENCE																
	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
BASIC ECONOMY																	
Hunting																	
Driving and Pursuing																	
1. Driving game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	224
2. Into enclosure	−	+	−	+	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3. Circular	−		−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	
4. With pit	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	
5. With V-shaped wings	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	
•6. Along fence, hunters in pits				•+							+	+	+	−	−	−	
7. Over cliff	−	+	+	−	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	
•8. Into water or mud	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+		−	+	−	(−)	
•9. To or past concealed hunter	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
10. Into trap, net or snare	+	•−	+	•−	•+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	
11. Surround by hunters	•−					+	+	−	−	+	−						
12. Surround by fire	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	
13. Dog used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	[231] ●
14. Pursuing game	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
15. Wounded animal only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	
16. Single hunter	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	
17. Group of hunters	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
18. In relays	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
19. Race: swiftest kills deer	−		+			+	+	−	+	−		·		−	−	+	
20. Shout to frighten quarry	−	+	+								+	·	−	−	−	+	
21. Hunters on snowshoes	+	+	+			+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	o	−	o	o	
22. Dog used	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	[231]
23. Trailing or tracking game	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Snares, Nets, Traps																	
24. Fence with nooses in gaps	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	•−	
25. For deer	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
26. For rabbits	•−	•−	−	+	+	−	−	+	o	+	•−	+	−	−	−	−	
27. For quail	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	[223]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
241 329. Seeds scattered to produce better crop	-	+	+				•+	-	-	-	-	(+)	(+)	.	+	-
312 329a. Irrigation	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-
Domesticated Animals and Pets																
Dogs																
231 330. Dogs kept	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	-	•+	-
331. By relatively few persons	+	+	+				•+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-
332. Bred	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
333. Bought from other localities	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-
334. Named	+	+	+	•+	+	.	+	•+	+	+	+	.	-	-	-	-
335. Used in hunting	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
336. Trained not to bark	•+	•+	•+				•+	•+	(-)	-	•(+)	-	-	-	-	-
[343] o337. Kept inside dwelling	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	±	+	+	-	-	-
338. Separate dog house	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
339. Semisubterranean, earth covered	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
340. Domed, thatched	-	-	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
341. Domed, bark covered	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[766] 342. Conical, slab	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
343. Burned at death, or death of owner	-	+	-	-	•-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	-	-	-
344. Buried	-	-	+	•-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	(-)	-	-	-
345. Body thrown outside	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	(-)	-	-	-
346. Suspended in tree at death of owner	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	+	-	(-)	-	-	-
Birds, Bear Cubs, Etc.																
347. Birds kept	•-	-	-	•+	+	-	•+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•-
348. Caged	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
349. Tied up	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
350. Wings plucked or cut	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-
351. Bear cubs kept	•+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
352. Deer fawns kept	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
353. Small mammals kept	-	•+	•+	+	+	-	-	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Food and Its Handling																
Staple Foods																
262 354. Deer staple flesh food	-	-	-	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	•-	+	+	+	+	+	-
355. Fish staple flesh food	•+	+	-	-	+	•+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+
356. Deer and fish equally important	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
357. Acorns staple plant food	•o	•o	•+	•+	•+	•+	•o	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
358. Sunflower seeds	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
359. Ipos or other bulbs	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	•-	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+
360. Water lily seeds	+	+	-	-			•+		-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-
Animals Eaten																
361. Dog eaten habitually	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
[261] 362. Dog eaten during famines, epidemics	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
363. Fox	-	•+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
364. Coyote	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
365. Wolf	-	+	-	-	•+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	o	-	-	-
366. Grizzly bear (Ursus horribilus)	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	o	o	-	o	-
366a. Brown bear (Ursus americanus)	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	o	-	+	(+)
367. Deer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
368. Elk (wapiti)	+	+	+	+	o	+	o	+	o	+	o	+	o	o	o	+
369. Antelope	+	+	+	+	o	•+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	+
o370. Puma	-	+	-	-	+	•+	+	+	+	+	-	-	(o)	+	-	-

ELEMENTS DENIED

BASIC ECONOMY

Hunting

223 *Snares, nets, traps, booths and blinds*.--Bag
net used for waterfowl. Poles with stones as
224 weights for deadfall. Pitfall with noose in
bottom of pit. Arrow with string attached. *Decoys,
disguises; other hunting techniques*.--
Wooden head used as visual decoy. Live birds
[178] used as decoys (At: recently only). Live mammals
used as decoys (Kl: recently only). Hide
fan, to smoke out rodents. *Butchering of large
game*.--Deer's eyes eaten raw by hunter.

Fishing

226 *Nets; weirs, scaffolds, pens; traps*.--Tule-wrapped clay ball sinkers. Bag net dragged. Shell rattle on net. Stick pens, not associated with weirs. Basketry or pole trough. *Angling; other techniques*.--Feather "fly." Hair "fly." Hair string or ball. Knot or block on end of line. Shooting fish taboo. Lamprey gaff. Buckeye used for poisoning fish. *Fishing observances*.--Special disposal of salmon or other fishbones. First-fish rite: priest or chief catches first fish; only priest or chief eats first fish; similar rite for lampreys.

Gathering

222 *Gathering techniques and observances; pre-agriculture*.--Stone ring weighted digging stick. Digging stick with footrest. Bone or horn pointed digging stick. Stone pointed digging stick. Horn seed beater. Seed knife. Agriculture. Irrigation of wild-seed crops.

Domesticated Animals and Pets

● 231 *Dogs, birds, bear, etc.*--Domesticated animals, other than dog. Named after owner's totem. Separate dog house, conical, thatched. Own totem animal kept.

Food and Its Handling

262 *Animals eaten*.--Road runner (informants from
825 all groups except MF, NF, MV ignorant as to any
bird by this name, which indicates its probable
absence. MF, NF do not eat it, MV regard it as
poisonous.) Buzzard (WS, MM, NF, NM informants
stated buzzard absent from area). Crabs. Slugs.
252 Frogs. *Food preparation*.--Small mammals pounded
before eating. Dried meat or fish ground, berries
added. Bone awl for lamprey splitting.
Acorns leached in openwork basket. Acorn "coffee"
(NS: modern). Stone boiling in stone
bowls; in hide in ground; in paunch in ground.

[163-A]

00D ponds which form, in effect, natural irrigation system.

Domesticated Animals and Pets

Dogs.--

231 330. Kl: Single variety, prick ears, short tail, short hair, about 18 in. high; varicolored

00D (?). Man or woman may own either male, female dog; no rule. Mo: Single small variety, prick ears, short hair, brown and black. SE: Small variety; large prick ears. At: About size of fox, coyote; small prick ears; short hair and long hair, fawn or brown colored. AW: 2 varieties. Small dog, 12 in. high, short hair; not used for hunting, "just stayed around house." Large dog (qɔ'lɔha'), "pretty nearly as big as a calf," used for hunting. Both varieties enter into mythology; Butterfly (aponaha) "who had power and could do anything, made the big dogs. He had a little dog in his sack; he was going to fight Kowilla (a big lizard, a bad man), who had a big dog. Aponaha blew on his little puppy and told him to 'grow, grow,' so that he could fight Kowilla's big dog. The puppy grew, and whipped the big dog." AE: Single variety, similar to coyote in appearance; prick ears, short hair, tawny; small-to-medium size; females generally have only 1-2 pups. WM: Prick ears, short hair. MF, NF: Dogs imported; high priced; difficult to obtain. People go "to a sharp country (see below, NS), throw a round rock down a slope; bitch chases the rock, and while she is away, people steal her pups from her hole; never try to catch mother of the pups." NS: Mt. Diablo known as sukumyama (dog mountain); bitch has hole there; men roll large stone down mountain, bitch chases it; meantime men steal her pups from hole.

331. AE: Dogs scarce; owned by rich men only.

334. SW: Name dogs after animal; bad tempered dog named for grizzly, good hunting dogs for wolf, puma. WT: Names of nickname variety: "log," "'porch'--because dog was always lying on porch."

335. See 13, 22, note for 23.

[231] 336. Kl, Mo, SE, AE, WT, MM: Dogs "sniff" instead of barking, as signal of strangers' approach. SE: Huč, huč (sic 'em). AE: Never bark; "trained not to bark away back; hit them if they did."

337. Mo: Stay in "kitchen" or cook house. WM, WS: Stay in porch of dwelling house.

343. At: Widow keeps husband's dog.

344. SW: "Against the rule to bury dogs."

346. SW: Hung or given to relative of deceased. WT: Could give no reason for custom, except that "dogs like to be hung thus; it makes his spirit glad; if buried, dog's spirit is dissatisfied, because not treated right."

Birds, bear cubs, etc.--

[223] 347. Kl: Shoot eagles, to secure their feathers. SW: Eagles only; kept tied by leg, beside spring. When grown freed; dangerous. AE: Eagles; kept when young in heavy tule basket cage; later

000 kept tied by leg. Fed squirrels, raw meat. Do not pluck, cut wings; ultimately freed. WT: Grouse kept. NS: Eagles kept. See elements 5198-5206a. MV: "Don't allow eagle to be kept." Eagle and swan feathers used chiefly for great variety of feather ornaments, etc., that MV make; eagle shot with bow and arrows when feathers needed.

348. AE: See note 347. WM: In basket, when young.

350. NS: After eagle killed.

[231] 351. Kl: When cub gets "mean," kill it.

352. WT: "Deer wish one bad luck, if one keeps fawn as pet; people die very shortly if they keep a pet fawn."

353. Mo: Skunk. SE: Mink. WT: Cottontail rabbits, squirrels.

Food and Its Handling

Staple foods.--

354. SW: In discussing horn utensils, informant said, "The Hupa, Karuk, Yurok bought horn from the Shasta for spoons. They didn't hunt much down-river; mostly fished, so they didn't use much deermeat. Fish is first, deermeat second, among down-river tribes; it's the other way around for the Shasta." AE: Deer and antelope; latter mentioned frequently by informant. WS: Deer hunted chiefly in winter; "best way to get them is in snow."

[261] 355. Kl: Starvation periods affirmed; "in winter whole families died, all around this [Williamson] River, 100 years ago." Good deal of deer, elk, antelope meat eaten although fish staple food. AW: Starvation periods denied; "people didn't know anything about starving here, in old times; they had plenty of fish, ducks, deer, acorns, roots; people from Alturas (AE) came down here in winter." (See also note 1747.) MV: "Plenty of food, year round; if 1 variety of acorn fails 1 year, have plenty of other varieties; not like people up in foothills, where have only 1 variety; if this fails, they starve. Also have plenty of game: fish, ducks, deer in fall."

[262] 357. Kl, Mo: Acorns not used. SE, SW: Acorns used extensively; pine nuts not used much. At, AW: Acorns used extensively; little use of sugar-pine nuts. AE: No oaks in area; a few pine nuts from piñon pine obtained in Hammawi area to E; parties camp there for 3-4 weeks in October, some years. WT: Acorns, digger and sugar-pine nuts gathered. WM, WS, MM, MF, NF: Acorns and pine nuts gathered. NM: Acorns and sugar-pine nuts gathered. NS: Acorns and pine nuts. MV: 4 varieties of acorns in area--live oak, white oak, tan oak, and valley oak; mountain-oak acorns imported, are richest in oil. Pine nuts obtained at Lookout (in MF area); see note 300b.

358. At: Important small seed food; 3 varieties. AW: Important seed food.

[222] 359. Kl, Mo, SE, At, AW, AE: Dig ipos roots;

[177-A]

000 [222] plentiful in Hat Creek (At) area; also rob gopher holes of stored roots. WT: "Wild potatoes [sp.?] about only root crop." WS: "No roots in area."

[222] 360. AE: Plentiful in area; in contrast to Kl, who still gather wokus to some extent, AE no longer "bother with them; people say now 'I'm not a bird.'" MP: Water lilies "poisonous."

Animals eaten.--

361. That is, as food, not merely during famines or epidemics.

261 362. Kl: "Long time ago [pre-White], when all people dying [in some sort of epidemic] and Indian medicines didn't work, man said he was going to try dog meat [as a cure]; he roasted a dog and ate it, and it cured him"; others followed suit, and also recovered. Kl ate dog meat only on such an occasion (cp. Spier, Klamath, p. 130). A long time after this, the White people purchased dogs from the Kl with shell beads, and ate them." At: "3 persons once ate dog, during epidemic; it made them well; dog is good medicine." Also eaten in time of famine.

000 363, 364. Mo: Eaten only during times of scarcity.

365. At: Eaten whenever procurable.

366, 366a. Mo: Grizzly bear eaten only by few people. AE: Grizzly and brown bears lacking in area but sometimes hunted to W.

369. AW: Antelope lacking in area; sometimes hunted to E.

370. AW: Eaten by some persons only.

[224] [262] 372. Tail eaten. Kl: Beavers shot in springtime, from canoe. AW: Eaten by some persons only.

373. AW, WS: Eaten by some persons only.

374. WM: Some persons eat, not all. Raccoons tracked to den in winter, and dug out.

375. Mo: Highly esteemed.

376. Kl: See note 26.

380. AW: Mole hide used, but mole not eaten.

382. At: Killed only in wintertime.

387. Mo: Flavor disliked, but eaten in times of scarcity.

391. MM: Caught in fish net.

[23] [262] 392. Kl: Catch and keep them, but do not eat them. At: Eaten by Goose Valley (Aporige) group of At. AW: "Goose Valley people (see above) very fond of turtle, eat lots of them."

394. SE: Lizard used for poison, "scalp of lizard and frog pounded together, put in food as poison."

395. SW: People of Shasta Valley and vicinity of Montague eat crickets, but crickets lacking in SW area. If SW people visiting in Shasta Valley at right time, they gather, eat crickets. Insects pounded into meal, stored. AW: Not many grasshoppers eaten; those that are, are boiled. Eaten by Dixie Valley (Aporige) people in large quantities. WM: Crickets lacking in area, but gathered on trips to S.

396. Mo: Eat 4 varieties.

397. MV: Angleworms made into soup are "good medicine."

[177-B]

000 4610. AW: See note 4605. Formerly Thunder made noise all time, but in contest between Thunder and Raven, Raven finally told Thunder, "Don't make noise all the time; the only time you can make a noise is when somebody dreams about you, in spring." See note 4612. WT: See note 4600.

4611. WM: Twin boys returning "to see their own baby basket [cradle]; make noise when on earth." See note 4604.

4612. AW: During contest between Thunder and Raven, Thunder decreed that if any woman who is about to be delivered of a child in springtime dreams that she is struck by lightning, she will be killed. See notes 4600, 4610. Informant's wife had dreamt of lightning under these circumstances; her mouth became crooked, but "a doctor was called; he came and kicked the cloud back; he talked to it" and patient recovered. NF: See note 4600.

4613. SW: Hold up raccoon skin and tell Thunder to go away, as there are too many rattlesnakes in vicinity; "go to some other place." At: Any sort of skin including raccoon skin held on stick.

[92 1] 4614. Kl, SE: Pinch bitch's ear.

● [23 1] 4615. Serviceberry stick.

4616. SW, AE, WT: Thunder commanded to go away, especially when people camping out. AE: Tell Thunder couple, "Go that way [naming mountain]; that's where your grandfather and grandmother went." WM: Talk to twin boys, welcome their return. See note 4604. WS: Shaman talks to boys, to make them stop.

4618. At: Lightning issues from mouth of Thunder man, "like a snake." AW: Lightning issues from Thunder's hand, when he raises his arm (wing) to strike.

[92 1] 4625. Women, only, cover head. Kl, MF, NF,
● [56 2] MV: Cover head with willow basket. NM, NS: Cover head with deerskin.

Whirlwind; rain and storms.--

4629. AW: "Don't bother much about whirlwind; they let children run into them for fun; there is no danger."

4631. SW: Does not contain poison, but dead shaman sends his dust, and later person struck will suffer some minor misfortune, such as turning ankle. NF: But see note 5040.

4632. SE: Also, whirlwind rising from ashes of house burnt after death is dangerous; ashes will make person sick.

4633. WM, NF, MV: Whirlwind is spirit of dead person.

4635. Mo, SE, AE, WT, WM, WS, NF: Bad for mourners to dream of, especially. Among Mo, SE, AE, WT, WM, WS if mourners dream thus, it means that whirlwind will take dreamer's spirit. See also element 4646a. SE: Also it is "bad for any man to dream of whirlwind or of butterfly; means he will be burnt up." NF: Also bad for menstruants, women in labor to dream of.

4639. AW: Also, whirlwind may give power to run fast.

[237-B]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

TWO

[P. 22]

The Frontier Condition

726 FOR MANY YEARS THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WILLAMETTE AND COLUMBIA
648 valleys bypassed the tribes of the Klamath Basin.[1] Indirectly,
175 however, they felt the first remote influences, as the
Sahaptin-speaking tribes of the middle Columbia, equipped with
the superior weapons of the trading posts and mounted on horses
acquired from the Shoshonean bands to the south, began to raid
up the Deschutes Valley to take Klamath slaves.[2] The Klamath
[231] were at a disadvantage: in 1826 Peter Skene Ogden, of the
Hudson's Bay Company, found them with but a single horse
[411] and uneasily awaiting raids by joint parties of Cayuse and Nez
Percés; and even by midcentury they had only one firearm
among them.[3] The scantiness of the local beaver made their
territory of little interest to the company, however, and they came
to enjoy a reputation as fierce warriors which preserved them
[101] for some time from settlers. Nonetheless, they were known even
then to the tribes of the Columbia, for Ogden applied to them
a name, "Clammite," that was not their own and seems to stem
from Chinookan.[4]

648 Some ten years after Ogden passed through, a party of French-Canadian
175 trappers made their way into the region and on their
return to The Dalles took along some Klamath.[5] From that time
on, contact with the tribes at that great Indian trading center increased.
Klamath parties moved down the Deschutes Valley,
making their way either to The Dalles itself, or branching westward
down the north fork of the Santiam along what came to
be known as the Klamath Trail, through the settlement of the
northern Molala, thence to the Kalapuya on the outskirts of
648 Oregon City. There, in 1843, one missionary recorded the visit
567 of "a large party of the Clamath tribe, fierce and warlike . . .
439 with about twenty slaves, [who] sold most or all of them. Some,
435 I was informed were sold for three horses each,
175 some cheaper."[6]

[Klamath Reservation]

I was informed were sold for three horses each, some cheaper."[6] 000

In the changing conditions of the early nineteenth century, K
the Klamath were caught up in currents generated from without. 175
The advent of horses and of firearms made it possible for the 177
tribes of the east-central Plateau, the eastern Salish and eastern 648
Sahaptin, to cross the Rocky Mountains, to hunt buffalo and [231]
enter into relations, both peaceful and bellicose, with the tribes [411]
of the Plains. As they came under Plains influence, the appeal K
of Plains garb, of parfleches and tipis, grew.[7] The Klamath were [291]
attracted to these new goods, and the clothing at least came to [556]
replace or supplement traditional forms of wealth.

Moreover, the horse and the gun had revolutionized warfare K M
patterns. Although traditional enemies beyond the Cascades 175
were preoccupied with white settlers, on the east the Paiute were 177
gradually developing mounted bands of great mobility and 726
striking power. The Klamath and Modoc were not slow to seek 231
the new instruments of war. 411

The opening trade to the north brought a corresponding K M
intensification of the raids carried south into the territory of the 175
Pit River tribes—the Achumawi and Atsugewi—to capture women 177
and children, Pit River bows, and other loot. As Chiloquin, one 721
of the leaders of the time, recalled:

> When the Snakes [Northern Paiute] made war on us that made us keen to fight other Indians and we made war without provocation on the Pitt Rivers, Shastas and Rogue Rivers, but they never made willing war on us. Those wars lasted a great many years. We found we could make money by war, for we sold the provisions and property captured for horses and other things we needed. It was like soldiers nowadays who fight for money. We made war because we made money by it and we rather got to like it anyhow. The Snakes provoked us to make war on them.[8]

With developing warfare and the accumulation of foreign K M
wealth came a gradual transformation of Klamath, and to a 175
lesser extent, of Modoc society. The forays into hostile country 178
enlarged the scale of the war party. Chiloquin speaks of a body 726
totaling one hundred warriors, which included, according to Spier,
members of all the Klamath tribelets, and took in some Modoc as
well.[9] A joint raid on the part of Umpqua, Upland Takelma, and
other western tribes brought one such retaliatory reprisal about

[Klamath Reservation]

> *657 a mere change of externals, yet the white man's ways as the red
> 177 man understood them were adopted with a rapidity unequalled
> 241 in most Indian tribes. . . .
>
> The vegetables grown that first year [corn, beans, turnips, carrots, peas, potatoes, artichokes, and onions][1] were a revelation and a delight to the Indians, who had previously lived so largely on small native roots. I have heard my father say that they were particularly captivated by beets which, with their red juice, they thought resembled "ittle-willy" [meat].[2]

In the effort to induce the Indians to cultivate their fields, the Agent seems to have enlisted the aid of the military. "I had about one-half acre broken for Blow," wrote Captain F. B. Sprague, "and he is at work like a white man, has it all fenced and cetera, & plants growing finally."[3]

The crops the first year were reported good, but subsequently
[133] they were killed by frosts or summer droughts. The elevation
[132] of the Klamath Plateau, some four thousand feet above sea level, limits farming even today. Reports are studded with the phrases, "heavy frosts," "unprecedented heat," "unusually dry and frosty." Surveying the blighted fields, the early Agents redoubled their efforts. In 1869, Applegate reported that "the teachers . . . have been for a greater part of the time engaged on the farms, along with Indian boys receiving instruction in manual labor. . . ." R. B. Hatton, schoolteacher, stiffly pointed out that he "was instructed to labor on the farms . . ." and the tenor of his remarks suggests that in so doing he had been diverted from what he considered his proper function.[4]

*657 The following year, the new Agent, Captain O. C. Knapp,
*648 stated, "I again urge upon the Department the uselessness of
177 trying to make this an agricultural reservation. . . . The Indians
• 231 should be supplied with cattle and sheep, and they would soon
241 become self-sustaining."[5] His words were echoed by Agent L. S. Dyar, in 1872: "These [crop] failures are very discouraging to the Indians as well as to the Agent, and demonstrate the necessity of paying more attention to the raising of cattle. . . ."[6]

*657 Nonetheless, from 1871 on, with the aid of the farmer, several
177 Indians cultivated little farms along the Williamson River and
241 the lake shore.[7] These in the following year amounted to some twelve to fifteen individuals who "have small patches of land of a few acres each fenced, on which they have, with the help of

the employes, usually raised a little grain and a few vegetables."[8] 657*
Dyar viewed their efforts as praiseworthy, but unlikely of success. 177
"Although there is but little probability that the seed planted will 241
yield an abundant harvest," he observed, "yet I think it is better to gratify and encourage them by helping them all I can in their efforts at Agriculture as in doing so they are acquiring habits of industry and at the same time are preparing themselves to take care of the cattle which they now have and which I hope to see rapidly increase."[9]

Although Dyar continued to do everything in his power to 657*
advance stock raising, even converting the proceeds from the 648*
sale of hides into cattle for distribution to the Indians,[10] he still 241
lamented the impracticability of farming. "Were this a good 231 •
agricultural country," he remarked, "they would soon become 177
self-supporting and could they be induced to go to the Indian Territory it would be far better for them. As it is they must rely on stock and their old native food for subsistence."[11]

The hope for farming bloomed perennially. J. H. Roork, who 657*
succeeded Dyar, spoke of his ambition "to be successful in intro- 648*
ducing such grains [and hardy fruits] here as will yield a reason- 241
able compensation to labor."[12] Soon thereafter, his superiors 177
were sagely advising him, "Your account of the failure of your efforts to raise field or garden crops . . . suggests the expediency of turning your attention to stock raising. . . ."[13]

When Roork had admitted defeat in 1878, and Agent Linus Nickerson in 1885, the new administrator, Joseph Emery, a professor from the State Agricultural College, sallied into the fray. With a determination that scoffed at the experiences of his predecessors he announced,

> I have not been able to depress the mountains nor lower our altitude above the sea, yet I believe, from experiments made the present year in a number of localities, that agriculture can be made a comparative success on the Klamath Agency. For years the Indians had received no encouragement to till the soil, and the great scarcity of implements on the agency made it impossible to accomplish much this year in the way of agriculture.[14]

Wistfully he remarked,

> If I had the plows to loan, I could set more than 100 Indians to work this spring tilling the soil. . . .[15] Fifty or more Indians have procured a little grain, and these will sow this spring from 1 to

> *657 10 acres of land. I am commanded, to go among the Indians
> *648 with my farmer and direct them in plowing, sowing, planting,
> 241 etc, and see that they have the necessary tools and know how to
> 177 use them.

Vegetables, he thought, could be sold at Fort Klamath and Linkville; grain would always find a market at some price.[16] In order to heighten the incentives, Emery reported,

> I have found it necessary. . .to make temporary divisions of lands suited to Agriculture.
>
> During the Spring and Summer months, I laid off, assisted by Indian boys, about 50 farms, chaining boundary lines; the Indians greatly desired the work to be continued, each Indian agreed to fence and cultivate a portion of the land assigned to him.
>
> The plots laid off ranging from 30 to 120 acres—according to treaty stipulations.[17]

[625] The next year, however, he had recourse to the Indian police. "During the present Spring," he reported, "they have assisted in enforcing the general order that all able-bodied Indians will be required to do some work in Agriculture. I owe much to the police for the marked advance made this year in the lines of agriculture."[18] By these methods he soon had three quarters of the available adults helping, nearly every family seeding from 2 to 20 acres.[19] The following year he reported that "nine tenths of the Indians have been induced to engage in the work of agriculture,"[20] but the year after, with a record 2,400 acres sown, he was complaining about the "unprecedented heat"—and was moving on to greener pastures.[21] When he returned for another tour in 1896-97, however, he resumed the same program.

[829] Lindsay Applegate had remarked, some thirty years earlier, that the Indians "look upon the whites as superior beings. . . ."[22] It must have been difficult, even with the best will, to maintain that estimate in the face of administrative obstinacy of this order.

STOCK RAISING

*657 Meanwhile, with the discovery that the upper valley of the
• 231 Sprague provided satisfactory condition for winter range, stock
177 raising had gradually come to the fore. In prereservation days, horses had constituted an important form of wealth, and cattle were now accepted into the pecuniary system. By 1879, Agent

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Linus Nickerson, who had formerly been superintendent of 657*
farming, reported some two thousand head of cattle upon the 231 •
reservation. Including the Agency herd, the average was some- 177
thing less than two head of cattle per tribal member. He added, "Some of the Indians are already raising beef cattle for the market. With the income they are able to supply their families with flour, sugar, coffee, etc." He claimed ten times that number could be carried by the reservation, a total that could be attained in five years, after which the tribe would become entirely self-supporting.[23] A severe winterkill next year, which destroyed seventy-five per cent of the cattle and forty per cent of the horses staggered his hopes.[24]

Despite such checks, however, the stock-raising program slowly recovered. With issues of yearlings (300 head in 1881)[25] and with natural increase, the herds grew. As they did, the farming program turned increasingly toward producing the hay needed for winter feed. Even blighted grain could be salvaged as hay. By 1883, Nickerson could report, "several large ranches,"[26]
and that year instituted the practice of buying Agency beef [439]
from the Indians. Buyers from San Francisco were at Yainax, he reported, and were offering $40.00 a head for the fifty fine animals on sale there.[27] Under the impetus of this demand, Nickerson reported, "a considerable number of enterprising Indian families are moving to [Yainax] and taking up fencing stock ranches. In two or three years, about one half of the population on the reservation will have settled there."[28]

By 1886, Agent Emery reported 1,485 head of cattle, 3,640 head of horses, 340 "half-breeds" (mules) and 195 hogs. The value set by the Indians on horses, together with a higher survival rate, led to an increase in ponies which was economically undesirable and Emery counseled the Indians to sell their ponies and buy cattle.[29] The quality of stock was a recurrent concern, and later Agents took steps to improve the breeds.

LOGGING

From the first, the Klamath demonstrated an eagerness to 657*
turn new opportunities to advantage, coupled with an indepen- 177
dence that sometimes strained administrative patience. When 313
the sawmill was completed in 1870, they promptly began to haul

657*

fall; while freighting, limited by road conditions, had the same range of seasons. 177 178 221

For the farmer, splitting rails and fencing started in the winter and ranged toward spring, as did the clearing of ground. Plowing and sowing of grain might start in March, while vegetable gardens were not planted before May or June. Harvesting and haying took place in late summer and threshing in the fall. 433 [464] [489] [241]

The stockman rounded up and branded his cattle at first in the fall and later in the spring. He sold his beef in the fall, then drove his herd to winter in the upper valley of the Sprague. [231] •

Those who relied upon aboriginal foods fished in the late winter and early spring, dug roots or hunted antelope and mule deer in late spring, gathered wokas, wild fruits and berries in the fall, hunted in the Cascades in the fall, and trapped for furs in the winter. 657*

Beyond this lay the domestic cycle. Homes were built or repaired in the spring and fall, supplies were bought in the fall, and fuel was gathered in the fall and winter. 221 342 356

This summary, bald as it is, will illustrate the fact that many more ventures were now open to the enterprising, as well as a wider range of relationships. It was possible to draw from several cycles activities that were seasonally compatible. Thus, when the harvests were in, fully one-half to two-thirds of the men might leave the reservation on passes to work for whites, taking their families with them.[74] Frequent crop failures drove many to seek outside employment to provide for the coming winter. Because new tastes had given rise to new needs, many at this time forsook those traditional pursuits that conflicted with more lucrative employment. Nor did money alone lie at the root of those preferences. Work for white settlers and freighting provided variety and seasonal mobility, opportunities to meet people, to change scenery, and to escape on occasion beyond the rule (however benevolent in intent) of the Agent. 313 657* 433 464 177 178

The new opportunities were open primarily to men, consonant with the roles of the sexes in nineteenth-century rural America. For them the new system, aside from a certain administrative favoritism, provided an equal chance for advancement. It is no accident that a number of the earliest employees of the Agency were Pit River Indians, of whom it was later said: ". . . as a 657* 433 177 178 [567]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 *657 434 [427] ability of the subject to manage his own affairs; but unconditional payments to the infirm, aged, and decrepit were also to be allowed.[68] Undoubtedly, lease monies made some Indians, who would otherwise not have qualified, financially eligible for their share of the trust funds. By 1915 most of the Indians had realized their full pro rata share of the trust funds, and annuities were received only by children and a very few others. The children's shares by this time were being paid to their parents or guardians.[69]

*648 *657 651 653 • 231 A similar development took place in the allocation of the remaining part of the funds, designated for irrigation improvements or stock issues. When the pro rata shares of this amount, $110,662.16, proved insufficient for the irrigation work required in the Modoc Point area, the tribal council advocated that all the amount be issued in cattle.[70] Some 4,000 heifers, as desired, were accordingly purchased, with each Indian residing on the reservation receiving four head, save the youngest member of the family, who received three. Although the clerk in charge of the Agency stated that "all Indians residing off the reservation and who were enrolled at that time received nothing,"[71] he is clearly in error, for issues were made to a number of persons dwelling off the reservation.

*648 *657 231 Here once more is to be seen the interplay of government policy and considerations of tribal status. The cattle issues were designed by the government to foster stock raising as a reservation industry, but they were made at a time when land leasing and pro rata shares of the tribal fund had already created an expectation of direct cash receipts. In these terms, a number of the reservation Indians almost at once sold their cattle to neighboring white stockmen, and Superintendent Wilson had to threaten to bring the law upon the latter in order to recover them.[72] Meanwhile, off-reservation members were pleading their absence from the reservation and the advisability of using the money instead "to good advantage toward family necessities."[73] Finally, the discovery that many of the heifers issued were spayed, and so were useless for breeding purposes, capped the experiment. As Watson wrote, "Almost every Indian who has been at the office lately claims that he has from one to five or

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

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six spayed heifers, and of course they desire to dispose of them."[74]

Stock raising, administrators agreed, was the industry best suited to the reservation and to the Indian. Several persons, among them Henry Jackson, had accumulated large herds, and it was thought that their example and a favorable administrative climate would encourage others to take it up. With the issuance of the treaty stock, the total of Indian-owned cattle had been raised to 11,000. They were, however, unequally distributed, for while some of the Indians possessed herds described as "good-sized," others had only the four head issued.[75] [184]

A report on 205 school graduates practicing stock raising in 1910 characterizes 28 as successful, 133 as fairly successful, 43 as failures, and 1 as a total failure. Although no criteria are given, allusions to these individuals in correspondence, together with the evaluations of modern informants tend to corroborate their placement in the list. Is should not be surprising that a number of Agency employees appear among the successful, and that several troublemakers were among the failures. Perhaps significantly, two tribal leaders of the time, Jefferson Riddle and Clayton Kirk, were assigned to the latter group. Some men who had previously been successful, in other endeavors were not making a go of stock raising. Thus Stonewall Jackson, who had formerly done well in raising potatoes in the Modoc Point area,[76] was now listed as unsuccessful as a stock raiser.

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A fair degree of success did not always, however, imply an equal competence at handling money; for at least one man so listed was at that time being rationed in funds.[77] There is no clear correlation between the number of interbreeds and the degree of success in ranching.[78] It might be added that two years before 58 men had been given permission to manage their own allotments. Of them, the 1910 report lists 15 as successful, 30 as fairly successful, and 5 as failures. Eight do not appear on the 1910 list.[79] The earlier action, falling selectively on those deemed more qualified, shows that administrative action did recognize individual ability.

Nonetheless, with the development, beginning in 1913, of a lumber industry exploiting tribal timber and providing per [313]

*648 capitas that far exceeded those previously received from tribal
*657 funds, the incentives of ranching declined. Vainly did C. H.
434 Asbury claim that the new giant was no more than a "temporary
313 industry" that would serve to finance stock raising.[80] When a
*648 special appropriation in 1919 permitted a large number of cattle
*657 to be issued to the Indians, many of them were promptly sold
434 for cash.[81] By 1922 the livestock industry was proclaimed "al-
most bankrupt," and the error was acknowledged of having
• 231 broadcast the cattle issues without recognizing that not everyone
423 had either the inclination or the ability for ranching. By then,
432 allottees had disposed of valuable haylands and grazing tracts
in Sycan Marsh, the valleys of the Williamson, Sprague, and
Wood rivers, and at Modoc Point. Klamath Marsh tracts were
soon to follow.[82] Wrote Superintendent L. D. Arnold in 1926:

> I have been advised by a number of men who have lived among these Indians for many years that at one time they were very progressive and were engaged successfully in the stock business. Practically all of the Indians at that time lived on their allotments, did considerable farming, harvested many thousands of tons of hay, and owned many thousand head of cattle. They were industrious and were considered capable of handling stock in an efficient manner. During recent years there has been a general decline industrially among them. They have sold their cattle; they have left their allotments; many of them are now not engaged in any profitable work. As a matter of fact I do not believe that there are one thousand head of cattle owned by Indians on this reservation at the present time. Last year the most prominent Indian stockman sold almost his entire herd for about $35,000—the last of the Indians who were formerly quite prosperous.[83]

With the sale of their haylands, the source of their winter feed, the Indians were relinquishing "the very foundation of the stock industry." The older Indians, the mainstay of the industry, had for the most part disposed of their stock and lands, while their juniors showed no inclination for ranching. Arnold did not foresee an encouraging future.[84] The issuance of drought cattle in 1935 was an unavailing attempt to revive the industry.[85]

*648 The fate of irrigation farming is typical in many ways of several
*657 Agency programs. As early as 1884, Nickerson had advocated
312 constructing an irrigation ditch to water some 4,000 acres and
653 provide support for a settlement of 80 to 100 Indian families.[86]

*648 which would exploit the Indians' tribal lands without compensating
*657 them. Another stock reason is that given in 1915 by Supt.
423 William B. Freer. Reporting that "a sentiment has arisen lately
563 against the continued use of the tribal lands by outsiders," crystallizing
427 in action by the tribal council, he nonetheless advocated
[432] maintaining the practice, to prevent wasting the grass.[117] By 1922, relying increasingly upon timber per capitas, members had sold their grazing allotments; and by 1927 one white rancher had acquired 7,000 acres.[118]

*648 While there was a concommitant decline in Indian stock
*657 raising, those who continued depended more heavily upon tribal
423 grazing lands, to which their tribal membership gave them free
• 231 access.[119]

In his policy, the Superintendent stood at the vortex of contending
*648 interests. Some tribal members who no longer ran stock
*657 were eager to maximize the cash income by leasing out as much
423 land as possible to white ranchers. The latter, on their part, had
427 developed their herds in anticipation of continued utilization of
563 the reservation, and they favored any possible expansion of
311 leasing. It was in acknowledgment of their commitment that Arnold favored continuing local leasing arrangements, rather than advertising the tribal ranges for general bidding.[120] Considerations of this sort, however, won him the opposition of even those Indians who preferred the leasing of the tribal domain. For tribal ranchers it was an indication that the Superintendent was in league with the white stockmen, and the charge recurred that the latter were overgrazing the range and crowding out the Indians. One tribal member, then taking the first steps toward his eventual success as a rancher, recalls today that as soon as he had improved the section of tribal range assigned to him the Superintendent leased it to whites.

Among tribal ranchers were a number of Indian women married to white men who, between them, owned the major part of the stock listed as Indian. "They always affirm," said Arnold, "that all the stock is owned by the Indian wife," and thus secured grazing on the tribal range.[121] At least one woman among them had also been party to the suits to secure allotments within the tribal timber lands.

Arnold insisted that the charges were groundless, that range

000 one in a series of similar butcheries. Apparently it occurred in 1852, and
the particulars are all given in Texts, pages 13 and 14.

175 One of the earliest reports upon these tribes made to the Bureau of
101 Indian Affairs at Washington is that of Joel Palmer, Superintendent of
131 Indian Affairs for Oregon, dated Dayton, Oregon, September 11, 1854.
Palmer states that the lands of the Klamath Indians extend upon the eastern
base of the Cascade range for about thirty miles east, and that east of
them live the "Mo-docks," who speak the same language as the Klamaths;
and east of these again, extending farther south, are the "Mo-e-twas" (Pit
175 River Indians). These two last-named tribes have always evinced a deadly
648 hostility to the whites, and the Modocs boasted of having within the last
four years murdered thirty-six whites. Palmer entered into an agreement
with the Klamath Indians to keep the peace with the white people, and also
sent messengers to the Modocs and Pit Rivers, believing that henceforth
[161] the immigrants would be spared from their attacks. The Klamath Lakes
were then enfeebled by wars with the surrounding tribes and by conflicts
among themselves, and were said to number but four hundred and fifteen
souls. He counted seven villages on Upper Klamath Lake, two on Pliock
Creek (P'laíkni or Sprague River), three on Toqua Lake (Túkua), and one
175 on Coasto (Kohásht) Lake.[*] The Indians had some guns, horses, camp
411 equipage, and the aboriginal war-club and "elk-skin shield" (kaknō'lsh).
● 231 Little Klamath Lake he calls An-coose, a corruption of Agáwesh.

714 Neither Klamath Lake nor Modoc Indians have taken any part in the great Oregon war of 1854-'56, although their sympathies were of course strongly in favor of the aboriginal cause.

000 For the year 1854 Powers records a battle fought by Captain Judy against Modoc and Shasti Indians on the Klamath River, north of Yreka, in which some women of the Shasti were killed.

The Report of 1859 speaks of continued hostilities on the side of the Modocs against passing immigrants and of the murdering of a party of five white men in Jackson County, Oregon. Two of the murderers belonged to the tribe of Chief Lelékash, and three of the perpetrators were seized and killed by the Klamath Indians (page 392).

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[*] This would make only six, not seven, villages.

000 could not remain unpunished. Brought before a jury at Fort Klamath, Kíntpuash, Chief Skóntchish, Black or Húka Jim, and Boston Charley were condemned to the gallows and hung at the Fort October 3, 1873, while two accessories to the deed—Bántcho and Slū'lks (now George Denny)—were condemned to incarceration at Fort Alcatraz, San Francisco Bay.*

Thus ended the long-contested struggle of the little Modoc band against the Oregon and California volunteers and the regular troops of the United States Army. Certainly the heroism and ingenuity displayed by the Modocs would have been worthy of a better cause, and would have passed down to posterity in the brightest colors of patriotism had not the murderous "entreacte" and Canby's death deprived the struggle of its heroic luster. The unworthy termination of this war is well typified by the fact that the skeleton of the Modoc captain is now dangling as an anatomical specimen in the museum of the Surgeon-General's Office, at Washington, District of Columbia.

STATISTICS.

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657 From the end of the Modoc war to the present year the condition of affairs has not changed much in the Klamath Highlands. The reports of the United States agent repeat the same story of progress towards civilization every year; but in view of the difficulty of bringing a hunter tribe into the high road of Christian culture and industrial progress we can not attach much credence to such reports so long as they are couched in generalities and do not contain special facts attesting mental improvement by schooling.

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[241]
[231] In agriculture success is possible only in the Sprague River Valley, but pasturing will succeed almost on every spot of the Reservation. The report of 1888, compared with that of 1880, shows a considerable improvement in this direction. The 2,500 horses and mules counted in 1880 had increased to 4,532 in 1888; the 200 head of cattle to 2,201. In the latter year the number of swine figured 208, of domestic fowl, 1,000. Of the 20,000 tillable acres of land 1,400 were cultivated by the Indians in

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* Slū'lks was released, and stays now at the Modoc Reservation, Indian Territory, with Scarface Charley and some other warriors of that war.

648 1888 and 500 broken by them; 10,000 acres were inclosed by fences.
657 The crops of 1888 amounted to 8,000 bushels of wheat, 4,000 of oats and
241 barley, 1,000 bushels of vegetables, 3,000 tons of hay; and 500 pounds of
231 butter were manufactured. Of lumber 100,000 feet were sawed. The
313 Indians transported with their own teams 500 tons of freight, and thereby
434 earned $1,500. The two boarding-schools, one at the Klamath Agency
and the other at Yáneks, in the same year boarded 215 pupils at a cost to
the Government of $18,764—about $10.40 a month per capita.

311 The number of acres contained within the Klamath Reservation is 1,056,000, and of these only about 20,000 acres are considered to be tillable land. The rest is occupied by woods, marshes, rocks, and other hindrances to cultivation.

797 The school and church interests are in the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which also has a vote in the appointment of the United States agent.

657 The statistics of population have furnished reliable data only from the
161 time when annuities were first distributed among these Indians. This ne-
162 cessitated an annual count of each family, giving the number of the individuals belonging to each. One of these was made during my presence on the reserve on October 30, 1877, before the winter supplies were dealt out to the tribe. The summary is as follows:

David Hill, chief, at Agency and on Williamson River	225
P'lú, head chief, at the bridge, Williamson River	122
Long John, chief	103
Jack, chief	92
Lilo, chief	23
Total	565

The census taken in the Sprague River Valley, Yáneks subagency, furnished the following figures, Klamath Lake Indians and Modocs being indiscriminately included:

Littlejohn, chief	14
Skóntchish, chief	18
Modoc Johnson, head chief	71
Ben, chief	61
Brown, chief	30
Total	194

*539 622 692 58, 15. shetcháktanuapk stands for the more common form: shitcháktanuapk.

58, 16. nánuktua shéshatnish m'na: "all what your husband has transferred to your parents to obtain your hand"; m'na stands for hishuáksham. Cf. 61, 8.

193 192 59, 7. mish, *you, to you*, is often used in this article for málash, málsh, *ye, to ye*, in allocutions to two or more persons. This is a way of expressing what may be called the "inclusive plural of the second person". This mode of speaking is observed in m's lápuk, 59, 7; lápuk mish, 59, 7. In the same manner 1 stands for ât, 59, 8: 1 sissók-uapk, if ye whip each other; also 60, 22.

59, 9. 1 mi stands for mish mi.

59, 17. hă k̲úi gi'uapk: if he should fail to do his duty; 59, 19. hă tídsh gi'uapk: if he does his duty well; nanuktuánta: in every respect.

59, 22. i'χaks mi: what you may win by betting on the horses engaged in the race.

60, 2. kă'lish is the objective case of kă'liak, kéliak, "not having", the simple form of which, without -ak, would be kă'li or kă'liu (kă'li hû).

583 60, 11. túma wátch gitk. The horses have, of course, to be transferred to the parents of the bride and not to any of the chiefs.

231 60, 12. wátch. The horses owned by the Klamath Lake and Modoc people are valued from 20 to 25 dollars each; they descend from the hardy, enduring race of Cayuse ponies, and were originally obtained by bartering commodities with the Columbia River Indians at the Dalles, Oregon.

192 193 60, 15. wátch spuni'-uapka; wátch refers to *one* horse only, for the verb spuni', to transfer, is used of one (living) object only; shăwána is: to give *many* objects. "Not even one horse your wife has to give to you, if she leaves you; but if you leave her, you must give her several."

177 595 60, 17. láp snawă'dshla. Polygamy was abolished by the headmen of the tribe shortly after the establishment of the reservation, and this ruling was one of the greatest benefits ever conferred upon that tribe by the progress of civilization. But those who had several wives then were not compelled to dismiss all but one, and so in 1877 two or three men were still polygamists. The irascible and excitable disposition of the Modoc and Klamath females must have produced many chin-music intermezzos with their husbands at the time when polygamy was predominant.

193 61, 3. K̲á-i mi'sh etc. In this paragraph, in: k̲i'tgik, káktak, hémkanktgik, gitkik, the terminal k contains the abbreviated gi, which joined to the foregoing nû, n means *I said*. The construction runs as follows: Hû'nk ni gi k̲á-i mish k̲i'tgi; nánuktuanta káktak gi píla m's n hû'nk hémkanktki gi; nă'-ulakt gi'tki 1 snawă'dshash tchi'sh káktak gi pil. K̲á-i etc.

61, 6. tchik. This particle does not mean *if*, but cannot be rendered *here* (and below) with a more appropriate word. It is identical with tchĕk, *then*. A subordinate clause is here expressed by a co-ordinate one. Cf. 61, 9. 10. 12. 62, 4.

192 193 61, 6. któktatska: "we clip their hair in every instance", is the distributive form of któtchka, któtaka, occurring in 58, 16.

61, 9. Tsúi etc. This inverted sentence has to be construed as follows: Tsúi tchish nósh híshuaksh wutódshish snawă'dsh m'na pă'n hû'nk snúkp'la, tsúi nă'-ulĕkan etc.

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Spéluishtka at héwi, iwí-idsha wókash. Nāt a génanuapk! nánuk
In the index-month they haul, take home the lily-seed. We will go there! all
nat éna! nátoks waítuapk, wewálha wátch, hû'masht nat gi waíta wéwal-
of us carry it! but we will wait one day, are sore (our) horses, therefore we wait one day because
hasht wátch kä'mat. Nad gitá piénuapk pólōk̲uantch, ktälowalshuápka
are sore horses on back. We there will scrape up moth-chrysalids, gather pine-nuts
nād. Tchatchápĕlu, hóllaksh, tûtánksham, hahashkemólsham, lolóloisam,
we. Sweet resin, winged pine-nuts, blackberry, black cherry, wild gooseberry,
tsinéχam, klá-ads, wáshlalam íwam nā'd stá-ila. K̲ó-idse, shtéaltk ktä'lo.
sort of wókash, prunes, squirrels' huckleberries we gather. Of bad taste, full of resin (are) pine-nuts.

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Tχópowatka í-umämi wátch lalá-a; gépgapĕle mák̲laks k̲ĕlä'wiank,
In the thumb-month at berry-time mares foal; return the Indians having done (gathering),
at wéwanuish o-olalóna, at sa í'-umaltka. Bû'nuapka tchä'kēle í'wam,
the females dry berries by the fire, they return from berry-gathering. They will drink red juice of huckleberries,
tchilálat hûn í'wam. Ánshat ánika shash í'wam; wí'dsika nánka í'wam,
boil the berries. You may go and ask them for huckleberries; retentive some (are) of berries.
Túpeluish aní'k tĕlû'ks, tchákēla n's skaí tak; tsákēlatka n's skaítki stá.
To next lodge I send tule-basket, willow-basket to me to give in; in the basket to me to give it filled.
Pahápk tchísh íwam lúitki n's léwitchta á. K̲á-i sheshätuí'shtka.
Dried too huckleberries to give to me they did not want. Not I intend to sell them.

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Spéluishtka spû'klishtat kshíwalχa, papiä'na luldamalákstat. At hû'k
In the index-month in the sweat-house they dance, inaugurate by feast the winter-house. Now such a man
kshū'n híwidshuapk, at hû't hí'wi; túnepni nā'd shópelakuapk. "Tû'sh
hay will haul home, and that man hauls (it) in; in five (stacks) we will stack (it) up. "Where
nû shópelakuapk"? "lápash í'lχat, atí'sh shuí'nshnank í'lχat; í' tchkash í
I shall stack it"? "in two stacks heap it ye, in a long-stretching (stack) stacking heap it ye! you also you
nû'sh shatuáyuapk mbúsant. Únîpni waítash í n's shatuáyuapka."
me must help to-morrow. Four days you me must help."

Tátχēlam hehátχe tápak.
In the midfinger-month fall the leaves.

Gáptchēlam shináktishtka kä'na.
In the ring-finger month it is snowing.

Gáptsatka mû kä'na.
In the month of the small finger heavily it snows.

Tχópowatka wétko é-ush; kéna.
In the thumb-month is frozen the lake; it is snowing.

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Spéluishtka ktō'tsa mû; wála kshiúlgishtat.
In the index-month it rains much; they dance in the dance-house.

Tátχēlam tsuám lúela Nílaksi Tsuyakē'ksni.
In the midfinger-month large suckers kill at Nílaks the Linkville Indians.

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Gáptsēlam shináktishtka udsáksalsha K̲ók̲ētat, kä'shla sa.
In the ring-finger month they take large suckers in Lost River, (and) get ipos.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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Hä'	î	shma-'htcháktak	yaínatat,	k̲á-i	î	ûn	k̲ésh	shlé-etak;	hü'-atoks
If	you	let your shadow fall	on the hill,	not	you		ipo	will find;	but if

î	k̲á-i	shma-'htcháktak,	tû'm	î	ûn	k̲ésh	shlé-etak.
you	not	let your shadow fall,	much	you		ipo	will find.

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Móatuash,	k̲'le-ugtkinápkasht	tchíalash	Móatuashăm k̲ók̲etat,	k̲á-i	mhû'	lúela	skó;
The Pit River Indians,	(lest) would cease to come	the salmon	up the Pit River,	not	grouses	they kill	in spring time;

Mō'dokni	tchí'sh	lóla	shuátash	kíăm	tchûk̲á	shátma,	humáshtgisht	k̲á-i	lúela.
the Modocs	also	assume,	sage-hens	the fish	to swim up stream	invite,	therefore	not	they kill (them).

NOTES.

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I. What is contained in these short items refers equally to the Klamath Lake and to the Modoc people, although those contained under I. were obtained from various informants belonging to the former chieftaincy.

[192] 133, 2. páka to howl, bark; pák'la to howl repeatedly, to howl for a while; pákluipka to howl for a while in the distance towards somebody.

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[231]
133, 4. 5. The cat and the chicken being but recently introduced among these tribes, this superstition must have been transferred to them from other animals. By inversion, the words tchíkiu gû'lu, *the hen*, appear here widely separated from each other.

[192] 133, 6. K̲ú-i tchämlûk has to be resolved into: k̲ú-i tchē mál (for málash) hú'k: "bad then for you this is!" Cruel fights will follow.

133, 7–11. This story is not clearly worded, but we are taught by it how these Indians are conversing among each other with laconic breviloquence. An Indian living in the vicinity has heard the whining of the dog which means death to his owner. He goes there, shoots the man and takes to his heels. A relative of the murdered man comes up and is mistaken by others for the murderer. They deprive him of his wife, his property and his liberty; he becomes a madman on account of the injustice done to him.

[825] 134, 1. 2. The raven (k̲ák̲) is supposed to be a bird of fatal augury, because he was seen devouring the flesh of dead Indians. Compare: General *Note* on page 130.

[202] 134, 4. kíukayunk. They adjust a rag or piece of skin to a pole and stick out that improvised *flag* on the top of the lodge to notify neighbors that they had a dream last night and desire an interpreter for it.

[525]
[825]
134, 5. One of the legs of a dead black tmélhak-squirrel is cut off and laid under the gaming-disk or the pá'hla to insure luck to the player.

134, 7–12. Tcháshăsh etc. This is a fragmentary extract of a scurrilous skunk-myth, which I have not been able to obtain in full from my informant, the Modoc chief Johnson, who speaks the Klamath dialect. This myth is well known through the whole of Oregon, for parts of it are embodied in a popular and melodious song of the Mólale tribe, whose ancient home is the country east and southeast of Oregon City and Portland.

134, 7. 8. mák̲laks nánuk is the direct object of hushtsóga; the skunk killed them by his stench.

[601] 134, 9. tû'paks stands for tû'pakshash; túpakship, abbreviated túpaksh, is properly the younger sister, as called by or with reference to an elder brother, while pa-ánip

#539 (30) hok ḱočč́aʔa·k honk ʔat mbosaks mna wa·t́itga lača·ẏa, na·nok honk č́o·ks. (31) na·nok honk lača·ẏa č́o·ks. (32) "ʔat ʔa q̇e·gi be·n. (33) ʔo·č gint."

(34) ʔat honk bamba·tambli, yawskangatk, ʔat honk hokt lʔe·ḱlʔeks bil honk ʔat gitgo gaẃal. (35) čoy ʔat goyki·nabli. (36) čoy honk ʔat sleʔa, "ya···, waq dal nis? (37) gen ʔans geńs lača·yipga, č́o·ks, peč!" (38) ʔat honk gena. (39) čoy honk ʔat ma·ns gitk ḱočč́aʔa·k gotq̇akbli, gotq̇akbli ʔambotdat. (40) čoy honk ʔat whila·ʔat ʔiditgo·labli mna t́a·ẏas. (41) čoy honk ʔliqbli mna t́a·ẏas či·sdat. (42) "waq ʔans newĺaqtanWi·wapk?" (43) hasaswa·kẏa bida·k hemkanga, "ʔans newĺaqWi·ya." (44) čoy honk ne· ḱada·di hak.

7. Old Mink and Nighthawk

(Mr. Grover Pompey)[41]

(1) č́ečte·sis dola č́asga·yas ʔa gatba č́asgi·psamksi. (2) č́asgi·ps naʔas gi, "hoksakdanqńa ʔa na·t wawč́a·k na·ĺam." (3) č́ečte·sis naʔas, "q̇ay ho·t gew wač́a·k. (4) q̇ay hoksakdangwapk ʔa na·t." (5) č́ečte·sis naʔas gi, "ho·t dak tapẏap gew."

(6) be·n naʔas č́asgi·ps, "q̇ay, ho·t dič́i· siso·gis sitk sle·s. (7) hoksakdanqńa ʔa na·t honkẏes!" (8) č́ečte·sis naʔas gi, "ʔi·." (9) č́asgi·ps naʔas gi, "ʔi lobi· gi. suksuksuksuksuk, gapga gwač́a·sis!"[42] (10) hok sedalo·ga č́asga·yas.[43] (11) č́asga·y honk ʔat ʔi·me ʔalamna qe·matdat. (12) č́asga·y honk ʔat siwga, ʔi·metga.

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[126]
[124]
[41] This text was not taken on tape, but only by dictation. Mr. Pompey stated that this incident was but a small part of a longer myth cycle, though he could not recall more than fragments of the rest of it. Cf. Mr. David's text in which Q̇alo·qa·qaqs appears (Text 17).

[196]
[42] The sequence /suksuksuksuksuk/ is almost voiceless, and the syllables are uttered at a rapid rate of speed. This and whistling were said to be the commonest methods of calling a dog in ancient days.

[231]
[193]
[196]
[43] The use of (se̱) "reflexive-reciprocal action" (2pv) is not clear here. ‖se̱dalwga‖ means "attack each other" or "attack oneself," but the utterance contains an "accusative" /č́asga·yas/. Utterances in which (se̱) has reciprocal meaning invariably have all parties to the action as subjects.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Comparison,
with the record of white performances places the 648*
tribal picture in perspective. In Beatty, six out of seven white 657*
househeads were employed. A sample taken in 1950 including 464
almost every white household in Chiloquin showed that all the 162
men save those who were ill or retired were gainfully employed, 171
and that in thirty-seven per cent of the households wives or junior members also held jobs.

By this token, the Klamath had come to occupy a marginal 648*
position as economic producers. That this had not always been 657*
true is shown by the record of those who in the early days of 464
Chiloquin had tried their hand at business; and several continued 437
to maintain themselves by ranching or business. The large majority of the men, however, were content to labor seasonally as unskilled farmhands. The undependability of some workers had generated an adverse reputation among potential employers for the Klamath as a whole. The industrious Klamath came to be viewed as exceptional.

Thus, even on their own reservation, the Klamath stood beneath the shadow of economic structures dominated by whites. This condition was, of course, true for the reservation as a unit; for distant interests dictated that it should be devoted to the production of lumber, beef, power, and to communications. Within the several communities the major enterprises were also controlled by whites. To be sure, there were checks upon the
ruthless exercise of economic power. Local awareness of inter- [623]
dependence, the intimate acquaintance developed in the daily life of a small community, and the knowledge that the tribal council controlled the fate of timber contracts upon which the community depended: all these served to temper purely eco-
nomic decisions. The exercise of a credit system by storekeepers [452]
in the face of lower prices in Klamath Falls, the good faith they expected of their customers, and the occasional need for hired hands by ranchers, were equally conducive to restraint.

Klamath families who chose to farm were often similar to their [241]
white counterparts in the concentration which they devoted to their farming; and they often exchanged labor or equipment with white neighbors. There were few successful farmers among
tribal members, perhaps no more than a dozen in all. By contrast, [233]
there were those in the countryside who chose to follow other time-honored values than industry, giving precedence to per-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*657 missiveness. Their ranches often took on the appearance of rural
464 slums, and were the scenes of drinking parties and brawls.
433 Economically profitable or not, ranching constituted the most
• 233 common occupation for those who were employed. It offered special advantages. The land was usually an inherited allotment and, together with cattle and improvements, was often nontaxable. Outdoor work with livestock was a familiar activity; it permitted considerable latitude to the farmer in adjusting his routine. There was space to live.

*648 Whether dwelling in town or on a ranch, tribal members
*657 continued to seek native foods; but these activities had come to
433 occupy a different place in their lives. Men of all ages still fished
22 and hunted; many families still gathered huckleberries; and elderly women at least continued to dig for the succulent roots
262 of ipos and camas and to gather wokas. The latter foods, how-
177 ever, were sought as cherished delicacies, now rare; while
178 journeys to the berry fields assumed the character of an outing. Much of the fishing had acquired a strongly sportive aspect and was carried on by angling. Only the spearing of mullet during the spring runs and the hunting of deer and waterfowl seriously served food demands. The larger game animals, which had figured in only a small way in Klamath diet and played a more important role among the Modoc, had become abundant upon the reservation as ranchers killed off predators. Tribal members often hunted them from a car or spotlighted them at night. Waterfowl were often shot as they sat upon the water. Fifteen deer would see a household through the year; and a number of Klamath families met all their meat requirements by hunting and fishing, being content to buy an occasional cut in town to add variety to their diet.

*648 "Meat hunting" thus continued to ignore sportive conventions,
*657 although fishing had in part given way to them. At the same
224 time, individual Klamath were wont to play with those conventions by entering contests for the biggest buck or rainbow; and
226 they delighted in underscoring white failures to abide by their
181 own standards of sportsmanship. For the Klamath, hunting and fishing possessed particular virtue as an attribute of an Indian estate. The ability to pursue fish and game without regard to season was a signal right cherished by the Indians and valued

EIGHTEEN

[P.259]

Conclusion

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KLAMATH TRIBE UNDER THE PROVISIONS 648*
of the Treaty of 1864 comprised a program of directed change, 657*
paralleling in its general features the relationships of the United 171
States government with diverse other Indian peoples. Because a common policy lay behind the administration of Indian affairs, the history that unfolded at Klamath was similar at many points to developments on other reservations. Since, however, unique characteristics of Klamath culture entered into the equation, and common events were locally mediated, that policy had different effects in execution.

Within the spectrum of American Indian cultures, it was important 648*
that the tribes brought upon the Klamath reservation 657*
were unacquainted with agriculture, but had some knowledge of, 241
and esteem for horse-herding; that while they lacked traditions 233 •
of large-scale political organization, they placed a premium upon 619
industry and the acquisition of material wealth. These attributes, 181
while by no means unique, were distinctive in their combination; 177
and they gain significance when seen from the perspective of 178
the policy objectives of the government. Similarly, the circumstance that many individuals had already undergone extensive acculturation beyond the Klamath country provided the early Agents with native allies already won over to the prospects of change.

Even the application of a common policy exhibited special 648*
features. Two instances should illustrate the point. The recogni- 657*
tion of the tribal claim to a large domain, together with the [423]
retention of surplus lands after allotment, laid the basis for a [619]
corporate wealth equaled by only a few other reservation peoples. [434]
Later, the rejection of the Indian Reorganization Act during the Collier administration placed the Klamath among a minority of

4: Pearsall E-5 (1947) 1950 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1875)

[p. 339-B]

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION [1]

By

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

128 culture, social and political organization are
not described here except in their affect on
124 education. Wherever particular items are mentioned,
we specifically asked our informants for
a description, even though they had been described
in previous ethnographies. Such accounts
may thus be taken as corroborating
earlier evidence unless otherwise specified in
the text.

131 The Klamath reside in their old territory
178 in southern Oregon, but the aboriginal way of
life has long since disappeared. Today they are
241 farmers and ranchers, but a considerable part of
the earlier culture remains alive in the memories
233 of a few oldsters. Our seven informants
(4 men and 3 women) were all in their late
178 seventies or eighties and had participated in
the last phases of the aboriginal culture as
115 children. It is regrettable that it was necessary
to reconstruct childhood training from the
reminiscences of elderly individuals. Doubtless
much of the material represents the ideal rather
than the actual pattern of education. The
ideals do, however, give a definite insight into
what was considered important in the upbringing
of children, whether these standards were always
maintained or not. Since there is little or
nothing in the early literature on this subject,
there is no way of comparing impressions received
from old people who are admittedly looking
back to "the good old days" with impressions
of objective eyewitnesses to the old ways as
they were really practiced.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Barrenness is sometimes considered cause for divorce. Since the blame
842 seems to fall most commonly on the woman, her
husband's parents may suggest that he send her
586 away and get a wife who can provide him with
children. Ordinarily, though, the parents-in-
606 law are more lenient with a barren woman.
Most Klamath express a preference for boys. A
842 variety of reasons are offered, the most common
being that boys are less bother than girls.
"Girls are always getting into trouble, and you
just raise them for someone else because they go
off to their husbands when they get married."
Once the child is born, however, there seems to
be no special favoritism shown to boys. One

648 fishing on Lost river near Olene. A shallow bowl-shaped twined
[439] basket, called ķ!we'lu, is obtained from the Modoc, who in turn trade
it from Pit river. There is no direct trade with the latter people.

231 Horses were first acquired in any number about 1840. They had
177 been previously acquainted with them in the hands of whites who
crossed their country about this time; dates are uncertain. Ogden
in 1826 remarked on a single horse seen as though it was a rarity
231 among them.[66] The first sources were Warm Springs and perhaps
177 some group immediately east of that place. These were obtained by
chiefs; others were too poor in slaves to buy them. The name given
437 the new animal follows the common habit, wa'tcag from wate, dog.
Saddles (pă'olăs) were first made of antelope hide. Here, as in the
Plains, horses served as a stimulator of contacts, especially with the
Columbia river peoples. As I have remarked, their introduction seems
responsible for the rapid increase in wealth, the flow of northern ideas
concerning social stratification, importance of wealth and of slave-
holding, Plains costume, and those predatory habits which furnished
the withal to maintain the new status.

237 Buffalo (yo'ho) skins are obtained at second hand; the Klamath
177 know that their origin is east of the Umatilla, that is, in Idaho.
Buffalo never ranged into this country, although they reached the
437 Harney Lake district. But very few skins ever make their way into
527 Klamath hands; only men with many slaves can afford them. They
are wanted to cover a gambler's hands in the stick game, an oppor-
tunity for ostentation.

177 Parfleches (skö'psöli, folded up) are traded from Warm Springs
437 people and Sahaptins beyond them on the Columbia. They are not
made by Klamath.
415

Incidentally, many older people have fluent command of Chinook
* 171 jargon. They, or somewhat doubtfully the Modoc, are the southern-
most people with whom this trade jargon is current. Kroeber remarks
437 on the fragments in use by Yuki and Shasta.[67] Naturally enough, it
191 served a purpose with the Columbia river peoples alone and was of but
small value with the whites coming from California.

556 It is interesting to know what constituted wealth among the Klamath, but with the old life now gone it is difficult to get direct evidence. However, certain things alone were spoken of when describing

---

[66] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

[67] Handbook, 308, 319.

412 The root digging stick (a'mda) is made of a very hard wood, mountain mahogany (*Cercocarpus ledifolius*)[817] or service berry, three feet long and an inch and a half in diameter. One end is burned and rubbed on a stone to a point. Since modern examples made of iron are slightly bent at the lower end, it may be presumed that wooden examples were also. A cross-handle of the same wood, nine inches long, is set on the upper end, wedged and tied in place, the joint covered with pitch.

415 Wooden spoons (mitc!o') shaped like little paddles are used. Spoons are also cut from the breast bone of the swan, which is conveniently shaped for the purpose; these are called sh'o-kobh'.[818] Others are river shells, which are not provided with handles. But mushes are frequently scooped up by the handful.[819]

412

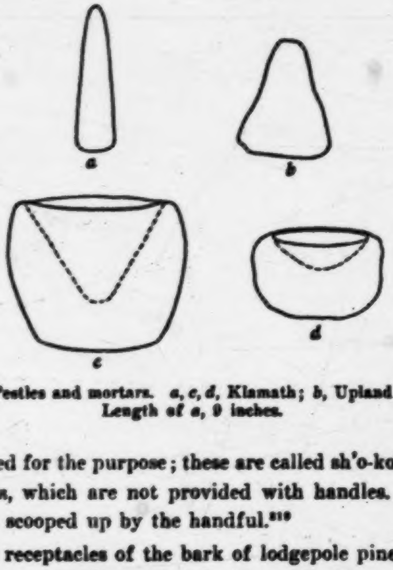

Fig. 11. Pestles and mortars. *a, c, d,* Klamath; *b,* Upland Takelma. Length of *a,* 9 inches.

415

Buckets or receptacles of the bark of lodgepole pine (*Pinus murrayana* Balf.) are mentioned by Coville. "Sections of bark from trunks of the proper size are often used to make buckets for gathering berries, particularly huckleberries. The cylinder of bark is sewed together on the slitted side and at one end, the bottom therefore being wedge-shaped. Huckleberries when placed in such receptacles and

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[817] Coville, Notes, 93, 98.

[818] Coville, Wokas, 733.

[819] In this connection we may note that turtle shells, which would have provided excellent utensils, are not used. Nor are they used for rattles. Turtles (mgö'k) are found only in the southern part of Klamath territory, on the western shore of Klamath lake from Modoc point to the falls.

[237]

*171 Wooden images are unique in the non-woodworking culture of Klamath and
756 Modoc, yet this too is traceable southward from the same center.^ It is
far less certain that clairvoyance in connection with a war party is
532 derived from that source, yet the trait is shared by the northern
coastal people.

*171 Some elements are local in the Oregon-north California interior.
Such is the shaman's assistant, his mouthpiece and interlocutor. He
755 is present at cures from Wishram to Achomawi; present at seances
756 from Klamath to Southern Maidu. For some of the Maidu he is a
clown, which links him with the clown among the Kuksu impersonators of central California. There is reason to think that this functionary is historically connected with the chief's speaker known from the Northwest Coast through the interior to the Southwest. Other local elements are the pole having spirit reference (Klamath to Northern Maidu), the notion that food is first eaten by the spirits (Takelma, Shasta, Klamath), the ridding of a locality of disease (Klamath, Shasta, Achomawi-Atsugewi).

*171 Other elements, while local, are somewhat more widely distributed.
There is the circumspection with respect to the shaman's shadow and
756 to startling him; the notion that weather changes at birth and death;
[821] all these are common from southern British Columbia to the Maidu,
largely through the interior.

*171 The Klamath shamans' dress bears some imprint of northern and
central Californian influence in the use of woodpecker scalp head-
756 bands and of yellowhammer feathers. Both are characteristic dance
292 regalia in the south; on the Oregon border they have passed over to
• 237 the shamans.

In broad perspective Klamath shamanism is of generalized,
*171 undifferentiated North American type, sharing some features that are
local, and but moderately influenced from the Northwest Coast and
756 the central and northwestern foci of California. Its general nature is recognizable in the quest and the undifferentiated power it yields; the most marked local elements are the predisposition to inherit power, the novice dance, and the shaman's assistant. California at large appears in the dream as a vehicle of acquiring power; northern California in the dwarfs that figure among Klamath spirits; central California in the shaman's headdress. Northwest Coast influences are no stronger; repossession in midwinter and the use of carvings color Klamath shamanism only mildly.

^ [i.e., the Northwest Coast.-Analyst]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
576. Acorn gathering: men and women	•o	•o	+	+	−	•−	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
577. Men, youths climb trees	o	o	+	+	−	−	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[222]
578. Women gather, transport acorns	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
579. Pine-nut gathering: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
580. Men climb trees, knock down cones	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
581. Men and women gather cones	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
582. Women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
583. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
584. Men and women transport cones	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
585. Women only	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	
586. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
587. Men and women prepare pine nuts	−	.	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
588. Men only	+	.	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
589. Women only	−	.	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	
590. Gathering of small seeds: women only	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(−)	+	+	
591. Cooking: men and women	+	+	−						+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	
592. Women prepare, cook plant foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
593. Men only, cook meat	−	+	−						−	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	
594. Women only, cook meat	−	−	+						−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	
595. Men and women cook meat	+	−	−						•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
596. Carrying water near camp: men and women	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[312]
597. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
598. Women only	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
599. Carrying water long distance: men and women.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
600. Men only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
601. Women only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
602. Fire making: men and women	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[372]
603. Men only	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
604. Wood gathering: "kindling" wood, men and women	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
605. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	[313]
606. Women only	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	
607. Wood gathering: large logs, men and women	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
608. Men only	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
609. Women only	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Manufacturing Activities

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
610. Baskets: women only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
611. Skin, feather blankets: men and women make	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[291]
612. Men only or chiefly	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	(−)	+	+	−	+	
613. Women only or chiefly	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	[237]
614. Nets: men only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[284]
615. Cord: men and women make	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[283]
616. Men, generally	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
617. Skin tanning: men and women	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[281]
618. Men only	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
619. Women only	+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
620. Clothing: men and women make	−	−	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	[294]
621. Men only	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	
622. Women only	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	
623. Moccasins: men and women make	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
624. Men only	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	
625. Women only	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
626. Fish traps: men make	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	−	+	[227]
627. Women	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+	
628. Winter house: men and women build	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[342]
629. Men only	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
630. Summer house: men and women build	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
631. Men only	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	
632. Women only	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
515 810. Pray or wish while sweating	•+	•+	•(+)	+	R	•R	•+	+	•+	•+	+	(+)	–	–	–	–
782 811. Cold bath follows sweat	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	(–)	+	+	–	+
House Furnishings and Arrangement																
281 812. Blankets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
513 813. Elk and deerskin	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
814. Painted hides for fine blankets	–	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
815. Woven rabbitskin blankets	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
816. Patchwork skin blankets	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
817. Deerskin	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
818. Coyote skin	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
819. Wildcat skin	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
820. Raccoon skin	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
821. Rabbitskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
822. Blue-fox skin	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·	–	–	–	–
[429] 823. Buffalo hides, imported for blankets	–		+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
● [237] 824. Feather blankets	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	•+
825. Loose tule, grass blanket covering	+	+	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
826. Pillows	+	+	+	+	·	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	·
827. Individual wooden pillow	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·
828. Pole pillow	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	·
829. Piece of wood or rock	+	–	–		–	–			+	+	+	·	–	–	+	·
830. Rolled skin	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	·
831. Rolled tule mat	–	–	+	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·
832. Leaf or grass pillow	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	·
534 833. Pine needles heaped up for pillow	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	–	(–)	+	–	–	–	·
†834. Wooden foot drum	–	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	•R	•R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
†835. Hollow half log	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	·	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†836. In line with door	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†837. Over hole in ground	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	·	–	+	+	+	+	·	+
†838. Post before drum	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	·	–	–	–	+
361 †838a. Houses in rows	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
†838b. Houses in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	–	·	–	•+
Shelters																
Brush Enclosures and Shades																
417 839. Roofless circular brush enclosure	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
840. Large, used for ceremonies	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
[574] 841. As camping place for visitors	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	·	–	–	–
[764] 842. At cemeteries only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	+	+
843. Fire in center	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
844. Opening(s) oriented	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	·	•+
845. Same, but smaller, for summer shelter	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
846. Partly roofed over	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
847. Roofed circular brush enclosure	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–		–
848. Shades	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	–	•+
849. Horizontal roof	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
850. Sloping roof	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
851. 4 supporting posts	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
852. 3 side walls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
853. Brush heaped around pit mortars, for shade	–	–	–		–	–	–		–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–
854. Conical bark grinding house, 2 families	–	–	–		+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Menstrual Huts																
343 855. Menstrual hut	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
841 856. Similar to living house, but smaller	–	–	–	•+	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	–

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
285 415 1289. Parallel warp, oval or triangular													+	+	+	+
1290. Radiating warp, circular	+	+	+	−			+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1291. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1292. Parallel warp, oval or triangular	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
1293. Radiating warp, circular	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1294. Coiled, circular	−	−	−	−	•R	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1295. For winnowing, sifting, or parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1295a. Used as meat, fish platter	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1296. Boiling basket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1297. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1298. No decoration	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1299. Overlay designs	−	+	−	−	−	•−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1300. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1301. No decoration	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
1302. Designs	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+
1303. Necked water bottle	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1304. Diagonal twine	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1305. Pitched	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1306. Burden baskets	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1307. Plain openwork twine	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
1308. True cone, pointed bottom	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1309. Truncated cone, flat bottom	+	+	•+	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1310. Diagonal twine (at bottom only)	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	•	−	−
1311. Used mainly for packing wood, acorns	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1312. Plain closework twine	−	−	+	(−)	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1313. True cone, pointed bottom	−	−	•−	•−	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1314. Rounded bottom	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1315. Truncated cone, flat bottom	+	+	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1316. Diagonal twine (at bottom only)											+	+	.	.	.	.
1317. Used mainly for small seeds	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1318. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1319. True cone	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1320. Rare	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−
1321. Coating	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
1322. Of soaproot	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1323. Of pitch	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1324. Circular storage basket, wide mouthed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1325. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1326. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Small round baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1328. Sides straight or flaring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1329. Globular	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1330. Close-twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	(+)	−	−	−	−	−
1331. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1332. Baskets used chiefly, as dishes and containers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Baskets: Decoration

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
285 1333. Overlay twining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	−
531 1334. Banded woven ornament	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
1335. Sparingly used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	−	−
1336. Shell-bead decoration	−	+	+	R	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[237] 1337. Porcupine-quill decoration	•+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1338. Feather decoration	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	•+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Stone																	
1437. Stone vessels	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	415
1438. Shallow	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
1439. Manufactured	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
1440. Natural rock, found	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1441. "Fry-pan" type	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1442. Set near fire	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1443. Deep bowls	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	
1444. Used as water container	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
1445. Water heated by soapstone ring	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
1446. Set directly on fire	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1447. Flat bottomed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
1448. Round bottomed	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1449. Fire to harden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
1450. Grease to harden	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Leather Goods																	
Skin Tanning																	
1451. Green hide soaked	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	•.	.	281
1452. Staked out in water	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	.	.	
1453. Ashes to aid in dehairing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	•-	+	.	.	
1454. Dehaired on pole set at 45° angle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1455. Bone dehairing tool	+	+	•+	+	-	-	+	-	+	•+	+	+	(+)	+	.	.	
1456. Wooden dehairing tool	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	
1457. Stone dehairing, fleshing tool	-	•+	-	+	+	•+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	.	.	
1458. Tanning agent rubbed on, soaked in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	
1459. Brain solution	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	
1460. Wild-bird egg yolks	-	+	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1461. Acorn soup													-	+		-	
1462. Spinal cord	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	.	
1463. Wet hide twisted around upright post, or tree	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1464. Short stick lever to wring out water.	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1465. Hide grained	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1466. With hands	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1467. With unworked cannon bone	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	-	.	.	
1468. With wooden implement	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	.	
1469. On loose pole	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	.	
1470. On blunt post	-	-	-	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	.	.	
1471. On vertical frame, hide tied at 4 corners	-	-	-					+	+	+	-	.	-	.	.	.	
1472. Bear hide only			-					(-)	+	+	-	.	-	.	.	.	
1473. Pulled back and forth over foot	-	-	+			+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	.	
1474. Skins smoked, always	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1475. Skins smoked, occasionally	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	.	-	-	.	(+)	
Preparation of Tanning Agent																	
1476. Deer brains dried on vegetable-fiber "patty".	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	.	.	+	.	+	[237] ●
Adhesives																	
Glue																	
1477. Fish skin	+	+	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	.	.	.	-	-	381
1478. Fish internal organs	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	.	.	.	-	-	237

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1738. Woven bird-skin blanket	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	291
1739. Mat of whole tule or rush	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1740. Bark cape	–	+						+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1741. Cloak of shredded tule	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1742. Deer fur robes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1743. Single hide, tied at front of neck	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	
1744. Single hide, tied over shoulder	–	–	•+		•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	+	•+	.	–	
1745. 2 hides sewn together	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1746. Painted on bare side	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1747. Bear fur	–	–	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1748. Elkhide	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	
1749. Puma fur	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1750. Patchwork cape of small mammal hides	–	+	•+		+	+	+	–	–	•+	+	–	+	–	+	+	
Shirts and Gowns																	
1751. Women's buckskin gown	R	+	R	•+	R	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1752. Imported	•+	.	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[439]
o1753. Number of skins	3	2	2	2	2	•2	3	•1	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	
1754. To knee or more	R	+	R	+	R	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1755. Tied at back of neck	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1756. Tied in back, at waist	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
•1757. Skins, front and back	–	+	–	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1758. Tied over 2 shoulders, at waist 2 sides	–	+	+	•+				–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1759. Belted around waist	–	–	–					–			+	+					
1760. Sleeveless	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1761. Flaps over upper arms	–	–	R	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1762. Sleeves, elbow length	R	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1763. Sleeves fringed	R	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1764. Porcupine-quill decoration	R	+	R			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[237]
1765. Poncho type, 1 skin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1766. Painted	–	–	R	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1767. Shell pendants	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1768. Clamshell beads	•–		–			+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1769. Tubular bone beads	–	–	–	–	R	.	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
1770. Men's buckskin shirt	R	+	R	•+	•+	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1771. Imported	•+	.	•+	–													
o1772. Number of skins	2½	2	2	1	1	(1)	2	–	–	–	•1	2	–	–	–	–	
•1773. Skins, front and back	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1774. Tied at neck	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1775. Tied at both shoulders	–		–	–			–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1776. Slipped over head	R	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1777. Open front, tied with thong	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1778. Knee length	R		R					–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1779. Sleeveless	–	+	R	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1780. Sleeves, elbow length	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1781. Sleeves, wrist length	R	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1782. Sleeves fringed	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1783. Painted	R	–	R	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1784. Bone-bead pendants	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1785. Poncho type, 1 skin	R	•+	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Loin Coverings																	
1786. Breechclout (between legs)	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	(+)	+	+	–	+	
1787. Buckskin	+	+	+	•+	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1788. Fur	.	+	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1789. Buckskin skirt, sewed sides	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1790. Wrap-around type skirt	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1844. Shell embroidery	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	291
1845. Painted, top front	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[53]
1846. Painted, seams	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	
1847. Slippers	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1848. Woven bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1849. Tule, twined	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1850. Sandal	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1851. Hide	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1852. Bark	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1853. Leggings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1854. Tule, twined	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1855. Fur piece	(+)	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1856. Buckskin	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1857. Sewed	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1858. Fringed	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1859. Painted	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1860. Porcupine-quill decoration							+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[237] ●
1861. Tied at knee and ankle	–	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1862. Knee-to-ankle length	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1863. Hip-to-knee length	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1864. Snowshoes	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	o	
1865. Circular	•+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	(+)	–	o	481
1866. Oval	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	o	–	+	o	
1867. Kite-shaped	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1868. Lashing withes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	o	–	+	o	
1869. Lashing buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	o	+	–	o	
1870. Lashing rawhide	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	o	–	–	o	
1871. Lashing of fiber string	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	–	–	o	
Ceremonial Dress																	
1872. Feather garment on net foundation	–	–	–	–	(+)	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	292
1873. Half length	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	
1874. Tied over shoulders	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	237
1875. Held up by shoulder straps	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1876. Tied under arms	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
1877. Full length, neck to ankles	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
1878. Down-feather ropes or strings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	•–	•–	–	•+	•+	•	•+	•+	
1879. Yellowhammer-quill band	–	–	–	–	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1880. Feather tips at intervals	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
1881. Feathers solid, edge untrimmed	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1881a. Feathers solid, edge trimmed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
1882. Worn across forehead	–	–			+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1883. Ends extend, side of head	–	–	–	–		–					+	+	–	+	+	–	
1884. Worn as belt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1885. Worn as bracelet	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[301]
1886. Worn as necklace	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–	
1887. Worn as bandolier	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
1888. Worn over head and down back	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1889. Decorated with beads	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
1890. Used as dance ornament	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[535]
1891. Used by doctor	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	[756]
1892. Whole yellowhammer feathers solid on headband	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1893. All same direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1894. Worn across forehead	–	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1895. Worn as belt	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1896. Worn as bracelet	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[301]
1897. Worn as necklace	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1898. Worn in head net	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1899. Worn over head and down back	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
● 237 1900. Used by doctors only	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
[756] 1901. Feathers notched at sides	+	+	.	+	+	•+	+	−	.	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1901a. Decorated with rattlesnake rattles		−	−						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1902. Woodpecker scalps on band	−	•−	+	•(−)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1903. Buckskin band	−	−	+	(−)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+
1904. Fur band	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
1905. Woven-fiber band	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
1906. Scalps sewn on	−	−	+	(−)	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	.	−	−	−
1907. Scalps tied on	−	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	−	−
1908. Scalps glued on	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−	−
1909. Beaks left on scalps	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1910. Single row of scalps	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−
1911. 2 or more rows of scalps	−	−	−	−	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1912. Headband	−	−	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+
1913. Belt	−	−	−	−	+	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
[301] 1914. Necklace	−	−	+	−		+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1915. Bandolier	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1916. Woodpecker scalps in feather headdress												+	−	+	−	+
1917. Woodpecker scalps on head net	−	−	−	−		+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
1918. Mallard duck neck skins on band	−	−	−	−	−	•R	+	−	o	o	+	−	+	o	o	+
1919. Headband	−	−	−	−	−	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1920. Belt	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1921. Cap	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
1922. Bunch of feathers, tied to top of hair	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1923. Topknot headdress	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
1924. Whole feathers radiating from crown of buckskin cap	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−
1925. Feathers tipped with small white feathers	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1926. Buckskin strip down back, feathers attached	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1927. "Big head" feather-tipped radiating stick headdress	−	−	R	−	•−	R	−	R	−	R	−	+	−	+	−	+
1928. Feather plumes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
1929. Single primary or tail feather	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1930. 2 primary or tail feathers			+						+	+	+	+	+	+	.	−
1931. Woodpecker scalp on feather	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1932. Shells, cedar, small feathers attached								+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1933. Used by doctor	−	−	−		+			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1934. Spliced	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+
1935. Forked ... times.	−	−	−	−	•2	•2	•2	−	−	−	2	2	−	2	.	2
1936. Twisted sinew body	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	.	+
1937. Stick base	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	.	+
1938. Feathers bunched at fork or top of base	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	.	+
1939. Yellowhammer-quill attachment	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	.	+
1940. Yellowhammer feathers attached	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
1941. Worn on head	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	−	+	+	−	+	.	+
1942. Hand-held	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	R	R	−	−	−	−	.	−
1943. Fur headband or blind	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1944. Feathers suspended from lower edge	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1945. Visor	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1946. Head net	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	−	+
292 1947. Flowing down back	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1948. Close woven	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1949. Open woven	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1950. Feathers at bottom	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1951. All on head	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
1952. Bag type	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1953. Hammock type	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
1954. Down-filled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
1955. Down tied on back part	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2627. Both paternal, maternal	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	.	.	.	+	622
2628. Primogeniture	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	•+	+	.	-	-	+	[61]
2629. Oldest member paternal lineage	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2630. Only if direct heir too young	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2631. Brother of deceased chief	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	.	+	+	+	
2632. Only if direct heir too young			+						+	-	•+	-	.	-	-	-	
2633. Brother's son	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	+	+	
Qualifications for Appointment																	
2634. Character and knowledge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		
2635. Possession of wealth	-	-	+	.	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[556]
2636. Good speaker, and "talks to everyone"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
Appointment																	
2637. Chosen at assembly of elders	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	.	+	+	+	[623]
2638. Chosen at assembly of all males	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	-	.	-	-	-	[562]
2639. Women sometimes attend and speak			-				+	-	-	-	.	+	.	-	-	-	
2640. Incumbent may select successor	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	.	-	+	+	+	+	
2641. New leader may be appointed before incumbent dies	-	+	+				+	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	+	-	
2642. Headmen of other groups select or help select new leader	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	+	+	
2643. Approval of community required	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	
Tenure																	
2644. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2645. Dependent on satisfactory behavior	-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	
2646. May be deposed by killing	-	-	-	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	.	•-	
Title																	
2647. Individual title	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2648. Title extended to children	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	
2649. To daughter only	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2650. Daughter called by special title													-	-	•+	-	
2651. Title extended to wife; "chief's wife"	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	.	-	+	
Insignia																	
2652. Wears "hairpin" with quail crest at ceremonies																+	[301]
2653. Chief only person who uses eagle feathers													-	-	+	-	[237]
Activities and Duties																	
2654. Hunts, fishes for self	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	+	•+	+	-	-	+	-	
2655. Relatives hunt, fish for him	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2656. All give chief food free	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	
2657. Food bought for chief	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2658. Feeds visitors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2659. Impoverished thereby	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[574]
2660. Provides most of food for ceremonies	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2661. Directs communal economic activities	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	[224]
2662. Deer drives	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	
2663. Antelope, duck hunts, etc.	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3657. 4-5 (all) singers paid	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	841
3658. Reciprocal obligations only	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	881
3659. Menstruant sings	-	-	-	-	•+	+	+	+	-	.	-	+	+	-	-	-	535
3660. Participants join in singing	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
3661. Night singing, minus dancing	-	-	.	•+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	
3662. "Love" songs sung	•+	•+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	
3663. Enemy songs sung, final dance	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3664. Women's songs sung	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
3665. Special song cycle sung	•+	•+	.	•+	•(+)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	-	+	
3666. Joking by singers	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	-	-	+	[522]
3667. Multiple split-stick rattle used by menstruant, singers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3668. Deer-hoof rattle used by singers	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	-	
3669. Deer-hoof rattle used by menstruant	-	-	+	+	•+	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3670. Stick hit against board, as drum	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
3671. Whistle used	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	[533]
3672. Singing, dancing continues throughout night	+	+	-		•+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	(+)	
3673. Singing, dancing ends middle of night	-	-	+		-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
3674. Entire assembly fed, middle of night.	+	•-	+	+	•+	•+	R	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	
3675. Singers, dancers bathe daily	-	-	+					+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	[515]
3676. Girl's attendant(s) have eyebrows, face blackened	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	[292]
3677. Men wear eagle down plumes	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	•-	•-	+	+	-	+	-	-	
3678. Men wear fur headband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	[237]
3679. Men wear woodpecker scalp headband	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	[302]
3680. Men paint face red	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
3680a. Men paint face white	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
3680b. Men paint face black	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3681. Men wear bead necklaces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
3682. Men wear head net	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	
3683. Men wear yellowhammer bands	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3684. Menstruant wears braided grass fringed visor	-	-	-	-			•		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3685. Women wear basket cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
3686. Women wear yellowhammer bands													+	+	-	-	
3687. Women wear brush, flower crowns	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
3688. Women paint faces red	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3689. Women paint faces black	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3690. Women carry branches in hands	-	-	-					+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3691. Boys, girls wear flower wreaths	-	-	-					•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3692. Dress, headgear changed nightly	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	
3693. Public rites: minor day dances.	-	-	+	-	•+	•+	+	(+)	-	+	-	(+)	-	•+	-	-	
3694. Menstruant dances	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	
3695. Men dance	-	-	+	-	-	-		(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3696. Women dance	-	-	+	-	•+	•+		(+)	-	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	
o3697. Lasts ... days	-	-	•8	-	•3	•3		.	-	.	-	(5)	-	5	-	-	
3698. Lasts part of each day only	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	
3699. Held in open	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	
3700. Rain in winter, no dance	-	-	(+)	-	-	•-			-		-		-	-	-	-	
3701. Circle dance	-	-	-	-	+	+			-		-		-	-	-	-	
3702. Dancers abreast, 1 line	-	-	+	-	-	-			-				-	-	-	-	
3703. Special songs, female singers	-	-		-	+	+			-		-		-	-	-	-	
3704. Public concluding rites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3705. Held in daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3706. "War" dance	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3707. Round dance	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
3708. Dancers abreast, in 1 line	-	-	-	+				•+									
3708a. Women grasp men's belts	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3709. Feather visor lifted off menstruant	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

000 Several layers of sinew glued, successively, to back of bow. AW: Young juniper used for bow; burnt or split; smoothed with pumice. AE: See notes 965, 969. WM: Sinew not used; salmon skin applied to back of bow, in 2 layers, "to make bow stronger." Skin warmed before applying; is sticky, so no glue needed.

968. AW: Made by male specialists; article of trade.

[411 439] 969. Kl: "Klamath and Modoc bought bows from the Shasta; also made own bows." AE: Proper woods for making sinew-backed bows lacking in area; "at Fall River Mills, and W of there, the farther W you go, the better the bows are." MM: Wood for bows imported; bows made locally.

975. SW: Grip more constricted, center bowed in more pronouncedly than bow in Dixon, Shasta, p. 437, fig. 106.

[411 227] 976. Deer sinew.

● 978. SW: Strips of sinew "fine as hair" taken from backbone of deer, chewed, stretched strand by strand on rock; several strands glued together with fish glue. No rolling of bowstring between palms. Bowstring of this type shown in Dixon, Shasta, fig. 106; in fig. 105, string should not be twisted. WM: Fine strands of sinew rolled together with salmon glue; long lengths of this stretched between 2 trees; when used as bowstring this sinew will not snap.

979. Mo: For boy's, poor person's bow. AW: For winter hunting use fiber bowstring; does not break as sinew does when wet. Same applies to arrow-point lashing material.

980a. AE: Used occasionally, but "breaks too easily."

[531 411] 981. Backed bows only. WM: Blue, with clay obtained in mountains.

Arrows.--

411 983. For shapes described by elements 984-987 see figures below. Within area surveyed, many members of more northerly groups frequently mentioned Glass Mountain in Modoc territory as source of supply for obsidian arrowheads. At: "Old people brought pieces of obsidian home, and anyone bought it from them." AW: Obsidian-tipped arrows used chiefly for hunting deer, grizzly, other large game, and for war. WM: 2-3 men make trip to Glass Mountain; trip takes 2-3 days; men fast throughout period of absence, as obtaining flint is semireligious quest. WS: "Not every man had obsidian-tipped arrows; the obsidian was hard to get, and only 3-4 people

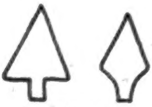
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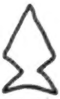
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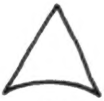
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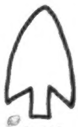
987

000 1177. At, AW, AE: Basket cap used for dipping up water, also to drink from. AW: "Sometimes put something pretty fine to eat in small basket cup."

1178. AW: Knife roughly triangular, with broad lower end (handle end) rounded; 1 side of knife dull, for half sawing, breaking bones; other side has rough, sharp edge. "Weak" (non-poisonous) piece of obsidian used for knife (see note 1019).

1180. NS: Prismatic quartz (? "crystal") used for knife. Obtained from ledges in vicinity. Not used for arrowheads, which are made of "pink" obsidian, imported.

1183. SW, WT, WM, WS: Not hafted if used to cut meat. WM, WS: Hafted knives used in war only (see element 1073).

Manufacturing Implements

Awls; shuttles; drills; wedges; flakers.--

1193. WS: Bear ulna.

1202. WT: Twine rolled on flat stick, notched at 2 ends; loops for net wrapped around piece of plain round stick. Informant had never seen netting shuttle of type figured in Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 4a, p. 126.

1203. WM, WS: Pointed stick, but no slit through center, as shown in Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 4a, p. 126; informants had never seen this type shuttle.

1210. NF: Pump drill (recent ?) for drilling beads, pipes.

1220. See Dixon, Shasta, p. 395; reaffirmed by my SW informant. WT, WM, WS: Informants had never heard of this procedure but method used by some Wintu groups (see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 128). For wooden pipes WT, WM, WS use ash, poking out soft heart with stick.

1222. AW: Drill of black oak. Drill selected from several pieces of black oak (much as arrow-maker selects pieces of obsidian; see note 1019); piece chosen that "will make fire quickly." Hearth of red fir bark. MV: Denied drill; described fire making as follows: Good-sized dry elder stalk split, pith removed; this hollow section held in 1 hand and rubbed back and forth with end of other half of split stalk, until fire produced. Informant had seen her cousin produce fire thus. NF informant also referred to similar method of fire making.

1224. Mo: Serviceberry shaft, cedar point.

1225. SE: Also stated softened chaparral bark rubbed between both hands until "spark" produced.

[372] 1226. Kl: Sagebrush.

[824] 1227. WM: Set end of oak stick afire, and carry it in pack basket. NF: Used when going on long trip. NS: For short distances only.

[412] 1229. Kl: Elkhorn pick. MM: Deerhorn wedge.

[237] 1234. Mo: Imported. "Important people bought such things." SW: Imported, in recent times only.

000 decorated with this overlay; therefore boiling baskets not decorated.

1303. AE: Imported, mainly, from Paiute groups adjoining AE on E, but a few also manufactured by AE. Have used them "for many years; the Paiute got that jug from a little horntoad that lives out on the desert; he had one of these, so they learned from him. Then the AE learned from the Paiute, a long time ago."

1305. AE: Some dislike expressed for pitch coating; water tastes "bitter."

1306. AW: Three types used: (1) large basket, used for transporting fine seeds. (2) large, used for carrying wood, acorns, other large objects. (3) smaller than first type and made to sit flat on ground. Used in conjunction with beater, when collecting fine seeds; during day's gathering woman dumps contents of this seed basket into larger basket of first type, which is true pack basket, and carries seeds home in latter. Distribution of such a separate seed-collecting basket probably widespread in California, but as matter not enquired into fully enough among various groups, all conical seed baskets are classed herein as pack baskets, although seldom regarded as such by those making and using them. WT: Three types used: (1) Large basket with designs on it; used for packing. (2) Large basket, used as pack basket. (3) Smaller basket with designs; used to beat seeds into. Some question as to whether third type has rounded bottom or is truncated cone, but it sits by itself at any rate.

1307-1308. AW: Refer to large pack basket used for acorns only. WT: Refers to large plain pack basket.

1309. SE: Specimens of such, attributed to Shasta, seen in display at Lassen National Park Museum. AW: Refers to small seed gathering basket (type 3; see note 1306).

1311. AW: Refers to large pack basket (type 2; see note 1306).

1312. AW, WT: Entry refers to types (1) and (3); see note 1306.

1313. SE, SW: Specimens of close-twined conical burden baskets, attributed to Shasta, seen in collection of Lassen National Park Museum, however. AW, WT: Refers to type (1) only; see note 1306.

1314. WT: Entry refers to type (3) only; see note 1306.

1315. AW: Entry refers to type (3) only; see note 1306.

1317. AW, WT: Entries refer to types (1) and (3) only; see note 1306.

Baskets: decoration.--

285
531
237
178
1337. Kl: Formerly used in natural color, now dyed yellow. Kl, Mo: Used on "expensive" baskets only.

1338. At: "Shiny feathers from duck's neck;
000 used sparingly. NS: Woman making feather-decorated basket remains indoors until basket

000 completed; reason unknown. MV: Small basketry disks, used as earrings, only variety feather-decorated basketry ware.

1340. NS: Woodpecker and quail crests used. MV: Woodpecker, quail, and mallard duck feathers used.

285 1341. Kl: Black, white, tan; porcupine quills
531 natural color formerly; now dyed yellow. Mo:
● 237 Yellow, black and white, plus tan background.
178 WM, WS: Red, black, white, yellow, plus tan.
NM, NS: Red, white or tan, black. No specimens of any 4-color baskets seen.

Cradles.--

854 1342-1352. Two types cradles entered under elements 1342-1352 for several groups. If entry refers to 1 of 2 types only, note records to which entry refers. Positive entry without note means entry applies to both types. For additional data on use of cradles see 3263-3286. Kl: Cradles of indeterminate type, between sitting and lying forms; have been somewhat arbitrarily entered as
000 lying form (see 1353-1363). Mo: Indeterminate type, like Kl, but apparently used more as sitting than lying cradles. Type (1) first cradle, for newborn babe; shallow tule basket cradle. Type (2) second cradle, for older infant; willow cradle with pointed bottom that can be stuck in ground. SE: (1) First cradle; board (see left figure). (2) Second cradle for older infant, Y-frame (see right figure). Informant emphatic infant sits in both types cradle, "with feet hanging down," although child could also lie down in both types. SW: Types (1), (2) for newborn infants, older infants differ only in size; both always used as sitting cradles. At: (1) soft tule cradle, used 2-3 months. (2) Same shape cradle, used for older infant. AW: (1) small cradle for newborn infant, twined, of wil-

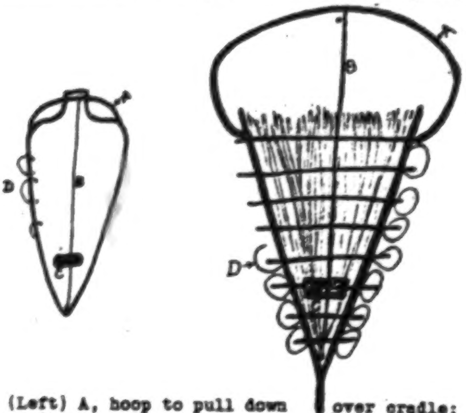

(Left) A, hoop to pull down over cradle; B, string to pull down hoop; C, grass pad over which child's legs dangle; D, lashings.

(Right) A, willow hoop; B, string to pull down hoop; C, rolled tule mat over which child's legs dangle; D, lashings.

ODO ized pieces of decayed log. Skin hung up to dry; resoaked; worked with hands, over feet, to soften. NS: Informant relieved "only certain people tanned buckskin, not everyone"; no knowledge of tanning. Beals, Nisenan, p. 345, observes: "Buckskin seems to have been little employed"; my information agrees.

1453. MM: For skins other than deerskin. MF: Hair plucked out by hand, after hide soaked.

1454. WT: Also fleshed on outstretched leg.

[281]
[237] 1455. Usually lower front leg bone of deer, which is sharp. SE: Elk shoulder blade or lower front leg bone of deer. WS: Deer rib.

1457. Mo: Obsidian knife. AW; WT: Sharp piece of rock.

1460. AW: Sometimes use wild duck egg yolks, but "deer brains best."

1463. As described in Spier, Havasupai, fig. 17, p. 141.

1470. AW: Least-used method. If stone, bone graining implement used, hide merely held with hands; if hide pulled back and forth over foot, it is held with hands only.

1476. SE, AW, AE: Grass. SW, At, WS: Moss; WS: of "poisonous" variety. WT: Bark.

1478. MM: Plus boiled roots and weeds.

1479. NS: For bows, arrows.

1481. MV: Plus plant.

1482. Usually "mixed with something." WS: Mixed with charcoal.

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

Haircut; coiffure; comb; care of hair.--

1487. WT: Occasionally only.

1488. SW: Mother, for child.

1489. SW: Woman, after death of husband.

1492. WM: Orphaned girls have hair cut, orphaned boys, hair burnt short.

1493. WM: See note 1492.

1494. Ca. 1 month after birth burn off hair with pine needles to make it grow in long. AE: If infant has thin hair, cut it close when baby 2-3 months old. MV: Girl babies only.

1495. WM: If hair cut at any other time, someone will die.

1496. At: Men, women. AE, WM, MV: Women, girls.

[302]
[56 2]
1497. Kl: Temple locks, men. AE: Forelock, men.
1498. Kl: Men. Mo: Shamans; braid scalp lock. AE: Boys; tie feathers, weasel hide, on scalp lock.

1500. MV: 2 women perform operation; 1 woman holds glowing brand, other holds hair, especially bangs.

1502. WM: Occasionally only.

1506. On top of, or at back of head. SW, WT, WM, WS, MM, MF: Hairpins in hair (see element 1544). AE, WS, MM, MF, MV: Roll or bunch hair when head net worn, only.

[196-B]

OOD 2366. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2349.

2367. AE: Refers to women's hand game.

2368. Mo: Fact that only 1 player at time holds objects causes Mo to distinguish clearly between their form of hand game (nanadeyes) and "Paiute-Achomawi" 4-bone hand game (which is also recent Kl form). This 4-bone form never adopted by Mo. At: Refers to recent "hand game," and women's hand game. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2349.

2369. At, WM: Refers to recent form hand game. See note 2349.

2370. WM: Refers to recent form. WS, MV: Refers to women's hand game. See note 2349.

2371. WS: Refers to recent "hand game." MV: Refers to men's hand game. See note 2349.

2377. WS: Refers to recent hand game and women's hand game. MV: Refers to men's hand game. See note 2349.

2378. WM, WS: Refers to recent form hand game; also, among WS, to women's hand game. See note 2349.

2379. WS: Refers to grass game. MV: Refers to men's hand game. See note 2349.

2381. WM: 15 counters for grass game; 5 counters for recent form hand game. See note 2349.

2387. WM, WS: Refers to grass game. See note 2349.

2388. WM, WS: Refers to recent hand game and, for WS, women's hand game also.

Stick hiding; dice games; objects thrown in air.--
2399. AW: Single stick, piece of rock, hidden in bare hand (but not between fingers); 2 hands extended, hider sings short song. Opposite side guesses which hand contains stick; played merely for fun, between 2 women, or 2 boys, 2 girls; MM: Informant's daughter had seen it played at mission school at Greenville, Plumas Co.; father unfamiliar with it. NM: Name of game, tikil (see note 2435) or wotokit.

[524 2406. Mo, MF, NM: Said to be aboriginal.

[177 2410. Kl: Possibly learned from Paiute; beaver teeth. Mo: Ground-hog-teeth dice.

[237] 2415. NM: Informant positive no counters.

2429. MF: Deer bones.

2435. NM: Name of game, tikil. Informant had seen it played at Mooretown also, among MF group.

2439. At, AW: Women's digging sticks. MF: See NM note, following. NM: Name of game, tikil (see note 2435). Informant had seen game played at Mooretown also, among a MF group. Use of women's digging stick in game denied.

2445. AW: Sometimes 12 used instead.

2453. AW: Comparatively large rock.

2458. AW: 2-4.

2465. NF: For 3 days after gambling.

Amusements

Toys; contests; storytelling.--
2469. SW: Like Pomo top, Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 41,a, p. 449.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10 •
Modoc NS17

M clusion of almost everything else. The seeds of this plant,
K gathered and preserved in three different manners, as described
13 in detail by Coville,[4] form the staple article of food and thus
correspond to acorns used over the greater part of California. About Tule or Rhett lake and the smaller lakes of that vicinity there are fewer marshes and consequently a smaller supply of the water-lily. Thus the Modoc were much less abundantly supplied with this staple than were the Klamath, who are said to have had on Klamath marsh alone over ten thousand acres of these plants. The chief vegetable food of the Modoc seems to have been tubers and bulbs, notably camass and ipos.

M The extensive lakes of this region naturally bring great num-
K bers of water birds of various kinds, including swans, geese,
136 ducks, and wading birds, the majority of which were used by the
Indians as food and in various ways. The skins of swans, geese, and other birds with especially fine down, were made into feather blankets, swaddling clothes, etc. Fish were abundant in the lakes, salmon and salmon trout being especially esteemed by
M the Indians. The presence of this large supply of water birds
K and fish developed certain specialized implements for their cap-
223 ture. For taking birds there were what may be termed a ring-
M pointed arrow, and a special net. There were several methods
K of taking fish, the most important being by the large triangular
226 dip-net used in the dug-out canoe, as shown in pl. 10.

501 The country provided also an abundance of the usual animals,
M such as deer, elk, antelope, and others used for food; and coyotes,
K gray wolves, foxes, badgers, wildcats, rabbits, and various fur-
136 bearing animals furnishing blankets and clothing.

• 237

BUILDINGS.

M The houses of the Klamath and Modoc were of two kinds. In
K this region where the snow on the higher peaks is always in
342 sight, and where it often reaches a depth of several feet in winter,
[133] a warm and durable house is necessary. This was provided by
[132] the semi-subterranean earth lodge, which was of the usual central
California form, and had a pit from a foot to three or four feet

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[113] [4] Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians, Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Institution, 1902, 727-739.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M K 285 skin of the circular tule is also used for the same purpose. It may be so cured as to have a greenish or a yellowish color. It may also be dyed by means of a mixture of blue mud and wokas shucks to a dead black. All this material is used as weft, the warp being the twisted brown skin of the circular tule. The unfinished basket shown in pl. 14, fig. 2, illustrates the uses of these weft and warp materials. Designs are usually worked out M K [237] in the reddish brown roots of the tule, though the outer leaf skin of a certain jointed rush which provides a shiny, creamy white material is also used. For the finer baskets the quills of the porcupine, dyed yellow by means of a yellow moss, probably the widely used *Evernia vulpina*, are used. Baskets of this soft type are made in many different forms. Particularly of note are the cap (pl. 18, figs. 9-12), and the large flat parching and sifting basket, pata (pl. 11, fig. 3); also the large gambling tray (pl. 11, fig. 2), which differs from the parching and sifting tray in that it is made of white material instead of brown and is finely decorated in one or more of the different color materials. The flat baskets used for parching and sifting purposes are almost always made with the brown tule for weft as well as warp, and are usually very simply ornamented. The use of this sifting basket is shown in pl. 12.[10] In fig. 1 is shown the actual process of grinding wokas on to the basket, and in fig. 2 the process of sifting. Soft baskets of various other forms are shown in pl. 15 K 285 and in pl. 18, figs. 1-8. In addition to these soft baskets made of twisted tule fiber, the Klamath make many larger and coarser baskets of unsplit tule. Notable among these are more or less conical burden baskets, which are sometimes made with hoops, and which usually have four rods running vertically along the outer surface in such a manner as to make a sort of wooden framework.[11] The large, flat, straight-walled storage baskets (pl. 14, fig. 4) are usually made entirely of tule, in the three-strand braided weave, though plain twining is also sometimes used. These are used for storing such foods as dried berries and fish. From the unsplit tule also are made mats, above described, which are one of the most characteristic things among

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[10] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 7.

[11] *Ibid.*, pl. 8.

M
K walked with the cradle on her back, it was bound down with a
piece of buckskin, and there was in some cases a harder material
304 used in connection with the buckskin, such as a small piece of
854 board, or a piece of willow basketry. These headbands were, of
course, properly padded to prevent actual injury to the child's
head, but the pressure was sufficient and was so adjusted that it
caused a decided flattening of both the front and back of the
M head. The younger generation has not been subjected to this
K cradle treatment and does not show the flattening, but among the
[178] older Klamath and Modoc the flattening is very pronounced.
M
K Probably due to the influence of the Shoshonean peoples to the
854 east, the cradle board finds some use among the Lutuami, but the
177 woven tule and willow cradles are typical of the region.

M In addition to the various articles of dress mentioned in speak-
K ing of the uses of tule, the Klamath and Modoc make a belt
291 either from the fiber of the inner bark of certain trees or from
286 human hair. These are worn by the women in every-day dress.
Plate 17, fig. 7, shows one of these belts of fiber.

287 As a brush for dressing the hair the tail of the porcupine is
M used (pl. 22, fig. 2). Usually the longer spines are removed and
K the skin of the tail is then stuffed either with shredded tule or
302 with shredded sage-brush bark. In dressing the hair the brush
237 is drawn through it directly against the points of the spines,
which, as may be seen from the illustration, lie almost flat.

K As before mentioned the Klamath have many vegetable foods
262 in addition to the wokas. Most of these are derived from small
plants, but the pine furnishes one. The inner bark of some of
the species of pine is much esteemed as a food and there is a
[237] special implement used in taking it. This knife-like bone implement (pl. 22, fig. 5) is used in separating the inner from the
outer bark, and is usually made from a deer rib or from a rib
of one of the other large animals.

SUMMARY.

M The Klamath and Modoc people possess a specialized culture,
K due largely to the extensive use of tule in the making of houses,
285 basketry, and various utensils. The only baskets made of a
harder material are conical burden baskets, triangular sifters, a

*539 also pass as puberty songs, but I have preferred to class these under the heading of
533 songs of satire. Some are sung with melodies, others are spoken and recited only.
522 I. Satiric songs obtained in the Klamath Lake dialect from Chief Johnson, Minnie Froben and others.

[193] 189; 1. ú'yank. In this term the prefix u- gives the shape in which the tobacco was given away.

189; 2. Refers to somebody going to the Dalles or other place along the Columbia River. Cf. page 93, *Note.*

[192] [193] 189; 3. In this verse there are four particles pointing either to distance or to elevation (altitude): tú'sh, hu, the -u suffixed to nen (nen hu) and to tchĭlamna. This song is sung by a woman, who hears (nen) for the first time of this assembling of geese; shésha waíwash stands for shéshash waíwash, or shéshatko waíwash: birds called waíwash-geese.

189; 5. A young woman is the object of this song-line.

[237] 189; 6. Woodpecker-scalps of shining colors are still in use for ornamenting various articles of dress, implements, &c. u'hlutuína: he flaunts it and parades in it.

[192] 189; 7. Ká tal? who then? who after all? abbreviated from kaní tala. Dresses
[193] made of walχátchka-skins passed for the poorest and meanest of all garments.
[291] 190; 9. This is sung by men only.

190; 13. A satire on feminine voracity. Sung by Klamath women from Klamath Marsh. Cf. below, 190; 21.

190; 12. haktchámpesh; -pesh is the suffix ptchi phonetically altered, the word introducing a comparison of the "striding one" with the young klítish-crane in the same song. A sarcasm on a long-legged person with swinging gait.

190; 16. Regularly worded, this proverb-like verse would read as follows: Kä'-utchish gû'lu wō'n=lák̦iash shamĕnakía.

000 II. Satiric songs obtained in the Modoc dialect from Toby Riddle and J. C. D. Riddle.

190; 18. A tatler has received the deserved bodily punishment for his gossip-tales. Of the first word no grammatic analysis could be obtained in either tribe.

190; 19. The business of gathering edible roots devolves exclusively on women, but here an old man, Bio, who still lives among the Modoc at Yáneks, is indulging in this useful pastime. That 's where the point of the satire lies. Hlívash is a word unknown to the Klamath Lake people in the signification of "basket".

190; 20. Sung by the *national* deity when foiled in the attempt of killing five lynxes by throwing stones at them; repeated from the shashapkĕléash, page 126, 3. Cf. *Note.*

190; 21. To be found in another version among the Klamath Lake songs; there it refers to a female living on Klamath Marsh, not on Klamath Lake.

190; 22. This tune was with many similar ones improvised by the Modocs, who visited the East a short time after the Modoc war, on seeing crowds of blacks filling the streets. All Indians feel *at first* a peculiar very strong aversion against the Ethiopian race, though subsequently they often become friends and intermarry.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

/NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
241 329. Seeds scattered to produce better crop	–	+	+				•+	–	–	–	–	(+)	(+)	·	+	–
312 329a. Irrigation	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–
Domesticated Animals and Pets																
Dogs																
231 330. Dogs kept	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	–
331. By relatively few persons	+	+	+				•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
332. Bred	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
333. Bought from other localities	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–
334. Named	+	+	+	•+	+	·	+	•+	+	+	+	·	–	–	–	–
335. Used in hunting	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
336. Trained not to bark	•+	•+	•+				•+	•+	(–)	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–
o337. Kept inside dwelling	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	±	+	+	–	–	–
[343] 338. Separate dog house	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
339. Semisubterranean, earth covered	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
340. Domed, thatched	–	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
341. Domed, bark covered	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[766] 342. Conical, slab	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
343. Burned at death, or death of owner	–	+	–	–	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–
344. Buried	–	–	+	•–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	(–)	–	–	–
345. Body thrown outside	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	(–)	–	–	–
346. Suspended in tree at death of owner	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	(–)	–	–	–
Birds, Bear Cubs, Etc.																
347. Birds kept	•–	–	–	•+	+	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•–
348. Caged	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
349. Tied up	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
350. Wings plucked or cut	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–
351. Bear cubs kept	•+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
352. Deer fawns kept	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
353. Small mammals kept	–	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Food and Its Handling																
Staple Foods																
262 354. Deer staple flesh food	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	–
355. Fish staple flesh food	•+	+	–	–	+	•+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+
356. Deer and fish equally important	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
357. Acorns staple plant food	•o	•o	•+	•+	•+	•+	•o	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
358. Sunflower seeds	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
359. Ipos or other bulbs	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+
360. Water lily seeds	+	+	–	–			•+		–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–
Animals Eaten																
361. Dog eaten habitually	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[261] 362. Dog eaten during famines, epidemics	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
363. Fox	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
364. Coyote	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
365. Wolf	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	o	–	–	–
366. Grizzly bear (Ursus horribilus)	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	o	–
366a. Brown bear (Ursus americanus)	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	o	–	+	(+)
367. Deer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
368. Elk (wapiti)	+	+	+	+	o	+	o	+	o	+	o	+	o	o	o	+
369. Antelope	+	+	+	+	o	•+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	+
o370. Puma	–	+	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	(o)	+	–	–

000 314. MM: Large group of people gather acorns, in fall; make large batch acorn soup out of first crop; shaman or old man prays; mush then distributed to all present, eaten. After this each family may cook its own acorn mush separately. (Custom still observed.) MV: See note 313.

222 316. Kl: When wokus ripe, shaman does not allow anyone to pick them at first; he tells all the women to gather wokus, cook them and bring them to him in daytime. Shaman then sings, and men, women join him in singing for 2-3 hours; he then eats some of the wokus first, then everyone else eats it. Shaman instructs people to gather wokus for 5 days following, after that to refrain from gathering any for 5 days; at end of 10-day period people can gather wokus whenever they wish (for about 1 month, until end of crop).

000 317. At: 3 types 1st-fruits rites for ipos roots described. (1) In May, first ipos roots gathered sung over by shaman. Latter examines some of roots; prophecies whether any women are going to be sick. If they are, tells all women to dig roots; they do so 1 entire day, then bring them home in evening and dump them in 1 spot. All female doctors sing over these roots for half night, to make women healthy. Each woman then takes home the roots she has dug, but leaves handful or so for shamans, who cook and eat them. (2) General feast, to which women bring ipos, men fish, after shaman has dug first roots; shaman in charge. (3) First ipos roots any woman digs, in spring, she throws away; says: "Don't make me poor; give me good luck; you may have this one," and throws root in back of her. Prayer addressed to (?). Informant herself never eats any of first day's digging of roots; this however is not a general rule. Woman throws away root thus "to make her healthy"; no similar observance for other roots, or for acorns.

318. MV: Foothill Maidu bring manzanita berries down to valley Maidu when they attend latter's dances, burnings.

327. Mo: First of any variety root, seed crop thrown on ground to "feed earth first." MF, NM, NS: First morsel of each prepared new-fruit product thrown in fire, as offering.

Preagriculture.--

328. MM, MF, NF: For better crop mushrooms, principally; sometimes for wild seeds also.

329. AE: When seeds begin to ripen in patches out on hill, 2-3 women take sticks 4-5 ft. long and walk "forward and back, forward and back," flaying plants with sticks; "next year there will be a big crop there because lots of seeds have been scattered."

● [241] 329a. Responses negative throughout area, but a few comments made in connection with question are of interest. AW: "When they (want to) 'irrigate,' they sing for cloud!" MV: Large ponds in area dry up in summer; wild-seed plants grow plentifully in moist bottoms of these dried-up

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

FIVE

[P.57]

Economy

AGRICULTURE 657*

IT WAS FUNDAMENTAL TO OTHER PARTS OF THE PROGRAM OF 648*
planned change that the Indians cease to depend upon fishing, 433
gathering, and hunting, and that they turn instead to farming. In this way and only in this way, the administration believed, could they be tied to the land within reach of Agency influence. The experience would teach them the virtues of industry, and they would become self-supporting. At first, it was acknowledged, they would have to eke out the produce of their farms with the yield of the native food quest and the rations that formed part of the treaty annuities. In time, the success of farming would render unnecessary those supplements.

With this plan before them, the early Agents fell to with a 657*
will. In 1866, when Lindsay Applegate established the Agency, 177
241 •

> . . .the little party. . .did not waste much time in beginning operations in their settlement. Two cabins were built, fields fenced, and a large vegetable garden planted, in all of which the Indians assisted to the extent of their ability, without compensation and evidently in a holiday spirit. A field of about thirty acres of bald barley, wheat, and oats was enclosed by a temporary fence in a day or two. The operation of the breaking plow was watched with great interest, and Chief Mosenkoskit of the Sprague River band insisted upon handling it himself. Unaccustomed to this kind of exercise, it was all the powerful sachem could do to maintain his balance as the oxen dragged the swaying plow through the heavy sod, but he was thrilled with a vision of the power of the plow and all it might mean to his people, and expressed himself as eager for the time when such work might go forward in his own beautiful Sprague River country. The Chief's enthusiasm for the plow is typical of the attitude of the whole tribe, toward the white man's civilization. It may perhaps be truthfully said that this enthusiasm too often expressed itself in

> *657 a mere change of externals, yet the white man's ways as the red
> 177 man understood them were adopted with a rapidity unequalled
> • 241 in most Indian tribes. . . .
>
> The vegetables grown that first year [corn, beans, turnips, carrots, peas, potatoes, artichokes, and onions][1] were a revelation and a delight to the Indians, who had previously lived so largely on small native roots. I have heard my father say that they were particularly captivated by beets which, with their red juice, they thought resembled "ittle-willy" [meat].[2]

In the effort to induce the Indians to cultivate their fields, the Agent seems to have enlisted the aid of the military. "I had about one-half acre broken for Blow," wrote Captain F. B. Sprague, "and he is at work like a white man, has it all fenced and cetera, & plants growing finally."[3]

The crops the first year were reported good, but subsequently
[133] they were killed by frosts or summer droughts. The elevation
[132] of the Klamath Plateau, some four thousand feet above sea level,
limits farming even today. Reports are studded with the phrases, "heavy frosts," "unprecedented heat," "unusually dry and frosty." Surveying the blighted fields, the early Agents redoubled their efforts. In 1869, Applegate reported that "the teachers . . . have been for a greater part of the time engaged on the farms, along with Indian boys receiving instruction in manual labor. . . ." R. B. Hatton, schoolteacher, stiffly pointed out that he "was instructed to labor on the farms . . ." and the tenor of his remarks suggests that in so doing he had been diverted from what he considered his proper function.[4]

*657 The following year, the new Agent, Captain O. C. Knapp,
*648 stated, "I again urge upon the Department the uselessness of
177 trying to make this an agricultural reservation. . . . The Indians
231 should be supplied with cattle and sheep, and they would soon
241 become self-sustaining."[5] His words were echoed by Agent L. S.
Dyar, in 1872: "These [crop] failures are very discouraging to the Indians as well as to the Agent, and demonstrate the necessity of paying more attention to the raising of cattle. . . ."[6]

*657 Nonetheless, from 1871 on, with the aid of the farmer, several
177 Indians cultivated little farms along the Williamson River and
241 the lake shore.[7] These in the following year amounted to some
twelve to fifteen individuals who "have small patches of land of a few acres each fenced, on which they have, with the help of

the employes, usually raised a little grain and a few vegetables."[8] 657*
Dyar viewed their efforts as praiseworthy, but unlikely of success. 177
"Although there is but little probability that the seed planted will 241 •
yield an abundant harvest," he observed, "yet I think it is better
to gratify and encourage them by helping them all I can in their
efforts at Agriculture as in doing so they are acquiring habits of
industry and at the same time are preparing themselves to take
care of the cattle which they now have and which I hope to see
rapidly increase."[9]

Although Dyar continued to do everything in his power to 657*
advance stock raising, even converting the proceeds from the 648*
sale of hides into cattle for distribution to the Indians,[10] he still 241
lamented the impracticability of farming. "Were this a good 231
agricultural country," he remarked, "they would soon become 177
self-supporting and could they be induced to go to the Indian
Territory it would be far better for them. As it is they must rely
on stock and their old native food for subsistence."[11]

The hope for farming bloomed perennially. J. H. Roork, who 657*
succeeded Dyar, spoke of his ambition "to be successful in intro- 648*
ducing such grains [and hardy fruits] here as will yield a reason- 241
able compensation to labor."[12] Soon thereafter, his superiors 177
were sagely advising him, "Your account of the failure of your
efforts to raise field or garden crops . . . suggests the expediency
of turning your attention to stock raising. . . ."[13]

When Roork had admitted defeat in 1878, and Agent Linus Nickerson in 1885, the new administrator, Joseph Emery, a professor from the State Agricultural College, sallied into the fray. With a determination that scoffed at the experiences of his predecessors he announced,

> I have not been able to depress the mountains nor lower our altitude above the sea, yet I believe, from experiments made the present year in a number of localities, that agriculture can be made a comparative success on the Klamath Agency. For years the Indians had received no encouragement to till the soil, and the great scarcity of implements on the agency made it impossible to accomplish much this year in the way of agriculture."[14]

Wistfully he remarked,

> If I had the plows to loan, I could set more than 100 Indians to work this spring tilling the soil. . . ."[15] Fifty or more Indians have procured a little grain, and these will sow this spring from 1 to

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

> *657 10 acres of land. I am commanded, to go among the Indians
> *648 with my farmer and direct them in plowing, sowing, planting,
> • 241 etc, and see that they have the necessary tools and know how to
> 177 use them.

Vegetables, he thought, could be sold at Fort Klamath and Linkville; grain would always find a market at some price.[16] In order to heighten the incentives, Emery reported,

> I have found it necessary. . .to make temporary divisions of lands suited to Agriculture.
>
> During the Spring and Summer months, I laid off, assisted by Indian boys, about 50 farms, chaining boundary lines; the Indians greatly desired the work to be continued, each Indian agreed to fence and cultivate a portion of the land assigned to him.
>
> The plots laid off ranging from 30 to 120 acres—according to treaty stipulations.[17]

[625] The next year, however, he had recourse to the Indian police. "During the present Spring," he reported, "they have assisted in enforcing the general order that all able-bodied Indians will be required to do some work in Agriculture. I owe much to the police for the marked advance made this year in the lines of agriculture."[18] By these methods he soon had three quarters of the available adults helping, nearly every family seeding from 2 to 20 acres.[19] The following year he reported that "nine tenths of the Indians have been induced to engage in the work of agriculture,"[20] but the year after, with a record 2,400 acres sown, he was complaining about the "unprecedented heat"—and was moving on to greener pastures.[21] When he returned for another tour in 1896-97, however, he resumed the same program.

[829] Lindsay Applegate had remarked, some thirty years earlier, that the Indians "look upon the whites as superior beings. . . ."[22] It must have been difficult, even with the best will, to maintain that estimate in the face of administrative obstinacy of this order.

STOCK RAISING

*657 Meanwhile, with the discovery that the upper valley of the
231 Sprague provided satisfactory condition for winter range, stock
177 raising had gradually come to the fore. In prereservation days,
horses had constituted an important form of wealth, and cattle
were now accepted into the pecuniary system. By 1879, Agent

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[241]

fall; while freighting, limited by road conditions, had the same range of seasons.

For the farmer, splitting rails and fencing started in the winter and ranged toward spring, as did the clearing of ground. Plowing and sowing of grain might start in March, while vegetable gardens were not planted before May or June. Harvesting and haying took place in late summer and threshing in the fall.

[231]

The stockman rounded up and branded his cattle at first in the fall and later in the spring. He sold his beef in the fall, then drove his herd to winter in the upper valley of the Sprague.

Those who relied upon aboriginal foods fished in the late winter and early spring, dug roots or hunted antelope and mule deer in late spring, gathered wokas, wild fruits and berries in the fall, hunted in the Cascades in the fall, and trapped for furs in the winter.

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Beyond this lay the domestic cycle. Homes were built or repaired in the spring and fall, supplies were bought in the fall, and fuel was gathered in the fall and winter.

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This summary, bald as it is, will illustrate the fact that many more ventures were now open to the enterprising, as well as a wider range of relationships. It was possible to draw from several cycles activities that were seasonally compatible. Thus, when the harvests were in, fully one-half to two-thirds of the men might leave the reservation on passes to work for whites, taking their families with them.[74] Frequent crop failures drove many to seek outside employment to provide for the coming winter. Because new tastes had given rise to new needs, many at this time forsook those traditional pursuits that conflicted with more lucrative employment. Nor did money alone lie at the root of those preferences. Work for white settlers and freighting provided variety and seasonal mobility, opportunities to meet people, to change scenery, and to escape on occasion beyond the rule (however benevolent in intent) of the Agent.

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The new opportunities were open primarily to men, consonant with the roles of the sexes in nineteenth-century rural America. For them the new system, aside from a certain administrative favoritism, provided an equal chance for advancement. It is no accident that a number of the earliest employees of the Agency were Pit River Indians, of whom it was later said: ". . . as a

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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the project should be abandoned entirely and the loss charged 648*
to the Tribe.[93] 657*

It is unnecessary to enter into the later history of the Modoc 312
Point project, which made it a subject of interest at several 653
Congressional hearings and a point of contention even into post-termination days, for the basic issues have remained the same. A number of Indians owning land within the project in the course of time sold their lands, just as most of those Indians owning lands served by the Sand Creek project had soon sold out to white farmers.[94]

The failure of the Modoc Point project can be attributed in part to the very real engineering difficulties in maintaining a canal system through a pumice region, feeding from a stream (the Sprague) in multiple use. More than this, however, was involved. There was the expertism of the Agency and Bureau, confusing the technical knowledge about construction and maintenance of such a system with the decision to build it. On the one hand the administrative staff was reluctant to entrust the decision to the Indians; on the other, the Indians did not provide a responsible leadership interested in developing such a program. The enterprise once launched therefore carried responsibility on only one side. There was no effort to enlist tribal support through involvement of tribal members in the fundamental decisions; nor was there sufficient training of the farmers to be affected in the special techniques entailed in irrigation.
Indians resented charges against the land and attempted to [241]
avoid them by continuing to cultivate the fields by dry farming. Among the farmers, white and Indian, no effective organization
for water use developed. With income from timber available, [434]
the inexperienced farmer sought release from a situation for
which the rewards were not commensurate with the risks and [427]
the onus of subjection to Agency dictates. Leasing or sale of the [423]
lands in the end involve more than the realization of value from
property, which could otherwise only be secured by investment [432]
of labor. For the Indian, relinquishment of farming also freed him from some of the surveillance and scrupulous regulation to which he was subjected.

Plans that saw the Indian farming or ranching struck in the 648*
end upon the stubborn fact that he could frequently realize more, 657*
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Comparison with the record of white performances places the 648*
tribal picture in perspective. In Beatty, six out of seven white 657*
househeads were employed. A sample taken in 1950 including 464
almost every white household in Chiloquin showed that all the 162
men save those who were ill or retired were gainfully employed, 171
and that in thirty-seven per cent of the households wives or junior
members also held jobs.

By this token, the Klamath had come to occupy a marginal 648*
position as economic producers. That this had not always been 657*
true is shown by the record of those who in the early days of 464
Chiloquin had tried their hand at business; and several continued 433
to maintain themselves by ranching or business. The large majority of the men, however, were content to labor seasonally as unskilled farmhands. The undependability of some workers had generated an adverse reputation among potential employers for the Klamath as a whole. The industrious Klamath came to be viewed as exceptional.

Thus, even on their own reservation, the Klamath stood beneath the shadow of economic structures dominated by whites. This condition was, of course, true for the reservation as a unit; for distant interests dictated that it should be devoted to the production of lumber, beef, power, and to communications. Within the several communities the major enterprises were also controlled by whites. To be sure, there were checks upon the
ruthless exercise of economic power. Local awareness of inter- [623]
dependence, the intimate acquaintance developed in the daily life of a small community, and the knowledge that the tribal council controlled the fate of timber contracts upon which the community depended: all these served to temper purely eco-
nomic decisions. The exercise of a credit system by storekeepers [452]
in the face of lower prices in Klamath Falls, the good faith they expected of their customers, and the occasional need for hired hands by ranchers, were equally conducive to restraint.

Klamath families who chose to farm were often similar to their [241] •
white counterparts in the concentration which they devoted to their farming; and they often exchanged labor or equipment with white neighbors. There were few successful farmers among
tribal members, perhaps no more than a dozen in all. By contrast, [233]
there were those in the countryside who chose to follow other time-honored values than industry, giving precedence to per-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

EIGHTEEN

[P.259]

Conclusion

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KLAMATH TRIBE UNDER THE PROVISIONS 648*
of the Treaty of 1864 comprised a program of directed change, 657*
paralleling in its general features the relationships of the United 171
States government with diverse other Indian peoples. Because a
common policy lay behind the administration of Indian affairs,
the history that unfolded at Klamath was similar at many points
to developments on other reservations. Since, however, unique
characteristics of Klamath culture entered into the equation, and
common events were locally mediated, that policy had different
effects in execution.

Within the spectrum of American Indian cultures, it was im- 648*
portant that the tribes brought upon the Klamath reservation 657*
were unacquainted with agriculture, but had some knowledge of, 241 •
and esteem for horse-herding; that while they lacked traditions 233
of large-scale political organization, they placed a premium upon 619
industry and the acquisition of material wealth. These attributes, 181
while by no means unique, were distinctive in their combination; 177
and they gain significance when seen from the perspective of 178
the policy objectives of the government. Similarly, the circumstance that many individuals had already undergone extensive acculturation beyond the Klamath country provided the early Agents with native allies already won over to the prospects of change.

Even the application of a common policy exhibited special 648*
features. Two instances should illustrate the point. The recogni- 657*
tion of the tribal claim to a large domain, together with the [423]
retention of surplus lands after allotment, laid the basis for a [619]
corporate wealth equaled by only a few other reservation peoples. [434]
Later, the rejection of the Indian Reorganization Act during the Collier administration placed the Klamath among a minority of

[p. 339-B]

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION[1]

by

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

128 culture, social and political organization are
not described here except in their effect on
124 education. Wherever particular items are men-
tioned, we specifically asked our informants for
a description, even though they had been de-
scribed in previous ethnographies. Such ac-
counts may thus be taken as corroborating
earlier evidence unless otherwise specified in
the text.

131 The Klamath reside in their old territory
178 in southern Oregon, but the aboriginal way of
life has long since disappeared. Today they are
241 farmers and ranchers, but a considerable part of
the earlier culture remains alive in the memo-
233 ries of a few oldsters. Our seven informants
178 (4 men and 3 women) were all in their late
seventies or eighties and had participated in
the last phases of the aboriginal culture as
115 children. It is regrettable that it was neces-
sary to reconstruct childhood training from the
reminiscences of elderly individuals. Doubtless
much of the material represents the ideal rather
than the actual pattern of education. The
ideals do, however, give a definite insight into
what was considered important in the upbringing
of children, whether these standards were always
maintained or not. Since there is little or
nothing in the early literature on this subject,
there is no way of comparing impressions re-
ceived from old people who are admittedly look-
ing back to "the good old days" with impressions
of objective eyewitnesses to the old ways as
they were really practiced.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Barrenness is sometimes con-
sidered cause for divorce. Since the blame
842 seems to fall most commonly on the woman, her
husband's parents may suggest that he send her
586 away and get a wife who can provide him with
children. Ordinarily, though, the parents-in-
606 law are more lenient with a barren woman.
Most Klamath express a preference for boys. A
842 variety of reasons are offered, the most common
being that boys are less bother than girls.
"Girls are always getting into trouble, and you
just raise them for someone else because they go
off to their husbands when they get married."
Once the child is born, however, there seems to
be no special favoritism shown to boys. One

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common 101
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 177
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological [184]
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy, [224]
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly 648
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties:
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an ar- [829]
tificial construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet 178
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-residence
with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been transferred 648
to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not [241]
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber indus- [511]
try has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

882
155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
[462] in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits
include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers
are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
[241] of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience
with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
426 for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented,
and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation
population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

132 over," so that the running waters never swell, but show the same water level
throughout the year. Nights are chilly and really cold, for the soil reflects
against the clear sky all the heat received from the sun during the day, and
the dry night air pervading the highlands absorbs all the moisture it can.
[342] Winters are severe; snow begins to fall early in November, and in the later
months it often covers the ground four feet high, so that the willow lodges
(not the winter houses) completely disappear, and the inmates are thus sheltered
from the cold outside. The lakes never freeze over entirely, but ice
[241] forms to a great thickness. The cold nights produce frosts which are very
destructive to crops in the vicinity of the Cascade Range, but are less harmful
to gardening or cereals at places more distant; and in Lost River Valley,
at Yáneks—even at Linkville—melons, turnips, potatoes, and other vegetables
rarely fail. The mean annual temperature as observed some years ago
at Fort Klamath was 40.47° Fahr.

000 There are several instances in America where highlands have become
centers of an aboriginal culture. Such instances are the plateaus of Anahuac,
Guatemala, Bogotá, and of Titicaca Lake. They contained a dense
population, more cultured than their barbaric neighbors, whom they succeeded
in subjugating one after the other through a greater centralization
161 and unity of power. The Klamath highlands can be compared to the plateaus
above named in regard to their configuration, but they never nourished
a population so dense that it could exercise any power analogous to
that above mentioned. Moreover, there was no intellectual and centralizing
element among these Indians that could render them superior to their neighbors,
all of whom maintained about the same level of culture and intelligence

TOPOGRAPHIC LIST OF CAMPING PLACES.

361 To form a correct idea of the dissemination of Indians in this sparsely
inhabited country, the following lists of camping places will furnish serviceable
data. The grounds selected by the Máklaks for camping places are
of two kinds: either localities adapted for establishing a fishing or hunting
camp of a few days' or weeks' duration or for a whole summer season, or
[342] they are places selected for permanent settlement. Winter lodges (luldamaláksh)
or slab houses are often built at the latter places; whereas the

000 could not remain unpunished. Brought before a jury at Fort Klamath, Kíntpuash, Chief Skóntchish, Black or Húka Jim, and Boston Charley were condemned to the gallows and hung at the Fort October 3, 1873, while two accessories to the deed—Bántcho and Slū'lks (now George Denny)—were condemned to incarceration at Fort Alcatraz, San Francisco Bay.*

Thus ended the long-contested struggle of the little Modoc band against the Oregon and California volunteers and the regular troops of the United States Army. Certainly the heroism and ingenuity displayed by the Modocs would have been worthy of a better cause, and would have passed down to posterity in the brightest colors of patriotism had not the murderous "entreacte" and Canby's death deprived the struggle of its heroic luster. The unworthy termination of this war is well typified by the fact that the skeleton of the Modoc captain is now dangling as an anatomical specimen in the museum of the Surgeon-General's Office, at Washington, District of Columbia.

STATISTICS.

648 From the end of the Modoc war to the present year the condition of
177 affairs has not changed much in the Klamath Highlands. The reports of
178 the United States agent repeat the same story of progress towards civiliza-
657 tion every year; but in view of the difficulty of bringing a hunter tribe into the high road of Christian culture and industrial progress we can not attach much credence to such reports so long as they are couched in generalities and do not contain special facts attesting mental improvement by schooling.

648 In agriculture success is possible only in the Sprague River Valley,
657 but pasturing will succeed almost on every spot of the Reservation. The
[241] report of 1888, compared with that of 1880, shows a considerable improve-
[231] ment in this direction. The 2,500 horses and mules counted in 1880 had increased to 4,532 in 1888; the 200 head of cattle to 2,201. In the latter year the number of swine figured 208, of domestic fowl, 1,000. Of the 20,000 tillable acres of land 1,400 were cultivated by the Indians in

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* Slū'lks was released, and stays now at the Modoc Reservation, Indian Territory, with Scarface Charley and some other warriors of that war.

648 1888 and 500 broken by them; 10,000 acres were inclosed by fences.
657 The crops of 1888 amounted to 8,000 bushels of wheat, 4,000 of oats and
241 barley, 1,000 bushels of vegetables, 3,000 tons of hay; and 500 pounds of
231 butter were manufactured. Of lumber 100,000 feet were sawed. The
313 Indians transported with their own teams 500 tons of freight, and thereby
434 earned $1,500. The two boarding-schools, one at the Klamath Agency and the other at Yáneks, in the same year boarded 215 pupils at a cost to the Government of $18,764—about $10.40 a month per capita.

311 The number of acres contained within the Klamath Reservation is 1,056,000, and of these only about 20,000 acres are considered to be tillable land. The rest is occupied by woods, marshes, rocks, and other hindrances to cultivation.

797 The school and church interests are in the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which also has a vote in the appointment of the United States agent.

657 The statistics of population have furnished reliable data only from the
161 time when annuities were first distributed among these Indians. This ne-
162 cessitated an annual count of each family, giving the number of the individuals belonging to each. One of these was made during my presence on the reserve on October 30, 1877, before the winter supplies were dealt out to the tribe. The summary is as follows:

David Hill, chief, at Agency and on Williamson River	225
P'lú, head chief, at the bridge, Williamson River	122
Long John, chief	103
Jack, chief	92
Lílo, chief	23
Total	565

The census taken in the Sprague River Valley, Yáneks subagency, furnished the following figures, Klamath Lake Indians and Modocs being indiscriminately included:

Littlejohn, chief	14
Skóntchish, chief	18
Modoc Johnson, head chief	71
Ben, chief	61
Brown, chief	30
Total	194

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

SMOKING AND TOBACCO

Pipes and Pipe Sacks

276

Pipes

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
2006. Tubular-type pipe	+	•(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
2007. 1-piece	+	–	+	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2008. Solid wood	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2009. Elder or other pithy stalk	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
2010. Stone	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2011. Found, not manufactured	(+)	–		•+	–						+	–	–	–	–	.
2012. 2-piece	•+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
2013. Stone bowl	•+	–	.	+	–	•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
2014. Cane stem	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2015. Elder stem	–	–	–	.	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2016. Solid wooden stem	•+	–	+	(+)	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–
2017. Stem stuck into bowl	+	–	.	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
2018. Stem mortised into bowl	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2019. Optional use of stem	–												+	+	+	–
2020. Concave-shaped bowl	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2021. Convex-shaped bowl	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2022. Bulb bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2023. Double-bulb bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2024. Obtuse-angled pipe	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2025. Stone bowl	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2026. Wooden stem	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2027. Right-angled pipe	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2028. Stone bowl	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2029. Wooden bowl	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2030. Wooden stem	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Pipe Sacks

[415]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
2031. Pipe sack of cased fur	–	.	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
2032. Pipe sack of buckskin	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
2033. Pipe kept in small basket													+	+		–
2034. Pipe kept in ground, head of bed	+	.	+			+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	.	–

Tobacco

Cultivation and Gathering

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
[222] 2035. Gathered wild	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
[249] 2036. Cultivated or semicultivated	–	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2037. Sown	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2038. Log or brush burned, sown in ashes	–	–	+			–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2039. Log or brush burned, for volunteer crop	–	+	.	+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2040. Seeds sown next year, same spot	–	–	.	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2041. Ground cultivated with digging stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2042. Plants thinned	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	–
2043. Pruned	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2044. Irrigated	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2045. Gathered when yellow	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	.
2046. Gathered when green	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.
2047. Leaves only, or mainly, picked	–	.	–	+		+		+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
2048. Stalk occasionally pulled up	–	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–

103 131 7, awa'lwaskăn, at least five earth-lodges here. Houses scattered between this site and the last.

361 8, wa'ktale's, and 9, la'laks, slope steps,[21] two settlements on the higher ground where Williamson river leaves the marsh. The second had twenty houses on both sides of the stream.

[226] [114] 10, lobŏ'kstsŏksi, on the bluff on the left bank of the Sprague river at the railroad bridge, with a few houses on the opposite side. There is a dam for salmon here. Gatschet gives the locality name as ktaí-tú-pakshi, standing rock.[22]

11, A site on the south side of Sprague river below the dam.

12, ḳ!ötewă'ēts is a large winter settlement about two miles above the dam on the south bank of this river.

[823] [226] 13, komă'ēksi is a site on both sides of the river south of Braymill, four miles from Chiloquin. There is a cave here which was the home of Kᴇmŭ'kümps, the culture hero. Near-by is wo'kstat, the site of the only first-fish rites among the Klamath.

14, ḳa'umkăn is about six miles above this cave. Many people lived on both sides of the river there. A cremation pile is there, probably the only one on Sprague river. The place takes its name from a *spring (ḳa'ŭm) on the western bank.*

Whether there were permanent settlements above this on the river is difficult to say. At least there were settlements (15) of some sort on the river near Yainax before the coming of the whites.

16, hĭedleluē'luke, a settlement west of Gearhart mountain.

[226] 17, bᴇzükse'was (from bᴇzüks, obsidian); there are many people in this town on the right bank which extends for a mile below the Sprague river mouth. On the opposite side, ha'potgūs, is a dam in which spring fish are caught; near-by are a few summer houses.

[251] [226] 18, tákalma'keda, a town half a mile long on the right bank. The houses are on the bottomland along the river with quite a number on the opposite flat (19), called k'tai'di, lava. A little south is a part of this settlement, called glă'tspak'is. Of the distinct pits at tákalma'keda, four are about twenty-five feet in diameter, one, fifteen feet. Northward from the town are a considerable number of storage pits and a fish dam.

20, djīgiă's, houses on the river level on both banks and on a higher bench on the right. There is a ford here.

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[21] Gatschet, 1:74. Several other camping places in the vicinity on upper Williamson river are also mentioned.

[22] *Op. cit.*, 1:76.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

III. ECONOMIC LIFE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 At this late date it is difficult to define the sexual division of labor with precision. Some impression derives, however, from random observations let drop during the course of these inquiries.

One of my informants summarized the division of domestic activities in this wise. Women fetch wood and gather food. Old men as well as women grind and pound seeds. Men lie about all the time, working but once in a while. They hunt, fish, and in the winter build houses.

Undoubtedly he is justified in his view that man's work is spasmodic, woman's work in preparation of food and the care of the home a more continuous round of labor. Such in fact is the picture of native life in perhaps all parts of the continent. Yet a fairer view of their economic participation shows a more equal division of activities.

[226] These may be summarized as follows: Men, but women too, are
the fishers. Inasmuch as their primary dependence is on fish, the
men's activities in this direction constitute well-nigh a year-round
[224] pursuit. Men are hunters, but hunting is desultory. Even here
women participate, for it is noted at least that they occasionally lie
in wait in canoes to kill floundering deer driven into the water. Root
and seed-gathering is woman's work; I am not certain that men
[222] assist even in harvesting fruit. Seeds, especially pond-lily seeds, form
the second staple in Klamath life. Preparation of food is wholly
[252] woman's work, save as they are assisted by old men, perhaps only
those who have no women members of their families to undertake the
[251] task. Storing food and drying it may be wholly feminine occupations
as well. At least where foods are concerned the man's work is
sufficiently time-filling, but the woman's much more so.

[342] With manufactures, the division is somewhat more even. House-
building, one of the main activities, is a function of both sexes, and
[313] is no small part of the domestic routine. Timbers are prepared and
erected by men, grass and dirt spread over the structure by women,
[322] and the house pit dug by both. Woodworking and the manufacture
[411] of weapons are masculine activities. Yet the most laborious wood-

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

361 at the lake's edge, large and warm enough to prevent ice forming over
a large area. Winter is severe at this altitude (4000 feet), snowdrifts
[132] are deep, and Klamath lake freezes over to a depth of some ten inches
[133] in late December. Such sheltered valleys as that of the Williamson
river, while but a few miles from the open lake, are distinctly warmer.

221 The annual cycle of activities is dictated largely by the food
habits. It is customary to leave the winter villages in April or May,
when plant growth is well under way and the flat valleys have dried,
not to return until the snow falls again and houses need refurbishing.
When fish begin to run in the spring, the Klamath congregate at the
fishing places to stay for two months or more. For example, some
join the Modoc on Lost river for several weeks to catch and dry
fish. The spring and early summer are spent on the marshes and
prairies, gathering roots such as camas and ipos. When the camas
has been dried and stored, they move to the marshes, especially to
Klamath marsh, to harvest pond-lily seeds from mid-August to the
end of September. While the women are busy with this harvest, men
hunt mule deer, antelope, and other animals whose habitat is in eastern
Klamath territory. Late summer and autumn, seeds, berries, and
nuts are gathered, the Indians congregating where these are plentiful.
Many of those at Klamath marsh, for example, move directly to
Huckleberry mountain, southwest of Crater lake, to garner these
[484] berries. Summer and autumn are the seasons for journeying to visit
and trade, for raiding, and especially for laying up a store of fish
[726] against the coming winter. It must be understood that the winter
[251] locations are not completely abandoned during this season, for many
of them are favorably situated for these very activities. But it is
[361] customary for such a group as the ăukekni division, whose winter
residences cluster thickly along the middle Williamson river, to scatter and meet again at Klamath marsh for the pond-lily harvest in
[805] August and September. (This is the beginning of the Klamath year.)
They begin to return to the winter sites in the latter month, to start
[342] rebuilding the earth-lodges for the coming winter, a task completed
in December, by which time full winter is at hand.[219]

501 The move to Klamath marsh of the people at the mouth of Williamson river, the du'kwakni, can be made by canoe only as far as ya'ak
221 on the middle river, where they join the ăukekni in packing afoot the
rest of the distance. When the water is high, canoes can go upstream
as far as bɛzŭkse'was at the mouth of Sprague river (see the maps,

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[219] See also Gatschet, 1:74–77.

this fashion. To judge by the quantities of fresh-water clamshells at the old house sites, clams are also an article of diet. 262

All varieties of fish are dried in the sun, not smoked.[238] The fish is slit down the back, entrails and backbone removed, the head cut off, and the flanks opened. Of the drying of salmon, Coville observes "it was their custom, after a fish was split open, to lay in the body cavity a yarrow stem (läl-wäl'-säm, *Achillea millefolium* L.) with its leaves and flowers still attached. This treatment, by holding the fish open, hastens the drying process and prevents the decomposition that would be likely to follow if the walls were allowed to collapse. My informant knew of no special significance attached to the use of this particular plant and of no special adaptability it had for this purpose, except that it did not give the dried fish such a bad taste as some other plants."[239] A hole is cut through the fish so that they can be strung on poles, which are placed in rows on a high scaffold or set across branches of a tree. Sometimes the head is left on and the poles passed through a hole near the tail. The cache is covered with bits of board and bark. Dry fish are pounded up to make kámalsh.[240] 251 •

Parties returning from fishing excursions to Lost river in Modoc country sometimes cook their catch in a hot spring east of the railway station in the present town of Klamath Falls. 252

Hunting

While game is varied and plentiful in the Klamath country, the Klamath are not much given to hunting. As one informant phrased it, "We know very little about hunting deer." Their attitude is betrayed by the exaggerated value put on elk hides, although elk were plentiful. And while fish can be taken by anyone, success in hunting is assured only to one who has spirit power. In a word, the Klamath prefer the easier exploitation of stream, marsh, and prairie to invasion of the forest-clad mountains which invite only the solitary seeker after power. 224

They hunt outside their territory westward across the Cascades, but not so far as the valleys of the Rogue river system. That region is held by enemies, the Upland Takelma of the Ashland-Table Rock region. Antelope and mountain sheep are hunted in the lava beds south of Modoc territory. Mule deer are pursued in the desert to along the lake borders. It was estimated that Klamath marsh alone contained 10,000 acres of the plant in 1902. This seems an exceptionally abundant food supply, but the difficulty is that a day's harvest is relatively small. A woman may pick from four to six bushels of pods in a day, but the seed content is only one-fourth as great. Gatschet's informant implies that the season's activities netted an individual seven to ten sacks of ground seed, each of fifty pounds content.[273] The season is from the middle of August to the end of September. 222

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[238] Meacham refers to drying whitefish over fires (see above).

[239] Notes, 105.

[240] Gatschet, 1:76.

So complete an account of the wokas industry has been given by Coville[274] that only a summary is needed here. [114]

The preference is for the fully ripened, open seed pods, but as these constitute only a fraction of the day's harvest, the partly ripened pods are subjected to a special process to force maturity, with a variety of further treatments depending on the stage they reach. The various grades of seeds, in the order of preference and maturity, are known, according to Coville, as spokwas, stontablaks, lowak, nokapk, and chiniakum. This is truly the order of maturity, but the native preference as foods, as stated by Nancy Phillips, differs: spo′ḳwas, the fully matured seed, loll′nc, *cooked and ground seed*, snŏps, ground and parched, and si′wullnc, the cleaned seed of rotted pods.

It must be borne in mind that the hard-shelled kernels are found in a mucilaginous mass within the pod. The fully ripened pods, called spo′ḳwas, are fermented in a pit for one to five weeks, the mucilaginous matter washed out, and the seeds drained. When the process must be hurried, the pods, mature or otherwise, are steamed in a fire. These steamed pods are called a′wal; separated into two grades, the better is known as no′gŏtk, the inferior, tc!lni′sḳum. The seeds of these pods are freed of their sticky coating by mixing them with absorbent pulverized rotten wood, charcoal, or ashes. Like spo′ḳwas, these two grades of seed are prepared by parching in a tray basket with live coals, grinding them lightly to remove the shells, which are then winnowed out, leaving the free, fresh kernels called loll′nc. This is either dried and stored, or parched to make snŏps. The latter is eaten dry, or mixed with water, whole kernels or ground, to make a mush called shlotish. The greater part of the harvest consists of 251

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[273] 1:74, 76.

[274] Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians. I have enquired concerning his description, but have nothing substantial to add.

251 immature pods, which are spread in piles to dry. The fully dried pods are removed from the surface of the pile, pounded to break them open, and the dry seeds, known as lowa'k, collected and stored. The bits of pod with seeds adhering are also stored against famine. The pods in the interior of the pile rot; these are also pounded, dried, and winnowed. These seeds are sno'ntablöḳs. The dry lowa'k and sno'ntablöḳs seeds must be treated differently from the fresh moist seeds described above. These are parched, the shells cracked by pounding, and the kernels boiled to a mush called siwullnc or ta'lᴇwa (the latter meaning stone-boiled). The shells may be winnowed before boiling, or they may be skimmed off. What remains in the vessel is called sti'llns.

> During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the women, and they go to work again in their canoes.[278]

272 A liquor derived from prepared wokas seed of any sort is called ḳau'wütᴇᴋ. This is imbibed cold.

252 Boiling (ta'lᴇwa) is brought about by dropping hot stones into baskets of water. These are picked up with two green sticks, or the bare hands if not too warm. Split or bent sticks are not used for tongs.

Exceptional years have seen Klamath marsh so dry as to seriously affect this supply of food. It was dry when my elderly informant was quite small (about 1860), and even earlier (1840), in his grandmother's day, it had shrunk so that the pods could be picked from the ground. To restore the water little sacks of chipmunk and squirrel skin were carried to spirit places in the mountains, such as Diamond and Crater lakes, whence water was brought to pour into the marsh.

251 The Klamath make use of a wide variety of other seeds and roots. The seeds of goosefoot and rye grass, which mature in late summer, are beaten out with sticks over mats. The seeds of the first are ground on the metate and mixed with cold water to make a mush which is eaten with the fingers. Rye-grass seeds are parched in a tray basket, wherein they are tumbled about with live coals, then pounded in a mortar set on a large mat. Dry pinches of this are eaten.

Coville lists many other seed plants.[279] The seeds of the abundant *Balsamorrhiza* are gathered, roasted, and ground as a farinaceous

food. Gatschet adds that these are beaten from the plants with paddles 251 early in autumn and pounded in a mortar. Those of *Polygonum* are gathered, the hulls rubbed off by hand, and the seeds parched and often ground. Gatschet says the seeds are beaten off into baskets at the end of the summer. This meal is either eaten dry or mixed with water and boiled, a process which turns the material red. The seeds of a marsh grass, *Panicularia*, are a favorite food. Tarweed seeds are often used and those of *Mentzelia*. The minute seeds of a low grass, *Agrostis*, and those of slew grass are eaten. The seeds of the former at least are beaten from the plants by women in the familiar manner. Other seeds are used less frequently: those of the sugar pine, the common cane, tule (mä'-ēm lä'-wäls), amaranth, and dock. There are three species of dock used for food, each with a native name. The seeds of *Sisymbrium* are parched, ground on a metate, and eaten as mush. This plant is more plentiful in the Modoc country. The seed-like carpels of *Triglochin* are parched and eaten, sometimes in a decoction.

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[278] Gatschet, 1:76. I was not told of this and am doubtful about it.

[279] Coville, Notes on the Plants Used by the Klamath Indians. See also Gatschet, 1:146-150.

The leaves and stems of *Rumex* are eaten fresh, and the seeds are 262 eaten when ripe. The young shoots of the wild parsnip are used and the aromatic leaves of *Sium* are eaten as a relish.[277] To these I can add that the leaves of koko'dom, a bush used for making flutes (not elder), are eaten green.

Roots constitute an important element of diet. Those most commonly gathered are those of marsh plants or of plants that grow in the open prairies: the roots of the water lily, tule, cat-tail, ipos, camas, arrowhead, etc.

Wild potatoes or arrowhead, a small sweet tuber, are plentiful 222 about the mouth of Williamson river, for example, and are procured by the canoe load. Coville observes that the plant (tcuwa') is so common on Chewaucan marsh (between Summer and Abert lakes) as to give its name to the locality. Frémont saw there that "large patches of ground had been torn up by the squaws in digging for roots, as if a farmer had been preparing the land for grain." Gatschet's information was that the plant was scarce in the neighborhood of the agency.[278] They are roasted in the ashes and eaten. When the [252] intention is to store them, they are pit-roasted and set away in large tule sacks. For winter use these roasted roots are boiled long in water. [251]

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[277] The last is confirmed by my own information.

[278] Coville, Notes, 90; Gatschet, 1:149.

222 262 251 Camas is abundant; it is sometimes eaten raw at the time it is gathered, but is usually baked and stored.[279] Coville states that it is gathered about April 1. It will keep indefinitely.

Ipos is one of the earliest spring plants gathered for food, according to Coville, "the roots being dug about the 1st of May, at which time the contents are soft and milky. The root is commonly dried and eaten raw." A closely related tuber (the yampa of the Utes) is an equally common article of food.[280] A tuber called yantch (*Calochortus?*) is eaten, which resembles camas and is described by Gatschet as cylindrical and in size as large as the thumb.[281] While the onion-like roots of *Peucedanum* are a staple of the Modoc, they are occasionally used by the Klamath. The roots are strung on cords or kept in sacks. The mealy interior is soft enough to be eaten when dry or they may be mashed and boiled.

Young tules are pulled up from canoes, the lower white portion being retained. These are palatable only when fresh.[282] The tuberous base, called khă-äls', of a sedge is eaten. The short rootstocks of the cat-tail are eaten late in the season, when full of stored food, under the name ktöks. Similarly the young rootstocks of the common burreed late in summer develop at their ends tubers which have a sweetish taste and are used for food. The bulbous expansion at the base of the stem, similar in its qualities, is likewise eaten, and is called klop'-ă.

Undoubtedly other roots are used, the only poisonous one according to the Indian's account being the wild parsnip. Coville lists at least another, "poison camas," scă'-ō or scou (*Zygadenus venosus* Wats).[283] [114]

The nutlets of ḳ!ol (*Valeriana*) are pit-roasted. Coville gives the following account of the procedure: "In cooking, a hole perhaps a meter or more (about 3 or 4 feet) in diameter and half as deep is dug in the ground and lined with stones. A fire is then built in the hole, and after burning for a sufficient time is cleared out. Fresh grass is next laid over the hot stones, then k-ōl', then more grass, and the whole covered with earth. The mass is then allowed to cook and steam the rest of the day and over night, when the pit is opened and the cooked roots are ready for eating." Gatschet adds that they are

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[279] Gatschet, *op. cit.*, 78.

[280] Coville, Notes, 101.

[281] Gatschet, 1:146; Coville, Notes, 93.

[282] Gatschet, 1:148.

[283] Notes, 93.

then pounded.[284] "The odor of the root is very disagreeable to white 222
people, to such a degree, indeed, that the use of the plant about the 262
agency was formerly forbidden."[285] Because of its odor, it is placed 251
in storage pits to keep animals away.

Acorns are absent from the Klamath diet. The oak grows only 222
about Klamath falls but the nuts are not used. The nuts of the so-called chinquapin bush, growing in the higher mountains, are sometimes gathered. The hazelnut, which grows along the Klamath river north to Pelican bay, is occasionally used for food.

The principal fruit foods are huckleberries, service berries, chokecherries, currants, and wild plums. Huckleberries are gathered in enormous quantities, especially at Huckleberry mountain, southwest of Crater lake, where the Klamath congregate in the third week in
August. These are sometimes boiled so that the liquor may be drunk. [272]
Besides the common huckleberry, a low variety of the mountain slopes
is eaten fresh or dry. Service berries grow everywhere. The fruit
is gathered in large quantities in August, spread out on mats to dry, 222
and kept for winter use, a practice followed with all other berries 262
where practicable. The fruit of the chokecherry is gathered in large
quantities in September and dried. Yellow-flowered currant and 251
common currant berries are frequently gathered. The gooseberry and the raspberry, which grow at Modoc point, are eaten fresh or dried. Blackberries, the green berries of manzanita, and elder-berries are articles of food. The berries of a bush honeysuckle or "cranberry" are always eaten fresh, but never to any extent. No attempt is made to dry strawberries, which are not abundant. Wild plums are abundant about the eastern shore of Klamath lake from Modoc point southward and in the vicinity of Summer lake. These are eaten fresh or dried, sometimes after being pitted. Wild rose haws, which ripen in September, are dried and pounded to grind the seeds.

Bearded moss (k!al), which hangs from the boughs, is pit-roasted; the product is bo'ka. Coville states that "black moss," a lichen, probably the same, is a famine food.[286]

Pine gum is also eaten. In the spring, usually in May, a broad 222
strip of the bark of a young yellow pine is removed, and the sweet 262
mucilaginous layer of newly formed tissue (stop'-älch) between the
bark and the sap wood is scraped off and eaten. This is a frequent

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[284] 1:147.

[285] Coville, Notes, 105.

[286] Notes, 87.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

222
824

Roots

Wild potatoes or arrowhead, tcuwa', *Sagittaria arifolia* Nutt.
Camas, pö'ks, *Quamasia quamash* (Pursh) Coville.
Ipos, *Carum oregonum* Wats.
"Yampa," ndälk, *Carum gairdneri* (Hook. and Arn.) Gray.
Yantch, *Calochortus macrocarpus* Dougl (?).
An onion-like root, *Peucedanum canbyi.*
A tall sedge, wich'-pi, *Carex* sp.
Cat-tail, pö'päs, *Typha latifolia* L.
Bur-reed, pöd'chäk, *Sparganium eurycarpum* Engelm.

Nuts and Fruits

Kiol, *Valeriana edulus* Nutt.
Chinquapin bush, *Castanopsis chrysophylla minor* (Hook.) A.DC.
Hazelnut, *Corylus californica* (DC.) Rose.
Huckleberry, iurum, *Vaccinium membranaceum* Dougl.
Low huckleberry, *Vaccinium scoparium* Leiberg.
Service berry, chäk'-äm (telai'oŋks), *Amelanchier alnifolia* Pursh.
Chokecherry, de-wich'-käsh, *Prunus demissa* (Nutt.) Walp.
Yellow-flowered currant, chöms'-käm, *Ribes aureum* Pursh.
Common currant, chmär'-läk, *Ribes cereum* Dougl.
Gooseberry, lhö-lö'-ëlö-ë-säm, *Ribes oxyacanthoides saxosum* (Hook.) Coville.
Raspberry, mäs'-lä, *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.
Blackberry, tö-tänk'-säm, *Rubus vitifolius* Cham. and Schlect.
Manzanita, shlo-shläp-shäm, *Arctostaphylos patula* Greene.
Elder, slö'-lö-säm, *Sambucus glauca* Nutt.
Bush honeysuckle or "cranberry," ö'-täm, *Lonicera conjugialis* Kell.
Strawberry, jö'-i-jiks, *Fragaria virginiana* Duschene.
Wild plums, to-mö-lö, *Prunus subcordata* Benth.
Wild rose, tewi'dl, *Rosa fendleri* Crepin.

Lichens

Black moss, *Alectoria fremontii* Tuckerm.

Gum

Young yellow pine, käp'-kä, *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.
Lodgepole pine, wä'-kö, *Pinus murrayana* Balf.

Food is stored in the ground. The only exception is fish placed to dry on scaffolds. The food is put into long tule sacks which are placed at the outer margin of the earth-lodge between the timbers, where they are buried in the earth covering of the roof. Large communal storage pits (pᴇnö'ŋks) are dug near the houses. Some of the Williamson river sites are surrounded by wide expanses of such pits. These are about fifteen feet in diameter, about three feet deep. A group of neighbors combine to dig and use such a pit. Tule mats are heaped over the sacks before the dirt covering. Caves are occa- 251

251 sionally used, the entrance blocked with stones. In all these cases, [824] an evil-smelling plant, called k̦!ol (*Valeriana edulis* Nutt.) is buried with food in order to keep animals from digging it up. Grizzly bears are particularly destructive of caches, but even they avoid this plant. Gatschet's information was that they would even flee from one who carried the plant about him.[269] Human thieves are also known to ransack these hoards. A family commonly buries its extra stores in this fashion when temporarily away from home. Such storage is called p'nana.

222 224 The first fruits of a young hunter or root gatherer are looked upon as something altogether special. They must be abandoned if future success is to be assured. While I received conflicting versions of the young deerslayer's procedure, they agree that he cannot eat his kill. One informant had it that the first deer is abandoned by the hunter and never eaten. If he has companions, he does not even show it to them and must present the second one slain to one of them. Another informant agreed that he cannot partake of the flesh of the first deer, but his parents make a feast of it, giving away articles in honor of the occasion. Similarly a young woman destroys by burning the first roots she gathers alone, and does not exhibit her success to anyone. The second basketful is distributed among her companions, and only after this may she keep what she gathers. Analogously a man leaves the first fish or game he takes after the loss of a close relative, and a gambler gives away his first gains after reacquiring power following the death of a relative. The practice of abandoning such fruits is called săpu'tsa. Unlike the comparable case of the novice deer hunter, no celebration is held for a little girl who gathers roots under her elders' tutelage.

264 Meals are not eaten at regular intervals, I was told, but that they eat all day long "like horses." Of this I am doubtful: what may have been implied was that food was available at any time during the day. I was also told that a meal was eaten in the morning and again in the evening. Travelers at least made no regular stops for meals and if necessary cooked in their canoes over little fires built on protecting layers of dirt.

A sort of grace is said before eating. Morsels of food are cast all about, to the land, the mountains, the old house pits, cremation piles, stones that are transformed people, etc., so as to feed them before one feeds himself. They say bŭ'pwi'amxni gĕnige'lx gĕnidelo'tclpkx, to

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[269] Gatschet, 1:147.

used;[378] then grass or pine boughs, covered with dirt, are heaped halfway 342
up the side. The outer mats are held in place by tying them along
the edges to poles propped against the side of the house. The rope
(pĕķ'os) used for this is three strand, braided of grass or the outer
layer of tule. In placing the mats, a space about two feet across is
left at the top for a smoke hole, and another only three and a half feet
high for a doorway. One has to stoop to enter. The door is a mat like
that of the summer house; it is not weighted nor tied down.

Drying racks are not placed inside the houses. All fish and meat [251] •
are dried on racks near-by. [417]

Houses are not decorated, nor are the house posts carved or painted
except by shamans. These may paint them with horizontal stripes, 342
alternately red and white. One informant had it that men's faces,
snakes, lizards, and various other animals, not spirits, are painted on
the posts, but I am doubtful. Shamans also hung stuffed bird and [756]
animal skins about the interior. A wooden image and a stuffed crane
skin are set up outside on the northern side of the hatchway, i.e., above
the shaman's bed. Houses are not given individual names, Yurok 552
fashion, though the localizing tendency of the Klamath may have 171*
found an outlet in this.

The fireplace (sne'lūķs) in the earth-lodge is in the middle of the 354
floor, between the four center posts and under the open hatchway.
Neither a pit nor stones are used to confine the fire. Most of the time
there is no fire on the hearth, only in the morning and evening; at
other times the hatch is closed. A huge fire is built when it is nearly
sundown, and after the mat is drawn across the opening the heat is so
great that blankets may be dispensed with. This despite the severe [132]
winters; at this altitude (4000 feet) lakes and streams are frozen
solid. Fires are usually made by piling short lengths of wood in log- [133]
cabin (crib-work) fashion to a height of eighteen inches. They cook
when this is reduced to a bed of coals. A piece of rotten wood is
ignited to carry fire from one place to another.

Cooking ordinarily takes place outside the dwelling in a dome- 343
shaped house (sti'nā'c) erected near-by. An earth-lodge on lower 252
Williamson river, for example, set some fifty yards from the stream,
had its cooking lodge close to the bank. All the women of the household 592
prepare their food together, even where several families have
joint tenancy. It is carried to the earth-lodge and there passed about

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[378] Barrett gives the successive layers as made of "a kind of reed," triangular-stemmed tule, and circular-stemmed tule (*op. cit.*, 244).

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
252 424. On coals, in ashes	+	+	−	•+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	(+)	+	−
425. In pit oven	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
*426. Stone boiled	−	−	•+						+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
427. Meat boiled	•−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
428. Rarely	−		+		−						+	−	−	−	+	+
429. Blood boiled	−	+	+				+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
251 430. Mammal meat dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
431. Fish dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
432. Salted for drying	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	+	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	+
433. Drying frame	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	.
434. Four-post frame	•+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
435. Outdoors	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	.
436. Indoors	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*437. Fish slit, strung on pole to dry	+	+	+								+	+	+	−	+	.
438. Smoke (fire) drying	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+
439. Sun drying	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
440. Dried meat or fish ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440a. Meat	+	+	−	−	+		+	+	−			+	+	+	+	
440b. Immediately before eating, cooking only	+	+	−	−	−		+	+	−			+	+	+	+	
441. Salmon, or other fish	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	(−)	−	−	−	+
441a. Made into meal, stored	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	(−)	−	−	−	+
442. Salmon eggs added	−	−	−	−	−	−	o		+	+		−	−	−	+	−
443. Seeds added	−	−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
444. Fat added	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
445. Bone awl for splitting fish	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	.	−
[343] 446. Special drying house	−	−	−	−	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
447. Thatch	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
448. Bark	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
449. Poles, conical	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
450. Double lean-to	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
252 451. Insects, insect eggs cooked	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	−
452. Parched with coals	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−
453. Baked in earth oven	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
454. Yellow-jacket larvae roasted beside fire	−	.	+						+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
*454a. Vegetable food pounded in mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
455. Acorn meal leached in sand, earth basin	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
456. Basin set in openwork basket	o	o	+			•+	o	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
457. Basin lined with grass or boughs	o	o	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
458. Basin set on sticks, pine needles	o	o	+	+	−	−	o	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
459. Water heated for leaching	o	o	+	+	+	•+	o	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
460. Water dripped through cedar sprigs	o	o					o				+	+	+	+	+	+
461. Acorns buried whole in mud	o	o	+	•+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+
462. Whole acorns not dried, allowed to mold	o	o	−	−	+	−	o	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
463. Acorn bread	o	o	•−	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
464. Earth added	o	o	−	−	+	+	o	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
465. Baked in ashes	o	o	−	−	+	+	o	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
466. Baked in earth oven	o	o	−	−	−	−	o	−	+	+	−	.	−	−	−	−
467. Baked on top of stone or coals	−	−	−	+	−	+	o	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
468. Roots made into bread	•+	•+	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
469. Acorn "biscuits" by chilling gruel in water	o	o	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
470. Stone boiling in baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*470a. Vegetable food ground on stone slab	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
*470b. Vegetable, flesh food pounded on stone slab	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*471. Parching seeds with coals	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+
472. Pounded fruit made into cakes, dried	+	+	−				+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
*473. Seeds ground or pounded	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
474. Made into mush	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
475. Made into bread	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
252 476. Eaten dry	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	−	+
•477. Buckeyes eaten	o	o	o	•+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
478. Leached	o	o	o	−	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
479. Boiled whole	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	−	−	+	o
480. Earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
481. For flesh food	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
482. For vegetable food	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	•+
483. Food sprinkled with water	−		+	+	−		−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
484. Food covered with leaves or grass	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
485. Water sprinkled into oven after closed up	−	•+	−	−	−		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
486. Eggs cooked	+	+	+			•+	+	•	+		+			+	+	+
487. Baked in earth oven	•+	−	−		−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
488. Baked in hot ashes	−	+	+			−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
489. Stone boiled in basket	−	+	+								+	−	−	+	+	+
272 •490. Berry "cider"	•+	o	+	+	+	•o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
491. Sipped with deer tail	−	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−
263 o492. Salt obtained in mineral form, dry	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
493. Salt from spring or marsh	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
494. Salt locally	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+
[439] 495. Salt imported	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	•+	−
496. Used little or not at all; disliked	+	+	+	−	•−	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
•497. "Salt" from burning grass	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	•+
498. "Salt" clover eaten fresh	−	+	−					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262 •499. Soaproot eaten	o	o	o	+	−	•o	•o	•o	•o	•o	o	+	−	+	+	−
500. Top eaten	o	o	o	−	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	−	−	+	+	−
501. Root eaten	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	+	−	−
[278] 502. Cooked in earth oven	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	−	−	−
503. Root concoction drunk as medicine	o	o	o	−	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	−	−	·	−	−
[439] 504. Imported if not obtainable locally	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
[515] •505. Soaproot for washing	o	•o	o	+	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	R	+
506. Milkweed chewing gum	−	−	+	•+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[261] 507. Pine pitch chewing gum	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	o	+	+	+
508. Pine "sugar"	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	•+	−	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	−
509. Honeydew from leaves eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
510. Inner bark of trees eaten.	•+	−	+	−	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
511. Mushrooms and fungi eaten											+	+	+			+
•512. Fresh or dried											•+	+	•+			•+
Eating Customs																
264 513. Men served before women, if crowd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
[562] 514. All eat out of one basket	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
515. Men each have own basket	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+
516. Women also have separate baskets	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+
517. Man and wife eat from same basket	+	+	+						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
[855] 518. Children "piece" whenever hungry						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
519. Two main meals daily, usually	•−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
520. Three main meals daily	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−		−	−	−	−	−	+
[574] •521. Meal whenever visitor arrives	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[515] 522. Hands washed after eating deer, bear meat	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
523. Men's rule only	−	−	−			−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−
524. Wipe face, hands with grass, bark after eating	+	+	+						+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	•+
Storage of Food																
251 525. Outdoor granaries	−	+	+	−	+	•+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
526. Against tree	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
•527. In burnt tree stump	−		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
528. On platform in tree; covered	−	•+	+			•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
529. Thatched	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	251 ●
530. Roughly coiled, in shape tubular bin.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	
531. Posts set upright in ground	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	(–)	+	•+	•+	•+	
532. Goods wrapped, hung from branch of tree	–	–	+				•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
533. Storage in pit outside	•(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	
534. Storage indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
534a. In baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
535. In twined tule "sacks"	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
536. Vegetable foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
537. Dried meat, salted or plain	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
538. Dried fish or salmon flour	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	
539. Storage in pit inside sweat house	–					•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Exchange of Food																	
540. Food sold	•–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	262
541. Traded or borrowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	437
542. Mainly in time of famine	–	+	–	–	–	–	•–	+	–	–	+	+		+	+	–	
543. Mainly in winter, early spring	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
544. Game divided	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	224
545. Killer gets most or certain parts	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+		
546. Meat equally divided among hunters	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
547. Large game divided among whole camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Ownership of Productive Areas																	
548. Fishing places privately owned	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	+	–	423
549. Fishing places jointly owned, owners unrelated	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
550. Fishing places owned by village group	+	+	–	–		•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	226
551. Anyone may take some of owner's catch.	–	–	–						+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
552. Fishing places rented for share of catch	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	
553. Fish weir privately owned	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	423
554. Hunting land or spots privately owned	–	–	+	•–	–	•–	•–	–	+	–	+	–	–	•+	+	–	
555. Seed tracts privately owned	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	[224]
556. Seed tracts owned by village group		+				+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
557. Trees privately owned	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
558. Trees owned by village group	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
559. Trees claimed for single season only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
560. Only trees distant from village	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
561. Tribal or group boundaries marked by topographic features	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
562. Tobacco plot privately owned	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	[276]
563. Land for single season only	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
564. Tobacco plot owned by village	–	–	–			–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	
565. Village site owned by group	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	[361]
Division of Labor																	
Subsistence Pursuits																	
566. Hunting: men only	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
567. Rat and mouse catching: men and women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
568. Men	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	[224]
569. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
570. Gathering insects, grubs: men and women	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	[222]
571. Men	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	
572. Women	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
573. Fishing: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
574. Men only net, spear fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	[226]
575. Women use basket to catch fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	

BY ALL INFORMANTS

● 251 Storage of food.--Outdoor granaries on ground; on bedrock or multistone foundations; on platform.

Ownership of Productive Areas

423 Owner liable for injury of renter. Pens on communal weir privately owned. Seed tracts claimed for single season only. Private boundaries marked. "Tribal" boundaries marked.

Division of Labor

462 Formalized myth accounting for division of labor (cf. Voegelin, Tübatulabal). AW state division of labor according to "Coyote's law," but lack any detailed myth.

HOUSES AND SHELTER

Assembly and Living Houses

342 Entrances; uses and ownership; furnishings.--Entrance round, carved in plank. Partitions between families. House names. Windbreak before house. Flat plank for foot drum. Leader of hunters nominal owner. All men regularly sleep in sweat house.
372 Fireplace and heating.--Fuel-gathering ritual; fuel from top of tree; pair of limbs left on top.

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

501 Boats and ferriage.--Dugout canoe, ends peaked; carved-in "heart"; detachable prow ornament. Launching ceremony. Sails. Single-bladed paddle with crutch handle; compound paddle; blade end of
505 paddle concave. Ferriage by person in basket pulling across on rope (At: ascribe this to N Yana of Round Mountain).

Land Transport

482 Carrying devices.--Hammock-type carrying net. Painted decoration on folded hide bag. Cord and stick Mohave-type back frame. Snowshoe-type
492 carrying frame. Coolie yoke. Dog packing.

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

411 Bows and arrows.--Horn bow (AW: mentioned in myth, made by Butterfly). Laurel-leaf arrowheads. Arrows with 2 or more points. Arrow shaft of solid wood, split from log. Arrows with

252 600 419. Kl: Raccoons. Mo: Cleaned, hide left on; several roasted underground, beneath hot rocks; coals piled on top of rocks. At: Roasted, with hide left on; when cooked hide peeled off, meat pounded.

421. Frame consists of 2 upright sticks, forked at upper end; single pole laid parallel to ground, ends resting in 2 forks; fish, meat laid on horizontal pole, beside fire. Mo: Meat hung from crossbar and heated sufficiently "to draw watery juices out: then laid on live coals and really cooked."

[252] 423. Kl: Also make "sausage" from bear intestines; blood, grease put in; roasted in ashes for lengthy period.

424. SW: Paunch poked with stick every so often as it cooks, in order to let steam escape; blood inside paunch clots over hole, seals it up.

426. Usually, hot rocks put into paunch, after latter filled with blood; paunch tied up, set on coals. SE: Paunch with blood inside cooked in basketful of water kept hot with heated stones.

[252] 427. Kl: "Only wokus are boiled; meat is roasted." At: Red salmon stone-boiled.

430. WM: Not enough procured to dry; eaten fresh only.

433. AW: Used for drying meat. (See notes 438, 446, element 439.)

[251] 434. Kl: With small fire underneath.

437. Strung by tail; held open with small stick.

438. AW: In camp, smoke deermeat first, using black oak for purpose; finish drying it in sun.

439. AW: See note 438.

441. WT: "McCloud Wintu made sack after sack of salmon flour, but Hayfork Wintu didn't make it at all, although they had the salmon. The Hayfork traded deer hides, dried meat, shell money to the McCloud people for salmon flour." Why Hayfork Wintu did not make this flour informant could not say.

443. SW: Pine nuts added to salmon. At: Eat red salmon meal with whole nuts of sugar pine, however.

446. AW: Fish dried in sweat house or under shade where women make baskets.

454a. As acorns, roots, pine nuts.

456. AW: Sand basin made inside basket; basket rests on leaves.

459. AW, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Cold water used first; then progressively warmer water for each successive rinsing.

461. SW: White-oak, live-oak acorns. Meat black after being soaked. Acorns treated thus boiled whole, shelled or unshelled. MV: Very seldom; only sunburnt acorns.

463. SE: Very thick acorn mush made, but not baked; this product "could be carried a long way."

[252] 468. Kl, Mo: Cattail root bread baked in earth oven. Mo: Wild turnips ground fresh, made into loaves which are baked in ashes. At: Roots pounded, shaped into loaves, baked; each loaf wrapped in grass, dried, kept for winter use.

[178-B]

262 824 510. Kl: Inner bark of yellow pine secured in June; by July "too hard."

000 512. Eaten fresh, raw or cooked on coals; dried, for winter, strung on willow withe. MM, NF: Ground burned for better crop; denied by MV. MV: Cooked with fish.

Eating customs.--

515. WT, WM, WS: For acorn soup.

516. WM: For acorn soup. WS: For acorn soup and deermeat.

[264] 519. Kl: Eat any time during day; sometimes men eat alone, sometimes men, women, children eat together.

521. Fresh food cooked and served. WT: Fresh batch food not cooked; "they dish out whatever they have on hand and set it before the visitors."

524. NF, MV: With buckskin.

Storage of food.--

525. AW: Acorns stored chiefly in pits; "too cold here in winter for outdoor granaries; have to bury acorns."

527. Bark used as cover for top; dirt piled up around stump.

528. Mo: Poles occasionally laid across boughs of cedar tree; tule sacks containing food stored on this pole platform. AW: Food stored on platform in oak tree; "poison" (animate) set on top of food; if any person, animal appears to steal food, poison shoots thief.

530. For illustration of this type, see Kroeber, Handbook pl. 38. WT: Informant, shown picture of granary just referred to, stated WT use similar granary, but that it is thatched (?) to some extent on sides.

531. NM, NS, MV: 4 upright posts only, for frame. NM: Hole in bottom, to take acorns out. MV: Hole in side.

532. AE: Food, hides hung up in branches of junipers; popular method of storage.

● [251] [178] 533. Kl: Recent custom; "may have done it formerly also." NS: Used for temporary purposes only.

539. AW: If leaving village for a time, bury acorns in pit dug inside sweat house; cover hole with tule mats, etc.

Exchange of food.--

262 437 540. Kl: "Whoever has no food, Indians give him some; they help each other, just like 1 family." MV: Informant emphasized fact that between villages food given as gift, but also mentioned that mountain varieties of acorns are purchased from MF, MM groups.

542. AE: Food divided in time of famine.

224 000 545. Kl: If 2 men hunting, meat divided equally; if more than 2, killer gets slightly larger share. Mo: Killer keeps deer hide. SW: If 2 men, killer gets most; if meat cut up, cooked or dried and divided in camp, all receive equal share. If driving deer into river, driver gets head, hide, foreleg of deer. At: Killer

[180-A]

K
M middle Columbia, far below the Coast and California, and in turn
161 considerably above the Great Basin.[6]

000 The mind's eye, drawing upon descriptions of early explorers and modern ethnographers,[7] can recreate the life of the early nineteenth century. It is a life that moves through a succession of activities with the seasons, each characterized by a community of different size and constituency. On a miniscule scale they resemble the "task groupings" which Anastasio has analysed in the intertribal relations on the Plateau.[8]

K During the long winters, existence is centered in the permanent
M settlements, for the altitude of the Klamath Basin is over four
221 thousand feet and snow often drifts deep. An accrued depth of
132 six to eight feet is common; while in the exceptional winter of
133 1890-91 a figure of thirty feet, undoubtedly in drifts, was recorded
361 at the head of Agency Lake. Crude, circular bearpaw snowshoes
481 provide a poor means of winter travel, and the settlements tend
262 to become isolated; most people are forced to remain in the
villages, supplementing the meager winter catch with stores of
dried fish and meat, roots, seeds, and berries.

K From a distance, the winter settlement has the appearance of
M hillocks strung out along the bank or clustered in a sheltered
221 spot. In size it may range from several score houses—there are
361 perhaps a hundred house pits at one favored site on Klamath
342 Marsh, though not all may have been occupied at the same time
—down to tiny hamlets of one or two earth lodges and a few mat
huts.[9] Within the village, the earth lodges are the dominant struc-
K tures, with the domed huts flanking them. In Klamath settlements,
M communal storage pits shelter the bulk of supplies; but the
343 Modoc prefer to conceal foodstuffs in household caches some
● 251 distance from the houses.

One Klamath woman recalled her childhood hamlet, part of
K a settlement totaling roughly two dozen houses,[10] on the lower
361 reaches of the Williamson River. Here she and her parents lived
342 with her maternal uncle, the shaman later known as Alex Wilson,
whose earth lodge was the largest in the hamlet. Nearby was
another lodge, the residence of Hunter Wilson, brother of Alex
and headman of the family group. Some four or five mat-covered
K lodges and huts stood in the vicinity, the larger ones closer to
[343] the water for cooking and the sewing of tule mats, the smaller

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K
M draws upland Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute and gives to the
226 nearby settlement, the easternmost of the permanent villages of
103 the Klamath, the name, "Sucker-fishery." Others make their way
498 to stone weirs, built, it is said, by Gmukamps himself, or to the
K M lakes to fish with a variety of dip nets, gill net baskets, the two-
226 pronged harpoon and the multibarbed spear. At night, men set
forth in canoes upon the lake to fish by torchlight. Set lines are
K put out infrequently. While the men catch the fish—suckers,
M [251] salmon, and trout—their wives work ceaselessly, splitting them
and laying them in the sun to dry.

K Released from the protracted confinement to the winter settle-
M ments, tribesmen eagerly renew bonds with relatives and friends
221 from other villages. Related families may rendezvous to travel
222 together down to the fisheries and set up their lodges side by
[571] side. Then, as spring advances and the runs of suckers and
[602] salmon abate, the fishing settlements break up and parties of
[226] two or three families fan out along the flats and meadows to dig
[103] roots: the succulent camas, the nutlike ipos, yans, and the arrow-
root for which Chewaucan Marsh is named. In the watery flats
they seek the roots of tule and cattail; elsewhere they pick wild
K celery and mosses. There are the eggs of swan and other water-
M fowl to gather; trout in the streams to be caught; and for the
22 Modoc, antelope and mountain sheep to hunt. At this time, some
[361] areas are occupied that at other times are too cold or barren.

K If there is danger of hostile attack, the parties coalesce; and
M 22 under all circumstances they maintain a wary lookout. In the
126 north small bands make cautious excursions into the upper valley
of the Deschutes, watchful for raiding parties of Cayuse, Nez
K Percés, Warm Springs, and Paiute. Toward the east, Sycan and
M Chewaucan marshes are dug over by Klamath and Paiute. Fré-
222 mont once found the latter tract furrowed as if it had been
252 plowed. In many places the stone-lined earth ovens in which
camas and other vegetal foods were baked for winter storage
can still be seen.

K As the long summer days wear on, the pond-lily seeds, known
M as wokas, begin to ripen on the marshes, and once more the
221 222 people draw together. The Modoc congregate especially along
648 Tule and Lower Klamath Lake, while some join the Klamath
on Wokas Marsh. Many Klamath, together with a few Modoc

*657 continued to be exploited for fifty years, until the owners of the
177 abutting land put an end to it. On the reservation, the Sprague
226 and Williamson continue to supply a catch, although the drying
• [251] of fish for the winter, common enough on the Lower End until about thirty years ago, has now passed into disuse.

*657 Similarly root gathering continued to be an important activity
178 for many years, leading Nickerson to suggest that several of the
177 palatable and nourishing roots used by the Indians for food
222 "could be materially improved by continued cultivation."[62] "Root
[412] probes," or "camas diggers," as well as "fish spears" and fish
[227] hooks were forged by Agency blacksmiths for years.[63]

Wokas long remained a staple for the Klamath. In 1881 Nickerson,
*657 noting that each family gathered some five to fifteen bushels,
178 added "this wokus, with dried fish, forms a large portion of the
222 food of those who have not the money with which to purchase
262 flour and groceries."[64] About the turn of the century, Coville observed a thriving wokas-gathering industry with a vast expanse of marsh to exploit, and speculated on the possibility of processing the seed commercially as a breakfast food.[65] The decline of wokas gathering parallels in time the Indian's diminishing use of dried fish, another winter food.

*657 A similar course can be traced for those fall activities, hunting
177 and berrying. From at least 1872, Indians were reported leaving
178 the reservation in September to hunt and gather berries in the
222 Cascades.[66] In addition, the men on occasion went on a spring
224 hunt for antelope and mule deer at the north end of the reservation.[67] Gradually the fall berrying and hunting came to be concentrated at the "huckleberry patch" on Huckleberry Mountain, southwest of Crater Lake. Hunting has continued to be both a sport and a means of providing food; and if the preparation of jerky has declined, it is because the freezer has displaced it.
[251] The drying of berries and wild fruits has been rendered obsolete by canning. There is local testimony that the killing off of predators by fur hunters and stock raisers has caused an increase of deer upon the reservation itself. It is not infrequent for a single family to consume six to fifteen or more deer in the course of a year. One tribal leader from the Upper End, a man then less than forty years of age, remarked in 1958 that until his family

857 far. Some contests utilize a stationary target.
526 In others, arrows and darts are shot at a rolling ring. The rings used by boys are smaller than the men's.

868 Boys soon learn to make their own willow darts for the games, are proud of them, and often decorate them by wrapping green tules
[531] around them in designs. The darts are then blackened in the fire and the tules unwrapped, leaving white markings where the tules had been. Such negative pyrographic patterns are common on canoe poles and paddles. Girls similarly decorate sticks "just for fun"; they do not enter into the dart contests. The boys do not learn to make their own bows and arrows until puberty or after.

Training in the techniques of fishing, gathering, hunting, and various manufactures be-
[262] gins in late childhood. The principal food of the Klamath is fish, but vegetable products and
221 game are also used. The spring, summer, and fall months are spent in travel for the seasonal food supply. Early spring sees a move to fishing grounds along the river. In the summer, families move to the prairies for roots and berries. Some go to the mountains to hunt. In August and September families congregate to gather the wild water-lily seed along the marshes. In the fall there are hunts, and all return to the winter villages where they will remain through the coldest months of the year.[33]

226 The first sucker run in the spring is of special significance and attended by ritual and
868 taboo.[34] Small children are warned to stay away from the river, lest they get sick. The first catch is divided among all; the entrails are carefully gathered up and thrown back into the river to insure the continued abundance of fish. It is the children who are sent with the entrails to the proper spot on the river. While
[251] the men continue fishing, the women clean and dry the fish for winter storage. Girls of eight or nine help their mothers by collecting willow branches and arranging the fish on them to dry.

After the first run, the restrictions are relaxed. Children are then allowed to gather along the banks and watch, so long as they do not bother the men. Boys help by dipping fish out of the water by hand and by scaring fish toward the nets; but they do not work with the nets, which take at least two full-grown men to handle.

868 Spears are also used for taking fish. Boys
226 of ten or older are taken out by their fathers into shallow water to learn how to watch for the air bubbles that indicate the presence of fish. The father shows the boy how to impale the victim on a many-pointed spear and finally lift it from the water with a single-pointed gaff. For

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[33] Spier, pp. 10 f.

[34] Varieties of fish caught, fishing techniques, and customs connected with fishing are treated in Barrett (1910), pp. 249-251, Spier, pp. 147-155, and Voegelin, elements 190-300.

[p. 348A]

501 and saw us. They laughed and laughed and
said, "Look, she doesn't know how to use the
868 pole." Then they told me how to push it a
little way at a time and lift it up and push
again.

Some children start to use paddles by themselves, too. Adults see them trying to do so and tell them how to kneel in the bottom and dip the paddle in and out of the water without splashing. Light cedar paddles are used, and small ones are made for children. Similarly, shorter poles are often made for the children.

222 The principal vegetable food of the Klamath
868 is the seed of the wild water-lily, known as
wokas. Many other seed, root, and berry prod-
462 ucts are also utilized in varying amounts.[25] It
is the women who do the gathering, and there is
[262] a strong feeling that a girl cannot learn too
soon to contribute to the family food supply by
helping her mother gather these products, although youngsters are never forced into work.

Even very small girls receive a tiny digging stick as a toy. With the sticks the girls play around the camp, digging up clumps of grass to be used as "camas" and "ipos" for feeding their dolls. Children often accompany their mothers after berries, seeds, and roots. They are allowed to run about as they please and only help if they wish. When they get tired or hungry, they go back to camp. Both boys and girls help occasionally with berrying. Parents complain that the youngsters eat more than they save, but do not scold them.

251 Part of the activity during the berrying
season is, of course, the drying of the berries
868 for storage. One woman recalls seeing this as a
child and wanting to help.

> Up in the mountains I saw how they dried huckleberries. They dug a little ditch and put the berries in and made a fire alongside. You have to watch the fire for a day and a night. I remember seeing this when I was about ten. I wanted to dry some berries, too; but my mother didn't want me to use any of her berries. She said I might ruin them so I'd have to get my own. I went and picked some, and she showed me how to dry them.

222 When a girl is nine or ten, her mother
gives her a real digging stick of slightly
868 smaller dimensions than her own. The girl is
also given a small carrying basket to wear on her back and a basket to put the roots in before they are transferred to the carrying basket. The mother shows the girl where to go to get the best roots and how to insert the stick to loosen the earth all the way around the root before prying it out. Apparently there is little attempt to force the girl to work hard the first

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[25] Coville (1897), pp. 87-103, idem (1904), pp. 725-739, and Spier, pp. 166 f.

> 222
> 868
> always lots of extra poles lying around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them.

A girl gradually learns to gather all of the wild products which are used, gaining most of the knowledge of where and when to gather the different crops simply by accompanying her mother. The mother tells the girl where to find the best seeds, berries, and roots. She tells her daughter to look for huckleberries near springs and moist places; she shows her how to follow the little trail left by squirrels in storing nuts; in short, she gives her the information that means the difference between being a good and a mediocre provider.

251 Enough food must be collected from spring to fall to last through the winter, and it is imperative to store it so as to prevent spoilage. Roots are put in caches in the ground. Seeds are stored in sacks between the timbers on the roof of the winter house in such a way that the sacks can be opened from inside the house. Young girls are not trusted with the preparation of the storage pits because an error might ruin [868] the family's entire winter supply. Sometimes girls fix small pits for the roots they have dug by themselves.

> I dug up the dirt and put away my sacks of ipos and camas. Then I covered them just the way I saw the old people do.

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A girl begins to learn to cook when she is about ten. As with most other skills, some girls acquire this at an earlier age than others. A girl first learns to roast fish, her mother watching and telling her to be sure that it is cooked thoroughly. A woman also teaches her girl to roast ducks, showing her how to turn the bird so that it will not burn.

Preparation of seed and root foods is more difficult, since they must be ground or pounded before use. The mother shows the girl how to use a flat metate and two-horned muller for wokas. Many girls start to grind wokas first for their dolls.

> I was just playing the first time I helped another girl grind the wokas. We used a wokas leaf like the mat they put the

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[115]

THE MONTHS OF THE YEAR.

OBTAINED FROM "PETE" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

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[226] Gáptsatka É-ukshikni mák̲laks páha udsáks; lúela kápto Yá-ag;
In the month of the small finger | the Lake | Indians | dry | the large sucker; | kill | gudgeons | at the Bridge;
[251] [222] Ktaí-Túpakshi tk̲álmakstant otí'lks lúela hō'ank. At sa k̲ó-iχaktchuapka,
of Standing-Rock | to the westward | fish-dam | kill | when jumping. | Now they | will leave home (soon),
[252] [262] at kámals pahá; kó-iχaga, k̲ä'shla sa, k̲olálsuapk mat sa, tawiksálsuapk
and | dry fish | they prepare; | they leave, | go after ipos they, | will gather kol | they, | will gather tawiks
mat s at, pō'ksalsuapk mat sa, at sa pópakuapk sátnalbuapka sa, suaítlal-
they, | will dig camass | they, | they | will bake (it), | roast it (3 days) | they, | roast it
uapk; saká a pō'ks.
(1 day); | eat raw | camass.

[251] Tχópowatka pahá at pō'ks iwídshat, at É-uksi génuapka woksalsuap-
In the thumb-month | dried | then | camass | they put under ground, | now | for Klamath Marsh | they will start | to gather
[222] kátki giug; káyudsh nû'k̲a wókash. At nû'ka wókash, wóksalsha at túnepni
lily-seed; | not yet | is ripe | pond-lily seed. | Now | has ripened | lily-seed, | they gather (it) | for five
waítash, kánktak wókslat Eúkshikni. Sníkanua nadshgshaptánkni waítash;
days, | so long | may gather (it) | the Lake people. | They let it ripen | during six | days;
nadshgshaptánkni waítash wókash shutä'shlat, awō'lat, péksat, shíulína,
during six | days | the nuphar-seed | they grind, | cook, | rub fine, | winnow,
[435] lulína. Nā'sh willishik pálasham-wáχoksh láp tála, lχálχamnishti lulínash
make flour. | One | sack | of the flour-bags | two | dollars, | in a long, heavy sack | the ground-up wókash
[222] túnep tála. Nû'χatk wókash iwiχî'e k̲á-itua nû käíla. "Tánk a îwíχa î?
five | dollars. | Roasted | lily-seed | filled in sacks | none | in the country. | "How many | did fill | you?
[224] lápkshapta kán îwî'χa willíshik?" "nû té-unip willî'shik iwî'χa!" Wé-
seven | who | did fill | sacks?" | "I | ten | sacks | have filled up!" | Wo-
wan'sh pî'la wō'kshla, hî'hassuaks gánkanka paχō'les, tchä'-u. At sa héwi-
men | only | gather wókash, | the men | hunt | mule-deers, | antelopes. | Now they will haul
[251] uapk̲, skúya wókash. At a sha î hî'wi-uapk; áwalues sk̲éna, máktsina
(it) home, | crush | lily-seed. | Just | they home | will bring it; | to the island | they row, | camp there
[501] Nû'shkshi, wō'ns î'lktsat Lĕmé-isham Nutē'ks, Vushî'nkam Tínuash, Lál'lāks,
at Skull-place, | canoes | they put away in lake bottom | at Thunderbolt, | at "Snake-Drowned", | at "Slope-steps"
Lkō'm Ä'-ush; k̲ák̲okîsh lóloksgîsh ktélχa, Stópalsh-Tamā'dsh, Tó-ilkat
at Black Lake; | at the ford | the rifle | drop, | at Peeled-Pine, | at Rail-Pyramid
pî'la wî'hla; tchía nánuk K̲ák̲-Ksháwaliäksh; nánka tchía Tchíkass-
stops | every one | at Raven's Place; | some | (will) stop | at Bird's
Walákgishtat.
Lookout.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 Spéluishtka at héwi, iwí-idsha wókash. Nāt a génanuapk! nánuk
In the index-month they haul, take home the lily-seed. We will go there! all
221 [222] nat éna! nátoks waítuapk, wewálha wátch, hû′masht nat gî waíta wéwal-
of us carry it! but we will wait one day, are sore (our) horses, therefore we wait one day because
hasht wátch kä′mat. Nad gitá piénuapk pólōk̲uantch, ktälowalshuápka
are sore horses on back. We there will escape up moth-chrysalids, gather pine-nuts
nād. Tchatchápēlu, hóllaksh, tûtánksham, hahashkemólsham, lolóloisam,
we. Sweet resin, winged pine-nuts, blackberry, black cherry, wild gooseberry,
tsinéχam, klá-ads, wáshlalam íwam nā′d stá-ila. K̲ó-idse, shtéaltk ktä′lo.
sort of wókash, prunes, squirrels' huckleberries we gather. Of bad taste, full of resin pine-nuts (are)

[231] [222] Tχópowatka í-umämi wátch lalá-a; gépgapēle mák̲laks k̲ēlä′wiank,
In the thumb-month at berry-time mares foal; return the Indians having done (gathering),
● [251] at wéwanuish o-olalóna, at sa í′-umaltka. Bû′nuapka tchā′kēle í′wam,
the females dry berries by the fire, they return from berry-gathering. They will drink red juice of huckleberries,
[252] [272] tchilálat hûn í′wam. Ánshat ánika shash í′wam; wí′dsika nánka í′wam.
boil the berries. You may go and ask them for huckleberries; retentive some (are) of berries.
Túpeluish aní′k tēlû′ks, tchákēla n's skaí tak; tsákēlatka n's skaítki stá.
To next lodge I send tule-basket, willow-basket to me to give in; in the basket to me to give it filled.
Pahápk tchísh íwam lúitki n's léwitchta á. K̲á-i sheshätuí′shtka.
Dried too huckleberries to give to me they did not want. Not I intend to sell them.

[796] Spéluishtka spû′klishtat kshíwalχa, papiä′na luldamalákstat. At hû′k
In the index-month in the sweat-house they dance, inaugurate by feast the winter-house. Now such a man
[346] [222] kshū′n híwidshuapk, at hû′t hí′wi; túnepni nā′d shópelakuapk. "Tû′sh
hay will haul home, and that man hauls (it) in; in five (stacks) we will stack (it) up. "Where
nû shópelakuapk"? "lápash í′lχat, atí′sh shuí′nshnank í′lχat; í′ tchkash í
I shall stack it"? "In two stacks heap it ye, in a long-stretching (stack) stacking heap it ye! you also you
nû′sh shatuáyuapk mbúsant. Únípni waítash í n's shatuáyuapka."
me must help to-morrow. Four days you me must help."

Tátχēlam hehátχe túpak.
In the midfinger-month fall the leaves.

Gáptchēlam shináktishtka kä′na.
In the ring-finger month it is snowing.

Gáptsatka mû kä′na.
In the month of the small finger heavily it snows.

Tχópowatka wétko é-ush; kéna.
In the thumb-month is frozen the lake; it is snowing.

[796] Spéluishtka ktō′tsa mû; wála kshiúlgishtat.
In the index-month it rains much; they dance in the dance-house.

Tátχēlam tsuám lúela Nílaksi Tsuyakē′ksni.
In the midfinger-month large suckers kill at Nilaks the Linkville Indians.

[226] Gáptsēlam shináktishtka udsáksalsha K̲ók̲ētat, kä′shla sa.
In the ring-finger month they take large suckers in Lost River, (and) get ipos.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

NOTES.

*539 221 This text intends to give a sketch of the various occupations of the northern tribe or É-ukshikni in every month of the year, and is partially worded in a form which may be called dramatic. These statements are not always arranged in logical order, but a profusion of ethnologic details gives intrinsic value to them.

805 The months of the Máklaks year do not coincide with the months of our calendar, for they extend from one new moon to the next one, and therefore should be more properly called *moons* or *lunations*. Twelve and a half of them make up the year, and they are counted on the fingers of both hands. The first moon of their year begins on the first new moon after their return from the wókash-harvest at Klamath Marsh, which is the time when all the provisions and needful articles have been gathered in for the winter. 796 229 Work is then stopped and the communal dances begin, the doctor-dances as well as those conducted by the chiefs, and everybody participates in them except those who are out hunting in the mountains during the latter part of the year. This mode of counting the moons on the digits was once popular, but on account of its imperfections it is now forgotten by the majority of the tribe. Instead of it they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as: udsaksä'mi, "in the big sucker time"; i-umä'mi, "in the berry season", or they use our calendar months.

The first moon mentioned in our text, gáptche, answers generally to our May. The two next moons are counted on the thumb and forefinger of the hand not used immediately before; with this last moon their year has come to an end. The next five moons are counted again on the digits of the first hand, and so forth. The half moon making up their full year is not accounted for in this text.

823 226 74, 2. Ktai-Túpakshi is a locality of renown in the folklore of the Klamath tribe. It lies near the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, on the property of an Indian named Tchéloχins. The otilks is the fish-dam (from utila), where the Indians wade in the water with their dip-nets and catch the fish while it ascends the river in spring-time in enormous quantities. This fish-dam does not reach the water's surface.

193 74, 2. The direct object of lúela is kápto, its subject máklaks hŏ'ank.

74, 3. kámalsh pahá means: they dry the fish which they have just caught by exposing it to the sun on limbs of trees, and then make kámalsh by pounding it. Kámalsh is a derivative from gáma, to pound.

192 74, 3. kó-iχaga is identical with gúikaka; derived from kúi, "away, far off"; guiχátchka is: to start out annually to the prairies where roots etc. are harvested.

262 74, 5. saká a pŏ'ks: they eat *sometimes* the camass raw, but only at the time when digging it. Bulbs, roots, pods, chrysalids and berries are gathered by women only.

222 251 74, 6. pahá at p.; this is equivalent to pahátko pŏ'ks iwídshat. They bake the camass and put it in their cachés at the place where they intend to stay next winter.

796 222 192 74, 8. shuíkanua. During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process, the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the women, and they go to work again in their canoes.

415 74, 9. shiulína. From the preceding we should expect shiulínat, lulínat.

74, 10. wíllishik is the generic term for larger kinds of provision-sacks; it means here a sack of fifty pounds seed or grain, while the wáχoks holds hundred pounds. In pálasham-wáχoksh, however, the latter word is taken in its *generic* sense of sack, bag.

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"reptile," "amphibian" or "plant." Even the English language had to borrow these terms from Latin. The Klamath Lakes often use kō'sh (pine) generically for "tree," and wishink, "garter snake" for "snake," the Modocs wáměnigsh (black snake) for the same order of reptiles, these species being the most frequent of their kind in their respective countries. Birds are hohánkankatk as well as quadrupeds, because they fly "in a straight line".

ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES.

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LIST OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN AND MINNIE FROBEN.

Yántch kálkali, tχópo-pátpan, pakí'sh; kak tán: 18"; käílatat lû'sha,
cylindric, thumb so large as, eatable; so long: 18"; on ground it lies,
ktaíyatat lushá. Shláps pushpúshli, lā'pi shlápsh.
on rocks it lies. The flowers (are) dark, two flowers (to it).

Kápiunksām k̲édsha saígatat; lû'k pûpashpúsh-tkani, lúiχitk tchí'pshash.
grows in the pra'rie; the seeds (are) blackish, larger than tchípash.
Wéwanuish hûnk shtä'ila wékank yákitka páta-gíulshēmi. Pék-
The women gather (it) by beating (it) into seed-baskets at summer's end. By
shank sha hû'nk gápiunks shúta; tchiléla sha títatna. Wû'kash-
grinding they kápiunks prepare; boil (it) they sometimes. Wókash-
shitk máshetk kápiunks.
like tastes kápiunks.

[222]
[251]
[252]

Káshma k̲édsa walídsat, kä́ílatat ushá; pálpal shlápsh, tsmō'k pí'luitk.
grows on rock cliffs, on the ground lies; white (is) flower, after fish smelling.

Kělátch k̲édsha wí-ukayant kěládshamat; kělädsh ntchekáni mämätch-
grows on the low kělädsh-bushes; kělädsh-berry small blue
mä'tchli lálkaya. Wéwanuish kělädshla wâkslólank; shpahá sha
grow on bushes. The females collect (it) after wókash-season; dry (it) they
tchúi ishkû'lank, í'lχa sha shpáhank í'lkshlûk lúldam, tchilálank
then after gathering, keep they (it) by drying to preserve (it) for winter, boiling (it)
tchēk sha pán.
then they eat (it).

Kěnáwat k̲édsha saígatat, tsélas ka tánni 1', pakí'sh; p'lái shláps pushpúshli,
grows on prairie, stalk so long 1', eatable; on top the flower is dark.
tídsh piluítko.
good smelling.

Klána pálpalish shlápshaltk p'laí, k̲édsha k̲ók̲etat, pákish, tíds másitk; má-
a white flower having on top, grows in rivers, is eatable, well tasting; the
k̲laks pán.
Indians eat (it).

*539 *Klápa* k̲álkali, pakí'sh; ka tánni 3"; taktákli pû'dshak, tápaχ kitchkáni.
262 is cylindric, eatable; so long: three inches: red (is) the púdshak-grass (its) leaves small.
824 *Klû'* kálkali lutí'sh; k̲edshá Móatok; pakísh.
is a rounded root; grows in Modoc country; (it is) eatable.

Ktû'ks wókash-shítko, k̲édsha táletat; ktû'ksam shlápsh pû'pash, pálpali,
nuphar-alike, grows on straight stalk; of the ktûks the bud (is) (its) top, is white,
pakí'sh.
is eatable.

Kû'ktu û'sha käílatat, pakí'sh; gémtchi tsélas: O.
lies on the ground, eatable; so shaped (its) stalk:

K̲ā'ls kálkali, pakí'sh; mû'na lû'sha ámbutat; kitchkáni shlápsh wítch-
globular, eatable; deep down it lies in the water; small is (the) flower of the
payam.
witchpai.

K̲ā's wé-uχalks tsélash gí'tk, shlápsh gítk; pakí'sh.
a forked stem having, flower having; palatable.

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K̲ō'l. Táktaklī tchélash gû'lam nû'kuk. Í-ukak mák̲laks hû'mtcha gû'l
Red (is) the stalk of the kol when ripe. Around Fort Klamath the Indians this kind of kol
shtä'-ila túm, gítatoks k̲á-i tuá k̲ōl. Ámtatka sha méya pû'kgu-
gather in quantity, but here (at agency) not there is any kol. With a stick they dig (it) to their
ishamtat shiû'lagiank, tchúi sha pû'ka; í'kagank pä'n shtápka
roasting-place bringing it, then they roast (it); taking it out again they pound (it)
ktáyatka. K̲ó-i pí'luitk, tídshi tadsh pä'sh; hä kaní k̲ō'l ē'nt,
with stones. Badly flavored, good however a food; if anybody kol carries on him,
lû'k hû'nksh shtí'kok vû'shat.
a grizzly bear him smelling will flee.

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L'bá. Lupí' sha'hlmalχō'tchtat shápashtat l'bá nók̲a; wéwanuish stä'-ila
As the first autumn-commencement in (that) month l'bá ripens; the females gather (it)
yákitka wékank tíatka. Tsúi sha ítpampalank shpáha, shutéshluk
in baskets, beating (it) with a paddle. And they bringing it home dry (it) for cooking
sha gáma; skátka gáma gä'mkishtat. Wíllishikat sha íkû'ga
they pound (it); with a pestle (they) pound in a mortar. Into sacks they fill (it) in
pä'sht, tchúi sa vûmí vumí'shtat wíllishikat íkúgank.
after drying, and they bury (it) in caches, in sacks after putting it.

Léhiash k̲edshá Móatok; gí'tatoks É-ukshi k̲á-i léyash k̲édshant. Tánapsh-
grows in Modoc land; but right here (at agency) in Lake country not léyash is growing. Turnip
shítko shlē'sh léyash; wí-uka lē'ntk léyash; tchélash toks lé-isham
alike to look at (is) léyash; not very deep lies léyash; stalk of léyash
nä'sh pétch atí taktákli shlápsh gí'tk. Móatokni shnítchí'χa
(is) one foot tall, red flower having. The Modocs fry (it)
lépuinatk pálash shû'tank léhiash. -K̲ú-i mä'shetk.
in frying pans into bread making léyash. Badly tasting (it is).

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[222]

Má-i. E-ukshikni máyalshuk vū'nshatka aχéna shléank é-ushtat.
The Lake people for tule-gathering in canoes row out finding (it) in lakes.

Tchélash sha shnū'kank íshka, yánaush pîl p'ánk púedsha. Yánakänin
The stalks they seizing pull up. their lower ends only eating throw away (the rest). Each at the lower end

pálpali gî nép pánani. Stá-ila sha kshunē'mi, k̲á-i mā'nsh î'pka
while is hand-long. Gather (it) they at grass-time, not long (can) lie

má-i; pā'shtak sha púedsha k̲ú-i k̲léksht.
tule; as soon as dried they cast (it) away. bad having become.

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Nū'tak k̲édsha ntchékayant kshû'nat shaígatat; lû'k tchípashptchi gî.
grows on small grass-stalks in prairies; seeds tchipash-alike are.

Kápiunks-shítko stä'-ila nū'tak wéwanuish wékank yákitka.
Kápiunks just like gather nútak the women, by beating (it) into baskets.

Páwash a k̲édsha aitχáměnash k̲ō'l, k̲á-i k̲ú-i pí'luitk k̲û'lam-shítk, lúiluyatk
grows smaller than kol. not stinking kól-like, sweet

toks kpápshash. Yaínakshi pîl sha túm shléa. Tchélash pá-usham
but to taste. At Yáneks only they much (of it) find. Stalk of páwash

wí-ukani, mû'kmukapsh pálpalsh shlápsh gî'tk. Pû'ka sha hû'nk
is low, feathered (and) white flowers having. Bake they

páwash, tchúi sha gáma, shpáhank sha î'lχa lû'ldam páshluk.
páwash, then they pound (it), after drying (it) they preserve for winter gathering in.

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Pū'ks nánukash-käíla k̲édsha tû'm, títatna k̲á-i tû'mi. Pû'ks k̲édsha
everywhere grows in quantities, sometimes not in profusion. Camass grows

Óregon saígatat, tchékěnish metsmétslish lelé-usam gî'tk tchélash;
on Oregonian prairies, minute blue flowers having (its) stalk;

pû'ks tchék'ni ónions-shítko shléash pálpali shánkitk gíug, pukátk
camass small onions-similarly looking, is whitish raw being, when baked

[251]

tchēk luíluyatk mā'sha nóχuk. Pahátko mā'ntch gí'ntak î'pakt
then sweetly tastes when it is done. When dried, a long time afterwards it may remain,

túměni illólash k̲á-i k̲ó-i k̲'lékant. Shláps tamō'k píluitk.
for many years not spoiled may become. The flower fish-stink smells after.

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Pū'lχuantch. Píena mák̲laks pû'lχuantchluk pienû'tkishtka; pû'ka a sha
Scrape up the ground the Indians for gathering the chrysalids with a paddle; roast (them) they

ktáyatat k̲élpokshtat kshū'n puetílank, wáldsha tchík sha kshún,
with stones heated, grass putting under, lay on top then they grass,

kné-udshí lokáptchχa, tchúi sha käíla k̲ä'lua pû'kûg púlχuantch.
rough bark pile up on top, then they with earth fill up for roasting the chrysalids.

Stópalsh. Mák̲laks kiamä'mi guiχakshä'migshta stópalsha pûkshämí'tch. K̲akowátka sha kiulō'la stópalsh; kápka sha stópěla.
The people in fishing-season, at home-leaving time peel trees, in camass-season also. With bones they peel off the inner bark; small pine-trees they peel.

Lúiluyatk stópalsh; shánks hak sha pán. Kánt i hûn shläá shtopalhuí'sh kû'sh
Of sweet taste (is) the bark; just raw they eat it. So many you (of them) find peeled off pine-trees

î táměnug. K̲á-i kū'sh nánuk tchû'ka stópaluish; nánka tchúk̲a.
you when traveling. Not pine-trees all perish which were peeled; some dry up.

(13) And having returned there, having filled the canoe, so having unloaded it, it is in just one place. 539* (14) And it stays piled up there for a long time. [222] (15) So it becomes dry on top, and rots underneath. (16) And perhaps they washed it, and all that was not good would float up to the surface. (17) And only the wokas sank to the bottom.

(18) And they spread it out on a mat long ago. (19) And having spread it out there, so it dried out. [251] (20) When it had dried, perhaps "three weeks"—(laughter)—three weeks having passed perhaps it has dried.

(21) And next they sift it well, until it is dry. (22) They do it all well, and they put it into sacks now. (23) And to make food, they parched it. (24) And at that time long ago they used parching-mats. (25) And having put coals on there, they roasted it, that wokas.

(26) And having roasted it well, they ground it with a muller. (27) Sitting spraddle-legged they ground wokas. (28) And then having finished that, they dipped it all to one side. [516] (29) And all the chaff came up, on top. (30) And having put it to one side, they ground it again.

(31) And now they made food. (32) Long ago it was, before when our things, dishpans, were not there. [178] (33) And at that time there they did it in a "čakín" [i.e., a type of basket], "čakín" as they termed it. [415] (34) And in that they first heated rocks, and they put the wokas into water. (35) Then they threw the stones into the water, in that "qalla" [another basket type], to boil it at that time, a [modern] boiling-pot being absent. (36) Thus they made wokas long ago.

(37) And that second kind, which I called "sbokẃas," they soured it apart. (38) And they took it off the top, while it was still wet. (39) Having gotten it ripe, they took it off the top. (40) And those were round, those "sbokẃas" were. (41) It was called "sbokẃas." (42) And again having ground that "sbokẃas," then again in just the same manner having put it in among coals next, they parched it. (43) Again they parched it. (44) They parched it, and it tasted good.

(45) And one other, that one being called "c̓ini·q̇am." (46) It was not ripe wokas, and it tasted bad. (47) It was bitter, and they thus made it round, having parched it. (48) That's as much as they said.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

23. Picking Wokas

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

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(1) We gathered wokas on the Lake. (2) We picked it. (3) And we put it into gunny sacks, and we took it back, home. (4) And we threw it into a "barrel," to sour it. (5) Thus we fixed our wokas, just as they make it recently. (6) So then, however, it was not there for long [Informant's translation ?]. (7) And having brought it back, we put it into a "barrel." (8) And to become "sour." (9) To sour we put it into the "barrel." (10) So until it's well done it is that way. (11) Now then we dip it off, having dipped it off well thus, then something—we spread it out, in the "sun." (12) To get dry. (13) Now then we spread it back and forth, to dry out well. (14) Then we put it into our sacks. (15) And that's as far as it goes. (16) Now we make food, having dried it well. (17) So now we eat it.

24. Cooking Wokas

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

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(1) [One] puts the wokas on a parching-mat. (2) [One] puts coals on top of the wokas. (3) Then shakes it while blowing on it. (4) [One] blows on the coals on it to cook one's shaken wokas [i.e., the wokas which one is shaking back and forth on the parching-mat].

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133]

(17) And they erected this kind of little pine trees—having taken off all the something—all the needles, having stripped off. (18) So then they hung them up there, those which they killed. (19) Fish of every sort whatsoever, even any trout they killed there at that time, when there were many trout. (20) And suckers the same way, in sucker-season, there where many, many suckers came. (21) And they crowded up against that, that which I told of [i.e., the dam], thus, that kind which he made for them thus. (22) That dam. (23) Now they crowded up against it. (24) And they killed them now at that sort of place. (25) And having made even various kinds of dippers, they killed them with that sort of thing also.

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(26) And long ago people did not know these sorts of things, which they use nowadays. (27) However, [I] saw, how they did. (28) They killed very, very many—it looked red there, there they dried them, right there. (29) They dried all the fish. (30) So now having finished drying them, so now having done thus, they were something—they were stiff this way from drying. (31) They became stiff.

(32) Now then they pounded them all up in this way, having beaten them. (33) And then having done thus, they put them aside. (34) Now then they became soft. (35) It turned soft. (35) Then they gently pounded it flat, thus, with a rock, [or] with something else. (36) They pounded it all gently, and they put it down [in separate places], whoever got it. (37) If anyone had gotten a little, then they gave him some. (38) Thus were people long ago, not stingy. (39) They gave to each other, if someone were poor. (40) Then they gave [to him].

(41) And I saw it once, even a short time ago, when the soldiers lived at Fort Klamath, there. (42) And they having arrived there [at the fishing dam], they helped the Indians now. (43) They brought a huge fishnet of that sort. (44) A big one. (45) I saw it. (46) And the soldiers waded way out, there they waded around it, right up close to that [dam]. (47) And they after a long time thus, wanted to gather it all up, all that net. (48) Now a great many indeed had grasped it, [for] it wanted to go off [i.e., its weight and the current pulled it down river]. (49) And they having hitched on mules, having hitched on four mules, now with much difficulty they dragged it out for the Indians. (50) They killed very, very many. (51) Thus I saw once, long ago.

(52) And all the Indians got [some], they divided it up among themselves thus. (53) They piled up much, right there, all. (54) And they, the soldiers, did thus. (55) I too saw it once. (56) It was a good sight.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 137]

(83) And did anybody tell this one the myth from over there, that is a good myth. (84) It is [about] Crater Lake. 539 * 124

(85) PO: Probably no one. (86) I do not know it.

(87) AC: Yes, it is a very good myth [about] over there. (88) They told me something thus, that it was a very, very good myth. (89) However, [I] don't know it, because these [meaning her wits] are gone, being old. (Interruption.)

(90) AC: Thus he asked me, how they lived long ago.

(91) PO: Could you tell it?

(92) AC: Now he has stopped it [i.e., the machine].

(93) PO: Now he has done something—started it up again. (94) Now you can begin to tell, if you wish, anything at all. (95) Whatever you remember, tell that. (96) Now I have told it to you, and he will put it on there [i.e., on the tape]. (97) Now it is—something?—going—now it is revolving.

(98) AC: People were good, we Indians a long time ago. (99) We were good people. (100) And I have told my—we were good people long ago. (101) We took even a little bit of food [i.e., all we had] for [someone]. (102) And, even though there was no food here, then we took for [somebody], something. (103) And it was this. (104) And doing it thus it is called "They even divide up a flea." (105) Thus was the Indians' way. (106) Thus they used to call it. (108) To someone, even a little bit of food they took there. (109) Yes, for another, and they gave some food, even [though it was] from a small amount, even if there was no food, just being very sympathetic at that time. (110) Living with a great struggle [lit. "having become very tired"], they got food. (111) Yes, even old ladies like these went off to dig roots. (112) They slung [a basket] of this kind on their shoulders, and even the weak, now they knew that there would be nothing to eat in the winter. (113) And because of that, they buried some food.

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 165]

[141] [231] They are well provided with bows and arrows. They have only one horse. Snow is so deep, horses perish for want of food. In winter, they live on roots. In summer on antelope and fish.

December 1st. 30 Clammite Indians paid us a visit: fine men in good condition, but wretchedly clad. They say the river to the ocean is far distant and beaver they do not know. They say the Indians become more numerous as we advance to the ocean. . . . .

[342] [161] [439] Tuesday 6th. Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defence against arrows but not balls. 200 of them collected about our camp and traded 4 days. The 2 chiefs delivered traps lost by Mr. McDonald last year with 8 beaver. This is much in favor of their honesty. On our march this day, we passed the camps from wh. Mr. McDonald turned back last year and are consequently strangers to the country in advance.

[161] Thursday 8th. About 300 Indians around our camp. We advanced 6 miles south following the river south. I estimate the Clammitte nation 250 men.

Monday 12th. Reached the lake [Klamath lake?] 1½ × 15 miles well wooded with maple and hazel; course S.

[361] The second visit on record is that of Frémont, who reached the northern shore of Klamath marsh on December 10, 1843. He saw smoke at what appeared to be the middle of the marsh and along the opposite shore. An unoccupied northern shore agrees with my own information. The following day he visited the village "in the middle of the lake (or savannah)," which appears to be one of those at the outlet of the marsh.

[342] The huts were grouped together on the bank of the [Klamath] river, which, from being spread out in a shallow marsh at the upper end of the lake, was collected here into a single stream. They were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams.

[226] [252] [285] [291] Almost like plants, these people seem to have adapted themselves to the soil, and to growing on what the immediate locality afforded. Their only subsistence at this time appeared to be a small fish, great quantities of which, that had been smoked and dried, were suspended on strings about the lodge. Heaps of straw were lying around; and their residence in the midst of grass and rushes had taught them a peculiar skill in converting this material to useful purposes. Their shoes were made of straw or grass, which seemed well adapted for a snowy country; and the women wore on their head a closely woven basket, which made a very good cap. Among other things, were parti-colored mats about four feet square, which we purchased to lay on the snow under our blankets, and to use for table cloths.

[231] Numbers of singular-looking dogs, resembling wolves, were sitting on the tops of the huts. . . . .

[648] They made us comprehend that they were at war with the people who lived to the southward and to the eastward; but I could obtain from them no certain information. . . . .

This morning the camp was thronged with Tlamath Indians from the southeastern shore of the lake. . . . .

Frémont also remarked on the scarcity of their horses.[22]

Frémont reached Klamath lake again May 6, 1846. He commented on the outlet, Link river, "this is a great fishing station for the Indians." His statement on the distribution of their settlements coincides with my information. [231] [226]

> They have fixed habitations around the shores of the lake, particularly at the outlet and inlet [Williamson river], and along the inlet up to the swamp meadow [Klamath marsh], where I met the Tlamaths in the winter of '43-'44, and where we narrowly escaped disaster. . . . . The Indians made me understand that there was another large river [Williamson river] which came from the north and flowed into the lake at the northern end, and that the principal village was at its mouth, where also they caught many fish. [361] [131] [133]

Frémont's party made a circuit of the lake. It is curious that he does not mention the settlements about Pelican lake on the western side, which he could hardly have avoided. On the other hand it is not clear how closely his memoirs follow his diary. Attacked while on the western side, his party reciprocated by raiding a village on the opposite side, perhaps one of those on Williamson river just above the present highway bridge. [726]

> Behind the sage-bushes where they had taken their stand every Indian had spread his arrows on the ground in fan-like shape, so that they would be ready to his hand. . . . . Quantities of fish were drying, spread on scaffolds, or hung up on frames. The huts, which were made of tall rushes and willows, like those on the savannah above [Klamath marsh], were set on fire, and the fish and scaffolds were all destroyed.[23] [252] [342] [726]

The first invaders remembered by the Klamath came from the north about 1835. The stories about them have now a legendary flavor. 173
The first group was mounted; the Klamath dubbed them mpĕ'tkoŋks 437
(from mĕtc!a', to pack about) from their roving habits. An alterna- 648
tive name, pásai'ūks (French-Canadian in Chinook jargon), more surely identifies them. During their brief stay at the mouth of Williamson river they bought fat dogs of the Klamath, which to the latter's amazement, they ate. For these they gave buttons and metal disks with a central perforation (wika'lkal).

Almost as early was a white contingent moving northward on the 173
west side of Klamath lake. The Indians watched them unseen. They 648
were impressed with the horses, axes, and the food of the whites. 177

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[22] Frémont, Narrative, 122.

[23] Frémont, Memoirs, 483, 484, 494.

III. ECONOMIC LIFE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 At this late date it is difficult to define the sexual division of labor with precision. Some impression derives, however, from random observations let drop during the course of these inquiries.

One of my informants summarized the division of domestic activities in this wise. Women fetch wood and gather food. Old men as well as women grind and pound seeds. Men lie about all the time, working but once in a while. They hunt, fish, and in the winter build houses.

Undoubtedly he is justified in his view that man's work is spasmodic, woman's work in preparation of food and the care of the home a more continuous round of labor. Such in fact is the picture of native life in perhaps all parts of the continent. Yet a fairer view of their economic participation shows a more equal division of activities.

[226] These may be summarized as follows: Men, but women too, are
the fishers. Inasmuch as their primary dependence is on fish, the
men's activities in this direction constitute well-nigh a year-round
[224] pursuit. Men are hunters, but hunting is desultory. Even here
women participate, for it is noted at least that they occasionally lie
in wait in canoes to kill floundering deer driven into the water. Root
and seed-gathering is woman's work; I am not certain that men
[222] assist even in harvesting fruit. Seeds, especially pond-lily seeds, form
the second staple in Klamath life. Preparation of food is wholly
[252] woman's work, save as they are assisted by old men, perhaps only
those who have no women members of their families to undertake the
[251] task. Storing food and drying it may be wholly feminine occupations
as well. At least where foods are concerned the man's work is
sufficiently time-filling, but the woman's much more so.

[342] With manufactures, the division is somewhat more even. House-building, one of the main activities, is a function of both sexes, and
[313] is no small part of the domestic routine. Timbers are prepared and
erected by men, grass and dirt spread over the structure by women,
[322] and the house pit dug by both. Woodworking and the manufacture
[411] of weapons are masculine activities. Yet the most laborious wood-

this fashion. To judge by the quantities of fresh-water clamshells at the old house sites, clams are also an article of diet. 262

All varieties of fish are dried in the sun, not smoked.[238] The fish is slit down the back, entrails and backbone removed, the head cut off, and the flanks opened. Of the drying of salmon, Coville observes "it was their custom, after a fish was split open, to lay in the body cavity a yarrow stem (läl-wäl'-säm, *Achillea millefolium* L.) with its leaves and flowers still attached. This treatment, by holding the fish open, hastens the drying process and prevents the decomposition that would be likely to follow if the walls were allowed to collapse. My informant knew of no special significance attached to the use of this particular plant and of no special adaptability it had for this purpose, except that it did not give the dried fish such a bad taste as some other plants."[239] A hole is cut through the fish so that they can be strung on poles, which are placed in rows on a high scaffold or set across branches of a tree. Sometimes the head is left on and the poles passed through a hole near the tail. The cache is covered with bits of board and bark. Dry fish are pounded up to make kámalsh.[240] 251

Parties returning from fishing excursions to Lost river in Modoc country sometimes cook their catch in a hot spring east of the railway station in the present town of Klamath Falls. 252

Hunting

While game is varied and plentiful in the Klamath country, the Klamath are not much given to hunting. As one informant phrased it, "We know very little about hunting deer." Their attitude is betrayed by the exaggerated value put on elk hides, although elk were plentiful. And while fish can be taken by anyone, success in hunting is assured only to one who has spirit power. In a word, the Klamath prefer the easier exploitation of stream, marsh, and prairie to invasion of the forest-clad mountains which invite only the solitary seeker after power. 224

They hunt outside their territory westward across the Cascades, but not so far as the valleys of the Rogue river system. That region is held by enemies, the Upland Takelma of the Ashland-Table Rock region. Antelope and mountain sheep are hunted in the lava beds south of Modoc territory. Mule deer are pursued in the desert to

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[238] Meacham refers to drying whitefish over fires (see above).

[239] Notes, 105.

[240] Gatschet, 1:76.

> 223 from the lower end, which is sharpened to a point, the net is attached. The upper end of the rods are beveled on one side, and inserted into a rude socket, in the end of a shaft ten feet long.
>
> Armed with this trap, the hunter crawls on the ground until he is within safe distance of the mother-bird and her little flock, when, suddenly springing up, the old birds, geese or ducks, as the case may be, fly away, while the little ones flee toward the water. The Indian launches the shaft with the net attached in such a way that the net spreads to its utmost size, the sharpened points of the rods pierce the ground, and, the upper end having left the socket on the shaft, stand in a circular row, holding the net and contents to the ground.[271]

• 252 A few data were gathered on the manner of preparing game for food. The flesh of such animals as porcupine, beaver, badger, and raccoon is boiled. The viscera are not eaten. The skin is peeled from a beaver's tail after it is roasted. Mink and otter are also pit-roasted, but not boiled. The paws of the grizzly are baked in ashes
263 and then skinned.

Salt was not known until the advent of the whites.

Insects are probably no regular article of diet, but Gatschet
222 records that women gather moth chrysalids in the month spe'lwis
252 (forefinger, i.e., late August and September). The ground is scraped up with a paddle to gather the chrysalids (pû'l$_{\chi}$uantch); they are pit-roasted between layers of grass, with a covering of bits of bark and earth.[272]

Seed and Root Gathering

222 In summer the Klamath congregate in several districts to gather pond-lily seeds, roots, and wild fruits: the great swamps and prairies of Klamath marsh, about northern Klamath lake (Agency lake) and Pelican bay, and Wocus marsh west of the lake. The prairie southwest of Fort Klamath is a meeting point for those from middle Williamson river, from its mouth, and from Pelican bay. The huckleberry patch some fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake (called iwumkă'ni, huckleberry place; iwum, huckleberry) is a favorite camping place. Here Molala from west of the Cascade range join them. Williamson river people (ăukckni) on Klamath marsh cross directly westward to this spot afoot.

[462] Root and seed gathering is woman's work. They tell of old women digging roots alone who were killed by grizzlies.

The principal seed supply of the Klamath is from the pods of the water lily (wo'kas), which grows extensively in the marshes and

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[271] Meacham, Wigwam and Warpath, 282.

[272] 1:76, 148.

251 immature pods, which are spread in piles to dry. The fully dried pods are removed from the surface of the pile, pounded to break them open, and the dry seeds, known as lowa'k, collected and stored. The bits of pod with seeds adhering are also stored against famine. The pods in the interior of the pile rot; these are also pounded, dried, and winnowed. These seeds are sno'ntablŏḳs. The dry lowa'k and sno'ntablŏḳs seeds must be treated differently from the fresh moist seeds described above. These are parched, the shells cracked by pounding, and the kernels boiled to a mush called siwulīnc or ta'lᴇwa (the latter meaning stone-boiled). The shells may be winnowed before boiling, or they may be skimmed off. What remains in the vessel is called sti'līns.

> During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the women, and they go to work again in their canoes.[273]

272 A liquor derived from prepared wokas seed of any sort is called ḳau'wütcᴇ. This is imbibed cold.

252 Boiling (ta'lᴇwa) is brought about by dropping hot stones into baskets of water. These are picked up with two green sticks, or the bare hands if not too warm. Split or bent sticks are not used for tongs.

Exceptional years have seen Klamath marsh so dry as to seriously affect this supply of food. It was dry when my elderly informant was quite small (about 1860), and even earlier (1840), in his grandmother's day, it had shrunk so that the pods could be picked from the ground. To restore the water little sacks of chipmunk and squirrel skin were carried to spirit places in the mountains, such as Diamond and Crater lakes, whence water was brought to pour into the marsh.

251 The Klamath make use of a wide variety of other seeds and roots. The seeds of goosefoot and rye grass, which mature in late summer, are beaten out with sticks over mats. The seeds of the first are ground on the metate and mixed with cold water to make a mush which is eaten with the fingers. Rye-grass seeds are parched in a tray basket, wherein they are tumbled about with live coals, then pounded in a mortar set on a large mat. Dry pinches of this are eaten.

Coville lists many other seed plants.[274] The seeds of the abundant *Balsamorrhiza* are gathered, roasted, and ground as a farinaceous

food. Gatschet adds that these are beaten from the plants with paddles early in autumn and pounded in a mortar. Those of *Polygonum* are gathered, the hulls rubbed off by hand, and the seeds parched and often ground. Gatschet says the seeds are beaten off into baskets at the end of the summer. This meal is either eaten dry or mixed with water and boiled, a process which turns the material red. The seeds of a marsh grass, *Panicularia*, are a favorite food. Tarweed seeds are often used and those of *Mentzelia*. The minute seeds of a low grass, *Agrostis*, and those of slew grass are eaten. The seeds of the former at least are beaten from the plants by women in the familiar manner. Other seeds are used less frequently: those of the sugar pine, the common cane, tule (mä'-êm lä'-wäls), amaranth, and dock. There are three species of dock used for food, each with a native name. The seeds of *Sisymbrium* are parched, ground on a metate, and eaten as mush. This plant is more plentiful in the Modoc country. The seed-like carpels of *Triglochin* are parched and eaten, sometimes in a decoction. 251

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[273] Gatschet, 1:76. I was not told of this and am doubtful about it.

[274] Coville, Notes on the Plants Used by the Klamath Indians. See also Gatschet, 1:146–150.

The leaves and stems of *Rumex* are eaten fresh, and the seeds are eaten when ripe. The young shoots of the wild parsnip are used and the aromatic leaves of *Sium* are eaten as a relish.[277] To these I can add that the leaves of koko'dom, a bush used for making flutes (not elder), are eaten green. 262

Roots constitute an important element of diet. Those most commonly gathered are those of marsh plants or of plants that grow in the open prairies: the roots of the water lily, tule, cat-tail, ipos, camas, arrowhead, etc.

Wild potatoes or arrowhead, a small sweet tuber, are plentiful about the mouth of Williamson river, for example, and are procured by the canoe load. Coville observes that the plant (tcuwa') is so common on Chewaucan marsh (between Summer and Abert lakes) as to give its name to the locality. Frémont saw there that "large patches of ground had been torn up by the squaws in digging for roots, as if a farmer had been preparing the land for grain." Gatschet's information was that the plant was scarce in the neighborhood of the agency.[278] They are roasted in the ashes and eaten. When the intention is to store them, they are pit-roasted and set away in large tule sacks. For winter use these roasted roots are boiled long in water. 222 [252] [251]

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[277] The last is confirmed by my own information.

[278] Coville, Notes, 90; Gatschet, 1:149.

used;[378] then grass or pine boughs, covered with dirt, are heaped half- 342
way up the side. The outer mats are held in place by tying them along
the edges to poles propped against the side of the house. The rope
(pĕķ'os) used for this is three strand, braided of grass or the outer
layer of tule. In placing the mats, a space about two feet across is
left at the top for a smoke hole, and another only three and a half feet
high for a doorway. One has to stoop to enter. The door is a mat like
that of the summer house; it is not weighted nor tied down.

Drying racks are not placed inside the houses. All fish and meat [251]
are dried on racks near-by. [417]

Houses are not decorated, nor are the house posts carved or painted
except by shamans. These may paint them with horizontal stripes, 342
alternately red and white. One informant had it that men's faces,
snakes, lizards, and various other animals, not spirits, are painted on
the posts, but I am doubtful. Shamans also hung stuffed bird and
animal skins about the interior. A wooden image and a stuffed crane [756]
skin are set up outside on the northern side of the hatchway, i.e., above
the shaman's bed. Houses are not given individual names, Yurok 552
fashion, though the localizing tendency of the Klamath might have 171*
found an outlet in this.

The fireplace (sne'lūķs) in the earth-lodge is in the middle of the 354
floor, between the four center posts and under the open hatchway.
Neither a pit nor stones are used to confine the fire. Most of the time
there is no fire on the hearth, only in the morning and evening; at
other times the hatch is closed. A huge fire is built when it is nearly
sundown, and after the mat is drawn across the opening the heat is so
great that blankets may be dispensed with. This despite the severe [132]
winters; at this altitude (4000 feet) lakes and streams are frozen
solid. Fires are usually made by piling short lengths of wood in log- [133]
cabin (crib-work) fashion to a height of eighteen inches. They cook
when this is reduced to a bed of coals. A piece of rotten wood is
ignited to carry fire from one place to another.

Cooking ordinarily takes place outside the dwelling in a dome- 343
shaped house (sti'nā'c) erected near-by. An earth-lodge on lower
Williamson river, for example, set some fifty yards from the stream, 252
had its cooking lodge close to the bank. All the women of the house- 592
hold prepare their food together, even where several families have
joint tenancy. It is carried to the earth-lodge and there passed about

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[378] Barrett gives the successive layers as made of "a kind of reed," triangular-stemmed tule, and circular-stemmed tule (*op. cit.*, 244).

343 as in "one big family." This is inevitably a matter of personal pref-
252 erence; some dwellings have two cooking lodges attached, the families
eating separately and sharing food only as friendship dictates. The
592 mortars and grinding slabs are kept in the cooking-lodge. The intro-
[177] duction of flour has wrought a change in these habits. Loaves of
bread are baked in the ashes in the earth-lodge itself. Flour is always
[262] shared among the inmates. I was assured that there was no earlier
custom resembling this.

264 But two meals a day are eaten, morning and evening. I was also
told that there is no regular period for meals. Visitors are given
574 something on their arrival, such as a little pond-lily seed, but no stress
is placed on this phase of hospitality. A sort of grace is said before
eating.

352 The entire floor of the earth-lodge or summer mat-house is carpeted
with mats except for the space within the four central posts. Thicker
piles of these for beds are placed all around the walls, but the best
352 locations are at the sides (*O*, fig. 19). Children might sleep in the
corners. People always sleep with their feet toward the fire, no
513 matter in what direction their heads then lie.[274]

Beds (slai'is) are of mats of various sorts. Rich people use tule, the twined mats (slai'is) being preferred to the sewn (st!ōps). One or more of these laid on dry grass serves as a mattress, or they sleep directly on the grass. One or two more form the covering. The few who have them use grizzly bear, coyote, wolf, lynx (? slowa'), or deer pelts, or several *Bassariscus* (? slët) skins sewn together, for mattress and blanket (sa'walc). A blanket for a little child is made from the skin of a red fox, a stretched raccoon skin, or several marten skins sewn together. Blankets (called sölümtai') are also made of tule and cat-tail twined to produce a checkerboard decoration. Others are made of tules with the wing feathers of water fowl (pelicans, geese, swans, ducks, etc.) caught in one face. These are called lă'cdălap'ö'tᴇ, wing feathers (lac) put together. Another type of feather blanket (called k̹'a'lyᴇ) is made of the dried skins of waterfowl twisted with a cord to form a fluffy rope. This is twined with cords inserted at intervals to form the blanket. Pillows (sᴇ'o'lhas) are a heap of grass, or anything else, even wood, but the wooden headrest of the lower Klamath river tribes is unknown. Gatschet records a sack stuffed with mallard duck down for a pillow.[275]

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[274] I could find no notion that a sleeper is affected by moonlight.

[275] 1:144.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
371. Wildcat	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	R	+	−	−	−	262
o372. Beaver	•+	+	+	+	o	•+	+	−	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	−	
o373. Skunk	−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	−	−	−	
374. Raccoon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
375. Porcupine	−	•+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
376. Rabbit	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
377. Badger	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	o	−	o	−	o	o	o	−	
378. Ground hog	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	o	o	−	−	+	+	+	−	
379. Gopher	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	o	+	+	
380. Mole	−	−	o	+	−	•−	o	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	
381. Eagle	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	−	−	
382. Owl	−	−	−	−	•+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
383. Crow	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	.	+	−	−	−	o	−	
384. Raven	−	(+)	.	−	+	.	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	−	.	.	
385. Hawk	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
386. Swan and crane		+	−			+	+	−	−	−	o	−	o	−	−	+	
387. Pelican	−	•+	−	−	o	+	+	−	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	−	
388. Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
389. Crawfish	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	o	o	o	−	o	o	−	o	
390. Freshwater mussel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	−	−	o	−	−	
391. Lamprey	−	+	+	−	o	+	o	+	−	−	•+	−	−	o	o	−	
o392. Turtle or tortoise	•−	+	+	−	•−	•+	[illegible]	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
393. Snake	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
394. Lizard	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
395. Cricket and grasshopper	−	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	•+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	
396. Caterpillar	−	•+	−	−	.	+	−	+	−	o	+	+	−	−	.	o	
397. Angleworm	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	•−	
398. Ant												•+	−	•+	−	−	
399. Ant eggs	−	+	+			+	+	−	−	o	+	+	−	+	−	−	
400. Yellow-jacket larvae	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
Foods Taboo to Special Groups																	
401. Deer head or any part of	−	.	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	262
402. Deer heart	−	•+	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	−	•+	•+	−	−	784
403. Heart-shaped meat in deer ham	−		−	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	−		.	•+	−	•−	−	
404. Kneecap fat on deer	−		.	•+	−	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	
405. Deer fetus	•+	−	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	(+)	•+	•+	•+	•+	
406. Fetuses in general	•+	•.	•.	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
407. Deer fawn	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
408. Deer liver	•−	•−	•−	•−	•+	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	
409. Wild-bird eggs	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	
410. Bird eggs aid in human reproduction	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	•+	•+	•+	•−	
411. Ducks' feet		•+	−	•−	•+		•+	•+	−	−	−			−	−		
412. Certain combinations of food taboo	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	.	−	−	.	•+	
Food Preparation																	
413. Bone ground for eating	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	252
414. Fish	+	•.	+	•+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	•−	
415. Deer	•+	•+	−	•−	•+	−	−	+	−	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	
416. Boiled	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
417. Eaten dry	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
418. Marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
419. Small mammals roasted whole	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
420. Pounded after cooking	−	−	−						+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	
421. Broiling on frame	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
421a. Broiling on single stick	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	
422. Broiling directly on coals	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
423. Blood, lights, etc., cooked in paunch	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	HM	NS	MV
252 424. On coals, in ashes	+	+	−	•+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	(+)	+	−
425. In pit oven	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
*426. Stone boiled	−	−	•+						+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
427. Meat boiled	•−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
428. Rarely	−		+		−						+	−	−	−	+	+
429. Blood boiled	−	+	+				+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
251 430. Mammal meat dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
431. Fish dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
432. Salted for drying	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	+	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	+
433. Drying frame	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	.
434. Four-post frame	•+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
435. Outdoors	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	.
436. Indoors	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*437. Fish slit, strung on pole to dry	+	+	+								+	+	+	−	+	.
438. Smoke (fire) drying	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+
439. Sun drying	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
440. Dried meat or fish ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440a. Meat	+	+	−	−	+		+	+	−			+	+	+	+	
440b. Immediately before eating, cooking only	+	+	−	−	−		+	+	−			+	+	+	+	
441. Salmon, or other fish	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	(−)	−	−	−	+
441a. Made into meal, stored	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	(−)	−	−	−	+
442. Salmon eggs added	−	−	−	−	−	−	o		+	+		−	−	−	+	−
443. Seeds added	−	−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
444. Fat added	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
445. Bone awl for splitting fish	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	.	−
[343] 446. Special drying house	−	−	−	−	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
447. Thatch	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
448. Bark	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
449. Poles, conical	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
450. Double lean-to	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
252 451. Insects, insect eggs cooked	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	−
452. Parched with coals	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−
453. Baked in earth oven	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
454. Yellow-jacket larvae roasted beside fire	−	.	+						+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
*454a. Vegetable food pounded in mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
455. Acorn meal leached in sand, earth basin	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
456. Basin set in openwork basket	o	o	+			•+	o	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
457. Basin lined with grass or boughs	o	o	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
458. Basin set on sticks, pine needles	o	o	+	+	−	−	o	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
459. Water heated for leaching	o	o	+	+	+	•+	o	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
460. Water dripped through cedar sprigs	o	o					o				+	+	+	+	+	+
461. Acorns buried whole in mud	o	o	+	•+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+
462. Whole acorns not dried, allowed to mold	o	o	−	−	+	−	o	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
463. Acorn bread	o	o	•−	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
464. Earth added	o	o	−	−	+	+	o	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
465. Baked in ashes	o	o	−	−	+	+	o	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
466. Baked in earth oven	o	o	−	−	−	−	o	−	+	+	−	.	−	−	−	−
467. Baked on top of stone or coals	−	−	−	+	−	+	o	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
468. Roots made into bread	•+	•+	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
469. Acorn "biscuits" by chilling gruel in water	o	o	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
470. Stone boiling in baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*470a. Vegetable food ground on stone slab	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
*470b. Vegetable, flesh food pounded on stone slab	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*471. Parching seeds with coals	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+
472. Pounded fruit made into cakes, dried	+	+	−				+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
*473. Seeds ground or pounded	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
474. Made into mush	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
475. Made into bread	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
252 476. Eaten dry	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	–	+
477. Buckeyes eaten	o	o	o	•+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
478. Leached	o	o	o	–	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
479. Boiled whole	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	–	–	+	o
480. Earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
481. For flesh food	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
482. For vegetable food	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	•+
483. Food sprinkled with water	–		+	+	–		–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
484. Food covered with leaves or grass	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
485. Water sprinkled into oven after closed up	–	•+	–	–	–		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
486. Eggs cooked	+	+	+			•+	+	•	+		+			+	+	+
487. Baked in earth oven	•+	–	–		–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
488. Baked in hot ashes	–	+	+			–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
489. Stone boiled in basket	–	+	+								+	–	–	+	+	+
272 490. Berry "cider"	•+	o	+	+	+	•o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
491. Sipped with deer tail	–	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
263 492. Salt obtained in mineral form, dry	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
493. Salt from spring or marsh	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
494. Salt locally	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	•+	+
[439] 495. Salt imported	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	•+	–
496. Used little or not at all; disliked	+	+	+	–	•–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
497. "Salt" from burning grass	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	•+
498. "Salt" clover eaten fresh	–	+	–					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262 499. Soaproot eaten	o	o	o	+	–	•o	•o	•o	•o	•o	o	+	–	+	+	–
500. Top eaten	o	o	o	–	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	–	+	+	–
501. Root eaten	o	o	o	+	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	–	+	–	–
502. Cooked in earth oven	o	o	o	+	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	–	–	–	–
[272] 503. Root concoction drunk as medicine	o	o	o	–	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	–	·	–	–
[439] 504. Imported if not obtainable locally	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
[515] 505. Soaproot for washing	o	•o	o	+	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	R	+
506. Milkweed chewing gum	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[26] 507. Pine pitch chewing gum	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	o	+	+	+
508. Pine "sugar"	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–
509. Honeydew from leaves eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
510. Inner bark of trees eaten.	•+	–	+	–	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
511. Mushrooms and fungi eaten											+	+	+			+
512. Fresh or dried											•+	+	•+			•+

Eating Customs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
264 513. Men served before women, if crowd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
[562] 514. All eat out of one basket	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
515. Men each have own basket	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
516. Women also have separate baskets	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+
517. Man and wife eat from same basket	+	+	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
[865] 518. Children "piece" whenever hungry						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
519. Two main meals daily, usually	•–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
520. Three main meals daily	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–		–	–	–	–	–	+
[574] 521. Meal whenever visitor arrives	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[515] 522. Hands washed after eating deer, bear meat	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
523. Men's rule only	–	–	–			–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–
524. Wipe face, hands with grass, bark after eating	+	+	+						+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	•+

Storage of Food

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
251 525. Outdoor granaries	–	+	+	–	+	•+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
526. Against tree	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
527. In burnt tree stump	–		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
528. On platform in tree; covered	–	•+	+			•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
576. Acorn gathering: men and women	•o	•o	+	+	-	•-	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
577. Men, youths climb trees	o	o	+	+	-	-	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[222]
578. Women gather, transport acorns	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
579. Pine-nut gathering: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
580. Men climb trees, knock down cones	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
581. Men and women gather cones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
582. Women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	
583. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
584. Men and women transport cones	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
585. Women only	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	
586. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
587. Men and women prepare pine nuts	-	.	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
588. Men only	+	.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
589. Women only	-	.	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	
590. Gathering of small seeds: women only	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(-)	+	+	
591. Cooking: men and women	+	+	-						+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	
592. Women prepare, cook plant foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252] ●
593. Men only, cook meat	-	+	-						-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	-	
594. Women only, cook meat	-	-	+						-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	
595. Men and women cook meat	+	-	-						•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
596. Carrying water near camp: men and women	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[312]
597. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
598. Women only	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	
599. Carrying water long distance: men and women.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
600. Men only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	
601. Women only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
602. Fire making: men and women	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[372]
603. Men only	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
604. Wood gathering: "kindling" wood, men and women	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
605. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	[313]
606. Women only	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	
607. Wood gathering: large logs, men and women	-	-	+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
608. Men only	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
609. Women only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Manufacturing Activities																	
610. Baskets: women only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
611. Skin, feather blankets: men and women make	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[281]
612. Men only or chiefly	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	(-)	+	+	-	+	[237]
613. Women only or chiefly	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	
614. Nets: men only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[284]
615. Cord: men and women make	+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[283]
616. Men, generally	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
617. Skin tanning: men and women	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[281]
618. Men only	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
619. Women only	+	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
620. Clothing: men and women make	-	-	+	•+	-	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	[294]
621. Men only	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	-	-	
622. Women only	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	
623. Moccasins: men and women make	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
624. Men only	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	
625. Women only	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
626. Fish traps: men make	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	[227]
627. Women	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	
628. Winter house: men and women build	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[342]
629. Men only	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
630. Summer house: men and women build	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
631. Men only	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	
532. Women only	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
342 Domed Living House																
736. Domed living house	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-
737. Elliptical ground plan	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
738. Circular ground plan	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
739. Domed roof	+	+	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
740. Pole or bough covering	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
741. Thatch covering	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
742. Mat covering	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
743. Earth covering partial	+	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
744. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
745. Oriented: E, SE	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
746. In end of house	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
747. In side of house	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
748. Rectangular	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
749. Domed	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
750. Mat door covering	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
751. Entire floor excavated	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[354] 751a. Single fireplace	•+	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
751b. Used as living house	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
752. 1-family	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
752a. Multifamily	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[252] 753. Used as cook house only	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Conical Hut and Lean-tos																
754. Conical hut	-	-	(•+)	-	•-	•+	•+	•+	[illegible]	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+
754a. Bark covered	-	-	(•+)	-	-	•+	+	+	[illegible]	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
755. Thatch covered	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
756. Mat covered	-	-	(-)	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
756a. 4-pole foundation	-	-	(•+)	-	-	•+	•+	+		+	-	-	-	-	+	-
757. Doorway flush	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	•+	+
757a. Doorway projecting	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-
757b. Oriented E, SE	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-
758. Living house	-	-	(+)	-	-	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
758a. Multifamily	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
758b. Used throughout year	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
758c. Used in winter	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
759. Used in summer	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
[252] 759a. Summer cook house	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
760. Single lean-to	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•-	-	-	-	-	-
761. Back wall	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-
762. Lacking back wall	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
763. Double lean-to	-	-	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
763a. Lean-tos: plank covered	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
763b. Lean-tos: bark covered	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
764. Lean-tos: brush covered	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
765. Lean-tos: mat covered	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sweat Houses and Sweating Customs																
Earth-covered Sweat House																
343 766. Earth-covered sweat house	•+	•+	(-)	•+	•+	•-	•-	•+	•+	•-	•-	-	•+	•-	-	•+
766a. Elliptical ground plan	+	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-
766b. Single ridgepole	+	+	-	+		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-
766c. Excavated	•+	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	•+
766d. Board floor	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
767. Pole, bough, or thatch covering	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
767a. Bark or slab covering	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3159. Until cord drops off	−	−	−	−				−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	844
3160. Pit or trench dug	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	846
3161. Hot rocks, charcoal put in pit	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	
3162. Pit covered with grass, bark.	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	
3163. Fire direct on ground; lies beside it	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	
Treatment of Midwife																	
3164. Bathes, immediately after child born	+	+	+						+	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	844
*3165. Cuts arms, later	−	−	+						+	+	−	(+)	−	−	.	−	759
Restrictions on Mother																	
‡3166. Restrictions last for ... days	5	5	−	28	−	*6	−	28	28	28	−	3	6	5	28	28	846
3167. Until blood stops flowing	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	784
3168. Until navel cord drops off	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
o3169. Bathing taboo	+	+	*±	*±	+	+	*±	*+	+	+	+	*±	+	+	+	*±	[515]
3170. In stream	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3171. Sweat bath	+	+	−	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3172. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3173. Eats alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	[262]
3174. Fed by old woman	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3175. Uses separate receptacles	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176. Eats sparingly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176a. Fresh meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3177. Dried meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3178. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3179. Dried fish taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3181. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3182. Salt taboo	−	−	−	−	*−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3183. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	
3184. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	[302]
3185. Combing hair taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	.	
3186. Head, face scratcher used	*+	*+	+	−	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
3187. Especially for first child.	−	−	−				+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	
3188. Tabooed activities	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
3189. Making baskets taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3190. Preparing food taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252] ●
‡3191. Traveling taboo ... days	5	5	−	28	−	−	−	28	28	28	−	3	6	5	28	−	[484]
3192. Until blood stops flowing or cord drops off	−	−	+	−	+	*+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	
o3193. Sees no men for ... days	5	*−	−	*−	−	−	−	−	−	*2	−	−	−	−	−	−	[562]
†3194. Intercourse taboo for ... months	*2	*2	*2						2	2	.	.	*1	1	.	3	[834]
3195. Loud noise near child taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3196. Would make child deaf	−	+	+							−	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3197. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3198. Bathes	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	[515]
3199. Midwife or mother assists	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3200. Medicated bath	−	−	+	+		*+	*+	−	−	−	−	+	*+	+	.	−	[759]
3201. Sweats	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	[481]
3202. Swims after sweating	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Restrictions on Father																	
3203. Required for all offspring	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	
3204. For first child only	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
3205. Retirement period	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3206. Stays with mother in hut	−	−	−	+	*+	*+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3207. Must stay in own dwelling house	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
846	3208. Merely stays indoors	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
784	‡3209. For ... days	5	5	−	5	−	−	−	•4	−	•4	−	−	6	·	28	28
	3210. Until child's cord drops off	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
	3211. Sleeps little	−	+	+			+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	·	+
	3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535]	3212a. Dances	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[481]	3213. Runs	+	+	+	−	•+	•+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3214. First child only	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3215. Breaks up wood		−	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3216. Brings back firewood	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3217. Piles up rocks	•+	•+	•+										−	−	−	−
[787]	o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	•−	−	−	+	±	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3220. First 4-5 children only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
[481]	3221. Swims	·	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	·	−
[252]	3222. In spring in mountains	−	+	−			−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	·	−
	3223. Cooks for self and children	−	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	3224. Bathing taboo	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·	−
[515]	o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	−	−	•4	−	−	•4	−	•4	−	•4	+	3	−	−	·	−
	†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	−	5	•4	−	−	•4	−	+	•4	•4	+	−	−	−	·	−
	3227. Certain activities taboo.	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[224]	‡3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	−	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	•4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
	†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	−	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	•4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
	†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	−	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	•4	•2	+	3	+	6	+	30
	3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
[525]	†3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	−	−	−	28	•2	+	3	+	+	·	+
	3233. Until cord drops off	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
[276]	3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	(+)	−	−	·	−
[484]	†3235. Traveling taboo ... days	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	•2	+	3	+	+	+	40
	3236. Until cord drops off	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
	†3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	−	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	•2	+	3	+	−	+	•28
[262]	†3238. Fresh fish taboo	−	5	−	−	+	+	+	28	+	−	+	3	+	−	+	35
[261]	†3239. Dried fish taboo	−	5	−	−	+	+	+	28	−	−	+	3	+	−	+	35
	†3240. Salt taboo	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	5	+	−	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312]	3241. Cold water taboo	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3242. Until cord drops off	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
	3243. Until child smiles first time													−	−	+	−
	3244. Eats with wife	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3245. Uses own receptacles	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
	3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
[292]	3247. Special belt worn	•(+)	+	−	−	+	−	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
	3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	•+	+	−	−	−
	3249. Combing hair taboo	+	•+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3250. Until navel has healed	·	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
	3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3252. Bathes	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+	−
	3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
	3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
	3255. Gives away old clothes	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	[illegible]	−	−
	3256. Burns old clothes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3257. Throws away old clothes	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
[526]	3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	+	+								+	−	−	−	−	−
[224]	3259a. Shoots at target	−	−	+	−	•+						−	·	−	−	−	−
[625]	3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	−	+	+	−	•+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
	3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	−	−	−		•+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	·	−
	3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							•+	+	•+	+

ELEMENTS DENIED

BASIC ECONOMY

Hunting

223 Snares, nets, traps, booths and blinds.--Bag net used for waterfowl. Poles with stones as 224 weights for deadfall. Pitfall with noose in bottom of pit. Arrow with string attached. Decoys, disguises; other hunting techniques.--Wooden head used as visual decoy. Live birds [178] used as decoys (At: recently only). Live mammals used as decoys (Kl: recently only). Hide fan, to smoke out rodents. Butchering of large game.--Deer's eyes eaten raw by hunter.

Fishing

226 Nets; weirs, scaffolds, pens; traps.--Tule-wrapped clay ball sinkers. Bag net dragged. Shell rattle on net. Stick pens, not associated with weirs. Basketry or pole trough. Angling; other techniques.--Feather "fly." Hair "fly." Hair string or ball. Knot or block on end of line. Shooting fish taboo. Lamprey gaff. Buckeye used for poisoning fish. Fishing observances.--Special disposal of salmon or other fishbones. First-fish rite: priest or chief catches first fish; only priest or chief eats first fish; similar rite for lampreys.

Gathering

222 Gathering techniques and observances; pre-agriculture.--Stone ring weighted digging stick. Digging stick with footrest. Bone or horn pointed digging stick. Stone pointed digging stick. Horn seed beater. Seed knife. Agriculture. Irrigation of wild-seed crops.

Domesticated Animals and Pets

231 Dogs, birds, bear, etc.--Domesticated animals, other than dog. Named after owner's totem. Separate dog house, conical, thatched. Own totem animal kept.

Food and Its Handling

262 Animals eaten.--Road runner (informants from 825 all groups except MF, NF, MV ignorant as to any bird by this name, which indicates its probable absence. MF, NF do not eat it, MV regard it as poisonous.) Buzzard (WS, MM, NF, NM informants stated buzzard absent from area). Crabs. Slugs. 252 Frogs. Food preparation.--Small mammals pounded before eating. Dried meat or fish ground, berries added. Bone awl for lamprey splitting. Acorns leached in openwork basket. Acorn "coffee" (NS: modern). Stone boiling in stone bowls; in hide in ground; in paunch in ground.

[163-A]

DDD 398. MF, NM: Roasted.
399. Eggs of red ant.

Foods taboo to special groups.--(M, men; W, women; Y, youths; y, young women; b, boys; g, girls.)

401. SE: Brains only taboo to Y, y, b, g. At: Head to M, Y, b. AE: Head to M, Y, y, b, g. AW: Head to Y, y, b, g. WT, WM: Head to Y, y, b, g. WS: Head to y. NM, MV: Head to Y, y, b, g.

402. Mo, AW: Taboo to all except old men, old women. At: To M, Y, b. AE, WT: To b, g. WM, MM, MF, NM: To Y, y, b, g. AE: If b, g eat deer heart, own heart will pound too fast.

403. SW: Taboo to Y, y. AW, AE: To b, g. WT: To y. WM, NF: To Y, y, b, g. NS: Eaten chiefly by b. NM, MV: Denied eaten chiefly by b.

404. SW: Taboo to b, g. AW, WM, NM, MV: To Y, y, b, g. AW: If eaten by member of tabooed group, his or her knee joint will slip out when trying to run.

[262] 405. Kl, WT, MV: Taboo to all. SE, SW, At: To all except old men, old women; boiled, soup drunk. AW, AE, WM, MM, NM, NS: Taboo to Y, y, b, g. SW: Young boy made to shoot at fawn fetus, before latter eaten, to give boy luck.

[262] 406. Kl, AW, WT, NF, MV: Taboo to all. SW, AE, WM, MM, NM, NS: To Y, y, b, g. Kl, Mo: Afterbirth taboo to all. SE: Informant uncertain. WM: To Y, y, b, g. At: Bear fetus skinned, given to old women to eat, because meat tender.

407. At: To all except old men and old women. WT: To y. MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: To Y, y, b, g.

[262] [887] 408. Kl: Anyone may eat liver, but principally old people do, because it is easy to chew. Mo: "Old people eat it." SE, SW: Eaten raw by hunter, on spot. At: To Y, b. AW, NF, NM, NS, MV: To Y, y, b, g. WT: To b, g.

409. WM, NF, NM, NS: To Y, y, b, g.

410. NM, NS: Twin plums also taboo to y; would have twins. Denied for NF, where no wild plums in area, and for MV.

411. Mo, At: To Y, y, b, g. AE: To b, g. WT: To all. SW: Small children cannot eat grouse; if do, have yellow mark in eye, on neck. At: If eat duck's feet, cold weather will ensue.

412. SW: Grouse and fish. If eat these together, will not be able to catch either afterward. At: Fish and deermeat. WM: Salt and deermeat. MM: Salt and bear meat. MV: Venison and bear meat.

Food preparation.--

414. Mo, MV: Often burn fishbones, but "no rule about this; don't want children to step on the bones." SW: Fishbones saved, dried, pounded; ground salmon bones cased in salmon bladders or "floats" for storage.

[262] [252] 415. Kl, Mo, At, MM: Backbone of deer only and then only when it has dried meat on it. SW: Ground deer bone regarded as poisonous; persons eating marrow always careful not to swallow small flakes of bone, as this would cause death; no medicine known for such an accident.

[178-A]

252 419. Kl: Raccoons. Mo: Cleaned, hide left on; several roasted underground, beneath hot rocks; 600 coals piled on top of rocks. At: Roasted, with hide left on; when cooked hide peeled off, meat pounded.

421. Frame consists of 2 upright sticks, forked at upper end; single pole laid parallel to ground, ends resting in 2 forks; fish, meat laid on horizontal pole, beside fire. Mo: Meat hung from crossbar and heated sufficiently "to draw watery juices out: then laid on live coals and really cooked."

[252] 423. Kl: Also make "sausage" from bear intestines; blood, grease put in; roasted in ashes for lengthy period.

424. SW: Paunch poked with stick every so often as it cooks, in order to let steam escape; blood inside paunch clots over hole, seals it up.

426. Usually, hot rocks put into paunch, after latter filled with blood; paunch tied up, set on coals. SE: Paunch with blood inside cooked in basketful of water kept hot with heated stones.

[252] 427. Kl: "Only wokus are boiled; meat is roasted." At: Red salmon stone-boiled.

430. WM: Not enough procured to dry; eaten fresh only.

433. AW: Used for drying meat. (See notes 438, 446, element 439.)

[251] 434. Kl: With small fire underneath.

437. Strung by tail; held open with small stick.

438. AW: In camp, smoke deermeat first, using black oak for purpose; finish drying it in sun.

439. AW: See note 438.

441. WT: "McCloud Wintu made sack after sack of salmon flour, but Hayfork Wintu didn't make it at all, although they had the salmon. The Hayfork traded deer hides, dried meat, shell money to the McCloud people for salmon flour." Why Hayfork Wintu did not make this flour informant could not say.

443. SW: Pine nuts added to salmon. At: Eat red salmon meal with whole nuts of sugar pine, however.

446. AW: Fish dried in sweat house or under shade where women make baskets.

454a. As acorns, roots, pine nuts.

456. AW: Sand basin made inside basket; basket rests on leaves.

459. AW, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Cold water used first; then progressively warmer water for each successive rinsing.

461. SW: White-oak, live-oak acorns. Meat black after being soaked. Acorns treated thus boiled whole, shelled or unshelled. MV: Very seldom; only sunburnt acorns.

463. SE: Very thick acorn mush made, but not baked; this product "could be carried a long way."

[252] 468. Kl, Mo: Cattail root bread baked in earth oven. Mo: Wild turnips ground fresh, made into loaves which are baked in ashes. At: Roots pounded, shaped into loaves, baked; each loaf wrapped in grass, dried, kept for winter use.

000 470a. With either rotary or back-and-forth motion.

470b. With up-and-down motion.

● 252 471. In flattish basketry tray, usually. Kl, Mo: Circular flat twined tule "mat" used. AW: Probably not done much; informant commented, "They know how to, but claim the seeds get dirty; they do this though at Likely" (among AE). MV: Sycamore coals only, used.

473. Smaller seeds, as sunflower, grass seeds, etc. Kl, Mo: Wokus and small seeds. At: Sunflower seeds.

477. Most of informants in areas where nonoccurrence of buckeye noted on list expressed ignorance of any tree, shrub called "buckeye" or "chestnut"; this fact, together with casual personal observations of flora in such areas, only basis for my notations concerning nonoccurrence of this tree. SW: Informant ignorant of term buckeye; used "chestnut"; no specimens seen.

482. SE: For roots (Indian potatoes). MM: Clover cooked in earth oven, saved, recooked in winter, for soup. MV: Clover and salt grass (see note 497).

485. Mo: Water sprinkled on grass which covers red-hot rocks, in order to steam food.

486. AW: Boys also suck eggs raw. WT: Grouse, quail eggs eaten; no information concerning method of cooking.

487. Kl: Duck eggs. Dig hole 10 in. in diameter, 8 in. deep, let fire burn in it, rake out coals and put eggs in; cover eggs with dirt and build fire on top of dirt, to roast eggs. AW: Roast, also boil eggs.

272 490. Absences noted relate to manzanita berries. Kl: Huckleberries made into drink. No manzanita berries in area. AW: No manzanita
000 berries in area; "Hat Creek [At] and Big Bend [Madesi Achomawi] people make this berry cider, and sip it with a deer's tail." [correct] MV: Manzanita berries absent from area; obtained in foothills or brought down by MF people.

492. SW: At deer lick, and from natural deposits on Shasta and Bogus rivers. No salt bought. WM: Obtained from Cow Creek. Salt never kept in house; "deer would not like it, when his meat was brought into same house"; kept outside in basket placed in hollow log. Practically only use made of it was to eat it with green grass, in spring; this eaten outside, not in house.

493. At: Salt obtained from Round Mountain, in N Yana territory; informant's father had "gone there and dug it for himself." AW: Salt obtained from alkali creek at Round Mountain, E of Woodmont in N Yana territory. AW refer to N Yana as tisaiči ("salt people").

494. NS: Salt from spring or marsh. Dry salt not obtainable locally; see 495.

495. NS: Dry salt stolen, from deposits near Auburn; fights ensue, as are "supposed to buy it."

[Klamath Reservation]

K
M 342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old
352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the
513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another
K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are
M [592] houses that hold more than two families and others that hold
K only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no
M longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content
342 888 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.

935 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women
K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered
M 142 the visitor[11] are of powerful frame—though of no more than
average height—and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily
K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber
M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early
291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing
[177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the
trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down
the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside
add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a
K mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in
M 302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips
301 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads,
ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum
K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy
M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face,
304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by
[142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter prac-
[177] tice, says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit
River neighbors of the Modoc.

K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys.
M 512 Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grand-
[857] father and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black
waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the
sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to
stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its
K cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the
M [252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it
[415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they
[177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

K
M draws upland Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute and gives to the
226 nearby settlement, the easternmost of the permanent villages of
103 the Klamath, the name, "Sucker-fishery." Others make their way
698 K to stone weirs, built, it is said, by Gmukamps himself, or to the
M lakes to fish with a variety of dip nets, gill net baskets, the two-
226 pronged harpoon and the multibarbed spear. At night, men set
forth in canoes upon the lake to fish by torchlight. Set lines are
K put out infrequently. While the men catch the fish—suckers,
M [261] salmon, and trout—their wives work ceaselessly, splitting them
and laying them in the sun to dry.

K Released from the protracted confinement to the winter settle-
M ments, tribesmen eagerly renew bonds with relatives and friends
221 from other villages. Related families may rendezvous to travel
222 together down to the fisheries and set up their lodges side by
[571] side. Then, as spring advances and the runs of suckers and
[602] salmon abate, the fishing settlements break up and parties of
[226] two or three families fan out along the flats and meadows to dig
[103] roots: the succulent camas, the nutlike ipos, yans, and the arrow-
root for which Chewaucan Marsh is named. In the watery flats
they seek the roots of tule and cattail; elsewhere they pick wild
K celery and mosses. There are the eggs of swan and other water-
M fowl to gather; trout in the streams to be caught; and for the
22 Modoc, antelope and mountain sheep to hunt. At this time, some
[361] areas are occupied that at other times are too cold or barren.

K If there is danger of hostile attack, the parties coalesce; and
M 22 under all circumstances they maintain a wary lookout. In the
726 north small bands make cautious excursions into the upper valley
of the Deschutes, watchful for raiding parties of Cayuse, Nez
K Percés, Warm Springs, and Paiute. Toward the east, Sycan and
M Chewaucan marshes are dug over by Klamath and Paiute. Fré-
222 mont once found the latter tract furrowed as if it had been
252 plowed. In many places the stone-lined earth ovens in which
camas and other vegetal foods were baked for winter storage
can still be seen.

K As the long summer days wear on, the pond-lily seeds, known
M as wokas, begin to ripen on the marshes, and once more the
221 people draw together. The Modoc congregate especially along
222 Tule and Lower Klamath Lake, while some join the Klamath
648 on Wokas Marsh. Many Klamath, together with a few Modoc

and Paiute, meet on the broad expanses of Klamath Marsh, where, as Coville observes, over ten thousand acres of ripening plants promise in good years an abundance not to be exhausted by the demands of man. K M 221 222 [C48] In later times Agents describe wokas as the most important single food of the Indians; and its specialized preparation is one of the most distinct features of their subsistence technology. Its importance is emphasized further by the circumstance that the month of its harvest, August, marks the beginning of the Klamath year. K [805] The wokas-gathering is preceded by shamanistic performances to ensure a plentiful crop. K M [756] [789]

Daily, the dugout canoes, somewhat smaller than those used in fishing and ordinary transport, slip out from the camps upon the broad expanse of the waters. In the openwork bags twined from tules, the pods accumulate until the canoe is full. K M 50 222 One old woman recalled how she and a girlhood chum learned how to collect the pond-lily seeds:

> We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were always lots of extra poles lying around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for lunch. K M [252] • When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them."[14]

While the women, old men, and children are occupied on the marshes some of the men fare forth to hunt. K M 224 The favored grounds are in the east, where Klamath and Modoc pursue antelope, mule

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

291
285
• 252
262
516

Native foods. The woman is hulling wokas with the two-horned muller. Both her winnowing tray and hat are twined from tules. Pond lily pods fill the pit in the background. (From Johnson, 1947.)

291
524
516

The stick game, Klamath versus Paiute. The two men in the center, right, are arranging two sets of "bones" beneath the bandannas, while their side sings a power song. One of the opponents then must guess the arrangement. (From Hincks, 1915.)

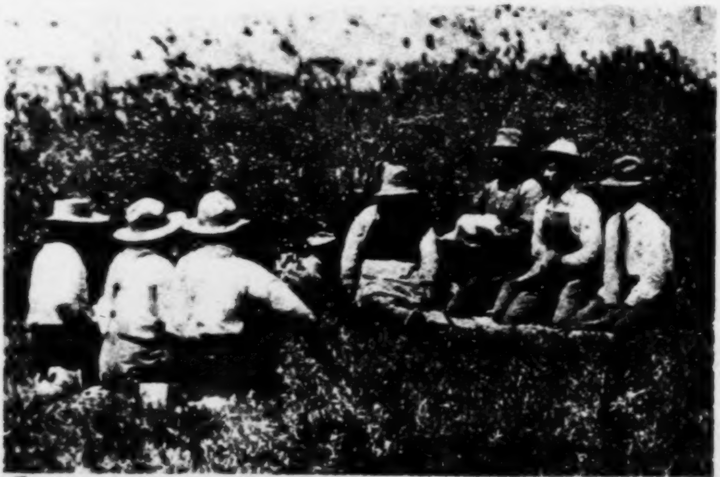

[P. 48-B]

[p. 348-B]

222 few times, but many girls are proud of their
868 ability to dig a lot of roots, for which they
receive praise at home.

> I liked to dig up camas where the dirt
> was soft. My mother had a long stick, and I
> had a little one. I had a basket on my back
> and a little basket in my hand. My, I
> thought it was smart to be able to dig up
> those roots. I was sorry when evening came,
> and we had to go home. We brought the camas
> home and dumped them on the ground to dry.
> 252 When I saw my mother fix a pit for baking
> the camas, I wanted to do the same. My girl
> 868 friend and I had a hard time getting the
> bark to put in the pit, but we did it. We
> had to get grass and a lot of wood, too.
> You have to make the rocks hot just like for
> a sweatbath and put them in the pit with wet
> grass over so the camas will steam. Then
> the camas is put in with dirt over it and a
> fire on top. My mother watched me when I
> made the pit and told me when I got the
> wrong kind of grass; she said it would make
> the camas taste bitter. I kept asking my
> mother how to do it, and she told me.

222 Several informants stated that the first
852 roots a girl digs are of special importance.
They are given to her grandmother, who blesses
the girl with a statement to the effect that
henceforth the girl will be a good worker. Not
224 all families seem to follow this custom. The
852 first fruits custom is more strictly followed
for the first large game a boy kills.[57]

222 The wokas harvest from mid-August to late September is a time for general gatherings and activities, one of the most pleasantly anticipated times of the year.[58] Women go out in the canoes early in the morning and remain on the marsh all day. Apparently the mother does not really urge or coerce her daughter to start helping with the wokas. As with other products, it may be the girl herself who takes the initiative.

> 222 We thought we'd get some wokas. We
> 868 knew how to do it because we'd seen the
> people doing it. We took a canoe. First,
> we fought about which patch to go to. My
> friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a
> patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but
> came home early enough to put the canoe back
> before the women came. Then we took the
> wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with
> grass and pine needles the way we knew it
> ought to be done. We made a little place
> just for our own wokas. Then we decided to
> get up early the next morning and go out
> again. We took another canoe. There were

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[57] Compare Spier, p. 168, and Voegelin, element 137.

[58] The most complete account of wokas gathering is found in Coville (1904), pp. 725-739.

> 222 868 always lots of extra poles lying around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them.

A girl gradually learns to gather all of the wild products which are used, gaining most of the knowledge of where and when to gather the different crops simply by accompanying her mother. The mother tells the girl where to find the best seeds, berries, and roots. She tells her daughter to look for huckleberries near springs and moist places; she shows her how to follow the little trail left by squirrels in storing nuts; in short, she gives her the information that means the difference between being a good and a mediocre provider.

251 Enough food must be collected from spring to fall to last through the winter, and it is imperative to store it so as to prevent spoilage. Roots are put in caches in the ground. Seeds are stored in sacks between the timbers on the roof of the winter house in such a way that the sacks can be opened from inside the house. Young girls are not trusted with the preparation of the storage pits because an error might ruin [868] the family's entire winter supply. Sometimes girls fix small pits for the roots they have dug by themselves.

> I dug up the dirt and put away my sacks of ipos and camas. Then I covered them just the way I saw the old people do.

252 868 A girl begins to learn to cook when she is about ten. As with most other skills, some girls acquire this at an earlier age than others. A girl first learns to roast fish, her mother watching and telling her to be sure that it is cooked thoroughly. A woman also teaches her girl to roast ducks, showing her how to turn the bird so that it will not burn.

Preparation of seed and root foods is more difficult, since they must be ground or pounded before use. The mother shows the girl how to use a flat metate and two-horned muller for wokas. Many girls start to grind wokas first for their dolls.

> I was just playing the first time I helped another girl grind the wokas. We used a wokas leaf like the mat they put the

252 868 seeds on, and then ground them up. We were in a hurry to grind the seeds and run down to the water to wash them. My mother told us we'd just waste the wokas if we did it that way. It was hard to move the grinder right to get the seeds to roll off the stone. My mother told me the stone had to be a little rough to grind the wokas right.

285 868 In late childhood girls also begin to learn how to make mats, baskets, and clothing.[29] Of these, mat making is considered the easiest and is the first attempted. Even in early childhood most girls try to weave tule mats. They make small dome-shaped lodges for their dolls and cover them with mats. The mother or grandmother helps the child whenever there is time. When the girl begins to make larger, more utilitarian mats, her mother gives her the materials and shows her how to use them.

In the wintertime girls sit beside their mother or grandmother as the elders make baskets. The girl is given some of the tules to split with her thumbnail and twist on her thigh. If the girl's twists come unraveled, nothing is said because the materials can be used again. The girls usually soon tire of twisting tules, and they are allowed to do as many or as few as they wish.

Small baskets are made for girls, and often the first basket a girl makes by herself is a tiny one for her dolls. The mother or grandmother starts the basket and shows the girl how to weave it. If the girl's baskets keep coming unraveled, she is teased a little and watched till she gets it correctly. Later the girl makes larger baskets with designs in tule root or porcupine quills. Certain designs are known as "beginners' designs" because they are simple to make. Other designs are much more complex, in particular those which adorn the basket hats. Few girls learn to make the large decorated baskets before they reach maturity. A girl often learns basketry from her mother-in-law.

291 593 Clothing for the entire family is made by the mother. In pre-white times dress for the wealthy was of the Plains type. Poorer people wore skirts of tule or buckskin and went barefoot. Capes of tule or shredded sagebrush bark were also worn. Very young children went naked. The mother prepares the tules and other materials for skirts and capes, and she is the one to tan and sew hides for skin clothing.

294 868 The making of clothes is one of the last skills a girl acquires before marriage. In fact, some do not learn the art until after that time. Hides are so valuable that the mother does not want to risk having the girl spoil one.

224 868 Most boys in late childhood aspire to become good hunters. Game food is far less important in the Klamath diet than fish or wokas, and

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[29] For descriptions of these materials and techniques of manufacture, see Coville (1897), pp. 89-95, Barrett, pp. 253-257, Spier, pp. 173-193, 207-217, and Voegelin, elements 1245-1341, 1388-1416, 1451-1476, 1713-1957a.

STONE IMPLEMENTS.

412 Several forms of stone implements are quite commonly found
[262] among the Klamath. Most characteristic of these is the two-horned muller (pl. 21, fig. 2), used with the flat, very thin metate
[324] in grinding wokas, the chief food of the region. The process of
grinding with these implements is shown in pl. 12, fig. 1. The
muller is held so that the horns or ears point from the operator
and the grinding is done on the stroke of the muller from the
operator, the stroke toward the operator being very light indeed.
[252] A second form of muller, described by informants, but not now
in use, has a loop instead of the two horns. No special ceremonial or religious significance seems to be attached to either of
these forms. Another, very small metate and a small grinding
stone or muller (pl. 21, fig. 1) are employed in the grinding of
certain seeds which are parched and used as food. The motion in
grinding with the small muller is circular, not backward and
forward as in the case of the larger one. These small milling
implements are also used by girls as playthings in the grinding
of wokas and other seeds.

Small mortars and pestles are quite commonly used at the present time and are still made by the people of this region. They are used chiefly by old people whose teeth are poor, for grinding dried fish and meat, though they are also employed in grinding seeds. The pestles used with these mortars are more or less crude. Those shown in pl. 21, figs. 3 and 4 are exceptionally well fashioned. A typical mortar is shown in fig. 6 of the same plate.

Another special implement of stone is the maul (pl. 21, fig. 8).
This, unlike the pestle, is always made with a decided conical
form. It varies up to five inches or so in diameter, and is from
[313] six to perhaps ten inches in length. It was used in driving the
elkhorn and mountain-mahogany wedges which were employed
in splitting trees, particularly for canoe making, as has been
[178] already described. Neither the wedge nor any other elkhorn
227 implement is now to be found in this region. Grooved sinkers
of elliptical or triangular form are used on the gill net. One
of these triangular sinkers is shown in pl. 21, fig. 7.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 11.

M
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342 Fig. 1.—Summer house of tule mats.

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285 Fig. 2.—Gambling tray of soft tule materials. Museum number 1-12732. Diameter 60 cm.

Fig. 3.—Flat basket of soft tule materials, for parching and sifting. Museum number 1-12465. Diameter 67 cm.

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5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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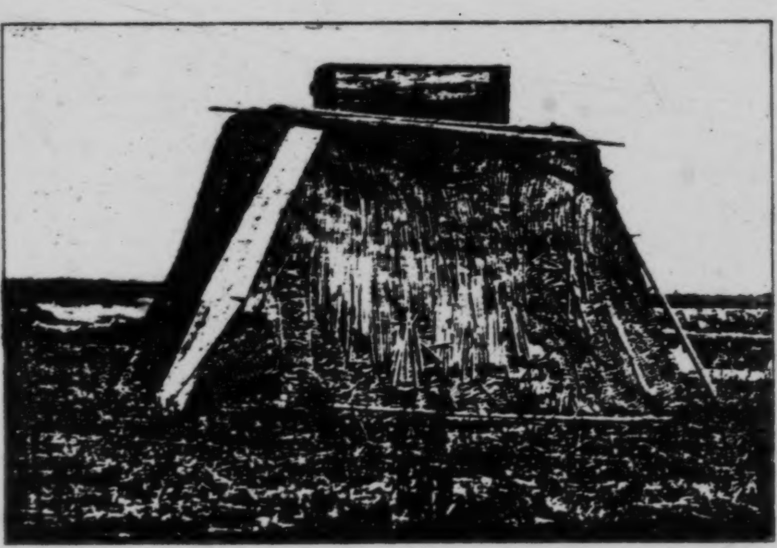

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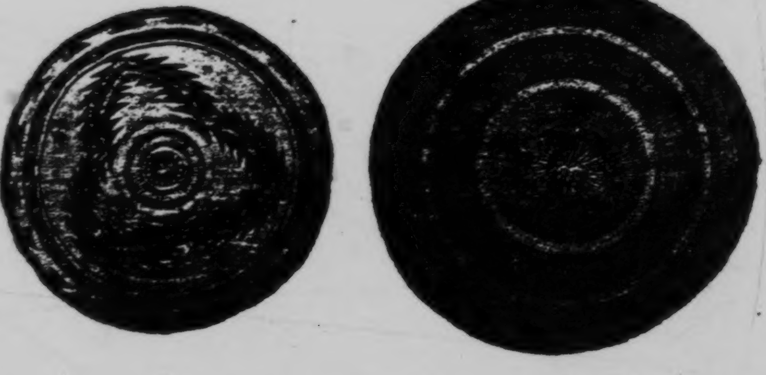

2 3

BASKETRY TRAYS FOR GAMBLING AND SIFTING.

[p. 265]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 12.

Fig. 1.—Woman grinding wokas seeds with two-horned muller on a flat slab laid on a sifting basket.

Fig. 2.—Woman sifting wokas in a flat soft basket.

5: **Barrett** **E-5** (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10 ●
Modoc NS17

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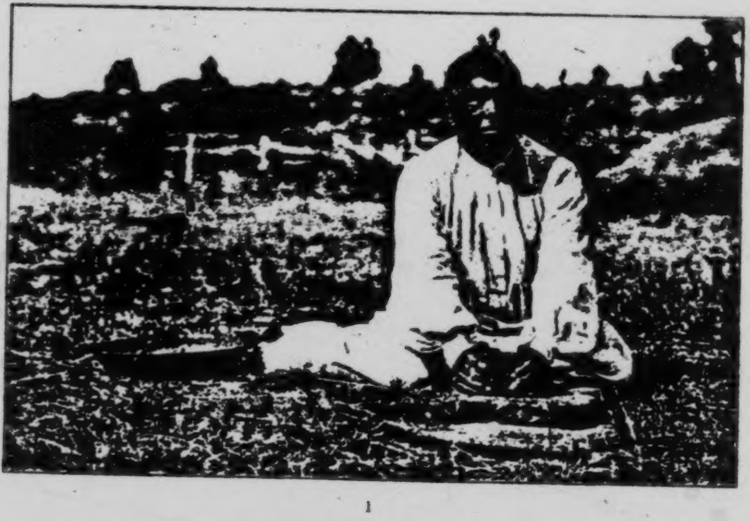

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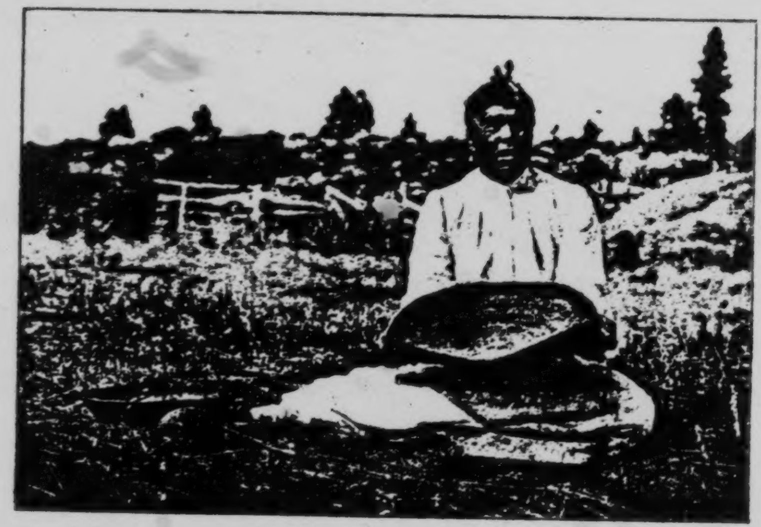

2

GRINDING AND SIFTING WOKAS SEEDS.

[p. 267]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 16.

Fig. 1.—Triangular openwork basket in plain twining of juniper root splints, used as a general receptacle; also as a sifter for wokas seeds and as a grater to remove the skins of roots and tubers. Museum number 1-12314. Length 82 cm.

Fig. 2.—Similar basket made of willow sticks. Museum number 1-12830. Length 75 cm.

Fig. 3.—Conical burden basket made in plain twining of rigid materials. Museum number 1-12391. Diameter 53 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

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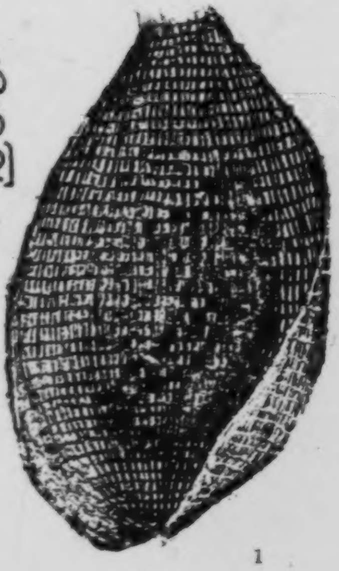

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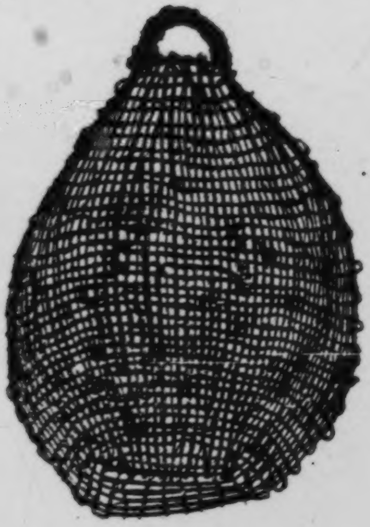

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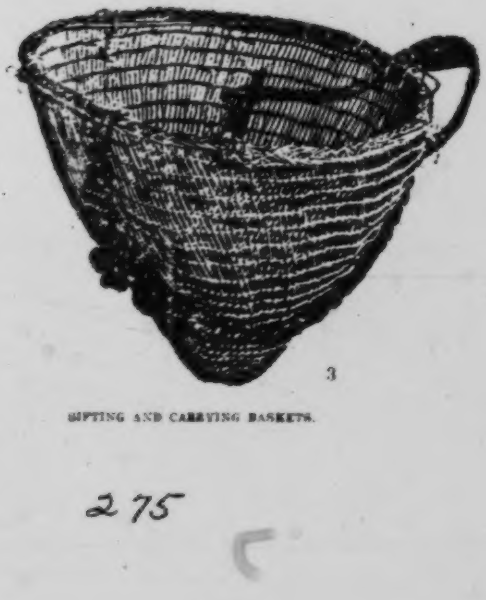

3

SIFTING AND CARRYING BASKETS.

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7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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THE MONTHS OF THE YEAR.

OBTAINED FROM "PETE" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

[226] Gáptsatka É-ukshikni mák̲laks páha udsáks; lúela kápto Yá-ag;
In the month of the small finger the Lake Indians dry the large sucker; kill gudgeons at the Bridge;
[251] Ktaí-Túpakshi tk̲álmakstant otí'lks lúela hō'ank. At sa kó-iχaktchuapka,
of Standing-Rock to the westward fish-dam kill when jumping. Now they will leave home (soon),
[222] [252] [262] at kámals pahá; kó-iχaga, k̲ä'shla sa, k̲olálsuapk mat sa, tawiksálsuapk
and dry fish they prepare; they leave, go after ipos they, will gather kol they. will gather tawiks
mat s at, pō'ksalsuapk mat sa, at sa pópakuapk sátnalbuapka sa, suaítlal-
they, will dig camass they, they will bake (it), roast it (3 days) they, roast it
uapk; saká a pō'ks.
(1 day); eat raw camass.

[251] [222] Tχópowatka pahá at pō'ks iwídshat, at É-uksi génuapka woksalsuap-
In the thumb-month dried then camass they put under ground, now for Klamath Marsh they will start to gather
kátki giug; káyudsh nû'k̲a wókash. At nû'ka wókash, wóksalsha at túnepni
lily-seed; not yet is ripe pond-lily seed. Now has ripened lily-seed, they gather (it) for five
waítash, kánktak wóksalat Eúkshikni. Sníkanua nadshgshaptánkni waítash;
days, so long may gather (it) the Lake people. They let it ripen during six. days;
nadshgshaptánkni waítash wókash shutä'shlat, awō'lat, péksat, shiulína,
during six days the nuphar-seed they grind, cook, rub fine, winnow,
[435] lulína. Nā'sh willishik pálasham-wáχoksh láp tála, lχálχamnishti lulínash
make flour. One sack of the flour-bags two dollars, in a long, heavy sack the ground-up wókash
[223] túnep tála. Nû'χatk wókash iwiχí'e k̲á-itua nû käíla. "Tánk a iwíχa i?
five dollars. Roasted lily-seed filled in sacks none in the country. "How many did fill you?
[224] lápkshapta kán iwí'χa willíshik?" "nû té-unip willí'shik iwí'χa!" Wé-
seven who did fill sacks?" "I ten sacks have filled up!" Wo-
wan'sh pí'la wō'kshla, hí'hassuaks gánkanka paχō'les, tchä'-u. At sa héwi-
men only gather wókash, the men hunt male-deers, antelopes. Now they will haul
[251] uapk̲, skúya wókash. At a sha i hí'wi-uapk; áwalues sk̲éna, máktsina
(it) home, crush lily-seed. Just they home will bring it; to the island they row, camp there
[501] Nû'shkshi, wō'ns í'lktsat Lĕmé-isham Nutē'ks, Vushí'nkam Tínuash, Lál'lāks,
at Skull-place, canoes they put away in lake bottom at Thunderbolt, at "Snake-Drowned", at "Slope-steps"
Lkō'm Ă'-ush; k̲ák̲okish lóloksgish ktélχa, Stópalsh-Tamā'dsh, Tó-ilkat
at Black Lake; at the ford the rifle drop, at Peeled-Pine, at Raft-Pyramid
pí'la wí'hla; tchía nánuk K̲ák̲-Ksháwaliäksh; nánka tchía Tchíkass-
stops every one at Raven's Place; some (will) stop at Bird's
Walákgishtat.
Lookout.

*539 Spéluishtka at héwi, iwí-idsha wókash. Nāt a génanuapk! nánuk
In the index-month they haul, take home the lily-seed. We will go there! all
221 [222] nat éna! nátoks waítuapk, wewálha wátch, hû'masht nat gí waíta wéwal-
of us carry it! but we will wait one day, are sore (our) horses, therefore we wait one day because
hasht wátch kä'mat. Nad gitá piénuapk pólōk̲uantch, ktälowalshuápka
are sore horses on back. We there will scrape up moth-chrysalids, gather pine-nuts
nād. Tchatchápēlu, hóllaksh, tûtánksham, hahashkemólsham, lolóloisam,
we. Sweet resin, winged pine-nuts, blackberry, black cherry, wild gooseberry,
tsinéχam, klá-ads, wáshlalam íwam nā'd stá-ila. K̲ó-idse, shtéaltk ktä'lo.
sort of wókash, prunes, squirrels' huckleberries we gather. Of bad taste, full of resin (are) pine-nuts.

[231] [222] [251] [252] [272] Tχópowatka í-umämi wátch lalá-a; gépgapēle mák̲laks k̲ēlä'wiank,
In the thumb-month at berry-time mares foal; return the Indians having done (gathering),
at wéwanuish o-olalóna, at sa í'-umaltka. Bû'nuapka tchä'kēle í'wam,
the females dry berries by the fire, they return from berry-gathering. They will drink red juice of huckleberries,
tchilálat hûn í'wam. Ánshat ánika shash í'wam; wí'dsika nánka í'wam.
boil the berries. You may go and ask them for huckleberries; retentive some (are) of berries.
Túpeluish aní'k tēlû'ks, tchákēla n's akaí tak; tsákēlatka n's skaítki stú.
To next lodge I send tule-basket, willow-basket to me to give in; in the basket to me to give it filled.
Pahápk tchísh íwam lúitki n's léwitchta á. K̲á-i sheshätuí'shtka.
Dried too huckleberries to give to me they did not want. Not I intend to sell them.

[796] [346] [222] Spéluishtka spû'klishtat kshíwalχa, papiä'na luldamalákstat. At hû'k
In the index-month in the sweat-house they dance, inaugurate by feast the winter-house. Now such a man
kshū'n híwidshuapk, at hû't hí'wi; túnepni nā'd shópelakuapk. "Tû'sh
hay will haul home, and that man hauls (it) in; in five (stacks) we will stack (it) up. "Where
nû shópelakuapk"? "lápash í'lχat, atí'sh shuí'nshnank í'lχat; í' tchkash í
I shall stack it"? "in two stacks heap it ye, in a long-stretching (stack) stacking heap it ye! you also you
nû'sh shatuáyuapk mbúsant. Únípni waítash í n's shatuáyuapka."
me must help to-morrow. Four days you me must help."

Tátχēlam hehátχe tápak.
In the midfinger-month fall the leaves.

Gáptchēlam shináktishtka kä'na.
In the ring-finger month it is snowing.

Gáptsatka mû kä'na.
In the month of the small finger heavily it snows.

Tχópowatka wétko é-ush; kéna.
In the thumb-month is frozen the lake; it is snowing.

[796] Spéluishtka ktō'tsa mû; wála kshiúlgishtat.
In the index-month it rains much; they dance in the dance-house.

Tátχēlam tsuám lúela Nílaksi Tsuyakē'ksni.
In the midfinger-month large suckers kill at Nílaks the Linkville Indians.

[226] Gáptsēlam shináktishtka udsáksalsha K̲ók̲ētat, kä'shla sa.
In the ring-finger month they take large suckers in Lost River, (and) get ipos.

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"reptile." "amphibian" or "plant." Even the English language had to borrow these terms from Latin. The Klamath Lakes often use kō'sh (pine) generically for "tree," and wíshink, "garter snake" for "snake," the Modocs wáměnigsh (black snake) for the same order of reptiles, these species being the most frequent of their kind in their respective countries. Birds are hohánkankatk as well as quadrupeds, because they fly "in a straight line".

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ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES.

LIST OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN AND MINNIE FROBEN.

Yántch kálkali, tχópo-pátpan, pakí'sh; kak tán: 18"; käílatat lû'sha,
cylindric, thumb so large as, eatable; so long: 18"; on ground it lies,

ktaíyatat lushá. Shláps pushpúshli, lā'pi shlápsh.
on rocks it lies. The flowers (are) dark. two flowers (to it).

Kápiunksām k̲édsha saígatat; lû'k pûpashpúsh-tkani, lúiχitk tchí'pshash.
grows in the prairie; the seeds (are) blackish, larger than tchípsash.

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Wéwanuish hûnk shtä'ila wékank yákitka páta-gíulshēmi. Pék-
The women gather (it) by beating (it) into seed-baskets at summer's end. By

shank sha hû'nk gápiunks shúta; tchilála sha títatna. Wû'kash-
grinding they kápiunks prepare; boil (it) they sometimes. Wékash-

shitk máshetk kápiunks.
like tastes kápiunks.

Káshma k̲édsa walídsat, käílatat ushá; pálpal shlápsh, tamō'k pí'luitk.
grows on rock cliffs, on the ground lies; white (is) flower, after fish smelling.

Kělátch k̲édsha wí-ukayant kěládshamat; kěládsh ntchekáni mämätch-
grows on the low kěládsh-bushes; keládsh-berry small blue

mä'tchli lálkaya. Wéwanuish kěládshla wâkslólank; shpahá sha
grow on bushes. The females collect (it) after wókash-season; dry (it) they

tchúi ishkû'lank, í'lχa sha shpáhank í'lkshlûk lúldam, tchilálank
then after gathering, keep they (it) by drying to preserve (it) for winter, boiling (it)

tchek sha pán.
then they eat (it).

Kěnáwat k̲édsha saígatat, tsélas ka tánni 1', pakí'sh; p'lái shláps pushpúshli,
grows on prairie, stalk so long 1', eatable; on top the flower is dark.

tídsh piluítko.
good smelling.

Klána pálpalish shlápshaltk p'laí, k̲édsha k̲ók̲etat, pákish, tíds másitk; má-
a white flower having on top, grows in rivers, is eatable, well tasting; the

k̲laks pán.
Indians eat (it).

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Klápa kálkali, pakí'sh; ka tánni 3''; taktákli pû'dshak, tápaχ kitchkáni.
is cylindric, eatable; so long: three inches: red (is) the púdshak-grass, (its) leaves small.

Klû' kálkali lutí'sh; k̲edshá Móatok; pakísh.
is a rounded root; grows in Modoc country; (it is) eatable.

Ktû'ks wókash-shítko, k̲édsha táletat; ktû'ksam shlápsh pû'pash, pálpali,
nuphar-alike, grows on straight stalk; of the ktúks the bud (is) (its) top, is white,
pakí'sh.
is eatable.

Kû'ktû û'sha kä́flatat, pakí'sh; gémtchi tsélas: O.
lies on the ground, eatable; so shaped (its) stalk:

K̲ä́'ls kálkali, pakí'sh; mû'na lû'sha ámbutat; kitchkáni shlápsh wítch-
globular, eatable; deep down it lies in the water; small is (the) flower of the
payam.
witchpad.

K̲ä́'s wé-uχalks tsélash gí'tk, shlápsh gítk; pakí'sh.
a forked stem having, flower having; palatable.

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K̲ō'l. Táktaklí tchélash gû'lam nû'kuk. Í-ukak mák̲laks hû'mtcha gû'l
Red (is) the stalk of the kol when ripe. Around Fort Klamath the Indians this kind of kol
shtä'-ila túm, gítatoks k̲á-i tuá k̲ōl. Ámtatka sha méya pû'kgu-
gather in quantity, but here (at agency) not there is any kol. With a stick they dig (it) to their
ishamtat shiû'lagiank, tchúi sha pû'ka; í'kagank pä'n shtápka
roasting-place bringing it, then they roast (it); taking it out again they pound (it)
ktáyatka. K̲ó-i pí'luitk, tídshi tadsh pā'sh; hā kaní k̲ō'l ē'nt,
with stones. Badly flavored, good however a food; if anybody kol carries on him,
lû'k hû'nksh shtí'kok vû'shat.
a grizzly bear him smelling will flee.

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L'bá. Lupí' sha'hlmalχō'tchtat shápashtat l'bá nók̲a; wéwanuish stä'-ila
At the first autumn-commencement in (that) month l'bá ripens; the females gather (it)
yákitka wékank tíatka. Tsúi sha ítpampalank shpáha, shutéshluk
in baskets, beating (it) with a paddle. And they bringing it home dry (it) for cooking
sha gáma; skátka gáma gā'mkishtat. Wíllishikat sha íkû'ga
they pound (it); with a pestle (they) pound in a mortar. Into sacks they fill (it) in
pā'sht, tchúi sa vûmí vumí'shtat wíllishikat íkúgank.
after drying, and they bury (it) in caches, in sacks after putting in.

Léhiash k̲edshá Móatok; gí'tatoks É-ukshi k̲á-i léyash k̲édshant. Tánapsh-
grows in Modoc land; but right here (at agency) in Lake country not léyash is growing. Turnip
shítko shlē'sh léyash; wí-uka lē'ntk léyash; tchélash toks lé-isham
alike to look at (is) léyash; not very deep lies léyash; stalk of léyash
nā'sh pétch atí taktákli shlápsh gí'tk. Móatokni shnítchí'χa
(is) one foot tall, red flower having. The Modocs fry (it)
lépuinatk pálāsh shû'tank léhiash. K̲ú-i mā'shetk.
in frying pans into bread making léyash. Badly tasting (it is).

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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Má-i. E-ukshikni máyalshuk vū'nshatka aχéna shléank é-ushtat. Tché-
The Lake people for tule-gathering in canoes row out finding (it) in lakes. The

lash sha shnū'kank íshka, yánaush pīl p-'ánk púedsha. Yánakänin
stalks they seizing pull up, their lower ends only eating throw away (the rest). Each at the lower end

pálpalī gī nép pánani. Stá-ila sha kshunē'mi, k̲á-i mā'nsh í'pka
white is hand-long. Gather (it) they at grass-time, not long (can) lie

má-i; pā'shtak sha púedsha k̲ú-i k̲lékaht.
tule; as soon as dried they cast (it) away. bad having become.

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Nū'tak k̲édsha ntchékayant kshū'nat shaígatat; lū'k tchípashptchi gī.
grows on small grass-stalks in prairies; seeds tchípash-alike are.

Kápiunks-shítko stä'-ila nū'tak wéwanuish wékank yákitka.
Kápiunks just like gather nū'tak the women, by beating (it) into baskets.

Páwash a k̲édsha aitχáměnash k̲ō'l, k̲á-i k̲ú-i pí'luitk k̲ū'lam-shítk, lúiluyatk
grows smaller than kol. not stinking kol-like, sweet

toks kpápshash. Yaínakshi pīl sha túm shléa. Tchélash pá-usham
but to taste. At Yánaks only they much (of it) find. Stalk of páwash

wí-ukani, mū'kmukapsh pálpalsh shlápsh gí'tk. Pū'ka sha hū'nk
is low, feathered (and) white flowers having. Bake they

páwash, tchúi sha gáma, shpáhank sha í'lχa lū'ldam páshluk.
páwash, then they pound (it), after drying (it) they preserve for winter gathering in.

● [252] ***Pū'ks*** nánukash-käíla k̲édsha tū'm, títatna k̲á-i tū'mi. Pū'ks k̲édsha
everywhere grows in quantities, sometimes not in profusion. Camass grows

Óregon saígatat, tchékěnish metsmétslish lelé-usam gí'tk tchélash;
on Oregonian prairies, minute blue flowers having (its) stalk;

pū'ks tchék'ni ónions-shítko shléash pálpali shánkitk gíug, pukátk
camass small onions-similarly looking, is whitish raw being, when baked

[251] tchēk luíluyatk mā'sha nóχuk. Pahátko mā'ntch gí'ntak í'pakt
then sweetly tastes when it is done. When dried, a long time afterwards it may remain,

túměni illólash k̲á-i k̲ó-i k̲'lékant. Shláps tsmō'k píluitk.
for many years not spoiled may become. The flower fish-stink smells after.

[252] ***Pū'lχuantch.*** Píena mák̲laks pū'lχuantchluk pienū'tkishtka; pū'ka a sha
Scrape up the ground the Indians for gathering the chrysalids with a paddle; roast (them) they

ktáyatat k̲élpokshtat kshū'n puetílank, wáldsha tchík sha kshún,
with stones heated, grass putting under, lay on top then they grass,

kné-udshí lokáptchχa, tchúi sha käíla k̲ä'lua pū'kūg púlχuantch.
rough bark pile up on top, then they with earth fill up for roasting the chrysalids.

Stópalsh. Mák̲laks kiamä'mi guiχakshä'migshta stópalsha pūkshämí' tch. K̲a-
The people in fishing-season, at home-leaving time peel trees, in camass-season also.

k̲owátka sha kiulō'la stópalsh; kápka sha stópěla. Lúiluyatk stóp-
With bones they peel off the inner bark; small pine-trees they peel. Of sweet taste the

alsh; shánks hak sha pán. Kánt i-hūn shläá shtopalhuí'sh kū'sh
bark; just raw they eat it. So many you (of them) find peeled off pine-trees

i táměnug. K̲á-i kū'sh nánuk tchū'ka stópaluish; náuka tchúk̲a.
you when traveling. Not pine-trees all perish which were peeled; some dry up.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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Táksish kálkali, paki'sh; láwal ka tánian slápshtat; kä'ilatat lû'sha, k̲á-i
cylindric, palatable; is wide that much at the bud; on the ground it lies, not
pi'luitko.
has smell.

Tók pä'lpali kshū'n, k̲édsha é-ushtat.
is a whitish grass, grows in Lake.

Tsi'kal atíni kshū'n, k̲édsha é-ushtat.
(is a) high grass, grows in Lake.

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Tchi'psam k̲édsha kshū'n-ptchi páta tchi'k nók̲a. Tchúi mák̲laks tchípash
grows grass-like (and) in summer-time ripens. Then Indians tchipash
shtä'ila, wéwanuish wéka ulä'χuga yákitat. Lúlukshtka tü'ksh a
gather, the women beat (it) into haul (it) in seed-baskets. In the hot coals in a fire
tchípash shnū'χa, tchúi tchi'k sha humashtgíulank péksha lem-
the tchipash they parch, and after they having thus done grind (it) on the
atchátka shilaklgi'shtka yi-ulalónank; a tchi'ksh hû'nk pekshólank
metate with the rubbing-stone rubbing; now then having done grinding
pän éwa pálatka ámbu kituínank, tchúi sha hûmasht-gi'ulank
again they empty (it) upon a matted dish water pouring into (it), then they after thus doing
patámpka wawálχank népatka hlópa. Gi'ta tchípash k̲á-i tû'm
begin to eat (it) sitting around with hands sup it up. Right here tchipash not in quantities
k̲édshant, Móatok pi'la toksh tû'm wawáwish gi.
(is) growing, the Modoc country only however much (of it) productive is

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Tchuá kálkali: tχopó-shitko, gét pi tchuá; k̲édsha ámbutat; ntchendshkáni
cylindric: thumb-like, so it (is) wápatu; grows in waters; rather small
tchuá, tchúyunk mák̲laks íshka tchúi tchilálank pán; kúkanka sha
(is) wápatu, and it the Indians pulling out and boiling eat; masticate they
tútatka. Taktä'kli tchuálam shlápsh; kinkáni tchuá.
with (their) teeth Purple (is) of wild-potato the flower; scarce (is) wápatu (here).

Tsuák käílatat lû'sha, paki'sh; ka tánni tsélas: láp pē'tch; kakálkalish shláps
on ground extends, (is) eatable; so long is the stalk: two feet; round flowers
p'lái gi'tko.
on top having.

H

Tsuni'ka k̲édsha käílant, é-ushtat, wali'dshat; paki'sh. Shlápsh 2″ lawá-
grows on ground, on Lake, on cliffs; eatable. The flowers 2″ are
latk, tídsh piluítko, mû lbû'ka gítk; kä'latat lû'sha.
wide, nicely smelling, a large bulb having; on ground it lies.

Wátksäm mû'na û'sha kä'latat, paki'sh; k̲édsa walídsat, pä'lpali shlápsh.
deep lies in ground, eatable; grows among cliffs, white (is) flower.

Wi'wi atíni, k̲édsha táletat; paki'sh shlápsh; k̲étsa pálpali.
is tall, grows on straight stalks; eatable (is) the bud; grows white.

TO THE ABOVE ARE ADDED A FEW NON-ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES:

[226]

Kû'lχamsh tû'sh a tû'pka käílatat, k̲á-i paki'sh, ptchi'nk: kiä'm-luelō'tksh
upwards stands from ground, not eatable, thus looking: as a fish-killing-article
witsólslank vû'nsat tamádsank téwas; kitchkáni shláps.
while net-fishing in the canoe they fasten (it) on bow the forked net; small (is) the flower.

*539 262 824 192 [193] grow so tall in the cold Klamath highlands as in the Californian and Oregonian valleys adjoining them to the southwest and west, where its height attains sometimes three feet. Cf. *Note* to 94. 9.

146, 14. Klána, an aquatic or tule-grass, of which they eat a portion of the young stalk. The term "tule," from Aztec *tolin*, serves in the West to designate all kinds of rushes, stalks, and grass-like plants growing in the water and wet grounds. By k̲ók̲ĕtat are meant the Williamson and the Sprague Rivers.

147, 1. Klápa is the name of the eatable bulb or root growing on the púdshak-plant. The púdshak-grass becomes red in the autumn, when dry.

147, 3. Ktû′ks is the eatable root of a species of the cat-tail plant; táletat, locative case of tálish (or tálesh?), straight stem, from táltali "forming a straight, unbroken line." The ktû′ks grows in the water, like the wild parsnip (skáwanks); the natives dry the tender roots of the ktû′ks and bake them into a sort of bread. The epithet: "like wókash" probably refers to the *taste* of this kind of food.

147, 5. Kû′ktu. This plant attains a length of about 6 inches.

147, 6. 7. K̲áls is the globular bulb of the wítchpai water-plant.

147, 8. K̲ä′a, k̲ä′ah. This plant produces a hard, whitish, farinaceous bulb, which is commonly spoken of as ípo, a Shasti term, and is one of the most important food-articles of the Oregonian Indians. To dig or collect k̲ä′sh: k̲ä′shala, k̲ä′shla.

[252 825] 147, 9–13. K̲ō′l, also pronounced k̲û′l, gû′l, gúl, is a kind of Aralia. The root is eaten only when roasted, and is then very nutritious, though spreading an abominable smell. This odor is so penetrating that, as alleged, the grizzly bear will attack nobody who smells after roasted k̲ōl; to this we may add the restriction: "if he is not very hungry." John D. Hunter mentions in his "Manners and Customs of Indians," etc. (Phila. 1823, page 370) that the Osages ascribe to the plant washoba-pesha the power of scaring away the black bear. This plant is an annual growth possessing sudorific and cathartic properties. Washobe is the black bear, mitchú the grizzly bear in that Southern Dakota dialect.

147. 9. hû′mtcha gû′l: "the k̲ōl in this condition," viz: in the ripe state. The k̲ōl-plant is ripe when the stalk becomes red or reddish.

[193] 147, 10. méya. Speaking of *many* women digging bulbs or roots, stá-ila, stä′-ila is the regular form; its proper signification is: "to fill up" "to fill" (the conical root-basket worn on back, yáki).

147, 10. 11. pû′kguishamtat: "to their old roasting place"; púkuishamat might stand instead. The locative suffix -tat, -at is here appended to a verbal substantive of púka, to roast, standing in the possessive case -am, and -u- is the infix marking past tense. The guttural k has become distended into kg.

147, 12. ĕ′nt or ĕ′nd for énat, conditional of éna. Instead of ĕ′nt, ídshant (for ídshnat) may stand in the Klamath Lake dialect.

147, 14. Lupí′ etc. The import of this sentence is: "L′bá ripens in the month when autumn begins."

148, 1. Má-i is the common reed or tule-grass growing sometimes to the height of 8 to 10 feet. The shallow borders of the lakes in the headlands of Klamath River are full of this growth, which is one of the most important economical plants for the

[285] Indian. Women manufacture from it mats, dishes, baskets, lodge covers, nets, sacks, bags, and the young stalk yields in its lower part a palatable marrow.

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148, 2-4. Yánakĭnin for yanakĭnini; cf. suffix -ni, -nini in Dictionary. mä́'nsh for mä́'ntch. pä́'shtak for páhasht ak, cf. pä́'sht, 147, 17. for páhasht.

148, 5. Nú'tak. This grass belongs to the genus Glycerium, as identified by Dr. E. Foreman, and produces a tiny, grayish bright seed of tchípash size. The flowers are of a light red color. The grass is found around the agency buildings and grows about one foot high.

148, 7. Páwash properly means *tongue.*

148, 11. Pû'ks or *camass.* Its bulb is one of the principal food-articles of all the northwestern Indians, but does not grow in profusion in the warmer portions of California. It is of the magnitude of the walnut, very saccharine and nutritious, ripens in May and June, and by the roasting or baking process described in the text becomes as hard as stone. The Má̧klaks call it after pû'ka *to roast,* the Shasti name is sók, the Pit River name ăhualé, while the name kamas, "sweet," is of Nutka origin. The botanists call the plant Scilla or Camassia esculenta. Cf. *Note* to 146, 1.

148, 14. ípakt, metathesis of ípkat, the conditional of ípka to lie there, to remain.

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148, 16. púlχuantch. The gathering of this pupa or chrysalid and of its caterpillar, the sχeshí'sh, is chiefly done by the women of the tribes, who find them imbedded at no great depth in the sandy ground around pine trees. Another chrysalid, the kûlí'gs, is collected and roasted by them in the same way and tastes like eggs. kshû'n puetílank: putting grass under the chrysalids, not under the heated stones. The stones are replaced by other heated ones, as soon as they have cooled off; the larva assumes a black color after roasting and tastes like eggs. See púlχuantch in Dictionary.

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148, 19. guiχakshă'migshta. The season of the year, when the exodus of the whole tribe to Klamath Marsh takes place, where pond-lily seed is collected for the winter, is about the middle of June. The ending -ta is an abbreviation of the case suffix -tat. Three seasons are stated in the text, when the peeling of the inner or fibre bark of small pine trees is performed; of these the camass-season precedes the exodus to Klamath Marsh by a few weeks only, and the fishing season lasts from February to the end of the summer. Of course, the peeling of the kápka-pine coincides with the season when the sap ascends through the young tree. The bark is removed from about five feet to fifteen or twenty feet above the ground, and most of the beautiful pines treated in this manner are doomed to premature decay, though many survive the operation. The aspect of a forest with some of the pine trees peeled is rather singular.

148, 21. shánks hak, contraction of shánkish hak or ak.

149, 1. ka tánian for ka taniáni "so much in width or extent." The bud of the tákaish has a width of about half an inch. Cf. *Note* to 146, 1.

149, 3. 4. tók. This aquatic grass grows about two feet high; by é-ushtat is meant, here and in tai'kal: Upper Klamath Lake.

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149, 3. pä́'lpali, vocalic dissimilation of pálpali or pä́'lpăli; cf. taktă'kli 149, 14.

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149, 5. Tchí'psam is a prairie grass on which the brown tchípash-seed grows. This seed is extremely small, and it takes a long time before a sufficient quantity of it is gathered to afford a meal for a family. Still smaller is the nútak-seed, and both are striking instances of the persistence of the Indians in keeping up their old mode of living, when by agriculture and stock-raising they could procure provisions with infinitely less trouble and in much shorter time.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
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Preparation of wokas

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Robert David and granddaughter

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Billet Lobert

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Andrew Ortiz, Jr.,
opening wokas pods

[Pp. 124-125 contain no ethnographic material]

PART TWO: ETHNOGRAPHIC TEXTS

Introductory Note to Text 22

"Wokas" is the generic term for the seed of the common pond lily (Nymphaea polysepala). In the old days much of the Klamath Marsh (estimated by some early writers at about 10,000 acres) was covered with these plants, and there were long, shallow bays filled with them on both sides of Klamath Lake. Much of Klamath economic life was concerned with the gathering, preparation, and cooking of this plant. 824 [133] [433]

It is not proposed here to give a complete description of the various processes involved in "wokas"-manufacture. Good explanations of this economic complex will be found in Coville,[69] Gatschet,[70] and Spier.[71] The following text (and the two shorter ones by Mrs. Pompey which come after it) are intended only to illustrate Klamath narrative style and to indicate those features of "wokas"-making which were salient in the view of the informants. 252 [114] [128]

22. Wokas Preparation

(Mrs. Aggie Butler)

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(1) Long ago the Indians used to gather wokas, with a canoe. (2) And standing up on it they gathered wokas. (3) They bent down to pull them off, that wokas. (4) And they pulled off only the good ones, and some were unripe. (5) And having punctured it [with a fingernail] they saw [whether it was ripe or not]. (6) And they picked the yellow ones. (7) On becoming ripe it looks good, big. (8) And having picked those only, they threw them on the canoe and went. (9) And some were termed "snonĺapleqs." (10) And one was called "sbokẃas." (11) It was ripe. (12) And they put them down [in the canoe] apart.

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[69] Coville, Frederick V., "Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians," Report of the United States National Museum for 1902, pp. 727-739, Washington, 1904. [113]

[70] Gatschet, op. cit.

[71] Spier, Leslie, "Klamath Ethnography," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, Berkeley, 1930. [113]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 129]

23. Picking Wokas

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

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(1) We gathered wokas on the Lake. (2) We picked it. (3) And we put it into gunny sacks, and we took it back, home. (4) And we threw it into a "barrel," to sour it. (5) Thus we fixed our wokas, just as they make it recently. (6) So then, however, it was not there for long [Informant's translation ?]. (7) And having brought it back, we put it into a "barrel." (8) And to become "sour." (9) To sour we put it into the "barrel." (10) So until it's well done it is that way. (11) Now then we dip it off, having dipped it off well thus, then something—we spread it out, in the "sun." (12) To get dry. (13) Now then we spread it back and forth, to dry out well. (14) Then we put it into our sacks. (15) And that's as far as it goes. (16) Now we make food, having dried it well. (17) So now we eat it.

24. Cooking Wokas

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

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(1) [One] puts the wokas on a parching-mat. (2) [One] puts coals on top of the wokas. (3) Then shakes it while blowing on it. (4) [One] blows on the coals on it to cook one's shaken wokas [i.e., the wokas which one is shaking back and forth on the parching-mat].

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133]

25. Grinding Seeds

(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

(1) Having crushed the seeds, having gotten out [the kernels], [one] grinds [them]. (2) Having ground the seeds [and] having put them on to boil, [one] cooks [them]. (3) And [one] eats having done thus. (4) It tastes good. 539* 252

26. Killing Fish

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) Right down below here, below there, below Chiloquin he [i.e., Gmoḱaḿč] made it for the people long ago. (2) And there he said to them, "Here you will kill fish!"—those who lived down there, the people. (3) And he said to them, "As long as it is spring, in this month, so having gathered together now you will kill fish," he said, "Here I have dammed the water—will dam it right to the shore, this, in the river." 539* 226

(4) Now he made something like that, of stone this way, just as they make a "dam" lately. (5) It is thus down there, all lying, visible even now.

(6) And people came there always now, every year. (7) And from there he [Gmoḱaḿč] made another near there, at Lobaqsksi, as they call it there. (8) Here above, Lobaqsksi. (9) "So you few live right here," he said, "And it will be thus, just so far will those fish swim," he said. (10) "Those kinds, fish, which I have told you [pl.] to kill, which you [pl.] eat, so far will they swim. (11) Not further. (12) They will not swim on further in the river. (13) Just so far," thus he told them now.

(14) And the people were thus here, I saw long ago, when I was small. (15) And now having moved [to this fishing spot]—[in] the spring—then they killed them. (16) They killed that kind, fish, all [kinds]. (17) And

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 135]

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ho·t lolp. naʔas sa honk ʔelga, boqboq gaʔas.[195] (220) snaps gi. (221) na·nok dwa· ṗan maqlaqs, na·nok dwa·, ga·ʔa·k hoḿas či·ya·. (222) čoy dič či·ya·, meya· č́is gempči, maqlaqsʔam č́wa—maqlaqsam "sweet potatoes." (223) dič́i·, Lo·yLoẏatk, hoḿas hak swaktktis. (224) q̇alq̇alʔi da·ts gi, dič́i·.

PB: And what is 'qlańe'?

(225) AC: qlańa, ʔi·. (226) ho·t dič́i·, ho·t ṗas gin. (227) pa·snapsam lis—ho·t ge· č́eLaspči hokt, ho·t sĺaba·. (228) ʔi·, pa·snapsam lis č́is sĺaba·, čoy ho·t dak q̇oy bilwitk, ho·t. (229) q̇oy bilwitk—ho·t paysin. (230) čoy hoḿas da·ts sĺabatk, qlańa sitk sĺabatk, q̇elẏak da·ts hok pa·snapsam bilwis, q̇oy. (231) ho·t ʔa sḱawanksam, q̇oyč́i. (232) hoḿas hak sĺabatk, hoḿas, qlańa sitk. (233) dič́i· dak hok qlańa—dič ḿa·sitk, Lo·yLoẏatk. (234) dič́i· č́is sangis ṗan, čoy č́iḱa·ẏank kok gyank.[196]

PB: What did the Klamath call "garlic" or "onion"?

(235) PO: kat ʔa sa "onion" basdin naʔas ʔelgank, "wild onion" či.

(236) AC: pni ho·t gi. (237) ge·ni čik ho·t, dič́i· hompči dwa·. (238) ho·t č́eḱa·ni, tata·napḱapči gi, mṗoqamnatk. (239) hompči hok sčisčapgatk. (240) hoḿas wa· ge·t, lobi·daĺ, gida. (241) ya·ńi ge·t do·. (242) ne· hompča sańa·Wawli le·nsam ʔikčas, haswa·tgi giwk, gempčant kna·tdat pčant hok ge·latdat—hoḿas domi··· kčalwitk sĺaps. (243) dič́a· sĺaps gi. (244) hompči da·ts ʔaʔalyanspči, neḿas hok bilwitk. (245) naʔas dak sa hon ʔelgank pni či. (246) dič ṗan, sa·t. (247) dič ḿa·sitk, Lo·yLoẏa, bogatk lo·st gi. (248) na·nok č́eLas mańi· sa honk gaʔas gyank ṗan.

PB: Could you tell me what a "wa·l" is?

(249) PO: dwa· ʔeč hok wa·l? (250) wa·l![197] (251) "le mna pĺe·wa mo·ńs wa·l ʔoye···!"

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[252] [192] [195] /pa·p/ is English "pop." Mrs. Cowan referred to the "popping" of various seeds, much like modern popcorn. This was done to that type of very ripe wokas called /sbokẃas/, to sunflower seeds, etc. The author had never heard of this process being applied to tule roots (/mayam lolp/).

[192] [196] /kok/ is English "cook."

[192] [124] [196] [197] /wa·l/ was mentioned by Mrs. Ohles in connection with a hazily remembered portion of a myth. She thought it was a type of root, and this is borne out by Mrs. Cowan. She repeated the name (Sentence 250) in a louder tone of voice, since Mrs. Cowan tended to be slightly deaf. To further clarify what she meant, she added Sentence 251, which is the myth speech attributed to the chief character in the myth she could not quite recall. The form /ʔoye···/ wavers off into silence at the end. It seems to be ‖ ʔʷoya ‖ : /ʔoya/ "gives a long object," but with modification of the final vowel.

539#
124
173
262

well, that wokas, tule eyes [i.e., tule roots], as they called it, white like this. (220) It was popped. (221) Indians ate everything, everything, they lived thus long ago. (222) And they lived well, they dug [roots] like this also, the Indians' potato [*Sagittaria latifolia*]—the Indians' "sweet potatoes." (223) Good, sweet, looking thus inside. (?) (224) But it was round, good.

PB: And what is "qlań́e"?

(225) AC: "qlańa," yes. (226) It was good, even as food. (227) "Parsnips"—this just like a peeling [skin? membrane?] it bloomed. (228) Yes, it blooms just like "parsnips," but it smelled bad, that. (229) Smelled bad —it was "poison." (230) But it had blooms thus, blooming just like qlańa, however that stink of parsnips was not there [i.e., she here is speaking about "poison parsnips"—"sĺawankeam"]. (231) That was poison parsnips [*Cicutum douglasii*], bad. (232) It bloomed just thus, thus, like "qlańa." (233) But that "qlańa" was good—tasted good, sweet. (234) Good to eat raw also, and [as well as] having boiled and "cooked" it.

[252]

PB: What did the Klamath call "garlic" or "onion"?

(235) PO: Which the white people call "onion," or "wild onion."

(236) AC: That is "pni." (237) It is from over there, something good like that. (238) They were little, like little "turnips," bitter. (239) They were in bunches. (240) They grew over there, to the east, here. (241) At Ya·ñi there. (242) [I] wanted Ransom to go and get some, to plant them, on some dry earth like this in the ground—thus there are many, many bright flowers. (243) They are good flowers. (244) However they are just like those onions, smelling just so. (245) But they have called them "pni." (246) They ate it well, the Paiutes. (247) It tasted good, sweet, having put it in a roasting pit, they "roast" it. (248) With all its skin having done thus to it, they ate it.

PB: Could you tell me what a "wa·l" is?

(249) PO: What was that "wa·l"? (250) "wa·l"! (251) "He didn't give his Granny the big 'wa·l'!"

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

175 the exclusive right of taking fish and gathering edible roots, seeds, and
648 berries within the reservation. Provision is made by which the right of
657 way for public roads and railroads across said reservation is reserved to
citizens of the United States.

Article 2. As a payment for the ceded lands the Indians shall receive $8,000 per annum for a period of five years, $5,000 per annum for the next five years, and the sum of $3,000 per annum for the five years next succeeding.

Article 3 provides for the payment of $35,000 for removing the Indians to the reservation, subsisting them during the first year, and providing them with clothing, teams, tools, seeds, etc.

313 Articles 4 and 5 provide for the establishment of a saw-mill, a flouring-
256 mill, a manual-labor school, and hospital buildings, all to be maintained
874 and supplied with working material at the expense of the United States for
783 the period of twenty years. Employés for running these establishments
shall be paid and housed by the Government also.

423 Article 6 reserves the right to the Government to provide each Indian
family with lands in severalty to the extent of forty to one hundred and twenty acres, and to guarantee possession to them. Indians are not allowed to alienate these lands.

Article 9. The Indians acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and pledge themselves to be friendly with all citizens thereof, to commit no depredations upon the persons or property of said citizens, and to refrain from carrying on any war upon other Indian tribes.

273 Article 10 prohibits the sale and use of liquors upon the Reservation,
and Article 11 permits the Government to locate other Indian tribes thereon, the parties to this treaty not losing any rights thereby.

The treaty was proclaimed February 17, 1870.

Like most of the treaties concluded between the United States Government and the Indian tribes, this compact was made much more to the advantage of the white man than of his red brother. Not only were the stipulated annuities rather small for a body of Indians, which was then considered to number about two thousand people, but these annuities were

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
241 329. Seeds scattered to produce better crop	–	+	+				•+	–	–	–	–	(+)	(+)	·	+	–
312 329a. Irrigation	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–
Domesticated Animals and Pets																
Dogs																
231 330. Dogs kept	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	–
331. By relatively few persons	+	+	+				•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
332. Bred	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
333. Bought from other localities	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–
334. Named	+	+	+	•+	+	·	+	•+	+	+	+	·	–	–	–	–
335. Used in hunting	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
336. Trained not to bark	•+	•+	•+				•+	•+	(–)	–	•(+)	–	–	–	–	–
[343] o337. Kept inside dwelling	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	±	+	+	–	–	–
338. Separate dog house	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
339. Semisubterranean, earth covered	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
340. Domed, thatched	–	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
341. Domed, bark covered	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[766] 342. Conical, slab	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
343. Burned at death, or death of owner	–	+	–	–	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–
344. Buried	–	–	+	•–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	(–)	–	–	–
345. Body thrown outside	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	(–)	–	–	–
346. Suspended in tree at death of owner	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	(–)	–	–	–
Birds, Bear Cubs, Etc.																
347. Birds kept	•–	–	–	•+	+	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•–
348. Caged	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
349. Tied up	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
350. Wings plucked or cut	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–
351. Bear cubs kept	•+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
352. Deer fawns kept	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
353. Small mammals kept	–	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Food and Its Handling																
Staple Foods																
262 354. Deer staple flesh food	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	–
355. Fish staple flesh food	•+	+	–	–	+	•+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+
356. Deer and fish equally important	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
357. Acorns staple plant food	•o	•o	•+	•+	•+	•+	•o	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
358. Sunflower seeds	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
359. Ipos or other bulbs	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+
360. Water lily seeds	+	+	–	–			•+		–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–
Animals Eaten																
361. Dog eaten habitually	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
● [261] 362. Dog eaten during famines, epidemics	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
363. Fox	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
364. Coyote	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
365. Wolf	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	o	–	–	–
366. Grizzly bear (Ursus horribilus)	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	o	–
366a. Brown bear (Ursus americanus)	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	o	–	+	(+)
367. Deer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
368. Elk (wapiti)	+	+	+	+	o	+	o	+	o	+	o	+	o	o	o	+
369. Antelope	+	+	+	+	o	•+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	+
o370. Puma	–	+	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	(+)	+	–	–

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	RM	KS	MV
252 476. Eaten dry	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	–	+
477. Buckeyes eaten	o	o	o	•+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
478. Leached	o	o	o	–	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
479. Boiled whole	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	–	–	+	o
480. Earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
481. For flesh food	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
482. For vegetable food	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	•+
483. Food sprinkled with water	–		+	+	–		–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
484. Food covered with leaves or grass	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
485. Water sprinkled into oven after closed up	–	•+	–	–	–		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
486. Eggs cooked	+	+	+			•+	+	•	+		+			+	+	+
487. Baked in earth oven	•+	–	–		–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
488. Baked in hot ashes	–	+	+			–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
489. Stone boiled in basket	–	+	+								+	–	–	+	+	+
272 490. Berry "cider"	•+	o	+	+	+	•o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
491. Sipped with deer tail	–	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
263 492. Salt obtained in mineral form, dry	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
493. Salt from spring or marsh	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
494. Salt locally	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	•+	+
[439] 495. Salt imported	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	•+	–
496. Used little or not at all; disliked	+	+	+	–	•–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
497. "Salt" from burning grass	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	•+
498. "Salt" clover eaten fresh	–	+	–					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262 499. Soaproot eaten	o	o	o	+	–	•o	•o	•o	•o	•o	o	+	–	+	+	–
500. Top eaten	o	o	o	–	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	–	+	+	–
501. Root eaten	o	o	o	+	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	–	+	–	–
502. Cooked in earth oven	o	o	o	+	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	–	–	–	–
[278] 503. Root concoction drunk as medicine	o	o	o	–	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	–		–	–
[439] 504. Imported if not obtainable locally	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
[515] 505. Soaproot for washing	o	•o	o	+	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	R	+
506. Milkweed chewing gum	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[26] 507. Pine pitch chewing gum	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	o	+	+	+
508. Pine "sugar"	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–
509. Honeydew from leaves eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
510. Inner bark of trees eaten.	•+	–	+	–	+		+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
511. Mushrooms and fungi eaten											+	+	+			+
512. Fresh or dried											•+	+	•+			•+

Eating Customs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	RM	KS	MV
264 513. Men served before women, if crowd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
[562] 514. All eat out of one basket	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
515. Men each have own basket	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+
516. Women also have separate baskets	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+
517. Man and wife eat from same basket	+	+	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
[865] 518. Children "piece" whenever hungry						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
519. Two main meals daily, usually	•–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
520. Three main meals daily	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–		–	–	–	–	–	+
[574] 521. Meal whenever visitor arrives	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Hands washed after eating deer, bear meat	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
[515] 523. Men's rule only	–	–	–			–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–
524. Wipe face, hands with grass, bark after eating	+	+	+						+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	•+

Storage of Food

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	RM	KS	MV
251 525. Outdoor granaries	–	+	+	–	+	•+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
526. Against tree	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
527. In burnt tree stump	–		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
528. On platform in tree; covered	–	•+	+			•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–

000 kept tied by leg. Fed squirrels, raw meat. Do not pluck, cut wings; ultimately freed. WT: Grouse kept. NS: Eagles kept. See elements 5198-5206a. MV: "Don't allow eagle to be kept." Eagle and swan feathers used chiefly for great variety of feather ornaments, etc., that MV make; eagle shot with bow and arrows when feathers needed.

348. AE: See note 347. WM: In basket, when young.

[231] 350. NS: After eagle killed.

351. Kl: When cub gets "mean," kill it.

352. WT: "Deer wish one bad luck, if one keeps fawn as pet; people die very shortly if they keep a pet fawn."

353. Mo: Skunk. SE: Mink. WT: Cottontail rabbits, squirrels.

Food and Its Handling

Staple foods.--

354. SW: In discussing horn utensils, informant said, "The Hupa, Karuk, Yurok bought horn from the Shasta for spoons. They didn't hunt much down-river; mostly fished, so they didn't use much deermeat. Fish is first, deermeat second, among down-river tribes; it's the other way around for the Shasta." AE: Deer and antelope; latter mentioned frequently by informant. WS: Deer hunted chiefly in winter; "best way to get them is in snow."

● [261] 355. Kl: Starvation periods affirmed; "in winter whole families died, all around this [Williamson] River, 100 years ago." Good deal of deer, elk, antelope meat eaten although fish staple food. AW: Starvation periods denied; "people didn't know anything about starving here, in old times; they had plenty of fish, ducks, deer, acorns, roots; people from Alturas (AE) came down here in winter." (See also note 1747.) MV: "Plenty of food, year round; if 1 variety of acorn fails 1 year, have plenty of other varieties; not like people up in foothills, where have only 1 variety; if this fails, they starve. Also have plenty of game: fish, ducks, deer in fall."

[262] 357. Kl, Mo: Acorns not used. SE, SW: Acorns used extensively; pine nuts not used much. At, AW: Acorns used extensively; little use of sugar-pine nuts. AE: No oaks in area; a few pine nuts from piñon pine obtained in Hammawi area to E; parties camp there for 3-4 weeks in October, some years. WT: Acorns, digger and sugar-pine nuts gathered. WM, WS, MM, MF, NF: Acorns and pine nuts gathered. NM: Acorns and sugar-pine nuts gathered. NS: Acorns and pine nuts. MV: 4 varieties of acorns in area--live oak, white oak, tan oak, and valley oak; mountain-oak acorns imported, are richest in oil. Pine nuts obtained at Lookout (in MF area); see note 300b.

358. At: Important small seed food; 3 varieties. AW: Important seed food.

[222] 359. Kl, Mo, SE, At, AW, AE: Dig ipos roots;

[177-A]

000 [222] plentiful in Hat Creek (At) area; also rob gopher holes of stored roots. WT: "Wild potatoes [sp.?] about only root crop." WS: "No roots in area."

[222] 360. AE: Plentiful in area; in contrast to Kl, who still gather wokus to some extent, AE no longer "bother with them; people say now 'I'm not a bird.'" MF: Water lilies "poisonous."

Animals eaten.--

361. That is, as food, not merely during famines or epidemics.

● 261 362. Kl: "Long time ago [pre-White], when all people dying [in some sort of epidemic] and Indian medicines didn't work, man said he was going to try dog meat [as a cure]; he roasted a dog and ate it, and it cured him"; others followed suit, and also recovered. Kl ate dog meat only on such an occasion (cp. Spier, Klamath, p. 130). A long time after this, the White people purchased dogs from the Kl with shell beads, and ate them." At: "3 persons once ate dog, during epidemic; it made them well; dog is good medicine." Also eaten in time of famine.

000 363, 364. Mo: Eaten only during times of scarcity.

365. At: Eaten whenever procurable.

366, 366a. Mo: Grizzly bear eaten only by few people. AE: Grizzly and brown bears lacking in area but sometimes hunted to W.

369. AW: Antelope lacking in area; sometimes hunted to E.

370. AW: Eaten by some persons only.

[224] [262] 372. Tail eaten. Kl: Beavers shot in springtime, from canoe. AW: Eaten by some persons only.

373. AW, WS: Eaten by some persons only.

374. WM: Some persons eat, not all. Raccoons tracked to den in winter, and dug out.

375. Mo: Highly esteemed.

376. Kl: See note 26.

380. AW: Mole hide used, but mole not eaten.

382. At: Killed only in wintertime.

387. Mo: Flavor disliked, but eaten in times of scarcity.

391. MM: Caught in fish net.

[231] [262] 392. Kl: Catch and keep them, but do not eat them. At: Eaten by Goose Valley (Aporige) group of At. AW: "Goose Valley people (see above) very fond of turtle, eat lots of them."

394. SE: Lizard used for poison, "scalp of lizard and frog pounded together, put in food as poison."

395. SW: People of Shasta Valley and vicinity of Montague eat crickets, but crickets lacking in SW area. If SW people visiting in Shasta Valley at right time, they gather, eat crickets. Insects pounded into meal, stored. AW: Not many grasshoppers eaten; those that are, are boiled. Eaten by Dixie Valley (Aporige) people in large quantities. WM: Crickets lacking in area, but gathered on trips to S.

396. Mo: Eat 4 varieties.

397. MV: Angleworms made into soup are "good medicine."

[177-B]

000 496. At: Cook red salmon, deermeat with salt; also use salt as medicine; not used to season acorn mush. AW: Salt used sparingly; causes sore eyes; "the Yana pound up rabbits and put a little salt on them; we don't."

497. "Salt grass" (Distichilis spicata) probably absent in most of area covered, but unfortunately no check was made on its distribution. MV: What is apparently hitherto unrecorded method of making salt among MV, explained by informant. Men and women gather salt grass (sp. ?) in large quantities, wash it; grass is then cut up, put into large hole lined with rocks. Fire has been kept burning in this hole for 2 days, in order to thoroughly heat hole and rocks. Layers of hot rocks and grass are put into hole; on top of topmost layer of grass is put a layer of elderberry leaves, then another layer of hot rocks, a layer of coals, and, lastly, dirt. Pit is left sealed up thus for day and night; next day is opened; "the grass is burned into hard, gray, salty sheets, like a rock, but full of holes." This "salt" serves as article of trade; "Colusa people make it good." Specimen size of hen egg seen, tasted; accords with informant's description. Often used medicinally, for colds.

262
924 499. Majority of informants familiar with this plant,‸ even though it is lacking in various parts of area surveyed. AE informant only person interrogated who did not know about plant, which seems to be lacking in AE area. AW: "Soaproot grows at Round Mountain, in N Yana territory." WT: "Soaproot grows at Hyampom, and in Shasta country, but not here." WM, WS: Soaproot imported from Redding. WS informant's wife had imported some bulbs, tried to raise them at Dunsmuir, but could not; "too cold."

000 505. For washing baskets, buckskins, hair. Mo: Pumice stone used to clean buckskin.

506. SW: Juice mixed with deer fat for gum; "too bitter by itself." Milkweed gum "crumbles after awhile"; superior gum made from a root (sp. ?) which is broken open and set in sun to let juice run out and congeal. This makes "an everlasting chewing gum." Young people not allowed to chew gum; old people chew it; "they pop it--you can hear it crack for a long way."

● 261 507. Kl: From sugar pine. SW: Pitch from older yellow pines. Recommended for persons who when traveling become weak with hunger or thirst; "chew it, or pound it up fine and swallow it; it stirs up the heart, and one can go on."

000 508. WT: Used sparingly, never given to children because of its laxative qualities. WS, MM: Used as physic. NM, NS: Children eat it.

509. AE: Bitten off willow leaves; no flaying of leaves to obtain it in any quantity. "If eat too much of it, gums get sore." Made by "little black bug" (pes·tui). MV: "Sugar" from leaves of valley oak, which forms in "large glassy drops," gathered from ground and added to pinole made from small seeds.

‸[i.e., soaproot.-Analyst]

K M
many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit 756
and compelling in its demands. 796

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and K
serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and M 221
the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, 261 •
housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social [356]
bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take
pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or K
the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily cur- M [574]
tailed and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans [685]
who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still [756]
conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers. [796]

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating [789]
hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will K
not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, M 261
they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to 22
gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer
of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance
of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the deli- K
cate odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. M 221
Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied 361
through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The
decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to re-
maining in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. K
The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, M
where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the [501]
household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the
pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already,
in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and
Sprague.

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted K 226
the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, 823
which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost K
River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, M
where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, 226
catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream 103
tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers 648

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

> 101
> 131
> East of the Cascade mountains, and south of the 44th parallel, is a country not attached particularly to any agency. That portion at the eastern base of this range, extending twenty-five or thirty miles east, and south to the California line, is the country of the Klamath Indians.[26]

This is essentially correct although the boundary might better be set somewhat farther south to exclude the headwaters of the Deschutes, in earlier times the home of Sahaptin peoples. The country north of Klamath marsh is considered too open and cold for settlement. On the eastern border are a series of lakes (Silver, Summer, Abert, Goose) and rims which give on the desert to the east. There are Northern Paiute settlements on the eastern sides of Summer and Goose lakes, perhaps those of the Walpahpas mentioned by Meacham.

> 648
> The meeting with the Klamath and Snakes was one of interest to all parties, from the fact that they had been enemies, and the chiefs had not met in person since peace was restored. Living in the country intervening [presumably Summer to Goose lakes] was a small tribe of Wal-pah-pas, who are half Snake and half Klamath. They were mediators, though sometimes fighting on alternate sides, as interest or affront gave occasion.[27]

101
131
221
Sycan river, Sycan marsh, and Yamsay mountain are summer resorts of the Klamath, who had their easternmost settlement (hledleluē'luke) somewhere west of Gearhart mountain. Chewaucan marsh, between Summer and Abert lakes, was probably also visited, although I was not told so. Its name is Klamath, probably tcuwa'kän, arrowhead place, derived from the abundance of arrowhead or wappatoo roots (tcuwa') gathered there.[28]

SETTLEMENTS

221
The occupation of this territory is determined by the manner of life. The fixed villages are the winter residences to which people return year after year. Early spring finds them leaving for favorable fishing stations where there are successive fish runs. Through the summer they move to the prairies to gather edible roots and berries or to the mountain and desert to hunt. During most of this time families are widely scattered and the winter villages quite deserted, but with the ripening of pond lily seeds in the marshes during August
[262] and September they again congregate. The pond lilies grow in enormous quantities, the seeds (wo'kas) constituting a staple second only in importance to fish.

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[26] Palmer in Report, Comm. Indian Affairs, 262, 1854.

[27] Meacham, Wigwam and War-path, 232.

[28] Coville, Notes, 90.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

775 763 Last month an old woman, who was very sick, was left alone. As she lay there she saw ghosts. They caught her; she died. When her children returned she was dead. Her daughter and grandson rubbed her chest to revive her. She was soon restored except that one ear, which the ghosts had touched, was "closed." Her daughter asked, "What is the matter?" She answered faintly, "The ghosts caught me." Today she can barely talk; her sight and hearing are gone.

775 787 A Klamath Falls man met a ghost on the trail. It was short and had long white nails on hands and feet. The ghost said, "Let us trade nails." The man said that he could not take his off. The ghost said, "I can pull them out," and exchanged nails with him. The man went home with the long nails and went to bed. When he woke, he looked at his hands and feet, but he had his own nails again.

The same man saw ghosts dancing at the cremation place on the hill east of Link river (Klamath falls). He watched them dance all night. They gave him a pipe to smoke. Then they threw firebrands at him and he ran away.

About ten years ago I [Pat Kane] had been swimming in the river. I was returning to my home with some horses when I heard crying. I saw an immense fire at the cremation place on lower Williamson river. Men, women, and children were wailing there. I held my hat over my face and did not listen. I did not tell my wife. For three or four days I was sick, so I went into the sweat-lodge. Later I went down there but found no signs of a recent fire.

576 The names of the dead are mentioned rather freely, but no one likes to name his own relatives or hear another do so. In fact, such a reference is insulting. But this is not due to any fear of the dead; it is rather a matter of taste.

775 The land of the dead, No'lîskän,[182] lies in the west, the sunset. Everyone goes there. It was created by the culture hero, Kemü'kümps, who made the humans that figure in the tales (called psaudi'was) and ordained that they should go to this land when they died. Nothing is said of the road thither but the characteristics of the land and its people are tolerably well conceptualized.

Everything in the land of the dead is inverted from this living world. The ghosts sleep by day and live at night. In the day there is nothing to be seen but their houses and skeletons. At sundown they are clothed with flesh again; they rise and build fires. They dance through the night to fall asleep when dawn breaks. They feed on swan's eggs and perhaps they do not eat them in the manner of humans, since a tale suggests that Kemü'kümps is fed in the manner of the ghosts; the eggs are thrown at him. Further, the eggs are [825] unnatural in that they are hot.[183] So far as the Klamath are concerned, swan's eggs themselves are mythical, for while swans cross

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[182] I suggest that the word means, literally, land of the departed; compare no'tsna, departed for ——; nutanota, soul leaves; teö'Kän, service berry land; a'stikan, country of the Shasta.

[262] [183] Perhaps the Klamath do not eat eggs at all. I neglected to inquire.

Yet the most laborious wood-working task, the making of canoes, is sometimes undertaken by women. 462 I do not know who tans skins, but since the manufacture [501] of all garments and moccasins is done by women, this suggests that they prepare the skins as well. [281] Mats and baskets are made by women and in considerable quantity. This is a sedentary pursuit which dovetails nicely into leisure moments of household duties. Mortars, [285] metates, and their adjuncts are fashioned by women, though I suspect that men may lend a hand. Nets are manufactured by men, but by [415] a few women also. Ropes and cords are made by women. [284] All these suggest a somewhat heavier share borne by women. [283]

There is a further factor which must be kept in mind. In winter, movement is impeded by intense cold and heavy snowfall, so that all members of the family must stay close at home. 211 Hence the men might be thought to have enforced inactivity thrust upon them during this season. But the facts are probably otherwise. This is a period of great scarcity, even famine, especially at the end of a long winter, and it behooves the men to act and act quickly in search of food. The ardors and perils then forced on them surely make demands upon whatever leisure they may have at this time.

FOOD AND ITS ACQUISITION

Klamath life is not that of a lake people, but a river and marsh 262 culture, for the simple reason that their primary food is fish. The large lakes of this region are solidly frozen in winter, and fish, which are not abundant there at the best, can hardly be had in winter. It is otherwise with the swift rivers and creeks; these are always open and fish are always present in abundance.[218]

Fish is the staple; after this ranks water-lily seed (wokas) and to 262 a lesser extent other roots; deer and other game are only of minor importance. 224 It is difficult at this late date to know whether fish or lily-seed was eaten in greater quantity, but there is no doubt that, of 226 necessity, more attention was given the year round to fishing, since 222 the seed is harvested only from the middle of August to the end of September.

Winter villages, the permanent settlements, are located where fish 361 may be had at that time, beside running streams and near springs

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[218] In view of the excellent descriptions of Klamath environment given by Gatschet, Barrett (pp. 240–243), and Coville (Wokas, A Primitive Food, 727–728) it is unnecessary to add another here. (See also pp. 8–10 of the present work.) [114]

figs. 1–3). When returning in the fall, they take canoe as far as Kirk, 501
storing the vessels in the lake bottom there until the next season, and 221
packing the rest of the distance to their craft on the middle river, some twenty miles distant.

A similar seasonal migration of the Klamath falls group takes them to Barclay spring and Modoc point on the lake front for the spring fishing. Crossing the lake to dĕ'ktcŏŋks, they leave canoe and march by a well-defined trail to Wocus marsh for the lily-seed harvest. At the end of their stay, they sink the canoes used on the marsh in the water at wok̦sa'lks, hide grinding slabs and similar articles in the juniper thickets, and retrace their way across the lake to Algoma. After gathering wild fruits there they return to the falls for the winter.[220]

When one considers that the countryside teems with a wide variety 221
of animal life in summer, and the seeming abundance of seeds, roots, 731
and fish, it is difficult to comprehend the change that winter brings. Yet outright starvation in winter must have been frequent. The constant refrain of Ogden, who visited the country in the winter of 1826, bears on the scarcity of game, the near approach to starvation, throughout the months his party was there.[221] Yet it is not incredible in view of the deep snows that cover the land, the thick ice on lake and marsh, when travel is at a minimum and fish can no longer be taken. Snow falls early, in November, and lies on the ground in exceptional years well into May. The early spring, when winter stores have run low, is the critical period. When the lake remains frozen unduly long and snow still falls, starvation sets in. Then horses are killed, and finally the hides or even dressed elk skins are roasted in
their extremity. Nothing will induce them to turn to dog flesh.[222] [262]
When the snow leaves the prairies, they hasten to glean whatever roots have escaped the previous season's harvest. Then too a few trout may be had to eke out their subsistence.

Fishing

Fish, the primary food stuff, can be taken almost anywhere in 226
Klamath territory, but the supply is more plentiful in some sections than in others. Williamson river is one; fish can be caught there the year round, but in many other streams they run only in the spring.

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[220] Compare Gatschet, 1:xxix.

[221] Elliott, The Peter Skene Ogden Journals.

[222] This has served as a specific against smallpox, however.

227 They rarely fish with hook and line. These are either hand lines, no rod being used, or set lines. The hooks (o'tkIls) are of several forms. The simplest is the tail bone of a sucker, which is naturally provided with spines to serve as barbs (fig. 10). Baited with the liver of sucker or trout, this is used to catch minnows which in turn serve as bait, though they are also eaten. Two larger fish hooks are described by Barrett.[237] "The smaller is a straight piece of bone pointed at both ends and attached to the line by means of sinew and pitch at the middle. . . . . A small fish or some fish eggs are used as bait, being placed so as to completely cover the bar of bone. The other form of hook is a bone shank with two bone points. . . . . The two points form angles of twenty-five or thirty degrees with the shank. The three pieces of bone are secured one to another by means of sinew and pitch. This hook is used chiefly in fishing for large fish such as salmon and salmon trout, and is baited with minnows. . . . . The main part of the line is of the gray nettle string, but the brown milkweed string, which is said to be somewhat stronger and also less visible in the water, is used as a sort of leader." 226 My information is that the line (not or swe'us?) is nettle bark; brown or gray nettles are equally strong. Set lines (k'nau'us) are arranged to take trout at night; they are visited in the morning, a procedure called sokĕ'tcan. Some twenty long poles are set into the mud of the lake, each bearing a thirty-foot line with a single hook. The hooked fish are clubbed or speared. Only five or ten are caught in a night in this fashion.

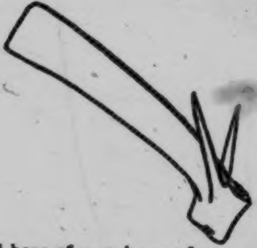

Fig. 10. Tail bone of a sucker used as a minnow hook.

262 For want of ability to identify them, no attempt was made to obtain a list of the food fishes. In addition to those mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, minnows (ḳ!o'tōḳs) are eaten. There are several varieties: ḳ!a'am, blue minnows, ᴇndIls, a larger variety, and the thick-skinned minnows mentioned above. Crawfish are taken from the streams. These are simply boiled and are soft enough to eat in

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[237] *Op. cit.*, 250; pl. 22.

this fashion. To judge by the quantities of fresh-water clamshells at the old house sites, clams are also an article of diet. 262

All varieties of fish are dried in the sun, not smoked.[238] The fish is slit down the back, entrails and backbone removed, the head cut off, and the flanks opened. Of the drying of salmon, Coville observes "it was their custom, after a fish was split open, to lay in the body cavity a yarrow stem (läl-wäl'-säm, *Achillea millefolium* L.) with its leaves and flowers still attached. This treatment, by holding the fish open, hastens the drying process and prevents the decomposition that would be likely to follow if the walls were allowed to collapse. My informant knew of no special significance attached to the use of this particular plant and of no special adaptability it had for this purpose, except that it did not give the dried fish such a bad taste as some other plants."[239] A hole is cut through the fish so that they can be strung on poles, which are placed in rows on a high scaffold or set across branches of a tree. Sometimes the head is left on and the poles passed through a hole near the tail. The cache is covered with bits of board and bark. Dry fish are pounded up to make kámalsh.[240] 251

Parties returning from fishing excursions to Lost river in Modoc country sometimes cook their catch in a hot spring east of the railway station in the present town of Klamath Falls. 252

Hunting

While game is varied and plentiful in the Klamath country, the Klamath are not much given to hunting. As one informant phrased it, "We know very little about hunting deer." Their attitude is betrayed by the exaggerated value put on elk hides, although elk were plentiful. And while fish can be taken by anyone, success in hunting is assured only to one who has spirit power. In a word, the Klamath prefer the easier exploitation of stream, marsh, and prairie to invasion of the forest-clad mountains which invite only the solitary seeker after power. 224

They hunt outside their territory westward across the Cascades, but not so far as the valleys of the Rogue river system. That region is held by enemies, the Upland Takelma of the Ashland-Table Rock region. Antelope and mountain sheep are hunted in the lava beds south of Modoc territory. Mule deer are pursued in the desert to

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[238] Meacham refers to drying whitefish over fires (see above).

[239] Notes, 105.

[240] Gatschet, 1:76.

224 the east, which takes them to the border of hostile Northern Paiute country.

In their own territory, the larger game animals are abundant. Elk are everywhere, perhaps more numerous to the north in the Cascades. Deer and antelope are plentiful. Deer, as well as ducks and other game, abound in the open country south of Klamath Falls toward the Lost River hills. A small blacktail deer is found in the Cascade mountains. Wolves, coyotes, black and grizzly bears, and other predatory beasts are common. Game birds, especially waterfowl, are abundant about the marshy lakes.

224 The following list shows their discriminations among the game.[241]

262

825

Eaten

Deer, generically, li'lhûnks.
Blacktailed deer, mu'smûs.
Small red deer, swai'.[243] (The meat is very good and the tallow sweet.)
Mule deer, bargu'ls (lives in the east near the desert).
Elk, wûn (excellent meat).
Antelope, tcă'u (taken in Klamath marsh).
Mountain sheep, wi'ĕa.
Black bear, wită'm.
Grizzly bear, loḳ (paws and flesh eaten).
Porcupine, tce'lis (perhaps eaten only recently).[250]
Beaver, pum.
Ground hog, mu'l.
Mink, kli'p'a.
Otter, ḳ!ult (eaten by some).
Raccoon, wa'tcklax.

Not eaten

Wolf, ḳaio'tcis.[242]
Coyote, was.
Red fox, wan (found west of Klamath lake).
Black fox, he'hai.[244]
Marmot (?fisher), wa'lḳôteks.[245]
Bob-cat (or lynx?), slowa' (or alĕt).[246]
Bassariscus (?), da'slats.[247]
Cougar, ḳoi'yaḳa'wâs.[248]
Marten, pă'xp.[249]
Weasel, telôegsi.
Skunk, tcs'sis (eaten only as a cure for rheumatism).
Badger, kols.
Mountain beaver, pum (or gitckani pum, small beaver, or puma'k, beaver cub).[251]
Chipmunk, wa'sla.
Larger chipmunk, tsli'l'as.

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[241] All identifications were made by my informants, except *Bassariscus*.

[242] The name suggests the English (< Aztec) word coyote, but repeated inquiry failed to reveal any other name for the animal.

[243] Having a black (or white?) tail; long straight horns with a slight hook at the tip, pointed forward; eats roots and leaves, not grass. Nancy Phillips says this has horns like other deer, and is identical with the black-tailed deer, save that the tail is slightly longer.

[244] My informant suggested that this is a Chinook jargon word.

[245] Black; larger than the last; can climb trees; whistles.

[246] Spotted; short tail; pendant cheeks; eighteen inches to two feet tall; seen but not often killed.

[247] Striped; long striped tail. This is not often killed, because they fear it.

* [248] Larger than the last; screams like a woman and whistles; seen on the highest mountains, but not killed for fear of it.

[171] [249] Red; like a mink but lives in the mountains.

[250] The Modoc eat porcupine and chipmunk, according to my Klamath information.

[251] Not killed.

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224
262
825

Eaten

Jack rabbit, kai.

Cottontail rabbit, k!oik!ois (or te!wö'ganz).

Ground squirrel, mzsa's (occasionally eaten).

Tree squirrel, giu'was.[252]

Larger tree squirrel, kä'nkön.[254]

Waterfowl, generically, mä'mökls.

Pelican, ku'mal.

Goose, los.

Swan, kos.

Brant, la'' lök.[257]

China brant, lökļök.[257, 258]

White brant, wai'was.

Sandhill crane, k!liti'a.[259]

Blue crane, so.o'ks.

Loon, döplal.

Small loon, ko'kiuks (not eaten by children for fear of sickness).

———, ĕngu'k.[257, 260]

Gull, ku'l'a.[261]

Smallest gull, ķ!öt'la'was.[257, 262]

Mudhen, toho's.

Teal, te!äks.[257]

Mallard duck, wä'ĕks.[257]

Pintail (or Sprague) duck, golks.[263]

Canvas-back duck, go'ls.

Butterball duck, bömba'ktls.

Wood duck, djïkdjiks.

Small duck, koķa'swa.[264]

Blackjack duck, ane'is.

Fishduck, te!ö'kznos.[265]

Blackbird, djŭ'ķs (occasionally eaten).

Redwing blackbird, kökö'klauüs.[257]

Not eaten

Wood rat, ķotes'.

Mouse, mük!o'kz.

Small mouse, blai'nzhütenä's (or nönw' ö'küs).[253]

Shrew, cu'lsi.[255]

Small gull, ķ!ä'ĕte.[256]

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[252] Calls giu, giu.

[253] Very small; white; long tail; lives in the ground.

[254] A foot long, with long bushy tail; blue; lives in the mountains.

[255] Three inches long; long pointed black nose "like a grizzly bear's"; very scarce.

[256] Has swallow tail.

[257] Named in imitation of its call.

[258] Like a goose.

[259] Scarce.

[260] Black; long neck sticks out of water.

[261] Cf. English gull.

[262] Smaller than ķ!ä'ĕte; white; forked tail.

[263] Long white neck.

[264] A little duck with big head and neck.

[265] Red head.

food. Gatschet adds that these are beaten from the plants with paddles early in autumn and pounded in a mortar. Those of *Polygonum* are gathered, the hulls rubbed off by hand, and the seeds parched and often ground. Gatschet says the seeds are beaten off into baskets at the end of the summer. This meal is either eaten dry or mixed with water and boiled, a process which turns the material red. The seeds of a marsh grass, *Panicularia*, are a favorite food. Tarweed seeds are often used and those of *Mentzelia*. The minute seeds of a low grass, *Agrostis*, and those of slew grass are eaten. The seeds of the former at least are beaten from the plants by women in the familiar manner. Other seeds are used less frequently: those of the sugar pine, the common cane, tule (mä'-ēm lä'-wäls), amaranth, and dock. There are three species of dock used for food, each with a native name. The seeds of *Sisymbrium* are parched, ground on a metate, and eaten as mush. This plant is more plentiful in the Modoc country. The seedlike carpels of *Triglochin* are parched and eaten, sometimes in a decoction. 251

The leaves and stems of *Rumex* are eaten fresh, and the seeds are eaten when ripe. The young shoots of the wild parsnip are used and the aromatic leaves of *Sium* are eaten as a relish.[277] To these I can add that the leaves of koko'dom, a bush used for making flutes (not elder), are eaten green. 262

Roots constitute an important element of diet. Those most commonly gathered are those of marsh plants or of plants that grow in the open prairies: the roots of the water lily, tule, cat-tail, ipos, camas, arrowhead, etc.

Wild potatoes or arrowhead, a small sweet tuber, are plentiful about the mouth of Williamson river, for example, and are procured by the canoe load. Coville observes that the plant (tcuwa') is so common on Chewaucan marsh (between Summer and Abert lakes) as to give its name to the locality. Frémont saw there that "large patches of ground had been torn up by the squaws in digging for roots, as if a farmer had been preparing the land for grain." Gatschet's information was that the plant was scarce in the neighborhood of the agency.[278] They are roasted in the ashes and eaten. When the intention is to store them, they are pit-roasted and set away in large tule sacks. For winter use these roasted roots are boiled long in water. 222 [252] [251]

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[277] The last is confirmed by my own information.

[278] Coville, Notes, 90; Gatschet, 1:149.

222 262 251 Camas is abundant; it is sometimes eaten raw at the time it is gathered, but is usually baked and stored.[279] Coville states that it is gathered about April 1. It will keep indefinitely.

Ipos is one of the earliest spring plants gathered for food, according to Coville, "the roots being dug about the 1st of May, at which time the contents are soft and milky. The root is commonly dried and eaten raw." A closely related tuber (the yampa of the Utes) is an equally common article of food.[280] A tuber called yantch (*Calochortus?*) is eaten, which resembles camas and is described by Gatschet as cylindrical and in size as large as the thumb.[281] While the onion-like roots of *Peucedanum* are a staple of the Modoc, they are occasionally used by the Klamath. The roots are strung on cords or kept in sacks. The mealy interior is soft enough to be eaten when dry or they may be mashed and boiled.

Young tules are pulled up from canoes, the lower white portion being retained. These are palatable only when fresh.[282] The tuberous base, called khä-äls', of a sedge is eaten. The short rootstocks of the cat-tail are eaten late in the season, when full of stored food, under the name ktöks. Similarly the young rootstocks of the common bur-reed late in summer develop at their ends tubers which have a sweetish taste and are used for food. The bulbous expansion at the base of the stem, similar in its qualities, is likewise eaten, and is called klop'-ä.

[114] Undoubtedly other roots are used, the only poisonous one according to the Indian's account being the wild parsnip. Coville lists at least another, "poison camas," scä'-ō or scou (*Zygadenus venosus* Wats).[283]

The nutlets of k!ol (*Valeriana*) are pit-roasted. Coville gives the following account of the procedure: "In cooking, a hole perhaps a meter or more (about 3 or 4 feet) in diameter and half as deep is dug in the ground and lined with stones. A fire is then built in the hole, and after burning for a sufficient time is cleared out. Fresh grass is next laid over the hot stones, then k-öl', then more grass, and the whole covered with earth. The mass is then allowed to cook and steam the rest of the day and over night, when the pit is opened and the cooked roots are ready for eating." Gatschet adds that they are

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[279] Gatschet, *op. cit.*, 76.

[280] Coville, Notes, 101.

[281] Gatschet, 1:146; Coville, Notes, 93.

[282] Gatschet, 1:148.

[283] Notes, 93.

then pounded.[384] "The odor of the root is very disagreeable to white 222
people, to such a degree, indeed, that the use of the plant about the 262
agency was formerly forbidden."[385] Because of its odor, it is placed 251
in storage pits to keep animals away.

Acorns are absent from the Klamath diet. The oak grows only 222
about Klamath falls but the nuts are not used. The nuts of the
so-called chinquapin bush, growing in the higher mountains, are
sometimes gathered. The hazelnut, which grows along the Klamath
river north to Pelican bay, is occasionally used for food.

The principal fruit foods are huckleberries, service berries, chokecherries,
currants, and wild plums. Huckleberries are gathered in
enormous quantities, especially at Huckleberry mountain, southwest
of Crater lake, where the Klamath congregate in the third week in
August. These are sometimes boiled so that the liquor may be drunk. [272]
Besides the common huckleberry, a low variety of the mountain slopes
is eaten fresh or dry. Service berries grow everywhere. The fruit
is gathered in large quantities in August, spread out on mats to dry, 222
and kept for winter use, a practice followed with all other berries 262
where practicable. The fruit of the chokecherry is gathered in large
quantities in September and dried. Yellow-flowered currant and common 251
currant berries are frequently gathered. The gooseberry and the
raspberry, which grow at Modoc point, are eaten fresh or dried.
Blackberries, the green berries of manzanita, and elder-berries are
articles of food. The berries of a bush honeysuckle or "cranberry"
are always eaten fresh, but never to any extent. No attempt is made
to dry strawberries, which are not abundant. Wild plums are abundant
about the eastern shore of Klamath lake from Modoc point southward
and in the vicinity of Summer lake. These are eaten fresh or
dried, sometimes after being pitted. Wild rose haws, which ripen in
September, are dried and pounded to grind the seeds.

Bearded moss (k!al), which hangs from the boughs, is pit-roasted; the product is bo'ka. Coville states that "black moss," a lichen, probably the same, is a famine food.[386]

Pine gum is also eaten. In the spring, usually in May, a broad 222
strip of the bark of a young yellow pine is removed, and the sweet 262
mucilaginous layer of newly formed tissue (stop'-älch) between the
bark and the sap wood is scraped off and eaten. This is a frequent

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[384] 1:147.

[385] Coville, Notes, 105.

[386] Notes, 87.

222 262 practice. Gatschet notes the use of bone implements to peal off the bark.[287] In April the cambium layer of the lodgepole pine is similarly scraped off and eaten.

222 262 114 824 A few additional food plants are mentioned by Gatschet, which seem not to be included in Coville's extensive list. Klápa is evidently a cylindric root; klû, a rounded root growing in the Modoc country. A large bulb of a low plant (tsuní'ka) is eaten. Wátksăm is presumably a root. Páwash is a plant said to resemble k!ol (*Valeriana*), hence it may be that the nutlets are used. It grows chiefly at Yainax. They are baked, pounded, and dried. Kĕla'tch is a small blue berry, gathered after the wokas season; it is dried and boiled. Another is wáshlalam íwam, squirrel's huckleberries. The white buds of ktû'ks, growing on a straight stalk, are eaten, as well as those of wí'wi, a similar plant. No description is given of the edible portions of other plants: kû'ktû, kăs, ta'ksish, tók, tsi'kal (*Phragmites ?*), and tsuák.[288]

The native and scientific names of these plants follow, mainly as given in Coville's paper. These are listed in the order of mention above.

Seeds

222 Goosefoot, ḳotca'nīks, *Chenopodium fremonti* Wats.
Rye-grass, glă'bi, *Elymus condensatus* Presl.
824 Lbă, *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt. and *B. deltoidea* Nutt.
Kăp'-i-önks, *Polygonum douglasii* Greene.
Marsh grass, kăm'-chō-dă'-lis, *Panicularia fluitans* (L.) Kuntze.
Tarweed, gō'-ē-whă, *Madia glomerata* Hook.
Lō'-lăs, *Mentzelia albicaulis* Dougl.
A low grass, nō'-tăk, *Agrostis perennans* (Walt.) Tuckerm.
Slew grass, chăp'-tō, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) Host.
Sugar pine, ktă'-lō, *Pinus lambertiana* Dougl.
Common cane, *Phragmites phragmites* (L.) Karst.
Tule, mă'-i, *Scirpus lacustris occidentalis* Wats.
A small amaranth, *Amarantus blitoides* Wats.
Dock, gō'-klaks, *Rumex salicifolius* Weinm.
Western tansy mustard, te!i'pas, *Sisymbrium incisum* Engelm.
A rush-like perennial, gil-lēn'-ă, *Triglochin maritima* L.

Herbage

Ken-ă'-wăt, *Rumex geyeri* (Meisn.) Trelease.
Wild parsnip, pōd'-chō, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.
Wă'-kăm, *Sium cicutaefolium* Gmel.
Mint, măch-ăs'-săm, *Mentha canadensis* L.

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[287] Gatschet, 1:148. See also Barrett, Material Culture, pl. 22, fig. 5.
[288] Gatschet, 1:146–150, 75.

343 as in "one big family." This is inevitably a matter of personal pref-
252 erence; some dwellings have two cooking lodges attached, the families
592 eating separately and sharing food only as friendship dictates. The
mortars and grinding slabs are kept in the cooking-lodge. The intro-
[177] duction of flour has wrought a change in these habits. Loaves of
bread are baked in the ashes in the earth-lodge itself. Flour is always
● [262] shared among the inmates. I was assured that there was no earlier
custom resembling this.

264 But two meals a day are eaten, morning and evening. I was also
told that there is no regular period for meals. Visitors are given
574 something on their arrival, such as a little pond-lily seed, but no stress
is placed on this phase of hospitality. A sort of grace is said before
eating.

.352 The entire floor of the earth-lodge or summer mat-house is carpeted
with mats except for the space within the four central posts. Thicker
piles of these for beds are placed all around the walls, but the best
352 locations are at the sides (*O*, fig. 19). Children might sleep in the
corners. People always sleep with their feet toward the fire, no
513 matter in what direction their heads then lie.[374]

Beds (slai'is) are of mats of various sorts. Rich people use tule, the twined mats (slai'is) being preferred to the sewn (st!öps). One or more of these laid on dry grass serves as a mattress, or they sleep directly on the grass. One or two more form the covering. The few who have them use grizzly bear, coyote, wolf, lynx (? slowa'), or deer pelts, or several *Bassariscus* (? slĕt) skins sewn together, for mattress and blanket (sa'walc). A blanket for a little child is made from the skin of a red fox, a stretched raccoon skin, or several marten skins sewn together. Blankets (called sölümtai') are also made of tule and cat-tail twined to produce a checkerboard decoration. Others are made of tules with the wing feathers of water fowl (pelicans, geese, swans, ducks, etc.) caught in one face. These are called łă'cdă-lap'ö'tᴇ, wing feathers (łac) put together. Another type of feather blanket (called k̦'a'lyᴇ) is made of the dried skins of waterfowl twisted with a cord to form a fluffy rope. This is twined with cords inserted at intervals to form the blanket. Pillows (sᴇ'o'lhas) are a heap of grass, or anything else, even wood, but the wooden headrest of the lower Klamath river tribes is unknown. Gatschet records a sack stuffed with mallard duck down for a pillow.[375]

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[374] I could find no notion that a sleeper is affected by moonlight.

[375] 1:144.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Southeast Salish NR19

K
This is undoubtedly true equally of all the tribes lying in the Columbia 262 •
drainage from the Rockies to the Cascades. It is known to be so of
tribes as far apart as the Wishram and the Lower Kutenai,[413] and of 171*
others lying between, as the Middle Columbia Salish and the Nez Percé
in their original condition. K

The Nez Percé case calls for explanation. The present culture of 171*
the Nez Percé is Plains-like. But there can be little doubt that much, 105
if not the overwhelming part of the Plains traits among them, dates
only from the introduction of horses into the Snake-Columbia basin, 177
sometime between 1750 and 1800. With the horse came not only horse
gear and all the elements of Plains nomadism, but the opportunity for
buffalo hunting and trading on an extensive scale in the Plains. Many
of the Snake-Columbia tribes began to make periodic visits beyond
the Rockies from this time. Teit's account of the Middle Columbia SS
Salish makes it quite clear that prior to the coming of the horse, 114
typical Plateau culture, practically devoid of Plains elements, pre-
vailed over the entire area. Even the picture of life among the Nez 105
Percé and their neighbors presented to Lewis and Clark as late as 177
1804–6 was far more that of the Plateau at large than it is in our own K
day. The earlier situation is largely obscured by the fact that the 171*
Yakima and Klickitat in their eastern Washington location have many
Plainslike features. Teit's investigations make it reasonably certain, 105
however, that the situation prior to the end of the eighteenth century 177
was quite different. At that time eastern Washington to south of the
Columbia river was occupied by Salish tribes with typical Plateau
culture. Subsequently the Yakima-Klickitat moved northward, prob-
ably from east central Oregon, to their historic habitat.[414] It seems
reasonable to assume that up to that time they, like the Nez Percé, had
little in the way of Plains culture. K

Even today the food habits of the Sahaptins are not those of the 171*
Plains. What I am suggesting here is that the balance of vegetal 177
products and fish, now nearly even, rather favored fish in the days 178
before hunting was so readily followed. 262

So far as general habits of life go, the river culture of the Klamath K
links them also with the tribes on the lower reaches of the Klamath 101
river. But their food habits do not quite coincide. Yurok, Hupa, and K
Shasta all make a larger use of acorns than of fish, although observers 171*

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[413] Chamberlain, Kootenay, 183. 262

[414] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish; a map showing the early distribution is included in Haeberlin, *et al.*, Coiled Basketry in British Columbia.

*171

262

all agree that salmon form a far larger share of their dietary than in central California.[415] Bulbs, roots, and seeds are eaten but seemingly to a less extent than among the Klamath. Deer and other large game are abundant, but curiously little used; an attitude toward this source of supply not only like that of the Klamath but exactly that of typical Northwest Coast tribes. Some of these northern tribes, in fact, will not touch venison. This non-usage is really not so strange when we recall that a plentiful supply of fish or fish and acorns renders the pursuit of deer unnecessary, and that the dense rainforests and steep slopes of both areas make it unprofitable.

To judge by the many references of Klamath informants to the habits of the Modoc, the latter must share much the same primary dependence on fish. It is just possible that roots, bulbs, and seeds play a slightly larger part in their economy, if the somewhat drier terrain they occupy has any influence. This is apparently the case so far as the Pit river tribes are concerned. Vegetal products seem to bulk larger than fish, although salmon is taken in abundance in the western sections, other fish in the east. Large game is abundant, but the Pit Rivers are not great hunters. Their general status is indicated in that, despite the availability of salmon, the western groups made much of the acorn. Southward the Maidu also place chief reliance on the acorn in the face of the considerable quantities of salmon taken and the abundance of other vegetal products and game.[416] This is the general situation throughout central California, primarily a region of bulb, root, and seed gathering, of large and small game and insects, yet where acorns are the staple.

It is of course obvious that the utilization of one or another food source will vary as they are available. Yet arbitrary habits and preferences enter. There is no reason why any foodstuff should have been completely excluded from the diet, as the Kwakiutl avoid venison, nor why a particular one should be exploited to the great exclusion of all others, as the acorn in most of California. From this point of view, the Klamath leaning toward fish as their staple is arbitrary and not dictated by geographic conditions. Their food habits are such primarily because they share the habits of the Columbia-Snake tribes as a whole.

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[415] Kroeber, Handbook, 84; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 21-27; Dixon, Shasta, 423, 424.

[416] Kniffen, Achomawi Geography, 300-2; Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 211-13; Northern Maidu, 181 f.

Their material culture at large follows the general alignment of their basic economy with the Plateau peoples. This can be made clear by the following tabulation of material culture traits shared by tribes in adjacent culture areas. A few items of social culture not discussed elsewhere are also entered. Only those traits for which comparative data could be readily found are included, which makes the list random rather than truly representative. It must be understood that the reference is only to the specific form in which the Klamath hold to the trait. Thus, the compound fire-drill stick is entered, and not the simple fire drill. In fact, traits of this sort, having a distribution over the whole continent, have been excluded as adding nothing to our 171* 105

KLAMATH TRAITS SHARED BY TRIBES IN ADJACENT AREAS

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Houses	Earth-lodge	Plateau (Chilcotin to Middle Columbia and Wishram), N.E. California (where it merges into central Californian forms).	[342]
	Mat-lodge	Wishram, Nez Percé, Middle Columbia?	[343]
Sweat-lodges	Dome-shaped	N.E. California, Basin, Plateau, Southwest rancherias, Plains, and eastward.	
	Earth-covered	Washington, Oregon (merges with central Californian type).	
Fishing	Dip nets	California, Plateau, Northwest Coast.	[227]
	Dam; weir	N. California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
	Two-prong spear	California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
Digging stick	Cross-handle; curved point	Northwest Coast, Plateau?	[412]
Insect foods	Slight use	Oregon, s. Plateau, Basin, California.	[262]
Metate	Extensive use	California (late in N. California?), Basin, Plateau?, Southwest and southward.	[412]
Mortar	Stone	S. and central California (prehistoric in N. California); wooden mortars in Plateau.	
Canoe	Shovel nose	Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Columbia basin to N. California.	[501]
Baskets	Considerable use	California, Basin, Plateau.	[415]
	Twine	Northwest Coast s. into N. California.	
	Minor use of coil	Plateau, Basin, central and s. California.	
Bags	Woven	Made east of Cascades, s. to Klamath.	[286]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 230]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
241 329. Seeds scattered to produce better crop	–	+	+				•+	–	–	–	–	(+)	(+)	.	+	–
312 •329a. Irrigation	–	–	–	–	–	•–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–
Domesticated Animals and Pets																
Dogs																
231 330. Dogs kept	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	–
331. By relatively few persons	+	+	+				•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
332. Bred	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
333. Bought from other localities	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–
334. Named	+	+	+	•+	+	.	+	•+	+	+	+	.	–	–	–	–
335. Used in hunting	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
336. Trained not to bark	•+	•+	•+				•+	•+	(–)	–	•(+)	–	–	–	–	–
o337. Kept inside dwelling	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	±	+	+	–	–	–
[343] 338. Separate dog house	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
339. Semisubterranean, earth covered.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
340. Domed, thatched	–	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
341. Domed, bark covered	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[766] 342. Conical, slab	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
343. Burned at death, or death of owner	–	+	–	–	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–
344. Buried	–	–	+	•–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	(–)	–	–	–
345. Body thrown outside	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	(–)	–	–	–
346. Suspended in tree at death of owner	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	(–)	–	–	–
Birds, Bear Cubs, Etc.																
347. Birds kept	•–	–	–	•+	+	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•–
348. Caged	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
349. Tied up	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
350. Wings plucked or cut	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–
351. Bear cubs kept	•+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
352. Deer fawns kept	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
353. Small mammals kept	–	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Food and Its Handling																
Staple Foods																
262 354. Deer staple flesh food	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	–
355. Fish staple flesh food	•+	+	–	–	+	•+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+
356. Deer and fish equally important	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
357. Acorns staple plant food	•o	•o	•+	•+	•+	•+	•o	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
358. Sunflower seeds	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
359. Ipos or other bulbs	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+
360. Water lily seeds	+	+	–	–			•+		–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–
Animals Eaten																
•361. Dog eaten habitually	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[261] 362. Dog eaten during famines, epidemics	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
363. Fox	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
364. Coyote	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
365. Wolf	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	o	–	–	–
366. Grizzly bear (Ursus horribilus).	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	o	–
366a. Brown bear (Ursus americanus).	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	o	–	+	(+)
367. Deer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
368. Elk (wapiti)	+	+	+	+	o	+	o	+	o	+	o	•+	o	o	o	+
369. Antelope	+	+	+	+	o	•+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	+
o370. Puma	–	+	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	(o)	+	–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
371. Wildcat	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	R	+	–	–	–	262 ●
o372. Beaver	•+	+	+	+	o	•+	+	–	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	
o373. Skunk	–	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	
374. Raccoon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
375. Porcupine	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
376. Rabbit	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
377. Badger	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	o	–	o	–	o	o	o	–	
378. Ground hog	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	o	o	–	–	+	+	+	–	
379. Gopher	–	+	–			+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	o	+	+	
380. Mole	–	–	o	+	–	•–	o	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
381. Eagle	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	
382. Owl	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	
383. Crow	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	.	+	–	–	–	o	–	
384. Raven	–	(+)	.	–	+	.	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	.	.	
385. Hawk	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	
386. Swan and crane		+	–			+	+	–	–	–	o	–	o	–	–	+	
387. Pelican	–	•+	–	–	o	+	+	–	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	
388. Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
389. Crawfish	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	o	o	o	–	o	o	–	o	
390. Freshwater mussel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	–	–	o	–	–	
391. Lamprey	–	+	+	–	o	+	o	+	–	–	•+	–	–	o	o	–	
o392. Turtle or tortoise	•–	+	+	–	•–	•+	o	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
393. Snake	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
394. Lizard	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
395. Cricket and grasshopper	–	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	•+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	
396. Caterpillar	–	•+	–	–	.	+	–	+	–	o	+	+	–	–	.	o	
397. Angleworm	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	•–	
398. Ant												•+	–	•+	–	–	
399. Ant eggs	–	+	+			+	+	–	–	o	+	+	–	+	–	–	
400. Yellow-jacket larvae	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	

Foods Taboo to Special Groups

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
401. Deer head or any part of	–	.	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	262
402. Deer heart	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	784
403. Heart-shaped meat in deer ham	–		–	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–		.	•+	–	•–	–	
404. Kneecap fat on deer	–		.	•+	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	
405. Deer fetus	•+	–	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	(+)	•+	•+	•+	•+	
406. Fetuses in general	•+	•	•	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
407. Deer fawn	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
408. Deer liver	•–	•–	•–	•–	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	
409. Wild-bird eggs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	
410. Bird eggs aid in human reproduction	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	•+	•+	•+	•–	
411. Ducks' feet		•+	–	•–	•+		•+	•+	–	–	–			–	–		
412. Certain combinations of food taboo	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	.	–	–	.	•+	

Food Preparation

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
413. Bone ground for eating	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	252
414. Fish	+	•	+	•+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	•–	
415. Deer	•+	•+	–	•–	•+	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	
416. Boiled	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
417. Eaten dry	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
418. Marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
419. Small mammals roasted whole	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
420. Pounded after cooking	–	–	–						+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	
421. Broiling on frame	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
421a. Broiling on single stick	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	
422. Broiling directly on coals	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
423. Blood, lights, etc., cooked in paunch	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
252 476. Eaten dry	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	−	+
477. Buckeyes eaten	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
478. Leached	o	o	o	−	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
479. Boiled whole	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	−	−	+	o
480. Earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
481. For flesh food	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
482. For vegetable food	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
483. Food sprinkled with water	−		+	+	−		−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
484. Food covered with leaves or grass	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
485. Water sprinkled into oven after closed up	−	+	−	−	−		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
486. Eggs cooked	+	+	+			+	+		+		+			+	+	+
487. Baked in earth oven	+	−	−		−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
488. Baked in hot ashes	−	+	+			−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
489. Stone boiled in basket	−	+	+								+	−	−	+	+	+
272 490. Berry "cider"	+	o	+	+	+	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
491. Sipped with deer tail	−	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−
263 492. Salt obtained in mineral form, dry	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
493. Salt from spring or marsh	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
494. Salt locally	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
[439] 495. Salt imported	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
496. Used little or not at all; disliked	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
497. "Salt" from burning grass	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
498. "Salt" clover eaten fresh	−	+	−					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262 499. Soaproot eaten	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	+	+	−
500. Top eaten	o	o	o	−	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	−	−	+	+	−
501. Root eaten	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	+	−	−
502. Cooked in earth oven	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	−	−	−
[278] 503. Root concoction drunk as medicine	o	o	o	−	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	−	−		−	−
[439] 504. Imported if not obtainable locally	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
[515] 505. Soaproot for washing	o	o	o	+	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	R	+
506. Milkweed chewing gum	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[26] 507. Pine pitch chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	o	+	+	+
508. Pine "sugar"	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
509. Honeydew from leaves eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
510. Inner bark of trees eaten.	+	−	+	−	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
511. Mushrooms and fungi eaten											+	+	+			+
512. Fresh or dried											+	+	+			+

Eating Customs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
264 513. Men served before women, if crowd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
[562] 514. All eat out of one basket	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
515. Men each have own basket	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
516. Women also have separate baskets	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
517. Man and wife eat from same basket	+	+	+						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
[855] 518. Children "piece" whenever hungry						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
519. Two main meals daily, usually	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
520. Three main meals daily	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−		−	−	−	−	−	+
[574] 521. Meal whenever visitor arrives	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[515] 522. Hands washed after eating deer, bear meat	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
523. Men's rule only	−	−	−			−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−
524. Wipe face, hands with grass, bark after eating	+	+	+						+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

Storage of Food

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
251 525. Outdoor granaries	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
526. Against tree	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
527. In burnt tree stump	−		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
528. On platform in tree; covered	−	+	+			+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
529. Thatched	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	251
530. Roughly coiled, in shape tubular bin.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
531. Posts set upright in ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	(-)	+	•+	•+	•+	
532. Goods wrapped, hung from branch of tree	-	-	+				•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
533. Storage in pit outside	•(+)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	
534. Storage indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
534a. In baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
535. In twined tule "sacks"	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
536. Vegetable foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
537. Dried meat, salted or plain	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
538. Dried fish or salmon flour	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	
539. Storage in pit inside sweat house	-					•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Exchange of Food

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
540. Food sold	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	•+	262 ●
541. Traded or borrowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	437
542. Mainly in time of famine	-	+	-	-	-	-	•-	+	-	-	+	+		+	+	-	
543. Mainly in winter, early spring	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
544. Game divided	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	224
545. Killer gets most or certain parts	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+		
546. Meat equally divided among hunters	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
547. Large game divided among whole camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

Ownership of Productive Areas

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
548. Fishing places privately owned	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	-	423
549. Fishing places jointly owned, owners unrelated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
550. Fishing places owned by village group	+	+	-	-		•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	226
551. Anyone may take some of owner's catch.	-	-	-						+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
552. Fishing places rented for share of catch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
553. Fish weir privately owned	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	423
554. Hunting land or spots privately owned	-	-	+	•-	-	•-	•-	-	+	-	+	-	-	•+	+	-	
555. Seed tracts privately owned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[224]
556. Seed tracts owned by village group		+				+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
557. Trees privately owned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
558. Trees owned by village group	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
559. Trees claimed for single season only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
560. Only trees distant from village	-	-	-						+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
561. Tribal or group boundaries marked by topographic features	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
562. Tobacco plot privately owned	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	[276]
563. Land for single season only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
564. Tobacco plot owned by village	-	-	-			-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
565. Village site owned by group	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[361]

Division of Labor

Subsistence Pursuits

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
566. Hunting: men only	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
567. Rat and mouse catching: men and women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	[224]
568. Men	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	
569. Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
570. Gathering insects, grubs: men and women	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	[222]
571. Men	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	
572. Women	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
573. Fishing: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[226]
574. Men only net, spear fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	
575. Women use basket to catch fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 535 2914. Dancing proceeds around fire and pole	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
2915. 2 circles, men and women separately	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
2916. 1 circle, men	–	–	+								–	–	+	–
2917. Dancers in row abreast	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2918. Each person dances separately	–	–			+						+	–	+	–
2919. Dancers stamp 1 foot	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2920. Dancers stamp both feet	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
2921. Scalp on center pole	+	•+	+	–	•+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	–
2922. Heart on top of center pole	+	–	+	–					•R	–	–	–	–	–
2923. Scalp(s) on small hand pole(s)	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
[532] 2924. Human effigy	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2925. Each warrior pantomimes his war deeds	–	.	–			+	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	–
2926. Each warrior dances singly, once around, with scalp	–	.	–	–		+	+	–	+	+	.	–	–	–
2927. Old women dance with scalps	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2928. Wipe themselves with bloody scalp	+	+	–	–					+	–	.	–	–	–
2929. Chew and bite scalp, heart	.	+	+	–		+	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
2930. Scalps dragged and rubbed in dirt	+	+	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2931. 1-2 women walk back and forth in front of dancers	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2932. Warriors carry bow and arrows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
2933. Shoot at scalp or heart	.	.	+	–				+	+	+	–	–	+	–
2934. Women dancers carry brush or pole	–		–						+	–	+	–	+	–
[302] 2935. Participants painted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2936. Black	+	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2937. Red	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2938. White	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
[292] 2939. Participants wear brush, feather headdresses	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2940. Warriors wear fighting gear	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–

Purification of Killers; Treatment of Wounded

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 2941. Swims	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	.	+	–
783 2942. Sweats	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	–
2943. Steam type	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	.	–	–
2944. Direct-fire type	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–
[304] 2945. Scarification and bleeding	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–
2946. Aromatic plants rubbed on body	.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	–
2947. Women brush off men with plant	.	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	–
2948. Must stay outside	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–
2949. Stays awake mainly, or naps	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–
[792] 2950. Prays for luck	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	–
[262] ‡2951. Meat taboo ... days	–	–	.	+	•2	–	–	–	•4	–	28	.	6	–
2952. Warm food taboo	–											.	+	–
2953. Scratching stick used	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+
2954. Bath at end of taboo period	–	–	+	+							+	.	+	+
2955. Meat taboo to wounded	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	.	+	+
2956. Hot food taboo to wounded	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+
[752] 2957. Wash wounded with special decoction			+								+	.	+	+

Peace Negotiations

Compensation for Slain

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
728 2958. Intertribal wars: compensation	+	–	–	•–	–	R	•–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–
2959. Revenge only	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3159. Until cord drops off	-	-	-	-				-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	844
3160. Pit or trench dug	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	846
3161. Hot rocks, charcoal put in pit	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	
3162. Pit covered with grass, bark.	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	
3163. Fire direct on ground; lies beside it	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	
Treatment of Midwife																	
3164. Bathes, immediately after child born	+	+	+						+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	844
•3165. Cuts arms, later	-	-	+						+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-	759
Restrictions on Mother																	
‡3166. Restrictions last for ... days	5	5	-	28	-	•5	-	28	28	28	-	3	6	5	28	28	846
3167. Until blood stops flowing	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	784
3168. Until navel cord drops off	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
o3169. Bathing taboo	+	+	•±	•±	+	+	•±	•+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	•±	[515]
3170. In stream	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3171. Sweat bath	+	+	-	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3172. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3173. Eats alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[262]
3174. Fed by old woman	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3175. Uses separate receptacles	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176. Eats sparingly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176a. Fresh meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3177. Dried meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3178. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3179. Dried fish taboo	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3181. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3182. Salt taboo	-	-	-	-	•-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3183. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	
3184. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	[302]
3185. Combing hair taboo	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	
3186. Head, face scratcher used	•+	•+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
3187. Especially for first child.	-	-	-				+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	
3188. Tabooed activities	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
3189. Making baskets taboo	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
3190. Preparing food taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
‡3191. Traveling taboo ... days	5	5	-	28	-	-	-	28	28	28	-	3	6	5	28	-	[484]
3192. Until blood stops flowing or cord drops off	-	-	+	-	+	•+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	
o3193. Sees no men for ... days	5	•-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	•2	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
‡3194. Intercourse taboo for ... months	•2	•2	•2						2	2	.	.	½	1	.	3	[834]
3195. Loud noise near child taboo	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3196. Would make child deaf	-	+	+							-	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3197. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3198. Bathes	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	[515]
3199. Midwife or mother assists	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3200. Medicated bath	-	-	+	+		•+	•+	-	-	-	-	+	•+	+	.	-	[759]
3201. Sweats	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[481]
3202. Swims after sweating	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Restrictions on Father																	
3203. Required for all offspring	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	
3204. For first child only	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	
3205. Retirement period	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3206. Stays with mother in hut	-	-	-	+	•+	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3207. Must stay in own dwelling house	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
846 3208. Merely stays indoors	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
784 ‡3209. For ... days	5	5	–	5	–	–	–	°4	–	°4	–	–	6	.	28	28
3210. Until child's cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
°3211. Sleeps little	–	+	+			+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	–	–	.	+
3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535] 3212a. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481] 3213. Runs	+	+	+	–	°+	°+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3214. First child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3215. Breaks up wood		–	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3216. Brings back firewood	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3217. Piles up rocks	°+	°+	°+										–	–	–	–
[787] o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	°–	–	–	+	±	–	–	–	–	–	–
3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3220. First 4-5 children only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481] 3221. Swims	.	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	.	–
[252] 3222. In spring in mountains	–	+	–			–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–
3223. Cooks for self and children	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[515] 3224. Bathing taboo	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–
o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	–	–	°4	–	–	°4	–	°4	–	°4	+	3	–	–	.	–
†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	–	5	°4	–	–	°4	–	+	°4	°4	+	–	–	–	.	–
3227. Certain activities taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[224] ‡3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	°2	+	3	+	6	+	30
3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[525] †3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	–	28	°2	+	3	+	+	.	+
[276] 3233. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	.	–
[484] †3235. Traveling taboo ... days	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	°2	+	3	+	+	+	40
3236. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
†°3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	–	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	°2	+	3	+	–	+	°28
[262] †3238. Fresh fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	–	+	28	+	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
[261] †3239. Dried fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	–	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
†3240. Salt taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	5	+	–	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312] 3241. Cold water taboo	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3242. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
3243. Until child smiles first time													–	–	+	–
3244. Eats with wife	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3245. Uses own receptacles	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
[292] 3247. Special belt worn	(+)	+	–	–	+	–	°+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	°+	°+	+	–	–	–
3249. Combing hair taboo	+	°+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3250. Until navel has healed	.	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3252. Bathes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	°+	–	–	–	+	°+	+	+	–
3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
3255. Gives away old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3256. Burns old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3257. Throws away old clothes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[526] 3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	+	+								+	–	–	–	–	–
[224] 3259a. Shoots at target	–	–	+	–	°+						–	.	–	–	–	–
[625] 3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	–	+	+	–	°+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	–	–	–		°+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	.	–
3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							°+	+	°+	+

2: Voegelin E-S (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	765
4215. Hair cut, close crop, or burned off	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	(-)	•+	764
4216. Cuttings saved	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	[302]
4217. Cuttings kept in house	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
4218. Cuttings made into belt	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
4219. Cuttings burnt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4220. Cuttings thrown in river	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
4221. Cuttings buried in grave	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4223. Mutilations	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[304]
4224. Arms cut soon after death	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4225. Beat breast	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4226. Beat head	-	-	-				+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[302]
4227. Facial and head coatings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4228. Pitch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4229. Dirt, ashes	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4230. Chalk, charcoal	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4231. Pounded shell									+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
4232. White clay on bangs	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
4233. Pitch on arms or legs, chest	-	+	+					•+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	
4234. Touching face with fingers taboo	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4235. Face left unwashed	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4236. "Washed" with wet grass	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	.	.	
4237. Space around eyes washed	+	-	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
4238. Scratching stick used	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	
4239. For head	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	
4240. For body	+	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	
4241. Worn tied around neck	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	
4242. Special attire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	[292]
4243. Mourning necklace	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	•+	•+	
4244. Basket cap, coated with pitch	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4245. Head covered with blanket													-	+		+	
‡4246. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	[262] ●
†4247. Meat ... days	•15	6	•14	•28	1	-	-	5	•86	-	-	2	-	5	-	•6	
†4248. Grease ... days	•15	6	•14	•28	1	-	-	5	•86	-	-	2	-	5	-	•6	
†4249. Fresh fish ... days	•15	6	•14	-	1	-	-	5	•86	-	-	2	-	5	-	•6	
†4250. Dried fish ... days	•15	6	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	2	-	5	-	•6	
4251. Cold water ... days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	
†4252. Salt ... days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	
4253. Seclusion	+	•+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	
4254. In house	•+	•+	•+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
†4255. For ... days	5	•-	-	-	•2	-	-	5	28	-	-	3	+	+	•+	+	
†4256. For ... years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	+	1	
4257. For variable period	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
4258. Prescribed activities during taboo period	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	
†4259. Sweats for ... days or nights	5	6	5	5	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4260. Gathers wood for sweating	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4261. Goes to grave or cremation spot and wails	•+	•+	•+	-	-	•+	+	-	•+	+	+	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	
4262. Walks around, wailing	+	+									+	+	•+	•+	-	•+	
4263. May go to mountains to seek power	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
4264. Making baskets taboo	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	•-	•-	•-	-	•-	
4265. Gathering food taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	
4266. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	-	[783]
‡4267. Sweats to remove taboos, after ... months	•12	12	12	-	-	12	•2	-	•+	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4268. Washes head, face to remove taboos	-	-	-	+	•+	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	+	•+	.	-	
4269. Drinks medicine	+	.	+									(+)	-	-	-	-	
4270. Takes pitch off head, face at remarriage only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[587]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
787 4717. Crow, quail calling, tells of enemy passing	–	+	+	–		.	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+
825 4718. Dog howling, sign of war	+	–	–	–	+	.		+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
4719. Coyote, fox howling sign of war	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+
4720. Any animal calling out of time evil sign	–	+	+	–	.	.	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
4721. May be shaman, sending out spirit								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Vision Quest

787

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4722. Vision questing to obtain guardian spirit(s).	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	•+		–	•–
4723. By individuals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–
4624. By group	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–		–	–
[562] 4725. Men, youths, boys	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+		–	–
4726. Women, girls	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	•–	•+	+	–	+		–	–
4726a. Optional, not obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4727. First quest, prepuberty	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+		–	–
4728. First quest at or around puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	(–)		–	–
4729. Questing during adult life	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	•+	+	+	–	–		–	–
4730. Quest once only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	+		–	–
4731. Quest repeated, to gain power, or for successive powers	+	+	.		+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	–	–		–	–
4732. Some candidates never obtain vision	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4733. Undertaken in winter, annually	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4734. Undertaken in spring, summer only	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	•+	–	–	–	+		–	–
•4735. Undertaken any time, after birth child, death of near relative	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
4736. Vision quest general, may obtain any variety power	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
•4736a. Vision quest may yield all powers except those for doctoring	–	–	+	•+	–	•–	–	•–	•+	•+	–	–	–		–	–
4737. Vision quest yields doctoring powers only	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
4738. Youths prepared for quest	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4739. Lectured by father, father's brother	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
[304] 4740. Whipped with bowstring, stick	–	–	–			+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4741. Ears pierced	–	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4742. Go out naked, or with breech-clout only	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+				–		–	–
4743. Seeker quests at fixed localities in mountains	•+	•+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4744. Alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
4745. With older shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–
4746. Men or youths only	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
‡4747. For ... days, nights	5	5	•4	1	5	•1	•2	0	1	1	1	2	2		–	–
4748. Before doctor-making dance	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	(+)	+		–	–
4749. After doctor-making dance	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–		–	–
● [262] ‡4750. Complete food fast ... days	5	5	(+)	–	5	•2	–	–	–	–	1	–	2		–	–
o4751a. Eats sparingly, or according to spirit's instructions ... days	–	+	28	5	2	–	•2	5	1	•2	–	2	•+		–	–
[262] 4752. Meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4753. Abstains from water	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
[834] 4754. Drinks water with acorn meal in it			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
4755. Sexual continence during quest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4756. Bathes to acquire power	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	–	+	+		–	–	787
4756a. In lake or stream	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–	
4757. Complete immersion	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–	[515]
4758. Washes hands in spring	+	–	–					+		+	–	–	–		–	–	
4759. Bathes each day	+	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	+	(–)	.		–	–	
o4759a. Bathes after ... days	–	–	–	–		•2	•2	5	5	•2	–	.	.		–	–	
4760. Rebuilds stone altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
4761. Breaks branches, piles up wood	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4762. Builds fire	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+		–	–	[372]
4763. Smokes self over fire	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		+	–	+	+		–	–	
4764. Catches glowworms	•+	–	•+					–	.	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4765. Sleeps on mountain at night	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	(+)	–	–		–	–	
4766. Prays for vision	–	–	–					+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4766a. Scarification and bleeding	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	[304]
4767. Ants allowed to bite wounds	–	–	+	•+	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
•4768. To obtain "luck" only	–	–	(–)	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4769. Power comes by dreaming	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4769a. Power comes in trance or faint	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4770. Nose or mouth bleeds	+	•+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–	–	
4771. Instruction by shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–	
4772. Guardian spirit communicates with seeker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4773. Spirit seen	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4773a. Spirit heard	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4774. Spirit felt	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–	
4775. Gives song	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4776. Gives paint		+	–	–	–	–		(+)	–	–	+	+	+		–	–	
4777. Gives dance		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
4778. Instructs as to paraphernalia, methods.	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–		–	–	
•4779. Doctor dance main or only form vision seeking for youths, girls		–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–		–	–	
4780. Successful seeker observes taboos on return	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
†4781. Is sick for ... days	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•1	•1	•2	1	+	+		–	–	
†4782. Continent			–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	[834]
4782a. For ... years			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1		–	–	
4783. Swims	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4784. Sweats and swims	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
†4785. Stays outside house ... days.	1	1	–	–	2	1	•2	5	0	•2	–	–	–		–	–	
†4786. Confined ... days in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(5)	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4787. Uses head scratcher	–	+	.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4788. Eats sparingly or according to spirit's instructions.	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	[262]
4788a. Meat taboo	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4789. Fish taboo	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–					–	–	
4790. Salt taboo	–		–					+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4790a. Drinks water with acorn meal in it.	–	–	–						+	(+)					–	–	[271]
4791. Smokes tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–		–	–	[276]
4792. Gives first kill to old man			+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

BASIC

Hunting

Driving and pursuing.--

000 2. AE: Antelope doctor sings (charms) antelope; animals come toward round tule corral, with single entrance. People stationed outside corral wave branches to frighten antelope, head them toward entrance. Woman inside corral kill (club?) antelope. Done in spring, for antelope only: not for deer.

5. WT: Noose hung at funnel end.

6. As described by Dixon, Maidu, 192-193. SW: Deer driven along straight-line fence, in winter; no pit.

7. AW: Over cliff into snow, on Pit River.

8. See also element 113. SW: Fat deer run down from mountains by hunters into river in autumn; other hunters shoot deer as it floats down-river.

9. E.g., in narrow canyon.

10. Mo: Net of this type mentioned in myth; not actually used. SW: Snares set on deer trails, but deer not driven down trails. See element 28. At, AW: Set net up above water, on long poles; approach net at night in canoe (no light on canoe) and birds fly into net. AW: Also drive rabbits into nets, but only occasionally.

11. Kl: See note 44.

[224] 12. Kl: Mountain encircled with fire in daytime; 30-40 men, some women, gather the deer. Mo: At night, for deer.

14. SW: Elk especially hard to kill; run elk down, in order to shoot it.

15. NS: 2-3 men or more pursue wounded deer 4-5 days sometimes.

21. AE: Hunters on snowshoes run herds of deer into narrow canyons; snow "has to have a crust on it, to hurt deers' legs."

23. AE: In fall only, when water scarce and big bucks fat, hunter tracks buck with dog; "he camps right on the deer's trail until he shoots it; usually it takes 2 days."

Snares, nets, traps.--

24. MV: Use bow and arrow chiefly in hunting; boys use sling. Eat deer mainly in fall; rest of year eat salmon, sucker, sturgeon, ducks, vegetable food. "The people didn't have a hard time getting a living here in the valley, so they didn't use so many snares, nets, traps, for game."

● 262
178
224
26. Kl: Informant stated several times that Klamath Marsh group did not eat rabbits, squirrels, other small mammals. "Lately they do, though; they eat ground hogs." He could give no reason for former nonuse of small mammals. Spier, Klamath, 156-157, lists porcupine, beaver, ground hog, mink, otter, raccoon, jack rabbit,

[169-A]

ON THE ELEMENT LIST

ECONOMY

224 cottontail rabbit, ground squirrel, tree squirrels
[178] as having been eaten, but observes (p. 155) that
"the Klamath are not much given to hunting." Cp.
[262] elements 361-380. Mo: Secure rabbits only if
chance upon them. MM: Rabbits scarce; kill 1 or
2 occasionally; no nets, surround.

28. Kl: Noose, k'nis; set up on sapling, or limb of tree, at night, for deer. Smaller nooses set on ends of poles on riverbanks at night for ducks. SE, SW: Deer snares used only at night; Mo, At, AW, AE, WT; day and night.

29. Kl: See note 28.

31. Kl: See note 26. AE: Twine snares suspended from clumps of sagebrush. This is a recent method of securing rabbits.

223 32. At: Woodpeckers; noose suspended over hole; end of noose tied to branch of tree.

36. For geese and duck; described by Dixon, Maidu, 195.

39. AW: See note 10.

40. WM: Ducks, geese, fly across McCloud area, but rarely light on McCloud River; do light on Upper Sacramento River; plentiful on Pit River. MM: Ducks obtainable occasionally in winter only; not many.

42. At, AW: See note 10.

224 44. Kl: Large net set on stakes in wide, closed circle, to surround herd of antelope. Brush fastened to top of net. Clumps of brush (within area encompassed by net) set afire at several spots, to frighten out antelope; when latter run out men stationed inside net wave the brush affixed to top of net, and others shoot antelope; women sometimes secure antelope barehanded, if animals exhausted. Surrounds (nel'qa) with nets such as these held in Williamson River, Klamath Marsh areas; "wherever they saw lots of antelope in valley."

000 47. WT: During mating season of gray squirrels, stretch nets around tree trunk, 2-3 ft. from base of trunk; no opening in net; as squirrels frolic from 1 tree to other, they are caught in nets.

51. SE, MM: Woodpeckers removed by hand from nest; eaten and topknot saved. At: See note 32. NF, NS: Woodpecker holes stopped with grass. MV: Shot with bow and arrow, in fall.

52. MV: Net draped over cascara bushes, where quail roost.

53. SW: Basket similar to platter shown in Dixon, Shasta, p. 400, fig. 75a, used. WM, WS: Long tubular basket, with small round mouth at 1 end, woven of willows, set inside brush double lean-to in winter. Snow on ground inside lean-to cleared off and acorn meal sprinkled on bare ground; when birds inside house eating meal man throws rocks at walls of lean-to; frightened birds fly into basket; man crawls into lean-to and secures birds in the basket. Same device

[169-B]

000 kept tied by leg. Fed squirrels, raw meat. Do not pluck, cut wings; ultimately freed. WT: Grouse kept. NS: Eagles kept. See elements 5198-5206a. MV: "Don't allow eagle to be kept." Eagle and swan feathers used chiefly for great variety of feather ornaments, etc., that MV make; eagle shot with bow and arrows when feathers needed.

348. AE: See note 347. WM: In basket, when young.

[231] 350. NS: After eagle killed.

351. Kl: When cub gets "mean," kill it.

352. WT: "Deer wish one bad luck, if one keeps fawn as pet; people die very shortly if they keep a pet fawn."

353. Mo: Skunk. SE: Mink. WT: Cottontail rabbits, squirrels.

Food and Its Handling

Staple foods.--

354. SW: In discussing horn utensils, informant said, "The Hupa, Karuk, Yurok bought horn from the Shasta for spoons. They didn't hunt much down-river; mostly fished, so they didn't use much deermeat. Fish is first, deermeat second, among down-river tribes; it's the other way around for the Shasta." AE: Deer and antelope; latter mentioned frequently by informant. WS: Deer hunted chiefly in winter; "best way to get them is in snow."

[261] 355. Kl: Starvation periods affirmed; "in winter whole families died, all around this [Williamson] River, 100 years ago." Good deal of deer, elk, antelope meat eaten although fish staple food. AW: Starvation periods denied; "people didn't know anything about starving here, in old times; they had plenty of fish, ducks, deer, acorns, roots; people from Alturas (AE) came down here in winter." (See also note 1747.) MV: "Plenty of food, year round; if 1 variety of acorn fails 1 year, have plenty of other varieties; not like people up in foothills, where have only 1 variety; if this fails, they starve. Also have plenty of game: fish, ducks, deer in fall."

[262] 357. Kl, Mo: Acorns not used. SE, SW: Acorns used extensively; pine nuts not used much. At, AW: Acorns used extensively; little use of sugar-pine nuts. AE: No oaks in area; a few pine nuts from piñon pine obtained in Hammawi area to E; parties camp there for 3-4 weeks in October, some years. WT: Acorns, digger and sugar-pine nuts gathered. WM, WS, MM, MF, NF: Acorns and pine nuts gathered. NM: Acorns and sugar-pine nuts gathered. NS: Acorns and pine nuts. MV: 4 varieties of acorns in area--live oak, white oak, tan oak, and valley oak; mountain-oak acorns imported, are richest in oil. Pine nuts obtained at Lookout (in MF area); see note 300b.

358. At: Important small seed food; 3 varieties. AW: Important seed food.

[222] 359. Kl, Mo, SE, At, AW, AE: Dig ipos roots;

000 plentiful in Hat Creek (At) area; also rob gopher
[222] holes of stored roots. WT: "Wild potatoes [sp.?]
about only root crop." WS: "No roots in area."

[222] 360. AE: Plentiful in area; in contrast to Kl, who still gather wokus to some extent, AE no longer "bother with them; people say now 'I'm not a bird.'" MF: Water lilies "poisonous."

Animals eaten.--

361. That is, as food, not merely during famines or epidemics.

261 362. Kl: "Long time ago [pre-White], when all people dying [in some sort of epidemic] and Indian medicines didn't work, man said he was going to try dog meat [as a cure]; he roasted a dog and ate it, and it cured him"; others followed suit, and also recovered. Kl ate dog meat only on such an occasion (cp. Spier, Klamath, p. 130). A long time after this, the White people purchased dogs from the Kl with shell beads, and ate them."
At: "3 persons once ate dog, during epidemic; it made them well; dog is good medicine." Also eaten in time of famine.

000 363, 364. Mo: Eaten only during times of scarcity.

365. At: Eaten whenever procurable.

366, 366a. Mo: Grizzly bear eaten only by few people. AE: Grizzly and brown bears lacking in area but sometimes hunted to W.

369. AW: Antelope lacking in area; sometimes hunted to E.

370. AW: Eaten by some persons only.

[224] 372. Tail eaten. Kl: Beavers shot in spring-
[262] time, from canoe. AW: Eaten by some persons only.

373. AW, WS: Eaten by some persons only.

374. WM: Some persons eat, not all. Raccoons tracked to den in winter, and dug out.

375. Mo: Highly esteemed.

376. Kl: See note 26.

380. AW: Mole hide used, but mole not eaten.

382. At: Killed only in wintertime.

387. Mo: Flavor disliked, but eaten in times of scarcity.

391. MM: Caught in fish net.

[231] 392. Kl: Catch and keep them, but do not eat
[262] them. At: Eaten by Goose Valley (Aporige) group
of At. AW: "Goose Valley people (see above) very
fond of turtle, eat lots of them."

394. SE: Lizard used for poison, "scalp of lizard and frog pounded together, put in food as poison."

395. SW: People of Shasta Valley and vicinity of Montague eat crickets, but crickets lacking in SW area. If SW people visiting in Shasta Valley at right time, they gather, eat crickets. Insects pounded into meal, stored. AW: Not many grasshoppers eaten; those that are, are boiled. Eaten by Dixie Valley (Aporige) people in large quantities. WM: Crickets lacking in area, but gathered on trips to S.

396. Mo: Eat 4 varieties.

397. MV: Angleworms made into soup are "good medicine."

[177-B]

DOO 398. MF, NM: Roasted.

399. Eggs of red ant.

Foods taboo to special groups.--(M, men; W, women; Y, youths; y, young women; b, boys; g, girls.)

401. SE: Brains only taboo to Y, y, b, g. At: Head to M, Y, b. AE: Head to M, Y, y, b, g. AW: Head to Y, y, b, g. WT, WM: Head to Y, y, b, g. WS: Head to y. NM, MV: Head to Y, y, b, g.

402. Mo, AW: Taboo to all except old men, old women. At: To M, Y, b. AE, WT: To b, g. WM, MM, MF, NM: To Y, y, b, g. AE: If b, g eat deer heart, own heart will pound too fast.

403. SW: Taboo to Y, y. AW, AE: To b, g. WT: To y. WM, NF: To Y, y, b, g. NS: Eaten chiefly by b. NM, MV: Denied eaten chiefly by b.

404. SW: Taboo to b, g. AW, WM, NM, MV: To Y, y, b, g. AW: If eaten by member of tabooed group, his or her knee joint will slip out when trying to run.

[262] 405. Kl, WT, MV: Taboo to all. SE, SW, At: To all except old men, old women; boiled, soup drunk. AW, AE, WM, MM, NM, NS: Taboo to Y, y, b, g. SW: Young boy made to shoot at fawn fetus, before latter eaten, to give boy luck.

[262] 406. Kl, AW, WT, NF, MV: Taboo to all. SW, AE, WM, MM, NM, NS: To Y, y, b, g. Kl, Mo: Afterbirth taboo to all. SE: Informant uncertain. WM: To Y, y, b, g. At: Bear fetus skinned, given to old women to eat, because meat tender.

407. At: To all except old men and old women. WT: To y. MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: To Y, y, b, g.

[262] [887] 408. Kl: Anyone may eat liver, but principally old people do, because it is easy to chew. Mo: "Old people eat it." SE, SW: Eaten raw by hunter, on spot. At: To Y, b. AW, NF, NM, NS, MV: To Y, y, b, g. WT: To b, g.

409. WM, NF, NM, NS: To Y, y, b, g.

410. NM, NS: Twin plums also taboo to y; would have twins. Denied for NF, where no wild plums in area, and for MV.

411. Mo, At: To Y, y, b, g. AE: To b, g. WT: To all. SW: Small children cannot eat grouse; if do, have yellow mark in eye, on neck. At: If eat duck's feet, cold weather will ensue.

412. SW: Grouse and fish. If eat these together, will not be able to catch either afterward. At: Fish and deermeat. WM: Salt and deermeat. MM: Salt and bear meat. MV: Venison and bear meat.

Food preparation.--

414. Mo, MV: Often burn fishbones, but "no rule about this; don't want children to step on the bones." SW: Fishbones saved, dried, pounded; ground salmon bones cased in salmon bladders or "floats" for storage.

[262] [252] 415. Kl, Mo, At, MM: Backbone of deer only and then only when it has dried meat on it. SW: Ground deer bone regarded as poisonous; persons eating marrow always careful not to swallow small flakes of bone, as this would cause death; no medicine known for such an accident.

[178-A]

000 496. At: Cook red salmon, deermeat with salt; also use salt as medicine; not used to season acorn mush. AW: Salt used sparingly; causes sore eyes; "the Yana pound up rabbits and put a little salt on them; we don't."

497. "Salt grass" (Distichilis spicata) probably absent in most of area covered, but unfortunately no check was made on its distribution. MV: What is apparently hitherto unrecorded method of making salt among MV, explained by informant. Men and women gather salt grass (sp. ?) in large quantities, wash it; grass is then cut up, put into large hole lined with rocks. Fire has been kept burning in this hole for 2 days, in order to thoroughly heat hole and rocks. Layers of hot rocks and grass are put into hole; on top of topmost layer of grass is put a layer of elderberry leaves, then another layer of hot rocks, a layer of coals, and, lastly, dirt. Pit is left sealed up thus for day and night; next day is opened; "the grass is burned into hard, gray, salty sheets, like a rock, but full of holes." This "salt" serves as article of trade; "Colusa people make it good." Specimen size of hen egg seen, tasted; accords with informant's description. Often used medicinally, for colds.

● 262 824 499. Majority of informants familiar with this plant,^ even though it is lacking in various parts of area surveyed. AE informant only person interrogated who did not know about plant, which seems to be lacking in AE area. AW: "Soaproot grows at Round Mountain, in N Yana territory." WT: "Soaproot grows at Hyampom, and in Shasta country, but not here." WM, WS: Soaproot imported from Redding. WS informant's wife had imported some bulbs, tried to raise them at Dunsmuir, but could not; "too cold."

000 505. For washing baskets, buckskins, hair. Mo: Pumice stone used to clean buckskin.

506. SW: Juice mixed with deer fat for gum; "too bitter by itself." Milkweed gum "crumbles after awhile"; superior gum made from a root (sp. ?) which is broken open and set in sun to let juice run out and congeal. This makes "an everlasting chewing gum." Young people not allowed to chew gum; old people chew it; "they pop it--you can hear it crack for a long way."

261 507. Kl: From sugar pine. SW: Pitch from older yellow pines. Recommended for persons who when traveling become weak with hunger or thirst; "chew it, or pound it up fine and swallow it; it stirs up the heart, and one can go on."

000 508. WT: Used sparingly, never given to children because of its laxative qualities. WS, MM: Used as physic. NM, NS: Children eat it.

509. AE: Bitten off willow leaves; no flaying of leaves to obtain it in any quantity. "If eat too much of it, gums get sore." Made by "little black bug" (pes·tui). MV: "Sugar" from leaves of valley oak, which forms in "large glassy drops," gathered from ground and added to pinole made from small seeds.

^[i.e., soaproot.-Analyst]

[179-B]

262 510. Kl: Inner bark of yellow pine secured
824 in June; by July "too hard."
512. Eaten fresh, raw or cooked on coals;
000 dried, for winter, strung on willow withe. MM, NF: Ground burned for better crop; denied by MV. MV: Cooked with fish.

Eating customs.--

515. WT, WM, WS: For acorn soup.

516. WM: For acorn soup. WS: For acorn soup and deermeat.

[264] 519. Kl: Eat any time during day; sometimes men eat alone, sometimes men, women, children eat together.

521. Fresh food cooked and served. WT: Fresh batch food not cooked; "they dish out whatever they have on hand and set it beffore the visitors."

524. NF, MV: With buckskin.

Storage of food.--

525. AW: Acorns stored chiefly in pits; "too cold here in winter for outdoor granaries; have to bury acorns."

527. Bark used as cover for top; dirt piled up around stump.

528. Mo: Poles occasionally laid across boughs of cedar tree; tule sacks containing food stored on this pole platform. AW: Food stored on platform in oak tree; "poison" (animate) set on top of food; if any person, animal appears to steal food, poison shoots thief.

530. For illustration of this type, see Kroeber, Handbook pl. 38. WT: Informant, shown picture of granary just referred to, stated WT use similar granary, but that it is thatched (?) to some extent on sides.

531. NM, NS, MV: 4 upright posts only, for frame. NM: Hole in bottom, to take acorns out. MV: Hole in side.

532. AE: Food, hides hung up in branches of junipers; popular method of storage.

[251] [178] 533. Kl: Recent custom; "may have done it formerly also." NS: Used for temporary purposes only.

539. AW: If leaving village for a time, bury acorns in pit dug inside sweat house; cover hole with tule mats, etc.

Exchange of food.--

262 540. Kl: "Whoever has no food, Indians give him some; they help each other, just like 1
437 family." MV: Informant emphasized fact that between villages food given as gift, but also mentioned that mountain varieties of acorns are purchased from MF, MM groups.

542. AE: Food divided in time of famine.

224 545. Kl: If 2 men hunting, meat divided equally; if more than 2, killer gets slightly larger share. Mo: Killer keeps deer hide. SW:
000 If 2 men, killer gets most; if meat cut up, cooked or dried and divided in camp, all receive equal share. If driving deer into river, driver gets head, hide, foreleg of deer. At: Killer

000 gets skin, 1 of his relati[illegible]ead; all deer piled together in camp for [illegible]ion of meat, if large hunt. WT: Killer [illegible] ham or tenderloin. WM: Killer keeps 2 hams and deerskin; but, upon his arrival home, after hams cooked hunter calls all his companions on hunt to eat these hams at a "big supper." No women attend this supper; each woman cooks and eats a small piece of meat her husband has brought home as his share from the hunt. WS: Killer gets ham and deerskin. On large hunt, after hunt all men foregather in headman's house; men cook the deermeat (hams especially) in this house, and proceed to eat their fill of meat and acorn mush (latter provided by women for this "dinner"). After men are through, each one takes home piece of meat, raw or cooked, for wife and children. MM, MF: Killer gets skin, of deer or bear. NF: Killer gets skin and 1 ham. NM: Killer gets hindquarter. NS: Killer gets skin.

262
437 546. Kl: See note 545. MV: Meat divided equally among hunters; each hunter divides his share again among his relatives. Acorn dough similarly divided.

Ownership of Productive Areas

000 548. SW: Upriver from Hamburg, on Klamath, falls not privately owned; this true also of falls on Shasta, Rogue rivers. At Hamburg and from thence down-river on Klamath through Karuk territory, falls privately owned.

550. AW: "Fishing places the people were more particular about [than hunting places]; they wouldn't let people from other villages come to get fish or ducks there. Trespassers would be hit with a paddle, if met in canoe, and made to get out."

554. SW: If man hunts over certain territory near spot where he lives, all his life, when this man dies no one can hunt in that territory for 1 year. During man's lifetime, however, anyone belonging to same local group as man does, may hunt there. AW: "Hunting places the people were not so particular about [as fishing places], although they would run out a big bunch of strangers, coming too near the settlements to hunt. Everyone would have to hunt together, though, when they used fire drives back in the mountains." AE: Informant had been born at small village, pačulomīči, in present West's Valley; this village group, through its headman, controlled West's Valley; "no one could go in there and hunt without first visiting headman and going out hunting with him. They took care of their land well; no hunting on it without permission." All men belonging to this village had right to hunt, fish in West's Valley, however. MM: By 3-4 men, jointly.

556. AE: "If too many ipos bulbs at pačulomīči [see note 554], and not enough at hammawi [another village], the hammawi people would be allowed to gather ipos at pačulomīči"; such privileges often reciprocal.

561. MM: See note 2619.

[180-B]

000 3445. MV: Old woman and young girl helper.

3451. SE: 8-10 days. At: Eats acorn soup, sparingly. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4 days.

3456. SW: If eat meat, ruin luck of hunter who has shot game; hunter must obtain more luck before he can kill anything afterward. At: If menstruant eats meat will lose her teeth. AW: Fresh deermeat makes menstruant ill, because deer hair grows inside woman if she eats meat at this time. Also, if menstruant eats meat, fish she will make hunter, fisherman sick; weaken his bow and arrow; spoil fishing grounds, etc.

3459. At: All berries except manzanita berries taboo.

3460. WM: New crop acorns taboo. Crop would be spoiled, and next year's crop would fail.

[881 267] 3461. Kl: "Afraid girl would lose her teeth."

3463. WM: Girl drinks creek water only; "salmon in the river; girl would spoil them."

3464. SE: 8-10 days. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4.

3468. MV: Winter only.

3469. MV: 2 female singers eat with girl, also.

3471. MV: See element 3450.

3476. AW: Someone has to give girl water; "if she gets it herself, she will have bad teeth." NF, MV: Girl fed acorn mush on end of forked stick. NF: Attendant holds basket of water to girl's lips.

3477. Twig used to clean teeth.

3478. Mo, SE, NF: Grass, buckskin, etc. AE, MF, NM, MV: Shredded bark used to wipe mouth.

3479. Mo, SE, AW: Chew kinnikinick leaves, berries, or sunflower roots. At, AW, MF, NM: Pine needles or pine gum.

3479a. At, MM: Juniper. AW, MM: Pine tassel (?). AE: Peppermint. At, MM, AW, AE: Done so "girl can't smell meat cooking." At: "So girl won't smell tobacco smoke, or odor of sweat under armpits."

3480. WS: Girl may sleep all day.

3484. NS: Girl made to lie down for entire period. MV: Rises early and bathes.

3486. Mo: If talks too much, will become a "chatterbox."

3488. WM: Cannot laugh because taboo to show teeth; reason unknown.

3492. Instruction concerns conduct, housekeeping, and other things. MV: Old women visitors fed by girl's attendant.

3494a. WT: Would see evil spirit.

3495. At: If looks at moon, it will rain.

3500. NS: Acorns will drop off trees.

3500a. At, AW: If girl steps in water, it will rain. See note 3612, At. NM: If menstruant wood-gathering, another woman carries her across "any little creek."

3502. See 3589-3596.

[302 515 881] 3509. Kl: If girl uses fingers, hair will turn white when still young. "They don't want this to happen." Also, if girl washes face with hands, it will soon become wrinkled and she will quickly look old. NM: Girl's hands tied together sometimes, to prevent her scratching self with fingers.

[218-B]

800 ing funeral, men, women stand facing E and say, "Sus, sus, sus; good daylight come and give me good dreaming," as they clap their hands. "Some women are bashful, though, to talk that way. The people are talking to approaching daylight. Everyone tries to get good dreams after a funeral; a funeral is good for that."

4200. SE, SW, WM: Refers to mourners, not to undertakers. NM: Refers to undertakers and mourners.

4201. SE: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. SW, WM: Refers to mourners, not to undertakers.

4202. SE: Refers to all undertakers and mourners.

4203. SW, WM: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners. NM: Refers to mourners, not to undertakers. MV: 2-3 lunar months.

4204. SE, WM: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners.

4205, 4208. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners.

4208. SW: Woman (not shaman, however) made special medicine; "have such woman at nearly every village; if don't have 1, send for 1 from another village." Medicine drunk to cleanse, purify self.

Taboos on relatives.--

4212. Mo, SE, AW, AE, WS, MV: Only because "she feels so sad." SE: Widow lies on top of corpse, outside, "for last time"; her tears must be washed off before corpse can be buried.

[764
302] 4215. Kl, Mo, AE, NM: Cut immediately after cremation. SE, SW, At, AW, WT, MF: Cut immediately after funeral. WM, WS, MV: Cut day following death of husband. MM, MF, NP, NM: Cut few days after burial, cremation.

4218. At: Belts made, similar to Shasta hair belt figured in Dixon, Shasta, fig. 95, p. 415; decorated with bone, shell ornaments.

4220. Mo: Cuttings or combings never thrown in river or in woods; birds will make nest of it.

4228. WT: Pitches face because she feels badly, "also to prevent any other man falling in love with her."

4230. SW: Reason for application of pitch and charcoal by mourners explained in myth of introduction of death into world: Black Cricket's child died, Coyote vetoed its being brought to life, so child buried; "that's why they [mourners] pitch themselves black, like Cricket."

4233. WT: Widow puts pitch on arms because when she slept with husband, had intercourse with him, she put her arms around him.

4243. Necklace usually consists of lumps of pitch on fiber string. NS: Dubious as to whether pitch used for necklace. MV: Shell beads on string, for necklace. See element 4272.

4244. Very old cap, or one with hole in it.

764
765
262 4247-4250. Kl: 10 days after husband dies, widow goes to mourners' sweat lodge, stays there in seclusion with old woman attendant for 5 days

764 and nights, sweating; at end of this 5-day period
765 widow can eat fish; "she's cleaned good, then."
262 SE: Or more. SW: 1 lunar month. WM: 3 lunar months. MV: 6-7.

000 4251. MF: Drinks medicinal tea instead of water.

4253. Mo: Young widow stays in house "for few days" after husband's death. Older woman with children may have to go out to get wood. None of seclusion taboos enforced if it is necessary to get food for dependents. All widows however sweat twice daily for duration of food taboos. Final purification comes 1 year later.

[764] [765] 4254. Kl, Mo: In mourners' sweat lodge (see note 4247). SE: Mourner cannot come into living house if deermeat there; gives hunter bad luck. NF: Partial seclusion only; does not talk to any man during this period. NS: Stays in seclusion until necklace she is wearing breaks. NM: Stays in seclusion until she attends another funeral, usually in about 1 year. MV: Widow sometimes stays with mother-in-law; usually with her own mother.

4255. Mo: See note 4253. At: 2-3. NS: See note 4254.

4258. MF, NF, NM, MV: Widow makes baskets during period of seclusion, for post-burial ceremony (see elements 4354-4415).

[764] [765] 4261. Kl, Mo, SE, AW, WM, MF, NF, NS, MV: Shadowed by attendant.

4262. NF, NM, MV: Talks only in low voice. NM, MV: 2 women watch mourner, take her outside at night.

4264. MF, NF, NM, NS: See note 4258.

[765] [783] 4267. Kl: Or more. AE: 2-6 months. WM: Widow after death of husband sometimes builds and uses small steam-heated sweat house to remove contamination of disease from her arms, body.

4268. At: After 2-3 years. MF, NM: Ca. 1 year after funeral.

4270. WM: When woman about to remarry, takes pitch off 1 month before marriage.

4272. NF: Worn until burnt at group mourning ceremony, 2-3 years later. MV: Worn for ca. 1 year, then burnt at group mourning ceremony. At this burning young widows put small amount of pitch on face, also.

[764] [765] [587] 4273. Kl: 1-6 yrs. Mo: 2-3. SE: 6 mos. or longer. At: 2-3 yrs. AW: 1-2. WT: 2 mos. to 5 yrs. WS: 2-3 yrs. MM: 1-3. NF, NM, NS: 3 or more yrs. MV: 2-3.

4277. SE, SW, MV: Burn hair; all other groups cut hair. NM: Puts cuttings in gopher hole. At: "A man hardly does anything in mourning for his dead wife."

4281, 4283. AW: 3-4 months. MV: 4-5.

4286. Mo: 5-6 nights. MM: 1-2.

4295, 4296. SE: 1-2 days. AW, AE, WS: Immediately after funeral.

4296. MV: Bathes in medicated water, 4-5 months after funeral.

4299. MF: Put on pitch only. NF: Cut hair, put on pitch. NM: Cut hair only.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K
M middle Columbia, far below the Coast and California, and in turn
161 considerably above the Great Basin.[6]

000 The mind's eye, drawing upon descriptions of early explorers
and modern ethnographers,[7] can recreate the life of the early
nineteenth century. It is a life that moves through a succession
of activities with the seasons, each characterized by a community
of different size and constituency. On a miniscule scale they
resemble the "task groupings" which Anastasio has analysed in
the intertribal relations on the Plateau.[8]

K During the long winters, existence is centered in the permanent
M settlements, for the altitude of the Klamath Basin is over four
221 thousand feet and snow often drifts deep. An accrued depth of
132 six to eight feet is common; while in the exceptional winter of
133 1890-91 a figure of thirty feet, undoubtedly in drifts, was recorded
361 at the head of Agency Lake. Crude, circular bearpaw snowshoes
481 provide a poor means of winter travel, and the settlements tend
• 262 to become isolated; most people are forced to remain in the
villages, supplementing the meager winter catch with stores of
dried fish and meat, roots, seeds, and berries.

K From a distance, the winter settlement has the appearance of
M hillocks strung out along the bank or clustered in a sheltered
221 spot. In size it may range from several score houses—there are
361 perhaps a hundred house pits at one favored site on Klamath
342 Marsh, though not all may have been occupied at the same time
—down to tiny hamlets of one or two earth lodges and a few mat
huts.[9] Within the village, the earth lodges are the dominant struc-
K tures, with the domed huts flanking them. In Klamath settlements,
M communal storage pits shelter the bulk of supplies; but the
343 Modoc prefer to conceal foodstuffs in household caches some
251 distance from the houses.

One Klamath woman recalled her childhood hamlet, part of
K a settlement totaling roughly two dozen houses,[10] on the lower
361 reaches of the Williamson River. Here she and her parents lived
342 with her maternal uncle, the shaman later known as Alex Wilson,
whose earth lodge was the largest in the hamlet. Nearby was
another lodge, the residence of Hunter Wilson, brother of Alex
and headman of the family group. Some four or five mat-covered
K lodges and huts stood in the vicinity, the larger ones closer to
[343] the water for cooking and the sewing of tule mats, the smaller

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

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Native foods. The woman is hulling wokas with the two-horned muller. Both her winnowing tray and hat are twined from tules. Pond lily pods fill the pit in the background. (From Johnson, 1947.)

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The stick game, Klamath versus Paiute. The two men in the center, right, are arranging two sets of "bones" beneath the bandannas, while their side sings a power song. One of the opponents then must guess the arrangement. (From Hincks, 1915.)

[P. 48-B]

*657 continued to be exploited for fifty years, until the owners of the
177 abutting land put an end to it. On the reservation, the Sprague
226 and Williamson continue to supply a catch, although the drying
[251] of fish for the winter, common enough on the Lower End until
about thirty years ago, has now passed into disuse.

*657 Similarly root gathering continued to be an important activity
178 for many years, leading Nickerson to suggest that several of the
177 palatable and nourishing roots used by the Indians for food
222 "could be materially improved by continued cultivation."[62] "Root
[412] probes," or "camas diggers," as well as "fish spears" and fish
[227] hooks were forged by Agency blacksmiths for years.[63]

Wokas long remained a staple for the Klamath. In 1881 Nicker-
*657 son, noting that each family gathered some five to fifteen bushels,
178 added "this wokus, with dried fish, forms a large portion of the
222 food of those who have not the money with which to purchase
262 flour and groceries."[64] About the turn of the century, Coville observed a thriving wokas-gathering industry with a vast expanse of marsh to exploit, and speculated on the possibility of processing the seed commercially as a breakfast food.[65] The decline of wokas gathering parallels in time the Indian's diminishing use of dried fish, another winter food.

*657 A similar course can be traced for those fall activities, hunting
177 and berrying. From at least 1872, Indians were reported leaving
178 the reservation in September to hunt and gather berries in the
222 Cascades.[66] In addition, the men on occasion went on a spring
224 hunt for antelope and mule deer at the north end of the reservation.[67] Gradually the fall berrying and hunting came to be concentrated at the "huckleberry patch" on Huckleberry Mountain, southwest of Crater Lake. Hunting has continued to be both a sport and a means of providing food; and if the preparation of jerky has declined, it is because the freezer has displaced it.
[251] The drying of berries and wild fruits has been rendered obsolete
by canning. There is local testimony that the killing off of predators by fur hunters and stock raisers has caused an increase of deer upon the reservation itself. It is not infrequent for a single family to consume six to fifteen or more deer in the course of a year. One tribal leader from the Upper End, a man then less than forty years of age, remarked in 1958 that until his family

657*
moved to Klamath Falls when he was nine years old, he had 177
eaten only venison and had never tasted beef. 178 222

In their continued loyalty to traditional foods, the Klamath 224
were responsive to several advantages beyond—but including— 657*
appeal to the palate. The techniques involved in securing them 178
were relatively simple and familiar, imposing few demands upon 177
the individual for capital investment in tools and labor, required 262 •
little in regularity of routine, and involved the cooperation of only small groups. Participation was direct, self-controlled, and provided an immediate reward.

Consequently, the issues of beef and flour were assimilated in use to native staple foods, rather than replacing them entirely. Flour was given the name that also denoted a meal made from ground seeds and cattail roots. It must be borne in mind that the rations were issued at times when other foods were largely exhausted, and probably because of this certain anomalies were introduced. Since the issues were public and general, there was no need, as there had been formerly, to conceal foodstuffs from neighbors. Thus, bread and biscuits were the first foods to be baked in the coals of the house fire, rather than in a special outside cooking hut; and, perhaps because of the method of issue, the food was shared by household, rather than by an individual family.[68] The practice of eating while the food lasted strained Agency resources: the Commissary at Yainax estimated that an Indian could easily dispose daily of two pounds each of beef and flour.[69]

The example provided by white cooking, the use of salt, sugar, 657*
and baking soda, as well as new foodstuffs, together with the 177
general acquisition of such utensils as the kettle, coffeepot, and 178
spider, extended the variety of culinary techniques and even 262
enhanced the preparation of native dishes. One woman recalls 263
the ease with which one could hull wokas with a coffee grinder; 415
and when a kinsman borrowed that useful instrument, she used her wokas mulling stones to grind coffee beans. Through it all, native foods continued to be favored, and the observation that "the Indian [school] children are very fond of fish" is nearly as true today as it was in 1893.[70]

657*
An analysis of the statistical and narrative reports of the 177
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*657 Agents shows that they consistently tended to undervalue the
177 contribution made by native foods to the Klamath economy. From
178 the first statistical entry in 1882, when they are estimated to
• 262 contribute forty per cent of the food supply, native foods steadily decline in the records, leveling off from 1888 to 1893 at approximately twenty per cent, and, after a spirited fluctuation from then to 1901, rising slowly to ten per cent in 1904. That dependency upon these foods declined from total to partial reliance is admissible. O. C. Applegate, while Superintendent, reported that by the turn of the century some of the food resources had begun to dwindle under intensive use. He found the fish less abundant than in the halcyon days of the first Agent, and observed that both water fowl and prairie chickens had been overhunted.[71]

While conceding the decline, a critic may well find fault with the bland assessment of Elisha Applegate a decade earlier (1891) that native food quests were then "indulged in more as incidents and to add variety of life than as occupations to be seriously depended upon."[72] The year after Applegate made his report, one graduate of the Indian school, upon returning home, saw things in a different light. "Whenever I got job, I pitched hay. I did fishing and hunting, and I had plenty to eat all the time . . . lots of deer meat, and I used to pick wokas too."[73] If this was an indulgence, it was in sheer survival.

The sources of error are not hard to find. Administrators could form only the most general opinion of the contributions made by native foods, and must have tended to judge from the examples provided by Indian employees immediately at hand and from the more acculturated Indians. Moreover, their reports were in part designed to illustrate the progress which their charges had made away from their former customs. Accordingly, they understated the degree to which native economic activities conditioned the acceptance of new modes of earning a livelihood and supplemented those which had been taken up.

*657 Consider, by way of example, the pursuits which in the 1880's
177 could be combined according to taste, need, and season.

178 Lumbering and logging were winter and spring enterprises,
221 with intermittent logging taking place in the fall. Labor for the
433 contractor at the Fort and for settlers ran from spring through
[313]
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*657 missiveness. Their ranches often took on the appearance of rural
464 slums, and were the scenes of drinking parties and brawls.
433 Economically profitable or not, ranching constituted the most
233 common occupation for those who were employed. It offered special advantages. The land was usually an inherited allotment and, together with cattle and improvements, was often nontaxable. Outdoor work with livestock was a familiar activity; it permitted considerable latitude to the farmer in adjusting his routine. There was space to live.

*648 Whether dwelling in town or on a ranch, tribal members
*657 continued to seek native foods; but these activities had come to
433 occupy a different place in their lives. Men of all ages still fished
22 and hunted; many families still gathered huckleberries; and
262 elderly women at least continued to dig for the succulent roots
177 of ipos and camas and to gather wokas. The latter foods, how-
178 ever, were sought as cherished delicacies, now rare; while journeys to the berry fields assumed the character of an outing. Much of the fishing had acquired a strongly sportive aspect and was carried on by angling. Only the spearing of mullet during the spring runs and the hunting of deer and waterfowl seriously served food demands. The larger game animals, which had figured in only a small way in Klamath diet and played a more important role among the Modoc, had become abundant upon the reservation as ranchers killed off predators. Tribal members often hunted them from a car or spotlighted them at night. Waterfowl were often shot as they sat upon the water. Fifteen deer would see a household through the year; and a number of Klamath families met all their meat requirements by hunting and fishing, being content to buy an occasional cut in town to add variety to their diet.

*648 "Meat hunting" thus continued to ignore sportive conventions,
*657 although fishing had in part given way to them. At the same
224 time, individual Klamath were wont to play with those conven-
226 tions by entering contests for the biggest buck or rainbow; and
181 they delighted in underscoring white failures to abide by their own standards of sportsmanship. For the Klamath, hunting and fishing possessed particular virtue as an attribute of an Indian estate. The ability to pursue fish and game without regard to season was a signal right cherished by the Indians and valued

[p. 347A]

857 526 far. Some contests utilize a stationary target. In others, arrows and darts are shot at a rolling ring. The rings used by boys are smaller than the men's.

868 Boys soon learn to make their own willow darts for the games, are proud of them, and often decorate them by wrapping green tules [531] around them in designs. The darts are then blackened in the fire and the tules unwrapped, leaving white markings where the tules had been. Such negative pyrographic patterns are common on canoe poles and paddles. Girls similarly decorate sticks "just for fun"; they do not enter into the dart contests. The boys do not learn to make their own bows and arrows until puberty or after.

Training in the techniques of fishing, gathering, hunting, and various manufactures begins in late childhood. • [262] The principal food of the Klamath is fish, but vegetable products and game are also used. 221 The spring, summer, and fall months are spent in travel for the seasonal food supply. Early spring sees a move to fishing grounds along the river. In the summer, families move to the prairies for roots and berries. Some go to the mountains to hunt. In August and September families congregate to gather the wild water-lily seed along the marshes. In the fall there are hunts, and all return to the winter villages where they will remain through the coldest months of the year.[23]

226 868 The first sucker run in the spring is of special significance and attended by ritual and taboo.[24] Small children are warned to stay away from the river, lest they get sick. The first catch is divided among all; the entrails are carefully gathered up and thrown back into the river to insure the continued abundance of fish. It is the children who are sent with the entrails to the proper spot on the river. [251] While the men continue fishing, the women clean and dry the fish for winter storage. Girls of eight or nine help their mothers by collecting willow branches and arranging the fish on them to dry.

After the first run, the restrictions are relaxed. Children are then allowed to gather along the banks and watch, so long as they do not bother the men. Boys help by dipping fish out of the water by hand and by scaring fish toward the nets; but they do not work with the nets, which take at least two full-grown men to handle.

868 226 Spears are also used for taking fish. Boys of ten or older are taken out by their fathers into shallow water to learn how to watch for the air bubbles that indicate the presence of fish. The father shows the boy how to impale the victim on a many-pointed spear and finally lift it from the water with a single-pointed gaff. For

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[23] Spier, pp. 10 f.

[24] Varieties of fish caught, fishing techniques, and customs connected with fishing are treated in Barrett (1910), pp. 249-251, Spier, pp. 147-155, and Voegelin, elements 190-300.

[p.348A]

> 50 and saw us. They laughed and laughed and said, "Look, she doesn't know how to use the
> 868 pole." Then they told me how to push it a little way at a time and lift it up and push again.

Some children start to use paddles by themselves, too. Adults see them trying to do so and tell them how to kneel in the bottom and dip the paddle in and out of the water without splashing. Light cedar paddles are used, and small ones are made for children. Similarly, shorter poles are often made for the children.

222 868 462 • [262] The principal vegetable food of the Klamath is the seed of the wild water-lily, known as wokas. Many other seed, root, and berry products are also utilized in varying amounts.[26] It is the women who do the gathering, and there is a strong feeling that a girl cannot learn too soon to contribute to the family food supply by helping her mother gather these products, although youngsters are never forced into work.

Even very small girls receive a tiny digging stick as a toy. With the sticks the girls play around the camp, digging up clumps of grass to be used as "camas" and "ipos" for feeding their dolls. Children often accompany their mothers after berries, seeds, and roots. They are allowed to run about as they please and only help if they wish. When they get tired or hungry, they go back to camp. Both boys and girls help occasionally with berrying. Parents complain that the youngsters eat more than they save, but do not scold them.

251 868 Part of the activity during the berrying season is, of course, the drying of the berries for storage. One woman recalls seeing this as a child and wanting to help.

> Up in the mountains I saw how they dried huckleberries. They dug a little ditch and put the berries in and made a fire alongside. You have to watch the fire for a day and a night. I remember seeing this when I was about ten. I wanted to dry some berries, too; but my mother didn't want me to use any of her berries. She said I might ruin them so I'd have to get my own. I went and picked some, and she showed me how to dry them.

222 868 When a girl is nine or ten, her mother gives her a real digging stick of slightly smaller dimensions than her own. The girl is also given a small carrying basket to wear on her back and a basket to put the roots in before they are transferred to the carrying basket. The mother shows the girl where to go to get the best roots and how to insert the stick to loosen the earth all the way around the root before prying it out. Apparently there is little attempt to force the girl to work hard the first

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[26] Coville (1897), pp. 87-103, idem (1904), pp. 725-739, and Spier, pp. 166 f.

STONE IMPLEMENTS.

412 Several forms of stone implements are quite commonly found [262] among the Klamath. Most characteristic of these is the two-horned muller (pl. 21, fig. 2), used with the flat, very thin metate [324] in grinding wokas, the chief food of the region. The process of grinding with these implements is shown in pl. 12, fig. 1. The muller is held so that the horns or ears point from the operator and the grinding is done on the stroke of the muller from the operator, the stroke toward the operator being very light indeed. [252] A second form of muller, described by informants, but not now in use, has a loop instead of the two horns. No special ceremonial or religious significance seems to be attached to either of these forms. Another, very small metate and a small grinding stone or muller (pl. 21, fig. 1) are employed in the grinding of certain seeds which are parched and used as food. The motion in grinding with the small muller is circular, not backward and forward as in the case of the larger one. These small milling implements are also used by girls as playthings in the grinding of wokas and other seeds.

Small mortars and pestles are quite commonly used at the present time and are still made by the people of this region. They are used chiefly by old people whose teeth are poor, for grinding dried fish and meat, though they are also employed in grinding seeds. The pestles used with these mortars are more or less crude. Those shown in pl. 21, figs. 3 and 4 are exceptionally well fashioned. A typical mortar is shown in fig. 6 of the same plate.

Another special implement of stone is the maul (pl. 21, fig. 8). This, unlike the pestle, is always made with a decided conical form. It varies up to five inches or so in diameter, and is from [313] six to perhaps ten inches in length. It was used in driving the elkhorn and mountain-mahogany wedges which were employed in splitting trees, particularly for canoe making, as has been [178] already described. Neither the wedge nor any other elkhorn implement is now to be found in this region. 227 Grooved sinkers of elliptical or triangular form are used on the gill net. One of these triangular sinkers is shown in pl. 21, fig. 7.

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place to place, a tule raft was sometimes used, particularly by war parties. Several large bundles of tule, sometimes two feet in diameter and eight or ten, or even fifteen feet in length, were lashed together to form a raft. It is said to have been propelled by lying down along the edges and really swimming the raft by dipping the hands into the water with a motion similar to that used in paddling.

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One of the most characteristic features of the culture of the region is the flat triangular platter made of tule and used for serving food, particularly broiled or otherwise cooked fish and roasted meat. Such trays are shown in pl. 13, figs. 1, 4, 6, and vary greatly in size. Circular baskets of coarse tule, such as that in fig. 3 of the same plate, are more rarely found. Occasionally they are bound about the rim with a hoop. More or less flat trays of several other forms are also used. One such tray is shown in fig. 5 of the same plate.

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Though not used at the present time, a tule sack was formerly made for the transportation and storage of wokas. This sack was made of unsplit tule, but was of sufficiently close weave to prevent the wokas from running through. These sacks were sometimes made so large that when filled with the wokas seed, which is comparatively light in weight, they were so heavy that a man of ordinary strength, or a woman, would not attempt to carry more than one at a time.

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There are several forms of rigid baskets made with willow or other sticks, particularly the conical burden basket (pl. 16, fig. 3) which was used largely in gathering foods such as wild plums; and the flat, more or less triangular, openwork basket with a handle (pl. 16, figs. 1 and 2),[13] used as a sieve and as a grater as well as a general receptacle. In the loop handle this basket differs from most of those of similar form found in various parts of California. It is used for sifting the wokas after drying, the seeds passing through the interstices of the basket, and separating from the larger fragments of the pods. Also camass, ipos, and other roots and tubers are rubbed on this basket in order to grate off or scrape off the skin of the tuber. In addition to being made of round willow stems, these baskets are also made of the split roots

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[13] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M walked with the cradle on her back, it was bound down with a
K piece of buckskin, and there was in some cases a harder material
304 used in connection with the buckskin, such as a small piece of
854 board, or a piece of willow basketry. These headbands were, of
course, properly padded to prevent actual injury to the child's
head, but the pressure was sufficient and was so adjusted that it
caused a decided flattening of both the front and back of the
M head. The younger generation has not been subjected to this
K cradle treatment and does not show the flattening, but among the
[178] older Klamath and Modoc the flattening is very pronounced.
M K Probably due to the influence of the Shoshonean peoples to the
854 east, the cradle board finds some use among the Lutuami, but the
177 woven tule and willow cradles are typical of the region.

M In addition to the various articles of dress mentioned in speak-
K ing of the uses of tule, the Klamath and Modoc make a belt
291 either from the fiber of the inner bark of certain trees or from
human hair. These are worn by the women in every-day dress.
286 Plate 17, fig. 7, shows one of these belts of fiber.

287 As a brush for dressing the hair the tail of the porcupine is
M used (pl. 22, fig. 2). Usually the longer spines are removed and
K the skin of the tail is then stuffed either with shredded tule or
302 with shredded sage-brush bark. In dressing the hair the brush
237 is drawn through it directly against the points of the spines,
which, as may be seen from the illustration, lie almost flat.

K As before mentioned the Klamath have many vegetable foods
262 in addition to the wokas. Most of these are derived from small
plants, but the pine furnishes one. The inner bark of some of
the species of pine is much esteemed as a food and there is a
[237] special implement used in taking it. This knife-like bone imple-
ment (pl. 22, fig. 5) is used in separating the inner from the
outer bark, and is usually made from a deer rib or from a rib
of one of the other large animals.

SUMMARY.

M The Klamath and Modoc people possess a specialized culture,
K due largely to the extensive use of tule in the making of houses,
285 basketry, and various utensils. The only baskets made of a
harder material are conical burden baskets, triangular sifters, a

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THE MONTHS OF THE YEAR.

OBTAINED FROM "PETE" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

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[226] [251] [222] [252] [262]

Gáptsatka É-ukshikni mák̲laks páha udsáks; lúela kápto Yá-ag;
In the month of the small finger the Lake Indians dry the large sucker; kill gudgeons at the Bridge;
Ktaí-Túpakshi tk̲álmakstant otí'lks lúela hō'ank. At sa kó-iχaktchuapka,
of Standing-Rock to the westward fish-dam kill when jumping. Now they will leave home (soon),
at kámals pahá; kó-iχaga, k̲ä'shla sa, k̲olálsuapk mat sa, tawiksálsuapk
and dry fish they prepare; they leave, go after ipos they, will gather kol they, will gather tawika;
mat s at, pō'ksalsuapk mat sa, at sa pópakuapk sátnalhuapka sa, suaítlaluapk; saká a pō'ks.
they, will dig camass they, they will bake (it), roast it (3 days) they, roast it (1 day); eat raw camass.

[251] [222]

Tχópowatka pahá at pō'ks iwídshat, at É-uksi génuapka woksalsuapkátki giug; káyudsh nû'k̲a wókash. At nû'ka wókash, wóksalsha at túnepni
In the thumb-month dried then camass they put under ground, now for Klamath Marsh they will start to gather lily-seed; not yet is ripe pond-lily seed. Now has ripened lily-seed, they gather (it) for five
waítash, kánktak wókslat Eúkshikni. Sníkanua nadshgshaptánkni waítash;
days, as long may gather (it) the Lake people. They let it ripen during six days;
nadshgshaptánkni waítash wókash shutä'shlat, awō'lat, péksat, shiulína,
during six days the nuphar-seed they grind, cook, rub fine, winnow,

[435] lulína. Nā'sh wíllishik pálasham-wáχoksh láp tála, lχálχamnishti lulínash
make flour. One sack of the flour-bags two dollars, in a long, heavy sack the ground-up wókash

[222] túnep tála. Nû'χatk wókash iwiχí'e k̲á-itua nû käíla. "Tánk a íwíχa í?
five dollars. Roasted lily-seed filled in sacks none in the country. "How many did fill you?

[224] lápkshapta kán íwí'χa willíshik?" "nû té-unip willí'shik iwí'χa!" Wéwan'sh pí'la wō'kshla, hí'hassuaks gánkanka paχō'les, tchä'-u. At sa héwi-
seven who did fill sacks?" "I ten sacks have filled up!" Women only gather wókash, the men hunt mule-deers, antelopes. Now they will haul

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uapk̲, skúya wókash. At a sha í hí'wi-uapk; áwalues sk̲éna, máktsina
(it) home, crush lily-seed. Just they home will bring it; to the island they row, camp there
Nû'shkshi, wō'ns í'lktsat Lĕmé-isham Nutē'ks, Vushí'nkam Tínuash, Lál'lāks,
at Skull-place, canoes they put away in lake bottom at Thunderbolt, at "Snake-Drowned", at "Slope-steps"
Lkō'm Ä'-ush; k̲ák̲okísh lóloksgish ktélχa, Stópalsh-Tamā'dsh, Tó-ilkat
at Black Lake; at the ford the rifle drop, at Peeled-Pine, at Rail-Pyramid
pí'la wí'hla; tchía nánuk K̲ák̲-Ksháwaliäksh; nánka tchía Tchíkuss-Walákgishtat.
stops every one at Raven's Place; some (will) stop at Bird's Lookout.

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NOTES.

*539 221 This text intends to give a sketch of the various occupations of the northern tribe or Ê-ukshikni in every month of the year, and is partially worded in a form which may be called dramatic. These statements are not always arranged in logical order, but a profusion of ethnologic details gives intrinsic value to them.

805 The months of the Máklaks year do not coincide with the months of our calendar, for they extend from one new moon to the next one, and therefore should be more properly called *moons* or *lunations*. Twelve and a half of them make up the year, and they are counted on the fingers of both hands. The first moon of their year begins on the first new moon after their return from the wókash-harvest at Klamath Marsh, which is the time when all the provisions and needful articles have been gathered in 796 224 for the winter. Work is then stopped and the communal dances begin, the doctor-dances as well as those conducted by the chiefs, and everybody participates in them except those who are out hunting in the mountains during the latter part of the year. This mode of counting the moons on the digits was once popular, but on account of its imperfections it is now forgotten by the majority of the tribe. Instead of it they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as: udsaksä'mi, "in the big sucker time"; i-umä'mi, "in the berry season", or they use our calendar months.

The first moon mentioned in our text, gáptche, answers generally to our May. The two next moons are counted on the thumb and forefinger of the hand not used immediately before; with this last moon their year has come to an end. The next five moons are counted again on the digits of the first hand, and so forth. The half moon making up their full year is not accounted for in this text.

823 226 74, 2. Ktai-Túpakshi is a locality of renown in the folklore of the Klamath tribe. It lies near the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, on the property of an Indian named Tchéloχins. The otílks is the fish-dam (from utíla), where the Indians wade in the water with their dip-nets and catch the fish while it ascends the river in spring-time in enormous quantities. This fish-dam does not reach the water's surface.

193 74, 2. The direct object of lúela is kápto, its subject máklaks hŏ'ank.

74, 3. kámalsh pahá means: they dry the fish which they have just caught by exposing it to the sun on limbs of trees, and then make kámalsh by pounding it. Kámalsh is a derivative from gáma, to pound.

192 74, 3. kó-iχaga is identical with gúikaka; derived from kúi, "away, far off"; gui-χátchka is: to start out annually to the prairies where roots etc. are harvested.

262 222 74, 5. saká a pŏ'ks: they eat *sometimes* the camass raw, but only at the time when digging it. Bulbs, roots, pods, chrysalids and berries are gathered by women only.

251 74, 6. pahá at p.; this is equivalent to pahátko pŏ'ks iwídshat. They bake the camass and put it in their cachés at the place where they intend to stay next winter.

796 222 192 415 74, 8. shuíkanua. During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process, the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the women, and they go to work again in their canoes.

74, 9. shiulína. From the preceding we should expect shiulínat, lulínat.

74, 10. wíllishik is the generic term for larger kinds of provision-sacks; it means here a sack of fifty pounds seed or grain, while the wáχoks holds hundred pounds. In pálasham-wáχoksh, however, the latter word is taken in its *generic* sense of sack, bag.

II.

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Kiä'm	k̲'leká	tchû'shni;	tsúyunk	hû'ksa	tsóχatk	pi'l	kiä'm,	nánuktua
Fish	remain dead	forever;	therefore	these	dead (people)	(exist) only	as fish,	as all kinds of

kiä'm,	nánuktua	mák̲laksni	tsók̲atk.	Hä'	n'	hû'nk	hû'nkiash	shläät	skû'k-
fish,	all kinds	of Indians	dead.	If	I		(of a deceased)	should behold	the

shash,	k̲'läkát	ni	hû'nk	släók;	hä'toks	ni	shuíshaltk,	tchēk	gíug	k̲á-i
spirit,	would die	I	it	through seeing;	but if	I	recur to magic songs,	then		not

siúgat	nia.
he may kill	me.

NOTES.

[128] My efforts towards obtaining exhaustive texts from the natives concerning their belief in the transmigration of human souls were not crowned with entire success. Of the two items obtained, No. II is intended as a commentary of No. I, both treating [262] of the presence of human souls in fish. The cause why so many Indian tribes shun the flesh of certain fish lies in the fact that these species were seen feeding upon the bodies of drowned men and swimming around them. This induced the belief that man's soul will pass into the organisms of these finny inhabitants of the wave, even ×539 775 787 192 when death has resulted from other causes than from drowning. According to Hill, the Mák̲laks believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances. But in *one* status only they become visible to them; when Indians are bewitched by the irresistible, magic spell of a conjurer or of a wicked genius. Then they enter into a tamánuash-dream, and when they see a dead person's spirit in such a dream, they are almost certain to [755] die from it. Only the intervention of the conjurer and of his song-medicine can save them from perishing; rigorous fasting and ascetic performances cannot be then dispensed with, and with all that no certitude of his final rescue is to be had.

[769] Here as elsewhere the pronouns hûk, húnkiash etc., are inserted instead of the unpronounceable name of the deceased, and mean: *dead person, spirit.*

129, 2. pil mák̲laks; only dead Indians, not dead white men, because during their life-time these did not believe in the skû'ks; this belief is a privilege of the Indians.

129, 2. Hushti'χak etc. This sentence runs as follows: Tchē'ktoks hushti'χa ak nish, hûk tchē'k nish síuksh shanahō'li, wakiánhua tchēk p'násh (or pû'sh) nû'sh shuíshaltki gíug shanahō'li: "if he (the bad genius) makes me only dream in that manner, then he intends either to kill me, or perhaps he wants me to keep the song-medicine [756] for myself." To keep the song-medicine, shuíshla, is to undergo fasts and ascetic performances under the supervision of some conjurer for an almost unlimited time, five years at least.

129, 3. 4. Hä'toks ni' shläät etc.: if I should see (the dead) while I am *awake.*

[193] 129, 4. Skû'ks-kiäm, a compound word, may be rendered by spirit-fish, letiferous fish.

130, 1. Kiä'm k̲'leká etc. The rather obscure sense of this statement may be made comprehensible by the following: "When fish are dead, they are dead forever; hence

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"reptile." "amphibian" or "plant." Even the English language had to borrow these terms from Latin. The Klamath Lakes often use kŏ'sh (pine) generically for "tree," and wishink, "garter snake" for "snake," the Modocs wáměnigsh (black snake) for the same order of reptiles, these species being the most frequent of their kind in their respective countries. Birds are hohánkankatk as well as quadrupeds, because they fly "in a straight line".

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ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES.

LIST OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN AND MINNIE FROBEN.

Yántch kálkali, tχópo-pátpan, pakí'sh; kak tán: 18"; käílatat lû'sha,
cylindric, thumb so large as, eatable; so long: 18"; on ground it lies,
ktaíyatat lushá. Shláps pushpúshli, lā'pi shlápsh.
on rocks it lies. The flowers (are) dark, two flowers (to it).

Kápiunksăm k̲édsha saígatat; lû'k pûpashpúsh-tkani, lúiχitk tchí'pshash.
grows in the pra'rie; the seeds (are) blackish, larger than tchípash.
Wéwanuish hûnk shtä'ila wékank yákitka páta-gíulshēmi. Pék-
The women gather (it) by beating (it) into seed-baskets at summer's end. By
shank sha hû'nk gápiunks shúta; tchilála sha títatna. Wû'kash-
grinding they kápiunks prepare; boil (it) they sometimes. Wókash-
shitk máshetk kápiunks.
like tastes kápiunks.

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Káshma k̲édsa walídsat, käílatat ushá; pálpal shlápsh, tsmō'k pi'luitk.
grows on rock cliffs, on the ground lies; white (is) flower, after fish smelling.

Kĕlátch k̲édsha wí-ukayant kĕládshamat; kĕládsh ntchekáni mämätch-
grows on the low keládsh-bushes; keládsh-berry small blue
mä'tchli lálkaya. Wéwanuish kĕládshla wâkslólank; shpahá sha
grow on bushes. The females collect (it) after wókash-season; dry (it) they
tchúi ishkû'lank, í'lχa sha shpáhank í'lkshlûk lúldam, tchilálank
then after gathering, keep they (it) by drying to preserve (it) for winter, boiling (it)
tchēk sha pán.
then they eat (it).

Kĕnáwat k̲édsha saígatat, tsélas ka tánni 1', pakí'sh; p'lái shláps pushpúshli,
grows on prairie, stalk so long 1', eatable; on top the flower is dark,
tídsh piluítko.
good smelling.

Klána pálpalish shlápshaltk p'laí, k̲édsha k̲ók̲etat, pákish, tíds másitk; má-
a white flower having on top, grows in rivers, is eatable, well tasting; the
k̲laks pán.
Indians eat (it).

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*539 *Klápa* kálkali, pakí'sh; ka tánni 3"; taktákli pû'dshak, tápaχ kitchkáni.
is cylindric, eatable; so long: three inches: red (is) the púdshak-grass (its) leaves small.
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824 *Klü* kálkali lutí'sh; k̲edshá Móatok; pakísh.
is a rounded root; grows in Modoc country; (it is) eatable.

Ktú'ks wókash-shítko, k̲édsha táletat; ktû'ksam shlápsh pû'pash, pálpali, pakí'sh.
nuphar-alike, grows on straight stalk; of the ktúks the bud (is) (its) top, is white, is eatable.

Kú'ktü û'sha käílatat, pakí'sh; gémtchi tsélas: O.
lies on the ground, eatable; so shaped (its) stalk:

K̲ō'ls kálkali, pakí'sh; mû'na lû'sha ámbutat; kitchkáni shlápsh wítch-payam.
globular, eatable; deep down it lies in the water; small is (the) flower of the witchpal.

K̲ō's wé-uχalks tsélash gí'tk, shlápsh gítk; pakí'sh.
a forked stem having, flower having; palatable.

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K̲ō'l. Táktaklï tchélash gû'lam nû'kuk. Í-ukak mák̲laks hû'mtcha gû'l
Red (is) the stalk of the kol when ripe. Around Fort Klamath the Indians this kind of kol
shtä'-ila túm, gítatoks k̲á-i tuá k̲ōl. Ámtatka sha méya pû'kgu-
gather in quantity, but here (at agency) not there is any kol. With a stick they dig (it) to their
ishamtat shiû'lagiank, tchúi sha pû'ka; í'kagank pä'n shtápka
roasting-place bringing it, then they roast (it); taking it out again they pound (it)
ktáyatka. K̲ó-i pí'luitk, tídshi tadsh pā'sh; hä kaní k̲ō'l ē'nt,
with stones. Badly flavored, good however a food; if anybody kol carries on him,
lû'k hû'nksh shtí'kok vû'shat.
a grizzly bear him smelling will flee.

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L'bá. Lupí' sha'hlmalχō'tchtat shápashtat l'bá nók̲a; wéwanuish stä'-ila
As the first autumn-commencement in (that) month l'bá ripens; the females gather (it)
yákitka wékank tíatka. Tsúi sha ítpampalank shpáha, shutéshluk
in baskets, beating (it) with a paddle. And they bringing it home dry (it) for cooking
sha gáma; skátka gáma gā'mkishtat. Wíllishikat sha íkû'ga
they pound (it); with a pestle (they) pound in a mortar. Into sacks they fill (it) in
pā'sht, tchúi sa vûmí vumí'shtat wíllishikat íkúgank.
after drying, and they bury (it) in caches, in sacks after putting in.

Léhiash k̲edshá Móatok; gí'tatoks É-ukshi k̲á-i léyash k̲édshant. Tánapsh-
grows in Modoc land; but right here (at agency) in Lake country not léyash is growing. Turnip
shítko shlē'sh léyash; wí-uka lē'ntk léyash; tchélash toks lé-isham
alike to look at (is) léyash; not very deep lies léyash; stalk of léyash
nā'sh pétch atí taktákli shlápsh gí'tk. Móatokni shnítchí'χa
(is) one foot tall, red flower having. The Modocs fry (it)
lépuinatk pálāsh shû'tank léhiash. -K̲ú-i mā'shetk.
in frying pans into bread making léyash. Badly tasting (it is).

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Má-i. E-ukshíkni máyalshuk vū'nshatka sχéna shléank é-ushtat. Tché-
The Lake people for tule-gathering in canoes row out finding (it) in lakes. The
lash sha shnû'kank íshka, yánaush pīl p'ánk púedsha. Yánakänīn
stalks they seizing pull up, their lower ends only eating throw away (the rest). Each at the lower end
pálpalī gī nép pánani. Stá-ila sha kshunē'mi, k̲á-i mā'nsh í'pka
white is hand-long. Gather (it) they at grass-time, not long (can) lie
má-i; pā'shtak sha púedsha k̲ú-i k̲léksht.
tule; as soon as dried they cast (it) away. had having become.

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Nū'tak k̲édsha ntchékayant kshû'nat shaígatat; lû'k tchípashptchi gī.
grows on small grass-stalks in prairies; seeds tchípash-alike are.
Kápiunks-shítko stä'-ila nû'tak wéwanuish wékank yákitka.
Kápiunks just like gather nū'tak the women, by beating (it) into baskets.

Páwash a k̲édsha aitχámĕnash k̲ō'l, k̲á-i k̲ú-i pí'luitk k̲û'lam-shítk, lúiluyatk
grows smaller than kol. not stinking kol-like, sweet
toks kpápshash. Yaínakshi pīl sha túm shléa. Tchélash pá-usham
but to taste. At Yámsha only they much (of it) find. Stalk of páwash
wí-ukani, mû'kmukapsh pálpalsh shlápsh gí'tk. Pû'ka sha hû'nk
is low, feathered (and) white flowers having. Bake they
páwash, tchúi sha gáma, shpáhank sha í'lχa lû'ldam páshluk.
páwash, then they pound (it), after drying (it) they preserve for winter gathering in.

[252] *Pū'ks* nánukash-käíla k̲édsha tû'm, títatna k̲á-i tû'mi. Pû'ks k̲édsha
everywhere grows in quantities, sometimes not in profusion. Camass grows
Óregon saígatat, tchékĕnish metsmétslish leló-usam gí'tk tchélash;
on Oregonian prairies, minute blue flowers having (its) stalk;
pû'ks tchék'ni ónions-shítko shléash pálpali shánkitk gíug, pukátk
camass small onions-similarly looking, is whitish raw being, when baked
[251] tchēk lufluyatk mā'sha nóχuk. Pahátko mā'ntch gí'ntak í'pakt
then sweetly tastes when it is done. When dried, a long time afterwards it may remain,
túmĕni illólash k̲á-i k̲ó-i k̲'lékant. Shláps tsmō'k píluitk.
for many years not spoiled may become. The flower fish-stink smells after.

[252] *Pū'lχuantch.* Píena mák̲laks pû'lχuantchluk pienû'tkishtka; pû'ka a sha
Scrape up the ground the Indians for gathering the chrysalids with a paddle; roast (them) they
ktáyatat k̲élpokshtat kshū'n puetílank, wáldsha tchík sha kshún,
with stones heated, grass putting under, lay on top then they grass,
kné-udshí lokáptchχa, tchúi sha käíla k̲ä'lua pû'k̲ûg púlχuantch.
rough bark pile up on top, then they with earth fill up for roasting the chrysalids.

Stópalsh. Mák̲laks kiamā'mi guiχakshä'migshta stópalsha pûkshämí' tch. K̲a-
The people in fishing-season, at home-leaving time peel trees, in camass-season also.
k̲owátka sha kiulō'la stópalsh; kápka sha stópala. Lúiluyatk stóp-
With bones they peel off the inner bark; small pine-trees they peel. Of sweet taste (is) the
alsh; shánks hak sha pán. Kánt í- hûn shläá shtopalhuí'sh kû'sh
the bark; just raw they eat it. So many you (of them) find peeled off pine-trees
í táměnug. K̲á-i kū'sh nánuk tchû'ka stópaluish; nánka tchúk̲a.
you when traveling. Not pine-trees all perish which were peeled; some dry up.

*539 ● 262 824 *Táksish* kálkali, pakí'sh; láwal ka tánian slápshtat; kä'ilatat lû'sha, k̲á-i
cylindric, palatable; is wide that much at the bed; on the ground it lies, not
pí'luitko.
has smell.

Tók pä'lpali kshû'n, k̲édsha é-ushtat.
is a whitish grass, grows in Lake.

Tsí'kal atíni kshû'n, k̲édsha é-ushtat.
(is a) high grass, grows in Lake.

[222] [462] [252] [264] *Tchí'psam* k̲édsha kshū'n-ptchi páta tchí'k nók̲a. Tchúi mák̲laks tchípash
grows grass-like (and) in summer-time ripens. Then Indians tchipash
shtä'ila, wéwanuish wéka ulä'χuga yákitat. Lúlukshtka tü'ksh a
gather, the women beat (it) into haul (it) in seed-baskets. In the hot coals in a fire
tchípash shnū'χa, tchúi tchí'k sha humashtgíulank péksha lem-
the tchipash they parch, and after they having thus done grind (it) on the
atchátka shilaklgí'shtka yí-ulalónank; a tchí'ksh hû'nk pekshólank
metate with the rubbing-stone rubbing; now then having done grinding
pän éwa pálatka ámbu kítuínank, tchúi sha hûmasht-gí'ulank
again they empty (it) upon a matted dish water pouring into (it), then they after thus doing
patámpka wawálχank népatka hlópa. Gí'ta tchípash k̲á-i tû'm
begin to eat (it) sitting around with hands sop it up. Right here tchipash not in quantities
k̲édshant, Móatok pí'la toksh tû'm wawáwish gi.
(is) growing. the Modoc country only however much (of it) productive is

[222] [252] *Tchuá* kálkali: tχopó-shítko, gét pi tchuá; k̲édsha ámbutat; ntchendshkáni
cylindric; thumb-like, so it (is) wápatu; grows in waters; rather small
tchuá, tchúyunk mák̲laks íshka tchúi tchilálank pán; kúkanka sha
(is) wápatu, and it the Indians pulling out and boiling eat; masticate they
tútatka. Taktä'kli tchuálam shlápsh; kinkáni tchuá.
with (their) teeth Purple (is) of wild-potato the flower; scarce (is) wápatu (here).

Tsuák käílatat lû'sha, pakí'sh; ka tánni tsélas: láp pē'tch; kakálkalish shláps
on ground extends, (is) eatable; so long is the stalk: two feet; round flowers
p'lái gí'tko.
on top having.

Tsuní'ka k̲édsha käílant, é-ushtat, walí'dshat; pakí'sh. Shlápsh 2″ lawálatk, tídsh piluítko, mû lbû'ka gítk; kä'latat lû'sha.
grows on ground, on Lake, on cliffs; eatable. The flowers 2″ are wide, nicely smelling, a large bulb having; on ground it lies.

Wátksäm mû'na û'sha kä'latat, pakí'sh; k̲édsa walídsat, pä'lpali shlápsh.
deep lies in ground, eatable; grows among cliffs, white (is) flower.

Wí'wi atíni, k̲édsha táletat; pakí'sh shlápsh; k̲étsa pálpali.
is tall, grows on straight stalks; eatable (is) the bud; grows white.

TO THE ABOVE ARE ADDED A FEW NON-ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES:

[226] *Kû'lχamsh* tû'sh a tû'pka käílatat, k̲á-i pakí'sh, ptchí'nk: kiä'm-luelō'tksh
upwards stands from ground, not eatable, thus looking: as a fish-killing-article
witsólslank vû'nsat tamádsank téwas; kitchkáni shláps.
while net-fishing. in the canoe they fasten (it) on bow the forked net; small (is) the flower.

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Skáwanks pushpû'shlish shlapsháltko, k̲lä'kots, k̲édsha túletat; k̲ú-idshi, k̲á-i
has a dark flower, (is) a poisoner, grows on straight stalk; (tastes) bad, not
pákish. Pú'shχam kápkălam sχáwanks k̲ó-idse k̲'lä'kotk'sh.
eatable. The limbs of the young pine (and) wild parsnips (are) bad poisoners.

Slē'ds k̲á-i pakí'sh, múkmukli shláps, kiä'm-luelō'tksh; witsólslank é-ushtat
not eatable, downy flowers, a fish-killing-article; while net-fishing in Lake
shtí'lχa.
they put it into (the net).

Tī'líhash k'lûtsuō'tch-ánku vû'nshtat shtákla.
as a "swimming-sucker"-wood on canoe they stick up.

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Wákinsh a k̲édsha pánût. Mák̲laks íshka pánût lultámpkash shutelomá-
grows on the pan-tree. The Indians pick it on pan-tree sticking to smear themselves
shluk, lúshnank sha shnē'lakshtat. Tchúi tchík sha núksht wá-
with. roast (it) they on fire-place. Then they after baking (it), with
titka vukútank shushatelóma télish, p'nā'sh ktchálχishtka shkuk-
knives scraping (it), smear it on faces, themselves from sun-burns to pre-
luápkasht; p'lû' tak sha íwínank shtéwa.
serve; grease they putting into mix up.

NOTES.

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Several plants in this list appear, according to grammatic rule, in the possessive case -am, while their fruits or edible portion are introduced in the subjective case. To the former the substantive ánku or tsélash has to be supplied. Small grasses are alimentary plants on account of their seeds only, while the larger aquatic grasses contain nutritive matter in their stalks. Of these notices the shortest and most laconic were obtained from Morgan, who did not enter into particulars concerning the preparation of aliments. By this list the articles on which these Indians feed are by no means exhausted; they eat almost everything found in nature which is not positively obnoxious to health and which contains a particle of nutritive matter, and hence a full list of their kitchen *répertoire* would be at least three times as long as the one obtained.

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146, 1. kak tán for ká ak tánni "so long only"; the length being shown by gesture of hand. Also expressed by ka taniáni, 149, 1. and *Note*. The yántch-plant grows to a length of 18 to 20 inches, the height of the camass- or pû'ks-plant.

146, 3. Kápiunksăm. The kápiunks-seed grows on a prairie-*grass*, like the tchípash- and nû'tak-seed.

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146, 7. 14. pálpal stands for pálpali (originally pálpal-li), having lost its terminal -i by apocope; pálpalish shlapsháltko incorporates the adjective *white* into the verbal adjective "having flowers". This phrase may be circumscribed by pálpalish shlápsh gitko. Cf. 123, 6. and *Note*, and 150, 1.

146, 8. wi-ukayant kĕládshamat. Here the adjective in its locative case, used attributively, is united with the partitive case of the substantive, the original form of both being wi-ukáyantat kĕládshamti; the subjective case: wi-ukáni kĕládsham.

146, 12. Kĕnáwat or horse sorrel is mentioned in an Aishish-myth and does not

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*539 grow so tall in the cold Klamath highlands as in the Californian and Oregonian valleys
262 adjoining them to the southwest and west, where its height attains sometimes three
824 feet. Cf. *Note* to 94, 9.

192 **146, 14.** Klána, an aquatic or tule-grass, of which they eat a portion of the young
[193] stalk. The term "tule," from Aztec *tolin*, serves in the West to designate all kinds of rushes, stalks, and grass-like plants growing in the water and wet grounds. By k̲ókētat are meant the Williamson and the Sprague Rivers.

147, 1. Klápa is the name of the eatable bulb or root growing on the p[illegible]dshak-plant. The púdshak-grass becomes red in the autumn, when dry.

147, 3. Ktū'ks is the eatable root of a species of the cat-tail plant; tálētat, locative case of tálish (or tálesh?), straight stem, from táltali "forming a straight, unbroken line." The ktū'ks grows in the water, like the wild parsnip (skáwanks); the natives dry the tender roots of the ktū'ks and bake them into a sort of bread. The epithet: "like wókash" probably refers to the *taste* of this kind of food.

147, 5. Kū'ktu. This plant attains a length of about 6 inches.

147, 6. 7. K̲áls is the globular bulb of the witchpai water-plant.

147, 8. K̲ä's, k̲ä'sh. This plant produces a hard, whitish, farinaceous bulb, which is commonly spoken of as ípo, a Shasti term, and is one of the most important food-articles of the Oregonian Indians. To dig or collect k̲ä'sh: k̲ä'shala, k̲ä'shla.

[252] **147, 9–13.** K̲ō'l, also pronounced k̲ū'l, gū'l, gúl, is a kind of Aralia. The root is eaten
[825] only when roasted, and is then very nutritious, though spreading an abominable smell. This odor is so penetrating that, as alleged, the grizzly bear will attack nobody who smells after roasted k̲ōl; to this we may add the restriction: "if he is not very hungry." John D. Hunter mentions in his "Manners and Customs of Indians," etc. (Phila. 1823, page 370) that the Osages ascribe to the plant washoba-pesha the power of scaring away the black bear. This plant is an annual growth possessing sudorific and cathartic properties. Washobe is the black bear, mitchú the grizzly bear in that Southern Dakota dialect.

147, 9. hū'mtcha gū'l: "the k̲ōl in this condition," viz: in the ripe state. The k̲ōl-plant is ripe when the stalk becomes red or reddish.

[193] **147, 10.** méya. Speaking of *many* women digging bulbs or roots, stá-ila, stä'-ila is the regular form; its proper signification is: "to fill up" "to fill" (the conical root-basket worn on back, yáki).

147, 10. 11. pū'kguishamtat: "to their old roasting place"; púkuishamat might stand instead. The locative suffix -tat, -at is here appended to a verbal substantive of púka, to roast, standing in the possessive case -am, and -u- is the infix marking past tense. The guttural k has become distended into kg.

147, 12. ĕ'nt or ĕ'nd for énat, conditional of éna. Instead of ĕ'nt, ídshant (for ídshnat) may stand in the Klamath Lake dialect.

147, 14. Lupí etc. The import of this sentence is: "L'bá ripens in the month when autumn begins."

148, 1. Má-i is the common reed or tule-grass growing sometimes to the height of 8 to 10 feet. The shallow borders of the lakes in the headlands of Klamath River are full of this growth, which is one of the most important economical plants for the
[285] Indian. Women manufacture from it mats, dishes, baskets, lodge covers, nets, sacks, bags, and the young stalk yields in its lower part a palatable marrow.

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7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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148, 2-4. Yánakänin for yanakäníni; cf. suffix -ni, -níni in Dictionary. mä'nsh for mä'ntch. pä'shtak for páhasht ak, cf. pä'sht, 147, 17. for páhasht.

148, 5. Nú'tak. This grass belongs to the genus Glycerium, as identified by Dr. E. Foreman, and produces a tiny, grayish bright seed of tchipash size. The flowers are of a light red color. The grass is found around the agency buildings and grows about one foot high.

148, 7. Páwash properly means *tongue*.

148, 11. Pû'ks or *camass*. Its bulb is one of the principal food-articles of all the northwestern Indians, but does not grow in profusion in the warmer portions of California. It is of the magnitude of the walnut, very saccharine and nutritious, ripens in May and June, and by the roasting or baking process described in the text becomes as hard as stone. The Máklaks call it after pû'ka *to roast*, the Shasti name is sók, the Pit River name ähualé, while the name kamas, "sweet," is of Nutka origin. The botanists call the plant Scilla or Camassia esculenta. Cf. *Note* to 148, 1.

148, 14. ípakt, metathesis of ípkat, the conditional of ípka to lie there, to remain.

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148, 16. púlχuantch. The gathering of this pupa or chrysalid and of its caterpillar, the sχeshí'sh, is chiefly done by the women of the tribes, who find them imbedded at no great depth in the sandy ground around pine trees. Another chrysalid, the kûlí'ga, is collected and roasted by them in the same way and tastes like eggs. kshû'n puetílank: putting grass under the chrysalids, not under the heated stones. The stones are replaced by other heated ones, as soon as they have cooled off; the larva assumes a black color after roasting and tastes like eggs. See púlχuantch in Dictionary.

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148, 19. guiχakshä'migshta. The season of the year, when the exodus of the whole tribe to Klamath Marsh takes place, where pond-lily seed is collected for the winter, is about the middle of June. The ending -ta is an abbreviation of the case suffix -tat. Three seasons are stated in the text, when the peeling of the inner or fibre bark of small pine trees is performed; of these the camass-season precedes the exodus to Klamath Marsh by a few weeks only, and the fishing season lasts from February to the end of the summer. Of course, the peeling of the kápka-pine coincides with the season when the sap ascends through the young tree. The bark is removed from about five feet to fifteen or twenty feet above the ground, and most of the beautiful pines treated in this manner are doomed to premature decay, though many survive the operation. The aspect of a forest with some of the pine trees peeled is rather singular.

148, 21. shánks hak, contraction of shánkish hak or ak.

149, 1. ka tánian for ka taniáni "so much in width or extent." The bud of the táksish has a width of about half an inch. Cf. *Note* to 148, 1.

149, 3. 4. tók. This aquatic grass grows about two feet high; by é-ushtat is meant, here and in tal'kal: Upper Klamath Lake.

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149, 3. pä'lpali, vocalic dissimilation of pálpali or pä'lpäli; cf. taktä'kli 149, 14.

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149, 5. Tchí'psam is a prairie grass on which the brown tchípash-seed grows. This seed is extremely small, and it takes a long time before a sufficient quantity of it is gathered to afford a meal for a family. Still smaller is the nútak-seed, and both are striking instances of the persistence of the Indians in keeping up their old mode of living, when by agriculture and stock-raising they could procure provisions with infinitely less trouble and in much shorter time.

*539 149, 6. tü'ksh is probably the adessive case of tóke (ŏ) fire-place, hearth: tók-kshi.

262 824 192 [193] 149, 12. Tchuá is the long, cylindric root of the Sagittaria sagittifolia, an aquatic plant common in the West and East of the United States. In Oregon the term *potato* or wápatu (Chinook jargon) is most commonly heard for it. The name of Chewaukan Marsh, a sink and low ground situated east of Upper Klamath Lake, is a corruption of Tchuaχē'ni: "where the arrow-leaf is found." The flower of the wápatu varies between red, reddish and whitish.

149, 17. Tsuni'ka. The flower has a diameter from two to three inches.

149, 21. Kû'lχamsh is put on strings by the women and thus serves to attract the fish.

149, 21. ptchi'nk: after this word ought to be seen the picture of a tiny vegetal cylinder, about one inch long and slightly curved.

[386] 150, 1. Skáwanks or wild parsnip, a poisonous plant growing in wet places to the height of three feet.

150, 8. p'nä'sh, contracted from p'nálash, is the direct object (reflective) of shkukluápkasht: to guard themselves against becoming chapped by sun-burns. The wákinsh seems to be a kind of resin and furnishes a red paint, as does also the k'lépki.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSHAM SHUÍ'SH SHUINŌ'TKISH TCHÍSH.

*539 533 755

INCANTATION SONGS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

1. *Introductory song:*

Yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní *etc.* ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́
I sing, I sing, I sing (in chorus).

2. *Song, reference unknown:*

Wiwiwá! ní shráwalsh wítnank! ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑
Blown off! the plume-crest has disappeared from me!

3. *Song of the wind:*

Kanítala m'sh û shlewitaknû'la? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
népaksh a-i ní'sh shlewitaknû'la. ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
Who, I wonder, is blowing out of my mouth?
The disease is emanating from my mouth.

4. *The conjurer's song:*

Tuá ki nû shatashtaknû'la? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑
nä'paks nû shatashtaknû'la. –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑
tuá kí' nû shatashtatχí'sh? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́
nä'paks nû shatashtatχí'sh. –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́
What do I remove from my mouth?
The disease I extract from my mouth.
What is the thing I take out?
It is the disease I am taking out.

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one] was ever angry?" (150) And he was never one who got angry. (151) He was good. (152) I told this one. (153) They were there at QoWasdi, (Proper name^1), and (Proper name^2), and—who—(Proper name^3). (154) They were talking. (155) Someone else perhaps was talking too, whom they called "čopbaqs." (156) And they were laughing. (157) So I eavesdropped on them—I am an eavesdropper, as I told this one. (158) And he said to them, whether they had ever seen (Proper name^3), being angry, or perhaps in a bad mood, or perhaps annoyed. (159) No, no [one] had ever seen [him thus]. (160) Then (Proper name^1) said, "But I have seen him angry once." (161) "ʔa···, when?" said that (Proper name^2). (162) Then (Proper name^1) said, "When you were jerking at your horse's bridle!" (163) Then they roared with laughter. (164) Thus I told this one. (165) And I told June also, who always used to come and see you awhile back. (166) She is singing there, at Sheridan. (167) There where they call it thus, there where the Indians from all over are gathering. (168) She will sing there on Sunday, in the evening. (169) She must have arrived, there. (170) And she will sing dressed in a skin [dress], June. (171) She is my—my elder sister's daughter, who always comes to see you.

(172) AC: Yes, niece. (173) She is my [relation] on both sides. (174) I, her grandmother, to me—she considered me her little sister. (175) Yes, she called me her little sister, her grandmother. (176) So my picture of her which I was keeping, of the old lady, it is gone, someone has stolen it from me. (177) It is gone. (178) [I] thought to give it back [and] looked for it long ago. (179) I looked for it, but it was missing.

(The machine was temporarily turned off at this point.)

(180) AC: Moss [sp. Evernia vulpina].

(181) PO: (I never could think of that!) How was that black one called?

(182) AC: Moss [another species]. (183) They "ate" it, ate. (184) Having "roasted" it, having "roasted" it, they ate. (185) That black moss too, they ate it.

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

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(186) PO: I saw Little Fire [woman's name] eating it long ago—moss.

PB: What do they call a fern?

(187) PO: How is a "fern" called? (188) That which they mix in with flowers, it grows like flowers, but has no flowers. (189) "Fern," that which the white people call "fern." (190) I can't show you any.

(191) RC: That which they always used to get there on Smith River. (192) That which is something—only foliage.

(193) PO: Which are large, it grows very long.

(194) AC: "čya·wisam," perhaps?

(195) PO: How?

(196) AC: It is "čya·wisam." (197) Yes, [they] eat its leaves like wokas, which are red, those leaves.

(198) PO: No.

(199) RC: Which are long ones.

(200) PO: The like of which we put on top [of a grave]—mixed in with flowers. (201) They are only those long, long leaves. (202) Perhaps having gotten some somewhere, we can show you, sometime.

(203) RC: Before [going] there to the graveyard, people used to get flowers, and then they mixed in that sort, which are long, long leaves.

(204) AC: Those which you [pl.] call "sunflowers"?

(205) PO: No.

PB: Then what would you call sunflowers?

(206) PO: "Sunflowers," I don't know.

(207) AC: Yes, now I have forgotten it. (208) How was it called—but that was applied [lit. "long object put on"], it was medicine, sunflower roots. (209) To be applied, the ones underneath. (210) Having thus become sick, [one] rubs it on oneself, the roots.

PO: Those are the sunflower roots, but she can't remember the sunflowers.

PB: And did the Klamath eat the sunflower seeds?

(211) PO: Did we used to eat that sort?

(212) AC: Yes, they were eaten, good, those seeds. (213) And they were just like sifted [wokas], the seeds. (214) They were "lopi·li·nas." (215) Having roasted them, the pod pops up, little black ones. (216) And only the seeds being thus, like sifted [wokas]. (217) [They] tasted good. (218) Yes, the Indians ate everything, all. (219) "Popping" it all

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

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well, that wokas, tule eyes [i.e., tule roots], as they called it, white like this. (220) It was popped. (221) Indians ate everything, everything, they lived thus long ago. (222) And they lived well, they dug [roots] like this also, the Indians' potato [Sagittaria latifolia]—the Indians' "sweet potatoes." (223) Good, sweet, looking thus inside. (?) (224) But it was round, good.

PB: And what is "qlańe"?

(225) AC: "qlańa," yes. (226) It was good, even as food. (227) "Parsnips"—this just like a peeling [skin? membrane?] it bloomed. (228) Yes, it blooms just like "parsnips," but it smelled bad, that. (229) Smelled bad—it was "poison." (230) But it had blooms thus, blooming just like qlańa, however that stink of parsnips was not there [i.e., she here is speaking about "poison parsnips"—"sḱawanksam"]. (231) That was poison parsnips [Cicutum douglasii], bad. (232) It bloomed just thus, thus, like "qlańa." (233) But that "qlańa" was good—tasted good, sweet. (234) Good to eat raw also, and [as well as] having boiled and "cooked" it.

[252]

PB: What did the Klamath call "garlic" or "onion"?

(235) PO: Which the white people call "onion," or "wild onion."

(236) AC: That is "pni." (237) It is from over there, something good like that. (238) They were little, like little "turnips," bitter. (239) They were in bunches. (240) They grew over there, to the east, here. (241) At Ya·ńi there. (242) [I] wanted Ransom to go and get some, to plant them, on some dry earth like this in the ground—thus there are many, many bright flowers. (243) They are good flowers. (244) However they are just like those onions, smelling just so. (245) But they have called them "pni." (246) They ate it well, the Paiutes. (247) It tasted good, sweet, having put it in a roasting pit, they "roast" it. (248) With all its skin having done thus to it, they ate it.

PB: Could you tell me what a "wa·l" is?

(249) PO: What was that "wa·l"? (250) "wa·l"! (251) "He didn't give his Granny the big 'wa·l'!"

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

(252) AC: "wa·l"—it is good also. (253) My mother always used to find it somewhere, I don't know how long it thus was. (254) They were this big, here. (255) However, [they] were long, tapering, that "wa·l." (256) It tasted good. (257) I do not know it, I never followed her around long ago, when she dug that kind. (258) But she dug [for roots] knowing everything. (259) I do not know it, that "wa·l" thus.

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(260) PO: Its name is all I know. (261) They told [about it] in myths for [us].

(262) AC: It tasted just thus. (263) It was very good thus. (Interruption, and the machine was turned off.)

(264) PO: . . . "ksegi·." (265) Why would they say that? (266) "He 'ksegi·' me," as [they said].

(267) AC: Here, close by, I am deaf now!

(268) PO: "ksegi·"—why would they say that, "He 'ksegi·' me," as [they said].

(269) AC: When he lived with me. (270) If I would live with you, there at your place, then you would say, "She always 'ksegi·' me." (271) Thus you would say.

(272) AC: Then there is one more even, just about like it. (273) "nčegi·."

(274) PO: Didn't I [tell] you so! (275) "nčegi·!"

(276) AC: "nčegi·," that is one even. (277) "Now I will take offence [i.e., "nčegiwapk"] at him." (278) "Now [I] will quarrel [with him]. (279) For a long time I ignored him, but now I take offence. (280) So now I will take offence."

(281) PO: How did you [say] it first? (282) How would I say it, if you lived with me?

(283) AC: "ksegi·."

(284) PO: (That last one means I never paid any attention for a long time, but I will now, take offence to what this other person says and quarrel with them or fight with them or whatever.) So I know it for the first time, having become so old. (Interruption.)

PB: What is a "pḱa·sip"?

(285) PO: Which is that something—Grandfather [mother's father] and Grandfather [father's father]? (286) On the father's side, or perhaps on the mother's side? [601]

(287) AC: Yes, he is on the mother's side, that "pḱa·sip." (288) And he is on the father's side however, the "bloksip." (289) The "pǫ́li·p" is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 175]

173 When the latter broke camp they left behind a little flour, which the
177 Indians carried home and divided. They rubbed it on their palms and
[302] smeared their faces.[24]

648 Other early whites came from the southeast on horseback. This
marked the beginning of the great migration by way of the Modoc
648 country to the Pacific slope. On the whole the Klamath came off remarkably well in their relations with the whites. The full brunt of immigration was borne by Modoc and Pit River peoples. The Klamath were spared the Oregon wars of the fifties, which all but annihilated the tribes of western Oregon and northern California.[25] The earliest white settlements in the neighborhood were about the present Jacksonville, Medford, and Ashland. The first white settlement within Klamath territory was near the village of kowa'edi at the northern end of the lake. This was about 1860–65, hence may have reference to the first agency established there. Subsequent relations have been on the whole quite amicable. The Klamath took no part in the Modoc war of 1872–73.

Habitat

131 The territory of the Klamath is on the high plateau of eastern
133 Oregon, in the shallow basin wherein lies the group of lakes that give rise to Klamath river. The southern half of this basin about lower Klamath and Tule lakes is Modoc territory, extending southward across the lava beds in the direction of Pit river. The northern half, which lies against the Cascade range, is the home of the Klamath.

The Klamath properly reside on Klamath lake (or as it was
formerly known, upper or middle Klamath lake), on Klamath marsh,
[361] and on Williamson river, which connects them. At least, most of the permanent winter settlements are on these three waters, with a scattering on their tributaries. Summer camps are established over a much wider territory, as far, it would seem, as the natural limits of this drainage area.

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[263] [24] Salt was equally unknown to them at this time.

[25] A somewhat obscure account was given me of the inclusion of Klamath in
[174] the great round-up of western Oregon Indians on Siletz (?) reservation in the
fifties. These had been wintering at the Dalles and were herded with the
Indians there. The Upland Takelma and Molala were penned in together and
[648] fed by the soldiers. Some died every day; the Klamath suspected that they
were poisoned. The Klamath were kept apart, and, thanks to the strenuous arguments of their chief Lale'ks, were not only freed but supplied with beef and an escort of soldiery to conduct them back to their own country.

223 from the lower end, which is sharpened to a point, the net is attached. The upper end of the rods are beveled on one side, and inserted into a rude socket, in the end of a shaft ten feet long.

Armed with this trap, the hunter crawls on the ground until he is within safe distance of the mother-bird and her little flock, when, suddenly springing up, the old birds, geese or ducks, as the case may be, fly away, while the little ones flee toward the water. The Indian launches the shaft with the net attached in such a way that the net spreads to its utmost size, the sharpened points of the rods pierce the ground, and, the upper end having left the socket on the shaft, stand in a circular row, holding the net and contents to the ground.[271]

252 A few data were gathered on the manner of preparing game for food. The flesh of such animals as porcupine, beaver, badger, and raccoon is boiled. The viscera are not eaten. The skin is peeled from a beaver's tail after it is roasted. Mink and otter are also pit-roasted, but not boiled. The paws of the grizzly are baked in ashes and then skinned.

• 263 Salt was not known until the advent of the whites.

Insects are probably no regular article of diet, but Gatschet
222 records that women gather moth chrysalids in the month spe'lwis
252 (forefinger, i.e., late August and September). The ground is scraped up with a paddle to gather the chrysalids (pû'lχuantch); they are pit-roasted between layers of grass, with a covering of bits of bark and earth.[272]

Seed and Root Gathering

222 In summer the Klamath congregate in several districts to gather pond-lily seeds, roots, and wild fruits: the great swamps and prairies of Klamath marsh, about northern Klamath lake (Agency lake) and Pelican bay, and Wocus marsh west of the lake. The prairie southwest of Fort Klamath is a meeting point for those from middle Williamson river, from its mouth, and from Pelican bay. The huckleberry patch some fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake (called iwumkä'ni, huckleberry place; iwum, huckleberry) is a favorite camping place. Here Molala from west of the Cascade range join them. Williamson river people (äukckni) on Klamath marsh cross directly westward to this spot afoot.

[462] Root and seed gathering is woman's work. They tell of old women digging roots alone who were killed by grizzlies.

The principal seed supply of the Klamath is from the pods of the water lily (wo'kas), which grows extensively in the marshes and

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[271] Meacham, Wigwam and Warpath, 282.

[272] 1:76, 148.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
252 476. Eaten dry	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	–	+
•477. Buckeyes eaten	o	o	o	•+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
478. Leached	o	o	o	–	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
479. Boiled whole	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	–	–	+	o
480. Earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
481. For flesh food	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
482. For vegetable food	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	•+
483. Food sprinkled with water	–		+	+	–		–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
484. Food covered with leaves or grass	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
485. Water sprinkled into oven after closed up	–	•+	–	–	–		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
486. Eggs cooked	+	+	+			•+	+	•	+		+			+	+	+
487. Baked in earth oven	•+	–	–		–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
488. Baked in hot ashes	–	+	+			–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
489. Stone boiled in basket	–	+	+								+	–	–	+	+	+
272 •490. Berry "cider"	•+	o	+	+	+	•o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
491. Sipped with deer tail	–	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
263 •492. Salt obtained in mineral form, dry	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
493. Salt from spring or marsh	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
494. Salt locally	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	•+	+
[439] 495. Salt imported	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	•+	–
496. Used little or not at all; disliked	+	+	+	–	•–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
•497. "Salt" from burning grass	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	•+
498. "Salt" clover eaten fresh	–	+	–					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262 •499. Soaproot eaten	o	o	o	+	–	•o	•o	•o	•o	•o	o	+	–	+	+	–
500. Top eaten	o	o	o	–	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	–	+	+	–
501. Root eaten	o	o	o	+	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	–	+	–	–
502. Cooked in earth oven	o	o	o	+	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	–	–	–	–
[278] 503. Root concoction drunk as medicine	o	o	o	–	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	–	·	–	–
[439] 504. Imported if not obtainable locally	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
[515] •505. Soaproot for washing	o	•o	o	+	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	R	+
506. Milkweed chewing gum	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[24] 507. Pine pitch chewing gum	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	o	+	+	+
508. Pine "sugar"	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–
509. Honeydew from leaves eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
510. Inner bark of trees eaten.	•+	–	+	–	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
511. Mushrooms and fungi eaten											+	+	+			+
•512. Fresh or dried											•+	+	•+			•+
Eating Customs																
264 513. Men served before women, if crowd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
[562] 514. All eat out of one basket	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
515. Men each have own basket	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+
516. Women also have separate baskets	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+
517. Man and wife eat from same basket	+	+	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
[865] 518. Children "piece" whenever hungry						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
519. Two main meals daily, usually	•–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
520. Three main meals daily	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–		–	–	–	–	–	+
[574] •521. Meal whenever visitor arrives	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Hands washed after eating deer, bear meat	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
[515] 523. Men's rule only	–	–	–			–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–
524. Wipe face, hands with grass, bark after eating	+	+	+						+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	•+
Storage of Food																
251 525. Outdoor graneries	–	+	+	–	+	•+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
526. Against tree	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
•527. In burnt tree stump	–		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
528. On platform in tree; covered	–	•+	+			•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	[illegible]	–	–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
846 3208. Merely stays indoors	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
784 ‡3209. For ... days	5	5	–	5	–	–	–	*4	–	*4	–	–	6	.	28	28
3210. Until child's cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
3211. Sleeps little	–	+	+			+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	–	–	.	+
3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535] 3212a. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481] 3213. Runs	+	+	+	–	*+	*+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3214. First child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3215. Breaks up wood		–	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3216. Brings back firewood	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3217. Piles up rocks	*+	*+	*+										–	–	–	–
[787] o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	*–	–	–	+	±	–	–	–	–	–	–
3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3220. First 4-5 children only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481] 3221. Swims	.	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	.	–
[252] 3222. In spring in mountains	–	+	–			–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–
3223. Cooks for self and children	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3224. Bathing taboo	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–
[515] o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	–	–	*4	–	–	*4	–	*4	–	*4	+	3	–	–	.	–
†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	–	5	*4	–	–	*4	–	+	*4	*4	+	–	–	–	.	–
3227. Certain activities taboo.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[324] ‡3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	*4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	*4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	*4	*2	+	3	+	6	+	30
3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[525] †3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	–	28	*2	+	3	+	+	.	+
3233. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
[276] 3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	.	–
[484] †3235. Traveling taboo ... days	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	*2	+	3	+	+	+	40
3236. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
†3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	–	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	*2	+	3	+	–	+	*28
[262] †3238. Fresh fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	+	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
[268] †3239. Dried fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	–	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
†3240. Salt taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	5	+	–	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312] 3241. Cold water taboo	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3242. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
3243. Until child smiles first time													–	–	+	–
3244. Eats with wife	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3245. Uses own receptacles	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
[292] 3247. Special belt worn	(–)	+	–	–	+	–	*+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	*+	*+	+	–	–	–
3249. Combing hair taboo	+	*+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3250. Until navel has healed	.	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3252. Bathes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	*+	–	–	–	+	*+	+	+	–
3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
3255. Gives away old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3256. Burns old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3257. Throws away old clothes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[526] 3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	+	+								+	–	–	–	–	–
[224] 3259a. Shoots at target	–	–	+	–	*+						–	.	–	–	–	–
3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	–	+	+	–	*+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
[525] 3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	–	–	–		*+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	.	–
3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							*+	+	*+	+

657*

moved to Klamath Falls when he was nine years old, he had 177
eaten only venison and had never tasted beef. 178 222

In their continued loyalty to traditional foods, the Klamath 224
were responsive to several advantages beyond—but including— 657*
appeal to the palate. The techniques involved in securing them 178
were relatively simple and familiar, imposing few demands upon 177
the individual for capital investment in tools and labor, required 262
little in regularity of routine, and involved the cooperation of
only small groups. Participation was direct, self-controlled, and
provided an immediate reward.

Consequently, the issues of beef and flour were assimilated in use to native staple foods, rather than replacing them entirely. Flour was given the name that also denoted a meal made from ground seeds and cattail roots. It must be borne in mind that the rations were issued at times when other foods were largely exhausted, and probably because of this certain anomalies were introduced. Since the issues were public and general, there was no need, as there had been formerly, to conceal foodstuffs from neighbors. Thus, bread and biscuits were the first foods to be baked in the coals of the house fire, rather than in a special outside cooking hut; and, perhaps because of the method of issue, the food was shared by household, rather than by an individual family.[68] The practice of eating while the food lasted strained Agency resources: the Commissary at Yainax estimated that an Indian could easily dispose daily of two pounds each of beef and flour.[69]

The example provided by white cooking, the use of salt, sugar, 657*
and baking soda, as well as new foodstuffs, together with the 177
general acquisition of such utensils as the kettle, coffeepot, and 178
spider, extended the variety of culinary techniques and even 262
enhanced the preparation of native dishes. One woman recalls 263•
the ease with which one could hull wokas with a coffee grinder; 415
and when a kinsman borrowed that useful instrument, she used
her wokas mulling stones to grind coffee beans. Through it all,
native foods continued to be favored, and the observation that
"the Indian [school] children are very fond of fish" is nearly as
true today as it was in 1893.[70] 657*

An analysis of the statistical and narrative reports of the 177
178
262

Another circling dance, called ako'tepŭs, may not be a social dance but may be used in the scalp and war dances in a way that is not clear. Here those in the circle do not hold hands and their step consists in shuffling along by moving the toes and heels alternately. 535

The headdress for dancers consists of long eagle feathers, or a bunch of small eagle and gull feathers may be kept in place on top of the basket hat by means of cord passing under the chin. Downy feathers are hung pendant at the back of the head. [292]

New Year's observances, or new fire ceremony, such as the Yurok and Karok know, are not found among the Klamath.[144] 796 171*

ETIQUETTE

The Klamath are on the whole a hospitable and friendly lot. 574 Good breeding demands that visitors be invited to share one's meal. There is no studied effort at ostentatious feasting, however, nor is food forced on a visitor in the manner of our eastern Indians. If visitors, men or women, arrive at meal time, the children of the household are sent out on the pretext, as they tell the children, that the food will stick in the visitors' gullets. *A kind of grace is said before* eating. Bits of food are cast toward the spirit places to feed them first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula[145] is a prayer. Good form does not demand that the visitors clean up their portions, nor does one hear the smacking of lips in appreciation. There is 264 • among them no objection to noisy eating. Children are told not to talk while eating fish, for fear of their swallowing bones. It is usual to rinse the mouth with water before and after eating. Soiled fingers are washed in a near-by stream after the meal. Children are definitely instructed in good behavior. [515]

The common salutation to the visitor is i gŏtpi'iᴇ, yes, have you come?, followed by go'li, come in. On leaving, the guest announces i gă'mbIn, yes, I am going, which evokes the invariable response i gă'mbli, yes, go. One hears moĭ'nakăndīte, thank you, but rarely. 576

For a man to remove a woman's hat from her head is reprehensible; it is usually construed as a solicitation.

Certain behavior is not so much a matter of general good form as of sex difference. Egress from the earth-lodge is by a ladder projecting through the hatchway overhead. Men mount the rungs facing the ladder, but women place their feet sideways, mounting crab-wise. [481]

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[144] Kroeber, Handbook, 53, 102.

[145] See p. 168.

Grace is said before eating; bits of food are cast toward the earth, 264 the mountains, old house pits, and cremation places so as to feed them first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula is a prayer. If this is neglected, the earth would harm the little children.

An earthquake (ke'la t!ill'ŋgᴇ, earth shakes) is caused by the hero 823 Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps who moves the earth. It has no special significance. The only quake recalled by my informant occurred during the Ghost Dance of 1870; it was interpreted as a not unfavorable sign.

An eclipse is called lok slo'ki, grizzly bear eats. They say that 821 Grizzly Bear eats the sun or moon at this time. People gather to make a noise, crying ḳo, ḳo, Frog; they hire the Frog (ḳo'wĕ) in the moon to use her powers on the bear, because Frog is the moon's wife as the following tale explains. The frog can be seen in the moon. The sun is included in this explanation. Although sun and moon are called by the same word, sa'bas, they are known to be separate entities.

> Moon had two sisters. When Frog went to visit, she went into Moon's [539] house. Moon told his sisters, "You had better let her sleep with you." But they said, "No, you had better take her." Frog was angry at this and jumping on Moon, clung fast. Moon tried to cut Frog loose with a knife but he could not. So she is stuck fast, part of him, today. He said, "Well, I will keep her as my wife, so that whenever Bear eats me Frog can exercise her shamanistic power to drive him away." So they are living together today.

There are several magical ways of making the wind blow, but 789 they turn on the same notion. There is a rock in the water south of Bare island which is a mythical hero, and another on Eagle Ridge near-by is his dog. If the latter is struck the wind will blow a gale from the south.

> My father told me [Pat Kane], "Do not hit this else a very strong wind will blow. Do not throw stones in the lake there or play there." I wondered what would happen. I was a big boy. I took a club and struck the rock. Next day a strong wind blew, the strongest wind I have ever seen. It thundered, snowed, and hailed for two days. My father asked, "Why did you hit it?" I could not answer. He said, "I told you not to hit it."

Similarly, poking in an eddy (sŭ'lsŭks) near the mouth of Williamson river with a pole, pumping it up and down, will cause a strong wind to blow. Both localities are connected by the same tale; the eddy is where the hero disappeared under the water, the rock his resting place. There is another spot where the wind can be made to blow, the rocks at Squaw point. Pounding in the holes on the south side, for instance, will bring a south wind.

251 sionally used, the entrance blocked with stones. In all these cases, [824] an evil-smelling plant, called ķ!ol (*Valeriana edulis* Nutt.) is buried with food in order to keep animals from digging it up. Grizzly bears are particularly destructive of caches, but even they avoid this plant. Gatschet's information was that they would even flee from one who carried the plant about him.[209] Human thieves are also known to ransack these hoards. A family commonly buries its extra stores in this fashion when temporarily away from home. Such storage is called p'nana.

222 224 The first fruits of a young hunter or root gatherer are looked upon as something altogether special. They must be abandoned if future success is to be assured. While I received conflicting versions of the young deerslayer's procedure, they agree that he cannot eat his kill. One informant had it that the first deer is abandoned by the hunter and never eaten. If he has companions, he does not even show it to them and must present the second one slain to one of them. Another informant agreed that he cannot partake of the flesh of the first deer, but his parents make a feast of it, giving away articles in honor of the occasion. Similarly a young woman destroys by burning the first roots she gathers alone, and does not exhibit her success to anyone. The second basketful is distributed among her companions, and only after this may she keep what she gathers. Analogously a man leaves the first fish or game he takes after the loss of a close relative, and a gambler gives away his first gains after reacquiring power following the death of a relative. The practice of abandoning such fruits is called săpu'tsa. Unlike the comparable case of the novice deer hunter, no celebration is held for a little girl who gathers roots under her elders' tutelage.

• 264 Meals are not eaten at regular intervals, I was told, but that they eat all day long "like horses." Of this I am doubtful: what may have been implied was that food was available at any time during the day. I was also told that a meal was eaten in the morning and again in the evening. Travelers at least made no regular stops for meals and if necessary cooked in their canoes over little fires built on protecting layers of dirt.

A sort of grace is said before eating. Morsels of food are cast all about, to the land, the mountains, the old house pits, cremation piles, stones that are transformed people, etc., so as to feed them before one feeds himself. They say bŭ'pwi'amᴇni gĕnige'lᴇ gĕnidelo'telpkᴇ, to

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[209] Gatschet, 1:147.

264 •

throw to the ground and the stones. I am not sure that this formula is a prayer. If they neglect this grace, the ground (ġe'lᴇ) will harm the little children.[290]

It is customary to take a mouthful of water to wash out the mouth before eating. [515]

CANOES

The Klamath canoe is a clumsy-looking, trough-like affair, with blunt ends, heavy and long. But I have seen an old woman guide a fully laden twenty-foot canoe upstream through a log jam in a manner to awaken considerable respect for their riding qualities. They look unwieldy, but with the load and paddler set well aft so that the prow rides out of the water they can be spun about on the stern as a pivot and driven through the still waters of much of Klamath territory with considerable ease.[291] 501|

The shape of the canoe (wŭntc) is exactly that of the peeled log, hollowed to a thin shell, and the ends beveled upward from the waterline quite sharply. They vary much in length but are remarkably uniform in width, eighteen to twenty-four inches, which is the diameter of the majority of the firs used for canoes in this country. Most of the canoes are made relatively short, ten to twenty feet, to wind about in the narrow crooked channels of the marshes. One canoe measured eighteen feet long, twenty inches in greatest width, and sixteen or eighteen inches from gunwale to keel. Another old example was fifteen feet long, seventeen inches wide, eight inches deep at the waist rising to twelve inches at the ends, which were somewhat pointed, with the under surface of the nose and stern rising at an angle of about thirty-five degrees. Larger canoes for transport on the open lake measure up to thirty-five feet in length, three feet wide, and thigh-deep inside, I was told.

Fir is the most suitable wood, pine makes a canoe that is too heavy to handle, and the cedars in this region are too small for canoes.[292] Besides this, cedar readliy cracks when it is dry, especially in such thin shells as these. One of my informants even said that cedar canoes are too light to handle properly! Fir also checks and cracks but not

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[290] For further notes on utensils and the etiquette of meals, see below.

[291] For illustrations, see Barrett, Material Culture, pl. 10; Coville, Wokas, pls. 3, 4, 5.

[292] My informants probably meant by "fir" the yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.) and by "pine" the sugar pine (*Pinus lambertiana* Dougl.). Coville does not list fir in this region (cf. Notes, especially p. 89). [114]

343 as in "one big family." This is inevitably a matter of personal pref-
252 erence; some dwellings have two cooking lodges attached, the families
592 eating separately and sharing food only as friendship dictates. The
mortars and grinding slabs are kept in the cooking-lodge. The intro-
[177] duction of flour has wrought a change in these habits. Loaves of
bread are baked in the ashes in the earth-lodge itself. Flour is always
[262] shared among the inmates. I was assured that there was no earlier
custom resembling this.

264 But two meals a day are eaten, morning and evening. I was also
told that there is no regular period for meals. Visitors are given
574 something on their arrival, such as a little pond-lily seed, but no stress
is placed on this phase of hospitality. A sort of grace is said before
eating.

352 The entire floor of the earth-lodge or summer mat-house is carpeted
with mats except for the space within the four central posts. Thicker
piles of these for beds are placed all around the walls, but the best
352 locations are at the sides (*O*, fig. 19). Children might sleep in the
corners. People always sleep with their feet toward the fire, no
513 matter in what direction their heads then lie.[374]

Beds (slai'is) are of mats of various sorts. Rich people use tule, the twined mats (slai'is) being preferred to the sewn (st!ōps). One or more of these laid on dry grass serves as a mattress, or they sleep directly on the grass. One or two more form the covering. The few who have them use grizzly bear, coyote, wolf, lynx (? slowa'), or deer pelts, or several *Bassariscus* (? slĕt) skins sewn together, for mattress and blanket (sa'walc). A blanket for a little child is made from the skin of a red fox, a stretched raccoon skin, or several marten skins sewn together. Blankets (called sölümtai') are also made of tule and cat-tail twined to produce a checkerboard decoration. Others are made of tules with the wing feathers of water fowl (pelicans, geese, swans, ducks, etc.) caught in one face. These are called lă'edá-lap'ō'tᴇ, wing feathers (lac) put together. Another type of feather blanket (called ķ'a'lyᴇ) is made of the dried skins of waterfowl twisted with a cord to form a fluffy rope. This is twined with cords inserted at intervals to form the blanket. Pillows (sᴇ'o'lhas) are a heap of grass, or anything else, even wood, but the wooden headrest of the lower Klamath river tribes is unknown. Gatschet records a sack stuffed with mallard duck down for a pillow.[375]

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[374] I could find no notion that a sleeper is affected by moonlight.

[375] 1:144.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
252 476. Eaten dry	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	–	+
477. Buckeyes eaten	o	o	o	•+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
478. Leached	o	o	o	–	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
479. Boiled whole	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	–	–	+	o
480. Earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
481. For flesh food	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
482. For vegetable food	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	•+
483. Food sprinkled with water	–		+	+	–		–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
484. Food covered with leaves or grass	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
485. Water sprinkled into oven after closed up	–	•+	–	–	–		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
486. Eggs cooked	+	+	+			•+	+	•	+		+			+	+	+
487. Baked in earth oven	•+	–	–		–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
488. Baked in hot ashes	–	+	+			–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
489. Stone boiled in basket	–	+	+								+	–	–	+	+	+
272 490. Berry "cider"	•+	o	+	+	+	•o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
491. Sipped with deer tail	–	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
263 492. Salt obtained in mineral form, dry	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
493. Salt from spring or marsh	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
494. Salt locally	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	•+	+
[439] 495. Salt imported	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	•+	–
496. Used little or not at all; disliked	+	+	+	–	•–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
497. "Salt" from burning grass	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	•+
498. "Salt" clover eaten fresh	–	+	–					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262 499. Soaproot eaten	o	o	o	+	–	•o	•o	•o	•o	•o	o	+	–	+	+	–
500. Top eaten	o	o	o	–	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	–	+	+	–
501. Root eaten	o	o	o	+	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	–	+	–	–
502. Cooked in earth oven	o	o	o	+	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	–	–	–	–
[272] 503. Root concoction drunk as medicine	o	o	o	–	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	–	–	–	–
[439] 504. Imported if not obtainable locally	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
[515] 505. Soaproot for washing	o	•o	o	+	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	R	+
506. Milkweed chewing gum	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[26] 507. Pine pitch chewing gum	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	o	+	+	+
508. Pine "sugar"	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–
509. Honeydew from leaves eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
510. Inner bark of trees eaten.	•+	–	+	–	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
511. Mushrooms and fungi eaten											+	+	+			+
512. Fresh or dried											•+	+	•+			•+

Eating Customs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
264 513. Men served before women, if crowd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
[562] 514. All eat out of one basket	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
515. Men each have own basket	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+
516. Women also have separate baskets	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+
517. Man and wife eat from same basket	+	+	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
[855] 518. Children "piece" whenever hungry						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
519. Two main meals daily, usually	•–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
520. Three main meals daily	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–		–	–	–	–	–	+
[574] 521. Meal whenever visitor arrives	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[515] 522. Hands washed after eating deer, bear meat	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
523. Men's rule only	–	–	–			–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–
524. Wipe face, hands with grass, bark after eating	+	+	+						+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	•+

Storage of Food

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
251 525. Outdoor granaries	–	+	+	–	+	•+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
526. Against tree	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
527. In burnt tree stump	–		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
528. On platform in tree; covered	–	•+	+			•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5171. Instruction	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5172. Supernatural experience	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5173. Sings	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5174. Goes into trance	–	–	–	–	–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5175. Tells who hid or stole money	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5176. Tracks money, if hiding place changed	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5177. Talks to piece of money	–	–	–	–	–			–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
5178. Listens to hear money singing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5179. Functions when money is lost	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5180. Performs at any public ceremony	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5181. Money hidden, to test shaman	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	–
Witchcraft																
Black Magic																
791 754 5182. Love medicine	+	.	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
832 5183. Roots	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–
5184. Hair treated with formula, blood								+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
5185. Songs				•+		+	•+	•+	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–
5186. "Diamond" (charmstone).						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
754 5187. Poisoners distinct from doctors	+	–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	.	•+		+	–
791 5188. Men only	+	–	–	+	–			+	–	–	–	.	+		–	–
[562] 5189. Have power from various animals	–	–	.	–	–		–	–	–	+	–	.	–		–	–
5190. From evil spirit	–		–	–	–		–	–	–	+	–	.	–		–	–
5191. Have knowledge of herbs	(+)		•		–								+		–	–
754 5192. Shamans, poisoners practice contagious magic.	+		•+	+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•	•+	–
756 5193. Poisoner, curing shaman hired to revenge refusal of girl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	(–)
5194. Make girl crazy, or kill her outright	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	•+		•+	(–)
5195. Colored lights (transformed witches) cause illness	–	–	•+	•+				•+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
5195a. Epidemics caused by spirit creatures	–	–	–	–				•+	•+	+	–	–	–		–	–
Prayer, Offerings																
782 5196. Prayers frequent by all	+	+	–	•(–)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
264 5197. Offerings of food at meals	•+	+	•–	•–	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+		+	+
Eagle Ceremony																
825 5198. Special observances connected with eagle.								•(–)					–	–	+	–
5199. Eaglets captured alive													–	–	•+	–
5200. People eat acorn soup on spot													–	–	•+	–
5201. Eaglets kept tied by leg													–	–	+	–
5202. Killed when grown													–	–	+	–
5203. Feathers plucked out													–	–	+	–
[766] 5204. Beads put on body													–	–	+	–
5205. Eagle buried in basket, like person													–	–	+	–
5206. Owners cry at funeral, as for person.													–	–	+	–
5206a. Chief only uses eagle feathers								•–	•–				–	–	+	–
Kuksu																
Initiation (Boys)																
575 5207. Tossed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.		–	–
5208. Over fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	.		–	–
5209. Held over fire												(+)	.		–	–

262 510. Kl: Inner bark of yellow pine secured
824 in June; by July "too hard."

512. Eaten fresh, raw or cooked on coals;
000 dried, for winter, strung on willow withe. MM, NF: Ground burned for better crop; denied by MV. MV: Cooked with fish.

Eating customs.--

515. WT, WM, WS: For acorn soup.

516. WM: For acorn soup. WS: For acorn soup and deermeat.

[264] 519. Kl: Eat any time during day; sometimes men eat alone, sometimes men, women, children eat together.

521. Fresh food cooked and served. WT: Fresh batch food not cooked; "they dish out whatever they have on hand and set it before the visitors."

524. NF, MV: With buckskin.

Storage of food.--

525. AW: Acorns stored chiefly in pits; "too cold here in winter for outdoor granaries; have to bury acorns."

527. Bark used as cover for top; dirt piled up around stump.

528. Mo: Poles occasionally laid across boughs of cedar tree; tule sacks containing food stored on this pole platform. AW: Food stored on platform in oak tree; "poison" (animate) set on top of food; if any person, animal appears to steal food, poison shoots thief.

530. For illustration of this type, see Kroeber, Handbook pl. 38. WT: Informant, shown picture of granary just referred to, stated WT use similar granary, but that it is thatched (?) to some extent on sides.

531. NM, NS, MV: 4 upright posts only, for frame. NM: Hole in bottom, to take acorns out. MV: Hole in side.

532. AE: Food, hides hung up in branches of junipers; popular method of storage.

[251
178] 533. Kl: Recent custom; "may have done it formerly also." NS: Used for temporary purposes only.

539. AW: If leaving village for a time, bury acorns in pit dug inside sweat house; cover hole with tule mats, etc.

Exchange of food.--

262 540. Kl: "Whoever has no food, Indians give
437 him some; they help each other, just like 1 family." MV: Informant emphasized fact that between villages food given as gift, but also mentioned that mountain varieties of acorns are purchased from MF, MM groups.

542. AE: Food divided in time of famine.

224 545. Kl: If 2 men hunting, meat divided equally; if more than 2, killer gets slightly larger share. Mo: Killer keeps deer hide. SW:
000 If 2 men, killer gets most; if meat cut up, cooked or dried and divided in camp, all receive equal share. If driving deer into river, driver gets head, hide, foreleg of deer. At: Killer

[180-A]

DOO 2-3 miles wide]. In summer the people camped in the hills around West Valley, to dig ipos roots, and such. By the end of September they returned to the winter living house; maybe later, if the weather was good. When they were going to move into the winter house, they put up a big dinner (lamedi'i). All the people gathered inside the house, to listen to 1 man (not chief, but more like a 'preacher') who wore a basket hopper (k'alua) on his head, and who circled the fire in the house, praying so the inmates would have a good winter in there. Then they'd have a big dinner, to which all people contributed, putting the food all in 1 pile; a man then distributed it. People from other villages came to this celebration; they weren't notified or invited, they just heard this was going to happen. They did this every year, at the time they moved into the winter house. After the dinner, some of the people gambled in the house until daylight; there was no dance. When they built a new winter house there was no ceremony though." Informant thought same sort of "house warming" given by AW at Fall River also. NS: In evening, informant's grandmother used always to raise arms and pray, "Be good to me, father"; prayed thus "for good luck for next day or next week."

[782
[264
5197. Kl: Pray before eating and throw small portion of food about to be eaten on ground (not in fire) in each direction, thus "giving it to the ground." Will sicken if fail to do this. SE: Offerings of food made to frogs, when croaking. SW: Offerings made to Sun, however; the circles [perhelion] around the sun are his paint, that the Indians give him." MM: Small amount of food put in fire once a month or once a year; "give it to the night," either in winter or summer. "Do this yet."

5198. Questions concerning ownership of eagles, and such, were asked of informants for all groups; specific inquiry was not made concerning the eagle ceremony noted above, except among groups indicated, but I believe the distribution of this ceremony would be found lacking among all groups except NS. WT: Absence of eagle ceremony inferred from informant's statement that "didn't have much to do with eagles; one would die with worms if one did." Never use eagle feathers.

5199. NS: Man lowered over crag where eagles nest with vegetable-fiber-cord rope. In 1 instance, as man lowered thus, sharp rock cut rope; accident ascribed to fact man had not invited others to be present at capture of eagles from nest (see below).

5200. NS: Man going to capture eagles should have wife, daughters go to spot and make big basket of acorn mush, for invited guests to partake of on spot, after birds have been captured. Also should have young man to assist him in capturing eaglets.

5206a. WT: See note 5198. WM: "Afraid of eagle feathers; only doctors use, keep them."

Families K M

eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264] •
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [412]
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- M [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [364]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. M [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a M [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M 221 756 796

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P. 144-B]

142
291
• 264

Klamath lunching after fishing in the Sprague River. (From Hincks, 1915.)

291
492

Ranchers on the Upper End in the 1920's. In the foreground stand Jesse Lee Kirk and Sam Watah, late Paiute shaman.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P 176-A]

311

The Modoc Point irrigation project. A government steam tractor is breaking ground for farming. (From Hincks, 1915.)

Farmer's meeting and barbecue at Modoc Point. (Fr[illegible]s, 1915.)

291

• 264

a weak differentiation of parental roles and the extension of 648*
surrogacy to grandparents or other kinsmen. In many instances, 657*
the father was either absent or aloof, and the chief burden of 592
child rearing fell upon the mother, who might shift it for several 593
hours or longer upon the slender shoulders of an older child. Among such families, parents often proved unpredictable, their excesses of affection and indulgence alternating with fits of anger, depression, and withdrawal. Rather than being consistently directed toward a program of training, parental behavior tended to be a response to a mood or an isolated element in the immediate situation. Even the admonitions of the elders, the traditional set speeches enjoining ideal behavior, frequently were made without reference to the immediate conduct of the child.

In children, this experience tended to generate a defensive 648*
isolation, a dependent craving which anticipated rebuff, and a 657*
marked hypersensitivity toward others concealed beneath an 592
outward manner of stoic indifference. One probable outcome 593
of childhood exposure such as this was the "guarded restraint" 155
which Clifton discerns as a marked characteristic of Klamath personality, an attribute which, it appears, lessens in severity only in old age.[3]

If there were few fixed and dependable social relationships 648*
in many Klamath families, there likewise was little predictability 657*
in daily routine. As Pierce notes, meals were rarely served at 592
fixed times or attended by the entire family. Instead, individuals 593
ate when hungry. Children rarely had regular chores or bedtime.[4] [264]
[857]

It was in the training of children to become functioning mem- 648*
bers of society that the tribal families faced a central test of their 657*
effectiveness. Although it was not clear to what segment of that 592
society the children were to aspire, their elders were in agree- 593
ment in wishing well for them. Tribal orators, challenged upon 858
their personal aims, could disavow self-interest and strike a resonant chord by asserting that they were acting only for the good of their grandchildren. Adults, however dissatisfied they might be with their own achievement, might still hope to see a transcendent future for their sons and daughters. In the school, with its promise of equal opportunity to advance through merit, American society held out the means to implement that hope.

All too frequently, however, childhood experience in the 000

538 purposes of telling the stories seems to be to keep the children quiet and put them to sleep.

867 Concepts of etiquette and what constitutes a well brought up individual are clearly defined among the Klamath. Standards for proper behavior toward one's own family and toward other members of the tribe are taught at an early age. As soon as the child can understand what is said to him, he receives ethical advice from parents and others. Not only relatives but also other [887] adults may give advice. Elderly people are especially apt to counsel children.

> Old people start giving advice right away whenever they meet you. They tell you to be kind to everyone, don't brag, don't put yourself before anyone, work hard and you'll live a long time and be respected by everybody.

593 867 Either parent may take the responsibility of advising the children, but the father is generally stricter. In the early morning and at night, and "whenever everyone is gathered around and it is quiet" the father exhorts his children to be good and kind and to help others, demanding and receiving the attention of his youngsters for these harangues.

867 858 Since a well mannered child brings some prestige to his family, even a very small one is taught how to conduct himself before visitors; and the highest respect is shown to large families whose children are polite and well behaved.[16]

858 574 Visiting is a favorite pastime, especially in the fall after the winter house has been prepared. When visitors arrive, they are offered something to eat. At this point, the children are sent out to play; for "food will stick in the visitors' gullets if children stay around." Exemplary children learn to disappear without being told whenever visitors arrive.

867 264 Eating involves a few rules of etiquette for the young. Meals are not regular, and all are free to take food when there is any available. Ordinarily the family eats at least two meals a day, in the morning and again in the evening. The whole family eats together, and children are told to wait until the father has said a grace, holding a bit of food or water out toward the mountains, lake, and earth as an offering. If this were not done, the children might become ill.

Immediately afterwards all start eating. There is no particular seating arrangement. Children are required to sit quietly during the meal. "They would choke if they ran around or talked." Children are also told never to walk in front of anyone who is eating--a rule doubly important if the person is a shaman.

869 778 An important part of training consists in developing respectful attitudes toward the many sacred places in Klamath territory. Children

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[16] See Spier, p. 91, for a few of the Klamath rules of etiquette.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539
262
824
Táksish kálkali, pakí'sh; láwal ka tánian slápshtat; kä'ilatat lû'sha, k̲á-i
cylindric, palatable; is wide that much at the bud; on the ground it lies, not
pí'luitko.
has smell.

Tók pä'lpali kshū'n, k̲édsha é-ushtat.
is a whitish grass, grows in Lake.

Tsí'kal atíni kshū'n, k̲édsha é-ushtat.
(is a) high grass, grows in Lake.

222
462
252
● 264
Tchí'psam k̲édsha kshū'n-ptchi páta tchí'k nók̲a. Tchúi mák̲laks tchípash
grows grass-like (and) in summer-time ripens. Then Indians tchipash
shtä'ila, wéwanuish wéka ulä'χuga yákitat. Lúlukshtka tü'ksh a
gather, the women beat (it) haul (it) in into seed-baskets. In the hot coals in a fire
tchípash shnū'χa, tchúi tchí'k sha humashtgíulank péksha lem-
the tchipash they parch, and after they having thus done grind (it) on the
atchátka shilaklgí'shtka yí-ulalónank; a tchí'ksh hû'nk pekshólank
metate with the rubbing-stone rubbing; now then having done grinding
pän éwa pálatka ámbu kítuínank, tchúi sha hûmasht-gí'ulank
again they empty (it) upon a matted dish water pouring into (it), then they after thus doing
patámpka wawálχank népatka hlópa. Gí'ta tchípash k̲á-i tû'm
begin to eat (it) sitting around with hands sop it up. Right here tchipash not in quantities
k̲édshant, Móatok pí'la toksh tû'm wawáwish gí.
(is) growing, the Modoc country only however much (of it) productive is

222
252
Tchuá kálkali: tχopó-shítko, gét pi tchuá; k̲édsha ámbutat; ntchendshkáni
cylindric: thumb-like, so it (is) wápatu; grows in waters; rather small
tchuá, tchúyunk mák̲laks íshka tchúi tchilálank pán; kúkanka sha
(is) wápatu, and it the Indians pulling out and boiling eat; masticate they
tútatka. Taktä'kli tchuálam shlápsh; kinkáni tchuá.
with (their) teeth Purple (is) of wild-potato the flower; scarce (is) wápatu (here).

Tsuák käílatat lû'sha, pakí'sh; ka tánni tsélas: láp pē'tch; kakálkalish shláps
on ground extends, (is) eatable; so long is the stalk: two feet; round flowers
p'lái gí'tko.
on top having.

Tsumí'ka k̲édsha käílant, é-ushtat, walí'dshat; pakí'sh. Shlápsh 2" lawá-
grows on ground, on Lake, on cliffs; eatable. The flowers 2" are
latk, tídsh piluítko, mû lbû'ka gítk; kä'latat lû'sha.
wide, nicely smelling, a large bulb having; on ground it lies.

Wátksäm mû'na û'sha kä'latat, pakí'sh; k̲édsa walídsat, pä'lpali shlápsh.
deep lies in ground, eatable; grows among cliffs, white (is) flower.

Wí'wi atíni, k̲édsha táletat; pakí'sh shlápsh; k̲étsa pálpali.
is tall, grows on straight stalks; eatable (is) the bud; grows white.

TO THE ABOVE ARE ADDED A FEW NON-ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES:

226
Kû'lχamsh tû'sh a tû'pka käílatat, k̲á-i pakí'sh, ptchí'nk: kiä'm-luelō'tksh
upwards stands from ground, not eatable, thus looking: as a fish-killing-article
witsólslank vû'nsat tamádsank téwas; kitchkáni shláps.
while net-fishing in the canoe they fasten (it) on bow the forked net; small (is) the flower.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	NV	
4756. Bathes to acquire power . . .	+	+	+	–	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	–	+	+		–	–	787
4756a. In lake or stream . .	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–	
4757. Complete immersion .	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–	[515]
4758. Washes hands in spring	+	–	–					+		+	–	–	–		–	–	
4759. Bathes each day . . .	+	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	+	(–)	·		–	–	
o4759a. Bathes after ... days	–	–	–	–		·2	·2	5	5	·2	–	·	·		–	–	
4760. Rebuilds stone altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
4761. Breaks branches, piles up wood	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4762. Builds fire	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+		–	–	[372]
4763. Smokes self over fire	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		+	–	+	+		–	–	
4764. Catches glowworms	·+	–	·+					–		–	–	–	–		–	–	
4765. Sleeps on mountain at night .	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	(+)	–	–		–	–	
4766. Prays for vision	–	–	–					+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4766a. Scarification and bleeding .	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	[304]
4767. Ants allowed to bite wounds	–	–	+	·+	–	–	·–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
*4768. To obtain "luck" only	–	–	(–)	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4769. Power comes by dreaming . . .	–	·+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4769a. Power comes in trance or faint	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4770. Nose or mouth bleeds	+	·+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–	–	
4771. Instruction by shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–	
4772. Guardian spirit communicates with seeker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4773. Spirit seen	–	–	·	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4773a. Spirit heard	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4774. Spirit felt	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–	
4775. Gives song	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4776. Gives paint		+	–	–	–	–		(+)	–	–	+	+	+		–	–	
4777. Gives dance		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
4778. Instructs as to paraphernalia, methods.	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–		–	–	
*4779. Doctor dance main or only form vision seeking for youths, girls		–	–	–	–	–	–	·+	·+	·+	–	–	–		–	–	
4780. Successful seeker observes taboos on return	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
†4781. Is sick for ... days	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	·1	·1	·2	1	+	+		–	–	
†4782. Continent			–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	[834]
4782a. For ... years			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1		–	–	
4783. Swims	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4784. Sweats and swims	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
†4785. Stays outside house ... days.	1	1	–	–	2	1	·2	5	0	·2	–	–	–		–	–	
†4786. Confined ... days in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(5)	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4787. Uses head scratcher	–	+	·	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4788. Eats sparingly or according to spirit's instructions. .	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	[262]
4788a. Meat taboo	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4789. Fish taboo	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–					–	–	
4790. Salt taboo	–		–					+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4790a. Drinks water with acorn meal in it. .	–	–	–						+	(+)					–	–	[571]
4791. Smokes tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–		–	–	
4792. Gives first kill to old man .			+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	[276]

251 immature pods, which are spread in piles to dry. The fully dried pods are removed from the surface of the pile, pounded to break them open, and the dry seeds, known as lowa'k, collected and stored. The bits of pod with seeds adhering are also stored against famine. The pods in the interior of the pile rot; these are also pounded, dried, and winnowed. These seeds are sno'ntablöḳs. The dry lowa'k and sno'ntablöḳs seeds must be treated differently from the fresh moist seeds described above. These are parched, the shells cracked by pounding, and the kernels boiled to a mush called siwulInc or ta'lᴇwa (the latter meaning stone-boiled). The shells may be winnowed before boiling, or they may be skimmed off. What remains in the vessel is called sti'lIns.

> During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the women, and they go to work again in their canoes.[275]

272 A liquor derived from prepared wokas seed of any sort is called ḳau'wütcᴇ. This is imbibed cold.

252 Boiling (ta'lᴇwa) is brought about by dropping hot stones into baskets of water. These are picked up with two green sticks, or the bare hands if not too warm. Split or bent sticks are not used for tongs.

Exceptional years have seen Klamath marsh so dry as to seriously affect this supply of food. It was dry when my elderly informant was quite small (about 1860), and even earlier (1840), in his grandmother's day, it had shrunk so that the pods could be picked from the ground. To restore the water little sacks of chipmunk and squirrel skin were carried to spirit places in the mountains, such as Diamond and Crater lakes, whence water was brought to pour into the marsh.

251 The Klamath make use of a wide variety of other seeds and roots. The seeds of goosefoot and rye grass, which mature in late summer, are beaten out with sticks over mats. The seeds of the first are ground on the metate and mixed with cold water to make a mush which is eaten with the fingers. Rye-grass seeds are parched in a tray basket, wherein they are tumbled about with live coals, then pounded in a mortar set on a large mat. Dry pinches of this are eaten.

Coville lists many other seed plants.[276] The seeds of the abundant *Balsamorrhiza* are gathered, roasted, and ground as a farinaceous

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[275] Gatschet, 1:76. I was not told of this and am doubtful about it.

[276] Coville, Notes on the Plants Used by the Klamath Indians. See also Gatschet, 1:146–150.

then pounded.[284] "The odor of the root is very disagreeable to white 222
people, to such a degree, indeed, that the use of the plant about the 262
agency was formerly forbidden."[285] Because of its odor, it is placed 251
in storage pits to keep animals away.

Acorns are absent from the Klamath diet. The oak grows only 222
about Klamath falls but the nuts are not used. The nuts of the
so-called chinquapin bush, growing in the higher mountains, are sometimes gathered. The hazelnut, which grows along the Klamath river north to Pelican bay, is occasionally used for food.

The principal fruit foods are huckleberries, service berries, chokecherries, currants, and wild plums. Huckleberries are gathered in enormous quantities, especially at Huckleberry mountain, southwest of Crater lake, where the Klamath congregate in the third week in
August. These are sometimes boiled so that the liquor may be drunk. [272]
Besides the common huckleberry, a low variety of the mountain slopes
is eaten fresh or dry. Service berries grow everywhere. The fruit
is gathered in large quantities in August, spread out on mats to dry, 222
and kept for winter use, a practice followed with all other berries 262
where practicable. The fruit of the chokecherry is gathered in large
quantities in September and dried. Yellow-flowered currant and com- 251
mon currant berries are frequently gathered. The gooseberry and the raspberry, which grow at Modoc point, are eaten fresh or dried. Blackberries, the green berries of manzanita, and elder-berries are articles of food. The berries of a bush honeysuckle or "cranberry" are always eaten fresh, but never to any extent. No attempt is made to dry strawberries, which are not abundant. Wild plums are abundant about the eastern shore of Klamath lake from Modoc point southward and in the vicinity of Summer lake. These are eaten fresh or dried, sometimes after being pitted. Wild rose haws, which ripen in September, are dried and pounded to grind the seeds.

Bearded moss (k!al), which hangs from the boughs, is pit-roasted; the product is bo'ka. Coville states that "black moss," a lichen, probably the same, is a famine food.[286]

Pine gum is also eaten. In the spring, usually in May, a broad 222
strip of the bark of a young yellow pine is removed, and the sweet 262
mucilaginous layer of newly formed tissue (stop'-älch) between the
bark and the sap wood is scraped off and eaten. This is a frequent

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[284] 1:147.

[285] Coville, Notes, 105.

[286] Notes, 87.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NE	MV
252 476. Eaten dry	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	–	+
•477. Buckeyes eaten	o	o	o	•+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
478. Leached	o	o	o	–	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
479. Boiled whole	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	–	–	+	o
480. Earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
481. For flesh food	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
482. For vegetable food	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	•+
483. Food sprinkled with water	–		+	+	–		–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
484. Food covered with leaves or grass	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
485. Water sprinkled into oven after closed up	–	•+	–	–	–		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
486. Eggs cooked	+	+	+			•+	+	•	+		+			+	+	+
487. Baked in earth oven	•+	–	–		–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
488. Baked in hot ashes	–	+	+			–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
489. Stone boiled in basket	–	+	+								+	–	–	+	+	+
272 •490. Berry "cider"	•+	o	+	+	+	•o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
491. Sipped with deer tail	–	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
263 o492. Salt obtained in mineral form, dry	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
493. Salt from spring or marsh	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
494. Salt locally	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	•+	+
[439] 495. Salt imported	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	•+	–
496. Used little or not at all; disliked	+	+	+	–	•–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
•497. "Salt" from burning grass	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	•+
498. "Salt" clover eaten fresh	–	+	–					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262 •499. Soaproot eaten	o	o	o	+	–	•o	•o	•o	•o	•o	o	+	–	+	+	–
500. Top eaten	o	o	o	–	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	–	+	+	–
501. Root eaten	o	o	o	+	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	–	+	–	–
502. Cooked in earth oven	o	o	o	+	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	–	–	–	–
[278] 503. Root concoction drunk as medicine	o	o	o	–	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	–	.	–	–
[439] 504. Imported if not obtainable locally	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
[515] •505. Soaproot for washing	o	•o	o	+	+	o	o	o	o	+	–	+	+	+	R	+
506. Milkweed chewing gum	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[26] 507. Pine pitch chewing gum	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	o	+	+	+
508. Pine "sugar"	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–
509. Honeydew from leaves eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
510. Inner bark of trees eaten.	•+	–	+	–	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
511. Mushrooms and fungi eaten											+	+	+			+
•512. Fresh or dried											•+	+	•+			•+

Eating Customs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NE	MV
264 513. Men served before women, if crowd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
[562] 514. All eat out of one basket	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
515. Men each have own basket	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+
516. Women also have separate baskets	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+
517. Man and wife eat from same basket	+	+	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
[365] 518. Children "piece" whenever hungry						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
519. Two main meals daily, usually	•–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
520. Three main meals daily	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–		–	–	–	–	–	+
[574] •521. Meal whenever visitor arrives	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Hands washed after eating deer, bear meat	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
[515] 523. Men's rule only	–	–	–			–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–
524. Wipe face, hands with grass, bark after eating	+	+	+						+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	•+

Storage of Food

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NE	MV
251 525. Outdoor granaries	–	+	+	–	+	•+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
526. Against tree	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
•527. In burnt tree stump	–		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
528. On platform in tree; covered	–	•+	+			•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–

000 470a. With either rotary or back-and-forth motion.

470b. With up-and-down motion.

252 471. In flattish basketry tray, usually. Kl, Mo: Circular flat twined tule "mat" used. AW: Probably not done much; informant commented, "They know how to, but claim the seeds get dirty; they do this though at Likely" (among AE). MV: Sycamore coals only, used.

473. Smaller seeds, as sunflower, grass seeds, etc. Kl, Mo: Wokus and small seeds. At: Sunflower seeds.

477. Most of informants in areas where nonoccurrence of buckeye noted on list expressed ignorance of any tree, shrub called "buckeye" or "chestnut"; this fact, together with casual personal observations of flora in such areas, only basis for my notations concerning nonoccurrence of this tree. SW: Informant ignorant of term buckeye; used "chestnut"; no specimens seen.

482. SE: For roots (Indian potatoes). MM: Clover cooked in earth oven, saved, recooked in winter, for soup. MV: Clover and salt grass (see note 497).

485. Mo: Water sprinkled on grass which covers red-hot rocks, in order to steam food.

486. AW: Boys also suck eggs raw. WT: Grouse, quail eggs eaten; no information concerning method of cooking.

487. Kl: Duck eggs. Dig hole 10 in. in diameter, 8 in. deep, let fire burn in it, rake out coals and put eggs in; cover eggs with dirt and build fire on top of dirt, to roast eggs. AW: Roast, also boil eggs.

● 272 490. Absences noted relate to manzanita berries. Kl: Huckleberries made into drink. No manzanita berries in area. AW: No manzanita 000 berries in area; "Hat Creek [At] and Big Bend [Madesi Achomawi] people make this berry cider, and sip it with a deer's tail." [correct] MV: Manzanita berries absent from area; obtained in foothills or brought down by MF people.

492. SW: At deer lick, and from natural deposits on Shasta and Bogus rivers. No salt bought. WM: Obtained from Cow Creek. Salt never kept in house; "deer would not like it, when his meat was brought into same house"; kept outside in basket placed in hollow log. Practically only use made of it was to eat it with green grass, in spring; this eaten outside, not in house.

493. At: Salt obtained from Round Mountain, in N Yana territory; informant's father had "gone there and dug it for himself." AW: Salt obtained from alkali creek at Round Mountain, E of Woodmont in N Yana territory. AW refer to N Yana as tisaiči ("salt people").

494. NS: Salt from spring or marsh. Dry salt not obtainable locally; see 495.

495. NS: Dry salt stolen, from deposits near Auburn; fights ensue, as are "supposed to buy it."

[179-A]

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 221 [222]

Spéluishtka at héwi, iwí-idsha wókash. Nāt a génanuapk! nánuk
In the index-month they haul, take home the lily-seed. We will go there! all
nat éna! nátoks waítuapk, wewálha wátch, hū'masht nat gī waíta wéwal-
of us carry it! but we will wait one day, are sore (our) horses, therefore we wait one day because
hasht wátch kä'mat. Nad gitá piénuapk pólōkuantch, ktälowalshuápka
are sore horses on back. We there will scrape up moth-chrysalids, gather pine-nuts
nād. Tchatchápēlu, hóllaksh, tûtánksham, hahashkemólsham, lolóloisam,
we. Sweet resin, winged pine-nuts, blackberry, black cherry, wild gooseberry,
tsinéχam, klá-ads, wáshlalam íwam nā'd stá-ila. Kó-idse, shtéaltk ktä'lo.
sort of wókash, prunes, squirrels' huckle-berries we gather. Of bad taste, full of resin pine-nuts (are)

[231] [222] [251] [252] [272]

Tχópowatka í-umāmi wátch lalá-a; gépgapēle máklaks kēlä'wiank,
In the thumb-month at berry-time mares foal; return the Indians having done (gathering),
at wéwanuish o-olalóna, at sa í'-umaltka. Bū'nuapka tchä'kēle í'wam,
the females dry berries by the fire, they return from berry-gathering. They will drink red juice of huckle-berries,
tchilálat hûn í'wam. Ánshat ánika shash í'wam; wí'dsika nánka í'wam.
boil the berries. You may go and ask them for huckle-berries; retentive some (are) of berries.
Túpeluish aní'k tēlû'ks, tchákēla n's skaí tak; tsákēlatka n's skaítki stá.
To next lodge I send tule-basket, willow-basket to me to give in; in the basket to me to give it filled.
Pahápk tchísh íwam lúitki n's léwitchta á Ká-i sheshätuí'shtka.
Dried too huckle-berries to give to me they did not want. Not I intend to sell them.

[796] [346] [222]

Spéluishtka spû'klishtat kshíwalχa, papiä'na luldamalákstat. At hû'k
In the index-month in the sweat-house they dance, inaugurate by feast the winter-house. Now such a man
kshū'n híwidshuapk, at hû't hí'wi; túnepni nā'd shópelakuapk. "Tû'sh
hay will haul home, and that man hauls (it) in; in five (stacks) we will stack (it) up. "Where
nû shópelakuapk"? "lápash í'lχat, atí'sh shuí'nshnank í'lχat; í' tchkash í
I shall stack it"? "in two stacks heap it ye, in a long-stretching (stack) stacking heap it ye! you also you
nû'sh shatuáyuapk mbúsant. Únípni waítash í n's shatuáyuapka."
me must help to-morrow. Four days you me must help."

Tátχēlam hehátχe túpak.
In the midfinger-month fall the leaves.

Gáptchēlam shináktishtka kä'na.
In the ring-finger month it is snowing.

Gáptsatka mû kä'na.
In the month of the small finger heavily it snows.

Tχópowatka wétko é-ush; kéna.
In the thumb-month is frozen the lake; it is snowing.

[796] Spéluishtka ktō'tsa mû; wála kshiúlgishtat.
In the index-month it rains much; they dance in the dance-house.

Tátχēlam tsuám lúela Nílaksi Tsuyakē'ksni.
In the midfinger-month large suckers kill at Nilaks the Linkville Indians.

[226] Gáptsēlam shináktishtka udsáksalsha Kókētat, kä'shla sa.
In the ring-finger month they take large suckers in Lost River, (and) get ipos.

far distant when good judgment will direct the deposing of all 657*
hereditary sovereigns and the election of proper officers by the 648*
people at large. Thier present mode of constituting courts of 622
justice and of conducting trials is probably far in advance of thier primitive style—but is anything but Republican. . . ."[27]

The contrast between the old and new leaders is shown by one 657*
of two liquor cases that vexed Dyar. A saloonkeeper, guided by 648*
a "squaw man" to an Indian village a few miles above Linkville 622
"for vile purposes," gave a bottle of whiskey to the Indian who 273
transported them. After the Indian had drunk part, he gave the remainder to Lileks, who shared it with another man. Of this instance and another, Dyar observed, "Allan David, Head Chief [643]
of the Klamaths, first brought these cases to my knowledge and is anxious that the parties shall be punished."[28]

Allen David, indeed, impressed Meacham strongly, for he 657*
characterized him among the Indians as "unquestionably the 648*
clearest and most logical talker I have ever listened to. . . . He 643
is fully imbued with the ideas of civilization and never misses an opportunity to give his people good advice."[29] Dyar, echoing these sentiments, added, "his time is so much taken up in settling the little disputes of his people, and he is naturally compelled to give away so much food in thier [sic] frequent visits, that he is kept continually poor." As head chief for the entire reservation, David was expected by the Indians to feed them during the frequent assemblies at his house. From visits to other reservations and to the American settlements, he was aware that white officials received pay for performing their duties and that even Mark, the head chief at Warm Springs, drew a salary. Before David would undertake the head chieftaincy, O. C. Applegate had had to promise to try to secure a salary for him. Subsequently, Dyar himself recommended that Allen David be paid an annual salary of $300.00.[30] It was not forthcoming.

The concept of an all-reservation hierarchy of chiefs was rudely 657*
challenged by the Modoc War. For a brief time, upon the urging 648*
of A. B. Meacham, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, Captain Jack and his adherents had joined Schonchin at Modoc Point in 1869. They were soon disillusioned. The Klamath acted like lords of the land and treated the Modoc as if they were there only on sufferance. When the Modoc split fence rails, Klamath

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

County. Of regular municipal income in the year, 1956-57, taxa- 648*
tion supplied only a little over four per cent. The largest sources 657*
of revenue were the water system, the city tavern (which alone 641
supplied over one-third of the budget), and the proceeds from 651
law enforcement (amounting to over one-fourth of the budget).
Since, after the repeal of Indian prohibition in 1951, tribal members had become the major patrons of the municipal tavern, comprising in 1958 an estimated eighty per cent of its clientele, it is evident that in this indirect manner they had come to constitute a major support in the operation of the municipal government.

Nor was this all. The sizable sum derived from law enforce- 648*
ment was highly unusual. While the major enforcement problem 657*
in most Oregon cities of comparable size was traffic violations, 641
Chiloquin in 1956-57 found no less than ninety-three per cent of 674
its offenses to be felonies and misdemeanors other than traffic violations. Tribal members and other Indians, including re-
peaters, accounted for over seventy-two per cent of the arrests; [681]
they paid over seventy per cent of the fines and forfeited bail; [464]
and they furnished over ninety-six per cent of the trusty labor performed in the city.[7]

Aside from a few individual instances, this record does not 648*
reflect a policy of discriminatory arrests on the part of the city 657*
administration. It does, however, mark one of the significant 674
confrontations upon the reservation. It was conditioned in part [641]
by the special statutory position of the Klamath, for as an Indian [656]
under federal supervision he was enjoined by law from having or using liquor and from marrying a white within the state. Until these disabilities were removed in 1951, tribal members were subject to arrest for acts not held criminal when committed
by non-Indians. During prohibition, tribal members had learned [273] •
to operate stills, had taken to drinking extracts, proprietary medicines, rubbing alcohol, and "canned heat" in lieu of scarce liquors, and had both patronized and served as bootleggers. Habits of defiant drinking, akin to those of other Americans during the "dry" years, lingered even into the years after repeal.

Klamath experience with strong drink and violence had neither begun with the reservation towns nor was it confined to them;

*648 *657 674 but the access they provided to the means, the example set by the whites in the heyday of logging, and the greater chance of detection all made for a record in which these communities figured prominently. Moreover, in protest against a status they did not like but found it difficult to alter, tribesmen turned their violence outward against the public symbols of white dominance and inward upon their intimates and themselves.

The record is easy to read. Cars were stolen from a garage and raced by a gang of boys; others robbed a store; someone, in the years of prohibition, broke into the municipal tavern, then a forbidden place; others entered the jail, this time to remove some wine held as evidence in a bootlegging case; a boy, forcing his way into the post office, damaged the letter boxes. In subsequent years, the special Indian officer and a school principal were each set upon and beaten.

During the same period, private citizens among the whites were unmolested. The assaults had taken place against the seats of white power. When these events were discussed with a number of the elder Klamath, themselves law-abiding citizens, they reacted with abhorrence of the beatings—the Indian officer in particular had served long years on the reservation and had a reputation for fairness—but exhibited an indulgent amusement for the forays against stores and jocularity over the raid on the jail. The impression was very strong that in the twentieth century the Klamath, while sparing the neutrals in their midst, were still sending out war parties against the enemy.

• [273] Among themselves, violence, especially in their drinking parties, was more deadly. Both the statistical and narrative reports from the early days of the reservation detail occasional instances of death through violence, but the number is small, and it is unlikely, in the light of the counteraccusations freely hurled between feuding groups, that a murder could easily have been concealed. It is therefore signal that when, in 1929, the Klamath Falls *Evening Herald* summarized murder trials for the previous year, in five instances both individuals had been tribal members, while in a sixth a Klamath had slain a white during a drinking party in Chiloquin. In three other cases, both parties had been white, and in another, Mexican.[8] Since that

time, few years have not seen at least one murder upon the reservation. 648* 657* 674

Lesser crimes have also been frequent. Of the 1958 sample of the reservation population above the age of sixteen, no fewer than forty-three per cent had been arrested for misdemeanor, seventeen per cent for felony. Liquor had led to arrest for thirty-seven per cent, and no fewer than forty-nine per cent were judged to have problems associated with drinking. The corresponding figures were slightly higher for those members living in Chiloquin, where opportunity, observation, and arresting officers were all more frequent. 648* 657* 273 • [674]

In situations in which other peoples have sought redress in religious movements or covert sorcery, Klamath have more commonly fallen back upon drink and violence. For them the bottle has proven a maladaptive instrument, as shown by a recent survey of the causes of death of 139 members who expired during a period of four and one-half years: drinking was adjudged to be a contributory factor in no fewer than fifty-seven per cent of the deaths.[9] The violence which often caps drinking bouts is likewise self-destructive: for it often strikes close friends or family members. [154] [165]

From the viewpoint of the city fathers, then, the Klamath have been an unruly segment of the citizenry; and the figures on law and order pose the difficulty confronting the community in the maintenance of an orderly life. Alternatively, however, those same figures represent a sizable income to be realized through the administration of the law. In the latter days of the reservation, as the Indians themselves were clearly aware,[10] the city seemed on the one hand to be profiting from the sale of beer and wine to tribal members and on the other to collect large fines from them when, under the influence of alcohol, they had fallen into the toils of the law. The implications of this policy, by which almost two-thirds of the income of the town was supplied, made many white citizens uneasy. The city fathers, concerned with a parsimonious administration, were not eager to seek a substitute and, indeed, any change would have presented obstacles.

So long as the tribal government remained to articulate their 648* 657* 178 571

kinship loyalties and that had provided relatively stable focal 648*
interests about which allegiances might cluster. The anonymous 657*
destruction of property as a time-honored method of exacting 602
personal revenge remained even in the last days of the reserva- 578
tion, when the jacklight shooting of a cow was construed as the 178
malicious act of a foe. Distrust thus engendered was likely in 177
turn to lead to a search for potential allies, especially among kinsmen and cronies. Local legend in Chiloquin still recounts the memorable gunfight between two tribal families in the days before its incorporation, one firing from the railway depot while the other entrenched itself in the family hotel. At the first few shots the stationmaster, a newcomer to town, was flushed from the depot; and when the fusillades were stilled he left town, never to return.

As law and order became more firmly established over the reservation, and extended families, their members scattered on separate allotments and among the reservation towns, became
dispersed, retaliatory obligations declined. In the end, feudatory 648*
alignment left their mark chiefly in a continued reluctance of 657*
former opponents to drink together or otherwise associate. The 602
drinking cliques, with their stable membership cores, reflected 578
these antipathies: three decades after the gunfight mentioned 273
above, the families involved still did not consort together. Only 178
one person, and she an affinal, had crossed the line. 177
[573]

Indeed, the violence of more recent years, as remarked, lay far less between families than it did within them, for many of the quarrels that precipitated assaults arose in the course of drinking parties, and thus antagonized persons who were accustomed to associate together. Although there was a degree of mobility in the membership of such parties, and clashes at times might involve a visitor, many instances of homicide arose out of family disputes. That the tensions thus vented were generated by the changes in familial roles seems at least partially true, to judge by an examination of court cases; but they were affected indirectly by other segments of the psychosocial system, such as the relations with whites. Such disputes, however, could only weaken the family, and that at a time when family solidarity had become a less imperative need.

Within the reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally

that seem bizarre. In evading prohibition, as already noted, tribal 648*
members learned successively to operate stills, to patronize and 657*
to serve as bootleggers, and to drink alcoholic extracts. For local 177
roughs, the pug and the cowboy provided glamorous models; 178
and several youths ventured upon the hard trail of the profes- 184
sional boxer. [883] Although cowboy hats and boots were still worn in the latter days of the reservation, they were giving way among this set to the ducktail haircut and the leather jacket. Drag racing and drinking were pursuits as common among tribal adolescents in Chiloquin as among their peers elsewhere. The intermittent use of marijuana cigarettes and an occasional Pachuco tattoo were evidence of the selective adoption of Inframodal practices.

As a category, the inframodal Klamath were often the immediate descendants of some of the elderly individuals already mentioned, dependent upon them for money once they had squandered their own funds, sometimes residing with them, sometimes "shacking up" in a separate household in a common-law union. They formed but one range of the main body of tribal members, among whom they found associates perhaps as often
as they did among their own sort. They did not habitually asso- [571]
ciate with Inframodal peers among other racial groups, but [573]
characteristically remained in small tribal cliques, of which the [273]
drinking groups were the chief stable expression.[22]

Those tribal members still on the reservation comprised a main body, upon which three lobes might be distinguished: the elders, the Inframodal, and those conformant to American standards. The latter alone had tended to become almost completely cut off from the major body of their fellow tribesmen, save for a few leaders, who had been able to keep the respect of both whites and Klamath. The remainder constituted a single society of strong egalitarian persuasions.

While recognizing that a single criterion must fail as a device 648*
for sorting out categories which are the product of such com- 657*
plexity, a first approximation was attempted in an analysis of the 177
records of a random sample of tribal members in Chiloquin.[23] As 178
sorting criteria, the subjects were first scaled against five some- 184
what overlapping entries involving behavior before the law. Then, 125
working symmetrically from the extremes of the scale, they were

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common 101
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 177
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological [184]
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy,
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present [224]
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly 648
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties:
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an ar- [829]
tificial construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet 178
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-resi-
dence with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been trans- 648
ferred to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not [241]
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber indus- [511]
try has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are exclusively 621
White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office outside [575]
the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [794]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are frequently
tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously, [651]
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chiloquin
during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of [674]
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 98 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a reconstituted 648
"Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be administered 657
by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal supervision
has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Attendance 619
at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage,
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions 581
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have [588]

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159
[156] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White seg-
ments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but
in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
[891] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
[586] fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of
the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of
numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
[597] an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has
spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[156] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was
closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became
dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
[874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She
took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if
she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[857] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child
nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she
had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them
her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., per-
[608] sons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an ad-
visor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making
a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
●[278] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my
glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its
walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is asso-
ciated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is
noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites,
for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, be-
cause she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and
biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a
person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Per-
haps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social
role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she
will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and
quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

175 the exclusive right of taking fish and gathering edible roots, seeds, and
648 berries within the reservation. Provision is made by which the right of
657 way for public roads and railroads across said reservation is reserved to citizens of the United States.

Article 2. As a payment for the ceded lands the Indians shall receive $8,000 per annum for a period of five years, $5,000 per annum for the next five years, and the sum of $3,000 per annum for the five years next succeeding.

Article 3 provides for the payment of $35,000 for removing the Indians to the reservation, subsisting them during the first year, and providing them with clothing, teams, tools, seeds, etc.

313 Articles 4 and 5 provide for the establishment of a saw-mill, a flouring-
256 mill, a manual-labor school, and hospital buildings, all to be maintained
874 and supplied with working material at the expense of the United States for
783 the period of twenty years. Employés for running these establishments shall be paid and housed by the Government also.

423 Article 6 reserves the right to the Government to provide each Indian family with lands in severalty to the extent of forty to one hundred and twenty acres, and to guarantee possession to them. Indians are not allowed to alienate these lands.

Article 9. The Indians acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and pledge themselves to be friendly with all citizens thereof, to commit no depredations upon the persons or property of said citizens, and to refrain from carrying on any war upon other Indian tribes.

273 Article 10 prohibits the sale and use of liquors upon the Reservation, and Article 11 permits the Government to locate other Indian tribes thereon, the parties to this treaty not losing any rights thereby.

The treaty was proclaimed February 17, 1870.

Like most of the treaties concluded between the United States Government and the Indian tribes, this compact was made much more to the advantage of the white man than of his red brother. Not only were the stipulated annuities rather small for a body of Indians, which was then considered to number about two thousand people, but these annuities were

782 Other informants also give a hint of this attitude. Even where there is
776 sophistication by virtue of education or long-time residence away from the
823 group, one encounters statements like that of a woman, half-Klamath, half-
774 Caucasian: "Those old Indians had a lot of sense. They kind of felt at home
787 around here and they would get a lift just from talking to the mountains
and lakes. It was like praying and it made them feel at peace. When I get up in the morning, I look first over there [at Mt. Pitt] and it makes me feel good too. Not that I pray in the old Indian way; that's just idolatry. But it's like the scenery kind of gets ahold of you even if I been seeing it all my life."

787
776 A possible indication of this attitude appears in the repeated warnings to
855 children to avoid certain rocks and cliffs. "You might fall down and hurt
823 yourself" is of course quite true; on the other hand, places about which some
modern Klamath parents feel particularly uneasy were associated aboriginally with power sources. A strong drive in the past was fear that a child might be
784 harmed through contact with "power." Every effort was made to keep the child away from the shaman, the sweat lodge, the mourning place, and the
841 like. (It may be noted that menstrual blood was placed near the cradled child to negate forces whose mere presence could harm the inexperienced.) These attitudes toward nature and the surrounding natural phenomena, at least as sources of uneasiness, still exist among younger Klamath of today.

773 Also obtainable is evidence on attitudes toward the culture hero. Some
776 offer a rational systematization of beliefs concerning him. Generally, this
177 involves some interpretation in the light of Christian reasoning. Kemu'kemps, because of his essentially human characteristics, readily lends himself to identification with the Christian God. The middle-aged woman quoted above, struck by the linguistic parallels, notes: "Those old Indians were really
273 Christians. It's only the liquor around here that makes the unbelief and trouble. Kemu'kemps means the 'Old One'; that's God. He revealed himself to the Indians long before the Americans [sic] came. He had a son, too, 'Aysis, that's just like Jesus. He created the world, just like it says in the Bible. If only those old Indians had been able to see it, they were close to God all the time. They lived good upright lives under his guidance. Another word for Kemu'kemps in our language is *Playtul'kni·;* that means the 'One on High,' 'Somebody up there.' That's the name we give God in our language now. It's all the same."

Not all informants are so definite in their syncretism. One elderly woman remarked: "Who is Kemu'kemps? I don't know. Sometimes I think he's God, but sometimes I think he must be Devil. Maybe he was just a story the old Indians made up. But they called him Playtul·kni· and that means God. My grandson asked me, 'Gramma, who's Kemu'kemps?' I say, 'I don't know. Maybe he's like God.' " In another connection she remarked: "I think that Kemu'kemps is Devil. He gets people into trouble; he leads them into temptation. When I was a little girl, they said to me, 'He's no good; don't believe that any more.' But I don't know. I see the icicles and I think of the wind and Kemu'kemps. He made the world and they call him Playtul'kni·. The Devil

524 Children imitate not only the daily activities of their elders, but their games as well. Little girls build little dome-shaped lodges. Their dolls are made of clay with modeled eyes, nose, and mouth, but are not dressed.[133] Both these clay images and those made of wood are called a'm'ös, but the wooden figures, representing the spirit Tca'ḳiaḳ, Little Boy, are not played with. Children play at shinny and double ball, and make cat's cradles. They play a game called wo'yilltas wherein they run crying wo'yi wo'yi . . . . as long as their breath holds out and stand at the spot where they fail. The object is to see who can go farthest. Or they cry doŋgliu doŋgliu . . . . . Similarly, girls squat on their heels with hands on knees and jump up and down, singing la'masi, to see who can do it longest. They bet on this. A favorite spot to play this game, called salmasi'a, is at dūna'ksi on Pelican bay, where the ground resounds when they jump.

It is worth noting that the number of counters used in the guessing and dice games is always twelve. In the four-stick game—I so [114] recorded it—the counters are thought of as twelve plus two. Another of my informants spoke only of the twelve and this is the number recorded by Culin and Dorsey.[134] This number is unexpected because the pattern number of the Klamath is five. It may be that these games came to the Klamath in a form with twelve units and have not been reduced to the normal five or its multiple. How the pattern operates is illustrated by the informants' statements that five or six on a side play double ball shinny, that the perfect score in the dart game is five, and the penalty there five or more blows. On the other hand, it may be significant that I was told of six men to a side in the hand game and six in shinny. There are three possibilities; six and its multiple may be an indigenous pattern number for games, it may have been acquired as part of the game complex from other tribes, or it may be only a chance reference of the informants.

SMOKING

276 Smoking is a pastime with little to suggest ceremonial usage. To be sure, the shaman smokes in the interludes of the curing ceremonies, [755] using a special form of pipe, special tobacco mixed with reputedly poisonous roots, and prepared for him by his speaker, but he does not

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*[171] [133] The Northern Paiute make clay figurines representing horses and other animals, corrals, etc., according to my informant. The Klamath do not.

[532] [134] Even the form of the dice game described for the "Klamath" of Siletz, involving thirteen sticks, two of which are marked, may really be intended for twelve plus one, since elsewhere only one stick of such a set is marked.

cure by blowing smoke on the patient nor blow it to the distant spirits 276 as an offering. The impression gained was that this is a matter only [755] of self-indulgence during his periods of rest. Gatschet translates a song as "The smoking pipe is my medicine-tool (mŭlwas), the implement for tobacco," but the word also means any esoteric paraphernalia of the shaman.[135] The lay use of tobacco is at any time that convenience dictates, e.g., when resting in the evening. Women use [562] tobacco as freely as men. The custom of passing the pipe from one to another is probably absent though I made no specific inquiry.

Tobacco (ko'teka)[136] is smoked, never eaten. A boiled decoction of it is sometimes taken for bowel disorders.

The plant (*Nicotiana attenuata* Wats.) is not cultivated, but commonly grows in dry places.[137] A bundle of these plants together with kinnikinick is hung to dry in the top of the sweat-lodge until the leaves turn brown. Coville states that the dried leaves of manzanita, also, are mixed with the tobacco.[138] According to an informant the seed pods (which are sticky when fresh) and the adjacent parts of the flower are smoked; according to another the leaves and stem. The several plants are ground with any convenient little stone.

The pipe (p!ōks) is commonly clay with a spherical bowl and a 276 short wooden stem, but is sometimes of stone and discoidal. The more 323 common stone bowl is elbow-shaped with the arms at an obtuse angle, made of soft sandstone, shaped and hollowed by pecking. Barrett [114] states that the discoidal form is less used than the angular but my information is to the contrary.[139] The stem is elder with the pith pushed out; Coville mentions the wood of the wild rose.[140] The manu- [524] facture of clay pipes by a non-pottery making people seems unusual; the only other use of clay is for making dolls. Yet the ease with which clay can be manipulated as against the difficulty of drilling and shaping stone must have favored its use.

A shaman's pipe (which has no special name) is the common clay 276 bowl fitted with a long stem, eighteen inches or more, wrapped with 756

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[135] 1:167.

[136] No word corresponding to the Shasta ôp, tobacco, Takelma ô'p, Crow ôp, etc., is known.

[137] Coville, Notes, 104. One of Powers' correspondents states that the Klamaths (Klamath river people?) cultivated it (Tribes of California, 426).

[138] Coville, Notes, 102. What is here called kinnikinick is probably Coville's bearberry (kâ-mä-mi, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray); the common kinnikinick of northern latitudes does not grow so far south as Klamath lakes.

[139] Barrett, Material Culture, 253, pl. 22.

[140] Coville, Notes, 99.

276 756 [177] rattlesnake skin. This may be used by the shaman only during the ceremonies, but I think not. The tubular pipe is not Klamath. A long tubular pipe, with a small mouthpiece, found by the Indians at Pelican bay, had been described to my informant as the probable possession of a shaman who resided there. This is probably a trade piece.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 The only true musical instrument known to the Klamath is the flute. This with three varieties of rattle and the hand drum make up the sum of their instruments. The musical bow is a plaything.

The flute (slo'lūs) is played for amusement and in courting; [562] curiously enough it is played by women as well as men even when courting. Its music is called su'lulu. Various sounds are imitated on 534 the flute, such as the noise of flying pelicans' wings. The melodies include those of shaman's songs, although it is never used in shamanis- 533 tic rites. I do not know that song is ever accompanied by flute. It [756] seems more probable that the melodies of certain songs are considered appropriate flute music.[141] There are flute songs about the turtle and deer. The song for the antelope is:

[539]

gaiyo'	gaiyo'wa	gaiyo'	gaiyo'wa
chewing			
tcĕwŏm	aiĕ'nol	tĕli'dŏŋga	
antelope	me	am browsing	
slewi's	aiĕ'nol	tĕli'dŏŋga	
wind	me	am browsing.	

He browses along (toward me?) when the wind strikes him (?).

A flute song for the mountain sheep is:

hotūks	nis	sĕwă'ĕt	geoġe'lᴇ	wiĕ'sŏm
that	allows	me	that earth	mountain sheep
dostŏn	hoiha'nsᴇ	lalī'sdöt		
where I	run on the ledge	on the steep hill.		

These are not magical songs for calling game but solely for amusement.

Another song referring to any bird is:

djīkgasītgo	djīkgasītgo	nenea
flutterer		flapping.

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[141] Gatschet gives the text of several songs, which, because they are neither appropriate to shamanistic or puberty rites, may belong to this category (1:189, 192).

755 Shamans never practice in concert. If one fails another is called. If the first discovers that another shaman is responsible for the illness, the relatives will insist on the accused making a cure, if they do not kill him forthwith, which is much more likely.[181] I was not told that a consistently unsuccessful shaman is killed, but it is very probable that he would be accused of witchcraft unless he retired from the field confessing his lack of power.

A shaman of du'kwa named Lä'ˑlˑwis was thought by the people of iu'ˑlaloŋe to have bewitched one of their people who died. Later when another was sick they sent for him pretending their need. They slew him with an axe.[182]

• [276] Coville observes that "the dried root stocks [of the blue flag or iris (ghä'-gum läk'-ō, *Iris missouriensis* Nutt.)] are sometimes used by medicine men as a smoking material, mixed with white camas [wild parsnip?], *Zygadenus venenosus*, and a little tobacco, to give a person a severe nausea, in order to secure a heavy fee for making him well again."[183]

752
756 It is distinctly unusual to find that among the Klamath the shaman also figures in curing practice of a non-shamanistic, matter-of-fact variety. Blood is sucked from wounds and ostensibly from fractures; this is one reason for his accompanying a war party. The songs for this are those of buzzard and coyote, who eat carrion, of the wolf, mosquito, fly, horsefly, or any animal or insect that feeds on human blood and flesh. The patient is then usually turned over to a layman for further care. A fracture is treated by applying a cautery all around the spot, smearing the limb with pine pitch and wrapping it with wide strips of buckskin. Wooden splints are not used, nor sweating as a cure. Wounds are dressed with poultices of plants known to some of the older people. One informant said that only wounds in the limbs were dressed, but this is improbable.

Endjla'yukts (the father of my informant Nancy) received an arrow wound in an arm during a feud. Although he was himself a shaman, he did not attempt to treat himself, but called on Ēḳts'as, the shaman who was serving as the spiritual guardian of this war party. The latter pulled out the arrow, applied a poultice made of the leaves of an unidentified plant, and bound the arm. The wounded man eventually died of this wound.

Wounds made by a grizzly bear are treated by a shaman who has the songs of a huge spirit grizzly. The shaman prances about in imitation of the bear, palms raised in front of his shoulders to represent

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[181] Gatschet cites a case (1:68–69).

[182] The revenge taken by his son Kō'ḳdinks is described above.

[183] Coville, Notes, 93.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

171 *

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Dentalium shells	Ornament	Ultimate source, coasts of Washington and British Columbia.	105
Cradles	Sitting	N.W. and N. central California.	[301]
	Board	N. Basin, Plateau.	[854]
Games	Beaver teeth dice	Oregon, Washington, British Columbia.	
	Four stick	N.E., central, and S. California (and elsewhere?).	[524]
	Hand game	Some central Californians, Basin, S. Northwest Coast, Plateau, Plains.	
	Modified hoop-pole	Minor game of coast from Alaska to Oregon (not N.W. California).	
	Ring-and-pin; rush ball	Modoc?, Wishram.	
Pipes	Spherical; discoidal	S. Plateau (Nez Percé to Okanagon).	[276]
	Angular	Wasco, Wishram, Middle Columbia, Nez Percé (links with Plains calumet?).	
Musical instruments	Hand drum	Recent in Plateau; Basin, Plains, (Northwest Coast?).	[534]
	Deerhoof rattle in girls' rites	N. California.	
	Notched rasp	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.	
	Clap stick	N. and central California.	
	Open flute	California, Southwest; Takelma, Nez Percé (and probably general in the west).	
Numerals	Finger names	Takelma.	[802]
Ritual number	Five	S. Northwest Coast, Washington, Oregon, California S. to Sinkyone and Northern Maidu, Basin.	[801]
Calendar	Numerical names	N.W. California, Fraser R., N. Northwest Coast.	[805]
Scalping	Whole scalp	California, W. Southwest, Wishram (no scalping in N.W. California E. to Shasta, and Northwest Coast).	[726]
Head trophy	Unusual	California, Northwest Coast.	
Scalp dance		General (except N.W. California) (over head trophies on Northwest Coast).	[727]
War dance	With notched rattle	Upland Takelma?, Wasco, Wishram, Nez Percé; without rattle, Chinook, N.W. California.	
Disposal of dead	Cremation	Modoc; some cremation in N.E. California; central California; formerly in E. Washington; N. Plateau.	[764]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Hunting Observances																
224 o137. First kill taboo to youth	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
138. To youth's parents also	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+
139. Kill taboo until marriage	−	−	−	−	•−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
140. Youth switched after first kill	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
141. Before he goes to kill first deer	+	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
142. Taboo to voice intent to hunt deer	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
o143. Hunter fasts morning or day of hunt	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	±	−	+
[934] 144. Sexual continence before hunt	−	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[276] 145. Tobacco smoked ritually before hunt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	•+	−	•+
146. Root incense before hunt	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
[793] 147. Weapons smoked over fire	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
148. Hunter smokes self over fire	.	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	−	+	+	+	•−	+	−
149. Root chewed before hunt	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
150. Sweating before hunt	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
[515] 151. With scarification and bleeding	−	+	•+	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
152. Hunter prays while sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•−	−	•−	−	−	−
153. Shell bead burnt as offering	−										+	+	+	−	−	•−
[515] 154. Bathing before hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
155. Body swabbed with medicine	−	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	+	•+
156. Deer doctor charms game prior to hunt	−	+	+			•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
157. Antelope doctor charms game prior to hunt	−	+	.		o	o	+	−	o	o	o	−	o	−	o	−
158. Ceremony before group hunt	−	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
159. Singing	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Praying	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
161. Dancing	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
162. Hoof rattle	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	+	−
163. Cocoon rattle	−		−		−			−	−		+	+	+	+	−	−
163a. Split-stick rattle	−	−	•R	−	−	•R		+	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	•+
164. Headdress	−	−	+			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	−
165. Conducted by shaman	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
166. Acorn-soup dinner									•+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+
167. Ceremony after hunt	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	.	+	•+	−	+
[782] 168. Offerings made for success of hunt	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•.	•+
168a. Eagle down	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	=	−	.	−
168b. Tobacco	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	.	−
[754] 169. Shaman goes on hunt to charm game	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•−	+	−
170. Bear spoken to in den or woods	•−	•+	•+	+	•+	•−	o	−	+	.	+	•+	o	.	(−)	•+
171. Addressed by kin term	−	.	+	−	+	−	o	−	−	.	+	+	o	.	(−)	+
172. Apologetic speech after killing	−	−	+	•−	+	−	o	−	+	.	+	+	o	.	−	+
173. Meat eaten in one house	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	+	(+)	o	.	+	−
174. All who eat must wash, be continent	−	+	+	•−							+	+	o	.	+	−
175. Remains in tree or hidden in woods	−	−	+	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	+	−	o	.	−	−
176. Remains burnt	−	−	−			+	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	.	−	+
177. Killing pregnant bear causes death, misfortune	−	.	−	+	−	−	o	−	−	−	.	+	o	.	−	−
[200] 178. Smoke or fire signals when 2 or more hunt together	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
179. Shouting as signal	−	−							+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
180. To obtain aid in packing kill	+	•+	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+
Butchering of Large Game																
181. Large game butchered in woods	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	•−	+	+
182. Lying	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
183. Eyes cut out	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
184. Given to child to eat raw	−	−	−	•−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
185. Nose cut or tied	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
186. Paunch cleaned, filled with blood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+
187. Carcass packed home whole	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	+	+	+	−	+

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
529. Thatched	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	251
530. Roughly coiled, in shape tubular bin.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
531. Posts set upright in ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	(-)	+	•+	•+	•+	
532. Goods wrapped, hung from branch of tree	-	-	+				•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
533. Storage in pit outside	(•+)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	
534. Storage indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
534a. In baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
535. In twined tule "sacks"	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
536. Vegetable foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
537. Dried meat, salted or plain	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
538. Dried fish or salmon flour	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	
539. Storage in pit inside sweat house	-					•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Exchange of Food																	
540. Food sold	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	•+	262
541. Traded or borrowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	437
542. Mainly in time of famine	-	+	-	-	-	-	•-	+	-	-	+	+		+	+	-	
543. Mainly in winter, early spring	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
544. Game divided	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	224
545. Killer gets most or certain parts	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+		
546. Meat equally divided among hunters	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
547. Large game divided among whole camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Ownership of Productive Areas																	
548. Fishing places privately owned	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	-	423
549. Fishing places jointly owned, owners unrelated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
550. Fishing places owned by village group	+	+	-	-		•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	226
551. Anyone may take some of owner's catch.	-	-	-						+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
552. Fishing places rented for share of catch	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	·	-	
553. Fish weir privately owned	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
554. Hunting land or spots privately owned	-	-	+	•-	-	•-	•-	-	+	-	+	-	-	•+	+	-	423
555. Seed tracts privately owned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[224]
556. Seed tracts owned by village group		+				+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
557. Trees privately owned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
558. Trees owned by village group	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
559. Trees claimed for single season only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
560. Only trees distant from village	-	-	-						+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
561. Tribal or group boundaries marked by topographic features	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
562. Tobacco plot privately owned	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	[276]
563. Land for single season only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
564. Tobacco plot owned by village	-	-	-			-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
565. Village site owned by group	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[361]
Division of Labor																	
Subsistence Pursuits																	
566. Hunting: men only	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
567. Rat and mouse catching: men and women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
568. Men	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	[224]
569. Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
570. Gathering insects, grubs: men and women	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	[222]
571. Men	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	
572. Women	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
573. Fishing: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
574. Men only net, spear fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	[226]
575. Women use basket to catch fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
SMOKING AND TOBACCO																
Pipes and Pipe Sacks																
276 Pipes																
2006. Tubular-type pipe	+	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
2007. 1-piece	+	-	+	+	•+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2008. Solid wood	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2009. Elder or other pithy stalk	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2010. Stone	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2011. Found, not manufactured	(+)	-		•+	-						+	-	-	-	-	.
2012. 2-piece	•+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
2013. Stone bowl	•+	-	.	+	-	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
2014. Cane stem	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2015. Elder stem	-	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2016. Solid wooden stem	•+	-	+	(+)	-	-	•+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	.	-
2017. Stem stuck into bowl	+	-	.	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
2018. Stem mortised into bowl	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2019. Optional use of stem	-												+	+	+	-
2020. Concave-shaped bowl	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2021. Convex-shaped bowl	•+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2022. Bulb bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2023. Double-bulb bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2024. Obtuse-angled pipe	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2025. Stone bowl	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2026. Wooden stem	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2027. Right-angled pipe	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2028. Stone bowl	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2029. Wooden bowl	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2030. Wooden stem	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pipe Sacks																
[415] 2031. Pipe sack of cased fur	-	.	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
2032. Pipe sack of buckskin	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2033. Pipe kept in small basket													+	+		-
2034. Pipe kept in ground, head of bed	+	.	+			+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	.	-
Tobacco																
Cultivation and Gathering																
[222] 2035. Gathered wild	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
[249] 2036. Cultivated or semicultivated	-	+	+	+	-	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2037. Sown	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2038. Log or brush burned, sown in ashes	-	-	+			-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2039. Log or brush burned, for volunteer crop	-	+	.	+	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2040. Seeds sown next year, same spot	-	-	.	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2041. Ground cultivated with digging stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
2042. Plants thinned	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-
2043. Pruned	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2044. Irrigated	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2045. Gathered when yellow	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	.
2046. Gathered when green	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.
2047. Leaves only, or mainly, picked	-	.	-	+		+		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
2048. Stalk occasionally pulled up	-	+	-	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Preparation																	
2049. Stalk hung up to dry	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	276 ●
2050. Leaves dried, whole	+	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	
2051. Leaves rubbed and hung to dry in sack												+	+	−	−	+	
2052. Leaves only, used	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2053. Leaves rubbed fine in palm, with fingertips	+	+	−	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2054. Dried leaves put in sack, pounded on slab			+								−	−	−	−	−	−	
o2055. Tobacco mixed for smoking	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	−	−	•±	−	−	−	−	−	−	
o2056. Kinnikinick, manzanita mixtures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2057. Grease added	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
Tobacco Containers																	
2058. Basket	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	[415]
2059. Buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
2060. Cased-fur pouch	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
Tobacco Substitutes																	
2061. Plant substitutes used occasionally	−	−	+						•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2062. Manzanita	−	−	+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2063. Parched and ground	−	−	+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Uses																	
2064. Smoking at social gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2065. Pipe passed	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2066. Smoking after sweating	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	
2067. Bedtime smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2068. No smoking in dwelling house	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	
2069. Men smoke, generally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[562]
2070. Smoking limited among women; shamans mainly	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	[756]
2071. Tobacco chewed	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
o2072. Tobacco as offering	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2073. Tossed or blown in air	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	[712]
2074. Burnt in fire	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	
2075. Smoked	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	
MUSIC AND DRAWING																	
Musical Instruments																	
Drums																	
2076. Hide drum	•R	+	•+	•+	+	•R	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	534
2077. Cylindrical	R	+	+	+	+	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2078. 2-headed	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2079. 1-headed	R	+	−	−	+	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2080. Tambourine type	R	+	−	−	+	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2081. Drumstick wrapped at head	R	+	−	+	+	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2082. Plain drumstick, knot for head	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2083. Footdrum	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
2084. Basket drummed	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•−	•+	
Rattles																	
2085. Cocoon rattle	•−	−	−	•−	•+	•+	•+	•−	•−	•R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
2086. Stick handle	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
846	3208. Merely stays indoors	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
784	‡3209. For ... days	5	5	-	5	-	-	-	*4	-	*4	-	-	6	.	28	28
	3210. Until child's cord drops off	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	*3211. Sleeps little	-	+	+			+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	-	-	.	+
	3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535]	3212a. Dances	-	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[481]	3213. Runs	+	+	+	-	*+	*+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3214. First child only	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3215. Breaks up wood		-	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3216. Brings back firewood	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3217. Piles up rocks	*+	*+	*+										-	-	-	-
[787]	o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	*-	-	-	+	±	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3220. First 4-5 children only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
[481]	3221. Swims	.	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	.	-
[252]	3222. In spring in mountains	-	+	-			-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-
	3223. Cooks for self and children	-	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	3224. Bathing taboo	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-
[515]	o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	-	-	*4	-	-	*4	-	*4	-	*4	+	3	-	-	.	-
	†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	-	5	*4	-	-	*4	-	+	*4	*4	+	-	-	-	.	-
	3227. Certain activities taboo.	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[224]	‡3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	-	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	*4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
	†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	-	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	*4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
	†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	-	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	*4	*2	+	3	+	6	+	30
	3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
[525]	†3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	-	-	-	28	*2	+	3	+	+	.	+
	3233. Until cord drops off	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
[276]	3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	(+)	-	-	.	-
[484]	†3235. Traveling taboo ... days	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	*2	+	3	+	+	+	40
	3236. Until cord drops off	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
	†*3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	-	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	*2	+	3	+	-	+	*28
[262]	†3238. Fresh fish taboo	-	5	-	-	+	+	+	28	+	-	+	3	+	-	+	35
	†3239. Dried fish taboo	-	5	-	-	+	+	+	28	-	-	+	3	+	-	+	35
[265]	†3240. Salt taboo	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	5	+	-	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312]	3241. Cold water taboo	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3242. Until cord drops off	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	3243. Until child smiles first time													-	-	+	-
	3244. Eats with wife	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3245. Uses own receptacles	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
	3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
[292]	3247. Special belt worn	*(-)	+	-	-	+	-	*+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
	3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	*+	*+	+	-	-	-
	3249. Combing hair taboo	+	*+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3250. Until navel has healed	.	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3252. Bathes	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	*+	-	-	-	+	*+	+	+	-
	3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
	3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
	3255. Gives away old clothes	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
	3256. Burns old clothes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	3257. Throws away old clothes	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
[526]	3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	+	+								+	-	-	-	-	-
[224]	3259a. Shoots at target	-	-	+	-	*+						-	.	-	-	-	-
	3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	-	+	+	-	*+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	±	+	+	-
[525]	3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	-	-	-		*+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	*+	-	.	-
	3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							*+	+	*+	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4756. Bathes to acquire power	+	+	+	-	+	+	*+	+	*+	+	-	+	+		-	-	787
4756a. In lake or stream	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-	
4757. Complete immersion	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-	[515]
4758. Washes hands in spring	+	-	-					+		+	-	-	-		-	-	
4759. Bathes each day	+	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	+	(-)	.		-	-	
o4759a. Bathes after ... days	-	-	-	-		*2	*2	5	5	*2	-	.	.		-	-	
4760. Rebuilds stone altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	
4761. Breaks branches, piles up wood	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4762. Builds fire	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4763. Smokes self over fire	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		+	-	+	+		-	-	[372]
4764. Catches glowworms	*+	-	*+					-	.	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4765. Sleeps on mountain at night	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	(+)	-	-		-	-	
4766. Prays for vision	-	-	-					+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
4766a. Scarification and bleeding	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	[304]
4767. Ants allowed to bite wounds	-	-	+	*+	-	-	*-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
*4768. To obtain "luck" only	-	-	(-)	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4769. Power comes by dreaming	-	*+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4769a. Power comes in trance or faint	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4770. Nose or mouth bleeds	+	*+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+		-	-	
4771. Instruction by shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
4772. Guardian spirit communicates with seeker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4773. Spirit seen	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4773a. Spirit heard	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4774. Spirit felt	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	
4775. Gives song	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4776. Gives paint		+	-	-	-	-		(+)	-	-	+	+	+		-	-	
4777. Gives dance		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
4778. Instructs as to paraphernalia, methods.	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	
*4779. Doctor dance main or only form vision seeking for youths, girls		-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	*+	*+	-	-	-		-	-	
4780. Successful seeker observes taboos on return	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
†4781. Is sick for ... days	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	*1	*1	*2	1	+	+		-	-	
†4782. Continent			-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4782a. For ... years			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1		-	-	[834]
4783. Swims	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4784. Sweats and swims	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
†4785. Stays outside house ... days.	1	1	-	-	2	1	*2	5	0	*2	-	-	-		-	-	
†4786. Confined ... days in sweat house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(5)	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4787. Uses head scratcher	-	+	.	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4788. Eats sparingly or according to spirit's instructions.	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	[262]
4788a. Meat taboo	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4789. Fish taboo	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-					-	-	
4790. Salt taboo	-		-					+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4790a. Drinks water with acorn meal in it.	-	-	-						+	(+)					-	-	[501]
4791. Smokes tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-		-	-	
4792. Gives first kill to old man			+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	[276]

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
4927. Private, indoors	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		•+	–	755
4928. Doctor has ... assistants	1	2	1	2	•2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		–	–	
4929. "Interpreter" for doctor while doctoring, or in trance	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4930. "Outside speaker" to call doctor's spirit(s)	–	•+	+	•+	+	•–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4931. Friend or relative of doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4932. Must know esoteric language	–	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	[776]
4933. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	–	–	·	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	•–		–	·	
4934. Assistant calls doctor's spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•–		–	–	[787]
4935. Spirit takes possession of doctor	•–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	·		–	–	
4936. Doctor diagnoses by singing	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		·	+	[533]
4937. Audience joins in songs	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	+	[535]
4938. Doctor diagnoses by dancing	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		·	–	
4939. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	[276]
4940. When trance coming on			–					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
o4941. Blows tobacco smoke over patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	±	–	+		–	–	
4942. Assistant lights doctor's pipe	+	–	+	•–				+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
4943. Doctor drinks through bark tube	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[371]
4944. Has basket cup of water beside him	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4945. Doctor uses feathers or stick	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	–	
4946. Bunch of supernatural feathers	–	+	•+	+	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		·	–	
4947. Eagle down	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	–		·	–	
4948. Eagle wing	–	–	+					–	–	–		–	–		·	–	
4949. Stick	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	–	
4950. Doctor uses fire	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	+	[371]
4951. For light only: usually small	+	+	+	•+	•–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	•–	
4952. Doctor applies ashes, clay to patient	•+	•+	–	•–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		·	–	
4953. Doctor uses charmstone (pestle)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4954. Brushes or fans away disease	–	+	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4955. With feathers	–		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4956. Sprays liquid from mouth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		·	•+	
4957. Administers herb medicines	–	–	–					•+	•–	–	•+	•+	–		•+	•+	[278]
4958. Doctor, assistant, or singers use rattle	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+	
4959. Cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	+	•–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	•+	[534]
4960. Walking cane								+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4961. Beat on plank with board			–						+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4962. Whistle	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		·	–	
4963. Doctor's spirit or "pain" tells location of disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+	
4964. Tells cause of sickness	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4965. Doctor can see or feel disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4966. Disease object ("pain") sucked out	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	
4967. Directly into doctor's mouth	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4968. Vomited out of mouth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–	
o4969. Disease object removed with hand	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	±	–	–			–	–	
4970. Pus ("bad feelings") sucked out	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+	
4971. Women doctors use same technique as men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	–	[562]
4972. Disease object tells doctor who sent it	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
°4973. Disease object exhibited	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4974. Put in basket cup of water	–	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–			–	
4975. Invisible to all except shamans	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4976. Disease object disappears	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4977. By sleight of hand	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4978. Doctor bites it	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	•+	
4979. Doctor swallows it	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4980. Sent back to owner, for revenge, sometimes			+	•–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4981. Buried	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+		–	+	
4982. Blown away			–					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
4983. Burned	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
5024. Blown through pipe	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	.	+	+	+	+		-	-	756
5025. Blown with smoke			+	-	+	•+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+		-	-	754
5026. Disease object put in pipe; pipe offered victim	+	+	-	-	-	-		+	.	+	+	+	+		-	-	
5027. Disease object, evil spirit may use tiny bow	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-	
5028. Shoots at victim	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-		-	-	
5029. Shaman talks to animal spirit, sends it to victim	•+	+	+		+						+		-		-	-	
5030. Disease object injected by animal	+	+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-		-	-	
5031. Dreaming of doctor may cause illness.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+		-	-	
5032. Dreaming of animal may cause illness.	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-		-	-	
5033. Shaman steals victim's soul	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+		-	-	
5034. Heavy fall may also cause soul loss	-	-	-	-	+	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+		-	-	
5035. Shaman causes minor injuries that lead to death	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
5036. Curing doctors hired to kill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	
5037. Malevolent doctor killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	756
5038. Burned to death	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5039. Jumped upon, neck broken											+	+	+		-	-	683
5040. Shot with bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	•+		+	-	
5041. Poisoned by another shaman	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-		-	-	
5042. Chief's consent necessary	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	•+	•+		-	-	
5043. Relative of victim kills doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+		+	-	
5044. Chief kills doctor	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	[illegible]	-	.	+	-		(-)	-	
5045. Chief hires killers	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	.	+	+		-	-	
5046. Woman may hire killers	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+	+		+	-	

Sucking Doctors: Competitions

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
5047. Competitions of sucking shamans	•+	•+	(+)	-	-	-	+	-	-	•-	+	-	(+)		-	-	578 756
5048. Male shamans only	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
5049. Sing, charm opponent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	[562]
5050. Shaman sings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+		-	-	
5051. Shakes cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5052. Is "shot" by sun	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5053. Shamans boast of power	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-		-	-	
5054. Exchange pipes filled with tobacco.	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	[274] ●
o5055. Inhale from pipes ... times	5	5	.	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5056. Overpowered shaman cures self	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
5057. Overpowered shaman cured by winner.	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5058. Sometimes dies	-	•+	.	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
5059. Contest held publicly	+	(+)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5060. Contest held privately	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	

Singing Shamans

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
5060a. Singing shamans recognized	-	•(-)	+	•R	-	+	-	•+	-	-	•+	•	•+	•+	•-	•-	756
5061. Men	-	-	-		-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	[illegible]	+	-	-	533
5062. Women	-	-	-		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	-	
5063. Power acquired during sleep	-	-	.		-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-	
5064. Power acquired by vision, often unsought	-	-	.		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5065. Knowledge acquired by instruction	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5066. May also be sucking doctor	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	
5067. Limited power only	-	-	-		-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	
5068. Use outfit bundle	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5069. Kept inside house	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5070. Buried with patient if latter dies.	-	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	

291 Footgear and leggings.--Moccasin seam on inside.
Yucca-fiber sandal. Milkweed-fiber sandal.
Hip to ankle leggings. Snowshoe: "handled"
shape; sinew lashing, stick "lashing." Cere-
292 monial dress.--Eagle-down-rope skirt. 3-stick
support for wide-band woodpecker scalps. Eagle-
down-rope crown. Feather plumes: bird skin or
mammal fur on body. Sea-lion tooth headband.
Visor of yellowhammer feathers. Masks. Down
stuck to face. Headdress of human hair.

CURRENCY

436 Dentalia, wrapped with snake skin; graded on forearm tattoo. Clamshell beads measured around palm; on arm tattoo; on thumb. Loans at interest. Olivella-disk beads. Steatite beads.

SMOKING AND TOBACCO

Pipes and Pipe Sacks

276 Pipes.--Tubular-type 1-piece pipe of cane; horn or bone; pottery. 2-piece tubular pipe; solid-wood bowl; pottery bowl; stone, bone stem or mouthpiece; stem mortised into bowl. Haliotis inlay.

Tobacco

Cultivation; preparation; uses.--Tobacco imported. Always sown on hill, not near river; transplanted; weeded. Ground in mortar; on metate. Mixed for smoking with bark, aromatic root. Kept in horn container. Tobacco eaten, drunk.

MUSIC AND DRAWING

Musical Instruments

534 Drum, rattle, rasp.--Rectanguloid drum. Cocoon rattle, feather (quill) handle, attached to arm, leg; child's toy. Gourd, deer's ear, rabbit's ear, rawhide, fish gill-sack rattles. Sheep horn(s) on stick as rattle; tortoise-shell rattle. Ornamented rasp. Bull-roarer, musical bow; flute.--Bull-roarer used to assemble people for ceremony; to stop storm; voice of thunder; used in curing; only men use. Musical bow separate instrument, hollow, of elder; perpendicular tuning peg. Flute flattened, squared around holes.

RECREATION

Games and Amusements

526 Shinny; ball race.--Shinny: basket racket or

000 back into earth and disappear. Paiutes have lots of these diamonds." Possessor of such charmstone can attract deer to him easily, or money. WM: Lucky stones of varied shapes, kept outside house, because if having intercourse in house, stone might make possessor sick or blind. Such stones passed on at death. MV: Charmstones of gray-blue rock, such as shown in Dixon, Maidu, figs. 11,a,b, p. 140, kept in old oak tree by person who knows how to take care of them. As long as they are perfect in shape they are animate; if buried, can travel underground of own accord. When "alive," can hypnotize person; used by gamblers. When such stone is hurt, i.e., nicked or cracked, it "dies" and loses all its power. Noninheritable; effective only if found by possessor.

2004. AE: Few doughnut stones found, but not considered as lucky stones.

SMOKING AND TOBACCO

Pipes and Pipe Sacks

2006. Mo: Both informants denied use of tubular pipe; commented that holding pipe slanting upward would be "tedious" method of smoking. WM: Wooden tubular pipe not made by many people; Okwanuchu (waibos), N of Wintu, make these. NF: Made of green stone (serpentine?).

2007. At: Similar in shape to Wintun pipe, Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 30,g.

2011. SW: Refers to 1-piece stone pipe. This used by shamans for poisoning persons. Also, when curing patient, shaman smokes it, or sucks out poison object with it occasionally.

[276] 2012. Kl: Used by shamans.

756] 2013. Kl: Ca. 6 in. long. AW: Ca. 3-4 in. long. Select soft stone, pick out bowl cavity with bone awl.

[276] 2016. Kl: Ca. 2 in. long. AE: Wild rose stem.

2019. Stem inserted only if hole in mouthpiece end of pipe is too large for smoker.

[276] 2021. Kl: Sides flare outward so that bowl end is wider than stem end. WS: Refers to 2-piece stone bowl pipe.

2022. Refers to 1-piece wooden pipe. See Du Bois, Wintu, figs. 7, a-d. WT: Same shape as Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 7, d, but lacking upper bulb. WM: Same shape as Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 7, a. WS: Same shape as Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 7, a, c; also have pipe same shape as fig. 7, e, but with short stem added.

2023. WS: Refers to 1-piece wooden pipe.

2024. Mo: Owned by important men only.

2028. WM: Soft stone bowl picked out with bone awl; wooden stem wrapped with woodpecker skin. Said to be old type.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

K
Another stone implement is the single-grooved, flat-bottomed 412
arrow straightener, such as is shown in pl. 21, fig. 9. A perforated wooden arrow straightener, of the form shown in fig. 5 of the same plate, is still used.

Implements of obsidian and of flint are common. Arrowheads K
and large spear points, as also knives which were formerly fitted 411
into wooden handles, are yet to be found. These points are found [172]
by the Indians in various parts of the country where they have K
been used and left by former inhabitants. They are chiefly [755]
employed at present as charms in medicine and gambling. A [525]
gambler may take a large obsidian knife or spear point and, after
singing the proper song, place it under the large tule mat upon [304]
which the game is being played, to insure good luck. In addition to their use in medicine as charms they are also employed for purposes of scarification.

K
Stone pipes of several forms (pl. 22, figs. 8, 9, 10) are still 276
used. The discoidal form shown in figure 10, which is quite unusual for the Pacific slope, appears to have been less used in aboriginal times than the obtuse-angled form shown in figure 8.

GAMES.

M
The Lutuami, like most aboriginal peoples, had many games K
for both adult and young. It will not be necessary to go into 524
details here, as the subject has been treated by Dr. George A. 114
Dorsey[8] and Mr. Stewart Culin.[9]

BASKETRY.

The basketry of the Klamath and Modoc, which is always M
twined, may be classified under two heads: soft or pliable basketry K
and stiff or rigid basketry. The former predominates very 285
largely and all the finer baskets are made in this manner. The materials used for this sort of basketry are as follows. The skin of the leaves of the cat-tail tule forms the white material which is
used as the groundwork of almost all of the finer baskets. The M
K
[113]

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[8] Certain Gambling Games of the Klamath Indians, Amer. Anthr., n. s. III, 14-27, 1901.

[9] Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., 136, 247, 291, 328, 479, 550, 659, 740, 1907.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

fish basket, and one or two others. Twining is the only technique M K
used, all coiled baskets coming from this region being extraneous
to the true native culture. The majority of the conical burden 285
baskets made of willow or hazel which are in use among the [139]
Klamath are made by themselves, though they do purchase from
the Shasta to the southwest a burden basket which is more nicely
finished than their own. M

Together with this very specialized tule culture, resulting K 105
from the life of the people upon the immediate lake shore, go 22
water foods, particularly wokas and fish, and the special imple- 415
ments devoted to the gathering of the wokas and to the capture [133]
of various animals, birds, and fish. Such for instance are the
peculiar duck arrow, the large dip-net, the net used at night in [184]
connection with a light in the canoe for catching ducks and other
water birds, the many-pointed fish spear, the two forms of bone [501]
hooks, the dug-out canoe, and the forked pole for propelling it
in shallow water. The peculiar stone implements, such as the [276]
two-horned muller, L-shaped and discoidal pipes, and triangular
net-sinker, are also noteworthy.

The specialization of culture in this region is very striking M
indeed when it is compared with the culture of surrounding K
peoples, as for instance, the Paiute to the east, where coiled
basketry predominates and tule work is almost unknown, and 105
with that of the Indians of the Upper Columbia river region to 101
the north, whose culture was very largely influenced by the 171
buffalo or plains Indian culture. A comparison with the Oregon Indians is difficult not only because the Oregon cultures are comparatively little known, but because the majority of Oregon Indians, owing to their habitat, showed either a coast or a desert culture, which is not readily comparable with the inland lake environment and culture of the Klamath and Modoc. The Indians in certain respects most similar to the Lutuami in culture lived down the Klamath river in the northwestern part of California. Here are found such things as the stone maul and the large triangular fish net. Here also the basketry is entirely twined and in a large measure of comparatively soft materials; and the willow or hazel burden baskets are very similar in their general appearance, form, and particularly in the border finish.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 22.

K
M
227
276
284
372
412

Fig. 1.—Torch of sagebrush bark. Museum number 1-12815. Length 71 cm.

Fig. 2.—Comb made of the tail of a porcupine. Museum number 1-12678. Length 21 cm.

Fig. 3.—Fishhook and line. The hook consists of a straight piece of bone pointed at both ends. Museum number 1-12755. Length of hook 8 cm.

Fig. 4.—Pair of bone harpoon points, partly covered with pitch, for spearing fish. Museum number 1-12768. Length of points 8 and 10 cm.

Fig. 5.—Bone knife for separating inner and outer bark of pine. Museum number 1-12682. Length 28 cm.

Fig. 6.—Pair of double-pointed bone fishhooks. Museum number 1-12763. Length of shank 12 cm.

Fig. 7.—Bone mesh-measure for making nets. Museum number 1-12680. Length 13 cm.

Fig. 8.—Obtuse-angled pipe bowl of stone. Museum number 1-12382. Height 9 cm.

Fig. 9.—Stone pipe bowl. Museum number 1-12580. Height 4 cm.

Fig. 10.—Pipe with discoidal bowl of stone and short wooden stem. Museum number 1-14137. Height 11 cm.

Fig. 11.—Shuttle with string for making nets. Museum number 1-12871. Length 70 cm.

5: **Barrett** E-5 (1907) 1910

NR10 Klamath NR10

Modoc NS17

M
K
372
←
412
→

M
K
227
M
K
412
284
→

M
K
227
←
276
→

M
K
276

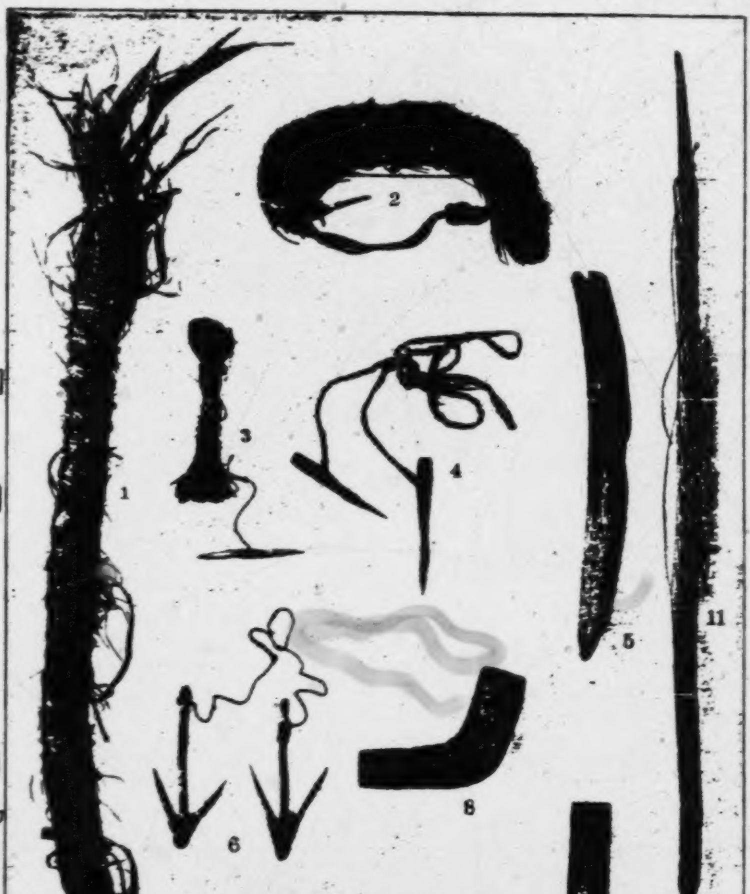

TORCH, COMB, FISHHOOKS, HARPOON POINTS, BONE KNIFE, MESH-MEASURER, PIPES, AND NETTING SHUTTLE.

[p. 287]

*539
171

Sanáhole	kátchkal	titchéwank;	ū'nds	pēn	mbúsant	pá-uapk	kátchgal
I like	tobacco	well enough;	by and by	again	to-morrow	I will chew	tobacco

pátkĕlank.	Kaní	shlé-uapka	ū'ns	stoyuápka;	tóla	pákuapka	ū'ntch;	pēn
while getting up.	Outdoor (anybody)	should I see,	then	I'll cut off (some for him);	with (me)	he will smoke (it)	then;	again

wutuápka	kinkáni	kátchgal;	kinkáni,	k̲á-i	túmi,	tchē'k	pēn	túmi	pákuapka,
I shall spend	a little	tobacco;	(but) little,	not	much,	afterwards	again	much	I will smoke,

pakólank	sχólakuapka.
(and) after smoking	go to bed.

NOTES.

Of the two paragraphs of "Reflections" submitted, the first refers to the loss of some hunter's arrows, which had been loaned to somebody together with the bow. The second speaks in a rather egotistical sense of the pleasure which is afforded by succoring helpless and indigent people.

*539
171
192
[193]

136, 3. k̲ä'gi. This refers to some arrows, which cannot be found at the spot, to which they seemed to fly.

136, 4. 5. Untchĕk, abbreviated undsē, ū'ntch, únds, ūns, points to some undetermined epoch in the *future:* by and by, after a lapse of time, some time from now; undsē't, 136, 8., through apocope and synizesis, stands for untsē'k at; undsē'ks for untchĕk tchish.

136, 5. Shikútchipk tchiká kĕmutsátk, grammatically incomplete forms standing for skikutchípka t'shíka kĕmutsátko. The word *stick* is not expressed in the text, but the suffix -ipka, united to shikútcha, expresses the idea of "walking while leaning oneself upon something or somebody". Cf. láyipka, to point the gun at the one speaking; tilō'dshipka, to see somebody coming towards oneself.

136, 6. kī'shtchipka, to step towards the one speaking; cf. *Note* to 136, 5.

136, 7. onī'sh for húnish, cf. ō'skank for hū'shkanka, 65, 1. Húnish is the objective case of hū'n; but this pronoun is not regularly used when speaking of animate beings; hū'nkiash would be grammatically correct.

136, 7. shéwant i. The words onī'sh kiăm shéwant i are supposed to be directed to one belonging to the speaker's household.

136, 8. The term kátchkal, tobacco, expresses the idea of an *intermixture* of several kinds of weeds or leaves for the purpose of smoking them.

136, 8. pa-uápk. A more appropriate term than this for masticating tobacco is: kátchkal kpū'yumna.

137, 1. titchéwank. This is in fact the participle of a verb: "I like tobacco, being fond of it."

137, 2. stoyuápka: I shall cut off a piece from a stick of pressed tobacco and give it to him. Cf. stuyákishka, to clip the hair.

137, 3. kinkáni kátchgal. If this and the following were not worded in the conversational slang, it would read: kinkánish kátchgal; kinkánish, k̲á-i túma, tchē'k pēn túma (or tū'm) etc.

[274]

137, 3. k̲á-i túmi. Indians are not often seen to smoke continuously as we do; those inhabiting the Klamath Reserve take a few whiffs from their small, often home-made pipe, then pass it to the neighbor and emit the smoke through the nose. Sometimes they swallow the smoke for the purpose of intoxication, and the elder women smoke just like the men. Cigars offered to them are cut small and serve to fill up their tobacco-pipe.

755 patella. One is allowed to burn completely; when the other is half-consumed the sufferer destroys it with a pinch and throws it away, telling it to carry off the pain. The dry bark of the black sage is used for this, chewed and shaped into conical pellets. One informant showed me some prepared from the sage-brush bands used by mourning women and deposited in the trees, which he had gathered. Another informant denied that such bands alone are used.

Rheumatism is also treated with skunk grease rubbed into the affected part and the flesh of the animal eaten.

Earache, deafness, and hemorrhage of the ear are treated by the application at night of poultices of cooked wild parsnip root.

Toothache is kima'dj p'an, ant eats, or literally dŭt ansma'sɛ. It is so called because on breaking an extracted tooth they find in it a little worm with a black head, believed to be the larva of the ant, which has been eating the tooth. The sufferer rests his aching face on a stout stick, a paddle for instance, while he sleeps. Some one strikes the paddle a sharp rap; the sleeper is frightened and the aching gone. Pat Kane ascribed this to the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division (ă'ukckni) alone. The river-mouth people's (du'kwakni) method is to chew a bit of rotten fish, holding it on the aching tooth. The cure of the Pelican bay group (gu'mbŏtkni) is a cautery over the spot "breaking the tooth." Nancy denied the last two methods. Teeth are never extracted.

751 The Klamath used dog flesh in order to avoid smallpox (gotķ!ŏks, erupting) on at least one occasion. This was during a winter before the birth of my informants, now in their seventies. Many died because they had so few dogs. Ordinarily dog flesh is avoided, but on this [177] occasion the flesh was eaten and the grease rubbed on the body. Considering the date[188] it may well be that this was a cure learned from French half-breeds on the Columbia.

• 278 For mumps, the root of a plant called sķŏssķŏtkgla'ks is rubbed on the swelling. (This waist-high plant grows near the river, is blue topped, with large green leaves.) Mumps has no native name because of its recency.

For colds the root of the yayo'ķaķ plant, found in the mountains, is chewed and swallowed. A poultice of this is also applied to a swelling, then covered with pitch.

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[175] [931] [188] Powers states that about 1847 smallpox killed 150 Modocs (Tribes of California, 254). This is the widespread epidemic of that date which led to the Cayuse uprising against the Whitman mission in southeastern Washington (Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, 1:224). Taylor mentions its presence on the Humboldt and Bear rivers, Nevada, prior to 1853 (Taylor, Oregon Bound, 147, 155).

Coville noted the use of lodge-pole pine pitch as a remedy for sore eyes, a very small fragment being placed inside the lid, and the leaves of a shrub (ba-bäk'-bak-lha'-näm, *Eriogonum stellatum* Benth.) placed on burns to protect the surface from the air. He also observed that the roots of buck-brush (chäk'-lō, *Kunzia tridentata*), steeped in water, is frequently drunk as a remedy for coughs and other lung and bronchial troubles. The dry ripe bitter fruits of the same, mashed in cold water, are sometimes drunk as an emetic. Cascara (sär'-um-bäk-ish, *Rhamnus purshiana* DC.) is made into a tea for an emetic; foliage, twigs, bark, and berries are all used. Wild parsnip roots (pöd'-chō, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.) are used medicinally. "In medicine a decoction of the herbage [of sage-brush (ghät or bōl'-whē, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt.)] is used internally to check diarrhea, externally as an eyewash, while the mashed herbage is used as a substitute for liniment." The roots of stä'-mäk (*Wyethia mollis* Gray) are mashed and used as a poultice for swellings. The mashed herbage of wäl'-wäl (*Chondrophora nauseosa* (Pursh) Britton), aromatic and resinous, is used to raise blisters. A poultice of the mashed leaves of wä'-mi (*Chrysothamnus bloomeri* (Gray) Greene and related shrubs), similar in principle to the preceding, is used for the same purpose.[188] 278

THE SONGS

With the aid of the large body of texts recorded by Gatschet it is possible to point out some general features of the shamanistic songs. 533 756 [114]

The form of the song is as fixed as its subject. In the first place, the burden of a song is always brief and always invariably consists of words with meaning, not syllables inserted for euphony's sake. If Gatschet's translations are to be trusted, the great preponderance of the songs are in the first person, the spirit speaking. I doubt it. My knowledge of Klamath is very limited but I suspect that such a phrase as Ké-utchish ai nû shuí'sh gi which he renders "I am the gray wolf magic song" is as likely to mean "The wolf is my spirit." A very large number of songs mention the spirit by name and are otherwise not especially esoteric but easily intelligible to one with only a slight knowledge of Klamath beliefs.

Certain song patterns recur with some frequency in Gatschet's collection. Four of these have simple forms.

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[188] Coville, Notes, 89, 95, 98, 100, 102, 105, 106.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
252 476. Eaten dry	±	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	−	+
˚477. Buckeyes eaten	o	o	o	•+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
478. Leached	o	o	o	−	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
479. Boiled whole	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	−	−	+	o
480. Earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
481. For flesh food	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
482. For vegetable food	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	•+
483. Food sprinkled with water	−		+	+	−		−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
484. Food covered with leaves or grass	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
485. Water sprinkled into oven after closed up	−	•+	−	−	−		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
486. Eggs cooked	+	+	+			•+	+	•	+		+			+	+	+
487. Baked in earth oven	•+	−	−		−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
488. Baked in hot ashes	−	+	+			−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
489. Stone boiled in basket	−	+	+								+	−	−	+	+	+
272 ˚490. Berry "cider"	•+	o	+	+	+	•o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
˚491. Sipped with deer tail	−	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−
263 o492. Salt obtained in mineral form, dry	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
493. Salt from spring or marsh	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
494. Salt locally	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+
[439] 495. Salt imported	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	−
496. Used little or not at all; disliked	+	+	+	−	•−	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
˚497. "Salt" from burning grass	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	•+
498. "Salt" clover eaten fresh	−	+	−					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262 ˚499. Soaproot eaten	o	o	o	+	−	•o	•o	•o	•o	•o	o	+	−	+	+	−
500. Top eaten	o	o	o	−	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	−	−	+	+	−
501. Root eaten	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	+	−	−
502. Cooked in earth oven	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	−	−	−
[278] 503. Root concoction drunk as medicine	o	o	o	−	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	−	−	.	−	−
[439] 504. Imported if not obtainable locally	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
[515] ˚505. Soaproot for washing	o	•o	o	+	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	R	+
506. Milkweed chewing gum	−	−	+	•+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[26] 507. Pine pitch chewing gum	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	o	+	+	+
508. Pine "sugar"	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	•+	−	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	−
509. Honeydew from leaves eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
510. Inner bark of trees eaten.	•+	−	+	−	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
511. Mushrooms and fungi eaten											+	+	+			+
˚512. Fresh or dried											•+	+	•+			•+
Eating Customs																
264 513. Men served before women, if crowd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
[562] 514. All eat out of one basket	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
515. Men each have own basket	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+
516. Women also have separate baskets	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+
517. Man and wife eat from same basket	+	+	+						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
[865] 518. Children "piece" whenever hungry						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
519. Two main meals daily, usually	•−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
520. Three main meals daily	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−		−	−	−	−	−	+
[574] ˚521. Meal whenever visitor arrives	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Hands washed after eating deer, bear meat	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
[515] 523. Men's rule only	−	−	−			−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−
524. Wipe face, hands with grass, bark after eating	+	+	+						+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	•+
Storage of Food																
251 525. Outdoor granaries	−	+	+	−	+	•+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
526. Against tree	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
˚527. In burnt tree stump	−		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
528. On platform in tree; covered	−	•+	+			•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
411 1004. Head, minus foreshaft	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	–	.
1005. Bird arrow with cross-stick tip	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	.	+	+	.	.
1006. Bird arrow, wrapped tip	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	.	–	.
†1007. Feathering tangential	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	.	.
1008. Feathering radial, 3 vanes	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+
1009. Spiraled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–
[531] 1010. Arrows painted	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+
[424] 1011. For identification	–	–	±	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	+	–	–	.	.
1012. Pyrographic ornament	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.
1013. Arrows grooved	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	(+)	.	.	.	.
● [278] 1014. Arrow poison	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	.	–	+	–	–	.	+	+
1015. Liver or gall	•+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	.	•+	.
1016. Snake venom	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
1017. Red ants	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
1018. Flint from certain places poisonous	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	.	.	.	.
1019. Flint of certain varieties poisonous	–	+	+			•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	.
Arrow Straighteners and Smoothers																
1020. Abrasive stone smoother	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	.	.	–	+	+
1021. 1-piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	.	.	–	–	–
1022. 2-piece	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	–	+	+
1023. Longitudinal groove	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	–	+	+
1024. Made purposely			.				–	+	–	–	+	.	.	–	+	+
1025. Natural, worn down			.				+	–	+	+	–	.	.	–	–	–
1026. Scouring rush for smoothing	–	+	.	+	.	○	○	+	–	○	–	.	.	–	–	–
1027. 1-piece stone straightener	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1028. Transverse groove(s)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1029. Perforated straightener or wrench	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	.	–	.	–
1030. Of horn	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	.	–
1031. Of stone	–		.	+	•+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	.	.	–	.	–
1032. Of wood	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	.	–	.	–
1033. Forked wooden straightener	–	+	.	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	.	–	.	–
1034. Arrows warmed before straightening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1035. Straightened in hot ashes	–		+								–	+	+	+	.	+
1036. Straightening with hands and teeth	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1037. Straightening over knee	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	.	.	–	+	+
1038. Arrows	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	+
1039. Spear poles	+	+	+							+	+	.	.	–	+	+
Shooting Techniques																
1040. Primary arrow release	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	(+)	–	+	+	+
1041. Tertiary arrow release	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1042. Mediterranean arrow release	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
1043. Bow held horizontally	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1044. Bow held at 45° angle from horizontal	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1045. Bow held vertically	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
1046. Arrow to right of bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
1047. Arrow to left of bow	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1048. Arrow rests on top of bow	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	.	+
Quivers																
415 1049. Cased rawhide, fur left on	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1050. Buckskin, sewn	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1051. Bark	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1052. Twined tule	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1053. Carried on back	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1054. Carried at side under arm	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

C

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth Customs

Preparations for Delivery

844

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3007. Delivery in special hut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
3008. Delivery in dwelling house	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
3009. Ground prepared for delivery	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3009a. Trench dug	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3010. Ground warmed	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
3011. Grass bed	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
3012. Pine needles, tules, leaves for bed	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Delivery

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3013. Parturient assisted during delivery	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[759] 3014. By professional midwife	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
3015. Midwife paid.	+	+	–			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
3016. By female relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3017. By husband	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
[756] 3018. By shaman	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
3019. By female herbalist	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	–
3020. Birth aided by medicine	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
[278] 3021. Vegetable decoction drunk, sometimes.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
3022. Decoction of ashes drunk	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3023. Water blown on parturient's head	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
[516] 3024. Parturient kneels	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
3025. Parturient squats	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
3026. Parturient sits down, leaning backward	–	–	–			+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3027. Parturient lies on back	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
3028. Grasps stakes	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
3029. Grasps cord	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3030. Steadies self with hands	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3031. Holding or handling of parturient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3032. Massaged	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
3033. Shaken	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
3034. Held by attendant, from behind	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3035. Abdomen pressed, if slow birth	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
3036. Held suspended, head down	.	+	+							+	–	+	(+)		–	–
3037. Attempts made to hasten birth	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
3038. Child "coaxed" by speech or songs	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
3039. Child "frightened" by noise	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3040. Child squeezed out	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
3041. Child "shaken" out	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–

Afterbirth

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3042. Assistance in expelling afterbirth	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3043. Husband aids; tries to shake it out	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
3044. Poor couples only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3045. Parturient's abdomen pressed	–	–	–						+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3046. Afterbirth sometimes taken out with hands	–	–	+								.	+	[illegible]	–	–	–
3047. Womb pushed back with heel													–	+	+	–
3048. Afterbirth disposed of immediately after delivery	+	+	–				–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3049. Afterbirth kept until navel cord drops off	–	–	+				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3050. Afterbirth wrapped	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3051. Skin	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	+	–	–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
844 3107. On second cradle	–	–	–		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
3108. On person, after child walks	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3109. Shown to owner, when adult	–	•+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3110. Disposal of cord	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	+	+	+
3111. Buried	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
3112. Burnt	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	+
3113. Thrown away, or "lost"	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Treatment of Infant																
844 3114. Bathing	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
846 3115. Immediately after birth	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
3116. 1 day after birth	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3117. Steamed on lap, 2-3 days after birth	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
3118. Steamed after cord drops off	–	•+	•+	•+							–	–	–	–	–	–
3119. Wiped with grass, skin, etc.	•+	•+	•+				•+	–	–	.	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–
3120. Rubbed with oil, grease, powder	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–
[852] 3121. Massaging	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3122. Torso shaped	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3123. Legs, arms shaped	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3124. Face, nose shaped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3125. Massaging, shaping after cord drops off, only	+	+	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3126. By maternal grandmother	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
3127. By mother	+	+	+					+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3128. By attendant											+	+	+	+	+	+
3129. Blow in baby's ears	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3130. Ceremonial; singing, praying over baby	–	–	•+	–	•–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–
Treatment of Mother																
3131. Isolated indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3132. In hut, dwelling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
‡3133. For ... days and nights	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	3	6	5	4	+
†3134. For ... months	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
3135. Until blood stops flowing	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3136. Until cord drops off infant	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3137. Leaves hut immediately after birth of child	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3138. Breaks wood	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3139. Packs wood	–	+	+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3140. Runs	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3141. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3142. To keep healthy	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3143. To keep blood flowing	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[515] 3144. Bathing or care of body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3145. Bathes in river	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	•–	–
3146. Bathed in hut, by attendant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+
3147. Takes steam bath in hut	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3148. Massaging	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	+
3149. Belt around abdomen for period of isolation	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
3150. Hair belt	–	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
[278] 3151. Medicinal drinks	+	+	•+	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
3152. Ordinarily	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
3153. Only if ailing	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3154. External application of heat	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3155. Warm rock strapped on abdomen, with belt	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+
3156. Lies on warm "bed"	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
o3157. For ... days	2	2	+	–				10	–	–	–	3	6	5	4	–
3158. Until blood stops running	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NB	MV
Directions																
823 4458. 4 cardinal directions	°(+)	+	+	+	.	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
4459. 6 cardinal directions	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
4460. 8 cardinal directions	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4461. Waterflow for directions	–	–	–	°+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4462. Directions indicated by place names	–	–	–	°+	+	°+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4463. Sunrise, sunset terms for E, W	–		+	°+		+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
823 4464. Direction indicated by pursing lips	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
201 o4465. Plus twitching nose, glancing with eyes		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	±	–	–
4466. Plus hand against cheek, pointing	–	–				+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
°4467. Used for privacy, mainly		+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	.	–	–
4468. Direction indicated by pointing hand, finger.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs																
Therapeutic Practices																
757 4469. Practices for curing illnesses	+	+	+	°+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	+	+
4470. Piss ants, for rheumatism, tuberculosis	+	–	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4471. Drink boiled decoction of	+	–	+						–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4472. Sit on nest of, let "water" remain on body	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[752] °4473. Cautery	°+	+	+		°+				+	°+	+	–	–		–	–
4474. If blister rises, cure will be effected	+	+	+						+	°–	+	–	–		–	–
[752] 4475. Blood letting			°+	°+	–	–	+	–	–	°+	–	–	+		+	+
4476. Cut made with flint knife			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	+
4477. Vapor baths, patient covered with robe	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	°+	–	+	–		–	+
4478. Steaming in small steam house, mud and ashes													–		+	–
4479. Poultices	+	+							+						+	+
4480. Sucker skin, for snake bites.	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4481. Plant poultices with warm rock inside															+	+
4482. Smoking: wild parsnip, for headaches, colds	–		–						+	+	°+	°+	–		.	.
4483. Plant and root decoctions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4484. Datura (jimsonweed) root	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	°+
4485. Decoctions for wounds			°+								°+	.	°+		°+	.
Herb Doctoring; Beliefs Concerning Ailments																
4486. Herbalists	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
755 4487. Informal "doctoring" only	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+		–	–
757 4488. Informal and formal doctoring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–		+	+
278 4489. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	+
4490. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4491. Mostly women	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
4492. Herbalist may also be sucking shaman.	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	°–		+	+
4493. Knowledge inherited	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4494. Dreamt	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4495. Taught free by older person	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+
4496. Taught free by doctor, to relation only													–		°+	–
4497. Formula spoken when gathering plants.	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		.	°+
4498. Treatment private, at patient's house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4499. Formula recited, before taking medicine	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	•+	755 757
4500. Disease brushed off body	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	278
4501. Medicine administered internally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4502. Medicine administered externally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4503. Medicine sprayed from mouth	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+		+		
4504. Herbalist can cure any disease													−		+	+	
4505. Can kill disease objects	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4506. Can cure rattlesnake bites	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		+	+	
4507. Can only weaken, check natural diseases	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+		−	−	
4508. Precautions to ward off disease; incense burnt	(+)	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+		+	+	751
4508a. Breach of taboo causes illness	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	753
4509. Eating meat in taboo period causes tuberculosis		+	+							+	+	+	+		−	−	
4510. Worms in tooth cause toothache	−	−	+	•+	+	−	.	•+	+	+	+	+	+		•−	(+)	
4511. Ants, spider-like bug in teeth causes toothache	+	+	−	−	−	•+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena																	
Cosmogony																	
4512. World a disk, floating in water	.	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	+	.	.	.	773
4513. Supported by animal	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	−	.	.	.	
4514. Mythical age; animals persons	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4515. Chief for each species of animal	+	+	−				(+)	−	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	
4516. Flood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	(+)	.	.	.	+	
4517. Human beings created or appear	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	
Sun and Moon																	
4518. Sun male human	+	+	.	+	−	•+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	(+)	.	821
4519. Sun female human	−	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	.	
4520. Moon male human	+	+	+	−	+	•.	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	(+)	.	
4521. Moon female human	−	−	.	+	−	(+)	.	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	
4522. Sun and moon husband and wife	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	.	
4523. Frog mate of moon	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	•(+)	−	−	−	.	
4524. Figures in moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	.	+	−	−	.	
4525. Scar from bear's bite									+	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	
4526. Man	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	
4527. Tree	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	.	
4528. Frog	+	•+	+	−	•+	•+	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
New Moon																	
4529. Monthly birth-and-death theory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	+	•+	+	
4530. All view new moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•−	+	
4531. Each month	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	
4532. In winter, only											•+	−	−	−	−	−	
4533. In spring, chiefly	•+	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	
4534. Speak, pray to moon	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	
4535. Address by kin term	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
4536. Old persons shake selves, clothes, bedding	−	+	•+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4537. Throw stones at moon	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
4538. Food prepared, guests invited								•	•	•	+	−	+	−	+	−	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4927. Private, indoors	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		•+	–	755
4928. Doctor has ... assistants	1	2	1	2	•2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		–	–	
4929. "Interpreter" for doctor while doctoring, or in trance	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4930. "Outside speaker" to call doctor's spirit(s)	–	•+	+	•+	+	•–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4931. Friend or relative of doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4932. Must know esoteric language	–	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
4933. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	–	–	·	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	•–		–	·	[776]
4934. Assistant calls doctor's spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•–		–	–	[787]
4935. Spirit takes possession of doctor	•–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	·		–	–	
4936. Doctor diagnoses by singing	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		·	+	[533]
4937. Audience joins in songs	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4938. Doctor diagnoses by dancing	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		·	–	[535]
4939. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	[276]
4940. When trance coming on			–					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
o4941. Blows tobacco smoke over patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	±	–	+		–	–	
4942. Assistant lights doctor's pipe	+	–	+	•–				+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
4943. Doctor drinks through bark tube	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[371]
4944. Has basket cup of water beside him	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4945. Doctor uses feathers or stick	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	–	
4946. Bunch of supernatural feathers	–	+	•+	+	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		·	–	
4947. Eagle down	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	–		·	–	
4948. Eagle wing	–	–	+					–	–	–		–	–		·	–	
4949. Stick	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	–	
4950. Doctor uses fire	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	+	[372]
4951. For light only: usually small	+	+	+	•+	•–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	•–	
4952. Doctor applies ashes, clay to patient	•+	•+	–	•–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		·	–	
4953. Doctor uses charmstone (pestle)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4954. Brushes or fans away disease	–	+	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4955. With feathers	–		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4956. Sprays liquid from mouth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		·	•+	
4957. Administers herb medicines	–	–	–					•+	•–	–	•+	•+	–		•+	•+	[278] ●
4958. Doctor, assistant, or singers use rattle	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+	
4959. Cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	+	•–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	•+	[534]
4960. Walking cane								+	–	–	–	–	+		–	–	
4961. Beat on plank with board			–						+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4962. Whistle	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		·	–	
4963. Doctor's spirit or "pain" tells location of disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+	
4964. Tells cause of sickness	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4965. Doctor can see or feel disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4966. Disease object ("pain") sucked out	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	
4967. Directly into doctor's mouth	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4968. Vomited out of mouth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–	
o4969. Disease object removed with hand	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	±	–	–			–	–	
4970. Pus ("bad feelings") sucked out	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+	
4971. Women doctors use same technique as men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	–	[562]
4972. Disease object tells doctor who sent it	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4973. Disease object exhibited	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4974. Put in basket cup of water	–	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–			–	
4975. Invisible to all except shamans	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4976. Disease object disappears	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4977. By sleight of hand	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4978. Doctor bites it	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	•+	
4979. Doctor swallows it	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4980. Sent back to owner, for revenge, sometimes			+	•–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4981. Buried	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+		–	+	
4982. Blown away			–					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
4983. Burned	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	

411 went for it. When they got it, they wouldn't give it away." As a consequence, not all men secured deer, "because they needed obsidian-tipped arrows to kill deer." NF: Temper obsidian by heating. Professionals make arrow points.

984. See first 2 figures on left, above.

000 985. See center figure, above. WM: Small, white (quartz?) heads; poisonous variety.

986. See second figure from right, above.

987. See right hand figure, above. WM: Black, red obsidian heads.

990. SW: For boy's arrows only.

994. E.g., whole stem of bush. Mo: Serviceberry. NF: Smoke arrows to prevent them becoming water-soaked. NS: Elder used.

1001. AW: Small stick, used for shooting small bullheads.

1002. NM: Beyond point where foreshaft joins main shaft, 2 thorns from wild plum tree set into arrow, opposite each other and on slant so tips of each slant toward arrow head. When arrow penetrates small game, it stops at these thorns instead of passing through body of squirrel, bird, etc.

1007. MF: Entry should read: 1-3 vanes.

1008. SW: Grouse feathers for ordinary arrows. Chicken hawk also used. Feathers always taken "from a bird that sails in sky."

● [278] [411] 1015. Kl: Roast rattlesnake head, rub grease from it on arrow point. Roast deer liver in ashes, add pitch of some variety; thrust arrow point into this. Red ants used fresh, mashed. [724] Arrows poisoned for war, not for hunting. NS: Rattlesnake made to bite deer liver.

1019. AW: Chips from block of obsidian inspected by arrowpoint maker, who decides whether or not they are poisonous. Rejects from same block may not be considered poisonous; these arrowmaker gives friends to use. "As he splits pieces off and examines them he says, 'This for grizzly bear, this for coyote, this for big buck, this for war, etc.'; these pieces he keeps." See notes 1178, 1222.

Arrow straighteners and smoothers.--

1020. SE, SW, At, AW, WS, MM: Pumice, large deposits of which were noted in At, AW areas.

1027. WT: Informant shown pictures of 1-piece stone straighteners (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 49); said WT variety resembles these, made of soft stone. See, however, section, Elements Denied By All Informants.

1031. At: If man does not have rock with hole in it, "sometimes he ties 2 rocks together with a piece of sinew, so there will be a hole to run arrow through." WM: Natural; found in river.

Shooting techniques; quivers; clubs, spears.--

1042. At: For shooting with large bow.

[411] 1044. Kl: Stand or kneel to shoot; bow held at 45° angle for either position.

[516] 1045. AW: Vertical position generally used. Wailaki, who fought Achomawi, reputed to shoot

[191-B]

137 the Cascade Range and its more humid atmosphere the less vegetation is developed. The lake shores and river banks, when not marshy, produce the cottonwood tree and several species of willows, and the hills are covered with the yellow or pitch pine and the less frequent western cedar. In the western parts of the Reservation large tracts are timbered with pitch pine, which seems to thrive exceedingly well upon the volcanic sands and detritus of the hilly region. These pines (kō'sh) are about one hundred feet in height, have a brownish-yellow, very coarse bark, and branch out into limbs at a considerable height above the ground. They stand at intervals of twenty to fifty feet from each other, and are free from manzanita bushes and other undergrowth except at the border of the forest, leaving plenty of space for the passage of wagons almost everywhere. A smaller pine species, *Pinus contorta* (kápka, in Modoc k̲úga), which forms denser thickets near the water, is peeled by the Indians to a height of twenty feet when the sap is ascending, in the spring of the year, to use the fiber-bark for food. Up high in the Cascade Range, in the midst of yellow pines, grows a conifera of taller dimensions, the sugar-pine (ktéleam kō'sh). The hemlock or white pine (wā'ko), the juniper (ktä'lo), and the mountain mahogany (yúkmalam) are found in and south of Sprague River Valley.

222 285 824 The lake shores and river banks produce more edible fruits and berries than the marshy tracts; and it is the shores of Klamath and Tule Lakes which mainly supply the Indian with the tule reed and scirpus, from which the women manufacture mats, lodge-roofs, and basketry. The largest tule species (má-i) grows in the water to a height of ten feet and over, and in the lower end of its cane furnishes a juicy and delicate bit of food. Woods, river sides, and such marshes as Klamath Marsh, are skirted by various 222 kinds of bushes, supplying berries in large quantities. The edible bulbs, as camass, k̲ō'l, l'bá, ipo, and others, are found in the prairies adjacent. Pond-lilies grow in profusion on lake shores and in the larger marshes, especially on the Wókash Marsh west of Linkville, and on Klamath Marsh, as previously mentioned. The Lost River Valley is more productive in many of these spontaneous growths than the tracts within the Reservation.

278 It is claimed by the Klamath Lake Indians that they employ no drugs of vegetal origin for the cure of diseases, because their country is too cold

137 to produce them. This is true to a certain extent; but as there are so many
278 plants growing there that narcotize the fish, how is it that the country produces no medical plants for the cure of men's diseases? Of the plant shl!ē'dsh, at least, they prepare a drink as a sort of tea.

136 The fauna of the Klamath uplands appears to be richer in species than
192 the vegetal growth. What first strikes the traveler's attention on the eastern shore of the Upper Lake is the prodigious number of burrows along the sandy road, especially in the timber, varying in size from a few inches to a foot in diameter. They are made by chipmunks of two species, and others are the dens of badgers, or of the blue and the more common brown squirrel. The coyote or prairie-wolf makes burrows also, but this animal has lately become scarce. No game is so frequent as the deer. This is either the black-tail deer, (shuá-i, *Cervus columbianus*), or the white tail deer (múshmush, *Cariacus virginianus macrurus*), or the mule-deer (pak̲ólesh, *Cervus macrotis*). Less frequent is the antelope (tché-u, *Antilocapra americana*), and most other four-legged game must be sought for now upon distant heights or in the deeper cañons, as the elk (vún), the bear in his three varieties (black, cinnamon, and grizzly; witä'm, náka, lû'k̲), the lynx (shlóa), the gray wolf (kä'-utchish), the silver or red fox (wán), the little gray fox (k̲étchk̲atch), the cougar (táslatch), and the mountain sheep (k̲ó-il). Beavers, otters, minks, and woodchucks are trapped by expert Indians on the rivers, ponds, and brooklets of the interior.

The shores of the water-basins are enlivened by innumerable swarms of water-fowls, (mä'mäkli), as ducks, geese, herons, and cranes. Some can be seen day by day swimming about gracefully or fishing at Modoc Point (Nflakshi) and other promontories, while others venture up the river courses and fly over swampy tracts extending far inland. Among the ducks the more common are the mallard (wē'ks), the long-necked kflidshiks; among the geese, the brant (lálak) and the white goose (waíwash). Other water-birds are the white swan (kúsh), the coot or mudhen (túhush), the loon (táplal), the pelican (yámal or kúmal), and the pinguin (kuítsia). Fish-hawks and bald-headed eagles (yaúχal) are circling about in the air to catch the fish which are approaching the water's surface unaware of danger. Marsh-hawks and other raptores infest the marshes and are lurking there

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[278]

Skáwanks	pushpû'shlish	shlapshåltko,	k̲lä'kots,	k̲édsha	táletat;	k̲ú-idshi,	k̲á-i
	has a dark	flower,	(is) a poisoner,	grows	on straight stalk;	(tastes) bad,	not

pákish.	Pu'shχam	kápkālam	sχáwanks	k̲ó-idse	k̲'lä'kotk'sh.
eatable.	The limbs	of the young pine	(and) wild parsnips	(are) bad	poisoners.

Slĕ'ds	k̲á-i	pakí'sh,	múkmukli	shláps,	kiä'm-luelō'tksh;	witsólslank	é-ushtat
	not	eatable,	downy	flowers,	a fish-killing-article;	while net-fishing	in Lake

shtí'lχa.
they put it into (the net).

Tĭ'líhash	k'lûtsuō'tch-ánku	vû'nshtat	shtákla.
	as a "swimming-sucker"-wood	on canoe	they stick up.

[222]
[302]

Wákinsh	a	k̲édsha	pánût.	Mák̲laks	íshka	pánût	lultámpkash	shutelomáshluk,
		grows	on the pan-tree.	The Indians	pick it	on pan-tree	sticking	to smear themselves with.

lúshnank	sha	shnē'lakshtat.	Tchúi	tchík	sha	núksht	wátitka
roast (it)	they	on fire-place.	Then		they	after baking (it),	with knives

vukútank	shushatelóma	télish,	p'nā'sh	ktchálχishtka	shkukluápkasht;
scraping (it),	smear it on	faces,	themselves	from sun-burns	to preserve;

p'lû'	tak	sha	íwínank	shtéwa.
grease		they	putting into	mix up.

NOTES.

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Several plants in this list appear, according to grammatic rule, in the possessive case -am, while their fruits or edible portion are introduced in the subjective case. To the former the substantive ánku or tsélash has to be supplied. Small grasses are alimentary plants on account of their seeds only, while the larger aquatic grasses contain nutritive matter in their stalks. Of these notices the shortest and most laconic were obtained from Morgan, who did not enter into particulars concerning the preparation of aliments. By this list the articles on which these Indians feed are by no means exhausted; they eat almost everything found in nature which is not positively obnoxious to health and which contains a particle of nutritive matter, and hence a full list of their kitchen *répertoire* would be at least three times as long as the one obtained.

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146, 1. kak tán for ká ak tánni "so long only"; the length being shown by gesture of hand. Also expressed by ka taniáni, 149, 1. and *Note*. The yáutch-plant grows to a length of 18 to 20 inches, the height of the camass- or pû'ks-plant.

146, 3. Kápiunksăm. The kápiunks-seed grows on a *prairie-grass*, like the tchípash- and nû'tak-seed.

[193]

146, 7. 14. pálpal stands for pálpali (originally pálpal-li), having lost its terminal -i by apocope; pálpalish shlapshåltko incorporates the adjective *white* into the verbal adjective "having flowers". This phrase may be circumscribed by pálpalish shlápsh gitko. Cf. 123, 6. and *Note*, and 150, 1.

146, 8. wi-ukayant kĕládshamat. Here the adjective in its locative case, used attributively, is united with the partitive case of the substantive, the original form of both being wi-ukáyantat kĕládshamti; the subjective case: wi-ukáni kĕládsham.

146, 12. Kĕnáwat or horse sorrel is mentioned in an Aíshish-myth and does not

Yet the most laborious wood- 462
working task, the making of canoes, is sometimes undertaken by
women. I do not know who tans skins, but since the manufacture [501]
of all garments and moccasins is done by women, this suggests that [281] •
they prepare the skins as well. Mats and baskets are made by women
and in considerable quantity. This is a sedentary pursuit which
dovetails nicely into leisure moments of household duties. Mortars, [285]
metates, and their adjuncts are fashioned by women, though I suspect
that men may lend a hand. Nets are manufactured by men, but by [415]
a few women also. Ropes and cords are made by women. All these [284]
suggest a somewhat heavier share borne by women.

There is a further factor which must be kept in mind. In winter, [283]
movement is impeded by intense cold and heavy snowfall, so that all
members of the family must stay close at home. Hence the men might 211
be thought to have enforced inactivity thrust upon them during this
season. But the facts are probably otherwise. This is a period of
great scarcity, even famine, especially at the end of a long winter,
and it behooves the men to act and act quickly in search of food.
The ardors and perils then forced on them surely make demands upon
whatever leisure they may have at this time.

FOOD AND ITS ACQUISITION

Klamath life is not that of a lake people, but a river and marsh 262
culture, for the simple reason that their primary food is fish. The
large lakes of this region are solidly frozen in winter, and fish, which
are not abundant there at the best, can hardly be had in winter. It
is otherwise with the swift rivers and creeks; these are always open
and fish are always present in abundance.[218]

Fish is the staple; after this ranks water-lily seed (wokas) and to 262
a lesser extent other roots; deer and other game are only of minor
importance. It is difficult at this late date to know whether fish or 224
lily-seed was eaten in greater quantity, but there is no doubt that, of 226
necessity, more attention was given the year round to fishing, since 222
the seed is harvested only from the middle of August to the end of
September.

Winter villages, the permanent settlements, are located where fish 361
may be had at that time, beside running streams and near springs

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[218] In view of the excellent descriptions of Klamath environment given by Gatschet, Barrett (pp. 240–243), and Coville (Wokas, A Primitive Food, 727–728) it is unnecessary to add another here. (See also pp. 8–10 of the present work.) [114]

A bit of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire about the village but for an overnight journey a woman carries a spark in a long fuse. This is of black sage-brush bark, twisted into a rope thirty inches long and bound about at intervals.[305] 372

Knives are fashioned from stone blades or shells. These river shells (ĕndj!ĕ'tc) are not ground to an edge but used as they are. Forms ranging in size from arrowheads to large lance blades are chipped from obsidian, flint, and similar stones. So far as I am aware these are never ground into shape. Those intended for knives are sometimes wrapped around the butt to provide a handle.[306] Stone knives are intended for butchering rather than woodworking. Blades never figured in the display of wealth, as among the Yurok. Barrett figures a bone knife used for separating the inner and outer bark of pine.[307] 412 321 324

Sewing is done with awl and sinew. The awl (sŏ'ḳtᴇ) is a fragment of the fore-leg tibia of a deer. Although the upper end of a tibia is nicely rounded to fit the hand, and is accordingly used elsewhere, the Klamath make no use of it. Instead a splinter sharpened at each end is inserted in a wooden handle. Old men carry these at the chest tied on a buckskin thong. The sinew used is that which lies along a deer's backbone. (Sinew is called ᴇmboi'itc; this particular sinew bi'lhŏp.) Skin garments for either sex are sewn by women. Women also make moccasins whether of skin or tule. 412 294 462

The smoking process is used when tanning. The skin is stretched over a tipi-like frame of little willows set over a hole as deep as one's forearm. The fire is made of rotten wood. Coville states that "the bark [of the white fir (bŭ, *Abies concolor* (Gord.) Lindl.)] is sometimes used to dye and tan buckskin, giving it somewhat the appearance of ordinary tan-colored leather."[308] 281

Neither bags of skin (k!o'wanᴇ) nor parfleches are made by the Klamath. These are brought from the Dalles, I was told, and probably from Warm Springs, for cĕptŏk, parfleche, is clearly a loan word from Sahaptin (cf. Yakima cătа'kai). 415 439

Mats are of four kinds, each designated by a name. Sewn mats (st!ŏps) are used solely as the outer covering of mat-lodges; when 285

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[305] Illustrated by Barrett, pl. 22, fig. 1.

[306] Pitch was not used to fasten these. One type of knife, at least, found as far apart as Mexico and the Arctic, and consisting of stone fragments set into the sides of the handle, is unknown here.

[307] Pl. 22, fig. 5; cf. Gatschet, 1:148.

[308] Notes, 88.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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		Klamath form	*Links with:*
105 [285]	Mats	Extensive use	Oregon?, Northwest Coast to Columbia r., Plateau.
		Mat needle	s. Northwest Coast (and northward?), Washington, Oregon?
[281]	Tanning	Smoke-tan	Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, Wishram, Nez Percé; Basin, Plateau, Plains (and elsewhere?—probably not Northwest Coast).
[372]	Fire drill	Compound	Puget sound, Takelma, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi, Wind R. Shoshoni, Crow, Navaho, Hopi.
[415]	Spoon	Paddle	California s. to n. Miwok.
[411]	Bow	Sinew-backed	Arctic, Northwest Coast, Plateau, Washington, Oregon, California s. to Tehachapi, Basin, Southwest, w. Plains.
		Flat; constricted grip	n. w. California, Northwest Coast.
	Arrows	Stone heads	(Not the bone heads of Northwest Coast and w. Washington, where stone heads are scarce.)
[714]	Armor	Tunic	Northwest Coast, Plateau, Oregon, n. California, Basin, Southwest (and southward?).
		Slat or rod	Alaska to Maidu (Tlingit, Plateau, Oregon, Washington, n. California).
	Shield	Round	Plateau, Basin, Plains (not California).
[291]	Dress	Fringed skirt	Coast area west of Cascades-Sierras, probably Basin.
		Men: Plains shirt	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.
		Women: Plains dress	Plateau, Basin, Plains.
		Decorated band on robe	Plateau? (Wishram, Nez Percé), Plains.
		Tule slippers	Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Paviotso.
		Three-piece moccasin	Plateau (moccasins are also n. and central California, Basin, Southwest, Plains, and eastward).
		Basket hats	n. California (=Plateau type?; other types, Northwest Coast, Basin, s. California).
[302]	Hairdress	Braids for both sexes	Plateau, Plains.
	Combs	Porcupine tail	Achomawi, Northern Maidu.
[304]	Head deformation	Fronto-occipital	s. Northwest Coast to Alsea, Siuslaw, and Klamath.
	Tattooing	Women: chin lines	w. Arizona, California, Takelma (Oregon in general?). (Not Plateau? and Northwest Coast.)

2: Voegelin E-S (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
576. Acorn gathering: men and women	•o	•o	+	+	–	•–	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
577. Men, youths climb trees	o	o	+	+	–	–	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[222]
578. Women gather, transport acorns	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
579. Pine-nut gathering: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
580. Men climb trees, knock down cones	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	
581. Men and women gather cones	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
582. Women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
583. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
584. Men and women transport cones	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
585. Women only	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	
586. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
587. Men and women prepare pine nuts	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
588. Men only	+	.	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
589. Women only	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	
590. Gathering of small seeds: women only	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	
591. Cooking: men and women	+	+	–						+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	
592. Women prepare, cook plant foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
593. Men only, cook meat	–	+	–						–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	
594. Women only, cook meat	–	–	+						–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	
595. Men and women cook meat	+	–	–						•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
596. Carrying water near camp: men and women	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[312]
597. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
598. Women only	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	
599. Carrying water long distance: men and women.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
600. Men only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	
601. Women only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
602. Fire making: men and women	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	[372]
603. Men only	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
604. Wood gathering: "kindling" wood, men and women	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
605. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–		[313]
606. Women only	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
607. Wood gathering: large logs, men and women	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
608. Men only	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
609. Women only	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Manufacturing Activities																	
610. Baskets: women only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
611. Skin, feather blankets: men and women make	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	[291]
612. Men only or chiefly	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	(+)	+	+	–	+	
613. Women only or chiefly	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	[237]
614. Nets: men only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[284]
615. Cord: men and women make	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
616. Men, generally	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[283]
617. Skin tanning: men and women	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[281]
618. Men only	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
619. Women only	+	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
620. Clothing: men and women make	–	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	[294]
621. Men only	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	
622. Women only	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	
623. Moccasins: men and women make	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
624. Men only	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
625. Women only	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
626. Fish traps: men make	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	[227]
627. Women	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	+	
628. Winter house: men and women build	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[342]
629. Men only	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
630. Summer house: men and women build	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
631. Men only	+	–	+	+	+	[illegible]	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	
632. Women only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
515 810. Pray or wish while sweating	·+	·+	·(+)	+	R	·R	·+	+	·+	·+	+	(+)	–	–	–	–
782 811. Cold bath follows sweat	+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	+	(–)	+	+	–	+

House Furnishings and Arrangement

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
● 281 812. Blankets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
513 813. Elk and deerskin	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
814. Painted hides for fine blankets	–	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
815. Woven rabbitskin blankets	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
816. Patchwork skin blankets	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
817. Deerskin	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
818. Coyote skin	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
~~819.~~ Wildcat skin	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
820. Raccoon skin	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
821. Rabbitskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
822. Blue-fox skin	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–
[429] 823. Buffalo hides, imported for blankets	–		+	+	·+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[237] 824. Feather blankets	+	·+	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	·+
825. Loose tule, grass blanket covering	+	+	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
826. Pillows	+	+	+	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.
827. Individual wooden pillow	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
828. Pole pillow	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.
829. Piece of wood or rock	+	–	–		–	–			+	+	+	.	–	–	+	.
830. Rolled skin	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.
831. Rolled tule mat	–	–	+	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
832. Leaf or grass pillow	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.
504 833. Pine needles heaped up for pillow	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	–	(–)	+	–	–	–	.
†834. Wooden foot drum	–	–	·R	–	–	–	–	–	·R	·R	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+
†835. Hollow half log	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	.	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†836. In line with door	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†837. Over hole in ground	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	.	+
†838. Post before drum	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	.	–	–	–	+
361 †838a. Houses in rows	–	–	–	–	–	·+	–	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
†838b. Houses in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	.	–	·+

Shelters

Brush Enclosures and Shades

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
417 839. Roofless circular brush enclosure	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
840. Large, used for ceremonies	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
[574] 841. As camping place for visitors	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–
[764] 842. At cemeteries only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	+	+
843. Fire in center	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
844. Opening(s) oriented	–	·+	·+	·+	·+	–	·+	·+	·+	·+	–	·+	–	–	.	·+
845. Same, but smaller, for summer shelter	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
846. Partly roofed over	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
847. Roofed circular brush enclosure	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
848. Shades	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	–	+	+	–	·+
849. Horizontal roof	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
850. Sloping roof	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
851. 4 supporting posts	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
852. 3 side walls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
853. Brush heaped around pit mortars, for shade	–	–	–		–	–	–		–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–
854. Conical bark grinding house, 2 families	–	–	–		+	·+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Menstrual Huts

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
343 855. Menstrual hut	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	·+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+
841 856. Similar to living house, but smaller	–	–	–	·+	–	–	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	·+	·+	–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1339. On sides of basket	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	285
1340. Patterns in 2 kinds of feathers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	531
1341. Patterns in 3 colors besides background	•-	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	•+	•+		-	-	•-	•-	-	
Cradles																	
1342. Sitting type	•-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	854
1343. "Toe" (Hupa) type	-	-	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1344. Shallow type	-	•+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1345. Basketry, oval outline	-	•+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1346. Vertical warps	-	•+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1347. Rod rim	-	-	-	+	+			-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	
1348. Board	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1349. Y frame	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1350. Y-kite frame	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1351. Head covering	-	•+	•+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1352. Bed or leg rest bar at bottom	-	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1353. Lying type	•+	•R	-	-	•R	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1354. Board	•+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1355. Y-kite frame	-	-	-	-	R	•-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
1356. Kite frame	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	
1357. Willows transverse across frame	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	[illegible]	+	+	
1358. Basketry	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1359. Oval outline	•+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1360. Rectangular or triangular outline	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1361. Vertical warp	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1362. Rod rim	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1363. Soft tule bed attached	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1364. Soft tule, grass bed separate	•+	•R	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	
1364a. Crossbar rest for child's legs	•+	•R	-		•R												
1365. Cradle hood	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
1366. Twined weave	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
1367. Parallel warp	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
1368. Radiating warp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1369. Hoop or sticks, across top of cradle.	•R	•R	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1370. Buckskin draped over hoop	R	R	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1371. Pendants from top or hood	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	R	-	+	+	+	-	
1372. Cradle lashing	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1373. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1374. Woven vegetable fiber	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1375. Cradle entirely buckskin covered	-	•R	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1376. Infant's sex indicated on cradle	+	•R	+	+	•R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	+	[858]
1377. By hood design	-		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1378. Diagonal lines: boy	-		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1379. Zigzag line	-		-	-	R	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1380. Boy	-		-	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1381. Girl	-		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1382. Diamond chain: girl	-		-	-	R	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1383. By lashing design	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1384. By position of rim rod	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
1385. By shape of cradle	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1386. Girl's cradle wider at bottom	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1387. Girl's cradle wider at top.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Blankets																	
1388. Woven rabbitskin blankets, made locally	-	+	-	-	o	+	-	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	281 286

2:. Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 /

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
281 1389. Woven bird-skin blankets	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
286 1390. Woven skin blankets imported only	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1391. Warp 1-ply fur or bird skin	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	.
1392. Warp 2-ply fur or bird skin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	.	.
1393. String twisted in with warp	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	.
1394. Weft 2 strips of rabbit hide	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	.
1395. Weft of vegetable-fiber string	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.
1396. Weft of bird skins and string	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.
1397. Stick to twist fur strips	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	.
1398. Plain stick	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	.
1399. Hooked or notched stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	.
1400. Skin, fur strips twisted on thigh	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	.
1401. Frame vertical (perpendicular to ground)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
1402. Warp wrapped around 2 vertical posts	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	.
1403. Weaving starts upward	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	.
1404. Weaving starts downward	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	.
1405. Frame horizontal (parallel to ground)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.

Mats

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
285 1406. Tule	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1407. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1408. Sewn, stems pierced	+	+	+	–	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1409. With needle	+	+	+	–	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1410. Checker, string weft	.	+	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1411. Inner bark of trees	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1412. Twined	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1413. Checker	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1414. String weft	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1415. Unspun bark-strip warp	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1416. Wooden stick bark shredder	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

Cordage

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
283 1417. Iris	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1418. For deer snares	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1419. Milkweed	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
1420. Nettle	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1421. Indian hemp (Apocynum)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1422. For fish lines				+		+		–	–	–	+	+	+			.
1423. Human hair	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1424. Cordage 2-ply	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1425. Plain stick to comb out fibers		+	+								+	+	+		–	+
1426. Twisted on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1427. Down thigh, then up	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1428. Down thigh only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1429. Up thigh, then down	+	+	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1430. Thumb guard of shell for fiber drawing	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	+	.	–
1431. Braided cord	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)
1432. Rawhide thongs			•+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
1432a. Withes of grapevine, willow, etc.	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Receptacles (Other than Baskets)

Wood, Bark, etc.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
415 1433. Wooden meat platter	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1434. Bark meat, fish platter	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1435. Pine-bark sifter			–		+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1436. Paunch water container	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV	
Stone																	
1437. Stone vessels	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	405
1438. Shallow	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
1439. Manufactured	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
1440. Natural rock, found	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1441. "Fry-pan" type	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1442. Set near fire	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1443. Deep bowls	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	
1444. Used as water container	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
1445. Water heated by soapstone ring	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
1446. Set directly on fire	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1447. Flat bottomed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
1448. Round bottomed	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1449. Fire to harden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
1450. Grease to harden	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Leather Goods																	
Skin Tanning																	
1451. Green hide soaked	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	•.	.	
1452. Staked out in water	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	.	.	281
1453. Ashes to aid in dehairing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	•-	+	.	.	
1454. Dehaired on pole set at 45° angle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1455. Bone dehairing tool	+	+	•+	+	-	-	+	-	+	•+	+	+	(+)	+	.	.	
1456. Wooden dehairing tool	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	
1457. Stone dehairing, fleshing tool	-	•+	-	+	+	•+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	.	.	
1458. Tanning agent rubbed on, soaked in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	
1459. Brain solution	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	
1460. Wild-bird egg yolks	-	+	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1461. Acorn soup													-	+		-	
1462. Spinal cord	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	.	
1463. Wet hide twisted around upright post, or tree	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1464. Short stick lever to wring out water.	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1465. Hide grained	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1466. With hands	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1467. With unworked cannon bone	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	-	.	.	
1468. With wooden implement	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	.	
1469. On loose pole	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	.	
1470. On blunt post	-	-	-	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	.	.	
1471. On vertical frame, hide tied at 4 corners	-	-	-					+	+	+	-	.	-	.	.	.	
1472. Bear hide only			-					(-)	+	+	-	.	-	.	.	.	
1473. Pulled back and forth over foot	-	-	+		.	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	.	
1474. Skins smoked, always	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1475. Skins smoked, occasionally	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	.	-	-	.	(+)	
Preparation of Tanning Agent																	
1476. Deer brains dried on vegetable-fiber "patty".	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	.	.	+	.	+	[237]
Adhesives																	
Glue																	
1477. Fish skin	+	+	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	.	.	.	-	-	381
1478. Fish internal organs	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	.	.	.	-	-	237

854 cradle. Y-frame, U-frame, hooked-ladder frame
lying-type cradle. Horizontal (double) warp on
basketry lying cradle. Wicker weave in cradle
hood. Loose basket over head of sleeping child.
Buckskin covering on cradle partial. Sex of
child indicated by bed design. Woven skin blankets;
285 mats.--Checker. Weft of buckskin thongs.
Perforated stick to twist fur strips. Suspended
warp. Thumb guard of bone for shredding mat material.
283 Cordage.--Stick for twisting (1 ply at
a time). Spindle whorl.

Receptacles Other Than Baskets

415 Wood, etc.; chests, boxes; pottery.--Wooden
bowl. Wooden chest. Wooden box of bent and
sewed boards. Pottery vessels.

Leather Goods; Adhesives

281 Skin tanning; glue.--Fleshing or dehairing:
hide staked out with several stakes; with single
stake, other end held; with 1 end tied to tree,
other end held. Fleshed on plank. Fleshing or
dehairing tool: blunt posts; horn; shell. Tanning
agent: liver; wood ashes. Graining: with
381 horn. Glue from horns or hoofs; from milkweed
gum.

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

302 Coiffure; comb; care of hair.--One tie around
head, forehead level. Wooden hairpins. Bone
head scratcher as comb. Hair dyed with eel blood.
White clay on head or to wash head. Mud plaster
against lice. Hair dye in mud plaster. Hair
greased with acorn oil. Nettle roots to wash
302 head. Paint; deformations and mutilations.--
304 Face, body paints according to totem. Paint applied
with brush. Mud or pitch on body for
warmth. Nasal alae pierced; lip pierced. Tattooing
with bone awl. Depilation of pubic hair.
Tweezers of split cane, wood, shell. Depilation:
pitch on fingers; bone knife opposed to fingernail.
Beard burnt off if long. Ear, nose ornaments,
301 necklaces, etc.--Wooden ear stick, feathers
on end. Bone ear tube, incised. Cane or
cane pipe in ear. Cane nose ornament. Sea-lion
teeth necklace.

Dress

291 Headgear; robes; loin covering; muff.--Basket
cap, for fishing with large dip net only. Feathers
on net foundation for robe. Inner bark mat
robe. Buffalo-fur robe. Breechclout of woven
bird skins; of woven rabbitskins; of grass stems;
of inner bark. Single small front apron, of
fringed buckskin; with braids on cord. Double
apron of woven rabbitskins. Bird-skin muff.

000 ized pieces of decayed log. Skin hung up to dry; resoaked; worked with hands, over feet, to soften. NS: Informant relieved "only certain people tanned buckskin, not everyone"; no knowledge of tanning. Beals, Nisenan, p. 345, observes: "Buckskin seems to have been little employed"; my information agrees.

1453. MM: For skins other than deerskin. NF: Hair plucked out by hand, after hide soaked.

1454. WT: Also fleshed on outstretched leg.

[281] [237] 1455. Usually lower front leg bone of deer, which is sharp. SE: Elk shoulder blade or lower front leg bone of deer. WS: Deer rib.

1457. Mo: Obsidian knife. AW; WT: Sharp piece of rock.

1460. AW: Sometimes use wild duck egg yolks, but "deer brains best."

1463. As described in Spier, Havasupai, fig. 17, p. 141.

1470. AW: Least-used method. If stone, bone graining implement used, hide merely held with hands; if hide pulled back and forth over foot, it is held with hands only.

1476. SE, AW, AE: Grass. SW, At, WS: Moss; WS: of "poisonous" variety. WT: Bark.

1478. MM: Plus boiled roots and weeds.

1479. NS: For bows, arrows.

1481. MV: Plus plant.

1482. Usually "mixed with something." WS: Mixed with charcoal.

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

Haircut; coiffure; comb; care of hair.--

1487. WT: Occasionally only.

1488. SW: Mother, for child.

1489. SW: Woman, after death of husband.

1492. WM: Orphaned girls have hair cut, orphaned boys, hair burnt short.

1493. WM: See note 1492.

1494. Ca. 1 month after birth burn off hair with pine needles to make it grow in long. AE: If infant has thin hair, cut it close when baby 2-3 months old. MV: Girl babies only.

1495. WM: If hair cut at any other time, someone will die.

1496. At: Men, women. AE, WM, MV: Women, girls.

[302] 1497. Kl: Temple locks, men. AE: Forelock, men.

[56 2] 1498. Kl: Men. Mo: Shamans; braid scalp lock. AE: Boys; tie feathers, weasel hide, on scalp lock.

1500. MV: 2 women perform operation; 1 woman holds glowing brand, other holds hair, especially bangs.

1502. WM: Occasionally only.

1506. On top of, or at back of head. SW, WT, WM, WS, MM, MF: Hairpins in hair (see element 1544). AE, WS, MM, MF, MV: Roll or bunch hair when head net worn, only.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910

NR10 Klamath NR10

Modoc NS17

M

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 17.

K Fig. 1.—Snowshoe made of a hoop and strips of skin. Museum number

281 1-12633 b. Length 41 cm.

285 Fig. 2.—Man's moccasin of plain twined tule basketry, for winter wear. Museum number 1-12839 a. Length 42 cm.

287 Fig. 3.—Legging of plain twined tule. Museum number 1-12774. Length 44 cm.

291 Fig. 4.—Woman's moccasin of plain twined tule, for winter wear. Museum number 1-12773 a. Length 45 cm.

481

Fig. 5.—Buckskin moccasin for summer wear. Museum number 1-12508 b. Length 25 cm.

Fig. 6.—Man's cap or sunshade of plain twined tule. Museum number 1-12838. Length 28 cm.

Fig. 7.—Woman's belt made of strips of bark fiber. Museum number 1-14138. Length 86 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M
K
481
281
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M
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[481]

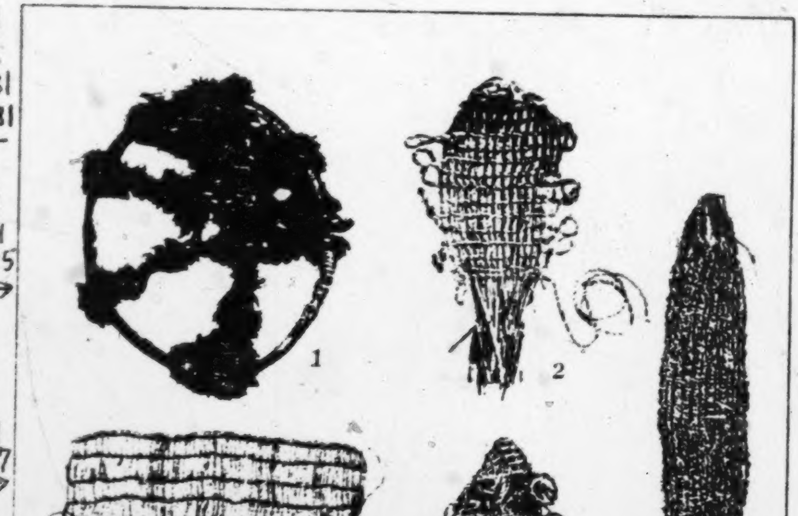

SNOWSHOE, MOCCASIN, LEGGING, CAP, AND BELT.

[p. 277]

Yet the most laborious woodworking task, the making of canoes, is sometimes undertaken by 462
women. I do not know who tans skins, but since the manufacture [501]
of all garments and moccasins is done by women, this suggests that [281]
they prepare the skins as well. Mats and baskets are made by women
and in considerable quantity. This is a sedentary pursuit which
dovetails nicely into leisure moments of household duties. Mortars, [285]
metates, and their adjuncts are fashioned by women, though I suspect
that men may lend a hand. Nets are manufactured by men, but by [415]
a few women also. Ropes and cords are made by women. All these [284]
suggest a somewhat heavier share borne by women.

There is a further factor which must be kept in mind. In winter, [283]
movement is impeded by intense cold and heavy snowfall, so that all 211
members of the family must stay close at home. Hence the men might
be thought to have enforced inactivity thrust upon them during this
season. But the facts are probably otherwise. This is a period of
great scarcity, even famine, especially at the end of a long winter,
and it behooves the men to act and act quickly in search of food.
The ardors and perils then forced on them surely make demands upon
whatever leisure they may have at this time.

FOOD AND ITS ACQUISITION

Klamath life is not that of a lake people, but a river and marsh 262
culture, for the simple reason that their primary food is fish. The
large lakes of this region are solidly frozen in winter, and fish, which
are not abundant there at the best, can hardly be had in winter. It
is otherwise with the swift rivers and creeks; these are always open
and fish are always present in abundance.[218]

Fish is the staple; after this ranks water-lily seed (wokas) and to 262
a lesser extent other roots; deer and other game are only of minor
importance. It is difficult at this late date to know whether fish or 224
lily-seed was eaten in greater quantity, but there is no doubt that, of 226
necessity, more attention was given the year round to fishing, since 222
the seed is harvested only from the middle of August to the end of
September.

Winter villages, the permanent settlements, are located where fish 361
may be had at that time, beside running streams and near springs

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[218] In view of the excellent descriptions of Klamath environment given by Gatschet, Barrett (pp. 240–243), and Coville (Wokas, A Primitive Food, 727–728) it is unnecessary to add another here. (See also pp. 8–10 of the present work.) [114]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

K

alternately tule and a small cat-tail (watcŏ'k), the wefts are cords made of the rolled outer layer of the tule (called ķ!o'sgi). These wefts are placed in pairs in simple tabby weave at intervals of one to three inches; they are not twined. The wefts are so thin and so tightly drawn that they barely show in the finished mat, but they produce a checkerboard effect (sŏlümtai') which gives this variety of mat its name. Possibly there is a fourth variety called ak!a'lŏks, an open twined mat, but of this I am not certain. All these mats are provided with a border of twisted strands of the same material caught in the weft cords. 285

M

Blankets woven of strips of rabbit skin are made by Modoc, not by Klamath. 281

Coville states that "a long time ago the bark [of the cottonwood, kō-osh', *Populus balsamifera* L.], when peeled and split, was used in the manufacture of an Indian cloth."[313] What this fabric can be I do not know, unless bags are meant. K 114 285 173

Ropes are made of three braided strands. The material is grass or the outer husk of the tule for such rough work as carrying wood. Strips of hide are sometimes used, but little elk hide is available for pack ropes. Finer cords, such as those for fish lines and nets, are made of nettle (slets) bark fibers, of which there are three or four varieties (or perhaps phases). Other plant fibers, such as the Rocky Mountain flax (kŏl'-ä-käms, *Linum lewisii* Pursh.)[314] make stronger cords. Brown and gray nettles are most commonly used because of their strength.[315] Swamp-grass cords are used for sewing mats. Barrett notes that string made of brown milkweed is but little used and that all string is formed of two strands twisted together.[316] The latter point is confirmed by my own observations. Cords are made by placing two strands, or a doubled strand, side by side on the bare thigh; rolling them separately under the palm by a movement up the thigh, and by a quick reverse movement down the thigh, without raising the palm, rolling one around the other. Cord-making is a woman's art. A rope is called pĕķ!os and cord gʌnŭ'ķs; braiding is k!ʌbŏ'k!a and rolling p'tc!Iŋ. K 283 K [462]

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[313] Notes, 94.

[314] Coville, Notes, 99.

[315] Coville (Notes, 95) lists only one species, "the native species," *Urtica breweri* Wats.

[316] *Op. cit.*, 250. Coville indicates that milkweed (not, *Apocynum cannabinum* L.) does not occur in Klamath territory, but on Lost river where it is used by the Modoc (Notes, 103). K M [137]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
576. Acorn gathering: men and women	•o	•o	+	+	−	•−	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
577. Men, youths climb trees	o	o	+	+	−	−	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[222]
578. Women gather, transport acorns	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
579. Pine-nut gathering: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
580. Men climb trees, knock down cones	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
581. Men and women gather cones	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
582. Women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
583. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
584. Men and women transport cones	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
585. Women only	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	
586. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
587. Men and women prepare pine nuts	−	.	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
588. Men only	+	.	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
589. Women only	−	.	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	
590. Gathering of small seeds: women only	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	
591. Cooking: men and women	+	+	−						+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	
592. Women prepare, cook plant foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
593. Men only, cook meat	−	+	−						−	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	
594. Women only, cook meat	−	−	+						−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	
595. Men and women cook meat	+	−	−						•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
596. Carrying water near camp: men and women	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[312]
597. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
598. Women only	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
599. Carrying water long distance: men and women.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
600. Men only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
601. Women only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
602. Fire making: men and women	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[372]
603. Men only	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
604. Wood gathering: "kindling" wood, men and women	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
605. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	[313]
606. Women only	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	
607. Wood gathering: large logs, men and women	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
608. Men only	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
609. Women only	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Manufacturing Activities																	
610. Baskets: women only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
611. Skin, feather blankets: men and women make	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
612. Men only or chiefly	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	(−)	+	+	−	+	[281]
613. Women only or chiefly	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	[237]
614. Nets: men only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[284]
615. Cord: men and women make	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
616. Men, generally	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[283] ●
617. Skin tanning: men and women	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[281]
618. Men only	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
619. Women only	+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
620. Clothing: men and women make	−	−	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	[294]
621. Men only	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	
622. Women only	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	
623. Moccasins: men and women make	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
624. Men only	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	
625. Women only	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
626. Fish traps: men make	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	−	+	[227]
627. Women	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+	
628. Winter house: men and women build	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[342]
629. Men only	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
630. Summer house: men and women build	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
631. Men only	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	
632. Women only	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
281 1389. Woven bird-skin blankets	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
286 1390. Woven skin blankets imported only	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1391. Warp 1-ply fur or bird skin	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	.	.
1392. Warp 2-ply fur or bird skin	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	.	.
1393. String twisted in with warp	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	.
1394. Weft 2 strips of rabbit hide	−	+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	.	.
1395. Weft of vegetable-fiber string	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.
1396. Weft of bird skins and string	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.
1397. Stick to twist fur strips	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	.
1398. Plain stick	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	.	.
1399. Hooked or notched stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	.
1400. Skin, fur strips twisted on thigh	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	.	.
1401. Frame vertical (perpendicular to ground)	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1402. Warp wrapped around 2 vertical posts	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	.	.
1403. Weaving starts upward	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	.
1404. Weaving starts downward	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	.
1405. Frame horizontal (parallel to ground)	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.
Mats																
285 1406. Tule	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1407. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1408. Sewn, stems pierced	+	+	+	−	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1409. With needle	+	+	+	−	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1410. Checker, string weft	.	+	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1411. Inner bark of trees	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1412. Twined	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1413. Checker	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1414. String weft	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1415. Unspun bark-strip warp	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1416. Wooden stick bark shredder	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Cordage																
283 1417. Iris	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1418. For deer snares	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1419. Milkweed	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
1420. Nettle	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1421. Indian hemp (Apocynum)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1422. For fish lines				+		+		−	−	−	+	+	+			.
1423. Human hair	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1424. Cordage 2-ply	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1425. Plain stick to comb out fibers		+	+								+	+	+		−	+
1426. Twisted on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1427. Down thigh, then up	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1428. Down thigh only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1429. Up thigh, then down	+	+	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1430. Thumb guard of shell for fiber drawing	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	.	+	.	−
1431. Braided cord	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)
1432. Rawhide thongs			•+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
1432a. Withes of grapevine, willow, etc.	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Receptacles (Other than Baskets)																
Wood, Bark, etc.																
415 1433. Wooden meat platter	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1434. Bark meat, fish platter	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1435. Pine-bark sifter			−		+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1436. Paunch water container	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

854 cradle. Y-frame, U-frame, hooked-ladder frame
lying-type cradle. Horizontal (double) warp on
basketry lying cradle. Wicker weave in cradle
hood. Loose basket over head of sleeping child.
Buckskin covering on cradle partial. Sex of
child indicated by bed design. Woven skin blankets;
285 mats.--Checker. Weft of buckskin thongs.
Perforated stick to twist fur strips. Suspended
warp. Thumb guard of bone for shredding mat material.
283 Cordage.--Stick for twisting (1 ply at
a time). Spindle whorl.

Receptacles Other Than Baskets

415 Wood, etc.; chests, boxes; pottery.--Wooden
bowl. Wooden chest. Wooden box of bent and
sewed boards. Pottery vessels.

Leather Goods; Adhesives

281 Skin tanning; glue.--Fleshing or dehairing:
hide staked out with several stakes; with single
stake, other end held; with 1 end tied to tree,
other end held. Fleshed on plank. Fleshing or
dehairing tool: blunt posts; horn; shell. Tanning
agent: liver; wood ashes. Graining: with
381 horn. Glue from horns or hoofs; from milkweed
gum.

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

302 Coiffure; comb; care of hair.--One tie around
head, forehead level. Wooden hairpins. Bone
head scratcher as comb. Hair dyed with eel blood.
White clay on head or to wash head. Mud plaster
against lice. Hair dye in mud plaster. Hair
greased with acorn oil. Nettle roots to wash
302 head. Paint; deformations and mutilations.--
304 Face, body paints according to totem. Paint applied
with brush. Mud or pitch on body for
warmth. Nasal alae pierced; lip pierced. Tattooing
with bone awl. Depilation of pubic hair.
Tweezers of split cane, wood, shell. Depilation:
pitch on fingers; bone knife opposed to fingernail.
Beard burnt off if long. Ear, nose ornaments,
301 necklaces, etc.--Wooden ear stick, feathers
on end. Bone ear tube, incised. Cane or
cane pipe in ear. Cane nose ornament. Sea-lion
teeth necklace.

Dress

291 Headgear; robes; loin covering; muff.--Basket
cap, for fishing with large dip net only. Feathers
on net foundation for robe. Inner bark mat
robe. Buffalo-fur robe. Breechclout of woven
bird skins; of woven rabbitskins; of grass stems;
of inner bark. Single small front apron, of
fringed buckskin; with braids on cord. Double
apron of woven rabbitskins. Bird-skin muff.

Yet the most laborious wood- 462
working task, the making of canoes, is sometimes undertaken by
women. I do not know who tans skins, but since the manufacture [501]
of all garments and moccasins is done by women, this suggests that [281]
they prepare the skins as well. Mats and baskets are made by women
and in considerable quantity. This is a sedentary pursuit which
dovetails nicely into leisure moments of household duties. Mortars, [285]
metates, and their adjuncts are fashioned by women, though I suspect
that men may lend a hand. Nets are manufactured by men, but by [415]
a few women also. Ropes and cords are made by women. All these [284]
suggest a somewhat heavier share borne by women.

There is a further factor which must be kept in mind. In winter, [283]
movement is impeded by intense cold and heavy snowfall, so that all
members of the family must stay close at home. Hence the men might 211
be thought to have enforced inactivity thrust upon them during this
season. But the facts are probably otherwise. This is a period of
great scarcity, even famine, especially at the end of a long winter,
and it behooves the men to act and act quickly in search of food.
The ardors and perils then forced on them surely make demands upon
whatever leisure they may have at this time.

FOOD AND ITS ACQUISITION

Klamath life is not that of a lake people, but a river and marsh 262
culture, for the simple reason that their primary food is fish. The
large lakes of this region are solidly frozen in winter, and fish, which
are not abundant there at the best, can hardly be had in winter. It
is otherwise with the swift rivers and creeks; these are always open
and fish are always present in abundance.[218]

Fish is the staple; after this ranks water-lily seed (wokas) and to 262
a lesser extent other roots; deer and other game are only of minor
importance. It is difficult at this late date to know whether fish or 224
lily-seed was eaten in greater quantity, but there is no doubt that, of 226
necessity, more attention was given the year round to fishing, since 222
the seed is harvested only from the middle of August to the end of
September.

Winter villages, the permanent settlements, are located where fish 361
may be had at that time, beside running streams and near springs

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[218] In view of the excellent descriptions of Klamath environment given by
Gatschet, Barrett (pp. 240–243), and Coville (Wokas, A Primitive Food, 727–
728) it is unnecessary to add another here. (See also pp. 8–10 of the present
work.) [114]

127 formerly it was not set on stakes. He referred to mention in a myth of its use as a hand net. At any rate, of recent years it is set on stakes in the lake or rivers. It has a small mesh, is forty or more feet in length, three feet in width, and provided with sticks or dry tule stems in order to float the upper edge, and sinkers in order to weight down the lower. The sinker (·lĕ'mdi'as) is a pebble three to four inches long, grooved about its middle through pecking it with a hard pointed stone.

284 Nets are manufactured by men, although a few women also make them. They have meshes of several sizes. A net gauge (tŏŋks) of 462 bone or wood is used with a slender shuttle (tcŏ'mdīkūs) wound end over end.[230] Nettle bark cord is used, from either brown or gray nettles (slĕ'ĕts). Coville notes the use of Rocky mountain flax fibers.[231]

The fish traps used by the Klamath are strictly speaking not traps at all, since there is no closing device to prevent the escape of the fish. They are very little used. I was told of only one place where the device is used, a little stream above Spring creek on Williamson river, where the water is so clear that the actions of the fish can be watched in detail. There it is used only in winter to take trout. The trap (spuwᴇm) is a cylindrical basket of willow branches, woven in open twine, six feet long and two in diameter, closed at one end. The opposite end is open and not provided with reversed barbs or other device to prevent the fish leaving the trap. Cords are tied to it so [114] that it may be hauled up when the fish is seen to enter. A trap of this sort figured by Barrett,[232] but of only half this length, has one side extending somewhat beyond the mouth. Meacham describes a trap of somewhat different shape:

> 226 The Klamath mode of taking fish is peculiar to the Indians of this lake country. A canoe-shaped basket is made, with covering of willow work at each end, leaving a space of four feet in the middle top of the basket. This basket is carried out into the tules that adjoin the lakes, and sunk to the depth of two or three feet. The fishermen chew dried fish eggs and spit them in the water over the basket, until it is covered with the eggs, and then retire a short distance, waiting until the whitefish come in large numbers over the basket, when the fishermen cautiously approach the covered ends, and raise it suddenly, until the upper edge is above the water, and thus entrap hundreds of fish, that are about eight inches in length. These are transferred to the hands of the squaws, and by them are strung on ropes or sticks and placed over fires until cured, without salt, after which they are stored for winter use.[233]

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[230] Illustrated by Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 22.

[231] Coville, Notes, 99.

[232] *Op. cit.*, pl. 19.

[233] Meacham, Wigwam and Warpath, 283.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
576. Acorn gathering: men and women	•o	•o	+	+	–	•–	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
577. Men, youths climb trees	o	o	+	+	–	–	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[222]
578. Women gather, transport acorns	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
579. Pine-nut gathering: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
580. Men climb trees, knock down cones	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	
581. Men and women gather cones	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
582. Women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
583. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
584. Men and women transport cones	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	•	–	–	+	–	–	
585. Women only	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	
586. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
587. Men and women prepare pine nuts	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
588. Men only	+	.	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
589. Women only	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	
590. Gathering of small seeds: women only	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(–)	+	+	
591. Cooking: men and women	+	+	–						+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	
592. Women prepare, cook plant foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
593. Men only, cook meat	–	+	–						–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	
594. Women only, cook meat	–	–	+						–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	
595. Men and women cook meat	+	–	–						•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
596. Carrying water near camp: men and women	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[312]
597. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
598. Women only	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	
599. Carrying water long distance: men and women.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
600. Men only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	
601. Women only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
602. Fire making: men and women	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	[372]
603. Men only	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
604. Wood gathering: "kindling" wood, men and women	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
605. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	[313]
606. Women only	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
607. Wood gathering: large logs, men and women	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
608. Men only	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
609. Women only	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Manufacturing Activities																	
610. Baskets: women only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
611. Skin, feather blankets: men and women make	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	[281]
612. Men only or chiefly	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	(–)	+	+	–	+	
613. Women only or chiefly	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	[237]
614. Nets: men only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[284]
615. Cord: men and women make	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[283]
616. Men, generally	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
617. Skin tanning: men and women	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[281]
618. Men only	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
619. Women only	+	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
620. Clothing: men and women make	–	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	[294]
621. Men only	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	
622. Women only	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	
623. Moccasins: men and women make	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
624. Men only	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
625. Women only	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
626. Fish traps: men make	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	[227]
627. Women	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	+	
628. Winter house: men and women build	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[342]
629. Men only	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
630. Summer house: men and women build	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
631. Men only	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	
632. Women only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 22.

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M
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Fig. 1.—Torch of sagebrush bark. Museum number 1-12815. Length 71 cm.

Fig. 2.—Comb made of the tail of a porcupine. Museum number 1-12678. Length 21 cm.

Fig. 3.—Fishhook and line. The hook consists of a straight piece of bone pointed at both ends. Museum number 1-12755. Length of hook 8 cm.

Fig. 4.—Pair of bone harpoon points, partly covered with pitch, for spearing fish. Museum number 1-12768. Length of points 8 and 10 cm.

Fig. 5.—Bone knife for separating inner and outer bark of pine. Museum number 1-12682. Length 28 cm.

Fig. 6.—Pair of double-pointed bone fishhooks. Museum number 1-12763. Length of shank 12 cm.

Fig. 7.—Bone mesh-measure for making nets. Museum number 1-12680. Length 13 cm.

Fig. 8.—Obtuse-angled pipe bowl of stone. Museum number 1-12382. Height 9 cm.

Fig. 9.—Stone pipe bowl. Museum number 1-12580. Height 4 cm.

Fig. 10.—Pipe with discoidal bowl of stone and short wooden stem. Museum number 1-14137. Height 11 cm.

Fig. 11.—Shuttle with string for making nets. Museum number 1-12871. Length 70 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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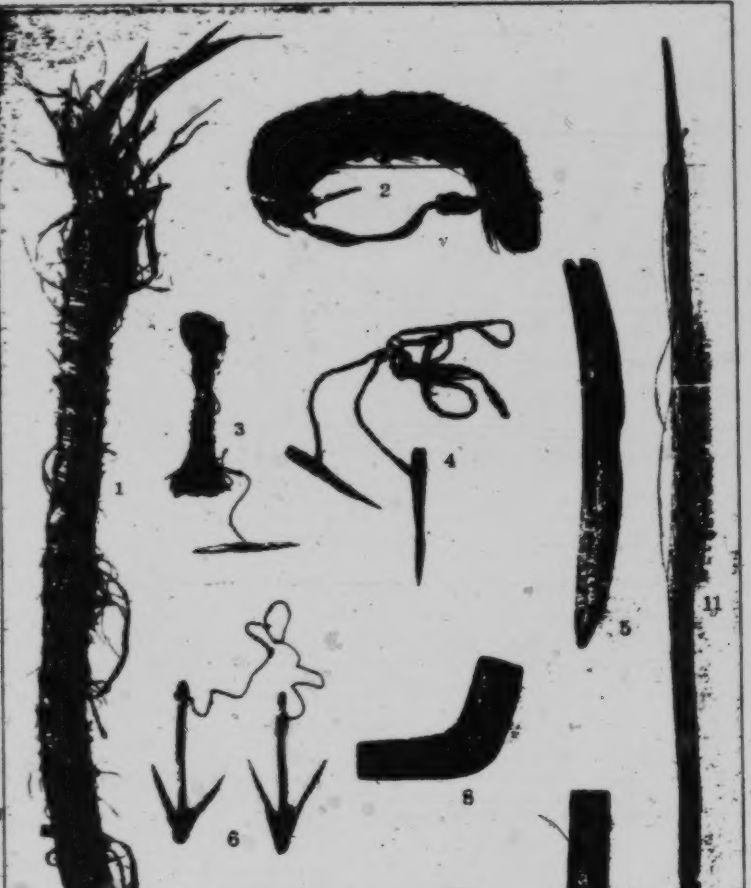

TORCH, COMB, FISHHOOKS, HARPOON POINTS, BONE KNIFE, MESH-MEASURES, PIPES, AND NETTING SHUTTLE.

[p. 287]

> [441] [231] They are well provided with bows and arrows. They have only one horse. Snow is so deep, horses perish for want of food. In winter, they live on roots. In summer on antelope and fish.
>
> December 1st. 30 Clammite Indians paid us a visit: fine men in good condition, but wretchedly clad. They say the river to the ocean is far distant and beaver they do not know. They say the Indians become more numerous as we advance to the ocean. . . . .
>
> [342] [161] [439] Tuesday 6th. Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defence against arrows but not balls. 200 of them collected about our camp and traded 4 days. The 2 chiefs delivered traps lost by Mr. McDonald last year with 8 beaver. This is much in favor of their honesty. On our march this day, we passed the camps from wh. Mr. McDonald turned back last year and are consequently strangers to the country in advance.
>
> [161] Thursday 8th. About 300 Indians around our camp. We advanced 6 miles south following the river south. I estimate the Clammitte nation 250 men.
>
> Monday 12th. Reached the lake [Klamath lake?] 1½ × 15 miles well wooded with maple and hazel; course S.

[361] The second visit on record is that of Frémont, who reached the northern shore of Klamath marsh on December 10, 1843. He saw smoke at what appeared to be the middle of the marsh and along the opposite shore. An unoccupied northern shore agrees with my own information. The following day he visited the village "in the middle of the lake (or savannah)," which appears to be one of those at the outlet of the marsh.

> [342] The huts were grouped together on the bank of the [Klamath] river, which, from being spread out in a shallow marsh at the upper end of the lake, was collected here into a single stream. They were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams.
>
> [226] [252] [285] [291] Almost like plants, these people seem to have adapted themselves to the soil, and to growing on what the immediate locality afforded. Their only subsistence at this time appeared to be a small fish, great quantities of which, that had been smoked and dried, were suspended on strings about the lodge. Heaps of straw were lying around; and their residence in the midst of grass and rushes had taught them a peculiar skill in converting this material to useful purposes. Their shoes were made of straw or grass, which seemed well adapted for a snowy country; and the women wore on their head a closely woven basket, which made a very good cap. Among other things, were parti-colored mats about four feet square, which we purchased to lay on the snow under our blankets, and to use for table cloths.
>
> [231] Numbers of singular-looking dogs, resembling wolves, were sitting on the tops of the huts. . . . .
>
> [648] They made us comprehend that they were at war with the people who lived to the southward and to the eastward; but I could obtain from them no certain information. . . . .
>
> This morning the camp was thronged with Tlamath Indians from the southeastern shore of the lake. . . . .

Yet the most laborious wood- 462
working task, the making of canoes, is sometimes undertaken by
women. I do not know who tans skins, but since the manufacture [501]
of all garments and moccasins is done by women, this suggests that [281]
they prepare the skins as well. Mats and baskets are made by women
and in considerable quantity. This is a sedentary pursuit which
dovetails nicely into leisure moments of household duties. Mortars, [285]
metates, and their adjuncts are fashioned by women, though I suspect
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a few women also. Ropes and cords are made by women. All these [284]
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be thought to have enforced inactivity thrust upon them during this
season. But the facts are probably otherwise. This is a period of
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is otherwise with the swift rivers and creeks; these are always open
and fish are always present in abundance.[216]

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a lesser extent other roots; deer and other game are only of minor
importance. It is difficult at this late date to know whether fish or 224
lily-seed was eaten in greater quantity, but there is no doubt that, of 226
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the seed is harvested only from the middle of August to the end of
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Winter villages, the permanent settlements, are located where fish 361
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[216] In view of the excellent descriptions of Klamath environment given by
Gatschet, Barrett (pp. 240-243), and Coville (Wokas, A Primitive Food, 727-
728) it is unnecessary to add another here. (See also pp. 8-10 of the present
work.) [114]

A bit of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire about the village but 372
for an overnight journey a woman carries a spark in a long fuse. This is of black sage-brush bark, twisted into a rope thirty inches long and bound about at intervals.[305]

Knives are fashioned from stone blades or shells. These river 412
shells (ĕndj!ĕ'tc) are not ground to an edge but used as they are. 321
Forms ranging in size from arrowheads to large lance blades are
chipped from obsidian, flint, and similar stones. So far as I am 324
aware these are never ground into shape. Those intended for knives are sometimes wrapped around the butt to provide a handle.[306] Stone knives are intended for butchering rather than woodworking. Blades never figured in the display of wealth, as among the Yurok. Barrett figures a bone knife used for separating the inner and outer bark of pine.[307]

Sewing is done with awl and sinew. The awl (sŏ'ktᴇ) is a frag- 412
ment of the fore-leg tibia of a deer. Although the upper end of a tibia is nicely rounded to fit the hand, and is accordingly used elsewhere, the Klamath make no use of it. Instead a splinter sharpened at each end is inserted in a wooden handle. Old men carry these at the chest tied on a buckskin thong. The sinew used is that which lies along a deer's backbone. (Sinew is called ᴇmboi'itc; this particular
sinew bi'lhŏp.) Skin garments for either sex are sewn by women. 294
Women also make moccasins whether of skin or tule. 462

The smoking process is used when tanning. The skin is stretched
over a tipi-like frame of little willows set over a hole as deep as one's 281
forearm. The fire is made of rotten wood. Coville states that "the bark [of the white fir (bŭ, *Abies concolor* (Gord.) Lindl.)] is sometimes used to dye and tan buckskin, giving it somewhat the appearance of ordinary tan-colored leather."[308]

Neither bags of skin (k!o'wanᴇ) nor parfleches are made by the 415
Klamath. These are brought from the Dalles, I was told, and prob- 439
ably from Warm Springs, for cĕptŏk, parfleche, is clearly a loan word from Sahaptin (cf. Yakima căta'kai).

Mats are of four kinds, each designated by a name. Sewn mats 285
(st!ŏps) are used solely as the outer covering of mat-lodges; when

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[305] Illustrated by Barrett, pl. 22, fig. 1.

[306] Pitch was not used to fasten these. One type of knife, at least, found as far apart as Mexico and the Arctic, and consisting of stone fragments set into the si[illegible] of the handle, is unknown here.

[307] Pl. 22, fig. 5; cf. Gatschet, 1:148.

[308] Notes, 88.

285 the tules are placed vertically the mat sheds water admirably. These are made of tules (*Scirpus lacustris occidentalis* Wats.) placed side by side, through which cords of swamp grass are sewn at intervals. These are sometimes as much as four and a half feet wide, i.e., as long as the tules, and fifteen or more feet in length. The needle (st!ŏpo'tks) is of hard wood or willow, seven or eight inches long, and provided with an eye. No wooden creaser is used as on the Northwest Coast, but the fingers are run along each side of the needle while it is still in place, so as to leave a crease when it is withdrawn.

Two other varieties of mats are twined. That in most common use is called slai'is, the best-made mat short of those with decorative effects. These serve primarily for bedding, and are made solely of flattened or split tules. The tule warps are twined at intervals of about three inches with fine nettle or flax[309] cords. A border or supplementary warp is placed on two edges, lying parallel to the tule warps. This is either a two-ply twisted rope of tules or a three-ply braid. It is caught in the twining cords, which form a continuous strand, i.e., on reaching the edge of the mat the cords are carried outside the mat to the next point where twining is to commence and there twined across the warps in the opposite direction. Warps are commonly twisted together where they are free of the mat.

285 A coarse mat (ste'holŏs) is used to shingle the earth-lodge under its covering of dirt. This is usually made of bundles of swamp grass (bă'ĕni, *Carex* sp.) twined at intervals of three to four inches with the same material, or with Rocky Mountain flax (*Linum lewisii*), according to Coville.[310] Tules, cat-tails, rushes (tsin-ā'-ō, *Juncus balticus* Willd.),[311] etc., are used for warp and weft. In order to hold such swamp grass warps in place before they are twined, one end of each is caught in a twined border weft, the short end of the warp is turned back into the twining and trimmed off. This twining weft is then carried continuously through the fabric as described above. Tule mats made in this fashion can of course be twined without the border weft. These coarse mats also have the extra marginal warps on two sides.[312]

A decorative mat called sōlūmtai'is, used for bedding, ~~is~~ infrequently made. This is a checkerboard weave; the warps are

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[309] Coville, Notes, 99.

[310] Coville, Notes, 92.

[311] Coville, *loc. cit.*

[312] Mats illustrated by Barrett (Material Culture) are of the stlōps variety (pl. 24), slai'is (pl. 22), and ste'holŏs (pl. 25).

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

K 285

alternately tule and a small cat-tail (watcö'k), the wefts are cords made of the rolled outer layer of the tule (called ķ!o'sgi). These wefts are placed in pairs in simple tabby weave at intervals of one to three inches; they are not twined. The wefts are so thin and so tightly drawn that they barely show in the finished mat, but they produce a checkerboard effect (sölümtai') which gives this variety of mat its name. Possibly there is a fourth variety called ak!a'löks, an open twined mat, but of this I am not certain. All these mats are provided with a border of twisted strands of the same material caught in the weft cords.

M 281

Blankets woven of strips of rabbit skin are made by Modoc, not by Klamath.

K 114 285 173

Coville states that "a long time ago the bark [of the cottonwood, kō-osh', *Populus balsamifera* L.], when peeled and split, was used in the manufacture of an Indian cloth."[313] What this fabric can be I do not know, unless bags are meant.

K 283

Ropes are made of three braided strands. The material is grass or the outer husk of the tule for such rough work as carrying wood. Strips of hide are sometimes used, but little elk hide is available for pack ropes. Finer cords, such as those for fish lines and nets, are made of nettle (slets) bark fibers, of which there are three or four varieties (or perhaps phases). Other plant fibers, such as the Rocky Mountain flax (köl'-ä-käms, *Linum lewisii* Pursh.)[314] make stronger cords. Brown and gray nettles are most commonly used because of their strength.[315] Swamp-grass cords are used for sewing mats. Barrett notes that string made of brown milkweed is but little used and that all string is formed of two strands twisted together.[316] The latter point is confirmed by my own observations. Cords are made by placing two strands, or a doubled strand, side by side on the bare thigh; rolling them separately under the palm by a movement up the thigh, and by a quick reverse movement down the thigh, without raising the palm, rolling one around the other. Cord-making is a woman's art. A rope is called pēķ!os and cord gɛnū'ķs; braiding is k!ɛbō'k!a and rolling p'tc!lŋ.

K [462]

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[313] Notes, 94.

[314] Coville, Notes, 99.

[315] Coville (Notes, 95) lists only one species, "the native species," *Urtica breweri* Wats.

[316] *Op. cit.*, 250. Coville indicates that milkweed (not, *Apocynum cannabinum* L.) does not occur in Klamath territory, but on Lost river where it is used by the Modoc (Notes, 103).

K M [137]

properly covered with large leaves retain their freshness for a long time.''[330] 415

Both metates and mortars are used for grinding seeds, mashing roots, and similar operations. The metate or grinding slab is however the favored utensil. The metate is a flat slab containing a little depression. The muller in use with it is unique in that it is commonly provided with two horns or knobs to serve as handholds and which project away from the user. This form is however not invariable, for any shape is used so long as it provides a flat grinding face and a narrower upper part that can be grasped with both hands. For light work, a hemispherical or conical stone is used. Barrett describes the grinding process: ''the muller is held so that the horns or ears point from the operator and the grinding is done on the stroke of the muller from the operator, the stroke toward the operator being very light indeed.''[331] A flat tray basket is tucked under the far end of the metate to catch the meal. 412

The mortar (ga'mōḳs) is a lava block bearing a depression which deepens with use and whose form is thus largely determined by the manner in which the pestle is used. The exterior is frequently nicely finished. The stone pestle (sḳ!a) is elongate, and on the whole nicely reduced to form by pecking. Several mortars and pestles seen and sketched are shown in figure 11. The more nicely finished mortar (fig. 11*c*) has seen use over three generations. Figure 11*b* is a lava pestle obtained from Upland Takelma territory; its form is not that of Klamath pestles.[332]

BASKETRY

While no special study of Klamath basketry was undertaken, Barrett's notes on the subject can be amplified.[333] As with the Californian tribes, basketry provided most of the domestic utensils. Klamath forms are few, the technique simple, and decoration used but moderately. The vast majority of the baskets are of twine weave: there is but one type, the water basket, made by coiling. 285

The types recognized and named by the Klamath are the following:[334] hats (k!ɛmū', women's; k!ane'o, men's), burden baskets (ya''gi

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[330] Notes.

[331] Material Culture, 252, pls. 12, 21.

[332] I venture that the stone maul figured by Barrett (*op. cit.*, pl. 21, fig. 6) is such a Takelma pestle set to a new use, for I was told of wooden, not stone, mauls.

[333] Material Culture, 253–257.

[334] See also Coville, Wokas, 738.

285 and sḳötgūls), boiling baskets (ḳa'la), small twined bowls (mō'ḳsɛ), parching or gambling trays (p'a'' la), triangular fans used with the parching trays (wīliu'ks), seed beaters (wēḳs, small; ti'a, larger, also used as a sifter), triangular plates (sa'plūs), storage bags (wa''klo and t'a'yis), storage baskets (tlūḳs), boat-shaped baskets used in harvesting pond-lily seed,[226] cradles for newborn infants and sifting baskets (both called ḳwāls), water baskets (name unknown), and flat bowls (ḳ!we'lu) traded from the Pit river peoples but not made by Klamath. The basket hopper attached to a mortar is used by Modoc, not by Klamath.

285 Despite the large number of named types, the actual number of technically different forms is small. Close twine or open twine, flexible or rigid, essentially the same technical features are used throughout. The methods of beginning the fabric, the kind of twining, addition of warps, and finishing the rim are practically identical in all. Minor variations give Klamath basketry a specious appearance of technical diversity.

There are really only four or five types of basket from a structural standpoint. Twined bowls, hats, gambling or sifting trays, and circular baskets, all in close twine weave; burden baskets of all forms and storage baskets, in open twine, are simply variations of one structural procedure. The second type, comprising seed beaters, ladles, and winnowing baskets, are open twine construction based on rigid warps bent into a loop. Triangular fans and trays, two-handled baskets, canoe-shaped receptacles, fish traps, and cradles, all of open twine, constitute a class differing but little from the last. The fourth group is the twined flat bag. Each of these groups merges structurally into the others, largely as variations in form demand. But the fifth type, the water basket, is built on an entirely different principle, namely, coiling.

Practically all baskets are made by plain twining, that is, of two weft elements crossing one warp at a time. Some use is made of diagonal twine, which differs from plain twine only in that the wefts pass over two, three, or four warps at a time. Three-strand twining is also used to add rigidity, as around the base or rim of a basket, and for decorative effect. As most twined wares are made with warps as well as wefts somewhat flexible, the fabric as a whole is not rigid.

The direction of weaving, at least for twined wares, is from left to right on the forward edge of the basket, held mouth up; that is, counterclockwise from the viewpoint of one looking into the basket.

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[226] Mentioned by Barrett, 255.

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Bowls, gambling or sifting trays, hats, and all other solid twined wares are manufactured in the same way. The small twined bowls mŏ'k̦sax) have warps of two-ply tule cords (*Scirpus lacustris occidentalis*) and cat-tail (po'psam, *Typha latifolia*)[238] cords for wefts. Such cords are rolled on the thigh. The two-ply cords are made by doubling a length of material, rolling the strands side by side down the thigh under the palm, then, without raising the hand, rolling one strand around the other by a quick movement up the thigh.

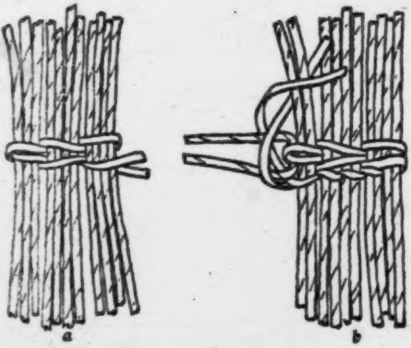

Fig. 12. Mode of commencing twined basket.

The method of beginning weaving is to lay an indeterminate number of warps side by side. A weft is doubled and the free ends twined through these warps, which are divided into convenient bundles for this purpose. Having caught the last of such bundles the weft is twined back across the bundles to the starting point (fig. 12*a*). Again the weft is carried across the warps, but this time in diagonal twine (passing over two single warps at a time). At the completion of this row, the ends of the warp at the margin are brought together so as to be caught in the next twine stitch (fig. 12*b*). At the appropriate point the opposite marginal warp is treated similarly. This has the effect of spreading the warps radially. From this point the weaving continues as regular diagonal twine, crossing the warps in pairs. This is continued for a short space, or quite until the edge of the base is reached, when it gives way to simple twining which is carried up the sides of the basket to the rim. Additional warps, necessary to give a flare to the sides of the basket, are added as needed. One end of the additional warp is simply caught in a twine stitch.

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[238] Merrill, Plants Used in Basketry, 236, 240.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

285 The base of the basket does not always pass into two-warp diagonal twining so early as just stated. The weaving of some baskets, perhaps the majority, proceeds by continuously halving the bundles of warps as successive rounds of twining are placed, until the warps

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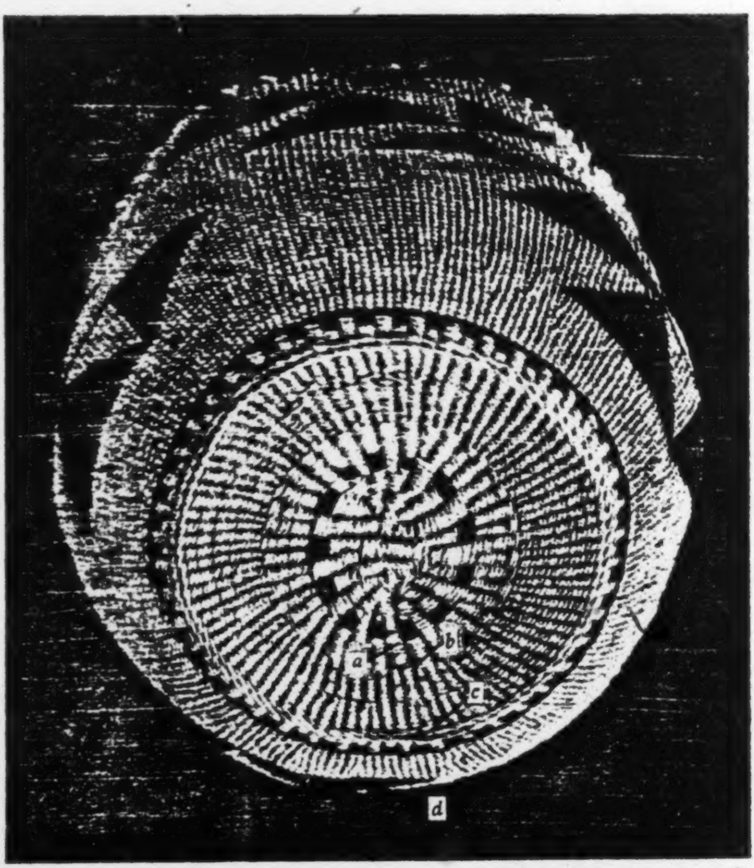

Fig. 13. Base of a twined basket. The points *a–d* lie on the same warp (*a*, beginning of diagonal twine crossing four warps; *b*, beginning of two-warp diagonal twine; *c*, begininng of three-strand twine; *d*, first stitch of design). The termination of the basket rim is on the same warp (not shown in the illustration).

285 may be treated singly in simple twine. One example, for instance (fig. 13), having a basal diameter of five inches, has the warps treated as large bundles for two inches, in fours with a diagonal stitch crossing four warps for a half inch, in pairs with two-warp diagonal stitch to beyond the edge of the base, thence simple twine for the remainder of the sides.

At the juncture of base and side a ridge is produced by substituting three-strand twining for simple twine for two or more rounds. This is not only decorative but adds materially to the rigidity of these otherwise flexible baskets. Three-strand twining consists in the use of three wefts, each of which passes back of a warp and crosses the face of the two adjoining. The three wefts are so inserted that each in turn passes back of successive warps.[237] On the face of the basket the effect is that of a raised diagonal twine crossing two warps; on the interior, of simple twining. Similar bands of three-strand twine may be introduced on the sides or near the rim for decorative effect and strength. Mason figures two Klamath baskets woven entirely in three-strand twine.[238]

Designs are introduced in contrasting color. This is done either by substituting two colored wefts for the neutral colored (white to buff) cat-tail strands over the design area, or using the peculiar twine stitch described below. Both methods may appear on the same basket, even in the same area of decoration, without affecting the surface appearance in any way. In placing the decoration only the stitches of the designs are counted, not those of the background space between them. Care is thus taken to have each design symmetrical on itself; the spacing between them is merely estimated. The common material used for designs is tule root (called mai'omlōk, the tule's hair), reddish brown in color.

To finish the edge a round of diagonal twine crossing warps in pairs is woven; the ends of the warps are caught in this in the following way. Alternate warps are left standing, ultimately to be trimmed off close under the rim. The other warps are each carried to the right and forward over the edge of the rim where they are caught under the next succeeding twine stitch. As they pass forward they are twisted around the succeeding warp but one, passing back into the interior of the basket. The ends of these are then trimmed short. (Thus in my diagrammatic sketch, figure 14, warps 2, 4, 6, etc., are ultimately cut short. Warp 1 is brought forward, passed around warp 3, and carried back into the web between warps 3 and 4, being caught under the twine stitch marked A. For the sake of simplicity, the warps are shown as single strands; they are however each comprised of two strands twisted together.) This imparts stiffening to the rim.[239]

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[237] For a further explanation of this and other stitches, see O. T. Mason, Aboriginal American Basketry, 229 *passim*.

[238] *Op. cit.*, 462, pl. 174.

[239] This is somewhat in the manner of the turned-down warp edging described by O. T. Mason, *op. cit.*, 270.

285 Merrill notes that the rims of fine cooking bowls and coarse burden baskets are bound with gray nettle-bark string (*Urtica breweri*).[230]

One peculiar and almost invariable feature of Klamath baskets is that all changes in rounds of stitch begin and end at the same warp. That is, at one particular warp occurs the point of change from diagonal to simple twine on the base, of beginning the first stitch of the design figures on the sides, of beginning and ending any bands of design on the sides, and the end of the rim finish (fig. 13). Where there are a series of independent figures on the sides, only the first stitch of one figure begins at this warp. I was told of no esoteric reason for this; it seems merely a technical habit.

This trait is usual, for example, in the large collection of Klamath baskets in the Field Museum of Natural History, but it is not invariable. On a typical tray basket, bearing a series of concentric bands, those nearest the center begin at the same radial warp, but nearer the margin they begin only in the same general sector of the surface. This trait also appears in certain rosettes of beadwork used as dress or blanket ornaments.

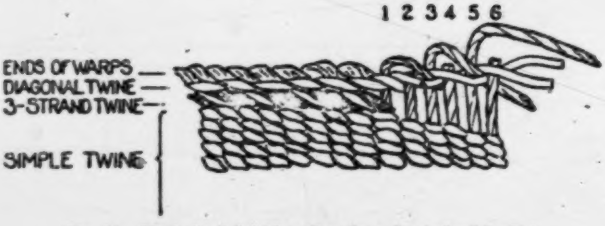

Fig. 14. Method of finishing the edge of a twined basket.

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291 Hats are made in this manner but differ in their appearance because of the different materials used. The shape of the woman's hat (k!ɛmū) is subconical, its sides lacking curvature, and rounding rather abruptly into a flattened top.[231] The man's hat (k!ane'o) is similar, but has a brim. This, I was told, existed prior to contact with whites. Hats have warps of twisted tule strands. Twining commences however with wefts of finely rolled nettle cords.[232] The sides of the hat are made in simple twine technique with a strip of cane (*Phragmites phragmites* (L.) Karst.)[233] and a tule (? or cat-tail)

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[230] Merrill, 222.

[231] Illustrated by Barrett, Material Culture, pl. 18. Modoc hats of similar shape are shown by O. T. Mason, *op. cit.*, pl. 167.

[232] Probably flax cords as well (Coville, Notes, 90).

[233] Coville, Notes, 91.

strand as wefts.[334] Designs, at least, are formed with wefts of cane (t'k!ŏp) and dyed tule (mo'kwas). Only the outer layer of the cane is used; this is yellowish-white. This strip is flat, and being stiff, cannot be twisted; the tule weft being fully flexible, wraps around both warp and cane weft. The effect is unique; at alternate warps the cane weft appears passing horizontally, at the others the tule weft makes a wrapped stitch over warp and cane weft (fig. 15). Due to the technique the tule weft lies flat like a ribbon. Women's hats bear designs. Men's hats have none, but when the hat is completed the part covered by nettle weft (the central portion of the top) is painted. The brim of a man's hat is entirely woven with wefts of dyed tule (and cane?). 285 291

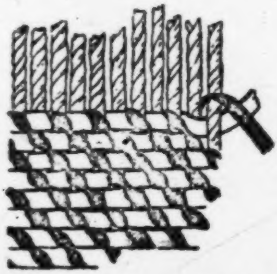

Fig. 15. Modified simple twine stitch of basket hats.

The several structural parts of such twined baskets are named. The area of weaving at the center of the base, with which the basket is begun, is called dᴇle'lūķs; the base of the basket, tse'lalwIs; the rounding margin of the base as it merges into the side, sto'li; and the turned-back warps of the rim, wo'lgŏtk. Twining in general is lĕtca'; specifically this is simple twine. A twine stitch over two warps is la'pwiŏmnŏtk (lap, two); over three, ski'tgaltantk; over four, wuni'-bāntka lĕtc!a (wuni'p, four). It is possible that ski'tgaltantk means three-strand twining rather than three-warp diagonal twine. There is no name for open twine construction, so far as I know. It may be called gIga'ŋka, many holes (from gI'nķa, hole). Cat-tail cord for wefting is solŏ'tepas; such cord is wrapped around the hand to make a roll for storage. Warps (of the tule only?) are called twăch.[335] 285

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[334] Coville (Notes, 94) states that in former times the bark of the aspen (vō'-lăl, *Populus tremuloides* Michx.) was used to make hats. [114]

[335] Coville (Notes, 92) also notes the use of the rush (tsin-ā-ō, *Juncus balticus* Willd.) in the weaving of light baskets. [174]

• 285 The flat flexible tray (p'a"la) differs from the twine bowl only in that it is made quite flat. This is used indiscriminately as a basket under which to hide the gaming sticks, or as a parching or winnowing tray. Those which are decorated are used in gambling; as they grow shabby they are put to other purposes. Barrett observes that the gambling tray is made of white material, the others of brown.[336] This is doubtless true, but the Klamath do not look on these as baskets of different type.

Specimens in the Field Museum collections have the crossed warps at the center twined with nettle (?) cord wefts. The edge finish is identical with that of twined bowls and hats; in other words, this is the general edge finish.

Carrying baskets (ya''gi and sḳögüls) are made of rigid materials in open twine, with the warps at wide intervals. Possibly the name sḳötgüls indicates conical forms; certainly the somewhat globular type is ya"gi. One globose basket stands sixteen inches high, its flat base is twelve inches in diameter, its well-rounded sides curving inward to a mouth two feet in diameter. The general construction of this basket is similar to the flexible twined bowls described above; the difference lies in its rigid warps and wefts and in its open construction. [824] Both warp and weft are peeled willow twigs (yä'-yäk, *Salix* sp.);[337] on the sides of the basket the warps are comprised of two or three willows placed together; the wefts are always single rods. The base is begun by crossing three warps at right angles with four others. These are caught in a plain twine stitch for several rounds, changing to diagonal twine crossing two warps at a time for some distance, and completing the base with four-warp diagonal twine. The base is thus fairly solid compared to the sides. New warps are inserted in the base as needed; near the edge of the base extra warps are added so that all warps on the sides of the basket lie in pairs. The edge of the base, like that of the twined bowl, has a round or two of three-strand twine. In this case, this gives considerable rigidity to the base as these willow wefts are quite stiff. On the sides of the basket the warps, each consisting of willows in pairs or threes, are spaced a half inch apart; the weft rounds are three-quarters of an inch apart. The edge of the basket is identical with that of the twined bowl, save that here every warp is turned down and caught in the last row of twining. In this case the turned-down end is not caught in the next stitch beyond this [824] warp but in the second succeeding. To stiffen the rim, a hoop of service berry wood (swïtö'ka) is bound inside the mouth by a wrap-

ring of willow bark.

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[336] *Op. cit.*, 254, pl. 11, figs. 2, 3; O. T. Mason, *op. cit.*, pl. 48.

ping of willow bark. The carrying band of deer hide is carried over the forehead for heavy loads, over the breast for lighter ones.

A conical wicker burden basket of this general type in the Field Museum (no. 61665) has a somewhat different edge finish. This is generically of the same "turn down and catch under" type, but the effect is that of a raised welt of diagonal twine both inside and outside of the rim. From the top, the edge has a braided appearance. (I was not able to analyze the stitch because of the stiffness of the material.) This also appears on bowls made in the same fashion of willow sticks (e.g., no. 61666).

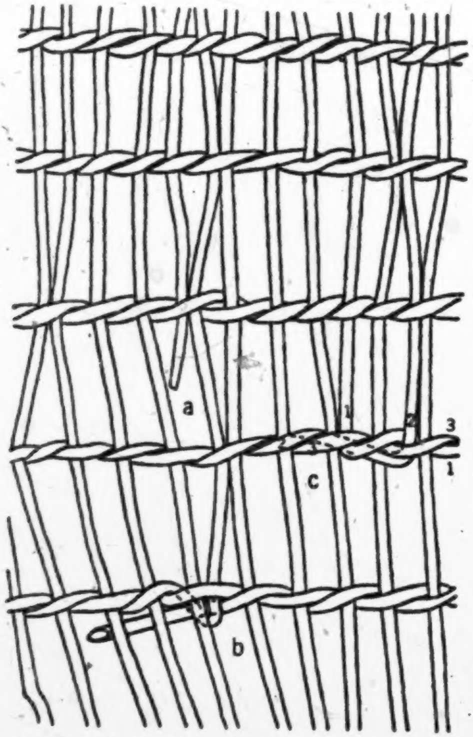

Fig. 16. Methods of adding warps in a conical carrying basket.

In the conical forms the base and sides are not separated, hence there is no necessity for the three-strand twining near the bottom.

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[287] Coville, Notes, 94.

The specimen figured by Barrett, however, shows three-strand twine at the rim where it serves as stiffening.[238] These baskets have but single willow warps, peeled and unsplit.[239] In one example, new warps are added as usual by inserting the butt end in a twine stitch so that the butt protrudes on the inside (fig. 16*a*). This is however rare in this basket. Ordinarily one end of a weft element is carried up to the rim as an additional warp, a new willow twig replacing it as a weft element, the latter having its butt end caught in the twine stitch (fig. 16*b*). Or the butt end of an additional warp does service as a weft (warp 1 at fig. 16*c*). Mason describes an old conical carrying basket made of rushes.[240]

> It is made of coarse stems of rushes. The warp begins with a few stems brought together to a point at the bottom and as the specimen widens out fresh warp stems are added. These are securely joined together by a continuous coil of weft, which is a three-strand braid. At the beginning these turns of the coil touch one another, but as the work progresses and the basket widens the distance from one row to the next increases until they are nearly an inch apart at the top. The braiding is done from the outside, two of the stems showing always there and only one on the inside, resembling common twined weaving. This is the only specimen in the [National] Museum in which the whole surface is braided. In many twined baskets of the Pomo an inch or so at the bottom is thus woven. The top is finished off in the following manner: Three warp ends are braided together for at least 2 inches, turned down and cut off. The hook-shaped ends are held in place by a row of common twined weaving at the top. Just below this and close to the ends is a row of three-strand braid. Another row of the same kind is made halfway between the upper edge of the solid weaving and the border. A hoop of wood is held in place on the inside by a wrapping of coarse twine. The appearance of three-strand braid in the drawing on the inside of the basket is given by the strands of twined weaving and the ends of the warp bent over. The basket is strengthened on the outside by five vertical rods [bound to it], and the carrying string is in three-strand braid, precisely as in the body and margin of the basket. Height 22 inches, diameter 23 inches.

The vertical rods are bound to the basket.

> A number of conical burden baskets in the Field Museum collections have three or four supporting sticks (*e.g.*, no. 58493), of one-half to three-quarters of an inch in diameter. These extend considerably below the apex, where they cross and are bound with a two-strand tule cord. They extend beyond the rim, where they are tied to the rim hoop by tule cords.
>
> All of these have the open space described for an inch or two below the rim. Those made with twisted tule warps have the warps gathered by twos and threes and then braided for this distance; those having coarse untwisted warps have their warps at this point twisted about each other, but not braided.

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[238] Material Culture, pl. 16, no. 3.

[239] Coville (Notes, 88) observed a basket apparently of split cedar.

[240] Aboriginal American Basketry, 241, fig. 33.

Storage baskets (tlŭḳs) are used to hold plums and other edibles, or as containers for smaller twined baskets in which small articles are placed. These are made in much the same manner as the globose burden basket previously described. The material for warp and weft is the large tule, and the weave is technically open twine; but the tule elements are so broad that there is little interstitial space. Barrett describes them as "more or less globose or flatly cylindrical rigid baskets . . . . used for general storage purposes."[341] One such I bought is nearly conical. Another I saw is roughly cylindrical but bulges two-thirds of the way to the top. It has a height of fifteen inches, both base and mouth diameters of that dimension, and a maximum diameter of eighteen inches a third of the distance from the rim. This is woven in simple twine throughout; on the sides the twine rounds are about one inch apart. The margin of the base has the familiar three-strand twine round to stiffen the structure. (Some baskets of this type lack this marginal reinforcement.) Additional warps are inserted in the manner described for the conical burden basket above. The border treatment is similar to that described by O. T. Mason for the conical burden basket. Like that, the turned-down warps are caught in a row of simple twine. It differs however in that this basket made in simple twine has its last round in the body of the basket of three-strand twine. Further, the upper ends of the warps are neither braided nor twisted together, but are gathered in pairs (or threes ?); each pair is then crossed with the adjacent pair, and the ends then turned back and caught in the simple twine row as noted. In the basket which I collected each warp consists of two tule strands. Its border finish is similar to that just described in that there is an open space immediately below the rim where each double warp crosses the adjacent double warp. However the ends are treated in the manner of the solid twined baskets; one element of a warp is cut short at the rim, the other turned down to be caught in the second twine stitch succeeding. A bail or handle provided for this basket is braided of three strands of tule. 285

The seed beater (wĕḳs), the winnowing or sifting basket (ti'a), and the basketry ladle (näp or se'-ot äko'-olks),[342] although identical in method of manufacture, differ in size and function. These are shallow, oval baskets of rough open twine construction. The seed beater is used to beat seeds, etc., into a burden basket carried in the free hand. The [222]

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[341] *Op. cit.*, 257.

[342] Coville, Wokas, 729. Coville also notes the use of rush (*Juncus*) in the manufacture of small spoons for temporary use (Notes, 92).

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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[222] sifting basket is used to screen seeds such as wokas, "as a grater to remove the skins of roots and tubers,"[343] or as a larger beater. The ladle serves to scoop floating wokas seeds from the surface of the water. The seed beater and sifting baskets are made of willows, or of split juniper roots; the ladle of tules. Each of these is made of a group of warps bent into oval shape, the central portion filled in with additional warps, and the whole woven in open twine by a continuous weft passing back and forth across them. One example examined is eighteen inches long with a maximum breadth of nine. The three fundamental warps, which are bent in a loop, are each comprised of two willow rods. The first few additional warps are fastened in by doubling them and twining them over the proximal end of the three fundamentals. The weft, a doubled willow twig, is then twined across the warps now in place, beginning at one side of the proximal end of the basket. Reaching the edge warp it is brought back across the structure for a second row, and so on continuously. A second set of additional warps is inserted by doubling them around the second row of wefting. Where further warps are needed to fill a space, wefts are transformed into warps as described for the conical burden baskets. The loose ends of the warps at the distal (handle) end of the basket are bound into two bundles, which are further bound to each other, to provide a grip. Essentially this construction is in a basket figured by Barrett in which the two bundles of warp ends are bound together to form a loop handle.[344] When fine seeds are to be beaten, a pad of twined tules (later horse hide) was inserted in the bowl of the seed beater.

An example in the Field Museum collections (no. 61785) is peculiar in that the warps are not kept parallel, as in other specimens, but are bent in zigzag fashion from one weft round to the next, so that the final appearance of the fabric resembles diagonal wicker work.

[177] Recently the Klamath living at Yainax on the eastern part of the reservation have learned to make sifting baskets in imitation of their neighbors, the Northern Paiute. An example I collected is of the same general nature as the Klamath sifters, but broadly elliptical rather than ovate. This is woven in compact diagonal twine, regularly crossing the warps in pairs but occasionally carelessly slipping into three warp stitches. The warps are willow twigs set close together, the wefts split willow twigs. The underlying construction is the

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[343] Barrett, Material Culture, 274.

[344] Material Culture, pl. 16, fig. 2.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

same as that described above; several fundamental warps bent into elliptical form, a few additional warps turned back over the proximal edge of these, with the remaining warps doubled over the first few rows of twining. The wefting is done with continuous strands. The butt ends of the warps are merely held in place by the last rows of wefting. A willow rod is bound at intervals to the rim of the basket to stiffen it; the ends of the rod do not meet at the distal end. 285

Triangular fans (wiliu'ks) used in conjunction with the parching trays are also described by Barrett as platters "used for serving food, particularly broiled or otherwise cooked fish and roasted meat."[345] As plates they may be called sa'plüs. No details of their construction were obtained, but from Barrett's illustrations it appears that these are made by doubling a bundle of tules so that their free ends diverge, serving as warps. The bundle is roughly tied about at the joint to hold it together. The wefting is of tules in open simple twine. This is a continuous strand, apparently commencing at the joint or apex; where the wefts leave the web to enter for another row the weft elements are twisted around each other. The loose ends of the warps of one of the three baskets he figures protrude beyond the last twine row; in the other two the warps may have been turned back and caught in this row of stitches. [114]

Circular baskets made with coarse tule warps and wefts in close simple twine are more rarely found, according to this author. "Occasionally they are bound around the rim with a hoop." [114]

A vessel in the Field Museum (no. 61758), made in this fashion, is peculiar in that it is elliptical. It is about seven inches long, five wide, and three deep. A round of three-strand twine appears midway of the base, and again at the juncture of the base and side. Stiffening is also provided by a doubled strand of tule sewed lengthwise to the inside of the base.

Several other forms are found, among them a two-handled tray of tule. This is in open twine; a series of parallel warps bound together at each end, and wefted in simple twine stitch with a continuous strand. Similar to the last mentioned is a "large canoe-shaped basket of tule, in openwork plain twining, used as a receptacle in gathering wokas pods," which closely agrees in construction. A pouch of plain twined tule is of similar manufacture.[346]

A fish trap, with willow rod warps, and quivers of tule, are made in open twine, according to Barrett. The cradle for a newborn infant is also manufactured in open twine construction.[347] [227] [854]

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[345] *Op. cit.*, 256, pl. 13, figs. 1, 4, 6.

[346] Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 13, figs. 3, 5; pl. 19, fig. 3; pl. 14, fig. 1.

[347] *Op. cit.*, pl. 19, fig. 1; pl. 20, fig. 1; pl. 14, fig. 2.

K 285 Woven bags for storage purposes, such as holding wokas and other seeds, are called wa'klo and t'a'yis. The former are of the size and shape of our pillow cases and made with warp and weft of nettle cords; the latter are of tule. Barrett records that the latter were so large that, filled with wokas seed, one alone was sufficient load.[248] Gatschet names two sizes of sack, wi'llishik (the larger sacks generically) and w'aχoks. The former holds fifty pounds of seed, the latter twice that amount.[249] Perhaps these are made in the same fashion; my information applies to the former. These are flat bags. The warps are doubled at their midpoints, so that one end will form the warp on the nearer side of the bag with the other half as warp of the other side. The weft is a simple twine stitch woven continuously around the bag, i.e., first on the nearer side, then passing to the other, and so on. Weaving begins at the points of doubling of the warps so that the bottom of the bag is closed, a mere fold in the fabric. Modern examples of this type of bag are woven in diagonal twine, but this is in imitation of fabrics of the whites. One such specimen alternates rows of diagonal twine with wefts inserted in tabby-weave.

*K [171] Certain flat bowls called k̦!we'lu are not made by the Klamath, but originate among the Pit river peoples who trade them to the Modoc. These are of solid twine weave and highly decorated.

Coiled basketry is rare among the Klamath. In fact, I was told it was never made, yet the same woman informant gave the following description of the water basket (name unknown to her). This is a bucket-shaped affair, possibly twelve inches high, with a mouth diameter of ten inches. It lacks a bail. The coil has a two-rod foundation of split tamarack twigs (wa'ku), sewn with tamarack roots (wa'ku ᴇmwä'wŭk). Stitching is on the nearer face, proceeding from left to right, working from the outside. That is, the coil is counterclockwise to one looking into the mouth of the basket. This bears no designs, nor is it painted. It receives a coating of pitch on the outside to render it watertight. K [177] I suggest that this type of basket is of recent introduction in imitation of Northern Paiute technique, although their baskets have constricted necks, I was told. Coiling is called skĕ'nais, sewing.

NP 285 The Northern Paiute also make coiled bowls on a two-rod foundation, although they normally use a single rod. These rods are round willow twigs; split willow is used for the sewing. The foundation rods are so placed that the

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[248] *Op. cit.*, 256.

[249] 1:76.

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two lie in the same vertical plane.[380] The split willow strands are flat and are so placed as to break joints, leaving uncovered sections of the foundation rods exposed between the coil stitches.

K 531 178

In former days hats were the only baskets decorated by the introduction of designs. Today the majority of baskets are twined bowls, intended largely for sale to the whites, to which these decorations have been transferred. Or, one might legitimately say that the modern bowls are degenerate examples of the old hats, since the techniques are practically identical.

K 285 531 386

As to the materials used in decoration, Barrett observes that the "designs are usually worked out in the reddish brown roots of the tule, though the outer leaf skin of a certain jointed rush [*Phragmites?*] which provides a shiny, creamy white material is also used. For the finer baskets the quills of the porcupine, dyed yellow by means of a yellow moss, probably the widely used *Evernia vulpina*, are used,"[381] or more rarely, tule leaf, aged to yellow, according to Merrill. The latter also notes that rarely tule and porcupine quills are dyed a bright pink with the root of an unknown plant.[382] Alder bark (wip'-läm, *Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt.) furnishes an orange dye, according to Coville,[383] which may have been used for basket materials. The bark is peeled from the tree in spring or scraped at other seasons, and boiled in water. Coville also states that tule strands are dyed black, and called mök'-wäs. "Ordinarily this is accomplished by immersing the tule stems in the black mud of sluggish springs containing iron. A superior color, however, is obtained by the addition of a quantity of wokas hulls, which contain a large amount of tannin. The same result is now frequently secured by these Indians by prolonged soaking of the tule stems in an iron kettle, in water containing a liberal amount of the hulls."[384]

K 531 [178]

A number of designs placed on bowls and hats were recorded (fig. 17).[385] These bear names, and according to my information, the habit of naming them antedates the whites. Decoration is generically

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[380] My notes not being altogether clear on this point, they have been corrected by Miss Isabel Kelly.

[381] *Op. cit.*, 254. Coville (Notes, 88) confirms this identification (native name, shwä'-wi-säm) and adds that the quills are obtained from the Modoc, but I see no reason why they should not obtain their own.

[382] P. 221.

[383] Notes, 94.

[384] Wokas, 737; Notes, 92.

[385] These are arranged so that the rim of the basket must be understood to be above the design, that is, in the order of their manufacture. My notes are uncertain whether figure 17i is correctly placed.

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531 soma'lwas, to draw, to design. The Klamath gave me to understand
285 that these figures are in no sense representative nor symbolical. The names are solely design names for convenience of reference.

Decoration consists ordinarily of large unconnected units, leaving much background space. A basket rarely has more than one kind of design on it, although these larger units may be combined with narrow bands around the base or rim. Simple decoration sometimes appears on the bottom of the basket where it cannot be seen, but this is intelligible if we remember that in former times this was the top of the hat.

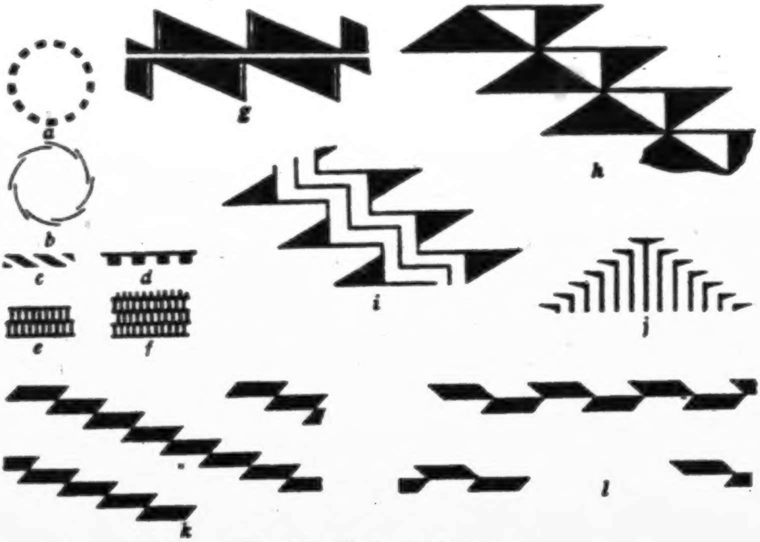

Fig. 17. Basketry designs.

Beside a few isolated self-symmetrical units, the majority of designs are arranged in bands extending obliquely upward to the left. Others are disposed as horizontal bands.

Rings around the margin of the base are called loga'ḳiomnŏtk. The solid ring is sometimes interrupted at frequent points (fig. 17*a*, *b*). Common border decorations, at either the lower margin of the side or the rim, are shown in figure 17*c*, *d*, *e*, and *f*. These are all called o'pk!ötk. Several designs are formed by a series of triangles laid as horizontal or oblique bands. One such is called motc!īks, ocean clams (fig. 17*g*), another (*h*) sawa'lsaltīs, arrowheads (from sawa'ls, arrowhead). The reason for the first name, at least, is obscure; the latter is more intelligible. One basket which carries the latter design has five triangular elements in each unit of decoration. Three such units

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*171

105

		Klamath form	*Links with:*
[285]	Mats	Extensive use	Oregon?, Northwest Coast to Columbia r., Plateau.
		Mat needle	s. Northwest Coast (and northward?), Washington, Oregon?
[281]	Tanning	Smoke-tan	Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, Wishram, Nez Percé; Basin, Plateau, Plains (and elsewhere?—probably not Northwest Coast).
[372]	Fire drill	Compound	Puget sound, Takelma, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi, Wind R. Shoshoni, Crow, Navaho, Hopi.
[415]	Spoon	Paddle	California s. to n. Miwok.
[411]	Bow	Sinew-backed	Arctic, Northwest Coast, Plateau, Washington, Oregon, California s. to Tehachapi, Basin, Southwest, w. Plains.
		Flat; constricted grip	n. w. California, Northwest Coast.
	Arrows	Stone heads	(Not the bone heads of Northwest Coast and w. Washington, where stone heads are scarce.)
[714]	Armor	Tunic	Northwest Coast, Plateau, Oregon, n. California, Basin, Southwest (and southward?).
		Slat or rod	Alaska to Maidu (Tlingit, Plateau, Oregon, Washington, n. California).
	Shield	Round	Plateau, Basin, Plains (not California).
[291]	Dress	Fringed skirt	Coast area west of Cascades-Sierras, probably Basin.
		Men: Plains shirt	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.
		Women: Plains dress	Plateau, Basin, Plains.
		Decorated band on robe	Plateau? (Wishram, Nez Percé), Plains.
		Tule slippers	Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Paviotso.
		Three-piece moccasin	Plateau (moccasins are also n. and central California, Basin, Southwest, Plains, and eastward).
		Basket hats	n. California (=Plateau type?; other types, Northwest Coast, Basin, s. California).
[302]	Hairdress	Braids for both sexes	Plateau, Plains.
	Combs	Porcupine tail	Achomawi, Northern Maidu.
[304]	Head deformation	Fronto-occipital	s. Northwest Coast to Alsea, Siuslaw, and Klamath.
	Tattooing	Women: chin lines	w. Arizona, California, Takelma (Oregon in general?). (Not Plateau? and Northwest Coast.)

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*171 on the other, were entirely absent among the Klamath. Nevertheless
556 the mechanism of the Northwest Coast for the exchange of presents,
594 the potlatch, does appear here in the form of prescribed reciprocal
visits between the families of bride and groom. It has not been clearly
recognized that these features of Northwest Coast social life have
spread even farther from that focus into the northern Plains and to
north central California.

*171 Of the slender stock of Klamath ceremonials, the scalp dance is
widely known, the war or incitement dance is common to northwestern
535 California and perhaps all of Oregon. Kroeber has pointed out that
726 so far as California is concerned scalp and war dances are mutually
exclusive in their distributions.[418] But the Klamath, like all others
*171 of eastern Oregon, carry out both dances. The girls' adolescence rite
of the Klamath is one with those of western Oregon and northern
881 California. This is a local phrasing of similar rites known from
Alaska to the Southwest, but lacking east of the Sierra-Cascades.
Specific details of the Klamath affair are closer to northern Californian
*171 forms than to those of Oregon. The Ghost dance of 1870 was
evanescent among them. Its first form was that characteristic of the
original dance of Nevada; later it was overlaid by features characteristic
of central California.[419]

177 Some historical relief emerges in this survey. It is definitely
traceable in some details and can be established inferentially for more
basic elements. The most recent stratum of adopted traits is post-reservation,
[285] i.e., later than 1865. This includes two types of basketry
derived from the Northern Paiute settled on the reservation, a sifting
[668] basket and a coiled water bucket, and the Ghost dance. The earlier
form of the Ghost dance was instituted by the same group of Paiute
in 1870 or '71. This was the familiar circle of dancers, whose leaders
[343] dreamed new regulations; its ideology the return of the dead. In
1873 a Pit River introduced central Californian elements; a dance
[534] lodge, probably the clap-stick rattle, new songs, etc. To the same
[533] stratum belongs the imitation of the Warm Springs-Yakima one-piece
moccasin.

[291] Other elements are recognized as pertaining to pre-reservation
177 days, but probably not earlier than the middle of the last century:
the hand drum derived from the north, and perhaps the social dances
534 in which it is used; the hand game brought by a Spokane (?) man.

535
[418] Kroeber, Handbook, 144, 844.
[419] Spier, Ghost Dance.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
576. Acorn gathering: men and women	•o	•o	+	+	−	•−	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
577. Men, youths climb trees	o	o	+	+	−	−	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[222]
578. Women gather, transport acorns	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
579. Pine-nut gathering: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
580. Men climb trees, knock down cones	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
581. Men and women gather cones	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
582. Women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
583. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
584. Men and women transport cones	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
585. Women only	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	
586. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
587. Men and women prepare pine nuts	−	.	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
588. Men only	+	.	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
589. Women only	−	.	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	
590. Gathering of small seeds: women only	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(−)	+	+	
591. Cooking: men and women	+	+	−						+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	
592. Women prepare, cook plant foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
593. Men only, cook meat	−	+	−						−	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	
594. Women only, cook meat	−	−	+						−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	
595. Men and women cook meat	+	−	−						•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
596. Carrying water near camp: men and women	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[312]
597. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
598. Women only	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
599. Carrying water long distance: men and women	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
600. Men only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
601. Women only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
602. Fire making: men and women	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[372]
603. Men only	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
604. Wood gathering: "kindling" wood, men and women	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
605. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	[313]
606. Women only	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	
607. Wood gathering: large logs, men and women	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
608. Men only	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
609. Women only	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Manufacturing Activities																	
610. Baskets: women only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
611. Skin, feather blankets: men and women make	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[281]
612. Men only or chiefly	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	(−)	+	+	−	+	
613. Women only or chiefly	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	[237]
614. Nets: men only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[284]
615. Cord: men and women make	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[283]
616. Men, generally	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
617. Skin tanning: men and women	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[281]
618. Men only	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
619. Women only	+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
620. Clothing: men and women make	−	−	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	[294]
621. Men only	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	
622. Women only	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	
623. Moccasins: men and women make	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
624. Men only	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	
625. Women only	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
626. Fish traps: men make	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	−	+	[227]
627. Women	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+	
628. Winter house: men and women build	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[342]
629. Men only	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
630. Summer house: men and women build	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
631. Men only	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	
632. Women only	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
412 1095. Made by recent humans	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	+	+	−
1096. Made locally	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1097. Wooden mortar	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	*+	−	+
1098. Shallow, in side of log	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*+
1099. Deep, in end of log	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1100. Pounding slab	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+
1101. Stone	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1102. Wood	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
285 1103. Hopper basket	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1104. Twined	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1105. Made for purpose	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1106. Old basket adapted	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−
412 1107. Stone pestle	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1108. Natural cobble	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1109. Cylindrical	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1110. Tapering	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1111. Maul-shaped	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1112. Flanged	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1113. At top	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1114. At bottom	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1115. Long, slender for deep wood mortar.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1116. Made	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1117. Found	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1118. Wooden pestle	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1119. Metate or grinding slab	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	*+	−
1120. Natural, oval	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	+	−
1121. Squared on 4 sides	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−
1122. Smooth (used) on 1 side only	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
1123. Muller	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
1124. Natural, oval	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1125. Made, square	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1126. Made, rectangular	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*+	*+	−	−	*+	−
1127. Made, conical (1 horn).	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1128. Made, 2-horned	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1129. Hammerstone and anvil	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1130. Hollowed anvil, for cracking acorns	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1131. Small natural rock used as anvil	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1132. "Green" acorns cracked with teeth	−	−	+					*−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
Brushes																
1133. Soaproot.	−	−	.	*+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1134. Cylindrical, bunched	−	−		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1135. Flat, like modern broom	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1136. Used for mealing	−	−	.	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1137. Porcupine quills glued together			−			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1138. Used for mealing			−			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1139. Twigs or brush, bunched	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1140. Used for mealing	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1141. Used for mashing wild fruit	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1142. Used for sweeping	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1143. Bird wing	+	+	−	−	+	.	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1144. Used for mealing	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1145. Used for sweeping	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Stirrers, Stone Lifters																
1146. Wooden paddle mush stirrer	−	−	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	(−)	−	+	+	+	+
1147. Carved	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1148. Plain	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1241. Of bone or horn	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–	.	.	324
1242. Buckskin wrapped	–		.			*+	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	.	.	
1243. Stone anvil	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	.	–	.	.	
1244. Obsidian heated before flaking	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	+	
MANUFACTURES																	
Textiles																	
Baskets: Weaves																	
1245. Coiling	–	–	–	–	*R	*–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	285 ●
1246. Number of rods	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	3	3	3	3	3	3	
1247. "Triangular" (bunched)	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1248. Clockwise, looking into basket	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	
1249. In bowl-type basket	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	
1250. In flat trays	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	+	–	
1251. Counterclockwise, looking into basket	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	+	
1252. In bowl-type basket	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	
1253. In flat trays	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	+	
1254. Weaving proceeds toward left of worker	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1255. Awl enters outside (bowl-type basket)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1256. Start coiled	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	
1257. Start a knot of weft material	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	
1258. Start piece of wood	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1259. Twining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1260. Clockwise (looking into basket)	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
1261. Counterclockwise	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
1262. Weaving proceeds toward right	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	.	.	.	.	–	+	
1263. Weaving proceeds toward left	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	–	
1264. Plain: 2-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1265. 3-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	
1266. Diagonal: 2-strand	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1267. 3-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1268. Closework	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1269. Single-rod stiff warp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1270. 2-ply flexible warp	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1271. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
*1272. Lattice twining, for dress fringes only	+	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*1273. Wrapped twining	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*1274. Cross-warp twining	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1275. Ridge (V) bottom	–	+	–	–	.	*+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
***Baskets: Shapes and Uses**																	
1276. Seed beater	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	285
1277. Plain twine	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	
1278. Diagonal twine	–	–	–	–	.	*+	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	415
1279. Radiating warp, circular	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1280. Parallel warp, oval or triangular	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1281. Hoop and sticks, unwoven	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
1282. Oval, hide covering stick framework			–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1283. Openwork-bottom sifting basket	+	+	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
1284. Used as seed beater also					–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
1285. Trays	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+	+	
1286. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
1287. Diagonal twine	–	–	–	–	.	.	*+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	
1288. Closework	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
285 415 1289. Parallel warp, oval or triangular													+	+	+	+
1290. Radiating warp, circular	+	+	+	−			+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1291. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1292. Parallel warp, oval or triangular	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
1293. Radiating warp, circular	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1294. Coiled, circular	−	−	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1295. For winnowing, sifting, or parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1295a. Used as meat, fish platter	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1296. Boiling basket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1297. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1298. No decoration	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1299. Overlay designs	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1300. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1301. No decoration	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
1302. Designs	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+
1303. Necked water bottle	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1304. Diagonal twine	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1305. Pitched	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1306. Burden baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1307. Plain openwork twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
1308. True cone, pointed bottom	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1309. Truncated cone, flat bottom	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1310. Diagonal twine (at bottom only)	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	−	−
1311. Used mainly for packing wood, acorns	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1312. Plain closework twine	−	−	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1313. True cone, pointed bottom	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1314. Rounded bottom	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1315. Truncated cone, flat bottom	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1316. Diagonal twine (at bottom only)											+	+	.	.	.	.
1317. Used mainly for small seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1318. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1319. True cone	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1320. Rare	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−
1321. Coating	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
1322. Of soaproot	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1323. Of pitch	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1324. Circular storage basket, wide mouthed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1325. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1326. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Small round baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1328. Sides straight or flaring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1329. Globular	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1330. Close-twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	(+)	−	−	−	−	−
1331. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1332. Baskets used chiefly, as dishes and containers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Baskets: Decoration																
285 1333. Overlay twining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	−
531 1334. Banded woven ornament	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
1335. Sparingly used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	−	−
[237] 1336. Shell-bead decoration	−	+	+	R	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1337. Porcupine-quill decoration	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1338. Feather decoration	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1339. On sides of basket	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	285
1340. Patterns in 2 kinds of feathers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	531
1341. Patterns in 3 colors besides background	•–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+		–	–	•–	•–	–	
Cradles																	
1342. Sitting type	•–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	854
1343. "Toe" (Hupa) type	–	–	•–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1344. Shallow type	–	•+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1345. Basketry, oval outline	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1346. Vertical warps	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1347. Rod rim	–	–	–	+	+			–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	
1348. Board	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1349. Y frame	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1350. Y-kite frame	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1351. Head covering	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1352. Bed or leg rest bar at bottom	–	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1353. Lying type	•+	R	–	–	•R	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1354. Board	•+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1355. Y-kite frame	–	–	–	–	R	•–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1356. Kite frame	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
1357. Willows transverse across frame	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
1358. Basketry	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1359. Oval outline	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1360. Rectangular or triangular outline	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1361. Vertical warp	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1362. Rod rim	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1363. Soft tule bed attached	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1364. Soft tule, grass bed separate	•+	•R	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
1364a. Crossbar rest for child's legs	•+	•R	–		•R												
1365. Cradle hood	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
1366. Twined weave	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
1367. Parallel warp	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
1368. Radiating warp	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1369. Hoop or sticks, across top of cradle.	•R	•R	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1370. Buckskin draped over hoop	R	R	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1371. Pendants from top or hood	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	+	+	–	
1372. Cradle lashing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1373. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1374. Woven vegetable fiber	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1375. Cradle entirely buckskin covered	–	•R	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1376. Infant's sex indicated on cradle	+	•R	+	+	•R	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	+	[858]
1377. By hood design	–		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1378. Diagonal lines: boy	–		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1379. Zigzag line	–		–	–	R	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1380. Boy	–		–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1381. Girl	–		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1382. Diamond chain: girl	–		–	–	R	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1383. By lashing design	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1384. By position of rim rod	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	.	•+	
1385. By shape of cradle	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1386. Girl's cradle wider at bottom	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1387. Girl's cradle wider at top.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Blankets																	
1388. Woven rabbitskin blankets, made locally	–	+	–	–	o	+	+	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	281 286

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
281 1389. Woven bird-skin blankets	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
286 1390. Woven skin blankets imported only	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1391. Warp 1-ply fur or bird skin	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	.	.
1392. Warp 2-ply fur or bird skin	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	.	.
1393. String twisted in with warp	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	.
1394. Weft 2 strips of rabbit hide	−	+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	.	.
1395. Weft of vegetable-fiber string	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.
1396. Weft of bird skins and string	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.
1397. Stick to twist fur strips	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	.
1398. Plain stick	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	.	.
1399. Hooked or notched stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	.
1400. Skin, fur strips twisted on thigh	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	.	.
1401. Frame vertical (perpendicular to ground)	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1402. Warp wrapped around 2 vertical posts	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	.	.
1403. Weaving starts upward	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	.
1404. Weaving starts downward	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	.
1405. Frame horizontal (parallel to ground)	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.
Mats																
285 1406. Tule	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1407. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1408. Sewn, stems pierced	+	+	+	−	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1409. With needle	+	+	+	−	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1410. Checker, string weft	.	+	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1411. Inner bark of trees	−	[illegible]	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1412. Twined	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1413. Checker	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1414. String weft	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1415. Unspun bark-strip warp	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1416. Wooden stick bark shredder	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Cordage																
283 1417. Iris	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1418. For deer snares	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1419. Milkweed	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
1420. Nettle	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1421. Indian hemp (Apocynum)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1422. For fish lines				+		+		−	−	−	+	+	+			.
1423. Human hair	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1424. Cordage 2-ply	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1425. Plain stick to comb out fibers		+	+								+	+	+		−	+
1426. Twisted on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1427. Down thigh, then up	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1428. Down thigh only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1429. Up thigh, then down	+	+	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1430. Thumb guard of shell for fiber drawing	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	.	+	.	−
1431. Braided cord	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)
1432. Rawhide thongs			•+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
1432a. Withes of grapevine, willow, etc.	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Receptacles (Other than Baskets)																
Wood, Bark, etc.																
415 1433. Wooden meat platter	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1434. Bark meat, fish platter	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1435. Pine-bark sifter			−		+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1436. Paunch water container	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3159. Until cord drops off	–	–	–	–				–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	844
3160. Pit or trench dug	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	846
3161. Hot rocks, charcoal put in pit	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	
3162. Pit covered with grass, bark.	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	
3163. Fire direct on ground; lies beside it	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	
Treatment of Midwife																	
3164. Bathes, immediately after child born	+	+	+						+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	844
*3165. Cuts arms, later	–	–	+						+	+	–	(+)	–	–	.	–	759
Restrictions on Mother																	
‡3166. Restrictions last for ... days	5	5	–	28	–	•6	–	28	28	28	–	3	6	5	28	28	846
3167. Until blood stops flowing	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	784
3168. Until navel cord drops off	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
o3169. Bathing taboo	+	+	•±	•±	+	+	•±	•+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	•±	[515]
3170. In stream	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3171. Sweat bath	+	+	–	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3172. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3173. Eats alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[262]
3174. Fed by old woman	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3175. Uses separate receptacles	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176. Eats sparingly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176a. Fresh meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3177. Dried meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3178. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3179. Dried fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3181. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3182. Salt taboo	–	–	–	–	•–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3183. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	
3184. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	[302]
3185. Combing hair taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	.	
3186. Head, face scratcher used	•+	•+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
3187. Especially for first child.	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	
3188. Tabooed activities	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
3189. Making baskets taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
3190. Preparing food taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
‡3191. Traveling taboo ... days	5	5	–	28	–	–	–	28	28	28	–	3	6	5	28	–	[484]
3192. Until blood stops flowing or cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	
o3193. Sees no men for ... days	5	•–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	[562]
†3194. Intercourse taboo for ... months	•2	•2	•2						2	2	.	.	1	1	.	3	[834]
3195. Loud noise near child taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3196. Would make child deaf	–	+	+							–	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3197. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3198. Bathes	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	[515]
3199. Midwife or mother assists	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	[750]
3200. Medicated bath	–	–	+	+		•+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	.	–	
3201. Sweats	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[481]
3202. Swims after sweating	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Restrictions on Father																	
3203. Required for all offspring	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
3204. For first child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
3205. Retirement period	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3206. Stays with mother in hut	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3207. Must stay in own dwelling house	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	

411 single shaft, no head used for war. String attached
to arrow to retrieve. (AW: in myth Butterfly
shoots arrow with string attached; arrow-chain
motif.) Arrow poison made from blood.
[413] Arrow straighteners and smoothers.--1-piece
stone straightener with incised design, used
mainly for cane shafts; heated before using.
Shooting techniques.--Secondary arrow release.
Mongolian arrow release. Clubs and spears.--
Manufactured cylindrical stone club. Curved
rabbit club. Spear with wooden point. Spear
thrower. Daggers and armor.--Horn, wooden daggers.
[714] Bark armor. Rawhide shield, round or
rectangular.

Household Implements

412 Mortars and pestles.--Portable stone mortar,
outside natural. Coiled hopper basket; hopper
415 basket stuck fast to pounding slab with pitch.
Stone pestle with bulb end and slender body.
Metate used on both sides. Loop-handled muller.
Brushes.--Leaves glued to stick with pitch.
Porcupine tail, rodent tail for mealing. Stirrers,
lifters, spoons, knives.--Looped-stick
stirrer. 2 sticks, bound at 1 end, for stone
tongs. Horn spoon used by men only. Tortoise-shell
dipper. Gourd dipper. Rodent foot as
spoon. Cane knife.

Manufacturing Implements

413 Net shuttle, drills, fire making, mauls.--
Flat round stick, bone or horn 1-piece shuttle.
Vise for drilling: split stick, hide. Stone
bowl to carry coals. Pear-shaped stone maul;
partly shaped stone maul. Adzes, axes.--Curved-handle
adz; D-shaped-handle adz; elbow-shaped-handle
adz. Stone, bone, horn, shell blades.

MANUFACTURES

Textiles

● 285 Baskets: weaves.--Coiling: rods vertical;
rod-and-splint foundation; grass-bundle foundation.
Coiling toward right of worker. Awl
enters inside of basket. Start a piece of hide.
415 Baskets: uses and shapes.--Seed beater of wicker
weave. Deep sifter or winnower, pointed bottom,
Hupa type. Boiling basket in diagonal twine.
Necked water bottle in plain twine. Necked
water bottle with earth smeared over pitch.
Bell-shaped, Pomo-type burden basket; cylindrical
or barrel-shaped burden basket. Elliptical
coiled storage basket, Pomo type. Tulare "bottleneck"
baskets. Cylindrical side-opening
415 dance basket, Hupa type. Baskets: decoration.--
Break in banded woven ornament, to let soul out.
531 Feather decoration on rim or shoulder. Entire
basket feather covered. Patterns painted on
854 baskets. Cradles.--Deep, Pomo-type sitting

854 cradle. Y-frame, U-frame, [illegible]dder frame
lying-type cradle. Horizon[illegible]le) warp on
basketry lying cradle. Wicker weave in cradle
hood. Loose basket over head of sleeping child.
Buckskin covering on cradle partial. Sex of
child indicated by bed design. Woven skin blan-
285 kets; mats.--Checker. Weft of buckskin thongs.
Perforated stick to twist fur strips. Suspended
warp. Thumb guard of bone for shredding mat ma-
283 terial. Cordage.--Stick for twisting (1 ply at
a time). Spindle whorl.

Receptacles Other Than Baskets

415 Wood, etc.; chests, boxes; pottery.--Wooden bowl. Wooden chest. Wooden box of bent and sewed boards. Pottery vessels.

Leather Goods; Adhesives

281 Skin tanning; glue.--Fleshing or dehairing:
hide staked out with several stakes; with single
stake, other end held; with 1 end tied to tree,
other end held. Fleshed on plank. Fleshing or
dehairing tool: blunt posts; horn; shell. Tan-
ning agent: liver; wood ashes. Graining: with
381 horn. Glue from horns or hoofs; from milkweed
gum.

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

302 Coiffure; comb; care of hair.--One tie around
head, forehead level. Wooden hairpins. Bone
head scratcher as comb. Hair dyed with eel blood.
White clay on head or to wash head. Mud plaster
against lice. Hair dye in mud plaster. Hair
greased with acorn oil. Nettle roots to wash
302 head. Paint; deformations and mutilations.--
304 Face, body paints according to totem. Paint ap-
plied with brush. Mud or pitch on body for
warmth. Nasal alae pierced; lip pierced. Tattoo-
ing with bone awl. Depilation of pubic hair.
Tweezers of split cane, wood, shell. Depilation:
pitch on fingers; bone knife opposed to finger-
nail. Beard burnt off if long. Ear, nose orna-
301 ments, necklaces, etc.--Wooden ear stick, feath-
ers on end. Bone ear tube, incised. Cane or
cane pipe in ear. Cane nose ornament. Sea-lion
teeth necklace.

Dress

291 Headgear; robes; loin covering; muff.--Basket cap, for fishing with large dip net only. Feathers on net foundation for robe. Inner bark mat robe. Buffalo-fur robe. Breechclout of woven bird skins; of woven rabbitskins; of grass stems; of inner bark. Single small front apron, of fringed buckskin; with braids on cord. Double apron of woven rabbitskins. Bird-skin muff.

000 1240. SE: Ca.6 in. long.

1242. AW: Worker holds piece of obsidian he is retouching on piece of buckskin, in palm of hand; strikes off tiny flakes with flaker, which is held in other hand.

MANUFACTURES

Textiles

Baskets: weaves.--

1245. At: No coiling practiced until about 10 years ago; then some At "learned how to sew baskets from Big Meadows (local group of MM) people. Dave Brown's wife and Buckskin Jack's wife, Susie (At women) began doing it here; Susie has aunts at Big Meadows." Susie is Julie Bob's (informant's) cousin; Mrs. Bob saw Susie making coiled tray, so upon returning home she "studied how to do it, and finally made one" herself. Such tray not used by At for sifting acorn meal, as MM use it, however. AW: Aware that "Big Meadows (MM) Indians sew baskets," but no attempts made to borrow coiling technique.

● [285] 1272. 2 wefts around slat.

1273. 1 weft around slat.

1274. As border of basket, usually.

1275. AW: Specimen seen; rectangular base 4 in. wide, 8 in. long; flaring sides, 12 in. across at top; said to be old shape.

Baskets: shapes and uses.--

See also elements 230-234; 1103-1106.

1277. NS: Beaters (patai) made in both close and open twine.

1282. SW: Oval, with handle; willow frame, with hide stretched over it. In seed beater, conical hide pack "basket" (element 939), men's buckskin cap (element 1726), it is noticeable that Shasta substitute leather articles for those which their neighbors make in basketry.

1285. MM: Three types sifter used: (1) closework twined sifter, (2) circular coiled sifter. Both these used for sifting acorn meal. (3) Openwork twined sifter, used for winnowing hulls from cracked acorns. NS: Two types sifter used: (1) triangular closework twined sifter (t[illegible]le) for acorn meal; (2) openwork twined seed beater (patai) used as sifter also. Circular coiled sifter "used at Auburn (NY: correct) but not up here."

1287. AE: Triangular, diagonal-twined willow sifter used, but recognized as of Paiute origin; "pretty handy."

1294. At: Learned to make coiled trays from MM (see note 1245) but do not use them for sifting acorn meal, as MM do.

1295a. AW: Basketry platters "for rich men."

1298. SE: Plain, made of pine roots.

1299. AW: White material (Xerophyllum) that is used for overlay designs stains and "looks different" when hot water is put into basket

[193-B]

000 decorated with this overlay; therefore boiling baskets not decorated.

1303. AE: Imported, mainly, from Paiute groups adjoining AE on E, but a few also manufactured by AE. Have used them "for many years; the Paiute got that jug from a little horntoad that lives out on the desert; he had one of these, so they learned from him. Then the AE learned from the Paiute, a long time ago."

1305. AE: Some dislike expressed for pitch coating; water tastes "bitter."

1306. AW: Three types used: (1) large basket, used for transporting fine seeds. (2) large, used for carrying wood, acorns, other large objects. (3) smaller than first type and made to sit flat on ground. Used in conjunction with beater, when collecting fine seeds; during day's gathering woman dumps contents of this seed basket into larger basket of first type, which is true pack basket, and carries seeds home in latter. Distribution of such a separate seed-collecting basket probably widespread in California, but as matter not enquired into fully enough among various groups, all conical seed baskets are classed herein as pack baskets, although seldom regarded as such by those making and using them. WT: Three types used: (1) Large basket with designs on it; used for packing. (2) Large basket, used as pack basket. (3) Smaller basket with designs; used to beat seeds into. Some question as to whether third type has rounded bottom or is truncated cone, but it sits by itself at any rate.

1307-1308. AW: Refer to large pack basket used for acorns only. WT: Refers to large plain pack basket.

1309. SE: Specimens of such, attributed to Shasta, seen in display at Lassen National Park Museum. AW: Refers to small seed gathering basket (type 3; see note 1306).

1311. AW: Refers to large pack basket (type 2; see note 1306).

1312. AW, WT: Entry refers to types (1) and (3); see note 1306.

1313. SE, SW: Specimens of close-twined conical burden baskets, attributed to Shasta, seen in collection of Lassen National Park Museum, however. AW, WT: Refers to type (1) only; see note 1306.

1314. WT: Entry refers to type (3) only; see note 1306.

1315. AW: Entry refers to type (3) only; see note 1306.

1317. AW, WT: Entries refer to types (1) and (3) only; see note 1306.

Baskets: decoration.--

285 1337. Kl: Formerly used in natural color, now
531 dyed yellow. Kl, Mo: Used on "expensive" baskets
237 only.
178 1338. At: "Shiny feathers from duck's neck;
000 used sparingly. NS: Woman making feather-
decorated basket remains indoors until basket

000 completed; reason unknown. MV: Small basketry disks, used as earrings, only variety feather-decorated basketry ware.

1340. NS: Woodpecker and quail crests used. MV: Woodpecker, quail, and mallard duck feathers used.

● 285 1341. Kl: Black, white, tan; porcupine quills
531 natural color formerly; now dyed yellow. Mo:
237 Yellow, black and white, plus tan background.
178 WM, WS: Red, black, white, yellow, plus tan.
NM, NS: Red, white or tan, black. No specimens
of any 4-color baskets seen.

Cradles.--

854 1342-1352. Two types cradles entered under
elements 1342-1352 for several groups. If entry
refers to 1 of 2 types only, note records to
which entry refers. Positive entry without note
means entry applies to both types. For additional
data on use of cradles see 3263-3286. Kl: Cradles
of indeterminate type, between sitting and lying
forms; have been somewhat arbitrarily entered as
000 lying form (see 1353-1363). Mo: Indeterminate
type, like Kl, but apparently used more as sitting than lying cradles. Type (1) first cradle, for newborn babe; shallow tule basket cradle. Type (2) second cradle, for older infant; willow cradle with pointed bottom that can be stuck in ground. SE: (1) First cradle; board (see left figure). (2) Second cradle for older infant, Y-frame (see right figure). Informant emphatic

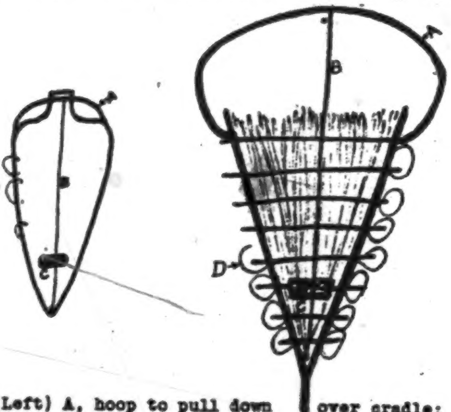

(Left) A, hoop to pull down over cradle; B, string to pull down hoop; C, grass pad over which child's legs dangle; D, lashings.

(Right) A, willow hoop; B, string to pull down hoop; C, rolled tule mat over which child's legs dangle; D, lashings.

infant sits in both types cradle, "with feet hanging down," although child could also lie down in both types. SW: Types (1), (2) for newborn infants, older infants differ only in size; both always used as sitting cradles. At: (1) soft tule cradle, used 2-3 months. (2) Same shape cradle, used for older infant. AW: (1) small cradle for newborn infant, twined, of wil-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

Families

eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food K M 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [412]
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285] •
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K M
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [364]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K M
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M
221
756
796

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

291
• 285
252
262
516

Native foods. The woman is hulling wokas with the two-horned muller. Both her winnowing tray and hat are twined from tules. Pond lily pods fill the pit in the background. (From Johnson, 1947.)

291
524
516

The stick game, Klamath versus Paiute. The two men in the center, right, are arranging two sets of "bones" beneath the bandannas, while their side sings a power song. One of the opponents then must guess the arrangement. (From Hincks, 1915.)

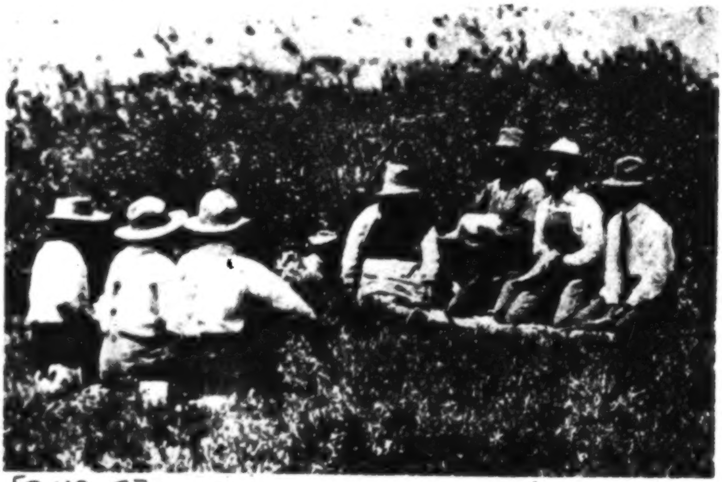

[P. 48-B]

252 868 seeds on, and then ground them up. We were in a hurry to grind the seeds and run down to the water to wash them. My mother told us we'd just waste the wokas if we did it that way. It was hard to move the grinder right to get the seeds to roll off the stone. My mother told me the stone had to be a little rough to grind the wokas right.

• 285 868 In late childhood girls also begin to learn how to make mats, baskets, and clothing.[75] Of these, mat making is considered the easiest and is the first attempted. Even in early childhood most girls try to weave tule mats. They make small dome-shaped lodges for their dolls and cover them with mats. The mother or grandmother helps the child whenever there is time. When the girl begins to make larger, more utilitarian mats, her mother gives her the materials and shows her how to use them.

In the wintertime girls sit beside their mother or grandmother as the elders make baskets. The girl is given some of the tules to split with her thumbnail and twist on her thigh. If the girl's twists come unraveled, nothing is said because the materials can be used again. The girls usually soon tire of twisting tules, and they are allowed to do as many or as few as they wish.

Small baskets are made for girls, and often the first basket a girl makes by herself is a tiny one for her dolls. The mother or grandmother starts the basket and shows the girl how to weave it. If the girl's baskets keep coming unraveled, she is teased a little and watched till she gets it correctly. Later the girl makes larger baskets with designs in tule root or porcupine quills. Certain designs are known as "beginners' designs" because they are simple to make. Other designs are much more complex, in particular those which adorn the basket hats. Few girls learn to make the large decorated baskets before they reach maturity. A girl often learns basketry from her mother-in-law.

291 593 Clothing for the entire family is made by the mother. In pre-white times dress for the wealthy was of the Plains type. Poorer people wore skirts of tule or buckskin and went barefoot. Capes of tule or shredded sagebrush bark were also worn. Very young children went naked. The mother prepares the tules and other materials for skirts and capes, and she is the one to tan and sew hides for skin clothing.

294 868 The making of clothes is one of the last skills a girl acquires before marriage. In fact, some do not learn the art until after that time. Hides are so valuable that the mother does not want to risk having the girl spoil one.

224 868 Most boys in late childhood aspire to become good hunters. Game food is far less important in the Klamath diet than fish or wokas, and

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[75] For descriptions of these materials and techniques of manufacture, see Coville (1897), pp. 89-95, Barrett, pp. 253-257, Spier, pp. 173-193, 207-217, and Voegelin, elements 1285-1341, 1388-1416, 1451-1476, 1713-1957a.

M K 342 in depth. Its conical roof of poles was covered with mats and brush and finally with a thick layer of earth. One of these lodges was sometimes as much as forty or fifty feet in diameter and from fifteen to twenty feet high. There was no door in the ordinary sense of the term, but the house was entered through an opening near the apex of the roof, which served the double purpose of door and smoke hole. To enter it was necessary to walk up on the sloping conical roof to the opening and climb down by means of a vertical ladder inside, or by means of steps cut into the center pole itself. In either case the steps were holes cut entirely through a vertical log. M K [354] These houses are said to have been so warm that little heating was required. A small fire in the morning was sufficient for the day and another small fire in the evening heated it to a comfortable temperature which was maintained during the greater part of the night.

The summer house is a small structure of the "wickiup" or brush hut type (pl. 11, fig. 1). In most cases it is elliptical, or rectangular in ground plan, the axes of the ellipse or rectangle being anywhere from five by ten to ten by twenty-five feet. It is usually sufficiently high to permit one to stand erect in the center. It has sides which slope very abruptly to the ground, and a comparatively flat top. The framework is of willow poles stuck into the ground and brought together along the ridge-pole, to which they are bound securely. Cross pieces are bound along the sides to hold the poles in place. Three coats of matting are placed over this framework as a covering. The inner layer is of mats made of a kind of reed (pl. 25). Over this is placed a covering of mats made of the triangular stemmed tule, *Scirpus robustus* (pl. 23). M K 285 342 On the outside is a layer of mats made of the circular-stemmed tule, *Scirpus lacustris* (pl. 24). These last are made by sewing the tule together with a number of parallel strings, except along the two ends of the mat, where ordinary twining of the tule is used. This twining at the two ends assists in holding the whole mat more securely together and prevents the sewing from tearing out. It is said by the Indians that if an ordinary mat made with tule warp and nettle string twining as weft, or with tule warp and tule twining as weft, were placed on the outside, it would leak more readily than the mat made by

Modoc NS17

sewing through the tule, as the water would run down the tule M
to the twining and there begin to soak in. In the sewed mat the K
water never leaves the straight stem of the tule but runs directly 285
down to the ground. These mats are often made sufficiently wide 342
to cover the side of a small house, and are always so placed that the tule stems run up and down the side of the house. On large houses it is necessary to have two or more courses after the manner of shingles. All these mats are bound to the framework of the structure by means of poles passing horizontally. This summer or temporary house is made with a door opening at the end. The smoke escapes through a slit along the ridge-pole.

With the summer house there is always a sun shelter made of poles covered with boughs, tule mats, or long weeds or grasses. This structure is usually near the temporary summer dwelling, and under it the meals are served and the greater part of the work of the women is done. Temporary summer houses and sun shelters are still found among the Klamath, but the permanent earth lodge is a thing of the past.

There are two other structures in use in this region, the two M
forms of sudatory. The ordinary sweathouse, the one most commonly K
used, is a very small dome-shaped structure, as shown in 343
figure 1, covered with tule mats. These mats, or nowadays blankets, may form a permanent covering for the house, or may be put on it only when a sweat bath is being taken. These little structures range from four to eight feet in diameter and from three to four M
feet in height. The entrance is a K
small opening, just outside of [354]
which is the fireplace for heating the stones to make the steam for the bath. Inside, at the rear of the sweathouse, is a small pit, one or two feet in diameter and six or eight inches deep. This pit is filled with the heated stones above mentioned, which in themselves provide considerable heat and when the steam arises as water is thrown on the hot stones, a profuse perspiration is caused. The heat is conserved by carefully closing all crevices about the sweathouse. After remaining for some minutes in the steam and heat, the bather runs out and

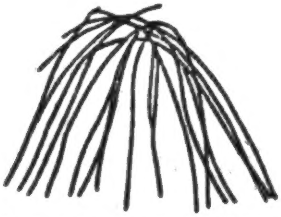
Fig. 1.—Framework of Sudatory.

Another stone implement is the single-grooved, flat-bottomed K 412
arrow straightener, such as is shown in pl. 21, fig. 9. A perforated wooden arrow straightener, of the form shown in fig. 5 of the same plate, is still used.

Implements of obsidian and of flint are common. Arrowheads K
and large spear points, as also knives which were formerly fitted 411
into wooden handles, are yet to be found. These points are found [172]
by the Indians in various parts of the country where they have K
been used and left by former inhabitants. They are chiefly [755]
employed at present as charms in medicine and gambling. A [525]
gambler may take a large obsidian knife or spear point and, after
singing the proper song, place it under the large tule mat upon [304]
which the game is being played, to insure good luck. In addition to their use in medicine as charms they are also employed for purposes of scarification.

Stone pipes of several forms (pl. 22, figs. 8, 9, 10) are still K
used. The discoidal form shown in figure 10, which is quite un- 276
usual for the Pacific slope, appears to have been less used in aboriginal times than the obtuse-angled form shown in figure 8.

GAMES.

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The Lutuami, like most aboriginal peoples, had many games K
for both adult and young. It will not be necessary to go into 524
details here, as the subject has been treated by Dr. George A. 114
Dorsey[a] and Mr. Stewart Culin.[b]

BASKETRY.

The basketry of the Klamath and Modoc, which is always M
twined, may be classified under two heads: soft or pliable basketry K
and stiff or rigid basketry. The former predominates very 285
largely and all the finer baskets are made in this manner. The materials used for this sort of basketry are as follows. The skin of the leaves of the cat-tail tule forms the white material which is
used as the groundwork of almost all of the finer baskets. The M K [113]

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[a] Certain Gambling Games of the Klamath Indians, Amer. Anthr., n. s. III, 14-27, 1901.

[b] Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., 136, 247, 291, 328, 479, 550, 659, 740, 1907.

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skin of the circular tule is also used for the same purpose. It may be so cured as to have a greenish or a yellowish color. It may also be dyed by means of a mixture of blue mud and wokas shucks to a dead black. All this material is used as weft, the warp being the twisted brown skin of the circular tule. The unfinished basket shown in pl. 14, fig. 2, illustrates the uses of these weft and warp materials. Designs are usually worked out in the reddish brown roots of the tule, though the outer leaf skin of a certain jointed rush which provides a shiny, creamy white material is also used. For the finer baskets the quills of the porcupine, dyed yellow by means of a yellow moss, probably the widely used *Evernia vulpina*, are used. Baskets of this soft type are made in many different forms. Particularly of note are the cap (pl. 18, figs. 9-12), and the large flat parching and sifting basket, pata (pl. 11, fig. 3); also the large gambling tray (pl. 11, fig. 2), which differs from the parching and sifting tray in that it is made of white material instead of brown and is finely decorated in one or more of the different color materials. The flat baskets used for parching and sifting purposes are almost always made with the brown tule for weft as well as warp, and are usually very simply ornamented. The use of this sifting basket is shown in pl. 12.[10] In fig. 1 is shown the actual process of grinding wokas on to the basket, and in fig. 2 the process of sifting. Soft baskets of various other forms are shown in pl. 15 and in pl. 18, figs. 1-8. In addition to these soft baskets made of twisted tule fiber, the Klamath make many larger and coarser baskets of unsplit tule. Notable among these are more or less conical burden baskets, which are sometimes made with hoops, and which usually have four rods running vertically along the outer surface in such a manner as to make a sort of wooden framework.[11] The large, flat, straight-walled storage baskets (pl. 14, fig. 4) are usually made entirely of tule, in the three-strand braided weave, though plain twining is also sometimes used. These are used for storing such foods as dried berries and fish. From the unsplit tule also are made mats, above described, which are one of the most characteristic things among

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[10] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 7.

[11] *Ibid.*, pl. 8.

the Klamath. These mats may be made with both warp and K
weft of tule in plain twining, though the best mats are made 285
with nettle-string weft.

Tule is also used in making one form of quiver, such as that M
shown in pl. 20, fig. 1. It is said that these tule quivers were used K
chiefly by people of moderate means, the more well-to-do class 285
having quivers made of skin. Tule caps such as that shown in 411
pl. 17, fig. 6, were worn by the men. For summer wear moccasins
of buckskin, such as that shown in pl. 17, fig. 5, were always used, M
but for winter wear moccasins of tule (pl. 17, figs. 2, 4, and pl. K
19, fig. 2) were employed. A layer of dry grass was placed in the 291
bottom to make them warm, and it is said that one might in the
dead of winter walk with comparative comfort through marshes
where the water is extremely cold. With these tule moccasins
are worn tule leggings, such as that shown in pl. 17, fig. 3.
Another form of footwear is the circular snow-shoe of wood and
rawhide (pl. 17, fig. 1). A similarly shaped but somewhat smaller
shoe is worn in wading about in the mud of the marshes. The
women also wore a cape or, more properly speaking, a blanket,
made of shredded tule or of sage-brush bark, or of a combination
of the two. Where the wokas grows close in shore, and where M
the water is shallow and other conditions such as a moderately K
hard bottom are favorable, the women often drag about canoe- 285
shaped baskets or rafts, as they might be called (pl. 19, fig. 3), 222
into which the wokas is gathered. The weight of the wokas of
course sinks the basket down partially below the surface of the
water, but it always manages to keep sufficiently above water to
prevent the wokas from floating away.

Another special implement used in harvesting the water-lily
is the spoon-shaped basket shown in pl. 13, fig. 2.[12] After the
dehiscence of the pods of the water-lily the seeds with their
coating form a mucilaginous mass which floats on the surface of
the water. This mass is scooped up with the spoon and placed
in a basket in the canoe. These seeds, called spö̆kwaš, are kept
in water until used, since they lose their flavor if allowed to dry. M

Another use for tule is in the making of rafts. While the dug- K
out canoe above described was the chief means of traveling from 501
[726]

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[12] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

M K 501 [726] place to place, a tule raft was sometimes used, particularly by war parties. Several large bundles of tule, sometimes two feet in diameter and eight or ten, or even fifteen feet in length, were lashed together to form a raft. It is said to have been propelled by lying down along the edges and really swimming the raft by dipping the hands into the water with a motion similar to that used in paddling.

M K • 285 415 [262] One of the most characteristic features of the culture of the region is the flat triangular platter made of tule and used for serving food, particularly broiled or otherwise cooked fish and roasted meat. Such trays are shown in pl. 13, figs. 1, 4, 6, and vary greatly in size. Circular baskets of coarse tule, such as that in fig. 3 of the same plate, are more rarely found. Occasionally they are bound about the rim with a hoop. More or less flat trays of several other forms are also used. One such tray is shown in fig. 5 of the same plate.

M K 285 415 222 Though not used at the present time, a tule sack was formerly made for the transportation and storage of wokas. This sack was made of unsplit tule, but was of sufficiently close weave to prevent the wokas from running through. These sacks were sometimes made so large that when filled with the wokas seed, which is comparatively light in weight, they were so heavy that a man of ordinary strength, or a woman, would not attempt to carry more than one at a time.

M K 285 [171] There are several forms of rigid baskets made with willow or other sticks, particularly the conical burden basket (pl. 16, fig. 3) which was used largely in gathering foods such as wild plums; and the flat, more or less triangular, openwork basket with a handle (pl. 16, figs. 1 and 2),[13] used as a sieve and as a grater as well as a general receptacle. In the loop handle this basket differs from most of those of similar form found in various parts of California. It is used for sifting the wokas after drying, the seeds passing through the interstices of the basket, and separating from the larger fragments of the pods. Also camass, ipos, and other roots and tubers are rubbed on this basket in order to grate off or scrape off the skin of the tuber. In addition to being made of round willow stems, these baskets are also made of the split roots

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[13] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

of the juniper (pl. 16, fig. 1). More or less globose or flatly M
cylindrical rigid baskets are used for general storage purposes. K
A seed-beater used in harvesting the seeds of grasses and flower- 285
ing plants, and a fish trap of special form (pl. 19, fig. 1) are also
made of rigid willow stems. Dilapidated willow burden baskets M
are used in warding off the effects of thunder. Such a basket is K
placed on top of a high pole set near a dwelling in order that [821]
no bad effects may come from the rumbling thunder overhead.

FIRE-MAKING.

The fire-making apparatus used by the people of this region M
is the usual drill, the upright twirler being made of an ordinary K
stick with a piece of very dry willow root bound at its end instead 372
of a single piece of wood as in most regions. This piece of willow root twirled in a base block of cedar soon creates sufficient heat to generate the fire. The twirler must always be carried so as to keep it very dry, but the cedar base block needs no special care. In fact the canoe paddle, which is always made of cedar, may be used as a base block. A cup for fire-making is cut at a point either near the end of the handle or near the junction of the blade and handle and just above the line where the paddle is dipped into the water. The paddler, therefore, always has the base block to his fire drill with him. Connected with fire is the torch made of tightly bound dry sage-brush bark (pl. 22, fig. 1), which is employed whenever a portable light is needed.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The people of this region, particularly the older people, are M
noticeable for the deformation of their heads. The head is K
flattened usually from directly above the eyebrows, for some
distance back, in some cases even to the very top of the head. 304
The back of the head also is flattened and in extreme cases the
front and back flattening meet to form a sharp peak at the top M
of the head. This flattening was done while the child was in the K
cradle. For a short time after birth the infant was lashed into a 304
soft tule cradle. After some days the child was placed in a cradle 854
such as that shown in pl. 14, fig. 3, made of more rigid materials.
In order to keep the head from bobbing about as the mother

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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K walked with the cradle on her back, it was bound down with a
piece of buckskin, and there was in some cases a harder material
304 used in connection with the buckskin, such as a small piece of
854 board, or a piece of willow basketry. These headbands were, of
course, properly padded to prevent actual injury to the child's
head, but the pressure was sufficient and was so adjusted that it
caused a decided flattening of both the front and back of the
M head. The younger generation has not been subjected to this
K cradle treatment and does not show the flattening, but among the
[178] older Klamath and Modoc the flattening is very pronounced.
M K Probably due to the influence of the Shoshonean peoples to the
854 east, the cradle board finds some use among the Lutuami, but the
177 woven tule and willow cradles are typical of the region.

M In addition to the various articles of dress mentioned in speak-
K ing of the uses of tule, the Klamath and Modoc make a belt
291 either from the fiber of the inner bark of certain trees or from
286 human hair. These are worn by the women in every-day dress.
Plate 17, fig. 7, shows one of these belts of fiber.

287 As a brush for dressing the hair the tail of the porcupine is
M used (pl. 22, fig. 2). Usually the longer spines are removed and
K the skin of the tail is then stuffed either with shredded tule or
302 with shredded sage-brush bark. In dressing the hair the brush
237 is drawn through it directly against the points of the spines,
which, as may be seen from the illustration, lie almost flat.

K As before mentioned the Klamath have many vegetable foods
262 in addition to the wokas. Most of these are derived from small
plants, but the pine furnishes one. The inner bark of some of
the species of pine is much esteemed as a food and there is a
[237] special implement used in taking it. This knife-like bone imple-
ment (pl. 22, fig. 5) is used in separating the inner from the
outer bark, and is usually made from a deer rib or from a rib
of one of the other large animals.

SUMMARY.

M The Klamath and Modoc people possess a specialized culture,
K due largely to the extensive use of tule in the making of houses,
285 basketry, and various utensils. The only baskets made of a
harder material are conical burden baskets, triangular sifters, a

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fish basket, and one or two others. Twining is the only technique K
used, all coiled baskets coming from this region being extraneous
to the true native culture. The majority of the conical burden 285
baskets made of willow or hazel which are in use among the [139]
Klamath are made by themselves, though they do purchase from
the Shasta to the southwest a burden basket which is more nicely
finished than their own. M

Together with this very specialized tule culture, resulting K
from the life of the people upon the immediate lake shore, go 105
water foods, particularly wokas and fish, and the special imple- 22
ments devoted to the gathering of the wokas and to the capture 415
of various animals, birds, and fish. Such for instance are the [133]
peculiar duck arrow, the large dip-net, the net used at night in [184]
connection with a light in the canoe for catching ducks and other
water birds, the many-pointed fish spear, the two forms of bone [501]
hooks, the dug-out canoe, and the forked pole for propelling it
in shallow water. The peculiar stone implements, such as the [276]
two-horned muller, L-shaped and discoidal pipes, and triangular
net-sinker, are also noteworthy.

The specialization of culture in this region is very striking M
indeed when it is compared with the culture of surrounding K
peoples, as for instance, the Paiute to the east, where coiled
basketry predominates and tule work is almost unknown, and 105
with that of the Indians of the Upper Columbia river region to 101
the north, whose culture was very largely influenced by the 171
buffalo or plains Indian culture. A comparison with the Oregon Indians is difficult not only because the Oregon cultures are comparatively little known, but because the majority of Oregon Indians, owing to their habitat, showed either a coast or a desert culture, which is not readily comparable with the inland lake environment and culture of the Klamath and Modoc. The Indians in certain respects most similar to the Lutuami in culture lived down the Klamath river in the northwestern part of California. Here are found such things as the stone maul and the large triangular fish net. Here also the basketry is entirely twined and in a large measure of comparatively soft materials; and the willow or hazel burden baskets are very similar in their general appearance, form, and particularly in the border finish.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 11.

Fig. 1.—Summer house of tule mats.

Fig. 2.—Gambling tray of soft tule materials. Museum number 1-12732. Diameter 60 cm.

Fig. 3.—Flat basket of soft tule materials, for parching and sifting. Museum number 1-12465. Diameter 67 cm.

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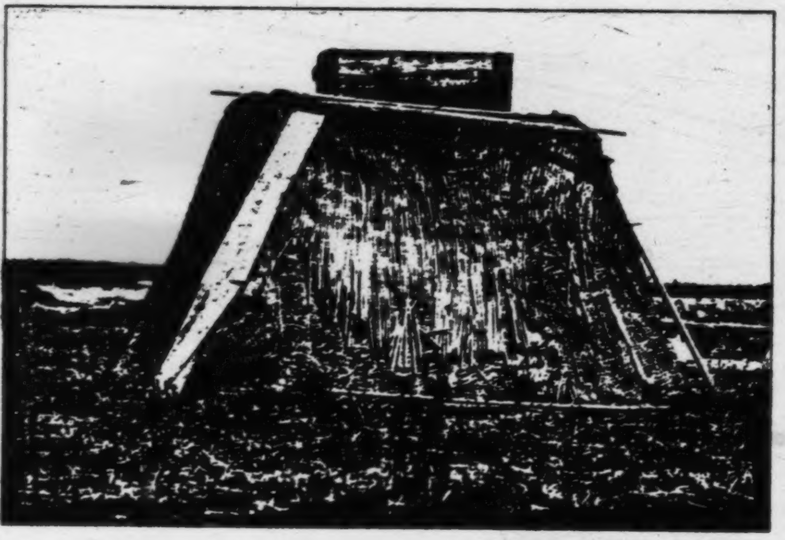

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SUMMER HOUSE.

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BASKETRY TRAYS FOR GAMBLING AND SIFTING.

[p. 265]

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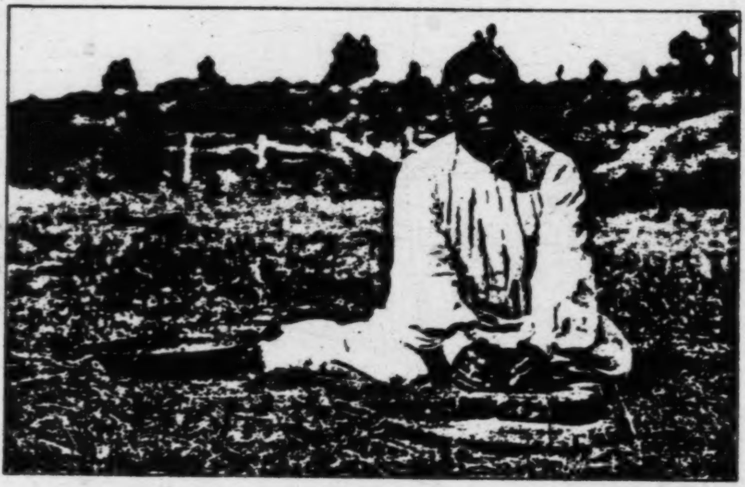

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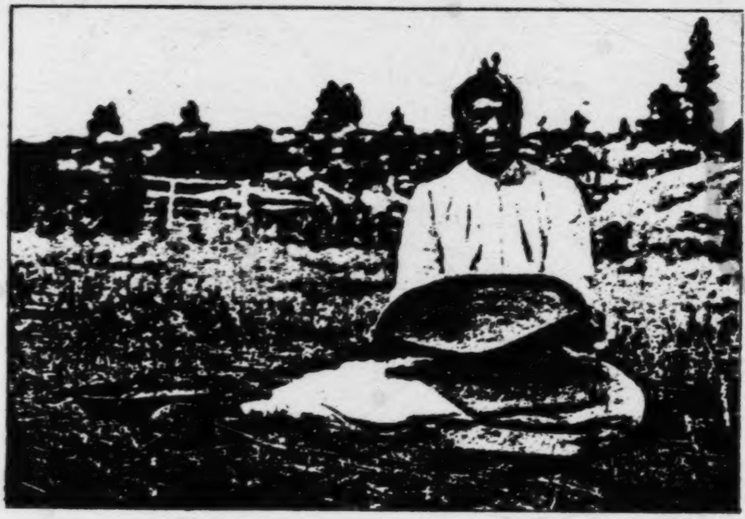

2

GRINDING AND SIFTING WOKAS SEEDS.

[p. 267]

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 13.

Fig. 1.—Triangular platter of tule basketry in plain twining. Used for serving food and for fanning coals in parching wokas. Museum number 1-12693. Length 31 cm.

Fig. 2.—Spoon of tule basketry, used for gathering floating wokas seeds. Museum number 1-12772. Length 38 cm.

Fig. 3.—Flat circular basket of tule used as a food tray. Museum number 1-14295. Diameter 43 cm.

Fig. 4.—Triangular platter of tule basketry in plain twining. Used for serving food. Museum number 1-12695. Length 72 cm.

Fig. 5.—Two-handled tray of tule basketry. Museum number 1-14125. Length 64 cm.

Fig. 6.—Triangular platter of tule basketry in plain twining. Used for serving food. Museum number 1-14272. Length 34 cm.

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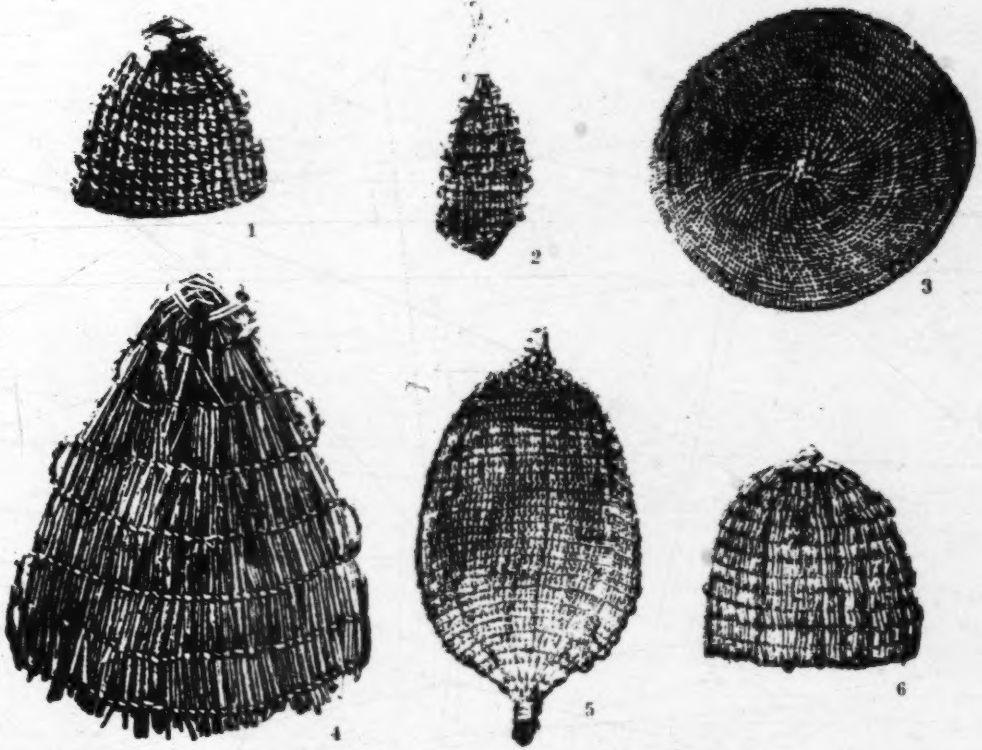

FOOD RECEPTACLES AND DIPPER OF TULE BASKETRY.

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5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 14.

Fig. 1.—Pouch of plain twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-14293. Length 27 cm.

Fig. 2.—Unfinished basket of soft tule materials, in plain twining, showing nature of warp and weft. Museum number 1-12230. Diameter 34 cm.

Fig. 3.—Cradle of tule. Museum number 1-12676. Length 58 cm.

Fig. 4.—Storage basket in three-strand braiding, warp and weft of tule. Carried also in the canoe as a receptacle for fish taken from the net. Museum number 1-14286. Diameter 35 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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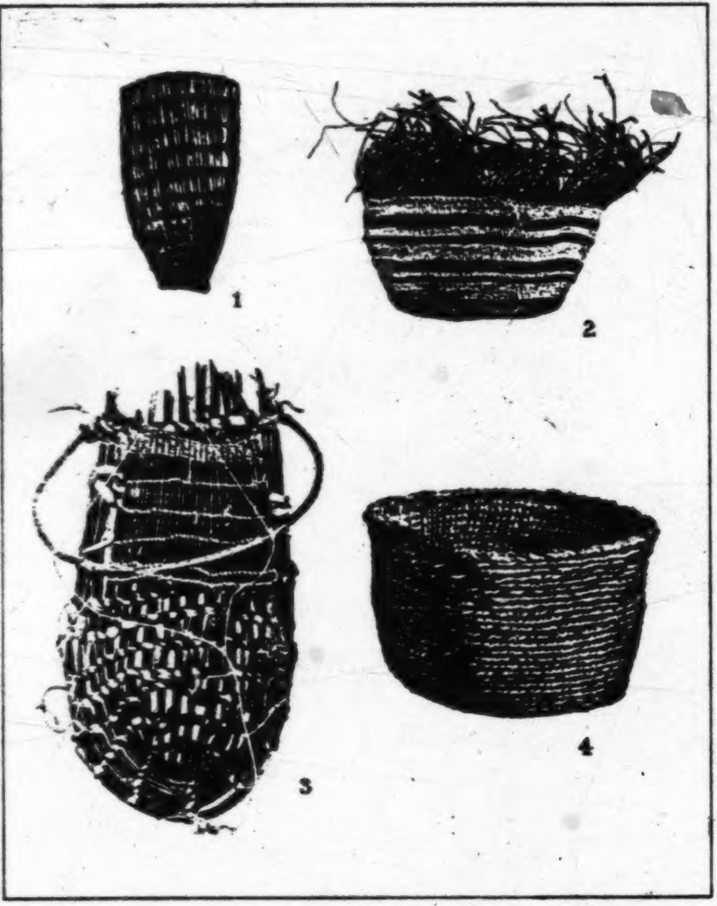

POUCH, CRADLE, AND BASKETS OF TULE.

[p. 271]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10 •
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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 15.

Fig. 1.—Plain-twined basket of soft tule materials. Museum number 1-14244. Diameter 35 cm.

Fig. 2.—Plain-twined basket of soft tule materials. Museum number 1-9171. Diameter 25 cm.

Fig. 3.—Plain-twined basket of soft tule materials. Museum number 1-14245. Diameter 55 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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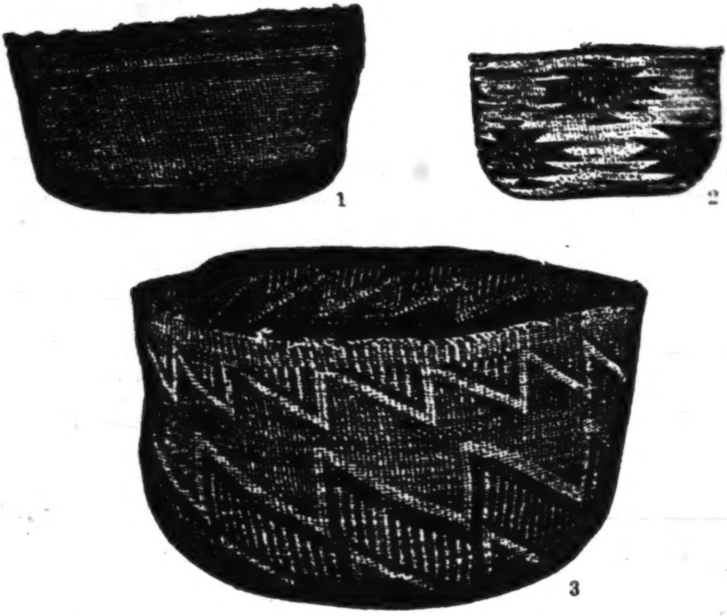

BASKETS OF TULE.

[p. 273]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 16.

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[252]

Fig. 1.—Triangular openwork basket in plain twining of juniper root splints, used as a general receptacle; also as a sifter for wokas seeds and as a grater to remove the skins of roots and tubers. Museum number 1-12314. Length 82 cm.

Fig. 2.—Similar basket made of willow sticks. Museum number 1-12630. Length 75 cm.

Fig. 3.—Conical burden basket made in plain twining of rigid materials. Museum number 1-12391. Diameter 53 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

UNIV. CAL. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETH. VOL. 5 PL. 16

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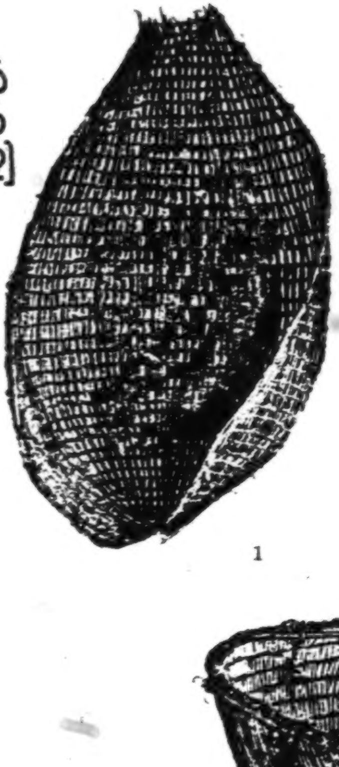

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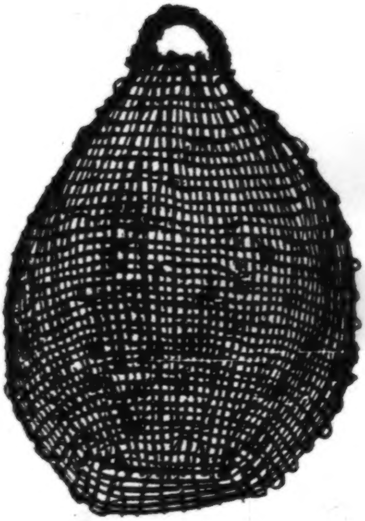

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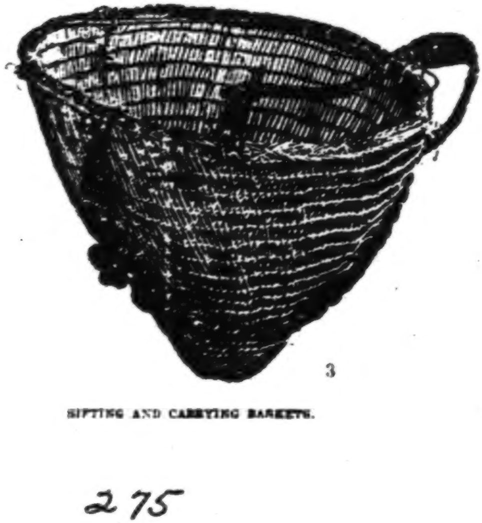

3

SIFTING AND CARRYING BASKETS.

275

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 17.

Fig. 1.—Snowshoe made of a hoop and strips of skin. Museum number 1-12633 b. Length 41 cm.

Fig. 2.—Man's moccasin of plain twined tule basketry, for winter wear. Museum number 1-12839 a. Length 42 cm.

Fig. 3.—Legging of plain twined tule. Museum number 1-12774. Length 44 cm.

Fig. 4.—Woman's moccasin of plain twined tule, for winter wear. Museum number 1-12773 a. Length 45 cm.

Fig. 5.—Buckskin moccasin for summer wear. Museum number 1-12508 b. Length 25 cm.

Fig. 6.—Man's cap or sunshade of plain twined tule. Museum number 1-12838. Length 28 cm.

Fig. 7.—Woman's belt made of strips of bark fiber. Museum number 1-14138. Length 86 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

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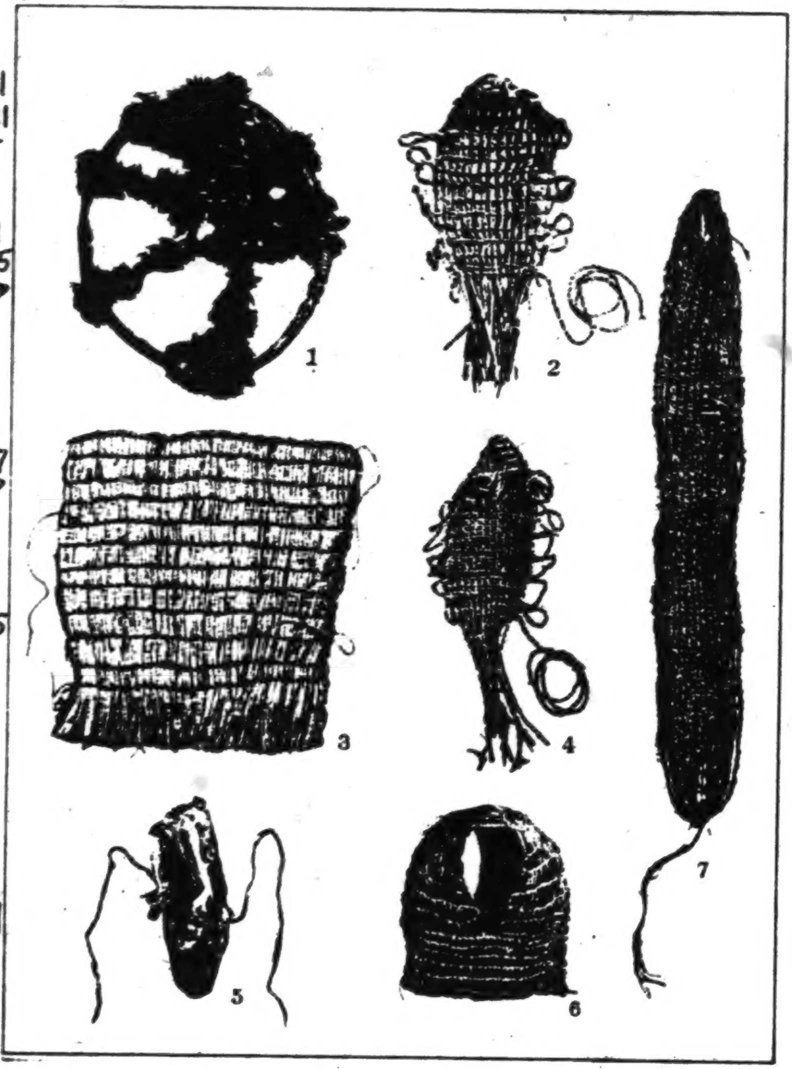

SNOWSHOE, MOCCASIN, LEGGING, CAP, AND BELT.

[p. 277]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10 ●
Modoc NS17

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415
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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 18.

Fig. 1.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12385. Diameter 20 cm.

Fig. 2.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12469. Diameter 17 cm.

Fig. 3.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12688. Diameter 14 cm.

Fig. 4.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12461. Diameter 14 cm.

Fig. 5.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12460. Diameter 21 cm.

Fig. 6.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12459. Diameter 21 cm.

Fig. 7.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12802. Diameter 24 cm.

Fig. 8.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-14229. Diameter 19 cm.

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Fig. 9.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-12738. Diameter 22 cm.

Fig. 10.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-14230. Diameter 18 cm.

Fig. 11.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-12561. Diameter 22 cm.

Fig. 12.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-12335. Diameter 20 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

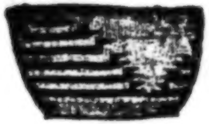
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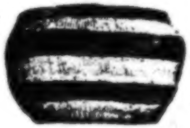
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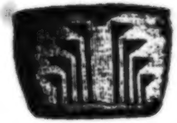
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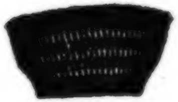
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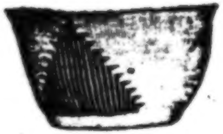
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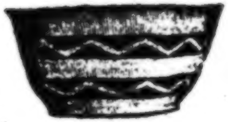
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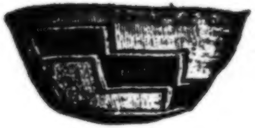
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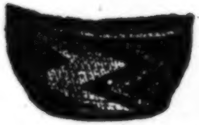
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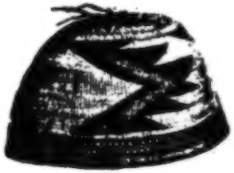
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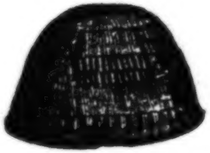
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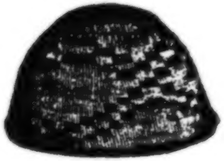
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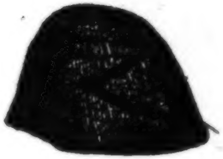
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BASKETS AND BASKETRY HATS.

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[p 279]

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 19.

Fig. 1.—Fish-trap of plain-twined basketry. The warp consists of willow rods. Museum number 1-12247. Length 89 cm.

Fig. 2.—Tule moccasin for winter wear, in use.

Fig. 3.—Large canoe-shaped basket of tule, in openwork-plain twining, used as a floating receptacle in gathering wokas pods. Museum number 1-12639. Length 141 cm.

5: **Barrett** E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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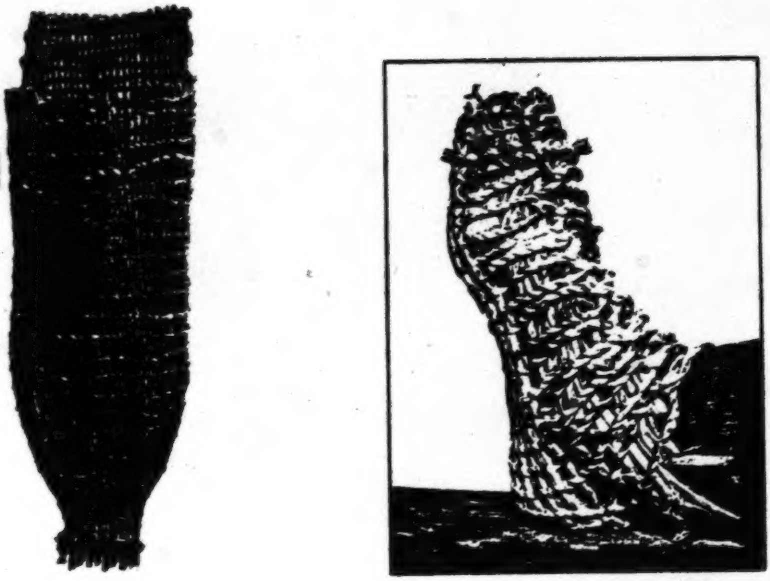
1 2

FISH TRAP AND TULE MOCCASIN.

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3

BASKET FOR GATHERING WOKAS.

[p.281]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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[285]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 20.

Fig. 1.—Quiver of tule, plain-twined. Museum number 1-12719. Length 81 cm.

Fig. 2.—Hunting arrows with shafts of cane and points of mountain mahogany. The points are ringed in order to cause the arrows to skip along the surface of the water. Museum numbers 1-12776 b, c, k. Length 88 to 96 cm.

Fig. 3.—Feathered hunting arrows with shafts of cane and points of mountain mahogany. Museum numbers 1-12812 a, b, c. Length 81 to 85 cm.

Fig. 4.—Unbacked wooden bow. The outer side is shown. Museum number 1-12646. Length 105 cm.

Fig. 5.—Unbacked wooden bow. The inner side, which is shown, is painted. Museum number 1-12868. Length 109 cm.

Fig. 6.—Unbacked wooden bow. The outer side is shown. Museum number 1-12867. Length 100 cm.

5: **Barrett** **E-5** **(1907)** **1910**
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17 •

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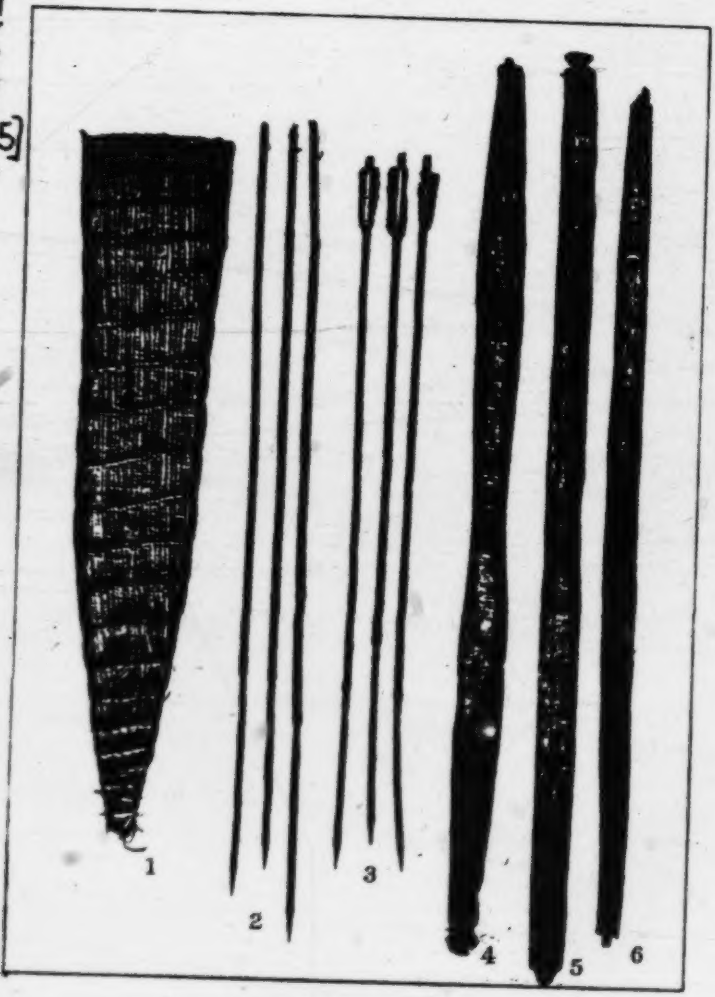

QUIVER, ARROWS, AND BOWS.

[p.283]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 23.

Part of plain-twined mat of stems of tule, *Scirpus robustus*, used as the middle layer of the matting which covers houses. Museum number 1-12653. Distance between courses of nettle string weft 7 cm. Size of mat, 156 × 240 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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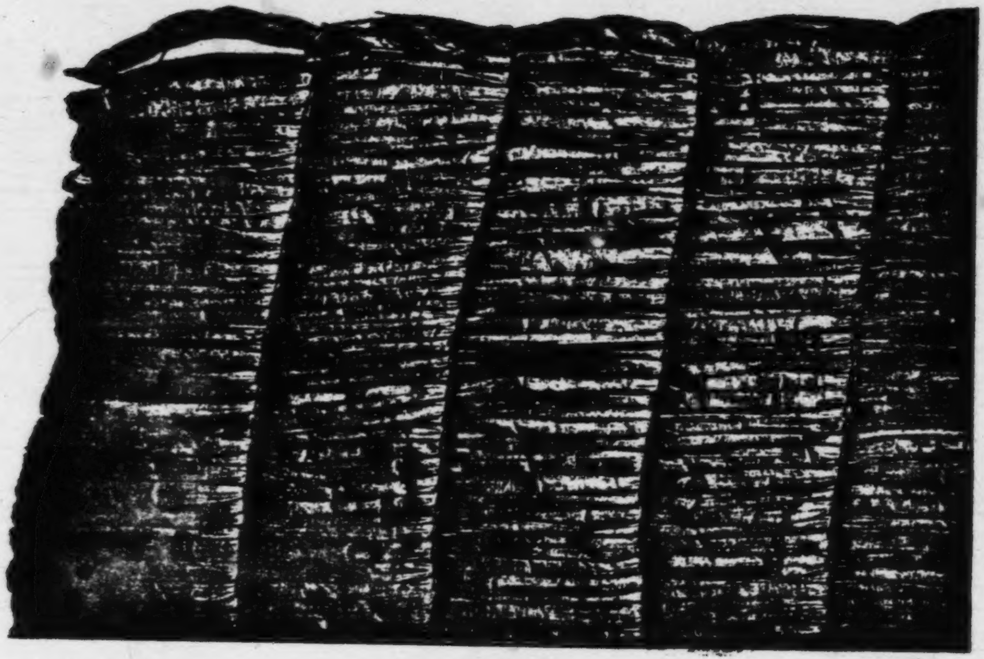

TULE MAT.

[p. 289]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910

NR10 Klamath NR10 ●

Modoc NS17

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 24.

Part of large mat of tule, *Scirpus lacustris*, sewn together with parallel strings. By sewing instead of twining the water is prevented from entering the house thatch, of which this mat forms the outer layer. At the edge of the mat, twining of tule fiber is used. Museum number 1-12781. Size of mat, 166 × 300 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

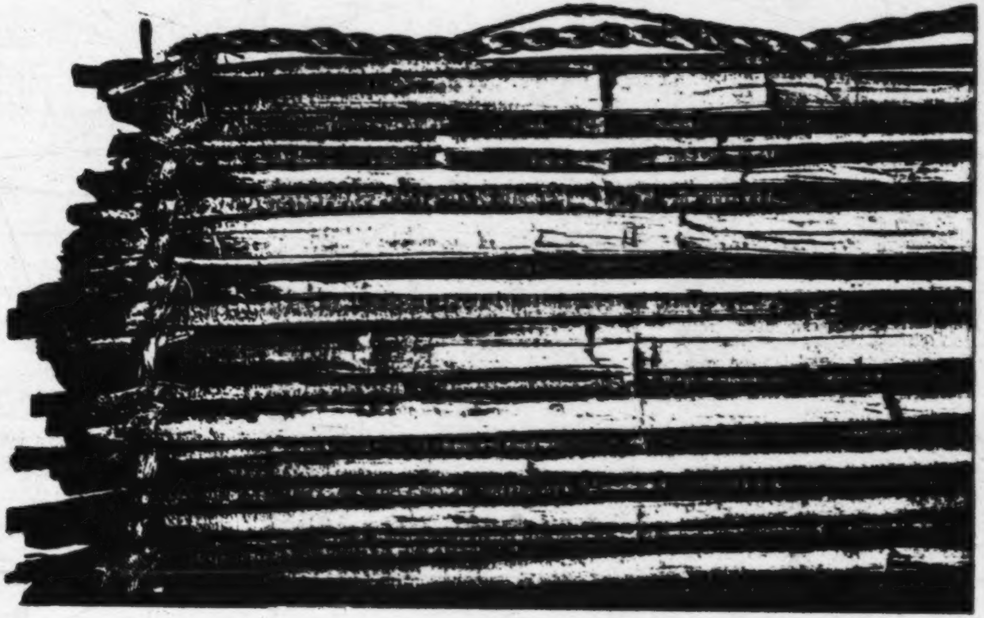

TULE MAT.

[p.291]

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5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 25.

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Part of a mat made in plain twining of reed. Used as the inner layer of the covering of houses. Museum number 1-12554. Distance between courses of weft 11 cm. Size of mat, 143 × 390 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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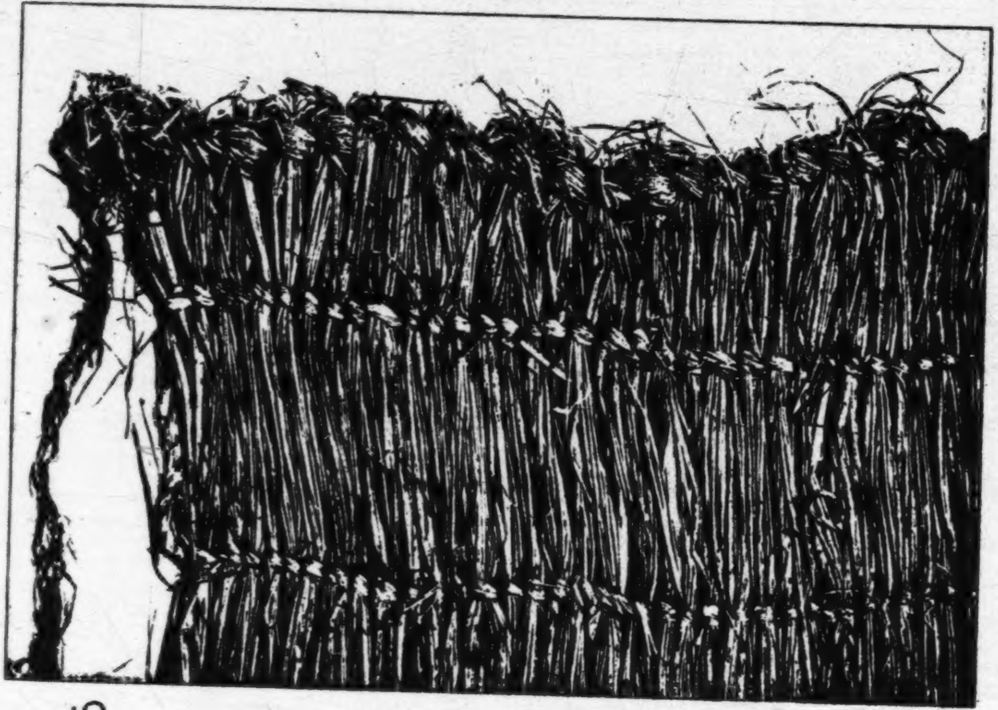

MAT OF REEDS.

[p.293]

137 the Cascade Range and its more humid atmosphere the less vegetation is developed. The lake shores and river banks, when not marshy, produce the cottonwood tree and several species of willows, and the hills are covered with the yellow or pitch pine and the less frequent western cedar. In the western parts of the Reservation large tracts are timbered with pitch pine, which seems to thrive exceedingly well upon the volcanic sands and detritus of the hilly region. These pines (kō'sh) are about one hundred feet in height, have a brownish-yellow, very coarse bark, and branch out into limbs at a considerable height above the ground. They stand at intervals of twenty to fifty feet from each other, and are free from manzanita bushes and other undergrowth except at the border of the forest, leaving plenty of space for the passage of wagons almost everywhere. A smaller pine species, *Pinus contorta* (kápka, in Modoc k̲úga), which forms denser thickets near the water, is peeled by the Indians to a height of twenty feet when the sap is ascending, in the spring of the year, to use the fiber-bark for food. Up high in the Cascade Range, in the midst of yellow pines, grows a conifera of taller dimensions, the sugar-pine (ktéleam kō'sh). The hemlock or white pine (wā'ko), the juniper (ktā'lo), and the mountain mahogany (yúkmalam) are found in and south of Sprague River Valley.

[222] [285] [824] The lake shores and river banks produce more edible fruits and berries than the marshy tracts; and it is the shores of Klamath and Tule Lakes which mainly supply the Indian with the tule reed and scirpus, from which the women manufacture mats, lodge-roofs, and basketry. The largest tule species (má-i) grows in the water to a height of ten feet and over, and in the lower end of its cane furnishes a juicy and delicate bit of food. Woods, river sides, and such marshes as Klamath Marsh, are skirted by various [222] kinds of bushes, supplying berries in large quantities. The edible bulbs, as camass, k̲ō'l, l'bá, ipo, and others, are found in the prairies adjacent. Pond-lilies grow in profusion on lake shores and in the larger marshes, especially on the Wókash Marsh west of Linkville, and on Klamath Marsh, as previously mentioned. The Lost River Valley is more productive in many of these spontaneous growths than the tracts within the Reservation.

[278] It is claimed by the Klamath Lake Indians that they employ no drugs of vegetal origin for the cure of diseases, because their country is too cold

773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however, be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is
free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during
the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of
suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency build-
532 ings, which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face
flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also
artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the lan-
538 guage fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of
success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration, assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

*539 262 824 grow so tall in the cold Klamath highlands as in the Californian and Oregonian valleys adjoining them to the southwest and west, where its height attains sometimes three feet. Cf. *Note* to 94, 9.

192 [193] 146, 14. Kléna, an aquatic or tule-grass, of which they eat a portion of the young stalk. The term "tule," from Aztec *tolin*, serves in the West to designate all kinds of rushes, stalks, and grass-like plants growing in the water and wet grounds. By k̲ók̲ĕtat are meant the Williamson and the Sprague Rivers.

147, 1. Klápa is the name of the eatable bulb or root growing on the púdshak-plant. The púdshak-grass becomes red in the autumn, when dry.

147, 3. Ktû'ks is the eatable root of a species of the cat-tail plant; táletat, locative case of tálish (or tálesh?), straight stem, from táltali "forming a straight, unbroken line." The ktû'ks grows in the water, like the wild parsnip (skúwanks); the natives dry the tender roots of the ktû'ks and bake them into a sort of bread. The epithet: "like wókash" probably refers to the *taste* of this kind of food.

147, 5. Kû'ktu. This plant attains a length of about 6 inches.

147, 6. 7. K̲áls is the globular bulb of the witchpai water-plant.

147, 8. K̲ä's, k̲ä'sh. This plant produces a hard, whitish, farinaceous bulb, which is commonly spoken of as ípo, a Shasti term, and is one of the most important food-articles of the Oregonian Indians. To dig or collect k̲ä'sh: k̲ä'shala, k̲ä'shla.

[252] [825] 147, 9–13. K̲ô'l, also pronounced k̲û'l, gû'l, gúl, is a kind of Aralia. The root is eaten only when roasted, and is then very nutritious, though spreading an abominable smell. This odor is so penetrating that, as alleged, the grizzly bear will attack nobody who smells after roasted k̲ōl; to this we may add the restriction: "if he is not very hungry." John D. Hunter mentions in his "Manners and Customs of Indians," etc. (Phila. 1823, page 370) that the Osages ascribe to the plant washoba-pesha the power of scaring away the black bear. This plant is an annual growth posse[illegible]g sudorific and cathartic properties. Washobe is the black bear, mitchú the g[illegible]ar in that Southern Dakota dialect.

147. 9. hû'mtcha gû'l: "the k̲ōl in this condition," w[illegible] the ripe state. The k̲ōl-plant is ripe when the stalk becomes red or reddish.

[193] 147, 10. méya. Speaking of *many* women digging bulbs or roots, stá-ila, stä'-ila is the regular form; its proper signification is: "to fill up" "to fill" (the conical root-basket worn on back, yáki).

147, 10. 11. pû'kguishamtat: "to their old roasting place"; púkuishamat might stand instead. The locative suffix -tat, -at is here appended to a verbal substantive of púka, to roast, standing in the possessive case -am, and -u- is the infix marking past tense. The guttural k has become distended into kg.

147, 12. ĕ'nt or ĕ'nd for énat, conditional of éna. Instead of ĕ'nt, ídshant (for ídshnat) may stand in the Klamath Lake dialect.

147, 14. Lupí' etc. The import of this sentence is: "L'bá ripens in the month when autumn begins."

148, 1. Má-i is the common reed or tule-grass growing sometimes to the height of 8 to 10 feet. The shallow borders of the lakes in the headlands of Klamath River are full of this growth, which is one of the most important economical plants for the Indian. Women manufacture from it mats, dishes, baskets, lodge covers, nets, sacks, [285] bags, and the young stalk yields in its lower part a palatable marrow.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

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142
291
302

Mrs. Pansy Ohles

142
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• 285
302
115

Mrs. Jones, starting a basket

Their material culture at large follows the general alignment of their basic economy with the Plateau peoples. This can be made clear by the following tabulation of material culture traits shared by tribes in adjacent culture areas. A few items of social culture not discussed elsewhere are also entered. Only those traits for which comparative data could be readily found are included, which makes the list random rather than truly representative. It must be understood that the reference is only to the specific form in which the Klamath hold to the trait. Thus, the compound fire-drill stick is entered, and not the simple fire drill. In fact, traits of this sort, having a distribution over the whole continent, have been excluded as adding nothing to our 171* 105

KLAMATH TRAITS SHARED BY TRIBES IN ADJACENT AREAS

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Houses	Earth-lodge	Plateau (Chilcotin to Middle Columbia and Wishram), N.E. California (where it merges into central Californian forms).	[342]
	Mat-lodge	Wishram, Nez Percé, Middle Columbia?	[343]
Sweat-lodges	Dome-shaped	N.E. California, Basin, Plateau, Southwest rancherias, Plains, and eastward.	
	Earth-covered	Washington, Oregon (merges with central Californian type).	
Fishing	Dip nets	California, Plateau, Northwest Coast.	[227]
	Dam; weir	N. California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
	Two-prong spear	California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
Digging stick	Cross-handle; curved point	Northwest Coast, Plateau?	[412]
Insect foods	Slight use	Oregon, s. Plateau, Basin, California.	[262]
Metate	Extensive use	California (late in N. California?), Basin, Plateau?, Southwest and southward.	[412]
Mortar	Stone	S. and central California (prehistoric in N. California); wooden mortars in Plateau.	
Canoe	Shovel nose	Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Columbia basin to N. California.	[501]
Baskets	Considerable use	California, Basin, Plateau.	
	Twine	Northwest Coast s. into N. California.	[415]
	Minor use of coil	Plateau, Basin, central and s. California.	
Bags	Woven	Made east of Cascades, s. to Klamath.	[286]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 230]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1339. On sides of basket	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	285
1340. Patterns in 2 kinds of feathers	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	·+	531
1341. Patterns in 3 colors besides background	·−	·+	+	+	−	−	−	−	·+	·+		−	−	·−	·−	−	
Cradles																	
1342. Sitting type	·−	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	854
1343. "Toe" (Hupa) type	−	−	·−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1344. Shallow type	−	·+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1345. Basketry, oval outline	−	·+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1346. Vertical warps	−	·+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1347. Rod rim	−	−	−	+	+			−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	
1348. Board	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1349. Y frame	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1350. Y-kite frame	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1351. Head covering	−	·+	·+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1352. Bed or leg rest bar at bottom	−	·+	·+	−	·+	·+	−	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1353. Lying type	·+	·R	−	−	·R	−	·+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1354. Board	·+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1355. Y-kite frame	−	−	−	−	R	·−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
1356. Kite frame	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	
1357. Willows transverse across frame	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	
1358. Basketry	·+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1359. Oval outline	·+	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1360. Rectangular or triangular outline	+	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1361. Vertical warp	·+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1362. Rod rim	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1363. Soft tule bed attached	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1364. Soft tule, grass bed separate	·+	·R	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	
1364a. Crossbar rest for child's legs	·+	·R	−		·R												
1365. Cradle hood	·+	·+	·+	+	·+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
1366. Twined weave	·+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
1367. Parallel warp	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	·+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
1368. Radiating warp	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1369. Hoop or sticks, across top of cradle.	·R	·R	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1370. Buckskin draped over hoop	R	R	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1371. Pendants from top or hood	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	R	−	+	+	+	−	
1372. Cradle lashing	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1373. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1374. Woven vegetable fiber	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1375. Cradle entirely buckskin covered	−	·R	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1376. Infant's sex indicated on cradle	+	·R	+	+	·R	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·−	−	+	
1377. By hood design	−		−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[858]
1378. Diagonal lines: boy	−		−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1379. Zigzag line	−		−	−	R	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1380. Boy	−		−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1381. Girl	−		−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1382. Diamond chain: girl	−		−	−	R	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1383. By lashing design	−	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1384. By position of rim rod	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	
1385. By shape of cradle	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1386. Girl's cradle wider at bottom	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1387. Girl's cradle wider at top.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Blankets																	
1388. Woven rabbitskin blankets, made locally	−	+	−	−	o	+	−	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	281 286

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
281 1389. Woven bird-skin blankets	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
286 1390. Woven skin blankets imported only	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1391. Warp 1-ply fur or bird skin	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	.	.
1392. Warp 2-ply fur or bird skin	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	.	.
1393. String twisted in with warp	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	.
1394. Weft 2 strips of rabbit hide	−	+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	.	.
1395. Weft of vegetable-fiber string	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.
1396. Weft of bird skins and string	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.
1397. Stick to twist fur strips	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	.
1398. Plain stick	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	.	.
1399. Hooked or notched stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	.
1400. Skin, fur strips twisted on thigh	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	.	.
1401. Frame vertical (perpendicular to ground)	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1402. Warp wrapped around 2 vertical posts	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	.	.
1403. Weaving starts upward	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	.
1404. Weaving starts downward	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	.
1405. Frame horizontal (parallel to ground)	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.
Mats																
285 1406. Tule	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1407. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1408. Sewn, stems pierced	+	+	+	−	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1409. With needle	+	+	+	−	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1410. Checker, string weft	.	+	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1411. Inner bark of trees	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1412. Twined	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1413. Checker	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1414. String weft	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1415. Unspun bark-strip warp	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1416. Wooden stick bark shredder	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Cordage																
283 1417. Iris	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1418. For deer snares	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1419. Milkweed	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
1420. Nettle	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1421. Indian hemp (Apocynum)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1422. For fish lines				+		+		−	−	−	+	+	+			.
1423. Human hair	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1424. Cordage 2-ply	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1425. Plain stick to comb out fibers		+	+								+	+	+		−	+
1426. Twisted on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1427. Down thigh, then up	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1428. Down thigh only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1429. Up thigh, then down	+	+	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1430. Thumb guard of shell for fiber drawing	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	.	+	.	−
1431. Braided cord	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)
1432. Rawhide thongs			•+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
1432a. Withes of grapevine, willow, etc.	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Receptacles (Other than Baskets)																
Wood, Bark, etc.																
415 1433. Wooden meat platter	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1434. Bark meat, fish platter	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1435. Pine-bark sifter			−		+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1436. Paunch water container	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

M walked with the cradle on her back. it was bound down with a
K piece of buckskin, and there was in some cases a harder material
304 used in connection with the buckskin, such as a small piece of
854 board, or a piece of willow basketry. These headbands were, of
course, properly padded to prevent actual injury to the child's
head, but the pressure was sufficient and was so adjusted that it
caused a decided flattening of both the front and back of the
M head. The younger generation has not been subjected to this
K cradle treatment and does not show the flattening, but among the
[178] older Klamath and Modoc the flattening is very pronounced.
M K Probably due to the influence of the Shoshonean peoples to the
854 east, the cradle board finds some use among the Lutuami, but the
177 woven tule and willow cradles are typical of the region.

M In addition to the various articles of dress mentioned in speaking
K of the uses of tule, the Klamath and Modoc make a belt
291 either from the fiber of the inner bark of certain trees or from
human hair. These are worn by the women in every-day dress.
286 Plate 17, fig. 7, shows one of these belts of fiber.

287 As a brush for dressing the hair the tail of the porcupine is
M used (pl. 22, fig. 2). Usually the longer spines are removed and
K the skin of the tail is then stuffed either with shredded tule or
302 with shredded sage-brush bark. In dressing the hair the brush
237 is drawn through it directly against the points of the spines,
which, as may be seen from the illustration, lie almost flat.

K As before mentioned the Klamath have many vegetable foods
262 in addition to the wokas. Most of these are derived from small
plants, but the pine furnishes one. The inner bark of some of
the species of pine is much esteemed as a food and there is a
[237] special implement used in taking it. This knife-like bone implement
(pl. 22, fig. 5) is used in separating the inner from the
outer bark, and is usually made from a deer rib or from a rib
of one of the other large animals.

SUMMARY.

M The Klamath and Modoc people possess a specialized culture,
K due largely to the extensive use of tule in the making of houses,
285 basketry, and various utensils. The only baskets made of a
harder material are conical burden baskets, triangular sifters, a

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

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5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10 ●
Modoc NS17

M

K

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 17.

281 Fig. 1.—Snowshoe made of a hoop and strips of skin. Museum number 1-12633 b. Length 41 cm.

285 Fig. 2.—Man's moccasin of plain twined tule basketry, for winter wear. Museum number 1-12839 a. Length 42 cm.

● 287 Fig. 3.—Legging of plain twined tule. Museum number 1-12774. Length 44 cm.

291 Fig. 4.—Woman's moccasin of plain twined tule, for winter wear. Museum number 1-12773 a. Length 45 cm.

481 Fig. 5.—Buckskin moccasin for summer wear. Museum number 1-12508 b. Length 25 cm.

Fig. 6.—Man's cap or sunshade of plain twined tule. Museum number 1-12838. Length 28 cm.

Fig. 7.—Woman's belt made of strips of bark fiber. Museum number 1-14138. Length 86 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

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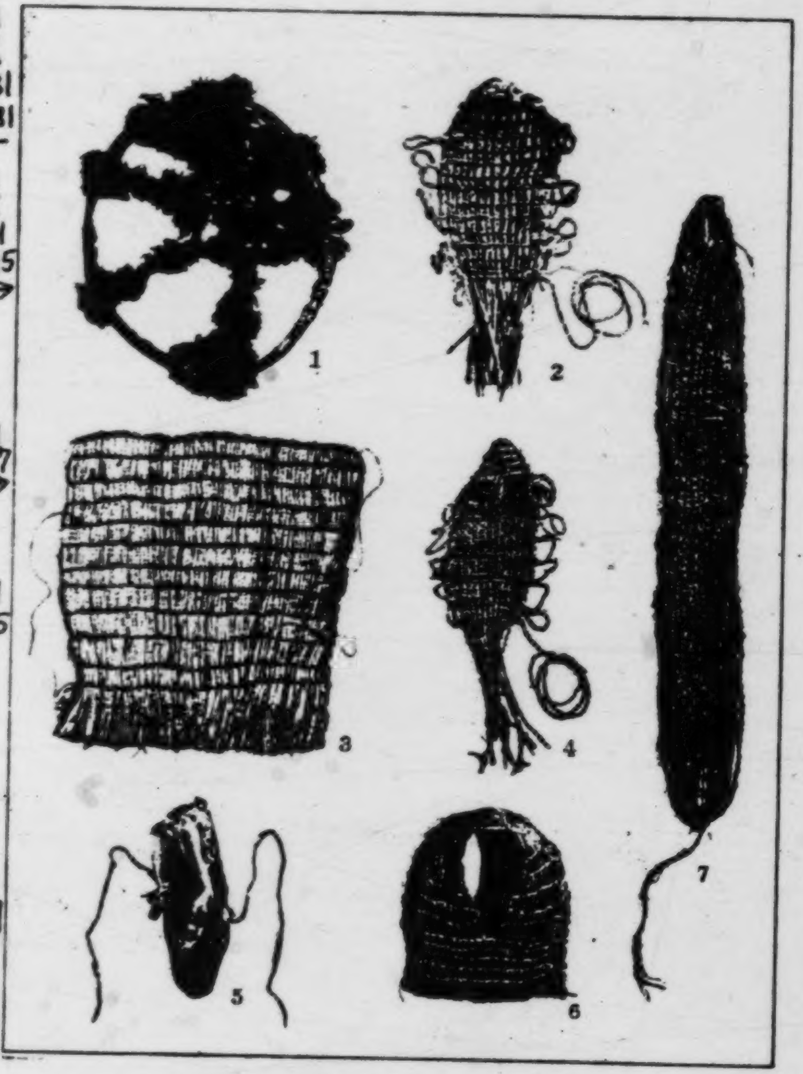

SNOWSHOE, MOCCASIN, LEGGING, CAP, AND BELT.

[p. 277]

[141] [231] They are well provided with bows and arrows. They have only one horse. Snow is so deep, horses perish for want of food. In winter, they live on roots. In summer on antelope and fish.

December 1st. 30 Clammite Indians paid us a visit: fine men in good condition, but wretchedly clad. They say the river to the ocean is far distant and beaver they do not know. They say the Indians become more numerous as we advance to the ocean. . . . .

[342] [161] [439] Tuesday 6th. Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defence against arrows but not balls. 200 of them collected about our camp and traded 4 days. The 2 chiefs delivered traps lost by Mr. McDonald last year with 8 beaver. This is much in favor of their honesty. On our march this day, we passed the camps from wh. Mr. McDonald turned back last year and are consequently strangers to the country in advance.

[161] Thursday 8th. About 300 Indians around our camp. We advanced 6 miles south following the river south. I estimate the Clammitte nation 250 men.

Monday 12th. Reached the lake [Klamath lake?] 1½ × 15 miles well wooded with maple and hazel; course S.

[361] The second visit on record is that of Frémont, who reached the northern shore of Klamath marsh on December 10, 1843. He saw smoke at what appeared to be the middle of the marsh and along the opposite shore. An unoccupied northern shore agrees with my own information. The following day he visited the village "in the middle of the lake (or savannah)," which appears to be one of those at the outlet of the marsh.

[342] The huts were grouped together on the bank of the [Klamath] river, which, from being spread out in a shallow marsh at the upper end of the lake, was collected here into a single stream. They were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams.

[226] [252] [285] [291] Almost like plants, these people seem to have adapted themselves to the soil, and to growing on what the immediate locality afforded. Their only subsistence at this time appeared to be a small fish, great quantities of which, that had been smoked and dried, were suspended on strings about the lodge. Heaps of straw were lying around; and their residence in the midst of grass and rushes had taught them a peculiar skill in converting this material to useful purposes. Their shoes were made of straw or grass, which seemed well adapted for a snowy country; and the women wore on their head a closely woven basket, which made a very good cap. Among other things, were parti-colored mats about four feet square, which we purchased to lay on the snow under our blankets, and to use for table cloths.

[231] Numbers of singular-looking dogs, resembling wolves, were sitting on the tops of the huts. . . . .

[648] They made us comprehend that they were at war with the people who lived to the southward and to the eastward; but I could obtain from them no certain information. . . . .

This morning the camp was thronged with Tlamath Indians from the southeastern shore of the lake. . . . .

727 535 After the dance, scalps and trophies are usually preserved by those who called the dance, relatives of the avenged man. They are dried and stored far from their homes to be brought out and danced over at each new scalp dance. [177] Sometimes bits of the scalp are sewn in rows down each breast of a woman's dress, a Plains custom impossible, of course, before the introduction of these Plains-like garments. [291] ● Both practices are un-Californian.

727 535 534 There is a question whether the notched rattle (ulo'ks) is played in the war and scalp dances. Neither drums, which the Klamath formerly lacked, nor rattles are used. Only one man, Ma'gai', whose day was well before the middle of the last century, knew the notched rattle. He knew all about war. He had overheard the Upland Takelma singing to it, according to one informant, and always used their songs when the Klamath made war on them. No resonator is used; the notched stick is rested directly on the ground and rasped with another stick.[84]

CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 756 Chiefs are of but minor significance in Klamath life. In contrast my informants invariably stressed the importance of the shamans. As an instance the largest house pits pointed out were always those of shamans. This relative unimportance of the chiefs was true at least until just before reservation days. 622 At that time contact with the Columbia river tribes, whose concepts of chieftainship were sharp and deeprooted, coupled with the developing trade which began to make considerable differences in wealth among the Klamath, operated to enhance the position of the chiefs, the rich men. It is significant that Lᴇle'ks, their most prominent chief, had spent several years of continuous residence at the Dalles. All this was sharply accentuated on the establishment of the reservation by the government's recognition of lay leaders while frowning on the shamans. [114] It must be distinctly understood that the picture Gatschet draws of chiefly powers is nonaboriginal.[85] [115] In fact, his principal informant, David Hill, was one of the newly raised chiefs who, we must believe, was not inclined to underrate his new importance. Both my best informants, Nancy

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[84] The familiar association of this rasping sound with the voice of the frog and its use in a social dance (the Bear dance of the Basin Shoshoneans) are both unknown to the Klamath.

[85] Gatschet, 1:58–62.

Everyone is quiet during the singing; else the girl will die. My informant could not say what would be done to the one who broke this rule. The singers are fed at midnight. 881 533

The choristers sing about one another, men about women, women about men.[58] The opening song is always: [539]

iwûne′ sken djîdja′lwis djalyo′djai′wa
toward sundown bachelors making a noise (?)
The young men are having a jollification in the west.

Toward daylight they sing:

pe′ĕt keskă′ni dji′ḳla ho′llidoŋga
Toward the dawn place a tiny brown bird came to meet us.

The girl herself is expected to dance with downcast eyes, although there is no express prohibition against looking at the sky as among the Shasta. Common girls, however, will laugh and look around as they dance. There is no suggestion that the girl's glance is malignant. 881 535 576 [171] *

She observes three precautions during these five days, as she will at subsequent menstruations and during mourning. She must abstain from meat and fish, eating only lily seed or roots. She may, however, eat when she pleases and with the others. Should she eat the forbidden flesh, she will get "consumption" and die.[59] She must not touch her hands to her face or head, using instead a scratcher (sadŏ′ktcuts). This scratching stick or bone is tucked under the left wristband or hung about the neck. Every morning she runs toward the dawn. 881 784 [302]

In the Field Museum collections are several bone scratchers used during the girl's rites (nos. 61633, 61692, 63632). These are of two types; lozenge-shaped and oval. They are decorated with incised lines, set close together and filled with black pigment. Each is provided with a thong (fig. 6). [531]

During the day the girl retires to sleep in the bushes or in a dome-shaped mat-lodge a few hundred yards distant. 881 [343]

She wears an old, dirty, fringed skirt, a blanket of skin (coyote, wolf, raccoon, or deer), and buckskin moccasins. The long buckskin dress commonly worn at dances may be used, although one informant stated otherwise. She does not wash nor comb her hair during this period. Her face is blackened with pitch and charcoal, but none is put on her hair as it would be in mourning. Instead the hair, hanging as usual in two braids in front of the shoulders, is doubled on itself to form two clubs, which are bound with braided cords of buck-brush [291]• [302]

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[58] Some of these songs are given by Gatschet, 1:182, 189.

[59] A bone drinking tube is not used.

881
[302] or red sage-brush bark. Buck-brush bands are worn around the head,
neck, wrists, ankles, below each knee, and wound perhaps twice around
[301] the waist. This waist band may be a woven belt (k'ai'lis) of sage-brush.

At the close of the ceremony the girl purifies herself by swimming;
[291] she does not use a sweat-bath. Other participants need no purification. Her clothing and bark bands are burned. Sometimes the cir-
[783] clets are wrapped around the branches of trees near the sweat-lodge
where they are left to rot unless they are earlier gathered by someone who wishes to use them for a cautery.

[302]
[531]

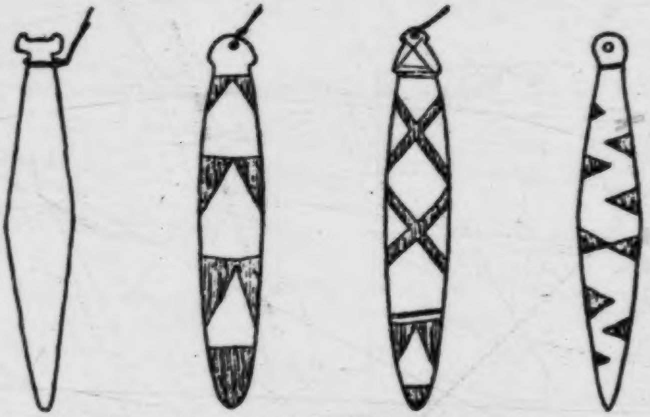

Fig. 6. Head scratchers, used by girls in puberty rites.

A girl for whom no dance is held stays within her home, dressed in this fashion and observing the taboos for the requisite period.

841 Menstruant women stay at home during their illness (ata sto'pwi)
unless they are members of a shaman's household. Shamans must
[756] avoid them; seemingly other men are indifferent. Women of a shaman's household occupy a little dome-shaped lodge near-by for five days. Menstruants eat only lily seed, camas, etc.; they permit themselves dried fish, but meat and fresh fish are taboo. Older women do not use the scratcher, nor wear the bands, nor burn their clothing.[97] So much from my feminine friend, but a male informant had it that all women make use of a menstrual lodge, wear dirty clothing, neither wash nor care for the hair, and use the scratcher. However, women

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[97] Nor do they keep knotted string records of these events as on Puget sound.

765 [302] [291] • ened with charcoal. This is strictly enjoined for mourning women; older men follow the custom and perhaps even children, except the little ones, but young men may be exempt. This pitch is not that exuding from the logs of the pyre as among the Modoc[105] but is gathered from any tree. The hair cut off is later tied in little rolls all over the mourner's buckskin dress or shirt by way of decoration. (Enemy scalps serve the same end.) These garments are burned with their owners.

765 784 During the sweat-bath period and for perhaps a year longer, the mourner must abstain from fish for fear of sickness,[106] must not touch his hands to the face else it will wrinkle, nor may he touch his hair lest it turn gray. Instead, a bunch of grass is used when washing, and a scratching stick (wa'was), nine inches long, is suspended around the neck on a sage-brush band, or tucked under the wristband. The mourner spits into a hole dug with the scratcher. This may explain a song record by Gatschet: "This is my song [or spirit], that of the (sweatlodge) stick-hole."[107] These are the same taboos observed by a menstruating woman and by a boy at puberty.

After the loss of a wife or child, a man abandons the first fish or game that he takes, gives the second to another, and succeeding ones he keeps; a gambler gives away his gains. This is called săpu'tsa. A woman does similarly with the roots she digs after her husband or child dies. Something of the same attitude is shared by a gambler after receiving spirit aid, a novice hunter or root digger; all give away their first gains. Similarly no one who has recently lost a child may fish or even cross a river for fear the fish will go away. They must wait a year and then again use the mourner's sweat-house. These may all be viewed as rites of purification or attempts to reestablish oneself as a normal being.

[539] Wolf lived opposite the cave at komă'ĕksi on Sprague river. When his wife died he brought his children to the river bank. The people shouted to him not to cross the river because fish were running. But Wolf said, "I did not come to catch fish. I brought my children because they wanted fish." They stopped there. Then Crow laughed at them and they turned into a row of rocks.[108]

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[105] Gatschet, 1:86.

[106] Gatschet (1:89) understood his informant to mean that after sweating for five days, a widow eats only fish and no meat.

[107] *Op. cit.*, 166.

[108] Told by Tom Lang.

516 Sitting positions are of wide latitude; of course they sit directly on
the ground. Almost any position is assumed except sitting on the
crossed ankles. Both sexes sit with their legs crossed before them,
[291] Turk-fashion, or with the legs extending straight before them, in
which case women cross their ankles. It must be remembered that the
[501] common dress of both sexes is the string skirt. They kneel while
paddling, both sexes alike, sitting on their heels. This is quite possible
because the gunwale of a laden canoe is only a few inches above the
water.

201 The Klamath sometimes use the lips for unostentatious pointing,
but they more commonly point with the forefinger. In a common
516 position of rest, a seated individual places one hand on the other over
the abdomen.

758 To curse a man his dead are mentioned, not necessarily by name;
[539] in fact the reference may be quite indirect. In a tale the skunks say
to Coyote, "You are the son of a person always on the lake," knowing
full well that his father was dead. I was told of two men jocularly
calling each other tc!ima'ntk, widower. One named the dead wife of
the other and was covered with embarrassment because the grandson
of that woman, who was present, was provoked. An old man may be
called wa'köntk, adolescent boy, or skote, a man with a first child, in
[114] derision. This is nearly equivalent to a curse. Gatschet gives the
expression skō'ksam kāíla gén ī, go to hell! (or more literally, go to
the ghosts) which may well be aboriginal. But watchágalam wéash,
you son [child] of a bitch! and watchágalam pé-ip, you old bitch!,
strike me as apt translations from frontier vernacular.[149]

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[149] Gatschet, 2:319, 477.

(?) buckskin shirt, and wrist and neckbands of weasel. Some sha- 756
mans wear a necklace of grizzly bear claws. (Other men never wear 292
bear claws.) His face is painted black. Then he is powerful to cure,
sawi'gan gi'na. Gatschet describes a band of otter skin worn round [302]
the neck and bearing various shells, feathers, bird scalps, etc.; hence
it "must unite the magic powers of them all."[161]

Some articles of shaman's regalia are in the collections of the Field Museum. A bear-skin cap (no. 61563?) consists of the head skin, decorated on two or three sides with circular disks of buckskin ornamented with quillwork. These are one and three-quarters inches in diameter, and bear three concentric equidistant rings of quillwork, the most central containing a cross of the same.

A shaman's wand "used in curing ceremonies" (no. 61676) is a three-foot shaft bearing bunches of feathers bound on at two points, with a bundle of dew claws tied to the butt. The feathers are gray; they are bound at points about one-third of the distance from each end of the shaft. The bindings and the shaft have been painted red. The dew claws are pendant on individual thongs, each of which is wrapped with quills at two points.

The prescriptions affecting the dress of the laity at the shamanis- 291
tic performances are illuminating. Everyday dress, at least for
wealthier individuals, is of the Plains type; moccasins, skin shirt, long 292
leggings, and breech clout for the men and long skin dress for women.
Poorer people wear skirts of tule or buckskin and are barefoot. But
the latter garb is obligatory at these dances. This is clearly another
instance of conservatism in the field of religion, for the marginal [177]
position of the Klamath to the area in which Plains garments are
worn, and the known recency of manifold contacts with the Plains-like tribes of the Columbia suggest that Plains dress is a recent acquisition. The hair hangs loosely down the back but is tied about close to the head. As usual basket hats are worn. Dancers, however, wear hats made of animals which are spirits.

Taboos and other restrictions on shamans are only feebly developed. 756
A shaman must avoid a menstruant woman; in fact, women who live 784
in a shaman's house must leave their homes at these periods, whereas otherwise this is not usual. Etiquette requires that anyone crossing the lodge must pass in back of a seated shaman, at least when he shows signs of communing with his spirits or is eating. This holds whether a performance is going on or not. Otherwise blood gushes from his mouth and he falls unconscious. One informant had seen this happen to the berdache shaman White Sindey while she was eating. The result is the same if anything falls in front of a shaman. There are

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[161] *Op. cit.*, 1:172.

285 Merrill notes that the rims of fine cooking bowls and coarse burden baskets are bound with gray nettle-bark string (*Urtica breweri*).[230]

One peculiar and almost invariable feature of Klamath baskets is that all changes in rounds of stitch begin and end at the same warp. That is, at one particular warp occurs the point of change from diagonal to simple twine on the base, of beginning the first stitch of the design figures on the sides, of beginning and ending any bands of design on the sides, and the end of the rim finish (fig. 13). Where there are a series of independent figures on the sides, only the first stitch of one figure begins at this warp. I was told of no esoteric reason for this; it seems merely a technical habit.

This trait is usual, for example, in the large collection of Klamath baskets in the Field Museum of Natural History, but it is not invariable. On a typical tray basket, bearing a series of concentric bands, those nearest the center begin at the same radial warp, but nearer the margin they begin only in the same general sector of the surface. This trait also appears in certain rosettes of beadwork used as dress or blanket ornaments.

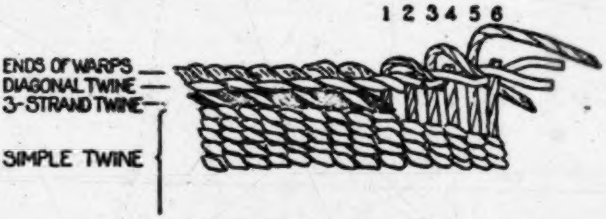

Fig. 14. Method of finishing the edge of a twined basket.

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291 Hats are made in this manner but differ in their appearance because of the different materials used. The shape of the woman's hat (k!ɛmū) is subconical, its sides lacking curvature, and rounding rather abruptly into a flattened top.[231] The man's hat (k!ane'o) is similar, but has a brim. This, I was told, existed prior to contact with whites. Hats have warps of twisted tule strands. Twining commences however with wefts of finely rolled nettle cords.[232] The sides of the hat are made in simple twine technique with a strip of cane (*Phragmites phragmites* (L.) Karst.)[233] and a tule (? or cat-tail)

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[230] Merrill, 222.

[231] Illustrated by Barrett, Material Culture, pl. 18. Modoc hats of similar shape are shown by O. T. Mason, *op. cit.*, pl. 167.

[232] Probably flax cords as well (Coville, Notes, 99).

[233] Coville, Notes, 91.

strand as wefts.[334] Designs, at least, are formed with wefts of cane (t'k!öp) and dyed tule (mo'ḳwas). Only the outer layer of the cane is used; this is yellowish-white. This strip is flat, and being stiff, cannot be twisted; the tule weft being fully flexible, wraps around both warp and cane weft. The effect is unique; at alternate warps the cane weft appears passing horizontally, at the others the tule weft makes a wrapped stitch over warp and cane weft (fig. 15). Due to the technique the tule weft lies flat like a ribbon. Women's hats bear designs. Men's hats have none, but when the hat is completed the part covered by nettle weft (the central portion of the top) is painted. The brim of a man's hat is entirely woven with wefts of dyed tule (and cane?). 285 291 •

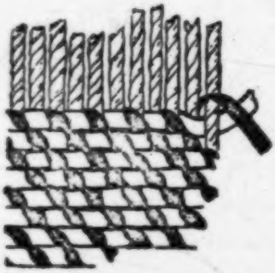

Fig. 15. Modified simple twine stitch of basket hats.

The several structural parts of such twined baskets are named. The area of weaving at the center of the base, with which the basket is begun, is called dɪle'lüḳs; the base of the basket, tse'lalwls; the rounding margin of the base as it merges into the side, sto'li; and the turned-back warps of the rim, wo'lgötk. Twining in general is lëtca'; specifically this is simple twine. A twine stitch over two warps is la'pwiömnötk (lap, two); over three, aki'tgaltantk; over four, wuni'bäntka lëtc!a (wuni'p, four). It is possible that aki'tgaltantk means three-strand twining rather than three-warp diagonal twine. There is no name for open twine construction, so far as I know. It may be called gïga'ŋka, many holes (from gï'nḳa, hole). Cat-tail cord for wefting is solö'tepas; such cord is wrapped around the hand to make a roll for storage. Warps (of the tule only?) are called twäch.[335] 285

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[334] Coville (Notes, 94) states that in former times the bark of the aspen (vö'-ïäl, *Populus tremuloides* Michx.) was used to make hats. [114]

[335] Coville (Notes, 92) also notes the use of the rush (tsin-ä-ö, *Juncus balticus* Willd.) in the weaving of light baskets. [174]

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

291 •

Costume is scanty for both men and women. Poorer individuals are equipped with simply a fringed skirt and nothing more beyond basketry hats. The wealthier, however, affect a dress which strongly resembles that of the Plains tribes. Such men are clad in breechclout, leggings, moccasins, and on gala days buckskin shirts; women, in the long dress of Plains type, with short leggings and moccasins. This Plains costume seems to be of recent introduction; traditional feeling to that effect is reflected in the proscription of its use during shamanistic performances and in the Ghost dance of 1870–73. This might also be inferred from the fact that the Klamath represent its most westerly extension, or nearly so, in this quarter. Plains influences have reached the Klamath through the Columbia river tribes, with whom direct contact dates only from the beginning of the last century. We may hazard the guess that this costume does not date back before 1800 among the Klamath, and is perhaps not so old. 291 556 177

The fringed skirt is a garment which completely encircles the wearer's waist, not an apron nor two aprons. It is formed of tule, or sage-brush bark, or possibly of buckskin strips, braided in cords which hang thickly from the belt. These pendants are closely set at the front and back, and hang but scantily over the hips. Distinctive names for the front and back parts (respectively hl̄sci'sks, hangs between the legs, and hl̄stco'l̄ic, hangs behind) suggest its relation to the familiar two-apron garment of California. Men's skirts do not reach the knee; women's hang below it. 291

The man's shirt (tculi's) is of the Plains poncho type. This is a large skin with a hole in the middle, put on over the head. It reaches to the upper thighs and hangs loosely over the arms, without any attempt at sleeves, but is tied together under the arms. When only small skins are to be had, two of these are sewed together along the shoulders. Front and back are the same, the neck hole is round, and they are indifferent as to which side hangs in front.[279]

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[279] A shirt illustrated in a photograph shown me had deep fringes along its lower border and on the seams joining the sleeves to the body of the garment. The sleeves indicate that this is a modern derivative of the old garment. I was told that a fringe is sometimes placed horizontally across the chest. A man's shirt in the collections of the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 67883) has a short fringed opening down the breast from the neck hole, and a border of beads on the low collar rising around the neck.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

• 291 The familiar triangular flaps below the neck in Plains shirts are
[756] lacking. Shamans alone paint their shirts, others who attempt it
would be poisoned by them. The designs are spots, circles, and lines,
[531] not pictures. While I do not know the character of these designs,
[177] this suggests the protective shirts of the Ghost dance of 1890. Inasmuch as we must assume that the shirt reached the Klamath from the east, and it is possible that Plains influences are quite recent, it is possible that the shirt, or at least its decoration, came only in Ghost dance days. Nor are shirts worn at all times; they are too valuable, "they might wear out"; which represents their unusualness in the view of the Klamath.

Breechclouts (hacwi'skls) are made of buckskin, and nothing else. They are worn by women too, but not with the buckskin dress. It seems that the flaps which hang over the belt are short, for they are said to be long only if the skin happened to be long. The belt is only a thin string, presumably a leather thong, for poor people make it of the soft bark of the tule.

Men's leggings are thigh-length or calf-length (called respectively
[184] snásni'ks and midĕ's);[280] women wear only the latter. These are of buckskin or fur, but poor people make them of tules. Barrett illustrates one of the latter sort made in twined technique. The full-length leggings are tied to the belt at one point, the hips. In a photograph shown me, little deer dew claws were hung pendant from the front of the leggings just below the knees.

Moccasins are worn at all times by the men, at home or when traveling, whereas women sometimes go barefoot at home in the summer. For the most part, moccasins are woven of tule or swamp grass; very few are made of skin. Barrett observes that the buckskin moccasins are for summer wear, the winter ones of tule.[281] This is very probably the case, as the tule affair is intended primarily to hold a layer of dry grass next the foot.

Tule moccasins (wipgá') are made in open twine. The fabric is brought together over the toe, but is quite without a heel. A cord
✗ laced through the loops along each side draws it up around the foot.
[171] They resemble those of the Paviotso.[282] For traveling they make
[531] moccasins of this type of swamp grass, which is stronger than tule; those for home use are of tule and bear decorations.

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[280] Gatschet gives mitash, mitas, from Chinook jargon mimdash, derived from French mitasse (2:221).

[281] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17, 19.

[282] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 218, fig. 5b, c.

291 [171]*

The skin moccasin (dūmi'wᴇ) differs from that of central and northwestern California, in being made of two pieces. Like the Californian affair, it is a one-piece moccasin in pattern, with a seam up the top from the toe and another up the heel, but it also has a D-shaped inset over the instep which is continued upward into a tongue. Some specimens have an additional strip around the ankle, sewed to the edge of the main piece, and which can be worn turned up or down. The drawstring passes around the ankle and across in front of the tongue.[883] Moccasins are made of deer or elk hide,[884] with the hair inside, or even of beaver or badger skin. The last is a very strong skin; the moccasins will last a year or two. (Otter and raccoon skins are not used.) Cut to pattern (fig. 21*a*), they are folded lengthwise, stitched up the instep, across the toe, across the heel, and up the heel. The tongue (stai'skŏpk) is then sewed in over the instep. The procedure in connection with sewing the heel is peculiar. The slit *A–A* is first made; the sides brought together so that the points *A*, *B*, and *C* match; the cross seam (*A–A*) sewn, then the vertical one (*B–C*). This leaves a loop inside the moccasin at the heel. The moccasin is then turned inside out, so that the loop is on the outside. The corner of this is then cut off on the lines *D–D*. This forms a tab protruding at the heel. These seams are not lapped but sewn with a through-and-through stitch, hence when the moccasin is turned inside out, the seams at the heel, at least, are on the outside. Sewing is done with an awl and sinew.

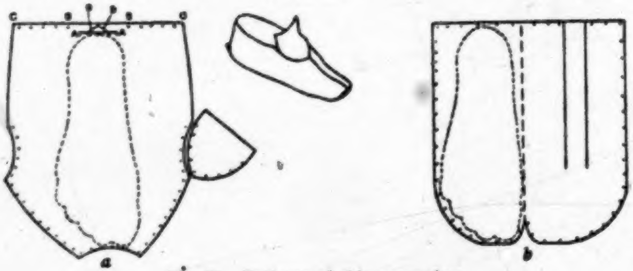

Fig. 21. Patterns of skin moccasins.

Another type of deer-skin moccasin (wŏkena') made in imitation of Warm Springs and Yakima style, has come into use since the boy- [177]

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[883] Illustrated by Barrett, pl. 17.

[884] The same informant stated on another occasion that elk hide is not used for footgear.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

291 177 hood of my elderly informant. This is a simple one-piece affair, shown diagrammatically in figure 21*b*. The upper is cut to form a long tongue. It is sewn along the toe and one side, and up the heel.[265]

481 Snowshoes may be conveniently described at this place. The snowshoe (ni') is the circular Californian form; a hoop of tough service berry wood, about twelve inches long by six wide.[266] Within the hoop is a net of thongs on which the foot is placed; tie strings are drawn up about the ankle. My woman informant drew a sketch showing five parallel longitudinal thongs crossed transversely by five others, [114] also parallel, thus forming a simple rectangular web. This may well have been merely diagrammatic, since five is the pattern number. Kroeber illustrates a more intricate pattern of webbing, a central lozenge filled by transverse lashings and connected with the frame by others.[267] Barrett illustrates a snowshoe with still a third style of web. This seems to be a single longitudinal strip of skin, crossed by three others.[268] Such shoes are also used when wading in the marshes.

291 [714] Mittens (wäkä'pks) of coyote or other fur are worn in cold weather, possibly by men alone. They are also used for protection in war. These are sock-like, without fingers, and of arm or elbow length. A muffler (sau'kaks) is also made of skin.

291 177 [535] [756] The woman's skin dress (goke) is the long woman's garment of the Plains tribes, completely covering the body to the mid-calf. Unlike the corresponding man's shirt, these are worn most of the time, especially in winter. In summer the lighter unbeaded dresses are used. This is not essentially a dance costume, although worn at the war and scalp dances. But these are held outdoors at night; and during the shaman's dances in the earth-lodge, the fringed skirt only is worn because of the great heat. It is possible, of course, that this is a rationalization of etiquette, for if the shaman's dance is older than the forms of war and scalp dance now in use, there may be an association of the older fringed skirt with one and the newer skin dress with the other. There can be little doubt that the fringed skirt is the antecedent form. Plains influences appear to be recent, and

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* [171] [265] This has been redrawn from a sketch made by my informant. On the Yakima reservation moccasins of this type have a tab at the heel, which my informant may have omitted.

[266] Coville (Notes, 94) states that "the frames of snowshoes are usually made of willow wood. The mesh in old times was commonly made of the Rocky Mountain flax, *Linum lewisii*, less commonly of nettle fiber, *Urtica breweri*."

[267] Handbook, fig. 68a; evidently taken from Mason, Aboriginal American Basketry, 215.

[268] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17.

291 177 the Klamath use of the typical Plains woman's costume is an extreme marginal case in the west.

Being of buckskin, not of elk hide, two skins are necessary for the dress. These are sewn together across the shoulders, leaving a short space for the insertion of the head. The neck ends of the skins are always across the shoulders, since this is the widest part of the skin. The contour of the dress is the familiar one, the natural contour of the dressed skin with the legs lopped off. Cape-like extensions, formed by the skin of the forelegs, hang loosely over the arms. All the edges are slit into fringes and the front and back are tied together by these under the arms and down the sides. These are not belted in Plains style.

291 114 A woman's belt made of strips of bark fiber is illustrated by Barrett; others are made of human hair.[289] While Barrett is probably right in stating that these are part of everyday dress, I was told that the belt (k'ai'lis) is worn at the puberty dance, when a first child is born, or when an infant dies.

291 531 [177] The dress of earlier times had no ornamentation, but it now has the yoke-shaped decoration of Plains type and rows of pendants. The yoke is not a separate piece, but the quill-work design, and in more recent days the beadwork, is applied directly on the dress. Formerly rows of elk teeth were sometimes used. There is no special name for the yoke; like any beadwork, this part is called Iti's or Ita'ntkos. The yoke of one dress seen dipped below each armpit and again markedly at the middle of breast and back. It was comprised of a series of horizontal stripes in beads of contrasting colors which paralleled this wavy lower margin of the yoke. Three horizontal rows of pendants crossed front and back; one following this lower margin, another just above the knees, and the third near the bottom of the dress. These pendant strings, which hang in pairs, are wound with colored porcupine quills; thimbles and Chinese cash are sometimes threaded on them. A deep fringe (bowi's) is sometimes made to fasten along the lower margin of the yoke, at the bottom of the dress, and around the short sleeves. This is fabricated from a piece of buckskin, nine or more inches deep, slit into fine fringes so as to leave them connected by only a half-inch strip of skin. Beads may be strung on these. Similar strips of fringe are attached to a man's shirt. Hair that is cut off in mourning is tied in little rolls all over the dress; a man uses

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[289] *Op. cit.*, 258, pl. 17.

291 his in the same way to decorate his shirt. Sometimes bits of captured
531 scalp are sewn in rows down each breast of a woman's dress.[330]

Two women's dresses of buckskin were observed in the collections of the Field Museum of Natural History. One of these (no. 61663) had a beaded yoke decoration that dipped downward sharply on the breast. This consisted of irregularly horizontal, parallel bands of small trade beads; the bands alternately black and white were about one inch wide. These were sewed directly to the body of the garment, there being no separate yoke-piece. The thread or sinew on which the beads were threaded passed through the buckskin only at each edge of the band, i.e., the rows of beads in each band formed taut loops an inch long. The shoulder seams were hidden by extra strips of skin. The fringes under the sleevelets and down each side of the body were twisted in pairs. Pendants on the front of the garment and on the right sleeve bore brass beads.

The second dress (no. 61981) was "said to be over 100 years old." It was decorated with glass beads, thimbles, coins, and other trade articles. "The Chinese brass coins are dated in the periods of Shun-chi (1644–61), K'ang-hi (1662–1722), K'ien-lung (1736–95), and Kia-k'ing (1796–1820)." Pendants below the yoke bore green glass beads and brass thimbles; those near the bottom of the dress had strings of black glass beads with a central blue bead. The beaded yoke-decoration did not dip so markedly on the breast as that described above. The bands of beads were of the same width as those mentioned above and sewed in the same fashion, except that a quarter-inch of bare space was left between the bands. These spaces were then painted red. A red band crossed horizontally below the yoke, again at the waist, and near the bottom. Each band of beads consisted of alternate rows of colored and white beads; in order from the top to bottom the bands bore colored beads as follows: red, green, black, (?), red, blue, blue, red, dark blue, red. The dress originally had two more bands below these but they have been replaced by rows of pendants. Excluding the second row (green) this looks like a symmetrical color scheme; red, blue-black, red, blue, and reverse.

291 Barrett observes that "the women also wore a cape or, more properly speaking, a blanket, made of shredded tule or of sage-brush bark, or of a combination of the two." We may hazard the guess that the technique is open-twine like the mats.[331]

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531
In the Field Museum collections are certain cloth bands (nos. 61985–86) bearing bead disks which are described as "dress ornaments" but which are probably ornaments attached to the middle of robes or blankets in Plains fashion. These are bands of red flannel, thirty inches long and about three wide. One bears four disks: one at each end, the other two equally spaced between. The second band has only two disks, both near one end but spaced like those of the first band. The beaded disks, four inches in diameter, were made up of spirally arranged rows of beads; the ground color was blue and white, with an outer row of yellow. It is noteworthy that each new colored

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[330] The general style of the women's dress is illustrated by a Klickitat specimen (Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians, 1:712).

[331] *Op. cit.*, 255.

row always began at the same radius, as in the manner of basket decoration. 291
Pendants were attached to the periphery of each disk. These were formed of 531
a continuous strand of black and white beads attached at intervals so as to hang in long loops.

Basket hats are worn by both sexes. That of women is called k!ɛmŭ, of men, k!ane'o. Women and old men wear them at all times, younger women more than the elderly, and the younger men only when they are needed as protection against the pack strap. The small, snug-fitting hats are quite decorative with their contrasting designs, and are clearly thought so. Gala hats are studded with beads. They come halfway down the forehead, are nearly hemispherical yet flat on top. These are made in twined weave of various materials. Women's hats bear woven designs, men's are painted. Men's hats are said [765]
to have had short brims even prior to the coming of the whites. Widows must wear old hats blackened with pitch, if they wear any; otherwise they are open to ridicule.

Men wear a cylindrical hat or headdress (tc'uyăs) in war, ten or more inches high, and as low as the eyebrows. Made of cottonwood bark (wula'l), it is open at the top, but may be brought together in a point if made of skin; otter, coyote, beaver, skunk, or elk hide. Badger and raccoon skin is not used. These bear painted decorations: large zigzag lines around the hat; and several feathers are fastened in the top. Gatschet speaks of them as "wide brimmed."[392]

A cylindrical bark hat, said to have been worn by a chief, is in the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 61725). This is about seven inches in diameter, nine high. The ring of bark is lapped and sewn with a running stitch. The decoration on the light surface is by a series of triangles along the top and bottom margins, with circles at intervals between these. The triangles have their bases on the margins; each consists of a black line within a red line; there are no base lines. The circular decorations consist of a black spot within a red ring. A pendant is fastened on each side at the top, consisting of a bunch of long hair wrapped at the proximal end with fur.

Other hats are made of the scalp of deer or bear, including the 291
ears, but not the face. Rawhide vizors, such as those used by other tribes are unknown, but Barrett mentions a similar sunshade of plain-twined tule.[393]

Hairdress is simple. Men wear the hair long, parted on the left 302
side, with a braid lying in front of each shoulder or a single queue behind. The braids are wrapped with strips of otter fur. This is the style of the Plains and Plateau. Women and girls also wear their hair

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[392] 1:92. He may have had in mind the basket hat.

[393] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

*171

105

		Klamath form	*Links with:*
[285]	Mats	Extensive use	Oregon?, Northwest Coast to Columbia r., Plateau.
		Mat needle	s. Northwest Coast (and northward?), Washington, Oregon?
[281]	Tanning	Smoke-tan	Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, Wishram, Nez Percé; Basin, Plateau, Plains (and elsewhere?—probably not Northwest Coast).
[372]	Fire drill	Compound	Puget sound, Takelma, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi, Wind R. Shoshoni, Crow, Navaho, Hopi.
[415]	Spoon	Paddle	California s. to n. Miwok.
[411]	Bow	Sinew-backed	Arctic, Northwest Coast, Plateau, Washington, Oregon, California s. to Tehachapi, Basin, Southwest, w. Plains.
		Flat; constricted grip	n. w. California, Northwest Coast.
	Arrows	Stone heads	(Not the bone heads of Northwest Coast and w. Washington, where stone heads are scarce.)
[714]	Armor	Tunic	Northwest Coast, Plateau, Oregon, n. California, Basin, Southwest (and southward?).
		Slat or rod	Alaska to Maidu (Tlingit, Plateau, Oregon, Washington, n. California).
	Shield	Round	Plateau, Basin, Plains (not California).
• [291]	Dress	Fringed skirt	Coast area west of Cascades-Sierras, probably Basin.
		Men: Plains shirt	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.
		Women: Plains dress	Plateau, Basin, Plains.
		Decorated band on robe	Plateau? (Wishram, Nez Percé), Plains.
		Tule slippers	Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Paviotso.
		Three-piece moccasin	Plateau (moccasins are also n. and central California, Basin, Southwest, Plains, and eastward).
		Basket hats	n. California (=Plateau type?; other types, Northwest Coast, Basin, s. California).
[302]	Hairdress	Braids for both sexes	Plateau, Plains.
	Combs	Porcupine tail	Achomawi, Northern Maidu.
[304]	Head deformation	Fronto-occipital	s. Northwest Coast to Alsea, Siuslaw, and Klamath.
	Tattooing	Women: chin lines	w. Arizona, California, Takelma (Oregon in general?). (Not Plateau? and Northwest Coast.)

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

*171 on the other, were entirely absent among the Klamath. Nevertheless
556 the mechanism of the Northwest Coast for the exchange of presents,
the potlatch, does appear here in the form of prescribed reciprocal
584 visits between the families of bride and groom. It has not been clearly
recognized that these features of Northwest Coast social life have
spread even farther from that focus into the northern Plains and to
north central California.

*171 Of the slender stock of Klamath ceremonials, the scalp dance is
widely known, the war or incitement dance is common to northwestern
535 California and perhaps all of Oregon. Kroeber has pointed out that
726 so far as California is concerned scalp and war dances are mutually
exclusive in their distributions.[418] But the Klamath, like all others
*171 of eastern Oregon, carry out both dances. The girls' adolescence rite
of the Klamath is one with those of western Oregon and northern
881 California. This is a local phrasing of similar rites known from
Alaska to the Southwest, but lacking east of the Sierra-Cascades.
Specific details of the Klamath affair are closer to northern Cali-
*171 fornian forms than to those of Oregon. The Ghost dance of 1870 was
evanescent among them. Its first form was that characteristic of the
original dance of Nevada; later it was overlaid by features char-
acteristic of central California.[419]

177 Some historical relief emerges in this survey. It is definitely
traceable in some details and can be established inferentially for more
basic elements. The most recent stratum of adopted traits is post-
[285] reservation, i.e., later than 1865. This includes two types of basketry
derived from the Northern Paiute settled on the reservation, a sifting
[668] basket and a coiled water bucket, and the Ghost dance. The earlier
form of the Ghost dance was instituted by the same group of Paiute
in 1870 or '71. This was the familiar circle of dancers, whose leaders
[343] dreamed new regulations; its ideology the return of the dead. In
1873 a Pit River introduced central Californian elements; a dance
[534] lodge, probably the clap-stick rattle, new songs, etc. To the same
[533] stratum belongs the imitation of the Warm Springs-Yakima one-piece
moccasin.

[291] Other elements are recognized as pertaining to pre-reservation
177 days, but probably not earlier than the middle of the last century:
the hand drum derived from the north, and perhaps the social dances
534 in which it is used; the hand game brought by a Spokane (?) man.

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535 [418] Kroeber, Handbook, 144, 844.

[419] Spier, Ghost Dance.

The judicial function of chiefs, dispensing fines and punishments, is 177
known to have been derived from the Columbia river tribes at 622
this time.

Some trade articles not manufactured by the Klamath also pertain 439
to this era: parfleches, skin bags, and buffalo hides from Warm
Springs and the Dalles, flat basketry bowls from Pit river through
the Modoc, and beads, even dentalia, from the same southern source
or from the Shasta.

The second quarter of the last century saw the coming of the 177
horse. Ogden remarked on only one among them in 1826, but they
began to be obtained in numbers, probably from Warm Springs, about 231
1840. There can be little question that with the horse came elements
of Plains culture from the half-Plains tribes of the Columbia-Snake,
the adoption of predatory habits, and the great stimulus to slave-raiding
and to slave-trading with the people at the Dalles on the
Columbia.

Both tradition and inference assign Plains traits to this period. 177
The relative newness of Plains style of dress is attested by the incompleteness
with which it was adopted. It was never the universal garb, [291]
but confined to the wealthiest, and, most significantly, proscribed at
the performances of shamans and the Ghost dance. Further, men
did not wear Plains costume to war and set out on their raids afoot, [714]
even after the acquisition of horses, which suggests that the new
accouterment and habits had not taken firm root. The circular shield,
which also was never in general use, may well have come in at this
time. The earlier types of Plains garments here were only simply [291]
decorated or not at all. It is known that the elaborate beading of the
yoke and the use of scalps, etc., for appendages on women's dress, and [531]
the painted designs on men's shirts, are much more recent than the
first adoption of these garments. These local changes probably reflect
a similar transformation in decoration in the southern Plateau.
Possibly the dome-shaped sweat-lodge was introduced at this early [343]
period. It seems to have been displacing the small earth-covered
affair for some time. But the latter is also generically the eastern
type, not the Californian, and is without doubt older than this incursion
of Plains elements in the early nineteenth century. Finally, I
cannot avoid the feeling that the sense of tribal solidarity, in which,
even though but slightly developed, the Klamath differ from their
Californian neighbors, dates from this contact with Plains-like peoples.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath-Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
30(1689. Dentalia	R	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1690. Olivella whole shells	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	.	.	+	.
1691. Clamshell disk beads	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1692. Haliotis pieces	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1693. Banjo-shaped haliotis pendant	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1694. Bone tubes	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1695. Deer, coyote, wildcat carpals	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1696. Pine nuts or shells	(+)	•+	+	•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1697. Braided sweet grass		o					+	o	+	+	–	–	o	–	–	–
1698. Wildflowers	R	–	–	•+		•–				+	–	+	+	+	+	–
1699. Belts of hair	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1700. Worn by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1701. Worn continually	–	–	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1702. Worn on special occasions only	+	+	+	+					–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1703. Flower wreaths on head	.	–	–	•+		–		+	•+	+	–	–	•+	+	+	–
[391] 1704. Boys and girls, playing	.	–	–	+		–		+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
1705. Girls, at girl's puberty dance	R	–	–	–		–			+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
Cane or Staff																
48(1706. Straight stick	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1707. Sharpened at lower end	–	–	+					+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
1708. Used by old people	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1709. Old men																
1710. Old women	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[768] 1711. Single cane	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1712. 2 canes, if crippled		+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dress																
Headgear																
29/ 1713. Basketry cap	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•–	•R	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1714. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1715. 3-strand diagonal twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1716. Coiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1717. Worn habitually, by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1718. Worn habitually, by men	+	–	–	–	–	•–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1719. Worn for packing, not worn habitually	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1720. Worn for dances, not worn habitually.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1721. Designs on cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1722. Men's undecorated	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1723. Fur cap	+	+	•+	+	+	•–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1724. Men	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1725. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1726. Buckskin cap	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1727. Solid buckskin	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1728. Buckskin pierced with holes	–	–	–			–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1729. Worn habitually	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1730. Band around head	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	•+
1731. Buckskin	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1732. Fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
[756] 1733. Men only	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1734. Doctors only	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1735. Eyeshade	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[75] 1736. Charcoal around eyes for snow-blindness	+	•+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
Robes																
1737. Woven rabbitskin blanket	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	•+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1738. Woven bird-skin blanket	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	291
1739. Mat of whole tule or rush	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1740. Bark cape	–	+						+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1741. Cloak of shredded tule	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1742. Deer fur robes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1743. Single hide, tied at front of neck	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	
1744. Single hide, tied over shoulder	–	–	•+		•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	+	•+	.	–	
1745. 2 hides sewn together	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1746. Painted on bare side	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1747. Bear fur	–	–	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1748. Elkhide	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	
1749. Puma fur	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1750. Patchwork cape of small mammal hides	–	+	•+		+	+	+	–	–	•+	+	–	+	–	+	+	
Shirts and Gowns																	
1751. Women's buckskin gown	R	+	R	•+	R	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1752. Imported	•+	.	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[439]
o1753. Number of skins	3	2	2	2	2	•2	3	•1	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	
1754. To knee or more	R	+	R	+	R	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1755. Tied at back of neck	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1756. Tied in back, at waist	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1757. Skins, front and back	–	+	–	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1758. Tied over 2 shoulders, at waist 2 sides	–	+	+	•+				–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1759. Belted around waist	–	–	–					–			+	+					
1760. Sleeveless	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1761. Flaps over upper arms	–	–	R	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1762. Sleeves, elbow length	R	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1763. Sleeves fringed	R	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1764. Porcupine-quill decoration	R	+	R			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[237]
1765. Poncho type, 1 skin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1766. Painted	–	–	R	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1767. Shell pendants	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1768. Clamshell beads	•–		–			+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1769. Tubular bone beads	–	–	–	–	R	.	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
1770. Men's buckskin shirt	R	+	R	•+	•+	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1771. Imported	•+	.	•+	–													
o1772. Number of skins	2½	2	2	1	1	(1)	2	–	–	–	•1	2	–	–	–	–	
1773. Skins, front and back	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1774. Tied at neck	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1775. Tied at both shoulders	–		–	–			–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1776. Slipped over head	R	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1777. Open front, tied with thong	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1778. Knee length	R		R					–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1779. Sleeveless	–	+	R	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1780. Sleeves, elbow length	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1781. Sleeves, wrist length	R	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1782. Sleeves fringed	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1783. Painted	R	–	R	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1784. Bone-bead pendants	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1785. Poncho type, 1 skin	R	•+	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Loin Coverings																	
1786. Breechclout (between legs)	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	(+)	+	+	–	+	
1787. Buckskin	+	+	+	•+	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1788. Fur	.	+	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1789. Buckskin skirt, sewed sides	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1790. Wrap-around type skirt	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
● 291 1791. Men										+		+	+	−	−	+
1792. Women										+		+	+	+	−	+
1793. Buckskin	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	•+	+	+	−	−	−
1794. Bear hide												•+	−	−	−	−
*1795. 1 or more buckskins	−	+	−			−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
*1796. 4 coyote skins																+
1797. Fringed	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
1798. Fur	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−
1799. Grass stems	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1800. Soaproot fiber, reaches to knee														+	−	−
1801. Bark	+	−	−	•−	(+)	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
1802. Tule	+	+	−	−	−	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1803. Single small apron or kilt, front only	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+
1804. Buckskin	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1805. Fur	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1806. Inner bark	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
1807. Tule	−	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1808. Double apron	−	+	+	−	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	+	−	−
1809. Buckskin	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
1810. Fringed or slit	−	−	−	[illegible]	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1811. Small skins, sewn together	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1812. Woven bird skins	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1813. Inner bark	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1814. Grass	−	−	+	−	(+)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1815. Tules	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1816. String apron-skirts	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1817. On buckskin belt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1818. Nut, seed, shell strings	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1819. Shell embroidery	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
[292] 1820. Braids on cord, bottom of skirt	−	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1821. Worn by women for dances, special occasions	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1822. Buckskin trousers	−	R	−	•+	R	R	R	R	−	−	R	−	R	R	−	−

Muffs and Mittens

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1823. Muff of cased fur	•(−)	−	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1824. Sewed onto shirt, for sleeves	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1825. Single muff	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[415] 1826. Double, 1 on each arm	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1827. Quiver used as muff when hunting	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1828. Mittens	(−)	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−

Footgear and Leggings

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1829. Barefoot around house	−		+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1830. Moccasins	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1831. Men	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1832. Women	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
[556] 1833. Rich people only										+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1834. Buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1835. Fur	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
†*1836. Number of pieces	2	2	•	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	·	−	−	−
*1837. Added sole	−	•+	R	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1838. Heel seam	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
1839. Toe seam	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1840. Seam on outside	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	−	−	−
1841. Tongue	+	+	−	R	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	·	−	−	−
1842. Ankle length	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
1843. Boot length	−	−	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1844. Shell embroidery	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	291
1845. Painted, top front	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[53]
1846. Painted, seams	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	
1847. Slippers	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1848. Woven bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1849. Tule, twined	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1850. Sandal	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1851. Hide	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1852. Bark	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1853. Leggings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1854. Tule, twined	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1855. Fur piece	(+)	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1856. Buckskin	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1857. Sewed	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1858. Fringed	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1859. Painted	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1860. Porcupine-quill decoration							+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[237]
1861. Tied at knee and ankle	–	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1862. Knee-to-ankle length	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1863. Hip-to-knee length	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1864. Snowshoes	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	o	
1865. Circular	•+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	(+)	–	o	481
1866. Oval	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	o	–	+	o	
1867. Kite-shaped	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1868. Lashing withes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	o	–	+	o	
1869. Lashing buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	o	+	–	o	
1870. Lashing rawhide	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	o	–	–	o	
1871. Lashing of fiber string	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	–	–	o	
Ceremonial Dress																	
1872. Feather garment on net foundation	–	–	–	–	(+)	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	292
1873. Half length	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	
1874. Tied over shoulders	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	237
1875. Held up by shoulder straps	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1876. Tied under arms	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
1877. Full length, neck to ankles	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
1878. Down-feather ropes or strings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	•–	•–	–	•+	•+	•	•+	•+	
1879. Yellowhammer-quill band	–	–	–	–	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1880. Feather tips at intervals	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
1881. Feathers solid, edge untrimmed	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1881a. Feathers solid, edge trimmed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
1882 Worn across forehead	–	–			+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1883. Ends extend, side of head	–	–	–	–		–					+	+	–	+	+	–	
1884. Worn as belt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1885. Worn as bracelet	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[301]
1886. Worn as necklace	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–	
1887. Worn as bandolier	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
1888. Worn over head and down back	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1889. Decorated with beads	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
1890. Used as dance ornament	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[535]
1891. Used by doctor	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	[756]
1892. Whole yellowhammer feathers solid on headband	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1893. All same direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1894. Worn across forehead	–	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1895. Worn as belt	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1896. Worn as bracelet	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[301]
1897. Worn as necklace	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1898. Worn in head net	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1899. Worn over head and down back	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

854 cradle. Y-frame, U-frame, hooked-ladder frame
lying-type cradle. Horizontal (double) warp on
basketry lying cradle. Wicker weave in cradle
hood. Loose basket over head of sleeping child.
Buckskin covering on cradle partial. Sex of
child indicated by bed design. Woven skin blan-
285 kets; mats.--Checker. Weft of buckskin thongs.
Perforated stick to twist fur strips. Suspended
warp. Thumb guard of bone for shredding mat ma-
283 terial. Cordage.--Stick for twisting (1 ply at
a time). Spindle whorl.

Receptacles Other Than Baskets

415 Wood, etc.; chests, boxes; pottery.--Wooden bowl. Wooden chest. Wooden box of bent and sewed boards. Pottery vessels.

Leather Goods; Adhesives

281 Skin tanning; glue.--Fleshing or dehairing:
hide staked out with several stakes; with single
stake, other end held; with 1 end tied to tree,
other end held. Fleshed on plank. Fleshing or
dehairing tool: blunt posts; horn; shell. Tan-
ning agent: liver; wood ashes. Graining: with
381 horn. Glue from horns or hoofs; from milkweed
gum.

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

302 Coiffure; comb; care of hair.--One tie around
head, forehead level. Wooden hairpins. Bone
head scratcher as comb. Hair dyed with eel blood.
White clay on head or to wash head. Mud plaster
against lice. Hair dye in mud plaster. Hair
greased with acorn oil. Nettle roots to wash
302 head. Paint; deformations and mutilations.--
304 Face, body paints according to totem. Paint ap-
plied with brush. Mud or pitch on body for
warmth. Nasal alae pierced; lip pierced. Tattoo-
ing with bone awl. Depilation of pubic hair.
Tweezers of split cane, wood, shell. Depilation:
pitch on fingers; bone knife opposed to finger-
nail. Beard burnt off if long. Ear, nose orna-
301 ments, necklaces, etc.--Wooden ear stick, feath-
ers on end. Bone ear tube, incised. Cane or
cane pipe in ear. Cane nose ornament. Sea-lion
teeth necklace.

Dress

291 Headgear; robes; loin covering; muff.--Basket cap, for fishing with large dip net only. Feathers on net foundation for robe. Inner bark mat robe. Buffalo-fur robe. Breechclout of woven bird skins; of woven rabbitskins; of grass stems; of inner bark. Single small front apron, of fringed buckskin; with braids on cord. Double apron of woven rabbitskins. Bird-skin muff.

[164-B]

291 Footgear and leggings.--Moccasin seam on inside. Yucca-fiber sandal. Milkweed-fiber sandal. Hip to ankle leggings. Snowshoe: "handled" shape; sinew lashing, stick "lashing."

292 Ceremonial dress.--Eagle-down-rope skirt. 3-stick support for wide-band woodpecker scalps. Eagle-down-rope crown. Feather plumes: bird skin or mammal fur on body. Sea-lion tooth headband. Visor of yellowhammer feathers. Masks. Down stuck to face. Headdress of human hair.

CURRENCY

436 Dentalia, wrapped with snake skin; graded on forearm tattoo. Clamshell beads measured around palm; on arm tattoo; on thumb. Loans at interest. Olivella-disk beads. Steatite beads.

SMOKING AND TOBACCO

Pipes and Pipe Sacks

276 Pipes.--Tubular-type 1-piece pipe of cane; horn or bone; pottery. 2-piece tubular pipe; solid-wood bowl; pottery bowl; stone, bone stem or mouthpiece; stem mortised into bowl. Haliotis inlay.

Tobacco

Cultivation; preparation; uses.--Tobacco imported. Always sown on hill, not near river; transplanted; weeded. Ground in mortar; on metate. Mixed for smoking with bark, aromatic root. Kept in horn container. Tobacco eaten, drunk.

MUSIC AND DRAWING

Musical Instruments

534 Drum, rattle, rasp.--Rectanguloid drum. Cocoon rattle, feather (quill) handle, attached to arm, leg; child's toy. Gourd, deer's ear, rabbit's ear, rawhide, fish gill-sack rattles. Sheep horn(s) on stick as rattle; tortoise-shell rattle. Ornamented rasp. Bull-roarer, musical bow; flute.--Bull-roarer used to assemble people for ceremony; to stop storm; voice of thunder; used in curing; only men use. Musical bow separate instrument, hollow, of elder; perpendicular tuning peg. Flute flattened, squared around holes.

RECREATION

Games and Amusements

526 Shinny; ball race.--Shinny: basket racket or

Dress

Headgear, robes.--

291 1713. Kl: Brim on men's caps, painting of men's [184] caps, denied for Klamath Marsh groups (see Spier, Klamath, pp. 182-183). WT: "Worn at Willow Creek [Hupa] and on McCloud River [WM], but not among WT." WM: Upriver people [WS] give WM women basket caps occasionally.

1715. See Spier, Klamath, fig. 13,c, p. 180. Specimen of Kl woman's basket cap shown to all informants to verify this element.

1718. AW: If man wears basket cap, he is ridiculed. AE: Never worn by men.

1723. Worn in winter. SE: Feathers attached 00D to it. AW: Brimless.

1726. SW: Worn habitually by men to keep hair down, as women wear basket cap. Not used for packing, as men pack on shoulders.

1729. WM: In war, or war dance; covered with duck skins.

1730. SW: Used by shamans, but not by ordinary persons, except for dances (see element 1943). MV: Tule band to keep hair back.

1734. SW: "Goes with Big Head dance."

[226] 1735. Kl: Tule mat (ste'holas) 3 ft. wide, [292] 4-5 ft. long, used when fishing in daytime on ice; fisherman covers head with mat "to make it dark underneath so that he can see into the water plainly." At: Tule eyeshade woven, "like blinders"; projected from each side of wearer's head; tied on by band around head. Informant's husband used such when fishing for trout in boat at night so light would not get into his eyes.

1736. Mo: Charcoal mixed with pitch.

1737. MV: Used commonly in cold weather, especially by women when outside pounding food.

1741. At: Used in rainy weather by few people only.

[291] 1743. Kl, WS, MM: Worn thus by men and women. Mo, At, AW, MF, NM: By men only. SE, WT, WM: By women only. (See note 1744.)

1744. SE, WT, WM, NM: Worn thus by men. At, AW, AE, MF: By women.

1747. AW: N of "real" Achomawi, group at Dany (Suk'mawi) use bearskin caps. But "real Achomawi were river Indians; they stayed around the rivers, fished; every man had a canoe, and belonged to the river. They went out [hunting] for a little while, then returned to the river."

1749. Mo: Puma "costly" robe.

1750. SE: Beaver hides. WS: Worn by men and women.

Shirts and gowns.--

1751. SW: For everyday wear women's dress consists of 2 whole buckskins, seamed up both sides, tied over both shoulders.

291 1752. Kl: Bought women's buckskin dresses from 439 Molala, NW of the Kl, and the Warm Springs In-177 dians. "The Molala made them, the Kl bought them, and learned how to make them. That was quite a long time ago, about 90 years; long before the

177 Modoc War [1872-73]. There were no White people
291 in the Kl country yet, or at Portland. The Kl
traded with the Molala and the Warm Springs In-
439 dians and the Yakima; the Warm Springs and Yakima
had more horses; the Kl had only a few." SE:
000 From Warm Springs Indians. "Those Indians up
there are much smarter. The SE traded bone beads
[dentalia] for women's buckskin dresses and men's
shirts from them; SE went N and got otter skins
for button [clamshell disk] beads."

[291] 1753. Varies, according to size of woman wearer. AW: 2-3 skins. WT: 1 skin, if from big buck.

1755. WT: 2 front legs used to tie skin at back of neck.

1757. Crude-type dress, little better than 2 whole skins, tied together over shoulders and at sides, to cover front and back of wearer.

[291] 1758. SW: Tied at shoulders, but not at waist.

[177] 1768. Kl: Glass trade beads.

[531] 1770. SW: Men's everyday shirt. At: "Atsugewi men wore buckskin all the time; that's why they called him rich." AE: Recency of buckskin shirt denied.

[177]
[291]
[439] 1771. Kl: Men's buckskin shirt acquired from Molala about same period as women's buckskin gown (see note 1752). SE: See note 1752.

1772. MM: 1-2 skins.

1773. See note 1757.

1780. SW: Sleeves, of elbow or wrist length, sometimes set into armholes, especially for winter wear.

1784. At: Lacking on buckskin shirt, but 2 bone beads sewed onto front of poncho-type shirt (see element 1785).

1785. At: Worn by Madesi Achomawi also.

Loin coverings.--

1786. SE, SW, At, AE: Worn by men, women. WT, MM: Worn by men. SW: Women wear breechclout underneath skirts, but never use it as sole garment, as men often do. AW: All breechclouts (i·čiti) pass between legs, but different methods of tying them at waist; some are tied at sides. AE: Whole buckskin, legs left on; trimmed narrow where it passes between legs. Ends pass over belt tied around waist; flaps hang down over belt in back, front, "like little aprons." Men, some women wear them always; women generally in summer.

1787. SW: Breechclout made from smoked buckskin, tanned soft. If wet, rubbed and reworked until soft again. Flap of breechclout falls down in front over belt.

1788. SW: For makeshift garment only.

1793. MM: Worn in summer.

1794. MF: Tanned, with hair removed.

1795. According to size of woman.

1796. Skins sewed or tied together; tail left on back skin.

1798. MM: Winter only.

1801. SW: Informant credited Kammatwa and Katiruk groups, between Shasta proper and Karuk

[199-A]

000 [see note 282] with using shredded willow-bark skirts, "woven at top like a mat, with fringe all the way down. They were too poor to afford buckskin skirts for their women." WT: Woven, "like a gunny sack." MV: Woven willow-bark skirt; extends nearly to ankle; hangs from grass belt. Bark from 2 varieties of willow shredded, left to soak over winter in mud; in spring washed well in clear water for 2-3 days. Underneath this bark skirt woman wears long single front apron of grass, pictured in Dixon, Maidu, fig. 35, p. 163. When woman sits, this grass underapron is tucked between legs.

1802. AE: Sewed tule skirts used formerly; informant dubious concerning style of skirt.

1803. WT: Worn by women. WS: Worn by men.

1807. Mo: Worn by poor people.

1808. At: Women for everyday wear use (1) small shredded tule front apron, deer-hide back apron; (2) 2 buckskin aprons, front one larger than back one. AE: Worn by men. At, WM, WS, MM: Worn by women. NF: Worn by men, women. WM: Front apron of maple bark, back apron of buckskin. When woman sits, she draws front apron in between legs and sits on it.

1813. AE: Man going to war wears small front kilt of shredded sagebrush or greasewood bark, also back kilt of same, but even smaller than front one.

1816. For illustrations of this type skirt see Du Bois, Wintu, pl. 3, p. 147; Goddard, Hupa, pl. 8, fig. 2; Dixon, Shasta, fig. 92, p. 410. Mo: Import braided-grass apron-skirts (snakčas), pine-nut string skirts (nokčas) from Achomawi.

1820. Mo: Wealthy women only, wear.

1822. SW: Seamed up sides, tied at hips; ankle length.

Muffs, mittens; footgear, leggings.--

[291
184] 1823. Kl: Spier, Klamath, p. 210, states Kl used mittens or mufflike arm garment; my informant said not used by Klamath Marsh group. AW: Muffler of mink, weasel skin also used, for cold weather.

1828. AE: Cased wood-rat skins; used by men in winter when hunting. MF: Buckskin gauntlets with fingers. Term for these, wolosi k'ɛlko, translated as "put one's hand in it"; probably post-White, but informant stated that "when White men came the Indians threw these gloves away."

1830. SE: 2 types: (1) ankle length; (2) boot length. Unless specified in notes or otherwise, entries for elements 1830-1846 refer to both types. At: Pounded grass, or occasionally tule slippers, worn inside moccasins in winter. WM: Not worn in Stillwater area to S.

1831. Mo: Made from tanned buckskin.

1832. Mo: Made from rawhide, with hair left on.

1834. AW: Rich man's moccasins made from neck hide of buck. Poor persons use doe hide.

1836. Not counting added sole. SE: 2 pieces

000 for ankle-length moccasin; 3 pieces for boot-length moccasin.

1837. Often of elkhide. Mo: Heavy piece from neck. WM: Bearhide, from neck.

1839. WS: Some crudely made without toe seam, being merely tied around foot.

1843. AW: Made boot length as protection against rattlesnakes, hayseeds.

1844. SE: On front part of ankle-length moccasin only.

1846. MF: Back seam only.

1848. AE: Of sagebrush bark; worn in winter.

[291] 1849. Kl, Mo, SE, At: Used in winter. AE: Used in spring, during wet weather. Mo: Lined with shredded sage bark. AW: Poor man's footgear.

1851. At: Made from neck hide of deer.

1852. At: Used around camp.

1861. AW, AE: Buckskin leggings tied inside, at knee and ankle.

1863. WT: Hip-to-knee leggings, attached to buckskin band in front, worn by men when hunting in winter. 2 strings attached to band at each end; these are tied in back. Leggings themselves are tied together with thongs, at intervals down center front.

1864. SW: Dixon, Shasta, fig. 93, p. 411, pictures circular snowshoe; my informant emphatic this type not used by SW; sketched what he stated was aboriginal Shasta-type snowshoe (see fig.). SE: Informant agreed with SW statements.

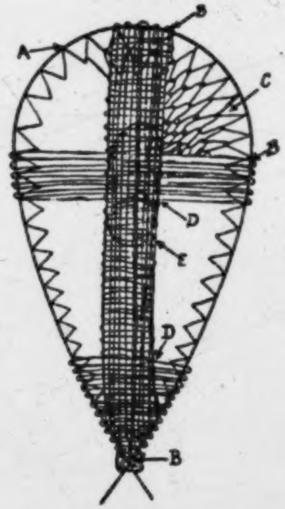

A, hazel-stick frame; B, point where end of string is tied; C, webbing of 2-ply hemp rope, such as covers entire surface of snowshoe; D, 2-ply rope, woven 1 under, 1 over; E, 2-ply string, woven for footrest.

[200-A]

[Klamath Reservation]

M
342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old
352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the
513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another
K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are
M houses that hold more than two families and others that hold
[592] only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no
K M longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content
342 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.
888
735 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women
K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered
M the visitor[11] are of powerful frame–though of no more than
142 average height–and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily
K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber
M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early
• 291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing
[177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the
trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down
the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside
add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a
K mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in
M 302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips
301 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads,
ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum
K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy
M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face,
304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by
[142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter prac-
[177] tice, says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit
River neighbors of the Modoc.

K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys.
M 512 Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grand-
[857] father and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black
waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the
sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to
stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its
K cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the
M [252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it
[415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they
[177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

I was informed were sold for three horses each, some cheaper."[6] 000

In the changing conditions of the early nineteenth century, K
the Klamath were caught up in currents generated from without. 175
The advent of horses and of firearms made it possible for the 177
tribes of the east-central Plateau, the eastern Salish and eastern 648
Sahaptin, to cross the Rocky Mountains, to hunt buffalo and [231]
enter into relations, both peaceful and bellicose, with the tribes [411]
of the Plains. As they came under Plains influence, the appeal
of Plains garb, of parfleches and tipis, grew.[7] The Klamath were K
attracted to these new goods, and the clothing at least came to [291] •
replace or supplement traditional forms of wealth. [556]

Moreover, the horse and the gun had revolutionized warfare K M
patterns. Although traditional enemies beyond the Cascades 175
were preoccupied with white settlers, on the east the Paiute were 177
gradually developing mounted bands of great mobility and 726
striking power. The Klamath and Modoc were not slow to seek 231
the new instruments of war. 411

The opening trade to the north brought a corresponding K M
intensification of the raids carried south into the territory of the 175
Pit River tribes—the Achumawi and Atsugewi—to capture women 177
and children, Pit River bows, and other loot. As Chiloquin, one 721
of the leaders of the time, recalled:

> When the Snakes [Northern Paiute] made war on us that made us keen to fight other Indians and we made war without provocation on the Pitt Rivers, Shastas and Rogue Rivers, but they never made willing war on us. Those wars lasted a great many years. We found we could make money by war, for we sold the provisions and property captured for horses and other things we needed. It was like soldiers nowadays who fight for money. We made war because we made money by it and we rather got to like it anyhow. The Snakes provoked us to make war on them.[8]

With developing warfare and the accumulation of foreign K M
wealth came a gradual transformation of Klamath, and to a 175
lesser extent, of Modoc society. The forays into hostile country 178
enlarged the scale of the war party. Chiloquin speaks of a body 726
totaling one hundred warriors, which included, according to Spier,
members of all the Klamath tribelets, and took in some Modoc as
well.[9] A joint raid on the part of Umpqua, Upland Takelma, and
other western tribes brought one such retaliatory reprisal about

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

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Native foods. The woman is hulling wokas with the two-horned muller. Both her winnowing tray and hat are twined from tules. Pond lily pods fill the pit in the background. (From Johnson, 1947.)

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The stick game, Klamath versus Paiute. The two men in the center, right, are arranging two sets of "bones" beneath the bandannas, while their side sings a power song. One of the opponents then must guess the arrangement. (From Hincks, 1915.)

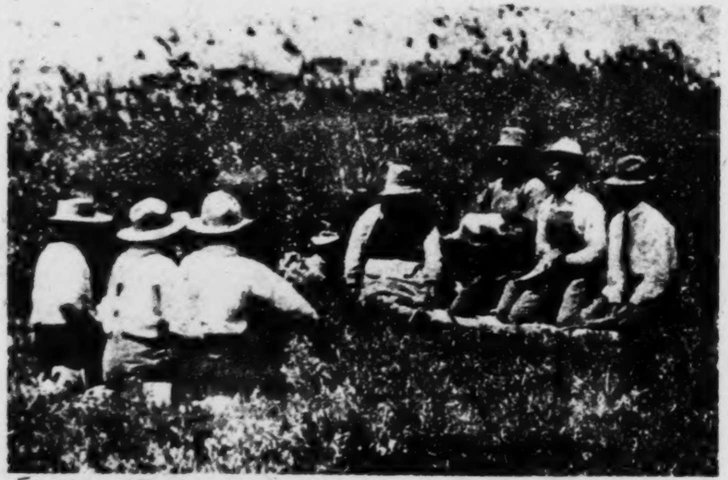

[P. 48-B]

FOUR

[P.52]

Clothing, Names, and Houses

*648 *657 177 SOME OF THE OBJECTIVES SET FORTH BY GOVERNMENTAL POLICY called for programs of broad institutional transformation in economy, political structure, and religion, and for only slightly less sweeping modifications in the family. Indian life was to assume the pattern of the rural, homesteading families of postbellum America. To judge by the wording of the treaty, a generation was deemed sufficient at least to launch the changes.[1] Meanwhile, the young were to be schooled to take up that new life—a life yet to be realized by their parents.

The dangers of increasing intergenerational frictions, of augmenting stresses between different segments of the tribesmen, were not directly faced. Among them, individuals responded to the opportunity according to their differing capacities and inclinations. Those who forged to the front in the early days of the reservation included a number of persons already familiar with life in the white settlements; and the Agency threw its weight behind them and cited their cumulative development as evidence of the wisdom of government policy. When so construed, however, their achievements created administrative expectations for their fellow tribesmen that proved unrealistic.

In enumerating the features that would be taken as indexes of progress in the statistical reports, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was doing no more than seeking common denominators of acculturation, readily observed and counted. At the same time, there was a temptation for local administrators to manipulate the
[291] [342] [554] [553] markers and satisfy the indexes directly. Thus white clothing was issued directly as part of the annuities and houses were built for Indian leaders. To these practices, and toward such acts as the bestowal of new names, there was no organized opposition, and acceptance was rapid.

acceptance was rapid. They will serve as a simple introduction to 648* 657*
the programs as a whole and to some of the underlying factors. 177

CLOTHING AND NAMES

An individual's acceptance of white clothing and names af- 177
fected only himself. Consequently, it waited less upon consensus 291 •
than did the assumption of a reservation political order, a change- 657*
over to farming, or even the decision to build a house in the new fashion. Moreover, both clothes and names, external manifestations of a new status, were supplementary to those already worn. Their addition to the stock already on hand did not at first require that native counterparts be discarded. The same eagerness shown toward Plains-type garments was now exhibited toward those new, prestigeful novelties: the blankets, trade cloth, and surplus military uniforms issued as part of the treaty annuities.

Although some of the first trade flannel was made into banners,[2] a monthly report of 1872 notes that it was being "cut into dresses for the old women and calico [is] purchased for lining."[3] A photograph of Dave Hill and Tecumseh, two Agency employees, taken in Washington in 1875,[4] shows them impeccably clad in the fashion of the day. It is unlikely that their garb could have been matched among the men on the reservation, yet the easy availability of men's clothing in the form of surplus uniforms gave men an advantage over their wives in the attainment of the new mode. For lack of suitable models, women's clothing lagged, but by 1877 the Agent could state, "The women try to imitate the fashion of dress, and many show a commendable neatness in their apparel. They adorn themselves in many instances with native styles of ornament; but they generally couple with this cleanliness of person and dress; but all, both men and women, adopt and seem to prefer the American style of dress."[5]

Along with their easy acceptance of the new clothing, the 657*
Klamath also "readily" agreed to cut their hair.[6] This was a 177
significant step, for close-cropped hair was worn only by 602
mourners, and to wear the hair in this fashion at another time might bring on a bereavement. Here the example of the whites may have provided encouragement for the step. Moreover, the 657*
whole sphere of funerary practices was undergoing change; some 177 764

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath
NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

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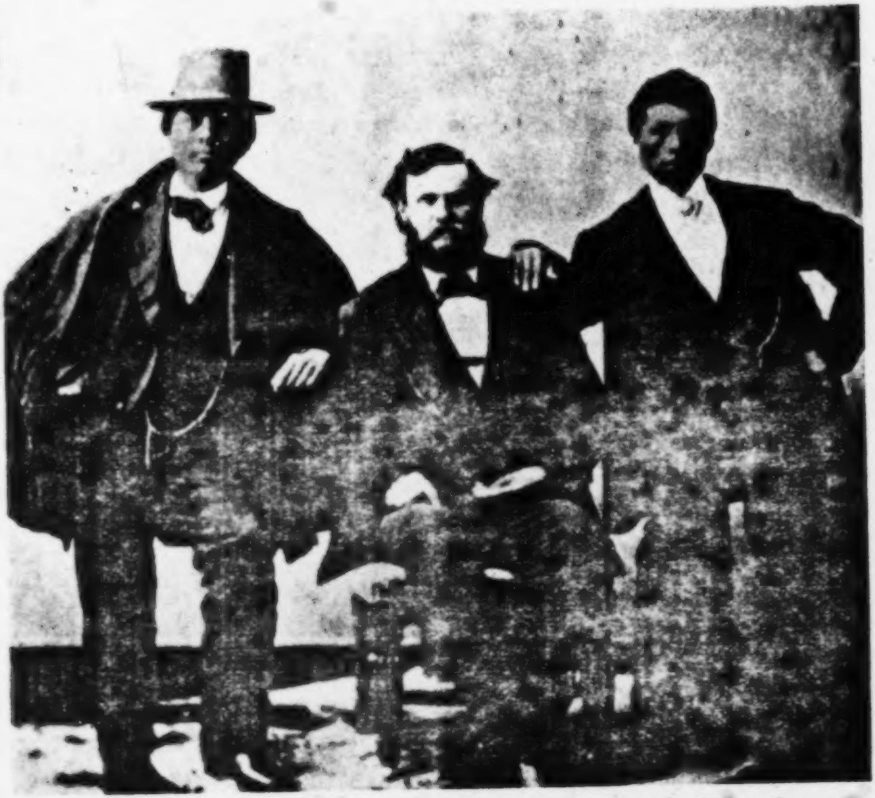

The first delegation: Tecumseh, O. C. Applegate, and Dave Hill on the lyceum tour of 1875. (From Riddle, 1914.)

[P. 80-B]

[Klamath Reservation]

[P. 144-A]

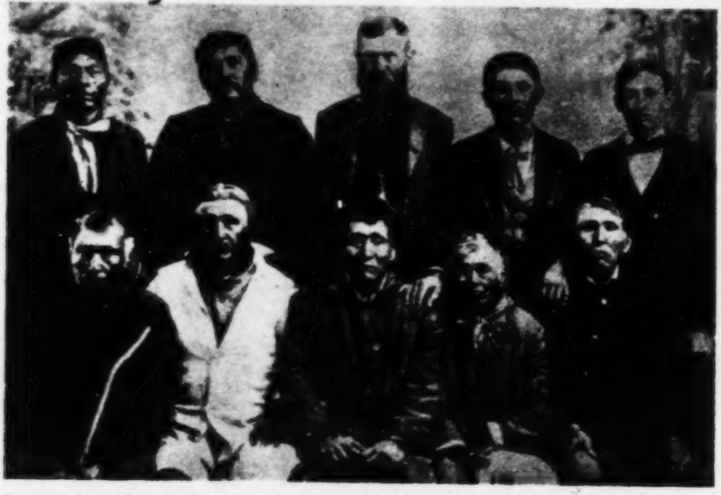

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Reservation figures just before the turn of the century. *Front row, left to right,* Monchnkasgitk, Long John, Lilu, Chief Agency George, Henry Blow; *back row, left to right,* Tom Chocktoot, Jack Palmer, O. C. Applegate, Jesse Kirk, and unknown reporter. (From Johnson, 1947.)

The new day. Jeff Riddle takes his mother, Winema, and his daughter, Minerva, for a ride. Jeff's book, *The Indian History of the Modoc War,* was just out. (From Hincks, 1915.)

[Klamath Reservation]

[P. 144-B]

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Klamath lunching after fishing in the Sprague River. (From Hincks, 1915.)

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Ranchers on the Upper End in the 1920's. In the foreground stand Jesse Lee Kirk and Sam Watah, late Paiute shaman.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P. 176-A]

311

The Modoc Point irrigation project. A government steam tractor is breaking ground for farming. (From Hincks, 1915.)

Farmer's meeting and barbecue at Modoc Point. (From Hincks, 1915.)

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252 868 seeds on, and then ground them up. We were in a hurry to grind the seeds and run down to the water to wash them. My mother told us we'd just waste the wokas if we did it that way. It was hard to move the grinder right to get the seeds to roll off the stone. My mother told me the stone had to be a little rough to grind the wokas right.

285 868 In late childhood girls also begin to learn how to make mats, baskets, and clothing.[29] Of these, mat making is considered the easiest and is the first attempted. Even in early childhood most girls try to weave tule mats. They make small dome-shaped lodges for their dolls and cover them with mats. The mother or grandmother helps the child whenever there is time. When the girl begins to make larger, more utilitarian mats, her mother gives her the materials and shows her how to use them.

In the wintertime girls sit beside their mother or grandmother as the elders make baskets. The girl is given some of the tules to split with her thumbnail and twist on her thigh. If the girl's twists come unraveled, nothing is said because the materials can be used again. The girls usually soon tire of twisting tules, and they are allowed to do as many or as few as they wish.

Small baskets are made for girls, and often the first basket a girl makes by herself is a tiny one for her dolls. The mother or grandmother starts the basket and shows the girl how to weave it. If the girl's baskets keep coming unraveled, she is teased a little and watched till she gets it correctly. Later the girl makes larger baskets with designs in tule root or porcupine quills. Certain designs are known as "beginners' designs" because they are simple to make. Other designs are much more complex, in particular those which adorn the basket hats. Few girls learn to make the large decorated baskets before they reach maturity. A girl often learns basketry from her mother-in-law.

291 593 Clothing for the entire family is made by the mother. In pre-white times dress for the wealthy was of the Plains type. Poorer people wore skirts of tule or buckskin and went barefoot. Capes of tule or shredded sagebrush bark were also worn. Very young children went naked. The mother prepares the tules and other materials for skirts and capes, and she is the one to tan and sew hides for skin clothing.

294 868 The making of clothes is one of the last skills a girl acquires before marriage. In fact, some do not learn the art until after that time. Hides are so valuable that the mother does not want to risk having the girl spoil one.

224 868 Most boys in late childhood aspire to become good hunters. Game food is far less important in the Klamath diet than fish or wokas, and

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[29] For descriptions of these materials and techniques of manufacture, see Coville (1897), pp. 89-95, Barrett, pp. 253-257, Spier, pp. 173-193, 207-217, and Voegelin, elements 1245-1341, 1388-1416, 1451-1476, 1713-1957a.

the Klamath. These mats may be made with both warp and K
weft of tule in plain twining, though the best mats are made 285
with nettle-string weft.

Tule is also used in making one form of quiver, such as that M
shown in pl. 20, fig. 1. It is said that these tule quivers were used K
chiefly by people of moderate means, the more well-to-do class 285
having quivers made of skin. Tule caps such as that shown in 411
pl. 17, fig. 6, were worn by the men. For summer wear moccasins
of buckskin, such as that shown in pl. 17, fig. 5, were always used, M
but for winter wear moccasins of tule (pl. 17, figs. 2, 4, and pl. K
19, fig. 2) were employed. A layer of dry grass was placed in the 291 •
bottom to make them warm, and it is said that one might in the dead of winter walk with comparative comfort through marshes where the water is extremely cold. With these tule moccasins are worn tule leggings, such as that shown in pl. 17, fig. 3. Another form of footwear is the circular snow-shoe of wood and rawhide (pl. 17, fig. 1). A similarly shaped but somewhat smaller shoe is worn in wading about in the mud of the marshes. The women also wore a cape or, more properly speaking, a blanket, made of shredded tule or of sage-brush bark, or of a combination
of the two. Where the wokas grows close in shore, and where M
the water is shallow and other conditions such as a moderately K
hard bottom are favorable, the women often drag about canoe- 285
shaped baskets or rafts, as they might be called (pl. 19, fig. 3), 222
into which the wokas is gathered. The weight of the wokas of course sinks the basket down partially below the surface of the water, but it always manages to keep sufficiently above water to prevent the wokas from floating away.

Another special implement used in harvesting the water-lily is the spoon-shaped basket shown in pl. 13, fig. 2.[12] After the dehiscence of the pods of the water-lily the seeds with their coating form a mucilaginous mass which floats on the surface of the water. This mass is scooped up with the spoon and placed in a basket in the canoe. These seeds, called spŏ'kwas, are kept
in water until used, since they lose their flavor if allowed to dry. M

Another use for tule is in the making of rafts. While the dug- K
out canoe above described was the chief means of traveling from 501
[726]

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[12] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10 •
Modoc NS17

M
K walked with the cradle on her back, it was bound down with a
304 piece of buckskin, and there was in some cases a harder material
used in connection with the buckskin, such as a small piece of
854 board, or a piece of willow basketry. These headbands were, of
course, properly padded to prevent actual injury to the child's
head, but the pressure was sufficient and was so adjusted that it
caused a decided flattening of both the front and back of the
M head. The younger generation has not been subjected to this
K cradle treatment and does not show the flattening, but among the
[178] older Klamath and Modoc the flattening is very pronounced.
M
K Probably due to the influence of the Shoshonean peoples to the
854 east, the cradle board finds some use among the Lutuami, but the
177 woven tule and willow cradles are typical of the region.

M In addition to the various articles of dress mentioned in speak-
K ing of the uses of tule, the Klamath and Modoc make a belt
• 291 either from the fiber of the inner bark of certain trees or from
286 human hair. These are worn by the women in every-day dress.
287 Plate 17, fig. 7, shows one of these belts of fiber.

M As a brush for dressing the hair the tail of the porcupine is
used (pl. 22, fig. 2). Usually the longer spines are removed and
K the skin of the tail is then stuffed either with shredded tule or
302 with shredded sage-brush bark. In dressing the hair the brush
237 is drawn through it directly against the points of the spines,
which, as may be seen from the illustration, lie almost flat.

K As before mentioned the Klamath have many vegetable foods
262 in addition to the wokas. Most of these are derived from small
plants, but the pine furnishes one. The inner bark of some of
the species of pine is much esteemed as a food and there is a
[237] special implement used in taking it. This knife-like bone implement (pl. 22, fig. 5) is used in separating the inner from the
outer bark, and is usually made from a deer rib or from a rib
of one of the other large animals.

SUMMARY.

M The Klamath and Modoc people possess a specialized culture,
K due largely to the extensive use of tule in the making of houses,
285 basketry, and various utensils. The only baskets made of a
harder material are conical burden baskets, triangular sifters, a

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

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GRINDING AND SIFTING WOKAS SEEDS.

[p. 267]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

M

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 17.

K

281 Fig. 1.—Snowshoe made of a hoop and strips of skin. Museum number 1-12633 b. Length 41 cm.

285 Fig. 2.—Man's moccasin of plain twined tule basketry, for winter wear. Museum number 1-12839 a. Length 42 cm.

287 Fig. 3.—Legging of plain twined tule. Museum number 1-12774. Length 44 cm.

291

481 Fig. 4.—Woman's moccasin of plain twined tule, for winter wear. Museum number 1-12773 a. Length 45 cm.

Fig. 5.—Buckskin moccasin for summer wear. Museum number 1-12506 b. Length 25 cm.

Fig. 6.—Man's cap or sunshade of plain twined tule. Museum number 1-12838. Length 28 cm.

Fig. 7.—Woman's belt made of strips of bark fiber. Museum number 1-14138. Length 86 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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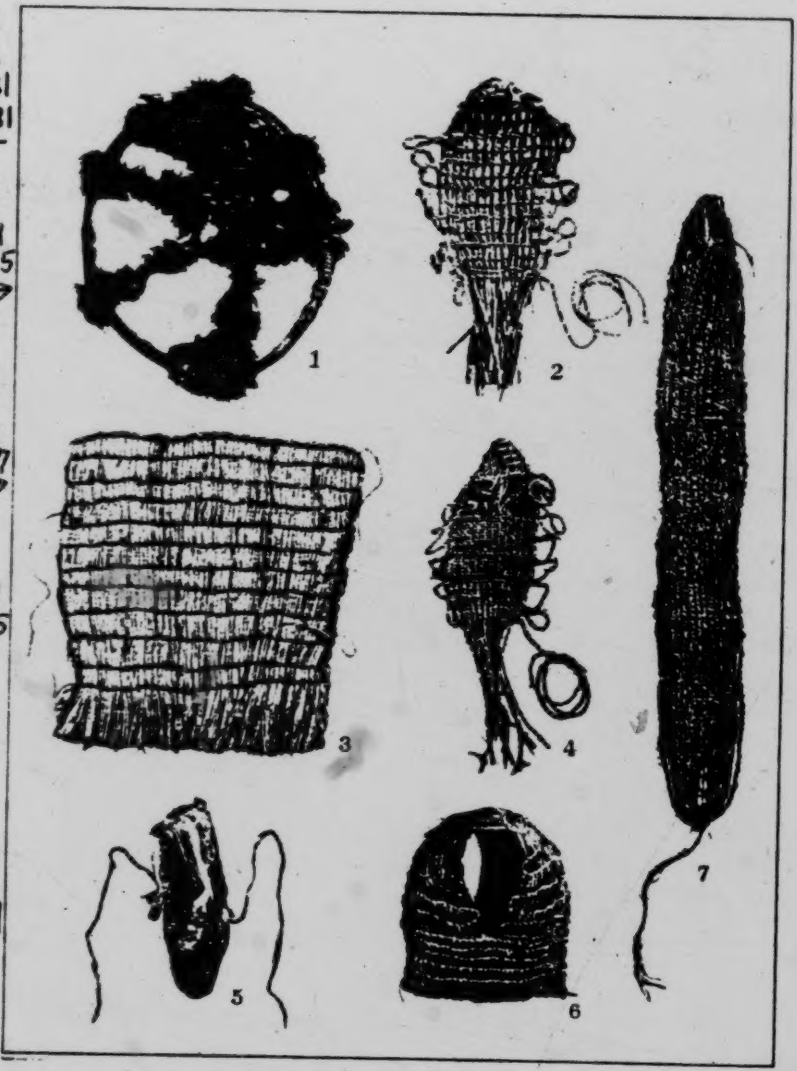

SNOWSHOE, MOCCASIN, LEGGING, CAP, AND BELT.

[p. 277]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 18.

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Fig. 1.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12385. Diameter 20 cm.

Fig. 2.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12469. Diameter 17 cm.

Fig. 3.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12688. Diameter 14 cm.

Fig. 4.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12461. Diameter 14 cm.

Fig. 5.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12460. Diameter 21 cm.

Fig. 6.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12459. Diameter 21 cm.

Fig. 7.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12802. Diameter 24 cm.

Fig. 8.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-14229. Diameter 19 cm.

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Fig. 9.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-12738. Diameter 22 cm.

Fig. 10.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-14230. Diameter 18 cm.

Fig. 11.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-12561. Diameter 23 cm.

Fig. 12.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-12335. Diameter 20 cm.

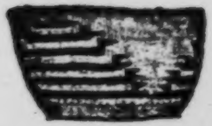
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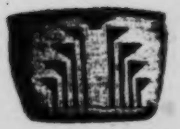
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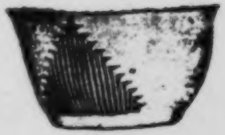
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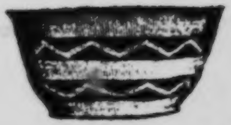
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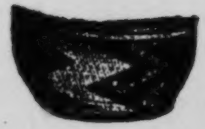
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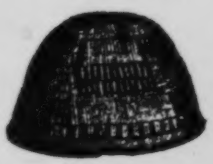
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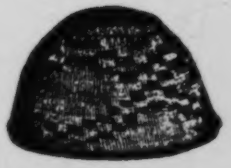
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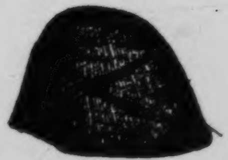
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BASKETS AND BASKETRY HATS.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[p 279]

M K 285 531 415 → M K 285 531 291 ↓

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[291]
[415]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 19.

Fig. 1.—Fish-trap of plain-twined basketry. The warp consists of willow rods. Museum number 1-12247. Length 89 cm.

Fig. 2.—Tule moccasin for winter wear, in use.

Fig. 3.—Large canoe-shaped basket of tule, in openwork-plain twining, used as a floating receptacle in gathering wokas pods. Museum number 1-12639. Length 141 cm.

5: **Barrett** E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10 ●
Modoc NS17

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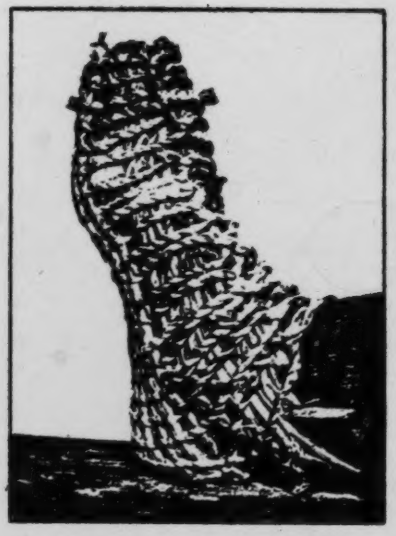

2

FISH TRAP AND TULE MOCCASIN.

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3

BASKET FOR GATHERING WOKAS.

[p. 281]

*539 90, 11. tchä'lχet for tchä'lχat! sit ye down!

90, 11. 14. wéwalχat, wawálχat. Wálχa means: to look out for, to be expectant; the dancers are commanded to make ready for the next song, which implies that they have to rise upon their feet.

90, 12. tchúinnapk. See *Note* to 70, 3.

[764] [533] 90, 13–15. The words from Slámuapk to k̲'lekápksh are commands of the chiefs or subchiefs heard at the solemn ceremonies held in or around the lodge of a deceased person the day before the funeral. Chiefs are entrusted with the leadership of choruses sung by those who mourn over the defunct, and in presence of the corpse.

90, 13. 14. shlámuapk for shlámi-uapkat, or shlámi-uapk' i! See Dictionary.

II. The items contained in section II were obtained from J. C. D. Riddle, and are worded in the Modoc dialect.

● [291] 90, 17. The Klamath Lakes wore a kind of elk-skin hat, wide brimmed, high and painted in colors, which they called púkalsh tchuyésh. Leggings were called kaiJálapsh, because they reached to the ground (käíla).

000 90, 18. 19. Shelóluka and sheshalólish; both derived from the verb shéllual, to make war, to fight.

90, 18. shtétmashtka. All Indian tribes of the border region between California and Oregon are reported to have fought with poisoned arrows in early times.

91, 1. Nkä'kgiuga, literally: on account of a childbirth. That the father denies to himself the use of meat during ten days is a custom not unlike the world-renowned *couvade;* the sweating has the effect of keeping him at home in such a time when his family stands most in need of his protection.

91, 2. shápĕle is flour of any kind of grains and the bread made from such; mák̲laksam pásh, Indian food: edible roots, berries, wókash etc.; lomkóka for the Klamath Lake: spúkli: to sweat in a sweat-house. Cf. *Note* to 89, 7.

91, 3. p'nálam shulótish, the dress which they wore at the time of the childbirth.

91, 4. Tishiwápkash. The Modoc tishíwatko, crooked, stands for Klamath Lake tishílatko, to which compare tikíwatko and tisχantko.

91, 5. k̲alk̲álish. This adjective is variously pronounced k̲álk̲ali and k̲ólk̲oli.

91, 6. In its signification lúlpût approaches very near to iúlpat, as the Klamaths would say; lúlpût, however, involves the idea: she *raises* her hand *up* to the eyes. This manipulation probably contributes to some extent to the oblique convergency of both eyes towards the nose or mouth and approaches the Oregonians to the Mongolian type of mankind. All the manipulations described are frequently repeated by mothers and other females inhabiting a lodge, and they often do it without any necessity.

91, 8. nánukî stands for nánuk gî. suéntchăm: in the Modoc dialect suéntch means a baby, infant, while carried on the baby-board; the Klamath Lakes, however, use this word in its original sense of baby-board, cradle-board, to which the infant is strapped or tied.

91, 10. ktcháyash. The application of insects etc., is certainly done for the purpose of rendering children fearless against danger and unmoved by sudden fright in after-life.

Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 109, 1. shkä'shgatkaltk. A verbal adjective of shkátkĕla, to carry on back; kă,
773 ka is the radical syllable, found also in kä'mat, *back*. This distributive form is appar-
192 ently due to vocalic dissimilation. Women carry conical baskets (yáki) on their backs
[482] when digging roots or bulbs, and throw them over their shoulders into these recep-
[193] tacles.

[222] 109, 2. 6. 8. Skélamtch. See Dave Hill's relation of the same myth; *Note* to 107, 3. In speaking of somebody who acts on the sly, and differently from what he professes and means to do, the Klamath Lake people will say: "He acts like Skélamtch." This [193] is one of the few proverbial locutions, or at least figurative modes of speech that can be traced in this tribe.

[291] 109, 3. kmä' is the rounded light cap usually worn by females, fitting tight to the skull. It is made of the stalks of aquatic plants, several species of them entering into the manufacture of each cap. The taking away of the skull-caps was intended as a signal for the women to go to their new homes.

109, 6. táta. The words of reprehension addressed by Old Marten to Weaslet are: "Did I ever order you to bring the caps of any other than of both the one-eyed women? I told you to get the caps of both one-eyed women only." Lápuk belongs to shtchûshχápkam, though separated from it by the inversion of the sentence; kmä' is left out.

[193] 109, 6. shtchûshχápkam. The distributive form of shtchû'χa is so difficult to articulate, that abbreviations of it like the above and others, have resulted. Shtchúχa is evidently the medial form of tchóχa, and its meaning is therefore "to suffer destruction on oneself." Cf. shtchúyampka.

109, 10. ni ä'pkatki. After ä'pkatki supply gi: "said, told."

109, 11. The text forgets to mention the calling in of the two one-eyed women.

109, 12. Shû'hank-shitk. In many mythic stories the newly-born children are made to grow miraculously fast, so that when a few days old they handle bow and arrows, and after a month or two they are adult people.

[194] 109, 13. ntéyäla, to make a bow or bows (nté-ish), nteyákäla, to make little bows (nteyága), nteyakalía or nteyakalíya, to make little bows *for somebody*.

109, 13. únak, *son*, is variously pronounced û'nak, vúnaka, wúnak; and so is its diminutive únakag, únakaga, vúnakak, *little son*, "*sonny*".

109, 15. hishla has two meanings, both *reciprocal:* to shoot at each other, and to shoot at the mark, *rivalling to outdo each other* in markmanship. Cf. 24, 17.

[193] 109, 15. Lówatkuk for léwatko hûk: they, after having played; participle of léwa to play.

110, 1. hûshûtánkapksh etc. "This was an approaching himself on the sly towards me" is the literal rendering of this sentence, in which the first term is a *nomen actionis*, a verbal indefinite. The two pronouns are governed by it.

110, 3. mish shli'shtka gi'uapk, if he should want to shoot you; if he should shoot at you purposely.

110, 4. Sháyuakta, "he knew." Omniscience and prescience are among the characteristic features of Old Marten, who is the personification of K'múkamtch. Cf. 107, 1. 3. 14. 108, 5. and *Note* to 107, 3.

110, 6. hútkalpěli, to rise up suddenly, to jump up again (though killed beforehand). Cf. 108, 2.

110, 11. "shui'ulatchgankan hû'n gi." Marten's son said, that his arrow, when

539 also pass as puberty songs, but I have preferred to class these under the heading of
533 songs of satire. Some are sung with melodies, others are spoken and recited only.

522 I. Satiric songs obtained in the Klamath Lake dialect from Chief Johnson, Minnie Froben and others.

[193] 189; 1. ú'yank. In this term the prefix u- gives the shape in which the tobacco was given away.

189; 2. Refers to somebody going to the Dalles or other place along the Columbia River. Cf. page 93, *Note*.

[192] [193] 189; 3. In this verse there are four particles pointing either to distance or to elevation (altitude): tú'sh, hu, the -u suffixed to nen (nen hu) and to tchfiamna. This song is sung by a woman, who hears (nen) for the first time of this assembling of geese; shésha waíwash stands for shéshash waíwash, or shéshatko waíwash: birds called waíwash-geese.

189; 5. A young woman is the object of this song-line.

[237] 189; 6. Woodpecker-scalps of shining colors are still in use for ornamenting various articles of dress, implements, &c. u'hlutuína: he flaunts it and parades in it.

[192] [193] 189; 7. Ká tal? who then? who after all? abbreviated from kaní tala. Dresses made of walχátchka-skins passed for the poorest and meanest of all garments.

[291] 190; 9. This is sung by men only.

190; 13. A satire on feminine voracity. Sung by Klamath women from Klamath Marsh. Cf. below, 190; 21.

190; 12. haktchámpesh; -pesh is the suffix ptchi phonetically altered, the word introducing a comparison of the "striding one" with the young klítish-crane in the same song. A sarcasm on a long-legged person with swinging gait.

190; 16. Regularly worded, this proverb-like verse would read as follows: Kă'-útchish gû'lu wŏ'n=lákiash shamĕnakía.

000 II. Satiric songs obtained in the Modoc dialect from Toby Riddle and J. C. D. Riddle.

190; 18. A tatler has received the deserved bodily punishment for his gossip-tales. Of the first word no grammatic analysis could be obtained in either tribe.

190; 19. The business of gathering edible roots devolves exclusively on women, but here an old man, Bin, who still lives among the Modoc at Yáneks, is indulging in this useful pastime. That 's where the point of the satire lies. Hlívash is a word unknown to the Klamath Lake people in the signification of "basket".

190; 20. Sung by the national deity when foiled in the attempt of killing five lynxes by throwing stones at them; repeated from the shashapkĕléash, page 126, 3. Cf. *Note*.

190; 21. To be found in another version among the Klamath Lake songs; there it refers to a female living on Klamath Marsh, not on Klamath Lake.

190; 22. This tune was with many similar ones improvised by the Modocs, who visited the East a short time after the Modoc war, on seeing crowds of blacks filling the streets. All Indians feel *at first* a peculiar very strong aversion against the Ethiopian race, though subsequently they often become friends and intermarry.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963

NR 10 Klamath NR 10

115
142
• 291
302

Mrs. Pansy Ohles

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285
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115

Mrs. Jones, starting a basket

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

Robert David and granddaughter

142
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302
[115]

Billet Lobert

115
142
291
252
302

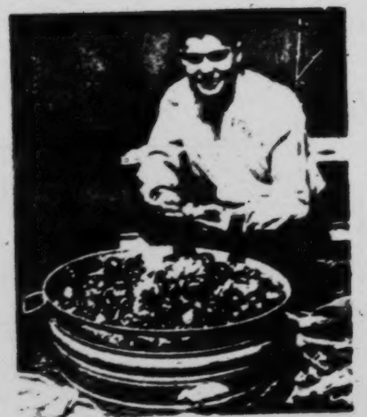

Andrew Ortiz, Jr., opening wokas pods

[Pp. 124-125 Contain no ethnographic material]

292

292 SPECIAL GARMENTS--clothing of special occasions (e.g., festive apparel, rain gear, bathing costumes); headgear and footwear not ordinarily worn; costumes associated with special statuses and activities; special methods of wearing garments; etc. See also:

Dance and dramatic costumes	53	Military uniforms	714
Personal or body armor	714	Ceremonial attire	796

BIRTH

The birth of a first child is an especially significant occasion. If 844
it is the mother's first it will bring strong winds and thunder.[77] The [821]
Klamath also hold that in at least one other crisis, on the death and
cremation of a shaman, the wind will rage. For the father the coming [756]
of the firstborn is one of those occasions on which to seek power in
the mountains.

Birth (wiă'sla) must always take place outside the dwelling in a [343]
dome-shaped lodge especially prepared by the mother of the expectant
woman, her mother's sister, or cousin. This is not the menstrual lodge,
for this is used only by women of a shaman's household. This pro- [171]*
scription of delivery within the dwelling is shared by other tribes of
this latitude (Shasta, Northwestern Maidu, Lemhi, and Wind River
Shoshoni) but is unknown to the south.

A woman's first delivery is attended by four or five old women
well-known for their skill as midwives and hence not of necessity her
relatives. They are sometimes paid a fathom of beads. Men are
excluded from the lodge. It may be that no man will chance con-
tamination. I do not know whether shamans are called in difficult [756]
cases. It would seem likely, since they have some genuine medical
practice, were it not for this restriction.

The procedures surrounding parturition are almost wholly practical and physiologically well founded. The attendants press on the woman's abdomen and lift her repeatedly to hasten delivery. She lies on her back on a bed of grass with a soft pad (coyote or raccoon skin, or duck feathers) arranged to receive the baby. The umbilical cord is cut with an obsidian knife and the stump tied with the mother's hair. If anything else is used for the tie the child will continually cry. The afterbirth (yĕpĕno'ŋ ?) is deeply buried so that no
animal may devour it and make the woman barren. Immediately 846
after birth she is seated in the lodge on a bed of hot stones, covered
with leaves. On this she must remain blanket-covered for five days.
She drinks warm water freely; she may not eat meat nor fish, and must
use a scratching stick, just as during catamenia and mourning. At [292] ●
the birth of a first child both parents wear sage-brush bark belts for

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[77] It is also the view of the Wishram that the weather is stormy or hot at the birth of a child, according to my information. [171]*

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

846 [292] five days. This is the belt also worn in mourning for a child and by a girl at puberty. I was not told of restrictions on the father's conduct, but if he is seeking a vision at this time he fasts of necessity for some days.[78]

856 The attending women pinch up the baby's nose and smooth its features to make it handsome. They are especially careful with a boy to straighten and massage his legs so that he may become a good runner.[79] A tight belt of buckskin is put on a girl baby so that she
853 will not become stout. The baby is put to breast immediately. Expectant mothers massage the breasts and squeeze out the first milk.

846 The stump of cord falling off after five days, the navel is greased in order to help it heal. The stump, wrapped in buckskin, is put away by the parents with those of other children. Some precaution is taken to preserve it, at least during the early years, else the baby will die, but it is certain to disappear by the time he is grown. Should the baby die the cord is replaced to be burned with the body.

801 The several references to five-day periods, and we may add the five-day monthly seclusion of women, deserve a word of comment. To be sure there is some basis in fact for this; menstruation, post-natal placental flow and hemorrhage, and the sloughing of the cord do commonly occupy some such period. However, in consideration of individual variation, it is clear that the stated five is but another application of the Klamath pattern number.

852 [171] There is no formal celebration at the birth of a child, as among the Wishram.

856 Some other practices pertaining to childhood may also be noted here. Deciduous teeth are pulled out by the mother as they loosen so that the permanent teeth will erupt in their proper places. This has actually such an effect as well as stimulating the growth of the second dentition. There are no customs regarding these teeth; they are thrown away.

A little girl's hair is made to grow long and thick by singeing it with a lighted splinter of a lightning-struck tree. This is not done for boys.

845 There is no special attitude toward twins (ləbă'als) so far as I could discover. This is noteworthy because of the fear of twins mani-

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[171]

[78] Modoc parents abstain from meat for ten days after the birth, eating only roots. They sweat for five days and then throw away their garments (Gatschet, 1:91).

[79] The Modoc method is described by Gatschet (*loc. cit.*).

Another circling dance, called sko'tcpüs, may not be a social dance but may be used in the scalp and war dances in a way that is not clear. Here those in the circle do not hold hands and their step consists in shuffling along by moving the toes and heels alternately. 535

The headdress for dancers consists of long eagle feathers, or a bunch of small eagle and gull feathers may be kept in place on top of the basket hat by means of cord passing under the chin. Downy feathers are hung pendant at the back of the head. [292] •

New Year's observances, or new fire ceremony, such as the Yurok and Karok know, are not found among the Klamath.[144] 796 171*

ETIQUETTE

The Klamath are on the whole a hospitable and friendly lot. 574
Good breeding demands that visitors be invited to share one's meal.
There is no studied effort at ostentatious feasting, however, nor is
food forced on a visitor in the manner of our eastern Indians. If
visitors, men or women, arrive at meal time, the children of the household
are sent out on the pretext, as they tell the children, that the
food will stick in the visitors' gullets. A kind of grace is said before
eating. Bits of food are cast toward the spirit places to feed them
first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula[145] is a prayer.
Good form does not demand that the visitors clean up their portions,
nor does one hear the smacking of lips in appreciation. There is 264
among them no objection to noisy eating. Children are told not to
talk while eating fish, for fear of their swallowing bones. It is usual
to rinse the mouth with water before and after eating. Soiled fingers [515]
are washed in a near-by stream after the meal. Children are definitely
instructed in good behavior.

The common salutation to the visitor is i gŏtpi'iᴇ, yes, have you come?, followed by go'li, come in. On leaving, the guest announces i gă'mbĭn, yes, I am going, which evokes the invariable response i gă'mbli, yes, go. One hears moĭ'nakăndĭtc, thank you, but rarely. 576

For a man to remove a woman's hat from her head is reprehensible; it is usually construed as a solicitation.

Certain behavior is not so much a matter of general good form as of sex difference. Egress from the earth-lodge is by a ladder projecting through the hatchway overhead. Men mount the rungs facing the ladder, but women place their feet sideways, mounting crab-wise. [481]

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[144] Kroeber, Handbook, 53, 102.

[145] See p. 168.

756
532 The Field Museum collection contains a carved wooden image (no. 61763) of a woman bearing a child on her back. This may be one of the figures set on a shaman's house, although I was not told of such. It is about forty inches high. The carving is rudimentary; there is nothing to indicate how the child is carried. The ear lobes of the woman's figure have been pierced and a bit of cloth inserted.

756 The stuffed skin of a blue crane is also propped up outside. I presume these are placed there only when the boy and crane are the shaman's spirits.[159] Gatschet's informant mentioned a red fox skin hanging on an oblique rod set up outside the lodge.[160] A tall slim pole, called wa'ʼlasdŭ'pka (wa'ʼlas, standing up), with horizontal bands of red, is erected in front of the house, that is to the east, about fifteen feet distant. A long cord pendant from the top bears at intervals mixed bunches of feathers from eagles and other spirit birds. A miniature gambling tray tied to it belongs to a woman spirit, and near the top is a piece of wood representing the spirit wōḳda'lis, which so far as I could learn *is* wood. Similar feather-bearing cords hang from the house posts inside the lodge, but here the gambling tray is one of standard size. All such articles, his special decorations, regalia, pipe, and baskets, are known as the shaman's mŭ'lwas, paraphernalia.

/ A shaman's outfit "used in certain curing rites" in the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 61564) consists of a cord at intervals on which are tied alternately short sticks and wooden tablets. The short sticks are reeds, nine in number, four to seven inches long. These have marks burned (?) transversely or spirally on them. The tablets are rectangular, with rounded corners and with a short handle at one end by which they are tied to the cord. These measure about five and a half inches long by two inches wide, and are painted red except for the section nearest the cord, which is black. The two-strand cord is also red.

756
• 292 The shaman's dress includes a band of woodpecker scalps worn on the forehead or around the neck, or a bunch of red-shafted flicker (yellowhammer) feathers attached to the top of the hat or worn as a necklace. Shamans alone wear these. These are the familiar ornaments of northern Californian dancers. The forehead band reaches just behind the temples; the woodpecker scalps are fastened on a buckskin foundation. The quills of the flicker feathers are doubled
[302] over the cord on which they are strung. The shaman's body is painted red during the winter performances, but not at all when he is curing. That he is barefoot emphasizes the recency of moccasins. The shaman puts on special dress to cure only if the case is urgent. He then dons a mink or weasel skin hat with feathers of all sorts attached, a special

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[159] The Modoc also place them on the lodge, I was told.

[160] Gatschet, 1:71–72.

756 292 [302] (?) buckskin shirt, and wrist and neckbands of weasel. Some shamans wear a necklace of grizzly bear claws. (Other men never wear bear claws.) His face is painted black. Then he is powerful to cure, sawi'gañ gi'na. Gatschet describes a band of otter skin worn round the neck and bearing various shells, feathers, bird scalps, etc.; hence it "must unite the magic powers of them all."[161]

Some articles of shaman's regalia are in the collections of the Field Museum. A bear-skin cap (no. 61563?) consists of the head skin, decorated on two or three sides with circular disks of buckskin ornamented with quillwork. These are one and three-quarters inches in diameter, and bear three concentric equidistant rings of quillwork, the most central containing a cross of the same.

A shaman's wand "used in curing ceremonies" (no. 61676) is a three-foot shaft bearing bunches of feathers bound on at two points, with a bundle of dew claws tied to the butt. The feathers are gray; they are bound at points about one-third of the distance from each end of the shaft. The bindings and the shaft have been painted red. The dew claws are pendant on individual thongs, each of which is wrapped with quills at two points.

291 292 [177] The prescriptions affecting the dress of the laity at the shamanistic performances are illuminating. Everyday dress, at least for wealthier individuals, is of the Plains type; moccasins, skin shirt, long leggings, and breech clout for the men and long skin dress for women. Poorer people wear skirts of tule or buckskin and are barefoot. But the latter garb is obligatory at these dances. This is clearly another instance of conservatism in the field of religion, for the marginal position of the Klamath to the area in which Plains garments are worn, and the known recency of manifold contacts with the Plains-like tribes of the Columbia suggest that Plains dress is a recent acquisition. The hair hangs loosely down the back but is tied about close to the head. As usual basket hats are worn. Dancers, however, wear hats made of animals which are spirits.

756 784 Taboos and other restrictions on shamans are only feebly developed. A shaman must avoid a menstruant woman; in fact, women who live in a shaman's house must leave their homes at these periods, whereas otherwise this is not usual. Etiquette requires that anyone crossing the lodge must pass in back of a seated shaman, at least when he shows signs of communing with his spirits or is eating. This holds whether a performance is going on or not. Otherwise blood gushes from his mouth and he falls unconscious. One informant had seen this happen to the berdache shaman White Sindey while she was eating. The result is the same if anything falls in front of a shaman. There are

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[161] *Op. cit.*, 1:172.

756 He sang a song of the weasel spirit. The animal rose and danced, holding up his fore paws. That evening Pat's parents took him into the lodge again. The shaman sang the weasel song again. It danced as before; then it disappeared. No one moved. It was dark in the lodge; the shaman had two men standing on opposite sides with torches. He sang a weasel song, telling them to watch for the weasel's return. Suddenly its tail appeared from the ground, shaking. He sang a second weasel song for some time and its hind quarters appeared. A third song brought the trunk, and with the fourth the weasel lay there motionless. Everyone saw it. The shaman asked, "Did you find that the weasel came back?" "Yes." "Did everyone see it?" "Yes." After this they had spirit singing again, so Pat was sent out by his mother. There were bad spirits coming, which might catch and kill him for no one could cure him.[168]

WEATHER CONTROL AND CLAIRVOYANCE

The shaman's art is not confined to these winter performances, but is invoked during the year, not only for curing, but whenever his ability to manipulate conditions and to prophesy is needed. The weather is controlled, fish are made to run, lost articles and thefts discovered, the fate of a war party is foreseen, and the community protected against malignant spirits. It is easy to see why the shaman transcends the chief in the popular mind, for there is not only the recurring winter ceremony in which the shaman alone has a stellar part, but in every emergency they turn to him, not to the chief. Even in war, the one occasion for a layman to star, the shaman steps in to dim his prominence.

756 789 There are no special weather shamans and the practice is by both sexes. There is the limitation, however, that weather control is exercised only through certain spirits, which the novice does not have.

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[532] [168] There are three stone figurines in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California (catalogue nos. 1-14181, 1-14182, 1-14212) which were said to have been collected on the Klamath reservation and to have been used ceremonially. Two roughly resemble animals, one with a pack, and the third a human bust. Repeated inquiries brought only denials from my informants of any knowledge of their use. Nor have any figurines been found in their country. They may nevertheless have been the private medicine of some shaman. Somewhat similar stone figures from the Wasco are in the collection of the Field Museum of Natural History.

[292] In the Field Museum collection is also a pair of eye rings (no. 61533), resembling our spectacle frames, which were "worn by men with blackened faces to frighten children at certain ceremonies." I learned nothing of such articles. The rings and the cords to fasten them about the head are made of strands wrapped with bark.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1860-1900)

which their assistants hold or with which they dance. In fact, the use 171*
of special dance staffs is general among all Quinault who have spirits, 532
as it is among the southern Puget Sound Salish. It is strange that 756
neither Dr. Sapir nor I learned of either type of carving among the 535
Wishram, but our information is not full.[492] [114]

A tall painted pole is erected in front of the Klamath shaman's 171*
lodge from which dangles a cord bearing at intervals bunches of
feathers, a piece of wood, and a miniature gambling tray, all these 756
representative of spirits. There are analogues of this southward to the 778
Maidu. Such a pole is also erected outside a Modoc shaman's dwelling; it is painted and bears the skins and feathers of various spirit animals. It is used earlier at the novice's dance. This is described as some three or four meters high and decorated with paint and a few feathers. Such a pole is set up when a Shasta shaman rids a locality of disease: it has baskets hung from it. Again when an Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman cures, a pole is sometimes set up near the house, to which is tied a bunch of feathers (*qaqu*). The *qaqu* has a significant function; it is obtained with difficulty on his spirit quest and has the power to tell him where the disease is located. The poles used for a Northeastern Maidu shaman novice are somewhat different. They are set up on the roof of the house in which the inaugural dance takes place, and inside above the spot where he stays; others are carried to the mountains where novices go on their quests. These are short wands, a meter to a meter and a half long, variously painted, with pendent strings of feathers and acorn shells, or bunches of feathers. These have some obscure but intimate relation to his spirits. Similar wands are set up at the dedication of a new dance house by the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento valley.[493]

Among the items of a Klamath shaman's costume are a forehead 171*
band or neckband of woodpecker scalps mounted on a buckskin founda- 756
tion and a bunch of yellowhammer feathers worn on hat or neck. 292
The feathers of both these birds have value and ceremonial usage in California but not to the north.

Woodpecker scalps attain the status of money among the Yurok 171*
and perhaps their neighbors. Not only have they value in themselves,
but they are worked into ceremonial headdresses over most of northern 292
California. The Yurok and Hupa use forehead headbands like those 435

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[492] Boas, Notes on Tillamook, 10, Doctrine of Souls, 40; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[493] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130, 136; Dixon, Shasta, 475–476, 487, Notes on Achomawi, 218, Some Shamans, 24, Northern Maidu, 275–278, 312.

*171 292 435 of the Klamath in their Jumping dances, and the Hupa "roll-woodpecker hats" in their Brush Dance. Dixon figures what is probably a Shasta shaman's headband with a large woodpecker scalp affixed. Northern Maidu make use of a belt or bandolier of woodpecker scalps now mounted on buckskin, but formerly on a netted foundation. A headdress like a helmet, covered with these, is worn by the highest members of their secret society. A spirit impersonator of the Sacramento Valley Maidu wears a forehead band of these scalps, tapering at its ends. Pomo women wear "a woven band of woodpecker feathers" (scalps?) presumably in dances: this suggests a net foundation. In all the other cases cited above the foundation of the band is a buckskin strip. Kroeber has pointed out that the Yurok headband (and I would add here all northern analogues) have skin mounting, while those used in the Kuksu dances of the lower Sacramento valley are made on a close network. The Northern Maidu belt then represents an intelligible transformation of technique. Klamath and Shasta shamans' headbands, and the Takelma shaman's mere use of the feathers in his hair, are attenuated usages.[494]

Klamath use of yellowhammer feathers is only casual and would have no significance were these not regularly part of ceremonial regalia to the south. There the form is commonly a forehead band. Their use is primarily central and northern Californian and they are not found in most of southern California.[495] A search of the literature shows the use of such bands by shamans only among Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northeastern Maidu, and the feathers alone by Takelma shamans.[496] Elsewhere they are non-shamanistic dance regalia: Chilula, Sinkyone, Coast Yuki, Yuki, Pomo, Patwin, Northern and Southern Maidu, Yokuts, Koso, and Luiseño.[497] It will be observed that this distribution avoids the Klamath river tribes.

*171 156 Circumspection of action in the presence of a shaman is held necessary in a number of groups from Thompson to Maidu. His immediate presence is fraught with power, so that making contact with him by his shadow or one's own, startling him, or making a misstep in passing, are all potentially dangerous. A shaman of the Northern

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[494] Kroeber, Handbook, 26, 56, 433–434; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 19, 69, 86; Dixon, Shasta, 481; Northern Maidu, 149, 284; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 157; Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 264.

[495] Kroeber, Handbook, 140, 149, 508, 665.

[496] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 219, Northern Maidu, 283; Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 316; Sapir, *op. cit.*, 264.

[497] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 140, 149, 173, 216, 261, pls. 59 and 77, 508, 591, 665; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 152, 283; Faye, Southern Maidu, 48, 50.

*171 Wooden images are unique in the non-woodworking culture of Klamath and
756 Modoc, yet this too is traceable southward from the same center.[1] It is
532 far less certain that clairvoyance in connection with a war party is derived from that source, yet the trait is shared by the northern coastal people.

*171 Some elements are local in the Oregon-north California interior. Such is the shaman's assistant, his mouthpiece and interlocutor. He
755 is present at cures from Wishram to Achomawi; present at seances
756 from Klamath to Southern Maidu. For some of the Maidu he is a clown, which links him with the clown among the Kuksu impersonators of central California. There is reason to think that this functionary is historically connected with the chief's speaker known from the Northwest Coast through the interior to the Southwest. Other local elements are the pole having spirit reference (Klamath to Northern Maidu), the notion that food is first eaten by the spirits (Takelma, Shasta, Klamath), the ridding of a locality of disease (Klamath, Shasta, Achomawi-Atsugewi).

*171 Other elements, while local, are somewhat more widely distributed. There is the circumspection with respect to the shaman's shadow and
756 to startling him; the notion that weather changes at birth and death;
[821] all these are common from southern British Columbia to the Maidu, largely through the interior.

*171 The Klamath shamans' dress bears some imprint of northern and
756 central Californian influence in the use of woodpecker scalp headbands and of yellowhammer feathers. Both are characteristic dance
• 292 regalia in the south; on the Oregon border they have passed over to
237 the shamans.

*171 In broad perspective Klamath shamanism is of generalized, undifferentiated North American type, sharing some features that are
756 local, and but moderately influenced from the Northwest Coast and the central and northwestern foci of California. Its general nature is recognizable in the quest and the undifferentiated power it yields; the most marked local elements are the predisposition to inherit power, the novice dance, and the shaman's assistant. California at large appears in the dream as a vehicle of acquiring power; northern California in the dwarfs that figure among Klamath spirits; central California in the shaman's headdress. Northwest Coast influences are no stronger; repossession in midwinter and the use of carvings color Klamath shamanism only mildly.

[1] [i.e., the Northwest Coast.-Analyst]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
291 1791. Men										+		+	+	–	–	+
1792. Women										+		+	+	+	–	+
1793. Buckskin	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–
1794. Bear hide												•+	–	–	–	–
*1795. 1 or more buckskins	–	+	–			–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
*1796. 4 coyote skins																+
1797. Fringed	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
1798. Fur	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–
1799. Grass stems	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1800. Soaproot fiber, reaches to knee														+	–	–
1801. Bark	+	–	–	•–	(+)	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
1802. Tule	+	+	–	–	–	–	•(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1803. Single small apron or kilt, front only	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+
1804. Buckskin	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1805. Fur	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1806. Inner bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
1807. Tule	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1808. Double apron	–	+	+	–	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	+	–	–
1809. Buckskin	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
1810. Fringed or slit	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1811. Small skins, sewn together	–	+	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1812. Woven bird skins	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1813. Inner bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1814. Grass	–	–	+	–	(+)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
1815. Tules	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1816. String apron-skirts	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1817. On buckskin belt	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1818. Nut, seed, shell strings	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1819. Shell embroidery	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[292] 1820. Braids on cord, bottom of skirt	–	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1821. Worn by women for dances, special occasions	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1822. Buckskin trousers	–	R	–	•+	R	R	R	R	–	–	R	–	R	R	–	–

Muffs and Mittens

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1823. Muff of cased fur	•(–)	–	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1824. Sewed onto shirt, for sleeves	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1825. Single muff	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[415] 1826. Double, 1 on each arm	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1827. Quiver used as muff when hunting	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
1828. Mittens	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	•(+)	–	–	–	–

Footgear and Leggings

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1829. Barefoot around house	–		+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1830. Moccasins	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1831. Men	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1832. Women	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
[556] 1833. Rich people only										+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1834. Buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1835. Fur	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
†*1836. Number of pieces	2	2	•	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	.	–	–	–
*1837. Added sole	–	•+	R	+	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1838. Heel seam	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1839. Toe seam	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1840. Seam on outside	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	–
1841. Tongue	+	+	–	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–
1842. Ankle length	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1843. Boot length	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	KM	HS	MV	
1844. Shell embroidery	-	-	·+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	291
1845. Painted, top front	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	[531]
1846. Painted, seams	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	
1847. Slippers	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1848. Woven bark	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1849. Tule, twined	·+	·+	·+	-	·+	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1850. Sandal	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1851. Hide	-	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1852. Bark	-	-	-	-	·+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1853. Leggings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
1854. Tule, twined	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
1855. Fur piece	(+)	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1856. Buckskin	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1857. Sewed	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1858. Fringed	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1859. Painted	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1860. Porcupine-quill decoration							+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[237]
1861. Tied at knee and ankle	-	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1862. Knee-to-ankle length	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
1863. Hip-to-knee length	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1864. Snowshoes	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	o	
1865. Circular	·+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	o	(+)	-	o	481
1866. Oval	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	o	-	+	o	
1867. Kite-shaped	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1868. Lashing withes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	o	-	+	o	
1869. Lashing buckskin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	o	+	-	o	
1870. Lashing rawhide	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	o	-	-	o	
1871. Lashing of fiber string	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	o	
Ceremonial Dress																	
1872. Feather garment on net foundation	-	-	-	-	⊗	·-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	292
1873. Half length	-	-	-	-	⊗	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	·+	
1874. Tied over shoulders	-	-	-	-	⊗	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	237
1875. Held up by shoulder straps	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1876. Tied under arms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	
1877. Full length, neck to ankles	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
1878. Down-feather ropes or strings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·-	·-	·-	-	·+	·+	·	·+	·+	
1879. Yellowhammer-quill band	-	-	-	-	·+	·-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1880. Feather tips at intervals	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	
1881. Feathers solid, edge untrimmed	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1881a. Feathers solid, edge trimmed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
1882. Worn across forehead	-	-			+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1883. Ends extend, side of head	-	-	-	-		-					+	+	-	+	+	-	
1884. Worn as belt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	
1885. Worn as bracelet	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	[301]
1886. Worn as necklace	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	(+)	+	+	-	-	
1887. Worn as bandolier	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	
1888. Worn over head and down back	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	
1889. Decorated with beads	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	
1890. Used as dance ornament	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[535]
1891. Used by doctor	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	[756]
1892. Whole yellowhammer feathers solid on headband	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1893. All same direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1894. Worn across forehead	-	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1895. Worn as belt	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1896. Worn as bracelet	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[301]
1897. Worn as necklace	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1898. Worn in head net	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1899. Worn over head and down back	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

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[756]
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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1900. Used by doctors only	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1901. Feathers notched at sides	+	+	.	+	+	•+	+	–	.	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1901a. Decorated with rattlesnake rattles		–	–						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1902. Woodpecker scalps on band	–	•–	+	•(–)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1903. Buckskin band	–	–	+	(–)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
1904. Fur band	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
1905. Woven-fiber band	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
1906. Scalps sewn on	–	–	+	(–)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–
1907. Scalps tied on	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–
1908. Scalps glued on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–	–
1909. Beaks left on scalps	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1910. Single row of scalps	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–
1911. 2 or more rows of scalps	–	–	–	–	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1912. Headband	–	–	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
1913. Belt	–	–	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
1914. Necklace	–	–	+	–		+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1915. Bandolier	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1916. Woodpecker scalps in feather headdress												+	–	+	–	+
1917. Woodpecker scalps on head net	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
1918. Mallard duck neck skins on band	–	–	–	–	–	•R	+	–	o	o	+	–	+	o	o	+
1919. Headband	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1920. Belt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1921. Cap	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1922. Bunch of feathers, tied to top of hair	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1923. Topknot headdress	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
1924. Whole feathers radiating from crown of buckskin cap	–	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
1925. Feathers tipped with small white feathers	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1926. Buckskin strip down back, feathers attached	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1927. "Big head" feather-tipped radiating stick headdress	–	–	R	–	•–	R	–	R	–	R	–	+	–	+	–	+
1928. Feather plumes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
1929. Single primary or tail feather	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1930. 2 primary or tail feathers			+						+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–
1931. Woodpecker scalp on feather	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1932. Shells, cedar, small feathers attached								+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1933. Used by doctor	–	–	–		+			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1934. Spliced	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+
1935. Forked ... times.	–	–	–	–	•2	•2	•2	–	–	–	2	2	–	2	.	2
1936. Twisted sinew body	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	.	+
1937. Stick base	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	.	+
1938. Feathers bunched at fork or top of base	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	.	+
1939. Yellowhammer-quill attachment	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	+
1940. Yellowhammer feathers attached.	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
1941. Worn on head	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	–	+	+	–	+	.	+
1942. Hand-held	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	R	R	–	–	–	–	.	–
1943. Fur headband or blind	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1944. Feathers suspended from lower edge	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	~	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1945. Visor	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1946. Head net	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	–	+
1947. Flowing down back	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1948. Close woven	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1949. Open woven	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1950. Feathers at bottom	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1951. All on head	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
1952. Bag type	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1953. Hammock type	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
1954. Down-filled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
1955. Down tied on back part	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1956. Down woven into	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	292
1957. For war, dances only	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	[535]
1957a. Worn habitually by some men	-	-	-	-	+	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[721]

CURRENCY, TREASURE

Currency

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1959. Dentalia	R	+	+	+	•+	+		•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	436
1960. Standard of value	-	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	825
1961. Incised	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1962. Feathers on large end	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1963. Wrapped with sinew, painted like snake skin	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1964. Graded on finger creases	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1965. Counted	-	-	-							+							
1966. Measured in fathom and fractions of	+	+	•+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1967. Upper-arm tattoo for measuring whole string	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1968. Measured on arm, no tattoo	-	+	.	-	+	-		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1969. Cylindrical purse of horn	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[415]
1970. Purse of horn fork	-	-	-	-	+	-		•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1971. Buckskin purse	-	+	+					+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1972. Cased fur purse	-	-	.	-	+	•-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1973. Shells rolled in fur	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1974. Shells kept in basket	+	+	+	-	+	•+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1975. Long dentalia preferred	-	-	+					•-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1976. Clamshell disks	R	-	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1977. Standard of value	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1978. Manufactured	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1979. Smoothing slab	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1980. Disks counted	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1981. Short strings only	-	-	-						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1982. Measured around neck												+	+	+	.	-	
1983. Measured on elbow	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1984. Measured in fathoms	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	+	-	
1985. Measured in half-fathoms	+	-	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	(+)	+	-	
1986. Cased-fur purse	-	-		•(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1987. Buckskin sack for purse	+	-	+			•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	[415]
1988. Basket for purse	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	
1989. Loans of shell currency without interest	-	•+	+		+	•-		+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	[426]

Treasure

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1990. Olivella: whole shell	-	-	-	•+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	-	(+)	(+)	.	-	-	
1991. Shell cylinders or Columella	-	-	+	-	+	•+	+	+	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	
1992. Sizes distinguished	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+	+	.	.	.	
1993. Bone cylinders		-	.		+	(-)	-	.	-	-	.	-	.	+	+	+	
1994. Magnesite cylinders	-	-	.	-	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[429]
1995. Imported	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1996. Haliotis-disk beads	-	-	+	+	-	+	.	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	
1997. Large obsidian blades, used for display	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1998. Manufactured, not used	-		-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1999. Charmstones	•-	-	-	+	(-)	•+	+	-	•+	+	-	+	+	+	-	•+	
2000. Natural shape	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	789
2001. Most effective if found by possessor.	-	-	-				+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	823
2002. Used in doctoring	-	-	-	+		+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2003. Animated; can travel of own accord.				+												+	
2004. Doughnut stones	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
2005. Natural shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 2914. Dancing proceeds around fire and pole	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
535 2915. 2 circles, men and women separately	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
2916. 1 circle, men	–	–	+								–	–	+	–
2917. Dancers in row abreast	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2918. Each person dances separately	–	–			+						+	–	+	–
2919. Dancers stamp 1 foot	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2920. Dancers stamp both feet	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
2921. Scalp on center pole	+	•+	+	–	•+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	–
2922. Heart on top of center pole	+	–	+	–					•R	–	–	–	–	–
2923. Scalp(s) on small hand pole(s).	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
[532] 2924. Human effigy	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2925. Each warrior pantomimes his war deeds	–	.	–			+	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	–
2926. Each warrior dances singly, once around, with scalp	–	.	–	–		+	+	–	+	+	.	–	–	–
2927. Old women dance with scalps	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2928. Wipe themselves with bloody scalp	+	+	–	–					+	–	.	–	–	–
2929. Chew and bite scalp, heart	.	+	+	–		+	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
2930. Scalps dragged and rubbed in dirt	+	+	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2931. 1-2 women walk back and forth in front of dancers	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2932. Warriors carry bow and arrows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
2933. Shoot at scalp or heart	.	.	+	–				+	+	+	–	–	+	–
2934. Women dancers carry brush or pole	–		–						+	–	+	–	+	–
[302] 2935. Participants painted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2936. Black	+	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2937. Red	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2938. White	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
[292] 2939. Participants wear brush, feather headdresses	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2940. Warriors wear fighting gear	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
Purification of Killers; Treatment of Wounded														
727 2941. Swims	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	.	+	–
783 2942. Sweats	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	–
2943. Steam type	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	.	–	–
2944. Direct-fire type	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–
[304] 2945. Scarification and bleeding	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–
2946. Aromatic plants rubbed on body	.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	–
2947. Women brush off men with plant	.	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	–
2948. Must stay outside	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–
2949. Stays awake mainly, or naps	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–
[792] 2950. Prays for luck	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	–
[262] ‡2951. Meat taboo ... days	–	–	.	+	•2	–	–	–	•4	–	28	.	6	–
2952. Warm food taboo	–											.	+	–
2953. Scratching stick used	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+
2954. Bath at end of taboo period	–	–	+	+							+	.	+	+
2955. Meat taboo to wounded	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	.	+	+
752 2956. Hot food taboo to wounded	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+
2957. Wash wounded with special decoction			–								+	.	+	+

Peace Negotiations

Compensation for Slain

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
728 2958. Intertribal wars: compensation	+	–	–	•–	–	R	•–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–
2959. Revenge only	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
846 3208. Merely stays indoors	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
784 ‡3209. For ... days	5	5	-	5	-	-	-	•4	-	•4	-	-	6	.	28	28
3210. Until child's cord drops off	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
3211. Sleeps little	-	+	+			+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	-	.	+
3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535] 3212a. Dances	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[481] 3213. Runs	+	+	+	-	•+	•+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3214. First child only	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3215. Breaks up wood		-	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3216. Brings back firewood	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3217. Piles up rocks	•+	•+	•+										-	-	-	-
[787] o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	•-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3220. First 4-5 children only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
[481] 3221. Swims	.	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	.	-
[252] 3222. In spring in mountains	-	+	-			-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-
3223. Cooks for self and children	-	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
3224. Bathing taboo	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-
[515] o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	-	-	•4	-	-	•4	-	•4	-	•4	+	3	-	-	.	-
†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	-	5	•4	-	-	•4	-	+	•4	•4	+	-	-	-	.	-
3227. Certain activities taboo.	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[324] ‡3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	-	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	•4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	-	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	•4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	-	5	+	28	+	-	+	28	•4	•2	+	3	+	6	+	30
3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
[525] †3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	-	-	-	28	•2	+	3	+	+	.	+
3233. Until cord drops off	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
[276] 3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	(+)	-	-	.	-
[484] †3235. Traveling taboo ... days	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	•2	+	3	+	+	+	40
3236. Until cord drops off	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
†3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	-	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	•2	+	3	+	-	+	•28
[262] †3238. Fresh fish taboo	-	5	-	-	+	+	+	28	+	-	+	3	+	-	+	35
†3239. Dried fish taboo	-	5	-	-	+	+	+	28	-	-	+	3	+	-	+	35
[268] †3240. Salt taboo	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	5	+	-	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312] 3241. Cold water taboo	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3242. Until cord drops off	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
3243. Until child smiles first time													-	-	+	-
3244. Eats with wife	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3245. Uses own receptacles	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
● [282] 3247. Special belt worn	(+)	+	-	-	+	-	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	•+	•+	+	-	-	-
3249. Combing hair taboo	+	•+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3250. Until navel has healed	.	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3252. Bathes	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	+	•+	+	+	-
3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
3255. Gives away old clothes	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
3256. Burns old clothes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
3257. Throws away old clothes	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
[526] 3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	+	+								+	-	-	-	-	-
[224] 3259a. Shoots at target	-	-	+	-	•+						-	.	-	-	-	-
3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	-	+	+	-	•+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
[525] 3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	-	-	-		•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	.	-
3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							•+	+	•+	+

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
841 3503. Bathes last day of seclusion only	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
881 3504. Bathes outside, in stream	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
[515] 3505. Bathes inside, house	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
3506. May wet, wash hair	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
3507. Bathes alone	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
3508. Mother, attendant helps girl bathe	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
[302] 3509. Girl uses head scratcher	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
3510. Bone head scratcher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3511. Stick head scratcher	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
‡3512. Head scratcher used ... days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•6	•3	5	−	28	6	5	6	5	4	28
†3513. Head scratcher used ... years	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3513a. Parents scratch girl's head	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
3514. Delousing by attendant	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+
● [292] 3515. Girl wears basket cap	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
3515a. Girl wears flower crown	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
3516. Head covered with bark "cape"	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3517. Head covered with deerskin blanket	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
3518. Head inside basket when sleeping	+	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3519. Eagle down in hair	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3520. Feathers in hair	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[301] 3521. Braided bark forehead band	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3522. Fur forehead band	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3523. Feather visor	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3524. Head, face covered inside house	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3525. Head, face covered when going outside	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	•−	•+	−	•+	−	•+	−	•−	•+
3526. Hair in 2 braids, over shoulders	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
3526a. Hair in 1 braid, down back	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3527. Braid(s) wrapped with bark	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3528. Hair in 2 knobs, over shoulders, wrapped	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
3529. Knobs wrapped with bark	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3530. Hair short, banged	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
3531. Hair loose, tied at back	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
3532. Mother combs, dresses girl's hair	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
3533. Attendant dresses girl's hair	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+		−	+	+	−	−	+
3534. Hair dressed once only, first day	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
3535. Hair dressed daily	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	(−)	+
3536. Combings burned, buried	−	−	−	−		−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	·	−
3537. Combings saved for belt	−	−	+								+	−	−	−	−	−
3538. Girl's face painted black	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
3539. Girl's face painted red	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
3540. Special face pattern	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
3541. Daily varied face patterns	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
3542. Charcoal around eyes								+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3543. Arms painted	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
3544. Girl painted daily	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
3545. Girl painted by mother	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
3546. Girl painted by attendant	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−
3547. Girl wears old clothing	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
3547a. Small skin over shoulders	(−)	(−)	+								·	−	−	−	−	−
3548. Buckskin skirt or dress	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
3549. Pine-nut string skirt			−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3550. Bark skirt	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
3551. Short tule, grass skirt	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
3552. Grass or skin breechclout	.	•+	•+	•+	•+	•.	+		•+	.	−	•+	•+	−	−	−
3553. Buckskin leggings	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
3554. Tule leggings	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3555. Tule, skin moccasins	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
3556. Barefoot, preferred	+		−			+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
[301] 3557. Anklets	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3657. 4-5 (all) singers paid	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	841
3658. Reciprocal obligations only	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	881
3659. Menstruant sings	-	-	-	-	•+	+	+	+	-	.	-	+	+	-	-	-	535
3660. Participants join in singing	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
3661. Night singing, minus dancing	-	-	.	•+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	
3662. "Love" songs sung	•+	•+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	
3663. Enemy songs sung, final dance	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3664. Women's songs sung	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
3665. Special song cycle sung	•+	•+	.	•+	(+)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	-	+	
3666. Joking by singers	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	-	-	+	[522]
3667. Multiple split-stick rattle used by menstruant, singers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3668. Deer-hoof rattle used by singers	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	-	
3669. Deer-hoof rattle used by menstruant	-	-	+	+	•+	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3670. Stick hit against board, as drum	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
3671. Whistle used	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	[533]
3672. Singing, dancing continues throughout night	+	+	-		•+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	(+)	
3673. Singing, dancing ends middle of night	-	-	+		-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
3674. Entire assembly fed, middle of night.	+	•–	+	+	•+	•+	R	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	
3675. Singers, dancers bathe daily	-	-	+					+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	[515]
3676. Girl's attendant(s) have eyebrows, face blackened	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	[292] ●
3677. Men wear eagle down plumes	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	•–	•–	+	+	-	+	-	-	[237]
3678. Men wear fur headband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	
3679. Men wear woodpecker scalp headband	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	[302]
3680. Men paint face red	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
3680a. Men paint face white	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
3680b. Men paint face black	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3681. Men wear bead necklaces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
3682. Men wear head net	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	
3683. Men wear yellowhammer bands	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3684. Menstruant wears braided grass fringed visor	-	-	-	-			•		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3685. Women wear basket cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
3686. Women wear yellowhammer bands													+	+	-	-	
3687. Women wear brush, flower crowns	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
3688. Women paint faces red	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3689. Women paint faces black	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3690. Women carry branches in hands	-	-	-					+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3691. Boys, girls wear flower wreaths	-	-	-					•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3692. Dress, headgear changed nightly	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	
3693. Public rites: minor day dances.	-	-	+	-	•+	•+	+	(+)	-	+	-	(+)	-	•+	-	-	
3694. Menstruant dances	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	
3695. Men dance	-	-	+	-	-	-		(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3696. Women dance	-	-	+	-	•+	•+		(+)	-	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	
o3697. Lasts ... days	-	-	•3	-	•3	•3		.	-	.	-	(•)	-	5	-	-	
3698. Lasts part of each day only	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	
3699. Held in open	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	
3700. Rain in winter, no dance	-	-	(+)	-	-	•–			-		-		-	-	-	-	
3701. Circle dance	-	-	-	-	+	+			-		-		-	-	-	-	
3702. Dancers abreast, 1 line	-	-	+	-	-	-			-				-	-	-	-	
3703. Special songs, female singers	-	-		-	+	+			-		-		-	-	-	-	
3704. Public concluding rites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3705. Held in daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3706. "War" dance	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3707. Round dance	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
3708. Dancers abreast, in 1 line	-	-	-	+				•+									
3708a. Women grasp men's belts	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3709. Feather visor lifted off menstruant	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	765
4215. Hair cut, close crop, or burned off	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	(+)	•+	764
4216. Cuttings saved	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	[302]
4217. Cuttings kept in house	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
4218. Cuttings made into belt	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
4219. Cuttings burnt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4220. Cuttings thrown in river	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4221. Cuttings buried in grave	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4223. Mutilations	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[304]
4224. Arms cut soon after death	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4225. Beat breast	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4226. Beat head	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[302]
4227. Facial and head coatings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4228. Pitch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4229. Dirt, ashes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4230. Chalk, charcoal	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4231. Pounded shell									+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4232. White clay on bangs	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4233. Pitch on arms or legs, chest	–	+	+					•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	
4234. Touching face with fingers taboo	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4235. Face left unwashed	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4236. "Washed" with wet grass	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	.	
4237. Space around eyes washed	+	–	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
4238. Scratching stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4239. For head	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4240. For body	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	
4241. Worn tied around neck	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4242. Special attire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	[292]
4243. Mourning necklace	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	•+	•+	
4244. Basket cap, coated with pitch	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4245. Head covered with blanket													–	+		+	
‡4246. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	[262]
†4247. Meat ... days	•15	6	•14	•28	1	–	–	5	•86	–	–	2	–	5	–	•6	
†4248. Grease ... days	•15	6	•14	•28	1	–	–	5	•86	–	–	2	–	5	–	•6	
†4249. Fresh fish ..., days	•15	6	•14	–	1	–	–	5	•86	–	–	2	–	5	–	•6	
†4250. Dried fish ... days	•15	6	–	–	1	–	–	5	–	–	–	2	–	5	–	•6	
4251. Cold water ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	
†4252. Salt ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	
4253. Seclusion	+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
4254. In house	•+	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
†4255. For ... days	5	•–	–	–	•2	–	–	5	28	–	–	3	+	+	•+	+	
†4256. For ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	+	1	
4257. For variable period	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
4258. Prescribed activities during taboo period	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	
†4259. Sweats for ... days or nights	5	6	5	5	1	–	–	–	1	1	–		–	–	–	–	
4260. Gathers wood for sweating	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4261. Goes to grave or cremation spot and wails	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	+	–	•+	+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	
4262. Walks around, wailing	+	+									+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	
4263. May go to mountains to seek power	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
4264. Making baskets taboo	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	•–	•–	•–	–	•–	
4265. Gathering food taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	
4266. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	–	[783]
‡4267. Sweats to remove taboos, after ... months	•12	12	12	–	–	12	•2	–	•+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4268. Washes head, face to remove taboos	–	–	–	+	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	.	–	
4269. Drinks medicine	+	.	+									(+)	–	–	–	–	
4270. Takes pitch off head, face at remarriage only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[587]

291 Footgear and leggings.--Moccasin seam on inside. Yucca-fiber sandal. Milkweed-fiber sandal. Hip to ankle leggings. Snowshoe: "handled" shape; sinew lashing, stick "lashing." 292 Ceremonial dress.--Eagle-down-rope skirt. 3-stick support for wide-band woodpecker scalps. Eagle-down-rope crown. Feather plumes: bird skin or mammal fur on body. Sea-lion tooth headband. Visor of yellowhammer feathers. Masks. Down stuck to face. Headdress of human hair.

CURRENCY

436 Dentalia, wrapped with snake skin; graded on forearm tattoo. Clamshell beads measured around palm; on arm tattoo; on thumb. Loans at interest. Olivella-disk beads. Steatite beads.

SMOKING AND TOBACCO

Pipes and Pipe Sacks

276 Pipes.--Tubular-type 1-piece pipe of cane; horn or bone; pottery. 2-piece tubular pipe; solid-wood bowl; pottery bowl; stone, bone stem or mouthpiece; stem mortised into bowl. Haliotis inlay.

Tobacco

Cultivation; preparation; uses.--Tobacco imported. Always sown on hill, not near river; transplanted; weeded. Ground in mortar; on metate. Mixed for smoking with bark, aromatic root. Kept in horn container. Tobacco eaten, drunk.

MUSIC AND DRAWING

Musical Instruments

534 Drum, rattle, rasp.--Rectanguloid drum. Cocoon rattle, feather (quill) handle, attached to arm, leg; child's toy. Gourd, deer's ear, rabbit's ear, rawhide, fish gill-sack rattles. Sheep horn(s) on stick as rattle; tortoise-shell rattle. Ornamented rasp. Bull-roarer, musical bow; flute.--Bull-roarer used to assemble people for ceremony; to stop storm; voice of thunder; used in curing; only men use. Musical bow separate instrument, hollow, of elder; perpendicular tuning peg. Flute flattened, squared around holes.

RECREATION

Games and Amusements

526 Shinny; ball race.--Shinny: basket racket or

000 1507. SE, SW: Old men only.

1509. WM: Men.

[302] 1515. Kl: Men, women, boys, girls. Mo, SE, At, AW, AE: Men, women. WT: Women, girls. WM: Women, boys, girls. SW, MF, NS: Men, women, young men, young women, boys, girls.

1540. Mo: Shamans, others who can afford such ribbons. SW: Men, women, youths, boys. At, AW: Men, women.

[302] 1548. Kl: Wild rye grass.

[824] 1549. Kl: Ascribed to Mo by informant. Spier, Klamath, p. 214, states Kl also use it. AE: "Best kind of comb."

1555. SE: Alder sap, boiled. WS: Elderberry juice. NF, MV: Pepperwood.

1558. SW: Deer, bear fat "no good for hair, as deer's, bear's hair comes out yearly."

[302] 1560. Absences noted for distribution of pepperwood may be only partial; no specimens shown to informants. SW: Pepperwood gourds lacking in SW area; imported from near-by Karuk down-river. Distribution of pepperwood extends only as far as Happy Camp.

1562. For distribution of this plant, see element 499.

1568. AW: Hunters only.

Face and body paints and powders.--

1574. SE: Grows on knot or burl of white fir. WS: On bark of white fir. MM: Specimen seen; orange-colored fistules on spruce burl.

1575. WT: Yellow pine.

1576. WS, NM: Elderberry. MV: Wild rose (haws?).

1578. SE: Burnt, for paint.

1582. Because scattered to keep away ghosts at funerals, etc., therefore "no good" as paint.

1584. SE, SW: From pines; also, SE: from oaks. WM: From tamarack.

1586. MM: Imported.

1589. Mainly from charcoal, finely powdered. NF, NM, NS: From burnt acorn.

1592. SE, SW: Charcoal mixed with marrow, chewed into waxy substance, stored in deer bladder; squeezed out and used as pencil when needed. This mixture of charcoal and marrow denied for all other groups. AW, MF: Red paint only; mixed with marrow or grease.

1593. Made into black paste.

1600. AE, MF, NF: Pitchy mixtures, especially, applied with stick. NS: Black, red paint applied with fingers.

1600a. Mo, SE: Water in basket, or in spring, stream used as mirror when applying paint.

1601. NS: Lumps of yellow acorn meal, which leaching water did not penetrate when meal being leached, made into small cake which is baked on hot stone; this cake is oily, and is rubbed over face "like cold cream."

[302] 1603. Kl: Men, women pitch body, legs, arms

[292] and stick on duck feathers, to keep warm.

1604. Used for babies, especially.

[854] 1611. Used for babies, especially. MV: Alder tea used to wash babies who are chafed.

[197-A]

Dress

Headgear, robes.--

291 [184] 1713. Kl: Brim on men's caps, painting of men's caps, denied for Klamath Marsh groups (see Spier, Klamath, pp. 182-183). WT: "Worn at Willow Creek [Hupa] and on McCloud River [WM], but not among WT." WM: Upriver people [WS] give WM women basket caps occasionally.

1715. See Spier, Klamath, fig. 13,c, p. 180. Specimen of Kl woman's basket cap shown to all informants to verify this element.

1718. AW: If man wears basket cap, he is ridiculed, AE: Never worn by men.

1723. Worn in winter. SE: Feathers attached 000 to it. AW: Brimless.

1726. SW: Worn habitually by men to keep hair down, as women wear basket cap. Not used for packing, as men pack on shoulders.

1729. WM: In war, or war dance; covered with duck skins.

1730. SW: Used by shamans, but not by ordinary persons, except for dances (see element 1943). MV: Tule band to keep hair back.

1734. SW: "Goes with Big Head dance."

[226 292] 1735. Kl: Tule mat (ste'holas) 3 ft. wide, 4-5 ft. long, used when fishing in daytime on ice; fisherman covers head with mat "to make it dark underneath so that he can see into the water plainly." At: Tule eyeshade woven, "like blinders"; projected from each side of wearer's head; tied on by band around head. Informant's husband used such when fishing for trout in boat at night so light would not get into his eyes.

1736. Mo: Charcoal mixed with pitch.

1737. MV: Used commonly in cold weather, especially by women when outside pounding food.

1741. At: Used in rainy weather by few people only.

[291] 1743. Kl, WS, MM: Worn thus by men and women. Mo, At, AW, MF, NM: By men only. SE, WT, WM: By women only. (See note 1744.)

1744. SE, WT, WM, NM: Worn thus by men. At, AW, AE, MF: By women.

1747. AW: N of "real" Achomawi, group at Dany (Suk'mawi) use bearskin caps. But "real Achomawi were river Indians; they stayed around the rivers, fished; every man had a canoe, and belonged to the river. They went out [hunting] for a little while, then returned to the river."

1749. Mo: Puma "costly" robe.

1750. SE: Beaver hides. WS: Worn by men and women.

Shirts and gowns.--

1751. SW: For everyday wear women's dress consists of 2 whole buckskins, seamed up both sides, tied over both shoulders.

291 439 (17 1752. Kl: Bought women's buckskin dresses from Molala, NW of the Kl, and the Warm Springs Indians. "The Molala made them, the Kl bought them, and learned how to make them. That was quite a long time ago, about 90 years; long before the

000 3211. In order to avoid bad dreams. WS: First night after birth of child only.

3212a. AW: See note 3130.

3213. At: Runs to mountains, on quest (see note 3206). AW: Runs a little, when gathering wood (see note 3206), but only goes on quest after cord drops off.

[846] [784] 3217. Kl, Mo, SE: Piles up rocks in shape of man.

3218. AW: Only after cord drops off child does father bathe and seek power in mountains. "Then it's done; before this he knows he can't get anything, even if he goes 100 times, before that cord drops off."

3225. SE, AW, WT, WS: 4-6 days. WS: "Sign of rain if he bathes."

3226. SE, AW, WM, WS: 4-6 days.

3228, 3229. WM: 4-6 days.

3230. WM: 4-6 days. WS: 2-3.

3232, 3235. WS: 2-3 days.

3237. Each of these 3 items inquired about separately. WS: 2-3 days. MV: 28-35 days. Rationale for taboos--to insure child's navel healing properly.

● [292] [846] 3247. Kl: Spier, Klamath, p. 55, notes that both parents wear bark belts for birth of first child only. AE: Young man, especially after birth of first child, wears braided sagebrush-bark belt, 3-4 in. wide, tied around waist rather tightly so he will have slim waist, "never be pot-bellied." Also wears this belt when chasing deer, "so stomach won't flop up and down," and also "so he won't be so hungry." Youth, being sent off on vision quest to seek power at medicine lake or springs, wears similar belt.

3248. MM, MF: Head will become sore if scratch with fingers.

3249. Mo: Hair will turn prematurely gray.

3252. WT: See note 3198. NF: Uses wormwood decoction.

3259a. At: After cord drops off, father sweats, changes clothes; 2 days later he goes to certain place, shoots at old log; then goes little farther, and is sure to see deer. He shoots 1 arrow and kills deer, which he gives away (see note 3260).

3260. At: See preceding note. After father kills first deer, he tells old woman to go and get it; does not eat any of it himself. Afterward, next deer he shoots he eats a little; "not too much. This makes him lucky, so that every time he goes out he kills deer, after that."

3261. At: Old people (nonrelatives) take what man wins, put winnings away and never bet with them. Then man is always lucky at gambling. NF: "Afterward has good luck, wins all the time."

3262. NF: Big dinner held 4 days after cord drops off. NS: Taboo period ends after ca. month; gauged by time when child first smiles; big dinner given, and child's parents can then eat meat.

[215-A]

*539
533
755

Many Indians do not understand all these songs, which contain many archaic forms and words, and the conjurers themselves are generally loth to give their meaning, even if they should understand them. Some songs are of a stereotypic application in the treatment of all or the majority of the maladies. A close familiarity with the habits of animals of the forest manifests itself throughout, as well as in the mythic tales.

*539
533
755
1[illegible]

The translations added by me are not literal; they render the meaning of the songs in a free and paraphrastic manner. In the metrics the accentuated syllables designate a higher pitch of the singing voice.

153; 2. Literally: "I blew off the feather-crest."

153; 3. To read: shléwi witχnû'lank, seems preferable in this connection. Cf. 35.

[292]

154; 6. On grand occasions young women were in the habit of dressing in buckskin robes, fringed with porcupine quills (shmáyalsh). In a myth the bull-frog was reported to wear constantly this kind of dress, and hence originated a sort of proverbial locution: kó-e shmashmáyalti: "the bull-frog in the shmáyalsh-dress." Cf. shmáyam. Zoologists call this frog: Rana pipiens.

154; 7. This is called washpalákșam shui'sh, the medicine-song of the washpálaks-fox species, Vulpes velox. The exterior of this fox may be sketched by the words: ä'kelä'këla wátchag hû'tchnuk, a long-bodied dog is running or trotting. Cf. song 22.

154; 9. This is called the tuákșham shuinŏ'tkish or incantation sung by the crane itself through the mouth of the conjurer. Nobody could hear the bird's voice if the conjurer did not sing its song. A song, which the conjurer sings for himself and by which he does not interpret any animal or other object of nature, is called kiúkaam shui'sh and is endowed with magic powers. In the West of the United States the tuákish is popularly known as shitepoke, in the East as fly-up-the-creek.

[825]
[301]

154; 10. The feathers of the yellow hammer are worn on neck as an ornament.

154; 12. This refers to a certain large bird not specified, which contracts its body, so that the head seems to be its largest part. When walking, the bird seems to roll around on the prairie. Pílan for píla nû.

154; 14. The object to which song 14 refers is not known.

154; 15. Walχátchaga is very probably, though not certainly, a kind of marten. Mantles were made of its fur. This rimed incantation is called walχátchkalam shuinŏ'tkish.

155; 16. Called: tcháshisham shuinŏ'tkish; melody very pretty. The diphthong ui is pronounced here as *one* syllable. Skunks, while running around, are in the habit of holding straight up their bushy tails, which are almost as long as their bodies.

155; 17. This pretty song is chanted by the choristers while the kíuks feigns to suck out of the body the tiny object which is supposed to have caused the disease, and before he gets it out. k̲óga, k̲ók̲a means originally *to bite;* bite first, then suck the disease out.

155; 18. Pápkash is pronounced almost like pávkash; 144, 11. k̲ópk̲a like k̲óvka.

155; 19. Alludes to a peculiar nodding observed in lizards when running out of their holes and stopping at the issue.

155; 20. The animal to which this song refers is not known. Compare No. 16. 24. The literal meaning is: "The north wind blows around me from the distance."

155; 21. This song, with a beautiful melody, is the shuinŏ'tkish of a mouse species with pig-like proboscis.

A bit of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire about the village but 372
for an overnight journey a woman carries a spark in a long fuse.
This is of black sage-brush bark, twisted into a rope thirty inches
long and bound about at intervals.[305]

Knives are fashioned from stone blades or shells. These river 412
shells (ĕndj!ĕ'tc) are not ground to an edge but used as they are. 321
Forms ranging in size from arrowheads to large lance blades are
chipped from obsidian, flint, and similar stones. So far as I am 324
aware these are never ground into shape. Those intended for knives
are sometimes wrapped around the butt to provide a handle.[306] Stone
knives are intended for butchering rather than woodworking. Blades
never figured in the display of wealth, as among the Yurok. Barrett
figures a bone knife used for separating the inner and outer bark of
pine.[307]

Sewing is done with awl and sinew. The awl (sŏ'ḳtᴇ) is a frag- 412
ment of the fore-leg tibia of a deer. Although the upper end of a
tibia is nicely rounded to fit the hand, and is accordingly used elsewhere,
the Klamath make no use of it. Instead a splinter sharpened
at each end is inserted in a wooden handle. Old men carry these at
the chest tied on a buckskin thong. The sinew used is that which lies
along a deer's backbone. (Sinew is called ᴇmboi'itc; this particular
sinew bi'lhŏp.) Skin garments for either sex are sewn by women. 294 •
Women also make moccasins whether of skin or tule. 462

The smoking process is used when tanning. The skin is stretched
over a tipi-like frame of little willows set over a hole as deep as one's 281
forearm. The fire is made of rotten wood. Coville states that "the
bark [of the white fir (bä, *Abies concolor* (Gord.) Lindl.)] is sometimes
used to dye and tan buckskin, giving it somewhat the appearance
of ordinary tan-colored leather."[308]

Neither bags of skin (k!o'wanᴇ) nor parfleches are made by the 415
Klamath. These are brought from the Dalles, I was told, and probably
from Warm Springs, for cĕptŏk, parfleche, is clearly a loan word 439
from Sahaptin (cf. Yakima căta'kai).

Mats are of four kinds, each designated by a name. Sewn mats 285
(st!ŏps) are used solely as the outer covering of mat-lodges; when

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[305] Illustrated by Barrett, pl. 22, fig. 1.

[306] Pitch was not used to fasten these. One type of knife, at least, found as far apart as Mexico and the Arctic, and consisting of stone fragments set into the sides of the handle, is unknown here.

[307] Pl. 22, fig. 5; cf. Gatschet, 1:148.

[308] Notes, 88.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

.	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
576. Acorn gathering: men and women	•o	•o	+	+	–	•–	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
577. Men, youths climb trees	o	o	+	+	–	–	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[222]
578. Women gather, transport acorns	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
579. Pine-nut gathering: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
580. Men climb trees, knock down cones	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	
581. Men and women gather cones	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
582. Women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
583. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
584. Men and women transport cones	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
585. Women only	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	
586. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
587. Men and women prepare pine nuts	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
588. Men only	+	.	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
589. Women only	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	
590. Gathering of small seeds: women only	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	
591. Cooking: men and women	+	+	–						+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	
592. Women prepare, cook plant foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
593. Men only, cook meat	–	+	–						–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	
594. Women only, cook meat	–	–	+						–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	
595. Men and women cook meat	+	–	–						•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
596. Carrying water near camp: men and women	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[312]
597. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
598. Women only	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	
599. Carrying water long distance: men and women.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
600. Men only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	
601. Women only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
602. Fire making: men and women	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	[372]
603. Men only	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
604. Wood gathering: "kindling" wood, men and women	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
605. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	[313]
606. Women only	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
607. Wood gathering: large logs, men and women	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
608. Men only	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
609. Women only	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Manufacturing Activities																	
610. Baskets: women only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
611. Skin, feather blankets: men and women make	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	[291]
612. Men only or chiefly	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	(–)	+	+	–	+	
613. Women only or chiefly	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	[237]
614. Nets: men only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[284]
615. Cord: men and women make	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[283]
616. Men, generally	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
617. Skin tanning: men and women	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[281]
618. Men only	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
619. Women only	+	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
620. Clothing: men and women make	–	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	[294] ●
621. Men only	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	
622. Women only	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	
623. Moccasins: men and women make	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
624. Men only	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
625. Women only	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
626. Fish traps: men make	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	[227]
627. Women	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	+	
628. Winter house: men and women build	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[342]
629. Men only	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
630. Summer house: men and women build	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
631. Men only	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	
632. Women only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

252 868 seeds on, and then ground them up. We were in a hurry to grind the seeds and run down to the water to wash them. My mother told us we'd just waste the wokas if we did it that way. It was hard to move the grinder right to get the seeds to roll off the stone. My mother told me the stone had to be a little rough to grind the wokas right.

285 868 In late childhood girls also begin to learn how to make mats, baskets, and clothing.[39] Of these, mat making is considered the easiest and is the first attempted. Even in early childhood most girls try to weave tule mats. They make small dome-shaped lodges for their dolls and cover them with mats. The mother or grandmother helps the child whenever there is time. When the girl begins to make larger, more utilitarian mats, her mother gives her the materials and shows her how to use them.

In the wintertime girls sit beside their mother or grandmother as the elders make baskets. The girl is given some of the tules to split with her thumbnail and twist on her thigh. If the girl's twists come unraveled, nothing is said because the materials can be used again. The girls usually soon tire of twisting tules, and they are allowed to do as many or as few as they wish.

Small baskets are made for girls, and often the first basket a girl makes by herself is a tiny one for her dolls. The mother or grandmother starts the basket and shows the girl how to weave it. If the girl's baskets keep coming unraveled, she is teased a little and watched till she gets it correctly. Later the girl makes larger baskets with designs in tule root or porcupine quills. Certain designs are known as "beginners' designs" because they are simple to make. Other designs are much more complex, in particular those which adorn the basket hats. Few girls learn to make the large decorated baskets before they reach maturity. A girl often learns basketry from her mother-in-law.

291 593 Clothing for the entire family is made by the mother. In pre-white times dress for the wealthy was of the Plains type. Poorer people wore skirts of tule or buckskin and went barefoot. Capes of tule or shredded sagebrush bark were also worn. Very young children went naked. The mother prepares the tules and other materials for skirts and capes, and she is the one to tan and sew hides for skin clothing.

294 868 The making of clothes is one of the last skills a girl acquires before marriage. In fact, some do not learn the art until after that time. Hides are so valuable that the mother does not want to risk having the girl spoil one.

224 868 Most boys in late childhood aspire to become good hunters. Game food is far less important in the Klamath diet than fish or wokas, and

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[39] For descriptions of these materials and techniques of manufacture, see Coville (1897), pp. 89-95, Barrett, pp. 253-257, Spier, pp. 173-193, 207-217, and Voegelin, elements 1285-1341, 1388-1416, 1451-1476, 1713-1957a.

881
[302] or red sage-brush bark. Buck-brush bands are worn around the head,
neck, wrists, ankles, below each knee, and wound perhaps twice around
[301] the waist. This waist band may be a woven belt (k'ai'lis) of sage-brush.

At the close of the ceremony the girl purifies herself by swimming;
[291] she does not use a sweat-bath. Other participants need no purification.
Her clothing and bark bands are burned. Sometimes the cir-
[783] clets are wrapped around the branches of trees near the sweat-lodge
where they are left to rot unless they are earlier gathered by someone
who wishes to use them for a cautery.

[302]
[531]

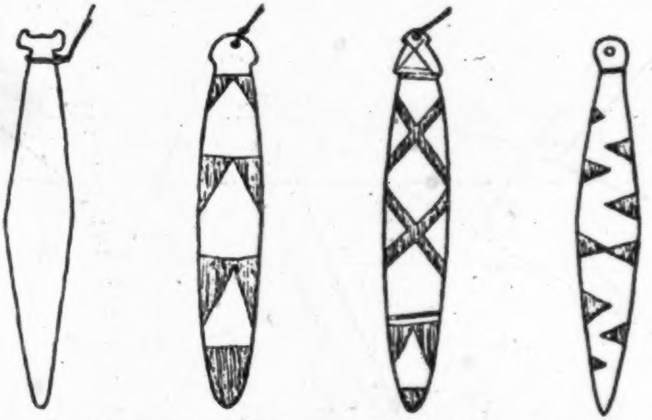

Fig. 6. Head scratchers, used by girls in puberty rites.

A girl for whom no dance is held stays within her home, dressed in this fashion and observing the taboos for the requisite period.

841 Menstruant women stay at home during their illness (ata sto'pwi)
[756] unless they are members of a shaman's household. Shamans must
avoid them; seemingly other men are indifferent. Women of a
shaman's household occupy a little dome-shaped lodge near-by for five days. Menstruants eat only lily seed, camas, etc.; they permit themselves dried fish, but meat and fresh fish are taboo. Older women do not use the scratcher, nor wear the bands, nor burn their clothing.[27] So much from my feminine friend, but a male informant had it that all women make use of a menstrual lodge, wear dirty clothing, neither wash nor care for the hair, and use the scratcher. However, women

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[27] Nor do they keep knotted string records of these events as on Puget sound.

1; Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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765
783
343

There they place planks over the spring on which to lie. The common small sweat-lodges are not used in this connection.

The sweat-lodge near Algoma is now in ruins but it was always in need of repair, I was told (fig. 7). It is now a U-shaped wall of stones enclosing an area ten by twenty feet. The walls still stand five or six feet high, composed of thousands of small rocks. The roof was a rough gable covered with dirt. The lodge faces the east, uphill on a rather steep hillside. Stones were heated outside and carried just within the entrance. Air seeped in along the ground at the back or lower side of the lodge, so the mourner would retire there from the heat. A little spring is close by. There were no houses within several miles of this place. The little lodge north of Klamath Agency faces south.

765
343

Fig. 7. Mourners' sweat-lodge near Algoma. The nearest man stands in the mouth of the U-shaped structure; the middle figure on the far wall; that to the right beyond it.

765
[783]
[787]

At the end of the five days of sweating the mourner swims in the spirit places in quest of power or seeks it in the mountains. The reason seems to be not alone that he has lost power through his sorrow, but that this is an especially propitious occasion when the spirits will pity him for his grief. One such place is a pair of rocks, Wolf and his wife, north of Modoc point. A man will wrestle with the Wolf rock, his wife with Wolf's wife, in order to become strong and run well.

[301] During mourning women wear bands of buck-brush or sage-brush around the head, neck, waist, wrists, knees, and ankles like those worn during the puberty dance. The bands are disposed of by wrapping them around trees near the sweat-lodge where they are sometimes collected by those who wish to make cauteries of them. Both parents (or men alone) wear service berry or sage-brush belts like [302] those of girls at puberty, so that the back will not become stooped. For a year or longer, pitch is smeared over the face and hair, and black-

*302 [171] [765] long and in two braids, but parted in the middle. This again is reminiscent of the Plains. Their braids may be looped up to hang only to the shoulder; these are not fur wrapped. The hair is cut short in mourning, especially that of the women, daubed with black pitch, and generally neglected.

A man who kills a rattlesnake ties the rattles to his hair; women do not do this.

The hairbrush (sliteī'lḳs) is a porcupine tail, stuffed with dry grass or sage-brush bark. A thong draws the ends together so that it dries in an arc. This thong fits over the back of the hand when the brush is in use. The open, underside of the tail is closed with a thong lacing. The ends of the quills are burned off evenly, so that only the stiffer body of the quill is left. Barrett notes that the longer quills are removed.[294]

My informant described the comb used by the Molala as a true double-edge comb. It is fashioned of a thin stick bent double. Little pointed sticks, as fine as our toothpicks, are inserted between the halves of this doubled stick, so that they protrude equally on each side, and are bound in place.

The hair is greased; ordinarily with fish oil, but with deer tallow or that of skunk, otter, beaver, or mink, when they can get it.

304 [114] Frontal flattening, the only form practiced, is not universal among the Klamath, although it is general. My information differs at this point from Hrdlička's who was told that non-deformed heads are derided as slave-like.[295] I was told that it was merely "so that they would look pretty; they have nice round eyes because the forehead is flattened."[296] A deformed head is called lĕplĕ'pli nos, flattened head.

304 •301 The septum of the nose is pierced and the ear lobes, the latter twice or even more frequently. Both sexes insert dentalium shells horizontally through the septum. These are placed so that the butt ends meet in the septum, the points of this curved conical shell projecting on each side. If the septum hole is large, two may be placed side by side in it. Sometimes the point of one shell is thrust into the hollow butt of a second. The root of a mountain plant, called yayo'ḳaḳ, may be used in place of a dentalium shell. I was told that Molala women choose boldly curved dentalia, placing them so that the points

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[294] *Op. cit.*, 258.

[295] Hrdlička, Head Deformation among the Klamath.

[296] The informant who stated this may have rationalized her own case, an undeformed head. My other principal informants, two men, had flattened heads. Flattening is not noticeable among some of the older Indians, so that the statement that some escape the treatment may be true.

almost meet, forming a ring. Ear pendants are a group of four 304
dentalia, hung in a bunch by their tips. Such an ornament is called 301
stŏstŏ'mnls. Neither dentalia nor any other plugs are put directly
through the holes in the ear. The labret is unknown. Men pluck out
their beards.[297]

Nose and ears are pierced in early childhood, even while still in the cradle. But it is usually done by the mother when the child is five or six years old. Anyone may perform the service; a man or woman usually does it for an own child. Coley's mother pierced his ears and nose when he was ten or twelve years old. He was afraid to have the septum pierced, but finally summoned courage. Piercing is done with a small sharp bone awl (sŏ'ḳta); the lobe is massaged and the awl suddenly thrust through. A little charred sage-brush twig is put in the hole to keep it from closing and withdrawn when it is healed. There is no celebration of this event among the Klamath, although they are aware that this is the custom on the Columbia river. Holes are made solely for adornment; no esoteric significance attaches to the procedure.

Fighting women sometimes tear out their opponent's septa or ear holes. This is called p'ĕta', to tear open a hole.

Necklaces are made of dentalia and other beads. Claws are not 301
used with the exception of grizzly claws (stĕks) which are worn by
shamans.

The Molala make necklaces of yayo'ḳaḳ root, mentioned above. This root has a length of eighteen inches. It is split, lengths are tied together, and braided with sinews from the back of a deer.

Three kinds of bead are in use; dentalia (t!u't!as), a small twisted shell, a half-inch long, called isĕlḳa, and red stone beads (tcŏkᴇ b'djᴇ: tcŏk is the service berry) flattened like a kernel of corn. In addition there is an abundance of old style, glass trade beads on the cremation piles. Two types of dentalia may be recognized, but I am not certain; large shells called sḳals, and those up to three-quarters of an inch in length, t!u't!as.

Dentalia are not marked with incised designs, as among the 474*
Yurok.[298] They are, however, wound with human hair for a space at
the small end, according to one informant, although another denied
it. As was common on the lower Klamath river, they are strung end
to end on a cord in lengths somewhat under a fathom: the fathom

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[297] Gatschet, 1:90.

[298] Kroeber, Handbook, 24.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
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K 301 length is "a little too much." The unit, according to one informant,
is the length of the extended left arm to the upper end of the humerus,
or across the chest in addition to the point of the right shoulder. The
other gave the unit as a doubled string from the extended left hand
K to the sternum; that is, a fathom. One thing is clear, that there is
[436] no great concern for dentalia as money, as among the lower Klamath
tribes. The strings are not standardized either as to length or size of
the individual shells. Long dentalia are more valuable than the short,
but my informants never knew anyone to argue over the precise length
of a shell. Both men agreed that the several kinds of beads, or at
least the best, are not worked by the Klamath, but come from the
K south. They are either found in raided Achomawi-Atsugewi camps
[721] or are traded from these people or possibly the Shasta. Both were
[439] certain that the shells are not obtained from the north. This is something of a puzzle, because the Columbia river people have dentalia and
[177] use them extensively in trade. Furthermore, the ultimate point of
origin of the shells is the coast of Washington and British Columbia.
[174] The discrepancy in the statement is further accentuated by the Yurok
statement that the shells came to them both along the coast and down
the Klamath river.[399]

K Finger rings are not made, nor bracelets, except for young children.
[189] The cast skin of a water snake is wrapped around their wrists
so that they will swim well.

K Face painting is general, a daily usage, not confined to gala events,
302 but more obvious at that time. The shaman's body is painted red
during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use,
[756] white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to
war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white. I have
[822] pointed out elsewhere[400] that red paint is associated with warfare by
the Basin tribes and their Californian and Arizonan neighbors. Here
it may be added that black is used by Plains warriors. At dances
white pigment, found along the creek banks, is smeared on the palms
K which are then pressed on the face or on a woman's smooth hair to
[317] form patterns. Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few
localities in the mountains near Crater lake. The Northern Paiute
NP are said to have quantities of it, however.

[317] In winter women smear their faces, hands, and arms with a mix-
K ture of charcoal and pitch, or deer grease, or of pitch and grease

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751 [399] Kroeber, Handbook, 22.

[400] Havasupai Ethnography, 207.

171 *

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Dentalium shells	Ornament	Ultimate source, coasts of Washington and British Columbia.	105
Cradles	Sitting	N.W. and N. central California.	[301]
	Board	N. Basin, Plateau.	[854]
Games	Beaver teeth dice	Oregon, Washington, British Columbia.	
	Four stick	N.E., central, and S. California (and elsewhere?).	[524]
	Hand game	Some central Californians, Basin, S. Northwest Coast, Plateau, Plains.	
	Modified hoop-pole	Minor game of coast from Alaska to Oregon (not N.W. California).	
	Ring-and-pin; rush ball	Modoc?, Wishram.	
Pipes	Spherical; discoidal	S. Plateau (Nez Percé to Okanagon).	[276]
	Angular	Wasco, Wishram, Middle Columbia, Nez Percé (links with Plains calumet?).	
Musical instruments	Hand drum	Recent in Plateau; Basin, Plains, (Northwest Coast?).	[534]
	Deerhoof rattle in girls' rites	N. California.	
	Notched rasp	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.	
	Clap stick	N. and central California.	
	Open flute	California, Southwest; Takelma, Nez Percé (and probably general in the west).	
Numerals	Finger names	Takelma.	[802]
Ritual number	Five	S. Northwest Coast, Washington, Oregon, California S. to Sinkyone and Northern Maidu, Basin.	[801]
Calendar	Numerical names	N.W. California, Fraser R., N. Northwest Coast.	[805]
Scalping	Whole scalp	California, W. Southwest, Wishram (no scalping in N.W. California E. to Shasta, and Northwest Coast).	[726]
Head trophy	Unusual	California, Northwest Coast.	
Scalp dance		General (except N.W. California) (over head trophies on Northwest Coast).	[727]
War dance	With notched rattle	Upland Takelma?, Wasco, Wishram, Nez Percé; without rattle, Chinook, N.W. California.	
Disposal of dead	Cremation	Modoc; some cremation in N.E. California; central California; formerly in E. Washington; N. Plateau.	[764]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1529. 2 half-length clubs, front of shoulders or at sides of head	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	302
1530. Men	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1531. Women	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1532. Boys	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1533. Girls	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1534. 1 full-length roll down back	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1535. Men	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1536. Women	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1537. Girls	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1538. 1 half-length club down back, men	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1539. Hair tied above both shoulders; bangs down unrolled, men	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
1540. Ribbons of fur or buckskin	+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1541. Buckskin strip with woodpecker scalp.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	301 ●
1542. Strung shells	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1543. Shell pendants on end	−	−	.	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1544. Hairpins of bone	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
1545. Flowers in hair	R	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	
Comb or Brush																	
1546. Soaproot	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	302
1547. Twig bundle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1548. Roots, bound together for flat brush	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1549. Porcupine tail	•(−)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
1550. Fishbone	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1551. Pine cone	−	−	+	+	+	−	o	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	
1552. Pine needles	−	−	−						+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	
1553. Single stick as comb	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	
1554. Hands to smooth hair	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Care of Hair																	
1555. Hair dyed	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	•R	−	−	•R	
1556. 2 persons delouse each other's heads	+		.			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	.	[515]
1557. Hair greased	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
1558. Marrow or fat	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
1559. Otter oil	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1560. Burned pepperwood gourds	o	o	o	•+	−	−	−	o	−	o	o	o	−	−	o	−	
1561. Vegetable, mineral shampoo	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	(+)	+	−	+	
1562. Soaproot	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	+	−	+	
1563. Manroot	−	−						+		−	−	−	−	−		−	
1564. Wild carrot (?) root	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1565. Seed decoction	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1566. Alkali dust	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1567. Hair "whipped" with stick to dry	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1568. Hair perfumed	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	
1569. Aromatic plant	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	
1570. Silver pine nuts, boys, girls								+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	
1571. Beaver musk	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1572. Hunters only			−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Face and Body Paints and Powders																	
1573. Red paint	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	302
1574. Fungus	−	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	−	•+	•+	−		+	−	−	386
1575. Pine flowerets	−							•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1576. Juice from plants	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	
1577. Alder sap	−	−	+								−	−	−	−	−	−	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MT
1633. Cut with stone knife	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	R	R	.	.	−	−	−	•+ 304
1634. Cut with porcupine quill	−		−				+	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
1635. Charcoal rubbed in	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	R	R	.	.	−	−	−	−
1636. Soot rubbed in	−	−	.	+				+	−	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
1637. Plant juice rubbed in	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	−	+
1638. Burning	+	+	+		+				+	+	+	R	−		−	−
1639. On arms	+	+	+						+	−	+	R	−		−	−
1640. Depilation	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+
1641. Eyebrows	−	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−
1642. Beard	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	•+	+
1643. Deer-bone tweezers		−					+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−
1644. Plucking with fingers	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	−	+
1645. Ashes on fingers, for plucking	+	+	+								−	.	.	+	−	−
1646. Plucking, stone flake opposed to fingernail	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−
1647. Shaving with obsidian or flint	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−
1648. Beard allowed to grow	−	−	•+	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	−	−
Ear, Nose Ornaments; Necklaces, etc.																
1649. Earrings	•R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	− 301 ●
1650. Bone ring	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1651. Clamshell beads	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1652. Buckskin string	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1653. Dentalia pendant	R	−	+	+	(+)	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1654. Flat shell pendants	−	+	+				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
1655. Haliotis pendant	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1656. Ear stick: wooden	•R	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	•+	•+
1657. Worn when hole healing, only	R	+	−			+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	•−
1658. Worn during dances only						−	−	−					+	+	+	+ [535]
1659. Plain, 1/2-inch long						+	+	+			+	−	+	−	−	−
1660. Painted design	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	+ [571]
1661. Burned design	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1662. Shell beads or pendant on end	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	•+
1663. Ear tube: bone	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	(−)	+	+	−	+
1664. Worn when hole healing, only	−	−	+			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1665. Applied decoration																•+
1666. Feathers on end	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1667. Shell beads or pendant on end	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
1668. Ear tube: shell	R	−	+	−	(+)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−
1669. Solid-shell cylinder	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−
1670. Dentalium	R	−	+	−	(+)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1671. Feather in ear	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1672. Quill alone in ear	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1673. Flowers in ear	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	(+)	−
1674. Nosepins	R	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
1675. Bone, bipointed	R	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
1676. Solid-shell cylinder	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1677. Dentalium through nose	R	+	+	+	+	+	•(−)	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1678. Wooden nosepin	R	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
1679. Feather	R	−	+	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1680. Nose pendants	R	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
1681. Bone ring			−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1682. Strings of beads	R	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
1683. Necklaces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1684. Deer hoofs or dewclaws	−	+	−	•+	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1685. Bear teeth	.	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.
1686. Elk teeth	(+)	+	+								−	+	−	−	−	.
1687. Bear claws	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.
1688. Bird claws	.	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
● 301 1689. Dentalia	R	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1690. Olivella whole shells	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	.	.	+	.
1691. Clamshell disk beads	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1692. Haliotis pieces	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1693. Banjo-shaped haliotis pendant	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1694. Bone tubes	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1695. Deer, coyote, wildcat carpals	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1696. Pine nuts or shells	(+)	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
•1697. Braided sweet grass		o					+	o	+	+	–	–	o	–	–	–
1698. Wildflowers	R	–	–	•+		•–				+	–	+	+	+	+	–
•1699. Belts of hair	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1700. Worn by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
•1701. Worn continually	–	–	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1702. Worn on special occasions only	+	+	+	+					–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1703. Flower wreaths on head	.	–	–	•+		–		+	•+	+	–	–	•+	+	+	–
1704. Boys and girls, playing	.	–	–	+		–		+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
[891] 1705. Girls, at girl's puberty dance	R	–	–	–		–			+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–

Cane or Staff

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
481 1706. Straight stick	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1707. Sharpened at lower end	–	–	+					+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
1708. Used by old people	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1709. Old men																
1710. Old women	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1711. Single cane	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[768] 1712. 2 canes, if crippled		+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Dress

Headgear

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
29/ 1713. Basketry cap	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•R	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1714. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
•1715. 3-strand diagonal twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1716. Coiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1717. Worn habitually, by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1718. Worn habitually, by men	+	–	–	–	–	•–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1719. Worn for packing, not worn habitually	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1720. Worn for dances, not worn habitually.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1721. Designs on cap	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	R	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1722. Men's undecorated	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
•1723. Fur cap	+	+	•+	+	+	•	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1724. Men	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1725. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1726. Buckskin cap	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1727. Solid buckskin	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1728. Buckskin pierced with holes	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1729. Worn habitually	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1730. Band around head	+	+	+	•+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	•+
1731. Buckskin	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1732. Fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
[756] 1733. Men only	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1734. Doctors only	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1735. Eyeshade	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[751] 1736. Charcoal around eyes for snow-blindness	+	•+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–

Robes

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
1737. Woven rabbitskin blanket	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	•+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
1844. Shell embroidery	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	291
1845. Painted, top front	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[531]
1846. Painted, seams	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	
1847. Slippers	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1848. Woven bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1849. Tule, twined	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1850. Sandal	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1851. Hide	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1852. Bark	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1853. Leggings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1854. Tule, twined	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1855. Fur piece	(+)	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1856. Buckskin	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1857. Sewed	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1858. Fringed	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1859. Painted	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1860. Porcupine-quill decoration							+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[237]
1861. Tied at knee and ankle	–	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1862. Knee-to-ankle length	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1863. Hip-to-knee length	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1864. Snowshoes	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	o	
1865. Circular	•+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	(+)	–	o	481
1866. Oval	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	o	–	+	o	
1867. Kite-shaped	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1868. Lashing withes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	o	–	+	o	
1869. Lashing buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	o	+	–	o	
1870. Lashing rawhide	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	o	–	–	o	
1871. Lashing of fiber string	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	–	–	o	
Ceremonial Dress																	
1872. Feather garment on net foundation	–	–	–	–	(+)	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	292
1873. Half length	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	
1874. Tied over shoulders	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	237
1875. Held up by shoulder straps	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1876. Tied under arms	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
1877. Full length, neck to ankles	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
1878. Down-feather ropes or strings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	•–	•–	–	•+	•+	•	•+	•+	
1879. Yellowhammer-quill band	–	–	–	–	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1880. Feather tips at intervals	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
1881. Feathers solid, edge untrimmed	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1881a. Feathers solid, edge trimmed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
1882. Worn across forehead	–	–			+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1883. Ends extend, side of head	–	–	–	–		–					+	+	–	+	+	–	
1884. Worn as belt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1885. Worn as bracelet	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[301] ●
1886. Worn as necklace	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–	
1887. Worn as bandolier	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
1888. Worn over head and down back	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1889. Decorated with beads	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
1890. Used as dance ornament	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[535]
1891. Used by doctor	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	[756]
1892. Whole yellowhammer feathers solid on headband	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1893. All same direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1894. Worn across forehead	–	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1895. Worn as belt	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1896. Worn as bracelet	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[301]
1897. Worn as necklace	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1898. Worn in head net	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1899. Worn over head and down back	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

292	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
237 1900. Used by doctors only	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[756] 1901. Feathers notched at sides	+	+	.	+	+	•+	+	–	.	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1901a. Decorated with rattlesnake rattles		–	–						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1902. Woodpecker scalps on band	–	•–	+	(–)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1903. Buckskin band	–	–	+	(–)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
1904. Fur band	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
1905. Woven-fiber band	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
1906. Scalps sewn on	–	–	+	(–)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–
1907. Scalps tied on	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–
1908. Scalps glued on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–	–
1909. Beaks left on scalps	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1910. Single row of scalps	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–
1911. 2 or more rows of scalps	–	–	–	–	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1912. Headband	–	–	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
1913. Belt	–	–	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
[301] 1914. Necklace	–	–	+	–		+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1915. Bandolier	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1916. Woodpecker scalps in feather headdress												+	–	+	–	+
1917. Woodpecker scalps on head net	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
1918. Mallard duck neck skins on band	–	–	–	–	–	•R	+	–	o	o	+	–	+	o	o	+
1919. Headband	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1920. Belt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1921. Cap	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1922. Bunch of feathers, tied to top of hair	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1923. Topknot headdress	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
1924. Whole feathers radiating from crown of buckskin cap	–	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
1925. Feathers tipped with small white feathers	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1926. Buckskin strip down back, feathers attached	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1927. "Big head" feather-tipped radiating stick headdress	–	–	R	–	•–	R	–	R	–	R	–	+	–	+	–	+
1928. Feather plumes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
1929. Single primary or tail feather	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1930. 2 primary or tail feathers			+						+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–
1931. Woodpecker scalp on feather	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1932. Shells, cedar, small feathers attached								+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1933. Used by doctor	–	–	–		+			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1934. Spliced	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+
†1935. Forked ... times.	–	–	–	–	•2	•2	•2	–	–	–	2	2	–	2	.	2
1936. Twisted sinew body	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	.	+
1937. Stick base	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	.	+
1938. Feathers bunched at fork or top of base	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	.	+
1939. Yellowhammer-quill attachment	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	+
1940. Yellowhammer feathers attached	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
1941. Worn on head	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	–	+	+	–	+	.	+
1942. Hand-held	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	R	R	–	–	–	–	.	–
1943. Fur headband or blind	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1944. Feathers suspended from lower edge	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1945. Visor	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1946. Head net	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	–	+
292 1947. Flowing down back	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1948. Close woven	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1949. Open woven	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1950. Feathers at bottom	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1951. All on head	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
1952. Bag type	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1953. Hammock type	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
1954. Down-filled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
1955. Down tied on back part	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2627. Both paternal, maternal	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	.	.	+	622
2628. Primogeniture	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	.	–	–	+	[614]
2629. Oldest member paternal lineage	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
2630. Only if direct heir too young	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2631. Brother of deceased chief	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	.	+	+	+	
2632. Only if direct heir too young			+						+	–	•+	–	.	–	–	–	
2633. Brother's son	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	+	
Qualifications for Appointment																	
2634. Character and knowledge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2635. Possession of wealth	–	–	+	.	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[556]
2636. Good speaker, and "talks to everyone"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
Appointment																	
2637. Chosen at assembly of elders.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	.	+	+	+	[623]
2638. Chosen at assembly of all males	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	–	.	–	–	–	
2639. Women sometimes attend and speak			–				+	–	–	–	.	+	.	–	–	–	[562]
2640. Incumbent may select successor	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	+	
2641. New leader may be appointed before incumbent dies	–	+	+				+	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	+	–	
2642. Headmen of other groups select or help select new leader	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	+	
2643. Approval of community required	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	.	–	–	–	
Tenure																	
2644. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2645. Dependent on satisfactory behavior	–	–	+	+	+	•+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	
2646. May be deposed by killing	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	.	•–	
Title																	
2647. Individual title	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2648. Title extended to children	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	
2649. To daughter only	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2650. Daughter called by special title													–	–	•+	–	
2651. Title extended to wife; "chief's wife"	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	.	–	+	
Insignia																	
2652. Wears "hairpin" with quail crest at ceremonies																+	[301] ●
2653. Chief only person who uses eagle feathers													–	–	+	–	[239]
Activities and Duties																	
2654. Hunts, fishes for self	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	
2655. Relatives hunt, fish for him	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2656. All give chief food free.	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
2657. Food bought for chief	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2658. Feeds visitors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2659. Impoverished thereby	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[574]
2660. Provides most of food for ceremonies	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2661. Directs communal economic activities	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	[224]
2662. Deer drives	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
2663. Antelope, duck hunts, etc.	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
726 o2824. Held ... days before fight	–	–	2	–	–	–	•2	•2	1	•2	6	–	–	–
535 o2825. Lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
o2826. Lasts ... nights	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	5	–	–	–
2827. Part of night only	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
2828. At or near village	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2829. Outside in open	+	+	–			–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
2830. Inside in sweat house, around pole	–	–	+			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2831. Dancers abreast in row	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2832. Dancers in circle	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2833. Each person runs around	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
2834. Carry bow and arrows	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	–	–	–
2835. Talk to arrows	–	.	+					+	+	+	.	–	–	–
2836. Shoot at human effigy	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2837. Men only dance	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2838. Men and women dance	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2839. Women carry feathers	–		–				+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
[533] 2840. Women sing for men	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Painting, Headdress

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
714 2841. Contestants paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•
2842. Red	–	–	+	+	.	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.
2843. Black	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
2844. White	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	.
2845. Face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
2846. Arms	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	.
2847. Body and legs	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	.
2848. Stripes	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	.
[776] 2849. Variable patterns	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	.
2850. According to guardian spirit	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–
2851. Head net	–	–	–								+	+	–	–
● [301] 2852. Headband	–	–	–					+	+	+	+	+	•+	–
2853. Bone hairpins	–	–	–					•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–

Procedure

Declaration and Manner of Fighting

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
726 2854. Declaration of war	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
[721] 2855. Prearranged encounters	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
2856. Surprise attacks	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2857. Early morning, before dawn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2858. Scouts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	•–	+
2859. Use owl calls, etc.	•+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	.	–	.
2860. Hand-to-hand fighting	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2861. Shaman sings											+	+	+	–
2862. Men killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2863. Women killed	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2864. Children killed	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+

Captives

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 2865. Prisoners taken	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2866. Women: young	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–
2867. Children	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2868. Mainly	+	+	+	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2869. Women captives killed	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2870. Kept month or so before being killed	–	.	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2871. Abused, mistreated	–	.	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	A$	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
841 3503. Bathes last day of seclusion only	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
881 3504. Bathes outside, in stream	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
[513] 3505. Bathes inside, house	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
3506. May wet, wash hair	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
3507. Bathes alone	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3508. Mother, attendant helps girl bathe	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
[302] 3509. Girl uses head scratcher	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
3510. Bone head scratcher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3511. Stick head scratcher	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
‡3512. Head scratcher used ... days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•5	•3	5	–	28	6	5	6	5	4	28
†3513. Head scratcher used ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3513a. Parents scratch girl's head	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
3514. Delousing by attendant	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
[292] 3515. Girl wears basket cap	+	+	+	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3515a. Girl wears flower crown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3516. Head covered with bark "caps"	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3517. Head covered with deerskin blanket	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3518. Head inside basket when sleeping	+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3519. Eagle down in hair	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3520. Feathers in hair	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[301] 3521. Braided bark forehead band	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3522. Fur forehead band	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3523. Feather visor	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3524. Head, face covered inside house	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3525. Head, face covered when going outside	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	•–	•+	–	•+	–	•+	–	•–	•+
3526. Hair in 2 braids, over shoulders	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
3526a. Hair in 1 braid, down back	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3527. Braid(s) wrapped with bark	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3528. Hair in 2 knobs, over shoulders, wrapped	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
3529. Knobs wrapped with bark	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3530. Hair short, banged	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3531. Hair loose, tied at back	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
3532. Mother combs, dresses girl's hair	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
3533. Attendant dresses girl's hair	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+		–	+	+	–	–	+
3534. Hair dressed once only, first day	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3535. Hair dressed daily	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	(+)	+
3536. Combings burned, buried	–	–	–	–		–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	.	–
3537. Combings saved for belt	–	–	+								+	–	–	–	–	–
3538. Girl's face painted black	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
3539. Girl's face painted red	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3540. Special face pattern	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3541. Daily varied face patterns	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3542. Charcoal around eyes								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3543. Arms painted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3544. Girl painted daily	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
3545. Girl painted by mother	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3546. Girl painted by attendant	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–
3547. Girl wears old clothing	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
3547a. Small skin over shoulders	(+)	(+)	+								.	–	–	–	–	–
3548. Buckskin skirt or dress	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
3549. Pine-nut string skirt			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3550. Bark skirt	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
3551. Short tule, grass skirt	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
3552. Grass or skin breechclout	.	•+	•+	•+	•+	•	+		•+	.	–	•+	•+	–	–	–
3553. Buckskin leggings	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3554. Tule leggings	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3555. Tule, skin moccasins	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
3556. Barefoot, preferred	+		–			+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
[301] 3557. Anklets	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3558. Wristlets	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	84|
3559. Special belt	-	•+	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	-	•+	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	88|
3560. Nose stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3561. Earrings, optional	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[301]
3562. Necklaces	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	
3563. All labor taboo during isolation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	
3564. Preparing food taboo	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3565. Basketmaking taboo	-	+	+	+	•+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3566. No labor taboo	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3567. Compulsory light labor	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	
3568. Compulsory heavy labor	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3569. Girl must carry firewood	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	•+	-	•+	
3570. Girl must carry water	+	-	+	-	•-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3571. Girl must pound roots	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3572. Girl must gather vegetable food	-	-	+	-	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
3573. Girl gives roots she digs to old woman	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3574. Girl makes baskets	-	-	-	-	•-	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3575. Compulsory running, racing	+	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	•+	-	+	+	-	•+	-	-	
3576. Girl runs each morning	-	-	-	-	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3577. Girl runs in evening	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3578. Girl runs at end of rite only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	
3579. Girl races with 2 girls	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
3580. Carries deer-hoof rattle when running	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	[787]
3581. Vision seeking during running, dancing	-	-	-	-	•+	+	+	-	+	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	
3582. Instruction by attendant during seclusion	-	(+)	-	-	•-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3583. Ears pierced during puberty ceremony	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	[304]
3584. Ears pierced shortly after puberty rites	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3585. Dance follows ear-piercing	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
3586. Vision seeking after ear-piercing	-	-	-	-	+	•+	•(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3587. Ears pierced prepuberty	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	•+	-	-	-	
3588. Ears pierced postpuberty	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	
3589. Ceremonial purification at end of puberty ceremony	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[783]
3590. Girl bathes to remove taboos	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3591. Mother, attendant wash girl	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	•-	+	
3591a. Girl bathes alone	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
3592. Sage decoction used for bath	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3593. Girl rubbed with pine needle, root medicine	-	-	+								-	+	•+	+	.	-	
3594. Girl rubbed with salt												+	-	-	.	-	
3595. Sweat bath to remove taboos	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3596. Girl jumps in stream after sweating	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3597. Girl changes clothes, end of rites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3597a. Girl given new clothes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3598. Old clothes burnt	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
3599. Old clothes saved for limited no. menses	•+	•+	•-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3599a. Old clothes kept in hut; loaned, used by near relatives	-	-	+					+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3600. Old clothes washed	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3601. Old clothes given or thrown away	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	•+	
3602. Old clothes hung on tree			-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3603. Old clothes exchanged for new ones	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	
3604. Sagebrush band kept	+	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3605. Anklets, wristlets burned	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3606. Belt kept permanently	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	

854 cradle. Y-frame, U-frame, hooked-ladder frame
lying-type cradle. Horizontal (double) warp on
basketry lying cradle. Wicker weave in cradle
hood. Loose basket over head of sleeping child.
Buckskin covering on cradle partial. Sex of
child indicated by bed design. *Woven skin*
285 *blankets; mats*.--Checker. Weft of buckskin thongs.
Perforated stick to twist fur strips. Suspended
warp. Thumb guard of bone for shredding
283 material. *Cordage*.--Stick for twisting (1 ply at
a time). Spindle whorl.

Receptacles Other Than Baskets

415 *Wood, etc.; chests, boxes; pottery*.--Wooden bowl. Wooden chest. Wooden box of bent and sewed boards. Pottery vessels.

Leather Goods; Adhesives

281 *Skin tanning; glue*.--Fleshing or dehairing:
hide staked out with several stakes; with single
stake, other end held; with 1 end tied to tree,
other end held. Fleshed on plank. Fleshing or
dehairing tool: blunt posts; horn; shell.
Tanning agent: liver; wood ashes. Graining: with
381 horn. Glue from horns or hoofs; from milkweed
gum.

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

302 *Coiffure; comb; care of hair*.--One tie around
head, forehead level. Wooden hairpins. Bone
head scratcher as comb. Hair dyed with eel blood.
White clay on head or to wash head. Mud plaster
against lice. Hair dye in mud plaster. Hair
greased with acorn oil. Nettle roots to wash
302 head. *Paint; deformations and mutilations*.--
304 Face, body paints according to totem. Paint applied
with brush. Mud or pitch on body for
warmth. Nasal alae pierced; lip pierced.
Tattooing with bone awl. Depilation of pubic hair.
Tweezers of split cane, wood, shell. Depilation:
pitch on fingers; bone knife opposed to fingernail.
Beard burnt off if long. *Ear, nose*
301 *ornaments, necklaces, etc*.--Wooden ear stick,
feathers on end. Bone ear tube, incised. Cane or
cane pipe in ear. Cane nose ornament. Sea-lion
teeth necklace.

Dress

291 *Headgear; robes; loin covering; muff*.--Basket cap, for fishing with large dip net only. Feathers on net foundation for robe. Inner bark mat robe. Buffalo-fur robe. Breechclout of woven bird skins; of woven rabbitskins; of grass stems; of inner bark. Single small front apron, of fringed buckskin; with braids on cord. Double apron of woven rabbitskins. Bird-skin muff.

000 1612. MM: With burnt pepperwood gourds.

[301] [304] [177] 1614. Kl: "Nose plugs and earrings are new; the Klamath learned to use them from the Molala Indians and the S [California] Indians. They never made holes in their nose and ears in old times." SW: Awl used chiefly to pierce noses; sometimes point of quill, but latter makes too small a hole. WM: Male, female mourner if desirous of inflicting loss on others similar to that he has experienced, retires to small sweat house (Lut) and pierces nasal septum with small manzanita stick. Addresses bloody stick, telling it he wishes other persons to die; stays in sweat house 6-7 days, leaving stick in nose until hole has healed; then takes out stick and gives it to relative, shaman usually, to keep and use in poisoning people. WS: By sick persons only, occasionally.

Deformation, mutilations.--

[304] 1617. Kl: See note 1614. SW: Porcupine quill used; keeps ear lobes from becoming sore.

1620. At: Men, women. AE: Women.

[304] [177] 1621. Kl: Learned to tattoo from Shasta (Achomawi?) when informant boy (ca. 50 years ago). "Two Kl women went [S] to see Shasta; when they returned, 1 old woman tattooed herself" with 3 lines on chin radiating from mouth; "people saw it and liked it, and lots of old women did it then. The first old woman thought it made her look pretty." Informant had also seen 1 old man, with circles tattooed under eyes, and connecting line over nose, but "didn't like it; it looked funny." Men's tattooing on arms also recent custom. Mo informants confirmed slight use of tattoo by Kl; commented upon how heavily Shasta tattoo. Mo: Recent (?). SW informant denied Mo, Wintu women tattoo; however, Mo informant attributed tattooing to Tule Lake Mo groups. WM: Little tattooing among WM; if tattoo very much, spirits will take person away. More tattooing among Trinity, Weaverville Wintu groups (Nomsus).

1622. AW: Boys occasionally only. WT: Men on arms, when wife dies only.

1625. WT: 3 narrow stripes put on girl's chin; vertical lines across cheeks added later, when girl is grown woman.

1626. WT: See note 1625.

1627. WT: Women.

1629. SW: Upper-arm marks to measure dentalia; men, only. WT, WM: Men. WM: Men tattoo as therapeutic measure only.

[304] [412] 1633. Obsidian knife, generally. MV: With white rock, procured from river and smashed for sharp edge.

[757] 1638. Therapeutic measure; see elements 4473-4474.

1641. Mo: "Proud of eyebrows, eyelashes; wouldn't pull them." NS: Hot ashes applied; "eyebrows never grow back."

1642. NS: See preceding note.

1647. MV: Face rubbed with warm rock, so beard will not grow quickly.

1648. SE, WT, MF, NM: Rarely; old men only.

[197-B]

000 Ornaments.—

● [301] 1649. Kl: See note 1614.

1652. SW: When hole healing, only.

1654. No specimens of these shells seen; described as "flat, thin, round shell with hole made near edge"; 2-3 pendent from buckskin thong.

[301] 1656. Kl: See note 1614. NM: Worn by women. MS, MV: By men and women.

1657. MV: Worn during dances only.

1662. MV: Small feather-decorated basketry-plaque pendant.

1665. MV: Milkweed gum, in black pattern.

1671. AW: Shaman only; yellowhammer tail feather. See note 1900.

1672. AE: Only when ear healing.

1677. AE: Possibly dentalia used, as informant described nose plug as sharp at both (?) ends, and slightly curved.

[301] 1678. Generally burned on end, and used only when hole healing.

1679. AW: Feather, or quill alone, only when hole healing. Use of quill denied for all other groups.

1684. SW: Worn by children only. AE: "Great style"; worn at dances only.

1691. SW: Strung with double string, so beads lie flat.

1692. SW: Obtained from Karuk.

1696. Mo: From seeds which squirrels, rats, have gnawed hole in. SW: See Dixon, Shasta, fig. 94. Buy these from Wintu in 2 colors, black (roasted) shells, brown (natural) ones. At: Widows in mourning also make pitch beads, wear them as necklace, bracelet.

1697. Distribution of sweet grass throughout entire area unverified; absence noted only when informants positive on point.

1698. SW: Girls, playing, put flowers in hair, ear, nose, around neck. "Often speak of wildflower patches; how pretty they look, how the flowers brighten up the scene." AW: "Don't pick wildflowers, but speak of them, say how pretty they look."

[301] [887] [824] 1699. Usually made from hair cut in mourning. Kl: 6-7 strings of human hair; worn as ornament by old women only; qai'hlis.

1701. From girl's puberty on.

1703. SW: See note 1698. WM: Dancers wear flowers; "they like the flowers; when they see them blooming they make strings of bunches of wild 'orange blossom' flowers tied together, and wear them on their head, or in their ears, or as a necklace. They want to be pretty. They take yellow button flowers and string these, piercing them with a bone awl, and tie them on their heads; women wore these when just sitting around making a basket. If a woman had part of the strand left, she put it in her ears." NP: Worn by women for Spring dance (weda); also by boys, girls playing.

000 3512. SE: 8-10 days. At: 3-6. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4.

3515. At: Worn attached to skirt or belt, in back. See note 3572. "If girl wears basket cap on head when menstruating, she will dream and get gray hair." WM: Old basket cap, worn chiefly when going outside hut.

3516. AE: Greasewood-bark woven "cape."

3518. Mo: Pack basket. SE, SW: Basket hopper.

3520. AW: Aberrant use of feather; old man or woman, if has power and "wants to get rid of it and give it to girl," puts 1 feather in girl's head when she is dancing at puberty dance.

[301 824 891] 3521. Kl, Mo, At, AW: Braided sagebrush. AE: Greasewood bark. At, AW, AE; Bark pendant from band extends down back. Mo: Lacks pendant down back.

3522. SE: Mink.

3523. SE, SW: Bluejay feathers. WS: Informant reported having seen girl's puberty dance among Scott Valley Shasta, 50 yrs. ago, in which girl wore visor of grouse feathers. Dance lasted 2-3 weeks, but at end visor not lifted off girl; latter wore visor throughout ensuing summer.

3525. SE, SW: Feather visor. WT: Girl's mother or grandmother takes girl outside; never allowed her to go alone. At night attendant carries torch. WM: Basket. MM: Basket cap. NF: Pack basket. NS: Girl does not leave hut 4 days and nights; hole dug inside hut to serve as latrine; covered with dirt afterward. MV: Deerskin blanket.

3527. Sagebrush-bark wrappings.

3536. WT: Burned. NF: Buried.

3538. MV: Burnt pepperwood gourds used.

3540. AE: 3 red stripes (1 each down nose and cheeks), if girl is dancing for 3 nights; 4th stripe, down chin, added if girl is dancing for 4 nights. (See left figure, below.) WM: Alternate red and black dots from eyes down cheeks. (See right figure, below.)

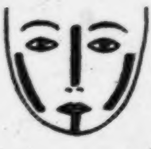

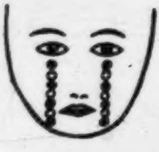

3546. MV: Girl painted by 2 female singers each morning.

3547. WM: Wears old deer-hide skirt, especially when going outside to run. Hide tanned with hair on; has been saved, hung up in top part of house in smoke, for ca. 10 years. Taboo for girl to touch newly tanned skirt; "an old skirt will help her; she won't be afraid of anything."

3550. WM: During menstrual periods, wears maple-bark double skirt, with breechclout underneath; bark skirt likely to become stained, so

[219-A]

000 in evening when girl runs she wears buckskin skirt over bark one; removes buckskin skirt when she returns to her hut.

3552. Serves as menstrual pad. Mo: Shredded sagebrush. SE: Grass. SW, MF, NF: Buckskin. At: Sagebrush encased in bark. AW: Front skirt (of grass, tule, buckskin) tucked in between legs. WM: Soft maple bark; changed frequently, burned secretly.

[301] 3557. Kl, Mo: Of sagebrush bark. AE: Of
[824] greasewood bark, braided. MM, MF: Of buckskin.
3558. Kl, Mo, AW: Of sagebrush bark. AE: Of
[881] greasewood bark, braided. MM: Of buckskin.

3559. Mo, AE: Of sage or greasewood. SE, SW, WM: Hair belt. SW: Hair belt purchased; decorated with triangular pieces of shell that rattle when girl dances. Kept, worn any time afterward. AW, AE: Pack strap for belt. MM, MF, NF: Buckskin belt.

3562. SE: Sweet-grass necklace. MM: Pine-nut necklace.

3565. At: Hand might be paralyzed. AW: "Some said a girl would ruin a basket she'd started, or the weeds [Xerophyllum], if she made baskets."

[46] 3567. Kl: "If girl doesn't work outside,
[88] she'll be lazy."

3569. SE, SW, NM: For every household in village. At: Girl gets light loads of wood, every day, at noontime. NM: All women sing as girl goes to top of hill for wood. MV: Gathers wood final 2 days of seclusion only.

3570. At: Menstruating girl "never touches water. That's no good, you'll dream bad."

3571. For everyone asking her to do so.

3572. At: If girl menstruates in season when roots are dug, she digs them for old women during daytime. At noon, girl dances and old woman hits ("spanks") her on basket cap; girl then runs east as old woman shouts. Girl returns to an old woman who beckons to her; this old woman pinches girl's left forefinger hard, so that she will fill up the basket with roots quickly, and hits her on basket cap. The girl then goes off to gather roots, which she puts in the basket cap, and transfers to the old women's pack baskets. She is supposed to fill 3 pack baskets before sundown. The next day girl goes to another family, to dig roots. "The old women liked this help; they'd say, 'Oh, I wish she would do this every day, dig roots for me.'" This is done not only at first-puberty rites, but during every menstrual period before girl marries. If no roots, girl gathers fruit during day for her mother. MV: Final 2 days of seclusion menstruant, attendants, and women gather clover; return to village wearing wild-rose crowns. Give clover to "captains" (yeponi) to eat in sweat house.

3574. At, AW: See note 3565.

3575. At: So she will be a good runner. At, AW: To catch shadow. AW, AE: To fetch water for someone. WM, NM: Brings back sticks. This denied for WS, MM, MF, NF, NS, MV. At: Girl runs toward E.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K
M
342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old
352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the
513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another
K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are
M [592] houses that hold more than two families and others that hold
K only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no
M longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content
342 888 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.

735 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women
K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered
M the visitor[11] are of powerful frame—though of no more than
142 average height—and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily
K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber
M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early
291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing
[177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the
trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down
the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside
add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a
K mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in
M 302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips
• 301 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads,
ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum
K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy
M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face,
304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by
[142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter prac-
[177] tice, says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit
River neighbors of the Modoc.

K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys.
M 512 Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grand-
[857] father and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black
waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the
sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to
stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its
K cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the
M [252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it
[415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they
[177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

142 tall, and wiry, while the women are short and often incline to embonpoint
point. Nevertheless obesity is not more frequent there than it is with us.
No better illustration of their bodily characteristics can be had than a collection
of their personal names. These sketch the Indian in a striking and
often an unenviable light, because they generally depict the extremes observed
on certain individuals. The sex can not, or in a few instances only,
551 be inferred from the name of a person. We frequently meet with designations
like "Large Stomach," "Big Belly," "Round Belly," "Sharp Nose,"
"Grizzly's Nose," "Spare-Built," "Grease," "Crooked Neck," "Conical
Head," "Wide-Mouth," "Small-Eyes," "Squinter," "Large Eyes," "Half-blind,"
or with names referring to gait, to the carriage of the body, to
habitual acts performed with hands or feet, to dress, and other accidental
matters.

165 With all these deformities, and many others more difficult to detect,
145 these Indians have bodies as well formed as those of the Anglo-American
race, and in spite of their privations and exposure they live about as long
as we do, though no Indian knows his or her age with any degree of accuracy.
164 A very common defect is the blindness of one eye, produced by the
smudge of the lodge-fire, around which they pass the long winter evenings.
304 With the majority of the Indians the septum of the nose hangs down at
301 adult age, for the nose of every Indian is pierced in early years, whether
they afterwards wear the dentalium-shell in it or not.

000 Stephen Powers, who had good opportunities for comparing the Modocs with the tribes of Northern California, says of them:

> They present a finer physique than the lowland tribes of the Sacramento, taller and less pudgy, partly, no doubt, because they engage in the chase more than the latter. There is more rugged and stolid strength of feature than in the Shastika now living; cheek bones prominent; lips generally thick and sensual; noses straight as the Grecian, but depressed at the root and thick-walled; a dullish, heavy cast of feature; eyes frequently yellow where they should be white. They are true Indians in their stern immobility of countenance.*

Passing over to the psychic and mental qualities of these Oregonian natives, only a few characteristics can be pointed out by which they differ from the other Indians of North America. The Indian is more dependent

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* Contributions to North Amer. Ethnology, III, 252, 253. By Shastika he means the Shasti Indians of middle Klamath River, California.

*539 dispatched after a chipmunk, struck a log or tree, glanced off from it and came very
773 near killing Weasel's little son.

192 110, 11. 21. guháshktcha instead of guhuáshktcha, cf. Dictionary.

110, 17. vû'sho, breast, chest, is also pronounced wû'shu, û'shu; û'shutala, in the chest. k̲'leklχátko is the distributive plural of k̲'lekátko; k̲'léka, to die.

[193] 110, 18. mă'nshaktch, so long; stands for mă'ntchak tchí. The terminal -ak has to be taken here and in 110, 14. in the sense of the diminutive suffix: "a little long".

110, 19. k̲ă'la to *do* or *act* in the sense of amusing oneself, playing, gesticulating, or acting in a loud, noisy, or grotesque manner.

111, 1. túnepanti. The partitive case in -ti, if it stands for túnepanta, is used here, because the bags of neckwear brought by Skélamtch were counted on the digits of one hand, while those of Weasel were counted on the fingers of the other.

111, 3. wewilína. Beads were left over to Old Marten, because he had brought more than five sacks full to the tchpínû or family burying ground, emptying only five sacks on the child's pyre. This was a fabulously extravagant expenditure, the beads standing high in price and the sacks or willishik being rated at more than one bushel each.

111, 4. Mû'sh and Yámsh, syncopated from Mû'ash and Yámash.

111, 9. eiχishtok Mû'shash. The South Wind had put his head out; that is, a south wind had been blowing when Little Weasel died and hence was supposed to be the real cause of his death.

[821] 111, 12. Lĕmé-ishash. From the following it appears, that the five Thunders represent more the flash of the lightning (lúepalsh) than the roll of the thunder. There are many of them, because the thunder, when rolling over mountains and valleys, often increases again in loudness after having almost died out, and five is the often recurring "sacred" number of the Oregonian and other Northwestern Indians. The radix [193] of lĕmé-ish is *lam*, which indicates a circular, whirling motion. The five Thunders are [342] brothers, living in a winter-lodge or earth-house: Lĕmé-isham tchî'sh, thought to be a dark cave; their parents, the two Old Thunders, live in a káyata or low, small hut covered with bulrush mats. The short episode 111, 12–17 does not refer to all the five Thunders, but only to one of their number.

[321] [301] 111, 13. tû'tash is the long white marine shell, known as dentalium; it is one of the most common Indian body-ornaments. The white resin flowing out of pine-trees seems to be symbolized in this myth by the dentalium-shell.

111, 14. wák ish shû'tă, for wák shúta i nish: "somehow do (something) for me."

[193] 111, 20. In wă'shin are combined two locative particles: *í* and *n* (for na).

111, 22. mák̲laks tû'm (for tû'ma). The Thunders brought home as food many human beings struck by lightning.

112, 1. wanúnga, the distributive plural of û'nak; explained in the Dictionary.

112, 1. wẹnníni a tuá gátpa etc. Here and throughout this paragraph tuá means "some kind of."

112, 2. 3. shkaíni combines the meaning of strong with that of bad or mischievous, and answers to our *demoniac;* shkaíniak or shkaínihak stands for our comparative: stronger. The -tch, -s, -sh appended is an abbreviation of tcha, *now*, and shkáyent stands for shkaíni at.

[342] 112, 3. Gékansha. Old Marten had entered the solid "earth-house" of the Thun-

*539 533 755 Many Indians do not understand all these songs, which contain many archaic forms and words, and the conjurers themselves are generally loth to give their meaning, even if they should understand them. Some songs are of a stereotypic application in the treatment of all or the majority of the maladies. A close familiarity with the habits of animals of the forest manifests itself throughout, as well as in the mythic tales.

*539 533 755 192 The translations added by me are not literal; they render the meaning of the songs in a free and paraphrastic manner. In the metrics the accentuated syllables designate a higher pitch of the singing voice.

153; 2. Literally: "I blew off the feather-crest."

153; 3. To read: shléwi witχnû'lank, seems preferable in this connection. Cf. 35.

[292] 154; 6. On grand occasions young women were in the habit of dressing in buckskin robes, fringed with porcupine quills (shmáyalsh). In a myth the bull-frog was reported to wear constantly this kind of dress, and hence originated a sort of proverbial locution: kó-e shmashmáyalti: "the bull-frog in the shmáyalsh-dress." Cf. shmáyam. Zoologists call this frog: Rana pipiens.

154; 7. This is called washpalákŝam shui'sh, the medicine-song of the washpálaksfox species, Vulpes velox. The exterior of this fox may be sketched by the words: ä'kelä'kĕla wátchag hû'tchnuk, a long-bodied dog is running or trotting. Cf. song 22.

154; 9. This is called the tuákŝham shuinō'tkish or incantation sung by the crane itself through the mouth of the conjurer. Nobody could hear the bird's voice if the conjurer did not sing its song. A song, which the conjurer sings for himself and by which he does not interpret any animal or other object of nature, is called kiúksam shui'sh and is endowed with magic powers. In the West of the United States the tuákish is popularly known as shitepoke, in the East as fly-up-the-creek.

[825] 154; 10. The feathers of the yellow hammer are worn on neck as an ornament.

[301] 154; 12. This refers to a certain large bird not specified, which contracts its body, so that the head seems to be its largest part. When walking, the bird seems to roll around on the prairie. Pílan for píla nû.

154; 14. The object to which song 14 refers is not known.

154; 15. Walχátchaga is very probably, though not certainly, a kind of marten. Mantles were made of its fur. This rimed incantation is called walχátchkalam shuinō'tkish.

155; 16. Called: tcháshisham shuinō'tkish; melody very pretty. The diphthong ui is pronounced here as *one* syllable. Skunks, while running around, are in the habit of holding straight up their bushy tails, which are almost as long as their bodies.

155; 17. This pretty song is chanted by the choristers while the kíuks feigns to suck out of the body the tiny object which is supposed to have caused the disease, and before he gets it out. k̲óga, k̲ók̲a means originally *to bite;* bite first, then suck the disease out.

155; 18. Pápkash is pronounced almost like pávkash; 144, 11. k̲ópk̲a like k̲óvka.

155; 19. Alludes to a peculiar nodding observed in lizards when running out of their holes and stopping at the issue.

155; 20. The animal to which this song refers is not known. Compare No. 16. 24. The literal meaning is: "The north wind blows around me from the distance."

155; 21. This song, with a beautiful melody, is the shuinō'tkish of a mouse species with pig-like proboscis.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

173 When the latter broke camp they left behind a little flour, which the
177 Indians carried home and divided. They rubbed it on their palms and
[302] smeared their faces.[24]

648 Other early whites came from the southeast on horseback. This
marked the beginning of the great migration by way of the Modoc
648 country to the Pacific slope. On the whole the Klamath came off
remarkably well in their relations with the whites. The full brunt of immigration was borne by Modoc and Pit River peoples. The Klamath were spared the Oregon wars of the fifties, which all but annihilated the tribes of western Oregon and northern California.[25] The earliest white settlements in the neighborhood were about the present Jacksonville, Medford, and Ashland. The first white settlement within Klamath territory was near the village of kowa'edi at the northern end of the lake. This was about 1860–65, hence may have reference to the first agency established there. Subsequent relations have been on the whole quite amicable. The Klamath took no part in the Modoc war of 1872–73.

Habitat

131 The territory of the Klamath is on the high plateau of eastern
133 Oregon, in the shallow basin wherein lies the group of lakes that give
rise to Klamath river. The southern half of this basin about lower Klamath and Tule lakes is Modoc territory, extending southward across the lava beds in the direction of Pit river. The northern half, which lies against the Cascade range, is the home of the Klamath.

The Klamath properly reside on Klamath lake (or as it was
formerly known, upper or middle Klamath lake), on Klamath marsh,
[361] and on Williamson river, which connects them. At least, most of the
permanent winter settlements are on these three waters, with a scattering on their tributaries. Summer camps are established over a much wider territory, as far, it would seem, as the natural limits of this drainage area.

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[263] [24] Salt was equally unknown to them at this time.

[25] A somewhat obscure account was given me of the inclusion of Klamath in
the great round-up of western Oregon Indians on Siletz (?) reservation in the
[174] fifties. These had been wintering at the Dalles and were herded with the
Indians there. The Upland Takelma and Molala were penned in together and
fed by the soldiers. Some died every day; the Klamath suspected that they
[648] were poisoned. The Klamath were kept apart, and, thanks to the strenuous
arguments of their chief Lzle'ks, were not only freed but supplied with beef
and an escort of soldiery to conduct them back to their own country.

Everyone is quiet during the singing, else the girl will die. My informant could not say what would be done to the one who broke this rule. The singers are fed at midnight. 881 533

The choristers sing about one another, men about women, women about men.[55] The opening song is always:

> iwŭne′ sken djïdja′lwis djalyo′djal′wa [539]
> toward sundown bachelors making a noise (?)
> The young men are having a jollification in the west.

Toward daylight they sing:

> pe′ĕt keskă′ni dji′ḳ!a ho′llidoŋga
> Toward the dawn place a tiny brown bird came to meet us.

The girl herself is expected to dance with downcast eyes, although there is no express prohibition against looking at the sky as among the Shasta. Common girls, however, will laugh and look around as they dance. There is no suggestion that the girl's glance is malignant. 881 535 576 [171] *

She observes three precautions during these five days, as she will at subsequent menstruations and during mourning. She must abstain from meat and fish, eating only lily seed or roots. She may, however, eat when she pleases and with the others. Should she eat the forbidden flesh, she will get "consumption" and die.[56] She must not touch her hands to her face or head, using instead a scratcher (sadŏ′kteuts). This scratching stick or bone is tucked under the left wristband or hung about the neck. Every morning she runs toward the dawn. 881 784 [302] •

In the Field Museum collections are several bone scratchers used during the girl's rites (nos. 61633, 61692, 63632). These are of two types; lozenge-shaped and oval. They are decorated with incised lines, set close together and filled with black pigment. Each is provided with a thong (fig. 6). [531]

During the day the girl retires to sleep in the bushes or in a dome-shaped mat-lodge a few hundred yards distant. 881 [343]

She wears an old, dirty, fringed skirt, a blanket of skin (coyote, wolf, raccoon, or deer), and buckskin moccasins. The long buckskin dress commonly worn at dances may be used, although one informant stated otherwise. She does not wash nor comb her hair during this period. Her face is blackened with pitch and charcoal, but none is put on her hair as it would be in mourning. Instead the hair, hanging as usual in two braids in front of the shoulders, is doubled on itself to form two clubs, which are bound with braided cords of buck-brush [291] [302]

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[55] Some of these songs are given by Gatschet, 1:182, 189.

[56] A bone drinking tube is not used.

881
[302] or red sage-brush bark. Buck-brush bands are worn around the head,
neck, wrists, ankles, below each knee, and wound perhaps twice around
[301] the waist. This waist band may be a woven belt (k'ai'lis) of sage-brush.

At the close of the ceremony the girl purifies herself by swimming;
[291] she does not use a sweat-bath. Other participants need no purification. Her clothing and bark bands are burned. Sometimes the cir-
[783] clets are wrapped around the branches of trees near the sweat-lodge
where they are left to rot unless they are earlier gathered by someone
who wishes to use them for a cautery.

[302]
[531]

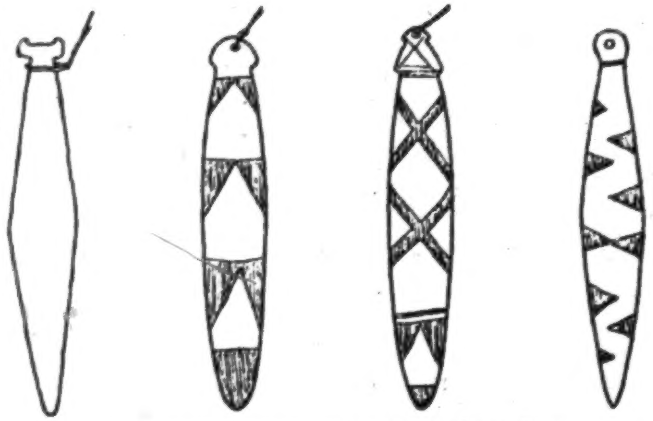

Fig. 6. Head scratchers, used by girls in puberty rites.

A girl for whom no dance is held stays within her home, dressed in this fashion and observing the taboos for the requisite period.

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[756] Menstruant women stay at home during their illness (ata sto'pwi) unless they are members of a shaman's household. Shamans must avoid them; seemingly other men are indifferent. Women of a shaman's household occupy a little dome-shaped lodge near-by for five days. Menstruants eat only lily seed, camas, etc.; they permit themselves dried fish, but meat and fresh fish are taboo. Older women do not use the scratcher, nor wear the bands, nor burn their clothing.[97] So much from my feminine friend, but a male informant had it that all women make use of a menstrual lodge, wear dirty clothing, neither wash nor care for the hair, and use the scratcher. However, women

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[97] Nor do they keep knotted string records of these events as on Puget sound.

765 783 343 There they place planks over the spring on which to lie. The common small sweat-lodges are not used in this connection.

The sweat-lodge near Algoma is now in ruins but it was always in need of repair, I was told (fig. 7). It is now a U-shaped wall of stones enclosing an area ten by twenty feet. The walls still stand five or six feet high, composed of thousands of small rocks. The roof was a rough gable covered with dirt. The lodge faces the east, uphill on a rather steep hillside. Stones were heated outside and carried just within the entrance. Air seeped in along the ground at the back or lower side of the lodge, so the mourner would retire there from the heat. A little spring is close by. There were no houses within several miles of this place. The little lodge north of Klamath Agency faces south.

765 343

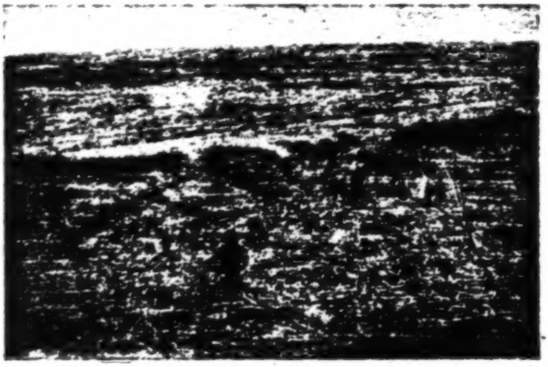

Fig. 7. Mourners' sweat-lodge near Algoma. The nearest man stands in the mouth of the U-shaped structure; the middle figure on the far wall; that to the right beyond it.

765 [783] [787] At the end of the five days of sweating the mourner swims in the spirit places in quest of power or seeks it in the mountains. The reason seems to be not alone that he has lost power through his sorrow, but that this is an especially propitious occasion when the spirits will pity him for his grief. One such place is a pair of rocks, Wolf and his wife, north of Modoc point. A man will wrestle with the Wolf rock, his wife with Wolf's wife, in order to become strong and run well.

[301] During mourning women wear bands of buck-brush or sage-brush around the head, neck, waist, wrists, knees, and ankles like those worn during the puberty dance. The bands are disposed of by wrapping them around trees near the sweat-lodge where they are sometimes collected by those who wish to make cauteries of them. Both parents (or men alone) wear service berry or sage-brush belts like
[302] those of girls at puberty, so that the back will not become stooped. For a year or longer, pitch is smeared over the face and hair, and black-

765
ened with charcoal. This is strictly enjoined for mourning women;
older men follow the custom and perhaps even children, except the [302]
little ones, but young men may be exempt. This pitch is not that
exuding from the logs of the pyre as among the Modoc[105] but is
gathered from any tree. The hair cut off is later tied in little rolls [291]
all over the mourner's buckskin dress or shirt by way of decoration.
(Enemy scalps serve the same end.) These garments are burned
with their owners.

During the sweat-bath period and for perhaps a year longer, the 765
mourner must abstain from fish for fear of sickness,[106] must not touch
his hands to the face else it will wrinkle, nor may he touch his hair lest 784
it turn gray. Instead, a bunch of grass is used when washing, and a scratching stick (wa'was), nine inches long, is suspended around the neck on a sage-brush band, or tucked under the wristband. The mourner spits into a hole dug with the scratcher. This may explain a song record by Gatschet: "This is my song [or spirit], that of the (sweatlodge) stick-hole."[107] These are the same taboos observed by a menstruating woman and by a boy at puberty.

After the loss of a wife or child, a man abandons the first fish or game that he takes, gives the second to another, and succeeding ones he keeps; a gambler gives away his gains. This is called săpu'tsa. A woman does similarly with the roots she digs after her husband or child dies. Something of the same attitude is shared by a gambler after receiving spirit aid, a novice hunter or root digger; all give away their first gains. Similarly no one who has recently lost a child may fish or even cross a river for fear the fish will go away. They must wait a year and then again use the mourner's sweat-house. These may all be viewed as rites of purification or attempts to reestablish oneself as a normal being.

Wolf lived opposite the cave at komȧ'čksi on Sprague river. When his [539]
wife died he brought his children to the river bank. The people shouted to
him not to cross the river because fish were running. But Wolf said, "I did not come to catch fish. I brought my children because they wanted fish." They stopped there. Then Crow laughed at them and they turned into a row of rocks.[108]

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[105] Gatschet, 1:86.

[106] Gatschet (1:89) understood his informant to mean that after sweating for five days, a widow eats only fish and no meat.

[107] *Op. cit.*, 165.

[108] Told by Tom Lang.

756 The Field Museum collection contains a carved wooden image (no. 61763) of a 532 woman bearing a child on her back. This may be one of the figures set on a shaman's house, although I was not told of such. It is about forty inches high. The carving is rudimentary; there is nothing to indicate how the child is carried. The ear lobes of the woman's figure have been pierced and a bit of cloth inserted.

756 The stuffed skin of a blue crane is also propped up outside. I presume these are placed there only when the boy and crane are the shaman's spirits.[159] Gatschet's informant mentioned a red fox skin hanging on an oblique rod set up outside the lodge.[160] A tall slim pole, called wa"lasdŭ'pka (wa"las, standing up), with horizontal bands of red, is erected in front of the house, that is to the east, about fifteen feet distant. A long cord pendant from the top bears at intervals mixed bunches of feathers from eagles and other spirit birds. A miniature gambling tray tied to it belongs to a woman spirit, and near the top is a piece of wood representing the spirit wŏķda'lIs, which so far as I could learn *is* wood. Similar feather-bearing cords hang from the house posts inside the lodge, but here the gambling tray is one of standard size. All such articles, his special decorations, regalia, pipe, and baskets, are known as the shaman's mŭ'lwas, paraphernalia.

A shaman's outfit "used in certain curing rites" in the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 61564) consists of a cord at intervals on which are tied alternately short sticks and wooden tablets. The short sticks are reeds, nine in number, four to seven inches long. These have marks burned (?) transversely or spirally on them. The tablets are rectangular, with rounded corners and with a short handle at one end by which they are tied to the cord. These measure about five and a half inches long by two inches wide, and are painted red except for the section nearest the cord, which is black. The two-strand cord is also red.

756 The shaman's dress includes a band of woodpecker scalps worn on 292 the forehead or around the neck, or a bunch of red-shafted flicker (yellowhammer) feathers attached to the top of the hat or worn as a necklace. Shamans alone wear these. These are the familiar ornaments of northern Californian dancers. The forehead band reaches just behind the temples; the woodpecker scalps are fastened on a buckskin foundation. The quills of the flicker feathers are doubled [302] over the cord on which they are strung. The shaman's body is painted red during the winter performances, but not at all when he is curing. That he is barefoot emphasizes the recency of moccasins. The shaman puts on special dress to cure only if the case is urgent. He then dons a mink or weasel skin hat with feathers of all sorts attached, a special

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[159] The Modoc also place them on the lodge, I was told.

[160] Gatschet, 1:71–72.

(?) buckskin shirt, and wrist and neckbands of weasel. Some shamans wear a necklace of grizzly bear claws. (Other men never wear bear claws.) His face is painted black. Then he is powerful to cure, sawi'gan gI'na. Gatschet describes a band of otter skin worn round the neck and bearing various shells, feathers, bird scalps, etc.; hence it "must unite the magic powers of them all."[161] 756 292 [302]

Some articles of shaman's regalia are in the collections of the Field Museum. A bear-skin cap (no. 61563?) consists of the head skin, decorated on two or three sides with circular disks of buckskin ornamented with quillwork. These are one and three-quarters inches in diameter, and bear three concentric equidistant rings of quillwork, the most central containing a cross of the same.

A shaman's wand "used in curing ceremonies" (no. 61676) is a three-foot shaft bearing bunches of feathers bound on at two points, with a bundle of dew claws tied to the butt. The feathers are gray; they are bound at points about one-third of the distance from each end of the shaft. The bindings and the shaft have been painted red. The dew claws are pendant on individual thongs, each of which is wrapped with quills at two points.

The prescriptions affecting the dress of the laity at the shamanistic performances are illuminating. Everyday dress, at least for wealthier individuals, is of the Plains type; moccasins, skin shirt, long leggings, and breech clout for the men and long skin dress for women. Poorer people wear skirts of tule or buckskin and are barefoot. But the latter garb is obligatory at these dances. This is clearly another instance of conservatism in the field of religion, for the marginal position of the Klamath to the area in which Plains garments are worn, and the known recency of manifold contacts with the Plains-like tribes of the Columbia suggest that Plains dress is a recent acquisition. The hair hangs loosely down the back but is tied about close to the head. As usual basket hats are worn. Dancers, however, wear hats made of animals which are spirits. 291 292 [177]

Taboos and other restrictions on shamans are only feebly developed. A shaman must avoid a menstruant woman; in fact, women who live in a shaman's house must leave their homes at these periods, whereas otherwise this is not usual. Etiquette requires that anyone crossing the lodge must pass in back of a seated shaman, at least when he shows signs of communing with his spirits or is eating. This holds whether a performance is going on or not. Otherwise blood gushes from his mouth and he falls unconscious. One informant had seen this happen to the berdache shaman White Sindey while she was eating. The result is the same if anything falls in front of a shaman. There are 756 784 row always began at the same radius, as in the manner of basket decoration. Pendants were attached to the periphery of each disk. These were formed of a continuous strand of black and white beads attached at intervals so as to hang in long loops. 291 531

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[161] *Op. cit.*, 1:172.

Basket hats are worn by both sexes. That of women is called k!ᴇmū, of men, k!ane'o. Women and old men wear them at all times, younger women more than the elderly, and the younger men only when they are needed as protection against the pack strap. The small, snug-fitting hats are quite decorative with their contrasting designs, and are clearly thought so. Gala hats are studded with beads. They come halfway down the forehead, are nearly hemispherical yet flat on top. These are made in twined weave of various materials. Women's hats bear woven designs, men's are painted. Men's hats are said to have had short brims even prior to the coming of the whites. [765] Widows must wear old hats blackened with pitch, if they wear any; otherwise they are open to ridicule.

Men wear a cylindrical hat or headdress (tc'uyās) in war, ten or more inches high, and as low as the eyebrows. Made of cottonwood bark (wula'l), it is open at the top, but may be brought together in a point if made of skin; otter, coyote, beaver, skunk, or elk hide. Badger and raccoon skin is not used. These bear painted decorations: large zigzag lines around the hat; and several feathers are fastened in the top. Gatschet speaks of them as "wide brimmed."[393]

A cylindrical bark hat, said to have been worn by a chief, is in the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 61725). This is about seven inches in diameter, nine high. The ring of bark is lapped and sewn with a running stitch. The decoration on the light surface is by a series of triangles along the top and bottom margins, with circles at intervals between these. The triangles have their bases on the margins; each consists of a black line within a red line; there are no base lines. The circular decorations consist of a black spot within a red ring. A pendant is fastened on each side at the top, consisting of a bunch of long hair wrapped at the proximal end with fur.

Other hats are made of the scalp of deer or bear, including the 291 ears, but not the face. Rawhide vizors, such as those used by other tribes are unknown, but Barrett mentions a similar sunshade of plain-twined tule.[394]

Hairdress is simple. Men wear the hair long, parted on the left 302 • side, with a braid lying in front of each shoulder or a single queue behind. The braids are wrapped with strips of otter fur. This is the style of the Plains and Plateau. Women and girls also wear their hair

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[393] 1:92. He may have had in mind the basket hat.

[394] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17.

302 [171] [765] long and in two braids, but parted in the middle. This again is reminiscent of the Plains. Their braids may be looped up to hang only to the shoulder; these are not fur wrapped. The hair is cut short in mourning, especially that of the women, daubed with black pitch, and generally neglected.

A man who kills a rattlesnake ties the rattles to his hair; women do not do this.

The hairbrush (slitel'Tḳs) is a porcupine tail, stuffed with dry grass or sage-brush bark. A thong draws the ends together so that it dries in an arc. This thong fits over the back of the hand when the brush is in use. The open, underside of the tail is closed with a thong lacing. The ends of the quills are burned off evenly, so that only the stiffer body of the quill is left. Barrett notes that the longer quills are removed.[294]

My informant described the comb used by the Molala as a true double-edge comb. It is fashioned of a thin stick bent double. Little pointed sticks, as fine as our toothpicks, are inserted between the halves of this doubled stick, so that they protrude equally on each side, and are bound in place.

The hair is greased; ordinarily with fish oil, but with deer tallow or that of skunk, otter, beaver, or mink, when they can get it.

304 [114] Frontal flattening, the only form practiced, is not universal among the Klamath, although it is general. My information differs at this point from Hrdlička's who was told that non-deformed heads are derided as slave-like.[295] I was told that it was merely "so that they would look pretty; they have nice round eyes because the forehead is flattened."[296] A deformed head is called lĕplĕ'pli nos, flattened head.

304 301 The septum of the nose is pierced and the ear lobes, the latter twice or even more frequently. Both sexes insert dentalium shells horizontally through the septum. These are placed so that the butt ends meet in the septum, the points of this curved conical shell projecting on each side. If the septum hole is large, two may be placed side by side in it. Sometimes the point of one shell is thrust into the hollow butt of a second. The root of a mountain plant, called yayo'ḳaḳ, may be used in place of a dentalium shell. I was told that Molala women choose boldly curved dentalia, placing them so that the points

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[294] *Op. cit.*, 258.

[295] Hrdlička, Head Deformation among the Klamath.

[296] The informant who stated this may have rationalized her own case, an undeformed head. My other principal informants, two men, had flattened heads. Flattening is not noticeable among some of the older Indians, so that the statement that some escape the treatment may be true.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

K
301 length is "a little too much." The unit, according to one informant,
is the length of the extended left arm to the upper end of the humerus,
or across the chest in addition to the point of the right shoulder. The
other gave the unit as a doubled string from the extended left hand
K to the sternum; that is, a fathom. One thing is clear, that there is
[436] no great concern for dentalia as money, as among the lower Klamath
tribes. The strings are not standardized either as to length or size of
the individual shells. Long dentalia are more valuable than the short,
but my informants never knew anyone to argue over the precise length
of a shell. Both men agreed that the several kinds of beads, or at
least the best, are not worked by the Klamath, but come from the
K south. They are either found in raided Achomawi-Atsugewi camps
[721] or are traded from these people or possibly the Shasta. Both were
[439] certain that the shells are not obtained from the north. This is something of a puzzle, because the Columbia river people have dentalia and
[177] use them extensively in trade. Furthermore, the ultimate point of
origin of the shells is the coast of Washington and British Columbia.
[174] The discrepancy in the statement is further accentuated by the Yurok
statement that the shells came to them both along the coast and down
the Klamath river.[399]

K Finger rings are not made, nor bracelets, except for young chil-
[789] dren. The cast skin of a water snake is wrapped around their wrists
so that they will swim well.

K Face painting is general, a daily usage, not confined to gala events,
302 but more obvious at that time. The shaman's body is painted red
during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use,
[756] white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to
[822] war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white. I have
pointed out elsewhere[400] that red paint is associated with warfare by
the Basin tribes and their Californian and Arizonan neighbors. Here
it may be added that black is used by Plains warriors. At dances
white pigment, found along the creek banks, is smeared on the palms
K which are then pressed on the face or on a woman's smooth hair to
[317] form patterns. Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few
localities in the mountains near Crater lake. The Northern Paiute
NP are said to have quantities of it, however.

[317] In winter women smear their faces, hands, and arms with a mix-
K ture of charcoal and pitch, or deer grease, or of pitch and grease

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[399] Kroeber, Handbook, 22.

[400] Havasupai Ethnography, 207.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

*171

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		Klamath form	*Links with:*
[285]	Mats	Extensive use	Oregon?, Northwest Coast to Columbia r., Plateau.
		Mat needle	s. Northwest Coast (and northward?), Washington, Oregon?
[281]	Tanning	Smoke-tan	Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, Wishram, Nez Percé; Basin, Plateau, Plains (and elsewhere?—probably not Northwest Coast).
[372]	Fire drill	Compound	Puget sound, Takelma, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi, Wind R. Shoshoni, Crow, Navaho, Hopi.
[415]	Spoon	Paddle	California s. to n. Miwok.
[411]	Bow	Sinew-backed	Arctic, Northwest Coast, Plateau, Washington, Oregon, California s. to Tehachapi, Basin, Southwest, w. Plains.
		Flat; constricted grip	n. w. California, Northwest Coast.
	Arrows	Stone heads	(Not the bone heads of Northwest Coast and w. Washington, where stone heads are scarce.)
[714]	Armor	Tunic	Northwest Coast, Plateau, Oregon, n. California, Basin, Southwest (and southward?).
		Slat or rod	Alaska to Maidu (Tlingit, Plateau, Oregon, Washington, n. California).
	Shield	Round	Plateau, Basin, Plains (not California).
[291]	Dress	Fringed skirt	Coast area west of Cascades-Sierras, probably Basin.
		Men: Plains shirt	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.
		Women: Plains dress	Plateau, Basin, Plains.
		Decorated band on robe	Plateau? (Wishram, Nez Percé), Plains.
		Tule slippers	Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Paviotso.
		Three-piece moccasin	Plateau (moccasins are also n. and central California, Basin, Southwest, Plains, and eastward).
		Basket hats	n. California (=Plateau type?; other types, Northwest Coast, Basin, s. California).
[302]	Hairdress	Braids for both sexes	Plateau, Plains.
	Combs	Porcupine tail	Achomawi, Northern Maidu.
[304]	Head deformation	Fronto-occipital	s. Northwest Coast to Alsea, Siuslaw, and Klamath.
	Tattooing	Women: chin lines	w. Arizona, California, Takelma (Oregon in general?). (Not Plateau? and Northwest Coast.)

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
38 1479. Plant bulb															·+	–
824 1480. Mountain balm and milkweed																+
1481. Pine pitch	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	.	.	.	·+
1482. Chokecherry tree pitch	+	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	.	·+	–	.	.	.	.	–

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

Haircut

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
302 1483. Long, past shoulders	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1484. Bobbed or shoulder length	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
1485. Men	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1486. Women	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
[765] 1487. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1488. After death of relative only	–	+	–	·+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1489. Close crop	+	+	+	·+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1490. Men	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1491. Women	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1492. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
1493. Boys	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[765] 1494. Infants			+	+	–	–	·+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+
1495. After death of relative only.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1496. Bangs on forehead	–	–	–	–	·+	–	·+	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+
1497. Temple locks, forelock	·+	–	–	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1498. Scalp lock	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1499. Hair cut with knife	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1500. Hair singed	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	·+

Coiffure

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
1501. Hair hangs loose	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1502. Men	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
1503. Women	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
1504. Boys	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1505. Girls	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
1506. Hair rolled or bunched on head	–	–	+	·+	+	+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	–	–	·+
1507. Men	–	–	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
1508. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1509. Hair combed up, 1 tie on top of head, ends up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1510. 1 tie around hair, nape of neck	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
1511. Men	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	.	+	+
1512. Women	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–
1513. Boys	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+
1514. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1515. Hair parted in middle	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	·+	–	–	·+	–
1516. Part painted red	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1517. Commonly	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
[756] 1518. Doctors only	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1519. Hair braided, three strand	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
1520. 2 braids in front of shoulders, men	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
1521. 2 braids in front of shoulders, women	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
1522. 1 braid down back, men	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1523. 1 braid down back; women, girls	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1524. 2 full-length rolls in front of shoulders	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1525. Men	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1526. Women	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1527. Young women	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1528. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1529. 2 half-length clubs, front of shoulders or at sides of head	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	302
1530. Men	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1531. Women	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1532. Boys	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1533. Girls	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1534. 1 full-length roll down back	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1535. Men	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1536. Women	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1537. Girls	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1538. 1 half-length club down back, men	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1539. Hair tied above both shoulders; hangs down unrolled, men	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
1540. Ribbons of fur or buckskin	+	*+	+	*+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1541. Buckskin strip with woodpecker scalp.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	301
1542. Strung shells	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1543. Shell pendants on end	-	-	.	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1544. Hairpins of bone	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
1545. Flowers in hair	R	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	

Comb or Brush

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1546. Soaproot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	302
1547. Twig bundle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1548. Roots, bound together for flat brush	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1549. Porcupine tail	*(-)	+	+	+	+	+	*+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
1550. Fishbone	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1551. Pine cone	-	-	+	+	+	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	
1552. Pine needles	-	-	-						+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	
1553. Single stick as comb	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	
1554. Hands to smooth hair	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

Care of Hair

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1555. Hair dyed	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	*R	-	-	*R	[515]
1556. 2 persons delouse each other's heads	+		.			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	.	
1557. Hair greased	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
1558. Marrow or fat	+	+	+	*-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
1559. Otter oil	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1560. Burned pepperwood gourds	o	o	o	*+	-	-	-	o	-	o	o	o	-	-	o	-	
1561. Vegetable, mineral shampoo	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	(+)	+	-	+	
1562. Soaproot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	+	-	+	
1563. Manroot	-	-						+		-	-	-	-	-		-	
1564. Wild carrot (?) root	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1565. Seed decoction	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1566. Alkali dust	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1567. Hair "whipped" with stick to dry	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1568. Hair perfumed	-	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	
1569. Aromatic plant	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	
1570. Silver pine nuts, boys, girls								+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	
1571. Beaver musk	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1572. Hunters only			-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Face and Body Paints and Powders

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1573. Red paint	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	302
1574. Fungus	-	-	*+	-	+	+	-	-	-	*+	*+	-		+	-	-	
1575. Pine flowerets	-							*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	386
1576. Juice from plants	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	*+	-	*+	
1577. Alder sap	-	-	+								-	-	-	-	-	-	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
302 1578. Mineral	.	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	(+)	+	+	−
306 1579. White paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	.	+	+
1580. Chalk	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	+	−
1581. Ashes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	+
1582. Ashes taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	−
1583. Yellow paint	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	(+)	+	−	−
1584. Pollen, from conifers			•+	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1585. Mineral	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−
1586. Blue paint: mineral	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	•+	+	−	−	.	−
1587. Green paint: mineral				−	.	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
1588. Black paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1589. Charcoal or soot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+
1590. Mineral	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1591. Mixtures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
1592. Grease or marrow mixed with pigment	−	+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−
1593. Pitch mixed with charcoal													+	+	+	+
1594. Water mixed with pigment	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1595. Saliva mixed with pigment	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1596. Paint base	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
1597. Grease or marrow	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
1598. Acorn cake														−	+	−
1599. Pitch	−	−	−			+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
302 1600. Paint applied with fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	.	−	•+	+
1600a. Water as mirror	.	•+	•+							.	.	.	.	.	.	−
1601. Grease or marrow on body to prevent chapping.	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	+	•+	.
1602. Pitch on arms for warmth	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1603. Pitch on body, bird feathers stuck on	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1604. Body powders	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1605. Chalk, powdered	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1606. Acorn flour, finely ground	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1607. Oak balls, ground	o	o	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1608. Oak wood, rotten									+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
1609. Puff balls, inner powder	−		+								−	−	−	−	−	−
1610. Skin-soothers								+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
1611. Cooked acorn mush								+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
1612. Eyebrows blackened	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	−	−
Deformation, Mutilations on Living																
304 1613. Head flattening	+	+	+	+	−	±	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1614. Nasal septum pierced	•R	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	•+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	−
1615. Men	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
1616. Women	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
1617. Ear lobes pierced	•R	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+
1618. Men	R	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	(+)	−	−	+	+
1619. Women	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+
1620. Ear rims pierced	−	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1621. Tattooing	•R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	R	R	(R)	−	−	−	+
1622. Men	R	+	−	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	−	R	−	−	−	−	−
1623. Women	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	R	(R)	−	−	−	+
1624. Chin, 3 wide stripes	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1625. Chin, 3 narrow stripes	−	−	−	−				•+	R	R	R	(R)	−	−	−	+
1626. Vertical lines	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1627. Cheeks, horizontal or radiating from mouth	R	+	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1628. Forehead, vertical line(s)	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1629. Arms	R	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1630. Hand		+										+	−	−	−	−
1631. Legs	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1632. Chest	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS
727 2914. Dancing proceeds around fire and pole	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
535 2915. 2 circles, men and women separately	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
2916. 1 circle, men	–	–	+								–	–	+	–
2917. Dancers in row abreast	*–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2918. Each person dances separately	–	–			+						+	–	+	–
2919. Dancers stamp 1 foot	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2920. Dancers stamp both feet	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
2921. Scalp on center pole	+	*+	+	–	*+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	*+	–
2922. Heart on top of center pole	+	–	+	–					*R	–	–	–	–	–
2923. Scalp(s) on small hand pole(s)	+	*+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
[532] 2924. Human effigy	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2925. Each warrior pantomimes his war deeds	–	.	–			+	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	–
2926. Each warrior dances singly, once around, with scalp	–	.	–	–		+	+	–	+	+	.	–	–	–
2927. Old women dance with scalps	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2928. Wipe themselves with bloody scalp	+	+	–	–					+	–	.	–	–	–
2929. Chew and bite scalp, heart	.	+	+	–		+	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
2930. Scalps dragged and rubbed in dirt	+	+	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2931. 1-2 women walk back and forth in front of dancers	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2932. Warriors carry bow and arrows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
2933. Shoot at scalp or heart	.	.	+	–				+	+	+	–	–	+	–
2934. Women dancers carry brush or pole	–		–						+	–	+	–	+	–
[302] 2935. Participants painted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2936. Black	+	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2937. Red	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2938. White	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
[292] 2939. Participants wear brush, feather headdresses	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2940. Warriors wear fighting gear	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
Purification of Killers; Treatment of Wounded														
727 2941. Swims	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	.	+	–
783 2942. Sweats	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	–
2943. Steam type	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	.	–	–
2944. Direct-fire type	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–
[304] 2945. Scarification and bleeding	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–
2946. Aromatic plants rubbed on body	.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	–
2947. Women brush off man with plant	.	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	–
2948. Must stay outside	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–
2949. Stays awake mainly, or naps	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–
[792] 2950. Prays for luck	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	–
[262] #2951. Meat taboo ... days	–	–	.	+	*2	–	–	–	*4	–	28	.	6	–
2952. Warm food taboo	–											.	+	–
2953. Scratching stick used	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+
2954. Bath at end of taboo period	–	–	–	+							+	.	+	+
2955. Meat taboo to wounded	*+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	.	+	+
2956. Hot food taboo to wounded	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+
[752] 2957. Wash wounded with special decoction			+								+	.	+	+

Peace Negotiations

Compensation for Slain

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS
728 2958. Intertribal wars: compensation	+	–	–	*–	–	R	*–	–	–	–	*–	–	–	–
2959. Revenge only	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3159. Until cord drops off	–	–	–	–				–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	844
3160. Pit or trench dug	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	846
3161. Hot rocks, charcoal put in pit	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	
3162. Pit covered with grass, bark.	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	
3163. Fire direct on ground; lies beside it	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	
Treatment of Midwife																	
3164. Bathes, immediately after child born	+	+	+						+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	844
3165. Cuts arms, later	–	–	+						+	+	–	(+)	–	–	.	–	759
Restrictions on Mother																	
‡3166. Restrictions last for ... days	5	5	–	28	–	•5	–	28	28	28	–	3	6	5	28	28	846
3167. Until blood stops flowing	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3168. Until navel cord drops off	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	784
o3169. Bathing taboo	+	+	•±	•±	+	+	•±	•+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	•±	[515]
3170. In stream	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3171. Sweat bath	+	+	–	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3172. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3173. Eats alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[262]
3174. Fed by old woman	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3175. Uses separate receptacles	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176. Eats sparingly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176a. Fresh meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3177. Dried meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3178. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3179. Dried fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3181. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3182. Salt taboo	–	–	–	–	•–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3183. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	
3184. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	[302] ●
3185. Combing hair taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	.	
3186. Head, face scratcher used	•+	•+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
3187. Especially for first child.	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	
3188. Tabooed activities	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
3189. Making baskets taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3190. Preparing food taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
‡3191. Traveling taboo ... days	5	5	–	28	–	–	–	28	28	28	–	3	6	5	28	–	[484]
3192. Until blood stops flowing or cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	
o3193. Sees no men for ... days	5	•–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	[562]
†3194. Intercourse taboo for ... months	•2	•2	•2						2	2	.	.	½	1	.	3	[834]
3195. Loud noise near child taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3196. Would make child deaf	–	+	+							–	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3197. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3198. Bathes	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	[515]
3199. Midwife or mother assists	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3200. Medicated bath	–	–	+	+		•+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	.	–	[759]
3201. Sweats	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3202. Swims after sweating	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[481]
Restrictions on Father																	
3203. Required for all offspring	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
3204. For first child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
3205. Retirement period	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3206. Stays with mother in hut	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3207. Must stay in own dwelling house	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 3503. Bathes last day of seclusion only	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
881 3504. Bathes outside, in stream	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
[513] 3505. Bathes inside, house	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
3506. May wet, wash hair	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
3507. Bathes alone	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3508. Mother, attendant helps girl bathe	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
[302] 3509. Girl uses head scratcher	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
3510. Bone head scratcher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3511. Stick head scratcher	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
†3512. Head scratcher used ... days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•8	•3	5	–	28	6	5	6	5	4	28
†3513. Head scratcher used ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3513a. Parents scratch girl's head	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
3514. Delousing by attendant	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
[292] 3515. Girl wears basket cap	+	+	+	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3515a. Girl wears flower crown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3516. Head covered with bark "cape"	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3517. Head covered with deerskin blanket	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3518. Head inside basket when sleeping	+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3519. Eagle down in hair	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3520. Feathers in hair	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	7	–	–	–	–
[301] 3521. Braided bark forehead band	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3522. Fur forehead band	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3523. Feather visor	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3524. Head, face covered inside house	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3525. Head, face covered when going outside	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	•	•+	–	•+	–	•+	–	•–	•+
3526. Hair in 2 braids, over shoulders	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
3526a. Hair in 1 braid, down back	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3527. Braid(s) wrapped with bark	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3528. Hair in 2 knobs, over shoulders, wrapped	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
3529. Knobs wrapped with bark	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3530. Hair short, banged	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3531. Hair loose, tied at back	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
3532. Mother combs, dresses girl's hair	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
3533. Attendant dresses girl's hair	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+		–	+	+	–	–	+
3534. Hair dressed once only, first day	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3535. Hair dressed daily	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	(+)	+
3536. Combings burned, buried	–	–	–	–		–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	.	–
3537. Combings saved for belt	–	–	+								+	–	–	–	–	–
3538. Girl's face painted black	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
3539. Girl's face painted red	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3540. Special face pattern	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3541. Daily varied face patterns	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3542. Charcoal around eyes								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3543. Arms painted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3544. Girl painted daily	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
3545. Girl painted by mother	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3546. Girl painted by attendant	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–
3547. Girl wears old clothing	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
3547a. Small skin over shoulders	(–)	(–)	+								.	–	–	–	–	–
3548. Buckskin skirt or dress	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
3549. Pine-nut string skirt			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3550. Bark skirt	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
3551. Short tule, grass skirt	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
3552. Grass or skin breechclout	.	•+	•+	•+	•+	•.	+		•+	.	–	•+	•+	–	–	–
3553. Buckskin leggings	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3554. Tule leggings	–	–	–				–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3555. Tule, skin moccasins	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
3556. Barefoot, preferred	+		–			+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
[301] 3557. Anklets	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3657. 4-5 (all) singers paid	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+	841
3658. Reciprocal obligations only	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	881
3659. Menstruant sings	−	−	−	−	·+	+	+	+	−	.	−	+	+	−	−	−	535
3660. Participants join in singing	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
3661. Night singing, minus dancing	−	−	.	·+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	
3662. "Love" songs sung	·+	·+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	
3663. Enemy songs sung, final dance	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3664. Women's songs sung	−	−	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	
3665. Special song cycle sung	·+	·+	.	·+	·(+)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	−	+	
3666. Joking by singers	·+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	−	−	+	[522]
3667. Multiple split-stick rattle used by menstruant, singers	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3668. Deer-hoof rattle used by singers	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	·+	−	−	
3669. Deer-hoof rattle used by menstruant	−	−	+	+	·+	−	−	−	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3670. Stick hit against board, as drum	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	
3671. Whistle used	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	[533]
3672. Singing, dancing continues throughout night	+	+	−		·+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	(+)	
3673. Singing, dancing ends middle of night	−	−	+		−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3674. Entire assembly fed, middle of night.	+	·−	+	+	·+	·+	R	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	
3675. Singers, dancers bathe daily	−	−	+					+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	[515]
3676. Girl's attendant(s) have eyebrows, face blackened	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	[282]
3677. Men wear eagle down plumes	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	·−	·−	+	+	−	+	−	−	[237]
3678. Men wear fur headband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	
3679. Men wear woodpecker scalp headband	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	[302] ●
3680. Men paint face red	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
3680a. Men paint face white	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3680b. Men paint face black	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3681. Men wear bead necklaces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
3682. Men wear bead net	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	
3683. Men wear yellowhammer bands	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
3684. Menstruant wears braided grass fringed visor	−	−	−	−			.		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3685. Women wear basket cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
3686. Women wear yellowhammer bands													+	+	−	−	
3687. Women wear brush, flower crowns	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	
3688. Women paint faces red	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3689. Women paint faces black	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3690. Women carry branches in hands	−	−	−					+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3691. Boys, girls wear flower wreaths	−	−	−					·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3692. Dress, headgear changed nightly	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	
3693. Public rites: minor day dances	−	−	+	−	·+	·+	+	(+)	−	+	−	(+)	−	·+	−	−	
3694. Menstruant dances	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	(+)	−	+	−	−	
3695. Men dance	−	−	+	−	−	−		(+)	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3696. Women dance	−	−	+	−	·+	·+		(+)	−	+	−	(+)	−	+	−	−	
o3697. Lasts ... days	−	−	·8	−	·3	·3		.	−	.	−	(5)	−	5	−	−	
3698. Lasts part of each day only	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	(+)	−	+	−	(+)	−	+	−	−	
3699. Held in open	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	(+)	−	+	−	(+)	−	+	−	−	
3700. Rain in winter, no dance	−	−	(+)	−	−	·−			−		−		−	−	−	−	
3701. Circle dance	−	−	−	−	+	+			−		−		−	−	−	−	
3702. Dancers abreast, 1 line	−	−	+	−	−	−			−				−	−	−	−	
3703. Special songs, female singers	−	−		−	+	+			−		−		−	−	−	−	
3704. Public concluding rites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3705. Held in daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3706. "War" dance	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3707. Round dance	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
3708. Dancers abreast, in 1 line	−	−	−	+				·+									
3708a. Women grasp men's belts	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3709. Feather visor lifted off menstruant	−	−	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	765
4215. Hair cut, close crop, or burned off	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	(-)	•+	764
4216. Cuttings saved	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	[302]
4217. Cuttings kept in house	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
4218. Cuttings made into belt	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
4219. Cuttings burnt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4220. Cuttings thrown in river	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4221. Cuttings buried in grave	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4223. Mutilations	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[304]
4224. Arms cut soon after death	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4225. Beat breast	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4226. Beat head	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[302]
4227. Facial and head coatings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4228. Pitch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4229. Dirt, ashes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4230. Chalk, charcoal	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4231. Pounded shell									+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4232. White clay on bangs	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4233. Pitch on arms or legs, chest	–	+	+					•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	
4234. Touching face with fingers taboo	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4235. Face left unwashed	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4236. "Washed" with wet grass	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	.	
4237. Space around eyes washed	+	–	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
4238. Scratching stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4239. For head	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4240. For body	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	
4241. Worn tied around neck	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4242. Special attire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	[292]
4243. Mourning necklace	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	•+	•+	
4244. Basket cap, coated with pitch	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4245. Head covered with blanket													–	+		+	
‡4246. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	[262]
†4247. Meat ... days	•15	6	•14	•28	1	–	–	5	•36	–	–	2	–	5	–	•5	
†4248. Grease ... days	•15	6	•14	•28	1	–	–	5	•36	–	–	2	–	5	–	•5	
†4249. Fresh fish ... days	•15	6	•14	–	1	–	–	5	•36	–	–	2	–	5	–	•5	
†4250. Dried fish ... days	•15	6	–	–	1	–	–	5	–	–	–	2	–	5	–	•5	
4251. Cold water ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	
†4252. Salt ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	
4253. Seclusion	+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
4254. In house	•+	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
†4255. For ... days	5	•–	–	–	•2	–	–	5	28	–	–	3	+	+	•+	+	
†4256. For ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	+	1	
4257. For variable period	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
4258. Prescribed activities during taboo period	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	
†4259. Sweats for ... days or nights	5	6	5	5	1	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4260. Gathers wood for sweating	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4261. Goes to grave or cremation spot and wails	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	+	–	•+	+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	
4262. Walks around, wailing	+	+									+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	
4263. May go to mountains to seek power	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
4264. Making baskets taboo	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	•–	•–	•–	–	•–	
4265. Gathering food taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	
4266. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	–	[783]
‡4267. Sweats to remove taboos, after ... months	•12	12	12	–	–	12	•2	–	•+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4268. Washes head, face to remove taboos	–	–	–	+	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	.	–	
4269. Drinks medicine	+	.	+									(+)	–	–	–	–	
4270. Takes pitch off head, face at remarriage only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[587]

854 cradle. Y-frame, U-frame, hooked-ladder frame
lying-type cradle. Horizontal (double) warp on
basketry lying cradle. Wicker weave in cradle
hood. Loose basket over head of sleeping child.
Buckskin covering on cradle partial. Sex of
child indicated by bed design. Woven skin blankets;
285 mats.--Checker. Weft of buckskin thongs.
Perforated stick to twist fur strips. Suspended
warp. Thumb guard of bone for shredding mat material.
283 Cordage.--Stick for twisting (1 ply at
a time). Spindle whorl.

Receptacles Other Than Baskets

415 Wood, etc.; chests, boxes; pottery.--Wooden bowl. Wooden chest. Wooden box of bent and sewed boards. Pottery vessels.

Leather Goods; Adhesives

281 Skin tanning; glue.--Fleshing or dehairing:
hide staked out with several stakes; with single
stake, other end held; with 1 end tied to tree,
other end held. Fleshed on plank. Fleshing or
dehairing tool: blunt posts; horn; shell. Tanning
agent: liver; wood ashes. Graining: with
381 horn. Glue from horns or hoofs; from milkweed
gum.

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

● 302 Coiffure; comb; care of hair.--One tie around
head, forehead level. Wooden hairpins. Bone
head scratcher as comb. Hair dyed with eel blood.
White clay on head or to wash head. Mud plaster
against lice. Hair dye in mud plaster. Hair
greased with acorn oil. Nettle roots to wash
302 head. Paint; deformations and mutilations.--
304 Face, body paints according to totem. Paint applied
with brush. Mud or pitch on body for
warmth. Nasal alae pierced; lip pierced. Tattooing
with bone awl. Depilation of pubic hair.
Tweezers of split cane, wood, shell. Depilation:
pitch on fingers; bone knife opposed to fingernail.
Beard burnt off if long. Ear, nose ornaments,
301 necklaces, etc.--Wooden ear stick, feathers
on end. Bone ear tube, incised. Cane or
cane pipe in ear. Cane nose ornament. Sea-lion
teeth necklace.

Dress

291 Headgear; robes; loin covering; muff.--Basket cap, for fishing with large dip net only. Feathers on net foundation for robe. Inner bark mat robe. Buffalo-fur robe. Breechclout of woven bird skins; of woven rabbitskins; of grass stems; of inner bark. Single small front apron, of fringed buckskin; with braids on cord. Double apron of woven rabbitskins. Bird-skin muff.

000 ized pieces of decayed log. Skin hung up to dry; resoaked; worked with hands, over feet, to soften. NS: Informant relieved "only certain people tanned buckskin, not everyone"; no knowledge of tanning. Beals, Nisenan, p. 345, observes: "Buckskin seems to have been little employed"; my information agrees.

1453. MM: For skins other than deerskin. MF: Hair plucked out by hand, after hide soaked.

1454. WT: Also fleshed on outstretched leg.

[281] 1455. Usually lower front leg bone of deer, [287] which is sharp. SE: Elk shoulder blade or lower front leg bone of deer. WS: Deer rib.

1457. Mo: Obsidian knife. AW; WT: Sharp piece of rock.

1460. AW: Sometimes use wild duck egg yolks, but "deer brains best."

1463. As described in Spier, Havasupai, fig. 17, p. 141.

1470. AW: Least-used method. If stone, bone graining implement used, hide merely held with hands; if hide pulled back and forth over foot, it is held with hands only.

1476. SE, AW, AE: Grass. SW, At, WS: Moss; WS: of "poisonous" variety. WT: Bark.

1478. MM: Plus boiled roots and weeds.

1479. NS: For bows, arrows.

1481. MV: Plus plant.

1482. Usually "mixed with something." WS: Mixed with charcoal.

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

Haircut; coiffure; comb; care of hair.--

1487. WT: Occasionally only.

1488. SW: Mother, for child.

1489. SW: Woman, after death of husband.

1492. WM: Orphaned girls have hair cut, orphaned boys, hair burnt short.

1493. WM: See note 1492.

1494. Ca. 1 month after birth burn off hair with pine needles to make it grow in long. AE: If infant has thin hair, cut it close when baby 2-3 months old. MV: Girl babies only.

1495. WM: If hair cut at any other time, someone will die.

1496. At: Men, women. AE, WM, MV: Women, girls.

● [302] 1497. Kl: Temple locks, men. AE: Forelock, men.

[562] 1498. Kl: Men. Mo: Shamans; braid scalp lock. AE: Boys; tie feathers, weasel hide, on scalp lock.

1500. MV: 2 women perform operation; 1 woman holds glowing brand, other holds hair, especially bangs.

1502. WM: Occasionally only.

1506. On top of, or at back of head. SW, WT, WM, WS, MM, MF: Hairpins in hair (see element 1544). AE, WS, MM, MF, MV: Roll or bunch hair when head net worn, only.

[196-B]

000 1507. SE, SW: Old men only.

1509. WM: Men.

● [302] 1515. Kl: Men, women, boys, girls. Mo, SE, At, AW, AE: Men, women. WT: Women, girls. WM: Women, boys, girls. SW, MF, NS: Men, women, young men, young women, boys, girls.

1540. Mo: Shamans, others who can afford such ribbons. SW: Men, women, youths, boys. At, AW: Men, women.

[302] 1548. Kl: Wild rye grass.

[824] 1549. Kl: Ascribed to Mo by informant. Spier, Klamath, p. 214, states Kl also use it. AE: "Best kind of comb."

1555. SE: Alder sap, boiled. WS: Elderberry juice. NF, MV: Pepperwood.

1558. SW: Deer, bear fat "no good for hair, as deer's, bear's hair comes out yearly."

[302] 1560. Absences noted for distribution of pepperwood may be only partial; no specimens shown to informants. SW: Pepperwood gourds lacking in SW area; imported from near-by Karuk down-river. Distribution of pepperwood extends only as far as Happy Camp.

1562. For distribution of this plant, see element 499.

1568. AW: Hunters only.

Face and body paints and powders.--

1574. SE: Grows on knot or burl of white fir. WS: On bark of white fir. MM: Specimen seen; orange-colored fistules on spruce burl.

1575. WT: Yellow pine.

1576. WS, NM: Elderberry. MV: Wild rose (haws?).

1578. SE: Burnt, for paint.

1582. Because scattered to keep away ghosts at funerals, etc., therefore "no good" as paint.

1584. SE, SW: From pines; also, SE: from oaks. WM: From tamarack.

1586. MM: Imported.

1589. Mainly from charcoal, finely powdered. NF, NM, NS: From burnt acorn.

1592. SE, SW: Charcoal mixed with marrow, chewed into waxy substance, stored in deer bladder; squeezed out and used as pencil when needed. This mixture of charcoal and marrow denied for all other groups. AW, MF: Red paint only; mixed with marrow or grease.

1593. Made into black paste.

1600. AE, MF, NF: Pitchy mixtures, especially, applied with stick. NS: Black, red paint applied with fingers.

1600a. Mo, SE: Water in basket, or in spring, stream used as mirror when applying paint.

1601. NS: Lumps of yellow acorn meal, which leaching water did not penetrate when meal being leached, made into small cake which is baked on hot stone; this cake is oily, and is rubbed over face "like cold cream."

[302] 1603. Kl: Men, women pitch body, legs, arms
[292] and stick on duck feathers, to keep warm.

1604. Used for babies, especially.

[854] 1611. Used for babies, especially. MV: Alder tea used to wash babies who are chafed.

[197-A]

000 3445. MV: Old woman and young girl helper.

3451. SE: 8-10 days. At: Eats acorn soup, sparingly. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4 days.

3456. SW: If eat meat, ruin luck of hunter who has shot game; hunter must obtain more luck before he can kill anything afterward. At: If menstruant eats meat will lose her teeth. AW: Fresh deermeat makes menstruant ill, because deer hair grows inside woman if she eats meat at this time. Also, if menstruant eats meat, fish she will make hunter, fisherman sick; weaken his bow and arrow; spoil fishing grounds, etc.

3459. At: All berries except manzanita berries taboo.

3460. WM: New crop acorns taboo. Crop would be spoiled, and next year's crop would fail.

[89.1
263]

3461. Kl: "Afraid girl would lose her teeth."

3463. WM: Girl drinks creek water only; "salmon in the river; girl would spoil them."

3464. SE: 8-10 days. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4.

3468. MV: Winter only.

3469. MV: 2 female singers eat with girl, also.

3471. MV: See element 3450.

3476. AW: Someone has to give girl water; "if she gets it herself, she will have bad teeth." NF, MV: Girl fed acorn mush on end of forked stick. NF: Attendant holds basket of water to girl's lips.

3477. Twig used to clean teeth.

3478. Mo, SE, NF: Grass, buckskin, etc. AE, MF, NM, MV: Shredded bark used to wipe mouth.

3479. Mo, SE, AW: Chew kinnikinick leaves, berries, or sunflower roots. At, AW, MF, NM: Pine needles or pine gum.

3479a. At, MM: Juniper. AW, MM: Pine tassel (?). AE: Peppermint. At, MM, AW, AE: Done so "girl can't smell meat cooking." At: "So girl won't smell tobacco smoke, or odor of sweat under armpits."

3480. WS: Girl may sleep all day.

3484. NS: Girl made to lie down for entire period. MV: Rises early and bathes.

3486. Mo: If talks too much, will become a "chatterbox."

3488. WM: Cannot laugh because taboo to show teeth; reason unknown.

3492. Instruction concerns conduct, housekeeping, and other things. MV: Old women visitors fed by girl's attendant.

3494a. WT: Would see evil spirit.

3495. At: If looks at moon, it will rain.

3500. NS: Acorns will drop off trees.

3500a. At, AW: If girl steps in water, it will rain. See note 3612, At. NM: If menstruant wood-gathering, another woman carries her across "any little creek."

3502. See 3589-3596.

● [302
515
981]

3509. Kl: If girl uses fingers, hair will turn white when still young. "They don't want this to happen." Also, if girl washes face with hands, it will soon become wrinkled and she will quickly look old. NM: Girl's hands tied together sometimes, to prevent her scratching self with fingers.

[218-B]

000 ing funeral, men, women stand facing E and say, "Sus, sus, sus; good daylight come and give me good dreaming," as they clap their hands. "Some women are bashful, though, to talk that way. The people are talking to approaching daylight. Everyone tries to get good dreams after a funeral; a funeral is good for that."

4200. SE, SW, WM: Refers to mourners, not to undertakers. NM: Refers to undertakers and mourners.

4201. SE: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. SW, WM: Refers to mourners, not to undertakers.

4202. SE: Refers to all undertakers and mourners.

4203. SW, WM: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners. NM: Refers to mourners, not to undertakers. MV: 2-3 lunar months.

4204. SE, WM: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners.

4205, 4206. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners.

4208. SW: Woman (not shaman, however) made special medicine; "have such women at nearly every village; if don't have 1, send for 1 from another village." Medicine drunk to cleanse, purify self.

Taboos on relatives.--

4212. Mo, SE, AW, AE, WS, MV: Only because "she feels so sad." SE: Widow lies on top of corpse, outside, "for last time"; her tears must be washed off before corpse can be buried.

● [764 302] 4215. Kl, Mo, AE, NM: Cut immediately after cremation. SE, SW, At, AW, WT, MF: Cut immediately after funeral. WM, WS, MV: Cut day following death of husband. MM, MF, NF, NM: Cut few days after burial, cremation.

4218. At: Belts made, similar to Shasta hair belt figured in Dixon, Shasta, fig. 95, p. 415; decorated with bone, shell ornaments.

4220. Mo: Cuttings or combings never thrown in river or in woods; birds will make nest of it.

4228. WT: Pitches face because she feels badly, "also to prevent any other man falling in love with her."

4230. SW: Reason for application of pitch and charcoal by mourners explained in myth of introduction of death into world: Black Cricket's child died, Coyote vetoed its being brought to life, so child buried; "that's why they [mourners] pitch themselves black, like Cricket."

4233. WT: Widow puts pitch on arms because when she slept with husband, had intercourse with him, she put her arms around him.

4243. Necklace usually consists of lumps of pitch on fiber string. NS: Dubious as to whether pitch used for necklace. MV: Shell beads on string, for necklace. See element 4272.

4244. Very old cap, or one with hole in it.

764 765 262 4247-4250. Kl: 10 days after husband dies, widow goes to mourners' sweat lodge, stays there in seclusion with old woman attendant for 5 days

[232-A]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K
342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old
352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the
513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another
K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are
M houses that hold more than two families and others that hold
[592] K only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no
M longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content
342 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.
888 735 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women
K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered
M the visitor[11] are of powerful frame—though of no more than
142 average height—and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily
K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber
M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early
291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing
[177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the
trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down
the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside
add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a
K mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in
M 302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips
301 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads,
ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum
K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy
M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face,
304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by
[142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter prac-
[177] tice, says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit
River neighbors of the Modoc.

K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys.
M 512 Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grand-
[857] father and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black
waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the
sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to
stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its
K cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the
M [252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it
[415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they
[177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K

Families

eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food M 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302] •
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [412]
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [354]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K M
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M
221
756
796

*657 two years earlier, about 1868, Chief Lileks had induced his tribes-
177 men to abandon the practice of cremation in favor of the inhuma-
764 tion he had observed in trips to Jacksonville, Yreka, and The
*657 Dalles.[7] With burial came new symbols of mourning and, ap-
177 parently, a partial relinquishment of the association with crop-
765 ping the hair. A few conservative individuals, however, still
• 302 resorted to the practice over a half century later.

[178] Naming the Indians was a matter of administrative necessity.
*657 Officials, faced with the duty of identifying their charges, labored
177 under the task of reducing unfamiliar sounds and lengthy, in-
551 comprehensible names into writing. For the Klamath, the addi-
553 tion of another name posed no problem. It had been native practice to use age terms for the very young—"My name is *niskag* (young girl)," one woman recalls telling her teacher—and to employ relationship terms when addressing kinsmen and occasional names in referring to others. The occasional names, of which an individual might have more than one, were often far from complimentary. Thus the literal meaning of the name of the Upland chief, Monchnkasgitk, is "One-who-has-a-big-belly;" while that of the individual later known as Allen David was "Black Anus."

Many new names were assigned when annuities were issued or when children entered school.

> It became one of the functions of the interpreter and clerk [recounts Good] to rename the stalwart braves, who were highly delighted with such commonplace appellations as "Joe Wilson" and "George Brown." "This is your name," he would say, writing it on a card, "and if you forget what it is, ask anyone who can read, and he will tell you." The bestower of names was sometimes amused at the corruptions arising from the Indians' peculiar pronunciation, as when "John Wesley" became "Whistler" and one who went forth as "Simeon" returned as "Sammy Andy."[8]

It may be added that the soldiers at the Fort and the settlers were also responsible for such names as "Great Eastern," "Old Faithful," "Skinflint," and "Skedaddle."[9]

*657

HOUSING

177 A relatively greater effort was needed to induce the Indians
342 to abandon what Agent L. S. Dyar characterized as "their warm,

[Klamath Reservation]

[P. 144-A]

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291
302 •

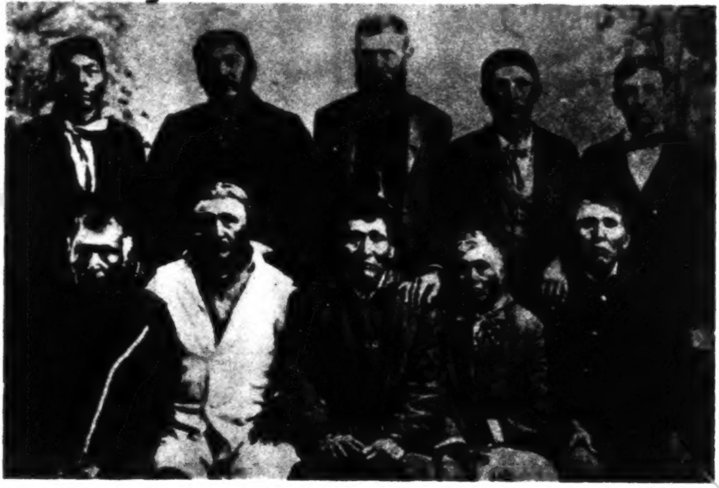

Reservation figures just before the turn of the century. *Front row, left to right*, Monchnkasgitk, Long John, Lilu, Chief Agency George, Henry Blow; *back row, left to right*, Tom Chocktoot, Jack Palmer, O. C. Applegate, Jesse Kirk, and unknown reporter. (From Johnson, 1947.)

The new day. Jeff Riddle takes his mother, Winema, and his daughter, Minerva, for a ride. Jeff's book, *The Indian History of the Modoc War*, was just out. (From Hincks, 1915.)

M walked with the cradle on her back, it was bound down with a
K piece of buckskin, and there was in some cases a harder material
304 used in connection with the buckskin, such as a small piece of
854 board, or a piece of willow basketry. These headbands were, of
course, properly padded to prevent actual injury to the child's
head, but the pressure was sufficient and was so adjusted that it
caused a decided flattening of both the front and back of the
M head. The younger generation has not been subjected to this
K cradle treatment and does not show the flattening, but among the
[178] older Klamath and Modoc the flattening is very pronounced.
M Probably due to the influence of the Shoshonean peoples to the
K 854 east, the cradle board finds some use among the Lutuami, but the
177 woven tule and willow cradles are typical of the region.

M In addition to the various articles of dress mentioned in speaking
K of the uses of tule, the Klamath and Modoc make a belt
291 either from the fiber of the inner bark of certain trees or from
human hair. These are worn by the women in every-day dress.
286 Plate 17, fig. 7, shows one of these belts of fiber.

287 As a brush for dressing the hair the tail of the porcupine is
M used (pl. 22, fig. 2). Usually the longer spines are removed and
K the skin of the tail is then stuffed either with shredded tule or
• 302 with shredded sage-brush bark. In dressing the hair the brush
237 is drawn through it directly against the points of the spines,
which, as may be seen from the illustration, lie almost flat.

K As before mentioned the Klamath have many vegetable foods
262 in addition to the wokas. Most of these are derived from small
plants, but the pine furnishes one. The inner bark of some of
the species of pine is much esteemed as a food and there is a
[237] special implement used in taking it. This knife-like bone implement
(pl. 22, fig. 5) is used in separating the inner from the
outer bark, and is usually made from a deer rib or from a rib
of one of the other large animals.

SUMMARY.

M The Klamath and Modoc people possess a specialized culture,
K due largely to the extensive use of tule in the making of houses,
285 basketry, and various utensils. The only baskets made of a
harder material are conical burden baskets, triangular sifters, a

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

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● 302

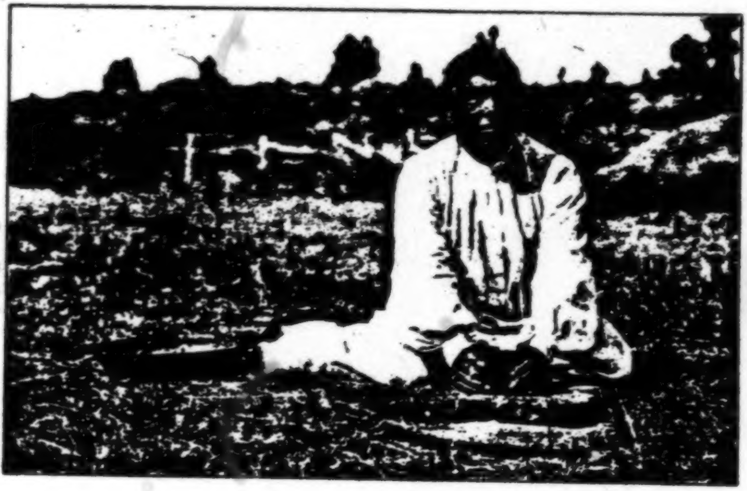

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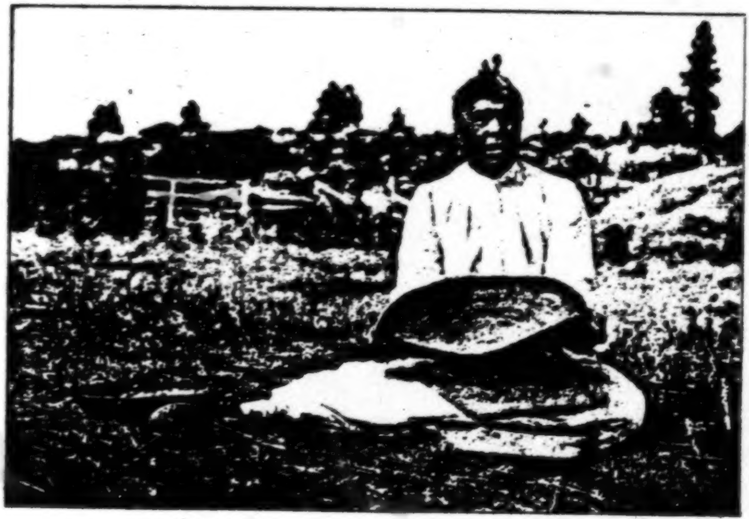

2

GRINDING AND SIFTING WOKAS SEEDS.

[p. 267]

142 itself, but it is the result of the mother's manipulation on the baby's eyes, and causes them to look sleepy, the opening of the eyelids becoming narrower. (Cf. Texts 91, 5–8.)

These Indians have a piercing look and their eyeballs are of the deepest black, a circumstance which accounts for their great power of vision. In many Indians, namely in children, the white of the eye shows a blue tinge, perhaps the result of head flattening. The mouth is small and the teeth good; but with many Indians the thyroid cartilage, or Adam's apple, is very [302] prominent. The hair upon the head is straight and dark. I did not find it very coarse, but with many Modoc women it is said to be so and to grow to an extreme length. On other portions of the body the hair is short and scarce, the natives doing their best to weed it out, the beard especially, with metallic pincers or tweezers (hushmoklō'tkish), which they always carry with them. As among most American aborigines, the beard is of scanty growth. The late chief Lelékash wore a beard, but I never saw any Indian wearing one except Charles Preston, the Yáneks interpreter. The contents of the song 185; 44 should also be noticed in this connection. Baldness is rare, and in fact it appears that the dearth of hairy covering of the skin is fully compensated in the Indian race by a more exuberant growth of hair upon the head, to protect them against excessive colds and the heat of the sun.

Among the Lake people the complexion is decidedly lighter than among the cinnamon-hued Modocs, and a difference between the sexes is hardly perceptible in this respect. Blushing is easily perceptible, though the change in color is not great. Those most approaching a white complexion like ours are numerous, but their skin is always of a yellowish lurid white. Owing to their outdoor life in the free and healthy mountain air, these Indians are well proportioned as to their bodily frame, and apparently robust; but their extremities, hands and feet, are rather small, as the extremities are of the majority of the North American Indians.

The average of Modoc men appear to be of a smaller stature than that of the Klamath Lake men, but in both tribes a notable difference exists between the length of body in the two sexes, most men being lank,

173 *539 726 was born about the year 1840, and since he was a boy then, carrying only a pistol, this raid may have taken place about the year 1858. His second raid, which was undertaken the year afterward, was made when he was nearly twenty years old. After this he stayed five years in Oregon City, on the Lower Willámet River.

19, 16, and 20, 1. What is said here up to the word snawä'ds is evidently an anticipation of what follows in 20, 6. 7.

[192] 19, 16. sas tillíndsa, or shash tilíndsha: shash is apposition to wéwanuish, which stands here, as frequently, for wewanuíshash; 23, 5, we find: wewánishash.

20, 2. lápik for lápi gi: "two are, two were."

[487] 20, 9. Tiunō'leshtat. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Pit River country was estimated at three days' Indian travel; but it often took four days to reach there on horseback.

[192] 20, 10 and 11. maklakaksáksi refers to the encampment and immediate surroundings of the Indian captors, the Klamath Lake men and the Modocs, who had gone with them.

[487] 20, 13. guhuáshktcha. They seem to have returned home over the same trail which they had followed in going south. They passed between Little Klamath and Rhett Lake, which latter is also called Tule and Modoc Lake.

[193] 20, 17. tsúi gé-u, etc. This sentence has to be construed as follows: tsúi gúikaka hú'k lû'gs spunísh gé-u: "hereupon that slave, transferred by me, ran away."

[648] 21, 2 and 3. Bóshtin tpă-ók. This man was an American settler on Lost River, who, with other settlers, had previously attacked one of the Pit River tribes, in punishment for depredations committed. In the fight which took place, some whites were killed by the Pit Rivers, and this prompted the abovementioned settler to slaughter an ox for the Lake men, in order to raise their spirits for deadly revenge on the common enemy. The beef was slaughtered and eaten at his farm.

21, 5. Tsúi nat, etc. This incident was explained to me by Dave Hill, as follows: The famous Captain George was at that time war-chief both of the Klamaths and the Modocs. He had ordered Kiukamtch, the head-man of the Nushaltkága=Modocs, to join the expedition against the Pit Rivers. His refusal to go prompted Dave Hill and others to deprive him of his elk-skin cuirasses; but finally, to secure success to the expedition, the parfleshes were returned to their owners.

[193] 21, 7. Húmasht nat. A verb like gi or shúta has to be supplied.

21, 12. séllaluish, translated here by "war-expedition", still retains its verbal nature; for it is connected with two temporal *adverbs:* lupí' and húnk. More circumstantially the sentence can be rendered: "we rode far beyond the terminal point of our previous raiding campaign."

[193] 21, 18. léwak, a verb composed of two particles. Gétak and kánktak, formed almost in the same manner, are also used as verbs. Below, léwak is separated into its two components by a pronoun: lă nāt wák ka-á; lă' nāt wák galdsawiá-a.

21, 19. wéwanuni. The terminal -ni turns the wéwanuish into a kind of adjectival phrase. See the peculiar use made of this ending in the Dictionary and in the Grammar.

22, 8. hátaktk. The final k is the verb gi, ki, "said"; tchín hátaktk is: tchí nû hátakt gi.

[302] 22, 21. shatchlχámia is one of the various modes of painting face and body in use among the western Indians. White paint was put on in this manner (see Dictionary) only when the Indians were on the war-path. From the same verbal base is derived

VARIOUS ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTICES.

I.

* 539 [619] [161]

É-ukshikni vunépni lalák̲i gítko. Tiná hundred ndankshaptánkni
The Lake people four chiefs have. Once hundred (and) eight times
té-unip hihashuátchχash pé-ulatko É-ushtat, túnepni tá-unep mák̲laks
ten men (are) at the Lake, five times ten persons
É-ukshikni Yaínakshi. Tiná hundred pēn láp pé-ula látchash. Tumántka
of the Lake people at Yáneks. Once hundred and two (are) lodges. By the crowd
shute-uápka lak̲í.
will be elected a chief.

● [302] É-ukshikni hushmō'kla hushmoklō'tkishtka; kinkán' smō'k gí'tk,
The Lake men remove the beard with hair-pincers; spare beard they have,
atínsh lák gí'tko. Shiáshgatko lák; snawédshash kaílish pan lák gitk. Hä
long hair having. Is cut (their) hair; a woman belt down to hair wears. If
snáwedshash hishuátchχash mbû'shni, hûnk ktû'tchka; hishuákshash wátch
a female with a man consorts, they crop (her) hair; the man for horses
sχókta: tû'm wátch wuχó-we.
they fine: many horses he has to give up.

[372] Shû'dsha lóloks slikuíshtka; tsúsak m'nálamtana látchash shû'dsha.
They kindle the fire by fire drill; constantly close to their lodges they have a fire.
Lak̲í kshiulakgishχéni géna nanukä'nash ndéna: "tíds ul wéwal-
A chief to the dance-house goes (and) to all cries out: "straight stand
χat! tchä'lχet nánuk! wawálχat! shúinat! híshuaksh pîl shúinat! Nû
up! sit down ye all! stand up! sing! the men only must sing! My-self
[533] tchúinuapk! î tchuí'n! túla shuín! Tiä'mantk shuí'sh. Átĕnish ewá
I will sing! you sing! with (me) sing! (I am) hungry for songs. Now I have enough
shuí'sh; átĕni k̲ĕléwi shuí'sh."—"Slámuapk î nánuk! shuáktchuapk î nánuk!
of songs; now I quit singing." "Stop singing ye all! cry and weep ye every one!
K̲á-i î shlámuapk, shuínuapk î nánuk. Nánuk tíds wawálχat! shlä-uápkat
Not ye cease to sing, but sing all of ye. All straight stand up! (and) look at
k̲'lekápksh!"
the corpse!"

II.

000 K̲á-iu Bóshtinash gátpish, Mō'dokni mbá-ush shulō'tantko, pupuit-
Before the Americans arrived, the Modocs in buckskins (were) dressed, with
lantchámpkash ka-ilalápsh-kitko, vúnăm mbá-ush tchutchi-esháltko.
fringes on in leggings dressed, (of) elk's skin dressed in capes.
Shelóluka shtétmashtka ngē'shtka shenótanka; tchiktchikáshtka sna-
(When) fighting with poisoned arrows they fought; for hatchets a wo-
wédshash shkéa. Hä' tchilloyága lō'k̲ shiúka ámka táslatch, át hûk
man they bought. If a young man a grizzly killed or a cougar, then
sheshalólesh k̲ĕléχa.
a warrior he became.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 262 824 [278]

Skáwanks pushpû'shlish shlapshháltko, k̲lä'kots, k̲édsha tiletat; k̲ú-idshi, k̲á-i
has a dark flower. (is) a poisoner, grows on straight stalk; (tastes) bad, not
pakish. Pû'shχam kápkălam sχáwanks k̲ó-idse k̲'lä'kotk'sh.
eatable. The limbs of the young pine (and) wild parsnips (are) bad poisoners.

Slē'ds k̲á-i pakí'sh, múkmukli shláps, kiä'm-luelō'tksh; witsólslank é-ushtat
not eatable, downy flowers, a fish-killing-article; while net-fishing in Lake
shtí'lχa.
they put it into (the net).

Tī'líhash k'lûtsuō'tch-ánku vû'nshtat shtákla.
as a "swimming-sucker"-wood on canoe they stick up.

[222] [302]

Wákinsh a k̲édsha pánût. Mák̲laks íshka pánût lultámpkash shutelomá-shluk, lúshnank sha shnē'lakshtat. Tchúi tchík sha núksht wátitka vukútank shushatelóma télish, p'nā'sh ktchálχishtka shkukluápkasht; p'lû' tak sha íwínank shtéwa.
grows on the pan-tree. The Indians pick it on pan-tree sticking to smear themselves with. roast (it) they on fire-place. Then they after baking (it), with knives scraping (it), smear it on faces, themselves from sun-burns to preserve; grease they putting into mix up.

NOTES.

[193] [196]

Several plants in this list appear, according to grammatic rule, in the possessive case -am, while their fruits or edible portion are introduced in the subjective case. To the former the substantive ánku or tsélash has to be supplied. Small grasses are alimentary plants on account of their seeds only, while the larger aquatic grasses contain nutritive matter in their stalks. Of these notices the shortest and most laconic were obtained from Morgan, who did not enter into particulars concerning the preparation of aliments. By this list the articles on which these Indians feed are by no means exhausted; they eat almost everything found in nature which is not positively obnoxious to health and which contains a particle of nutritive matter, and hence a full list of their kitchen *répertoire* would be at least three times as long as the one obtained.

*539 262 824 192

146, 1. kak tán for ká ak tánni "so long only"; the length being shown by gesture of hand. Also expressed by ka taniáni, 149, 1. and *Note*. The yánteh-plant grows to a length of 18 to 20 inches, the height of the camass- or pû'ks-plant.

146, 3. Kápiunksăm. The kápiunks-seed grows on a *prairie-grass*, like the tchípash- and nû'tak-seed.

[193]

146, 7. 14. pálpal stands for pálpali (originally pálpal-li), having lost its terminal -i by apocope; pálpalish shlapshháltko incorporates the adjective *white* into the verbal adjective "having flowers". This phrase may be circumscribed by pálpalish shlápsh gitko. Cf. 123, 6. and *Note*, and 150, 1.

146, 8. wi-ukayant kěládshamat. Here the adjective in its locative case, used attributively, is united with the partitive case of the substantive, the original form of both being wi-ukáyantat kěládshamti; the subjective case: wi-ukáni kělădsham.

146, 12. Kěnáwat or horse sorrel is mentioned in an Aíshish-myth and does not

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● 307
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158; 51. The paint was put on expressly for the dance and smeared across her breast or anywhere on body; gûn for kē nû, gē nû, vowel û inverted.

158; 54. These spoken words are also repeated by the choristers. The repetition is very long and noisy and winds up in a howling. tutiχólatko, after having ceased to dream. This would imply, that after dreams fasting must be observed as a religious custom. k̲'lékshashtala for the correct form k̲'lekápkashtala. This phrase occurs in 68, 8., and is explained in *Note*.

158; 55. The meaning is rather obscure, probably owing to omissions.

Kiúksham shuī'sh.

CONJURER'S INCANTATIONS.

115

Obtained from Chief Johnson and Sub-chief Dave Hill.

1. *Song of the disease:*

Nä'pakshtka hínui nû; k̲aluáshtat nû

By sickness I am prostrate; I am (now) up in the clear sky.

2. *Song of the woodpecker:*

Kóshash ká-a nû piupiutánna –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am picking hard at the bark of a pine tree.

3. *Song of the túktukuash-hawk:*

Kuáta nû tchiliká nû ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑

I am pinching hard.

4. *Song of the white-headed eagle:*

K̲aluáshtat nû tchutchúa ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑

I am croaking high up in the skies.

5. *Song of the weasel:*

Kä́flash nû shuína a ni yána ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́

From under the ground I am singing.

6. *Song of the mink:*

Atín tchelä'wash géna ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́

Ripples in the water-sheet I am spreading far and wide.

7. *Song of the skunk:*

Té-i, té-i, ksiúlχa –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

With shortened steps I am dancing.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

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• 302

Mrs. Pansy Ohles

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Mrs. Jones, starting a basket

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR 10 Klamath NR 10

Robert David and granddaughter

142
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[115]

Billet Lobert

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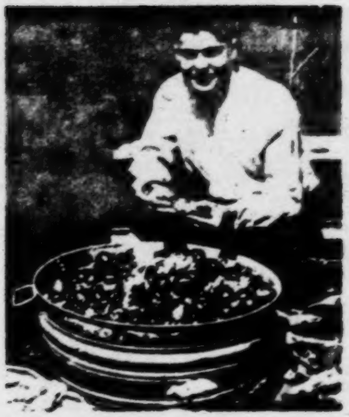

Andrew Ortiz, Jr., opening wokas pods

[Pp. 124-125 contain no ethnographic material]

*302 [171] [765] long and in two braids, but parted in the middle. This again is reminiscent of the Plains. Their braids may be looped up to hang only to the shoulder; these are not fur wrapped. The hair is cut short in mourning, especially that of the women, daubed with black pitch, and generally neglected.

A man who kills a rattlesnake ties the rattles to his hair; women do not do this.

The hairbrush (sliteī'tḳs) is a porcupine tail, stuffed with dry grass or sage-brush bark. A thong draws the ends together so that it dries in an arc. This thong fits over the back of the hand when the brush is in use. The open, underside of the tail is closed with a thong lacing. The ends of the quills are burned off evenly, so that only the stiffer body of the quill is left. Barrett notes that the longer quills are removed.[304]

My informant described the comb used by the Molala as a true double-edge comb. It is fashioned of a thin stick bent double. Little pointed sticks, as fine as our toothpicks, are inserted between the halves of this doubled stick, so that they protrude equally on each side, and are bound in place.

The hair is greased; ordinarily with fish oil, but with deer tallow or that of skunk, otter, beaver, or mink, when they can get it.

• 304 [114] Frontal flattening, the only form practiced, is not universal among the Klamath, although it is general. My information differs at this point from Hrdlička's who was told that non-deformed heads are derided as slave-like.[305] I was told that it was merely "so that they would look pretty; they have nice round eyes because the forehead is flattened."[306] A deformed head is called lĕplĕ'pli nos, flattened head.

304 301 The septum of the nose is pierced and the ear lobes, the latter twice or even more frequently. Both sexes insert dentalium shells horizontally through the septum. These are placed so that the butt ends meet in the septum, the points of this curved conical shell projecting on each side. If the septum hole is large, two may be placed side by side in it. Sometimes the point of one shell is thrust into the hollow butt of a second. The root of a mountain plant, called yayo'ḳak, may be used in place of a dentalium shell. I was told that Molala women choose boldly curved dentalia, placing them so that the points

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[304] *Op. cit.*, 258.

[305] Hrdlička, Head Deformation among the Klamath.

[306] The informant who stated this may have rationalized her own case, an undeformed head. My other principal informants, two men, had flattened heads. Flattening is not noticeable among some of the older Indians, so that the statement that some escape the treatment may be true.

almost meet, forming a ring. Ear pendants are a group of four 304 dentalia, hung in a bunch by their tips. Such an ornament is called 301 stöstö'mnls. Neither dentalia nor any other plugs are put directly through the holes in the ear. The labret is unknown. Men pluck out their beards.[597]

Nose and ears are pierced in early childhood, even while still in the cradle. But it is usually done by the mother when the child is five or six years old. Anyone may perform the service; a man or woman usually does it for an own child. Coley's mother pierced his ears and nose when he was ten or twelve years old. He was afraid to have the septum pierced, but finally summoned courage. Piercing is done with a small sharp bone awl (sŏ'ḳta); the lobe is massaged and the awl suddenly thrust through. A little charred sage-brush twig is put in the hole to keep it from closing and withdrawn when it is healed. There is no celebration of this event among the Klamath, although they are aware that this is the custom on the Columbia river. Holes are made solely for adornment; no esoteric significance attaches to the procedure.

Fighting women sometimes tear out their opponent's septa or ear holes. This is called p'ĕta', to tear open a hole.

Necklaces are made of dentalia and other beads. Claws are not 301 used with the exception of grizzly claws (stöke) which are worn by shamans.

The Molala make necklaces of yayo'ḳaḳ root, mentioned above. This root has a length of eighteen inches. It is split, lengths are tied together, and braided with sinews from the back of a deer.

Three kinds of bead are in use; dentalia (t!u't!as), a small twisted shell, a half-inch long, called isĕlḳa, and red stone beads (tcŏkᴇ b'djᴇ: tcŏk is the service berry) flattened like a kernel of corn. In addition there is an abundance of old style, glass trade beads on the cremation piles. Two types of dentalia may be recognized, but I am not certain; large shells called sḳals, and those up to three-quarters of an inch in length, t!u't!as.

Dentalia are not marked with incised designs, as among the 070* Yurok.[598] They are, however, wound with human hair for a space at the small end, according to one informant, although another denied it. As was common on the lower Klamath river, they are strung end to end on a cord in lengths somewhat under a fathom: the fathom mixed, to prevent chapping and sunburn. Red paint mixed with this grease is similarly used. Putting on a pitch coating is called sutlu'mᴇ. The pitch is roasted and later scraped with knives.[401] 751

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[597] Gatschet, 1:90.

[598] Kroeber, Handbook, 24.

Simple tattooing (sl'tepale'as) is common to both sexes. It has no connection with puberty rites, although it is usually done in youth; nor any esoteric significance. Anyone may tattoo, even boys and girls tattoo their companions, but it is usually performed by women, who receive no payment. Charcoal is rubbed into incisions cut with fragments of stone. Women have the face tattooed, as well as breast and thighs. The face decoration is regularly a line down the center of the chin and one descending obliquely from each corner of the mouth. One Klamath woman has a line drawn horizontally from each corner to her cheeks. My female informant has a few random lines, including a poor cross, on the inside of her left forearm. A man's decoration is ordinarily confined to his arms. One man has a line running up the back of his hand and a T-figure on his wrist, each of its arms formed by several parallel lines. Another had short lines crossing the inside of his left arm just above the wrist. This is reminiscent of the lines on a Yurok's forearm to measure dentalia shells,[402] but has not that purpose here. A few men have a line across the nose ending in a circle beneath each eye, or the circles alone. This is the sum of face decoration; they lack the large black patches on chin and cheeks of the Shasta. Upland Takelma women, I was told, conform rather to the northwest California style. They tattoo the entire lower part of the face below a line drawn across the cheeks. 304 * [171]*

TIME RECKONING, DIRECTIONS, AND NUMERATION

As with most Indians whose ceremonials do not depend on the exact recording of time, the Klamath have little development of time reckoning. The result is the confusion and conflict between native authorities familiar elsewhere. 805

Intervals of the day are of little importance. These are indicated by the position of the sun (sa''bas) for which a few names have been developed.

pă'ĕttkls, early dawn; "this is the time to attack."
ni'lḳa, sunrise.
ᴇmbo'sant, early forenoon.

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[401] Gatschet, 1:150. He stated that pitch, "wákinsh grows on the pan-tree," by which I presume he meant the lodgepole pine.

[402] Kroeber, Handbook, 25.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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		Klamath form	*Links with:*
[285]	Mats	Extensive use	Oregon?, Northwest Coast to Columbia r., Plateau.
		Mat needle	s. Northwest Coast (and northward?), Washington, Oregon?
[281]	Tanning	Smoke-tan	Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, Wishram, Nez Percé; Basin, Plateau, Plains (and elsewhere?—probably not Northwest Coast).
[372]	Fire drill	Compound	Puget sound, Takelma, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi, Wind R. Shoshoni, Crow, Navaho, Hopi.
[415]	Spoon	Paddle	California s. to n. Miwok.
[411]	Bow	Sinew-backed	Arctic, Northwest Coast, Plateau, Washington, Oregon, California s. to Tehachapi, Basin, Southwest, w. Plains.
		Flat; constricted grip	n. w. California, Northwest Coast.
	Arrows	Stone heads	(Not the bone heads of Northwest Coast and w. Washington, where stone heads are scarce.)
[714]	Armor	Tunic	Northwest Coast, Plateau, Oregon, n. California, Basin, Southwest (and southward?).
		Slat or rod	Alaska to Maidu (Tlingit, Plateau, Oregon, Washington, n. California).
	Shield	Round	Plateau, Basin, Plains (not California).
[291]	Dress	Fringed skirt	Coast area west of Cascades-Sierras, probably Basin.
		Men: Plains shirt	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.
		Women: Plains dress	Plateau, Basin, Plains.
		Decorated band on robe	Plateau? (Wishram, Nez Percé), Plains.
		Tule slippers	Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Paviotso.
		Three-piece moccasin	Plateau (moccasins are also n. and central California, Basin, Southwest, Plains, and eastward).
		Basket hats	n. California (=Plateau type?; other types, Northwest Coast, Basin, s. California).
[302]	Hairdress	Braids for both sexes	Plateau, Plains.
	Combs	Porcupine tail	Achomawi, Northern Maidu.
[304]	Head deformation	Fronto-occipital	s. Northwest Coast to Alsea, Siuslaw, and Klamath.
	Tattooing	Women: chin lines	w. Arizona, California, Takelma (Oregon in general?). (Not Plateau? and Northwest Coast.)

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
767b. Earth covering partial	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	343
768. Earth covering all over	·+	+	-	·+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768a. Main entrance through roof	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
768b. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768c. Flush	+	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768d. In end of house	+	+	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
768e. Secondary entrance at ground level	-	-	-	·+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769. Sliding wooden door	·-	·-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769a. Stone paved "porch"	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769b. Steam or hot-rock heat	·+	(+)	-	-	-	-	·-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
770. Direct-fire heat	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	·+	·+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
770a. Small, for 1-4 persons	·+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
770b. Large, for group	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	
770c. Used throughout year	·+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	·+	-	-	+	
771. Used in winter only	·+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
772. Used by both sexes	+	+	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
773. Used by men only	-	-	-	·+	(+)	-	-	+	·-	·-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
774. Used by mourners only	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
775. Communally owned	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	+	-	-		

Plains-Type Sweat House

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
776. Plains-type sweat house	·+	·+	·+	·+	·R	·R	·+	(-)	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	·+	-
777. Dome shaped	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
778. Mat covered	+	+	·+	+	R	-	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
778a. Hide covered	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
779. Brush, bough covered	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	(-)	·+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
780. Small, for 1-8 persons	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
781. Steam heat	+	+	+	·+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
782. Used throughout year	-	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)		-	-	-	-	-	+	-
783. Used in summer only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		+	-	-	-	-	-	-

Sweating Customs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
784. Individual sweating	·+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	+	-	515
785. Sweating in groups of 2-4, or larger	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	-	+	
786. Women sometimes sweat with men	+	+	+	·+	·R	·+	·+	-	-	·+	+	+	·+	+	-	-	[562]
787. Women sometimes sweat separately	+	+	+	+	R	+	·+	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
788. Sweating daily or every 2-3 days	+	-	-	·+	+	R	·-	-	·+	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	
789. Sweaters sit or crouch	+	+	·+	+	+	R	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
790. Sweaters lie down	·+	·+	-	-	·+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	
791. Sweaters "dance around"	-	-	·+	·+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
792. Formalized sweat dance	-	-				-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	[535]
793. Sweaters kneel	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
794. All men sleep in sweat house occasionally	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	·+	+	-	-	[513]
795. Male mourners sleep in sweat house	·+	·+		-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
796. Unmarried old men sleep, eat in sweat house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	·+	·-	-	+	
797. Men gamble in sweat house	-	-	-	·-	-	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	-	·-	·-	
798. Men work (handicrafts) in sweat house	-	-	+	-	-	·+	·+	·-	-	+	+	+	·+	-	·-	·-	
799. Youths gather fuel for sweating	-	-		+		·+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	·-	-	·-	
800. Office of fire maker	-	·-	·+	·+	-	-	-	+	·+	·R	-	·	·+	+	·+	·+	[312]
801. Competitive sweat groups	-	-	-	·+	-	·-	-	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	[372]
802. All sweators sing	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	[533]
803. 1 man sings for group	-	-				-	-	(+)	·+	·+	-	+	·+	-	-	-	
804. Sweat for success in hunting	+	·+	·+	·+	+	-	+	-	·+	·+	-	+	·	-	-	-	[224]
805. Sweat for success in gambling	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	·	-	-	-	[528]
806. Sweat for general good luck	+	+		+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	[777]
807. Sweat as cure for disease	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	·+	-	-	·	+	+	-	
808. Scarify selves, let blood drip on hot rocks	-	+	+	·+				-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[754]
809. Sweat to cleanse body	-	-	+	+		+	·+	-	·+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	[304]

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
302 1578. Mineral	.	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	(−)	+	+	−
386 1579. White paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	.	+	+
1580. Chalk	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	+	−
1581. Ashes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	+
1582. Ashes taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	−
1583. Yellow paint	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	(−)	+	−	−
1584. Pollen, from conifers			·+	·+	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1585. Mineral	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−
1586. Blue paint: mineral	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	·+	+	−	−	.	−
1587. Green paint: mineral				−	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
1588. Black paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1589. Charcoal or soot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	·+	+
1590. Mineral	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1591. Mixtures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
1592. Grease or marrow mixed with pigment	−	+	·+	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	−	·+	−	−	−	−
1593. Pitch mixed with charcoal													+	+	+	+
1594. Water mixed with pigment	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1595. Saliva mixed with pigment	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1596. Paint base	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
1597. Grease or marrow	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
1598. Acorn cake														−	+	−
1599. Pitch	−	−	−			+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
302 1600. Paint applied with fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	·+	·	−	·+	+
1600a. Water as mirror	.	·+	·+							.	.	.	.	.	.	−
1601. Grease or marrow on body to prevent chapping.	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	+	·+	.
1602. Pitch on arms for warmth	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1603. Pitch on body, bird feathers stuck on	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1604. Body powders	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
1605. Chalk, powdered	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1606. Acorn flour, finely ground	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
1607. Oak balls, ground	o	o	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1608. Oak wood, rotten									+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
1609. Puff balls, inner powder	−		+								−	−	−	−	−	−
1610. Skin soothers								+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
1611. Cooked acorn mush								+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	·+
1612. Eyebrows blackened	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	−	+	−	−
Deformation, Mutilations on Living																
304 o1613. Head flattening	+	+	+	+	−	±	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1614. Nasal septum pierced	·R	+	+	·+	+	+	+	−	·+	·+	+	−	−	+	+	−
1615. Men	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
1616. Women	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
1617. Ear lobes pierced	·R	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+
1618. Men	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	(−)	−	−	+	+
1619. Women	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+
1620. Ear rims pierced	−	−	−	−	·+	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1621. Tattooing	·R	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	R	R	(R)	−	−	−	+
1622. Men	R	+	−	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	−	R	−	−	−	−	−
1623. Women	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	R	(R)	−	−	−	+
1624. Chin, 3 wide stripes	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1625. Chin, 3 narrow stripes	−	−	−	−				·+	R	R	R	(R)	−	−	−	+
1626. Vertical lines	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1627. Cheeks, horizontal or radiating from mouth	R	+	−	−	+	+	+	·+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1628. Forehead, vertical line(s)	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1629. Arms	R	+	−	·+	+	+	+	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1630. Hand		+										+	−	−	−	−
1631. Legs	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1632. Chest	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1633. Cut with stone knife	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	R	R	.	.	–	–	–	•+	30f
1634. Cut with porcupine quill	–		–				+	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	–	
1635. Charcoal rubbed in	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	R	R	.	.	–	–	–	–	
1636. Soot rubbed in	–	–	.	+				+	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	–	
1637. Plant juice rubbed in	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	+	
1638. Burning	+	+	+		+				+	+	+	R	–		–	–	
1639. On arms	+	+	+						+	–	+	R	–		–	–	
1640. Depilation	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	
1641. Eyebrows	–	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	
1642. Beard	+	/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	•+	+	
1643. Deer-bone tweezers		–					+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	
1644. Plucking with fingers	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	–	+	
1645. Ashes on fingers, for plucking	+	+	+								–	.	.	+	–	–	
1646. Plucking, stone flake opposed to fingernail	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	
1647. Shaving with obsidian or flint	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	
1648. Beard allowed to grow	–	–	•+	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	–	–	
Ear, Nose Ornaments; Necklaces, etc.																	
1649. Earrings	•R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	30(
1650. Bone ring	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1651. Clamshell beads	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1652. Buckskin string	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1653. Dentalia pendant	R	–	+	+	(+)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1654. Flat shell pendants	–	+	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1655. Haliotis pendant	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
1656. Ear stick: wooden	•R	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	•+	•+	
1657. Worn when hole healing, only	R	+	–			+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	•–	
1658. Worn during dances only						–	–	–					+	+	+	+	[535]
1659. Plain, 1/2-inch long						+	+	+			+	–	+	–	–	–	
1660. Painted design	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	[531]
1661. Burned design	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1662. Shell beads or pendant on end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	
1663. Ear tube: bone	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	(–)	+	+	–	+	
1664. Worn when hole healing, only	–	–	+			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1665. Applied decoration																•+	
1666. Feathers on end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1667. Shell beads or pendant on end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1668. Ear tube: shell	R	–	+	–	(+)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	
1669. Solid-shell cylinder	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	
1670. Dentalium	R	–	+	–	(+)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1671. Feather in ear	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
1672. Quill alone in ear	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1673. Flowers in ear	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	(+)	–	
1674. Nosepins	R	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	
1675. Bone, bipointed	R	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	
1676. Solid-shell cylinder	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1677. Dentalium through nose	R	+	+	+	+	+	(•–)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1678. Wooden nosepin	R	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1679. Feather	R	–	+	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1680. Nose pendants	R	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1681. Bone ring			–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1682. Strings of beads	R	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1683. Necklaces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1684. Deer hoofs or dewclaws	–	+	–	•+	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1685. Bear teeth	.	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	
1686. Elk teeth	(+)	+	+								–	+	–	–	–	.	
1687. Bear claws	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	
1688. Bird claws	.	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 2914. Dancing proceeds around fire and pole	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
535 2915. 2 circles, men and women separately	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
2916. 1 circle, men	–	–	+								–	–	+	–
2917. Dancers in row abreast	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2918. Each person dances separately	–	–			+						+	–	+	–
2919. Dancers stamp 1 foot	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2920. Dancers stamp both feet	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
2921. Scalp on center pole	+	•+	+	–	•+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	–
2922. Heart on top of center pole	+	–	+	–					•R	–	–	–	–	–
2923. Scalp(s) on small hand pole(s).	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
[582] 2924. Human effigy	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2925. Each warrior pantomimes his war deeds	–	.	–			+	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	–
2926. Each warrior dances singly, once around, with scalp	–	.	–	–		+	+	–	+	+	.	–	–	–
2927. Old women dance with scalps	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2928. Wipe themselves with bloody scalp	+	+	–	–					+	–	.	–	–	–
2929. Chew and bite scalp, heart	.	+	+	–		+	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
2930. Scalps dragged and rubbed in dirt	+	+	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2931. 1-2 women walk back and forth in front of dancers	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2932. Warriors carry bow and arrows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
2933. Shoot at scalp or heart	.	[illegible]	+	–				+	+	+	–	–	+	–
2934. Women dancers carry brush or pole	–		–						+	–	+	–	+	–
[302] 2935. Participants painted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2936. Black	+	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2937. Red	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2938. White	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
[292] 2939. Participants wear brush, feather headdresses	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2940. Warriors wear fighting gear	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
Purification of Killers; Treatment of Wounded														
727 2941. Swims	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	.	+	–
783 2942. Sweats	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	–
2943. Steam type	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	.	–	–
2944. Direct-fire type	–	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–
[304] 2945. Scarification and bleeding	–	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–
2946. Aromatic plants rubbed on body	.	[illegible]	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	–
2947. Women brush off men with plant	.	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	–
2948. Must stay outside	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–
2949. Stays awake mainly, or naps	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–
[792] 2950. Prays for luck	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	–
[262] *2951. Meat taboo ... days	–	–	.	+	•2	–	–	–	•4	–	28	.	6	–
2952. Warm food taboo	–											.	+	–
2953. Scratching stick used	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+
2954. Bath at end of taboo period	–	–	+	+							+	.	+	+
2955. Meat taboo to wounded	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	.	+	+
2956. Hot food taboo to wounded	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+
[752] 2957. Wash wounded with special decoction			+								+	.	+	+
Peace Negotiations														
Compensation for Slain														
728 2958. Intertribal wars: compensation	+	–	–	•–	–	R	•–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–
2959. Revenge only	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
Cradles																	
'3263. 2 cradles used successively	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	854
3264. Both same shape	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3265. First lacks hood	+	-	-			+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
3266. Different shapes	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
#3267. 1st cradle used for about ... days	·	28	28	5	+	+	+	28	28	28	+	.	'28	28	+	-	
3268. Used until cord drops off	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	
3269. Made before baby born	-	-	-	+	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	+	+	
3270. Presented to mother after child born														.	+	+	
3271. Made after baby born	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	+	-	-	
3272. Bad luck if made before birth	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	+	-	-	
3273. Tied on tree when discarded	-	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	-	·+	·+	-	-	·-	-	-	-	
o3274. 2d cradle used for ... years	1+	1+	1+	'1+	1+	'1+	1+	'2	'2	'1	1+	1+	1+	1+	'1	1+	
3275. Made by maternal, paternal grandmother	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3276. Made by mother	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3277. Made by woman specialist	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
3278. Made by paternal grandfather	-	-	+								-	-	-	-	-	+	
3279. Man makes cradleboard	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3280. Cradle must be finished same day begun	-	+	-				+	+	-	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
3281. Discarded cradle tied on tree	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3282. Discarded cradle kept in house	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3283. Used for several children	.	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	
3284. Vegetable diapering material	·+	·+	·+	-	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	-	·+	-	·+	·+	·+	
3285. Skin diapering material	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	
3286. Infant wrapped in skin	-	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Nursing																	
o3287. Infant nurses after ... days	'2	2	1	2	2	'1	'1	'1	1	'1	'1	0	'1	'1	1	0	853
'3288. Colostrum milked out	+	+	·+	·+	·+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	-	+	+	·+	+	
3289. Milked onto hot rock or coals	·+	·+	+	+	·+	+	·+	-	·-	·-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3290. Denied to baby	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
3291. Infant fed gruel, first 2-3 days	-	-	·+	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3291a. Infant fed water, first 2-3 days	+	+	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	
3292. Nursed whenever cries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
o3293. No intercourse between parents for ... months	-	'2	'2	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	.	.	±	1	(1)	3	[334]
Weaning and Discipline of Children																	
3294. Weaning as soon as teeth appear, regularly	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	862
3295. Early weanings, occasionally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	
3296. Pregnancy cause of	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	
3297. Sickness of mother cause of	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	+	+	+	+	
3298. Infant taken to mother's relatives	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	-	+	.	.	
3299. Mother keeps out of baby's sight	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	+	.	.	
3300. Mother puts bitter substance on nipples	.	.	·+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-	·+	·+	
3301. Mother frightens child	.	.	-						·+	·+	-	-	-	·+	-	-	
3302. Child fed larger quantities solid food											+	+	+	-	+	+	
3303. Child usually nurses until he stops of own accord	+	+	+	-	+	·+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
'3304. Night "cry babies" bathed	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	
3305. Infant's ears pierced, if cries excessively	-	-	-		·+		+	·-	+	-	·+	-	-	-	+	-	[304]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Naming																
553 3306. Child named at, soon after, birth	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	•	–
3307. Child named up to 6 months after birth	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
3308. Child named after 1 year plus	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
3309. Child named around puberty	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
3310. Named by father	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+
3311. Named by mother	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+
3312. Girl baby named by mother's mother	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	–
3313. Boy baby named by father's father	+	+	+	+			+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	–
3314. Child named by any near relative	+	+	–	•–				+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–
3315. Child named by relative or nonrelative	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
551 3316. Names meaningful	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	+
3317. Names meaningless	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	+
3318. Names duplicated during lifetime 2 people	–	–	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	•+
3319. Name "given away"	–	–	•+							•+	–	–	–	–	.	–
[787] 3320. Names dreamt	–	+	–		+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
3321. Naming after grandparents, other relatives.	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	.	+
3322. After death of relative only	–	–	–	+		–	–	+	+	+	–	+	(–)	+	.	–
Mutilations																
● 304 3323. Ears pierced	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+
3324. Soon after birth	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
3325. Prepuberty	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	+
3326. Around or after puberty	+	–	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
3327. Obligatory for all boys and girls	–	+	–	•–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3328. Girls only	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
3329. Virgins only	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3330. Done by older relative	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	•+
3331. Done by skilled person	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	–
3332. Done by good or "powerful" person	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+
3333. To make child good-tempered	–	+	+				+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
3334. For "fun" or style; to display wealth	+	–	+	+						+	–	–	–	+	+	.
3335. For good fortune	–	–	–								+	–	•+	–	–	.
3336. Dance follows	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
3337. Nasal septum pierced	R+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
3338. Soon after birth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
3339. Prepuberty	R+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3340. At or around puberty	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–
3341. Any time	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3342. Men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
3343. Obligatory for all	–	+	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3344. All girls only	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3345. Done by relative	R+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
3346. Done by skilled person	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3347. Done by self	–	–	–					–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3348. Boy: sent on vision quest	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3349. Girl: dance follows								–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
3350. Tattooing	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	R	R	(+)	–	–	–	+
3351. Women: prepuberty	R	+	–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
3352. Women: postpuberty, any time	R	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	R	R	R	(+)	–	–	–	+
3353. Obligatory for woman	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3354. Rare among women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	R	+	–	–	–	+
3355. Men: when adult, any time	–	–	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3356. Done by skilled person, usually woman	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•R	R	R	.	–	–	–	+
3357. Done by "good" person	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3358. For style only	R	–	+	•+	–	+	+	–	•R	R	R	.	–	–	–	.
[755] 3359. As therapeutic measure	–	–	–						•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3360. To insure longevity	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3361. Spirit of tattooed goes to good place	-	·+	-					+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	304 ●
3362. Cranial deformation	+	·+	+	·+	-	·+	+	-	·-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3363. Male	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3364. Female	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
3365. Pads bound to head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3366. Back	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3367. Front	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3368. Mother attends to baby's head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Disposal of Milk Teeth																	
3369. Thrown away, no particular place	+	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	856
3370. Thrown away, toward sun	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	·-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3371. Thrown in river	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	826
3372. Buried in gopher hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-	·+	·+	+	·+	·+	·+	+	
3373. Buried in excrement	-	-	-	-	·+	·+	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3374. Hidden in grass clump	-	-	+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3375. Buried, no special place	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3376. Exchanged with gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3377. Formula spoken	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	·+	+	·+	·+	
Twins																	
3378. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	+	-	·+	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	845
3379. Considered unlucky	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	[777]
3380. Attempts made to prevent conception of twins	-	-	-						·+	-	+	·+	.	·+	·+	.	
3381. People "ashamed" for woman	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	.	
3382. No significance	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	
3383. Relative adopts 1	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	+	+	.	[597]
Adoption of Children																	
3384. Parents impoverished: relatives, only, adopt child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	-	+	+	+	597
3385. Orphan: adopted by paternal, maternal kin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
3386. Paternal relatives only	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
o3387. Childless couples given child by relatives	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	+	.	+	
3388. Anyone may adopt orphan	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Infanticide, Illegitimate Children																	
3389. Illegitimate children killed, occasionally	+	+	+	-	+	·-	+	·-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	847
3390. Legitimate children killed occasionally	-	-	·+						·+	·+	-	-	-	·+	·+	·-	848
3391. To avert disaster	-	-	+						+	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	
3392. If mother dies in childbirth	-	-	+						+	·-	-	.	-	+	+	-	
3393. Infant buried alive with mother	-	-	+						·+	-	-	.	-	+	+	-	
3394. Infant put in badger hole	+	+	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	
3395. Infant smothered	-	-	·+						·+	·+	.	-	-	-	-	-	
3396. Mother keeps illegitimate child	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	-	.	+	+	+	
3397. Mother's mother takes illegitimate child	-	-	-	+	-	·+	-	-	-	-	.	+	.	+	+	-	
3398. Father of illegitimate child provides for baby	-	-	+	+	.	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Impregnatives, Contraceptives, Abortion																	
3399. Measures taken to induce pregnancy	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	842
3400. Shell, vegetable decoction drunk	+	·+	·+	-	-	-	+	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	
3401. Doctor makes miniature baby cradle													-	-	·+	.	

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	El	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3558. Wristlets	·+	·+	–	–	–	·+	·+	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	841
3559. Special belt	–	·+	·+	·+	–	·+	·+	–	·+	–	·+	·+	·+	–	–	–	88
3560. Nose stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3561. Earrings, optional	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[301]
3562. Necklaces	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	
3563. All labor taboo during isolation	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	
3564. Preparing food taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3565. Basketmaking taboo	–	+	+	+	·+	·+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3566. No labor taboo	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3567. Compulsory light labor	·+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	
3568. Compulsory heavy labor	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3569. Girl must carry firewood	+	+	·+	·+	·+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	·+	–	·+	
3570. Girl must carry water	+	–	+	–	·–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3571. Girl must pound roots	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3572. Girl must gather vegetable food	–	–	+	–	·+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+	
3573. Girl gives roots she digs to old woman	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3574. Girl makes baskets	–	–	–	–	·–	·–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3575. Compulsory running, racing	+	–	–	–	·+	·+	·+	–	·+	–	+	+	–	·+	–	–	
3576. Girl runs each morning	–	–	–	–	+	·+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3577. Girl runs in evening	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3578. Girl runs at end of rite only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	
3579. Girl races with 2 girls	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
3580. Carries deer-hoof rattle when running	·	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
3581. Vision seeking during running, dancing	–	–	–	–	·+	+	+	–	+	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	[787]
3582. Instruction by attendant during seclusion	–	(+)	–	–	·–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3583. Ears pierced during puberty ceremony.	–	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	[304]
3584. Ears pierced shortly after puberty rites	–	–	–	–	–	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3585. Dance follows ear-piercing	–	–	–	–	–	·+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
3586. Vision seeking after ear-piercing	–	–	–	–	+	·+	(·+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3587. Ears pierced prepuberty	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	·+	–	–	–	
3588. Ears pierced postpuberty	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	
3589. Ceremonial purification at end of puberty ceremony	·+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	[783]
3590. Girl bathes to remove taboos	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3591. Mother, attendant wash girl	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	·–	+	
3591a. Girl bathes alone	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
3592. Sage decoction used for bath	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3593. Girl rubbed with pine needle, root medicine	–	–	+								–	+	·+	+	·	–	
3594. Girl rubbed with salt												+	–	–	·	–	
3595. Sweat bath to remove taboos	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3596. Girl jumps in stream after sweating	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3597. Girl changes clothes, end of rites.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3597a. Girl given new clothes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3598. Old clothes burnt	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
3599. Old clothes saved for limited no. menses	·+	·+	·–	–	+	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3599a. Old clothes kept in hut; loaned, used by near relatives	–	–	+					+	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3600. Old clothes washed	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3601. Old clothes given or thrown away	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	·+	
3602. Old clothes hung on tree			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3603. Old clothes exchanged for new ones	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	·+	
3604. Sagebrush band kept	+	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3605. Anklets, wristlets burned	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3606. Belt kept permanently	–	–	·+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 3710. Menstruant's ears pierced	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
881 3711. Girl dances in front of dancers	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
535 3712. Girl stands on view in finery	-	-	-	-				+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+
● [304] 3713. Betrothed stands on view with girl	-	-	-	-						+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3714. Poor girl may stand with rich celebrant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
[574] 3715. Visitors present food	-	-		+	+	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
3716. Visitors feasted after dance	-	-		+	•+	-	R	+	(-)	+	-	(-)	+	-	-	+
3717. Visitors given return gifts of food	-	-		+	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
3718. Girl runs at daybreak	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	(-)	-
3719. Spectators throw lighted sticks at girl	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3720. Girl's anklets, wristlets burnt	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3721. Girl passes through fire	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•-	-	-	-
3721a. Girls sing, escort menstruant to stream															+	-
Boys' Puberty Observances																
881 [575] 3722. Formal group rites	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
3723. Secret society initiation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
3724. Individual vision questing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
[787] 3725. Optional, for all boys of group	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
General Menstrual Customs																
841 3726. Certain foods taboo to all menstruants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3727. Meat, fresh or dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3728. Fresh fish	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3729. Dried fish	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3730. Grease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3731. Salt	-	-	-		-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
3732. Cold water	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3733. Menstruant eats alone	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3734. Daughter may eat with mother								+	+	+	.	+	+	+	-	
3735. Uses separate receptacles	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3736. Menstruant stays in dwelling house	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
3737. Menstruant secluded	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
3738. In menstrual hut or cookhouse	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
c3739. For ... days and nights	5	5	5	5	5	-	-	5	•4	•4	•3	5	-	5	-	•3
3740. All women	•+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
3741. Shamans' wives only	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3742. Old women attend menstruant												+	-	+	-	-
3743. Certain activities taboo	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3744. Basketmaking	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3745. Wood gathering	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
3746. Preparing vegetable food	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
3747. Preparing vegetable food for family	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3747a. Cooking meat	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3747b. If cook meat, give hunters bad luck													+	+	+	+
3748. Intercourse taboo	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
3749. Cannot sleep with back to man	-		-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
3750. Walking beside streams taboo			.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	-	+
3751. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3752. Hair left uncombed	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
c3753. Head scratcher used for ... periods after puberty	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5	-	-
3754. Head scratcher obligatory all periods	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
3755. No bathing during period	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3756. Purificatory bath, end of period; obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3829. Polygyny prerogative of any man	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	595
3830. Polygyny rare in tribe	–	+	+			–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
3831. Sororal polygyny	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	
3832. During life of sisters	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	
‡3833. Maximum number paid for	1	2	.	1	1	1	1	–	–	1	1	.	–	–	–	2	
o3834. Maximum number in same house	2	2	.	2	2	2	2	–	3	2	2	2	–	2	2	2	
3835. Because first wife barren	–	•+	.	+	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
3836. Without barrenness of first wife	+	+	.	–	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3837. Post-mortem sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	.	
3838. General	+	+	+	•–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	587
3839. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	•+	–	–	+	•–	+	+	–	+	–	•–	+	.	
3840. Especially if children	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	.	
3841. Obligatory for widower	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	•–	+	–	
3842. Life endangered, if he does not comply	•+	•+	•+	–		•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	.	–	–	•+	.	
3843. Stepdaughter marriage	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	587
3844. Simultaneous	•+	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	595
3845. Successive	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3846. Additional payment for daughter	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3847. Rare	+	+	–					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3848. Disapproved	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	
3849. Polyandry, husbands unrelated	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o3850. Maximum no. of husbands	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	595
o3851. Maximum no. in same house	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3852. Polyandry, fraternal	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
o3853. Maximum no. of brothers in same house	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	
3854. Wife lending	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
3855. Between any 2 men	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	837
3856. Levirate	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	
3857. Obligatory for man	+	+	•–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	587
3858. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	–	+	–	
3859. Additional payment, gifts for woman	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	
3860. Brother-in-law can punish woman if she refuses	•+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	[686]
3861. Cut her hair, ear, nose	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	[607]
3862. Can kill her	+	+	+			+	+	+	•+	+	.	–	–	–	•+	–	[304] ●
3863. Killing common	–	+	+	.			+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	
3864. Man may marry son's son's wife	–	+	–	–				+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3865. Common	–	–	–	–				+	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	

Marriage of Blood Relatives

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3866. Cousins; man to any cross-cousin's daughter	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	582
3867. Sister exchange	.	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3868. 2 men exchange sisters	.	–	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3869. Simultaneously or nearly so	.	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3870. Successively	.	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3871. No payment or gifts for brides	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	
3872. Payment for both brides	.	–	+	+	–	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	
3873. 2 brothers marry 2 sisters	–	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	

Exogamy

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3874. Local group exogamy	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	•+	+	+
3875. Preferred	+	+	.	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	•+
3876. Obligatory	–	–	.	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
3877. Endogamy, if not related	•+	+	.	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	+	+	+
3878. Tribal exogamy optional	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3879. Often practiced	•+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	765
4215. Hair cut, close crop, or burned off	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	(-)	•+	764
4216. Cuttings saved	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	[302]
4217. Cuttings kept in house	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
4218. Cuttings made into belt	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
4219. Cuttings burnt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4220. Cuttings thrown in river	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
4221. Cuttings buried in grave	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4223. Mutilations	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[304]
4224. Arms cut soon after death	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4225. Beat breast	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4226. Beat head	-	-	-				+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[302]
4227. Facial and head coatings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4228. Pitch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4229. Dirt, ashes	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4230. Chalk, charcoal	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4231. Pounded shell									+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
4232. White clay on bangs	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
4233. Pitch on arms or legs, chest	-	+	+					•+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	
4234. Touching face with fingers taboo	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4235. Face left unwashed	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4236. "Washed" with wet grass	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	.	.	
4237. Space around eyes washed	+	-	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
4238. Scratching stick used	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	
4239. For head	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	
4240. For body	+	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	
4241. Worn tied around neck	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	
4242. Special attire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	[292]
4243. Mourning necklace	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	•+	•+	
4244. Basket cap, coated with pitch	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4245. Head covered with blanket													-	+		+	
‡4246. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	[262]
†4247. Meat ... days	•15	6	•14	•28	1	-	-	5	•36	-	-	2	-	5	-	•5	
†4248. Grease ... days	•15	6	•14	•28	1	-	-	5	•36	-	-	2	-	5	-	•5	
†4249. Fresh fish ... days	•15	6	•14	-	1	-	-	5	•36	-	-	2	-	5	-	•5	
†4250. Dried fish ... days	•15	6	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	2	-	5	-	•5	
4251. Cold water ... days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	
†4252. Salt ... days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	
4253. Seclusion	+	•+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	
4254. In house	•+	•+	•+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
†4255. For ... days	5	•-	-	-	•2	-	-	5	28	-	-	3	+	+	•+	+	
†4256. For ... years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	+	1	
4257. For variable period	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
4258. Prescribed activities during taboo period	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	
†4259. Sweats for ... days or nights	5	6	5	5	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4260. Gathers wood for sweating	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4261. Goes to grave or cremation spot and wails	•+	•+	•+	-	-	•+	+	-	•+	+	+	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	
4262. Walks around, wailing	+	+									+	+	•+	•+	-	•+	
4263. May go to mountains to seek power	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
4264. Making baskets taboo	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	•-	•-	•-	-	•-	
4265. Gathering food taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	
4266. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	-	[783]
‡4267. Sweats to remove taboos, after ... months	•12	12	12	-	-	12	•2	-	•+	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4268. Washes head, face to remove taboos	-	-	-	+	•+	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	+	•+	.	-	
4269. Drinks medicine	+	.	+									(+)	-	-	-	-	
4270. Takes pitch off head, face at remarriage only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[587]

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	El	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
764 765 587 4271. Pitch wears off naturally	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
4272. Mourning necklace worn until remarriage	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•–	–	+	•–
o4273. Approximate no. yrs. before remarriage	•1	•2	•½	1	•2	•1	½	•½	1	•2	•1	–	•3	•3	•3	•2
4274. Indefinite period; shorter for younger women	–	–	–								+	+	+	+	+	+
4275. Older women often do not remarry	+	+	+								.	+	+	+	–	–
764 4276. Widower	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
765 4277. Cuts or burns hair, slightly	+	+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	–	•+
4278. Pitches hair or face, or both	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
†4279. Meat, fish, salt taboo ... days after funeral	56	10	10	5	1	–	1	5	28	–	–	1	–	5	–	–
†4280. Hunting taboo ... days	+	10	10	5	–	+	–	10	+	–	–	1	+	+	–	+
†4281. For ... months	12	–	–	–	–	•3	–	–	3	–	–	–	1	1	–	•4
†4282. Fishing taboo ... days	5	10	5	5	–	+	–	10	+	–	–	1	+	+	–	+
†4283. For ... months	–	–	–	–	–	•3	–	–	3	–	–	–	1	1	–	•4
4284. Gives away all or most of 1st kill	–	–	+				+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
4285. Cannot "cry" before hunting	+	+	+								.	.	+	.	.	–
[787] †4286. Spends ... nights in mountains	5	•5	10	–	–	1	1	1	1	1	•1	–	–	–	–	–
4287. To obtain vision	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
4288. Piles up rocks	+	+	+	–	–						–	–	–	–	–	–
4289. Gathers or breaks wood	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4290. Sleeps little or none	+	+									+	+	+	–	–	–
[787] 4291. Returns home wailing	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4292. Obtains dream at home, night of funeral		–	+			+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
†4293. Sweats alone daily for ... days after cremation	5	5	–			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4294. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
o4295. Sweats with other mourners ... days after funeral	–	–	•1	5	–	•+	•+	–	2	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[304] †4296. Swims ... days after funeral	–	–	•1	5	1	•+	•+	5	1	•+	–	3	2	5	–	•–
4297. Cuts shoulder	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4298. Children observe taboos for dead parent	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
4299. Son, daughter cut hair close; slight pitch	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	–	–
[787] 4300. Do not seek for power	+	+	–				+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
•4301. Parents observe taboos for child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4302. Cut hair slightly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
4303. Pitch on hair or face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
4304. Mother only	+	+	–		+					+	–	–	–	+	+	+
†4305. Meat taboo ... days	5	5	10	5	3	–	1	5	+	–	–	1	–	5	–	–
o4306. For ... months	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[787] 4307. Sweat or bathe	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
4308. Man goes to mountains to seek power	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
•4309. Loss of 1st child before cord drops off entails rigid taboos				(•+)					(•+)		•+	+	+	+	+	•–
4310. Couple give everything away, start anew											+	+	+	+	+	–
4311. Secluded for 1 month													+			–
Taboos on Community																
†4312. Foot travel stopped for ... days	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	4	•5	5	–	+
4313. Until burial of corpse	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	+
[551] 4314. Uttering name of dead taboo	+	•+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4315. Indefinitely	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
4316. Until formally regiven	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	(+)	–	–
4317. Only in presence of kin	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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NR10 Klamath NR10
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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
787 4717. Crow, quail calling, tells of enemy passing	–	+	+	–		.	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+
215 4718. Dog howling, sign of war	+	–	–	–	+	.		+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
4719. Coyote, fox howling sign of war	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+
4720. Any animal calling out of time evil sign	–	+	+	–	.	.	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
4721. May be shaman, sending out spirit								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Vision Quest

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
4722. Vision questing to obtain guardian spirit(s).	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	•+		–	•–
4723. By individuals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–
4624. By group	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–		–	–
[562] 4725. Men, youths, boys	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+		–	–
4726. Women, girls	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	•–	•+	+	–	+		–	–
4726a. Optional, not obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4727. First quest, prepuberty	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+		–	–
4728. First quest at or around puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	(–)		–	–
4729. Questing during adult life	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	•+	+	+	–	–		–	–
4730. Quest once only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	+		–	–
4731. Quest repeated, to gain power, or for successive powers	+	+			+	–	+	–	•+	+	+	–	–		–	–
4732. Some candidates never obtain vision	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4733. Undertaken in winter, annually	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4734. Undertaken in spring, summer only	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	•+	–	–	–	+		–	–
*4735. Undertaken any time, after birth child, death of near relative	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
4736. Vision quest general, may obtain any variety power	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
*4736a. Vision quest may yield all powers except those for doctoring	–	–	+	•+	–	•–	–	•–	•+	•+	–	–	–		–	–
4737. Vision quest yields doctoring powers only	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
4738. Youths prepared for quest	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4739. Lectured by father, father's brother	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
[304] 4740. Whipped with bowstring, stick	–	–	–			+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4741. Ears pierced	–	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4742. Go out naked, or with breechclout only	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+				–		–	–
4743. Seeker quests at fixed localities in mountains	•+	•+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4744. Alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
4745. With older shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–
4746. Men or youths only	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
‡4747. For ... days, nights	5	5	•4	1	5	•1	•2	0	1	1	1	2	2		–	–
4748. Before doctor-making dance	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	(+)	+		–	–
4749. After doctor-making dance	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–		–	–
[262] ‡4750. Complete food fast ... days	5	5	(+)	–	5	•2	–	–	–	–	1	–	2		–	–
[262] c4751a. Eats sparingly, or according to spirit's instructions ... days	–	+	28	5	2	–	•2	5	1	•2	–	2	•+		–	–
4752. Meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4753. Abstains from water	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
[834] 4754. Drinks water with acorn meal in it			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
4755. Sexual continence during quest	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		–	–

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4756. Bathes to acquire power	+	+	+	-	+	+	°+	+	°+	+	-	+	+		-	-	787
4756a. In lake or stream	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-	
4757. Complete immersion	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-	[515]
4758. Washes hands in spring	+	-	-					+		+	-	-	-		-	-	
4759. Bathes each day	+	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	+	(-)	.		-	-	
o4759a. Bathes after ... days	-	-	-	-		°2	°2	5	5	°2	-	.	.		-	-	
4760. Rebuilds stone altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	
4761. Breaks branches, piles up wood	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4762. Builds fire	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4763. Smokes self over fire	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		+	-	+	+		-	-	[372]
4764. Catches glowworms	°+	-	°+					-	.	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4765. Sleeps on mountain at night	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	(+)	-	-		-	-	
4766. Prays for vision	-	-	-					+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
4766a. Scarification and bleeding	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	[304]
4767. Ants allowed to bite wounds	-	-	+	°+	-	-	°-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
°4768. To obtain "luck" only	-	-	(-)	°+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4769. Power comes by dreaming	-	°+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4769a. Power comes in trance or faint	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4770. Nose or mouth bleeds	+	°+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+		-	-	
4771. Instruction by shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
4772. Guardian spirit communicates with seeker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4773. Spirit seen	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4773a. Spirit heard	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4774. Spirit felt	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	
4775. Gives song	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4776. Gives paint		+	-	-	-	-		(+)	-	-	+	+	+		-	-	
4777. Gives dance		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
4778. Instructs as to paraphernalia, methods.	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	
°4779. Doctor dance main or only form vision seeking for youths, girls		-	-	-	-	-	-	°+	°+	°+	-	-	-		-	-	
4780. Successful seeker observes taboos on return	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
†4781. Is sick for ... days	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	°1	°1	°2	°1	+	+		-	-	
†4782. Continent			-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4782a. For ... years			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1		-	-	[834]
4783. Swims	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4784. Sweats and swims	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
†4785. Stays outside house ... days.	1	1	-	-	2	1	°2	5	0	°2	-	-	-		-	-	
†4786. Confined ... days in sweat house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(5)	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4787. Uses head scratcher	-	+	.	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4788. Eats sparingly or according to spirit's instructions.	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	[262]
4788a. Meat taboo	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4789. Fish taboo	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-					-	-	
4790. Salt taboo	-		-					+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4790a. Drinks water with acorn meal in it.	-	-	-						+	(+)					-	-	[501]
4791. Smokes tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-		-	-	
4792. Gives first kill to old man			+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	[276]

854 cradle. Y-frame, U-frame, hooked-ladder frame
lying-type cradle. Horizontal (double) warp on
basketry lying cradle. Wicker weave in cradle
hood. Loose basket over head of sleeping child.
Buckskin covering on cradle partial. Sex of
child indicated by bed design. Woven skin blan-
285 kets; mats.--Checker. Weft of buckskin thongs.
Perforated stick to twist fur strips. Suspended
warp. Thumb guard of bone for shredding mat ma-
283 terial. Cordage.--Stick for twisting (1 ply at
a time). Spindle whorl.

Receptacles Other Than Baskets

415 Wood, etc.; chests, boxes; pottery.--Wooden bowl. Wooden chest. Wooden box of bent and sewed boards. Pottery vessels.

Leather Goods; Adhesives

281 Skin tanning; glue.--Fleshing or dehairing:
hide staked out with several stakes; with single
stake, other end held; with 1 end tied to tree,
other end held. Fleshed on plank. Fleshing or
dehairing tool: blunt posts; horn; shell. Tan-
ning agent: liver; wood ashes. Graining: with
381 horn. Glue from horns or hoofs; from milkweed
gum.

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

302 Coiffure; comb; care of hair.--One tie around
head, forehead level. Wooden hairpins. Bone
head scratcher as comb. Hair dyed with eel blood.
White clay on head or to wash head. Mud plaster
against lice. Hair dye in mud plaster. Hair
greased with acorn oil. Nettle roots to wash
302 head. Paint; deformations and mutilations.--
304 Face, body paints according to totem. Paint ap-
plied with brush. Mud or pitch on body for
warmth. Nasal alae pierced; lip pierced. Tattoo-
ing with bone awl. Depilation of pubic hair.
Tweezers of split cane, wood, shell. Depilation:
pitch on fingers; bone knife opposed to finger-
nail. Beard burnt off if long. Ear, nose orna-
301 ments, necklaces, etc.--Wooden ear stick, feath-
ers on end. Bone ear tube, incised. Cane or
cane pipe in ear. Cane nose ornament. Sea-lion
teeth necklace.

Dress

291 Headgear; robes; loin covering; muff.--Basket cap, for fishing with large dip net only. Feathers on net foundation for robe. Inner bark mat robe. Buffalo-fur robe. Breechclout of woven bird skins; of woven rabbitskins; of grass stems; of inner bark. Single small front apron, of fringed buckskin; with braids on cord. Double apron of woven rabbitskins. Bird-skin muff.

000 1612. MM: With burnt pepperwood gourds.

[301] [304] [177] 1614. Kl: "Nose plugs and earrings are new; the Klamath learned to use them from the Molala Indians and the S [California] Indians. They never made holes in their nose and ears in old times." SW: Awl used chiefly to pierce noses; sometimes point of quill, but latter makes too small a hole. WM: Male, female mourner if desirous of inflicting loss on others similar to that he has experienced, retires to small sweat house (Lut) and pierces nasal septum with small manzanita stick. Addresses bloody stick, telling it he wishes other persons to die; stays in sweat house 6-7 days, leaving stick in nose until hole has healed; then takes out stick and gives it to relative, shaman usually, to keep and use in poisoning people. WS: By sick persons only, occasionally.

Deformation, mutilations.--

[304] 1617. Kl: See note 1614. SW: Porcupine quill used; keeps ear lobes from becoming sore.

1620. At: Men, women. AE: Women.

[304] [177] 1621. Kl: Learned to tattoo from Shasta (Achomawi?) when informant boy (ca. 50 years ago). "Two Kl women went [S] to see Shasta; when they returned, 1 old woman tattooed herself" with 3 lines on chin radiating from mouth; "people saw it and liked it, and lots of old women did it then. The first old woman thought it made her look pretty." Informant had also seen 1 old man, with circles tattooed under eyes, and connecting line over nose, but "didn't like it; it looked funny." Men's tattooing on arms also recent custom. Mo informants confirmed slight use of tattoo by Kl; commented upon how heavily Shasta tattoo. Mo: Recent (?). SW informant denied Mo, Wintu women tattoo; however, Mo informant attributed tattooing to Tule Lake Mo groups. WM: Little tattooing among WM; if tattoo very much, spirits will take person away. More tattooing among Trinity, Weaverville Wintu groups (Nomsus).

1622. AW: Boys occasionally only. WT: Men on arms, when wife dies only.

1625. WT: 3 narrow stripes put on girl's chin; vertical lines across cheeks added later, when girl is grown woman.

1626. WT: See note 1625.

1627. WT: Women.

1629. SW: Upper-arm marks to measure dentalia; men, only. WT, WM: Men. WM: Men tattoo as therapeutic measure only.

[304] [412] 1633. Obsidian knife, generally. MV: With white rock, procured from river and smashed for sharp edge.

(757) 1638. Therapeutic measure; see elements 4473-4474.

1641. Mo: "Proud of eyebrows, eyelashes; wouldn't pull them." NS: Hot ashes applied; "eyebrows never grow back."

1642. NS: See preceding note.

1647. MV: Face rubbed with warm rock, so beard will not grow quickly.

1648. SE, WT, MF, NM: Rarely; old men only.

[197-B]

[Klamath Reservation]

K
M 342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old
352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the
513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another
K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are
M [592] houses that hold more than two families and others that hold
K only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no
M longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content
342 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.
888
735 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women
K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered
M the visitor[11] are of powerful frame—though of no more than
142 average height—and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily
K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber
M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early
291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing
[177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the
trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down
the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside
add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a
K mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in
302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips
301 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads,
ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum
K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy
M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face,
304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by
[142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter prac-
[177] tice, says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit
River neighbors of the Modoc.

K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys.
M 512 Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grand-
[857] father and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black
waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the
sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to
stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its
K cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the
M [252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it
[415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they
[177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

Another stone implement is the single-grooved, flat-bottomed arrow straightener, such as is shown in pl. 21, fig. 9. A perforated wooden arrow straightener, of the form shown in fig. 5 of the same plate, is still used. K 412

Implements of obsidian and of flint are common. Arrowheads and large spear points, as also knives which were formerly fitted into wooden handles, are yet to be found. These points are found by the Indians in various parts of the country where they have been used and left by former inhabitants. They are chiefly employed at present as charms in medicine and gambling. A gambler may take a large obsidian knife or spear point and, after singing the proper song, place it under the large tule mat upon which the game is being played, to insure good luck. In addition to their use in medicine as charms they are also employed for purposes of scarification. K 411 [172] K [755] [525] [304] •

Stone pipes of several forms (pl. 22, figs. 8, 9, 10) are still used. The discoidal form shown in figure 10, which is quite unusual for the Pacific slope, appears to have been less used in aboriginal times than the obtuse-angled form shown in figure 8. K 276

GAMES.

The Lutuami, like most aboriginal peoples, had many games for both adult and young. It will not be necessary to go into details here, as the subject has been treated by Dr. George A. Dorsey[a] and Mr. Stewart Culin.[b] M K 524 114

BASKETRY.

The basketry of the Klamath and Modoc, which is always twined, may be classified under two heads: soft or pliable basketry and stiff or rigid basketry. The former predominates very largely and all the finer baskets are made in this manner. The materials used for this sort of basketry are as follows. The skin of the leaves of the cat-tail tule forms the white material which is used as the groundwork of almost all of the finer baskets. The M K 285 M K [113]

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[a] Certain Gambling Games of the Klamath Indians, Amer. Anthr., n. s. III, 14-27, 1901.

[b] Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., 136, 247, 291, 323, 479, 550, 659, 740, 1907.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

of the juniper (pl. 16, fig. 1). More or less globose or flatly cylindrical rigid baskets are used for general storage purposes. A seed-beater used in harvesting the seeds of grasses and flowering plants, and a fish trap of special form (pl. 19, fig. 1) are also made of rigid willow stems. Dilapidated willow burden baskets are used in warding off the effects of thunder. Such a basket is placed on top of a high pole set near a dwelling in order that no bad effects may come from the rumbling thunder overhead. M K 285 M K [821]

FIRE-MAKING.

The fire-making apparatus used by the people of this region is the usual drill, the upright twirler being made of an ordinary stick with a piece of very dry willow root bound at its end instead of a single piece of wood as in most regions. This piece of willow root twirled in a base block of cedar soon creates sufficient heat to generate the fire. The twirler must always be carried so as to keep it very dry, but the cedar base block needs no special care. In fact the canoe paddle, which is always made of cedar, may be used as a base block. A cup for fire-making is cut at a point either near the end of the handle or near the junction of the blade and handle and just above the line where the paddle is dipped into the water. The paddler, therefore, always has the base block to his fire drill with him. Connected with fire is the torch made of tightly bound dry sage-brush bark (pl. 22, fig. 1), which is employed whenever a portable light is needed. M K 372

MISCELLANEOUS.

The people of this region, particularly the older people, are noticeable for the deformation of their heads. The head is flattened usually from directly above the eyebrows, for some distance back, in some cases even to the very top of the head. The back of the head also is flattened and in extreme cases the front and back flattening meet to form a sharp peak at the top of the head. This flattening was done while the child was in the cradle. For a short time after birth the infant was lashed into a soft tule cradle. After some days the child was placed in a cradle such as that shown in pl. 14, fig. 3, made of more rigid materials. In order to keep the head from bobbing about as the mother M K 304 M K 304 854

M walked with the cradle on her back, it was bound down with a
K piece of buckskin, and there was in some cases a harder material
304 used in connection with the buckskin, such as a small piece of
854 board, or a piece of willow basketry. These headbands were, of
course, properly padded to prevent actual injury to the child's
head, but the pressure was sufficient and was so adjusted that it
caused a decided flattening of both the front and back of the
M head. The younger generation has not been subjected to this
K cradle treatment and does not show the flattening, but among the
[178] older Klamath and Modoc the flattening is very pronounced.
M K Probably due to the influence of the Shoshonean peoples to the
854 east, the cradle board finds some use among the Lutuami, but the
177 woven tule and willow cradles are typical of the region.

M In addition to the various articles of dress mentioned in speak-
K ing of the uses of tule, the Klamath and Modoc make a belt
291 either from the fiber of the inner bark of certain trees or from
human hair. These are worn by the women in every-day dress.
286 Plate 17, fig. 7, shows one of these belts of fiber.

287 As a brush for dressing the hair the tail of the porcupine is
M used (pl. 22, fig. 2). Usually the longer spines are removed and
K the skin of the tail is then stuffed either with shredded tule or
302 with shredded sage-brush bark. In dressing the hair the brush
237 is drawn through it directly against the points of the spines,
which, as may be seen from the illustration, lie almost flat.

K As before mentioned the Klamath have many vegetable foods
262 in addition to the wokas. Most of these are derived from small
plants, but the pine furnishes one. The inner bark of some of
the species of pine is much esteemed as a food and there is a
[237] special implement used in taking it. This knife-like bone imple-
ment (pl. 22, fig. 5) is used in separating the inner from the
outer bark, and is usually made from a deer rib or from a rib
of one of the other large animals.

SUMMARY.

M The Klamath and Modoc people possess a specialized culture,
K due largely to the extensive use of tule in the making of houses,
285 basketry, and various utensils. The only baskets made of a
harder material are conical burden baskets, triangular sifters, a

142 tall, and wiry, while the women are short and often incline to embon-
point. Nevertheless obesity is not more frequent there than it is with us.
No better illustration of their bodily characteristics can be had than a col-
lection of their personal names. These sketch the Indian in a striking and
often an unenviable light, because they generally depict the extremes ob-
served on certain individuals. The sex can not, or in a few instances only,
[55] be inferred from the name of a person. We frequently meet with designa-
tions like "Large Stomach," "Big Belly," "Round Belly," "Sharp Nose,"
"Grizzly's Nose," "Spare-Built," "Grease," "Crooked Neck," "Conical
Head," "Wide-Mouth," "Small-Eyes," "Squinter," "Large Eyes," "Half-
blind," or with names referring to gait, to the carriage of the body, to
habitual acts performed with hands or feet, to dress, and other accidental
matters.

165 With all these deformities, and many others more difficult to detect,
145 these Indians have bodies as well formed as those of the Anglo-American
race, and in spite of their privations and exposure they live about as long
as we do, though no Indian knows his or her age with any degree of accu-
164 racy. A very common defect is the blindness of one eye, produced by the
smudge of the lodge-fire, around which they pass the long winter evenings.
304 With the majority of the Indians the septum of the nose hangs down at
301 adult age, for the nose of every Indian is pierced in early years, whether
they afterwards wear the dentalium-shell in it or not.

000 Stephen Powers, who had good opportunities for comparing the Modocs
with the tribes of Northern California, says of them:

> They present a finer physique than the lowland tribes of the Sacramento, taller and less pudgy, partly, no doubt, because they engage in the chase more than the latter. There is more rugged and stolid strength of feature than in the Shastika now living; cheek bones prominent; lips generally thick and sensual; noses straight as the Grecian, but depressed at the root and thick-walled; a dullish, heavy cast of feature; eyes frequently yellow where they should be white. They are true Indians in their stern immobility of countenance.*

Passing over to the psychic and mental qualities of these Oregonian natives, only a few characteristics can be pointed out by which they differ from the other Indians of North America. The Indian is more dependent

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* Contributions to North Amer. Ethnology, III, 252, 253. By Shastika he means the Shasti Indians of middle Klamath River, California.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

773 776 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however, be added on the last page of this Report.

614 171 582 595 581 304 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 178 769 531 532 285 323 533 538 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths, and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency buildings, which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed. As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the language fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration, assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

*648 those Indians who were "ready, competent and willing" to re-
*657 ceive lands in severalty, to report such opposition as might be
423 raised, "and . . . endeavor to overcome it by pointing out the
advantages of individual ownership."[3]

A month later Emery reported on a council that he had called,
[622] at which he and Captain Carpenter had explained the law. "The
[666] Indians," he continued, "were then permitted to council among
themselves for an hour, when, by the request of the Chiefs and leading men, they were again called together, and requested to be given the privilege to vote—which was given—nearly all present voting in affirmative. The number present was estimated at 600." Later he held another council at Yainax "at which were over 200 Indians, nearly all of whom received favorably the proposition of the Government." At another passage he noted, "no leading Indian opposes the measure."[4] Over 800 names were enrolled for allotment, out of a total of 933.

By the provisions of the act as amended in 1891, each enrolled
• [311] member was to receive a single allotment, comprising one-eighth
of a section (80 acres) of farming land or double the amount of grazing land. Emery termed the Klamath a grazing reservation with a proportion of agricultural to pastoral lands of one to twenty-five; and accordingly requested that double allotments be issued and that all eligible members take turns at selecting the first allotment, repeating by rotation on the second tract. "This," he observed, " will distribute the good land *more equally* among the Indians." Matthews, terming the mountainous portions of the reservation worthless, advocated that after allotment these acres be held in common by the tribe.[5]

The actual allotment of land was delayed several years, pending settlement of a controversy over the external boundaries of the reservation and of the overlapping claims of the California and Oregon Land Company, successor to the Military Road tracts. The Indians grew somewhat restive under the delay, and Matthews found it necessary to warn that "should the Indians be persuaded to give up their surplus lands before they have made improvements upon their allotments I fear there would be much dissatisfaction among them."[6] Only in 1895 did Maj. Charles E. Worden, assisted by Jesse Kirk as interpreter, launch

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 *657 619 423 association and residence. The membership thus construed included not alone the reservation peoples, but the absentee Modoc and those who had severed their connections with the reservation.

M 648 657 619 423 The ambiguities thus introduced might have been avoided in part had the allotment program maintained some of the provisions of an early allotment plan outlined in 1871 by Commissioner E. S. Parker. By its terms, residence and association taken together were to be made the primary criteria. Whites or interbreeds married to tribal women, who resided with them upon the reservation, and who had been adopted into the tribe might be allotted. Indian women married to whites and living off the reservation forfeited that right, and the children of Indian women living in common-law relations with whites were to receive a share of land only if they moved back to the reservation.[39] It should be remarked, however, that this principle would only have been effective in preventing absentee ownership had residence also been required of heirs. Otherwise, in the first generation the allotments would have been treated like an inherited property. That, indeed, was their fate under the administration of the Dawes Act.

Once allotted, an Indian had a new status. His allotment could be fenced and it could be leased. The results of his industry, together with anticipated lease funds made many a man a good risk for advances in merchandise and foodstuffs. K M [641] Citizenship lay within his grasp, involving with it a changing jurisdiction under law and bringing about a restive reappraisal of the sometimes autocratic rule of the Superintendent.

K +648 +657 423 • 311 The original intent of the act had been to transform the Indians into yeomen-farmers. That 160 acres of grazing land on the upper reservation was an economically practicable unit had been doubted by Nickerson, and the subsequent experience of at least one white rancher with long experience in the same area tends to confirm that judgment. At the same time, when several members of a family possessed adjoining tracts, the acreage might be adequate. In later times at least there were complications. Remarked Wilson in 1909:

> . . . the allotting was not made as it should have been made. An Indian will be allotted in Modoc Point district and perhaps

> his wife will be allotted on Klamath Marsh, some 50 miles away. 648*
> They are almost compelled to live a part of the year in each 657*
> place on account of putting up hay for their cattle.[40] 423

O. C. Applegate saw a supplementary relationship between 311
the allotted and tribal lands.

> There are a few localities on the Reservation [he stated] where industrious Indians may be able to make a living on 160 acres of land, especially after the land best calculated for farming is improved by irrigation; but the opening of the Reservation to settlement by White men upon the unallotted lands would make it hard for those Indians who live in the meadow districts by stockraising to make a living, as it would deprive them of the advantage of pasture on the tribal lands.[41]

Immediately following the passage of the Dawes Act, there 648*
were reports of heightened industry among the Indians, as they 657*
set about to build upon and improve their allotments. It must 423
be borne in mind that by the time the act was applied at Kla- [427]
math it had already been amended in 1891 and 1894, and soon
again in 1897 and 1900, to permit leasing under certain con-
ditions.[42] Leasing of what was then tribal domain had been 648*
secured through Nickerson by Sykes Worden in 1882 and by 657*
Matt Obenchain in 1884. Before lands were finally allotted, E. 563
L. Applegate had permitted Dave Hill to make an informal 427
agreement with one white rancher, by which the latter cut and
stacked hay on Hill's place and winterfed his cattle there, paying
Hill for the hay.

Matthews, Applegate's successor, at first clashed with the system when he sought to impose an additional fifty cents per head fee for bringing the cattle on the reservation.[43] Soon, however, he was advocating that whites be permitted to come upon the reservation and cut hay on lands which Indians had enclosed, paying the Indians for the hay. Like his successors, he argued the help the Indians would derive from this revenue and the advantages of utilizing resources which would otherwise go to
waste.[44] Soon thereafter a group of stockmen proposed to him [464]
the leasing of the Klamath Marsh area, which he favored as affording employment to a number of Indians in putting up hay.[45]

At a council with "the representative Indians of this Reserva- [311]
tion," a vote was take to lease certain lands for grazing pur- [623]
poses.

*648 poses. The proposal was that Klamath and Sycan marshes be
*657 constituted two grazing districts for leasing purposes. The Indians
429 further proposed "that the funds derived from the said grazing
• 311 privilege shall be divided per capita among the Indians of this
563 Reservation." The 41 signatories included the leading names on the reservation. Matthews rightly doubted the feasibility of
[651] making such a division; for the General Deficiency Act of March 3, 1883, provided that unearned income of this sort should go into a tribal fund in the Treasury.[46]

With the allotment of land, the leasing of individual tracts came into common practice. In advocating this measure Agent Petet urged in now familiar terms "that some Indians might get some money in this way to buy cattle of their own, who scarcely ever would be able to get a start in any other way." He thought that "if a few of the active Indians could do well in this business, it will be an incentive to others to fence their lands and try to make something off of it."[47] An informal grazing system was authorized. Meanwhile five men—Jesse Kirk, Henry Jackson, Harrison Brown, Frank Lynch (Tall Jim), and Scot Modoc—pushed matters further by enquiring into the rights of allottees with unfenced tracts to graze and expel cattle, asking further that money received from pasturage be distributed equally among tribal members, and that the price for grazing be raised to one dollar per head.[48]

Eight other Indians, led by Charley Pitt, under the advice of Daniel Cronemiller, a lessee, and with the assistance of Petet, erected a fence six miles in length enclosing the outer boundaries of about 4,000 acres of allotments, their own as well as others'. One of them, George Gray, was chosen by his fellows to count and drive in all cattle brought into the pasture by lessees.[49]

Emery advocated a continuation of the practice of permitting leasing by allottees of fenced lands. He cited the contract entered into by a Klamath interbreed, William Ball, formerly an Indian judge, with two whites. By its terms, Ball agreed to give exclusive pasture to their 300 head of cattle on his tract at Klamath Marsh at one dollar per head for the season. "This money," the Agent remarked, "insures a competency for him and his family for a year, and leaves him abundance of grass and

hay for his own [cattle]."[50] The practice of contract grazing on 648*
tribal land was also continued, though with scanty returns.[51] 657*

Leasing brought regulatory headaches. Trespass could less 563
easily be controlled. Some stockmen who rented land from the 427
Indians turned in more cattle than the pasture could sustain, [311]
while keeping the fences in such disrepair that the cattle drifted
onto the unfenced lands of neighboring allotments.[52] In consequence, [625]
the meager band of reservation police had to be diverted
to the task of enforcing the grazing rules. The Superintendent [675]
was obliged to see that all contracts were made through
his office. When disputes arose, he was often forced to intervene
and even at times to threaten a lawsuit in order to collect on
behalf of an Indian. Meanwhile, some lessees were themselves
fencing the lands in lieu of part of the lease, so that many Indians
were no longer compelled to put in any work in order to receive
returns from their property.[53] By 1903, even unfenced allotments
were being leased. In that year payments from leases [434]
comprised thirty per cent of estimated personal income, providing
$8,220 distributed among some ninety to one hundred allottees.[54]

By 1908, a large number of Indians were entrusted with the 648*
"experiment" of managing their own allotments, including the 657*
hiring of necessary labor and leasing their tracts for a term not 423
to exceed the legal limit. The narrow discretion afforded, however, 427
is seen from the provision that "the leases that you are to
draw this year will be drawn for you in this office," although the
Indian was to collect his own rental. Fifty-eight Indians were
empowered at once to handle their allotments and apparently
those of their children as well, upon these cautious terms.[55]

Leasing had scarcely gotten under way when a movement for 648*
the sale of lands began. The act had originally envisaged a trust 657*
period of twenty-five years, to be extended at the discretion of 423
the President, during which time the United States retained title to 432
the land. For many individuals, allotted just prior to 1910, that
period—although subsequently extended—was to expire in 1935.
However, amendments provided for sale under proper supervision
when circumstances required, and by 1912 five sales had
been consummated, all involving heirship cases.[56]

When an allottee died, his land passed to his heirs—by the 648* 657* 423 428

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

His planning and that of his successors was concerned solely 648*
with the engineering problems and the financing involved. The 657*
desirability of irrigating, at a time when reclamation projects 312
were springing up everywhere, was never doubted. When a 653
small ditch was dug in 1900, largely by the Indians themselves, [578]
to bring the waters of Crooked Creek upon lands between the Agency and Fort Klamath, the "remarkable" increase in yield that resulted gave rise in turn to exacerbated strife over water rights among the allottees affected. As Agent O. C. Applegate observed, there was need for "an organization of interested parties upon a plan of mutual cooperation," modeled perhaps upon irrigation districts then coming into being elsewhere in the Basin.[87] The organization was not forthcoming.

No further attempts seem to have been made to prepare the Indians for irrigated farming, but the plans for additional units nonetheless went ahead. The lower course of the Modoc Point canal was dug in 1901-03, and in 1905 the Agency Spring Ditch was constructed. The years 1912-20 saw completion of the Modoc Point, Sand Creek, and Spring Creek units. Of all units, the Modoc Point and Agency projects were the largest, embracing 5,400 acres and 4,234 acres respectively. The Modoc Point project, which Applegate had at first estimated would require $5,000, in the end cost $356,535.00 for construction alone; and its many defects have since led to additional costs approximating two-thirds of that figure for operation and maintenance.[88]

Nor were the difficulties surrounding the Modoc Point project
limited to construction. As of 1920 only a total of 5,000 acres was [311] •
being cultivated on the reservation. The largest acreage tilled by an individual was 200 acres sown in oats and alfalfa by the young Klamath interbreed, Joseph Ball. Lesser amounts were being farmed by Harrison Brown (100 acres), Drummer David (80 acres), and Lincoln P. Butler (80 acres).[89] While some Indians were building their own irrigation ditches in the Yainax area,[90] those served by the Modoc Point system seemed to prefer dry farming.

The Act of Congress authorizing the Modoc Point project had stipulated that the cost of construction be paid by the Tribe. A number of Indians, however, petitioned to have the cost assessed on an acreage basis against the land served, and this policy met

*648 which would exploit the Indians' tribal lands without compen-
*657 sating them. Another stock reason is that given in 1915 by Supt.
423 William B. Freer. Reporting that "a sentiment has arisen lately
563 against the continued use of the tribal lands by outsiders," crys-
427 tallizing in action by the tribal council, he nonetheless advocated
[432] maintaining the practice, to prevent wasting the grass.[117] By 1922, relying increasingly upon timber per capitas, members had sold their grazing allotments; and by 1927 one white rancher had acquired 7,000 acres.[118]

*648 While there was a concommitant decline in Indian stock
*657 raising, those who continued depended more heavily upon tribal
423 grazing lands, to which their tribal membership gave them free
231 access.[119]

In his policy, the Superintendent stood at the vortex of con-
*648 tending interests. Some tribal members who no longer ran stock
*657 were eager to maximize the cash income by leasing out as much
423 land as possible to white ranchers. The latter, on their part, had
427 developed their herds in anticipation of continued utilization of
563 the reservation, and they favored any possible expansion of
• 311 leasing. It was in acknowledgment of their commitment that Arnold favored continuing local leasing arrangements, rather than advertising the tribal ranges for general bidding.[120] Considerations of this sort, however, won him the opposition of even those Indians who preferred the leasing of the tribal domain. For tribal ranchers it was an indication that the Superintendent was in league with the white stockmen, and the charge recurred that the latter were overgrazing the range and crowding out the Indians. One tribal member, then taking the first steps toward his eventual success as a rancher, recalls today that as soon as he had improved the section of tribal range assigned to him the Superintendent leased it to whites.

Among tribal ranchers were a number of Indian women married to white men who, between them, owned the major part of the stock listed as Indian. "They always affirm," said Arnold, "that all the stock is owned by the Indian wife," and thus secured grazing on the tribal range.[121] At least one woman among them had also been party to the suits to secure allotments within the tribal timber lands.

Arnold insisted that the charges were groundless, that range

reserved for Indian cattlemen was ample, and that indeed the 648*
tribe was losing between $6,000 and $8,000 a year on land withheld 657*
for their use but not grazed. "Even this, he went on to say, 423
"did not seem to satisfy a number of Indians, and as a result the 427
tribal council recently [1926], passed a resolution to close the 563
range next year." He recommended that the Bureau disapprove 311 •
the tribal action.[122] During the remainder of his tenure, the issue of leasing the tribal range recurred at least twice more; and it arose from time to time to plague his successors.[123]

The desire to convert equal access to tribal resources into a pro 648*
rata share of rentals found a counterpart in such measures as 657*
those involving tribally supported programs for lumber. The lumber 313
mills operated for years by the Agency had been partially intended to supply materials for building houses and barns, but by 1908 only the mill at Yainax remained, and the Indians were no longer bringing in enough logs to keep the sawyer busy.[124]

With the establishment of sawmills on the reservation, the government mill drew less and less traffic. It was moved to a new location in 1927, but although there was no commercial sawmill within twenty miles, business was not measurably improved.[125] By 1930 it functioned only a short period each year for those members who wished to haul their own logs and pay twenty per cent of the lumber to defray milling expenses. Reported Arnold:

> During the past two years a few disgruntled Indians who do not avail themselves of the opportunity of obtaining lumber through their own efforts have objected to its operation on the theory that is being operated at the expense of the tribe for the benefit of a few of the Indians. Due to this criticism, the future of the sawmill is uncertain.

Soon thereafter the mill was closed.[126]

These were some of the expectations among the Indians created 648*
by increasing contact with a free-enterprise system. Individuals 657*
came to see that tribal membership entailed not only the restrictions 619
imposed by Agency regulation but pecuniary returns as well. [177]
Those members dwelling off the reservation discovered that they could realize their pro rata share of tribal income without being subjected to supervision in expending it. Moreover, insofar as the Superintendent was willing and able to take decisions into

[Klamath Reservation]

[P. 176-A]

311

The Modoc Point irrigation project. A government steam tractor is breaking ground for farming. (From Hincks, 1915.)

Farmer's meeting and barbecue at Modoc Point. (From Hincks, 1915.)

291
264

648 1888 and 500 broken by them; 10,000 acres were inclosed by fences.
657 The crops of 1888 amounted to 8,000 bushels of wheat, 4,000 of oats and
241 barley, 1,000 bushels of vegetables, 3,000 tons of hay; and 500 pounds of
231 butter were manufactured. Of lumber 100,000 feet were sawed. The
313 Indians transported with their own teams 500 tons of freight, and thereby
434 earned $1,500. The two boarding-schools, one at the Klamath Agency and the other at Yáneks, in the same year boarded 215 pupils at a cost to the Government of $18,764—about $10.40 a month per capita.

311 The number of acres contained within the Klamath Reservation is 1,056,000, and of these only about 20,000 acres are considered to be tillable land. The rest is occupied by woods, marshes, rocks, and other hindrances to cultivation.

797 The school and church interests are in the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which also has a vote in the appointment of the United States agent.

657 The statistics of population have furnished reliable data only from the
161 time when annuities were first distributed among these Indians. This ne-
162 cessitated an annual count of each family, giving the number of the individuals belonging to each. One of these was made during my presence on the reserve on October 30, 1877, before the winter supplies were dealt out to the tribe. The summary is as follows:

David Hill, chief, at Agency and on Williamson River	225
P'lú, head chief, at the bridge, Williamson River	122
Long John, chief	103
Jack, chief	92
Lflo, chief	23
Total	565

The census taken in the Sprague River Valley, Yáneks subagency, furnished the following figures, Klamath Lake Indians and Modocs being indiscriminately included:

Littlejohn, chief	14
Skóntchish, chief	18
Modoc Johnson, head chief	71
Ben, chief	61
Brown, chief	30
Total	194

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	RM	NS	MV
241 329. Seeds scattered to produce better crop	−	+	+				·+	−	−	−	−	(+)	(+)	·	+	−
342 329a. Irrigation	−	−	−	−	−	·−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·−
Domesticated Animals and Pets																
Dogs																
231 330. Dogs kept	·+	·+	·+	+	·+	·+	·+	+	·+	+	+	·+	·+	−	·+	−
331. By relatively few persons	+	+	+				·+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−
332. Bred	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
333. Bought from other localities	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
334. Named	+	+	+	·+	+	·	+	·+	+	+	+	·	−	−	−	−
335. Used in hunting	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
336. Trained not to bark	·+	·+	·+				·+	·+	(−)	−	·(+)	−	−	−	−	−
o337. Kept inside dwelling	+	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	·+	·+	±	+	+	−	−	−
[343] 338. Separate dog house	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
339. Semisubterranean, earth covered	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
340. Domed, thatched	−	−	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
341. Domed, bark covered	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[766] 342. Conical, slab	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
343. Burned at death, or death of owner	−	+	−	−	·−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−
344. Buried	−	−	+	·−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	(−)	−	−	−
345. Body thrown outside	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	(−)	−	−	−
346. Suspended in tree at death of owner	−	−	+	·+	−	−	−	·+	−	−	+	−	(−)	−	−	−
Birds, Bear Cubs, Etc.																
347. Birds kept	·−	−	−	·+	+	−	·+	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	·+	·−
348. Caged	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
349. Tied up	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
350. Wings plucked or cut	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−
351. Bear cubs kept	·+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
352. Deer fawns kept	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	·−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
353. Small mammals kept	−	·+	·+	+	+	−	−	·+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Food and Its Handling																
Staple Foods																
262 354. Deer staple flesh food	−	−	−	·+	−	−	·+	−	−	·−	+	+	+	+	+	−
355. Fish staple flesh food	·+	+	−	−	+	·+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	·+
356. Deer and fish equally important	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
357. Acorns staple plant food	·o	·o	·+	·+	·+	·+	·o	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+
358. Sunflower seeds	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
359. Ipos or other bulbs	·+	·+	·+	+	·+	·+	·+	·+	−	·−	+	+	+	+	+	+
360. Water lily seeds	+	+	−	−			·+		−	−	−	·−	−	−	−	−
Animals Eaten																
361. Dog eaten habitually	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
[261] 362. Dog eaten during famines, epidemics	·+	−	−	−	·+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
363. Fox	−	·+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
364. Coyote	−	·+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
365. Wolf	−	+	−	−	·+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	o	−	−	−
366. Grizzly bear (Ursus horribilus)	+	·+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	o	o	−	o	−
366a. Brown bear (Ursus americanus)	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	o	−	+	(+)
367. Deer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
368. Elk (wapiti)	+	+	+	+	o	+	o	+	o	+	o	+	o	o	o	+
369. Antelope	+	+	+	+	o	·+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	+
o370. Puma	−	+	−	−	+	·+	+	+	+	+	−	−	(o)	+	−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
576. Acorn gathering: men and women	•o	•o	+	+	−	•−	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
577. Men, youths climb trees	o	o	+	+	−	−	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[222]
578. Women gather, transport acorns	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
579. Pine-nut gathering: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
580. Men climb trees, knock down cones	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
581. Men and women gather cones	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
582. Women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
583. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
584. Men and women transport cones	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
585. Women only	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	
586. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
587. Men and women prepare pine nuts	−	.	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
588. Men only	+	.	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
589. Women only	−	.	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	
590. Gathering of small seeds: women only	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	
591. Cooking: men and women	+	+	−						+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	
592. Women prepare, cook plant foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
593. Men only, cook meat	−	+	−						−	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	
594. Women only, cook meat	−	−	+						−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	
595. Men and women cook meat	+	−	−						•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
596. Carrying water near camp: men and women	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[312]
597. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
598. Women only	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
599. Carrying water long distance: men and women.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
600. Men only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
601. Women only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
602. Fire making: men and women	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[372]
603. Men only	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
604. Wood gathering: "kindling" wood, men and women	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
605. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	[313]
606. Women only	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	
607. Wood gathering: large logs, men and women	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
608. Men only	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
609. Women only	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Manufacturing Activities																	
610. Baskets: women only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
611. Skin, feather blankets: men and women make	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[281]
612. Men only or chiefly	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	(−)	+	+	−	+	
613. Women only or chiefly	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	[237]
614. Nets: men only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[284]
615. Cord: men and women make	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
616. Men, generally	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[283]
617. Skin tanning: men and women	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[281]
618. Men only	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
619. Women only	+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
620. Clothing: men and women make	−	−	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	[294]
621. Men only	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	
622. Women only	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	
623. Moccasins: men and women make	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
624. Men only	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	
625. Women only	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
626. Fish traps: men make	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	−	+	[227]
627. Women	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+	
628. Winter house: men and women build	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[342]
629. Men only	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
630. Summer house: men and women build	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
631. Men only	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	
632. Women only	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
846	3208. Merely stays indoors	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
784	‡3209. For ... days	5	5	–	5	–	–	–	°4	–	°4	–	–	6	.	28	28
	3210. Until child's cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3211. Sleeps little	–	+	+			+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	–	–	.	+
	3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535]	3212a. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481]	3213. Runs	+	+	+	–	°+	°+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3214. First child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3215. Breaks up wood		–	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3216. Brings back firewood	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3217. Piles up rocks	°+	°+	°+										–	–	–	–
[787]	o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	°–	–	–	+	±	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3220. First 4-5 children only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481]	3221. Swims	.	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	.	–
[252]	3222. In spring in mountains	–	+	–			–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–
	3223. Cooks for self and children	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3224. Bathing taboo	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–
[515]	o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	–	–	°4	–	–	°4	–	°4	–	°4	+	3	–	–	.	–
	†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	–	5	°4	–	–	°4	–	+	°4	°4	+	–	–	–	.	–
	3227. Certain activities taboo.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[224]	‡3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
	†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
	†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	°2	+	3	+	6	+	30
	3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[525]	†3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	–	28	°2	+	3	+	+	.	+
	3233. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
[276]	3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	.	–
[484]	†3235. Traveling taboo ... days	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	°2	+	3	+	+	+	40
	3236. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	†3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	–	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	°2	+	3	+	–	+	°28
[262]	†3238. Fresh fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	+	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
[263]	†3239. Dried fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	–	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
	†3240. Salt taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	5	+	–	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312]	3241. Cold water taboo	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3242. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	3243. Until child smiles first time													–	–	+	–
	3244. Eats with wife	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3245. Uses own receptacles	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
	3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
[292]	3247. Special belt worn	(+)	+	–	–	+	–	°+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
	3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	°+	°+	+	–	–	–
	3249. Combing hair taboo	+	°+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3250. Until navel has healed	.	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3252. Bathes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	°+	–	–	–	+	°+	+	+	–
	3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
	3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3255. Gives away old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	3256. Burns old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3257. Throws away old clothes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[526]	3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	–	+								+	–	–	–	–	–
[224]	3259a. Shoots at target	–	–	+	–	°+						–	.	–	–	–	–
[525]	3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	–	+	+	–	°+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	–	–	–		°+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	.	–
	3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							°+	+	°+	+

*648 capitas that far exceeded those previously received from tribal
*657 funds, the incentives of ranching declined. Vainly did C. H.
434 Asbury claim that the new giant was no more than a "temporary
313 industry" that would serve to finance stock raising.[80] When a
*648 special appropriation in 1919 permitted a large number of cattle
*657 to be issued to the Indians, many of them were promptly sold
434 for cash.[81] By 1922 the livestock industry was proclaimed "al-
231 most bankrupt," and the error was acknowledged of having
broadcast the cattle issues without recognizing that not everyone
423 had either the inclination or the ability for ranching. By then,
432 allottees had disposed of valuable haylands and grazing tracts
in Sycan Marsh, the valleys of the Williamson, Sprague, and
Wood rivers, and at Modoc Point. Klamath Marsh tracts were
soon to follow.[82] Wrote Superintendent L. D. Arnold in 1926:

> I have been advised by a number of men who have lived among these Indians for many years that at one time they were very progressive and were engaged successfully in the stock business. Practically all of the Indians at that time lived on their allotments, did considerable farming, harvested many thousands of tons of hay, and owned many thousand head of cattle. They were industrious and were considered capable of handling stock in an efficient manner. During recent years there has been a general decline industrially among them. They have sold their cattle; they have left their allotments; many of them are now not engaged in any profitable work. As a matter of fact I do not believe that there are one thousand head of cattle owned by Indians on this reservation at the present time. Last year the most prominent Indian stockman sold almost his entire herd for about $35,000—the last of the Indians who were formerly quite prosperous.[83]

With the sale of their haylands, the source of their winter feed, the Indians were relinquishing "the very foundation of the stock industry." The older Indians, the mainstay of the industry, had for the most part disposed of their stock and lands, while their juniors showed no inclination for ranching. Arnold did not foresee an encouraging future.[84] The issuance of drought cattle in 1935 was an unavailing attempt to revive the industry.[85]

*648 The fate of irrigation farming is typical in many ways of several
*657 Agency programs. As early as 1884, Nickerson had advocated
• 312 constructing an irrigation ditch to water some 4,000 acres and
653 provide support for a settlement of 80 to 100 Indian families.[86]

His planning and that of his successors was concerned solely 648*
with the engineering problems and the financing involved. The 657*
desirability of irrigating, at a time when reclamation projects 312 •
were springing up everywhere, was never doubted. When a 653
small ditch was dug in 1900, largely by the Indians themselves, [578]
to bring the waters of Crooked Creek upon lands between the Agency and Fort Klamath, the "remarkable" increase in yield that resulted gave rise in turn to exacerbated strife over water rights among the allottees affected. As Agent O. C. Applegate observed, there was need for "an organization of interested parties upon a plan of mutual cooperation," modeled perhaps upon irrigation districts then coming into being elsewhere in the Basin.[87] The organization was not forthcoming.

No further attempts seem to have been made to prepare the Indians for irrigated farming, but the plans for additional units nonetheless went ahead. The lower course of the Modoc Point canal was dug in 1901-03, and in 1905 the Agency Spring Ditch was constructed. The years 1912-20 saw completion of the Modoc Point, Sand Creek, and Spring Creek units. Of all units, the Modoc Point and Agency projects were the largest, embracing 5,400 acres and 4,234 acres respectively. The Modoc Point project, which Applegate had at first estimated would require $5,000, in the end cost $356,535.00 for construction alone; and its many defects have since led to additional costs approximating two-thirds of that figure for operation and maintenance.[88]

Nor were the difficulties surrounding the Modoc Point project
limited to construction. As of 1920 only a total of 5,000 acres was [311]
being cultivated on the reservation. The largest acreage tilled by an individual was 200 acres sown in oats and alfalfa by the young Klamath interbreed, Joseph Ball. Lesser amounts were being farmed by Harrison Brown (100 acres), Drummer David (80 acres), and Lincoln P. Butler (80 acres).[89] While some Indians were building their own irrigation ditches in the Yainax area,[90] those served by the Modoc Point system seemed to prefer dry farming.

The Act of Congress authorizing the Modoc Point project had stipulated that the cost of construction be paid by the Tribe. A number of Indians, however, petitioned to have the cost assessed on an acreage basis against the land served, and this policy met

*648 *657 • 312 653 the approval of the Interior Department. Accordingly, a construction charge of $30.00 per acre and an annual operations and maintenance charge of $1.00 per acre was levied against the land. The Indians whose lands lay within the area proved reluctant to irrigate. In 1926 not over 300 acres, out of a total then estimated at 6,000 acres, was under irrigation. Arnold vainly urged the retention of an expert irrigation farmer both to encourage the Indians to bring water upon their lands and to give them the necessary technical advice. In his firm opinion, "the only thing that prevents this project from being a success is the failure of the people to properly prepare the land for irrigation and to use the water efficiently."[91]

Grounds for dissatisfaction existed. Not only were operation and maintenance expenses high, but there were malfunctions which from time to time required stoppages for repairs, thus causing irregular service. Some users complained that they could not get water when they wanted it; others claimed that seepage from the canal upon their land produced an alkaline deposit. At a time when the small Fort Creek system near Fort Klamath and the Spring Creek unit east of Beatty on the Upper End were functioning adequately under local management, the Modoc Point Indian farmers were objecting to paying the annual operation and maintenance charges for the water. Arnold, faced with an expensive project on his hands, was advocating legislation that would permit leases of up to ten years in length in order to put the irrigable lands into use.[92]

In 1928, Arnold summarized the strong discontent of the Indians toward the project. Although, as he conceded, opinion on details was divided, the Indians held firmly to the view

> that the Government should pay the construction charges now against the land and not compel either the land owners or the tribe to pay it. They seem to feel that the project was built without their consent and they should not be held responsible for its failure financially. Some of them seem to feel that the project should be turned over to the land owners who would operate it. Others do not appear to know just what they do want, but they do not want to pay anything.

Arnold advocated that the land be gotten under irrigation and put on a paying basis, to which the inexperience and reluctance of the farmers themselves was the main obstacle. Failing that,

the project should be abandoned entirely and the loss charged 648*
to the Tribe.[93] 657*

It is unnecessary to enter into the later history of the Modoc 312 •
Point project, which made it a subject of interest at several 653
Congressional hearings and a point of contention even into post-termination days, for the basic issues have remained the same. A number of Indians owning land within the project in the course of time sold their lands, just as most of those Indians owning lands served by the Sand Creek project had soon sold out to white farmers.[94]

The failure of the Modoc Point project can be attributed in part to the very real engineering difficulties in maintaining a canal system through a pumice region, feeding from a stream (the Sprague) in multiple use. More than this, however, was involved. There was the expertism of the Agency and Bureau, confusing the technical knowledge about construction and maintenance of such a system with the decision to build it. On the one hand the administrative staff was reluctant to entrust the decision to the Indians; on the other, the Indians did not provide a responsible leadership interested in developing such a program. The enterprise once launched therefore carried responsibility on only one side. There was no effort to enlist tribal support through involvement of tribal members in the fundamental decisions; nor was there sufficient training of the farmers to be affected in the special techniques entailed in irrigation.
Indians resented charges against the land and attempted to [241]
avoid them by continuing to cultivate the fields by dry farming.
Among the farmers, white and Indian, no effective organization
for water use developed. With income from timber available, [434]
the inexperienced farmer sought release from a situation for
which the rewards were not commensurate with the risks and [427]
the onus of subjection to Agency dictates. Leasing or sale of the
lands in the end involve more than the realization of value from [423]
property, which could otherwise only be secured by investment [432]
of labor. For the Indian, relinquishment of farming also freed him from some of the surveillance and scrupulous regulation to which he was subjected.

Plans that saw the Indian farming or ranching struck in the 648*
end upon the stubborn fact that he could frequently realize more, 657*
434

773 As a result of their seclusion, all their geogonic and creation myths are
776 acting around the headwaters of Klamath River and in Lost River Valley,
and the first man is said to have been created by their national deity,
K'mukámtchiksh, at the base of the lofty Cascade Range, upon the prairie
drained by Wood River. I have obtained no myth disclosing any knowledge
of the ocean, which is scarcely one hundred and fifty miles distant in
192 an air line from their seats. They have no flood or inundation myths that
are not imported from abroad; and what is of special importance here, their
terms for *salt* (ā'dak, shō'lt) are *not their own*, but are derived from foreign
languages.

173 There is an animal story embodied in the Texts, page 131, forming
773 No. II of the "Spell of the Laughing Raven," containing the sentence:
"Hereupon the Klamath Lake people began fighting the Northerners." I
believed at first that this contained a historic reminiscence of some intertribal
war, but now am rather doubtful about it. The song 192; 1 was
supposed by some Indians to be a very old reminiscence, while others
referred it to the presence of the Warm Spring scouts in the Modoc war.

I conclude from the foregoing facts that historic traditions do not exist
among these mountaineer Indians. If there are any, I was unable to obtain
000 them. The racial qualities of the Modocs, and still more those of the
Ê-ukshikni, indicate a closer resemblance with Oregonians and Columbia
River tribes than with Shoshonians and Californians.

B. ARCHÆOLOGIC REMAINS.

211 The Klamath people have not evinced any more propensity for erecting
monuments of any kind than they have for perpetuating the memory
346 of their ancestors in song or tradition. In fact, structures the probable
226 age of which exceeds one hundred years are very few. Among these may
be particularized the three ceremonial sweat-lodges and perhaps some of
the river-barrages, intended to facilitate the catch of fish, if they should
turn out to be of artificial and not of natural origin. In the Lost River
172 Valley is a well, claimed by Modocs to be Aishish's gift—probably one of
312 the large natural springs or wélwash which are seen bubbling up in so
many places upon the reservation Stephen Powers reports that near the

172 shores of Goose Lake, chiefly at Davis Creek, a number of stone mortars
3/2 are found, fashioned with a sharp point to be inserted into the ground, and that in former times Modoc, Payute, and Pit River Indians contended in many bloody battles for the possession of this thickly inhabited country, though none of them could obtain any permanent advantage.* Since the manufacture of this kind of mortars can not be ascribed with certainty to the Modocs, we are not entitled to consider them as antiquarian relics of this special people. The three sudatories and the river barrages are regarded as the gifts of Kmukámtch, a fact which testifies to their remote antiquity. Excavations (wásh) forming groups are found on many of the more level spots on the Reservation, near springs or brooks. They prove the existence of former dug-out lodges and camps.

C. LINGUISTIC AFFINITIES.

121 Anthropologic researches upon the origin of a people do not always
197 lead to decisive results as to the qualities of the primitive race of that people, for the majority of all known peoples are compounds from different races, and thus the characteristics of them must be those of a medley race. As to antiquity, language is second to race only, and much more ancient than anything we know of a people's religion, laws, customs, dress, implements, or style of art. Medley languages are not by any means so frequent as medley races, and less frequent still in America than in the eastern hemisphere; for in this western world the nations have remained longer in a state of isolation than in Asia and Europe, owing to the hunting and fishing pursuits to which the natives were addicted—pursuits which favor isolation and are antagonistic to the formation of large communities and states. This explains why we possess in America a relatively larger number of linguistic families than the Old World when compared to the areas of the respective continents. It also explains why races coincide here more closely with linguistic families than anywhere else on the surface of the globe. Instances when conquering races have prevailed upon other nations to abandon their

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* Contributions to North Amer. Ethnology, III, p. 252. Davis Creek enters Goose Lake from the southeast. The U. S. Geological Survey map marks "Old Indian Villages" in latitude 41° 37′ and longitude 120° 36′, to the southwest of that basin.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

III. ECONOMIC LIFE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 At this late date it is difficult to define the sexual division of labor with precision. Some impression derives, however, from random observations let drop during the course of these inquiries.

One of my informants summarized the division of domestic activities in this wise. Women fetch wood and gather food. Old men as well as women grind and pound seeds. Men lie about all the time, working but once in a while. They hunt, fish, and in the winter build houses.

Undoubtedly he is justified in his view that man's work is spasmodic, woman's work in preparation of food and the care of the home a more continuous round of labor. Such in fact is the picture of native life in perhaps all parts of the continent. Yet a fairer view of their economic participation shows a more equal division of activities.

[226] These may be summarized as follows: Men, but women too, are
the fishers. Inasmuch as their primary dependence is on fish, the
men's activities in this direction constitute well-nigh a year-round
[224] pursuit. Men are hunters, but hunting is desultory. Even here
women participate, for it is noted at least that they occasionally lie
in wait in canoes to kill floundering deer driven into the water. Root
and seed-gathering is woman's work; I am not certain that men
[222] assist even in harvesting fruit. Seeds, especially pond-lily seeds, form
the second staple in Klamath life. Preparation of food is wholly
[252] woman's work, save as they are assisted by old men, perhaps only
those who have no women members of their families to undertake the
[251] task. Storing food and drying it may be wholly feminine occupations
as well. At least where foods are concerned the man's work is
sufficiently time-filling, but the woman's much more so.

[342] With manufactures, the division is somewhat more even. House-building, one of the main activities, is a function of both sexes, and
[313] is no small part of the domestic routine. Timbers are prepared and
erected by men, grass and dirt spread over the structure by women,
[322] and the house pit dug by both. Woodworking and the manufacture
[411] of weapons are masculine activities. Yet the most laborious wood-

on the other. The blade is turned parallel to the canoe at the end of each stroke. The size and shape of the blade are well adapted to his position so low in the water, for the stroke is effective and splashless. At intervals he dips his hands to prevent blistering them on the paddle handle. 501

A punt pole (lɛkŏ'k̦) is also used, especially in the shallow marsh. This is eight to ten feet long, with the lower end split and held open by an inserted wooden block. The punt pole is a young lodgepole pine (wä'-kō), stripped of bark, according to Coville.[196]

Sails are not used on canoes.

Anyone may make a canoe. Even a widow may fashion it for herself. One such had seen her father make them many times when she was a girl. Naturally skill varies very much.

Rafts or balsas, formed of large bundles of tules lashed together, were used, according to Barrett,[197] particularly by war parties. These were paddled with the hands.

Alternative methods for winter transportation may be noted here. It is customary to pack on the back through the snow, not to fashion a sled. But something of the sort is used over ice, a bundle of willows, called spi'klŏs.

VARIOUS MANUFACTURES AND TOOLS

Woodworking is undeveloped among the Klamath, whereas it 322
might have been expected that the expertness of the Yurok or the Wishram would have made itself felt here. The only noteworthy uses of wood are for dug-out canoes, rough planks for the earth-lodge roof, and carved figures set up by shamans. The planks are only rough segments of hollow trees; the canoes are without fineness of line and crude in craftsmanship. Northwest Coast social organization [177]
rather than craftsmanship has left its mark on the Klamath and their neighbors.

Fire is more rapid and effective in trimming large masses of wood 313
than the stone and bone tools at their command. Hence it is gen- 372
erally used for felling trees, cutting logs to the desired length, and shaping canoes, but it is customarily used for smaller objects as well, such as pointing a digging-stick. When they wish to fell a tree, a deep notch is cut into it at the base with elk-horn pick and maul. A

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[196] Notes, 89.

[197] Material Culture, 256.

313 fire built in the notch quickly eats into the dry heart wood but will
372 not spread in the green wood. Sometimes a lazy man will attempt
to cut off the dry top of a standing tree by cutting all around with
the horn pick. This is attended with considerable danger, since the
top may drop straight down on the workman perched in the branches.

412 Stone axes and adzes are unknown, although Barrett speaks of
114 adzing the canoe.[298] In their place, every man had several elk-horn
picks (to'kĕ) and hardwood mauls. The picks are the unworked tines
412 of elk antlers, not made wedge shape. These are cut off by laying a
fire at the appropriate spot on the antler. Yew wedges are not
321 known. The maul is only a knotty club of oak or mountain mahogany;
[372] a knot with the limb attached. Barrett describes a conical stone maul,
but I was not told of this.[299]

[114] The fire drill is the familiar stick rotated between the palms on a
wooden hearth, so that the flowing wood dust falls on the tinder. The
372 wood selected for the drill (slī'kwĭs) is preferably the dry tip (ha'bᴇ)
of the bull pine; alternatively a willow or sage-brush branch is used.
[114] It is two feet long, a half inch diameter. Coville was told that "for
a twirling stick a dry, dead twig of yellow pine, about 6 mm. (one-fourth
inch) in diameter, seasoned and somewhat softened by the
weather, is often employed; but the best stick is made of sage-brush,
Artemisia tridentata."[300] The hearth (k'ts!ĭk) is of indifferent wood,
commonly a paddle blade, but the best wood[301] for the purpose is
cedar (wo'lwŭms). The size and shape of the hearth is not standardized,
and curiously it lacks pits for the drill to rotate in[302] and notches
to carry the wood dust to the tinder. The tinder is black sage-brush
bark. Although one of my informants denied the use of the compound
drill it was described by another and a specimen is figured by
Hough.[303] Such a drill has a willow-root point, three inches long,
spliced to a shaft of any sort. While this suggests the possible use
of a cane arrow and foreshaft as a makeshift drill, I was told this
was not used. Men carry the drill in the quiver, women in the cradle.
They coax the drill while twirling it, "I want to kill all kinds of
animals, to put them in the fire to cook, when I get flame."[304]

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[298] P. 247.

[299] P. 252.

[300] Notes, 88, 105.

[301] Confirmed by Coville, who states that the bark is not used for this purpose.

[302] Barrett says otherwise (*op. cit.*, 257).

[303] *Fire Making Apparatus*, 536, 538.

[304] For the method of laying a fire, see below.

nearly vertical and protrudes considerably above the roof level. Ladders are never made of a log with holes cut through it, nor were the central posts notched for this purpose.[373] 342 417

The rough planks used in roofing the structure are made by splitting hollow logs with elk-horn wedges. These are driven with a hardwood club, oak, or mountain mahogany. Every man has three or four such wedges; axes are wholly unknown and stone mauls not used. Obviously such timbers cannot compare with the broad planks of the Northwest peoples, but are rather of the crude Yurok type. Procuring the planks is quite a little expedition. They go in four to six canoes, spending a whole day splitting enough for a single house. The people of the du'kwa settlements at the mouth of Williamson river, for instance, cross Klamath lake to its timbered western shore for their supply. 313 412

342
35

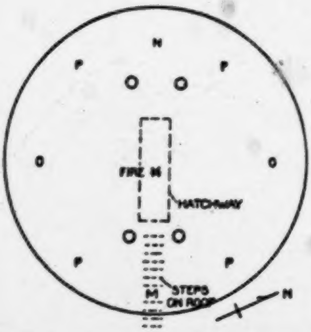

Fig. 19. Named parts of the house.

The several parts of the house interior as set off by the central posts are named. That portion at the front of the house directly under the outside steps is called stĕ'kis (*M*, fig. 19); the opposite end, tka'lŭm (*N*). These spaces are used for storage. The sides of the interior (*O*) are la'lɛstal and the corner sections (*P*) are stc!oka'ctal. These, the living quarters, are preferable to the end spaces presumably because the narrowness of the hatchway yields a greater extent of roof cover on each side, thus affording greater protection. The sleeping quarters of shamans are on the northern side of the lodges, hence I assume that this segment is always occupied by the head of the household. The shaman dances principally on this side of the central area. [756]

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[373] Compare Barrett, 244.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
576. Acorn gathering: men and women	•o	•o	+	+	-	•-	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
577. Men, youths climb trees	o	o	+	+	-	-	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[222]
578. Women gather, transport acorns	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
579. Pine-nut gathering: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
580. Men climb trees, knock down cones	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
581. Men and women gather cones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
582. Women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	
583. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
584. Men and women transport cones	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
585. Women only	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	
586. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
587. Men and women prepare pine nuts	-	.	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
588. Men only	+	.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
589. Women only	-	.	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	
590. Gathering of small seeds: women only	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	
591. Cooking: men and women	+	+	-						+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	
592. Women prepare, cook plant foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
593. Men only, cook meat	-	+	-						-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	-	
594. Women only, cook meat	-	-	+						-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	
595. Men and women cook meat	+	-	-						•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
596. Carrying water near camp: men and women	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[312]
597. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
598. Women only	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	
599. Carrying water long distance: men and women.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
600. Men only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	
601. Women only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
602. Fire making: men and women	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[372]
603. Men only	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
604. Wood gathering: "kindling" wood, men and women	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
605. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	[313]
606. Women only	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	
607. Wood gathering: large logs, men and women	-	-	+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
608. Men only	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
609. Women only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Manufacturing Activities																	
610. Baskets: women only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
611. Skin, feather blankets: men and women make	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[291]
612. Men only or chiefly	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	(-)	+	+	-	+	[237]
613. Women only or chiefly	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	
614. Nets: men only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[284]
615. Cord: men and women make	+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[283]
616. Men, generally	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
617. Skin tanning: men and women	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[281]
618. Men only	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
619. Women only	+	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
620. Clothing: men and women make	-	-	+	•+	-	•+	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	[294]
621. Men only	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	-	-	
622. Women only	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	
623. Moccasins: men and women make	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
624. Men only	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	
625. Women only	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
626. Fish traps: men make	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	[227]
627. Women	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	
628. Winter house: men and women build	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[342]
629. Men only	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
630. Summer house: men and women build	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
631. Men only	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	
632. Women only	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
767b. Earth covering partial	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	343
768. Earth covering all over	·+	+	-	·+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768a. Main entrance through roof	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
768b. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768c. Flush	+	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768d. In end of house	+	+	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
768e. Secondary entrance at ground level	-	-	-	·+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769. Sliding wooden door	·-	·-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769a. Stone paved "porch"	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769b. Steam or hot-rock heat	·+	·(+)	-	-	-	-	·-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
770. Direct-fire heat	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	·+	·+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
770a. Small, for 1-4 persons	·+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
770b. Large, for group	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	
770c. Used throughout year	·+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	·+	-	-	+	
771. Used in winter only	·+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
772. Used by both sexes	+	+	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[512]
773. Used by men only	-	-	-	·+	(+)	-	-	+	·-	·-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
774. Used by mourners only	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
775. Communally owned	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	+	-	-		

Plains-Type Sweat House

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
776. Plains-type sweat house	·+	·+	·+	·+	·R	·R	·+	(-)	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	·+	-
777. Dome shaped	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
778. Mat covered	+	+	·+	+	R	-	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
778a. Hide covered	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
779. Brush, bough covered	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	(-)	·+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
780. Small, for 1-3 persons	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
781. Steam heat	+	+	+	·+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
782. Used throughout year	-	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)		-	-	-	-	-	+	-
783. Used in summer only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		+	-	-	-	-	-	-

Sweating Customs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
784. Individual sweating	·+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	+	-	515
785. Sweating in groups of 2-4, or larger	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	-	+	
786. Women sometimes sweat with men	+	+	+	·+	·R	·+	·+	-	-	·+	+	+	·+	+	-	-	[512]
787. Women sometimes sweat separately	+	+	+	+	R	+	·+	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
788. Sweating daily or every 2-3 days	+	-	-	·+	+	R	·-	-	·+	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	
789. Sweaters sit or crouch	+	+	·+	+	+	R	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
790. Sweaters lie down	·+	·+	-	-	·+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	
791. Sweaters "dance around"	-	-	·+	·+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
792. Formalized sweat dance	-	-				-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	·(+)	[535]
793. Sweaters kneel	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
794. All men sleep in sweat house occasionally	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	·+	+	-	-	[513]
795. Male mourners sleep in sweat house	·+	·+		-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
796. Unmarried old men sleep, eat in sweat house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	·+	·-	-	+	
797. Men gamble in sweat house	-	-	-	·-	-	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	-	·-	·-	
798. Men work (handicrafts) in sweat house	-	-	+	-	-	·+	·+	·-	-	+	+	+	·+	-	·-	·-	
799. Youths gather fuel for sweating	-	-		+		·+		+	-	+	+	+	+	·-	-	·-	
800. Office of fire maker	-	·-	·+	·+	-	-	-	+	·+	·R	-	.	·+	+	·+	·+	[312]
801. Competitive sweat groups	-	-	-	·+	-	·-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	[372]
802. All sweators sing	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	[533]
803. 1 man sings for group	-	-				-	-	·(+)	·+	·+	-	+	·+	-	-	-	
804. Sweat for success in hunting	+	·+	·+	·+	+	-	+	-	·+	·+	-	+	.	-	-	-	[224]
805. Sweat for success in gambling	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	[525]
806. Sweat for general good luck	+	+		+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	[777]
807. Sweat as cure for disease	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	·+	-	-	.	+	+	-	
808. Scarify selves, let blood drip on hot rocks	-	+	+	·+				-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[757]
809. Sweat to cleanse body	-	-	+	+		+	·+	-	·+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	[304]

[Klamath Reservation]

Families

K
M
eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

K
M
When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores.
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [412]
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
K
M
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women,
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313] •
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
K
M
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

K
M
When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [354]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
K
M
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
K
M
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children
sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up
the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel,
the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's
child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their
marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral
and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

K
M
At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample,
221
756
796

ill-ventilated, native houses,"[10] in favor of log and frame dwell- 657*
ings. The advantages of the new structures were not evident to 177
the Indians,[11] and the labor required to build them was consider- 342
able. A small sawmill was set up in 1870, but at first its output 657*
was diverted primarily to Agency buildings. Somehow, the lum- 177
ber even after that time did not seem to go for housing. 313 •

> The completion of a sawmill [declares the roseate prose of A. B. Meacham, superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon] has worked a great reformation, inspiring them to extraordinary exertion to amass property of various kinds. . . . They have donned the white man's costume, taken the ax, cross-cut saw, and hauled to the mill a half-million feet of timber, and today are lumber merchants with stock in trade constantly on hand, evincing shrewdness and business integrity that makes an agent's heart strong to work with and for them."[12]

The following year, 1872, Agent L. S. Dyar was at length able 657*
to report that "four good frame houses have been built for the 177
Indians, and two more [are] well under way."[13] They were built 342
for the leading men: for Chiloquin, Francis, Hunter Wilson,
Henry Blow, "Sergeant" Morgan, the daughter of Lileks, and
Link River Jack. On the Upper End, the commissary in charge
of the subagency urged, "During the ensuing two or three months
the houses promised Chiefs Barcley, Ben and Chocktoosh a year
ago should be built. . . ."[14] These houses were small, one-room [352]
frame structures, vulnerable to the winter cold, but furnished
with a bed, table, and four chairs.

Among the Indian advocates of the new dwellings were such men as Dave Hill and later Jesse Kirk, who, as elderly Indians today recall, used to ride around among their people counseling, "You've got to quit the old ways, change your houses, live like white people." They met opposition. Chief Lilu declined to leave his earth lodge for the house the government had built for him. As late as 1891, Agent D. W. Matthews noted that there was still "an occasional wik-e-up, which some of the aged prefer."[15]

> An Agent [recounted an elderly Indian of this time] used to go around from place to place and told the Indians that they must make homes for themselves of rough lumber, and get away from the wikiup. I heard him tell my father. My father said, "All right, if I can get the lumber." An old carpenter helped my father make the rough house. He must have been educated be-

Linus Nickerson, who had formerly been superintendent of farming, reported some two thousand head of cattle upon the reservation. Including the Agency herd, the average was something less than two head of cattle per tribal member. He added, "Some of the Indians are already raising beef cattle for the market. With the income they are able to supply their families with flour, sugar, coffee, etc." He claimed ten times that number could be carried by the reservation, a total that could be attained in five years, after which the tribe would become entirely self-supporting.[23] A severe winterkill next year, which destroyed seventy-five per cent of the cattle and forty per cent of the horses staggered his hopes.[24] 657* 231 177

Despite such checks, however, the stock-raising program slowly recovered. With issues of yearlings (300 head in 1881)[25] and with natural increase, the herds grew. As they did, the farming program turned increasingly toward producing the hay needed for winter feed. Even blighted grain could be salvaged as hay. By 1883, Nickerson could report, "several large ranches,"[26] and that year instituted the practice of buying Agency beef [439] from the Indians. Buyers from San Francisco were at Yainax, he reported, and were offering $40.00 a head for the fifty fine animals on sale there.[27] Under the impetus of this demand, Nickerson reported, "a considerable number of enterprising Indian families are moving to [Yainax] and taking up fencing stock ranches. In two or three years, about one half of the population on the reservation will have settled there."[28]

By 1886, Agent Emery reported 1,485 head of cattle, 3,640 head of horses, 340 "half-breeds" (mules) and 195 hogs. The value set by the Indians on horses, together with a higher survival rate, led to an increase in ponies which was economically undesirable and Emery counseled the Indians to sell their ponies and buy cattle.[29] The quality of stock was a recurrent concern, and later Agents took steps to improve the breeds.

LOGGING

From the first, the Klamath demonstrated an eagerness to turn new opportunities to advantage, coupled with an independence that sometimes strained administrative patience. When the sawmill was completed in 1870, they promptly began to haul 657* 177 313

*657 sawlogs in wagons issued to the head chief for this purpose.[30]
177 The lumber was earmarked for constructing Indian dwellings,
• 313 with twenty per cent (at least in later times) set aside as a milling
fee. In 1871, the Agent, requiring lumber to complete the grist mill, proposed to buy sawlogs from the Indians, the money to be invested in livestock, to be their individual property but to be kept in the Agency herd. "Probably one half of the logs," he added, "belong to the chief and I want him to lead off in buying stock instead of spending thier [sic] money."[31]

*657 By 1873, Dyar reported the Klamath were selling lumber to
177 Fort Klamath and other parties.[32] This trade soon became lucra-
313 tive, and when the elimination of employee subsistence allowance
439 threatened to bring on the miller's resignation, the Indians decided to pay him the extra amount themselves.[33]

*657 Two years later, however, the Commissioner called Dyar's
*648 attention to a Supreme Court ruling of 1873, which held that
timber, like the land it grew upon, remained in trust status. Trees
177 cut incidental to the clearing of the land might be sold; but if
313 cut for sale the timber became the property of the United
439 States.[34] From time to time, Agents encountered this ruling anew. Thus E. M. Marble, Acting Commissioner, pointed out in 1881 that, while Indians might hire out to cut timber, they had no property claim in the reservation stands.[35] The Indians then proposed to cut and sell dead and fallen timber, which was permitted. However, they also felled green timber and then requested permission to raft it down and sell it at a sawmill near Linkville.[36] Under the double guise of felling sawlogs for housing and cutting dead and fallen timber, a considerable illicit traffic went on with outside parties. Indians would resort to such devices as buying supplies from whites who wanted lumber and then proposing to pay the bill with lumber. The whites involved included one who had been carpenter at the Agency, but all stoutly avowed they did not know it was contrary to law. The Indians engaged in the venture numbered some of the most enterprising men, including at least three chiefs.[37] With the rise of towns around the reservation, the demand grew until in 1896 the sale of lumber to whites was estimated to exceed a quarter-million board feet, three-fourths of it cut from green timber.[38]

For the Klamath, their operations in the timber market were

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more than an exercise in resourcefulness and industry: they provided experience and allies in evading what must have seemed a senseless legal prohibition.

Employment

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Other employment supplied the Indians with cash to purchase items for which they were acquiring a taste. At the Agency, Lindsay Applegate took the lead by hiring laborers for rations of shorts (flour),[39] and from that time on Indians filled a variety of subordinate offices, on the farm and roads, as interpreters, police, artisans and, later, in the schools.

Early in the history of the reservation, they began to work off the reservation for outside parties, John Meacham, following the directions of his brother, the superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon, stipulated that the Klamath were to work four days on the reservation roads before expecting a pass to leave the reservation.[40] By 1877, Dyar was reporting that "the Indians make rails, chop wood off the reservation for citizens, some thirty or forty having been thus engaged."[41] They were soon drawn into haying and other harvest activities.

Among those who befriended them was "Sikes Worden, Post Trader at the Post, who kindly refuses to employ any but Indians for work which they can do. He will thus reimburse the Indian wood choppers, hay makers, etc. from a thousand to twelve hundred dollars per year."[42] According to figures given elsewhere, a woodcutter might receive $45.00 to $60.00 for thirty to forty cords of wood, while summer haying and harvest work might bring between $50.00 and $200.00 apiece.[43] By 1888, fully one hundred Indians were working as summer farmhands.[44]

Freighting

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[439]

Freighting was another major enterprise for the Indians. When Huntington had brought the first annuity goods down from The Dalles in the fall of 1867, young O. C. Applegate had led his "ax and rifle company," whose number included seven chiefs, to meet it.[45] Several years later, when they had accumulated money from odd work, the Klamath made their way down to Jacksonville and Ashland, some one hundred miles distant, and bought flour at a little over one-third the price it would cost at

*657 Agents shows that they consistently tended to undervalue the
177 contribution made by native foods to the Klamath economy. From
178 the first statistical entry in 1882, when they are estimated to
262 contribute forty per cent of the food supply, native foods steadily decline in the records, leveling off from 1888 to 1893 at approximately twenty per cent, and, after a spirited fluctuation from then to 1901, rising slowly to ten per cent in 1904. That dependency upon these foods declined from total to partial reliance is admissible. O. C. Applegate, while Superintendent, reported that by the turn of the century some of the food resources had begun to dwindle under intensive use. He found the fish less abundant than in the halcyon days of the first Agent, and observed that both water fowl and prairie chickens had been overhunted.[71]

While conceding the decline, a critic may well find fault with the bland assessment of Elisha Applegate a decade earlier (1891) that native food quests were then "indulged in more as incidents and to add variety of life than as occupations to be seriously depended upon."[72] The year after Applegate made his report, one graduate of the Indian school, upon returning home, saw things in a different light. "Whenever I got job, I pitched hay. I did fishing and hunting, and I had plenty to eat all the time . . . lots of deer meat, and I used to pick wokas too."[73] If this was an indulgence, it was in sheer survival.

The sources of error are not hard to find. Administrators could form only the most general opinion of the contributions made by native foods, and must have tended to judge from the examples provided by Indian employees immediately at hand and from the more acculturated Indians. Moreover, their reports were in part designed to illustrate the progress which their charges had made away from their former customs. Accordingly, they understated the degree to which native economic activities conditioned the acceptance of new modes of earning a livelihood and supplemented those which had been taken up.

*657 Consider, by way of example, the pursuits which in the 1880's
177 could be combined according to taste, need, and season.

178 Lumbering and logging were winter and spring enterprises,
221 with intermittent logging taking place in the fall. Labor for the
433 contractor at the Fort and for settlers ran from spring through
• [313]
[464]
[489]

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fall; while freighting, limited by road conditions, had the same 177 178
range of seasons. 221

For the farmer, splitting rails and fencing started in the winter 433
and ranged toward spring, as did the clearing of ground. Plow- [464]
ing and sowing of grain might start in March, while vegetable [489]
gardens were not planted before May or June. Harvesting and [241]
haying took place in late summer and threshing in the fall.

The stockman rounded up and branded his cattle at first in the [231]
fall and later in the spring. He sold his beef in the fall, then drove his herd to winter in the upper valley of the Sprague.

Those who relied upon aboriginal foods fished in the late winter and early spring, dug roots or hunted antelope and mule deer in late spring, gathered wokas, wild fruits and berries in the fall, hunted in the Cascades in the fall, and trapped for furs
in the winter. 657*

Beyond this lay the domestic cycle. Homes were built or re- 221
paired in the spring and fall, supplies were bought in the fall, 342
and fuel was gathered in the fall and winter. 356

This summary, bald as it is, will illustrate the fact that many 313 •
more ventures were now open to the enterprising, as well as a 657*
wider range of relationships. It was possible to draw from 433
several cycles activities that were seasonally compatible. Thus, 464
when the harvests were in, fully one-half to two-thirds of the 177
men might leave the reservation on passes to work for whites, 178
taking their families with them.[74] Frequent crop failures drove many to seek outside employment to provide for the coming winter. Because new tastes had given rise to new needs, many at this time forsook those traditional pursuits that conflicted with more lucrative employment. Nor did money alone lie at the root of those preferences. Work for white settlers and freighting provided variety and seasonal mobility, opportunities to meet people, to change scenery, and to escape on occasion beyond the rule (however benevolent in intent) of the Agent.

The new opportunities were open primarily to men, consonant 657*
with the roles of the sexes in nineteenth-century rural America. 433
For them the new system, aside from a certain administrative 177
favoritism, provided an equal chance for advancement. It is no 178
accident that a number of the earliest employees of the Agency [567]
were Pit River Indians, of whom it was later said: ". . . as a

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

TEN

[P.125]

The Changing Environs

THE ISOLATION OF THE RESERVATION HAD NEVER BEEN MORE THAN A relative condition. From early days the soldiers at Fort Klamath, the settlers on Wood River and the Upper Sprague, together with the growing towns of Linkville and Lakeview, made its seclusion far less than absolute. A policy that permitted the freighting runs to Jacksonville and Ashland or the pass system by which perhaps three-fourths of the men and their families were permitted to leave the reservation for as long as four months to work for whites: these greatly diminished the policy controls exercised by the Agent. 657* 648* [361] [166] [464]

In the period ahead, however, boundaries were to be further dissolved. In 1882 Nickerson could declare, "This reservation contains as many inhabitants to the square mile as Lake County or Eastern Oregon."[2] Homesteaders were even then filling up the land, and the rate accelerated as Linkville—become Klamath Falls—and Lakeview responded to the market and communication needs of the region. When the Southern Pacific railroad reached Klamath Falls in 1909, the resource relationships in the Klamath Basin changed radically. Reservation timber, previously of little commercial value, suddenly possessed great worth and the mills in Klamath Falls and neighboring communities soon became reliant upon it. The Oregon, Central, and Eastern railroad ran up the Sprague River Valley, while by 1911 the Southern Pacific had pushed north across the western face of the reservation to Kirk. In 1923 work was resumed on the latter line to complete the Natron Cutoff from the Willamette Valley; three years later it was completed. Thereafter, the Lower End lay on a main line. [161] [313]

Thus, to the cattlemen and sheepmen operating on the reservation under grazing leases were added railway gangs, then [563]

six spayed heifers, and of course they desire to dispose of them."[74] 648* 657* 231

Stock raising, administrators agreed, was the industry best suited to the reservation and to the Indian. Several persons, among them Henry Jackson, had accumulated large herds, and it was thought that their example and a favorable administrative climate would encourage others to take it up. With the issuance of the treaty stock, the total of Indian-owned cattle had been raised to 11,000. They were, however, unequally distributed, for [184] while some of the Indians possessed herds described as "good-sized," others had only the four head issued.[75]

A report on 205 school graduates practicing stock raising in 1910 characterizes 28 as successful, 133 as fairly successful, 43 as failures, and 1 as a total failure. Although no criteria are given, allusions to these individuals in correspondence, together with the evaluations of modern informants tend to corroborate their placement in the list. Is should not be surprising that a number of Agency employees appear among the successful, and that several troublemakers were among the failures. Perhaps significantly, two tribal leaders of the time, Jefferson Riddle and Clayton Kirk, were assigned to the latter group. Some men who had previously been successful, in other endeavors were not making a go of stock raising. Thus Stonewall Jackson, who had formerly done well in raising potatoes in the Modoc Point area,[76] was now listed as unsuccessful as a stock raiser.

A fair degree of success did not always, however, imply an 648* equal competence at handling money; for at least one man so 657* listed was at that time being rationed in funds.[77] There is no 434 clear correlation between the number of interbreeds and the degree of success in ranching.[78] It might be added that two years before 58 men had been given permission to manage their own allotments. Of them, the 1910 report lists 15 as successful, 30 as fairly successful, and 5 as failures. Eight do not appear on the 1910 list.[79] The earlier action, falling selectively on those deemed more qualified, shows that administrative action did recognize individual ability.

Nonetheless, with the development, beginning in 1913, of a [313]• lumber industry exploiting tribal timber and providing per

*648 capitas that far exceeded those previously received from tribal
*657 funds, the incentives of ranching declined. Vainly did C. H.
434 Asbury claim that the new giant was no more than a "temporary
• 313 industry" that would serve to finance stock raising.[80] When a
*648 special appropriation in 1919 permitted a large number of cattle
*657 to be issued to the Indians, many of them were promptly sold
434 for cash.[81] By 1922 the livestock industry was proclaimed "almost
231 bankrupt," and the error was acknowledged of having
423 broadcast the cattle issues without recognizing that not everyone had either the inclination or the ability for ranching. By then,
432 allottees had disposed of valuable haylands and grazing tracts in Sycan Marsh, the valleys of the Williamson, Sprague, and Wood rivers, and at Modoc Point. Klamath Marsh tracts were soon to follow.[82] Wrote Superintendent L. D. Arnold in 1926:

> I have been advised by a number of men who have lived among these Indians for many years that at one time they were very progressive and were engaged successfully in the stock business. Practically all of the Indians at that time lived on their allotments, did considerable farming, harvested many thousands of tons of hay, and owned many thousand head of cattle. They were industrious and were considered capable of handling stock in an efficient manner. During recent years there has been a general decline industrially among them. They have sold their cattle; they have left their allotments; many of them are now not engaged in any profitable work. As a matter of fact I do not believe that there are one thousand head of cattle owned by Indians on this reservation at the present time. Last year the most prominent Indian stockman sold almost his entire herd for about $35,000—the last of the Indians who were formerly quite prosperous.[83]

With the sale of their haylands, the source of their winter feed, the Indians were relinquishing "the very foundation of the stock industry." The older Indians, the mainstay of the industry, had for the most part disposed of their stock and lands, while their juniors showed no inclination for ranching. Arnold did not foresee an encouraging future.[84] The issuance of drought cattle in 1935 was an unavailing attempt to revive the industry.[85]

*648 The fate of irrigation farming is typical in many ways of several
*657 Agency programs. As early as 1884, Nickerson had advocated
312 constructing an irrigation ditch to water some 4,000 acres and
653 provide support for a settlement of 80 to 100 Indian families.[86]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 at least momentarily, through the receipt of pro rata shares of
*657 the tribal fund, from the lease and sale of allotments, from
434 grazing leases upon tribal lands, and from the per capita dividends from tribal timber. The last-named source of income produced the deepest impression upon reservation life.

*648 When allotting was under way at Klamath, the fate of the
*657 "surplus" lands had been under debate. Among the suggestions
423 was the plan proposed by Allotting Agent Charles E. Worden,
• 313 which called for setting aside 100,000 acres of timberland for the common use of the Indians. He recommended that the cutting of green timber be prohibited on this tract since "if protected it will be a source of great revenue, as it is so located along streams that it can be floated to market without great cost, and will soon be eagerly sought."[95] By 1903, a large number of timber claims has been taken up outside the reservation and the value of the reservation stands was being realized.[96] The fact that the Booth-Kelly Lumber Company had taken over the Military Road claims from the California and Oregon Land Company testified clearly to their worth.[97]

When the Southern Pacific Railroad reached Klamath Falls in 1909 and within the next two years moved northward across the reservation to Kirk, tribal stands were opened up. Cutting on allotted tracts began in 1911. The next year, Supt. Edson Watson proposed the exploitation of tribal timber, arguing that it would provide work for the Indians.[98] In 1913, while two companies were logging on allotted lands, the first sale of tribal timber was made. Additional staff was needed to handle the heavy draft of sales and heirship cases,[99] and from 1912 on the number sharply increased. By 1947, for example, 38 members of the 139 Agency employees were in the forestry and grazing division.[100] Watson recommended that the reservation timber be cut on a sustained yield basis in a fifty- to one hundred-year cycle. He advocated large sales of stumpage, as involving a lower proportionate cost of supervision. Small concerns, he contended, were unreliable.[101] Reservation timber was big business.

*648 Indian participation in this growing industry, contrary to the
*657 anticipation voiced by Watson, was minor. There was never a
313 time when more than a handful held jobs in woods camp or mill.
[464] By 1915, when most of them had exhausted their $240 pro rata
[434]

share of the principal from the tribal fund, the per capitas, 648*
begun two years before, were flowing in from timber sales. By 657*
1926 they were $500 annually, and four years later had risen to 434
$700. Though they thereafter declined slightly, they rose again to 313
a figure in excess of $800. Acess to these funds gave the Indians a considerable measure of economic independence. A family of four, at the 1926 figure, received $2,000 from timber receipts alone, an income sufficient to provide for all their needs or to indulge some of their luxury cravings. Where "money talked," it afforded access to many areas previously closed. Having money gave at least partial emancipation from Agency surveillance.

Indeed, from the days of allotment on, the growth of a money 648* 657*
economy upon the reservation had been an emergent theme. 434
Amounts of money that Indians had been able to secure prior to 452
that time, though important in their economy, had not given them the same degree of independence as was later to be theirs. After allotment, anticipation of income from leasing and from other
sources increased the volume of purchases on credit. To his [454]
knowledge, Emery reported in 1897, no Indian had funds deposited with the Agent or with any bank, firm, or person.[102] Although in the next few years O. C. Applegate transmitted checks drawn by a number of Indians to cover debts they had incurred, the practice was less a payment from accumulated savings than a convenience in handling money. What the correspondence strikingly shows was the practice of buying on expectation. Then as now risks were involved, and many individuals in the parlance of the day were rather difficult to "bring to time." That difficulty had sometimes to be surmounted by asking local men of property, such as Henry Jackson, to stand behind an impecunious would-be customer. At times the Agent exerted moral pressure upon a delinquent debtor, but under some conditions he declined to serve as collection agent. Repossession of property for nonpayment often ran against the jurisdictional barrier of the reservation line.

Along with access to individual real property went the transla- 648*
tion of traditional relationships into a more pecuniary idiom. Such 657*
tribal members as Robert Wilson and his wife, William Crawford, 178
and Jesse Kirk purchased insurance policies.[103] A number of 571 [171]
Indians hired farmhands, both white and Indian, instead of draw- [464]
ing exclusively or even principally upon kinsmen.

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ing exclusively or even principally upon kinsmen. A responsible man sometimes was appointed guardian of an estate, as was William Crawford in the case of the minor, Frederick Schonchin.[104] Indians sometimes volunteered to assume a somewhat analogous relationship even for nonkin. Thus William Ball, a prosperous interbreed, proposed to feed, clothe, and bury an aged and destitute couple from the Warm Springs reservation, "providing he can get their allotments to use while they live, and become the actual owner of their lands after death."[105] As interpersonal relations became increasingly concerned with the manipulation of property, litigation in the tribal court gained volume and acerbity.[106]

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The Board of Indian Commissioners had foreseen that undivided tribal funds might perpetuate the "Indian problem" that allotment had been designed to solve, and they advocated breaking them up.[107] Among the Klamath were a number of persons, stemming principally from the more acculturated members, who shared the same sentiments toward unallotted lands. Paralleling the stress upon individual pecuniary interests, they developed what may be termed claims against the tribal equity. In one instance, Celia DuFault, sister-in-law of William Crawford, and a nonresident member, claimed part of the Klamath school farm as her allotment;[108] in another, the returned Modoc, Charles S. Hood, made inquiries concerning the Yainax school farm with an eye, it was alleged, to a similar allotment for himself and his children.[109]

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These efforts must be viewed in the context of corresponding measures on the part of whites. The conflicting claims and suits had delayed the completion of allotment, and hence the sale of surplus lands, into a time when it became obvious that the tribal timber possessed great value. The government then decided that the surplus lands would be retained and the timber exploited for the tribal benefit. There were various plans, however, to contest the retention on an undivided tribal equity. In 1909, the eight-man tribal council requested that a bill be prepared "giving the Klamath Allottees an additional 160 acres of timber land on this reservation; and that this be done at once in order that the surplus lands may then be disposed of otherwise."[110]

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Meanwhile, O. C. Applegate had remarked favorably upon a

reserved for Indian cattlemen was ample, and that indeed the 648*
tribe was losing between $6,000 and $8,000 a year on land withheld 657*
for their use but not grazed. "Even this, he went on to say, 423
"did not seem to satisfy a number of Indians, and as a result the 427
tribal council recently [1926], passed a resolution to close the 563
range next year." He recommended that the Bureau disapprove 311
the tribal action.[122] During the remainder of his tenure, the issue of leasing the tribal range recurred at least twice more; and it arose from time to time to plague his successors.[123]

The desire to convert equal access to tribal resources into a pro 648*
rata share of rentals found a counterpart in such measures as 657*
those involving tribally supported programs for lumber. The lumber 313
mills operated for years by the Agency had been partially intended to supply materials for building houses and barns, but by 1908 only the mill at Yainax remained, and the Indians were no longer bringing in enough logs to keep the sawyer busy.[124]

With the establishment of sawmills on the reservation, the government mill drew less and less traffic. It was moved to a new location in 1927, but although there was no commercial sawmill within twenty miles, business was not measurably improved.[125] By 1930 it functioned only a short period each year for those members who wished to haul their own logs and pay twenty per cent of the lumber to defray milling expenses. Reported Arnold:

> During the past two years a few disgruntled Indians who do not avail themselves of the opportunity of obtaining lumber through their own efforts have objected to its operation on the theory that is being operated at the expense of the tribe for the benefit of a few of the Indians. Due to this criticism, the future of the sawmill is uncertain.

Soon thereafter the mill was closed.[126]

These were some of the expectations among the Indians created 648*
by increasing contact with a free-enterprise system. Individuals 657*
came to see that tribal membership entailed not only the restric- 619
tions imposed by Agency regulation but pecuniary returns as well. [177]
Those members dwelling off the reservation discovered that they could realize their pro rata share of tribal income without being subjected to supervision in expending it. Moreover, insofar as the Superintendent was willing and able to take decisions into

*648 history. Beatty, in the upper valley of the Sprague, lies between
*657 the town of Sprague River, some fourteen miles below it, and
184 Bly, roughly the same distance away over the eastern boundary
361 of the reservation. It drew some of its population from Yainax,
when that subagency was closed, as well as from Paiute Camp
[797] to the east. Beatty's nucleus had been the Methodist mission and
store, to which other establishments presently were added, and
houses began to be built about them. White ranchers have
[563] moved in to work the allotted land they bought or rented, usually
bringing their families with them. Others, white, Indian—using
that term for non-Klamath—and Negro, have married tribal
members.

(871) By 1959, however, when the community was studied,[8] it was
in a sharp decline: for in the 1940's the local school had been
[797] closed in a consolidation with the one at Bly; the Methodist
[313] mission had been reduced to an adjunct of the principal mission
on Williamson River, at the Lower End; and the lumber mill
at Sprague River had ceased operations. The community had
[162] survived, though on a greatly reduced scale, with a population
totaling 136 persons, 105 of them tribal members, prevailingly of
Modoc and Paiute derivation, 5 Indians from other reservations,
25 whites, and 1 Negro.

Chiloquin, located at the confluence of the Sprague and Williamson rivers, was the largest community on the reservation, with a population then almost seven times that of Beatty.[9] A mill and market town which burgeoned when tribal timber was opened by the advent of the railroad, Chiloquin was incorporated as a city in 1926 and soon afterward boasted a population, including adjacent woods camps, of approximately two thousand. In its heyday, when along with Modoc Point, Braymill, and Sprague River it pulsed with activity, Chiloquin was a lusty and sometimes rowdy city, enjoying the wicked sobriquet of "The Little Chicago of the West." Below the surface was a structure which provided an institutional extension of American civic life elsewhere. A bank, a newspaper, telephone company, hotels and rooming houses, schools and churches, a boxing association and occasional Chatauqua, moving picture house, taxi company, Ladies' Community Club, Commerce Club, Masons and V.F.W., lawyers, dentists, and doctors: all these shared space with dancehalls, card rooms, bootleggers, pimps, and prostitutes.

STONE IMPLEMENTS.

412 Several forms of stone implements are quite commonly found
[262] among the Klamath. Most characteristic of these is the two-horned muller (pl. 21, fig. 2), used with the flat, very thin metate
[324] in grinding wokas, the chief food of the region. The process of grinding with these implements is shown in pl. 12, fig. 1. The muller is held so that the horns or ears point from the operator and the grinding is done on the stroke of the muller from the operator, the stroke toward the operator being very light indeed.
[252] A second form of muller, described by informants, but not now in use, has a loop instead of the two horns. No special ceremonial or religious significance seems to be attached to either of these forms. Another, very small metate and a small grinding stone or muller (pl. 21, fig. 1) are employed in the grinding of certain seeds which are parched and used as food. The motion in grinding with the small muller is circular, not backward and forward as in the case of the larger one. These small milling implements are also used by girls as playthings in the grinding of wokas and other seeds.

Small mortars and pestles are quite commonly used at the present time and are still made by the people of this region. They are used chiefly by old people whose teeth are poor, for grinding dried fish and meat, though they are also employed in grinding seeds. The pestles used with these mortars are more or less crude. Those shown in pl. 21, figs. 3 and 4 are exceptionally well fashioned. A typical mortar is shown in fig. 6 of the same plate.

Another special implement of stone is the maul (pl. 21, fig. 8). This, unlike the pestle, is always made with a decided conical form. It varies up to five inches or so in diameter, and is from
[313] six to perhaps ten inches in length. It was used in driving the elkhorn and mountain-mahogany wedges which were employed in splitting trees, particularly for canoe making, as has been
[178] already described. Neither the wedge nor any other elkhorn implement is now to be found in this region. Grooved sinkers
227 of elliptical or triangular form are used on the gill net. One of these triangular sinkers is shown in pl. 21, fig. 7.

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common 101
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 177
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological [184]
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy, [224]
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly 648
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties:
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an artificial [829]
construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet 178
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-residence
with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been transferred 648
to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural [241]
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber industry [511]
has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

648 Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation,
by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically,
144 less than one-half "Indian," and less than one-sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities
were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
[786] 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
[181] Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided in-
[556] creased opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
[436] had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal mem-
[434] bers, as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and for-
[251] feited bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

175 the exclusive right of taking fish and gathering edible roots, seeds, and
648 berries within the reservation. Provision is made by which the right of
657 way for public roads and railroads across said reservation is reserved to
citizens of the United States.

Article 2. As a payment for the ceded lands the Indians shall receive $8,000 per annum for a period of five years, $5,000 per annum for the next five years, and the sum of $3,000 per annum for the five years next succeeding.

Article 3 provides for the payment of $35,000 for removing the Indians to the reservation, subsisting them during the first year, and providing them with clothing, teams, tools, seeds, etc.

313 Articles 4 and 5 provide for the establishment of a saw-mill, a flouring-
256 mill, a manual-labor school, and hospital buildings, all to be maintained
874 and supplied with working material at the expense of the United States for
783 the period of twenty years. Employés for running these establishments
shall be paid and housed by the Government also.

423 Article 6 reserves the right to the Government to provide each Indian family with lands in severalty to the extent of forty to one hundred and twenty acres, and to guarantee possession to them. Indians are not allowed to alienate these lands.

Article 9. The Indians acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and pledge themselves to be friendly with all citizens thereof, to commit no depredations upon the persons or property of said citizens, and to refrain from carrying on any war upon other Indian tribes.

273 Article 10 prohibits the sale and use of liquors upon the Reservation, and Article 11 permits the Government to locate other Indian tribes thereon, the parties to this treaty not losing any rights thereby.

The treaty was proclaimed February 17, 1870.

Like most of the treaties concluded between the United States Government and the Indian tribes, this compact was made much more to the advantage of the white man than of his red brother. Not only were the stipulated annuities rather small for a body of Indians, which was then considered to number about two thousand people, but these annuities were

648 1888 and 500 broken by them; 10,000 acres were inclosed by fences.
657 The crops of 1888 amounted to 8,000 bushels of wheat, 4,000 of oats and
241 barley, 1,000 bushels of vegetables, 3,000 tons of hay; and 500 pounds of
231 butter were manufactured. Of lumber 100,000 feet were sawed. The
313 Indians transported with their own teams 500 tons of freight, and thereby
434 earned $1,500. The two boarding-schools, one at the Klamath Agency and the other at Yáneks, in the same year boarded 215 pupils at a cost to the Government of $18,764—about $10.40 a month per capita.

311 The number of acres contained within the Klamath Reservation is 1,056,000, and of these only about 20,000 acres are considered to be tillable land. The rest is occupied by woods, marshes, rocks, and other hindrances to cultivation.

797 The school and church interests are in the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which also has a vote in the appointment of the United States agent.

657 The statistics of population have furnished reliable data only from the
161 time when annuities were first distributed among these Indians. This ne-
162 cessitated an annual count of each family, giving the number of the individuals belonging to each. One of these was made during my presence on the reserve on October 30, 1877, before the winter supplies were dealt out to the tribe. The summary is as follows:

David Hill, chief, at Agency and on Williamson River	**225**
P'lú, head chief, at the bridge, Williamson River	**122**
Long John, chief	**103**
Jack, chief	**92**
Lilo, chief	**23**
Total	**565**

The census taken in the Sprague River Valley, Yáneks subagency, furnished the following figures, Klamath Lake Indians and Modocs being indiscriminately included:

Littlejohn, chief	**14**
Skóntchish, chief	**18**
Modoc Johnson, head chief	**71**
Ben, chief	**61**
Brown, chief	**30**
Total	**194**

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

K 301 length is "a little too much." The unit, according to one informant, is the length of the extended left arm to the upper end of the humerus, or across the chest in addition to the point of the right shoulder. The other gave the unit as a doubled string from the extended left hand K [436] to the sternum; that is, a fathom. One thing is clear, that there is no great concern for dentalia as money, as among the lower Klamath tribes. The strings are not standardized either as to length or size of the individual shells. Long dentalia are more valuable than the short, but my informants never knew anyone to argue over the precise length of a shell. Both men agreed that the several kinds of beads, or at least the best, are not worked by the Klamath, but come from the K [721] [439] south. They are either found in raided Achomawi-Atsugewi camps or are traded from these people or possibly the Shasta. Both were certain that the shells are not obtained from the north. This is something of a puzzle, because the Columbia river people have dentalia and [177] [174] use them extensively in trade. Furthermore, the ultimate point of origin of the shells is the coast of Washington and British Columbia. The discrepancy in the statement is further accentuated by the Yurok statement that the shells came to them both along the coast and down the Klamath river.[699]

K [789] Finger rings are not made, nor bracelets, except for young children. The cast skin of a water snake is wrapped around their wrists so that they will swim well.

K 302 [756] [822] Face painting is general, a daily usage, not confined to gala events, but more obvious at that time. The shaman's body is painted red during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use, white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white. I have pointed out elsewhere[700] that red paint is associated with warfare by the Basin tribes and their Californian and Arizonan neighbors. Here it may be added that black is used by Plains warriors. At dances white pigment, found along the creek banks, is smeared on the palms which are then pressed on the face or on a woman's smooth hair to K [317] form patterns. Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few localities in the mountains near Crater lake. The Northern Paiute NP [317] are said to have quantities of it, however.

K 751 In winter women smear their faces, hands, and arms with a mixture of charcoal and pitch, or deer grease, or of pitch and grease

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[699] Kroeber, Handbook, 22.

[700] Havasupai Ethnography, 207.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

313 fire built in the notch quickly eats into the dry heart wood but will
372 not spread in the green wood. Sometimes a lazy man will attempt
to cut off the dry top of a standing tree by cutting all around with
the horn pick. This is attended with considerable danger, since the
top may drop straight down on the workman perched in the branches.

412 Stone axes and adzes are unknown, although Barrett speaks of
114 adzing the canoe.[298] In their place, every man had several elk-horn
picks (to'kĕ) and hardwood mauls. The picks are the unworked tines
412 of elk antlers, not made wedge shape. These are cut off by laying a
fire at the appropriate spot on the antler. Yew wedges are not
321 known. The maul is only a knotty club of oak or mountain mahogany;
[372] a knot with the limb attached. Barrett describes a conical stone maul,
but I was not told of this.[299]

[114] The fire drill is the familiar stick rotated between the palms on a
wooden hearth, so that the flowing wood dust falls on the tinder. The
372 wood selected for the drill (slī'kwis) is preferably the dry tip (ha'bɛ)
of the bull pine; alternatively a willow or sage-brush branch is used.
[114] It is two feet long, a half inch diameter. Coville was told that "for
a twirling stick a dry, dead twig of yellow pine, about 6 mm. (one-fourth inch) in diameter, seasoned and somewhat softened by the
weather, is often employed; but the best stick is made of sage-brush,
Artemisia tridentata."[300] The hearth (k'ts!īk) is of indifferent wood,
commonly a paddle blade, but the best wood[301] for the purpose is
cedar (wo'lwŭms). The size and shape of the hearth is not standardized, and curiously it lacks pits for the drill to rotate in[302] and notches
to carry the wood dust to the tinder. The tinder is black sage-brush
bark. Although one of my informants denied the use of the compound drill it was described by another and a specimen is figured by
Hough.[303] Such a drill has a willow-root point, three inches long,
spliced to a shaft of any sort. While this suggests the possible use
of a cane arrow and foreshaft as a makeshift drill, I was told this
was not used. Men carry the drill in the quiver, women in the cradle.
They coax the drill while twirling it, "I want to kill all kinds of
animals, to put them in the fire to cook, when I get flame."[304]

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[298] P. 247.

[299] P. 252.

[300] Notes, 88, 105.

[301] Confirmed by Coville, who states that the bark is not used for this purpose.

[302] Barrett says otherwise (*op. cit.*, 257).

[303] Fire Making Apparatus, 536, 538.

[304] For the method of laying a fire, see below.

A bit of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire about the village but 372
for an overnight journey a woman carries a spark in a long fuse. This is of black sage-brush bark, twisted into a rope thirty inches long and bound about at intervals.[805]

Knives are fashioned from stone blades or shells. These river 412
shells (ĕndj!ĕ'tc) are not ground to an edge but used as they are.
Forms ranging in size from arrowheads to large lance blades are 321
chipped from obsidian, flint, and similar stones. So far as I am 324
aware these are never ground into shape. Those intended for knives are sometimes wrapped around the butt to provide a handle.[806] Stone knives are intended for butchering rather than woodworking. Blades never figured in the display of wealth, as among the Yurok. Barrett figures a bone knife used for separating the inner and outer bark of pine.[807]

Sewing is done with awl and sinew. The awl (sŏ'ķtᴇ) is a frag- 412
ment of the fore-leg tibia of a deer. Although the upper end of a tibia is nicely rounded to fit the hand, and is accordingly used elsewhere, the Klamath make no use of it. Instead a splinter sharpened at each end is inserted in a wooden handle. Old men carry these at the chest tied on a buckskin thong. The sinew used is that which lies along a deer's backbone. (Sinew is called ᴇmboi'ite; this particular sinew bi'lhŏp.) Skin garments for either sex are sewn by women. 294
Women also make moccasins whether of skin or tule. 462

The smoking process is used when tanning. The skin is stretched
over a tipi-like frame of little willows set over a hole as deep as one's 281
forearm. The fire is made of rotten wood. Coville states that "the bark [of the white fir (bä, *Abies concolor* (Gord.) Lindl.)] is sometimes used to dye and tan buckskin, giving it somewhat the appearance of ordinary tan-colored leather."[808]

Neither bags of skin (k!o'wanᴇ) nor parfleches are made by the 415
Klamath. These are brought from the Dalles, I was told, and prob-
ably from Warm Springs, for cĕptŏk, parfleche, is clearly a loan word 439
from Sahaptin (cf. Yakima căta'kai).

Mats are of four kinds, each designated by a name. Sewn mats 285
(st!ŏps) are used solely as the outer covering of mat-lodges; when

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[805] Illustrated by Barrett, pl. 22, fig. 1.

[806] Pitch was not used to fasten these. One type of knife, at least, found as far apart as Mexico and the Arctic, and consisting of stone fragments set into the sides of the handle, is unknown here.

[807] Pl. 22, fig. 5; cf. Gatschet, 1:148.

[808] Notes, 88.

*539 dispatched after a chipmunk, struck a log or tree, glanced off from it and came very
773 near killing Weasel's little son.

192 110, 11. 21. guháshktcha instead of guhuáshktcha, cf. Dictionary.

110, 17. vû'sho, breast, chest, is also pronounced wû'shu, û'shu; û'shutala, in the chest. k̲'lekl͡χátko is the distributive plural of k̲'lekátko; k̲'léka, to die.

[193] 110, 18. mā'nshaktch, so long; stands for mā'ntchak tchí. The terminal -ak has to be taken here and in 110, 14. in the sense of the diminutive suffix: "a little long".

110, 19. kä'la to *do* or *act* in the sense of amusing oneself, playing, gesticulating, or acting in a loud, noisy, or grotesque manner.

111, 1. túnepanti. The partitive case in -ti, if it stands for túnepanta, is used here, because the bags of neckwear brought by Skélamtch were counted on the digits of one hand, while those of Weasel were counted on the fingers of the other.

111, 3. wewilína. Beads were left over to Old Marten, because he had brought more than five sacks full to the tchpínû or family burying ground, emptying only five sacks on the child's pyre. This was a fabulously extravagant expenditure, the beads standing high in price and the sacks or wíllishik being rated at more than one bushel each.

111, 4. Mû'sh and Yámsh, syncopated from Mû'ash and Yámash.

111, 9. eiχishtok Mû'ashash. The South Wind had put his head out; that is, a south wind had been blowing when Little Weasel died and hence was supposed to be the real cause of his death.

[821] 111, 12. Lĕmé-ishash. From the following it appears, that the five Thunders represent more the flash of the lightning (lúepalsh) than the roll of the thunder. There are many of them, because the thunder, when rolling over mountains and valleys, often increases again in loudness after having almost died out, and five is the often recurring "sacred" number of the Oregonian and other Northwestern Indians. The radix
[193] of lĕmé-ish is *lam*, which indicates a circular, whirling motion. The five Thunders are
[342] brothers, living in a winter-lodge or earth-house: Lĕmé-isham tchī'sh, thought to be a dark cave; their parents, the two Old Thunders, live in a káyata or low, small hut covered with bulrush mats. The short episode 111, 12–17 does not refer to all the five Thunders, but only to one of their number.

[321] 111, 13. tû'tash is the long white marine shell, known as dentalium; it is one of
[301] the most common Indian body-ornaments. The white resin flowing out of pine-trees seems to be symbolized in this myth by the dentalium-shell.

111, 14. wák ish shû'tă, for wák shúta i nish: "somehow do (something) for me."

[193] 111, 20. In wä'shin are combined two locative particles: *i* and *n* (for na).

111, 22. mák̲laks tû'm (for tû'ma). The Thunders brought home as food many human beings struck by lightning.

112, 1. wanúnga, the distributive plural of û'nak; explained in the Dictionary.

112, 1. wenníni a tuá gátpa etc. Here and throughout this paragraph tuá means "some kind of."

112, 2. 3. shkaíni combines the meaning of strong with that of bad or mischievous, and answers to our *demoniac;* shkaíniak or shkaínihak stands for our comparative: stronger. The -tch, -s, -sh appended is an abbreviation of tcha, *now*, and shkáyent stands for shkaini at.

[342] 112, 3. Gékansha. Old Marten had entered the solid "earth-house" of the Thun-

III. ECONOMIC LIFE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 At this late date it is difficult to define the sexual division of labor with precision. Some impression derives, however, from random observations let drop during the course of these inquiries.

One of my informants summarized the division of domestic activities in this wise. Women fetch wood and gather food. Old men as well as women grind and pound seeds. Men lie about all the time, working but once in a while. They hunt, fish, and in the winter build houses.

Undoubtedly he is justified in his view that man's work is spasmodic, woman's work in preparation of food and the care of the home a more continuous round of labor. Such in fact is the picture of native life in perhaps all parts of the continent. Yet a fairer view of their economic participation shows a more equal division of activities.

[226] These may be summarized as follows: Men, but women too, are
the fishers. Inasmuch as their primary dependence is on fish, the
men's activities in this direction constitute well-nigh a year-round
[224] pursuit. Men are hunters, but hunting is desultory. Even here
women participate, for it is noted at least that they occasionally lie
in wait in canoes to kill floundering deer driven into the water. Root
and seed-gathering is woman's work; I am not certain that men
[222] assist even in harvesting fruit. Seeds, especially pond-lily seeds, form
the second staple in Klamath life. Preparation of food is wholly
[252] woman's work, save as they are assisted by old men, perhaps only
those who have no women members of their families to undertake the
[251] task. Storing food and drying it may be wholly feminine occupations
as well. At least where foods are concerned the man's work is
sufficiently time-filling, but the woman's much more so.

[342] With manufactures, the division is somewhat more even. House-
building, one of the main activities, is a function of both sexes, and
[313] is no small part of the domestic routine. Timbers are prepared and
erected by men, grass and dirt spread over the structure by women,
[322] and the house pit dug by both. Woodworking and the manufacture
[411] of weapons are masculine activities. Yet the most laborious wood-

501 on the other. The blade is turned parallel to the canoe at the end of each stroke. The size and shape of the blade are well adapted to his position so low in the water, for the stroke is effective and splashless. At intervals he dips his hands to prevent blistering them on the paddle handle.

A punt pole (lɛkŏ'k̦) is also used, especially in the shallow marsh. This is eight to ten feet long, with the lower end split and held open by an inserted wooden block. The punt pole is a young lodgepole pine (wä'-kō), stripped of bark, according to Coville.[296]

Sails are not used on canoes.

Anyone may make a canoe. Even a widow may fashion it for herself. One such had seen her father make them many times when she was a girl. Naturally skill varies very much.

Rafts or balsas, formed of large bundles of tules lashed together, were used, according to Barrett,[297] particularly by war parties. These were paddled with the hands.

Alternative methods for winter transportation may be noted here. It is customary to pack on the back through the snow, not to fashion a sled. But something of the sort is used over ice, a bundle of willows, called spi'klŏs.

VARIOUS MANUFACTURES AND TOOLS

Woodworking is undeveloped among the Klamath, whereas it 322 might have been expected that the expertness of the Yurok or the Wishram would have made itself felt here. The only noteworthy uses of wood are for dug-out canoes, rough planks for the earth-lodge roof, and carved figures set up by shamans. The planks are only rough segments of hollow trees; the canoes are without fineness of line and crude in craftsmanship. Northwest Coast social organization [177] rather than craftsmanship has left its mark on the Klamath and their neighbors.

Fire is more rapid and effective in trimming large masses of wood 313 than the stone and bone tools at their command. Hence it is gen- 372 erally used for felling trees, cutting logs to the desired length, and shaping canoes, but it is customarily used for smaller objects as well, such as pointing a digging-stick. When they wish to fell a tree, a deep notch is cut into it at the base with elk-horn pick and maul. A

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[296] Notes, 89.

[297] Material Culture, 256.

cure by blowing smoke on the patient nor blow it to the distant spirits 276
as an offering. The impression gained was that this is a matter only [755]
of self-indulgence during his periods of rest. Gatschet translates a song as "The smoking pipe is my medicine-tool (mŭlwas), the implement for tobacco," but the word also means any esoteric paraphernalia of the shaman.[135] The lay use of tobacco is at any time that convenience dictates, e.g., when resting in the evening. Women use [562]
tobacco as freely as men. The custom of passing the pipe from one to another is probably absent though I made no specific inquiry.

Tobacco (ko'tcka)[136] is smoked, never eaten. A boiled decoction of it is sometimes taken for bowel disorders.

The plant (*Nicotiana attenuata* Wats.) is not cultivated, but commonly grows in dry places.[137] A bundle of these plants together with kinnikinick is hung to dry in the top of the sweat-lodge until the leaves turn brown. Coville states that the dried leaves of manzanita, also, are mixed with the tobacco.[138] According to an informant the seed pods (which are sticky when fresh) and the adjacent parts of the flower are smoked; according to another the leaves and stem. The several plants are ground with any convenient little stone.

The pipe (p!ōks) is commonly clay with a spherical bowl and a 276
short wooden stem, but is sometimes of stone and discoidal. The more 323
common stone bowl is elbow-shaped with the arms at an obtuse angle, made of soft sandstone, shaped and hollowed by pecking. Barrett [114]
states that the discoidal form is less used than the angular but my information is to the contrary.[139] The stem is elder with the pith pushed out; Coville mentions the wood of the wild rose.[140] The manu- [524]
facture of clay pipes by a non-pottery making people seems unusual; the only other use of clay is for making dolls. Yet the ease with which clay can be manipulated as against the difficulty of drilling and shaping stone must have favored its use.

A shaman's pipe (which has no special name) is the common clay 276
bowl fitted with a long stem, eighteen inches or more, wrapped with 756

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[135] 1:167.

[136] No word corresponding to the Shasta ŏp, tobacco, Takelma ŏ"p, Crow ŏp, etc., is known.

[137] Coville, Notes, 104. One of Powers' correspondents states that the Klamaths (Klamath river people?) cultivated it (Tribes of California, 426).

[138] Coville, Notes, 102. What is here called kinnikinick is probably Coville's bearberry (kă-mä-mi, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray); the common kinnikinick of northern latitudes does not grow so far south as Klamath lakes.

[139] Barrett, Material Culture, 253, pl. 22.

[140] Coville, Notes, 99.

124 hold affairs, and terms referring to colors; men more appropriate than women in instructing him about their hunts, fishing, travels, their legal customs, wars and raids, house-building, and similar work. Omit asking them about the deceased, for it makes them angry and sullen. They do not as a rule willfully lead the investigator into error when they see that he is in earnest. Errors often originate in preconceived notions or theories and inappropriate questions of the investigator, sometimes also in the want of abstract terms in the interpreter's language. To insure correctness in an Indian myth, animal story, or any relation whatever, it should first be taken down in Indian, and of this a verbatim translation secured.

114 Ethnographic sketches of both tribes, but chiefly of the Modocs, were published in the newspapers of the Pacific coast at the time of Ben Wright's massacre, but they were not accessible to me; more circumstantial were those written at the time of the Modoc war (1872–'73), and specimens of these may be seen in A. B. Meacham's publications, in the "Overland Monthly" of San Francisco, and in Stephen Powers's "The Modok," in Contributions III, pp. 252–262.

126 Ethnographic objects manufactured by and in actual use among both tribes were purchased at different periods by collectors. The National Museum in Washington owns several of them; but the most complete collection is probably the one made in 1882 by the Swiss naturalist, Alphons Forrer, a native of St. Gall, which was partly sold to the Ethnographic Museum of St. Gall, partly (eighty-five articles) to that of Berne, the capital of Switzerland. Forrer lived several months among the Klamaths, and thus was enabled to secure the best specimens. There are two hänäsish or "magic arrows," an implement which has probably become very scarce now. The majority of these objects are manufactured from wood, fur-
[134] skin, and basket material. There is no suitable clay found in the Klamath
[323] River Highlands, hence these Indians never made any pottery.

114 The report of Lieutenants Williamson and Abbot contains a large array of astronomic positions and of meteorologic observations made during the expedition, which will prove useful to later observers. The zoölogic, botanic, and geologic reports made by different scientists were considered of high value at the time they were first published. It will be remembered

773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to
suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a
future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however,
be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is
free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during
the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of
suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency build-
532 ings, which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face
flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also
artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the lan-
538 guage fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of
success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration, assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

A bit of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire about the village but for an overnight journey a woman carries a spark in a long fuse. This is of black sage-brush bark, twisted into a rope thirty inches long and bound about at intervals.[305] 372

Knives are fashioned from stone blades or shells. These river shells (ĕndj!ĕ'tc) are not ground to an edge but used as they are. Forms ranging in size from arrowheads to large lance blades are chipped from obsidian, flint, and similar stones. So far as I am aware these are never ground into shape. Those intended for knives are sometimes wrapped around the butt to provide a handle.[306] Stone knives are intended for butchering rather than woodworking. Blades never figured in the display of wealth, as among the Yurok. Barrett figures a bone knife used for separating the inner and outer bark of pine.[307] 412 321 324

Sewing is done with awl and sinew. The awl (sŏ'ktᴇ) is a fragment of the fore-leg tibia of a deer. Although the upper end of a tibia is nicely rounded to fit the hand, and is accordingly used elsewhere, the Klamath make no use of it. Instead a splinter sharpened at each end is inserted in a wooden handle. Old men carry these at the chest tied on a buckskin thong. The sinew used is that which lies along a deer's backbone. (Sinew is called ᴇmboi'itc; this particular sinew bi'lhŏp.) Skin garments for either sex are sewn by women. Women also make moccasins whether of skin or tule. 412 294 462

The smoking process is used when tanning. The skin is stretched over a tipi-like frame of little willows set over a hole as deep as one's forearm. The fire is made of rotten wood. Coville states that "the bark [of the white fir (bä, *Abies concolor* (Gord.) Lindl.)] is sometimes used to dye and tan buckskin, giving it somewhat the appearance of ordinary tan-colored leather."[308] 281

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Mats are of four kinds, each designated by a name. Sewn mats (st!ŏps) are used solely as the outer covering of mat-lodges; when 285

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[305] Illustrated by Barrett, pl. 22, fig. 1.

[306] Pitch was not used to fasten these. One type of knife, at least, found as far apart as Mexico and the Arctic, and consisting of stone fragments set into the sides of the handle, is unknown here.

[307] Pl. 22, fig. 5; cf. Gatschet, 1:148.

[308] Notes, 88.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
412 1196. Awl handle wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
Needles																
1197. Eyed needle of bone for mats	–	+	+	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1198. Notched needle of bone	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1199. Wooden mat needle	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1200. Bone awl used to sew buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Shuttles and Spacers																
413 1201. 1-piece wooden net shuttle	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	.	–
1202. Flat stick, ends notched	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	°+	–	–	+	.	–	–	.	–
1203. Flat stick, ends pointed	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	°+	°+	–	.	–	–	.	–
1204. 2-piece shuttle of 2 sticks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	.	+
1205. String ball, no stick	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1206. Mesh spacer of wood	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	–	.	+
1207. Flat, squarish	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	.	–
1208. Flat, rectangular	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	.	–
1209. Mesh measured with fingers	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	.	+
Drills, Fire-making Implements																
372 1210. Composite drill, shaft and point	–	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	°+	+	.	–
1211. Stone point	–	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	.	–
1212. Bone or horn point	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	.	–
1213. For shell work, pipe making	–	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	.	–
1214. 1-piece bone or horn drill (awl).	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	.	–	–	.	–
1215. For shell work	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1216. Bow drill, to drill wooden pipes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	–	–
1217. 1-piece, held with buckskin in fingers	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	.	–	–	–	–
1218. Rotated, 1 hand, other holding object	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	.	–	+	–	–
1219. Rotated, both hands opposed	.	–	.	–	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	.	–	–	–	–
1220. Pipe wood soaked in oil: grub bores through	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–	°–	°–	°–	–	.	.	–	–	–
1221. Small coal used to burn hole, wooden pipe	–	–	.		+	–	–	–	+	+	–	.	.	–	.	+
1222. Hand rotated fire-drill	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	°(–)
1223. 1-piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1224. Composite	+	°+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	.	–
1225. 2 stones struck together, for spark	–	–	°–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	+	–	.	–
1226. Slow match of bark to carry fire	°+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1227. Smoldering "torch" to carry fire		+						+	°+	–	–	–	°+	+	°+	+
1228. Live coals carried on stone, wooden slab	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
Wedges, Mauls, Axes																
412 1229. Horn wedge or "pick"	°+	.	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	°+	–	.	+	–	+
1230. Wooden wedge	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	+
1231. Natural cobble as maul	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–
1232. Wooden maul	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
1233. Wooden pounding club	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	.	–	–	+
1234. Grooved stone ax	–	°+	–	°R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
Flakers																
324 1235. Flakers for retouching by pressure	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	.
1236. Of antler	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	.
1237. Of deer cannon bone	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	.
1238. Flaker hafted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	.	.
1239. Flakers for retouching by percussion	+	+	.	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	.	+	+	.	.
1240. Of stone	+	+	°+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	.	.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
1241. Of bone or horn	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–	.	.	324
1242. Buckskin wrapped	–		.			+	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	.	.	
1243. Stone anvil	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	.	–	.	.	
1244. Obsidian heated before flaking	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	+	

MANUFACTURES

Textiles

Baskets: Weaves

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
1245. Coiling	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	285
1246. Number of rods	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	3	3	3	3	3	3	
1247. "Triangular" (bunched)	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1248. Clockwise, looking into basket	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	
1249. In bowl-type basket	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	
1250. In flat trays	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	+	–	
1251. Counterclockwise, looking into basket	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	+	
1252. In bowl-type basket	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	
1253. In flat trays	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	+	
1254. Weaving proceeds toward left of worker	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1255. Awl enters outside (bowl-type basket)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1256. Start coiled	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	
1257. Start a knot of weft material	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	
1258. Start piece of wood	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1259. Twining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1260. Clockwise (looking into basket)	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
1261. Counterclockwise	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
1262. Weaving proceeds toward right	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	.	.	.	.	–	+	
1263. Weaving proceeds toward left	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	–	
1264. Plain: 2-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1265. 3-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	
1266. Diagonal: 2-strand	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1267. 3-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1268. Closework	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1269. Single-rod stiff warp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1270. 2-ply flexible warp	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1271. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
1272. Lattice twining, for dress fringes only	+	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1273. Wrapped twining	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1274. Cross-warp twining	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1275. Ridge (V) bottom	–	+	–	–	.	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Baskets: Shapes and Uses

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
1276. Seed beater	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	285
1277. Plain twine	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1278. Diagonal twine	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	415
1279. Radiating warp, circular	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1280. Parallel warp, oval or triangular	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1281. Hoop and sticks, unwoven	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
1282. Oval, hide covering stick framework			–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1283. Openwork-bottom sifting basket	+	+	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
1284. Used as seed beater also					–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
1285. Trays	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1286. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
1287. Diagonal twine	–	–	–	–	.	.	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	
1288. Closework	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10

STONE IMPLEMENTS.

412 [262] [324] Several forms of stone implements are quite commonly found among the Klamath. Most characteristic of these is the two-horned muller (pl. 21, fig. 2), used with the flat, very thin metate in grinding wokas, the chief food of the region. The process of grinding with these implements is shown in pl. 12, fig. 1. The muller is held so that the horns or ears point from the operator and the grinding is done on the stroke of the muller from the operator, the stroke toward the operator being very light indeed. [252] A second form of muller, described by informants, but not now in use, has a loop instead of the two horns. No special ceremonial or religious significance seems to be attached to either of these forms. Another, very small metate and a small grinding stone or muller (pl. 21, fig. 1) are employed in the grinding of certain seeds which are parched and used as food. The motion in grinding with the small muller is circular, not backward and forward as in the case of the larger one. These small milling implements are also used by girls as playthings in the grinding of wokas and other seeds.

Small mortars and pestles are quite commonly used at the present time and are still made by the people of this region. They are used chiefly by old people whose teeth are poor, for grinding dried fish and meat, though they are also employed in grinding seeds. The pestles used with these mortars are more or less crude. Those shown in pl. 21, figs. 3 and 4 are exceptionally well fashioned. A typical mortar is shown in fig. 6 of the same plate.

Another special implement of stone is the maul (pl. 21, fig. 8). This, unlike the pestle, is always made with a decided conical form. It varies up to five inches or so in diameter, and is from [313] six to perhaps ten inches in length. It was used in driving the elkhorn and mountain-mahogany wedges which were employed in splitting trees, particularly for canoe making, as has been [178] already described. Neither the wedge nor any other elkhorn 227 implement is now to be found in this region. Grooved sinkers of elliptical or triangular form are used on the gill net. One of these triangular sinkers is shown in pl. 21, fig. 7.

The Klamath numbered 3000 in the historic period, the Modoc not so many. This is the testimony of Tom Lang, yet the number is much too large. Palmer[18] put their number at 415 in thirteen villages in 1854, but his list of villages indicates that he counted only the ä'ukckni (Klamath marsh) division. This would be about eighty-three families, a reasonable average of six houses to a settlement. At the time, however, the Klamath were said to be considerably reduced, and I was told of twenty-nine or more ä'ukckni settlements dating from this period, and said to be all occupied at the time. Yet, as no great epidemic was reported, it is doubtful that the population had been diminished by half. Possibly the occupation of the sites was more seasonal than I was told: a movement to Klamath marsh in summer, returning to the warmer Williamson valley in winter. Assuming a partial reduction and some fluctuating occupation, we may arbitrarily set the ä'ukckni at half as many again, say 600. The ä'ukckni settlements numbered half of the total and my informants' impression was that in population they were as many as all the other divisions together. This would mean that the Klamath as a whole numbered only 1200. Palmer's figure would give a mere 800, and the evidence of the settlements, a possible 2000. Our twelve hundred is not far from that of Kroeber, who set the combined Klamath and Modoc population at 2000, two-thirds of them being Klamath.[19] Mooney's estimate of 800 seems low.[20] 174 161

Early Contacts with the Whites

Contacts with the whites date back to 1825 or somewhat earlier. In 1826–27 Peter Ogden spent two months among the Klamath.[21] His first meeting with them seems to have been on Klamath marsh. 175

> Wednesday, 30th Nov. [1826]. Course south to Clammitt River [Klamath marsh?] 25 miles from River of the Falls [Deschutes]. Mr. McKay proceeded ahead to an Indian village distant 3 miles. It was composed of 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. Their tents are constantly guarded. They regretted we had opened a communication from the mountains. They said "The Nez Percés have made different attempts to reach our village but could not succeed. Even last summer we discovered a war party of Cayuse and Nez Percés in search of us; but they did not find us. Now they will have yr. road to follow. We have no fire arms. Still we fear them not. [131] [361] [342] [721]

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[18] Quoted by Gatschet, 1:lviii.

[19] Kroeber, Handbook, 320.

[20] Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 18.

[21] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

[441] [231] They are well provided with bows and arrows. They have only one horse. Snow is so deep, horses perish for want of food. In winter, they live on roots. In summer on antelope and fish.

December 1st. 30 Clammite Indians paid us a visit: fine men in good condition, but wretchedly clad. They say the river to the ocean is far distant and beaver they do not know. They say the Indians become more numerous as we advance to the ocean. . . . .

[342] [161] [439] Tuesday 6th. Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defence against arrows but not balls. 200 of them collected about our camp and traded 4 days. The 2 chiefs delivered traps lost by Mr. McDonald last year with 8 beaver. This is much in favor of their honesty. On our march this day, we passed the camps from wh. Mr. McDonald turned back last year and are consequently strangers to the country in advance.

[161] Thursday 8th. About 300 Indians around our camp. We advanced 6 miles south following the river south. I estimate the Clammitte nation 250 men.

Monday 12th. Reached the lake [Klamath lake?] 1½ × 15 miles well wooded with maple and hazel; course S.

[361] The second visit on record is that of Frémont, who reached the northern shore of Klamath marsh on December 10, 1843. He saw smoke at what appeared to be the middle of the marsh and along the opposite shore. An unoccupied northern shore agrees with my own information. The following day he visited the village "in the middle of the lake (or savannah)," which appears to be one of those at the outlet of the marsh.

[342] The huts were grouped together on the bank of the [Klamath] river, which, from being spread out in a shallow marsh at the upper end of the lake, was collected here into a single stream. They were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams.

[226] [252] [285] [291] Almost like plants, these people seem to have adapted themselves to the soil, and to growing on what the immediate locality afforded. Their only subsistence at this time appeared to be a small fish, great quantities of which, that had been smoked and dried, were suspended on strings about the lodge. Heaps of straw were lying around; and their residence in the midst of grass and rushes had taught them a peculiar skill in converting this material to useful purposes. Their shoes were made of straw or grass, which seemed well adapted for a snowy country; and the women wore on their head a closely woven basket, which made a very good cap. Among other things, were parti-colored mats about four feet square, which we purchased to lay on the snow under our blankets, and to use for table cloths.

[231] Numbers of singular-looking dogs, resembling wolves, were sitting on the tops of the huts. . . . .

[648] They made us comprehend that they were at war with the people who lived to the southward and to the eastward; but I could obtain from them no certain information. . . . .

This morning the camp was thronged with Tlamath Indians from the southeastern shore of the lake. . . . .

Frémont also remarked on the scarcity of their horses.[11]

Frémont reached Klamath lake again May 6, 1846. He commented on the outlet, Link river, "this is a great fishing station for the Indians." His statement on the distribution of their settlements coincides with my information. [231] [226]

> They have fixed habitations around the shores of the lake, particularly at the outlet and inlet [Williamson river], and along the inlet up to the swamp meadow [Klamath marsh], where I met the Tlamaths in the winter of '43-'44, and where we narrowly escaped disaster. . . . . The Indians made me understand that there was another large river [Williamson river] which came from the north and flowed into the lake at the northern end, and that the principal village was at its mouth, where also they caught many fish. [361] [131] [133]

Frémont's party made a circuit of the lake. It is curious that he does not mention the settlements about Pelican lake on the western side, which he could hardly have avoided. On the other hand it is not clear how closely his memoirs follow his diary. Attacked while on the western side, his party reciprocated by raiding a village on the opposite side, perhaps one of those on Williamson river just above the present highway bridge. [726]

> Behind the sage-bushes where they had taken their stand every Indian had spread his arrows on the ground in fan-like shape, so that they would be ready to his hand. . . . . Quantities of fish were drying, spread on scaffolds, or hung up on frames. The huts, which were made of tall rushes and willows, like those on the savannah above [Klamath marsh], were set on fire, and the fish and scaffolds were all destroyed.[12] [252] [342] [726]

The first invaders remembered by the Klamath came from the north about 1835. The stories about them have now a legendary flavor. The first group was mounted; the Klamath dubbed them mpĕ'tkoŋks (from mĕte!a', to pack about) from their roving habits. An alternative name, pasai'ūks (French-Canadian in Chinook jargon), more surely identifies them. During their brief stay at the mouth of Williamson river they bought fat dogs of the Klamath, which to the latter's amazement, they ate. For these they gave buttons and metal disks with a central perforation (wika'lkal). 173 437 648

Almost as early was a white contingent moving northward on the west side of Klamath lake. The Indians watched them unseen. They were impressed with the horses, axes, and the food of the whites. 173 648 177

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[11] Frémont, Narrative, 122.

[12] Frémont, Memoirs, 483, 484, 494.

in importance to fish. Summer is also the time of travel and trade, 221
taking people as far as the Dalles where they may elect to spend the
winter. Winters are exceptionally severe at this altitude (4000 feet), [132]
with deep snow and lakes, marshes, and even streams solidly frozen. [133]
Movement is stopped and unless a winter residence has been chosen
which gives some possibility of fishing, starvation may be faced before 221
spring. These winter sites are in sheltered, sunny spots on running
streams or at springs warm enough to prevent ice from forming. The 361
families return in the fall, rebuild the earth-lodges from the remains [226]
of the previous year's structure, and are all snugly housed by mid-December. The only permanent settlements are the winter villages.
The summer residences are shifting, and while reoccupied from year
to year, there is no feeling that particular camping localities belong
to certain groups. The summer camps are rather indiscriminate aggregations of any Klamath, but the winter locations are so fixed of habit [628]
as to give a measure of political separatism to the several localities.

The case of Tom Lang's family is typical. Their permanent winter home is at iu'laloŋʀ, a large village on the west side of Link river at the foot of Klamath lake, hence Tom is considered one of the southern lake people, iu'' laloŋkni generically. His family is accustomed to move for the spring fishing to ditk!aks, Barclay spring, or to Modoc point, both on the east side of the lake, where they erect temporary lodges. Crossing the lake to dĕ'ktcoŋks they leave their canoes and travel overland to wokas'lks on the north shore of Wokas marsh. Here Tom was born in July. When the berry and wokas harvest is ended they retrace their steps and take canoe to Algoma to pick wild plums, berries, etc. From there they drift back to their winter home.

The towns for the most part lie along Williamson river, on the
southern side of Klamath marsh, and along the eastern shore of Klamath lake. As these are winter settlements, the open lake is avoided,
and occupied only where warm springs outweigh its disadvantages.
They cluster along Williamson river whose sheltered valley is distinctly warmer than the lake front a few miles distant and where the [133]
running stream contains fish most of the year. [132]

The towns are not isolated, compact groups of houses, but stretch
along the banks for half a mile or more. In fact, the settlements on 361
Williamson river below the Sprague river junction form a practically 342
continuous string of houses for five or six miles, the house pits being,
in many spots, crowded close together. Informants insisted that
many of these were occupied at the same time. When we consider
that these earth-lodges may have housed several families, there is
strong suggestion of a considerable population.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

159
838
[622]

subsequent career seems quite normal unless exception be made of his seven wives!

A woman named Co'pak lived like a man although she retained women's dress. She married a woman who lived with her a long time and finally died. She observed the usual mourning, wearing a bark belt as a man does at this time to prevent the back from growing bowed. She tried to talk like a man and invariably referred to herself as one.

Another woman still living has had relations with both women and men. She never adopted men's garb but told them that she was a man. She is today a common prostitute, an abnormal, irascible person. Those she lived with were all older women, not young girls. This practice is known as sawa'līnăa, to live as partners. They say of such: they have lots of partners, friends (snewă'ĕts doma' sawa' līnăa'sgītkt). Other Klamath of any standing have always avoided her and her women partners. She was never married to a man.

HOUSE GROUPS

It is now difficult to get evidence on household composition. Houses vary in size, to judge by the existing pits, from twelve feet in diameter to as much as thirty-five feet. The larger houses must have held a number of families and as many as ten or twelve persons. One described below had five families, numbering twenty. 342•
592

The majority of the inmates of a house can usually trace some relationship. This is also true of most of the inhabitants of a settlement. For example, the village mo'giŋkūnks had half a dozen earth-lodges, of which three held the families of two brothers and their father's male cousin. Residence is normally patrilocal. In the cases which follow the connecting relatives are for the most part related in the first degree. [591]

An earth-lodge on the lower Williamson river built about 1870, and measuring thirty feet in diameter, contained five men, their wives and children, whose respective portions of the house are shown in figure 4. This was known as the home of the shaman Boke's; the others were related to his wife.

1. Boke's, wife, and two children.
2. Lek!o'c, wife and two children.
3. Wokau'k!alls, a widower, whose two wives had been Molala sisters.[76]

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[76] Their Molala names were Slowa' and A'li'ak.

342
592 4. Lo'lŏklĭs, wife, and seven children.

5. Tc!ŏntc!ŏn and his wife (childless).

The wives of Boke's (1) and Lo'lŏklĭs (4) were sisters; Tc!ŏntc!ŏn (5) was their brother. Lek̦!o'c and Wok̦au'k̦!alis were distant cousins of this trio.

In front of this lodge stood another, a mat-covered house (wu'kĕ'plŏk̦s), housing the mother and three sisters of Wok̦au'k̦!alis. This was only ten feet distant, measured about fifteen feet in diameter, and also had its entrance, this time at ground level, on the southeastern side facing the river. The inmates of both houses were gu'mbŏtkni from the western side of Klamath lake with the exception of Lo'lŏklĭs, a du'kwa man, who alone properly belonged in this locality.

592
352
353

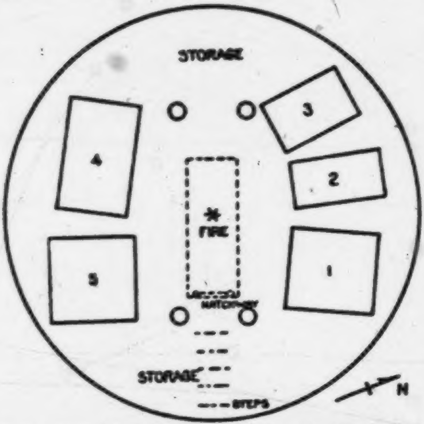

Fig. 4. Plan of an earth-lodge, showing the areas assigned to the beds of five families.

342
592 One earth-lodge in the same district was known as wĕwalăĕk̦sumlo'ltmalŏk̦s, old woman's earth-lodge. Its inmates were an old woman, her two daughters each in early life, the younger with three children, and an elderly woman, first cousin to the daughters, hence called older sister by them. The house was built especially for them.

342
595 Data on the arrangement of polygynous households are of the slightest. It is clear that all the wives occupy one house with their husband. Their beds are separate. This is true where their number is few, but in the case of Lzle'ks' seven wives, these were housed in two lodges. In one family of a man and three childless wives only one earth-lodge was used.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

534 Several instruments whose presence might have been expected
are unknown. Such are the cocoon rattle, the foot drum, or any other
form except the hand drum. As to the cocoon rattle I doubt that
there are any large cocoons in this region. It is rather surprising
that those who accompany the singers do not beat time on a plank with
*[171] clubs after the fashion of more northerly tribes. A peculiar Wish-
ram drum, a horizontal pole slung from the roof by a rope and
pounded against the wall, had been played at the Dalles by one of my
• [342] informants, but it was never introduced among the Klamath. To be
sure, their houses do not have plank walls but alternatives might have
been substituted.

The musical bow should be mentioned here only for comparative purposes. The Klamath lack any special form but sometimes toy with an ordinary bow, holding the bow in the mouth and tapping the string with a stick. There is no name for this.

Whistles (stu'ta) are also playthings. These are made of willow, of a plant called wa'ḳŭm, or a jointed grass called watcŏŏ'ḳwls. The willow whistles are seven or eight inches long and provided with side holes like a flute. Whistles are blown direct into the open end.

533 Whistling with the lips was indulged in even before the coming of the whites.[143] Songs are not whistled.

SOCIAL DANCES

535 It is not clear whether there were any dances of purely social
intent in earlier times or whether they were so rare as to be negligible.
[534] Two good informants said that formerly there were none. Indeed the
use of the hand drum with social dances (yĕka') suggests their
[755] recency. Shamanistic performances, which were evidently frequent,
may have provided a substitute entertainment.

Some time during the year a good singer will busy himself arrang-
ing a dance solely for amusement, called k'si'ulŭḳs. Men and women
form a circle with hands clasped, but the fingers not entwined. The
step is a sidewise jump, not a shuffling of feet as is usual in circling
dances among other tribes; the movement is in a counter-clockwise
direction, I think. The circling begins with the song; they do not wait
[534] to sing a phrase before moving. Formerly, according to an unreliable
informant, no musical instruments were in use but recently the hand
drum was introduced from the tribes to the north.

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*[171] [143] So, too, the Northern Paiute, according to my Klamath informant.

> A shaman, ḳiu'ksmag (Shaman Man), was working in a hayfield for some 756 whites. He lay down saying he had a headache. His spirit, the buzzard, was 776 making him sick because he did not heed it. He told his companions to fetch him a snake. He took the little watersnake by the tail and swallowed it. He said he was cured; the snake was no longer in him but had left his body immediately.

The shaman is possessed during his performances. He is the 756 vehicle of the spirit; the spirit sings with his voice, sucks with his lips, and sees with his eyes. It is not in him at other times, but in its home in the mountains or under the water and must be called on to enter his body. The shaman's behavior was instanced as follows.

> A shaman, Alec Wilson, was singing of his coyote spirit during a winter performance attended by my informant Nancy, then a little girl. He chuckled for quite a time, saying, "There are lots of swamp mice here." Then he crawled across the lodge through the audience and stealing up behind Nancy bit her hard. He bit her because she was moving around.

A trance state is not part of the shaman's behavior, nor was a frenzy described. The stereotyped physiological disturbance, real or feigned, is blood gushing from the mouth while he falls unconscious. The absence of the trance state suggests that the shaman is not of necessity psychologically abnormal.

The shaman's house is always an earth-lodge and practically all 756 performances take place within it. Not only larger than the ordinary dwellings, it differs from them in being decorated. 342 It is the usual semi-subterranean structure with a conical earth-covered roof resting on four central posts. The entrance is by a hatchway in the roof with the ladder at the east end. The fire is kindled directly under this opening. The posts are painted with horizontal stripes, alternately [352] red and white. They are not carved. According to one informant, men's faces, snakes, lizards, animals of all sorts, but not spirits, are painted on the posts; but I doubt this. The grass-stuffed skins of various animals and birds, probably all of them representing the shaman's spirits, are hung under the slanting roof beams; mink, skunk, crane, tcauwīlŏ'ks (a duck-like bird), butterball duck, white shitepoke, rattlesnake, a big speckled snake, and the dried skin of the lizard were mentioned. The birds have outstretched wings. Standing [532] on the roof of the lodge, on the northern side of the hatchway, is a wooden image of tcaḳia'ḳ, the little boy spirit, made by the shaman. Head, trunk, and arms are rudely carved and painted. Red-shafted flicker (yellowhammer) feathers are fastened around its neck (only shamans wear the feathers of this bird).

361 at the lake's edge, large and warm enough to prevent ice forming over
a large area. Winter is severe at this altitude (4000 feet), snowdrifts
[132] are deep, and Klamath lake freezes over to a depth of some ten inches
[133] in late December. Such sheltered valleys as that of the Williamson
river, while but a few miles from the open lake, are distinctly warmer.

221 The annual cycle of activities is dictated largely by the food
habits. It is customary to leave the winter villages in April or May,
when plant growth is well under way and the flat valleys have dried,
not to return until the snow falls again and houses need refurbishing.
When fish begin to run in the spring, the Klamath congregate at the
fishing places to stay for two months or more. For example, some
join the Modoc on Lost river for several weeks to catch and dry
fish. The spring and early summer are spent on the marshes and
prairies, gathering roots such as camas and ipos. When the camas
has been dried and stored, they move to the marshes, especially to
Klamath marsh, to harvest pond-lily seeds from mid-August to the
end of September. While the women are busy with this harvest, men
hunt mule deer, antelope, and other animals whose habitat is in eastern
Klamath territory. Late summer and autumn, seeds, berries, and
nuts are gathered, the Indians congregating where these are plentiful.
Many of those at Klamath marsh, for example, move directly to
Huckleberry mountain, southwest of Crater lake, to garner these
[484] berries. Summer and autumn are the seasons for journeying to visit
and trade, for raiding, and especially for laying up a store of fish
[726] against the coming winter. It must be understood that the winter
[251] locations are not completely abandoned during this season, for many
of them are favorably situated for these very activities. But it is
[361] customary for such a group as the äukckni division, whose winter
residences cluster thickly along the middle Williamson river, to scatter and meet again at Klamath marsh for the pond-lily harvest in
[805] August and September. (This is the beginning of the Klamath year.)
They begin to return to the winter sites in the latter month, to start
[342] rebuilding the earth-lodges for the coming winter, a task completed
in December, by which time full winter is at hand.[219]

501 The move to Klamath marsh of the people at the mouth of Williamson river, the du'kwakni, can be made by canoe only as far as ya'ak
221 on the middle river, where they join the äukckni in packing afoot the
rest of the distance. When the water is high, canoes can go upstream
as far as bʀzükse'was at the mouth of Sprague river (see the maps,

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[219] See also Gatschet, 1:74–77.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

III. ECONOMIC LIFE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 At this late date it is difficult to define the sexual division of labor
with precision. Some impression derives, however, from random
observations let drop during the course of these inquiries.

One of my informants summarized the division of domestic activities in this wise. Women fetch wood and gather food. Old men as well as women grind and pound seeds. Men lie about all the time, working but once in a while. They hunt, fish, and in the winter build houses.

Undoubtedly he is justified in his view that man's work is spasmodic, woman's work in preparation of food and the care of the home a more continuous round of labor. Such in fact is the picture of native life in perhaps all parts of the continent. Yet a fairer view of their economic participation shows a more equal division of activities.

[226] These may be summarized as follows: Men, but women too, are
the fishers. Inasmuch as their primary dependence is on fish, the
men's activities in this direction constitute well-nigh a year-round
[224] pursuit. Men are hunters, but hunting is desultory. Even here
women participate, for it is noted at least that they occasionally lie
in wait in canoes to kill floundering deer driven into the water. Root
and seed-gathering is woman's work; I am not certain that men
[222] assist even in harvesting fruit. Seeds, especially pond-lily seeds, form
the second staple in Klamath life. Preparation of food is wholly
[252] woman's work, save as they are assisted by old men, perhaps only
those who have no women members of their families to undertake the
[251] task. Storing food and drying it may be wholly feminine occupations
as well. At least where foods are concerned the man's work is
sufficiently time-filling, but the woman's much more so.

[342] With manufactures, the division is somewhat more even. House-
building, one of the main activities, is a function of both sexes, and
[313] is no small part of the domestic routine. Timbers are prepared and
erected by men, grass and dirt spread over the structure by women,
[322] and the house pit dug by both. Woodworking and the manufacture
[411] of weapons are masculine activities. Yet the most laborious wood-

HOUSES AND HOUSE LIFE

Houses are for the most part so closely crowded in the settlements 361 that their peripheries nearly touch. At least this is the evidence of the house pits, which my informants would have me believe were occupied at the same time. Some of them are small structures, used 342 • for cooking or to house slaves, crowded between the large earth-lodges. [343]

House-building seems to be one of the most considerable occupations of the year. Earth-lodges are frequently torn down in the spring to be rebuilt when snow flies in the autumn. In the second month, September, everyone is busied with house-building, commencing with the preparation of the tule mats that cover all the lodges. The houses are all completed in the fourth month (December) by the time full winter arrives, when the shamanistic performances begin. New timbers have to be prepared, as those from the razed structure are commonly used for firewood. Gatschet implies that occupancy of the winter house is always inaugurated by a feast.[386] The mat-covered summer houses are built anew in the spring. It is quite likely that the covering mats are thoroughly rotted and dilapidated after standing through a hard Klamath winter. The timbering of houses is man's [462] work; women place the grass and dirt covering.

The characteristic house is a circular, conical-roofed affair. It is essentially of the same shape and construction whether merely mat-covered or set over a pit and roofed with planks and earth. The Klamath definitely distinguish the two types however, the earth-lodge, lu″ltᴇmalŏks, and the mat-covered summer house, wu'kĕ'plŏḳs. In addition a small dome-shaped mat-lodge (sti'nă'c) is used in summer, when traveling, or for cooking.[387] Poor families who cannot afford the larger earth-lodge, build dome-shaped lodges for winter use, setting them over pits for the sake of the added warmth.

The earliest descriptions of these houses are by Ogden (1826) and 114 Frémont (1843–46). Ogden's account of what are probably earth- 342

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[386] 1:75.

[387] Barrett describes a summer house possibly of different form. This is elliptical or rectangular in ground plan, with "sides which slope very abruptly to the ground and a comparatively flat top. The framework is of willow poles stuck into the ground and brought together along the ridgepole, to which they are bound securely." This suggests in part the structure of the dome-shaped lodge, but implies the presence of at least two posts bearing a ridgepole, a type of construction which my informants specifically denied. The photograph Barrett figures belies his description: the form seems to be the regular structure having four posts with the side poles resting on the rafters joining these (Material Culture, 244, pl. 11, fig. 1). [114]

114 lodges is curious. "It [a Klamath marsh village] was composed of 342 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents [361] built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. . .. . . Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defense against arrows but not balls."[368] Frémont notes "they were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams." At another place "the huts . . . . were made of tall rushes and willows."[369]

342 There is considerable variation in the size of houses, even those of 184 one type. Earth-lodges range in diameter from twelve to thirty feet or more, the larger accommodating several families. The largest p[illegible] I saw measured thirty-five feet in diameter. The largest earth-lodges are invariably those of shamans, larger even that those of chiefs. This is not only the statement of my several informants, but on every site [756] I visited the largest pits were pointed out to me as the former residences of shamans. The shaman's lodge, to be sure, houses the winter [622] performances, but this also implies that shamans are the wealthiest individuals, or were so at least before the ascendancy of the chiefs during the last century. Winter houses are commonly larger than the corresponding summer mat-covered forms.

342 The semi-subterranean earth-lodge is erected over a shallow pit (sloko'ps). This is commonly but knee deep, but the thirty-five-foot pit mentioned above had been excavated waist deep or even more. All the clearly defined house pits that I saw were circular, but I got the impression from one informant that the house might be somewhat squared. This is probably the case only with the summer mat-lodge: wu'kĕ'plŏks. The circle is not measured in any way. The pit is dug with digging sticks, the earth thrown back all around the excavation with storage baskets (tlŭks) or slabs of pine bark.

The roof has the form of a truncated, wedge-shaped cone, resting as it does on the circular periphery of the pit but with its upper truncated surface an elongated rectangle. The main frame is formed by four central posts, set to form the corners of this rectangle.[370] The tops of these are connected by stringers. Poles extending obliquely from this rectangular frame to the edge of the pit throughout its whole circumference form the conical roof. The whole is then covered with mats, grass, and dirt, leaving only a hatchway open in the center of the rectangle. The lodge is entered by walking up the sloping roof to the hatchway, through which a ladder from the interior protrudes.

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[368] Elliott, The Ogden Journals, 210.

[369] Frémont, Narrative, 122; Memoirs, 494.

[417] [370] Barrett implies a single center post ("climbs down . . . . by means of steps cut into the center pole itself," p. 244), but this was denied by my informants.

The rectangle formed by the central posts (*A*, fig. 18) measures about fifteen feet from front to rear in a large house, with a width of five feet. These posts (studi'ls) are tree trunks, twelve inches in diameter, bearing forks nine or ten feet above the floor level. Stringers connect these in pairs; the first set (*B*) across the short ends with longer stringers (*C*) resting on these in the same forks. These are poles of ten inch diameter; the first pair is nameless, the second called sɛö'nhls. On this frame rest four oblique rafters (*D*, stc'au'ns) let into holes at the brink of the pit. These are split logs. A supplementary rafter (*E*, swīkke'nis) is laid across each pair of these near its upper end. Planks or poles (*F*, etcau'üs) are then laid close together along these supplementary rafters, with their lower ends resting on the brink, but not in holes. Similar poles are set obliquely around the corners and along each end, where they rest on *B*. The hatchway is formed within the rectangular roof frame by a series of long poles or planks (*G*, also called sɛö'nhls) laid close together and resting on *B*. Its ends are blocked in by similar, shorter crosspieces (*H*) resting on these in turn. The hatchway is nearly as wide as the spacing of the long stringers (*C*), three to four feet; its forward end is quite close to the cross-member (*B*) at the front of the house, but the roof is decked over for several feet at the rear, leaving an opening some ten feet in length. Short sticks and bark are placed over any crevices still remaining in the superstructure.

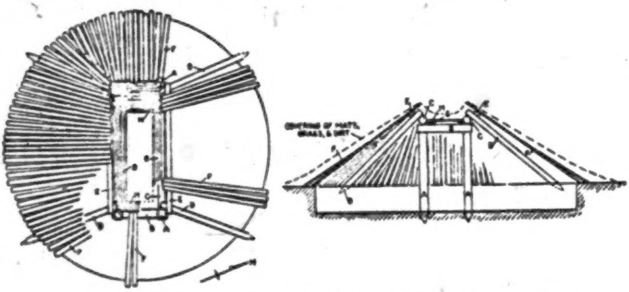

Fig 18. Plan and section of earth-lodge showing construction.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

• 342

The roof is shingled with long mats laid in horizontal courses. The variety used is a relatively poor twined mat, called ste'holŏs, made of tule, swamp grass, or cat-tail rushes. Dry grass (not brush) is heaped on the mats halfway up the sides and the whole roof then covered with a thick layer of dirt. The grass is omitted from the upper part for fear sparks from the fire beneath the hatchway may catch in it. The mats are three and a half to four feet wide and so [352] long that they stretch more than halfway around the roof. Swamp-grass mats make a warmer structure than tule. No mats are placed [353] on the inner side of the roof, nor around the sides of the pit. The floor however is liberally carpeted with them. Food is commonly stored around the outer margin of the roof, buried under the dirt cover. The dirt is banked so thoroughly there that the lodge needs no circumscribing ditch to protect it from rain water.

The hatchway in the roof (gĭnk̦'a, hole) is of considerable size; about ten feet by three or four in a large house. At night a series of small sticks are laid transversely across it and a mat, called k̦'ai'ictĭs, which is rolled up at the rear end of the hatchway during the day, is stretched over the opening to close it. Any kind of ste'holŏs mat may be used for the hatch, but swamp grass is preferable to tule which becomes brittle when dry. To keep the snow from drifting into the open hatchway, a mat may be set up to windward on sticks driven into the dirt covering.

Houses face the southeastern quarter, because the prevailing winds are from the west. The front of the house is the side having a set of steps leading up the sloping roof to the hatchway. It seems doubtful that a house on the east bank of a river, for instance, would have its entrance away from the stream, but so I was told. The circumstances is that along the Williamson river valley, the only narrow valley where this arrangement might prove awkward, the majority of settlements are on the west bank.

The outer steps (astŏno'lŭk̦s) are formed of two small tree trunks lying upright along the sloping roof. Short limbs left projecting from these hold a series of cross-sticks serving as rungs (waki's), with [417] dirt packed behind them to make a set of solid steps. The ladder reaching the hatchway from within is made of similar poles (stĕ'stkĭls) with the rungs tied on. There were ten rungs, a foot apart, in a large house described to me.[371] This ladder is set at the southeastern end of the opening, that is the end opposite the rolled-up mat door. It is nearly vertical and protrudes considerably above the roof level. 342 • Ladders are never made of a log with holes cut through it, nor were the 417 central posts notched for this purpose.[373]

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[371] This may well be the operation of the pattern number five.

The rough planks used in roofing the structure are made by split- 313 ting hollow logs with elk-horn wedges. 412 These are driven with a hardwood club, oak, or mountain mahogany. Every man has three or four such wedges; axes are wholly unknown and stone mauls not used. Obviously such timbers cannot compare with the broad planks of the Northwest peoples, but are rather of the crude Yurok type. Procuring the planks is quite a little expedition. They go in four to six canoes, spending a whole day splitting enough for a single house. The people of the du'kwa settlements at the mouth of Williamson river, for instance, cross Klamath lake to its timbered western shore for their supply. 342 35

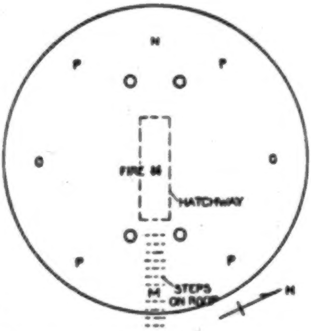

Fig. 19. Named parts of the house.

The several parts of the house interior as set off by the central posts are named. That portion at the front of the house directly under the outside steps is called stĕ'kis (*M*, fig. 19); the opposite end, tka'lūm (*N*). These spaces are used for storage. The sides of the interior (*O*) are la'lᴇstal and the corner sections (*P*) are stc!oka'ctal. These, the living quarters, are preferable to the end spaces presumably because the narrowness of the hatchway yields a greater extent of roof cover on each side, thus affording greater protection. [756] The sleeping quarters of shamans are on the northern side of the lodges, hence I assume that this segment is always occupied by the head of the household. The shaman dances principally on this side of the central area.

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[373] Compare Barrett, 244.

342 The summer house (wu'kĕ'plōk̦s) differs from the earth-lodge only in the absence of the pit and of the dirt covering on the roof. It is circular and built on the same four-post frame. The covering is of mats alone. Dirt is banked around the base. Occasionally one is erected over a shallow pit, when it does not differ materially from an earth-lodge. These houses are smaller than the earth-lodges, ranging down to the dome-shaped houses in diameter. They have the height of the earth-lodge. No ladder is necessary with these houses, since the entrance is on the ground level. A space is left for a doorway between two of the slanting roof poles at the front of the house. A mat hung from a cross-stick halfway up these poles serves as a door. When it is not wanted, it is rolled up and tied above the opening. Sometimes a mat is hung from one of these poles inside the house as a partition (hoctŏ'ptls) to protect a bed from the opening.

The dome-shaped lodge (sti'nă'e) is in use the year round, standing beside the earth-lodge as a cook house. When the people are traveling, it may be hastily constructed of mats carried for the purpose. The more permanent structures are ten feet in diameter and eight or nine feet high—as high as one can reach to put things away overhead. Poor families intending these for winter use make them of heavy construction and dig out the interior to a depth of a foot for the warmth thus afforded. A heavy snowfall is shoveled off with canoe paddles.

The frame of this lodge is built up of a series of arches (stce'egŭc or stce'cɛlgȧ), each made of two willow poles stuck into the ground at opposite points of the circle and with their upper ends lashed together overhead. The two main arches are parallel and rise to the full height of the lodge. Another is set on each side of this pair, parallel to them, but rising to a lesser height. Then the other two quadrants are filled in with poles which are bent over and lashed to these four arches. These poles are set close together to form a firm structure. There are no horizontal ribs. A space is left on the southeastern side for the doorway.

The frame of both houses is shingled with mats; rarely these are also placed on the inside. Tule mats, or swamp-grass—which is warmer—are always placed with the stems vertical so that the rain and snow will run off readily. Sewn mats (st!ŏps) are preferred to twined for this reason. The mats are tied on; two or three overlapping tiers reach to the top. They are sometimes so long that two will reach around the lodge. For winter use, two, three, or four thicknesses are

used;[378] then grass or pine boughs, covered with dirt, are heaped half- 342
way up the side. The outer mats are held in place by tying them along
the edges to poles propped against the side of the house. The rope
(pĕķ'os) used for this is three strand, braided of grass or the outer
layer of tule. In placing the mats, a space about two feet across is
left at the top for a smoke hole, and another only three and a half feet
high for a doorway. One has to stoop to enter. The door is a mat like
that of the summer house; it is not weighted nor tied down.

Drying racks are not placed inside the houses. All fish and meat [251]
are dried on racks near-by. [417]

Houses are not decorated, nor are the house posts carved or painted
except by shamans. These may paint them with horizontal stripes, 342
alternately red and white. One informant had it that men's faces,
snakes, lizards, and various other animals, not spirits, are painted on
the posts, but I am doubtful. Shamans also hung stuffed bird and
animal skins about the interior. A wooden image and a stuffed crane [756]
skin are set up outside on the northern side of the hatchway, i.e., above
the shaman's bed. Houses are not given individual names, Yurok 552
fashion, though the localizing tendency of the Klamath might have 171*
found an outlet in this.

The fireplace (sne'lūķs) in the earth-lodge is in the middle of the 354
floor, between the four center posts and under the open hatchway.
Neither a pit nor stones are used to confine the fire. Most of the time
there is no fire on the hearth, only in the morning and evening; at
other times the hatch is closed. A huge fire is built when it is nearly
sundown, and after the mat is drawn across the opening the heat is so
great that blankets may be dispensed with. This despite the severe [132]
winters; at this altitude (4000 feet) lakes and streams are frozen
solid. Fires are usually made by piling short lengths of wood in log- [133]
cabin (crib-work) fashion to a height of eighteen inches. They cook
when this is reduced to a bed of coals. A piece of rotten wood is
ignited to carry fire from one place to another.

Cooking ordinarily takes place outside the dwelling in a dome- 343
shaped house (sti'nā'e) erected near-by. An earth-lodge on lower 252
Williamson river, for example, set some fifty yards from the stream,
had its cooking lodge close to the bank. All the women of the house- 592
hold prepare their food together, even where several families have
joint tenancy. It is carried to the earth-lodge and there passed about

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[378] Barrett gives the successive layers as made of "a kind of reed," triangular-stemmed tule, and circular-stemmed tule (*op. cit.*, 244).

171* 105

Their material culture at large follows the general alignment of their basic economy with the Plateau peoples. This can be made clear by the following tabulation of material culture traits shared by tribes in adjacent culture areas. A few items of social culture not discussed elsewhere are also entered. Only those traits for which comparative data could be readily found are included, which makes the list random rather than truly representative. It must be understood that the reference is only to the specific form in which the Klamath hold to the trait. Thus, the compound fire-drill stick is entered, and not the simple fire drill. In fact, traits of this sort, having a distribution over the whole continent, have been excluded as adding nothing to our

KLAMATH TRAITS SHARED BY TRIBES IN ADJACENT AREAS

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Houses	Earth-lodge	Plateau (Chilcotin to Middle Columbia and Wishram), N.E. California (where it merges into central Californian forms).	[342] ●
	Mat-lodge	Wishram, Nez Percé, Middle Columbia?	[343]
Sweat-lodges	Dome-shaped	N.E. California, Basin, Plateau, Southwest rancherias, Plains, and eastward.	
	Earth-covered	Washington, Oregon (merges with central Californian type).	
Fishing	Dip nets	California, Plateau, Northwest Coast.	[227]
	Dam; weir	N. California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
	Two-prong spear	California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
Digging stick	Cross-handle; curved point	Northwest Coast, Plateau?	[412]
Insect foods	Slight use	Oregon, S. Plateau, Basin, California.	[262]
Metate	Extensive use	California (late in N. California?), Basin, Plateau?, Southwest and southward.	[412]
Mortar	Stone	S. and central California (prehistoric in N. California); wooden mortars in Plateau.	
Canoe	Shovel nose	Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Columbia basin to N. California.	[501]
Baskets	Considerable use	California, Basin, Plateau.	[415]
	Twine	Northwest Coast S. into N. California.	
	Minor use of coil	Plateau, Basin, central and S. California.	
Bags	Woven	Made east of Cascades, S. to Klamath.	[286]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 230]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
576. Acorn gathering: men and women	•o	•o	+	+	−	•−	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
577. Men, youths climb trees	o	o	+	+	−	−	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[222]
578. Women gather, transport acorns	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
579. Pine-nut gathering: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
580. Men climb trees, knock down cones	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
581. Men and women gather cones	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
582. Women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
583. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
584. Men and women transport cones	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
585. Women only	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	
586. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
587. Men and women prepare pine nuts	−	.	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
588. Men only	+	.	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
589. Women only	−	.	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	
590. Gathering of small seeds: women only	+	+	+	+	•+	•	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(−)	+	+	
591. Cooking: men and women	+	+	−						+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	
592. Women prepare, cook plant foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
593. Men only, cook meat	−	+	−						−	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	
594. Women only, cook meat	−	−	+						−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	
595. Men and women cook meat	+	−	−						•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
596. Carrying water near camp: men and women	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[312]
597. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
598. Women only	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
599. Carrying water long distance: men and women.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
600. Men only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
601. Women only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
602. Fire making: men and women	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[372]
603. Men only	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
604. Wood gathering: "kindling" wood, men and women	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
605. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	[313]
606. Women only	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	
607. Wood gathering: large logs, men and women	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
608. Men only	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
609. Women only	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Manufacturing Activities

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
610. Baskets: women only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
611. Skin, feather blankets: men and women make	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[291]
612. Men only or chiefly	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	(−)	+	+	−	+	[237]
613. Women only or chiefly	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	
614. Nets: men only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[284]
615. Cord: men and women make	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[283]
616. Men, generally	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
617. Skin tanning: men and women	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[281]
618. Men only	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
619. Women only	+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
620. Clothing: men and women make	−	−	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	[294]
621. Men only	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	
622. Women only	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	
623. Moccasins: men and women make	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
624. Men only	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	
625. Women only	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
626. Fish traps: men make	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	−	+	[227]
627. Women	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+	
628. Winter house: men and women build	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[342]
629. Men only	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
630. Summer house: men and women build	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
631. Men only	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	
632. Women only	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

HOUSES AND SHELTERS

Assembly and Living Houses*

● 342 Semisubterranean Earth Lodge

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
633. Semisubterranean earth lodge	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
634. Circular ground plan	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
635. Elliptical ground plan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–
636. Rectangular ground plan	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
637. Trapezoidal ground plan	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
638. 1-pitch roof	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
639. 2 ridgepoles	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
640. Hip-roof, rectangular type	+	+	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	(+)	–
641. Hip-roof, conical type	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
642. Conical roof	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	–	–
643. Multipole foundation	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
644. 4-pole foundation	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
645. 3-pole foundation	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
646. Center pole as foundation								+	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–
646a. Domed roof	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
647. Center posts	+	–	+	–	+	•+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
648. 1	–	–	•+	–	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
649. 2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
650. 4	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–
651. Medial posts	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–
652. Side posts	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	(–)	–	–	–
653. End posts	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	+	–	•+	–	•+	–	(–)	–	–	–
654. 4 corner posts	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+
655. Slope inward	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
656. Vertical walls	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	+	.	.	.
657. Entire floor excavated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
658. 1-2 ft.	+	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	+	–	–
658a. 3-5 ft.	–	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	+	–	+	+
659. Plank covering	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	•(+)	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
660. Planks vertical	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
661. Planks slope inward	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
662. Bark or slab covering	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	–	•+	•+	+	–	+	+	–	•+
663. Pole or bough covering	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	•+	•+	–	+	–	–	+	–
664. Thatch covering	+	+	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
664a. Pine-needle covering	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	.
665. Mat covering	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
666. Earth all over	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
667. Earth partial	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
668. Main entry: ground level	–	–	+	+	–	•+	–	–	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+
669. "Porch"	–	–	+	•–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
670. Flush	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
671. Oriented: E, SE	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	+	+
672. Oriented: S	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
673. Oriented: W	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	+
674. In end of house	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–
675. In side of house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+
676. Rectangular	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
677. Converging toward top	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	(+)	+
678. Domed	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
679. Hide door	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
680. Mat door	–	–	+	+	•–	–	–	–	•–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
681. Bark, brush, or slab door	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•–	•+	+	+	–	+	–
682. Main entry: roof	+	+	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	+	•+
683. Smoke hole	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
684. Separate hole	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	342
685. Hole rectangular or square	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	
685a. Secondary entry	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	(−)	•+	•+	•+	(+)	−	−	+	•+	
686. Ground level	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
687. Side or end of house	−	−	−	+	•+	•+	•+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
688. For children	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	(−)	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
689. For deer, wood	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	•+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
690. Draft hole	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	(−)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
691. Smoke hole	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	+	−	
692. Ceremonial use only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
693. Single fireplace	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
694. Center of house	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	•+	•+	−	−	+	+	+	+	
695. Between center and door	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	
696. Between draft hole and center post	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
697. Beside main (ground) entrance	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
698. On surface or in shallow depression	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	
699. In definite pit	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
700. Cooking fire outside dwelling	+	+	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
701. Smoke hole	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
702. Draft hole in rear of house	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	•+	•+	·	−	−	−	•+	
703. House ladder	+	+	−	•−	+	•+	+	+	•−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	•−	•+	
704. Notched plank or log	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	
705. 2 poles, rungs tied between	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
706. Center post as ladder	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	
707. Crosspieces lashed on	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
708. Interior wall coverings	−	−	−		+	•+	+		•+	•+	+	+	−	−	−	+	
709. Tule mats	−	−	−		−	•+	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
710. Hides	−	−	−		+	−	+		−	−	+	(+)	−	−	−	−	
711. Bark slabs to bank walls	−	−	−		−	−	−		•−	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	
712. Planks to bank walls	−	−	−		−	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
713. Bed scaffolds	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	
714. Floor coverings and pallets	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
715. Mats	+	+	+	(−)	+	•+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	
716. Loose grass or boughs	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
717. Pine-needle pallet	+	+	−			•+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
718. Wooden stool	−	−	−	•(+)	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
719. Individually owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	·	•+	[423]
720. Chief nominal owner	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	·	−	
721. Rich man	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	
722. Shaman	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
722a. Communally owned	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	·	•+	
723. Used as living house	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	•+	•+	+	+	•+	−	−	•+	
724. 1-family	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	
725. Multifamily	+	+	+	−	+	•+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	
726. To sleep in, only	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
727. For sleeping, cooking	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	
728. Serves as sweat house	−	(+)	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•−	•+	•+	•+	+	+	−	−	
729. Serves as assembly house	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	[562]
730. Open to both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	
731. Open to men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	
732. Women admitted only during ceremonies	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	[756]
733. Used for shamanistic activities	•+	•+	•+	•+	(−)	(−)	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	
733a. Winter use mainly	+	+	•+	−	+	−	•+	−	−	•+	+	•+	−	−	−	•+	[221]
734. Summer use mainly	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	•+	−	−	−	−	
735. Used throughout year	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	+	•+	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
342 Domed Living House																
736. Domed living house	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-
737. Elliptical ground plan	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
738. Circular ground plan	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
739. Domed roof	+	+	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
740. Pole or bough covering	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
741. Thatch covering	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
742. Mat covering	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
743. Earth covering partial	+	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
744. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
745. Oriented: E, SE	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
746. In end of house	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
747. In side of house	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
748. Rectangular	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
749. Domed	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
750. Mat door covering	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[354] 751. Entire floor excavated	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
751a. Single fireplace	•+	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
751b. Used as living house	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
752. 1-family	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
752a. Multifamily	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[252] 753. Used as cook house only	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Conical Hut and Lean-tos																
754. Conical hut	-	-	•(+)	-	•-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+
754a. Bark covered	-	-	•(+)	-	-	•+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
755. Thatch covered	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
756. Mat covered	-	-	(-)	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
756a. 4-pole foundation	-	-	•(+)	-	-	•+	•+	+		+	-	-	-	-	+	-
757. Doorway flush	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	•+	+
757a. Doorway projecting	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-
757b. Oriented E, SE	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-
758. Living house	-	-	(+)	-	-	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
758a. Multifamily	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
758b. Used throughout year	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
758c. Used in winter	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
759. Used in summer	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
[252] 759a. Summer cook house	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
760. Single lean-to	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•-	-	-	-	-	-
761. Back wall	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
762. Lacking back wall	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
763. Double lean-to	-	-	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
763a. Lean-tos: plank covered	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
763b. Lean-tos: bark covered	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
764. Lean-tos: brush covered	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
765. Lean-tos: mat covered	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sweat Houses and Sweating Customs																
Earth-covered Sweat House																
343 766. Earth-covered sweat house	•+	•+	(-)	•+	•+	•-	•-	•+	•+	•-	•-	-	•+	•-	-	•+
766a. Elliptical ground plan	+	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-
766b. Single ridgepole	+	+	-	+		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-
766c. Excavated	•+	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	•+
766d. Board floor	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
767. Pole, bough, or thatch covering	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
767a. Bark or slab covering	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-

BY ALL INFORMANTS

251 Storage of food.--Outdoor granaries on ground; on bedrock or multistone foundations; on platform.

Ownership of Productive Areas

423 Owner liable for injury of renter. Pens on communal weir privately owned. Seed tracts claimed for single season only. Private boundaries marked. "Tribal" boundaries marked.

Division of Labor

462 Formalized myth accounting for division of labor (cf. Voegelin, Tübatulabal). AW state division of labor according to "Coyote's law," but lack any detailed myth.

HOUSES AND SHELTER

Assembly and Living Houses

342 Entrances; uses and ownership; furnishings.--Entrance round, carved in plank. Partitions between families. House names. Windbreak before house. Flat plank for foot drum. Leader of hunters nominal owner. All men regularly sleep in sweat house. Fireplace and heating.--Fuel-
372 gathering ritual; fuel from top of tree; pair of limbs left on top.

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

501 Boats and ferriage.--Dugout canoe, ends peaked; carved-in "heart"; detachable prow ornament. Launching ceremony. Sails. Single-bladed paddle with crutch handle; compound paddle; blade end of
505 paddle concave. Ferriage by person in basket pulling across on rope (At: ascribe this to N Yana of Round Mountain).

Land Transport

482 Carrying devices.--Hammock-type carrying net. Painted decoration on folded hide bag. Cord and stick Mohave-type back frame. Snowshoe-type
492 carrying frame. Coolie yoke. Dog packing.

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

411 Bows and arrows.--Horn bow (AW: mentioned in myth, made by Butterfly). Laurel-leaf arrowheads. Arrows with 2 or more points. Arrow shaft of solid wood, split from log. Arrows with

[163-B]

Division of Labor

Subsistence pursuits.--

000 566. SW: "A man could go out to help his wife gather food if he wanted to, but she couldn't go with him to hunt. She might camp with him [on hunt], but she had to stay in camp." AW: If girl 9-10 shoots bow and arrow, her forefinger will become sore and she will lose arm and hand. (Girls, then, precluded from doing much practicing with these weapons.) Does not make grown woman sick, though, if she handles bow and arrows. Women do not hunt much; they accompany husband, usually, and help pack home deer.

571. NM: Old men, chiefly.

222 462 576. Kl: Wokus (water lily seeds) main seed crop; men do not assist in gathering wokus, nor in digging roots or picking huckleberries. "In early days men didn't do any of women's work, and women couldn't do any of men's work, either." Mo: If man not good hunter, he helps gather 000 wokus, or dig roots; "he has to eat. But other men tease him, ask him, 'why don't you learn to hunt?'" AW: Coyote decreed "that women gather, pound acorns, and collect wood, and that men hunt--that's what Coyote said. But if a man isn't going hunting some mornings, and has time, he gathers wood."

579. MV: Men only go outside area to gather pine nuts; see note 300b.

590. At: Man, however, "sometimes goes out with wife, and packs home whatever she gathers; he's sorry for her, and the woman doesn't want to get them alone." AE: Men and women. NM: Few if any small seeds gathered.

593. MM: Permissible to bring deermeat into house where women stay, but men cook deermeat.

595. WM, WS: See note 545.

600. SW: Rarely necessary, as "always live, camp near water."

607. AW: Man's ability to obtain wood, important consideration in eyes of his future parents-in-law. In summer, woman packs wood in pack basket, in winter man packs it.

Manufacturing activities.--

614. MV: Some women make small nets.

615. SE: Men makc heavy cord, women fine cord.

616. MV: Women assist.

619. Mo: "Men help; perhaps scrape hide, when not busy hunting. But women generally tan it."

620. SW: Men, women each make own clothing. AW: "Not many women tan buckskin or make clothes; just a few."

HOUSES AND SHELTERS

● 342 In this section two or more types of houses are sometimes entered under the same complex. Whenever this has been done, if no note is ap-

34 2 pended to the positive entry in the element list, the entry applies to all types. If a positive entry applies to one house type only, a note explains to which one the entry applies.

Assembly and Living Houses

Beside the house types covered by elements 633-765, some groups have in addition house forms which are not noted in element list. Notes on these additional house forms follow. Kl: Summer living house, wu'keploks; unexcavated, but otherwise similar in construction to Kl semisubterranean earth lodge; elements 634, 640, 647, 650, 654, 655, 659, 661, 663, 665, 667, 668, 670, 671, 675, 677, 680, 693, 696, 701, 703, 719, 723, 724, 727, 734 affirmed for this summer house; all other elements in series 633-735 denied. SW: Winter dwelling house, amma; used as eating, sleeping house by a few men, all women and children. Similar in construction to semisubterranean earth lodge (uk'kwamma) except that it is not earth covered and not excavated; elements affirmed for amma include 636, 638, 639, 653, 654, 656, 659, 660, 662, 668, 669, 671, 674, 676, 680, 681, 693, 694, 699, 701, 702, 714, 715, 719, 721, 723, 725, 727, 733a. WT: waipom krewel (see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 122 ff.) denied for this group, but see notes for WS. WS: In addition to 6 structures listed, WS have 1 other type, the modern Big Head and "Dream" dance house. This house is dug out, of plank construction, with rectangular hip roof, plank door. Accommodates ca. 200. Referred to as ɔlteresLut, but differs in structure from older house form of that name described below. (See Du Bois, Wintu, p. 122.)

Semisubterranean earth lodge.--
633. Kl: lult^{e}maloks. Mo: lač'as. SE: Uk'kwamma. (See figure.) SW: uk'kwamma. At: yau'di.

000

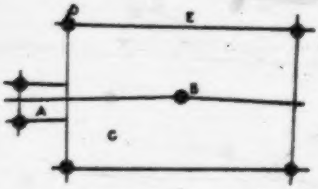

A, covered porch or entrance way; B, center pole; C, bark or slab roof covering with dirt over all; D, upright posts; E, pole stringers, resting on uprights.

AW: 2 types houses entered under this complex: (1) as´tui or large sweat house-living house-dance house, and (2) astu´i or 1-family winter dwelling. AE: Refers to as´tui, large winter

[181-B]

000 680. At: Mat door covering used for menstrual lodge (see note 855). WM, WS: Basket used to close entrance to living houses at night. MV: Mat, made of tule or wormwood, for assembly house.

681. WM: Living house, bark or slab covering; dance house, brush or bough door covering. If living house left vacant for several weeks, section of rotten pine used to close entrance way. WS: Secondary ground-level entry to assembly house closed with brush. Doctor-dance house has no door covering. MM: Bark door covering.

682. At: In N end of house. AW: All entries for elements 682-692 refer to sweat house-living house. WS: Refers to assembly house (see note 688). MM, MF: Refers to multifamily assembly-dwelling house. MV: Refers to winter living house.

[342] 683. Kl: Through hatchway, which is larger than ordinary smoke hole, but serves as such. See Spier, Klamath, fig. 19, p. 201.

685a. WM: Refers to living house. WS: Refers to multifamily dwelling and to assembly house. MM: Refers to multifamily assembly dwelling house. MF: Refers to 1-family dwelling. MV: Refers to winter dwelling.

687. At: Round entrance, on S side of house. AW: Rectangular, in broad end of house; bark or slab door covering. AE: Round.

688. WS: Refers to assembly house; women, children who are living in house use this entry, whereas men habitually use smoke-hole entry.

689. WM: Refers to living house; round hole, which is used to bring deermeat into house. Because menstruating woman may have entered house by main doorway, deermeat brought in through main door might be contaminated and hunter who has shot the deer, lose his luck.

693. WM: In living house, fire never allowed to die out while house is being occupied. (See fig.)

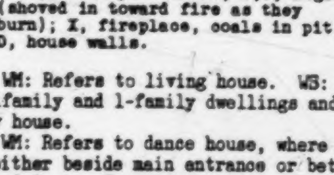

A, doorway of house; B,C, logs (shoved in toward fire as they burn); X, fireplace, coals in pit; D, house walls.

694. WM: Refers to living house. WS: Refers to multifamily and 1-family dwellings and to assembly house.

695. WM: Refers to dance house, where fire may be either beside main entrance or between center and door. In men's assembly sweat house (see 766 ff.) fire is also between center and door, and not beside center pole. MM, MF: Nearer center pole than doorway, however.

600 696. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house.

697. AW: Refers to 1-family dwelling. WM: Refers to dance house (see note 695). WS: Refers to doctor-dance house.

698. WM: In living house. In living houses, assembly house, piece of pine bark used as fire fan; "to blow fire with mouth makes one faint, dizzy"; young persons told not to do this. MV: Any article used which is handy, such as basket, to fan fire; in assembly house "don't need any fire fan."

699. WM: In dance house.

700. SE: If families occupy uk'kwamma (see note 633) during summer months, cooking fire is built outside, otherwise house becomes too hot. Ordinarily however all cooking is done inside uk'kwamma. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house. Usually cooking done within house, but in summer if it is too hot or noisy inside house, old women use communal conical cook house in which to pound acorns, cook, or weave baskets.

[342] 701. Kl: See note 683. AW: Sweat house-living house always has smoke hole, but 1-family house may or may not. WM: Refers to living house. Dance house lacks smoke hole, smoke escaping through door. WS: Refers to multifamily and 1-family dwellings and assembly house; doctor-dance house lacks smoke hole.

702. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house. WM: Refers to living house. WS: Refers to assembly house. MM: Refers to multifamily assembly-living house. MV: Refers to winter dwelling.

703. SW: Used in earth-covered sweat house, but not in semisubterranean earth lodge where entry is through sloping tunnel in front end of house. AW: Used in sweat house-living house-dance house. WM: Lacking in living house and dance house; present in earth-covered sweat house. Form: 2 poles with rungs tied between. WS: Used in assembly house. MM: Refers to multifamily assembly-living house. MF: Refers to assembly house. NS: Jump through smoke hole into assembly house. MV: Refers to winter dwelling.

704. SW: This type ladder used in earth-covered sweat house (see note 703).

706. MM: "Sometimes slide down center pole, if want to show off" when entering assembly house.

708. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house. WM: Refers to living house. WS: Refers to multifamily dwelling.

709. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house.

711. WM: Double lean-to bark house has interior walls banked thus.

713. MV: Refers to winter dwelling.

714. SW: Mats used as floor coverings; pallets used in unexcavated living house and in men's excavated sweat house, however. WM: Refers to living house. WS: Refers to multifamily and 1-family dwelling and assembly house.

715. AW: Refers to sweat house-living house; mats used by persons of better economic status.

000 730. WS: Refers to assembly house.

731. WS: Doctor-dance house open to men only, except when dancing going on; at this time women may also seek shamanistic power by dancing.

732. SW: Ceremonies consist largely of dances, attended by both men and women; however, prospective women shamans may also use this house to dance in, alone, while training for doctoring. WS: See note 731.

● [342] [756] 733. Kl, Mo: Shaman dances publicly in house during training; later cures in house. SE, SW: Shaman dances, alone, in house during training. AE: Shaman cures in house. WT, WM, WS: Would-be shamans, when seeking power, hold dance in dance house. WS, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS: Shaman cures in assembly house. MM, MF, NF: Shaman also holds night séances in assembly house.

733a. SE: See note for assembly and living houses. AE: By end of December all people belonging to certain village gather, live in semisubterranean earth lodge; during summer, fall they "live scattered out in camps" of 1-2 households, "all over the hills." WS: Refers to multifamily living house and assembly house. MF: Refers to multifamily assembly house. MV: Refers to winter dwelling.

734. At: During summer "camp out, under 4-post shade." MM: During summer use flat-topped shades, circular brush enclosures ("corrals"). MF: Refers to 1-family brush house.

735. WS: Refers to 1-family living house. MV: Refers to assembly house.

Domed living house.--

[343] [342] 736. Kl: Cook house (sti'na'as). The following additional traits pertaining to this type house were noted as present, but are not included in element list: 668, 670, 701, 719, 721, 722, 733a. Mo: 2 varieties domed living houses used. (1) multifamily domed eating and sleeping summer house (stakimus), and (2) cook house for winter house (kaiya'da). Type 1 "could be occupied winter and summer; it often is, by ordinary persons. Shamans, headmen live in earth house in winter, and use domed houses only in summer, or when camping." AW: alo'li. Additional positive elements: 693, 694, 699, 701, 702, 714, 715, 717, 719, 721, 723, 727, 735. AE: pastilogi. Willow house, having additional positive elements: 668, 670, 693, 694, 698, 701, 714, 715, 716, 719, 723, 727. MV: Slightly excavated, partly earth-covered domed living house lacking, but it should be noted that the 2 types of semisubterranean earth lodges, and also the earth-covered sweat house have domed roofs.

737. Mo: Positive entry refers to winter cook house.

738. Mo: Positive entry refers to domed summer house.

739. AW, AE: Pair willow poles stuck in ground 8-10 ft. apart; upper ends arched and tied together near tips; second set of poles

[185-A]

OOO set in ground at right angles to first pair, and tips tied together over center section of first arch.

740. Mo: Positive entry refers to domed summer house.

743. Mo: Positive entry refers to winter cook house. Besides partial earth covering, both Kl, Mo bank pine needles, earth around outside base of house.

751. AE: Ca. 8 in.

[342] 751a. Kl: Near main entrance. Mo: In summer house, at center of house; in winter cook house, near main entrance.

751b. Mo: Positive entry refers to domed summer house.

753. Mo: Positive entry refers to winter cook house.

Conical hut and lean-tos.--

754. SE: All data regarding conical hut among SE obtained not from SE but from AW informant (see below). This informant stated that SE used this house type more frequently than did AW. At: Negative entry probably reliable, as informant quickly recognized the type and voluntarily attributed conical houses with bark or juniper coverings to AW (correct) and an AE group. AW: 2 types conical houses entered here. (1) plustoki, which was rarely used by AW, used more often by SE. (2) Conical cook house (apule waka). Entries, unless starred, refer to both types. AE: pu'le. Bark-covered, 2-family living house, used mainly in spring and fall. Additional positive elements: 657, 658, 662, 664, 665, 668, 675, 676, 678, 680, 681, 693, 694, 698, 701, 714, 716, 719, 723, 727. This type house "used a long time ago"; informant had not seen one for 50 years. WT: krewel. Additional elements include: 634, 657, 658, 668, 676, 681, 693, 694, 698, 714, 717, 719, 721. WM, WS: Du Bois (Wintu, 122) mentions conical hut for Wintu generally, refers to it by term my informants used for lean-to (see note 763). WM, WS, menstruants only use conical hut (see note 855). NF: hū, winter dwelling. Additional elements include: 634, 643, 657, 658, 663, 667, 668, 675, 677, 681, 693, 694, 698, 701, 714, 717, 719, 723, 724, 727. NM: hūpū, bark dwelling. Additional elements include: 635, 6-pole foundation, 3 poles being placed at each end of ellipsis, 668, 675, 676, 681, 693, 694, 698, 701, 714, 716, 719. (See fig.) NS: 2 types of houses

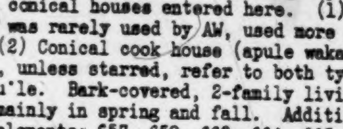

A, posts, leaning inward, tied together at top; B, entrance way; X, fireplace.

K
M middle Columbia, far below the Coast and California, and in turn
161 considerably above the Great Basin.[6]

000 The mind's eye, drawing upon descriptions of early explorers and modern ethnographers,[7] can recreate the life of the early nineteenth century. It is a life that moves through a succession of activities with the seasons, each characterized by a community of different size and constituency. On a miniscule scale they resemble the "task groupings" which Anastasio has analysed in the intertribal relations on the Plateau.[8]

K During the long winters, existence is centered in the permanent
M settlements, for the altitude of the Klamath Basin is over four
221 thousand feet and snow often drifts deep. An accrued depth of
132 six to eight feet is common; while in the exceptional winter of
133 1890-91 a figure of thirty feet, undoubtedly in drifts, was recorded
361 at the head of Agency Lake. Crude, circular bearpaw snowshoes
481 provide a poor means of winter travel, and the settlements tend
262 to become isolated; most people are forced to remain in the
villages, supplementing the meager winter catch with stores of
dried fish and meat, roots, seeds, and berries.

K From a distance, the winter settlement has the appearance of
M hillocks strung out along the bank or clustered in a sheltered
221 spot. In size it may range from several score houses—there are
361 perhaps a hundred house pits at one favored site on Klamath
• 342 Marsh, though not all may have been occupied at the same time
—down to tiny hamlets of one or two earth lodges and a few mat
huts.[9] Within the village, the earth lodges are the dominant struc-
K tures, with the domed huts flanking them. In Klamath settlements,
M communal storage pits shelter the bulk of supplies; but the
343 Modoc prefer to conceal foodstuffs in household caches some
251 distance from the houses.

One Klamath woman recalled her childhood hamlet, part of
K a settlement totaling roughly two dozen houses,[10] on the lower
361 reaches of the Williamson River. Here she and her parents lived
342 with her maternal uncle, the shaman later known as Alex Wilson,
whose earth lodge was the largest in the hamlet. Nearby was
another lodge, the residence of Hunter Wilson, brother of Alex
and headman of the family group. Some four or five mat-covered
K lodges and huts stood in the vicinity, the larger ones closer to
[343] the water for cooking and the sewing of tule mats, the smaller

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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for the seclusion of menstruant or parturient women, contact with whom is particularly injurious to shamans.

K
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The earth lodges, frequently dismantled in the spring after becoming waterlogged by the melting snows, are rebuilt in the fall. They are semisubterranean, built within a circular pit one to four feet in depth—the Modoc excavations tend to be somewhat deeper than the Klamath—and range in diameter from twelve feet for a single family to over thirty-five feet for the residence of a shaman. Four central posts support horizontal plates, with a split-log beam slanting down from each corner into the ground beyond the edge of the pit. Horizontal stringers between the beams in turn bear a layer of rafters, laid side by side around the house. Cracks are chinked with sticks and bark; and the surface is covered successively with rough matting, with grass laid along the lower edge, and finally with dirt. On top, rough planks are laid between the plates, leaving a hatchway that serves simultaneously as smoke hole and entrance.

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A similar structure, erected over a shallow depression or none at all, lacking the earth covering, and with side entrance, might also be used during the winter, but is most frequently the residence of warmer weather. The house is constructed by its future residents: working together, says Ray, Modoc may take a month to build an earth lodge.

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[417]
[354]

Both Klamath and Modoc conceive of the house as facing east, and on that side a stairway ascends. Within, a ladder thrusts through the hatchway, and down this the visitor climbs, being careful, if a woman, to manage her fringed skirt to observe the proper modesty. Once below and standing beside the central fireplace, he makes out the dim details. Behind him, at the front of the house, firewood is stacked in tiers, while across the back a partition has been made behind which are stored foodstuffs and gear. Many houses dispense with a partition, and supplies are kept on the ledge between pit and wall. From the rafters dried fish and roots hang. The floor is covered with mats, which sometimes extend up the walls. Along the walls the members of the household sit or sleep upon a bedding of mats thrown over grass, with an occasional blanket woven of tule and cattail, sometimes with feathers worked in, or of animal pelt. The left side of the house, as the visitor faces forward, is reserved for the family

K
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513

K M 342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old
352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the
513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another
K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are
M [592] houses that hold more than two families and others that hold
K only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no
M longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content
342 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.

888 735 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women
K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered
M 142 the visitor[11] are of powerful frame–though of no more than
average height–and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily
K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber
M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early
291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing
[177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the
trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down
the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside
add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a
K M mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in
302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips
361 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads,
ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum
K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy
M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face,
304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by
[142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter practice,
[177] says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit
River neighbors of the Modoc.

K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys.
M 512 Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grandfather
[857] and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black
waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the
sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to
stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its
K cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the
M [252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it
[415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they
[177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

FOUR

[P.52]

Clothing, Names, and Houses

*648 *657 177 SOME OF THE OBJECTIVES SET FORTH BY GOVERNMENTAL POLICY called for programs of broad institutional transformation in economy, political structure, and religion, and for only slightly less sweeping modifications in the family. Indian life was to assume the pattern of the rural, homesteading families of post-bellum America. To judge by the wording of the treaty, a generation was deemed sufficient at least to launch the changes.[1] Meanwhile, the young were to be schooled to take up that new life—a life yet to be realized by their parents.

The dangers of increasing intergenerational frictions, of augmenting stresses between different segments of the tribesmen, were not directly faced. Among them, individuals responded to the opportunity according to their differing capacities and inclinations. Those who forged to the front in the early days of the reservation included a number of persons already familiar with life in the white settlements; and the Agency threw its weight behind them and cited their cumulative development as evidence of the wisdom of government policy. When so construed, however, their achievements created administrative expectations for their fellow tribesmen that proved unrealistic.

In enumerating the features that would be taken as indexes of progress in the statistical reports, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was doing no more than seeking common denominators of acculturation, readily observed and counted. At the same time, there was a temptation for local administrators to manipulate the
[291] markers and satisfy the indexes directly. Thus white clothing was
• [342] issued directly as part of the annuities and houses were built for
[554] Indian leaders. To these practices, and toward such acts as the
[553] bestowal of new names, there was no organized opposition, and
acceptance was rapid.

*657 two years earlier, about 1868, Chief Lileks had induced his tribesmen
177 to abandon the practice of cremation in favor of the inhumation
764 he had observed in trips to Jacksonville, Yreka, and The
*657 Dalles.[7] With burial came new symbols of mourning and, apparently,
177 a partial relinquishment of the association with cropping
765 the hair. A few conservative individuals, however, still
302 resorted to the practice over a half century later.

[778] Naming the Indians was a matter of administrative necessity.
*657 Officials, faced with the duty of identifying their charges, labored
177 under the task of reducing unfamiliar sounds and lengthy, incomprehensible
551 names into writing. For the Klamath, the addition
553 of another name posed no problem. It had been native practice to use age terms for the very young—"My name is *niskag* (young girl)," one woman recalls telling her teacher—and to employ relationship terms when addressing kinsmen and occasional names in referring to others. The occasional names, of which an individual might have more than one, were often far from complimentary. Thus the literal meaning of the name of the Upland chief, Monchnkasgitk, is "One-who-has-a-big-belly;" while that of the individual later known as Allen David was "Black Anus."

Many new names were assigned when annuities were issued or when children entered school.

> It became one of the functions of the interpreter and clerk [recounts Good] to rename the stalwart braves, who were highly delighted with such commonplace appellations as "Joe Wilson" and "George Brown." "This is your name," he would say, writing it on a card, "and if you forget what it is, ask anyone who can read, and he will tell you." The bestower of names was sometimes amused at the corruptions arising from the Indians' peculiar pronunciation, as when "John Wesley" became "Whistler" and one who went forth as "Simeon" returned as "Sammy Andy."[8]

It may be added that the soldiers at the Fort and the settlers were also responsible for such names as "Great Eastern," "Old Faithful," "Skinflint," and "Skedaddle."[9]

*657

HOUSING

177 A relatively greater effort was needed to induce the Indians
• 342 to abandon what Agent L. S. Dyar characterized as "their warm,

ill-ventilated, native houses,"[10] in favor of log and frame dwell- 657*
ings. The advantages of the new structures were not evident to 177
the Indians,[11] and the labor required to build them was consider- 342 •
able. A small sawmill was set up in 1870, but at first its output 657*
was diverted primarily to Agency buildings. Somehow, the lum- 177
ber even after that time did not seem to go for housing. 313

> The completion of a sawmill [declares the roseate prose of A. B. Meacham, superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon] has worked a great reformation, inspiring them to extraordinary exertion to amass property of various kinds. . . . They have donned the white man's costume, taken the ax, cross-cut saw, and hauled to the mill a half-million feet of timber, and today are lumber merchants with stock in trade constantly on hand, evincing shrewdness and business integrity that makes an agent's heart strong to work with and for them."[12]

The following year, 1872, Agent L. S. Dyar was at length able 657*
to report that "four good frame houses have been built for the 177
Indians, and two more [are] well under way."[13] They were built 342
for the leading men: for Chiloquin, Francis, Hunter Wilson, Henry Blow, "Sergeant" Morgan, the daughter of Lileks, and Link River Jack. On the Upper End, the commissary in charge of the subagency urged, "During the ensuing two or three months the houses promised Chiefs Barcley, Ben and Chocktoosh a year
ago should be built. . . ."[14] These houses were small, one-room [352]
frame structures, vulnerable to the winter cold, but furnished with a bed, table, and four chairs.

Among the Indian advocates of the new dwellings were such men as Dave Hill and later Jesse Kirk, who, as elderly Indians today recall, used to ride around among their people counseling, "You've got to quit the old ways, change your houses, live like white people." They met opposition. Chief Lilu declined to leave his earth lodge for the house the government had built for him. As late as 1891, Agent D. W. Matthews noted that there was still "an occasional wik-e-up, which some of the aged prefer."[15]

> An Agent [recounted an elderly Indian of this time] used to go around from place to place and told the Indians that they must make homes for themselves of rough lumber, and get away from the wikiup. I heard him tell my father. My father said, "All right, if I can get the lumber." An old carpenter helped my father make the rough house. He must have been educated be-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*657
• 342
177

> cause he knew how to make the house and handle the saw and hammer. . . . I was glad because I could stay in a wood house and not a wikiup. Our rough house was wood all around and the roof was a regular roof. The roof was rough and tough. We had just one room. On one end of the house we had a stove. . . . [My mother] had a friend come over and help her cook on the stove. . . . We had tule mats in there because we couldn't get beds or other furniture. We had cracks all around. I was glad and rolled around on the mats. We didn't have two families in this home like in the wikiup. Just my family.[26] [592]

As families began to cultivate individual farms, to fence their land, and to erect barns and other outbuildings, some homes began to approach in quality those of the white farmers in the surrounding region. And, as they did, the Indian houses came to reflect a widening span between persons in standard of living.

657*

fall; while freighting, limited by road conditions, had the same 177 178
range of seasons. 221

For the farmer, splitting rails and fencing started in the winter 433
and ranged toward spring, as did the clearing of ground. Plow- [464]
ing and sowing of grain might start in March, while vegetable [489]
gardens were not planted before May or June. Harvesting and [241]
haying took place in late summer and threshing in the fall.

The stockman rounded up and branded his cattle at first in the [231]
fall and later in the spring. He sold his beef in the fall, then drove his herd to winter in the upper valley of the Sprague.

Those who relied upon aboriginal foods fished in the late winter and early spring, dug roots or hunted antelope and mule deer in late spring, gathered wokas, wild fruits and berries in the fall, hunted in the Cascades in the fall, and trapped for furs in the winter. 657*

Beyond this lay the domestic cycle. Homes were built or re- 221
paired in the spring and fall, supplies were bought in the fall, 342
and fuel was gathered in the fall and winter. 356
313

This summary, bald as it is, will illustrate the fact that many
more ventures were now open to the enterprising, as well as a 657*
wider range of relationships. It was possible to draw from 433
several cycles activities that were seasonally compatible. Thus, 464
when the harvests were in, fully one-half to two-thirds of the 177
men might leave the reservation on passes to work for whites, 178
taking their families with them.[74] Frequent crop failures drove many to seek outside employment to provide for the coming winter. Because new tastes had given rise to new needs, many at this time forsook those traditional pursuits that conflicted with more lucrative employment. Nor did money alone lie at the root of those preferences. Work for white settlers and freighting provided variety and seasonal mobility, opportunities to meet people, to change scenery, and to escape on occasion beyond the rule (however benevolent in intent) of the Agent.

The new opportunities were open primarily to men, consonant 657*
with the roles of the sexes in nineteenth-century rural America. 433
For them the new system, aside from a certain administrative 177
favoritism, provided an equal chance for advancement. It is no 178
accident that a number of the earliest employees of the Agency [567]
were Pit River Indians, of whom it was later said: ". . . as a

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10 ●
Modoc NS17

M clusion of almost everything else. The seeds of this plant.
K gathered and preserved in three different manners, as described
13 in detail by Coville,[4] form the staple article of food and thus
correspond to acorns used over the greater part of California.
About Tule or Rhett lake and the smaller lakes of that vicinity
there are fewer marshes and consequently a smaller supply of
the water-lily. Thus the Modoc were much less abundantly supplied
with this staple than were the Klamath, who are said to
have had on Klamath marsh alone over ten thousand acres of
these plants. The chief vegetable food of the Modoc seems to
have been tubers and bulbs, notably camass and ipos.

M The extensive lakes of this region naturally bring great num-
K bers of water birds of various kinds, including swans, geese,
136 ducks, and wading birds, the majority of which were used by the
Indians as food and in various ways. The skins of swans, geese,
and other birds with especially fine down, were made into
feather blankets, swaddling clothes, etc. Fish were abundant in
the lakes, salmon and salmon trout being especially esteemed by
M the Indians. The presence of this large supply of water birds
K and fish developed certain specialized implements for their cap-
223 ture. For taking birds there were what may be termed a ring-
M pointed arrow, and a special net. There were several methods
K of taking fish, the most important being by the large triangular
226 dip-net used in the dug-out canoe, as shown in pl. 10.
501

The country provided also an abundance of the usual animals,
M such as deer, elk, antelope, and others used for food; and coyotes,
K gray wolves, foxes, badgers, wildcats, rabbits, and various fur-
136 bearing animals furnishing blankets and clothing.
237

BUILDINGS.

M The houses of the Klamath and Modoc were of two kinds. In
K this region where the snow on the higher peaks is always in
● 342 sight, and where it often reaches a depth of several feet in winter,
[133] a warm and durable house is necessary. This was provided by
[132] the semi-subterranean earth lodge, which was of the usual central
California form, and had a pit from a foot to three or four feet

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[113] [4] Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians, Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Institution, 1902, 727-739.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M K 342 in depth. Its conical roof of poles was covered with mats and brush and finally with a thick layer of earth. One of these lodges was sometimes as much as forty or fifty feet in diameter and from fifteen to twenty feet high. There was no door in the ordinary sense of the term, but the house was entered through an opening near the apex of the roof, which served the double purpose of door and smoke hole. To enter it was necessary to walk up on the sloping conical roof to the opening and climb down by means of a vertical ladder inside, or by means of steps cut into the center pole itself. In either case the steps were holes cut entirely through a vertical log. These houses are said to have been so warm that little heating was required. M K [354] A small fire in the morning was sufficient for the day and another small fire in the evening heated it to a comfortable temperature which was maintained during the greater part of the night.

The summer house is a small structure of the "wickiup" or brush hut type (pl. 11, fig. 1). In most cases it is elliptical, or rectangular in ground plan, the axes of the ellipse or rectangle being anywhere from five by ten to ten by twenty-five feet. It is usually sufficiently high to permit one to stand erect in the center. It has sides which slope very abruptly to the ground, and a comparatively flat top. The framework is of willow poles stuck into the ground and brought together along the ridge-pole, to which they are bound securely. Cross pieces are bound along the sides to hold the poles in place. Three coats of matting are placed over this framework as a covering. The inner layer is of mats made of a kind of reed (pl. 25). Over this is placed a covering of mats made of the triangular stemmed tule, *Scirpus robustus* (pl. 23). M K 285 342 On the outside is a layer of mats made of the circular-stemmed tule, *Scirpus lacustris* (pl. 24). These last are made by sewing the tule together with a number of parallel strings, except along the two ends of the mat, where ordinary twining of the tule is used. This twining at the two ends assists in holding the whole mat more securely together and prevents the sewing from tearing out. It is said by the Indians that if an ordinary mat made with tule warp and nettle string twining as weft, or with tule warp and tule twining as weft, were placed on the outside, it would leak more readily than the mat made by

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

sewing through the tule, as the water would run down the tule to the twining and there begin to soak in. In the sewed mat the water never leaves the straight stem of the tule but runs directly down to the ground. These mats are often made sufficiently wide to cover the side of a small house, and are always so placed that the tule stems run up and down the side of the house. On large houses it is necessary to have two or more courses after the manner of shingles. All these mats are bound to the framework of the structure by means of poles passing horizontally. This summer or temporary house is made with a door opening at the end. The smoke escapes through a slit along the ridge-pole. M K 285 342

With the summer house there is always a sun shelter made of poles covered with boughs, tule mats, or long weeds or grasses. This structure is usually near the temporary summer dwelling, and under it the meals are served and the greater part of the work of the women is done. Temporary summer houses and sun shelters are still found among the Klamath, but the permanent earth lodge is a thing of the past.

There are two other structures in use in this region, the two forms of sudatory. The ordinary sweathouse, the one most commonly used, is a very small dome-shaped structure, as shown in figure 1, covered with tule mats. These mats, or nowadays blankets, may form a permanent covering for the house, or may be put on it only when a sweat bath is being taken. These little structures range from four to eight feet in diameter and from three to four feet in height. The entrance is a small opening, just outside of which is the fireplace for heating the stones to make the steam for the bath. Inside, at the rear of the sweathouse, is a small pit, one or two feet in diameter and six or eight inches deep. This pit is filled with the heated stones above mentioned, which in themselves provide considerable heat and when the steam arises as water is thrown on the hot stones, a profuse perspiration is caused. The heat is conserved by carefully closing all crevices about the sweathouse. After remaining for some minutes in the steam and heat, the bather runs out and M K 343 M K [354]

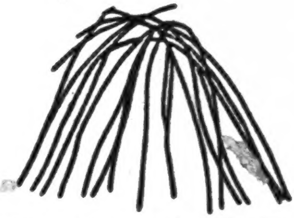
Fig. 1.—Framework of Sudatory.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 11.

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Fig. 1.—Summer house of tule mats.

Fig. 2.—Gambling tray of soft tule materials. Museum number 1-12732. Diameter 60 cm.

Fig. 3.—Flat basket of soft tule materials, for parching and sifting. Museum number 1-12465. Diameter 67 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

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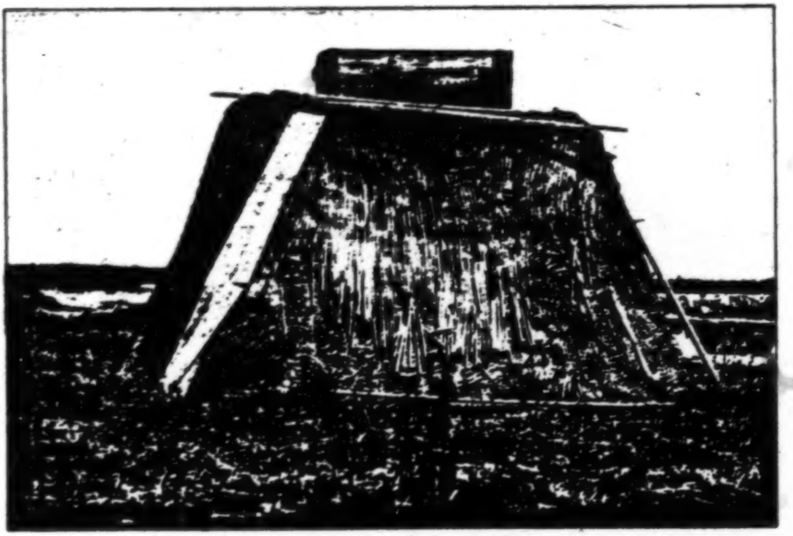

1
SUMMER HOUSE.

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→

2

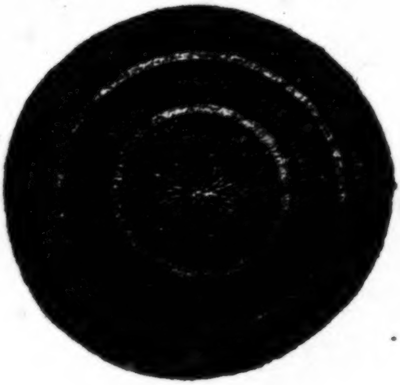

3

BASKETRY TRAYS FOR GAMBLING AND SIFTING.

[p. 265]

132 over," so that the running waters never swell, but show the same water level
throughout the year. Nights are chilly and really cold, for the soil reflects
against the clear sky all the heat received from the sun during the day, and
the dry night air pervading the highlands absorbs all the moisture it can.
342 Winters are severe; snow begins to fall early in November, and in the later
months it often covers the ground four feet high, so that the willow lodges
(not the winter houses) completely disappear, and the inmates are thus sheltered
from the cold outside. The lakes never freeze over entirely, but ice
241 forms to a great thickness. The cold nights produce frosts which are very
destructive to crops in the vicinity of the Cascade Range, but are less harmful
to gardening or cereals at places more distant; and in Lost River Valley,
at Yáneks—even at Linkville—melons, turnips, potatoes, and other vegetables
rarely fail. The mean annual temperature as observed some years ago
at Fort Klamath was 40.47° Fahr.

000 There are several instances in America where highlands have become
centers of an aboriginal culture. Such instances are the plateaus of Anahuac,
Guatemala, Bogotá, and of Titicaca Lake. They contained a dense
population, more cultured than their barbaric neighbors, whom they succeeded
in subjugating one after the other through a greater centralization
161 and unity of power. The Klamath highlands can be compared to the plateaus
above named in regard to their configuration, but they never nourished
a population so dense that it could exercise any power analogous to
that above mentioned. Moreover, there was no intellectual and centralizing
element among these Indians that could render them superior to their neighbors,
all of whom maintained about the same level of culture and intelligence

TOPOGRAPHIC LIST OF CAMPING PLACES.

361 To form a correct idea of the dissemination of Indians in this sparsely
inhabited country, the following lists of camping places will furnish serviceable
data. The grounds selected by the Máklaks for camping places are
of two kinds: either localities adapted for establishing a fishing or hunting
camp of a few days' or weeks' duration or for a whole summer season, or
342 they are places selected for permanent settlement. Winter lodges (luldamaláksh)
or slab houses are often built at the latter places; whereas the

361 [342] transitory camps are marked by frail willow lodges (látchash, stinā'sh) or other light structures. Indian camps are as a rule located near rivers, brooks, marshes, springs, or lakes. Hunters generally erect their lodges in convenient places to overlook a considerable extent of territory.

In the lists below the order in which the localities are mentioned indicates the direction in which they follow each other. I obtained them from the two interpreters of the reservation, Dave Hill and Charles Preston; and as regards the old Modoc country, from Jennie Lovwer, a Modoc girl living in the Indian Territory, who remembered these places from her youth. The grammatic analysis of the local names will in many instances be found in the Dictionary.

CAMPING PLACES ON KLAMATH MARSH.

103 361 The permanent dwellings upon this marsh have all been abandoned; but the Modocs and Klamath Lakes, together with some Snake Indians from Sprague River, resort there annually, when the pond-lily seed and the berries ripen, for a period of about six weeks. Its shores were permanently inhabited in 1853, when visited by the United States exploration party under [133] Lieutenants Williamson and Abbott, and even later. Dave Hill's list below follows the localities in their topographic order from northeast to southwest and along the southeastern elevated shore of the marsh, which at some places can be crossed on foot. A few rocky elevations exist also on the northeast end of the marsh.

Katā'gsi "stumpy bushes."
Táktaklishkshi "reddish spot."
Yaúkĕlam Láshi "eagle wing."
Yásh-Lamā'ds "projecting willow."
Spúklish Láwish "sweat lodge on promontory."
Mbákualsi "at the withered tree."
Kmutchuyáksi "at the old man's rock;" a man-shaped rock formation near the open waters of the marsh and visible at some distance.
Lalawasχē'ui "slaty rock."
Taktχísh "cricket noise."
Tsásam Péwas "skunk's dive."
Ktaí-Wasi "rocky hollow."
Snálaχĕni "at the rock-pile."
Lúlpak̲at "chalk quarry."
Kapgā'ksi "dwarf-pine thicket."
Wáptasχăni "water moving through ponds perceptibly."
Tchókeam Psísh "pumice-stone nose."
K̲ák̲si "raven's nest."
Íwal "land's end."
Luyáusti "within the circle."
Yaúkĕlam Snólash "eagle nest."
Tchíkas-Walákish "bird-watch;" secreted spot where hunters watch their feathered game.
Tuílkat "at the small rail pyramid."
Awaluashχē'ui "at the island."

*539 dispatched after a chipmunk, struck a log or tree, glanced off from it and came very
773 near killing Weasel's little son.

192 110, 11. 21. guháshktcha instead of guhuáshktcha, cf. Dictionary.

110, 17. vû'sho, breast, chest, is also pronounced wû'shu, û'shu; û'shutala, in the chest. k̲'lekl𝛘átko is the distributive plural of k̲'lekátko; k̲'léka, to die.

[193] 110, 18. mä'nshaktch, so long; stands for mä'ntchak tchí. The terminal -ak has to be taken here and in 110, 14. in the sense of the diminutive suffix: "a little long".

110, 19. k̲ä'la to *do* or *act* in the sense of amusing oneself, playing, gesticulating, or acting in a loud, noisy, or grotesque manner.

111, 1. túnepanti. The partitive case in -ti, if it stands for túnepanta, is used here, because the bags of neckwear brought by Skélamtch were counted on the digits of one hand, while those of Weasel were counted on the fingers of the other.

111, 3. wewilína. Beads were left over to Old Marten, because he had brought more than five sacks full to the tchpínû or family burying ground, emptying only five sacks on the child's pyre. This was a fabulously extravagant expenditure, the beads standing high in price and the sacks or wíllishik being rated at more than one bushel each.

111, 4. Mû'sh and Yámsh, syncopated from Mû'ash and Yámash.

111, 9. eí𝛘ishtok Mû'shash. The South Wind had put his head out; that is, a south wind had been blowing when Little Weasel died and hence was supposed to be the real cause of his death.

[821] 111, 12. Lĕmé-ishash. From the following it appears, that the five Thunders represent more the flash of the lightning (lúepalsh) than the roll of the thunder. There are many of them, because the thunder, when rolling over mountains and valleys, often increases again in loudness after having almost died out, and five is the often recurring "sacred" number of the Oregonian and other Northwestern Indians. The radix
[193] of lĕmé-ish is *lam*, which indicates a circular, whirling motion. The five Thunders are
[342] brothers, living in a winter-lodge or earth-house: Lĕmé-isham tchî'sh, thought to be
a dark cave; their parents, the two Old Thunders, live in a káyata or low, small hut covered with bulrush mats. The short episode 111, 12–17 does not refer to all the five Thunders, but only to one of their number.

[321] 111, 13. tû'tash is the long white marine shell, known as dentalium; it is one of
[301] the most common Indian body-ornaments. The white resin flowing out of pine-trees seems to be symbolized in this myth by the dentalium-shell.

111, 14. wák ish shû'tä, for wák shúta i nish: "somehow do (something) for me."

[193] 111, 20. In wä'shin are combined two locative particles: *i* and *n* (for na).

111, 22. mák̲laks tû'm (for tû'ma). The Thunders brought home as food many human beings struck by lightning.

112, 1. wanúnga, the distributive plural of û'nak; explained in the Dictionary.

112, 1. wennírui a tuá gátpa etc. Here and throughout this paragraph tuá means "some kind of."

112, 2. 3. shkaíni combines the meaning of strong with that of bad or mischievous, and answers to our *demoniac;* shkaíniak or shkaínihak stands for our comparative: stronger. The -tch, -s, -sh appended is an abbreviation of tcha, *now*, and shkáyent stands for shkaini at.

[342] 112, 3. Gékansha. Old Marten had entered the solid "earth-house" of the Thun-

*539 ders, while the Thunders stopped in the small kayáta which was the abode of their
773 parents. To enter such an earth-lodge a high ladder called ga-ulúlkish must be climbed
on the outside. and another ladder, as long or longer than the other (wakísh) leads into
192 the interior Pătchŏ′le nă′shak, pépătchle (for pépătchŏle) lápok wakísh: "he had
342 stepped once", "twice" down on the inside ladder; that is, he had made one step,
417 two steps on it commencing from the top. Each one of the Thunders, when trying to
penetrate into their own lodge, gets a little further down than the previous one, but
all are driven out by the *chilling*, powerful spell of Skélamtch's headdress.

112, 7. gúlipĕlánk. The second of the Thunders, frightened at the ill-success of his experiment, retired again to the low hut or kayáta, where the other Thunders were and where their parents dwelt. This word has two accents on account of shash being enclitic; cf. 111, 2. 112, 13. 113, 9.

112, 8. Tátχĕlamni refers in this connection to the relative age of the brothers: "the third in age of the five Thunders."

112, 9. gekanshĕnû′nk: for gékanshna hû′nk. Cf. 113, 12. ktánshan nánui sχolχótak, for: ktánshna nánui shχolχóta ak.

112, 9. gû′tχitkt, a contraction of gû tkitko at.

193 112, 11. 12. "Ya! ati′ a nă′lsh winnī′χitk tuă′ki." This was said by all the five Thunders simultaneously and *unisono*. In tuă′ ki, á is altered into ă′, almost ó. The inserted particle hû, û "in the distance, out there, over there" seems to have produced this change.

112, 15. Ī′lhankshti ī′tpa "he brought some venison," a phrase corresponding exactly to the French: "il apporta *du gibier*"; both nouns standing in the partitive case. These partitives are governed by another noun in 113, 6 (mák̲lakshti) and 113, 7.

112, 21. pûelhī′: they threw the dead Indians down into the lodge from its roof. The suffix -l- indicates a downward direction, like -fla, -kuéla etc., and occurs also in 112, 17, hă′mĕle, to speak in a downward direction, to shout to somebody standing below. The suffix -hi means down to the ground, or on the ground, earth, soil, and since the lodge-floor is the soil itself, it also means "into, or in the lodge or wigwam".

113, 2. íwa sha tchúi. They put into the bucket the bodies of the dead Indians to stew or boil them up.

113, 2. Nókshtak etc. The gray wolf, the marten and the weasel all being carnivores, there is nothing extraordinary in the fact that mythic fiction lets them participate in a meal consisting of human flesh.

113, 3. háshpa shash. Shash stands for mák̲laksash, the dead Indians.

113, 8. nánuk wû′ta. Marten ate up all the human flesh which he had taken out of the kála.

113, 8. shéwanank. The verb shéwana refers to a plurality of objects, the objects being sometimes expressed by a collective noun, as here (tchulē′ksh).

113, 9. Ké-udshiámtchkash stands for Ké-udshiamtch tchkash; nû′kla is to roast on coals; tchulē′ks is here venison meat.

113, 13. ka-uloktantktám′na. The verbal suffix -tám′na, which marks an action often repeated, or continued for a long time, is not here, as usually, appended to the simple form of the verb, but to its derivative in -tka.

113, 14. Tchékag. The blackbird has yellow eyes shining bright in the darkness,

*539 773 192 **120, 2.** tchishkuapsht instead of tchishkuápkasht.

120, 10. vutátchkia is also pronounced utátchkia, hutátchkia. Earth-lodges which open on the top can be closed by means of a large cover placed over the smoke-hole.

194 193 **120, 11.** lepleputéa or properly: leplep-putéa, "to play the smoke out game with two on each side," is a compound of lápĕni *two* in the shorter form láp, and púta to be smothering. Láp has changed its vowel into a shorter vowel, *e*, on account of removal of accent, and is here redoubled by iterative, not by distributive reduplication. Cf. lepχléks from láp and k̲'léka. A series of points after lepleputéa indicates that the animals repeated this word an indefinite number of times, while the others were inside the lodge, and while pronouncing pută', they opened again to let them out.

120, 17. tchúχasht tchĕ'k kaishnû'la. Literally rendered, this means: having perished finally, they uncovered. The subject of tchúχasht, lû'lχagsh, has to be supplied from what precedes. The smoke of the burning rotten wood killed the cubs.

● 342 417 **120, 19.** ga-ulû'lkish, from ga-ulóla to go out, is the outside ladder of the Indian "mud-house" or winter-lodge, averaging in length from 10 to 15 feet; the inside ladder, wákish, is somewhat longer to reach the excavated floor.

120, 21. The complete wording of this sentence, in which sháptki stands for shápatki, would be: k̲á-i sháptki giug Lúk̲ash, gátpampĕliaht hû'nksh (hû'nkiash).

193 **120, 22.** ággaipksh, contraction of aggayápkash: aggáya to be hung up, or to be stuck into; said of long-shaped articles only.

121, 3. anulípka to take away something from another's lodge or house without asking for it; the suffix -ipka expressing the idea of "towards oneself." Anulípkuish, "what was once abstracted from others" appears here in the contracted form anuli'pkŭtch; gé-u "by me, through me."

121, 9. tútatatakaui shows repetition of the two first syllables of tatákani children, but at the same time means "where are the children?"

121, 15. shálgidsha; the antelopes placed the coals there to secure their flight from the Bear; had the coals been put there by somebody else, lákidsha would be used.

121, 22. 122, 7. hû'ktakag: familiar diminutive name given to the Grizzly Bear; hû'ktag, 121, 23., stands for one of the young antelopes.

122, 1. 2. Mbúshant tchĕ'k etc. The sense of this exclamatory sentence is as follows: "To-morrow at last I will play a sharp game with ye children, when in the day-time I can use my eyes to advantage." Lúlpatka is: lúlpatko a; "possessing eyes" is the primary signification of lúlpatko, but here it means "enabled to make use of the eyes". Cf. múkasham nû lúlpatko: I see as sharp as a horned owl. The distributive form pshépsha, of pshé, "during day-time" means "any time when the sun shines bright." Cf. pshéksh, noon-time.

122, 9. This blowing of personified objects of nature into sticks etc., is a fiction of which we have another instance in 111, 16.

122, 11. ndshenshkáni. See *Note* to 71, 6. 7.

122, 12. 13. tchiwá, tchi'tchu: tchi is a syllable found in many words referring to water and liquids, as tchíya to give water; tchiéga to overflow. This radical is no doubt an obsolete Klamath word for water and recalls the term tchû'k "water" in Chinook jargon: tltsuk in Lower Chinook, tl'tchuku in Clatsop; tchaúk in Nútka. It also occurs under various forms in the Sahaptin dialects. By this lake undoubtedly Upper Klamath Lake is meant. Cf. tchíwa in Dictionary.

(23) PO: Would you tell something good, do thus (?) [at our] asking? 539*
(24) That's what he wants, this one, and he asked me thus, a little while 124
ago, "Why are there so many house-pits, on the Marsh? (25) Did they 173
live there at that time, even in the winter?" (26) And I said, "I do not
know." (27) Did they live there on the Marsh in the wintertime? [361]

(28) AC: Yes, all. (29) They lived everywhere. (30) Many there on the Marsh too, many lived all around it. (31) They lived [there] every day, even in winter. (32) And these Indians lived around here, many, the same way these [people lived] also up above, all the length of the river. (33) These living places were over there, those house-pits. [342]
(34) Thus (Proper name) said to me long ago, "What did this used to be?" (35) So I said, "Our grandfathers used to live there, that—at that Çome·ksi. (36) The house-pit was on this side long ago, that of my Grandfather (father's father)." (37) Thus that (Proper name) told me. (38) It was there. (39) And they called [them] "ʔiwli·wakni·" that house-pit lies there, he told me. (40) And in that same way those (Proper name) are our grandfathers, as I told [her, i.e., the questioner mentioned above in Sentence (34)]. (41) So [she] said, "Yes, was it thus? (42) No one told me," [she] said. (43) "Yes, these were living places all around here, [103]
this, this was Q́ačwe·č, this mountain—the mountain was called Q́ačwe·č."

(44) PO: What is that Q́ačwe·č?

(45) It is something from the old times—some myth. (46) All of the mountains were named some way. (47) Thus said (Another proper name) long ago, "What is that Č̓niWi·ls? (48) Č̓niWi·ĺs, what is it?" (49) We do not know. (50) We did not name the mountains. (51) Thus mountains were named thus around. (52) Perhaps when God made this, He named the mountains, thus. (53) I asked many, old persons, and they did not know it. (54) Truly they did not know it, [and] I also do not know.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 161]

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133
• 343
361

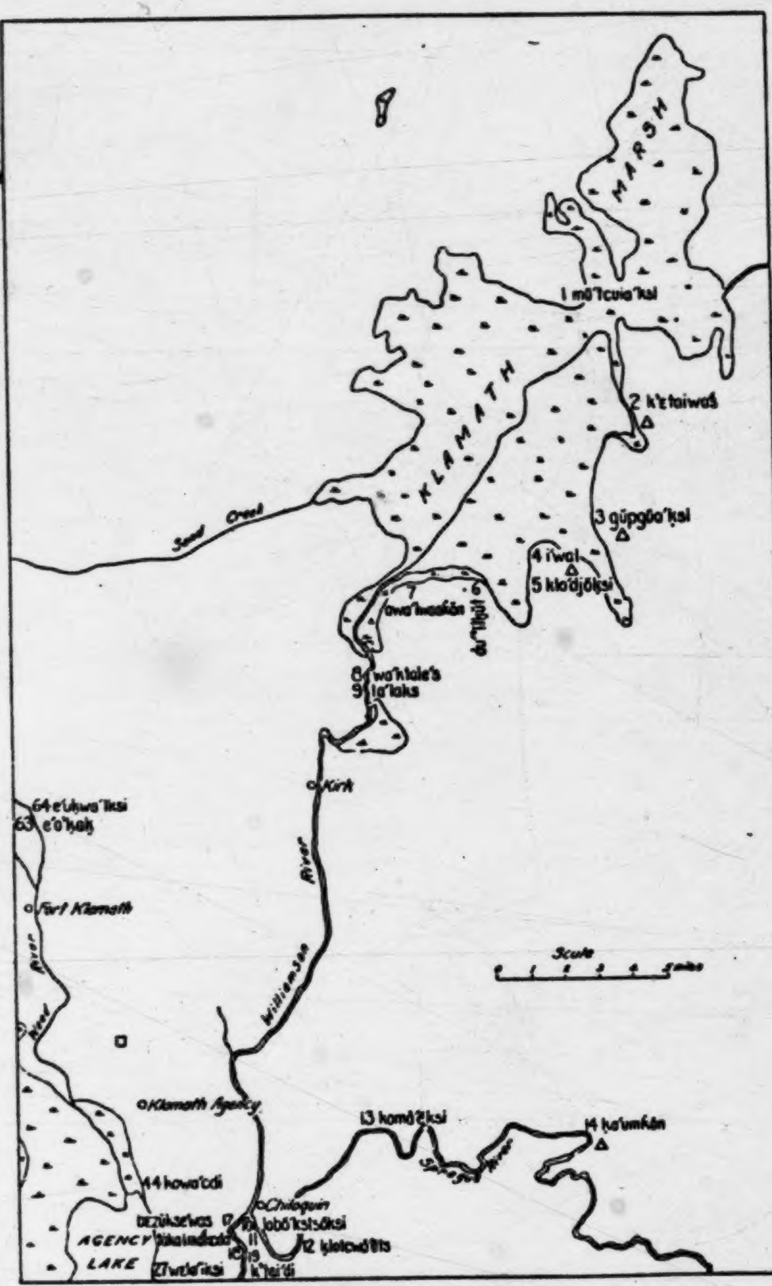
MARSH
KLAMATH
1 mō'lcuia'ksi
2 k'ɛtaiwaš
3 gūpgūa'ksi
4 i'wal
5 kla'djōksi
6
7
ōwa'lwasfān
dū'lli
8 wa'hlale's
9 la'laks
Sand Creek
Kirk
Williamson River
64 e'uhwa'lksi
63 e'o'kak
Fort Klamath
Wood River
Klamath Agency
44 howa'cdi
bezūkse'was
Chiloquin
jobō'kstsōksi
12 kiolcwō'lts
13 komō'ksi
14 ka'umfān
Sprague River
AGENCY LAKE
27 wtle'iksi
k'tei'di
10
11
15
17
Scale
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles

Fig. 2. Settlements in northern Klamath territory. Triangles represent cremation piles; rectangles, mourners' sweat-lodges.

21, ḳ!o'ltawas, a town of ten or fifteen earth-lodges on the left 103
bank, with houses on the right bank extending to the next settlement 131
downstream. There are otter (ḳ!olt) holes in the right bank, hence 361
the name. A mythical otter that lived here is seen in a rock standing [823]
in the water; on his back are his children, smaller rocks.

22, at'awīke, "to catch fish in still water," six to a dozen houses [226]
on the right bank; a few on the left. The water here is quiet; fish are caught with the trolling net.

23, ya'ak (ya'ac, willows), two dozen or more houses on the right bank. This was the largest river site in early reservation days, the road from Link river (Klamath falls) fording the river here. Of three house pits together, with their margins nearly in contact, two are twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter, the other fully five feet more. A cremation pile stands on the hill above this town. It is now leveled by marauders, as are all the others in this country, but it apparently covered an area forty feet in diameter.

24, tsa'k'wi, houses on the right bank with a few on the left.

25, wītă'mŭmpsi, bear's place (wītă'm, black bear). This is a [823]
high bluff on the right bank above an eddy in the sharp bend in the
river; the scene of vision questing. A large shaman's earth-lodge is [756]
located here. Fish are caught all year long above this town.

26, goyᴇmske'ᴇgis, crawfish crawl out, or kiᴇke'trŭs, small lizard, [226]
a town half a mile long beginning a quarter-mile above the highway
bridge. The houses are on the abrupt slope right to the river's brink,
and some on the little bluff above. There are pits of perhaps forty or [343]
more houses here, but at least half are dome-shaped cooking houses, for they are for the most part only six to ten feet in diameter, with few as much as fifteen feet. One of eighteen feet has its dome-shaped kitchen lodge clearly indicated on the north side.

27, wᴇla'lksi, named for a big quaking-aspen (wᴇla'l) there, is on the eastern shore of Agency lake. A few ă'ukckni live here in winter, in five or six small houses.

28, loḳ'o'gŭt, warm, a little warm spring near which are two houses [133]
on the higher land near Agency lake.

29, tcŏ'klalŭmps, service berry, which grows here abundantly, is a town of one or two small houses overlooking the lake where the Chiloquin road meets the lake highway.

Other towns may have been at ya'mzi, on the western side of Yamsay mountain, and ḳokenă'okᴇ, Spring creek, a large northern affluent of Klamath marsh.

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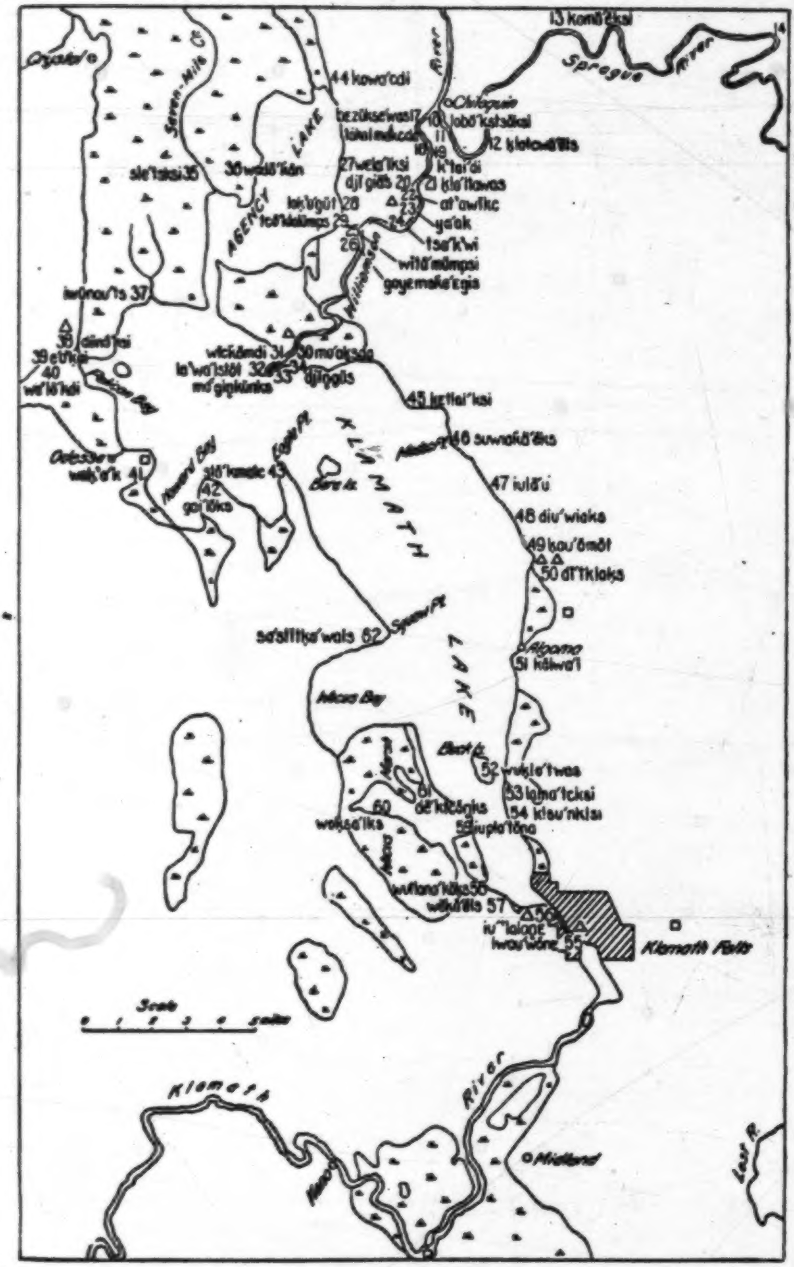
Oyadala
Seven-Mile Cr.
LAKE
AGENCY
River
Sprague River
13 komō'tkai
14
44 kowa'cdi
Chiloquin
bezūkse'wasl7
10 lobō'kstsākai
lōkalmakcdi
11
12 kiokowā'tits
18 19
k'tai'di
27 wela'iksi
djī giā's 20
21 kla'ltawas
36 wadā'kān
sle'tsksi 35
lakiūgūt 28
22
23
at'awikc
tcā'kālāmps 29
24
ya'ak
tsa'k'wi
26
wilā'mōmpsi
goyemake'egis
Williamson R.
iwōnau'ts 37
38 dīnā'tai
39 etī'kai
40
wa'lā'kdi
wicāmdi 31
30 ma'aksda
la'wa'lstōl 32
34
33
djīqgīs
mō'giqkūnks
Pelican Bay
45 iuqtlai'kai
Modoc Pt.
46 suwafiā'ēks
KLAMATH LAKE
47 iulā'ū
48 diu'wiaks
49 kau'ōmōt
50 dī'tkiaks
Odessa
walī'ē'k 41
Howard Bay
stō'kamdc 43
Eagle Pt.
42
gai'lōks
Crane Lk.
sa'alltka'wais 62
Squaw Pt.
Algoma
51 kōlwa'l
Shoalwater Bay
Buck Lk.
52 wukla'twas
53 lama'tcksi
54 klau'nklsi
61
60
dē'ktcōniks
walisa'iks
58 iupla'tōna
wuflana'ktcks 56
walā'tits 57
iu'lalonE
59
iwau'wōne
55
Klamath Falls
Scale
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles
Klamath
River
Keno
Midland
Lost R.

Fig. 3. Settlements in southern Klamath territory. Triangles represent cremation piles; rectangles, mourners' sweat-lodges.

[p.17]

side of Wood river in much the same locality. These may be the 103
same site. 131

V. *Klamath Falls group* (*iu"lalo̧ŋkni*).—All the people of the lake 361
from Modoc point southward are named for their principal locality, iu"lalo̧ŋᴇ, Klamath falls. Despite the large area, they are relatively few in number. In summer they resort to the marshes west of the lake or fish on Lost river. The district along the eastern shore of the lake from Modoc point nearly to Algoma is called ne"luķsi (ne"luķs, a late sunrise), from the circumstance that a low mountain here cuts off the morning sunlight.

45, kᴇt!ai'ksi, point of rock, a promontory two miles or so northwest of Modoc point, is their northernmost settlement.

46, suwiakă'ĕks, jump over, is a large village at Modoc point. It extended on both sides of the headland and for three-quarters of a mile south. The place takes its name from a large rock (about three and a half feet high) which stands a half-mile south of the point. It was a trial of skill to run uphill and jump over the rock. Bare island (au'emi) opposite is their camp site, and has no permanent settlements.

47, iulă'u, promontory, is a fishing village occupied in early spring. Pictographs are painted on the rock slide north of this.

48, diu'wiaks (named for its little spring, di'wik) is a winter
settlement at the railroad point Ouxy. Little fish ran in the spring [226]
early in the year.

49, ķau'ŏmŏt, a half-mile south, is, like all these lake sites, crowded
along the foot of the mountain on the lake shore. There are many
earth-lodges about a large spring here. The lodge rings are so clear [172]
that this would be a good place for archaeological excavations. Its
name is from ķau'ŏm, a place where fish run.

50, dI'tk!aķs, boiling spring, is now known as Barclay spring. [133]
There are many earth-lodges north and south of this. Two cremation
piles are to the north on the highway, one distant a hundred yards on a
rock slide, the second twice as far and directly on the southern
boundary of the reservation. Unlike the cremation piles on William-
son river, no glass beads or iron was to be found at this second site.
South of Barclay spring by three hundred yards is a deep nameless [231]
spring into which pups are thrown to train them for hunting. A large
sweat-lodge used by mourners is situated at the foot of the slope near [343]
the angle of the marsh east of Algoma.

BIRTH

The birth of a first child is an especially significant occasion. If 844
it is the mother's first it will bring strong winds and thunder.[77] The [821]
Klamath also hold that in at least one other crisis, on the death and
cremation of a shaman, the wind will rage. For the father the coming [756]
of the firstborn is one of those occasions on which to seek power in
the mountains.

Birth (wiä'sla) must always take place outside the dwelling in a [343]
dome-shaped lodge especially prepared by the mother of the expectant
woman, her mother's sister, or cousin. This is not the menstrual lodge,
for this is used only by women of a shaman's household. This pro- [171]*
scription of delivery within the dwelling is shared by other tribes of
this latitude (Shasta, Northwestern Maidu, Lemhi, and Wind River
Shoshoni) but is unknown to the south.

A woman's first delivery is attended by four or five old women
well-known for their skill as midwives and hence not of necessity her
relatives. They are sometimes paid a fathom of beads. Men are
excluded from the lodge. It may be that no man will chance con-
tamination. I do not know whether shamans are called in difficult [756]
cases. It would seem likely, since they have some genuine medical
practice, were it not for this restriction.

The procedures surrounding parturition are almost wholly prac-
tical and physiologically well founded. The attendants press on the
woman's abdomen and lift her repeatedly to hasten delivery. She
lies on her back on a bed of grass with a soft pad (coyote or raccoon
skin, or duck feathers) arranged to receive the baby. The umbilical
cord is cut with an obsidian knife and the stump tied with the
mother's hair. If anything else is used for the tie the child will con-
tinually cry. The afterbirth (yĕpĕno'ŋ ?) is deeply buried so that no
animal may devour it and make the woman barren. Immediately 846
after birth she is seated in the lodge on a bed of hot stones, covered
with leaves. On this she must remain blanket-covered for five days.
She drinks warm water freely; she may not eat meat nor fish, and must
use a scratching stick, just as during catamenia and mourning. At [292]
the birth of a first child both parents wear sage-brush bark belts for

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[77] It is also the view of the Wishram that the weather is stormy or hot at
the birth of a child, according to my information. [171]*

Everyone is quiet during the singing, else the girl will die. My informant could not say what would be done to the one who broke this rule. The singers are fed at midnight. 881 533

The choristers sing about one another, men about women, women about men.[58] The opening song is always:

iwūne' ṡken djīdja'lwis djaiyo'djai'wa [539]
toward sundown bachelors making a noise (?)
The young men are having a jollification in the west.

Toward daylight they sing:

pe'ĕt ṡeskä'ni dji'ḳla ho'llidoŋga
Toward the dawn place a tiny brown bird came to meet us.

The girl herself is expected to dance with downcast eyes, although there is no express prohibition against looking at the sky as among the Shasta. Common girls, however, will laugh and look around as they dance. There is no suggestion that the girl's glance is malignant. 881 535 576 [171] *

She observes three precautions during these five days, as she will at subsequent menstruations and during mourning. She must abstain from meat and fish, eating only lily seed or roots. She may, however, eat when she pleases and with the others. Should she eat the forbidden flesh, she will get "consumption" and die.[59] She must not touch her hands to her face or head, using instead a scratcher (sadŏ'ktcuts). This scratching stick or bone is tucked under the left wristband or hung about the neck. Every morning she runs toward the dawn. 881 881 784 [302]

In the Field Museum collections are several bone scratchers used during the girl's rites (nos. 61633, 61692, 63632). These are of two types; lozenge-shaped and oval. They are decorated with incised lines, set close together and filled with black pigment. Each is provided with a thong (fig. 6). [531]

During the day the girl retires to sleep in the bushes or in a dome-shaped mat-lodge a few hundred yards distant. 881 [343] •

She wears an old, dirty, fringed skirt, a blanket of skin (coyote, wolf, raccoon, or deer), and buckskin moccasins. The long buckskin dress commonly worn at dances may be used, although one informant stated otherwise. She does not wash nor comb her hair during this period. Her face is blackened with pitch and charcoal, but none is put on her hair as it would be in mourning. Instead the hair, hanging as usual in two braids in front of the shoulders, is doubled on itself to form two clubs, which are bound with braided cords of buck-brush [291] [302]

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[58] Some of these songs are given by Gatschet, 1:182, 189.

[59] A bone drinking tube is not used.

The rewrapping of a man is done by male friends, of a woman by 764
women, but men alone tend the fire. They cover the remains as quickly as possible, all those about crying loudly the while. Little children are kept at a distance. By way of purification, those who [783]
tend the corpse leave their clothing out of doors for several days and swim, or bathe in the sweat-lodge.

The house in which the death took place, even that of a child, is burned with its contents.[101] The survivors live elsewhere until, on a remarriage, for instance, a new lodge is built. If the house of a shaman is burned with the regalia it contains, a violent storm springs up in the night, hence they wait for calm weather before setting it afire. It is only safe for an old woman to fire it. When a shaman dies and again when he is cremated, storms rage for two days.

Strict mourning is enjoined on the spouse of the deceased and his 765
parents. It is quite clear that a son or daughter need not mourn so deeply for a parent. Those who observe the fullest mourning cut their
hair short immediately on the death; this is called sla'mitk. After the 765
cremation they sweat for five days, go out in quest of a vision, and
observe the mourning restrictions throughout the following year. 783

The mourner fasts inside the sweat-lodge (spo'kliks) from early [787]
morning until sundown during these five days. There are only four sweat-lodges proper to the use of mourners, or rather three. This restriction is so inconvenient considering the scattering of Klamath settlements that I would doubt it, had I not definite assurance from all informants.[102] There are none in the territories of the Pelican bay
and Williamson river-mouth people. The three lodges are semi- [343]
subterranean, of timber and rock construction, and earth-covered. These are said to be the gift of Kᴇmü'kümps, the culture hero. A very small one stands a mile and a half north of Klamath Agency.[103] A second is on the south side of a point called waḳa'ḳsi, near Odessa on the western side of Klamath lake.[104] The third and largest is on the hillside at the angle of the marsh east of Algoma. The Klamath Falls group have no mourners' lodge but make use of a hot spring at hö'kewalks, a mile east of the present Klamath Falls railroad station.

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[101] I was not told of cairns of stones tossed on the spot by passers-by as described for the Modoc (Gatschet, 1:85).

[102] Gatschet also noted three alone (*op. cit.*, 1:xlii, 82, 142).

[103] This may be the one mentioned by Gatschet (*op. cit.*, 1:xxxi) although the name he gives resembles that recorded for site 64.

[104] This is referred to in a tale of Mink and Weasel.

765 783 343 There they place planks over the spring on which to lie. The common small sweat-lodges are not used in this connection.

The sweat-lodge near Algoma is now in ruins but it was always in need of repair, I was told (fig. 7). It is now a U-shaped wall of stones enclosing an area ten by twenty feet. The walls still stand five or six feet high, composed of thousands of small rocks. The roof was a rough gable covered with dirt. The lodge faces the east, uphill on a rather steep hillside. Stones were heated outside and carried just within the entrance. Air seeped in along the ground at the back or lower side of the lodge, so the mourner would retire there from the heat. A little spring is close by. There were no houses within several miles of this place. The little lodge north of Klamath Agency faces south.

765 343

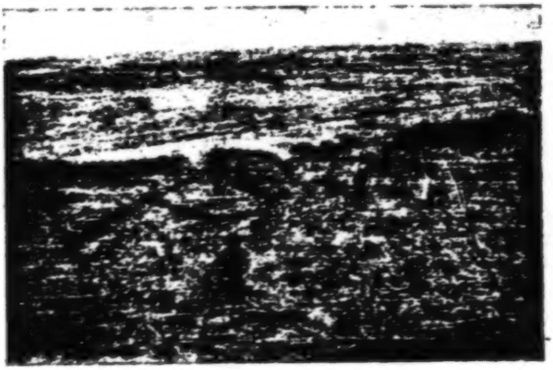

Fig. 7. Mourners' sweat-lodge near Algoma. The nearest man stands in the mouth of the U-shaped structure; the middle figure on the far wall; that to the right beyond it.

765 [783] [787] At the end of the five days of sweating the mourner swims in the spirit places in quest of power or seeks it in the mountains. The reason seems to be not alone that he has lost power through his sorrow, but that this is an especially propitious occasion when the spirits will pity him for his grief. One such place is a pair of rocks, Wolf and his wife, north of Modoc point. A man will wrestle with the Wolf rock, his wife with Wolf's wife, in order to become strong and run well.

[301] During mourning women wear bands of buck-brush or sage-brush around the head, neck, waist, wrists, knees, and ankles like those worn during the puberty dance. The bands are disposed of by wrapping them around trees near the sweat-lodge where they are sometimes collected by those who wish to make cauteries of them. Both parents (or men alone) wear service berry or sage-brush belts like
[302] those of girls at puberty, so that the back will not become stooped. For a year or longer, pitch is smeared over the face and hair, and black-

HOUSES AND HOUSE LIFE

Houses are for the most part so closely crowded in the settlements 361
that their peripheries nearly touch. At least this is the evidence of the house pits, which my informants would have me believe were occupied at the same time. Some of them are small structures, used 342
for cooking or to house slaves, crowded between the large earth-lodges. [343]

House-building seems to be one of the most considerable occupations of the year. Earth-lodges are frequently torn down in the spring to be rebuilt when snow flies in the autumn. In the second month, September, everyone is busied with house-building, commencing with the preparation of the tule mats that cover all the lodges. The houses are all completed in the fourth month (December) by the time full winter arrives, when the shamanistic performances begin. New timbers have to be prepared, as those from the razed structure are commonly used for firewood. Gatschet implies that occupancy of the winter house is always inaugurated by a feast.[366] The mat-covered summer houses are built anew in the spring. It is quite likely that the covering mats are thoroughly rotted and dilapidated after standing through a hard Klamath winter. The timbering of houses is man's [462]
work; women place the grass and dirt covering.

The characteristic house is a circular, conical-roofed affair. It is essentially of the same shape and construction whether merely mat-covered or set over a pit and roofed with planks and earth. The Klamath definitely distinguish the two types however, the earth-lodge, luʺltᴇmalōks, and the mat-covered summer house, wu'kĕ'plōḳs. In addition a small dome-shaped mat-lodge (sti'nă'c) is used in summer, when traveling, or for cooking.[367] Poor families who cannot afford the larger earth-lodge, build dome-shaped lodges for winter use, setting them over pits for the sake of the added warmth.

The earliest descriptions of these houses are by Ogden (1826) and 114
Frémont (1843–46). Ogden's account of what are probably earth- 342

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[366] 1:75.

[367] Barrett describes a summer house possibly of different form. This is elliptical or rectangular in ground plan, with "sides which slope very abruptly to the ground and a comparatively flat top. The framework is of willow poles stuck into the ground and brought together along the ridgepole, to which they are bound securely." This suggests in part the structure of the dome-shaped lodge, but implies the presence of at least two posts bearing a ridgepole, a type of construction which my informants specifically denied. The photograph Barrett figures belies his description: the form seems to be the regular structure having four posts with the side poles resting on the rafters joining these (Material Culture, 244, pl. 11, fig. 1). [114]

used;[373] then grass or pine boughs, covered with dirt, are heaped half- 342
way up the side. The outer mats are held in place by tying them along
the edges to poles propped against the side of the house. The rope
(pĕk̡'os) used for this is three strand, braided of grass or the outer
layer of tule. In placing the mats, a space about two feet across is
left at the top for a smoke hole, and another only three and a half feet
high for a doorway. One has to stoop to enter. The door is a mat like
that of the summer house; it is not weighted nor tied down.

Drying racks are not placed inside the houses. All fish and meat [251]
are dried on racks near-by. [417]

Houses are not decorated, nor are the house posts carved or painted
except by shamans. These may paint them with horizontal stripes, 342
alternately red and white. One informant had it that men's faces,
snakes, lizards, and various other animals, not spirits, are painted on
the posts, but I am doubtful. Shamans also hung stuffed bird and
animal skins about the interior. A wooden image and a stuffed crane [756]
skin are set up outside on the northern side of the hatchway, i.e., above
the shaman's bed. Houses are not given individual names, Yurok 552
fashion, though the localizing tendency of the Klamath might have 171*
found an outlet in th

The fireplace (sne'lŭk [illegible] the earth-lodge is in the middle of the 354
floor, between the four center posts and under the open hatchway.
Neither a pit nor stones are used to confine the fire. Most of the time
there is no fire on the hearth, only in the morning and evening; at
other times the hatch is closed. A huge fire is built when it is nearly
sundown, and after the mat is drawn across the opening the heat is so
great that blankets may be dispensed with. This despite the severe [132]
winters; at this altitude (4000 feet) lakes and streams are frozen
solid. Fires are usually made by piling short lengths of wood in log- [133]
cabin (crib-work) fashion to a height of eighteen inches. They cook
when this is reduced to a bed of coals. A piece of rotten wood is
ignited to carry fire from one place to another.

Cooking ordinarily takes place outside the dwelling in a dome- 343
shaped house (sti'nă'c) erected near-by. An earth-lodge on lower 252
Williamson river, for example, set some fifty yards from the stream,
had its cooking lodge close to the bank. All the women of the house- 592
hold prepare their food together, even where several families have
joint tenancy. It is carried to the earth-lodge and there passed about

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[373] Barrett gives the successive layers as made of "a kind of reed," triangular-stemmed tule, and circular-stemmed tule (*op. cit.*, 244).

343 as in "one big family." This is inevitably a matter of personal pref-
252 erence; some dwellings have two cooking lodges attached, the families
eating separately and sharing food only as friendship dictates. The
592 mortars and grinding slabs are kept in the cooking-lodge. The intro-
[177] duction of flour has wrought a change in these habits. Loaves of
bread are baked in the ashes in the earth-lodge itself. Flour is always
[262] shared among the inmates. I was assured that there was no earlier
custom resembling this.

264 But two meals a day are eaten, morning and evening. I was also
told that there is no regular period for meals. Visitors are given
574 something on their arrival, such as a little pond-lily seed, but no stress
is placed on this phase of hospitality. A sort of grace is said before
eating.

352 The entire floor of the earth-lodge or summer mat-house is carpeted
with mats except for the space within the four central posts. Thicker
piles of these for beds are placed all around the walls, but the best
352 locations are at the sides (*O*, fig. 19). Children might sleep in the
corners. People always sleep with their feet toward the fire, no
513 matter in what direction their heads then lie.[274]

Beds (slai'is) are of mats of various sorts. Rich people use tule, the twined mats (slai'is) being preferred to the sewn (st!ōps). One or more of these laid on dry grass serves as a mattress, or they sleep directly on the grass. One or two more form the covering. The few who have them use grizzly bear, coyote, wolf, lynx (? slowa'), or deer pelts, or several *Bassariscus* (? slĕt) skins sewn together, for mattress and blanket (sa'walc). A blanket for a little child is made from the skin of a red fox, a stretched raccoon skin, or several marten skins sewn together. Blankets (called sōlŭmtai') are also made of tule and cat-tail twined to produce a checkerboard decoration. Others are made of tules with the wing feathers of water fowl (pelicans, geese, swans, ducks, etc.) caught in one face. These are called lă'edălap'ō'tᴇ, wing feathers (lac) put together. Another type of feather blanket (called k̦'a'lyᴇ) is made of the dried skins of waterfowl twisted with a cord to form a fluffy rope. This is twined with cords inserted at intervals to form the blanket. Pillows (sᴇ'o'lhas) are a heap of grass, or anything else, even wood, but the wooden headrest of the lower Klamath river tribes is unknown. Gatschet records a sack stuffed with mallard duck down for a pillow.[275]

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[274] I could find no notion that a sleeper is affected by moonlight.

[275] 1:144.

513 It is customary to rise (bŏ'tgal) before the sun has risen, at least in winter. At that season when they sit late telling stories, they retire (k'ta'ndja) when Orion's belt has risen two-thirds of the distance to the zenith (lo'lalŏks, bedtime).

[387] Old people sun themselves on the roof tops. Those who are decrepit and cannot climb into the earth-lodge are housed in mat-houses near-by.

SWEAT-LODGES

343 The earth-lodge is so warm, at least at night, that it might well have taken the place of the smaller sweat-lodges. These however are regularly made, preferably beside a body of water into which the bathers can jump after sweating. The lodges (spo'klīks) are of two types, differentiated, it was suggested, for summer and winter use. There are now more of the former type in use than the latter, which suggests a case of substitution.

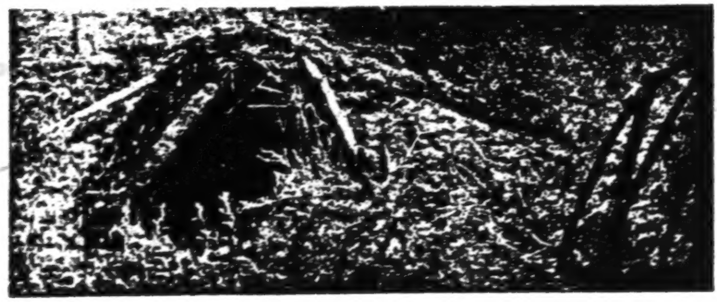

Fig. 20. Winter sweat-lodge. A portion of a summer sweat-lodge appears at the right.

The "summer" lodge is dome-shaped and mat-covered, hence sometimes called stī'na'c like the dome-shaped dwelling. Willows are set in the ground about a circle four to six feet in diameter, arched, and bound together at a height of three and a half feet. There are no horizontal ribs. Tule mats form the covering, with layers of green grass between to prevent the escape of the steam. When the summer lodge is kept for winter use, dirt is banked against the sides. The carpeting is of grass or leaves, green or dry according to season.

The "winter" lodge (ke'lowac, a descriptive term?) is built over an elliptical pit, eighteen inches or less in depth. It is smaller than the summer lodge, and up to five feet in length. The roof over this

• 343 is gable-shaped, the ridgepole being supported at each end on a pair of struts thrust obliquely into the margin of the pit. Sticks and bark resting on this form the roof; a layer of dry grass and dirt covers the whole. This stands three and a half feet above the ground. The entrance, which is quite small, is covered by a mat (fig. 20).

Stones, heated outside, are rolled into a hollow in the lodge. There does not seem to be any prescribed place for this, as among other peoples. The stones are said to be at the rear in the winter lodge, and anywhere in the summer affair, but in a winter lodge that I saw, the hollow was near the doorway to the right of one entering, and at the back in a summer lodge. For the use of five or ten men, I was
[801] told, a large summer lodge has the stones at the center. Five is the Klamath pattern number, but it was said that there was no prescription of the number who may enter at one time, nor of the number of times they sweat. Water is thrown on the hot stones after they are somewhat cooled, otherwise the steam would scald the inmates. There is a certain amount of rivalry on the part of those who have the water to drive the others out by raising steam; sometimes four or five have it at one time.[376]

They talk to the stones when sprinkling them, asking to be cured, to live long, work well, to have luck in gambling, and to get spirits. This is the same as talking to the water when swimming on a vision quest. "The stones are 'doctor'; the water is 'doctor.'" They talk to
[562] the wind, the mountains, the water. Everyone outside is quiet. Men and women go into these lodges together.

Coville observes that "the branches and twigs of the 'cedar,' (*Libocedrus decurrens* Torr.) are often used in administering a sweat bath to a sick person."[377]

343 The three sweat-lodges used solely by mourners closely resemble the "winter" lodge. In fact, the lodge just north of Klamath Agency does not differ in any respect. I have seen but one of the other two, that near Algoma. This is now a U-shaped wall of stones which once bore a rough gable roof covered with dirt. It is much larger than the
[178] winter lodge, enclosing an area ten by twenty feet.[378] It may be suggested that conservatism has preserved the type for this use, while for secular uses it has been, or is being, supplanted by the dome-shaped lodge.

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[376] For a tale describing such rivalry, see p. 37.

[377] Notes, 88.

[378] For its description and use, see pp. 73 f.

171*
105

Their material culture at large follows the general alignment of their basic economy with the Plateau peoples. This can be made clear by the following tabulation of material culture traits shared by tribes in adjacent culture areas. A few items of social culture not discussed elsewhere are also entered. Only those traits for which comparative data could be readily found are included, which makes the list random rather than truly representative. It must be understood that the reference is only to the specific form in which the Klamath hold to the trait. Thus, the compound fire-drill stick is entered, and not the simple fire drill. In fact, traits of this sort, having a distribution over the whole continent, have been excluded as adding nothing to our

KLAMATH TRAITS SHARED BY TRIBES IN ADJACENT AREAS

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Houses	Earth-lodge	Plateau (Chilcotin to Middle Columbia and Wishram), n.e. California (where it merges into central Californian forms).	[342]
	Mat-lodge	Wishram, Nez Percé, Middle Columbia?	[343]
Sweat-lodges	Dome-shaped	n.e. California, Basin, Plateau, Southwest rancherias, Plains, and eastward.	
	Earth-covered	Washington, Oregon (merges with central Californian type).	
Fishing	Dip nets	California, Plateau, Northwest Coast.	[227]
	Dam; weir	N. California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
	Two-prong spear	California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
Digging stick	Cross-handle; curved point	Northwest Coast, Plateau?	[412]
Insect foods	Slight use	Oregon, s. Plateau, Basin, California.	[262]
Metate	Extensive use	California (late in n. California?), Basin, Plateau?, Southwest and southward.	[412]
Mortar	Stone	S. and central California (prehistoric in n. California); wooden mortars in Plateau.	
Canoe	Shovel nose	Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Columbia basin to n. California.	[501]
Baskets	Considerable use	California, Basin, Plateau.	[415]
	Twine	Northwest Coast s. into n. California.	
	Minor use of coil	Plateau, Basin, central and s. California.	
Bags	Woven	Made east of Cascades, s. to Klamath.	[286]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 230]

*171 on the other, were entirely absent among the Klamath. Nevertheless
556 the mechanism of the Northwest Coast for the exchange of presents,
the potlatch, does appear here in the form of prescribed reciprocal
584 visits between the families of bride and groom. It has not been clearly
recognized that these features of Northwest Coast social life have
spread even farther from that focus into the northern Plains and to
north central California.

*171 Of the slender stock of Klamath ceremonials, the scalp dance is
widely known, the war or incitement dance is common to northwestern
535 California and perhaps all of Oregon. Kroeber has pointed out that
726 so far as California is concerned scalp and war dances are mutually
exclusive in their distributions.[418] But the Klamath, like all others
*171 of eastern Oregon, carry out both dances. The girls' adolescence rite
of the Klamath is one with those of western Oregon and northern
881 California. This is a local phrasing of similar rites known from
Alaska to the Southwest, but lacking east of the Sierra-Cascades.
Specific details of the Klamath affair are closer to northern Californian
*171 forms than to those of Oregon. The Ghost dance of 1870 was
evanescent among them. Its first form was that characteristic of the
original dance of Nevada; later it was overlaid by features characteristic
of central California.[419]

177 Some historical relief emerges in this survey. It is definitely
traceable in some details and can be established inferentially for more
basic elements. The most recent stratum of adopted traits is post-reservation,
[285] i.e., later than 1865. This includes two types of basketry
derived from the Northern Paiute settled on the reservation, a sifting
[668] basket and a coiled water bucket, and the Ghost dance. The earlier
form of the Ghost dance was instituted by the same group of Paiute
in 1870 or '71. This was the familiar circle of dancers, whose leaders
[343] dreamed new regulations; its ideology the return of the dead. In
1873 a Pit River introduced central Californian elements; a dance
[534] lodge, probably the clap-stick rattle, new songs, etc. To the same
[533] stratum belongs the imitation of the Warm Springs-Yakima one-piece
moccasin.

[291] Other elements are recognized as pertaining to pre-reservation
177 days, but probably not earlier than the middle of the last century:
the hand drum derived from the north, and perhaps the social dances
534 in which it is used; the hand game brought by a Spokane (?) man.
535

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[418] Kroeber, Handbook, 144, 844.

[419] Spier, Ghost Dance.

The judicial function of chiefs, dispensing fines and punishments, is 177
known to have been derived from the Columbia river tribes at 622
this time.

Some trade articles not manufactured by the Klamath also pertain to this era: parfleches, skin bags, and buffalo hides from Warm 439
Springs and the Dalles, flat basketry bowls from Pit river through
the Modoc, and beads, even dentalia, from the same southern source
or from the Shasta.

The second quarter of the last century saw the coming of the 177
horse. Ogden remarked on only one among them in 1826, but they
began to be obtained in numbers, probably from Warm Springs, about 231
1840. There can be little question that with the horse came elements
of Plains culture from the half-Plains tribes of the Columbia-Snake,
the adoption of predatory habits, and the great stimulus to slave-raiding and to slave-trading with the people at the Dalles on the
Columbia.

Both tradition and inference assign Plains traits to this period. 177
The relative newness of Plains style of dress is attested by the incompleteness with which it was adopted. It was never the universal garb, [291]
but confined to the wealthiest, and, most significantly, proscribed at
the performances of shamans and the Ghost dance. Further, men [714]
did not wear Plains costume to war and set out on their raids afoot,
even after the acquisition of horses, which suggests that the new
accouterment and habits had not taken firm root. The circular shield,
which also was never in general use, may well have come in at this
time. The earlier types of Plains garments here were only simply [291]
decorated or not at all. It is known that the elaborate beading of the
yoke and the use of scalps, etc., for appendages on women's dress, and [531]
the painted designs on men's shirts, are much more recent than the
first adoption of these garments. These local changes probably reflect
a similar transformation in decoration in the southern Plateau.
Possibly the dome-shaped sweat-lodge was introduced at this early [343]
period. It seems to have been displacing the small earth-covered
affair for some time. But the latter is also generically the eastern
type, not the Californian, and is without doubt older than this incursion of Plains elements in the early nineteenth century. Finally, I
cannot avoid the feeling that the sense of tribal solidarity, in which,
even though but slightly developed, the Klamath differ from their
Californian neighbors, dates from this contact with Plains-like peoples.

2: Voegelin' E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
241 329. Seeds scattered to produce better crop	−	+	+				•+	−	−	−	−	(+)	(+)	.	+	−
312 329a. Irrigation	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−

Domesticated Animals and Pets

Dogs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
231 330. Dogs kept	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	−	•+	−
331. By relatively few persons	+	+	+				•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−
332. Bred	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
333. Bought from other localities	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
334. Named	+	+	+	•+	+	.	+	•+	+	+	+	.	−	−	−	−
335. Used in hunting	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
336. Trained not to bark	•+	•+	•+				•+	•+	(−)	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−
[343] o337. Kept inside dwelling	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	±	+	+	−	−	−
338. Separate dog house	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
339. Semisubterranean, earth covered.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
340. Domed, thatched	−	−	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
341. Domed, bark covered	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[766] 342. Conical, slab	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
343. Burned at death, or death of owner	−	+	−	−	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−
344. Buried	−	−	+	•−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	(−)	−	−	−
345. Body thrown outside	+	+	−	+	+	+		−	−	+	+	−	(−)	−	−	−
346. Suspended in tree at death of owner	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	+	−	(−)	−	−	−

Birds, Bear Cubs, Etc.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
347. Birds kept	•−	−	−	•+	+	−	•+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•−
348. Caged	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
349. Tied up	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
350. Wings plucked or cut	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−
351. Bear cubs kept	•+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
352. Deer fawns kept	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
353. Small mammals kept	−	•+	•+	+	+	−	−	•+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−

Food and Its Handling

Staple Foods

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
262 354. Deer staple flesh food	−	−	−	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	−
355. Fish staple flesh food	•+	+	−	−	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+
356. Deer and fish equally important	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
357. Acorns staple plant food	•o	•o	•+	•+	•+	•+	•o	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
358. Sunflower seeds	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
359. Ipos or other bulbs	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+
360. Water lily seeds	+	+	−	−			•+		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−

Animals Eaten

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
°361. Dog eaten habitually	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
[261] 362. Dog eaten during famines, epidemics	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
363. Fox	−	•+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
364. Coyote	−	•+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
365. Wolf	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	o	−	−	−
366. Grizzly bear (Ursus horribilus).	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	o	o	−	o	−
366a. Brown bear (Ursus americanus).	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	o	−	+	(+)
367. Deer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
368. Elk (wapiti)	+	+	+	+	o	+	o	+	o	+	o	+	o	o	o	+
369. Antelope	+	+	+	+	o	•+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	+
o370. Puma	−	+	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	(o)	+	−	−

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
252 424. On coals, in ashes	+	+	−	•+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	(+)	+	−
425. In pit oven	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
°426. Stone boiled	−	−	•+						+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
427. Meat boiled	•−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
428. Rarely	−		+		−						+	−	−	−	+	+
429. Blood boiled	−	+	+				+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
251 430. Mammal meat dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
431. Fish dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
432. Salted for drying	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	+	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	+
433. Drying frame	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	.
434. Four-post frame	•+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
435. Outdoors	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	.
436. Indoors	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
°437. Fish slit, strung on pole to dry	+	+	+								+	+	+	−	+	.
438. Smoke (fire) drying	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+
439. Sun drying	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
440. Dried meat or fish ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440a. Meat	+	+	−	−	+		+	+	−			+	+	+	+	
440b. Immediately before eating, cooking only	+	+	−	−	−		+	+	−			+	+	+	+	
441. Salmon, or other fish	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	(−)	−	−	−	+
441a. Made into meal, stored	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	(−)	−	−	−	+
442. Salmon eggs added	−	−	−	−	−	−	o		+	+		−	−	−	+	−
443. Seeds added	−	−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
444. Fat added	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
445. Bone awl for splitting fish	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	.	−
[343] 446. Special drying house	−	−	−	−	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
447. Thatch	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
448. Bark	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
449. Poles, conical	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
450. Double lean-to	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
252 451. Insects, insect eggs cooked	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	−
452. Parched with coals	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−
453. Baked in earth oven	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
454. Yellow-jacket larvae roasted beside fire	−	.	+						+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
°454a. Vegetable food pounded in mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
455. Acorn meal leached in sand, earth basin	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
456. Basin set in openwork basket	o	o	+			•+	o	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
457. Basin lined with grass or boughs	o	o	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
458. Basin set on sticks, pine needles	o	o	+	+	−	−	o	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
459. Water heated for leaching	o	o	+	+	+	•+	o	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
460. Water dripped through cedar sprigs	o	o					o				+	+	+	+	+	+
461. Acorns buried whole in mud	o	o	+	•+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+
462. Whole acorns not dried, allowed to mold	o	o	−	−	+	−	o	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
463. Acorn bread	o	o	•−	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
464. Earth added	o	o	−	−	+	+	o	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
465. Baked in ashes	o	o	−	−	+	+	o	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
466. Baked in earth oven	o	o	−	−	−	−	o	−	+	+	−	.	−	−	−	−
467. Baked on top of stone or coals	−	−	−	+	−	+	o	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
468. Roots made into bread	•+	•+	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
469. Acorn "biscuits" by chilling gruel in water.	o	o	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
470. Stone boiling in baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
°470a. Vegetable food ground on stone slab	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
°470b. Vegetable, flesh food pounded on stone slab.	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
°471. Parching seeds with coals	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+
472. Pounded fruit made into cakes, dried	+	+	−				+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
°473. Seeds ground or pounded	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
474. Made into mush	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
475. Made into bread	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	NV
342 Domed Living House																
736. Domed living house	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-
737. Elliptical ground plan	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
738. Circular ground plan	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
739. Domed roof	+	+	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
740. Pole or bough covering	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
741. Thatch covering	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
742. Mat covering	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
743. Earth covering partial	+	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
744. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
745. Oriented: E, SE	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
746. In end of house	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
747. In side of house	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
748. Rectangular	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
749. Domed	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
750. Mat door covering	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[354] 751. Entire floor excavated	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
751a. Single fireplace	•+	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
751b. Used as living house	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
752. 1-family	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
752a. Multifamily	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[252] 753. Used as cook house only	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Conical Hut and Lean-tos																
754. Conical hut	-	-	•(+)	-	•-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+
754a. Bark covered	-	-	•(+)	-	-	•+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
755. Thatch covered	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
756. Mat covered	-	-	(-)	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
756a. 4-pole foundation	-	-	•(+)	-	-	•+	•+	+		+	-	-	-	-	+	-
757. Doorway flush	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	•+	+
757a. Doorway projecting	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-
757b. Oriented E, SE	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-
758. Living house	-	-	(+)	-	-	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
758a. Multifamily	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
758b. Used throughout year	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
758c. Used in winter	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
759. Used in summer	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
[252] 759a. Summer cook house	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
760. Single lean-to	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•-	-	-	-	-	-
761. Back wall	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
762. Lacking back wall	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
763. Double lean-to	-	-	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
763a. Lean-tos: plank covered	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
763b. Lean-tos: bark covered	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
764. Lean-tos: brush covered	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
765. Lean-tos: mat covered	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sweat Houses and Sweating Customs																
343 Earth-covered Sweat House																
766. Earth-covered sweat house	•+	•+	(-)	•+	•+	•-	•-	•+	•+	•-	•-	-	•+	•-	-	•+
766a. Elliptical ground plan	+	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-
766b. Single ridgepole	+	+	-	+		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-
766c. Excavated	•+	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	•+
766d. Board floor	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
767. Pole, bough, or thatch covering	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
767a. Bark or slab covering	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
767b. Earth covering partial	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	343
768. Earth covering all over	•+	+	–	•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
768a. Main entrance through roof	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
768b. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
768c. Flush	+	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
768d. In end of house	+	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
768e. Secondary entrance at ground level	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
769. Sliding wooden door	•–	•–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
769a. Stone paved "porch"	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
769b. Steam or hot-rock heat	•+	•(+)	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
770. Direct-fire heat	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
770a. Small, for 1-4 persons	•+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
770b. Large, for group	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
770c. Used throughout year	•+	+	–	–	+	[illegible]	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	
771. Used in winter only	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
772. Used by both sexes	+	+	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[562]
773. Used by men only	–	–	–	•+	(+)	–	–	+	•–	•–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
774. Used by mourners only	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
775. Communally owned	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–		
Plains-Type Sweat House																	
776. Plains-type sweat house	•+	•+	•+	•+	•R	•R	•+	•(–)	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	
777. Dome shaped	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
778. Mat covered	+	+	•+	+	R	–	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
778a. Hide covered	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
779. Brush, bough covered	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	(–)	•+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	
780. Small, for 1-3 persons	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	
781. Steam heat	+	+	+	•+	R	R	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	
782. Used throughout year	–	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)		–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
783. Used in summer only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Sweating Customs																	
784. Individual sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	515
785. Sweating in groups of 2-4, or larger	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	
786. Women sometimes sweat with men	+	+	+	•+	•R	•+	•+	–	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	[562]
787. Women sometimes sweat separately	+	+	+	+	R	+	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
788. Sweating daily or every 2-3 days	+	–	–	•+	+	R	•–	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	
789. Sweaters sit or crouch	+	+	•+	+	+	R	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
790. Sweaters lie down	•+	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	
791. Sweaters "dance around"	–	–	•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
792. Formalized sweat dance	–	–				–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	(+)	[535]
793. Sweaters kneel	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
794. All men sleep in sweat house occasionally	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	[513]
795. Male mourners sleep in sweat house	•+	•+		–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
796. Unmarried old men sleep, eat in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	•+	•–	–	+	
797. Men gamble in sweat house	–	–	–	•–	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	•–	•–	
798. Men work (handicrafts) in sweat house	–	–	+	–	–	•+	•+	•–	–	+	+	+	•+	–	•–	•–	
799. Youths gather fuel for sweating	–	–		+		•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	•–	–	•–	
800. Office of fire maker	–	•–	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	•R	–	.	•+	+	•+	•+	[312]
801. Competitive sweat groups	–	–	–	•+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	[272]
802. All sweaters sing	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	[533]
803. 1 man sings for group	–	–				–	–	•(+)	•+	•+	–	+	•+	–	–	–	
804. Sweat for success in hunting	+	•+	•+	•+	+	–	+	–	•+	•+	–	+	.	–	–	–	[224]
805. Sweat for success in gambling	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	[528]
806. Sweat for general good luck	+	+		+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	[777]
807. Sweat as cure for disease	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	•+	–	–	.	+	+	–	
808. Scarify selves, let blood drip on hot rocks	–	+	+	•+				–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[757]
809. Sweat to cleanse body	–	–	+	+		+	•+	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	[304]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
515 810. Pray or wish while sweating	°+	°+	°(+)	+	R	°R	°+	+	°+	°+	+	(+)	–	–	–	–
782 811. Cold bath follows sweat	+	°+	°+	°+	+	+	°+	+	°+	+	+	(–)	+	+	–	+

House Furnishings and Arrangement

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
281 812. Blankets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
813. Elk and deerskin	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
513 814. Painted hides for fine blankets	–	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
815. Woven rabbitskin blankets	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
816. Patchwork skin blankets	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
817. Deerskin	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
818. Coyote skin	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
819. Wildcat skin	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
820. Raccoon skin	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
821. Rabbitskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
822. Blue-fox skin	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–
[439] 823. Buffalo hides, imported for blankets	–		+	+	°+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[237] 824. Feather blankets	+	°+	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	°+
825. Loose tule, grass blanket covering	+	+	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
826. Pillows	+	+	+	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.
827. Individual wooden pillow	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
828. Pole pillow	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.
829. Piece of wood or rock	+	–	–		–	–		.	+	+	+	.	–	–	+	.
830. Rolled skin	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.
831. Rolled tule mat	–	–	+	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
832. Leaf or grass pillow	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.
504 833. Pine needles heaped up for pillow	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	–	(–)	+	–	–	–	.
†834. Wooden foot drum	–	–	°R	–	–	–	–	–	°R	°R	°+	°+	°+	°+	°+	°+
†835. Hollow half log	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†836. In line with door	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†837. Over hole in ground	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	.	+
†838. Post before drum	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	.	–	–	–	+
361 †838a. Houses in rows	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	°+	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
†838b. Houses in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	.	–	°+

Shelters

Brush Enclosures and Shades

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
417 839. Roofless circular brush enclosure	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
840. Large, used for ceremonies	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
[574] 841. As camping place for visitors	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–
[764] 842. At cemeteries only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	+	+
843. Fire in center	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
844. Opening(s) oriented	–	°+	°+	°+	°+	–	°+	°+	°+	°+	–	°+	–	–	.	°+
845. Same, but smaller, for summer shelter	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
846. Partly roofed over	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
847. Roofed circular brush enclosure	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
848. Shades	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	–	+	+	–	°+
849. Horizontal roof	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
850. Sloping roof	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
851. 4 supporting posts	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
852. 3 side walls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
853. Brush heaped around pit mortars, for shade	–	–	–		–	–	–		–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–
854. Conical bark grinding house, 2 families	–	–	–		+	°+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Menstrual Huts

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
343 855. Menstrual hut	+	+	°+	+	°+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+
841 856. Similar to living house, but smaller	–	–	–	°+	–	+	°+	°+	–	–	–	–	°+	°+	+	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
857. Cook house used as menstrual hut	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	343 ● 841

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

Boats and Ferriage

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
858. Dugout canoe	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•o	–	+	+	+	+	•o	•o	–	–	501
859. Sharp prow and stern	–	–	–	+	•+	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
860. Shovel prow and stern	+	+	+	–	–	+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
861. Carved gunwale, turned in	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
862. Ends rounded	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
863. Carved in seat	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
864. Carved in footbraces.	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
865. Manufactured	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
866. Hollowed by burning	+	+	–	+	+	•+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
867. Commonly and frequently used	+	+	–	–	(+)	+	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
868. Log raft	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	o	+	+	
869. Used to transport goods only	+	–	–						+	+	–	–	+	o	–	–	
870. Tule balsa	–	–	+	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
871. Raised prow	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o872. Length in feet	–	–	15	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o873. Maximum number of passengers	–	–	2	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
874. Bundles lashed together	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
875. Towed by rope	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
876. Propelled with paddle	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
877. Tule raft.	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o878. Length in feet	–	10	–	•6	–	–	8	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
‡879. Maximum number of passengers	5	·	–	2	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
880. Bundles lashed together	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
881. Bundles pinned together	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
882. Towed by rope	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
883. Poled	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
884. Paddled with hands	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
885. Single-bladed paddle	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
886. Blade end convex	+	+	·	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
887. Blade end squared	–	–	·	–	+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
888. Blade end pointed	+	+	·	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
‡889. Length in feet	4	4	5	–	3	•5	–	–	5	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
890. Poling rod	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
891. Plain or pointed end	–	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
892. Split base	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
893. Basket bailer	•+	•+	–	+	+	•–	–	–	+	+	·	–	o	o	–	–	
894. Grooved stone anchor	–	•–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	·	o	o	–	–	[465]
895. Boatman must ferry traveler free of charge	+	•+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	·	o	o	–	–	
896. Ferriage in baskets	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	
897. Children.	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	[855]
898. Goods	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	
899. Ferriage by swimmers	+	+	+							+	+	+	+	o	+	+	481
900. Children ferried on swimmer's back	·	+	–							+	+	+	+	o	+	–	482
901. Swimmer lies on tule float; children cling to float	+	+	+					–	–	–	–	–	–	o	–	–	
902. Swimmer holds goods above water in 1 hand, swims with other	+	+	–					+		+	+	–	+	o	+	+	491
903. Bridges	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	o	o	+	+	
904. Single-log bridge	–	•+	+	–	+	•–	–	+	–	–	+	–	o	o	+	+	
905. 2 poles tied together	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
906. Several poles, spliced at end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	o	o	–	–	

ODD 730. WS: Refers to assembly house.

731. WS: Doctor-dance house open to men only, except when dancing going on; at this time women may also seek shamanistic power by dancing.

732. SW: Ceremonies consist largely of dances, attended by both men and women; however, prospective women shamans may also use this house to dance in, alone, while training for doctoring. WS: See note 731.

[342] [754] 733. Kl, Mo: Shaman dances publicly in house during training; later cures in house. SE, SW: Shaman dances, alone, in house during training. AE: Shaman cures in house. WT, WM, WS: Would-be shamans, when seeking power, hold dance in dance house. WS, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS: Shaman cures in assembly house. MM, MF, NF: Shaman also holds night séances in assembly house.

733a. SE: See note for assembly and living houses. AE: By end of December all people belonging to certain village gather, live in semisubterranean earth lodge; during summer, fall they "live scattered out in camps" of 1-2 households, "all over the hills." WS: Refers to multifamily living house and assembly house. MF: Refers to multifamily assembly house. MV: Refers to winter dwelling.

734. At: During summer "camp out, under 4-post shade." MM: During summer use flat-topped shades, circular brush enclosures ("corrals"). MF: Refers to 1-family brush house.

735. WS: Refers to 1-family living house. MV: Refers to assembly house.

Domed living house.--

[343] [342] 736. Kl: Cook house (sti'na'as). The following additional traits pertaining to this type house were noted as present, but are not included in element list: 668, 670, 701, 719, 721, 722, 733a. Mo: 2 varieties domed living houses used. (1) multifamily domed eating and sleeping summer house (stakimus), and (2) cook house for winter house (kaiya'da). Type 1 "could be occupied winter and summer; it often is, by ordinary persons. Shamans, headmen live in earth house in winter, and use domed houses only in summer, or when camping." AW: alo'li. Additional positive elements: 693, 694, 699, 701, 702, 714, 715, 717, 719, 721, 723, 727, 735. AE: pastilogi. Willow house, having additional positive elements: 668, 670, 693, 694, 698, 701, 714, 715, 716, 719, 723, 727. MV: Slightly excavated, partly earth-covered domed living house lacking, but it should be noted that the 2 types of semisubterranean earth lodges, and also the earth-covered sweat house have domed roofs.

737. Mo: Positive entry refers to winter cook house.

738. Mo: Positive entry refers to domed summer house.

739. AW, AE: Pair willow poles stuck in ground 8-10 ft. apart; upper ends arched and tied together near tips; second set of poles

000 lonikrewel. Used chiefly by widows. Additional elements include: 635, single ridgepole, 657, 658, 664a, 667, 668, 669, 674, 677, basket to close entrance at night, 685a, 686, 687, 693, 694, 698, 701, 702, 708, 711, 714, 717, 719, 723, 724, 735. Du Bois (Wintu, p. 122) describes krewel or lonikrewel as conical type; my informant described it as double lean-to, lacking side walls. See Du Bois' final remarks on waipom krewel type of house (Wintu, p. 123).

763b. WM: Pine needles and dirt banked halfway up exterior sides; bark slabs laid over this, "like shakes."

Sweat Houses and Sweating Customs

Earth-covered sweat house.--

● [343] 766. Kl: 2 varieties earth-covered sweat house, essentially similar in construction, are included in entries 766-775. (1) winter sweat lodge, (2) mourners' sweat lodge, constructed by culture hero. Lodges of latter type located near Ft. Klamath, at Modoc Point, near Buckley Spring N of Algoma, at Pelican Bay. Mo: Have only 1 type of earth-covered sweat house; this is used by mourners only. SW: Men's sweat house (wak'wa). Resembles Yurok sweat house; in addition to elements noted, following elements also affirmed for this house by SW informant: 636, 638, 639, 647, 648, 682, 685, 685a, 687, 690, 693, 696, 699, 702, 703, 704. At: ts'maka (?). In addition to elements noted on list, following also affirmed: 668, 672, 676, 693, 699. AW, AE: All sweating done in winter living house (see 633-735) or (recently among AW) in Plains-type sweat house. WT: Lut. Additional elements include: 634, 638, 651, 668, 669, 671 (no secondary entrance), 676, 681, 693, 694. Interior wall coverings (708-712) not inquired about; floor coverings and pallets (714-717) denied. Among WT this house used as dance house and sweat house, but not as men's assembly house. WM: Lut. Used as men's sweat house-assembly house. Referred to farther up McCloud River as olteresLut, being built from the white fir (olteres) tree. Additional elements for this house, which is an important structure among WM, include: 634, 642, 643, 646, 647, 648, 664a, 668, 669, entrance oriented toward water, 675, 677, 681, 682, 683, 685, 685a, 686, 690, 693, 695, 699, 701, 702, 703, 705, 714, 717, 722a, 728, 729, 732, 733. It is a moot point whether this structure should not have been entered for WT and WM in section on Assembly and Living Houses, as was done for WS (see note 633). Among WT and WM, however, emphasis is placed on use of this type house as men's sleeping and sweat house whereas among WS house used mainly as a living house for men, women, and children. MM: Both earth-covered and Plains-type sudatories lacking, but informants frequently referred to sweating and sweat dance, which is held in multifamily assembly-living house. NF: tarkum. Small, earth-covered sweat

000 house, "used oftener than big sweat house (kum) for sweating." NM: All sweating done in semisubterranean earth lodge. MV: Built next to assembly house and used "like a bathhouse."

766a. NF: Circular ground plan.

766b. NF: Conical roof, multipole foundation.

343 766c. Kl, Mo: 1-2 ft. SW, WT, WM, NF, MV: 3-5 ft.

767. Kl, WM: Pole or bough. WT: Thatch.

768. Kl: Mourners' sweat lodge rock covered, with earth piled over rocks. SW: Rocks banked against outer wall under eaves of earth-covered sudatory.

768d. At: In S end of house.

768e. SW: Entrance round; used as draft hole mainly, but if prospective shaman uses this house to dance in, she must enter by this entrance.

769. Kl, Mo: Mat used as door covering. SW: Round door, carved from 2 planks, used for ground-level entrance.

765 769b. Kl: In mourners' sweat lodge (see note 766) attendant heats rocks in fire outside house 343 in morning; brings them into house; grass, brush piled on top of hot rocks and mourner lies on this brush bed throughout day; in evening attendant heats more rocks and removes cold ones. Mourner remains in lodge 5 days. In ordinary winter sweat lodge hot rocks brought in, water sprinkled over them for steam bath. Mo: In- 600 formant dubious; thought hot rocks brought in, but no water sprinkled on them. AE: Hot rocks used, without water only if sweat house (of Plains type) is too hot; if such is not the case, water is always sprinkled on the rocks.

770. WT: Men intending to sweat in either semisubterranean earth lodge or sweat house make large fire, close house entrances; when fire has died down, all dance and sweat. WM: Build large manzanita fire at night; men sleep in well warmed house. In morning dance and sweat.

343 770a. Kl: Entry applies to mourners' lodge.

770b. Kl: Entry applies to ordinary winter sweat house. MV: Accommodates ca. 40 men.

770c. Kl: Entry applies to mourners' lodge. NF: Entry applies to small sweat house. See note 766.

771. Kl: Entry applies to winter sweat house (see note 766).

000 773. SW: Used as sweat house by men only, but if no semisubterranean assembly house in village, prospective woman shaman may dance in this sweat house. Must enter house by round draft-hole, not by main entry through roof. All visitors, men, women, children, sleep in this house. WM: At Baird, women allowed in men's sweat house-assembly house only upon 3 occasions. (1) Mourning women may go into Lut, to seek power for doctoring; "an old doctor might tell them to do that. Such women, if lucky, would sing when doctoring, but not have any 'pain' to help them." (2) Girls and women may take part in doctor-making dance. (3) Virgin, whose father has lost

[187-A]

000 his luck for gambling, may go into Lut and sit down while father is gambling. Girl remains silent; opposing side makes much of girl "hugs her, say they are going to have her for wife." WS: Women allowed in house during doctor-seeking dance only.

343 774. Kl, Mo: See note 766.

775. WM: Built by 2-3 unattached men; these "own" sweat house-assembly house, but all men of group may sleep in it or use it.

Plains-type sweat house.--

776. Kl: Said to be old type. Other elements noted for this type sweat house but not entered on list as part of complex are: 634, 668, 670, 000 719, 744, 745. Mo: spok'lis, said to be old type. Other elements noted for complex are: 634, 668, 670, 719, 744. SE: Said to be old type. Additional elements: 634, 719. SW: kŭstukhambi^k, said to be old type; used by women only. Other elements noted for this type sweat house are: 634, 668, 679, 719. At: Said to be of recent introduction, perhaps from "Big Valley" (Atwamsini group of Achomawi) Indians. AW: Introduced ca. 40 years ago from Klamath, Warm Springs Indians. Before this AW always sweated in semisubterranean living house; now sweat "whenever they feel like it, Warm Springs style; that's what makes those Indians able to fight so well." Informant commented further, "Bill Mechoch [an elderly Achomawi] likes to sweat this way; I told him 'you're going to die.' He's sickly now. I can't stand that kind of sweating, myself." AE: Dome-shaped steam-heated sweat house (tomakami) "has been used here for a long time. Jamal [Coyote; trickster-culture hero] taught the people how to use it; they didn't learn this from any other tribe." WT: Used at Lewiston, in Upper Trinity Wintu subarea, "in early days"; informant ignorant concerning whether it was of recent introduction. Lewiston sweat houses covered with fir boughs; men pray to rocks as they sprinkle water on them; women never use this sudatory. Not used at Hayfork. (WS informant said steam sudatory used among WT at Hayfork.) WT informant also denied use of steam sudatory among Hyampom (Chimariko) people; mother belonged to this group. WM: Sudatory (Lidunas) used; informant had never heard that it was a recent innovation. WS: Recency of steam sweat house denied. NS: Small conical house of poles and bark, with earth and pine needle covering, used as "sweat house" for curing rheumatism, aching joints. Fire of oak bark built inside house, allowed to burn down; hot coals then mixed with wet earth; wormwood and spruce leaves put on top of steaming earth; patient lies on top of leaves and steams self thoroughly. Used by men, women.

778. SE: Pine bark banked around outside base of sudatory.

779. WM: Covered with fir boughs.

781. SW: Rocks heated outside and brought into sweat house; water sprinkled on rocks at intervals to maintain even temperature in sudatory.

Sweating customs.--

343 784. Kl: In Plains-type sweat house and mourners' lodge. WM, WS: In Plains-type sweat house.

785. Kl: In earth-covered winter sweat house and Plains-type sweat house. Mo: In winter living house (?), and in Plains-type sweat house. MM: See note 766.

000 786. Husband and wife, usually. SW: Women do not sweat with men in men's earth-covered sweat house; do occasionally in Plains-type sudatory. This latter type used chiefly by women after menstruating, childbirth, or during mourning. If woman's husband is also under taboos, he sweats with his wife in dome-shaped sudatory, but if sweating for "luck" he usually uses earth-covered sweat house. At: In Plains-type sweat house only. AW: Several men and women together; this general rule, but at large gatherings men sweat together while women are cooking outside; women sweat afterward. AE: In semisubterranean earth lodge (see note 728). WS: In Plains-type sudatory; when men use assembly house to sweat in, if women, children living in latter, they must vacate it temporarily. NF: In large assembly house.

787. AE: After men vacate Plains-type sweat house, women use house to sweat in. WS: In Plains-type sudatory.

788. SW: Applies to use of men's earth-covered sweat house. AE: Used fortnightly, or sometimes only once a month; "people don't think it's very lucky, if they sweat right along" (every day or so). WM: In sweat house-assembly house. NF: In small sweat house.

789. SE: When sweating in small Plains-type sweat house.

[343] 790. Kl, Mo: In mourners' lodge only (see note 769). At: In semisubterranean earth lodge.

791. SE: When sweating in large semisubterranean winter living house. SW: In men's sweat house.

792. MV: See note 729, mentioning kenu or "sweat dance" held to open new assembly house. There is some question whether, among MV, this dance was in any way a "sweat" dance, as it was among MM, MF.

794. NF: In large assembly house.

[765] 795. Kl: Also female mourners. Mo: Both
[562] male, female mourners may, but not obligatory, as among Kl.

796. NF: In large assembly house. NM: 2 old men sleep in round house each night; during large dances, feasts, all people sleep in round house.

797. SW: Men gamble, work, and sleep mainly in semisubterranean earth lodge, not in men's sudatory. AW, AE: In earth-covered sweat house-living house, not in Plains-type sweat house. NF: In large assembly house. NF, NS: Men gamble, work in large assembly house, which, among NS, does not serve as sweat house. MV: Men gamble, work in assembly house, not in sweat house.

000 1 smoke hole (?). Pine needles for floor covering. "At Happy Camp (Karuk) shaman sleeps in this kind of house, but not here." At: Menstrual hut, iwin kaiyu'di; rectangular, double lean-to type; single ridgepole, supported at both ends by dipods. Walls and ends of house bark-covered. Tule mat covers door in E end of house. Floor excavated 4-5 in., loose grass for covering. Fire in center of house in small pit, smoke hole above in roof. Dirt banked around sides of house; no dirt over roof. WM: Brush house unexcavated, made over conical foundation of poles tied together at top. Flat piece of oak bark set atop house, fire built on it, first 2 days of menstruation. Girl uses pine bark for fire and as pillow. No door covering. WS: Conical, 4-pole foundation; poles tied together at top. Unexcavated. Bark slabs for wall covering; horizontal binders lacking. Smoke hole at top center; fire in center.

856. SW: Menstrual hut on S ("dark side") of dwelling house; 8-10 ft. from latter, so women will not give men bad luck. Same form as dwelling house; rectangular, 1 post in center of each end; 4 corner posts; no center post; not excavated; fireplace in center; bark covered. AE: Similar to domed willow house; not excavated, however; fireplace at or near center, smoke hole above; covered with bark or, occasionally, tule mats. WT: Bark house; unexcavated. Occupied by 1 girl, occasionally by 2, for 1-2 years after first menstruation. NF: Unexcavated bark-covered hut. NM: manimhü.

[343]
[841] 857. Kl: Dome-shaped cook house. Mo: Winter cook house. AW: Conical house.

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

Boats and ferriage.--

858. SW: Dugout used as far up Klamath River as Gottville; tule raft used beyond this point, usually. AW: "Hat Creek (At), Pit River (Ilmawi), Achomawi, Kl, Mo all have canoe; Dixie Valley (Aporige) and Big Valley (Atwamsini) people don't have it." AE: No large streams in area. NF: No large streams in area, high water in creeks in spring only; sometimes go to Yuba River to catch salmon. NM: No large creeks, lakes, ponds in area; children, goods can be carried across small creeks in adults' arms.

859. At: Intermediate between Yurok and Klamath types (see Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 13 and pp. 329-330).

866. AW: Gouge out interior with elkhorn pick, then apply pitch to interior and burn it out deeper; smooth interior with pumice stone.

870: At: Used to ferry children across stream. AW: In myth, mention made of use of this sort of boat on lake; never used by AW, however.

875. At: Willow rope used; 1 end tied to boat,

K middle Columbia, far below the Coast and California, and in turn
M
161 considerably above the Great Basin.[6]

000 The mind's eye, drawing upon descriptions of early explorers and modern ethnographers,[7] can recreate the life of the early nineteenth century. It is a life that moves through a succession of activities with the seasons, each characterized by a community of different size and constituency. On a miniscule scale they resemble the "task groupings" which Anastasio has analysed in the intertribal relations on the Plateau.[8]

K During the long winters, existence is centered in the permanent
M settlements, for the altitude of the Klamath Basin is over four
221 thousand feet and snow often drifts deep. An accrued depth of
132 six to eight feet is common; while in the exceptional winter of
133 1890-91 a figure of thirty feet, undoubtedly in drifts, was recorded
361 at the head of Agency Lake. Crude, circular bearpaw snowshoes
481 provide a poor means of winter travel, and the settlements tend
262 to become isolated; most people are forced to remain in the
villages, supplementing the meager winter catch with stores of
dried fish and meat, roots, seeds, and berries.

K From a distance, the winter settlement has the appearance of
M hillocks strung out along the bank or clustered in a sheltered
221 spot. In size it may range from several score houses—there are
361 perhaps a hundred house pits at one favored site on Klamath
342 Marsh, though not all may have been occupied at the same time
—down to tiny hamlets of one or two earth lodges and a few mat
huts.[9] Within the village, the earth lodges are the dominant struc-
K tures, with the domed huts flanking them. In Klamath settlements,
M communal storage pits shelter the bulk of supplies; but the
• 343 Modoc prefer to conceal foodstuffs in household caches some
251 distance from the houses.

One Klamath woman recalled her childhood hamlet, part of
K a settlement totaling roughly two dozen houses,[10] on the lower
361 reaches of the Williamson River. Here she and her parents lived
342 with her maternal uncle, the shaman later known as Alex Wilson,
whose earth lodge was the largest in the hamlet. Nearby was
another lodge, the residence of Hunter Wilson, brother of Alex
and headman of the family group. Some four or five mat-covered
K lodges and huts stood in the vicinity, the larger ones closer to
[343] the water for cooking and the sewing of tule mats, the smaller

[Klamath Reservation]

K

for the seclusion of menstruant or parturient women, contact with 361 342
whom is particularly injurious to shamans. 343 •

The earth lodges, frequently dismantled in the spring after K
becoming waterlogged by the melting snows, are rebuilt in the M
fall. They are semisubterranean, built within a circular pit one 342
to four feet in depth—the Modoc excavations tend to be somewhat deeper than the Klamath—and range in diameter from twelve feet for a single family to over thirty-five feet for the residence of a shaman. Four central posts support horizontal plates, with a split-log beam slanting down from each corner into the ground beyond the edge of the pit. Horizontal stringers between the beams in turn bear a layer of rafters, laid side by side around the house. Cracks are chinked with sticks and bark; and the surface is covered successively with rough matting, with grass laid along the lower edge, and finally with dirt. On top, rough planks are laid between the plates, leaving a hatchway that serves simultaneously as smoke hole and entrance.

A similar structure, erected over a shallow depression or none k
at all, lacking the earth covering, and with side entrance, might m
also be used during the winter, but is most frequently the resi- [184]
dence of warmer weather. The house is constructed by its future residents: working together, says Ray, Modoc may take a month to build an earth lodge.

Both Klamath and Modoc conceive of the house as facing east, K
and on that side a stairway ascends. Within, a ladder thrusts m
through the hatchway, and down this the visitor climbs, being 342
careful, if a woman, to manage her fringed skirt to observe the 352
proper modesty. Once below and standing beside the central 353
fireplace, he makes out the dim details. Behind him, at the front [417]
of the house, firewood is stacked in tiers, while across the back [354]
a partition has been made behind which are stored foodstuffs and gear. Many houses dispense with a partition, and supplies are kept on the ledge between pit and wall. From the rafters dried fish and roots hang. The floor is covered with mats, which some- K
times extend up the walls. Along the walls the members of the M
household sit or sleep upon a bedding of mats thrown over grass, 342
with an occasional blanket woven of tule and cattail, sometimes 352
with feathers worked in, or of animal pelt. The left side of the 513
house, as the visitor faces forward, is reserved for the family

[Klamath Reservation]

Families
eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food K M 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302] [412]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [285]
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [364]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K M
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the chil-
dren sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up
the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel,
the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's
child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their
marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral
and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M 221 756 796

sewing through the tule, as the water would run down the tule M
to the twining and there begin to soak in. In the sewed mat the K
water never leaves the straight stem of the tule but runs directly 285
down to the ground. These mats are often made sufficiently wide 342
to cover the side of a small house, and are always so placed that the tule stems run up and down the side of the house. On large houses it is necessary to have two or more courses after the manner of shingles. All these mats are bound to the framework of the structure by means of poles passing horizontally. This summer or temporary house is made with a door opening at the end. The smoke escapes through a slit along the ridge-pole.

With the summer house there is always a sun shelter made of poles covered with boughs, tule mats, or long weeds or grasses. This structure is usually near the temporary summer dwelling, and under it the meals are served and the greater part of the work of the women is done. Temporary summer houses and sun shelters are still found among the Klamath, but the permanent earth lodge is a thing of the past.

There are two other structures in use in this region, the two M
forms of sudatory. The ordinary sweathouse, the one most commonly K
used, is a very small dome-shaped structure, as shown in 343
figure 1, covered with tule mats. These mats, or nowadays blankets, may form a permanent covering for the house, or may be put on it only when a sweat bath is being taken. These little structures range from four to eight feet M
in diameter and from three to four
feet in height. The entrance is a K
small opening, just outside of [354]
which is the fireplace for heating the stones to make the steam for the bath. Inside, at the rear of the sweathouse, is a small pit, one or two feet in diameter and six or eight inches deep. This pit is filled with the heated stones above mentioned, which in themselves provide considerable heat and when the steam arises as water is thrown on the hot stones, a profuse perspiration is caused. The heat is conserved by carefully closing all crevices about the sweathouse. After remaining for some minutes in the steam and heat, the bather runs out and

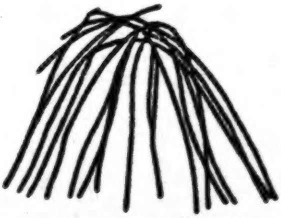

Fig. 1.—Framework of Sudatory.

M K 343 plunges into the lake or a pool in the river or whatever water there may be at hand. This practice seems to have been medicinal. It was used as a habitual means of warding off disease as well as of curing it.

The second form of sweathouse was of similar size and construction except that it had a saddle roof which was covered with several inches of earth instead of a dome-shaped roof covered with matting. The door of this structure was placed at one end and was usually quite small. It was closed by a blanket or tule mat during the sweating.

There was no large "sweathouse" used for ceremonial purposes as in the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada region to the south. All ceremonies were held out of doors, chiefly in the summer.

IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.[a]

M K 411 The influence of the unusual environment in which the Klamath and Modoc live is also very noticeable in the implements made and used by them, particularly in the various devices for the capture of fish and water birds.

[171] The chief implements of war were the bow and arrow and a rather short javelin. The war bow was of the general type of the northwestern part of California, having a sinew back and sharply upcurved ends. The arrow was made in the ordinary manner, with light wood or cane shaft, hard wood foreshaft, and a moderately large obsidian, or sometimes flint, point.

[178] [756] [525] The javelin or spear was fairly short. Its shaft was made of heavy wood. Its point, usually of obsidian, varied from two to six inches in length. These javelins, like war bows and arrows, are no longer in existence, though the obsidian heads are quite plentiful about old village and camp sites. They are now used by medicine-men in doctoring, and also by gamblers, who place them under the large mats used for gambling to insure good luck, especially in the game called sakalis.

HUNTING IMPLEMENTS.

M K 224 The implements used in hunting animals were usually the bow and arrow. Ensnaring animals was little practiced by the

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[a] The Klamath names of the various implements, etc., here described are given by Gatschet in his dictionary, *op. cit.*

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

SWEAT-LODGES.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY MINNIE FROBEN.

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Ê-ukshkni lápa spû'klish gítko. K̲úk̲iuk k̲ĕlekápkash spû'klishla yé-
The Lake people two (kinds of) sweat-lodges have. To weep over the deceased they build sweat-lodges dig-

pank käíla; stutílantko spû'klish, käíla waltchátko. Spû'klish a sha shû'ta
ging up the ground; are roofed (these) sweat-lodges, with earth covered. (Another) sweat-lodge they build

kué-utch, kítchikan'sh stinága-shítko; skû'tash a wáldsha spû'klishtat tata-
of willows, a little cabin looking like; blankets they spread over the sweating-lodge when

ták sĕ spûkliá. Tátataks a hû'nk wéas lúla, tatátaks a híshuaksh tchímĕna,
in it they sweat. Whenever children died, or when a husband became widower,

snáwedsh wénuitk, k̲û'k̲i k̲ĕlekátko, spû'klitcha túmi shashámoks-lólatko;
(or) the wife (is) widowed, they weep for cause of death, go sweating many relatives who have lost;

túnepni waítash tchík sa hû'nk spû'klia. Shiúlakiank a sha ktái húyuka
five days then they sweat. Gathering they stones, (they) heat (them)

skoilakuápkuk; hútoks ktái k̲á-i tatá spukliû't'huīsh. Spúklish lúpīa
to heap them up (after use); those stones never having been used for sweating. Sweat-lodge in front of

húyuka; k̲élpka a át, ílhiat átui, k̲ídshna ai í ámbu, kliulála. Spû'kli a
they heat (them); heated (being) when, they bring (them) inside at once, pour on them water, sprinkle. Sweat then

sha túmĕni "hours"; k̲élpkuk géka shualkóltchuk péniak k̲ŏ'k̲s pépe-udshak
they several hours; being quite warmed up they leave (and) to cool themselves off without dress only to go bathing

éwagatat, k̲ók̲etat, é-ush wigáta. Spukli-uápka mā'ntch. Shpótuok
in a spring, river, lake close by. They will sweat for long hours. To make themselves strong

i-akéwa kápka, skû'tawia sha wéwakag knû'kstga. Ndshiétchatka knû'ks
they bend down young pine-trees, (they) tie together they small brush-wood with ropes. Of (willow-)bark the ropes

a sha shúshata. Gátpampĕlank shkoshkí'lχa ktáktiag hû'shkankok k̲ĕle-
they make. On going home they heap up into cairns small stones in remembrance of the

kápkash, ktá-i shúshuankaptcha í'hiank.
dead, stones of equal size selecting.

NOTES.

No Klamath or Modoc sweat-lodge can be properly called a sweat-*house*, as is the custom throughout the West. One kind of these lodges, intended for the use of mourners only, are solid structures, almost underground; three of them are now in existence, all believed to be the gift of the principal national deity. Sudatories of the other kind are found near every Indian lodge, and consist of a few willow-rods stuck into

*539 343 515 765 193 192 the ground, both ends being bent over. The process gone through while sweating is the same in both kinds of lodges, with the only difference as to time. The ceremonies mentioned 82, 4–13., all refer to sweating in the mourners' sweat-lodges. The sudatories of the Oregonians have no analogy with the *estufas* of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, as far as their construction is concerned. Cf. *Notes* to 70, 1. 75, 11.

82, 1. lápa spû'klish, two sweat-lodges, stands for two *kinds* of sweat-lodges.

82, 5. shashámoks-lólatko forms *one* compound word: one who, or: those who have lost relatives by death; cf. ptísh-lûlsh, pgísh-lûlsh; hishuákga ptísh-lúlatk, male orphan whose father has died. In the same manner, k̲ĕlekátko stands here as a participle referring simultaneously to híshuaksh and to snáwedsh wénuitk, and can be rendered by "*bereaved*". Shashámoks, distr. form of shá-amoks, is often pronounced sheshámaks. Túmi etc. means, that many others accompany to the sweat-lodge, into which about six persons can crowd themselves, bereaved husbands, wives or parents, because the deceased were related to them. Cf. lĕ'pk̲'leχa, lĕ'pk̲'lekatko.

82, 6. Shiúlakiank etc. For developing steam the natives collect only such stones for heating as are neither too large nor too small; a medium size seeming most appropriate for concentrating the largest amount of heat. The old sweat-lodges are surrounded with large accumulations of stones which, to judge from their blackened exterior, have served the purpose of generating steam; they weigh not over 3 to 5 pounds in the average, and in the vicinity travelers discover many small cairns, not over four feet high, and others lying in ruins. The shrubbery around the sudatory is in many localities tied up with willow wisps and ropes.

82, 10. Spukli-nápka mă'ntch means that the sweating-process is repeated many times during the five days of observance; they sweat at least twice a day.

Luátpíshla snéwedsh m'na.

LAMENT OVER A WIFE'S LOSS.

Obtained from Dave Hill in the Klamath Lake Dialect.

*539 765 787

Snáweds k̲'leká. Tsúi tsik shpótû hissuáksûk, pă'wa tsúi, pă'nĕ
A wife dies. Upon this strengthens himself (her) husband alone, plunges then, again

mákual, sta-ótank k̲aítua pát; tsúi tûtí'χ yaínatat tû'tshna. Tsúi shlaá
camps out, famished nothing eats; then (he) dreams, (and) on the mountains he dozes. Then he sees

mák̲laks, tûtí'χ hûnk ná-asht; tsúi gă'mpĕle ládsashtat, tsúi psín hûshtí'k- 3
people, dreams (he) thus; then he returns to (his) lodge, and at night he frequently

tamna, tsúi shlă'popk, tsúi at shlă'popk siunotí'sh tchkash. Tsúi at shuí'sh
dreams, and has visions, and then he has hallucinations of (female) choruses also. And magic songs

hû'k nă'sht ki: "tchă'kĕli gékanuapka, súmat tsúk at géka tchákĕle"! tsúi
these thus say: "blood will come up, to the throat in time comes up blood"! then

> & Mr. Dyar, "here, you mammook law on me." Their hearts were all right while I was wrong and deserved what I got. Now I throw away all that old bad heart." 657* 648* 797

In 1880 a church building capable of seating two hundred persons was framed with lumber brought in by the Indians, but two years passed before it was completed.[22] Meanwhile, the work with the congregation had gone on apace. [346] •

As Roork mentioned, since it was thought best in preaching to ignore Chinook jargon, "an interpreter is employed who expounds in Klamath the instructions designed especially for their enlightenment." After Sunday school, in the afternoon another service was held, "introduced by a brief sermon, followed by remarks by one or more of the most intelligent Christian Indians, who address their own people in Klamath."[23] The leaders in this practice were Henry Blow and Dave Hill. Both the exhortative character of the sermon and the circumstance that the Agent often led the services provided links with the corresponding admonitions of the chiefs of former days. Dave Hill, at this time employed as official interpreter,[24] doubtless served in this capacity for religious services.

When the church building had been completed the services were conducted in part by the Agent and employees, in part by Hill, now a preacher of the Methodist Church.[25] Both he and Henry Blow frequently visited the school, lecturing on the virtues of Christian living.[26] Three years later, young Jesse Kirk, also ordained, was participating in services. A camp meeting of that year, held by Reverend Driver, presiding elder of the district, resulted in 83 baptisms. The total membership of the church numbered 240 members.[27] At school, children were given Bibles and set to memorizing verses.

One man recalls such a meeting presided over by Joseph Emery:

> There was a full house, nothing but Indians. . . . They called us to the front bench—those who can sing sit there. One of the Indian interpreters told us to go there. We both went up front. . . . The service lasted about one hour. The preacher [Emery] prayed first. He prayed to God same thing over and over. "Let these Indians learn and learn to pray to Thee. More and more have them change from old ways to the English ways. Not help them only, but help their children to grow in grace.

773 776 As a result of their seclusion, all their geogonic and creation myths are acting around the headwaters of Klamath River and in Lost River Valley, and the first man is said to have been created by their national deity, K'mukámtchiksh, at the base of the lofty Cascade Range, upon the prairie drained by Wood River. I have obtained no myth disclosing any knowledge of the ocean, which is scarcely one hundred and fifty miles distant in an air line from their seats. They have no flood or inundation myths that 192 are not imported from abroad; and what is of special importance here, their terms for *salt* (ā'dak, shō'lt) are *not their own*, but are derived from foreign languages.

173 There is an animal story embodied in the Texts, page 131, forming 773 No. II of the "Spell of the Laughing Raven," containing the sentence: "Hereupon the Klamath Lake people began fighting the Northerners." I believed at first that this contained a historic reminiscence of some intertribal war, but now am rather doubtful about it. The song 192; 1 was supposed by some Indians to be a very old reminiscence, while others referred it to the presence of the Warm Spring scouts in the Modoc war.

I conclude from the foregoing facts that historic traditions do not exist among these mountaineer Indians. If there are any, I was unable to obtain 000 them. The racial qualities of the Modocs, and still more those of the É-ukshikni, indicate a closer resemblance with Oregonians and Columbia River tribes than with Shoshonians and Californians.

B. ARCHÆOLOGIC REMAINS.

211 The Klamath people have not evinced any more propensity for erecting monuments of any kind than they have for perpetuating the memory 346 of their ancestors in song or tradition. In fact, structures the probable 226 age of which exceeds one hundred years are very few. Among these may be particularized the three ceremonial sweat-lodges and perhaps some of the river-barrages, intended to facilitate the catch of fish, if they should turn out to be of artificial and not of natural origin. In the Lost River 172 Valley is a well, claimed by Modocs to be Aishish's gift—probably one of 312 the large natural springs or wélwash which are seen bubbling up in so many places upon the reservation Stephen Powers reports that near the

*539 Spéluishtka at héwi, iwí-idsha wókash. Nāt a génanuapk! nánuk
In the index-month they haul, take home the lily-seed. We will go there! all

221 [222] nat éna! nátoks waítuapk, wewálha wátch, hû'masht nat gî waíta wéwalhasht wátch kä'mat.
of us carry it! but we will wait one day, are sore (our) horses, therefore we wait one day because are sore horses on back.

Nad gitá piénuapk pólŏkuantch, ktälowalshuápka nād.
We there will scrape up moth-chrysalids, gather pine-nuts we.

Tchatchápĕlu, hóllaksh, tûtánksham, hahashkemólsham, lolóloisam,
Sweet resin, winged pine-nuts, blackberry, black cherry, wild gooseberry,

tsinéχam, klá-ads, wáshlalam íwam nā'd stá-ila. Kó-idse, shtéaltk ktä'lo.
sort of wókash, prunes, squirrels' huckleberries we gather. Of bad taste, full of resin pine-nuts (are)

[231] [222] [251] [252] [272] Tχópowatka í-umämi wátch lalá-a; gépgapēle mā̆klaks kĕlä'wiank,
In the thumb-month at berry-time mares foal; return the Indians having done (gathering),

at wéwanuish o-olalóna, at sa í'-umaltka. Bû'nuapka tchä'kēle í'wam,
the females dry berries by the fire, they return from berry-gathering. They will drink red juice of huckleberries,

tchilálat hûn í'wam. Ánshat ánika shash í'wam; wí'dsika nánka í'wam.
boil the berries. You may go and ask them for huckleberries; retentive some (are) of berries.

Túpeluish aní'k tĕlû'ks, tchákĕla n's skaí tak; tsákĕlatka n's skaítki stá.
To next lodge I send tule-basket, willow-basket to me to give in; in the basket to me to give it filled.

Pahápk tchísh íwam lúitki n's léwitchta á. Ká-i sheshätuí'shtka.
Dried too huckleberries to give to me they did not want. Not I intend to sell them.

[796] [346] [222] Spéluishtka spû'klishtat kshíwalχa, papiä'na luldamalákstat. At hû'k
In the index-month in the sweat-house they dance, inaugurate by feast the winter-house. Now such a man

kshū'n híwidshuapk, at hû't hí'wi; túnepni nā'd shópelakuapk. "Tû'sh
hay will haul home, and that man hauls (it) in; in five (stacks) we will stack (it) up. "Where

nû shópelakuapk"? "lápash í'lχat, atí'sh shuí'nshnank í'lχat; í' tchkash í
I shall stack it"? "in two stacks heap it ye, in a long-stretching (stack) stacking heap it ye! you also you

nû'sh shatuáyuapk mbúsant. Ûnípni waítash í n's shatuáyuapka."
me must help to-morrow. Four days you me must help."

Tátχĕlam hehátχe túpak.
In the midfinger-month fall the leaves.

Gáptchĕlam shináktishtka kä'na.
In the ring-finger month it is snowing.

Gáptsatka mû kä'na.
In the month of the small finger heavily it snows.

Tχópowatka wétko é-ush; kéna.
In the thumb-month is frozen the lake; it is snowing.

[796] Spéluishtka ktō'tsa mû; wála kshiúlgishtat.
In the index-month it rains much; they dance in the dance-house.

Tátχĕlam tsuám lúela Nílaksi Tsuyakē'ksni.
In the middfinger-month large suckers kill at Nílaks the Linkville Indians.

[226] Gáptsĕlam shináktishtka udsáksalsha Kókĕtat, kä'shla sa.
In the ring-finger month they take large suckers in Lost River, (and) get ipos.

*539 221 All these different kinds of sacks or bags were originally made of bulrush-stalks (tule) and the táyash was made of straw.

[192] [415] 74, 11. k̲aítua nû kä'ila. The sense is incomplete. Probably sháyuakta is left out: "I do not know of any in the whole country", kiíla often standing for kïílatat.

[192] 74, 14. áwalues. There are several islands in the shallow waters of the vast extent of Klamath Marsh, but only *one* is meant here.

[103] 74, 15. wö'ns ílktsat. They submerge their dug-outs at several places on the beach, where they are certain to find them in the next wókash-season.

[504] [103] 74, 17. pí'la wí'hla (or píla wíllash) contains perhaps a proper name of a locality, or stands in connection with Tóilkat, "at the Rail-Pyramid"; wílhaslash means top, apex. The stations from the "Ford" to "Bird's Lookout" are passed by the tribe when they return home with the lily-seed harvest-crop. "They drop the rifle" is: they take a rest. All these localities are either on the open waters of Klamath Marsh or on Williamson River, which forms its outlet.

[484] [492] 75, 1. iwí-idsha wókash. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Williamson River is from 20 to 25 miles, and horses carrying wókash can make it in one day. The next day they return to carry another load.

[482] 75, 2. nátoks waítuapk: we will lie over one day to let our horses rest, or recover from the swellings on their backs. Nátoks stands for nát toks.

[824] 75, 5. klá-ads is probably a kind of wild prunes. See Dictionary: këlátch.

[192] 75, 8. wídsika íwam. "Some are economical with their own berries, and prefer not to scatter them in the hands of others"; íwam, huckleberry, has become the generic term for all berries, and i-umä'mi is "*berry-season*".

● [316] 75, 11. spû'klish here means the large communal sweat-house; it is used frequently for dances and kshiuwálχishtat, contr. kshiû'lχishtat might stand instead of spúklishtat.

75, 11. papiä'na, vocalic dissimilation for papa-éna; derived from pán, to eat.

[193] 75, 13. atí'sh etc. "Heap ye up that hay in two stacks, which must have a lengthy, long-stretching, and not a high, cone-shaped form!" For heaping up long stacks one verb is here used, and another for making the high, round ones.

PŪ'LAM SHUMSHE-ÉLSHTAT SHASHAPKĒLÉASH.

A SKETCH OF BALL'S MARRIED LIFE.

[115] GIVEN BY DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 593 Póluk k̲ä'liak snáwäds t'shín. Tsúi snawä'dshla Pámpiam pä'-ia lupí';
Ball he without a wife grew up. Then he married Pámpi's daughter at first;
tsúi wä'kala, tsúi tatá mántsak mbusä'lan gi. Tsúi kä'tsa, tsúi mbusä'-
and she had a babe, and then quite a while he lived with (her). Then he left (her), and lived with
alpëli pän, tsúi pän kétsa sissû'kuk tsû'ssak. Násh wä'ka sham k̲läká, nä'sh
(her) again, and again left (her) quarrelling continually. One babe to them died, another
tchía; at sa sipí'tχa, tsúi nä's shnawä'dshla pän Látsam pä'-ia; wáts säwána
lived; still they separated, then one (woman) he married after (this) Látchash's daughter; horses he gave

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nearly vertical and protrudes considerably above the roof level. Ladders are never made of a log with holes cut through it, nor were the central posts notched for this purpose.[373]

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The rough planks used in roofing the structure are made by splitting hollow logs with elk-horn wedges. These are driven with a hardwood club, oak, or mountain mahogany. Every man has three or four such wedges; axes are wholly unknown and stone mauls not used. Obviously such timbers cannot compare with the broad planks of the Northwest peoples, but are rather of the crude Yurok type. Procuring the planks is quite a little expedition. They go in four to six canoes, spending a whole day splitting enough for a single house. The people of the du'kwa settlements at the mouth of Williamson river, for instance, cross Klamath lake to its timbered western shore for their supply.

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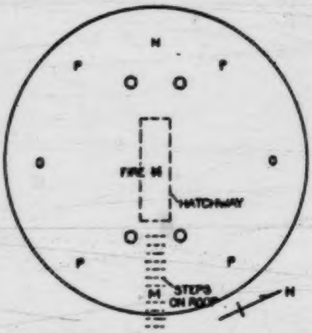

Fig. 19. Named parts of the house.

The several parts of the house interior as set off by the central posts are named. That portion at the front of the house directly under the outside steps is called stĕ'kis (*M*, fig. 19); the opposite end, tka'lŭm (*N*). These spaces are used for storage. The sides of the interior (*O*) are la'lᴇstal and the corner sections (*P*) are stc!oka'ctal. These, the living quarters, are preferable to the end spaces presumably because the narrowness of the hatchway yields a greater extent of roof cover on each side, thus affording greater protection. The sleeping quarters of shamans are on the northern side of the lodges, hence I assume that this segment is always occupied by the head of the household. The shaman dances principally on this side of the central area. [756]

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[373] Compare Barrett, 244.

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4. Lo'lōklis, wife, and seven children.
5. Te!ōnte!ōn and his wife (childless).

The wives of Boke's (1) and Lo'lōklis (4) were sisters; Te!ōnte!ōn (5) was their brother. Lek!o'e and Wokau'k!alis were distant cousins of this trio.

In front of this lodge stood another, a mat-covered house (wu'kē'plōks), housing the mother and three sisters of Wokau'k!alis. This was only ten feet distant, measured about fifteen feet in diameter, and also had its entrance, this time at ground level, on the southeastern side facing the river. The inmates of both houses were gu'mbōtkni from the western side of Klamath lake with the exception of Lo'lōklis, a du'kwa man, who alone properly belonged in this locality.

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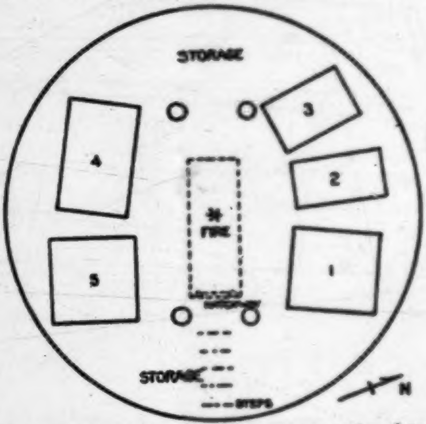

Fig. 4. Plan of an earth-lodge, showing the areas assigned to the beds of five families.

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One earth-lodge in the same district was known as wēwalăĕksumlo'ltmalōks, old woman's earth-lodge. Its inmates were an old woman, her two daughters each in early life, the younger with three children, and an elderly woman, first cousin to the daughters, hence called older sister by them. The house was built especially for them.

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Data on the arrangement of polygynous households are of the slightest. It is clear that all the wives occupy one house with their husband. Their beds are separate. This is true where their number is few, but in the case of Lzle'ks' seven wives, these were housed in two lodges. In one family of a man and three childless wives only one earth-lodge was used.

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The roof is shingled with long mats laid in horizontal courses. The variety used is a relatively poor twined mat, called ste'holŏs, made of tule, swamp grass, or cat-tail rushes. Dry grass (not brush) is heaped on the mats halfway up the sides and the whole roof then covered with a thick layer of dirt. The grass is omitted from the upper part for fear sparks from the fire beneath the hatchway may catch in it. The mats are three and a half to four feet wide and so
[352] long that they stretch more than halfway around the roof. Swamp-grass mats make a warmer structure than tule. No mats are placed
[353] on the inner side of the roof, nor around the sides of the pit. The floor however is liberally carpeted with them. Food is commonly stored around the outer margin of the roof, buried under the dirt cover. The dirt is banked so thoroughly there that the lodge needs no circumscribing ditch to protect it from rain water.

The hatchway in the roof (ginķ'a, hole) is of considerable size; about ten feet by three or four in a large house. At night a series of small sticks are laid transversely across it and a mat, called ķ'ai'ictls, which is rolled up at the rear end of the hatchway during the day, is stretched over the opening to close it. Any kind of ste'holŏs mat may be used for the hatch, but swamp grass is preferable to tule which becomes brittle when dry. To keep the snow from drifting into the open hatchway, a mat may be set up to windward on sticks driven into the dirt covering.

Houses face the southeastern quarter, because the prevailing winds are from the west. The front of the house is the side having a set of steps leading up the sloping roof to the hatchway. It seems doubtful that a house on the east bank of a river, for instance, would have its entrance away from the stream, but so I was told. The circumstances is that along the Williamson river valley, the only narrow valley where this arrangement might prove awkward, the majority of settlements are on the west bank.

The outer steps (astŏno'lŭķs) are formed of two small tree trunks lying upright along the sloping roof. Short limbs left projecting from these hold a series of cross-sticks serving as rungs (waKi's), with
[417] dirt packed behind them to make a set of solid steps. The ladder reaching the hatchway from within is made of similar poles (stĕ'stKls) with the rungs tied on. There were ten rungs, a foot apart, in a large house described to me.[371] This ladder is set at the southeastern end of the opening, that is the end opposite the rolled-up mat door. It is

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[371] This may well be the operation of the pattern number five.

343 as in "one big family." This is inevitably a matter of personal pref-
252 erence; some dwellings have two cooking lodges attached, the families
eating separately and sharing food only as friendship dictates. The
592 mortars and grinding slabs are kept in the cooking-lodge. The intro-
[177] duction of flour has wrought a change in these habits. Loaves of
bread are baked in the ashes in the earth-lodge itself. Flour is always
[262] shared among the inmates. I was assured that there was no earlier
custom resembling this.

264 But two meals a day are eaten, morning and evening. I was also
told that there is no regular period for meals. Visitors are given
574 something on their arrival, such as a little pond-lily seed, but no stress
is placed on this phase of hospitality. A sort of grace is said before
eating.

• 352 The entire floor of the earth-lodge or summer mat-house is carpeted
with mats except for the space within the four central posts. Thicker
piles of these for beds are placed all around the walls, but the best
352 locations are at the sides (*O*, fig. 19). Children might sleep in the
corners. People always sleep with their feet toward the fire, no
513 matter in what direction their heads then lie.[374]

Beds (slai'is) are of mats of various sorts. Rich people use tule, the twined mats (slai'is) being preferred to the sewn (st!ŏps). One or more of these laid on dry grass serves as a mattress, or they sleep directly on the grass. One or two more form the covering. The few who have them use grizzly bear, coyote, wolf, lynx (? slowa'), or deer pelts, or several *Bassariscus* (? slĕt) skins sewn together, for mattress and blanket (sa'walc). A blanket for a little child is made from the skin of a red fox, a stretched raccoon skin, or several marten skins sewn together. Blankets (called sŏlŭmtai') are also made of tule and cat-tail twined to produce a checkerboard decoration. Others are made of tules with the wing feathers of water fowl (pelicans, geese, swans, ducks, etc.) caught in one face. These are called lă'edă-lap'ŏ'tᴇ, wing feathers (lac) put together. Another type of feather blanket (called ķ'a'lyᴇ) is made of the dried skins of waterfowl twisted with a cord to form a fluffy rope. This is twined with cords inserted at intervals to form the blanket. Pillows (sᴇ'o'lhas) are a heap of grass, or anything else, even wood, but the wooden headrest of the lower Klamath river tribes is unknown. Gatschet records a sack stuffed with mallard duck down for a pillow.[375]

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[374] I could find no notion that a sleeper is affected by moonlight.

[375] 1:144.

K

for the seclusion of menstruant or parturient women, contact with 361 342
whom is particularly injurious to shamans. 343

The earth lodges, frequently dismantled in the spring after K
becoming waterlogged by the melting snows, are rebuilt in the M
fall. They are semisubterranean, built within a circular pit one 342
to four feet in depth—the Modoc excavations tend to be somewhat deeper than the Klamath—and range in diameter from twelve feet for a single family to over thirty-five feet for the residence of a shaman. Four central posts support horizontal plates, with a split-log beam slanting down from each corner into the ground beyond the edge of the pit. Horizontal stringers between the beams in turn bear a layer of rafters, laid side by side around the house. Cracks are chinked with sticks and bark; and the surface is covered successively with rough matting, with grass laid along the lower edge, and finally with dirt. On top, rough planks are laid between the plates, leaving a hatchway that serves simultaneously as smoke hole and entrance.

A similar structure, erected over a shallow depression or none k
at all, lacking the earth covering, and with side entrance, might m [184]
also be used during the winter, but is most frequently the residence of warmer weather. The house is constructed by its future residents: working together, says Ray, Modoc may take a month to build an earth lodge.

Both Klamath and Modoc conceive of the house as facing east, K m
and on that side a stairway ascends. Within, a ladder thrusts 342
through the hatchway, and down this the visitor climbs, being 352 •
careful, if a woman, to manage her fringed skirt to observe the 353
proper modesty. Once below and standing beside the central [417]
fireplace, he makes out the dim details. Behind him, at the front [354]
of the house, firewood is stacked in tiers, while across the back a partition has been made behind which are stored foodstuffs and gear. Many houses dispense with a partition, and supplies are kept on the ledge between pit and wall. From the rafters dried
fish and roots hang. The floor is covered with mats, which some- K M
times extend up the walls. Along the walls the members of the 342
household sit or sleep upon a bedding of mats thrown over grass, 352
with an occasional blanket woven of tule and cattail, sometimes 513
with feathers worked in, or of animal pelt. The left side of the house, as the visitor faces forward, is reserved for the family

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K
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342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old
352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the
513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another
K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are
M [592] houses that hold more than two families and others that hold
K only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no
M longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content
342 888 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.
735 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women
K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered
M the visitor[11] are of powerful frame—though of no more than
142 average height—and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily
K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber
M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early
291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing
[177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the
trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down
the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside
add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a
K M mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in
302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips
301 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads,
ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum
K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy
M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face,
304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by
[142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter prac-
[177] tice, says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit
River neighbors of the Modoc.
K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys.
M 512 Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grand-
[857] father and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black
waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the
sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to
stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its
K cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the
M [252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it
[415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they
[177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

[Klamath Reservation]

ill-ventilated, native houses,"[10] in favor of log and frame dwell- 657*
ings. The advantages of the new structures were not evident to 177
the Indians,[11] and the labor required to build them was consider- 342
able. A small sawmill was set up in 1870, but at first its output 657*
was diverted primarily to Agency buildings. Somehow, the lum- 177
ber even after that time did not seem to go for housing. 313

> The completion of a sawmill [declares the roseate prose of A. B. Meacham, superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon] has worked a great reformation, inspiring them to extraordinary exertion to amass property of various kinds. . . . They have donned the white man's costume, taken the ax, cross-cut saw, and hauled to the mill a half-million feet of timber, and today are lumber merchants with stock in trade constantly on hand, evincing shrewdness and business integrity that makes an agent's heart strong to work with and for them."[12]

The following year, 1872, Agent L. S. Dyar was at length able 657*
to report that "four good frame houses have been built for the 177
Indians, and two more [are] well under way."[13] They were built 342
for the leading men: for Chiloquin, Francis, Hunter Wilson,
Henry Blow, "Sergeant" Morgan, the daughter of Lileks, and
Link River Jack. On the Upper End, the commissary in charge
of the subagency urged, "During the ensuing two or three months
the houses promised Chiefs Barcley, Ben and Chocktoosh a year
ago should be built. . . ."[14] These houses were small, one-room [352] •
frame structures, vulnerable to the winter cold, but furnished
with a bed, table, and four chairs.

Among the Indian advocates of the new dwellings were such men as Dave Hill and later Jesse Kirk, who, as elderly Indians today recall, used to ride around among their people counseling, "You've got to quit the old ways, change your houses, live like white people." They met opposition. Chief Lilu declined to leave his earth lodge for the house the government had built for him. As late as 1891, Agent D. W. Matthews noted that there was still "an occasional wik-e-up, which some of the aged prefer."[15]

> An Agent [recounted an elderly Indian of this time] used to go around from place to place and told the Indians that they must make homes for themselves of rough lumber, and get away from the wikiup. I heard him tell my father. My father said, "All right, if I can get the lumber." An old carpenter helped my father make the rough house. He must have been educated be-

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592 4. Lo'lökli̇s, wife, and seven children.

5. Tc!öntc!ön and his wife (childless).

The wives of Boke's (1) and Lo'lökli̇s (4) were sisters; Tc!öntc!ön (5) was their brother. Lek!o'c and Wokau'k!alli̇s were distant cousins of this trio.

In front of this lodge stood another, a mat-covered house (wu'kĕ'plöks), housing the mother and three sisters of Wokau'k!alli̇s. This was only ten feet distant, measured about fifteen feet in diameter, and also had its entrance, this time at ground level, on the southeastern side facing the river. The inmates of both houses were gu'mbötkni from the western side of Klamath lake with the exception of Lo'lökli̇s, a du'kwa man, who alone properly belonged in this locality.

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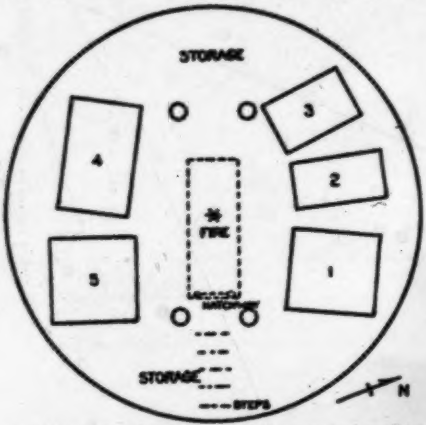

Fig. 4. Plan of an earth-lodge, showing the areas assigned to the beds of five families.

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592 One earth-lodge in the same district was known as wĕwalăčksumlo'ltmalöks, old woman's earth-lodge. Its inmates were an old woman, her two daughters each in early life, the younger with three children, and an elderly woman, first cousin to the daughters, hence called older sister by them. The house was built especially for them.

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595 Data on the arrangement of polygynous households are of the slightest. It is clear that all the wives occupy one house with their husband. Their beds are separate. This is true where their number is few, but in the case of Lzle'ks' seven wives, these were housed in two lodges. In one family of a man and three childless wives only one earth-lodge was used.

756 776

> A shaman, ķiu'ksmag (Shaman Man), was working in a hayfield for some whites. He lay down saying he had a headache. His spirit, the buzzard, was making him sick because he did not heed it. He told his companions to fetch him a snake. He took the little watersnake by the tail and swallowed it. He said he was cured; the snake was no longer in him but had left his body immediately.

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The shaman is possessed during his performances. He is the vehicle of the spirit; the spirit sings with his voice, sucks with his lips, and sees with his eyes. It is not in him at other times, but in its home in the mountains or under the water and must be called on to enter his body. The shaman's behavior was instanced as follows.

> A shaman, Alec Wilson, was singing of his coyote spirit during a winter performance attended by my informant Nancy, then a little girl. He chuckled for quite a time, saying, "There are lots of swamp mice here." Then he crawled across the lodge through the audience and stealing up behind Nancy bit her hard. He bit her because she was moving around.

A trance state is not part of the shaman's behavior, nor was a frenzy described. The stereotyped physiological disturbance, real or feigned, is blood gushing from the mouth while he falls unconscious. The absence of the trance state suggests that the shaman is not of necessity psychologically abnormal.

756 342

The shaman's house is always an earth-lodge and practically all performances take place within it. Not only larger than the ordinary dwellings, it differs from them in being decorated. It is the usual semi-subterranean structure with a conical earth-covered roof resting on four central posts. The entrance is by a hatchway in the roof with the ladder at the east end. The fire is kindled directly under this opening. The posts are painted with horizontal stripes, alternately [352] red and white. They are not carved. According to one informant, men's faces, snakes, lizards, animals of all sorts, but not spirits, are painted on the posts; but I doubt this. The grass-stuffed skins of various animals and birds, probably all of them representing the shaman's spirits, are hung under the slanting roof beams; mink, skunk, crane, tcauwIlō'ks (a duck-like bird), butterball duck, white shitepoke, rattlesnake, a big speckled snake, and the dried skin of the lizard were mentioned. The birds have outstretched wings. Standing [532] on the roof of the lodge, on the northern side of the hatchway, is a wooden image of tcaķia'ķ, the little boy spirit, made by the shaman. Head, trunk, and arms are rudely carved and painted. Red-shafted flicker (yellowhammer) feathers are fastened around its neck (only shamans wear the feathers of this bird).

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The roof is shingled with long mats laid in horizontal courses. The variety used is a relatively poor twined mat, called ste'holŏs, made of tule, swamp grass, or cat-tail rushes. Dry grass (not brush) is heaped on the mats halfway up the sides and the whole roof then covered with a thick layer of dirt. The grass is omitted from the upper part for fear sparks from the fire beneath the hatchway may catch in it. The mats are three and a half to four feet wide and so [352] long that they stretch more than halfway around the roof. Swamp-grass mats make a warmer structure than tule. [353] No mats are placed on the inner side of the roof, nor around the sides of the pit. The floor however is liberally carpeted with them. Food is commonly stored around the outer margin of the roof, buried under the dirt cover. The dirt is banked so thoroughly there that the lodge needs no circumscribing ditch to protect it from rain water.

The hatchway in the roof (gînķ'a, hole) is of considerable size; about ten feet by three or four in a large house. At night a series of small sticks are laid transversely across it and a mat, called ķ'ai'ictls, which is rolled up at the rear end of the hatchway during the day, is stretched over the opening to close it. Any kind of ste'holŏs mat may be used for the hatch, but swamp grass is preferable to tule which becomes brittle when dry. To keep the snow from drifting into the open hatchway, a mat may be set up to windward on sticks driven into the dirt covering.

Houses face the southeastern quarter, because the prevailing winds are from the west. The front of the house is the side having a set of steps leading up the sloping roof to the hatchway. It seems doubtful that a house on the east bank of a river, for instance, would have its entrance away from the stream, but so I was told. The circumstances is that along the Williamson river valley, the only narrow valley where this arrangement might prove awkward, the majority of settlements are on the west bank.

The outer steps (astŏno'lŭķs) are formed of two small tree trunks lying upright along the sloping roof. Short limbs left projecting from these hold a series of cross-sticks serving as rungs (waki's), with [417] dirt packed behind them to make a set of solid steps. The ladder reaching the hatchway from within is made of similar poles (stĕ'stkls) with the rungs tied on. There were ten rungs, a foot apart, in a large house described to me.[371] This ladder is set at the southeastern end of the opening, that is the end opposite the rolled-up mat door. It is

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[371] This may well be the operation of the pattern number five.

[Klamath Reservation]

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for the seclusion of menstruant or parturient women, contact with whom is particularly injurious to shamans.

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The earth lodges, frequently dismantled in the spring after becoming waterlogged by the melting snows, are rebuilt in the fall. They are semisubterranean, built within a circular pit one to four feet in depth—the Modoc excavations tend to be somewhat deeper than the Klamath—and range in diameter from twelve feet for a single family to over thirty-five feet for the residence of a shaman. Four central posts support horizontal plates, with a split-log beam slanting down from each corner into the ground beyond the edge of the pit. Horizontal stringers between the beams in turn bear a layer of rafters, laid side by side around the house. Cracks are chinked with sticks and bark; and the surface is covered successively with rough matting, with grass laid along the lower edge, and finally with dirt. On top, rough planks are laid between the plates, leaving a hatchway that serves simultaneously as smoke hole and entrance.

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A similar structure, erected over a shallow depression or none at all, lacking the earth covering, and with side entrance, might also be used during the winter, but is most frequently the residence of warmer weather. The house is constructed by its future residents: working together, says Ray, Modoc may take a month to build an earth lodge.

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Both Klamath and Modoc conceive of the house as facing east, and on that side a stairway ascends. Within, a ladder thrusts through the hatchway, and down this the visitor climbs, being careful, if a woman, to manage her fringed skirt to observe the proper modesty. Once below and standing beside the central fireplace, he makes out the dim details. Behind him, at the front of the house, firewood is stacked in tiers, while across the back a partition has been made behind which are stored foodstuffs and gear. Many houses dispense with a partition, and supplies are kept on the ledge between pit and wall. From the rafters dried fish and roots hang.

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M
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The floor is covered with mats, which sometimes extend up the walls. Along the walls the members of the household sit or sleep upon a bedding of mats thrown over grass, with an occasional blanket woven of tule and cattail, sometimes with feathers worked in, or of animal pelt. The left side of the house, as the visitor faces forward, is reserved for the family

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159
[156] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White segments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but
in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
[871] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
[586] fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of
the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of
[597] numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has
spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was
closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became
dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
[874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She
took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if
she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[852] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child
nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she
had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them
her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., per-
[608] sons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an ad-
visor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making
a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
[278] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my
glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
•[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its
walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is asso-
ciated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is
noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites,
for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, be-
cause she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

used;[278] then grass or pine boughs, covered with dirt, are heaped half- 342
way up the side. The outer mats are held in place by tying them along the edges to poles propped against the side of the house. The rope (pĕk̦'os) used for this is three strand, braided of grass or the outer layer of tule. In placing the mats, a space about two feet across is left at the top for a smoke hole, and another only three and a half feet high for a doorway. One has to stoop to enter. The door is a mat like that of the summer house; it is not weighted nor tied down.

Drying racks are not placed inside the houses. All fish and meat [251]
are dried on racks near-by. [417]

Houses are not decorated, nor are the house posts carved or painted
except by shamans. These may paint them with horizontal stripes, 342
alternately red and white. One informant had it that men's faces, snakes, lizards, and various other animals, not spirits, are painted on the posts, but I am doubtful. Shamans also hung stuffed bird and
animal skins about the interior. A wooden image and a stuffed crane [756]
skin are set up outside on the northern side of the hatchway, i.e., above
the shaman's bed. Houses are not given individual names, Yurok 552
fashion, though the localizing tendency of the Klamath might have 171*
found an outlet in this.

The fireplace (sne'lūk̦s) in the earth-lodge is in the middle of the 354
floor, between the four center posts and under the open hatchway. Neither a pit nor stones are used to confine the fire. Most of the time there is no fire on the hearth, only in the morning and evening; at other times the hatch is closed. A huge fire is built when it is nearly sundown, and after the mat is drawn across the opening the heat is so
great that blankets may be dispensed with. This despite the severe [132]
winters; at this altitude (4000 feet) lakes and streams are frozen
solid. Fires are usually made by piling short lengths of wood in log- [133]
cabin (crib-work) fashion to a height of eighteen inches. They cook when this is reduced to a bed of coals. A piece of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire from one place to another.

Cooking ordinarily takes place outside the dwelling in a dome- 343
shaped house (sti'nā'c) erected near-by. An earth-lodge on lower 252
Williamson river, for example, set some fifty yards from the stream,
had its cooking lodge close to the bank. All the women of the house- 592
hold prepare their food together, even where several families have joint tenancy. It is carried to the earth-lodge and there passed about

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[278] Barrett gives the successive layers as made of "a kind of reed," triangular-stemmed tule, and circular-stemmed tule (*op. cit.*, 244).

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
342 Domed Living House																
736. Domed living house	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–
737. Elliptical ground plan	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
738. Circular ground plan	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
739. Domed roof	+	+	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
740. Pole or bough covering	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
741. Thatch covering	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
742. Mat covering	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
743. Earth covering partial	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
744. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
745. Oriented: E, SE	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
746. In end of house	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
747. In side of house	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
748. Rectangular	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
749. Domed	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
750. Mat door covering	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
751. Entire floor excavated	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[354] 751a. Single fireplace	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
751b. Used as living house	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
752. 1-family	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[252] 752a. Multifamily	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
753. Used as cook house only	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Conical Hut and Lean-tos																
754. Conical hut	–	–	•(+)	–	•–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+
754a. Bark covered	–	–	•(+)	–	–	•+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
755. Thatch covered	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
756. Mat covered	–	–	(–)	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
756a. 4-pole foundation	–	–	•(+)	–	–	•+	•+	+		+	–	–	–	–	+	–
757. Doorway flush	–	–	(+)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	•+	+
757a. Doorway projecting	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–
757b. Oriented E, SE	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–
758. Living house	–	–	(+)	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
758a. Multifamily	–	–	(+)	–	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
758b. Used throughout year	–	–	(+)	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
758c. Used in winter	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
759. Used in summer	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
[252] 759a. Summer cook house	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
760. Single lean-to	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	–
761. Back wall	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
762. Lacking back wall	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
763. Double lean-to	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
763a. Lean-tos: plank covered	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
763b. Lean-tos: bark covered	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
764. Lean-tos: brush covered	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
765. Lean-tos: mat covered	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sweat Houses and Sweating Customs																
Earth-covered Sweat House																
343 766. Earth-covered sweat house	•+	•+	(–)	•+	•+	•–	•–	•+	•+	•–	•–	–	•+	•–	–	•+
766a. Elliptical ground plan	+	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–
766b. Single ridgepole	+	+	–	+		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–
766c. Excavated	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+
766d. Board floor	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
767. Pole, bough, or thatch covering	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
767a. Bark or slab covering	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K

361
for the seclusion of menstruant or parturient women, contact with 342
whom is particularly injurious to shamans. 343

The earth lodges, frequently dismantled in the spring after K
becoming waterlogged by the melting snows, are rebuilt in the M
fall. They are semisubterranean, built within a circular pit one 342
to four feet in depth—the Modoc excavations tend to be somewhat deeper than the Klamath—and range in diameter from twelve feet for a single family to over thirty-five feet for the residence of a shaman. Four central posts support horizontal plates, with a split-log beam slanting down from each corner into the ground beyond the edge of the pit. Horizontal stringers between the beams in turn bear a layer of rafters, laid side by side around the house. Cracks are chinked with sticks and bark; and the surface is covered successively with rough matting, with grass laid along the lower edge, and finally with dirt. On top, rough planks are laid between the plates, leaving a hatchway that serves simultaneously as smoke hole and entrance.

A similar structure, erected over a shallow depression or none k m
at all, lacking the earth covering, and with side entrance, might [384]
also be used during the winter, but is most frequently the residence of warmer weather. The house is constructed by its future residents: working together, says Ray, Modoc may take a month to build an earth lodge.

K
Both Klamath and Modoc conceive of the house as facing east, m
and on that side a stairway ascends. Within, a ladder thrusts 342
through the hatchway, and down this the visitor climbs, being 352
careful, if a woman, to manage her fringed skirt to observe the 353
proper modesty. Once below and standing beside the central [417]
fireplace, he makes out the dim details. Behind him, at the front [354]
of the house, firewood is stacked in tiers, while across the back
a partition has been made behind which are stored foodstuffs and
gear. Many houses dispense with a partition, and supplies are
kept on the ledge between pit and wall. From the rafters dried
fish and roots hang. The floor is covered with mats, which some- K
times extend up the walls. Along the walls the members of the M 342
household sit or sleep upon a bedding of mats thrown over grass, 352
with an occasional blanket woven of tule and cattail, sometimes 513
with feathers worked in, or of animal pelt. The left side of the
house, as the visitor faces forward, is reserved for the family

Families

K M
eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

K M
When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores.
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [412]
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
K M
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women,
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
K M
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweathouses [343]
to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

K M
When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [354]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
K M
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
K M
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

K M
At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample,
221
756
796

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M in depth. Its conical roof of poles was covered with mats and
K brush and finally with a thick layer of earth. One of these lodges
342 was sometimes as much as forty or fifty feet in diameter and from
fifteen to twenty feet high. There was no door in the ordinary sense
of the term, but the house was entered through an opening near
the apex of the roof, which served the double purpose of door
and smoke hole. To enter it was necessary to walk up on the
sloping conical roof to the opening and climb down by means of
a vertical ladder inside, or by means of steps cut into the center
pole itself. In either case the steps were holes cut entirely
M through a vertical log. These houses are said to have been so
K warm that little heating was required. A small fire in the morning
[364] was sufficient for the day and another small fire in the
evening heated it to a comfortable temperature which was maintained
during the greater part of the night.

The summer house is a small structure of the "wickiup" or
brush hut type (pl. 11, fig. 1). In most cases it is elliptical, or
rectangular in ground plan, the axes of the ellipse or rectangle
being anywhere from five by ten to ten by twenty-five feet. It
is usually sufficiently high to permit one to stand erect in the
center. It has sides which slope very abruptly to the ground,
and a comparatively flat top. The framework is of willow poles
stuck into the ground and brought together along the ridge-pole,
to which they are bound securely. Cross pieces are bound along
the sides to hold the poles in place. Three coats of matting are
placed over this framework as a covering. The inner layer is of
mats made of a kind of reed (pl. 25). Over this is placed a
covering of mats made of the triangular stemmed tule, *Scirpus*
M *robustus* (pl. 23). On the outside is a layer of mats made of the
K circular-stemmed tule, *Scirpus lacustris* (pl. 24). These last are
285 made by sewing the tule together with a number of parallel
strings, except along the two ends of the mat, where ordinary
342 twining of the tule is used. This twining at the two ends assists
in holding the whole mat more securely together and prevents
the sewing from tearing out. It is said by the Indians that if
an ordinary mat made with tule warp and nettle string twining
as weft, or with tule warp and tule twining as weft, were placed
on the outside, it would leak more readily than the mat made by

sewing through the tule, as the water would run down the tule M
to the twining and there begin to soak in. In the sewed mat the K
water never leaves the straight stem of the tule but runs directly 285
down to the ground. These mats are often made sufficiently wide 342
to cover the side of a small house, and are always so placed that the tule stems run up and down the side of the house. On large houses it is necessary to have two or more courses after the manner of shingles. All these mats are bound to the framework of the structure by means of poles passing horizontally. This summer or temporary house is made with a door opening at the end. The smoke escapes through a slit along the ridge-pole.

With the summer house there is always a sun shelter made of poles covered with boughs, tule mats, or long weeds or grasses. This structure is usually near the temporary summer dwelling, and under it the meals are served and the greater part of the work of the women is done. Temporary summer houses and sun shelters are still found among the Klamath, but the permanent earth lodge is a thing of the past.

There are two other structures in use in this region, the two M
forms of sudatory. The ordinary sweathouse, the one most com- K
monly used, is a very small dome-shaped structure, as shown in figure 1, covered with tule mats. 343
These mats, or nowadays blankets, may form a permanent covering for the house, or may be put on it only when a sweat bath is being taken. These little structures range from four to eight feet M
in diameter and from three to four K
feet in height. The entrance is a [354]
small opening, just outside of which is the fireplace for heating the stones to make the steam for the bath. Inside, at the rear of the sweathouse, is a small pit, one or two feet in diameter and six or eight inches deep. This pit is filled with the heated stones above mentioned, which in themselves provide considerable heat and when the steam arises as water is thrown on the hot stones, a profuse perspiration is caused. The heat is conserved by carefully closing all crevices about the sweathouse. After remaining for some minutes in the steam and heat, the bather runs out and

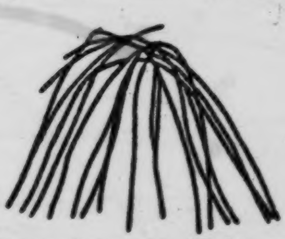
Fig. 1.—Framework of Sudatory.

many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit K M 756
and compelling in its demands. 796

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and K M
serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and 221
the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, 261
housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social [356] •
bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take
pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or
the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed K M
and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans [574] [685]
who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still [756]
conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers. [796]

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating [789]
hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will K
not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, M 261
they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to 22
gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer
of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance
of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate K
odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. M 221
Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied 361
through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The
decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining
in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. K
The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, M
where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the [501]
household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the
pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already,
in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and
Sprague.

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted K 226
the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, 823
which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost K
River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, M
where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, 226
catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream 103
tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers 648

657*

fall; while freighting, limited by road conditions, had the same range of seasons. 177 178 221

For the farmer, splitting rails and fencing started in the winter and ranged toward spring, as did the clearing of ground. Plowing and sowing of grain might start in March, while vegetable gardens were not planted before May or June. Harvesting and haying took place in late summer and threshing in the fall. 433 [464] [489] [241]

The stockman rounded up and branded his cattle at first in the fall and later in the spring. He sold his beef in the fall, then drove his herd to winter in the upper valley of the Sprague. [231]

Those who relied upon aboriginal foods fished in the late winter and early spring, dug roots or hunted antelope and mule deer in late spring, gathered wokas, wild fruits and berries in the fall, hunted in the Cascades in the fall, and trapped for furs in the winter. 657*

Beyond this lay the domestic cycle. Homes were built or repaired in the spring and fall, supplies were bought in the fall, and fuel was gathered in the fall and winter. 221 342 356•

This summary, bald as it is, will illustrate the fact that many more ventures were now open to the enterprising, as well as a wider range of relationships. It was possible to draw from several cycles activities that were seasonally compatible. Thus, when the harvests were in, fully one-half to two-thirds of the men might leave the reservation on passes to work for whites, taking their families with them.[74] Frequent crop failures drove many to seek outside employment to provide for the coming winter. Because new tastes had given rise to new needs, many at this time forsook those traditional pursuits that conflicted with more lucrative employment. Nor did money alone lie at the root of those preferences. Work for white settlers and freighting provided variety and seasonal mobility, opportunities to meet people, to change scenery, and to escape on occasion beyond the rule (however benevolent in intent) of the Agent. 313 657* 433 464 177 178

The new opportunities were open primarily to men, consonant with the roles of the sexes in nineteenth-century rural America. For them the new system, aside from a certain administrative favoritism, provided an equal chance for advancement. It is no accident that a number of the earliest employees of the Agency were Pit River Indians, of whom it was later said: ". . . as a 657* 433 177 178 [567]

174 161 The Klamath numbered 3000 in the historic period, the Modoc not so many. This is the testimony of Tom Lang, yet the number is much too large. Palmer[18] put their number at 415 in thirteen villages in 1854, but his list of villages indicates that he counted only the ä'ukckni (Klamath marsh) division. This would be about eighty-three families, a reasonable average of six houses to a settlement. At the time, however, the Klamath were said to be considerably reduced, and I was told of twenty-nine or more ä'ukckni settlements dating from this period, and said to be all occupied at the time. Yet, as no great epidemic was reported, it is doubtful that the population had been diminished by half. Possibly the occupation of the sites was more seasonal than I was told: a movement to Klamath marsh in summer, returning to the warmer Williamson valley in winter. Assuming a partial reduction and some fluctuating occupation, we may arbitrarily set the ä'ukckni at half as many again, say 600. The ä'ukckni settlements numbered half of the total and my informants' impression was that in population they were as many as all the other divisions together. This would mean that the Klamath as a whole numbered only 1200. Palmer's figure would give a mere 800, and the evidence of the settlements, a possible 2000. Our twelve hundred is not far from that of Kroeber, who set the combined Klamath and Modoc population at 2000, two-thirds of them being Klamath.[19] Mooney's estimate of 800 seems low.[20]

Early Contacts with the Whites

175 Contacts with the whites date back to 1825 or somewhat earlier. In 1826–27 Peter Ogden spent two months among the Klamath.[21] His first meeting with them seems to have been on Klamath marsh.

> [131] [361] [342] [721] Wednesday, 30th Nov. [1826]. Course south to Clammitt River [Klamath marsh?] 25 miles from River of the Falls [Deschutes]. Mr. McKay proceeded ahead to an Indian village distant 3 miles. It was composed of 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. Their tents are constantly guarded. They regretted we had opened a communication from the mountains. They said "The Nez Percés have made different attempts to reach our village but could not succeed. Even last summer we discovered a war party of Cayuse and Nez Percés in search of us; but they did not find us. Now they will have yr. road to follow. We have no fire arms. Still we fear them not.

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[18] Quoted by Gatschet, 1:lviii.

[19] Kroeber, Handbook, 320.

[20] Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 18.

[21] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

[141] [231] They are well provided with bows and arrows. They have only one horse. Snow is so deep, horses perish for want of food. In winter, they live on roots. In summer on antelope and fish.

December 1st. 30 Clammite Indians paid us a visit: fine men in good condition, but wretchedly clad. They say the river to the ocean is far distant and beaver they do not know. They say the Indians become more numerous as we advance to the ocean. . . . .

[342] [161] [439] Tuesday 6th. Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defence against arrows but not balls. 200 of them collected about our camp and traded 4 days. The 2 chiefs delivered traps lost by Mr. McDonald last year with 8 beaver. This is much in favor of their honesty. On our march this day, we passed the camps from wh. Mr. McDonald turned back last year and are consequently strangers to the country in advance.

[161] Thursday 8th. About 300 Indians around our camp. We advanced 6 miles south following the river south. I estimate the Clammitte nation 250 men.

Monday 12th. Reached the lake [Klamath lake?] 1½ × 15 miles well wooded with maple and hazel; course S.

The second visit on record is that of Frémont, who reached the northern shore of Klamath marsh on December 10, 1843. He saw smoke at what appeared to be the middle of the marsh and along the opposite shore. An unoccupied northern shore agrees with my own [361] information. The following day he visited the village "in the middle of the lake (or savannah)," which appears to be one of those at the outlet of the marsh.

[342] The huts were grouped together on the bank of the [Klamath] river, which, from being spread out in a shallow marsh at the upper end of the lake, was collected here into a single stream. They were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams.

[226] [252] [285] [291] Almost like plants, these people seem to have adapted themselves to the soil, and to growing on what the immediate locality afforded. Their only subsistence at this time appeared to be a small fish, great quantities of which, that had been smoked and dried, were suspended on strings about the lodge. Heaps of straw were lying around; and their residence in the midst of grass and rushes had taught them a peculiar skill in converting this material to useful purposes. Their shoes were made of straw or grass, which seemed well adapted for a snowy country; and the women wore on their head a closely woven basket, which made a very good cap. Among other things, were parti-colored mats about four feet square, which we purchased to lay on the snow under our blankets, and to use for table cloths.

[231] Numbers of singular-looking dogs, resembling wolves, were sitting on the tops of the huts. . . . .

[648] They made us comprehend that they were at war with the people who lived to the southward and to the eastward; but I could obtain from them no certain information. . . . .

This morning the camp was thronged with Tlamath Indians from the southeastern shore of the lake. . . . .

Frémont also remarked on the scarcity of their horses.[22]

Frémont reached Klamath lake again May 6, 1846. He commented [231]
on the outlet, Link river, "this is a great fishing station for the
Indians." His statement on the distribution of their settlements [226]
coincides with my information.

> They have fixed habitations around the shores of the lake, particularly at [361]
> the outlet and inlet [Williamson river], and along the inlet up to the swamp
> meadow [Klamath marsh], where I met the Tlamaths in the winter of '43–'44, [131]
> and where we narrowly escaped disaster. . . . . The Indians made me under-
> stand that there was another large river [Williamson river] which came from [133]
> the north and flowed into the lake at the northern end, and that the principal
> village was at its mouth, where also they caught many fish.

Frémont's party made a circuit of the lake. It is curious that he
does not mention the settlements about Pelican lake on the western
side, which he could hardly have avoided. On the other hand it is
not clear how closely his memoirs follow his diary. Attacked while [726]
on the western side, his party reciprocated by raiding a village on the
opposite side, perhaps one of those on Williamson river just above
the present highway bridge.

> Behind the sage-bushes where they had taken their stand every Indian had
> spread his arrows on the ground in fan-like shape, so that they would be ready
> to his hand. . . . . Quantities of fish were drying, spread on scaffolds, or hung [252]
> up on frames. The huts, which were made of tall rushes and willows, like
> those on the savannah above [Klamath marsh], were set on fire, and the fish [342]
> and scaffolds were all destroyed.[23] [726]

The first invaders remembered by the Klamath came from the
north about 1835. The stories about them have now a legendary flavor. 173
The first group was mounted; the Klamath dubbed them mpĕ'tkoŋks 437
(from mĕtc!a', to pack about) from their roving habits. An alterna- 648
tive name, pàsai'ūks (French-Canadian in Chinook jargon), more
surely identifies them. During their brief stay at the mouth of
Williamson river they bought fat dogs of the Klamath, which to the
latter's amazement, they ate. For these they gave buttons and metal
disks with a central perforation (wika'lkal).

Almost as early was a white contingent moving northward on the 173
west side of Klamath lake. The Indians watched them unseen. They 648
were impressed with the horses, axes, and the food of the whites. 177

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[22] Frémont, Narrative, 122.

[23] Frémont, Memoirs, 483, 484, 494.

173 177 [302] When the latter broke camp they left behind a little flour, which the Indians carried home and divided. They rubbed it on their palms and smeared their faces.[24]

648 648 Other early whites came from the southeast on horseback. This marked the beginning of the great migration by way of the Modoc country to the Pacific slope. On the whole the Klamath came off remarkably well in their relations with the whites. The full brunt of immigration was borne by Modoc and Pit River peoples. The Klamath were spared the Oregon wars of the fifties, which all but annihilated the tribes of western Oregon and northern California.[25] The earliest white settlements in the neighborhood were about the present Jacksonville, Medford, and Ashland. The first white settlement within Klamath territory was near the village of kowa'edi at the northern end of the lake. This was about 1860–65, hence may have reference to the first agency established there. Subsequent relations have been on the whole quite amicable. The Klamath took no part in the Modoc war of 1872–73.

Habitat

131 133 The territory of the Klamath is on the high plateau of eastern Oregon, in the shallow basin wherein lies the group of lakes that give rise to Klamath river. The southern half of this basin about lower Klamath and Tule lakes is Modoc territory, extending southward across the lava beds in the direction of Pit river. The northern half, which lies against the Cascade range, is the home of the Klamath.

[361] The Klamath properly reside on Klamath lake (or as it was formerly known, upper or middle Klamath lake), on Klamath marsh, and on Williamson river, which connects them. At least, most of the permanent winter settlements are on these three waters, with a scattering on their tributaries. Summer camps are established over a much wider territory, as far, it would seem, as the natural limits of this drainage area.

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[263] [24] Salt was equally unknown to them at this time.

[174] [648] [25] A somewhat obscure account was given me of the inclusion of Klamath in the great round-up of western Oregon Indians on Siletz (?) reservation in the fifties. These had been wintering at the Dalles and were herded with the Indians there. The Upland Takelma and Molala were penned in together and fed by the soldiers. Some died every day; the Klamath suspected that they were poisoned. The Klamath were kept apart, and, thanks to the strenuous arguments of their chief Lale'ks, were not only freed but supplied with beef and an escort of soldiery to conduct them back to their own country.

in importance to fish. Summer is also the time of travel and trade, 221
taking people as far as the Dalles where they may elect to spend the
winter. Winters are exceptionally severe at this altitude (4000 feet), [132]
with deep snow and lakes, marshes, and even streams solidly frozen. [133]
Movement is stopped and unless a winter residence has been chosen
which gives some possibility of fishing, starvation may be faced before 221
spring. These winter sites are in sheltered, sunny spots on running
streams or at springs warm enough to prevent ice from forming. The 361
families return in the fall, rebuild the earth-lodges from the remains
of the previous year's structure, and are all snugly housed by mid-December. [226]
The only permanent settlements are the winter villages.
The summer residences are shifting, and while reoccupied from year
to year, there is no feeling that particular camping localities belong
to certain groups. The summer camps are rather indiscriminate aggregations [628]
of any Klamath, but the winter locations are so fixed of habit
as to give a measure of political separatism to the several localities.

The case of Tom Lang's family is typical. Their permanent winter home is at iu'laloŋʀ, a large village on the west side of Link river at the foot of Klamath lake, hence Tom is considered one of the southern lake people, iu''laloŋkni generically. His family is accustomed to move for the spring fishing to ditklaks, Barclay spring, or to Modoc point, both on the east side of the lake, where they erect temporary lodges. Crossing the lake to dě'ktcoŋks they leave their canoes and travel overland to wokas'lks on the north shore of Wokas marsh. Here Tom was born in July. When the berry and wokas harvest is ended they retrace their steps and take canoe to Algoma to pick wild plums, berries, etc. From there they drift back to their winter home.

The towns for the most part lie along Williamson river, on the
southern side of Klamath marsh, and along the eastern shore of Klamath
lake. As these are winter settlements, the open lake is avoided,
and occupied only where warm springs outweigh its disadvantages.
They cluster along Williamson river whose sheltered valley is dis- [133]
tinctly warmer than the lake front a few miles distant and where the [132]
running stream contains fish most of the year.

The towns are not isolated, compact groups of houses, but stretch 361
along the banks for half a mile or more. In fact, the settlements on
Williamson river below the Sprague river junction form a practically 342
continuous string of houses for five or six miles, the house pits being,
in many spots, crowded close together. Informants insisted that
many of these were occupied at the same time. When we consider
that these earth-lodges may have housed several families, there is
strong suggestion of a considerable population.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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103
133
343
• 361

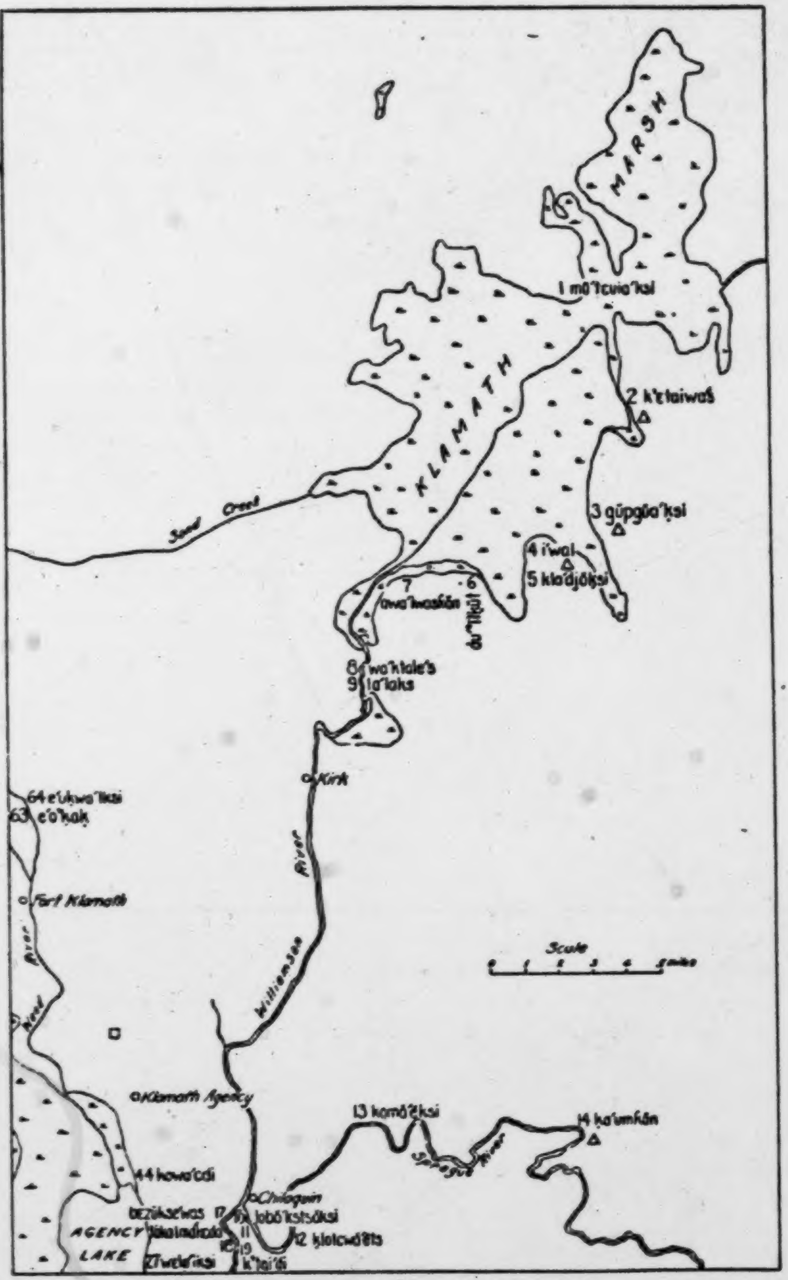
MARSH
KLAMATH
1 mō'tcuia'ksi
2 k'ɛtaiwaš
3 gūpgūa'ksi
4 i'wal
5 kla'djōksi
6 dū'hlīpli
7 awa'lwasfān
8 wa'ktale's
9 la'laks
Sand Creek
Kirk
Williamson River
64 e'ukwa'ltksi
63 e'ō'hak
Fort Klamath
Wood River
Klamath Agency
44 howa'cdi
Chiloquin
bezūksewas 17
16 lobō'kstsōksi
sūkalmdīcds
11
18
19
12 klolcwō'ēts
AGENCY LAKE
21 welafiksi
k'tai'di
13 komō'ēksi
Sprague River
14 ko'umfān
Scale
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles

Fig. 2. Settlements in northern Klamath territory. Triangles represent cremation piles; rectangles, mourners' sweat-lodges.

[p. 12]

361

The towns listed below are mostly winter settlements. Each held one or more earth-lodges. There may be more than are listed on Sprague river, the only part of the region I did not visit. With this exception I think none have been overlooked.[29] The towns are grouped in the list according to tribal subdivisions.

I. *Klamath marsh—Williamson river group* (*ă'ukckni*).—Settlements are in two principal groups: along the southern margin of Klamath marsh and on the lower Williamson river. Although a few more were indicated in the latter region, I was told that the winter population at the marsh is the larger. They do not live on the western side of the marsh, as the snow-fed streams there are too cold for fish. The upper part of Williamson river, a rugged canyon, is unoccupied, but the towns are practically continuous from above the Sprague river junction down to the point where the river leaves the hills. Several others are on the lake front near-by. Evidently the middle Sprague river settlements should be included with this subdivision, but there is some doubt. Towns there are widely separated and extend a considerable distance up the river; the easternmost is somewhere west of Gearhart mountain. I am not certain that Sycan river is regularly occupied; roots are dug there. Sycan marsh is not occupied; it is a summering place for ă'ukckni, for those of Yainax in particular. 131 361

1, mŭ'tcuia'ksi, near the bridge toward the eastern end of Klamath marsh. 131 361

2, k'ᴇtaiwa's, along the eastern side of the marsh. A cremation pile lies south of this town. 103

3, gŭpgŭa'ḳsi, houses stretching for perhaps two miles here, with a cremation pile near-by.

4, i'wal, and 5, kla'djŏḳsi, houses for some distance along this tongue extending into the marsh. A third cremation pile is east of i'wal.

6, du"Ilḳŭt, a very large town, perhaps a hundred house pits in an area three hundred yards by one hundred. Others extend along the marsh to the east.[30] All the tribelets congregated at this spot in the summer to gather lily seeds.

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[29] Gatschet lists sites (1:xxviii footnote, 142, *passim*). Many of his items are only place names; no permanent town is included that is not also in my list. In a few instances he has misinterpreted his information. [114]

[30] This would be an excellent site for archaeological exploitation. House pits here are more distinct than any others I have seen; elsewhere they have been leveled by the plow. [172]

103
131
7, awa'lwaskän, at least five earth-lodges here. Houses scattered between this site and the last.

361
8, wa'ktale's, and 9, la'laks, slope steps,[31] two settlements on the higher ground where Williamson river leaves the marsh. The second had twenty houses on both sides of the stream.

10, lobŏ'kstsŏksi, on the bluff on the left bank of the Sprague river at the railroad bridge, with a few houses on the opposite side. There is a dam for salmon here. Gatschet gives the locality name as ktaí-tú-pakshi, standing rock.[32]
[226]
[114]

11, A site on the south side of Sprague river below the dam.

12, ḳ!ötcwă'ēts is a large winter settlement about two miles above the dam on the south bank of this river.

13, komă'ĕksi is a site on both sides of the river south of Braymill, four miles from Chiloquin. There is a cave here which was the home of Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero. Near-by is wo'kstat, the site of the only first-fish rites among the Klamath.
[823]
[226]

14, ḳa'umkăn is about six miles above this cave. Many people lived on both sides of the river there. A cremation pile is there, probably the only one on Sprague river. The place takes its name from a spring (ḳa'ŭm) on the western bank.

Whether there were permanent settlements above this on the river is difficult to say. At least there were settlements (15) of some sort on the river near Yainax before the coming of the whites.

16, hĭcdĭcluĕ'luke, a settlement west of Gearhart mountain.

17, bᴇzŭkse'was (from bᴇzŭks, obsidian); there are many people in this town on the right bank which extends for a mile below the Sprague river mouth. On the opposite side, ha'potgŭs, is a dam in which spring fish are caught; near-by are a few summer houses.
[226]

18, tákalma'keda, a town half a mile long on the right bank. The houses are on the bottomland along the river with quite a number on the opposite flat (19), called k'tai'di, lava. A little south is a part of this settlement, called glă'tspak'is. Of the distinct pits at tákalma'keda, four are about twenty-five feet in diameter, one, fifteen feet. Northward from the town are a considerable number of storage pits and a fish dam.
[251]
[226]

20, djĭgiă's, houses on the river level on both banks and on a higher bench on the right. There is a ford here.

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[31] Gatschet, 1:74. Several other camping places in the vicinity on upper Williamson river are also mentioned.

[32] *Op. cit.*, 1:76.

103
131
361

21, ḳ!o'ltawas, a town of ten or fifteen earth-lodges on the left bank, with houses on the right bank extending to the next settlement downstream. There are otter (ḳ!olt) holes in the right bank, hence the name. A mythical otter that lived here is seen in a rock standing in the water; on his back are his children, smaller rocks. [823]

22, at'awīkc, "to catch fish in still water," six to a dozen houses on the right bank; a few on the left. The water here is quiet; fish are caught with the trolling net. [226]

23, ya'ak (ya'ac, willows), two dozen or more houses on the right bank. This was the largest river site in early reservation days, the road from Link river (Klamath falls) fording the river here. Of three house pits together, with their margins nearly in contact, two are twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter, the other fully five feet more. A cremation pile stands on the hill above this town. It is now leveled by marauders, as are all the others in this country, but it apparently covered an area forty feet in diameter.

24, tsa'k'wi, houses on the right bank with a few on the left.

25, wītă'mŭmpsi, bear's place (wītă'm, black bear). This is a high bluff on the right bank above an eddy in the sharp bend in the river; the scene of vision questing. A large shaman's earth-lodge is located here. Fish are caught all year long above this town. [823] [756]

26, goyᴇmske'ᴇgis, crawfish crawl out, or kiᴇke'trŭs, small lizard, a town half a mile long beginning a quarter-mile above the highway bridge. The houses are on the abrupt slope right to the river's brink, and some on the little bluff above. There are pits of perhaps forty or more houses here, but at least half are dome-shaped cooking houses, for they are for the most part only six to ten feet in diameter, with few as much as fifteen feet. One of eighteen feet has its dome-shaped kitchen lodge clearly indicated on the north side. [226] [343]

27, wᴇla'lksi, named for a big quaking-aspen (wᴇla'l) there, is on the eastern shore of Agency lake. A few ă'ukckni live here in winter, in five or six small houses.

28, loḳ'o'gŭt, warm, a little warm spring near which are two houses on the higher land near Agency lake. [133]

29, tcŏ'klalŭmps, service berry, which grows here abundantly, is a town of one or two small houses overlooking the lake where the Chiloquin road meets the lake highway.

Other towns may have been at ya'mzi, on the western side of Yamsay mountain, and ḳokĕnă'okᴇ, Spring creek, a large northern affluent of Klamath marsh.

103 131 • 361 II. *Agency lake group* (*kowa'cdikni*).—The winter home of these people is on Agency lake, the northern arm of Klamath lake. My questioning did not make it wholly certain that this group is independent of ă'ukekni. In fact they join them at k'ᴇtai'di (19) on Williamson river for the spring fishing.

[756] [226] 44, kowa'edi is close to the mouth of Wood river. The site is a quarter-mile long. One informant stated that it contained twenty houses, another two earth-lodges (one a shaman's), not incompatible statements. A spring here permits fish to remain all winter. A few houses are at another spring a quarter-mile east.

[133] III. *Lower Williamson river group* (*du'kwakni*).—These settlements are close to the mouth of Williamson river. This region, du'kwa, is one of marsh, separated by a considerable section of open and higher plain (pᴇnŏ'ŋs) from the nearest ă'ukekni settlements. Pᴇnŏ'ŋs seems not to have been occupied in pre-reservation days, although du'kwakni and ă'ukekni now live there. Du'kwa people seem also to live across the lake at Pelican bay, the home of the gu'mbŏtkni. But whether this is a regular thing, or only a matter of my du'kwa informant's [222] personal history, I am not sure. At any rate they go to dig roots in the marshes of the western and northern sides of Klamath lake in summer, not to Klamath marsh. Their winter settlements are on the isolated bits of higher ground within a mile of the river mouth, and on the marsh front immediately south. Most of these settlements, too, are on the right bank of the river.

30, mo'aḳsda, five or seven earth-lodges on the left bank nearly a mile above the mouth. Five more houses stood on the opposite bank with numerous springs behind them and the du'kwakni cremation pile a half-mile above.

31, wickämdi, four or five houses on the right bank below this, one or two a little below, then a cluster of four and another of two farther downstream.

32, la'wa'lstŏt, three houses on the point forming the right side of the river mouth.

33, mo'giŋkūnks, the largest settlement in this district with five or six earth-lodges and as usual a number of small structures. This is on the left bank a quarter-mile above the mouth. One or two houses are on this side immediately at the river mouth.

34, djĭŋgūs, four or five houses at a spring on the lake front to the east of the mouth, with one or two more farther in the marsh.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18]

1: **Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930**
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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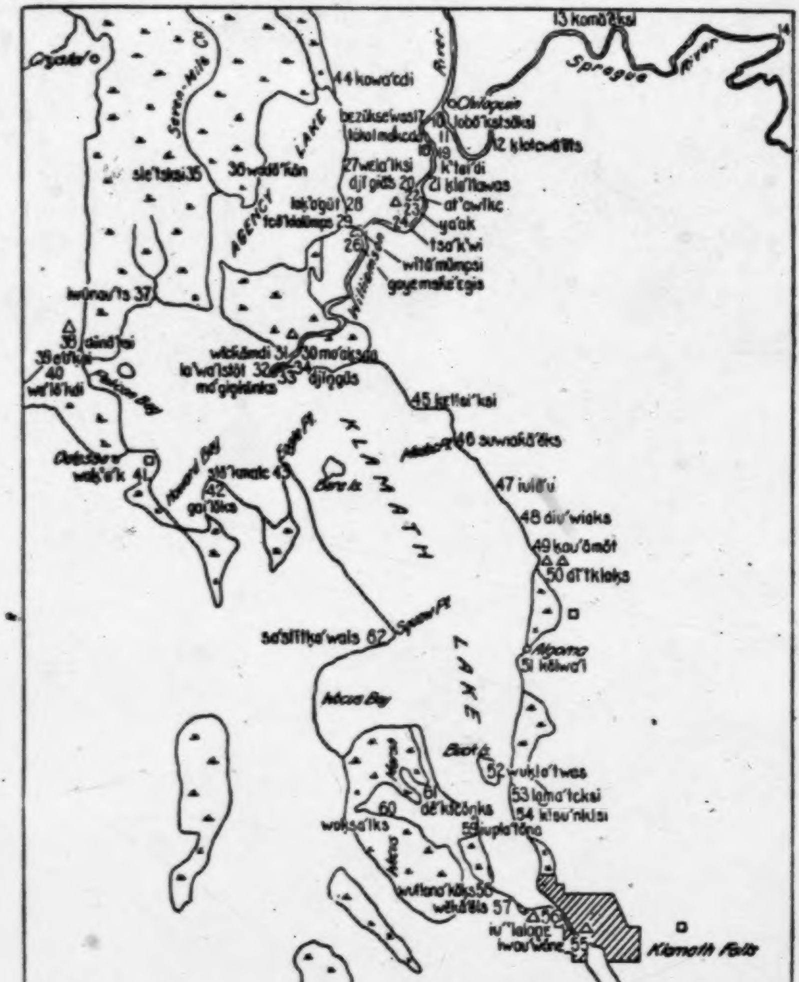
Oyalalo
Seven-Mile Cr.
AGENCY LAKE
River
13 komā'ksi
14
Sprague River
44 kowa'cdi
Chiloquin
bezūkse'wasi 7
10 lobō'katsōksi
11
12 k̢lotcwā'lits
16
19
k'tai'di
slē'tsksi 35
36 wadō'kān
27 wela'iksi
djī'gidis 20
21 k̢lē'tlawas
22
at'awikc
lak̢'ogūt 28
23
ya'ak
tcī'ldālmps 29
24
tsa'k'wi
26
wītū'mūmpsi
gaye maksē'cgis
Williamson R.
iwūna'its 37
38 dūnā'tsi
39 et'i'kai
40
wī'lē'hdi
wickāmdi 31
30 mo'aksda
la'wa'lstōt 32
34
33
djī'ggūs
mo'gigidinks
Pelican Bay
45 ik̢tlai'kai
Modoc Pt.
46 suwakū'ēks
Odessa
wak̢'a'k 41
Howard Bay
sīē'kmatc 43
Eagle Pt.
42
gai'lūks
Bare Is.
KLAMATH LAKE
47 iulī'ū
48 diu'wiaks
49 k̢au'ōmōt
50 dī'tklaks
sa'gītīk̢a'wals 62
Squaw Pt.
Algoma
51 kōlwa'l
Moss Bay
Buck Is.
52 wuk̢la'twas
53 lama'tcksi
54 k̢isu'nkisi
60
61
dē'kitcōnks
59 iupla'tōna
wak̢sa'iks
wūtana'kōks 58
wēhā'tis 57
56
iu'lalone
iwau'wōne
55
Klamath Falls
Scale
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles
Klamath
River
Midland
Lost R.

Fig. 3. **Settlements in southern Klamath territory. Triangles represent cremation piles; rectangles, mourners' sweat-lodges.**

[p. 17]

103 131 361 [222] [132] IV. *Pelican bay group (gu'mbötkni).*—This includes the Pelican bay district (gu'mböt) on the west side of the lake, the settlements along Four Mile creek, and those on the marsh north of the lake. Runs of fish are plentiful on Wood river in the spring when the snow melts on the mountains. People come up along the river in the summer digging camas. But above Fort Klamath there is too much snow to live during the winter.

35, sle'tsksi, a group of two or three earth-lodges on the west side of Seven Mile creek near its mouth. A little spring here keeps the water warm enough for fish even in winter.

36, wudö'kän is a settlement in the marsh a mile from the last, and east of Seven Mile creek.

37, iwünau'ts, two earth-lodges on the western side of a little creek emptying into the lake two miles east of Recreation P. O. Houses are scattered along the marsh shore to the northern side of Pelican bay.

[823] [756] 38, dünö'ksi, an open space overlooking the northern end of Pelican bay and containing many earth-lodges. Others are on the lower level, lɛlä'ksti, close to the bay. This is immediately north of the mouth of Four Mile creek. A cremation pile stands a hundred yards north of this town on the slope above the bay, beyond an outcrop of rocks said to be transformed shamans. A big lodge of a shaman on the lower level has a pit twenty-eight feet in diameter; another earth-lodge pit is nearly twenty feet across.

39, e'o'ḳai, four or five earth-lodges a few hundred yards up Four Mile creek on the left bank.

[756] 40, wa'lö'kdi, four to eight earth-lodges, one a shaman's, somewhat farther up the creek on the opposite side.

41, Waḳ'a'k, a winter settlement south of the high ridge south of Odessa. North of the settlement is a sweat-lodge used by mourners.

42, gai'löks or gaila'lḳs is on the point south of Odessa or more probably between Howard and Shoalwater bays. No winter settlements here but a camping place where du'kwakni and gu'mbötkni roasted camas in the spring.

[136] 43, stö'kmatc, Eagle point, is a similar spring camp site. In the hot springs here are harmless black snakes (kamdila'k) which crawl over the swimmers. Curiously, in view of the Klamath tendency to localize their tales, there is no story concerning this locality.

Two other localities may belong to this group: 63, e'o'ḳaḳ, gulch, on Wood river toward the mountains, and 64, e'uḳwa'lksi on the east

side of Wood river in much the same locality. These may be the 103
same site. 131

V. *Klamath Falls group (iu″laloŋkni)*.—All the people of the lake 361
from Modoc point southward are named for their principal locality, iu″laloŋɛ, Klamath falls. Despite the large area, they are relatively few in number. In summer they resort to the marshes west of the lake or fish on Lost river. The district along the eastern shore of the lake from Modoc point nearly to Algoma is called ne″luḳsi (ne″luḳs, a late sunrise), from the circumstance that a low mountain here cuts off the morning sunlight.

45, kɛt!ai′ksi, point of rock, a promontory two miles or so northwest of Modoc point, is their northernmost settlement.

46, suwiakă′ĕks, jump over, is a large village at Modoc point. It extended on both sides of the headland and for three-quarters of a mile south. The place takes its name from a large rock (about three and a half feet high) which stands a half-mile south of the point. It was a trial of skill to run uphill and jump over the rock. Bare island (au′emi) opposite is their camp site, and has no permanent settlements.

47, iulă′u, promontory, is a fishing village occupied in early spring. Pictographs are painted on the rock slide north of this.

48, diu′wiaks (named for its little spring, di′wik) is a winter
settlement at the railroad point Ouxy. Little fish ran in the spring [226]
early in the year.

49, ḳau′ŏmŏt, a half-mile south, is, like all these lake sites, crowded
along the foot of the mountain on the lake shore. There are many
earth-lodges about a large spring here. The lodge rings are so clear [172]
that this would be a good place for archaeological excavations. Its
name is from ḳau′ŏm, a place where fish run.

50, dI′tk!aḳs, boiling spring, is now known as Barclay spring. [133]
There are many earth-lodges north and south of this. Two cremation piles are to the north on the highway, one distant a hundred yards on a rock slide, the second twice as far and directly on the southern boundary of the reservation. Unlike the cremation piles on Williamson river, no glass beads or iron was to be found at this second site.
South of Barclay spring by three hundred yards is a deep nameless [231]
spring into which pups are thrown to train them for hunting. A large
sweat-lodge used by mourners is situated at the foot of the slope near [343]
the angle of the marsh east of Algoma.

103

131 • 361 51, kölwa'l, a point, is Rattlesnake point at Algoma. Only a few live here during the winter but it is a favorite resort in the autumn when chokecherries and wild plums ripen.

[222] 52, wuķ!o'twas, wood knot, Buck island, is so called because the island in the lake is likened to a knot in a piece of wood. In addition to old house pits here not occupied by any group of the historic period, there are a few winter houses on the southern end and summer camps at the northern end where plums could be gathered. It was a favorite sport to dive from the rocks (called sohowă'ĕks, diving) on the northern shore.

[823] 53, lama'teksi, a place on top of the end of something, is on the point east of Buck island, and 54, k!su'nk!si, grassy place, is three-fourths of a mile south on the shore. Many people are at both localities during the winter. There may be old house sites here like those on Buck island. Wa'toŋks is a hill a half-mile east where wild plums are picked. There is an outcrop of white rock high on the hillside above iu'li (meaning deep in), the end of the marsh east of these settlements. This is said to be the net of Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero, spread to dry.

[764] [726] [226] [823] 55, iwau'wŏnᴇ, meaning against the side hill, is a large settlement on both sides of Link river at the highway bridge. A crematory is on the hilltop on the east side a quarter-mile north. Shasta sometimes swam the river south of the village or crossed by the islet below the little lake Ewauna to attack the group on the east bank. This settlement is at the lower end of the falls (Klamath falls) that constitute Link river in its brief passage through its gorge. This is one of the principal fishing places of the region and advantage is taken of the ledges that form the falls for the construction of fish dams. But these, like all others in Klamath territory, are attributed to the culture hero, Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps.[33]

56, iu"laloŋᴇ, meaning on the end, is the largest village of the southern lake people and gives its name to the whole group. There are earth-lodges on both sides of the falls but particularly on the western bank from the river mouth to within half a mile of the present power dam. There are many at the point at the river mouth (hence the name of the site) and thence extend westward about a little bay. A group of tall upstanding rocks at the point, called ķ!taigĭ'ŋkĭs, hole

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[114] [33] Gatschet's reference (1:94, 97) to the Indians scooping up fish from the dry bed of the stream when a strong south wind drives back the waters in the lake seems like a purely mythical reference, but is confirmed by Clarke (Rock Piles, 41).

through the rock, had only a narrow way between them to allow 103
passage along the shore. On a point of rocks on the hill above stands 131
a cremation pile. A hillock west of the bay is called lalau'ķ!ōt, flat, 361
for the many flat rocks on top. The opposite point of the river mouth
also has a settlement, called tc!a'tc!ōmsi, for some unidentified bird.

57, wĕķā'ĕls, fallen tree, is a settlement of moderate size on the shore a mile west of the river mouth, now intersected by the road.

58, wut!ana'kōķs, a low gap, and 59, iup!a'tōna, end place, are summer sites respectively at the ends of a little marsh (now drained) on the west side of the lake.

60, woķsa'lks, lily seed (wokas) picking place, is a summer camp [222]
on the north shore of Wokas marsh. When leaving in the fall it is
customary to sink the canoes at the edge of the marsh, hide the grind- [501]
ing slabs in the juniper thicket, and pack by a regular trail to [415]
dĕ'ktcōŋks, whence they return to the winter villages.

61, dĕ'ktcōŋks, netting place, is a camp site on the west shore of Klamath lake opposite Buck island. Midway between this site and the island is a favorite place for catching fish at night with a triangular scoop net. The point Skillet Handle is called iuwa"lg, end of a point, and a flat-topped mountain west of Wocus bay, scolōpgīs. [226]

62, sa'stltķa'wals, Shasta stand on end, is Squaw point where a few Klamath falls people might be found in winter. There are holes in the rocks here in which they pound to make the wind blow, pounding in those on the south side, for instance, to bring a south wind. [823]

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS

The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or 101
possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct dis- 619
trict, and practically autonomous. This is separatism of the familiar
Californian order. Nevertheless, the cohesion rising from a common
dialect, common culture, and a uniform reaction against all non-
tribesmen, which on occasion leads to jointly taking the field against
them, produces a tribal solidarity resembling that of the Plains people.

The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the modern name Klamath for the Klamath marsh—Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they

The subdivisions or tribelets are:

I. ă'ukekni, the people of Klamath marsh and middle Williamson river, the Klamath proper. Evidently the Sprague river people are included here; there is some doubt, but I am even more doubtful whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague river as Yainax in pre-reservation times. 101 131 619

II. kowa'edikni, those of a village of that name on Agency lake. They may be ă'ukekni.

III. du'kwakni, on the delta of Williamson river. These are more closely affiliated with the Pelican bay people than with ă'ukekni.

IV. gu'mbötkni, those of Pelican bay and the marsh to the north.

V. iu"laloŋkni, the people of Klamath falls (Link river) and the eastern shore of Klamath lake.

The names are those of the districts they occupy with the suffix -kni, those of, people of: ă'ukei, Klamath marsh; du'kwa, the district about the mouth of Williamson river; gu'mböt, Pelican bay, possibly taking its name from Rocky point; iu"laloŋᴇ, on the end, the village at the outlet of the lake into Link river.

It is now difficult to get a true estimate of the size of these groups. 361 162 The ă'ukekni count twenty-nine or more settlements, half of the total; of the others iu"laloŋkni have thirteen, gu'mbötkni seven or more, du'kwakni five, and kowa'edikni, one. The towns vary considerably in size, yet this mere count agrees closely with the populational proportions as my several informants phrased them. The ă'ukekni are by far the largest group, perhaps as large as all the others together. Nancy Phillips recalls the large number of children who played together at gu'mböt, Pelican bay. [115] At this place the settlements do form a large compact group. Next in order she places the du'kwa group, then those clustering about iu"laloŋᴇ at Klamath falls, and goyᴇmake'ᴇgis on Williamson river. The settlements on Williamson river are small and scattered, but she places their joint population above the gu'mbötkni. The iu"laloŋkni were comparatively few despite their large territory. Of the ă'ukekni more lived at Klamath marsh even in winter than on Williamson river. The huge size of a single site, du"ilḳūt, bears this out.

Consonant with their unequal size is it that the principal chief, at least in early reservation days, was the principal chief of the ă'ukekni; all others were distinctly subordinate in prestige. According to one informant, himself a du'kwa man, the ă'ukekni are the highest people. Kᴇmü'kümps, the culture hero, made them first, best, and strongest; later he made the others. 619 622 [829]

grown up among the Klamath, Klamath in speech and custom, were K 567
not tempted to begin life anew elsewhere. Some, at least, had con- K
siderable prestige. Pit River Charley, for instance, a freed slave, [786]
returned from his people in 1873 with novel rites which were engrafted [177]
on the Ghost dance then newly come to the Klamath.[62]

Trade is probably of no great consequence within the tribe although K
it figures intertribally. Contacts were few and frequently unfriendly 439
until after the coming of the whites. The exception is the neighboring 221
Modoc groups; others are too distant. Winters are too severe for 361
travel and trade, but summers find the Warm Springs people in residence with the Klamath. These similarly set out for Warm Springs and the Dalles when the grass begins to grow, camping there in the open during the summer, and building mat-covered structures of
earth-lodge shape (wakĕ'ploks) if they stay through the winter. K
Slaves, Pit River bows, and beads are taken there to trade for horses, 439
blankets, buffalo skins, parfleches, beads (probably dentalium shells), 436
dried salmon, and lampreys.[63] Two slave children are valued at five 567
horses, several buffalo skins, and some beads. This is not far from the values recorded by Taylor in 1859; one woman was worth five or six horses, a boy one horse.[64]

The Molala are also visitors and are met on the headwaters of the K
Rogue west of Crater lake. From them buckskins are obtained for 648
pond-lily seed and beads. Relations with the Shasta have not always [437]
been unfriendly; some of the Klamath Falls group and Modoc married S
with them, possibly only since the white advent. The nearest Shasta 131
settlements at Shovel and Jennie creeks can be reached afoot several
days' journey down the Klamath. Laik'ĕlmi is a jointly occupied K
fishing site somewhat upstream but below the Klamath canyon. Skins 648
and skin blankets are traded for Shasta beads. Dixon states that [226]
Shasta trade with the Klamath is slight.[65] [437]

In the period 1860–70 the few Shasta remaining in their territory congregated S
on the lower Shasta river and near the frontier town, Yreka. They were 131
reached by crossing the Black Mountain range. At that time this was a S
much mixed group, principally half-breeds. My informant Tom Lang, taken [302]
there as a youngster, remarked how he was afraid of their highly tattooed faces.

Intercourse and marriage went on freely with the Modoc. They K
were visited on Tule and Lower Klamath lakes, and joined for the 648
fishing on Lost River near Olene. 131

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[62] Spier, Ghost Dance of 1870, 45, 51.

[63] Cf. Gatschet, 1:93; 2:436. 226

[64] *Op. cit.*, 1:lx.

[65] The Shasta, 436.

Yet the most laborious wood- 462
working task, the making of canoes, is sometimes undertaken by
women. I do not know who tans skins, but since the manufacture [501]
of all garments and moccasins is done by women, this suggests that
they prepare the skins as well. Mats and baskets are made by women [281]
and in considerable quantity. This is a sedentary pursuit which
dovetails nicely into leisure moments of household duties. Mortars, [285]
metates, and their adjuncts are fashioned by women, though I suspect
that men may lend a hand. Nets are manufactured by men, but by [415]
a few women also. Ropes and cords are made by women. All these [284]
suggest a somewhat heavier share borne by women.

There is a further factor which must be kept in mind. In winter, [283]
movement is impeded by intense cold and heavy snowfall, so that all
members of the family must stay close at home. Hence the men might 211
be thought to have enforced inactivity thrust upon them during this season. But the facts are probably otherwise. This is a period of great scarcity, even famine, especially at the end of a long winter, and it behooves the men to act and act quickly in search of food. The ardors and perils then forced on them surely make demands upon whatever leisure they may have at this time.

FOOD AND ITS ACQUISITION

Klamath life is not that of a lake people, but a river and marsh 262
culture, for the simple reason that their primary food is fish. The large lakes of this region are solidly frozen in winter, and fish, which are not abundant there at the best, can hardly be had in winter. It is otherwise with the swift rivers and creeks; these are always open and fish are always present in abundance.[218]

Fish is the staple; after this ranks water-lily seed (wokas) and to 262
a lesser extent other roots; deer and other game are only of minor
importance. It is difficult at this late date to know whether fish or 224
lily-seed was eaten in greater quantity, but there is no doubt that, of 226
necessity, more attention was given the year round to fishing, since 222
the seed is harvested only from the middle of August to the end of
September.

Winter villages, the permanent settlements, are located where fish 361
may be had at that time, beside running streams and near springs

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[218] In view of the excellent descriptions of Klamath environment given by Gatschet, Barrett (pp. 240–243), and Coville (Wokas, A Primitive Food, 727–728) it is unnecessary to add another here. (See also pp. 8–10 of the present work.) [114]

361 at the lake's edge, large and warm enough to prevent ice forming over
a large area. Winter is severe at this altitude (4000 feet), snowdrifts
[132] are deep, and Klamath lake freezes over to a depth of some ten inches
in late December. Such sheltered valleys as that of the Williamson
[133] river, while but a few miles from the open lake, are distinctly warmer.

The annual cycle of activities is dictated largely by the food
221 habits. It is customary to leave the winter villages in April or May,
when plant growth is well under way and the flat valleys have dried,
not to return until the snow falls again and houses need refurbishing.
When fish begin to run in the spring, the Klamath congregate at the
fishing places to stay for two months or more. For example, some
join the Modoc on Lost river for several weeks to catch and dry
fish. The spring and early summer are spent on the marshes and
prairies, gathering roots such as camas and ipos. When the camas
has been dried and stored, they move to the marshes, especially to
Klamath marsh, to harvest pond-lily seeds from mid-August to the
end of September. While the women are busy with this harvest, men
hunt mule deer, antelope, and other animals whose habitat is in eastern
Klamath territory. Late summer and autumn, seeds, berries, and
nuts are gathered, the Indians congregating where these are plentiful.
Many of those at Klamath marsh, for example, move directly to
Huckleberry mountain, southwest of Crater lake, to garner these
[484] berries. Summer and autumn are the seasons for journeying to visit
and trade, for raiding, and especially for laying up a store of fish
[726] against the coming winter. It must be understood that the winter
[251] locations are not completely abandoned during this season, for many
of them are favorably situated for these very activities. But it is
[361] customary for such a group as the ăukckni division, whose winter
residences cluster thickly along the middle Williamson river, to scatter
and meet again at Klamath marsh for the pond-lily harvest in
[805] August and September. (This is the beginning of the Klamath year.)
They begin to return to the winter sites in the latter month, to start
[342] rebuilding the earth-lodges for the coming winter, a task completed
in December, by which time full winter is at hand.[219]

501 The move to Klamath marsh of the people at the mouth of Williamson
river, the du'kwakni, can be made by canoe only as far as ya'ak
221 on the middle river, where they join the ăukckni in packing afoot the
rest of the distance. When the water is high, canoes can go upstream
as far as bEzŭkse'was at the mouth of Sprague river (see the maps,

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[219] See also Gatschet, 1:74–77.

HOUSES AND HOUSE LIFE

Houses are for the most part so closely crowded in the settlements 361 that their peripheries nearly touch. At least this is the evidence of the house pits, which my informants would have me believe were occupied at the same time. Some of them are small structures, used 342 for cooking or to house slaves, crowded between the large earth-lodges. [343]

House-building seems to be one of the most considerable occupations of the year. Earth-lodges are frequently torn down in the spring to be rebuilt when snow flies in the autumn. In the second month, September, everyone is busied with house-building, commencing with the preparation of the tule mats that cover all the lodges. The houses are all completed in the fourth month (December) by the time full winter arrives, when the shamanistic performances begin. New timbers have to be prepared, as those from the razed structure are commonly used for firewood. Gatschet implies that occupancy of the winter house is always inaugurated by a feast.[366] The mat-covered summer houses are built anew in the spring. It is quite likely that the covering mats are thoroughly rotted and dilapidated after standing through a hard Klamath winter. The timbering of houses is man's [462] work; women place the grass and dirt covering.

The characteristic house is a circular, conical-roofed affair. It is essentially of the same shape and construction whether merely mat-covered or set over a pit and roofed with planks and earth. The Klamath definitely distinguish the two types however, the earth-lodge, lu"ltᴇmalŏks, and the mat-covered summer house, wu'kĕ'plŏḳs. In addition a small dome-shaped mat-lodge (sti'nă'c) is used in summer, when traveling, or for cooking.[367] Poor families who cannot afford the larger earth-lodge, build dome-shaped lodges for winter use, setting them over pits for the sake of the added warmth.

The earliest descriptions of these houses are by Ogden (1826) and 114 Frémont (1843–46). Ogden's account of what are probably earth- 342

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[366] 1:75.

[367] Barrett describes a summer house possibly of different form. This is elliptical or rectangular in ground plan, with "sides which slope very abruptly to the ground and a comparatively flat top. The framework is of willow poles stuck into the ground and brought together along the ridgepole, to which they are bound securely." This suggests in part the structure of the dome-shaped lodge, but implies the presence of at least two posts bearing a ridgepole, a type of construction which my informants specifically denied. The photograph Barrett figures belies his description: the form seems to be the regular structure having four posts with the side poles resting on the rafters joining these (Material Culture, 244, pl. 11, fig. 1). [114]

114 lodges is curious. "It [a Klamath marsh village] was composed of
342 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents
built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or
[361] gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. . . . . Reached Indian
village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defense against arrows but not balls."[368] Frémont notes "they were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams." At another place "the huts . . . . were made of tall rushes and willows."[369]

342 There is considerable variation in the size of houses, even those of
184 one type. Earth-lodges range in diameter from twelve to thirty feet
or more, the larger accommodating several families. The largest pit I saw measured thirty-five feet in diameter. The largest earth-lodges are invariably those of shamans, larger even that those of chiefs. This is not only the statement of my several informants, but on every site
[756] I visited the largest pits were pointed out to me as the former residences of shamans. The shaman's lodge, to be sure, houses the winter
[622] performances, but this also implies that shamans are the wealthiest
individuals, or were so at least before the ascendancy of the chiefs during the last century. Winter houses are commonly larger than the corresponding summer mat-covered forms.

342 The semi-subterranean earth-lodge is erected over a shallow pit (sloko'ps). This is commonly but knee deep, but the thirty-five-foot pit mentioned above had been excavated waist deep or even more. All the clearly defined house pits that I saw were circular, but I got the impression from one informant that the house might be somewhat squared. This is probably the case only with the summer mat-lodge: wu'kē'plōks. The circle is not measured in any way. The pit is dug with digging sticks, the earth thrown back all around the excavation with storage baskets (tlūks) or slabs of pine bark.

The roof has the form of a truncated, wedge-shaped cone, resting as it does on the circular periphery of the pit but with its upper truncated surface an elongated rectangle. The main frame is formed by four central posts, set to form the corners of this rectangle.[370] The tops of these are connected by stringers. Poles extending obliquely

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[368] Elliott, The Ogden Journals, 210.

[369] Frémont, Narrative, 122; Memoirs, 494.

[417] [370] Barrett implies a single center post ("climbs down . . . . by means of steps cut into the center pole itself," p. 244), but this was denied by my informants.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
529. Thatched	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	251
530. Roughly coiled, in shape tubular bin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
531. Posts set upright in ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	(-)	+	•+	•+	•+	
532. Goods wrapped, hung from branch of tree	-	-	+				•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
533. Storage in pit outside	•(+)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	
534. Storage indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
534a. In baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
535. In twined tule "sacks"	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
536. Vegetable foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
537. Dried meat, salted or plain	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
538. Dried fish or salmon flour	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	
539. Storage in pit inside sweat house	-					•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Exchange of Food																	
540. Food sold	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	•+	262
541. Traded or borrowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	437
542. Mainly in time of famine	-	+	-	-	-	-	•-	+	-	-	+	+		+	+	-	
543. Mainly in winter, early spring	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
544. Game divided	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	224
545. Killer gets most or certain parts	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+		
546. Meat equally divided among hunters	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
547. Large game divided among whole camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Ownership of Productive Areas																	
548. Fishing places privately owned	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	-	423
549. Fishing places jointly owned, owners unrelated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
550. Fishing places owned by village group	+	+	-	-		•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	226
551. Anyone may take some of owner's catch	-	-	-						+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
552. Fishing places rented for share of catch	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	.	-	
553. Fish weir privately owned	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
554. Hunting land or spots privately owned	-	-	+	•-	-	•-	•-	-	+	-	+	-	-	•+	+	-	423
555. Seed tracts privately owned	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[224]
556. Seed tracts owned by village group		+				+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
557. Trees privately owned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
558. Trees owned by village group	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
559. Trees claimed for single season only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
560. Only trees distant from village	-	-	-						+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
561. Tribal or group boundaries marked by topographic features	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
562. Tobacco plot privately owned	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	[276]
563. Land for single season only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
564. Tobacco plot owned by village	-	-	-			-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
565. Village site owned by group	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[361]
Division of Labor																	
Subsistence Pursuits																	
566. Hunting: men only	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
567. Rat and mouse catching: men and women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
568. Men	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	[224]
569. Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
570. Gathering insects, grubs: men and women	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	[222]
571. Men	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	
572. Women	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
573. Fishing: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
574. Men only net, spear fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	[226]
575. Women use basket to catch fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
515 810. Pray or wish while sweating	•+	•+	•(+)	+	R	•R	•+	+	•+	•+	+	(+)	–	–	–	–
782 811. Cold bath follows sweat	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	(–)	+	+	–	+

House Furnishings and Arrangement

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
281 812. Blankets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
813. Elk and deerskin	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
513 814. Painted hides for fine blankets	–	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
815. Woven rabbitskin blankets	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
816. Patchwork skin blankets	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
817. Deerskin	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
818. Coyote skin	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
819. Wildcat skin	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
820. Raccoon skin	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
821. Rabbitskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
822. Blue-fox skin	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–
[439] 823. Buffalo hides, imported for blankets	–		+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[237] 824. Feather blankets	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	•+
825. Loose tule, grass blanket covering	+	+	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
826. Pillows	+	+	+	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.
827. Individual wooden pillow	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
828. Pole pillow	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.
829. Piece of wood or rock	+	–	–		–	–			+	+	+	.	–	–	+	.
830. Rolled skin	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.
831. Rolled tule mat	–	–	+	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
†832. Leaf or grass pillow	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.
584 833. Pine needles heaped up for pillow	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	–	(–)	+	–	–	–	.
†834. Wooden foot drum	–	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	•R	•R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
†835. Hollow half log	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	.	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†836. In line with door	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†837. Over hole in ground	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	.	+
†838. Post before drum	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	.	–	–	–	+
361 †838a. Houses in rows	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
†838b. Houses in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	.	–	•+

Shelters

Brush Enclosures and Shades

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
417 839. Roofless circular brush enclosure	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
840. Large, used for ceremonies	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
[574] 841. As camping place for visitors	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–
[764] 842. At cemeteries only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	+	+
843. Fire in center	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
844. Opening(s) oriented	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	.	•+
845. Same, but smaller, for summer shelter	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
846. Partly roofed over	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
847. Roofed circular brush enclosure	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–		–
848. Shades	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	–	•+
849. Horizontal roof	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
850. Sloping roof	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
851. 4 supporting posts	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
852. 3 side walls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
853. Brush heaped around pit mortars, for shade	–	–	–		–	–	–		–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–
854. Conical bark grinding house, 2 families	–	–	–		+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Menstrual Huts

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
343 855. Menstrual hut	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
841 856. Similar to living house, but smaller	–	–	–	•+	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
4113. Corpse extended	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	(+)	764
4114. Body burned outside	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	
4115. Body on top of pyre	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
4116. Body inside pyre	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	
4117. Body burned in house	+	+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	
4118. Only if whole family dies, epidemic	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
o4119. Duration of burning, days	1	+	1	.	-	.	•1	1	•1	-	1	-	•1	1	1	-	
4120. Partial cremation	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
4121. Bones entirely consumed by fire	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	
4122. Broken with sticks, rocks	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	
4123. Ceremonial eating of corpse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	
4124. Secondary basket burial of ashes	-	•+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	•+	-	•+	+	+	-	
4125. Ashes raked into pile after burning	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4126. Covered with rocks or dirt	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	

Cemeteries and Burning Places

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
4127. Cemeteries	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	[361]
4128. Less than 1/2 mile from village	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	
4129. 1/2 mile or more from village	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	
4130. No regular cemetery; burial 1/2 mile or more from village	-	-	+	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4131. Grave plots	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4132. Definite grave plots, each family	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
4133. Graves weeded, cleaned occasionally, in spring	-	-	+		+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	.	+	•+	•+	
4134. Wife buried at husband's plot	•-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	-	+	+	+	+	•-	•-	-	•+	
4135. Wife buried in own family plot	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	+	+	
4136. Husband occasionally buried at wife's plot	-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4137. Wife buried near husband's village	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	
4138. Regular burning places	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	+	+	-	
4139. Near village	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	

Treatment of Property

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
4140. Destruction of personal property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	768
4145. Burnt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	•+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	
4146. During cremation	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	
4147. Following cremation	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	
4148. During, after burial	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	
4149. Buried	-	-	+		+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	
4150. With corpse	-	-	+							+	+	+	-	-	+	+	
4151. Man's implements broken	-	-	+							+	+	+	-	-	+	+	
4152. Baskets smashed	-	-	+		•+					+	+	+	-	-	+	R+	
4153. Property set on top of grave	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
4154. Canoe broken, given away	•-	•+	-	•(+)	-	•+	•o	-	•+	-	•-	•-	•o	•o	-	-	
4155. Canoe of deceased burnt when worn out	+	+	-	+	•+	•+	o	-	-	+	-	+	o	o	-	-	
4156. Slave(s) killed	+	+	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4157. Deceased's dog disposed of	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
4158. Killed	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
4159. Hung by neck	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4160. Given away	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4161. Horse killed (recent)	+	+	•+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	.	+	+	-	
4162. Meat distributed and eaten	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	
4163. Hide or carcass burnt	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	-	
4164. Killed at grave; carcass left there	-	-	+										.	-	+	-	
4165. Preservation of personal property	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	R	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	

K
172 the eruption of Mount Mazama created Crater Lake and strewed
133 its pumice in thick beds over the countryside, some 6,500 years
ago, they had long been in occupation.[3]

K Here, with the passage of time, the peoples later to receive
M the names of Klamath and Modoc began to take on their present
101 way of life. Their cultural position was at once peripheral and
172 strategic, for they lay at the boundaries of the emergent cultural
provinces of the Great Basin, the Plateau, and California, and
though they stemmed fundamentally from the Great Basin, they
were also subject to influences flowing from California and the
Plateau. Consistent with their relative geographical position and
ecological resources, the Modoc diverged toward California and
the Klamath toward the Plateau; and when in turn the influences
of the North Pacific Coast—extending from southern Alaska to
northern California—reached them, it was again the Klamath who
were somewhat more receptive. Despite their differences, the
K two peoples retained a substantial common base: they spoke
M dialects of the same language and felt their political separation
101 to have been a recent event.[4]

197 Indeed, the linguistic evidence is consonant with a long autochthonous development within this region. Klamath-Modoc finds
its closest linguistic congeners within the Plateau, in Cayuse,
Molala, and the northern Sahaptin Tenino, Klickitat, Yakima,
Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Nez Percé. Taken together, these
languages are seen as more distantly related to others spoken in
Western Oregon and in the Sacramento-San Joaquin drainage of
California, and like them are assigned to the Penutian phylum.[5]
(See Map of Tribal Distribution in Oregon.)

K For the Klamath, the dominant features of their landscape were
133 the marshes and streams, with their rich resources of fish, mussels,
226 and waterfowl. Their winter settlements, fringing the shores in
• 361 settled places, were located where fish could be caught most of
433 the year, clustered densely upon Klamath Marsh and the eastern
shore of Agency and Upper Klamath lakes, extending down to
Link River. They lay as well upon the Williamson River which
runs in a bow some sixty miles, passing through the Marsh to
empty into Upper Klamath Lake, and upon its eastern tributary,
M
133 the Sprague. In their more open country to the south, the Modoc
226 were less favored and less open to influences from fishing peoples,
224
433

K
M middle Columbia, far below the Coast and California, and in turn
161 considerably above the Great Basin.[6]

000 The mind's eye, drawing upon descriptions of early explorers
and modern ethnographers,[7] can recreate the life of the early
nineteenth century. It is a life that moves through a succession
of activities with the seasons, each characterized by a community
of different size and constituency. On a miniscule scale they
resemble the "task groupings" which Anastasio has analysed in
the intertribal relations on the Plateau.[8]

K During the long winters, existence is centered in the permanent
M settlements, for the altitude of the Klamath Basin is over four
221 thousand feet and snow often drifts deep. An accrued depth of
132 six to eight feet is common; while in the exceptional winter of
133 1890-91 a figure of thirty feet, undoubtedly in drifts, was recorded
361 at the head of Agency Lake. Crude, circular bearpaw snowshoes
481 provide a poor means of winter travel, and the settlements tend
262 to become isolated; most people are forced to remain in the
villages, supplementing the meager winter catch with stores of
dried fish and meat, roots, seeds, and berries.

K From a distance, the winter settlement has the appearance of
M hillocks strung out along the bank or clustered in a sheltered
221 spot. In size it may range from several score houses—there are
361 perhaps a hundred house pits at one favored site on Klamath
342 Marsh, though not all may have been occupied at the same time
—down to tiny hamlets of one or two earth lodges and a few mat
huts.[9] Within the village, the earth lodges are the dominant struc-
K tures, with the domed huts flanking them. In Klamath settlements,
M communal storage pits shelter the bulk of supplies; but the
343 Modoc prefer to conceal foodstuffs in household caches some
251 distance from the houses.

One Klamath woman recalled her childhood hamlet, part of
K a settlement totaling roughly two dozen houses,[10] on the lower
361 reaches of the Williamson River. Here she and her parents lived
342 with her maternal uncle, the shaman later known as Alex Wilson,
whose earth lodge was the largest in the hamlet. Nearby was
another lodge, the residence of Hunter Wilson, brother of Alex
and headman of the family group. Some four or five mat-covered
K lodges and huts stood in the vicinity, the larger ones closer to
[343] the water for cooking and the sewing of tule mats, the smaller

K
361
for the seclusion of menstruant or parturient women, contact with 342
whom is particularly injurious to shamans. 343

The earth lodges, frequently dismantled in the spring after K
becoming waterlogged by the melting snows, are rebuilt in the M
fall. They are semisubterranean, built within a circular pit one 342
to four feet in depth—the Modoc excavations tend to be somewhat deeper than the Klamath—and range in diameter from twelve feet for a single family to over thirty-five feet for the residence of a shaman. Four central posts support horizontal plates, with a split-log beam slanting down from each corner into the ground beyond the edge of the pit. Horizontal stringers between the beams in turn bear a layer of rafters, laid side by side around the house. Cracks are chinked with sticks and bark; and the surface is covered successively with rough matting, with grass laid along the lower edge, and finally with dirt. On top, rough planks are laid between the plates, leaving a hatchway that serves simultaneously as smoke hole and entrance.

A similar structure, erected over a shallow depression or none K
m
at all, lacking the earth covering, and with side entrance, might [184]
also be used during the winter, but is most frequently the residence of warmer weather. The house is constructed by its future residents: working together, says Ray, Modoc may take a month to build an earth lodge.

Both Klamath and Modoc conceive of the house as facing east, K
m
and on that side a stairway ascends. Within, a ladder thrusts 342
through the hatchway, and down this the visitor climbs, being 352
careful, if a woman, to manage her fringed skirt to observe the 353
proper modesty. Once below and standing beside the central [417]
fireplace, he makes out the dim details. Behind him, at the front [354]
of the house, firewood is stacked in tiers, while across the back a partition has been made behind which are stored foodstuffs and gear. Many houses dispense with a partition, and supplies are kept on the ledge between pit and wall. From the rafters dried fish and roots hang. The floor is covered with mats, which some- K
M
times extend up the walls. Along the walls the members of the 342
household sit or sleep upon a bedding of mats thrown over grass, 352
with an occasional blanket woven of tule and cattail, sometimes 513
with feathers worked in, or of animal pelt. The left side of the house, as the visitor faces forward, is reserved for the family

K
M
many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit 756
and compelling in its demands. 796

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and K
M
serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and 221
the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, 261
housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social [356]
bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take
pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or
the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed K
M
and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans [574]
who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still [685]
conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers. [756]
[796]

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating [789]
hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will K
M
not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, 261
they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to 22
gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer
of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance
of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate K
M
odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. 221
Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied 361
through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The
decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining
in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. K
M
The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, [501]
where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the
household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the
pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already,
in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and
Sprague.

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted K
226
the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, 823
which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost
River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, K
M
where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, 226
catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream 103
tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers 648

[Klamath Reservation]

K
M draws upland Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute and gives to the
226 nearby settlement, the easternmost of the permanent villages of
103 the Klamath, the name, "Sucker-fishery." Others make their way
648 K to stone weirs, built, it is said, by Gmukamps himself, or to the
M lakes to fish with a variety of dip nets, gill net baskets, the two-
226 pronged harpoon and the multibarbed spear. At night, men set
forth in canoes upon the lake to fish by torchlight. Set lines are
K put out infrequently. While the men catch the fish—suckers,
M [251] salmon, and trout—their wives work ceaselessly, splitting them
and laying them in the sun to dry.

K Released from the protracted confinement to the winter settle-
M ments, tribesmen eagerly renew bonds with relatives and friends
221 from other villages. Related families may rendezvous to travel
222 together down to the fisheries and set up their lodges side by
[571] side. Then, as spring advances and the runs of suckers and
[602] salmon abate, the fishing settlements break up and parties of
[226] two or three families fan out along the flats and meadows to dig
[103] roots: the succulent camas, the nutlike ipos, yans, and the arrow-
root for which Chewaucan Marsh is named. In the watery flats
they seek the roots of tule and cattail; elsewhere they pick wild
K celery and mosses. There are the eggs of swan and other water-
M fowl to gather; trout in the streams to be caught; and for the
22 Modoc, antelope and mountain sheep to hunt. At this time, some
[361] areas are occupied that at other times are too cold or barren.

K If there is danger of hostile attack, the parties coalesce; and
M 22 under all circumstances they maintain a wary lookout. In the
726 north small bands make cautious excursions into the upper valley
of the Deschutes, watchful for raiding parties of Cayuse, Nez
K Percés, Warm Springs, and Paiute. Toward the east, Sycan and
M Chewaucan marshes are dug over by Klamath and Paiute. Fré-
222 mont once found the latter tract furrowed as if it had been
252 plowed. In many places the stone-lined earth ovens in which
camas and other vegetal foods were baked for winter storage
can still be seen.

K As the long summer days wear on, the pond-lily seeds, known
M as wokas, begin to ripen on the marshes, and once more the
221 people draw together. The Modoc congregate especially along
222 Tule and Lower Klamath Lake, while some join the Klamath
648 on Wokas Marsh. Many Klamath, together with a few Modoc

season however is now late, and frosts warn that winter is near. K M 222
By mid-October, they have begun the homeward journey to their 517
settlements, there to rebuild the earth lodges, gather firewood, K M
and prepare for the long siege of winter. 221
Throughout the cycles of the seasons, the tribesmen live under 361 •
a sense of dependent involvement in a universe that was created K M
in the mythic age by supernatural beings who, establishing the 82
present order, also chose their present form within it. Among the creatures of this world, man is less the exploiter than a fellow being, a relationship honored by returning to the water the gall of a fish that had been caught in order that the fish be requickened, as well as in the annual ceremonies of the first sucker and the ripened wokas. Each individual may draw close to the sources of power; and among the Klamath neither age
nor sex is a barrier. The young boy at puberty may be sent on K 881
vigil to sacred place—in mountains and at certain rivers or lakes— 787
there to fast, pile stones, run, and swim. In time, he may faint, awaken with blood gushing from his mouth, and hear the song that is his power. A girl during the time of her puberty dance goes off to sleep apart during the day; then she too may hear a
song. Those mourning a deceased mate or child may "travel," K [765]
seeking solace and power, for the spirit confers power through
pity. Those who seek help desire a specific power, and they may K 787
pray for prowess in hunting, gambling, in attracting a mate, or in acquiring wealth. One who already has a spirit associate may seek for others; and some, either through inheritance or by the successive acquisition of tutelaries, may go on to become shamans. Some persons may reject the call. One middle-aged woman recounts a waking dream she had in her girlhood of a stag in full antlers rising out of the waters. Had she followed the opening thus offered she might have acquired great power, but she was afraid and let the chance slip by.

Among the Modoc, says Ray, powers come only to those who M 787
seek to become shamans. The call, which comes in a dream, is 756
legitimate only in mature men and women past menopause and [885]
may not be experienced in old age. The seeker, like his Klamath counterpart, undertakes a five-day quest; but the chief of the spirit abodes in which he spends his vigil are the house pits of deceased shamans. Those spirits that come to him choose him

SEVEN

[P.95]

Social Change

WITHIN LESS THAN TEN YEARS AFTER THE RESERVATION HAD BEEN 648*
established, two communities had developed. The one at the 657*
Lower End was composed primarily of Klamath, with a small 361 •
number of freed slaves. Yainax was far less homogeneous. Near
the subagency were the Upland Klamath and the Modoc, while
some ten miles beyond lay Paiute Camp. With the beginning
of stock raising, the fine grazing lands of the Upper End drew
Klamath from the Agency side.[1] The Klamath Marsh settlements,
formerly the area of densest concentration, had been
abandoned as a winter residence in favor of warmer localities
about Upper Klamath Lake. Although O. C. Applegate later [731]
intimated the move was caused by losses from smallpox and other
introduced diseases,[2] the general advantages of proximity to
Agency and Fort may also have recommended it. Settlements on
the Lower End now clustered about the Agency and upon the
lower course of Williamson River. Only a scattering of houses
extended along the Sprague as far as Lilu's seat at Kawumkan
Springs, approximately ten miles above its mouth.[3] Beyond that
point, almost thirty miles intervened between the two communities.

In their settlements, former foes were brought together: Pelican 657*
Bay and other bands on the Williamson, Klamath and Walpapi 648*
at Yainax. Band affiliations, which rested on kinship and 621
long association, continued to be strong for some time even within 619
the new settings. Thus members of the Pelican Bay band sometimes 177
shared foodstuffs, and the claim that their parents stemmed 178
from the same tribelet long provided a bond strong enough to
enable one person to borrow from another. By the end of the
period, however, band identities had been largely relinquished
as peoples intermingled. In their place developed ties of varying

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

TEN

[P.125]

The Changing Environs

THE ISOLATION OF THE RESERVATION HAD NEVER BEEN MORE THAN A 657*
relative condition. From early days the soldiers at Fort Klamath, 648*
the settlers on Wood River and the Upper Sprague, together [361] •
with the growing towns of Linkville and Lakeview, made its [166]
seclusion far less than absolute. A policy that permitted the [464]
freighting runs to Jacksonville and Ashland or the pass system by which perhaps three-fourths of the men and their families were permitted to leave the reservation for as long as four months to work for whites: these greatly diminished the policy controls exercised by the Agent.

In the period ahead, however, boundaries were to be further [161]
dissolved. In 1882 Nickerson could declare, "This reservation contains as many inhabitants to the square mile as Lake County or Eastern Oregon."[2] Homesteaders were even then filling up the land, and the rate accelerated as Linkville—become Klamath Falls—and Lakeview responded to the market and communication needs of the region. When the Southern Pacific railroad reached Klamath Falls in 1909, the resource relationships in the
Klamath Basin changed radically. Reservation timber, previously [313]
of little commercial value, suddenly possessed great worth and the mills in Klamath Falls and neighboring communities soon became reliant upon it. The Oregon, Central, and Eastern railroad ran up the Sprague River Valley, while by 1911 the Southern Pacific had pushed north across the western face of the reservation to Kirk. In 1923 work was resumed on the latter line to complete the Natron Cutoff from the Willamette Valley; three years later it was completed. Thereafter, the Lower End lay on a main line.

Thus, to the cattlemen and sheepmen operating on the reser- [663]
vation under grazing leases were added railway gangs, then

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 on the trespass and election issues, together with a telegram
*657 protesting approval of the Abraham Charley permit and sup-
665 porting letters from the Washington law firm of Dudley and
668 Michener. Several months passed before Applegate came around
578 to answering, which he did in temperate and reasoned tones.
His remarks add little to what he had said previously.[62]

Meanwhile, Applegate was given an assignment which could only embroil him further. Upon instructions from the Commissioner, he and an assistant set forth with representatives of the Booth-Kelly Lumber Company, which had succeeded to the Military Road claims, to select lands in lieu of the 111,000 acres they held across the face of the reservation. Eventually, a tract of 87,000 acres of prime timber in the northeastern corner of the reservation was selected.[63]

Jesse Kirk is said to have opposed vehemently any cession of land, while his half-brother favored the arrangement finally arrived at.[64] Not until the fiery Indian leader was dead did the tribe finally agree to accept the sum of $108,750 from the United States in return for a quitclaim against the government; and that was achieved in the face of determined opposition from Clayton Kirk, who took up the battle from his father and bombarded Washington with petitions.

In later days Applegate believed that "in equity the Indians ought to have had the entire reservation. . . . They should be fully compensated." In 1904, however, he stood too close to the factionalism, and Ivan's role in the negotiations was too well recalled for him to avoid suspicion. Any of his acts were likely to become, in Merton's term, a self-fulfilling prophecy of complicity.[65]

Conditions at Klamath now prompted the Commissioner to send out as inspector Supervisor of Indian Schools M. F. Holland, whose harsh measures precipitated the final battle. At the
• [361] Agency, a number of Indians, several of them employees, had erected a dozen shanties out of rejected lumber from the sawmill. Holland evidently found Slabtown, as the settlement was known, an eyesore. A former inhabitant there has suggested that Holland may also have been irked by the community's practice of providing food for various councils conducted by Jesse Kirk. The supervisor now ordered Slabtown razed. Accordingly, Applegate served notice on the residents to remove by the first of March.[66]

men. The major attractions, however, were the stores, the schools, 648* 657*
the movies, the excitement, and the entertainment. These ad- 16
vantages seem likewise to have favored the shift to larger communities.

Thus, over an extended period of time, there has been a substantial and growing body of Klamath who, while retaining an equity in the tribal estate and membership in the tribal body, have come to dwell away from the reservation and who visit it infrequently, if at all. Their daily life is spent within a milieu, and in reliance upon a "personal community"—to use Jules Henry's expressive term[5]—made up largely of non-Klamath.

The heterogeneity of the Klamath is also reflected by their 648*
biological composition. While the characterization of the degree 657*
of Indian heritage, expressed as a "blood quantum," is open to 144
occasional error in individual instances, the figures taken in summation reveal significant differences. By 1955, only twenty-eight per cent of the absentee members could claim to be biologically of over one-half Indian ancestry, and even for those dwelling upon the reservation the corresponding figure was no more than fifty-four per cent. Within the reservation, in turn, Lower End Klamath were markedly less Indian by this measure, falling between the values for absentee and Upper End members.[6]

Like many other Indian groups, the Klamath population pos- 648*
sesses a large segment of younger members, marking an increase 657*
over the early decades of the present century. In the days of 162
termination, those under twenty years of age comprised no fewer than forty-seven per cent of the total tribal membership, a figure exceeding that for the general population of the United States, of which only one-third fell within the corresponding bracket.[7] Although these figures are often interpreted as re- [563]
flecting improved health conditions on the reservation, they also reflect an increased rate of marriage with non-Indians.

The variety of Klamath life during the latter days of their 648*
tribal existence may be illustrated by data from the Upper End 657*
community of Beatty, the Lower End city of Chiloquin, and 184
from the off-reservation communities of Klamath Falls and 361 •
Eugene-Springfield in the Willamette Valley.

Beatty and Chiloquin represent special facets of reservation

*648 *657 184 • 361 history. Beatty, in the upper valley of the Sprague, lies between the town of Sprague River, some fourteen miles below it, and Bly, roughly the same distance away over the eastern boundary of the reservation. It drew some of its population from Yainax, when that subagency was closed, as well as from Paiute Camp [797] to the east. Beatty's nucleus had been the Methodist mission and store, to which other establishments presently were added, and houses began to be built about them. White ranchers have [563] moved in to work the allotted land they bought or rented, usually bringing their families with them. Others, white, Indian—using that term for non-Klamath—and Negro, have married tribal members.

[871] By 1959, however, when the community was studied,[8] it was in a sharp decline: for in the 1940's the local school had been [797] closed in a consolidation with the one at Bly; the Methodist [313] mission had been reduced to an adjunct of the principal mission on Williamson River, at the Lower End; and the lumber mill at Sprague River had ceased operations. The community had [162] survived, though on a greatly reduced scale, with a population totaling 136 persons, 105 of them tribal members, prevailingly of Modoc and Paiute derivation, 5 Indians from other reservations, 25 whites, and 1 Negro.

Chiloquin, located at the confluence of the Sprague and Williamson rivers, was the largest community on the reservation, with a population then almost seven times that of Beatty.[9] A mill and market town which burgeoned when tribal timber was opened by the advent of the railroad, Chiloquin was incorporated as a city in 1926 and soon afterward boasted a population, including adjacent woods camps, of approximately two thousand. In its heyday, when along with Modoc Point, Braymill, and Sprague River it pulsed with activity, Chiloquin was a lusty and sometimes rowdy city, enjoying the wicked sobriquet of "The Little Chicago of the West." Below the surface was a structure which provided an institutional extension of American civic life elsewhere. A bank, a newspaper, telephone company, hotels and rooming houses, schools and churches, a boxing association and occasional Chatauqua, moving picture house, taxi company, Ladies' Community Club, Commerce Club, Masons and V.F.W., lawyers, dentists, and doctors: all these shared space with dance-halls, card rooms, bootleggers, pimps, and prostitutes.

The depression and the subsequent loss of mills through fire 648*
and economic distress stripped Chiloquin temporarily of many 657*
of her specialized services. By the time she had emerged from 184
the slump a decade after World War II, improved communica- 361 •
tions had enabled Klamath Falls, twenty times as large and only thirty miles away, to supplant Chiloquin in many functions which had previously been discharged locally. Nonetheless, in the course of recovery some services were regained. With an institutional complexity that far transcended that of Beatty, Chiloquin, an enclave of the state of Oregon within the federal jurisdiction of the reservation, offered tribal residents a foretaste of the life that lay beyond reservation boundaries. In 1958 more than thirty per cent of the entire tribal membership had mailing addresses there.

In examining the households of Beatty and Chiloquin, re- 648*
spectively 31 and 297 in number, it is convenient to distinguish 657*
two categories among those including tribal members. That 621
designated Interethnic is headed by a tribal member married to 184
a partner of another ethnic group, white, Mexican, alien Indian, 563
or other. The second, in which both partners are tribal members, 592
will be designated Tribal. The term Klamath will subsume both. [162]

Klamath households in the rural community of Beatty in 1959 comprised well over eighty per cent of the community, the remaining households being largely white. By contrast, in Chiloquin (1949-50) white households were twice the Beatty percentage; while Klamath households amounted only to little over half the population. The remaining ten per cent was made up of other minorities, Mexican, Negro, and Indian. Within the next decade continuing trends in Chiloquin increased the disparity, as white households gained at the expense of all other components.

The figures for Interethnic marriages harmonize with this picture of white preponderance in the larger community. When the total marital record is considered, including successive mates, it is seen that unions with whites comprise only slightly more than one-fifth of the total for reservation members, almost one-third for the Chiloquin segment, and well over three-quarters for a small sample of off-reservation Klamath.[10] Among the Interethnic households of Beatty, the non-Klamath partner was more frequently Indian than white, while in Chiloquin he was

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P.282]

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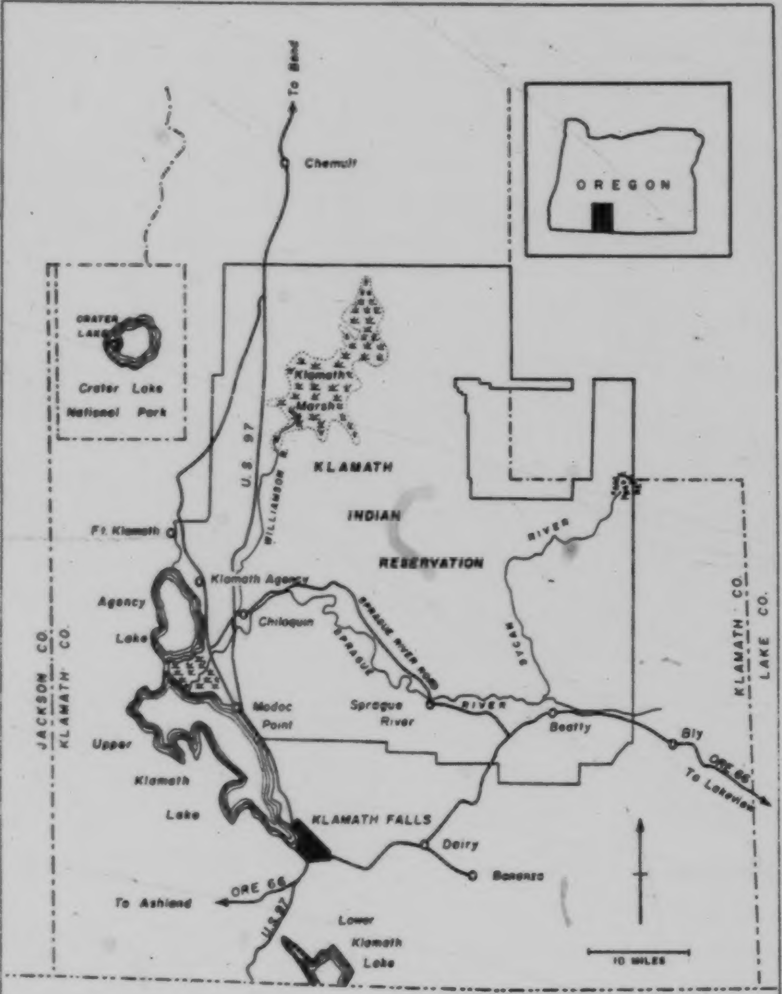
To Bend
Chemult
OREGON
CRATER LAKE
Crater Lake National Park
Klamath Marsh
U.S. 97
WILLIAMSON R.
KLAMATH INDIAN RESERVATION
Ft. Klamath
Klamath Agency
Agency Lake
Chiloquin
SPRAGUE RIVER ROAD
SPRAGUE
SYCAN
RIVER
Modoc Point
Sprague River
RIVER
Beatty
Bly
ORE 66
To Lakeview
Upper Klamath Lake
KLAMATH FALLS
Dairy
Bonanza
ORE 66
To Ashland
U.S. 97
Lower Klamath Lake
10 MILES
JACKSON CO.
KLAMATH CO.
KLAMATH CO.
LAKE CO.

KLAMATH INDIAN RESERVATION
AND
KLAMATH COUNTY, OREGON

648 Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation,
by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically,
less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
[657] efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities
[726] were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
[786] 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
[181] in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
[556] wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased
opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members,
[434] as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited
[651] bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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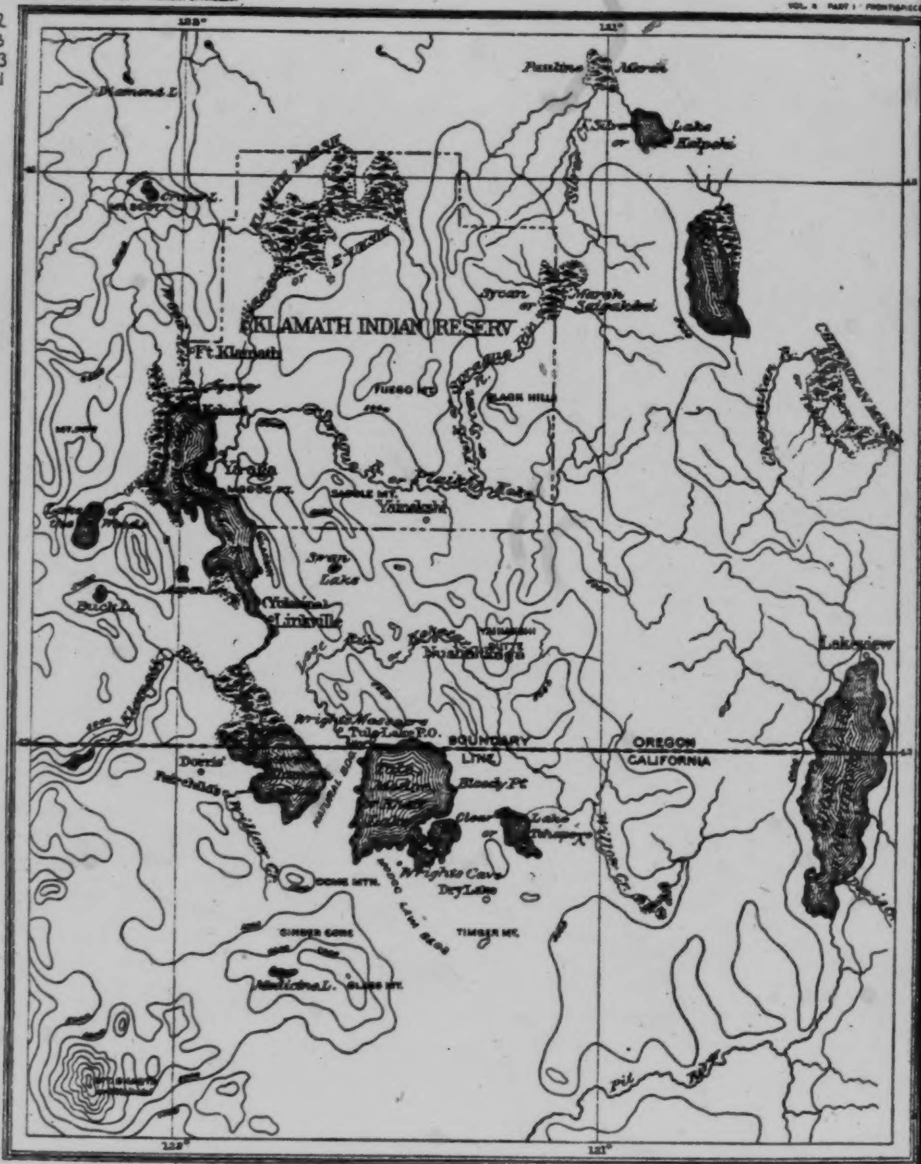
122°
121°
Pauline Marsh
Diamond L.
Silver Lake or Kalpshi
Klamath Marsh
KLAMATH INDIAN RESERV
Ft. Klamath
Sycan Marsh
Yainakshi
Swan Lake
Linkville
Lost River
Nushaltkaga
Tule Lake P.O.
BOUNDARY LINE
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
Bloody Pt
Clear Lake
Wright's Cave
Dry Lake
Dorris'
Buck L.
DOME MTN.
TIMBER MT.
CINDER CONE
Medicine L.
GLASS MT.
Lakeview
Pit River

Scale: 15 miles to 1 inch.

MAP OF THE HEADWATERS OF THE KLAMATH RIVER.

By Albert S. Gatschet.

/facing p. 111/

6

132 over," so that the running waters never swell, but show the same water level
throughout the year. Nights are chilly and really cold, for the soil reflects
against the clear sky all the heat received from the sun during the day, and
the dry night air pervading the highlands absorbs all the moisture it can.
[342] Winters are severe; snow begins to fall early in November, and in the later
months it often covers the ground four feet high, so that the willow lodges
(not the winter houses) completely disappear, and the inmates are thus sheltered
from the cold outside. The lakes never freeze over entirely, but ice
[241] forms to a great thickness. The cold nights produce frosts which are very
destructive to crops in the vicinity of the Cascade Range, but are less harmful
to gardening or cereals at places more distant; and in Lost River Valley,
at Yáneks—even at Linkville—melons, turnips, potatoes, and other vegetables
rarely fail. The mean annual temperature as observed some years ago
at Fort Klamath was 40.47° Fahr.

000 There are several instances in America where highlands have become
centers of an aboriginal culture. Such instances are the plateaus of Anahuac,
Guatemala, Bogotá, and of Titicaca Lake. They contained a dense
population, more cultured than their barbaric neighbors, whom they succeeded
in subjugating one after the other through a greater centralization
161 and unity of power. The Klamath highlands can be compared to the plateaus
above named in regard to their configuration, but they never nourished
a population so dense that it could exercise any power analogous to
that above mentioned. Moreover, there was no intellectual and centralizing
element among these Indians that could render them superior to their neighbors,
all of whom maintained about the same level of culture and intelligence

TOPOGRAPHIC LIST OF CAMPING PLACES.

361 To form a correct idea of the dissemination of Indians in this sparsely
inhabited country, the following lists of camping places will furnish serviceable
data. The grounds selected by the Mák̲laks for camping places are
of two kinds: either localities adapted for establishing a fishing or hunting
camp of a few days' or weeks' duration or for a whole summer season, or
[342] they are places selected for permanent settlement. Winter lodges (luldamaláksh)
or slab houses are often built at the latter places; whereas the

361 transitory camps are marked by frail willow lodges (látchash, stinā'sh) or [342] other light structures. Indian camps are as a rule located near rivers, brooks, marshes, springs, or lakes. Hunters generally erect their lodges in convenient places to overlook a considerable extent of territory.

In the lists below the order in which the localities are mentioned indicates the direction in which they follow each other. I obtained them from the two interpreters of the reservation, Dave Hill and Charles Preston; and as regards the old Modoc country, from Jennie Lowwer, a Modoc girl living in the Indian Territory, who remembered these places from her youth. The grammatic analysis of the local names will in many instances be found in the Dictionary.

CAMPING PLACES ON KLAMATH MARSH.

103 361 The permanent dwellings upon this marsh have all been abandoned; but the Modocs and Klamath Lakes, together with some Snake Indians from Sprague River, resort there annually, when the pond-lily seed and the berries ripen, for a period of about six weeks. Its shores were permanently inhabited in 1853, when visited by the United States exploration party under [133] Lieutenants Williamson and Abbott, and even later. Dave Hill's list below follows the localities in their topographic order from northeast to southwest and along the southeastern elevated shore of the marsh, which at some places can be crossed on foot. A few rocky elevations exist also on the northeast end of the marsh.

Katā'gai "stumpy bushes."
Táktaklishkshi "reddish spot."
Yaúkēlam Láshi "eagle wing."
Yásh-Lamā'ds "projecting willow."
Spúklish Láwish "sweatlodge on promontory."
Mbákualsi "at the withered tree."
Kmutchuyákai "at the old man's rock;" a man-shaped rock formation near the open waters of the marsh and visible at some distance.
Lalawasχē'ni "slaty rock."
Taktχísh "cricket noise."
Tsúsam Péwas "skunk's dive."
Ktaí-Wasi "rocky hollow."
Snálaχēni "at the rock-pile."
Lúlpaḵat "chalk quarry."
Kapgā'kai "dwarf-pine thicket."
Wáptasχāni "water moving through ponds perceptibly."
Tchókeam Psísh "pumice-stone nose."
Ḵáḵai "raven's nest."
Íwal "land's end."
Luyánsti "within the circle."
Yaúkēlam Snólash "eagle nest."
Tchíkas-Walákish "bird-watch;" secreted spot where hunters watch their feathered game.
Tuílkat "at the small rail pyramid."
Awaluashχē'ni "at the island."

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

103 361 Tχalamgíplis "back away from the west;" probably referring to a turn of the shore-line.

Wák-Talíksi "white pine on water-line."

Wíshiukam Tinnash "drowned snake;" place where a garter snake was found drowned in the open waters of the marsh.

Lgû'm-Ä-ushi "coal lake," with waters looking as black as coal.

Súmde "at the mouth or outlet."

Núskai "skull-place;" a human skull was once found there. This is one of the spots where the natives submerge their dug-out canoes in the mud or sand at the bottom of the lake for the wintry season.

Some of the above places near the outlet are also mentioned in Pete's Text on the "Seasons of the Year," and the following additional may be inserted here from it (74, 15–17):

Lěmé-isham Nutě'ks "impression of thunderbolt."

Lál'läks "steep little eminence."

Stópalsh-tamä'ds "peeled pine standing alone."

K̲ák̲-Kaháwaliäksh "raven on the pole."

CAMPS ALONG WILLIAMSON RIVER.

[133] In this list Dave Hill enumerated old camps and present locations of lodges (1877) on both sides of Williamson River, from the lower end of Klamath Marsh (4,547 feet) to Upper Klamath Lake. The river runs for six miles or more through a ravine about two hundred feet deep, and the road follows it on the east side, leading over the hills. The wigwams are built in proximity to the river course. At its outlet Williamson River forms a delta, projecting far out into the lake, and filled with bulrushes.*

Kakagô'si "at the ford."

Samka-ushχä'ni "cliffs in the river;" a fishing place.

Yále-alant "clear waters."

Túnna-Lutílsh "flat rocks under the water."

K̲ä'k̲-Talíksh, or K̲ä'k̲-Talísh "twin rocky pillars."

Awalokáksaksi "at the little island."

Mbúshaksham Wä'sh "where obsidian is found."

Tχálmakstant (supply: Ktái-Tupáksi) "on the west side of (Standing Rock)."

Tchpinóksaksi "at the graveyard;" cemetery and ancient cremation ground of the É-ukshikni.

Ktá-iti "place of rocks."

Tchikĕsi "at the submerged spot."

Kúltam Wä'sh "otter's home."

Stílakgish "place to watch fish."

Yá aga "little willows." Here the road from Linkville to Fort Klamath crosses Williamson River on a wooden bridge built by the United States Government; here is also the center of the Indian settlements on Williamson River.

Kúls-Tgé-ush, or K̲úl-am-Tgé-us "badger standing in the water."

Witä'mamtsi "where the black bear was."

Kuyám-Skä-iks "crawfish trail."

Slánkoshksŏksi, or Shlankoshkshû'kshi "where the bridge was."

K̲ok̲áksi "at the brooklet."

Kuyága, a former cremation place in the vicinity of Yá aga.

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* Compare Professor Newberry's description, pp. 38, 39, and Lieutenant Williamson's report (part I), p. 66.

CAMPING PLACES AND OTHER LOCALITIES AROUND UPPER KLAMATH LAKE.

103 Places situated on the lake are as follows:

361 **Skohuáshki**, commonly called **Kohásbti**, **Kuhuáshti** by Americans and Indians, "starting place of canoes, boats." Formerly location of the United States Agency; now numbering four or five Indian lodges.

Tulísh, fishing place near the outlet of Williamson River: "spawning place."

Tókua or **Túkua**, near the outlet of Williamson River. From this the neighboring part of the lake is sometimes called Túkua Lake.

Nflakshi: lit. "dawn of day;" is now used to designate Modoc Point also, though it properly refers to the Nflaks mountain ridge only.

Á-ushmē, an island in the lake near Modoc Point.

Shuyakĕ'ksi or "jumping place."

I-ulalóna, or **Yulalóuan**, Link River above the falls at Linkville; lit. "rubbing, moving to and fro." The name was afterwards transferred to the town of Linkville, which is also called **Tiwishχĕ'ni** "where the cascade noise is."

Uχótuash, name of an island near Linkville.

Wákaksi Spúklish, a ceremonial sweat-lodge on west side of the lake.

Kúmbat "in the rocks." Locality on western side of lake, called Rocky Point.

Lúknashti "at the hot water." Name for the hot sulphuric springs about half a mile east and northeast of the town of Linkville, and of some others west of that town.

EMINENCES AROUND UPPER KLAMATH LAKE.

Of the majority of these names of hills and mountains I could not obtain the English name, the usual excuse being that they had only Indian names.

In Cascade Range:

Gíwash, or **Géwash**, Mount Scott; **Gíwash é ush**, Crater Lake, in a depression west of Mount Scott.

Kukumĕ'kshi "at the caves or hollows;" northwest of the Agency.

Kak̲áSam Yaina "mountain of the great blue heron;" northwest of Agency.

Mŏ'dshi Yaina or Long Pine; lit. "on the large mountain;" mŏ'dshi or mŭ'nptchi is a compound of the adjective múni, great, large.

Mbá-ush Shnékash "bosom burnt through," legendary name of a mountain located west southwest of the Agency; mbá-ush here refers to a piece of buckskin serving to cover the bosom.

Kĕ'sh yaínatat, Mount Pitt, a high mountain lying southwest of the Agency. The Modocs call it **Mĕlaíksi** "steepness;" the Klamath Lake term signifies "snow on the mountain," snow-capped peak. Only in the warmest months Mount Pitt is free of snow.

Tílχo-it, an eminence south of Mount Pitt; lit. "drip water."

Wákakshi, **Kă'kăshti**, **Tchintchíwăsamtch**, mountains bordering the southwestern portion of Upper Klamath Lake.

On the east shore of the lake:

Wátanks, a hill on southeastern side of the lake.

Kálalks, hill near Captain Ferree's house, south of the Nflaks ridge. A ceremonial sweat-lodge stands in the vicinity.

103 361 Nílaksi, lit. "daybreak;" a point of the steep ridge of the same name extending from Modoc Point, on east side of lake, along the shore, and thence in the direction of Lost River Valley.

Wálpi, Múyant, Tóplamĕni, Láχit: other elevations of the Nílaksi hill ridge.

Pítsua, hill ridge extending north of Williamson River.

Yánalti or Yánaldi, a steep volcanic range stretching due north from the Agency to Fort Klamath and beyond it. It is the continuation of the Pitsua ridge.

E-ukalksíni Spŭ'klish is an ancient ceremonial sweat-lodge near Wood River, and not very distant from Fort Klamath (I-ukák).

CAMPING PLACES IN SPRAGUE RIVER VALLEY.

Of this portion of the reservation I submit two separate lists of local nomenclature. The more extensive one I obtained from Charles Preston, who remembered more place names because he then was employed at the Yáneks subagency, which lies near the center of the Sprague River settlements. Both lists follow the course of the river from east to west. Both Sprague River and the settlements above Yáneks are frequently called P'laí, "above".

Charles Preston's list:

Tsuitiákshi "dog-rose patch," near headwaters.

Ulálkshi "cottonwood."

Pálan É-ush "dry lake;" a large flat rock is near the river.

Welékag-Knuklĕkshákshi "at the stooping old woman," called so from a rock suggesting this name.

Aísh Tkalíks "column rock."

Tsáχeak Tkáwals "standing boy," from a rock of a boy-like shape.

Suítstis.

Wúksi "fire-place;" at same place as Suítstis.

Tchă'kĕle Taíwish "running with blood;" a little spring with reddish water; a settlement of Snake Indians.

Kōs Tuĕts "standing pine;" settled by Snake Indians.

Kawamkshí'ksh "eel fishery."

Suawáti "ford, crossing-place."

Lúldam Tchí'ksh "winter village."

Spawańksh, on bank of Sprague River.

Yaínaga "Little Butte," a hill at the subagency.

Yaínakshi, Yáneks, "at the Little Butte;" location of subagency buildings, two miles from Sprague River, on left-hand side.

Tatátmi, a butte or hillock in the vicinity.

Lámkosh "willows;" name of a creek, called by Americans "Whiskey Creek."

Skŭwashkshi, or Skŭ'wash, "projecting rocks"

Kă'tsi, name of a little water spring.

Lúlukuashti "at the warm spring."

Tchákawĕtch.

Káwa "eel spring;" inhabited by Modocs.

Yétkash.

Uχáshksh "in the coomb."

Káktsamkshi, name of a spring and creek at the subagency.

Té-unōlsh "spring running down from a hill."

Uχadé ush "planting a willow." (?)

Shlokópashkshi "at the house cavity."

103 Awalókat "at Little Island," in Sprague River.

361. Né-ukish "confluence."

Dave Hill's list:

Híshtish Luélks "Little Sucker Fishery," on headwaters.

Kaílu-Tálam, for Ktă'lu Tkálamnish "juniper tree standing on an eminence."

Hópats "passage" to the timber.

Lúldam Tchi'kěh "winter houses."

Tsănódanksh "confluence."

Yaínakshi "at the Small Butte."

Stáktaks "end of hill."

Kĕmútcham Látsaskshi "at the old man's house," name of a hill; kĕmútcham is said to stand here for K'mukámtsam.

Káwamχăui "eel spring."

Kókaχăui, or Kókăksi "at the creek."

Kumă'ksi "at the cave."

Kátsuăts "rocks sloping into the river."

Nakóskaiks "river dam, river barrage," established for the capture of fish.

Ktaí-Túpaksi, or Ktá-i-Tópoks, "standing rock," situated near junction of Sprague with Williamson River.

CAMPING PLACES OF THE MODOC COUNTRY.

000 On Lost River, close to Tule Lake, were the following camping places: Wá-isha, where Lost River was crossed, three or four miles northwest of the lake, and near the hills which culminate in Laki Peak; Wátchamshwash, a village upon the river, close to the lake; Nakōshχē'ni "at the dam," at the mouth of Tule Lake.

On Tule Lake, also called Modoc Lake, Rhett Lake: Páshχa, or Pásχa, name of a creek and a little Modoc village on the northwest shore, whose inhabitants were called Páshχanuash; Kálelk, camp near Pásχa, on northern shore; Lé-ush, on northern shore; Welwashχē'ni "at the large spring," east side of the lake, where Miller's house is; Wukaχē'ni "at the coomb," one mile and a half east of Welwashχē'ni; Kē'sh-Láktchuish "where ipo grows (on rocks)," on the southeastern side of the lake; Kúmbat "in the caves," on the rocky southern side of the lake, once inhabited by about one hundred Kúmbatwash, who were mainly Modocs, with admixture of Pit River, Shasti, and Klamath Lake Indians.

On Little or Lower Klamath Lake: Agáwesh, a permanent Modoc settlement upon what is now called "Fairchild's farm," southwestern shore; Ke-utchishχē'ni "where the wolf-rock stands," upon Hot Creek; Sputuishχē'ni "at the diving place," lying close to Ke-utchishχē'ni, where young men were plunging in cold water for initiation; Shapashχē'ni "where sun and moon live," camping place on the southeastern shore, where a crescent-shaped rock is standing; Stuikishχē'ni "at the canoe bay," on north side of the lake.

THE KLAMATH LAKE INDIANS.

101 The Klamath Lake Indians number more than twice as many as the
[197] Modoc Indians. They speak the northern dialect and form the northern
chieftaincy, the head chief residing now at Yá-aga, on Williamson River.
[361] Their dwellings are scattered along the eastern shore of Upper Klamath
[103] Lake (É-ush) and upon the lower course of Williamson (Kóketat) and
Sprague Rivers (P'laí). They call themselves É-ukshikni máklaks, abbreviated into Ê-ukshikni, Ê-ukskni, Ă-uksni *people at the lake.* The Shasti near Yreka, Cal., call them Aúksiwash, some western Shasti: Makaítserk; by the Pit River Indians they are called Alámmimakt ísh, from Alámmig, their name for Upper Klamath Lake; by the Kalapuya Indians, Athlámeth; by the Snake Indians, Sáyi.

According to locality the Klamath Lake people may be subdivided into the following groups: The people at the agency; the people at Koháshti, at Yá-aga, at Modoc Point and upon Sprague River. Their settlements at Klamath Marsh, at Nílaks and at Linkville are now abandoned; the last named (Yulalóna) was held by them and the Modocs in common.

THE MODOC INDIANS.

000 The Modoc Indians speak the southern dialect, and before the war of 1872–1873 formed the southern division or chieftaincy, extending over Lost River Valley (Kóketat) and the shores of Little Klamath and Tule Lake. Of their number one hundred and fifty or more live on middle course of Sprague River; some have taken up lands in their old homes, which they cultivate in their quality of American citizens, and the rest are exiles upon the Quapaw Reservation, Indian Territory. They call themselves Móatokni máklaks, abbreviated Móatokni, Mō'dokni, Mō'dokish, *living at Moatak,* this being the name of Modoc or Tule Lake: "in the extreme south." A portion of the Pit River Indians calls them Lutuámi, "*lake,*" by which Tule Lake is meant; another, through a difference of dialect, Lutmáwi. The Shasti Indians of Yreka call them Pχánai, the Sahaptins upon and near Columbia River call them Mówatak, the Snake Indians, Saidoka.

The more important local divisions of this people were the groups at Little Klamath Lake (Agáweshkni), the Kúmbatwash and the Pásχanuash

(23) PO: Would you tell something good, do thus (?) [at our] asking? 539* (24) That's what he wants, this one, and he asked me thus, a little while 124 ago, "Why are there so many house-pits, on the Marsh? (25) Did they 173 live there at that time, even in the winter?" (26) And I said, "I do not know." (27) Did they live there on the Marsh in the wintertime? [361]

(28) AC: Yes, all. (29) They lived everywhere. (30) Many there on the Marsh too, many lived all around it. (31) They lived [there] every day, even in winter. (32) And these Indians lived around here, many, the same way these [people lived] also up above, all the length of the river. (33) These living places were over there, those house-pits. [342] (34) Thus (Proper name) said to me long ago, "What did this used to be?" (35) So I said, "Our grandfathers used to live there, that—at that Çome·kai. (36) The house-pit was on this side long ago, that of my Grandfather (father's father)." (37) Thus that (Proper name) told me. (38) It was there. (39) And they called [them] "ʔiwli·wakni·" that house-pit lies there, he told me. (40) And in that same way those (Proper name) are our grandfathers, as I told [her, i.e., the questioner mentioned above in Sentence (34)]. (41) So [she] said, "Yes, was it thus? (42) No one told me," [she] said. (43) "Yes, these were living places all around here, [103] this, this was Q̓ačw̓e·č, this mountain—the mountain was called Q̓ačwe·č."

(44) PO: What is that Q̓ačwe·č?

(45) It is something from the old times—some myth. (46) All of the mountains were named some way. (47) Thus said (Another proper name) long ago, "What is that Č̓niWi·le? (48) Č̓niWi·l̓e, what is it?" (49) We do not know. (50) We did not name the mountains. (51) Thus mountains were named thus around. (52) Perhaps when God made this, He named the mountains, thus. (53) I asked many, old persons, and they did not know it. (54) Truly they did not know it, [and] I also do not know.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 161]

*648 *657 829 schoolboys with no discernible trace of Indian ancestry will often assert fiercely their Klamath character.

*648 *657 563 One expression of Klamath preference among their ethnic neighbors is to be found in the intermarriages into which tribal members enter. In Chiloquin in 1949-50, a census of Klamath households which omits those tribal members living alone showed 46 per cent of the remaining households to be headed by a Klamath couple. Interethnic households and those headed by the Klamath survivor in an Interethnic union were distributed as follows: with white partner, 25 per cent; with Indian, 14 per cent; with Mexican, 11 per cent; Indeterminate (white or Indian partner), 3 per cent; with Chinese, 1 per cent. In each class of Interethnic union, the prevailing form of marriage was that in which the wife was the tribal member.[8]

There is some evidence of trends in comparative figures, though these must be tentatively posed. Rural Beatty, with a much [369] smaller number of households, some ten years later included a somewhat larger proportion of units headed by Klamath partners, with somewhat more Indian and somewhat fewer white, Interethnic couples. This suggests that the rural areas of the reservation have tended to lag somewhat behind the larger towns in either producing or attracting white Interethnic families.[9] In turn, over time the Interethnic component of Chiloquin has proved more transient than that headed by Tribal partners: in a ten year period, almost two-thirds of the former moved away, as against somewhat less than one-third of the latter.[10] Although there was a corresponding replacement by new families moving in, the net result was a drop in the Interethnic population. The direction of their movement had been for the main part into Klamath Falls and other larger cities off the reservation.

It was in just those communities in which ethnic differences were most sharply weighted that Interethnic couples were most commonly found. There were several diverse reasons for this seeming paradox. In Chiloquin, a small but growing number of marriages had come to take place between schoolmates. Some of these involved the offspring of Interethnic farm couples, in which a white man had married a Klamath woman; and these families, with long-standing ties with leading families in Chiloquin, were at once esteemed and still regarded as Klamath. The small seg-

ment of Klamath families that had become directed toward the values of American middle-class society were also acceptable to whites, and intermarriage with their children could be countenanced. Finally, the proclivity of the whites to lump together Klamath and alien Indian proved beneficial to the general image. For the majority of the small group of Indians who were employed at the Agency had white spouses, and if they were sometimes snubbed socially, they nonetheless provided a precedent for new Interethnic unions; while Indian children often proved socially acceptable. These, taken together, constituted a nucleus within which others of their kind might be accepted; and though they were socially somewhat interstitial, they nonetheless were sufficiently numerous to constitute a viable body. 648* 657* 563

To the number of Interethnic unions thus engendered, there were others attracted to Chiloquin from the rural reservation by the amenities of city life. In the end, however, the generalized hostility of the Klamath toward the outsider in such unions, coupled with the social and ethnic gradient maintained by the whites, often led such couples to seek the opportunities of the larger city, where some degree of anonymity at least might be found. [369] •

The circumstance that it was chiefly whites low in social standing who drank with tribal members—and, as it turned out, chiefly with Interethnic members and those with least Klamath ancestry—raises the question whether intermarriage took place as well primarily upon this level. This was largely, but not exclusively true, for several of the numerically few such marriages noted took place between classmates without regard to social equivalence. For those contemplating a step across ethnic distance, social class was a minor issue indeed.

Whites in Chiloquin tended to view the Klamath as culturally and socially the inferior partner in such a union. Having in mind the masculine ideal of husbandly dominance cultivated in American society, some men held that in intermarriage a Klamath husband was likely to abuse his white mate; while a white man would be able to train a tribal wife in conformant behavior. In point of fact, the review of a number of cases of intermarriages of the latter type revealed much the following generalized outline. A Klamath girl and her family had moved to Klamath Falls,

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
4927. Private, indoors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		•+	-	755
4928. Doctor has ... assistants	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		-	-	
4929. "Interpreter" for doctor while doctoring, or in trance	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-	
4930. "Outside speaker" to call doctor's spirit(s)	-	•+	+	•+	+	•-	•+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
4931. Friend or relative of doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4932. Must know esoteric language	-	+	+					+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-	
4933. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	-	-	·	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	•-		-	-	[776]
4934. Assistant calls doctor's spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	•-		-	-	[787]
4935. Spirit takes possession of doctor	•-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	·		-	-	
4936. Doctor diagnoses by singing	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		·	+	[533]
4937. Audience joins in songs	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4938. Doctor diagnoses by dancing	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		·	-	[535]
4939. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	[276]
4940. When trance coming on			-					+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-	
o4941. Blows tobacco smoke over patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	±	-	+		-	-	
4942. Assistant lights doctor's pipe	+	-	+	•-				+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-	
4943. Doctor drinks through bark tube	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	[371]
4944. Has basket cup of water beside him	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-	
4945. Doctor uses feathers or stick	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		·	-	
4946. Bunch of supernatural feathers	-	+	•+	+	•-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		·	-	
4947. Eagle down	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	•-	-	-	-	-	-		·	-	
4948. Eagle wing	-	-	+					-	-	-		-	-		·	-	
4949. Stick	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		·	-	
4950. Doctor uses fire	+	+	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		·	+	[372]
4951. For light only: usually small	+	+	+	•+	•-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		·	•-	
4952. Doctor applies ashes, clay to patient	•+	•+	-	•-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		·	-	
4953. Doctor uses charmstone (pestle)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-		-	-	
4954. Brushes or fans away disease	-	+	+	•+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4955. With feathers	-		+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4956. Sprays liquid from mouth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+		·	•+	
4957. Administers herb medicines	-	-	-					•+	•-	-	•+	•+	-		•+	•+	[278]
4958. Doctor, assistant, or singers use rattle	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+	
4959. Cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	+	•-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	•+	[534]
4960. Walking cane								+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4961. Beat on plank with board			-						+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
4962. Whistle	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		·	-	
4963. Doctor's spirit or "pain" tells location of disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	+	
4964. Tells cause of sickness	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-	
4965. Doctor can see or feel disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4966. Disease object ("pain") sucked out	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	
4967. Directly into doctor's mouth	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4968. Vomited out of mouth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	-	
o4969. Disease object removed with hand	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-			-	-	
4970. Pus ("bad feelings") sucked out	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+	
4971. Women doctors use same technique as men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+		-	-	[562]
4972. Disease object tells doctor who sent it	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-	
4973. Disease object exhibited	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4974. Put in basket cup of water	-	+	+	+		+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-			-	
4975. Invisible to all except shamans	-	-	-						+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
4976. Disease object disappears	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4977. By sleight of hand	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	+	+	+	-		-	-	
4978. Doctor bites it	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-		-	•+	
4979. Doctor swallows it	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4980. Sent back to owner, for revenge, sometimes			+	•-	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	- +	-		-	-	
4981. Buried	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+		-	+	
4982. Blown away			-					+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-	
4983. Burned	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	

on the other. The blade is turned parallel to the canoe at the end of 501
each stroke. The size and shape of the blade are well adapted to his position so low in the water, for the stroke is effective and splashless. At intervals he dips his hands to prevent blistering them on the paddle handle.

A punt pole (lɛkō'ķ) is also used, especially in the shallow marsh. This is eight to ten feet long, with the lower end split and held open by an inserted wooden block. The punt pole is a young lodgepole pine (wä'-kō), stripped of bark, according to Coville.[296]

Sails are not used on canoes.

Anyone may make a canoe. Even a widow may fashion it for herself. One such had seen her father make them many times when she was a girl. Naturally skill varies very much.

Rafts or balsas, formed of large bundles of tules lashed together, were used, according to Barrett,[297] particularly by war parties. These were paddled with the hands.

Alternative methods for winter transportation may be noted here. It is customary to pack on the back through the snow, not to fashion a sled. But something of the sort is used over ice, a bundle of willows, called spi'klŏs.

VARIOUS MANUFACTURES AND TOOLS

Woodworking is undeveloped among the Klamath, whereas it 322
might have been expected that the expertness of the Yurok or the Wishram would have made itself felt here. The only noteworthy uses of wood are for dug-out canoes, rough planks for the earth-lodge roof, and carved figures set up by shamans. The planks are only rough segments of hollow trees; the canoes are without fineness of line and crude in craftsmanship. Northwest Coast social organization [177]
rather than craftsmanship has left its mark on the Klamath and their neighbors.

Fire is more rapid and effective in trimming large masses of wood 313
than the stone and bone tools at their command. Hence it is gen- 372
erally used for felling trees, cutting logs to the desired length, and shaping canoes, but it is customarily used for smaller objects as well, such as pointing a digging-stick. When they wish to fell a tree, a deep notch is cut into it at the base with elk-horn pick and maul. A

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[296] Notes, 89.

[297] Material Culture, 256.

313 fire built in the notch quickly eats into the dry heart wood but will
372 not spread in the green wood. Sometimes a lazy man will attempt
to cut off the dry top of a standing tree by cutting all around with
the horn pick. This is attended with considerable danger, since the
top may drop straight down on the workman perched in the branches.

412 Stone axes and adzes are unknown, although Barrett speaks of
114 adzing the canoe.[298] In their place, every man had several elk-horn
picks (to'kĕ) and hardwood mauls. The picks are the unworked tines
412 of elk antlers, not made wedge shape. These are cut off by laying a
fire at the appropriate spot on the antler. Yew wedges are not
321 known. The maul is only a knotty club of oak or mountain mahogany;
[372] a knot with the limb attached. Barrett describes a conical stone maul,
but I was not told of this.[299]

[114] The fire drill is the familiar stick rotated between the palms on a
wooden hearth, so that the flowing wood dust falls on the tinder. The
372 wood selected for the drill (slī'kwĭs) is preferably the dry tip (ha'bᴇ)
of the bull pine; alternatively a willow or sage-brush branch is used.
[114] It is two feet long, a half inch diameter. Coville was told that "for a twirling stick a dry, dead twig of yellow pine, about 6 mm. (one-fourth inch) in diameter, seasoned and somewhat softened by the weather, is often employed; but the best stick is made of sage-brush, *Artemisia tridentata*."[300] The hearth (k'ts!īk) is of indifferent wood, commonly a paddle blade, but the best wood[301] for the purpose is cedar (wo'lwŭms). The size and shape of the hearth is not standardized, and curiously it lacks pits for the drill to rotate in[302] and notches to carry the wood dust to the tinder. The tinder is black sage-brush bark. Although one of my informants denied the use of the compound drill it was described by another and a specimen is figured by Hough.[303] Such a drill has a willow-root point, three inches long, spliced to a shaft of any sort. While this suggests the possible use of a cane arrow and foreshaft as a makeshift drill, I was told this was not used. Men carry the drill in the quiver, women in the cradle. They coax the drill while twirling it, "I want to kill all kinds of animals, to put them in the fire to cook, when I get flame."[304]

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[298] P. 247.

[299] P. 252.

[300] Notes, 88, 105.

[301] Confirmed by Coville, who states that the bark is not used for this purpose.

[302] Barrett says otherwise (*op. cit.*, 257).

[303] Fire Making Apparatus, 536, 538.

[304] For the method of laying a fire, see below.

A bit of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire about the village but 372
for an overnight journey a woman carries a spark in a long fuse.
This is of black sage-brush bark, twisted into a rope thirty inches
long and bound about at intervals.[305]

Knives are fashioned from stone blades or shells. These river 412
shells (ĕndj!ĕ'tc) are not ground to an edge but used as they are.
Forms ranging in size from arrowheads to large lance blades are 321
chipped from obsidian, flint, and similar stones. So far as I am 324
aware these are never ground into shape. Those intended for knives
are sometimes wrapped around the butt to provide a handle.[306] Stone
knives are intended for butchering rather than woodworking. Blades
never figured in the display of wealth, as among the Yurok. Barrett
figures a bone knife used for separating the inner and outer bark of
pine.[307]

Sewing is done with awl and sinew. The awl (sŏ'ḳtᴇ) is a frag- 412
ment of the fore-leg tibia of a deer. Although the upper end of a
tibia is nicely rounded to fit the hand, and is accordingly used else-
where, the Klamath make no use of it. Instead a splinter sharpened
at each end is inserted in a wooden handle. Old men carry these at
the chest tied on a buckskin thong. The sinew used is that which lies
along a deer's backbone. (Sinew is called ᴇmboi'itc; this particular
sinew ḅi'lhŏp.) Skin garments for either sex are sewn by women. 294
Women also make moccasins whether of skin or tule. 462

The smoking process is used when tanning. The skin is stretched
over a tipi-like frame of little willows set over a hole as deep as one's 281
forearm. The fire is made of rotten wood. Coville states that "the
bark [of the white fir (bä, *Abies concolor* (Gord.) Lindl.)] is some-
times used to dye and tan buckskin, giving it somewhat the appear-
ance of ordinary tan-colored leather."[308]

Neither bags of skin (k!o'wanᴇ) nor parfleches are made by the 415
Klamath. These are brought from the Dalles, I was told, and prob-
ably from Warm Springs, for cĕptŏk, parfleche, is clearly a loan word 439
from Sahaptin (cf. Yakima cĕta'kai).

Mats are of four kinds, each designated by a name. Sewn mats 285
(st!ŏps) are used solely as the outer covering of mat-lodges; when

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[305] Illustrated by Barrett, pl. 22, fig. 1.

[306] Pitch was not used to fasten these. One type of knife, at least, found as far apart as Mexico and the Arctic, and consisting of stone fragments set into the sides of the handle, is unknown here.

[307] Pl. 22, fig. 5; cf. Gatschet, 1:148.

[308] Notes, 88.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

*171

105		*Klamath form*	*Links with:*
[285]	Mats	Extensive use	Oregon?, Northwest Coast to Columbia r., Plateau.
		Mat needle	s. Northwest Coast (and northward?), Washington, Oregon?
[281]	Tanning	Smoke-tan	Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, Wishram, Nez Percé; Basin, Plateau, Plains (and elsewhere?—probably not Northwest Coast).
• [372]	Fire drill	Compound	Puget sound, Takelma, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi, Wind R. Shoshoni, Crow, Navaho, Hopi.
[415]	Spoon	Paddle	California s. to n. Miwok.
[411]	Bow	Sinew-backed	Arctic, Northwest Coast, Plateau, Washington, Oregon, California s. to Tehachapi, Basin, Southwest, w. Plains.
		Flat; constricted grip	n. w. California, Northwest Coast.
	Arrows	Stone heads	(Not the bone heads of Northwest Coast and w. Washington, where stone heads are scarce.)
[714]	Armor	Tunic	Northwest Coast, Plateau, Oregon, n. California, Basin, Southwest (and southward?).
		Slat or rod	Alaska to Maidu (Tlingit, Plateau, Oregon, Washington, n. California).
	Shield	Round	Plateau, Basin, Plains (not California).
[291]	Dress	Fringed skirt	Coast area west of Cascades-Sierras, probably Basin.
		Men: Plains shirt	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.
		Women: Plains dress	Plateau, Basin, Plains.
		Decorated band on robe	Plateau? (Wishram, Nez Percé), Plains.
		Tule slippers	Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Paviotso.
		Three-piece moccasin	Plateau (moccasins are also n. and central California, Basin, Southwest, Plains, and eastward).
		Basket hats	n. California (=Plateau type?; other types, Northwest Coast, Basin, s. California).
[302]	Hairdress	Braids for both sexes	Plateau, Plains.
	Combs	Porcupine tail	Achomawi, Northern Maidu.
[304]	Head deformation	Fronto-occipital	s. Northwest Coast to Alsea, Siuslaw, and Klamath.
	Tattooing	Women: chin lines	w. Arizona, California, Takelma (Oregon in general?). (Not Plateau? and Northwest Coast.)

787 experiences with it. Power may also come involuntarily, when a dreamer hears a spirit song. There is no obligation to accept, but resistance brings illness.

796 756 The midwinter month (December-January) has a curious place in the Klamath calendar. While a shaman must of necessity evoke his spirit to cure or foretell at any time of the year, this is the period when every shaman feels called on to exhibit his powers. The novice shaman also waits for this time to give a public test of his possession, and only after this does he attempt to cure. These seances are solely for displaying power, manifested by the songs and a series of feats. During these performances, those among the audience who have spirits also sing their own songs if the spirit impels. In other words, the midwinter month is the period *par excellence* when spirits regularly resume contact with their communicants.

[535] [372] The essential of the winter seance is a dance by the shaman as close as possible to a huge fire in order to call his spirits to assist him in the feats that follow. These are stereotyped tricks, of which two, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are the test of the novice. Other tricks are of the type of making things appear and disappear.

A few other details should be mentioned here. There is an assistant at this performance, a layman, who repeats the shaman's words. Food brought to the seance is thought first to be eaten by a frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one may touch it. The performance takes place in the shaman's own dwelling.

[789] Weather control, like the display of powers at the midwinter seances, offers an opportunity for shamanistic rivalry. Clairvoyance appears in connection with the war dance preparatory to an expedition, and, curiously, the shaman accompanies the party to continue his clairvoyant function, and, what is still more unique, to serve as surgeon.

753 755 Illness is the result of the intrusion of something foreign, usually a spirit and commonly the spirit of a malignant shaman. A cure consists in extracting a tiny object which is either the disease itself or embodies it. The curing procedure is highly formalized: spirit after spirit is invoked to search the patient, beginning always with the Old Frog Woman, until the culpable spirit is found. The shaman's familiars are thought to stand beside him ready to assist. When he succeeds in sucking out the disease object he swallows it, while blood streams from his mouth.

*171 756 Very little of this is unique with the Klamath, as we may see by comparison with the shamanistic complex of neighboring peoples.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
576. Acorn gathering: men and women	•o	•o	+	+	-	•-	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
577. Men, youths climb trees	o	o	+	+	-	-	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[222]
578. Women gather, transport acorns	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
579. Pine-nut gathering: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
580. Men climb trees, knock down cones	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
581. Men and women gather cones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
582. Women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	
583. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
584. Men and women transport cones	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
585. Women only	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	
586. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
587. Men and women prepare pine nuts	-	.	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
588. Men only	+	.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
589. Women only	-	.	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	
590. Gathering of small seeds: women only	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	
591. Cooking: men and women	+	+	-						+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	
592. Women prepare, cook plant foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
593. Men only, cook meat	-	+	-						-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	-	
594. Women only, cook meat	-	-	+						-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	
595. Men and women cook meat	+	-	-						•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
596. Carrying water near camp: men and women	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[312]
597. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
598. Women only	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	
599. Carrying water long distance: men and women.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
600. Men only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	
601. Women only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
602. Fire making: men and women	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[372]
603. Men only	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
604. Wood gathering: "kindling" wood, men and women	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
605. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	[313]
606. Women only	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	
607. Wood gathering: large logs, men and women	-	-	+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
608. Men only	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
609. Women only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Manufacturing Activities																	
610. Baskets: women only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
611. Skin, feather blankets: men and women make	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[291]
612. Men only or chiefly	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	(-)	+	+	-	+	
613. Women only or chiefly	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	[237]
614. Nets: men only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[284]
615. Cord: men and women make	+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[283]
616. Men, generally	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
617. Skin tanning: men and women	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[281]
618. Men only	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
619. Women only	+	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
620. Clothing: men and women make	-	-	+	•+	-	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	[294]
621. Men only	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	-	-	
622. Women only	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	
623. Moccasins: men and women make	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
624. Men only	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	
625. Women only	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
626. Fish traps: men make	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	[227]
627. Women	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	
628. Winter house: men and women build	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[342]
629. Men only	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
630. Summer house: men and women build	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
631. Men only	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	
632. Women only	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

2: Voegelin E-S (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
767b. Earth covering partial	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	343
768. Earth covering all over	•+	+	-	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768a. Main entrance through roof	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
768b. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768c. Flush	+	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768d. In end of house	+	+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
768e. Secondary entrance at ground level	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769. Sliding wooden door	•-	•-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769a. Stone paved "porch"	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769b. Steam or hot-rock heat	•+	•(+)	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
770. Direct-fire heat	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
770a. Small, for 1-4 persons	•+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
770b. Large, for group	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
770c. Used throughout year	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	+	
771. Used in winter only	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
772. Used by both sexes	+	+	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
773. Used by men only	-	-	-	•+	(+)	-	-	+	•-	•-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
774. Used by mourners only	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
775. Communally owned	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	+	-	-		

Plains-Type Sweat House

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
776. Plains-type sweat house	•+	•+	•+	•+	•R	•R	•+	•(-)	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	•+	-
777. Dome shaped	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
778. Mat covered	+	+	•+	+	R	-	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
778a. Hide covered	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
779. Brush, bough covered	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	(-)	•+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
780. Small, for 1-3 persons	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
781. Steam heat	+	+	+	•+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
782. Used throughout year	-	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)		-	-	-	-	-	+	-
783. Used in summer only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		+	-	-	-	-	-	-

Sweating Customs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
784. Individual sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	+	-	515
785. Sweating in groups of 2-4, or larger	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	
786. Women sometimes sweat with men	+	+	+	•+	•R	•+	•+	-	-	•+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	[562]
787. Women sometimes sweat separately	+	+	+	+	R	+	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
788. Sweating daily or every 2-3 days	+	-	-	•+	+	R	•-	-	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	
789. Sweaters sit or crouch	+	+	•+	+	+	R	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
790. Sweaters lie down	•+	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	
791. Sweaters "dance around"	-	-	•+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
792. Formalized sweat dance	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	[535]
793. Sweaters kneel	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
794. All men sleep in sweat house occasionally	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	[513]
795. Male mourners sleep in sweat house	•+	•+		-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
796. Unmarried old men sleep, eat in sweat house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	•-	-	+	
797. Men gamble in sweat house	-	-	-	•-	-	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	-	•-	•-	
798. Men work (handicrafts) in sweat house	-	-	+	-	-	•+	•+	•-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	•-	•-	
799. Youths gather fuel for sweating	-	-		+		•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	•-	-	•-	
800. Office of fire maker	-	•-	•+	•+	-	-	-	+	•+	•R	-	.	•+	+	•+	•+	[312]
801. Competitive sweat groups	-	-	-	•+	-	•-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	[372]
802. All sweators sing	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	[533]
803. 1 man sings for group	-	-				-	-	•(+)	•+	•+	-	+	•+	-	-	-	
804. Sweat for success in hunting	+	•+	•+	•+	+	-	+	-	•+	•+	-	+	.	-	-	-	[224]
805. Sweat for success in gambling	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	[525]
806. Sweat for general good luck	+	+		+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	[777]
807. Sweat as cure for disease	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	•+	-	-	.	+	+	-	
808. Scarify selves, let blood drip on hot rocks	-	+	+	•+				-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[757]
809. Sweat to cleanse body	-	-	+	+		+	•+	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	[304]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
412 1196. Awl handle wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
Needles																
1197. Eyed needle of bone for mats	–	+	+	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1198. Notched needle of bone	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1199. Wooden mat needle	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1200. Bone awl used to sew buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Shuttles and Spacers																
413 1201. 1-piece wooden net shuttle	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	.	–
1202. Flat stick, ends notched	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	–	–	.	–
1203. Flat stick, ends pointed	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	.	–	–	.	–
1204. 2-piece shuttle of 2 sticks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	.	+
1205. String ball, no stick	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1206. Mesh spacer of wood	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	–	.	+
1207. Flat, squarish	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	.	–
1208. Flat, rectangular	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	.	–
1209. Mesh measured with fingers	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	.	+
Drills, Fire-making Implements																
372 1210. Composite drill, shaft and point	–	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	[illegible]	+	.	–
1211. Stone point	–	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	.	–
1212. Bone or horn point	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	.	–
1213. For shell work, pipe making	–	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	.	–
1214. 1-piece bone or horn drill (awl)	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	.	–	–	.	–
1215. For shell work	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
1216. Bow drill, to drill wooden pipes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	–	–
1217. 1-piece, held with buckskin in fingers	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	.	–	–	–	–
1218. Rotated, 1 hand, other holding object	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	.	–	+	–	–
1219. Rotated, both hands opposed	.	–	.	–	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	.	–	–	–	–
1220. Pipe wood soaked in oil: grub bores through	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–
1221. Small coal used to burn hole, wooden pipe	–	–	.	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	.	.	–	.	+
1222. Hand rotated fire-drill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)
1223. 1-piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1224. Composite	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	.	–
1225. 2 stones struck together, for spark	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	+	–	.	–
1226. Slow match of bark to carry fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1227. Smoldering "torch" to carry fire		+						+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
1228. Live coals carried on stone, wooden slab	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
Wedges, Mauls, Axes																
412 1229. Horn wedge or "pick"	+	.	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	.	+	–	+
1230. Wooden wedge	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	+
1231. Natural cobble as maul	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–
1232. Wooden maul	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
1233. Wooden pounding club	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	.	–	–	+
1234. Grooved stone ax	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
Flakers																
324 1235. Flakers for retouching by pressure	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	.
1236. Of antler	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	[illegible]	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	.
1237. Of deer cannon bone	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	.
1238. Flaker hafted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	.	.
1239. Flakers for retouching by percussion	+	+	.	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	.	+	+	.	.
1240. Of stone	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	.	.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2708. Speaks twice daily, from top of sweat house	−	•+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	624
2710. Moral lectures to children	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
2711. Stops disputes, chief's orders	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2712. Acts as dance manager	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	
2713. Acts as messenger man	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[203]
2714. Talks at ceremonies	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
2715. Clowns and ridicules	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
Clowns																	
2716. Informal clowning, joking, only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	522
2717. Formal clowns	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	•−	•−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	•+	
2718. Office distinct from crier's	−	−	−	−		−	−	+	+	−	−	+	•−	−	−	−	
2719. Hereditary	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
2720. Appointed by chief	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	
2721. Lifelong	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	
2722. Clowns at ceremonies	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	•+	−	−	+	
2723. Wears acorn necklace	−	−	−							−	−	+	+	−	−	+	[465]
2724. Paid	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
2725. Helps dreamer call spirits													+	−	−	−	
Messengers																	
o2726. No. male messengers per village or local group	−	−	(2)	2	−	−	1	•1	•3	2	•6	2	1	2	−	−	203
2727. No. variable for intratribal matters	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	•+	
2728. Individuals serve in temporary capacity only.	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	
2728a. Official messenger for war matters only	−		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2729. Competency and willingness chief criteria for selection of	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2729a. Must be good speaker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	
2730. Appointed by chief	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2731. Hereditary, paternal line	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	
2732. Lifelong tenure	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	
2733. If incompetent, discharged	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2734. Paid if travels a distance	−	+	−		•+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
2735. Paid occasionally; given board	−	+	+				+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	
2736. Carries messages for chief or headman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	
2737. Travels about; gathers news	+	+	+								+	+	+	−	−	−	
2738. Welcomes guests	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	+	+	+	+	+	+		.	−	
2739. Orders hunt for chief	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+		+	−	
2739a. Attends to fire at ceremonies	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2740. Women messengers	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[562]
2741. Carry messages for anyone	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
o2742. Number going together	−	−	−	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2743. Suitability only criterion	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2744. Travel only short distances	−	+	−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2745. Act in temporary capacity only	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Fire Tender																	
†2746. No. per village or local group	•−	−	1	1	−	−	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	624
2747. Lifelong office	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	R+	−	+	+	+	−	+	372
2748. Temporary office only	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	R−	+	−	−	−	+	−	
2749. Hereditary in paternal line	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	(+)	−	+	[611]
2750. Appointed by chief	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	R+	+	−	−	−	+	−	
2751. Chief acts as fire tender	−	−	−									+	−	+	−	−	[522]
2752. Clown acts as fire tender	−	−	−									−	+	−	−	+	
2753. Attends to fire in assembly house	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2754. Keeps assembly house clean	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	R	+	+	+		−	+	
2755. Has 1 assistant	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(R)	+	+	−		+	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
624 2756. Attends to fire for sweating			–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
372 2757. Attends to fire for ceremonies				+	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2758. Builds fire for encamped visitors				+	–	–	–				–	–	+		–	–
Singers																
624 2759. No. male singers per village or local group	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	•2		–	3
533 2760. Variable number	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	(+)	–		+	–
2761. Office lifelong	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		+	+
2762. Hereditary, in paternal line	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+
2763. Any gifted individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+
2764. Appointed by chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		+	+
[562] 2765. Female singers also	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+
2766. Sister, daughter of male singer	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
Dance Manager																
624 2767. Owner of sweat house (headman)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	+	+	+		+	–
535 2768. Hereditary office, paternal line	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		+	+
2769. Schedules dances	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		+	+
2769a. Urges people to dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+		+	+
2769b. Orders wood gathered for dance fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
2769c. Talks at intervals (prays) at dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		+	–
WAR																
Nature and Causes																
Nature of Warfare																
726 2770. Intertribal wars	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•	+	•
721 2771. Intratribal raids and feuds	+	+	+	+	•–	•+	•+	•+	+	–	•+	•+	•+		+	•
Motivation																
721 2772. War for adventure or plunder	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	
2773. War for revenge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2774. Common	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–		–	
2775. Rare	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+		+	
2776. Intertribal murders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2777. Strangers from hostile tribes killed on sight	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2778. Intratribal murders, if uncompensated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+		+	
2779. Rape	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		+	
2780. Stealing women, young girls	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	•
2781. Women, girls bought back, no war	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	
2782. Insult or slight to chief	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	.		.	
2783. To avenge witchcraft against group	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	–	+	+	+	+	.		–	
2784. Intratribally, for poisoning of girl by suitor			+	+		–	–				–	.			–	
2785. Poaching	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–		+	
2786. By alien tribe	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–		–	
2787. By another local group of same tribe	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–		–	
2788. No war; merely run off intruders	+		+	+		–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		+	
2789. Stealing stored food	–	–	–	•–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4756. Bathes to acquire power	+	+	+	−	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	−	+	+		−	−	787
4756a. In lake or stream	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	−	
4757. Complete immersion	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	−	[515]
4758. Washes hands in spring	+	−	−					+		+	−	−	−		−	−	
4759. Bathes each day	+	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	+	(−)	.		−	−	
o4759a. Bathes after ... days	−	−	−	−		·2	·2	5	5	·2	−	.	.		−	−	
4760. Rebuilds stone altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	
4761. Breaks branches, piles up wood	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4762. Builds fire	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4763. Smokes self over fire	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		+	−	+	+		−	−	[372]
4764. Catches glowworms	·+	−	·+					−	.	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4765. Sleeps on mountain at night	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	(+)	−	−		−	−	
4766. Prays for vision	−	−	−					+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
4766a. Scarification and bleeding	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	[304]
4767. Ants allowed to bite wounds	−	−	+	·+	−	−	·−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
'4768. To obtain "luck" only	−	−	(−)	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4769. Power comes by dreaming	−	·+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4769a. Power comes in trance or faint	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4770. Nose or mouth bleeds	+	·+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	−	
4771. Instruction by shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
4772. Guardian spirit communicates with seeker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4773. Spirit seen	−	−	.	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4773a. Spirit heard	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4774. Spirit felt	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	
4775. Gives song	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4776. Gives paint		+	−	−	−	−		(+)	−	−	+	+	+		−	−	
4777. Gives dance		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
4778. Instructs as to paraphernalia, methods.	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	
'4779. Doctor dance main or only form vision seeking for youths, girls		−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	·+	·+	−	−	−		−	−	
4780. Successful seeker observes taboos on return	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
†4781. Is sick for ... days	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	·1	·1	·2	1	+	+		−	−	
†4782. Continent			−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	[834]
4782a. For ... years			−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	1		−	−	
4783. Swims	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4784. Sweats and swims	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
†4785. Stays outside house ... days.	1	1	−	−	2	1	·2	5	0	·2	−	−	−		−	−	
†4786. Confined ... days in sweat house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(5)	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4787. Uses head scratcher	−	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4788. Eats sparingly or according to spirit's instructions.	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	[262]
4788a. Meat taboo	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4789. Fish taboo	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−					−	−	
4790. Salt taboo	−		−					+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4790a. Drinks water with acorn meal in it.	−	−	−						+	(+)					−	−	[371]
4791. Smokes tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−		−	−	
4792. Gives first kill to old man			+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	[276]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4927. Private, indoors	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		•+	–	755
4928. Doctor has ... assistants	1	2	1	2	•2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		–	–	
4929. "Interpreter" for doctor while doctoring, or in trance	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4930. "Outside speaker" to call doctor's spirit(s)	–	•+	+	•+	+	•–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4931. Friend or relative of doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4932. Must know esoteric language	–	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	[776]
4933. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	•–		–	.	
4934. Assistant calls doctor's spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•–		–	–	[787]
4935. Spirit takes possession of doctor	•–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.		–	–	
4936. Doctor diagnoses by singing	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		.	+	[533]
4937. Audience joins in songs	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	+	[535]
4938. Doctor diagnoses by dancing	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		..	–	
4939. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	[276]
4940. When trance coming on			–					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
o4941. Blows tobacco smoke over patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	±	–	+		–	–	
4942. Assistant lights doctor's pipe	+	–	+	•–				+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
4943. Doctor drinks through bark tube	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[371]
4944. Has basket cup of water beside him	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4945. Doctor uses feathers or stick	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		.	–	
4946. Bunch of supernatural feathers	–	+	•+	+	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		.	–	
4947. Eagle down	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	–		.	–	
4948. Eagle wing	–	–	+					–	–	–		–	–		.	–	
4949. Stick	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		.	–	
4950. Doctor uses fire	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		.	+	[372]
4951. For light only: usually small	+	+	+	•+	•–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		.	•–	
4952. Doctor applies ashes, clay to patient	•+	•+	–	•–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		.	–	
4953. Doctor uses charmstone (pestle)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4954. Brushes or fans away disease	–	+	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4955. With feathers	–		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4956. Sprays liquid from mouth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		.	•+	
4957. Administers herb medicines	–	–	–					•+	•–	–	•+	•+	–		•+	•+	[278]
4958. Doctor, assistant, or singers use rattle	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+	
4959. Cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	+	•–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	•+	[534]
4960. Walking cane								+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4961. Beat on plank with board			–						+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4962. Whistle	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		.	–	
4963. Doctor's spirit or "pain" tells location of disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+	
4964. Tells cause of sickness	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4965. Doctor can see or feel disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4966. Disease object ("pain") sucked out	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	
4967. Directly into doctor's mouth	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4968. Vomited out of mouth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–	
o4969. Disease object removed with hand	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	±	–	–			–	–	
4970. Pus ("bad feelings") sucked out	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+	
4971. Women doctors use same technique as men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	–	[562]
4972. Disease object tells doctor who sent it	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4973. Disease object exhibited	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4974. Put in basket cup of water	–	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–			–	
4975. Invisible to all except shamans	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4976. Disease object disappears	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4977. By sleight of hand	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4978. Doctor bites it	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	•+	
4979. Doctor swallows it	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4980. Sent back to owner, for revenge, sometimes			+	•–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4981. Buried	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+		–	+	
4982. Blown away			–					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
4983. Burned	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

BY ALL INFORMANTS

251 Storage of food.--Outdoor granaries on ground; on bedrock or multistone foundations; on platform.

Ownership of Productive Areas

423 Owner liable for injury of renter. Pens on communal weir privately owned. Seed tracts claimed for single season only. Private boundaries marked. "Tribal" boundaries marked.

Division of Labor

462 Formalized myth accounting for division of labor (cf. Voegelin, Tübatulabal). AW state division of labor according to "Coyote's law," but lack any detailed myth.

HOUSES AND SHELTER

Assembly and Living Houses

342 Entrances; uses and ownership; furnishings.--
Entrance round, carved in plank. Partitions between families. House names. Windbreak before
house. Flat plank for foot drum. Leader of
hunters nominal owner. All men regularly sleep
in sweat house. Fireplace and heating.--Fuel-
372 gathering ritual; fuel from top of tree; pair of
limbs left on top.

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

501 Boats and ferriage.--Dugout canoe, ends peaked;
carved-in "heart"; detachable prow ornament.
Launching ceremony. Sails. Single-bladed paddle
with crutch handle; compound paddle; blade end of
505 paddle concave. Ferriage by person in basket
pulling across on rope (At: ascribe this to N
Yana of Round Mountain).

Land Transport

482 Carrying devices.--Hammock-type carrying net.
Painted decoration on folded hide bag. Cord and
stick Mohave-type back frame. Snowshoe-type
492 carrying frame. Coolie yoke. Dog packing.

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

411 Bows and arrows.--Horn bow (AW: mentioned in myth, made by Butterfly). Laurel-leaf arrowheads. Arrows with 2 or more points. Arrow shaft of solid wood, split from log. Arrows with

000 1177. At, AW, AE: Basket cap used for dipping up water, also to drink from. AW: "Sometimes put something pretty fine to eat in small basket cup."

1178. AW: Knife roughly triangular, with broad lower end (handle end) rounded; 1 side of knife dull, for half sawing, breaking bones; other side has rough, sharp edge. "Weak" (non-poisonous) piece of obsidian used for knife (see note 1019).

1180. NS: Prismatic quartz (? "crystal") used for knife. Obtained from ledges in vicinity. Not used for arrowheads, which are made of "pink" obsidian, imported.

1183. SW, WT, WM, WS: Not hafted if used to cut meat. WM, WS: Hafted knives used in war only (see element 1073).

Manufacturing Implements

Awls; shuttles; drills; wedges; flakers.--

1193. WS: Bear ulna.

1202. WT: Twine rolled on flat stick, notched at 2 ends; loops for net wrapped around piece of plain round stick. Informant had never seen netting shuttle of type figured in Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 4a, p. 126.

1203. WM, WS: Pointed stick, but no slit through center, as shown in Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 4a, p. 126; informants had never seen this type shuttle.

1210. NF: Pump drill (recent ?) for drilling beads, pipes.

1220. See Dixon, Shasta, p. 395; reaffirmed by my SW informant. WT, WM, WS: Informants had never heard of this procedure but method used by some Wintu groups (see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 128). For wooden pipes WT, WM, WS use ash, poking out soft heart with stick.

1222. AW: Drill of black oak. Drill selected from several pieces of black oak (much as arrow-maker selects pieces of obsidian; see note 1019); piece chosen that "will make fire quickly." Hearth of red fir bark. MV: Denied drill; described fire making as follows: Good-sized dry elder stalk split, pith removed; this hollow section held in 1 hand and rubbed back and forth with end of other half of split stalk, until fire produced. Informant had seen her cousin produce fire thus. NF informant also referred to similar method of fire making.

1224. Mo: Serviceberry shaft, cedar point.

1225. SE: Also stated softened chaparral bark rubbed between both hands until "spark" produced.

[372] 1226. Kl: Sagebrush.

[924] 1227. WM: Set end of oak stick afire, and carry it in pack basket. NF: Used when going on long trip. NS: For short distances only.

[412] 1229. Kl: Elkhorn pick. MM: Deerhorn wedge.

[237] 1234. Mo: Imported. "Important people bought such things." SW: Imported, in recent times only.

[193-A]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

of the juniper (pl. 16, fig. 1). More or less globose or flatly cylindrical rigid baskets are used for general storage purposes. A seed-beater used in harvesting the seeds of grasses and flowering plants, and a fish trap of special form (pl. 19, fig. 1) are also made of rigid willow stems. Dilapidated willow burden baskets are used in warding off the effects of thunder. Such a basket is placed on top of a high pole set near a dwelling in order that no bad effects may come from the rumbling thunder overhead.

M
K
285

M
K
[821]

FIRE-MAKING.

The fire-making apparatus used by the people of this region is the usual drill, the upright twirler being made of an ordinary stick with a piece of very dry willow root bound at its end instead of a single piece of wood as in most regions. This piece of willow root twirled in a base block of cedar soon creates sufficient heat to generate the fire. The twirler must always be carried so as to keep it very dry, but the cedar base block needs no special care. In fact the canoe paddle, which is always made of cedar, may be used as a base block. A cup for fire-making is cut at a point either near the end of the handle or near the junction of the blade and handle and just above the line where the paddle is dipped into the water. The paddler, therefore, always has the base block to his fire drill with him. Connected with fire is the torch made of tightly bound dry sage-brush bark (pl. 22, fig. 1), which is employed whenever a portable light is needed.

M
K
372

MISCELLANEOUS.

The people of this region, particularly the older people, are noticeable for the deformation of their heads. The head is flattened usually from directly above the eyebrows, for some distance back, in some cases even to the very top of the head. The back of the head also is flattened and in extreme cases the front and back flattening meet to form a sharp peak at the top of the head. This flattening was done while the child was in the cradle. For a short time after birth the infant was lashed into a soft tule cradle. After some days the child was placed in a cradle such as that shown in pl. 14, fig. 3, made of more rigid materials. In order to keep the head from bobbing about as the mother

M
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304

M
K
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854

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10 ●
Modoc NS17

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 22.

K
M
227
276
284
● 372
412

Fig. 1.—Torch of sagebrush bark. Museum number 1-12815. Length 71 cm.

Fig. 2.—Comb made of the tail of a porcupine. Museum number 1-12678. Length 21 cm.

Fig. 3.—Fishhook and line. The hook consists of a straight piece of bone pointed at both ends. Museum number 1-12755. Length of hook 8 cm.

Fig. 4.—Pair of bone harpoon points, partly covered with pitch, for spearing fish. Museum number 1-12768. Length of points 8 and 10 cm.

Fig. 5.—Bone knife for separating inner and outer bark of pine. Museum number 1-12682. Length 28 cm.

Fig. 6.—Pair of double-pointed bone fishhooks. Museum number 1-12763. Length of shank 12 cm.

Fig. 7.—Bone mesh-measure for making nets. Museum number 1-12680. Length 13 cm.

Fig. 8.—Obtuse-angled pipe bowl of stone. Museum number 1-12382. Height 9 cm.

Fig. 9.—Stone pipe bowl. Museum number 1-12580. Height 4 cm.

Fig. 10.—Pipe with discoidal bowl of stone and short wooden stem. Museum number 1-14137. Height 11 cm.

Fig. 11.—Shuttle with string for making nets. Museum number 1-12871. Length 70 cm.

5: **Barrett** E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

● M
K
392
←
412
→

M
K
227
M
K
412
284
→

M
K
227
←
276
→

M
K
276

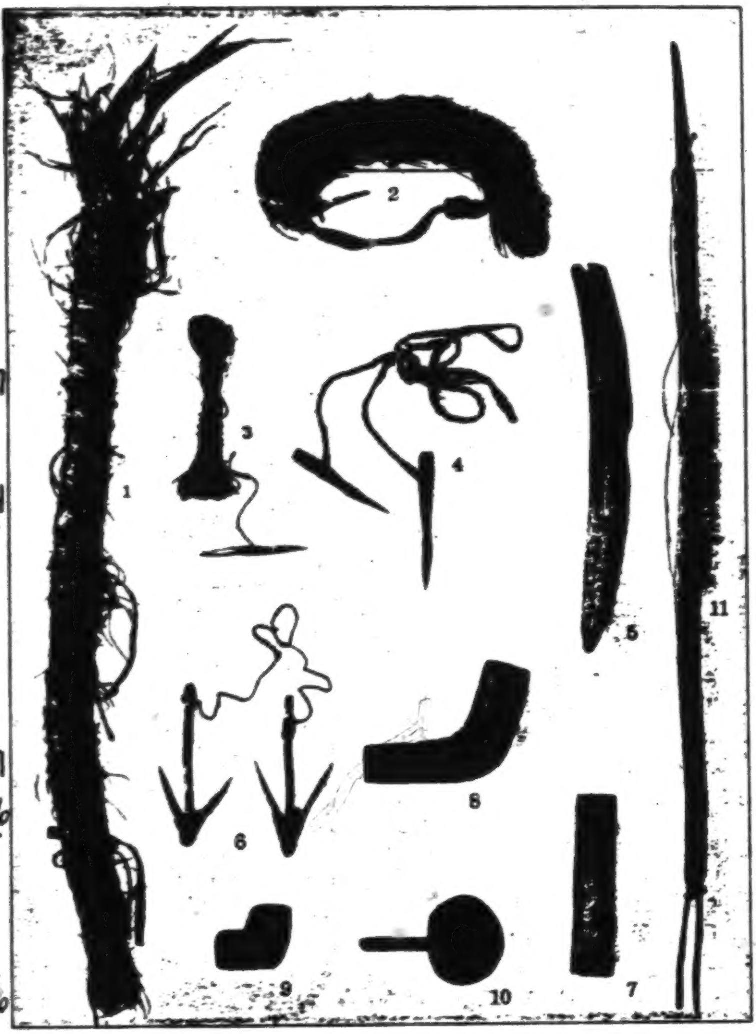

TORCH, COMB, FISHHOOKS, HARPOON POINTS, BONE KNIFE, MESH-MEASURER, PIPES, AND NETTING SHUTTLE.

[p. 287]

VARIOUS ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTICES.

I.

* 539 619 161 É-ukshikni vunépni laláki gítko. Tiná hundred ndankshaptánkni
The Lake people four chiefs have. Once hundred (and) eight times
té-unip hihashuátchχash pé-ulatko É-ushtat, túnepni tá-unep máklaks
ten men (are) at the Lake, five times ten persons
É-ukshikni Yaínakshi. Tiná hundred pēn láp pé-ula látchash. Tumántka
of the Lake people at Yámsha. Once hundred and two (are) lodges. By the crowd
shute-uápka lakí.
will be elected a chief.

302 É-ukshikni hushmō'kla hushmoklō'tkishtka; kinkán' smō'k gí'tk,
The Lake men remove the beard with hair-pincers; spare beard they have,
atínsh lák gí'tko. Shiáshgatko lák; snawédshash kaflish pan lák gitk. Hä
long hair having. Is cut (their) hair; a woman belt down to hair wears. If
snáwedshash hishuátchχash mbû'shni, hûnk ktû'tchka; hishuákshash wátch
a female with a man consorts, they crop (her) hair; the man for horses
sχókta: tû'm wátch wuχó-we.
they fine: many horses he has to give up.

372 Shû'dsha lóloks slikuíshtka; tsússak m'nálamtana látchash shû'dsha.
They kindle the fire by fire drill; constantly close to their lodges they have a fire.
Lakí kshiulakgishχéni géna nanukä'nash ndéna: "tíds ul wéwal-
A chief to the dance-house goes (and) to all cries out: "straight stand
χat! tchä'lχet nánuk! wawálχat! shúinat! híshuaksh pil shúinat! Nû
up! sit down ye all! stand up! sing! the men only must sing! Myself
533 tchúinuapk! î tchuī'n! túla shuín! Tiä'mantk shuī'sh. Átĕnish ewá
I will sing! you sing! with (me) sing! (I am) hungry for songs. Now I have enough
shuī'sh; átĕni kēléwi shuī'sh."—"Slámuapk î nánuk! shuáktchuapk î nánuk!
of songs; now I quit singing." "Stop singing ye all! cry and weep ye every one!
Ká-i î shlámuapk, shuínuapk î nánuk. Nánuk tíds wawálχat! shlä-uápkat
Not ye cease to sing, but sing all of ye. All straight stand up! (and) look at
k'lekápksh!"
the corpse!"

II.

000 Ká-iu Bóshtinash gátpish, Mō'dokni mbá-ush shulō'tantko, pupuit-
Before the Americans arrived, the Modocs in buckskins (were) dressed, with
lantchámpkash ka-ilalápsh-kitko, vúnăm mbá-ush tchutchi-esháltko.
fringes on in leggings dressed, (of) elk's skin dressed in caps.
Shelóluka shtétmashtka ngē'shtka shenótanka; tchiktchikáshtka sna-
(When) fighting with poisoned arrows they fought; for hatchets a wo-
wédshash shkéa. Hä' tchilloyága lō'k shiúka ámka táslatch, át hûk
man they bought. If a young man a grizzly killed or a cougar, then
sheshalólesh kēléχa.
a warrior he became.

NOTES.

*539
773
192
372
484 Portions of the same myth, though differently connected, will be found in the mythic tale: K'múkamtch attempts the destruction of his son Aíshish. Both narratives are complementary to each other in some important details.

99, 3. shnéna. It is the custom of gamblers to build fires at every place where they stop on their road or trail. Any party of travelling Indians will do so when stopping on their way. Cf. 23, 15.

99, 3. Yámnashptchi. Several adjectives designating colors are taken from articles of dress in both dialects: toluluptchi, green; tchχé-utchχe-ushptchi, a shade of blue; and spálptchi, light-yellow, is called after a face-paint made of a kind of clay.

825 99, 3. Wunákalam lū'loks. The fire of Young Silver Fox was yellow or yellowish, not only because the fur of this fox-species turns from silvery white into yellowish by the change of seasons, but also, because this animal represents in mythic stories the halo around the sun. Cf. shakutchálish in Dictionary. Wanáka always figures as the companion of the principal national deity, K'múkamtch.

99, 7. wátchpka: to stake everything in one's possession and then lose it all; wi-uka, to win all the stakes lost by the others.

99, 10. 100, 5. Stókua or Stúkuaga was, according to another of my informants, a fish of this name, and not a squirrel. The other wives of Aíshish all have names of birds.

100, 3. luélks: K'múkamtch had inherited a locality where his father was in the habit of hunting and killing the giant-eagle (p'laiwash). Thinking of this place, K'mukámtch went there with his son Aíshish, after scheming a stratagem to let him perish there. To kill the eagles, it was necessary to climb a pine-tree; this K'múkamtch was afraid of doing, and wanted to send up there his son instead.

100, 9. shnúlas toks etc. The lark had her young in the nest of an eagle.

100, 10. sûlû'tantsa. He dressed himself in Aíshish's garments, as appears from the foregoing mythic tale.

100, 15. sas. Dave Hill often uses shash, sas in an almost reciprocal sense: while (or: for) going to gamble among themselves. This pronoun does not depend here on shnéna, as we might assume. Cf. *Note* to 58, 10. It refers to the playmates of Aíshish, who set out with K'múkamtch, whom they thought to be their beloved Aíshish on account of the dress he had abstracted from him. In 100, 14 shash was explained to me by "from them", viz. from the wives of Aíshish, in whose lodge K'múkamtch had passed the night.

100, 18. gă'pkat for gépka at: did not come now, or: has not come yet.

101, 2. gă'tak. This adverb gives to understand, that they were loth or too tired to play any longer for stakes, because their beloved Aíshish was not present. "To cease or stop gambling" simply, would be expressed by saklóla.

101, 4. shti'a etc. Cf. *Notes* to 89, 5; 93, 6; and general *Note*, on page 88.

193 101, 4. shí'dsho wenépi, rather unusual forms for shí'dsha hû vuunépni. Hû, "up, above, on head," has coalesced with shí'dsha into one word.

101, 5. Kliti'sam. Aíshish heard the cries of Klétish only, because of all the birds which are believed to be his wives, the long-necked sandhill crane is the loudest and noisiest.

825 101, 8. gatpampēlīsa for gatpámpēli sha, as tchíssa for tchí sa.

000 used occasionally in summer also, on mountain near spring.

59. NF: Slender straight pieces of willow stuck in ground in circle; 3-4 openings left in circle; willow roof over top. Acorn meal scattered on ground inside trap; birds unable to find way out; removed by person watching trap.

62. NS: Used in winter.

65. Long slender acorns from live oaks used.

68. At: For bear; acorn bait.

69. AW, WT, WM, MM, MF, NF, NS: Single stone deadfall used for catching mice. MM, MF, NF, NS: Used for catching rats; WM, WS: not used for rats. MM, MF: Used for ground squirrels; WM, WS, NF, NS: not used for ground squirrels.

[224] 71. Kl: Pitfall (benö) used for deer; Spier says Kl did not use (Klamath, p. 158); 2 informants questioned, both denied pitfall a recent innovation. SW: Hole wider at bottom than at top; used for small animals only. AW: Dig pits with digging stick; if find ground to be too hard, leave pit unfinished.

76. AE: For coyotes.

Booths and blinds.--

80. SW: Hunters hide behind bushes in open country, where antelope found.

87a. WM: See note 40.

89. Mo: Tules matted over prow and sides of boat; hunter inside.

[224] [417] 92. Kl: Pumice stone enclosures (wa'akkIs) 6 ft. in diameter, no roof; built by single hunter.

94. SW: No pit, but bonfires built at deer licks, and deer shot as they come to fire. Also hunter conceals self at deer licks, on moonlight nights, to shoot deer.

Disguises, decoys.--

[224] [194] 95. Deer head generally, but among some groups antelope heads also. Kl: Spier (Klamath, p. 158) says Kl did not use disguise, but my informant described it, said used by Kl of Klamath Marsh. NF: Hunter wears yellowhammer-band headdress to attract deer's attention.

96. AW: Prong horn head used only; none of neck skin left attached.

98. SE: Mink hides fastened over deerskin in summer, when deer shedding, to make disguise look more natural (Jake Smith, informant).

101. AW: Tules used for disguise; for ducks only, when driving them toward net (see note 10, also element 42).

[223] [373] 106. Kl: Jack light. Put fire at 1 end of canoe; tule mats around fire. As canoe floats down-river ducks fly down to light; shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes ducks so thick they put out the fire. Done at night, in freezing weather. At: Fire set on 1 end of canoe, for ducks; flares not used but attributed by informant to Madesi Achomawi. AW: Small fire carried in 1 end of canoe, at night, over which boatmen warm hands only. "People at Big Bend (Madesi

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Stone																	
1437. Stone vessels	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	415
1438. Shallow	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
1439. Manufactured	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
1440. Natural rock, found	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1441. "Fry-pan" type	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1442. Set near fire	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1443. Deep bowls	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	
1444. Used as water container	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
1445. Water heated by soapstone ring	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
1446. Set directly on fire	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1447. Flat bottomed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
1448. Round bottomed	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1449. Fire to harden	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
1450. Grease to harden	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Leather Goods																	
Skin Tanning																	
1451. Green hide soaked	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	•.	.	281
1452. Staked out in water	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	.	.	.	
1453. Ashes to aid in dehairing	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	•−	+	.	.	
1454. Dehaired on pole set at 45° angle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1455. Bone dehairing tool	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	•+	+	+	(+)	+	.	.	
1456. Wooden dehairing tool	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	
1457. Stone dehairing, fleshing tool	−	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	.	.	
1458. Tanning agent rubbed on, soaked in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	
1459. Brain solution	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	
1460. Wild-bird egg yolks	−	+	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1461. Acorn soup													−	+		−	
1462. Spinal cord	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	.	
1463. Wet hide twisted around upright post, or tree	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1464. Short stick lever to wring out water.	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1465. Hide grained	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1466. With hands	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1467. With unworked cannon bone	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−	.	.	
1468. With wooden implement	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	.	
1469. On loose pole	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	.	
1470. On blunt post	−	−	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	.	.	
1471. On vertical frame, hide tied at 4 corners	−	−	−					+	+	+	−	.	−	.	.	.	
1472. Bear hide only			−					(−)	+	+	−	.	−	.	.	.	
1473. Pulled back and forth over foot	−	−	+			+	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	.	
1474. Skins smoked, always	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1475. Skins smoked, occasionally	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	.	−	−	.	(+)	
Preparation of Tanning Agent																	
1476. Deer brains dried on vegetable-fiber "patty".	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	.	.	+	.	+	[237]
Adhesives																	
Glue																	
1477. Fish skin	+	+	.	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	.	.	.	−	−	381
1478. Fish internal organs	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	•+	.	.	.	−	−	237

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
38| 1479. Plant bulb															•+	–
824 1480. Mountain balm and milkweed																+
1481. Pine pitch	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	.	.	.	•+
1482. Chokecherry tree pitch	+	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	.	•+	–	.	.	.	.	–

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

Haircut

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
302 1483. Long, past shoulders	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1484. Bobbed or shoulder length	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
1485. Men	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1486. Women	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
[765] 1487. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1488. After death of relative only	–	+	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1489. Close crop	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1490. Men	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1491. Women	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1492. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
1493. Boys	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[765] 1494. Infants			+	+	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
1495. After death of relative only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1496. Bangs on forehead	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
1497. Temple locks, forelock	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1498. Scalp lock	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1499. Hair cut with knife	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1500. Hair singed	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+

Coiffure

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1501. Hair bangs loose	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1502. Men	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
1503. Women	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
1504. Boys	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1505. Girls	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
1506. Hair rolled or bunched on head	–	–	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	–	–	•+
1507. Men	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
1508. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1509. Hair combed up, 1 tie on top of head, ends up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1510. 1 tie around hair, nape of neck	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
1511. Men	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	.	+	+
1512. Women	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–
1513. Boys	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+
1514. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1515. Hair parted in middle	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	–	–	•+	–
1516. Part painted red	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
[756] 1517. Commonly	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1518. Doctors only	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1519. Hair braided, three strand	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
1520. 2 braids in front of shoulders, men	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
1521. 2 braids in front of shoulders, women	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
1522. 1 braid down back, men	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1523. 1 braid down back; women, girls	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1524. 2 full-length rolls in front of shoulders	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1525. Men	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1526. Women	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1527. Young women	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1528. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

854 cradle. Y-frame, U-frame, hooked-ladder frame
lying-type cradle. Horizontal (double) warp on
basketry lying cradle. Wicker weave in cradle
hood. Loose basket over head of sleeping child.
Buckskin covering on cradle partial. Sex of
child indicated by bed design. Woven skin blan-
285 kets; mats.--Checker. Weft of buckskin thongs.
Perforated stick to twist fur strips. Suspended
warp. Thumb guard of bone for shredding mat ma-
283 terial. Cordage.--Stick for twisting (1 ply at
a time). Spindle whorl.

Receptacles Other Than Baskets

415 Wood, etc.; chests, boxes; pottery.--Wooden
bowl. Wooden chest. Wooden box of bent and
sewed boards. Pottery vessels.

Leather Goods; Adhesives

281 Skin tanning; glue.--Fleshing or dehairing:
hide staked out with several stakes; with single
stake, other end held; with 1 end tied to tree,
other end held. Fleshed on plank. Fleshing or
dehairing tool: blunt posts; horn; shell. Tan-
ning agent: liver; wood ashes. Graining: with
381 horn. Glue from horns or hoofs; from milkweed
gum.

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

302 Coiffure; comb; care of hair.--One tie around
head, forehead level. Wooden hairpins. Bone
head scratcher as comb. Hair dyed with eel blood.
White clay on head or to wash head. Mud plaster
against lice. Hair dye in mud plaster. Hair
greased with acorn oil. Nettle roots to wash
302 head. Paint; deformations and mutilations.--
304 Face, body paints according to totem. Paint ap-
plied with brush. Mud or pitch on body for
warmth. Nasal alae pierced; lip pierced. Tattoo-
ing with bone awl. Depilation of pubic hair.
Tweezers of split cane, wood, shell. Depilation:
pitch on fingers; bone knife opposed to finger-
nail. Beard burnt off if long. Ear, nose orna-
301 ments, necklaces, etc.--Wooden ear stick, feath-
ers on end. Bone ear tube, incised. Cane or
cane pipe in ear. Cane nose ornament. Sea-lion
teeth necklace.

Dress

291 Headgear; robes; loin covering; muff.--Basket
cap, for fishing with large dip net only. Feath-
ers on net foundation for robe. Inner bark mat
robe. Buffalo-fur robe. Breechclout of woven
bird skins; of woven rabbitskins; of grass stems;
of inner bark. Single small front apron, of
fringed buckskin; with braids on cord. Double
apron of woven rabbitskins. Bird-skin muff.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-19[illegible]0
(ca. 1860-[illegible]R10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

NP

two lie in the same vertical plane.[380] The split willow strands are flat and are so placed as to break joints, leaving uncovered sections of the foundation rods exposed between the coil stitches. 285

K

In former days hats were the only baskets decorated by the introduction of designs. Today the majority of baskets are twined bowls, intended largely for sale to the whites, to which these decorations have been transferred. Or, one might legitimately say that the modern bowls are degenerate examples of the old hats, since the techniques are practically identical. 531 178

K

As to the materials used in decoration, Barrett observes that the "designs are usually worked out in the reddish brown roots of the tule, though the outer leaf skin of a certain jointed rush [*Phragmites?*] which provides a shiny, creamy white material is also used. For the finer baskets the quills of the porcupine, dyed yellow by means of a yellow moss, probably the widely used *Evernia vulpina*, are used,"[381] or more rarely, tule leaf, aged to yellow, according to Merrill. The latter also notes that rarely tule and porcupine quills are dyed a bright pink with the root of an unknown plant.[382] Alder bark (wip'-läm, *Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt.) furnishes an orange dye, according to Coville,[383] which may have been used for basket materials. The bark is peeled from the tree in spring or scraped at other seasons, and boiled in water. Coville also states that tule strands are dyed black, and called mŏk'-wäs. "Ordinarily this is accomplished by immersing the tule stems in the black mud of sluggish springs containing iron. A superior color, however, is obtained by the addition of a quantity of wokas hulls, which contain a large amount of tannin. The same result is now frequently secured by these Indians by prolonged soaking of the tule stems in an iron kettle, in water containing a liberal amount of the hulls."[384] 285 531 386

K

A number of designs placed on bowls and hats were recorded (fig. 17).[385] These bear names, and according to my information, the habit of naming them antedates the whites. Decoration is generically 531 [178]

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[380] My notes not being altogether clear on this point, they have been corrected by Miss Isabel Kelly.

[381] *Op. cit.*, 234. Coville (Notes, 88) confirms this identification (native name, shwä'-wi-säm) and adds that the quills are obtained from the Modoc, but I see no reason why they should not obtain their own.

[382] P. 221.

[383] Notes, 94.

[384] Wokas, 737; Notes, 92.

[385] These are arranged so that the rim of the basket must be understood to be above the design, that is, in the order of their manufacture. My notes are uncertain whether figure 17i is correctly placed.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1529. 2 half-length clubs, front of shoulders or at sides of head	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	302
1530. Men	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1531. Women	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1532. Boys	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1533. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1534. 1 full-length roll down back	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1535. Men	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1536. Women	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1537. Girls	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1538. 1 half-length club down back, men	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1539. Hair tied above both shoulders; hangs down unrolled, men	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
1540. Ribbons of fur or buckskin	+	*+	+	*+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1541. Buckskin strip with woodpecker scalp.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	301
1542. Strung shells	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1543. Shell pendants on end	–	–	.	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1544. Hairpins of bone	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1545. Flowers in hair	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	

Comb or Brush

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1546. Soaproot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	302.
1547. Twig bundle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1548. Roots, bound together for flat brush	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1549. Porcupine tail	*(-)	+	+	+	+	+	*+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1550. Fishbone	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1551. Pine cone	–	–	+	+	+	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
1552. Pine needles	–	–	–						+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
1553. Single stick as comb	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	
1554. Hands to smooth hair	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

Care of Hair

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1555. Hair dyed	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	*R	–	–	*R	
1556. 2 persons delouse each other's heads	+		.			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	.	[515]
1557. Hair greased	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
1558. Marrow or fat	+	+	+	*–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
1559. Otter oil	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1560. Burned pepperwood gourds	o	o	o	*+	–	–	–	o	–	o	o	o	–	–	o	–	
1561. Vegetable, mineral shampoo	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	+	
1562. Soaproot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	+	
1563. Manroot	–	–						+		–	–	–	–	–		–	
1564. Wild carrot (?) root	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1565. Seed decoction	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1566. Alkali dust	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1567. Hair "whipped" with stick to dry	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1568. Hair perfumed	–	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	
1569. Aromatic plant	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	
1570. Silver pine nuts, boys, girls								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	
1571. Beaver musk	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1572. Hunters only			–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Face and Body Paints and Powders

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1573. Red paint	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	302
1574. Fungus	–	–	*+	–	+	+	–	–	–	*+	*+	–	–	+	–	–	386
1575. Pine flowerets	–							*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1576. Juice from plants	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	*+	–	*+	
1577. Alder sap	–	–	+								–	–	–	–	–	–	

2. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

302 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] patch

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] patch [illegible]

[illegible] patch [illegible]

[illegible] patch

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[illegible]

*539
262
824
192
[193]

149, 6. tû'ksh is probably the adessive case of tóke (ŏ) fire-place, hearth: tók-kshi.

149, 12. Tchuá is the long, cylindric root of the Sagittaria sagittifolia, an aquatic plant common in the West and East of the United States. In Oregon the term *potato* or wápatu (Chinook jargon) is most commonly heard for it. The name of Chewaukan Marsh, a sink and low ground situated east of Upper Klamath Lake, is a corruption of Tchuaχē'ni: "where the arrow-leaf is found." The flower of the wápatu varies between red, reddish and whitish.

149, 17. Tsuni'ka. The flower has a diameter from two to three inches.

149, 21. Kû'lχamsh is put on strings by the women and thus serves to attract the fish.

149, 21. ptchi'nk: after this word ought to be seen the picture of a tiny vegetal cylinder, about one inch long and slightly curved.

● [386] 150, 1. Skáwanks or wild parsnip, a poisonous plant growing in wet places to the height of three feet.

150, 8. p'nā'sh, contracted from p'nálash, is the direct object (reflective) of shkukluápkasht: to guard themselves against becoming chapped by sun-burns. The wákinsh seems to be a kind of resin and furnishes a red paint, as does also the k'lépki.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSHAM SHUÍ'SH SHUINŌ'TKISH TCHÍSH.

*539
533
755

INCANTATION SONGS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

1. *Introductory song:*

Yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní *etc.* ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́

I sing, I sing, I sing (in chorus).

2. *Song, reference unknown:*

Wiwiwá! ní sháwalsh wítnank! ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑

Blown off! the plume-crest has disappeared from me!

3. *Song of the wind:*

Kanítala m'sh û shlewitaknû'la? ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
népaksh a-i ní'sh shlewitaknû'la. ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

Who, I wonder, is blowing out of my mouth?
The disease is emanating from my mouth.

4. *The conjurer's song:*

Tuá kí nû shatashtaknû'la? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑
nä'paks nû shatashtaknû'la. –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑
tuá kí' nû shatashtatχí'sh? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́
nä'paks nû shatashtatχí'sh. –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́

What do I remove from my mouth?
The disease I extract from my mouth.
What is the thing I take out?
It is the disease I am taking out.

[411] [231] They are well provided with bows and arrows. They have only one horse. Snow is so deep, horses perish for want of food. In winter, they live on roots. In summer on antelope and fish.

December 1st. 30 Clammite Indians paid us a visit: fine men in good condition, but wretchedly clad. They say the river to the ocean is far distant and beaver they do not know. They say the Indians become more numerous as we advance to the ocean. . . . .

[342] [161] [439] Tuesday 6th. Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defence against arrows but not balls. 200 of them collected about our camp and traded 4 days. The 2 chiefs delivered traps lost by Mr. McDonald last year with 8 beaver. This is much in favor of their honesty. On our march this day, we passed the camps from wh. Mr. McDonald turned back last year and are consequently strangers to the country in advance.

[161] Thursday 8th. About 300 Indians around our camp. We advanced 6 miles south following the river south. I estimate the Clammitte nation 250 men.

Monday 12th. Reached the lake [Klamath lake?] 1½ × 15 miles well wooded with maple and hazel; course S.

[361] The second visit on record is that of Frémont, who reached the northern shore of Klamath marsh on December 10, 1843. He saw smoke at what appeared to be the middle of the marsh and along the opposite shore. An unoccupied northern shore agrees with my own information. The following day he visited the village "in the middle of the lake (or savannah)," which appears to be one of those at the outlet of the marsh.

[342] The huts were grouped together on the bank of the [Klamath] river, which, from being spread out in a shallow marsh at the upper end of the lake, was collected here into a single stream. They were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams.

[226] [252] [285] [291] Almost like plants, these people seem to have adapted themselves to the soil, and to growing on what the immediate locality afforded. Their only subsistence at this time appeared to be a small fish, great quantities of which, that had been smoked and dried, were suspended on strings about the lodge. Heaps of straw were lying around; and their residence in the midst of grass and rushes had taught them a peculiar skill in converting this material to useful purposes. Their shoes were made of straw or grass, which seemed well adapted for a snowy country; and the women wore on their head a closely woven basket, which made a very good cap. Among other things, were parti-colored mats about four feet square, which we purchased to lay on the snow under our blankets, and to use for table cloths.

[231] Numbers of singular-looking dogs, resembling wolves, were sitting on the tops of the huts. . . . .

[648] They made us comprehend that they were at war with the people who lived to the southward and to the eastward; but I could obtain from them no certain information. . . . .

This morning the camp was thronged with Tlamath Indians from the southeastern shore of the lake. . . . .

Women also accompany a war party according to one informant, 726
but this is denied by another. They cook or paddle; that is easily 562
understood, but I am inclined to believe that they actually participate in conflict. Perhaps the solution is that they accompany feudists, but do not go on extended raids into enemy territory. Some are said to fight with the men, shouting and jumping about to add to the terrifying effect of the surprise. Armed with short spears by preference, they help to catch women and children and to slay the aged as they run to hide.

Leaders of the party are appointed by the chief, usually men of 701
affluence and commonly his relatives. There may be four or five leaders of a single large party. The qualities expected of them are bravery, ability to maintain their good sense in the excitement, and to go without sleep. Chiefs became such largely by the prestige of successful leadership in battle.

The war party proceed well-nigh naked and afoot no matter what 726
the weather. It is of some interest that even after the advent of the
horse they prefer to go afoot. This is reminiscent of the Blackfoot, [231]
but in our case at least may indicate how recent is the acquisition of
the horse. My information suggests the second quarter of the last [171]
century for the coming of the horse, and the wars were over by about 1865. The raid against the Upland Takelma mentioned above was undertaken afoot. But this is not really a case in point because it is doubtful that there were then horse trails across these timbered mountains. The introduction of the horse facilitated long-range raiding. Gatschet's informant describes its use against the Pit river tribes about 1848–50; even then it was a ride of three days and a night.[46] Canoe travel was of little importance in any but expeditions within
their own territory. [501]

A warrior's armament includes bow, club, and sometimes spear, 726
with shield and body armor. Fighting is wholly individual; there is
no sort of battle array. After the first rush of a surprise attack, they 411
fight by preference from cover. No line of bowmen ever fights in the open, nor do lancers make a concerted charge. The sinew-backed war bow is a powerful short-range weapon.[47] Arrow shafts are wooden, the heads of stone loosely affixed so as to remain in the wound when

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[46] *Op. cit.*, 1:19–27.

[47] Frémont observed that in 1846 he saw Indians behind the bushes with their arrows spread fan-wise so as to be ready at hand (Memoirs, 494).

411 the shaft is withdrawn. The tips are not poisoned.[48] However they
726 believe that those made of obsidian obtained on a mountain west of
Klamath lake are poisonous. A tale has it that an Upland Takelma
[539] shot a presumably mythical man, called Tcewls hu'lūms (alighting
flicker), there. Crow laughed and he turned into the pillar of rock
still standing. This is presumably the widely known tale of the shat-
701 tered rock-monster. A war leader, a rich man, carries several quivers;
one under each arm and a third across his back. The short stabbing
411 lance is stone headed; the club simply a straight stick or one bearing
714 a knot for a head. Armor is the familiar long skin tunic and wooden
slat armor of waistcoat shape. The round hand shield is used, but not
the curtain shield, i.e., a skin hung before the body. Sock-like skin
gloves sometimes protect the forearms.

726 It is planned to arrive in enemy territory at the end of the day.
Several good runners are sent forward as scouts (gau'ulū'kdja) to
[191] look for smoke from enemy fires. Scouts do not use animal cries like
those of the Northern Paiute. The camps are surprised at dawn, for,
(171] in addition to the confusion, there is the advantage of a long day in
which to make good an escape. Yet the fight may last several days, I
was told, but it is more likely that the raiders withdraw at once unless
beset by a rallied foe. One thing sets off the intensity of this conflict
from that of the Arizona Havasupai as I found it; there never occurs
here the gesture of bravado of drawing off for refreshment before
[554] returning to the attack. Yet there is something formal about these
fights too; the leaders make a point of engaging with men of like rank
in the forefront of battle, although they do not disdain lesser men.
Warriors do not pat the mouth as they charge (go'lgi); this is done
727 only in the scalp dance. The foray usually ends with the fleeing of the
ablebodied among the enemy, the killing of the infirm, and the capture
of women, children, and such property as beads and quivers.

[114] These are kept by their captors; perhaps some division of the spoil
is made. Disputes are inevitable: Gatschet's informant describes how
he wantonly shot down a girl whom he claimed as his due rather than
let another have her.[49] Pat Kane told me that all the booty is carried
to the principal chief who asks for an accounting of the dead and
slaves. The leader enumerates how each man took slaves or scalps and
how the opposing chiefs were killed. The trophies of these chiefs are
exhibited. I doubt his statement, unless he had in mind the prestige

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[48] Gatschet's informant credits the Modoc with poisoned arrows (*op. cit.*, 1:90).

[49] *Op. cit.*, 1:23.

III. ECONOMIC LIFE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 At this late date it is difficult to define the sexual division of labor with precision. Some impression derives, however, from random observations let drop during the course of these inquiries.

One of my informants summarized the division of domestic activities in this wise. Women fetch wood and gather food. Old men as well as women grind and pound seeds. Men lie about all the time, working but once in a while. They hunt, fish, and in the winter build houses.

Undoubtedly he is justified in his view that man's work is spasmodic, woman's work in preparation of food and the care of the home a more continuous round of labor. Such in fact is the picture of native life in perhaps all parts of the continent. Yet a fairer view of their economic participation shows a more equal division of activities.

[226] These may be summarized as follows: Men, but women too, are
the fishers. Inasmuch as their primary dependence is on fish, the
men's activities in this direction constitute well-nigh a year-round
[224] pursuit. Men are hunters, but hunting is desultory. Even here
women participate, for it is noted at least that they occasionally lie
in wait in canoes to kill floundering deer driven into the water. Root
and seed-gathering is woman's work; I am not certain that men
[222] assist even in harvesting fruit. Seeds, especially pond-lily seeds, form
the second staple in Klamath life. Preparation of food is wholly
[252] woman's work, save as they are assisted by old men, perhaps only
those who have no women members of their families to undertake the
[251] task. Storing food and drying it may be wholly feminine occupations
as well. At least where foods are concerned the man's work is
sufficiently time-filling, but the woman's much more so.

[342] With manufactures, the division is somewhat more even. House-building,
one of the main activities, is a function of both sexes, and
[313] is no small part of the domestic routine. Timbers are prepared and
erected by men, grass and dirt spread over the structure by women,
[322] and the house pit dug by both. Woodworking and the manufacture
[411] of weapons are masculine activities. Yet the most laborious wood-

are on the basket, so placed that the upper end of one overlaps the lower end of the next to the left. The units are of exactly the same length, which suggests that the stitches were counted with some accuracy. But they are disposed somewhat irregularly around the basket. Figure 17*i*, which may be upside down, is Crow's knee, ga'kŭmk!o'lŏntc (from gak, crow; k!o'lŏnte, knee). The knee is represented by the angles in the median line. A design which does not occur in band form, but is isolated and symmetrical upon itself (fig. 17*j*) may be called sk̥ŏtco'ta, legs (tc!oks is the proper word for leg). This is properly the name for the vertical lines; the horizontal spur is păte, foot. An old Klamath design is shown in figure 17*k*, but this is called mo'talta'ntk, because Pit river peoples (mo'ᴇtuwas) used designs of this sort. The Pelican bay division of the Klamath call it stŏ'kbunks a'ltantkc (stŏ'kbunks, leech). On one basket ten rhomboids form each unit of design: the unit extends diagonally nearly around the basket, and overlaps with two other units. A similar design (fig. 17*l*) has the units arranged as horizontal bands. There are four of these units disposed on the four quarters of the basket, so that their ends overlap. This represents a mountain flower: the name of the design is unknown.[388] 531

It is interesting to note that the number of elements in one design unit (*h*) is five, in another (*k*) is ten, in view of the frequent use of the significant number of the Klamath, five. On the other hand, the number of elements and units in other cases is not a multiple of five.

WEAPONS

The warrior's armament consists of bow, club, sometimes a spear, with body armor and perhaps a shield. I have seen none of these; what follows is from descriptions. 411 •

Dependence rests primarily on the bow both in warfare and hunting. Hand to hand fighting was not mentioned and the use of snares and traps is slight. Waterfowl are ordinarily shot with a reed arrow so light that it will float. The Klamath never shot fish although in many places the water is sufficiently clear. [726]

Arrow poisoning was not mentioned to me, but Coville was given the following description:

> The root [of the water hemlock (skă'·wănks, *Cicuta maculata* L.)] mashed and mixed with poison *from* a rattlesnake's poison sacs or with the decomposed liver of a deer or some other animal, which has been buried in the ground a

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[388] Other designs are illustrated by Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. 11, 15, 18; O. T. Mason, *op. cit.*, pls. 48, 174. These conform in style.

• 411

few days, was used to poison war arrows, the heads of the arrows being dipped in the moist mixture and dried over a special kind of fire with a certain ceremonial. Circuta was sometimes used among Indians to poison people in very much the same way as arsenic or other well-known poisons are used in civilized communities. It was also stated that pieces of dead fish dried in a certain way (my informant did not know exactly how) are a deadly poison when taken in food.[557]

The bow (ĕnte'is) is normally three feet long or a little more, although longer bows are used by strong men. Bows are ordinarily made of juniper wood, which is very hard. Better bows, such as wealthy men might have, are of yew, which has only a moderate growth on the Cascades.[558] Boys' bows are made of juniper, according to Coville, men preferring the yew as superior. The Molala make theirs of yew (te'ːopI'nks). Juniper (ķ'ai'elo) grows on the deserts to the east and in the Modoc country, but may also be found on the high mesa above Modoc point on Klamath lake. War bows are backed with sinew: all are, according to another informant, who held that an unbacked bow will dry out and snap. His statement is borne out by Coville: "they are commonly about a meter in length, backed with sinew, the tips covered with fishskin and the string made of twisted sinew." On this sinew layer designs (me'ĕks) are drawn in green. Barrett figures an unbacked bow bearing a simple decoration on the inner, concave face.[559] A purple color derived from the seed coat of buck-brush (*Kunzia tridentata*) is sometimes used to give a temporary color to bows, arrows, and other objects.[560]

The bow is broad, flat, and with a constricted grip at the middle. The ends recurve toward the outer, convex face; these are notched to receive the string. The grip is wrapped with a strip of mink skin. The expanded part either side of the grip is three fingers wide, tapering to a single finger-width at the tips. How the bow length is measured was not known to my informant. Three bows figured by Barrett are forty to forty-three inches long. The bow string (na'ᵘlis) is back sinew of a deer, rolled on the thigh. Bows taken from the Pit river peoples are reputed as of better manufacture; "they were very strict in the making of these."

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[557] Coville, Notes, 101. Gatschet (1:150) mentions this plant as poisonous, adding several others, among them the limbs of a young pine and wild parsnips.

[558] "Abundant on the western slope of the Cascades, occurring on the eastern slope in Union Creek and on Pelican Bay, Klamath Lake" (Coville, Notes, 89).

[559] Material Culture, pl. 20, fig. 5.

[560] Coville, Notes, 98.

In shooting, the bow is held not quite vertical, but with its upper tip somewhat to the bowman's left. The arrow rests on the right side of the bow. The arrow release is the simple primary, held between the bent forefinger and thumb only. The other fingers do not touch the string. The bow is carried in the quiver with the arrows. No bow guard is worn.

Arrows are both wood and reed-shafted. The wood is service berry or lōk̹ (glōk̹?), a very tough wood growing in the southern Modoc country (probably currant, *Ribes cereum*). Coville also mentions *Philadelphus lewisii* Pursh., which grows at Wocus bay, and for light shafts wild rose wood.[361] Reeds of two kinds are used, cal (*Phragmites phragmites*) and wītci'vᴇ, which must be provided with foreshafts (la') of light wood, currant wood (lōk̹, *Ribes cereum*),[362] or mountain mahogany (? temo'lōk̹ūm). War arrows (k̹!e'ls) have wooden shafts thirty inches long, are feathered for seven or eight inches of their length, and are provided with obsidian heads. The arrowhead (sa'wals) is not set in a split in the end of the shaft but tied on one side of the tip loosely so that it will remain in the wound. Other wooden arrows (dō'ldji) used in play or hunting small game are feathered but bear no heads. Arrowshafts are smoothed with a scouring rush (wä-chäk'-wis, *Equisetum hyemale* L.).[363] Reed arrows, used primarily for water fowl, are usually feathered. Barrett figures some, thirty-two to thirty-eight inches long. The end of the reed is wrapped with pitched sinew, so that it will not split when the foreshaft is driven in. The foreshaft is pointed by burning and often has a little wad of pitch near the point in lieu of a barb. My informants denied that the intention was to cause the arrow to skip on the surface of the water as recorded by Barrett.[364] Shafts are not painted nor are the wooden ones grooved.

Feathering (lalō'tk) is placed on most arrows. Wing plumes of eagles, mouse, and chicken hawks are used; said to be selected solely for their appearance. War arrows carry bald-eagle feathers. The quills are split and the narrower side of the feather discarded. Four vanes are mounted on the shaft; whether parallel to its axis or spiralled is immaterial. The vane is glued with pitch for its whole length and bound at each end by a sinew wrapping. At the butt end the terminal plumules are turned back and caught under the wrap-

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[361] Notes, 97, 99.

[362] *Ibid.*, 92, 97.

[363] *Ibid.*, 88.

[364] Material Culture, 247.

411 ping. The free edge of the vane is then notched throughout its length to give a serrated appearance. The butt of the arrow is cut wedge-shaped transversely to the nock.

The quiver (do'kŏnks) is slung under the left arm by a cord over the opposite shoulder so that the mouth is at the breast. A war leader, a rich man, might carry one under each arm, and a third at his back. To put on a quiver is called sodo'k!ĕ. Quivers are commonly made of tules, well dried, and twined at intervals with sage-brush bark strings. Barrett figures one thirty-two inches in length. Wealthy men, as Barrett notes,[illegible] had quivers of skin: raccoon, marmot, or otter. The hide is stretched over a frame of sticks or stuffed with grass that it may dry in the proper shape.

The club (dĕ'kis, ķ'ŏ'plĕs, or ķŭ'pgūs, perhaps several types) is a limb of a tree having a knot to serve as the ball-head. Others are simply long sticks.

The spear (yŏ'ķmŏm) is a short stabbing lance, four to six feet long, bearing a large obsidian blade. The spear is rather the weapon [724] of a woman than a man. In the course of a raid on the Upland Takelma, the Klamath chief Lɛle'ks stabbed their chief through the throat after he had been shot down.

714 Both the long skin tunic and slat armor are in use. The tunic (kŏķ!no'ls) of elk hide, alternatively of bear or deer skin, hangs to the calf, has holes for the arms, and is tied together down the sides. This is a single layer of skin, except that a small separate piece of buckskin (called sĕpŏ'kdilɛ) might be worn under it as additional protection for the front of the trunk. Slat armor (dă'lŏķ) is the familiar waistcoat form; vertical wooden slats, two inches wide, split from any sort of tree, and twined with nettle cords. It is long front and back, but necessarily short under the arms, opens in the front, and ties over the shoulders with buckskin thongs.

The round hand shield (snoto'wĭtc) is but little used, to judge from my informants' ignorance of it. This is strange for it may well be suspected as of recent introduction among them from Plains-like tribes to the northeast. It was described as eighteen inches in diameter and of unknown material, but undoubtedly skin. These informants knew nothing of the use of a skin as a shield hung like a curtain in front of the body.

The arms are sometimes protected by mittens (wăkăpks) of arm or elbow length. These are sock-like affairs of coyote or other fur.

[illegible] *Op. cit.*, pl. 20, fig. 1, 255.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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105

		Klamath form	*Links with:*
[285]	Mats	Extensive use	Oregon?, Northwest Coast to Columbia r., Plateau.
		Mat needle	s. Northwest Coast (and northward?), Washington, Oregon?
[281]	Tanning	Smoke-tan	Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, Wishram, Nez Percé; Basin, Plateau, Plains (and elsewhere?—probably not Northwest Coast).
[372]	Fire drill	Compound	Puget sound, Takelma, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi, Wind R. Shoshoni, Crow, Navaho, Hopi.
[415]	Spoon	Paddle	California s. to n. Miwok.
[411]	Bow	Sinew-backed	Arctic, Northwest Coast, Plateau, Washington, Oregon, California s. to Tehachapi, Basin, Southwest, w. Plains.
		Flat; constricted grip	n. w. California, Northwest Coast.
	Arrows	Stone heads	(Not the bone heads of Northwest Coast and w. Washington, where stone heads are scarce.)
[714]	Armor	Tunic	Northwest Coast, Plateau, Oregon, n. California, Basin, Southwest (and southward?).
		Slat or rod	Alaska to Maidu (Tlingit, Plateau, Oregon, Washington, n. California).
	Shield	Round	Plateau, Basin, Plains (not California).
[291]	Dress	Fringed skirt	Coast area west of Cascades-Sierras, probably Basin.
		Men: Plains shirt	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.
		Women: Plains dress	Plateau, Basin, Plains.
		Decorated band on robe	Plateau? (Wishram, Nez Percé), Plains.
		Tule slippers	Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Paviotso.
		Three-piece moccasin	Plateau (moccasins are also n. and central California, Basin, Southwest, Plains, and eastward).
		Basket hats	n. California (=Plateau type?; other types, Northwest Coast, Basin, s. California).
[302]	Hairdress	Braids for both sexes	Plateau, Plains.
	Combs	Porcupine tail	Achomawi, Northern Maidu.
[304]	Head deformation	Fronto-occipital	s. Northwest Coast to Alsea, Siuslaw, and Klamath.
	Tattooing	Women: chin lines	w. Arizona, California, Takelma (Oregon in general?). (Not Plateau? and Northwest Coast.)

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
956. Atop load	.	+	+			+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	482
957. In pack basket	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[758]
958. Loads carried on head	•+	•+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	¬	−	+	(+)	
959. Grass, tule, or bark ring	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	
960. Hands support load	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	(+)	
961. Liquids	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	
962. Loads carried on shoulder	+	+	−	−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	R	+	R	
963. Load suspended from pole, man at each end											•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
964. Liquids carried waiter style on upturned palm.	−	+	+	•−	•+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

Bows

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
965. Self bow	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	.		+	+	411 ●
966. For rough or occasional use only	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	.		+	+	
967. Sinew-backed wooden bow	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
968. Made locally	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	−	
969. Imported	•+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	•−	+	.	−	−	−	[439]
970. Bow wood from N (shady) side of tree	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	−	
971. Recurved tips	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	+	−	
972. Middle recurve	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	+	−	
973. Slight	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	.	+	−	
974. Pronounced	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	
975. Constricted grip	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	+	
976. Sinew bowstring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
977. 2-ply	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
978. 1-ply, fine strands glued together	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
979. Vegetable-fiber bowstring	−	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	[illegible]	+	
980. Gut bowstring	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
980a. Hide-thong bowstring	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
981. Design(s) painted on bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	.	+	
982. Wristguard on left arm	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	+	

Arrows

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
983. Arrowheads of flaked stone	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
984. Stemmed, no definite barbs	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+	+	.
985. Concave base, notch in each side	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	•+	+	−	.	−	−	+	.
986. Concave base, no notches	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	.
987. Barbed and stemmed	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	•+	−	+	.	−	−	−	.
988. Toothed edges	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	.
989. Ground stone arrowheads	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	.	.
990. Bone arrowheads	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−
991. Awl-shaped	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−
992. Stemmed, no barbs		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
993. Barbed	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
994. Solid wooden shaft	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+
995. Cane shaft	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	−	.
996. Used for ducks	+	+				+	+	−	o	o	o	−	−	−	−	.
997. Single shaft, no head	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
998. Sharp	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
999. Blunt	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1000. For birds, squirrels, etc.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1001. For fish	−	−	−	+	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1002. Foreshaft, no other head	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	(+)	+	•+	+	+
1003. Foreshaft plus head	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
481 1004. Head, minus foreshaft	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	−	.
1005. Bird arrow with cross-stick tip	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	.	+	+	.	.
1006. Bird arrow, wrapped tip	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	.	−	.
†1007. Feathering tangential	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	.	.
1008. Feathering radial, 3 vanes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+
1009. Spiraled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−
[53] 1010. Arrows painted	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+
[424] 1011. For identification	−	−	±	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	+	+	−	−	.	.
1012. Pyrographic ornament	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.
1013. Arrows grooved	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	(+)	.	.	.	.
[278] 1014. Arrow poison	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	.	−	+	−	−	.	+	+
1015. Liver or gall	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	.	+	.
1016. Snake venom	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
1017. Red ants	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1018. Flint from certain places poisonous	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	.	.	.	.
1019. Flint of certain varieties poisonous	−	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	.

Arrow Straighteners and Smoothers

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1020. Abrasive stone smoother	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	−	+	+
1021. 1-piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	.	.	−	−	−
1022. 2-piece	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	−	+	+
1023. Longitudinal groove	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	−	+	+
1024. Made purposely			.				−	+	−	−	+	.	.	−	+	+
1025. Natural, worn down			.				+	−	+	+	−	.	.	−	−	−
1026. Securing rush for smoothing	−	+	.	+	.	o	o	+	−	o	−	.	.	−	−	−
1027. 1-piece stone straightener	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1028. Transverse groove(s)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1029. Perforated straightener or wrench	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	.	.	−	.	−
1030. Of horn	−	−	.	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	.	−	.	−
1031. Of stone	−		.	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	.	.	−	.	−
1032. Of wood	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.	.	−	.	−
1033. Forked wooden straightener	−	+	.	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	.	−	.	−
1034. Arrows warmed before straightening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1035. Straightened in hot ashes	−		+								−	+	+	+	.	+
1036. Straightening with hands and teeth	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1037. Straightening over knee	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	.	.	−	+	+
1038. Arrows	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	+
1039. Spear poles	+	+	+							+	+	.	.	−	+	+

Shooting Techniques

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1040. Primary arrow release	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	−	+	+	+
1041. Tertiary arrow release	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1042. Mediterranean arrow release	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−
1043. Bow held horizontally	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1044. Bow held at 45° angle from horizontal	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1045. Bow held vertically	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1046. Arrow to right of bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1047. Arrow to left of bow	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1048. Arrow rests on top of bow	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+

Quivers

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
415 1049. Cased rawhide, fur left on	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1050. Buckskin, sewn	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1051. Bark	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1052. Twined tule	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1053. Carried on back	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1054. Carried at side under arm	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Clubs																	
1055. Stone clubs	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	411
1056. "Slave killer" (animal figure)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1057. Paddle-shaped	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[532]
1058. Imported		.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1059. Natural cobblestone, cylindrical	−	−	−						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1060. Wooden clubs	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	
1061. Natural limb	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	
1062. Used in brawls or to kill salmon only	+	+							+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	
1063. Ball- or knob-ended	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
1064. Stone or horn spike insert	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1065. Straight rabbit club	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	
1066. Stone head encased in buckskin	−	(+)	.	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Fighting Spears																	
1067. Spear used in war	•R	+	+	−	•−	•−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	[726]
1068. Thrust mainly	(+)	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
1069. Flaked stone point	(+)	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
1070. Bone or horn point	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Daggers, Slings, Bola																	
1071. Obsidian knife or dagger	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	
1072. Center section buckskin-wrapped	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1073. Hafted wooden handle	−	−	−	−				+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	
1073a. Bone dagger, awl-shaped	−	−	−					•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1074. Sling	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	
1075. Used for war	−	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	
1076. Used for hunting	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
1077. Used as toy	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
1078. Clay shot	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1079. Rocks for shot	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	
1080. Bola	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	•+	•+		.	
Armor																	
1081. Rod jacket	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	714
1082. Hide tunic, no rods	•+	+	+	−	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
1083. Hide helmet	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1084. Circular rod shield		−				•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1084a. Hide curtain as shield	−	+	(+)	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Household Implements																	
Mortars and Pestles																	
1085. Bedrock mortar	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•o	412
1086. Portable stone mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1087. Outside rough hewn	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1088. Outside shaped and smoothed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1089. Found locally, used commonly	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	
1090. Found locally, not used for grinding food	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	•+	
1091. Found locally, used by shaman	−	•(+)	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	[756]
1092. Regarded as animate object	−	−	+	+		+	−	−						−	−	•−	[774]
1093. Regarded as dangerous or poisonous	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	•+	−	•+	+	.	−	−	−	•+	
1094. Made by myth character	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	•+	.	−	−	−	−	•+	[773]

BY ALL INFORMANTS

251 Storage of food.--Outdoor granaries on ground; on bedrock or multistone foundations; on platform.

Ownership of Productive Areas

423 Owner liable for injury of renter. Pens on communal weir privately owned. Seed tracts claimed for single season only. Private boundaries marked. "Tribal" boundaries marked.

Division of Labor

462 Formalized myth accounting for division of labor (cf. Voegelin, Tübatulabal). AW state division of labor according to "Coyote's law," but lack any detailed myth.

HOUSES AND SHELTER

Assembly and Living Houses

342 Entrances; uses and ownership; furnishings.--Entrance round, carved in plank. Partitions between families. House names. Windbreak before house. Flat plank for foot drum. Leader of hunters nominal owner. All men regularly sleep in sweat house. Fireplace and heating.--Fuel-gathering ritual; fuel from top of tree; pair of limbs left on top. 372

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

501 Boats and ferriage.--Dugout canoe, ends peaked; carved-in "heart"; detachable prow ornament. Launching ceremony. Sails. Single-bladed paddle with crutch handle; compound paddle; blade end of paddle concave. Ferriage by person in basket pulling across on rope (At: ascribe this to N Yana of Round Mountain). 505

Land Transport

482 Carrying devices.--Hammock-type carrying net. Painted decoration on folded hide bag. Cord and stick Mohave-type back frame. Snowshoe-type carrying frame. Coolie yoke. Dog packing. 492

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

411 Bows and arrows.--Horn bow (AW: mentioned in myth, made by Butterfly). Laurel-leaf arrowheads. Arrows with 2 or more points. Arrow shaft of solid wood, split from log. Arrows with

411 single shaft, no head used for war. String at-
tached to arrow to retrieve. (AW: in myth But-
terfly shoots arrow with string attached; arrow-
chain motif.) Arrow poison made from blood.
[413] Arrow straighteners and smoothers.--1-piece
stone straightener with incised design, used
mainly for cane shafts; heated before using.
Shooting techniques.--Secondary arrow release.
Mongolian arrow release. Clubs and spears.--
Manufactured cylindrical stone club. Curved
rabbit club. Spear with wooden point. Spear
thrower. Daggers and armor.--Horn, wooden dag-
[714] gers. Bark armor. Rawhide shield, round or
rectangular.

Household Implements

412 Mortars and pestles.--Portable stone mortar,
outside natural. Coiled hopper basket; hopper
415 basket stuck fast to pounding slab with pitch.
Stone pestle with bulb end and slender body.
Metate used on both sides. Loop-handled muller.
Brushes.--Leaves glued to stick with pitch.
Porcupine tail, rodent tail for mealing. Stir-
rers, lifters, spoons, knives.--Looped-stick
stirrer. 2 sticks, bound at 1 end, for stone
tongs. Horn spoon used by men only. Tortoise-
shell dipper. Gourd dipper. Rodent foot as
spoon. Cane knife.

Manufacturing Implements

413 Net shuttle, drills, fire making, mauls.--
Flat round stick, bone or horn 1-piece shuttle.
Vise for drilling: split stick, hide. Stone
bowl to carry coals. Pear-shaped stone maul;
partly shaped stone maul. Adzes, axes.--Curved-
handle adz; D-shaped-handle adz; elbow-shaped-
handle adz. Stone, bone, horn, shell blades.

MANUFACTURES

Textiles

285 Baskets: weaves.--Coiling: rods vertical;
rod-and-splint foundation; grass-bundle foun-
dation. Coiling toward right of worker. Awl
enters inside of basket. Start a piece of hide.
415 Baskets: uses and shapes.--Seed beater of wicker
weave. Deep sifter or winnower, pointed bottom,
Hupa type. Boiling basket in diagonal twine.
Necked water bottle in plain twine. Necked
water bottle with earth smeared over pitch.
Bell-shaped, Pomo-type burden basket; cylindri-
cal or barrel-shaped burden basket. Elliptical
coiled storage basket, Pomo type. Tulare "bot-
tleneck" baskets. Cylindrical side-opening
415 dance basket, Hupa type. Baskets: decoration.--
531 Break in banded woven ornament, to let soul out.
Feather decoration on rim or shoulder. Entire
basket feather covered. Patterns painted on
854 baskets. Cradles.--Deep, Pomo-type sitting

000 Several layers of sinew glued, successively, to back of bow. AW: Young juniper used for bow; burnt or split; smoothed with pumice. AE: See notes 965, 969. WM: Sinew not used; salmon skin applied to back of bow, in 2 layers, "to make bow stronger." Skin warmed before applying; is sticky, so no glue needed.

968. AW: Made by male specialists; article of trade.

[411 / 439] 969. Kl: "Klamath and Modoc bought bows from the Shasta; also made own bows." AE: Proper woods for making sinew-backed bows lacking in area; "at Fall River Mills, and W of there, the farther W you go, the better the bows are." MM: Wood for bows imported; bows made locally.

975. SW: Grip more constricted, center bowed in more pronouncedly than bow in Dixon, Shasta, p. 437, fig. 106.

[411 / 227] 976. Deer sinew.

978. SW: Strips of sinew "fine as hair" taken from backbone of deer, chewed, stretched strand by strand on rock; several strands glued together with fish glue. No rolling of bowstring between palms. Bowstring of this type shown in Dixon, Shasta, fig. 106; in fig. 105, string should not be twisted. WM: Fine strands of sinew rolled together with salmon glue; long lengths of this stretched between 2 trees; when used as bowstring this sinew will not snap.

979. Mo: For boy's, poor person's bow. AW: For winter hunting use fiber bowstring; does not break as sinew does when wet. Same applies to arrow-point lashing material.

980a. AE: Used occasionally, but "breaks too easily."

[531 / 411] 981. Backed bows only. WM: Blue, with clay obtained in mountains.

Arrows.--

411 983. For shapes described by elements 984-987 see figures below. Within area surveyed, many members of more northerly groups frequently mentioned Glass Mountain in Modoc territory as source of supply for obsidian arrowheads. At: "Old people brought pieces of obsidian home, and anyone bought it from them." AW: Obsidian-tipped arrows used chiefly for hunting deer, grizzly, other large game, and for war. WM: 2-3 men make trip to Glass Mountain; trip takes 2-3 days; men fast throughout period of absence, as obtaining flint is semireligious quest. WS: "Not every man had obsidian-tipped arrows; the obsidian was hard to get, and only 3-4 people

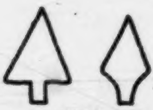
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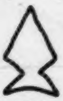
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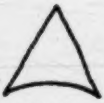
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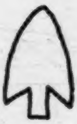
987

[191-A]

411 went for it. When they got it, they wouldn't give it away." As a consequence, not all men secured deer, "because they needed obsidian-tipped arrows to kill deer." MF: Temper obsidian by heating. Professionals make arrow points.

984. See first 2 figures on left, above.

000 985. See center figure, above. WM: Small, white (quartz?) heads; poisonous variety.

986. See second figure from right, above.

987. See right hand figure, above. WM: Black, red obsidian heads.

990. SW: For boy's arrows only.

994. E.g., whole stem of bush. Mo: Serviceberry. MF: Smoke arrows to prevent them becoming water-soaked. NS: Elder used.

1001. AW: Small stick, used for shooting small bullheads.

1002. NM: Beyond point where foreshaft joins main shaft, 2 thorns from wild plum tree set into arrow, opposite each other and on slant so tips of each slant toward arrow head. When arrow penetrates small game, it stops at these thorns instead of passing through body of squirrel, bird, etc.

1007. MF: Entry should read: 1-3 vanes.

1008. SW: Grouse feathers for ordinary arrows. Chicken hawk also used. Feathers always taken "from a bird that sails in sky."

[278] [411] 1015. Kl: Roast rattlesnake head, rub grease from it on arrow point. Roast deer liver in ashes, add pitch of some variety; thrust arrow point into this. Red ants used fresh, mashed. [724] Arrows poisoned for war, not for hunting. NS: Rattlesnake made to bite deer liver.

1019. AW: Chips from block of obsidian inspected by arrowpoint maker, who decides whether or not they are poisonous. Rejects from same block may not be considered poisonous; these arrowmaker gives friends to use. "As he splits pieces off and examines them he says, 'This for grizzly bear, this for coyote, this for big buck, this for war, etc.'; these pieces he keeps." See notes 1178, 1222.

Arrow straighteners and smoothers.--

1020. SE, SW, At, AW, WS, MM: Pumice, large deposits of which were noted in At, AW areas.

1027. WT: Informant shown pictures of 1-piece stone straighteners (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 49); said WT variety resembles these, made of soft stone. See, however, section, Elements Denied By All Informants.

1031. At: If man does not have rock with hole in it, "sometimes he ties 2 rocks together with a piece of sinew, so there will be a hole to run arrow through." WM: Natural; found in river.

Shooting techniques; quivers; clubs, spears.--

1042. At: For shooting with large bow.

[411] [514] 1044. Kl: Stand or kneel to shoot; bow held at 45° angle for either position.

1045. AW: Vertical position generally used. Wailaki, who fought Achomawi, reputed to shoot

[191-B]

000 2 arrows simultaneously from bow in war; informant's father authority for this.

1048. MM: For shooting game. For shooting in war, arrow is underneath bow.

1049. SE, SW, At, AW: Rich man uses skin of gray fox, otter; ordinary man uses skin of raccoon, wildcat, kit fox, fawn. WT: Spotted fawnskin. WM: Rich man uses otter, fisher skin; sign of wealth. Ordinary man uses fawn, wildcat skin.

1064. Mo: Purchased or traded for; wealthy persons only.

[411] 1067. Kl: Denied for pre-white days; "now
[726] people use spears." At: Ascribed to Kl; denied
[178] for At. AW: "Yana used obsidian knife on an
8-ft. stick."

Daggers, slings, bola; armor.--

1071. AW: Obsidian "butcher knife"; jabbed.

1073a. WT, WM, WS: See 2853 and note.

1078. Mo: Natural clay balls, or moist clay picked up, rolled between hands.

1080. NF, MM: Single rock, shaped, 1 end heavier than other, tied to 1 end of string. A NF relative of informant, who had never seen any specimens of this implement but had heard it described, voluntarily likened it to bola.

714 1081. Kl: Made of split serviceberry stalks,
824 woven into form of tunic; tied together on right
side, under armpit.

1082. Kl: 1-piece; no sleeves; 2 arm holes; tied together on 1 side and at top, over 1 shoulder. Arrow unable to penetrate such. AE: Ascribed to Kl; said to have been made "like an apron, lacking any back piece."

000 1084. AW: String in center, by which to hold shield. Used also against guns, in recent times, but "didn't work."

Household Implements

Mortars and pestles.--

[412] 1085. Among several groups bedrock mortar used chiefly for substances which require hard pounding, such as acorns. AW: Pit mortar in solid rock, used by shaman to pound his poison; regarded as "dangerous." AE: Informant stated pit mortars occur in vicinity of Fall River (AW area); used, according to him, to pound acorns in (see above). MV: No rocky outcrops suitable for this type mortar present in area.

1090. MV: "People did not want to have anything to do with objects which had been already made." See also note 1093.

1091. Mo: Small mortars used to keep paint in. SW: Not only mortar, but small stone pestle of "dangerous" variety (found, not manufactured) used by doctor. When treating patient, shaman sends this pestle upward; it travels by short cut to road which dead traverse, and blocks this road, so dead person cannot travel over it; "then there is a chance for the doctor to cure the person, since the road is blocked." Old

TWO

[P. 22]

The Frontier Condition

726 648 175 FOR MANY YEARS THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WILLAMETTE AND COLUMBIA valleys bypassed the tribes of the Klamath Basin.[1] Indirectly, however, they felt the first remote influences, as the Sahaptin-speaking tribes of the middle Columbia, equipped with the superior weapons of the trading posts and mounted on horses acquired from the Shoshonean bands to the south, began to raid up the Deschutes Valley to take Klamath slaves.[2] The Klamath [231] [411] were at a disadvantage: in 1826 Peter Skene Ogden, of the Hudson's Bay Company, found them with but a single horse and uneasily awaiting raids by joint parties of Cayuse and Nez Percés; and even by midcentury they had only one firearm among them.[3] The scantiness of the local beaver made their territory of little interest to the company, however, and they came to enjoy a reputation as fierce warriors which preserved them for some time from settlers. [101] Nonetheless, they were known even then to the tribes of the Columbia, for Ogden applied to them a name, "Clammite," that was not their own and seems to stem from Chinookan.[4]

648 175 Some ten years after Ogden passed through, a party of French-Canadian trappers made their way into the region and on their return to The Dalles took along some Klamath.[5] From that time on, contact with the tribes at that great Indian trading center increased. Klamath parties moved down the Deschutes Valley, making their way either to The Dalles itself, or branching westward down the north fork of the Santiam along what came to be known as the Klamath Trail, through the settlement of the northern Molala, thence to the Kalapuya on the outskirts of 648 567 439 435 175 Oregon City. There, in 1843, one missionary recorded the visit of "a large party of the Clamath tribe, fierce and warlike . . . with about twenty slaves, [who] sold most or all of them. Some, I was informed, were sold for three horses each, some cheaper."[6]

3:Stern E-4.5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR [illegible] Klamath NR [illegible]
Modoc NR [illegible]

(Klamath Reservation)

I was informed were sold for three horses each, some cheaper.

In the changing conditions of the early nineteenth century, the Klamath were caught up in currents generated from without. The advent of horses and of firearms made it possible for the tribes of the east-central Plateau, the eastern Salish and eastern Sahaptin, to cross the Rocky Mountains, to hunt buffalo and enter into relations, both peaceful and bellicose, with the tribes of the Plains. As they came under Plains influence, the appeal of Plains garb, of parfleches and tipis, grew.[5] The Klamath were attracted to these new goods, and the clothing at least came to replace or supplement traditional forms of wealth.

Moreover, the horse and the gun had revolutionized warfare patterns. Although traditional enemies beyond the Cascades were preoccupied with white settlers, on the east the Paiute were gradually developing mounted bands of great mobility and striking power. The Klamath and Modoc were not slow to seek the new instruments of war.

The opening trade to the north brought a corresponding intensification of the raids carried south into the territory of the Pit River tribes—the Achomawi and Atsugewi—to capture women and children, Pit River bows, and other loot. As Chiloquin, one of the leaders of the time, recalled:

> When the Snakes [Northern Paiute] made war on us they made us keen to fight other Indians and we made war without provocation on the Pit Rivers, Shastas and Rogue Rivers, but they never made willing war on us. These wars lasted a great many years. We found we could make money by war, for we sold the provisions and property captured for horses and other things we needed. It was like soldiers nowadays who fight for money. We made war because we made money by it and we rather got to like it anyhow. The Snakes provoked us to make war on them.[6]

With developing warfare and the accumulation of foreign wealth came a gradual transformation of Klamath, and to a lesser extent, of Modoc society. The forays into hostile country enlarged the scale of the war party. Chiloquin speaks of a body totaling one hundred warriors, which included, according to Spier, members of all the Klamath tribelets, and took in some Modoc as well.[7] A joint raid on the part of Umpqua, Upland Takelma, and other western tribes brought one such retaliatory expedition almost

7

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

M K 343 plunges into the lake or a pool in the river or whatever water there may be at hand. This practice seems to have been medicinal. It was used as a habitual means of warding off disease as well as of curing it.

The second form of sweathouse was of similar size and construction except that it had a saddle roof which was covered with several inches of earth instead of a dome-shaped roof covered with matting. The door of this structure was placed at one end and was usually quite small. It was closed by a blanket or tule mat during the sweating.

There was no large "sweathouse" used for ceremonial purposes as in the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada region to the south. All ceremonies were held out of doors, chiefly in the summer.

IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.[8]

M K 411 The influence of the unusual environment in which the Klamath and Modoc live is also very noticeable in the implements made and used by them, particularly in the various devices for the capture of fish and water birds.

[171] The chief implements of war were the bow and arrow and a rather short javelin. The war bow was of the general type of the northwestern part of California, having a sinew back and sharply upcurved ends. The arrow was made in the ordinary manner, with light wood or cane shaft, hard wood foreshaft, and a moderately large obsidian, or sometimes flint, point.

[178] [756] [525] The javelin or spear was fairly short. Its shaft was made of heavy wood. Its point, usually of obsidian, varied from two to six inches in length. These javelins, like war bows and arrows, are no longer in existence, though the obsidian heads are quite plentiful about old village and camp sites. They are now used by medicine-men in doctoring, and also by gamblers, who place them under the large mats used for gambling to insure good luck, especially in the game called sakalis.

HUNTING IMPLEMENTS.

M K 224 The implements used in hunting animals were usually the bow and arrow. Ensnaring animals was little practiced by the

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[8] The Klamath names of the various implements, etc., here described are given by Gatschet in his dictionary, *op. cit.*

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

K
Another stone implement is the single-grooved, flat-bottomed 412
arrow straightener, such as is shown in pl. 21, fig. 9. A perforated wooden arrow straightener, of the form shown in fig. 5 of the same plate, is still used.

Implements of obsidian and of flint are common. Arrowheads K
and large spear points, as also knives which were formerly fitted 411 •
into wooden handles, are yet to be found. These points are found [172]
by the Indians in various parts of the country where they have K
been used and left by former inhabitants. They are chiefly [755]
employed at present as charms in medicine and gambling. A [525]
gambler may take a large obsidian knife or spear point and, after
singing the proper song, place it under the large tule mat upon [304]
which the game is being played, to insure good luck. In addition to their use in medicine as charms they are also employed for purposes of scarification.

Stone pipes of several forms (pl. 22, figs. 8, 9, 10) are still K
used. The discoidal form shown in figure 10, which is quite un- 276
usual for the Pacific slope, appears to have been less used in aboriginal times than the obtuse-angled form shown in figure 8.

GAMES.

M
The Lutuami, like most aboriginal peoples, had many games K
for both adult and young. It will not be necessary to go into 524
details here, as the subject has been treated by Dr. George A. 114
Dorsey[1] and Mr. Stewart Culin.[2]

BASKETRY.

The basketry of the Klamath and Modoc, which is always M
twined, may be classified under two heads: soft or pliable basketry K
and stiff or rigid basketry. The former predominates very 285
largely and all the finer baskets are made in this manner. The materials used for this sort of basketry are as follows. The skin of the leaves of the cat-tail tule forms the white material which is
used as the groundwork of almost all of the finer baskets. The M K [113]

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[1] Certain Gambling Games of the Klamath Indians, Amer. Anthr., n. s. III, 14-27, 1901.

[2] Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., 136, 247, 291, 328, 479, 550, 659, 740, 1907.

the Klamath. These mats may be made with both warp and K
weft of tule in plain twining, though the best mats are made 285
with nettle-string weft.

Tule is also used in making one form of quiver, such as that M
shown in pl. 20, fig. 1. It is said that these tule quivers were used K
chiefly by people of moderate means, the more well-to-do class 285
having quivers made of skin. Tule caps such as that shown in 411
pl. 17, fig. 6, were worn by the men. For summer wear moccasins
of buckskin, such as that shown in pl. 17, fig. 5, were always used, M
but for winter wear moccasins of tule (pl. 17, figs. 2, 4, and pl. K
19, fig. 2) were employed. A layer of dry grass was placed in the 291
bottom to make them warm, and it is said that one might in the
dead of winter walk with comparative comfort through marshes
where the water is extremely cold. With these tule moccasins
are worn tule leggings, such as that shown in pl. 17, fig. 3.
Another form of footwear is the circular snow-shoe of wood and
rawhide (pl. 17, fig. 1). A similarly shaped but somewhat smaller
shoe is worn in wading about in the mud of the marshes. The
women also wore a cape or, more properly speaking, a blanket,
made of shredded tule or of sage-brush bark, or of a combination
of the two. Where the wokas grows close in shore, and where M
the water is shallow and other conditions such as a moderately K
hard bottom are favorable, the women often drag about canoe- 285
shaped baskets or rafts, as they might be called (pl. 19, fig. 3), 222
into which the wokas is gathered. The weight of the wokas of
course sinks the basket down partially below the surface of the
water, but it always manages to keep sufficiently above water to
prevent the wokas from floating away.

Another special implement used in harvesting the water-lily
is the spoon-shaped basket shown in pl. 13, fig. 2.[13] After the
dehiscence of the pods of the water-lily the seeds with their
coating form a mucilaginous mass which floats on the surface of
the water. This mass is scooped up with the spoon and placed
in a basket in the canoe. These seeds, called spŏ'kwas, are kept
in water until used, since they lose their flavor if allowed to dry. M

Another use for tule is in the making of rafts. While the dug- K
out canoe above described was the chief means of traveling from 501

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[13] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 8. [726]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M
K
411
[285]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 20.

Fig. 1.—Quiver of tule, plain-twined. Museum number 1-12719. Length 81 cm.

Fig. 2.—Hunting arrows with shafts of cane and points of mountain mahogany. The points are ringed in order to cause the arrows to skip along the surface of the water. Museum numbers 1-12776 b, e, k. Length 88 to 96 cm.

Fig. 3.—Feathered hunting arrows with shafts of cane and points of mountain mahogany. Museum numbers 1-12812 a, b, c. Length 81 to 85 cm.

Fig. 4.—Unbacked wooden bow. The outer side is shown. Museum number 1-12646. Length 105 cm.

Fig. 5.—Unbacked wooden bow. The inner side, which is shown, is painted. Museum number 1-12868. Length 109 cm.

Fig. 6.—Unbacked wooden bow. The outer side is shown. Museum number 1-12867. Length 100 cm.

5: **Barrett** E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

M
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● 411
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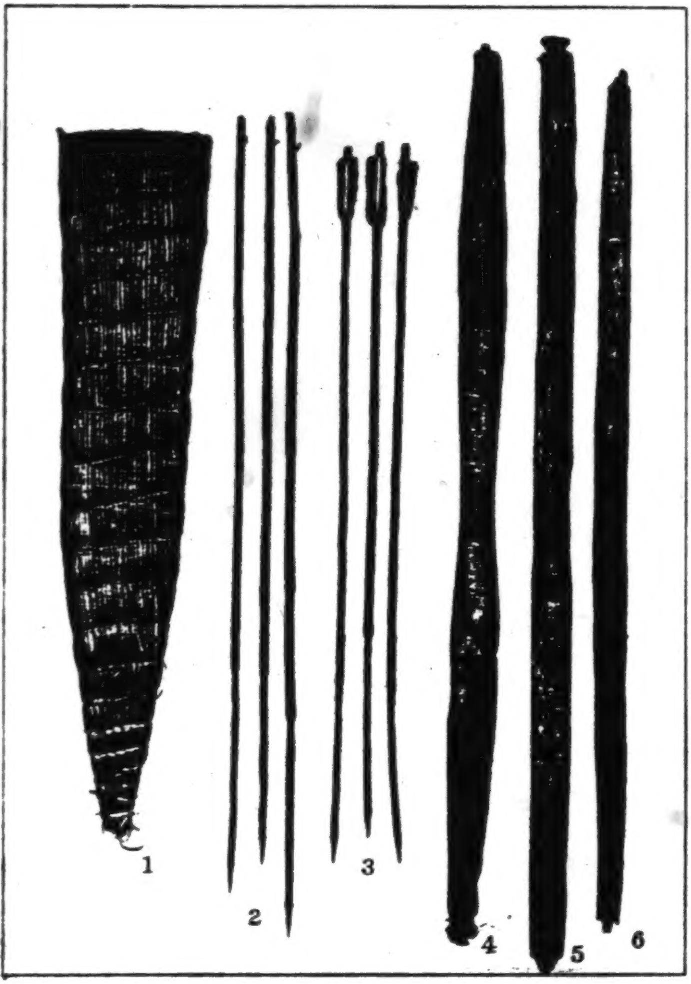

QUIVER, ARROWS, AND BOWS.

[p. 283]

000 one in a series of similar butcheries. Apparently it occurred in 1852, and
the particulars are all given in Texts, pages 13 and 14.

175 One of the earliest reports upon these tribes made to the Bureau of
101 Indian Affairs at Washington is that of Joel Palmer, Superintendent of
131 Indian Affairs for Oregon, dated Dayton, Oregon, September 11, 1854.
Palmer states that the lands of the Klamath Indians extend upon the eastern
base of the Cascade range for about thirty miles east, and that east of
them live the "Mo-docks," who speak the same language as the Klamaths;
and east of these again, extending farther south, are the "Mo-e-twas" (Pit
175 River Indians). These two last-named tribes have always evinced a deadly
649 hostility to the whites, and the Modocs boasted of having within the last
four years murdered thirty-six whites. Palmer entered into an agreement
with the Klamath Indians to keep the peace with the white people, and also
sent messengers to the Modocs and Pit Rivers, believing that henceforth
[161] the immigrants would be spared from their attacks. The Klamath Lakes
were then enfeebled by wars with the surrounding tribes and by conflicts
among themselves, and were said to number but four hundred and fifteen
souls. He counted seven villages on Upper Klamath Lake, two on Pliock
Creek (P'laíkni or Sprague River), three on Toqua Lake (Túkua), and one
175 on Coasto (Kohâshti) Lake.* The Indians had some guns, horses, camp
● 411 equipage, and the aboriginal war-club and "elk-skin shield" (kaknō'lsh).
231 Little Klamath Lake he calls An-coose, a corruption of Agáwesh.

714 Neither Klamath Lake nor Modoc Indians have taken any part in the
great Oregon war of 1854–'56, although their sympathies were of course
strongly in favor of the aboriginal cause.

000 For the year 1854 Powers records a battle fought by Captain Judy
against Modoc and Shasti Indians on the Klamath River, north of Yreka,
in which some women of the Shasti were killed.

The Report of 1859 speaks of continued hostilities on the side of the Modocs against passing immigrants and of the murdering of a party of five white men in Jackson County, Oregon. Two of the murderers belonged to the tribe of Chief Lelékash, and three of the perpetrators were seized and killed by the Klamath Indians (page 392).

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* This would make only six, not seven, villages.

WAWÁLIKS TAPÍ' SHÉLLUALSHA MOÁTUÁSHASH.

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DAVE HILL'S SECOND FIGHT WITH THE PIT RIVER INDIANS.

Ná-äntka skō'shtka nû géna; tánkt nté-ish ní í'-amnatk géna lóloks-
Next spring-time I set out; then bow and arrows I carrying started a ri-

gish tchish. Tû' nād mák̲lĕχa; tsúi nád hátokt mû'shmûsh lúela, Bóshtin
fle also. Far off we camped; and we there an ox butchered, an American

tpä-ók nā'lsh hishtchákthnuk Moatuáshash. Tsúi nat shenotankákska hátak.
inviting us, for he had become angry at the Pit Rivers. Then we almost fought there.

Nánka tchillúk Nûshaltχagakí'shash kaknō'ls tĕméshka; nāt hûnkantí
Some men siding with the Headwater-Modocs cuirasses abstracted; we thereat

sawíkank lā'p nat kaknō'lsh shlétχa. Tsúi nat k̲á-i hû'nk slé-ipĕle
getting angry two we cuirasses took away. And we not them returned

ne-uχálp'lish gí'ntak lák̲iäm E-ukskí'sham; tsúi nat mā'ns-gîtk slä'-ipĕle.
the repeated orders in spite of of the chief of the Lake men; but we at last returned them.

Hû'masht nat hátokt mák̲lĕχank; tchúi nat géna mbû'sant, tchúi nat
Thus (did, acted) we there while camping; then we traveled next day, and we

tû' mák̲lĕka Mû'atak. Tsúi nat mbû'sant géna, tsúi nat tû' mák̲lĕk'
over there camped on Modoc Lake. And we in the morning started out, and we over there camped

Tiunō'lsh. Móatokni nánka sá-ulantchna, tsúi sa ksí'ulĕχ kí'uks suawínuk
at Tiunolsh. Modocs some went with (us), and they danced a conjurer when examined

sas kánts sliuápkst: "hä sliuápkst, tchä mā'lsh ngátuapk ná'hlis"; tsúi
them who might be shot: "if ye will be shot, then to you will snap the bowstring"; and

lā'p ngáta ná'hlis. Tsúi nāt mbû'sant géna, tû' nat atí' géna lupí' nálam
two snapped bowstrings. Then we next morning started out, far we off travelled first our

hû'nk séllaluish guní'tA. Tsúi nat waíta yaínatat télhapkank kmákok
war-expedition further. Then we passed the day from a mountain overlooking to spy

Moatuáshash; tchúi nat shlää tchí'pksh; k̲úitsant tchía ktáyat.
the Pit Rivers; and we saw (them) encamped; inaccessible they stayed in rocks.

Tsúi nád pä'ktgist gákiamna, tsúi gû'lki; tsúi nā'ts shlää Móatuash,
And we at dawn surrounded, then attacked (them); and us discovered the Pit Rivers,

tsúi wetō'li lalí'shtat; k̲ok̲álam hûk pálkuish mûná tû. Hátokt gakáyapguk
and slid down the slope; of a river there (was) the dry bed deep-down. At that place entering the woods

nánχa Móatuash lí'wank i-ō'ta; tû'm shash ngä'-isha Moatokí'shash, Lank-
some Pit River men gathering shot (at us); many (them) they wounded Modoc men, Long-

Tsánash tchish slí'ksga nχak-ksaksí'na; ngä'-ish hû'k ngak-ksáksh
John also they came near wounding on head-top right there; bullet that on the head-top

ntí'kshtcha. Ná-ends tchish nû'sh shlín Móatokish. Tsúi nat lé wak ká-a:
grazed. Another too in the head was shot (a) Modoc man. And we (were) undecided very:

lí'wa hû'k tû mû'na sha lĕméwaliékshtat í-utíla; nánuk wéwansni hátokt
were crowded those down-below they driftwood-heap under; all women and all there

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 773 shlí'n K'mukámtsäm hû'nk únakag; tchúi sa híshlan. Tsaskayákalam
shot of K'múkamtch the little son; then they shot at each other. Little Weasel's
vúnak hûnk shlín lû'pi K'mukámtcham vunáka; tchúi hû'nk hû'tkalpalank
boy shot first at K'múkamtch's son; then (that one) jumping up again
shlín Tchashgáyam únaka, tchúi tsóka lápuk.
shot Weasel's son, then perished both.

At sálěki ptíssísap sham. Tsashgái at káyaktsa, K'mukámts ká-i
Then missed (them) fathers their. Weasel went searching, (but) K'múkamtch not
káyaktcha, skû'lχa tä'dsh sá-utamank; alä'bopk hû'nitak tû' sas hishō'kst.
searched (for them), laid himself on bed but, wrapped up; he knew by himself, out there them to have killed each other.

NOTES.

Compare with this myth the first part of the "Mythic Tale of Old Marten" (Skélamtcham shashapkéléash), which contains the same subject-matter.

[103] 107, 1. Yámsi, contraction of Yámashi. This is the name given at present to a mountain North of Klamath Marsh; from this direction the cold winds (yámash) blow over the highlands on Upper Klamath Lake.

*539 773 107, 1. 3. 9. Tchásbgai sometimes occurs in the diminutive form Tchashgáyak, because the Weasel is regarded as the *younger* brother of the Marten.

192 193 107, 2. saíkän, a contraction of saigaχě'ni: they went *to* the prairie, where the women were digging the edible roots.

107, 3. Skä'lamts. I have given this myth elsewhere in a longer relation, where the part played here by K'múkamtch is played by Skélamtch. Even in Dave Hill's relation the Marten is called, but once only, by its real name Skélamtch; K'múkamtch and Skélamtch are mentioned *here* as identical. The term skě'l, when not employed in its mythologic sense, means a long piece or strip of tanned otter or marten skin, used for tying the hair, or for other purposes.

107, 3. 4. I'ktchatki snáweds etc. One woman only is mentioned here, instead of the two, whom Weaslet was ordered to bring home as wives for his brother K'múkamtch and himself.

107, 5. wéwans a very common elision for wéwanuish.

107, 9. kaní ná-asht? ellipse for kaní ná-asht gí?

107, 10. nû ä'pkolatkik. Instead of this may be said also, ä'pkatki gíula nû: "I strictly told (you) to bring in."

107, 13. sa waslalá. The two boys went together hunting chipmunks.

[411] 107, 14. sháwala to adjust stone-heads; shawalia, sa-ulía to adjust stone-heads for or in the interest of somebody. Flint-, obsidian- or iron heads are placed only on war-arrows or on arrows used in killing large game (ngé-ish, ngä'-ish); but the táldshi or lighter arrow, used in hunting birds, and the taldshiága, arrow used as boy's plaything, are usually provided with wooden points only.

107, 15. K'mukámts stûli sht pi'ts stands for K'mukámtchash stull'sht pí'sh, the pronoun referring to the little son of K'múkamtch.

107, 15. shli'sht. In this sentence m'nálsh is the subject of shli'sht, and the direct object of shlín is not expressed.

107, 16. lä-udsha: they went out to play, from léwa, lä'wa to play.

*539 171 is the elder sister, called so by or with reference to a younger brother. Two other terms exist for the relative age of sisters among themselves.

[601] 134, 11. pátkalp'le. The myth adds, that the eagle got up again at dinner-time and that after washing the face he took a nap before taking his sister home.

[525] [777] II. These items were all obtained in the Modoc dialect from J. C. D. Riddle. Many of the articles mentioned as gamblers' amulets are supposed to bring good luck to the gambler on account of their *scarcity*, which must have made them more interesting to the aboriginal mind than other objects of a brighter exterior.

[192] 134, 13. ntággal, ndákal: to find accidentally; shléa: to find, generally, after a search. vumí' is to hide away either on one's own person or in the ground.

134, 16. 18. tídsh tínχa is to succeed, to be lucky; without tídsh in: hútoks tínχantko gi, that man is lucky.

[411] 134, 17. shtáp is a black arrow-head made of obsidian, a volcanic rock found in several places in these highlands.

135, 1. hä'-atoks is formed from hă toks with intercalation of the declarative particle a.

[192] [193] [825] 135, 3. k̲'le-ugtki-uápkasht is a periphrastic conjugational form composed of gi-uápkasht, of the verb gi, and of k̲'lé-utka, the usitative of k̲'léwi, to cease, stop, terminate; -utka has turned into -ugt- by metathesis. Literally: "would habitually cease to be in the Pit River." mhû', the grouse, is called by the Klamath Lakes tmû'.

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*539 171 [115]

REFLECTIONS OF EVERY-DAY LIFE

MONOLOGUES IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY JOHNSON, CHIEF OF THE MODOCS

K̲á-i	mish	nû	ó-it	nû	tidsä'wa	nté-ish,	shliútuk	mä'makla	pá-uk	shlínk
Not	you	I	to let have	I	like	(my) bow,	for shooting	ducks	to eat	killing (them)

ndektí'shtka.	Tidsä'wa	k̲á-i	mish	úya,	tû	génuapka	úyamnank	nté-ish
with arrows.	I like	not	to you	to give (it),	over there	I will go	taking along	bow and arrows

gé-u,	hishlátsanuapka.	Yó-ishi!	tatála	k̲ä'gi,	k̲á-i	shláa	tatákni	yû'lχ;
my,	(and) will amuse myself by shooting.	Are lost!	right (ahead)	they are not,	not	I found (them)	where	they went down;

yó-ishin,	mā'ns	k̲á-ika.	Ûnds	mbúsant	pēn	k̲áyakuapk.
they are lost,	for a long time	I searched.	Sometime	to-morrow	again	I will look out (for them).

Shikútchipk	tchiká	kĕmutsátk;	undsē'ks	séwanuapk	pátki	giúga
Walks on stick	an old	decrepit (man);	some time	I will give (him)		to eat

méhiess;	yuyálks	tsi	pá-uk	hûn	tchē'k	tídsh	kí'-uapk.	Kí'shtchipk	huk
trout;	being poor	thus	through eating	of it	then	at ease	he will feel.	Comes to me	this

snéwedsh;	oní'sh	kíäm	shéwant i;	tû'm	nû'sh	shewantamnuápka	sáwalktko
woman;	to her	fish	you may give;	plenty	to me	she will continue to give	having received presents.

Kámp'kuk	k̲éliak	pásh	tiä'ma.	Undsē't	kátchkal	pa-uápk	gé-utala steínash.
The indigent	without	food	is hungry.	By and by	tobacco	I will chew	to my heart's content.

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372 fire built in the notch quickly eats into the dry heart wood but will not spread in the green wood. Sometimes a lazy man will attempt to cut off the dry top of a standing tree by cutting all around with the horn pick. This is attended with considerable danger, since the top may drop straight down on the workman perched in the branches.

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[372] Stone axes and adzes are unknown, although Barrett speaks of adzing the canoe.[298] In their place, every man had several elk-horn picks (to'kĕ) and hardwood mauls. The picks are the unworked tines of elk antlers, not made wedge shape. These are cut off by laying a fire at the appropriate spot on the antler. Yew wedges are not known. The maul is only a knotty club of oak or mountain mahogany; a knot with the limb attached. Barrett describes a conical stone maul, but I was not told of this.[299]

[114]
372
[114] The fire drill is the familiar stick rotated between the palms on a wooden hearth, so that the flowing wood dust falls on the tinder. The wood selected for the drill (slī'kwīs) is preferably the dry tip (ha'bɛ) of the bull pine; alternatively a willow or sage-brush branch is used. It is two feet long, a half inch diameter. Coville was told that "for a twirling stick a dry, dead twig of yellow pine, about 6 mm. (one-fourth inch) in diameter, seasoned and somewhat softened by the weather, is often employed; but the best stick is made of sage-brush, *Artemisia tridentata*."[300] The hearth (k'ts!īk) is of indifferent wood, commonly a paddle blade, but the best wood[301] for the purpose is cedar (wo'lwŭms). The size and shape of the hearth is not standardized, and curiously it lacks pits for the drill to rotate in[302] and notches to carry the wood dust to the tinder. The tinder is black sage-brush bark. Although one of my informants denied the use of the compound drill it was described by another and a specimen is figured by Hough.[303] Such a drill has a willow-root point, three inches long, spliced to a shaft of any sort. While this suggests the possible use of a cane arrow and foreshaft as a makeshift drill, I was told this was not used. Men carry the drill in the quiver, women in the cradle. They coax the drill while twirling it, "I want to kill all kinds of animals, to put them in the fire to cook, when I get flame."[304]

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[298] P. 247.

[299] P. 252.

[300] Notes, 88, 105.

[301] Confirmed by Coville, who states that the bark is not used for this purpose.

[302] Barrett says otherwise (*op. cit.*, 257).

[303] Fire Making Apparatus, 536, 538.

[304] For the method of laying a fire, see below.

372 A bit of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire about the village but for an overnight journey a woman carries a spark in a long fuse. This is of black sage-brush bark, twisted into a rope thirty inches long and bound about at intervals.[305]

412 321 324 Knives are fashioned from stone blades or shells. These river shells (ĕndj!ĕ'tc) are not ground to an edge but used as they are. Forms ranging in size from arrowheads to large lance blades are chipped from obsidian, flint, and similar stones. So far as I am aware these are never ground into shape. Those intended for knives are sometimes wrapped around the butt to provide a handle.[306] Stone knives are intended for butchering rather than woodworking. Blades never figured in the display of wealth, as among the Yurok. Barrett figures a bone knife used for separating the inner and outer bark of pine.[307]

412 294 462 Sewing is done with awl and sinew. The awl (sŏ'ḳtᴇ) is a fragment of the fore-leg tibia of a deer. Although the upper end of a tibia is nicely rounded to fit the hand, and is accordingly used elsewhere, the Klamath make no use of it. Instead a splinter sharpened at each end is inserted in a wooden handle. Old men carry these at the chest tied on a buckskin thong. The sinew used is that which lies along a deer's backbone. (Sinew is called ᴇmboi'itc; this particular sinew bi'lhŏp.) Skin garments for either sex are sewn by women. Women also make moccasins whether of skin or tule.

281 The smoking process is used when tanning. The skin is stretched over a tipi-like frame of little willows set over a hole as deep as one's forearm. The fire is made of rotten wood. Coville states that "the bark [of the white fir (bä, *Abies concolor* (Gord.) Lindl.)] is sometimes used to dye and tan buckskin, giving it somewhat the appearance of ordinary tan-colored leather."[308]

415 439 Neither bags of skin (k!o'wanᴇ) nor parfleches are made by the Klamath. These are brought from the Dalles, I was told, and probably from Warm Springs, for cĕptŏk, parfleche, is clearly a loan word from Sahaptin (cf. Yakima căta'kai).

285 Mats are of four kinds, each designated by a name. Sewn mats (st!ŏps) are used solely as the outer covering of mat-lodges; when

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[305] Illustrated by Barrett, pl. 22, fig. 1.

[306] Pitch was not used to fasten these. One type of knife, at least, found as far apart as Mexico and the Arctic, and consisting of stone fragments set into the sides of the handle, is unknown here.

[307] Pl. 22, fig. 5; cf. Gatschet, 1:148.

[308] Notes, 88.

412 The root digging stick (a'mda) is made of a very hard wood, mountain mahogany (*Cercocarpus ledifolius*)[317] or service berry, three feet long and an inch and a half in diameter. One end is burned and rubbed on a stone to a point. Since modern examples made of iron are slightly bent at the lower end, it may be presumed that wooden examples were also. A cross-handle of the same wood, nine inches long, is set on the upper end, wedged and tied in place, the joint covered with pitch.

415 Wooden spoons (mite!o') shaped like little paddles are used. Spoons are also cut from the breast bone of the swan, which is conveniently shaped for the purpose; these are called sh'o-kobh'.[318] Others are river shells, which are not provided with handles. But mushes are frequently scooped up by the handful.[319]

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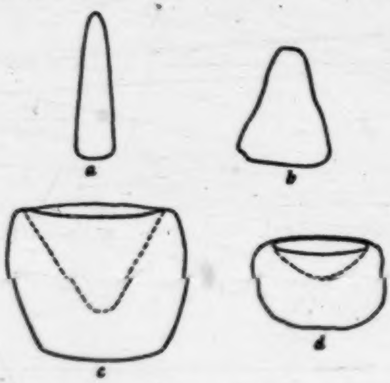

Fig. 11. Pestles and mortars. *a, c, d*, Klamath; *b*, Upland Takelma. Length of *a*, 9 inches.

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Buckets or receptacles of the bark of lodgepole pine (*Pinus murrayana* Balf.) are mentioned by Coville. "Sections of bark from trunks of the proper size are often used to make buckets for gathering berries, particularly huckleberries. The cylinder of bark is sewed together on the slitted side and at one end, the bottom therefore being wedge-shaped. Huckleberries when placed in such receptacles and

properly covered with large leaves retain their freshness for a long time."[330] 415

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[317] Coville, Notes, 93, 98.

[318] Coville, Wokas, 733.

[237]

[319] In this connection we may note that turtle shells, which would have provided excellent utensils, are not used. Nor are they used for rattles. Turtles (zagö'k) are found only in the southern part of Klamath territory, on the western shore of Klamath lake from Modoc point to the falls.

Both metates and mortars are used for grinding seeds, mashing roots, and similar operations. 412 The metate or grinding slab is however the favored utensil. The metate is a flat slab containing a little depression. The muller in use with it is unique in that it is commonly provided with two horns or knobs to serve as handholds and which project away from the user. This form is however not invariable, for any shape is used so long as it provides a flat grinding face and a narrower upper part that can be grasped with both hands. For light work, a hemispherical or conical stone is used. Barrett describes the grinding process: "the muller is held so that the horns or ears point from the operator and the grinding is done on the stroke of the muller from the operator, the stroke toward the operator being very light indeed."[331] A flat tray basket is tucked under the far end of the metate to catch the meal.

The mortar (ga'mö̦ks) is a lava block bearing a depression which deepens with use and whose form is thus largely determined by the manner in which the pestle is used. The exterior is frequently nicely finished. The stone pestle (aķ!a) is elongate, and on the whole nicely reduced to form by pecking. Several mortars and pestles seen and sketched are shown in figure 11. The more nicely finished mortar (fig. 11*c*) has seen use over three generations. Figure 11*b* is a lava pestle obtained from Upland Takelma territory; its form is not that of Klamath pestles.[332]

BASKETRY

While no special study of Klamath basketry was undertaken, 285 Barrett's notes on the subject can be amplified.[333] As with the Californian tribes, basketry provided most of the domestic utensils. Klamath forms are few, the technique simple, and decoration used but moderately. The vast majority of the baskets are of twine weave; there is but one type, the water basket, made by coiling.

The types recognized and named by the Klamath are the following:[334] hats (k!ɛmū', women's; k!ane'o, men's), burden baskets (ya"gi

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[330] Notes.

[331] Material Culture, 252, pls. 12, 21.

[332] I venture that the stone maul figured by Barrett (*op. cit.*, pl. 21, fig. 8) is such a Takelma pestle set to a new use, for I was told of wooden, not stone, mauls.

[333] Material Culture, 253–257.

[334] See also Coville, Wokas, 738.

342 417 nearly vertical and protrudes considerably above the roof level. Ladders are never made of a log with holes cut through it, nor were the central posts notched for this purpose.[373]

313 412 • The rough planks used in roofing the structure are made by splitting hollow logs with elk-horn wedges. These are driven with a hardwood club, oak, or mountain mahogany. Every man has three or four such wedges; axes are wholly unknown and stone mauls not used. Obviously such timbers cannot compare with the broad planks of the Northwest peoples, but are rather of the crude Yurok type. Procuring the planks is quite a little expedition. They go in four to six canoes, spending a whole day splitting enough for a single house. The people of the du'kwa settlements at the mouth of Williamson river, for instance, cross Klamath lake to its timbered western shore for their supply. 342 35

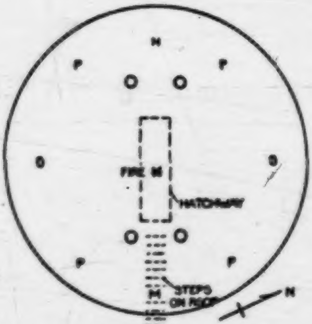

Fig. 19. Named parts of the house.

The several parts of the house interior as set off by the central posts are named. That portion at the front of the house directly under the outside steps is called stĕ'kis (*M*, fig. 19); the opposite end, tka'lŭm (*N*). These spaces are used for storage. The sides of the interior (*O*) are la'lɪstal and the corner sections (*P*) are stc!oka'ctal. These, the living quarters, are preferable to the end spaces presumably because the narrowness of the hatchway yields a greater extent of roof cover on each side, thus affording greater protection. The sleeping quarters of shamans are on the northern side of the lodges, hence [756] I assume that this segment is always occupied by the head of the household. The shaman dances principally on this side of the central area.

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[373] Compare Barrett, 244.

Their material culture at large follows the general alignment of 171*
their basic economy with the Plateau peoples. This can be made clear 105
by the following tabulation of material culture traits shared by tribes in adjacent culture areas. A few items of social culture not discussed elsewhere are also entered. Only those traits for which comparative data could be readily found are included, which makes the list random rather than truly representative. It must be understood that the reference is only to the specific form in which the Klamath hold to the trait. Thus, the compound fire-drill stick is entered, and not the simple fire drill. In fact, traits of this sort, having a distribution over the whole continent, have been excluded as adding nothing to our

KLAMATH TRAITS SHARED BY TRIBES IN ADJACENT AREAS

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Houses	Earth-lodge	Plateau (Chilcotin to Middle Columbia and Wishram), N.E. California (where it merges into central Californian forms).	[342]
	Mat-lodge	Wishram, Nez Percé, Middle Columbia?	[343]
Sweat-lodges	Dome-shaped	N.E. California, Basin, Plateau, Southwest rancherias, Plains, and eastward.	
	Earth-covered	Washington, Oregon (merges with central Californian type).	
Fishing	Dip nets	California, Plateau, Northwest Coast.	[227]
	Dam; weir	N. California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
	Two-prong spear	California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
Digging stick	Cross-handle; curved point	Northwest Coast, Plateau?	[412]
Insect foods	Slight use	Oregon, s. Plateau, Basin, California.	[262]
Metate	Extensive use	California (late in N. California?), Basin, Plateau?, Southwest and southward.	[412]
Mortar	Stone	S. and central California (prehistoric in N. California); wooden mortars in Plateau.	
Canoe	Shovel nose	Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Columbia basin to N. California.	[501]
Baskets	Considerable use	California, Basin, Plateau.	[415]
	Twine	Northwest Coast s. into N. California.	
	Minor use of coil	Plateau, Basin, central and s. California.	
Bags	Woven	Made east of Cascades, s. to Klamath.	[286]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 230]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
Clubs																	
1055. Stone clubs	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	411
1056. "Slave killer" (animal figure)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1057. Paddle-shaped	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[532]
1058. Imported		.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1059. Natural cobblestone, cylindrical	-	-	-						+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1060. Wooden clubs	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
1061. Natural limb	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
1062. Used in brawls or to kill salmon only	+	+							+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1063. Ball- or knob-ended	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
1064. Stone or horn spike insert	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1065. Straight rabbit club	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	
1066. Stone head encased in buckskin	-	(+)	.	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Fighting Spears																	
1067. Spear used in war	•R	+	+	-	•-	•-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	[726]
1068. Thrust mainly	(+)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	
1069. Flaked stone point	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	
1070. Bone or horn point	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Daggers, Slings, Bola																	
1071. Obsidian knife or dagger	+	+	+	+	+	•+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1072. Center section buckskin-wrapped	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1073. Hafted wooden handle	-	-	-	-				+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
1073a. Bone dagger, awl-shaped	-	-	-					•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1074. Sling	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	
1075. Used for war	-	+	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	
1076. Used for hunting	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1077. Used as toy	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	
1078. Clay shot	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1079. Rocks for shot	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	
1080. Bola	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	•+	•+		.	
Armor																	
1081. Rod jacket	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	714
1082. Hide tunic, no rods	•+	+	+	-	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
1083. Hide helmet	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1084. Circular rod shield		-				•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1084a. Hide curtain as shield	-	+	(+)	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Household Implements																	
Mortars and Pestles																	
1085. Bedrock mortar	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	•o	412 ●
1086. Portable stone mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1087. Outside rough hewn	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1088. Outside shaped and smoothed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1089. Found locally, used commonly	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	
1090. Found locally, not used for grinding food	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	•+	
1091. Found locally, used by shaman	-	•(+)	+	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	[756]
1092. Regarded as animate object	-	-	+	+		+	-	-						-	-	•-	[774]
1093. Regarded as dangerous or poisonous	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	•+	-	•+	+	.	-	-	-	•+	
1094. Made by myth character	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	•+	.	-	-	-	-	•+	[773]

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
412 1095. Made by recent humans	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	+	+	−
1096. Made locally	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1097. Wooden mortar	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	*+	−	+
1098. Shallow, in side of log	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*+
1099. Deep, in end of log	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
*1100. Pounding slab	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+
1101. Stone	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1102. Wood	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
285 1103. Hopper basket	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1104. Twined	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1105. Made for purpose	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1106. Old basket adapted	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−
412 1107. Stone pestle	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1108. Natural cobble	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1109. Cylindrical	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1110. Tapering	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1111. Maul-shaped	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1112. Flanged	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1113. At top	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1114. At bottom	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1115. Long, slender for deep wood mortar	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1116. Made	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1117. Found	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1118. Wooden pestle	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1119. Metate or grinding slab	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	*+	−
1120. Natural, oval	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	+	−
1121. Squared on 4 sides	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−
1122. Smooth (used) on 1 side only	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
1123. Muller	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
1124. Natural, oval	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1125. Made, square	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1126. Made, rectangular	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*+	*+	−	−	*+	−
1127. Made, conical (1 horn)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1128. Made, 2-horned	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1129. Hammerstone and anvil	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1130. Hollowed anvil, for cracking acorns	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
1131. Small natural rock used as anvil	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
*1132. "Green" acorns cracked with teeth	−	−	+					*−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
Brushes																
*1133. Soaproot	−	−	.	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1134. Cylindrical, bunched	−	−	.	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1135. Flat, like modern broom	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1136. Used for mealing	−	−	.	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1137. Porcupine quills glued together			−			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1138. Used for mealing			−			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1139. Twigs or brush, bunched	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1140. Used for mealing	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1141. Used for mashing wild fruit	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1142. Used for sweeping	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1143. Bird wing	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
1144. Used for mealing	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1145. Used for sweeping	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Stirrers, Stone Lifters																
o1146. Wooden paddle mush stirrer	−	−	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	(−)	−	+	+	+	+
1147. Carved	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1148. Plain	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+

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Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1149. Also used to remove stones from basket	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	412
1150. 2 paddles	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1151. 1 paddle plus hand	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	
1152. Single stick used as stirrer	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	
1153. 2 sticks (loose) for stone tongs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1154. Used to remove stones from basket	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
1155. Used to remove stones from fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1155a. Split-stick stone tongs	-	-	-	-	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Spoons																	
1156. Horn spoon	•-	+	.	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	415
1157. Carved handle	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1158. Horn dipper	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1159. Wooden spoon	+	+	.	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1160. Carved handle	.	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1161. Wooden ladle	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1162. Bone spoon	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1163. Deer skull as spoon or dipper	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1164. Fawn forehead, carved	-	-	+					-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1165. Rodent scapula	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1166. Breast bone of duck, swan	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1167. Fish bone	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1168. Shell spoon	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1169. Ocean mussel shells, imported	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-							+	
1170. Freshwater mussels	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1171. Used by men and women	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1172. Spatula for eating	-	+	.	-	-	•+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1173. Bone	-	+	.	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1174. Wood	-	+	.	-	-	+	+	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1175. Deer tail for sipping fruit ciders	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	
1176. Handled basketry dipper	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1177. Small basket, no handle, for dipper					•-	•-	•-					+	+	+	+	+	
Knives																	
1178. Stone, retouched; used for butchering	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	412
1179. Obsidian	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	-	+	
1180. Quartz											-	-	-	.	•+	-	
1181. Buckskin wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	
1182. Sinew wrapped	-		-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1183. Wooden handle	-	+	-	•-	+	-	+	•-	•-	•-	+	+	-	+	-	+	
1184. Horn handle	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1185. Bone handle	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1186. Stone; split cobble or rough core	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	+	+	
1187. Bone or horn knife	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	
1188. Horn knife used for butchering	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1189. Beaver tooth engraver	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Manufacturing Implements																	
Awls																	
1190. Bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1191. Upper foreleg of deer	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	
1192. Deer ulna	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	
1193. Coyote, porcupine, etc., bone							+	-	-	•+	.	-	-	-	-	-	
1194. Cactus spine	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1195. Handle pitch covered	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
412 1196. Awl handle wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
Needles																
1197. Eyed needle of bone for mats	–	+	+	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1198. Notched needle of bone	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1199. Wooden mat needle	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1200. Bone awl used to sew buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Shuttles and Spacers																
413 1201. 1-piece wooden net shuttle	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	.	–
1202. Flat stick, ends notched	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	°+	–	–	+	.	–	–	.	–
1203. Flat stick, ends pointed	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	°+	°+	–	.	–	–	.	–
1204. 2-piece shuttle of 2 sticks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	.	+
1205. String ball, no stick	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1206. Mesh spacer of wood	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	–	.	+
1207. Flat, squarish	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	.	–
1208. Flat, rectangular	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	.	–
1209. Mesh measured with fingers	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	–	.	–	+	.	+
Drills, Fire-making Implements																
372 1210. Composite drill, shaft and point	–	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	°+	+	.	–
1211. Stone point	–	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	.	–
1212. Bone or horn point	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	.	–
1213. For shell work, pipe making	–	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	.	–
1214. 1-piece bone or horn drill (awl).	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	.	–	–	.	–
1215. For shell work	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1216. Bow drill, to drill wooden pipes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	–	–
1217. 1-piece, held with buckskin in fingers	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	.	–	–	–	–
1218. Rotated, 1 hand, other holding object	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	.	–	+	–	–
1219. Rotated, both hands opposed	.	–	.	–	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	.	–	–	–	–
1220. Pipe wood soaked in oil: grub bores through	–	–	–	°+	–	–	[illegible]	°–	°–	°–	–	.	.	–	–	–
1221. Small coal used to burn hole, wooden pipe	–	–	.		+	–	–	–	+	+	–	.	.	–	.	+
1222. Hand rotated fire-drill	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)
1223. 1-piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1224. Composite	+	°+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	.	–
1225. 2 stones struck together, for spark	–	–	°–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	+	–	.	–
1226. Slow match of bark to carry fire	°+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1227. Smoldering "torch" to carry fire		+						+	°+	–	–	–	°+	+	°+	+
1238. Live coals carried on stone, wooden slab	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
Wedges, Mauls, Axes																
412 1229. Horn wedge or "pick"	°+	.	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	°+	–	.	+	–	+
1230. Wooden wedge	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	+
1231. Natural cobble as maul	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–
1232. Wooden maul	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
1233. Wooden pounding club	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	.	–	–	+
1234. Grooved stone ax	–	°+	–	°R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
Flakers																
324 1235. Flakers for retouching by pressure	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	.
1236. Of antler	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	.
1237. Of deer cannon bone	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	.
1238. Flaker hafted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	.	.
1239. Flakers for retouching by percussion	+	+	.	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	.	+	+	.	.
1240. Of stone	+	+	°+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	.	.

411 single shaft, no head used for war. String attached to arrow to retrieve. (AW: in myth Butterfly shoots arrow with string attached; arrow-chain motif.) Arrow poison made from blood. [413] Arrow straighteners and smoothers.--1-piece stone straightener with incised design, used mainly for cane shafts; heated before using. Shooting techniques.--Secondary arrow release. Mongolian arrow release. Clubs and spears.--Manufactured cylindrical stone club. Curved rabbit club. Spear with wooden point. Spear thrower. Daggers and armor.--Horn, wooden daggers. [714] Bark armor. Rawhide shield, round or rectangular.

Household Implements

412 415 Mortars and pestles.--Portable stone mortar, outside natural. Coiled hopper basket; hopper basket stuck fast to pounding slab with pitch. Stone pestle with bulb end and slender body. Metate used on both sides. Loop-handled muller. Brushes.--Leaves glued to stick with pitch. Porcupine tail, rodent tail for mealing. Stirrers, lifters, spoons, knives.--Looped-stick stirrer. 2 sticks, bound at 1 end, for stone tongs. Horn spoon used by men only. Tortoise-shell dipper. Gourd dipper. Rodent foot as spoon. Cane knife.

Manufacturing Implements

413 Net shuttle, drills, fire making, mauls.--Flat round stick, bone or horn 1-piece shuttle. Vise for drilling: split stick, hide. Stone bowl to carry coals. Pear-shaped stone maul; partly shaped stone maul. Adzes, axes.--Curved-handle adz; D-shaped-handle adz; elbow-shaped-handle adz. Stone, bone, horn, shell blades.

MANUFACTURES

Textiles

285 Baskets: weaves.--Coiling: rods vertical; rod-and-splint foundation; grass-bundle foundation. Coiling toward right of worker. Awl enters inside of basket. Start a piece of hide. 415 Baskets: uses and shapes.--Seed beater of wicker weave. Deep sifter or winnower, pointed bottom, Hupa type. Boiling basket in diagonal twine. Necked water bottle in plain twine. Necked water bottle with earth smeared over pitch. Bell-shaped, Pomo-type burden basket; cylindrical or barrel-shaped burden basket. Elliptical coiled storage basket, Pomo type. Tulare "bottleneck" baskets. Cylindrical side-opening dance basket, Hupa type. 415 531 Baskets: decoration.--Break in banded woven ornament, to let soul out. Feather decoration on rim or shoulder. Entire basket feather covered. Patterns painted on baskets. 854 Cradles.--Deep, Pomo-type sitting

000 2 arrows simultaneously from bow in war; informant's father authority for this.

1048. MM: For shooting game. For shooting in war, arrow is underneath bow.

1049. SE, SW, At, AW: Rich man uses skin of gray fox, otter; ordinary man uses skin of raccoon, wildcat, kit fox, fawn. WT: Spotted fawnskin. WM: Rich man uses otter, fisher skin; sign of wealth. Ordinary man uses fawn, wildcat skin.

1064. Mo: Purchased or traded for; wealthy persons only.

[411
726
178] 1067. Kl: Denied for pre-white days; "now people use spears." At: Ascribed to Kl; denied for At. AW: "Yana used obsidian knife on an 8-ft. stick."

Daggers, slings, bola; armor.--

1071. AW: Obsidian "butcher knife"; jabbed.

1073a. WT, WM, WS: See 2853 and note.

1078. Mo: Natural clay balls, or moist clay picked up, rolled between hands.

1080. MF, NM: Single rock, shaped, 1 end heavier than other, tied to 1 end of string. A MF relative of informant, who had never seen any specimens of this implement but had heard it described, voluntarily likened it to bola.

714
824 1081. Kl: Made of split serviceberry stalks, woven into form of tunic; tied together on right side, under armpit.

1082. Kl: 1-piece; no sleeves; 2 arm holes; tied together on 1 side and at top, over 1 shoulder. Arrow unable to penetrate such. AE: Ascribed to Kl; said to have been made "like an apron, lacking any back piece."

000 1084. AW: String in center, by which to hold shield. Used also against guns, in recent times, but "didn't work."

Household Implements

Mortars and pestles.--

[412] 1085. Among several groups bedrock mortar used chiefly for substances which require hard pounding, such as acorns. AW: Pit mortar in solid rock, used by shaman to pound his poison; regarded as "dangerous." AE: Informant stated pit mortars occur in vicinity of Fall River (AW area); used, according to him, to pound acorns in (see above). MV: No rocky outcrops suitable for this type mortar present in area.

1090. MV: "People did not want to have anything to do with objects which had been already made." See also note 1093.

1091. Mo: Small mortars used to keep paint in. SW: Not only mortar, but small stone pestle of "dangerous" variety (found, not manufactured) used by doctor. When treating patient, shaman sends this pestle upward; it travels by short cut to road which dead traverse, and blocks this road, so dead person cannot travel over it; "then there is a chance for the doctor to cure the person, since the road is blocked." Old

000 persons keep small pestle of this sort in house, also, to rub over body when in pain. AW: "Belong to shaman; common people dare not use, touch them. If someone sees large mortar, and powerful doctor using it, that person will die. When doctor hides these mortars, you cannot see them, but they sing; you can hear them." MM: Shaman puts poison object, which he sucks out of patient, into small mortar.

1092. MV: Ground stone pendants with perforation for suspension, such as Dixon figures (Dixon, Maidu, fig. 11b, p. 140), regarded as animate, however.

1093. WT: Found at Bridge Gulch, "but Indians wouldn't touch them; they didn't think they were poisonous, but dangerous, because they belonged to the dead." WS: Either dangerous or lucky. MV: Because made by dangerous supernatural creature (see note 1094).

1094. WS: By sucker-like creature. MV: By skunklike creature, yuima.

1097. MM: Portable.

1098. MV: 2 holes, in flat upper surface of split log.

1100. Used with up-and-down pounding motion for substances which require light pounding only, such as dried meat. MV: Beside flat pounding slab, have portable stone pounding slabs with shallow depressions, for harder pounding.

1107. SW: Grasp pestle with each hand, alternately, "never missing a beat"; do not hold pestle with both hands simultaneously.

1119. NS: Flat stone slab, 2 1/2 ft. long, ca. 1 1/2 ft. wide; informant's mother's mother used metate (cf. Beals, Nisenan, p. 352) with stone "rubber" or muller, ca. 12 in. long, cylindrical, flat on bottom. Name of metate unknown to informant; name of muller, bai (also name for large pestle used in pounding). Rubber used with downward motion, away from body; grasped with both hands; metate not tipped up, nor did it have basket set under it at farther end. Used to grind grass, birch seeds.

1126. MM, MF, NS: Ca. 5 in. long, 2-3 in. thick.

1132. That is, acorns not yet fully brown, or freshly gathered new-crop acorns. WT: Dried acorns only, cracked with teeth.

Brushes; stirrers; spoons; knives.--

1133. See elements 499 and 504 for presence or absence of soaproot in area, and importation of soaproot.

1146. AW: Paddle has longer, slenderer blade than Shasta paddle; blade smoothed with pumice stone.

● [412] 1156. Kl: "Some tribes used elkhorn spoons, out not in this country." SW: Imported (?) (see note 354).

1172. AW: Used by few persons, but "too slow"; mainly eat with fingers.

1174. WT: Youth after return home from vision quest uses flat stick for eating; only time spatula used.

[192-B]

OOO 1177. At, AW, AE: Basket cap used for dipping up water, also to drink from. AW: "Sometimes put something pretty fine to eat in small basket cup."

1178. AW: Knife roughly triangular, with broad lower end (handle end) rounded; 1 side of knife dull, for half sawing, breaking bones; other side has rough, sharp edge. "Weak" (non-poisonous) piece of obsidian used for knife (see note 1019).

1180. NS: Prismatic quartz (? "crystal") used for knife. Obtained from ledges in vicinity. Not used for arrowheads, which are made of "pink" obsidian, imported.

1183. SW, WT, WM, WS: Not hafted if used to cut meat. WM, WS: Hafted knives used in war only (see element 1073).

Manufacturing Implements

Awls; shuttles; drills; wedges; flakers.--

1193. WS: Bear ulna.

1202. WT: Twine rolled on flat stick, notched at 2 ends; loops for net wrapped around piece of plain round stick. Informant had never seen netting shuttle of type figured in Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 4a, p. 126.

1203. WM, WS: Pointed stick, but no slit through center, as shown in Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 4a, p. 126; informants had never seen this type shuttle.

1210. NF: Pump drill (recent ?) for drilling beads, pipes.

1220. See Dixon, Shasta, p. 395; reaffirmed by my SW informant. WT, WM, WS: Informants had never heard of this procedure but method used by some Wintu groups (see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 128). For wooden pipes WT, WM, WS use ash, poking out soft heart with stick.

1222. AW: Drill of black oak. Drill selected from several pieces of black oak (much as arrow-maker selects pieces of obsidian; see note 1019); piece chosen that "will make fire quickly." Hearth of red fir bark. MV: Denied drill; described fire making as follows: Good-sized dry elder stalk split, pith removed; this hollow section held in 1 hand and rubbed back and forth with end of other half of split stalk, until fire produced. Informant had seen her cousin produce fire thus. NF informant also referred to similar method of fire making.

1224. Mo: Serviceberry shaft, cedar point.

1225. SE: Also stated softened chaparral bark rubbed between both hands until "spark" produced.

[372] 1226. Kl: Sagebrush.

[924] 1227. WM: Set end of oak stick afire, and carry it in pack basket. NF: Used when going on long trip. NS: For short distances only.

[412] 1229. Kl: Elkhorn pick. MM: Deerhorn wedge.

[237] 1234. Mo: Imported. "Important people bought such things." SW: Imported, in recent times only.

000 1612. MM: With burnt pepperwood gourds.

[301] [304] [177] 1614. Kl: "Nose plugs and earrings are new; the Klamath learned to use them from the Molale Indians and the S [California] Indians. They never made holes in their nose and ears in old times." SW: Awl used chiefly to pierce noses; sometimes point of quill, but latter makes too small a hole. WM: Male, female mourner if desirous of inflicting loss on others similar to that he has experienced, retires to small sweat house (Lut) and pierces nasal septum with small manzanita stick. Addresses bloody stick, telling it he wishes other persons to die; stays in sweat house 6-7 days, leaving stick in nose until hole has healed; then takes out stick and gives it to relative, shaman usually, to keep and use in poisoning people. WS: By sick persons only, occasionally.

Deformation, mutilations.--

[304] 1617. Kl: See note 1614. SW: Porcupine quill used; keeps ear lobes from becoming sore.

1620. At: Men, women. AE: Women.

[304] [177] 1621. Kl: Learned to tattoo from Shasta (Achomawi?) when informant boy (ca. 50 years ago). "Two Kl women went [S] to see Shasta; when they returned, 1 old woman tattooed herself" with 3 lines on chin radiating from mouth; "people saw it and liked it, and lots of old women did it then. The first old woman thought it made her look pretty." Informant had also seen 1 old man, with circles tattooed under eyes, and connecting line over nose, but "didn't like it; it looked funny." Men's tattooing on arms also recent custom. Mo informants confirmed slight use of tattoo by Kl; commented upon how heavily Shasta tattoo. Mo: Recent (?). SW informant denied Wintu women tattoo; however, Mo informant attr[illegible]uted tattooing to Tule Lake Mo groups. WM: Lit[illegible] tattooing among WM; if tattoo very much, spirits will take person away. More tattooing among Trinity, Weaverville Wintu groups (Nomsus).

1622. AW: Boys occasionally only. WT: Men on arms, when wife dies only.

1625. WT: 3 narrow stripes put on girl's chin; vertical lines across cheeks added later, when girl is grown woman.

1626. WT: See note 1625.

1627. WT: Women.

1629. SW: Upper-arm marks to measure dentalia; men, only. WT, WM: Men. WM: Men tattoo as therapeutic measure only.

● [304] [412] 1633. Obsidian knife, generally. MV: With white rock, procured from river and smashed for sharp edge.

[757] 1638. Therapeutic measure; see elements 4473-4474.

1641. Mo: "Proud of eyebrows, eyelashes; wouldn't pull them." NS: Hot ashes applied; "eyebrows never grow back."

1642. NS: See preceding note.

1647. MV: Face rubbed with warm rock, so beard will not grow quickly.

1648. SE, WT, MF, NM: Rarely; old men only.

[197-B]

0010 a few sticks." AE: Only healthy women leave hut immediately after birth, run 150-200 ft., and bathe; if weak, do not.

3141. AW: Only if she feels well.

3145. SW: Downstream from village. AE: Bathes only if day warm. WT: See note 3198. NF, MS: Informants shocked at idea of any bathing at this time; explained that "people were afraid of using water" on such occasions (see element 3169).

3151. SE: Mother drinks salmon-tail soup. Fish spawns, therefore soup efficacious in clearing out woman. Such a medicine denied for Kl, MM, MF, NF, NM, MS, MV groups. At, AW: Decoction of ashes drunk; denied for all other groups.

3155. MV: Small cake of warm ashes made into loaf with water; placed on woman's abdomen.

3156. AW: Use "hotbed" for 6-7 days, but when cord drops off child, after 3-4 days, change location of pit.

3157. Mo: 2-3 days.

3165. To "let bad blood out," after contamination during delivery of infant.

Restrictions on mother, father.--

3166. AW: 6-7 days.

3169. SE: Takes steam bath in birth hut. SW, AE: May bathe in river; must not take sweat bath. WT: See note 3198. MF, MV: Bathed in hut, by attendant.

3173. MV: Or, usually, with attendant.

3182. At: Can eat salt; "makes lots of milk."

3183. At: Makes lumps in blood.

[846]
[412] 3186. Kl: Scratching "brush" made of small bundle of willow twigs, 4 in. long, 1 in. wide. Mo: Bone scratcher, made from deer bone. At: Bone scratcher, worn in hair, not suspended from cord at neck or around wrist. Have fleas if do not use scratcher.

3192. AW: First time woman goes outside, with her baby, she throws piece of charcoal behind her; informant could give no reason for this, assigned it to "Coyote's law."

3193. Mo: Husband visits wife while she is outside in cook house; talks to her and sees baby. SW: Husband stays in birth hut with mother for 5 days after birth of child. WS: 2-3 days.

[834] 3194. Kl, Mo, SE: 2-3 months.

[846] 3198. WT: When navel cord drops off, both mother and father of infant bathe; then 1 month after birth of baby both bathe again, and mother quits birth hut, returns to living house. The father must bathe where fish are (in streams, not springs).

3200. AW: Pine needles; AE: sagebrush bark; NF: wormwood used in bath.

3206. At: Father sleeps in birth hut with wife, but no intercourse; early each morning he leaves hut, goes out and walks or runs in mountains during day. AW: Stays with wife in birth hut until cord drops off child; gathers wood for fire, keeps fire going at night.

3209. WT, WS: 4-6 days.

[214-B]

eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food K M 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [412] •
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K M
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [364]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K M
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M 221 756 796

*657 continued to be exploited for fifty years, until the owners of the
177 abutting land put an end to it. On the reservation, the Sprague
226 and Williamson continue to supply a catch, although the drying
[251] of fish for the winter, common enough on the Lower End until
about thirty years ago, has now passed into disuse.

*657 Similarly root gathering continued to be an important activity
178 for many years, leading Nickerson to suggest that several of the
177 palatable and nourishing roots used by the Indians for food
222 "could be materially improved by continued cultivation."[62] "Root
• [412] probes," or "camas diggers," as well as "fish spears" and fish
[227] hooks were forged by Agency blacksmiths for years.[63]

Wokas long remained a staple for the Klamath. In 1881 Nicker-
*657 son, noting that each family gathered some five to fifteen bushels,
178 added "this wokus, with dried fish, forms a large portion of the
222 food of those who have not the money with which to purchase
262 flour and groceries."[64] About the turn of the century, Coville observed a thriving wokas-gathering industry with a vast expanse of marsh to exploit, and speculated on the possibility of processing the seed commercially as a breakfast food.[65] The decline of wokas gathering parallels in time the Indian's diminishing use of dried fish, another winter food.

*657 A similar course can be traced for those fall activities, hunting
177 and berrying. From at least 1872, Indians were reported leaving
178 the reservation in September to hunt and gather berries in the
222 Cascades.[66] In addition, the men on occasion went on a spring
224 hunt for antelope and mule deer at the north end of the reservation.[67] Gradually the fall berrying and hunting came to be concentrated at the "huckleberry patch" on Huckleberry Mountain, southwest of Crater Lake. Hunting has continued to be both a sport and a means of providing food; and if the preparation of jerky has declined, it is because the freezer has displaced it.
[251] The drying of berries and wild fruits has been rendered obsolete by canning. There is local testimony that the killing off of predators by fur hunters and stock raisers has caused an increase of deer upon the reservation itself. It is not infrequent for a single family to consume six to fifteen or more deer in the course of a year. One tribal leader from the Upper End, a man then less than forty years of age, remarked in 1958 that until his family

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79. *Report* . . . , U.S. 39th Cong., 2d sess., p. 89.

80. F. B. Sprague to Lindsay Applegate (Nov. 16, 1867). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

81. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Sept. 9, 1874).

82. E. P. Smith, Commr., to L. S. Dyar (Sept. 27, 1875).

83. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 44th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1876–77), Vol. 4, Pt. 5, 524.

84. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Nov. 25, 1880).

85. *Message of the President of the United States and Accompanying Documents to the Two Houses of Congress*, U.S. 39th Cong., 1st sess. (1865–66), *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, p. 271.

86. Letter, Knapp to Parker (May 2, 1870), quoted in Nash (1937), p. 391; in *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 41st Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1870–71), Vol. 4, Pt. 4, 532.

87. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Sept. 3, 1875).

88. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Dec. 16, 1880).

89. Thomas M. Nichol, Acting Commr., to L. M. Nickerson (Feb. 17, 1881).

90. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Dec. 7, 1880). K

91. H. Price, Commr., to L. M. Nickerson (June 2, 1881). See also another proposal by Nickerson to issue shop tools through the chiefs, so that shops could be maintained in various localities. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Jan. 26, 1884), as well as the proposal by E. L. Applegate to issue tools and farm implements to competent Indians. E. L. Applegate to T. J. Morgan, Commr. (Jan. 15, 1890). [412] [177]

92. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge (Jan. 1, 1881), report for December of preceding year.

93. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Sept. 12, 1884).

94. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Aug. 1, 1883), report for July.

95. J. Emery to J. D. C. Atkins, Commr. (Aug. 1, 1887), report for July.

96. J. Emery to T. J. Morgan, Commr. (Aug. 24, 1889).

97. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (May 28, 1883).

SIX. POLITICAL CHANGES

1. He was the first Modoc signatory to the treaty. *Statutes at Large*, Vol. 16 (1871), p. 710.

2. George B. Curry, Col., 1st Oregon Infantry, to J. W. P. Huntington (Nov. 17, 1865), O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

3. In a letter from E. Steele to Commanding Officer, Fort Klamath,

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STONE IMPLEMENTS.

412 Several forms of stone implements are quite commonly found
[262] among the Klamath. Most characteristic of these is the two-
horned muller (pl. 21, fig. 2), used with the flat, very thin metate
[324] in grinding wokas, the chief food of the region. The process of
grinding with these implements is shown in pl. 12, fig. 1. The
muller is held so that the horns or ears point from the operator
and the grinding is done on the stroke of the muller from the
operator, the stroke toward the operator being very light indeed.
[252] A second form of muller, described by informants, but not now
in use, has a loop instead of the two horns. No special cere-
monial or religious significance seems to be attached to either of
these forms. Another, very small metate and a small grinding
stone or muller (pl. 21, fig. 1) are employed in the grinding of
certain seeds which are parched and used as food. The motion in
grinding with the small muller is circular, not backward and
forward as in the case of the larger one. These small milling
implements are also used by girls as playthings in the grinding
of wokas and other seeds.

Small mortars and pestles are quite commonly used at the present time and are still made by the people of this region. They are used chiefly by old people whose teeth are poor, for grinding dried fish and meat, though they are also employed in grinding seeds. The pestles used with these mortars are more or less crude. Those shown in pl. 21, figs. 3 and 4 are exceptionally well fashioned. A typical mortar is shown in fig. 6 of the same plate.

Another special implement of stone is the maul (pl. 21, fig. 8).
This, unlike the pestle, is always made with a decided conical
form. It varies up to five inches or so in diameter, and is from
[313] six to perhaps ten inches in length. It was used in driving the
elkhorn and mountain-mahogany wedges which were employed
in splitting trees, particularly for canoe making, as has been
[178] already described. Neither the wedge nor any other elkhorn
implement is now to be found in this region. Grooved sinkers
227 of elliptical or triangular form are used on the gill net. One
of these triangular sinkers is shown in pl. 21, fig. 7.

Modoc NS17

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412

Another stone implement is the single-grooved, flat-bottomed arrow straightener, such as is shown in pl. 21, fig. 9. A perforated wooden arrow straightener, of the form shown in fig. 5 of the same plate, is still used.

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[755]
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Implements of obsidian and of flint are common. Arrowheads and large spear points, as also knives which were formerly fitted into wooden handles, are yet to be found. These points are found by the Indians in various parts of the country where they have been used and left by former inhabitants. They are chiefly employed at present as charms in medicine and gambling. A gambler may take a large obsidian knife or spear point and, after singing the proper song, place it under the large tule mat upon which the game is being played, to insure good luck. In addition to their use in medicine as charms they are also employed for purposes of scarification.

K
276

Stone pipes of several forms (pl. 22, figs. 8, 9, 10) are still used. The discoidal form shown in figure 10, which is quite unusual for the Pacific slope, appears to have been less used in aboriginal times than the obtuse-angled form shown in figure 8.

GAMES.

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The Lutuami, like most aboriginal peoples, had many games for both adult and young. It will not be necessary to go into details here, as the subject has been treated by Dr. George A. Dorsey[8] and Mr. Stewart Culin.[9]

BASKETRY.

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The basketry of the Klamath and Modoc, which is always twined, may be classified under two heads: soft or pliable basketry and stiff or rigid basketry. The former predominates very largely and all the finer baskets are made in this manner. The materials used for this sort of basketry are as follows. The skin of the leaves of the cat-tail tule forms the white material which is used as the groundwork of almost all of the finer baskets. The

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[8] Certain Gambling Games of the Klamath Indians, Amer. Anthr., n. s. III, 14-27, 1901.

[9] Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., 136, 247, 291, 328, 479, 550, 659, 740, 1907.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10 ●
Modoc NS17

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 21.

Fig. 1.—Small muller. The base is flat. The hemispherical upper surface is shown. Museum number 1-12942. Diameter 9 cm.

Fig. 2.—Two-horned muller. Museum number 1-4540. Diameter 15 cm.

Fig. 3.—Pestle for grinding dried fish, meat, and seeds. Museum number 1-12907. Length 29 cm.

Fig. 4.—Pestle for grinding dried fish, meat, and seeds. Museum number 1-12932. Length 25 cm.

Fig. 5.—Perforated arrow-straightener of wood. Museum number 1-12628. Length 26 cm.

Fig. 6.—Mortar for grinding dried fish, meat, and seeds. Museum number 1-12953. Diameter 23 cm.

Fig. 7.—Grooved triangular sinker for gill net. Museum number 1-12880. Length 12 cm.

Fig. 8.—Maul for driving wedges. Museum number 1-12949. Length 15 cm.

Fig. 9.—Longitudinally grooved arrow-straightener and polisher of stone. Museum number 1-12914. Length 9 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc N517

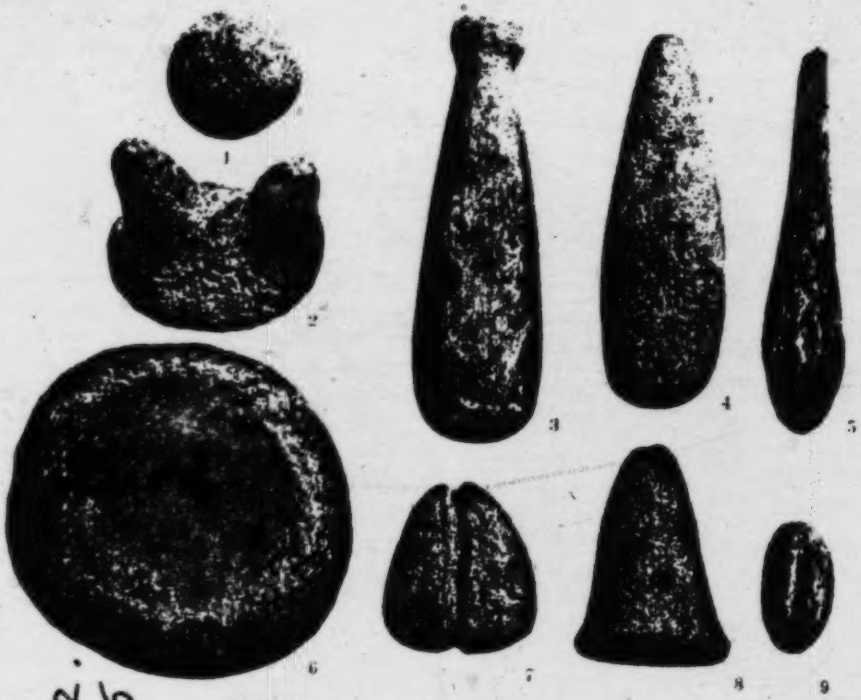

OBJECTS OF STONE, AND WOODEN ARROW-STRAIGHTENER.

[p285]

MK 412.415

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 22.

K
Fig. 1.—Torch of sagebrush bark. Museum number 1-12815. Length
M 71 cm.

227 Fig. 2.—Comb made of the tail of a porcupine. Museum number 1-12678.
Length 21 cm.
276
Fig. 3.—Fishhook and line. The hook consists of a straight piece of
284 bone pointed at both ends. Museum number 1-12755. Length of hook 8 cm.

372 Fig. 4.—Pair of bone harpoon points, partly covered with pitch, for
spearing fish. Museum number 1-12768. Length of points 8 and 10 cm.
● 412
Fig. 5.—Bone knife for separating inner and outer bark of pine. Museum number 1-12682. Length 28 cm.

Fig. 6.—Pair of double-pointed bone fishhooks. Museum number 1-12763. Length of shank 12 cm.

Fig. 7.—Bone mesh-measure for making nets. Museum number 1-12680. Length 13 cm.

Fig. 8.—Obtuse-angled pipe bowl of stone. Museum number 1-12382. Height 9 cm.

Fig. 9.—Stone pipe bowl. Museum number 1-12580. Height 4 cm.

Fig. 10.—Pipe with discoidal bowl of stone and short wooden stem. Museum number 1-14137. Height 11 cm.

Fig. 11.—Shuttle with string for making nets. Museum number 1-12871. Length 70 cm.

5: **Barrett** E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

M
K
392
←
412
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227
M
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284
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M
K
276

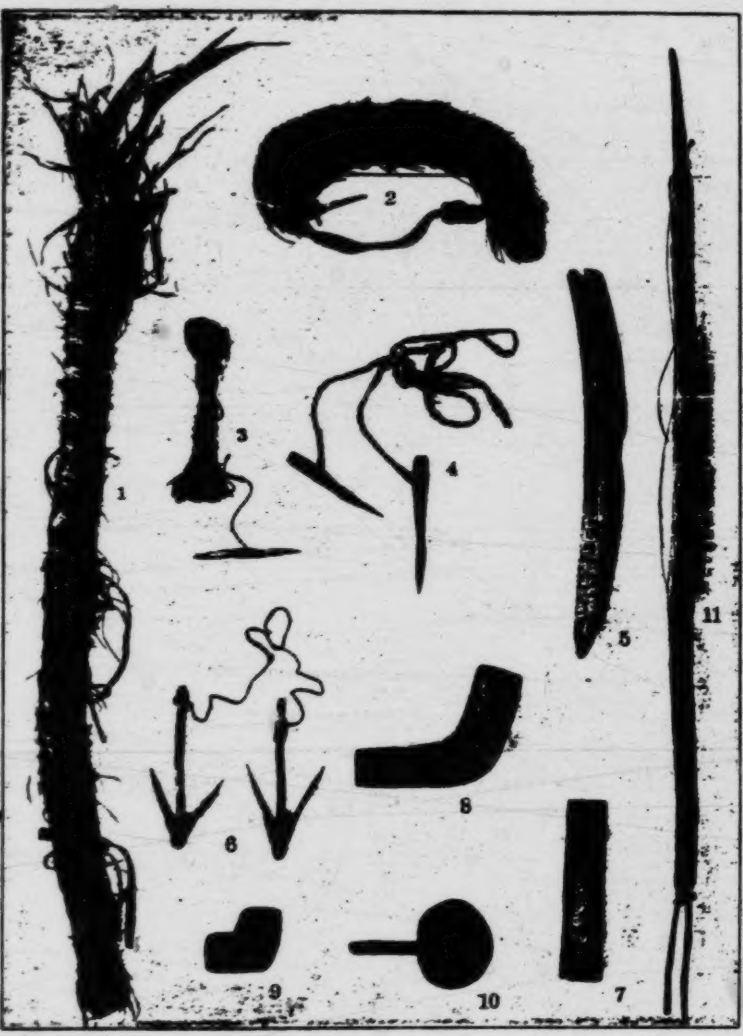

TORCH, COMB, FISHHOOKS, HARPOON POINTS, BONE KNIFE, MESH-MEASURER, PIPES, AND NETTING SHUTTLE.

[p. 287]

252

Preparation of wokas

252
415
531
412

[516]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
412 1196. Awl handle wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
Needles																
1197. Eyed needle of bone for mats	–	+	+	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1198. Notched needle of bone	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1199. Wooden mat needle	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1200. Bone awl used to sew buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Shuttles and Spacers																
413 1201. 1-piece wooden net shuttle	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	.	–
1202. Flat stick, ends notched	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	°+	–	–	+	.	–	–	.	–
1203. Flat stick, ends pointed	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	°+	°+	–	.	–	–	.	–
1204. 2-piece shuttle of 2 sticks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	.	+
1205. String ball, no stick	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1206. Mesh spacer of wood	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	–	.	+
1207. Flat, squarish	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	.	–
1208. Flat, rectangular	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	.	–
1209. Mesh measured with fingers	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	.	+
Drills, Fire-making Implements																
372 1210. Composite drill, shaft and point	–	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	°+	+	.	–
1211. Stone point	–	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	.	–
1212. Bone or horn point	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	.	–
1213. For shell work, pipe making	–	–	.	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	.	–
1214. 1-piece bone or horn drill (awl)	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	.	–	–	.	–
1215. For shell work	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
1216. Bow drill, to drill wooden pipes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	–	–
1217. 1-piece, held with buckskin in fingers	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	.	–	–	–	–
1218. Rotated, 1 hand, other holding object	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	.	–	+	–	–
1219. Rotated, both hands opposed	.	–	.	–	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	.	–	–	–	–
1220. Pipe wood soaked in oil: grub bores through	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–	°–	°–	°–	–	.	.	–	–	–
1221. Small coal used to burn hole, wooden pipe	–	–	.		+	–	–	–	+	+	–	.	.	–	.	+
1222. Hand rotated fire-drill	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°(–)
1223. 1-piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1224. Composite	+	°+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	.	–
1225. 2 stones struck together, for spark	–	–	°–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	+	–	.	–
1226. Slow match of bark to carry fire	°+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1227. Smoldering "torch" to carry fire		+						+	°+	–	–	–	°+	+	°+	+
1228. Live coals carried on stone, wooden slab	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
Wedges, Mauls, Axes																
412 1229. Horn wedge or "pick"	°+	.	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	°+	–	.	+	–	+
1230. Wooden wedge	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	+
1231. Natural cobble as maul	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–
1232. Wooden maul	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
1233. Wooden pounding club	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	.	–	–	+
1234. Grooved stone ax	–	°+	–	°R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
Flakers																
324 1235. Flakers for retouching by pressure	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	.
1236. Of antler	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	.
1237. Of deer cannon bone	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	.
1238. Flaker hafted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	.	.
1239. Flakers for retouching by percussion	+	+	.	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	.	+	+	.	.
1240. Of stone	+	+	°+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	.	.

411 single shaft, no head used for war. String attached to arrow to retrieve. (AW: in myth Butterfly shoots arrow with string attached; arrow-chain motif.) Arrow poison made from blood.
● [413] Arrow straighteners and smoothers.--1-piece stone straightener with incised design, used mainly for cane shafts; heated before using. Shooting techniques.--Secondary arrow release. Mongolian arrow release. Clubs and spears.--Manufactured cylindrical stone club. Curved rabbit club. Spear with wooden point. Spear thrower. Daggers and armor.--Horn, wooden daggers. Bark armor. Rawhide shield, round or
[714] rectangular.

Household Implements

412 Mortars and pestles.--Portable stone mortar, outside natural. Coiled hopper basket; hopper
415 basket stuck fast to pounding slab with pitch. Stone pestle with bulb end and slender body. Metate used on both sides. Loop-handled muller. Brushes.--Leaves glued to stick with pitch. Porcupine tail, rodent tail for mealing. Stirrers, lifters, spoons, knives.--Looped-stick stirrer. 2 sticks, bound at 1 end, for stone tongs. Horn spoon used by man only. Tortoise-shell dipper. Gourd dipper. Rodent foot as spoon. Cane knife.

Manufacturing Implements

413 Net shuttle, drills, fire making, mauls.--Flat round stick, bone or horn 1-piece shuttle. Vise for drilling: split stick, hide. Stone bowl to carry coals. Pear-shaped stone maul; partly shaped stone maul. Adzes, axes.--Curved-handle adz; D-shaped-handle adz; elbow-shaped-handle adz. Stone, bone, horn, shell blades.

MANUFACTURES

Textiles

285 Baskets: weaves.--Coiling: rods vertical; rod-and-splint foundation; grass-bundle foundation. Coiling toward right of worker. Awl enters inside of basket. Start a piece of hide.
415 Baskets: uses and shapes.--Seed beater of wicker weave. Deep sifter or winnower, pointed bottom, Hupa type. Boiling basket in diagonal twine. Necked water bottle in plain twine. Necked water bottle with earth smeared over pitch. Bell-shaped, Pomo-type burden basket; cylindrical or barrel-shaped burden basket. Elliptical coiled storage basket, Pomo type. Tulare "bottleneck" baskets. Cylindrical side-opening
415 dance basket, Hupa type. Baskets: decoration.--
531 Break in banded woven ornament, to let soul out. Feather decoration on rim or shoulder. Entire basket feather covered. Patterns painted on
854✓ baskets. Cradles.--Deep, Pomo-type sitting

through the rock, had only a narrow way between them to allow 103
passage along the shore. On a point of rocks on the hill above stands 131
a cremation pile. A hillock west of the bay is called lalau'ķ!ōt, flat, 361
for the many flat rocks on top. The opposite point of the river mouth
also has a settlement, called tc!a'tc!ŏmsi, for some unidentified bird.

57, wĕķă'ēls, fallen tree, is a settlement of moderate size on the shore a mile west of the river mouth, now intersected by the road.

58, wut!ana'kŏķs, a low gap, and 59, iup!a'tŏna, end place, are summer sites respectively at the ends of a little marsh (now drained) on the west side of the lake.

60, woķsa'lks, lily seed (wokas) picking place, is a summer camp
on the north shore of Wokas marsh. When leaving in the fall it is [222]
customary to sink the canoes at the edge of the marsh, hide the grind- [501]
ing slabs in the juniper thicket, and pack by a regular trail to [415]
dĕ'ktcŏŋks, whence they return to the winter villages.

61, dĕ'ktcŏŋks, netting place, is a camp site on the west shore of [226]
Klamath lake opposite Buck island. Midway between this site and
the island is a favorite place for catching fish at night with a tri-
angular scoop net. The point Skillet Handle is called iuwa'' lᴇ, end of
a point, and a flat-topped mountain west of Wocus bay, seolŏpġls.

62, sa'stItķa'wals, Shasta stand on end, is Squaw point where a few [823]
Klamath falls people might be found in winter. There are holes in
the rocks here in which they pound to make the wind blow, pounding
in those on the south side, for instance, to bring a south wind.

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS

The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or 101
possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct dis- 619
trict, and practically autonomous. This is separatism of the familiar
Californian order. Nevertheless, the cohesion rising from a common
dialect, common culture, and a uniform reaction against all non-
tribesmen, which on occasion leads to jointly taking the field against
them, produces a tribal solidarity resembling that of the Plains people.

The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the modern name Klamath for the Klamath marsh—Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they

648 fishing on Lost river near Olene. A shallow bowl-shaped twined
[439] basket, called ḳ!we'lu, is obtained from the Modoc, who in turn trade
it from Pit river. There is no direct trade with the latter people.

231 Horses were first acquired in any number about 1840. They had
been previously acquainted with them in the hands of whites who
177 crossed their country about this time; dates are uncertain. Ogden
in 1826 remarked on a single horse seen as though it was a rarity
231 among them.[66] The first sources were Warm Springs and perhaps
some group immediately east of that place. These were obtained by
177 chiefs; others were too poor in slaves to buy them. The name given
437 the new animal follows the common habit, wa'tcag from watc, dog.
Saddles (pä'olās) were first made of antelope hide. Here, as in the
Plains, horses served as a stimulator of contacts, especially with the
Columbia river peoples. As I have remarked, their introduction seems
responsible for the rapid increase in wealth, the flow of northern ideas
concerning social stratification, importance of wealth and of slaveholding,
Plains costume, and those predatory habits which furnished
the withal to maintain the new status.

237 Buffalo (yo'ho) skins are obtained at second hand; the Klamath
know that their origin is east of the Umatilla, that is, in Idaho.
177 Buffalo never ranged into this country, although they reached the
437 Harney Lake district. But very few skins ever make their way into
527 Klamath hands; only men with many slaves can afford them. They
are wanted to cover a gambler's hands in the stick game, an opportunity
for ostentation.

177 Parfleches (sḳö'psöli, folded up) are traded from Warm Springs
437 people and Sahaptins beyond them on the Columbia. They are not
made by Klamath.

• 415 Incidentally, many older people have fluent command of Chinook
*171 jargon. They, or somewhat doubtfully the Modoc, are the southernmost
people with whom this trade jargon is current. Kroeber remarks
437 on the fragments in use by Yuki and Shasta.[67] Naturally enough, it
191 served a purpose with the Columbia river peoples alone and was of but
small value with the whites coming from California.

It is interesting to know what constituted wealth among the Kla-
556 math, but with the old life now gone it is difficult to get direct evidence.
However, certain things alone were spoken of when describing

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[66] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

[67] Handbook, 308, 319.

Yet the most laborious wood- 462
working task, the making of canoes, is sometimes undertaken by
women. I do not know who tans skins, but since the manufacture [501]
of all garments and moccasins is done by women, this suggests that
they prepare the skins as well. Mats and baskets are made by women [281]
and in considerable quantity. This is a sedentary pursuit which
dovetails nicely into leisure moments of household duties. Mortars, [285]
metates, and their adjuncts are fashioned by women, though I suspect
that men may lend a hand. Nets are manufactured by men, but by [415]
a few women also. Ropes and cords are made by women. All these [284]
suggest a somewhat heavier share borne by women.

There is a further factor which must be kept in mind. In winter, [283]
movement is impeded by intense cold and heavy snowfall, so that all
members of the family must stay close at home. Hence the men might 211
be thought to have enforced inactivity thrust upon them during this
season. But the facts are probably otherwise. This is a period of
great scarcity, even famine, especially at the end of a long winter,
and it behooves the men to act and act quickly in search of food.
The ardors and perils then forced on them surely make demands upon
whatever leisure they may have at this time.

FOOD AND ITS ACQUISITION

Klamath life is not that of a lake people, but a river and marsh 262
culture, for the simple reason that their primary food is fish. The
large lakes of this region are solidly frozen in winter, and fish, which
are not abundant there at the best, can hardly be had in winter. It
is otherwise with the swift rivers and creeks; these are always open
and fish are always present in abundance.[218]

Fish is the staple; after this ranks water-lily seed (wokas) and to 262
a lesser extent other roots; deer and other game are only of minor
importance. It is difficult at this late date to know whether fish or 224
lily-seed was eaten in greater quantity, but there is no doubt that, of 226
necessity, more attention was given the year round to fishing, since 222
the seed is harvested only from the middle of August to the end of
September.

Winter villages, the permanent settlements, are located where fish 361
may be had at that time, beside running streams and near springs

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[218] In view of the excellent descriptions of Klamath environment given by Gatschet, Barrett (pp. 240–243), and Coville (Wokas, A Primitive Food, 727–728) it is unnecessary to add another here. (See also pp. 8–10 of the present work.) [114]

A bit of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire about the village but 372
for an overnight journey a woman carries a spark in a long fuse. This is of black sage-brush bark, twisted into a rope thirty inches long and bound about at intervals.[305]

Knives are fashioned from stone blades or shells. These river 412
shells (ĕndj!ĕ'tc) are not ground to an edge but used as they are. 321
Forms ranging in size from arrowheads to large lance blades are 324
chipped from obsidian, flint, and similar stones. So far as I am aware these are never ground into shape. Those intended for knives are sometimes wrapped around the butt to provide a handle.[306] Stone knives are intended for butchering rather than woodworking. Blades never figured in the display of wealth, as among the Yurok. Barrett figures a bone knife used for separating the inner and outer bark of pine.[307]

Sewing is done with awl and sinew. The awl (sō'ḳtᴇ) is a frag- 412
ment of the fore-leg tibia of a deer. Although the upper end of a tibia is nicely rounded to fit the hand, and is accordingly used elsewhere, the Klamath make no use of it. Instead a splinter sharpened at each end is inserted in a wooden handle. Old men carry these at the chest tied on a buckskin thong. The sinew used is that which lies along a deer's backbone. (Sinew is called ᴇmboi'ite; this particular sinew bi'lhōp.) Skin garments for either sex are sewn by women. 294
Women also make moccasins whether of skin or tule. 462

The smoking process is used when tanning. The skin is stretched over a tipi-like frame of little willows set over a hole as deep as one's 281
forearm. The fire is made of rotten wood. Coville states that "the bark [of the white fir (bä, *Abies concolor* (Gord.) Lindl.)] is sometimes used to dye and tan buckskin, giving it somewhat the appearance of ordinary tan-colored leather."[308]

Neither bags of skin (k!o'wanᴇ) nor parfleches are made by the 415
Klamath. These are brought from the Dalles, I was told, and prob- 439
ably from Warm Springs, for cĕptōk, parfleche, is clearly a loan word from Sahaptin (cf. Yakima căta'kai).

Mats are of four kinds, each designated by a name. Sewn mats 285
(st!ōps) are used solely as the outer covering of mat-lodges; when

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[305] Illustrated by Barrett, pl. 22, fig. 1.

[306] Pitch was not used to fasten these. One type of knife, at least, found as far apart as Mexico and the Arctic, and consisting of stone fragments set into the sides of the handle, is unknown here.

[307] Pl. 22, fig. 5; cf. Gatschet, 1:148.

[308] Notes, 88.

412 The root digging stick (a'mda) is made of a very hard wood, mountain mahogany (*Cercocarpus ledifolius*)[317] or service berry, three feet long and an inch and a half in diameter. One end is burned and rubbed on a stone to a point. Since modern examples made of iron are slightly bent at the lower end, it may be presumed that wooden examples were also. A cross-handle of the same wood, nine inches long, is set on the upper end, wedged and tied in place, the joint covered with pitch.

415 Wooden spoons (mitc!o') shaped like little paddles are used. Spoons are also cut from the breast bone of the swan, which is conveniently shaped for the purpose; these are called sh'o-kobh'.[318] Others are river shells, which are not provided with handles. But mushes are frequently scooped up by the handful.[319]

412

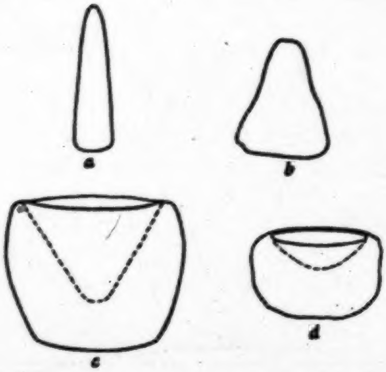

Fig. 11. Pestles and mortars. *a, c, d*, Klamath; *b*, Upland Takelma. Length of *a*, 9 inches.

415

Buckets or receptacles of the bark of lodgepole pine (*Pinus murrayana* Balf.) are mentioned by Coville. "Sections of bark from trunks of the proper size are often used to make buckets for gathering berries, particularly huckleberries. The cylinder of bark is sewed together on the slitted side and at one end, the bottom therefore being wedge-shaped. Huckleberries when placed in such receptacles and

properly covered with large leaves retain their freshness for a long time.''[230] 415

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[317] Coville, Notes, 93, 98.

[318] Coville, Wokas, 733.

[237]

[319] In this connection we may note that turtle shells, which would have provided excellent utensils, are not used. Nor are they used for rattles. Turtles (mgö'k) are found only in the southern part of Klamath territory, on the western shore of Klamath lake from Modoc point to the falls.

412 Both metates and mortars are used for grinding seeds, mashing roots, and similar operations. The metate or grinding slab is however the favored utensil. The metate is a flat slab containing a little depression. The muller in use with it is unique in that it is commonly provided with two horns or knobs to serve as handholds and which project away from the user. This form is however not invariable, for any shape is used so long as it provides a flat grinding face and a narrower upper part that can be grasped with both hands. For light work, a hemispherical or conical stone is used. Barrett describes the grinding process: "the muller is held so that the horns or ears point from the operator and the grinding is done on the stroke of the muller from the operator, the stroke toward the operator being very light indeed.''[231] A flat tray basket is tucked under the far end of the metate to catch the meal.

The mortar (ga′mōḳs) is a lava block bearing a depression which deepens with use and whose form is thus largely determined by the manner in which the pestle is used. The exterior is frequently nicely finished. The stone pestle (sḳ!a) is elongate, and on the whole nicely reduced to form by pecking. Several mortars and pestles seen and sketched are shown in figure 11. The more nicely finished mortar (fig. 11*c*) has seen use over three generations. Figure 11*b* is a lava pestle obtained from Upland Takelma territory; its form is not that of Klamath pestles.[232]

BASKETRY

285 While no special study of Klamath basketry was undertaken, Barrett's notes on the subject can be amplified.[233] As with the Californian tribes, basketry provided most of the domestic utensils. Klamath forms are few, the technique simple, and decoration used but moderately. The vast majority of the baskets are of twine weave: there is but one type, the water basket, made by coiling.

The types recognized and named by the Klamath are the following:[234] hats (k!ᴇmŭ′, women's; k!ane′o, men's), burden baskets (ya′′gi

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[230] Notes.

[231] Material Culture, 252, pls. 12, 21.

[232] I venture that the stone maul figured by Barrett (*op. cit.*, pl. 21, fig. 8) is such a Takelma pestle set to a new use, for I was told of wooden, not stone, mauls.

[233] Material Culture, 253–257.

[234] See also Coville, Wokas, 738.

171*
105

Their material culture at large follows the general alignment of their basic economy with the Plateau peoples. This can be made clear by the following tabulation of material culture traits shared by tribes in adjacent culture areas. A few items of social culture not discussed elsewhere are also entered. Only those traits for which comparative data could be readily found are included, which makes the list random rather than truly representative. It must be understood that the reference is only to the specific form in which the Klamath hold to the trait. Thus, the compound fire-drill stick is entered, and not the simple fire drill. In fact, traits of this sort, having a distribution over the whole continent, have been excluded as adding nothing to our

KLAMATH TRAITS SHARED BY TRIBES IN ADJACENT AREAS

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Houses	Earth-lodge	Plateau (Chilcotin to Middle Columbia and Wishram), N.E. California (where it merges into central Californian forms).	[342]
	Mat-lodge	Wishram, Nez Percé, Middle Columbia?	[343]
Sweat-lodges	Dome-shaped	N.E. California, Basin, Plateau, Southwest rancherias, Plains, and eastward.	
	Earth-covered	Washington, Oregon (merges with central Californian type).	
Fishing	Dip nets	California, Plateau, Northwest Coast.	[227]
	Dam; weir	N. California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
	Two-prong spear	California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
Digging stick	Cross-handle; curved point	Northwest Coast, Plateau?	[412]
Insect foods	Slight use	Oregon, s. Plateau, Basin, California.	[262]
Metate	Extensive use	California (late in N. California?), Basin, Plateau?, Southwest and southward.	[412]
Mortar	Stone	S. and central California (prehistoric in N. California); wooden mortars in Plateau.	
Canoe	Shovel nose	Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Columbia basin to N. California.	[501]
Baskets	Considerable use	California, Basin, Plateau.	[415]
	Twine	Northwest Coast s. into N. California.	
	Minor use of coil	Plateau, Basin, central and s. California.	
Bags	Woven	Made east of Cascades, s. to Klamath.	[286]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 230]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

*171
105

		Klamath form	*Links with:*
[285]	Mats	Extensive use	Oregon?, Northwest Coast to Columbia r., Plateau.
		Mat needle	s. Northwest Coast (and northward?), Washington, Oregon?
[281]	Tanning	Smoke-tan	Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, Wishram, Nez Percé; Basin, Plateau, Plains (and elsewhere?—probably not Northwest Coast).
[372]	Fire drill	Compound	Puget sound, Takelma, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi, Wind R. Shoshoni, Crow, Navaho, Hopi.
• [415]	Spoon	Paddle	California s. to n. Miwok.
[411]	Bow	Sinew-backed	Arctic, Northwest Coast, Plateau, Washington, Oregon, California s. to Tehachapi, Basin, Southwest, w. Plains.
		Flat; constricted grip	n. w. California, Northwest Coast.
	Arrows	Stone heads	(Not the bone heads of Northwest Coast and w. Washington, where stone heads are scarce.)
[714]	Armor	Tunic	Northwest Coast, Plateau, Oregon, n. California, Basin, Southwest (and southward?).
		Slat or rod	Alaska to Maidu (Tlingit, Plateau, Oregon, Washington, n. California).
	Shield	Round	Plateau, Basin, Plains (not California).
[291]	Dress	Fringed skirt	Coast area west of Cascades-Sierras, probably Basin.
		Men: Plains shirt	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.
		Women: Plains dress	Plateau, Basin, Plains.
		Decorated band on robe	Plateau? (Wishram, Nez Percé), Plains.
		Tule slippers	Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Paviotso.
		Three-piece moccasin	Plateau (moccasins are also n. and central California, Basin, Southwest, Plains, and eastward).
		Basket hats	n. California (=Plateau type?; other types, Northwest Coast, Basin, s. California).
[302]	Hairdress	Braids for both sexes	Plateau, Plains.
	Combs	Porcupine tail	Achomawi, Northern Maidu.
[304]	Head deformation	Fronto-occipital	s. Northwest Coast to Alsea, Siuslaw, and Klamath.
	Tattooing	Women: chin lines	w. Arizona, California, Takelma (Oregon in general?). (Not Plateau? and Northwest Coast.)

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AB	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Swimming																
481 907. Pseudo breast stroke, arms and legs together	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	o	·	+
908. Side stroke	–	–	–	–	–		+	·+	–	+	+	+	·+	o	·	·
909. Dog fashion, arms under water	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	·+	·+	o	·	+
910. Double overhand, arms moving alternately	–	+	·	·+	–	+	–	·+	–	–	+	–	(+)	o	·	·
911. On back, frog stroke	·	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	o	+	+
912. Under water	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+
913. Jump in water, feet first	–	–						·+	·+	·+	+	–	–	o	–	+
914. Diving, head first	+	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	+	o	+	+
Land Transport																
Carrying Devices																
482 915. Pack strap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	+
916. Plain, of hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	–
917. Woven or braided pack strap	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·	–	+
918. Of 2-ply materials	+	–	·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·	–	+
919. Ends braided, narrower than rest	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·	–	+
920. Made from vegetable fiber	+	–	·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·	–	+
921. Pack strap of twisted rope	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
922. Root or bark headband for packing	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
923. Basketry hat for packing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
924. Net carrying bag or "sack"	–	·+	–	·–	·+	·+	·(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	·	–
925. Small mesh	–	+	–	–	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	·	–
926. Approximately trapezoidal in shape	–	+	–	–	·+	+	(+)	+	·–	·–	+	·	–	–	·	–
927. Cased hide bag (exclusive of quivers)	–	+	+	+	+	–	·+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
415 928. Folded hide bag	·+	·+	–	–	·+	·+	·+	–	–	+	–	·+	·+	·+	–	·+
482 929. Buckskin	–	–	–	–	+	·+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
930. Rawhide	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
931. Sewn at edges	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
932. Tied at corners	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
933. Pinned together with stick	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
934. Opens at side	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	(+)	–	–	–	–
935. Opens at top		+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–		+	+	–	–
936. Load rolled up in mat	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
937. Load rolled in hide	–		–					+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
938. Back carrier of hide on frame	–	–	–	(+)	–	·+	–	–	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–
939. Conical hide container used for back packing	–	·+	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
940. Pack basket (details under Basketry)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
941. Baby cradles (details under Basketry)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482 942. Litter	·	+	+	+	·	+	R	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+
943. Net or thongs bound to pole framework	·	+	+	+	–	+	R	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
944. Large skin used as litter													+	+		·
[483] 945. Sled	·+	·+	–	·–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	–	–	o
Methods of Packing																
946. Pack strap spreads over top of head	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
947. Pack strap spreads over forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
948. Pack strap spreads across chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
949. Women only use strap on head, forehead	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
950. Men, women use strap on head, forehead	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
951. Men only use strap across chest	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
952. Men, women use strap across chest	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	·+	+	–	–	+
[758] 953. Sick carried on litter	·	+	+	+	–	·+	R	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
954. Double, load between 2 or 4	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
955. Sick packed on back	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
411 1004. Head, minus foreshaft	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	.
1005. Bird arrow with cross-stick tip	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	.	+	+	.	.
1006. Bird arrow, wrapped tip	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	.	-	.
†1007. Feathering tangential	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	.	.
1008. Feathering radial, 3 vanes	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	+
1009. Spiraled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-
[53] 1010. Arrows painted	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+
[424] 1011. For identification	-	-	±	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	+	-	-	.	.
1012. Pyrographic ornament	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	.
1013. Arrows grooved	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	(+)	.	.	.	.
[278] 1014. Arrow poison	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	.	-	+	-	-	.	+	+
1015. Liver or gall	•+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	.	•+	.
1016. Snake venom	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
1017. Red ants	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	.
1018. Flint from certain places poisonous	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	.	.	.	.
1019. Flint of certain varieties poisonous	-	+	+			•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	.
Arrow Straighteners and Smoothers																
1020. Abrasive stone smoother	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	.	.	-	+	+
1021. 1-piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	.	.	-	-	-
1022. 2-piece	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	-	+	+
1023. Longitudinal groove	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	-	+	+
1024. Made purposely			.				-	+	-	-	+	.	.	-	+	+
1025. Natural, worn down			.				+	-	+	+	-	.	.	-	-	-
1026. Securing rush for smoothing	-	+	.	+	.	o	o	+	-	o	-	.	.	-	-	-
1027. 1-piece stone straightener	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1028. Transverse groove(s).	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1029. Perforated straightener or wrench	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	.	-	.	-
1030. Of horn	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	.	-	.	-
1031. Of stone	-		.	+	•+	+	+	-	•+	-	+	.	.	-	.	-
1032. Of wood	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	.	.	-	.	-
1033. Forked wooden straightener	-	+	.	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	.	-	.	-
1034. Arrows warmed before straightening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1035. Straightened in hot ashes	-		+								-	+	+	+	.	+
1036. Straightening with hands and teeth	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1037. Straightening over knee	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	.	.	-	+	+
1038. Arrows	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	-	-	+
1039. Spear poles	+	+	+							+	+	.	.	-	+	+
Shooting Techniques																
1040. Primary arrow release	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	+	+
1041. Tertiary arrow release	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1042. Mediterranean arrow release	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-
1043. Bow held horizontally	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1044. Bow held at 45° angle from horizontal	•+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
1045. Bow held vertically	-	-	+	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1046. Arrow to right of bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1047. Arrow to left of bow	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1048. Arrow rests on top of bow	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	.	+
Quivers																
415 1049. Cased rawhide, fur left on	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1050. Buckskin, sewn	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1051. Bark	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1052. Twined tule	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1053. Carried on back	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1054. Carried at side under arm	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1149. Also used to remove stones from basket	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	412
1150. 2 paddles	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1151. 1 paddle plus hand	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	
1152. Single stick used as stirrer	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	
1153. 2 sticks (loose) for stone tongs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1154. Used to remove stones from basket	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
1155. Used to remove stones from fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1155a. Split-stick stone tongs	-	-	-	-	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Spoons																	
1156. Horn spoon	•-	+	.	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	415
1157. Carved handle	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1158. Horn dipper	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1159. Wooden spoon	+	+	.	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1160. Carved handle	.	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1161. Wooden ladle	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1162. Bone spoon	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1163. Deer skull as spoon or dipper	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1164. Fawn forehead, carved	-	-	+					-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1165. Rodent scapula	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1166. Breast bone of duck, swan	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1167. Fish bone	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1168. Shell spoon	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1169. Ocean mussel shells, imported	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-							+	
1170. Freshwater mussels	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1171. Used by men and women	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1172. Spatula for eating	-	+	.	-	-	•+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1173. Bone	-	+	.	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1174. Wood	-	+	.	-	-	+	+	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1175. Deer tail for sipping fruit ciders	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	
1176. Handled basketry dipper	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1177. Small basket, no handle, for dipper					•-	•-	•-					+	+	+	+	+	
Knives																	
1178. Stone, retouched; used for butchering	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	412
1179. Obsidian	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	-	+	
1180. Quartz											-	-	-	.	•+	-	
1181. Buckskin wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	
1182. Sinew wrapped	-		-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1183. Wooden handle	-	+	-	•-	+	-	+	•-	•-	•-	+	+	-	+	-	+	
1184. Horn handle	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1185. Bone handle	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1186. Stone; split cobble or rough core	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	+	+	
1187. Bone or horn knife	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	
1188. Horn knife used for butchering	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1189. Beaver tooth engraver	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Manufacturing Implements																	
Awls																	
1190. Bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1191. Upper foreleg of deer	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	
1192. Deer ulna	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	
1193. Coyote, porcupine, etc., bone							+	-	-	•+	.	-	-	-	-	-	
1194. Cactus spine	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1195. Handle pitch covered	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1241. Of bone or horn	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–	.	.	324
1242. Buckskin wrapped	–		.			+	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	.	.	
1243. Stone anvil	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	.	–	.	.	
1244. Obsidian heated before flaking	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	+	

MANUFACTURES

Textiles

Baskets: Weaves

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1245. Coiling	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	285
1246. Number of rods	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	3	3	3	3	3	3	
1247. "Triangular" (bunched)	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1248. Clockwise, looking into basket	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	
1249. In bowl-type basket	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	
1250. In flat trays	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	+	–	
1251. Counterclockwise, looking into basket	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	+	
1252. In bowl-type basket	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	
1253. In flat trays	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	+	
1254. Weaving proceeds toward left of worker	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1255. Awl enters outside (bowl-type basket)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1256. Start coiled	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	
1257. Start a knot of weft material	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	
1258. Start piece of wood	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1259. Twining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1260. Clockwise (looking into basket)	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
1261. Counterclockwise	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
1262. Weaving proceeds toward right	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	.	.	.	.	–	+	
1263. Weaving proceeds toward left	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	–	
1264. Plain: 2-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1265. 3-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	
1266. Diagonal: 2-strand	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1267. 3-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1268. Closework	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1269. Single-rod stiff warp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1270. 2-ply flexible warp	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1271. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
1272. Lattice twining, for dress fringes only	+	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1273. Wrapped twining	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1274. Cross-warp twining	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1275. Ridge (V) bottom	–	+	–	–	.	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Baskets: Shapes and Uses

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1276. Seed beater	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	285
1277. Plain twine	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1278. Diagonal twine	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	(-)	–	–	–	415
1279. Radiating warp, circular	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1280. Parallel warp, oval or triangular	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1281. Hoop and sticks, unwoven	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
1282. Oval, hide covering stick framework			–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1283. Openwork-bottom sifting basket	+	+	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
1284. Used as seed beater also					–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
1285. Trays	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1286. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
1287. Diagonal twine	–	–	–	–	.	.	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	
1288. Closework	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	KM	NS	MV
285 415 1289. Parallel warp, oval or triangular													+	+	+	+
1290. Radiating warp, circular	+	+	+	-			+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1291. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1292. Parallel warp, oval or triangular	+	+	-	-	-	-	}	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
1293. Radiating warp, circular	-	-	+	+	+	+	ε	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1294. Coiled, circular	-	-	-	-	•R	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
1295. For winnowing, sifting, or parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1295a. Used as meat, fish platter	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1296. Boiling basket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1297. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1298. No decoration	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1299. Overlay designs	-	+	-	-	-	•-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1300. Coiled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1301. No decoration	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
1302. Designs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
1303. Necked water bottle	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1304. Diagonal twine	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1305. Pitched	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1306. Burden baskets	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1307. Plain openwork twine	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
1308. True cone, pointed bottom	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1309. Truncated cone, flat bottom	+	+	•+	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1310. Diagonal twine (at bottom only)	-	-	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	.	-	-
1311. Used mainly for packing wood, acorns	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1312. Plain closework twine	-	-	+	(-)	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1313. True cone, pointed bottom	-	-	•-	-	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1314. Rounded bottom	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	•(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1315. Truncated cone, flat bottom	+	+	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1316. Diagonal twine (at bottom only)											+	+	.	.	.	.
1317. Used mainly for small seeds	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1318. Coiled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1319. True cone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1320. Rare	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-
1321. Coating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
1322. Of soaproot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1323. Of pitch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1324. Circular storage basket, wide mouthed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1325. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1326. Coiled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Small round baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1328. Sides straight or flaring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
1329. Globular	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1330. Close-twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	(+)	-	-	-	-	-
1331. Coiled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1332. Baskets used chiefly, as dishes and containers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Baskets: Decoration																
285 1333. Overlay twining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	-	-
531 1334. Banded woven ornament	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
1335. Sparingly used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	-
[237] 1336. Shell-bead decoration	-	+	+	R	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1337. Porcupine-quill decoration	•+	•+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1338. Feather decoration	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	•+	•+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
281 1389. Woven bird-skin blankets	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
286 1390. Woven skin blankets imported only	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1391. Warp 1-ply fur or bird skin	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	.
1392. Warp 2-ply fur or bird skin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	.	.
1393. String twisted in with warp	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	.
1394. Weft 2 strips of rabbit hide	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	.
1395. Weft of vegetable-fiber string	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.
1396. Weft of bird skins and string	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.
1397. Stick to twist fur strips	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	.
1398. Plain stick	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	.
1399. Hooked or notched stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	.
1400. Skin, fur strips twisted on thigh	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	.
1401. Frame vertical (perpendicular to ground)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
1402. Warp wrapped around 2 vertical posts	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	.
1403. Weaving starts upward	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	.
1404. Weaving starts downward	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	.
1405. Frame horizontal (parallel to ground)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.
Mats																
285 1406. Tule	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1407. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1408. Sewn, stems pierced	+	+	+	–	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1409. With needle	+	+	+	–	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1410. Checker, string weft	.	+	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1411. Inner bark of trees	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1412. Twined	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1413. Checker	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1414. String weft	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1415. Unspun bark-strip warp	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1416. Wooden stick bark shredder	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Cordage																
283 1417. Iris	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1418. For deer snares	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1419. Milkweed	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
1420. Nettle	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1421. Indian hemp (Apocynum)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1422. For fish lines				+		+		–	–	–	+	+	+			.
1423. Human hair	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1424. Cordage 2-ply	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1425. Plain stick to comb out fibers		+	+								+	+	+		–	+
1426. Twisted on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1427. Down thigh, then up	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1428. Down thigh only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1429. Up thigh, then down	+	+	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1430. Thumb guard of shell for fiber drawing	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	+	.	–
1431. Braided cord	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)
1432. Rawhide thongs			•+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
1432a. Withes of grapevine, willow, etc.	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Receptacles (Other than Baskets)																
Wood, Bark, etc.																
415 1433. Wooden meat platter	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1434. Bark meat, fish platter	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1435. Pine-bark sifter			–		+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1436. Paunch water container	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Stone

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
1437. Stone vessels	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	415
1438. Shallow	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
1439. Manufactured	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
1440. Natural rock, found	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1441. "Fry-pan" type	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1442. Set near fire	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1443. Deep bowls	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	
1444. Used as water container	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
1445. Water heated by soapstone ring	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
1446. Set directly on fire	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1447. Flat bottomed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
1448. Round bottomed	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1449. Fire to harden	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
1450. Grease to harden	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Leather Goods

Skin Tanning

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
1451. Green hide soaked	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	•.	.	281
1452. Staked out in water	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	.	.	.	
1453. Ashes to aid in dehairing	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	•−	+	.	.	
1454. Dehaired on pole set at 45° angle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1455. Bone dehairing tool	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	•+	+	+	(+)	+	.	.	
1456. Wooden dehairing tool	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	
1457. Stone dehairing, fleshing tool	−	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	.	.	
1458. Tanning agent rubbed on, soaked in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	
1459. Brain solution	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	
1460. Wild-bird egg yolks	−	+	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1461. Acorn soup													−	+		−	
1462. Spinal cord	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	.	
1463. Wet hide twisted around upright post, or tree	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1464. Short stick lever to wring out water.	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1465. Hide grained	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1466. With hands	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	
1467. With unworked cannon bone	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−	.	.	
1468. With wooden implement	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	.	
1469. On loose pole	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	.	
1470. On blunt post	−	−	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	.	.	
1471. On vertical frame, hide tied at 4 corners	−	−	−					+	+	+	−	.	−	.	.	.	
1472. Bear hide only			−					(−)	+	+	−	.	−	.	.	.	
1473. Pulled back and forth over foot	−	−	+			+	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	.	
1474. Skins smoked, always	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1475. Skins smoked, occasionally	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	.	−	−	.	(+)	

Preparation of Tanning Agent

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
1476. Deer brains dried on vegetable-fiber "patty".	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	.	.	+	.	+	[237]

Adhesives

Glue

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
1477. Fish skin	+	+	.	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	.	.	.	−	−	381
1478. Fish internal organs	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	•+	.	.	.	−	−	237

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
291 1791. Men										+		+	+	−	−	+
1792. Women										+		+	+	+	−	+
1793. Buckskin	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	•+	+	+	−	−	−
1794. Bear hide												•+	−	−	−	−
*1795. 1 or more buckskins	−	+	−			−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
*1796. 4 coyote skins																+
1797. Fringed	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
1798. Fur	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−
1799. Grass stems	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1800. Soaproot fiber, reaches to knee														+	−	−
1801. Bark	+	−	−	•−	(+)	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
1802. Tule	+	+	−	−	−	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1803. Single small apron or kilt, front only	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+
1804. Buckskin	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1805. Fur	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1806. Inner bark	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
1807. Tule	−	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1808. Double apron	−	+	+	−	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	+	−	−
1809. Buckskin	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
1810. Fringed or slit	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1811. Small skins, sewn together	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1812. Woven bird skins	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1813. Inner bark	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1814. Grass	−	−	+	−	(−)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1815. Tules	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*1816. String apron-skirts	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1817. On buckskin belt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1818. Nut, seed, shell strings	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1819. Shell embroidery	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
[292] 1820. Braids on cord, bottom of skirt	−	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1821. Worn by women for dances, special occasions	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1822. Buckskin trousers	−	R	−	•+	R	R	R	R	−	−	R	−	R	R	−	−

Muffs and Mittens

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1823. Muff of cased fur	•(−)	−	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1824. Sewed onto shirt, for sleeves	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1825. Single muff	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[415] 1826. Double, 1 on each arm	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1827. Quiver used as muff when hunting	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1828. Mittens	(−)	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−

Footgear and Leggings

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1829. Barefoot around house	−		+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1830. Moccasins	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1831. Men	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1832. Women	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
[556] 1833. Rich people only										+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1834. Buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1835. Fur	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
†*1836. Number of pieces	2	2	•	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	.	−	−	−
*1837. Added sole	−	•+	R	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1838. Heel seam	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
1839. Toe seam	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1840. Seam on outside	+	+	+	+	(+)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	−
1841. Tongue	+	+	−	R	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−
1842. Ankle length	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
1843. Boot length	−	−	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
1956. Down woven into	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	292
1957. For war, dances only	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	[535]
1957a. Worn habitually by some men	−	−	−	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[721]
CURRENCY, TREASURE																	
Currency																	
1959. Dentalia	R	+	+	+	•+	+		•+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	436
1960. Standard of value	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	825
1961. Incised	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1962. Feathers on large end	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1963. Wrapped with sinew, painted like snake skin	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1964. Graded on finger creases	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1965. Counted	−	−	−							+							
1966. Measured in fathom and fractions of	+	+	•+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1967. Upper-arm tattoo for measuring whole string	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1968. Measured on arm, no tattoo	−	+	.	−	+	−		+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1969. Cylindrical purse of horn	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[415] ●
1970. Purse of horn fork	−	−	−	−	+	−		•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1971. Buckskin purse	−	+	+					+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1972. Cased fur purse	−	−	.	−	+	•−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1973. Shells rolled in fur	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1974. Shells kept in basket	+	+	+	−	+	•+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1975. Long dentalia preferred	−	−	+					•−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1976. Clamshell disks	R	−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1977. Standard of value	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1978. Manufactured	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1979. Smoothing slab	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
1980. Disks counted	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1981. Short strings only	−	−	−						+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1982. Measured around neck												+	+	+	.	−	
1983. Measured on elbow	−	−	.	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1984. Measured in fathoms	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	.	+	−	
1985. Measured in half-fathoms	+	−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	(+)	+	−	
1986. Cased-fur purse	−	−		•(+)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	
1987. Buckskin sack for purse	+	−	+			•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	[415]
1988. Basket for purse	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	
1989. Loans of shell currency without interest	−	•+	+		+	•−		+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	[426]
Treasure																	
1990. Olivella: whole shell	−	−	−	•+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	−	(+)	(+)	.	−	−	
1991. Shell cylinders or Columnella	−	−	+	−	+	•+	+	+	−	−	.	+	+	+	+	+	
1992. Sizes distinguished	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+	+	.	.	.	
1993. Bone cylinders		−	.		+	(−)	−	.	−	−	.	−	.	+	+	+	
1994. Magnesite cylinders	−	−	.	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1995. Imported	−	−	.	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[439]
1996. Haliotis-disk beads	−	−	+	+	−	+	.	−	+	+	−	−	−	.	+	+	
1997. Large obsidian blades, used for display	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1998. Manufactured, not used	−		−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1999. Charmstones	•−	−	−	+	(−)	•+	+	−	•+	+	−	+	+	+	−	•+	
2000. Natural shape	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	789
2001. Most effective if found by possessor.	−	−	−				+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	823
2002. Used in doctoring	−	−	−	+		+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
2003. Animated; can travel of own accord.				+												+	
2004. Doughnut stones	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
2005. Natural shape	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	NV
SMOKING AND TOBACCO																
Pipes and Pipe Sacks																
276 Pipes																
2006. Tubular-type pipe	+	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
2007. 1-piece	+	-	+	+	•+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2008. Solid wood	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2009. Elder or other pithy stalk	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2010. Stone	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2011. Found, not manufactured	(+)	-		•+	-						+	-	-	-	-	.
2012. 2-piece	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
2013. Stone bowl	•+	-	.	+	-	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
2014. Cane stem	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2015. Elder stem	-	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2016. Solid wooden stem	•+	-	+	(+)	-	-	•+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	.	-
2017. Stem stuck into bowl	+	-	.	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
2018. Stem mortised into bowl	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2019. Optional use of stem	-												+	+	+	-
2020. Concave-shaped bowl	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2021. Convex-shaped bowl	•+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2022. Bulb bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2023. Double-bulb bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2024. Obtuse-angled pipe	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2025. Stone bowl	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2026. Wooden stem	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2027. Right-angled pipe	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2028. Stone bowl	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2029. Wooden bowl	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2030. Wooden stem	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[415] Pipe Sacks																
2031. Pipe sack of cased fur	-	.	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
2032. Pipe sack of buckskin	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2033. Pipe kept in small basket													+	+		-
2034. Pipe kept in ground, head of bed	+	.	+			+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	.	-
Tobacco																
Cultivation and Gathering																
[222] 2035. Gathered wild	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
[249] 2036. Cultivated or semicultivated	-	+	+	+	-	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2037. Sown	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2038. Log or brush burned, sown in ashes	-	-	+			-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2039. Log or brush burned, for volunteer crop	-	+	.	+	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2040. Seeds sown next year, same spot	-	-	.	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2041. Ground cultivated with digging stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
2042. Plants thinned	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	(-)	-	-	-
2043. Pruned	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2044. Irrigated	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2045. Gathered when yellow	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	.
2046. Gathered when green	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.
2047. Leaves only, or mainly, picked	-	.	-	+		+		+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
2048. Stalk occasionally pulled up	-	+	-	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Preparation																	
2049. Stalk hung up to dry	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	•+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	276
2050. Leaves dried, whole	+	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	
2051. Leaves rubbed and hung to dry in sack												+	+	-	-	+	
2052. Leaves only, used	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2053. Leaves rubbed fine in palm, with fingertips	+	+	-	•+	•-	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2054. Dried leaves put in sack, pounded on slab		.	+								-	-	-	-	-	-	
o2055. Tobacco mixed for smoking	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	-	-	•±	-	-	-	-	-	-	
o2056. Kinnikinick, manzanita mixtures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2057. Grease added	+	+	-	-	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
Tobacco Containers																	
2058. Basket	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	[415]
2059. Buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	
2060. Cased-fur pouch	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
Tobacco Substitutes																	
2061. Plant substitutes used occasionally	-	-	+						•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2062. Manzanita	-	-	+						-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2063. Parched and ground	-	-	+						-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Uses																	
2064. Smoking at social gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2065. Pipe passed	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2066. Smoking after sweating	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	
2067. Bedtime smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2068. No smoking in dwelling house	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
2069. Men smoke, generally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[562]
2070. Smoking limited among women; shamans mainly	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	[756]
2071. Tobacco chewed	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
o2072. Tobacco as offering	•-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2073. Tossed or blown in air	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	[712]
2074. Burnt in fire	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	
2075. Smoked	-	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-	•+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	

MUSIC AND DRAWING

Musical Instruments

Drums

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2076. Hide drum	•R	+	•+	•+	+	•R	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	534
2077. Cylindrical	R	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2078. 2-headed	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2079. 1-headed	R	+	-	-	+	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2080. Tambourine type	R	+	-	-	+	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2081. Drumstick wrapped at head	R	+	-	+	+	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2082. Plain drumstick, knot for head	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2083. Footdrum	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
2084. Basket drummed	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•-	•+	

Rattles

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
2085. Cocoon rattle	•-	-	-	•-	•+	•+	•+	•-	•-	•R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
2086. Stick handle	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	R	+	+	+	+	+	+

411 single shaft, no head used for war. String attached to arrow to retrieve. (AW: in myth Butterfly shoots arrow with string attached; arrow-chain motif.) Arrow poison made from blood. [413] Arrow straighteners and smoothers.--1-piece stone straightener with incised design, used mainly for cane shafts; heated before using. Shooting techniques.--Secondary arrow release. Mongolian arrow release. Clubs and spears.--Manufactured cylindrical stone club. Curved rabbit club. Spear with wooden point. Spear thrower. Daggers and armor.--Horn, wooden daggers. [714] Bark armor. Rawhide shield, round or rectangular.

Household Implements

412 Mortars and pestles.--Portable stone mortar, outside natural. Coiled hopper basket; hopper 415 basket stuck fast to pounding slab with pitch. Stone pestle with bulb end and slender body. Metate used on both sides. Loop-handled muller. Brushes.--Leaves glued to stick with pitch. Porcupine tail, rodent tail for mealing. Stirrers, lifters, spoons, knives.--Looped-stick stirrer. 2 sticks, bound at 1 end, for stone tongs. Horn spoon used by men only. Tortoise-shell dipper. Gourd dipper. Rodent foot as spoon. Cane knife.

Manufacturing Implements

413 Net shuttle, drills, fire making, mauls.--Flat round stick, bone or horn 1-piece shuttle. Vise for drilling: split stick, hide. Stone bowl to carry coals. Pear-shaped stone maul; partly shaped stone maul. Adzes, axes.--Curved-handle adz; D-shaped-handle adz; elbow-shaped-handle adz. Stone, bone, horn, shell blades.

MANUFACTURES

Textiles

285 Baskets: weaves.--Coiling: rods vertical; rod-and-splint foundation; grass-bundle foundation. Coiling toward right of worker. Awl enters inside of basket. Start a piece of hide. 415 Baskets: uses and shapes.--Seed beater of wicker weave. Deep sifter or winnower, pointed bottom, Hupa type. Boiling basket in diagonal twine. Necked water bottle in plain twine. Necked water bottle with earth smeared over pitch. Bell-shaped, Pomo-type burden basket; cylindrical or barrel-shaped burden basket. Elliptical coiled storage basket, Pomo type. Tulare "bottleneck" baskets. Cylindrical side-opening 415 dance basket, Hupa type. Baskets: decoration.--531 Break in banded woven ornament, to let soul out. Feather decoration on rim or shoulder. Entire basket feather covered. Patterns painted on 854 baskets. Cradles.--Deep, Pomo-type sitting

[164-A]

854 cradle. Y-frame, U-frame, hooked-ladder frame
lying-type cradle. Horizontal (double) warp on
basketry lying cradle. Wicker weave in cradle
hood. Loose basket over head of sleeping child.
Buckskin covering on cradle partial. Sex of
child indicated by bed design. Woven skin blankets;
285 mats.--Checker. Weft of buckskin thongs.
Perforated stick to twist fur strips. Suspended
warp. Thumb guard of bone for shredding mat material.
283 Cordage.--Stick for twisting (1 ply at
a time). Spindle whorl.

Receptacles Other Than Baskets

● 415 Wood, etc.; chests, boxes; pottery.--Wooden bowl. Wooden chest. Wooden box of bent and sewed boards. Pottery vessels.

Leather Goods; Adhesives

281 Skin tanning; glue.--Fleshing or dehairing:
hide staked out with several stakes; with single
stake, other end held; with 1 end tied to tree,
other end held. Fleshed on plank. Fleshing or
dehairing tool: blunt posts; horn; shell. Tanning
agent: liver; wood ashes. Graining: with
381 horn. Glue from horns or hoofs; from milkweed
gum.

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

302 Coiffure; comb; care of hair.--One tie around
head, forehead level. Wooden hairpins. Bone
head scratcher as comb. Hair dyed with eel blood.
White clay on head or to wash head. Mud plaster
against lice. Hair dye in mud plaster. Hair
greased with acorn oil. Nettle roots to wash
302 head. Paint; deformations and mutilations.--
304 Face, body paints according to totem. Paint applied
with brush. Mud or pitch on body for
warmth. Nasal alae pierced; lip pierced. Tattooing
with bone awl. Depilation of pubic hair.
Tweezers of split cane, wood, shell. Depilation:
pitch on fingers; bone knife opposed to fingernail.
Beard burnt off if long. Ear, nose ornaments,
301 necklaces, etc.--Wooden ear stick, feathers
on end. Bone ear tube, incised. Cane or
cane pipe in ear. Cane nose ornament. Sea-lion
teeth necklace.

Dress

291 Headgear; robes; loin covering; muff.--Basket cap, for fishing with large dip net only. Feathers on net foundation for robe. Inner bark mat robe. Buffalo-fur robe. Breechclout of woven bird skins; of woven rabbitskins; of grass stems; of inner bark. Single small front apron, of fringed buckskin; with braids on cord. Double apron of woven rabbitskins. Bird-skin muff.

000 267. WS, MM, NF, MV: Club cut from limb of tree.

271. SE: When catching salmon in net, only.

[2.27] [415] 273. Kl: Twined tule basket, 14 in. high, 24 in. wide at top. Packed on back with pack strap; made, used expressly for carrying fish. Mo: Openwork twined conical willow pack basket used. WT: Willow basket, with small opening at top; widens out at bottom; bottom lined with leaves. Imitation of modern creel? MM, MF: "Use any sort of basket to pack home fish." NS: Pack basket.

Fishing observances.--

278. SE: When catching salmon in net, only. SW: See note 144. AW: Have "medicine" which counteracts any baneful effect. MV: When trapping salmon, do not eat any meat.

279. Mo: First of any species of fish or game youth secures taboo to him; if he ate it he would be "no account, have no luck in future." For salmon specifically, see note 282. At: First fish, game of any species taboo to youth and his parents. For salmon specifically, see note 282. AW: First deer, duck, fish boy kills taboo; also first deer, duck, fish youth catches after he has been sent out on vision quest and obtained vision should not be eaten by him. For salmon specifically, see note 282. At: See note 282. MV: First fish of any variety secured by youth treated same as first game (see note 137).

280. MM, NM, NS, MV: First sucker caught by youth taboo to him also; denied by MF, NF.

[2.26 282. Kl: No salmon in Klamath Marsh, but abundant elsewhere in area; run in spring. Suckers, etc., abundant in marsh area. Mo: Mullet, trout chiefly, available in Tule Lake; no salmon. SE: Salmon plentiful in area; first salmon caught with line, after which salmon can be speared. SW: Salmon abundant in area. Shasta do nothing with first salmon they catch, but before they begin fishing, first salmon is caught down-river from them, by "a man who was raised at Hamburg [i.e., who belonged to Kammatwa group, a small buffer group between the Shasta proper and the Karuk, on the Klamath River; see Dixon, Shasta, p. 388, and Kroeber, Karok Towns, pp. 36-37]. Formerly he [Kammatwa man] caught this salmon in spring, at beginning of 'summer salmon' run; he used certain plants available at this season for rite. Perhaps he ate head, only, of this first salmon. Now, however, summer salmon run in September, and plants needed for rite are dried up by then." After this rite had been performed at Hamburg, the Shasta can catch summer salmon, dry and store them, but cannot eat them. Before they can eat fresh salmon, the Karuk down-river have to have given the White Deerskin dance (kuwarik - Shasta name). Shasta attend this dance as spectators; Shasta men avoid hunting at this time, so they will not see smoke from fire on mountains, which is built at beginning of dance. Previous to White Deerskin dance, the Shasta cannot catch or eat steelhead (rainbow

[174-B]

000 other end made into loop, passed around person's wrist. Balsa also pushed across stream by swimmer.

877. Mo: Used rarely; "generally borrow a boat." SW: See note 858. AE: Used for hunting ducks.

878. SW: 6-10 feet.

[501] 885. Kl: Of cedar (light).

[924] 887. AW: This type "good to bail water with, but slips too easily."

888. AW: Type chiefly used.

889. AW: 5-6 feet: if sitting in canoe, use 5-ft. paddle; if standing or kneeling, 6-ft. paddle.

[501] [415] 893. Kl: Tule basket, about size of basket cap; kept in canoe. Mo: Basket cap used. (Also use basket cap for drinking water.) AW: Broad side of paddle used to bail; denied by Kl, Mo, WM, WS.

894. Mo: Boat tied to water lily roots to "anchor" it. Large grooved stone anchors are found archaeologically at Tule Lake; specimens seen at Modoc Lava Beds National Monument museum.

895. Mo: Passenger sometimes gives boatman small gift; not obligatory.

904. Mo: As child, informant had seen logs cut down, put across Lost River. AW: "Have these across Pit River, at Burney Creek" (Ilmawi Achomawi area).

906. WM, WS: 2 ends anchored to trees (see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 126).

Swimming.--

908. WT: "Best way." NF: Used when swimming in deep water.

909. SE, SW: Women only. MF: "Only people who didn't know how to swim properly." NF: Used in shallow water.

910. SW: Men. WT: "Best stroke."

913. WT, WM, WS: When working. If swimming for pleasure, usually dive in head first (see element 914).

Land Transport

Carrying devices.--

[492] 916. Buckskin.

924. Similar to sack shown in Goddard, Hupa, pl. 6. Mo: "Knit" bag; used by men to carry home game. No carrying net used. SW: "The Kammatwa, at Hamburg [see note 282] have a knit bag to carry their fish in; Shasta don't use this." At: Use carrying net, bag type, with large meshes; men, women also use tule "bag," trapezoidal in shape, with buckskin handle, for packing goods. AW: Used by men; rather large mesh. AE: Used by men; imported only, recently (?).

926. At: See note 924. WM, WS: Round, with loop handle which is slung over 1 shoulder. "Made like a net, from twine."

927. AE: From small animals only.

[415] 928. Kl, Mo, At, AW, AE: Resembles parfleche.

[190-A]

000 AE: Used for packing dried meat; ču'wi. MF, NF, MM, MV: Rectangular strip of rawhide, folded long way, edges sewn together at both ends, top left open; buckskin thong attached for handle (?).

929. AW: Use tanned hide, but with hair left on; holes cut in flaps in order to lace bag together.

938. SW: Affirmed, but could not describe. AW: If person not too sick, or only 1 carrier available, make large frame resembling baby cradle; buckskin attached to frame, and person packed on back, "as one packs baby." WM, WS: Circular willow frame, with 3-4 parallel willow bars lashed across it. Salmon laid at right angles to these bars, with heads and tails tied to circular frame; whole carried flat against person's back, with aid of pack strap.

939. Mo: For fine seeds. Informant's mother, grandmother had used this type container. SE: Shape similar to pack basket; made on wooden hoop, of hide from which hair has been removed; atsori. "Can pack anything in it, from child to fine seeds." Mo, SW: Used principally for transporting small seeds.

482 943. Consists of 2 parallel poles, with net or thongs stretched between; borne by 2 or 4 men, using pack straps.

944. Outstretched skin borne by 4 men, 2 in front, 2 behind.

483 945. Kl: Bundle of willows (see Spier, Klamath, p. 171). Mo: Length variable, according to load; dragged by men or women, with rope. SW: Deer dragged home whole over snow, in winter; no sled.

000 Methods of packing.--

952. MF: For small loads only.

953. AW: Used chiefly for transporting sick.

[482] 958. Kl: In flat-bottomed basket; occasionally.

[483] Mo: Occasionally only. SW: Ascribed to Karuk. MV: Perhaps recently acquired habit, learned from Mexican fruit pickers? Colusa Indians (Patwin), in heart of fruit-picking district, characterized as "great to carry loads thus."

962. At, AW: Long, heavy pieces of wood.

963. MM, MF: Corpse, in flexed position for burial. WS: Deer.

964. SW: Ascribed to Karuk. At: "Some carry water thus." AW: Children, carrying small baskets of water. WS: Baskets of water carried thus; such also carried inside pack basket, on back. MV: Not only liquids; anything heavy.

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

Bows.--

965. AE: Generally used; made of white juniper. "Some men try to put sinew backing on these bows, but sinew always peels off." See note 969.

[531] 966. Unpainted, all groups.

967. Mo: Mountain mahogany used for bow. SW:

[190-B]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K M 342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old
352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the
513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another
K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are
M [592] houses that hold more than two families and others that hold
K only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no
M longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content
342 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.

888 735 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women
K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered
M 142 the visitor[11] are of powerful frame—though of no more than
average height—and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily
K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber
M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early
291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing
[177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the
trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down
the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside
add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a
K mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in
M 302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips
301 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads,
ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum
K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy
M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face,
304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by
[142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter prac-
[177] tice, says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit
River neighbors of the Modoc.

K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys.
M 512 Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grand-
[857] father and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black
waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the
sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to
stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its
K cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the
M [252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it
[415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they
[177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

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moved to Klamath Falls when he was nine years old, he had eaten only venison and had never tasted beef.

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In their continued loyalty to traditional foods, the Klamath were responsive to several advantages beyond—but including—appeal to the palate. The techniques involved in securing them were relatively simple and familiar, imposing few demands upon the individual for capital investment in tools and labor, required little in regularity of routine, and involved the cooperation of only small groups. Participation was direct, self-controlled, and provided an immediate reward.

Consequently, the issues of beef and flour were assimilated in use to native staple foods, rather than replacing them entirely. Flour was given the name that also denoted a meal made from ground seeds and cattail roots. It must be borne in mind that the rations were issued at times when other foods were largely exhausted, and probably because of this certain anomalies were introduced. Since the issues were public and general, there was no need, as there had been formerly, to conceal foodstuffs from neighbors. Thus, bread and biscuits were the first foods to be baked in the coals of the house fire, rather than in a special outside cooking hut; and, perhaps because of the method of issue, the food was shared by household, rather than by an individual family.[68] The practice of eating while the food lasted strained Agency resources: the Commissary at Yainax estimated that an Indian could easily dispose daily of two pounds each of beef and flour.[69]

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The example provided by white cooking, the use of salt, sugar, and baking soda, as well as new foodstuffs, together with the general acquisition of such utensils as the kettle, coffeepot, and spider, extended the variety of culinary techniques and even enhanced the preparation of native dishes. One woman recalls the ease with which one could hull wokas with a coffee grinder; and when a kinsman borrowed that useful instrument, she used her wokas mulling stones to grind coffee beans. Through it all, native foods continued to be favored, and the observation that "the Indian [school] children are very fond of fish" is nearly as true today as it was in 1893.[70]

An analysis of the statistical and narrative reports of the

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M K 501 [726]

place to place, a tule raft was sometimes used, particularly by war parties. Several large bundles of tule, sometimes two feet in diameter and eight or ten, or even fifteen feet in length, were lashed together to form a raft. It is said to have been propelled by lying down along the edges and really swimming the raft by dipping the hands into the water with a motion similar to that used in paddling.

M K 285 415 [262]

One of the most characteristic features of the culture of the region is the flat triangular platter made of tule and used for serving food, particularly broiled or otherwise cooked fish and roasted meat. Such trays are shown in pl. 13, figs. 1, 4, 6, and vary greatly in size. Circular baskets of coarse tule, such as that in fig. 3 of the same plate, are more rarely found. Occasionally they are bound about the rim with a hoop. More or less flat trays of several other forms are also used. One such tray is shown in fig. 5 of the same plate.

M K 285 415 222

Though not used at the present time, a tule sack was formerly made for the transportation and storage of wokas. This sack was made of unsplit tule, but was of sufficiently close weave to prevent the wokas from running through. These sacks were sometimes made so large that when filled with the wokas seed, which is comparatively light in weight, they were so heavy that a man of ordinary strength, or a woman, would not attempt to carry more than one at a time.

M K 285 [171]

There are several forms of rigid baskets made with willow or other sticks, particularly the conical burden basket (pl. 16, fig. 3) which was used largely in gathering foods such as wild plums; and the flat, more or less triangular, openwork basket with a handle (pl. 16, figs. 1 and 2),[12] used as a sieve and as a grater as well as a general receptacle. In the loop handle this basket differs from most of those of similar form found in various parts of California. It is used for sifting the wokas after drying, the seeds passing through the interstices of the basket, and separating from the larger fragments of the pods. Also camass, ipos, and other roots and tubers are rubbed on this basket in order to grate off or scrape off the skin of the tuber. In addition to being made of round willow stems, these baskets are also made of the split roots

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[12] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

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fish basket, and one or two others. Twining is the only technique K
used, all coiled baskets coming from this region being extraneous
to the true native culture. The majority of the conical burden 285
baskets made of willow or hazel which are in use among the [139]
Klamath are made by themselves, though they do purchase from
the Shasta to the southwest a burden basket which is more nicely
finished than their own. M

Together with this very specialized tule culture, resulting K
from the life of the people upon the immediate lake shore, go 105
water foods, particularly wokas and fish, and the special implements 22
devoted to the gathering of the wokas and to the capture 415
of various animals, birds, and fish. Such for instance are the [133]
peculiar duck arrow, the large dip-net, the net used at night in [184]
connection with a light in the canoe for catching ducks and other
water birds, the many-pointed fish spear, the two forms of bone [501]
hooks, the dug-out canoe, and the forked pole for propelling it
in shallow water. The peculiar stone implements, such as the [276]
two-horned muller, L-shaped and discoidal pipes, and triangular
net-sinker, are also noteworthy.

The specialization of culture in this region is very striking M
indeed when it is compared with the culture of surrounding K
peoples, as for instance, the Paiute to the east, where coiled
basketry predominates and tule work is almost unknown, and 105
with that of the Indians of the Upper Columbia river region to 101
the north, whose culture was very largely influenced by the 171
buffalo or plains Indian culture. A comparison with the Oregon Indians is difficult not only because the Oregon cultures are comparatively little known, but because the majority of Oregon Indians, owing to their habitat, showed either a coast or a desert culture, which is not readily comparable with the inland lake environment and culture of the Klamath and Modoc. The Indians in certain respects most similar to the Lutuami in culture lived down the Klamath river in the northwestern part of California. Here are found such things as the stone maul and the large triangular fish net. Here also the basketry is entirely twined and in a large measure of comparatively soft materials; and the willow or hazel burden baskets are very similar in their general appearance, form, and particularly in the border finish.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 11.

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Fig. 1.—Summer house of tule mats.

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[252]
Fig. 2.—Gambling tray of soft tule materials. Museum number 1-12732. Diameter 60 cm.

Fig. 3.—Flat basket of soft tule materials, for parching and sifting. Museum number 1-12465. Diameter 67 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

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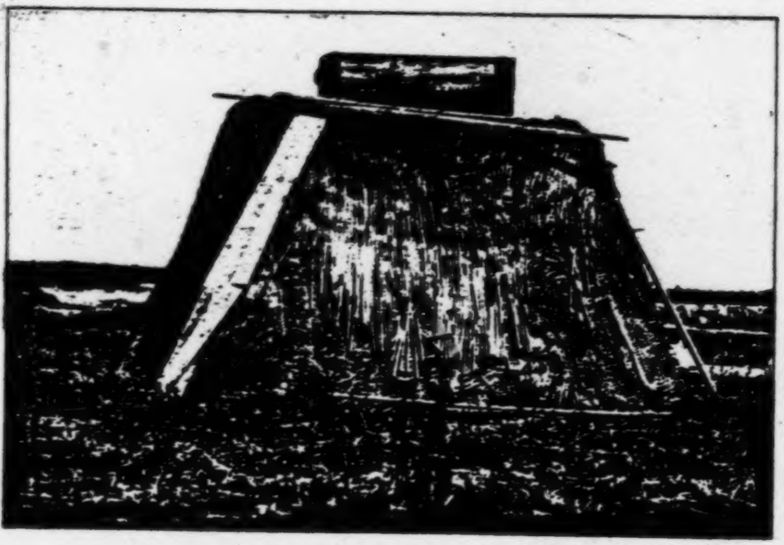

1
SUMMER HOUSE.

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[525]
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[252]
→

2 2

BASKETRY TRAYS FOR GAMBLING AND SIFTING.

[p. 265]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10 •
Modoc NS17

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 12.

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• 415

Fig. 1.—Woman grinding wokas seeds with two-horned muller on a flat slab laid on a sifting basket.

Fig. 2.—Woman sifting wokas in a flat soft basket.

5: **Barrett** E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

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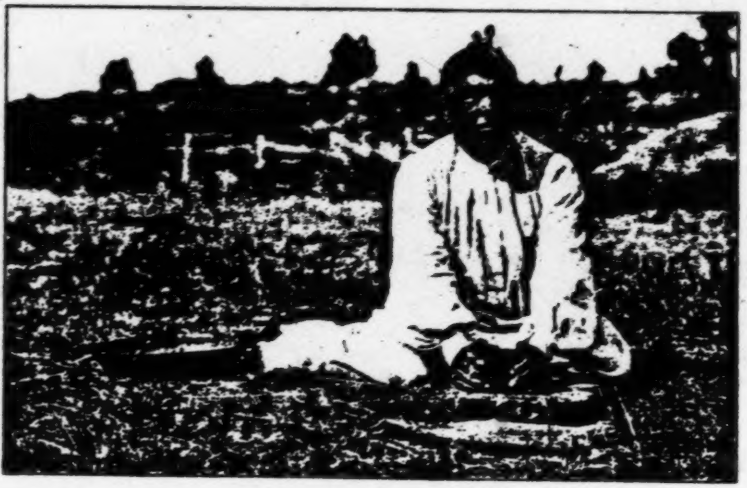

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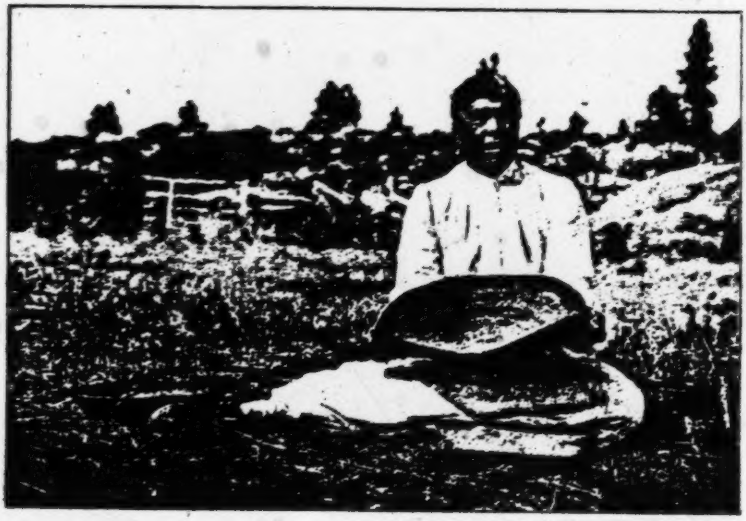

2

GRINDING AND SIFTING WOKAS SEEDS.

[p. 267]

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[222]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 13.

Fig. 1.—Triangular platter of tule basketry in plain twining. Used for serving food and for fanning coals in parching wokas. Museum number 1-12693. Length 31 cm.

Fig. 2.—Spoon of tule basketry, used for gathering floating wokas seeds. Museum number 1-12772. Length 38 cm.

Fig. 3.—Flat circular basket of tule used as a food tray. Museum number 1-14295. Diameter 43 cm.

Fig. 4.—Triangular platter of tule basketry in plain twining. Used for serving food. Museum number 1-12695. Length 72 cm.

Fig. 5.—Two-handled tray of tule basketry. Museum number 1-14125. Length 64 cm.

Fig. 6.—Triangular platter of tule basketry in plain twining. Used for serving food. Museum number 1-14272. Length 34 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc N517

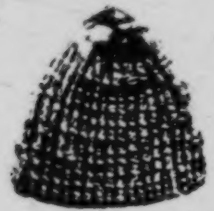
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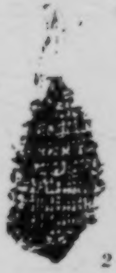
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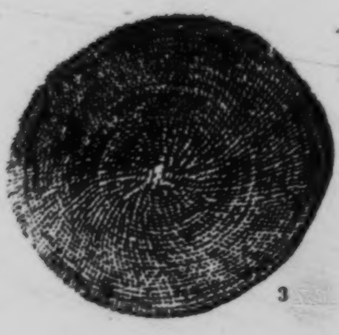
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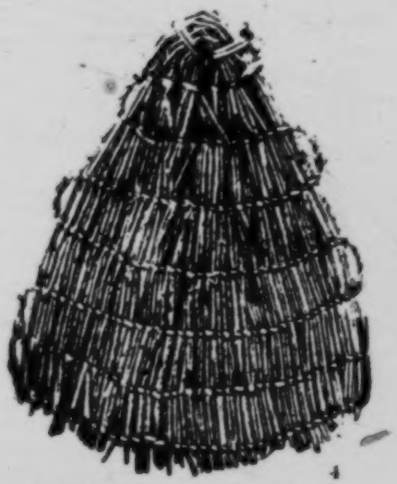
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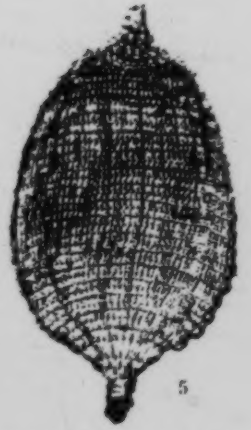
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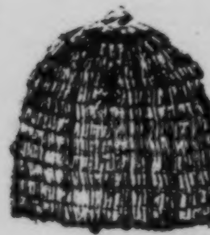
6

FOOD RECEPTACLES AND DIPPER OF TULE BASKETRY.

[p.269]

[222]

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 14.

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Fig. 1.—Pouch of plain twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-14293. Length 27 cm.

Fig. 2.—Unfinished basket of soft tule materials, in plain twining, showing nature of warp and weft. Museum number 1-12230. Diameter 24 cm.

Fig. 3.—Cradle of tule. Museum number 1-12676. Length 58 cm.

Fig. 4.—Storage basket in three-strand braiding, warp and weft of tule. Carried also in the canoe as a receptacle for fish taken from the net. Museum number 1-14286. Diameter 35 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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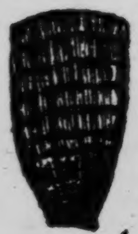
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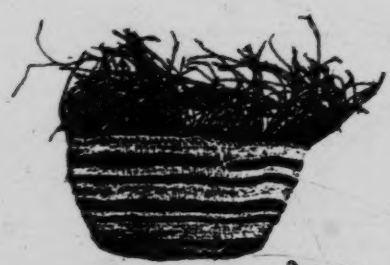
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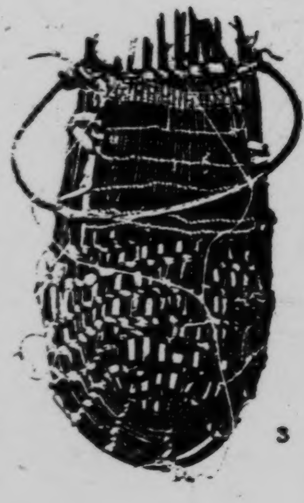
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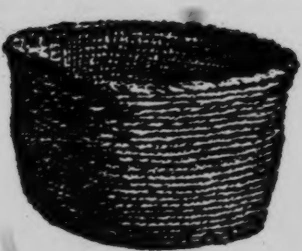
4

POUCH, CRADLE, AND BASKETS OF TULE.

[p. 271]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 16.

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Fig. 1.—Triangular openwork basket in plain twining of juniper root splints, used as a general receptacle; also as a sifter for wokas seeds and as a grater to remove the skins of roots and tubers. Museum number 1-12314. Length 82 cm.

Fig. 2.—Similar basket made of willow sticks. Museum number 1-12630. Length 75 cm.

Fig. 3.—Conical burden basket made in plain twining of rigid materials. Museum number 1-12391. Diameter 53 cm.

5: **Barrett** E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

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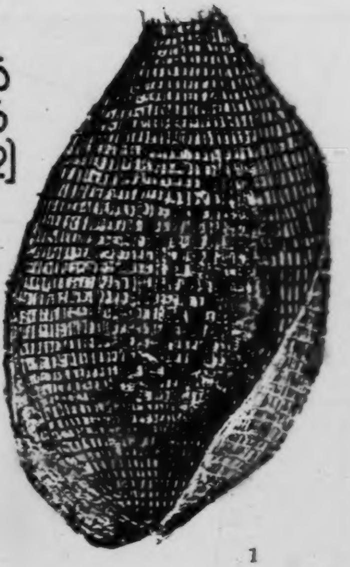

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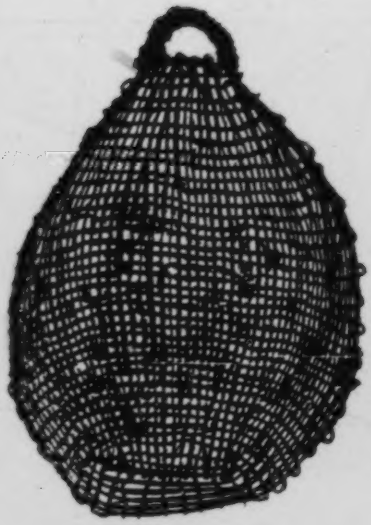

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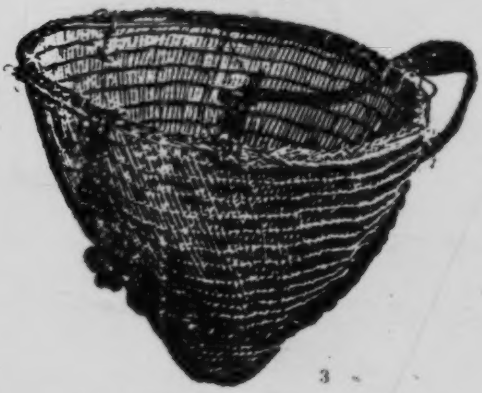

3

SIFTING AND CARRYING BASKETS.

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5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS 17

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 18.

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Fig. 1.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12385. Diameter 20 cm.

Fig. 2.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12469. Diameter 17 cm.

Fig. 3.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12688. Diameter 14 cm.

Fig. 4.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12461. Diameter 14 cm.

Fig. 5.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12480. Diameter 21 cm.

Fig. 6.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12459. Diameter 21 cm.

Fig. 7.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12802. Diameter 24 cm.

Fig. 8.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-14229. Diameter 19 cm.

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Fig. 9.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-12738. Diameter 22 cm.

Fig. 10.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-14230. Diameter 18 cm.

Fig. 11.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-12561. Diameter 22 cm.

Fig. 12.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-12335. Diameter 20 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc N517

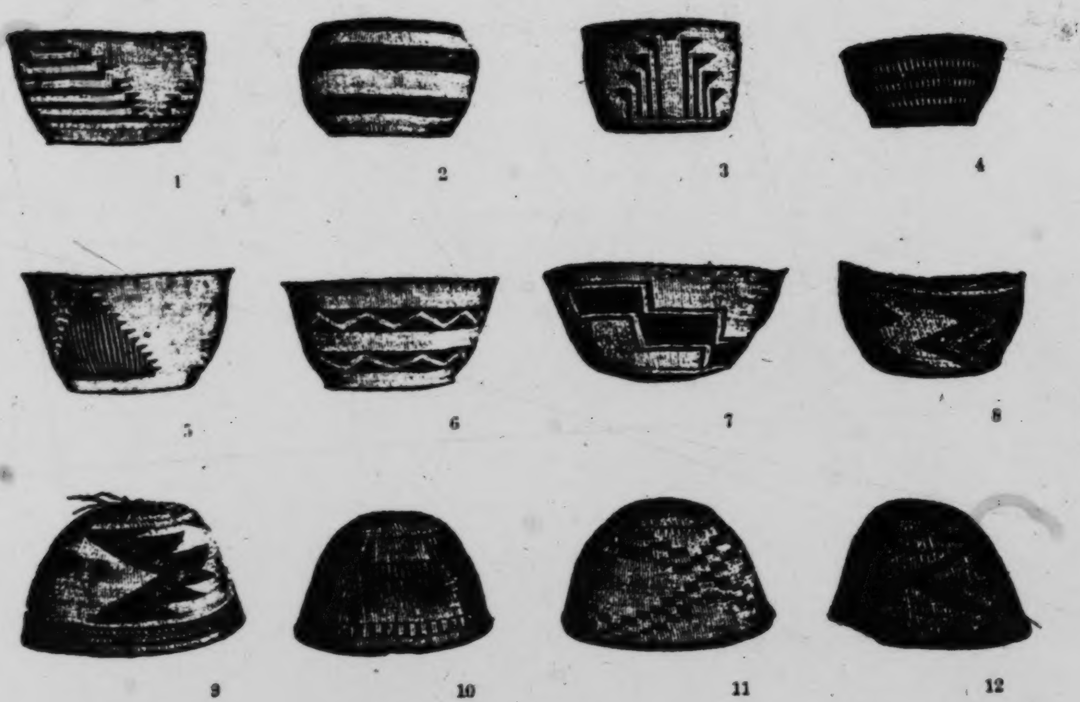
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BASKETS AND BASKETRY HATS.

[p 279]

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 19.

Fig. 1.—Fish-trap of plain-twined basketry. The warp consists of willow rods. Museum number 1-12247. Length 89 cm.

Fig. 2.—Tule moccasin for winter wear, in use.

Fig. 3.—Large canoe-shaped basket of tule, in openwork-plain twining, used as a floating receptacle in gathering wokas pods. Museum number 1-12639. Length 141 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

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1 2

FISH TRAP AND TULE MOCCASIN.

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3

BASKET FOR GATHERING WOKAS.

[p. 281]

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5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10 •
Modoc NS17

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 21.

Fig. 1.—Small muller. The base is flat. The hemispherical upper surface is shown. Museum number 1-12942. Diameter 9 cm.

Fig. 2.—Two-horned muller. Museum number 1-4540. Diameter 15 cm.

Fig. 3.—Pestle for grinding dried fish, meat, and seeds. Museum number 1-12907. Length 29 cm.

Fig. 4.—Pestle for grinding dried fish, meat, and seeds. Museum number 1-12932. Length 25 cm.

Fig. 5.—Perforated arrow-straightener of wood. Museum number 1-12628. Length 26 cm.

Fig. 6.—Mortar for grinding dried fish, meat, and seeds. Museum number 1-12953. Diameter 23 cm.

Fig. 7.—Grooved triangular sinker for gill net. Museum number 1-12880. Length 12 cm.

Fig. 8.—Maul for driving wedges. Museum number 1-12949. Length 13 cm.

Fig. 9.—Longitudinally grooved arrow-straightener and polisher of stone. Museum number 1-12914. Length 9 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

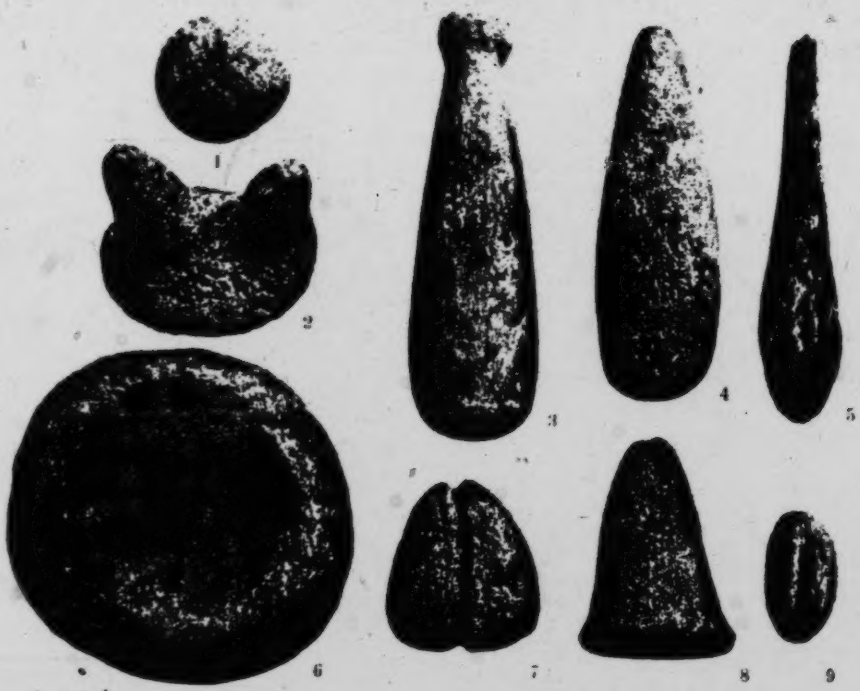

OBJECTS OF STONE, AND WOODEN ARROW-STRAIGHTENER.

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[p.285]

NOTES.

*539 221 This text intends to give a sketch of the various occupations of the northern tribe or É-ukshikni in every month of the year, and is partially worded in a form which may be called dramatic. These statements are not always arranged in logical order, but a profusion of ethnologic details gives intrinsic value to them.

805 The months of the Máklaks year do not coincide with the months of our calendar,
for they extend from one new moon to the next one, and therefore should be more
properly called *moons* or *lunations*. Twelve and a half of them make up the year, and
they are counted on the fingers of both hands. The first moon of their year begins
on the first new moon after their return from the wókash-harvest at Klamath Marsh,
which is the time when all the provisions and needful articles have been gathered in
796 for the winter. Work is then stopped and the communal dances begin, the doctor-
224 dances as well as those conducted by the chiefs, and everybody participates in them
except those who are out hunting in the mountains during the latter part of the year.
This mode of counting the moons on the digits was once popular, but on account of its
imperfections it is now forgotten by the majority of the tribe. Instead of it they reckon
time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as: ndsaksä'mi, "in the
big sucker time"; i-umä'mi, "in the berry season", or they use our calendar months.

The first moon mentioned in our text, gáptche, answers generally to our May. The two next moons are counted on the thumb and forefinger of the hand not used immediately before; with this last moon their year has come to an end. The next five moons are counted again on the digits of the first hand, and so forth. The half moon making up their full year is not accounted for in this text.

823 74, 2. Ktaí-Túpakshi is a locality of renown in the folklore of the Klamath tribe.
226 It lies near the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, on the property of an
Indian named Tchéloχins. The otílks is the fish-dam (from utíla), where the Indians
wade in the water with their dip-nets and catch the fish while it ascends the river in
spring-time in enormous quantities. This fish-dam does not reach the water's surface.

193 74, 2. The direct object of lúela is kápto, its subject máklaks hŏ'ank.

74, 3. kámalsh pahá means: they dry the fish which they have just caught by exposing it to the sun on limbs of trees, and then make kámalsh by pounding it. Kámalsh is a derivative from gáma, to pound.

192 74, 3. kó-iχaga is identical with gúikaka; derived from kúi, "away, far off"; gui-χátchka is: to start out annually to the prairies where roots etc. are harvested.

262 74, 5. saká a pŏ'ks: they eat *sometimes* the camass raw, but only at the time when
222 digging it. Bulbs, roots, pods, chrysalids and berries are gathered by women only.

222 74, 6. pahá at p.; this is equivalent to pahátko pŏ'ks iwídshat. They bake the
251 camass and put it in their cachés at the place where they intend to stay next winter.

796 74, 8. shníkanua. During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process,
222 the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges
192 public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the
women, and they go to work again in their canoes.

415 74, 9. shiulína. From the preceding we should expect shiulínat, lulínat.

74, 10. wílishik is the generic term for larger kinds of provision-sacks; it means here a sack of fifty pounds seed or grain, while the wáχoks holds hundred pounds. In pálasham-wáχoksh, however, the latter word is taken in its *generic* sense of sack, bag.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 221 192 All these different kinds of sacks or bags were originally made of bulrush-stalks (tule) and the táyash was made of straw.

415 74, 11. k̲aítua nû kä'ila. The sense is incomplete. Probably sháyuakta is left out: "I do not know of any in the whole country", käíla often standing for käílatat.

192 74, 14. áwaluee. There are several islands in the shallow waters of the vast extent of Klamath Marsh, but only *one* is meant here.

103 74, 15. wô'ns flktsat. They submerge their dug-outs at several places on the beach, where they are certain to find them in the next wókash-season.

501 103 74, 17. pi'la wi'hla (or píla wíllash) contains perhaps a proper name of a locality, or stands in connection with Tóilkat, "at the Rail-Pyramid"; wílhaslash means top, apex. The stations from the "Ford" to "Bird's Lookout" are passed by the tribe when they return home with the lily-seed harvest-crop. "They drop the rifle" is: they take a rest. All these localities are either on the open waters of Klamath Marsh or on Williamson River, which forms its outlet.

484 492 75, 1. iwí-idsha wókash. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Williamson River is from 20 to 25 miles, and horses carrying wókash can make it in one day. The next day they return to carry another load.

482 75, 2. nátoks waítuapk: we will lie over one day to let our horses rest, or recover from the swellings on their backs. Nátoks stands for nát toks.

824 75, 5. klá-ads is probably a kind of wild prunes. See Dictionary: kělátch.

192 75, 8. wídsika íwam. "Some are economical with their own berries, and prefer not to scatter them in the hands of others"; íwam, huckleberry, has become the generic term for all berries, and i-umä'mi is "*berry-season*".

346 75, 11. spû'klish here means the large communal sweat-house; it is used frequently for dances and kshiuwálχishtat, contr. kshiû'lχishtat might stand instead of spúklishtat.

75, 11. papiä'na, vocalic dissimilation for papa-éna; derived from pán, to eat.

193 75, 13. atí'sh etc. "Heap ye up that hay in two stacks, which must have a lengthy, long-stretching, and not a high, cone-shaped form!" For heaping up long stacks one verb is here used, and another for making the high, round ones.

PŪ'LAM SHUMSHE-ÉLSHTAT SHASHAPKĚLÉASH.

A SKETCH OF BALL'S MARRIED LIFE.

115

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 593 Póluk k̲ä'liak snáwäds t'shín. Tsúi snawä'dshla Pámpiam pä'-ia lupí';
Ball he without a wife grew up. Then he married Pámpi's daughter at first;

tsúi wä'kala, tsúi tatá mántsak mbusä'lan gi. Tsúi kä'tsa, tsúi mbusä'-
and she had a babe, and then quite a while he lived with (her). Then he left (her), and lived with

alpěli pän, tsúi pän kétsa sissû'kuk tsû'ssak. Násh wä'ka sham k̲läká, nä'sh
(her) again, and again left (her) quarreling continually. One babe to them died, another

tchía; at sa sipī'tχa, tsúi nä's shnawä'dshla pän Látsam pä'-ia; wáts säwána
lived; still they separated, then one (woman) he married after (this) Látchash's daughter; horses he gave

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR 10 Klamath NR 10

252

Preparation of wokas

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[516]

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[222]

(13) And having returned there, having filled the canoe, so having unloaded it, it is in just one place. (14) And it stays piled up there for a long time. (15) So it becomes dry on top, and rots underneath. (16) And perhaps they washed it, and all that was not good would float up to the surface. (17) And only the wokas sank to the bottom.

(18) And they spread it out on a mat long ago. (19) And having spread it out there, so it dried out. (20) When it had dried, perhaps "three weeks"—(laughter)—three weeks having passed perhaps it has dried. [251]

(21) And next they sift it well, until it is dry. (22) They do it all well, and they put it into sacks now. (23) And to make food, they parched it. (24) And at that time long ago they used parching-mats. (25) And having put coals on there, they roasted it, that wokas.

(26) And having roasted it well, they ground it with a muller. (27) Sitting spraddle-legged they ground wokas. (28) And then having finished that, they dipped it all to one side. (29) And all the chaff came up, on top. (30) And having put it to one side, they ground it again. [516]

(31) And now they made food. (32) Long ago it was, before when our things, dishpans, were not there. (33) And at that time there they did it in a "čakía" [i.e., a type of basket], "čakía" as they termed it. (34) And in that they first heated rocks, and they put the wokas into water. (35) Then they threw the stones into the water, in that "qalla" [another basket type], to boil it at that time, a [modern] boiling-pot being absent. (36) Thus they made wokas long ago. [178] [415]

(37) And that second kind, which I called "sbokẃas," they soured it apart. (38) And they took it off the top, while it was still wet. (39) Having gotten it ripe, they took it off the top. (40) And those were round, those "sbokẃas" were. (41) It was called "sbokẃas." (42) And again having ground that "sbokẃas," then again in just the same manner having put it in among coals next, they parched it. (43) Again they parched it. (44) They parched it, and it tasted good.

(45) And one other, that one being called "čini·q̇am." (46) It was not ripe wokas, and it tasted bad. (47) It was bitter, and they thus made it round, having parched it. (48) That's as much as they said.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

23. Picking Wokas
(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

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(1) We gathered wokas on the Lake. (2) We picked it. (3) And we put it into gunny sacks, and we took it back, home. (4) And we threw it into a "barrel," to sour it. (5) Thus we fixed our wokas, just as they make it recently. (6) So then, however, it was not there for long [Informant's translation ?]. (7) And having brought it back, we put it into a "barrel." (8) And to become "sour." (9) To sour we put it into the "barrel." (10) So until it's well done it is that way. (11) Now then we dip it off, having dipped it off well thus, then something—we spread it out, in the "sun." (12) To get dry. (13) Now then we spread it back and forth, to dry out well. (14) Then we put it into our sacks. (15) And that's as far as it goes. (16) Now we make food, having dried it well. (17) So now we eat it.

24. Cooking Wokas
(Mrs. Grover Pompey)

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(1) [One] puts the wokas on a parching-mat. (2) [One] puts coals on top of the wokas. (3) Then shakes it while blowing on it. (4) [One] blows on the coals on it to cook one's shaken wokas [i.e., the wokas which one is shaking back and forth on the parching-mat].

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133]

114
342 lodges is curious. "It [a Klamath marsh village] was composed of 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents [361] built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. . . . . Reached Indian village of five huts, hut large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defense against arrows but not balls."[368] Frémont notes "they were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams." At another place "the huts . . . . were made of tall rushes and willows."[369]

342
184 There is considerable variation in the size of houses, even those of one type. Earth-lodges range in diameter from twelve to thirty feet or more, the larger accommodating several families. The largest pit I saw measured thirty-five feet in diameter. The largest earth-lodges are invariably those of shamans, larger even that those of chiefs. This is not only the statement of my several informants, but on every site [756] I visited the largest pits were pointed out to me as the former residences of shamans. The shaman's lodge, to be sure, houses the winter [622] performances, but this also implies that shamans are the wealthiest individuals, or were so at least before the ascendancy of the chiefs during the last century. Winter houses are commonly larger than the corresponding summer mat-covered forms.

342 The semi-subterranean earth-lodge is erected over a shallow pit (sloko'ps). This is commonly but knee deep, but the thirty-five-foot pit mentioned above had been excavated waist deep or even more. All the clearly defined house pits that I saw were circular, but I got the impression from one informant that the house might be somewhat squared. This is probably the case only with the summer mat-lodge: wu'kē'plöks. The circle is not measured in any way. The pit is dug with digging sticks, the earth thrown back all around the excavation with storage baskets (tlŭks) or slabs of pine bark.

The roof has the form of a truncated, wedge-shaped cone, resting as it does on the circular periphery of the pit but with its upper truncated surface an elongated rectangle. The main frame is formed by four central posts, set to form the corners of this rectangle.[370] The tops of these are connected by stringers. Poles extending obliquely

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[368] Elliott, The Ogden Journals, 210.

[369] Frémont, Narrative, 122; Memoirs, 404.

[417] [370] Barrett implies a single center post ("climbs down . . . . by means of steps cut into the center pole itself," p. 244), but this was denied by my informants.

342 The roof is shingled with long mats laid in horizontal courses. The variety used is a relatively poor twined mat, called ste'holŏs, made of tule, swamp grass, or cat-tail rushes. Dry grass (not brush) is heaped on the mats halfway up the sides and the whole roof then covered with a thick layer of dirt. The grass is omitted from the upper part for fear sparks from the fire beneath the hatchway may catch in it. The mats are three and a half to four feet wide and so [352] long that they stretch more than halfway around the roof. Swamp-grass mats make a warmer structure than tule. [353] No mats are placed on the inner side of the roof, nor around the sides of the pit. The floor however is liberally carpeted with them. Food is commonly stored around the outer margin of the roof, buried under the dirt cover. The dirt is banked so thoroughly there that the lodge needs no circumscribing ditch to protect it from rain water.

The hatchway in the roof (ginḳ'a, hole) is of considerable size; about ten feet by three or four in a large house. At night a series of small sticks are laid transversely across it and a mat, called ḳ'ai'ictIs, which is rolled up at the rear end of the hatchway during the day, is stretched over the opening to close it. Any kind of ste'holŏs mat may be used for the hatch, but swamp grass is preferable to tule which becomes brittle when dry. To keep the snow from drifting into the open hatchway, a mat may be set up to windward on sticks driven into the dirt covering.

Houses face the southeastern quarter, because the prevailing winds are from the west. The front of the house is the side having a set of steps leading up the sloping roof to the hatchway. It seems doubtful that a house on the east bank of a river, for instance, would have its entrance away from the stream, but so I was told. The circumstances is that along the Williamson river valley, the only narrow valley where this arrangement might prove awkward, the majority of settlements are on the west bank.

The outer steps (astŏno'lŭḳs) are formed of two small tree trunks lying upright along the sloping roof. Short limbs left projecting from these hold a series of cross-sticks serving as rungs (waki's), with [417] dirt packed behind them to make a set of solid steps. The ladder reaching the hatchway from within is made of similar poles (stĕ'stkĭs) with the rungs tied on. There were ten rungs, a foot apart, in a large house described to me.[371] This ladder is set at the southeastern end of the opening, that is the end opposite the rolled-up mat door. It is nearly vertical and protrudes considerably above the roof level. Ladders are never made of a log with holes cut through it, nor were the central posts notched for this purpose.[378] 342 417

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[371] This may well be the operation of the pattern number five.

The rough planks used in roofing the structure are made by splitting hollow logs with elk-horn wedges. These are driven with a hardwood club, oak, or mountain mahogany. Every man has three or four such wedges; axes are wholly unknown and stone mauls not used. Obviously such timbers cannot compare with the broad planks of the Northwest peoples, but are rather of the crude Yurok type. Procuring the planks is quite a little expedition. They go in four to six canoes, spending a whole day splitting enough for a single house. The people of the du'kwa settlements at the mouth of Williamson river, for instance, cross Klamath lake to its timbered western shore for their supply. 313 412

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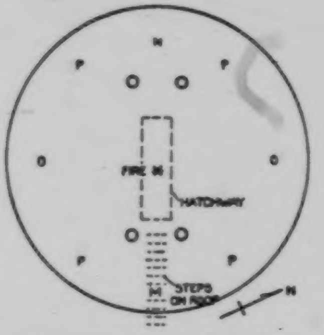

Fig. 19. Named parts of the house.

The several parts of the house interior as set off by the central posts are named. That portion at the front of the house directly under the outside steps is called stĕ'kis (*M*, fig. 19); the opposite end, tka'lŭm (*N*). These spaces are used for storage. The sides of the interior (*O*) are la'lɪstal and the corner sections (*P*) are stc!oka'etal. These, the living quarters, are preferable to the end spaces presumably because the narrowness of the hatchway yields a greater extent of roof cover on each side, thus affording greater protection. The sleeping quarters of shamans are on the northern side of the lodges, hence I assume that this segment is always occupied by the head of the household. The shaman dances principally on this side of the central area. [756]

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[378] Compare Barrett, 244.

used;[378] then grass or pine boughs, covered with dirt, are heaped halfway up the side. 342 The outer mats are held in place by tying them along the edges to poles propped against the side of the house. The rope (pĕḳ'os) used for this is three strand, braided of grass or the outer layer of tule. In placing the mats, a space about two feet across is left at the top for a smoke hole, and another only three and a half feet high for a doorway. One has to stoop to enter. The door is a mat like that of the summer house; it is not weighted nor tied down.

Drying racks are not placed inside the houses. All fish and meat [251] are dried on racks near-by. [417]

Houses are not decorated, nor are the house posts carved or painted except by shamans. 342 These may paint them with horizontal stripes, alternately red and white. One informant had it that men's faces, snakes, lizards, and various other animals, not spirits, are painted on the posts, but I am doubtful. Shamans also hung stuffed bird and animal skins about the interior. [756] A wooden image and a stuffed crane skin are set up outside on the northern side of the hatchway, i.e., above the shaman's bed. 552 Houses are not given individual names, Yurok fashion, though the localizing tendency of the Klamath might have 171* found an outlet in this.

The fireplace (sne'lūḳs) in the earth-lodge is in the middle of the 354 floor, between the four center posts and under the open hatchway. Neither a pit nor stones are used to confine the fire. Most of the time there is no fire on the hearth, only in the morning and evening; at other times the hatch is closed. A huge fire is built when it is nearly sundown, and after the mat is drawn across the opening the heat is so great that blankets may be dispensed with. This despite the severe [132] winters; at this altitude (4000 feet) lakes and streams are frozen [133] solid. Fires are usually made by piling short lengths of wood in log-cabin (crib-work) fashion to a height of eighteen inches. They cook when this is reduced to a bed of coals. A piece of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire from one place to another.

Cooking ordinarily takes place outside the dwelling in a dome- 343 shaped house (sti'nă'c) erected near-by. 252 An earth-lodge on lower Williamson river, for example, set some fifty yards from the stream, had its cooking lodge close to the bank. 592 All the women of the household prepare their food together, even where several families have joint tenancy. It is carried to the earth-lodge and there passed about

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[378] Barrett gives the successive layers as made of "a kind of reed," triangular-stemmed tule, and circular-stemmed tule (*op. cit.*, 244).

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SV	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
515 810. Pray or wish while sweating	•+	•+	(•+)	+	R	•R	•+	+	•+	•+	+	(+)	–	–	–	–
782 811. Cold bath follows sweat	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	(–)	+	+	–	+
House Furnishings and Arrangement																
281 812. Blankets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
813. Elk and deerskin	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
513 814. Painted hides for fine blankets	–	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
815. Woven rabbitskin blankets	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
816. Patchwork skin blankets	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
817. Deerskin	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
818. Coyote skin	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
819. Wildcat skin	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
820. Raccoon skin	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
821. Rabbitskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
822. Blue-fox skin	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–
[439] 823. Buffalo hides, imported for blankets.	–		+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[237] 824. Feather blankets	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	•+
825. Loose tule, grass blanket covering	+	+	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
826. Pillows	+	+	+	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.
827. Individual wooden pillow	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
828. Pole pillow	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.
829. Piece of wood or rock	+	–	–		–	–			+	+	+	.	–	–	+	.
830. Rolled skin	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.
831. Rolled tule mat	–	–	+	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
832. Leaf or grass pillow	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.
534 833. Pine needles heaped up for pillow	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	–	(–)	+	–	–	–	.
†834. Wooden foot drum	–	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	•R	•R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
†835. Hollow half log	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	.	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†836. In line with door	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†837. Over hole in ground	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	.	+
†838. Post before drum	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	.	–	–	–	+
361 †838a. Houses in rows	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
†838b. Houses in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	.	–	•+
Shelters																
Brush Enclosures and Shades																
417 839. Roofless circular brush enclosure	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
840. Large, used for ceremonies	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
[574] 841. As camping place for visitors.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–
[764] 842. At cemeteries only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	+	+
843. Fire in center	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
844. Opening(s) oriented	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	.	•+
845. Same, but smaller, for summer shelter	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	[illegible]	–
846. Partly roofed over	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
847. Roofed circular brush enclosure	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–		–
848. Shades	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	–	+	+	–	•+
849. Horizontal roof	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
850. Sloping roof	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
851. 4 supporting posts	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
852. 3 side walls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
853. Brush heaped around pit mortars, for shade	–	–	–		–	–	–		–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–
854. Conical bark grinding house, 2 families	–	–	–		+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Menstrual Huts																
343 855. Menstrual hut.	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
841 856. Similar to living house, but smaller.	–	–	–	•+	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

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Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2490. Moving figures	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	.	+	−	+
2492. Done in winter only	+	•+	−	−						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2493. Done any time, for fun	−	−	+							+	−	+	+	+	−	+
[481] 2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	•−	•+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2494a. Stilts	−	•+	−	−	•+	R	−	−	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−

Contests

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
526 2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. To throw man down	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. No tripping allowed	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	.	−
2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	−	+	+	.
2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								−	+	+	+	+	+
2502. Dodging	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	(+)	−	+	−	+
2503. Stones	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−
2504. Hard objects inside geese	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2505. Sand bag	−	−	−					•+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2506. Tule, grass balls	−	+	−					−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	+
2507. Two sides	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
o2508. Number on each side	−	•5	−			1	.	15	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[857] 2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	.	−
2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	.	+
2515. To mark and back	−	−	−			+	+	−	+	−	.	+	+	+	−	−
2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+			+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+
2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+

Storytelling

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
538 2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2520. Myths told at night	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•.		•+	•+
[516] 2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.		−	+
2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	•+	+	−			+		+	−	+	−	−	.		−	−
[784] 2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
2524. Rattlesnake will bite	−	+	.		+	+	+	+	−	.	+	−	.		.	−
2525. Winter will come quickly	+	−	.						+	.	+	−	.		.	−
[887] 2526. Narrated by old people only	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
[515] 2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	•−	+	+			+				+	−	+	.		+	+
2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	−	+	+			+				+	−	+	.		+	+

Social Dances

Circle Dances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
535 2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	•R	•+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	−	R	−		−	−
[417] 2530. Performed in brush corral	−	−	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
[224] 2532. At fall rabbit hunt	−	−	−	−		−	+	−		−	−	−	−		−	−
[221] 2533. In springtime	−	−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−		−	−
[226] 2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
2535. During communal fishing periods	+	+	+							+	−	−	−		−	−

used occasionally in summer also, on mountain near spring.

59. NF: Slender straight pieces of willow stuck in ground in circle; 3-4 openings left in circle; willow roof over top. Acorn meal scattered on ground inside trap; birds unable to find way out; removed by person watching trap.

62. NS: Used in winter.

65. Long slender acorns from live oaks used.

68. At: For bear; acorn bait.

69. AW, WT, WM, MM, MF, NF, NS: Single stone deadfall used for catching mice. MM, MF, NF, NS: Used for catching rats; WM, WS: not used for rats. MM, MF: Used for ground squirrels; WM, WS, NF, NS: not used for ground squirrels.

[224] 71. Kl: Pitfall (benč) used for deer; Spier says Kl did not use (Klamath, p. 158); 2 informants questioned, both denied pitfall a recent innovation. SW: Hole wider at bottom than at top; used for small animals only. AW: Dig pits with digging stick; if find ground to be too hard, leave pit unfinished.

76. AE: For coyotes.

Booths and blinds.--

80. SW: Hunters hide behind bushes in open country, where antelope found.

87a. WM: See note 40.

89. Mo: Tules matted over prow and sides of boat; hunter inside.

[224] [417] 92. Kl: Pumice stone enclosures (wa'akkIs) 6 ft. in diameter, no roof; built by single hunter.

94. SW: No pit, but bonfires built at deer licks, and deer shot as they come to fire. Also hunter conceals self at deer licks, on moonlight nights, to shoot deer.

Disguises, decoys.--

[224] [184] 95. Deer head generally, but among some groups antelope heads also. Kl: Spier (Klamath, p. 158) says Kl did not use disguise, but my informant described it, said used by Kl of Klamath Marsh. NF: Hunter wears yellowhammer-band headdress to attract deer's attention.

96. AW: Prong horn head used only; none of neck skin left attached.

98. SE: Mink hides fastened over deerskin in summer, when deer shedding, to make disguise look more natural (Jake Smith, informant).

101. AW: Tules used for disguise; for ducks only, when driving them toward net (see note 10, also element 42).

[223] [373] 106. Kl: Jack light. Put fire at 1 end of canoe; tule mats around fire. As canoe floats down-river ducks fly down to light; shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes ducks so thick they put out the fire. Done at night, in freezing weather. At: Fire set on 1 end of canoe, for ducks; flares not used but attributed by informant to Madesi Achomawi. AW: Small fire carried in 1 end of canoe, at night, over which boatmen warm hands only. "People at Big Bend (Madesi

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for the seclusion of menstruant or parturient women, contact with whom is particularly injurious to shamans.

K
M
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The earth lodges, frequently dismantled in the spring after becoming waterlogged by the melting snows, are rebuilt in the fall. They are semisubterranean, built within a circular pit one to four feet in depth—the Modoc excavations tend to be somewhat deeper than the Klamath—and range in diameter from twelve feet for a single family to over thirty-five feet for the residence of a shaman. Four central posts support horizontal plates, with a split-log beam slanting down from each corner into the ground beyond the edge of the pit. Horizontal stringers between the beams in turn bear a layer of rafters, laid side by side around the house. Cracks are chinked with sticks and bark; and the surface is covered successively with rough matting, with grass laid along the lower edge, and finally with dirt. On top, rough planks are laid between the plates, leaving a hatchway that serves simultaneously as smoke hole and entrance.

K
m
[184]

A similar structure, erected over a shallow depression or none at all, lacking the earth covering, and with side entrance, might also be used during the winter, but is most frequently the residence of warmer weather. The house is constructed by its future residents: working together, says Ray, Modoc may take a month to build an earth lodge.

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[354]

Both Klamath and Modoc conceive of the house as facing east, and on that side a stairway ascends. Within, a ladder thrusts through the hatchway, and down this the visitor climbs, being careful, if a woman, to manage her fringed skirt to observe the proper modesty. Once below and standing beside the central fireplace, he makes out the dim details. Behind him, at the front of the house, firewood is stacked in tiers, while across the back a partition has been made behind which are stored foodstuffs and gear. Many houses dispense with a partition, and supplies are kept on the ledge between pit and wall. From the rafters dried fish and roots hang.

K
M
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The floor is covered with mats, which sometimes extend up the walls. Along the walls the members of the household sit or sleep upon a bedding of mats thrown over grass, with an occasional blanket woven of tule and cattail, sometimes with feathers worked in, or of animal pelt. The left side of the house, as the visitor faces forward, is reserved for the family

*539 ders, while the Thunders stopped in the small kayáta which was the abode of their
773 parents. To enter such an earth-lodge a high ladder called ga-ulúlkish must be climbed
192 on the outside, and another ladder, as long or longer than the other (wakísh) leads into
[342] the interior. Pătchŏ'le nā'shak, pépătchle (for pépătchōle) lápok wakísh: "he had
[417] stepped once", "twice" down on the inside ladder; that is, he had made one step, two steps on it commencing from the top. Each one of the Thunders, when trying to penetrate into their own lodge, gets a little further down than the previous one, but all are driven out by the *chilling*, powerful spell of Skélamtch's headdress.

112, 7. gúlipēlánk. The second of the Thunders, frightened at the ill-success of his experiment, retired again to the low hut or kayáta, where the other Thunders were and where their parents dwelt. This word has two accents on account of shash being enclitic; cf. 111, 2. 112, 13. 113, 9.

112, 8. Tátχēlamni refers in this connection to the relative age of the brothers: "the third in age of the five Thunders."

112, 9. gekanshēnû'nk: for gékanshna hû'nk. Cf. 113, 12. ktánshan nánui sχolχótak, for: ktánshna nánui shχolχóta ak.

112, 9. gû'tχitkt, a contraction of gû tkitko at.

[193] 112, 11. 12. "Ya! atí' a nā'lsh winnī'χitk tuá'ki." This was said by all the five Thunders simultaneously and *unisono*. In tuá' ki, á is altered into â', almost ó. The inserted particle hû, û "in the distance, out there, over there" seems to have produced this change.

112, 15. Il'lhankshti l'tpa "he brought some venison," a phrase corresponding exactly to the French: "il apporta *du gibier*"; both nouns standing in the partitive case. These partitives are governed by another noun in 113, 6 (máklaksti) and 113, 7.

112, 21. pûelhí': they threw the dead Indians down into the lodge from its roof. The suffix -l- indicates a downward direction, like -íla, -knéla etc., and occurs also in 112, 17, hă'mēle, to speak in a downward direction, to shout to somebody standing below. The suffix -hi means down to the ground, or on the ground, earth, soil, and since the lodge-floor is the soil itself, it also means "into, or in the lodge or wigwam".

113, 2. íwa sha tchúi. They put into the bucket the bodies of the dead Indians to stew or boil them up.

113, 2. Nókshtak etc. The gray wolf, the marten and the weasel all being carnivores, there is nothing extraordinary in the fact that mythic fiction lets them participate in a meal consisting of human flesh.

113, 3. háshpa shash. Shash stands for máklaksash, the dead Indians.

113, 8. nánuk wû'ta. Marten ate up all the human flesh which he had taken out of the kála.

113, 8. shéwanank. The verb shéwana refers to a plurality of objects, the objects being sometimes expressed by a collective noun, as here (tchulē'ksh).

113, 9. Ké-udshiámtchkash stands for Ké-udshiamtch tchkash; nû'kla is to roast on coals; tchulē'ks is here venison meat.

113, 13. ka-uloktantktám'na. The verbal suffix -tám'na, which marks an action often repeated, or continued for a long time, is not here, as usually, appended to the simple form of the verb, but to its derivative in -tka.

113, 14. Tchékag. The blackbird has yellow eyes shining bright in the darkness,

*539 **120, 2.** tchishkuapaht instead of tchishkuápkasht.

773 **120, 10.** vntátchkia is also pronounced utátchkia, hutátchkia. Earth-lodges which
192 open on the top can be closed by means of a large cover placed over the smoke-hole.

120, 11. lepleputéa or properly: leplep=putéa, "to play the smoke out game with two on each side," is a compound of lápĕni *two* in the shorter form láp, and púta to be [194] smothering. Láp has changed its vowel into a shorter vowel, *e*, on account of removal [193] of accent, and is here redoubled by iterative, not by distributive reduplication. Cf. lepχléks from láp and k̲'léka. A series of points after lepleputéa indicates that the animals repeated this word an indefinite number of times, while the others were inside the lodge, and while pronouncing pută', they opened again to let them out.

120, 17. tchúχasht tchē'k kaishnû'la. Literally rendered, this means: having perished finally, they uncovered. The subject of tchúχasht, lû'lχagsh, has to be supplied from what precedes. The smoke of the burning rotten wood killed the cubs.

[342] **120, 19.** ga-ulû'lkish, from ga-ulóla to go out, is the outside ladder of the In- [417] dian "mud-house" or winter-lodge, averaging in length from 10 to 15 feet; the inside ladder, wákish, is somewhat longer to reach the excavated floor.

120, 21. The complete wording of this sentence, in which sháptki stands for shápatki, would be: k̲á-i sháptki giug Lúk̲ash, gátpampĕlisht hû'nksh (hû'nkiash).

[193] **120, 22.** ágguipksh, contraction of aggayápkash: aggáyn to be hung up, or to be stuck into; said of long-shaped articles only.

121, 3. anulípka to take away something from another's lodge or house without asking for it; the suffix -ipka expressing the idea of "towards oneself." Anulípkuish, "what was once abstracted from others" appears here in the contracted form anuli'pkŭtch; gé-u "by me, through me."

121, 9. tútatatáksni shows repetition of the two first syllables of tatáksni children, but at the same time means "where are the children?"

121, 15. shálgidsha; the antelopes placed the coals there to secure their flight from the Bear; had the coals been put there by somebody else, lákidsha would be used.

121, 22. 122, 7. hû'ktakag: familiar diminutive name given to the Grizzly Bear; hû'ktag, 121, 23., stands for one of the young antelopes.

122, 1. 2. Mbúshant tchē'k etc. The sense of this exclamatory sentence is as follows: "To-morrow at last I will play a sharp game with ye children, when in the day-time I can use my eyes to advantage." Lúlpatka is: lúlpatko a; "possessing eyes" is the primary signification of lúlpatko, but here it means "enabled to make use of the eyes". Cf. múkasham nû lúlpatko: I see as sharp as a horned owl. The distributive form pahépsha, of pahé, "during day-time" means "any time when the sun shines bright." Cf. pshéksh, noon-time.

122, 9. This blowing of personified objects of nature into sticks etc., is a fiction of which we have another instance in 111, 16.

122, 11. ndshenshkáni. See *Note* to 71, 6. 7.

122, 12. 13. tchiwá, tchi'tchu: tchi is a syllable found in many words referring to water and liquids, as tchíya to give water; tchiéga to overflow. This radical is no doubt an obsolete Klamath word for water and recalls the term tchû'k "water" in Chinook jargon: tltsuk in Lower Chinook, tl'tchuku in Clatsop; tchaúk in Nútka. It also occurs under various forms in the Sahaptin dialects. By this lake undoubtedly Upper Klamath Lake is meant. Cf. tchíwa in Dictionary.

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[417]

(17) And they erected this kind of little pine trees—having taken off all the something—all the needles, having stripped off. (18) So then they hung them up there, those which they killed. (19) Fish of every sort whatsoever, even any trout they killed there at that time, when there were many trout (20) And suckers the same way, in sucker-season, there where many, many suckers came. (21) And they crowded up against that, that which I told of [i.e., the dam], thus, that kind which he made for them thus. (22) That dam. (23) Now they crowded up against it. (24) And they killed them now at that sort of place. (25) And having made even various kinds of dippers, they killed them with that sort of thing also.

(26) And long ago people did not know these sorts of things, which they use nowadays. (27) However, [I] saw, how they did. (28) They killed very, very many—it looked red there, there they dried them, right there. (29) They dried all the fish. (30) So now having finished drying them, so now having done thus, they were something—they were stiff this way from drying. (31) They became stiff.

(32) Now then they pounded them all up in this way, having beaten them. (33) And then having done thus, they put them aside. (34) Now then they became soft. (35) It turned soft. (35) Then they gently pounded it flat, thus, with a rock, [or] with something else. (36) They pounded it all gently, and they put it down [in separate places], whoever got it. (37) If anyone had gotten a little, then they gave him some. (38) Thus were people long ago, not stingy. (39) They gave to each other, if someone were poor. (40) Then they gave [to him].

(41) And I saw it once, even a short time ago, when the soldiers lived at Fort Klamath, there. (42) And they having arrived there [at the fishing dam], they helped the Indians now. (43) They brought a huge fishnet of that sort. (44) A big one. (45) I saw it. (46) And the soldiers waded way out, there they waded around it, right up close to that [dam]. (47) And they after a long time thus, wanted to gather it all up, all that net. (48) Now a great many indeed had grasped it, [for] it wanted to go off [i.e., its weight and the current pulled it down river]. (49) And they having hitched on mules, having hitched on four mules, now with much difficulty they dragged it out for the Indians. (50) They killed very, very many. (51) Thus I saw once, long ago.

(52) And all the Indians got [some], they divided it up among themselves thus. (53) They piled up much, right there, all. (54) And they, the soldiers, did thus. (55) I too saw it once. (56) It was a good sight.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 137]

*648 theless, analysis showed that they aggregated two extended
*657 families together with one other nuclear family unrelated to
602 either. The earlier arrivals had attracted relatives, but they had
178 been selective, encouraging some and in at least one instance
giving the cold shoulder to a kinsman deemed undesirable, when he paid them an exploratory visit. For their part, they were scrupulous in choosing compatible relatives to visit on their occasional brief returns to the reservation.

[736] That kinship bonds, selectively utilized, were still in force
is shown not only by such action as the bidding for tribal tracts, but in the assumption of responsibility for the care of children from a broken home. Although choice was exercised among relatives, and the uncongenial among close kindred might be passed over in favor of more distant, but more compatible, relations, the principle first evoked was that of consanguinity. In the majority of instances, primary reliance was placed upon parents and children, upon siblings, grandparents, and grandchildren.

*648 Among kinsmen, there was an enlargement of the sphere of
*657 individual, at the expense of common, property. At times it took
602 bizarre extremes. In one adult household, for example, each
421 member's foodstuffs were separately stored and even individually
177 cooked; and each independently purchased his supply of the
178 wood to be burned in a common stove. There was evident in
family interdependence what might be termed a pecuniarization of relationships, a conversion of traditional reciprocal obligations into the common denominator of coin. Already evident in the early days of allotment, it had grown with time, taking on as it did a onesidedness that was increasingly dysfunctional. Money could be extracted by the importunate from kinsmen still sensi-
[888] tive to the charge of stinginess. The aged, dependent upon their
children for tenderness, were often likely to be besieged by their requests for "loans" from lease and per capita checks, and once those funds were dissipated, might then be left without enough to maintain themselves. Some families, like the ranchers previously described, were beginning to resist such demands, but for those still immersed in tribal society, refusal was difficult.

*648 The weakening of kin bonds entailed the disappearance of
*657 feud groups, entities that formerly had drawn principally upon
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[Klamath Reservation]

*648 tial in controlling Bureau programs and appropriations, tribal
*657 delegations formed an instrument of power the mere awareness
619 of which undoubtedly tempered ordinary intercourse between
Bureau and Tribe.

*648 In turn, the knowledge that the final decisions were made in
*657 distant Washington endowed local politics with an aspect remote
619 from reality. Congressmen, mindful of the right of the citizen to
665 be heard, began to be treated to the spectacle of official delegates
comprising members of both factions, who argued among themselves before committee hearings, each claiming to represent the position of "the Klamath people." If a tribal politician was defeated for a place on the delegation, he had only to raise funds from supporters in order to make his way to the capital. Enlisting the aid of long-time legislative allies, he would then secure a hearing every whit as attentive as that accorded the official representatives of the Tribe. In the words of Wade Crawford, uttered after a local defeat in 1947:

> I can be outvoted, that doesn't mean one thing to me. . . . There are 400 Congressmen and 96 Senators, and I'm going to talk to each man that will give me five minutes. People ought to understand who Congress is. Anybody can go. You don't have to be an official delegate, you can go as an individual."

*648 Since Washington had become the seat of decision, local con-
*657 sensus was rendered largely superfluous, and tribal affairs de-
619 scended to a level of wrangling and petty maneuver. Nonetheless,
major issues were being debated, concerned with no less a
• 421 subject than the disposal of the tribal estate and the consequent
transformation of the Tribe itself. Because Bureau administration was prominently involved in the handling of tribal or personal property, any attempt to secure release from federal trusteeship was customarily addressed first to the freeing of tribal resources. In 1900, the Board of Indian Commissioners, hailing the changes anticipated from allotment, had called for the pro rata apportionment among members of any undivided tribal funds, the retention of which, they contended, merely served to perpetuate the Indian problem. They continued:

> A law of this character would enable us all to see some reasonable limit of time to special Indian laws and special Indian administration. It would put an end to the expectation of per-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

petual inheritance and new claims through an indefinite number of generations, by people who may claim a fraction of Indian blood and therefore a share in undivided Indian tribal funds."[18]

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THE COURSE OF TERMINATION

It was toward the ending of a special status that reservation leaders were soon to address themselves. They began shortly after the closing of the allotment rolls in 1910, when, in opposition to the designs of some whites to open up the surplus lands to homesteading, tribal members countered with the suggestion that they be parceled among tribal members. Later, those "final settlement" proposals came to envisage the sale of the lands and the allocation of the funds thus realized in pro rata shares to members, an act that would have the effect of bringing the Tribe itself to an end.[19] Final settlement in the early years drew widespread endorsement from tribal leaders, among whom its chief advocate was Judge Levi Walker.

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In 1929, Wade and Ida Crawford, then in Washington as tribal delegates, with the active assistance of Secretary of the Interior Ray L. Wilbur drew up an alternative plan, calling for the establishment of a tribal corporation to take over and manage tribal assets. This unauthorized proposal—which, as Ostrom suggests,[20] in some measure foreshadowed provisions that were to appear in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934—won tribal support only with difficulty against the opposition raised by adherents of the final settlement bill. Although both bills continued to be pressed in Congress, neither made headway.

In 1933, Crawford was appointed Superintendent of the Klamath Reservation by his friend, the reformer John Collier, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The legacy of opposition which Crawford bore into office united with his conduct while there to bring about his removal for cause four years later. Although as Superintendent he advocated endorsement of the Indian Reorganization Act, it was rejected by the Tribe. In time he too came to denounce it, for his experience as administrator of the reservation had prejudiced him against the competence of the Klamath to manage their own estate. Instead, he sought for the time only to circumscribe what he deemed to be federal and tribal extravagance, while gradually maturing his plans for the

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159
156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from
his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never
461 worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen.
Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five
891 school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from
the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at
592 home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger siblings
434 may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal
income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly
657 for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the
bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

733 Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very
reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit
582 Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging
648 company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the
logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually
221 away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when
drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father
does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household
593 affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his
father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion
knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this person
848 is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity,
which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's
*159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards
156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or
593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting,
and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits
the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls,
and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt
and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common
421 activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to
one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his belongings,
and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle
for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not
borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which
engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the
father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom
she spends much time.

*159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks
156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the
law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time
673 loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his
buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom
512 awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away
from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which
may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

ferred.[90] At another time, he seems to have proposed issuing seven mowing machines and four sulky rakes to leading and competent Indians, but was firmly instructed by the Commissioner, "as these articles are intended for the use of all, it is not considered advisable to allow individuals to have the entire control of them." He was instructed instead to loan them out.[91] 657* 648*

"As these Indians become more civilized," observed Nickerson, "their demands upon the mechanics become more frequent and pressing."[92] Indeed, he had to advise the Commissioner against the policy of issuing condemned articles to the Indians since "they will bring them to the shops and demand that they be repaired."[93] It is plain that the frequent call, as a matter of due right, upon the services of Agency personnel lay at the bottom of Nickerson's desire to decentralize equipment by issue through the chiefs. To counter these demands, he had Indians trained to operate the mowing machines, sulky rakes, and other agricultural equipment. When Indian farmers desired to use a machine, the operator was to be paid for his labor and the use of his team. Nickerson added, "I have notified those Indians who are able to do so that next year they will be required to purchase their own machinery for haying purposes. Some of them are already laying aside money for that purpose."[94] Emery instituted a similar program whereby individuals paid an Indian workman for repairs made in the shop on their wagons.[95]

The ownership of a wagon required considerable outlay, more than some persons could muster. Hence, as Emery noted, wagons, plows, and other implements, as well as cattle and horses, often were held in common by two or three Indians.[96] [422]

With their introduction to an economy in which money served as a mediator in relationships there are indications that the Indians began to develop the view that all positions advocated by the Agency must carry remuneration. Nickerson, reviewing possible candidates for Indian judge, found himself obliged to state, "Those persons with most financial ability are least disposed to serve without compensation and generally least well qualified for such service."[97] New forms of wealth had come in, new desires, new needs, and native society was transformed in the effort to attain them. [177] [178] [434]

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
[848] borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-
[177] style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
596 but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
[177] extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, *de facto* groupings
rather than *de jure*. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organiza-
[594] tion of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obliga-
592 tory responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-
592 father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly ex-
treme cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual owner-
ship of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with re-
gard to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
industrious dnd to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
434 children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV	
529. Thatched	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	251
530. Roughly coiled, in shape tubular bin.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
531. Posts set upright in ground	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	(−)	+	•+	•+	•+	
532. Goods wrapped, hung from branch of tree	−	−	+				•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
533. Storage in pit outside	•(+)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	
534. Storage indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
534a. In baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
535. In twined tule "sacks"	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
536. Vegetable foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
537. Dried meat, salted or plain	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
538. Dried fish or salmon flour	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	
539. Storage in pit inside sweat house	−					•+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Exchange of Food

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV	
540. Food sold	•−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	262
541. Traded or borrowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	437
542. Mainly in time of famine	−	+	−	−	−	−	•−	+	−	−	+	+		+	+	−	
543. Mainly in winter, early spring	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
544. Game divided	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	224
545. Killer gets most or certain parts	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•	
546. Meat equally divided among hunters	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	
547. Large game divided among whole camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

Ownership of Productive Areas

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV	
548. Fishing places privately owned	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	−	+	−	423
549. Fishing places jointly owned, owners unrelated	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
550. Fishing places owned by village group	+	+	−	−		•+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	226
551. Anyone may take some of owner's catch.	−	−	−						+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
552. Fishing places rented for share of catch	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	.	−	
553. Fish weir privately owned	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
554. Hunting land or spots privately owned	−	−	+	•−	−	•−	•−	−	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	−	423
555. Seed tracts privately owned	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[224]
556. Seed tracts owned by village group		+				+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
557. Trees privately owned	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
558. Trees owned by village group	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
559. Trees claimed for single season only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
560. Only trees distant from village	−	−	−						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
561. Tribal or group boundaries marked by topographic features	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
562. Tobacco plot privately owned	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	[276]
563. Land for single season only	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
564. Tobacco plot owned by village	−	−	−			−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	
565. Village site owned by group	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[361]

Division of Labor

Subsistence Pursuits

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV	
566. Hunting: men only	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
567. Rat and mouse catching: men and women	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
568. Men	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	[224]
569. Women	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
570. Gathering insects, grubs: men and women	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	[222]
571. Men	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	
572. Women	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
573. Fishing: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[226]
574. Men only net, spear fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	
575. Women use basket to catch fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

342

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	MP	NM	NS	MV	
684. Separate hole	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
685. Hole rectangular or square	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	
685a. Secondary entry	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	(-)	•+	•+	•+	(+)	-	-	+	•+	
686. Ground level	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	
687. Side or end of house	-	-	-	+	•+	•+	•+	(-)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	
688. For children	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	(-)	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	+	
689. For deer, wood	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	
690. Draft hole	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
691. Smoke hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	-	
692. Ceremonial use only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
693. Single fireplace	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	
694. Center of house	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	•+	•+	-	-	+	+	+	+	
695. Between center and door	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	
696. Between draft hole and center post	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
697. Beside main (ground) entrance	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
698. On surface or in shallow depression	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	•+	
699. In definite pit	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
700. Cooking fire outside dwelling	+	+	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
701. Smoke hole	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
702. Draft hole in rear of house	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	-	•+	•+	•+	.	-	-	-	•+	
703. House ladder	+	+	-	•-	+	•+	+	+	•-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	•-	•+	
704. Notched plank or log	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	
705. 2 poles, rungs tied between	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	
706. Center post as ladder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	
707. Crosspieces lashed on	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
708. Interior wall coverings	-	-	-		+	•+	+		•+	•+	+	+	-	-	-	+	
709. Tule mats	-	-	-		-	•+	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
710. Hides	-	-	-		+	-	+		-	-	+	(+)	-	-	-	-	
711. Bark slabs to bank walls	-	-	-		-	-	-		•-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	
712. Planks to bank walls	-	-	-		-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
713. Bed scaffolds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
714. Floor coverings and pallets	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
715. Mats	+	+	+	(-)	+	•+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	
716. Loose grass or boughs	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
717. Pine-needle pallet	+	+	-			•+	-	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
718. Wooden stool	-	-	-	(+)	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
719. Individually owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	.	•+	[423]
720. Chief nominal owner	-	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	.	-	
721. Rich man	+	+	-	+	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	
722. Shaman	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
722a. Communally owned	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	.	•+	
723. Used as living house	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	•+	•+	+	+	•+	-	-	•+	
724. 1-family	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	
725. Multifamily	+	+	+	-	+	•+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	
726. To sleep in, only	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
727. For sleeping, cooking	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	
728. Serves as sweat house	-	(+)	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•-	•+	•+	•+	+	+	-	-	
729. Serves as assembly house	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	[562]
730. Open to both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	•+	+	+	+	+	-	-	
731. Open to men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	+	+	
732. Women admitted only during ceremonies	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	[756]
733. Used for shamanistic activities	•+	•+	•+	•+	(-)	(-)	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	
733a. Winter use mainly	+	+	•+	-	+	-	•+	-	-	•+	+	•+	-	-	-	•+	[221]
734. Summer use mainly	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	•+	-	-	-	-	
735. Used throughout year	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	•+	-	-	+	+	+	•+	

BY ALL INFORMANTS

251 Storage of food.--Outdoor granaries on ground; on bedrock or multistone foundations; on platform.

Ownership of Productive Areas

● 423 Owner liable for injury of renter. Pens on communal weir privately owned. Seed tracts claimed for single season only. Private boundaries marked. "Tribal" boundaries marked.

Division of Labor

462 Formalized myth accounting for division of labor (cf. Voegelin, Tübatulabal). AW state division of labor according to "Coyote's law," but lack any detailed myth.

HOUSES AND SHELTER

Assembly and Living Houses

342 Entrances; uses and ownership; furnishings.--Entrance round, carved in plank. Partitions between families. House names. Windbreak before house. Flat plank for foot drum. Leader of hunters nominal owner. All men regularly sleep in sweat house.
372 Fireplace and heating.--Fuel-gathering ritual; fuel from top of tree; pair of limbs left on top.

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

501 Boats and ferriage.--Dugout canoe, ends peaked; carved-in "heart"; detachable prow ornament. Launching ceremony. Sails. Single-bladed paddle with crutch handle; compound paddle; blade end of
505 paddle concave. Ferriage by person in basket pulling across on rope (At: ascribe this to N Yana of Round Mountain).

Land Transport

482 Carrying devices.--Hammock-type carrying net. Painted decoration on folded hide bag. Cord and stick Mohave-type back frame. Snowshoe-type
492 carrying frame. Coolie yoke. Dog packing.

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

411 Bows and arrows.--Horn bow (AW: mentioned in myth, made by Butterfly). Laurel-leaf arrowheads. Arrows with 2 or more points. Arrow shaft of solid wood, split from log. Arrows with

*657 logging camps and mill towns. In 1930, at a time when the total
*648 enrollment of the tribe was some 1,250 persons, the predominantly
[563] non-Indian population of one such reservation town,
[161] Chiloquin, and its environs was roughly 1,850, a figure which
placed it second in size in the entire county. Indian-white relationships in such communities could no longer be adequately regulated by the Agent. Moreover, improved means of communi-
[484] cation made it possible for an Indian to travel off the reservation at will and thus beyond the reach of Agency authority. Most
[434] important of all, income from grazing leases, claims against the government, and land and timber sales gave him the equality of the marketplace.

*648 The maintenance of boundaries was justified in official corre-
*657 spondence of the eighties by the fate of those Indians who went
166 off the reservation. "Quite a number of the Indians," wrote
• 423 Emery, "obtain passes and go out to seek a living among the whites. They usually camp in the suburbs of our little towns. With few exceptions these Indians become thriftless vagabonds. . . ."[3]

In 1884, Nickerson felt it necessary to counter the proposal of Judge W. S. Moore, of Linkville, that Sammy Andy, an Indian who had been working for Moore on pass, be allowed to locate permanently at Linkville and be released from the control of the U.S. Indian Agent.

> As there is no land that this man can secure as a homestead [he concluded], . . . [and] as I have no assurance that he has means sufficient to purchase a home suitable for his support, I do not approve of nor advise that the request be granted at present. Judge Moore has been very kind to this Indian, but should he die or move away, the Indian would be in a poor position to live, and would be subject to many serious temptations.[4]

The need for a general policy became apparent when several Modoc families who had never been on the reservation preempted homesteads in the Tule Basin. A reservation Indian, upon the advice of an attorney, likewise renounced his tribal relations and took up a homestead. "He has become deficient under his supposed citizenship," reported Nickerson, "and says he will not allow the Police to arrest him. . . . There is a white man

among them who is their counselor, . . . and who tells the 648*
Indians on the reservation that they can leave the reservation 657*
when they please."[5] Despite the contrary views of the U.S. 166
District Attorney, two years later the Commissioner held that 423 •
any adult Indian or the head of a family was free to take a homestead on the public domain, and was further exempted from paying entry fees or commission.[6] When the General Allotment Act came into force next year, provision was made that nonreservation Indians might be allotted on the public domain.[7]

As reservation control weakened, there was an increase in the 648*
incidence of crime. Dyar had had to contend with "professional" 657*
gamblers in his day, with the prostitution of Indian women, and 694
with a few instances of bootlegging. When two Agency employees were killed in separate incidents little more than a month apart, the events had "had a very disheartening effect upon these [Indians] and many of them [were] for the time inclined to let go all holds and go back to their old customs."[8] Significantly one of those deaths, a shooting by a white sheepherder, occurred along the public road through the reservation.

Soon, across the reservation line on Wood River beyond Fort Klamath, saloons began to spring up. Nickerson stopped one man, a discharged soldier from Fort Klamath, and seized the liquor he was transporting to that oasis. He thereupon found himself facing extensive litigation, for the man had influential associates in Linkville. Before he was done with this and other cases arising from enforcement of the liquor regulations, the Agent was out of pocket nearly $1,000 in his own defense.

Although bootlegging, quarrels, and some shootings continued 648*
to involve whites, frictions began to develop with alien "half- 657*
breeds." The death of one of the employees slain in Dyar's time 674
was at first attributed to a "half-breed"; another was involved in 563
shooting up a saloon in the Wood River settlement; it was at least an outside Indian, a Pit River, who shot an Indian policeman at the Lost River fishery in 1883, and an interbreed who slew police lieutenant David Hill at the same place nine years later. An interbreed served as contact man for a saloonkeeper of the Wood River settlement, and another was accused of bootlegging in the nearby woods and at the autumn camps on Huckleberry

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

ELEVEN

[P.131]

The General Allotment Act

IN THE TREATY OF 1864, THE PROVISIONS FOR ASSIGNING INDIVIDUAL 648* tracts had anticipated the more elaborate planning that twenty- 657* three years later resulted in the Dawes—or General Allotment— 423 • Act. The principal object of that legislation was to individualize the Indian by assigning him a private tract, to be held in trust by the United States for at least twenty-five years, and by granting him citizenship. In the minds of many, the act was a counterpart to the Homestead Act. Nickerson, arguing against the opening of Yainax as proposed in 1881 by a bill before Congress, had stated of the reservation:

> It is a rocky, volcanic country not one tenth of which would be taken under pre-emption or homestead laws were it thrown open for settlement. It is impossible for any person to live and support a family on 160 acres of average land. It requires large ranges of this volcanic ashy soil to produce sufficient grass for an ordinary drove of cattle while a strip of low meadow land to produce hay and perhaps some grain is a necessity in successful stock raising in this climate.[1] [134] [137]

From the first, the news of imminent allotment was paired with the realization that left-over reservation lands were to be declared surplus and thrown open to purchase and homesteading by whites. The intelligence reached the Indians even while they were aroused by the barbed-wire encroachments of stockmen on the Upper End (which culminated in the slaying of a former member of the Indian police), coupled with disquieting rumors that the new government survey would exclude much of the valley of the Upper Sprague.[2] Fortunately, not until the following year did Emery receive instructions to evaluate

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 those Indians who were "ready, competent and willing" to re-
*657 ceive lands in severalty, to report such opposition as might be
• 423 raised, "and . . . endeavor to overcome it by pointing out the
advantages of individual ownership."[3]

A month later Emery reported on a council that he had called,
[622 at which he and Captain Carpenter had explained the law. "The
[666] Indians," he continued, "were then permitted to council among
themselves for an hour, when, by the request of the Chiefs and leading men, they were again called together, and requested to be given the privilege to vote—which was given—nearly all present voting in affirmative. The number present was estimated at 600." Later he held another council at Yainax "at which were over 200 Indians, nearly all of whom received favorably the proposition of the Government." At another passage he noted, "no leading Indian opposes the measure."[4] Over 800 names were enrolled for allotment, out of a total of 933.

By the provisions of the act as amended in 1891, each enrolled
[311] member was to receive a single allotment, comprising one-eighth
of a section (80 acres) of farming land or double the amount of grazing land. Emery termed the Klamath a grazing reservation with a proportion of agricultural to pastoral lands of one to twenty-five; and accordingly requested that double allotments be issued and that all eligible members take turns at selecting the first allotment, repeating by rotation on the second tract. "This," he observed, " will distribute the good land *more equally* among the Indians." Matthews, terming the mountainous portions of the reservation worthless, advocated that after allotment these acres be held in common by the tribe.[5]

The actual allotment of land was delayed several years, pending settlement of a controversy over the external boundaries of the reservation and of the overlapping claims of the California and Oregon Land Company, successor to the Military Road tracts. The Indians grew somewhat restive under the delay, and Matthews found it necessary to warn that "should the Indians be persuaded to give up their surplus lands before they have made improvements upon their allotments I fear there would be much dissatisfaction among them."[6] Only in 1895 did Maj. Charles E. Worden, assisted by Jesse Kirk as interpreter, launch

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the actual process of allotting. By 1897, he had surveyed tracts for 775 Indians, leaving 245 to go.

Meanwhile the California and Oregon Land Company had been at work. In 1896 Petet declared that the school farm at Yainax had been ruined "on account of the military wagon road running across and taking the best portion of the Farm."[7] In the same year twenty-five Indians from the Upper End, led by Henry Jackson and including the aged Monchnkasgitk, requested of the Commissioner that allotments to Indians be discontinued along that line until a suit to recover the lands had been resolved.[8] They acted, it would seem, at the instance of Major Worden, but against the opposition of other fellow tribesmen.[9] The following year, the Land Company served a restraining order on Worden. At least fifty Indians had already made improvements upon land claimed by the company.[10] Moreover, the boundary claims, arising from the discrepancy between the Mercer survey of 1871 and that of Thiel in 1888 intercepted several other Indian allotments. (See map of Klamath Boundary Claims.)[11] Finally, in 1903, the state of Oregon reopened its claims under the swamplands grant and tied up the tracts of an additional 430 allottees.[12] Not until 1906 were all these conflicts resolved, in part or whole, and the allotments taken out of contest.

The procedure followed by Major Worden in allotment, as recalled by present-day informants, was to permit the Indians to choose their own land, with parents selecting tracts for their children. "People weren't living like now," T. L. related. "We say we own that much land and just point it out with finger at that time and neighbor point to it too. Some people claim they own so much land and dispute come up, and government surveyor came and gave it equal."[13]

The principles by which individuals were assigned priority in making their choice and by which disputes were settled are no longer recalled; and the interpreter, Jesse Kirk, may well have played an important, if unofficial role in arbitrating differences. Many former members of the Klamath Marsh tribelet, now living at the forks of the Sprague and Williamson, had retained wokas camps on the marsh and took allotments there. When children

*648 were allotted land under the provisions of the act of May 27,
*657 1902,[14] they were usually assigned tracts adjacent to those of
•423 their parents. The total for some families aggregated 800 to 1000
acres; and in 1914 there were several with over twice that amount.[15]

In design, the conditions of allotment differed from those governing homesteading. The homesteader was ordinarily an adult, head of a family, or single adult, or veteran of war service. By contrast the allottee was any individual on the tribal rolls.[16] For adult allottees, the condition of competency, as demonstrated in homesteading by residence and improvements made upon the tract, formed no part of the legal requirement. In practice, it was called into issue only at the instance of the Agent, or Superintendent, largely as a contingency upon the leasing of land or the award of a share in tribal trust funds. Thus, after the amendment of 1891 permitted leasing, O. C. Applegate wrote regarding the possible allotment of one Indian, "If he secures land, he can lease it for a term of years, after the approval of his allottment [sic], provided that he should not care to reside permanently upon it." To another person, Edson Watson, a later Superintendent, wrote, "When an allotting agent arrives and you should not or would not select land [for your child], then I would select for him." It is clear that another off-reservation allottee, Modoc Nancy, had never even seen her allotment.[17] The acquisition of a tract of land was clearly construed as a right acquired by virtue of tribal membership.

*648 Who, indeed, were tribal members? It is recalled today that
*657 during the council called to consider the General Allotment
423 Act, some of the older leaders, principally Monchnkasgitk and
619 Lilu, opposed the division of tribal lands, and when they lost this
point they objected to the inclusion of any Indian with white forebears. Jesse Kirk, whose wife accordingly would have been excluded, defiantly stated that he would leave the reservation, and he was joined by the interbreed, William Crawford. Rather than lose such men, lifelong residents of the reservation, who came of respected family and were conversant in Klamath, the opposition withdrew their protests. However, the point was maintained for such whites as John Corbell, who was married to a tribal member and who had been adopted into the tribe.[18]

Indeed, for some time after the passage of the act, the details 648*
of membership had not been worked out. As late as 1892, the 657*
Assistant Commissioner was writing, "No final decision has been 423 •
rendered on the question of the status of half-breeds or mixed- 619
bloods, as regards their right to take lands and receive other benefits with the tribes with which they claim to belong."[19] By the time that allotment was well under way at Klamath, the matter had been resolved in their favor. While Indians not residing upon a reservation might receive an allotment upon the public domain, it became the practice to encourage them to take up land upon the reservation. A vigorous campaign was mounted to ensure that all who had legitimate claims should be allotted before the surplus lands were opened. In a characteristic letter, O. C. Appleton wrote one woman:

> I am of the opinion that you and the relatives you mention are all right. *Blood* is what we must depend upon to decide who has rights upon the reservation. If you have Klamath blood or Modoc blood in your veins you are entitled to lands upon the reservation and to have your children in school here.[20]

A policeman was dispatched to Yreka and other points in Northern California in search of persons "who have rights on the Klamath Indian Reservation."[21] Reservation residents were encouraged to invite eligible relatives to write to the Agent and to make application.

Candidates for admission to the tribal rolls were obliged to submit affidavits of their affiliation with enrolled members. Emery could write to Capt. J. W. Siemens of Klamath Falls:

> . . . as I understand it, your wife is a member of this tribe and she and your children are justly entitled to allottments [sic]. If you will furnish this Office with the full name of your wife, together with those of your children, I will instruct the clerk to place them on the census roll.[22]

This procedure was highly irregular. The evidence was cus- 648*
tomarily submitted to a tribal council for consideration. 657*

One such council of "the people of Klamath Reservation" was 423
called by Petet for the consideration of six named persons and 619
others who might present themselves for admission. Of the six, 623
four were admitted, in addition to Frank Riddle, the white husband of Winema of Modoc War fame.[23]

*648 The qualifications argued by a council in 1908 included con-
*657 ditions of family relationship and tribal association. Of two
• 423 applicants considered favorably only the circumstances of re-
619 lationship was cited. "The council," ran the findings, "was of the
623 opinion that both of these Indians are related to the Indians of this reservation, and are entitled to allotment and enrollment here."

In denying the application of another on behalf of her children, failure to associate was the main ground given: ". . . to the best of our knowledge and belief," the council stated, "as Amelia Skeen does not associate and affiliate with the Indians on the Klamath reservation, . . . her children are not entitled to enrollment and allotment. . . ." The claims of Amelia Skeen were later accepted when a number of tribal members traced out their relationship with her.[24]

Meanwhile, the Superintendent expressed his own opinion. Forwarding the statements of a council that had found two Indians entitled to membership, Wilson observed:

> Neither of these Indians have come forward and made any affidavits in their favor, setting forth their rights here, nor furnished any affidavits from other Indians that they are entitled, as I am informed in other Office letters is required by your Office.

He added that one of the Indians was already allotted on the Warm Springs Reservation.[25] On the other hand, he recommended allotment of the three children by a former wife of an Umpqua Indian now married to an enrolled member. The council refused to admit them, despite favorable affidavits of six local Indians. Wilson himself cited the regular school attendance of the children as a point in their favor. They were finally enrolled and allotted.[26]

A general reading of cases shows that the council was disposed to give greater weight to evidence of association than to relationship, and that the Superintendent tended to reverse the order of importance. In the official view, all Indians were to be allotted either on the reservation or on the public domain. O. C. Applegate, indeed, labored for a time under the impression that "Halfbreeds cannot hold allotment on the public domain," and he urged all eligible to take up land on the reservation.[27] Even when persons affiliated with tribal members had already secured

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allotments on the public domain, Applegate advocated that they 657*
relinquish them in favor of tracts upon the reservation.[28] 423 •

For tribal members, the enrollment of outsiders was often 619
objectionable; although opposition was less to their being [623]
granted allotments upon the reservation than to admitting them to equal shares in the tribal funds. By the terms of the McLaughlin Agreement of 1901 settling boundary claims, over a half-million dollars had been entered to tribal credit, part of which then became available to tribal members in per capita payments. As Applegate wrote to one off-reservation member, "there are a good many who would like to see people who do not live on the Reservation cut off from all benefits of the Treaty."[29]

In 1903, Applegate had estimated that there were "about 185 nonresidents, a number of them allottees though not residing on the reservation—with them are about 80 children of school age, many of whom are attending white schools."[30]

Analysis of the annuity payments from trust shares sent out 648*
between November, 1907, and January, 1908, reveals interesting 657*
characteristics of the nonresident membership. Omitting shares 619
to 13 students (8 girls, 5 boys) at off-reservation schools, payments went to 6 married couples, in which both parties were enrolled members, and to 39 women and 14 men either single or married to nonenrolled spouses. In addition, shares were sent to these adults for a total of 51 children. Children's shares were sent to 4 married, enrolled couples, to 14 enrolled mothers, and to only 2 enrolled fathers. While other explanations are plausible, the figures are highly suggestive of a preponderance of off-reservation marriages between Indian women and white men.

From the point of view of geographical distribution, the off- 648*
reservation population is also of interest. The table below, which 657*
excludes scholars sent away to government schools, presents the 162
salient features:

CALIFORNIA		20
South	5	
North (including San Francisco)	15	
OREGON		88
Southern Coast	4	
Klamath Basin	66	

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(Klamath Falls, 40 Fort Klamath, 21 Merrill, 4 Bly, 1)		
Eastern Oregon	10	
Willamette Valley	7	
Warm Spring Res.	1	
WASHINGTON		1
SCHOOLS (adults only)		8
Chemawa	2	
Fort Bidwell	6	
Total		117

Of the off-reservation members, those at Fort Klamath and Klamath Falls were to be of most immediate importance,[31] for many of them continued in touch with some of the progressive leaders. Thus, as time went on, Fort Klamath became the headquarters for Jesse Kirk, whose allotment was nearby, for William Crawford, for William Ball, and for the returned Modoc, Charles S. Hood.

M 648 657 162 The band of absentee Modoc formed an important increment to the reservation population. At Quapaw, in what was then Indian Territory, they had won the praise of Commissioner E. A. Hayt, who had shown their farms to another former hostile, Chief Joseph of the Nez Percés, to encourage his people to make similar progress.[32] M [797] In 1884, Steamboat Frank, formerly a Hot Creek warrior under Captain Jack, later a member of A. B. Meacham's troupe, and now a minister of the denomination of Friends, returned to visit his relatives and, as it turned out, kindled religious fervor with his preaching.[33]

K *648 *657 162 Following 1886 several other Modoc were permitted to revisit their old homeland. Not until 1902, however, did the Klamath meet in council to hear the Modoc delegates, Rev. Samuel Clinton M 648 657 162 and Charles S. Hood, submit the proposal that the Modoc be permitted to return and take up homes on the reservation. They failed to carry their point,[34] but subsequently it was approved; and the following year Charles Hood led a party of his people to the Upper End. Applegate counted 21 and stated that 47 others also wished to come.[35]

K M [423] Early in 1909 an act of Congress finally authorized their allotment at Klamath. Within the month Superintendent Wilson was

[Klamath Reservation]

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visited by a large delegation of Klamath, headed by Henry Wilson, member of the tribal council, who wished to send the Superintendent to Washington on a number of issues, of which the first was that "we have heard that the Modoc Indians are to come back here and get lands and money the same as we do; we do not like that and want our side explained to you. . . ."[36] Later that year, the Superintendent certified 16 Modoc for allotment, observing however, "I do not believe that Congress intended to simply let the Modocs return and get allotments and then return to Oklahoma to live. This is, however, exactly what some of them intend to do."[37]

Allotment thus brought back to the reservation persons who had already made extensive adjustment to the larger society. Applegate, indeed, asserted that "nearly all of these people who have been allotted lands have become residents of the reservation,"[38] but the figures already reviewed show a sizable number remaining away. Despite the fact they did not in any other way identify their interests with the reservation community, they received equities in lands and in the undivided tribal fund.

Finally, the right of tribal members to allotment was affected by the closure of the rolls. The original allotments had been made in 1895 and were resumed in 1909. At that time, however, considerable discontent was generated by the exclusion of all children born after April 15, 1910. Those born later, although tribal members and as such retaining an equity in tribal property, did not receive a share of land. Their parents agitated for two years to have allotments issued to them. Although they were granted permission to select tracts on behalf of their children, it was with the understanding that their choice would have no legal status. Meanwhile, the Bureau opposed allotments for these new members. Not until the Yamsay Judgment of 1938, with the successful conclusion of the Military Road suit, were funds set aside by the Klamath Tribe for in-lieu payments of $1,500 to each unallotted member.

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In this manner, then, allotments were made. To qualify, an individual had to be a tribal member, born before the terminal date in 1910. Membership was determined at times by the tribal council, at times by the Agent, employing a standard that wavered between the two criteria of proven kinship and habitual

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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*648 association and residence. The membership thus construed in-
*657 cluded not alone the reservation peoples, but the absentee
619 Modoc and those who had severed their connections with the
• 423 reservation.

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648 The ambiguities thus introduced might have been avoided in
657 part had the allotment program maintained some of the pro-
619 visions of an early allotment plan outlined in 1871 by Com-
423 missioner E. S. Parker. By its terms, residence and association taken together were to be made the primary criteria. Whites or interbreeds married to tribal women, who resided with them upon the reservation, and who had been adopted into the tribe might be allotted. Indian women married to whites and living off the reservation forfeited that right, and the children of Indian women living in common-law relations with whites were to receive a share of land only if they moved back to the reservation.[39] It should be remarked, however, that this principle would only have been effective in preventing absentee ownership had residence also been required of heirs. Otherwise, in the first generation the allotments would have been treated like an inherited property. That, indeed, was their fate under the administration of the Dawes Act.

Once allotted, an Indian had a new status. His allotment could be fenced and it could be leased. The results of his industry, together with anticipated lease funds made many a man a good risk for advances in merchandise and foodstuffs.
K Citizenship lay within his grasp, involving with it a changing
M jurisdiction under law and bringing about a restive reappraisal
[641] of the sometimes autocratic rule of the Superintendent.

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The original intent of the act had been to transform the
+648 Indians into yeomen-farmers. That 160 acres of grazing land
+657 on the upper reservation was an economically practicable unit
423 had been doubted by Nickerson, and the subsequent experience
311 of at least one white rancher with long experience in the same area tends to confirm that judgment. At the same time, when several members of a family possessed adjoining tracts, the acreage might be adequate. In later times at least there were complications. Remarked Wilson in 1909:

> . . . the allotting was not made as it should have been made. An Indian will be allotted in Modoc Point district and perhaps

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

> his wife will be allotted on Klamath Marsh, some 50 miles away. 648*
> They are almost compelled to live a part of the year in each 657*
> place on account of putting up hay for their cattle.[40] 423•

O. C. Applegate saw a supplementary relationship between 311
the allotted and tribal lands.

> There are a few localities on the Reservation [he stated] where industrious Indians may be able to make a living on 160 acres of land, especially after the land best calculated for farming is improved by irrigation; but the opening of the Reservation to settlement by White men upon the unallotted lands would make it hard for those Indians who live in the meadow districts by stockraising to make a living, as it would deprive them of the advantage of pasture on the tribal lands.[41]

Immediately following the passage of the Dawes Act, there 648*
were reports of heightened industry among the Indians, as they 657*
set about to build upon and improve their allotments. It must 423
be borne in mind that by the time the act was applied at Kla- [427]
math it had already been amended in 1891 and 1894, and soon
again in 1897 and 1900, to permit leasing under certain con-
ditions.[42] Leasing of what was then tribal domain had been 648*
secured through Nickerson by Sykes Worden in 1882 and by 657*
Matt Obenchain in 1884. Before lands were finally allotted, E. 563
L. Applegate had permitted Dave Hill to make an informal 427
agreement with one white rancher, by which the latter cut and
stacked hay on Hill's place and winterfed his cattle there, paying
Hill for the hay.

Matthews, Applegate's successor, at first clashed with the system when he sought to impose an additional fifty cents per head fee for bringing the cattle on the reservation.[43] Soon, however, he was advocating that whites be permitted to come upon the reservation and cut hay on lands which Indians had enclosed, paying the Indians for the hay. Like his successors, he argued the help the Indians would derive from this revenue and the advantages of utilizing resources which would otherwise go to
waste.[44] Soon thereafter a group of stockmen proposed to him [464]
the leasing of the Klamath Marsh area, which he favored as affording employment to a number of Indians in putting up hay.[45]

At a council with "the representative Indians of this Reserva- [311]
tion," a vote was take to lease certain lands for grazing pur- [623]
poses.

hay for his own [cattle]."[50] The practice of contract grazing on 648*
tribal land was also continued, though with scanty returns.[51] 657*

Leasing brought regulatory headaches. Trespass could less 563
easily be controlled. Some stockmen who rented land from the 427
Indians turned in more cattle than the pasture could sustain, [311]
while keeping the fences in such disrepair that the cattle drifted
onto the unfenced lands of neighboring allotments.[52] In consequence,
the meager band of reservation police had to be diverted [625]
to the task of enforcing the grazing rules. The Superintendent
was obliged to see that all contracts were made through [675]
his office. When disputes arose, he was often forced to intervene
and even at times to threaten a lawsuit in order to collect on
behalf of an Indian. Meanwhile, some lessees were themselves
fencing the lands in lieu of part of the lease, so that many Indians
were no longer compelled to put in any work in order to receive
returns from their property.[53] By 1903, even unfenced allotments
were being leased. In that year payments from leases [434]
comprised thirty per cent of estimated personal income, providing
$8,220 distributed among some ninety to one hundred allottees.[54]

By 1908, a large number of Indians were entrusted with the 648*
"experiment" of managing their own allotments, including the 657*
hiring of necessary labor and leasing their tracts for a term not 423 •
to exceed the legal limit. The narrow discretion afforded, however, 427
is seen from the provision that "the leases that you are to
draw this year will be drawn for you in this office," although the
Indian was to collect his own rental. Fifty-eight Indians were
empowered at once to handle their allotments and apparently
those of their children as well, upon these cautious terms.[55]

Leasing had scarcely gotten under way when a movement for 648*
the sale of lands began. The act had originally envisaged a trust 657*
period of twenty-five years, to be extended at the discretion of 423
the President, during which time the United States retained title to 432
the land. For many individuals, allotted just prior to 1910, that
period—although subsequently extended—was to expire in 1935.
However, amendments provided for sale under proper supervision
when circumstances required, and by 1912 five sales had
been consummated, all involving heirship cases.[56]

When an allottee died, his land passed to his heirs—by the 648*
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*648 *657 423 428 terms of his will if he had made one and in accordance with state law if he had not. Many tracts thus passed into multiple ownership. In the period, 1917-21, for example, 13 out of 32 wills were of this character; and when the allottee died intestate his real property, almost inevitably, fell to more than one heir. When a person with an inherited interest in an allotment died, his heirs in turn acquired appropriate shares.[57]

The task of ascertaining the rightful heirs was frequently formidable. In 1913, with the death of some of the original allottees, there were already 170 such cases,[58] and despite additions to the Agency staff to handle the load, there was always a considerable backlog of cases awaiting judgment. In 1918 the number of cases up for review was still in excess of 50, and in some instances, with the original allottees dead for twenty years, the heirs were yet to be decided. As Superintendent Walter G. West observed, the allotments constituted a divisive element in Indian relations. "They have many differences among themselves," he noted, "due largely to the indefinite and undefined rights of many of them with respect to inherited interests and interests in perpetuated lands which have been selected for allotments."[59]

Since the multiple owners of an inherited allotment frequently failed to agree as to its use, the tract often became a "dead allotment" which did not produce anything. [432] The government at first tried leasing such lands, but came gradually to consent to their sale, reasoning that otherwise the land went to waste. The sales were not permitted, however, until all tribal members had been allotted and had received their trust patents.[60]

*648 *657 423 432 Trust patents had scarcely been issued before individuals began to press to have them converted into patents in fee simple. Up to 1913, under amendments of the act, giving the Secretary of the Interior discretionary power to grant a fee patent to an allottee judged competent, 5 patents in fee had been awarded upon original allotments and one on inherited land.[61] Four years later, it was reported that 35 to 40 patents in fee had recently been issued without going through a competency committee. More than half of the land patented had already been sold.[62]

By 1924, matters had become progressively worse. Practically all the Indians who had received fee patents had sold or mort-

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648*
gaged them, and many were reported to be hopelessly involved 657*
in debts. Despite all administrative efforts to the contrary, re- 423 •
ported Superintendent Fred A. Baker, whites were acquiring title 432
to Klamath lands at a rate which he estimated would render the [563]
Indians homeless in twenty-five years.[63]

Since that time the pressure on the remaining allotted lands has been unremitting. Of 1,624 allotments issued totaling 247,515 acres, there remained in trust status as of August 13, 1954, the date when the Termination Act became law, only 1,130 allotments or fractions thereof, amounting to 133,000 acres. Three years later, 371 additional tracts had been sold at owners' requests, 107 had been fee patented, and restrictions had been removed from 20. The 630 tracts remaining by October 1, 1957, comprised but 73,681 acres.[64]

Along with income from leasing and sale of allotments came 648*
that from claims payments. By the terms of the McLaughlin 657*
Agreement of 1901, the Indians were to receive $537,007.20 in 423
payment for excluded lands. Of this, $25,000 was to be issued in 432
per capitas within 150 days from ratification and an additional 427
$350,000 was to be deposited to the tribal credit in the U.S. 434
Treasury, the interest at five per cent annually to be issued in 651
yearly per capita payments. The remaining sum, after payment of attorney fees, was to be utilized for drainage and irrigation of allotments on a pro rata basis, with issuance-in-lieu of stock cattle or other articles to those not so benefited.[65]

Amounts thus received were small. Payment of the $25,000 648*
was made in 1902, each individual receiving approximately 657*
$22.00—no princely sum. The annual interest produced per 434
capita payments of approximately $15.00; but a provision that by a petition of the men of the Tribe the amount might be increased to ten per cent of the principal fund led to its successive diminution. As early as 1909, a petition was submitted for this payment,[66] and Charles S. Hood took the lead in enquiring of the Secretary of the Interior whether parents were empowered to withdraw the money due their children.[67] The move seems to have been denied. Stringent regulations, however, were established by the Secretary to govern eligibility to receive a share of the trust funds. These related to improvement of allotments, self-support, moral character and controlled use of liquor, and

*648 capitas that far exceeded those previously received from tribal
*657 funds, the incentives of ranching declined. Vainly did C. H.
434 Asbury claim that the new giant was no more than a "temporary
313 industry" that would serve to finance stock raising.[80] When a
*648 special appropriation in 1919 permitted a large number of cattle
*657 to be issued to the Indians, many of them were promptly sold
434 for cash.[81] By 1922 the livestock industry was proclaimed "almost
bankrupt," and the error was acknowledged of having
231 broadcast the cattle issues without recognizing that not everyone
• 423 had either the inclination or the ability for ranching. By then,
432 allottees had disposed of valuable haylands and grazing tracts
in Sycan Marsh, the valleys of the Williamson, Sprague, and
Wood rivers, and at Modoc Point. Klamath Marsh tracts were
soon to follow.[82] Wrote Superintendent L. D. Arnold in 1926:

> I have been advised by a number of men who have lived among these Indians for many years that at one time they were very progressive and were engaged successfully in the stock business. Practically all of the Indians at that time lived on their allotments, did considerable farming, harvested many thousands of tons of hay, and owned many thousand head of cattle. They were industrious and were considered capable of handling stock in an efficient manner. During recent years there has been a general decline industrially among them. They have sold their cattle; they have left their allotments; many of them are now not engaged in any profitable work. As a matter of fact I do not believe that there are one thousand head of cattle owned by Indians on this reservation at the present time. Last year the most prominent Indian stockman sold almost his entire herd for about $35,000—the last of the Indians who were formerly quite prosperous.[83]

With the sale of their haylands, the source of their winter feed, the Indians were relinquishing "the very foundation of the stock industry." The older Indians, the mainstay of the industry, had for the most part disposed of their stock and lands, while their juniors showed no inclination for ranching. Arnold did not foresee an encouraging future.[84] The issuance of drought cattle in 1935 was an unavailing attempt to revive the industry.[85]

*648 The fate of irrigation farming is typical in many ways of several
*657 Agency programs. As early as 1884, Nickerson had advocated
312 constructing an irrigation ditch to water some 4,000 acres and
653 provide support for a settlement of 80 to 100 Indian families.[86]

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the project should be abandoned entirely and the loss charged to the Tribe.[93] 648* 657*

It is unnecessary to enter into the later history of the Módoc Point project, which made it a subject of interest at several Congressional hearings and a point of contention even into post-termination days, for the basic issues have remained the same. A number of Indians owning land within the project in the course of time sold their lands, just as most of those Indians owning lands served by the Sand Creek project had soon sold out to white farmers.[94] 312 653

The failure of the Modoc Point project can be attributed in part to the very real engineering difficulties in maintaining a canal system through a pumice region, feeding from a stream (the Sprague) in multiple use. More than this, however, was involved. There was the expertism of the Agency and Bureau, confusing the technical knowledge about construction and maintenance of such a system with the decision to build it. On the one hand the administrative staff was reluctant to entrust the decision to the Indians; on the other, the Indians did not provide a responsible leadership interested in developing such a program. The enterprise once launched therefore carried responsibility on only one side. There was no effort to enlist tribal support through involvement of tribal members in the fundamental decisions; nor was there sufficient training of the farmers to be affected in the special techniques entailed in irrigation. Indians resented charges against the land and attempted to avoid them by continuing to cultivate the fields by dry farming. [241] Among the farmers, white and Indian, no effective organization for water use developed. With income from timber available, [434] the inexperienced farmer sought release from a situation for which the rewards were not commensurate with the risks and [427] the onus of subjection to Agency dictates. Leasing or sale of the [423] lands in the end involve more than the realization of value from property, which could otherwise only be secured by investment [432] of labor. For the Indian, relinquishment of farming also freed him from some of the surveillance and scrupulous regulation to which he was subjected.

Plans that saw the Indian farming or ranching struck in the end upon the stubborn fact that he could frequently realize more, 648* 657* 434

*648 at least momentarily, through the receipt of pro rata shares of
*657 the tribal fund, from the lease and sale of allotments, from
434 grazing leases upon tribal lands, and from the per capita dividends from tribal timber. The last-named source of income produced the deepest impression upon reservation life.

*648 When allotting was under way at Klamath, the fate of the
*657 "surplus" lands had been under debate. Among the suggestions
• 423 was the plan proposed by Allotting Agent Charles E. Worden,
313 which called for setting aside 100,000 acres of timberland for the common use of the Indians. He recommended that the cutting of green timber be prohibited on this tract since "if protected it will be a source of great revenue, as it is so located along streams that it can be floated to market without great cost, and will soon be eagerly sought."[95] By 1903, a large number of timber claims has been taken up outside the reservation and the value of the reservation stands was being realized.[96] The fact that the Booth-Kelly Lumber Company had taken over the Military Road claims from the California and Oregon Land Company testified clearly to their worth.[97]

When the Southern Pacific Railroad reached Klamath Falls in 1909 and within the next two years moved northward across the reservation to Kirk, tribal stands were opened up. Cutting on allotted tracts began in 1911. The next year, Supt. Edson Watson proposed the exploitation of tribal timber, arguing that it would provide work for the Indians.[98] In 1913, while two companies were logging on allotted lands, the first sale of tribal timber was made. Additional staff was needed to handle the heavy draft of sales and heirship cases,[99] and from 1912 on the number sharply increased. By 1947, for example, 38 members of the 139 Agency employees were in the forestry and grazing division.[100] Watson recommended that the reservation timber be cut on a sustained yield basis in a fifty- to one hundred-year cycle. He advocated large sales of stumpage, as involving a lower proportionate cost of supervision. Small concerns, he contended, were unreliable.[101] Reservation timber was big business.

*648 Indian participation in this growing industry, contrary to the
*657 anticipation voiced by Watson, was minor. There was never a
313 time when more than a handful held jobs in woods camp or mill.
[464] By 1915, when most of them had exhausted their $240 pro rata
[434]

*648 *657 429 178 571 ing exclusively or even principally upon kinsmen. A responsible man sometimes was appointed guardian of an estate, as was William Crawford in the case of the minor, Frederick Schonchin.[104] Indians sometimes volunteered to assume a somewhat analogous relationship even for nonkin. Thus William Ball, a prosperous interbreed, proposed to feed, clothe, and bury an aged and destitute couple from the Warm Springs reservation, "providing he can get their allotments to use while they live, and become the actual owner of their lands after death."[105] As inter-[891]personal relations became increasingly concerned with the manipulation of property, litigation in the tribal court gained volume and acerbity.[106]

*648 *657 • 423 The Board of Indian Commissioners had foreseen that undivided tribal funds might perpetuate the "Indian problem" that allotment had been designed to solve, and they advocated breaking them up.[107] Among the Klamath were a number of persons, stemming principally from the more acculturated members, who shared the same sentiments toward unallotted lands. Paralleling the stress upon individual pecuniary interests, they developed what may be termed claims against the tribal equity. In one instance, Celia DuFault, sister-in-law of William Crawford, and a nonresident member, claimed part of the Klamath school farm as her allotment;[108] in another, the returned Modoc, Charles S. Hood, made inquiries concerning the Yainax school farm with an eye, it was alleged, to a similar allotment for himself and his children.[109]

*648 *657 423 313 These efforts must be viewed in the context of corresponding measures on the part of whites. The conflicting claims and suits had delayed the completion of allotment, and hence the sale of surplus lands, into a time when it became obvious that the tribal timber possessed great value. The government then decided that the surplus lands would be retained and the timber exploited for the tribal benefit. There were various plans, however, to contest the retention on an undivided tribal equity. In 1909, the eight-man tribal council requested that a bill be prepared "giving the Klamath Allottees an additional 160 acres of timber land on this reservation; and that this be done at once in order that the surplus lands may then be disposed of otherwise."[110]

*648 *657 423 Meanwhile, O. C. Applegate had remarked favorably upon a

petition to set aside Spring Creek and an adjacent portion of 648*
Williamson River as a park or game and fish reserve. "A locality 657*
so fitted by natural beauty of scenery," he thought, ". . . should 423 •
belong to all the people instead of to a few who have a practical monopoly of a princely domain such as the Klamath Reservation is. . . ." Although H. G. Wilson later seconded this motion, it came to nothing.[111] In 1910, a bill was introduced into Congress to open the reservation. The tribal council is reported to have taken exception to certain unspecified provisions, while remaining sympathetic to others. The bill failed to become law.[112]

From time to time, other attempts were made upon the tribal domain. There were those who advocated a reopening of the allotment rolls. When the growing exploitation of reservation timber enhanced the value of timbered tracts, members sought to secure them as grazing allotments. In 1910, eighteen members requested that they be permitted to exchange their allotments for other lands, but as Superintendent Wilson cautiously observed, the new lands desired were timbered tracts, unsuitable for grazing, and he questioned the compatibility of such an exchange with the intent of the Allotment Act.[113]

Although the attempted move had failed, the drive to secure allotments on the tribal domain was supported by a number of parents with children as yet unallotted. It was an issue that united members of varied background; and it drew as well the advocacy of whites adjacent to the reservation. Indeed, Supt. W. G. West, who opposed additional allotment, foresaw an attempt to engineer such a measure through Congress.[114] In 1920, considerable agitation on the reservation was aimed toward this end, but what West termed "wiser counsel" prevailed.[115] The matter came to a head in 1927, when twenty-nine tribal members sued to force the U.S. government to allot grazing tracts from what the district attorney characterized (in one instance) as among "the most valuable pine timber lands on the reservation." Six of the suits, tried in the federal court in Medford, ended in the sustaining of the government's position, and the remaining suits were dismissed.[116]

Contention over the member's equity in tribal lands is also [563]
evident in the matter of grazing leases. As we have seen, such [427]
leases were sometimes advocated as forestalling cattle trespass

*648 which would exploit the Indians' tribal lands without compen-
*657 sating them. Another stock reason is that given in 1915 by Supt.
• 423 William B. Freer. Reporting that "a sentiment has arisen lately
563 against the continued use of the tribal lands by outsiders," crys-
427 tallizing in action by the tribal council, he nonetheless advocated
[432] maintaining the practice, to prevent wasting the grass.[117] By 1922, relying increasingly upon timber per capitas, members had sold their grazing allotments; and by 1927 one white rancher had acquired 7,000 acres.[118]

*648 While there was a concommitant decline in Indian stock
*657 raising, those who continued depended more heavily upon tribal
423 grazing lands, to which their tribal membership gave them free
231 access.[119]

In his policy, the Superintendent stood at the vortex of con-
*648 tending interests. Some tribal members who no longer ran stock
*657 were eager to maximize the cash income by leasing out as much
423 land as possible to white ranchers. The latter, on their part, had
427 developed their herds in anticipation of continued utilization of
563 the reservation, and they favored any possible expansion of
311 leasing. It was in acknowledgment of their commitment that Arnold favored continuing local leasing arrangements, rather than advertising the tribal ranges for general bidding.[120] Considerations of this sort, however, won him the opposition of even those Indians who preferred the leasing of the tribal domain. For tribal ranchers it was an indication that the Superintendent was in league with the white stockmen, and the charge recurred that the latter were overgrazing the range and crowding out the Indians. One tribal member, then taking the first steps toward his eventual success as a rancher, recalls today that as soon as he had improved the section of tribal range assigned to him the Superintendent leased it to whites.

Among tribal ranchers were a number of Indian women married to white men who, between them, owned the major part of the stock listed as Indian. "They always affirm," said Arnold, "that all the stock is owned by the Indian wife," and thus secured grazing on the tribal range.[121] At least one woman among them had also been party to the suits to secure allotments within the tribal timber lands.

Arnold insisted that the charges were groundless, that range

reserved for Indian cattlemen was ample, and that indeed the 648*
tribe was losing between $6,000 and $8,000 a year on land with- 657*
held for their use but not grazed. "Even this, he went on to say, 423•
"did not seem to satisfy a number of Indians, and as a result the 427
tribal council recently [1926], passed a resolution to close the 563
range next year." He recommended that the Bureau disapprove 311
the tribal action.[122] During the remainder of his tenure, the issue of leasing the tribal range recurred at least twice more; and it arose from time to time to plague his successors.[123]

The desire to convert equal access to tribal resources into a pro 648*
rata share of rentals found a counterpart in such measures as 657*
those involving tribally supported programs for lumber. The lum- 313
ber mills operated for years by the Agency had been partially intended to supply materials for building houses and barns, but by 1908 only the mill at Yainax remained, and the Indians were no longer bringing in enough logs to keep the sawyer busy.[124]

With the establishment of sawmills on the reservation, the government mill drew less and less traffic. It was moved to a new location in 1927, but although there was no commercial sawmill within twenty miles, business was not measurably improved.[125] By 1930 it functioned only a short period each year for those members who wished to haul their own logs and pay twenty per cent of the lumber to defray milling expenses. Reported Arnold:

> During the past two years a few disgruntled Indians who do not avail themselves of the opportunity of obtaining lumber through their own efforts have objected to its operation on the theory that is being operated at the expense of the tribe for the benefit of a few of the Indians. Due to this criticism, the future of the sawmill is uncertain.

Soon thereafter the mill was closed.[126]

These were some of the expectations among the Indians created 648*
by increasing contact with a free-enterprise system. Individuals 657*
came to see that tribal membership entailed not only the restric- 619
tions imposed by Agency regulation but pecuniary returns as well. [177]
Those members dwelling off the reservation discovered that they could realize their pro rata share of tribal income without being subjected to supervision in expending it. Moreover, insofar as the Superintendent was willing and able to take decisions into

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heeded. Surely, the government stands in some measure account- 648*
able here; and the Indian viewpoint bears a rough relationship to 657*.
the events of their history. It errs, however, in oversimplification 829
and has the important consequence of deflecting all responsibility for the condition of the Indians upon the shoulders of others.

These developments, when related to the promise of citizen- 648*
ship for Indians, became critical. Originally the Allotment Act 657*
had designed that all Indians living apart from their tribes and 423 •
in assimilation to whites should be awarded citizenship; and that 641
any reservation Indian, upon receiving a patent in trust, would attain the same status. Subsequent amendments postponed citizenship until a patent in fee had been secured. For the Klamath reservation, the local timetable had the result that no trust patents were awarded until all allotments had been made, a condition that in turn had to await settlement of several of the claims suits. The assignment of lands thus took place in an atmosphere heavy with the anticipation of a swift change of status. The better-educated among the leaders, who in turn mingled with those whom allotment had brought back into the reservation polity, were eager to press for greater freedom and increased self-rule.

Signally, administrators believed the same act implied they 648*
had a heightened responsibility toward their charges. Schooling 657*
had become compulsory, and O. C. Applegate, then Agent, was 871
convinced that allottees should send their children by preference 423
to reservation school. Repeatedly, in his letters to those seeking allotments, he urged them to send their children to the boarding school "where they will be boarded and clothed without expense to you."[4] To a schoolboy who wished to remain away, he wrote, "Tell your father that I intend all the children to have land on the reservation, and that they must come into school according to the rules."[5] When one off-reservation member failed to send her children to school after having consented to do so, Applegate firmly reproved her and added, "Please write me at once what you propose to do about them, and if it is your wish to have them give up their allotments on the reservation."[6]

The relationship between schools on and off the reservation 648*
now took on a new dimension. Some of the more acculturated 657*
tribal members began to criticize the Agency-run schools as 871

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In 1887, when Ivan Applegate had testified before Emery on 648*
treaty boundaries, he had asserted that the eastern boundary 657*
lay by rights farther within the reservation than the Indians re- 571
garded as correct.[29] At that time he and his brothers, Oliver and Lucien, owned several ranches that might be affected by his testimony. It may well be that the properties had been developed in the understanding that the boundary lay where Ivan's testimony located it, but it is doubtful that the Indians would so wholeheartedly have nominated him for boundary commissioner had they then known his views. The properties are said subsequently to have been sold during the depression of 1893-94.[30]

In 1890, Elisha Applegate, who had just lost the Agency after a brief, turbulent reign, transmitted a memorial to President Benjamin Harrison from the Klamath. Disturbed by the outstanding issues on reservation boundaries, the Military Road claims, and the swampland action of the state of Oregon, they requested—in vain, as it turned out—permission and funds for a delegation of five of the head men to visit him at Washington, together with Elisha as their attorney. This measure made no headway; and next year another memorial to the President advocated appointment of a commission of three to adjudicate the boundary claims.[31]

The tribal delegation, a relic of the days when tribes made 648*
treaties and the government made chiefs, had its own history at 657*
Klamath. The first delegates had been Dave Hill and Tecumseh 423 •
on Meacham's 1875 lyceum tour. Thirteen years later, with Jesse Kirk, Henry Jackson, and Dan Schonchin, Hill desired permission to visit "their great Father at Washington" to discuss the Allotment Act and other matters.[32] Permission and funds seem to have been denied, and the memorial of 1890 was an attempt to resume the effort. The desirability of being represented in the capital on the boundary issue led the Klamath in 1893 to conclude an eight-year contract with two Washington attorneys, W. K. McCammon and J. V. Belt.[33]

The following year, so it is recalled today, a group comprising Jesse Kirk, Henry Jackson and William Crawford made the trip, paying their own expenses. Possibly a delegation visited John H. Mitchell, perennial senator from Oregon who had long been interested in the reservation, although he undoubtedly had also heard from such advocates as Ivan Applegate. The Senator pres-

*648 ently submitted a resolution directing the Secretary of the In-
*657 terior to furnish the Senate with information as to the accuracy
• 423 of the boundary survey executed in 1888 by William Thiel. (See
map of Klamath Boundary Claims.)[34]

In 1895, Ivan Applegate's interest in the Klamath land claims prompted Oregon Congressman Binger Hermann to suggest that he come to Washington. Ivan promptly wrote Oliver to secure influence from Oregon senators and representatives upon the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to authorize a delegation, to comprise Jesse Kirk, Henry Jackson, and Jack Palmer, with Ivan as interpreter.[35] This time, the delegation was officially approved, but since Ivan had also secured a contract as attorney for the Indians the Commissioner would not allow his expenses as interpreter.[36] Ivan set out alone, the delegation to follow at call. Once in Washington he found himself at home. The Indian delegation, in his opinion, would be of no earthly use. "I can do more in ten minutes talk in the Dept.," he wrote Oliver, "than all the Klamath Indians would in a week, they would be most ridiculous here."[37]

In a relatively brief time, after the tribal council had duly recommended him, Ivan emerged as one of the three boundary commissioners to review the Klamath claims. Although he then resigned his position as attorney, he seems to have retained some residual interests in it, as reflected in agreements reached with Belt and McCammon which they later chose to ignore.[38]

Despite the tolerance shown toward the delegations from Klamath, the Bureau soon received clear instructions from above, in a circular letter from the Secretary of the Interior himself. That dignitary sternly termed the practice of sending delegations to Washington a "reprehensible custom that has grown up in recent years," and stipulated that all business requiring departmental action proceed through Agency channels. Only when delegations were suitably justified would authority be granted them to proceed—and at Indian expense—to Washington.[39] For the Klamath, however, the settlement of the boundary claims provided grounds for continued approval of delegations.

When the boundary commission made public its findings in 1897, the commissioners discovered in the younger men a militancy not evinced by the older signatories. "We are forced to the conclusion," they observed, "that the Indian claim is either an error which has crept in from the lapse of years or the result of 648* modern nomenclature applied to the mountains by the younger 657* Indians since the treaty was made." They noted that the latter 423 ● confidently located points upon the boundary that their elders, the actual signatories, could identify only with uncertainty or conflict.[40] The reservation boundaries thus delineated often exceeded considerably those described by the signatories. The claims of the younger men recall the oral traditions of the treaty councils, for they are surely part of the same outlook.

The commission report brought dismay to the Klamath. The eastern boundary, recalls one adherent of Jesse Kirk, was satisfactory as finally delineated, but strong feeling simmered regarding the location of the southern boundary. The finding that the southeastern boundary point, *kalwal,* Point of Rocks, lay at Barkley Springs, placed it too far north, the Indians claimed, and it had the effect of leaving the Swan Lake area (where the Applegates had interests)[41] outside the reservation. The suspicions thus generated soured Klamath relations with the Agent as well as with his brother, but remained latent until other frictions aroused them.

In 1900, James McLaughlin, U.S. Indian inspector, executed what was to be the penultimate agreement upon the boundary issue. In his report to the Secretary of the Interior, he warmly praised a local assistant:

> I was fortunate in securing as guide and interpreter, the services of Jesse Kirk, an intelligent full blood Klamath Indian, to accompany me throughout my field work, as he had accompanied the Boundary Commission in 1896 when the boundary line described in the treaty of October 14, 1864 was determined, and was also employed by the Allotting Agents throughout the entire allotment of lands on the Klamath reservation, and, having a most remarkable memory, knows the legal sub-divisions of section, township and range of every allottee on the reservation.[42]

With ratification of the agreement hanging in the balance, the 648* Indians once more proposed a delegation to Washington, to be 657* comprised of Jesse Kirk, William Crawford, and Jeff Riddle.[43] 578 There was, however, a significant discord. In a petition trans- 665 mitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Harrison Brown, judge of the Indian Court, related that after the council with

of the McLaughlin agreement, praising the Inspector as "a man 648*
that got heart in him for a Poor Indian People."[46] Toward the 657*
end of his visit, the envoy was stricken with appendicitis, and his 578
half-brother and political foe, Joseph Kirk, rushed to his bedside 665
and remained to bring him home.

New contacts, both with officials and attorneys and possibly 648*
with the delegates from other tribes, must greatly have enlarged 657*
the horizon for men like Jesse Kirk. Indeed, James McLaughlin, 578
returned to the reservation to execute a new agreement with the 665
Tribe rectifying a mistake in the boundary surveys used, soon 423
found the new mettle in the man. The revised draft, he reported,
was

> duly executed by more than the necessary number of Indians belonging to the Agency, but not without having to overcome strong opposition, evidently prearranged and determinedly led by the most influential Indian of the reservation, Reverend Jesse Kirk, who demanded that the clause providing for irrigation of their lands be stricken out, also the clause for the payment of the legal fees of attorneys having duly approved contracts. I, however, remained firm and would not concede any modification or change of a single word, letter or punctuation mark in the agreement as prepared by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and it was thus concluded by a large majority of the Indians signing the agreement. When Rev. Jesse Kirk found that I was going to succeed in obtaining the required number of signatures he, together with his followers, finally came forward and signed the agreement—and he also signed as one of the two Interpreters.
>
> The opposition of said Rev. Jesse Kirk, was influenced by the fact that he visited Washington last winter, remaining there some months, during which time he learned that large appropriations were being made by Congress for general irrigation purposes on Indian reservations, and that the Klamath could have from such appropriations all the money necessary for irrigating their lands without providing for such in this agreement, and as the contract with their attorneys was for a period of eight years, and expires on July 21, 1901, he captiously desired to exclude the clause protecting them.

Jesse Kirk, so McLaughlin learned, had been informed in 648*
Washington that the Indians need not employ attorneys, since the 657*
case was sure to be decided in their favor. Many Indians, how- 578
ever, did not agree with his view and desired to keep good faith 665
668

*648 *657 of them, George and Fred, while employees of the Agency, had 665 purchased lumber, posts, and similar items from Indians to build 668 upon their 10,000-acre ranch.

578 The most serious malfeasance he charged, however was "the • [423] matter of leasing under the special permit system of unallotted [427] tribal lands during the past three or four years." The usual system was for the Superintendent and George Loosley (who was also Agency stockman) to lease a district to an Indian, for example Abraham Charley or Harrison Brown, who in turn leased to whites at one dollar per head of cattle. "It is only those who have engaged in leasing the lands," Mills went on, "that have threatened violence if the petition was sent on to Washington. . . ." He suspected "a large discrepancy between the books of account and the amounts paid in for grazing upon the various districts of unallotted tribel [sic] lands as well as trespasses." During the past four years, less than $4,000 (and probably only $2,667) had been paid in, as against estimated returns of $10,000 from grazing alone.

The Indians therefore demanded the removal of Applegate and George Loosley, the election of officials, and an end to cattle trespass. They demanded more effective voice for the council in [871] leasing and in disbursing Indian money. Finally, they noted other grievances in the treatment of sick school children and demanded that they be permitted to send their children to outside schools.[78]

The accuracy of these charges is secondary to the images of the truth they generated. It is of principal importance that Jesse Kirk was able to convince a large following that the charges were indeed correct. From the standpoint of his faction he then became a man deeply concerned with administrative abuses and striving to remove them by free elections. In that view, Applegate's obduracy drove Kirk reluctantly to more explicit detail until in the end he was forced openly to seek the Superintendent's removal.

In Washington, a new administration was in the saddle, and the new Commissioner was the reformer, F. E. Leupp. Even if Applegate were innocent, the embroilments under his administration would not have recommended his retention. In May, he vacated his office for Horace G. Wilson. Applegate had already received a temporary appointment as clerk at the Grande Ronde

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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FOURTEEN

[P.196]

Local Political Relations

*648 *657 641 IN ADDITION TO THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP EACH KLAMATH BORE to the federal government, both through the Tribe and as an individual, he also entered formally into the role of citizen in a hierarchy of political bodies, ranging from the United States, through state and county, and often participated as well in one of the communities within the reservation. In those relationships, however, his tribal status sometimes conferred upon him special immunities with regard to taxation and the exercise of law. Until the last days of the reservation, when jurisdiction was transferred to the state of Oregon,[1] those Klamath who remained in trust status were responsible solely in federal courts for the commission on Indian land of the so-called "ten major crimes."[2]

• [423] Only when the member received a fee patent upon his allotment or—for those who had not been assigned a tract—had all his property placed in unrestricted status, did he become subject to state courts. Oregon's jurisdiction extended within the reservation to the state highways traversing it and to all lands held in fee simple. Since the "Indian country" within the boundaries of the reservation had become checkerboarded with white-owned ranches, the fee-simple tracts of tribal members, together with trust lands and tribally owned territory, the title to which resided with the government, the jurisdictional aspect of law enforcement posed serious problems.

Within this setting operated an interlocking set of agencies, including the state police and courts, the county sheriff and justices of the peace, and the municipal marshal and police judge of communities such as Chiloquin. The sometime immunity of tribal members to their jurisdiction was a frequent cause for comment. Wrote Superintendent Arnold in 1930:

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

SEVENTEEN

[P.236]

The Tribal Government

*648 FOR NEARLY FIFTY YEARS FOLLOWING ALLOTMENT, THE KLAMATH
*657 tribal government constituted the formal instrument for arriving
619 at common objectives, the ultimate guardian against encroach-
646 ments upon Klamath treaty rights, and the corporate symbol of Indian status. Its form and operations sensitively reflected the interplay of continued efforts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to mold Indian life and the Indian reaction to those efforts. They gave evidence as well of the diversity of opinion which presently arose among tribal members as to the future in which they wished to live.[1]

• [423] Central to the importance of the tribal government was the considerable wealth over which it presided: at the close of allotment, tribal property amounted to over 860,000 acres of land, roughly three-fourths of it in prime timber, owned corporately by some 1,150 members. By contrast, the Umatilla reservation, in the northeast section of the state, in 1908 possessed fewer than 2,000 acres in unallotted tribal lands for a comparable (893) membership.

*648 The principal body of the tribal organization was the General
*657 Council, a successor to those sessions convened on occasion in
646 times past to discuss matters of common concern. Such *ad hoc*
623 councils had formerly been found useful to the federal government for mustering a representative Indian body; but with the development of an executive body, the General Council also emerged as a more regular entity. Like its predecessors, it was
[562] originally composed of all the men of the Tribe; after the pas-
[177] sage of the Nineteenth Amendment, the women were added to their number.

*648 Since the highly rationalized bureaucracy of the government
*657 found the occasional councils too unwieldly to handle the in-
646

petual inheritance and new claims through an indefinite number 648*
of generations, by people who may claim a fraction of Indian 657*
blood and therefore a share in undivided Indian tribal funds."[18] 619
421

The Course of Termination

It was toward the ending of a special status that reservation 648*
leaders were soon to address themselves. They began shortly after 657*
the closing of the allotment rolls in 1910, when, in opposition to 423 •
the designs of some whites to open up the surplus lands to home- 619
steading, tribal members countered with the suggestion that they be parceled among tribal members. Later, those "final settlement" proposals came to envisage the sale of the lands and the allocation of the funds thus realized in pro rata shares to members, an act that would have the effect of bringing the Tribe itself to an end.[19] Final settlement in the early years drew widespread endorsement from tribal leaders, among whom its chief advocate was Judge Levi Walker.

In 1929, Wade and Ida Crawford, then in Washington as tribal delegates, with the active assistance of Secretary of the Interior Ray L. Wilbur drew up an alternative plan, calling for the establishment of a tribal corporation to take over and manage tribal assets. This unauthorized proposal—which, as Ostrom suggests,[20] in some measure foreshadowed provisions that were to appear in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934—won tribal support only with difficulty against the opposition raised by adherents of the final settlement bill. Although both bills continued to be pressed in Congress, neither made headway.

In 1933, Crawford was appointed Superintendent of the Klamath Reservation by his friend, the reformer John Collier, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The legacy of opposition which Crawford bore into office united with his conduct while there to bring about his removal for cause four years later. Although as Superintendent he advocated endorsement of the Indian Reorganization Act, it was rejected by the Tribe. In time he too came to denounce it, for his experience as administrator of the reservation had prejudiced him against the competence of the Klamath to manage their own estate. Instead, he sought for the time only to circumscribe what he deemed to be federal and tribal extravagance, while gradually maturing his plans for the

*648 pro rata apportionment of the tribal assets. Toward this end, he
*657 turned increasingly for support toward the absentee membership.

• 423 Thus it was that in 1945, returned to Washington as a delegate,
619 Crawford sought passage of a bill that combined some of the
*648 aims of the final settlement proposals with federal purchase of
*657 the tribal tracts, which would then be established as national
423 forests, and with the liquidation of other properties. This met
619 opposition from the dominant tribal party, by this time under the
665 leadership of Boyd Jackson, Dice Crain, and Jesse Lee Kirk. In successive versions, the proposed legislation was the subject of hearings conducted both in Washington and on the reservation. As an outcome of suggestions made then, Supt. Bert. G. Courtright prepared a trial bill permitting voluntary withdrawal of competent members, each of whom was to be paid a portion of his share in the tribal estate. A shift of political winds now swept Crawford, who became the chief proponent of this bill, back into political ascendancy.

*648 At this juncture, Seldon Kirk, the respected chairman of the
*657 General Council, intervened to secure establishment of an extra-
642 ordinary special committee of those "who believe in the per-
619 petuation of the Klamath Reservation." Among the eight members, in addition to Kirk himself, were Jackson and several of his adherents. The committee drew up a new constitution for the Tribe, designed to provide a structure satisfactory for self-government over a proposed transition of two decades. It was adopted in 1950, but only after being linked with the voluntary withdrawal bill; and thus for a time both parties rested satisfied.
*648 From a long-range view, it is noteworthy that Crawford had
*657 turned from a plan for an enduring tribal cooperative to one
619 directed to the piecemeal withdrawal of members who wished to sever tribal connections. In their turn, the former advocates of final settlement had become the champions for the preservation of the tribal body.

Further attempts by Crawford to amend the voluntary withdrawal bill and other circumstances delayed action on it until 1953, by which time the government had embarked upon a program seeking to terminate federal supervision over a number of Indian reservations. Chief among them was that at Klamath, for which terms were proposed similar to those outlined for the

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

timber-rich Menominee.[21] Crawford and Jackson, examining the 648*
federal proposal, which envisaged a private corporation, jointly 657*
concluded that such an arrangement would be uneconomic for 619
the Tribe under Oregon law, and in its place advocated a tribal
cooperative. This harmony between factional leaders seemed [665]
highly suspect to tribesmen long attuned to discord; and they
rejected the proposal.

Eager for a resolution, congressional forces now brought pres- 648*
sure upon the Bureau, which produced another draft of the 657*
proposal and, under similar pressure,[22] the factional leaders were 619
brought to a compromise in the final hours of the 1954 session. 423 •
Enacted as Public Law 587, the legislation provided that mem- 665
bers might elect either to withdraw, receiving their pro rata share of tribal property, or remain in a surviving economic entity. Thereafter, as it became apparent that the unanticipated size of the withdrawing body was likely to remove large tracts of timber from sustained-yield management, thus plunging the Klamath Basin into a cycle of "boom and bust," various bodies, both public and private, began tardily to intervene. Since the legislation had favored their position, the Crawford forces adamantly opposed any changes whatsoever, while Jackson and Jesse Lee Kirk were equally zealous in endorsing any amendment that promised to better the position of the remaining members.

In the latter days of the termination program, as they approached the election that was to mark the personal decision to withdraw or remain, there emerged among tribal members a new coalition of moderates, seeking a position independent of the factions. The Klamath Information and Education Office, established by the State Department of Education under the Termination Act, had encouraged tribal members to come together to explore together the issues posed by the Act, so that they might cast their votes more intelligently. The Reservation Discussion Group that resulted included in its membership individuals who had long held aloof from the partisan struggle, together with younger moderates holding secondary tribal posts. The coalition now entered the lists and, in one of the last formal elections held by the General Council, scored impressive gains. They lacked a clear-cut program, however, and soon after their victory their group was sundered. Within the remaining members, however,

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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*648 members of the Discussion Group remained influential. More
*657 significantly, perhaps, for the long run, they began to employ
619 their newfound unity in fund-raising enterprises in Chiloquin,
• 423 and thus took an initial step in creating a new civic image for
665 the Klamath.

*648 When the vote was held, over seventy per cent of the tribal
*657 membership elected to withdraw, the government purchasing
619 their land and creating from it the Winema National Forest. Of
666 the other voters, the majority did not directly elect to enter into
423 the trust under which the U.S. National Bank has since been
managing their joint resources. In this last decisive moment, they returned no ballot at all, and thus were automatically included among the remaining members. The outcome of the vote was in part an expression of confidence among the Klamath in their ability to handle their own affairs, in a measure a rejection of any continued trust status, colored with the anticipation of realizing a large sum—approximately $43,500 per person. However, so complex were the issues and so heavily were they beclouded at the time of voting by contending claims and interpretations, that it is doubtful whether many members could in fact specify all the considerations which guided their final decision.

668 In the period since the enactment of termination in 1954, the Klamath became increasingly receptive toward inclusion within the broader rubric of what Mead has termed "American Indian nationality," and have begun to participate in pan-Indian affairs.[23] Membership in the National Congress of American Indians, participation in American Indian Days at Sheridan, Wyoming,[24] sponsorship of the All-Indian Invitational Basketball Tournament in Chiloquin and of an American Indian Beauty contest held in conjunction with it: these were only some of the more concrete manifestations. Although pan-Indianism has been growing, the receptivity on the part of the Klamath seems keyed to their needs in the crisis that confronted them. Threatened with the loss of the tribal body that had symbolized their collective heritage, they repaired to others which enabled them to preserve their identity. Those who would see the termination vote as an election by the majority of tribal members to become completely assimilated into the larger society must reckon in the significance of this neo-nativist movement.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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EIGHTEEN

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Conclusion

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KLAMATH TRIBE UNDER THE PROVISIONS 648*
of the Treaty of 1864 comprised a program of directed change, 657*
paralleling in its general features the relationships of the United 171
States government with diverse other Indian peoples. Because a common policy lay behind the administration of Indian affairs, the history that unfolded at Klamath was similar at many points to developments on other reservations. Since, however, unique characteristics of Klamath culture entered into the equation, and common events were locally mediated, that policy had different effects in execution.

Within the spectrum of American Indian cultures, it was im- 648*
portant that the tribes brought upon the Klamath reservation 657*
were unacquainted with agriculture, but had some knowledge of, 241
and esteem for horse-herding; that while they lacked traditions 233
of large-scale political organization, they placed a premium upon 619
industry and the acquisition of material wealth. These attributes, 181
while by no means unique, were distinctive in their combination; 177
and they gain significance when seen from the perspective of 178
the policy objectives of the government. Similarly, the circumstance that many individuals had already undergone extensive acculturation beyond the Klamath country provided the early Agents with native allies already won over to the prospects of change.

Even the application of a common policy exhibited special 648*
features. Two instances should illustrate the point. The recogni- 657*
tion of the tribal claim to a large domain, together with the [423]
retention of surplus lands after allotment, laid the basis for a [619]
corporate wealth equaled by only a few other reservation peoples. [434]
Later, the rejection of the Indian Reorganization Act during the Collier administration placed the Klamath among a minority of

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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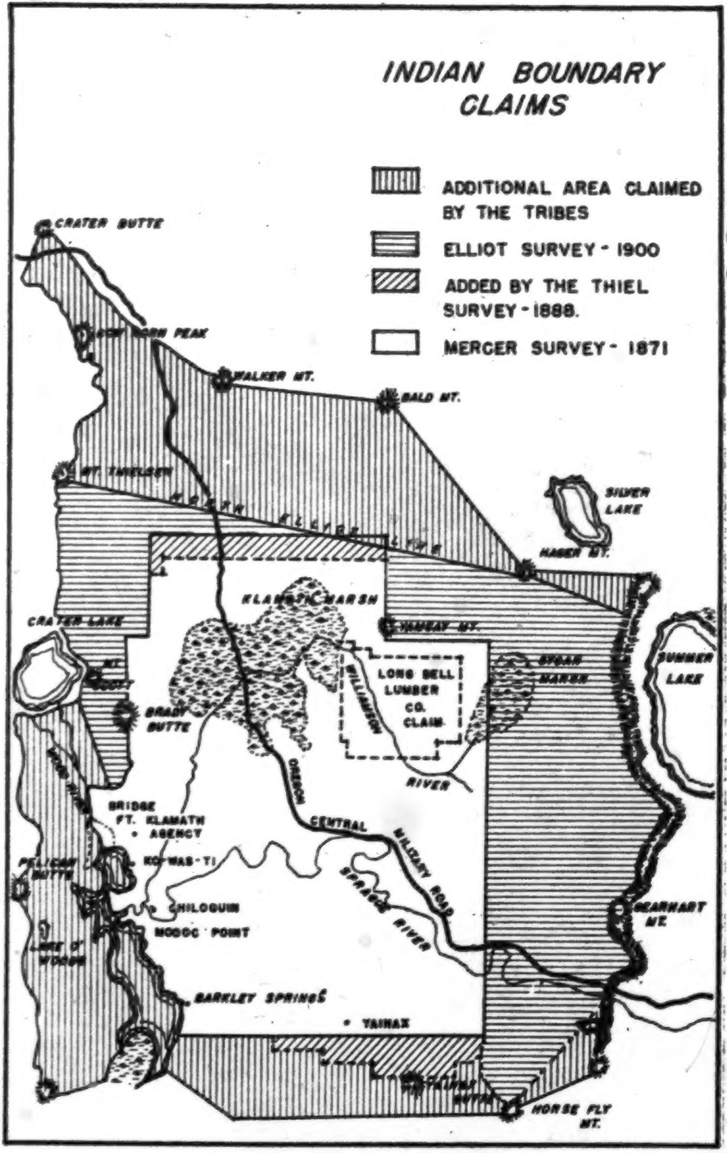
INDIAN BOUNDARY CLAIMS
ADDITIONAL AREA CLAIMED BY THE TRIBES
ELLIOT SURVEY - 1900
ADDED BY THE THIEL SURVEY - 1888.
MERGER SURVEY - 1871
CRATER BUTTE
HORN PEAK
WALKER MT.
BALD MT.
MT. THIELSEN
SILVER LAKE
HAGER MT.
KLAMATH MARSH
YAMSAY MT.
CRATER LAKE
MT. SCOTT
BRADY BUTTE
LONG BELL LUMBER CO. CLAIM
WILLIAMSON
RIVER
SYCAN MARSH
SUMMER LAKE
WOOD RIVER
BRIDGE
FT. KLAMATH
AGENCY
KO-WAS-TI
PELICAN BUTTE
CHILOQUIN
MODOC POINT
LAKE O' WOODS
OREGON CENTRAL MILITARY ROAD
SPRAGUE RIVER
GEARHART MT.
BARKLEY SPRINGS
YAINAX
YAINAX BUTTE
HORSE FLY MT.

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103
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133
423 •
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Adapted from a map prepared by Otis H. Johnson. (From Johnson, 1957.)

tribes, Oliver (1959) presents rulings of the United States Supreme 000 Court that suggest that the court itself has not been immune from the shift.

In 1958, the Department of the Interior found it necessary to revise the *Handbook of Federal Indian Law,* first published under the editorship of the late Felix S. Cohen, a moving figure in the planning of the Collier administration. (Zimmerman, in Simpson and Yinger [1957], p. 31). The new volume, which reflects the viewpoint emergent since that time, states in part:

> Much of the earlier Federal law and many Indian treaties now have only historical significance. As national development and progress continue and as new patterns of policy evolve, legal answers to questions of Federal Indian law will be found predominantly in the latest statutory law and judicial determination of justiciable issues. Those are stressed in this revision for the purpose, not only of seeking balance . . . but also for the purpose of foreclosing, if possible, further uncritical use of the earlier edition. . . . U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Solicitor ([1958] p. 1).

27. Ostrom and Stern (1959).

EIGHTEEN. CONCLUSION

1. Klamath *Tribune,* Chiloquin, Ore. (July-Aug. 1961), p. 3.
2. Linton (1940), Spicer (1961).
3. Watson (1963).
4. For corresponding evaluation in British Columbia, see Hawthorn, Belshaw, and Jamieson (1958). At Klamath, in the days of [563] allotment "half-breeds" were sometimes accorded more discretion in [423] leasing or selling lands than "full-bloods." At a somewhat later date, [427] success in stock-raising and farming, as well as in the handling of funds disbursed by the Agency were gauged. One survey during the administration of Arnold assessed the material prosperity and industry of househeads on the reservation. Notwithstanding such attempts, the competent all too often chafed under an overly solicitous supervision, while wastrels claimed citizen's right to squander per capita income, without effective training in management.
5. Spicer (1962), p. 349.
6. Gordon (1964).
7. Geertz (1957).
8. Leighton (1959), pp. 318–22.
9. Clifton and Levine (1961), p. 77.

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common 101
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 177
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy, [184]
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present [224]
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly 648
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties:
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an ar- [829]
tificial construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet 178
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-resi-
dence with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been trans- 648
ferred to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423 •
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural [241]
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber indus- [511]
try has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

648 Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation,
by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically,
less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
[657] efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities
[726] were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
[784] 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
[181] in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
[556] wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased
opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members,
[434] as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited
[651] bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are exclusively 621
White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office outside [575]
the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [794]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are frequently [651]
tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously,
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chiloquin [674]
during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a reconstituted 648
"Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be administered 657
by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal supervision
has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual 619
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Attendance
at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage,
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions 581
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have [588]

175 the exclusive right of taking fish and gathering edible roots, seeds, and
648 berries within the reservation. Provision is made by which the right of
657 way for public roads and railroads across said reservation is reserved to
citizens of the United States.

Article 2. As a payment for the ceded lands the Indians shall receive $8,000 per annum for a period of five years, $5,000 per annum for the next five years, and the sum of $3,000 per annum for the five years next succeeding.

Article 3 provides for the payment of $35,000 for removing the Indians to the reservation, subsisting them during the first year, and providing them with clothing, teams, tools, seeds, etc.

313 Articles 4 and 5 provide for the establishment of a saw-mill, a flouring-
256 mill, a manual-labor school, and hospital buildings, all to be maintained
874 and supplied with working material at the expense of the United States for
783 the period of twenty years. Employés for running these establishments
shall be paid and housed by the Government also.

423 Article 6 reserves the right to the Government to provide each Indian
family with lands in severalty to the extent of forty to one hundred and
twenty acres, and to guarantee possession to them. Indians are not allowed
to alienate these lands.

Article 9. The Indians acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and pledge themselves to be friendly with all citizens thereof, to commit no depredations upon the persons or property of said citizens, and to refrain from carrying on any war upon other Indian tribes.

273 Article 10 prohibits the sale and use of liquors upon the Reservation,
and Article 11 permits the Government to locate other Indian tribes thereon,
the parties to this treaty not losing any rights thereby.

The treaty was proclaimed February 17, 1870.

Like most of the treaties concluded between the United States Government and the Indian tribes, this compact was made much more to the advantage of the white man than of his red brother. Not only were the stipulated annuities rather small for a body of Indians, which was then considered to number about two thousand people, but these annuities were

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WN	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
411 1004. Head, minus foreshaft	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	.
1005. Bird arrow with cross-stick tip	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	.	+	+	.	.
1006. Bird arrow, wrapped tip	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	.	-	.
†1007. Feathering tangential	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	.	.
1008. Feathering radial, 3 vanes	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	+
1009. Spiraled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-
[53] 1010. Arrows painted	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+
[424] 1011. For identification	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	+	-	-	.	.
1012. Pyrographic ornament	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	.
1013. Arrows grooved	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	(+)	.	.	.	.
[278] 1014. Arrow poison	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	.	-	+	-	-	.	+	+
1015. Liver or gall	°+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	.	°+	.
1016. Snake venom	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
1017. Red ants	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	.
1018. Flint from certain places poisonous	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	.	.	.	.
1019. Flint of certain varieties poisonous	-	+	+			°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	.

Arrow Straighteners and Smoothers

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WN	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
1020. Abrasive stone smoother	+	+	°+	°+	°+	°+	+	+	+	°+	°+	.	.	-	+	+
1021. 1-piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	.	.	-	-	-
1022. 2-piece	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	-	+	+
1023. Longitudinal groove	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	-	+	+
1024. Made purposely			.				-	+	-	-	+	.	.	-	+	+
1025. Natural, worn down			.				+	-	+	+	-	.	.	-	-	-
1026. Scouring rush for smoothing	-	+	.	+	.	o	o	+	-	o	-	.	.	-	-	-
1027. 1-piece stone straightener	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1028. Transverse groove(s)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1029. Perforated straightener or wrench	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	.	-	.	-
1030. Of horn	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	.	-	.	-
1031. Of stone	-		.	+	°+	+	+	-	°+	-	+	.	.	-	.	-
1032. Of wood	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	.	.	-	.	-
1033. Forked wooden straightener	-	+	.	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	.	-	.	-
1034. Arrows warmed before straightening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1035. Straightened in hot ashes	-		+								-	+	+	+	.	+
1036. Straightening with hands and teeth	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1037. Straightening over knee	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	.	.	-	+	+
1038. Arrows	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	-	-	+
1039. Spear poles	+	+	+							+	+	.	.	-	+	+

Shooting Techniques

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WN	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
1040. Primary arrow release	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	+	+
1041. Tertiary arrow release	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1042. Mediterranean arrow release	-	-	-	-	°+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-
1043. Bow held horizontally	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1044. Bow held at 45° angle from horizontal	°+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
1045. Bow held vertically	-	-	+	-	-	°+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1046. Arrow to right of bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1047. Arrow to left of bow	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1048. Arrow rests on top of bow	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	.	+

Quivers

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WN	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
415 1049. Cased rawhide, fur left on	+	+	°+	°+	°+	°+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1050. Buckskin, sewn	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1051. Bark	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1052. Twined tule	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1053. Carried on back	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1054. Carried at side under arm	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NB	NV	
1956. Down woven into	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	292
1957. For war dances only	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	[535]
1957a. Worn habitually by some men	–	–	–	–	+	–	°+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[721]

CURRENCY, TREASURE

Currency

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NB	NV	
1959. Dentalia	R	+	+	+	°+	+		°+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	436
1960. Standard of value	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	825
1961. Incised	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1962. Feathers on large end	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1963. Wrapped with sinew, painted like snake skin	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1964. Graded on finger creases	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1965. Counted	–	–	–							+							
1966. Measured in fathom and fractions of	+	+	°+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1967. Upper-arm tattoo for measuring whole string	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1968. Measured on arm, no tattoo	–	+	.	–	+	–		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1969. Cylindrical purse of horn	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[415]
1970. Purse of horn fork	–	–	–	–	+	–		°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1971. Buckskin purse	–	+	+					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1972. Cased fur purse	–	–	.	–	+	°–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1973. Shells rolled in fur	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1974. Shells kept in basket	+	+	+	–	+	°+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1975. Long dentalia preferred	–	–	+					°–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1976. Clamshell disks	R	–	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1977. Standard of value	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1978. Manufactured	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1979. Smoothing slab	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1980. Disks counted	–	–	–	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1981. Short strings only	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1982. Measured around neck												+	+	+	.	–	
1983. Measured on elbow	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1984. Measured in fathoms	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	+	–	
1985. Measured in half-fathoms	+	–	°+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	(+)	+	–	
1986. Cased-fur purse	–	–		(+)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	
1987. Buckskin sack for purse	+	–	+			°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	+	[415]
1988. Basket for purse	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	
1989. Loans of shell currency without interest	–	°+	+		+	°–		+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	[426]

Treasure

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NB	NV	
1990. Olivella: whole shell	–	–	–	°+	°+	+	+	–	+	+	–	(+)	(+)	.	–	–	
1991. Shell cylinders or Columella	–	–	+	–	+	°+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	
1992. Sizes distinguished	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	.	.	.	
1993. Bone cylinders		–	.		+	(–)	–	.	–	–	.	–	.	+	+	+	
1994. Magnesite cylinders	–	–	.	–	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[439]
1995. Imported	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1996. Haliotis-disk beads	–	–	+	+	–	+	.	–	+	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	
1997. Large obsidian blades, used for display	–	–	–	–	–	–	°–	–	°+	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1998. Manufactured, not used	–		–	°+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1999. Charmstones	°–	–	–	+	(+)	°+	+	–	°+	+	–	+	+	+	–	°+	
2000. Natural shape	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	789
2001. Most effective if found by possessor	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	823
2002. Used in doctoring	–	–	–	+		+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2003. Animated; can travel of own accord				+												+	
2004. Doughnut stones	–	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
2005. Natural shape	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

648*

office, I will have to insist upon having the leases drawn through 657*
this office."[11] Even marriage had to be restricted at first in order 427
that proper records be maintained. Thus Marshall Petet rejected 648*
the request of an off-reservation preacher to marry a couple 657*
with the statement that "it is the custom for the Indians to either 585
be married by Mr. Starnes, the Methodist preacher, or myself." He added, "Indians marrying off of the Reservation, and where no notice of the same ever reaches this office, has given rise to much trouble, and I therefore require that they be married here."[12] With time, such controls had to be relinquished.

Meanwhile, such a man as O. C. Applegate, with his broad 648*
acquaintanceship in Klamath Falls and his long familiarity with 657*
the Indians, took upon himself the role of patron and middle- 426 •
man. For several women who wished to employ an Indian house- [464]
keeper or cook he was indefatigable in his efforts. He gave advice on the credit ratings of various Indians to numerous merchants in Klamath Falls. Occasionally he loaned money to those he deemed good risks, or advanced out of pocket cash to pay a debt long outstanding. Usually, however, he merely paraphrased the words of Emery that "Jim Smith has a contract to cut wood" and therefore can be trusted for an advance of $50.00 worth of merchandise. He might observe that "Judge Joseph Kirk is a good square man, and I wish you might make him an exception in his case." On a few occasions he sought to have Henry Jackson agree to underwrite a credit for another Indian.

Other men undertook to extend credit on a smaller scale. Daniel Cronemiller, who long before (1883) had advanced credit to Indians, cosigned at least two notes with Indians: one with Jesse Kirk and another with Henry Wilson. About the turn of the century, the former Agent, Leroy S. Dyar, estimated that through the years he had loaned approximately six hundred dollars to Indians.

The Agent's power, however, was an important condition of 648*
his patronage. The assignment of freight loads from the railroads 657*
at Ager and Pokegama, California, was rotated among available 464
Indian teamsters, but the administrator made sure that the de- 494
serving received more frequent assignments. Thus, Emery could request a merchant to let Stonewall Jackson have the merchan-

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*648 members, but others refused to do so, taking the position that
*657 merchants were encouraging extravagance in their Indian cus-
434 tomers. Tribal members, on the other hand, learned to connive
[452] with Agency employees to evade restrictive regulations, citing
spurious but legitimate needs in order to secure cash releases, with the zeal of other Americans in search of income tax loopholes. The money thus secured was often applied to outstanding debts as well as to fresh expenditures.

*648 The payment of per capitas in two large, semiannual install-
*657 ments, rather than in smaller and more frequent disbursements,
511 was an incentive to squandering. Of a sample of tribal members
on the reservation from whom data are available, over one-half were deemed poor in money management or were so deficient that their funds had been programmed.[14]

*648 There were special areas of extravagance. Upon the open
*657 reservation the automobile had replaced the horse, both as a
511 means of transportation and as an extremely personal symbol of
493 wealth. Low down payments furnished an inducement to buy;
452 but among the improvident automobiles were often loaned to
[556] friends and relatives who might then prove irresponsible. Upon
• [426] rough reservation roads, automobiles often did not survive to
see the last installment payment. As a consequence, it had proved difficult for any tribal member to secure automobile insurance.

Observed Superintendent Fred A. Baker in 1924:

> If I were called upon to name one thing which has tended more than anything else to the squandering of the funds of the Klamath Indians I should mention the purchase of expensive automobiles. The first step was the issuance of a patent in fee for the sale of inherited lands. The second, the turning over of the funds to the Indian. The third step, the purchase of a high priced automobile, with the subsequent necessity of its upkeep and maintenance. The effect upon the life of the Indian has been demoralizing in that it invites him to take long and expensive trips and to absent himself from his home to the neglect of his farming operations and the building up and improvement of his allotment.[15]

*648 Items such as automobiles which the Klamath purchased
*657 were often esteemed by whites as status symbols; and many of
5.11 them resented the circumstances that the Klamath not only
493

882
155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
[462] of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
•426 example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented, and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

*648 *657 674 [563] Mountain. Indeed, it became customary for some Agents to attribute any breach of law, author unknown, to a member of that class.

As the country became more thickly populated, there came a brief period when outlaws took advantage of the distinct jurisdiction of the reservation. Cattle rustlers and horse thieves plied their trade across the line, stealing from Indians and whites alike. About the turn of the century, when the stage was being robbed with discouraging frequency, some of the outlaws seem to have operated occasionally out of the thinly patrolled reservation. At least one man, after having stolen a horse and saddle on the reservation, was soon thereafter caught in a stage holdup. These conditions while they lasted gave increased point to the need to maintain surveillance over whites within the reservation.

Against these various threats, the Agents strove valiantly. In the 1880's, when trespassing cattle from the eastern side of the reservation brought the integrity of the boundaries into issue, Emery resorted to cavalry to clear them off. Repeatedly, Agents ordered undesirables off the reservation, recommended to the Commissioner action to be taken on the licensing of traders, and sent the Indian police after runaway schoolboys and their seniors who were off the reservation without pass. Indians traveling in a group away from the reservation were accompanied by an Agency employee, often a member of the police. Whites who wished to work for Indians were screened. "I am quite sure from the statement of your letter," wrote O. C. Applegate to a man who proposed to work for Henry Jackson, ". . . that you are a man who wishes to be governed by the rules of the reservation. I therefore have no objection to your doing the work you propose for Jackson. . . ."[9] To the pass system was sometimes added the condition of the white sponsor. "Hereafter," Applegate declared, "I shall not give an Indian girl a pass to remain in town on the plea that she wants to work, until she brings an application from some responsible party."[10]

*648 *657 • 427 Leasing likewise passed through the hands of the Agent during much of this period. "It is true that you are capable of handling small things," Superintendent H. G. Wilson wrote Modoc Henry, "but as it is against the regulations to lease land outside of this

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office, I will have to insist upon having the leases drawn through 657*
this office."[11] Even marriage had to be restricted at first in order 427 •
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Indian teamsters, but the administrator made sure that the de- 494
serving received more frequent assignments. Thus, Emery could request a merchant to let Stonewall Jackson have the merchan-

> his wife will be allotted on Klamath Marsh, some 50 miles away. 648*
> They are almost compelled to live a part of the year in each 657*
> place on account of putting up hay for their cattle.[40] 423

O. C. Applegate saw a supplementary relationship between 311
the allotted and tribal lands.

> There are a few localities on the Reservation [he stated] where industrious Indians may be able to make a living on 160 acres of land, especially after the land best calculated for farming is improved by irrigation; but the opening of the Reservation to settlement by White men upon the unallotted lands would make it hard for those Indians who live in the meadow districts by stockraising to make a living, as it would deprive them of the advantage of pasture on the tribal lands.[41]

Immediately following the passage of the Dawes Act, there 648*
were reports of heightened industry among the Indians, as they 657*
set about to build upon and improve their allotments. It must 423
be borne in mind that by the time the act was applied at Kla- [427]
math it had already been amended in 1891 and 1894, and soon
again in 1897 and 1900, to permit leasing under certain con-
ditions.[42] Leasing of what was then tribal domain had been 648*
secured through Nickerson by Sykes Worden in 1882 and by 657*
Matt Obenchain in 1884. Before lands were finally allotted, E. 563
L. Applegate had permitted Dave Hill to make an informal 427
agreement with one white rancher, by which the latter cut and
stacked hay on Hill's place and winterfed his cattle there, paying
Hill for the hay.

Matthews, Applegate's successor, at first clashed with the
system when he sought to impose an additional fifty cents per
head fee for bringing the cattle on the reservation.[43] Soon, how-
ever, he was advocating that whites be permitted to come upon
the reservation and cut hay on lands which Indians had enclosed,
paying the Indians for the hay. Like his successors, he argued
the help the Indians would derive from this revenue and the
advantages of utilizing resources which would otherwise go to
waste.[44] Soon thereafter a group of stockmen proposed to him [464]
the leasing of the Klamath Marsh area, which he favored as
affording employment to a number of Indians in putting up
hay.[45]

At a council with "the representative Indians of this Reserva- [311]
tion," a vote was take to lease certain lands for grazing pur- [623]
poses.

*648 poses. The proposal was that Klamath and Sycan marshes be
*657 constituted two grazing districts for leasing purposes. The Indians
• 427 further proposed "that the funds derived from the said grazing
311 privilege shall be divided per capita among the Indians of this
563 Reservation." The 41 signatories included the leading names on
the reservation. Matthews rightly doubted the feasibility of
[651] making such a division; for the General Deficiency Act of March
3, 1883, provided that unearned income of this sort should go
into a tribal fund in the Treasury.[46]

With the allotment of land, the leasing of individual tracts came into common practice. In advocating this measure Agent Petet urged in now familiar terms "that some Indians might get some money in this way to buy cattle of their own, who scarcely ever would be able to get a start in any other way." He thought that "if a few of the active Indians could do well in this business, it will be an incentive to others to fence their lands and try to make something off of it."[47] An informal grazing system was authorized. Meanwhile five men—Jesse Kirk, Henry Jackson, Harrison Brown, Frank Lynch (Tall Jim), and Scot Modoc—pushed matters further by enquiring into the rights of allottees with unfenced tracts to graze and expel cattle, asking further that money received from pasturage be distributed equally among tribal members, and that the price for grazing be raised to one dollar per head.[48]

Eight other Indians, led by Charley Pitt, under the advice of Daniel Cronemiller, a lessee, and with the assistance of Petet, erected a fence six miles in length enclosing the outer boundaries of about 4,000 acres of allotments, their own as well as others'. One of them, George Gray, was chosen by his fellows to count and drive in all cattle brought into the pasture by lessees.[49]

Emery advocated a continuation of the practice of permitting leasing by allottees of fenced lands. He cited the contract entered into by a Klamath interbreed, William Ball, formerly an Indian judge, with two whites. By its terms, Ball agreed to give exclusive pasture to their 300 head of cattle on his tract at Klamath Marsh at one dollar per head for the season. "This money," the Agent remarked, "insures a competency for him and his family for a year, and leaves him abundance of grass and

hay for his own [cattle].”[50] The practice of contract grazing on 648*
tribal land was also continued, though with scanty returns.[51] 657*

Leasing brought regulatory headaches. Trespass could less 563
easily be controlled. Some stockmen who rented land from the 427 •
Indians turned in more cattle than the pasture could sustain, [311]
while keeping the fences in such disrepair that the cattle drifted
onto the unfenced lands of neighboring allotments.[52] In consequence, [625]
the meager band of reservation police had to be diverted
to the task of enforcing the grazing rules. The Superintendent [675]
was obliged to see that all contracts were made through
his office. When disputes arose, he was often forced to intervene
and even at times to threaten a lawsuit in order to collect on
behalf of an Indian. Meanwhile, some lessees were themselves
fencing the lands in lieu of part of the lease, so that many Indians
were no longer compelled to put in any work in order to receive
returns from their property.[53] By 1903, even unfenced allotments
were being leased. In that year payments from leases [434]
comprised thirty per cent of estimated personal income, providing
$8,220 distributed among some ninety to one hundred allottees.[54]

By 1908, a large number of Indians were entrusted with the 648*
“experiment” of managing their own allotments, including the 657*
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to exceed the legal limit. The narrow discretion afforded, however, 427
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However, amendments provided for sale under proper supervision
when circumstances required, and by 1912 five sales had
been consummated, all involving heirship cases.[56]

When an allottee died, his land passed to his heirs—by the 648*
657*
423
428

648*
gaged them, and many were reported to be hopelessly involved 657*
in debts. Despite all administrative efforts to the contrary, re- 423
ported Superintendent Fred A. Baker, whites were acquiring title 432
to Klamath lands at a rate which he estimated would render the [563]
Indians homeless in twenty-five years.[63]

Since that time the pressure on the remaining allotted lands has been unremitting. Of 1,624 allotments issued totaling 247,515 acres, there remained in trust status as of August 13, 1954, the date when the Termination Act became law, only 1,130 allotments or fractions thereof, amounting to 133,000 acres. Three years later, 371 additional tracts had been sold at owners' requests, 107 had been fee patented, and restrictions had been removed from 20. The 630 tracts remaining by October 1, 1957, comprised but 73,681 acres.[64]

Along with income from leasing and sale of allotments came 648*
that from claims payments. By the terms of the McLaughlin 657*
Agreement of 1901, the Indians were to receive $537,007.20 in 423
payment for excluded lands. Of this, $25,000 was to be issued in 432
per capitas within 150 days from ratification and an additional 427 •
$350,000 was to be deposited to the tribal credit in the U.S. 434
Treasury, the interest at five per cent annually to be issued in 651
yearly per capita payments. The remaining sum, after payment of attorney fees, was to be utilized for drainage and irrigation of allotments on a pro rata basis, with issuance-in-lieu of stock cattle or other articles to those not so benefited.[65]

Amounts thus received were small. Payment of the $25,000 648*
was made in 1907, each individual receiving approximately 657*
$22.00—no princely sum. The annual interest produced per 434
capita payments of approximately $15.00; but a provision that by a petition of the men of the Tribe the amount might be increased to ten per cent of the principal fund led to its successive diminution. As early as 1909, a petition was submitted for this payment,[66] and Charles S. Hood took the lead in enquiring of the Secretary of the Interior whether parents were empowered to withdraw the money due their children.[67] The move seems to have been denied. Stringent regulations, however, were established by the Secretary to govern eligibility to receive a share of the trust funds. These related to improvement of allotments, self-support, moral character and controlled use of liquor, and

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*648 ability of the subject to manage his own affairs; but unconditional
*657 payments to the infirm, aged, and decrepit were also to be
434 allowed.[68] Undoubtedly, lease monies made some Indians, who
[427] would otherwise not have qualified, financially eligible for their share of the trust funds. By 1915 most of the Indians had realized their full pro rata share of the trust funds, and annuities were received only by children and a very few others. The children's shares by this time were being paid to their parents or guardians.[69]

*648 A similar development took place in the allocation of the re-
*657 maining part of the funds, designated for irrigation improve-
651 ments or stock issues. When the pro rata shares of this amount,
653 $110,662.16, proved insufficient for the irrigation work required
231 in the Modoc Point area, the tribal council advocated that all the amount be issued in cattle.[70] Some 4,000 heifers, as desired, were accordingly purchased, with each Indian residing on the reservation receiving four head, save the youngest member of the family, who received three. Although the clerk in charge of the Agency stated that "all Indians residing off the reservation and who were enrolled at that time received nothing,"[71] he is clearly in error, for issues were made to a number of persons dwelling off the reservation.

*648 Here once more is to be seen the interplay of government
*657 policy and considerations of tribal status. The cattle issues were
231 designed by the government to foster stock raising as a reservation industry, but they were made at a time when land leasing and pro rata shares of the tribal fund had already created an expectation of direct cash receipts. In these terms, a number of the reservation Indians almost at once sold their cattle to neighboring white stockmen, and Superintendent Wilson had to threaten to bring the law upon the latter in order to recover them.[72] Meanwhile, off-reservation members were pleading their absence from the reservation and the advisability of using the money instead "to good advantage toward family necessities."[73] Finally, the discovery that many of the heifers issued were spayed, and so were useless for breeding purposes, capped the experiment. As Watson wrote, "Almost every Indian who has been at the office lately claims that he has from one to five or

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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the project should be abandoned entirely and the loss charged to the Tribe.[93] 648* 657*

It is unnecessary to enter into the later history of the Modoc Point project, which made it a subject of interest at several Congressional hearings and a point of contention even into post-termination days, for the basic issues have remained the same. A number of Indians owning land within the project in the course of time sold their lands, just as most of those Indians owning lands served by the Sand Creek project had soon sold out to white farmers.[94] 312 653

The failure of the Modoc Point project can be attributed in part to the very real engineering difficulties in maintaining a canal system through a pumice region, feeding from a stream (the Sprague) in multiple use. More than this, however, was involved. There was the expertism of the Agency and Bureau, confusing the technical knowledge about construction and maintenance of such a system with the decision to build it. On the one hand the administrative staff was reluctant to entrust the decision to the Indians; on the other, the Indians did not provide a responsible leadership interested in developing such a program. The enterprise once launched therefore carried responsibility on only one side. There was no effort to enlist tribal support through involvement of tribal members in the fundamental decisions; nor was there sufficient training of the farmers to be affected in the special techniques entailed in irrigation. Indians resented charges against the land and attempted to avoid them by continuing to cultivate the fields by dry farming. [241] Among the farmers, white and Indian, no effective organization for water use developed. With income from timber available, the inexperienced farmer sought release from a situation for [434] which the rewards were not commensurate with the risks and [427] the onus of subjection to Agency dictates. Leasing or sale of the [423] lands in the end involve more than the realization of value from [432] property, which could otherwise only be secured by investment of labor. For the Indian, relinquishment of farming also freed him from some of the surveillance and scrupulous regulation to which he was subjected.

Plans that saw the Indian farming or ranching struck in the end upon the stubborn fact that he could frequently realize more, 648* 657* 434

petition to set aside Spring Creek and an adjacent portion of 648F
Williamson River as a park or game and fish reserve. "A locality 657F
so fitted by natural beauty of scenery," he thought, ". . . should 423
belong to all the people instead of to a few who have a practical monopoly of a princely domain such as the Klamath Reservation is. . . ." Although H. G. Wilson later seconded this motion, it came to nothing.[111] In 1910, a bill was introduced into Congress to open the reservation. The tribal council is reported to have taken exception to certain unspecified provisions, while remaining sympathetic to others. The bill failed to become law.[112]

From time to time, other attempts were made upon the tribal domain. There were those who advocated a reopening of the allotment rolls. When the growing exploitation of reservation timber enhanced the value of timbered tracts, members sought to secure them as grazing allotments. In 1910, eighteen members requested that they be permitted to exchange their allotments for other lands, but as Superintendent Wilson cautiously observed, the new lands desired were timbered tracts, unsuitable for grazing, and he questioned the compatibility of such an exchange with the intent of the Allotment Act.[113]

Although the attempted move had failed, the drive to secure allotments on the tribal domain was supported by a number of parents with children as yet unallotted. It was an issue that united members of varied background; and it drew as well the advocacy of whites adjacent to the reservation. Indeed, Supt. W. G. West, who opposed additional allotment, foresaw an attempt to engineer such a measure through Congress.[114] In 1920, considerable agitation on the reservation was aimed toward this end, but what West termed "wiser counsel" prevailed.[115] The matter came to a head in 1927, when twenty-nine tribal members sued to force the U.S. government to allot grazing tracts from what the district attorney characterized (in one instance) as among "the most valuable pine timber lands on the reservation." Six of the suits, tried in the federal court in Medford, ended in the sustaining of the government's position, and the remaining suits were dismissed.[116]

Contention over the member's equity in tribal lands is also [563]
evident in the matter of grazing leases. As we have seen, such [427]
leases were sometimes advocated as forestalling cattle trespass

*648 which would exploit the Indians' tribal lands without compen-
*657 sating them. Another stock reason is that given in 1915 by Supt.
423 William B. Freer. Reporting that "a sentiment has arisen lately
563 against the continued use of the tribal lands by outsiders," crys-
• 427 tallizing in action by the tribal council, he nonetheless advocated
[432] maintaining the practice, to prevent wasting the grass.[117] By 1922,
relying increasingly upon timber per capitas, members had sold
their grazing allotments; and by 1927 one white rancher had
acquired 7,000 acres.[118]

*648 While there was a concommitant decline in Indian stock
*657 raising, those who continued depended more heavily upon tribal
423 grazing lands, to which their tribal membership gave them free
231 access.[119]

In his policy, the Superintendent stood at the vortex of con-
*648 tending interests. Some tribal members who no longer ran stock
*657 were eager to maximize the cash income by leasing out as much
423 land as possible to white ranchers. The latter, on their part, had
427 developed their herds in anticipation of continued utilization of
563 the reservation, and they favored any possible expansion of
311 leasing. It was in acknowledgment of their commitment that
Arnold favored continuing local leasing arrangements, rather than advertising the tribal ranges for general bidding.[120] Considerations of this sort, however, won him the opposition of even those Indians who preferred the leasing of the tribal domain. For tribal ranchers it was an indication that the Superintendent was in league with the white stockmen, and the charge recurred that the latter were overgrazing the range and crowding out the Indians. One tribal member, then taking the first steps toward his eventual success as a rancher, recalls today that as soon as he had improved the section of tribal range assigned to him the Superintendent leased it to whites.

Among tribal ranchers were a number of Indian women married to white men who, between them, owned the major part of the stock listed as Indian. "They always affirm," said Arnold, "that all the stock is owned by the Indian wife," and thus secured grazing on the tribal range.[121] At least one woman among them had also been party to the suits to secure allotments within the tribal timber lands.

Arnold insisted that the charges were groundless, that range

reserved for Indian cattlemen was ample, and that indeed the 648*
tribe was losing between $6,000 and $8,000 a year on land with- 657*
held for their use but not grazed. "Even this, he went on to say, 423
"did not seem to satisfy a number of Indians, and as a result the 427 •
tribal council recently [1926], passed a resolution to close the 563
range next year." He recommended that the Bureau disapprove 311
the tribal action.[122] During the remainder of his tenure, the issue of leasing the tribal range recurred at least twice more; and it arose from time to time to plague his successors.[123]

The desire to convert equal access to tribal resources into a pro 648*
rata share of rentals found a counterpart in such measures as 657*
those involving tribally supported programs for lumber. The lum- 313
ber mills operated for years by the Agency had been partially intended to supply materials for building houses and barns, but by 1908 only the mill at Yainax remained, and the Indians were no longer bringing in enough logs to keep the sawyer busy.[124]

With the establishment of sawmills on the reservation, the government mill drew less and less traffic. It was moved to a new location in 1927, but although there was no commercial sawmill within twenty miles, business was not measurably improved.[125] By 1930 it functioned only a short period each year for those members who wished to haul their own logs and pay twenty per cent of the lumber to defray milling expenses. Reported Arnold:

> During the past two years a few disgruntled Indians who do not avail themselves of the opportunity of obtaining lumber through their own efforts have objected to its operation on the theory that is being operated at the expense of the tribe for the benefit of a few of the Indians. Due to this criticism, the future of the sawmill is uncertain.

Soon thereafter the mill was closed.[126]

These were some of the expectations among the Indians created 648*
by increasing contact with a free-enterprise system. Individuals 657*
came to see that tribal membership entailed not only the restric- 619
tions imposed by Agency regulation but pecuniary returns as well. (177)
Those members dwelling off the reservation discovered that they could realize their pro rata share of tribal income without being subjected to supervision in expending it. Moreover, insofar as the Superintendent was willing and able to take decisions into

*648
*657 of them, George and Fred, while employees of the Agency, had
665 purchased lumber, posts, and similar items from Indians to build
668 upon their 10,000-acre ranch.

578 The most serious malfeasance he charged, however was "the
[423] matter of leasing under the special permit system of unallotted
• [427] tribal lands during the past three or four years." The usual system was for the Superintendent and George Loosley (who was also Agency stockman) to lease a district to an Indian, for example Abraham Charley or Harrison Brown, who in turn leased to whites at one dollar per head of cattle. "It is only those who have engaged in leasing the lands," Mills went on, "that have threatened violence if the petition was sent on to Washington. . . ." He suspected "a large discrepancy between the books of account and the amounts paid in for grazing upon the various districts of unallotted tribel [sic] lands as well as trespasses." During the past four years, less than $4,000 (and probably only $2,667) had been paid in, as against estimated returns of $10,000 from grazing alone.

The Indians therefore demanded the removal of Applegate and George Loosley, the election of officials, and an end to cattle trespass. They demanded more effective voice for the council in leasing and in disbursing Indian money. Finally, they noted other
[871] grievances in the treatment of sick school children and demanded that they be permitted to send their children to outside schools.[76]

The accuracy of these charges is secondary to the images of the truth they generated. It is of principal importance that Jesse Kirk was able to convince a large following that the charges were indeed correct. From the standpoint of his faction he then became a man deeply concerned with administrative abuses and striving to remove them by free elections. In that view, Applegate's obduracy drove Kirk reluctantly to more explicit detail until in the end he was forced openly to seek the Superintendent's removal.

In Washington, a new administration was in the saddle, and the new Commissioner was the reformer, F. E. Leupp. Even if Applegate were innocent, the embroilments under his administration would not have recommended his retention. In May, he vacated his office for Horace G. Wilson. Applegate had already received a temporary appointment as clerk at the Grande Ronde

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tribes, Oliver (1959) presents rulings of the United States Supreme Court that suggest that the court itself has not been immune from the shift.

In 1958, the Department of the Interior found it necessary to revise the *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, first published under the editorship of the late Felix S. Cohen, a moving figure in the planning of the Collier administration. (Zimmerman, in Simpson and Yinger [1957], p. 31). The new volume, which reflects the viewpoint emergent since that time, states in part:

> Much of the earlier Federal law and many Indian treaties now have only historical significance. As national development and progress continue and as new patterns of policy evolve, legal answers to questions of Federal Indian law will be found predominantly in the latest statutory law and judicial determination of justiciable issues. Those are stressed in this revision for the purpose, not only of seeking balance . . . but also for the purpose of foreclosing, if possible, further uncritical use of the earlier edition. . . . U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Solicitor

([1958] p. 1).

27. Ostrom and Stern (1959).

EIGHTEEN. CONCLUSION

1. Klamath *Tribune*, Chiloquin, Ore. (July-Aug. 1961), p. 3.
2. Linton (1940), Spicer (1961).
3. Watson (1963).
4. For corresponding evaluation in British Columbia, see Hawthorn, Belshaw, and Jamieson (1958). At Klamath, in the days of allotment "half-breeds" were sometimes accorded more discretion in leasing or selling lands than "full-bloods." At a somewhat later date, success in stock-raising and farming, as well as in the handling of funds disbursed by the Agency were gauged. One survey during the administration of Arnold assessed the material prosperity and industry of househeads on the reservation. Notwithstanding such attempts, the competent all too often chafed under an overly solicitous supervision, while wastrels claimed citizen's right to squander per capita income, without effective training in management. [563] [423] [427]
5. Spicer (1962), p. 349.
6. Gordon (1964).
7. Geertz (1957).
8. Leighton (1959), pp. 318–22.
9. Clifton and Levine (1961), p. 77.

hay for his own [cattle]."[50] The practice of contract grazing on 648*
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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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*648 terms of his will if he had made one and in accordance with state
*657 law if he had not. Many tracts thus passed into multiple owner-
423 ship. In the period, 1917-21, for example, 13 out of 32 wills were
• 428 of this character; and when the allottee died intestate his real
property, almost inevitably, fell to more than one heir. When a person with an inherited interest in an allotment died, his heirs in turn acquired appropriate shares.[57]

The task of ascertaining the rightful heirs was frequently formidable. In 1913, with the death of some of the original allottees, there were already 170 such cases,[58] and despite additions to the Agency staff to handle the load, there was always a considerable backlog of cases awaiting judgment. In 1918 the number of cases up for review was still in excess of 50, and in some instances, with the original allottees dead for twenty years, the heirs were yet to be decided. As Superintendent Walter G. West observed, the allotments constituted a divisive element in Indian relations. "They have many differences among themselves," he noted, "due largely to the indefinite and undefined rights of many of them with respect to inherited interests and interests in perpetuated lands which have been selected for allotments."[59]

Since the multiple owners of an inherited allotment frequently failed to agree as to its use, the tract often became a "dead
[432] allotment" which did not produce anything. The government at first tried leasing such lands, but came gradually to consent to their sale, reasoning that otherwise the land went to waste. The sales were not permitted, however, until all tribal members had been allotted and had received their trust patents.[60]

*648 Trust patents had scarcely been issued before individuals be-
*657 gan to press to have them converted into patents in fee simple.
423 Up to 1913, under amendments of the act, giving the Secretary
432 of the Interior discretionary power to grant a fee patent to an
allottee judged competent, 5 patents in fee had been awarded upon original allotments and one on inherited land.[61] Four years later, it was reported that 35 to 40 patents in fee had recently been issued without going through a competency committee. More than half of the land patented had already been sold.[62]

By 1924, matters had become progressively worse. Practically all the Indians who had received fee patents had sold or mort-

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ing exclusively or even principally upon kinsmen. A responsible man sometimes was appointed guardian of an estate, as was William Crawford in the case of the minor, Frederick Schonchin.[104] Indians sometimes volunteered to assume a somewhat analogous relationship even for nonkin. Thus William Ball, a prosperous interbreed, proposed to feed, clothe, and bury an aged and destitute couple from the Warm Springs reservation, "providing he can get their allotments to use while they live, and become the actual owner of their lands after death."[105] As interpersonal relations became increasingly concerned with the manipulation of property, litigation in the tribal court gained volume and acerbity.[106]

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*648 *657 423

The Board of Indian Commissioners had foreseen that undivided tribal funds might perpetuate the "Indian problem" that allotment had been designed to solve, and they advocated breaking them up.[107] Among the Klamath were a number of persons, stemming principally from the more acculturated members, who shared the same sentiments toward unallotted lands. Paralleling the stress upon individual pecuniary interests, they developed what may be termed claims against the tribal equity. In one instance, Celia DuFault, sister-in-law of William Crawford, and a nonresident member, claimed part of the Klamath school farm as her allotment;[108] in another, the returned Modoc, Charles S. Hood, made inquiries concerning the Yainax school farm with an eye, it was alleged, to a similar allotment for himself and his children.[109]

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These efforts must be viewed in the context of corresponding measures on the part of whites. The conflicting claims and suits had delayed the completion of allotment, and hence the sale of surplus lands, into a time when it became obvious that the tribal timber possessed great value. The government then decided that the surplus lands would be retained and the timber exploited for the tribal benefit. There were various plans, however, to contest the retention on an undivided tribal equity. In 1909, the eight-man tribal council requested that a bill be prepared "giving the Klamath Allottees an additional 160 acres of timber land on this reservation; and that this be done at once in order that the surplus lands may then be disposed of otherwise."[110]

*648 *657 423

Meanwhile, O. C. Applegate had remarked favorably upon a

*648 in seventh and ninth grades—the beginning grades respectively
*657 for junior high and high school—was less than half the figure for
87 first grade in the same year. For tribal children, by contrast, the
563 figures for the advanced grades were each almost twice as large
as that for the first grade.

On an average, roughly one-half the small number of Klamath
children entering high school could be expected to graduate.
[125] That this record was not to be attributed to a difference in intellectual
ability is intimated by the results of California mental
maturity tests which, as administered to Klamath children as a
whole at the fourth grade, yielded normal scores, averaging 96.9.
When, however, the same children had reached the eighth grade,
their average score had declined to 80.4.[6] A sharp drop in incentive
had taken its toll.

The stresses within the school fell unequally upon Klamath
boys and girls. Athletic prowess and artistic ability—both often
conceived as racially innate and as masculine attributes—gave
the boys legitimate avenues to social approval. At puberty, however,
Klamath girls were often beginning to develop the physical
[142] massiveness that is so frequent in their racial constitution, but
[562] that at the same time is foreign to American ideals of beauty.
Some bore their lot with dignity and poise. Others courted a
fleeting favor through promiscuity or took out their resentments
in direct assault upon rivals or upon substitute figures. Direct
violence against whites occurred in the schools at about this age,
and most frequently involved girls. Still others sought alternatives
outside the school, dropping out entirely, going away to
vocational schools, or entering into early marriages.

*648 Indeed, for many of the tribal youth—boys as well as girls—
*657 confronted by a school experience that grew increasingly irrelevant
871 as they became older, it was merely a matter of "serving
563 time" until they gained release by attaining the age of eighteen.
582 Many Klamath tended to marry young, and there were incentives
peculiar to their position. For a girl striving to escape the pressures
and dissatisfactions of home life, the regimen of caring for
younger siblings, and the boredom and vexation of the school,
the importance and security of being a newlywed possessed a
[434] fairyland appeal. For the boy, the trust fund accumulated by
the Agency for each minor, amounting in some instances to
[429]

$10,000, constituted an inexhaustible treasure. Ordinarily, this 648*
was placed in his hands only when he had come of age, but with 657*
marriage he attained seniority at once, and it became his. 871

Many a young couple, then, sought a new life in the last few 563
years of high school in an elopement to Reno or Las Vegas. In 582
a week or so they returned to take up adult life; and thus to [434]
reconcile their hopes with the social realities of the reservation. [429] •
Although they would continue to maintain a degree of camara- [583]
derie with a few of their schoolmates, such intimacy as they had
known across ethnic boundaries was at an end. For the majority
of tribal members, their course and that of their white schoolmates increasingly diverged.

*648 *657 619 Bureau officials at times distorted or even suppressed data that reflected unfavorably upon the competence of the Klamath to fend for themselves. These elided data were swiftly discovered when the Termination Act had been passed and the Bureau faced the difficult task of treating individual tribal members. Though the programming of termination was handled capably at the local level, the original legislation was so defective that two major amendments, together with several lesser ones, were required to supplement and remedy it; and lawsuits, already mounted or threatened by tribal members, over alleged omission of rights from its provisions may stream in its wake for years.

The immediate consequence of termination for a major part of the Klamath people has been an exchange of private for federal trusteeship. A large number have chosen to forego any [434] further common management of their assets. A number of adults, [429] both among remaining members and those who withdrew, were placed under guardianship or involuntary trusteeships as having demonstrated incompetence to handle their own affairs. Among adults, they comprised 14.4 per cent of those living on the reservation and 12.7 per cent of absentee members. Since that time, a substantial but undetermined number of individuals not under personal trust have exhausted the funds they received, and some have turned to kinsmen for assistance. The large body of minors, both on and off the reservation was placed under trust. By the terms of a recent court ruling, upon reaching majority they are to receive their funds without further demonstration of competence.

In all, no less than 48.9 per cent of the tribal membership were deemed to require protection under provisions of the Termination Act, while an additional 13.6 per cent, deemed competent, elected to remain under the group trust operated by the United States National Bank. Another 18.3 per cent were absentee members, of whom only a very few, with allotments or other assets in trust or restricted status, were subjected to federal supervision. It was the remaining 15.1 per cent of the membership (the deceased have not been figured in), constituting persons dwelling on the reservation who elected to withdraw, that correspond to the legislative image of the deprived yet competent Indian.

[429] [434] The slight character of the change with reference to those

under personal trust or guardianship is indicated by the "state- 648* ment of principles" contained in the agreement between the 657* Secretary of the Interior and the banks that administer the 619 private trusts. This stipulates that the beneficiary is to be en- 429 • 434 couraged and assisted in obtaining a satisfactory education and is to be aided in gaining employment or engaging in other business activity. As the trust officers of those banks were soon to discover, the banks have assumed a role which closely resembles that previously exercised by the government.

A similar effect may be seen in the relations of the remaining Klamath to the U.S. National Bank, which as trustee administered their undivided assets, including a segment of the former tribal timber. An executive committee continues to represent them in their dealings with the bank, but it is accorded only nominal consultation in the conduct of the trust. Bank officials clearly consider their primary obligation to lie with the prudent administration of the estate. Similarly, while willing to employ Klamath [464] in minor positions, the bank has found most of them unsatisfactory. Tribal members insinuate that the bank is [illegible] contracts for farm work to whites to whom it has made [illegible]. In brief, antipathies formerly vented against the Bureau are now directed against the bank.

In this manner, the reservation, the Agency rule, and the 648* Klamath Tribe have come to an end together. 657* 619

[P. 256 is blank]

If we look for elements peculiarly Klamath, they are difficult to find. At best there is only the regularity with which seances occur at midwinter, and even here we do not know with certainty that this does not occur elsewhere. Further, if we feel that this regularity is due to recurrent possession, this merges with general Northwest Coast practice, and its uniqueness disappears. The peculiarity of the Klamath complex, then, rests only in the specific combination of widely distributed elements that they have effected, a combination known nowhere else in exactly this form. 171* 756

THE MARRIAGE COMPLEX

Social relations among the Klamath, even more than the shamanistic practices, are clearly explicable as a function of their geographic position. They are most clearly crystallized in the matters of chieftainship, slaveholding, concepts of wealth, and the relative social standing of shaman and chief, but especially in their marital relations. Household and village groupings, puberty rites and analogous customs, have much less definite or peculiar form among them. For this reason, the discussion which follows will be confined largely to the earlier group of topics. As the most complex situation is that surrounding marriage, I will analyze this first. 105

While marriage among the Klamath is contracted by purchase, it is not a negotiated transaction. Payment is socially obligatory. It is a seal of respectability and in a rough way the amount changing hands is a measure of the social pretensions of the families involved. Hence clandestine matches are severely frowned on. No obligation may be assumed for which payment is not forthcoming. Yet such payment does not fix the status nor the value of an individual with any precision. For example, the purchase price of a murdered man's mother or that of his bride never enters consciously in assessing his blood price. Failure to pay for a bride is a blot not easily erased. 583 [554]

It must be remembered that the reciprocal gifts from the bride's family frequently outweigh the purchase price. Further, the bride is in no sense a chattel, but free to leave her husband at will, he having but slight recourse to recover his gifts. Nor is a wife obligated to bear children to her husband, nor does their birth cancel the marriage debt. In adultery it is clear that a man has no eye to the monetary value of his wife's affections. He kills the lover; to take payment is unthinkable. It does not appear that a marriage brings about a con- 583 431 581 837 000

Marriage Visits

*171 585 431 One of the most characteristic features of marriage in the northwest was a series of reciprocal visits. These visits were more or less formally prescribed as to number and were always the occasion for making gifts in fulfillment of the contract obligations. For the more northerly groups, they were avowedly potlatches. The peripheral groups, who did not participate in the potlatch system, had at least some approximation in the marriage ceremony. To be sure, visiting back and forth carrying gifts after marriage was the habit of the Californians at large, as well as others. The peculiarity of this series is, however, that the visits were more or less formally prescribed and stereotyped as to time and conduct.

Their number among the Kwakiutl is not described; it may not have been fixed. But it is clear that the father-in-law visited the groom's people on several occasions to return an equivalent of their payments and to deliver the privileges, honors, etc., due them. This was by their own account potlatching; indeed the emphasis is so much on this aspect that a fiction might be substituted for an actual marriage. The return of the property was several-fold; the groom distributed the articles among his followers who had previously lent him the amount needed to make the purchase, and so the property was once more started on an interest-bearing round.

Klallam marriage was just as clearly a potlatch. "After six months or a year the bride's family visits the groom's relatives, bringing food and gifts. They are expected to bring at least as much as the groom's people brought to the wedding. Generally they try to bring a little more."[587] We may presume the distribution of these in regular potlatch fashion. As potlatching is also the custom of other western Washington tribes, we may assume that it also appears in their marriage settlements. It is true that we are told that those of Puget sound were not potlatches, but they do not differ one whit from the Klallam case.[588] Further, after the exchange of gifts the parents of the couple loaned each other property, expecting to get it back some time. The reciprocating visit of the bride's parents took place a few weeks or months after the marriage.

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[587] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 244.

[588] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 35. Both authors, who had little experience with Northwest Coast culture, clearly misunderstood the implications of their information. What may have been meant was that this was not a potlatch for the sole purpose of getting a return.

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Whether the Chinook had an extended series of visits I do not know, but there is the same formal appearance of a gift-bearing messenger of the groom and the reciprocating visit of the bride's party conducting the bride to her new home. Boas' informant set their gifts at slightly less than the bride price, but Franchère would have it that even more was repaid, depending on the means and munificence of the bride's parents. The Wishram case was just as clearly one of potlatching; that is, the gifts must be reciprocated in superior amount else her parents lost caste; they were given with a lavish hand through the medium of a spokesman, participants were paid for their services, and the goods distributed among the members of the parties. The visits ran in this fashion: a messenger conveyed the groom's gifts, the groom's party proceeded to the bride's home where they were feasted, they distributed their further gifts and were recipients in turn. The same form was followed in transferring these later gifts. After matrilocal residence of a few weeks, a series of reciprocal visits began which ended in permanent residence among the man's people. Two visits apiece terminated the affair.

From this point southward we do not seem to be dealing with the same affair, rivalry in lavish giving, although the series of visits persists. The Klamath also sent an emissary, the bride's party appeared at the groom's house, and the exchange followed. After a month the couple, with the groom's relatives, proceeded to the bride's former home, when an exchange again took place. Soon after the bride's relatives repeated their visit. Beyond this point visiting in this fashion was not fixed but occurred as an expression of mutual solicitude. The Shasta procedure was much curtailed in contrast. The girl was taken to the groom immediately after her puberty ceremony. Some time later her relatives visited to exchange gifts; after several months they were recipients in turn. Below this on the Klamath river postmarital visiting did not appear as a fixed form. Something of the sort appears among the Huchnom. The kinsmen of the groom carried gifts to the bride's home, where the groom then stayed. "The return of the husband to his own people was made the occasion of gifts of food and beads to the pair, which they gave to the wife's parents, besides entertaining their kin. A return visit to the wife's people followed, after which the couple usually founded their own home. This was always among the group or in the town of the wife."[666] Precisely the same visits are noted for the Pomo, and in addition the procedure was repeated several times, particularly if the couple's original homes had

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[666] Kroeber, Handbook, 211.

*171 been at a distance. This sort of formal visiting did not occur to the
585 southward so far as I know.

To return to Oregon, the Tillamook sent a messenger who brought
431 back an equivalent gift. A week later the groom's party went to make the purchase, when they also received gifts. "Once every month this exchange of visits was repeated."[540] Something of the sort held among the Takelma, for the son-in-law was obligated to visit his parents-in-law with presents from time to time.

We must not believe that the potlatch sentiment was entirely extinguished in this direction. Farrand was impressed by the Alsea practice as suggesting "in certain ways the potlatch system of Vancouver island, for there was an apparent effort on the side of each family party to the contract to keep the other family in debt to it."[541] Coastal Oregon seems to be the limit to which such sentiment extended; it was certainly not the thought of the Klamath or the Californians.

In the direction of the Plains, potlatching did not appear unless we so construe the fact that among the Nez Percé the gifts made by the bride's people were somewhat greater than the groom's. The visits of these people consisted in conducting the bride to the groom's home, with a return visit a month later. Crow and Hidatsa knew nothing of this formal visiting. The Assiniboin procedure however resembled that to the northwest. A messenger was dispatched with purchase presents, the girl's party went to the groom, and soon after the groom's people returned the visit.

It thus appears that the marriage ceremonial partook of the nature of a potlatch in the northwest, but that beyond the Columbia river the practise had dwindled to an attenuated copy of the potlatch visiting without its sentiment of rivalry.

One further point in this connection should be noted. The first gift-bearing party is sometimes the groom's, sometimes the bride's; the distribution of the practice is not random. Among the Kwakiutl, Klallam, Puget sound tribes, and Wishram, it is the groom's party who go to the bride. Among the Chinook, Klamath, Shasta, Hupa, Yurok, Nez Percé, and significantly the Assiniboin, the bride's party first approaches the groom's group. The data on the Tillamook are not clear and for others wanting. Huchnom and Pomo, Crow and Hidatsa, conform to the generality of Californian and Plains practices in that the groom carries his gifts to the bride's parents.

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[540] Boas, Notes on the Tillamook, 7.

[541] Farrand, Notes on the Alsea, 243.

*171 591 ern, and the foothill groups), Eastern and Northern Pomo. Thereafter it was not of necessity patrilocal, for residence might be continued with the woman's unit. Outright matrilocal habits appeared among the Sacramento Valley Maidu (although the majority of marriages were there patrilocal from the outset), Huchnom, and Yokuts. Southern California was again an area of patrilocal habits. Great Basin practice conformed with that of north central California; temporary matrilocal residence for Paviotso, Southern Paiute (?), Uintah Ute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni. Northern Plains tribes were generally patrilocal: Crow, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin. Matrilocal residence as well occurred among the last two. Hidatsa indulge in temporary matrilocal residence, after which there is no fixed rule.

Summary

*171 554 556 We may now review the data detailed above. Sharply crystallized distinctions of rank and the importance of wealth in establishing them, wealth itself assuming real proportions, center in this area in the Kwakiutl and other northern tribes. Similar caste distinctions are traceable southward on the coast to the Alsea and Coos, and eastward not beyond the Wishram. Social distinctions based on wealth to the almost complete exclusion of other factors extend beyond these limits; in attenuated form to the Sinkyone and Yuki and perhaps beyond to the south, to the Klamath and Shasta, to the Middle Columbia Salish of eastern Washington. *171 583 • 431 Marriage by purchase had an even more extended distribution; from the same center it is traceable southward perhaps to Huchnom and Pomo, to the Southern Maidu, and eastward into the northern Plains, if my interpretation of the Crow, Assiniboin, and Hidatsa cases is justified. In the northwestern portions of this territory marriage by purchase is a function of the caste-wealth system; in the outlying regions, as among the Maidu on the one side and Nez Percé, Crow, etc., on the east, it would seem that we witness the spread of the purchase factor with little of these underlying concepts. It must be borne in mind that nowhere in this area are the marriage payments justly described as purchase; there is always a reciprocation of the gift. The express point is that marriage is contracted only by the making of such gifts.

*171 583 556 Wealth was very real, huge in quantity, north of the Columbia, and a correspondingly high value set for a marriage settlement, at least among the upper classes. Valuables and marriage values dwin-

dle beyond this limit, with a notable recrudescence of the latter on the 171 *
lower Klamath river. Part of the mechanism of its exchange in 583
marriage was a series of reciprocal visits, of potlatch character south- 556
ward to the Columbia, a more formal practice beyond.

Among the concepts underlying the practice of bride purchase 171 *
was the sense of mutual obligations of the contractants' families.
This was avowed by the coastal tribes from British Columbia to
northern California. It assumed the express forms of compulsory
levirate and sororate and of the right to children. Further, the families were obligated to restore the marriage settlements if the marriage
terminated unfortunately. The man's financial interest in the wife he [837]
had bought was evidenced by his ability to mulct damages from an
adulterer or one even thought to be such.

The exogamy which appears in this area was not the prohibition 171 *
of marrying within the community, but an exogamy of practice. To
maintain caste, marriage must of necessity have frequently been with 582
persons of the same rank and wealth outside the village or tribe. 554
This was undoubtedly more the circumstance in the upper strata of society. It is obvious then that the distribution of this practice coincides closely with that of sharp distinctions of caste and wealth. Beyond those tribes whose attitudes may be so characterized, there was a fringe of peoples who had taken over the custom without its antecedents. Such local exogamy has been noted as far southward as the Hupa, the Sacramento Valley Maidu, and as far eastward as the Nez Percé.

The habits of postnuptial residence seem to correspond closely 171 *
with the sense of purchase. It was patrilocal, the bride being taken
at once to her husband, in the coastal area southward to northern 591
California. Some variability does indeed appear but this seems no more than the common circumstance of residence according to preference. The Wishram instance of regular temporary matrilocal residence is an anomaly.

The position of the Klamath with respect to this northwestern 171 *
marriage complex was that of a distinctly marginal group. Pur-
chase to maintain social standing was present but the values not fixed; 583
the actual amount changing hands, relatively small. A series of for- 431 •
mal gift-bearing visits was prescribed, in which the bride's family returned more than they received, but there was no intentional rivalry in giving. The first visit was that of conducting the bride to the
groom as among all the southerly peoples. Residence was patrilocal 171 *
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33. A Childhood Incident
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) When I was small, I always wanted to whirl around. (2) So I whirled around. (3) Then my mother said, "Don't do that! (4) You will get hurt!" (5) Then I whirled around, not minding. (6) So I then fell upon my stomach on a sharp place like this here. (7) Now I got hurt. (8) Then she spanked me with a piece of wood.

34. Marriage Customs
(Mr. Robert David)

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(1) I do not know it awfully well. (2) It was such a long time ago. (3) However, I heard thus, [that] these people long ago, when they liked each other thus, then they told their mother and their father too thus, "I want that girl," that man said. (4) "I want that woman." (5) And they asked, "Does she, then, want you? (6) Does she then want you, that girl?" they asked that man about that woman, his parents. (7) And he said, "Yes, she wants me," he said. (8) "Yes," they said, "Let us get ready." (9) They said, "We will get ready, and on this day we will gather together. (10) Now [you] will get her," they said.

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(11) Now then they came [the groom and his parents are denoted by the verb]. (12) That man's people from this side will come—all the relatives. (13) And those from that side will do the same thing, her fathers [i.e., parents?], whatever they might be, the same sort of relatives of the girl. (14) And now they give [gifts] to each other the same way. (15) And those from that side give [gifts] to the groom. (16) All sorts of things that they have, even very valuable [things], they even did thus with horses long ago. (17) They used to give each other even many horses, if they had horses. (18) These horses have been here for a long time, among the Indians. (19) And they did thus, at that time.

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(20) Then when they had finished doing thus, now being pleased they did thus—now they made it tight [i.e., concluded the marriage agreement], having done thus. (21) On both sides they told [the couple], "Live as long as you will live, together. (22) You will be one now," they said. (23) Now they said, "Even however difficult [it might be], you will always

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

(83) And did anybody tell this one the myth from over there, that is a good myth. (84) It is [about] Crater Lake. 539* 124

(85) PO: Probably no one. (86) I do not know it.

(87) AC: Yes, it is a very good myth [about] over there. (88) They told me something thus, that it was a very, very good myth. (89) However, [I] don't know it, because these [meaning her wits] are gone, being old. (Interruption.)

(90) AC: Thus he asked me, how they lived long ago.

(91) PO: Could you tell it?

(92) AC: Now he has stopped it [i.e., the machine].

(93) PO: Now he has done something—started it up again. (94) Now you can begin to tell, if you wish, anything at all. (95) Whatever you remember, tell that. (96) Now I have told it to you, and he will put it on there [i.e., on the tape]. (97) Now it is—something?—going—now it is revolving.

539* 124 173 [431]

(98) AC: People were good, we Indians a long time ago. (99) We were good people. (100) And I have told my—we were good people long ago. (101) We took even a little bit of food [i.e., all we had] for [someone]. (102) And, even though there was no food here, then we took for [somebody], something. (103) And it was this. (104) And doing it thus it is called "They even divide up a flea." (105) Thus was the Indians' way. (106) Thus they used to call it. (108) To someone, even a little bit of food they took there. (109) Yes, for another, and they gave some food, even [though it was] from a small amount, even if there was no food, just being very sympathetic at that time. (110) Living with a great struggle [lit. "having become very tired"], they got food. (111) Yes, even old ladies like these went off to dig roots. (112) They slung [a basket] of this kind on their shoulders, and even the weak, now they knew that there would be nothing to eat in the winter. (113) And because of that, they buried some food.

[222] [251]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 165]

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(114) PO: Yes, he wants you to tell that kind of thing, how they did things, to get food.

(115) AC: So we used to live this way. (116) These people used to live thus, now have [they] become different. (117) Truly they have become different.

(118) PO: [They] have become white people.

(119) AC: Yes, become different. (120) So they buy anything, they buy anything whatsoever. (121) Long ago they did not do thus. (122) They gave, they gave even a small amount of *food*. (123) Yes, dividing it thus, just like dividing it. (124) They lived thus long ago, helping each other, helping each other very much. (125) Now they do not do thus. (126) [One] will grasp only for money. (127) We eat only by buying. (128) Here they fish, but now only by buying do we swallow any fish. [431]

(129) PO: Long ago they did not do thus.

(130) AC: Not thus. Helping each other very much they lived. (131) And long ago it was good, because it was thus, as I have told this one. (132) Now there is nothing. (133) Now there is no fun. (134) And [I] knew long ago, it was good, much to laugh at, something, everything to laugh at, everything. (135) There at the [Fourth of] July place Father raced them, having taken all his clothes off, only wearing his drawers. (136) And all those Paiutes doing this—now they having gone there, then they ran off and left my *father* behind. (137) Then they roared with laughter, "?i···!" (138) Then that woman who used to be (Proper name's) wife became angry at them, because she said they were making fun. (139) Yes, they made fun. (140) "You [pl.] old people are making fun, but he is young," thus she spoke. (141) And they said, "Haja···! ya··· dwa·!" they said. (142) They did not talk nicely. (143) "He is not young. (144) He is old," thus said those Paiute women. (145) Then she got angry at them. (146) And thus it was long ago, many things to laugh at, many good things, various things [were] fun. (147) Today everything is quiet. (148) Now there is no poking fun about anything. [526]

(149) PO: I told this one thus, [once] when they got together, three, or even two, then they said, "Do you know when someone [i.e., a certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 167]

hay for his own [cattle]."[50] The practice of contract grazing on 648*
tribal land was also continued, though with scanty returns.[51] 657*

Leasing brought regulatory headaches. Trespass could less 563
easily be controlled. Some stockmen who rented land from the 427
Indians turned in more cattle than the pasture could sustain, [311]
while keeping the fences in such disrepair that the cattle drifted
onto the unfenced lands of neighboring allotments.[52] In consequence, [625]
the meager band of reservation police had to be diverted
to the task of enforcing the grazing rules. The Superintendent [675]
was obliged to see that all contracts were made through
his office. When disputes arose, he was often forced to intervene
and even at times to threaten a lawsuit in order to collect on
behalf of an Indian. Meanwhile, some lessees were themselves
fencing the lands in lieu of part of the lease, so that many Indians
were no longer compelled to put in any work in order to receive
returns from their property.[53] By 1903, even unfenced allotments
were being leased. In that year payments from leases [434]
comprised thirty per cent of estimated personal income, providing
$8,220 distributed among some ninety to one hundred allottees.[54]

By 1908, a large number of Indians were entrusted with the 648*
"experiment" of managing their own allotments, including the 657*
hiring of necessary labor and leasing their tracts for a term not 423
to exceed the legal limit. The narrow discretion afforded, however, 427
is seen from the provision that "the leases that you are to
draw this year will be drawn for you in this office," although the
Indian was to collect his own rental. Fifty-eight Indians were
empowered at once to handle their allotments and apparently
those of their children as well, upon these cautious terms.[55]

Leasing had scarcely gotten under way when a movement for 648*
the sale of lands began. The act had originally envisaged a trust 657*
period of twenty-five years, to be extended at the discretion of 423
the President, during which time the United States retained title to 432 •
the land. For many individuals, allotted just prior to 1910, that
period—although subsequently extended—was to expire in 1935.
However, amendments provided for sale under proper supervision
when circumstances required, and by 1912 five sales had
been consummated, all involving heirship cases.[56]

When an allottee died, his land passed to his heirs—by the 648*
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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 terms of his will if he had made one and in accordance with state
*657 law if he had not. Many tracts thus passed into multiple owner-
423 ship. In the period, 1917-21, for example, 13 out of 32 wills were
428 of this character; and when the allottee died intestate his real
property, almost inevitably, fell to more than one heir. When a person with an inherited interest in an allotment died, his heirs in turn acquired appropriate shares.[57]

The task of ascertaining the rightful heirs was frequently formidable. In 1913, with the death of some of the original allottees, there were already 170 such cases,[58] and despite additions to the Agency staff to handle the load, there was always a considerable backlog of cases awaiting judgment. In 1918 the number of cases up for review was still in excess of 50, and in some instances, with the original allottees dead for twenty years, the heirs were yet to be decided. As Superintendent Walter G. West observed, the allotments constituted a divisive element in Indian relations. "They have many differences among themselves," he noted, "due largely to the indefinite and undefined rights of many of them with respect to inherited interests and interests in perpetuated lands which have been selected for allotments."[59]

Since the multiple owners of an inherited allotment frequently failed to agree as to its use, the tract often became a "dead
• [432] allotment" which did not produce anything. The government at
first tried leasing such lands, but came gradually to consent to their sale, reasoning that otherwise the land went to waste. The sales were not permitted, however, until all tribal members had been allotted and had received their trust patents.[60]

*648 Trust patents had scarcely been issued before individuals be-
*657 gan to press to have them converted into patents in fee simple.
423 Up to 1913, under amendments of the act, giving the Secretary
432 of the Interior discretionary power to grant a fee patent to an
allottee judged competent, 5 patents in fee had been awarded upon original allotments and one on inherited land.[61] Four years later, it was reported that 35 to 40 patents in fee had recently been issued without going through a competency committee. More than half of the land patented had already been sold.[62]

By 1924, matters had become progressively worse. Practically all the Indians who had received fee patents had sold or mort-

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gaged them, and many were reported to be hopelessly involved 657*
in debts. Despite all administrative efforts to the contrary, re- 423
ported Superintendent Fred A. Baker, whites were acquiring title 432 •
to Klamath lands at a rate which he estimated would render the [563]
Indians homeless in twenty-five years.[63]

Since that time the pressure on the remaining allotted lands has been unremitting. Of 1,624 allotments issued totaling 247,515 acres, there remained in trust status as of August 13, 1954, the date when the Termination Act became law, only 1,130 allotments or fractions thereof, amounting to 133,000 acres. Three years later, 371 additional tracts had been sold at owners' requests, 107 had been fee patented, and restrictions had been removed from 20. The 630 tracts remaining by October 1, 1957, comprised but 73,681 acres.[64]

Along with income from leasing and sale of allotments came 648*
that from claims payments. By the terms of the McLaughlin 657*
Agreement of 1901, the Indians were to receive $537,007.20 in 423
payment for excluded lands. Of this, $25,000 was to be issued in 432
per capitas within 150 days from ratification and an additional 427
$350,000 was to be deposited to the tribal credit in the U.S. 434
Treasury, the interest at five per cent annually to be issued in 651
yearly per capita payments. The remaining sum, after payment of attorney fees, was to be utilized for drainage and irrigation of allotments on a pro rata basis, with issuance-in-lieu of stock cattle or other articles to those not so benefited.[65]

Amounts thus received were small. Payment of the $25,000 648*
was made in 1907, each individual receiving approximately 657*
$22.00—no princely sum. The annual interest produced per 434
capita payments of approximately $15.00; but a provision that by a petition of the men of the Tribe the amount might be increased to ten per cent of the principal fund led to its successive diminution. As early as 1909, a petition was submitted for this payment,[66] and Charles S. Hood took the lead in enquiring of the Secretary of the Interior whether parents were empowered to withdraw the money due their children.[67] The move seems to have been denied. Stringent regulations, however, were established by the Secretary to govern eligibility to receive a share of the trust funds. These related to improvement of allotments, self-support, moral character and controlled use of liquor, and

*648 capitas that far exceeded those previously received from tribal
*657 funds, the incentives of ranching declined. Vainly did C. H.
434 Asbury claim that the new giant was no more than a "temporary
313 industry" that would serve to finance stock raising.[80] When a
*648 special appropriation in 1919 permitted a large number of cattle
*657 to be issued to the Indians, many of them were promptly sold
434 for cash.[81] By 1922 the livestock industry was proclaimed "al-
231 most bankrupt," and the error was acknowledged of having
423 broadcast the cattle issues without recognizing that not everyone
• 432 had either the inclination or the ability for ranching. By then,
allottees had disposed of valuable haylands and grazing tracts in Sycan Marsh, the valleys of the Williamson, Sprague, and Wood rivers, and at Modoc Point. Klamath Marsh tracts were soon to follow.[82] Wrote Superintendent L. D. Arnold in 1926:

> I have been advised by a number of men who have lived among these Indians for many years that at one time they were very progressive and were engaged successfully in the stock business. Practically all of the Indians at that time lived on their allotments, did considerable farming, harvested many thousands of tons of hay, and owned many thousand head of cattle. They were industrious and were considered capable of handling stock in an efficient manner. During recent years there has been a general decline industrially among them. They have sold their cattle; they have left their allotments; many of them are now not engaged in any profitable work. As a matter of fact I do not believe that there are one thousand head of cattle owned by Indians on this reservation at the present time. Last year the most prominent Indian stockman sold almost his entire herd for about $35,000—the last of the Indians who were formerly quite prosperous.[83]

With the sale of their haylands, the source of their winter feed, the Indians were relinquishing "the very foundation of the stock industry." The older Indians, the mainstay of the industry, had for the most part disposed of their stock and lands, while their juniors showed no inclination for ranching. Arnold did not foresee an encouraging future.[84] The issuance of drought cattle in 1935 was an unavailing attempt to revive the industry.[85]

*648 The fate of irrigation farming is typical in many ways of several
*657 Agency programs. As early as 1884, Nickerson had advocated
312 constructing an irrigation ditch to water some 4,000 acres and
653 provide support for a settlement of 80 to 100 Indian families.[86]

the project should be abandoned entirely and the loss charged 648*
to the Tribe.[93] 657*

It is unnecessary to enter into the later history of the Modoc 312
Point project, which made it a subject of interest at several 653
Congressional hearings and a point of contention even into post-termination
days, for the basic issues have remained the same. A
number of Indians owning land within the project in the course
of time sold their lands, just as most of those Indians owning
lands served by the Sand Creek project had soon sold out to
white farmers.[94]

The failure of the Modoc Point project can be attributed in
part to the very real engineering difficulties in maintaining a
canal system through a pumice region, feeding from a stream
(the Sprague) in multiple use. More than this, however, was
involved. There was the expertism of the Agency and Bureau,
confusing the technical knowledge about construction and
maintenance of such a system with the decision to build it. On
the one hand the administrative staff was reluctant to entrust
the decision to the Indians; on the other, the Indians did not
provide a responsible leadership interested in developing such
a program. The enterprise once launched therefore carried responsibility
on only one side. There was no effort to enlist tribal
support through involvement of tribal members in the fundamental
decisions; nor was there sufficient training of the farmers
to be affected in the special techniques entailed in irrigation.
Indians resented charges against the land and attempted to [241]
avoid them by continuing to cultivate the fields by dry farming.
Among the farmers, white and Indian, no effective organization
for water use developed. With income from timber available, [434]
the inexperienced farmer sought release from a situation for
which the rewards were not commensurate with the risks and [427]
the onus of subjection to Agency dictates. Leasing or sale of the [423]
lands in the end involve more than the realization of value from
property, which could otherwise only be secured by investment [432]
of labor. For the Indian, relinquishment of farming also freed
him from some of the surveillance and scrupulous regulation to
which he was subjected.

Plans that saw the Indian farming or ranching struck in the 648*
end upon the stubborn fact that he could frequently realize more, 657*
434

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 which would exploit the Indians' tribal lands without compen-
*657 sating them. Another stock reason is that given in 1915 by Supt.
423 William B. Freer. Reporting that "a sentiment has arisen lately
563 against the continued use of the tribal lands by outsiders," crys-
427 tallizing in action by the tribal council, he nonetheless advocated
• [432] maintaining the practice, to prevent wasting the grass.[117] By 1922,
relying increasingly upon timber per capitas, members had sold their grazing allotments; and by 1927 one white rancher had acquired 7,000 acres.[118]

*648 While there was a concommitant decline in Indian stock
*657 raising, those who continued depended more heavily upon tribal
423 grazing lands, to which their tribal membership gave them free
231 access.[119]

In his policy, the Superintendent stood at the vortex of con-
*648 tending interests. Some tribal members who no longer ran stock
*657 were eager to maximize the cash income by leasing out as much
423 land as possible to white ranchers. The latter, on their part, had
427 developed their herds in anticipation of continued utilization of
563 the reservation, and they favored any possible expansion of
311 leasing. It was in acknowledgment of their commitment that
Arnold favored continuing local leasing arrangements, rather than advertising the tribal ranges for general bidding.[120] Considerations of this sort, however, won him the opposition of even those Indians who preferred the leasing of the tribal domain. For tribal ranchers it was an indication that the Superintendent was in league with the white stockmen, and the charge recurred that the latter were overgrazing the range and crowding out the Indians. One tribal member, then taking the first steps toward his eventual success as a rancher, recalls today that as soon as he had improved the section of tribal range assigned to him the Superintendent leased it to whites.

Among tribal ranchers were a number of Indian women married to white men who, between them, owned the major part of the stock listed as Indian. "They always affirm," said Arnold, "that all the stock is owned by the Indian wife," and thus secured grazing on the tribal range.[121] At least one woman among them had also been party to the suits to secure allotments within the tribal timber lands.

Arnold insisted that the charges were groundless, that range

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

172 the eruption of Mount Mazama created Crater Lake and strewed
133 its pumice in thick beds over the countryside, some 6,500 years
ago, they had long been in occupation.[3]

K Here, with the passage of time, the peoples later to receive
M the names of Klamath and Modoc began to take on their present
101 way of life. Their cultural position was at once peripheral and
172 strategic, for they lay at the boundaries of the emergent cultural provinces of the Great Basin, the Plateau, and California, and though they stemmed fundamentally from the Great Basin, they were also subject to influences flowing from California and the Plateau. Consistent with their relative geographical position and ecological resources, the Modoc diverged toward California and the Klamath toward the Plateau; and when in turn the influences of the North Pacific Coast—extending from southern Alaska to northern California—reached them, it was again the Klamath who were somewhat more receptive. Despite their differences, the
K two peoples retained a substantial common base: they spoke
M dialects of the same language and felt their political separation
101 to have been a recent event.[4]
197

Indeed, the linguistic evidence is consonant with a long autochthonous development within this region. Klamath-Modoc finds its closest linguistic congeners within the Plateau, in Cayuse, Molala, and the northern Sahaptin Tenino, Klickitat, Yakima, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Nez Percé. Taken together, these languages are seen as more distantly related to others spoken in Western Oregon and in the Sacramento-San Joaquin drainage of California, and like them are assigned to the Penutian phylum.[5] (See Map of Tribal Distribution in Oregon.)

K For the Klamath, the dominant features of their landscape were
133 the marshes and streams, with their rich resources of fish, mussels,
226 and waterfowl. Their winter settlements, fringing the shores in
361 settled places, were located where fish could be caught most of
433 the year, clustered densely upon Klamath Marsh and the eastern shore of Agency and Upper Klamath lakes, extending down to Link River. They lay as well upon the Williamson River which runs in a bow some sixty miles, passing through the Marsh to
M empty into Upper Klamath Lake, and upon its eastern tributary,
133 the Sprague. In their more open country to the south, the Modoc
226 were less favored and less open to influences from fishing peoples,
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433

*648 the neighboring settlers were in part made up of men with
*657 Indian wives, and in part, too, of former employees of the
[464] Agency.[19] They were not always respectful of the dignity of the
Agent and frequently challenged his authority. At times, as in
the strife of the 1880's with the stockmen on the eastern border of
the reservation, the clashes assumed an almost warlike character.

177 Despite these preoccupations and deterrents, work somehow
• 433 proceeded. Not all Indians wanted the progress, with all its circumscriptions,
*657 that was gradually unfolded before them, and not
all who desired it were capable of achieving it. Nonetheless, the
lure of a farm and a herd of horses or cattle of one's own, to be
able to have a wagon and be a man of substance, to use the coffee,
sugar, salt, beef, flour, and baking soda that had become the new
necessities, to dress well: these opportunities, open only to a few
entrepreneurs in the old days of raid-and-trade, now became
available to any who would work hard and subject himself to
177 an alien discipline. It was just this regimen that whole generations
*657 of children were subjected to in the schools. In the main,
871 the program in the early period was a success. The reasons why
its success was no more than qualified are set forth below.

*648 The tasks the government set itself were manifold. The Indians
*657 of independent tribes and bands were to be confined within a
177 reservation and there brought into a single polity. Within twenty
years they were to be transformed into self-sufficient farmers and
their feet set upon a road marked by the use of "citizens' dress,"
of modern homes, preferably situated on individual farms, by
ability to speak English and even to read and write in that medium,
and the abandonment of their own faith for Christianity.
Annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs carry a
statistical summary for all reservations of the state of "civilization"
of the Indians, couched in these and similar terms. Narrative
reports of the Agents dwell time and again upon the inculcation
of proper aspirations, extending at times even to the
minutiae of observance. "During the last two or three years,"
states Linus M. Nickerson (1884) with satisfaction, "I have not
[764] known a burial when the coffin has not been covered with a good
quality of black cloth or velvet and where the trimmings have
not been equally good."[20]

FIVE

[P.57]

Economy

AGRICULTURE

657*

IT WAS FUNDAMENTAL TO OTHER PARTS OF THE PROGRAM OF 648*
planned change that the Indians cease to depend upon fishing, 433 •
gathering, and hunting, and that they turn instead to farming. In this way and only in this way, the administration believed, could they be tied to the land within reach of Agency influence. The experience would teach them the virtues of industry, and they would become self-supporting. At first, it was acknowledged, they would have to eke out the produce of their farms with the yield of the native food quest and the rations that formed part of the treaty annuities. In time, the success of farming would render unnecessary those supplements.

With this plan before them, the early Agents fell to with a 657*
will. In 1866, when Lindsay Applegate established the Agency, 177
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> . . .the little party. . .did not waste much time in beginning operations in their settlement. Two cabins were built, fields fenced, and a large vegetable garden planted, in all of which the Indians assisted to the extent of their ability, without compensation and evidently in a holiday spirit. A field of about thirty acres of bald barley, wheat, and oats was enclosed by a temporary fence in a day or two. The operation of the breaking plow was watched with great interest, and Chief Mosenkoskit of the Sprague River band insisted upon handling it himself. Unaccustomed to this kind of exercise, it was all the powerful sachem could do to maintain his balance as the oxen dragged the swaying plow through the heavy sod, but he was thrilled with a vision of the power of the plow and all it might mean to his people, and expressed himself as eager for the time when such work might go forward in his own beautiful Sprague River country. The Chief's enthusiasm for the plow is typical of the attitude of the whole tribe, toward the white man's civilization. It may perhaps be truthfully said that this enthusiasm too often expressed itself in

employees built a substantial bridge about 100 yards in length 657*
across the Williamson River, on which they propose to collect 177
toll. This will support several families."[55] Nothing more is heard 434
of the venture and subsequent work on bridges and roads took on [499]
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issued cinch rings and wove cinches as a means of support.[56]

Fur trapping provided an early source of income for some 657*
men.[57] At first, beaver, marten, and otter were especially sought, 177
and the available catch soon became depleted. By 1882, the 434
Klamath were turning to panther, bear, wolf, and coyote, preda- 224
tors which Nickerson claimed discouraged them from raising
sheep. "The Indians," he reported, "now hunt them for their
fur and receive quite an income from hunting and killing them."[58]
Carried on over the late fall and winter months, the fur trade
realized a total of $300.00 for those who followed it.[59] By 1891,
however, the revenue from trapping was on the decline.[60]

NATIVE FOODS

In the original designs of the government, farming and other 657*
"civilized" enterprises were supposed to supplant such ab- 648*
original pursuits as fishing, hunting, and gathering. From the 433 •
Agent's viewpoint, the retention of native subsistence methods
presented two major disadvantages. Not only did the traditional
occupations coincide in season with farming, but they drew the
Indians from under the direct surveillance of the Agency, and
even off the reservation. The issuance of rations, though designed
to provide a substitute during the transitional period, was restricted as much as possible, in order to allow more funds for
other purposes.

It is clear from the graphic descriptions of the early Agents 657*
that they were well aware of the Indians' strong reliance upon 648*
native foods. The fish in Lost River, observed Dyar, ran from 433
two to four weeks earlier than in the streams within the reserve. 226
By late winter even the supplies of rations had been exhausted,
and the Klamath eagerly awaited the news from the south. "If
the Indians are not allowed to go to Lost River in the Spring,"
O. C. Applegate had pointed out, "then they will have to be
subsisted during the month of March."[61] The Lost River fishery 657*
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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

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Agents shows that they consistently tended to undervalue the contribution made by native foods to the Klamath economy. From the first statistical entry in 1882, when they are estimated to contribute forty per cent of the food supply, native foods steadily decline in the records, leveling off from 1888 to 1893 at approximately twenty per cent, and, after a spirited fluctuation from then to 1901, rising slowly to ten per cent in 1904. That dependency upon these foods declined from total to partial reliance is admissible. O. C. Applegate, while Superintendent, reported that by the turn of the century some of the food resources had begun to dwindle under intensive use. He found the fish less abundant than in the halcyon days of the first Agent, and observed that both water fowl and prairie chickens had been overhunted.[71]

While conceding the decline, a critic may well find fault with the bland assessment of Elisha Applegate a decade earlier (1891) that native food quests were then "indulged in more as incidents and to add variety of life than as occupations to be seriously depended upon."[72] The year after Applegate made his report, one graduate of the Indian school, upon returning home, saw things in a different light. "Whenever I got job, I pitched hay. I did fishing and hunting, and I had plenty to eat all the time . . . lots of deer meat, and I used to pick wokas too."[73] If this was an indulgence, it was in sheer survival.

The sources of error are not hard to find. Administrators could form only the most general opinion of the contributions made by native foods, and must have tended to judge from the examples provided by Indian employees immediately at hand and from the more acculturated Indians. Moreover, their reports were in part designed to illustrate the progress which their charges had made away from their former customs. Accordingly, they understated the degree to which native economic activities conditioned the acceptance of new modes of earning a livelihood and supplemented those which had been taken up.

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Consider, by way of example, the pursuits which in the 1880's could be combined according to taste, need, and season.

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Lumbering and logging were winter and spring enterprises, with intermittent logging taking place in the fall. Labor for the contractor at the Fort and for settlers ran from spring through

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

657* 177 178

fall; while freighting, limited by road conditions, had the same range of seasons.

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For the farmer, splitting rails and fencing started in the winter and ranged toward spring, as did the clearing of ground. Plowing and sowing of grain might start in March, while vegetable gardens were not planted before May or June. Harvesting and haying took place in late summer and threshing in the fall.

433 [464] [489] [241]

The stockman rounded up and branded his cattle at first in the fall and later in the spring. He sold his beef in the fall, then drove his herd to winter in the upper valley of the Sprague.

[231]

Those who relied upon aboriginal foods fished in the late winter and early spring, dug roots or hunted antelope and mule deer in late spring, gathered wokas, wild fruits and berries in the fall, hunted in the Cascades in the fall, and trapped for furs in the winter.

657*

Beyond this lay the domestic cycle. Homes were built or repaired in the spring and fall, supplies were bought in the fall, and fuel was gathered in the fall and winter.

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This summary, bald as it is, will illustrate the fact that many more ventures were now open to the enterprising, as well as a wider range of relationships. It was possible to draw from several cycles activities that were seasonally compatible. Thus, when the harvests were in, fully one-half to two-thirds of the men might leave the reservation on passes to work for whites, taking their families with them.[74] Frequent crop failures drove many to seek outside employment to provide for the coming winter. Because new tastes had given rise to new needs, many at this time forsook those traditional pursuits that conflicted with more lucrative employment. Nor did money alone lie at the root of those preferences. Work for white settlers and freighting provided variety and seasonal mobility, opportunities to meet people, to change scenery, and to escape on occasion beyond the rule (however benevolent in intent) of the Agent.

313 657* 433 464 177 178

The new opportunities were open primarily to men, consonant with the roles of the sexes in nineteenth-century rural America. For them the new system, aside from a certain administrative favoritism, provided an equal chance for advancement. It is no accident that a number of the earliest employees of the Agency were Pit River Indians, of whom it was later said: ". . . as a

657* 433 177 178 [567]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*659 general thing, they are quite prosperous, and energetic, having
• 433 183 learned how to work well as slaves for the Klamaths."[75] One of
199 178 them, the Indian named Skedaddle, formerly the slave of Chief
569 Lilu, was first employed as farm laborer by the Agency.[76] During
the Modoc War he enlisted under the name Henry Jackson. In 1883, he reappears as an interpreter at Yainax, in which office he cut hay and cared for the Agency herd as well as butchering the beef cattle.[77] Subsequently, he contracted with white ranchers to split rails, taking half his pay in cash, half in cattle, eventually amassing a sizable herd, which multiplied until it amounted to some eight hundred head of cattle and five hundred head of horses and mules.[78]

ANNUITIES

*659 *648 It was Agency policy to develop the quality of industry and to ensure the growth of individual enterprise. From this standpoint, the annuity system, in providing rations, was a device to surmount agricultural failures, to carry the Indians through the winter, and to keep them settled quietly upon the reservation. At the same time, there was a danger, of which the Agents were soon aware, that such issues would sap the self-reliance of their charges. As early as 1865 when Lindsay Applegate took over their supervision, he found that, though the Klamath and Yahuskin were well enough supplied with native foods to sustain them through the winter, it was necessary to quiet "their loud clamorings for flour." Accordingly he "made some moderate issues to the chiefs and, through them, to some of their subjects who seemed rather needy." The issue, it would seem, was sought as a right and as an exemplification of the good faith of the government, for he adds, "I became convinced at this time of a growing disaffection among the Indians, on account of the tardiness of the government in fulfilling treaty stipulations."[79]

Discontent was compounded by the suspicion, possibly inspired by unofficial advisors among the whites, that inferior goods were being palmed off in the annuities.

> I was approached today [recounted Captain Sprague to Applegate in 1867] by a Sub-Chief who requested me in the name of all Sub Chiefs to be present at the distribution, and in case the goods distributed were not of good quality and deficient in quantity to note the fact and represent to the authorities at

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Comparison with the record of white performances places the 648* tribal picture in perspective. In Beatty, six out of seven white 657* househeads were employed. A sample taken in 1950 including 464 almost every white household in Chiloquin showed that all the 162 men save those who were ill or retired were gainfully employed, 171 and that in thirty-seven per cent of the households wives or junior members also held jobs.

By this token, the Klamath had come to occupy a marginal 648* position as economic producers. That this had not always been 657* true is shown by the record of those who in the early days of 464 Chiloquin had tried their hand at business; and several continued 431 to maintain themselves by ranching or business. The large majority of the men, however, were content to labor seasonally as unskilled farmhands. The undependability of some workers had generated an adverse reputation among potential employers for the Klamath as a whole. The industrious Klamath came to be viewed as exceptional.

Thus, even on their own reservation, the Klamath stood beneath the shadow of economic structures dominated by whites. This condition was, of course, true for the reservation as a unit; for distant interests dictated that it should be devoted to the production of lumber, beef, power, and to communications. Within the several communities the major enterprises were also controlled by whites. To be sure, there were checks upon the ruthless exercise of economic power. Local awareness of inter- [623] dependence, the intimate acquaintance developed in the daily life of a small community, and the knowledge that the tribal council controlled the fate of timber contracts upon which the community depended: all these served to temper purely economic decisions. The exercise of a credit system by storekeepers [452] in the face of lower prices in Klamath Falls, the good faith they expected of their customers, and the occasional need for hired hands by ranchers, were equally conducive to restraint.

Klamath families who chose to farm were often similar to their [241] white counterparts in the concentration which they devoted to their farming; and they often exchanged labor or equipment with white neighbors. There were few successful farmers among tribal members, perhaps no more than a dozen in all. By contrast, [233] there were those in the countryside who chose to follow other time-honored values than industry, giving precedence to per-

*648

*657 missiveness. Their ranches often took on the appearance of rural
464 slums, and were the scenes of drinking parties and brawls.
433 Economically profitable or not, ranching constituted the most
233 common occupation for those who were employed. It offered
special advantages. The land was usually an inherited allotment and, together with cattle and improvements, was often nontaxable. Outdoor work with livestock was a familiar activity; it permitted considerable latitude to the farmer in adjusting his routine. There was space to live.

*648 Whether dwelling in town or on a ranch, tribal members
*657 continued to seek native foods; but these activities had come to
433 occupy a different place in their lives. Men of all ages still fished
22 and hunted; many families still gathered huckleberries; and
elderly women at least continued to dig for the succulent roots
262 of ipos and camas and to gather wokas. The latter foods, how-
177 ever, were sought as cherished delicacies, now rare; while
178 journeys to the berry fields assumed the character of an outing.
Much of the fishing had acquired a strongly sportive aspect and was carried on by angling. Only the spearing of mullet during the spring runs and the hunting of deer and waterfowl seriously served food demands. The larger game animals, which had figured in only a small way in Klamath diet and played a more important role among the Modoc, had become abundant upon the reservation as ranchers killed off predators. Tribal members often hunted them from a car or spotlighted them at night. Waterfowl were often shot as they sat upon the water. Fifteen deer would see a household through the year; and a number of Klamath families met all their meat requirements by hunting and fishing, being content to buy an occasional cut in town to add variety to their diet.

*648 "Meat hunting" thus continued to ignore sportive conventions,
*657 although fishing had in part given way to them. At the same
224 time, individual Klamath were wont to play with those conven-
tions by entering contests for the biggest buck or rainbow; and
226 they delighted in underscoring white failures to abide by their
181 own standards of sportsmanship. For the Klamath, hunting and
fishing possessed particular virtue as an attribute of an Indian estate. The ability to pursue fish and game without regard to season was a signal right cherished by the Indians and valued

PART TWO: ETHNOGRAPHIC TEXTS

Introductory Note to Text 22

"Wokas" is the generic term for the seed of the common pond lily (Nymphaea polysepala). In the old days much of the Klamath Marsh (estimated by some early writers at about 10,000 acres) was covered with these plants, and there were long, shallow bays filled with them on both sides of Klamath Lake. Much of Klamath economic life was concerned with the gathering, preparation, and cooking of this plant. 824 [133] [433]

It is not proposed here to give a complete description of the various processes involved in "wokas"-manufacture. Good explanations of this economic complex will be found in Coville,[69] Gatschet,[70] and Spier.[71] The following text (and the two shorter ones by Mrs. Pompey which come after it) are intended only to illustrate Klamath narrative style and to indicate those features of "wokas"-making which were salient in the view of the informants. 252 [114] [128]

22. Wokas Preparation

(Mrs. Aggie Butler) 539* 222

(1) Long ago the Indians used to gather wokas, with a canoe. (2) And standing up on it they gathered wokas. (3) They bent down to pull them off, that wokas. (4) And they pulled off only the good ones, and some were unripe. (5) And having punctured it [with a fingernail] they saw [whether it was ripe or not]. (6) And they picked the yellow ones. (7) On becoming ripe it looks good, big. (8) And having picked those only, they threw them on the canoe and went. (9) And some were termed "snonťapĺaqs." (10) And one was called "sbokẃas." (11) It was ripe. (12) And they put them down [in the canoe] apart. 501

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[69] Coville, Frederick V., "Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians," Report of the United States National Museum for 1902, pp. 727-739, Washington, 1904. [113]

[70] Gatschet, op. cit.

[71] Spier, Leslie, "Klamath Ethnography," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, Berkeley, 1930. [113]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 129]

*657 the Agency, packing it home on ponies. Some brought back as
177 much as two thousand to three thousand pounds.[46]

489 This feat convinced Dyar of the practicability of hiring the In-
[439] dians to pack the annuity wheat from the Rogue River Valley for grinding into flour at the Agency grist mill.[47] In 1875, accompanied by two employees, they transported 100,000 pounds of flour from Ashland at a considerable saving "beside the experience acquired . . . and the confidence given them in their ability to accomplish what they undertake.[48] Under Dyar's urging and their own needs they requested that their annuities be changed from the " 'little things' (tenas ictas) as they term the blankets, clothing, etc. which they have heretofore recd." to mules and cattle. "The mule," observed Dyar, "is particularly adapted to the ways and use of the Indians in their efforts at farming, teaming, etc. . . ."[49] Two years later, encouraged by such instances, the Bureau instituted the general policy of employing Indians to haul Agency supplies.[50]

By 1881, the autumn trip to buy supplies in the Rogue River Valley drew the heads of some one hundred fifty families with an average of forty dollars each to spend.[51] In his report for the following year, Nickerson quoted a notice from the *Ashland Tidings* of October 27, 1882:

> *Indian traders*—About forty wagons, almost every one drawn by four horses, were brought to town by Indians from the Klamath Reservation after flour and other provisions last Tuesday. They filled the streets completely, and made a lively scene, until they moved on to their camping ground near the Eagle Mills. Nearly all the Indians had good harness and wagons, and dressed well. They are improving every year.[52]

With the acquisition of wagons and harness, the Indians began to take freighting jobs for the military at Fort Klamath and private parties at the growing town of Linkville. Twenty teams
• [434] freighting during the month of August, 1889, earned approximately fifty dollars apiece.[53] The total income from this source five years before had been $5,500.[54]

*657
OTHER VENTURES

177 Indians now set their hands to other, lesser pursuits. In 1873,
434 Dyar reported that "A few with no help but instructions from
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employees built a substantial bridge about 100 yards in length 657*
across the Williamson River, on which they propose to collect 177
toll. This will support several families."[55] Nothing more is heard 434 •
of the venture and subsequent work on bridges and roads took on [499]
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NATIVE FOODS

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"civilized" enterprises were supposed to supplant such ab- 648*
original pursuits as fishing, hunting, and gathering. From the 433
Agent's viewpoint, the retention of native subsistence methods presented two major disadvantages. Not only did the traditional occupations coincide in season with farming, but they drew the Indians from under the direct surveillance of the Agency, and even off the reservation. The issuance of rations, though designed to provide a substitute during the transitional period, was restricted as much as possible, in order to allow more funds for other purposes.

It is clear from the graphic descriptions of the early Agents 657*
that they were well aware of the Indians' strong reliance upon 648*
native foods. The fish in Lost River, observed Dyar, ran from 433
two to four weeks earlier than in the streams within the reserve. 226
By late winter even the supplies of rations had been exhausted, and the Klamath eagerly awaited the news from the south. "If the Indians are not allowed to go to Lost River in the Spring," O. C. Applegate had pointed out, "then they will have to be
subsisted during the month of March."[61] The Lost River fishery 657*
178
226

*657 Control over the issuance of needed and desired goods placed *648 the Agents in a powerful position. Huntington used rations to induce the treaty Indians to remain at Fort Klamath during the winter.[85] Rations were once more a factor in 1870 when the Modoc, who had been induced to come onto the reservation, left again when rations were suspended. Captain O. C. Knapp, in lame justification for his act, stated: "that they did not intend to stay after I stopped issuing rations is well known. . . ."[86] Similarly, rations were used to persuade wandering Paiute to return to the reservation. The use of other issues as rewards to employees and leaders is examined below.

There remains to be discussed the early advocacy of individual [472] as against collective ownership and enterprise. In the development of private farms and herds, of the freighting and labor enterprises—indeed, in the very entry into a cash economy—the Indians were gaining competency as individual entrepreneurs. Their [439] attitude is well exemplified in a letter of Dyar advocating the [434] abolishment of Fort Klamath, in which he stated that the Indians, on their part, favored the continued presence of the troops "because it makes a market for many of their little articles of manufacture, and gives them an opportunity to earn money by doing various little jobs of work. . . ."[87]

Of the business acumen of his charges, Nickerson remarked: "for quite a number of years, they have made their own bargains, collected their own debts, and expended their own money. This they have done judiciously and economically. They seldom, if ever, purchase anything useless or trifling.

"Such has been their progress and success in the management of their own finances, that they have become proverbially sharp in buying and selling."[88] The Acting Commissioner, impressed, instructed him, "If as you state, your Indians are perfectly competent to dispose of their crops or other articles produced by them, and to purchase their supplies, the same liberty of action should be allowed them that is enjoyed by whites under similar circumstances."[89]

Where items were to be shared, however, some system of allocation had to be devised. On one occasion, Nickerson issued nails, not on a pro rata basis as originally instructed, but on the basis of actual need, a plan which, he reported, the chiefs pre-

ferred.[90] At another time, he seems to have proposed issuing 657*
seven mowing machines and four sulky rakes to leading and 648*
competent Indians, but was firmly instructed by the Commissioner, "as these articles are intended for the use of all, it is not considered advisable to allow individuals to have the entire control of them." He was instructed instead to loan them out.[91]

"As these Indians become more civilized," observed Nickerson, "their demands upon the mechanics become more frequent and pressing."[92] Indeed, he had to advise the Commissioner against the policy of issuing condemned articles to the Indians since "they will bring them to the shops and demand that they be repaired."[93] It is plain that the frequent call, as a matter of due right, upon the services of Agency personnel lay at the bottom of Nickerson's desire to decentralize equipment by issue through the chiefs. To counter these demands, he had Indians trained to operate the mowing machines, sulky rakes, and other agricultural equipment. When Indian farmers desired to use a machine, the operator was to be paid for his labor and the use of his team. Nickerson added, "I have notified those Indians who are able to do so that next year they will be required to purchase their own machinery for haying purposes. Some of them are already laying aside money for that purpose."[94] Emery instituted a similar program whereby individuals paid an Indian workman for repairs made in the shop on their wagons.[95]

The ownership of a wagon required considerable outlay, more [422]
than some persons could muster. Hence, as Emery noted, wagons, plows, and other implements, as well as cattle and horses, often were held in common by two or three Indians.[96]

With their introduction to an economy in which money served [177]
as a mediator in relationships there are indications that the [178]
Indians began to develop the view that all positions advocated [434]
by the Agency must carry remuneration. Nickerson, reviewing possible candidates for Indian judge, found himself obliged to state, "Those persons with most financial ability are least disposed to serve without compensation and generally least well qualified for such service."[97] New forms of wealth had come in, new desires, new needs, and native society was transformed in the effort to attain them.

*657 Upon further
*648 instructions from Washington, he was publicly hanged. Struck
696 by the solemnity of the proceedings, Nickerson reported, "Fully half the people of the nation was [sic] present. The order and behavior were admirable. The arrangements and execution of the plans were in the highest degree creditable to the Indians having charge of the same."[62]

*657 The following year, a parsimonious Congress made necessary
*648 a reduction in pay. "They are all poor men," exclaimed Nicker-
• 434 son, "and can not support their families on one ration and 5
625 dollars per month. Young men have not the experience needed & do not command the respect of the tribe & nation." He searched about for alternatives to help them eke out an existence.[63] Opportunely, there arrived a copy of *Rules Governing the Court of Indian Offenses* which, pronounced Nickerson, would "work a radical change in the government of this people."

*657 He suggested that Blow and Hill "loyal, intelligent, and pro-
*648 gressive Christian men" be appointed as judges, to serve con-
622 currently as policemen. To them he proposed to add another,
625 Jesse Kirk, a pupil at the Agency school and a carpenter's appren-
692 tice, to be both a member of the force and a judge. Of the three, he wrote, "David Hill will make the most competent man for presiding Judge. If necessary I will nominate him for Captain and Blowe [sic] for Lieutenant of Police. Otherwise I would prefer that they remain as they [are] as Blowe is head chief of the nation."[64]

The triple role of Hill and Blow made it difficult to delimit their judicial functions. Wrote Nickerson in 1886:

> I was obliged to be quite positive and firm in the exercise of my authority as an agent, before they came to understand that they were not independent in the performance of their duties as Judges. It also required some time to convince them that they were not to become prosecutors of supposed criminals, and that they were not to form and express an opinion in advance of hearing all the testimony, and then not until they had taken time to deliberate together. I am satisfied that we have no better material for judges than those that are now acting in that capacity, and yet they are strongly opinionated, and are making but slow progress in the right direction.[65]

*657
*648 The police force, meanwhile, had been distributed so that four
625

*657 logging camps and mill towns. In 1930, at a time when the total
*648 enrollment of the tribe was some 1,250 persons, the predomi-
[563] nantly non-Indian population of one such reservation town,
[161] Chiloquin, and its environs was roughly 1,850, a figure which
placed it second in size in the entire county. Indian-white re-
lationships in such communities could no longer be adequately
regulated by the Agent. Moreover, improved means of communi-
[484] cation made it possible for an Indian to travel off the reservation
at will and thus beyond the reach of Agency authority. Most
[434] important of all, income from grazing leases, claims against the
government, and land and timber sales gave him the equality
of the marketplace.

*648 The maintenance of boundaries was justified in official corre-
*657 spondence of the eighties by the fate of those Indians who went
166 off the reservation. "Quite a number of the Indians," wrote
423 Emery, "obtain passes and go out to seek a living among the
whites. They usually camp in the suburbs of our little towns.
With few exceptions these Indians become thriftless vagabonds. . . ."[3]

In 1884, Nickerson felt it necessary to counter the proposal of Judge W. S. Moore, of Linkville, that Sammy Andy, an Indian who had been working for Moore on pass, be allowed to locate permanently at Linkville and be released from the control of the U.S. Indian Agent.

> As there is no land that this man can secure as a homestead [he concluded], . . . [and] as I have no assurance that he has means sufficient to purchase a home suitable for his support, I do not approve of nor advise that the request be granted at present. Judge Moore has been very kind to this Indian, but should he die or move away, the Indian would be in a poor position to live, and would be subject to many serious temptations.[4]

The need for a general policy became apparent when several Modoc families who had never been on the reservation preempted homesteads in the Tule Basin. A reservation Indian, upon the advice of an attorney, likewise renounced his tribal relations and took up a homestead. "He has become deficient under his supposed citizenship," reported Nickerson, "and says he will not allow the Police to arrest him. . . . There is a white man

hay for his own [cattle]."[50] The practice of contract grazing on 648*
tribal land was also continued, though with scanty returns.[51] 657*

Leasing brought regulatory headaches. Trespass could less 563
easily be controlled. Some stockmen who rented land from the 427
Indians turned in more cattle than the pasture could sustain, [311]
while keeping the fences in such disrepair that the cattle drifted
onto the unfenced lands of neighboring allotments.[52] In consequence, [625]
the meager band of reservation police had to be diverted
to the task of enforcing the grazing rules. The Superintendent [675]
was obliged to see that all contracts were made through
his office. When disputes arose, he was often forced to intervene
and even at times to threaten a lawsuit in order to collect on
behalf of an Indian. Meanwhile, some lessees were themselves
fencing the lands in lieu of part of the lease, so that many Indians
were no longer compelled to put in any work in order to receive
returns from their property.[53] By 1903, even unfenced allotments
were being leased. In that year payments from leases [434]
comprised thirty per cent of estimated personal income, providing
$8,220 distributed among some ninety to one hundred allottees.[54]

By 1908, a large number of Indians were entrusted with the 648*
"experiment" of managing their own allotments, including the 657*
hiring of necessary labor and leasing their tracts for a term not 423
to exceed the legal limit. The narrow discretion afforded, however, 427
is seen from the provision that "the leases that you are to
draw this year will be drawn for you in this office," although the
Indian was to collect his own rental. Fifty-eight Indians were
empowered at once to handle their allotments and apparently
those of their children as well, upon these cautious terms.[55]

Leasing had scarcely gotten under way when a movement for 648*
the sale of lands began. The act had originally envisaged a trust 657*
period of twenty-five years, to be extended at the discretion of 423
the President, during which time the United States retained title to 432
the land. For many individuals, allotted just prior to 1910, that
period—although subsequently extended—was to expire in 1935.
However, amendments provided for sale under proper supervision
when circumstances required, and by 1912 five sales had
been consummated, all involving heirship cases.[56]

When an allottee died, his land passed to his heirs—by the 648* 657* 423 428

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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gaged them, and many were reported to be hopelessly involved 648*
in debts. Despite all administrative efforts to the contrary, re- 657*
ported Superintendent Fred A. Baker, whites were acquiring title 423
to Klamath lands at a rate which he estimated would render the 432
Indians homeless in twenty-five years.[63] [563]

Since that time the pressure on the remaining allotted lands has been unremitting. Of 1,624 allotments issued totaling 247,515 acres, there remained in trust status as of August 13, 1954, the date when the Termination Act became law, only 1,130 allotments or fractions thereof, amounting to 133,000 acres. Three years later, 371 additional tracts had been sold at owners' requests, 107 had been fee patented, and restrictions had been removed from 20. The 630 tracts remaining by October 1, 1957, comprised but 73,681 acres.[64]

Along with income from leasing and sale of allotments came 648*
that from claims payments. By the terms of the McLaughlin 657*
Agreement of 1901, the Indians were to receive $537,007.20 in 423
payment for excluded lands. Of this, $25,000 was to be issued in 432
per capitas within 150 days from ratification and an additional 427
$350,000 was to be deposited to the tribal credit in the U.S. 434
Treasury, the interest at five per cent annually to be issued in 651
yearly per capita payments. The remaining sum, after payment of attorney fees, was to be utilized for drainage and irrigation of allotments on a pro rata basis, with issuance-in-lieu of stock cattle or other articles to those not so benefited.[65]

Amounts thus received were small. Payment of the $25,000 648*
was made in 1907, each individual receiving approximately 657*
$22.00—no princely sum. The annual interest produced per 434
capita payments of approximately $15.00; but a provision that by a petition of the men of the Tribe the amount might be increased to ten per cent of the principal fund led to its successive diminution. As early as 1909, a petition was submitted for this payment,[66] and Charles S. Hood took the lead in enquiring of the Secretary of the Interior whether parents were empowered to withdraw the money due their children.[67] The move seems to have been denied. Stringent regulations, however, were established by the Secretary to govern eligibility to receive a share of the trust funds. These related to improvement of allotments, self-support, moral character and controlled use of liquor, and

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*648 ability of the subject to manage his own affairs; but unconditional
*657 payments to the infirm, aged, and decrepit were also to be
• 434 allowed.[68] Undoubtedly, lease monies made some Indians, who
[427] would otherwise not have qualified, financially eligible for their
share of the trust funds. By 1915 most of the Indians had realized their full pro rata share of the trust funds, and annuities were received only by children and a very few others. The children's shares by this time were being paid to their parents or guardians.[69]

*648 A similar development took place in the allocation of the re-
*657 maining part of the funds, designated for irrigation improve-
651 ments or stock issues. When the pro rata shares of this amount,
653 $110,662.16, proved insufficient for the irrigation work required
231 in the Modoc Point area, the tribal council advocated that all
the amount be issued in cattle.[70] Some 4,000 heifers, as desired, were accordingly purchased, with each Indian residing on the reservation receiving four head, save the youngest member of the family, who received three. Although the clerk in charge of the Agency stated that "all Indians residing off the reservation and who were enrolled at that time received nothing,"[71] he is clearly in error, for issues were made to a number of persons dwelling off the reservation.

*648 Here once more is to be seen the interplay of government
*657 policy and considerations of tribal status. The cattle issues were
231 designed by the government to foster stock raising as a reserva-
tion industry, but they were made at a time when land leasing and pro rata shares of the tribal fund had already created an expectation of direct cash receipts. In these terms, a number of the reservation Indians almost at once sold their cattle to neighboring white stockmen, and Superintendent Wilson had to threaten to bring the law upon the latter in order to recover them.[72] Meanwhile, off-reservation members were pleading their absence from the reservation and the advisability of using the money instead "to good advantage toward family necessities."[73] Finally, the discovery that many of the heifers issued were spayed, and so were useless for breeding purposes, capped the experiment. As Watson wrote, "Almost every Indian who has been at the office lately claims that he has from one to five or

six spayed heifers, and of course they desire to dispose of them."[74] 648* 657* 231

Stock raising, administrators agreed, was the industry best suited to the reservation and to the Indian. Several persons, among them Henry Jackson, had accumulated large herds, and it was thought that their example and a favorable administrative climate would encourage others to take it up. With the issuance of the treaty stock, the total of Indian-owned cattle had been raised to 11,000. They were, however, unequally distributed, for [184] while some of the Indians possessed herds described as "good-sized," others had only the four head issued.[75]

A report on 205 school graduates practicing stock raising in 1910 characterizes 28 as successful, 133 as fairly successful, 43 as failures, and 1 as a total failure. Although no criteria are given, allusions to these individuals in correspondence, together with the evaluations of modern informants tend to corroborate their placement in the list. Is should not be surprising that a number of Agency employees appear among the successful, and that several troublemakers were among the failures. Perhaps significantly, two tribal leaders of the time, Jefferson Riddle and Clayton Kirk, were assigned to the latter group. Some men who had previously been successful, in other endeavors were not making a go of stock raising. Thus Stonewall Jackson, who had formerly done well in raising potatoes in the Modoc Point area,[76] was now listed as unsuccessful as a stock raiser.

A fair degree of success did not always, however, imply an 648* equal competence at handling money; for at least one man so 657* listed was at that time being rationed in funds.[77] There is no 434 • clear correlation between the number of interbreeds and the degree of success in ranching.[78] It might be added that two years before 58 men had been given permission to manage their own allotments. Of them, the 1910 report lists 15 as successful, 30 as fairly successful, and 5 as failures. Eight do not appear on the 1910 list.[79] The earlier action, falling selectively on those deemed more qualified, shows that administrative action did recognize individual ability.

Nonetheless, with the development, beginning in 1913, of a [313] lumber industry exploiting tribal timber and providing per

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*648 capitas that far exceeded those previously received from tribal
*657 funds, the incentives of ranching declined. Vainly did C. H.
• 434 Asbury claim that the new giant was no more than a "temporary
313 industry" that would serve to finance stock raising.[80] When a
*648 special appropriation in 1919 permitted a large number of cattle
*657 to be issued to the Indians, many of them were promptly sold
434 for cash.[81] By 1922 the livestock industry was proclaimed "al-
231 most bankrupt," and the error was acknowledged of having
423 broadcast the cattle issues without recognizing that not everyone
432 had either the inclination or the ability for ranching. By then, allottees had disposed of valuable haylands and grazing tracts in Sycan Marsh, the valleys of the Williamson, Sprague, and Wood rivers, and at Modoc Point. Klamath Marsh tracts were soon to follow.[82] Wrote Superintendent L. D. Arnold in 1926:

> I have been advised by a number of men who have lived among these Indians for many years that at one time they were very progressive and were engaged successfully in the stock business. Practically all of the Indians at that time lived on their allotments, did considerable farming, harvested many thousands of tons of hay, and owned many thousand head of cattle. They were industrious and were considered capable of handling stock in an efficient manner. During recent years there has been a general decline industrially among them. They have sold their cattle; they have left their allotments; many of them are now not engaged in any profitable work. As a matter of fact I do not believe that there are one thousand head of cattle owned by Indians on this reservation at the present time. Last year the most prominent Indian stockman sold almost his entire herd for about $35,000—the last of the Indians who were formerly quite prosperous.[83]

With the sale of their haylands, the source of their winter feed, the Indians were relinquishing "the very foundation of the stock industry." The older Indians, the mainstay of the industry, had for the most part disposed of their stock and lands, while their juniors showed no inclination for ranching. Arnold did not foresee an encouraging future.[84] The issuance of drought cattle in 1935 was an unavailing attempt to revive the industry.[85]

*648 The fate of irrigation farming is typical in many ways of several
*657 Agency programs. As early as 1884, Nickerson had advocated
312 constructing an irrigation ditch to water some 4,000 acres and
653 provide support for a settlement of 80 to 100 Indian families.[86]

the project should be abandoned entirely and the loss charged 648*
to the Tribe.[93] 657*

It is unnecessary to enter into the later history of the Modoc 312
Point project, which made it a subject of interest at several 653
Congressional hearings and a point of contention even into post-termination days, for the basic issues have remained the same. A number of Indians owning land within the project in the course of time sold their lands, just as most of those Indians owning lands served by the Sand Creek project had soon sold out to white farmers.[94]

The failure of the Modoc Point project can be attributed in part to the very real engineering difficulties in maintaining a canal system through a pumice region, feeding from a stream (the Sprague) in multiple use. More than this, however, was involved. There was the expertism of the Agency and Bureau, confusing the technical knowledge about construction and maintenance of such a system with the decision to build it. On the one hand the administrative staff was reluctant to entrust the decision to the Indians; on the other, the Indians did not provide a responsible leadership interested in developing such a program. The enterprise once launched therefore carried responsibility on only one side. There was no effort to enlist tribal support through involvement of tribal members in the fundamental decisions; nor was there sufficient training of the farmers to be affected in the special techniques entailed in irrigation.
Indians resented charges against the land and attempted to [241]
avoid them by continuing to cultivate the fields by dry farming.
Among the farmers, white and Indian, no effective organization
for water use developed. With income from timber available, [434] •
the inexperienced farmer sought release from a situation for
which the rewards were not commensurate with the risks and [427]
the onus of subjection to Agency dictates. Leasing or sale of the [423]
lands in the end involve more than the realization of value from
property, which could otherwise only be secured by investment [432]
of labor. For the Indian, relinquishment of farming also freed
him from some of the surveillance and scrupulous regulation to
which he was subjected.

Plans that saw the Indian farming or ranching struck in the 648*
end upon the stubborn fact that he could frequently realize more, 657*
434

*648 at least momentarily, through the receipt of pro rata shares of
*657 the tribal fund, from the lease and sale of allotments, from
• 434 grazing leases upon tribal lands, and from the per capita dividends from tribal timber. The last-named source of income produced the deepest impression upon reservation life.

*648 When allotting was under way at Klamath, the fate of the
*657 "surplus" lands had been under debate. Among the suggestions
423 was the plan proposed by Allotting Agent Charles E. Worden,
313 which called for setting aside 100,000 acres of timberland for the common use of the Indians. He recommended that the cutting of green timber be prohibited on this tract since "if protected it will be a source of great revenue, as it is so located along streams that it can be floated to market without great cost, and will soon be eagerly sought."[95] By 1903, a large number of timber claims has been taken up outside the reservation and the value of the reservation stands was being realized.[96] The fact that the Booth-Kelly Lumber Company had taken over the Military Road claims from the California and Oregon Land Company testified clearly to their worth.[97]

When the Southern Pacific Railroad reached Klamath Falls in 1909 and within the next two years moved northward across the reservation to Kirk, tribal stands were opened up. Cutting on allotted tracts began in 1911. The next year, Supt. Edson Watson proposed the exploitation of tribal timber, arguing that it would provide work for the Indians.[98] In 1913, while two companies were logging on allotted lands, the first sale of tribal timber was made. Additional staff was needed to handle the heavy draft of sales and heirship cases,[99] and from 1912 on the number sharply increased. By 1947, for example, 38 members of the 139 Agency employees were in the forestry and grazing division.[100] Watson recommended that the reservation timber be cut on a sustained yield basis in a fifty- to one hundred-year cycle. He advocated large sales of stumpage, as involving a lower proportionate cost of supervision. Small concerns, he contended, were unreliable.[101] Reservation timber was big business.

*648 Indian participation in this growing industry, contrary to the
*657 anticipation voiced by Watson, was minor. There was never a
313 time when more than a handful held jobs in woods camp or mill.
[464] By 1915, when most of them had exhausted their $240 pro rata
[434]

share of the principal from the tribal fund, the per capitas, 648*
begun two years before, were flowing in from timber sales. By 657*
1926 they were $500 annually, and four years later had risen to 434
$700. Though they thereafter declined slightly, they rose again to 313
a figure in excess of $800. Acess to these funds gave the Indians a considerable measure of economic independence. A family of four, at the 1926 figure, received $2,000 from timber receipts alone, an income sufficient to provide for all their needs or to indulge some of their luxury cravings. Where "money talked," it afforded access to many areas previously closed. Having money gave at least partial emancipation from Agency surveillance.

Indeed, from the days of allotment on, the growth of a money 648*
economy upon the reservation had been an emergent theme. 657*
Amounts of money that Indians had been able to secure prior to 434
that time, though important in their economy, had not given them 452
the same degree of independence as was later to be theirs. After allotment, anticipation of income from leasing and from other
sources increased the volume of purchases on credit. To his [454]
knowledge, Emery reported in 1897, no Indian had funds deposited with the Agent or with any bank, firm, or person.[102] Although in the next few years O. C. Applegate transmitted checks drawn by a number of Indians to cover debts they had incurred, the practice was less a payment from accumulated savings than a convenience in handling money. What the correspondence strikingly shows was the practice of buying on expectation. Then as now risks were involved, and many individuals in the parlance of the day were rather difficult to "bring to time." That difficulty had sometimes to be surmounted by asking local men of property, such as Henry Jackson, to stand behind an impecunious would-be customer. At times the Agent exerted moral pressure upon a delinquent debtor, but under some conditions he declined to serve as collection agent. Repossession of property for nonpayment often ran against the jurisdictional barrier of the reservation line.

Along with access to individual real property went the transla- 648*
tion of traditional relationships into a more pecuniary idiom. Such 657*
tribal members as Robert Wilson and his wife, William Crawford, 178
and Jesse Kirk purchased insurance policies.[103] A number of 571
Indians hired farmhands, both white and Indian, instead of draw- [171]
ing exclusively or even principally upon kinsmen. [464]

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*648 generally white. When it is considered that in American society
*657 the husband maintains significant external relationships,[11] it
184 seems significant that in both Chiloquin and Beatty in some three-
621 fourths of the Interethnic households the husband was an out-
563
592 sider and the wife a Klamath.

Economic Life

*648 From an economic standpoint, tribal members occupied a
*657 subsidiary position in reservation communities. Their participa-
621 tion in productive activities as a whole was small. In 1958, a
• 434 sample of the reservation population showed the following eco-
464 nomic profile: presently engaged in business or ranching, eigh-
162 teen per cent; previous record of such experience, eleven per cent; no such experience, forty-eight per cent; no data, twenty-three per cent. The figures for those resident in Chiloquin showed, if anything, a lesser degree of direct participation. Available records on a small absentee sample (but one with a higher proportion of women) do not reveal a higher degree of economic experience. The figures are: presently engaged in business or ranching, seven per cent; previous record of such experience, twenty-one per cent; no such experience, seventy per cent; no data, two per cent.

*648 The record of scanty business experience is in large measure
*657 a consequence of the steady flow of income from tribal timber.
434 In 1950, the $800 per capita payments enabled a Klamath family
of four to exceed the median income for all families in the county.
454 Since they could also hunt and fish throughout the year, and many families did, their actual income was considerably higher. There was thus little incentive to work to supplement timber revenues. The Meriam committee, to be sure, had observed years before, in the course of their comprehensive study of Indian administration, that the Klamath per capitas were too small for investment and thus tended to be disbursed for current living expenses;[12] but it is also true that, lacking investment experience, tribal members who realized substantial sum from the sale of allotments too often treated them as windfalls to be squandered, rather than as capital capable of bringing further financial returns.

000 Comparison with the record of white performances places the

as well by envious whites. Indeed, prominent among the local 648*
advantages which white residents stated bound them to Chilo- 657*
quin were the advantages offered by the reservation for hunting 224
and fishing. At the same time, the whites tended to regard those 226
pursuits as no more than recreational avocations; and if the 181
Klamath were sometimes credited with inherent aptitudes for the chase, they were also looked down upon for devoting so much time to "play," and for ignoring, as many did, the white canons of sportsmanship.

Conflicting viewpoints were likewise evinced in the relation- 648*
ships of tribal members seen as consumers. While there were 657*
wide differences in actual behavior both among and between 571
whites and Indians, relationships came often to be governed by
stereotypes. This was particularly so in the larger communities, [621]
in instances in which individuals were not personally known to [184]
each other.

Those relationships were in fact strongly conditioned by the 648*
peculiar status of the tribal members who relied upon per capitas 657*
for their income. Few Klamath on the reservation had ever 434 •
banked money, and the absence of a bank in Chiloquin since the 571
depression, or in any other reservation town, made necessary 452
the institution of a credit system.[13] Since much Indian property [453]
was held in trust by the government, which thus could not be advanced as security, merchants had to rely heavily upon a knowledge of the individual in advancing credit. Reservation stores resorted to a credit system to compete with the businesses in Klamath Falls, and through a more intimate acquaintance with tribal members could assess the risk more skillfully than those—particularly the newcomers—in the county seat. At the same time, the expense of operating such a system was one of the factors in advancing prices in reservation stores. Thus merchants, who not infrequently did their own private shopping in Klamath Falls, were galled to see tribal customers, whom they had carried on credit, patronizing competitors in the larger city as soon as they had received their per capitas.

In attempting to collect outstanding debts, merchants could 648*
not count upon the Superintendents, but had to resort to moral 657*
suasion and threaten to cut off further credit. Some Superinten- 434
dents did assist in bringing pressure to bear upon delinquent 452

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*648 members, but others refused to do so, taking the position that
*657 merchants were encouraging extravagance in their Indian cus-
• 434 tomers. Tribal members, on the other hand, learned to connive
[452] with Agency employees to evade restrictive regulations, citing
spurious but legitimate needs in order to secure cash releases,
with the zeal of other Americans in search of income tax loop-
holes. The money thus secured was often applied to outstanding
debts as well as to fresh expenditures.

*648 The payment of per capitas in two large, semiannual install-
*657 ments, rather than in smaller and more frequent disbursements,
511 was an incentive to squandering. Of a sample of tribal members
on the reservation from whom data are available, over one-half
were deemed poor in money management or were so deficient
that their funds had been programmed.[14]

*648 There were special areas of extravagance. Upon the open
*657 reservation the automobile had replaced the horse, both as a
511 means of transportation and as an extremely personal symbol of
493 wealth. Low down payments furnished an inducement to buy;
452 but among the improvident automobiles were often loaned to
[556] friends and relatives who might then prove irresponsible. Upon
[426] rough reservation roads, automobiles often did not survive to
see the last installment payment. As a consequence, it had
proved difficult for any tribal member to secure automobile in-
surance.

Observed Superintendent Fred A. Baker in 1924:

> If I were called upon to name one thing which has tended more than anything else to the squandering of the funds of the Klamath Indians I should mention the purchase of expensive automobiles. The first step was the issuance of a patent in fee for the sale of inherited lands. The second, the turning over of the funds to the Indian. The third step, the purchase of a high priced automobile, with the subsequent necessity of its upkeep and maintenance. The effect upon the life of the Indian has been demoralizing in that it invites him to take long and expensive trips and to absent himself from his home to the neglect of his farming operations and the building up and improvement of his allotment.[15]

*648 Items such as automobiles which the Klamath purchased
*657 were often esteemed by whites as status symbols; and many of
511 them resented the circumstances that the Klamath not only
493

acquired those symbols largely without the toil which tended to 648*
legitimize them, but used them so casually that they stripped 657*
them of worth. As with their playing with sportsmanship values 511
in their hunting and fishing, many Klamath seemed aware of 493
this resentment, and for them purchase represented in part an
act of defiance.

In summary, then, during the latter days of the reservation 648*
the Klamath were an economic minority upon their own reser- 657*
vation as well as in the cities and towns beyond its boundaries. 434 •
If they were restricted in the disposal of their property, they nonetheless were assured a periodic flow of income and enjoyed special immunities and rights. As they often expressed it, they had already achieved that retirement from economic endeavor toward which less-fortunate fellow citizens usually had to devote a lifetime. It was a very special economic niche, and one which carried grave disadvantages, not only as a preparation for a career in the outside world, but even for articulation within the reservation communities.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Within the
*648 reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally
*657 esteemed attributes had lost place. Age was no longer accorded
561 respect, for the wisdom of experience seemed irrelevant under
593 the new conditions, and in the environing society the emphasis
577 was upon youthful qualities. The premium upon industry as an
• 434 ideal for old and young alike had become submerged by the
178 golden flow of per capitas which rewarded equally the wastrel
177 and the unremitting toiler. Remarked one man wryly, "I can
make more money raising Klamath than I can raising cattle."[2]
Under these changes, paternal authority had declined sharply.
"Why should I listen to you?" demanded one adolescent son of
his father. "I've got just as much money saved up [in a compulsory trust fund] as you have!"

*648 By contrast, the status of the mother within the household
*657 had been enhanced. Housekeeping and child rearing constituted
562 concrete activities that possessed a high measure of continuity
434 with the past, of a type normally respected in her counterpart
177 in white society. Access to her own per capitas had raised the
178 economic standing of a wife to a par with that of her husband.
[623] The relative changes in local roles, together with the passage
of woman's suffrage in the nation at large, had become reflected
in the increasing prominence of women in the debates of the
General Council.

*648 The major point of contrast between white and tribal households
*657 on the reservation was the relatively greater fluidity among
563 the Klamath, as reflected in the record of sequent marriages,
58 the figures for common-law unions, and the broken families. In
this respect, Beatty did not differ significantly from Chiloquin.
Interethnic marriages—those between a Klamath and a nontribal
partner—were more stable than those contracted between tribal
members.

*648 Household composition makes it clear that the traditional
*657 valuation of kin had by no means been entirely relinquished.
592 In a number of instances, Klamath, particularly women, had
587 taken in the children of collateral kin. Remarriage produced
[178] composite families, in which the couple reared not only their
own children but the offspring of previous unions of one or both
partners.

*648 Consequently, Klamath households exhibited a diversity of
*657 form, size, and composition, frequently characterized as well by
592
593

*648 in seventh and ninth grades—the beginning grades respectively
*657 for junior high and high school—was less than half the figure for
87 first grade in the same year. For tribal children, by contrast, the
563 figures for the advanced grades were each almost twice as large
as that for the first grade.

On an average, roughly one-half the small number of Klamath
children entering high school could be expected to graduate.
[125] That this record was not to be attributed to a difference in intellectual
ability is intimated by the results of California mental
maturity tests which, as administered to Klamath children as a
whole at the fourth grade, yielded normal scores, averaging 96.9.
When, however, the same children had reached the eighth grade,
their average score had declined to 80.4.[6] A sharp drop in incentive
had taken its toll.

The stresses within the school fell unequally upon Klamath
boys and girls. Athletic prowess and artistic ability—both often
conceived as racially innate and as masculine attributes—gave
the boys legitimate avenues to social approval. At puberty, however,
Klamath girls were often beginning to develop the physical
[142] massiveness that is so frequent in their racial constitution, but
[562] that at the same time is foreign to American ideals of beauty.
Some bore their lot with dignity and poise. Others courted a
fleeting favor through promiscuity or took out their resentments
in direct assault upon rivals or upon substitute figures. Direct
violence against whites occurred in the schools at about this age,
and most frequently involved girls. Still others sought alternatives
outside the school, dropping out entirely, going away to
vocational schools, or entering into early marriages.

*648 Indeed, for many of the tribal youth—boys as well as girls—
*657 confronted by a school experience that grew increasingly irrelevant
871 as they became older, it was merely a matter of "serving
563 time" until they gained release by attaining the age of eighteen.
582 Many Klamath tended to marry young, and there were incentives
peculiar to their position. For a girl striving to escape the pressures
and dissatisfactions of home life, the regimen of caring for
younger siblings, and the boredom and vexation of the school,
the importance and security of being a newlywed possessed a
• [434] fairyland appeal. For the boy, the trust fund accumulated by
[429] the Agency for each minor, amounting in some instances to

$10,000, constituted an inexhaustible treasure. Ordinarily, this 648*
was placed in his hands only when he had come of age, but with 657*
marriage he attained seniority at once, and it became his. 871

Many a young couple, then, sought a new life in the last few 563
years of high school in an elopement to Reno or Las Vegas. In 582
a week or so they returned to take up adult life; and thus to [434] •
reconcile their hopes with the social realities of the reservation. [429]
Although they would continue to maintain a degree of camaraderie with a few of their schoolmates, such intimacy as they had known across ethnic boundaries was at an end. For the majority of tribal members, their course and that of their white schoolmates increasingly diverged. [583]

*648 where after attending public school or the Catholic academy,
*657 she took special training or found a job. About that time she met
563 her future husband, a white employed as a laborer in logging, millwork, or construction. Evidently, he then stood below her in socioeconomic status, although in a superior ethnic bracket. The subsequent advance of the husband, after their marriage, may be regarded in no small degree as the result of her own drive and ambition as well as his. Such couples rarely returned to the reservation; and their life together was undoubtedly an extension of that first step, before they met, which had taken her away from the reservation.

ACCULTURATION

*648 The suggestion has recently been made for the Ojibway that
*657 the sociocultural position they now maintain on their reservation
177 in Wisconsin represents an accommodation to the standards of
[171] living of lower status whites.[11] At Klamath, the circumstances
• [434] that might have reduced tribal members to a similar economic condition have been offset by income from leases and from tribal timber. The question may still be posed, however: to what degree does Klamath life on the reservation represent the direct acculturative influence of those whites, particularly of lower-class status, whom they most closely approximate?

The historical record, already reviewed, shows clearly that many early contacts of a persistent character were with whites whom Agents with some justification regarded as outcasts or renegades from their own society; but, their influence although it was undoubtedly felt, did not compare with the broader programs of the official staff, directed at the whole Klamath population and implemented through influential leaders. A few individuals such as Frank Riddle stand out; but their own ties tended to be with administrators like Oliver Applegate. The major individuals to offer opposing counsel were former Agency employees or individuals of substance in neighboring towns. Klamath recognized the tokens of success, and were unlikely to follow persons who showed every evidence of failure in their own lives.

There is some warrant for seeing in the Klamath situation a structural convergence. On the one hand, the skills and roles acquired by Klamath in the early days of the reservation during

money from the tribal fund set aside for the purpose. Interlocking 648*
memberships of the Executive Committee, the Enrollment 657*
Committee, and the Loan Board made those bodies the apex of 665
tribal power. If the first-named was the central body, and important 619
particularly in relations with agencies beyond the Tribe, the 661
other two were no less essential in the administration of patronage. [646]
[647]

The Tribal Loan Board had been established to preside over 648*
a fund set aside from the Yamsay Judgment of 1938, by which the 657*
issue of the Military Road had finally been settled. The fund had 619
been designed to provide capital advances for tribal members, 452
many of whom found bankers reluctant to lend to them. Although 647
loans were supposed to be applied only to improvements, it became common practice to spend them merely as an anticipation of the next per capita. When the Bureau called a halt to its operations in 1955, the Board had out on loan approximately a half-million dollars, or the equivalent of almost $250 per member, and a collector had to be engaged to recover a sizeable portion of it.[14]

The Enrollment Committee was the third seat of power. Ad- 648*
mission of one's children to tribal membership was eagerly 657*
sought, and not alone for reasons of sentiment. Once he was a 619
tribal member, a child was vested with a pro-rata share of the 647
undivided tribal estate, amounting at the time of termination to 434 •
some $43,500. In addition he qualified to receive the per capita dividends that, subject to Agency restriction, were commonly drawn upon to defray current family living expenses.

Despite—and sometimes because of—these tactical measures, 648*
by which partisan leaders strove to bind them, many tribal 657*
members were driven into abstention by the bitter contentions 646
that marked the final generation of tribal life. Although hundreds 619
flocked to the luncheon set out at tribal expense in the Council Hall for those attending the General Council, morning meetings failed so frequently to draw a quorum that they were discontinued; and even afternoon sessions sometimes could not muster one hundred adults from among the thronging diners to transact tribal business. When they did come, they were often in holiday mood, frequently interrupting speakers, and exhibiting a keen appreciation for lengthy, eloquent, and often irrelevant harangues

*648 Bureau officials at times distorted or even suppressed data that
*657 reflected unfavorably upon the competence of the Klamath to
619 fend for themselves. These elided data were swiftly discovered when the Termination Act had been passed and the Bureau faced the difficult task of treating individual tribal members. Though the programming of termination was handled capably at the local level, the original legislation was so defective that two major amendments, together with several lesser ones, were required to supplement and remedy it; and lawsuits, already mounted or threatened by tribal members, over alleged omission of rights from its provisions may stream in its wake for years.

The immediate consequence of termination for a major part of the Klamath people has been an exchange of private for federal trusteeship. A large number have chosen to forego any
• [434] further common management of their assets. A number of adults,
[429] both among remaining members and those who withdrew, were placed under guardianship or involuntary trusteeships as having demonstrated incompetence to handle their own affairs. Among adults, they comprised 14.4 per cent of those living on the reservation and 12.7 per cent of absentee members. Since that time, a substantial but undetermined number of individuals not under personal trust have exhausted the funds they received, and some have turned to kinsmen for assistance. The large body of minors, both on and off the reservation was placed under trust. By the terms of a recent court ruling, upon reaching majority they are to receive their funds without further demonstration of competence.

In all, no less than 48.9 per cent of the tribal membership were deemed to require protection under provisions of the Termination Act, while an additional 13.6 per cent, deemed competent, elected to remain under the group trust operated by the United States National Bank. Another 18.3 per cent were absentee members, of whom only a very few, with allotments or other assets in trust or restricted status, were subjected to federal supervision. It was the remaining 15.1 per cent of the membership (the deceased have not been figured in), constituting persons dwelling on the reservation who elected to withdraw, that correspond to the legislative image of the deprived yet competent Indian.

[429]
[434] The slight character of the change with reference to those

under personal trust or guardianship is indicated by the "state- 648*
ment of principles" contained in the agreement between the 657*
Secretary of the Interior and the banks that administer the 619
private trusts. This stipulates that the beneficiary is to be en- 429
couraged and assisted in obtaining a satisfactory education and 434 •
is to be aided in gaining employment or engaging in other business activity. As the trust officers of those banks were soon to discover, the banks have assumed a role which closely resembles that previously exercised by the government.

A similar effect may be seen in the relations of the remaining Klamath to the U.S. National Bank, which as trustee administered their undivided assets, including a segment of the former tribal timber. An executive committee continues to represent them in their dealings with the bank, but it is accorded only nominal consultation in the conduct of the trust. Bank officials clearly consider their primary obligation to lie with the prudent adminis-
tration of the estate. Similarly, while willing to employ Klamath [464]
in minor positions, the bank has found most of them unsatisfactory. Tribal members insinuate that the bank is giving contracts for farm work to whites to whom it has made loans. In brief, antipathies formerly vented against the Bureau are now directed against the bank.

In this manner, the reservation, the Agency rule, and the 648*
Klamath Tribe have come to an end together. 657*
619

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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

EIGHTEEN

[P.259]

Conclusion

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KLAMATH TRIBE UNDER THE PROVISIONS 648*
of the Treaty of 1864 comprised a program of directed change, 657*
paralleling in its general features the relationships of the United 171
States government with diverse other Indian peoples. Because a common policy lay behind the administration of Indian affairs, the history that unfolded at Klamath was similar at many points to developments on other reservations. Since, however, unique characteristics of Klamath culture entered into the equation, and common events were locally mediated, that policy had different effects in execution.

Within the spectrum of American Indian cultures, it was im- 648*
portant that the tribes brought upon the Klamath reservation 657*
were unacquainted with agriculture, but had some knowledge of, 241
and esteem for horse-herding; that while they lacked traditions 233
of large-scale political organization, they placed a premium upon 619
industry and the acquisition of material wealth. These attributes, 181
while by no means unique, were distinctive in their combination; 177
and they gain significance when seen from the perspective of 178
the policy objectives of the government. Similarly, the circumstance that many individuals had already undergone extensive acculturation beyond the Klamath country provided the early Agents with native allies already won over to the prospects of change.

Even the application of a common policy exhibited special 648*
features. Two instances should illustrate the point. The recogni- 657*
tion of the tribal claim to a large domain, together with the [423]
retention of surplus lands after allotment, laid the basis for a [619]
corporate wealth equaled by only a few other reservation peoples. [434] •
Later, the rejection of the Indian Reorganization Act during the Collier administration placed the Klamath among a minority of

> *648 When the White men made a treaty with the Klamath in 1864,
> *657 they said, "In twenty years you will be just like White men, no
> 177 difference." But when twenty years went by, no White men. And they said, "Twenty years more." After that time still no White men. It is now nearly ninety years, and I ask you, "When will we be like White men?"

This is not meant to claim that the reservation system had failed of the goals which had originally been set. Children were educated and adults retrained to American ways, and in considerable measure the training took hold. Even the resistance of later days often carried the stamp of considerable sophistication. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, after a generation of rule, success had so far operated as to make the system too rigid for the will of the subject people. They were now highly diverse in biological character and in experience, were no longer confined to the reservation, and were open to outside influence at every level. The coming of allotments, the realization of property, and the anticipation of citizenship, while improving the Klamath lot, made them at once impatient with the residual restraints.

By this time, the administrative machinery for handling Indians had become formidably complex; yet, beset with the multiple identities of the Indian, the Bureau had failed to distinguish among its charges upon some scale of acculturative competence.* The Bureau was bound largely to the polar concepts of the Indian as subject to supervision and the Indian as citizen with rights to the enjoyment of his property. In its dual responsibility as custodian and as teacher, the Bureau has often found the former an easier task.

*648 Perhaps the greatest single instance of that preference in action
*657 was the decision permitting the commercial cutting of tribal
177 timber. This was a step advocated by influential Klamath and by
• 434 administrators alike, yet its effects proved disastrous to ranching
enterprises then under way. The Klamath did not come forward
[464] to take employment in logging and milling. Nonetheless, Agency operations now could take their stand upon the firm index of success afforded by management of the tribal estate—an index to which superior governmental bodies were attuned. The maintenance of a tribal estate in trust, in its turn, perpetuated the ambivalence of the Klamath position, which in this quality recalls

the “dependent domestic nations” of Justice Marshall's famous 648*
decision. Many Klamath, now that they possessed funds to secure 657*
their material desires, lost incentive to strive. Lacking opportunities 177
for training in competence except that offered in youth [434] •
at school or—peripherally—in tribal government, many proceeded
to demonstrate their unfitness to handle their own affairs. Spicer[5] [171]
has noted how reservations in the Southwest suffered from being
isolated economically from the surrounding regions. This was
less the case at Klamath: in the timber exploitation, the reservation
was all too closely identified with the dominant needs of the
Klamath Basin and the West Coast, to say nothing of the nation
at large. Instead, the ultimate needs of the Klamath had dropped
out of the calculations.

In a recent analysis of the assimilation of minority groups in 000
American society,[6] Gordon identifies with the major society dimensions
of integration which he designates as cultural, structural,
marital, and identificational. In his view, cultural assimilation
in visible externals is likely to take place first, probably in
conjunction with entrance into formal, secondary relationships.
Not, however, until members pass into those intimate social relationships
termed primary with members of the host society have
they achieved a crucial stage in assimilation. Thereafter, Gordon
assumes that marital, then identificational, assimilation will follow
with time.

Klamath may demur that they do not wish to submerge their 648*
identity through assimilation with Americans, but at least they 657*
have long sought parity. At first through their own efforts, then 177
later through their dividends from timber, they have acquired
many of the attributes that are to be equated with Gordon's
cultural category. Assimilated at this level, they have failed to be
received at their own appraisal into the social system. Geertz[7] has
postulated a model of change involving a cumulative imbalance
between social and cultural dimensions which may have partial
applicability here, for the Klamath have felt keenly the lag in
admission to social relationships of which cultural properties
already acquired form the symbols.

Caught in limbo, the Klamath have reacted in diverse ways,
many of them characteristically individual and indirect. Some
have evaded the situation by moving from under reservation

NOW TO DAVE AND TECUMSEH AGAIN

539 [829] Ninteen [sic] of the young men have determined to renounce their old Indian ways and do as you have advised them to do, and as I have wanted them to do, and as fast as others come to the same determination I will let you know. Now, whatever you learn about other Indians that you may see I want to you to let me know about it, whether [sic] it be anything good or bad, and you can tell others how we are getting along here. You can tell all the Inds., you see that the above no of Klamath Inds. have determined to throw away all bad things and live as white men should. If the Tyee at Washington tells you or Oliver what he know about us or any other Inds that he don't like—that he thinks is cultus—I want you to write me about it I want to know all about these things.

We are getting flour from the Mill, also Beef this winter and we [434] are very well satisfied about it. We have the Sawmill to help us get some money, and we are having help from the Flour Mill and some beef; and things are getting about straight. Now I feel strong to punish those that do wrong, because there are so many young men now to help Mr. Dyar Blow and myself. Now all we lack is some good sleighs that we may ride around like white men in winter, like we do in our wagons in summer. Now we are going to plow make rails &c this spring, and by and by I will let you know how we are getting along. A[l]so by and by I will let you know about the hay on the flat above the Agency. I understand that you are to tell the Hias Tyee how we used to live here and how we are doing now. After you have done this I want you to let me know all about it, Just what he thinks. Don't be afraid to tell us all his heart, for I'll not get afraid, nor run away. You know that bad men are trying to get our lands and are lying to the President. Now if I were there I would talk the whole truth to him and would not chaco tenas tumtum[†] at whatever he might say or do. I want you to do the same. Don't be afraid of him, but tell him all about these things. Tell him that we all, both Whites and Inds. have *one* Father in Heaven that we are made alike, we all have hands, feet and bodies alike, and we all have minds; In fact are brothers; and nowhere do I learn that any of us have any right to take wrongfully or by force from another any of the lands which our common Father has made for *all* his children.

I told Mr. Meacham when he was Supt. that if the Snakes or Modocs or any other Inds. were to become bad and fight the whites I would not help them. That I wanted to stay at home and keep everything straight on the reservation. We have hias heavy ictas[‡] here now, and I want to close nanich[§] these. When Capt. Jack commenced to fight I told all my people not to go there to help Jack. I was also opposed

Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
648 towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation, by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members" with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.
[619]

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, gene-
144 tically, less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier com-
munities were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
[786] area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
[181] Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided in-
[556] creased opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
[436] had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal mem-
[434] bers, as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and for-
[251] feited bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
621 sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although the e is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
borne at least one child out of wedlock.. At the same time, there is considerable
[848] out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-
[177] style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
596 but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
[177] extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, de facto groupings
rather than de jure. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organiza-
[594] tion of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obliga-
592 tory responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-
592 father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly ex-
treme cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual owner-
ship of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with re-
gard to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
434 children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

Sparrow: Male, Age 63

Background Data

*159
[156] Sparrow's case is cited because of his position on the lowest rung of the local
status hierarchy. He is known as a happy-go-lucky, worthless old drunk and is
[872] generally considered as "lacking a few of his marbles." However, Sparrow is
seldom publicly disparaged, for local citizens simply pay little attention to
[401] him. He has a sixth grade education, gained at the Agency school. He has
apparently never worked consistently at any job, and most of his work experience
[434] has been as a farm or ranch laborer. He is and has for years been totally dependent upon per capita income and the income from ranch lands owned by his mother,
with whom he lives. Their affairs are managed by a local businessman who some
years ago was appointed their guardian. He is the second eldest of four siblings.
After his father's death forty years ago, his mother remarried and bore two other
[586] children. He was married once when a young man, and after four years divorced
his wife because of "her shiftless ways." He is a semi-invalid, the result of
[164] an accident years ago when a drunken brother drove over him with a truck, crushing
[191] his pelvis. He speaks fluent Klamath, the result of constant association with
his aged mother who represents a direct link with the aboriginal Klamath past,
as well as adequate English, learned in school.

[738] Much of Sparrow's time is spent in jail for drunkenness, in the local tavern,
with one of the drinking cliques, or passed out in a doorway. When he is not
totally drunk he spends much of his time with his mother, for whom he cares in
his fashion. Occasionally he goes fishing in a nearby river. For at least
twenty five years, this has been the pattern of his activities.

*159 Sparrow has many skills, among the most striking of which is the ability to
154 "fly from here to the Agency without once touching the ground." There are
several dimensions to this delusion, one of which is an association, in Sparrow's thinking, with the acquisition of power. When a young man he dreamed of acquiring the power to "rise up off the ground, like Jesus Christ." While such a belief may have aboriginal correlates, there are no Klamath today who would accept it as valid. Sparrow keeps this secret to himself, and relates it only to strangers and transients from whom he intends to borrow money. His other skills include the following: the ability to keep house and cook, harness making, leather working, painting, canning food (the notion involves laying in stores for the winter), tanning buckskin, wood carving, carpentry, poetry composition (in Klamath), arrowhead making, making traditional basketry, stock raising, restaurant management, and finally, the ability to bewitch rich old white ladies, who are captivated by him and who drive him about in their white Cadillacs. The latter may be associated with a recurrent dream of meeting with a white buffalo, also a symbol of power, but it is difficult to say, for there were never any buffalo near the Klamath, and it is more likely that he has got this idea from reading western stories. Needless to say, most of these skills are quite delusional also. There is no evidence for any of them being more than this. Relating one or more of these is Sparrow's single style of interacting with others, for in reaction to a question or another's anecdote he will sift about in his memory until he comes up with one of his capacities which seems relevant. Very frequently, the writer could not see where or how they were appropriate, but for Sparrow there seemed to be some connection. He relates these matter of factly, with only the most slight suggestion that they were self-enhancing, and no indication that he meant to justify himself, and will then coyly watch his listener to see if he is properly impressed. This behavior tends to merge with Sparrow's

882
155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1963, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
[462] in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits
include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers
are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience
with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
426 example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented,
and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation
population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159
156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from
his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never
[461] worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen.
Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five
[891] school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from
the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at
[592] home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger sib-
[434] lings may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal
income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly
[657] for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the
bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very
reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit
[582] Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging
[618] company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the
logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually
[221] away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when
drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father
does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household
[593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his
father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion
knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this per-
[848] son is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity,
which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's
*159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards
156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or
593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting,
and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits
the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls,
and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt
and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common
[421] activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to
one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his be-
longings, and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle
for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not
borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which
engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the
father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom
she spends much time.

*159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks
156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the
law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time
[673] loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his
buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom
[512] awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away
from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which
may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

648 1888 and 500 broken by them; 10,000 acres were inclosed by fences.
657 The crops of 1888 amounted to 8,000 bushels of wheat, 4,000 of oats and
241 barley, 1,000 bushels of vegetables, 3,000 tons of hay; and 500 pounds of
231 butter were manufactured. Of lumber 100,000 feet were sawed. The
313 Indians transported with their own teams 500 tons of freight, and thereby
434 earned $1,500. The two boarding-schools, one at the Klamath Agency
and the other at Yáneks, in the same year boarded 215 pupils at a cost to
the Government of $18,764—about $10.40 a month per capita.

311 The number of acres contained within the Klamath Reservation is 1,056,000, and of these only about 20,000 acres are considered to be tillable land. The rest is occupied by woods, marshes, rocks, and other hindrances to cultivation.

797 The school and church interests are in the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which also has a vote in the appointment of the United States agent.

657 The statistics of population have furnished reliable data only from the
161 time when annuities were first distributed among these Indians. This ne-
162 cessitated an annual count of each family, giving the number of the individuals belonging to each. One of these was made during my presence on the reserve on October 30, 1877, before the winter supplies were dealt out to the tribe. The summary is as follows:

David Hill, chief, at Agency and on Williamson River	225
P'lú, head chief, at the bridge, Williamson River	122
Long John, chief	103
Jack, chief	92
Lílo, chief	23
Total	565

The census taken in the Sprague River Valley, Yáneks subagency, furnished the following figures, Klamath Lake Indians and Modocs being indiscriminately included:

Littlejohn, chief	14
Skóntchish, chief	18
Modoc Johnson, head chief	71
Ben, chief	61
Brown, chief	30
Total	194

171*
which their assistants hold or with which they dance. In fact, the use
of special dance staffs is general among all Quinault who have spirits, 532
as it is among the southern Puget Sound Salish. It is strange that 756
neither Dr. Sapir nor I learned of either type of carving among the 535
Wishram, but our information is not full.[492] [114]

A tall painted pole is erected in front of the Klamath shaman's 171*
lodge from which dangles a cord bearing at intervals bunches of
feathers, a piece of wood, and a miniature gambling tray, all these 756
representative of spirits. There are analogues of this southward to the 778
Maidu. Such a pole is also erected outside a Modoc shaman's dwelling; it is painted and bears the skins and feathers of various spirit animals. It is used earlier at the novice's dance. This is described as some three or four meters high and decorated with paint and a few feathers. Such a pole is set up when a Shasta shaman rids a locality of disease: it has baskets hung from it. Again when an Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman cures, a pole is sometimes set up near the house, to which is tied a bunch of feathers (*qaqu*). The *qaqu* has a significant function; it is obtained with difficulty on his spirit quest and has the power to tell him where the disease is located. The poles used for a Northeastern Maidu shaman novice are somewhat different. They are set up on the roof of the house in which the inaugural dance takes place, and inside above the spot where he stays; others are carried to the mountains where novices go on their quests. These are short wands, a meter to a meter and a half long, variously painted, with pendent strings of feathers and acorn shells, or bunches of feathers. These have some obscure but intimate relation to his spirits. Similar wands are set up at the dedication of a new dance house by the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento valley.[493]

Among the items of a Klamath shaman's costume are a forehead 171*
band or neckband of woodpecker scalps mounted on a buckskin founda- 756
tion and a bunch of yellowhammer feathers worn on hat or neck. 292
The feathers of both these birds have value and ceremonial usage in California but not to the north.

Woodpecker scalps attain the status of money among the Yurok 171*
and perhaps their neighbors. Not only have they value in themselves,
but they are worked into ceremonial headdresses over most of northern 292
California. The Yurok and Hupa use forehead headbands like those 435 ●

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[492] Boas, Notes on Tillamook, 10, Doctrine of Souls, 40; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[493] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130, 136; Dixon, Shasta, 475–476, 487, Notes on Achomawi, 218, Some Shamans, 24, Northern Maidu, 275–278, 312.

*171 of the Klamath in their Jumping dances, and the Hupa "roll-
292 woodpecker hats" in their Brush Dance. Dixon figures what is prob-
435 ably a Shasta shaman's headband with a large woodpecker scalp
affixed. Northern Maidu make use of a belt or bandolier of woodpecker scalps now mounted on buckskin, but formerly on a netted foundation. A headdress like a helmet, covered with these, is worn by the highest members of their secret society. A spirit impersonator of the Sacramento Valley Maidu wears a forehead band of these scalps, tapering at its ends. Pomo women wear "a woven band of woodpecker feathers" (scalps?) presumably in dances: this suggests a net foundation. In all the other cases cited above the foundation of the band is a buckskin strip. Kroeber has pointed out that the Yurok headband (and I would add here all northern analogues) have skin mounting, while those used in the Kuksu dances of the lower Sacramento valley are made on a close network. The Northern Maidu belt then represents an intelligible transformation of technique. Klamath and Shasta shamans' headbands, and the Takelma shaman's mere use of the feathers in his hair, are attenuated usages.[494]

Klamath use of yellowhammer feathers is only casual and would have no significance were these not regularly part of ceremonial regalia to the south. There the form is commonly a forehead band. Their use is primarily central and northern Californian and they are not found in most of southern California.[495] A search of the literature shows the use of such bands by shamans only among Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northeastern Maidu, and the feathers alone by Takelma shamans.[496] Elsewhere they are non-shamanistic dance regalia: Chilula, Sinkyone, Coast Yuki, Yuki, Pomo, Patwin, Northern and Southern Maidu, Yokuts, Koso, and Luiseño.[497] It will be observed that this distribution avoids the Klamath river tribes.

+171 Circumspection of action in the presence of a shaman is held
necessary in a number of groups from Thompson to Maidu. His imme-
156 diate presence is fraught with power, so that making contact with him by his shadow or one's own, startling him, or making a misstep in passing, are all potentially dangerous. A shaman of the Northern

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[494] Kroeber, Handbook, 26, 56, 433–434; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 19, 69, 86; Dixon, Shasta, 481; Northern Maidu, 149, 284; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 157; Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 264.

[495] Kroeber, Handbook, 140, 149, 508, 665.

[496] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 219, Northern Maidu, 283; Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 316; Sapir, *op. cit.*, 264.

[497] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 140, 149, 173, 216, 261, pls. 59 and 77, 506, 591, 665; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 152, 283; Faye, Southern Maidu, 48, 50.

000 2960. SW: See note 2962. AE: Intratribal murder may lead to "little war" between 2 villages or 2 local groups [as Hammawi village and Fall River people; see note 2771]; in end such settled by payment for deaths. MM: "Always make [murderer] pay; got to settle it." MF: Sometimes pay relations before killing person. "Big Bar Jack killed a woman; he paid $10 to her relations, first, then he went up to where woman was staying and killed her. Her folks didn't try and kill him, then."

2962. SW: Intratribal feuds only fights in which compensation paid; "the person who did the killing wants to pay, because his life is in danger. He is the one who sends the messenger. Then, if wronged party won't agree, the chief steps in to settle matters." See, however, note 2873.

2965. At: See note 2798.

727 ● 435 2969. Kl: Payment in elkskins. At: 3, 5, or 10 strings clamshell disk beads paid for intratribal killings; very wealthy man contributes 6 strings toward wergild payment, rich man 5 strings, poor man 1 string. Arrows also paid.

2986. Kl, SE, MM: Only if woman has no husband.

2990. Kl: "Food and plunder was what war party was after; members certainly did not pay for this later when settling for deaths."

000 2991. AE: When payment made for deaths in intravillage or intratribal war, no dance of settlement, "because the relations feel badly; they couldn't hardly do it [dance]."

3005. SE: At scene of meeting. At: Upon return home money is put on pole, smoked; next day chief gathers people around to divide money among them.

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth Customs

Preparations for delivery; delivery.--

3007. NS: Especially when other children apt to be around.

3009a. Usually trench dug for woman to lie over only after child has been delivered. Mo: Warmed trench used in cases of difficult childbirth, or for abortion (see note 3409).

3014. Mo: If professional midwife can be procured in time, called in; is always woman who has, herself, had an easy time during childbirth. AW: "Always get a woman who understands [about childbirth matters]; she is told [notified] way ahead of time." Parturient's mother is "all right for this, if she understands." However informant's wife had had 7 (?) children, but in none of her confinements had she been assisted by anyone, either another woman or her husband.

3016. NF: 2 women assist parturient, 1 grasping her behind, around waist, other receiving baby.

[212-B]

TWO

[P.22]

The Frontier Condition

726 FOR MANY YEARS THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WILLAMETTE AND COlumbia
648 valleys bypassed the tribes of the Klamath Basin.[1] Indirectly,
175 however, they felt the first remote influences, as the
Sahaptin-speaking tribes of the middle Columbia, equipped with
the superior weapons of the trading posts and mounted on horses
acquired from the Shoshonean bands to the south, began to raid
up the Deschutes Valley to take Klamath slaves.[2] The Klamath
[231] were at a disadvantage: in 1826 Peter Skene Ogden, of the
Hudson's Bay Company, found them with but a single horse
[411] and uneasily awaiting raids by joint parties of Cayuse and Nez
Percés; and even by midcentury they had only one firearm
among them.[3] The scantiness of the local beaver made their
territory of little interest to the company, however, and they came
to enjoy a reputation as fierce warriors which preserved them
[101] for some time from settlers. Nonetheless, they were known even
then to the tribes of the Columbia, for Ogden applied to them
a name, "Clammite," that was not their own and seems to stem
from Chinookan.[4]

648 Some ten years after Ogden passed through, a party of French-Canadian
175 trappers made their way into the region and on their
return to The Dalles took along some Klamath.[5] From that time
on, contact with the tribes at that great Indian trading center increased.
Klamath parties moved down the Deschutes Valley,
making their way either to The Dalles itself, or branching westward
down the north fork of the Santiam along what came to
be known as the Klamath Trail, through the settlement of the
northern Molala, thence to the Kalapuya on the outskirts of
648 Oregon City. There, in 1843, one missionary recorded the visit
567 of "a large party of the Clamath tribe, fierce and warlike . . .
439 with about twenty slaves, [who] sold most or all of them. Some,
435 I was informed, were sold for three horses each,
175 some cheaper."[6]

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539
221
115

THE MONTHS OF THE YEAR.

OBTAINED FROM "PETE" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

226 251 222 252 262

Gáptsatka É-ukshikni mák̲laks páha udsáks; lúela kápto Yá-ag;
In the month of the small finger the Lake Indians dry the large sucker; kill gudgeons at the Bridge;

Ktaí-Túpakshi tk̲álmakstant otí'lks lúela hō'ank. At sa kó-iχaktchuapka,
of Standing-Rock to the westward fish-dam kill when jumping. Now they will leave home (soon),

at kámals pahá; kó-iχaga, k̲ä'shla sa, k̲olálsuapk mat sa, tawiksálsuapk
and dry fish they prepare; they leave, go after ipos they, will gather kol they, will gather tawiks

mat s at, pō'ksalsuapk mat sa, at sa pópakuapk sátnalhuapka sa, suaítlal-
they, will dig camass they, they will bake (it), roast it (3 days) they, roast it

uapk; saká a pō'ks.
(1 day); eat raw camass.

251 222

Tχópowatka pahá at pō'ks iwídshat, at É-uksi génuapka woksalsuap-
In the thumb-month dried then camass they put under ground, now for Klamath Marsh they will start to gather

kátki giug; káyudsh nû'k̲a wókash. At nû'ka wókash, wóksalsha at túnepni
lily-seed; not yet is ripe pond-lily seed. Now has ripened lily-seed, they gather (it) for five

waítash, kánktak wókslat Eúkshikni. Sníkanua nadshgshaptánkni waítash;
days, as long may gather (it) the Lake people. They let it ripen during six days;

9 nadshgshaptánkni waítash wókash shutä'shlat, awō'lat, péksat, shiulína,
during six days the nuphar-seed they grind, cook, rub fine, winnow,

435 lulína. Nā'sh wíllishik pálasham-wáχoksh láp tála, lχálχamnishti lulínash
make flour. One sack of the flour-bags two dollars, in a long, heavy sack the ground-up wókash

222 túnep tála. Nû'χatk wókash iwiχí'e k̲á-itua nû käíla. "Tánk a iwíχa i?
five dollars. Roasted lily-seed filled in sacks none in the country. "How many did fill you?

224 lápkshapta kán iwí'χa willíshik?" "nû té-unip willí'shik iwí'χa!" Wé-
seven who did fill sacks!" "I ten sacks have filled up!" Wo-

wan'sh pí'la wō'kshla, hí'hassuaks gánkanka paχō'les, tchä'-u. At sa hẹ́wi-
men only gather wókash, the men hunt mule-deers, antelopes. Now they will haul

251 501 uapk, skúya wókash. At a sha i hí'wi-uapk; áwalues sk̲éna, máktsina
(it) home, crush lily-seed. Just they home will bring it; to the island they row, camp there

Nû'shkshi, wō'ns í'lktsat Lĕmé-isham Nutē'ks, Vushí'nkam Tínuash, Lál'lāks,
at Skull-place, canoes they put away in lake bottom at Thunderbolt, at "Snake-Drowned", at "Slope-steps"

Lkō'm Ä'-ush; k̲ák̲okish lóloksgish ktélχa, Stópalsh-Tamā'dsh, Tó-ilkat
at Black Lake; at the ford the rifle drop, at Peeled-Pine, at Rail-Pyramid

pí'la wí'hla; tchía nánuk K̲ák̲-Ksháwaliäksh; nánka tchía Tchíkass-
stops every one at Raven's Place; some (will) stop at Bird's

Walákgishtat.
Lookout.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Shasta NS21

K
grown up among the Klamath, Klamath in speech and custom, were 567
not tempted to begin life anew elsewhere. Some, at least, had con- K
siderable prestige. Pit River Charley, for instance, a freed slave, [786]
returned from his people in 1873 with novel rites which were engrafted [177]
on the Ghost dance then newly come to the Klamath.[62]

Trade is probably of no great consequence within the tribe although K
it figures intertribally. Contacts were few and frequently unfriendly 439
until after the coming of the whites. The exception is the neighboring 221
Modoc groups; others are too distant. Winters are too severe for 361
travel and trade, but summers find the Warm Springs people in residence with the Klamath. These similarly set out for Warm Springs and the Dalles when the grass begins to grow, camping there in the open during the summer, and building mat-covered structures of
earth-lodge shape (wakĕ'ploks) if they stay through the winter. K
Slaves, Pit River bows, and beads are taken there to trade for horses, 439
blankets, buffalo skins, parfleches, beads (probably dentalium shells), 436
dried salmon, and lampreys.[63] Two slave children are valued at five 567
horses, several buffalo skins, and some beads. This is not far from the values recorded by Taylor in 1859; one woman was worth five or six horses, a boy one horse.[64]

The Molala are also visitors and are met on the headwaters of the K
Rogue west of Crater lake. From them buckskins are obtained for 648
pond-lily seed and beads. Relations with the Shasta have not always [437]
been unfriendly; some of the Klamath Falls group and Modoc married S
with them, possibly only since the white advent. The nearest Shasta 131
settlements at Shovel and Jennie creeks can be reached afoot several K
days' journey down the Klamath. Laik'ĕlmi is a jointly occupied 648
fishing site somewhat upstream but below the Klamath canyon. Skins [226]
and skin blankets are traded for Shasta beads. Dixon states that [437]
Shasta trade with the Klamath is slight.[65]

In the period 1860–70 the few Shasta remaining in their territory congregated S
on the lower Shasta river and near the frontier town, Yreka. They were 131
reached by crossing the Black Mountain range. At that time this was a S
much mixed group, principally half-breeds. My informant Tom Lang, taken [302]
there as a youngster, remarked how he was afraid of their highly tattooed faces.

Intercourse and marriage went on freely with the Modoc. They K
were visited on Tule and Lower Klamath lakes, and joined for the 648
fishing on Lost River near Olene. 131
226

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[62] Spier, Ghost Dance of 1870, 45, 51.

[63] Cf. Gatschet, 1:93; 2:436.

[64] *Op. cit.*, 1:lx.

[65] The Shasta, 436.

556

wealthy individuals. In approximate frequency of mention are slaves, horses, beads—and not always dentalium—food, archers' equipment, furs and hides, especially elk hides, Plains type garments, armor, large houses, buffalo skins, canoes. It is just as interesting to observe what things were not mentioned as valuable, or so to a lesser degree: baskets, nets, mortars, etc. In a word, articles of value in foreign commerce, articles of dress and adornment, of war, ritual, and sustenance, have value; domestic utensils have not. Some of the phrases describing wealthy men are illuminating. A war leader is chosen in part for his riches: he would own five quivers (five is the pattern number); he goes into battle with a quiver under each arm and one on his back. If his bowstring is cut he has another. A rich man has fur blankets, coyote and wolf pelts.

Dentalium shell beads do not function as money here as on the lower Klamath river. They are strung in fathom or half-fathom lengths, but neither length of string nor size of shell is standardized. The longer individual shells are more valuable but no one is known to haggle over the precise length as Yurok and their neighbors do. 436 •

MARRIAGE

583
[171]*

A marriage payment is a social obligation. It is not a negotiated transaction as with the Yurok, Hupa, and Karok, for example, where indeed the social status of the family is measured in exact accord to the sum paid for the bride. Here failure to pay, which can be only a confession of inability, leads only to a lowering in social esteem. It is consonant with this that the bride is in no sense a chattel; she may leave her husband at will, and she certainly cannot be disposed of as a possession. Bride purchase is as inapplicable a term as can be found for the Klamath practice. In the interchange of presents which follows marriage the advantage lies most frequently with the husband's family. Payment constitutes an obligation, a seal of respectability. This is the well-nigh universal situation in North America if payments enter at all; it is a far cry from the commercial, contractual bride purchase of Africa, for example. The peculiarity of the Klamath is that failure to pay constitutes a social stigma. This is clearly explicable as a function of their geographic position, lying between the tribes to the west, with their clear-cut monetary evaluations of social relations, and the tribes of the Great Basin to the east, utterly devoid of any such sentiments.

[626]
[177]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

K 301 length is "a little too much." The unit, according to one informant, is the length of the extended left arm to the upper end of the humerus, or across the chest in addition to the point of the right shoulder. The other gave the unit as a doubled string from the extended left hand to the sternum; that is, a fathom. K [436] One thing is clear, that there is no great concern for dentalia as money, as among the lower Klamath tribes. The strings are not standardized either as to length or size of the individual shells. Long dentalia are more valuable than the short, but my informants never knew anyone to argue over the precise length of a shell. Both men agreed that the several kinds of beads, or at least the best, are not worked by the Klamath, but come from the south. K [721] [439] They are either found in raided Achomawi-Atsugewi camps or are traded from these people or possibly the Shasta. Both were certain that the shells are not obtained from the north. This is something of a puzzle, because the Columbia river people have dentalia and [177] [174] use them extensively in trade. Furthermore, the ultimate point of origin of the shells is the coast of Washington and British Columbia. The discrepancy in the statement is further accentuated by the Yurok statement that the shells came to them both along the coast and down the Klamath river.[399]

K [789] Finger rings are not made, nor bracelets, except for young children. The cast skin of a water snake is wrapped around their wrists so that they will swim well.

K 302 [756] [822] Face painting is general, a daily usage, not confined to gala events, but more obvious at that time. The shaman's body is painted red during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use, white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white. I have pointed out elsewhere[400] that red paint is associated with warfare by the Basin tribes and their Californian and Arizonan neighbors. Here it may be added that black is used by Plains warriors. At dances white pigment, found along the creek banks, is smeared on the palms which are then pressed on the face or on a woman's smooth hair to K [317] form patterns. Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few localities in the mountains near Crater lake. NP [317] The Northern Paiute are said to have quantities of it, however.

K 751 In winter women smear their faces, hands, and arms with a mixture of charcoal and pitch, or deer grease, or of pitch and grease

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[399] Kroeber, Handbook, 22.

[400] Havasupai Ethnography, 207.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1956. Down woven into	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	292
1957. For war, dances only	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	[535]
1957a. Worn habitually by some men	-	-	-	-	+	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[721]

CURRENCY, TREASURE

Currency

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1959. Dentalia	R	+	+	+	•+	+		•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	436
1960. Standard of value	-	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	825
1961. Incised	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1962. Feathers on large end	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1963. Wrapped with sinew, painted like snake skin	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1964. Graded on finger creases	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1965. Counted	-	-	-							+							
1966. Measured in fathom and fractions of	+	+	•+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1967. Upper-arm tattoo for measuring whole string	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1968. Measured on arm, no tattoo	-	+	.	-	+	-		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1969. Cylindrical purse of horn	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[415]
1970. Purse of horn fork	-	-	-	-	+	-		•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1971. Buckskin purse	-	+	+					+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1972. Cased fur purse	-	-	.	-	+	•-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1973. Shells rolled in fur	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1974. Shells kept in basket	+	+	+	-	+	•+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1975. Long dentalia preferred	-	-	+					•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1976. Clamshell disks	R	-	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1977. Standard of value	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1978. Manufactured	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1979. Smoothing slab	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1980. Disks counted	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1981. Short strings only	-	-	-						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1982. Measured around neck												+	+	+	.	-	
1983. Measured on elbow	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1984. Measured in fathoms	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	+	-	
1985. Measured in half-fathoms	+	-	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	(+)	+	-	
1986. Cased-fur purse	-	-		(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1987. Buckskin sack for purse	+	-	+			•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	[415]
1988. Basket for purse	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	
1989. Loans of shell currency without interest	-	•+	+		+	•-		+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	[426]

Treasure

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1990. Olivella: whole shell	-	-	-	•+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	-	(+)	(+)	.	-	-	
1991. Shell cylinders or Columnella	-	-	+	-	+	•+	+	+	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	
1992. Sizes distinguished	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+	+	.	.	.	
1993. Bone cylinders		-	.		+	(-)	-	.	-	-	.	-	.	+	+	+	
1994. Magnesite cylinders	-	-	.	-	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[439]
1995. Imported	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1996. Haliotis-disk beads	-	-	+	+	-	+	.	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	
1997. Large obsidian blades, used for display	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1998. Manufactured, not used	-		-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1999. Charmstones	•-	-	-	+	(-)	•+	+	-	•+	+	-	+	+	+	-	•+	
2000. Natural shape	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	789
2001. Most effective if found by possessor.	-	-	-				+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	823
2002. Used in doctoring	-	-	-	+		+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2003. Animated; can travel of own accord.				+												+	
2004. Doughnut stones	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
2005. Natural shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

291 Footgear and leggings.--Moccasin seam on inside. Yucca-fiber sandal. Milkweed-fiber sandal. Hip to ankle leggings. Snowshoe: "handled" shape; sinew lashing, stick "lashing." Cere-

292 monial dress.--Eagle-down-rope skirt. 3-stick support for wide-band woodpecker scalps. Eagle-down-rope crown. Feather plumes: bird skin or mammal fur on body. Sea-lion tooth headband. Visor of yellowhammer feathers. Masks. Down stuck to face. Headdress of human hair.

CURRENCY

436 Dentalia, wrapped with snake skin; graded on forearm tattoo. Clamshell beads measured around palm; on arm tattoo; on thumb. Loans at interest. Olivella-disk beads. Steatite beads.

SMOKING AND TOBACCO

Pipes and Pipe Sacks

276 Pipes.--Tubular-type 1-piece pipe of cane; horn or bone; pottery. 2-piece tubular pipe; solid-wood bowl; pottery bowl; stone, bone stem or mouthpiece; stem mortised into bowl. Haliotis inlay.

Tobacco

Cultivation; preparation; uses.--Tobacco imported. Always sown on hill, not near river; transplanted; weeded. Ground in mortar; on metate. Mixed for smoking with bark, aromatic root. Kept in horn container. Tobacco eaten, drunk.

MUSIC AND DRAWING

Musical Instruments

534 Drum, rattle, rasp.--Rectanguloid drum. Cocoon rattle, feather (quill) handle, attached to arm, leg; child's toy. Gourd, deer's ear, rabbit's ear, rawhide, fish gill-sack rattles. Sheep horn(s) on stick as rattle; tortoise-shell rattle. Ornamented rasp. Bull-roarer, musical bow; flute.--Bull-roarer used to assemble people for ceremony; to stop storm; voice of thunder; used in curing; only men use. Musical bow separate instrument, hollow, of elder; perpendicular tuning peg. Flute flattened, squared around holes.

RECREATION

Games and Amusements

526 Shinny; ball race.--Shinny: basket racket or

[165-A]

648 Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation,
by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically,
less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
[657] efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities
[726] were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
[786] 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
[181] in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
[556] wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased
opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members,
[434] as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
[632] The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited
[651] bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

Frémont also remarked on the scarcity of their horses.[22]

Frémont reached Klamath lake again May 6, 1846. He commented [231]
on the outlet, Link river, "this is a great fishing station for the
Indians." His statement on the distribution of their settlements [226]
coincides with my information.

> They have fixed habitations around the shores of the lake, particularly at [361]
> the outlet and inlet [Williamson river], and along the inlet up to the swamp
> meadow [Klamath marsh], where I met the Tlamaths in the winter of '43-'44, [131]
> and where we narrowly escaped disaster. . . . . The Indians made me under-
> stand that there was another large river [Williamson river] which came from [133]
> the north and flowed into the lake at the northern end, and that the principal
> village was at its mouth, where also they caught many fish.

Frémont's party made a circuit of the lake. It is curious that he
does not mention the settlements about Pelican lake on the western
side, which he could hardly have avoided. On the other hand it is
not clear how closely his memoirs follow his diary. Attacked while [726]
on the western side, his party reciprocated by raiding a village on the
opposite side, perhaps one of those on Williamson river just above
the present highway bridge.

> Behind the sage-bushes where they had taken their stand every Indian had
> spread his arrows on the ground in fan-like shape, so that they would be ready
> to his hand. . . . . Quantities of fish were drying, spread on scaffolds, or hung [252]
> up on frames. The huts, which were made of tall rushes and willows, like
> those on the savannah above [Klamath marsh], were set on fire, and the fish [342]
> and scaffolds were all destroyed.[23] [726]

The first invaders remembered by the Klamath came from the
north about 1835. The stories about them have now a legendary flavor. 173
The first group was mounted; the Klamath dubbed them mpĕ'tkoŋks 437
(from mĕte!a', to pack about) from their roving habits. An alterna- 648
tive name, pásai'ŭks (French-Canadian in Chinook jargon), more
surely identifies them. During their brief stay at the mouth of
Williamson river they bought fat dogs of the Klamath, which to the
latter's amazement, they ate. For these they gave buttons and metal
disks with a central perforation (wika'lkal).

Almost as early was a white contingent moving northward on the 173
west side of Klamath lake. The Indians watched them unseen. They 648
were impressed with the horses, axes, and the food of the whites. 177

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[22] Frémont, Narrative, 122.

[23] Frémont, Memoirs, 483, 484, 494.

WARFARE AND FEUDS

721 Klamath warfare is deserving of the name in contrast to the conflicts of the northern Californian tribes. Raids are carried into foreign parts for plunder, slaves, and revenge, and received in turn. No single town or tribelet is alone concerned: warriors are drawn
[171] from the Klamath at large. This is in marked contrast to the Yurok and their neighbors, e.g., whose foreign wars seem but an extension of the private quarrels that set town against town, and in which the large body of Yurok may remain neutral. Warfare is here not mere retaliation, murder for murder, but is engendered by patriotic motive and tangible benefits.

There can be little doubt that the Klamath attitude is due to their contact with tribes of warlike habit to the north and east. Raids from that direction had to be met and countered. The interesting circumstance is that the Pit river people were under a similar compulsion but apparently made no effort to cope with the raids by reciprocating. So far as I can learn they never ventured against the Klamath despite their equivalence or even superiority of numbers. The cause for the difference seems to be that the Klamath had reason to raid; slaves and
[437] plunder were important to them. There was a market for these articles at the Dalles with much-coveted horses to be had in return.
[231] The Achomawi had no such outlet. I would not underestimate the difference in tribal solidarity, which may have been entirely lacking
[619] among the Achomawi, but the suggestion is that such solidarity may in this instance be a function of a common cause against a common enemy. The Klamath had their share of internecine warfare.

648 Besides the close bond with the Modoc, normally friendly relations are maintained with the Molala across the Cascades, the Wătă'nkni (Warm Springs people) of the Deschutes, and the Wishram-Wasco
648 at the Dalles. Warfare is directed toward all other directions. Raids are exchanged with the Shasta several days' journey down the Kla-
721 math river, the Upland Takelma on the Rogue river, and the Northern
[231] Paiute (Snake) of the desert to the east. The Klamath fight the Kalapuya and take horses from the Warm Springs Indians.[38] Since horses were obtained by them, raids may be expected of the Ya'mŏkni two hundred or more miles away; northerners generically, but in this

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[38] Gatschet, 1:18.

connection the Sahaptins of the Columbia and the Cayuse seem 648
meant.[36] Both Ya'mōkni and Shasta made slaves among the Klamath. 721
How infrequent were these raids may be judged by the circumstance [567]
that my informants independently mentioned the half-dozen recorded
years ago by Gatschet, and no others.

The Pit river people, possibly only the Achomawi, may alone be
raided with impunity. Reciprocity on their part would lead them
only into the intervening territory of the hostile Modoc, who may well
have served the Klamath as a buffer. For their part the Klamath were [567]
stimulated by the lucrative traffic in slaves established with the Columbia
river tribes, and the majority of captives were by all accounts Pit
river people. Gatschet writes of these raids as a regular occurrence. 114
"In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround 437
the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their
homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place 567
at The Dalles"; and again, "the Lake men enslaved many every
spring time."[37] To be sure, consonant with Kroeber's view,[38] raiding [231]
was undoubtedly accelerated by the appearance of the horse in the
north. Contacts were then more rapid, and the beast itself became
an important and desirable article to possess. But there can be no 567
doubt that the practice of taking slaves on Pit river was already
established. This is not only implied in the informants' statements,
but it must be kept in mind that slaves were an important element in
the society of the Wishram, Wasco, and their down-river neighbors.
This means that the Klamath were not only turning to slave-taking
as a lucrative traffic, but that slave-holding as indicative of social
distinction was becoming their habit by imitation.[39]

How frequently the Klamath made war as a whole is unknown. It 721
seems doubtful that concerted action was frequent. Perhaps large- 567

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[36] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of such a raid up the Deschutes about 1876. 619

[37] *Op. cit.*, 1:lix, 19.

[38] Handbook, 319.

[39] While the Klamath do not distinguish among the Pit river peoples raided, Kniffen's recent account of the Achomawi (Achomawi Geography) makes it clear that Klamath and Modoc descended most frequently on Achomawi settlements north of the Pit and also crossed it to Atsugewi territory in Hat Creek and Dixie valleys. The Achomawi proper about Fall river were subject to continual attack; the Hewisedawi, south of Goose lake, and the Astariwawi, near them on the Pit, bore the brunt. The Atsugewi divisions, Atsuge (Hat creek) and Aporige (Dixie valley), were also freely raided. The Atwamsini, on the middle Pit, and the Kosalektawi, on the extreme headwaters of the river, were reached much less frequently. The other groups of Achomawi were free from attack probably by reason of their inaccessibility; the Ilmawi, Itsatawi, and Madesi at the western end of their range, and the Hammawi on the extreme east.

by the death of several on each side, the feud continues until payment 726
is made. Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried 628
out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery.

A chief may intervene; so I was told, though I doubt it. Chiefs do 728
accompany parleying parties and other men may echo their words. 622
Beyond that there seems to be nothing to their position but personal prestige which has been enhanced by developments since reservation days. Lɛle'ks and his successors among the ă'ukckni seem to have made much of their position. Pat's father and Tci'wi, both du'kwakni, killed a iu" lalonᴇ man at stŏ'kmatc, Eagle Point. They were taken to Klamath marsh and each beaten five times at the order of this chief. This was in pre-reservation days, or at least prior to the establishment of the agency in 1864 (?). Nevertheless this is not aboriginal, but, [177]
according to Nancy Phillips, these "laws" were brought by her cousin from the north.

The group that owes recompense, having lost fewer men, goes to 728
the other offering payment to even the score. The value of a man's life is not a fixed item, as it is for the lower Klamath river tribes; this despite the similarity of marriage payment and the slur on children not born of a purchased mother. My informants professed ignorance of what should be paid, yet it can hardly be doubted that recompense accorded with a man's wealth and prestige.

Children who are captured are kept; setting the score does not mean that they are restored, though this may well be only in case they have been sold. Their fate depends on their captors, who may elect to rear them as their own children. More commonly they are miserably treated, made to sleep with the dogs, fetch water, etc., and beaten if they are lazy. They are as quickly sold at Warm Springs and the [437]
Dalles as are foreign captives. With the latter at least there is an advantage in immediately disposing of them, that they do not grow up to carry back to their own people precise knowledge of the habits and topography of the Klamath world.

Kŏ'kdliŋks of du'kwa was a chief (lŏ'ki) in warfare. He would tell his tribes- 159
men to get ready to fight with the iu" laloŋkni, for instance. He was always 701
in the forefront of battle. When a youth he went out to seek power by bathing
and wandering through the mountains at night. His mother had told him that 721
long before those of iu" lalonᴇ had slain his father, Lĕ" l'wis, a du'kwa shaman accused of poisoning one of them. He wanted to become a warrior to have

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

567 frequent and had slave-taking as a primary object. It is probable that the introduction of the horse stimulated predatory habits and made possible frequent trading visits to the Columbia river people. From them they adopted for themselves the practices of slave-holding on an enlarged scale and of measuring wealth in terms of slaves, and were encouraged to raid more frequently, and to carry their spoil to the river to exchange for the highly desired horses. Prior to the coming of the horse, we may suppose the very mild interest in holding captives found in any Basin or Californian tribe.

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721 Most slaves (loks) are from Pit river (Achomawi and Atsugewi); others are Northern Paiute and Shasta, with a few Upland Takelma from the Rogue river drainage. A few of these Takelma are known to have been made captive on a raid into Klamath territory. The Klamath sporadically raid the Pit river people in spring or summer when the latter are scattered. Young children, women, and even men are taken.[60] Other plunder (du'ta) consists of blankets, bows and arrows, dentalia, and other beads. Captives are similarly taken in the course of feuds among the tribal subdivisions, and perhaps as freely sold. One informant had it that they are not sold but grow to manhood as foster children and visit back and forth with their own people on the friendliest terms. This view implies that they are taken and cherished as recompense for a loss by murder.

567
437 Slaves are commonly traded to individuals who make a practice of taking them to Warm Springs and the Dalles to sell again. Such was Lεle'ks in his day, who, having got three or four together, would set out for the north to trade for horses and blankets. Some he would keep to treat much as his own relatives.

567 It is quite likely that a slave's life is much like that of any poor Klamath. They commonly live in dome-shaped mat-lodges set up beside the family's earth-lodge, and there the women are visited by their masters. How far they are abused or suffer from uncertainty, I do not know. Gatschet records the escape of Pit river captives while their captors were hurrying back from a raid.[61] When the agency was established by the government all slaves were freed, but most elected to stay, and of those who returned to their own people, some came back. Evidently they had not suffered from too harsh treatment; at any rate, by my informant's account, those who had

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[114] [60] Gatschet says adult men were not enslaved but killed if captured. The instance he cites bears him out (*op. cit.*, 1:24, 25).

[562] [61] *Op. cit.*, 1:20.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
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2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
✓ Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
529. Thatched	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	251
530. Roughly coiled, in shape tubular bin.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
531. Posts set upright in ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	(-)	+	•+	•+	•+	
532. Goods wrapped, hung from branch of tree	-	-	+				•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
533. Storage in pit outside	(+)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	
534. Storage indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
534a. In baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
535. In twined tule "sacks"	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
536. Vegetable foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
537. Dried meat, salted or plain	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
538. Dried fish or salmon flour	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	
539. Storage in pit inside sweat house	-					•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Exchange of Food																	
540. Food sold	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	•+	262
541. Traded or borrowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	437
542. Mainly in time of famine	-	+	-	-	-	-	•-	+	-	-	+	+		+	+	-	
543. Mainly in winter, early spring	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
544. Game divided	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	224
545. Killer gets most or certain parts	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•	
546. Meat equally divided among hunters	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
547. Large game divided among whole camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Ownership of Productive Areas																	
548. Fishing places privately owned	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	-	423
549. Fishing places jointly owned, owners unrelated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
550. Fishing places owned by village group	+	+	-	-		•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	226
551. Anyone may take some of owner's catch	-	-	-						+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
552. Fishing places rented for share of catch	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	.	-	
553. Fish weir privately owned	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
554. Hunting land or spots privately owned	-	-	+	•-	-	•-	•-	-	+	-	+	-	-	•+	+	-	423
555. Seed tracts privately owned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[224]
556. Seed tracts owned by village group		+				+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
557. Trees privately owned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
558. Trees owned by village group	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
559. Trees claimed for single season only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
560. Only trees distant from village	-	-	-						+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
561. Tribal or group boundaries marked by topographic features	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
562. Tobacco plot privately owned	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	[276]
563. Land for single season only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
564. Tobacco plot owned by village	-	-	-			-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
565. Village site owned by group	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	[361]
Division of Labor																	
Subsistence Pursuits																	
566. Hunting: men only	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
567. Rat and mouse catching: men and women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
568. Men	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	[224]
569. Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
570. Gathering insects, grubs: men and women	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	[222]
571. Men	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	
572. Women	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
573. Fishing: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[226]
574. Men only net, spear fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	
575. Women use basket to catch fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	

262 510. Kl: Inner bark of yellow pine secured
824 in June; by July "too hard."
512. Eaten fresh, raw or cooked on coals;
000 dried, for winter, strung on willow withe. MM, NF: Ground burned for better crop; denied by MV. MV: Cooked with fish.

Eating customs.--
515. WT, WM, WS: For acorn soup.
516. WM: For acorn soup. WS: For acorn soup and deermeat.
[264] 519. Kl: Eat any time during day; sometimes men eat alone, sometimes men, women, children eat together.
521. Fresh food cooked and served. WT: Fresh batch food not cooked; "they dish out whatever they have on hand and set it before the visitors."
524. NF, MV: With buckskin.

Storage of food.--
525. AW: Acorns stored chiefly in pits; "too cold here in winter for outdoor granaries; have to bury acorns."
527. Bark used as cover for top; dirt piled up around stump.
528. Mo: Poles occasionally laid across boughs of cedar tree; tule sacks containing food stored on this pole platform. AW: Food stored on platform in oak tree; "poison" (animate) set on top of food; if any person, animal appears to steal food, poison shoots thief.
530. For illustration of this type, see Kroeber, Handbook pl. 38. WT: Informant, shown picture of granary just referred to, stated WT use similar granary, but that it is thatched (?) to some extent on sides.
531. NM, NS, MV: 4 upright posts only, for frame. NM: Hole in bottom, to take acorns out. MV: Hole in side.
532. AE: Food, hides hung up in branches of junipers; popular method of storage.
[251] 533. Kl: Recent custom; "may have done it
[178] formerly also." NS: Used for temporary purposes only.
539. AW: If leaving village for a time, bury acorns in pit dug inside sweat house; cover hole with tule mats, etc.

Exchange of food.--
262 540. Kl: "Whoever has no food, Indians give him some; they help each other, just like 1
● 437 family." MV: Informant emphasized fact that between villages food given as gift, but also mentioned that mountain varieties of acorns are purchased from MF, MM groups.
542. AE: Food divided in time of famine.
224 545. Kl: If 2 men hunting, meat divided equally; if more than 2, killer gets slightly larger share. Mo: Killer keeps deer hide. SW:
000 If 2 men, killer gets most; if meat cut up, cooked or dried and divided in camp, all receive equal share. If driving deer into river, driver gets head, hide, foreleg of deer. At: Killer

000 gets skin, 1 of his relatives gets head; all deer piled together in camp for distribution of meat, if large hunt. WT: Killer keeps 1 ham or tenderloin. WM: Killer keeps 2 hams and deerskin; but, upon his arrival home, after hams cooked hunter calls all his companions on hunt to eat these hams at a "big supper." No women attend this supper; each woman cooks and eats a small piece of meat her husband has brought home as his share from the hunt. WS: Killer gets ham and deerskin. On large hunt, after hunt all men foregather in headman's house; men cook the deermeat (hams especially) in this house, and proceed to eat their fill of meat and acorn mush (latter provided by women for this "dinner"). After men are through, each one takes home piece of meat, raw or cooked, for wife and children. MM, MP: Killer gets skin, of deer or bear. NP: Killer gets skin and 1 ham. NM: Killer gets hindquarter. NS: Killer gets skin.

262
437 546. Kl: See note 545. MV: Meat divided equally among hunters; each hunter divides his share again among his relatives. Acorn dough similarly divided.

Ownership of Productive Areas

000 548. SW: Upriver from Hamburg, on Klamath, falls not privately owned; this true also of falls on Shasta, Rogue rivers. At Hamburg and from thence down-river on Klamath through Karuk territory, falls privately owned.

550. AW: "Fishing places the people were more particular about [than hunting places]; they wouldn't let people from other villages come to get fish or ducks there. Trespassers would be hit with a paddle, if met in canoe, and made to get out."

554. SW: If man hunts over certain territory near spot where he lives, all his life, when this man dies no one can hunt in that territory for 1 year. During man's lifetime, however, anyone belonging to same local group as man does, may hunt there. AW: "Hunting places the people were not so particular about [as fishing places], although they would run out a big bunch of strangers, coming too near the settlements to hunt. Everyone would have to hunt together, though, when they used fire drives back in the mountains." AE: Informant had been born at small village, pačulomĬči, in present West's Valley; this village group, through its headman, controlled West's Valley; "no one could go in there and hunt without first visiting headman and going out hunting with him. They took care of their land well; no hunting on it without permission." All men belonging to this village had right to hunt, fish in West's Valley, however. NM: By 3-4 men, jointly.

556. AE: "If too many ipos bulbs at pačulomĬči [see note 554], and not enough at hammawi [another village], the hammawi people would be allowed to gather ipos at pačulomĬči"; such privileges often reciprocal.

561. MM: See note 2619.

[180-B]

[141] [231] They are well provided with bows and arrows. They have only one horse. Snow is so deep, horses perish for want of food. In winter, they live on roots. In summer on antelope and fish.

December 1st. 30 Clammite Indians paid us a visit: fine men in good condition, but wretchedly clad. They say the river to the ocean is far distant and beaver they do not know. They say the Indians become more numerous as we advance to the ocean. . . . .

[342] [161] [439] Tuesday 6th. Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defence against arrows but not balls. 200 of them collected about our camp and traded 4 days. The 2 chiefs delivered traps lost by Mr. McDonald last year with 8 beaver. This is much in favor of their honesty. On our march this day, we passed the camps from wh. Mr. McDonald turned back last year and are consequently strangers to the country in advance.

[161] Thursday 8th. About 300 Indians around our camp. We advanced 6 miles south following the river south. I estimate the Clammitte nation 250 men.

Monday 12th. Reached the lake [Klamath lake?] 1½ × 15 miles well wooded with maple and hazel; course S.

[361] The second visit on record is that of Frémont, who reached the northern shore of Klamath marsh on December 10, 1843. He saw smoke at what appeared to be the middle of the marsh and along the opposite shore. An unoccupied northern shore agrees with my own information. The following day he visited the village "in the middle of the lake (or savannah)," which appears to be one of those at the outlet of the marsh.

> [342] The huts were grouped together on the bank of the [Klamath] river, which, from being spread out in a shallow marsh at the upper end of the lake, was collected here into a single stream. They were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams.
>
> [226] [252] [285] [291] Almost like plants, these people seem to have adapted themselves to the soil, and to growing on what the immediate locality afforded. Their only subsistence at this time appeared to be a small fish, great quantities of which, that had been smoked and dried, were suspended on strings about the lodge. Heaps of straw were lying around; and their residence in the midst of grass and rushes had taught them a peculiar skill in converting this material to useful purposes. Their shoes were made of straw or grass, which seemed well adapted for a snowy country; and the women wore on their head a closely woven basket, which made a very good cap. Among other things, were parti-colored mats about four feet square, which we purchased to lay on the snow under our blankets, and to use for table cloths.
>
> [231] Numbers of singular-looking dogs, resembling wolves, were sitting on the tops of the huts. . . . .
>
> [648] They made us comprehend that they were at war with the people who lived to the southward and to the eastward; but I could obtain from them no certain information. . . . .
>
> This morning the camp was thronged with Tlamath Indians from the southeastern shore of the lake. . . . .

539 he was nowhere to be seen. They thought he must have died. After a long time he began to talk, throwing water on the rocks. When he was quite ready he came out and walked to his own people. He had bested the shamans.

One informant completed the humorous tale of the lizard who killed five grizzlies with the comment, "He was braver than Tel'lokin."

622 Chiefs are wealthy. All informants gave the same term, lŏ'ki, for
rich man and chief, and when asked for the rich men named the chiefs.
556 They own many slaves; other people may have slaves, but many have
595 none. Some chiefs have a number of wives. Lɛle'ks had seven at one
[567] time, not slaves, but one a Modoc, the others native. This, the largest
marrige group known, argues considerable wealth. Lɛle'ks was accus-
[439] tomed to make frequent trips to northern tribes with captives to
exchange for horses. Everything points to the rise in wealth of these
men as dating only from the comparatively recent period of contact
with the northern tribes. Up to that time at least shamans rivaled
[756] chiefs in wealth.

622 A chief becomes such primarily by his leadership in war. When a group is gathered preparatory to war, chiefs address them and under their guidance war leaders, prominent, brave, and wealthy, are agreed on. Chiefs themselves are among the war leaders and no one alone captains the party. Chiefs make a point of engaging prominent adversaries in the forefront of battle. In addition to their other qualities, it is assumed that they are brave, unexcitable, and able to do without sleep.

Under the circumstances there can hardly be inheritance of chieftainship, largely because it is not an office to be regulated by definite succession. A chief's relative may be chosen as war leader, but not of necessity. Since wealth figures, it may be that at least the possibility of succession is heritable, but a man who is personally disqualified will not be considered. Pat Kane's paternal grandfather was a chief at du'kwa; further vision experiences had made him a good gambler but no shaman. But his son did not succeed because he was not competent and, in addition poor, nor has Pat any pretensions. On the death of Lɛle'ks, his son Solomon was passed over as lacking caliber, and in reservation days Alan David, previously a minor figure, was recognized in his place. Their relationship is unknown. My informants did not know whether the fathers of any of the chiefs named above had been chiefs before them.

[565] The Klamath have no feeling of class stratification as on the Columbia river and northward. A chief is a leader and nothing more.

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[66] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

[67] Handbook, 308, 319.

A bit of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire about the village but for an overnight journey a woman carries a spark in a long fuse. This is of black sage-brush bark, twisted into a rope thirty inches long and bound about at intervals.[305] 372

Knives are fashioned from stone blades or shells. These river shells (ĕndj!ĕ'tc) are not ground to an edge but used as they are. Forms ranging in size from arrowheads to large lance blades are chipped from obsidian, flint, and similar stones. So far as I am aware these are never ground into shape. Those intended for knives are sometimes wrapped around the butt to provide a handle.[306] Stone knives are intended for butchering rather than woodworking. Blades never figured in the display of wealth, as among the Yurok. Barrett figures a bone knife used for separating the inner and outer bark of pine.[307] 412 321 324

Sewing is done with awl and sinew. The awl (sö'ḳtᴇ) is a fragment of the fore-leg tibia of a deer. Although the upper end of a tibia is nicely rounded to fit the hand, and is accordingly used elsewhere, the Klamath make no use of it. Instead a splinter sharpened at each end is inserted in a wooden handle. Old men carry these at the chest tied on a buckskin thong. The sinew used is that which lies along a deer's backbone. (Sinew is called ᴇmboi'itc; this particular sinew bi'lhŏp.) Skin garments for either sex are sewn by women. Women also make moccasins whether of skin or tule. 412 294 462

The smoking process is used when tanning. The skin is stretched over a tipi-like frame of little willows set over a hole as deep as one's forearm. The fire is made of rotten wood. Coville states that "the bark [of the white fir (bä, *Abies concolor* (Gord.) Lindl.)] is sometimes used to dye and tan buckskin, giving it somewhat the appearance of ordinary tan-colored leather."[308] 281

Neither bags of skin (k!o'wanᴇ) nor parfleches are made by the Klamath. These are brought from the Dalles, I was told, and probably from Warm Springs, for cĕptŏk, parfleche, is clearly a loan word from Sahaptin (cf. Yakima căta'kai). 415 439

Mats are of four kinds, each designated by a name. Sewn mats (st!ŏps) are used solely as the outer covering of mat-lodges; when 285

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[305] Illustrated by Barrett, pl. 22, fig. 1.

[306] Pitch was not used to fasten these. One type of knife, at least, found as far apart as Mexico and the Arctic, and consisting of stone fragments set into the sides of the handle, is unknown here.

[307] Pl. 22, fig. 5; cf. Gatschet, 1:148.

[308] Notes, 88.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

K 301 length is "a little too much." The unit, according to one informant, is the length of the extended left arm to the upper end of the humerus, or across the chest in addition to the point of the right shoulder. The other gave the unit as a doubled string from the extended left hand K [436] to the sternum; that is, a fathom. One thing is clear, that there is no great concern for dentalia as money, as among the lower Klamath tribes. The strings are not standardized either as to length or size of the individual shells. Long dentalia are more valuable than the short, but my informants never knew anyone to argue over the precise length of a shell. Both men agreed that the several kinds of beads, or at least the best, are not worked by the Klamath, but come from the K south. They are either found in raided Achomawi-Atsugewi camps [721] or are traded from these people or possibly the Shasta. Both were [439] certain that the shells are not obtained from the north. This is something of a puzzle, because the Columbia river people have dentalia and [177] use them extensively in trade. Furthermore, the ultimate point of origin of the shells is the coast of Washington and British Columbia. [174] The discrepancy in the statement is further accentuated by the Yurok statement that the shells came to them both along the coast and down the Klamath river.[399]

K [789] Finger rings are not made, nor bracelets, except for young children. The cast skin of a water snake is wrapped around their wrists so that they will swim well.

K 302 Face painting is general, a daily usage, not confined to gala events, but more obvious at that time. The shaman's body is painted red during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use, [756] white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to [822] war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white. I have pointed out elsewhere[400] that red paint is associated with warfare by the Basin tribes and their Californian and Arizonan neighbors. Here it may be added that black is used by Plains warriors. At dances white pigment, found along the creek banks, is smeared on the palms K which are then pressed on the face or on a woman's smooth hair to [317] form patterns. Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few localities in the mountains near Crater lake. The Northern Paiute NP are said to have quantities of it, however.

[317] In winter women smear their faces, hands, and arms with a mix-K ture of charcoal and pitch, or deer grease, or of pitch and grease 751

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[399] Kroeber, Handbook, 22.

[400] Havasupai Ethnography, 207.

The judicial function of chiefs, dispensing fines and punishments, is 177
known to have been derived from the Columbia river tribes at 622
this time.

Some trade articles not manufactured by the Klamath also pertain to this era: parfleches, skin bags, and buffalo hides from Warm 439
Springs and the Dalles, flat basketry bowls from Pit river through the Modoc, and beads, even dentalia, from the same southern source or from the Shasta.

The second quarter of the last century saw the coming of the 177
horse. Ogden remarked on only one among them in 1826, but they
began to be obtained in numbers, probably from Warm Springs, about 231
1840. There can be little question that with the horse came elements of Plains culture from the half-Plains tribes of the Columbia-Snake, the adoption of predatory habits, and the great stimulus to slave-raiding and to slave-trading with the people at the Dalles on the Columbia.

Both tradition and inference assign Plains traits to this period. 177
The relative newness of Plains style of dress is attested by the incom-
pleteness with which it was adopted. It was never the universal garb, [291]
but confined to the wealthiest, and, most significantly, proscribed at
the performances of shamans and the Ghost dance. Further, men [714]
did not wear Plains costume to war and set out on their raids afoot, even after the acquisition of horses, which suggests that the new accouterment and habits had not taken firm root. The circular shield, which also was never in general use, may well have come in at this time. The earlier types of Plains garments here were only simply [291]
decorated or not at all. It is known that the elaborate beading of the
yoke and the use of scalps, etc., for appendages on women's dress, and [531]
the painted designs on men's shirts, are much more recent than the first adoption of these garments. These local changes probably reflect a similar transformation in decoration in the southern Plateau. Possibly the dome-shaped sweat-lodge was introduced at this early [343]
period. It seems to have been displacing the small earth-covered affair for some time. But the latter is also generically the eastern type, not the Californian, and is without doubt older than this incursion of Plains elements in the early nineteenth century. Finally, I cannot avoid the feeling that the sense of tribal solidarity, in which, even though but slightly developed, the Klamath differ from their Californian neighbors, dates from this contact with Plains-like peoples.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
252 476. Eaten dry	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	−	+
477. Buckeyes eaten	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
478. Leached	o	o	o	−	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
479. Boiled whole	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	−	−	+	o
480. Earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
481. For flesh food	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
482. For vegetable food	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
483. Food sprinkled with water	−		+	+	−		−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
484. Food covered with leaves or grass	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
485. Water sprinkled into oven after closed up	−	+	−	−	−		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
486. Eggs cooked	+	+	+			+	+		+		+			+	+	+
487. Baked in earth oven	+	−	−		−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
488. Baked in hot ashes	−	+	+			−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
489. Stone boiled in basket	−	+	+								+	−	−	+	+	+
272 490. Berry "cider"	+	o	+	+	+	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
491. Sipped with deer tail	−	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−
263 492. Salt obtained in mineral form, dry	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
493. Salt from spring or marsh	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
494. Salt locally	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
[439] 495. Salt imported	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
496. Used little or not at all; disliked	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
497. "Salt" from burning grass	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
498. "Salt" clover eaten fresh	−	+	−					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262 499. Soaproot eaten	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	[illegible]	+	−
500. Top eaten	o	o	o	−	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	−	−	+	+	−
501. Root eaten	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	+	−	−
502. Cooked in earth oven	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	−	−	−
[278] 503. Root concoction drunk as medicine	o	o	o	−	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	−	−		−	−
[439] 504. Imported if not obtainable locally	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
[515] 505. Soaproot for washing	o	o	o	+	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	R	+
506. Milkweed chewing gum	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[261] 507. Pine pitch chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	o	+	+	+
508. Pine "sugar"	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
509. Honeydew from leaves eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
510. Inner bark of trees eaten.	+	−	+	−	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
511. Mushrooms and fungi eaten											+	+	+			+
512. Fresh or dried											+	+	+			+
Eating Customs																
264 513. Men served before women, if crowd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
[562] 514. All eat out of one basket	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
515. Men each have own basket	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
516. Women also have separate baskets	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
517. Man and wife eat from same basket	+	+	+						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
[865] 518. Children "piece" whenever hungry						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
519. Two main meals daily, usually	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
520. Three main meals daily	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−		−	−	−	−	−	+
[574] 521. Meal whenever visitor arrives	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[515] 522. Hands washed after eating deer, bear meat	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
523. Men's rule only	−	−	−			−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−
524. Wipe face, hands with grass, bark after eating	+	+	+						+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Storage of Food																
251 525. Outdoor granaries	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
526. Against tree	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
527. In burnt tree stump	−		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
528. On platform in tree; covered	−	+	+			+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
515 810. Pray or wish while sweating	•+	•+	•(+)	+	R	•R	•+	+	•+	•+	+	(+)	−	−	−	−
782 811. Cold bath follows sweat	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	(−)	+	+	−	+

House Furnishings and Arrangement

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
281 812. Blankets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
813. Elk and deerskin	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
513 814. Painted hides for fine blankets	−	−	−			−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
815. Woven rabbitskin blankets	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
816. Patchwork skin blankets	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
817. Deerskin	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
818. Coyote skin	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
819. Wildcat skin	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
820. Raccoon skin	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
821. Rabbitskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
822. Blue-fox skin	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−
[439] 823. Buffalo hides, imported for blankets	−		+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[237] 824. Feather blankets	+	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	•+
825. Loose tule, grass blanket covering	+	+	+		+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
826. Pillows	+	+	+	+	.	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.
827. Individual wooden pillow	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
828. Pole pillow	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	.
829. Piece of wood or rock	+	−	−		−	−			+	+	+	.	−	−	+	.
830. Rolled skin	−	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.
831. Rolled tule mat	−	−	+	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
832. Leaf or grass pillow	−	+	−	−	(+)	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.
534 833. Pine needles heaped up for pillow	−	+	−	−			−	−	−	−	(−)	+	−	−	−	.
†834. Wooden foot drum	−	−	•R	−	−	−	−	−	•R	•R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
†835. Hollow half log	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	.	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†836. In line with door	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†837. Over hole in ground	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	+	+	+	+	.	+
†838. Post before drum	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	R	R	+	.	−	−	−	+
361 †838a. Houses in rows	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
†838b. Houses in circle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	−	•+

Shelters

Brush Enclosures and Shades

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
417 839. Roofless circular brush enclosure	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
840. Large, used for ceremonies	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
[574] 841. As camping place for visitors	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	−	−	−
[764] 842. At cemeteries only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	+	−	+	+
843. Fire in center	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
844. Opening(s) oriented	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	−	−	.	•+
845. Same, but smaller, for summer shelter	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
846. Partly roofed over	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
847. Roofed circular brush enclosure	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−		−
848. Shades	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+	+	−	•+
849. Horizontal roof	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
850. Sloping roof	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
851. 4 supporting posts	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+
852. 3 side walls	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
853. Brush heaped around pit mortars, for shade	−	−	−		−	−	−		−	−	−	(+)	+	+	−	−
854. Conical bark grinding house, 2 families	−	−	−		+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Menstrual Huts

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
343 855. Menstrual hut	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
841 856. Similar to living house, but smaller	−	−	−	•+	−	+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	+	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
956. Atop load	.	+	+			+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	482
957. In pack basket	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[758]
958. Loads carried on head	•+	•+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•(+)	
959. Grass, tule, or bark ring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	
960. Hands support load	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	
961. Liquids	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	
962. Loads carried on shoulder	+	+	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	R	+	R	
963. Load suspended from pole, man at each end											•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
964. Liquids carried waiter style on upturned palm.	–	+	+	•–	•+	•+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

Bows

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
965. Self bow	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	.		+	+	411
966. For rough or occasional use only	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.		+	+	
967. Sinew-backed wooden bow	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
968. Made locally	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	[439]
969. Imported	•+	+	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	•–	+	.	–	–	–	
970. Bow wood from N (shady) side of tree	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	.	–	
971. Recurved tips	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	+	–	
972. Middle recurve	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	+	–	
973. Slight	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	.	+	–	
974. Pronounced	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	
975. Constricted grip	+	+	+	•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	+	
976. Sinew bowstring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
977. 2-ply	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
978. 1-ply, fine strands glued together	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
979. Vegetable-fiber bowstring	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	.	+	
980. Gut bowstring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
980a. Hide-thong bowstring	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
981. Design(s) painted on bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	.	+	
982. Wristguard on left arm	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	

Arrows

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
983. Arrowheads of flaked stone	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
984. Stemmed, no definite barbs	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+	+	.
985. Concave base, notch in each side	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	•+	+	–	.	–	–	+	.
986. Concave base, no notches	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	.
987. Barbed and stemmed	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	•+	–	+	.	–	–	–	.
988. Toothed edges	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	.
989. Ground stone arrowheads	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	.	.
990. Bone arrowheads	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–
991. Awl-shaped	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–
992. Stemmed, no barbs		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
993. Barbed	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
994. Solid wooden shaft	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+
995. Cane shaft	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	.
996. Used for ducks	+	+				+	+	–	o	o	o	–	–	–	–	.
997. Single shaft, no head	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
998. Sharp	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
999. Blunt	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1000. For birds, squirrels, etc.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1001. For fish	–	–	–	+	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1002. Foreshaft, no other head	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	(+)	+	•+	+	+
1003. Foreshaft plus head	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1738. Woven bird-skin blanket	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	291
1739. Mat of whole tule or rush	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1740. Bark cape	–	+						+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1741. Cloak of shredded tule	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1742. Deer fur robes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1743. Single hide, tied at front of neck	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	
1744. Single hide, tied over shoulder	–	–	•+		•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	+	•+	.	–	
1745. 2 hides sewn together	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1746. Painted on bare side	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1747. Bear fur	–	–	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1748. Elkhide	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	
1749. Puma fur	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1750. Patchwork cape of small mammal hides	–	+	•+		+	+	+	–	–	•+	+	–	+	–	+	+	
Shirts and Gowns																	
1751. Women's buckskin gown	R	+	R	•+	R	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	[434]
1752. Imported	•+	.	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o1753. Number of skins	3	2	2	2	2	•2	3	•1	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	
1754. To knee or more	R	+	R	+	R	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1755. Tied at back of neck	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1756. Tied in back, at waist	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1757. Skins, front and back	–	+	–	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1758. Tied over 2 shoulders, at waist 2 sides	–	+	+	•+				–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1759. Belted around waist	–	–	–					–			+	+					
1760. Sleeveless	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1761. Flaps over upper arms	–	–	R	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1762. Sleeves, elbow length	R	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1763. Sleeves fringed	R	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1764. Porcupine-quill decoration	R	+	R			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[237]
1765. Poncho type, 1 skin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1766. Painted	–	–	R	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1767. Shell pendants	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1768. Clamshell beads	•–		–			+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1769. Tubular bone beads	–	–	–	–	R	.	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
1770. Men's buckskin shirt	R	+	R	•+	•+	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1771. Imported	•+	.	•+	–													
o1772. Number of skins	2½	2	2	1	1	(1)	2	–	[illegible]	–	•1	2	–	–	–	–	
1773. Skins, front and back	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1774. Tied at neck	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1775. Tied at both shoulders	–		–	–			–	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1776. Slipped over head	R	+	R	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1777. Open front, tied with thong	•–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1778. Knee length	R		R					–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1779. Sleeveless	–	+	R	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1780. Sleeves, elbow length	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1781. Sleeves, wrist length	R	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1782. Sleeves fringed	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1783. Painted	R	–	R	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1784. Bone-bead pendants	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1785. Poncho type, 1 skin	R	•+	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Loin Coverings																	
1786. Breechclout (between legs)	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	(+)	+	+	–	+	
1787. Buckskin	+	+	+	•+	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1788. Fur	.	+	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1789. Buckskin skirt, sewed sides	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1790. Wrap-around type skirt	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1956. Down woven into	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	292
1957. For war, dances only	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	[535]
1957a. Worn habitually by some men	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[721]
CURRENCY, TREASURE																	
Currency																	
1959. Dentalia	R	+	+	+	•+	+		•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	436
1960. Standard of value	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1961. Incised	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	825
1962. Feathers on large end	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1963. Wrapped with sinew, painted like snake skin	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1964. Graded on finger creases	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1965. Counted	–	–	–							+							
1966. Measured in fathom and fractions of	+	+	•+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1967. Upper-arm tattoo for measuring whole string	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1968. Measured on arm, no tattoo	–	+	.	–	+	–		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1969. Cylindrical purse of horn	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[415]
1970. Purse of horn fork	–	–	–	–	+	–		•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1971. Buckskin purse	–	+	+					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1972. Cased fur purse	–	–	.	–	+	•–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1973. Shells rolled in fur	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1974. Shells kept in basket	+	+	+	–	+	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1975. Long dentalia preferred	–	–	+					•–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1976. Clamshell disks	R	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1977. Standard of value	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1978. Manufactured	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1979. Smoothing slab	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1980. Disks counted	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1981. Short strings only	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1982. Measured around neck												+	+	+	.	–	
1983. Measured on elbow	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1984. Measured in fathoms	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	+	–	
1985. Measured in half-fathoms	+	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	(+)	+	–	
1986. Cased-fur purse	–	–		•(+)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	
1987. Buckskin sack for purse	+	–	+			•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	[415]
1988. Basket for purse	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	
1989. Loans of shell currency without interest	–	•+	+		+	•–		+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	[426]
Treasure																	
1990. Olivella: whole shell	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	(+)	(+)	.	–	–	
1991. Shell cylinders or Columnella	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	
1992. Sizes distinguished	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	.	.	.	
1993. Bone cylinders		–	.		+	(–)	–	.	–	–	.	–	.	+	+	+	
1994. Magnesite cylinders	–	–	.	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[429] ●
1995. Imported	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1996. Haliotis-disk beads	–	–	+	+	–	+	.	–	+	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	
1997. Large obsidian blades, used for display	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1998. Manufactured, not used	–		–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1999. Charmstones	•–	–	–	+	(–)	•+	+	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•+	
2000. Natural shape	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	789
2001. Most effective if found by possessor.	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	823
2002. Used in doctoring	–	–	–	+		+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2003. Animated; can travel of own accord.				+												+	
2004. Doughnut stones	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
2005. Natural shape	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

000 Several layers of sinew glued, successively, to back of bow. AW: Young juniper used for bow; burnt or split; smoothed with pumice. AE: See notes 965, 969. WM: Sinew not used; salmon skin applied to back of bow, in 2 layers, "to make bow stronger." Skin warmed before applying; is sticky, so no glue needed.

968. AW: Made by male specialists; article of trade.

[411]
[439]
969. Kl: "Klamath and Modoc bought bows from the Shasta; also made own bows." AE: Proper woods for making sinew-backed bows lacking in area; "at Fall River Mills, and W of there, the farther W you go, the better the bows are." MM: Wood for bows imported; bows made locally.

975. SW: Grip more constricted, center bowed in more pronouncedly than bow in Dixon, Shasta, p. 437, fig. 106.

[411]
[237]
976. Deer sinew.

978. SW: Strips of sinew "fine as hair" taken from backbone of deer, chewed, stretched strand by strand on rock; several strands glued together with fish glue. No rolling of bowstring between palms. Bowstring of this type shown in Dixon, Shasta, fig. 106; in fig. 105, string should not be twisted. WM: Fine strands of sinew rolled together with salmon glue; long lengths of this stretched between 2 trees; when used as bowstring this sinew will not snap.

979. Mo: For boy's, poor person's bow. AW: For winter hunting use fiber bowstring; does not break as sinew does when wet. Same applies to arrow-point lashing material.

980a. AE: Used occasionally, but "breaks too easily."

[531]
[411]
981. Backed bows only. WM: Blue, with clay obtained in mountains.

Arrows.--

411 983. For shapes described by elements 984-987 see figures below. Within area surveyed, many

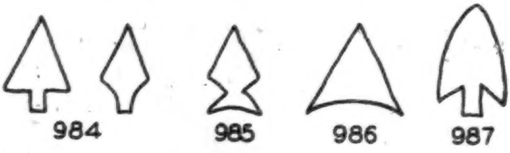

members of more northerly groups frequently mentioned Glass Mountain in Modoc territory as source of supply for obsidian arrowheads. At: "Old people brought pieces of obsidian home, and anyone bought it from them." AW: Obsidian-tipped arrows used chiefly for hunting deer, grizzly, other large game, and for war. WM: 2-3 men make trip to Glass Mountain; trip takes 2-3 days; men fast throughout period of absence, as obtaining flint is semireligious quest. WS: "Not every man had obsidian-tipped arrows; the obsidian was hard to get, and only 3-4 people

Dress

Headgear, robes.--

291 [184] 1713. Kl: Brim on men's caps, painting of men's caps, denied for Klamath Marsh groups (see Spier, Klamath, pp. 182-183). WT: "Worn at Willow Creek [Hupa] and on McCloud River [WM], but not among WT." WM: Upriver people [WS] give WM women basket caps occasionally.

1715. See Spier, Klamath, fig. 13,c, p. 180. Specimen of Kl woman's basket cap shown to all informants to verify this element.

1718. AW: If man wears basket cap, he is ridiculed. AE: Never worn by men.

1723. Worn in winter. SE: Feathers attached to it. AW: Brimless. 000

1726. SW: Worn habitually by men to keep hair down, as women wear basket cap. Not used for packing, as men pack on shoulders.

1729. WM: In war, or war dance; covered with duck skins.

1730. SW: Used by shamans, but not by ordinary persons, except for dances (see element 1943). MV: Tule band to keep hair back.

1734. SW: "Goes with Big Head dance."

[226] [292] 1735. Kl: Tule mat (ste'holas) 3 ft. wide, 4-5 ft. long, used when fishing in daytime on ice; fisherman covers head with mat "to make it dark underneath so that he can see into the water plainly." At: Tule eyeshade woven, "like blinders"; projected from each side of wearer's head; tied on by band around head. Informant's husband used such when fishing for trout in boat at night so light would not get into his eyes.

1736. Mo: Charcoal mixed with pitch.

1737. MV: Used commonly in cold weather, especially by women when outside pounding food.

1741. At: Used in rainy weather by few people only.

[291] 1743. Kl, WS, MM: Worn thus by men and women. Mo, At, AW, MF, NM: By men only. SE, WT, WM: By women only. (See note 1744.)

1744. SE, WT, WM, NM: Worn thus by men. At, AW, AE, MF: By women.

1747. AW: N of "real" Achomawi, group at Dany (Suk'mawi) use bearskin caps. But "real Achomawi were river Indians; they stayed around the rivers, fished; every man had a canoe, and belonged to the river. They went out [hunting] for a little while, then returned to the river."

1749. Mo: Puma "costly" robe.

1750. SE: Beaver hides. WS: Worn by men and women.

Shirts and gowns.--

1751. SW: For everyday wear women's dress consists of 2 whole buckskins, seamed up both sides, tied over both shoulders.

291 439 177 1752. Kl: Bought women's buckskin dresses from Molala, NW of the Kl, and the Warm Springs Indians. "The Molala made them, the Kl bought them, and learned how to make them. That was quite a long time ago, about 90 years; long before the

177 291 439 000 Modoc War [1872-73]. There were no White people in the Kl country yet, or at Portland. The Kl traded with the Molala and the Warm Springs Indians and the Yakima; the Warm Springs and Yakima had more horses; the Kl had only a few." SE: From Warm Springs Indians. "Those Indians up there are much smarter. The SE traded bone beads [dentalia] for women's buckskin dresses and men's shirts from them; SE went N and got otter skins for button [clamshell disk] beads."

[291] 1753. Varies, according to size of woman wearer. AW: 2-3 skins. WT: 1 skin, if from big buck.

1755. WT: 2 front legs used to tie skin at back of neck.

1757. Crude-type dress, little better than 2 whole skins, tied together over shoulders and at sides, to cover front and back of wearer.

[291] 1758. SW: Tied at shoulders, but not at waist.

[177] 1768. Kl: Glass trade beads.

[531] 1770. SW: Men's everyday shirt. At: "Atsugewi men wore buckskin all the time; that's why they called him rich." AE: Recency of buckskin shirt denied.

[177 291 439] 1771. Kl: Men's buckskin shirt acquired from Molala about same period as women's buckskin gown (see note 1752). SE: See note 1752.

1772. MM: 1-2 skins.

1773. See note 1757.

1780. SW: Sleeves, of elbow or wrist length, sometimes set into armholes, especially for winter wear.

1784. At: Lacking on buckskin shirt, but 2 bone beads sewed onto front of poncho-type shirt (see element 1785).

1785. At: Worn by Madesi Achomawi also.

Loin coverings.--

1786. SE, SW, At, AE: Worn by men, women. WT, MM: Worn by men. SW: Women wear breechclout underneath skirts, but never use it as sole garment, as men often do. AW: All breechclouts (i·čiti) pass between legs, but different methods of tying them at waist; some are tied at sides. AE: Whole buckskin, legs left on; trimmed narrow where it passes between legs. Ends pass over belt tied around waist; flaps hang down over belt in back, front, "like little aprons." Men, some women wear them always; women generally in summer.

1787. SW: Breechclout made from smoked buckskin, tanned soft. If wet, rubbed and reworked until soft again. Flap of breechclout falls down in front over belt.

1788. SW: For makeshift garment only.

1793. MM: Worn in summer.

1794. MF: Tanned, with hair removed.

1795. According to size of woman.

1796. Skins sewed or tied together; tail left on back skin.

1798. MM: Winter only.

1801. SW: Informant credited Kammatwa and Katiruk groups, between Shasta proper and Karuk

[199-A]

TWO

[P. 22]

The Frontier Condition

726 FOR MANY YEARS THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WILLAMETTE AND COLUMBIA
648 valleys bypassed the tribes of the Klamath Basin.[1] Indirectly,
175 however, they felt the first remote influences, as the
Sahaptin-speaking tribes of the middle Columbia, equipped with
the superior weapons of the trading posts and mounted on horses
acquired from the Shoshonean bands to the south, began to raid
up the Deschutes Valley to take Klamath slaves.[2] The Klamath
[231] were at a disadvantage: in 1826 Peter Skene Ogden, of the
[411] Hudson's Bay Company, found them with but a single horse
and uneasily awaiting raids by joint parties of Cayuse and Nez
Percés; and even by midcentury they had only one firearm
among them.[3] The scantiness of the local beaver made their
territory of little interest to the company, however, and they came
to enjoy a reputation as fierce warriors which preserved them
[101] for some time from settlers. Nonetheless, they were known even
then to the tribes of the Columbia, for Ogden applied to them
a name, "Clammite," that was not their own and seems to stem
from Chinookan.[4]

648 Some ten years after Ogden passed through, a party of French-Canadian
175 trappers made their way into the region and on their
return to The Dalles took along some Klamath.[5] From that time
on, contact with the tribes at that great Indian trading center increased.
Klamath parties moved down the Deschutes Valley,
making their way either to The Dalles itself, or branching westward
down the north fork of the Santiam along what came to
be known as the Klamath Trail, through the settlement of the
northern Molala, thence to the Kalapuya on the outskirts of
648 Oregon City. There, in 1843, one missionary recorded the visit
567 of "a large party of the Clamath tribe, fierce and warlike . . .
• 439 with about twenty slaves, [who] sold most or all of them. Some,
435 I was informed, were sold for three horses each,
175 some cheaper."[6]

175 River renegades had slain five prospectors on a tributary of the
648 Rogue River, the whites apprehended three Klamath involved
in the affair, "whom the Klamaths voluntarily killed to prevent
trouble; that tribe being now desirous of standing well with the
K U.S. Government."[19] It is probable that the hand of Lileks is to
[622] be discerned in this matter also. In brief, his power and that of
Chiloquin, often termed his second chief, was challenged only
by Captain George, leader of a faction hostile to the whites, and
by Monchnkasgitk, leader of the remote Upland tribelet.

K Thus the frontier condition brought a heightened rate of intertribal
175 warfare and of intertribal trading. It gave the Klamath
648 both peaceful and bellicose exposure to whites, largely outside
177 the Klamath homeland. In the awareness of new ways of life
[721] beyond the limited range of which their fathers had been conscious
• [439] the Klamath of the first half of the nineteenth century
became diversified in outlook. Enriched with new goods, Klamath
culture prospered, although in comparison with the levels
K achieved by the whites it seemed poorer than ever. Warfare had
M 721 consolidated power and wealth in the hands of leaders and the
648 magnitude of their operations drew Klamath and Modoc into an
175 uneasy cooperation.

622 Indeed, in many of these developments the Modoc participated
K only to a small degree. In disposing of those slaves destined to
M 175 be sold at The Dalles, the Klamath and occasionally the Warm
567 Springs peoples acted as middlemen; in consequence the Modoc
721 did not come as fully under the influence of the Columbia River
177 tribes, nor did they amass as much wealth. The development of
556 a chiefly class among them was feebler, and the tribelets coalesced
M 643 under a single acknowledged leader only tardily and
565 incompletely.[20]

619 When in 1846 an exploring party under Jesse and Lindsay
M Applegate laid out an alternate emigrant route known as the
175 South Road, they directed it from Fort Hall down through Modoc
648 country and past the winter settlements on Tule and Lower
721 Klamath lakes, then west of the Cascades and north to the
Willamette settlements. The Modoc bitterly resented the invasion of their homeland and waged war against the wagon trains, a war which in turn brought reprisals from the settlers. In 1852, after the Modoc had extensively damaged several trains

Linus Nickerson, who had formerly been superintendent of 657*
farming, reported some two thousand head of cattle upon the 231
reservation. Including the Agency herd, the average was some- 177
thing less than two head of cattle per tribal member. He added, "Some of the Indians are already raising beef cattle for the market. With the income they are able to supply their families with flour, sugar, coffee, etc." He claimed ten times that number could be carried by the reservation, a total that could be attained in five years, after which the tribe would become entirely self-supporting.[23] A severe winterkill next year, which destroyed seventy-five per cent of the cattle and forty per cent of the horses staggered his hopes.[24]

Despite such checks, however, the stock-raising program slowly recovered. With issues of yearlings (300 head in 1881)[25] and with natural increase, the herds grew. As they did, the farming program turned increasingly toward producing the hay needed for winter feed. Even blighted grain could be salvaged as hay. By 1883, Nickerson could report, "several large ranches,"[26]
and that year instituted the practice of buying Agency beef [439] •
from the Indians. Buyers from San Francisco were at Yainax, he reported, and were offering $40.00 a head for the fifty fine animals on sale there.[27] Under the impetus of this demand, Nickerson reported, "a considerable number of enterprising Indian families are moving to [Yainax] and taking up fencing stock ranches. In two or three years, about one half of the population on the reservation will have settled there."[28]

By 1886, Agent Emery reported 1,485 head of cattle, 3,640 head of horses, 340 "half-breeds" (mules) and 195 hogs. The value set by the Indians on horses, together with a higher survival rate, led to an increase in ponies which was economically undesirable and Emery counseled the Indians to sell their ponies and buy cattle.[29] The quality of stock was a recurrent concern, and later Agents took steps to improve the breeds.

Logging

From the first, the Klamath demonstrated an eagerness to 657*
turn new opportunities to advantage, coupled with an indepen- 177
dence that sometimes strained administrative patience. When 313
the sawmill was completed in 1870, they promptly began to haul

*657 sawlogs in wagons issued to the head chief for this purpose.[30]
177 The lumber was earmarked for constructing Indian dwellings,
313 with twenty per cent (at least in later times) set aside as a milling fee. In 1871, the Agent, requiring lumber to complete the grist mill, proposed to buy sawlogs from the Indians, the money to be invested in livestock, to be their individual property but to be kept in the Agency herd. "Probably one half of the logs," he added, "belong to the chief and I want him to lead off in buying stock instead of spending thier [sic] money."[31]

*657 By 1873, Dyar reported the Klamath were selling lumber to
177 Fort Klamath and other parties.[32] This trade soon became lucra-
313 tive, and when the elimination of employee subsistence allowance
• 439 threatened to bring on the miller's resignation, the Indians decided to pay him the extra amount themselves.[33]

*657 Two years later, however, the Commissioner called Dyar's
*648 attention to a Supreme Court ruling of 1873, which held that timber, like the land it grew upon, remained in trust status. Trees
177 cut incidental to the clearing of the land might be sold; but if
313 cut for sale the timber became the property of the United
439 States.[34] From time to time, Agents encountered this ruling anew. Thus E. M. Marble, Acting Commissioner, pointed out in 1881 that, while Indians might hire out to cut timber, they had no property claim in the reservation stands.[35] The Indians then proposed to cut and sell dead and fallen timber, which was permitted. However, they also felled green timber and then requested permission to raft it down and sell it at a sawmill near Linkville.[36] Under the double guise of felling sawlogs for housing and cutting dead and fallen timber, a considerable illicit traffic went on with outside parties. Indians would resort to such devices as buying supplies from whites who wanted lumber and then proposing to pay the bill with lumber. The whites involved included one who had been carpenter at the Agency, but all stoutly avowed they did not know it was contrary to law. The Indians engaged in the venture numbered some of the most enterprising men, including at least three chiefs.[37] With the rise of towns around the reservation, the demand grew until in 1896 the sale of lumber to whites was estimated to exceed a quarter-million board feet, three-fourths of it cut from green timber.[38]

For the Klamath, their operations in the timber market were

657*

more than an exercise in resourcefulness and industry: they 698*
provided experience and allies in evading what must have 177
seemed a senseless legal prohibition. 313
439 •

EMPLOYMENT

Other employment supplied the Indians with cash to purchase 657*
items for which they were acquiring a taste. At the Agency, 177
Lindsay Applegate took the lead by hiring laborers for rations 464
of shorts (flour),[39] and from that time on Indians filled a variety 465
of subordinate offices, on the farm and roads, as interpreters, police, artisans and, later, in the schools.

Early in the history of the reservation, they began to work off the reservation for outside parties, John Meacham, following the directions of his brother, the superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon, stipulated that the Klamath were to work four days on the reservation roads before expecting a pass to leave the reservation.[40] By 1877, Dyar was reporting that "the Indians make rails, chop wood off the reservation for citizens, some thirty or forty having been thus engaged."[41] They were soon drawn into haying and other harvest activities.

Among those who befriended them was "Sikes Worden, Post Trader at the Post, who kindly refuses to employ any but Indians for work which they can do. He will thus reimburse the Indian wood choppers, hay makers, etc. from a thousand to twelve hundred dollars per year."[42] According to figures given elsewhere, a woodcutter might receive $45.00 to $60.00 for thirty to forty cords of wood, while summer haying and harvest work might bring between $50.00 and $200.00 apiece.[43] By 1888, fully one hundred Indians were working as summer farmhands.[44]

FREIGHTING

Freighting was another major enterprise for the Indians. When 657*
Huntington had brought the first annuity goods down from The 177
Dalles in the fall of 1867, young O. C. Applegate had led his 489
"ax and rifle company," whose number included seven chiefs,
to meet it.[45] Several years later, when they had accumulated [439]
money from odd work, the Klamath made their way down to Jacksonville and Ashland, some one hundred miles distant, and bought flour at a little over one-third the price it would cost at

*657 the Agency, packing it home on ponies. Some brought back as
177 much as two thousand to three thousand pounds.[46]

489 This feat convinced Dyar of the practicability of hiring the In-
[439] dians to pack the annuity wheat from the Rogue River Valley for grinding into flour at the Agency grist mill.[47] In 1875, accompanied by two employees, they transported 100,000 pounds of flour from Ashland at a considerable saving "beside the experience acquired . . . and the confidence given them in their ability to accomplish what they undertake.[48] Under Dyar's urging and their own needs they requested that their annuities be changed from the "'little things' (tenas ictas) as they term the blankets, clothing, etc. which they have heretof[illegible]e recd." to mules and cattle. "The mule," observed Dyar, "is particularly adapted to the ways and use of the Indians in their efforts at farming, teaming, etc. . . ."[49] Two years later, encouraged by such instances, the Bureau instituted the general policy of employing Indians to haul Agency supplies.[50]

By 1881, the autumn trip to buy supplies in the Rogue River Valley drew the heads of some one hundred fifty families with an average of forty dollars each to spend.[51] In his report for the following year, Nickerson quoted a notice from the *Ashland Tidings* of October 27, 1882:

> *Indian traders*—About forty wagons, almost every one drawn by four horses, were brought to town by Indians from the Klamath Reservation after flour and other provisions last Tuesday. They filled the streets completely, and made a lively scene, until they moved on to their camping ground near the Eagle Mills. Nearly all the Indians had good harness and wagons, and dressed well. They are improving every year.[52]

With the acquisition of wagons and harness, the Indians began to take freighting jobs for the military at Fort Klamath and private parties at the growing town of Linkville. Twenty teams
[434] freighting during the month of August, 1889, earned approximately fifty dollars apiece.[53] The total income from this source five years before had been $5,500.[54]

*657
OTHER VENTURES

177 Indians now set their hands to other, lesser pursuits. In 1873,
434 Dyar reported that "A few with no help but instructions from
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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*657 Control over the issuance of needed and desired goods placed *648 the Agents in a powerful position. Huntington used rations to induce the treaty Indians to remain at Fort Klamath during the winter.[85] Rations were once more a factor in 1870 when the Modoc, who had been induced to come onto the reservation, left again when rations were suspended. Captain O. C. Knapp, in lame justification for his act, stated: "that they did not intend to stay after I stopped issuing rations is well known. . . ."[86] Similarly, rations were used to persuade wandering Paiute to return to the reservation. The use of other issues as rewards to employees and leaders is examined below.

There remains to be discussed the early advocacy of individual [472] as against collective ownership and enterprise. In the development of private farms and herds, of the freighting and labor enterprises—indeed, in the very entry into a cash economy—the Indians were gaining competency as individual entrepreneurs. Their [439] attitude is well exemplified in a letter of Dyar advocating the [434] abolishment of Fort Klamath, in which he stated that the Indians, on their part, favored the continued presence of the troops "because it makes a market for many of their little articles of manufacture, and gives them an opportunity to earn money by doing various little jobs of work. . . ."[87]

Of the business acumen of his charges, Nickerson remarked: "for quite a number of years, they have made their own bargains, collected their own debts, and expended their own money. This they have done judiciously and economically. They seldom, if ever, purchase anything useless or trifling.

"Such has been their progress and success in the management of their own finances, that they have become proverbially sharp in buying and selling."[88] The Acting Commissioner, impressed, instructed him, "If as you state, your Indians are perfectly competent to dispose of their crops or other articles produced by them, and to purchase their supplies, the same liberty of action should be allowed them that is enjoyed by whites under similar circumstances."[89]

Where items were to be shared, however, some system of allocation had to be devised. On one occasion, Nickerson issued nails, not on a pro rata basis as originally instructed, but on the basis of actual need, a plan which, he reported, the chiefs pre-

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

ÁMPχÄNKNI MÁK̲LAKS.

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AN OPINION ABOUT THE WASCO INDIANS.

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM CHARLES PRESTON.

Ámpχänkni	gátpa	mû	shanáholiuk	snáwedsh,	k̲á-i	spûní	vushúk;
One Wasco	came	very much	desiring	a wife,	(but) not	gave	from fear;

Ámpχänkni	shawígatk;	k̲íya	Ámpχänkni.	Génuapk	túmi	É-ukskni
the Wascoes	are irritable;	liars are	the Wascoes.	Would go	many	Lake men

Ámpχäni	sheshatuíkuapk	lû'ksh	mā'ntch-gítko;	skútash	shanáholiuk
to the Dalles,	would trade off	slaves	formerly;	blankets	(they) wanted

pă'niak,	skútash	í'ktsa	Ámpχäni	yámnash	tchísh.	Nāsh	sápash	gépgapě-
being unclothed,	blankets	they fetched	at the Dalles	beads	also.	In one	month	they would

liuapk,	tsíalsh	épkuapk,	káwi	tchísh	épkuapk.	Tánni	sha	géna?	té-unipni
return,	salmon	they would bring,	lamprey-eels	too	bring.	How many	of them	did go?	ten men

a-i	sha	géna,	snáwedsh	tchísh	géna,	k̲á-i	sha	i-a	vû'sha	Ampχänkníshash.
	they	went,	(a) woman	also	went,	not	they	of course	feared	the Wascoes.

Ámpχänkni	ak	sas	hushtsóχuapk;	sasságank	i	gí!	K̲á-i	nû	shtínta
The Wascoes		them	might kill;	imperilled	ye	are!	Not	I	like

Ampχänkníshash,	k̲á-i	tídshi,	k̲á-i	tídsh	hû'shkank.	Hä'	tidshí	gítk
the Wasco people,	not	good (they are),	not	well	intentioned.	If	good-hearted	were

mák̲laks	Ámpχänkni,	tánkt	ní	gē'nt,	sasságuk	k̲á-i	géna.	Tídshi	hä'k
people	the Wascoes,	then	I	may go there,	being in peril	I will not go.		Good	if to be

túmĕnank	génuapka	nû.
I hear (them)	shall go	I (there).

NOTES.

The Wasco Indians form a portion of the Upper Chinook Indians of Columbia River. Their ancient homes were around and at the Dalles, and a few of them still live there, while others now inhabit a section of the Warm Spring Indian reservation on Des Chutes River, Oregon. The Dalles formerly were, and are still to a certain extent, the locality, where all the tribes of the Columbia River Basin sold and bartered their products and commodities. The Warm Spring Indians call the Wascoes: Waskopam, "men of the grass region"; the Klákamas-Chinooks call them Guithlasko. The Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians also were among the frequenters of the intertribal market, exchanging there the slaves caught on their raids for ponies, provisions etc., when they went down to the Dalles on their annual trips. My Indian informant, Charles Preston, had lived long at the Dalles, and also gave me a list of Wasco words and sentences.

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7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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93, 1. k̲á-i spûní vushúk: the subject of spûní, É-ukskni mák̲laks, is left out by inadvertence. Some Wascoes wanted to marry into another tribe; for "one Wasco man" stands here for "some men of the Wasco people."

93, 3. 4. Ampχā'ni, contraction of ambuχē'ni "thither, where the water is", where the waters rush down in a cataract, or in rapids. The rapids of the Columbia River at the Dalles impede navigation.

93, 7. sasságank ī gi! ye are in peril, when going to the Dalles and being Indians, therefore take care of yourselves! ī stands for āt; cf. 64, 10 and *Note;* 90, 13. 14.

93, 7. 9. Instead of k̲á-i nû shtínta may be said also, in this connection, k̲á-i nû shanáhole; instead of tánkt ni gēnt: gē'ntĕni, gē'nt a ni; instead of Tídshi hä'k: tídshäk, tídshi hä gi.

K'MUKÁMTCHAM AÍSHISHAM TCHÎSH SHASHAPKĔLÉASH.

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K'MÚKAMTCH ATTEMPTS THE DESTRUCTION OF HIS SON AÍSHISH.

[115]

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROBEN.

Lûpí nā'lsh hûnk K'múkamtch shutäyéga; ná-asht nā'lsh hûnk gá-ag
At first us K'múkamtch began to create; so to us long ago

kĕmûtchátk shashapk̲ĕlī-í'a génta käílatat. Tchía hû'k lā'pi shá-ûngaltk
an old man told the myth this world about. Lived the two related as son and father,

Aíshish K'mû'kamtchish; né-ulχa hûnk gē'n, nánuktua ká-akt hû'k gäg,
Aíshish (and) K'múkamtch; resolved this one, (that) all things, whichever (are) here, (and)

nánuktua kiä'm ámbutat wá, gítki gíug. Tchúyunk pä'n I-ulalónan
all kinds of fish, in the water (which) live, should come into existence. Then again at the outlet at Linkville

tchkash né-ulχa páplishash gí'tki gíug, mû' gînt nk̲í'llipsh tí'wish ndû'lshampksh páltki, mû'ash shlé-uyuk, tchúyunk mák̲laksaash kiä'm í'tklank
also he caused a dam to come into existence, very there rapidly the rushing waters running down to leave dry, the south wind when blows, and hereupon the Indians the fish scooping up

pálshtat pátki gí.
on the bottom left dry should feed upon.

Tchúi pän húmasht gíulank K'mukámtch únaka tchkash m'na Aíshishash shtílta p'laíwasham shnû'lash, shléank kĕnáwatat shkúlelam wewéka
Hereupon having performed this K'múkamtch son then his Aíshish sent after an eagle's eyrie, perceiving up on a kĕnáwat-stalk of a lark the young ones

hû'nk shû'kayank, shnepē'mpemuk únaká m'na. Snáwedsh spû'ntχashtka
hanging (on it), in order to entrap son his. A wife to abduct (from him)

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

share of the principal from the tribal fund, the per capitas, 648*
begun two years before, were flowing in from timber sales. By 657*
1926 they were $500 annually, and four years later had risen to 434
$700. Though they thereafter declined slightly, they rose again to 313
a figure in excess of $800. Acess to these funds gave the Indians a considerable measure of economic independence. A family of four, at the 1926 figure, received $2,000 from timber receipts alone, an income sufficient to provide for all their needs or to indulge some of their luxury cravings. Where "money talked," it afforded access to many areas previously closed. Having money gave at least partial emancipation from Agency surveillance.

Indeed, from the days of allotment on, the growth of a money 648*
economy upon the reservation had been an emergent theme. 657*
Amounts of money that Indians had been able to secure prior to 434
that time, though important in their economy, had not given them 452 •
the same degree of independence as was later to be theirs. After allotment, anticipation of income from leasing and from other
sources increased the volume of purchases on credit. To his [454]
knowledge, Emery reported in 1897, no Indian had funds deposited with the Agent or with any bank, firm, or person.[102] Although in the next few years O. C. Applegate transmitted checks drawn by a number of Indians to cover debts they had incurred, the practice was less a payment from accumulated savings than a convenience in handling money. What the correspondence strikingly shows was the practice of buying on expectation. Then as now risks were involved, and many individuals in the parlance of the day were rather difficult to "bring to time." That difficulty had sometimes to be surmounted by asking local men of property, such as Henry Jackson, to stand behind an impecunious would-be customer. At times the Agent exerted moral pressure upon a delinquent debtor, but under some conditions he declined to serve as collection agent. Repossession of property for nonpayment often ran against the jurisdictional barrier of the reservation line.

Along with access to individual real property went the transla- 648*
tion of traditional relationships into a more pecuniary idiom. Such 657*
tribal members as Robert Wilson and his wife, William Crawford, 178
and Jesse Kirk purchased insurance policies.[103] A number of 571
Indians hired farmhands, both white and Indian, instead of draw- [177]
ing exclusively or even principally upon kinsmen. [464]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-19[illegible]965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Comparison
with the record of white performances places the 648#
tribal picture in perspective. In Beatty, six out of seven white 657*
househeads were employed. A sample taken in 1950 including 464 472
almost every white household in Chiloquin showed that all the 162
men save those who were ill or retired were gainfully employed, 171
and that in thirty-seven per cent of the households wives or junior
members also held jobs.

By this token, the Klamath had come to occupy a marginal 648F
position as economic producers. That this had not always been 657*
true is shown by the record of those who in the early days of 464
Chiloquin had tried their hand at business; and several continued 433
to maintain themselves by ranching or business. The large majority of the men, however, were content to labor seasonally as unskilled farmhands. The undependability of some workers had generated an adverse reputation among potential employers for the Klamath as a whole. The industrious Klamath came to be viewed as exceptional.

Thus, even on their own reservation, the Klamath stood beneath the shadow of economic structures dominated by whites. This condition was, of course, true for the reservation as a unit; for distant interests dictated that it should be devoted to the production of lumber, beef, power, and to communications. Within the several communities the major enterprises were also controlled by whites. To be sure, there were checks upon the
ruthless exercise of economic power. Local awareness of inter- [623]
dependence, the intimate acquaintance developed in the daily life of a small community, and the knowledge that the tribal council controlled the fate of timber contracts upon which the community depended: all these served to temper purely eco-
nomic decisions. The exercise of a credit system by storekeepers [452]
in the face of lower prices in Klamath Falls, the good faith they expected of their customers, and the occasional need for hired hands by ranchers, were equally conducive to restraint.

Klamath families who chose to farm were often similar to their [241]
white counterparts in the concentration which they devoted to their farming; and they often exchanged labor or equipment with white neighbors. There were few successful farmers among
tribal members, perhaps no more than a dozen in all. By contrast, [233]
there were those in the countryside who chose to follow other
time-honored values than industry, giving precedence to per-

as well by envious whites. Indeed, prominent among the local 648*
advantages which white residents stated bound them to Chiloquin 657*
were the advantages offered by the reservation for hunting 224
and fishing. At the same time, the whites tended to regard those 226
pursuits as no more than recreational avocations; and if the 181
Klamath were sometimes credited with inherent aptitudes for
the chase, they were also looked down upon for devoting so
much time to "play," and for ignoring, as many did, the white
canons of sportsmanship.

Conflicting viewpoints were likewise evinced in the relationships 648*
of tribal members seen as consumers. While there were 657*
wide differences in actual behavior both among and between 571
whites and Indians, relationships came often to be governed by
stereotypes. This was particularly so in the larger communities, [621]
in instances in which individuals were not personally known to [184]
each other.

Those relationships were in fact strongly conditioned by the 648*
peculiar status of the tribal members who relied upon per capitas 657*
for their income. Few Klamath on the reservation had ever 434
banked money, and the absence of a bank in Chiloquin since the 571
depression, or in any other reservation town, made necessary 452
the institution of a credit system.[13] Since much Indian property [453]
was held in trust by the government, which thus could not be
advanced as security, merchants had to rely heavily upon a
knowledge of the individual in advancing credit. Reservation
stores resorted to a credit system to compete with the businesses
in Klamath Falls, and through a more intimate acquaintance
with tribal members could assess the risk more skillfully than
those—particularly the newcomers—in the county seat. At the
same time, the expense of operating such a system was one of
the factors in advancing prices in reservation stores. Thus merchants,
who not infrequently did their own private shopping in
Klamath Falls, were galled to see tribal customers, whom they
had carried on credit, patronizing competitors in the larger city
as soon as they had received their per capitas.

In attempting to collect outstanding debts, merchants could 648*
not count upon the Superintendents, but had to resort to moral 657*
suasion and threaten to cut off further credit. Some Superintendents 434
did assist in bringing pressure to bear upon delinquent 452

*648 members, but others refused to do so, taking the position that
*657 merchants were encouraging extravagance in their Indian cus-
434 tomers. Tribal members, on the other hand, learned to connive
• [452] with Agency employees to evade restrictive regulations, citing
spurious but legitimate needs in order to secure cash releases,
with the zeal of other Americans in search of income tax loopholes. The money thus secured was often applied to outstanding debts as well as to fresh expenditures.

*648 The payment of per capitas in two large, semiannual install-
*657 ments, rather than in smaller and more frequent disbursements,
511 was an incentive to squandering. Of a sample of tribal members
on the reservation from whom data are available, over one-half were deemed poor in money management or were so deficient that their funds had been programmed.[14]

*648 There were special areas of extravagance. Upon the open
*657 reservation the automobile had replaced the horse, both as a
511 means of transportation and as an extremely personal symbol of
493 wealth. Low down payments furnished an inducement to buy;
452 but among the improvident automobiles were often loaned to
[556] friends and relatives who might then prove irresponsible. Upon
[426] rough reservation roads, automobiles often did not survive to
see the last installment payment. As a consequence, it had proved difficult for any tribal member to secure automobile insurance.

Observed Superintendent Fred A. Baker in 1924:

> If I were called upon to name one thing which has tended more than anything else to the squandering of the funds of the Klamath Indians I should mention the purchase of expensive automobiles. The first step was the issuance of a patent in fee for the sale of inherited lands. The second, the turning over of the funds to the Indian. The third step, the purchase of a high priced automobile, with the subsequent necessity of its upkeep and maintenance. The effect upon the life of the Indian has been demoralizing in that it invites him to take long and expensive trips and to absent himself from his home to the neglect of his farming operations and the building up and improvement of his allotment.[15]

*648 Items such as automobiles which the Klamath purchased
*657 were often esteemed by whites as status symbols; and many of
511 them resented the circumstances that the Klamath not only
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money from the tribal fund set aside for the purpose. Interlock- 648*
ing memberships of the Executive Committee, the Enrollment 657*
Committee, and the Loan Board made those bodies the apex of 665
tribal power. If the first-named was the central body, and impor- 619
tant particularly in relations with agencies beyond the Tribe, the 661
other two were no less essential in the administration of patron- [646]
age. [647]

The Tribal Loan Board had been established to preside over 648*
a fund set aside from the Yamsay Judgment of 1938, by which the 657*
issue of the Military Road had finally been settled. The fund had 619
been designed to provide capital advances for tribal members, 452
many of whom found bankers reluctant to lend to them. Although 647
loans were supposed to be applied only to improvements, it became common practice to spend them merely as an anticipation of the next per capita. When the Bureau called a halt to its operations in 1955, the Board had out on loan approximately a half-million dollars, or the equivalent of almost $250 per member, and a collector had to be engaged to recover a sizeable portion of it.[14]

The Enrollment Committee was the third seat of power. Ad- 648*
mission of one's children to tribal membership was eagerly 657*
sought, and not alone for reasons of sentiment. Once he was a 619
tribal member, a child was vested with a pro-rata share of the 647
undivided tribal estate, amounting at the time of termination to 434
some $43,500. In addition he qualified to receive the per capita dividends that, subject to Agency restriction, were commonly drawn upon to defray current family living expenses.

Despite—and sometimes because of—these tactical measures, 648*
by which partisan leaders strove to bind them, many tribal 657*
members were driven into abstention by the bitter contentions 646
that marked the final generation of tribal life. Although hundreds 619
flocked to the luncheon set out at tribal expense in the Council Hall for those attending the General Council, morning meetings failed so frequently to draw a quorum that they were discontinued; and even afternoon sessions sometimes could not muster one hundred adults from among the thronging diners to transact tribal business. When they did come, they were often in holiday mood, frequently interrupting speakers, and exhibiting a keen appreciation for lengthy, eloquent, and often irrelevant harangues

as well by envious whites. Indeed, prominent among the local 648*
advantages which white residents stated bound them to Chiloquin 657*
were the advantages offered by the reservation for hunting 224
and fishing. At the same time, the whites tended to regard those 226
pursuits as no more than recreational avocations; and if the 181
Klamath were sometimes credited with inherent aptitudes for the chase, they were also looked down upon for devoting so much time to "play," and for ignoring, as many did, the white canons of sportsmanship.

Conflicting viewpoints were likewise evinced in the relation- 648*
ships of tribal members seen as consumers. While there were 657*
wide differences in actual behavior both among and between 571
whites and Indians, relationships came often to be governed by
stereotypes. This was particularly so in the larger communities, [621]
in instances in which individuals were not personally known to [184]
each other.

Those relationships were in fact strongly conditioned by the 648*
peculiar status of the tribal members who relied upon per capitas 657*
for their income. Few Klamath on the reservation had ever 434
banked money, and the absence of a bank in Chiloquin since the 571
depression, or in any other reservation town, made necessary 452
the institution of a credit system.[13] Since much Indian property [453] •
was held in trust by the government, which thus could not be advanced as security, merchants had to rely heavily upon a knowledge of the individual in advancing credit. Reservation stores resorted to a credit system to compete with the businesses in Klamath Falls, and through a more intimate acquaintance with tribal members could assess the risk more skillfully than those—particularly the newcomers—in the county seat. At the same time, the expense of operating such a system was one of the factors in advancing prices in reservation stores. Thus merchants, who not infrequently did their own private shopping in Klamath Falls, were galled to see tribal customers, whom they had carried on credit, patronizing competitors in the larger city as soon as they had received their per capitas.

In attempting to collect outstanding debts, merchants could 648*
not count upon the Superintendents, but had to resort to moral 657*
suasion and threaten to cut off further credit. Some Superinten- 434
dents did assist in bringing pressure to bear upon delinquent 452

share of the principal from the tribal fund, the per capitas, 648*
begun two years before, were flowing in from timber sales. By 657*
1926 they were $500 annually, and four years later had risen to 434
$700. Though they thereafter declined slightly, they rose again to 313
a figure in excess of $800. Acess to these funds gave the Indians a considerable measure of economic independence. A family of four, at the 1926 figure, received $2,000 from timber receipts alone, an income sufficient to provide for all their needs or to indulge some of their luxury cravings. Where "money talked," it afforded access to many areas previously closed. Having money gave at least partial emancipation from Agency surveillance.

Indeed, from the days of allotment on, the growth of a money 648*
economy upon the reservation had been an emergent theme. 657*
Amounts of money that Indians had been able to secure prior to 434
that time, though important in their economy, had not given them 452
the same degree of independence as was later to be theirs. After allotment, anticipation of income from leasing and from other
sources increased the volume of purchases on credit. To his [454] •
knowledge, Emery reported in 1897, no Indian had funds deposited with the Agent or with any bank, firm, or person.[102] Although in the next few years O. C. Applegate transmitted checks drawn by a number of Indians to cover debts they had incurred, the practice was less a payment from accumulated savings than a convenience in handling money. What the correspondence strikingly shows was the practice of buying on expectation. Then as now risks were involved, and many individuals in the parlance of the day were rather difficult to "bring to time." That difficulty had sometimes to be surmounted by asking local men of property, such as Henry Jackson, to stand behind an impecunious would-be customer. At times the Agent exerted moral pressure upon a delinquent debtor, but under some conditions he declined to serve as collection agent. Repossession of property for nonpayment often ran against the jurisdictional barrier of the reservation line.

Along with access to individual real property went the transla- 648*
tion of traditional relationships into a more pecuniary idiom. Such 657*
tribal members as Robert Wilson and his wife, William Crawford, 178
and Jesse Kirk purchased insurance policies.[103] A number of 571 [177]
Indians hired farmhands, both white and Indian, instead of draw- [464]
ing exclusively or even principally upon kinsmen.

*648 generally white. When it is considered that in American society
*657 the husband maintains significant external relationships,[11] it
184 seems significant that in both Chiloquin and Beatty in some three-
621 fourths of the Interethnic households the husband was an out-
563 sider and the wife a Klamath.
592

ECONOMIC LIFE

*648 From an economic standpoint, tribal members occupied a
*657 subsidiary position in reservation communities. Their participa-
621 tion in productive activities as a whole was small. In 1958, a
434 sample of the reservation population showed the following eco-
464 nomic profile: presently engaged in business or ranching, eigh-
162 teen per cent; previous record of such experience, eleven per cent; no such experience, forty-eight per cent; no data, twenty-three per cent. The figures for those resident in Chiloquin showed, if anything, a lesser degree of direct participation. Available records on a small absentee sample (but one with a higher proportion of women) do not reveal a higher degree of economic experience. The figures are: presently engaged in business or ranching, seven per cent; previous record of such experience, twenty-one per cent; no such experience, seventy per cent; no data, two per cent.

*648 The record of scanty business experience is in large measure
*657 a consequence of the steady flow of income from tribal timber.
434 In 1950, the $800 per capita payments enabled a Klamath family
● 454 of four to exceed the median income for all families in the county. Since they could also hunt and fish throughout the year, and many families did, their actual income was considerably higher. There was thus little incentive to work to supplement timber revenues. The Meriam committee, to be sure, had observed years before, in the course of their comprehensive study of Indian administration, that the Klamath per capitas were too small for investment and thus tended to be disbursed for current living expenses;[12] but it is also true that, lacking investment experience, tribal members who realized substantial sum from the sale of allotments too often treated them as windfalls to be squandered, rather than as capital capable of bringing further financial returns.

000 Comparison with the record of white performances places the

DOO in evening when girl runs she wears buckskin skirt over bark one; removes buckskin skirt when she returns to her hut.

3552. Serves as menstrual pad. Mo: Shredded sagebrush. SE: Grass. SW, MF, NF: Buckskin. At: Sagebrush encased in bark. AW: Front skirt (of grass, tule, buckskin) tucked in between legs. WM: Soft maple bark; changed frequently, burned secretly.

[301 / 824 / 881] 3557. Kl, Mo: Of sagebrush bark. AE: Of greasewood bark, braided. MM, MF: Of buckskin.

3558. Kl, Mo, AW: Of sagebrush bark. AE: Of greasewood bark, braided. MM: Of buckskin.

3559. Mo, AE: Of sage or greasewood. SE, SW, WM: Hair belt. SW: Hair belt purchased; decorated with triangular pieces of shell that rattle when girl dances. Kept, worn any time afterward. AW, AE: Pack strap for belt. MM, MF, NF: Buckskin belt.

3562. SE: Sweet-grass necklace. MM: Pine-nut necklace.

3565. At: Hand might be paralyzed. AW: "Some said a girl would ruin a basket she'd started, or the weeds [Xerophyllum], if she made baskets."

● [46 / 82] 3567. Kl: "If girl doesn't work outside, she'll be lazy."

3569. SE, SW, NM: For every household in village. At: Girl gets light loads of wood, every day, at noontime. NM: All women sing as girl goes to top of hill for wood. MV: Gathers wood final 2 days of seclusion only.

3570. At: Menstruating girl "never touches water. That's no good, you'll dream bad."

3571. For everyone asking her to do so.

3572. At: If girl menstruates in season when roots are dug, she digs them for old women during daytime. At noon, girl dances and old woman hits ("spanks") her on basket cap; girl then runs east as old woman shouts. Girl returns to an old woman who beckons to her; this old woman pinches girl's left forefinger hard, so that she will fill up the basket with roots quickly, and hits her on basket cap. The girl then goes off to gather roots, which she puts in the basket cap, and transfers to the old women's pack baskets. She is supposed to fill 3 pack baskets before sundown. The next day girl goes to another family, to dig roots. "The old women liked this help; they'd say, 'Oh, I wish she would do this every day, dig roots for me.'" This is done not only at first-puberty rites, but during every menstrual period before girl marries. If no roots, girl gathers fruit during day for her mother. MV: Final 2 days of seclusion menstruant, attendants, and women gather clover; return to village wearing wild-rose crowns. Give clover to "captains" (yeponi) to eat in sweat house.

3574. At, AW: See note 3565.

3575. At: So she will be a good runner. At, AW: To catch shadow. AW, AE: To fetch water for someone. WM, NM: Brings back sticks. This denied for WS, MM, MF, NF, NS, MV. At: Girl runs toward E.

M 787 as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing
756 they are the shaman's "helpers."

K However differently they construe the degree of individual
M access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that
787 human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those
K M who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer
[782] in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtu-
[772] ous striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the
universe appears basically to be a moral order.

K In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The
M annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the
181 progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon
• 461 industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme
that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic
K exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this
M 461 virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to
556 maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a follow-
595 ing. Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the
K common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a
M contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent
622 men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In
556 war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his
[881] panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man
[701] of property is likely to be decked with many valuables con-
[764] tributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the
[538] man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowl-
[756] edge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send
out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power
in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to
K the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in
622 the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:
539

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee—to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

882
155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
[462] of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
426 for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented, and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

Slim: Male, Age 30

Background Data

Slim's case was selected so as to illustrate the situation of a regularly employed, 159*
well liked and respected young male. He is currently employed as a [464]
laborer in a lumber mill, and in the past has worked as a carpenter, and in
heavy industries in the mid-west. He has ten years of formal schooling, obtained [463]
his 12th grade certificate by examination while in military service, and for [871]
one month studied commercial art in Portland. [701]

Slim was born into a large, influential kin group, one which for several generations [619]
has provided much of the tribe's leadership. While his own father has
not been so influential in tribal politics, preferring to work his ranch instead,
Slim grew up in association with male relatives noted for their forthright
independence and leadership, and within a family tradition of progressiveness
and self-improvement. Slim's early life was spent in alternating periods [591]
of residence with his own father and mother on their ranch, and with his father's
mother in her cabin on the Sycan marsh. This association with "Grandma" was [608]
partly in response to the gradual disintegration of relations between his father [593]
and mother, and partly the result of his father's desire to have "Grandma" teach
him some of the old lore. His mother became increasingly erratic, unpredictable,
and violent, finally leaving his father. Slim felt badly rejected by [153]
her and was never able to understnad why she would not accept his efforts to be
helpful. On the other hand, he was very close to his father and his grandmother.
Today he recalls with satisfaction the many things these two persons
taught him, and dreams recurrently of being in the army, defending the reservation
from attack, and checking in on the old lady to see if she is all right.
This dream is interesting because it expresses succinctly his style of relations
with superiors, for in the dream Slim asks permission of his squad leader to
leave, explains his reasons, then checks in on "Grandma," and returns to his duty.

After the 10th grade was completed, Slim quit school and worked on various ranches.
Early in the Korean war he consciously followed the model of an uncle, who was
a career soldier, and enlisted in the army. His service record was good, marred
only by what Slim feels were two justifiable periods of unauthorized absence,
and he voluntarily served with a combat unit in Korea. This army experience
considerably broadened Slim's horizons, and after his discharge he lived and
worked with an army buddy in the east for a year. Then Slim traveled and worked
in several places in the east and midwest. On two occasions his regular habits [961]
and good capacity for steady work were responsible for a promotion. Characteristically,
Slim enjoys this kind of reward, but he does not specifically strive
for advancement.

Slim has many skills, hobbies, and social graces. When young his father taught him to dig ditches, with the advice that this skill would always provide him with a job. He is an expert horseman and stock-keeper, and is a skilled hunter and woodsman who frequently guides his friends on hunting trips. He has learned carpentry, house-painting, and the operation of various industrial machines. More recently, he has turned to archery, sketching, and photography for hobbies to occupy his spare time. Then too, he is an amiable, jolly person who makes good company and who is well regarded as a friend. He is not married, and has never seriously considered marrying. He has had occasional sexual liaisons of a transitory nature, which he finds quite satisfying, and has been "going steady" for several years with an older woman, a person who is a grandmother in her own right.

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159
156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from
his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never
•[461] worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen.
Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five
[871] school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from
the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at
[592] home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger siblings
may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal
[434] income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly
[657] for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the
bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very
reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit
[582] Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging
company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the
[618] logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually
away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when
[221] drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father
does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household
[593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his
father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion
knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this person
[848] is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity,
which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's
*159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards
156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or
593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting,
and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits
the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls,
and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt
and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common
[421] activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to
one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his belongings,
and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle
for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not
borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which
engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the
father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom
she spends much time.

*159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks
156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the
law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time
[673] loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his
buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom
[512] awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away
from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which
may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

III. ECONOMIC LIFE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

DIVISION OF LABOR

• 462 At this late date it is difficult to define the sexual division of labor
with precision. Some impression derives, however, from random
observations let drop during the course of these inquiries.

One of my informants summarized the division of domestic activities in this wise. Women fetch wood and gather food. Old men as well as women grind and pound seeds. Men lie about all the time, working but once in a while. They hunt, fish, and in the winter build houses.

Undoubtedly he is justified in his view that man's work is spasmodic, woman's work in preparation of food and the care of the home a more continuous round of labor. Such in fact is the picture of native life in perhaps all parts of the continent. Yet a fairer view of their economic participation shows a more equal division of activities.

[226] These may be summarized as follows: Men, but women too, are
the fishers. Inasmuch as their primary dependence is on fish, the
men's activities in this direction constitute well-nigh a year-round
[224] pursuit. Men are hunters, but hunting is desultory. Even here
women participate, for it is noted at least that they occasionally lie
in wait in canoes to kill floundering deer driven into the water. Root
and seed-gathering is woman's work; I am not certain that men
[222] assist even in harvesting fruit. Seeds, especially pond-lily seeds, form
the second staple in Klamath life. Preparation of food is wholly
[252] woman's work, save as they are assisted by old men, perhaps only
those who have no women members of their families to undertake the
[251] task. Storing food and drying it may be wholly feminine occupations
as well. At least where foods are concerned the man's work is
sufficiently time-filling, but the woman's much more so.

[342] With manufactures, the division is somewhat more even. House-
building, one of the main activities, is a function of both sexes, and
[313] is no small part of the domestic routine. Timbers are prepared and
erected by men, grass and dirt spread over the structure by women,
[322] and the house pit dug by both. Woodworking and the manufacture
of weapons are masculine activities. Yet the most laborious wood-
[411]

Yet the most laborious wood- 462
working task, the making of canoes, is sometimes undertaken by
women. I do not know who tans skins, but since the manufacture [501]
of all garments and moccasins is done by women, this suggests that [281]
they prepare the skins as well. Mats and baskets are made by women
and in considerable quantity. This is a sedentary pursuit which
dovetails nicely into leisure moments of household duties. Mortars, [285]
metates, and their adjuncts are fashioned by women, though I suspect
that men may lend a hand. Nets are manufactured by men, but by [415]
a few women also. Ropes and cords are made by women. All these [284]
suggest a somewhat heavier share borne by women.

There is a further factor which must be kept in mind. In winter, [283]
movement is impeded by intense cold and heavy snowfall, so that all
members of the family must stay close at home. Hence the men might 211
be thought to have enforced inactivity thrust upon them during this
season. But the facts are probably otherwise. This is a period of
great scarcity, even famine, especially at the end of a long winter,
and it behooves the men to act and act quickly in search of food.
The ardors and perils then forced on them surely make demands upon
whatever leisure they may have at this time.

FOOD AND ITS ACQUISITION

Klamath life is not that of a lake people, but a river and marsh 262
culture, for the simple reason that their primary food is fish. The
large lakes of this region are solidly frozen in winter, and fish, which
are not abundant there at the best, can hardly be had in winter. It
is otherwise with the swift rivers and creeks; these are always open
and fish are always present in abundance.[218]

Fish is the staple; after this ranks water-lily seed (wokas) and to 262
a lesser extent other roots; deer and other game are only of minor
importance. It is difficult at this late date to know whether fish or 224
lily-seed was eaten in greater quantity, but there is no doubt that, of 226
necessity, more attention was given the year round to fishing, since 222
the seed is harvested only from the middle of August to the end of
September.

Winter villages, the permanent settlements, are located where fish 361
may be had at that time, beside running streams and near springs

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[218] In view of the excellent descriptions of Klamath environment given by [114]
Gatschet, Barrett (pp. 240–243), and Coville (Wokas, A Primitive Food, 727–
728) it is unnecessary to add another here. (See also pp. 8–10 of the present
work.)

127 formerly it was not set on stakes. He referred to mention in a myth of its use as a hand net. At any rate, of recent years it is set on stakes in the lake or rivers. It has a small mesh, is forty or more feet in length, three feet in width, and provided with sticks or dry tule stems in order to float the upper edge, and sinkers in order to weight down the lower. The sinker (ˡlĕ'mdi'as) is a pebble three to four inches long, grooved about its middle through pecking it with a hard pointed stone.

284 462 Nets are manufactured by men, although a few women also make them. They have meshes of several sizes. A net gauge (tŏŋks) of bone or wood is used with a slender shuttle (tcŏ'mdlīkūs) wound end over end.[230] Nettle bark cord is used, from either brown or gray nettles (slĕ'ĕts). Coville notes the use of Rocky mountain flax fibers.[231]

The fish traps used by the Klamath are strictly speaking not traps at all, since there is no closing device to prevent the escape of the fish. They are very little used. I was told of only one place where the device is used, a little stream above Spring creek on Williamson river, where the water is so clear that the actions of the fish can be watched in detail. There it is used only in winter to take trout. The trap (spuwᴇm) is a cylindrical basket of willow branches, woven in open twine, six feet long and two in diameter, closed at one end. The opposite end is open and not provided with reversed barbs or other device to prevent the fish leaving the trap. Cords are tied to it so [114] that it may be hauled up when the fish is seen to enter. A trap of this sort figured by Barrett,[232] but of only half this length, has one side extending somewhat beyond the mouth. Meacham describes a trap of somewhat different shape:

> 226 The Klamath mode of taking fish is peculiar to the Indians of this lake country. A canoe-shaped basket is made, with covering of willow work at each end, leaving a space of four feet in the middle top of the basket. This basket is carried out into the tules that adjoin the lakes, and sunk to the depth of two or three feet. The fishermen chew dried fish eggs and spit them in the water over the basket, until it is covered with the eggs, and then retire a short distance, waiting until the whitefish come in large numbers over the basket, when the fishermen cautiously approach the covered ends, and raise it suddenly, until the upper edge is above the water, and thus entrap hundreds of fish, that are about eight inches in length. These are transferred to the hands of the squaws, and by them are strung on ropes or sticks and placed over fires until cured, without salt, after which they are stored for winter use.[233]

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[230] Illustrated by Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 22.

[231] Coville, Notes, 99.

[232] *Op. cit.*, pl. 19.

[233] Meacham, Wigwam and Warpath, 283.

223 from the lower end, which is sharpened to a point, the net is attached. The upper end of the rods are beveled on one side, and inserted into a rude socket, in the end of a shaft ten feet long.

Armed with this trap, the hunter crawls on the ground until he is within safe distance of the mother-bird and her little flock, when, suddenly springing up, the old birds, geese or ducks, as the case may be, fly away, while the little ones flee toward the water. The Indian launches the shaft with the net attached in such a way that the net spreads to its utmost size, the sharpened points of the rods pierce the ground, and, the upper end having left the socket on the shaft, stand in a circular row, holding the net and contents to the ground.[271]

252 A few data were gathered on the manner of preparing game for food. The flesh of such animals as porcupine, beaver, badger, and raccoon is boiled. The viscera are not eaten. The skin is peeled from a beaver's tail after it is roasted. Mink and otter are also pit-roasted, but not boiled. The paws of the grizzly are baked in ashes and then skinned.

263 Salt was not known until the advent of the whites.

222 252 Insects are probably no regular article of diet, but Gatschet records that women gather moth chrysalids in the month spe'lwis (forefinger, i.e., late August and September). The ground is scraped up with a paddle to gather the chrysalids (pû'lχuantch); they are pit-roasted between layers of grass, with a covering of bits of bark and earth.[272]

Seed and Root Gathering

222 In summer the Klamath congregate in several districts to gather pond-lily seeds, roots, and wild fruits: the great swamps and prairies of Klamath marsh, about northern Klamath lake (Agency lake) and Pelican bay, and Wocus marsh west of the lake. The prairie southwest of Fort Klamath is a meeting point for those from middle Williamson river, from its mouth, and from Pelican bay. The huckleberry patch some fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake (called iwumkä'ni, huckleberry place; iwum, huckleberry) is a favorite camping place. Here Molala from west of the Cascade range join them. Williamson river people (äukckni) on Klamath marsh cross directly westward to this spot afoot.

• [462] Root and seed gathering is woman's work. They tell of old women digging roots alone who were killed by grizzlies.

The principal seed supply of the Klamath is from the pods of the water lily (wo'kas), which grows extensively in the marshes and

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[271] Meacham, Wigwam and Warpath, 282.

[272] 1:76, 148.

A bit of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire about the village but for an overnight journey a woman carries a spark in a long fuse. This is of black sage-brush bark, twisted into a rope thirty inches long and bound about at intervals.[305] 372

Knives are fashioned from stone blades or shells. These river shells (ĕndj!ĕ'tc) are not ground to an edge but used as they are. Forms ranging in size from arrowheads to large lance blades are chipped from obsidian, flint, and similar stones. So far as I am aware these åre never ground into shape. Those intended for knives are sometimes wrapped around the butt to provide a handle.[306] Stone knives are intended for butchering rather than woodworking. Blades never figured in the display of wealth, as among the Yurok. Barrett figures a bone knife used for separating the inner and outer bark of pine.[307] 412 321 324

Sewing is done with awl and sinew. The awl (sŏ'ktᴇ) is a fragment of the fore-leg tibia of a deer. Although the upper end of a tibia is nicely rounded to fit the hand, and is accordingly used elsewhere, the Klamath make no use of it. Instead a splinter sharpened at each end is inserted in a wooden handle. Old men carry these at the chest tied on a buckskin thong. The sinew used is that which lies along a deer's backbone. (Sinew is called ᴇmboi'itc; this particular sinew bi'lhŏp.) Skin garments for either sex are sewn by women. Women also make moccasins whether of skin or tule. 412 294 462

The smoking process is used when tanning. The skin is stretched over a tipi-like frame of little willows set over a hole as deep as one's forearm. The fire is made of rotten wood. Coville states that "the bark [of the white fir (bä, *Abies concolor* (Gord.) Lindl.)] is sometimes used to dye and tan buckskin, giving it somewhat the appearance of ordinary tan-colored leather."[308] 281

Neither bags of skin (k!o'wanᴇ) nor parfleches are made by the Klamath. These are brought from the Dalles, I was told, and probably from Warm Springs, for cĕptŏk, parfleche, is clearly a loan word from Sahaptin (cf. Yakima căta'kai). 415 439

Mats are of four kinds, each designated by a name. Sewn mats (st!ŏps) are used solely as the outer covering of mat-lodges; when 285

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[305] Illustrated by Barrett, pl. 22, fig. 1.

[306] Pitch was not used to fasten these. One type of knife, at least, found as far apart as Mexico and the Arctic, and consisting of stone fragments set into the sides of the handle, is unknown here.

[307] Pl. 22, fig. 5; cf. Gatschet, 1:148.

[308] Notes, 88.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

K
alternately tule and a small cat-tail (watcŏ'k), the wefts are cords made of the rolled outer layer of the tule (called ķ!o'sgi). These wefts are placed in pairs in simple tabby weave at intervals of one to three inches; they are not twined. The wefts are so thin and so tightly drawn that they barely show in the finished mat, but they produce a checkerboard effect (sölümtai') which gives this variety of mat its name. Possibly there is a fourth variety called ak!a'lŏks, an open twined mat, but of this I am not certain. All these mats are provided with a border of twisted strands of the same material caught in the weft cords. 285

M
Blankets woven of strips of rabbit skin are made by Modoc, not by Klamath. 281

K
Coville states that "a long time ago the bark [of the cottonwood, kō-osh', *Populus balsamifera* L.], when peeled and split, was used in the manufacture of an Indian cloth."[313] What this fabric can be I do not know, unless bags are meant. 114 285 173

K
Ropes are made of three braided strands. The material is grass or the outer husk of the tule for such rough work as carrying wood. Strips of hide are sometimes used, but little elk hide is available for pack ropes. Finer cords, such as those for fish lines and nets, are made of nettle (slets) bark fibers, of which there are three or four varieties (or perhaps phases). Other plant fibers, such as the Rocky Mountain flax (kŏl'-ä-kämа, *Linum lewisii* Pursh.)[314] make stronger cords. Brown and gray nettles are most commonly used because of their strength.[315] Swamp-grass cords are used for sewing mats. Barrett notes that string made of brown milkweed is but little used and that all string is formed of two strands twisted together.[316] The latter point is confirmed by my own observations. Cords are made by placing two strands, or a doubled strand, side by side on the bare thigh; rolling them separately under the palm by a movement up the thigh, and by a quick reverse movement down the thigh, without raising the palm, rolling one around the other. Cord-making is a woman's art. A rope is called pĕķ!os and cord gꞩnŭ'ķs; braiding is k!ꞩbŏ'k!a and rolling p'tc!Iŋ. 283

K
[462]

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[313] Notes, 94.

[314] Coville, Notes, 99.

[315] Coville (Notes, 95) lists only one species, "the native species," *Urtica breweri* Wats.

[316] *Op. cit.*, 250. Coville indicates that milkweed (not, *Apocynum cannabinum* L.) does not occur in Klamath territory, but on Lost river where it is used by the Modoc (Notes, 103).

K
M
[137]

HOUSES AND HOUSE LIFE

Houses are for the most part so closely crowded in the settlements 361 that their peripheries nearly touch. At least this is the evidence of the house pits, which my informants would have me believe were occupied at the same time. Some of them are small structures, used 342 for cooking or to house slaves, crowded between the large earth-lodges. [343]

House-building seems to be one of the most considerable occupations of the year. Earth-lodges are frequently torn down in the spring to be rebuilt when snow flies in the autumn. In the second month, September, everyone is busied with house-building, commencing with the preparation of the tule mats that cover all the lodges. The houses are all completed in the fourth month (December) by the time full winter arrives, when the shamanistic performances begin. New timbers have to be prepared, as those from the razed structure are commonly used for firewood. Gatschet implies that occupancy of the winter house is always inaugurated by a feast.[366] The mat-covered summer houses are built anew in the spring. It is quite likely that the covering mats are thoroughly rotted and dilapidated after standing through a hard Klamath winter. The timbering of houses is man's [462] ● work; women place the grass and dirt covering.

The characteristic house is a circular, conical-roofed affair. It is essentially of the same shape and construction whether merely mat-covered or set over a pit and roofed with planks and earth. The Klamath definitely distinguish the two types however, the earth-lodge, lu''ltɛmalŏks, and the mat-covered summer house, wu'kĕ'plŏḳs. In addition a small dome-shaped mat-lodge (sti'nă'c) is used in summer, when traveling, or for cooking.[367] Poor families who cannot afford the larger earth-lodge, build dome-shaped lodges for winter use, setting them over pits for the sake of the added warmth.

The earliest descriptions of these houses are by Ogden (1826) and 114
Frémont (1843–46). Ogden's account of what are probably earth- 342

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[366] 1:75.

[367] Barrett describes a summer house possibly of different form. This is elliptical or rectangular in ground plan, with "sides which slope very abruptly to the ground and a comparatively flat top. The framework is of willow poles stuck into the ground and brought together along the ridgepole, to which they are bound securely." This suggests in part the structure of the dome-shaped lodge, but implies the presence of at least two posts bearing a ridgepole, a type of construction which my informants specifically denied. The photograph Barrett figures belies his description: the form seems to be the regular structure having four posts with the side poles resting on the rafters joining these (Material Culture, 244, pl. 11, fig. 1). [114]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
529. Thatched	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	251
530. Roughly coiled, in shape tubular bin.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	
531. Posts set upright in ground	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	(–)	+	•+	•+	•+	
532. Goods wrapped, hung from branch of tree	–	–	+				•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
533. Storage in pit outside	•(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	•	+	–	–	–	[illegible]	[illegible]	•+	–	
534. Storage indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	
534a. In baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
535. In twined tule "sacks"	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
536. Vegetable foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
537. Dried meat, salted or plain	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
538. Dried fish or salmon flour	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	
539. Storage in pit inside sweat house	–					•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Exchange of Food

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
540. Food sold	•–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	262
541. Traded or borrowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	437
542. Mainly in time of famine	–	+	–	–	–	–	•–	+	–	–	+	+		+	+	–	
543. Mainly in winter, early spring	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
544. Game divided	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	224
545. Killer gets most or certain parts	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+		
546. Meat equally divided among hunters	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
547. Large game divided among whole camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

Ownership of Productive Areas

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
548. Fishing places privately owned	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	+	–	423
549. Fishing places jointly owned, owners unrelated	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
550. Fishing places owned by village group	+	+	–	–		•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	226
551. Anyone may take some of owner's catch.	–	–	–						+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
552. Fishing places rented for share of catch	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	
553. Fish weir privately owned	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	423
554. Hunting land or spots privately owned	–	–	+	•–	–	•–	•–	–	+	–	+	–	–	•+	+	–	
555. Seed tracts privately owned	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	[224]
556. Seed tracts owned by village group		+				+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
557. Trees privately owned	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
558. Trees owned by village group	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
559. Trees claimed for single season only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
560. Only trees distant from village	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
561. Tribal or group boundaries marked by topographic features	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
562. Tobacco plot privately owned	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	[276]
563. Land for single season only	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
564. Tobacco plot owned by village	–	–	–			–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	
565. Village site owned by group	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	[361]

Division of Labor

Subsistence Pursuits

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
566. Hunting: men only	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
567. Rat and mouse catching: men and women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
568. Men	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	[224]
569. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
570. Gathering insects, grubs: men and women	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	[222]
571. Men	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	
572. Women	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
573. Fishing: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
574. Men only net, spear fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	[226]
575. Women use basket to catch fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
576. Acorn gathering: men and women	•o	•o	+	+	−	•−	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	462
577. Men, youths climb trees	o	o	+	+	−	−	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[222]
578. Women gather, transport acorns	o	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
579. Pine-nut gathering: men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
580. Men climb trees, knock down cones	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
581. Men and women gather cones	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
582. Women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
583. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
584. Men and women transport cones	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
585. Women only	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	
586. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
587. Men and women prepare pine nuts	−	.	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
588. Men only	+	.		−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
589. Women only	−	.		−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	
590. Gathering of small seeds: women only	+	+		+	•+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(−)	+	+	
591. Cooking: men and women	+	+	−						+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	
592. Women prepare, cook plant foods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
593. Men only, cook meat	−	+	−						−	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	
594. Women only, cook meat	−	−	+						−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	
595. Men and women cook meat	+	−	−						•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
596. Carrying water near camp: men and women	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[312]
597. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
598. Women only	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
599. Carrying water long distance: men and women.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
600. Men only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
601. Women only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
602. Fire making: men and women	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[372]
603. Men only	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
604. Wood gathering: "kindling" wood, men and women	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
605. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	[313]
606. Women only	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	
607. Wood gathering: large logs, men and women	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
608. Men only	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
609. Women only	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Manufacturing Activities																	
610. Baskets: women only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
611. Skin, feather blankets: men and women make	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	[280]
612. Men only or chiefly	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	(−)	+	+	−	+	
613. Women only or chiefly	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	[237]
614. Nets: men only make	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[284]
615. Cord: men and women make	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[283]
616. Men, generally	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
617. Skin tanning: men and women	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[280]
618. Men only	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
619. Women only	+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
620. Clothing: men and women make	−	−	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	[294]
621. Men only	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	
622. Women only	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	
623. Moccasins: men and women make	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
624. Men only	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	
625. Women only	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
626. Fish traps: men make	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	−	+	[227]
627. Women	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+	
628. Winter house: men and women build	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[342]
629. Men only	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
630. Summer house: men and women build	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
631. Men only	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	
632. Women only	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

BY ALL INFORMANTS

251 Storage of food.--Outdoor granaries on ground; on bedrock or multistone foundations; on platform.

Ownership of Productive Areas

423 Owner liable for injury of renter. Pens on communal weir privately owned. Seed tracts claimed for single season only. Private boundaries marked. "Tribal" boundaries marked.

Division of Labor

462 Formalized myth accounting for division of labor (cf. Voegelin, Tübatulabal). AW state division of labor according to "Coyote's law," but lack any detailed myth.

HOUSES AND SHELTER

Assembly and Living Houses

342 Entrances; uses and ownership; furnishings.--Entrance round, carved in plank. Partitions between families. House names. Windbreak before house. Flat plank for foot drum. Leader of hunters nominal owner. All men regularly sleep in sweat house. Fireplace and heating.--Fuel-gathering ritual; fuel from top of tree; pair of limbs left on top. 372

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

501 Boats and ferriage.--Dugout canoe, ends peaked; carved-in "heart"; detachable prow ornament. Launching ceremony. Sails. Single-bladed paddle with crutch handle; compound paddle; blade end of paddle concave. Ferriage by person in basket pulling across on rope (At: ascribe this to N Yana of Round Mountain). 505

Land Transport

482 Carrying devices.--Hammock-type carrying net. Painted decoration on folded hide bag. Cord and stick Mohave-type back frame. Snowshoe-type carrying frame. Coolie yoke. Dog packing. 492

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

411 Bows and arrows.--Horn bow (AW: mentioned in myth, made by Butterfly). Laurel-leaf arrowheads. Arrows with 2 or more points. Arrow shaft of solid wood, split from log. Arrows with

Division of Labor

Subsistence pursuits.--

000 566. SW: "A man could go out to help his wife gather food if he wanted to, but she couldn't go with him to hunt. She might camp with him [on hunt], but she had to stay in camp." AW: If girl 9-10 shoots bow and arrow, her forefinger will become sore and she will lose arm and hand. (Girls, then, precluded from doing much practicing with these weapons.) Does not make grown woman sick, though, if she handles bow and arrows. Women do not hunt much; they accompany husband, usually, and help pack home deer.

571. NM: Old men, chiefly.

222 462 576. Kl: Wokus (water lily seeds) main seed crop; men do not assist in gathering wokus, nor in digging roots or picking huckleberries. "In early days men didn't do any of women's work, and women couldn't do any of men's work, either." Mo: If man not good hunter, he helps gather
000 wokus, or dig roots; "he has to eat. But other men tease him, ask him, 'why don't you learn to hunt?'" AW: Coyote decreed "that women gather, pound acorns, and collect wood, and that men hunt--that's what Coyote said. But if a man isn't going hunting some mornings, and has time, he gathers wood."

579. MV: Men only go outside area to gather pine nuts; see note 300b.

590. At: Man, however, "sometimes goes out with wife, and packs home whatever she gathers; he's sorry for her, and the woman doesn't want to get them alone." AE: Men and women. NM: Few if any small seeds gathered.

593. MM: Permissible to bring deermeat into house where women stay, but men cook deermeat.

595. WM, WS: See note 545.

600. SW: Rarely necessary, as "always live, camp near water."

607. AW: Man's ability to obtain wood, important consideration in eyes of his future parents-in-law. In summer, woman packs wood in pack basket, in winter man packs it.

Manufacturing activities.--

614. MV: Some women make small nets.

615. SE: Men make heavy cord, women fine cord.

616. MV: Women assist.

619. Mo: "Men help; perhaps scrape hide, when not busy hunting. But women generally tan it."

620. SW: Men, women each make own clothing. AW: "Not many women tan buckskin or make clothes; just a few."

HOUSES AND SHELTERS

342 In this section two or more types of houses are sometimes entered under the same complex. Whenever this has been done, if no note is ap-

employees built a substantial bridge about 100 yards in length 657*
across the Williamson River, on which they propose to collect 177
toll. This will support several families."[55] Nothing more is heard 434
of the venture and subsequent work on bridges and roads took on [499]
a public character. A few women occasionally sold baskets and [494]
berries, and older Indians, generally women, were sometimes [462] •
issued cinch rings and wove cinches as a means of support.[56]

Fur trapping provided an early source of income for some 657*
men.[57] At first, beaver, marten, and otter were especially sought, 177
and the available catch soon became depleted. By 1882, the 434
Klamath were turning to panther, bear, wolf, and coyote, preda- 224
tors which Nickerson claimed discouraged them from raising sheep. "The Indians," he reported, "now hunt them for their fur and receive quite an income from hunting and killing them."[58] Carried on over the late fall and winter months, the fur trade realized a total of $300.00 for those who followed it.[59] By 1891, however, the revenue from trapping was on the decline.[60]

NATIVE FOODS

In the original designs of the government, farming and other 657*
"civilized" enterprises were supposed to supplant such ab- 648*
original pursuits as fishing, hunting, and gathering. From the 433
Agent's viewpoint, the retention of native subsistence methods presented two major disadvantages. Not only did the traditional occupations coincide in season with farming, but they drew the Indians from under the direct surveillance of the Agency, and even off the reservation. The issuance of rations, though designed to provide a substitute during the transitional period, was restricted as much as possible, in order to allow more funds for other purposes.

It is clear from the graphic descriptions of the early Agents 657*
that they were well aware of the Indians' strong reliance upon 648*
native foods. The fish in Lost River, observed Dyar, ran from 433
two to four weeks earlier than in the streams within the reserve. 226
By late winter even the supplies of rations had been exhausted, and the Klamath eagerly awaited the news from the south. "If the Indians are not allowed to go to Lost River in the Spring," O. C. Applegate had pointed out, "then they will have to be subsisted during the month of March."[61] The Lost River fishery 657*
178
226

[p.348A]

> 501 868 and saw us. They laughed and laughed and said, "Look, she doesn't know how to use the pole." Then they told me how to push it a little way at a time and lift it up and push again.

Some children start to use paddles by themselves, too. Adults see them trying to do so and tell them how to kneel in the bottom and dip the paddle in and out of the water without splashing. Light cedar paddles are used, and small ones are made for children. Similarly, shorter poles are often made for the children.

222 868 • 462 [262] The principal vegetable food of the Klamath is the seed of the wild water-lily, known as wokas. Many other seed, root, and berry products are also utilized in varying amounts.[36] It is the women who do the gathering, and there is a strong feeling that a girl cannot learn too soon to contribute to the family food supply by helping her mother gather these products, although youngsters are never forced into work.

Even very small girls receive a tiny digging stick as a toy. With the sticks the girls play around the camp, digging up clumps of grass to be used as "camas" and "ipos" for feeding their dolls. Children often accompany their mothers after berries, seeds, and roots. They are allowed to run about as they please and only help if they wish. When they get tired or hungry, they go back to camp. Both boys and girls help occasionally with berrying. Parents complain that the youngsters eat more than they save, but do not scold them.

251 868 Part of the activity during the berrying season is, of course, the drying of the berries for storage. One woman recalls seeing this as a child and wanting to help.

> Up in the mountains I saw how they dried huckleberries. They dug a little ditch and put the berries in and made a fire alongside. You have to watch the fire for a day and a night. I remember seeing this when I was about ten. I wanted to dry some berries, too; but my mother didn't want me to use any of her berries. She said I might ruin them so I'd have to get my own. I went and picked some, and she showed me how to dry them.

222 868 When a girl is nine or ten, her mother gives her a real digging stick of slightly smaller dimensions than her own. The girl is also given a small carrying basket to wear on her back and a basket to put the roots in before they are transferred to the carrying basket. The mother shows the girl where to go to get the best roots and how to insert the stick to loosen the earth all the way around the root before prying it out. Apparently there is little attempt to force the girl to work hard the first

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[36] Coville (1897), pp. 87-103, idem (1904), pp. 725-739, and Spier, pp. 166 f.

882
155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
[462] in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
426 for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented, and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539
262
824
[222]

Má-i. **E-ukshíkni máyalshuk vū'nshatka sχéna shléank é-ushtat. Tché-**
The Lake people for tule-gathering in canoes row out finding (it) in lakes. The
lash sha shnû'kank íshka, yánaush píl p'ánk púedsha. Yánakänín
stalks they seizing pull up. their lower ends only eating throw away (the rest). Each at the lower end
pálpali gí nép pánani. Stá-ila sha kshunē'mi, k̲á-i mā'nsh í'pka
white is hand-long. Gather (it) they at grass-time, not long (can) lie
má-i; pā'shtak sha púedsha k̲ú-i k̲lékshṭ.
tule; as soon as dried they cast (it) away. bad having become.

[222]
[462]

Nû'tak **k̲édsha ntchékayant kshû'nat shaígatat; lû'k tchípashptchi gí.**
grows on small grass-stalks in prairies; seeds tchipash-alike are.
Kápiunks-shítko stä'-ila nû'tak wéwanuish wékank yákitka.
Kápiunks just like gather nútak the women, by beating (it) into baskets.

Páwash **a k̲édsha aitχáměnash k̲ō'l, k̲á-i k̲ú-i pí'luitk k̲û'lam-shítk, lúiluyatk**
grows smaller than kol. not stinking kol-like, sweet
toks kpápshash. Yaínakshi píl sha túm shléa. Tchélash pá-usham
but to taste. At Yáneks only they much (of it) find. Stalk of páwash
wí-ukani, mû'kmukapsh pálpalsh shlápsh gí'tk. Pû'ka sha hû'nk
is low, feathered (and) white flowers having. Bake they
páwash, tchúi sha gáma, shpáhank sha í'lχa lû'ldam páshluk.
páwash, then they pound (it), after drying (it) they preserve for winter gathering in.

[252]

Pû'ks **nánukash-käíla k̲édsha tû'm, títatna k̲á-i tû'mi. Pû'ks k̲édsha**
everywhere grows in quantities, sometimes not in profusion. Camass grows
Óregon saígatat, tchékěnish metsmétslish lelé-usam gí'tk tchélash;
on Oregonian prairies, minute blue flowers having (its) stalk;
pû'ks tchék'ni ónions-shítko shléash pálpali shánkitk gíug, pukátk
camass small onions-similarly looking, is whitish raw being, when baked

[251]

tchēk luíluyatk mā'sha nóχuk. Pahátko mā'ntch gí'ntak í'pakt
then sweetly tastes when it is done. When dried, a long time afterwards it may remain,
túměni illólash k̲á-i k̲ó-i k̲'lékant. Shláps tsmō'k píluitk.
for many years not spoiled may become. The flower fish-stink smells after.

[252]

Pû'lχuantch. **Píena mák̲laks pû'lχuantchluk pienû'tkishtka; pû'ka a sha**
Scrape up the ground the Indians for gathering the chrysalids with a paddle; roast (them) they
ktáyatat k̲élpokshtat kshū'n puetílank, wáldsha tchík sha kshún,
with stones heated, grass putting under, lay on top then they grass,
kné-udshí lokáptchχa, tchúi sha käíla k̲ä'lua pû'kûg púlχuantch.
rough bark pile up on top, then they with earth fill up for roasting the chrysalids.

Stópalsh. **Mák̲laks kiamä'mi guiχakshä'migshta stópalsha pûkshämí'tch. K̲a-**
The people in fishing-season, at home-leaving time peel trees, in camass-season also.
k̲owátka sha kiulō'la stópalsh; kápka sha stópěla. Lúiluyatk stóp-
With bones they peel off the inner bark; small pine-trees they peel. Of sweet taste (is)
alsh; shánks hak sha pán. Kánt í· hûn shläá shtopalhuí'sh kû'sh
the bark; just raw they eat it. So many you (of them) find peeled off pine-trees
í táměnug. K̲á-i kū'sh nánuk tchû'ka stópaluish; nánka tchúk̲a.
you when traveling. Not pine-trees all perish which were peeled; some dry up.

*539 262 824 *Táksish* kálkali, pakí'sh; láwal ka tánian slápshtat; kä'ilatat lû'sha, k̲á-i pí'lnitko.
cylindric, palatable; is wide that much at the bud; on the ground it lies, not has smell.

Tók pä'lpali kshû'n, k̲édsha é-ushtat.
is a whitish grass, grows in Lake.

Tsí'kal atíni kshû'n, k̲édsha é-ushtat.
(is a) high grass, grows in Lake.

[222] [462] [252] [264] *Tchí'psam* k̲édsha kshû'n-ptchi páta tchí'k nók̲a. Tchúi mák̲laks tchípash
grows grass-like (and) in summer-time ripens. Then Indians tchípash

shtä'ila, wéwanuish wéka ulä'χuga yákitat. Lúlukshtka tû'ksh a
gather, the women beat (it) into haul (it) in seed-baskets. In the hot coals in a fire

tchípash shnû'χa, tchúi tchí'k sha humashtgíulank péksha lem-
the tchípash they parch, and after they having thus done grind (it) on the

atchátka shilaklgí'shtka yí-ulalónank; a tchí'ksh hû'nk pekshólank
metate with the rubbing-stone rubbing; now then having done grinding

pän éwa pálatka ámbu kítuínank, tchúi sha hûmasht-gí'ulank
again they empty (it) upon a matted dish water pouring into (it), then they after thus doing

patámpka wawálχank népatka hlópa. Gí'ta tchípash k̲á-i tû'm
begin to eat (it) sitting around with hands sop it up. Right here tchípash not in quantities

k̲édshant, Móatok pí'la toksh tû'm wawáwish gi.
(is) growing, the Modoc country only however much (of it) productive is.

[222] [252] *Tchuá* kálkali: tχopó-shítko, gét pi tchuá; k̲édsha ámbutat; ntchendshkáni
cylindric; thumb-like, so it (is) wápatu; grows in waters; rather small

tchuá, tchúyunk mák̲laks íshka tchúi tchilálank pán; kúkanka sha
(is) wápatu, and it the Indians pulling out and boiling eat; masticate they

tútatka. Taktä'kli tchuálam shlápsh; kinkáni tchuá.
with (their) teeth. Purple (is) of wild-potato the flower; scarce (is) wápatu (here).

Tsuák käílatat lû'sha, pakí'sh; ka tánni tsélas: láp pë'tch; kakálkalish shláps
on ground extends, (is) eatable; so long is the stalk; two feet; round flowers

p'lái gí'tko.
on top having.

Tsuní'ka k̲édsha käílant, é-ushtat, walí'dshat; pakí'sh. Shlápsh 2" lawá-
grows on ground, on Lake, on cliffs; eatable. The flowers 2" are

latk, tídsh piluítko, mû lbû'ka gítk; kä'latat lû'sha.
wide, nicely smelling, a large bulb having; on ground it lies.

Wátksûm mû'na û'sha kä'latat, pakí'sh; k̲édsa walídsat, pä'lpali shlápsh.
deep lies in ground, eatable; grows among cliffs, white (is) flower.

Wí'wi atíni, k̲édsha táletat; pakí'sh shlápsh; k̲étsa pálpali.
is tall, grows on straight stalks; eatable (is) the bud; grows white.

TO THE ABOVE ARE ADDED A FEW NON-ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES:

[226] *Kû'lχamsh* tû'sh a tû'pka käílatat, k̲á-i pakí'sh, ptchí'nk: kiä'm-luelō'tksh
upwards stands from ground, not eatable, thus looking: as a fish-killing-article

witsólslank vû'nsat tamádsank téwas; kitchkáni shláps.
while net-fishing in the canoe they fasten (it) on bow the forked net; small (is) the flower.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

* 539 **148**, 2-4. Yánakănin for yanakănini; cf. suffix -ni, -nini in Dictionary. mă'nsh for
262 mă'ntch. pă'shtak for páhasht ak, cf. pă'sht, 147, 17. for páhasht.

824 **148**, 5. Nú'tak. This grass belongs to the genus Glycerium, as identified by Dr.
192 E. Foreman, and produces a tiny, grayish bright seed of tchípash size. The flowers are of a light red color. The grass is found around the agency buildings and grows about one foot high.

148, 7. Páwash properly means *tongue*.

148, 11. Pû'ks or *camass*. Its bulb is one of the principal food-articles of all the northwestern Indians, but does not grow in profusion in the warmer portions of California. It is of the magnitude of the walnut, very saccharine and nutritious, ripens in May and June, and by the roasting or baking process described in the text becomes as hard as stone. The Máklaks call it after pû'ka *to roast*, the Shasti name is sók, the Pit River name ăhualé, while the name kamas, "sweet," is of Nutka origin. The botanists call the plant Scilla or Camassia esculenta. Cf. *Note* to 146, 1.

148, 14. ípakt, metathesis of ípkat, tne conditional of ípka to lie there, to remain.

222 **148**, 16. púlχuantch. The gathering of this pupa or chrysalid and of its caterpillar,
462 the sχeshl'sh, is chiefly done by the women of the tribes, who find them imbedded at
252 no great depth in the sandy ground around pine trees. Another chrysalid, the kûli'ga, is collected and roasted by them in the same way and tastes like eggs. kshû'n puetílank: putting grass under the chrysalids, not under the heated stones. The stones are replaced by other heated ones, as soon as they have cooled off; the larva assumes a black color after roasting and tastes like eggs. See púlχuantch in Dictionary.

221 **148**, 19. guiχakshlí'migshta. The season of the year, when the exodus of the whole
222 tribe to Klamath Marsh takes place, where pond-lily seed is collected for the winter,
193 is about the middle of June. The ending -ta is an abbreviation of the case suffix -tat. Three seasons are stated in the text, when the peeling of the inner or fibre bark of small pine trees is performed; of these the camass-season precedes the exodus to Klamath Marsh by a few weeks only, and the fishing season lasts from February to the end of the summer. Of course, the peeling of the kápka-pine coincides with the season when the sap ascends through the young tree. The bark is removed from about five feet to fifteen or twenty feet above the ground, and most of the beautiful pines treated in this manner are doomed to premature decay, though many survive the operation. The aspect of a forest with some of the pine trees peeled is rather singular.

148, 21. shánks hak, contraction of shánkish hak or ak.

149, 1. ka tánian for ka taniáni "so much in width or extent." The bud of the táksish has a width of about half an inch. Cf. *Note* to 148, 1.

149, 3. 4. tók. This aquatic grass grows about two feet high; by é-ushtat is meant, here and in tal'kal: Upper Klamath Lake.

194 **149**, 3. pĭ'lpali, vocalic dissimilation of pálpali or pĭ'lpăli; cf. taktă'kli 149, 14.

149, 5. Tchí'psam is a prairie grass on which the brown tchípash-seed grows. This seed is extremely small, and it takes a long time before a sufficient quantity of it is
178 gathered to afford a meal for a family. Still smaller is the nútak-seed, and both are striking instances of the persistence of the Indians in keeping up their old mode of living, when by agriculture and stock-raising they could procure provisions with infinitely less trouble and in much shorter time.

Slim: Male, Age 30

Background Data

Slim's case was selected so as to illustrate the situation of a regularly em- 159*
ployed, well liked and respected young male. He is currently employed as a [464]
laborer in a lumber mill, and in the past has worked as a carpenter, and in
heavy industries in the mid-west. He has ten years of formal schooling, obtained [463]
his 12th grade certificate by examination while in military service, and for [871]
one month studied commercial art in Portland. [701]

Slim was born into a large, influential kin group, one which for several genera- [619]
tions has provided much of the tribe's leadership. While his own father has
not been so influential in tribal politics, preferring to work his ranch instead, Slim grew up in association with male relatives noted for their forthright independence and leadership, and within a family tradition of progressive-
ness and self-improvement. Slim's early life was spent in alternating periods [591]
of residence with his own father and mother on their ranch, and with his father's
mother in her cabin on the Sycan marsh. This association with "Grandma" was [603]
partly in response to the gradual disintegration of relations between his father
and mother, and partly the result of his father's desire to have "Grandma" teach [593]
him some of the old lore. His mother became increasingly erratic, unpredic-
table, and violent, finally leaving his father. Slim felt badly rejected by [153]
her and was never able to understnad why she would not accept his efforts to be helpful. On the other hand, he was very close to his father and his grandmother. Today he recalls with satisfaction the many things these two persons taught him, and dreams recurrently of being in the army, defending the reservation from attack, and checking in on the old lady to see if she is all right. This dream is interesting because it expresses succinctly his style of relations with superiors, for in the dream Slim asks permission of his squad leader to leave, explains his reasons, then checks in on "Grandma," and returns to his duty.

After the 10th grade was completed, Slim quit school and worked on various ranches. Early in the Korean war he consciously followed the model of an uncle, who was a career soldier, and enlisted in the army. His service record was good, marred only by what Slim feels were two justifiable periods of unauthorized absence, and he voluntarily served with a combat unit in Korea. This army experience considerably broadened Slim's horizons, and after his discharge he lived and worked with an army buddy in the east for a year. Then Slim traveled and worked
in several places in the east and midwest. On two occasions his regular habits [461]
and good capacity for steady work were responsible for a promotion. Characteristically, Slim enjoys this kind of reward, but he does not specifically strive for advancement.

Slim has many skills, hobbies, and social graces. When young his father taught him to dig ditches, with the advice that this skill would always provide him with a job. He is an expert horseman and stock-keeper, and is a skilled hunter and woodsman who frequently guides his friends on hunting trips. He has learned carpentry, house-painting, and the operation of various industrial machines. More recently, he has turned to archery, sketching, and photography for hobbies to occupy his spare time. Then too, he is an amiable, jolly person who makes good company and who is well regarded as a friend. He is not married, and has never seriously considered marrying. He has had occasional sexual liaisons of a transitory nature, which he finds quite satisfying, and has been "going steady" for several years with an older woman, a person who is a grandmother in her own right.

*539 (150) čoy q̓a···y ho·t sʔasw̓i·gis. (151) diči· ho·t gi. (152) ge·ks ni sʔabi·ya.[190] (153) ho·t sa dank do· g̓oWasdi, (Proper name¹), čoy (Proper name²), čoy—ago·—(Proper name³). (154) Waltga sa. (155) kani hak č̓is ʔaMk̓a naʔas, kant sa naʔas ʔelg̓a čopbaqs či. (156) čoy čik sa wlayq̓damna nen. (157) čoy sas ni mamča·di·la—no· mamča·di·lis či hak ni ge·ks sʔabi·ya. (158) čoy sas naʔas, dam mat honk dada· sa (Proper name²) sleʔa·, qiLo·s se·wist, wag̓e·nha q̓oy si·ksikst, wag̓e·nha siJaqtis. (159) q̓a···y, q̓ay dada· sleʔa·. (160) čoy (Proper name¹) naʔas, "no· dak honks sleʔa· sʔawi·gapks din̓a·." (161) "ʔa···, dada· hay?" naʔas či honk hok (Proper name³). (162) čoy (Proper name¹) naʔas gi, "dada·t lis ʔi wač mi spač̓a·ytdatqn̓a!" (163) čoy sa sdoqdamna. (164) nem̓as ni ge·ks sʔabi·ya. (165) čoy ni Jo·nas č̓is sʔabi·ya, kat mis dank č̓osak sle·lgi. (166) do· hok swina·, se·ridan.[191] (167) do·st sa nen naʔas ʔelga do·, do·st hok maqlaqs na···nok̓a·skni·sogo·lgi. (168) nen hok swinwapk sanditdat, litg̓i. (169) nen hok ʔat ʔaky̓a gatba, do . (170) čoy mbaws solo·tnank swinwapk, Jo·n. (171) hok ʔa gew—p̓la·lam gew be·p, kat mis č̓osak sle·lgi.

(172) AC: ʔi·, mag̓o·q̓ap. (173) gew dak hok biblanks̓la gi. (174) no· honkl̓am p̓le·wa hok nis—hok nis tapy̓alpgatk. (175) ʔi·, hok nis tapy̓alpga, p̓le·wip honkl̓am. (176) čoy hok gew pikča nis honkl̓am mbegapks, wele·q̓apgam, q̓e·gi hok, p̓allapga ʔans hok kani. (177) q̓e·gi hok. (178) naʔas honk ho·skanga neybliwapgok g̓a·yk̓a dank. (179) g̓a·yk̓a ʔan honk, čoy hok q̓e·gi hok.

(The machine was temporarily turned off at this point.)

(180) AC: sw̓ewsʔam.

(181) PO: (I never could think of that!) waq čik ho·t bosbosl̓i se·satk?

(182) AC: k̓al. (183) ʔi·t sa hon gi, p̓an.[192] (184) lo·st gyank, lo·st gyank sa p̓an. (185) honk č̓is k̓al, p̓an sa honk.

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[192] [190] /ge·ks/ again refers to the investigator.

[551] [533] [463] [191] /Jo·n/ "June" is the name of Mrs. Chiles' niece, Mrs. June Dick, who is quite well known on the Reservation and in Portland (her present home) as a singer. She had gone to Sheridan, Wyoming, to sing at the annual gathering of American Indian tribes there.

[192] [192] /ʔi·t/ is the English word "eat," and /lo·st/ is English "roast." In speaking to the investigator directly, Mrs. Cowan felt it necessary to employ frequent English words as supplements to her Klamath explanations.

*648 *657 to be released from service. As the Agent of that period, Linus M. Nickerson, summarized matters, his carpenter, wagon- and plowmaker, blacksmith, superintendent of farming, farmer, and sawyer lapsed, while the treaty provided for a five-year continuance of physician, miller, two teachers, and the materials for shops mills, and agency buildings.[8] The Bureau at this point assumed responsibility for continuance of some of the staff and thus resolved the crisis.[9]

*648 *657 871 Later exigencies led to further modifications of staff, until the superintendent of the Yainax boarding school became responsible, in effect, to the Agent for the entire administration of the upper end of the reservation; and the interpreter, doubling as blacksmith, oversaw the issuing of rations to Indian employees and the destitute, and supervised the working prisoners. As more men
[166] • [464] left the reservation in the eighties and nineties in search of employment, the labor force available for reservation maintenance dwindled, and the Agent had recourse to the older school boys as part of his work force. Since they were to spend half the day under the industrial teacher, a struggle for ascendancy over this functionary developed between Agent and school supervisor, a battle which more than once was marked by acerbity.

So complicated was the issue by the growing centralization of the management of reservation schools under a district superintendent of Indian schools in Washington, that Agent Joseph Emery had to be reassured: ". . . the Indian Agent is [the Office's] representative upon the Indian reservation . . . [and] it is my intention to properly support your authority in all legitimate cases."[10] Another circumstance was the location of the Klamath boarding school under the direct surveillance of the Agent. While his counterpart at Yainax controlled both school and subagency, the Superintendent of the Agency school chafed under the levies—and at times the direct interference—of the Agent. This was particularly true during the tenure of Emery, a former professor at the Agricultural College at Corvallis, who instituted a number of innovations in the school. That friction did not result solely from the play of exceptional personalities is shown by the circumstance that later Agents, E. L. Applegate and David W. Matthews, encountered similar trouble.[11]

In the struggle to maintain personnel, Agents drew not only 648*
on family relationships and appeals to congressmen. Dyar and 657*
Nickerson were not beyond a "mistake" in interpreting regulations, if it was in good cause.[12] Similarly, when it became necessary to rid the administration of a troublemaker, a spate of damaging reports moved upward through channels.[13]

Another source of friction was that between church morality 648*
and Agency administration. At one point this caused Agent E. L. 657*
Applegate to cry—with a measure of histrionic license to be sure 797
—"Have the United Church in this State established the Inquisition over the Indian Service? Should it not interest Congress to know if our branch of the public service is to be rushed back in its methods to the 15th century?"[14]

The charges against David Matthews were brought through the annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to which the reservation had been entrusted under the Grant administration.[15] The same body was responsible for charges against Agent Marshall Petet that he had permitted the Indians to dance and hold horse races during Fourth of July celebrations.[16] Similarly, O. C. Applegate had to protest charges made by the then missionary; and Horace G. Wilson had to request the removal of two missionary families who had criticized him. The matter was further complicated for Wilson by the circumstance that the wife of one missionary, and the loudest voice against him, was his own field matron.[17]

This was the Agent's Scylla; his Charybdis were the settlers 648*
who gradually percolated into the surrounding region. From 657*
the time that Dyar inveighed against "a low class of white men living near the reservation who have been giving and selling liquor to the Indians,"[18] the isolation of the reservation was never more than relative. The recurrent need of the Indians to repair to the Lost River fishery each spring, their sales at Fort Klamath in the 1860's, and later their hand labor and freighting for adjacent settlers took them increasingly away from the Agency,
though always under a pass system. Local discrimination against [464] •
"squaw men" and the stringent regulations governing Agency residents were in part responsible for the decision of those marrying Indian wives to live away from the reservation. Nonetheless,

*648 the neighboring settlers were in part made up of men with
*657 Indian wives, and in part, too, of former employees of the
• [464] Agency.[19] They were not always respectful of the dignity of the
Agent and frequently challenged his authority. At times, as in
the strife of the 1880's with the stockmen on the eastern border of
the reservation, the clashes assumed an almost warlike character.

177 Despite these preoccupations and deterrents, work somehow
433 proceeded. Not all Indians wanted the progress, with all its cir-
*657 cumscriptions, that was gradually unfolded before them, and not
all who desired it were capable of achieving it. Nonetheless, the
lure of a farm and a herd of horses or cattle of one's own, to be
able to have a wagon and be a man of substance, to use the coffee,
sugar, salt, beef, flour, and baking soda that had become the new
necessities, to dress well: these opportunities, open only to a few
entrepreneurs in the old days of raid-and-trade, now became
available to any who would work hard and subject himself to
177 an alien discipline. It was just this regimen that whole genera-
*657 tions of children were subjected to in the schools. In the main,
871 the program in the early period was a success. The reasons why
its success was no more than qualified are set forth below.

*648 The tasks the government set itself were manifold. The Indians
*657 of independent tribes and bands were to be confined within a
177 reservation and there brought into a single polity. Within twenty
years they were to be transformed into self-sufficient farmers and
their feet set upon a road marked by the use of "citizens' dress,"
of modern homes, preferably situated on individual farms, by
ability to speak English and even to read and write in that medium,
and the abandonment of their own faith for Christianity.
Annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs carry a
statistical summary for all reservations of the state of "civilization"
of the Indians, couched in these and similar terms. Narrative
reports of the Agents dwell time and again upon the inculcation
of proper aspirations, extending at times even to the
minutiae of observance. "During the last two or three years,"
states Linus M. Nickerson (1884) with satisfaction, "I have not
[464] known a burial when the coffin has not been covered with a good
quality of black cloth or velvet and where the trimmings have
not been equally good."[20]

657*

more than an exercise in resourcefulness and industry: they 698*
provided experience and allies in evading what must have 177
seemed a senseless legal prohibition. 313
439

EMPLOYMENT

Other employment supplied the Indians with cash to purchase 657*
items for which they were acquiring a taste. At the Agency, 177
Lindsay Applegate took the lead by hiring laborers for rations 464 •
of shorts (flour),[39] and from that time on Indians filled a variety 465
of subordinate offices, on the farm and roads, as interpreters, police, artisans and, later, in the schools.

Early in the history of the reservation, they began to work off the reservation for outside parties, John Meacham, following the directions of his brother, the superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon, stipulated that the Klamath were to work four days on the reservation roads before expecting a pass to leave the reservation.[40] By 1877, Dyar was reporting that "the Indians make rails, chop wood off the reservation for citizens, some thirty or forty having been thus engaged."[41] They were soon drawn into haying and other harvest activities.

Among those who befriended them was "Sikes Worden, Post Trader at the Post, who kindly refuses to employ any but Indians for work which they can do. He will thus reimburse the Indian wood choppers, hay makers, etc. from a thousand to twelve hundred dollars per year."[42] According to figures given elsewhere, a woodcutter might receive $45.00 to $60.00 for thirty to forty cords of wood, while summer haying and harvest work might bring between $50.00 and $200.00 apiece.[43] By 1888, fully one hundred Indians were working as summer farmhands.[44]

FREIGHTING

Freighting was another major enterprise for the Indians. When 657*
Huntington had brought the first annuity goods down from The 177
Dalles in the fall of 1867, young O. C. Applegate had led his 489
"ax and rifle company," whose number included seven chiefs,
to meet it.[45] Several years later, when they had accumulated [439]
money from odd work, the Klamath made their way down to Jacksonville and Ashland, some one hundred miles distant, and bought flour at a little over one-third the price it would cost at

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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*657 Agents shows that they consistently tended to undervalue the
177 contribution made by native foods to the Klamath economy. From
178 the first statistical entry in 1882, when they are estimated to
262 contribute forty per cent of the food supply, native foods steadily decline in the records, leveling off from 1888 to 1893 at approximately twenty per cent, and, after a spirited fluctuation from then to 1901, rising slowly to ten per cent in 1904. That dependency upon these foods declined from total to partial reliance is admissible. O. C. Applegate, while Superintendent, reported that by the turn of the century some of the food resources had begun to dwindle under intensive use. He found the fish less abundant than in the halcyon days of the first Agent, and observed that both water fowl and prairie chickens had been overhunted.[71]

While conceding the decline, a critic may well find fault with the bland assessment of Elisha Applegate a decade earlier (1891) that native food quests were then "indulged in more as incidents and to add variety of life than as occupations to be seriously depended upon."[72] The year after Applegate made his report, one graduate of the Indian school, upon returning home, saw things in a different light. "Whenever I got job, I pitched hay. I did fishing and hunting, and I had plenty to eat all the time . . . lots of deer meat, and I used to pick wokas too."[73] If this was an indulgence, it was in sheer survival.

The sources of error are not hard to find. Administrators could form only the most general opinion of the contributions made by native foods, and must have tended to judge from the examples provided by Indian employees immediately at hand and from the more acculturated Indians. Moreover, their reports were in part designed to illustrate the progress which their charges had made away from their former customs. Accordingly, they understated the degree to which native economic activities conditioned the acceptance of new modes of earning a livelihood and supplemented those which had been taken up.

*657 Consider, by way of example, the pursuits which in the 1880's
177 could be combined according to taste, need, and season.

178 Lumbering and logging were winter and spring enterprises,
221 with intermittent logging taking place in the fall. Labor for the
433 contractor at the Fort and for settlers ran from spring through
[313]
• [464]
[489]

657*

fall; while freighting, limited by road conditions, had the same 177 178
range of seasons. 221

For the farmer, splitting rails and fencing started in the winter 433
and ranged toward spring, as did the clearing of ground. Plowing [464] •
and sowing of grain might start in March, while vegetable [489]
gardens were not planted before May or June. Harvesting and [241]
haying took place in late summer and threshing in the fall.

The stockman rounded up and branded his cattle at first in the [231]
fall and later in the spring. He sold his beef in the fall, then
drove his herd to winter in the upper valley of the Sprague.

Those who relied upon aboriginal foods fished in the late
winter and early spring, dug roots or hunted antelope and mule
deer in late spring, gathered wokas, wild fruits and berries in
the fall, hunted in the Cascades in the fall, and trapped for furs
in the winter. 657*

Beyond this lay the domestic cycle. Homes were built or repaired 221
in the spring and fall, supplies were bought in the fall, 342
and fuel was gathered in the fall and winter. 356

This summary, bald as it is, will illustrate the fact that many 313
\ more ventures were now open to the enterprising, as well as a 657*
wider range of relationships. It was possible to draw from 433
several cycles activities that were seasonally compatible. Thus, 464
when the harvests were in, fully one-half to two-thirds of the 177
men might leave the reservation on passes to work for whites, 178
taking their families with them.[74] Frequent crop failures drove
many to seek outside employment to provide for the coming
winter. Because new tastes had given rise to new needs, many
at this time forsook those traditional pursuits that conflicted with
more lucrative employment. Nor did money alone lie at the root
of those preferences. Work for white settlers and freighting
provided variety and seasonal mobility, opportunities to meet
people, to change scenery, and to escape on occasion beyond
the rule (however benevolent in intent) of the Agent.

The new opportunities were open primarily to men, consonant 657*
with the roles of the sexes in nineteenth-century rural America. 433
For them the new system, aside from a certain administrative 177
favoritism, provided an equal chance for advancement. It is no 178
accident that a number of the earliest employees of the Agency [567]
were Pit River Indians, of whom it was later said: ". . . as a

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*648

*657 first encountered Christianity at the school. There were studies,
872 though the most lasting impressions were made in references to
[799] Indian wars in the histories.[21] Above all there was the heavy
[829] labor, for the development of the industrial program coincided
[464] with the period when able-bodied men were leaving the reservation on passes to work for whites; and the support not only of the schools but in some measure of other Agency programs devolved upon the scholars. As E. L. Applegate admitted, "the truth is, the labor is very heavy upon those old enough or intelligent enough to render any assistance; 110 people [in the school] constitute a large family."[22] Work on the school farm required the pupils to return in two-week shifts over the summer. A contest for control over this work force developed between Applegate and the Superintendent of the Agency school, who presumed to take his orders directly from the Superintendent of Indian Schools in Washington.[23]

*648 There was competition from off-reservation schools over the
*657 older students. In 1881, Nickerson, perhaps prodded from above,
871 had attempted to send twelve superior students to the Indian school at Forest Grove—later removed to Chemawa, Oregon—but funds were not available to send them the 450 miles distant.[24] In a letter from Acting Commissioner E. L. Stevens, the role of those schools and their competition with Agency schools are clearly acknowledged. Declared Stevens:

> It is not the policy of this office to remove pupils from reservation to distant boarding schools without the consent of their parents.
>
> It is always the case that the removal from agency schools of the older and more intelligent pupils is, temporarily at least, a detriment to the schools; but it is believed that the superior advantages which can be had away from the Indian country, and the reflex influence on the families who thus commit themselves to civilization, more than compensate to the tribe for the loss occasioned to the schools.[25]

*648 In 1885, accordingly, nineteen students were sent away to
*657 school, and by spring, five had died. Eventually eight were dead,
871 and Emery wrote, "This great mortality has caused much dis-
165 satisfaction among my Indians; and any effort to remove any more children to this School will meet with serious opposition on

another figure, known only as "The One Below," to represent the 648*
Devil. This figure appears in a Klamath version of the Garden 657*
of Eden recorded by Gatschet[29]—a tale no longer recalled today. 776
The identification of Gmukamps with God is strengthened in 177
Indian eyes by his mythical foster-parentage of the hero, Aisis. 178
As one Modoc, a fundamentalist preacher, has put it:

> you know, Gmukamps and Aisis—that's nothing but God and Jesus. The Indians knew the story of the Bible, but they were ignorant in those days. They thought that the lakes they performed their miracles around were the Klamath lakes; they didn't know it was really the Sea of Galilee.[30]

Looking back over the entire field of change from the last 657*
decades of the nineteenth century, the observer could discern 648*
major acculturative trends. The Klamath who entered upon the 177
treaty had already undergone pervasive, though largely un- 178
directed modification. Thereafter, they were subjected to a consistent policy of change which, despite defects in execution, outside interference, and an intervening war, was maintained for well over a generation. Within this frame, a reservation culture had taken shape, embodying a synthesis of white and Indian lifeways. By the middle of the next century, only a handful of tribesmen would be left who could report from direct knowledge events of pretreaty days; the remaining elders would be products of the synthesis.

Measured by the indexes which the Bureau employed to
register progress, the advance was evident. When that formula- [464] •
tive period was ended, a large number of the Klamath were [511]
productively engaged in work of "civilized" character, and their
material wants had come to approximate those of their white
neighbors. Many were conversant, and a few literate, in English, [191]
and their numbers were increasing steadily. The extended family, [212]
at least among the progressive, had made way for the more [596]
mobile and assimilable conjugal family. In the schools, a new [594]
generation was being trained to embrace as natural and desirable [871]
a way of life which the Church, in turn, commended as good to old and young alike. Expectations seemed to lie within the grasp of those willing to work to achieve them.

Beneath the surface upon which these changes could be traced, [571]
however, lay cleavages and disconformities as yet unfathomed

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TEN

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The Changing Environs

THE ISOLATION OF THE RESERVATION HAD NEVER BEEN MORE THAN A 657*
relative condition. From early days the soldiers at Fort Klamath, 648*
the settlers on Wood River and the Upper Sprague, together [361]
with the growing towns of Linkville and Lakeview, made its [166]
seclusion far less than absolute. A policy that permitted the [464] •
freighting runs to Jacksonville and Ashland or the pass system
by which perhaps three-fourths of the men and their families
were permitted to leave the reservation for as long as four months
to work for whites: these greatly diminished the policy controls
exercised by the Agent.

In the period ahead, however, boundaries were to be further [161]
dissolved. In 1882 Nickerson could declare, "This reservation
contains as many inhabitants to the square mile as Lake County
or Eastern Oregon."[2] Homesteaders were even then filling up the
land, and the rate accelerated as Linkville—become Klamath
Falls—and Lakeview responded to the market and communica-
tion needs of the region. When the Southern Pacific railroad
reached Klamath Falls in 1909, the resource relationships in the
Klamath Basin changed radically. Reservation timber, previously [313]
of little commercial value, suddenly possessed great worth and
the mills in Klamath Falls and neighboring communities soon
became reliant upon it. The Oregon, Central, and Eastern rail-
road ran up the Sprague River Valley, while by 1911 the Southern
Pacific had pushed north across the western face of the reser-
vation to Kirk. In 1923 work was resumed on the latter line to
complete the Natron Cutoff from the Willamette Valley; three
years later it was completed. Thereafter, the Lower End lay on
a main line.

Thus, to the cattlemen and sheepmen operating on the reser- [563]
vation under grazing leases were added railway gangs, then

office, I will have to insist upon having the leases drawn through 648* 657*
this office."[11] Even marriage had to be restricted at first in order 427
that proper records be maintained. Thus Marshall Petet rejected 648*
the request of an off-reservation preacher to marry a couple 657*
with the statement that "it is the custom for the Indians to either 585
be married by Mr. Starnes, the Methodist preacher, or myself." He added, "Indians marrying off of the Reservation, and where no notice of the same ever reaches this office, has given rise to much trouble, and I therefore require that they be married here."[12] With time, such controls had to be relinquished.

Meanwhile, such a man as O. C. Applegate, with his broad 648*
acquaintanceship in Klamath Falls and his long familiarity with 657*
the Indians, took upon himself the role of patron and middleman. 426
For several women who wished to employ an Indian housekeeper [464] •
or cook he was indefatigable in his efforts. He gave advice on the credit ratings of various Indians to numerous merchants in Klamath Falls. Occasionally he loaned money to those he deemed good risks, or advanced out of pocket cash to pay a debt long outstanding. Usually, however, he merely paraphrased the words of Emery that "Jim Smith has a contract to cut wood" and therefore can be trusted for an advance of $50.00 worth of merchandise. He might observe that "Judge Joseph Kirk is a good square man, and I wish you might make him an exception in his case." On a few occasions he sought to have Henry Jackson agree to underwrite a credit for another Indian.

Other men undertook to extend credit on a smaller scale. Daniel Cronemiller, who long before (1883) had advanced credit to Indians, cosigned at least two notes with Indians: one with Jesse Kirk and another with Henry Wilson. About the turn of the century, the former Agent, Leroy S. Dyar, estimated that through the years he had loaned approximately six hundred dollars to Indians.

The Agent's power, however, was an important condition of 648*
his patronage. The assignment of freight loads from the railroads 657*
at Ager and Pokegama, California, was rotated among available 464
Indian teamsters, but the administrator made sure that the deserving 494
received more frequent assignments. Thus, Emery could request a merchant to let Stonewall Jackson have the merchan-

*648 dise he required, adding "I will see that he gets a load of freight
*657 to haul, and when he has hauled the same, you will be reimbursed
464 therefore."[13]

494 Within the context of allotment, controls were soon to prove inadequate.

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> his wife will be allotted on Klamath Marsh, some 50 miles away. 648*
> They are almost compelled to live a part of the year in each 657*
> place on account of putting up hay for their cattle.[40] 423

O. C. Applegate saw a supplementary relationship between 311
the allotted and tribal lands.

> There are a few localities on the Reservation [he stated] where industrious Indians may be able to make a living on 160 acres of land, especially after the land best calculated for farming is improved by irrigation; but the opening of the Reservation to settlement by White men upon the unallotted lands would make it hard for those Indians who live in the meadow districts by stockraising to make a living, as it would deprive them of the advantage of pasture on the tribal lands.[41]

Immediately following the passage of the Dawes Act, there 648*
were reports of heightened industry among the Indians, as they 657*
set about to build upon and improve their allotments. It must 423
be borne in mind that by the time the act was applied at Kla- [427]
math it had already been amended in 1891 and 1894, and soon
again in 1897 and 1900, to permit leasing under certain con-
ditions.[42] Leasing of what was then tribal d[illegible] had been 648*
secured through Nickerson by Sykes Worden [illegible] and by 657*
Matt Obenchain in 1884. Before lands were finally allotted, E. 563
L. Applegate had permitted Dave Hill to make an informal 427
agreement with one white rancher, by which the latter cut and stacked hay on Hill's place and winterfed his cattle there, paying Hill for the hay.

Matthews, Applegate's successor, at first clashed with the system when he sought to impose an additional fifty cents per head fee for bringing the cattle on the reservation.[43] Soon, however, he was advocating that whites be permitted to come upon the reservation and cut hay on lands which Indians had enclosed, paying the Indians for the hay. Like his successors, he argued the help the Indians would derive from this revenue and the advantages of utilizing resources which would otherwise go to
waste.[44] Soon thereafter a group of stockmen proposed to him [464]
the leasing of the Klamath Marsh area, which he favored as affording employment to a number of Indians in putting up hay.[45]

At a council with "the representative Indians of this Reserva- [311]
tion," a vote was take to lease certain lands for grazing pur- [623]
poses.

*648 at least momentarily, through the receipt of pro rata shares of
*657 the tribal fund, from the lease and sale of allotments, from
434 grazing leases upon tribal lands, and from the per capita dividends from tribal timber. The last-named source of income produced the deepest impression upon reservation life.

*648 When allotting was under way at Klamath, the fate of the
*657 "surplus" lands had been under debate. Among the suggestions
423 was the plan proposed by Allotting Agent Charles E. Worden,
313 which called for setting aside 100,000 acres of timberland for the common use of the Indians. He recommended that the cutting of green timber be prohibited on this tract since "if protected it will be a source of great revenue, as it is so located along streams that it can be floated to market without great cost, and will soon be eagerly sought."[95] By 1903, a large number of timber claims has been taken up outside the reservation and the value of the reservation stands was being realized.[96] The fact that the Booth-Kelly Lumber Company had taken over the Military Road claims from the California and Oregon Land Company testified clearly to their worth.[97]

When the Southern Pacific Railroad reached Klamath Falls in 1909 and within the next two years moved northward across the reservation to Kirk, tribal stands were opened up. Cutting on allotted tracts began in 1911. The next year, Supt. Edson Watson proposed the exploitation of tribal timber, arguing that it would provide work for the Indians.[98] In 1913, while two companies were logging on allotted lands, the first sale of tribal timber was made. Additional staff was needed to handle the heavy draft of sales and heirship cases,[99] and from 1912 on the number sharply increased. By 1947, for example, 38 members of the 139 Agency employees were in the forestry and grazing division.[100] Watson recommended that the reservation timber be cut on a sustained yield basis in a fifty- to one hundred-year cycle. He advocated large sales of stumpage, as involving a lower proportionate cost of supervision. Small concerns, he contended, were unreliable.[101] Reservation timber was big business.

*648 Indian participation in this growing industry, contrary to the
*657 anticipation voiced by Watson, was minor. There was never a
313 time when more than a handful held jobs in woods camp or mill.
[464] By 1915, when most of them had exhausted their $240 pro rata
[434]

share of the principal from the tribal fund, the per capitas, 648*
begun two years before, were flowing in from timber sales. By 657*
1926 they were $500 annually, and four years later had risen to 434
$700. Though they thereafter declined slightly, they rose again to 313
a figure in excess of $800. Acess to these funds gave the Indians a considerable measure of economic independence. A family of four, at the 1926 figure, received $2,000 from timber receipts alone, an income sufficient to provide for all their needs or to indulge some of their luxury cravings. Where "money talked," it afforded access to many areas previously closed. Having money gave at least partial emancipation from Agency surveillance.

Indeed, from the days of allotment on, the growth of a money 648*
economy upon the reservation had been an emergent theme. 657*
Amounts of money that Indians had been able to secure prior to 434
that time, though important in their economy, had not given them 452
the same degree of independence as was later to be theirs. After allotment, anticipation of income from leasing and from other
sources increased the volume of purchases on credit. To his [454]
knowledge, Emery reported in 1897, no Indian had funds deposited with the Agent or with any bank, firm, or person.[102] Although in the next few years O. C. Applegate transmitted checks drawn by a number of Indians to cover debts they had incurred, the practice was less a payment from accumulated savings than a convenience in handling money. What the correspondence strikingly shows was the practice of buying on expectation. Then as now risks were involved, and many individuals in the parlance of the day were rather difficult to "bring to time." That difficulty had sometimes to be surmounted by asking local men of property, such as Henry Jackson, to stand behind an impecunious would-be customer. At times the Agent exerted moral pressure upon a delinquent debtor, but under some conditions he declined to serve as collection agent. Repossession of property for nonpayment often ran against the jurisdictional barrier of the reservation line.

Along with access to individual real property went the transla- 648*
tion of traditional relationships into a more pecuniary idiom. Such 657*
tribal members as Robert Wilson and his wife, William Crawford, 178
and Jesse Kirk purchased insurance policies.[103] A number of 571 [177]
Indians hired farmhands, both white and Indian, instead of draw- [464]
ing exclusively or even principally upon kinsmen.

*648 *657 generally white. When it is considered that in American society
184 the husband maintains significant external relationships,[11] it
621 seems significant that in both Chiloquin and Beatty in some three-
563 fourths of the Interethnic households the husband was an out-
592 sider and the wife a Klamath.

ECONOMIC LIFE

*648 From an economic standpoint, tribal members occupied a
*657 subsidiary position in reservation communities. Their participation
621 in productive activities as a whole was small. In 1958, a
434 sample of the reservation population showed the following economic
464 profile: presently engaged in business or ranching, eighteen
162 per cent; previous record of such experience, eleven per cent; no such experience, forty-eight per cent; no data, twenty-three per cent. The figures for those resident in Chiloquin showed, if anything, a lesser degree of direct participation. Available records on a small absentee sample (but one with a higher proportion of women) do not reveal a higher degree of economic experience. The figures are: presently engaged in business or ranching, seven per cent; previous record of such experience, twenty-one per cent; no such experience, seventy per cent; no data, two per cent.

*648 The record of scanty business experience is in large measure
*657 a consequence of the steady flow of income from tribal timber.
434 In 1950, the $800 per capita payments enabled a Klamath family
of four to exceed the median income for all families in the county.
454 Since they could also hunt and fish throughout the year, and many families did, their actual income was considerably higher. There was thus little incentive to work to supplement timber revenues. The Meriam committee, to be sure, had observed years before, in the course of their comprehensive study of Indian administration, that the Klamath per capitas were too small for investment and thus tended to be disbursed for current living expenses;[12] but it is also true that, lacking investment experience, tribal members who realized substantial sum from the sale of allotments too often treated them as windfalls to be squandered, rather than as capital capable of bringing further financial returns.

000 Comparison with the record of white performances places the

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Comparison
with the record of white performances places the 648*
tribal picture in perspective. In Beatty, six out of seven white 657*
househeads were employed. A sample taken in 1950 including 464 •
almost every white household in Chiloquin showed that all the 162
men save those who were ill or retired were gainfully employed, 171
and that in thirty-seven per cent of the households wives or junior
members also held jobs.

By this token, the Klamath had come to occupy a marginal 648*
position as economic producers. That this had not always been 657*
true is shown by the record of those who in the early days of 464
Chiloquin had tried their hand at business; and several continued 433
to maintain themselves by ranching or business. The large majority of the men, however, were content to labor seasonally as unskilled farmhands. The undependability of some workers had generated an adverse reputation among potential employers for the Klamath as a whole. The industrious Klamath came to be viewed as exceptional.

Thus, even on their own reservation, the Klamath stood beneath the shadow of economic structures dominated by whites. This condition was, of course, true for the reservation as a unit; for distant interests dictated that it should be devoted to the production of lumber, beef, power, and to communications. Within the several communities the major enterprises were also controlled by whites. To be sure, there were checks upon the
ruthless exercise of economic power. Local awareness of inter- [623]
dependence, the intimate acquaintance developed in the daily life of a small community, and the knowledge that the tribal council controlled the fate of timber contracts upon which the community depended: all these served to temper purely economic decisions.
The exercise of a credit system by storekeepers [452]
in the face of lower prices in Klamath Falls, the good faith they expected of their customers, and the occasional need for hired hands by ranchers, were equally conducive to restraint.

Klamath families who chose to farm were often similar to their [241]
white counterparts in the concentration which they devoted to their farming; and they often exchanged labor or equipment with white neighbors. There were few successful farmers among
tribal members, perhaps no more than a dozen in all. By contrast, [233]
there were those in the countryside who chose to follow other time-honored values than industry, giving precedence to per-

*648

*657 missiveness. Their ranches often took on the appearance of rural
464 slums, and were the scenes of drinking parties and brawls.
433 Economically profitable or not, ranching constituted the most
233 common occupation for those who were employed. It offered special advantages. The land was usually an inherited allotment and, together with cattle and improvements, was often nontaxable. Outdoor work with livestock was a familiar activity; it permitted considerable latitude to the farmer in adjusting his routine. There was space to live.

*648 Whether dwelling in town or on a ranch, tribal members
*657 continued to seek native foods; but these activities had come to
433 occupy a different place in their lives. Men of all ages still fished
22 and hunted; many families still gathered huckleberries; and
elderly women at least continued to dig for the succulent roots
262 of ipos and camas and to gather wokas. The latter foods, how-
177 ever, were sought as cherished delicacies, now rare; while
178 journeys to the berry fields assumed the character of an outing. Much of the fishing had acquired a strongly sportive aspect and was carried on by angling. Only the spearing of mullet during the spring runs and the hunting of deer and waterfowl seriously served food demands. The larger game animals, which had figured in only a small way in Klamath diet and played a more important role among the Modoc, had become abundant upon the reservation as ranchers killed off predators. Tribal members often hunted them from a car or spotlighted them at night. Waterfowl were often shot as they sat upon the water. Fifteen deer would see a household through the year; and a number of Klamath families met all their meat requirements by hunting and fishing, being content to buy an occasional cut in town to add variety to their diet.

*648 "Meat hunting" thus continued to ignore sportive conventions,
*657 although fishing had in part given way to them. At the same
224 time, individual Klamath were wont to play with those conven-
tions by entering contests for the biggest buck or rainbow; and
226 they delighted in underscoring white failures to abide by their
181 own standards of sportsmanship. For the Klamath, hunting and fishing possessed particular virtue as an attribute of an Indian estate. The ability to pursue fish and game without regard to season was a signal right cherished by the Indians and valued

County. Of regular municipal income in the year, 1956-57, taxation 648*
supplied only a little over four per cent. The largest sources 657*
of revenue were the water system, the city tavern (which alone 641
supplied over one-third of the budget), and the proceeds from 651
law enforcement (amounting to over one-fourth of the budget).
Since, after the repeal of Indian prohibition in 1951, tribal members
had become the major patrons of the municipal tavern,
comprising in 1958 an estimated eighty per cent of its clientele,
it is evident that in this indirect manner they had come to constitute
a major support in the operation of the municipal government.

Nor was this all. The sizable sum derived from law enforcement 648*
was highly unusual. While the major enforcement problem 657*
in most Oregon cities of comparable size was traffic violations, 641
Chiloquin in 1956-57 found no less than ninety-three per cent of 674
its offenses to be felonies and misdemeanors other than traffic
violations. Tribal members and other Indians, including repeaters,
accounted for over seventy-two per cent of the arrests; [681]
they paid over seventy per cent of the fines and forfeited bail; [464] •
and they furnished over ninety-six per cent of the trusty labor
performed in the city.[7]

Aside from a few individual instances, this record does not 648*
reflect a policy of discriminatory arrests on the part of the city 657*
administration. It does, however, mark one of the significant 674
confrontations upon the reservation. It was conditioned in part [641]
by the special statutory position of the Klamath, for as an Indian [656]
under federal supervision he was enjoined by law from having
or using liquor and from marrying a white within the state.
Until these disabilities were removed in 1951, tribal members
were subject to arrest for acts not held criminal when committed
by non-Indians. During prohibition, tribal members had learned [273]
to operate stills, had taken to drinking extracts, proprietary
medicines, rubbing alcohol, and "canned heat" in lieu of scarce
liquors, and had both patronized and served as bootleggers.
Habits of defiant drinking, akin to those of other Americans
during the "dry" years, lingered even into the years after repeal.

Klamath experience with strong drink and violence had neither begun with the reservation towns nor was it confined to them;

648* 657* 177 the course of their employment by whites—to mention but one sphere—were even then associated in American society with inferior status, as involving largely manual labor. The course of technological change tended to reduce those skills further in prestige. The Klamath remaining upon the reservation generally confined themselves to occupations of this level.

[464] • In these and similar contexts, tribal members entered into relationship with whites, both as coworkers and as employee or rarely—as with Henry Jackson's hired hands—as employer. Within this context, they had the opportunity to model behavior upon a wide range of examples, and were not restricted to whites of similar socioeconomic status. The Klamath girls who worked as domestics in Klamath Falls at the turn of the century had many opportunities to observe the life of middle-class families.

648* 657* 795 177 178 Yet individual change is only part of the picture, interwoven as it often is in the fabric of institutional change. In such a structure as the Indian Shaker movement on the reservation are to be seen the summation of a number of individual commitments to a new creed, and thus the emergence of an institutionalized consensus. For each participant, the commitment must have had a highly individual significance, in the light of his condition and belief prior to entering the sect. A brief résumé of the history of that movement at Klamath will illustrate the complexity of the factors surrounding institutional change.

The Indian Shaker movement had its inception on Puget Sound in 1882, but expanded vigorously only after a favorable court ruling a decade later.[12] A messianic faith, it incorporated elements of native belief and practice along with many aspects drawn from Catholic and Protestant Christianity. As it spread, it vied with and was influenced by other syncretic faiths as well as Christian sects, from which its converts and opponents came.

The Klamath church traces its origin to the East End leader, Henry Jackson, who had been instrumental in bringing the Earthlodge cult from northern California. Now, in 1914, forty years later, stricken with what was to prove his last illness, he turned his eyes northward, inspired by what he had heard from the unorganized local converts about the Shakers and their cures. When they declined to treat him themselves—perhaps the fate of the shaman, Dr. George, was still etched in their minds—he

under personal trust or guardianship is indicated by the "statement 648*
of principles" contained in the agreement between the 657*
Secretary of the Interior and the banks that administer the 619
private trusts. This stipulates that the beneficiary is to be encouraged 429
and assisted in obtaining a satisfactory education and 434
is to be aided in gaining employment or engaging in other business activity. As the trust officers of those banks were soon to discover, the banks have assumed a role which closely resembles that previously exercised by the government.

A similar effect may be seen in the relations of the remaining Klamath to the U.S. National Bank, which as trustee administered their undivided assets, including a segment of the former tribal timber. An executive committee continues to represent them in their dealings with the bank, but it is accorded only nominal consultation in the conduct of the trust. Bank officials clearly consider their primary obligation to lie with the prudent administration of the estate. Similarly, while willing to employ Klamath [464] •
in minor positions, the bank has found most of them unsatisfactory. Tribal members insinuate that the bank is giving contracts for farm work to whites to whom it has made loans. In brief, antipathies formerly vented against the Bureau are now directed against the bank.

In this manner, the reservation, the Agency rule, and the 648*
Klamath Tribe have come to an end together. 657*
619

[P. 256 is blank]

> *648 When the White men made a treaty with the Klamath in 1864,
> *657 they said, "In twenty years you will be just like White men, no
> 177 difference." But when twenty years went by, no White men.
> And they said, "Twenty years more." After that time still no
> White men. It is now nearly ninety years, and I ask you, "When
> will we be like White men?"

This is not meant to claim that the reservation system had failed of the goals which had originally been set. Children were educated and adults retrained to American ways, and in considerable measure the training took hold. Even the resistance of later days often carried the stamp of considerable sophistication. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, after a generation of rule, success had so far operated as to make the system too rigid for the will of the subject people. They were now highly diverse in biological character and in experience, were no longer confined to the reservation, and were open to outside influence at every level. The coming of allotments, the realization of property, and the anticipation of citizenship, while improving the Klamath lot, made them at once impatient with the residual restraints.

By this time, the administrative machinery for handling Indians had become formidably complex; yet, beset with the multiple identities of the Indian, the Bureau had failed to distinguish among its charges upon some scale of acculturative competence.[4] The Bureau was bound largely to the polar concepts of the Indian as subject to supervision and the Indian as citizen with rights to the enjoyment of his property. In its dual responsibility as custodian and as teacher, the Bureau has often found the former an easier task.

*648 Perhaps the greatest single instance of that preference in action
*657 was the decision permitting the commercial cutting of tribal
177 timber. This was a step advocated by influential Klamath and by
434 administrators alike, yet its effects proved disastrous to ranching
enterprises then under way. The Klamath did not come forward
● [464] to take employment in logging and milling. Nonetheless, Agency
operations now could take their stand upon the firm index of
success afforded by management of the tribal estate—an index to
which superior governmental bodies were attuned. The maintenance of a tribal estate in trust, in its turn, perpetuated the ambivalence of the Klamath position, which in this quality recalls

882
155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
[462] of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits
include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers
are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
657 affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
[241] of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience
with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
426 example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swansen
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented,
and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation
population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

Susan: Female, Age 24

Background Data

156 Unlike Slim, Susan is not so well liked or respected. The occasion for this is
*159 specific, an unsanctioned pregnancy during her last year in high school and a
[848] more recent marriage to an entirely disreputable Mexican from Utah. This community
evaluation is accentuated because of the very high respect in which her
[582] own family is held. Everyone expected better of Susan.

[626] Susan has worked as a dishwasher in several cafeterias, both on and off the
*159 reservation, and moved to Utah so as to take a practical nursing course. She
found this training uncongenial, met and married her husband, and they returned
*464 to the reservation when his small business failed. Susan is a high school graduate.

[874] Susan's mode of selecting a husband parallels that of her mother, who met her
husband while hospitalized in New Mexico. Her father by birth is an Apache
*159 Indian, and by cultural affiliation a southwestern United States Spanish-American.
593 Without doubt, he is the most autocratic, stern, demanding, rigid adult male on
the reservation. Although a married woman with children of her own, Susan must
ask her father's permission to use the telephone or to walk downtown. Her mother
was Klamath and very well respected for her stable family life and for her active
participation in many community activities. Susan was extremely close to her
mother until her unexpected death several years ago. They were known as an inseparable
pair and her mother never went out of the house without her. The
mother's death was, perhaps, the major cause of Susan's failure to complete her
nurse's training. Susan's illegitimate pregnancy in high school was a considerable
shock to her mother and is, with her marriage, a continuing source of strain
[155] with her father. Susan evidently feels that her behavior was a contributing
cause for her mother's death. She made a death-bed promise to her mother that
she would not be a loose girl and that she would marry and stay married to one
man. It was shortly thereafter that she married and returned to the reservation
to live with her father. There is much strain within this household, derived
from the relations between father and son-in-law, and from Susan's unsuccessful
efforts to serve two masters, for along with her marital relationship she evidently
[626] was trying to act as a replacement for her deceased mother's role. At the
same time her conduct has alienated her from the church, from family friends,
and from the community.

*159 The contact with Susan was made via her father, who told her that she should
[124] cooperate. Her father's motivation in this was not, as may be supposed, the conviction
that she needed testing because something was wrong with her, but involved
[123] a more general sentiment. He felt somewhat honored to have an "educated
man" visit his house and that such a contact was a good experience for his children.
[593] Susan accepted this like an obedient, dutiful daughter. She came readily,
with no indication of unwillingness, and relations with her were quite good,
perhaps because of the strains of her marginal position and her need to talk
with someone.

*159 Susan seemed an apathetic person whose feelings were dulled. If anything, her
reactions were those of an over-trained, too obedient child. She was not very
157 responsive or active, and would seldom talk except to answer a direct question.
Then she would, frequently with evident pain and anxiety, describe her feelings
and situations tersely and haltingly. Susan clearly wants more than her life
now gives her, but cannot define her present conflicts or see her way clear to

Slim: Male, Age 30

Background Data

Slim's case was selected so as to illustrate the situation of a regularly em- 159*
ployed, well liked and respected young male. He is currently employed as a [464]•
laborer in a lumber mill, and in the past has worked as a carpenter, and in
heavy industries in the mid-west. He has ten years of formal schooling, obtained [463]
his 12th grade certificate by examination while in military service, and for [871]
one month studied commercial art in Portland. [701]

Slim was born into a large, influential kin group, one which for several genera- [619]
tions has provided much of the tribe's leadership. While his own father has
not been so influential in tribal politics, preferring to work his ranch in-
stead, Slim grew up in association with male relatives noted for their forth-
right independence and leadership, and within a family tradition of progressive-
ness and self-improvement. Slim's early life was spent in alternating periods [591]
of residence with his own father and mother on their ranch, and with his father's [603]
mother in her cabin on the Sycan marsh. This association with "Grandma" was
partly in response to the gradual disintegration of relations between his father [593]
and mother, and partly the result of his father's desire to have "Grandma" teach
him some of the old lore. His mother became increasingly erratic, unpredic-
table, and violent, finally leaving his father. Slim felt badly rejected by [153]
her and was never able to understnad why she would not accept his efforts to be
helpful. On the other hand, he was very close to his father and his grand-
mother. Today he recalls with satisfaction the many things these two persons
taught him, and dreams recurrently of being in the army, defending the reserva-
tion from attack, and checking in on the old lady to see if she is all right.
This dream is interesting because it expresses succinctly his style of relations
with superiors, for in the dream Slim asks permission of his squad leader to
leave, explains his reasons, then checks in on "Grandma," and returns to his duty.

After the 10th grade was completed, Slim quit school and worked on various ranches.
Early in the Korean war he consciously followed the model of an uncle, who was
a career soldier, and enlisted in the army. His service record was good, marred
only by what Slim feels were two justifiable periods of unauthorized absence,
and he voluntarily served with a combat unit in Korea. This army experience
considerably broadened Slim's horizons, and after his discharge he lived and
worked with an army buddy in the east for a year. Then Slim traveled and worked
in several places in the east and midwest. On two occasions his regular habits [461]
and good capacity for steady work were responsible for a promotion. Characteris-
tically, Slim enjoys this kind of reward, but he does not specifically strive
for advancement.

Slim has many skills, hobbies, and social graces. When young his father taught him to dig ditches, with the advice that this skill would always provide him with a job. He is an expert horseman and stock-keeper, and is a skilled hunter and woodsman who frequently guides his friends on hunting trips. He has learned carpentry, house-painting, and the operation of various industrial machines. More recently, he has turned to archery, sketching, and photography for hobbies to occupy his spare time. Then too, he is an amiable, jolly person who makes good company and who is well regarded as a friend. He is not married, and has never seriously considered marrying. He has had occasional sexual liaisons of a transitory nature, which he finds quite satisfying, and has been "going steady" for several years with an older woman, a person who is a grandmother in her own right.

Sparrow: Male, Age 63

Background Data

*159
156 Sparrow's case is cited because of his position on the lowest rung of the local status hierarchy. He is known as a happy-go-lucky, worthless old drunk and is generally considered as "lacking a few of his marbles." However, Sparrow is 872 seldom publicly disparaged, for local citizens simply pay little attention to 401 him. He has a sixth grade education, gained at the Agency school. He has apparently never worked consistently at any job, and most of his work experience 434 has been as a farm or ranch laborer. He is and has for years been totally dependent upon per capita income and the income from ranch lands owned by his mother, with whom he lives. Their affairs are managed by a local businessman who some years ago was appointed their guardian. He is the second eldest of four siblings. After his father's death forty years ago, his mother remarried and bore two other 586 children. He was married once when a young man, and after four years divorced his wife because of "her shiftless ways." He is a semi-invalid, the result of 164 an accident years ago when a drunken brother drove over him with a truck, crushing 191 his pelvis. He speaks fluent Klamath, the result of constant association with his aged mother who represents a direct link with the aboriginal Klamath past, as well as adequate English, learned in school.

738 Much of Sparrow's time is spent in jail for drunkenness, in the local tavern, with one of the drinking cliques, or passed out in a doorway. When he is not totally drunk he spends much of his time with his mother, for whom he cares in his fashion. Occasionally he goes fishing in a nearby river. For at least twenty five years, this has been the pattern of his activities.

*159 Sparrow has many skills, among the most striking of which is the ability to
154 "fly from here to the Agency without once touching the ground." There are several dimensions to this delusion, one of which is an association, in Sparrow's thinking, with the acquisition of power. When a young man he dreamed of acquiring the power to "rise up off the ground, like Jesus Christ." While such a belief may have aboriginal correlates, there are no Klamath today who would accept it as valid. Sparrow keeps this secret to himself, and relates it only to strangers and transients from whom he intends to borrow money. His other skills include the following: the ability to keep house and cook, harness making, leather working, painting, canning food (the notion involves laying in stores for the winter), tanning buckskin, wood carving, carpentry, poetry composition (in Klamath), arrowhead making, making traditional basketry, stock raising, restaurant management, and finally, the ability to bewitch rich old white ladies, who are captivated by him and who drive him about in their white Cadillacs. The latter may be associated with a recurrent dream of meeting with a white buffalo, also a symbol of power, but it is difficult to say, for there were never any buffalo near the Klamath, and it is more likely that he has got this idea from reading western stories. Needless to say, most of these skills are quite delusional also. There is no evidence for any of them being more than this. Relating one or more of these is Sparrow's single style of interacting with others, for in reaction to a question or another's anecdote he will sift about in his memory until he comes up with one of his capacities which seems relevant. Very frequently, the writer could not see where or how they were appropriate, but for Sparrow there seemed to be some connection. He relates these matter of factly, with only the most slight suggestion that they were self-enhancing, and no indication that he meant to justify himself, and will then coyly watch his listener to see if he is properly impressed. This behavior tends to merge with Sparrow's

Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively [159*]
sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of [156]
the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the [464]
last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She
is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except [874]
for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her husbands
in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of
nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals
and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played
with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making
and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early
twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for
everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were [871]
sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from
home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, [857]
and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an
extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her [593]
parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking"
activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area,
with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruction [868]
from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother.
Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were [191]
disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in
boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote
her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother
was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be
due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before [864]
she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was
at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she [626]
is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. [156]
She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of
their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband,
who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and
divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five [586]
other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never
more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occasionally [156]
one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts [588]
to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages,
and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house
(it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are technically
illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this [59*]
sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her. 56

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone,
particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first
advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request [124]
testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was
wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

Carrie: Male, Age 36

Background Data

156 Carrie is the model of a self-made, upwardly mobile, brash and back-slapping
*159 young American male. He is a tribal leader whose power is rooted in an amalgamation
of various dissident elements, rather than in a large kin group, and a
[622] business man with numerous interests. He says, of himself, that "I have no
occupation, as occupations go. I guess you might say I am a confidence man."

*159 Like the other subjects, Carrie was raised on a ranch by his parents. He is a
high school graduate and a graduate of a junior college course in accounting.
[873] His work record suggests his ambition and his upward progression, for he started
as a farm laborer, went to truck driving, then worked during World War II as
[464] a production machinist, completed his education, then worked for the Agency and,
finally, was able to settle down to living off his several sources of income.
He has never been out of the state except for short business trips. He spends
most of his time on the reservation attending to tribal and his own business,
156 and participating in various voluntary and formal associations. More recently
*159 he has become active in politics on a local level and by some has been ear-marked
as a "comer." His intellectual horizons are very wide, extending to a keen
[66] awareness of the difficulties faced by Dag Hammarskjold. His reputation is excellent
and he is particularly esteemed by many Whites, although this esteem is
[626] not shared by all Klamath, which reflects only the factionalism of Klamath politics
and, perhaps, the efforts of some to control a man who is too successful.

[184] Carrie has been married once and this marriage has lasted 15 years. He has six
children and his family life, again, is precisely what might be expected of a
successful young American. Carrie's entire style of life is entirely different
from that of most other young Klamath men.

*159 Very little is known of Carrie's early life except that his background is rural
Klamath and that his mother was a housewife and his father an indifferently and
intermittantly employed laborer.

156 The writer never made much headway with understanding Carrie until the day he
was brow-beaten into taking the Rorschach. Before this time he had been seen
124 only as an aggressive, back-slapping, competitive, and somewhat empty character.
He had agreed to testing, but had managed to slip out of several appointments
until one day when the entire complement of field workers descended on him during
a visit, arguing and insisting that he had to set the example. Carrie was thus
hung on his own petard, and when we walked into the testing room there was some
question as to who was the most fearful of the consequences of this episode,
Carrie or the examiner. Carrie was manifestly tense and fearful, but in a very
short period of time relaxed and accepted the test situation. Rapport was excellent,
and Carrie clearly defined the situation as one where he should discuss
156 his private concerns, motives, and sentiments. From sessions like this it became
evident that Carrie's brash front consisted of a set of behaviors he saw
as appropriate to his position. That is, the social Carrie was a well defined
role. Behind this persona lay a genuine concern with the welfare of tribal
members and their future, as well as strong personal aspirations, deep committments
to family and community, and fears associated with his private feeling
that he was not an adequate or relaxed "mixer." He stated, for example, that
"I guess I just don't have the courage to get out, even among my own people.
I'm not much of a talker and I guess you'd say I'm kind of backward. I really
prefer to be alone by myself." Some of this apprehensiveness is associated

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 67

Background Data

*159
156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, particularly in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
[595] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
[733] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
[83] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
[587] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She
[871] completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri,
[178] California, and Mexico.

[657] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation
*[464] and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five, and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
[577] Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
[177] a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values, and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[191] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that chil-
[871] dren today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
[593] no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this res-
[603] pect, Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
[867] spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, behaviors in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
[657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
[871] and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
[177] seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were rejected from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate inter-
156 changes and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses

Lily: Female, Age 15

Background Data

159*

Lily is an attractive young high school freshman. She is now repeating her 156
freshman year, due to various difficulties the year before. One of these involved
her cursing the principal, for which she was temporarily expelled, to [873]
be returned by her mother the next day. She spent the rest of the year in
silent rebellion. This incident is not too serious, for more than anything [561]
else it indicates the strength of her attachment to a close-knit girls peer-group
which is slightly wild and which makes it a matter of honor to oppose
adults. There is little additional evidence of any serious hostility or rebelliousness.
Lily is the eldest of two children; she has an elder half-sister,
her mother's illegitimate daughter; and she has lived all of her life on the
reservation.

Lily's major activities and concerns are those of a typical, small town teen-age [883]
girl. She attends school, "hangs around" a local teen age center, flirts
with the boys — White and Indian, dances — at her home or the home of a friend,
and listens to records. She comes from one of the most stable families on the
reservation. Her mother is Klamath, a grade school graduate who worked her way [874]
through two years of business school, evenings, in a nearby city. Her mother in
recent years has begun to assume a position of leadership in certain community [571]
activities, particularly recreation and education. Additionally, she has for
long been the advisor for numerous relatives. Her mother verbalizes great fear
and anxiety associated with this "getting out" and has done so only under considerable
external pressure. Her father is a California Indian who is the model [177]
of local White conceptions of masculinity. That is, he is vigorous and physically
powerful, a hard, reliable, steady worker in a logging company, a hard [464]
"Saturday Night" style drinker, absolutely fearless, and a masterful fighter
in brawls. His fights are the focus of several local folk anecdotes, and suggest [157]
his excellent reputation, for he protects the underdog, takes on the bully (by
the half-dozen, if necessary), neatly dispatches all and never bears a grudge.

Lily is a more flexible and less submissive person that she would seem on first 159*
acquaintance. The difficulty with knowing her is that she wears a completely 157
impassive, rigid, unexpressive mask before all. One morning after knowing her
for a year the writer walked by her and then stopped, mildly startled, for Lily
had smiled (slightly) and mumbled "Good Morning" under her breath. She is also [123]
less inhibited than this mask of impassivity would suggest, as is evident from
her behavior with her peers and parents, but in all instances she prefers to
communicate with slight gestures and to make do with very few words. She is,
in fact, a remarkably self-possessed, poised, and reserved adolescent girl, a
consequence of which is that she is far more graceful than many other local girls
her own age. But, generally, her responses only minimally involve her with 159*
others. She is always among people, but not always with them. Her reserve does
not dissipate much with continued acquaintance, but is a constant feature of her 156
mode of adjusting to others. She never talks freely and her terse responses to
the blots and TAT cards are paralleled by an equal economy in all personal relationships.
There is no evidence to suggest that she is suspicious or distrustful
of others, although she can be quite persistent in avoiding people she does
not like.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
857. Cook house used as menstrual hut	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	343 841

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

Boats and Ferriage

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
858. Dugout canoe	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•o	–	+	+	+	+	•o	•o	–	–	501
859. Sharp prow and stern	–	–	–	+	•+	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
860. Shovel prow and stern	+	+	+	–	–	+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
861. Carved gunwale, turned in	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
862. Ends rounded	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
863. Carved in seat	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
864. Carved in footbraces.	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
865. Manufactured	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
866. Hollowed by burning	+	+	–	+	+	•+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
867. Commonly and frequently used	+	+	–	–	(+)	+	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
868. Log raft	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	o	+	+	
869. Used to transport goods only	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	+	o	–	–	
870. Tule balsa	–	–	+	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
871. Raised prow	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o872. Length in feet	–	–	15	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o873. Maximum number of passengers	–	–	2	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
874. Bundles lashed together	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
875. Towed by rope	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
876. Propelled with paddle	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
877. Tule raft.	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o878. Length in feet	–	10	–	•6	–	–	8	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
‡879. Maximum number of passengers	5	.	–	2	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
880. Bundles lashed together	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
881. Bundles pinned together	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
882. Towed by rope	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
883. Poled	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
884. Paddled with hands	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
885. Single-bladed paddle	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
886. Blade end convex	+	+	.	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
887. Blade end squared	–	–	.	–	+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
888. Blade end pointed	+	+	.	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
‡889. Length in feet	4	4	5	–	3	•5	–	–	5	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
890. Poling rod	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
891. Plain or pointed end	–	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
892. Split base	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
893. Basket bailer	•+	•+	–	+	+	•–	–	–	+	+	.	–	o	o	–	–	
894. Grooved stone anchor	–	•–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	o	o	–	–	[465]
895. Boatman must ferry traveler free of charge	+	•+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	.	o	o	–	–	
896. Ferriage in baskets	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	
897. Children.	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	[855]
898. Goods	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	
899. Ferriage by swimmers	+	+	+							+	+	+	+	o	+	+	481
900. Children ferried on swimmer's back	.	+	–							+	+	+	+	o	+	–	482
901. Swimmer lies on tule float; children cling to float	+	+	+								–	–	–	o	–	–	
902. Swimmer holds goods above water in 1 hand, swims with other	+	+	–					+		+	+	–	+	o	+	+	491
903. Bridges	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	o	o	+	+	
904. Single-log bridge	–	•+	+	–	+	•–	–	+	–	–	+	–	o	o	+	+	
905. 2 poles tied together	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
906. Several poles, spliced at end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	o	o	–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2708. Speaks twice daily, from top of sweat house	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	624
2710. Moral lectures to children	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2711. Stops disputes, chief's orders	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2712. Acts as dance manager	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2713. Acts as messenger man	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[203]
2714. Talks at ceremonies	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
2715. Clowns and ridicules	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
Clowns																	
2716. Informal clowning, joking, only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	522
2717. Formal clowns	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
2718. Office distinct from crier's	-	-	-	-		-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2719. Hereditary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
2720. Appointed by chief	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
2721. Lifelong	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
2722. Clowns at ceremonies	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
2723. Wears acorn necklace	-	-	-							-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
2724. Paid	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	[465]
2725. Helps dreamer call spirits													+	-	-	-	
Messengers																	
o2726. No. male messengers per village or local group	-	-	(3)	2	-	-	1	1	3	2	5	2	1	2	-	-	203
2727. No. variable for intratribal matters	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	
2728. Individuals serve in temporary capacity only.	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	
2728a. Official messenger for war matters only	-		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2729. Competency and willingness chief criteria for selection of	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2729a. Must be good speaker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	
2730. Appointed by chief	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2731. Hereditary, paternal line	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2732. Lifelong tenure	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	
2733. If incompetent, discharged	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2734. Paid if travels a distance	-	+	-		+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2735. Paid occasionally; given board	-	+	+				+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	
2736. Carries messages for chief or headman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	
2737. Travels about; gathers news	+	+	+								+	+	+	-	-	-	
2738. Welcomes guests	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
2739. Orders hunt for chief	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		+	-	
2739a. Attends to fire at ceremonies	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2740. Women messengers	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2741. Carry messages for anyone	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
o2742. Number going together	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2743. Suitability only criterion	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2744. Travel only short distances	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2745. Act in temporary capacity only	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Fire Tender																	
†2746. No. per village or local group	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	624
2747. Lifelong office	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	R+	-	+	+	+	-	+	372
2748. Temporary office only	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	R-	+	-	-	-	+	-	
2749. Hereditary in paternal line	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	(+)	-	+	[611]
2750. Appointed by chief	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	R+	+	-	-	-	+	-	
2751. Chief acts as fire tender	-	-	-									+	-	+	-	-	
2752. Clown acts as fire tender	-	-	-									-	+	-	-	+	[522]
2753. Attends to fire in assembly house	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2754. Keeps assembly house clean	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	R	+	+	+		-	+	
2755. Has 1 assistant	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	(R)	+	+	-		+	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
842 3402. Measures taken to insure sex wanted, of child	+	•+	–			•+	+	–	•+	–	.	.	–	–	+	.
3403. 2 varieties shell used in decoction employed	+	+	–			+	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	.
3404. Different parts of plant used in decoction	–	–	–			–	–	–	•+	–	.	.	–	–	+	.
3405. Bow and arrow or basket hung up	–	–	–						•+	–	.	.	.	.	–	–
3406. Measures taken to prevent pregnancy	.	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	+	–	–	R
3407. Decoction drunk	.	.	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	–	•+	–	–	•R
847 3408. Abortion	.	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	.	–	+	–	–
3409. Pregnant woman lies on warm trench.	.	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	–
3410. Pregnant woman lies over log	.	–	+								.	.	–	–	–	–
3411. Exercise	.	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	–	.	.	–	–	–	–
3412. Blows or pressure	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	.	.	–	–	–	–
3413. Old woman helps	.	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	–
3414. Pregnant woman helps self, alone	.	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	.	–	+	–	–

Puberty and Menstrual Customs

Girls' Puberty Ceremony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 3415. Held for each girl separately	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3416. Private seclusion of menstruant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3417. In menstrual hut	–	–	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+
3418. In cook house	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3419. In dwelling, winter only	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	+	+
3420. In open	+	+	•–	•–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3421. Daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
3422. Night time	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
3423. Hut behind, near dwelling	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
[516] 3424. Girl not allowed in dwelling house.	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
3425. Girl sits, lies on pine needles, mat bed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3426. Girl sits, lies on heated trench	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•–	–
3427. Girl sits, lies on warmed ground	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3428. Bark pillow	–	–	–		•+	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3429. Stick, pine needle pillow	–	–	–			•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–
3430. Girl lies on back	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3431. Girl lies on side	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
3432. Girl lies in any position	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	(+)	–
3433. Faces east when lying down	.	+	+	+	•+	–	–	+	+	•–	–	(+)	–	+	–	–
‡3434. Seclusion lasts ... months, rich girl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•2	12	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
o3435. Seclusion lasts ... months, poor girl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	12	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
‡3436. Seclusion lasts ... days, all girls	5	5	•5	10	•3	•6	•3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	–
o3437. Seclusion lasts ... nights, all girls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	–	–	–	0	0	6	0	4	–
‡3438. Seclusion ... days subsequent periods	5	5	2	•1	•2	2	2	•1	11	1	–	1	–	5	–	1
3439. Attendants during seclusion	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3440. Father's mother or mother's mother attends girl	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3441. Father's father or mother's father attends girl												+	+	–	–	–
3442. Mother's mother attends girl	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3443. Mother attends girl	–	–	+		+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
3444. Female nonrelative attends girl	–	–	–				•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
[465] 3445. 2 or more attendants	–	–	–	–			–					+	+	+	–	•+
3446. All attendants paid	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
3447. Girl digs, pounds epos for attendant.	–	–	+				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3448. Attendant paid in beads	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
3449. Girl's clothes given attendant(s)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3450. Girl's basket given female attendant.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+

657*

more than an exercise in resourcefulness and industry: they 698*
provided experience and allies in evading what must have 177
seemed a senseless legal prohibition. 313
439

EMPLOYMENT

Other employment supplied the Indians with cash to purchase 657*
items for which they were acquiring a taste. At the Agency, 177
Lindsay Applegate took the lead by hiring laborers for rations 464
of shorts (flour),[39] and from that time on Indians filled a variety 465
of subordinate offices, on the farm and roads, as interpreters, police, artisans and, later, in the schools.

Early in the history of the reservation, they began to work off the reservation for outside parties, John Meacham, following the directions of his brother, the superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon, stipulated that the Klamath were to work four days on the reservation roads before expecting a pass to leave the reservation.[40] By 1877, Dyar was reporting that "the Indians make rails, chop wood off the reservation for citizens, some thirty or forty having been thus engaged."[41] They were soon drawn into haying and other harvest activities.

Among those who befriended them was "Sikes Worden, Post Trader at the Post, who kindly refuses to employ any but Indians for work which they can do. He will thus reimburse the Indian wood choppers, hay makers, etc. from a thousand to twelve hundred dollars per year."[42] According to figures given elsewhere, a woodcutter might receive $45.00 to $60.00 for thirty to forty cords of wood, while summer haying and harvest work might bring between $50.00 and $200.00 apiece.[43] By 1888, fully one hundred Indians were working as summer farmhands.[44]

FREIGHTING

Freighting was another major enterprise for the Indians. When 657*
Huntington had brought the first annuity goods down from The 177
Dalles in the fall of 1867, young O. C. Applegate had led his 489
"ax and rifle company," whose number included seven chiefs,
to meet it.[45] Several years later, when they had accumulated [439]
money from odd work, the Klamath made their way down to
Jacksonville and Ashland, some one hundred miles distant, and
bought flour at a little over one-third the price it would cost at

3;Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

*657 *648 Control over the issuance of needed and desired goods placed the Agents in a powerful position. Huntington used rations to induce the treaty Indians to remain at Fort Klamath during the winter.[85] Rations were once more a factor in 1870 when the Modoc, who had been induced to come onto the reservation, left again when rations were suspended. Captain O. C. Knapp, in lame justification for his act, stated: "that they did not intend to stay after I stopped issuing rations is well known. . . ."[86] Similarly, rations were used to persuade wandering Paiute to return to the reservation. The use of other issues as rewards to employees and leaders is examined below.

There remains to be discussed the early advocacy of individual [472] as against collective ownership and enterprise. In the development of private farms and herds, of the freighting and labor enterprises—indeed, in the very entry into a cash economy—the Indians were gaining competency as individual entrepreneurs. Their [439] [434] attitude is well exemplified in a letter of Dyar advocating the abolishment of Fort Klamath, in which he stated that the Indians, on their part, favored the continued presence of the troops "because it makes a market for many of their little articles of manufacture, and gives them an opportunity to earn money by doing various little jobs of work. . . ."[87]

Of the business acumen of his charges, Nickerson remarked: "for quite a number of years, they have made their own bargains, collected their own debts, and expended their own money. This they have done judiciously and economically. They seldom, if ever, purchase anything useless or trifling.

"Such has been their progress and success in the management of their own finances, that they have become proverbially sharp in buying and selling."[88] The Acting Commissioner, impressed, instructed him, "If as you state, your Indians are perfectly competent to dispose of their crops or other articles produced by them, and to purchase their supplies, the same liberty of action should be allowed them that is enjoyed by whites under similar circumstances."[89]

Where items were to be shared, however, some system of allocation had to be devised. On one occasion, Nickerson issued nails, not on a pro rata basis as originally instructed, but on the basis of actual need, a plan which, he reported, the chiefs pre-

Another circling dance, called sko'tcpûs, may not be a social dance 535 but may be used in the scalp and war dances in a way that is not clear. Here those in the circle do not hold hands and their step consists in shuffling along by moving the toes and heels alternately.

The headdress for dancers consists of long eagle feathers, or a [292] bunch of small eagle and gull feathers may be kept in place on top of the basket hat by means of cord passing under the chin. Downy feathers are hung pendant at the back of the head.

New Year's observances, or new fire ceremony, such as the Yurok 796 and Karok know, are not found among the Klamath.[144] 171*

ETIQUETTE

The Klamath are on the whole a hospitable and friendly lot. 574 Good breeding demands that visitors be invited to share one's meal. There is no studied effort at ostentatious feasting, however, nor is food forced on a visitor in the manner of our eastern Indians. If visitors, men or women, arrive at meal time, the children of the household are sent out on the pretext, as they tell the children, that the food will stick in the visitors' gullets. A kind of grace is said before eating. Bits of food are cast toward the spirit places to feed them first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula[145] is a prayer. Good form does not demand that the visitors clean up their portions, nor does one hear the smacking of lips in appreciation. There is 264 among them no objection to noisy eating. Children are told not to talk while eating fish, for fear of their swallowing bones. It is usual to rinse the mouth with water before and after eating. Soiled fingers [515] are washed in a near-by stream after the meal. Children are definitely instructed in good behavior.

The common salutation to the visitor is i gŏtpi'iᴇ, yes, have you 576 come?, followed by go'li, come in. On leaving, the guest announces i gă'mblɪn, yes, I am going, which evokes the invariable response i gă'mbli, yes, go. One hears mol'nskăndlɪte, thank you, but rarely.

For a man to remove a woman's hat from her head is reprehensible; it is usually construed as a solicitation.

Certain behavior is not so much a matter of general good form as [481] • of sex difference. Egress from the earth-lodge is by a ladder projecting through the hatchway overhead. Men mount the rungs facing the ladder, but women place their feet sideways, mounting crab-wise.

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[144] Kroeber, Handbook, 53, 102.

[145] See p. 168.

291
177 hood of my elderly informant. This is a simple one-piece affair, shown diagrammatically in figure 21*b*. The upper is cut to form a long tongue. It is sewn along the toe and one side, and up the heel.[305]

• 481 Snowshoes may be conveniently described at this place. The snowshoe (ni') is the circular Californian form; a hoop of tough service berry wood, about twelve inches long by six wide.[306] Within the hoop is a net of thongs on which the foot is placed; tie strings are drawn up about the ankle. My woman informant drew a sketch showing five parallel longitudinal thongs crossed transversely by five others, [114] also parallel, thus forming a simple rectangular web. This may well have been merely diagrammatic, since five is the pattern number. Kroeber illustrates a more intricate pattern of webbing, a central lozenge filled by transverse lashings and connected with the frame by others.[307] Barrett illustrates a snowshoe with still a third style of web. This seems to be a single longitudinal strip of skin, crossed by three others.[308] Such shoes are also used when wading in the marshes.

291 Mittens (wäkä'pks) of coyote or other fur are worn in cold weather, possibly by men alone. They are also used for protection in war. [714] These are sock-like, without fingers, and of arm or elbow length. A muffler (sau'kaks) is also made of skin.

291 The woman's skin dress (goke) is the long woman's garment of the Plains tribes, completely covering the body to the mid-calf. 177 Unlike the corresponding man's shirt, these are worn most of the time, especially in winter. In summer the lighter unbeaded dresses are [535] used. This is not essentially a dance costume, although worn at the war and scalp dances. But these are held outdoors at night; and [756] during the shaman's dances in the earth-lodge, the fringed skirt only is worn because of the great heat. It is possible, of course, that this is a rationalization of etiquette, for if the shaman's dance is older than the forms of war and scalp dance now in use, there may be an association of the older fringed skirt with one and the newer skin dress with the other. There can be little doubt that the fringed skirt is the antecedent form. Plains influences appear to be recent, and

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* [171] [305] This has been redrawn from a sketch made by my informant. On the Yakima reservation moccasins of this type have a tab at the heel, which my informant may have omitted.

[306] Coville (Notes, 94) states that "the frames of snowshoes are usually made of willow wood. The mesh in old times was commonly made of the Rocky Mountain flax, *Linum lewisii*, less commonly of nettle fiber, *Urtica breweri*."

[307] Handbook, fig. 68*a*; evidently taken from Mason, Aboriginal American Basketry, 215.

[308] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
857. Cook house used as menstrual hut	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	343 841

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

Boats and Ferriage

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
858. Dugout canoe	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•o	–	+	+	+	+	•o	•o	–	–	501
859. Sharp prow and stern	–	–	–	+	•+	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
860. Shovel prow and stern	+	+	+	–	–	+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
861. Carved gunwale, turned in	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
862. Ends rounded	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
863. Carved in seat	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
864. Carved in footbraces	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
865. Manufactured	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
866. Hollowed by burning	+	+	–	+	+	•+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
867. Commonly and frequently used	+	+	–	–	(+)	+	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
868. Log raft	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	o	+	+	
869. Used to transport goods only	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	+	o	–	–	
870. Tule balsa	–	–	+	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
871. Raised prow	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o872. Length in feet	–	–	15	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o873. Maximum number of passengers	–	–	2	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
874. Bundles lashed together	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
875. Towed by rope	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
876. Propelled with paddle	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
877. Tule raft	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o878. Length in feet	–	10	–	•6	–	–	8	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
‡879. Maximum number of passengers	5	·	–	2	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
880. Bundles lashed together	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
881. Bundles pinned together	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
882. Towed by rope	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
883. Poled	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
884. Paddled with hands	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	+	
885. Single-bladed paddle	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
886. Blade end convex	+	+	·	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
887. Blade end squared	–	–	·	–	+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
888. Blade end pointed	+	+	·	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
‡889. Length in feet	4	4	5	–	3	•5	–	–	5	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
890. Poling rod	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
891. Plain or pointed end	–	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
892. Split base	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
893. Basket bailer	•+	•+	–	+	+	•–	–	–	+	+	·	–	o	o	–	–	
894. Grooved stone anchor	–	•–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	·	o	o	–	–	[465]
895. Boatman must ferry traveler free of charge	+	•+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	·	o	o	–	–	
896. Ferriage in baskets	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	
897. Children	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	[855]
898. Goods	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	
899. Ferriage by swimmers	+	+	+							+	+	+	+	o	+	+	481
900. Children ferried on swimmer's back	·	+	–							+	+	+	+	o	+	–	482
901. Swimmer lies on tule float; children cling to float	+	+	+								–	–	–	o	–	–	
902. Swimmer holds goods above water in 1 hand, swims with other	+	+	–					+		+	+	–	+	o	+	+	491
903. Bridges	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	o	o	+	+	
904. Single-log bridge	–	•+	+	–	+	•–	–	+	–	–	+	–	o	o	+	+	
905. 2 poles tied together	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
906. Several poles, spliced at end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	o	o	–	–	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Swimming																
481 907. Pseudo breast stroke, arms and legs together	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	o	·	+
908. Side stroke	−	−	−	−	−		+	•+	−	+	+	+	•+	o	·	·
909. Dog fashion, arms under water	+	+	•+	•+	+	·	+	+	+	−	−	•+	•+	o	·	+
910. Double overhand, arms moving alternately	−	+	·	•+	−	+	−	•+	−	−	+	−	(+)	o	·	·
911. On back, frog stroke	·	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	o	+	+
912. Under water	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+
913. Jump in water, feet first	−	−						•+	•+	•+	+	−	−	o	−	+
914. Diving, head first	+	+	+					+	+	+	−	+	+	o	+	+
Land Transport																
Carrying Devices																
482 915. Pack strap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	+
916. Plain, of hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	−
917. Woven or braided pack strap	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	·	−	+
918. Of 2-ply materials	+	−	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	·	−	+
919. Ends braided, narrower than rest	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	·	−	+
920. Made from vegetable fiber	+	−	·	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	·	−	+
921. Pack strap of twisted rope	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
922. Root or bark headband for packing	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
923. Basketry hat for packing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
924. Net carrying bag or "sack"	−	•+	−	•−	•+	•+	(•+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	·	−
925. Small mesh	−	+	−	−	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	·	−
926. Approximately trapezoidal in shape	−	+	−	−	•+	+	(+)	+	•−	•−	+	·	−	−	·	−
927. Cased hide bag (exclusive of quivers)	−	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
415 928. Folded hide bag	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	•+
482 929. Buckskin	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
930. Rawhide	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
931. Sewn at edges	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
932. Tied at corners	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
933. Pinned together with stick	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
934. Opens at side	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	(+)	−	−	−	−
935. Opens at top		+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−		+	+	−	−
936. Load rolled up in mat	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
937. Load rolled in hide	−		−					+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
938. Back carrier of hide on frame	−	−	−	(•+)	−	•+	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
939. Conical hide container used for back packing	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
940. Pack basket (details under Basketry)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
941. Baby cradles (details under Basketry)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482 942. Litter	·	+	+	+	·	+	R	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+
943. Net or thongs bound to pole framework	·	+	+	+	−	+	R	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
944. Large skin used as litter													+	+		·
[493] 945. Sled	•+	•+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	o
Methods of Packing																
946. Pack strap spreads over top of head	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
947. Pack strap spreads over forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
948. Pack strap spreads across chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
949. Women only use strap on head, forehead	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
950. Men, women use strap on head, forehead	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
951. Men only use strap across chest	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
952. Men, women use strap across chest	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	+
[758] 953. Sick carried on litter	·	+	+	+	−	•+	R	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
954. Double, load between 2 or 4	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
955. Sick packed on back	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
301 1689. Dentalia	R	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1690. Olivella whole shells	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	.	.	+	.
1691. Clamshell disk beads	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1692. Haliotis pieces	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1693. Banjo-shaped haliotis pendant	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1694. Bone tubes	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1695. Deer, coyote, wildcat carpals	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1696. Pine nuts or shells	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	±	–	–	–
1697. Braided sweet grass		o					+	o	+	+	–	–	o	–	–	–
1698. Wildflowers	R	–	–	+		–				+	–	+	+	+	+	–
1699. Belts of hair	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1700. Worn by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1701. Worn continually	–	–	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1702. Worn on special occasions only	+	+	+	+					–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1703. Flower wreaths on head	.	–	–	+		–		+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
1704. Boys and girls, playing	.	–	–	+		–		+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
[791] 1705. Girls, at girl's puberty dance	R	–	–	–		–			+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
Cane or Staff																
481 1706. Straight stick	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1707. Sharpened at lower end	–	–	+					+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
1708. Used by old people	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1709. Old men																
1710. Old women	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1711. Single cane	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[758] 1712. 2 canes, if crippled		+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dress																
Headgear																
291 1713. Basketry cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1714. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1715. 3-strand diagonal twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1716. Coiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1717. Worn habitually, by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1718. Worn habitually, by men	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1719. Worn for packing, not worn habitually	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1720. Worn for dances, not worn habitually.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1721. Designs on cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1722. Men's undecorated	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1723. Fur cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1724. Men	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1725. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1726. Buckskin cap	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1727. Solid buckskin	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1728. Buckskin pierced with holes	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1729. Worn habitually	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1730. Band around head	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
1731. Buckskin	±	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1732. Fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
[756] 1733. Men only	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1734. Doctors only	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1735. Eyeshade	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[751] 1736. Charcoal around eyes for snow-blindness	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
Robes																
1737. Woven rabbitskin blanket	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1844. Shell embroidery	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	291
1845. Painted, top front	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	[531]
1846. Painted, seams	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	
1847. Slippers	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1848. Woven bark	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1849. Tule, twined	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1850. Sandal	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1851. Hide	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1852. Bark	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1853. Leggings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
1854. Tule, twined	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
1855. Fur piece	(+)	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1856. Buckskin	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1857. Sewed	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1858. Fringed	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1859. Painted	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1860. Porcupine-quill decoration							+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[237]
1861. Tied at knee and ankle	−	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1862. Knee-to-ankle length	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
1863. Hip-to-knee length	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(•+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1864. Snowshoes	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	o	481 ●
1865. Circular	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	o	(+)	−	o	
1866. Oval	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	o	−	+	o	
1867. Kite-shaped	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1868. Lashing withes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	o	−	+	o	
1869. Lashing buckskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	o	+	−	o	
1870. Lashing rawhide	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	o	−	−	o	
1871. Lashing of fiber string	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	o	
Ceremonial Dress																	
1872. Feather garment on net foundation	−	−	−	−	(•+)	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	292
1873. Half length	−	−	−	−	(•+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	•+	237
1874. Tied over shoulders	−	−	−	−	(•+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1875. Held up by shoulder straps	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
1876. Tied under arms	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	
1877. Full length, neck to ankles	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	
1878. Down-feather ropes or strings	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	•−	•−	−	•+	•+	.	•+	•+	
1879. Yellowhammer-quill band	−	−	−	−	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1880. Feather tips at intervals	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
1881. Feathers solid, edge untrimmed	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1881a. Feathers solid, edge trimmed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
1882. Worn across forehead	−	−			+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1883. Ends extend, side of head	−	−	−	−		−					+	+	−	+	+	−	
1884. Worn as belt	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
1885. Worn as bracelet	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	[301]
1886. Worn as necklace	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	(+)	+	+	−	−	
1887. Worn as bandolier	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	
1888. Worn over head and down back	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	
1889. Decorated with beads	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	
1890. Used as dance ornament	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[535]
1891. Used by doctor	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	[756]
1892. Whole yellowhammer feathers solid on headband	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1893. All same direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1894. Worn across forehead	−	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1895. Worn as belt	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1896. Worn as bracelet	−	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[301]
1897. Worn as necklace	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1898. Worn in head net	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1899. Worn over head and down back	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	=	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2490. Moving figures	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	•	+	−	+
2492. Done in winter only	+	•+	−	−						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2493. Done any time, for fun	−	−	+							+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	−	•+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[481] 2494a. Stilts	−	•+	−	−	•+	R	−	−	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−
Contests																
526 2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. To throw man down	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. No tripping allowed	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	·	−
2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	−	+	+	·
2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								−	+	+	+	+	+
2502. Dodging	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	(−)	−	+	−	+
2503. Stones	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	−
2504. Hard objects inside geese	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
2505. Sand bag	−	−	−					•+	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
2506. Tule, grass balls	−	+	−					−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	+
2507. Two sides	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
o2508. Number on each side	−	5	−			I	·	15	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[857] 2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	·	−
2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	·	+
2515. To mark and back	−	−	−			+	+	−	+	−	·	+	+	+	−	−
2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+			+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·	+
2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·	+
Storytelling																
528 2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2520. Myths told at night	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•		•+	•+
[516] 2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	·		−	+
2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	•+	+	−			+		+	−	+	−	−	·		−	−
[784] 2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·		+	+
2524. Rattlesnake will bite	−	+	·		+	+	+	+	−	·	+	−	·		·	−
2525. Winter will come quickly	+	−	·						+	·	+	−	·		·	−
[887] 2526. Narrated by old people only[1]	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	·		+	+
[515] 2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	•−	+	+			+				+	−	+	·		+	+
2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	−	+	+			+				+	−	+	·		+	+
Social Dances																
Circle Dances																
535 2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	•R	•+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	−	R	−		−	−
[417] 2530. Performed in brush corral	−	−	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
[224] 2532. At fall rabbit hunt	−	−	−	−		−	+	−		−	−	−	−		−	−
[221] 2533. In springtime	−	−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
[226] 2535. During communal fishing periods	+	+	+							+	−	−	−		−	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2536. Any time	–	–	–	+		–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	535
2537. Several bands assemble together	+	–	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	
2538. Young people dance, mainly	–	+									–	–	–		–	–	
2539. Purpose mainly pleasure	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	[789]
2540. To make seeds grow	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2541. Dance around center post	–	+	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–	
2542. Juniper tree	–	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2543. Dance around fire	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2544. All dancers sing	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[533]
†2545. Special singers	–	–	–	–		–	2	–	4	–	–	1	--		–	–	
2546. Each local group sings own songs, in turn	+	–	+			+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2547. Split-stick rattle accompaniment	–	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2548. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	+			+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2549. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–		–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[562]
2550. Men choose partners	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2551. Dance in 1 circle	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2552. Dance in 2 concentric circles	+	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
2553. Dance in 2 circles next to each other	–	–	–			+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2554. Sexes alternate	+	–	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2555. Sexes dance opposite each other in 1 circle	+	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2556. Quick shuffle step	+	(+)	+	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
2557. Hopping step	–	.	–	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2558. Stamp both feet, moving slightly									+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2559. Start: counterclockwise	+	(+)	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2560. Reverse: dance clockwise	–	.	–	+		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2561. When dance stops, all shout	+	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2562. Good singer dance leader	+	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2563. Band or district chief dance leader	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	[622]
2564. Clowns	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2565. Act of own accord; not appointed	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	[522]
o2566. Duration of dance, nights	1	+	1	1		1	1	3	1	2	–	2	–		–	–	
2567. Dance occasion for courting	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2568. Visitors camp in circular brush corral	–	–	+	–		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[574]
2569. Visitors feasted by hosts	–	–	+			+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
Sweat "Dance"																	
2570. Held inside sweat house											+	+	+		–	–	[515]
2571. At night											+	+	+		–	–	
2572. Any time of year												+	+		–	–	
2573. Both sexes participate											+	+	–		–	–	
2574. Hot fire in sweat house											+	+	+		–	–	
2575. 1 singer; hits center pole with stick											+	–	–		–	–	[533]
2576. Split-stick rattle used											–	+	–		–	–	
2577. Participants stand in 1 spot, dance until exhausted											+	+	+		–	–	
2578. Swim after dancing											+	+	+		–	–	[481]
Bear Dances																	
2579. Bear dance aboriginal	–	–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+	[177]
2580. Given for good time	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2581. Given to dress bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2582. Held in spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
2583. Held in winter	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
2584. Held any time, in good weather	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2585. Danced in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+	
2586. Danced in open	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	–	
o2587. Whole gathering lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	–		–	2	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3159. Until cord drops off	−	−	−	−				−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	844
3160. Pit or trench dug	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	846
3161. Hot rocks, charcoal put in pit	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	
3162. Pit covered with grass, bark.	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	
3163. Fire direct on ground; lies beside it	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	
Treatment of Midwife																	
3164. Bathes, immediately after child born	+	+	+						+	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	844
3165. Cuts arms, later	−	−	+						+	+	−	(+)	−	−	.	−	759
Restrictions on Mother																	
‡3166. Restrictions last for ... days	5	5	−	28	−	•5	−	28	28	28	−	3	6	5	28	28	846
3167. Until blood stops flowing	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3168. Until navel cord drops off	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	784
o3169. Bathing taboo	+	+	•±	•±	+	+	•±	•+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	•±	
3170. In stream	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[515]
3171. Sweat bath	+	+	−	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3172. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3173. Eats alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[262]
3174. Fed by old woman	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3175. Uses separate receptacles	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176. Eats sparingly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176a. Fresh meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3177. Dried meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3178. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3179. Dried fish taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3181. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3182. Salt taboo	−	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3183. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	
3184. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	[302]
3185. Combing hair taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	.	
3186. Head, face scratcher used	•+	•+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
3187. Especially for first child.	−	−	−				+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	
3188. Tabooed activities	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
3189. Making baskets taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3190. Preparing food taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
‡3191. Traveling taboo ... days	5	5	−	28	−	−	−	28	28	28	−	3	6	5	28	−	[484]
3192. Until blood stops flowing or cord drops off	−	−	+	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	
o3193. Sees no men for ... days	5	•−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	•2	−	−	−	−	−	−	[562]
†3194. Intercourse taboo for ... months	•2	•2	•2						2	2	.	.	½	1	.	3	[834]
3195. Loud noise near child taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3196. Would make child deaf	−	+	+							−	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3197. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3198. Bathes	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	[515]
3199. Midwife or mother assists	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3200. Medicated bath	−	−	+	+		•+	•+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	.	−	[759]
3201. Sweats	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3202. Swims after sweating	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	[481]
Restrictions on Father																	
3203. Required for all offspring	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	
3204. For first child only	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
3205. Retirement period	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3206. Stays with mother in hut	−	−	−	+	•+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3207. Must stay in own dwelling house	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
846 3208. Merely stays indoors	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
784 ‡3209. For ... days	5	5	–	5	–	–	–	•4	–	•4	–	–	6	.	28	28
3210. Until child's cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
'3211. Sleeps little	–	+	+			+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	.	+
3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535] 3212a. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481] 3213. Runs	+	+	+	–	•+	•+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3214. First child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3215. Breaks up wood		–	+		+	+	‡		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3216. Brings back firewood	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3217. Piles up rocks	•+	•+	•+										–	–	–	–
[787] o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	•–	–	–	+	±	–	–	–	–	–	–
3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3220. First 4-5 children only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481] 3221. Swims	.	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	.	–
[252] 3222. In spring in mountains	–	+	–			–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–
3223. Cooks for self and children	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3224. Bathing taboo	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–
[515] o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	–	–	•4	–	–	•4	–	•4	–	•4	+	3	–	–	.	–
†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	–	5	•4	–	–	•4	–	+	•4	•4	+	–	–	–	.	–
3227. Certain activities taboo.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[224] ‡3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	•4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	•4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	•4	•2	+	3	+	6	+	30
3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[525] †3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	–	28	•2	+	3	+	+	.	+
3233. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
[276] 3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	.	–
[484] †3235. Traveling taboo ... days	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	•2	+	3	+	+	+	40
3236. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
†3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	–	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	•2	+	3	+	–	+	•28
[262] †3238. Fresh fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	+	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
[268] †3239. Dried fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	–	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
†3240. Salt taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	5	+	–	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312] 3241. Cold water taboo	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3242. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
3243. Until child smiles first time													–	–	+	–
3244. Eats with wife	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3245. Uses own receptacles	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
[292] 3247. Special belt worn	(+)	+	–	–	+	–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
3248. Scratch stick used	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–
3249. Combing hair taboo	+	•+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3250. Until navel has healed	.	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3252. Bathes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	–
3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
3255. Gives away old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3256. Burns old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3257. Throws away old clothes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[526] 3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	+	+								+	–	–	–	–	–
[224] 3259a. Shoots at target	–	–	+	–	•+						–	.	–	–	–	–
3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	–	+	+	–	•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
[525] 3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	–	–	–		•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	.	–
3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							•+	+	•+	+

481 1865. Kl: 3-4 buckskin thongs across frame; 1 lengthwise. Tied with buckskin; "sinew doesn't hold."

Ceremonial dress.--

000 1872. AW: "Beyond Kennett, at Grindstone especially (Wintu), one sees these; not among Achomawi."

1873. MV: Feather aprons (sïkli) worn in back, by male dancers.

1878. WT: If use or keep eagle down, person will have worms in stomach or intestines; term for eagle and worm synonymous. WM: Eagle, worm, t'Luk. Shaman uses eagle wing while in trance; puts his power ("bullet" or "poison") in small hole in wing. Also keeps power in rattlesnake rattles, kept in house; when doctoring uses these. WS: Shaman uses eagle wing. MF: Eagle (?) down. NF, NS, MV: Swan's-down. MV: If youth kills swan, must take it to secret society head, who pays him sum equivalent to $10 for male bird, $8 for female; members of secret society eat it in assembly house; later use swan feathers for dance regalia.

1879. At: Recent (?); see AW entry. AW: "Wintun [Wintu] and Round Mountain Indians [Yana] make yellowhammer-quill bands; so do Yuki and Wailaki. The Hat Creek people [At] just learned from the Round Mountain people."

1892. At: This type yellowhammer band also attributed to Madesi Achomawi shamans.

1900. AW: Yellowhammer feathers "go with a doctor's poison" so must be careful of them. Anything with yellowhammer feathers on it (as whistle) is sign of poison." See note for following element; also for 1671. Ordinary doctors wear headband of these feathers; powerful doctors usually wear flowing head net (see note 1947).

1901. AW: "Some doctors notch the feathers a little, but most of them say, 'Don't cut that; the poison [in the feathers] will spread on to the ground.'" WS: Shaman keeps "poison" or power object in quill end of single notched feather which he keeps outside house.

1902. Mo: If man, in vision, dreams of having woodpecker, he stuffs 1 and hangs it up, fulfilling his vision. Woodpecker "not used for anything else." SW: Sent all woodpecker scalps down-river to Karuk. Informant "didn't know why SW didn't use such things themselves; they had raw materials for so many articles Karuk use." Besides woodpecker scalps, SW sent all white deerskins down to Karuk. "All the white deerskins Karuk have are from the Shasta, especially from SW group on Klamath River near Horse Creek; also a few from Shasta Valley. The Shasta didn't value the skins as did the Karuk." Also sent down wolf skins; "no wolves in Karuk territory (?). Karuk use wolf tail as ornament, parting it in center and covering it with gray squirrel breast." See also note 1998. WT: 2 of 3 varieties of woodpeckers used; heads or scalps of

000 2475. MV: Shoe-leather disk, also top of tin can used for recent buzzers. Using buzzer "makes people sick; don't use it much."

2483. SE: Name for buzzer similar to that for bird that makes whirring noise at night; when playing with buzzer people say they "are making the deer fat."

2484. WM: "The puisus (Achomawi) play this, but WM never do."

2485. WT: Informant had never seen Indians play this; had seen Whites doing it.

2489. AW: Names of 2 figures: Sundown; Spider's House.

[524] 2490. Kl, Mo, SW, AW: Popular moving figure is that of "2 coyotes running from each other."

2492. Mo: If play in summer, ensuing winter will be severe.

2494. SW: Figures made during first quarter of moon, in spring especially, to make moon grow (by stretching string).

2494a. Mo: Both informants stated stilts aboriginal. At: "Danced on ice with stilts". Like Mo informant, At informant had used stilts as girl.

2505. WT: Willow-bark bag, sand inside.

2508. Mo: 5-6.

2520. Mo, MM, MF: Narrators presented with small amount of food by auditors; NS: uncertain about this; MV: denied. Not inquired into for other groups. NF: Myths told to youths, men only (during secret society initiation?); informant for this group a woman.

[538
855] 2522. Kl: Belief held more in jest than in earnest; told to small children who "would never go to sleep."

2523. SW: If myths told toward spring, look out for rattlesnake.

● [481
883] 2527. Kl: Youths "made to swim in winter anyway"; no rule which applies to myth telling per se.

Social Dances

Circle dances.--

535
177 2529. Kl: See note 2076. Dance Kl brought back from N with drum was "a round dance; men and women danced, holding hands, men on 1 side, women on other of single circle, with fire inside in middle. It was held any time of year, but mostly in summer, just for fun. Given at night; people stopped dancing around midnight. [No leader who brought it back, or no data on such.] One man might say, 'Let's have fun'; people told each other; they came and danced. The drummer was the leader; he sang, and the men and women dancers sang too. The drummer stood by himself; just 1 man drummed. The [179] Kl no longer give this dance; the old people have mostly died." Mo: Dance relatively slight affair; 000 "a few young people assemble for 'evening joy' dance; join hands and go around fire in circle; old man watches them. When they become reckless, he stops dance." SW: Circle dance (k'aphek), an old summer dance, given for pleasure sometimes;

[206-B]

K
M middle Columbia, far below the Coast and California, and in turn
161 considerably above the Great Basin.[6]

000 The mind's eye, drawing upon descriptions of early explorers and modern ethnographers,[7] can recreate the life of the early nineteenth century. It is a life that moves through a succession of activities with the seasons, each characterized by a community of different size and constituency. On a miniscule scale they resemble the "task groupings" which Anastasio has analysed in the intertribal relations on the Plateau.[8]

K During the long winters, existence is centered in the permanent
M settlements, for the altitude of the Klamath Basin is over four
221 thousand feet and snow often drifts deep. An accrued depth of
132 six to eight feet is common; while in the exceptional winter of
133 1890-91 a figure of thirty feet, undoubtedly in drifts, was recorded
361 at the head of Agency Lake. Crude, circular bearpaw snowshoes
481 provide a poor means of winter travel, and the settlements tend
262 to become isolated; most people are forced to remain in the
villages, supplementing the meager winter catch with stores of
dried fish and meat, roots, seeds, and berries.

K From a distance, the winter settlement has the appearance of
M hillocks strung out along the bank or clustered in a sheltered
221 spot. In size it may range from several score houses—there are
361 perhaps a hundred house pits at one favored site on Klamath
342 Marsh, though not all may have been occupied at the same time
—down to tiny hamlets of one or two earth lodges and a few mat
huts.[9] Within the village, the earth lodges are the dominant struc-
K tures, with the domed huts flanking them. In Klamath settlements,
M communal storage pits shelter the bulk of supplies; but the
343 Modoc prefer to conceal foodstuffs in household caches some
251 distance from the houses.

One Klamath woman recalled her childhood hamlet, part of
K a settlement totaling roughly two dozen houses,[10] on the lower
361 reaches of the Williamson River. Here she and her parents lived
342 with her maternal uncle, the shaman later known as Alex Wilson,
whose earth lodge was the largest in the hamlet. Nearby was
another lodge, the residence of Hunter Wilson, brother of Alex
and headman of the family group. Some four or five mat-covered
K lodges and huts stood in the vicinity, the larger ones closer to
[343] the water for cooking and the sewing of tule mats, the smaller

524 play with a tiny bow of willow, little more than
a toy, which they learn to make from an older
857 boy or from their father. But by the time a boy
is six or seven his father presents him with a
real bow made from juniper. It is smaller than
the large yew war and hunting bows of the men,
and the arrows are blunt. The boys practice
shooting at targets around the camp. They will
not begin to do any hunting for several years,
but groups of boys imitate the shooting contests
of their elders. These will be described in
more detail in a later section since it is older
boys who spend the most time in these pursuits.

Another favorite activity of all Klamath
868 children is swimming. Very young children are
not allowed near the water, but by five or six
857 years of age the child is paddling around in
shallow water under the watchful eye of parents
481 or of older children who help the younger ones
to learn. The teacher holds the child around
the waist and tells him to splash with his arms
and legs. In other instances the child learns
by himself or by verbal instructions. One informant related the following incident:

> I thought I was swimming when I had my feet on the bottom. Someone laughed at me and said that wasn't swimming. He told me to kick my feet, too.

524
Several games are played in the water. The
857 children race to see who will be the first to
get into the water. Then, teams of four or five
line up opposite each other and splash until one
side gives up. There are also diving contests
to see who can go the farthest underwater before
coming to the surface.

In addition to the active outdoor play of children, which is possible only in the summer months, there are games and amusements which can be played indoors at any time.[35] Many of these are enjoyed equally by adults and by children.

Individuals of both sexes and all ages enjoy top spinning. Adults show the children how to set the tops in motion by twirling the stem between their palms, but then the children play by themselves. The children also learn from adults or older children how to make their own tops of bark, wood, or pine pitch. The best ones, according to informants, are from hardened pitch.

> We used to go out and get pine gum and chew it all up. Then we made it flat and round with our hands and got some boys to fix the hole in the middle for the stick. You have to put the gum in cold water till it gets hard. They lasted pretty good unless we dropped them or left them out in the sun.

221
During the winter there is little economic activity, and families spend most of the time in

---

[35] Klamath games and amusements are described in detail by Dorsey (1901), pp. 14-27, Spier, pp. 76-86, and Voegelin, elements 2170-2528.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M
EXPLANATION OF PLATE 17.

K
Fig. 1.—Snowshoe made of a hoop and strips of skin. Museum number
281 1-12633 b. Length 41 cm.

285 Fig. 2.—Man's moccasin of plain twined tule basketry, for winter wear. Museum number 1-12839 a. Length 42 cm.

287 Fig. 3.—Legging of plain twined tule. Museum number 1-12774. Length
291 44 cm.

Fig. 4.—Woman's moccasin of plain twined tule, for winter wear. Mu-
481 seum number 1-12773 a. Length 45 cm.

Fig. 5.—Buckskin moccasin for summer wear. Museum number 1-12508 b. Length 25 cm.

Fig. 6.—Man's cap or sunshade of plain twined tule. Museum number 1-12838. Length 28 cm.

Fig. 7.—Woman's belt made of strips of bark fiber. Museum number 1-14138. Length 86 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910

NR10 Klamath NR10 •

Modoc NS17

M
K
• 481
281
←
M
K
291
285
→

M
K
291
287
→
M
K
291
285
←

M
K
[481]

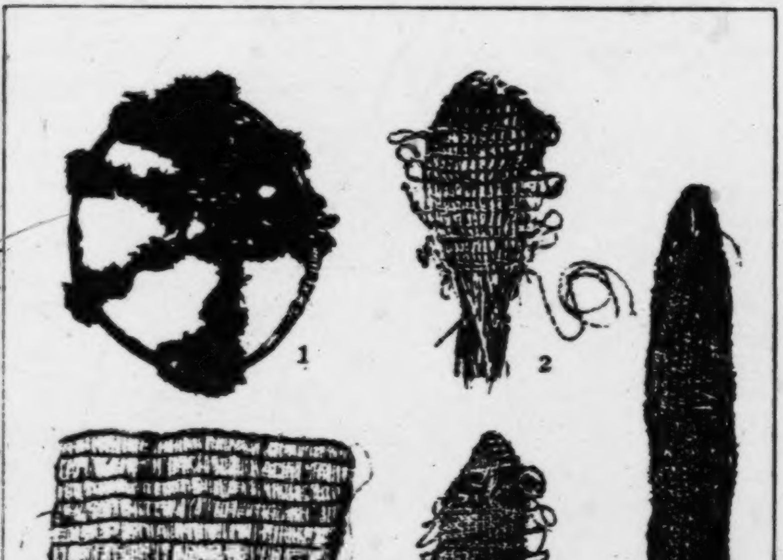

SNOWSHOE, MOCCASIN, LEGGING, CAP, AND BELT.

[p. 279]

285
[482]

ping of willow bark. The carrying band of deer hide is carried over the forehead for heavy loads, over the breast for lighter ones.

A conical wicker burden basket of this general type in the Field Museum (no. 61665) has a somewhat different edge finish. This is generically of the same "turn down and catch under" type, but the effect is that of a raised welt of diagonal twine both inside and outside of the rim. From the top, the edge has a braided appearance. (I was not able to analyse the stitch because of the stiffness of the material.) This also appears on bowls made in the same fashion of willow sticks (e.g., no. 61666).

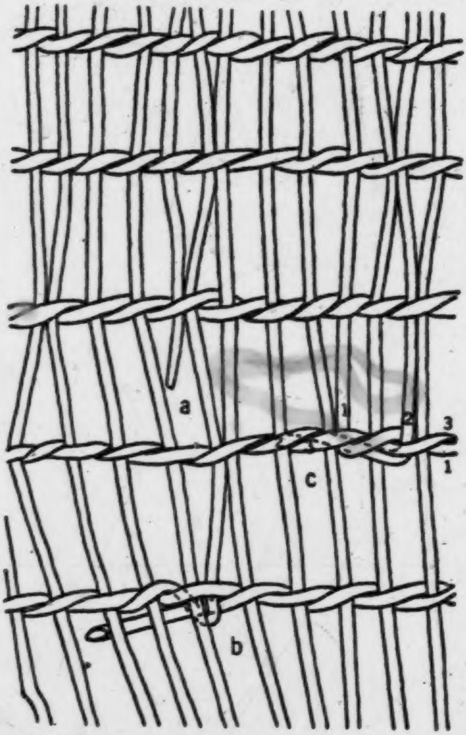

Fig. 16. Methods of adding warps in a conical carrying basket.

In the conical forms the base and sides are not separated, hence there is no necessity for the three-strand twining near the bottom.

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[337] Coville, Notes, 94.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	El	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
857. Cook house used as menstrual hut	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	343 841
MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT																	
Water Transport																	
Boats and Ferriage																	
858. Dugout canoe	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•o	–	+	+	+	+	•o	•o	–	–	501
859. Sharp prow and stern	–	–	–	+	•+	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
860. Shovel prow and stern	+	+	+	–	–	+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
861. Carved gunwale, turned in	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
862. Ends rounded	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
863. Carved in seat	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
864. Carved in footbraces	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
865. Manufactured	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
866. Hollowed by burning	+	+	–	+	+	•+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
867. Commonly and frequently used	+	+	–	–	(+)	+	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
868. Log raft	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	o	+	+	
869. Used to transport goods only	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	+	o	–	–	
870. Tule balsa	–	–	+	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
871. Raised prow	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o872. Length in feet	–	–	15	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o873. Maximum number of passengers	–	–	2	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
874. Bundles lashed together	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
875. Towed by rope	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
876. Propelled with paddle	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
877. Tule raft	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o878. Length in feet	–	10	–	•5	–	–	8	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
‡879. Maximum number of passengers	5	·	–	2	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
880. Bundles lashed together	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
881. Bundles pinned together	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
882. Towed by rope	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
883. Poled	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
884. Paddled with hands	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
885. Single-bladed paddle	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
886. Blade end convex	+	+	·	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
887. Blade end squared	–	–	·	–	+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
888. Blade end pointed	+	+	·	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
‡889. Length in feet	4	4	5	–	3	•5	–	–	5	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
890. Poling rod	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
891. Plain or pointed end	–	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
892. Split base	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
893. Basket bailer	•+	•+	–	+	+	•–	–	–	+	+	·	–	o	o	–	–	
894. Grooved stone anchor	–	•–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	·	o	o	–	–	[465]
895. Boatman must ferry traveler free of charge	+	•+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	·	o	o	–	–	
896. Ferriage in baskets	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	
897. Children	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	[855]
898. Goods	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	
899. Ferriage by swimmers	+	+	+							+	+	+	+	o	+	+	481
900. Children ferried on swimmer's back	·	+	–							+	+	+	+	o	+	–	482
901. Swimmer lies on tule float; children cling to float	+	+	+								–	–	–	o	–	–	
902. Swimmer holds goods above water in 1 hand, swims with other	+	+	–					+		+	+	–	+	o	+	+	491
903. Bridges	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	o	o	+	+	
904. Single-log bridge	–	•+	+	–	+	•–	–	+	–	–	+	–	o	o	+	+	
905. 2 poles tied together	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
906. Several poles, spliced at end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	o	o	–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Swimming																
481 907. Pseudo breast stroke, arms and legs together	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	o	.	+
908. Side stroke	−	−	−	−	−		+	•+	−	+	+	+	•+	o	.	.
909. Dog fashion, arms under water	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	•+	o	.	+
910. Double overhand, arms moving alternately	−	+	.	•+	−	+	−	•+	−	−	+	−	(+)	o	.	.
911. On back, frog stroke	.	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	o	+	+
912. Under water	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+
913. Jump in water, feet first	−	−						•+	•+	•+	+	−	−	o	−	+
914. Diving, head first	+	+	+					+	+	+	−	+	+	o	+	+
Land Transport																
Carrying Devices																
482 915. Pack strap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
916. Plain, of hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	−
917. Woven or braided pack strap	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	+
918. Of 2-ply materials	+	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	+
919. Ends braided, narrower than rest	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	+
920. Made from vegetable fiber	+	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	+
921. Pack strap of twisted rope	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
922. Root or bark headband for packing	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
923. Basketry hat for packing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
924. Net carrying bag or "sack"	−	•+	−	•−	•+	•+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	−
925. Small mesh	−	+	−	−	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	−
926. Approximately trapezoidal in shape	−	+	−	−	•+	+	(+)	+	•−	•−	+	.	−	−	.	−
927. Cased hide bag (exclusive of quivers)	−	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
415 928. Folded hide bag	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	•+
482 929. Buckskin	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
930. Rawhide	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
931. Sewn at edges	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
932. Tied at corners	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
933. Pinned together with stick	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
934. Opens at side	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	(+)	−	−	−	−
935. Opens at top		+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−		+	+	−	−
936. Load rolled up in mat	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
937. Load rolled in hide	−		−					+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
938. Back carrier of hide on frame	−	−	−	•(+)	−	•+	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
939. Conical hide container used for back packing	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
940. Pack basket (details under Basketry)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
941. Baby cradles (details under Basketry)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482 942. Litter	.	+	+	+	.	+	R	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+
943. Net or thongs bound to pole framework	.	+	+	+	−	+	R	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
944. Large skin used as litter													+	+		.
[493] 945. Sled	•+	•+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	o
Methods of Packing																
946. Pack strap spreads over top of head	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
947. Pack strap spreads over forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
948. Pack strap spreads across chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
949. Women only use strap on head, forehead	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
950. Men, women use strap on head, forehead	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
951. Men only use strap across chest	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
952. Men, women use strap across chest	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	+
[758] 953. Sick carried on litter	.	+	+	+	−	•+	R	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
954. Double, load between 2 or 4	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
955. Sick packed on back	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
956. Atop load	.	+	+			+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	482
957. In pack basket	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[758]
958. Loads carried on head	•+	•+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•(+)	
959. Grass, tule, or bark ring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	
960. Hands support load	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	
961. Liquids	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	
962. Loads carried on shoulder	+	+	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	R	+	R	
963. Load suspended from pole, man at each end											•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
964. Liquids carried waiter style on upturned palm.	–	+	+	•–	•+	•+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

Bows

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
965. Self bow	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	.		+	+	411
•966. For rough or occasional use only	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.		+	+	
967. Sinew-backed wooden bow	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
968. Made locally	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	
969. Imported	•+	+	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	•–	+	.	–	–	–	[439]
970. Bow wood from N (shady) side of tree	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	.	–	
971. Recurved tips	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	+	–	
972. Middle recurve	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	+	–	
973. Slight	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	.	+	–	
974. Pronounced	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	
975. Constricted grip	+	+	+	•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	+	
•976. Sinew bowstring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
977. 2-ply	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
978. 1-ply, fine strands glued together	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
979. Vegetable-fiber bowstring	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	.	+	
980. Gut bowstring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
980a. Hide-thong bowstring	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
•981. Design(s) painted on bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	.	+	
982. Wristguard on left arm	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	

Arrows

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
•983. Arrowheads of flaked stone	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
•984. Stemmed, no definite barbs	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+	+	.
•985. Concave base, notch in each side	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	•+	+	–	.	–	–	+	.
•986. Concave base, no notches	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	.
•987. Barbed and stemmed	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	•+	–	+	.	–	–	–	.
988. Toothed edges	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	.
989. Ground stone arrowheads	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	.	.
990. Bone arrowheads	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–
991. Awl-shaped	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–
992. Stemmed, no barbs		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
993. Barbed	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
•994. Solid wooden shaft	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+
995. Cane shaft	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	.
996. Used for ducks	+	+				+	+	–	o	o	o	–	–	–	–	.
997. Single shaft, no head	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
998. Sharp	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
999. Blunt	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1000. For birds, squirrels, etc.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1001. For fish	–	–	–	+	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1002. Foreshaft, no other head	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	(+)	+	•+	+	+
1003. Foreshaft plus head	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

BY ALL INFORMANTS

251 Storage of food.--Outdoor granaries on ground; on bedrock or multistone foundations; on platform.

Ownership of Productive Areas

423 Owner liable for injury of renter. Pens on communal weir privately owned. Seed tracts claimed for single season only. Private boundaries marked. "Tribal" boundaries marked.

Division of Labor

462 Formalized myth accounting for division of labor (cf. Voegelin, Tübatulabal). AW state division of labor according to "Coyote's law," but lack any detailed myth.

HOUSES AND SHELTER

Assembly and Living Houses

342 Entrances; uses and ownership; furnishings.--Entrance round, carved in plank. Partitions between families. House names. Windbreak before house. Flat plank for foot drum. Leader of hunters nominal owner. All men regularly sleep in sweat house. 372 Fireplace and heating.--Fuel-gathering ritual; fuel from top of tree; pair of limbs left on top.

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

501 Boats and ferriage.--Dugout canoe, ends peaked; carved-in "heart"; detachable prow ornament. Launching ceremony. Sails. Single-bladed paddle with crutch handle; compound paddle; blade end of paddle concave. 505 Ferriage by person in basket pulling across on rope (At: ascribe this to N Yana of Round Mountain).

Land Transport

482 Carrying devices.--Hammock-type carrying net. Painted decoration on folded hide bag. Cord and stick Mohave-type back frame. Snowshoe-type 492 carrying frame. Coolie yoke. Dog packing.

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

411 Bows and arrows.--Horn bow (AW: mentioned in myth, made by Butterfly). Laurel-leaf arrowheads. Arrows with 2 or more points. Arrow shaft of solid wood, split from log. Arrows with

OOO other end made into loop, passed around person's wrist. Balsa also pushed across stream by swimmer.

877. Mo: Used rarely; "generally borrow a boat." SW: See note 858. AE: Used for hunting ducks.

878. SW: 6-10 feet.

[501] 885. Kl: Of cedar (light).

[924] 887. AW: This type "good to bail water with, but slips too easily."

888. AW: Type chiefly used.

889. AW: 5-6 feet: if sitting in canoe, use 5-ft. paddle; if standing or kneeling, 6-ft. paddle.

[501] [415] 893. Kl: Tule basket, about size of basket cap; kept in canoe. Mo: Basket cap used. (Also use basket cap for drinking water.) AW: Broad side of paddle used to bail; denied by Kl, Mo, WM, WS.

894. Mo: Boat tied to water lily roots to "anchor" it. Large grooved stone anchors are found archaeologically at Tule Lake; specimens seen at Modoc Lava Beds National Monument museum.

895. Mo: Passenger sometimes gives boatman small gift; not obligatory.

904. Mo: As child, informant had seen logs cut down, put across Lost River. AW: "Have these across Pit River, at Burney Creek" (Ilmawi Achomawi area).

906. WM, WS: 2 ends anchored to trees (see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 126).

Swimming.--

908. WT: "Best way." NF: Used when swimming in deep water.

909. SE, SW: Women only. MF: "Only people who didn't know how to swim properly." NF: Used in shallow water.

910. SW: Men. WT: "Best stroke."

913. WT, WM, WS: When working. If swimming for pleasure, usually dive in head first (see element 914).

Land Transport

Carrying devices.--

● [492] 916. Buckskin.

924. Similar to sack shown in Goddard, Hupa, pl. 6. Mo: "Knit" bag; used by men to carry home game. No carrying net used. SW: "The Kammatwa, at Hamburg [see note 282] have a knit bag to carry their fish in; Shasta don't use this." At: Use carrying net, bag type, with large meshes; men, women also use tule "bag," trapezoidal in shape, with buckskin handle, for packing goods. AW: Used by men; rather large mesh. AE: Used by men; imported only, recently (?).

926. At: See note 924. WM, WS: Round, with loop handle which is slung over 1 shoulder. "Made like a net, from twine."

927. AE: From small animals only.

[415] 928. Kl, Mo, At, AW, AE: Resembles parfleche.

[190-A]

000 AE: Used for packing dried meat; ču'wi. MF, NF, NM, MV: Rectangular strip of rawhide, folded long way, edges sewn together at both ends, top left open; buckskin thong attached for handle (?).

929. AW: Use tanned hide, but with hair left on; holes cut in flaps in order to lace bag together.

938. SW: Affirmed, but could not describe. AW: If person not too sick, or only 1 carrier available, make large frame resembling baby cradle; buckskin attached to frame, and person packed on back, "as one packs baby." WM, WS: Circular willow frame, with 3-4 parallel willow bars lashed across it. Salmon laid at right angles to these bars, with heads and tails tied to circular frame; whole carried flat against person's back, with aid of pack strap.

939. Mo: For fine seeds. Informant's mother, grandmother had used this type container. SE: Shape similar to pack basket; made on wooden hoop, of hide from which hair has been removed; atsori. "Can pack anything in it, from child to fine seeds." Mo, SW: Used principally for transporting small seeds.

482 943. Consists of 2 parallel poles, with net or thongs stretched between; borne by 2 or 4 men, using pack straps.

944. Outstretched skin borne by 4 men, 2 in front, 2 behind.

483 945. Kl: Bundle of willows (see Spier, Klamath, p. 171). Mo: Length variable, according to load; dragged by men or women, with rope. SW: Deer dragged home whole over snow, in winter; no sled.

000 Methods of packing.--

952. MF: For small loads only.

953. AW: Used chiefly for transporting sick.

[482] 958. Kl: In flat-bottomed basket; occasionally.
[415] Mo: Occasionally only. SW: Ascribed to Karuk. MV: Perhaps recently acquired habit, learned from Mexican fruit pickers? Colusa Indians (Patwin), in heart of fruit-picking district, characterized as "great to carry loads thus."

962. At, AW: Long, heavy pieces of wood.

963. MM, MF: Corpse, in flexed position for burial. NS: Deer.

964. SW: Ascribed to Karuk. At: "Some carry water thus." AW: Children, carrying small baskets of water. WS: Baskets of water carried thus; such also carried inside pack basket, on back. MV: Not only liquids; anything heavy.

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

Bows.--

965. AE: Generally used; made of white juniper. "Some men try to put sinew backing on these bows, but sinew always peels off." See note 969.

[531] 966. Unpainted, all groups.

967. Mo: Mountain mahogany used for bow. SW:

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 221 192 All these different kinds of sacks or bags were originally made of bulrush-stalks (tule) and the táyash was made of straw.

415 74, 11. kaítua nû kä'ila. The sense is incomplete. Probably sháyuakta is left out: "I do not know of any in the whole country", küíla often standing for käílatat.

192 74, 14. áwalues. There are several islands in the shallow waters of the vast extent of Klamath Marsh, but only *one* is meant here.

103 74, 15. wö'ns íktsat. They submerge their dug-outs at several places on the beach, where they are certain to find them in the next wókash-season.

501 103 74, 17. pi'la wi'hla (or píla wíllash) contains perhaps a proper name of a locality, or stands in connection with Tóilkat, "at the Rail-Pyramid"; wílhaslash means top, apex. The stations from the "Ford" to "Bird's Lookout" are passed by the tribe when they return home with the lily-seed harvest-crop. "They drop the rifle" is: they take a rest. All these localities are either on the open waters of Klamath Marsh or on Williamson River, which forms its outlet.

484 492 75, 1. iwí-idsha wókash. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Williamson River is from 20 to 25 miles, and horses carrying wókash can make it in one day. The next day they return to carry another load.

482 75, 2. nátoks waítuapk: we will lie over one day to let our horses rest, or recover from the swellings on their backs. Nátoks stands for nát toks.

824 75, 5. klá-ads is probably a kind of wild prunes. See Dictionary: kělátch.

192 75, 8. wídsika íwam. "Some are economical with their own berries, and prefer not to scatter them in the hands of others"; íwam, huckleberry, has become the generic term for all berries, and i-umä'mi is "*berry-season*".

346 75, 11. spû'klish here means the large communal sweat-house; it is used frequently for dances and kshiuwál*χ*ishtat, contr. kshiû'l*χ*ishtat might stand instead of spúklishtat.

75, 11. papiä'na, vocalic dissimilation for papa-éna; derived from pán, to eat.

193 75, 13. atí'sh etc. "Heap ye up that hay in two stacks, which must have a lengthy, long-stretching, and not a high, cone-shaped form!" For heaping up long stacks one verb is here used, and another for making the high, round ones.

PÚ'LAM SHUMSHE-ÉLSHTAT SHASHAPKĚLÉASH.

A SKETCH OF BALL'S MARRIED LIFE.

115 GIVEN BY DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 593 Póluk kä'liak snáwäds t'shín. Tsúi snawä'dshla Pámpiam pä'-ia lupí';
Ball he without a wife grew up. Then he married Pámpi's daughter at first;
tsúi wä'kala, tsúi tatá mántsak mbusä'lan gí. Tsúi kä'tsa, tsúi mbusä'-
and she had a babe, and then quite a while he lived with (her). Then he left (her), and lived with
alpěli pän, tsúi pän kétsa sissû'kuk tsû'ssak. Násh wä'ka sham kläká, nä'sh
(her) again, and again left (her) quarrelling continually. One babe to them died, another
tchía; at sa sipí'tχa, tsúi nä's shnawä'dshla pän Látsam pä'-ia; wáts säwána
lived; still they separated, then one (woman) he married after (this) Látchash's daughter; horses he gave

*539 773 192 482 193 109, 1. shkä'shgatkaltk. A verbal adjective of shkátkēla, to carry on back; kā, ka is the radical syllable, found also in kä'mat, *back*. This distributive form is apparently due to vocalic dissimilation. Women carry conical baskets (yáki) on their backs when digging roots or bulbs, and throw them over their shoulders into these receptacles.

222 109, 2. 6. 5. Skélamtch. See Dave Hill's relation of the same myth; *Note* to 107, 3. In speaking of somebody who acts on the sly, and differently from what he professes and means to do, the Klamath Lake people will say: "He acts like Skélamtch." This 193 is one of the few proverbial locutions, or at least figurative modes of speech that can be traced in this tribe.

291 109, 3. kmā' is the rounded light cap usually worn by females, fitting tight to the skull. It is made of the stalks of aquatic plants, several species of them entering into the manufacture of each cap. The taking away of the skull-caps was intended as a signal for the women to go to their new homes.

109, 6. táta. The words of reprehension addressed by Old Marten to Weaslet are: "Did I ever order you to bring the caps of any other than of both the one-eyed women? I told you to get the caps of both one-eyed women only." Lápuk belongs to shtchûshχápkam, though separated from it by the inversion of the sentence; kmā' is left out.

193 109, 6. shtchûshχápkam. The distributive form of shtchû'χa is so difficult to articulate, that abbreviations of it like the above and others, have resulted. Shtchúχa is evidently the medial form of tchóχa, and its meaning is therefore "to suffer destruction on oneself." Cf. shtchúyampka.

109, 10. ni ā'pkatki. After ā'pkatki supply gi: "said, told."

109, 11. The text forgets to mention the calling in of the two one-eyed women.

109, 12. Shû'hank-shitk. In many mythic stories the newly-born children are made to grow miraculously fast, so that when a few days old they handle bow and arrows, and after a month or two they are adult people.

194 109, 13. ntéyāla, to make a bow or bows (nté-ish), nteyákāla, to make little bows (nteyága), nteyakalía or nteyakalíya, to make little bows *for somebody*.

109, 13. únak, *son*, is variously pronounced û'nak, vúnaka, wúnak; and so is its diminutive únakag, únakaga, vúnakak, *little son*, "*sonny*".

109, 15. híshla has two meanings, both *reciprocal:* to shoot at each other, and to shoot at the mark, *rivalling to outdo each other* in markmanship. Cf. 24, 17.

193 109, 15. Lówatkuk for lówatko hûk: they, after having played; participle of léwa to play.

110, 1. hûshûtánkapksh etc. "This was an approaching himself on the sly towards me" is the literal rendering of this sentence, in which the first term is a *nomen actionis*, a verbal indefinite. The two pronouns are governed by it.

110, 3. mish shli'shtka gi'uapk, if he should want to shoot you; if he should shoot at you purposely.

110, 4. Sháyuakta, "he knew." Omniscience and prescience are among the characteristic features of Old Marten, who is the personification of K'múkamtch. Cf. 107, 1. 3. 14. 108, 5. and *Note* to 107, 3.

110, 6. hútkalpéli, to rise up suddenly, to jump up again (though killed beforehand). Cf. 108, 2.

110, 11. "shui'ulatchgankan hû'n gi" Marten's son said, that his arrow, when

361 at the lake's edge, large and warm enough to prevent ice forming over
a large area. Winter is severe at this altitude (4000 feet), snowdrifts
[132] are deep, and Klamath lake freezes over to a depth of some ten inches
[133] in late December. Such sheltered valleys as that of the Williamson
river, while but a few miles from the open lake, are distinctly warmer.

221 The annual cycle of activities is dictated largely by the food
habits. It is customary to leave the winter villages in April or May,
when plant growth is well under way and the flat valleys have dried,
not to return until the snow falls again and houses need refurbishing.
When fish begin to run in the spring, the Klamath congregate at the
fishing places to stay for two months or more. For example, some
join the Modoc on Lost river for several weeks to catch and dry
fish. The spring and early summer are spent on the marshes and
prairies, gathering roots such as camas and ipos. When the camas
has been dried and stored, they move to the marshes, especially to
Klamath marsh, to harvest pond-lily seeds from mid-August to the
end of September. While the women are busy with this harvest, men
hunt mule deer, antelope, and other animals whose habitat is in eastern
Klamath territory. Late summer and autumn, seeds, berries, and
nuts are gathered, the Indians congregating where these are plentiful.
Many of those at Klamath marsh, for example, move directly to
Huckleberry mountain, southwest of Crater lake, to garner these
[484] berries. Summer and autumn are the seasons for journeying to visit
and trade, for raiding, and especially for laying up a store of fish
[726] against the coming winter. It must be understood that the winter
locations are not completely abandoned during this season, for many
[251] of them are favorably situated for these very activities. But it is
[361] customary for such a group as the äukckni division, whose winter
residences cluster thickly along the middle Williamson river, to scatter
and meet again at Klamath marsh for the pond-lily harvest in
[805] August and September. (This is the beginning of the Klamath year.)
They begin to return to the winter sites in the latter month, to start
[342] rebuilding the earth-lodges for the coming winter, a task completed
in December, by which time full winter is at hand.[219]

501 The move to Klamath marsh of the people at the mouth of Williamson
river, the du'kwakni, can be made by canoe only as far as ya'ak
221 on the middle river, where they join the äukckni in packing afoot the
rest of the distance. When the water is high, canoes can go upstream
as far as bɛzŭkse'was at the mouth of Sprague river (see the maps,

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[219] See also Gatschet, 1:74-77.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3159. Until cord drops off	−	−	−	−				−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	844
3160. Pit or trench dug	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	846
3161. Hot rocks, charcoal put in pit	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	
3162. Pit covered with grass, bark.	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	
3163. Fire direct on ground; lies beside it	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	
Treatment of Midwife																	
3164. Bathes, immediately after child born	+	+	+						+	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	844
3165. Cuts arms, later	−	−	+						+	+	−	(+)	−	−	.	−	759
Restrictions on Mother																	
‡3166. Restrictions last for ... days	5	5	−	28	−	5	−	28	28	28	−	3	6	5	28	28	846
3167. Until blood stops flowing	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	784
3168. Until navel cord drops off	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
o3169. Bathing taboo	+	+	±	±	+	+	±	+	+	+	+	±	+	+	+	±	[515]
3170. In stream	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3171. Sweat bath	+	+	−	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3172. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3173. Eats alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[562]
3174. Fed by old woman	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3175. Uses separate receptacles	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176. Eats sparingly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176a. Fresh meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3177. Dried meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3178. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3179. Dried fish taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3181. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3182. Salt taboo	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3183. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	
3184. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	[302]
3185. Combing hair taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	.	
3186. Head, face scratcher used	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
3187. Especially for first child.	−	−	−				+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	
3188. Tabooed activities	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
3189. Making baskets taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3190. Preparing food taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
‡3191. Traveling taboo ... days	5	5	−	28	−	−	−	28	28	28	−	3	6	5	28	−	[484]
3192. Until blood stops flowing or cord drops off	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	
o3193. Sees no men for ... days	5	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	[562]
†3194. Intercourse taboo for ... months	2	2	2						2	2	.	.	1	1	.	3	[834]
3195. Loud noise near child taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3196. Would make child deaf	−	+	+							−	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3197. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3198. Bathes	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	[515]
3199. Midwife or mother assists	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3200. Medicated bath	−	−	+	+		+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	−	[759]
3201. Sweats	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3202. Swims after sweating	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	[481]
Restrictions on Father																	
3203. Required for all offspring	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	
3204. For first child only	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
3205. Retirement period	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3206. Stays with mother in hut	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3207. Must stay in own dwelling house	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
846	3208. Merely stays indoors	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
784	‡3209. For ... days	5	5	–	5	–	–	–	°4	–	°4	–	–	6	·	28	28
	3210. Until child's cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3211. Sleeps little	–	+	+			+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	–	–	·	+
	3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535]	3212a. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481]	3213. Runs	+	+	+	–	°+	°+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3214. First child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3215. Breaks up wood		–	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3216. Brings back firewood	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3217. Piles up rocks	°+	°+	°+										–	–	–	–
[787]	o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	°–	–	–	+	±	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3220. First 4-5 children only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481]	3221. Swims	·	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	·	–
[252]	3222. In spring in mountains	–	+	–			–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	·	–
	3223. Cooks for self and children	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3224. Bathing taboo	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	·	–
[515]	o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	–	–	°4	–	–	°4	–	°4	–	°4	+	3	–	–	·	–
	†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	–	5	°4	–	–	°4	–	+	°4	°4	+	–	–	–	·	–
	3227. Certain activities taboo.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[224]	‡3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
	†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
	†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	°2	+	3	+	6	+	30
	3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[525]	†3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	–	28	°2	+	3	+	+	·	+
	3233. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
[276]	3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	·	–
[484]	†3235. Traveling taboo ... days	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	°2	+	3	+	+	+	40
	3236. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	†°3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	–	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	°2	+	3	+	–	+	°28
[262]	†3238. Fresh fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	+	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
[268]	†3239. Dried fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	–	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
	†3240. Salt taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	5	+	–	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312]	3241. Cold water taboo	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3242. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	3243. Until child smiles first time													–	[illegible]	+	–
	3244. Eats with wife	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3245. Uses own receptacles	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
	3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
[292]	3247. Special belt worn	°(–)	+	–	–	+	–	°+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
	3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	°+	°+	+	–	–	–
	3249. Combing hair taboo	+	°+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3250. Until navel has healed	·	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3252. Bathes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	°+	–	–	–	+	°+	+	+	–
	3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
	3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3255. Gives away old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	3256. Burns old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3257. Throws away old clothes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[526]	3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	+	+								+	–	–	–	–	–
[224]	3259a. Shoots at target	–	–	+	–	°+						–	·	–	–	–	–
	3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	–	+	+	–	°+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
[625]	3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	–	–	–		°+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	·	–
	3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	–							°+	+	°+	+

*657 logging camps and mill towns. In 1930, at a time when the total
*648 enrollment of the tribe was some 1,250 persons, the predomi-
[563] nantly non-Indian population of one such reservation town,
[161] Chiloquin, and its environs was roughly 1,850, a figure which
placed it second in size in the entire county. Indian-white relationships in such communities could no longer be adequately regulated by the Agent. Moreover, improved means of communi-
• [484] cation made it possible for an Indian to travel off the reservation
at will and thus beyond the reach of Agency authority. Most
[434] important of all, income from grazing leases, claims against the
government, and land and timber sales gave him the equality of the marketplace.

*648 The maintenance of boundaries was justified in official corre-
*657 spondence of the eighties by the fate of those Indians who went
166 off the reservation. "Quite a number of the Indians," wrote
423 Emery, "obtain passes and go out to seek a living among the
whites. They usually camp in the suburbs of our little towns. With few exceptions these Indians become thriftless vagabonds. . . ."[3]

In 1884, Nickerson felt it necessary to counter the proposal of Judge W. S. Moore, of Linkville, that Sammy Andy, an Indian who had been working for Moore on pass, be allowed to locate permanently at Linkville and be released from the control of the U.S. Indian Agent.

> As there is no land that this man can secure as a homestead [he concluded], . . . [and] as I have no assurance that he has means sufficient to purchase a home suitable for his support, I do not approve of nor advise that the request be granted at present. Judge Moore has been very kind to this Indian, but should he die or move away, the Indian would be in a poor position to live, and would be subject to many serious temptations.[4]

The need for a general policy became apparent when several Modoc families who had never been on the reservation preempted homesteads in the Tule Basin. A reservation Indian, upon the advice of an attorney, likewise renounced his tribal relations and took up a homestead. "He has become deficient under his supposed citizenship," reported Nickerson, "and says he will not allow the Police to arrest him. . . . There is a white man

*539 221 All these different kinds of sacks or bags were originally made of bulrush-stalks (tule) and the táyash was made of straw.

[192] [415] 74, 11. k̲aítua nû kä'ila. The sense is incomplete. Probably sháyuakta is left out: "I do not know of any in the whole country", käíla often standing for käílatat.

[192] 74, 14. áwalues. There are several islands in the shallow waters of the vast extent of Klamath Marsh, but only *one* is meant here.

[103] 74, 15. wō'ns ílktsat. They submerge their dug-outs at several places on the beach, where they are certain to find them in the next wókash-season.

[501] [103] 74, 17. pī'la wī'hla (or píla wíllash) contains perhaps a proper name of a locality, or stands in connection with Tóilkat, "at the Rail-Pyramid"; wílhaslash means top, apex. The stations from the "Ford" to "Bird's Lookout" are passed by the tribe when they return home with the lily-seed harvest-crop. "They drop the rifle" is: they take a rest. All these localities are either on the open waters of Klamath Marsh or on Williamson River, which forms its outlet.

[484] [492] 75, 1. iwí-idsha wókash. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Williamson River is from 20 to 25 miles, and horses carrying wókash can make it in one day. The next day they return to carry another load.

[482] 75, 2. nátoks waítuapk: we will lie over one day to let our horses rest, or recover from the swellings on their backs. Nátoks stands for nát toks.

[824] 75, 5. klá-ads is probably a kind of wild prunes. See Dictionary: kēlátch.

[192] 75, 8. wídsika íwam. "Some are economical with their own berries, and prefer not to scatter them in the hands of others"; íwam, huckleberry, has become the generic term for all berries, and i-umä'mi is "*berry-season*".

[316] 75, 11. spû'klish here means the large communal sweat-house; it is used frequently for dances and kshinwálχishtat, contr. kshiû'lχishtat might stand instead of spúklishtat.

75, 11. papiä'na, vocalic dissimilation for papa-éna; derived from pán, to eat.

[193] 75, 13. atí'sh etc. "Heap ye up that hay in two stacks, which must have a lengthy, long-stretching, and not a high, cone-shaped form!" For heaping up long stacks one verb is here used, and another for making the high, round ones.

PŬ'LAM SHUMSHE-ÉLSHTAT SHASHAPKĒLÉASH.

A SKETCH OF BALL'S MARRIED LIFE.

[115]

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 593

Póluk k̲ä'liak snáwäds t'shín. Tsúi snawä'dshla Pámpiam pä'-ia lupí';
Ball he without a wife grew up. Then he married Pámpi's daughter at first;
tsúi wä'kala, tsúi tatá mántsak mbusä'lan gī. Tsúi kä'tsa, tsúi mbusä'-
and she had a babe, and then quite a while he lived with (her). Then he left (her), and lived with
alpēli pän, tsúi pän kétsa sissû'kuk tsû'ssak. Násh wä'ka sham k̲läká, nä'sh
(her) again, and again left (her) quarreling continually. One babe to them died, another
tchía; at sa sipī'tχa, tsúi nä's shnawä'dshla pän Látsam pä'-ia; wáts säwána
lived; still they separated, then one (woman) he married after (this) Látchash's daughter; horses he gave

NOTES.

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773 Portions of the same myth, though differently connected, will be found in the
192 mythic tale: K’múkamtch attempts the destruction of his son Aíshish. Both narra-
[372] tives are complementary to each other in some important details.

[484] 99, 3. shnéna. It is the custom of gamblers to build fires at every place where they stop on their road or trail. Any party of travelling Indians will do so when stopping on their way. Cf. 23, 15.

99, 3. Yámnashptchi. Several adjectives designating colors are taken from articles of dress in both dialects: tolalúptchi, green; tchχé-utchχe-ushptchi, a shade of blue; and spálptchi, light-yellow, is called after a face-paint made of a kind of clay.

[825] 99, 3. Wanákalam lû’loka. The fire of Young Silver Fox was yellow or yellowish, not only because the fur of this fox-species turns from silvery white into yellowish by the change of seasons, but also, because this animal represents in mythic stories the halo around the sun. Cf. shakatchálish in Dictionary. Wanáka always figures as the companion of the principal national deity, K’múkamtch.

99, 7. wátchpka: to stake everything in one’s possession and then lose it all; wí-uka, to win all the stakes lost by the others.

99, 10. 100, 5. Stókua or Stúknaga was, according to another of my informants, a fish of this name, and not a squirrel. The other wives of Aíshish all have names of birds.

100, 3. luélks: K’múkamtch had inherited a locality where his father was in the habit of hunting and killing the giant-eagle (p’laíwash). Thinking of this place, K’mukámtch went there with his son Aíshish, after scheming a stratagem to let him perish there. To kill the eagles, it was necessary to climb a pine-tree; this K’múkamtch was afraid of doing, and wanted to send up there his son instead.

100, 9. shnúlas toks etc. The lark had her young in the nest of an eagle.

100, 10. sûlû’tantsa. He dressed himself in Aíshish’s garments, as appears from the foregoing mythic tale.

100, 15. sas. Dave Hill often uses shash, sas in an almost reciprocal sense: while (or: for) going to gamble among themselves. This pronoun does not depend here on shnéna, as we might assume. Cf. *Note* to 58, 10. It refers to the playmates of Aíshish, who set out with K’múkamtch, whom they thought to be their beloved Aíshish on account of the dress he had abstracted from him. In 100, 14 shash was explained to me by “from them”, viz. from the wives of Aíshish, in whose lodge K’múkamtch had passed the night.

100, 18. gä’pkat for gépka at: did not come now, or: has not come yet.

101, 2. gä’tak. This adverb gives to understand, that they were loth or too tired to play any longer for stakes, because their beloved Aíshish was not present. “To cease or stop gambling” simply, would be expressed by saklóla.

101, 4. shti’a etc. Cf. *Notes* to 89, 5; 96, 6; and general *Note*, on page 86.

[193] 101, 4. shí’dsho wenépi, rather unusual forms for shí’dsha hû vunépni. Hû, “up, above, on head,” has coalesced with shí’dsha into one word.

101, 5. Klití’sam. Aíshish heard the cries of Klétish only, because of all the birds which are believed to be his wives, the long-necked sandhill crane is the loudest and noisiest.

[825] 101, 8. gatpampēlíssa for gatpámpēli sha, as tchíssa for tchí sa.

173 was born about the year 1840, and since he was a boy then, carrying only a pistol, this
*539 raid may have taken place about the year 1858. His second raid, which was under-
taken the year afterward, was made when he was nearly twenty years old. After this
726 he stayed five years in Oregon City, on the Lower Willámet River.

19, 16, and 20, 1. What is said here up to the word snawä'ds is evidently an anticipation of what follows in 20, 6. 7.

[192] 19, 16. sas tillindsa, or shash tilíndsha: shash is apposition to wéwannish, which stands here, as frequently, for wewannishash; 23, 5, we find: wewánishash.

20, 2. lápik for lápi gi: "two are, two were."

[487] 20, 9. Tiunō'leshtat. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Pit River country was estimated at three days' Indian travel; but it often took four days to reach there on horseback.

[192] 20, 10 and 11. maklakaksákси refers to the encampment and immediate surroundings of the Indian captors, the Klamath Lake men and the Modocs, who had gone with them.

[487] 20, 13. guhuáshktcha. They seem to have returned home over the same trail which they had followed in going south. They passed between Little Klamath and Rhett Lake, which latter is also called Tule and Modoc Lake.

[193] 20, 17. tsúi gé-u, etc. This sentence has to be construed as follows: tsúi gúikaka hú'k lû'gs spunísh gé-u: "hereupon that slave, transferred by me, ran away."

21, 2 and 3. Bóshtin tpä-ók. This man was an American settler on Lost River, [648] who, with other settlers, had previously attacked one of the Pit River tribes, in punishment for depredations committed. In the fight which took place, some whites were killed by the Pit Rivers, and this prompted the abovementioned settler to slaughter an ox for the Lake men, in order to raise their spirits for deadly revenge on the common enemy. The beef was slaughtered and eaten at his farm.

21, 5. Tsúi nat, etc. This incident was explained to me by Dave Hill, as follows: The famous Captain George was at that time war-chief both of the Klamaths and the Modocs. He had ordered Kiukamtch, the head-man of the Nushaltkága=Modocs, to join the expedition against the Pit Rivers. His refusal to go prompted Dave Hill and others to deprive him of his elk-skin cuirasses; but finally, to secure success to the expedition, the parfleshes were returned to their owners.

[193] 21, 7. Húmasht nat. A verb like gi or shúta has to be supplied.

21, 12. séllaluish, translated here by "war-expedition", still retains its verbal nature; for it is connected with two temporal *adverbs:* lupí' and hûnk. More circumstantially the sentence can be rendered: "we rode far beyond the terminal point of our previous raiding campaign."

[193] 21, 18. léwak, a verb composed of two particles. Gétak and kánktak, formed almost in the same manner, are also used as verbs. Below, léwak is separated into its two components by a pronoun: lä nät wák ka-á; lä' nät wák galdsawiá-a.

21, 19. wéwanani. The terminal -ni turns the wéwanuish into a kind of adjectival phrase. See the peculiar use made of this ending in the Dictionary and in the Grammar.

22, 8. hátaktk. The final k is the verb gi, ki, "said"; tchín hátaktk is: tchí nû hátakt gi.

[302] 22, 21. shatchlχámia is one of the various modes of painting face and body in use among the western Indians. White paint was put on in this manner (see Dictionary) only when the Indians were on the war-path. From the same verbal base is derived

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more than an exercise in resourcefulness and industry: they provided experience and allies in evading what must have seemed a senseless legal prohibition. 698* 177 313 439

EMPLOYMENT

Other employment supplied the Indians with cash to purchase items for which they were acquiring a taste. At the Agency, Lindsay Applegate took the lead by hiring laborers for rations of shorts (flour),[39] and from that time on Indians filled a variety of subordinate offices, on the farm and roads, as interpreters, police, artisans and, later, in the schools. 657* 177 464 465

Early in the history of the reservation, they began to work off the reservation for outside parties, John Meacham, following the directions of his brother, the superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon, stipulated that the Klamath were to work four days on the reservation roads before expecting a pass to leave the reservation.[40] By 1877, Dyar was reporting that "the Indians make rails, chop wood off the reservation for citizens, some thirty or forty having been thus engaged."[41] They were soon drawn into haying and other harvest activities.

Among those who befriended them was "Sikes Worden, Post Trader at the Post, who kindly refuses to employ any but Indians for work which they can do. He will thus reimburse the Indian wood choppers, hay makers, etc. from a thousand to twelve hundred dollars per year."[42] According to figures given elsewhere, a woodcutter might receive $45.00 to $60.00 for thirty to forty cords of wood, while summer haying and harvest work might bring between $50.00 and $200.00 apiece.[43] By 1888, fully one hundred Indians were working as summer farmhands.[44]

FREIGHTING

Freighting was another major enterprise for the Indians. When Huntington had brought the first annuity goods down from The Dalles in the fall of 1867, young O. C. Applegate had led his "ax and rifle company," whose number included seven chiefs, to meet it.[45] Several years later, when they had accumulated money from odd work, the Klamath made their way down to Jacksonville and Ashland, some one hundred miles distant, and bought flour at a little over one-third the price it would cost at 657* 177 489 • [439]

*657 the Agency, packing it home on ponies. Some brought back as
177 much as two thousand to three thousand pounds.[46]

• 489 This feat convinced Dyar of the practicability of hiring the In-
[439] dians to pack the annuity wheat from the Rogue River Valley for grinding into flour at the Agency grist mill.[47] In 1875, accompanied by two employees, they transported 100,000 pounds of flour from Ashland at a considerable saving "beside the experience acquired . . . and the confidence given them in their ability to accomplish what they undertake.[48] Under Dyar's urging and their own needs they requested that their annuities be changed from the " 'little things' (tenas ictas) as they term the blankets, clothing, etc. which they have heretofore recd." to mules and cattle. "The mule," observed Dyar, "is particularly adapted to the ways and use of the Indians in their efforts at farming, teaming, etc. . . ."[49] Two years later, encouraged by such instances, the Bureau instituted the general policy of employing Indians to haul Agency supplies.[50]

By 1881, the autumn trip to buy supplies in the Rogue River Valley drew the heads of some one hundred fifty families with an average of forty dollars each to spend.[51] In his report for the following year, Nickerson quoted a notice from the *Ashland Tidings* of October 27, 1882:

> *Indian traders*—About forty wagons, almost every one drawn by four horses, were brought to town by Indians from the Klamath Reservation after flour and other provisions last Tuesday. They filled the streets completely, and made a lively scene, until they moved on to their camping ground near the Eagle Mills. Nearly all the Indians had good harness and wagons, and dressed well. They are improving every year.[52]

With the acquisition of wagons and harness, the Indians began to take freighting jobs for the military at Fort Klamath and private parties at the growing town of Linkville. Twenty teams
[434] freighting during the month of August, 1889, earned approximately fifty dollars apiece.[53] The total income from this source five years before had been $5,500.[54]

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OTHER VENTURES

Indians now set their hands to other, lesser pursuits. In 1873, Dyar reported that "A few with no help but instructions from

*657 Agents shows that they consistently tended to undervalue the
177 contribution made by native foods to the Klamath economy. From
178 the first statistical entry in 1882, when they are estimated to
262 contribute forty per cent of the food supply, native foods steadily decline in the records, leveling off from 1888 to 1893 at approximately twenty per cent, and, after a spirited fluctuation from then to 1901, rising slowly to ten per cent in 1904. That dependency upon these foods declined from total to partial reliance is admissible. O. C. Applegate, while Superintendent, reported that by the turn of the century some of the food resources had begun to dwindle under intensive use. He found the fish less abundant than in the halcyon days of the first Agent, and observed that both water fowl and prairie chickens had been overhunted.[71]

While conceding the decline, a critic may well find fault with the bland assessment of Elisha Applegate a decade earlier (1891) that native food quests were then "indulged in more as incidents and to add variety of life than as occupations to be seriously depended upon."[72] The year after Applegate made his report, one graduate of the Indian school, upon returning home, saw things in a different light. "Whenever I got job, I pitched hay. I did fishing and hunting, and I had plenty to eat all the time . . . lots of deer meat, and I used to pick wokas too."[73] If this was an indulgence, it was in sheer survival.

The sources of error are not hard to find. Administrators could form only the most general opinion of the contributions made by native foods, and must have tended to judge from the examples provided by Indian employees immediately at hand and from the more acculturated Indians. Moreover, their reports were in part designed to illustrate the progress which their charges had made away from their former customs. Accordingly, they understated the degree to which native economic activities conditioned the acceptance of new modes of earning a livelihood and supplemented those which had been taken up.

*657 Consider, by way of example, the pursuits which in the 1880's
177 could be combined according to taste, need, and season.

178 Lumbering and logging were winter and spring enterprises,
221 with intermittent logging taking place in the fall. Labor for the
433 contractor at the Fort and for settlers ran from spring through
[313]
[464]
[489]

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fall; while freighting, limited by road conditions, had the same 178
range of seasons. 221

For the farmer, splitting rails and fencing started in the winter 433
and ranged toward spring, as did the clearing of ground. Plow- [464]
ing and sowing of grain might start in March, while vegetable [489] •
gardens were not planted before May or June. Harvesting and [241]
haying took place in late summer and threshing in the fall.

The stockman rounded up and branded his cattle at first in the [231]
fall and later in the spring. He sold his beef in the fall, then drove his herd to winter in the upper valley of the Sprague.

Those who relied upon aboriginal foods fished in the late winter and early spring, dug roots or hunted antelope and mule deer in late spring, gathered wokas, wild fruits and berries in the fall, hunted in the Cascades in the fall, and trapped for furs
in the winter. 657*

Beyond this lay the domestic cycle. Homes were built or re- 221
paired in the spring and fall, supplies were bought in the fall, 342
and fuel was gathered in the fall and winter. 356

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This summary, bald as it is, will illustrate the fact that many
more ventures were now open to the enterprising, as well as a 657*
wider range of relationships. It was possible to draw from 433
several cycles activities that were seasonally compatible. Thus, 464
when the harvests were in, fully one-half to two-thirds of the 177
men might leave the reservation on passes to work for whites, 178
taking their families with them.[74] Frequent crop failures drove many to seek outside employment to provide for the coming winter. Because new tastes had given rise to new needs, many at this time forsook those traditional pursuits that conflicted with more lucrative employment. Nor did money alone lie at the root of those preferences. Work for white settlers and freighting provided variety and seasonal mobility, opportunities to meet people, to change scenery, and to escape on occasion beyond the rule (however benevolent in intent) of the Agent.

The new opportunities were open primarily to men, consonant 657*
with the roles of the sexes in nineteenth-century rural America. 433
For them the new system, aside from a certain administrative 177
favoritism, provided an equal chance for advancement. It is no 178
accident that a number of the earliest employees of the Agency [567]
were Pit River Indians, of whom it was later said: ". . . as a

*648 *657 Pacific Coast, tribal members lived in urban centers as well: in the cities of the Willamette Valley, in Portland, where about a hundred dwelled, in Seattle to the north and Sacramento and San Francisco to the south. Beyond this area and eastward to the Atlantic Coast the number dropped sharply, although there were tribal members as far distant as Massachusetts. Only a handful of the absentee members lived on other reservations.[3]
[619] Tribal families residing in the same city demonstrated little tendency to form a compact ethnic enclave.

*648 *657 • 489 [491] Within the reservation, tribal members in the Lower End communities of Chiloquin, Modoc Point, and Klamath Agency were almost half again as numerous as those in the Upper End towns of Sprague River and Beatty.[4] (See map of Klamath Indian Reservation.) Travel between the Lower End and Klamath Falls, the largest city in the county and its administrative seat, was relatively easy by comparison with the Upper End, and the advantage remained even after a market road was constructed linking the latter directly with the county seat. As a result, Beatty and Sprague River long had closer ties with such towns on the eastern periphery as Bly, Bonanza, and Lakeview, far smaller communities than Klamath Falls, and correspondingly less complex from an institutional standpoint.

*648 *657 16 During the first years of the termination program, between the publication of the provisional and final rolls of the Tribe, the change of address of tribal members reflected the migration currents. Within the reservation, movement ran from smaller to larger communities. Between the reservation and the outer world, the records show almost three times as many Klamath departing as returning. Those leaving the reservation were drawn to cities, rather than the rural countryside or the smaller towns. Although the rate of movement had accelerated in those days, the trends hold true for the entire postallotment period.

A survey of the motives which at an earlier time had brought Klamath to Chiloquin and to Klamath Falls shows that consumer values ranked high. A few had come to seek jobs, particularly to the county seat, for the narrow range of opportunities on the reservation offered little choice. Others left the reservation to escape what they regarded as the stultification of reservation life or the demands upon the ambitious made by the claims of kins-

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
857. Cook house used as menstrual hut	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	343 841
MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT																	
Water Transport																	
Boats and Ferriage																	
858. Dugout canoe	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•o	-	+	+	+	+	•o	•o	-	-	501
859. Sharp prow and stern	-	-	-	+	•+	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
860. Shovel prow and stern	+	+	+	-	-	+	o	-	+	+	+	+	o	o	-	-	
861. Carved gunwale, turned in	-	-	-	+	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
862. Ends rounded	-	-	-	+	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
863. Carved in seat	-	-	-	+	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
864. Carved in footbraces	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
865. Manufactured	+	+	-	+	+	+	o	-	+	+	+	+	o	o	-	-	
866. Hollowed by burning	+	+	-	+	+	•+	o	-	+	+	+	+	o	o	-	-	
867. Commonly and frequently used	+	+	-	-	(+)	+	o	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
868. Log raft	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	o	+	+	
869. Used to transport goods only	-	-	-						+	+	-	-	+	o	-	-	
870. Tule balsa	-	-	+	-	•+	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
871. Raised prow	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
o872. Length in feet	-	-	15	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
o873. Maximum number of passengers	-	-	2	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
874. Bundles lashed together	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
875. Towed by rope	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
876. Propelled with paddle	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
877. Tule raft	+	•+	-	•+	-	[illegible]	•+	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
o878. Length in feet	-	10	-	•8	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
$879. Maximum number of passengers	5	.	-	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
880. Bundles lashed together	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
881. Bundles pinned together	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
882. Towed by rope	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
883. Poled	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
884. Paddled with hands	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
885. Single-bladed paddle	•+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
886. Blade end convex	+	+	.	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
887. Blade end squared	-	-	.	-	+	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
888. Blade end pointed	+	+	.	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
$889. Length in feet	4	4	5	-	3	•5	-	-	5	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
890. Poling rod	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	o	o	-	-	
891. Plain or pointed end	-	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	o	o	-	-	
892. Split base	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
893. Basket bailer	•+	•+	-	+	+	•-	-	-	+	+	.	-	o	o	-	-	
894. Grooved stone anchor	-	•-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	o	o	-	-	[465]
895. Boatman must ferry traveler free of charge	+	•+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	.	o	o	-	-	
896. Ferriage in baskets	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	o	+	-	
897. Children	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	o	+	-	[855]
898. Goods	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	o	+	-	
899. Ferriage by swimmers	+	+	+							+	+	+	+	o	+	+	481
900. Children ferried on swimmer's back	.	+	-							+	+	+	+	o	+	-	482
901. Swimmer lies on tule float; children cling to float	+	+	+								-	-	-	o	-	-	
902. Swimmer holds goods above water in 1 hand, swims with other	+	+	-					+		+	+	-	+	o	+	+	491
903. Bridges	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	o	o	+	+	
904. Single-log bridge	-	•+	+	-	+	•-	-	+	-	-	+	-	o	o	+	+	
905. 2 poles tied together	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	
906. Several poles, spliced at end	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	o	o	-	-	

*648 *657 Pacific Coast, tribal members lived in urban centers as well: in the cities of the Willamette Valley, in Portland, where about a hundred dwelled, in Seattle to the north and Sacramento and San Francisco to the south. Beyond this area and eastward to the Atlantic Coast the number dropped sharply, although there were tribal members as far distant as Massachusetts. Only a handful of the absentee members lived on other reservations.[3] [619] Tribal families residing in the same city demonstrated little tendency to form a compact ethnic enclave.

*648 *657 Within the reservation, tribal members in the Lower End communities of Chiloquin, Modoc Point, and Klamath Agency 489 were almost half again as numerous as those in the Upper End [491] towns of Sprague River and Beatty.[4] (See map of Klamath Indian Reservation.) Travel between the Lower End and Klamath Falls, the largest city in the county and its administrative seat, was relatively easy by comparison with the Upper End, and the advantage remained even after a market road was constructed linking the latter directly with the county seat. As a result, Beatty and Sprague River long had closer ties with such towns on the eastern periphery as Bly, Bonanza, and Lakeview, far smaller communities than Klamath Falls, and correspondingly less complex from an institutional standpoint.

*648 *657 16 During the first years of the termination program, between the publication of the provisional and final rolls of the Tribe, the change of address of tribal members reflected the migration currents. Within the reservation, movement ran from smaller to larger communities. Between the reservation and the outer world, the records show almost three times as many Klamath departing as returning. Those leaving the reservation were drawn to cities, rather than the rural countryside or the smaller towns. Although the rate of movement had accelerated in those days, the trends hold true for the entire postallotment period.

A survey of the motives which at an earlier time had brought Klamath to Chiloquin and to Klamath Falls shows that consumer values ranked high. A few had come to seek jobs, particularly to the county seat, for the narrow range of opportunities on the reservation offered little choice. Others left the reservation to escape what they regarded as the stultification of reservation life or the demands upon the ambitious made by the claims of kins-

BY ALL INFORMANTS

251 Storage of food.--Outdoor granaries on ground; on bedrock or multistone foundations; on platform.

Ownership of Productive Areas

423 Owner liable for injury of renter. Pens on communal weir privately owned. Seed tracts claimed for single season only. Private boundaries marked. "Tribal" boundaries marked.

Division of Labor

462 Formalized myth accounting for division of labor (cf. Voegelin, Tübatulabal). AW state division of labor according to "Coyote's law," but lack any detailed myth.

HOUSES AND SHELTER

Assembly and Living Houses

342 Entrances; uses and ownership; furnishings.--
Entrance round, carved in plank. Partitions between families. House names. Windbreak before house. Flat plank for foot drum. Leader of hunters nominal owner. All men regularly sleep
in sweat house. Fireplace and heating.--Fuel-
372 gathering ritual; fuel from top of tree; pair of limbs left on top.

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

501 Boats and ferriage.--Dugout canoe, ends peaked;
carved-in "heart"; detachable prow ornament.
Launching ceremony. Sails. Single-bladed paddle
with crutch handle; compound paddle; blade end of
505 paddle concave. Ferriage by person in basket
pulling across on rope (At: ascribe this to N
Yana of Round Mountain).

Land Transport

482 Carrying devices.--Hammock-type carrying net.
Painted decoration on folded hide bag. Cord and
stick Mohave-type back frame. Snowshoe-type
492 carrying frame. Coolie yoke. Dog packing.

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

411 Bows and arrows.--Horn bow (AW: mentioned in myth, made by Butterfly). Laurel-leaf arrowheads. Arrows with 2 or more points. Arrow shaft of solid wood, split from log. Arrows with

[P. 144-B]

142
291
264

Klamath lunching after fishing in the Sprague River. (From Hincks, 1915.)

291
• 492

Ranchers on the Upper End in the 1920's. In the foreground stand Jesse Lee Kirk and Sam Watah, late Paiute shaman.

*539 221 192 All these different kinds of sacks or bags were originally made of bulrush-stalks (tule) and the táyash was made of straw.

415 74, 11. k̲aítua nû kä'ila. The sense is incomplete. Probably sháyuakta is left out: "I do not know of any in the whole country", käíla often standing for käílatat.

192 74, 14. áwalues. There are several islands in the shallow waters of the vast extent of Klamath Marsh, but only *one* is meant here.

103 74, 15. wô'ns ílktsat. They submerge their dug-outs at several places on the beach, where they are certain to find them in the next wókash-season.

506 103 74, 17. pí'la wí'hla (or píla wíllash) contains perhaps a proper name of a locality, or stands in connection with Tóilkat, "at the Rail-Pyramid"; wílhaslash means top, apex. The stations from the "Ford" to "Bird's Lookout" are passed by the tribe when they return home with the lily-seed harvest-crop. "They drop the rifle" is: they take a rest. All these localities are either on the open waters of Klamath Marsh or on Williamson River, which forms its outlet.

484 492 75, 1. iwí-idsha wókash. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Williamson River is from 20 to 25 miles, and horses carrying wókash can make it in one day. The next day they return to carry another load.

482 75, 2. nátoks waítuapk: we will lie over one day to let our horses rest, or recover from the swellings on their backs. Nátoks stands for nát toks.

824 75, 5. klá-ads is probably a kind of wild prunes. See Dictionary: kĕlátch.

192 75, 8. wídsika íwam. "Some are economical with their own berries, and prefer not to scatter them in the hands of others"; íwam, huckleberry, has become the generic term for all berries, and i-umä'mi is "*berry-season*".

316 75, 11. spû'klish here means the large communal sweat-house; it is used frequently for dances and kshiuwálχishtat, contr. kshiû'lχishtat might stand instead of spúklishtat.

75, 11. papiä'na, vocalic dissimilation for papa-éna; derived from pán, to eat.

193 75, 13. atí'sh etc. "Heap ye up that hay in two stacks, which must have a lengthy, long-stretching, and not a high, cone-shaped form!" For heaping up long stacks one verb is here used, and another for making the high, round ones.

PŪ'LAM SHUMSHE-ÉLSHTAT SHASHAPKĔLÉASH.

A SKETCH OF BALL'S MARRIED LIFE.

115

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 593 Póluk k̲ä'liak snáwäds t'shín. Tsúi snawä'dshla Pámpiam pä'-ia lupí';
Ball he without a wife grew up. Then he married Pámpi's daughter at first;
tsúi wä'kala, tsúi tatá mántsak mbusä'lan gí. Tsúi kä'tsa, tsúi mbusä'-
and she had a babe, and then quite a while he lived with (her). Then he left (her), and lived with
alpēli pän, tsúi pän kétsa sissû'kuk tsû'ssak. Násh wä'ka sham k̲läká, nä'sh
(her) again, and again left (her) quarrelling continually. One babe to them died, another
tchía; at sa sipí'tχa, tsúi nä's shnawä'dshla pän Látsam pä'-ia; wáts säwána
lived; still they separated, then one (woman) he married after (this) Látchash's daughter; horses he gave

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
Swimming																
481 907. Pseudo breast stroke, arms and legs together	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	o	.	+
908. Side stroke	−	−	−	−	−		+	•+	−	+	+	+	•+	o	.	.
909. Dog fashion, arms under water	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	•+	o	.	+
910. Double overhand, arms moving alternately	−	+	.	•+	−	+	−	•+	−	−	+	−	(+)	o	.	.
911. On back, frog stroke	.	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	o	+	+
912. Under water	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+
913. Jump in water, feet first	−	−						•+	•+	•+	+	−	−	o	−	+
914. Diving, head first	+	+	+					+	+	+	−	+	+	o	+	+
Land Transport																
Carrying Devices																
482 915. Pack strap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
916. Plain, of hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	−
917. Woven or braided pack strap	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	+
918. Of 2-ply materials	+	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	+
919. Ends braided, narrower than rest	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	+
920. Made from vegetable fiber	+	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	+
921. Pack strap of twisted rope	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
922. Root or bark headband for packing	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
923. Basketry hat for packing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
924. Net carrying bag or "sack"	−	•+	−	•−	•+	•+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
925. Small mesh	−	+	−	−	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	−
926. Approximately trapezoidal in shape	−	+	−	−	•+	+	(+)	+	•−	•−	+	.	−	−	.	−
927. Cased hide bag (exclusive of quivers)	−	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
415 928. Folded hide bag	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	•+
482 929. Buckskin	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
930. Rawhide	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+•	+	−	−
931. Sewn at edges	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
932. Tied at corners	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
933. Pinned together with stick	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
934. Opens at side	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	(+)	−	−	−	−
935. Opens at top		+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−		+	+	−	−
936. Load rolled up in mat	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
937. Load rolled in hide	−		−					+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
938. Back carrier of hide on frame	−	−	−	•(+)	−	•+	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
939. Conical hide container used for back packing	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
940. Pack basket (details under Basketry)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
941. Baby cradles (details under Basketry)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482 942. Litter	.	+	+	+	.	+	R	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+
943. Net or thongs bound to pole framework	.	+	+	+	−	+	R	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
944. Large skin used as litter													+	+		.
[493] 945. Sled	•+	•+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	o
Methods of Packing																
946. Pack strap spreads over top of head	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
947. Pack strap spreads over forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
948. Pack strap spreads across chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
949. Women only use strap on head, forehead	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
950. Men, women use strap on head, forehead	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
951. Men only use strap across chest	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
952. Men, women use strap across chest	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	+
[758] 953. Sick carried on litter	.	+	+	+	−	•+	R	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
954. Double, load between 2 or 4	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
955. Sick packed on back	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

000 AE: Used for packing dried meat; ču'wi. MF, NF, NM, MV: Rectangular strip of rawhide, folded long way, edges sewn together at both ends, top left open; buckskin thong attached for handle (?).

929. AW: Use tanned hide, but with hair left on; holes cut in flaps in order to lace bag together.

938. SW: Affirmed, but could not describe. AW: If person not too sick, or only 1 carrier available, make large frame resembling baby cradle; buckskin attached to frame, and person packed on back, "as one packs baby." WM, WS: Circular willow frame, with 3-4 parallel willow bars lashed across it. Salmon laid at right angles to these bars, with heads and tails tied to circular frame; whole carried flat against person's back, with aid of pack strap.

939. Mo: For fine seeds. Informant's mother, grandmother had used this type container. SE: Shape similar to pack basket; made on wooden hoop, of hide from which hair has been removed; atsori. "Can pack anything in it, from child to fine seeds." Mo, SW: Used principally for transporting small seeds.

4 82 943. Consists of 2 parallel poles, with net or thongs stretched between; borne by 2 or 4 men, using pack straps.

944. Outstretched skin borne by 4 men, 2 in front, 2 behind.

● 473 945. Kl: Bundle of willows (see Spier, Klamath, p. 171). Mo: Length variable, according to load; dragged by men or women, with rope. SW: Deer dragged home whole over snow, in winter; no sled.

000 Methods of packing.--

952. MF: For small loads only.

953. AW: Used chiefly for transporting sick.

[4 82] 958. Kl: In flat-bottomed basket; occasionally.
[4 15] Mo: Occasionally only. SW: Ascribed to Karuk. MV: Perhaps recently acquired habit, learned from Mexican fruit pickers? Colusa Indians (Patwin), in heart of fruit-picking district, characterized as "great to carry loads thus."

962. At, AW: Long, heavy pieces of wood.

963. MM, MF: Corpse, in flexed position for burial. NS: Deer.

964. SW: Ascribed to Karuk. At: "Some carry water thus." AW: Children, carrying small baskets of water. WS: Baskets of water carried thus; such also carried inside pack basket, on back. MV: Not only liquids; anything heavy.

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

Bows.--

965. AE: Generally used; made of white juniper. "Some men try to put sinew backing on these bows, but sinew always peels off." See note 969.

[531] 966. Unpainted, all groups.

967. Mo: Mountain mahogany used for bow. SW:

[190-B]

*648 members, but others refused to do so, taking the position that
*657 merchants were encouraging extravagance in their Indian customers.
434 Tribal members, on the other hand, learned to connive
[452] with Agency employees to evade restrictive regulations, citing spurious but legitimate needs in order to secure cash releases, with the zeal of other Americans in search of income tax loopholes. The money thus secured was often applied to outstanding debts as well as to fresh expenditures.

*648 The payment of per capitas in two large, semiannual installments,
*657 rather than in smaller and more frequent disbursements,
511 was an incentive to squandering. Of a sample of tribal members on the reservation from whom data are available, over one-half were deemed poor in money management or were so deficient that their funds had been programmed.[14]

*648 There were special areas of extravagance. Upon the open
*657 reservation the automobile had replaced the horse, both as a
511 means of transportation and as an extremely personal symbol of
• 493 wealth. Low down payments furnished an inducement to buy;
452 but among the improvident automobiles were often loaned to
[556] friends and relatives who might then prove irresponsible. Upon
[426] rough reservation roads, automobiles often did not survive to see the last installment payment. As a consequence, it had proved difficult for any tribal member to secure automobile insurance.

Observed Superintendent Fred A. Baker in 1924:

> If I were called upon to name one thing which has tended more than anything else to the squandering of the funds of the Klamath Indians I should mention the purchase of expensive automobiles. The first step was the issuance of a patent in fee for the sale of inherited lands. The second, the turning over of the funds to the Indian. The third step, the purchase of a high priced automobile, with the subsequent necessity of its upkeep and maintenance. The effect upon the life of the Indian has been demoralizing in that it invites him to take long and expensive trips and to absent himself from his home to the neglect of his farming operations and the building up and improvement of his allotment.[15]

*648 Items such as automobiles which the Klamath purchased
*657 were often esteemed by whites as status symbols; and many of
511
493 them resented the circumstances that the Klamath not only

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

acquired those symbols largely without the toil which tended to 648*
legitimize them, but used them so casually that they stripped 657*
them of worth. As with their playing with sportsmanship values 511
in their hunting and fishing, many Klamath seemed aware of 493
this resentment, and for them purchase represented in part an
act of defiance.

In summary, then, during the latter days of the reservation 648*
the Klamath were an economic minority upon their own reser- 657*
vation as well as in the cities and towns beyond its boundaries. 434
If they were restricted in the disposal of their property, they
nonetheless were assured a periodic flow of income and enjoyed
special immunities and rights. As they often expressed it, they
had already achieved that retirement from economic endeavor
toward which less-fortunate fellow citizens usually had to devote
a lifetime. It was a very special economic niche, and one which
carried grave disadvantages, not only as a preparation for a
career in the outside world, but even for articulation within
the reservation communities.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

*657 177 489 [439] the Agency, packing it home on ponies. Some brought back as much as two thousand to three thousand pounds.[46]

This feat convinced Dyar of the practicability of hiring the Indians to pack the annuity wheat from the Rogue River Valley for grinding into flour at the Agency grist mill.[47] In 1875, accompanied by two employees, they transported 100,000 pounds of flour from Ashland at a considerable saving "beside the experience acquired . . . and the confidence given them in their ability to accomplish what they undertake.[48] Under Dyar's urging and their own needs they requested that their annuities be changed from the "'little things' (tenas ictas) as they term the blankets, clothing, etc. which they have heretofore recd." to mules and cattle. "The mule," observed Dyar, "is particularly adapted to the ways and use of the Indians in their efforts at farming, teaming, etc. . . ."[49] Two years later, encouraged by such instances, the Bureau instituted the general policy of employing Indians to haul Agency supplies.[50]

By 1881, the autumn trip to buy supplies in the Rogue River Valley drew the heads of some one hundred fifty families with an average of forty dollars each to spend.[51] In his report for the following year, Nickerson quoted a notice from the *Ashland Tidings* of October 27, 1882:

> *Indian traders*—About forty wagons, almost every one drawn by four horses, were brought to town by Indians from the Klamath Reservation after flour and other provisions last Tuesday. They filled the streets completely, and made a lively scene, until they moved on to their camping ground near the Eagle Mills. Nearly all the Indians had good harness and wagons, and dressed well. They are improving every year.[52]

With the acquisition of wagons and harness, the Indians began to take freighting jobs for the military at Fort Klamath and private parties at the growing town of Linkville. Twenty teams [434] freighting during the month of August, 1889, earned approximately fifty dollars apiece.[53] The total income from this source five years before had been $5,500.[54]

Other Ventures

*657 177 434 499 494 Indians now set their hands to other, lesser pursuits. In 1873, Dyar reported that "A few with no help but instructions from

employees built a substantial bridge about 100 yards in length 657*
across the Williamson River, on which they propose to collect 177
toll. This will support several families."[55] Nothing more is heard 434
of the venture and subsequent work on bridges and roads took on [499]
a public character. A few women occasionally sold baskets and [494]
berries, and older Indians, generally women, were sometimes [462]
issued cinch rings and wove cinches as a means of support.[56]

Fur trapping provided an early source of income for some 657*
men.[57] At first, beaver, marten, and otter were especially sought, 177
and the available catch soon became depleted. By 1882, the 434
Klamath were turning to panther, bear, wolf, and coyote, preda- 224
tors which Nickerson claimed discouraged them from raising
sheep. "The Indians," he reported, "now hunt them for their
fur and receive quite an income from hunting and killing them."[58]
Carried on over the late fall and winter months, the fur trade
realized a total of $300.00 for those who followed it.[59] By 1891,
however, the revenue from trapping was on the decline.[60]

NATIVE FOODS

In the original designs of the government, farming and other 657*
"civilized" enterprises were supposed to supplant such ab- 648*
original pursuits as fishing, hunting, and gathering. From the 433
Agent's viewpoint, the retention of native subsistence methods
presented two major disadvantages. Not only did the traditional
occupations coincide in season with farming, but they drew the
Indians from under the direct surveillance of the Agency, and
even off the reservation. The issuance of rations, though designed
to provide a substitute during the transitional period, was restricted as much as possible, in order to allow more funds for
other purposes.

It is clear from the graphic descriptions of the early Agents 657*
that they were well aware of the Indians' strong reliance upon 648*
native foods. The fish in Lost River, observed Dyar, ran from 433
two to four weeks earlier than in the streams within the reserve. 226
By late winter even the supplies of rations had been exhausted,
and the Klamath eagerly awaited the news from the south. "If
the Indians are not allowed to go to Lost River in the Spring,"
O. C. Applegate had pointed out, "then they will have to be
subsisted during the month of March."[61] The Lost River fishery 657*
178
226

648*

office, I will have to insist upon having the leases drawn through 657*
this office."[11] Even marriage had to be restricted at first in order 427
that proper records be maintained. Thus Marshall Petet rejected 648*
the request of an off-reservation preacher to marry a couple 657*
with the statement that "it is the custom for the Indians to either 585
be married by Mr. Starnes, the Methodist preacher, or myself."
He added, "Indians marrying off of the Reservation, and where
no notice of the same ever reaches this office, has given rise to
much trouble, and I therefore require that they be married
here."[12] With time, such controls had to be relinquished.

Meanwhile, such a man as O. C. Applegate, with his broad 648*
acquaintanceship in Klamath Falls and his long familiarity with 657*
the Indians, took upon himself the role of patron and middle- 426
man. For several women who wished to employ an Indian house- [464]
keeper or cook he was indefatigable in his efforts. He gave
advice on the credit ratings of various Indians to numerous merchants in Klamath Falls. Occasionally he loaned money to those he deemed good risks, or advanced out of pocket cash to pay a debt long outstanding. Usually, however, he merely paraphrased the words of Emery that "Jim Smith has a contract to cut wood" and therefore can be trusted for an advance of $50.00 worth of merchandise. He might observe that "Judge Joseph Kirk is a good square man, and I wish you might make him an exception in his case." On a few occasions he sought to have Henry Jackson agree to underwrite a credit for another Indian.

Other men undertook to extend credit on a smaller scale. Daniel Cronemiller, who long before (1883) had advanced credit to Indians, cosigned at least two notes with Indians: one with Jesse Kirk and another with Henry Wilson. About the turn of the century, the former Agent, Leroy S. Dyar, estimated that through the years he had loaned approximately six hundred dollars to Indians.

The Agent's power, however, was an important condition of 648*
his patronage. The assignment of freight loads from the railroads 657*
at Ager and Pokegama, California, was rotated among available 464
Indian teamsters, but the administrator made sure that the de- 494 •
serving received more frequent assignments. Thus, Emery could
request a merchant to let Stonewall Jackson have the merchan-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 dise he required, adding "I will see that he gets a load of freight
* 657 to haul, and when he has hauled the same, you will be reimbursed
464 therefore."[11]

• 494 Within the context of allotment, controls were soon to prove inadequate.

*657 the Agency, packing it home on ponies. Some brought back as
177 much as two thousand to three thousand pounds.[46]

489 [439] This feat convinced Dyar of the practicability of hiring the Indians to pack the annuity wheat from the Rogue River Valley for grinding into flour at the Agency grist mill.[47] In 1875, accompanied by two employees, they transported 100,000 pounds of flour from Ashland at a considerable saving "beside the experience acquired . . . and the confidence given them in their ability to accomplish what they undertake.[48] Under Dyar's urging and their own needs they requested that their annuities be changed from the " 'little things' (tenas ictas) as they term the blankets, clothing, etc. which they have heretofore recd." to mules and cattle. "The mule," observed Dyar, "is particularly adapted to the ways and use of the Indians in their efforts at farming, teaming, etc. . . ."[49] Two years later, encouraged by such instances, the Bureau instituted the general policy of employing Indians to haul Agency supplies.[50]

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OTHER VENTURES

*657
177
434
• 499
494

Indians now set their hands to other, lesser pursuits. In 1873, Dyar reported that "A few with no help but instructions from

employees built a substantial bridge about 100 yards in length 657*
across the Williamson River, on which they propose to collect 177
toll. This will support several families."[55] Nothing more is heard 434
of the venture and subsequent work on bridges and roads took on [499]
a public character. A few women occasionally sold baskets and [494]
berries, and older Indians, generally women, were sometimes [462]
issued cinch rings and wove cinches as a means of support.[56]

Fur trapping provided an early source of income for some 657*
men.[57] At first, beaver, marten, and otter were especially sought, 177
and the available catch soon became depleted. By 1882, the 434
Klamath were turning to panther, bear, wolf, and coyote, preda- 224
tors which Nickerson claimed discouraged them from raising
sheep. "The Indians," he reported, "now hunt them for their
fur and receive quite an income from hunting and killing them."[58]
Carried on over the late fall and winter months, the fur trade
realized a total of $300.00 for those who followed it.[59] By 1891,
however, the revenue from trapping was on the decline.[60]

NATIVE FOODS

In the original designs of the government, farming and other 657*
"civilized" enterprises were supposed to supplant such ab- 648*
original pursuits as fishing, hunting, and gathering. From the 433
Agent's viewpoint, the retention of native subsistence methods
presented two major disadvantages. Not only did the traditional
occupations coincide in season with farming, but they drew the
Indians from under the direct surveillance of the Agency, and
even off the reservation. The issuance of rations, though designed
to provide a substitute during the transitional period, was re-
stricted as much as possible, in order to allow more funds for
other purposes.

It is clear from the graphic descriptions of the early Agents 657*
that they were well aware of the Indians' strong reliance upon 648*
native foods. The fish in Lost River, observed Dyar, ran from 433
two to four weeks earlier than in the streams within the reserve. 226
By late winter even the supplies of rations had been exhausted,
and the Klamath eagerly awaited the news from the south. "If
the Indians are not allowed to go to Lost River in the Spring,"
O. C. Applegate had pointed out, "then they will have to be
subsisted during the month of March."[61] The Lost River fishery 657*
178
226

through the rock, had only a narrow way between them to allow 103
passage along the shore. On a point of rocks on the hill above stands 131
a cremation pile. A hillock west of the bay is called lalau'ḳ!ōt, flat, 361
for the many flat rocks on top. The opposite point of the river mouth
also has a settlement, called tc!a'tc!ōmsi, for some unidentified bird.

57, wĕḳă'ēls, fallen tree, is a settlement of moderate size on the shore a mile west of the river mouth, now intersected by the road.

58, wut!ana'kōḳs, a low gap, and 59, iup!a'tōna, end place, are summer sites respectively at the ends of a little marsh (now drained) on the west side of the lake.

60, woḳsa'lks, lily seed (wokas) picking place, is a summer camp [222]
on the north shore of Wokas marsh. When leaving in the fall it is
customary to sink the canoes at the edge of the marsh, hide the grind- [501]
ing slabs in the juniper thicket, and pack by a regular trail to [415]
dĕ'ktcōŋks, whence they return to the winter villages.

61, dĕ'ktcōŋks, netting place, is a camp site on the west shore of [226]
Klamath lake opposite Buck island. Midway between this site and
the island is a favorite place for catching fish at night with a triangular scoop net. The point Skillet Handle is called iuwa"lɪ, end of a point, and a flat-topped mountain west of Wocus bay, seolōpgis.

62, sa'stĭtḳa'wals, Shasta stand on end, is Squaw point where a few [823]
Klamath falls people might be found in winter. There are holes in the rocks here in which they pound to make the wind blow, pounding in those on the south side, for instance, to bring a south wind.

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS

The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or 101
possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct dis- 619
trict, and practically autonomous. This is separatism of the familiar Californian order. Nevertheless, the cohesion rising from a common dialect, common culture, and a uniform reaction against all non-tribesmen, which on occasion leads to jointly taking the field against them, produces a tribal solidarity resembling that of the Plains people.

The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the modern name Klamath for the Klamath marsh—Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they

726 562 Women also accompany a war party according to one informant, but this is denied by another. They cook or paddle; that is easily understood, but I am inclined to believe that they actually participate in conflict. Perhaps the solution is that they accompany feudists, but do not go on extended raids into enemy territory. Some are said to fight with the men, shouting and jumping about to add to the terrifying effect of the surprise. Armed with short spears by preference, they help to catch women and children and to slay the aged as they run to hide.

701 Leaders of the party are appointed by the chief, usually men of affluence and commonly his relatives. There may be four or five leaders of a single large party. The qualities expected of them are bravery, ability to maintain their good sense in the excitement, and to go without sleep. Chiefs became such largely by the prestige of successful leadership in battle.

726 [231] [171] The war party proceed well-nigh naked and afoot no matter what the weather. It is of some interest that even after the advent of the horse they prefer to go afoot. This is reminiscent of the Blackfoot, but in our case at least may indicate how recent is the acquisition of the horse. My information suggests the second quarter of the last century for the coming of the horse, and the wars were over by about 1865. The raid against the Upland Takelma mentioned above was undertaken afoot. But this is not really a case in point because it is doubtful that there were then horse trails across these timbered mountains. The introduction of the horse facilitated long-range raiding. Gatschet's informant describes its use against the Pit river tribes about 1848–50; even then it was a ride of three days and a night.[46] Canoe travel was of little importance in any but expeditions within their own territory. [501]

726 411 A warrior's armament includes bow, club, and sometimes spear, with shield and body armor. Fighting is wholly individual; there is no sort of battle array. After the first rush of a surprise attack, they fight by preference from cover. No line of bowmen ever fights in the open, nor do lancers make a concerted charge. The sinew-backed war bow is a powerful short-range weapon.[47] Arrow shafts are wooden, the heads of stone loosely affixed so as to remain in the wound when

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[46] *Op. cit.*, 1:19–27.

[47] Frémont observed that in 1846 he saw Indians behind the bushes with their arrows spread fan-wise so as to be ready at hand (Memoirs, 494).

516 Sitting positions are of wide latitude; of course they sit directly on the ground. Almost any position is assumed except sitting on the crossed ankles. Both sexes sit with their legs crossed before them, [291] Turk-fashion, or with the legs extending straight before them, in which case women cross their ankles. It must be remembered that the [501] common dress of both sexes is the string skirt. They kneel while paddling, both sexes alike, sitting on their heels. This is quite possible because the gunwale of a laden canoe is only a few inches above the water.

201 The Klamath sometimes use the lips for unostentatious pointing, but they more commonly point with the forefinger. In a common 516 position of rest, a seated individual places one hand on the other over the abdomen.

758 To curse a man his dead are mentioned, not necessarily by name; [539] in fact the reference may be quite indirect. In a tale the skunks say to Coyote, "You are the son of a person always on the lake," knowing full well that his father was dead. I was told of two men jocularly calling each other tc!ima'ntk, widower. One named the dead wife of the other and was covered with embarrassment because the grandson of that woman, who was present, was provoked. An old man may be called wa'kŏntk, adolescent boy, or akote, a man with a first child, in [114] derision. This is nearly equivalent to a curse. Gatschet gives the expression akŏ'ksam kăfla gén I, go to hell! (or more literally, go to the ghosts) which may well be aboriginal. But watchágalam wéash, you son [child] of a bitch! and watchágalam pé-ip, you old bitch!, strike me as apt translations from frontier vernacular.[168]

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[168] Gatschet, 2:319, 477.

Yet the most laborious wood- 462
working task, the making of canoes, is sometimes undertaken by
women. I do not know who tans skins, but since the manufacture [501]
of all garments and moccasins is done by women, this suggests that
they prepare the skins as well. Mats and baskets are made by women [281]
and in considerable quantity. This is a sedentary pursuit which
dovetails nicely into leisure moments of household duties. Mortars, [285]
metates, and their adjuncts are fashioned by women, though I suspect
that men may lend a hand. Nets are manufactured by men, but by [415]
a few women also. Ropes and cords are made by women. All these [284]
suggest a somewhat heavier share borne by women.

There is a further factor which must be kept in mind. In winter, [283]
movement is impeded by intense cold and heavy snowfall, so that all
members of the family must stay close at home. Hence the men might 211
be thought to have enforced inactivity thrust upon them during this
season. But the facts are probably otherwise. This is a period of
great scarcity, even famine, especially at the end of a long winter,
and it behooves the men to act and act quickly in search of food.
The ardors and perils then forced on them surely make demands upon
whatever leisure they may have at this time.

FOOD AND ITS ACQUISITION

Klamath life is not that of a lake people, but a river and marsh 262
culture, for the simple reason that their primary food is fish. The
large lakes of this region are solidly frozen in winter, and fish, which
are not abundant there at the best, can hardly be had in winter. It
is otherwise with the swift rivers and creeks; these are always open
and fish are always present in abundance.[218]

Fish is the staple; after this ranks water-lily seed (wokas) and to 262
a lesser extent other roots; deer and other game are only of minor
importance. It is difficult at this late date to know whether fish or 224
lily-seed was eaten in greater quantity, but there is no doubt that, of 226
necessity, more attention was given the year round to fishing, since 222
the seed is harvested only from the middle of August to the end of
September.

Winter villages, the permanent settlements, are located where fish 361
may be had at that time, beside running streams and near springs

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[218] In view of the excellent descriptions of Klamath environment given by Gatschet, Barrett (pp. 240-243), and Coville (Wokas, A Primitive Food, 727-728) it is unnecessary to add another here. (See also pp. 8-10 of the present work.) [114]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

361 at the lake's edge, large and warm enough to prevent ice forming over
a large area. Winter is severe at this altitude (4000 feet), snowdrifts
[132] are deep, and Klamath lake freezes over to a depth of some ten inches
[133] in late December. Such sheltered valleys as that of the Williamson
river, while but a few miles from the open lake, are distinctly warmer.

The annual cycle of activities is dictated largely by the food
221 habits. It is customary to leave the winter villages in April or May,
when plant growth is well under way and the flat valleys have dried,
not to return until the snow falls again and houses need refurbishing.
When fish begin to run in the spring, the Klamath congregate at the
fishing places to stay for two months or more. For example, some
join the Modoc on Lost river for several weeks to catch and dry
fish. The spring and early summer are spent on the marshes and
prairies, gathering roots such as camas and ipos. When the camas
has been dried and stored, they move to the marshes, especially to
Klamath marsh, to harvest pond-lily seeds from mid-August to the
end of September. While the women are busy with this harvest, men
hunt mule deer, antelope, and other animals whose habitat is in eastern
Klamath territory. Late summer and autumn, seeds, berries, and
nuts are gathered, the Indians congregating where these are plentiful.
Many of those at Klamath marsh, for example, move directly to
Huckleberry mountain, southwest of Crater lake, to garner these
[484] berries. Summer and autumn are the seasons for journeying to visit
and trade, for raiding, and especially for laying up a store of fish
[726] against the coming winter. It must be understood that the winter
[251] locations are not completely abandoned during this season, for many
of them are favorably situated for these very activities. But it is
[361] customary for such a group as the äukckni division, whose winter
residences cluster thickly along the middle Williamson river, to scatter
and meet again at Klamath marsh for the pond-lily harvest in
[805] August and September. (This is the beginning of the Klamath year.)
They begin to return to the winter sites in the latter month, to start
[342] rebuilding the earth-lodges for the coming winter, a task completed
in December, by which time full winter is at hand.[219]

501 The move to Klamath marsh of the people at the mouth of Williamson
river, the du'kwakni, can be made by canoe only as far as ya'ak
221 on the middle river, where they join the äukckni in packing afoot the
rest of the distance. When the water is high, canoes can go upstream
as far as bɛzükse'was at the mouth of Sprague river (see the maps,

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[219] See also Gatschet, 1:74–77.

figs. 1–3). When returning in the fall, they take canoe as far as Kirk, 501
storing the vessels in the lake bottom there until the next season, and 221
packing the rest of the distance to their craft on the middle river, some twenty miles distant.

A similar seasonal migration of the Klamath falls group takes them to Barclay spring and Modoc point on the lake front for the spring fishing. Crossing the lake to dĕ'ktcŏŋks, they leave canoe and march by a well-defined trail to Wocus marsh for the lily-seed harvest. At the end of their stay, they sink the canoes used on the marsh in the water at woḳsa'lks, hide grinding slabs and similar articles in the juniper thickets, and retrace their way across the lake to Algoma. After gathering wild fruits there they return to the falls for the winter.[220]

When one considers that the countryside teems with a wide variety 221
of animal life in summer, and the seeming abundance of seeds, roots, 731
and fish, it is difficult to comprehend the change that winter brings. Yet outright starvation in winter must have been frequent. The constant refrain of Ogden, who visited the country in the winter of 1826, bears on the scarcity of game, the near approach to starvation, throughout the months his party was there.[221] Yet it is not incredible in view of the deep snows that cover the land, the thick ice on lake and marsh, when travel is at a minimum and fish can no longer be taken. Snow falls early, in November, and lies on the ground in exceptional years well into May. The early spring, when winter stores have run low, is the critical period. When the lake remains frozen unduly long and snow still falls, starvation sets in. Then horses are killed, and finally the hides or even dressed elk skins are roasted in their extremity. Nothing will induce them to turn to dog flesh.[222] [262]
When the snow leaves the prairies, they hasten to glean whatever roots have escaped the previous season's harvest. Then too a few trout may be had to eke out their subsistence.

Fishing

Fish, the primary food stuff, can be taken almost anywhere in 226
Klamath territory, but the supply is more plentiful in some sections than in others. Williamson river is one; fish can be caught there the year round, but in many other streams they run only in the spring.

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[220] Compare Gatschet, 1:xxix.

[221] Elliott, The Peter Skene Ogden Journals.

[222] This has served as a specific against smallpox, however.

throw to the ground and the stones. I am not sure that this formula is a prayer. If they neglect this grace, the ground (ġe'lɛ) will harm the little children.[190] 264

It is customary to take a mouthful of water to wash out the mouth before eating. [515]

CANOES

501 The Klamath canoe is a clumsy-looking, trough-like affair, with blunt ends, heavy and long. But I have seen an old woman guide a fully laden twenty-foot canoe upstream through a log jam in a manner to awaken considerable respect for their riding qualities. They look unwieldy, but with the load and paddler set well aft so that the prow rides out of the water they can be spun about on the stern as a pivot and driven through the still waters of much of Klamath territory with considerable ease.[191]

The shape of the canoe (wũntc) is exactly that of the peeled log, hollowed to a thin shell, and the ends beveled upward from the waterline quite sharply. They vary much in length but are remarkably uniform in width, eighteen to twenty-four inches, which is the diameter of the majority of the firs used for canoes in this country. Most of the canoes are made relatively short, ten to twenty feet, to wind about in the narrow crooked channels of the marshes. One canoe measured eighteen feet long, twenty inches in greatest width, and sixteen or eighteen inches from gunwale to keel. Another old example was fifteen feet long, seventeen inches wide, eight inches deep at the waist rising to twelve inches at the ends, which were somewhat pointed, with the under surface of the nose and stern rising at an angle of about thirty-five degrees. Larger canoes for transport on the open lake measure up to thirty-five feet in length, three feet wide, and thigh-deep inside, I was told.

Fir is the most suitable wood, pine makes a canoe that is too heavy to handle, and the cedars in this region are too small for canoes.[192] Besides this, cedar readliy cracks when it is dry, especially in such thin shells as these. One of my informants even said that cedar canoes are too light to handle properly! Fir also checks and cracks but not badly because of its somewhat twisted grain. The worst cracking occurs of course in the cross-grain at the ends of the canoe. Minor cracks are filled with pitch alone. A good fir canoe will last from fifteen to twenty years or more. A canoe that is properly dried before it is put into water will remain white indefinitely, but a green canoe soon blackens.

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[190] For further notes on utensils and the etiquette of meals, see below.

[191] For illustrations, see Barrett, Material Culture, pl. 10; Coville, Wokas, pls. 3, 4, 5.

[192] My informants probably meant by "fir" the yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.) and by "pine" the sugar pine (*Pinus lambertiana* Dougl.). Coville does not list fir in this region (cf. Notes, especially p. 89). [114]

Fire is the active agent in hollowing the dugout. It takes about a week to complete a fair-sized canoe by this method. The fire is started in a long notch cut along the upper face of the log. Stones are placed at each end to confine the flame. The ends are cut off on a flat bevel at an upward angle of thirty to forty degrees with its axis. Barrett states that the angle at the prow is considerably more acute than that at the stern.[393] The gunwales are quite parallel for nearly the full length of the canoe and less than its full width, so that the sides curve inward at the top, giving a crescentic cross-section to the craft. The fire is allowed to cut the gunwales slightly wider and lower at the center so that the canoe curves upward a little at each end. And depending on how far the gunwales are cut down into the log at the ends, these are either squared across or, as is more usual, somewhat rounded. The shell is cut quite thin, a thickness of about half an inch at the gunwale and not much more in the bottom and ends. The exterior is hardly trimmed after the bark is removed, so that the whole canoe is quite cylindrical. Nevertheless the canoe has not much roll and rarely capsizes, especially if well laden, for then the flat underends steady it. The finish is quite rough, especially when compared with canoes of the lower Klamath river and those of the Northwest coast.

There are no thwarts; they are unnecessary to the paddler who sits or kneels in the bottom. But crosspieces (hehŏ'ŋkwIs) are used to spread the gunwales while the canoe is still green or to keep them from spreading after the wood has dried.[394]

The paddle (kɛts'ek) to be light is made of cedar, four and a half to five feet long. Half its length is blade, widest near the tip which is pointed, tapering to the long thin handle which is without any sort of grip at the upper end.[395] The paddler, who sits near the stern in order to lift the prow, paddles for a time on one side, then on the other. The blade is turned parallel to the canoe at the end of 501 each stroke. The size and shape of the blade are well adapted to his position so low in the water, for the stroke is effective and splashless. At intervals he dips his hands to prevent blistering them on the paddle handle.

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[393] Material Culture, 247.

[114]
[532]

[394] Gatschet has an obscure reference to "ti'lhash as a 'swimming-sucker'-wood on canoe they stick up" (1:150), by which he may have meant a piece of wood carved to represent a swimming fish attached to the canoe.

[395] Kroeber illustrates an excellent example (Handbook, pl. 67b).

A punt pole (lᴇkŏ'k̦) is also used, especially in the shallow marsh. This is eight to ten feet long, with the lower end split and held open by an inserted wooden block. The punt pole is a young lodgepole pine (wā'-kŏ), stripped of bark, according to Coville.[296]

Sails are not used on canoes.

Anyone may make a canoe. Even a widow may fashion it for herself. One such had seen her father make them many times when she was a girl. Naturally skill varies very much.

Rafts or balsas, formed of large bundles of tules lashed together, were used, according to Barrett,[297] particularly by war parties. These were paddled with the hands.

Alternative methods for winter transportation may be noted here. It is customary to pack on the back through the snow, not to fashion a sled. But something of the sort is used over ice, a bundle of willows, called spi'klōs.

VARIOUS MANUFACTURES AND TOOLS

Woodworking is undeveloped among the Klamath, whereas it 322 might have been expected that the expertness of the Yurok or the Wishram would have made itself felt here. The only noteworthy uses of wood are for dug-out canoes, rough planks for the earth-lodge roof, and carved figures set up by shamans. The planks are only rough segments of hollow trees; the canoes are without fineness of line and crude in craftsmanship. Northwest Coast social organization [177] rather than craftsmanship has left its mark on the Klamath and their neighbors.

Fire is more rapid and effective in trimming large masses of wood 313 than the stone and bone tools at their command. Hence it is gen- 372 erally used for felling trees, cutting logs to the desired length, and shaping canoes, but it is customarily used for smaller objects as well, such as pointing a digging-stick. When they wish to fell a tree, a deep notch is cut into it at the base with elk-horn pick and maul. A

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[296] Notes, 89.

[297] Material Culture, 256.

171* 105

Their material culture at large follows the general alignment of their basic economy with the Plateau peoples. This can be made clear by the following tabulation of material culture traits shared by tribes in adjacent culture areas. A few items of social culture not discussed elsewhere are also entered. Only those traits for which comparative data could be readily found are included, which makes the list random rather than truly representative. It must be understood that the reference is only to the specific form in which the Klamath hold to the trait. Thus, the compound fire-drill stick is entered, and not the simple fire drill. In fact, traits of this sort, having a distribution over the whole continent, have been excluded as adding nothing to our

KLAMATH TRAITS SHARED BY TRIBES IN ADJACENT AREAS

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Houses	Earth-lodge	Plateau (Chilcotin to Middle Columbia and Wishram), N.E. California (where it merges into central Californian forms).	[342]
	Mat-lodge	Wishram, Nez Percé, Middle Columbia?	[343]
Sweat-lodges	Dome-shaped	N.E. California, Basin, Plateau, Southwest rancherias, Plains, and eastward.	
	Earth-covered	Washington, Oregon (merges with central Californian type).	
Fishing	Dip nets	California, Plateau, Northwest Coast.	[222]
	Dam; weir	N. California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
	Two-prong spear	California, Northwest Coast, Plateau.	
Digging stick	Cross-handle; curved point	Northwest Coast, Plateau?	[412]
Insect foods	Slight use	Oregon, s. Plateau, Basin, California.	[262]
Metate	Extensive use	California (late in N. California?), Basin, Plateau?, Southwest and southward.	[412]
Mortar	Stone	S. and central California (prehistoric in N. California); wooden mortars in Plateau.	
Canoe	Shovel nose	Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Columbia basin to N. California.	[501]
Baskets	Considerable use	California, Basin, Plateau.	[415]
	Twine	Northwest Coast s. into N. California.	
	Minor use of coil	Plateau, Basin, central and s. California.	
Bags	Woven	Made east of Cascades, s. to Klamath.	[286]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 230]

2: Voegelin E-S (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
857. Cook house used as menstrual hut	•+	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	343 841

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

Boats and Ferriage

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
858. Dugout canoe	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	o	−	+	+	+	+	•o	•o	−	−	501
859. Sharp prow and stern	−	−	−	+	•+	−	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
860. Shovel prow and stern	+	+	+	−	−	+	o	−	+	+	+	+	o	o	−	−	
861. Carved gunwale, turned in	−	−	−	+	−	−	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
862. Ends rounded	−	−	−	+	−	−	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
863. Carved in seat	−	−	−	+	−	−	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
864. Carved in footbraces	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
865. Manufactured	+	+	−	+	+	+	o	−	+	+	+	+	o	o	−	−	
866. Hollowed by burning	+	+	−	+	+	•+	o	−	+	+	+	+	o	o	−	−	
867. Commonly and frequently used	+	+	−	−	(+)	+	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
868. Log raft	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	o	+	+	
869. Used to transport goods only	−	−	−						+	+	−	−	+	o	−	−	
870. Tule balsa	−	−	+	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
871. Raised prow	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
o872. Length in feet	−	−	15	−	5	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
o873. Maximum number of passengers	−	−	2	−	3	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
874. Bundles lashed together	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
875. Towed by rope	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
876. Propelled with paddle	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
877. Tule raft	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
o878. Length in feet	−	10	−	•5	−	−	8	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
‡879. Maximum number of passengers	5	·	−	2	−	−	3	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
880. Bundles lashed together	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
881. Bundles pinned together	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
882. Towed by rope	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
883. Poled	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
884. Paddled with hands	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
885. Single-bladed paddle	•+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
886. Blade end convex	+	+	·	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
887. Blade end squared	−	−	·	−	+	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
888. Blade end pointed	+	+	·	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
‡889. Length in feet	4	4	5	−	3	•5	−	−	5	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
890. Poling rod	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	o	o	−	−	
891. Plain or pointed end	−	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	o	o	−	−	
892. Split base	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
893. Basket bailer	•+	•+	−	+	+	•−	−	−	+	+	·	−	o	o	−	−	
894. Grooved stone anchor	−	•−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	·	o	o	−	−	[465]
895. Boatman must ferry traveler free of charge	+	•+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	·	o	o	−	−	
896. Ferriage in baskets	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	o	+	−	
897. Children	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	o	+	−	[855]
898. Goods	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	o	+	−	
899. Ferriage by swimmers	+	+	+							+	+	+	+	o	+	+	481
900. Children ferried on swimmer's back	·	+	−							+	+	+	+	o	+	−	482
901. Swimmer lies on tule float; children cling to float	+	+	+								−	−	−	o	−	−	
902. Swimmer holds goods above water in 1 hand, swims with other	+	+	−					+		+	+	−	+	o	+	+	491
903. Bridges	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	o	o	+	+	
904. Single-log bridge	−	•+	+	−	+	•−	−	+	−	−	+	−	o	o	+	+	
905. 2 poles tied together	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	o	o	−	−	
906. Several poles, spliced at end	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	o	o	−	−	

BY ALL INFORMANTS

251 Storage of food.--Outdoor granaries on ground; on bedrock or multistone foundations; on platform.

Ownership of Productive Areas

423 Owner liable for injury of renter. Pens on communal weir privately owned. Seed tracts claimed for single season only. Private boundaries marked. "Tribal" boundaries marked.

Division of Labor

462 Formalized myth accounting for division of labor (cf. Voegelin, Tübatulabal). AW state division of labor according to "Coyote's law," but lack any detailed myth.

HOUSES AND SHELTER

Assembly and Living Houses

342 Entrances; uses and ownership; furnishings.--Entrance round, carved in plank. Partitions between families. House names. Windbreak before house. Flat plank for foot drum. Leader of hunters nominal owner. All men regularly sleep
372 in sweat house. Fireplace and heating.--Fuel-gathering ritual; fuel from top of tree; pair of limbs left on top.

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

501 Boats and ferriage.--Dugout canoe, ends peaked; carved-in "heart"; detachable prow ornament. Launching ceremony. Sails. Single-bladed paddle with crutch handle; compound paddle; blade end of
505 paddle concave. Ferriage by person in basket pulling across on rope (At: ascribe this to N Yana of Round Mountain).

Land Transport

482 Carrying devices.--Hammock-type carrying net. Painted decoration on folded hide bag. Cord and stick Mohave-type back frame. Snowshoe-type
492 carrying frame. Coolie yoke. Dog packing.

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

411 Bows and arrows.--Horn bow (AW: mentioned in myth, made by Butterfly). Laurel-leaf arrowheads. Arrows with 2 or more points. Arrow shaft of solid wood, split from log. Arrows with

000 other end made into loop, passed around person's wrist. Balsa also pushed across stream by swimmer.

877. Mo: Used rarely; "generally borrow a boat." SW: See note 858. AE: Used for hunting ducks.

878. SW: 6-10 feet.

[501] 885. Kl: Of cedar (light).

[924] 887. AW: This type "good to bail water with, but slips too easily."

888. AW: Type chiefly used.

889. AW: 5-6 feet: if sitting in canoe, use 5-ft. paddle; if standing or kneeling, 6-ft. paddle.

[501] [415] 893. Kl: Tule basket, about size of basket cap; kept in canoe. Mo: Basket cap used. (Also use basket cap for drinking water.) AW: Broad side of paddle used to bail; denied by Kl, Mo, WM, WS.

894. Mo: Boat tied to water lily roots to "anchor" it. Large grooved stone anchors are found archaeologically at Tule Lake; specimens seen at Modoc Lava Beds National Monument museum.

895. Mo: Passenger sometimes gives boatman small gift; not obligatory.

904. Mo: As child, informant had seen logs cut down, put across Lost River. AW: "Have these across Pit River, at Burney Creek" (Ilmawi Achomawi area).

906. WM, WS: 2 ends anchored to trees (see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 126).

Swimming.--

908. WT: "Best way." NF: Used when swimming in deep water.

909. SE, SW: Women only. MF: "Only people who didn't know how to swim properly." NF: Used in shallow water.

910. SW: Men. WT: "Best stroke."

913. WT, WM, WS: When working. If swimming for pleasure, usually dive in head first (see element 914).

Land Transport

Carrying devices.--

[482] 916. Buckskin.

924. Similar to sack shown in Goddard, Hupa, pl. 6. Mo: "Knit" bag; used by men to carry home game. No carrying net used. SW: "The Kammatwa, at Hamburg [see note 282] have a knit bag to carry their fish in; Shasta don't use this." At: Use carrying net, bag type, with large meshes; men, women also use tule "bag," trapezoidal in shape, with buckskin handle, for packing goods. AW: Used by men; rather large mesh. AE: Used by men; imported only, recently (?).

926. At: See note 924. WM, WS: Round, with loop handle which is slung over 1 shoulder. "Made like a net, from twine."

927. AE: From small animals only.

[415] 928. Kl, Mo, At, AW, AE: Resembles parfleche.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
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[Klamath Reservation]

K

many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit M 756
and compelling in its demands. 796

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and K
serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and M 221
the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, 261
housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social [356]
bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take
pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or
the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed K
and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans M [574]
who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still [685] [756]
conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers. [796]

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating [789]
hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will K
not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, M 261
they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to 22
gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer
of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance
of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate K
odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. M 221
Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied 361
through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The
decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining
in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. K
The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, M [501] •
where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the
household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the
pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already,
in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and
Sprague.

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted K 226
the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, 823
which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost K
River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, M
where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, 226
catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream 103
tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers 648

and Paiute, meet on the broad expanses of Klamath Marsh, K M 221 222 [248] where, as Coville observes, over ten thousand acres of ripening plants promise in good years an abundance not to be exhausted by the demands of man. In later times Agents describe wokas as the most important single food of the Indians; and its specialized preparation is one of the most distinct features of their subsistence technology. Its importance is emphasized further by the circumstance that the month of its harvest, August, marks the beginning of the Klamath year. K [805] The wokas-gathering is preceded by shamanistic performances to ensure a plentiful crop. K M [756] [789]

Daily, the dugout canoes, somewhat smaller than those used in fishing and ordinary transport, slip out from the camps upon the broad expanse of the waters. K M 50 222 In the openwork bags twined from tules, the pods accumulate until the canoe is full. One old woman recalled how she and a girlhood chum learned how to collect the pond-lily seeds:

> We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were always lots of extra poles lying around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for lunch. K M [252] When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them.[14]

While the women, old men, and children are occupied on the marshes some of the men fare forth to hunt. K M 224 The favored grounds are in the east, where Klamath and Modoc pursue antelope, mule

226 868 large fish, there is a harpoon with two detachable heads; the boy learns its use after he has mastered the other spears. Fish are often speared at night by torchlight. Here again it is the father who instructs the boy.

[227] Fish are also taken in a triangular dip net used from the bow of a canoe. This net is large and cumbersome, so that only a strong adult is able to manipulate it when full of fish. Younger fellows of ten or so help by beating their canoe paddles against the side of the boat to scare the fish toward the net. If they are in shallow water near the shore, the paddles are slapped against the tules. Often, a boy paddles the canoe while his father handles the net in the bow.

Line fishing is not of great importance, but this method is sometimes used and is often the first method a boy learns (usually by himself or from older boys); it is also the only one at which women occasionally help. There are at least two varieties of bone hook which are attached to a nettle-fiber line. Boys catch crawfish in their hands to use as bait.

227 887 The manufacture of nets is an important winter occupation of the old men and a few old women. Both men and women twist the nettle fiber into twine. Children like to watch the net making because they enjoy listening to the old people gossip or argue about how many months remain before the spring fish run. However, the children never help with this process. A fully grown man learns to manufacture nets from the old men. The manufacture of fish spears and harpoons is also left to mature men.

• 501 868 Before taking part in certain types of fishing, boys must know how to handle the canoes. This same ability is required for girls before they can go after water-lily seeds. Most families have two or more dugout canoes of varying lengths, which can be propelled by either pole or paddle.[25]

[857] Riding in canoes is not a new experience to the child, for infants on cradleboards are taken out in them. Older children often go out with their mother or father and sit or stand in one end of the canoe. The boat is apt to be unstable, and the child is warned not to tip it by moving around.

Parents need not urge children to learn how to handle a canoe, for they are all eager to do so. As one man put it, "Nowadays every kid wants to have a car. It used to be like that with canoes." Indeed, children sometimes "borrowed" canoes when no adults were present.

> The women were all out getting wokas so another girl and I took my aunt's extra canoe. I didn't know how to work the pole. I held onto the end of it and kept pushing till I almost fell over the edge of the canoe. Some people came by in another canoe

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[25] See Coville (1897), p. 89; idem (1904), p. 728; Barrett, pp. 247 f.; Spier, pp. 169-171; and Voegelin, elements 858-893.

> 501 and saw us. They laughed and laughed and
> said, "Look, she doesn't know how to use the
> 868 pole." Then they told me how to push it a
> little way at a time and lift it up and push
> again.

Some children start to use paddles by themselves, too. Adults see them trying to do so and tell them how to kneel in the bottom and dip the paddle in and out of the water without splashing. Light cedar paddles are used, and small ones are made for children. Similarly, shorter poles are often made for the children.

222 The principal vegetable food of the Klamath
868 is the seed of the wild water-lily, known as
wokas. Many other seed, root, and berry prod-
462 ucts are also utilized in varying amounts.[26] It
is the women who do the gathering, and there is
[262] a strong feeling that a girl cannot learn too
soon to contribute to the family food supply by helping her mother gather these products, although youngsters are never forced into work.

Even very small girls receive a tiny digging stick as a toy. With the sticks the girls play around the camp, digging up clumps of grass to be used as "camas" and "ipos" for feeding their dolls. Children often accompany their mothers after berries, seeds, and roots. They are allowed to run about as they please and only help if they wish. When they get tired or hungry, they go back to camp. Both boys and girls help occasionally with berrying. Parents complain that the youngsters eat more than they save, but do not scold them.

251 Part of the activity during the berrying
season is, of course, the drying of the berries
868 for storage. One woman recalls seeing this as a
child and wanting to help.

> Up in the mountains I saw how they dried huckleberries. They dug a little ditch and put the berries in and made a fire alongside. You have to watch the fire for a day and a night. I remember seeing this when I was about ten. I wanted to dry some berries, too; but my mother didn't want me to use any of her berries. She said I might ruin them so I'd have to get my own. I went and picked some, and she showed me how to dry them.

222 When a girl is nine or ten, her mother
gives her a real digging stick of slightly
868 smaller dimensions than her own. The girl is
also given a small carrying basket to wear on her back and a basket to put the roots in before they are transferred to the carrying basket. The mother shows the girl where to go to get the best roots and how to insert the stick to loosen the earth all the way around the root before prying it out. Apparently there is little attempt to force the girl to work hard the first

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[26] Coville (1897), pp. 87-103, idem (1904), pp. 725-739, and Spier, pp. 166 f.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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M clusion of almost everything else. The seeds of this plant,
K gathered and preserved in three different manners, as described
13 in detail by Coville,[a] form the staple article of food and thus
correspond to acorns used over the greater part of California.
About Tule or Rhett lake and the smaller lakes of that vicinity
there are fewer marshes and consequently a smaller supply of
the water-lily. Thus the Modoc were much less abundantly supplied with this staple than were the Klamath, who are said to
have had on Klamath marsh alone over ten thousand acres of
these plants. The chief vegetable food of the Modoc seems to
have been tubers and bulbs, notably camass and ipos.

M The extensive lakes of this region naturally bring great num-
K bers of water birds of various kinds, including swans, geese,
136 ducks, and wading birds, the majority of which were used by the
Indians as food and in various ways. The skins of swans, geese,
and other birds with especially fine down, were made into
feather blankets, swaddling clothes, etc. Fish were abundant in
the lakes, salmon and salmon trout being especially esteemed by
M the Indians. The presence of this large supply of water birds
K and fish developed certain specialized implements for their cap-
223 ture. For taking birds there were what may be termed a ring-
M pointed arrow, and a special net. There were several methods
K of taking fish, the most important being by the large triangular
226 dip-net used in the dug-out canoe, as shown in pl. 10.

● 501 The country provided also an abundance of the usual animals,
M such as deer, elk, antelope, and others used for food; and coyotes,
K gray wolves, foxes, badgers, wildcats, rabbits, and various fur-
136 bearing animals furnishing blankets and clothing.
237

BUILDINGS.

M The houses of the Klamath and Modoc were of two kinds. In
K this region where the snow on the higher peaks is always in
342 sight, and where it often reaches a depth of several feet in winter,
[133] a warm and durable house is necessary. This was provided by
[132] the semi-subterranean earth lodge, which was of the usual central
California form, and had a pit from a foot to three or four feet

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[113] [a] Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians, Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Institution, 1902, 727-739.

M K 224 M K 223

Klamath and Modoc, though a noose set in a trail was sometimes used for deer. For taking the many species of water birds which are so abundant about the lakes, there were several interesting devices. The most specialized and unusual of these is an arrow made with a cane shaft and a point of mountain-mahogany. An ordinary wood-pointed arrow tends to go directly into the water at the angle at which it strikes the surface. A small ring, usually of sinew and pitch, but sometimes carved out of the foreshaft itself, being placed near the point, the arrow is deflected upward as it strikes the water, and skips along over the surface so that it is likely to kill at least one out of a flock of birds. The two forms of hunting arrows, the plain wood-pointed and the ring-pointed, together with the ordinary unbacked wooden bow and the tule quiver, are shown in pl. 20.

A long narrow net stretched in an upright position near the surface of the water is used in the capture of ducks and other water birds. As a flock of birds swims or flies into this net it is let down by men on the shore who hold the ropes which keep the upper edge of the net taut. By paddling out in a canoe the birds which are entangled in the meshes may be easily removed. As another means of taking large numbers of birds two men go out in a canoe at night and erect a large triangular net on the prow. A fire is kindled toward the middle of the canoe and the bright light causes the birds to fly from various directions toward the net.

The many-pointed fish spear, to be described later, is also used to a limited extent in the capture of water birds. They are speared from the canoe as they dive through the water.

FISHING IMPLEMENTS.

M K 226 M K 501

For fishing a number of specialized implements are used. The dug-out canoe (pl. 10),[a] while it is not used exclusively for fishing, is an absolute necessity to a fisherman's life. The dug-out is made from a log, usually fir, since the knots in the fir are much more durable and will not come out as do the knots in pine and cedar. The canoe is simply a log hollowed out by burning and adzing, and with the bottom sloping upward at an angle at each end. The angle of the slope at the prow is considerably

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[a] See also Coville, *op cit.*, pl. 4, 5.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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more acute than that at the stern. These canoes are from twelve to thirty feet in length but are very narrow in proportion, usually ranging between twenty and twenty-six inches in width. The opening of the canoe extends its full length and is usually two or three inches narrower than the full beam. Usually not over a quarter and never over a third of the log is cut away in making the canoe, the remaining three-quarters or two-thirds being then hollowed out to a thin shell varying from half an inch to a couple of inches in thickness, except at the prow and stern, where the thickness is considerably greater. The stern is somewhat thicker than the prow. The canoe is loaded with its greatest weight aft, which causes the prow to project considerably out of the water, and makes the canoe much easier to propel. This is carried to so great an extent that in the case of a single paddler in a large canoe the prow points upward at an angle of perhaps fifteen degrees from the surface of the water. When there is a second paddler, he kneels near the middle of the canoe, unless he is fishing or doing other work which requires that he be at the prow. The prow has always a somewhat greater overhang than the stern.

To propel a canoe one paddle each is required by the occupants. These paddles, always of cedar, vary in length from about three to five and a half feet, have handles an inch or so in diameter, and broad, very thin, blades. The paddle is dipped vertically and noiselessly, no pull being given until the blade is completely covered by the water. To lift it from the water again it is turned on its edge so that the width of the blade is almost parallel with the length of the boat. The handle of the paddle very often strikes the side of the canoe and in this manner, particularly at the stern where most of the paddling is done, the side of the gunwale is worn very smooth, showing a polished surface or even a notch, particularly on the right side of the older boats. Paddling is the ordinary method of propelling a canoe on deep water, for all such purposes as fishing, hunting, and general transportation. However, another and specialized implement is used, especially in wokas gathering. The water on the wokas marshes is shallow, rarely more than a couple of feet in depth, and the bottom consists of soft black mud completely

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5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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interlaced under the surface with the strong large roots of the water-lily. A pole of varying length is employed on these marshes and wherever there is occasion to travel over shallow water. The lower end of this pole is split for from four to six inches, and the two prongs thus made are turned sharply apart so that the angle between them is often as great as forty-five degrees. In this angle is set a small bar of bone or hard wood, thus making a cross-bar near the tips of the prongs. In pushing through the soft mud, the pole, on account of its split end, usually does not sink far before it strikes one of the strong roots of the water-lily, which then bears the stress of poling. Even if the pole does not strike a water-lily root, it sinks into the mud much less readily because of its split end.[7]

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One of the most interesting devices connected with fishing is the large triangular dip-net used on the open water of the lakes or the larger deep streams. This net is used on a pair of poles held apart by a cross-bar near the vertex of the angle formed by them. The net itself is attached to the poles at the sides and to this cross-bar at the rear, the tips of the poles being connected by a strong string upon which the front of the net is fastened. The method of manipulating this net is shown in the series of figures in pl. 10. Only one man appears in these illustrations, but usually two men go out to fish, one sitting in the stern of the canoe and paddling, the other in the prow and manipulating the net. While the net is being dipped, the fisherman in the stern paddles quite rapidly along and makes a great noise, swishing the water back and forth in order to scare the fish near the stern toward the prow. He also has a couple of short sticks with which, just before the net is to be raised, he drums upon the sides of the canoe in order to frighten as many as possible of the fish toward the prow. The fisherman in the prow finally raises the poles and brings up the net, placing the angle at which the poles meet under the prow of the boat, which, as has been stated, has a long, flat, upward slope. The cross-bar of the net poles is slipped over the top of the prow so as to prevent the points of the poles from falling back into the water. In this manner the points of the poles project from the prow like two great horns. Their

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[7] Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 4.

the Klamath. These mats may be made with both warp and K weft of tule in plain twining, though the best mats are made 285 with nettle-string weft.

Tule is also used in making one form of quiver, such as that M shown in pl. 20, fig. 1. It is said that these tule quivers were used K chiefly by people of moderate means, the more well-to-do class 285 having quivers made of skin. Tule caps such as that shown in 411 pl. 17, fig. 6, were worn by the men. For summer wear moccasins of buckskin, such as that shown in pl. 17, fig. 5, were always used, M but for winter wear moccasins of tule (pl. 17, figs. 2, 4, and pl. K 19, fig. 2) were employed. 291 A layer of dry grass was placed in the bottom to make them warm, and it is said that one might in the dead of winter walk with comparative comfort through marshes where the water is extremely cold. With these tule moccasins are worn tule leggings, such as that shown in pl. 17, fig. 3. Another form of footwear is the circular snow-shoe of wood and rawhide (pl. 17, fig. 1). A similarly shaped but somewhat smaller shoe is worn in wading about in the mud of the marshes. The women also wore a cape or, more properly speaking, a blanket, made of shredded tule or of sage-brush bark, or of a combination of the two. M Where the wokas grows close in shore, and where the water is shallow and other conditions such as a moderately K hard bottom are favorable, the women often drag about canoe- 285 shaped baskets or rafts, as they might be called (pl. 19, fig. 3), 222 into which the wokas is gathered. The weight of the wokas of course sinks the basket down partially below the surface of the water, but it always manages to keep sufficiently above water to prevent the wokas from floating away.

Another special implement used in harvesting the water-lily is the spoon-shaped basket shown in pl. 13, fig. 2.[12] After the dehiscence of the pods of the water-lily the seeds with their coating form a mucilaginous mass which floats on the surface of the water. This mass is scooped up with the spoon and placed in a basket in the canoe. These seeds, called spŏ'kwas, are kept in water until used, since they lose their flavor if allowed to dry. M

Another use for tule is in the making of rafts. K While the dug-out canoe above described was the chief means of traveling from 501

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[12] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

[726]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
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place to place, a tule raft was sometimes used, particularly by war parties. Several large bundles of tule, sometimes two feet in diameter and eight or ten, or even fifteen feet in length, were lashed together to form a raft. It is said to have been propelled by lying down along the edges and really swimming the raft by dipping the hands into the water with a motion similar to that used in paddling.

M K 285 415 [262]

One of the most characteristic features of the culture of the region is the flat triangular platter made of tule and used for serving food, particularly broiled or otherwise cooked fish and roasted meat. Such trays are shown in pl. 13, figs. 1, 4, 6, and vary greatly in size. Circular baskets of coarse tule, such as that in fig. 3 of the same plate, are more rarely found. Occasionally they are bound about the rim with a hoop. More or less flat trays of several other forms are also used. One such tray is shown in fig. 5 of the same plate.

M K 285 415 222

Though not used at the present time, a tule sack was formerly made for the transportation and storage of wokas. This sack was made of unsplit tule, but was of sufficiently close weave to prevent the wokas from running through. These sacks were sometimes made so large that when filled with the wokas seed, which is comparatively light in weight, they were so heavy that a man of ordinary strength, or a woman, would not attempt to carry more than one at a time.

M K 285 [171]

There are several forms of rigid baskets made with willow or other sticks, particularly the conical burden basket (pl. 16, fig. 3) which was used largely in gathering foods such as wild plums; and the flat, more or less triangular, openwork basket with a handle (pl. 16, figs. 1 and 2),[13] used as a sieve and as a grater as well as a general receptacle. In the loop handle this basket differs from most of those of similar form found in various parts of California. It is used for sifting the wokas after drying, the seeds passing through the interstices of the basket, and separating from the larger fragments of the pods. Also camass, ipos, and other roots and tubers are rubbed on this basket in order to grate off or scrape off the skin of the tuber. In addition to being made of round willow stems, these baskets are also made of the split roots

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[13] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

fish basket, and one or two others. Twining is the only technique M K
used, all coiled baskets coming from this region being extraneous
to the true native culture. The majority of the conical burden 285
baskets made of willow or hazel which are in use among the [139]
Klamath are made by themselves, though they do purchase from
the Shasta to the southwest a burden basket which is more nicely
finished than their own. M

Together with this very specialized tule culture, resulting K
from the life of the people upon the immediate lake shore, go 105
water foods, particularly wokas and fish, and the special imple- 22
ments devoted to the gathering of the wokas and to the capture 415
of various animals, birds, and fish. Such for instance are the [133]
peculiar duck arrow, the large dip-net, the net used at night in [184]
connection with a light in the canoe for catching ducks and other
water birds, the many-pointed fish spear, the two forms of bone [501]
hooks, the dug-out canoe, and the forked pole for propelling it
in shallow water. The peculiar stone implements, such as the [276]
two-horned muller, L-shaped and discoidal pipes, and triangular
net-sinker, are also noteworthy.

The specialization of culture in this region is very striking M
indeed when it is compared with the culture of surrounding K
peoples, as for instance, the Paiute to the east, where coiled
basketry predominates and tule work is almost unknown, and 105
with that of the Indians of the Upper Columbia river region to 101
the north, whose culture was very largely influenced by the 171
buffalo or plains Indian culture. A comparison with the Oregon Indians is difficult not only because the Oregon cultures are comparatively little known, but because the majority of Oregon Indians, owing to their habitat, showed either a coast or a desert culture, which is not readily comparable with the inland lake environment and culture of the Klamath and Modoc. The Indians in certain respects most similar to the Lutuami in culture lived down the Klamath river in the northwestern part of California. Here are found such things as the stone maul and the large triangular fish net. Here also the basketry is entirely twined and in a large measure of comparatively soft materials; and the willow or hazel burden baskets are very similar in their general appearance, form, and particularly in the border finish.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

M
K

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 10.

226 Fig. 1.—Large triangular dip net at rest in canoe.

227 Fig. 2.—Net being dipped.

501 Fig. 3.—Net being raised.

Fig. 4.—Frame of net being fixed at prow of canoe preparatory to gathering in the net.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

[p. 263]

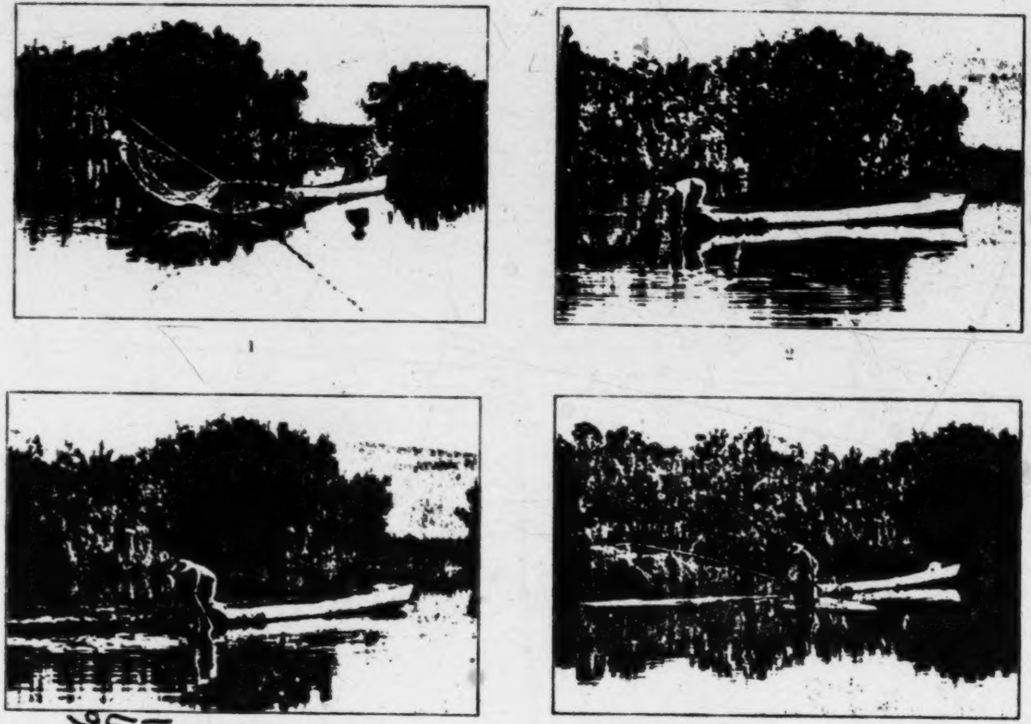
1 2 3 4

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226
227
501

CANOE AND DIP-NET.

173 tû'nsχantsa yáshaltk. Tchúi kissä'mi shû'dsha Sā't; tû' wali'sh í-utíla
was running studded with willows. Then at nightfall made a fire the Snakes; there the cliffs below

*539

648 tû'shtuk kû'mme. Mû' sk̲á tánkt slä'wi; tsúi psín gátpa Sā't í-úta.
there (was) a cave. Very cold that time (the wind) blew; and in the night came the Snakes (and) fired.

726

Tsúi shúldshash vû'ssa, tsúi nat mû'lua, a nat guhuáshktsa, psínak
And the soldiers took fright, and we got ready, and we marched, the same night

mû'atan nat géna; nishtá nat géna. Tû' nat yaínatat pä'ktgi, tsû'i nat
southwards we went; the whole night we marched. Far away we in the mountains were at dawn, then we

ni'lka.
stopped there in the early hours.

Lû'luagslash tánkt lápksapt wéwanuish; äná nat hû'nk, tsúi nat pän
They enslaved that time seven women; brought we those, then we again

mák̲'lēχ Nä'wapksh yámakstan gä'dsa tχálamna. Tsúi k̲ok̲ág hátakt
encamped from Goose Lake north side of a little to the west. And a brook there

tû'nsna; tsúi psín gátpa Sā't, tsúi k̲á-i nat káktant; ní'shta nat k̲á-i
is running; and at night came the Snakes, and not we slept; all night we not

káktant. Tsúi mbúsant pän gátpa Sā't; yaína-ag kúita nats hûk tû'pka,
slept. And next morning again came the Snakes; a hillock back of us stood,

tsúi hátakt lí'wal Sā't, tsúi k̲ak̲í'hha shō'ldshash; atí hû'nk k̲ak̲í'hha.
and there gathered the Snakes, and missed (them) the soldiers; by a long way them they missed.

Tsúi nat watsátka täluak-húya; tsúi gáya-a nā'ts hû'k Sā't. Mbúsant
Then we on horseback rode after them; and were hiding before us the Snakes. In the morning

nat gépgap'lí; at gä'tak Sátas slää, tsúi nat gátpampēle. Tsúi shû'ldshash
we returned; no longer any Snakes found we, and we went back home. And the military

hû'k shäwána wewán'sh nā'ls hû'nk, Sā'tas wáts tchísh lā'p. A nat gatpámpēle gí'ta E-uk̲ák̲; hû'ktoks Lieutenant Small tû' shipí'tk Nä'wapksh
gave women to us those, of the Snake tribe horses also two. Then we returned here to Fort Klamath; but he Lieut. Small over there separated Goose Lake

guní'gstant gémpaluk Spá-ish Valleytála. Lā'p Sátas wéwanuish ä'na.
opposite for returning to Surprise Valley. Two Snake females he took with him.

NOTES.

28. The various bands of Snake Indians inhabiting Oregon east of the Cascade Mountains are gaining their sustenance chiefly by the chase. This accounts for their constant wanderings and ubiquitous presence sometimes at Camp Harney, or the Owyhee and Snake River, at other times near Warner Lake, or the Klamath Marsh.

The date of this raid could not be determined; it may have preceded the fight related below by ten or twenty years.

222
501

28, 1. É-uksi, "to Klamath Marsh"; on Williamson River (K̲ók̲e), which forms the outlet of the Marsh, the Snakes saw women of the Lake tribe crossing or passing down the river in their dug-out canoes, which they use for gathering wókash (the seed of the pond-lily) on the Marsh.

*539
221
115

THE MONTHS OF THE YEAR.

OBTAINED FROM "PETE" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

226 251 222 252 262

Gáptsatka É-ukshikni máklaks páha udsáks; lúela kápto Yá-ag;
In the month of the small finger · the Lake · Indians · dry · the large sucker; · kill · gudgeons · at the Bridge;
Ktaí-Túpakshi tkálmakstant otí'lks lúela hō'ank. At sa kó-iχaktchuapka,
of Standing-Rock · to the westward · fish-dam · kill · when jumping. · Now they · will leave home (soon),
at kámals pahá; kó-iχaga, kä'shla sa, kolálsuapk mat sa, tawiksálsuapk
and · dry fish · they prepare; · they leave, · go after ipos they, · will gather kil · they, · will gather tawika
mat s at, pō'ksalsuapk mat sa, at sa pópakuapk sátnalhuapka sa, suaítlaluapk; saká a pō'ks.
they, · will dig camass · they, · they · will bake (it), · roast it (3 days) · they, · roast it (1 day); · eat raw · camass.

251 222

Tχópowatka pahá at pō'ks iwídshat, at É-uksi génuapka woksalsuapkátki giug; káyudsh nû'ka wókash. At nû'ka wókash, wóksalsha at túnepni
In the thumb-month · dried · then · camass · they put under ground, · now · for Klamath Marsh · they will start · to gather lily-seed; · not yet · is ripe · pond-lily seed. · Now · has ripened · lily-seed, · they gather (it) · for five
waítash, kánktak wókslat Eúkshikni. Sníkanua nadshgshaptánkni waítash;
days, · so long · may gather (it) · the Lake people. · They let it ripen · during six · days;
nadshgshaptánkni waítash wókash shutä'shlat, awō'lat, péksat, shiulína,
during six · days · the nuphar-seed · they grind, · cook, · rub fine, · winnow,

435

lulína. Nā'sh wíllishik pálasham-wáχoksh láp tála, lχálχamnishti lulínash
make flour. · One · sack · of the flour-bags · two · dollars, · in a long, heavy sack · the ground-up wókash

222

túnep tála. Nû'χatk wókash iwiχí'e ká-itua nû käíla. "Tánk a íwíχa í?
five · dollars. · Roasted · lily-seed · filled in sacks · none · in the country. · "How many · did fill · you?

224

lápkshapta kán íwí'χa willíshik?" "nû té-unip willí'shik iwí'χa!" Wéwan'sh pí'la wō'kshla, hí'hassuaks gánkanka paχō'les, tchä'-u. At sa héwiuapk, skúya wókash. At a sha í hí'wi-uapk; áwalues skéna, máktsina
seven · who · did fill · sacks?" · "I · ten · sacks · have filled up!" · Women · only · gather wókash, · the men · hunt · mule-deers, · antelopes. · Now they will haul (it) home, · crush · lily-seed. · Just · they home · will bring it; · to the island · they row, · camp there

251 501

Nû'shkshi, wō'ns í'lktsat Lĕmé-isham Nutē'ks, Vushí'nkam Tínuash, Lál'lāks,
at Skull-place, · canoes · they put away in lake bottom · at Thunderbolt, · at "Snake-Drowned", · at "Slope-steps"
Lkō'm Ă'-ush; kákokish lóloksgish ktélχa, Stópalsh-Tamā'dsh, Tó-ilkat
at Black Lake; · at the ford · the rifle · drop, · at Peeled-Pine, · at Rail-Pyramid
pí'la wí'hla; tchía nánuk Kák-Ksháwaliäksh; nánka tchía Tchíkass-Walákgishtat.
stops · every one · at Raven's Place; · some · (will) stop · at Bird's Lookout.

*539 221 [192] All these different kinds of sacks or bags were originally made of bulrush-stalks (tule) and the táyash was made of straw.

[415] 74, 11. k̲aítua nû kä'ila. The sense is incomplete. Probably sháyuakta is left out: "I do not know of any in the whole country", küila often standing for käilatat.

[192] 74, 14. áwalues. There are several islands in the shallow waters of the vast extent of Klamath Marsh, but only *one* is meant here.

[103] 74, 15. wö'ns ílktsat. They submerge their dug-outs at several places on the beach, where they are certain to find them in the next wókash-season.

[504] [103] 74, 17. pí'la wí'hla (or píla wíllash) contains perhaps a proper name of a locality, or stands in connection with Tóilkat, "at the Rail-Pyramid"; wílhaslash means top, apex. The stations from the "Ford" to "Bird's Lookout" are passed by the tribe when they return home with the lily-seed harvest-crop. "They drop the rifle" is: they take a rest. All these localities are either on the open waters of Klamath Marsh or on Williamson River, which forms its outlet.

[484] [492] 75, 1. iwí-idsha wókash. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Williamson River is from 20 to 25 miles, and horses carrying wókash can make it in one day. The next day they return to carry another load.

[482] 75, 2. nátoks waítuapk: we will lie over one day to let our horses rest, or recover from the swellings on their backs. Nátoks stands for nát toks.

[824] 75, 5. klá-ads is probably a kind of wild prunes. See Dictionary: kĕlátch.

[192] 75, 8. wídsika íwam. "Some are economical with their own berries, and prefer not to scatter them in the hands of others"; íwam, huckleberry, has become the generic term for all berries, and i-umä'mi is "*berry-season*".

[346] 75, 11. spû'klish here means the large communal sweat-house; it is used frequently for dances and kshiuwálχishtat, contr. kshiû'lχishtat might stand instead of spúklishtat.

75, 11. papiä'na, vocalic dissimilation for papa-éna; derived from pán, to eat.

[193] 75, 13. atí'sh etc. "Heap ye up that hay in two stacks, which must have a lengthy, long-stretching, and not a high, cone-shaped form!" For heaping up long stacks one verb is here used, and another for making the high, round ones.

PŮ'LAM SHUMSHE-ÉLSHTAT SHASHAPKĔLÉASH.

A SKETCH OF BALL'S MARRIED LIFE.

[115] GIVEN BY DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 593

Póluk k̲ä'liak snáwäds t'shín. Tsúi snawä'dshla Pámpiam pä'-ia lupí';
Ball he without a wife grew up. Then he married Pámpi's daughter at first;
tsúi wä'kala, tsúi tatá mántsak mbusä'lan gí. Tsúi kä'tsa, tsúi mbusä'-
and she had a babe, and then quite a while he lived with (her). Then he left (her), and lived with
alpēli pän, tsúi pän kétsa sissû'kuk tsû'ssak. Násh wä'ka sham k̲läká, nä'sh
(her) again, and again left (her) quarrelling continually. One babe to them died, another
tchía; at sa sipí'tχa, tsúi nä's shnawä'dshla pän Látsam pä'-ia; wáts säwána
lived; still they separated, then one (woman) he married after (this) Látchash's daughter; horses he gave.

PART TWO: ETHNOGRAPHIC TEXTS

Introductory Note to Text 22

"Wokas" is the generic term for the seed of the common pond lily (*Nymphaea polysepala*). In the old days much of the Klamath Marsh (estimated by some early writers at about 10,000 acres) was covered with these plants, and there were long, shallow bays filled with them on both sides of Klamath Lake. Much of Klamath economic life was concerned with the gathering, preparation, and cooking of this plant. 824 [133] [433]

It is not proposed here to give a complete description of the various processes involved in "wokas"-manufacture. Good explanations of this economic complex will be found in Coville,[69] Gatschet,[70] and Spier.[71] The following text (and the two shorter ones by Mrs. Pompey which come after it) are intended only to illustrate Klamath narrative style and to indicate those features of "wokas"-making which were salient in the view of the informants. 252 [114] [128]

22. Wokas Preparation

(Mrs. Aggie Butler)

539* 222 501

(1) Long ago the Indians used to gather wokas, with a canoe. (2) And standing up on it they gathered wokas. (3) They bent down to pull them off, that wokas. (4) And they pulled off only the good ones, and some were unripe. (5) And having punctured it [with a fingernail] they saw [whether it was ripe or not]. (6) And they picked the yellow ones. (7) On becoming ripe it looks good, big. (8) And having picked those only, they threw them on the canoe and went. (9) And some were termed "snoníapíaqs." (10) And one was called "sbokẃas." (11) It was ripe. (12) And they put them down [in the canoe] apart.

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[69] Coville, Frederick V., "Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians," Report of the United States National Museum for 1902, pp. 727-739, Washington, 1904. [113]

[70] Gatschet, *op. cit.*

[71] Spier, Leslie, "Klamath Ethnography," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, Berkeley, 1930. [113]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 129]

BY ALL INFORMANTS

251 Storage of food.--Outdoor granaries on ground; on bedrock or multistone foundations; on platform.

Ownership of Productive Areas

423 Owner liable for injury of renter. Pens on communal weir privately owned. Seed tracts claimed for single season only. Private boundaries marked. "Tribal" boundaries marked.

Division of Labor

462 Formalized myth accounting for division of labor (cf. Voegelin, Tübatulabal). AW state division of labor according to "Coyote's law," but lack any detailed myth.

HOUSES AND SHELTER

Assembly and Living Houses

342 Entrances; uses and ownership; furnishings.--
Entrance round, carved in plank. Partitions between families. House names. Windbreak before
house. Flat plank for foot drum. Leader of
hunters nominal owner. All men regularly sleep
372 in sweat house. Fireplace and heating.--Fuel-gathering ritual; fuel from top of tree; pair of
limbs left on top.

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

501 Boats and ferriage.--Dugout canoe, ends peaked;
carved-in "heart"; detachable prow ornament.
Launching ceremony. Sails. Single-bladed paddle
with crutch handle; compound paddle; blade end of
505 paddle concave. Ferriage by person in basket
pulling across on rope (At: ascribe this to N
Yana of Round Mountain).

Land Transport

482 Carrying devices.--Hammock-type carrying net.
Painted decoration on folded hide bag. Cord and
stick Mohave-type back frame. Snowshoe-type
492 carrying frame. Coolie yoke. Dog packing.

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

411 Bows and arrows.--Horn bow (AW: mentioned in myth, made by Butterfly). Laurel-leaf arrowheads. Arrows with 2 or more points. Arrow shaft of solid wood, split from log. Arrows with

another figure, known only as "The One Below," to represent the 648*
Devil. This figure appears in a Klamath version of the Garden 657*
of Eden recorded by Gatschet[29]—a tale no longer recalled today. 776
The identification of Gmukamps with God is strengthened in 177
Indian eyes by his mythical foster-parentage of the hero, Aisis. 178
As one Modoc, a fundamentalist preacher, has put it:

> you know, Gmukamps and Aisis—that's nothing but God and Jesus. The Indians knew the story of the Bible, but they were ignorant in those days. They thought that the lakes they performed their miracles around were the Klamath lakes; they didn't know it was really the Sea of Galilee.[30]

Looking back over the entire field of change from the last 657*
decades of the nineteenth century, the observer could discern 648*
major acculturative trends. The Klamath who entered upon the 177
treaty had already undergone pervasive, though largely un- 178
directed modification. Thereafter, they were subjected to a consistent policy of change which, despite defects in execution, outside interference, and an intervening war, was maintained for well over a generation. Within this frame, a reservation culture had taken shape, embodying a synthesis of white and Indian lifeways. By the middle of the next century, only a handful of tribesmen would be left who could report from direct knowledge events of pretreaty days; the remaining elders would be products of the synthesis.

Measured by the indexes which the Bureau employed to
register progress, the advance was evident. When that formula- [464]
tive period was ended, a large number of the Klamath were [511]
productively engaged in work of "civilized" character, and their
material wants had come to approximate those of their white
neighbors. Many were conversant, and a few literate, in English, [191]
and their numbers were increasing steadily. The extended family, [212]
at least among the progressive, had made way for the more [596]
mobile and assimilable conjugal family. In the schools, a new [594]
generation was being trained to embrace as natural and desirable [871]
a way of life which the Church, in turn, commended as good to old and young alike. Expectations seemed to lie within the grasp of those willing to work to achieve them.

Beneath the surface upon which these changes could be traced, [571]
however, lay cleavages and disconformities as yet unfathomed

*648 members, but others refused to do so, taking the position that
*657 merchants were encouraging extravagance in their Indian cus-
434 tomers. Tribal members, on the other hand, learned to connive
[452] with Agency employees to evade restrictive regulations, citing
spurious but legitimate needs in order to secure cash releases, with the zeal of other Americans in search of income tax loopholes. The money thus secured was often applied to outstanding debts as well as to fresh expenditures.

*648 The payment of per capitas in two large, semiannual install-
*657 ments, rather than in smaller and more frequent disbursements,
• 511 was an incentive to squandering. Of a sample of tribal members
on the reservation from whom data are available, over one-half were deemed poor in money management or were so deficient that their funds had been programmed.[14]

*648 There were special areas of extravagance. Upon the open
*657 reservation the automobile had replaced the horse, both as a
511 means of transportation and as an extremely personal symbol of
493 wealth. Low down payments furnished an inducement to buy;
452 but among the improvident automobiles were often loaned to
[556] friends and relatives who might then prove irresponsible. Upon
[426] rough reservation roads, automobiles often did not survive to
see the last installment payment. As a consequence, it had proved difficult for any tribal member to secure automobile insurance.

Observed Superintendent Fred A. Baker in 1924:

> If I were called upon to name one thing which has tended more than anything else to the squandering of the funds of the Klamath Indians I should mention the purchase of expensive automobiles. The first step was the issuance of a patent in fee for the sale of inherited lands. The second, the turning over of the funds to the Indian. The third step, the purchase of a high priced automobile, with the subsequent necessity of its upkeep and maintenance. The effect upon the life of the Indian has been demoralizing in that it invites him to take long and expensive trips and to absent himself from his home to the neglect of his farming operations and the building up and improvement of his allotment.[15]

*648 Items such as automobiles which the Klamath purchased
*657 were often esteemed by whites as status symbols; and many of
511 them resented the circumstances that the Klamath not only
493

acquired those symbols largely without the toil which tended to 648*
legitimize them, but used them so casually that they stripped 657*
them of worth. As with their playing with sportsmanship values 511
in their hunting and fishing, many Klamath seemed aware of 493
this resentment, and for them purchase represented in part an
act of defiance.

In summary, then, during the latter days of the reservation 648*
the Klamath were an economic minority upon their own reservation 657*
as well as in the cities and towns beyond its boundaries. 434
If they were restricted in the disposal of their property, they nonetheless were assured a periodic flow of income and enjoyed special immunities and rights. As they often expressed it, they had already achieved that retirement from economic endeavor toward which less-fortunate fellow citizens usually had to devote a lifetime. It was a very special economic niche, and one which carried grave disadvantages, not only as a preparation for a career in the outside world, but even for articulation within the reservation communities.

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common 101
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 177
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological [184]
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy,
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present [224]
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly 648
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties:
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an ar- [829]
tificial construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet 178
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-resi-
dence with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been trans- 648
ferred to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural [241]
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber indus- [511]
try has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

K M 342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old
352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the
513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another
K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are
M houses that hold more than two families and others that hold
[592] K only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no
M longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content
342 888 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.

735 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women
K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered
M the visitor[11] are of powerful frame–though of no more than
142 average height–and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily
K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber
M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early
291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing
[177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the
trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down
the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside
add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a
K mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in
M 302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips
301 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads,
ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum
K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy
M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face,
304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by
[142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter prac-
[177] tice, says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit
River neighbors of the Modoc.

K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys.
M 512 Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grand-
[859] father and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black
waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the
sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to
stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its
K cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the
M [252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it
[415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they
[177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

Families

K M
eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food 512 •
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302]
[412]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [364]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K M
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M
221
756
796

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159
156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from
his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never
[461] worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen.
Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five
[871] school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from
the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at
[592] home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger sib-
[434] lings may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal
income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly
[657] for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the
bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very
reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit
[582] Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging
[618] company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the
logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually
[221] away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when
drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father
does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household
[593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his
father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion
knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this per-
[848] son is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity,
which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's
*159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards
156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or
593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting,
and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits
the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls,
and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt
and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common
[421] activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to
one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his be-
longings, and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle
for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not
borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which
engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the
father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom
she spends much time.

*159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks
156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the
law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time
[673] loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his
buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom
[512] awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away
from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which
may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

000 on nature, physically and mentally, than we are.. What distinguishes the civilized man from the primitive man of our days and of prehistoric ages is his greater faculty of turning to account the patent and the hidden powers of nature, or the invention of handicrafts, arts, and sciences. In this the savage man lags far behind the man of culture, and although we often have to admire the ingenuity and shrewdness displayed by the American native in his hunting and fishing implements and practices, the art of agriculture, without which there can be no real human culture, has never been pursued to any considerable extent by the Indians living north of the thirtieth parallel of latitude.

512 The climate of their home compels the Máklaks Indians to lead an
157 active and laborious life. Except in the coldest days of winter they are
[147] almost always engaged in some outdoor work, either hunting, fishing, or cutting wood, gathering vegetal food, or traveling on horseback. Pursuits like these and the pure, bracing air of the highlands render their constitutions hardy and healthy, their minds active, wide awake, and intelligent. They are quick-sighted and quick in their acts, but slow in expressing delight, wonder, astonishment, or disgust at anything they see. Often they do not grasp the meaning of what they observe being done by the white people, and thus appear to us indifferent to many of the highest attainments
177 of modern culture. Children and adults are prone to reject or slow to adopt
[178] the blessings of civilization, because many of these are of no practical use to a hunting and fishing people, and others are past their understanding.

The first things they generally adopt from the white people are the citizen's dress and handy articles of manufacture, as beads, tobacco, knives, guns, steel traps; also wagons and other vehicles; for when in possession of these last the horses, which they had obtained long before, can be put to better account They are also quick in adopting English baptismal names, sometimes discarding but oftener retaining their descriptive or burlesque nomenclature from the Klamath language. Gradually they adopt also with the money of the white man the elements of arithmetic, and learn to compute days and months according to his calendar. After another lapse of time they introduce some of the white man's laws, discard polygamy and slavery,

343 as in "one big family." This is inevitably a matter of personal pref-
252 erence; some dwellings have two cooking lodges attached, the families
592 eating separately and sharing food only as friendship dictates. The
mortars and grinding slabs are kept in the cooking-lodge. The intro-
[177] duction of flour has wrought a change in these habits. Loaves of
bread are baked in the ashes in the earth-lodge itself. Flour is always
[262] shared among the inmates. I was assured that there was no earlier
custom resembling this.

264 But two meals a day are eaten, morning and evening. I was also
574 told that there is no regular period for meals. Visitors are given
something on their arrival, such as a little pond-lily seed, but no stress
is placed on this phase of hospitality. A sort of grace is said before
eating.

352 The entire floor of the earth-lodge or summer mat-house is carpeted
with mats except for the space within the four central posts. Thicker
piles of these for beds are placed all around the walls, but the best
352 locations are at the sides (*O*, fig. 19). Children might sleep in the
corners. People always sleep with their feet toward the fire, no
• 513 matter in what direction their heads then lie.[374]

Beds (slai'is) are of mats of various sorts. Rich people use tule, the twined mats (slai'is) being preferred to the sewn (st!ōps). One or more of these laid on dry grass serves as a mattress, or they sleep directly on the grass. One or two more form the covering. The few who have them use grizzly bear, coyote, wolf, lynx (? slowa'), or deer pelts, or several *Bassariscus* (? slĕt) skins sewn together, for mattress and blanket (sa'wale). A blanket for a little child is made from the skin of a red fox, a stretched raccoon skin, or several marten skins sewn together. Blankets (called sōlūmtai') are also made of tule and cat-tail twined to produce a checkerboard decoration. Others are made of tules with the wing feathers of water fowl (pelicans, geese, swans, ducks, etc.) caught in one face. These are called lă'cdā-lap'ō'tᴇ, wing feathers (lac) put together. Another type of feather blanket (called ķ'a'lyᴇ) is made of the dried skins of waterfowl twisted with a cord to form a fluffy rope. This is twined with cords inserted at intervals to form the blanket. Pillows (sᴇ'o'lhas) are a heap of grass, or anything else, even wood, but the wooden headrest of the lower Klamath river tribes is unknown. Gatschet records a sack stuffed with mallard duck down for a pillow.[375]

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[374] I could find no notion that a sleeper is affected by moonlight.

[375] 1:144.

513 It is customary to rise (bŏ'tgal) before the sun has risen, at least in winter. At that season when they sit late telling stories, they retire (k'ta'ndja) when Orion's belt has risen two-thirds of the distance to the zenith (lo'lalŏks, bedtime).

[387] Old people sun themselves on the roof tops. Those who are decrepit and cannot climb into the earth-lodge are housed in mat-houses near-by.

SWEAT-LODGES

343 The earth-lodge is so warm, at least at night, that it might well have taken the place of the smaller sweat-lodges. These however are regularly made, preferably beside a body of water into which the bathers can jump after sweating. The lodges (spo'klīks) are of two types, differentiated, it was suggested, for summer and winter use. There are now more of the former type in use than the latter, which suggests a case of substitution.

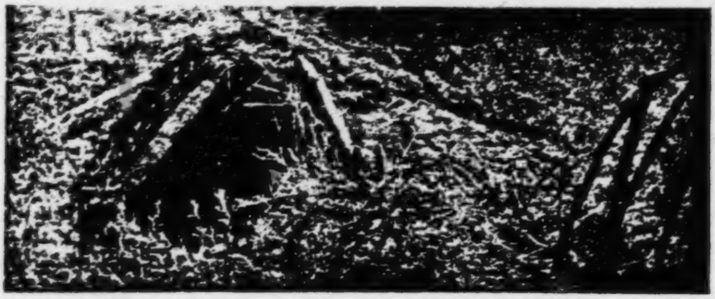

Fig. 20. Winter sweat-lodge. A portion of a summer sweat-lodge appears at the right.

The "summer" lodge is dome-shaped and mat-covered, hence sometimes called stī'na'c like the dome-shaped dwelling. Willows are set in the ground about a circle four to six feet in diameter, arched, and bound together at a height of three and a half feet. There are no horizontal ribs. Tule mats form the covering, with layers of green grass between to prevent the escape of the steam. When the summer lodge is kept for winter use, dirt is banked against the sides. The carpeting is of grass or leaves, green or dry according to season.

The "winter" lodge (ke'lowac, a descriptive term?) is built over an elliptical pit, eighteen inches or less in depth. It is smaller than the summer lodge, and up to five feet in length. The roof over this

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
767b. Earth covering partial	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	343
768. Earth covering all over	•+	+	-	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768a. Main entrance through roof	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
768b. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768c. Flush	+	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768d. In end of house	+	+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
768e. Secondary entrance at ground level	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769. Sliding wooden door	•-	•-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769a. Stone paved "porch"	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769b. Steam or hot-rock heat	•+	•(+)	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
770. Direct-fire heat	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
770a. Small, for 1-4 persons	•+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
770b. Large, for group	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
770c. Used throughout year	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	+	
771. Used in winter only	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
772. Used by both sexes	+	+	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
773. Used by men only	-	-	-	•+	(+)	-	-	+	•-	•-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
774. Used by mourners only	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
775. Communally owned	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	+	-	-		
Plains-Type Sweat House																	
776. Plains-type sweat house	•+	•+	•+	•+	•R	•R	•+	•(-)	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	
777. Dome shaped	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
778. Mat covered	+	+	•+	+	R	-	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
778a. Hide covered	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
779. Brush, bough covered	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	(-)	•+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	
780. Small, for 1-3 persons	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	
781. Steam heat	+	+	+	•+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	
782. Used throughout year	-	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)		-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
783. Used in summer only	+	-	-	-	•-	-	-	(-)		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Sweating Customs																	
784. Individual sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	+	-	515
785. Sweating in groups of 2-4, or larger	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	
786. Women sometimes sweat with men	+	+	+	•+	•R	•+	•+	-	-	•+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	[562]
787. Women sometimes sweat separately	+	+	+	+	R	+	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
788. Sweating daily or every 2-3 days	+	-	-	•+	+	R	•-	-	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	
789. Sweaters sit or crouch	+	+	•+	+	+	R	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
790. Sweaters lie down	•+	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	
791. Sweaters "dance around"	-	-	•+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
792. Formalized sweat dance	-	-				-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	•(-)	[535]
793. Sweaters kneel	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
794. All men sleep in sweat house occasionally	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	[513]
795. Male mourners sleep in sweat house	•+	•+		-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
796. Unmarried old men sleep, eat in sweat house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	•-	-	+	
797. Men gamble in sweat house	-	-	-	•-	-	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	-	•-	•-	
798. Men work (handicrafts) in sweat house	-	-	+	-	-	•+	•+	•-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	•-	•-	
799. Youths gather fuel for sweating	-	-	-	+		•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	•-	-	•-	
800. Office of fire maker	-	•-	•+	•+	-	-	-	+	•+	•R	-	·	•+	+	•+	•+	[312]
801. Competitive sweat groups	-	-	-	•+	-	•-	-	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	[372]
802. All sweators sing	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	[533]
803. 1 man sings for group	-	-				-	-	•(+)	•+	•+	-	+	•+	-	-	-	
804. Sweat for success in hunting	+	•+	•+	•+	+	-	+	-	•+	•+	-	+	·	-	-	-	[224]
805. Sweat for success in gambling	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	·	-	-	-	[525]
806. Sweat for general good luck	+	+		+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	[777]
807. Sweat as cure for disease	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	•+	-	-	·	+	+	-	
808. Scarify selves, let blood drip on hot rocks	-	+	+	•+				-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[757]
809. Sweat to cleanse body	-	-	+	+		+	•+	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	[204]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
515 810. Pray or wish while sweating	·+	·+	(+)	+	R	R	·+	+	·+	·+	+	(+)	−	−	−	−
782 811. Cold bath follows sweat	+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	+	(−)	+	+	−	+
House Furnishings and Arrangement																
281 812. Blankets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
813. Elk and deerskin	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
513 814. Painted hides for fine blankets	−	−	−			−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
815. Woven rabbitskin blankets	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
816. Patchwork skin blankets	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
817. Deerskin	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
818. Coyote skin	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
819. Wildcat skin	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
820. Raccoon skin	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
821. Rabbitskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
822. Blue-fox skin	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−
[439] 823. Buffalo hides, imported for blankets	−		+	+	·+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[237] 824. Feather blankets	+	·+	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	·+
825. Loose tule, grass blanket covering	+	+	+		+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
826. Pillows	+	+	+	+	.	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.
827. Individual wooden pillow	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
828. Pole pillow	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	.
829. Piece of wood or rock	+	−	−		−	−			+	+	+	.	−	−	+	.
830. Rolled skin	−	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.
831. Rolled tule mat	−	−	+	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
832. Leaf or grass pillow	−	+	−	−	(+)	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.
584 833. Pine needles heaped up for pillow	−	+	−	−			−	−	−	−	(−)	+	−	−	−	.
†834. Wooden foot drum	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−	R	R	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+
†835. Hollow half log	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	.	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†836. In line with door	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†837. Over hole in ground	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	+	+	+	+	,	+
†838. Post before drum	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	R	R	+	.	−	−	−	+
361 †838a. Houses in rows	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
†838b. Houses in circle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	−	·+
Shelters																
Brush Enclosures and Shades																
417 839. Roofless circular brush enclosure	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
840. Large, used for ceremonies	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
[574] 841. As camping place for visitors	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	−	−	−
[764] 842. At cemeteries only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	+	−	+	+
843. Fire in center	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
844. Opening(s) oriented	−	·+	·+	·+	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	·+	−	·+	−	−	.	·+
845. Same, but smaller, for summer shelter	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
846. Partly roofed over	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
847. Roofed circular brush enclosure	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−		−
848. Shades	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	−	+	+	−	·+
849. Horizontal roof	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
850. Sloping roof	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
851. 4 supporting posts	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+
852. 3 side walls	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
853. Brush heaped around pit mortars, for shade	−	−	−		−	−	−		−	−	−	(+)	+	+	−	−
854. Conical bark grinding house, 2 families	−	−	−		+	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Menstrual Huts																
343 855. Menstrual hut	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+
841 856. Similar to living house, but smaller	−	−	−	·+	−	+	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	·+	·+	+	−

for the seclusion of menstruant or parturient women, contact with K 361 342
whom is particularly injurious to shamans. 343

The earth lodges, frequently dismantled in the spring after K
becoming waterlogged by the melting snows, are rebuilt in the M
fall. They are semisubterranean, built within a circular pit one 342
to four feet in depth—the Modoc excavations tend to be some-
what deeper than the Klamath—and range in diameter from
twelve feet for a single family to over thirty-five feet for the
residence of a shaman. Four central posts support horizontal
plates, with a split-log beam slanting down from each corner into
the ground beyond the edge of the pit. Horizontal stringers be-
tween the beams in turn bear a layer of rafters, laid side by side
around the house. Cracks are chinked with sticks and bark; and
the surface is covered successively with rough matting, with
grass laid along the lower edge, and finally with dirt. On top,
rough planks are laid between the plates, leaving a hatchway
that serves simultaneously as smoke hole and entrance.

A similar structure, erected over a shallow depression or none k
at all, lacking the earth covering, and with side entrance, might m [184]
also be used during the winter, but is most frequently the resi-
dence of warmer weather. The house is constructed by its future
residents: working together, says Ray, Modoc may take a month
to build an earth lodge.

Both Klamath and Modoc conceive of the house as facing east, K
and on that side a stairway ascends. Within, a ladder thrusts m 342
through the hatchway, and down this the visitor climbs, being 352
careful, if a woman, to manage her fringed skirt to observe the 353
proper modesty. Once below and standing beside the central [417]
fireplace, he makes out the dim details. Behind him, at the front [354]
of the house, firewood is stacked in tiers, while across the back
a partition has been made behind which are stored foodstuffs and
gear. Many houses dispense with a partition, and supplies are
kept on the ledge between pit and wall. From the rafters dried
fish and roots hang. The floor is covered with mats, which some- K
times extend up the walls. Along the walls the members of the M 342
household sit or sleep upon a bedding of mats thrown over grass, 352
with an occasional blanket woven of tule and cattail, sometimes 513
with feathers worked in, or of animal pelt. The left side of the
house, as the visitor faces forward, is reserved for the family

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K M 342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old
352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the
• 513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another
K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are
M [592] houses that hold more than two families and others that hold
K only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no
M longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content
342 888 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.
735 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women
K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered
M 142 the visitor[11] are of powerful frame—though of no more than
average height—and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily
K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber
M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early
291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing
[177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the
trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down
the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside
add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a
K mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in
302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips
301 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads,
ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum
K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy
M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face,
304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by
[142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter prac-
[177] tice, says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit
River neighbors of the Modoc.

K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys.
M 512 Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grand-
[857] father and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black
waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the
sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to
stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its
K M cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the
[252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it
[415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they
[177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

Another circling dance, called sko'tepŭs, may not be a social dance 535
but may be used in the scalp and war dances in a way that is not clear. Here those in the circle do not hold hands and their step consists in shuffling along by moving the toes and heels alternately.

The headdress for dancers consists of long eagle feathers, or a [292]
bunch of small eagle and gull feathers may be kept in place on top of the basket hat by means of cord passing under the chin. Downy feathers are hung pendant at the back of the head.

New Year's observances, or new fire ceremony, such as the Yurok 796
and Karok know, are not found among the Klamath.[144] 171*

ETIQUETTE

The Klamath are on the whole a hospitable and friendly lot. 574
Good breeding demands that visitors be invited to share one's meal. There is no studied effort at ostentatious feasting, however, nor is food forced on a visitor in the manner of our eastern Indians. If visitors, men or women, arrive at meal time, the children of the household are sent out on the pretext, as they tell the children, that the food will stick in the visitors' gullets. A kind of grace is said before eating. Bits of food are cast toward the spirit places to feed them first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula[145] is a prayer. Good form does not demand that the visitors clean up their portions,
nor does one hear the smacking of lips in appreciation. There is 264
among them no objection to noisy eating. Children are told not to talk while eating fish, for fear of their swallowing bones. It is usual
to rinse the mouth with water before and after eating. Soiled fingers [515]
are washed in a near-by stream after the meal. Children are definitely instructed in good behavior.

The common salutation to the visitor is i gŏtpi'iz, yes, have you 576
come?, followed by go'li, come in. On leaving, the guest announces i gă'mbĭn, yes, I am going, which evokes the invariable response i gă'mbli, yes, go. One hears moĭ'nakăndĭte, thank you, but rarely.

For a man to remove a woman's hat from her head is reprehensible; it is usually construed as a solicitation.

Certain behavior is not so much a matter of general good form as [481]
of sex difference. Egress from the earth-lodge is by a ladder projecting through the hatchway overhead. Men mount the rungs facing the ladder, but women place their feet sideways, mounting crab-wise.

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[144] Kroeber, Handbook, 53, 102.

[145] See p. 168.

throw to the ground and the stones. I am not sure that this formula is a prayer. If they neglect this grace, the ground (ġe'lᴇ) will harm the little children.[290]

It is customary to take a mouthful of water to wash out the mouth before eating. [515]

CANOES

The Klamath canoe is a clumsy-looking, trough-like affair, with blunt ends, heavy and long. But I have seen an old woman guide a fully laden twenty-foot canoe upstream through a log jam in a manner to awaken considerable respect for their riding qualities. They look unwieldy, but with the load and paddler set well aft so that the prow rides out of the water they can be spun about on the stern as a pivot and driven through the still waters of much of Klamath territory with considerable ease.[291] 501

The shape of the canoe (wüntc) is exactly that of the peeled log, hollowed to a thin shell, and the ends beveled upward from the waterline quite sharply. They vary much in length but are remarkably uniform in width, eighteen to twenty-four inches, which is the diameter of the majority of the firs used for canoes in this country. Most of the canoes are made relatively short, ten to twenty feet, to wind about in the narrow crooked channels of the marshes. One canoe measured eighteen feet long, twenty inches in greatest width, and sixteen or eighteen inches from gunwale to keel. Another old example was fifteen feet long, seventeen inches wide, eight inches deep at the waist rising to twelve inches at the ends, which were somewhat pointed, with the under surface of the nose and stern rising at an angle of about thirty-five degrees. Larger canoes for transport on the open lake measure up to thirty-five feet in length, three feet wide, and thigh-deep inside, I was told.

Fir is the most suitable wood, pine makes a canoe that is too heavy to handle, and the cedars in this region are too small for canoes.[292] Besides this, cedar readliy cracks when it is dry, especially in such thin shells as these. One of my informants even said that cedar canoes are too light to handle properly! Fir also checks and cracks but not

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[290] For further notes on utensils and the etiquette of meals, see below.

[291] For illustrations, see Barrett, Material Culture, pl. 10; Coville, Wokas, pls. 3, 4, 5.

[292] My informants probably meant by "fir" the yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.) and by "pine" the sugar pine (*Pinus lambertiana* Dougl.). Coville does not list fir in this region (cf. Notes, especially p. 89). [114]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Hunting Observances																
224 o137. First kill taboo to youth	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
138. To youth's parents also	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+
139. Kill taboo until marriage	−	−	−	−	•−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
140. Youth switched after first kill	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
141. Before he goes to kill first deer	+	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
142. Taboo to voice intent to hunt deer	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
o143. Hunter fasts morning or day of hunt	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	±	−	+
[934] 144. Sexual continence before hunt	−	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[276] 145. Tobacco smoked ritually before hunt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	•+	−	•+
146. Root incense before hunt	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
[783] 147. Weapons smoked over fire	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
148. Hunter smokes self over fire	.	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	−	+	+	+	•−	+	−
149. Root chewed before hunt	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
150. Sweating before hunt	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
[515] 151. With scarification and bleeding	−	+	•+	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
152. Hunter prays while sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•−	−	•−	−	−	−
153. Shell bead burnt as offering	−										+	+	+	−	−	•−
[515] 154. Bathing before hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
155. Body swabbed with medicine	−	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	+	•+
156. Deer doctor charms game prior to hunt	−	+	+			•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
157. Antelope doctor charms game prior to hunt	−	+	.		o	o	+	−	o	o	o	−	o	−	o	−
158. Ceremony before group hunt	−	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
159. Singing	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Praying	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
161. Dancing	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
162. Hoof rattle	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	+	−
163. Cocoon rattle	−		−		−			−	−		+	+	+	+	−	−
163a. Split-stick rattle	−	−	•R	−	−	•R		+	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	•+
164. Headdress	−	−	+			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	−
165. Conducted by shaman	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
166. Acorn-soup dinner									•+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+
167. Ceremony after hunt	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	.	+	•+	−	+
[782] 168. Offerings made for success of hunt	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•.	•+
168a. Eagle down	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−
168b. Tobacco	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	.	−
[756] 169. Shaman goes on hunt to charm game	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•−	+	−
170. Bear spoken to in den or woods	•−	•+	•+	+	•+	•−	o	−	+	.	+	•+	o	.	(+)	•+
171. Addressed by kin term	−	.	+	−	+	−	o	−	−	.	+	+	o	.	(+)	+
172. Apologetic speech after killing	−	−	+	•−	+	−	o	−	+	.	+	+	o	.	−	+
173. Meat eaten in one house	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	+	(+)	o	.	+	−
174. All who eat must wash, be continent	−	+	+	•−							+	+	o	.	+	−
175. Remains in tree or hidden in woods	−	−	+	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	+	−	o	.	−	−
176. Remains burnt	−	−	−			+	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	.	−	+
177. Killing pregnant bear causes death, misfortune	−	.	−	+	−	−	o	−	−	−	.	+	o	.	−	−
[202] 178. Smoke or fire signals when 2 or more hunt together	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
179. Shouting as signal	−	−							+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
180. To obtain aid in packing kill	+	•+	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+
Butchering of Large Game																
181. Large game butchered in woods	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	•−	+	+
182. Lying	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
183. Eyes cut out	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
184. Given to child to eat raw	−	−	−	•−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
185. Nose cut or tied	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
186. Paunch cleaned, filled with blood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+
187. Carcass packed home whole	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	+	+	+	−	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) . 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
252 476. Eaten dry	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	−	+
477. Buckeyes eaten	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
478. Leached	o	o	o	−	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
479. Boiled whole	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	−	−	+	o
480. Earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
481. For flesh food	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
482. For vegetable food	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
483. Food sprinkled with water	−		+	+	−		−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
484. Food covered with leaves or grass	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
485. Water sprinkled into oven after closed up	−	+	−	−	−		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
486. Eggs cooked	+	+	+			+	+		+		+			+	+	+
487. Baked in earth oven	+	−	−		−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
488. Baked in hot ashes	−	+	+			−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
489. Stone boiled in basket	−	+	+								+	−	−	+	+	+
272 490. Berry "cider"	+	o	+	+	+	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
491. Sipped with deer tail	−	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−
263 492. Salt obtained in mineral form, dry	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
493. Salt from spring or marsh	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
494. Salt locally	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
[439] 495. Salt imported	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
496. Used little or not at all; disliked	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
497. "Salt" from burning grass	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
498. "Salt" clover eaten fresh	−	+	−					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262 499. Soaproot eaten	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	+	+	−
500. Top eaten	o	o	o	−	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	−	−	+	+	−
501. Root eaten	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	+	−	−
502. Cooked in earth oven	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	−	−	−
[278] 503. Root concoction drunk as medicine	o	o	o	−	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	−	−	.	−	−
[439] 504. Imported if not obtainable locally	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
[515] 505. Soaproot for washing	o	o	o	+	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	R	+
506. Milkweed chewing gum	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[26] 507. Pine pitch chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	o	+	+	+
508. Pine "sugar"	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
509. Honeydew from leaves eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
510. Inner bark of trees eaten.	+	−	+	−	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
511. Mushrooms and fungi eaten											+	+	+			+
512. Fresh or dried											+	+	+			+

Eating Customs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
264 513. Men served before women, if crowd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
[562] 514. All eat out of one basket	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
515. Men each have own basket	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
516. Women also have separate baskets	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
517. Man and wife eat from same basket	+	+	+						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
[865] 518. Children "piece" whenever hungry						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
519. Two main meals daily, usually	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
520. Three main meals daily	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−		−	−	−	−	−	+
[574] 521. Meal whenever visitor arrives	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Hands washed after eating deer, bear meat	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
[515] 523. Men's rule only	−	−	−			−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−
524. Wipe face, hands with grass, bark after eating	+	+	+						+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

Storage of Food

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
251 525. Outdoor granaries	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
526. Against tree	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
527. In burnt tree stump	−		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
528. On platform in tree; covered	−	+	+			+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
767b. Earth covering partial	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	343
768. Earth covering all over	*+	+	-	*+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768a. Main entrance through roof	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
768b. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768c. Flush	+	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768d. In end of house	+	+	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
768e. Secondary entrance at ground level	-	-	-	*+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769. Sliding wooden door	*-	*-	-	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769a. Stone paved "porch"	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769b. Steam or hot-rock heat	*+	*(+)	-	-	-	-	*-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
770. Direct-fire heat	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	*+	*+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
770a. Small, for 1-4 persons	*+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
770b. Large, for group	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	
770c. Used throughout year	*+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	*+	-	-	+	
771. Used in winter only	*+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
772. Used by both sexes	+	+	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
773. Used by men only	-	-	-	*+	(+)	-	-	+	*-	*-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
774. Used by mourners only	*+	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
775. Communally owned	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	+	-	-		
Plains-Type Sweat House																	
776. Plains-type sweat house	*+	*+	*+	*+	*R	*R	*+	*(-)	*+	*+	-	-	-	-	*+	-	
777. Dome shaped	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
778. Mat covered	+	+	*+	+	R	-	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
778a. Hide covered	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
779. Brush, bough covered	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	(-)	*+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	
780. Small, for 1-3 persons	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	
781. Steam heat	+	+	+	*+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	
782. Used throughout year	-	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)		-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
783. Used in summer only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Sweating Customs																	
784. Individual sweating	*+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	*+	*+	-	-	-	-	+	-	515
785. Sweating in groups of 2-4, or larger	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	-	+	
786. Women sometimes sweat with men	+	+	+	*+	*R	*+	*+	-	-	*+	+	+	*+	+	-	-	[562]
787. Women sometimes sweat separately	+	+	+	+	R	+	*+	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
788. Sweating daily or every 2-3 days	+	-	-	*+	+	R	*-	-	*+	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	
789. Sweaters sit or crouch	+	+	*+	+	+	R	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
790. Sweaters lie down	*+	*+	-	-	*+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	
791. Sweaters "dance around"	-	-	*+	*+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
792. Formalized sweat dance	-	-				-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	*(+)	[535]
793. Sweaters kneel	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
794. All men sleep in sweat house occasionally	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	*+	+	-	-	[513]
795. Male mourners sleep in sweat house	*+	*+		-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
796. Unmarried old men sleep, eat in sweat house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	*+	*-	-	+	
797. Men gamble in sweat house	-	-	-	*-	-	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	-	*-	*-	
798. Men work (handicrafts) in sweat house	-	-	+	-	-	*+	*+	*-	-	+	+	+	*+	-	*-	*-	
799. Youths gather fuel for sweating	-	-		+		*+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	*-	-	*-	
800. Office of fire maker	-	*-	*+	*+	-	-	-	+	*+	*R	-	·	*+	+	*+	*+	[312]
801. Competitive sweat groups	-	-	-	*+	-	*-	-	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	[372]
802. All sweators sing	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	[533]
803. 1 man sings for group	-	-				-	-	*(+)	*+	*+	-	+	*+	-	-	-	
804. Sweat for success in hunting	+	*+	*+	*+	+	-	+	-	*+	*+	-	+	·	-	-	-	[224]
805. Sweat for success in gambling	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	·	-	-	-	[525]
806. Sweat for general good luck	+	+		+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	[777]
807. Sweat as cure for disease	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	*+	-	-	·	+	+	-	
808. Scarify selves, let blood drip on hot rocks	-	+	+	*+				-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[757]
809. Sweat to cleanse body	-	-	+	+		+	*+	-	*+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	[304]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
515 810. Pray or wish while sweating	•+	•+	(+)	+	R	R	•+	+	•+	•+	+	(+)	–	–	–	–
782 811. Cold bath follows sweat	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	(–)	+	+	–	+

House Furnishings and Arrangement

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
281 812. Blankets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
813. Elk and deerskin	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
513 814. Painted hides for fine blankets	–	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
815. Woven rabbitskin blankets	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
816. Patchwork skin blankets	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
817. Deerskin	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
818. Coyote skin	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
819. Wildcat skin	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
820. Raccoon skin	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
821. Rabbitskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
822. Blue-fox skin	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–
[429] 823. Buffalo hides, imported for blankets	–		+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[237] 824. Feather blankets	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	•+
825. Loose tule, grass blanket covering	+	+	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
826. Pillows	+	+	+	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.
827. Individual wooden pillow	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
828. Pole pillow	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.
829. Piece of wood or rock	+	–	–		–	–			+	+	+	.	–	–	+	.
830. Rolled skin	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.
831. Rolled tule mat	–	–	+	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
832. Leaf or grass pillow	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.
534 833. Pine needles heaped up for pillow	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	–	(–)	+	–	–	–	.
†834. Wooden foot drum	–	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	•R	•R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
†835. Hollow half log	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	.	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†836. In line with door	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†837. Over hole in ground	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	.	+
†838. Post before drum	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	.	–	–	–	+
361 †838a. Houses in rows	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
†838b. Houses in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	.	–	•+

Shelters

Brush Enclosures and Shades

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
417 839. Roofless circular brush enclosure	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
840. Large, used for ceremonies	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
[574] 841. As camping place for visitors	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–
[764] 842. At cemeteries only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	+	+
843. Fire in center	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
844. Opening(s) oriented	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	.	•+
845. Same, but smaller, for summer shelter	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
846. Partly roofed over	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
847. Roofed circular brush enclosure	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–		–
848. Shades	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	–	•+
849. Horizontal roof	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
850. Sloping roof	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
851. 4 supporting posts	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
852. 3 side walls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
853. Brush heaped around pit mortars, for shade	–	–	–		–	–	–		–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–
854. Conical bark grinding house, 2 families	–	–	–		+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Menstrual Huts

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
343 855. Menstrual hut	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
841 856. Similar to living house, but smaller	–	–	–	•+	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1529. 2 half-length clubs, front of shoulders or at sides of head	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	302
1530. Men	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1531. Women	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1532. Boys	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1533. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1534. 1 full-length roll down back	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1535. Men	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1536. Women	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1537. Girls	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1538. 1 half-length club down back, men	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1539. Hair tied above both shoulders; hangs down unrolled, men	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
1540. Ribbons of fur or buckskin	+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1541. Buckskin strip with woodpecker scalp	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	301
1542. Strung shells	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1543. Shell pendants on end	–	–	.	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1544. Hairpins of bone	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1545. Flowers in hair	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	
Comb or Brush																	
1546. Soaproot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	302
1547. Twig bundle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1548. Roots, bound together for flat brush	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1549. Porcupine tail	•(–)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1550. Fishbone	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1551. Pine cone	–	–	+	+	+	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
1552. Pine needles	–	–	–						+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
1553. Single stick as comb	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	
1554. Hands to smooth hair	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Care of Hair																	
1555. Hair dyed	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•R	–	–	•R	
1556. 2 persons delouse each other's heads	+		.			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	.	[515]
1557. Hair greased	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
1558. Marrow or fat	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
1559. Otter oil	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1560. Burned pepperwood gourds	o	o	o	•+	–	–	–	o	–	o	o	o	–	–	o	–	
1561. Vegetable, mineral shampoo	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	+	
1562. Soaproot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	+	
1563. Manroot	–	–						+		–	–	–	–	–		–	
1564. Wild carrot (?) root	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1565. Seed decoction	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1566. Alkali dust	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1567. Hair "whipped" with stick to dry	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1568. Hair perfumed	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	
1569. Aromatic plant	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	
1570. Silver pine nuts, boys, girls								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	
1571. Beaver musk	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1572. Hunters only			–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Face and Body Paints and Powders																	
1573. Red paint	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	302
1574. Fungus	–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	
1575. Pine flowerets	–							•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	386
1576. Juice from plants	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	
1577. Alder sap	–	–	+								–	–	–	–	–	–	

2; Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2490. Moving figures	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	+	–	+
2492. Done in winter only	+	•+	–	–						–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2493. Done any time, for fun	–	–	+							+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	–	•+						–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481] 2494a. Stilts	–	•+	–	–	•+	R	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–

Contests

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
526 2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. To throw man down	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. No tripping allowed	–	+	–			+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	.	–
2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	–	+	+	.
2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								–	+	+	+	+	+
2502. Dodging	–	+	–			+	+	•	–	–	–	(–)	–	+	–	+
2503. Stones	–	+	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–
2504. Hard objects inside geese	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–
2505. Sand bag	–	–	–					•+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–
2506. Tule, grass balls	–	+	–					–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+
2507. Two sides	–	+	–			+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
o2508. Number on each side	–	•5	–			1	.	15	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–
2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[857] 2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	.	–
2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	.	+
2515. To mark and back	–	–	–			+	+	–	+	–	.	+	+	+	–	–
2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+			+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+
2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+

Storytelling

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
528 2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2520. Myths told at night	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•.		•+	•+
[516] 2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.		–	+
2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	•+	+	–			+		+	–	+	–	–	.		–	–
[784] 2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
2524. Rattlesnake will bite	–	+	.		+	+	+	+	–	.	+	–	.		.	–
[887] 2525. Winter will come quickly	+	–	.						+	.	+	–	.		.	–
2526. Narrated by old people only	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
[515] 2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	•–	+	+			+				+	–	+	.		+	+
2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	–	+	+			+				+	–	+	.		+	+

Social Dances

Circle Dances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
535 2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	•R	•+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	–	R	–		–	–
[417] 2530. Performed in brush corral	–	–	+	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
[224] 2532. At fall rabbit hunt	–	–	–	–		–	+	–		–	–	–	–		–	–
[221] 2533. In springtime	–	–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[226] 2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2535. During communal fishing periods	+	+	+							+	–	–	–		–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2536. Any time	–	–	–	+		–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	535
2537. Several bands assemble together	+	–	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	
2538. Young people dance, mainly	–	+									–	–	–		–	–	
2539. Purpose mainly pleasure	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	[789]
2540. To make seeds grow	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2541. Dance around center post	–	+	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–	
2542. Juniper tree	–	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2543. Dance around fire	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2544. All dancers sing	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[533]
†2545. Special singers	–	–	–	–		–	2	–	4	–	–	1	–		–	–	
2546. Each local group sings own songs, in turn	+	–	+			+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2547. Split-stick rattle accompaniment	–	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2548. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	+			+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2549. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–		–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[562]
2550. Men choose partners	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2551. Dance in 1 circle	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2552. Dance in 2 concentric circles	+	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
2553. Dance in 2 circles next to each other	–	–	–			+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2554. Sexes alternate	+	–	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2555. Sexes dance opposite each other in 1 circle	+	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2556. Quick shuffle step	+	(+)	+	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
2557. Hopping step	–	.	–	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2558. Stamp both feet, moving slightly									+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2559. Start: counterclockwise	+	(+)	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2560. Reverse: dance clockwise	–	.	–	+		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2561. When dance stops, all shout	+	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2562. Good singer dance leader	+	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2563. Band or district chief dance leader	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	[622]
2564. Clowns	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2565. Act of own accord; not appointed	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	[522]
o2566. Duration of dance, nights	1	1	1	1		1	1	3	1	2	–	2	–		–	–	
2567. Dance occasion for courting	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2568. Visitors camp in circular brush corral	–	–	+	–		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[574]
2569. Visitors feasted by hosts	–	–	+			+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
Sweat "Dance"																	
2570. Held inside sweat house											+	+	+		–	–	[515]
2571. At night											+	+	+		–	–	
2572. Any time of year												+	+		–	–	
2573. Both sexes participate											+	+	–		–	–	
2574. Hot fire in sweat house											+	+	+		–	–	
2575. 1 singer; hits center pole with stick											+	–	–		–	–	[523]
2576. Split-stick rattle used											–	+	–		–	–	
2577. Participants stand in 1 spot, dance until exhausted											+	+	+		–	–	
2578. Swim after dancing											+	+	+		–	–	[481]
Bear Dances																	
2579. Bear dance aboriginal	–	–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+	[177]
2580. Given for good time	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2581. Given to dress bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2582. Held in spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
2583. Held in winter	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
2584. Held any time, in good weather	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2585. Danced in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+	
2586. Danced in open	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	–	
o2587. Whole gathering lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	–		–	2	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
535 ‡2588. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	3	2	–		–	1
o2589. Actual dance lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–		–	1
o2590. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	2	1	2	–		–	–
2591. Dance begins near sundown	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
2592. Dance begins in morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
o2593. Number of singers, musicians	–	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	–		•2	1	–		–	2
2594. Split-stick rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+
2595. Deer-hoof rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2596. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2597. Women, only, dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–
2598. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2599. Touch with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–
2600. Each person dances separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	+
2601. Dancers abreast	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
2602. Dancers in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2603. Stretch bear hide, as out to dry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[533] 2604. Male singer sits by hide and sings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2605. Women, or man, rub, hit bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2606. Man puts on bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+
2607. In morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	(+)
2608. Dances, walks with bearskin on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
2609. Impersonates bear, claws tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
2610. Dog set onto him	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2611. Drops shell beads, which women pick up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2612. Killer of bear ultimately given bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[515] 2613. Impersonator, girl dancers wash at sacred spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2614. Performers from other groups	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–		–	+
[825] 2615. Feast follows performance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				+	–	–		–	+
2616. Held for black bear only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	•–	–		–	–

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political Units

Sovereign Bodies

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
621 2617. Each village is autonomous unit	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+
2618. Community of closely adjacent villages forms autonomous unit	–	–	+		–	•+		–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–
2619. Local group, embracing several communities is recognized, or is autonomous unit	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	+	–	–
619 2620. Tribe, embracing all local groups, is recognized unit	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Chiefs and Other Officials

Number of Male Chiefs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
622 2621. 1 per autonomous unit	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
[613] 2622. Multiple, of equal rank, per autonomous unit.	–	–	–	–	–	•4	–	–	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2623. Chiefly lineages	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2624. Tribal chief	R+	R+	–	(+)	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Basis for Selection

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
[611] 2625. Heredity, primary factor	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+
2626. Paternal only	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
844 3107. On second cradle.	–	–	–		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
3108. On person, after child walks	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3109. Shown to owner, when adult	–	•+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3110. Disposal of cord	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	+	+	+
3111. Buried	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
3112. Burnt	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	+
3113. Thrown away, or "lost"	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–

Treatment of Infant

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
844 3114. Bathing	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
846 3115. Immediately after birth	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
3116. 1 day after birth	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3117. Steamed on lap, 2-3 days after birth	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
3118. Steamed after cord drops off	–	•+	•+	•+							–	–	–	–	–	–
3119. Wiped with grass, skin, etc.	•+	•+	•+				•+	–	–	.	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–
3120. Rubbed with oil, grease, powder	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–
[856] 3121. Massaging	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3122. Torso shaped	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3123. Legs, arms shaped	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3124. Face, nose shaped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3125. Massaging, shaping after cord drops off, only	+	+	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3126. By maternal grandmother	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
3127. By mother	+	+	+					+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3128. By attendant											+	+	+	+	+	+
3129. Blow in baby's ears	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3130. Ceremonial; singing, praying over baby	–	–	•+	–	•–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–

Treatment of Mother

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3131. Isolated indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3132. In hut, dwelling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
‡3133. For ... days and nights	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	3	6	5	4	+
†3134. For ... months	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
3135. Until blood stops flowing	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3136. Until cord drops off infant	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3137. Leaves hut immediately after birth of child	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3138. Breaks wood	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3139. Packs wood	–	+	+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3140. Runs	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3141. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3142. To keep healthy	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3143. To keep blood flowing	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[515] 3144. Bathing or care of body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3145. Bathes in river	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	•–	–
3146. Bathed in hut, by attendant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+
3147. Takes steam bath in hut	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3148. Massaging	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	+
3149. Belt around abdomen for period of isolation	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
3150. Hair belt	–	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
[278] 3151. Medicinal drinks	+	+	•+	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
3152. Ordinarily	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
3153. Only if ailing	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3154. External application of heat	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3155. Warm rock strapped on abdomen, with belt	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+
3156. Lies on warm "bed"	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
o3157. For ... days	2	•2	+	–				10	–	–	–	3	6	5	4	–
3158. Until blood stops running	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3159. Until cord drops off	−	−	−	−				−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	844
3160. Pit or trench dug	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	846
3161. Hot rocks, charcoal put in pit	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	
3162. Pit covered with grass, bark.	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	
3163. Fire direct on ground; lies beside it	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	
Treatment of Midwife																	
3164. Bathes, immediately after child born	+	+	+						+	+	−	+	+	+	·	+	844
3165. Cuts arms, later	−	−	+						+	+	−	(+)	−	−	·	−	759
Restrictions on Mother																	
‡3166. Restrictions last for ... days	5	5	−	28	−	•5	−	28	28	28	−	3	6	5	28	28	846
3167. Until blood stops flowing	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	784
3168. Until navel cord drops off	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
o3169. Bathing taboo	+	+	•±	•±	+	+	•±	•+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	•±	[515] ●
3170. In stream	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3171. Sweat bath	+	+	−	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3172. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3173. Eats alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[262]
3174. Fed by old woman	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3175. Uses separate receptacles	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176. Eats sparingly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176a. Fresh meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3177. Dried meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3178. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3179. Dried fish taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3181. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3182. Salt taboo	−	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3183. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	
3184. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	[302]
3185. Combing hair taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	·	
3186. Head, face scratcher used	•+	•+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	
3187. Especially for first child.	−	−	−				+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	·	
3188. Tabooed activities	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
3189. Making baskets taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
3190. Preparing food taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
‡3191. Traveling taboo ... days	5	5	−	28	−	−	−	28	28	28	−	3	6	5	28	−	[484]
3192. Until blood stops flowing or cord drops off	−	−	+	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	
o3193. Sees no men for ... days	5	•−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	•2	−	−	−	−	−	−	[562]
†3194. Intercourse taboo for ... months	•2	•2	•2						2	2	·	·	½	1	·	3	[834]
3195. Loud noise near child taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3196. Would make child deaf	−	+	+							−	+	+	+	+	·	+	
3197. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	
3198. Bathes	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	[515]
3199. Midwife or mother assists	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	·	+	
3200. Medicated bath	−	−	+	+		•+	•+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	·	−	[754]
3201. Sweats	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	[481]
3202. Swims after sweating	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Restrictions on Father																	
3203. Required for all offspring	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	
3204. For first child only	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
3205. Retirement period	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3206. Stays with mother in hut	−	−	−	+	•+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3207. Must stay in own dwelling house	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	

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		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
846	3208. Merely stays indoors	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
784	‡3209. For ... days	5	5	–	5	–	–	–	•4	–	•4	–	–	6	·	28	28
	3210. Until child's cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3211. Sleeps little	–	+	+			+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	·	+
	3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535]	3212a. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481]	3213. Runs	+	+	+	–	•+	•+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3214. First child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3215. Breaks up wood		–	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3216. Brings back firewood	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3217. Piles up rocks	•+	•+	•+										–	–	–	–
[787]	o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	•–	–	–	+	±	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3220. First 4-5 children only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481]	3221. Swims	·	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	·	–
[252]	3222. In spring in mountains	–	+	–			–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	·	–
	3223. Cooks for self and children	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3224. Bathing taboo	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	·	–
[515]	o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	–	–	•4	–	–	•4	–	•4	–	•4	+	3	–	–	·	–
	†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	–	5	•4	–	–	•4	–	+	•3	•4	+	–	–	–	·	–
	3227. Certain activities taboo.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[224]	‡3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	•4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
	†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	•4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
	†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	•4	•2	+	3	+	6	+	30
	3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[525]	†3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	–	28	•2	+	3	+	+	·	+
	3233. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
[276]	3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	·	–
[484]	†3235. Traveling taboo ... days	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	•2	+	3	+	+	+	40
	3236. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	†3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	–	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	•2	+	3	+	–	+	•28
[262]	†3238. Fresh fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	+	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
[265]	†3239. Dried fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	–	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
	†3240. Salt taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	5	+	–	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312]	3241. Cold water taboo	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3242. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	3243. Until child smiles first time													–	–	+	–
	3244. Eats with wife	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3245. Uses own receptacles	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
	3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
[292]	3247. Special belt worn	(–)	+	–	–	+	–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
	3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–
	3249. Combing hair taboo	+	•+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3250. Until navel has healed	·	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3252. Bathes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	–
	3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
	3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3255. Gives away old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	3256. Burns old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3257. Throws away old clothes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[526]	3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	•+	+								+	–	–	–	–	–
[224]	3259a. Shoots at target	–	–	+	–	•+						–	·	–	–	–	–
[525]	3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	–	+	+	–	•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	–	–	–		•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	·	–
	3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							•+	+	•+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
†3451. Girl eats sparingly ... days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•6	•3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	28	84
†3452. Girl eats sparingly ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	88
3453. Meals limited to twice daily	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3454a. After sunrise, before sunset.	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3454b. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3455. Dried fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3456. Meat taboo	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3457. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3458. Salt taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3459. Berries taboo	+	+	–	+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	
3460. New crop acorns, seeds taboo	–		+						•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3461. Hot food taboo	•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3462. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
3463. River water taboo	–	+	–						•+		–	–	–	–	–		
†3464. Food taboos extend over ... days	5	5	•8	10	3	•6	•3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	28	
†3465. Food taboos extend over ... yrs.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3466. Food taboos observed all subsequent periods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3467. Girl eats outside	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3468. Girl eats inside hut, dwelling	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
3469. Eats with woman attendant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	•+	
3470. Girl uses own baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3471. Baskets kept; left in hut			+		+						+	+	–	–	–	•–	
3472. Baskets destroyed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3473. Baskets hung on tree			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3474. Cane drinking tube used	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3475. Basket "cup" used for drinking.	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	
3476. Ceremonial feeding by attendant	–	+	+	+	(+)	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	•+	
3477. Mother feeds girl, cleans teeth	–	–	+			+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	
3478. Girl's mouth wiped by attendant	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	
3479. Girl chews plant substance	+	•+	•+		•+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	
3479a. Plant substance stuffed in nostrils	–	–	–		•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	
3480. Girl sleeps little, fitfully	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	
3481. No daytime sleeping, first day	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
3482. Charcoal in ears, to avoid bad dreams	+	–	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[787]
3483. Bark burned above hut, to frighten evil spirits	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3483a. Menstruant must tell her bad dreams		(+)	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	
3483b. If dreams, doctored by special doctor		+	+	–		+	+	+	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	
3484. Girl rises early	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•–	•+	
3485. No talking during seclusion	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3486. Little talking	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3487. Must talk softly	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3488. Cannot laugh aloud	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
3489. Girl avoids all men in daytime	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	
3490. Avoids all hunters	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
3491. Old women visit girl	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[887]
3492. Old women instruct girl	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•+	
3493. Gazing at any fire taboo	.	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	[821]
3494. Gazing at sun taboo	.	+	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3494a. Weak eyes, if gaze at sun	.	–	+	–	–	.	–	•–	–	+	.	–	.	+	.	–	
3495. Gazing at moon taboo	.	+	+	+	•+	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3496. Gazing at sky taboo	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3497. Looking around taboo	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	
3498. Looking at acorns taboo	o	o	–	–	–	–	o	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3499. Looking at any wild crops taboo	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	
3500. Gaze would "kill" crops	.	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	+	+	•+	+	
3500a. Crossing streams taboo	.	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	
3501. Menstruant bathes daily	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	[575]
3502. Menstruant bathes after flow ceases	–	+	+						+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
841 3503. Bathes last day of seclusion only	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
881 3504. Bathes outside, in stream	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
[513] 3505. Bathes inside, house	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
3506. May wet, wash hair	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
3507. Bathes alone	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3508. Mother, attendant helps girl bathe	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
[302] 3509. Girl uses head scratcher	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+
3510. Bone head scratcher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3511. Stick head scratcher	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
‡3512. Head scratcher used ... days	5	5	°8	10	°3	°5	°3	5	-	28	6	5	6	5	4	28
†3513. Head scratcher used ... years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3513a. Parents scratch girl's head	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
3514. Delousing by attendant	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
[292] 3515. Girl wears basket cap	+	+	+	+	°+	-	-	-	°+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3515a. Girl wears flower crown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
3516. Head covered with bark "cape"	-	-	-	-	-	-	°+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3517. Head covered with deerskin blanket	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
3518. Head inside basket when sleeping	+	°+	°+	°+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3519. Eagle down in hair	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3520. Feathers in hair	-	-	-	-	-	°+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[301] 3521. Braided bark forehead band	°+	°+	-	-	°+	°+	°+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3522. Fur forehead band	-	-	°+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3523. Feather visor	-	-	°+	°+	-	-	-	-	-	°-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3524. Head, face covered inside house	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3525. Head, face covered when going outside	-	-	°+	°+	-	-	-	°-	°+	-	°+	-	°+	-	°-	°+
3526. Hair in 2 braids, over shoulders	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
3526a. Hair in 1 braid, down back	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3527. Braid(s) wrapped with bark	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3528. Hair in 2 knobs, over shoulders, wrapped	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
3529. Knobs wrapped with bark	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3530. Hair short, banged	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
3531. Hair loose, tied at back	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
3532. Mother combs, dresses girl's hair	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
3533. Attendant dresses girl's hair	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+		-	+	+	-	-	+
3534. Hair dressed once only, first day	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
3535. Hair dressed daily	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	(+)	+
3536. Combings burned, buried	-	-	-	-		-	-	°+	-	-	-	-	°+	-	.	-
3537. Combings saved for belt	-	-	+								+	-	-	-	-	-
3538. Girl's face painted black	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	°+
3539. Girl's face painted red	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3540. Special face pattern	-	-	-	+	-	-	°+	-	°+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
3541. Daily varied face patterns	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3542. Charcoal around eyes								+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3543. Arms painted	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3544. Girl painted daily	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
3545. Girl painted by mother	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3546. Girl painted by attendant	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	°-
3547. Girl wears old clothing	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	°+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
3547a. Small skin over shoulders	(-)	(-)	+								.	-	-	-	-	-
3548. Buckskin skirt or dress	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
3549. Pine-nut string skirt			-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3550. Bark skirt	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	°+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
3551. Short tule, grass skirt	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
3552. Grass or skin breechclout	.	°+	°+	°+	°+	°-	+		°+	.	-	°+	°+	-	-	-
3553. Buckskin leggings	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
3554. Tule leggings	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3555. Tule, skin moccasins	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
3556. Barefoot, preferred	+	+	-			+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
[304] 3557. Anklets	°+	°+	-	-	-	-	°+	-	-	-	°+	°+	-	-	-	-

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3657. 4-5 (all) singers paid	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	+	841
3658. Reciprocal obligations only	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	881
3659. Menstruant sings	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	–	–	–	535
3660. Participants join in singing	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
3661. Night singing, minus dancing	–	–	.	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	
3662. "Love" songs sung	•+	•+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
3663. Enemy songs sung, final dance	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3664. Women's songs sung	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	
3665. Special song cycle sung	•+	•+	.	•+	(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	–	+	
3666. Joking by singers	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	+	[522]
3667. Multiple split-stick rattle used by menstruant, singers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3668. Deer-hoof rattle used by singers	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	–	–	
3669. Deer-hoof rattle used by menstruant	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3670. Stick hit against board, as drum	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
3671. Whistle used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	[533]
3672. Singing, dancing continues throughout night	+	+	–		•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	(+)	
3673. Singing, dancing ends middle of night	–	–	+		–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3674. Entire assembly fed, middle of night.	+	•–	+	+	•+	•+	R	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	
3675. Singers, dancers bathe daily	–	–	+					+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	[515] ●
3676. Girl's attendant(s) have eyebrows, face blackened	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	[292]
3677. Men wear eagle down plumes	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	•–	•–	+	+	–	+	–	–	[237]
3678. Men wear fur headband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	
3679. Men wear woodpecker scalp headband	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	[302]
3680. Men paint face red	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
3680a. Men paint face white	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3680b. Men paint face black	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3681. Men wear bead necklaces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
3682. Men wear head net	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	
3683. Men wear yellowhammer bands	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3684. Menstruant wears braided grass fringed visor	–	–	–	–			•		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3685. Women wear basket cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
3686. Women wear yellowhammer bands													+	+	–	–	
3687. Women wear brush, flower crowns	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	
3688. Women paint faces red	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3689. Women paint faces black	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3690. Women carry branches in hands	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3691. Boys, girls wear flower wreaths	–	–	–					•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3692. Dress, headgear changed nightly	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
3693. Public rites: minor day dances.	–	–	+	–	•+	•+	+	(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	•+	–	–	
3694. Menstruant dances	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–	
3695. Men dance	–	–	+	–	–	–		(+)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3696. Women dance	–	–	+	–	•+	•+		(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–	
c3697. Lasts ... days.	–	–	•8	–	•3	•3		.	–	.	–	(5)	–	5	–	–	
3698. Lasts part of each day only	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–	
3699. Held in open	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	(+)	–	+	–	(–)	–	+	–	–	
3700. Rain in winter, no dance	–	–	(+)	–	–	•–			–		–		–	–	–	–	
3701. Circle dance	–	–	–	–	+	+			–		–		–	–	–	–	
3702. Dancers abreast, 1 line	–	–	+	–	–	–			–				–	–	–	–	
3703. Special songs, female singers	–	–		–	+	+			–		–		–	–	–	–	
3704. Public concluding rites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3705. Held in daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3706. "War" dance	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3707. Round dance	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
3708. Dancers abreast, in 1 line	–	–	–	+				•+									
3708a. Women grasp men's belts	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3709. Feather visor lifted off menstruant	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4756. Bathes to acquire power	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	−	+	+		−	−	
4756a. In lake or stream	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	−	787
4757. Complete immersion	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	−	[515]
4758. Washes hands in spring	+	−	−					+		+	−	−	−		−	−	
4759. Bathes each day	+	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	+	(−)	.		−	−	
o4759a. Bathes after ... days	−	−	−	−		•2	•2	5	5	•2	−	.	.		−	−	
4760. Rebuilds stone altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	
4761. Breaks branches, piles up wood	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4762. Builds fire	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4763. Smokes self over fire	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		+	−	+	+		−	−	[372]
4764. Catches glowworms	•+	−	•+					−	.	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4765. Sleeps on mountain at night	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	(+)	−	−		−	−	
4766. Prays for vision	−	−	−					+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
4766a. Scarification and bleeding	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	
4767. Ants allowed to bite wounds	−	−	+	•+	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	[304]
•4768. To obtain "luck" only	−	−	(−)	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4769. Power comes by dreaming	−	•+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4769a. Power comes in trance or faint	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4770. Nose or mouth bleeds	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	−	
4771. Instruction by shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
4772. Guardian spirit communicates with seeker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4773. Spirit seen	−	−	.	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4773a. Spirit heard	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4774. Spirit felt	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	
4775. Gives song	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4776. Gives paint		+	−	−	−	−		(+)	−	−	+	+	+		−	−	
4777. Gives dance		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
4778. Instructs as to paraphernalia, methods.	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	
•4779. Doctor dance main or only form vision seeking for youths, girls		−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−		−	−	
4780. Successful seeker observes taboos on return	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
†4781. Is sick for ... days	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•1	•1	•2	1	+	+		−	−	
†4782. Continent			−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4782a. For ... years			−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	1		−	−	[834]
4783. Swims	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4784. Sweats and swims	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
†4785. Stays outside house ... days.	1	1	−	−	2	1	•2	5	0	•2	−	−	−		−	−	
†4786. Confined ... days in sweat house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(5)	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4787. Uses head scratcher	−	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4788. Eats sparingly or according to spirit's instructions.	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	[262]
4788a. Meat taboo	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4789. Fish taboo	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−					−	−	
4790. Salt taboo	−	.	−					+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4790a. Drinks water with acorn meal in it.	−	−	−						+	(+)					−	−	[501]
4791. Smokes tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−		−	−	
4792. Gives first kill to old man			+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	[276]

000 798. AW, AE: In earth-covered sweat house-living house, not in Plains-type sudatory. WT: "Too dark in there." NF, NS, MV: See note 797.

799. Among various woods preferred as sweat-house firewood, Mo use red sage, dry willow only, because these "make good clean coals"; SW say chaparral "makes hottest fire; manzanita comes next." Among WT, WM, WS, MM, MF, NF, NS manzanita preferred wood. Manzanita absent from AW, AE, MV, areas; pitchless varieties of wood producing little or no smoke used. AW: Firewood gathered in morning; tell boys, youths, "Let the frost come down on you." NM: Old people gather firewood for assembly house. MV: Youths gather fuel for assembly-house fire however.

800. Mo: Informal office only; ask man who knows how to make good fire to attend to it. SE: In winter dwelling-sweat house. SW: Fire maker for semisubterranean assembly-house fire; no one person had such office for men's sweat house fire. WM: In assembly house. WS: In Dream dance house. NF, NS, MV: For assembly-house fire.

801. SW: In men's sweat house, informal competitive groups, of youths mainly. AW: Such competitive groups mentioned in mythology only. In myth, Buzzard wanted to be brave; in contest with Sun he stayed too close to fire and was burned. A shaman can make one side of house hot, the other cold; Sun did this to Buzzard.

803. WT, WM, WS: 1 man sings for group, during doctor-seeking dance. When sweating in men's house, all sweaters sing. NF: In large assembly house.

804. Mo, SE, WM: Entries 804-808 refer to use of Plains-type sweat house. SW: Entries 804-807 refer to use of men's earth-covered sweat house. WS: Entries 804-806 refer to sweating in assembly house.

807. WS: Entries 807-811 refer to Plains-type sudatory.

808. SW: In Plains-type sweat house.

809. AE: Women, when sweating in Plains-type sudatory. WM: Sweat for this purpose when using men's sweat house, chiefly.

[515]
[782] 810. Kl, Mo: Pray to hot rocks when sprinkling water over them. SE: Informant had never heard of praying to rocks, but medicine decoction sprinkled over rocks when sweating. AW: "Pray, talk to sun, rock, ground, water, when using [Plains type] sweat house. Tell sun, 'What do you think? I feel sore all over. What do you think, Sun? You ought to help me.' In other kind of sweat house [earth-covered type], don't pray; just jump up and dance around, as though crazy." AE: In Plains-type sweat house, "pray to the hot rocks; man who knows something, or is like a preacher, talks as he sprinkles the rocks; all the other [male] sweaters keep quiet. At intervals, when he stops, everyone says 'e-e-eh.' Then he gives the basket of water to someone else, and calls upon that person to pray and sprinkle the water; another man may prepare a smoke in there, with the pipe. Before they go

622
800 2669. Occasionally. Kl: Stands by his own house and talks; tells people what to do. MM: Refers to head chief (see note 2619).

2670. WT: See note 2654. MM: Refers to head chief and village headmen. See note 2619.

2675. MM: Refers to head chief and village headmen (see note 2619).

2676, 2678. MM: Refers to head chief.

2677. MM: Refers to village headmen.

2679. WT: A "protector." MM: Refers to head chief and local headmen. NF: A relative. NS: Chief's assistant.

2680. MV: "A whole group of his boys go with him."

Female chiefs; criers; clowns; messengers; fire tender; singers.--

2687. SW: Chief's wife may also talk for chief, morning and evening, occasionally, if she has good voice.

2689. SW: In time of raids, chief's wife "if she is spirited woman, dashes out and cuts bowstrings of enemy raiders." This was done, "especially if [neighboring] Kammatwa group [see note 282] were raiding SW." Denied for all other groups.

2707. SW: 2-3 criers.

2708. Mo, SE: Only when there is "news" to announce.

2712. MV: Orders fuel gathered for dances.

2716. WM: Mainly by boys who are called, when clowning, "Coyote."

2717. At: 2 clowns; WT, WM: several, but not formal office (see note 2716). MF: 5; NF, MV: 1 per village ("rancheria").

2718. NF: Clown (pepe) stands on top of assembly house, watching for people to return from hunting, other expeditions; when they come back, he shouts to notify villagers.

2722. NF: Also stands on top of assembly house and calls to visitors to enter; attends to fire in assembly house.

2726. WT: 1-3 messengers. WM: 3-5. Referred to as yemerikait. MM: 6-7.

2727. MV: Youths.

2734. At: Messenger who carries knotted string around when there is a "big war," paid; otherwise not paid.

2738. Often tells guests where to halt outside village, in order that they may dress for participation in dance to be given in village.

[515
624] 2746. Kl: Man who wants to sweat builds fire and tends to it in sweat house; no special official.

2752. See also element 2722, NF.

2759. NF: 2-4 singers.

2760. MM: For sweat "dances," have 1 singer; for Bear dance, 2; for girl's puberty dance, ca. 6.

2763. MV: To serve as "common singer."

2765. MM: For women's songs, use women singers.

[209-A]

000 3445. MV: Old woman and young girl helper.

3451. SE: 8-10 days. At: Eats acorn soup, sparingly. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4 days.

3456. SW: If eat meat, ruin luck of hunter who has shot game; hunter must obtain more luck before he can kill anything afterward. At: If menstruant eats meat will lose her teeth. AW: Fresh deermeat makes menstruant ill, because deer hair grows inside woman if she eats meat at this time. Also, if menstruant eats meat, fish she will make hunter, fisherman sick; weaken his bow and arrow; spoil fishing grounds, etc.

3459. At: All berries except manzanita berries taboo.

3460. WM: New crop acorns taboo. Crop would be spoiled, and next year's crop would fail.

[881
267] 3461. Kl: "Afraid girl would lose her teeth."

3463. WM: Girl drinks creek water only; "salmon in the river; girl would spoil them."

3464. SE: 8-10 days. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4.

3468. MV: Winter only.

3469. MV: 2 female singers eat with girl, also.

3471. MV: See element 3450.

3476. AW: Someone has to give girl water; "if she gets it herself, she will have bad teeth." NF, MV: Girl fed acorn mush on end of forked stick. NF: Attendant holds basket of water to girl's lips.

3477. Twig used to clean teeth.

3478. Mo, SE, NF: Grass, buckskin, etc. AE, MF, NM, MV: Shredded bark used to wipe mouth.

3479. Mo, SE, AW: Chew kinnikinick leaves, berries, or sunflower roots. At, AW, MF, NM: Pine needles or pine gum.

3479a. At, MM: Juniper. AW, MM: Pine tassel (?). AE: Peppermint. At, MM, AW, AE: Done so "girl can't smell meat cooking." At: "So girl won't smell tobacco smoke, or odor of sweat under armpits."

3480. WS: Girl may sleep all day.

3484. NS: Girl made to lie down for entire period. MV: Rises early and bathes.

3486. Mo: If talks too much, will become a "chatterbox."

3488. WM: Cannot laugh because taboo to show teeth; reason unknown.

3492. Instruction concerns conduct, housekeeping, and other things. MV: Old women visitors fed by girl's attendant.

3494a. WT: Would see evil spirit.

3495. At: If looks at moon, it will rain.

3500. NS: Acorns will drop off trees.

3500a. At, AW: If girl steps in water, it will rain. See note 3612, At. NM: If menstruant woodgathering, another woman carries her across "any little creek."

3502. See 3589-3596.

[302
515
881] 3509. Kl: If girl uses fingers, hair will turn white when still young. "They don't want this to happen." Also, if girl washes face with hands, it will soon become wrinkled and she will quickly look old. NM: Girl's hands tied together sometimes, to prevent her scratching self with fingers.

[218-B]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K

Families M

eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302] [412]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K M
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [364]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K M
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M
221
756
796

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

SWEAT-LODGES.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY MINNIE FROBEN.

*539
343
515
765

É-ukshkni lápa spû'klish gítko. K̲úk̲iuk k̲ĕlekápkash spû'klishla yé-
The Lake people two (kinds of) sweat-lodges have. To weep over the deceased they build sweat-lodges dig-

pank käíla; stutílantko spû'klish, käíla waltchátko. Spû'klish a sha shû'ta
ging up the ground; are roofed (these) sweat-lodges, with earth covered. (Another) sweat-lodge they build

kué-utch, kítchikan'sh stinága-shítko; skû'tash a wáldsha spû'klishtat tata-
of willows, a little cabin looking like; blankets they spread over the sweating-lodge when

ták sĕ spûkliá. Tátataks a hû'nk wéas lúla, tatátaks a híshuaksh tchíměna,
in it they sweat. Whenever children died, or when a husband became widower,

snáwedsh wénuitk, k̲û'k̲i k̲ĕlekátko, spû'klitcha túmi shashámoks-lólatko;
(or) the wife (is) widowed, they weep for cause of death, go sweating many relatives who have lost;

túnepni waítash tchík sa hû'nk spû'klia. Shiúlakiank a sha ktái húyuka
five days then they sweat. Gathering they stones, (they) heat (them)

skoilakuápkuk; hútoks ktái k̲á-i tatá spukliû't'huīsh. Spúklish lúpīa
to heap them up (after use); those stones never having been used for sweating. Sweat-lodge in front of

húyuka; k̲élpka a át, ílhiat átui, k̲ídshna ai ī ámbu, kliulála. Spû'kli a
they heat (them); heated (being) when, they bring (them) inside at once, pour on them water, sprinkle. Sweat then

sha túměni "hours"; k̲élpkuk géka shualkóltchuk péniak k̲ō'k̲s pépe-udshak
they several hours; being quite warmed up they leave (and) to cool themselves off without dress only to go bathing

éwagatat, k̲ók̲etat, é-ush wigáta. Spukli-uápka mā'ntch. Shpótuok
in a spring, river, lake close by. They will sweat for long hours. To make themselves strong

i-akéwa kápka, skû'tawia sha wéwakag knû'kstga. Ndshiétchatka knû'ks
they bend down young pine-trees, (they) tie together they small brushwood with ropes. Of (willow-)bark the ropes

a sha shúshata. Gátpampĕlank shkoshkí'lχa ktáktiag hû'shkankok k̲ĕle-
they make. On going home they heap up into cairns small stones in remembrance of the

kápkash, ktá-i shúshuankaptcha í'hiank.
dead, stones of equal size selecting.

NOTES.

No Klamath or Modoc sweat-lodge can be properly called a sweat-*house*, as is the custom throughout the West. One kind of these lodges, intended for the use of mourners only, are solid structures, almost underground; three of them are now in existence, all believed to be the gift of the principal national deity. Sudatories of the other kind are found near every Indian lodge, and consist of a few willow-rods stuck into

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 the ground, both ends being bent over. The process gone through while sweating is
343 the same in both kinds of lodges, with the only difference as to time. The ceremonies
● 515 mentioned 82, 4–13., all refer to sweating in the mourners' sweat-lodges. The suda-
765 tories of the Oregonians have no analogy with the *estufas* of the Pueblo Indians of
[193] New Mexico, as far as their construction is concerned. Cf. *Notes* to 70, 1. 75, 11.

[192] 82, 1. lápa spû'klish, two sweat-lodges, stands for two *kinds* of sweat-lodges.

82, 5. shashámoks-lólatko forms *one* compound word: one who, or: those who have lost relatives by death; cf. ptísh-lûlsh, pgísh-lûlsh; hishuákga ptísh-lúlatk, male orphan whose father has died. In the same manner, k̲ĕlekátko stands here as a participle referring simultaneously to híshuaksh and to snáwedsh wénuitk, and can be rendered by "*bereaved*". Shashámoks, distr. form of shá-amoks, is often pronounced sheshámaks. Túmi etc. means, that many others accompany to the sweat-lodge, into which about six persons can crowd themselves, bereaved husbands, wives or parents, because the deceased were related to them. Cf. lĕ'pk̲'leχa, lĕ'pk̲'lekatko.

82, 6. Shiúlakiank etc. For developing steam the natives collect only such stones for heating as are neither too large nor too small; a medium size seeming most appropriate for concentrating the largest amount of heat. The old sweat-lodges are surrounded with large accumulations of stones which, to judge from their blackened exterior, have served the purpose of generating steam; they weigh not over 3 to 5 pounds in the average, and in the vicinity travelers discover many small cairns, not over four feet high, and others lying in ruins. The shrubbery around the sudatory is in many localities tied up with willow wisps and ropes.

82, 10. Spukli-uápka mä'ntch means that the sweating-process is repeated many times during the five days of observance; they sweat at least twice a day.

LUÁTPÍSHLA SNÉWEDSH M'NA.

LAMENT OVER A WIFE'S LOSS.

OBTAINED FROM DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539
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787

Snáweds	k̲'leká.	Tsúi tsik	shpótû	hissuáksûk,	pä'wa	tsúi,	pä'nĕ
A wife	dies.	Upon this	strengthens himself	(her) husband alone,	plunges	then,	again

mákual,	sta-ótank	k̲aítua	pát;	tsúi tûti'χ	yaínatat	tû'tshna.	Tsúi	shlaá
camps out,	famished	nothing	eats;	then (he) dreams, (and)	on the mountains	he dozes.	Then	he sees

mák̲laks,	tûti'χ	hûnk	ná-asht;	tsúi	gä'mpĕle	ládsashtat,	tsúi	psín hûshti'k-tamna,
people,	dreams	(he)	thus;	then	he returns	to (his) lodge,	and	at night he frequently dreams,

tsúi	shlä'popk,	tsúi at	shlä'popk	siunoti'sh	tchkash.	Tsúi at	shuī'sh
and	has visions,	and then	he has hallucinations	of (female) choruses	also.	And	magic songs

hû'k	nä'sht	ki:	"tchä'kĕli	gékanuapka,	súmat	tsúk	at géka	tchákĕle"!	tsúi
these	thus	say:	"blood	will come up,	to the throat	in time	comes up	blood"!	then

516 Sitting positions are of wide latitude; of course they sit directly on the ground. Almost any position is assumed except sitting on the crossed ankles. Both sexes sit with their legs crossed before them, [291] Turk-fashion, or with the legs extending straight before them, in which case women cross their ankles. It must be remembered that the [501] common dress of both sexes is the string skirt. They kneel while paddling, both sexes alike, sitting on their heels. This is quite possible because the gunwale of a laden canoe is only a few inches above the water.

201 The Klamath sometimes use the lips for unostentatious pointing, but they more commonly point with the forefinger. In a common 516 position of rest, a seated individual places one hand on the other over the abdomen.

758 To curse a man his dead are mentioned, not necessarily by name; [539] in fact the reference may be quite indirect. In a tale the skunks say to Coyote, "You are the son of a person always on the lake," knowing full well that his father was dead. I was told of two men jocularly calling each other tc!ima'ntk, widower. One named the dead wife of the other and was covered with embarrassment because the grandson of that woman, who was present, was provoked. An old man may be called wa'köntk, adolescent boy, or skote, a man with a first child, in [114] derision. This is nearly equivalent to a curse. Gatschet gives the expression skö'ksam käfla gén I, go to hell! (or more literally, go to the ghosts) which may well be aboriginal. But watchágalam wéash, you son [child] of a bitch! and watchágalam pé-ip, you old bitch!, strike me as apt translations from frontier vernacular.[166]

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[166] Gatschet, 2:319, 477.

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2490. Moving figures	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	.	+	−	+
2492. Done in winter only	+	•+	−	−						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2493. Done any time, for fun	−	−	+							+	−	+	+	+	−	+
[481] 2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	−	•+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2494a. Stilts	−	•+	−	−	•+	R	−	−	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−
Contests																
526 2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. To throw man down	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. No tripping allowed	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	.	−
2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	−	+	+	.
2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								−	+	+	+	+	+
2502. Dodging	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	(−)	−	+	−	+
2503. Stones	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	−
2504. Hard objects inside geese	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2505. Sand bag	−	−	−					•+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2506. Tule, grass balls	−	+	−					−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	+
2507. Two sides	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
o2508. Number on each side	−	•5	−			1	.	15	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] [857] 2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	[illegible]	−	−	+	−	+	+	.	−
2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	.	+
2515. To mark and back	−	−	−		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	−	+	−	.	+	+	+	−	−
2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+
2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+
Storytelling																
528 2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2520. Myths told at night	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•.		•+	•+
● [516] 2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.		−	+
2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	•+	+	−			+		+	−	+	−	−	.		−	−
[784] 2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
2524. Rattlesnake will bite	−	+	.		+	+	+	+	−	.	+	−	.		.	−
2525. Winter will come quickly	+	−	.						+	.	+	−	.		.	−
[587] 2526. Narrated by old people only	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
[515] 2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	•−	+	+			+				+	−	+	.		+	+
2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	−	+	+			+				+	−	+	.		+	+
Social Dances																
Circle Dances																
535 2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	•R	•+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	−	R	−		−	−
[417] 2530. Performed in brush corral	−	−	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
[224] 2532. At fall rabbit hunt	−	−	−	−		−	+	−		−	−	−	−		−	−
[221] 2533. In springtime	−	−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
[226] 2535. During communal fishing periods	+	+	+							+	−	−	−		−	−

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Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
CYCLE OF LIFE																
Birth Customs																
844 Preparations for Delivery																
3007. Delivery in special hut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	+
3008. Delivery in dwelling house	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
3009. Ground prepared for delivery	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3009a. Trench dug	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3010. Ground warmed	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
3011. Grass bed	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
3012. Pine needles, tules, leaves for bed	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Delivery																
3013. Parturient assisted during delivery	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[759] 3014. By professional midwife	+	•+	−	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3015. Midwife paid.	+	+	−			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3016. By female relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
[756] 3017. By husband	+	+	−	−	−	−	•−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
3018. By shaman	−	−	−	•−	−	•+	−	•+	•−	•+	+	+	−	−	−	−
3019. By female herbalist	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		+	+	+	−
3020. Birth aided by medicine	−	•−	−	•+	+	•−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
[278] 3021. Vegetable decoction drunk, sometimes.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	+	−	•+	+
3022. Decoction of ashes drunk	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3023. Water blown on parturient's head	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−
[516] 3024. Parturient kneels	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
3025. Parturient squats	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
3026. Parturient sits down, leaning backward	−	−	−			•+		+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	•−	−
3027. Parturient lies on back	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
3028. Grasps stakes	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
3029. Grasps cord	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3030. Steadies self with hands	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
3031. Holding or handling of parturient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3032. Massaged	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3033. Shaken	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
3034. Held by attendant, from behind	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3035. Abdomen pressed, if slow birth	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
3036. Held suspended, head down	.	•+	•+							•+	−	•+	•(+)		•−	−
3037. Attempts made to hasten birth	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3038. Child "coaxed" by speech or songs	−	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	•+	+	•+	.	−	−	−	•+	−
3039. Child "frightened" by noise	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3040. Child squeezed out	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+
3041. Child "shaken" out	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
Afterbirth																
3042. Assistance in expelling afterbirth	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
3043. Husband aids; tries to shake it out	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
3044. Poor couples only	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3045. Parturient's abdomen pressed	−	−	−						•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
3046. Afterbirth sometimes taken out with hands	−	−	+								.	+	.	−	−	−
3047. Womb pushed back with heel													−	+	+	−
3048. Afterbirth disposed of immediately after delivery	+	+	−				−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
3049. Afterbirth kept until navel cord drops off	−	−	+				•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
3050. Afterbirth wrapped	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3051. Skin	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	+	−	−	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
842 •3402. Measures taken to insure sex wanted, of child	+	•+	−			•+	+	−	•+	−	.	.	−	−	+	.
3403. 2 varieties shell used in decoction employed	+	+	−			+	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	.
3404. Different parts of plant used in decoction	−	−	−			−	−	−	•+	−	.	.	−	−	+	.
3405. Bow and arrow or basket hung up	−	−	−						•+	−	.	.	.	.	−	−
•3406. Measures taken to prevent pregnancy	.	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	+	−	−	R
3407. Decoction drunk	.	.	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	−	•+	−	−	•R
847 3408. Abortion	.	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	.	.	−	+	−	−
3409. Pregnant woman lies on warm trench	.	•+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
3410. Pregnant woman lies over log	.	−	+								.	.	−	−	−	−
3411. Exercise	.	−	+	−	−	−	.	+	+	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
3412. Blows or pressure	.	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
3413. Old woman helps	.	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
3414. Pregnant woman helps self, alone	.	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	.	.	−	+	−	−

Puberty and Menstrual Customs

Girls' Puberty Ceremony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 881 3415. Held for each girl separately	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3416. Private seclusion of menstruant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3417. In menstrual hut	−	−	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+
3418. In cook house	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3419. In dwelling, winter only	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
3420. In open	+	+	•−	•−	•+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3421. Daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3422. Night time	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
3423. Hut behind, near dwelling	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
[516] 3424. Girl not allowed in dwelling house	+	+	+	/+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
3425. Girl sits, lies on pine needles, mat bed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3426. Girl sits, lies on heated trench	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•−	−
3427. Girl sits, lies on warmed ground	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
3428. Bark pillow	−	−	−		•+	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3429. Stick, pine needle pillow	−	−	−			•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−
3430. Girl lies on back	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3431. Girl lies on side	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
3432. Girl lies in any position	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	(+)	−
3433. Faces east when lying down	.	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	•−	−	(+)	−	+	−	−
‡3434. Seclusion lasts ... months, rich girl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•2	12	1	−	−	−	−	−	1
o3435. Seclusion lasts ... months, poor girl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	12	1	−	−	−	−	−	−
‡3436. Seclusion lasts ... days, all girls	5	5	•8	10	•3	•6	•3	−	−	−	6	5	6	5	4	−
o3437. Seclusion lasts ... nights, all girls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	−	−	−	0	0	6	0	4	−
‡3438. Seclusion ... days subsequent periods	5	5	2	•1	•2	2	2	•1	11	1	−	1	−	5	−	1
3439. Attendants during seclusion	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3440. Father's mother or mother's mother attends girl	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
3441. Father's father or mother's father attends girl												+	+	−	−	−
3442. Mother's mother attends girl	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3443. Mother attends girl	−	−	+		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
3444. Female nonrelative attends girl	−	−	−				•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
[465] 3445. 2 or more attendants	−	−	−	−			−					+	+	+	−	•+
3446. All attendants paid	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
3447. Girl digs, pounds epos for attendant	−	−	+				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3448. Attendant paid in beads	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
3449. Girl's clothes given attendant(s)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
3450. Girl's basket given female attendant	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+

411 went for it. When they got it, they wouldn't give it away." As a consequence, not all men secured deer, "because they needed obsidian-tipped arrows to kill deer." NP: Temper obsidian by heating. Professionals make arrow points.

984. See first 2 figures on left, above.

000 985. See center figure, above. WM: Small, white (quartz?) heads; poisonous variety.

986. See second figure from right, above.

987. See right hand figure, above. WM: Black, red obsidian heads.

990. SW: For boy's arrows only.

994. E.g., whole stem of bush. Mo: Serviceberry. NP: Smoke arrows to prevent them becoming water-soaked. NS: Elder used.

1001. AW: Small stick, used for shooting small bullheads.

1002. NM: Beyond point where foreshaft joins main shaft, 2 thorns from wild plum tree set into arrow, opposite each other and on slant so tips of each slant toward arrow head. When arrow penetrates small game, it stops at these thorns instead of passing through body of squirrel, bird, etc.

1007. MP: Entry should read: 1-3 vanes.

1008. SW: Grouse feathers for ordinary arrows. Chicken hawk also used. Feathers always taken "from a bird that sails in sky."

[278] [411] 1015. Kl: Roast rattlesnake head, rub grease from it on arrow point. Roast deer liver in ashes, add pitch of some variety; thrust arrow point into this. Red ants used fresh, mashed. [724] Arrows poisoned for war, not for hunting. NS: Rattlesnake made to bite deer liver.

1019. AW: Chips from block of obsidian inspected by arrowpoint maker, who decides whether or not they are poisonous. Rejects from same block may not be considered poisonous; these arrowmaker gives friends to use. "As he splits pieces off and examines them he says, 'This for grizzly bear, this for coyote, this for big buck, this for war, etc.'; these pieces he keeps." See notes 1178, 1222.

Arrow straighteners and smoothers.--

1020. SE, SW, At, AW, WS, MM: Pumice, large deposits of which were noted in At, AW areas.

1027. WT: Informant shown pictures of 1-piece stone straighteners (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 49); said WT variety resembles these, made of soft stone. See, however, section, Elements Denied By All Informants.

1031. At: If man does not have rock with hole in it, "sometimes he ties 2 rocks together with a piece of sinew, so there will be a hole to run arrow through." WM: Natural; found in river.

Shooting techniques; quivers; clubs, spears.--

1042. At: For shooting with large bow.

[411] 1044. Kl: Stand or kneel to shoot; bow held at 45° angle for either position.

[516] 1045. AW: Vertical position generally used. Wailaki, who fought Achomawi, reputed to shoot

[191-B]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

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285
252
262
• 516

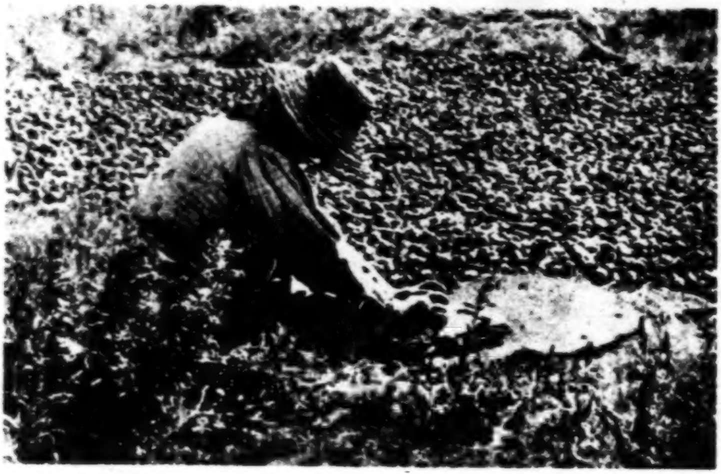

Native foods. The woman is hulling wokas with the two-horned muller. Both her winnowing tray and hat are twined from tules. Pond lily pods fill the pit in the background. (From Johnson, 1947.)

291
524
516

The stick game, Klamath versus Paiute. The two men in the center, right, are arranging two sets of "bones" beneath the bandannas, while their side sings a power song. One of the opponents then must guess the arrangement. (From Hincks, 1915.)

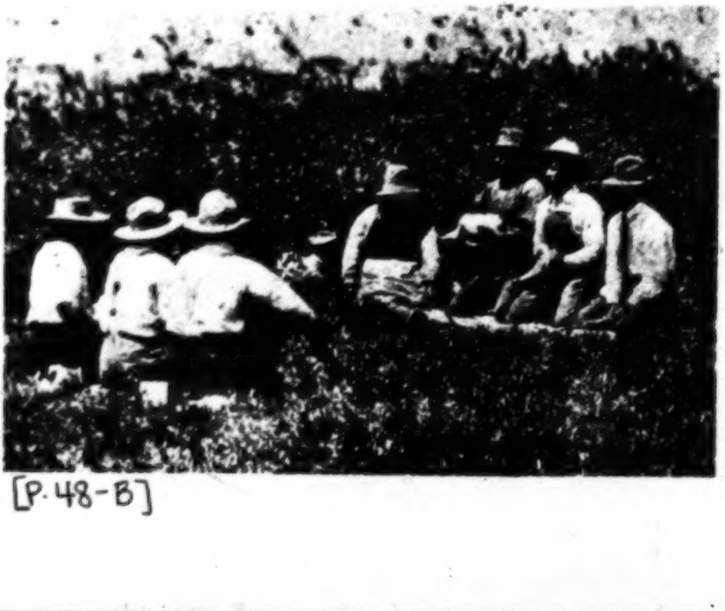

[P.48-B]

5: **Barrett** E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

M
K
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● 516
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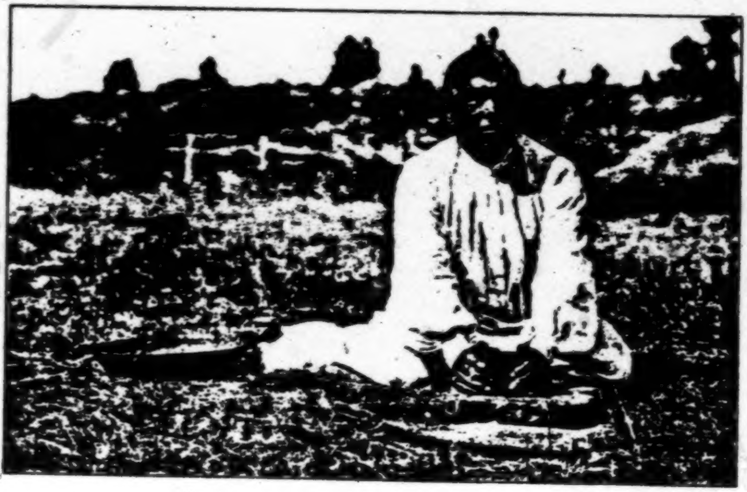

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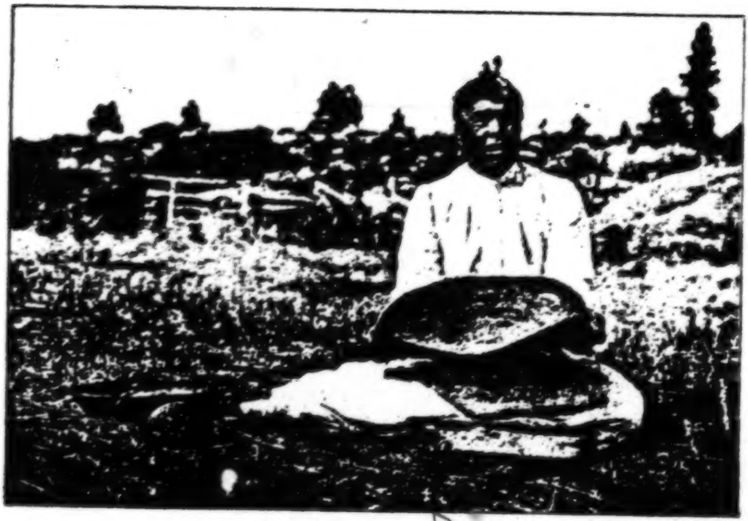

2

GRINDING AND SIFTING WOKAS SEEDS.

[p. 267]

Preparation of wokas

252

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531
412

[516]

539*
[222]

(13) And having returned there, having filled the canoe, so having unloaded it, it is in just one place. (14) And it stays piled up there for a long time. (15) So it becomes dry on top, and rots underneath. (16) And perhaps they washed it, and all that was not good would float up to the surface. (17) And only the wokas sank to the bottom.

[251]

(18) And they spread it out on a mat long ago. (19) And having spread it out there, so it dried out. (20) When it had dried, perhaps "three weeks"—(laughter)—three weeks having passed perhaps it has dried.

(21) And next they sift it well, until it is dry. (22) They do it all well, and they put it into sacks now. (23) And to make food, they parched it. (24) And at that time long ago they used parching-mats. (25) And having put coals on there, they roasted it, that wokas.

[516]

(26) And having roasted it well, they ground it with a muller. (27) Sitting spraddle-legged they ground wokas. (28) And then having finished that, they dipped it all to one side. (29) And all the chaff came up, on top. (30) And having put it to one side, they ground it again.

[178]
[415]

(31) And now they made food. (32) Long ago it was, before when our things, dishpans, were not there. (33) And at that time there they did it in a "čakía" [i.e., a type of basket], "čakía" as they termed it. (34) And in that they first heated rocks, and they put the wokas into water. (35) Then they threw the stones into the water, in that "qalla" [another basket type], to boil it at that time, a [modern] boiling-pot being absent. (36) Thus they made wokas long ago.

(37) And that second kind, which I called "sbokẃas," they soured it apart. (38) And they took it off the top, while it was still wet. (39) Having gotten it ripe, they took it off the top. (40) And those were round, those--"sbokẃas" were. (41) It was called "sbokẃas." (42) And again having ground that "sbokẃas," then again in just the same manner having put it in among coals next, they parched it. (43) Again they parched it. (44) They parched it, and it tasted good.

(45) And one other, that one being called "č̓ini·q̇am." (46) It was not ripe wokas, and it tasted bad. (47) It was bitter, and they thus made it round, having parched it. (48) That's as much as they said.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

K M 224 deer, and mountain sheep with bow and arrow and dogs. The Modoc, who rely more upon hunting than do the Klamath, go M 224 [783] out in small parties of co-villagers, then separate to stalk the game. Before the hunt they sweat to render themselves ritually pure. On the hunt, they may wear disguises and use calls to lure game. Only in the autumn do collective drives take place. Then Modoc men and women, sometimes employing fire, herd antelope or deer into a rude pound where they are dispatched. The Pelican Bay people of Upper Klamath Lake drive deer into the water near their village, where the women, waiting in canoes, kill them. Waterfowl are taken by men sitting in canoes, using M [223] nets, or they are hunted by jacklight, much as in fishing. Nets are used also to trap beaver, otter, and rabbits. When a hunter has killed one of the larger animals, he is expected to be generous in distributing portions to his friends, relatives, and the needy.

K M 222 When the wokas crop is done, other wild seeds ripen, and the women move out to garner them with beaters, conical gathering baskets, and mats. For Klamath these seeds are less important than for the Modoc, and they withdraw earlier toward the Cascades, and particularly to Harriman, Pitt, and Huckleberry mountains. The Modoc linger in the lowlands to gather berries, then they too withdraw. In the mountains, only camas may now be ripe; but fruits such as the huckleberries, serviceberries, chokecherries, and wild plums especially draw them. These are gathered in large quantities and eaten fresh or dried for winter storage. The berry grounds, however, are attractive to others, and many a woman, preoccupied with a berry bush, spends her last mortal seconds in the realization that a grizzly, and not K M 224 another person, is feeding on the far side. During this time, some of the men set deadfalls for small furbearers or venture beyond the mountains to hunt deer and elk with the Southern Molala. K M 721 Others organize war parties to raid the Upland Takelma of the upper Rogue River Valley, the Pit River and Shasta to the south, or the Paiute to the east.

K M 222 517 The gatherings, both at wokas beds and the berry patches, provide welcome opportunity for relaxation from the day's labors. Footracing, gambling with the stick-game or beaver-tooth dice, hockey, and other sports enliven the evenings, while the old people sit and gossip and young lovers advance their cause. The season however is now late, and frosts warn that winter is near. K M 222 517 By mid-October, they have begun the homeward journey to their settlements, there to rebuild the earth lodges, gather firewood, and prepare for the long siege of winter. K M 221 361

Throughout the cycles of the seasons, the tribesmen live under a sense of dependent involvement in a universe that was created in the mythic age by supernatural beings who, establishing the present order, also chose their present form within it. K M 82 Among the creatures of this world, man is less the exploiter than a fellow being, a relationship honored by returning to the water the gall of a fish that had been caught in order that the fish be requickened, as well as in the annual ceremonies of the first sucker and the ripened wokas. Each individual may draw close to the sources of power; and among the Klamath neither age nor sex is a barrier. K 881 787 The young boy at puberty may be sent on vigil to sacred place—in mountains and at certain rivers or lakes—there to fast, pile stones, run, and swim. In time, he may faint, awaken with blood gushing from his mouth, and hear the song that is his power. A girl during the time of her puberty dance goes off to sleep apart during the day; then she too may hear a song. K [765] Those mourning a deceased mate or child may "travel," seeking solace and power, for the spirit confers power through pity. K 787 Those who seek help desire a specific power, and they may pray for prowess in hunting, gambling, in attracting a mate, or in acquiring wealth. One who already has a spirit associate may seek for others; and some, either through inheritance or by the successive acquisition of tutelaries, may go on to become shamans. Some persons may reject the call. One middle-aged woman recounts a waking dream she had in her girlhood of a stag in full antlers rising out of the waters. Had she followed the opening thus offered she might have acquired great power, but she was afraid and let the chance slip by.

Among the Modoc, says Ray, powers come only to those who M 787 756 [885] seek to become shamans. The call, which comes in a dream, is legitimate only in mature men and women past menopause and may not be experienced in old age. The seeker, like his Klamath counterpart, undertakes a five-day quest; but the chief of the spirit abodes in which he spends his vigil are the house pits of deceased shamans. Those spirits that come to him choose him

221 the warmth of the winter dwelling. There are
usually two or three related families sharing a
[592] single winter house; and evenings are spent in
playing games, telling stories, or gossiping, as
[517] well as in making baskets and manufacturing fish
nets. Small children are not allowed outdoors
[857] in the cold, but older ones go out some days to
slide on the ice or downhill on pieces of bark.

Cat's cradle is a popular pastime engaged
[524] in by both adults and children in the winter.
The number of possible figures is great. Coyote, Skunk, Bear, Bullfrog's Tail, Owl's Eyes, Sunrise, Boy Running, and Man Chasing a Rabbit are but a few of the many that most individuals can make. Children learn how to make the figures from adults or from older children. However, if the children play at cat's cradle very often, the string is taken away with the comment, "You'll stretch the months if you do that so much." There is apparently no such restriction on adults.

In one version of string figures an adult fixes a loop in the string. A child is told to put his finger through the loop, which is then pulled tight around the finger; and he must tell his name before he can be released.

538 Every night throughout the winter months
[221] myths are told. They are never told in the summer or daytime lest the narrator age quickly. Most myths serve for amusement, not being regarded as especially sacred. Stories about Creator are taken somewhat more seriously than others. "You have to keep quiet and listen to them." It is from the Creator myths that children first learn about sacred beings.

There are many stories explaining the origin of local geographic features. Most of the myths have personified animal characters. There are a few tales that offer advice to the children. After stories about hunting or gathering, the teller may turn to the children and say, "If you want to be a good man (or woman), do like that."

In contrast to many other tribes there is very little formality connected with the telling of myths among the Klamath. In the evening an old man or woman starts to tell stories, and others gather around. Young adults never tell them because a storyteller begins to age rapidly.

The children lie down to listen; they may request their favorites and are free to complain that the narrator is not telling the story right, if they do not like his particular version. A few old people are recognized as the best raconteurs.

Adults also listen to the stories and make requests. Certain characters are especially liked; and children often ask for tales about Little Weasel, Chipmunk, Coyote, and Skunk. Skunk is funny because he thinks himself very clever, but all his undertakings are fiascos. After a Skunk story, children are warned, "Don't be like that." A few stories, such as those about Owl, are told to frighten children into behaving. As the evening wears on, the children fall asleep one by one. Indeed, one of the main

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2536. Any time	–	–	–	+		–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	535
2537. Several bands assemble together	+	–	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	
2538. Young people dance, mainly	–	+									–	–	–		–	–	
2539. Purpose mainly pleasure	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	[789]
2540. To make seeds grow	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2541. Dance around center post	–	+	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–	
2542. Jupiper tree	–	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2543. Dance around fire	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2544. All dancers sing	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[533]
†2545. Special singers	–	–	–	–		–	2	–	4	–	–	1	–		–	–	
2546. Each local group sings own songs, in turn	+	–	+			+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2547. Split-stick rattle accompaniment	–	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2548. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	+			+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2549. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–		–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[562]
2550. Men choose partners	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2551. Dance in 1 circle	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2552. Dance in 2 concentric circles	+	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
2553. Dance in 2 circles next to each other	–	–	–			+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2554. Sexes alternate	+	–	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2555. Sexes dance opposite each other in 1 circle	+	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2556. Quick shuffle step	+	(+)	+	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
2557. Hopping step	–	.	–	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2558. Stamp both feet, moving slightly									+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2559. Start: counterclockwise	+	(+)	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2560. Reverse: dance clockwise	–	.	–	+		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2561. When dance stops, all shout	+	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2562. Good singer dance leader	+	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2563. Band or district chief dance leader	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	[622]
2564. Clowns	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2565. Act of own accord; not appointed	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	[522]
o2566. Duration of dance, nights	1	+	1	1		1	1	3	1	2	–	2	–		–	–	
2567. Dance occasion for courting	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2568. Visitors camp in circular brush corral	–	–	+	–		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[574]
2569. Visitors feasted by hosts	–	–	+			+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	

Sweat "Dance"

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2570. Held inside sweat house											+	+	+		–	–	[515]
2571. At night											+	+	+		–	–	
2572. Any time of year												+	+		–	–	
2573. Both sexes participate											+	+	–		–	–	
2574. Hot fire in sweat house											+	+	+		–	–	
2575. 1 singer; hits center pole with stick											+	–	–		–	–	[533]
2576. Split-stick rattle used											–	+	–		–	–	
2577. Participants stand in 1 spot, dance until exhausted											+	+	+		–	–	
2578. Swim after dancing											+	+	+		–	–	[481]

Bear Dances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2579. Bear dance aboriginal	–	–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+	[177]
2580. Given for good time	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2581. Given to dress bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2582. Held in spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
2583. Held in winter	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
2584. Held any time, in good weather	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2585. Danced in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+	
2586. Danced in open	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	–	
o2587. Whole gathering lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	–		–	2	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2708. Speaks twice daily, from top of sweat house	–	*+	*+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	624
2710. Moral lectures to children	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
2711. Stops disputes, chief's orders	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2712. Acts as dance manager	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	
2713. Acts as messenger man	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[203]
2714. Talks at ceremonies	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
2715. Clowns and ridicules	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	

Clowns

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2716. Informal clowning, joking, only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	522
2717. Formal clowns	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	*–	*–	–	–	*+	*+	–	–	*+	
2718. Office distinct from crier's	–	–	–	–		–	–	+	+	–	–	+	*–	–	–	–	
2719. Hereditary	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
2720. Appointed by chief	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	
2721. Lifelong	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
2722. Clowns at ceremonies	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	*+	–	–	+	
2723. Wears acorn necklace	–	–	–							–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
2724. Paid	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[45]
2725. Helps dreamer call spirits													+	–	–	–	

Messengers

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
o2726. No. male messengers per village or local group	–	–	[illegible]	2	–	–	1	*1	*3	2	*6	2	1	2	–	–	203
2727. No. variable for intratribal matters	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	*+	
2728. Individuals serve in temporary capacity only.	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	
2728a. Official messenger for war matters only	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2729. Competency and willingness chief criteria for selection of	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2729a. Must be good speaker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	–	
2730. Appointed by chief	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2731. Hereditary, paternal line	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	
2732. Lifelong tenure	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
2733. If incompetent, discharged	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2734. Paid if travels a distance	–	+	–		*+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2735. Paid occasionally; given board	–	+	+				+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	
2736. Carries messages for chief or headman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	
2737. Travels about; gathers news	+	+	+								+	+	+	–	–	–	
2738. Welcomes guests	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	+		.	–	
2739. Orders hunt for chief	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+		+	–	
2739a. Attends to fire at ceremonies	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2740. Women messengers	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2741. Carry messages for anyone	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[561]
o2742. Number going together	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2743. Suitability only criterion	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2744. Travel only short distances	–	+	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2745. Act in temporary capacity only	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Fire Tender

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
†2746. No. per village or local group	*–	–	1	1	–	–	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	624
2747. Lifelong office	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	R+	–	+	+	+	–	+	372
2748. Temporary office only	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	R–	+	–	–	–	+	–	
2749. Hereditary in paternal line	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	+	[611]
2750. Appointed by chief	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	R+	+	–	–	–	+	–	
2751. Chief acts as fire tender	–	–	–									+	–	+	–	–	
2752. Clown acts as fire tender	–	–	–									–	+	–	–	+	[522]
2753. Attends to fire in assembly house	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2754. Keeps assembly house clean	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	+	+		–	+	
2755. Has 1 assistant	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(R)	+	+	–		+	+	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	NV	
3657. 4-5 (all) singers paid	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	+	841
3658. Reciprocal obligations only	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	881
3659. Menstruant sings	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	–	–	–	
3660. Participants join in singing	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	535
3661. Night singing, minus dancing	–	–	.	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	
3662. "Love" songs sung	•+	•+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
3663. Enemy songs sung, final dance	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3664. Women's songs sung	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	
3665. Special song cycle sung	•+	•+	.	•+	(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	–	+	
3666. Joking by singers	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	+	[522] ●
3667. Multiple split-stick rattle used by menstruant, singers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3668. Deer-hoof rattle used by singers	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	–	–	
3669. Deer-hoof rattle used by menstruant	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3670. Stick hit against board, as drum	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
3671. Whistle used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	
3672. Singing, dancing continues throughout night	+	+	–		•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	(+)	[533]
3673. Singing, dancing ends middle of night	–	–	+		–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3674. Entire assembly fed, middle of night.	+	•–	+	+	•+	•+	R	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	
3675. Singers, dancers bathe daily	–	–	+					+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	[515]
3676. Girl's attendant(s) have eyebrows, face blackened	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
3677. Men wear eagle down plumes	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	•–	•–	+	+	–	+	–	–	[282]
3678. Men wear fur headband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	[237]
3679. Men wear woodpecker scalp headband	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	[302]
3680. Men paint face red	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
3680a. Men paint face white	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3680b. Men paint face black	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3681. Men wear bead necklaces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
3682. Men wear head net	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	
3683. Men wear yellowhammer bands	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3684. Menstruant wears braided grass fringed visor	–	–	–	–			•		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3685. Women wear basket cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
3686. Women wear yellowhammer bands													+	+	–	–	
3687. Women wear brush, flower crowns	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
3688. Women paint faces red	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3689. Women paint faces black	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3690. Women carry branches in hands	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3691. Boys, girls wear flower wreaths	–	–	–					•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3692. Dress, headgear changed nightly	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
3693. Public rites: minor day dances.	–	–	+	–	•+	•+	+	(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	•+	–	–	
3694. Menstruant dances	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–	
3695. Men dance	–	–	+	–	–	–		(+)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3696. Women dance	–	–	+	–	•+	•+		(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–	
o3697. Lasts ... days	–	–	•8	–	•3	•3		.	–	.	–	5	–	5	–	–	
3698. Lasts part of each day only	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–	
3699. Held in open	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–	
3700. Rain in winter, no dance	–	–	(+)	–	–	•–			–		–		–	–	–	–	
3701. Circle dance	–	–	–	–	+	+			–		–		–	–	–	–	
3702. Dancers abreast, 1 line	–	–	+	–	–	–			–				–	–	–	–	
3703. Special songs, female singers	–	–		–	+	+			–		–		–	–	–	–	
3704. Public concluding rites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3705. Held in daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3706. "War" dance	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3707. Round dance	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
3708. Dancers abreast, in 1 line	–	–	–	+				•+									
3708a. Women grasp men's belts	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3709. Feather visor lifted off menstruant	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

000 trothed not subject to any of above regulations, but dances with girl for 3 periods and is dressed well when on view with menstruant year after girl first menstruates. Morning following this large final puberty dance parents of girl and betrothed line up in row, singing; girl and youth dance, hand in hand, in front of line 1 hour; boy then takes girl to his father's house, all guests depart, couple considered married. This done only by virgins, chaste boys; marriage has been arranged previously by parents of principals; common form of marriage, "done often." Betrothal dance, doharilpurik. All other groups explicitly denied any such puberty marriage customs as described herein for AE, WS.

3637. SE: With back toward fire, however. AE: Singers between girl and fire (see fig., note 3628).

3641. SW: Between dances men and women sit in line or group, with menstruant in front of them; women, mainly, sing, although men may help. Sing special women's songs that are used only for this purpose; also sing songs of more exoteric nature. MM: Girl rests at intervals during night's dancing; also dances 4 nights, rests on fifth, on sixth has ears pierced, dances and runs in morning.

3652. Mo: Men sing for few hours, then go home; women stay and sing all night. NF, NM, MV: 2 female singers figure prominently in accounts of ceremony.

3653. AW: Men sing for girl, passing rattle as each sings in turn. Any woman takes rattle, sings, if she is good singer.

[53 3] 3654. Kl: "Have 1 singer they hire, a woman;
[56 2] they pay her. Then lots of people help her sing,
men and women."
[88 1] 3659. At: Occasionally only, if mother thinks
girl is tired. Mother also rubs ashes on girl's legs, if girl tired.

3661. SW: See note 3641.

[53 3] 3662. Kl, Mo: Men and women sing about each
[56 2] other (see Spier, Klamath, p. 69).
[88 1] 3665. Kl, Mo: Begin with an evening song, and
end in morning at daylight with a morning song (see Spier, Klamath, p. 69). During night sing "love" songs (see note 3662). SW: See note 3641. Brush dance is 1 of dances given during puberty dance; men carry bows and arrows. At: In winter sing of snow melting; other songs in regular (?) order.

[52 2] 3666. Kl: Singers and others, joke with men-
[53 3] struant as she dances. MF, NF: Joking by clown.
[88 1] 3668. At: Use 2 deer-hoof rattles during night
dance; 1 for singers, 1 to keep passing to persons who are sleepy. At end of night dancing, menstruant given rattle and told to go and run; she rattles and sings throughout day by herself. NM: Deer-hoof rattle, kosiltil.

3669. At: See note 3668. WM: Deer-hoofs used for this rattle have been saved, hung up in top part of house in smoke, for several years (cf. note 3547).

[221-B]

OOO 186; 54. This satiric *carmen amœbæum* is one of the longest pieces in the collection and contains words of reprobation addressed by disappointed girls to their admirers. Sung in chorus by both sexes, with frequent dacapos after different tunes. The suffix -ash repeats itself at the end of every line and in kókuapkash.

186; 55. This little iambic improvisation is very aphoristically and indistinctly worded, but is endowed with perhaps the prettiest tune of all songs in this collection. It is an apostrophe of a newly married wife to her husband, seeing herself deprived even of the most common comfort, a small tanned fur-skin, to repose on and to avoid the dampness of the bare soil.

186; 56. A lover is taunted on account of his predilection for the white man's habits. The Modocs say this is a song of the Klamath Lakes.

186; 58. Admits of no literal translation.

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● 522

SONGS OF SATIRE.

I.

1. Kátchkal û'yank amníyamna –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
He goes around giving away sticks of tobacco, and is very noisy about it.

2. Gēt genō'la tsiálash patsō'k Yamakí'shamkshi
– ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
This man has started out to feed on salmon among the northern Indians.

3. Tû'sh hu wiká nénu shésha waíwash tchílamnu ?
–́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
Where is it, that close by on a hill waíwash-geese are crowding together?

4. Gé-u káni vû'lkashti wátch hushótchipka? ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
Who rides up to me on my horse, borrowed of me?

5. Tidshá kókatk í shéwa, hashuátan' í! ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
You think you are finely dressed; then mind your own dress!

6. Vû'lχashti kílí'wash shkútatk u'hlutuína
He dresses in a borrowed woodpecker-blanket and trails it along on the ground.

7. Ká tal hû'k mû shétaluatk? –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
Kē' lish tok walχátchkatko gûlí –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́
Who is he, the alleged wealthy man?
She has entered the house of a poorly dressed husband.

8. Lelahówitko wátch wuχóyi –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
Slow-running horses he paid for his wife.

*539 533 9. Áměta téwank vû'ya teíniwash –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ – | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
The young girl shakes her body when planting the camass-stick into the ground.

522 10. Áměta yä'kuank vúyamna –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
Shaking her body she broke the camass-spade.

11. Lák̲iam pé-in mat sha käfla kîwalapáta
–́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
The chief's daughter, they say, was dragged along the ground.

12. Î haktchámpesh wénni tchikólalχa, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
klítisham wéash wénni tchikolálχ' î. ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
You always strangely stride on on your long legs.
The crane's progeny, you walk strangely long-legged

13. É-ukshiwash tenuyága hā'la-a hála –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑
A young woman from Klamath Marsh is swallowing, swallowing.

14. Wika-télantko tchä'lish páwa hû ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
Short-faced like a porcupine that fellow is eating.

15. Lúelat hû'nksh hî't; yánta, yánta –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ – | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
Kill ye that fellow on the spot! down with him, down, down!

16. Kä'utchish gû'lo sáměnaki' wō'n lak̲í ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
When the female wolf has devoured the elk-buck she cries for more.

17. Shunuí-uya shuáktcha ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑
I feel unwell and hence am sobbing.

II.

000 18. Ledshántak wiwaknî'ka; gaígaikanka ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
They whipped a telltale; he is now sobbing.

19. Bî'nash mût hû hlívash tilankánsha! –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
The root-basket, they say, is swinging to and fro on Bî'na back.

20. Ló-i lóyan lóyak, ló-i lóyan lóyak

21. É-ukshikni tenuyáash halá, halá-a ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
A maiden of the Klamath Lakes is swallowing, devouring.

22. Níggă heúĕ héyo, nî'ggă héyo héwe – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑ || – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑
túmi níggă, túmi níggă –́ ⏑ | – ⏑ || –́ ⏑ | – ⏑

NOTES.

*539 533 522 The feelings which dictated these sarcastic song-lines are those of derision, satire and criticism. The majority are of a drastic, some even of a crude and very offensive character, scourging mercilessly the infirmities observed on fellow-men. Many of them

*539 also pass as puberty songs, but I have preferred to class these under the heading of
533 songs of satire. Some are sung with melodies, others are spoken and recited only.

● 522 I. Satiric songs obtained in the Klamath Lake dialect from Chief Johnson, Minnie Froben and others.

[193] 189; 1. ú'yank. In this term the prefix u- gives the shape in which the tobacco was given away.

189; 2. Refers to somebody going to the Dalles or other place along the Columbia River. Cf. page 93, *Note*.

[192] [193] 189; 3. In this verse there are four particles pointing either to distance or to elevation (altitude): tû'sh, hu, the -u suffixed to nen (nen hu) and to tchíamna. This song is sung by a woman, who hears (nen) for the first time of this assembling of geese; shésha waíwash stands for shéshash waíwash, or shéshatko waíwash: birds called waíwash-geese.

189; 5. A young woman is the object of this song-line.

[237] 189; 6. Woodpecker-scalps of shining colors are still in use for ornamenting various articles of dress, implements, &c. 'u'hlutuína: he flaunts it and parades in it.

[192] [193] 189; 7. Ká tal? who then? who after all? abbreviated from kaní tala. Dresses made of walyátchka-skins passed for the poorest and meanest of all garments.

[291] 190; 9. This is sung by men only.

190; 13. A satire on feminine voracity. Sung by Klamath women from Klamath Marsh. Cf. below, 190; 21.

190; 12. haktchámpesh; -pesh is the suffix ptchi phonetically altered, the word introducing a comparison of the "striding one" with the young klítish-crane in the same song. A sarcasm on a long-legged person with swinging gait.

190; 16. Regularly worded, this proverb-like verse would read as follows: Kü'utchish gû'lu wô'n=lákiash shaměnakía.

000 II. Satiric songs obtained in the Modoc dialect from Toby Riddle and J. C. D. Riddle.

190; 18. A tatler has received the deserved bodily punishment for his gossip-tales. Of the first word no grammatic analysis could be obtained in either tribe.

190; 19. The business of gathering edible roots devolves exclusively on women, but here an old man, Bin, who still lives among the Modoc at Yáneks, is indulging in this useful pastime. That 's where the point of the satire lies. Hlívash is a word unknown to the Klamath Lake people in the signification of "basket".

190; 20. Sung by the national deity when foiled in the attempt of killing five lynxes by throwing stones at them; repeated from the shashapkăléash, page 126, 3. Cf. *Note*.

190; 21. To be found in another version among the Klamath Lake songs; there it refers to a female living on Klamath Marsh, not on Klamath Lake.

190; 22. This tune was with many similar ones improvised by the Modocs, who visited the East a short time after the Modoc war, on seeing crowds of blacks filling the streets. All Indians feel *at first* a peculiar very strong aversion against the Ethiopian race, though subsequently they often become friends and intermarry.

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with a finger and recites sentence (7). She then walks up the child's arm with two fingers, saying sentence (8) as she goes. When the child's shoulder is reached, the adult tickles the child under the armpit and laughs.

35. Amusing A Baby

(Mrs. Pansy Ohlea)

(1) Camas root. (2) Ipos root. (3) Root [sp. Lomantium canbyi C. and R. or Lomantium piperi C. and R.]. (4) Root [sp. unidentified]. (5) Valeriana root.

(6) BambaWaq, bambaWaq, something to burn Marten's little brother with. (?)

(7) woja·, woja·, woja·.

(8) dip, dip, dip, . . .

36. Teasing the Old Men

(Mrs. Pansy Ohlea)

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(1) Old men were sitting in the sunshine. (2) So I came walking along. (3) And my uncle [mother's brother] said to me, "This is Sitti·na coming." (4) And I said, "Do they taste good, bones are your [pl.] food? (5) Rusty ghost eater!" (6) And he went home laughing, [and] said to his daughter, "She has named me. (7) Really!" (8) "How did she name you?" (9) "Ghost eater!" (10) Then they laughed and laughed!

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 153]

told that this had any connection with the possibility of contamina- 777
tion from women's presence in the house, but I did not enquire. A
gambler must fast if he wants success, and must begin the fast before 777
he goes to fetch his charm. The blade will disappear if not properly 525
cared for. The gambler carries the stuffed skin in his hand or places
the blade in water at his side as he plays, or wets it from time to time. [785]
The frog's foot, wrapped in an odoriferous leaf, or a mole's foot,[112] is
placed under the blanket or mat on which they sit while playing. My
informant had never heard of putting the blades under the mat, as
Barrett noted.[113] Luck is called dite satwa'ya; ķ!ai dite satwa'ya is
literally, indeed no good luck.

Gamblers paint their faces, put strings of beads around the wrist, and attach little feathers to their hair, when they play in all seriousness. They sing as they play. The stakes are piled beside them. The side that loses, bundles up its gaming sticks and articles, carries them off to bury at a crematory, and sets out to seek spirit power for luck.

The principal game is the four-stick game, called sŏ'kals, from 525
sŏ'kla, to gamble, hence the gambling game par excellence. Gatschet[114] 524
also calls it spe'lshna, to put the fingers forward (from speiluish,
index finger) and shulshe'shla. It is played by men seated in two
opposing rows. Two pairs of sticks are provided, with a circular mat
or basket or a skin to hide them under. The sticks were described to
me as nine inches long, two an inch in diameter, marked at the middle
(these called cu'lačs), and two only half as thick (sķo'tŏs). Culin
describes a number of sets, of which the thicker sticks taper toward
each end and are ornamented with parallel spiral lines at the middle,
while the slender ones are closely wrapped with buckskin thongs for
their whole length. From this they derive their name "wrapped up"
according to Gatschet. The thicker sticks are made of mountain
mahogany.[115] The hiding basket (p'a"la) is flexible and flat, hardly
more than a circular mat; it is ornamented and has a bunch of deer
dew claws attached to the center of the convex side. Blankets, mats,
elk hides, or buffalo hides are sometimes used to hide the sticks; the
last especially by rich men. Twelve short pointed sticks and two
longer are provided for counters. These, contrary to the usual usage
elsewhere, are not placed in a single group, but six of the shorter

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[112] The latter according to Gatschet (1:134).

[113] Material Culture, 253.

[114] *Op. cit.*, 1:79.

[115] Culin, Games, 329–332; Dorsey, Certain Gambling Games, 23.

• 524
525 variety and one longer one are stuck into the ground before each group of players. These are called kce'ic, which, according to Gatschet, is derived from ksh'ena, to carry off.[116] Three of the sets described by Culin have each six counters.

The hider rattles the four sticks against the under-side of the hiding basket which rests on the ground before him and allows it to drop over them as he leaves them on the ground. The guesser must specify the order in which the sticks are arranged, which he does with a very characteristic gesture. If he is correct the sticks are thrown to him to hide. If he is wrong, the hider draws one or two small counters from his opponent's stock. The longer counter is taken last. For two arrangements, B and C below, he takes two counters; for A or D he takes one. The game is won when one side has all fourteen (no'ga, to win all the stakes; go'le, to win).

Each arrangement of the sticks has a name and a definite gesture which the guesser uses to describe it. He claps his hands once when his decision is made and brings his hand down or across in front as may be.

Name	*Arrangement*	*Gesture*
A. sḳo'tös (?)	▮▮||	Moves right hand to the right.
B. yo'skis	|▮▮|	Moves right index finger down the center.
C. sḳĕ'tc!ös	▮||▮	Moves first and second fingers of the right hand down the center.
D. woi'ls (or bö̆ḳe?)	▮|▮| (or |▮|▮)	Moves right thumb to the right to point out the thin sticks or the forefinger to the left for the thick sticks (reversing the movements for the second arrangement).

[114] Dorsey gives a somewhat different procedure. First, he is probably right in stating that for the opposite arrangement of A (with the slender sticks to the left) the hand is moved to the left. But he states that the guess for this position does not matter, since whether right or wrong, the sticks do not change hands and the hider gains no counters. Further, by his account, after a wrong guess is made and one counter forfeited, the hider arranges only one stick of each kind for the next guess. Both Dorsey and Gatschet give the name vuish, vŭ'ish to arrangement A.

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177 The hand game is of recent introduction; of this all were in agreement. It was brought from the far north by a man called Spo'kăn, possibly one of that Salish tribe, before the Modoc war. He came from Warm Springs and married a Klamath. He introduced the accompanying songs as well and its name nai'ătia.[117]

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[116] *Op. cit.*, 1:79.

[117] My informant had never heard the name lóipas recorded by Dorsey (*op. cit.*, 22).

This is also a man's game played by about six in a row on each side. Two men are each provided with two short bones, one of each pair marked with a black band. These two change the bones from hand to hand as they sway from side to side crossing and uncrossing their arms, their companions accompanying them with swaying and song the while. The opponents guess the hands which hold the unmarked bones. Twelve sticks for counters are stuck upright between the contenders. As with the four-stick game the successful guess wins the right to hide the bones; at each failure the hiding party takes counters from the neutral pile and, when this is exhausted, from the opponent's winnings. Here too the guess is indicated by a particular and characteristic gesture. In the diagram below the bones are represented as in the hands of two men seated side by side; the crosses indicate the marked, circles the plain bones.

Name	*Arrangement*	*Movement*	*Counters taken by hiders*
yo'skls	xoox	Hand edgewise down middle	2
skĕ'telōs	oxxo	Prone hand forward	2
woi'is[118]	xoxo (or oxox)	Forefinger to right (or left for the second arrangement).	1

When each side has six stick counters, it is called ŏtano'ga, now cooked. The side getting all twelve wins.

Dorsey describes the bones as three inches in length, two wound about the middle with buckskin. The wound pair are called skútash, tied around, or hī'cwŏks, men, the others solsas, female (?). The counters he renders kshesh.[119]

My informant reported that the Pit river people have short bones which they roll in grass between their hands, and toss into the air. [184]

The beaver-tooth dice game (sko'sĕ) has its usual simple form. It is played perhaps more frequently in winter than in summer, and while primarily a woman's game, both men and women play together. The dice are the four crescentic incisor teeth of a beaver, ground hog, or ground squirrel, or bits of wood.[120] The upper teeth (called hic-

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[118] These names, which are identical with those for the four-stick game, were given by the same informant but on a different occasion. The names given here are probably correct for both games, hence Dorsey, Gatschet, and my own doubtful alternative for D above, are evidently all wrong. Arrangement A cannot occur in the hand game, of course, since each man must have an assorted pair. [114]

[119] Dorsey, *op. cit.*, 22. In 1930 I collected two sets in which one pair was encircled by a carved and painted fillet. [126]

[120] The Northern Paiute use long sticks for this game, according to this informant. [171]*

• 524 wō'ks, men) are ornamented along one face with zigzag lines; the lower pair (gu'lu, women) bear a row of dots or parallel cross-lines. The hollow ends are plugged with something red for decoration. They are swept up off the thigh and scattered on a flat stone, such as a grinding slab. If they lie so that the marked faces of two "men" or two "women" are uppermost, the player wins one counter; if the cast shows all blanks, he gains two, and if all marked faces, he wins the game. When he throws one blank, the dice pass to another player. [114] This is called k̦'ai'dwa anī'kāl, to win no counters. The first three of these scores agree with Gatschet's information.[121] Another of my informants said that any two marked faces count one, all of a kind, marked or unmarked, two. The counters (anī'kāl) are twelve (ten?) sticks, which are used in the usual fashion; each player draws from a central pile, then from his opponent's, until he has all. I am not certain, but they may play as two opposing sides.

524 114 Both Culin and Gatschet describe the use of woodchuck teeth as well. Gatschet writes of all four marked with parallel lines or crosses on one side. Dorsey describes stick dice for this game, seven and three-quarter inches long, flat on one side, rounded on the other, and tapering at the ends. Gatschet's information is that the game is played by women only, by two persons or two partners to the side.[122]

A form of the stick game from the Klamath at Siletz reservation is described by Culin[123] under the name turkinaw. This, the familiar game of northwestern California, must have been learned at Siletz, since it is unknown on the Klamath reservation. Of a bundle of thirteen sticks, two are marked differently from the others. The bundle is divided into groups each wrapped in a wisp of grass. Evidently the guesser must avoid choosing the bundle containing the two special sticks.

Double ball shinny (djima') is a woman's game played in summer. [561] The "ball" (djima') consists of two bones or hardwood billets, eight inches long, and somewhat more than an inch in diameter, fastened at their middles by a nine-inch length of buckskin.[124] Each player [114] has a fathom-long straight stick (so my feminine informant states, but Gatschet says two) with which the ball is struck or rather thrown. The stick is called swē'kos. The object is to drive the double ball between the opponents' goal posts (Gatschet gives yúash; yo''a is to win). Carrying it beyond the line of the posts but not between them does not count. They start by throwing it into the air with a stick; this is called salḳ!wē'tka. The players, five or six to the side (Dorsey says two to ten play[125]) are scattered over the field. Chasing one another is called swă'tsna. The ball must not be touched with the hands nor kicked.

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[121] *Op. cit.*, 1:80.

[122] Culin, *op. cit.*, 137; Gatschet, 1:80, 81; Dorsey, 25, 26.

[123] Culin, *op. cit.*, 247. These may be Klamath river people, not the Klamath of Oregon.

[124] Gatschet describes the string as two to three feet long connecting two sticks or pieces of cloth (*op. cit.*, 1:81). Culin figures a ball in which the cord passes through the center of each billet (Games, 659).

Shinny (sᴇo'tᴇ) is a man's game played in the summer. Six men take part on each side and attempt to drive the ball between the goal posts, arranged as above. The same provisions apply here. In addition tripping, holding, and hitting one another are not permitted; there is in fact a functionary, a non-participant, who sees to this. He also throws the ball up between the contestants at the center of the field to start the game. The ball is of hard wood, two inches in diameter. The sticks are about an arm's length, three fingers broad more or less, and crooked at the lower end. These are made of willow roots or other wood.

[171]*

Football is not played by the Klamath, but is played, according to my informant, by Modoc and Northern Paiute.[126]

The usual form of the hoop and pole game is not known to the Klamath, i.e., hurling poles at a rolling ring.

Analogous to this, however, is a game (cī'ḳcīḳa) of shooting or throwing darts at a hoop, played in several ways. It is also called ho'saḳoŋḳs from hosa'tcna, to roll. A ring (cī'rḳcīḳa) of tules is made fourteen inches in diameter or sometimes much larger. One informant described a ring of willow branches as thick as one's arm and thirty inches in diameter. Dorsey describes a ring of six inches used by boys. A ground is prepared by burning the grass on a course seventy-five to one hundred feet long. At each end four or five archers take their positions. One rolls the ring by an overhand throw; the others attempt to make their arrows stick in it. One who misses is penalized by the others filliping him on the back of his hand or punching him in the small of his back. They always fillip the same spot until the hand swells.

Another informant gave a variant in which the ring is propped up so that its edge faces the opposing side, who attempt to shoot it. If they miss, their opponents win; if they hit it, it must be rolled toward them while they shoot again. The stakes are bows and arrows. My informant's account of this game was not clear; I may have confused two games. A better informant denied that they shot at the edge of the ring but Dorsey records this.[127] Two rings are used according to his account, one beside each party. These rings are peculiar in that each has a bar across its diameter.

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[125] Dorsey, *op. cit.*, 19.

[126] Cf. Culin, *op. cit.*, 704.

[114] In another form of the game recorded by Dorsey, two boys seated indoors roll a three or four-inch ring between them. The arrow shot into the ring must be dislodged by a shot of the one who rolled the ring. If the latter fails, the other receives one of the stakes, an arrow; if he succeeds, the trial does not count. In still another variety of the game the ring is only half an inch in diameter and the dart is a bone point set in a wooden handle. This is also played indoors by anyone. The player attempts to pierce the rolling ring with his dart. If he pierces one rim it counts one, both sides two.

A dart game (sïkne'ăs, dart) is played by men in summer. The dart is a pointed willow pole, eight to ten feet long, or, according to a second informant, of fathom length, feathered at one end, and sharpened or provided with a bone point at the other. Two targets are set up some distance apart, perhaps one hundred feet. These are bundles of tules four inches across and three feet tall, or smaller bundles mounted on sticks. When one man has made his javelin stick in the bundle, the whole party proceeds to that mark and throws at the other target. No stakes are wagered, but the man who wins can punch the others over the kidneys or fillip with his middle finger the backs of their hands or their foreheads five times or more. Another informant had it that the players are paired; one on each side throwing his dart in turn. He fixed the stakes as horses, blankets, and beads. [114] A variant of the game described by Dorsey[128] involves forked sticks as targets. If the javelin rests in the crotch, it counts five, otherwise the nearest throw counts one, the total to win being ten. Kɛmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero, played this game between Buck and Bare islands at the opposite ends of Klamath lake.

Other athletic contests are frequent. Foot races (so'ina) are indulged in by men or women, but not mixed groups. The race is to a nearby goal (without returning) or over a circular course. Boulders are lifted to see how far the contestants can stagger with them. There are several large spherical stones, up to eighteen inches in diameter, at the village du"ïlkūt on Klamath marsh where various groups gather in summer. Men, and even strong women, of the various set-

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[127] Dorsey's data are also confessedly poor (*op. cit.*, 17, 18).

[128] *Op. cit.*, 19.

tlements are pitted against each other. Wrestling is a sport for men 524
and boys. The village suwiakă'ĕks, jump over, at Modoc point takes its name from contests of jumping over a rock there. This is about three and a half feet high and the approach is up a hillside. The Klamath are fond of diving; certain places on the lake are favorites, as the rocks on the northern shore of Buck island. Poles are balanced on the forefinger; this nameless sport is indulged in by boys alone. Ball juggling is unknown.[139]

The so-called ring and pin or cup and ball game (coḳ!o'ḳ!os) among the Klamath consists of an elliptical or lozenge-shaped bundle of tule rushes to one end of which is fastened the cord which at its other end is attached to the butt of the pin. In a specimen I collected the bundle is very light, fashioned from the inner layers of tule stem into a mass an inch and a half long with a diameter half that dimension. The cord is a mere filament eight inches long, twisted of dried nettle bark. The pin is a porcupine quill (smai'ĕm) as long as the ball. The ball is allowed to hang pendant; by a quick plunge of the pin straight down, an attempt is made to pierce the point of attachment of cord and ball. This "breaks the month" (shapashspatcha, according to Dorsey).[140] It is considered great luck, for it will shorten the month and hasten the coming of the spring. It is a pastime of young and old of either sex during the long winter nights spent in the earth-lodge.

Top spinning is not confined to any season nor any ages. The top (hĕsta'lgeas) is a pointed stick thrust through a disk of wood or bark or a lump of pine gum. It is twirled between the palms. The contest is to see whose top spins longest.

A buzzer (ske'oḳe'wis ?) is made of an astragalus bone of a deer 224
and a sinew from the deer's back. The looped cord passes through two holes in the bone. The loop is swung in the familiar fashion to twist it; pulling on it makes the bone spin. The buzzing sound produced says, poke'wŏt poke'wŏt, drive the deer out, evidently a charm. Near Pelican bay are tongues of land extending into the marsh from the foot of the mountain. Deer were driven out onto these and killed, or forced into the water where women in canoes waited to kill them. The buzzing is a "sign of this."

The bullroarer is a boy's plaything; it has no significance. This 524
is a paddle-shaped piece of wood, about fourteen inches long, pro-

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[139] Gatschet records the term shikukángŏtch for stilts (*op. cit.*, 2:307). I am sure I would have been told of stilts had these been aboriginal.

[140] *Op. cit.*, 21.

524 vided with notches at the narrow end in which the cord is tied. It is not ornamented.

The sling (ske'wIc) is used only in sport. It is wholly of buckskin; a wide piece to which thongs are attached. One is provided with a loop to slip over the finger. This is an aboriginal device.

As a mere plaything hummingbirds (p'i'sas) are fashioned from the hard interior of the tule. These are hung up in the earth-lodge.

String figures or cat's cradles (sŏpk̦ŏ'ptculŏ'as, from k̦!ŏ'ptc!a, little finger ?) are for amusement. Yet if played in winter the months will grow longer. Their number is legion. I was told of a few; the stolen baby, Tca'k̦iak̦, sunrise, owl's nest, sick Coyote's knees, the girl who fetches water, a bundle of arrows, the abandoned boy who grows, and two coyotes who run from each other. The interesting feature of these figures is that they depict moving scenes; thus sick coyote sticks up his knees; the girl goes to fetch water crying ŏmdja, ŏmdja, water, until she spies an Indian when she cries mak̦laks, human, and flees to the other hand to begin again. Three of the figures were recorded.

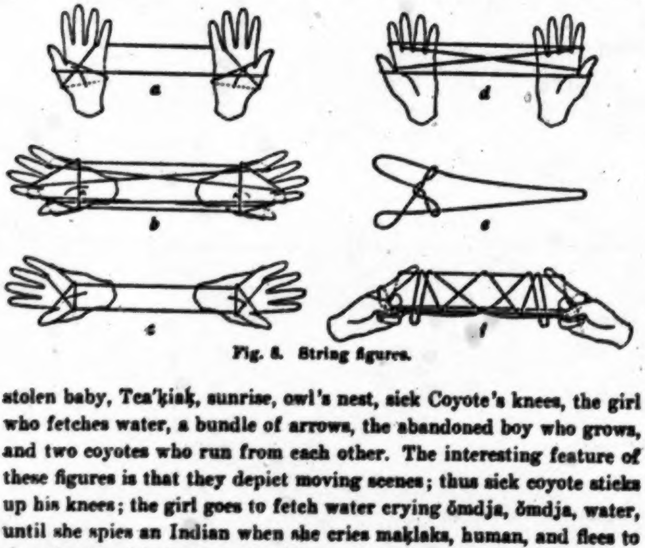

Fig. 8. String figures.

The figure of the stolen baby is called swĕnsowa'tkcas, taking from the cradle. Put each hand through the loop so that it lies on the back of each wrist. Lift the radial[131] string with each little finger from the ulnar side and the ulnar string from the radial side with each thumb, so as to form a loop on these four fingers (fig. 8a). Insert each

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[114]
[128]

[131] Following the terminology of Rivers and Haddon (String Figures, 147) the thumb-side of the hand or finger is called radial, the little finger-side ulnar. Hence strings on these sides are called radial and ulnar strings. A loop near the butt end of a finger is proximal, near the tip distal. Loops may lie on the palmar or dorsal side of each finger.

index finger under the intersection on the opposite palm. Using the lips, lift the loop from the back of each wrist so that it rests in front of all the fingers (fig. 8*b*). With each index catch the strings at A and pull them through the loops on each index while allowing the latter to slip off the dorsal side of the index. This forms a horizontal rectangle at the center which represents the cradle. This is narrowed by bunching the fingers of each hand. A little stick is thrust through this with the lips; this is the baby. Let slip the loops from each index finger. Pull the hands apart and the stick will fly toward one of them. (The resulting figure is shown in fig. 8*c*.) The hands represent two Old [776] Women spirits (wlle'aķak) fighting over the baby; the one who gets the stick wins.

A second figure forms Tca'ķiaķ, Little Boy spirit. The loop is placed over the right thumb and the left thumb and index finger. Hold both strings against the palm with the three other fingers of the left hand. Insert the right index under the loop over the left thumb and index from the dorsal proximal side (i.e., from the direction of the wrist). Release the strings held by the other fingers of the left hand. This gives figure 8d.[188] . . . . The final figure showing Tca'ķiaķ is given by figure 8*e*.

The third figure, sunrise (sa'basdlni'gi), is shown in figure 8*f*. Pulling the hands apart makes the middle loop stand as a triangular figure, representing the appearance of a mountain peak gradually emerging against the dawn. This construction is begun with the loop passing across the dorsal side of the left thumb and little finger and the palmar sides of the other three. Give the loop one complete twist (so that the ulnar string, e.g., of the left hand, is on the ulnar side at the right) and insert the thumb and little fingers of the right hand similarly. Pick up the palm loop of each hand from the proximal side with the opposite index. Hold the radial string on each index against the palm with the middle and ring fingers. Insert each index under the ulnar strings of each thumb from the proximal side, lifting the thumb loops off onto the indexes. Care must be taken to keep these loops at the tips of the indexes. Release the strings held by middle and ring fingers. With each thumb carry the radial string of the proximal loop on each index under (past the proximal side) the ulnar string on the little fingers. Bring back the thumb bearing a loop of this ulnar string. Slip little fingers out of the loops. (At this point my notes fail.)

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[188] *Unfortunately my field notes play me false: I cannot give the intermediate stages for either this or the following figure.* [128]

524 Children imitate not only the daily activities of their elders, but their games as well. Little girls build little dome-shaped lodges. Their dolls are made of clay with modeled eyes, nose, and mouth, but are not dressed.[133] Both these clay images and those made of wood are called a'm'ōs, but the wooden figures, representing the spirit Tca'ķiaķ, Little Boy, are not played with. Children play at shinny and double ball, and make cat's cradles. They play a game called wo'yīlītas wherein they run crying wo'yī wo'yī . . . . as long as their breath holds out and stand at the spot where they fail. The object is to see who can go farthest. Or they cry doŋgliu doŋgliu . . . . . Similarly, girls squat on their heels with hands on knees and jump up and down, singing la'masi, to see who can do it longest. They bet on this. A favorite spot to play this game, called salmasi'a, is at dūna'ksi on Pelican bay, where the ground resounds when they jump.

It is worth noting that the number of counters used in the guessing and dice games is always twelve. In the four-stick game—I so [114] recorded it—the counters are thought of as twelve plus two. Another of my informants spoke only of the twelve and this is the number recorded by Culin and Dorsey.[134] This number is unexpected because the pattern number of the Klamath is five. It may be that these games came to the Klamath in a form with twelve units and have not been reduced to the normal five or its multiple. How the pattern operates is illustrated by the informants' statements that five or six on a side play double ball shinny, that the perfect score in the dart game is five, and the penalty there five or more blows. On the other hand, it may be significant that I was told of six men to a side in the hand game and six in shinny. There are three possibilities; six and its multiple may be an indigenous pattern number for games, it may have been acquired as part of the game complex from other tribes, or it may be only a chance reference of the informants.

SMOKING

276 Smoking is a pastime with little to suggest ceremonial usage. To be sure, the shaman smokes in the interludes of the curing ceremonies, [755] using a special form of pipe, special tobacco mixed with reputedly poisonous roots, and prepared for him by his speaker, but he does not

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*[171] [133] The Northern Paiute make clay figurines representing horses and other animals, corrals, etc., according to my informant. The Klamath do not.

[532] [134] Even the form of the dice game described for the "Klamath" of Siletz, involving thirteen sticks, two of which are marked, may really be intended for twelve plus one, since elsewhere only one stick of such a set is marked.

cure by blowing smoke on the patient nor blow it to the distant spirits 276 as an offering. The impression gained was that this is a matter only of self-indulgence during his periods of rest. Gatschet translates a [755] song as "The smoking pipe is my medicine-tool (mūlwas), the implement for tobacco," but the word also means any esoteric paraphernalia of the shaman.[135] The lay use of tobacco is at any time that convenience dictates, e.g., when resting in the evening. Women use tobacco as freely as men. The custom of passing the pipe from one [562] to another is probably absent though I made no specific inquiry.

Tobacco (ko'tcka)[136] is smoked, never eaten. A boiled decoction of it is sometimes taken for bowel disorders.

The plant (*Nicotiana attenuata* Wats.) is not cultivated, but commonly grows in dry places.[137] A bundle of these plants together with kinnikinick is hung to dry in the top of the sweat-lodge until the leaves turn brown. Coville states that the dried leaves of manzanita, also, are mixed with the tobacco.[138] According to an informant the seed pods (which are sticky when fresh) and the adjacent parts of the flower are smoked; according to another the leaves and stem. The several plants are ground with any convenient little stone.

The pipe (p!ōks) is commonly clay with a spherical bowl and a 276 short wooden stem, but is sometimes of stone and discoidal. The more 323 common stone bowl is elbow-shaped with the arms at an obtuse angle, made of soft sandstone, shaped and hollowed by pecking. Barrett [114] states that the discoidal form is less used than the angular but my information is to the contrary.[139] The stem is elder with the pith pushed out; Coville mentions the wood of the wild rose.[140] The manu- [524] • facture of clay pipes by a non-pottery making people seems unusual; the only other use of clay is for making dolls. Yet the ease with which clay can be manipulated as against the difficulty of drilling and shaping stone must have favored its use.

A shaman's pipe (which has no special name) is the common clay 276 bowl fitted with a long stem, eighteen inches or more, wrapped with 756

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[135] 1:167.

[136] No word corresponding to the Shasta ōp, tobacco, Takelma ō'p, Crow ōp, etc., is known.

[137] Coville, Notes, 104. One of Powers' correspondents states that the Klamaths (Klamath river people?) cultivated it (Tribes of California, 426).

[138] Coville, Notes, 102. What is here called kinnikinick is probably Coville's bearberry (kā-mā-mi, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray); the common kinnikinick of northern latitudes does not grow so far south as Klamath lakes.

[139] Barrett, Material Culture, 253, pl. 22.

[140] Coville, Notes, 99.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

171 *

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	105
Dentalium shells	**Ornament**	**Ultimate source, coasts of Washington and British Columbia.**	[301]
Cradles	**Sitting**	**n.w. and n. central California.**	
	Board	**n. Basin, Plateau.**	[854]
Games	**Beaver teeth dice**	**Oregon, Washington, British Columbia.**	[524]
	Four stick	**n.e., central, and s. California (and elsewhere?).**	
	Hand game	**Some central Californians, Basin, s. Northwest Coast, Plateau, Plains.**	
	Modified hoop-pole	**Minor game of coast from Alaska to Oregon (not n.w. California).**	
	Ring-and-pin; rush ball	**Modoc?, Wishram.**	
Pipes	**Spherical; discoidal**	**s. Plateau (Nez Percé to Okanagon).**	[276]
	Angular	**Wasco, Wishram, Middle Columbia, Nez Percé (links with Plains calumet?).**	
Musical instruments	**Hand drum**	**Recent in Plateau; Basin, Plains, (Northwest Coast?).**	[534]
	Deerhoof rattle in girls' rites	**n. California.**	
	Notched rasp	**Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.**	
	Clap stick	**n. and central California.**	
	Open flute	**California, Southwest; Takelma, Nez Percé (and probably general in the west).**	
Numerals	**Finger names**	**Takelma.**	[802]
Ritual number	**Five**	**s. Northwest Coast, Washington, Oregon, California s. to Sinkyone and Northern Maidu, Basin.**	[801]
Calendar	**Numerical names**	**n.w. California, Fraser r., n. Northwest Coast.**	[805]
Scalping	**Whole scalp**	**California, w. Southwest, Wishram (no scalping in n.w. California e. to Shasta, and Northwest Coast).**	[726]
Head trophy	**Unusual**	**California, Northwest Coast.**	
Scalp dance		**General (except n.w. California) (over head trophies on Northwest Coast).**	[727]
War dance	**With notched rattle**	**Upland Takelma?, Wasco, Wishram, Nez Percé; without rattle, Chinook, n.w. California.**	
Disposal of dead	**Cremation**	**Modoc; some cremation in n.e. California; central California; formerly in e. Washington; n. Plateau.**	[764]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
534 2087. Feathers on stick handle	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2088. Number of cocoons	–	–	–	–	*3	*5	6	–	–	*4	*5	5	*4	5	*3	*5
[755] 2089. Used by shaman in curing	*–	–	–	–	*+	*+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2090. Used by Big Head singers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	–	–	–	–
2091. Used for any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
[787] 2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										–	+	+	+	–	–	–
2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	–	–	–	*+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2094. Split-stick clapper	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2095. Single split	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2096. Multiple splits	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2097. Painted	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	*R	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[881] 2098. Burned decoration	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
[535] 2099. For girl's puberty dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[720] 2100. For war dance	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[796] 2101. For Ghost dance	·	–	R	–		R		*R	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2102. For any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
2103. Snake rattles on stick	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	*+	*+	*–	*+	–	–	–	–
2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2106. On cord or thong, no handle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2107. Worn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[881] 2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	*7	15	20	20	20	–	25	8	20	1	2	4	–	–
2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2111. Basket rattle	–	*+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[524] 2112. Child's toy	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	–	–
Rasp																
2114. Notched-wood rasp	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2115. Basket scraped	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
Bull-roarer, Musical Bow																
2116. Bull-roarer	*R	–	–	–	(R)	–	+	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2117. Wood	R	–	–	–	(R)	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
[789] 2118. Bone or horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[753] 2119. Produces storm or wind	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[756] 2120. Produces sickness	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2121. Only shamans use	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2122. Only boys, men use	–	–	–	–	R			+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2123. For amusement, boys	R	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2124. Musical bow	(R)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Hunting bow	(R)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Separate instrument	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2127. Played with finger	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2128. Played with stick	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2129. Boys only						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Whistles and Flutes																
2130. Whistle	–	*+	+	*+	+	+	+	R	R	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2131. Single hole	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–
2133. Bone	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	*+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2134. Bird or rodent	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	*+	+	–	+	–	–	+
2135. Large mammal	–	·	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
2136. Elder	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	*R	–	–	–	+	+	–
2137. Cane	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	MF	NM	NS	MV
2284. Small tule, willow target	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2285. Double, shoot back and forth.	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	.	−
2286. Buried target	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
2287. Bundle of tules	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
2288. Buried in circle of dug ground	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
2289. Buried in ground	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
2290. All contestants shoot into circle simultaneously	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2291. Contestants shoot individually	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2292. Person hitting buried target wins	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2293. Target rolled	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2294. Downhill	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2295. On level	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2296. Hoop	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2297. Disk	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2298. Target thrown in air	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+
2299. Pine cone													−	−	+	+
2300. Bark disk	−	+	+								−	+	−	−	−	+
2301. Closest wins	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+		−	+
2302. Hitting target scores only	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	.	+	+
2303. Shooting for distance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
2304. Gambling for arrows in archery games	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	.	−

Ring and Pin

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[562]

[857]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	MF	NM	NS	MV
2305. Ring-and-pin game played	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2306. Men	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2307. Women	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2308. Children	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
‡2309. Number of rings	−	1	.	10	−	−	1	10	20	7	−	−	−	−	−	−
2310. Fish vertebrae	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2311. Deer carpals	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2312. Tule bundle	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
†2313. Number of pins	−	1	1	1	−	−	1	1	1	1	−	−	−	−	−	−
2314. Outfit transferred at miss	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2315. Each player has 2 tries	−		+		−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2316. Each ring counts 1 point	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2317. Ring counts game	−		−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2318. All rings on for game	−		−		−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
†2319. Number of sides	−	2	−	−	−	−	2	−	2	2	−	−	−	−	−	−
o2320. Number on each side	−	−	−	−	−	−	2	−	4	1	−	−	−	−	−	−
†2321. No teamwork; number playing	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	15	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2322. Betting on game	−		−	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2323. Winner raps opponent's knuckles, forehead	−	+	+		−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2324. Winner pulls out opponent's eyebrows	−	+	−		−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2325. Played to make moon wane	−	+	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Many-Stick Game, 1 Marked

[562]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	MF	NM	NS	MV
2326. Many-stick game played	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−
2327. Men play	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−
2328. Women play	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
o2329. Many small sticks	−	−	10	15	20	20	−	20	20	30	−	−	−	−	−	−
2330. 1 marked	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2331. 1 specially made stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−
2332. "Marked" stick guessed for	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2333. 2 sides	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	524
2334. 1 player on a side holds sticks	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2335. 2 players on a side each hold set of sticks	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	•R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2336. Sticks grass-wrapped, held in hand	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	•+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2337. Hide in bare hand only	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	•R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2338. Shuffle in front of body	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2339. In grass	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	•+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2340. Shuffle behind back	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2341. Sticks rolled in grass, set on ground	−	−	−			+	−	−	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	
‡2342. Number of counters	−	−	·	•12	10	10	−	10	•20	10	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2343. Counters in 1 neutral pile at start	−	−	·	•−	−	−	−	+	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2344. Counters in 2 piles	−	−	·	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2345. Referee to hand out counters	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2346. Holder ("dealer") wins point, if guess incorrect	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2347. Correct guessing side takes over sticks	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2348. Played in winter only	−	−	−				−		•+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Hand or Grass Game																	
•2349. Hand or grass game played	•R	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
2350. Men play	R	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[562]
2351. Women play	R	+	+	−	•R	+	•+	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	+	•+	
2352. 2 objects held by each player	R	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	•R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2353. 1 wrapped or marked	R	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	•R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2354. Wrapped or marked guessed for	−	+	+	−	•+	−	−	−	•R	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	
2355. Unwrapped guessed for	R	−	−	+	•R	+	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
2356. Call tep and wei, when guessing	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	
2357. "Bones" called by special terms	R	−	−	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	·	+	
2358. Men and woman	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	·	+	
2359. Black and white	R	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	·	−	
2360. Alive and dead		−				•+		−	−	−	−	−	·	−	·	−	
2361. Bones called by own terms	−	·	+	+	−	−	(−)	−	•R	•+	+	•+	·	−	·	−	
2362. Made from solid wood	R	+	−	+	+	+	•+	−	•R	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2363. Made from hollow bone	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
2364. Made from solid bone or horn	R	+	+	−	•R	R	•R	−	•R	−	−	+	(+)	−	+	+	
2365. 1 object held by each player	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2366. Solid wooden object	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2367. String of shell beads	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2368. 1 player at a time holds objects	−	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2369. 2 players at a time hold objects	+	−	−	(+)	•R	+	+	+	•R	−	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	
2370. Hide in bare hand only	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	•R	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	
2371. Hide in grass in hand	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	•R	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
2372. Shuffling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2373. Under mat	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2374. Under hide blanket	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2375. Under grass pile	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2376. Under basket	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2377. In front of body	+	+							+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
2378. Behind back	+	+				+	+	−	•R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2379. Grass bundles thrown up in air	−	−							−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
2380. Counters sticks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
‡2381. Total no. of counters for 2 sides	10	12	·	·	10	10	10	10	•15	10	16	6	16	20	·	16	
2382. Counters in 1 neutral pile at start	−	+	·	·	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2383. Counters in 2 equal piles at start	+	−	·	·	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2384. Holder wins point, if guess incorrect	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2385. Correct guessing side takes over "bones"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2386. Sides local groups	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2387. Played in summer only	−	−	+						•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2388. Played any time	+	+	·						•R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

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Objects Laid Down, Position Guessed

[562]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2389. 4 sticks, 2 large, 2 small, laid down	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2390. Men play	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2391. 1 pair wrapped	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2392. Large sticks guessed for	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2393. Small sticks guessed for	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2394. Sticks covered with basket	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
#2395. Number of counters	6	12	-	-	10	10	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2396. Counters in 1 neutral pile at start	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2397. Counters equally divided at start	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2398. Indefinite no. of players on each side	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Stick Hiding

[562]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2399. Single small stick hidden between fingers	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	•(-)	-	-	•+	-	-
2400. Men, boys play	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2401. Women play	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2402. Hider wins point when opponent misses	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2403. Correct guesser hides	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2404. Betting	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
o2405. Number of counters	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-

Dice Games

[562]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2406. Dice, disk type	R	•+	-	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	-	-	•+	(-)	•+	(+)	-
2407. Men play	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
2408. Women play	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	.	-
2409. Split acorn kernels	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	.	-
2410. Animal-teeth dice	•R	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o2411. Number of dice	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3	.	-
2412. All same size	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	.	-
2413. 2 pairs, different sizes	(-)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
2414. Each pair similarly marked	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
o2415. Number of counters	10	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	•-	.	-
2416. Stick counters	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-
2417. 1 neutral pile, at start	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
2418. Referee to hand out counters	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-
2419. Dice thrown on basket tray	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	.	-
2420. Dice thrown on flat stone	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
o2421. Number of sides	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	.	-
o2422. Number on each side	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	.	-
o2423. 1 pair up, 1 pair down, scores ...(?)	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	.	-
2424. 2 unmatched up, 2 unmatched down, scores ...(?)	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	.	-
o2425. 0 up, all down, scores ...(?) or wins	0	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	.	.	-
2426. 1 up, 3 down, scores ...(?)	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	.	-
2427. 3 up, 1 down, scores ...(?)	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	.	-
o2428. 4 up, 0 down, scores ...(?)	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	.	-
2429. Bone dice	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	(-)	.	-
2430. Men play	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-
2431. Carpal or tarsal bones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-
o2432. Number thrown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	.	-
o2433. Number of counters	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	.	-
2434. Scoring	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-

Objects Thrown in Air

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[562]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2435. Stick thrown up	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-
2436. Men	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2437. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	526
2438. Children	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	[562]
2439. Stick sharpened at both ends	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	+	–	–	
2440. Natural vestigial deer metapodial	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[857]
2441. 1 point when it lands erect in ground	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2442. Person who catches stick wins	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2443. Thrower scores	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2444. Unsuccessful thrower transfers	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
†2445. Number of counters	–	–	–	–	10	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2446. Jacks	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	
2447. Men play	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	[562]
2448. Women play	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[857]
2449. Children play	–	–	–	–	–	+	R	–	–	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	
2450. Stones	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	
†2451. Number of objects	–	–	–	–	10	10	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	3	–	–	
2452. Indefinite	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2453. Last object thrown up heaviest	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2454. For fun; no betting	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2455. Juggling	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2456. Rocks	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2457. Acorns	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
o2458. Number thrown up	–	–	–			2	3	–	–	2	–	–	–	2	–	–	
2459. Thrown up in both hands, same time	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2460. Women	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	[562]
2461. Boys	–	–	–					–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	[857]
2462. For fun; no betting	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Gambling Taboos

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2463. Intercourse taboo before gambling	+	+	+	+	–			+	+	.	.	–	–	–	–	.	525
2464. Only if man has washed in sacred spot, for luck	–	–	–	–	–			+	+	.	.	–	–	–	–	.	834
2465. Intercourse taboo after gambling													+	–	–	.	

Amusements

Toys

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2466. Tops	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	524
2467. Children play	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	[857]
2468. Adults play								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
2469. Acorn	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	
2470. Bark or wood disk, horizontal plane	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2471. Lump of pitch	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2472. Deer kneecap	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2473. Twirl with fingers	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	
2474. Twirl between palms	–	+	–				+		–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	
2475. Buzzer	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	R	.	R	[857]
2476. Children play	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	R	
2477. Adults play			+					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	R	
2478. Wood or bark disk	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2479. Deer carpal	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2480. Shell disk	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2481. Acorns	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2482. Shoe-leather disk						R	–	–	R	R	R	–	–	R	.	R	
2483. To make snow	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2484. String figures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	R	R	+	–	+	
2485. Old men, women play	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	[887]
2486. Men play	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	
2487. Women play	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	[562]

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	PM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2490. Moving figures	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	·	+	−	+
2492. Done in winter only	+	•+	−	−						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2493. Done any time, for fun	−	−	+							+	−	+	+	+	−	+
[481] 2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	−	•+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2494a. Stilts	−	•+	−	−	•+	R	−	−	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−
Contests																
526 2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. To throw man down	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. No tripping allowed	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	·	−
2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	−	+	+	·
2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								−	+	+	+	+	+
2502. Dodging	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	(−)	−	+	−	+
2503. Stones	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	−
2504. Hard objects inside geese	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
2505. Sand bag	−	−	−					•+	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
2506. Tule, grass balls	−	+	−					−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	+
2507. Two sides	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
o2508. Number on each side	−	•5	−			1	·	15	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[857] 2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	·	−
2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	·	+
2515. To mark and back	−	−	−			−	+	−	+	−	·	+	+	+	−	−
2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+			−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·	+
2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·	+
Storytelling																
528 2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2520. Myths told at night	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•·		•+	•+
[516] 2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	·		−	+
2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	•+	+	−			+		+	−	+	−	−	·		−	−
[784] 2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·		+	+
2524. Rattlesnake will bite	−	+	·		+	+	+	+	−	·	+	−	·		·	−
2525. Winter will come quickly	+	−	·						+	·	+	−	·		·	−
[887] 2526. Narrated by old people only	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	·		+	+
[515] 2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	•−	+	+			+				+	−	+	·		+	+
2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	−	+	+			+				+	−	+	·		+	+
Social Dances																
Circle Dances																
535 2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	•R	•+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	−	R	−		−	−
[417] 2530. Performed in brush corral	−	−	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
[224] 2532. At fall rabbit hunt	−	−	−	−		−	+	−		−	−	−	−		−	−
[221] 2533. In springtime	−	−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
[226] 2535. During communal fishing periods	+	+	+							+	−	−	−		−	−

526 seed beater to propel ball; carrying ball in
racket or stick permitted; picking up and bat-
ting ball permitted; goal a stake or post, hole,
circle on ground, rock, stakes or posts, arch,
circular hoop, row of stakes. Ball race: single
ball a hoop, stick, stone; carrying ball per-
mitted; goal a line on ground, a stake, hole;
home man catches ball on stick. Hoop-and-pole
game; quoits.--Hoop and pole: unwrapped hoop,
netted hoop, short stick as hoop; pole tossed
underarm, both arms, thrust into rolling hoop;
pole under hoop or stick scores; closest wins
point(s); win by elimination. Quoits: target a
stick lying loose; target a stone. Spear or
dart throwing; snow snake; ring and pin.--Spear
or dart throwing: specially made dart, feathered;
target buried hoop, previously thrown dart.
Snow snake: women play; arrow bounced. Ring and
pin: ring a rabbit skull, pine cone, brush ball,
piece of cane with 1 hole. Many-stick game;
524 hand game; objects laid down.--Many-stick: 3-
choice guess. Hand game: cane "bone"; finger
loops on "bones." Objects laid down: women play;
1 of each pair wrapped; unwrapped guessed; ob-
jects covered with mat, hide. Dice games.--Disk
dice: animal shell, half walnut shells, wooden
tablets, wooden hemispheres for dice; stone
counters; dice thrown on hide, mat, into hopper
basket, on hard ground, plank. Bone dice: women
play. Stick dice. Jacks, tops, buzzer.--Jacks
of foot bones of animal. Top of pepperwood nut;
twirled with string. Buzzer, edge of disk
notched; snake rattles used as buzzer. Games
wholly absent.--Catching dart in ring. Many-
stick game of take away, guess remainder. Guess-
ing marks on ground. Scoring circuit for dice.

Social Dances

535 Circle dance; Bear dance.--Circle dance: performed at fall pine-nut harvest, to make piñons grow, produce rain, bring deer; performed at mourning ceremony; at funeral; center post dry cottonwood tree, pine-nut tree; dance occasion for public mourning. Bear dance: held in brush corral; musical rasp, gourd rattle; dance in couples; whip to make dance; chief urges dancers with stick; stop dance at fall; rub fallen person with rasp; cover fallen person with blanket; held at mourning ceremony. Dances wholly lacking.--"South" dance or Exhibition dance. Crazy dance.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

622 Chief paid to settle disputes. Chief owns
all eagles, eyries; pays to have eagles released;
buys them from captors. Assistant cult chief.
Chief equated to birds. Totem for assistant
624 chief (screech owl, hawk). Boss for rabbit
drives; irrigating boss. Crier has totem bird.
Messenger has rod as symbol of office; builds

[165-B]

000 2334. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2326.

2335. WM: Refers to recent many-stick game. See note 2326.

2336. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2326.

2337. WM: Refers to recent many-stick game. See note 2326.

2339, 2341. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2326.

2342. SW: Score kept orally. Counters are played with, as part of gambling outfit. WM: 15 counters for recent many-stick game; 20 counters used for old grass game. See note 2326.

2345, 2348. WM: Grass game. See note 2326.

Hand or grass game.--

● 524 2349. Among several groups, more than 1 type hand or grass game played. Whenever entry refers to one type only, note indicates to which type. If entry refers to all types played by group, no note appended. [177] Kl: Learned to play hand game from Warm Springs Indians; also from Paiute; latter "just natural gamblers." Game popular among Kl before informant born. "Many new games 000 among Kl now." At: Type (1), old form of hand game, similar to old Mo game (see note 2368). Type (2), recent, 4-bone-type hand game, learned from Kl. AE: Type (1), men's hand game. Type (2), women's hand game. WM: Type (1) grass hand game, Xeni. Type (2), recent form of hand game, cu'us, introduced about 20 years ago, perhaps from Stillwater area. "People from there came and said, 'Let's play hand game.'" WS: Type (1), grass game, k'eni, old. Type (2), "hand game," no other name. Recent, learned from Paiute about 30 years ago. Type (3), women's hand game, a·rus; old. If men play type (3), use larger set of bones. MV: Type (1), men's hand game. Type (2), women's hand game.

2350. AE, MV: Refers to type (1) game. WS: Refers to types (1), (3). See note 2349.

2351. At, AE, MV: Refers to type (2) games. WS: Refers to types (2), (3). See note 2349.

2352. AE: Refers to men's hand game. WM: Refers to recent form hand game. See note 2349.

2353-2354. AE: Refers to men's hand game. WM: Refers to recent form. See note 2349.

2355. At: Refers to recent type. AE: Refers to men's hand game. See note 2349.

2357, 2359. AE: Some doubt concerning entry.

2360. AW: Unmarked bone is "live" bone.

2361. WM: Called "ace," in recent form hand game. WS: Marked bone called pak (bone) in women's hand game. See note 2349. MF: Called "string bone and slick bone."

2362. AE: Refers to men's hand game. WM: Refers to recent form hand game. See note 2349.

2364. At, WM: Refers to recent form hand game. AE: Refers to men's hand game, an old type but only recently played with bone or horn bones. See note 2349.

2365. AE: Refers to women's hand game. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2349.

[205-B]

00 2366. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2349.

2367. AE: Refers to women's hand game.

2368. Mo: Fact that only 1 player at time holds objects causes Mo to distinguish clearly between their form of hand game (nanadeyes) and "Paiute-Achomawi" 4-bone hand game (which is also recent Kl form). This 4-bone form never adopted by Mo. At: Refers to recent "hand game," and women's hand game. WM: Refers to grass game. See note 2349.

2369. At, WM: Refers to recent form hand game. See note 2349.

2370. WM: Refers to recent form. WS, MV: Refers to women's hand game. See note 2349.

2371. WS: Refers to recent "hand game." MV: Refers to men's hand game. See note 2349.

2377. WS: Refers to recent hand game and women's hand game. MV: Refers to men's hand game. See note 2349.

2378. WM, WS: Refers to recent form hand game; also, among WS, to women's hand game. See note 2349.

2379. WS: Refers to grass game. MV: Refers to men's hand game. See note 2349.

2381. WM: 15 counters for grass game; 5 counters for recent form hand game. See note 2349.

2387. WM, WS: Refers to grass game. See note 2349.

2388. WM, WS: Refers to recent hand game and, for WS, women's hand game also.

Stick hiding; dice games; objects thrown in air.--
2399. AW: Single stick, piece of rock, hidden in bare hand (but not between fingers); 2 hands extended, hider sings short song. Opposite side guesses which hand contains stick; played merely for fun, between 2 women, or 2 boys, 2 girls; MM: Informant's daughter had seen it played at mission school at Greenville, Plumas Co.; father unfamiliar with it. NM: Name of game, tikil (see note 2435) or wotokit.

[524] 2406. Mo, MF, NM: Said to be aboriginal.
[177] 2410. Kl: Possibly learned from Paiute; beaver teeth. Mo: Ground-hog-teeth dice.
[237] 2415. NM: Informant positive no counters.

2429. MF: Deer bones.

2435. NM: Name of game, tikil. Informant had seen it played at Mooretown also, among MF group.

2439. At, AW: Women's digging sticks. MF: See NM note, following. NM: Name of game, tikil (see note 2435). Informant had seen game played at Mooretown also, among a MF group. Use of women's digging stick in game denied.

2445. AW: Sometimes 12 used instead.

2453. AW: Comparatively large rock.

2458. AW: 2-4.

2465. NF: For 3 days after gambling.

Amusements

Toys; contests; storytelling.--
2469. SW: Like Pomo top, Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 41,a, p. 449.

000 2475. MV: Shoe-leather disk, also top of tin can used for recent buzzers. Using buzzer "makes people sick; don't use it much."

2483. SE: Name for buzzer similar to that for bird that makes whirring noise at night; when playing with buzzer people say they "are making the deer fat."

2484. WM: "The puisus (Achomawi) play this, but WM never do."

2485. WT: Informant had never seen Indians play this; had seen Whites doing it.

2489. AW: Names of 2 figures: Sundown; Spider's House.

[524] 2490. Kl, Mo, SW, AW: Popular moving figure is that of "2 coyotes running from each other."

2492. Mo: If play in summer, ensuing winter will be severe.

2494. SW: Figures made during first quarter of moon, in spring especially, to make moon grow (by stretching string).

2494a. Mo: Both informants stated stilts aboriginal. At: "Danced on ice with stilts". Like Mo informant, At informant had used stilts as girl.

2505. WT: Willow-bark bag, sand inside.

2508. Mo: 5-6.

2520. Mo, MM, MF: Narrators presented with small amount of food by auditors; NS: uncertain about this; MV: denied. Not inquired into for other groups. NF: Myths told to youths, men only (during secret society initiation?); informant for this group a woman.

[538] [855] 2522. Kl: Belief held more in jest than in earnest; told to small children who "would never go to sleep."

2523. SW: If myths told toward spring, look out for rattlesnake.

[481] [883] 2527. Kl: Youths "made to swim in winter anyway"; no rule which applies to myth telling per se.

Social Dances

Circle dances.--

535 177 2529. Kl: See note 2076. Dance Kl brought back from N with drum was "a round dance; men and women danced, holding hands, men on 1 side, women on other of single circle, with fire inside in middle. It was held any time of year, but mostly in summer, just for fun. Given at night; people stopped dancing around midnight. [No leader who brought it back, or no data on such.] One man might say, 'Let's have fun'; people told each other; they came and danced. The drummer was the leader; he sang, and the men and women dancers sang too. The drummer stood by himself; just 1 man drummed. The [178] Kl no longer give this dance; the old people have mostly died." Mo: Dance relatively slight affair; 000 "a few young people assemble for 'evening joy' dance; join hands and go around fire in circle; old man watches them. When they become reckless, he stops dance." SW: Circle dance (k'aphek), an old summer dance, given for pleasure sometimes;

[Klamath Reservation]

Families
eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food K M 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [412]
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [364]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K M
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M 221
756
796

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

291
285
252
262
516

Native foods. The woman is hulling wokas with the two-horned muller. Both her winnowing tray and hat are twined from tules. Pond lily pods fill the pit in the background. (From Johnson, 1947.)

291
• 524
516

The stick game, Klamath versus Paiute. The two men in the center, right, are arranging two sets of "bones" beneath the bandannas, while their side sings a power song. One of the opponents then must guess the arrangement. (From Hincks, 1915.)

[P. 48-B]

857 My friends all tease me because I always wanted to play I was an old woman. They ask me how I like it now. But we kids all thought it was great to be old. I used to get a cane and limp around. I wanted the others to pretend they were burning [cauterizing] my leg.[12]

524
857 Even in early childhood there is great emphasis on competitive sports. Parents brag about a child who is better at any activity than his age-mates. Children soon acquire a keen desire to best their playmates in games and thus gain approval and prestige.

Small children from four to six years old have simple contests of endurance.[13] In one, each player holds his breath and runs as far as he can before having to take another breath. The one who runs the farthest wins. Another race is run on one leg, with the other leg held out in front; the contestants see who can hop the longest without having to put his leg down. Little girls have a contest in which they squat down with their arms wrapped under or around their knees to see who can jump up and down for the longest time. Both boys and girls have hair-pulling contests to see who can keep from crying with pain. All such contests are accompanied by shouting and shrill cries; apparently, the more noise the better. Adults watch the contests when they have time and encourage their favorites.

One of the most important activities in which young girls engage is playing with dolls.[14] Through their use the girl is encouraged in many of her future activities of housekeeping. A few boys like to play with dolls too, but they are teased about this girlish activity and soon cease. It is the girl's mother or grandmother who first shows her how to make dolls and play with them. They are fashioned from any available material; wood, bark, tules, and clay are all utilized. In lieu of anything better they may even be outlined in the sand. Once the technique has been learned, the girls manufacture their own dolls and play with them alone or in groups. They make little shelters of willow for the dolls, pretend to dig up roots for them, and in every way treat them as actual children. Often the dolls are placed on a piece of bark to represent the cradleboard. Apparently much of this play is spontaneous on the part of the girls, but there is also considerable suggestion and encouragement on the part of mother and grandmother.

While little girls are beginning to play in this way, boys of the same age become interested in the use of the bow and arrow. At first they

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[757] [12] Cautery with sagebrush pellets that are burned over the afflicted part is a common cure for rheumatism from which many elderly Klamath suffer.

[13] Several children's contests are mentioned in Spier, p. 86.

[14] Dolls are described briefly by Spier, ibid.

524 857 play with a tiny bow of willow, little more than a toy, which they learn to make from an older boy or from their father. But by the time a boy is six or seven his father presents him with a real bow made from juniper. It is smaller than the large yew war and hunting bows of the men, and the arrows are blunt. The boys practice shooting at targets around the camp. They will not begin to do any hunting for several years, but groups of boys imitate the shooting contests of their elders. These will be described in more detail in a later section since it is older boys who spend the most time in these pursuits.

868 857 481 Another favorite activity of all Klamath children is swimming. Very young children are not allowed near the water, but by five or six years of age the child is paddling around in shallow water under the watchful eye of parents or of older children who help the younger ones to learn. The teacher holds the child around the waist and tells him to splash with his arms and legs. In other instances the child learns by himself or by verbal instructions. One informant related the following incident:

> I thought I was swimming when I had my feet on the bottom. Someone laughed at me and said that wasn't swimming. He told me to kick my feet, too.

524 857 Several games are played in the water. The children race to see who will be the first to get into the water. Then, teams of four or five line up opposite each other and splash until one side gives up. There are also diving contests to see who can go the farthest underwater before coming to the surface.

In addition to the active outdoor play of children, which is possible only in the summer months, there are games and amusements which can be played indoors at any time.[35] Many of these are enjoyed equally by adults and by children.

Individuals of both sexes and all ages enjoy top spinning. Adults show the children how to set the tops in motion by twirling the stem between their palms, but then the children play by themselves. The children also learn from adults or older children how to make their own tops of bark, wood, or pine pitch. The best ones, according to informants, are from hardened pitch.

> We used to go out and get pine gum and chew it all up. Then we made it flat and round with our hands and got some boys to fix the hole in the middle for the stick. You have to put the gum in cold water till it gets hard. They lasted pretty good unless we dropped them or left them out in the sun.

221 During the winter there is little economic activity, and families spend most of the time in

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[35] Klamath games and amusements are described in detail by Dorsey (1901), pp. 14-27, Spier, pp. 76-86, and Voegelin, elements 2170-2528.

221 the warmth of the winter dwelling. There are
[592] usually two or three related families sharing a
single winter house; and evenings are spent in
[517] playing games, telling stories, or gossiping, as
well as in making baskets and manufacturing fish
nets. Small children are not allowed outdoors
[857] in the cold, but older ones go out some days to
slide on the ice or downhill on pieces of bark.

[524] Cat's cradle is a popular pastime engaged in by both adults and children in the winter. The number of possible figures is great. Coyote, Skunk, Bear, Bullfrog's Tail, Owl's Eyes, Sunrise, Boy Running, and Man Chasing a Rabbit are but a few of the many that most individuals can make. Children learn how to make the figures from adults or from older children. However, if the children play at cat's cradle very often, the string is taken away with the comment, "You'll stretch the months if you do that so much." There is apparently no such restriction on adults.

In one version of string figures an adult fixes a loop in the string. A child is told to put his finger through the loop, which is then pulled tight around the finger; and he must tell his name before he can be released.

538 [221] Every night throughout the winter months myths are told. They are never told in the summer or daytime lest the narrator age quickly. Most myths serve for amusement, not being regarded as especially sacred. Stories about Creator are taken somewhat more seriously than others. "You have to keep quiet and listen to them." It is from the Creator myths that children first learn about sacred beings.

There are many stories explaining the origin of local geographic features. Most of the myths have personified animal characters. There are a few tales that offer advice to the children. After stories about hunting or gathering, the teller may turn to the children and say, "If you want to be a good man (or woman), do like that."

In contrast to many other tribes there is very little formality connected with the telling of myths among the Klamath. In the evening an old man or woman starts to tell stories, and others gather around. Young adults never tell them because a storyteller begins to age rapidly.

The children lie down to listen; they may request their favorites and are free to complain that the narrator is not telling the story right, if they do not like his particular version. A few old people are recognized as the best raconteurs.

Adults also listen to the stories and make requests. Certain characters are especially liked; and children often ask for tales about Little Weasel, Chipmunk, Coyote, and Skunk. Skunk is funny because he thinks himself very clever, but all his undertakings are fiascos. After a Skunk story, children are warned, "Don't be like that." A few stories, such as those about Owl, are told to frighten children into behaving. As the evening wears on, the children fall asleep one by one. Indeed, one of the main

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

Another stone implement is the single-grooved, flat-bottomed arrow straightener, such as is shown in pl. 21, fig. 9. A perforated wooden arrow straightener, of the form shown in fig. 5 of the same plate, is still used. K 412

Implements of obsidian and of flint are common. Arrowheads and large spear points, as also knives which were formerly fitted into wooden handles, are yet to be found. These points are found by the Indians in various parts of the country where they have been used and left by former inhabitants. They are chiefly employed at present as charms in medicine and gambling. A gambler may take a large obsidian knife or spear point and, after singing the proper song, place it under the large tule mat upon which the game is being played, to insure good luck. In addition to their use in medicine as charms they are also employed for purposes of scarification. K 411 [172] K [755] [525] [304]

Stone pipes of several forms (pl. 22, figs. 8, 9, 10) are still used. The discoidal form shown in figure 10, which is quite unusual for the Pacific slope, appears to have been less used in aboriginal times than the obtuse-angled form shown in figure 8. K 276

GAMES.

The Lutuami, like most aboriginal peoples, had many games for both adult and young. It will not be necessary to go into details here, as the subject has been treated by Dr. George A. Dorsey[a] and Mr. Stewart Culin.[b] M K 524 114

BASKETRY.

The basketry of the Klamath and Modoc, which is always twined, may be classified under two heads: soft or pliable basketry and stiff or rigid basketry. The former predominates very largely and all the finer baskets are made in this manner. The materials used for this sort of basketry are as follows. The skin of the leaves of the cat-tail tule forms the white material which is used as the groundwork of almost all of the finer baskets. The M K 285 M K [113]

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[a] Certain Gambling Games of the Klamath Indians, Amer. Anthr., n. s. III, 14-27, 1901.

[b] Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., 136, 247, 291, 328, 479, 550, 659, 740, 1907.

765 539 The following myth brings out some of the mourning practices.[109]

Coyote's wife died. He set out to seek power. He burned up his house and all his belongings. He went along crying: he sang

hă'newa hă'newa bölükö'mhükdino'lit
(a cry) It ought be dusk quickly.

He wanted the sun to go down quickly so that he could swim for power. There was a woman sitting by the road. He said, "I do not want a woman. I am crying because my wife died." Again he went on singing hă'newa. . . . .

Next he saw some moccasins on the road. He said, "I am not looking for moccasins. I burned mine when my wife died." He went on singing again hă'newa. . . . .

Now he saw a heap of food on the road ahead. He said, "I am not looking for food. I burned all my food when my wife died." He went on, singing hă'newa. . . . .

Then he came on a pile of ripe plums which had fallen to the ground. There was water there so he washed out his mouth with a handful [as is always done before a meal]. He had his scratching stick at his wrist. He stuck it into the ground and spat into the hole. He said, "This is the way the pse'odiwas (humans) will do."

So he ate, ate, ate the plums until his belly got big. Then he got sick and could not swim. Thus he made the rule that mourning Indians must not eat plums, else they will get sick.

GAMES

525 787 Gamblers seek spirit power for success, men and women alike, by swimming in spirit haunts in the river or in mountain lakes. The first of his gains after receiving this power must be given away, just as he must give them away the first time he plays after the death of his child. This is of a piece with a lad or girl destroying or giving away the first results of their efforts at hunting or root gathering.

777 Luck is also acquired by finding large obsidian blades and certain dead animals; mole, weasel, mink, or frog.[110] Finding the mole is luckiest. "To find anything like this is lucky, so it gives you luck." These must be found dead; there is no use taking a trapped animal, or a recently manufactured blade. The premium put on the obsidian blades is reminiscent of their exaggerated value as symbols of wealth among the tribes of the lower Klamath river.[111] All such lucky objects are bundled in white sage twigs and hidden some distance from the house. This may also be true of the gambling bones; at least Pat Kane keeps his at the crematory several miles from home. I was not

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[109] Told by Nancy Phillips.

[110] Gatschet lists as similar Modoc charms, a hummingbird's nest, the leg of a dead frog, a dead mole, a rare "fire-bug," and arrowheads (1:134).

[111] Kroeber, Handbook, 26, 54ff.

told that this had any connection with the possibility of contamina- 777
tion from women's presence in the house, but I did not enquire. A
gambler must fast if he wants success, and must begin the fast before 777
he goes to fetch his charm. The blade will disappear if not properly 525
cared for. The gambler carries the stuffed skin in his hand or places
the blade in water at his side as he plays, or wets it from time to time. [785]
The frog's foot, wrapped in an odoriferous leaf, or a mole's foot,[112] is placed under the blanket or mat on which they sit while playing. My informant had never heard of putting the blades under the mat, as Barrett noted.[113] Luck is called dite satwa'ya; ḳ!ai dite satwa'ya is literally, indeed no good luck.

Gamblers paint their faces, put strings of beads around the wrist, and attach little feathers to their hair, when they play in all seriousness. They sing as they play. The stakes are piled beside them. The side that loses, bundles up its gaming sticks and articles, carries them off to bury at a crematory, and sets out to seek spirit power for luck.

The principal game is the four-stick game, called sō'kals, from 525
sō'kla, to gamble, hence the gambling game par excellence. Gatschet[114] 524
also calls it spe'lshna, to put the fingers forward (from speiluish, index finger) and shulshe'shla. It is played by men seated in two opposing rows. Two pairs of sticks are provided, with a circular mat or basket or a skin to hide them under. The sticks were described to me as nine inches long, two an inch in diameter, marked at the middle (these called cu'lsēs), and two only half as thick (sḳo'tōs). Culin describes a number of sets, of which the thicker sticks taper toward each end and are ornamented with parallel spiral lines at the middle, while the slender ones are closely wrapped with buckskin thongs for their whole length. From this they derive their name "wrapped up" according to Gatschet. The thicker sticks are made of mountain mahogany.[115] The hiding basket (p'a"la) is flexible and flat, hardly more than a circular mat; it is ornamented and has a bunch of deer dew claws attached to the center of the convex side. Blankets, mats, elk hides, or buffalo hides are sometimes used to hide the sticks; the last especially by rich men. Twelve short pointed sticks and two longer are provided for counters. These, contrary to the usual usage elsewhere, are not placed in a single group, but six of the shorter

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[112] The latter according to Gatschet (1:134).

[113] Material Culture, 253.

[114] *Op. cit.*, 1:79.

[115] Culin, Games, 329-332; Dorsey, Certain Gambling Games, 23.

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1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

524

525 variety and one longer one are stuck into the ground before each group of players. These are called kee'ic, which, according to Gatschet, is derived from ksh'ena, to carry off.[116] Three of the sets described by Culin have each six counters.

The hider rattles the four sticks against the under-side of the hiding basket which rests on the ground before him and allows it to drop over them as he leaves them on the ground. The guesser must specify the order in which the sticks are arranged, which he does with a very characteristic gesture. If he is correct the sticks are thrown to him to hide. If he is wrong, the hider draws one or two small counters from his opponent's stock. The longer counter is taken last. For two arrangements, B and C below, he takes two counters; for A or D he takes one. The game is won when one side has all fourteen (no'ga, to win all the stakes; go'le, to win).

Each arrangement of the sticks has a name and a definite gesture which the guesser uses to describe it. He claps his hands once when his decision is made and brings his hand down or across in front as may be.

Name	*Arrangement*	*Gesture*
A. sḳo'tōs (?)	▮▮||	Moves right hand to the right.
B. yo'skis	|▮▮|	Moves right index finger down the center.
C. sḳĕ'telōs	▮||▮	Moves first and second fingers of the right hand down the center.
D. woi'ls (or bōḳe?)	▮|▮| (or |▮|▮)	Moves right thumb to the right to point out the thin sticks or the forefinger to the left for the thick sticks (reversing the movements for the second arrangement).

[114] Dorsey gives a somewhat different procedure. First, he is probably right in stating that for the opposite arrangement of A (with the slender sticks to the left) the hand is moved to the left. But he states that the guess for this position does not matter, since whether right or wrong, the sticks do not change hands and the hider gains no counters. Further, by his account, after a wrong guess is made and one counter forfeited, the hider arranges only one stick of each kind for the next guess. Both Dorsey and Gatschet give the name vuish, vû'ish to arrangement A.

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177 The hand game is of recent introduction; of this all were in agreement. It was brought from the far north by a man called Spo'kăn, possibly one of that Salish tribe, before the Modoc war. He came from Warm Springs and married a Klamath. He introduced the accompanying songs as well and its name nai'ătia.[117]

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[116] *Op. cit.*, 1:79.

[117] My informant had never heard the name lóipas recorded by Dorsey (*op. cit.*, 22).

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[622] [177] The shaman himself is, or was, the outstanding figure of Klamath society. He had no rival in the chiefs, the rich man, until the coming of the whites brought a redistribution of emphasis in Klamath life. Chiefs had previously been persons of little influence.

771 *171 All this is familiar enough among Indians; the Klamath differ only in particulars. In its several aspects, their religion, as well as its practice, is one with that of the Great Basin, Plateau, and Mackenzie tribes.

THE POWER QUEST

787 The quest for supernatural aid is open to everyone, men and women, boys and girls. It is a constantly recurring feature of their lives. Everyone, perhaps without exception, seeks the powers at least once during his lifetime and further experiences seem to be repeatedly sought.

[881] The first occasion is always puberty. I doubt that boys and girls are expected to be uniformly successful in securing aid at this time, because, it was said, at shamanistic performances those who had power might sing their songs. This may imply that the others either never [765] acquired power or had lost it. My informants' frequent emphasis on the period of mourning for a husband, wife, or child marks this, too, as a peculiarly pregnant period when power may be successfully sought. At least at such a time a man loses his power and must seek [844] again if he wishes to regain it. A man also seeks power at the birth of a first child. But it is not only the crises of life that provide [756] occasion; the quest may be undertaken at any time, and it is the practice of such as gamblers and shamans to renew and enhance their [525] powers by frequent attempts. The quest is called spü'tu.

The experience does not ordinarily include a vision, but is made manifest in a song heard in a dream. In some instances where a vision is had, a dream song follows, but it is clear that the latter is the essential experience. In the following case a man and a woman had identical visions but to the man alone fell the experience leading to power.

787 159 The grandfather of a Klamath Falls shaman went to stö'kmöte, the point of Eagle Ridge, in the evening. There is a spot in the lake where bubbles rise. Horses lived in this long ago (!). When this man reached the headland he saw two pinto horses, with long manes, rearing against each other from the water. He was not frightened but took off his clothes and plunged into the water in order to secure power. When he recovered consciousness he found himself again on land. From that time he was lucky; he began to get many pintos, large horses. Because of this experience his grandson, the shaman, also acquired, in his turn, spirit songs of all kinds.

787 881 562 would be allowed to go unattended. Women well along in years, however, follow the regular practice, at least as to bathing in the spirit places.

787 756 525 The same method is pursued by the mourner, gambler, or shaman who seeks power, but swimming in the deep river eddies was more frequently mentioned in this connection. These seekers are almost always men, but older strong-willed women will attempt it. Power may be sought at any time during the year, but they do not dive for it until the first willow buds appear (in the seventh month, March or April). I presume that deep snows and ice in the mountains preclude earlier attempts.

787 [756] [539] During the day the seeker sweats and fasts, waiting in the brush until nightfall. He then goes to the river and dives to the bottom in search of the spirit. He must not be frightened even if he sees something moving under the water. He prays before diving, "I want to be a shaman. Give me power. Catch me. I need the power." Sometimes he comes up unconscious, blood streaming from his mouth and nose. He must wait until the flow stops before going home.[148] This night he hears nothing because he has been frightened by the spirit, nor will he eat the following day for fear of falling ill. On the following night or soon after, he hears the song of the spirit as it sings beneath the water. He may dream of hunting deer, acquiring horses, of success in gambling or with women, and of marriage. One informant dreamed of being in an earth-lodge. When he wakes the seeker sings about the subject of his dream. One song dreamed by an old woman is

e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha
(repeated *four* times)
noai'meso spu'ŋgŏtgŏple' spŭ'ŋgŏtgŏple'
I am the one pursuing you.

It seems that, like a boy at puberty, this seeker, after swimming, may go to the mountains to fast and pile rocks. He may remain there for some time, but one exceptionally rapid quest was cited. Nancy's father having lost a child, he went swimming in Crater lake; before evening he had become a shaman.

787 159 A power quest under unusual circumstances is that of Lᴇle'ks. This man, the most prominent and successful chief of the last century, was a berdache in his youth. His people wanted him to give up woman's garb. One day when he lay asleep they placed a woman's

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[148] Gatschet also describes this (*op. cit.*, 1:82–84).

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
767b. Earth covering partial	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	343
768. Earth covering all over	•+	+	-	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768a. Main entrance through roof	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
768b. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768c. Flush	+	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768d. In end of house	+	+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
768e. Secondary entrance at ground level	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769. Sliding wooden door	•-	•-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769a. Stone paved "porch"	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769b. Steam or hot-rock heat	•+	•(+)	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
770. Direct-fire heat	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
770a. Small, for 1-4 persons	•+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
770b. Large, for group	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
770c. Used throughout year	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	+	
771. Used in winter only	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
772. Used by both sexes	+	+	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
773. Used by men only	-	-	-	•+	(+)	-	-	+	•-	•-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
774. Used by mourners only	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
775. Communally owned	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	+	-	-		

Plains-Type Sweat House

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
776. Plains-type sweat house	•+	•+	•+	•+	•R	•R	•+	(-)	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	•+	-
777. Dome shaped	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
778. Mat covered	+	+	•+	+	R	-	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
778a. Hide covered	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
779. Brush, bough covered	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	(-)	•+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
780. Small, for 1-3 persons	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
781. Steam heat	+	+	+	•+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
782. Used throughout year	-	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)		-	-	-	-	-	+	-
783. Used in summer only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		+	-	-	-	-	-	-

Sweating Customs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
784. Individual sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	+	-	515
785. Sweating in groups of 2-4, or larger	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	
786. Women sometimes sweat with men	+	+	+	•+	•R	•+	•+	-	-	•+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	[562]
787. Women sometimes sweat separately	+	+	+	+	R	+	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
788. Sweating daily or every 2-3 days	+	-	-	•+	+	R	•-	-	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	
789. Sweaters sit or crouch	+	+	•+	+	+	R	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
790. Sweaters lie down	•+	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	
791. Sweaters "dance around"	-	-	•+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
792. Formalized sweat dance	-	-				-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	[535]
793. Sweaters kneel	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
794. All men sleep in sweat house occasionally	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	[513]
795. Male mourners sleep in sweat house	•+	•+		-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
796. Unmarried old men sleep, eat in sweat house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	•-	-	+	
797. Men gamble in sweat house	-	-	-	•-	-	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	-	•-	•-	
798. Men work (handicrafts) in sweat house	-	-	+	-	-	•+	•+	•-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	•-	•-	
799. Youths gather fuel for sweating	-	-		+		•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	•-	-	•-	
800. Office of fire maker	-	•-	•+	•+	-	-	-	+	•+	•R	-	•	•+	+	•+	•+	[312]
801. Competitive sweat groups	-	-	-	•+	-	•-	-	-	-	-	+	•	-	-	-	-	[272]
802. All sweaters sing	-	-	+	+	-	•-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	[533]
803. 1 man sings for group	-	-				-	-	•(+)	•+	•+	-	+	•+	-	-	-	
804. Sweat for success in hunting	+	•+	•+	•+	+	-	+	-	•+	•+	-	+	•	-	-	-	[224]
805. Sweat for success in gambling	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	•	-	-	-	[528]
806. Sweat for general good luck	+	+		+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	[777]
807. Sweat as cure for disease	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	•+	-	-	•	+	+	-	
808. Scarify selves, let blood drip on hot rocks	-	+	+	•+				-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[757]
809. Sweat to cleanse body	-	-	+	+		+	•+	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	[304]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	HM	NS	MV	
2437. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	526
2438. Children	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	[562]
2439. Stick sharpened at both ends	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•(–)	–	•+	–	–	[857]
2440. Natural vestigial deer metapodial	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2441. 1 point when it lands erect in ground	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2442. Person who catches stick wins	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2443. Thrower scores	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2444. Unsuccessful thrower transfers	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
†2445. Number of counters	–	–	–	–	10	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2446. Jacks	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	[562]
2447. Men play	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2448. Women play	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[857]
2449. Children play	–	–	–	–	–	+	R	–	–	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	
2450. Stones	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	
†2451. Number of objects	–	–	–	–	10	10	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	3	–	–	
2452. Indefinite	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2453. Last object thrown up heaviest	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2454. For fun; no betting	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2455. Juggling	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2456. Rocks	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2457. Acorns	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
o2458. Number thrown up	–	–	–			•2	3	–	–	2	–	–	–	2	–	–	
2459. Thrown up in both hands, same time	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	[562]
2460. Women	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2461. Boys	–	–	–					–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	[857]
2462. For fun; no betting	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Gambling Taboos

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	HM	NS	MV	
2463. Intercourse taboo before gambling	+	+	+	+	–			+	+	.	.	–	–	–	–	.	525
2464. Only if man has washed in sacred spot, for luck	–	–	–	–	–			+	+	.	.	–	–	–	–	.	834
2465. Intercourse taboo after gambling													•+	–	–	.	

Amusements

Toys -

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	HM	NS	MV	
2466. Tops	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	524
2467. Children play	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	[857]
2468. Adults play								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
2469. Acorn	–	–	–	•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	
2470. Bark or wood disk, horizontal plane	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2471. Lump of pitch	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2472. Deer kneecap	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2473. Twirl with fingers	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	
2474. Twirl between palms	–	+	–				+		–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	
2475. Buzzer	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	R	.	•R	[857]
2476. Children play	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	R	
2477. Adults play			+					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	R	
2478. Wood or bark disk	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2479. Deer carpal	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2480. Shell disk	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2481. Acorns	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2482. Shoe-leather disk						R	–	–	R	R	R	–	–	R	.	R	
2483. To make snow	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2484. String figures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•–	+	–	R	R	+	–	+	
2485. Old men, women play	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	[887]
2486. Men play	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	
2487. Women play	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	[562]

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
846	3208. Merely stays indoors	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
784	‡3209. For ... days	5	5	–	5	–	–	–	°4	–	°4	–	–	6	·	28	28
	3210. Until child's cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3211. Sleeps little	–	+	+			+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	–	–	·	+
	3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535]	3212a. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481]	3213. Runs	+	+	+	–	°+	°+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3214. First child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3215. Breaks up wood		–	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3216. Brings back firewood	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3217. Piles up rocks	°+	°+	°+										–	–	–	–
[787]	o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	°–	–	–	+	±	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3220. First 4-5 children only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481]	3221. Swims	·	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	·	–
	3222. In spring in mountains	–	+	–			–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	·	–
[252]	3223. Cooks for self and children	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3224. Bathing taboo	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	·	–
[515]	o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	–	–	°4	–	–	°4	–	°4	–	°4	+	3	–	–	·	–
	†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	–	5	°4	–	–	°4	–	+	°4	°4	+	–	–	–	·	–
	3227. Certain activities taboo.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[224]	‡3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
	†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
	†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	°2	+	3	+	6	+	30
	3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[525]	†3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	–	–	–	–	28	°2	+	3	+	+	·	+
	3233. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
[276]	3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	·	–
[484]	†3235. Traveling taboo ... days	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	°2	+	3	+	+	+	40
	3236. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	†3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	–	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	°2	+	3	+	–	+	°28
[262]	†3238. Fresh fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	+	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
	†3239. Dried fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	–	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
[268]	†3240. Salt taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	5	+	–	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312]	3241. Cold water taboo	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3242. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	3243. Until child smiles first time													–	–	+	–
	3244. Eats with wife	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3245. Uses own receptacles	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
	3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	±	–	–
[292]	3247. Special belt worn	(–)	+	–	–	+	–	°+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
	3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	°+	°+	+	–	–	–
	3249. Combing hair taboo	+	°+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3250. Until navel has healed	·	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3252. Bathes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	°+	–	–	–	+	°+	+	+	–
	3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
	3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3255. Gives away old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	3256. Burns old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3257. Throws away old clothes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[526]	3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	+	+								+	–	–	–	–	–
[224]	3259a. Shoots at target	–	–	+	–	°+						–	·	–	–	–	–
[525]	3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	–	+	+	–	°+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	–	–	–		°+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	·	–
	3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							°+	+	°+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
765 4366. Other towns invited												+	+	+	+	+
[628] 4367. Other local groups sometimes invited.	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
[622] 4368. Sanctioned by headman	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
4369. Headman in charge	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
4370. Headman attends, speaks	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
†4371. Ceremony lasts ... days, nights	−	−	−	−	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	1	2	2	3	2
4372. Daytime affair, entirely	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
4373. Mainly night affair, some daytime activities	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4374. Held outside	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4375. Unroofed brush fence, near cemetery	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
4376. Under trees, in summer	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
4377. In round brush enclosure	−	(−)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
4378. At cemetery, no enclosure	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
4379. Held inside	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
4380. Living house	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4381. Assembly house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
°4382. Participants wail	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
4383. Participants dance													+	+	−	+
[537] 4384. Oratory	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
4385. By headman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
4386. By shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
4387. By orator	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
4388. Images used in ceremony	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4389. Made by relatives of deceased	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
4390. Made by chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
4391. Made by nonrelatives	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
4392. All images burnt at cemetery, at dawn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4393. Offerings in honor of dead	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4394. Food	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
4395. Baskets	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4396. Clothes	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4397. Offerings put on poles	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4398. Single pole for each variety of offering	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4399. Poles planted in ground	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
4400. Poles carried about	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
4401. Offerings burnt at cemetery at dawn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4402. Dance, holding baskets, before burning; wail													+	+	−	+
4403. Offerings put on graves	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4404. Ceremonial purification	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
4405. All who cry wash own faces	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
4406. All who cry swim at end	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4407. All change clothes												+	+	+	−	+
[525] 4408. Gambling in daytime, after burning	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
4409. Feast during daytime	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
4410. Rich mourners all contribute food	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
4411. Held at same spot where mourners wailed	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−
4412. Held in village camp	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
4413. Held day following burning	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
4414. After eating, cry again	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
4415. Mourners return home at sundown	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−

ODO

2229. MF, NF: 2 men act as referees. NM: 1 male referee.

2230. AW: Informant had seen this played at Round Valley Reservation. Also mentioned in Achomawi mythology; Coyote and Fox saw this game played at Upper Lake.

2239, 2240. MF: Some doubt concerning this entry.

2240. Mo: 2-8.

[526] 2243. Mo: In any game, "bound to have a man watching, to stop cheating."

[525] 2244. Kl, Mo: Arrows, arrowheads wagered.

Quoits; spear throwing; archery.--

2246. WM: Pine branch.

2247. WT, WS: Flat rock.

2256. SE, SW: Not formal game; boys, "just pitching something." WS: wilča.

2259. WT: 10-ft.-pole, lacking stone head.

2262. At: Bundle of sunflower leaves.

2269. Mo: 5-6. WT: 2-3.

[526] 2297. Kl, AE: Pine-bark disk.

[525] 2304. Kl: Contestants match arrows and lay them aside; winner takes these arrows, not arrows shot in contest.

Ring-and-pin; Many-stick game.--

2305. WS: Lučus.

2309. AE: 1-2. WM: 20 rings, if playing with fish vertebrae; 5 rings if playing with deer carpals. See elements 2310-2311. WS: 7-16.

2320. Mo, SE: Variable number. AE: 2-3. WM: 4-5.

2321. SW: Variable number.

2325. SW: In winter (Dec.-Jan.); "bad month for Indians." Game connected with myth concerning time when there were 10 moons and animal killed 5 of them. No betting; uppermost ring is 10th moon; play to see who can "kill" (spear) this moon. Players sit in circle, usually in evening, around fire.

2326. WM: Two types many-stick game played: Type (1) women's many-stick game, dopit. Recent, after Whites entered area; informant believed it came from Chico or that direction; had seen it played first about 55 years ago. Type (2), "grass game," bohemčus; old; played only during Jan.-Feb., in assembly house (Lut). When entry refers to 1 of 2 types only, note tells to which; if entry refers to both types, no note appended. WS: Many-stick game, bohumčus; use 30 long sticks, 1 short manzanita stick, pointed at both ends. Played by men only, in winter only; betting. "Learned bohumčus from Big Bend Indians [Madesi] a long time ago [before informant's lifetime]; it used to be only betting game Wintu had" (?).

2327. SW: "Down-river [among Karuk] a man's game only; among SW a woman's game." See note 2172. WM: Refers to grass game (see note 2326).

2328. WM: Refers to women's many-stick game. See note 2326.

2329. SW: 15+.

2331. Red manzanita stick, pointed at both ends, unmarked.

[205-A]

787 ing for shamanistic power. WM: Refers to group of boys questing; see note 4724.

4749. Kl, Mo: After birth of child, death of relative, also quest. WT, WM, WS: "Doctor dance"
000 or shaman's initiatory dance is, among Wintu, group performance, undertaken to obtain guardian spirits by would-be shamans; it is not, as among other groups, dance which is held after guardian spirits have been obtained by prospective shamans.

4750. AW: 2-3 days.

4751a. AE, WS: 2-3. NF: Eats sparingly all the time.

4753. At: When boy up in mountains, he takes little rock, rubs it over his lips, and throws it away, as his parents have instructed him to do; "then he doesn't need to drink for a long time."

4755. WM: Refers to single questers and to group questers.

4756. AE: See also note 3247. WM: Refers to single and group questers.

[787] 4759a. AW, AE, WS: 2-3 days.

[777] 4764. Kl, SE: For luck in gambling.

[525] 4767. SE: See note 4768. AE: In myth, ant bites "good" or favored man; will not bite "common" or ordinary man.

4768. That is, luck in gambling, hunting, and such. SW: "If acquire 'luck,' all the power one carries is in one's arms or shoulders. If one has no luck, one's shoulder and arm are nothing; no power in them. If menstruant or woman under taboos eats meat hunter has shot she ruins his luck; then he has to obtain more before he can do anything again. That's when he goes into the little [steam] sweat house and cuts himself on his shoulder, to get the bad blood out from the spot where he carries his luck, and so he can get more luck there. This he gets by cooking the blood off his shoulder, or rubbing ants into cuts made where he has pricked his shoulder."

4769. Mo: To those seekers who obtain luck only (hunting, gambling, and such); "somebody speaks to them in a dream." Also "little" or "common" doctors, who cure by laying hands on patient, not sucking, dream their "medicine."

4770. Mo: Only persons receiving shamanistic power, bleed at mouth (not at nose).

4779. Doctor dance as form of vision seeking has been disregarded in this section; see note, Vision Seeking. WT, WM: Main form. WS: Only form for young men, girls.

4781. WT, WM: 1-3 days. WS: 2-5.

4785. AE, WS: 2-3 days.

4788. SW: Informant's father, who had "luck" (not shamanistic power) from Sun, never ate before sun-up, also prayed to Sun, with special formula, and offered Sun paint. WT: Youth, on return home from quest for "luck," uses stick spatula for eating; either paternal or maternal great-grandmother or grandmother, only, wait on him.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

M K 343 plunges into the lake or a pool in the river or whatever water there may be at hand. This practice seems to have been medicinal. It was used as a habitual means of warding off disease as well as of curing it.

The second form of sweathouse was of similar size and construction except that it had a saddle roof which was covered with several inches of earth instead of a dome-shaped roof covered with matting. The door of this structure was placed at one end and was usually quite small. It was closed by a blanket or tule mat during the sweating.

There was no large "sweathouse" used for ceremonial purposes as in the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada region to the south. All ceremonies were held out of doors, chiefly in the summer.

IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.[5]

M K 411 The influence of the unusual environment in which the Klamath and Modoc live is also very noticeable in the implements made and used by them, particularly in the various devices for the capture of fish and water birds.

[171] The chief implements of war were the bow and arrow and a rather short javelin. The war bow was of the general type of the northwestern part of California, having a sinew back and sharply upcurved ends. The arrow was made in the ordinary manner, with light wood or cane shaft, hard wood foreshaft, and a moderately large obsidian, or sometimes flint, point.

M K [178] [756] [525] The javelin or spear was fairly short. Its shaft was made of heavy wood. Its point, usually of obsidian, varied from two to six inches in length. These javelins, like war bows and arrows, are no longer in existence, though the obsidian heads are quite plentiful about old village and camp sites. They are now used by medicine-men in doctoring, and also by gamblers, who place them under the large mats used for gambling to insure good luck, especially in the game called sakalis.

HUNTING IMPLEMENTS.

M K 224 The implements used in hunting animals were usually the bow and arrow. Ensnaring animals was little practiced by the

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[5] The Klamath names of the various implements, etc., here described are given by Gatschet in his dictionary, *op. cit.*

Another stone implement is the single-grooved, flat-bottomed K 412
arrow straightener, such as is shown in pl. 21, fig. 9. A perforated wooden arrow straightener, of the form shown in fig. 5 of the same plate, is still used.

Implements of obsidian and of flint are common. Arrowheads K
and large spear points, as also knives which were formerly fitted 411
into wooden handles, are yet to be found. These points are found [172]
by the Indians in various parts of the country where they have K
been used and left by former inhabitants. They are chiefly [755]
employed at present as charms in medicine and gambling. A [525]
gambler may take a large obsidian knife or spear point and, after
singing the proper song, place it under the large tule mat upon [304]
which the game is being played, to insure good luck. In addition
to their use in medicine as charms they are also employed for
purposes of scarification.

Stone pipes of several forms (pl. 22, figs. 8, 9, 10) are still K
used. The discoidal form shown in figure 10, which is quite unusual 276
for the Pacific slope, appears to have been less used in aboriginal times than the obtuse-angled form shown in figure 8.

GAMES.

The Lutuami, like most aboriginal peoples, had many games M K
for both adult and young. It will not be necessary to go into 524
details here, as the subject has been treated by Dr. George A. 114
Dorsey[a] and Mr. Stewart Culin.[b]

BASKETRY.

The basketry of the Klamath and Modoc, which is always M
twined, may be classified under two heads: soft or pliable basketry K
and stiff or rigid basketry. The former predominates very 285
largely and all the finer baskets are made in this manner. The materials used for this sort of basketry are as follows. The skin of the leaves of the cat-tail tule forms the white material which is
used as the groundwork of almost all of the finer baskets. The M K [113]

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[a] Certain Gambling Games of the Klamath Indians, Amer. Anthr., n. s. III, 14-27, 1901.

[b] Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., 136, 247, 291, 328, 479, 550, 659, 740, 1907.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 11.

Fig. 1.—Summer house of tule mats.

Fig. 2.—Gambling tray of soft tule materials. Museum number 1-12732. Diameter 60 cm.

Fig. 3.—Flat basket of soft tule materials, for parching and sifting. Museum number 1-12465. Diameter 67 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

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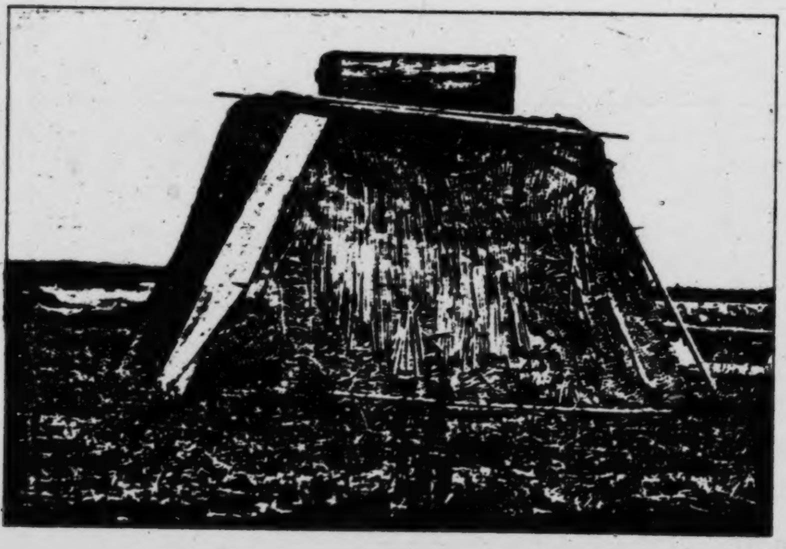

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SUMMER HOUSE.

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2 3

BASKETRY TRAYS FOR GAMBLING AND SIFTING.

[p. 265]

II.

*539 • 525 [562]

É-ukshikni	wéwanuish	sk̲û'sha	pû'mam	tútatka	lĕmátchat	kē'ltamank.
The Klamath Lake	females	play a game	beavers'	with teeth,	on a rubbing stone	letting (them) drop.

Shúshmalua-kipksh	p'laítala	tút	nánuk	ni'kualksht	lā'p	kshē'sh	yánkua.
Where they are marked	upside	teeth	all	having fallen,	two	checks	they win.

Kukaluák	taksh	takani'lkuk	gélχa,	tsúi	sha	nā'sh	kshē'sh	wí-uχa.
Both female (teeth) only	(if)	falling right side up	come down,	then	they	one	check	win.

Lálak̲iak	tchish	takani'lχuk	gélχa,	hû'nkant	tchish	a	nā'sh	wí-uka	kshē'sh.
Both male (teeth) only	(if)	falling right side up	come down,	on that account	also		one	(they) gain	check.

Kshawínasht	tûksh	k̲aítua	wí-uχant;	tchúi	sha	nánuk	héshkûsh	shi-i'χaguk
Falling unequally	however	nothing	they win;	and	they	all	the stakes	having won from each other

kĕléwi.	Wéwanuish	pila	sk̲û'sha,	híhashuaksh	pil shákalsh.
quit.	Women	only	play (this game),	men	only play the stick-game.

III.

É-ukakni	wéwanuish	tchi'mma-uk	tínkanka	nánuk	shuékûsh	shésham-
The Klamath Lake	women	in playing tchimmá-ash	run forth and back,	every one	(willow-) poles	hold-

tchantk.	Pípĕlangshtant	yû'ashlank	tátχĕlam	shalχuétgish	téwa	ánku,
ing.	On either side	for fixing bases	in the middle	of the starting-places	(they) plant	sticks,

tchúi	sha	wutû'walχa	shuekō'shtka	tchímma-ash.	Kawû'tank	sha	vu-
then	they	throw up	with (their) poles	the game-string.	Having caught (it)	they	throw

tû'dshna,	tchúi	sha	tínshna	hátoktala,	shû'dshnuk	tchímma-ash	shútualsha.
(it to others),	then	they	run	over there,	while chasing each other	the game-string	they throw.

Túkni	wá'hlkish	wûtû-ípĕle	shiwákuash	m'na;	tchúi	sha	kíudshna	léna,
One party	the poles	throw back	to the girls	(on) their (side);	and	they	run off	run aside,

shû'dshna	yû'ashtala	sha	tchúi.
chase each other	to the bases	they	then.

NOTES.

[193] [192]

I. The game described in this paragraph is played with four shúlshesh-sticks. From this term is formed a denominative verb, shulshéshla: to play the stick-game. It is a guessing game, and the guesses are made known by putting fingers forward, a gesture which is called spélshna. Hence spélshna, sometimes corrupted into spéldshna, is used as a term equivalent to shulshéshla, to play the stick-game; and a third verb for this pastime is shákalsha. More minute descriptions of the three games will follow elsewhere.

79, 1. shi-i'χaga is the reciprocal form of i'χaga *to win, gain*, occurring below. These terms mainly refer to gains made in gambling.

79, 2. shulshéshlank stands here for the periphrastic shulshéshlank gi, or the simple shulshéshla. Derived from shúlshesh, and this from shúla, to hand over, to pass to another.

79, 2. sχû'tash, not to be confounded with skútash, *blanket*, forms apposition to lápi udshekáne. The two slender game-sticks are wrapped in narrow strips of buckskin leather (skúta, to wrap in).

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79, 3. sχétcha, to extend two fingers, viz. the index and the middle finger; the instrumental case of the verbal substantive, sχétchashtka: by extending these two fingers.

79, 3. shlín, to shoot, to shoot forward, to hit; figuratively used for the rapid motion of the hand in guessing at the location of the sticks lying under the tray or pá'hla. yû'shakna, yúshkēna, or yû'sχa, to put forward, to use the index finger. In this game that finger is called yû'shχish, and not by its usual name, spéluish.

79, 4. vû'ish is the location of the thicker sticks coupled on one side, and of the thinner ones on the other; the gesture for guessing at it is to make a side motion with the hand, thumb included. In the text, the sense would become clearer by wording it thus: vû'ish sha népatka tχopowátka tch lénank shlín, "they guess at the vúish, whirling around with the hand, thumb included." Léna is to perform a circular motion; klátchna, a side motion.

79, 5. sχétchashtka sha láp wí-uka. Sχétchashtka collides here apparently with yû'shχish spélshisht; it seems to stand for: "they win two checks, if they have guessed right at the slender sticks".

79, 5. wí-uka. They win one (nä'shak) of the six checks or counting-sticks, if the party opposite did not guess correctly.

II. To play at dropping beavers' teeth (shk̲û'sha) is the subject of this paragraph; the game itself is sk̲úshash. The four teeth of the beaver are marked for this game by the incision of parallel lines or crosses on one side, and a small piece of woolen or other cloth is inserted into the hollow to prevent breaks in falling. The two longer or upper teeth of the beaver are called the *male* (lak̲í), the pair of lower and shorter the *female* teeth (gúlo, kúlu; distributive form: kúkalu). The teeth are dropped on a hard, level substance, as a metate or grinding stone, to make them lie flat. The marked side of the teeth wins, if it is turned up after dropping. The teeth of the woodchuck (mú-i, *mói*) serve for the same purpose.

80, 2. Shúshmalua-kípksh stands for shúshmaluash=gípshtka or =gípkashtka, the instrumental case of the participle gítko, possessed of: "(if they fall down) on that side, where each is possessed of marks" (shúmaluash).

80, 2-4. kshû'sh. In this game of beavers' teeth (púmam tút), or woodchucks' teeth (múyam tút) they use twelve check-sticks to count their gains with. The game is played by two persons, or by two partners on each side.

80, 5. Kshawinasht túksh. Kshawína means several teeth to fall down, but, as the prefix ksh- indicates, only *one* tooth with the marked or winning side up.

III. The tchimmá-ash game is played almost exclusively by females. The tchimmá-ash is a string about 2–3 *feet* long, to the ends of which sticks or pieces of cloth are tied; it is taken up and thrown forward by two flexible willow rods (shuékûsh, wá'hlkish) to playmates, who divide themselves into two parties. Before the commencement of the game, two limits (yúash) are meted out on the ground, which serve as bases. Both of them are located between the lines of starting (shalχuétgish).

80, 7. shuékûsh: *two* poles; players hold one of them in each hand.

80, 9. Kawû'tank refers to the playmates of the opposite party, who are bound to catch the flying tchimmá-ash.

80, 11. shiwákuash seems to be a dissimilation of shiwáka-ash.

80, 11. kíudshna léna, or better: kiudshnank léna.

*539 825 787 K̲ák̲ tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lúluk sa k̲ák̲am tχû'tχatkash, tsúi sa
A raven is a soothsayer; and they believing the raven's repeated prophecy, they
shenótanka; pits hû'nk pán k̲ák̲ mák̲laks.
fight each other; it also eats, the raven, (dead) men.

787 Tutíksh mák̲laks shuína tchû'χapkam m'nálam shashámokshant;
Dreams the natives sing about dead their relatives;
húmasht sháhunk gíug kíukayunk flags.
for this same reason they stick out flags.

● 525 777 825 Tmélhak gítko shaklō'tkish tídsh tínχa; tû'm íχaga. Tmélhak tā'dsh
A tmélhak-squirrel having, the gambler well succeeds; much he wins. The tmélhak (is) certainly
sháyuaks; shakálshtat lak̲í, tíds sualaliámpkatko.
of much account; in the game (it is) chief, well managing (it).

Tcháshash mû'na lushántsnank mbáwa skí's; tsúi mák̲laks nánuk
The skunk deep down while scratching a hole emitted a blast; upon this people all
825 hushtsóga tsáshash-kíuks. Snáwedsh shanahóliuk spû'nshna p'laiwásham
killed the skunk-conjurer. A wife seeking he carried off the eagle's
tû'paks ktanápkash. Shléank tchawíka p'laíwash, wí-udsna ánkutka
sister when asleep. Seeing (this) became furious eagle, beat with a club
tchásēs, wí-udsish k̲'läká, tsúi k̲ó-i pílui. Ndopóg ktsō'l hämetsípka:
the skunk, the beaten one died, then badly stunk. Smelling (it) the stars said:
"pátkal!" at p'laíwash pátkalp'le, stópatchka, tsúi gémpēle túpakshash
"get up!" and eagle rose up again, washed the face, then went home sister
m'na énank.
his taking with him.

II.

*539 525 825 777 Hä shaklō'tkish pí'sham shnû'lash ntággal, shaklō'tkish tídsh vumí',
If a gambler of humming-bird the nest finds, (and) the gambler well hides (it) away,
k̲aítoks kaní vuiní'χi. Hä kó-e shléa pahápkash, pē'tch ktákta sk̲ä'tish
not any one conquers (him). If a frog he finds dried-up, the leg he cuts off left
tapí'dshnish vumí'; húmashtak shû'ta shaklō'tkish, k̲aítoks kaní vuiní'χi.
hind (leg), hides away; (if) thus acts the gambler, (then) not any one beats (him).
Hä kaní tchatchlaíptcha shlä'-a (kinkáni tût wá), tídsh tí'nχa. Hä kaní
If any one a kind of fire-bug finds (scarce there they are), good luck it brings. If any one
mā'ntchnish mák̲lāksām shtáp shuálka, pahápkash käíla-shushatí'shash
old-fashioned Indian arrow-head saves, dried-up a mole
tchí'sh, hû'kt humáshtak tídsh tí'nχa tchí'sh.
also, he in the same way well succeeds also.

171 776 769 É-ukshikni Mō'dokni lóla p'laikí'shash lák̲iash, shtínta tchish wengápkam shkō'kshash.
The Klamath Lakes (and) Modocs believe in the heavenly ruler, revere also of the deceased the spirits.

000 Mō'dokni shtûpuyúka túnäpni wäíta túnäpni pshín gshiúlak̲a káyak
The Modocs at first menstruation five days (and) five nights dance never
ktákt'nan; wewánuish ta-unä'pni wäíta k̲á-i tchû'lēks pán.
sleeping; the females for ten days no meat eat.

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787

Hä'	í	shma-'htcháktak	yaínatat,	k̲á-i	í	ûn	k̲ésh	shlé-etak;	hä'-atoks
If	you	let your shadow fall	on the hill,	not	you		ipo	will find;	but if

í	k̲á-i	shma-'htcháktak,	tū'm	í	ûn	k̲ésh	shlé-etak.
you	not	let your shadow fall,	much	you		ipo	will find.

000

Móatuash,	k̲'le-ugtkinápkasht	tchíalash	Móatuashäm	k̲ōk̲etat,	k̲á-i	mhû'
The Pit River Indians,	(lest) would cease to come	the salmon		up the Pit River,	not	grouses

lúela	skó;	Mō'dokni	tchí'sh	lóla	shuátash	kíäm	tchûk̲á	shát̲ma,	humásht-
they kill	in spring time;	the Modocs	also	assume,	sage-hens	the fish	to swim up stream	invite,	there-

gisht	k̲á-i	lúela.
fore	not	they kill (them).

NOTES.

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171
I. What is contained in these short items refers equally to the Klamath Lake and to the Modoc people, although those contained under I. were obtained from various informants belonging to the former chieftaincy.

192
133, 2. páka to howl, bark; pák'la to howl repeatedly, to howl for a while; pák-luipka to howl for a while in the distance towards somebody.

177
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133, 4. 5. The cat and the chicken being but recently introduced among these tribes, this superstition must have been transferred to them from other animals. By inversion, the words tchíkiu gû'lu, *the hen*, appear here widely separated from each other.

192
133, 6. K̲ú-i tchämlûk has to be resolved into: k̲ú-i tchē mál (for málash) hú'k: "bad then for you this is!" Cruel fights will follow.

133, 7–11. This story is not clearly worded, but we are taught by it how these Indians are conversing among each other with laconic breviloquence. An Indian living in the vicinity has heard the whining of the dog which means death to his owner. He goes there, shoots the man and takes to his heels. A relative of the murdered man comes up and is mistaken by others for the murderer. They deprive him of his wife, his property and his liberty; he becomes a madman on account of the injustice done to him.

825
134, 1. 2. The raven (k̲ák̲) is supposed to be a bird of fatal augury, because he was seen devouring the flesh of dead Indians. Compare: General *Note* on page 130.

202
134, 4. kíukayunk. They adjust a rag or piece of skin to a pole and stick out that improvised *flag* on the top of the lodge to notify neighbors that they had a dream last night and desire an interpreter for it.

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134, 5. One of the legs of a dead black tmélhak-squirrel is cut off and laid under the gaming-disk or the pá'hla to insure luck to the player.

134, 7–12. Tcháshăsh etc. This is a fragmentary extract of a scurrilous skunk-myth, which I have not been able to obtain in full from my informant, the Modoc chief Johnson, who speaks the Klamath dialect. This myth is well known through the whole of Oregon, for parts of it are embodied in a popular and melodious song of the Mólale tribe, whose ancient home is the country east and southeast of Oregon City and Portland.

134, 7. 8. mák̲laks nánuk is the direct object of hushtsóga; the skunk killed them by his stench.

601
134, 9. tū'paks stands for tú'pakshash; túpakship, abbreviated túpaksh, is properly the younger sister, as called by or with reference to an elder brother, while pa-ánip

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 171 is the elder sister, called so by or with reference to a younger brother. Two other terms exist for the relative age of sisters among themselves.

[601] 134, 11. pátkalp'le. The myth adds, that the eagle got up again at dinner-time and that after washing the face he took a nap before taking his sister home.

[525] [777] II. These items were all obtained in the Modoc dialect from J. C. D. Riddle. Many of the articles mentioned as gamblers' amulets are supposed to bring good luck to the gambler on account of their *scarcity*, which must have made them more interesting to the aboriginal mind than other objects of a brighter exterior.

[192] 134, 13. ntággal, ndákal: to find accidentally; shléa: to find, generally, after a search. vumí' is to hide away either on one's own person or in the ground.

134, 16. 18. tídsh tínχa is to succeed, to be lucky; without tídsh in: hútoks tínχantko gi, that man is lucky.

[411] 134, 17. shtáp is a black arrow-head made of obsidian, a volcanic rock found in several places in these highlands.

135, 1. hä'-atoks is formed from hä toks with intercalation of the declarative particle a.

[192] [193] [825] 135, 3. k̲'le-ugtki-uápkasht is a periphrastic conjugational form composed of gi-uápkasht, of the verb gi, and of k̲'lé-utka, the usitative of k̲'léwi, to cease, stop, terminate; -utka has turned into -ugt- by metathesis. Literally: "would habitually cease to be in the Pit River." mhû', the grouse, is called by the Klamath Lakes tmû'.

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*539 171 [115]

REFLECTIONS OF EVERY-DAY LIFE

MONOLOGUES IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY JOHNSON, CHIEF OF THE MODOCS

K̲á-i	mish	nû	ó-it	nû	tidsä'wa	nté-ish,	shliútuk	mä'makla	pá-uk	shlínk
Not	you	I	to let have	I	like	(my) bow,	for shooting	ducks	to eat	killing (them)

ndektí'shtka.	Tidsä'wa	k̲á-i	mish	úya,	tû	génuapka	úyamnank	nté-ish
with arrows.	I like	not	to you	to give (it),	over there	I will go	taking along	bow and arrows

gé-u,	hishlátsanuapka.	Yó-ishi!	tatála	k̲ä'gi,	k̲á-i	shláa	tatákni	yû'lχ;
my,	(and) will amuse myself by shooting.	Are lost!	right (ahead)	they are not,	not	I found (them)	where	they went down;

yó-ishin,	mā'ns	k̲á-ika.	Ūnds	mbúsant	pēn	k̲áyakuapk.
they are lost,	for a long time	I searched.	Sometime	to-morrow	again	I will look out (for them).

Shikútchipk	tchiká	kĕmutsátk;	undsē'ks	séwanuapk	pátki	giúga
Walks on stick	an old	decrepit (man);	some time	I will give (him)	to eat	

méhiess;	yuyálks	tsi	pá-uk	hûn	tchē'k	tídsh	kí'-uapk.	Kí'shtchipk	huk
trout;	being poor	thus	through eating	of it	then	at ease	he will feel.	Comes to me	this

snéwedsh;	oní'sh	kíäm	shéwant i;	tû'm	nû'sh	shewantamnuápka	sáwalktko
woman;	to her	fish	you may give;	plenty	to me	she will continue to give	having received presents.

Kámp'kuk	k̲éliak	pásh	tiä'ma.	Undsē't	kátchkal	pa-uápk	gé-utala steínash.
The indigent	without	food	is hungry.	By and by	tobacco	I will chew	to my heart's content.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2138. Sinew-wrapped at mouthpiece	−	+	−	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	534
o2139. End stopped	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	R	R	+	±	+	.	+	+	+	
2140. Partially stopped inside at hole	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2141. Stop of pitch	−	.	+	+	−	+	+	R	R	+	−	−	+	+	.	+	
2142. Stop of salmon glue	−	.	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2143. Stop of wood	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	.	−	
2144. Single whistle	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	
2145. 2 whistles bound together	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	R	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	
2146. Whistle worn, suspended from string around neck	−	−	+								+	+	+	+	.	+	
2147. Taboo to whistle around elderberry bush		°+	°+								+	−	+	+	−	°+	[784]
2148. Snake will strike whistler.		+	+								+	−	+	+	−	°+	
2149. Flute	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2150. Bone	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	.	−	
2151. Elder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	
2152. Cane	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
‡2153. Number of holes	3	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	−	6	
2154. Holes burnt in		+	+						R	R	+	+	−	+	−	+	
2155. Holes put in with awl									+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2156. Entire upper surface flattened			−						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2157. End blown	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	.	−	−	+	
2158. Side blown	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	(−)	+	+	+	−	+	
2159. Mouth blown	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
2160. Nose blown	−	−	°+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		
2161. Used by shaman	−	°+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	[756]
2162. Used for courting	−	°+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	
2163. Used for self-amusement	°+	−	+	°+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	

Pictographs, Petroglyphs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2164. Pictographs, petroglyphs present in area.	°+	°+	−	−	°+	−	°+	°+	°+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	532
2165. Nonhuman origin	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	.	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2166. Made by tiny people	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2167. Made by mythological characters	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[777]
2168. Bring bad luck; charm viewer	−	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2169. Impress of feet, etc., on rocks	−	°+	°+							°+	−	°+	°+	−	°+		[823]

RECREATION

Games

Shinny

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2170. Shinny played	+	+	+	+	+	°R	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	−	+	526 ●
2171. Men, youths play occasionally	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	[562]
2172. Women play	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	
2173. Each sex plays separately	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
2174. Both sexes play together	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2175. Children play	−	+	−	+	+	°+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[857]
2176. Single ball	−	−	−	−	−	°+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2177. Wood	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2178. Stuffed buckskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2179. Oak gall	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2180. Double ball	−	+	+	+	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	
2181. Stuffed buckskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2182. 2 blocks on ends of cord	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	°+	°+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	
2183. 2 grass balls on end of cord	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
2184. Cord or hide strip only	−	−	−	−	+	°+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	

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	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
526 2185. Hoop or ring for ball	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2186. Shinny stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2187. Curved stick	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2188. Straight stick	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2189. Netted stick	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2190. Ball propelled with feet	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2191. Start: ball buried in center of field	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2192. Start: ball on ground, center of field	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2193. Start: ball thrown or dropped, center of field	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
2194. Attempt to keep ball on ground	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2195. Attempt to keep ball in air	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
2196. Grappling permitted	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
2197. Goal at each end of field	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
2198. 2 poles, ca. 4 ft. apart	+	+	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
2199. Marked line of ground	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
o2200. Number of players on each side	4	20	6	4	5	•8	•3	10	6	•4	•3	5	2	4	–	•5
•2201. Sides local groups	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2202. Betting	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•+
2203. Referee	–	+	–	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	+
Ball Race																
[562] •2204. Ball races	–	–	–	–	+	•R	•+	•–	–	•R	•+	R	+	+	+	+
2205. Men	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	R	•+	R	+	+	+	+
2206. Women play, occasionally	–	–	–	–	+	R	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–
2207. Each sex plays separately	–	–	–	–		R	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–
2208. Play along a course, not returning	–	–	–	–	+	•R	–	–	–	R	•+	–	–	–	+	–
2209. Along a course and return	–	–	–	–	–	•R	+	–	–	–	•+		+	+	–	–
2210. Single ball	–	–	–	–	+	•R	•+				•+	R	+	–	–	+
2211. Wood	–	–	–	–	–	•R	•–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–
2212. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	+	•R	•+	–	–	–	•+	R	–	–	–	+
2213. 2 balls, 1 for each side	–	–	–	–	–	•R	•+	–	–	R	•+	–	+	+	+	–
2214. Wood	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2215. Oak gall	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2215a. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	•R	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	+	–
2216. Curved stick to propel ball	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2217. Straight stick to propel ball	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2218. Feet to propel ball	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	R	–	+	+	+
2219. Wrestling permitted	–	–	–	–							•+	–	–	+	–	–
2220. Paired posts for goal(s)	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	R	–	+	+	+
2221. Arch of poles for goal(s)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	–	–
2222. 2 goals, 1 for each side	–	–	–	–	–	•R	•+	–	–	R	•+	R	–	–	–	+
2223. Speed wins	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	R	+	R	·	+	+	+
2224. Fewest number of strokes wins	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
o2225. Number on each side	–	–	–	–	5	6	•5	–	–	4	•4	10	2	•2	4	4
†2226. Number of sides	–	–	–	–	2	2	2	–	–	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
2227. Sides local groups	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	R	+	R	+	+	+	+
2228. 2 out of 3 games wins	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	·	(+)	(+)	–	–
2229. Referee	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	+	+
Hoop and Pole																
2230. Hoop-and-pole game played	+	+	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2231. Men	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2232. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2233. Hoop, wrapped	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2234. Pole, thrown overhand, 1 arm	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2235. Sides cast simultaneously	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2236. Sides cast in turns	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2237. Pole through hoop scores	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	526 ●
2238. Pole over hoop or stick scores	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
o2239. Number of counters	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•10	–	–	–	–	
o2240. Number on a side	2	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•10	–	–	–	–	
†2241. Number of sides	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(2)	–	–	–	–	
2242. Sides local groups	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	
2243. Referee	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	
2244. Betting	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	

Quoits

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
2245. Quoits played	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2246. Quoit a ring, from limber rope or withe	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–
2247. Quoit a stone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2248. Target: single stake	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2249. Target, 2 stakes, at each end of the field.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
‡2250. No. of throws for each player	10	12	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	2	–	–	–	–
2251. All players throw simultaneously	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
o2252. No. of points for ringer or strike	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	1	.	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
o2253. No. of points for closest throw	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	.	1	–	2	–	–	–	–
2254. Distance from pole measured with stick	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
‡2255. No. of points for game	10	12	–	–	–	–	–	1	.	1	–	4	–	–	–	–

Spear or Dart Throwing

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
2256. Spear or dart-throwing games	+	+	•+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	.	+
2257. Men play	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	+
2258. Spear thrown	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	+
2259. Pole thrown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
2260. Arrow thrown	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–
2261. Stationary target	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	–
2262. Tule or grass bundle	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
2263. 1 stake	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
2264. 2 stakes, small	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	–
2265. 2 targets; throw back and forth	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–
2266. Closest wins points	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	–
2267. Stuck in target, or between, 2 points	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2268. Players cast in turn	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
o2269. Number on each side	2	•5	–	–	3	–	–	•2	–	2	–	5	–	–	.	–
†2270. Number of sides	2	2	–	–	2	–	–	2	–	2	–	2	–	–	.	–

Stick Bouncing (Snow Snake)

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2271. Sticks bounced	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
2272. Men play	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[562]
2273. Children play	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[85]
2274. Plain stick bounced	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2275. Bounced off rise in ground	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2276. Bounced off pile of snow	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2277. Bounced for distance	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Archery

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2278. Target games played; men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[562]
2279. Stationary target, above ground	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2280. Shoulder bone			+	–							–	–	–	+	–	–	
2281. Brush bundle	–	–	–	–					+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	
2282. Single stake or bush	–	–	+	–				+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
2283. Arrow, previously shot	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
2284. Small tule, willow target	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2285. Double, shoot back and forth	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	.	-
2286. Buried target	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
2287. Bundle of tules	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
2288. Buried in circle of dug ground	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
2289. Buried in ground	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
2290. All contestants shoot into circle simultaneously	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2291. Contestants shoot individually	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2292. Person hitting buried target wins	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2293. Target rolled	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2294. Downhill	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2295. On level	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2296. Hoop	+	+	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2297. Disk	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2298. Target thrown in air	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
2299. Pine cone													-	-	+	+
2300. Bark disk	-	+	+								-	+	-	-	-	+
2301. Closest wins	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	.	-	+
2302. Hitting target scores only	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	.	+	+
2303. Shooting for distance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
2304. Gambling for arrows in archery games	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	.	-

Ring and Pin

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[562]

[857]

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
2305. Ring-and-pin game played	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2306. Men	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2307. Women	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2308. Children	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
‡2309. Number of rings	-	1	.	10	-	-	1	10	20	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
2310. Fish vertebrae	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2311. Deer carpals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2312. Tule bundle	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
†2313. Number of pins	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2314. Outfit transferred at miss	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2315. Each player has 2 tries	-		+		-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2316. Each ring counts 1 point	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2317. Ring counts game	-		-		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2318. All rings on for game	-		-		-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
†2319. Number of sides	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
o2320. Number on each side	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
†2321. No teamwork; number playing	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2322. Betting on game	-		-	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2323. Winner raps opponent's knuckles, forehead	-	+	+		-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2324. Winner pulls out opponent's eyebrows	-	+	-		-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2325. Played to make moon wane	-	+	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Many-Stick Game, 1 Marked

[562]

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
2326. Many-stick game played	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2327. Men play	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2328. Women play	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o2329. Many small sticks	-	-	10	15	20	20	-	20	20	30	-	-	-	-	-	-
2330. 1 marked	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2331. 1 specially made stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2332. "Marked" stick guessed for	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 Objects Laid Down, Position Guessed																
2389. 4 sticks, 2 large, 2 small, laid down	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562] 2390. Men play	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2391. 1 pair wrapped	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2392. Large sticks guessed for	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2393. Small sticks guessed for	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2394. Sticks covered with basket	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
‡2395. Number of counters	6	12	-	-	10	10	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2396. Counters in 1 neutral pile at start	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2397. Counters equally divided at start	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2398. Indefinite no. of players on each side	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stick Hiding																
2399. Single small stick hidden between fingers	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	(-)	-	-	•+	-	-
[562] 2400. Men, boys play	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2401. Women play	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2402. Hider wins point when opponent misses	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2403. Correct guesser hides	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2404. Betting	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
o2405. Number of counters	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-
Dice Games																
2406. Dice, disk type	R	•+	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	•+	(-)	•+	(+)	-
[562] 2407. Men play	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
2408. Women play	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	.	-
2409. Split acorn kernels	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	.	-
2410. Animal-teeth dice	•R	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
o2411. Number of dice	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3	.	-
2412. All same size	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	.	-
2413. 2 pairs, different sizes	(-)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
2414. Each pair similarly marked	(-)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
o2415. Number of counters	10	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	•	.	-
2416. Stick counters	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-
2417. 1 neutral pile, at start	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
2418. Referee to hand out counters	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-
2419. Dice thrown on basket tray	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	.	-
2420. Dice thrown on flat stone	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
o2421. Number of sides	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	.	-
o2422. Number on each side	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	.	-
o2423. 1 pair up, 1 pair down, scores ...(?)	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	.	-
2424. 2 unmatched up, 2 unmatched down, scores ...(?)	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	.	-
o2425. 0 up, all down, scores ...(?) or wins	0	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	.	.	-
2426. 1 up, 3 down, scores ...(?)	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	.	-
2427. 3 up, 1 down, scores ...(?)	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	.	-
o2428. 4 up, 0 down, scores ...(?)	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	.	-
2429. Bone dice	~	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	(-)	.	-
2430. Men play	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-
2431. Carpal or tarsal bones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-
o2432. Number thrown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	.	-
o2433. Number of counters	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	.	-
2434. Scoring	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
526 Objects Thrown in Air																
2435. Stick thrown up	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-
[562] 2436. Men	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	HF	HM	ES	MV	
2437. Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	526
2438. Children	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
2439. Stick sharpened at both ends	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	[562]
2440. Natural vestigial deer metapodial	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[857]
2441. 1 point when it lands erect in ground	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2442. Person who catches stick wins	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
2443. Thrower scores	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2444. Unsuccessful thrower transfers	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
†2445. Number of counters	-	-	-	-	10	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2446. Jacks	-	-	-	-	+	+	R	-	-	+	R	-	-	+	-	-	
2447. Men play	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	[562]
2448. Women play	-	-	-	-	+	+	R	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[857]
2449. Children play	-	-	-	-	-	+	R	-	-	+	R	-	-	-	-	-	
2450. Stones	-	-	-	-	+	+	R	-	-	+	R	-	-	+	-	-	
†2451. Number of objects	-	-	-	-	10	10	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	3	-	-	
2452. Indefinite	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2453. Last object thrown up heaviest	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	
2454. For fun; no betting	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	
2455. Juggling	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	
2456. Rocks	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2457. Acorns	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
o2458. Number thrown up	-	-	-			2	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	
2459. Thrown up in both hands, same time	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
2460. Women	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	[562]
2461. Boys	-	-	-					-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	[857]
2462. For fun; no betting	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Gambling Taboos																	
2463. Intercourse taboo before gambling	+	+	+	+	-			+	+	.	.	-	-	-	-	.	525 834
2464. Only if man has washed in sacred spot, for luck	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	.	.	-	-	-	-	.	
2465. Intercourse taboo after gambling													+	-	-	.	
Amusements																	
Toys																	
2466. Tops	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	524
2467. Children play	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	[857]
2468. Adults play								+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	
2469. Acorn	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	
2470. Bark or wood disk, horizontal plane	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2471. Lump of pitch	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2472. Deer kneecap	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2473. Twirl with fingers	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	
2474. Twirl between palms	-	+	-				+		-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	
2475. Buzzer	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	-	-	R	.	R	[857]
2476. Children play	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	R	
2477. Adults play			+					+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	R	
2478. Wood or bark disk	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	-	
2479. Deer carpal	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	-	
2480. Shell disk	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	-	
2481. Acorns	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	-	
2482. Shoe-leather disk						R	-	-	R	R	R	-	-	R	.	R	
2483. To make snow	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2484. String figures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	R	R	+	-	+	
2485. Old men, women play	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	[887]
2486. Men play	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	
2487. Women play	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	[562]

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
2490. Moving figures	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	.	+	-	+
2492. Done in winter only	+	•+	-	-						-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2493. Done any time, for fun	-	-	+							+	-	+	+	+	-	+
[481] 2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	-	•+						-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2494a. Stilts	-	•+	-	-	•+	R	-	•	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	-

Contests

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
526 2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. To throw man down	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. No tripping allowed	-	+	-			+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	.	-
2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	-	+	+	.
2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								-	+	+	+	+	+
2502. Dodging	-	+	-			+	+	+	-	-	-	(-)	-	+	-	+
2503. Stones	-	+	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-
2504. Hard objects inside geese	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-
2505. Sand bag	-	-	-					•+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-
2506. Tule, grass balls	-	+	-					-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	+
2507. Two sides	-	+	-			+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
o2508. Number on each side	-	5	-			1	.	15	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-
2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] [857] 2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	.	-
2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	.	+
2515. To mark and back	-	-	-			+	+	-	+	-	.	+	+	+	-	-
2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+			+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+
2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+

Storytelling

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
528 2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2520. Myths told at night	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•		•+	•+
[516] 2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	.		-	+
2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	•+	+	-			-		+	-	+	-	-	.		-	-
[784] 2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
2524. Rattlesnake will bite	-	+	.		+	+	+	+	-	.	+	-	.		.	-
2525. Winter will come quickly	+	-	.						+	.	+	-	.		.	-
[887] 2526. Narrated by old people only	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
[515] 2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	•-	+	+			+				+	-	+	.		+	+
o 2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	-	+	+			+				+	-	+	.		+	+

Social Dances

Circle Dances

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
535 2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	•R	•+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	-	R	-		-	-
[417] 2530. Performed in brush corral	-	-	+	+		+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
[224] 2532. At fall rabbit hunt	-	-	-	-		-	+	-		-	-	-	-		-	-
[221] 2533. In springtime	-	-	-	-		-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
[226] 2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+	-		+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
2535. During communal fishing periods	+	+	+							+	-	-	-		-	-

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
846	3208. Merely stays indoors	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
784	†3209. For ... days	5	5	-	5	-	-	-	•4	-	•4	-	-	6	·	28	28
	3210. Until child's cord drops off	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	3211. Sleeps little	-	+	+			+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	-	·	+
	3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535]	3212a. Dances	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[481]	3213. Runs	+	+	+	-	•+	•+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3214. First child only	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3215. Breaks up wood		-	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3216. Brings back firewood	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3217. Piles up rocks	•+	•+	•+										-	-	-	-
[787]	o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	•-	-	-	+	±	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3220. First 4-5 children only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
[481]	3221. Swims	·	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	·	-
[252]	3222. In spring in mountains	-	+	-			-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	·	-
	3223. Cooks for self and children	-	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
[515]	3224. Bathing taboo	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	·	-
	o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	-	-	•4	-	-	•4	-	•4	-	•4	+	3	-	-	·	-
	†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	-	5	•4	-	-	•4	-	+	•4	•4	+	-	-	-	·	-
	3227. Certain activities taboo.	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[224]	†3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	-	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	•4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
	†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	-	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	•4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
	†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	-	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	•4	•2	+	3	+	6	+	30
	3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
[525]	†3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	-	-	-	28	•2	+	3	+	+	·	+
	3233. Until cord drops off	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
[276]	3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	(+)	-	-	·	-
[484]	†3235. Traveling taboo ... days	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	•2	+	3	+	+	+	40
	3236. Until cord drops off	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
	†3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	-	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	•2	+	3	+	-	+	•28
[262]	†3238. Fresh fish taboo	-	5	-	-	+	+	+	28	+	-	+	3	+	-	+	35
[263]	†3239. Dried fish taboo	-	5	-	-	+	+	+	28	-	-	+	3	+	-	+	35
	†3240. Salt taboo	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	5	+	-	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312]	3241. Cold water taboo	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3242. Until cord drops off	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	3243. Until child smiles first time													-	-	+	-
	3244. Eats with wife	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3245. Uses own receptacles	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
	3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
[292]	3247. Special belt worn	(+)	+	-	-	+	-	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
	3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	•+	•+	+	-	-	-
	3249. Combing hair taboo	+	•+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3250. Until navel has healed	·	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3252. Bathes	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	+	•+	+	+	-
	3253. Sweat bath and swim.	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
	3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
	3255. Gives away old clothes	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
	3256. Burns old clothes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	3257. Throws away old clothes	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
[526]	3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	+	+								+	-	-	-	-	-
[224]	3259a. Shoots at target	-	-	+	-	•+						-	·	-	-	-	-
	3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	-	+	+	-	•+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
[525]	3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	-	-	-		•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	·	-
	3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							•+	+	•+	+

291 Footgear and leggings.--Moccasin seam on inside.
Yucca-fiber sandal. Milkweed-fiber sandal.
Hip to ankle leggings. Snowshoe: "handled"
shape; sinew lashing, stick "lashing." Cere-
292 monial dress.--Eagle-down-rope skirt. 3-stick
support for wide-band woodpecker scalps. Eagle-
down-rope crown. Feather plumes: bird skin or
mammal fur on body. Sea-lion tooth headband.
Visor of yellowhammer feathers. Masks. Down
stuck to face. Headdress of human hair.

CURRENCY

436 Dentalia, wrapped with snake skin; graded on forearm tattoo. Clamshell beads measured around palm; on arm tattoo; on thumb. Loans at interest. Olivella-disk beads. Steatite beads.

SMOKING AND TOBACCO

Pipes and Pipe Sacks

276 Pipes.--Tubular-type 1-piece pipe of cane; horn or bone; pottery. 2-piece tubular pipe; solid-wood bowl; pottery bowl; stone, bone stem or mouthpiece; stem mortised into bowl. Haliotis inlay.

Tobacco

Cultivation; preparation; uses.--Tobacco imported. Always sown on hill, not near river; transplanted; weeded. Ground in mortar; on metate. Mixed for smoking with bark, aromatic root. Kept in horn container. Tobacco eaten, drunk.

MUSIC AND DRAWING

Musical Instruments

534 Drum, rattle, rasp.--Rectanguloid drum. Cocoon rattle, feather (quill) handle, attached to arm, leg; child's toy. Gourd, deer's ear, rabbit's ear, rawhide, fish gill-sack rattles. Sheep horn(s) on stick as rattle; tortoise-shell rattle. Ornamented rasp. Bull-roarer, musical bow; flute.--Bull-roarer used to assemble people for ceremony; to stop storm; voice of thunder; used in curing; only men use. Musical bow separate instrument, hollow, of elder; perpendicular tuning peg. Flute flattened, squared around holes.

RECREATION

Games and Amusements

526 Shinny; ball race.--Shinny: basket racket or

526 seed beater to propel ball; carrying ball in
racket or stick permitted; picking up and batting
ball permitted; goal a stake or post, hole,
circle on ground, rock, stakes or posts, arch,
circular hoop, row of stakes. Ball race: single
ball a hoop, stick, stone; carrying ball permitted;
goal a line on ground, a stake, hole;
home man catches ball on stick. Hoop-and-pole
game; quoits.--Hoop and pole: unwrapped hoop,
netted hoop, short stick as hoop; pole tossed
underarm, both arms, thrust into rolling hoop;
pole under hoop or stick scores; closest wins
point(s); win by elimination. Quoits: target a
stick lying loose; target a stone. Spear or
dart throwing; snow snake; ring and pin.--Spear
or dart throwing: specially made dart, feathered;
target buried hoop, previously thrown dart.
Snow snake: women play; arrow bounced. Ring and
pin: ring a rabbit skull, pine cone, brush ball,
piece of cane with 1 hole. Many-stick game;
524 hand game; objects laid down.--Many-stick: 3-choice
guess. Hand game: cane "bone"; finger
loops on "bones." Objects laid down: women play;
1 of each pair wrapped; unwrapped guessed; objects
covered with mat, hide. Dice games.--Disk
dice: animal shell, half walnut shells, wooden
tablets, wooden hemispheres for dice; stone
counters; dice thrown on hide, mat, into hopper
basket, on hard ground, plank. Bone dice: women
play. Stick dice. Jacks, tops, buzzer.--Jacks
of foot bones of animal. Top of pepperwood nut;
twirled with string. Buzzer, edge of disk
notched; snake rattles used as buzzer. Games
wholly absent.--Catching dart in ring. Many-stick
game of take away, guess remainder. Guessing
marks on ground. Scoring circuit for dice.

Social Dances

535 Circle dance; Bear dance.--Circle dance: performed at fall pine-nut harvest, to make piñons grow, produce rain, bring deer; performed at mourning ceremony; at funeral; center post dry cottonwood tree, pine-nut tree; dance occasion for public mourning. Bear dance: held in brush corral; musical rasp, gourd rattle; dance in couples; whip to make dance; chief urges dancers with stick; stop dance at fall; rub fallen person with rasp; cover fallen person with blanket; held at mourning ceremony. Dances wholly lacking.--"South" dance or Exhibition dance. Crazy dance.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

622 Chief paid to settle disputes. Chief owns
all eagles, eyries; pays to have eagles released;
buys them from captors. Assistant cult chief.
Chief equated to birds. Totem for assistant
624 chief (screech owl, hawk). Boss for rabbit
drives; irrigating boss. Crier has totem bird.
Messenger has rod as symbol of office; builds

000 AE: 3-6 players. WT: 10+. WS: 4-5. MM: 3-4. MV: 5, in women's game; 3, in men's.

[526 648] 2201. Often, but not always. Mo: Play Kl often. Concerning 1 such intertribal match between women, informant related following: "Before the [Modoc] war, the Mo and Kl were camping on opposite sides of Lost River, fishing. The Mo and Kl women played shinny; the Mo won, but the Kl women, instead of paying [their gambling debt] jumped in Lost River and ran home. But the Mo women jumped in the river after them, and followed them into camp."

2202. Mo: See note 2201. MV: At spring celebration women play first shinny game of year; no betting on this first game, which opens season for games of all descriptions. Season for games closes in November; "after that everything quiets down for winter."

2203. AW: In men's game. WT, NM: 1 man acts as referee. WT: "Big, strong man, who can stop fights between players." MF, NF: 2 malle referees for game.

Ball race; hoop-and-pole.--

2204. For 3 groups, AW, AE, and MM, 2 types of ball races entered in this section. When element refers to one type only, note indicates which type. All other entries refer to both types. AW, AE: Type (1), single ball race. Type (2), 2-ball race. Informant ignorant of source of introduction of types (1) and (2), but positive they are both "half-breed" (post-White) races. WT: Informant denied any ball races, but WS informant said he had seen ball races held at Hayfork, in WT area, and that they were of recent introduction. WS: Ball races learned from Round Valley Reservation group, about 60 years ago. They were "played at Hayfork first, then WS group learned to play." Race is somewhat similar to WS form of women's shinny game (see note 2170) but played by men only, with 2 balls. MM: Type (1), 2-ball game. Type (2), "wrestling football," single ball.

2205-2207. MM: Refers to 2-ball game (see note 2204).

2208. AW: Refers to single-ball game. MM: Refers to 2-ball race. See note 2204.

2209. AW, MM: Refers to 2-ball race (see note 2204).

2210-2212. AW, AE: Refers to 2-ball race. MM: Refers to single ball, wrestling football. See note 2204.

2213, 2215a. AW, AE, MM: Refers to 2-ball race (see note 2204).

2219. MM: Refers to wrestling football (see note 2204).

2222. AW, AE, MM: Refers to single-ball race (see note 2204).

2225. AE: 6 on side, in 2-ball race; 4 on side, single-ball race. MM: 4 on side, 2-ball race; 2 on side, single-ball race (see note 2204). NM: 2 men or 3 women.

2228. MM: 2-ball game.

000 2229. MF, MP: 2 men act as referees. WM: 1 male referee.

2230. AW: Informant had seen this played at Round Valley Reservation. Also mentioned in Achomawi mythology; Coyote and Fox saw this game played at Upper Lake.

2239, 2240. MP: Some doubt concerning this entry.

2240. Mo: 2-8.

[526] 2243. Mo: In any game, "bound to have a man watching, to stop cheating."

[525] 2244. Kl, Mo: Arrows, arrowheads wagered.

Quoits; spear throwing; archery.--

2246. WM: Pine branch.

2247. WT, WS: Flat rock.

2256. SE, SW: Not formal game; boys, "just pitching something." WS: wilča.

2259. WT: 10-ft.-pole, lacking stone head.

2262. At: Bundle of sunflower leaves.

2269. Mo: 5-6. WT: 2-3.

[526] 2297. Kl, AE: Pine-bark disk.

[525] 2304. Kl: Contestants match arrows and lay them aside; winner takes these arrows, not arrows shot in contest.

Ring-and-pin; Many-stick game.--

2305. WS: Lučus.

2309. AE: 1-2. WM: 20 rings, if playing with fish vertebrae; 5 rings if playing with deer carpals. See elements 2310-2311. WS: 7-16.

2320. Mo, SE: Variable number. AE: 2-3. WM: 4-5.

2321. SW: Variable number.

2325. SW: In winter (Dec.-Jan.); "bad month for Indians." Game connected with myth concerning time when there were 10 moons and animal killed 5 of them. No betting; uppermost ring is 10th moon; play to see who can "kill" (spear) this moon. Players sit in circle, usually in evening, around fire.

2326. WM: Two types many-stick game played: Type (1) women's many-stick game, dopIt. Recent, after Whites entered area; informant believed it came from Chico or that direction; had seen it played first about 55 years ago. Type (2), "grass game," behemčus; old; played only during Jan.-Feb., in assembly house (Lut). When entry refers to 1 of 2 types only, note tells to which; if entry refers to both types, no note appended. WS: Many-stick game, bohumčus; use 30 long sticks, 1 short manzanita stick, pointed at both ends. Played by men only, in winter only; betting. "Learned bohumčus from Big Bend Indians [Madesi] a long time ago [before informant's lifetime]; it used to be only betting game Wintu had" (?).

2327. SW: "Down-river [among Karuk] a man's game only; among SW a woman's game." See note 2172. WM: Refers to grass game (see note 2326).

2328. WM: Refers to women's many-stick game. See note 2326.

2329. SW: 15+.

2331. Red manzanita stick, pointed at both ends, unmarked.

[205-A]

ODO charge chooses partners (mock "wives") for male dancers; "they all joke and have fun. This is the windup."

3709. SE: Menstruant herself removes visor.

3712. WM: At final "big time" dance, girl wears braided-grass fringed "visor," clean clothes, bead necklaces, basket cap. "She's white [from staying in hut]; looks pretty." WS: Same as WM, except no grass visor.

3714. WM: If poor girl (for whom no final dance has been given) has good clothes to wear, she may stand with wealthy girl, "so everyone can look at them and admire them."

3716. At: When menstruant is bathed, and attended to, "then they all eat together, in 1 place. Everybody brings food." MF: Informant denied visitors are feasted. But MV informant reported that at Enterprise, among another MF group, on final morning of rite menstruant and girl attendant made to run and jump over wide bed (of burning pine needles? See note 3721). It is important that girl should clear the bed. Then 3 women bring acorn flour for soup; the 2 old women singers clown over the flour, saying "They never give us anything to eat," and other remarks. Clowns grunt and rub the flour over their faces before giving it back to be cooked. The 3 women then make a big batch of acorn bread from the flour and give the dough to everyone present.

[881]
[526] 3720. Kl: In open, where race ends. Mo: In sweat-house fire.

3721. SW: Pass girl through fire if she has dreamt bad dreams, so that the evil effects of such will be burnt off. Sometimes put a little shell money on her, before they pass her through fire, but no great display of wealth. (Dixon, Shasta, p. 458, says girl burnt alive.) MF: Girl passes through ring of lighted pine needles during puberty ceremonies. See Dixon (Maidu, p. 233) and Loeb (Eastern Kuksu, p. 150). MF: Loeb (ibid., p. 183) says Yuba River Maidu (- NF) made girl run through circle burning pine needles, but his Yuba River Maidu informants probably belonged to MF group. See section on informants, NF entry, this study.

Boys' puberty observances.--

3723. For details see elements 5207-5217.
3724. For details see elements 4722-4792.

General menstrual customs.--

3735. Baskets which have no grease on them.

3739. WM, WS: 4-5 days and nights. MM, MV: 3-4.

[841] 3740. Kl. Cp. Spier, Klamath, pp. 55, 70-71. My male informant stated definitely all women of Klamath Marsh group used menstrual hut.

3757. WM, WS: But cannot bathe in main rivers, such as McCloud or upper Sacramento rivers. MV: In summer only.

3764. Menstruating woman may give husband good luck in gambling, hunting, and the like.

[222-B]

857 Older children use a carrying strap when they go after wood. The strap is laid on the ground and sticks are piled on it. One boy sits down and fastens the strap across his forehead or chest. A companion then helps him get to his feet with the load.

Women carry water in baskets to the camp. The children sometimes race to see who can get the water first. When the child brings a basket of water to the house, his mother or father throws a few drops into the air, saying, "You'll grow as tall as that."

LATE CHILDHOOD

861 run and swim will be lucky and successful. Children are constantly exhorted to run and exercise in order to become "smart."

857
526 The older boys have a variety of contests to show their strength; these are in imitation of the competitions in which grown men take part.[20] They lift heavy rocks to see who can carry them farthest. They try to bend large saplings to the ground. They wrestle from a starting position in which the opponents face each other with hands on each other's waists. The whole group gathers to watch the contests and cheer the favorites.

Foot races are popular among boys and girls as well as adults. The races are run principally [illegible] summer or fall afternoons when large groups are gathered on Klamath Marsh to gather wokas (water-lily seeds). Fast runners gain a great deal of prestige, so that all children aspire to be such. Children are spectators at the adult matches; then they organize their own. The adults are as eager to watch children's races as they are to observe their own. The best runners are cheered, and small bets are often placed.

In addition to contests of strength and foot races, there are fast shinny games which require good runners with endurance.[21] Both the men's game and the double-ball variety played by the women are occasions for much excitement. There is much rivalry between teams, and children are not permitted to participate in the most important contests. They do organize their own shinny games, however, and may play with adults in the more trivial contests.

At this same age boys begin to take part in organized shooting matches with bow and arrow or darts. The boy is taught by his father or grandfather to shoot with a small juniper bow. The boys' games are similar to those played by the men,[22] but boys are not required to shoot so

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[20] See Spier, pp. 82 ff., and Voegelin, elements 2505-2516.

[21] Shinny games are described by Dorsey, pp. 19 ff., Spier, pp. 80 ff., and Voegelin, elements 2170-2203.

[22] Arrow and dart games are described in Dorsey, pp. 17 f., Spier, pp. 81 f., and Voegelin, elements 2256-2270, 2278-2304.

[p. 347A]

857 far. Some contests utilize a stationary target. 526 In others, arrows and darts are shot at a rolling ring. The rings used by boys are smaller than the men's.

868 Boys soon learn to make their own willow darts for the games, are proud of them, and often decorate them by wrapping green tules around them in designs. [531] The darts are then blackened in the fire and the tules unwrapped, leaving white markings where the tules had been. Such negative pyrographic patterns are common on canoe poles and paddles. Girls similarly decorate sticks "just for fun"; they do not enter into the dart contests. The boys do not learn to make their own bows and arrows until puberty or after.

Training in the techniques of fishing, gathering, hunting, and various manufactures begins in late childhood. [262] The principal food of the Klamath is fish, but vegetable products and 221 game are also used. The spring, summer, and fall months are spent in travel for the seasonal food supply. Early spring sees a move to fishing grounds along the river. In the summer, families move to the prairies for roots and berries. Some go to the mountains to hunt. In August and September families congregate to gather the wild water-lily seed along the marshes. In the fall there are hunts, and all return to the winter villages where they will remain through the coldest months of the year.[23]

226 868 The first sucker run in the spring is of special significance and attended by ritual and taboo.[24] Small children are warned to stay away from the river, lest they get sick. The first catch is divided among all; the entrails are carefully gathered up and thrown back into the river to insure the continued abundance of fish. It is the children who are sent with the entrails to the proper spot on the river. [251] While the men continue fishing, the women clean and dry the fish for winter storage. Girls of eight or nine help their mothers by collecting willow branches and arranging the fish on them to dry.

After the first run, the restrictions are relaxed. Children are then allowed to gather along the banks and watch, so long as they do not bother the men. Boys help by dipping fish out of the water by hand and by scaring fish toward the nets; but they do not work with the nets, which take at least two full-grown men to handle.

868 226 Spears are also used for taking fish. Boys of ten or older are taken out by their fathers into shallow water to learn how to watch for the air bubbles that indicate the presence of fish. The father shows the boy how to impale the victim on a many-pointed spear and finally lift it from the water with a single-pointed gaff. For

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[23] Spier, pp. 10 f.

[24] Varieties of fish caught, fishing techniques, and customs connected with fishing are treated in Barrett (1910), pp. 249-251, Spier, pp. 147-155, and Voegelin, elements 190-300.

*539 huk tchékel' a gépka. Tsúi wéwan'sh gûlí' winō'tnish; shashuakí'sh tchí'sh,
765 the blood comes up. Then women enter who form chorus; people who call the conjurer too,
787 lutatkí'sh tchish, shuashuáktchish matchatgí'sh tchish gulí' látchashtat
the song-repeater too, bewailers, listeners also enter lodge
m'na.
his.

NOTES.

[178] The ascetic performances and ceremonies here described are going into disuse at the present time. When they were fully observed, the bereaved husband wandered alone through the woods and wilds (spótu) for five days, but to the widow these observances extended over a shorter time. For this purpose both sexes wore warm clothing, but took to worn-out blankets or old articles of raiment, and used wisps of the serviceberry-bush as belts.

[192] [526] **83**, 1. shpótû: strong and unusual bodily exercise, running up hill, plunging etc. was and is still considered beneficial to the body, and is much in favor with the Indians. Cf. **82**, 10. 11.

[192] [193] **83**, 1. hissuáksûk for híshuaksh ak; the husband *alone*, not in company of others; pä'nĕ for pä'n a, pĕn a, cf. átĕnen for át a nen; and sĕ for sha, they, **82**, 4.

83, 2. ka-ítna pát or p'át: he eats nothing at the time while wandering; pánk, p'ánk might stand here instead of pát; tû'tshna: for dozing they did not lie down, but tried to catch a little sleep while walking and wandering.

83, 2. shlaá, and tchákĕle **83**, 5, forms sometimes used in conversation instead of shläá, shleá; tchä'kĕle, tchékĕli. Cf. yáka for yä'ka, yéka: *Note* to **16**, 10.

83, 3. hûshtí'ktamna; the suffix -tamna shows that pshín stands for náauk pshí'n gí'sh: "nightly, every night."

83, 4. siunō'tish and shuí'sh are both tamánuash-songs, but of a different character. See Dictionary. Shlä'popka: he sees in his dreams what he has heard mentioned in the songs. To sing or repeat songs started by the conjurer devolves almost exclusively on the women present at the ceremony.

83, 5. súmat: into the mouth; their blood, disturbed by the constant excitement produced by the night rambles, ascends to the throat, and is sometimes spit out by them.

84, 2. shuashuáktchish. By their loud and noisy lamentations (shuáktcha, to cry, to weep) they expect to avert from the bereaved husband the effects of the tamánuash-spell (shuí'sh) which he has seen in his dreams.

84, 2. matchátgish: those listening to the words uttered by the conjurer and his repeater or expounder; they are of both sexes and also act as bewailers.

(114) PO: Yes, he wants you to tell that kind of thing, how they did things, to get food. 539* 124

(115) AC: So we used to live this way. (116) These people used to live thus, now have [they] become different. (117) Truly they have become different.

(118) PO: [They] have become white people.

(119) AC: Yes, become different. (120) So they buy anything, they buy anything whatsoever. (121) Long ago they did not do thus. (122) They gave, they gave even a small amount of food. (123) Yes, dividing it thus, just like dividing it. (124) They lived thus long ago, helping each other, helping each other very much. (125) Now they do not do thus. (126) [One] will grasp only for money. (127) We eat only by buying. (128) Here they fish, but now only by buying do we swallow any fish. [431]

(129) PO: Long ago they did not do thus.

(130) AC: Not thus. Helping each other very much they lived. (131) And long ago it was good, because it was thus, as I have told this one. (132) Now there is nothing. (133) Now there is no fun. (134) And [I] knew long ago, it was good, much to laugh at, something, everything to laugh at, everything. (135) There at the [Fourth of] July place Father raced them, having taken all his clothes off, only wearing his drawers. [526] (136) And all those Paiutes doing this—now they having gone there, then they ran off and left my father behind. (137) Then they roared with laughter, "ʔi···!" (138) Then that woman who used to be (Proper name's) wife became angry at them, because she said they were making fun. (139) Yes, they made fun. (140) "You [pl.] old people are making fun, but he is young," thus she spoke. (141) And they said, "Haja···! ya···dwa·!" they said. (142) They did not talk nicely. (143) "He is not young. (144) He is old," thus said those Paiute women. (145) Then she got angry at them. (146) And thus it was long ago, many things to laugh at, many good things, various things [were] fun. (147) Today everything is quiet. (148) Now there is no poking fun about anything.

(149) PO: I told this one thus, [once] when they got together, three, or even two, then they said, "Do you know when someone [i.e., a certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 167]

Everyone is quiet during the singing, else the girl will die. My infor- 881
mant could not say what would be done to the one who broke this 533
rule. The singers are fed at midnight.

The choristers sing about one another, men about women, women
about men.[59] The opening song is always:

iwûne′ sken djïdja′lwis djaiyo′djai′wa [539]
toward sundown bachelors making a noise (?)
The young men are having a jollification in the west.

Toward daylight they sing:

pe′ēt keskā′ni dji′ḳ!a ho′llidoᵘga
Toward the dawn place a tiny brown bird came to meet us.

The girl herself is expected to dance with downcast eyes, although 881
there is no express prohibition against looking at the sky as among 535
the Shasta. Common girls, however, will laugh and look around as 576
they dance. There is no suggestion that the girl's glance is malignant. [171] *

She observes three precautions during these five days, as she will
at subsequent menstruations and during mourning. She must abstain 881
from meat and fish, eating only lily seed or roots. She may, however,
eat when she pleases and with the others. Should she eat the forbid- 784
den flesh, she will get "consumption" and die.[60] She must not touch [302]
her hands to her face or head, using instead a scratcher (sadŏ′ktcuts).
This scratching stick or bone is tucked under the left wristband or
hung about the neck. Every morning she runs toward the dawn.

In the Field Museum collections are several bone scratchers used during
the girl's rites (nos. 61633, 61692, 63632). These are of two types; lozenge-
shaped and oval. They are decorated with incised lines, set close together and [531] •
filled with black pigment. Each is provided with a thong (fig. 6).

During the day the girl retires to sleep in the bushes or in a dome- 881
shaped mat lodge a few hundred yards distant. [343]

She wears an old, dirty, fringed skirt, a blanket of skin (coyote,
wolf, raccoon, or deer), and buckskin moccasins. The long buckskin [291]
dress commonly worn at dances may be used, although one informant
stated otherwise. She does not wash nor comb her hair during this [302]
period. Her face is blackened with pitch and charcoal, but none is
put on her hair as it would be in mourning. Instead the hair, hanging as usual in two braids in front of the shoulders, is doubled on itself to form two clubs, which are bound with braided cords of buck-brush

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[59] Some of these songs are given by Gatschet, 1:182, 189.

[60] A bone drinking tube is not used.

881 [302] [301] or red sage-brush bark. Buck-brush bands are worn around the head, neck, wrists, ankles, below each knee, and wound perhaps twice around the waist. This waist band may be a woven belt (k'ai'lis) of sage-brush.

[291] [783] At the close of the ceremony the girl purifies herself by swimming; she does not use a sweat-bath. Other participants need no purification. Her clothing and bark bands are burned. Sometimes the circlets are wrapped around the branches of trees near the sweat-lodge where they are left to rot unless they are earlier gathered by someone who wishes to use them for a cautery.

[302] [531]

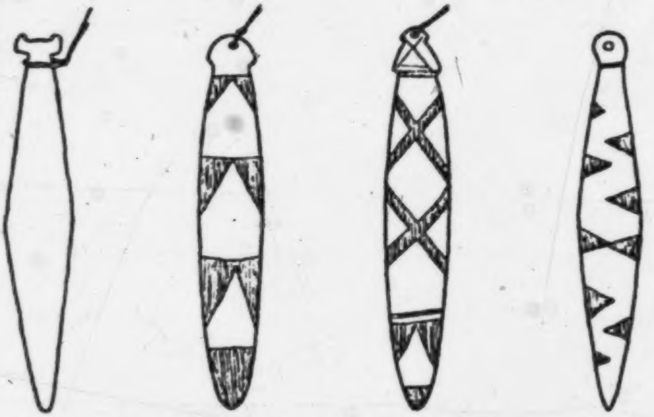

Fig. 6. Head scratchers, used by girls in puberty rites.

A girl for whom no dance is held stays within her home, dressed in this fashion and observing the taboos for the requisite period.

841 [756] Menstruant women stay at home during their illness (ata sto'pwi) unless they are members of a shaman's household. Shamans must avoid them; seemingly other men are indifferent. Women of a shaman's household occupy a little dome-shaped lodge near-by for five days. Menstruants eat only lily seed, camas, etc.; they permit themselves dried fish, but meat and fresh fish are taboo. Older women do not use the scratcher, nor wear the bands, nor burn their clothing.[87] So much from my feminine friend, but a male informant had it that all women make use of a menstrual lodge, wear dirty clothing, neither wash nor care for the hair, and use the scratcher. However, women

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[87] Nor do they keep knotted string records of these events as on Puget sound.

This is the open flute, lacking tongue or reed, and played by blowing across the open end while it is held vertically or horizontally. So I was told, but it is more probable that the vertical is the only position used. These are manufactured from branches of the ḳoḳo'dŏm bush or the elder (slo'lüsæm), from which the pith is easily removed, or from the long legs of cranes. The wooden flutes are three-quarters of an inch in diameter, one to two feet long, with three holes (or four or five ?) for finger stops burned at odd intervals. 534

The deer-hoof rattle (sŏ'ḳtsŏḳs) is probably the only one of the three Klamath rattles that is of any antiquity among them. It is used exclusively in the girl's adolescence rites. The Klamath form is a slender pole four to seven feet long with a cord along the upper third to which bunches of deer dew claws (ḳ'o'djlŋks) are tied at intervals. The butt is pounded on the ground to jar the hooflets. [881]

Of the other two types, the clap rattle is the familiar cleft stick, the split end of which is struck against the palm. This was used in the Ghost dance of 1870 and in no other connection. It was derived from the Pit river peoples. The notched rattle (ulo'ks) is known to have been played by one man who learned it from the Upland Takelma. It may have been used in the war and scalp dances. This is the familiar notched stick set on the ground and rasped with another stick; no resonator is used.[143] [786] [177]

The hand drum has no great antiquity among the Klamath but was in use before the coming of the whites. It was derived from some northern tribe, probably those of Warm Springs. Its very name, bŏ'mbŏm, is the common word in eastern Oregon and Washington. It is used only in the social dances, which are themselves of no great consequence. The drum is the familiar shallow tambourine affair, with only one head. Thongs crossed on the open face furnish a hand grip. Drums are constructed of a flattened juniper bough bent into a ring of one to two feet in diameter. Heads of badger and antelope hide are best; they yield the loudest sound. The drum was not decorated until lately, when stars were painted on the head. This is said to have been learned of the whites, but is more likely derived from the modern version of the Smoḥallah cult, the so-called Pompom religion of eastern Washington and Oregon. The drum stick (wo'tanotc) is a stick wrapped with mink hide to form a knob. [177] [531] [177]

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[143] There is no association of the sound with the voice of the frog nor with the rain, nor is it used in social dances, as in the Great Basin area.

[533]
[171]*

285 The base of the basket does not always pass into two-warp diagonal twining so early as just stated. The weaving of some baskets, perhaps the majority, proceeds by continuously halving the bundles of warps as successive rounds of twining are placed, until the warps

285
• 531

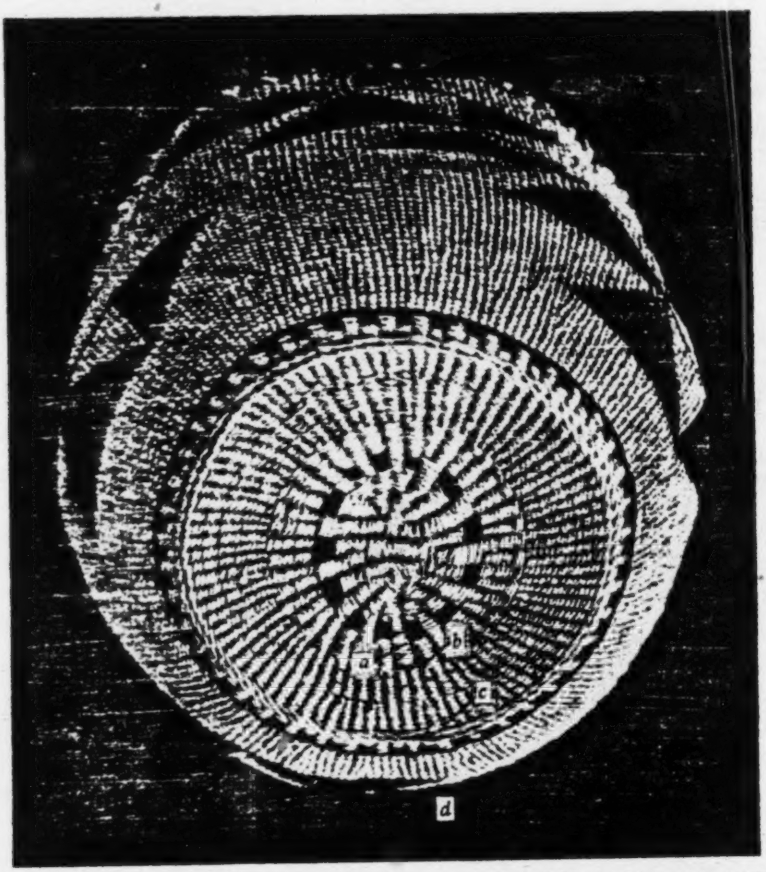

Fig. 13. Base of a twined basket. The points *a–d* lie on the same warp (*a*, beginning of diagonal twine crossing four warps; *b*, beginning of two-warp diagonal twine; *c*, beginnng of three-strand twine; *d*, first stitch of design). The termination of the basket rim is on the same warp (not shown in the illustration).

285 may be treated singly in simple twine. One example, for instance (fig. 13), having a basal diameter of five inches, has the warps treated as large bundles for two inches, in fours with a diagonal stitch crossing four warps for a half inch, in pairs with two-warp diagonal stitch to beyond the edge of the base, thence simple twine for the remainder of the sides.

two lie in the same vertical plane.[380] The split willow strands are flat and are so placed as to break joints, leaving uncovered sections of the foundation rods exposed between the coil stitches. NP 285

In former days hats were the only baskets decorated by the introduction of designs. Today the majority of baskets are twined bowls, intended largely for sale to the whites, to which these decorations have been transferred. Or, one might legitimately say that the modern bowls are degenerate examples of the old hats, since the techniques are practically identical. K 531 178

As to the materials used in decoration, Barrett observes that the "designs are usually worked out in the reddish brown roots of the tule, though the outer leaf skin of a certain jointed rush [*Phragmites?*] which provides a shiny, creamy white material is also used. For the finer baskets the quills of the porcupine, dyed yellow by means of a yellow moss, probably the widely used *Evernia vulpina*, are used,"[381] or more rarely, tule leaf, aged to yellow, according to Merrill. The latter also notes that rarely tule and porcupine quills are dyed a bright pink with the root of an unknown plant.[382] Alder bark (wip'-läm, *Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt.) furnishes an orange dye, according to Coville,[383] which may have been used for basket materials. The bark is peeled from the tree in spring or scraped at other seasons, and boiled in water. Coville also states that tule strands are dyed black, and called mŏk'-wäs. "Ordinarily this is accomplished by immersing the tule stems in the black mud of sluggish springs containing iron. A superior color, however, is obtained by the addition of a quantity of wokas hulls, which contain a large amount of tannin. The same result is now frequently secured by these Indians by prolonged soaking of the tule stems in an iron kettle, in water containing a liberal amount of the hulls."[384] K 285 531 386

A number of designs placed on bowls and hats were recorded (fig. 17).[385] These bear names, and according to my information, the habit of naming them antedates the whites. Decoration is generically K 531 [178]

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[380] My notes not being altogether clear on this point, they have been corrected by Miss Isabel Kelly.

[381] *Op. cit.*, 254. Coville (Notes, 88) confirms this identification (native name, shwā'-wi-säm) and adds that the quills are obtained from the Modoc, but I see no reason why they should not obtain their own.

[382] P. 221.

[383] Notes, 94.

[384] Wokas, 737; Notes, 92.

[385] These are arranged so that the rim of the basket must be understood to be above the design, that is, in the order of their manufacture. My notes are uncertain whether figure 17*i* is correctly placed.

531
285 soma'lwas, to draw, to design. The Klamath gave me to understand that these figures are in no sense representative nor symbolical. The names are solely design names for convenience of reference.

Decoration consists ordinarily of large unconnected units, leaving much background space. A basket rarely has more than one kind of design on it, although these larger units may be combined with narrow bands around the base or rim. Simple decoration sometimes appears on the bottom of the basket where it cannot be seen, but this is intelligible if we remember that in former times this was the top of the hat.

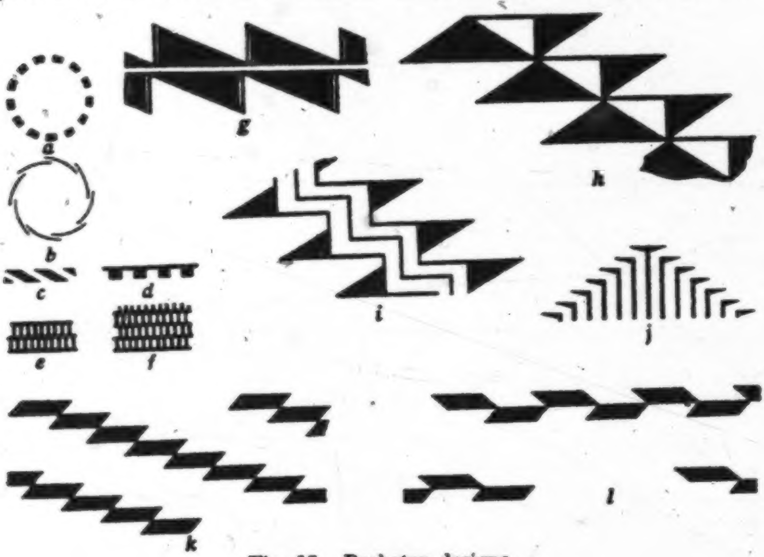

Fig. 17. Basketry designs.

Beside a few isolated self-symmetrical units, the majority of designs are arranged in bands extending obliquely upward to the left. Others are disposed as horizontal bands.

Rings around the margin of the base are called loga'ḳiomnŏtk. The solid ring is sometimes interrupted at frequent points (fig. 17*a*, *b*). Common border decorations, at either the lower margin of the side or the rim, are shown in figure 17*c*, *d*, *e*, and *f*. These are all called o'pk!ŏtk. Several designs are formed by a series of triangles laid as horizontal or oblique bands. One such is called motc!īks, ocean clams (fig. 17*g*), another (*h*) sawa'lsaltīs, arrowheads (from sawa'ls, arrowhead). The reason for the first name, at least, is obscure; the latter is more intelligible. One basket which carries the latter design has five triangular elements in each unit of decoration. Three such units are on the basket, so placed that the upper end of one overlaps the lower end of the next to the left. The units are of exactly the same length, which suggests that the stitches were counted with some accuracy. But they are disposed somewhat irregularly around the basket. Figure 17*i*, which may be upside down, is Crow's knee, ga'kŭmk!o'lŏntc (from gak, crow; k!o'lŏntc, knee). The knee is represented by the angles in the median line. A design which does not occur in band form, but is isolated and symmetrical upon itself (fig. 17*j*) may be called sḳŏtco'ta, legs (tc!oks is the proper word for leg). This is properly the name for the vertical lines; the horizontal spur is pătc, foot. An old Klamath design is shown in figure 17*k*, but this is called mo'talta'ntk, because Pit river peoples (mo'ᴇtuwas) used designs of this sort. The Pelican bay division of the Klamath call it sṭŏ'kbunks a'ltantkc (stŏ'kbunks, leech). On one basket ten rhomboids form each unit of design: the unit extends diagonally nearly around the basket, and overlaps with two other units. A similar design (fig. 17*l*) has the units arranged as horizontal bands. There are four of these units disposed on the four quarters of the basket, so that their ends overlap. This represents a mountain flower: the name of the design is unknown.[344] 531

It is interesting to note that the number of elements in one design unit (*h*) is five, in another (*k*) is ten, in view of the frequent use of the significant number of the Klamath, five. On the other hand, the number of elements and units in other cases is not a multiple of five.

WEAPONS

The warrior's armament consists of bow, club, sometimes a spear, with body armor and perhaps a shield. I have seen none of these; what follows is from descriptions. 411

Dependence rests primarily on the bow both in warfare and hunting. Hand to hand fighting was not mentioned and the use of snares and traps is slight. Waterfowl are ordinarily shot with a reed arrow so light that it will float. The Klamath never shot fish although in many places the water is sufficiently clear. [726]

Arrow poisoning was not mentioned to me, but Coville was given the following description:

> The root [of the water hemlock (skă'-wănks, *Cicuta maculata* L.)] mashed and mixed with poison from a rattlesnake's poison sacs or with the decomposed liver of a deer or some other animal, which has been buried in the ground a

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[344] Other designs are illustrated by Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. 11, 15, 18; O. T. Mason, *op. cit.*, pls. 48, 174. These conform in style.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

291 [756] [531] [177] The familiar triangular flaps below the neck in Plains shirts are lacking. Shamans alone paint their shirts, others who attempt it would be poisoned by them. The designs are spots, circles, and lines, not pictures. While I do not know the character of these designs, this suggests the protective shirts of the Ghost dance of 1890. Inasmuch as we must assume that the shirt reached the Klamath from the east, and it is possible that Plains influences are quite recent, it is possible that the shirt, or at least its decoration, came only in Ghost dance days. Nor are shirts worn at all times; they are too valuable, "they might wear out"; which represents their unusualness in the view of the Klamath.

Breechclouts (hacwi'skIs) are made of buckskin, and nothing else. They are worn by women too, but not with the buckskin dress. It seems that the flaps which hang over the belt are short, for they are said to be long only if the skin happened to be long. The belt is only a thin string, presumably a leather thong, for poor people make it of the soft bark of the tule.

Men's leggings are thigh-length or calf-length (called respectively [184] snásni'ks and mīdĕ's);[380] women wear only the latter. These are of buckskin ~~or fur~~, but poor people make them of tules. Barrett illustrates one of the latter sort made in twined technique. The full-length leggings are tied to the belt at one point, the hips. In a photograph shown me, little deer dew claws were hung pendant from the front of the leggings just below the knees.

Moccasins are worn at all times by the men, at home or when traveling, whereas women sometimes go barefoot at home in the summer. For the most part, moccasins are woven of tule or swamp grass; very few are made of skin. Barrett observes that the buckskin moccasins are for summer wear, the winter ones of tule.[381] This is very probably the case, as the tule affair is intended primarily to hold a layer of dry grass next the foot.

Tule moccasins (wipgá') are made in open twine. The fabric is brought together over the toe, but is quite without a heel. A cord # [171] [531] laced through the loops along each side draws it up around the foot. They resemble those of the Paviotso.[382] For traveling they make moccasins of this type of swamp grass, which is stronger than tule; those for home use are of tule and bear decorations.

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[380] Gatschet gives mitash, mitas, *from* Chinook jargon mimdash, derived from French mitasse (2:221).

[381] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17, 19.

[382] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 218, fig. 5*b*, *c*.

291 177 the Klamath use of the typical Plains woman's costume is an extreme marginal case in the west.

Being of buckskin, not of elk hide, two skins are necessary for the dress. These are sewn together across the shoulders, leaving a short space for the insertion of the head. The neck ends of the skins are always across the shoulders, since this is the widest part of the skin. The contour of the dress is the familiar one, the natural contour of the dressed skin with the legs lopped off. Cape-like extensions, formed by the skin of the forelegs, hang loosely over the arms. All the edges are slit into fringes and the front and back are tied together by these under the arms and down the sides. These are not belted in Plains style.

291 114 A woman's belt made of strips of bark fiber is illustrated by Barrett; others are made of human hair.[339] While Barrett is probably right in stating that these are part of everyday dress, I was told that the belt (k'ai'lis) is worn at the puberty dance, when a first child is born, or when an infant dies.

291 531 • [177] The dress of earlier times had no ornamentation, but it now has the yoke-shaped decoration of Plains type and rows of pendants. The yoke is not a separate piece, but the quill-work design, and in more recent days the beadwork, is applied directly on the dress. Formerly rows of elk teeth were sometimes used. There is no special name for the yoke; like any beadwork, this part is called ĭti's or ĭta'ntḳos. The yoke of one dress seen dipped below each armpit and again markedly at the middle of breast and back. It was comprised of a series of horizontal stripes in beads of contrasting colors which paralleled this wavy lower margin of the yoke. Three horizontal rows of pendants crossed front and back; one following this lower margin, another just above the knees, and the third near the bottom of the dress. These pendant strings, which hang in pairs, are wound with colored porcupine quills; thimbles and Chinese cash are sometimes threaded on them. A deep fringe (bowi's) is sometimes made to fasten along the lower margin of the yoke, at the bottom of the dress, and around the short sleeves. This is fabricated from a piece of buckskin, nine or more inches deep, slit into fine fringes so as to leave them connected by only a half-inch strip of skin. Beads may be strung on these. Similar strips of fringe are attached to a man's shirt. Hair that is cut off in mourning is tied in little rolls all over the dress; a man uses

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[339] *Op. cit.*, 258, pl. 17.

291 his in the same way to decorate his shirt. Sometimes bits of captured
• 531 scalp are sewn in rows down each breast of a woman's dress.[290]

Two women's dresses of buckskin were observed in the collections of the Field Museum of Natural History. One of these (no. 61683) had a beaded yoke decoration that dipped downward sharply on the breast. This consisted of irregularly horizontal, parallel bands of small trade beads; the bands alternately black and white were about one inch wide. These were sewed directly to the body of the garment, there being no separate yoke-piece. The thread or sinew on which the beads were threaded passed through the buckskin only at each edge of the band, i.e., the rows of beads in each band formed taut loops an inch long. The shoulder seams were hidden by extra strips of skin. The fringes under the sleevelets and down each side of the body were twisted in pairs. Pendants on the front of the garment and on the right sleeve bore brass beads.

The second dress (no. 61981) was "said to be over 100 years old." It was decorated with glass beads, thimbles, coins, and other trade articles. "The Chinese brass coins are dated in the periods of Shun-chi (1644–61), K'ang-hi (1662–1722), K'ien-lung (1736–95), and Kia-k'ing (1796–1820)." Pendants below the yoke bore green glass beads and brass thimbles; those near the bottom of the dress had strings of black glass beads with a central blue bead. The beaded yoke-decoration did not dip so markedly on the breast as that described above. The bands of beads were of the same width as those mentioned above and sewed in the same fashion, except that a quarter-inch of bare space was left between the bands. These spaces were then painted red. A red band crossed horizontally below the yoke, again at the waist, and near the bottom. Each band of beads consisted of alternate rows of colored and white beads; in order from the top to bottom the bands bore colored beads as follows: red, green, black, (?), red, blue, blue, red, dark blue, red. The dress originally had two more bands below these but they have been replaced by rows of pendants. Excluding the second row (green) this looks like a symmetrical color scheme; red, blue-black, red, blue, and reverse.

291 Barrett observes that "the women also wore a cape or, more properly speaking, a blanket, made of shredded tule or of sage-brush bark, or of a combination of the two." We may hazard the guess that the technique is open-twine like the mats.[291]

291
531 In the Field Museum collections are certain cloth bands (nos. 61985–86) bearing bead disks which are described as "dress ornaments" but which are probably ornaments attached to the middle of robes or blankets in Plains fashion. These are bands of red flannel, thirty inches long and about three wide. One bears four disks: one at each end, the other two equally spaced between. The second band has only two disks, both near one end but spaced like those of the first band. The beaded disks, four inches in diameter, were made up of spirally arranged rows of beads; the ground color was blue and white, with an outer row of yellow. It is noteworthy that each new colored

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[290] The general style of the women's dress is illustrated by a Klickitat specimen (Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians, 1:713).

[291] *Op. cit.*, 255.

row always began at the same radius, as in the manner of basket decoration. 291
Pendants were attached to the periphery of each disk. These were formed of 531
a continuous strand of black and white beads attached at intervals so as to hang in long loops.

Basket hats are worn by both sexes. That of women is called k!ɛmû, of men, k!ane'o. Women and old men wear them at all times, younger women more than the elderly, and the younger men only when they are needed as protection against the pack strap. The small, snug-fitting hats are quite decorative with their contrasting designs, and are clearly thought so. Gala hats are studded with beads. They come halfway down the forehead, are nearly hemispherical yet flat on top. These are made in twined weave of various materials. Women's hats bear woven designs, men's are painted. Men's hats are said [765] to have had short brims even prior to the coming of the whites. Widows must wear old hats blackened with pitch, if they wear any; otherwise they are open to ridicule.

Men wear a cylindrical hat or headdress (te'uyäs) in war, ten or more inches high, and as low as the eyebrows. Made of cottonwood bark (wula'l), it is open at the top, but may be brought together in a point if made of skin; otter, coyote, beaver, skunk, or elk hide. Badger and raccoon skin is not used. These bear painted decorations: large zigzag lines around the hat; and several feathers are fastened in the top. Gatschet speaks of them as "wide brimmed."[292]

A cylindrical bark hat, said to have been worn by a chief, is in the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 61725). This is about seven inches in diameter, nine high. The ring of bark is lapped and sewn with a running stitch. The decoration on the light surface is by a series of triangles along the top and bottom margins, with circles at intervals between these. The triangles have their bases on the margins; each consists of a black line within a red line; there are no base lines. The circular decorations consist of a black spot within a red ring. A pendant is fastened on each side at the top, consisting of a bunch of long hair wrapped at the proximal end with fur.

Other hats are made of the scalp of deer or bear, including the 291
ears, but not the face. Rawhide vizors, such as those used by other tribes are unknown, but Barrett mentions a similar sunshade of plain-twined tule.[293]

Hairdress is simple. Men wear the hair long, parted on the left 302
side, with a braid lying in front of each shoulder or a single queue behind. The braids are wrapped with strips of otter fur. This is the style of the Plains and Plateau. Women and girls also wear their hair

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[292] 1:92. He may have had in mind the basket hat.

[293] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17.

The judicial function of chiefs, dispensing fines and punishments, is 177
known to have been derived from the Columbia river tribes at 622
this time.

Some trade articles not manufactured by the Klamath also pertain to this era: parfleches, skin bags, and buffalo hides from Warm 439
Springs and the Dalles, flat basketry bowls from Pit river through
the Modoc, and beads, even dentalia, from the same southern source
or from the Shasta.

The second quarter of the last century saw the coming of the 177
horse. Ogden remarked on only one among them in 1826, but they
began to be obtained in numbers, probably from Warm Springs, about 231
1840. There can be little question that with the horse came elements
of Plains culture from the half-Plains tribes of the Columbia-Snake,
the adoption of predatory habits, and the great stimulus to slave-raiding
and to slave-trading with the people at the Dalles on the
Columbia.

Both tradition and inference assign Plains traits to this period. 177
The relative newness of Plains style of dress is attested by the incompleteness
with which it was adopted. It was never the universal garb, [291]
but confined to the wealthiest, and, most significantly, proscribed at
the performances of shamans and the Ghost dance. Further, men [714]
did not wear Plains costume to war and set out on their raids afoot,
even after the acquisition of horses, which suggests that the new
accouterment and habits had not taken firm root. The circular shield,
which also was never in general use, may well have come in at this
time. The earlier types of Plains garments here were only simply [291]
decorated or not at all. It is known that the elaborate beading of the
yoke and the use of scalps, etc., for appendages on women's dress, and [531]
the painted designs on men's shirts, are much more recent than the
first adoption of these garments. These local changes probably reflect
a similar transformation in decoration in the southern Plateau.
Possibly the dome-shaped sweat-lodge was introduced at this early [343]
period. It seems to have been displacing the small earth-covered
affair for some time. But the latter is also generically the eastern
type, not the Californian, and is without doubt older than this incursion
of Plains elements in the early nineteenth century. Finally, I
cannot avoid the feeling that the sense of tribal solidarity, in which,
even though but slightly developed, the Klamath differ from their
Californian neighbors, dates from this contact with Plains-like peoples.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
411 1004. Head, minus foreshaft	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	−	.
1005. Bird arrow with cross-stick tip	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	.	+	+	.	.
1006. Bird arrow, wrapped tip	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	.	−	.
†1007. Feathering tangential	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	.	.
1008. Feathering radial, 3 vanes	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+
1009. Spiraled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−
[53] 1010. Arrows painted	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+
[424] 1011. For identification	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	+	+	−	−	.	.
1012. Pyrographic ornament	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.
1013. Arrows grooved	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	(+)	.	.	.	.
[278] 1014. Arrow poison	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	.	−	+	−	−	.	+	+
1015. Liver or gall	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	.	•+	.
1016. Snake venom	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
1017. Red ants	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
1018. Flint from certain places poisonous	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	.	.	.	.
1019. Flint of certain varieties poisonous	−	+	+			•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	.
Arrow Straighteners and Smoothers																
1020. Abrasive stone smoother	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	.	.	−	+	+
1021. 1-piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	.	.	−	−	−
1022. 2-piece	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	−	+	+
1023. Longitudinal groove	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	−	+	+
1024. Made purposely			.				−	+	−	−	+	.	.	−	+	+
1025. Natural, worn down			.				+	−	+	+	−	.	.	−	−	−
1026. Scouring rush for smoothing	−	+	.	+	.	o	o	+	−	o	−	.	.	−	−	−
1027. 1-piece stone straightener	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1028. Transverse groove(s)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1029. Perforated straightener or wrench	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	.	.	−	.	−
1030. Of horn	−	−	.	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	.	−	.	−
1031. Of stone	−		.	+	•+	+	+	−	•+	−	+	.	.	−	.	−
1032. Of wood	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.	.	−	.	−
1033. Forked wooden straightener	−	+	.	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	.	.	.	−
1034. Arrows warmed before straightening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1035. Straightened in hot ashes	−		+								−	+	+	+	.	+
1036. Straightening with hands and teeth	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1037. Straightening over knee	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	.	.	−	+	+
1038. Arrows	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	+
1039. Spear poles	+	+	+							+	+	.	.	−	+	+
Shooting Techniques																
1040. Primary arrow release	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	−	+	+	+
1041. Tertiary arrow release	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1042. Mediterranean arrow release	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−
1043. Bow held horizontally	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1044. Bow held at 45° angle from horizontal	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1045. Bow held vertically	−	−	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1046. Arrow to right of bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1047. Arrow to left of bow	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1048. Arrow rests on top of bow	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	.	+
Quivers																
415 1049. Cased rawhide, fur left on	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1050. Buckskin, sewn	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1051. Bark	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1052. Twined tule	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1053. Carried on back	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1054. Carried at side under arm	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1289. Parallel warp, oval or triangular													+	+	+	+
1290. Radiating warp, circular	+	+	+	−			+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1291. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
1292. Parallel warp, oval or triangular	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
1293. Radiating warp, circular	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1294. Coiled, circular	−	−	−	−	•R	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
1295. For winnowing, sifting, or parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1295a. Used as meat, fish platter	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1296. Boiling basket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1297. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1298. No decoration	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1299. Overlay designs	−	+	−	−	−	•−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1300. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1301. No decoration	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
1302. Designs	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+
1303. Necked water bottle	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1304. Diagonal twine	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1305. Pitched	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1306. Burden baskets	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1307. Plain openwork twine	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
1308. True cone, pointed bottom	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1309. Truncated cone, flat bottom	+	+	•+	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1310. Diagonal twine (at bottom only)	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	−	−
1311. Used mainly for packing wood, acorns	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1312. Plain closework twine	−	−	+	(−)	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1313. True cone, pointed bottom	−	−	•−	•−	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1314. Rounded bottom	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1315. Truncated cone, flat bottom	+	+	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1316. Diagonal twine (at bottom only)											+	+	.	.	.	.
1317. Used mainly for small seeds	+	+	+	−+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1318. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1319. True cone	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1320. Rare	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−
1321. Coating	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
1322. Of soaproot	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1323. Of pitch	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1324. Circular storage basket, wide mouthed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1325. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1326. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Small round baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1328. Sides straight or flaring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1329. Globular	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1330. Close-twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	(+)	T	−	−	−	−
1331. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1332. Baskets used chiefly, as dishes and containers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Baskets: Decoration

285
531
[237]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1333. Overlay twining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	.	−	−	−
1334. Banded woven ornament	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
1335. Sparingly used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	−	−
1336. Shell-bead decoration	−	+	+	R	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1337. Porcupine-quill decoration	•+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1338. Feather decoration	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	•+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1339. On sides of basket	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	285
1340. Patterns in 2 kinds of feathers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	531
1341. Patterns in 3 colors besides background	•-	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	•+	•+		-	-	•-	•-	-	
Cradles																	
1342. Sitting type	•-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	854
1343. "Toe" (Hupa) type	-	-	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1344. Shallow type	-	•+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1345. Basketry, oval outline	-	•+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1346. Vertical warps	-	•+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1347. Rod rim	-	-	-	+	+			-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	
1348. Board	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1349. Y frame	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1350. Y-kite frame	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1351. Head covering	-	•+	•+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1352. Bed or leg rest bar at bottom	-	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1353. Lying type	•+	•R	-	-	•R	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1354. Board	•+	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1355. Y-kite frame	-	-	-	-	R	•-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
1356. Kite frame	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	
1357. Willows transverse across frame	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	
1358. Basketry	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1359. Oval outline	•+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1360. Rectangular or triangular outline	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1361. Vertical warp	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1362. Rod rim	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1363. Soft tule bed attached	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1364. Soft tule, grass bed separate	•+	•R	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	
1364a. Crossbar rest for child's legs	•+	•R	-		•R												
1365. Cradle hood	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
1366. Twined weave	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
1367. Parallel warp	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
1368. Radiating warp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1369. Hoop or sticks, across top of cradle.	•R	•R	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1370. Buckskin draped over hoop	R	R	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1371. Pendants from top or hood	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	R	-	+	+	+	-	
1372. Cradle lashing	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1373. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1374. Woven vegetable fiber	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1375. Cradle entirely buckskin covered	-	•R	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1376. Infant's sex indicated on cradle	+	•R	+	+	•R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	+	[858]
1377. By hood design	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1378. Diagonal lines: boy	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1379. Zigzag line	-		-	-	R	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1380. Boy	-		-	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1381. Girl	-		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1382. Diamond chain: girl	-		-	-	R	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1383. By lashing design	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1384. By position of rim rod	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
1385. By shape of cradle	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1386. Girl's cradle wider at bottom	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1387. Girl's cradle wider at top.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Blankets																	
1388. Woven rabbitskin blankets, made locally	-	+	-	-	o	+	+	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	281 286

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1633. Cut with stone knife	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	R	R	.	.	–	–	–	•+	304
1634. Cut with porcupine quill	–		–				+	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	–	
1635. Charcoal rubbed in	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	R	R	.	.	–	–	–	–	
1636. Soot rubbed in	–	–	.	+				+	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	–	
1637. Plant juice rubbed in	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	+	
1638. Burning	+	+	+		+				+	+	+	R	–		–	–	
1639. On arms	+	+	+						+	–	+	R	–		–	–	
1640. Depilation	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	
1641. Eyebrows	–	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	
1642. Beard	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	•+	+	
1643. Deer-bone tweezers		–					+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	
1644. Plucking with fingers	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	–	+	
1645. Ashes on fingers, for plucking	+	+	+								–	.	.	+	–	–	
1646. Plucking, stone flake opposed to fingernail	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	
1647. Shaving with obsidian or flint	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	
1648. Beard allowed to grow	–	–	•+	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	–	–	

Ear, Nose Ornaments; Necklaces, etc.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1649. Earrings	•R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	301
1650. Bone ring	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1651. Clamshell beads	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1652. Buckskin string	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1653. Dentalia pendant	R	–	+	+	(+)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1654. Flat shell pendants	–	+	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1655. Haliotis pendant	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
1656. Ear stick: wooden	•R	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	•+	•+	
1657. Worn when hole healing, only	R	+	–			+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	•–	
1658. Worn during dances only						–		–					+	+	+	+	[535]
1659. Plain, 1/2-inch long				.		+	+	+			+	–	+	–	–	–	
1660. Painted design	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	[531]
1661. Burned design	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1662. Shell beads or pendant on end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	
1663. Ear tube: bone	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	(–)	+	+	–	+	
1664. Worn when hole healing, only	–	–	+			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1665. Applied decoration																•+	
1666. Feathers on end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1667. Shell beads or pendant on end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1668. Ear tube: shell	R	–	+	–	(+)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	
1669. Solid-shell cylinder	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	
1670. Dentalium	R	–	+	–	(+)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1671. Feather in ear	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
1672. Quill alone in ear	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1673. Flowers in ear	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	(+)	–	
1674. Nosepins	R	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	
1675. Bone, bipointed	R	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	
1676. Solid-shell cylinder	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1677. Dentalium through nose	R	+	+	+	+	+	•(–)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1678. Wooden nosepin	R	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1679. Feather	R	–	+	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1680. Nose pendants	R	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1681. Bone ring			–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1682. Strings of beads	R	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1683. Necklaces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1684. Deer hoofs or dewclaws	–	+	–	•+	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1685. Bear teeth	.	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	
1686. Elk teeth	(+)	+	+								–	+	–	–	–	.	
1687. Bear claws	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	
1688. Bird claws	.	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1844. Shell embroidery	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	291
1845. Painted, top front	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[531]
1846. Painted, seams	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	
1847. Slippers	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1848. Woven bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1849. Tule, twined	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1850. Sandal	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1851. Hide	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1852. Bark	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1853. Leggings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1854. Tule, twined	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1855. Fur piece	(+)	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1856. Buckskin	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1857. Sewed	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1858. Fringed	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1859. Painted	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1860. Porcupine-quill decoration							+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[237]
1861. Tied at knee and ankle	–	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1862. Knee-to-ankle length	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1863. Hip-to-knee length	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1864. Snowshoes	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	o	
1865. Circular	•+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	(+)	–	o	481
1866. Oval	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	o	–	+	o	
1867. Kite-shaped	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1868. Lashing withes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	o	–	+	o	
1869. Lashing buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	o	+	–	o	
1870. Lashing rawhide	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	o	–	–	o	
1871. Lashing of fiber string	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	–	–	o	
Ceremonial Dress																	
1872. Feather garment on net foundation	–	–	–	–	(R)	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	292
1873. Half length	–	–	–	–	(R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	237
1874. Tied over shoulders	–	–	–	–	(R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1875. Held up by shoulder straps	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1876. Tied under arms	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
1877. Full length, neck to ankles	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
1878. Down-feather ropes or strings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	•–	•–	–	•+	•+	.	•+	•+	
1879. Yellowhammer-quill band	–	–	–	–	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1880. Feather tips at intervals	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
1881. Feathers solid, edge untrimmed	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1881a. Feathers solid, edge trimmed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
1882. Worn across forehead	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1883. Ends extend, side of head	–	–	–	–		–					+	+	–	+	+	–	
1884. Worn as belt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1885. Worn as bracelet	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[301]
1886. Worn as necklace	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–	
1887. Worn as bandolier	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
1888. Worn over head and down back	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1889. Decorated with beads	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
1890. Used as dance ornament	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[535]
1891. Used by doctor	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	[756]
1892. Whole yellowhammer feathers solid on headband	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1893. All same direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1894. Worn across forehead	–	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1895. Worn as belt	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1896. Worn as bracelet	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[301]
1897. Worn as necklace	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1898. Worn in head net	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1899. Worn over head and down back	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

411 single shaft, no head used for war. String attached to arrow to retrieve. (AW: in myth Butterfly shoots arrow with string attached; arrow-
chain motif.) Arrow poison made from blood.
[413] Arrow straighteners and smoothers.--1-piece
stone straightener with incised design, used
mainly for cane shafts; heated before using.
Shooting techniques.--Secondary arrow release.
Mongolian arrow release. Clubs and spears.--
Manufactured cylindrical stone club. Curved
rabbit club. Spear with wooden point. Spear
thrower. Daggers and armor.--Horn, wooden dag-
[714] gers. Bark armor. Rawhide shield, round or
rectangular.

Household Implements

412 Mortars and pestles.--Portable stone mortar,
outside natural. Coiled hopper basket; hopper
415 basket stuck fast to pounding slab with pitch.
Stone pestle with bulb end and slender body.
Metate used on both sides. Loop-handled muller.
Brushes.--Leaves glued to stick with pitch.
Porcupine tail, rodent tail for mealing. Stirrers, lifters, spoons, knives.--Looped-stick
stirrer. 2 sticks, bound at 1 end, for stone
tongs. Horn spoon used by men only. Tortoise-
shell dipper. Gourd dipper. Rodent foot as
spoon. Cane knife.

Manufacturing Implements

413 Net shuttle, drills, fire making, mauls.--
Flat round stick, bone or horn 1-piece shuttle.
Vise for drilling: split stick, hide. Stone
bowl to carry coals. Pear-shaped stone maul;
partly shaped stone maul. Adzes, axes.--Curved-
handle adz; D-shaped-handle adz; elbow-shaped-
handle adz. Stone, bone, horn, shell blades.

MANUFACTURES

Textiles

285 Baskets: weaves.--Coiling: rods vertical;
rod-and-splint foundation; grass-bundle foundation. Coiling toward right of worker. Awl
enters inside of basket. Start a piece of hide.
415 Baskets: uses and shapes.--Seed beater of wicker
weave. Deep sifter or winnower, pointed bottom,
Hupa type. Boiling basket in diagonal twine.
Necked water bottle in plain twine. Necked
water bottle with earth smeared over pitch.
Bell-shaped, Pomo-type burden basket; cylindrical or barrel-shaped burden basket. Elliptical
coiled storage basket, Pomo type. Tulare "bottleneck" baskets. Cylindrical side-opening
415 dance basket, Hupa type. Baskets: decoration.--
531 Break in banded woven ornament, to let soul out.
Feather decoration on rim or shoulder. Entire
basket feather covered. Patterns painted on
854 baskets. Cradles.--Deep, Pomo-type sitting

[164-A]

000 AE: Used for packing dried meat; ču'wi. MF, NF, NM, MV: Rectangular strip of rawhide, folded long way, edges sewn together at both ends, top left open; buckskin thong attached for handle (?).

929. AW: Use tanned hide, but with hair left on; holes cut in flaps in order to lace bag together.

938. SW: Affirmed, but could not describe. AW: If person not too sick, or only 1 carrier available, make large frame resembling baby cradle; buckskin attached to frame, and person packed on back, "as one packs baby." WM, WS: Circular willow frame, with 3-4 parallel willow bars lashed across it. Salmon laid at right angles to these bars, with heads and tails tied to circular frame; whole carried flat against person's back, with aid of pack strap.

939. Mo: For fine seeds. Informant's mother, grandmother had used this type container. SE: Shape similar to pack basket; made on wooden hoop, of hide from which hair has been removed; atsori. "Can pack anything in it, from child to fine seeds." Mo, SW: Used principally for transporting small seeds.

482 943. Consists of 2 parallel poles, with net or thongs stretched between; borne by 2 or 4 men, using pack straps.

944. Outstretched skin borne by 4 men, 2 in front, 2 behind.

483 945. Kl: Bundle of willows (see Spier, Klamath, p. 171). Mo: Length variable, according to load; dragged by men or women, with rope. SW: Deer dragged home whole over snow, in winter; no sled.

000 Methods of packing.--

952. MF: For small loads only.

953. AW: Used chiefly for transporting sick.

[482] 958. Kl: In flat-bottomed basket; occasionally.
[415] Mo: Occasionally only. SW: Ascribed to Karuk.
MV: Perhaps recently acquired habit, learned from
Mexican fruit pickers? Colusa Indians (Patwin),
in heart of fruit-picking district, characterized
as "great to carry loads thus."

962. At, AW: Long, heavy pieces of wood.

963. MM, MF: Corpse, in flexed position for burial. NS: Deer.

964. SW: Ascribed to Karuk. At: "Some carry water thus." AW: Children, carrying small baskets of water. WS: Baskets of water carried thus; such also carried inside pack basket, on back. MV: Not only liquids; anything heavy.

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

Bows.--

965. AE: Generally used; made of white juniper. "Some men try to put sinew backing on these bows, but sinew always peels off." See note 969.

● [531] 966. Unpainted, all groups.

967. Mo: Mountain mahogany used for bow. SW:

000 Several layers of sinew glued, successively, to back of bow. AW: Young juniper used for bow; burnt or split; smoothed with pumice. AE: See notes 965, 969. WM: Sinew not used; salmon skin applied to back of bow, in 2 layers, "to make bow stronger." Skin warmed before applying; is sticky, so no glue needed.

968. AW: Made by male specialists; article of trade.

[411
439] 969. Kl: "Klamath and Modoc bought bows from the Shasta; also made own bows." AE: Proper woods for making sinew-backed bows lacking in area; "at Fall River Mills, and W of there, the farther W you go, the better the bows are." MM: Wood for bows imported; bows made locally.

975. SW: Grip more constricted, center bowed in more pronouncedly than bow in Dixon, Shasta, p. 437, fig. 106.

[411
227] 976. Deer sinew.

978. SW: Strips of sinew "fine as hair" taken from backbone of deer, chewed, stretched strand by strand on rock; several strands glued together with fish glue. No rolling of bowstring between palms. Bowstring of this type shown in Dixon, Shasta, fig. 106; in fig. 105, string should not be twisted. WM: Fine strands of sinew rolled together with salmon glue; long lengths of this stretched between 2 trees; when used as bowstring this sinew will not snap.

979. Mo: For boy's, poor person's bow. AW: For winter hunting use fiber bowstring; does not break as sinew does when wet. Same applies to arrow-point lashing material.

980a. AE: Used occasionally, but "breaks too easily."

[531
411] 981. Backed bows only. WM: Blue, with clay obtained in mountains.

Arrows.--

411 983. For shapes described by elements 984-987 see figures below. Within area surveyed, many

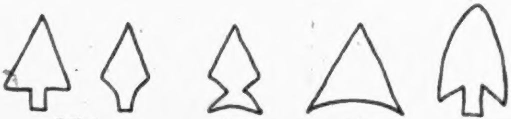

members of more northerly groups frequently mentioned Glass Mountain in Modoc territory as source of supply for obsidian arrowheads. At: "Old people brought pieces of obsidian home, and anyone bought it from them." AW: Obsidian-tipped arrows used chiefly for hunting deer, grizzly, other large game, and for war. WM: 2-3 men make trip to Glass Mountain; trip takes 2-3 days; men fast throughout period of absence, as obtaining flint is semireligious quest. WS: "Not every man had obsidian-tipped arrows; the obsidian was hard to get, and only 3-4 people

[191-A]

000 decorated with this overlay; therefore boiling baskets not decorated.

1303. AE: Imported, mainly, from Paiute groups adjoining AE on E, but a few also manufactured by AE. Have used them "for many years; the Paiute got that jug from a little horntoad that lives out on the desert; he had one of these, so they learned from him. Then the AE learned from the Paiute, a long time ago."

1305. AE: Some dislike expressed for pitch coating; water tastes "bitter."

1306. AW: Three types used: (1) large basket, used for transporting fine seeds. (2) large, used for carrying wood, acorns, other large objects. (3) smaller than first type and made to sit flat on ground. Used in conjunction with beater, when collecting fine seeds; during day's gathering woman dumps contents of this seed basket into larger basket of first type, which is true pack basket, and carries seeds home in latter. Distribution of such a separate seed-collecting basket probably widespread in California, but as matter not enquired into fully enough among various groups, all conical seed baskets are classed herein as pack baskets, although seldom regarded as such by those making and using them. WT: Three types used: (1) Large basket with designs on it; used for packing. (2) Large basket, used as pack basket. (3) Smaller basket with designs; used to beat seeds into. Some question as to whether third type has rounded bottom or is truncated cone, but it sits by itself at any rate.

1307-1308. AW: Refer to large pack basket used for acorns only. WT: Refers to large plain pack basket.

1309. SE: Specimens of such, attributed to Shasta, seen in display at Lassen National Park Museum. AW: Refers to small seed gathering basket (type 3; see note 1306).

1311. AW: Refers to large pack basket (type 2; see note 1306).

1312. AW, WT: Entry refers to types (1) and (3); see note 1306.

1313. SE, SW: Specimens of close-twined conical burden baskets, attributed to Shasta, seen in collection of Lassen National Park Museum, however. AW, WT: Refers to type (1) only; see note 1306.

1314. WT: Entry refers to type (3) only; see note 1306.

1315. AW: Entry refers to type (3) only; see note 1306.

1317. AW, WT: Entries refer to types (1) and (3) only; see note 1306.

Baskets: decoration.--

285
531
237
178
000

1337. Kl: Formerly used in natural color, now dyed yellow. Kl, Mo: Used on "expensive" baskets only.

1338. At: "Shiny feathers from duck's neck; used sparingly. NS: Woman making feather-decorated basket remains indoors until basket

0.00 completed; reason unknown. MV: Small basketry disks, used as earrings, only variety feather-decorated basketry ware.

1340. NS: Woodpecker and quail crests used. MV: Woodpecker, quail, and mallard duck feathers used.

285 1341. Kl: Black, white, tan; porcupine quills
531 natural color formerly; now dyed yellow. Mo:
237 Yellow, black and white, plus tan background.
178 WM, WS: Red, black, white, yellow, plus tan.
NM, NS: Red, white or tan, black. No specimens of any 4-color baskets seen.

Cradles.--

854 1342-1352. Two types cradles entered under elements 1342-1352 for several groups. If entry refers to 1 of 2 types only, note records to which entry refers. Positive entry without note means entry applies to both types. For additional data on use of cradles see 3263-3286. Kl: Cradles of indeterminate type, between sitting and lying forms; have been somewhat arbitrarily entered as lying form (see 1353-1363). 000 Mo: Indeterminate type, like Kl, but apparently used more as sitting than lying cradles. Type (1) first cradle, for newborn babe; shallow tule basket cradle. Type (2) second cradle, for older infant; willow cradle with pointed bottom that can be stuck in ground. SE: (1) First cradle; board (see left figure). (2) Second cradle for older infant, Y-frame (see right figure). Informant emphatic infant sits in both types cradle, "with feet hanging down," although child could also lie down in both types. SW: Types (1), (2) for newborn infants, older infants differ only in size; both always used as sitting cradles. At: (1) soft tule cradle, used 2-3 months. (2) Same shape cradle, used for older infant. AW: (1) small cradle for newborn infant, twined, of wil-

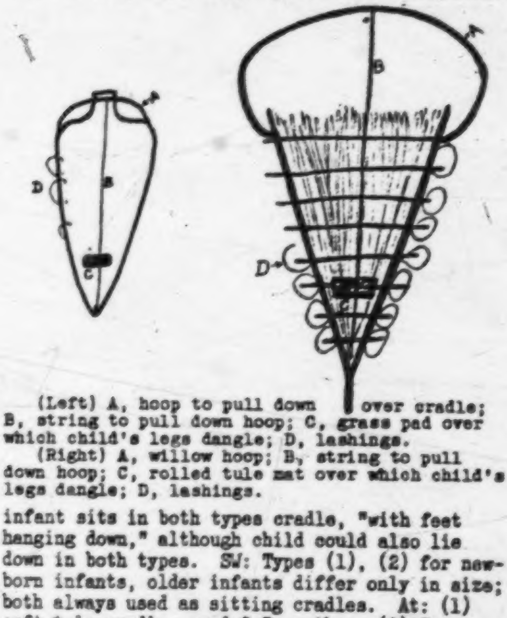

(Left) A, hoop to pull down over cradle; B, string to pull down hoop; C, grass pad over which child's legs dangle; D, lashings.

(Right) A, willow hoop; B, string to pull down hoop; C, rolled tule mat over which child's legs dangle; D, lashings.

177 Modoc War [1872-73]. There were no White people
291 in the Kl country yet, or at Portland. The Kl
traded with the Molala and the Warm Springs In-
439 dians and the Yakima; the Warm Springs and Yakima
had more horses; the Kl had only a few." SE:
000 From Warm Springs Indians. "Those Indians up
there are much smarter. The SE traded bone beads
[dentalia] for women's buckskin dresses and men's
shirts from them; SE went N and got otter skins
for button [clamshell disk] beads."

[291] 1753. Varies, according to size of woman wearer. AW: 2-3 skins. WT: 1 skin, if from big buck.

1755. WT: 2 front legs used to tie skin at back of neck.

1757. Crude-type dress, little better than 2 whole skins, tied together over shoulders and at sides, to cover front and back of wearer.

[291] 1758. SW: Tied at shoulders, but not at waist.

[177] 1768. Kl: Glass trade beads.

[531] 1770. SW: Men's everyday shirt. At: "Atsugewi men wore buckskin all the time; that's why they called him rich." AE: Recency of buckskin shirt denied.

[177]
[291]
[439] 1771. Kl: Men's buckskin shirt acquired from Molala about same period as women's buckskin gown (see note 1752). SE: See note 1752.

1772. MM: 1-2 skins.

1773. See note 1757.

1780. SW: Sleeves, of elbow or wrist length, sometimes set into armholes, especially for winter wear.

1784. At: Lacking on buckskin shirt, but 2 bone beads sewed onto front of poncho-type shirt (see element 1785).

1785. At: Worn by Madesi Achomawi also.

Loin coverings.--

1786. SE, SW, At, AE: Worn by men, women. WT, MM: Worn by men. SW: Women wear breechclout underneath skirts, but never use it as sole garment, as men often do. AW: All breechclouts (i·čiti) pass between legs, but different methods of tying them at waist; some are tied at sides. AE: Whole buckskin, legs left on; trimmed narrow where it passes between legs. Ends pass over belt tied around waist; flaps hang down over belt in back, front, "like little aprons." Men, some women wear them always; women generally in summer.

1787. SW: Breechclout made from smoked buckskin, tanned soft. If wet, rubbed and reworked until soft again. Flap of breechclout falls down in front over belt.

1788. SW: For makeshift garment only.

1793. MM: Worn in summer.

1794. MF: Tanned, with hair removed.

1795. According to size of woman.

1796. Skins sewed or tied together; tail left on back skin.

1798. MM: Winter only.

1801. SW: Informant credited Kammatwa and Katiruk groups, between Shasta proper and Karuk

[199-A]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K U shamans, individually or in a group, give public performances to
756 invited audiences. It is at this time, too, that novices first demon-
796 strate their powers. The guests bring their own food, depositing
[221] it outside the shaman's house, and take their place by families
K along the wall. A ceremonial pole has been erected outside, bear-
M [778] ing painted designs and hung with symbols of the shaman's
[531] tutelary spirits. Inside, the house posts are also painted, and
stuffed birds and animals, representing the shaman's powers,
hang from the beams: they transform a residence into a holy
place. The shaman wears sacred regalia, including a fillet of
woodpecker scalps, and spectators must be clad in traditional
K clothing. Children are excluded from all but the sleight-of-hand
M demonstrations at night, since at other times they might be
[858] imperiled. Modoc children are not allowed to attend any part
of the seances.

Each shaman has an interpreter—who habitually assists him in curing as well—and who summons the spirits from their distant places, lights the shaman's pipe, repeats his words, and provides other aid. For the performance a caller is also chosen and, together with one or more singers, he leads the audience in dancing and in singing the sacred songs of the shaman.

For five days and nights—only nights for the Modoc—the performance continues. During this time the shaman, when he is not dancing, sits or lies on his bed and observes a fast. The first ceremony is a fire dance by the shaman and helpers while the caller invokes the spirits; it is followed by the singing of the spirit songs. Among the Modoc, successive nights are spent in singing the spirit songs, and for those shamans who are richly endowed with spirit associates, there is no repetition. In the longer Klamath ceremonies—which extend through the day as well—evenings are given over to shamanistic performances, restricted by the
K Modoc to the final evening. Each shaman must demonstrate his
M ability to swallow fire and arrowheads; and some swallow splints,
[789] sticks, or prodigious quantities of water. The powers of many
enable them to produce fish, pond-lily seeds, or blood in a basket
of water; and some animate the stuffed skins suspended from the
ceiling as well. During the entire five-day period the congregation follows ritual prescription. On no other occasion are this

857 far. Some contests utilize a stationary target.
526 In others, arrows and darts are shot at a rolling
ring. The rings used by boys are smaller
than the men's.

868 Boys soon learn to make their own willow
darts for the games, are proud of them, and
often decorate them by wrapping green tules
[531] around them in designs. The darts are then
blackened in the fire and the tules unwrapped,
leaving white markings where the tules had been.
Such negative pyrographic patterns are common on
canoe poles and paddles. Girls similarly decorate
sticks "just for fun"; they do not enter
into the dart contests. The boys do not learn
to make their own bows and arrows until puberty
or after.

Training in the techniques of fishing,
gathering, hunting, and various manufactures begins
[262] in late childhood. The principal food of
the Klamath is fish, but vegetable products and
221 game are also used. The spring, summer, and
fall months are spent in travel for the seasonal
food supply. Early spring sees a move to fishing
grounds along the river. In the summer,
families move to the prairies for roots and
berries. Some go to the mountains to hunt. In
August and September families congregate to
gather the wild water-lily seed along the
marshes. In the fall there are hunts, and all
return to the winter villages where they will
remain through the coldest months of the year.[23]

226 The first sucker run in the spring is of
special significance and attended by ritual and
868 taboo.[24] Small children are warned to stay away
from the river, lest they get sick. The first
catch is divided among all; the entrails are
carefully gathered up and thrown back into the
river to insure the continued abundance of fish.
It is the children who are sent with the entrails
to the proper spot on the river. While
[251] the men continue fishing, the women clean and
dry the fish for winter storage. Girls of eight
or nine help their mothers by collecting willow
branches and arranging the fish on them to dry.

After the first run, the restrictions are relaxed. Children are then allowed to gather along the banks and watch, so long as they do not bother the men. Boys help by dipping fish out of the water by hand and by scaring fish toward the nets; but they do not work with the nets, which take at least two full-grown men to handle.

868 Spears are also used for taking fish. Boys
226 of ten or older are taken out by their fathers
into shallow water to learn how to watch for the
air bubbles that indicate the presence of fish.
The father shows the boy how to impale the victim
on a many-pointed spear and finally lift it
from the water with a single-pointed gaff. For

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[23] Spier, pp. 10 f.

[24] Varieties of fish caught, fishing techniques, and customs connected with fishing are treated in Barrett (1910), pp. 249-251, Spier, pp. 147-155, and Voegelin, elements 190-300.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

UNIV. CAL. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETH. VOL. 5, PL. II

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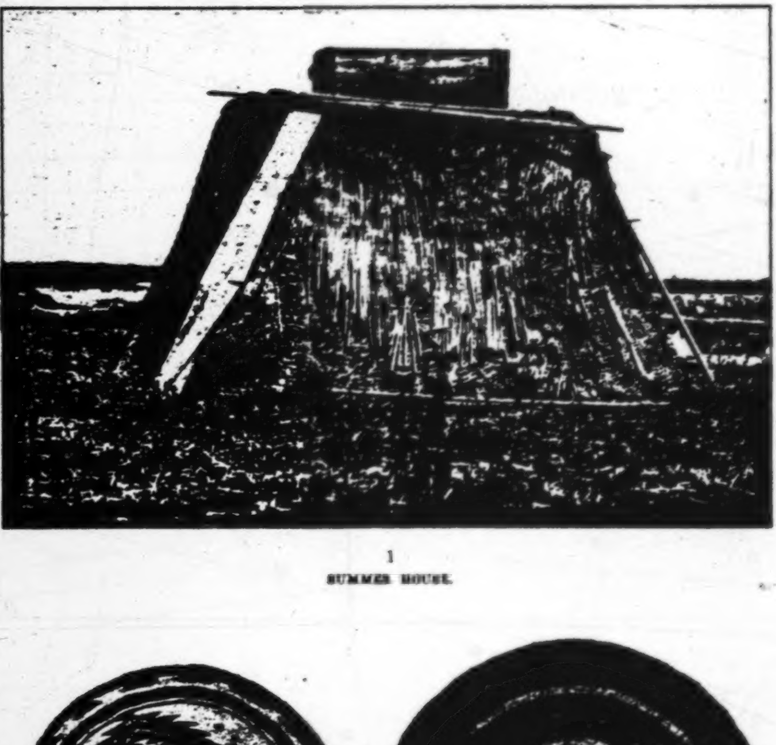

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SUMMER HOUSE.

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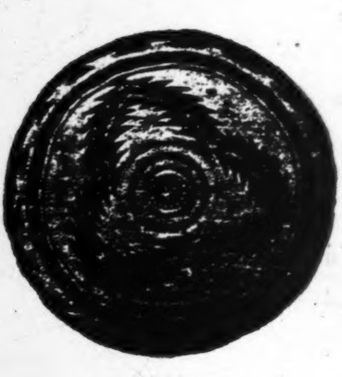

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BASKETRY TRAYS FOR GAMBLING AND SIFTING.

[p. 265]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

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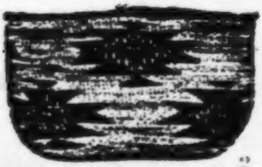

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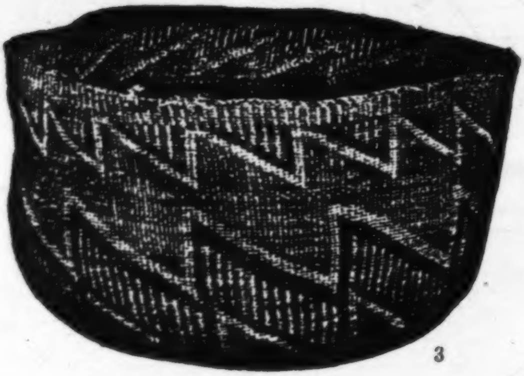

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BASKETS OF TULE.

[p. 273]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE 18.

Fig. 1.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12385. Diameter 20 cm.

Fig. 2.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12469. Diameter 17 cm.

Fig. 3.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12688. Diameter 14 cm.

Fig. 4.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12461. Diameter 14 cm.

Fig. 5.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12460. Diameter 21 cm.

Fig. 6.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12459. Diameter 21 cm.

Fig. 7.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-12802. Diameter 24 cm.

Fig. 8.—Plain-twined tule basket. Museum number 1-14229. Diameter 19 cm.

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Fig. 9.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-12738. Diameter 22 cm.

Fig. 10.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-14230. Diameter 18 cm.

Fig. 11.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-12561. Diameter 23 cm.

Fig. 12.—Woman's hat of plain-twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-12335. Diameter 20 cm.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

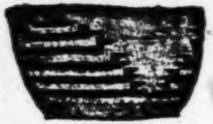
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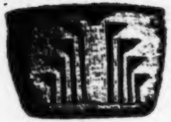
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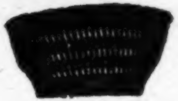
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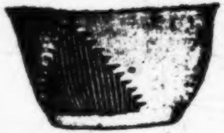
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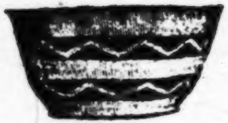
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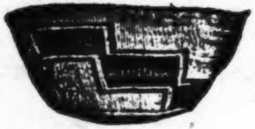
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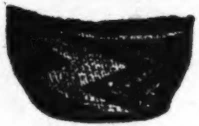
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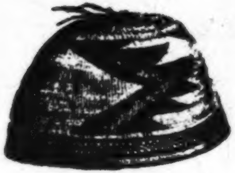
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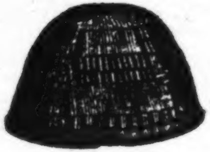
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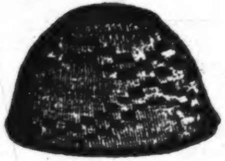
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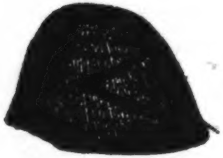
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BASKETS AND BASKETRY HATS.

[p 279]

● M K 285 531 415 → M K 285 531 291 ↓

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773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however, be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is
free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during
the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of
suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency build-
532 ings, which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face
flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also
artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the lan-
538 guage fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of
success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration, assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

Preparation of wokas

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524 Children imitate not only the daily activities of their elders, but their games as well. Little girls build little dome-shaped lodges. Their dolls are made of clay with modeled eyes, nose, and mouth, but are not dressed.[133] Both these clay images and those made of wood are called a'm'ŏs, but the wooden figures, representing the spirit Tca'ḳiaḳ, Little Boy, are not played with. Children play at shinny and double ball, and make cat's cradles. They play a game called wo'yīlĭtas wherein they run crying wo'yĭ wo'yĭ . . . . as long as their breath holds out and stand at the spot where they fail. The object is to see who can go farthest. Or they cry doŋgliu doŋgliu . . . . . Similarly, girls squat on their heels with hands on knees and jump up and down, singing la'masi, to see who can do it longest. They bet on this. A favorite spot to play this game, called salmasi'a, is at dūna'ksi on Pelican bay, where the ground resounds when they jump.

[114] It is worth noting that the number of counters used in the guessing and dice games is always twelve. In the four-stick game—I so recorded it—the counters are thought of as twelve plus two. Another of my informants spoke only of the twelve and this is the number recorded by Culin and Dorsey.[134] This number is unexpected because the pattern number of the Klamath is five. It may be that these games came to the Klamath in a form with twelve units and have not been reduced to the normal five or its multiple. How the pattern operates is illustrated by the informants' statements that five or six on a side play double ball shinny, that the perfect score in the dart game is five, and the penalty there five or more blows. On the other hand, it may be significant that I was told of six men to a side in the hand game and six in shinny. There are three possibilities; six and its multiple may be an indigenous pattern number for games, it may have been acquired as part of the game complex from other tribes, or it may be only a chance reference of the informants.

SMOKING

276 [755] Smoking is a pastime with little to suggest ceremonial usage. To be sure, the shaman smokes in the interludes of the curing ceremonies, using a special form of pipe, special tobacco mixed with reputedly poisonous roots, and prepared for him by his speaker, but he does not

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*[171] [133] The Northern Paiute make clay figurines representing horses and other animals, corrals, etc., according to my informant. The Klamath do not.

• [532] [134] Even the form of the dice game described for the "Klamath" of Siletz, involving thirteen sticks, two of which are marked, may really be intended for twelve plus one, since elsewhere only one stick of such a *set* is marked.

wind; it is really that she breaks wind. They shout to her to stop the wind when it blows too hard, to give them a stern wind to drive their canoes along, or to blow the mosquitoes away from Pelican bay. She also lives at Rocky point on Pelican bay and at Kowa'edi, at the mouth of Wood river, as the following tales[184] relate. 776

There were two young girls playing with pond-lily seed at Rocky point. This old woman came and spilled the seed all about. So they fought her, but while they were doing so, they fell over dead. When the two were found, shamans were called who cured them. These two told Nancy about this; they died only recently. 776 539

There was an old woman sleeping at the same place. She felt something very heavy sitting on her chest. She put her hand there and caught the wile'ᴇkaḳ. Still holding it she started to light a fire, but by the time she had the fire lighted, it had vanished from her grasp.

An old man at Kowa'edi was going home. He saw the wile'ᴇkaḳ sitting in his way, grunting. He was a shaman. He went right past it but it never harmed him. This sort of thing has happened many times.

Tcaḳia'ḳ may be seen anywhere, probably most frequently in water. There is one, for instance, in lower Williamson river, above the cut-off channel. One of the upright rocks at the cremation place at Pelican bay is a tcaḳia'ḳ. The name is also derived from an age term, tc!a'ki, a small boy, but the spirit is said to be no larger than a baby. He has long hair which hangs to his waist in back and he is entirely nude. The wooden images of Tcaḳia'ḳ set up by the shamans, however, have red-shafted flicker feathers around the neck. 776 [532] [756]

Gōga'nᴇ are dwarf men seen in many places but commonly frequenting the Cascade mountains. Their footprints are no longer than a baby's. While all my informants spoke of these beings, it happens that the following experiences (except the last tale) were told Nancy by an old Paiute resident of the reservation.

This man saw a gōgna'nᴇ while hunting in a canyon near Snake Camp. The little man stood up, shaded his eyes with his hand, and looked around. There were some Paiute at Snake Camp who were going to dig Indian potatoes. They saw a baby walking around. One woman picked it up. The gōga'nᴇ carried her far off to a cave in the mountains. 776 539

A Paiute woman was cutting willows. She left her little baby near-by while she worked. A gōga'nᴇ came along and, devouring the baby, substituted himself in the cradle board. When the mother came back she thought it was her own. She picked it up and began to nurse it. The baby would not stop suckling. She pinched its mouth but it would not stop, it only smiled. When she got home she heated an iron and put it against the baby's mouth, but still it just smiled. They could not get the baby away from her. Then they built a big fire. They cut her breast off, but the woman immediately died. They threw the baby into the fire,

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[184] Told by Nancy Phillips.

756 776 A shaman, ḳiu'ksmag (Shaman Man), was working in a hayfield for some whites. He lay down saying he had a headache. His spirit, the buzzard, was making him sick because he did not heed it. He told his companions to fetch him a snake. He took the little watersnake by the tail and swallowed it. He said he was cured; the snake was no longer in him but had left his body immediately.

756 The shaman is possessed during his performances. He is the vehicle of the spirit; the spirit sings with his voice, sucks with his lips, and sees with his eyes. It is not in him at other times, but in its home in the mountains or under the water and must be called on to enter his body. The shaman's behavior was instanced as follows.

A shaman, Alec Wilson, was singing of his coyote spirit during a winter performance attended by my informant Nancy, then a little girl. He chuckled for quite a time, saying, "There are lots of swamp mice here." Then he crawled across the lodge through the audience and stealing up behind Nancy bit her hard. He bit her because she was moving around.

A trance state is not part of the shaman's behavior, nor was a frenzy described. The stereotyped physiological disturbance, real or feigned, is blood gushing from the mouth while he falls unconscious. The absence of the trance state suggests that the shaman is not of necessity psychologically abnormal.

The shaman's house is always an earth-lodge and practically all 756
performances take place within it. Not only larger than the ordinary 342
dwellings, it differs from them in being decorated. It is the usual
semi-subterranean structure with a conical earth-covered roof resting
on four central posts. The entrance is by a hatchway in the roof with
the ladder at the east end. The fire is kindled directly under this
opening. The posts are painted with horizontal stripes, alternately [352]
red and white. They are not carved. According to one informant,
men's faces, snakes, lizards, animals of all sorts, but not spirits, are
painted on the posts; but I doubt this. The grass-stuffed skins of
various animals and birds, probably all of them representing the
shaman's spirits, are hung under the slanting roof beams; mink,
skunk, crane, tcauwīlō'ks (a duck-like bird), butterball duck, white
shitepoke, rattlesnake, a big speckled snake, and the dried skin of the
lizard were mentioned. The birds have outstretched wings. Standing [532]
on the roof of the lodge, on the northern side of the hatchway, is a
wooden image of tcaḳia'ḳ, the little boy spirit, made by the shaman.
Head, trunk, and arms are rudely carved and painted. Red-shafted
flicker (yellowhammer) feathers are fastened around its neck (only
shamans wear the feathers of this bird).

756 • 532 The Field Museum collection contains a carved wooden image (no. 61763) of a woman bearing a child on her back. This may be one of the figures set on a shaman's house, although I was not told of such. It is about forty inches high. The carving is rudimentary; there is nothing to indicate how the child is carried. The ear lobes of the woman's figure have been pierced and a bit of cloth inserted.

756 The stuffed skin of a blue crane is also propped up outside. I presume these are placed there only when the boy and crane are the shaman's spirits.[159] Gatschet's informant mentioned a red fox skin hanging on an oblique rod set up outside the lodge.[160] A tall slim pole, called wa‶lasdŭ'pka (wa‶las, standing up), with horizontal bands of red, is erected in front of the house, that is to the east, about fifteen feet distant. A long cord pendant from the top bears at intervals mixed bunches of feathers from eagles and other spirit birds. A miniature gambling tray tied to it belongs to a woman spirit, and near the top is a piece of wood representing the spirit wŏḳda'lls, which so far as I could learn *is* wood. Similar feather-bearing cords hang from the house posts inside the lodge, but here the gambling tray is one of standard size. All such articles, his special decorations, regalia, pipe, and baskets, are known as the shaman's mŭ'lwas, paraphernalia.

A shaman's outfit "used in certain curing rites" in the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 61564) consists of a cord at intervals on which are tied alternately short sticks and wooden tablets. The short sticks are reeds, nine in number, four to seven inches long. These have marks burned (?) transversely or spirally on them. The tablets are rectangular, with rounded corners and with a short handle at one end by which they are tied to the cord. These measure about five and a half inches long by two inches wide, and are painted red except for the section nearest the cord, which is black. The two-strand cord is also red.

756 292 The shaman's dress includes a band of woodpecker scalps worn on the forehead or around the neck, or a bunch of red-shafted flicker (yellowhammer) feathers attached to the top of the hat or worn as a necklace. Shamans alone wear these. These are the familiar ornaments of northern Californian dancers. The forehead band reaches just behind the temples; the woodpecker scalps are fastened on a buckskin foundation. The quills of the flicker feathers are doubled [302] over the cord on which they are strung. The shaman's body is painted red during the winter performances, but not at all when he is curing. That he is barefoot emphasizes the recency of moccasins. The shaman puts on special dress to cure only if the case is urgent. He then dons a mink or weasel skin hat with feathers of all sorts attached, a special

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[159] The Modoc also place them on the lodge, I was told.

[160] Gatschet, 1:71–72.

756 He sang a song of the weasel spirit. The animal rose and danced, holding up his fore paws. That evening Pat's parents took him into the lodge again. The shaman sang the weasel song again. It danced as before; then it disappeared. No one moved. It was dark in the lodge; the shaman had two men standing on opposite sides with torches. He sang a weasel song, telling them to watch for the weasel's return. Suddenly its tail appeared from the ground, shaking. He sang a second weasel song for some time and its hind quarters appeared. A third song brought the trunk, and with the fourth the weasel lay there motionless. Everyone saw it. The shaman asked, "Did you find that the weasel came back?" "Yes." "Did everyone see it?" "Yes." After this they had spirit singing again, so Pat was sent out by his mother. There were bad spirits coming, which might catch and kill him for no one could cure him.[168]

WEATHER CONTROL AND CLAIRVOYANCE

The shaman's art is not confined to these winter performances, but is invoked during the year, not only for curing, but whenever his ability to manipulate conditions and to prophesy is needed. The weather is controlled, fish are made to run, lost articles and thefts discovered, the fate of a war party is foreseen, and the community protected against malignant spirits. It is easy to see why the shaman transcends the chief in the popular mind, for there is not only the recurring winter ceremony in which the shaman alone has a stellar part, but in every emergency they turn to him, not to the chief. Even in war, the one occasion for a layman to star, the shaman steps in to dim his prominence.

756
789 There are no special weather shamans and the practice is by both sexes. There is the limitation, however, that weather control is exercised only through certain spirits, which the novice does not have.

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[532] [168] There are three stone figurines in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California (catalogue nos. 1-14181, 1-14182, 1-14212) which were said to have been collected on the Klamath reservation and to have been used ceremonially. Two roughly resemble animals, one with a pack, and the third a human bust. Repeated inquiries brought only denials from my informants of any knowledge of their use. Nor have any figurines been found in their country. They may nevertheless have been the private medicine of some shaman. Somewhat similar stone figures from the Wasco are in the collection of the Field Museum of Natural History.

[292] In the Field Museum collection is also a pair of eye rings (no. 61533), resembling our spectacle frames, which were "worn by men with blackened faces to frighten children at certain ceremonies." I learned nothing of such articles. The rings and the cords to fasten them about the head are made of strands wrapped with bark.

501 badly because of its somewhat twisted grain. The worst cracking occurs of course in the cross-grain at the ends of the canoe. Minor cracks are filled with pitch alone. A good fir canoe will last from fifteen to twenty years or more. A canoe that is properly dried before it is put into water will remain white indefinitely, but a green canoe soon blackens.

Fire is the active agent in hollowing the dugout. It takes about a week to complete a fair-sized canoe by this method. The fire is started in a long notch cut along the upper face of the log. Stones are placed at each end to confine the flame. The ends are cut off on a flat bevel at an upward angle of thirty to forty degrees with its axis. Barrett states that the angle at the prow is considerably more acute than that at the stern.[293] The gunwales are quite parallel for nearly the full length of the canoe and less than its full width, so that the sides curve inward at the top, giving a crescentic cross-section to the craft. The fire is allowed to cut the gunwales slightly wider and lower at the center so that the canoe curves upward a little at each end. And depending on how far the gunwales are cut down into the log at the ends, these are either squared across or, as is more usual, somewhat rounded. The shell is cut quite thin, a thickness of about half an inch at the gunwale and not much more in the bottom and ends. The exterior is hardly trimmed after the bark is removed, so that the whole canoe is quite cylindrical. Nevertheless the canoe has not much roll and rarely capsizes, especially if well laden, for then the flat underends steady it. The finish is quite rough, especially when compared with canoes of the lower Klamath river and those of the Northwest coast.

There are no thwarts; they are unnecessary to the paddler who sits or kneels in the bottom. But crosspieces (hehŏ'ŋkwɪs) are used to spread the gunwales while the canoe is still green or to keep them from spreading after the wood has dried.[294]

The paddle (kɛts'ek) to be light is made of cedar, four and a half to five feet long. Half its length is blade, widest near the tip which is pointed, tapering to the long thin handle which is without any sort of grip at the upper end.[295] The paddler, who sits near the stern in order to lift the prow, paddles for a time on one side, then

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[293] Material Culture, 247.

[114]
[294] Gatschet has an obscure reference to "ti'lhash as a 'swimming-sucker'-wood on canoe they stick up" (1:150), by which he may have meant a piece of wood carved to represent a swimming fish attached to the canoe.

[532]
[295] Kroeber illustrates an excellent example (Handbook, pl. 67*h*).

*171 756 Pomo ghost dancers, Cahuilla and Pima shamans. Perhaps the Nisqually trick of eating cold ashes is connected with these.[487]

Treading on fire or hot coals is no trick of the Klamath, but occurs I believe among the Modoc. It is also known from the Quinault, the Puget Sound Salish, Northeastern Maidu, and in the boys' rites of southern California. The Pomo can plunge his hands in fire; the Yurok shaman handles hot stones.[488]

The Klamath shaman can fill or empty at will a basket with live fish, pond-lily seed, or blood. The Thompson is credited with causing water to appear and disappear, the southern Yokuts with making fish appear in water, and the Pima with transforming water to wheat.[489]

The Klamath hold that food brought to the shamanistic performances is first eaten by the frog spirit. Until this spirit has partaken, the food may not be touched for fear of sickness. Similarly in a Shasta ceremonial in which a shaman frees a village of lurking disease, his guardian spirit is thought to eat food which has been brought for that purpose. If this is not forthcoming, the spirit may devour someone instead. The Takelma analogue takes a different form: a shaman must not eat before dancing, for, since the dance is reckoned food for his guardian spirit, he, the shaman, would be guilty of the impropriety of eating first.[490]

It may be that this is only a special construction put on the Klamath custom of throwing morsels of food to the spirits before one eats. Certainly the Kwakiutl who puts bits of food in the fire before the feasters eat is presenting them to the spirits of the fire.[491]

*171 756 • 532 The Klamath, and probably Modoc, shaman has set up on the outside of his dwelling a carved image of a boy or dwarf spirit. To find a carved image here is distinctly unusual in a culture in which woodworking is minimal. This seems to me to be another evidence of influence from the woodcarving area to the north. While the analogy may not be proper, it may be pointed out that to the northward a shaman, in fact everyone with a guardian spirit, carves or represents that spirit on a stick which he carries during his performances. [535] Tillamook, Chinook, and Quinault shamans have such carved sticks,

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[487] Teit, Lillooet, 289; Thompson Indians, 362; Olson, Quinault field notes; Kroeber, Handbook, 264; Hooper, Cahuilla, 331, 335; Russell, Pima, 259; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 68.

[488] Haeberlin-Gunther, *op. cit.*, 61; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 279; Kroeber, Handbook, 68.

[489] Kroeber, Handbook, 507; Russell, Pima, 258.

[490] Dixon, Shasta, 488; Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 42.

[491] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1331.

which their assistants hold or with which they dance. In fact, the use 171*
of special dance staffs is general among all Quinault who have spirits, 532
as it is among the southern Puget Sound Salish. It is strange that 756
neither Dr. Sapir nor I learned of either type of carving among the 535
Wishram, but our information is not full.[492] [114]

A tall painted pole is erected in front of the Klamath shaman's 171*
lodge from which dangles a cord bearing at intervals bunches of
feathers, a piece of wood, and a miniature gambling tray, all these 756
representative of spirits. There are analogues of this southward to the 778
Maidu. Such a pole is also erected outside a Modoc shaman's dwelling; it is painted and bears the skins and feathers of various spirit animals. It is used earlier at the novice's dance. This is described as some three or four meters high and decorated with paint and a few feathers. Such a pole is set up when a Shasta shaman rids a locality of disease: it has baskets hung from it. Again when an Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman cures, a pole is sometimes set up near the house, to which is tied a bunch of feathers (*qaqu*). The *qaqu* has a significant function; it is obtained with difficulty on his spirit quest and has the power to tell him where the disease is located. The poles used for a Northeastern Maidu shaman novice are somewhat different. They are set up on the roof of the house in which the inaugural dance takes place, and inside above the spot where he stays; others are carried to the mountains where novices go on their quests. These are short wands, a meter to a meter and a half long, variously painted, with pendent strings of feathers and acorn shells, or bunches of feathers. These have some obscure but intimate relation to his spirits. Similar wands are set up at the dedication of a new dance house by the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento valley.[493]

Among the items of a Klamath shaman's costume are a forehead 171*
band or neckband of woodpecker scalps mounted on a buckskin founda- 756
tion and a bunch of yellowhammer feathers worn on hat or neck. 292
The feathers of both these birds have value and ceremonial usage in California but not to the north.

Woodpecker scalps attain the status of money among the Yurok 171*
and perhaps their neighbors. Not only have they value in themselves,
but they are worked into ceremonial headdresses over most of northern 292
California. The Yurok and Hupa use forehead headbands like those 435

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[492] Boas, Notes on Tillamook, 10, Doctrine of Souls, 40; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[493] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130, 136; Dixon, Shasta, 475–476, 487, Notes on Achomawi, 218, Some Shamans, 24, Northern Maidu, 275–278, 312.

*171 Wooden images are unique in the non-woodworking culture of Klamath and
756 Modoc, yet this too is traceable southward from the same center.∧ It is
far less certain that clairvoyance in connection with a war party is
• 532 derived from that source, yet the trait is shared by the northern
coastal people.

*171 Some elements are local in the Oregon-north California interior.
Such is the shaman's assistant, his mouthpiece and interlocutor. He
755 is present at cures from Wishram to Achomawi; present at seances
756 from Klamath to Southern Maidu. For some of the Maidu he is a
clown, which links him with the clown among the Kuksu impersonators
of central California. There is reason to think that this functionary
is historically connected with the chief's speaker known from the
Northwest Coast through the interior to the Southwest. Other local
elements are the pole having spirit reference (Klamath to Northern
Maidu), the notion that food is first eaten by the spirits (Takelma,
Shasta, Klamath), the ridding of a locality of disease (Klamath,
Shasta, Achomawi-Atsugewi).

*171 Other elements, while local, are somewhat more widely distributed.
There is the circumspection with respect to the shaman's shadow and
756 to startling him; the notion that weather changes at birth and death;
[821] all these are common from southern British Columbia to the Maidu,
largely through the interior.

*171 The Klamath shamans' dress bears some imprint of northern and
central Californian influence in the use of woodpecker scalp head-
756 bands and of yellowhammer feathers. Both are characteristic dance
292 regalia in the south; on the Oregon border they have passed over to
237 the shamans.

In broad perspective Klamath shamanism is of generalized,
*171 undifferentiated North American type, sharing some features that are
756 local, and but moderately influenced from the Northwest Coast and
the central and northwestern foci of California. Its general nature
is recognizable in the quest and the undifferentiated power it yields;
the most marked local elements are the predisposition to inherit power,
the novice dance, and the shaman's assistant. California at large
appears in the dream as a vehicle of acquiring power; northern California in the dwarfs that figure among Klamath spirits; central California in the shaman's headdress. Northwest Coast influences are no
stronger; repossession in midwinter and the use of carvings color
Klamath shamanism only mildly.

∧ [i.e., the Northwest Coast. -Analyst]

2: Voegelin E-5 —— (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	MP	NM	NS	MV	
Clubs																	
1055. Stone clubs	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	411
1056. "Slave killer" (animal figure)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[532] ●
1057. Paddle-shaped	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1058. Imported		.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1059. Natural cobblestone, cylindrical	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1060. Wooden clubs	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	
1061. Natural limb	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	
1062. Used in brawls or to kill salmon only	+	+							+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
1063. Ball- or knob-ended	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
1064. Stone or horn spike insert	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1065. Straight rabbit club	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1066. Stone head encased in buckskin	–	(+)	.	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Fighting Spears																	
1067. Spear used in war	•R	+	+	–	•–	•–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	[726]
1068. Thrust mainly	(+)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1069. Flaked stone point	(+)	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1070. Bone or horn point	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Daggers, Slings, Bola																	
1071. Obsidian knife or dagger	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
1072. Center section buckskin-wrapped	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1073. Hafted wooden handle	–	–	–	–				+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1073a. Bone dagger, awl-shaped	–	–	–					•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1074. Sling	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1075. Used for war	–	+	.	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
1076. Used for hunting	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1077. Used as toy	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	
1078. Clay shot	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1079. Rocks for shot	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	
1080. Bola	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	•+	•+		.	
Armor																	
1081. Rod jacket	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	714
1082. Hide tunic, no rods	•+	+	+	–	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1083. Hide helmet	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1084. Circular rod shield		–				•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1084a. Hide curtain as shield	–	+	(+)	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Household Implements																	
Mortars and Pestles																	
1085. Bedrock mortar	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•o	412
1086. Portable stone mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1087. Outside rough hewn	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1088. Outside shaped and smoothed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1089. Found locally, used commonly	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
1090. Found locally, not used for grinding food	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	
1091. Found locally, used by shaman	–	•(+)	+	•–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	[756]
1092. Regarded as animate object	–	–	+	+		+	–	–						–	–	•–	[774]
1093. Regarded as dangerous or poisonous	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	•+	+	.	–	–	–	•+	
1094. Made by myth character	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	•+	.	–	–	–	–	•+	[773]

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2138. Sinew-wrapped at mouthpiece	−	+	−	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	534
o2139. End stopped	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	R	R	+	±	+	.	+	+	+	
2140. Partially stopped inside at hole	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2141. Stop of pitch	−	.	+	+	−	+	+	R	R	+	−	−	+	+	.	+	
2142. Stop of salmon glue	−	.	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2143. Stop of wood	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	.	−	
2144. Single whistle	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	
2145. 2 whistles bound together	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	R	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	
2146. Whistle worn, suspended from string around neck	−	−	+								+	+	+	+	.	+	
2147. Taboo to whistle around elderberry bush		·+	·+								+	−	+	+	−	·+	[784]
2148. Snake will strike whistler.		+	+								+	−	+	+	−	·+	
2149. Flute	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2150. Bone	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	.	−	
2151. Elder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	
2152. Cane	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
‡2153. Number of holes	3	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	−	6	
2154. Holes burnt in		+	+						R	R	+	+	−	+	−	+	
2155. Holes put in with awl									+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2156. Entire upper surface flattened			−						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2157. End blown	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	.	−	−	+	
2158. Side blown	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	(−)	+	+	+	−	+	
2159. Mouth blown	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
2160. Nose blown	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2161. Used by shaman	−	·+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	[756]
2162. Used for courting	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	
2163. Used for self-amusement	·+	−	+	·+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
Pictographs, Petroglyphs																	
2164. Pictographs, petroglyphs present in area.	·+	·+	−	−	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	532
2165. Nonhuman origin	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	.	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2166. Made by tiny people	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2167. Made by mythological characters	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2168. Bring bad luck; charm viewer	−	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[777]
2169. Impress of feet, etc., on rocks	−	·+	·+							·+	−	·+	·+	−	·+		[823]
RECREATION																	
Games																	
Shinny																	
2170. Shinny played	+	+	+	+	+	·R	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	−	+	526
2171. Men, youths play occasionally	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	[562]
2172. Women play	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	
2173. Each sex plays separately	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
2174. Both sexes play together	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2175. Children play	−	+	−	+	+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[857]
2176. Single ball	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2177. Wood	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2178. Stuffed buckskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2179. Oak gall	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2180. Double ball	−	+	+	+	−	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	
2181. Stuffed buckskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2182. 2 blocks on ends of cord	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	·+	·+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	
2183. 2 grass balls on end of cord	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
*2184. Cord or hide strip only	−	−	−	−	+	·+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 2914. Dancing proceeds around fire and pole	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
535 2915. 2 circles, men and women separately	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
2916. 1 circle, men	–	–	+								–	–	+	–
2917. Dancers in row abreast	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2918. Each person dances separately	–	–			+						+	–	+	–
2919. Dancers stamp 1 foot	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2920. Dancers stamp both feet	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
2921. Scalp on center pole	+	•+	+	–	•+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	–
2922. Heart on top of center pole	+	–	+	–					•R	–	–	–	–	–
2923. Scalp(s) on small hand pole(s).	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
[532] 2924. Human effigy	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2925. Each warrior pantomimes his war deeds	–	.	–			+	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	–
2926. Each warrior dances singly, once around, with scalp	–	.	–	–		+	+	–	+	+	.	–	–	–
2927. Old women dance with scalps	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2928. Wipe themselves with bloody scalp	+	+	–	–					+	–	.	–	–	–
2929. Chew and bite scalp, heart	.	+	+	–		+	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
2930. Scalps dragged and rubbed in dirt	+	+	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2931. 1-2 women walk back and forth in front of dancers	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2932. Warriors carry bow and arrows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
2933. Shoot at scalp or heart	.	.	+	–				+	+	+	–	–	+	–
2934. Women dancers carry brush or pole	–		–						+	–	+	–	+	–
[302] 2935. Participants painted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2936. Black	+	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2937. Red	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2938. White	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
[292] 2939. Participants wear brush, feather headdresses	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2940. Warriors wear fighting gear	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–

Purification of Killers; Treatment of Wounded

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 2941. Swims	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	.	+	–
783 2942. Sweats	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	–
2943. Steam type	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	.	–	–
2944. Direct-fire type	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–
[304] 2945. Scarification and bleeding	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–
2946. Aromatic plants rubbed on body	.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	–
2947. Women brush off men with plant	.	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	–
2948. Must stay outside	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–
2949. Stays awake mainly, or naps	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–
[792] 2950. Prays for luck	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	–
[262] ‡2951. Meat taboo ... days	–	–	.	+	•2	–	–	–	•4	–	28	.	6	–
2952. Warm food taboo	–											.	+	–
2953. Scratching stick used	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+
2954. Bath at end of taboo period	–	–	+	+							+	.	+	+
2955. Meat taboo to wounded	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	.	+	+
2956. Hot food taboo to wounded	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+
[752] 2957. Wash wounded with special decoction			+								+	.	+	+

Peace Negotiations

Compensation for Slain

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
728 2958. Intertribal wars: compensation	+	–	–	•–	–	R	•–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–
2959. Revenge only	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

534 2153. Kl: 3-4 holes.

000 2160. SE: To accustom player to hold his breath for long time, in order that he may be strong man, good swimmer.

2161. Mo: If shaman has whipsnake for his guardian, he uses elderberry flute; "whipsnake's food is elderberry." Flute also used to imitate bird calls, to obtain hunting luck.

2162. Mo: To make girl sleepy.

[533] 2163. Kl: "Just playing, to all kinds of water snakes." SW: Used by old men, chiefly, playing songs for self-gratification.

Pictographs

[532] 2164. Kl, Mo, At: Pictographs. AE, WT: Petroglyphs. WM: Occasional incised rock found in area.

2169. Mo, SE, WS, MF, NF: Impress of bare human foot on rocks. WS: Footprint is that of Moon, made when traveling; 1 such occurs at Big Bend (Madesi Achomawi area), another near Portuguese Flat, near Dunsmuir. NS: Footprints of bear, 2 does on rock.

RECREATION

Games

Shinny.--

2170. AW: Women's shinny game "learned from tribes NE of AW," ca. 50 years ago, or when informant was "pretty good-sized man." Men's shinny game learned from Round Valley (Mendocino Co.) and Covelo Indians. "The Yuki and Wailaki played it; some of AW [including informant's father] were taken down there by the Whites, and learned to play it there; they brought it back to AW area." WS: Women's shinny game, k'ara; old game.

2172. SW: Preëminently woman's game; "among Karuk down-river a man's game only." Women alone bet on it; women do not bet on any man's game. "When men play hand game, and women not allowed to, latter go outside and start shinny game to help their men if they are losing, by betting and playing too."

2175. AW: In women's game.

2176. AW: For men's shinny game.

2180. AW: For women's shinny game.

2182. WT, WM: Thick bark disks.

2184. Braided, ca. 15 in. long. AW: For women's shinny game.

2187. AW: For men's game.

2188. AW: For women's game.

2189. AW: For men's game.

2194. AW: In men's game.

2195, 2196. AW: In women's game.

2198. AW: In both men's, women's game ball flung straight between 2 poles, slightly higher than poles.

2200. AW: 8, if women play; 6 in men's game.

773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to
suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a
future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however,
be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is
free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during
the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of
suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency build-
532 ings, which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face
flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also
artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the lan-
538 guage fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of
success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration, assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

727 535 The dance begins in the evening. The women are provided with sticks a meter long from which the scalps are pendant. As instanced above, one carried her enemy's heart in her teeth. Two women commence a sinistral circuit; others, men and women alike, fall in behind them two by two until everyone is engaged. They step forward slowly, the body swaying from side to side as they stamp in unison with the right foot, bend forward with sticks thrust rigidly and obliquely before them, drag the left foot up, and stamp forward again with the [533] right. All the while they are singing a meaningless refrain, wiha'ho wiha. From time to time someone leaves the ranks for a moment to shake the pole, crying aloud. The captives are sometimes made to dance inside the circle with the same step; forced to rejoice over their own defeat. A big boy may be struck with a club, a little one is carried on a man's back. They are whipped with the scalp sticks as they dance. When the song ends the women jump about with feet together, crying a'ho, a'ho, and whipping the huddled slaves with the scalp sticks, they cry alalalala, as they pat their mouths (a practice called gababa'a). During the intervals of rest the sticks are set upright in the ground.

Pat Kane drew a slightly different picture. The dancers form a circle, each with his hands on the shoulders of the one in front; first the leader of the war party, then a file of men, followed by the women. They begin by crying even though no Klamath have been killed, but soon begin to sing.

Scalps are sometimes set on the central pole. On one occasion they had taken the scalp and the store-bought shoes of a Shasta which they hung on the pole and danced around.

[114] Gatschet describes a dance, perhaps for the Modoc, with the implication that it is the scalp dance, but it seems identical with the Ghost dance. "A peeled tree, sometimes twenty feet high, was planted into the ground, otter and rabbit skins fastened on or near the top, and below them the scalps of the enemies killed in battle. Forming a wide ring around this pole (w'alash) the tribe danced, stood or sat on the ground, looking sometimes at solitary dancers, moving and yelling (yä'ka) around the pole, or at others, who tried to shake it, or at fleet horses introduced to run inside of the ring. Circular dances are of course performed by joining hands."[33]

The last dance was held on Williamson river about 1865. Two old women, wives of a Paiute named k̦!oilă'wŏkt, were the captives. After the dance they were freed.

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[33] *Op. cit.*, 1:196.

601 I have few data on kinship usages. A child's spouse is treated like an own child and freely called son or daughter. Reciprocally, parents-in-law are often addressed by parent terms. The spouses of grandchildren and of nephews and nieces are not related, nor are step-brothers and sisters. There is no joking relation.

593 The close bond between siblings and their families is attested by the opening of a tale:

> [539] Wiwi'aak had five fathers, who were the five sons of Wile'aḳaḳ. That is, one was his father, but the others were fathers because they were father's brothers. . . . .

PUBERTY AND MENSTRUAL CUSTOMS

881 [554] The puberty dance is held only for the daughters of chiefs and others of wealth. For a poor man's daughter the rites are curtailed to the most necessary observances. The celebration serves as an announcement of nubility: girls marry within a year or so of their dance.

881 535 The dance (yo'ḳ'ɛla) occupies five nights at the first menstruation and is repeated at the four subsequent periods. It seems doubtful that any but the socially pretentious carry out full five celebrations. During the day the girl goes alone to sleep in the brush at some distance, returning for the dance just before sundown. I am not certain that she then seeks supernatural power. At least the girl does not run about piling up rocks in lonely places as boys do.

The dancing may take place in the lodge or outside, perhaps according to the season. It is simple enough; the girl trots forward and backward in the same course facing the east all the while. She is supported on each side by a man or woman whose arms are linked in hers. As they tire others take their places but the girl must keep on throughout the night. These others are young or old, relatives or otherwise, as convenience dictates.

881 533 The singing is provided by a group of men and women who alone know the appropriate songs. These singers are in demand for every dance. They are paid by the girl's relatives, a horse apiece, a blanket for each man, a half-fathom of beads for the women, or an equivalent. Some are provided with rattles, poles to the upper ends of which bunches of dew claws are fastened, the butts of which they pound on the ground. At least the song leader has one; other informants spoke of two or three, of five men and five women, or of rattles for all.

Everyone is quiet during the singing, else the girl will die. My infor- 881
mant could not say what would be done to the one who broke this 533 •
rule. The singers are fed at midnight.

The choristers sing about one another, men about women, women
about men.[98] The opening song is always: [539]

iwûne' sken djîdja'lwis djaiyo'djai'wa
toward sundown bachelors making a noise (?)
The young men are having a jollification in the west.

Toward daylight they sing:

pe'ĕt keskă'ni djî'k!a ho'llidoŋga
Toward the dawn place a tiny brown bird came to meet us.

The girl herself is expected to dance with downcast eyes, although 881
there is no express prohibition against looking at the sky as among 535
the Shasta. Common girls, however, will laugh and look around as 576
they dance. There is no suggestion that the girl's glance is malignant. [171] *

She observes three precautions during these five days, as she will
at subsequent menstruations and during mourning. She must abstain 881
from meat and fish, eating only lily seed or roots. She may, however,
eat when she pleases and with the others. Should she eat the forbid- 784
den flesh, she will get "consumption" and die.[99] She must not touch
her hands to her face or head, using instead a scratcher (sadō'ktcuts). [302]
This scratching stick or bone is tucked under the left wristband or
hung about the neck. Every morning she runs toward the dawn.

In the Field Museum collections are several bone scratchers used during
the girl's rites (nos. 61633, 61692, 63632). These are of two types; lozenge-
shaped and oval. They are decorated with incised lines, set close together and
filled with black pigment. Each is provided with a thong (fig. 6). [531]

During the day the girl retires to sleep in the bushes or in a dome- 881
shaped mat-lodge a few hundred yards distant. [343]

She wears an old, dirty, fringed skirt, a blanket of skin (coyote,
wolf, raccoon, or deer), and buckskin moccasins. The long buckskin [291]
dress commonly worn at dances may be used, although one informant
stated otherwise. She does not wash nor comb her hair during this [302]
period. Her face is blackened with pitch and charcoal, but none is
put on her hair as it would be in mourning. Instead the hair, hanging as usual in two braids in front of the shoulders, is doubled on itself to form two clubs, which are bound with braided cords of buck-brush

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[98] Some of these songs are given by Gatschet, 1:182, 189.

[99] A bone drinking tube is not used.

276 rattlesnake skin. This may be used by the shaman only during the
756 ceremonies, but I think not. The tubular pipe is not Klamath. A
[177] long tubular pipe, with a small mouthpiece, found by the Indians at Pelican bay, had been described to my informant as the probable possession of a shaman who resided there. This is probably a trade piece.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 The only true musical instrument known to the Klamath is the flute. This with three varieties of rattle and the hand drum make up the sum of their instruments. The musical bow is a plaything.

The flute (slo'lūs) is played for amusement and in courting;
[562] curiously enough it is played by women as well as men even when courting. Its music is called su'lulu. Various sounds are imitated on
534 the flute, such as the noise of flying pelicans' wings. The melodies include those of shaman's songs, although it is never used in shamanis-
533 tic rites. I do not know that song is ever accompanied by flute. It seems more probable that the melodies of certain songs are considered
[756] appropriate flute music.[141] There are flute songs about the turtle and deer. The song for the antelope is:

[539]

gaiyo'	gaiyo'wa	gaiyo'	gaiyo'wa
chewing			
tcĕwŏm	aiĕ'nol	tĕli'dŏŋga	
antelope	me	am browsing	
slewi's	aiĕ'nol	tĕli'dŏŋga	
wind	me	am browsing.	

He browses along (toward me?) when the wind strikes him (?).

A flute song for the mountain sheep is:

hotŭks	nis	sĕwă'ĕt	geoġe'lᴇ	wiĕ'sŏm
that	allows	me	that earth	mountain sheep
dostŏn	hoiha'nsᴇ	lall'sdŏt		
where I	run on the ledge	on the steep hill.		

These are not magical songs for calling game but solely for amusement.

Another song referring to any bird is:

djĭkgasĭtgo	djĭkgasĭtgo	nenea
flutterer		flapping.

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[141] Gatschet gives the text of several songs, which, because they are neither appropriate to shamanistic or puberty rites, may belong to this category (1:189, 192).

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

This is the open flute, lacking tongue or reed, and played by blowing 534 across the open end while it is held vertically or horizontally. So I was told, but it is more probable that the vertical is the only position used. These are manufactured from branches of the ḳoḳo'dŏm bush or the elder (sḷo'lūsəm), from which the pith is easily removed, or from the long legs of cranes. The wooden flutes are three-quarters of an inch in diameter, one to two feet long, with three holes (or four or five ?) for finger stops burned at odd intervals.

The deer-hoof rattle (sŏ'ḳtsŏḳs) is probably the only one of the three Klamath rattles that is of any antiquity among them. It is used [881] exclusively in the girl's adolescence rites. The Klamath form is a slender pole four to seven feet long with a cord along the upper third to which bunches of deer dew claws (ḳ'o'djlŋks) are tied at intervals. The butt is pounded on the ground to jar the hooflets.

Of the other two types, the clap rattle is the familiar cleft stick, the split end of which is struck against the palm. This was used in [786] the Ghost dance of 1870 and in no other connection. It was derived from the Pit river peoples. The notched rattle (ulo'ks) is known to [177] have been played by one man who learned it from the Upland Takelma. It may have been used in the war and scalp dances. This is the familiar notched stick set on the ground and rasped with another stick; no resonator is used.[143]

The hand drum has no great antiquity among the Klamath but was in use before the coming of the whites. It was derived from some [177] northern tribe, probably those of Warm Springs. Its very name, bŏ'mbŏm, is the common word in eastern Oregon and Washington. It is used only in the social dances, which are themselves of no great consequence. The drum is the familiar shallow tambourine affair, with only one head. Thongs crossed on the open face furnish a hand grip. Drums are constructed of a flattened juniper bough bent into a ring of one to two feet in diameter. Heads of badger and antelope hide are best; they yield the loudest sound. The drum was not decorated until lately, when stars were painted on the head. This is said [531] to have been learned of the whites, but is more likely derived from [177] the modern version of the Smohallah cult, the so-called Pompom religion of eastern Washington and Oregon. The drum stick (wo'tanotc) is a stick wrapped with mink hide to form a knob.

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[143] There is no association of the sound with the voice of the frog nor with the rain, nor is it used in social dances, as in the Great Basin area.

[533] •
[171] *

534 *[171] [342] Several instruments whose presence might have been expected are unknown. Such are the cocoon rattle, the foot drum, or any other form except the hand drum. As to the cocoon rattle I doubt that there are any large cocoons in this region. It is rather surprising that those who accompany the singers do not beat time on a plank with clubs after the fashion of more northerly tribes. A peculiar Wishram drum, a horizontal pole slung from the roof by a rope and pounded against the wall, had been played at the Dalles by one of my informants, but it was never introduced among the Klamath. To be sure, their houses do not have plank walls but alternatives might have been substituted.

The musical bow should be mentioned here only for comparative purposes. The Klamath lack any special form but sometimes toy with an ordinary bow, holding the bow in the mouth and tapping the string with a stick. There is no name for this.

Whistles (stu'ta) are also playthings. These are made of willow, of a plant called wa'ḳūm, or a jointed grass called watcōō'ḳwls. The willow whistles are seven or eight inches long and provided with side holes like a flute. Whistles are blown direct into the open end.

533 Whistling with the lips was indulged in even before the coming of the whites.[143] Songs are not whistled.

SOCIAL DANCES

535 [534] [755] It is not clear whether there were any dances of purely social intent in earlier times or whether they were so rare as to be negligible. Two good informants said that formerly there were none. Indeed the use of the hand drum with social dances (yĕka') suggests their recency. Shamanistic performances, which were evidently frequent, may have provided a substitute entertainment.

[534] Some time during the year a good singer will busy himself arranging a dance solely for amusement, called k'si'ulūḳs. Men and women form a circle with hands clasped, but the fingers not entwined. The step is a sidewise jump, not a shuffling of feet as is usual in circling dances among other tribes; the movement is in a counter-clockwise direction, I think. The circling begins with the song; they do not wait to sing a phrase before moving. Formerly, according to an unreliable informant, no musical instruments were in use but recently the hand drum was introduced from the tribes to the north.

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*[171] [143] So, too, the Northern Paiute, according to my Klamath informant.

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An old woman, gathering wood at this place, also saw two horses in the water. Turning to her husband she said, "There are horses standing over there," but when they looked again, the horses had disappeared. Such a disappearance (tzko'tḳa) is a sign that a relative will die; one of her relatives died after this. [159]

Visions evidently follow one of two formulae. Either, as above, the spirit appears standing in the water and then disappears, or it drags the swimmer below the water for the purpose of devouring him, as instanced below.

One word swi'ls means song and spirit being. A certain dualism is involved here. Spirits are definite beings that dwell in the mountains and in the water. On the other hand all songs are called swi'ls, including those for amusement and non-shamanistic dancing, which bear no reference to spirits. That is, spirits and songs are certainly recognized as separate entities. Nevertheless, when it is said that a man has a Coyote swi'ls, for example, it means that he has the appropriate song or songs and that this animal is his supernatural helper. The spirit never manifests itself but in the song; the singer is the vehicle, the voice of the spirit. Song and spirit are one and the same thing. 787 776 533

Power is sought in lonely spots on the mountains, in mountain pools, in eddies in the rivers, in all places where spirits are known to dwell. A boy is sent into the mountains on a vigil of several days, perhaps five, at puberty, that is, when his voice changes. He seeks power that he may acquire property, be a good hunter, become rich, a chief, and be able to do all the things that are difficult. (One does not need power to be a fisherman, for instance.) He must fast and must not touch his hands to his face, but must use a scratcher instead. He must sleep without covering and warm himself only occasionally by a little fire. He runs about constantly throughout the night, piling rocks into high piles[147] (called szwa'l) and swimming in the mountain pools. He prays, calling loudly to the spirits, and finally gets an answer. At night he may see a spirit with blood flowing from his mouth; then he faints and when he wakes he too will have a hemorrhage (djăkglĕkgĕ'ḳa). He "nearly dies" before he secures the song. 787 881

It is possible that girls also seek power at puberty. Their dance at this time takes place at night; during the day they sleep in the brush or on the near-by hills. Then a song may be dreamed. One informant had it that they spend the night piling rocks like boys, returning at daylight, but I consider it very unlikely that a girl [562]

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[147] Clarke, Rock Piles, 40, refers to the many piles of four or five boulders placed on one another which occur in this country.

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756 jump (sideways ?) with the feet together, but I am not sure. Women
[535] may dance if men are few, but all the audience joins in the singing.
As the fire dies down it is replenished with each of the four remaining
[533] piles in sinistral order, the last being that north of the foot of the
ladder. This occupies the whole day and is not repeated during the five-day period. Its purpose is to call the spirits to act through the shaman, to give him the strength to perform the feats of legerdemain that follow.[108]

The nights are given over to these shamanistic tricks. Two tricks, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are part of every shaman's stock in trade. They are performed by the novice during the first night, though they may never be repeated in any subsequent winter ceremony. Until the novice has made the ceremony to show that he can carry off these two feats, he is no shaman and cannot cure.

The fire-swallowing trick (ko'pgŭs p'an, torches eating) is performed with the aid of an old lake trout spirit (tewīm or me''yăs), or rather they say the spirit eats the fire. Five men stand in a row each holding a bundle of resinous wood slivers, ten inches long and
[535] two inches thick, called ko'pgŭs. The shaman dances in front of
them, others dance vigorously with him while they sing,

[539] ko'pgŭs babi's ġistsa'mpka
I eat fire while I walk.
gĕno gīta ġistsa'mpka
This is where I have been walking.

The trout is represented as singing. The torches are lighted, the shaman snatches them in quick succession, puts out the fire with a gulp, and flings them aside.

The companion trick is swallowing arrowheads; this follows fire-swallowing after an interval. The fire has been allowed to die and is only rekindled as a little light is needed. Perhaps twenty obsidian arrowheads are tied at intervals on a cord, which one man feeds to the shaman as he dances. He swallows these with the aid of certain bird spirits, or rather the spirits eat the blades: gau'wi, a blue and brown bird, wĕ'tgŏtgis, a spotted hawk, and ķlŏt'ia'was, a small sea gull (noisy, white, with forked tail and black spots on head). A tule mat is
[533] arranged like a cape over the shaman who now seats himself. They
sing the songs of the bear spirit, now represented in the shaman, to bring back the arrows. Soon they hear him cry out, "ha," as each

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[108] Briefly described by Gatschet (1:70).

Coville noted the use of lodge-pole pine pitch as a remedy for sore eyes, a very small fragment being placed inside the lid, and the leaves of a shrub (ba-bäk′-bak-lha′-näm, *Eriogonum stellatum* Benth.) placed on burns to protect the surface from the air. He also observed that the roots of buck-brush (chäk′-lō, *Kunzia tridentata*), steeped in water, is frequently drunk as a remedy for coughs and other lung and bronchial troubles. The dry ripe bitter fruits of the same, mashed in cold water, are sometimes drunk as an emetic. Cascara (sär′-um-bäk-ish, *Rhamnus purshiana* DC.) is made into a tea for an emetic; foliage, twigs, bark, and berries are all used. Wild parsnip roots (pöd′-chō, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.) are used medicinally. "In medicine a decoction of the herbage [of sage-brush (ghät or böl′-whē, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt.)] is used internally to check diarrhea, externally as an eyewash, while the mashed herbage is used as a substitute for liniment." The roots of stä′-mäk (*Wyethia mollis* Gray) are mashed and used as a poultice for swellings. The mashed herbage of wäl′-wäl (*Chondrophora nauseosa* (Pursh) Britton), aromatic and resinous, is used to raise blisters. A poultice of the mashed leaves of wä′-mi (*Chrysothamnus bloomeri* (Gray) Greene and related shrubs), similar in principle to the preceding, is used for the same purpose.[166] 278

THE SONGS

With the aid of the large body of texts recorded by Gatschet it is possible to point out some general features of the shamanistic songs. 533 756 [114]

The form of the song is as fixed as its subject. In the first place, the burden of a song is always brief and always invariably consists of words with meaning, not syllables inserted for euphony's sake. If Gatschet's translations are to be trusted, the great preponderance of the songs are in the first person, the spirit speaking. I doubt it. My knowledge of Klamath is very limited but I suspect that such a phrase as Ké-utchish ai nû shuí′sh gí which he renders "I am the gray wolf magic song" is as likely to mean "The wolf is my spirit." A very large number of songs mention the spirit by name and are otherwise not especially esoteric but easily intelligible to one with only a slight knowledge of Klamath beliefs.

Certain song patterns recur with some frequency in Gatschet's collection. Four of these have simple forms.

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[166] Coville, Notes, 89, 95, 98, 100, 102, 105, 106.

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1. ——— ai nû shuí'sh gi
I am the (spirit's) magic song [or the ——— is my spirit].
2. ——— gé-u hû mû'luash
The ——— is my medicine object.
3. ——— gé-u nêpk
——— is the disease I bring.
4. ——— gé-u nä'paks
——— is my disease.

In these the appropriate name of the spirit, bit of paraphernalia, or disease is mentioned. There is a slight variability in the grammatical form, but ignoring this we find that these four patterns occur in a total of 145 songs, fifteen, seven, six, and three times respectively.[167]

Another common form has a second phrase practically identical with the first, and, if not a mere repetition, referring to an associated idea or characteristic. This scheme occurs twenty times in the collection. An example is

tunépni gé-u wélwash gi
páltko gé-u wélwash gi
I have five springs and (all) my springs are dry (p. 157, no. 46).

These five patterns make up a third of the whole collection.

533 The number of songs seems well-nigh boundless. The possibilities for inventing new ones are limited only by the number of spirits and all their parts and characteristics. Not only does one get this impression from Gatschet's array, but my own informants gave enough to indicate that it would require great effort to exhaust the supply. At the same time it is clear that once a song had been invented its form is fixed; it is known as so-and-so's song. It is not only that such a shaman has a song about the weasel, for example, but it is a particular song, and my informants would not hazard it unless they knew it.

The subjects of the songs are not only the anthropomorphic beings, spirits of animals, birds, etc., listed above, and others of the same sort, but Gatschet's informant listed others: gust of wind, sleet, mock sun (parhelion), cliff, rocks of various sorts and positions, springs, floating ice, smallpox and various pains, hunger, pond-lily seed and various plants, canoes and other objects, parts of the house, dress, and paint. This is a wide array of subjects, but the same omissions occur that I have noted above: the cats, deer, and most fish, while rodents and song birds hardly appear in Gatschet's collection. Not only do the songs refer directly to the animals but to their parts,

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[167] It should be noted that these occur randomly throughout the songs which Gatschet lists in the haphazard order he obtained them. Four informants were involved, so we may be sure that this recurrence of the same forms is not due to repetition on the part of a single informant.

"limbs and organs of certain animals which were supposed to exercise supernatural powers, and therefore were made the subject of a shui'sh, shuinótkish, or incantation. They are as follows: of the *black bear*, the head, snout, paws, fur, and heart; of the *dog*, the head, hair, fur, ears, tail, and paws; of the *weasel* (tcháshgai), the head, eyes, snout, fur, tail, and heart; of the *mink*, the paws, snout, fur, tail, and heart; of the *shné-ish-duck* [black-jack duck], the head and legs; of the *salmon*, the head and fins; of the *fly*, the wings (lás, black or white) and legs."[188] The ears of the young antelope also form the subject of a song. In many cases reference is also made to the female and the offspring of the animal and even of the earth.

The references to the spirits mentioned in Gatschet's song collection are not random but center in some particular characteristic, habit, or association of the animal. Thus, the swimming of the mink, the underground habits of the weasel, woodchuck, and snake, the soaring of certain birds, the standing shitepoke, the position or movement of the reptiles, are signaled for song. The ducks figure as disease bringers. (These may be curing songs in which the birds are taxed with causing the sickness.) A number of birds control the storm and wind. (These may be songs used in changing the weather.)

Some of Gatschet's songs may have mythical reference. For instance, the dog straying in the north wind, Weasel as a trickster, the skunk dancing in the north wind, and the frog woman. The grizzly and his springs may refer to a tale paralleling that of the brown bear and the spring. There may be others which I do not recognize. One of the songs I recorded refers to the mythical character Wawiwŏ'k !os.

It also seems significant that the shaman's songs referring to himself are not introspective, do not refer to his bodily state or experiences, but to his paraphernalia, or objectively to the disease.

The norm for Klamath songs seems to be a brief statement, explicitly naming some spirit or object and its characteristics or associations, rather devoid of esoteric reference, and couched in one of half a dozen simple forms.

The following spirit songs are taken from Gatschet's collection. [114] I do not know which of these are curing songs and which pertain to the performances. I have grouped together those that seem to refer to the same practice or group of spirits, and I have taken considerable liberty in retranslating those that stood in obvious need thereof.

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[188] Gatschet, 1:178, 179.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

533 114 I feel that many of his translations are far from the point, but I do not know enough to correct them. The numbers in parentheses refer to the page and number in Gatschet's work.

539 *Fire dance (wa'hla) songs!*
In flames I am enveloped (154, 8).
I am now wrapped in flames (166, 26).

Songs referring to various items of the shaman's outfit (mä'lwas).
This scoop is my instrument, that tool used on the lake[189] (167, 34).
This is my medicine arrow (164, 3).
The pipe is my instrument, that tool used for tobacco[190] (167, 33).
I the shaman's pole [wa'' las] am shaking to and fro (170, 66).
Planks [covering the lodge?] are rattling (155, 18).
This is my song, that of the sweat-lodge stick-hole[191] (168, 45).
So looks the yellowhammer medicine-decoration;
The otter is my equipment; the otter skin neckband is my equipment (167, 30).
I the neckband am medicine-equipment; I the neckband am a spirit [or song] (168, 40).
Thus I walk when I tie up the hair (165, 9).
I will pull a rope from my entrails[192] (165, 11).

Songs referring to anthropomorphic spirits.
I the shai'kish [teaḳia'ḳ] tramp[193] (169, 52).
Teaḳia'ḳ is my song [or spirit]; thunder is my song [or spirit] (169, 53).
I the ghost lean on a staff (168, 38).
Bones only I rattle (157, 44).
I the woman am painted black on the body[194] (158, 51).
My dew claws are rattling (166, 17).
Dew claws are my medicine-outfit[195] (166, 21).
In quill-fringed buck-skin dressed (154, 6).
I search the ground with my hands, find there the feathers of the yellowhammer and devour them (154, 10).
Quick! make ye eyes for me! (154, 11).
In the fog I am straying blind; all over the earth I am wandering[196] (157, 40).

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[189] Or the lake is my instrument.

[190] Or tobacco is my instrument.

[191] I do not know what Gatschet means by the "stick-hole."

[755] [192] "Feigning to draw a rope or string from their posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear" (Gatschet, 1:171). I was not told of this and it sounds more like a shamanistic trick than a curing practice.

[114] [193] Gatschet says "shai'kish is another name given to the tch'akiuks" and this is a "song of a gray aquatic fowl, called tch'akiuka." The following song, wherein he translates ts'akiag as little boy clearly indicates that the reference here is to Teaḳia'ḳ, the little boy spirit which lives in water.

[194] Gatschet implies that this refers to a woman dancer, but it is as likely that it is a woman spirit.

[114] [756] [195] Gatschet says of these two songs "Conjurer's rattles are made of deer's claws" and "this song of a female conjurer or 'doctress' . . . ." (1: 172). But deer-claw rattles are used only in a girl's puberty dance; shamans use none at all. I interpret these songs to be those of a woman spirit, like the one which precedes them and perhaps the one to follow.

[534] [196] The first two of these three songs are those of "the blind medicine-girl" according to Gatschet and the third that of "the blind girl." I assume a spirit is referred to.

*171 on the other, were entirely absent among the Klamath. Nevertheless
556 the mechanism of the Northwest Coast for the exchange of presents,
the potlatch, does appear here in the form of prescribed reciprocal
584 visits between the families of bride and groom. It has not been clearly
recognized that these features of Northwest Coast social life have
spread even farther from that focus into the northern Plains and to
north central California.

*171 Of the slender stock of Klamath ceremonials, the scalp dance is
widely known, the war or incitement dance is common to northwestern
535 California and perhaps all of Oregon. Kroeber has pointed out that
726 so far as California is concerned scalp and war dances are mutually
exclusive in their distributions.[418] But the Klamath, like all others
*171 of eastern Oregon, carry out both dances. The girls' adolescence rite
of the Klamath is one with those of western Oregon and northern
881 California. This is a local phrasing of similar rites known from
Alaska to the Southwest, but lacking east of the Sierra-Cascades.
Specific details of the Klamath affair are closer to northern Californian
*171 forms than to those of Oregon. The Ghost dance of 1870 was
evanescent among them. Its first form was that characteristic of the
original dance of Nevada; later it was overlaid by features characteristic
of central California.[419]

177 Some historical relief emerges in this survey. It is definitely
traceable in some details and can be established inferentially for more
basic elements. The most recent stratum of adopted traits is postreservation,
[285] i.e., later than 1865. This includes two types of basketry
derived from the Northern Paiute settled on the reservation, a sifting
[668] basket and a coiled water bucket, and the Ghost dance. The earlier
form of the Ghost dance was instituted by the same group of Paiute
in 1870 or '71. This was the familiar circle of dancers, whose leaders
[343] dreamed new regulations; its ideology the return of the dead. In
1873 a Pit River introduced central Californian elements; a dance
[534] lodge, probably the clap-stick rattle, new songs, etc. To the same
[533] stratum belongs the imitation of the Warm Springs-Yakima one-piece
moccasin.

[291] Other elements are recognized as pertaining to pre-reservation
days, but probably not earlier than the middle of the last century:
177 the hand drum derived from the north, and perhaps the social dances
534 in which it is used; the hand game brought by a Spokane (?) man.

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535 [418] Kroeber, Handbook, 144, 844.

[419] Spier, Ghost Dance.

a line of men moving sideways. It was only in connection with 171*
the latter form of dance that the girl performed; to be specific it is 881
known that she danced among Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, North- 535
eastern Maidu, Shasta, Karok, and, though we do not know the dance form, Sinkyone and Yuki. Inasmuch as it is specified in the case of the last two that the girl was supported as she danced, we may well suspect that they had the same dance form.

It should not be assumed that dancing during the puberty rite was confined to this area. Dancing may have occurred on the Northwest Coast in connection with the potlatch more commonly than recorded (Nootka and Ten'a?). There is nothing to suggest that it was the same form of performance, however. In southern California the dancing was about the girl as she lay on a hot bed (Luiseño, Juaneño, Miwok) and was apparently quite different in character and intent. Dancing was again characteristic of the Southwestern ceremonies (White Mountain and Jicarilla Apache, Pima), and again the White Mountain and Pima forms were lines moving to and fro, with the girl engaged with them in the case of the former. Even the Jicarilla girl herself danced. These specific features are suspiciously like those of northern California and Oregon. Perhaps we do not yet know all that can be learned of this rite in the Basin.

To revert to the dance rattle; it was prevailingly the deer-hoof 171*
jingler type, although handled somewhat varyingly. This has been 534
noted for Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, Shasta, Karok, and Tolowa, while the Hupa, Sinkyone, and again the Northeastern Maidu used the clapper rattle. This type of deer-hoof rattle was distinctively Californian and generally distributed in the state. So far as I know it does not occur north of the Klamath. The clapper rattle was on the other hand a central Californian type, as Kroeber has pointed out.[394] As he further remarks, rattles were used in northwestern California only in connection with adolescence ceremonies, but this was also true of the sector to the north and east apparently (Shasta, Achomawi-Atsugewi, certainly Klamath,[395] and perhaps Takelma and Coos).

There is little information on the songs, but the little existing 171*
suggests that these were of two types only; songs about foodstuffs and 533
about love affairs. Thus it is noted that the Sacramento Valley Maidu

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[394] Handbook, 823, 862.

[395] The Klamath acquired the use of the clapper rattle as well only with the Ghost dance of 1870.

*171 533 sang about foodstuffs gathered by women, the Yuki about acorns, also a woman's food product. The Klamath sang about men and women; similar love songs have been noted for the Klallam and those of the Nootka were satirically sexual. This temptation to invoke the sexual implication of the occasion took another expression; a period of license during the dance among the Northeastern Maidu and the Yuki. It is highly probable that this attitude was widespread.

*171 787 How generally this crisis was made the occasion for a vision quest by the girl is not clear. This may have been a trait of Oregon and Washington alone. To be sure, the guardian spirit concept was but little developed in California, at least among more typical tribes. The girl was sent out at night by Nisqually, Tillamook, Coos, and perhaps the Klamath, to seek a spirit in the manner stereotyped for boys, wandering on the mountains and bathing in lonely pools.

*171 881 The whole performance was repeated at the following monthly periods in this area. The number of subsequent performances brought the total to five among the Klamath, conformable with their pattern number, to three among Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Karok, to two among Chinook, Northeastern Maidu, and Sinkyone, while it was repeated at monthly intervals throughout the winter among the Huchnom. While the number of performances was variable, the habit of their repetition was confined to a fairly consolidated area. The Mohave custom of imposing restrictions at successive periods for a reduced number of days at each period is not directly comparable. It is rather analogous to the continued restriction of a month's duration at first menstruation imposed by Shivwits, Luiseño, and Coast Central Pomo. There is no indication of such continuous restrictions in the Oregon-north Californian area, but this was characteristic again of the Northwest Coast tribes who imposed them for a period upward to a year (a year, Ten'a, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola; six months to a year, Tahltan; four to ten months, Nootka; six to eight months, Nisqually; five months, Quinault; fifty or one hundred days, Chinook).

*171 841 [756] The place of the Klamath in all this is fairly clear. They have very little concern with women's periodicity and its possible social or ceremonial significance. Women are not excluded from home at their periods save in the case of those living with shamans. The rigorous segregation that occurs on all sides of them, throughout the Pacific coast, the Plateau, and Basin, made practically no impression on the Klamath. It is surely not accidental that it is the near-by Wishram who also care nothing for such restriction. Such restrictions as do

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	226
282. 1st salmon	•−	•o	•+	•+	•−	•−	•o	•+	•+	•−	•o	•+	•+	•o	•+	•+	
283. 1st sucker	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
284. 1st steelhead trout	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	
285. Taboo to catch salmon before rite	-	o	-	+	-	-	o	+	-	-	-	·	+	o	+	+	[784]
286. Steelhead	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	
287. Suckers	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
288. Taboo to eat salmon before rite :	-	o	-	+	-	-	o	+	-	-	-	+	+	o	+	+	
289. Steelhead	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
290. Suckers	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
291. Spring of year	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
292. Priest prepares for rite	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	
293. Neighboring tribe holds (salmon) rite	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
294. Old man catches 1st fish	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
295. Anyone may catch 1st fish for rite	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	
296. Anyone may eat 1st fish	-	+	-	•−	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
297. First (2) suckers burned	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
298. All of 1st catch eaten immediately	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
299. Punishment for removal of portion	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
300. Taboo against leaving in basket overnight	-								•+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	[784]

Gathering

Gathering Techniques and Observances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
300a. Poles, staves for gathering acorns, pine cones	-	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	222
300b. Shepherd's crook stave	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	•+	
301. Forked stick grapple	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	
302. Straight pole	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
303. Straight pole with cross bar	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	
304. Also used for wood gathering	-	-	+								-	+	+	+	-	+	
305. *Limbs shaken with hands, feet*	-	-	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
306. Sapling as ladder for climbing trees	-	-	+	•+	+	•+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
307. Double-pole ladder, buckskin rungs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
308. Digging stick	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
309. Plain, pointed at one end	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	
310. Plain, bipointed	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
311. Crutch handled	+	+	+	•R	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
312. Seed plants sometimes broken by hand		•+	+	-	+	-	-		+	-	-		-	-	-	-	
313. 1st-fruits rite	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
314. Observed for: acorns	o	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	
315. Pine nuts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-						+	-	+	-	
316. Wokus (water lily seeds)	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
317. Ipos bulbs (Calochortus sp.)		+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
318. Manzanita berries						o	o						-	+	+	•o	
319. Annual; observed in	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	[221]
320. Springtime	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	
321. Midsummer	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
322. Fall of year	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
‡323. Number of days	10	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	
324. Dancing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	[535]
325. Praying	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	[782]
326. Singing	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	
326a. Feasting on 1st fruit	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	[538]
327. 1st fruit gathered thrown away	-	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	•+	•+	+	

Preagriculture (Other than Tobacco)

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
328. Burning for better wild-seed crops	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	•+	•+	•+	·	+	-	241

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
767b. Earth covering partial	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	343
768. Earth covering all over	•+	+	−	•+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
768a. Main entrance through roof	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
768b. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
768c. Flush	+	+	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
768d. In end of house	+	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
768e. Secondary entrance at ground level	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
769. Sliding wooden door	•−	•−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
769a. Stone paved "porch"	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
769b. Steam or hot-rock heat	•+	•(+)	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
770. Direct-fire heat	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
770a. Small, for 1-4 persons	•+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
770b. Large, for group	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	
770c. Used throughout year	•+	+	−	−	+•	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	+	
771. Used in winter only	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
772. Used by both sexes	+	+	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[562]
773. Used by men only	−	−	−	•+	(+)	−	−	+	•−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	+	
774. Used by mourners only	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		
775. Communally owned	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−		
Plains-Type Sweat House																	
776. Plains-type sweat house	•+	•+	•+	•+	•R	•R	•+	•(−)	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	
777. Dome shaped	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(−)	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
778. Mat covered	+	+	•+	+	R	−	+	(−)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
778a. Hide covered	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(−)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
779. Brush, bough covered	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	(−)	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	
780. Small, for 1-3 persons	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(−)	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	
781. Steam heat	+	+	+	•+	R	R	+	(−)	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	
782. Used throughout year	−	+	+	+	R	R	+	(−)		−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
783. Used in summer only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	(−)		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Sweating Customs																	
784. Individual sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	R	+	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	+	−	515
785. Sweating in groups of 2-4, or larger	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	
786. Women sometimes sweat with men	+	+	+	•+	•R	•+	•+	−	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	[562]
787. Women sometimes sweat separately	+	+	+	+	R	+	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
788. Sweating daily or every 2-3 days	+	−	−	•+	+	R	•−	−	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	
789. Sweaters sit or crouch	+	+	•+	+	+	R	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
790. Sweaters lie down	•+	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	
791. Sweaters "dance around"	−	−	•+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
792. Formalized sweat dance	−	−				−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	(+)	[535]
793. Sweaters kneel	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
794. All men sleep in sweat house occasionally	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	[513]
795. Male mourners sleep in sweat house	•+	•+		−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
796. Unmarried old men sleep, eat in sweat house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	•+	•−	−	+	
797. Men gamble in sweat house	−	−	−	•−	−	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	•−	•−	
798. Men work (handicrafts) in sweat house	−	−	+	−	−	•+	•+	•−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	•−	•−	
799. Youths gather fuel for sweating	−	−		+		•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	•−	−	•−	
800. Office of fire maker	−	•−	•+	•+	−	−	−	+	•+	•R	−		•+	+	•+	•+	[312]
801. Competitive sweat groups	−	−	−	•+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	−	−	[372]
802. All sweators sing	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	[533]
803. 1 man sings for group	−	−				−	−	•(+)	•+	•+	−	+	•+	−	−	−	
804. Sweat for success in hunting	+	•+	•+	•+	+	−	+	−	•+	•+	−	+		−	−	−	[224]
805. Sweat for success in gambling	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−		−	−	−	[528]
806. Sweat for general good luck	+	+		+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	[777]
807. Sweat as cure for disease	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	•+	−	−		+	+	−	
808. Scarify selves, let blood drip on hot rocks	−	+	+	•+				−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	[757]
809. Sweat to cleanse body	−	−	+	+		+	•+	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	[304]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2536. Any time	−	−	−	+		−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	535
2537. Several bands assemble together	+	−	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	
2538. Young people dance, mainly	−	+									−	−	−		−	−	
2539. Purpose mainly pleasure	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−		−	−	[789]
2540. To make seeds grow	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2541. Dance around center post	−	+	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	(+)	−		−	−	
2542. Juniper tree	−	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2543. Dance around fire	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	
2544. All dancers sing	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	[533]
†2545. Special singers	−	−	−	−		−	2	−	4	−	−	1	−		−	−	
2546. Each local group sings own songs, in turn	+	−	+			+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2547. Split-stick rattle accompaniment	−	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2548. Clap hands as accompaniment	−	−	+			+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2549. Women choose partners	−	−	−	−		−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	[562]
2550. Men choose partners	−	−	−	−		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2551. Dance in 1 circle	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	
2552. Dance in 2 concentric circles	+	−	−	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	
2553. Dance in 2 circles next to each other	−	−	−			+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
2554. Sexes alternate	+	−	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
2555. Sexes dance opposite each other in 1 circle	+	−	−					+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2556. Quick shuffle step	+	(+)	+	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	
2557. Hopping step	−	.	−	+		+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2558. Stamp both feet, moving slightly									+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
2559. Start: counterclockwise	+	(+)	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−		−	−	
2560. Reverse: dance clockwise	−	.	−	+		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2561. When dance stops, all shout	+	+	+					+	+	+	−	+	−		−	−	
2562. Good singer dance leader	+	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2563. Band or district chief dance leader	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	[622]
2564. Clowns	−	−	−	−		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2565. Act of own accord; not appointed	−	−	−	−		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	[522]
o2566. Duration of dance, nights	1	+	1	1		1	1	3	1	2	−	2	−		−	−	
2567. Dance occasion for courting	+	+	+	−		−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
2568. Visitors camp in circular brush corral	−	−	+	−		+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	[574]
2569. Visitors feasted by hosts	−	−	+			+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	

Sweat "Dance"

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2570. Held inside sweat house											+	+	+		−	−	[515]
2571. At night											+	+	+		−	−	
2572. Any time of year												+	+		−	−	
2573. Both sexes participate											+	+	−		−	−	
2574. Hot fire in sweat house											+	+	+		−	−	[533]
2575. 1 singer; hits center pole with stick											+	−	−		−	−	
2576. Split-stick rattle used											−	+	−		−	−	
2577. Participants stand in 1 spot, dance until exhausted											+	+	+		−	−	
2578. Swim after dancing											+	+	+		−	−	[481]

Bear Dances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2579. Bear dance aboriginal	−	−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	+	[177]
2580. Given for good time	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2581. Given to dress bearskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
2582. Held in spring	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
2583. Held in winter	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	+	
2584. Held any time, in good weather	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−		−	−	
2585. Danced in sweat house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	+	
2586. Danced in open	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−		−	−	
o2587. Whole gathering lasts ... days	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	2	−		−	2	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
535 ‡2588. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	3	2	–		–	1
o2589. Actual dance lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–		–	1
o2590. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	2	1	2	–		–	–
2591. Dance begins near sundown	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
2592. Dance begins in morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
o2593. Number of singers, musicians	–	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	–		•2	1	–		–	2
2594. Split-stick rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+
2595. Deer-hoof rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2596. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2597. Women, only, dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–
2598. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2599. Touch with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–
2600. Each person dances separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	+
2601. Dancers abreast	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
2602. Dancers in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2603. Stretch bear hide, as out to dry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[533] 2604. Male singer sits by hide and sings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2605. Women, or man, rub, hit bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2606. Man puts on bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+
2607. In morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	(+)
2608. Dances, walks with bearskin on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
2609. Impersonates bear, claws tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
2610. Dog set onto him	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2611. Drops shell beads, which women pick up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2612. Killer of bear ultimately given bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[515] 2613. Impersonator, girl dancers wash at sacred spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2614. Performers from other groups	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–		–	+
2615. Feast follows performance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				+	–	–		–	+
(825] 2616. Held for black bear only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	•–	–		–	–

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political Units

Sovereign Bodies

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
621 2617. Each village is autonomous unit	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+
2618. Community of closely adjacent villages forms autonomous unit	–	–	+		–	•+		–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–
2619. Local group, embracing several communities is recognized, or is autonomous unit	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	+	–	–
619 2620. Tribe, embracing all local groups, is recognized unit	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Chiefs and Other Officials

Number of Male Chiefs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
622 2621. 1 per autonomous unit	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
[613] 2622. Multiple, of equal rank, per autonomous unit.	–	–	–	–	–	•4	–	–	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2623. Chiefly lineages	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2624. Tribal chief	R+	R+	–	(+)	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Basis for Selection

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
[611] 2625. Heredity, primary factor	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+
2626. Paternal only	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
624 2756. Attends to fire for sweating			−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
372 2757. Attends to fire for ceremonies				+	−	−	−	−	−	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2758. Builds fire for encamped visitors				+	−	−	−				−	−	+		−	−
Singers																
624 2759. No. male singers per village or local group	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	*2		−	3
533 2760. Variable number	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	(+)	−		+	−
2761. Office lifelong	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+		+	+
2762. Hereditary, in paternal line	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		+
2763. Any gifted individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	*+
2764. Appointed by chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+		+	+
[562] 2765. Female singers also	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+		+	+
2766. Sister, daughter of male singer	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	+
Dance Manager																
624 2767. Owner of sweat house (headman)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	+	+	+		+	−
535 2768. Hereditary office, paternal line	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		+	+
2769. Schedules dances	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		+	+
2769a. Urges people to dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+		+	+
2769b. Orders wood gathered for dance fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
2769c. Talks at intervals (prays) at dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−		+	−
WAR																
Nature and Causes																
Nature of Warfare																
726 2770. Intertribal wars	+	+	+	*+	*+	*+	*+	*+	*+	+	*+	+	*+	*	+	*
721 2771. Intratribal raids and feuds	+	+	+	+	*−	*+	*+	*+	+	−	*+	*+	*+		+	
Motivation																
721 2772. War for adventure or plunder	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	
2773. War for revenge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2774. Common	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−		−	
2775. Rare	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
2776. Intertribal murders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2777. Strangers from hostile tribes killed on sight	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2778. Intratribal murders, if uncompensated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+		+	
2779. Rape	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	
2780. Stealing women, young girls	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−		−	*
2781. Women, girls bought back, no war	−'		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	
2782. Insult or slight to chief	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	.		.	
2783. To avenge witchcraft against group	+	+	+	+	−	−	*+	−	+	+	+	+	.		−	
2784. Intratribally, for poisoning of girl by suitor			+	+		−	−				−	.			−	
2785. Poaching	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−		+	
2786. By alien tribe	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−		−	
2787. By another local group of same tribe	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−		−	
2788. No war; merely run off intruders	+		+	+		−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−		+	
2789. Stealing stored food	−	−	−	*−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NS
726	o2824. Held ... days before fight	–	–	2	–	–	–	•2	•2	1	•2	6	–	–	–
535	o2825. Lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
	o2826. Lasts ... nights	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	5	–	–	–
	2827. Part of night only	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
	2828. At or near village	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	2829. Outside in open	+	+	–			–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
	2830. Inside in sweat house, around pole	–	–	+			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2831. Dancers abreast in row	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2832. Dancers in circle	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	2833. Each person runs around	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
	2834. Carry bow and arrows	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	–	–	–
	2835. Talk to arrows	–	.	+					+	+	+	.	–	–	–
	2836. Shoot at human effigy	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562]	2837. Men only dance	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2838. Men and women dance	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
	2839. Women carry feathers	–		–				+	–	–	–	.	–	–	
● [533]	2840. Women sing for men	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Painting, Headdress

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NS
714	2841. Contestants paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•
	2842. Red	–	–	+	+	.	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.
	2843. Black	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
	2844. White	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	.
	2845. Face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
	2846. Arms	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	.
	2847. Body and legs	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	.
	2848. Stripes	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	.
[776]	2849. Variable patterns	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	.
	2850. According to guardian spirit	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–
	2851. Head net	–	–	–								+	+	–	–
[301]	2852. Headband	–	–	–					+	+	+	+	+	•+	–
	2853. Bone hairpins	–	–	–					•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–

Procedure

Declaration and Manner of Fighting

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NS
726	2854. Declaration of war	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
[721]	2855. Prearranged encounters	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
	2856. Surprise attacks	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2857. Early morning, before dawn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
	2858. Scouts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	•–	+
	2859. Use owl calls, etc.	•+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	.	–	.
	2860. Hand-to-hand fighting	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2861. Shaman sings											+	+	+	–
	2862. Men killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2863. Women killed	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2864. Children killed	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+

Captives

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NS
727	2865. Prisoners taken	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2866. Women: young	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–
	2867. Children	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2868. Mainly	+	+	+	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2869. Women captives killed	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2870. Kept month or so before being killed	–	.	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2871. Abused, mistreated	–	.	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 881	3606a. Belt given attendant	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3607. Belt hung on tree, end of last dance.	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3608. Public rites: major dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
841	3609. Night dance	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	–	•+	–	•+
881	3609a. Begins 1st night of girl's menstruation	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
535	3610. Day dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–
	3611. Given mainly for girls of rich families	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)
[787]	•3612. Given to avert disaster to participant(s)	•+	•+	+	•–	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	.	+	+	•+	+	–	•–
	3613. Given to have girl get power in dreams	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	.	.	–	–	–	–	–	–
	‡3614. Lasts ... nights or days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•3	•3	5	•5	5	4	5	•1	5	–	1
	‡3615. Repeated for ... subsequent menses.	5	5	•1	•1	•2	•1	2	2	1	1	–	1	–	5	–	±
	3616. Held in dwelling or cookhouse, winter	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3617. Held in sweat house, winter	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	•3618. Held outside, summer or winter	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
	3619. Held outside, summer only	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
	3620. Rainy weather, no dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
	3621. Rainy weather, sing only, in girl's hut	–	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
	•3622. Girl's family in charge	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+
	•3623. Old man in charge	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	+	–	+	–	–
	3623a. Singers in charge	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
[756]	3624. Shaman in charge	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3625. Youths, men participate	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
	3626. Girls, women participate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	•3626a. Girl's suitor may participate	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	–
	3627. Neighbors notified by girl's sister, friend	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3628. Girl dances by self, near group	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3629. 1-2 persons "support" menstruant	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3630. Girl dances with group	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	o3631. Girl dances each night	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	±	•–	+	–	+	–	–
	3632. Youths dance	–	–	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
	3633. Men dance	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
	3634. Old men dance	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
	3635. Betrothed dances with menstruant	–	–	–				•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3636. Women, girls dance	–	–	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3637. Menstruant dances beside fire	+	+	•+	–	–	–	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3638. Menstruant dances back and forth	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3639. Menstruant dances east to west	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3640. Menstruant faces E continually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
	3641. Menstruant rests at intervals	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–
	3642. Men, women dance separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3643. Men, women dance together	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
	3644. Men, women in 1 circle	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
	3645. Men, women in 2 circles	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3646. Men, women abreast, 1 line	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3647. Men, women abreast, 2 lines	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3648. Clockwise start	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+	–	+
	3649. Counterclockwise start	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–
	3650. Dance proceeds around pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3651. Dance proceeds around fire	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
[533	3652. Singers mainly women	+	•+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	±	+	•+	•+	–	•+
562]	3653. Singers mainly men	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3654. Volunteer singers, men and women	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3655. Professional singers	+	+	–					–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
	3656. 1 singer paid	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3657. 4-5 (all) singers paid	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	+	841
3658. Reciprocal obligations only	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	881
3659. Menstruant sings	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	–	–	–	535
3660. Participants join in singing	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
3661. Night singing, minus dancing	–	–	.	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	
3662. "Love" songs sung	•+	•+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
3663. Enemy songs sung, final dance	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3664. Women's songs sung	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	
3665. Special song cycle sung	•+	•+	.	•+	•(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	–	+	
3666. Joking by singers	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	+	[522]
3667. Multiple split-stick rattle used by menstruant, singers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3668. Deer-hoof rattle used by singers	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	–	–	
3669. Deer-hoof rattle used by menstruant	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3670. Stick hit against board, as drum	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
3671. Whistle used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	[533]
3672. Singing, dancing continues throughout night	+	+	–		•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	(+)	
3673. Singing, dancing ends middle of night	–	–	+		–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3674. Entire assembly fed, middle of night.	+	•–	+	+	•+	•+	R	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
3675. Singers, dancers bathe daily	–	–	+					+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	[515]
3676. Girl's attendant(s) have eyebrows, face blackened	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	[292]
3677. Men wear eagle down plumes	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	•–	•–	+	+	–	+	–	–	[237]
3678. Men wear fur headband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	
3679. Men wear woodpecker scalp headband	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	[302]
3680. Men paint face red	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
3680a. Men paint face white	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3680b. Men paint face black	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3681. Men wear bead necklaces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
3682. Men wear head net	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	
3683. Men wear yellowhammer bands	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3684. Menstruant wears braided grass fringed visor	–	–	–	–			•		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3685. Women wear basket cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
3686. Women wear yellowhammer bands													+	+	–	–	
3687. Women wear brush, flower crowns	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
3688. Women paint faces red	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3689. Women paint faces black	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3690. Women carry branches in hands	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3691. Boys, girls wear flower wreaths	–	–	–					•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3692. Dress, headgear changed nightly	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
3693. Public rites: minor day dances.	–	–	+	–	•+	•+	+	(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	•+	–	–	
3694. Menstruant dances	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–	
3695. Men dance	–	–	+	–	–	–		(+)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3696. Women dance	–	–	+	–	•+	•+		(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–	
o3697. Lasts ... days	–	–	8	–	•3	•3		.	–	.	–	(5)	–	5	–	–	
3698. Lasts part of each day only	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–	
3699. Held in open	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–	
3700. Rain in winter, no dance	–	–	(+)	–	–	•–			–		–		–	–	–	–	
3701. Circle dance	–	–	–	–	+	+			–		–		–	–	–	–	
3702. Dancers abreast, 1 line	–	–	+	–	–	–			–				–	–	–	–	
3703. Special songs, female singers	–	–		–	+	+			–		–		–	–	–	–	
3704. Public concluding rites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3705. Held in daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3706. "War" dance	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3707. Round dance	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
3708. Dancers abreast, in 1 line	–	–	–	+				•+									
3708a. Women grasp men's belts	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3709. Feather visor lifted off menstruant	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 4881a. Given in summer only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·–	–	–	+		–	–
535 4882. In open fire sweat house	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4883. In dwelling house	+	+	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4883a. In open	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
4884. Shaman in charge	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+		+	–
4885. Novice doctor dances alone	–	–	·+	·+	·+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4886. All shamans dance	·+	+	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		(+)	–
4887. All men except novice dance	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4888. All prepubescent boys, girls, adults dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
~ 4889. One time only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4890. Dance in 1 spot	·+	+	–	–			–	–	+	–	–	–	–		.	–
4891. Informal dance; jump around								+	+	+	–	–	–		.	–
4892. Room dark	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4893. Small fire for light	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		+	–
[533] 4894. All or anyone sings	–	–	·+	·+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4895. Men, women lie on back before dance; sing			–		–			+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4896. Women sing	·+	+	·+	·+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4897. Some men sing	+	+	·+	·+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+		(+)	–
4898. Singers kick on floor planks	+	+	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4899. Sit on stools, pieces of wood	–	–	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4900. Outside speaker calls spirits to sweat house	+	+	·+		–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4901. Novice(s) bleed at mouth	+	·+	+	+	·+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+		+	–
4902. Fall in trance	–	–	·+		+			+	+	+	–	–	+		+	–
4903. Not touched until next morning	–	–	–		–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4904. Grabbed	–	–	·+		–			–	–	–	–	–	+		.	–
4905. Older shaman may deprive novice of power	·+	.	·+	–	–				·+		–	–	–		–	–
4906. Disease organisms fly around in air	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4907. Novice enters house via regular entrance	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4908. Novice swallows and vomits up pains	·+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4909. Exhibits pains	+	+	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4910. Novice or doctors handle fire, hot stones	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+		+	·+
4911. Eat fire	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	–	–	·–	+	–	–	–		.	+
4912. Novice or doctors eat pounded obsidian	(+)	+	·+	·+			–	–	–	–	–	–	–		.	–
4913. Novice can start curing immediately after dance	(+)	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	·+	·+	–	–	·–		(+)	–
[533] 4914. Novice sings in sweat house; no dancing	–	–	–	–	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–
4915. Novice, in training, sings by himself	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
4916. Novice trains outside in woods	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		+	–
4917. With older shamans	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	–
4918. Small fire for light	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	–
4919. Bleeds at mouth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
4920. Falls in trance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
4921. Taught to handle fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
4922. Taught use of medicines	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	.
4923. For ... days and nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		4	–
4924. Novice cures, helps cure patient, as part of training	+	+	·(+)	·+	·+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
755 Sucking Doctors: Curing Techniques																
o4925. Treatment lasts ... nights	1	·1	·1	·2	·3	·1	·2	1	2	·1	·1	2	·3		1	1
4926. Public, indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4927. Private, indoors	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		•+	– 755
4928. Doctor has ... assistants	1	2	1	2	•2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		–	–
4929. "Interpreter" for doctor while doctoring, or in trance	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
4930. "Outside speaker" to call doctor's spirit(s)	–	•+	+	•+	+	•–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4931. Friend or relative of doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4932. Must know esoteric language	–	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	– [776]
4933. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	–	–	·	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	•–		–	·
4934. Assistant calls doctor's spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•–		–	– [787]
4935. Spirit takes possession of doctor	•–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	·		–	–
4936. Doctor diagnoses by singing	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		·	+ [533]
4937. Audience joins in songs	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	+
4938. Doctor diagnoses by dancing	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		·	– [535]
4939. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+ [276]
4940. When trance coming on			–					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
o4941. Blows tobacco smoke over patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	±	–	+		–	–
4942. Assistant lights doctor's pipe	+	–	+	•–				+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
4943. Doctor drinks through bark tube	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	– [371]
4944. Has basket cup of water beside him	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
4945. Doctor uses feathers or stick	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	–
4946. Bunch of supernatural feathers	–	+	•+	+	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		·	–
4947. Eagle down	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	–		·	–
4948. Eagle wing	–	–	+					–	–	–		–	–		·	–
4949. Stick	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	–
4950. Doctor uses fire	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	+ [372]
4951. For light only: usually small	+	+	+	•+	•–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	•–
4952. Doctor applies ashes, clay to patient	•+	•+	–	•–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		·	–
4953. Doctor uses charmstone (pestle)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4954. Brushes or fans away disease	–	+	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4955. With feathers	–		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4956. Sprays liquid from mouth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		·	•+
4957. Administers herb medicines	–	–	–					•+	•–	–	•+	•+	–		•+	•+ [278]
4958. Doctor, assistant, or singers use rattle	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
4959. Cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	+	•–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	•+ [534]
4960. Walking cane								+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4961. Beat on plank with board			–						+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4962. Whistle	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		·	–
4963. Doctor's spirit or "pain" tells location of disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+
4964. Tells cause of sickness	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
4965. Doctor can see or feel disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+
4966. Disease object ("pain") sucked out	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+
4967. Directly into doctor's mouth	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4968. Vomited out of mouth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
o4969. Disease object removed with hand	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	±	–	–			–	–
4970. Pus ("bad feelings") sucked out	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+
4971. Women doctors use same technique as men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	– [562]
4972. Disease object tells doctor who sent it	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
•4973. Disease object exhibited	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4974. Put in basket cup of water	–	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–			–
4975. Invisible to all except shamans	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4976. Disease object disappears	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+
4977. By sleight of hand	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	+	+	+	–		–	–
4978. Doctor bites it	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	•+
4979. Doctor swallows it	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4980. Sent back to owner, for revenge, sometimes			+	•–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
4981. Buried	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+		–	+
4982. Blown away			–					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
4983. Burned	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
5024. Blown through pipe	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	.	+	+	+	+		-	-	756
5025. Blown with smoke			+	-	+	•+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+		-	-	754
5026. Disease object put in pipe; pipe offered victim	+	+	-	-	-	-		+	.	+	+	+	+		-	-	
5027. Disease object, evil spirit may use tiny bow	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-	
5028. Shoots at victim	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-		-	-	
5029. Shaman talks to animal spirit, sends it to victim	•+	+	+		+						+		-		-	-	
5030. Disease object injected by animal	+	+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-		-	-	
5031. Dreaming of doctor may cause illness.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+		-	-	
5032. Dreaming of animal may cause illness.	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-		-	-	
5033. Shaman steals victim's soul	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+		-	-	
5034. Heavy fall may also cause soul loss	-	-	-	-	+	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+		-	-	
5035. Shaman causes minor injuries that lead to death	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
5036. Curing doctors hired to kill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	
5037. Malevolent doctor killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	756
5038. Burned to death	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5039. Jumped upon, neck broken											+	+	+		-	-	683
5040. Shot with bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	•+		+	-	
5041. Poisoned by another shaman	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-		-	-	
5042. Chief's consent necessary	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	•+	•+		-	-	
5043. Relative of victim kills doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+		+	-	
5044. Chief kills doctor	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	-		(-)	-	
5045. Chief hires killers	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	.	+	+		-	-	
5046. Woman may hire killers	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+	+		+	-	
Sucking Doctors: Competitions																	
5047. Competitions of sucking shamans	•+	•+	(+)	-	-	-	+	-	r	•-	+	-	(+)		-	-	578 756
5048. Male shamans only	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	[562]
5049. Sing, charm opponent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
5050. Shaman sings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+		-	-	
5051. Shakes cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5052. Is "shot" by sun	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5053. Shamans boast of power	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-		-	-	
5054. Exchange pipes filled with tobacco.	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	[274]
c5055. Inhale from pipes ... times	5	5	.	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5056. Overpowered shaman cures self	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
5057. Overpowered shaman cured by winner.	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5058. Sometimes dies	-	•+	.	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
5059. Contest held publicly	+	(+)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5060. Contest held privately	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
Singing Shamans																	
5060a. Singing shamans recognized	-	(-)	+	•R	-	+	-	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•-	•-	756
5061. Men	-	-	-		-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	533
5062. Women	-	-	-		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	-	
5063. Power acquired during sleep	-	-	.		-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-	
5064. Power acquired by vision, often unsought	-	-	.		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5065. Knowledge acquired by instruction	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5066. May also be sucking doctor	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	
5067. Limited power only	-	-	[illegible]		-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	
5068. Use outfit bundle	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5069. Kept inside house	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5070. Buried with patient if latter dies.	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5071. Burned at owner's death	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
533 5072. Diagnosis by singing, rubbing patient	–	–	+		–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
5073. Singing, rubbing to cure patient	–	–	+		–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
5074. Brushes patient	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
5075. Sprinkles water from feather on patient	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
5076. Sucks patient	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
5077. Sprays water from mouth on patient	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–		–	–
5078. Can foretell future events											+	+	+		–	–
[775] 5079. Performs in round house, at night											+	+	+	+	–	–
5080. Spirit comes and sings in dark													+	+	–	–
774 755 Soul-Loss Doctors																
756 5081. Soul loss doctors recognized	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
[562] 5081a. Men	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
5082. Women	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
5083. Is also sucking doctor	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
5084. Inherit power	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
5085. Power through vision, dream	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
5086. Instructed by older shaman, or in dance	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
5087. Shaman sucks on head, neck	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	(–)		–	–
5088. Shaman sends own soul after lost one	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)		–	–
5089. Shaman sends guardian spirit to catch soul	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)		–	–
5090. Shaman goes outside to coax soul back	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
5091. Sings	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+		–	–
5092. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
5093. Has ... assistants	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	1	1	1	–	1	–		–	–
5094. Outside speaker	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5095. Interpreter	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
5096. Spectators sing in house	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
5097. Beat time with 1-2 sticks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5098. Doctor uses cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
5099. Doctor uses bone "bull-roarer"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
[826] 5100. Soul returns through fontanelle	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	+	(–)		–	–
Weather Shamans																
756 5100a. Weather shamans recognized	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
821 5101. Men mostly	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–		–	–
5102. Both sexes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
[562] 5103. Specialized profession	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
5104. Weather shaman may also be curing shaman	+	+	–	–		+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–		–	–
5105. Office inherited	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–
5106. Knowledge acquired by instruction	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–		–	–
5107. Supernatural experience required	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–		–	–
5108. Make rain by formula, song	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–		–	–
5109. Sing with spectators	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–		–	–
5110. Smoke pipe				–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–		–	–
5111. Motion with hands, 4 directions											+	+	–		–	–
5112. Contortions or dancing	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
5113. Can make fog, high winds	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
5114. Make rain to remove snow	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–		–	–
5115. Can make rain stop	–	+	–	–		+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–		–	–
5116. Performs whenever need arises	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
5117. Paid for performance	–	–	–	–	+	+	3	–	–		–	(+)	–		–	–
5118. Bets made on outcome of	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
5119. Rain doctors, competing, test powers										+	–	–	–		–	–
5120. When doctor cries, rain will ensue	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–		–	+	+		–	–
5121. At funeral	–	–	–	+		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
[763] 5122. Thunders when doctor dies	+	+	.					+	+	+	±	+	+		–	–

534 2153. Kl: 3-4 holes.

000 2160. SE: To accustom player to hold his breath for long time, in order that he may be strong man, good swimmer.

2161. Mo: If shaman has whipsnake for his guardian, he uses elderberry flute; "whipsnake's food is elderberry." Flute also used to imitate bird calls, to obtain hunting luck.

2162. Mo: To make girl sleepy.

[533] 2163. Kl: "Just playing, to all kinds of water snakes." SW: Used by old men, chiefly, playing songs for self-gratification.

Pictographs

[532] 2164. Kl, Mo, At: Pictographs. AE, WT: Petroglyphs. WM: Occasional incised rock found in area.

2169. Mo, SE, WS, MF, NF: Impress of bare human foot on rocks. WS: Footprint is that of Moon, made when traveling; 1 such occurs at Big Bend (Madesi Achomawi area), another near Portuguese Flat, near Dunsmuir. NS: Footprints of bear, 2 does on rock.

RECREATION

Games

Shinny.--

2170. AW: Women's shinny game "learned from tribes NE of AW," ca. 50 years ago, or when informant was "pretty good-sized man." Men's shinny game learned from Round Valley (Mendocino Co.) and Covelo Indians. "The Yuki and Wailaki played it; some of AW [including informant's father] were taken down there by the Whites, and learned to play it there; they brought it back to AW area." WS: Women's shinny game, k'ara; old game.

2172. SW: Preëminently woman's game; "among Karuk down-river a man's game only." Women alone bet on it; women do not bet on any man's game. "When men play hand game, and women not allowed to, latter go outside and start shinny game to help their men if they are losing, by betting and playing too."

2175. AW: In women's game.

2176. AW: For men's shinny game.

2180. AW: For women's shinny game.

2182. WT, WM: Thick bark disks.

2184. Braided, ca. 15 in. long. AW: For women's shinny game.

2187. AW: For men's game.

2188. AW: For women's game.

2189. AW: For men's game.

2194. AW: In men's game.

2195, 2196. AW: In women's game.

2198. AW: In both men's, women's game ball flung straight between 2 poles, slightly higher than poles.

2200. AW: 8, if women play; 6 in men's game.

000 A headman of a single village never collected just his own men and went off to war; he had too small a bunch. Sometimes 3-4 Fall River men [Achomawi proper] would go with the war party."

2796. At: "Hat Creek people gave Round Mountain people pay for helping them fight; gave them beads, arrows, bows" (see note 2771).

2797. WS: No war leader; chief arranges that 40-50 men go to war, from his village, but appoints no leader for group and he himself does not go. MM: Headmen (see note 2619).

2798. At: Chief may stop fight, as when At and N Yana fighting Wintu, N Yana chief finally stopped battle, telling contestants, "You'd better let me talk; stop fighting." So the Wintu "quieted down, and stopped and finally paid. But At had killed Wintun man or so by then, and had their scalps."

2802. SW: That is, by fellow fighters.

[726 2803. Kl: Because he is "a good singer" (?);
[701 WT, WM, MM: because he has power to dodge arrows.
[533]

Preparation

Prognostication; shamanistic activities; practice fighting; war dance; painting.--

2810. WT: Night before war party leaves, all men who intend to go to war practice fighting by dodging arrows that are shot at them; if a man falls down, it is warning he will be killed in war; shaman doctors such and tells him not to go. "But sometimes such men went anyway, and were killed." This practice was not a dance. No women participated.

[726 [756 2812. Kl: Before war party sets out, all warriors line up, outside village; each man holds stone-tipped arrow straight in front of him. Shaman walks down line of men with his back to them; each man strikes in turn at shaman's back, below shoulder, with stone-tipped arrow. If man's arrowhead cuts doctor, latter turns quickly and tells man not to go to war, because he is certain to be killed. Sometimes man, thus forewarned, does not go; "sometimes he does, and is always killed if he does so."

2814. At: Shaman sings all night, on war expedition, for his power, so that enemies' bowstrings will break. In early morning warriors rise, and doctor talks to arrows, saying, "Get up, and wash your face"; then war party leaves.

2817. Mo: Shamans hired to make enemy sleepy.

2818. At: During fight shaman stays behind tree, all time, "giving out his power."

2820. Considered in nature of "training" for war. WT: See note 2810.

[726 [535] 2823. Kl: No real war dance; cp. Spier, Klamath, pp. 29-30. Mo: Ho·laklal; of minor importance; "just a little practice, for part of night, to show how active they are going to be, in war." WT: "Arrow dance"; men, only, build small fire at night, outside; talk to bows and arrows men who are going to war will take with

[210-B]

000 trothed not subject to any of above regulations, but dances with girl for 3 periods and is dressed well when on view with menstruant year after girl first menstruates. Morning following this large final puberty dance parents of girl and betrothed line up in row, singing; girl and youth dance, hand in hand, in front of line 1 hour; boy then takes girl to his father's house, all guests depart, couple considered married. This done only by virgins, chaste boys; marriage has been arranged previously by parents of principals; common form of marriage, "done often." Betrothal dance, doharilpurik. All other groups explicitly denied any such puberty marriage customs as described herein for AE, WS.

3637. SE: With back toward fire, however. AE: Singers between girl and fire (see fig., note 3628).

3641. SW: Between dances men and women sit in line or group, with menstruant in front of them; women, mainly, sing, although men may help. Sing special women's songs that are used only for this purpose; also sing songs of more exoteric nature. MM: Girl rests at intervals during night's dancing; also dances 4 nights, rests on fifth, on sixth has ears pierced, dances and runs in morning.

3652. Mo: Men sing for few hours, then go home; women stay and sing all night. NF, NM, MV: 2 female singers figure prominently in accounts of ceremony.

3653. AW: Men sing for girl, passing rattle as each sings in turn. Any woman takes rattle, sings, if she is good singer.

[53 3]
[56 2]
[88 1]

3654. Kl: "Have 1 singer they hire, a woman; they pay her. Then lots of people help her sing, men and women."

3659. At: Occasionally only, if mother thinks girl is tired. Mother also rubs ashes on girl's legs, if girl tired.

3661. SW: See note 3641.

[53 3]
[56 2]
[88 1]

3662. Kl, Mo: Men and women sing about each other (see Spier, Klamath, p. 69).

3665. Kl, Mo: Begin with an evening song, and end in morning at daylight with a morning song (see Spier, Klamath, p. 69). During night sing "love" songs (see note 3662). SW: See note 3641. Brush dance is 1 of dances given during puberty dance; men carry bows and arrows. At: In winter sing of snow melting; other songs in regular (?) order.

[52 2]
[53 3]
[88 1]

3666. Kl: Singers and others, joke with menstruant as she dances. MF, NF: Joking by clown.

3668. At: Use 2 deer-hoof rattles during night dance; 1 for singers, 1 to keep passing to persons who are sleepy. At end of night dancing, menstruant given rattle and told to go and run; she rattles and sings throughout day by herself. NM: Deer-hoof rattle, kosiltil.

3669. At: See note 3668. WM: Deer-hoofs used for this rattle have been saved, hung up in top part of house in smoke, for several years (cf. note 3547).

[221-B]

000 at sun; Sun "shoots" shaman, who is "killed" and falls down, and another shaman has to shake him by feet and awaken him; stricken shaman has blood streaming from nose. Clowns function at this dance.

4878a. SE, SW: Refers to dance novice performs alone. WT, WM, WS: Held immediately before and during time vision obtained.

4879. SE, SW: Refers to dance novice performs alone.

4880. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4881. SW: Refers to public winter dance. AW: See note 4805 AW.

4881a. WS: Held once year, in spring only; "not in winter--too cold; not in summer--too warm."

4885. SE, SW: Refers to novice's dance by self, not to public winter dance. At: "After man gets his power [from vision quest] he dances, while sweating, 1 day and night after returning home. He dances by himself; children must keep away from the sweat house, and keep quiet. The next day his family prepares food, and he eats alone. But he doesn't doctor for a long time after this."

[756] [535] 4886. Kl: 3-4 shamans attend. One midwinter dance, only, given for all 4 local groups of Kl (see also note 4437 Kl). SW: Refers to public winter dance.

[756] [535] 4890. Kl: 2 groups, 6 men each, dance on 1 side of fire inside house.

4894. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

[756] [535] [533] [562] 4896. Kl: Women sit in circle around house, next to wall, singing for male dancers. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4897-4900. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4901. Mo: Any time shaman becomes excited, his spirit causes him to bleed at mouth; therefore shaman always keeps quiet around his house. At: This does not happen during any public doctor-making dance (of which At have none), but if novice attends curing performance by older shaman, he may fall down in faint and blood comes from his mouth. Older shaman then sings for him and, when boy revives, tells him he had better help him cure patient. See note 4924.

4902-4904. SE: Refers to public winter dance.

756 4905. Kl: "Sometimes the old doctors are jealous because there's a new doctor, so they poison him, right there. The 'mean' doctor's medicine [perhaps weasel, or bear] meets that new doctor's medicine [guardian spirit] up in the mountains somewhere; the old doctor's medicine hides and catches the new doctor's medicine, and 'poisons' the new doctor thus. When the new doctor becomes sick from this [very soon after the dance], he says, 'Some doctor gave me poison; I'm sick.' One old man will ask him, 'What's the matter, what's the matter; what did they do to you?' The new doctor tells the old man that the mean doctor's medicine has grabbed his own medicine; that's why he has taken sick. So he lies down all the time and sings; he sings his medicine.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

000

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17. Their chief, Monchnkasgitk, was characterized as a Snake-Klamath interbreed. Wheeler-Voegelin (1955), p. 105.

18. Spier (1930), p. 28; Curtis (1924), p. 163. A traditional satirical song, of the type sung during the girl's puberty dance, pictures the bobbing of the Williamson River canoes, heavy with their dead as an aftermath of this conflict, and smeared with pitch in mourning. I was seriously cautioned not to repeat it in the presence of members of that tribelet, who would still be angered to hear it.

19. The analysis of Klamath myth upon which the preceding statements are based is to be found in Stern (1963).

20. Spencer (1956), pp. 84 ff. details one instance of such destruction between cousins, but they came from different hamlets. Modern instances for which sufficient facts have been reported have lain between nonkin.

21. Cf. Spier (1930), p. 28.

22. Stern (1956), pp. 272 ff.

TWO. THE FRONTIER CONDITION

1. The following section draws upon Stern (1956), in which the presentation is somewhat more detailed.

2. Ray and others (1938), pp. 384-415.

3. Elliot (1910), pp. 210-11; Stern (1956), p. 272.

4. Hale in *U.S. Exploring Expedition, etc.* (1846), VI, 218; Jacobs (1958), p. 204, segments 26, 27.

5. Spier (1930), p. 7.

6. Clark (1927), I, pp. 56-57.

7. Spier (1930), p. 43.

8. Stern (1956), p. 271 ff.

9. Spier (1930), p. 29. For Modoc members, see Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, p. 16.

10. Spier (1930), pp. 35, 41; Spencer (1952a).

11. Stern (1956), p. 243, n.42.

12. Chiloquin, Hill, David: Stern (1956), pp. 242 ff.; Lileks: Spier (1930), p. 44.

13. Victor (1870), pp. 347-49; see also Victor (1894), pp. 73-74.

14. Early whites: Spier (1930), pp. 7-8; Zakoji (1953), pp. 32-33; Stern (1956), p. 232. Piupiumaksmaks: Bancroft (1888), I, pp. 285-87. Frémont (1845), p. 205. For identity of Frémont's assailants, see Stern (1956), p. 235, n.20. One elder recalls a schoolmate nicknamed "Beard" from a large scar that disfigured her face, received in Frémont's reprisal.

15. Stern (1956), pp. 238-39.

773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however, be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is
free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during
the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of
suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency buildings,
532 which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face
flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also
artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the language
538 fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of
success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration,
assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to
this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes
which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be
the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

538 and locutions, repeated from generation to generation, are not always understood
[173] at the present day by the young people, who most attentively listen to
the aged rhapsodists, when they expound these miraculous stories in the lurid glare of the nocturnal campfire. Nothing in them indicates a migration of these upland tribes from any part of the country into their present homes, and hence the Máklaks must have had undisturbed possession of the headwaters of Klamath River for some centuries prior to the advent of the white population.

197 The various texts obtained clearly exhibit the character of the language
538 actually spoken and the difference existing between the two dialects,
124 but they do not all possess the same linguistic value. The texts of
Dave Hill and others are worded in the conversational language of the tribe, which in many particulars differs from the more elaborate and circumstantial mode of speech which appears in the mythic tales given by
124 Minnie Froben. The "Modoc War" and some of the shorter pieces could be
126 obtained only by putting down the English first and then getting sentence
for sentence in the dialect, whereas the best worded stories and specimens were written in continuous dictation. All texts obtained were carefully revised first with the informants, then with other natives, and all the necessary explanations added at the time.

533 From a purely linguistic view the popular songs or song-lines are the most valuable contributions. The melodies of some of their number deserve to be called pretty, according to our musical taste. To the natives all of them appear harmonious; but when the Western Indian calls some melody "pretty," guided by his musical principles, he very frequently does so in opposition to what our ear tells us to call by this predicate.

124 The Klamath Lake dialect was spoken by the majority of the contributors
191 to my linguistic anthology. I obtained these specimens, with the
exclusion of the Modoc texts, in the autumn of 1877, at the Klamath Reservation, Lake County, Oregon. Though many of these natives speak the Chinook jargon more fluently than English, I never availed myself, for obtaining any information whatever, of that imperfect and hybrid medium, through which the Indians of the Northwest carry on so much of their intercourse.

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hû'k	káltchitchiks	yá-uka;	ubá-us	hûk	káltchitchiksam	tchutĕnō'tkish.
the	spider	treats him;	a piece of deer-skin		of the spider	(is) the curing-tool.

Tsúi	húnkantka	ubá-ustka	tchutá;	tätáktak	huk	kálak	mā'sha,	gä'tak
Then	by means of that	deer-skin	he treats (him);	just the size of the spot	that	relapse	is infected,	so much

ubá-ush	ktû'shka	tä'tak	huk	mā'sha.	Tsúi	hûk	káltchitchiks	siunóta
of deer-skin	he cuts out	as where	he	is suffering.	Then		the "spider" song	is started

nä'dsk̲ank	hû'nk	ubá-ush.	Tchû'yuk	p'laíta	nétatka	skútash,	tsúi	sha	hû'nk
while applying	that	skin-piece.	And he	over it	he stretches	a blanket,	and	they	it

udû'pka	hänä'shishtka,	tsûi	hû'k	gutä'ga	tsulä'kshtat;	gä'tsa	lûpí	kiatéga,
strike	with conjurer's arrows,	then	it	enters	into the body;	a particle	firstly	enters,

tsúi	tsulē'ks	k̲'läká,	tchúi	at	pushpúshuk	shlē'sh	hûk	ubá-ush.	Tsúi	mā'ns
then	(it) body	becomes,	and	now	dark it	to look at	that	skin-piece.	Then	after a while

tánkĕni	ak	waítash	hû'k	pûshpúshli	at	mā'ns-gītk	tsulä'ks-sitk	shlä'sh.	Tsí
after so and so many		days	that	black (thing)		at last	(is) flesh-like	to look at.	Thus

ní	sáyuakta;	túmi	hû'nk	sháyuakta	hû'masht-gísht	tchutī'sht;	tsúyuk
I	am informed;	many men		know,	(that) in this manner	were effected cures;	and he then

tsúshni	wä'mpĕle.
always	was well again.

NOTES.

[192]
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72, 1. náyäns hissuáksas: another man than the conjurers of the tribe. The objective case shows that mä'shitk has to be regarded here as the participle of an impersonal verb: mä'sha-nûsh, and mä'sha nû, it ails me, I am sick.

72, 1. kálak, relapse. Relapse is not substantive, but adjective in the sense of a person having fallen back into the same disease by which he was afflicted before; kálkĕla, to fall sick.

[533]

72, 2. yá-uka is remedy in general, spiritual as well as material. Here a tamánuash song is meant by it, which, when sung by the conjurer, will furnish him the certainty if his patient is a relapse or not. There are several of these medicine-songs, but all of them (nánuk hû'k shuī'sh) when consulted point out the spider-medicine as the one to apply in this case. The spider's curing-instrument is that small piece of buckskin (ubá-ush) which has to be inserted under the patient's skin. It is called the spider's medicine because the spider-song is sung during its application. A spider-song in use among the Modocs is given below.

73, 5. hä'näshish appears as the subject of an incantation song in the song-list of Sergeant Morgan.

73, 5. gutä'ga. The whole operation is concealed from the eyes of spectators by a skin or blanket stretched over the patient and the hands of the operator.

73, 5. kiatéga. The buckskin piece has an oblong or longitudinal shape in most instances, and it is passed under the skin sideways and very gradually.

73, 7. tánkĕni ak waítash. Dave Hill gave as an approximate limit five days' time.

VARIOUS ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTICES.

I.

* 539 619 161 É-ukshikni vunépni laláki gítko. Tiná hundred ndankshaptánkni
The Lake people four chiefs have. Once hundred (and) eight times
té-unip hihashuátchχash pé-ulatko É-ushtat, túnepni tá-uuep mák̲laks
ten men (are) at the Lake, five times ten persons
É-ukshikni Yaínakshi. Tiná hundred pēn láp pé-ula látchash. Tumántka
of the Lake people at Yáneks. Once hundred and two (are) lodges. By the crowd
shute-uápka lak̲í.
will be elected a chief.

302 É-ukshikni hushmō'kla hushmoklō'tkishtka; kinkán' smō'k gí'tk,
The Lake men remove the beard with hair-pincers; spare beard they have,
atínsh lák gí'tko. Shiáshgatko lák; snawédshash kaflish pan lák gitk. Hä
long hair having. Is cut (their) hair; a woman belt down to hair wears. If
snáwedshash hishuátchχash mbû'shni, hûnk ktû'tchka; hishuákshash wátch
a female with a man consorts, they crop (her) hair; the man for horses
sχókta: tû'm wátch wuχó-we.
they fine: many horses he has to give up.

372 Shû'dsha lóloks slikuíshtka; tsússak m'nálamtana látchash shû'dsha.
They kindle the fire by fire drill; constantly close to their lodges they have a fire.

Lak̲í kshiulakgishχéni géna nanukä'nash ndéna: "tíds ul wéwalχat! tchä'lχet nánuk! wawálχat! shúinat! híshuaksh pīl shúinat! Nû
A chief to the dance-house goes (and) to all cries out: "straight stand up! sit down ye all! stand up! sing! the men only must sing! Myself
533 tchúinuapk! ī tchuí'n! túla shuín! Tiä'mantk shuī'sh. Átěnish ewá
I will sing! you sing! with (me) sing! (I am) hungry for songs. Now I have enough
shuī'sh; átěni k̲ēléwi shuī'sh."—"Slámuapk ī nánuk! shuáktchuapk ī nánuk!
of songs; now I quit singing." "Stop singing ye all! cry and weep ye every one!
K̲á-i ī shlámuapk, shuínuapk ī nánuk. Nánuk tíds wawálχat! shlä-uápkat
Not ye cease to sing, but sing all of ye. All straight stand up! (and) look at
k̲'lekápksh!"
the corpse!"

II.

000 K̲á-iu Bóshtinash gátpish, Mō'dokni mbá-ush shulō'tantko, pupuitlantchámpkash ka-ilalápsh-kitko, vúnăm mbá-ush tchutchi-esháltko.
Before the Americans arrived, the Modocs in buckskins (were) dressed, with fringes on in leggings dressed, (of) elk's skin dressed in caps.
Shelóluka shtétmashtka ngē'shtka shenótanka; tchiktchikáshtka snawédshash shkéa. Hä' tchilloyága lō'k̲ shiúka ámka táslatch, át hûk
(When) fighting with poisoned arrows they fought; for hatchets a woman they bought. If a young man a grizzly killed or a cougar, then
sheshalólesh k̲ēléχa.
a warrior he became.

*539 90, 11. tchä'lχet for tchä'lχat! sit ye down!

90, 11. 14. wéwalχat, wawálχat. Wálχa means: to look out for, to be expectant; the dancers are commanded to make ready for the next song, which implies that they have to rise upon their feet.

90, 12. tchúinuapk. See *Note* to 70, 3.

[764] [533] 90, 13–15. The words from Slámuapk to ḵ'lekápkah are commands of the chiefs or subchiefs heard at the solemn ceremonies held in or around the lodge of a deceased person the day before the funeral. Chiefs are entrusted with the leadership of choruses sung by those who mourn over the defunct, and in presence of the corpse.

90, 13. 14. shlámuapk for shlámi-uapkat, or shlámi-uapk' i! See Dictionary.

II. The items contained in section II were obtained from J. C. D. Riddle, and are worded in the Modoc dialect.

[291] 90, 17. The Klamath Lakes wore a kind of elk-skin hat, wide brimmed, high and painted in colors, which they called púkalsh tchuyésh. Leggings were called kailálapsh, because they reached to the ground (käila).

000 90, 18. 19. Shelóluka and sheshalólish; both derived from the verb shéllual, to make war, to fight.

90, 18. shtétmashtka. All Indian tribes of the border region between California and Oregon are reported to have fought with poisoned arrows in early times.

91, 1. Nkä'kgiuga, literally: on account of a childbirth. That the father denies to himself the use of meat during ten days is a custom not unlike the world-renowned *couvade;* the sweating has the effect of keeping him at home in such a time when his family stands most in need of his protection.

91, 2. shápēle is flour of any kind of grains and the bread made from such; máḵlaksam pásh, Indian food: edible roots, berries, wókash etc.; lomkóka for the Klamath Lake: spúkli: to sweat in a sweat-house. Cf. *Note* to 89, 7.

91, 3. p'nálam shulótish, the dress which they wore at the time of the childbirth.

91, 4. Tishiwápkash. The Modoc tishíwatko, crooked, stands for Klamath Lake tishílatko, to which compare tikíwatko and tisχantko.

91, 5. ḵalḵállsh. This adjective is variously pronounced ḵálḵali and ḵólḵoli.

91, 6. In its signification lúlpût approaches very near to lúlpat, as the Klamaths would say; lúlpût, however, involves the idea: she *raises* her hand *up* to the eyes. This manipulation probably contributes to some extent to the oblique convergency of both eyes towards the nose or mouth and approaches the Oregonians to the Mongolian type of mankind. All the manipulations described are frequently repeated by mothers and other females inhabiting a lodge, and they often do it without any necessity.

91, 8. nánuki stands for nánuk gi. suéntchăm: in the Modoc dialect suéntch means a baby, infant, while carried on the baby-board; the Klamath Lakes, however, use this word in its original sense of baby-board, cradle-board, to which the infant is strapped or tied.

91, 10. ktcháyash. The application of insects etc., is certainly done for the purpose of rendering children fearless against danger and unmoved by sudden fright in after-life.

*539 **149, 6.** tü'ksh is probably the adessive case of tóke (ō) fire-place, hearth: tók-kshi.

262 **149, 12.** Tchuá is the long. cylindric root of the Sagittaria sagittifolia, an aquatic
824 plant common in the West and East of the United States. In Oregon the term *potato*
192 or wápatu (Chinook jargon) is most commonly heard for it. The name of Chewaukan
Marsh, a sink and low ground situated east of Upper Klamath Lake, is a corruption
[193] of Tchuaχē'ni: "where the arrow-leaf is found." The flower of the wápatu varies
between red, reddish and whitish.

149, 17. Tsuni'ka. The flower has a diameter from two to three inches.

149, 21. Kû'lχamsh is put on strings by the women and thus serves to attract the fish.

149, 21. ptchi'nk: after this word ought to be seen the picture of a tiny vegetal cylinder, about one inch long and slightly curved.

[386] **150, 1.** Skáwanks or wild parsnip, a poisonous plant growing in wet places to the height of three feet.

150, 8. p'nä'sh, contracted from p'nálash, is the direct object (reflective) of shkukluápkasht: to guard themselves against becoming chapped by sun-burns. The wákinsh seems to be a kind of resin and furnishes a red paint, as does also the ḳ'lépki.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSHAM SHUI'SH SHUINŌ'TKISH TCHÍSH.

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INCANTATION SONGS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

1. *Introductory song:*

Yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní *etc.* ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́

I sing, I sing, I sing (in chorus).

2. *Song, reference unknown:*

Wiwiwá! ní sháwalsh wítnank! ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑́ ⏑

Blown off! the plume-crest has disappeared from me!

3. *Song of the wind:*

Kanítala m'sh û shlewitaknû'la? ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑
népaksh a-i ní'sh shlewitaknû'la. ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑

Who, I wonder, is blowing out of my mouth?
The disease is emanating from my mouth.

4. *The conjurer's song:*

Tuá ki nû shatashtaknû'la? ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑
nä'paks nû shatashtaknû'la. ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑
tuá kí' nû shatashtatχí'sh? ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́
nä'paks nû shatashtatχí'sh. ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́

What do I remove from my mouth?
The disease I extract from my mouth.
What is the thing I take out?
It is the disease I am taking out.

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5. *Song of the woodchuck:*

Käīla nû gutí'la nû –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | ⏑

I am descending into the ground.

6. *Little girl's song:*

Shmashmáyalti, shmashmáyalti – ⏑ –́ ⏑ | – ⏑ –́ ⏑

In quill-fringed buckskin dressed,
In porcupine-fringed buckskin dressed.

7. *Song of the washpálaks-fox:*

Ā'kalä'kĕla nû, ä'kalä'kĕla nû –́ ⏑ | – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ‖ –́ ⏑ | – ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Long and slim I am, long and slim I am.

8. *Song of the fire-mantle:*

Lû'luksash nû shkutíya –́ ⏑ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑ | –́

In fire-flames I am enveloped.

9. *Song of the tuákish-crane:*

Nû shnû'lashtat nû tgelī'wa – ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

I stand upon the rim of my nest.

10. *Song of the blind medicine-girl:*

Tchatchĕlushkánka nû tchíutchiûsh shneχī'tko

⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑

I search the ground with my hands, find there the feathers of the yellow hammer and devour them.

11. *Another song of the same:*

Palák! ish hû lûlpalpalíat! ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | –

Quick! make ye eyes for me!

12. *Bird's song:*

Nû'sh pī'lan tiláluansha –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑

As a head only, I roll around.

13. *Song, reference unknown:*

Tuá pash nû? tuá pash ă nû? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ‖ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́

What am I? what am I?

14. *Song, reference unknown:*

Há lúyam'na, nû lúyam'na ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

This round thing I hold in my hand.

15. *Song of the long-tailed black marten:*

A wálχatchăka nû gatáml'χa –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I the black marten, I travel around this land.

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16. *Song of the skunk:*

Yámashtka nû tuituigídaha –́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑

In the north wind I dance around, tail spread, festive and gay.

17. *Chorus song:*

Tuá ki nû k̲óga? ⏑|–́⏑⏑|–́⏑
nä'paks ai nû k̲óga. –́⏑⏑⏑|–́⏑

What do I suck out? The disease I am sucking out.

18. *Song of the boards:*

Pápkash huálta –́⏑⏑|–́⏑

Lumber-boards are rattling.

19. *Song of the lizard:*

Kí! kí'ya nû aíkana –́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑–

Lo! thus I the lizard stick my head out.

20. *Song, reference unknown:*

Yámash ai nû'sh wílamnapka –́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑

The north wind has followed me.

21. *Song of the black mouse:*

Tuá ki nû tashulóla? ⏑–́|⏑–́|⏑⏑–́|⏑
nä'poks ai nû tashulû'la. ⏑–́|⏑–́|⏑⏑–́|⏑

Through what do I pass with my paws?
My paws glide over the hair of the disease.

22. *Song of the washpálaks-fox:*

L'ékish, l'ékish gená –́⏑|–́⏑|⏑–́

Crazed I am wandering.

23. *Song of the weasel:*

Shä'ka nû, shéka nû –́⏑⏑|–́⏑⏑

I am squealing, I am squalling.

24. *Song of the dog:*

Wátchag ai nû nû'kanka, –́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑⏑
yámashtka nû nû'kanka. –́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑⏑

I the dog am straying,
In the north wind I am straying.

25. *Song, reference unknown:*

Shlä'wish á-i nish wílhua –́⏑|–́⏑⏑|–́⏑⏑

The storm gust dashes right on me.

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26. *Song, reference unknown:*
Mû'mëni gé-u stû'kish gi –́⏑⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑
Heavy hailstones I possess.

27. *Song, reference unknown:*
Naínaya! ní'sh shléwish wítnank! ⏑⏑–́|⏑–́|⏑–́
I am shivering! the wind blows down on me!

28. *Song of the bug:*
Shaíχish a-i ní k̲óga –́⏑|–́⏑⏑|–́⏑
I the bug, I bite and suck.

29. *Song of the mink:*
Mû'ashtka nû udumulípka –́⏑|⏑–́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑
I am swimming out while the south wind blows.

30. *Song of the young silver-fox:*
Wánam wéash nû wilamnápka –́⏑|–́⏑⏑|–́⏑|⏑⏑
The young red fox I follow up.

31. *The incantation sings:*
Shuí'sh hátak nû géna nû
I the song I am walking here.

32. *Fox's song:*
Lalálashtala wiká nû ⏑–́|⏑⏑⏑⏑|–́⏑
I am blowing air from my flanks.

33. *Song of the tuákish-crane:*
Tuánχi, tuánχi, tuánχi, tuánχi . . . . . nû. –́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑

34. *Songs, forming refrains to song No.* 33.
a-ahahíya, a-aha-a-ahíya –́⏑⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑⏑⏑|⏑–́⏑
a nû hé-e-i, a nû hé-e-i ⏑–́|–́⏑⏑‖⏑–́|–́⏑⏑

35. *Song of the disease:*
Tuá nû shlewílam'na? ⏑–́|⏑⏑–́|⏑⏑
népaks an shlewílam'na. –́|⏑⏑⏑–́|⏑⏑
What thing do I blow around?
The disease I am blowing around in the air.

36. *Song of the grizzly bear's cub:*
Yaínatat nû eitaktnúla, –́⏑⏑⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑
lû'k̲am nû wéash gi. –́⏑⏑|–́⏑⏑
On the mountain top I am peeping out,
Of the grizzly bear I am the child.

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37. *Song of the female wolf:*

Kă'-utchish gû'lû h'lílantana ⏑́⏑⏑|⏑́⏑|⏑́⏑|⏑́⏑

I, the she-wolf, am rolling against (a tree!)

38. *Spoken by the conjurer while manipulating:*

Netá, netá . . . . hahayí-ía
Nenû', nenû' . . . . hahayí-ía

39. *Song of the tchiwitítikaga-bird:*

K̲ú-i witíla, k̲ú-i witíla ⏑́⏑⏑|⏑́⏑‖⏑́⏑⏑|⏑́⏑

Fearfully the wind blows underneath here.

40. *Song of the blind girl:*

Lúashtka nû lû'tchipka, ⏑́⏑⏑⏑|⏑́⏑⏑
kăíla nákant ni lúyapka. ⏑⏑|⏑́⏑⏑|⏑́⏑⏑

In the fog I am straying blind,
All over the earth I am wandering.

41. *Song of the water-bug:*

Ádshi ádshi tcháya, ádshi ádshi tcháya ⏑́⏑|⏑́⏑|⏑́⏑‖⏑́⏑|⏑́⏑|⏑́⏑

42. *Song of the grizzly bear:*

Kăíla nû hû shlû'tila ⏑́⏑⏑⏑|⏑́⏑⏑

I am scratching up the ground.

43. *Song of the little gray tchikass-bird:*

Yaínash a-i nû shlulóla ⏑́⏑|⏑́⏑⏑⏑|⏑́⏑

I am wafted off from the mountain.

44. *Song of the skō'ks or spirit:*

K̲akó píla nû la-uláwa

Reduced to mere bones, I rattle through the air.

45. *Sung by the disease, found to live in water:*

Shléwishash nû tilutaknû'la

Breath I am emitting.

46. *Song of the grizzly bear:*

Tunépni gé-u wélwash gi, ⏑⏑́|⏑⏑́|⏑⏑́|⏑⏑́
páltko gé-u wélwash gi. ⏑́|⏑⏑́|⏑⏑́|⏑⏑́

I have five water springs and (all) my springs are dry.

47. *Song of the black snake:*

Wámnaksh ai í' nû tûnûlúla ⏑⏑|⏑⏑́|⏑⏑⏑́|⏑́⏑

I the black-spotted snake am hanging here.

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48. *Conjurer's own song:*

Káilanti nû shí'lshila –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

I, the earth, am resounding like the roll of thunder.

49. *Bird's song:*

Nená nû, nená nû ⏑ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

I flutter along the ground (while walking).

50. *Song of the grizzly bear:*

Yaínalam shulúyualsh –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

51. *Woman's song:*

Shutpashuítk gûn snewédshash gî, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
shutpashuítk a ní snewédshash gî. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Painted I am on the body,
I, a woman, am painted black.

52. *Song of the weasel:*

Gaíkash, gaíkash nuyámna –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

Fooling, fooling I run around.

53. *Song of the gray fox:*

Nánuktua nû papí'sh gî ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

Everything I can devour.

54. *The conjurer speaks as follows:*

Hû'masht	hûk gēk	lupí'	kálkēla,	hût hûnk	tchí'ka-ag	tutiχólatk
Therefore	this (patient)	first	was hurt,	that	(his) mother	after dreaming

unák	pápka.	At tchík	hûnk kē'k	k̲'lékshashtala	télshampka.
early	ate.	Then	this (patient)	to the spirit-land	turned his face.

55. *Conjurer speaks:*

Kágga	waktála	î	nûshχē'ni	nía	hémkanksh	wáshî	liwátchamp-kish?
What	(and) why then	you	towards me	a while ago	were speaking	indoors	to hold up (the patient)?

56. *Conjurer's song:*

Tuátala nish hû lχetk̲núla? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑
gû'pal a-í nish lχetk̲núla. –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑

What is coming out of my mouth?
Black substance is hanging down from my mouth.

57. *Song, reference unknown:*

Lúash ai nû'sh a lû'lamnapka –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑

Fog followed drifting after me.

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58. *Song of the turtle:*

Tuá ki nish lé-ula? - -́ | - - - -́ | ⏑

Which game did you play with me?

NOTES.

[115]
[124]

This long series of shamanic songs in use on the Williamson River was obtained from *Mary*, a young pupil of the boarding school of Indian children at the Klamath agency. When living among the Indians on the Williamson River she had heard all these songs very frequently, and in an interesting evening entertainment she faithfully reproduced the manipulations of the male and female conjurers upon a little rag baby lying on the floor on a bed made up of old blankets, the figure representing some poor suffering Indian patient. The other Indian girls of the school joined in a lively chorus every time when she had fairly started any of these incantations, and given the signal by clapping hands.

On the day following these incantations were dictated, translated and explained to me by *Minnie Froben*, assisted by Mary, and though both persisted in the statement that the order in which the songs are sung was quite immaterial, I present them here in the order in which I obtained them.

Each of these song-lines is sung many times by the conjurer, then *repeated* by the chorus a dozen times or more. The chorus varies the melody somewhat each time, but this musical variation is so slight and insignificant that the general impression of monotony is not dispelled by it. Quite a number of these songs have very pretty melodies, but by long repetition even these must of course produce tediousness and disgust; other songs have weird and strange tunes, others are quaint, but almost repulsive by their shrill accents; these may be said to form the transition to the mere howls and imitations of animal voices, which are frequent also in doctoring ceremonies, but more frequent in the war-shouts and funereal cries and wailings.

The animal or object of nature to which the conjurer attributes each of the song-lines was not remembered in every instance. Where this reference was obtained, it was added at the head of the song or song-line. The animals mentioned in these songs are all supposed to have been sent out by the conjurer to look out for the whereabouts of the *personified* disease, from which the patient is suffering, and whatever the conjurer sings about the animals refers to what he sees them doing while on their errand. On the distinction made between shuí'sh and shuinō'tkish cf. *Note* to song 9.

Kiúksam shuí'sh is not merely a conjurer's song, but a mysterious agency connected with a spell of preternatural power. This spell is not exclusively attached to a song sung by a conjurer, but it may be borne also by a dream, disease, by some drug, or by that kind of witchcraft which is called elsewhere the evil eye. Kiúksam shuí'sh is therefore a beneficial or destructive tamánuash agency, which when applied to a patient can cure him or make him worse; when appearing under the shape of a dream, it is a dream of good or one of bad augury.

The conjurer sometimes diversifies his songs, all of which are sung in the *minor* keys, by inserting spoken words relating to the condition of the patient and the effects of his treatments; specimens of this are given in 38. 54. 55. Parts of them are also repeated by the chorus.

*539 Many Indians do not understand all these songs, which contain many archaic forms
533 and words, and the conjurers themselves are generally loth to give their meaning, even
755 if they should understand them. Some songs are of a stereotypic application in the
treatment of all or the majority of the maladies. A close familiarity with the habits of animals of the forest manifests itself throughout, as well as in the mythic tales.

*539 The translations added by me are not literal; they render the meaning of the
533 songs in a free and paraphrastic manner. In the metrics the accentuated syllables
755 designate a higher pitch of the singing voice.

192 153; 2. Literally: "I blew off the feather-crest."

153; 3. To read: shléwi witχnû'lank, seems preferable in this connection. Cf. 35.

[292] 154; 6. On grand occasions young women were in the habit of dressing in buckskin robes, fringed with porcupine quills (shmáyalsh). In a myth the bull-frog was reported to wear constantly this kind of dress, and hence originated a sort of proverbial locution: kó-e shmashmáyalti: "the bull-frog in the shmáyalsh-dress." Cf. shmáyam. Zoologists call this frog: Rana pipiens.

154; 7. This is called washpaláksam shul'sh, the medicine-song of the washpálaks-fox species, Vulpes velox. The exterior of this fox may be sketched by the words: ă'kelă'kĕla wátchag hû'tchnuk, a long-bodied dog is running or trotting. Cf. song 22.

154; 9. This is called the tuáksham shuinō'tkish or incantation sung by the crane itself through the mouth of the conj[illegible]r. Nobody could hear the bird's voice if the conjurer did not sing its song. A song, which the conjurer sings for himself and by which he does not interpret any animal or other object of nature, is called kiúksam shui'sh and is endowed with magic powers. In the West of the United States the tuákish is popularly known as shitepoke, in the East as fly-up-the-creek.

[825] 154; 10. The feathers of the yellow hammer are worn on neck as an ornament.

[301] 154; 12. This refers to a certain large bird not specified, which contracts its body, so that the head seems to be its largest part. When walking, the bird seems to roll around on the prairie. Pílan for píla nû.

154; 14. The object to which song 14 refers is not known.

154; 15. Walχátchaga is very probably, though not certainly, a kind of marten. Mantles were made of its fur. This rimed incantation is called walχátchkalam shuinō'tkish.

155; 16. Called: tcháshisham shuinō'tkish; melody very pretty. The diphthong ui is pronounced here as *one* syllable. Skunks, while running around, are in the habit of holding straight up their bushy tails, which are almost as long as their bodies.

155; 17. This pretty song is chanted by the choristers while the kíuks feigns to suck out of the body the tiny object which is supposed to have caused the disease, and before he gets it out. k̲óga, k̲ók̲a means originally *to bite;* bite first, then suck the disease out.

155; 18. Pápkash is pronounced almost like pávkash; 144, 11. k̲ópk̲a like k̲óvka.

155; 19. Alludes to a peculiar nodding observed in lizards when running out of their holes and stopping at the issue.

155; 20. The animal to which this song refers is not known. Compare No. 16. 24. The literal meaning is: "The north wind blows around me from the distance."

155; 21. This song, with a beautiful melody, is the shuinō'tkish of a mouse species with pig-like proboscis.

*539 155; 22. l'ékah, léksh, distr. lélakah crazy, maddened, intoxicated. This song is
533 sung also: lē-ē'ksh, lē-ē'kah gená: ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ Cf. 154; 7.

755 155; 23. The weasel is squealing, because hunters have caught or trapped it.

192 156; 26. Probably refers to one of those birds to whom the power is attributed to bring about storms, fog, snow, or any change of the weather.

156; 27. Compare songs 2 and 3.

156; 28. This bug, perhaps a scarabee, bites the skin to suck out the disease from the wound.

156; 30. This is probably a song of the wind, not of the young silver-fox (as I was told), and I have translated it as such. The song No. 20 is analogous to it in every respect; the winds, which the Indians constantly compare with the spread of the disease, are frequently mentioned in these songs as blowing upon some animal or other object sent out by the conjurer to discover the whereabouts of the disease. Cf. No. 16. 20. 24. 25. 29. 30. 43. and 57.

156; 32. This song is said to allude to the circumstance that one fox's howl seems to sound like the cries of many foxes howling together. Lalálash are both sides of one and the same beast.

156; 33. With these monotonous sounds the tuákash or tuákish calls itself by its own cry: tuák, wák, tuák. Tuáng̯i is: tuák nl gi "tuák I am crying." Cf. 154; 9. Two refrains to this line are formed by the two lines of No. 34.

156; 35. The *personified* disease spreads the germs of sickness through the atmosphere. This song is comparable to songs 3 and 45.

157; 37. The signification of h'ílantana could not be disclosed, but it seems to be similar to that of tílantana.

157; 39. This small bird is dark, and has a red or yellow neck.

157; 43. Speaks of a fog drifting away from the mountains and turning into a cloud, which is drifting also.

157; 44. The bones of a dead person's skeleton are supposed to rattle against each other, the spirit being here identified with the skeleton.

157; 46. Often sung wélwashi gi; epenthetic syllables are frequent in these songs, *e. g.* walχátchika in song 15.

157; 47. The wáměnigsh or wámn'aks, a species of Pityophis, has large black spots and frequently occurs in the Klamath country. Tunulúla means to hang down over something as over a rock.

158; 48. This is sung when water is poured over the patient. A more literal translation would be: "I am resounding within the ground."

[823] 158; 50. Yaínalam shulóyualsh means round, cylindric or globiform objects standing in a row on a mountain. The den of the grizzly bear is supposed to be in the mountains or on a mountain top. Cf. song 36. My informants did not know what the objects were which stood in a series, but if any religious notions were connected with them, we may compare the three sacred rocks standing on a mountain top in Peruvian mythology. These rocks were fetishes indicative of stone worship, representing a mother with two sons. Another myth mentions four of them, representing Catequil (the god of thunder), Viracocha, a sun god and a fire god. The song No. 50 is sung by the chorus while the kiuks is dancing.

*539 ●533 755 [302] [193]

158; 51. The paint was put on expressly for the dance and smeared across her breast or anywhere on body; gûn for kê nû, gê nû, vowel û inverted.

158; 54. These spoken words are also repeated by the choristers. The repetition is very long and noisy and winds up in a howling. tutiχólatko, after having ceased to dream. This would imply, that after dreams fasting must be observed as a religious custom. k̲'lékahashtala for the correct form k̲'lekápkashtala. This phrase occurs in 68, 8., and is explained in *Note*.

158; 55. The meaning is rather obscure, probably owing to omissions.

Kiúksham shuí'sh.

CONJURER'S INCANTATIONS.

[115]

Obtained from Chief Johnson and Sub-chief Dave Hill.

1. *Song of the disease:*

Nä'pakshtka hínui nû; k̲aluáshtat nû

By sickness I am prostrate; I am (now) up in the clear sky.

2. *Song of the woodpecker:*

Kóshash ká-a nû piupiutánna –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am picking hard at the bark of a pine tree.

3. *Song of the túktukuash-hawk:*

Knáta nû tchiliká nû ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑

I am pinching hard.

4. *Song of the white-headed eagle:*

K̲alnáshtat nû tchutchúa ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑

I am croaking high up in the skies.

5. *Song of the weasel:*

Käílash nû shuína a ni yána ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́

From under the ground I am singing.

6. *Song of the mink:*

Atín tchelä'wash géna ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́

Ripples in the water-sheet I am spreading far and wide.

7. *Song of the skunk:*

Té-i, té-i, ksiúlχa –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

With shortened steps I am dancing.

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8. *Song of the quiver:*

Yáhiash nû tadsí tadsí –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | –́

9. *Song by a companion of the old frog:*

Kú-e welékash nû wélwash tchalekíya ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ ⏑

An old frog-woman I sit down at the spring.

10. *Song of the gáwi-bird:*

Sháwalish haí nû shlataníya –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

A flint-headed arrow I am ready to dispatch.

11. *Song of the eagle-feather:*

Mû'kash a gī nû, gená nû, hō –́ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́

I am the eagle-feather, I am going down, hō!

12. *Song, reference unknown:*

K̲ú-i hai nen ksíul'ka

I feel too bad for dancing.

13. *Song of the dwarf:*

Na'hnías naní naní naní-a a a nanía . . . . . . nanī, nani-ī-ā

14. *Song, reference unknown:*

Käfla nû spī'amna –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

I am dragging out dirt.

15. *Song, reference unknown:*

Sháppashti nû lak̲í gī

I am the lord of the sun.

16. *Song of the shaiχish-bird:*

Shaiχī'sh gúluaga lulamnóla ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑

I the little black female bird am lost and strayed.

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162; 1. By others this song was given as follows: Nä'paks kinuína k̲alowát nû: "I the disease am meandering through the skies." This variant is evidently preferable to the one above.

162; 2. In the Sahaptin language of the Yákima, Washington Territory, a certain bird is called piúpiu; the Klamath Lakes call a spotted kind of woodpecker shpíu'hpush. Both terms are derived from an onomatopoetic radix piu, imitating the picking at the bark by the woodpecker.

162; 3. The túktukuash or fish-hawk, Pandion carolinensis, occurs in large numbers on the lakes of the Klamath highlands. Like that of many other birds, its Indian name is derived onomatopoetically from its cry.

* 539 • 533 755 192 [825]

163; 4. Of the yaúyal, white-headed or bald eagle, Haliaetus leucocephalus, another conjurer's song was obtained. Cf. 165; 5.

163; 5. The wording of this song could not be obtained with certainty.

163; 6. Stands for: atí tchelä'wash nû géna.

163; 7. té-i, té-i has no meaning, but simply serves to beat the measure when dancing with short steps.

163; 8. This song is said to be that of the quiver (tókanksh) and its purport the same as that of No. 7. Yáhiash is a kind of aquatic bird.

163; 9. A similarly worded song is in the Modoc collection, given by Toby Riddle.

163; 10. Sháwalsh is here lengthened into sháwallsh for metrical reasons.

163; 11. This is a favorite song of a kíuks on the Williamson River, called Skúkum Doctor (stout doctor). Given by Dave Hill, also 12 and 13.

[776] 163; 13. Foot-prints not larger than those of a baby are sometimes discovered in the higher mountains of the Cascade Range. The Indians refer them to a dwarf called na'hnías, whose body can be seen by the conjurers of the tribe only. The dwarf gives them his advice for curing the sicknesses of others and inspires them with a superior kind of knowledge.

163; 14–16 were dictated by an Indian whom I found at Linkville.

163; 15. The name of the animal, probably a bird, to which this conjurer's song refers was not obtained. Cf. shápsam ptchíwip in Dictionary.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSAM SHUÍ'SH.

*539 533 755 [115]

INCANTATIONS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE CONJURERS.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN.

1. *Song of the Lake:*

Ktsálui gé-u é-ush

My lake is glittering in azure colors.

2. *Song of the rain-storm:*

Gé-u a-i népaks népka,
gûlkásh gé-u hû shuísh.

The disease produced by me has arrived,
I am the storm and wind and this is my song.

3. *Song of the conjurer's arrow:*

Gé-u a hû't hänä'sish

This here is my long magic arrow.

4. *Song of the North wind:*

Yámsam gé-u gē'-ish kápa –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑

I am the North wind, and in my path I am irresistible.

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5. *Song of the yaúkal-eagle:*

P'laína nû kshakí'dsha –́ ⏑ | –́ – | –́ ⏑

High up in the skies I describe my magic circles.

6. *Song of the little sucker:*

Yénash ai nîsh sléwish wíta –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Now the wind-gust sings about me, the yĕn-fish.

7. *Words sung by the East wind:*

Yéwa, yéwa, yéwa, yéwa –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Easter, easter, eastern, eastern.

8. *Song of a black snake:*

Kámtilagam gé-u génhuîsh –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ –

This is mine, the black snake's, gait.

9. *Conjurer's kat'hiáwash-incantation:*

Gé-u hût ké-ish kat'hiáwasam

Thus I walk when I tie up the hair.

10. *Song of the black ground-mouse or kĕláyua:*

Munána nû shuiná

Down in the dark ground I am singing my strain.

11. *Conjurer's song of the rope:*

Kĕnúks a-i nû stû'nχî-uapk ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | – ⏑ ⏑

I will pull a rope from my entrails.

12. *Gray wolf's song:*

Ké-utchish ai nû shuî'sh gî –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am the gray wolf magic song.

13. *Song of the female lizard, kî'a k̲úlu:*

Skû'lala gé-u kä'la kíalam ké-ish

The land on which I, the female lizard, am treading, belongs to the lark.

14. *Song of the male lizard, kî'a lak̲i:*

Ktsálui kî'alam gé-u ké-ish

When I the lizard am walking, my body is resplendent with colors.

15. *Song of the kilídshiksh-duck:*

Tselówa gé-u é-us ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

In my lake ripples I am spreading.

16. *Song of the yellow jacket or kî'nsh:*

Nû' ai nen nûtû'yamna

Here I am buzzing around.

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17. *Song of the young deer's claws:*
Kodsí'ngs a gé-u wálta
My deer-claws are rattling.

18. *Song of the kshí'kshnish-hawk:*
Wéash á-i nû kshûkátkal ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑
I carry my offspring with me.

19. *Song of the pelican or kúmal:*
Há wíshtkak nû núyamna – ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑
Noisily I am blowing around.

20. *Song of the swan:*
Kû'sham gé-u wítchtaks
By me, by the swan, this storm has been produced.

21. *Woman's song:*
Kutchí'ngshka hû' mû'luesh
The feet of a young deer are my medicine-tools.

22. *Song of the male k̲áls or k̲álχalsh-bird:*
K̲ā'lsam gé-u lúmalaks
This is my song, the kālsh-bird's, who made the fog.

23. *Song of the female k̲áls-bird:*
K̲álsam kû'lo gé-u lû'malaks
Like my consort, the kālsh-bird, I produce fog at will.

24. *Song of the otter or kólta:*
Conjurer: Gútkaks gé-u népk
The small-pox brought by me, the otter, is upon ye.
Chorus: K̲illí'lga kóltam génuish
The otter's tread has whirled up the dust.

25. *Conjurer's song:*
K̲ó-idsi ai nû shuí'sh gí
I am a conjurer's fatal song.

26. *Funeral song:*
Lû'luksam nû skû'tchaltko
I am now wrapped in the garments of fire-flame.

27. *Song of the mámaktsu-duck:*
Gutitgúlash gé-u népka ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑
Belly-ache is the disease which I carry along with me.

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28. *Song of mpámpaktish-duck:*

Gutí'tkuls gé-u nä'paks

Belly-ache is the disease I am bringing on.

29. *Song of the South wind:*

Mú'ash ai nû' shuí'sh gí, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
käíla nû wikánsha. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

I am the South wind's magic song and sweep over the earth.

30. *Song of the conjurer's implements:*

Tchí hû tché-us mû'luash;
kóltam gé-u hû mû'luash,
sχí'l gé-u hû mû'luash.

So looks the medicine-tool taken from the yellow hammer;
This is my curing-tool, that of the otter;
This is my curing-tool, that of the otter-skin belt.

31. *Song of the black náta-duck:*

Nû ai náta shuí'sh

The náta-duck is now singing about itself.

32. *Song of the nú'sh-tilansnéash-bird:*

Lû'paksh gé-u mû'luash –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

White chalk is my medicine-tool.

33. *Song of the pipe:*

Kátchkalam mû'luash,
pä'ks gé-u mû'luash.

The smoking pipe is my medicine-tool, the implement for the tobacco.

34. *Song of the scoop:*

É-usam mû'luash,
pála hû gé-u mû'luash hû.

This scooping-paddle is my curing-instrument, that tool used on the lake.

35. *Song of the póp-tchikas bird:*

Póp-tsikas nû' shuí'sh gí –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am the incantation of the little póp-tsikas bird.

36. *Song of the shkä'-bird:*

Nû ai nen nû shuí'sh gí, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
p'laína nû kakí'dsa. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am a magic song and circle high above the earth.

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37. *Song of Old Marten or Skélamtch:*

Nû' ai nen aggî'dsha –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I go up and stick fast to the tree.

38. *Song of spirits' walking-stick, or skû'ksam hä'kskish:*

Skû'ks ai nû sî'kamba î

Leaning on a staff, I the dead man's spirit am traveling.

39. *Song of the large black woodpecker:*

Sḵû'kashak nû nä'pka

I the young woodpecker have brought on sickness.

40. *Song of the strap made of otter skin (sχi'l):*

Sχi'l ai nû mû'luash, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
sχî'l ai nû shuî'sh gî. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

I the skin-strap am a conjurer's tool, I am a magic song.

41. *Song of the sχî'b-bird:*

Sχî'pa nû shuî'sh

Of the sχîb-bird I am the song.

Or, in other words:

I the sχîb-bird am singing about myself.

42. *Song of the storm-blast:*

Sléwish ai nû wuyámna

I the storm-wind I wind around.

43. *Song of the lark:*

Nánukash gé-u nä'paksh,
Skólälam gé-u nä'paksh.

The disease brought on by me, the lark, spreads everywhere.

44. *Song of the spú'm or female shkä'-bird:*

Käîlash nû sh'nolóka

I am snapping at the ground.

45. *Song of the sweat-lodge stick-hole:*

Stsaúsawalks gé-u shuî'sh gî –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

This is my song, that of the stick-hole.

46. *Song of the loon or táplal:*

Tseléwash nish shiálamnû taplálas

I am the loon and my waves follow me.

47. *Song of the bodily pains:*

Tatktî'sh ai nû nä'pka

I the painfulness have come upon ye.

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48. *Song of famine or hunger:*

Tiä'mish ai gé-u nä'pka

The pangs of hunger I carry about.

49. *Song of the West wind:*

Tχalamtálkni k̲ú-idsi nû
sléwish hû widsápka.

I the West wind, high above the earth I blow as a pernicious wind-gust.

50. *Song of the túktukuash fish-hawk:*

P'laína nû kshakédsha,
k̲aló ní kshékansha.

High up in the skies I soar and turn my circles.
Through the clear skies I am carrying my prey.

51. *Song of the tsákĕnush, an aquatic bird:*

Kä'lash ak nû wúya tsákĕnûsh

I the tsákĕnush would like to fly over the country.

52. *Song of a gray aquatic fowl, called tchákiuks:*

Shaíkish ai nû yû'ta –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I the shaíkish I walk with ponderous steps.

53. *The little boy's song:*

Tsákiag a-i nû shuí'sh gí,
lĕmé-ish a-i nû shuí'sh gí.

This is my own, the little boy's, song;
About the thunder I am singing now.

54. *Song of the tsántsan-hawk or kingfisher:*

Tsála-esh nû k̲ók̲a tsántsan – – –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ –

I the tsántsan-bird am eating up the salmon.

55. *Song of the weasel or tsásgai:*

Ktsálui nû génhuish

While walking I shine in my multiple colors.

56. *Weasel's magic song:*

Tsaskáyam gé-u kä'la,
guyúma ké-u kä'la.

Mine is this ground, the weasel's,
Muddy is my ground, the weasel's.

57. *Song of the tcháwash-fish:*

Tsáwas ai nû shuí'sh gí

I the tsáwas-fish am singing my own song.

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58. *Song of the tsí'ktu-hawk:*
Yámash a nû shuí'sh;
yámash a gé-u shuí'sh.
About the north wind I am singing,
About the cold winds I am singing.

59. *Tsisχiχi-bird's song:*
Nû ai nen nû shuí'sh gi
I am singing about myself.

60. *Song of the tsiutsiwäsh-bird:*
Tsiutsiwä'sam kē'sh múlua
The snow made by me, the tsiutsíwäsh-bird, is ready to arrive.

61. *Song of the blue jay, or tsχā-utsχā'-ush:*
Sankáwaltk ai nû shuí'sh
High-crested I sing my song.

62. *Song of the large black vulture:*
Tchuaísh ai nû naggí'dsa
I the vulture describe my circles in the air.

63. *Song of the wákash-crane:*
Wákas ní tchekléla
I the wákash-crane crouch on the water's edge.

64. *Song of the young wákash-crane:*
Wakáshak nû nä'pka
The disease brought on comes from me, the young wákash-bird.

65. *Woodpecker's song:*
Wákwakins wínta wálashtat
I, the woodpecker, am holding fast the tree-stem.

66. *Song of the wá'hlas-tree:*
Walásh ai nû wawíkanka ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
I the pole-tree am shaking my crown.

67. *Song of the wá-u'htuash-duck:*
Wa-u'htû'ssam gé-u nä'pka ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑
A sickness has come, and I the wá-u'htuash-duck have produced it.

68. *Song of the mallard-duck:*
Wä'-aks ai ní tchéwa –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
I the mallard float on the water's bosom.

69. *Song of the weíwash-goose:*
Gé-u ai hû't wítchtaks
This tempest is my work.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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70. *Song of the little wipĕlí'wash forest-bird:*
Wipĕli'wash nû shuí'sh gí,
wuipléwĕsh nû shuí'sh.

My own song I sing, I the wipĕlíwash-bird.
I the wuipléwash am singing about myself.

71. *Song of the witkatkish-hawk:*
Gé-u aí hû tû' sáwals, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
witkatkísam gé-u sáwals. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ – | –́ ⏑

My head-crest this is, it is that of the witkatkish-hawk.

NOTES.

[825] The incantations obtained from Morgan are mostly of the kind called shuinō'tkish, and a large number of them are attributed to birds. Some of them probably exist in a more explicit form, which was not remembered, and the rhythmic or musical form was obtained of a part of them only. A literal translation of these song-lines is an impossibility in most instances, if their sense has to be rendered in full; I have therefore furnished only paraphrastic interpretations. The list is alphabetic, and was arranged after the names of the animals, or other personified objects, to which the incantations are attributed. Many of these songs are referred to in the "Subject List of Incantations" given by Morgan.
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164; 1. Ktsálui, to be resplendent with colors, is mainly said of objects showing a blue or purple tinge: pû'ksam shláps ktsáluitko, the camass-plant has a bluish color. This verb is also used when speaking of the rainbow; of the lizard: 165; 14., also of the weasel's fur-skin: 169; 55.

[776] 164; 3. The use of these conjurer's arrows is mentioned 73, 5.

164; 4. Yámsam for Yámasham; cf. *Note* to 111, 4. Of the personified North wind the Indians say "he lives up in the mountains". On the north side the basin of the Williamson River is closed up by high mountains. Gé-ish and génuish, génhuish means the action of going and that of having gone, or the present and the past going; both were translated by "*gait*", "*tread*", a term which does not differ much from the real meaning. Both terms also occur in the songs obtained from "Doctor" John, and are mainly used of quadrupeds, amphibians, and reptiles. [193]

164; 4. kápa probably for gútpa (nû), "I have come".

[136] 165; 6. The yĕ'n sucker-fish is quite abundant in the lakes of the Klamath highlands and has been identified by Prof. E. D. Cope as the Catostomus labiatus.

165; 7. yéwa. In Morgan's series of incantations there are song-lines on wind-gusts, tempests, rain-storms and on the winds blowing from each of the four cardinal points of the compass. These latter are not positively stated to be producers of disease, though they are dreaded on account of their force and violence. The East wind (yéwash) blowing over the alkaline or volcanic, arid lands of Southern Oregon sings: yéwa, yéwa (nû) which does not only signify "I blow from the East", but also "I am howling". [821]

165; 11. Feigning to draw a rope or string from their own posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear.

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● 533 165; 13. It is by no means certain whether the above is the full wording of this
755 song or not.

192 165; 16. nen involves the idea: "you hear it yourselves." Cf. 167; 36. 170; 59.

[534] 166; 17. kódsinkah was in this connection explained by Lílhanksam stĕ'ksh. Conjurers' rattles are made of deer's claws.

166; 18. This hawk is a kind of sparrow-hawk, Falco sparverius.

166; 20. Compare the song of the weíwash-goose: 170; 69.

166; 21. This song of a female conjurer or "doctress" is quite analogous to the song 166; 17.

166; 22. The ḳáls flies around in cold nights followed often by foggy mornings, hence the belief that it makes the fog.

166; 25. Compare the gray wolf's song, 165; 12., which forms alliteration to this.

166; 26. Refers very probably to the cremation of the dead.

[778] 167; 30. In line 2 the same object is alluded to as in line 3, kóltam sχí'l. This is a broad strip of dressed otter skin, ornamented in various ways with shells, feathers, bird-scalps, etc. To all these objects a magic power is attributed severally, and as they are now all united on one strip of skin, this strip must unite the magic powers of them all. The conjurer suspends the sχí'l on his neck and lets it dangle over his chest or back, according to the manipulations in which he is engaged at the time. It is considered as one of the most powerful of all the curing tools or múluash.

167; 32. Alludes to the grayish-white color of this bird, which burrows underground. This bird is also mentioned in 154; 12. and *Note*; cf. also 132, 7. 8.

[193] 168; 41. Sχí'pa is the abbreviated form of the possessive case in -am, as in wásha wéka 105, 9. and *Note* to 105, 7.; in: ní'l wéksa, 144, 1. cf. 165; 13.

168; 44. Interpreted by others: "I am scolding and threatening the earth".

169; 50. Another túktukuash-song is contained in 162; 3. cf. *Note*.

169; 52. Shafkish is another name given to the tchákiuks.

169; 54. The kingfisher or Ceryle alcyon is called in Klamath Lake tchántchan, tsántsan, tchánshan after its cry: tchătchătchă, and chiefly feeds on salmon.

169; 56. The second line was referred by "Sergeant" Morgan to the otter. Cf. 177; 13.

170; 58. This alludes to the name of the bird, which imitates its twittering.

170; 62. This bird circles in the air to discover fish on the lake's surface and to pounce upon them. The tchuaísh is the red headed vulture or black buzzard: Cathartes aura. The Indian name is an imitation of the bird's cry.

170; 63. 64. The wákash-crane is identical with the tuákish, the name being derived from its cry. These birds creep along the edge of the water in search of small fish. Compare the tuákish-songs 154; 9. 156; 33. 34.

170; 65. This song is much better expressed in the series of Modoc incantations: 174; 13. Here as well as there alliteration is perceptible.

[193] 170; 67. After gé-u, the subject of the sentence, nä'paks or the disease, is omitted. In the name of the duck the final -s, -sh is geminated here in the possessive case, to stand for wa-u'htŭ'asam.

[194] 170; 68. In the onomatopoetic word wä'ks the dissimilation of the vowel into wă'-aks is frequently observed. Also pronounced wékash.

170; 69. The weíwash- or waíwash-goose is a long-necked white bird, commonly known as snow-goose: Anser hyperboreus.

000 173; 6. The wind, while entrusted with the search for the disease, is blowing through the skies and sweeping over the earth.

174; 7. The mythic elks who sang this were said to be endowed with human faculties. Allusions not traceable.

174; 8. This is an incantation which would seem to proceed rather from a duck or goose beating its wings while chasing another, than from a fisher. First line Modoc, second, Klamath Lake.

174; 9. The animal had found the *disease* in the water and chased it out to the shore; when there it set the shore on fire and the ground was shaken up under its destructive, ravaging steps.

174; 11. The weasel, returning from its errand, reports to the conjurer, that having found the cause of the patient's disease to be a wicked skû'ks's heart, this was brought by the weasel to the spirit land and breathed out, to be left there. This is the most probable interpretation of all those suggested, for song 11. is said to form a sequel to the weasel's song 10.

174; 13. The kíuks had sent the red headed woodpecker to prospect for his patient's disease in the atmosphere. Alliteration and assonance in profusion.

175; 14. *Meaning:* My eyes are well fitted for the discovery of the patient's disease, hovering in the air, for they are acute, being those of the owl; I am just stepping up my lodge-ladder, the speckled bark of a tree, on the search for the disease. Alliteration is a prominent feature in this incantation. Cf. *Note* to 122, 1. 2.

175; 15. Sent by the conjurer, the spider goes up in the web to prospect for the disease. The verb shows the prefix l-, because the body of the spider is round-shaped.

175; 16. On falling sick, a spirit orders the patient to sing and repeat this Earth-song line for hours.

175; 17. "I have recovered the use of my senses."

K̲ÁK̲ASHAM KÍUKSAM SHUÍSH.

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INCANTATIONS.

GIVEN BY K̲ÁK̲ASH OR "DOCTOR JOHN" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Kálo. Kálo nû na shä'shatk, slä'wish nû na shä'shatk, nû k̲álo p'lái nû wítsa.

Käíla. Käíla ai nû shuí'sh gí; käíla ai ní wálta, käíla nû ai shawálta.

Lú'k. Shäshapsh na shä'shatk; sháshapsham génuish, gé-u génhuish nû géna.

Witä'm. Nû ai witä'm gí, nû ai shúina witä'm; nû ai na shä'shatk an, at an géna: géna an atí, gémpēle an.

*539 *Witä'm k̲ilo.* Witä'm ai ní géna; nû a k̲û'luak, k̲û'luak ai n géna.

533 *Witämága.* Nû a wí'tämak, hótchna n wí'tämak; witämák a n; lápi ai nû witä'mak.

Wátsag. Nû ai hû wátsag; shuí'shank, nû ai shuíná u wáṭsag.

Wĭ'hlág. Nû ai wil'hág, hótchna n wí'l'hag; géna an wí'l'hag, atí' ni géna ṇû; ná-asht shä'shatk wilhága n.

Walχátchka. Nû ai walχátchka, walχátchka n géna; käíla ní géna, nû walk̲átchka.

Kŭ'lta. Nû a kû'lt gí; kû'lta i ni géna, kû'ltam at hûk génuish.

Pĕ'p. Pä'p a nû gí; pä'p an a nû shéshatk; nû a gátpa pä'p, atí ní hû'dshna, nû a hû'dshna.

Tcháshgai. Tcháshgai nû ká-ika, tcháshgai nû géna.

Klĭ'pa. Klípa nû ai shuí'sh; koyóma klí'pam génuish.

Gĭ'wash. Nû ai gí'wash, p'laína nû ai hō'tsna; lā'pi ai ní gí'wash, shéshatk nû gíwash.

K̲ák̲. Nû ai k̲ä'k̲ gí; sáwals gé-u yá-uya.

Wékwekash. Wékwekash ai ní shahuáltampk; nû wékwekash slû'ka, sháwaltchnísh slû'ka wékwekash.

Tsántsan Nû ai tsántsan shuí'sh gí; nû na shä'shatk tsantsaná-ag, nû ai tsántsan shä'wa n.

Shké. Nû ai shgé gí, hû'ntsna a nû, tiä'muk a hû'ntsna, nû a hû'ntsna, mä'makla nû shnû'kuapk, huntsámpĕluapk a nû; nû a k̲ĕlä'wi, tchaggáya nû.

Nanĭ'lash. K̲álowat shidshí'yamna nanílash.

Pĭ'shash Nû ai pí'shash, píshash ná-asht shä'shatk; hût nä'sht shä'shatk pí'shash; guyántsa pí'shash, nû guyántsa.

Shné-ish. Shné-ish an nä'sht shä'shatk.

Táplal. Nû a-i taplál gí, nû'sh a-i shläwí'ta, kä'mat a-i shläwíta.

Mpámpaktish. Mpámpaktish an shiunóta nû, k̲'lekátk an shnayä'na.

Káwiaga. Nû a-i káwiag, skí'ntsn an káwiag.

Tsíālsh. Tsíālsh nû a hû'tsna; gé-u nû káluish.

Tseléyash. Nû a tseléyash shuí'sh gí; tselä'yash mish k̲ók̲a.

Tchŭ'pksh. Ná-asht tchkásh tsû'pkish, nû a na shä'shatk, nû ai mû'ni kiä'm gí.

Nχáka. Nû kitchkán nû an nχáka géna.

*539 *Kû'tcha-aga.* Wínua nû a kû'tsag, shéshatk kû'tsag; pákish wák kû'tsag.

533 *Wekétash.* Nû ai weketásh gí; wéketa nû shahualtámpka, nû shahualtámpka, nû wekétash shéwa.

Mánk̲aga. Ná-asht shä'shatk, mánk̲ag shä'shatk.

Kaknólsh. Gä' a gé-u káknûlsh, gé-u hût káknûlsh; nû shlä-ípēle káknulsh, p'laiwash káknulsh.

Pápkash. Pápkash wálta gé-u a gé-ish; wálta gé-u gé-ish pápksham lû'lp; k̲ä'gi gé-u pápkash gé-ish.

Spû'klish. Nû ai spû'klish, ná-asht shä'shatk.

Shläkótkish. Gé-u a shläkō'tksh, gä' kí hû shlakō'tkísh; wudsí'tsí ánku, túm udsí'tsí; túm í'lχí, túmi ánku, túmi gé-u ánku gí.

Pā'ksh. Shuí'sham gé-u pā'ksh; kátchgal gé-u shuí'sh.

Welĕkag. Nû ai welä'kag; nû a tchía welä'χatkank; gē'k a lû'lp, gē'k a múmuatch.

NOTES.

The majority of these songs are destitute of any interesting and characteristic features, and being of easy interpretation I gave them without translation, adding, however, the necessary remarks in the Dictionary. These phrases are common-place repetitions of some shamanic ideas current in the tribe, and are given in a low jargon or technical slang redundant in elisions and contractions. Only a few of their number [193] are rhythmical. The pronoun nû, I, is often repeated three times in one sentence, in the form of ní, nû, an (a nû), ank (a nû gí), na (nû a).

*539 533 192 Of the thirty-seven objects which have given origin to these songs sixteen do not occur in the shamanic songs given by other informants and two are given here under other headings: the *sky*, paíshash (under kálo), and the *marten*, Skélamtch (under pē'p). I have arranged all the songs in categories of natural objects.

[825] K̲ák̲ash also furnished a series of limbs and organs of certain animals which were supposed to exercise supernatural powers, and therefore were made the subject of a shuí'sh, shuinótkish, or incantation. They are as follows: of the *black bear*, the head, snout, paws, fur and heart; of the *dog*, the head, hair, fur, ears, tail and paws; of the *weasel* (tcháshgai), the head, eyes, snout, nose, chin, long hair, paws and tail; of the *mink*, the paws, snout, fur, tail and heart; of the *shné-ish-duck*, the head and legs; of the *salmon*, the head and fins; of the *fly*, the wings (lás, black or white) and legs. About the *young antelope* and *old woman's spirit* (wíl'hag and welékaga) see below.

176; 2. wítsa. When the clear sky is said to blow with a shrill sound (wítsa), and thus "to sing its own song", this means that the winds are blowing fiercely through the air, high above the ground.

176; 3. This song on the grumbling or rattling earth (wálta, huálta) was made by Doctor John on the subject of his own imprisonment, the cause of which I have related elsewhere.

176; 4. Sháshapsh, Sháshapamtch is the mythologic name of the grizzly bear: 118, 1.

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177; 2. "There are two of us black bear cubs" refers to the circumstance that in mythologic tales two cubs only are found to belong to one bear family. Compare what is said of the gíwash, 177; 14. and *Note* to 118, 1. 7.

177; 5. The name of the young antelope is very differently pronounced. Its ears (mumû'atch wil'hágam) form the subject of a shui'sh.

177; 13. Koyóma. The same idea is met with in 169; 56. 166; 24.

177; 14. gíwash (the *i* pronounced short) is the long, gray-colored squirrel.

178; 7. Púpkash. This song of the lumber-boards was more completely remembered than the one quoted 155; 18.

178; 12. Pä'ksh. A similar tobacco-pipe song is to be found 167; 33.

[754] 178; 13. welékag. Here as well as in all other portions of the globe the idea of sorcery and witchery is associated with that of old women (welékash, old woman; welekága old woman's spirit). Welä'χatka, to travel around or appear as an old woman's spirit.

Nánuktua kiúksam shuí'sh.

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SUBJECT LIST OF VARIOUS KINDS OF INCANTATIONS IN USE AMONG THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

Obtained from "Sergeant" Morgan.

Yámash	North wind
kiúksam shuí'sh,	has an incantation-song.
mû'ash,	south wind,
tχálamash,	west wind,
yéwash,	east wind,
slä'wîsh,	gust of wind,
paíshash,	cloud,
lĕmé-ish,	thunder,
lúepalsh,	lightning,
któdshash,	rain,
gulkásh.	rain mixed with snow.

Sáppas	Sun
kiúksam shuísh,	has a tamánuash-song.
sháp'sam stutí'sh;	mock-sun;
yaína,	mountain,
wálidsh,	rock-cliff,
ktá-i sû'smaluatk,	rocks spotted,
hä'nuash,	upright rocks,
yatí'sh,	upright rocks, smaller,
sámχa-ush,	rocks in river,
é-ush,	lake,
wélwash,	water-spring,
káwam,	eel-spring,
wäyálapsh.	floating ice.

Snáwedsh	Woman
kiúksam shuí'sh,	has a tamánuash-song.
welékag,	old woman's spirit,
tsákiag,	little boy,
tsákiaga	little boy
tsû'χatχant;	restless;
k'mutchä'witk:	the old man:
ḵó-idshi	(is) an untoward
shuí'sh	song
génti	in this
kä'ilati.	country.

Gû'tkaks	Small-pox
kiúksam shuí'sh,	is an incantation,
gudítguls,	belly-ache,
shíllals,	chronic sickness,
tátktish,	pain,
lulúlish,	cramps,
tilótakna,	cause of sickness,
tiä'mish.	hunger.

Munána tatámnish	Male
kiúksam shuí'sh,	has a tamánuash-song.
kĕláyua,	ground-mouse,
múkukag,	field-mouse,
wáshlaag,	chipmunk,

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gí'wash, tsásgai, tsáskaya wéash, kólta wéas, Skélamtch, wálχatska, kútch-
squirrel, weasel, weasel's young, otter's young, Old Marten, black marten, deer's
ingsh, wán, ké-utchish, witä'm, lû'k.
claw, silver-fox, gray wolf, black bear, grizzly.

3 Yaúkal kiúksam shuí'sh, tchuaísh, tsásχībs, skólos, p'laiwash.
Bald eagle has a medicine-song, black vulture, a black night-bird, turkey-buzzard, gray eagle.

Ndukí'sh kiúksam shuí'sh, wítkatkish, tsíktu, tsántsan, túktukuash,
Pigeon hawk has an incantation, small hawk, mice-hawk, little fishing-hawk, fish hawk,
shkä', spû'm.
gray hawk species.

6 Wákwakinsh kiúksam shuí'sh, shpíu'hpush, skaúkush.
Red-headed woodpecker has an incantation, spotted woodpecker, large black woodpecker.

K̲ák̲an kiúksam shuí'sh, tsóks, tchiutchíwäsh, nä'-ulinsh, shuä't.
Crow is a medicine-song, blackbird, "snow-producer," black forest bird, sedge-cock.

Wíhuash kä'-ishalsh sháyuaksh kiúksam shuí'sh, kä'kak-tkaní tsíkka,
Snowbird in snow making expert is a conjurer's medicine, yellowish bird,
9 k̲álχals (k̲áls), tchíkass kahíkshnish, wuiplé-ush, skúlä, tsísχīχī, tchä'-ush,
a spotted night-bird, a mountain forest bird, little forest bird, lark, tsísχīχī, yellow-hammer,
núsh-tilansnéash, tsχä-utsχä'-ush, póp-tsikas.
"rollhead", blue jay, póp-tsikas.

Kû'lla kiúksam shuí'sh, wéaks, náta, mpámpaktish, tsáolaks, mámak-
Red-headed duck has an incantation, mallard, little black duck, small duck, red-eyed duck, black and
12 tsu, kílidshiksh, wá-u'htush, túiti, múläläk, póp-wäks.
white duck, large duck, long legged duck, young duck, shoveler-duck, póp-wäks.

Weíwash kiúksam shuísh, kû'sh, kúmal, tsákĕnush, tchákiuks, táplal.
White goose is a doctor's medicine, swan, pelican, tsákĕnush, a gray fowl, loon.

Méhiäs kiúksam shuí'sh, yä'n, tsuám, tsû'lpas, tcháwash, kû'tagsh,
Trout is a conjurer's medicine-song small sucker, large sucker, tsúlpash-fish, a little sucker, minnow-fish,
15 tsálayash.
salmon.

Wáměnags kiúksam shuí'sh, kámtilag, wíssink, k̲é-ish.
Black snake is a song-medicine, a black snake, garter snake, rattlesnake.

Lä-a-ámbotkish kiúksam shuísh, wä'kätas, kóä, kía, skû'tigs; lak̲í
"Never-Thirsty" is a conjurer's song, green frog, toad, lizard, lizard; chief
18 shuísham kó-ä. Kínsh kiúksam shuísh, ámpuam lák.
(is) of songs toad. Yellow-jacket is a conjurer's medicine, horse-hair.

Wû'kash kiúksam shuí'sh, wássuass, ktséämu, sā'l, waktä'lash, wá'hlas.
Pond-lily seed is a medicine-song, lacustrine grass, aquatic grass, arrow reed, shaft-wood, pole-tree.

Wû'ns kiúksam shuí'sh, ktsík, sákuas, kí'sh; sχī'l, k'nû'ks, ndû'ks,
Dug-out canoe is an incantation, oar, fish-spear, harpoon; otter-skin strings, rope, pestle,
21 pála, kátchgal, sáwals.
scoop, Indian tobacco, arrow-head.

Tánt wakí'sh kiúksam shuí'sh, shashtanû'lōls, wásh, shánhish, pápkas,
Of sweat-house floor inside ladder is a conjurer's song, outside ladder of sweat-house, excavation, rafter, lumber,
stsá-usa wálks, lû'loks, slû'kops, slû'mdamd-wash.
stick-hole, fire, cavity, remains of old sweat-house.

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Lû'baks,	klépki	kiúksam	shuí'sh,	tsé-usam skû'tatk,	tsé-usam tsúyãtk,
White chalk	red paint	are doctors'	songs,	tché-sah-dressed,	tché-sah-head-covered,

tsé-usam lã'sh,	witkakísham lã's.
tché-sah-feather,	hawk's feather.

Kat'sitsutsuéas	kiúksam	shuísh,	kat'hiáwash,	lû'luks-skû'tchaltk,
Snow-flake witchcraft	is a doctor's	song,	hair-tying,	in fire-robed,

skû'ksam	hä'kskish,	hä'näsish.
spirit's	walking-staff,	conjurer's arrow.

NOTES.

[124] All these subjects of tamánuash songs were obtained pell-mell and jotted down in a confusion. A clear insight into the quality of the songs known to this Indian could be attained only by classifying them into categories, as those of natural agencies, the winds, rocks, genera of animals, plants, tools and articles of native dress. Morgan had heard all these songs sung in former years, but when I met him he could remember the texts of those 71 songs only, which are to be found from page 164 to page 171. Many songs of this subject list are sung by the Modoc conjurers also.

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Certain names of uncommon species of animals could not be rendered in English for want of information; to others the Dictionary will afford the best clue.

[193]
[866] 179; 4. káwam or k̲áwam is a possessive case, requiring as its complement ámpû or k̲ók̲e, kok̲eága. To bathe in eel-springs is deemed to be of great influence on character and personal courage, for the constant peril of being bitten by crabs, snakes and other reptiles must necessarily make the bathers scornful against sudden pains.

179; 6. tsû'χatχant, or in its full form: tsûχatχántko, has to be connected attributively with the foregoing word: taákiag tsû'χatχantko "a restless boy, a little boy unable to keep quiet on his seat."

[193] 180; 1. taaskáya wéash, kólta wése show the apocopated form of the possessive before a vocalic sound. This is another example of the rule that Klamath seeks rather than avoids *hiatus*. Cf stsá-usa-wálks 168; 45; 180; 23, and *Note* to 166; 41.

180; 5. spû'm; said to be the female of the fat shkã'-bird. There exist conjurers' songs about both, which I have given in this volume, page 167; 36. 168; 44.

180; 10. póp-tchíkash seems to mean the "drinking *or* sipping bird" (cf. pópo-i).

180; 17. Lã-a-ámbotkish, "the one which refuses to drink" seems to be a newt, Amblystoma, according to the description given of it by the Indians.

180; 17. kóã. The toad or bull-frog tamánuash song is reputed to be the most efficient of all these incantations.

180; 18. Ámpuam lák is a film-like organism moving rapidly in spirals or meanders through the water, and supposed by rustics to originate from the long hair of horses. The primary signification of ámbutka, to be thirsty, is "to return to the water", and the distributive form a-ámbutka here indicates repetition.

180; 19. The list of *plants* is very small when compared to that of the animals, and embodies economical plants only.

180; 22. wásh means *place of residence* in general; but since all the objects in this category refer to the sweat-house, it may be referred to a removal of earth in the floor of this structure; lúloks is the fire burning in the centre of it.

181; 1. tsé-usam skû'tatk: "dressed with feathers of the yellow hammer or red shafted flicker."

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COOING AND WOOING.

I.

1. Yuyulinnē, yuyulinnē, yuyulinnē
I have passed into womanhood.

2. I-unēkeχē'ni a yulína –́ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
After sunset I get unwell.

3. Gä' lish kaní hudshótchipka? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
Who comes there riding towards me?

4. Génu í gít', o-ólka, kinhiä'na! = ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
My little pigeon, fly right into the dovecot!

5. Ginála hólakank; átûtû pä'χtgi! ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ [illegible] | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
This way follow me, before it is full daylight!

6. At mísh mbushä'aluapka láḵiam wéashash gí'sht
⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ –
I want to wed you, for you are the chief's son.

7. Ká-a mísh nû ká-a ní mbushéaluapka, ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑
hûmámasht túma tuá gí'tkuapka. ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – ⏑
Very much I covet you for a husband,
For in times to come you will live in affluence.

8. *She:* Tatá í n'sh tuá woχówe, woχówe, woχówe?
He: É-ukīk pí'la éwank, éwank, éwank!
⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
–́ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑ | –́ – | –́ – | –́ –
She: And when will you pay for me a wedding gift?
He: A canoe I'll give for you half filled with water.

9. Wéwanuish kahiéwuk tála kékekanka –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
He spends much money on women thinking to obtain them easily.

10. Múshmush shû'dshipka ḵáwantk tchilloyága –́ – | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ – | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑
The poor youngster, he is driving one cow only.

11. Géntala ḵá-i gaíkanka púshpushlish hishuákshash!
–́ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ – ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
It is not that black fellow that I am striving to secure!

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26. Wák î nûsh gíug wetû', wetû', ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –̇ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́
i-á-uka hû'lhiank wetû', wetû'. ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́
Why did you become estranged, estranged.
By running in neighbors' houses estranged, estranged?

27. Wák wenníluta nûsh gî'tk?
wák î nûsh gî'tk wennílota?
Why have you become so estranged to me?

28. K̲ó-idsi mák̲laks hō'lalk̲ tchawî'k sanáholiug
A wicked man approaches fast, desirous of a fight.

29. Shenúyatko nî wáti luyā'nitki
I flee before the man who tramps around in the lodge, knife in hand.

30. K̲ó-idshi wátsag shkanákapka k̲ók̲uapkug,
k̲á-i nî shanáhual nû k̲ók̲tkinshkiuk. ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ – | ⏑ –
That vicious dog assails me and will bite,
But I prefer not to scold him for it.

31. Kä'-udshish topínkan wókanka, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
yámat téluitgank wókanka. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑ ⏑
The younger brother of the gray wolf is howling,
After having gone North he is howling.

32. Wásh a léka gî'tk gû' n'sh húyaha –́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | ⏑́
The prairie-wolf full of anger runs away from me.

33. Wásh leká gitk washólalχ tchíkĕlank wátsat
– ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑̇ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑
The maddened prairie-wolf gets away riding on his horse.

34. Wásh léggatχ nî'sh húyaha,
wásh î léggatk' kú nish húyaha! hu-í-yăhă!
Crazy-minded the prairie-wolf flees me;
Maddened in his senses he runs away to a far-off distance.

35. K̲ó-idshi wátch genuála, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
hai yóshinko, yó-osink! – –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
A vicious steed has gone out; he is lost, he is strayed!

36. Tatá mish kaní lápukni gĕnálla?
Who has touched you at both places?

37. Á nû toks shiwága shéwa, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
káyutch mish pátchnam palaléant. –́ – | –́ – | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ –
I hold you to be an innocent girl, though I have not lived with you yet.

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38. Támûdsh pásh nû túmĕna, ∸ – | ∸ – | ∸ – –
wátchagalam wéash shii'walsh túmĕna. ∸ ⏑ ⏑ – | ∸ – | ∸ – | ∸ ⏑ ⏑

Over and over they tell me,
That this scoundrel has insulted me.

39. Gétala stû' newálχa! ∸ ⏑ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑
tuátala tséyalalχ' í? ⏑ ∸ ⏑ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑

Right ahead I follow the uphill path!
Why then do you swing the body around?

40. Waíwash gandíla shiwákshash,
shíwamptchash waíwash gandíla.

White geese saw a woman hiding,
Saw an old maid hiding in the grass.

41. Túhush ō wíllaslīna, ∸ ⏑ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ – ⏑
wílhaslasna, wíllaslīna. ∸ ⏑ – ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ – ⏑
túhush ō wíllaslā, ∸ ⏑ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ –
wílhaslasna, wíllaslā. ∸ ⏑ – ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ –

The mud-hen sprawls on the top;
On the top it rests, it slides from the top.

42. Wī-iltí nû shotelō'la, ∸ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑
púmam nû u-ásh goyéna. ∸ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑

I am rolling up the wī'l, and shall walk around in the beavers' den.

43. Kû'lsh kuleótank kí' nak ĕn gí', ∸ ⏑ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ ⏑ –
múne kuleótank kí' nak ĕn gí'. ∸ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ ⏑ –

The badger entering his den makes nak, nak, nak,
The fat (badger) entering makes nak, nak, nak.

44. K̲á-i wellí'sht í mísh shmákalpsh gí'sh shápa; ∸ ⏑ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ ⏑ | ∸ – ⏑ | ∸ ⏑
wéwanuish gíntak shéwal, shéwal. ∸ ⏑ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑ | ∸ ⏑

Just now you affirmed that hairless you were,
But the women say, that hairy you are.

45. Nápal ai nā'd shuntówa-udsha ⏑ ∸ | ⏑ ∸ | – ∸ | ∸ ⏑ ⏑

We are throwing eggs at each other.

46. E antléya máyas ā

II

000 47. Yuyulinē'pka, yuyulinē'pka ∸ ⏑ | ⏑ ∸ ⏑ ‖ ∸ ⏑ | ⏑ ∸ ⏑
48. Yunigshχē'ni yulína

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NOTES.

*539 533 832 I. Erotic songs obtained from Chief Johnson, Minnie Froben, and others, in the Klamath Lake dialect. The twelve songs obtained from Minnie Froben are among the prettiest and most melodious, as for instance 9. 16. 17. 18. 25. 26., and the eighteen songs dictated by Johnson are of importance for the study of manners and customs, viz: 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. 19. 20. 28. 29. 41. 42. 43 etc.

*539 533 832 192 With the Indians all of these and many other erotic songs pass under the name of *pilpil* or puberty songs. They include lines on signs of womanhood, courting, love sentiments, disappointments in love, marriage fees paid to parents, on marrying and on conjugal life. Some love songs have quite pretty melodies. A few songs of the present interesting series of song-lines seem to treat of commonplace subjects only, as 22. to 24.; 28. to 31., while others apparently contain nothing but heartless mockeries and satiric strictures, like 9. 28. 40. 44. But they all refer in fact to love-making and kindred sentiments, the satiric lines confirming the proverbial inclination of lovers to fight among themselves. I have deemed appropriate to gather all these songs under a heading which unmistakably expresses their real purport.

[194] **182**; 1. The accent is laid sometimes on first, sometimes on second syllable. This word is abbreviated from yuyulinē'pka, as it occurs in the Modoc pilpil song. The event mentioned here is followed by a dance-feast; cf. shúyuχalsh, and **134**; 21.

182; 4. ginhiéna "inside" means into a secluded spot, lodge or enclosure. O-ólka, ô'laka is the diminutive of ô'lsh, the grayish pigeon with the plaintive voice.

182; 7. gítkuapka, a contraction of gítko gi-uápka î.

[583] **182**; 8. Pay a wedding gift is equivalent to purchasing a girl from her parents for a handsome consideration.

[193] **182**; 11. Sung by women. The original as given to me does not contain the negative particle: Géntala nû haíkanka púshpushlish hishuákshash.

183; 12. yan'wán î stands for yanhuáni î.

183; 13. kalí'napka: they are not only "dead but out of sight", as the suffix -apka indicates. This being an erotic song-line, kalínapka simply means that the females looked for are either asleep or absent, and not deceased, as kalína would seem to indicate. 'mutchéwatk for kĕmutchéwatko; cf. **136**, 5.

183; 14. 15. These two songs follow a purely anapæstic metre, No. 15 adding two acatalectic syllables to its three anapæsts. Compare also the first line of **182**; 7. with one supernumerary syllable. As for the contents of **183**; 15. compare the analogous Modoc song **186**; 51.

[194] **183**; 17. Melody very engaging. In lúluash the second *u* is redoubled for metrical reasons. Dactylic rhythm prevails here, in 16, and in **182**; 11.

183; 18. That is, while he was seeking young girls inside the kayátas. Melody very beautiful.

[193] **183**; 19. wayósham, possessive case of waíwash, *q. v.*

183; 20. shkutántki stands for skútatko gî or shkutanátko gî: "he is wrapped in."

183; 21. The much more so, because he is in his festive garb, the pátash and lás stuck on his headdress.

184; 26. Melody very pretty. A young woman addresses these words to a lover.

184; 27. Sung by young women who have fallen out with their beaux.

*539 184; 28. Said to be an erotic song.

● 533 184; 29. luyă'nitki contracted from luyă'nitko gi. Cf. *Note* to 183; 20.

832 184; 30. k̲ók̲tkinshkink. The proper meaning of this verb is "to set upon like a
192 dragon-fly". Shanáhual is an uncommon form for shanahō'li, the long ō being resolved
[193] into its component sounds. Cf. náwal, and 184; 35.: genuála for genō'la.

184; 31. Why did the wolf howl? The reason given is that he could not meet anybody. This wolf is a loving young man who was looking out for women.

184; 32. Sung by one woman and repeated by a female chorus. This song-line treats of the abandonment of a female by her husband or lover for some reason.

184; 33. Pretty melody. The song refers to a lover disappointed in his affections.

184; 33. tchíkla wátsatka is preferable to and more frequent than wátsat, wátchtat, cf. 183; 22. Alliteration is perceptible in this song-line.

184; 34. The wásh is the lover of the girl who sings this song; the lover is compared to a prairie-wolf on account of his importunity and lack of moderation. Comparisons of lovers with quadrupeds and birds are frequently met with.

184; 35. yóshinko for yó-ishiank ō, yó-ishink hû: he is running astray.

[193] 184; 37. shiwága. In the objective case sometimes inflected like snáwedsh *woman* 80, 11. sometimes as a diminutive noun, as here, and 33, 10. In 185; 40. shiwákshash stands incorrectly for shiwágash, through phonetic analogy with shíwamptchash in the same song.

185; 39 to 44, perhaps including 45, have a literal and direct meaning, and besides this are intended to convey an indirect meaning, which is of an obscene character. The same may be said of songs 15 and 51.

185; 41. This melodious song alludes to the habit of mud-hens to rest and sprawl
on the top of the waves; wílhaslasna depicts their motions while on the wave-top,
willaslína the sprawling observed while they sail down from it. With slight phonetic
[199] variations, this same melody is also sung as follows: Tóhosh ō willaslín; willaslasna,
willaslina; willaslí ín.

185; 42. wí'l seems connected with the diminutive word wíl'haga, *young deer*.

[193] 185; 43. kí' nak ĕn gí', stands for gí' nak, nen gí: "he cries nak, so he cries"; assuming that ĕn is abbreviated from nen.

185; 45. This is a "dream" song.

185; 46. Pilpil song worded in another than the Mák̲laks language.

000 II. Erotic songs obtained from Toby Riddle and J. C. D. Riddle in the Modoc dialect. The Modoc pilpil songs obtained are all of a satiric character.

185; 47. See Klamath Lake pilpil songs 182; 1.

185; 48. See Klamath Lake collection of pilpil songs 182; 2.

186; 49. Pilpil tune sung by girls. Taína is equivalent to t'éna, teíniwá-ash etc.

186; 50. A song repeated for hours by young Modocs; it is of the true pilpil kind.

186; 51. Originally a pilpil song, but sung now by children playing hide and seek.

186; 52. This is a very popular and prettily tuned Modoc song.

186; 53. Sung by Modoc girls who feel themselves importuned by their lovers. Often the boys join them by singing it in chorus. This well-meant advice of sending the boys to the South, no doubt to the Pit River country, is to keep them at a distance, for the song refers to the appearance of the first signs of puberty. Watchágalam is full form of watchágam, for which wátcham is sometimes incorrectly substituted.

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000 186; 54. This satiric *carmen amœbæum* is one of the longest pieces in the collection and contains words of reprobation addressed by disappointed girls to their admirers. Sung in chorus by both sexes, with frequent dacapos after different tunes. The suffix -ash repeats itself at the end of every line and in kókuapkash.

186; 55. This little iambic improvisation is very aphoristically and indistinctly worded, but is endowed with perhaps the prettiest tune of all songs in this collection. It is an apostrophe of a newly married wife to her husband, seeing herself deprived even of the most common comfort, a small tanned fur-skin, to repose on and to avoid the dampness of the bare soil.

186; 56. A lover is taunted on account of his predilection for the white man's habits. The Modocs say this is a song of the Klamath Lakes.

186; 58. Admits of no literal translation.

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SONGS OF SATIRE.

I.

1. Kátchkal û'yank amníyamna –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
He goes around giving away sticks of tobacco, and is very noisy about it.

2. Gēt genō'la tsiálash patsō'k Yamakí'shamkshi
– ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
This man has started out to feed on salmon among the northern Indians.

3. Tû'sh hu wiká nénu shésha waíwash tchílamnu?
–́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
Where is it, that close by on a hill waíwash-geese are crowding together?

4. Gé-u káni vû'lkashti wátch hushótchipka? ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
Who rides up to me on my horse, borrowed of me?

5. Tidshá kókatk î shéwa, hashuátan' î! ⏑ – –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
You think you are finely dressed; then mind your own dress!

6. Vû'lχashti kíll'wash shkútatk u'hlutuína
He dresses in a borrowed woodpecker-blanket and trails it along on the ground.

7. Ká tal hû'k mû shétaluatk? –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
Kē' lish tok walχátchkatko gûlí –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́
Who is he, the alleged wealthy man?
She has entered the house of a poorly dressed husband.

8. Lelahówitko wátch wuχóyi –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
Slow-running horses he paid for his wife.

*539 9. Áměta téwank vû'ya teíniwash –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ – | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

533 The young girl shakes her body when planting the camass-stick into the ground.

522 10. Áměta yä'kuank vúyamna –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

Shaking her body she broke the camass-spade.

11. Lá*k*iam pé-ia mat sha käíla kíwalapáta
–́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ – | –́ ⏑ | –́ – | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

The chief's daughter, they say, was dragged along the ground.

12. Î haktchámpesh wénni tchikólalχa, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
klítisham wéash wénni tchikolálχ' î. ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

You always strangely stride on on your long legs.
The crane's progeny, you walk strangely long-legged

13. É-ukshiwash tenuyága hä'la-a hála –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑

A young woman from Klamath Marsh is swallowing, swallowing.

14. Wika-télantko tchä'lish páwa hû ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑

Short-faced like a porcupine that fellow is eating.

15: Lúelat hû'nksh hí't; yánta, yánta –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ – | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Kill ye that fellow on the spot! down with him, down, down!

16. Kä'utchîsh gû'lo sáměnaki' wō'n la*kí* ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑

When the female wolf has devoured the elk-buck she cries for more.

17. Shunuí-uya shuáktcha ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑

I feel unwell and hence am sobbing.

II.

000 18. Ledshántak wiwakní'ka; gaígaikanka ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑

They whipped a telltale; he is now sobbing.

19. Bí'nash mût hû hlívash tilankánsha! –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

The root-basket, they say, is swinging to and fro on Bí'ns back.

20. Ló-i lóyan lóyak, ló-i lóyan lóyak

21. É-ukshikni tenuyáash halá, halá-a ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

A maiden of the Klamath Lakes is swallowing, devouring.

22. Níggă heúĕ héyo, ní'ggă héyo héwe – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ‖ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
túmi níggă, túmi níggă –́ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ‖ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑

NOTES.

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The feelings which dictated these sarcastic song-lines are those of derision, satire and criticism. The majority are of a drastic, some even of a crude and very offensive character, scourging mercilessly the infirmities observed on fellow-men. Many of them

*539 also pass as puberty songs, but I have preferred to class these under the heading of
533 songs of satire. Some are sung with melodies, others are spoken and recited only.

522 I. Satiric songs obtained in the Klamath Lake dialect from Chief Johnson, Minnie Froben and others.

[193] 189; 1. ú'yank. In this term the prefix u- gives the shape in which the tobacco was given away.

189; 2. Refers to somebody going to the Dalles or other place along the Columbia River. Cf. page 93, *Note*.

[192] [193] 189; 3. In this verse there are four particles pointing either to distance or to elevation (altitude): tû'sh, hu, the -u suffixed to nen (nen hu) and to tchílamna. This song is sung by a woman, who hears (nen) for the first time of this assembling of geese; shésha waíwash stands for shéshash waíwash, or shéshatko waíwash: birds called waíwash-geese.

189; 5. A young woman is the object of this song-line.

[237] 189; 6. Woodpecker-scalps of shining colors are still in use for ornamenting various articles of dress, implements, &c. u'hlutuína: he flaunts it and parades in it.

[192] [193] 189; 7. Ká tal? who then? who after all? abbreviated from kaní tala. Dresses made of walχátchka-skins passed for the poorest and meanest of all garments.

[291] 190; 9. This is sung by men only.

190; 13. A satire on feminine voracity. Sung by Klamath women from Klamath Marsh. Cf. below, 190; 21.

190; 12. haktchámpesh; -pesh is the suffix ptchi phonetically altered, the word introducing a comparison of the "striding one" with the young klítish-crane in the same song. A sarcasm on a long-legged person with swinging gait.

190; 16. Regularly worded, this proverb-like verse would read as follows: Kä'atchish gû'lu wŏ'n=lákiash shamĕnakía.

OOO II. Satiric songs obtained in the Modoc dialect from Toby Riddle and J. C. D. Riddle.

190; 18. A tatler has received the deserved bodily punishment for his gossip-tales. Of the first word no grammatic analysis could be obtained in either tribe.

190; 19. The business of gathering edible roots devolves exclusively on women, but here an old man, Bin, who still lives among the Modoc at Yáneks, is indulging in this useful pastime. That 's where the point of the satire lies. Hlívash is a word unknown to the Klamath Lake people in the signification of "basket".

190; 20. Sung by the national deity when foiled in the attempt of killing five lynxes by throwing stones at them; repeated from the shashapkĕléash, page 126, 3. Cf. *Note*.

190; 21. To be found in another version among the Klamath Lake songs; there it refers to a female living on Klamath Marsh, not on Klamath Lake.

190; 22. This tune was with many similar ones improvised by the Modocs, who visited the East a short time after the Modoc war, on seeing crowds of blacks filling the streets. All Indians feel *at first* a peculiar very strong aversion against the Ethiopian race, though subsequently they often become friends and intermarry.

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MISCELLANEOUS SONGS

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE AND MODOC DIALECTS.

1. K̲ó-i ak a nä'pka Yámatkni gatpam'nóka
⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ –́ | ⏑

Disastrous times we had when the Northern Indians arrived.

2. Nä'nu wíka-shítko múkash hä'ma –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I hear the owl's cry and very near it seems to be.

3. Mbû'shant käfla hämō'la, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
shitchákta nä'ts käfla, ⏑ –́ – | –́ ⏑
shiukuapkúka nä'ts kä'la. – – –́ | ⏑ – –́ | ⏑

In the morning the Earth resounded,
Incensed at us was the Earth,
For to kill us wanted the Earth.

4. Wákaptch nen hī'tksh Ê-ukshi nē'pka,
nû' kam hī'tksh telû'lît.

To see how Klamath Marsh appears from there,
I wish to look down on it from that height.

5. K̲ú-idshi nû kī'pash nû lulína

Dressed in poor garments I stray around.

6. Tutíχash nû lulína ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑

I am going astray while dreaming.

7. Kapkáblandaks! ō'kst a tkaléga ndéwa ⏑ –́ | – ⏑ –́ | – ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑

Be silent! her body arises from the dead to scream!

8. Mû'ni nû lak̲í gī, k̲á-i kánam shlékish; –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ‖ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
k̲ó-idsha ne-ulχóga käfla tilangédsha. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ‖ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am a potent chief, nobody controls me;
The mischief-doing world I upset.

9. "Käfla nû shulĕmokē'dsha", –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
kē'nta käílatat tgī'kĕlan shuína. ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑

"I take the Earth up in my arms and with it whirl around in a dance";
On this soil I am standing and singing [the above words].

*539 10. Aíshish kaí nû sha-ûlō'la, –́ – | –́ – – – | –́ –
533 yuhanéash kaí nû sha-ûlō'la. – – | –́ – | –́ – – – | –́ –
171

I Aíshish I shall brandish, I shall brandish my huge sword.

11. Aíshishash hûn gáldshui, –́ – – | – –́ –
hû' mish hû' shnekshituápka. –́ – – | – – – –́ | –

Go to meet Aíshish; he will save you.

12. Tídsh hûn liuleḵán tchiálash shakatchóāla!

Halloo! let us form a circle and screen the salmon against sun-heat!

13. Kilidshí'ga shépolamna –́ – – – | –́ – – –

They carry long-necked ducks on their backs.

14. Kaukátsi Yaína wō'n a shû-û'dshant î! –́ – – | –́ – | –́ – | –́ – | –́ –

Follow up the elk and chase him upon Kaukátsi Mountain!

NOTES.

The first eight songs are worded in the Klamath Lake dialect, the third is of a mythic character. Songs 7–12 are worded in Modoc; 8 and 9 are K'mukámtchiksh songs. A few songs or fragments of such, which would come nearest to what we call nursery or Mother Goose's songs, will be found in the Myth of the Bear and the Antelope: 120, 11. 12. 13. 121, 9. 17. 122, 12. 13.

192; 1. This song is sung by women only, and seems to point to an ancient invasion of the country by tribes from the North or from Columbia River.

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192; 2. The owl's cry is of fatal augury.

192; 3. Girls' song. When at sunrise a haze or fog extends over the country, this is supposed to be a sign of the Earth's wrath against men.

192; 5. kl'pash is no word at all, but seems to stand for gitko-ptchi.

192; 7. The Indians were reticent about the meaning of this song, and hence I presumed that ō'k was intended to mean some deceased person, since these are spoken of as hû'k, *he*, *she*. Then the sense would be: "Be silent! that dead squaw is arising to sing a loud song." One Indian informed me that ō'kata meant a squaw, and pronounced it ō'ksht (húnkisht?). Cf. *Note* to 35, 8 and page 130, second *Note*.

192 193

192; 8. These trochaic verses are called the K'mukámtchiksh-song, and a variant, tuálam, exists for kánam. The alliteration of the k's and n's is very conspicuous. The meaning was given as follows: "I the omnipotent and unseen ruler of the universe will chastise and turn it over for the manifold crimes committed in it by Indians and men of other races."

192; 9. This is another K'múkamtch-song, in which he menaces to destroy the world for its misdoings. I have put the first line in quotation marks, because it forms the words or text of the song. The first line is sung about a dozen times before the second is sung once.

193; 10. Christian song, referring to the day of last judgment. Aíshish, who is a deity representing the powers of nature with animal attributes, has been in the mind of some Modocs identified with Jesus.

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193; 11. Song of Christian origin, in which Aíshish is also identified with Jesus for no other reason than a fancied similarity of names.

193; 12. When of a party of fishing girls one catches a salmon or other large fish, all the others quit their lines, arrive on the spot, roast the fish while singing these words and eat it up.

193; 13. This song is common to Modocs and Klamath Lakes and is descriptive of children amusing themselves with ducks. Pretty melody.

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TUNES AND SONGS WITHOUT WORDS.

WAR WHOOPS.

wéaha wea wéyaha, kawē'ha kaweíha, kawē'ha
kă' kă' kă', wéha wea wéyaha
nóke nóke nóke . . . . . .
howienā' howienā', tchálam tchálam wiéna wienú
howienā' howienā', tchálam etc.
hí ellová hí ellová hí ellová
nkeíha nχeíha nχeíya, nkeíya . . . . . . nχé-u.
ă'-oho ă'-ohō e-ohó . . . . . . í-ihi, i-ihi-ī, í-uhu

HUMMING TUNES.

*539
533

diainaíni diananána, diataínia diatanána
tánanani nannanani, taninananí tanni naninananí
tainánni taninánna, tainaína taninaíni, tánanana
tăni tayanáni tani nă'nĕnani
nanaté téannana nanaté nanatéana natéana
kanenaténa nenankanéna tenanénate
nianainán kianainán, kianainía nainan nainían
kalena tená, kalena tená, kalena tená
nawetana nawetíya, nawetana nawetía

*539
533
171

líggaiha líggaiha, hă'hai líggaiha,
ē bi tchúima, líggaiha líggaiha.
wídshiggaya hí'a, wídshiggaya hí'a
hă' hō wídshiggaya hō; hă' hō hă' hō, wídshiggaya hō.
yuhilí' yuhalí' gáya, yuhilí' yuhalí' gáya

*539 533 177
tä'-inánnän nä'-innánnän, tä'-innánnän nä'-innánnän
tá naniánai nániana, tá naniánai nániāna
walwiléga palpiléga, walwiléga palpiléga
pǟlpilēga pálpilēga, pálpilēga etc.

DANCING TUNES.

A. *Tunes heard during Puberty-Dances.*

535 881
hō'-wina wē'na tchálam tchálam wéna
úha u-ai hai hai hévēlält,
  háhai u-ai hehai hévēlält.
witcha kenná, wítcha kéna kenō', wítcha kenna kenó
nû kēno kēno kéno, n'ō kēno u'o kēno kénō

B. *Tunes adopted from Shasti Indians.*

*539 533 177
huí'no hō hotino hû-û huino hû'tnino kû'ino hō-o
wínna hádina háwina, há-ina ā-ā, háwina ná-ina
tóyo wínno hoyo wínna nó, weyawinna nó, heyowinná
ho owínno heyä'nlia kina ho-owínna heyä'nlia kena
he-ännowinná, innatá lowinna, he-eänno wínna
hewä' iwinnaná ō wí'nna óhō häna wínna óhō
hännanáwiya ná-uya náyua hännaná-uya ō-uya
héwa enna hé-au wennéā hé-aunné heyawenné
ha wennō hahiyó wennó wennó ha wenna, awenó hewō
hó ninu henú henó inû' ho-inú hóninō-u henû'

C. *Dance and war tunes adopted from Snake Indians.*

háwinna haú-inna nō', í'nna hawínna háwinna nō'
hé-a wennē, a héa, heahē, héa wennē
haweā' wennā, hau-á, hawenná ē'nna, hawá

D. *Dancing tune heard from Warm Spring Indians.*

kaní luya . . . . . uya tasí wene näsi

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E. *Modoc dancing tunes.*

*539 héo héo héo héo, héo heo héo heo
533 haúdidusä haudidúsä haudídusä haúdidusä
177 stán stán stáni assi stáni assi
hoyó-inna hoyó-inna,
  hoyó winna hoyó winna, hoyó winnā'-ā'.
háwĕnĕn-í' hawĕnnĕnáha, hawĕnnĕnáha háwĕnĕn-í'
íwop tcharlē kómtuhō'

TUNES HEARD AT FUNERALS.

*539
533 kélakennu kélakennu kélakennu kélakenu . . . . . . kēlayá-a
láhaha láhaha láhaha láhaha . . . . . .
hihihi . . . . . . yuyaya yuyaya . . . . . . hihihi . . . . . .
héya heúa héya heúa héya heúa

NOTES.

000 **194**; 1–8. These whoops and tunes were sung by Modoc warriors when on the war-path, or after their return in remembrance of their exploits. The whoops were chanted and howled while going round in a circle for one to two hours; even now they are heard on solemn occasions. This uniform performance was, however, interrupted sometimes by feigned attacks on a supposed hostile force lying in ambush or marching past. A scalp-dance tune, beginning with nk̲eíha, is added, also battle cries.

194; 2. The kä' kä' kä' refrain serves as an incidental interruption of the wéaha- and other whoops. They pronounce it almost voicelessly by tapping their hands upon the blown-up mouth or cheeks in a quick measure.

194; 3. The nók̲e nók̲e is sung either as an introduction to the howienä'-whoop, or as a conclusion to it. It is pronounced in a similar manner as the kä' kä', and often accentuated nokē'.

194; 7. This scalp-dance tune is one of the many heard at these dances during the earlier Modoc wars. A peeled tree, sometimes twenty feet high, was planted into the ground, otter and rabbit skins fastened on or near the top, and below them the scalps of the enemies killed in battle. Forming a wide ring around this pole (wálash) the tribe danced, stood or sat on the ground, looking sometimes at solitary dancers, moving and yelling (yä'ka) around the pole, or at others, who tried to shake it, or at fleet horses introduced to run inside of the ring. Circular dances are of course performed by joining hands.

194; 8. These are the war-whoops alluded to in 23, 15. Cf. ä oho-û'tchna in Dictionary.

*539 533 **194**; 9 etc. I include under the heading "humming tunes" lively tunes of short, ever returning periods of words whose signification is generally obliterated. Some of them may include archaic words and forms no longer understood by the present

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 ● 533 generation, while others contain words of the language actually in use but ground down or defaced in such a manner as to make them unintelligible. The variations in which these songs are sung are infinite in number, since they are fancifully produced at the will of the singer. I thought it sufficient to give a few of these variations only, and took care to mark the higher pitch of the voice, a sort of musical arsis, by the accentuation. The majority of them form an accompaniment to the motions made while gambling.

[115] **194**; 9–17 were obtained from a young Indian, Frank, living on the Williamson River. Cf. page **91**, second *Note*.

194; 16. **kalena tená** is rendered by: "ye are all dead at once"; which means: all of you have lost in the game.

[171] **194**; 18–**195**; 4. Playing tunes sung by Modoc and Klamath Lake Indians when sitting at a spélshna or other game, also while musing, travelling or working; given by Jeff. C. D. Riddle. The person who deals the sticks in the spélshna-game is the one who sings the tune.

[171] **194**; 18 and 19. 20 and 21. 22. Melodious tunes sung by Modocs and recently introduced among these Indians.

195; 2. 3. These are among the most frequent tunes hummed while playing the spélshna-game. Like 3 and 4, 1 and 2 are often sung alternately.

195; 3. 4. These words are made up from the terms by which butterflies are called: walwilégash, yapalpuléash.

A. These dance-tunes, **195**; 5–9, are in use among the Klamath Lake people and were obtained from Minnie Froben. The first of them sounds almost like **194**; 4. 5. Little bells are often rung while dances are performed and dance-tunes are sung. Women and girls of the Modoc tribe end their songs with a protracted i-ū, while the men habitually conclude them with a loud u-ŏ'hu.

B and D. Obtained from Dave Hill; sung among the Klamath Lake people.

C. Given by Long John's Ben. They begin with the sound h-, like the majority of the Shasti tunes.

E. All obtained from Jeff. C. D. Riddle.

196; 1. Repeated indefinitely, as soon as dancing assumes a *quicker* measure. Compare with it the song of the skunk **162**; 7, that of the quiver, **163**; 8, and *Notes*.

196; 3. **stáni**, *full*, seems to allude to the formation of a ring for dancing. Cf. stá bashámpka **23**, 12. and what is said of **196**; 7.

196; 4. 5. The last group in this tune, hoyó winnā'-ā', serves sometimes as a refrain, sometimes as a stop.

196; 7. Of foreign introduction, as shown by the sound r. Sung in alternation with stán, stán **196**; 3 and said to come from Warm Spring Indians. **196**; 2 sounds very much like: "how do you do, sir?"

196; 8. Probably contains the words: k̲'leká a hû, "he, she is dead"; kēlayá-a serves as a refrain, sometimes as a stop.

196; 9. The day before the funeral of Púkish, mentioned in Doctor John's trial, I heard his aged mother sing this tune. Other mourners in the funeral tent sung what is contained in **196**; 8. 10.

196; 10. Funeral tune heard from Snake Indians at Yáneks, on Klamath reservation. They join hands and sing this melancholy tune for hours; the higher the deceased stood in his tribe, the longer lasts the wailing.

Here Christian
175 elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath
668 traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The
177 acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost
Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather
[578] than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the
pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive
against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt
at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete
with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting
pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream
Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

175 By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had
177 burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with
[668] essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic
competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so
[797] lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values
[791] were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic
practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One informant
[533] tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power)
have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in
that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important
771 movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the
175 Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with
177 longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused
slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orienta-
795 tion, the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology;
but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross
as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence
of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements
[755] also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are employed
(for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's
body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers
vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil,
178 and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult,
771 too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some
795 years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services.
The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

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[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kemps was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

[113] [11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

[113] [12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

[113] [13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.

178 latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence
that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on
the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often
recur.

787 The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, ap-
881 parently regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was
usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power
785 obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts
existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating,
533 and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath
emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word
/*šuw'i·s*/ meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on
787 context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from
177 without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior
797 associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly individualized and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality,
it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers,
the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions.
One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with
the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The
examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older informants. Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions associated with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

782 A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me,
776 "Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and
823 old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.'
774 I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I
787 say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over
there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains
and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I
dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it."
She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to
Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up,
up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man
standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I
773 don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The informant refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of
whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena:
"When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They
said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never
did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it
was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a
797 real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those
things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

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[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

*539 (150) čoy q̓a···y ho·t sʔasw̓i·gis. (151) dič̓i· ho·t gi. (152) ge·ks ni sʔabi·ya.[190] (153) ho·t sa dank do· goWasdi, (Proper name^1), čoy (Proper name^2), čoy—ago·—(Proper name^3). (154) Waltga sa. (155) kani hak č̓is ʔaMk̓a naʔas, kani sa naʔas ʔelga čopbaqs či. (156) čoy čik sa wisyq̓damna nen. (157) čoy sas ni mamča·di·la—no· mamča·di·lis či hak ni ge·ks sʔabi·ya. (158) čoy sas naʔas, dam mat honk dada· sa (Proper name^2) sleʔa·, qiLo·s se·wist, wage·sha q̓oy si·ksikst, wage·nha sijaqtis. (159) q̓a···y, q̓ay dada· sleʔa·. (160) čoy (Proper name^1) naʔas, "no· dak honks sleʔa· sʔawi·gapks din̓a·." (161) "ʔa···, dada· hay?" naʔas či honk hok (Proper name^2). (162) čoy (Proper name^1) naʔas gi, "dada·t lis ʔi wač mi spač̓a·ytdatqh̓a!" (163) čoy sa sdoqdamna. (164) nem̓as ni ge·ks sʔabi·ya. (165) čoy ni Jo·nas č̓is sʔabi·ya, kat mis dank č̓osak sle·lgi. (166) do· hok swina·, se·ridan.[191] (167) do·st sa nen naʔas ʔelga do·, do·st hok maqlaqs na···nok̓a·ski·sogo·lgi. (168) nen hok swinwapk sanditdat, litgi. (169) nen hok ʔat ʔaky̓a gatba, do. (170) čoy mbaws solo·tnank swinwapk, Jo·n. (171) hok ʔa gew—p̓ia·lam gew be·p, kat mis č̓osak sle·lgi.

(172) AC: ʔi·, mago·q̓ap. (173) gew dak hok biblanks̓la gi. (174) no· honkl̓am p̓ie·wa hok nis—hok nis tapy̓alpgatk. (175) ʔi·, hok nis tapy̓alpga, p̓ie·wip honkl̓am. (176) čoy hok gew pikča nis honkl̓am mbegapks, wele·q̓apgam, q̓e·gi hok, p̓allapga ʔans hok kani. (177) q̓e·gi hok. (178) naʔas honk ho·skanga neybliwapgok ga·yk̓a dank. (179) ga·yk̓a ʔan honk, čoy hok q̓e·gi hok.

(The machine was temporarily turned off at this point.)

(180) AC: sw̓ewsʔam.

(181) PO: (I never could think of that!) waq čik ho·t bosbosl̓i se·satk?

(182) AC: k̓al. (183) ʔi·t sa hon gi, p̓an.[192] (184) lo·st gyank, lo·st gyank sa p̓an. (185) honk č̓is k̓al, p̓an sa honk.

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[192] [190] /ge·ks/ again refers to the investigator.

[550] [533] [463] [191] /Jo·n/ "June" is the name of Mrs. Chiles' niece, Mrs. June Dick, who is quite well known on the Reservation and in Portland (her present home) as a singer. She had gone to Sheridan, Wyoming, to sing at the annual gathering of American Indian tribes there.

[192] [192] /ʔi·t/ is the English word "eat," and /lo·st/ is English "roast." In speaking to the investigator directly, Mrs. Cowan felt it necessary to employ frequent English words as supplements to her Klamath explanations.

After the dance, scalps and trophies are usually preserved by those 727
who called the dance, relatives of the avenged man. They are dried 535
and stored far from their homes to be brought out and danced over at
each new scalp dance. Sometimes bits of the scalp are sewn in rows [177]
down each breast of a woman's dress, a Plains custom impossible, of
course, before the introduction of these Plains-like garments. Both [291]
practices are un-Californian.

There is a question whether the notched rattle (ulo'ks) is played in 727
the war and scalp dances. Neither drums, which the Klamath formerly
lacked, nor rattles are used. Only one man, Ma'gai', whose day was 535
well before the middle of the last century, knew the notched rattle. 534
He knew all about war. He had overheard the Upland Takelma
singing to it, according to one informant, and always used their songs
when the Klamath made war on them. No resonator is used; the
notched stick is rested directly on the ground and rasped with
another stick.[44]

CHIEFTAINSHIP

Chiefs are of but minor significance in Klamath life. In contrast 622
my informants invariably stressed the importance of the shamans. As 756
an instance the largest house pits pointed out were always those of
shamans. This relative unimportance of the chiefs was true at least
until just before reservation days. At that time contact with the 622
Columbia river tribes, whose concepts of chieftainship were sharp and
deeprooted, coupled with the developing trade which began to make
considerable differences in wealth among the Klamath, operated to
enhance the position of the chiefs, the rich men. It is significant that
Lɛle'ks, their most prominent chief, had spent several years of continuous residence at the Dalles. All this was sharply accentuated on
the establishment of the reservation by the government's recognition
of lay leaders while frowning on the shamans. It must be distinctly [114]
understood that the picture Gatschet draws of chiefly powers is non-
aboriginal.[45] In fact, his principal informant, David Hill, was one of [115]
the newly raised chiefs who, we must believe, was not inclined to
underrate his new importance. Both my best informants, Nancy

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[44] The familiar association of this rasping sound with the voice of the frog and its use in a social dance (the Bear dance of the Basin Shoshoneans) are both unknown to the Klamath.

[45] Gatschet, 1:58–62.

276 rattlesnake skin. This may be used by the shaman only during the
756 ceremonies, but I think not. The tubular pipe is not Klamath. A
[177] long tubular pipe, with a small mouthpiece, found by the Indians at
Pelican bay, had been described to my informant as the probable
possession of a shaman who resided there. This is probably a trade
piece.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

• 534 The only true musical instrument known to the Klamath is the flute. This with three varieties of rattle and the hand drum make up the sum of their instruments. The musical bow is a plaything.

The flute (slo'lūs) is played for amusement and in courting;
[562] curiously enough it is played by women as well as men even when
courting. Its music is called su'lulu. Various sounds are imitated on
534 the flute, such as the noise of flying pelicans' wings. The melodies
include those of shaman's songs, although it is never used in shamanis-
533 tic rites. I do not know that song is ever accompanied by flute. It
[756] seems more probable that the melodies of certain songs are considered
appropriate flute music.[141] There are flute songs about the turtle and
deer. The song for the antelope is:

[539]

gaiyo'	gaiyo'wa	gaiyo'	gaiyo'wa
chewing			
tcĕwŏm	aiĕ'nol	tĕli'dŏŋga	
antelope	me	am browsing	
slewi's	aiĕ'nol	tĕli'dŏŋga	
wind	me	am browsing.	

He browses along (toward me?) when the wind strikes him (?).

A flute song for the mountain sheep is:

hotŭks	nis	sĕwă'ĕt	geoge'lɛ	wiĕ'sŏm
that	allows	me	that earth	mountain sheep
dostŏn	hoiha'nsɛ	lall'sdŏt		
where I	run on the ledge	on the steep hill.		

These are not magical songs for calling game but solely for amusement.

Another song referring to any bird is:

djīkgasītgo	djīkgasītgo	nenea
flutterer		flapping.

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[141] Gatschet gives the text of several songs, which, because they are neither appropriate to shamanistic or puberty rites, may belong to this category (1:189, 192).

This is the open flute, lacking tongue or reed, and played by blowing across the open end while it is held vertically or horizontally. So I was told, but it is more probable that the vertical is the only position used. These are manufactured from branches of the ḳoḳo'dŏm bush or the elder (slo'lŭsɛm), from which the pith is easily removed, or from the long legs of cranes. The wooden flutes are three-quarters of an inch in diameter, one to two feet long, with three holes (or four or five ?) for finger stops burned at odd intervals. 534

The deer-hoof rattle (sŏ'ḳtsŏḳs) is probably the only one of the three Klamath rattles that is of any antiquity among them. It is used exclusively in the girl's adolescence rites. The Klamath form is a slender pole four to seven feet long with a cord along the upper third to which bunches of deer dew claws (ḳ'o'djIŋks) are tied at intervals. The butt is pounded on the ground to jar the hooflets. [881]

Of the other two types, the clap rattle is the familiar cleft stick, the split end of which is struck against the palm. This was used in the Ghost dance of 1870 and in no other connection. It was derived from the Pit river peoples. The notched rattle (ulo'ks) is known to have been played by one man who learned it from the Upland Takelma. It may have been used in the war and scalp dances. This is the familiar notched stick set on the ground and rasped with another stick; no resonator is used.[142] [786] [177]

The hand drum has no great antiquity among the Klamath but was in use before the coming of the whites. It was derived from some northern tribe, probably those of Warm Springs. Its very name, bŏ'mbŏm, is the common word in eastern Oregon and Washington. It is used only in the social dances, which are themselves of no great consequence. The drum is the familiar shallow tambourine affair, with only one head. Thongs crossed on the open face furnish a hand grip. Drums are constructed of a flattened juniper bough bent into a ring of one to two feet in diameter. Heads of badger and antelope hide are best; they yield the loudest sound. The drum was not decorated until lately, when stars were painted on the head. This is said to have been learned of the whites, but is more likely derived from the modern version of the Smohallah cult, the so-called Pompom religion of eastern Washington and Oregon. The drum stick (wo'tanote) is a stick wrapped with mink hide to form a knob. [177] [531] [177]

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[142] There is no association of the sound with the voice of the frog nor with the rain, nor is it used in social dances, as in the Great Basin area.

[533]
[171]*

• 534 Several instruments whose presence might have been expected
are unknown. Such are the cocoon rattle, the foot drum, or any other
form except the hand drum. As to the cocoon rattle I doubt that
there are any large cocoons in this region. It is rather surprising
that those who accompany the singers do not beat time on a plank with
*[171] clubs after the fashion of more northerly tribes. A peculiar Wishram drum, a horizontal pole slung from the roof by a rope and
pounded against the wall, had been played at the Dalles by one of my
[342] informants, but it was never introduced among the Klamath. To be
sure, their houses do not have plank walls but alternatives might have
been substituted.

The musical bow should be mentioned here only for comparative purposes. The Klamath lack any special form but sometimes toy with an ordinary bow, holding the bow in the mouth and tapping the string with a stick. There is no name for this.

Whistles (stu'ta) are also playthings. These are made of willow, of a plant called wa'ḳŭm, or a jointed grass called watcŏŏ'ḳwls. The willow whistles are seven or eight inches long and provided with side holes like a flute. Whistles are blown direct into the open end.

533 Whistling with the lips was indulged in even before the coming of the whites.[143] Songs are not whistled.

SOCIAL DANCES

535 It is not clear whether there were any dances of purely social
intent in earlier times or whether they were so rare as to be negligible.
Two good informants said that formerly there were none. Indeed the
[534] use of the hand drum with social dances (yĕka') suggests their
[755] recency. Shamanistic performances, which were evidently frequent,
may have provided a substitute entertainment.

Some time during the year a good singer will busy himself arranging a dance solely for amusement, called k'si'ulūḳs. Men and women
form a circle with hands clasped, but the fingers not entwined. The
step is a sidewise jump, not a shuffling of feet as is usual in circling
dances among other tribes; the movement is in a counter-clockwise
direction, I think. The circling begins with the song; they do not wait
[534] to sing a phrase before moving. Formerly, according to an unreliable
informant, no musical instruments were in use but recently the hand
drum was introduced from the tribes to the north.

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*[171] [143] So, too, the Northern Paiute, according to my Klamath informant.

533 I feel that many of his translations are far from the point, but I do
114 not know enough to correct them. The numbers in parentheses refer to the page and number in Gatschet's work.

539 *Fire dance (wa'hla) songs!*

In flames I am enveloped (154, 8).
I am now wrapped in flames (166, 26).

Songs referring to various items of the shaman's outfit (mā'lwas).

This scoop is my instrument, that tool used on the lake[189] (167, 34).
This is my medicine arrow (164, 3).
The pipe is my instrument, that tool used for tobacco[190] (167, 33).
I the shaman's pole [wa''las] am shaking to and fro (170, 66).
Planks [covering the lodge?] are rattling (155, 18).
This is my song, that of the sweat-lodge stick-hole[191] (168, 45).
So looks the yellowhammer medicine-decoration;
The otter is my equipment; the otter skin neckband is my equipment (167, 30).
I the neckband am medicine-equipment; I the neckband am a spirit [or song] (168, 40).
Thus I walk when I tie up the hair (165, 9).
I will pull a rope from my entrails[192] (165, 11).

Songs referring to anthropomorphic spirits.

I the shai'kish [teaḳia'ḳ] tramp[193] (169, 52).
Teaḳia'ḳ is my song [or spirit]; thunder is my song [or spirit] (169, 53).
I the ghost lean on a staff (168, 38).
Bones only I rattle (157, 44).
I the woman am painted black on the body[194] (158, 51).
My dew claws are rattling (166, 17).
Dew claws are my medicine-outfit[195] (166, 21).
In quill-fringed buck-skin dressed (154, 6).
I search the ground with my hands, find there the feathers of the yellowhammer and devour them (154, 10).
Quick! make ye eyes for me! (154, 11).
In the fog I am straying blind; all over the earth I am wandering[196] (157, 40).

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[189] Or the lake is my instrument.

[190] Or tobacco is my instrument.

[191] I do not know what Gatschet means by the "stick-hole."

[755] [192] "Feigning to draw a rope or string from their posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear" (Gatschet, 1:171). I was not told of this and it sounds more like a shamanistic trick than a curing practice.

[114] [193] Gatschet says "shai'kish is another name given to the teh'akiuks" and this is a "song of a gray aquatic fowl, called teh'akiuks." The following song, wherein he translates ts'aking as little boy clearly indicates that the reference here is to Teaḳia'ḳ, the little boy spirit which lives in water.

[194] Gatschet implies that this refers to a woman dancer, but it is as likely that it is a woman spirit.

[114] [195] Gatschet says of these two songs "Conjurer's rattles are made of deer's claws" and "this song of a female conjurer or 'doctress' . . . ." (1: 172). But deer-claw rattles are used only in a girl's puberty dance; shamans use none
[756] at all. I interpret these songs to be those of a woman spirit, like the one which precedes them and perhaps the one to follow.

[534] [196] The first two of these three songs are those of "the blind medicine-girl" according to Gatschet and the third that of "the blind girl." I assume a spirit is referred to.

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171 *

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Dentalium shells	Ornament	Ultimate source, coasts of Washington and British Columbia.	105
Cradles	Sitting	N.W. and N. central California.	[301]
	Board	N. Basin, Plateau.	[854]
Games	Beaver teeth dice	Oregon, Washington, British Columbia.	
	Four stick	N.E., central, and S. California (and elsewhere?).	[524]
	Hand game	Some central Californians, Basin, S. Northwest Coast, Plateau, Plains.	
	Modified hoop-pole	Minor game of coast from Alaska to Oregon (not N.W. California).	
	Ring-and-pin; rush ball	Modoc?, Wishram.	
Pipes	Spherical; discoidal	S. Plateau (Nez Percé to Okanagon).	[276]
	Angular	Wasco, Wishram, Middle Columbia, Nez Percé (links with Plains calumet?).	
Musical instruments	Hand drum	Recent in Plateau; Basin, Plains, (Northwest Coast?).	[534] •
	Deerhoof rattle in girls' rites	N. California.	
	Notched rasp	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.	
	Clap stick	N. and central California.	
	Open flute	California, Southwest; Takelma, Nez Percé (and probably general in the west).	
Numerals	Finger names	Takelma.	[802]
Ritual number	Five	S. Northwest Coast, Washington, Oregon, California S. to Sinkyone and Northern Maidu, Basin.	[801]
Calendar	Numerical names	N.W. California, Fraser r., N. Northwest Coast.	[805]
Scalping	Whole scalp	California, W. Southwest, Wishram (no scalping in N.W. California E. to Shasta, and Northwest Coast).	[726]
Head trophy	Unusual	California, Northwest Coast.	
Scalp dance		General (except N.W. California) (over head trophies on Northwest Coast).	[727]
War dance	With notched rattle	Upland Takelma?, Wasco, Wishram, Nez Percé; without rattle, Chinook, N.W. California.	
Disposal of dead	Cremation	Modoc; some cremation in N.E. California; central California; formerly in E. Washington; N. Plateau.	[764]

*171 on the other, were entirely absent among the Klamath. Nevertheless
556 the mechanism of the Northwest Coast for the exchange of presents,
the potlatch, does appear here in the form of prescribed reciprocal
584 visits between the families of bride and groom. It has not been clearly
recognized that these features of Northwest Coast social life have
spread even farther from that focus into the northern Plains and to
north central California.

*171 Of the slender stock of Klamath ceremonials, the scalp dance is
widely known, the war or incitement dance is common to northwestern
535 California and perhaps all of Oregon. Kroeber has pointed out that
726 so far as California is concerned scalp and war dances are mutually
exclusive in their distributions.[418] But the Klamath, like all others
*171 of eastern Oregon, carry out both dances. The girls' adolescence rite
of the Klamath is one with those of western Oregon and northern
881 California. This is a local phrasing of similar rites known from
Alaska to the Southwest, but lacking east of the Sierra-Cascades.
Specific details of the Klamath affair are closer to northern Cali-
*171 fornian forms than to those of Oregon. The Ghost dance of 1870 was
evanescent among them. Its first form was that characteristic of the
original dance of Nevada; later it was overlaid by features char-
acteristic of central California.[419]

177 Some historical relief emerges in this survey. It is definitely
traceable in some details and can be established inferentially for more
basic elements. The most recent stratum of adopted traits is post-
[285] reservation, i.e., later than 1865. This includes two types of basketry
derived from the Northern Paiute settled on the reservation, a sifting
[668] basket and a coiled water bucket, and the Ghost dance. The earlier
form of the Ghost dance was instituted by the same group of Paiute
in 1870 or '71. This was the familiar circle of dancers, whose leaders
[343] dreamed new regulations; its ideology the return of the dead. In
1873 a Pit River introduced central Californian elements; a dance
[534] lodge, probably the clap-stick rattle, new songs, etc. To the same
[533] stratum belongs the imitation of the Warm Springs-Yakima one-piece
moccasin.

[291] Other elements are recognized as pertaining to pre-reservation
177 days, but probably not earlier than the middle of the last century:
the hand drum derived from the north, and perhaps the social dances
534 in which it is used; the hand game brought by a Spokane (?) man.

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[418] Kroeber, Handbook, 144, 844.

[419] Spier, Ghost Dance.

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(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
174 Saheptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable; its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[622] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

[721] It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-
[567] holding existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their dis-
tribution established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kin-
177 ship terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
[622] custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[619] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctive-
101 ness from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
105 to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some north-
western influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

a line of men moving sideways. It was only in connection with 171* the latter form of dance that the girl performed; to be specific it is 881 known that she danced among Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, Shasta, Karok, and, though we do not know the dance 535 form, Sinkyone and Yuki. Inasmuch as it is specified in the case of the last two that the girl was supported as she danced, we may well suspect that they had the same dance form.

It should not be assumed that dancing during the puberty rite was confined to this area. Dancing may have occurred on the Northwest Coast in connection with the potlatch more commonly than recorded (Nootka and Ten'a?). There is nothing to suggest that it was the same form of performance, however. In southern California the dancing was about the girl as she lay on a hot bed (Luiseño, Juaneño, Miwok) and was apparently quite different in character and intent. Dancing was again characteristic of the Southwestern ceremonies (White Mountain and Jicarilla Apache, Pima), and again the White Mountain and Pima forms were lines moving to and fro, with the girl engaged with them in the case of the former. Even the Jicarilla girl herself danced. These specific features are suspiciously like those of northern California and Oregon. Perhaps we do not yet know all that can be learned of this rite in the Basin.

To revert to the dance rattle; it was prevailingly the deer-hoof 171* jingler type, although handled somewhat varyingly. This has been 534 noted for Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, Shasta, Karok, and Tolowa, while the Hupa, Sinkyone, and again the Northeastern Maidu used the clapper rattle. This type of deer-hoof rattle was distinctively Californian and generally distributed in the state. So far as I know it does not occur north of the Klamath. The clapper rattle was on the other hand a central Californian type, as Kroeber has pointed out.[664] As he further remarks, rattles were used in northwestern California only in connection with adolescence ceremonies, but this was also true of the sector to the north and east apparently (Shasta, Achomawi-Atsugewi, certainly Klamath,[665] and perhaps Takelma and Coos).

There is little information on the songs, but the little existing 171* suggests that these were of two types only; songs about foodstuffs and 533 about love affairs. Thus it is noted that the Sacramento Valley Maidu

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[664] Handbook, 823, 862.

[665] The Klamath acquired the use of the clapper rattle as well only with the Ghost dance of 1870.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
515 810. Pray or wish while sweating	•+	•+	•(+)	+	R	•R	•+	+	•+	•+	+	(+)	-	-	-	-
782 811. Cold bath follows sweat	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	(-)	+	+	-	+
House Furnishings and Arrangement																
281 812. Blankets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
813. Elk and deerskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
513 814. Painted hides for fine blankets	-	-	-			-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
815. Woven rabbitskin blankets	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
816. Patchwork skin blankets	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
817. Deerskin	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
818. Coyote skin	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
819. Wildcat skin	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
820. Raccoon skin	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
821. Rabbitskin	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
822. Blue-fox skin	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-
[429] 823. Buffalo hides, imported for blankets	-		+	+	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[237] 824. Feather blankets	+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	•+
825. Loose tule, grass blanket covering	+	+	+		+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
826. Pillows	+	+	+	+	.	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	.
827. Individual wooden pillow	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.
828. Pole pillow	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	.
829. Piece of wood or rock	+	-	-		-	-			+	+	+	.	-	-	+	.
830. Rolled skin	-	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.
831. Rolled tule mat	-	-	+	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.
832. Leaf or grass pillow	-	+	-	-	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.
534 833. Pine needles heaped up for pillow	-	+	-	-			-	-	-	-	(-)	+	-	-	-	.
†834. Wooden foot drum	-	-	•R	-	-	-	-	-	•R	•R	•+	•+	•+	•+	~~•+~~	•+
†835. Hollow half log	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	.	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†836. In line with door	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†837. Over hole in ground	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	+	.	+
†838. Post before drum	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	R	R	+	.	-	-	-	+
361 †838a. Houses in rows	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
†838b. Houses in circle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	-	•+
Shelters																
Brush Enclosures and Shades																
417 839. Roofless circular brush enclosure	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
840. Large, used for ceremonies	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
[574] 841. As camping place for visitors	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	-
842. At cemeteries only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	+	-	+	+
[764] 843. Fire in center	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
844. Opening(s) oriented	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	•+	-	-	.	•+
845. Same, but smaller, for summer shelter	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
846. Partly roofed over	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-
847. Roofed circular brush enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
848. Shades	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	-	+	+	-	•+
849. Horizontal roof	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
850. Sloping roof	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
851. 4 supporting posts	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
852. 3 side walls	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
853. Brush heaped around pit mortars, for shade	-	-	-		-	-	-		-	-	-	(+)	+	+	-	-
854. Conical bark grinding house, 2 families	-	-	-		+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Menstrual Huts																
343 855. Menstrual hut	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
841 856. Similar to living house, but smaller	-	-	-	•+	-	+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	+	-

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
Preparation																	
2049. Stalk hung up to dry	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	•+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	276
2050. Leaves dried, whole	+	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	
2051. Leaves rubbed and hung to dry in sack												+	+	-	-	+	
2052. Leaves only, used	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
•2053. Leaves rubbed fine in palm, with fingertips	+	+	-	•+	•-	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2054. Dried leaves put in sack, pounded on slab			+								-	-	-	-	-	-	
o2055. Tobacco mixed for smoking	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	-	-	•±	-	-	-	-	-	-	
o2056. Kinnikinick, manzanita mixtures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2057. Grease added	+	+	-	-	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
Tobacco Containers																	
2058. Basket	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	[415]
2059. Buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	
2060. Cased-fur pouch	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
Tobacco Substitutes																	
2061. Plant substitutes used occasionally	-	-	+						•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2062. Manzanita	-	-	+						-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2063. Parched and ground	-	-	+						-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Uses																	
2064. Smoking at social gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2065. Pipe passed	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2066. Smoking after sweating	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	
2067. Bedtime smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2068. No smoking in dwelling house	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
•2069. Men smoke, generally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[562]
2070. Smoking limited among women; shamans mainly	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	[756]
2071. Tobacco chewed	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
o2072. Tobacco as offering	•-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2073. Tossed or blown in air	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	[782]
2074. Burnt in fire	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	
2075. Smoked	-	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-	•+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	

MUSIC AND DRAWING

Musical Instruments

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
Drums																	
2076. Hide drum	•R	+	•+	•+	+	•R	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	534 ●
2077. Cylindrical	R	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2078. 2-headed	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2079. 1-headed	R	+	-	-	+	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2080. Tambourine type	R	+	-	-	+	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2081. Drumstick wrapped at head	R	+	-	+	+	R	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2082. Plain drumstick, knot for head	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
•2083. Footdrum	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
2084. Basket drummed	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•-	•+	
Rattles																	
2085. Cocoon rattle	•-	-	-	•-	•+	•+	•+	•-	•-	•R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
2086. Stick handle	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2087. Feathers on stick handle	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2088. Number of cocoons	–	–	–	–	3	5	6	–	–	4	5	5	4	5	3	5
[755] 2089. Used by shaman in curing	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2090. Used by Big Head singers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	–	–	–	–
2091. Used for any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
[787] 2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										–	+	+	+	–	–	–
2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	–	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2094. Split-stick clapper	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2095. Single split	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2096. Multiple splits	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2097. Painted	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[881] 2098. Burned decoration	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
[535] 2099. For girl's puberty dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[720] 2100. For war dance	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[796] 2101. For Ghost dance		–	R	–		R		R	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2102. For any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
2103. Snake rattles on stick	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2106. On cord or thong, no handle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2107. Worn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[881] 2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	7	15	20	20	20	–	25	8	20	1	2	4	–	–
2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2111. Basket rattle	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[524] 2112. Child's toy	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	–	–

Rasp

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2114. Notched-wood rasp	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2115. Basket scraped.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–

Bull-roarer, Musical Bow

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2116. Bull-roarer	R	–	–	–	R	–	+	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2117. Wood	R	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
[784] 2118. Bone or horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[753] 2119. Produces storm or wind	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[756] 2120. Produces sickness	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2121. Only shamans use	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2122. Only boys, men use	–	–	–	–	R			+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2123. For amusement, boys	R	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2124. Musical bow	R	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	+
2125. Hunting bow	R	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	+
2126. Separate instrument	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2127. Played with finger	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2128. Played with stick	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2129. Boys only						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Whistles and Flutes

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2130. Whistle	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2131. Single hole	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–
2133. Bone	–		+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2134. Bird or rodent	–		+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
2135. Large mammal	–		–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
2136. Elder	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	R	–	–	–	+	+	–
2137. Cane	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2138. Sinew-wrapped at mouthpiece	–	+	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	534
o2139. End stopped	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	R	R	+	±	+	·	+	+	+	
2140. Partially stopped inside at hole	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	
2141. Stop of pitch	–	·	+	+	–	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	+	+	·	+	
2142. Stop of salmon glue	–	·	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2143. Stop of wood	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	·	–	
2144. Single whistle	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	
2145. 2 whistles bound together	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	±	
2146. Whistle worn, suspended from string around neck	–	–	+								+	+	+	+	·	+	
2147. Taboo to whistle around elderberry bush		•+	•+								+	–	+	+	–	•+	[784]
2148. Snake will strike whistler		+	+								+	–	+	+	–	•+	
2149. Flute	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	
2150. Bone	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	·	–	
2151. Elder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2152. Cane	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
‡2153. Number of holes	3	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	–	6	
2154. Holes burnt in		+	+						R	R	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2155. Holes put in with awl									+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2156. Entire upper surface flattened			–						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2157. End blown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	·	–	–	+	
2158. Side blown	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	(–)	+	+	+	–	+	
2159. Mouth blown	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
2160. Nose blown	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2161. Used by shaman	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[956]
2162. Used for courting	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	
2163. Used for self-amusement	•+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	

Pictographs, Petroglyphs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2164. Pictographs, petroglyphs present in area	•+	•+	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	532
2165. Nonhuman origin	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	·	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2166. Made by tiny people	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2167. Made by mythological characters	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2168. Bring bad luck; charm viewer	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[777]
2169. Impress of feet, etc., on rocks	–	•+	•+							•+	–	•+	•+	–	•+		[823]

RECREATION

Games

Shinny

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2170. Shinny played	+	+	+	+	+	•R	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	526
2171. Men, youths play occasionally	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	[562]
2172. Women play	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2173. Each sex plays separately	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
2174. Both sexes play together	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2175. Children play	–	+	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[857]
2176. Single ball	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2177. Wood	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2178. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2179. Oak gall	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2180. Double ball	–	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	
2181. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2182. 2 blocks on ends of cord	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2183. 2 grass balls on end of cord	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
•2184. Cord or hide strip only	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4927. Private, indoors	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		•+	–	755
4928. Doctor has ... assistants	1	2	1	2	•2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		–	–	
4929. "Interpreter" for doctor while doctoring, or in trance	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4930. "Outside speaker" to call doctor's spirit(s)	–	•+	+	•+	+	•–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4931. Friend or relative of doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4932. Must know esoteric language	–	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	[776]
4933. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	–	–	·	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	•–		–	·	
4934. Assistant calls doctor's spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•–		–	–	[787]
4935. Spirit takes possession of doctor	•–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	·		–	–	
4936. Doctor diagnoses by singing	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		·	+	[533]
4937. Audience joins in songs	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4938. Doctor diagnoses by dancing	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		·	–	[535]
4939. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	[276]
4940. When trance coming on			–					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
o4941. Blows tobacco smoke over patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	±	–	+		–	–	
4942. Assistant lights doctor's pipe	+	–	+	•–				+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
4943. Doctor drinks through bark tube	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[371]
4944. Has basket cup of water beside him	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4945. Doctor uses feathers or stick	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	–	
4946. Bunch of supernatural feathers	–	+	•+	+	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		·	–	
4947. Eagle down	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	–		·	–	
4948. Eagle wing	–	–	+					–	–	–		–	–		·	–	
4949. Stick	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	–	
4950. Doctor uses fire	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	+	[372]
4951. For light only: usually small	+	+	+	•+	•–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	•–	
4952. Doctor applies ashes, clay to patient	•+	•+	–	•–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		·	–	
4953. Doctor uses charmstone (pestle)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4954. Brushes or fans away disease	–	+	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4955. With feathers	–		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4956. Sprays liquid from mouth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		·	•+	
4957. Administers herb medicines	–	–	–					•+	•–	–	•+	•+	–		•+	•+	[278]
4958. Doctor, assistant, or singers use rattle	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+	
4959. Cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	+	•–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	•+	[534] ●
4960. Walking cane								+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4961. Beat on plank with board			–						+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4962. Whistle	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		·	–	
4963. Doctor's spirit or "pain" tells location of disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–		–	+	
4964. Tells cause of sickness	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4965. Doctor can see or feel disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4966. Disease object ("pain") sucked out	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	
4967. Directly into doctor's mouth	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4968. Vomited out of mouth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–	
o4969. Disease object removed with hand	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	±	–	–			–	–	
4970. Pus ("bad feelings") sucked out	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+	
4971. Women doctors use same technique as men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	–	[562]
4972. Disease object tells doctor who sent it	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
°4973. Disease object exhibited	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4974. Put in basket cup of water	–	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–			–	
4975. Invisible to all except shamans	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4976. Disease object disappears	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4977. By sleight of hand	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4978. Doctor bites it	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	–	–	–		–	•+	
4979. Doctor swallows it	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4980. Sent back to owner, for revenge, sometimes			+	•–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4981. Buried	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+		–	+	
4982. Blown away			–					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
4983. Burned	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	

291 Footgear and leggings.--Moccasin seam on inside. Yucca-fiber sandal. Milkweed-fiber sandal. Hip to ankle leggings. Snowshoe: "handled" shape; sinew lashing, stick "lashing." Cere-
292 monial dress.--Eagle-down-rope skirt. 3-stick support for wide-band woodpecker scalps. Eagle-down-rope crown. Feather plumes: bird skin or mammal fur on body. Sea-lion tooth headband. Visor of yellowhammer feathers. Masks. Down stuck to face. Headdress of human hair.

CURRENCY

436 Dentalia, wrapped with snake skin; graded on forearm tattoo. Clamshell beads measured around palm; on arm tattoo; on thumb. Loans at interest. Olivella-disk beads. Steatite beads.

SMOKING AND TOBACCO

Pipes and Pipe Sacks

276 Pipes.--Tubular-type 1-piece pipe of cane; horn or bone; pottery. 2-piece tubular pipe; solid-wood bowl; pottery bowl; stone, bone stem or mouthpiece; stem mortised into bowl. Haliotis inlay.

Tobacco

Cultivation; preparation; uses.--Tobacco imported. Always sown on hill, not near river; transplanted; weeded. Ground in mortar; on metate. Mixed for smoking with bark, aromatic root. Kept in horn container. Tobacco eaten, drunk.

MUSIC AND DRAWING

Musical Instruments

534 Drum, rattle, rasp.--Rectanguloid drum. Cocoon rattle, feather (quill) handle, attached to arm, leg; child's toy. Gourd, deer's ear, rabbit's ear, rawhide, fish gill-sack rattles. Sheep horn(s) on stick as rattle; tortoise-shell rattle. Ornamented rasp. Bull-roarer, musical bow; flute.--Bull-roarer used to assemble people for ceremony; to stop storm; voice of thunder; used in curing; only men use. Musical bow separate instrument, hollow, of elder; perpendicular tuning peg. Flute flattened, squared around holes.

RECREATION

Games and Amusements

526 Shinny; ball race.--Shinny: basket racket or

000 filling pipe from his tobacco pouch in turn and passing it. Smoker makes loud guttural noise as he smokes.

2067. AW: Most popular time for smoking, but "some old men smoke in morning, after eating, or any time."

2068. SW: Do not smoke in dwelling, where women living; pipe will be defiled by woman's presence and be worthless for use when making medicine, preparing to hunt. MV: Seldom smoke in dwelling house; chiefly in assembly house, before going to sleep.

2069. Middle-aged, elderly men; not young men.

2071. Mo: In small amount, as medicine, for nausea.

2072. Kl: Offerings not, however, lacking; see note 5197. WS: Occasionally smoked as an offering; "not much."

2075. AW: Shaman smokes, blows smoke and his "poison" (animate object) in direction of victim, telling poison: "Now go." WM: Smoke tobacco to mountains when praying, worshipping. WS: See note 2072.

MUSIC AND DRAWING

Musical Instruments

Drums.--

534
177
2076. Kl: Formerly lacked drum; "learned about it from groups to N [before informant born]. Kl used to go N, to the Dalles; there they saw the drum, and how those people used it. (TMey danced with it. Sometimes the Kl visited up there 1, 2, 3 years.) They brought back the dance that they learned from those people, and the drum. Lots of Kl went over there, before the white people came to this country; they weren't trading except that they took wokus [water lily seeds] and gave it to some Indians over there, but mainly they were just friends." Cp. Spier, Klamath, p. 89. For details of dance with which drum was introduced among Kl, see 000 notes 2529. SE: Double-headed, circular hide drum, hanitomtomiL. Consists of 2 circular willow hoops, ca. 6 in. (?) apart; top, bottom, sides buckskin covered; buckskin covering sewed to willow hoops. No specimen seen. Beaten to call people to assembly house. "One Indian [SE] used to make this drum, in my grandmother's day." Probably recent but pre-White, as Spier suggests for Kl (Klamath, p. 89). SW: Informant believed drum old but could not assign any use for it; not used in gambling, as it is among Karuk. AW: "Mo had a drum, round, with antelope-hide head; painted red; held in 1 hand. They came here from Tule Lake; some people used that drum here, at Stonecoal and Big Valley." AE: Recency of drum denied.

2083. See elements 834-838 and notes, especially as regards WM entry. MV: Besides foot drum,

[203-A]

000 also used board as drum. See element 3670; also cf. Densmore, Musical Instruments, pp. 114-115.

2084. AW: Basket drummed with pack strap, to frighten away bear. MF, NF, NM: Use of pack strap for this purpose denied. MF: Drum on basket, in night ceremony held during April, when men, women sing for good seed crops, plentiful game for year. NF: Men scrape, drum basket when singing in assembly house; no dance. NS: Taboo to drum basket; "must not play with a basket." MV: Basket patted with hands.

Rattles, rasp.--

[534] 2085. Kl: Spier (Klamath, p. 90) doubts whether any large cocoons in Kl area. SW, At, AW, AE, WT, WM, WS, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Cocoons suitable for rattles available in area. WS: Cocoon rattle used for Big Head dance.

2088. At: 30± cocoons. AW, MM: 5-6. WS, NF: 4-5. NS: 3-5. MV: 5-10.

[534] [756] 2089. Kl: Shamans do not use any variety rattle. At: Cocoon rattle dangerous; shaman never keeps it in house, or shows it to people, except when doctoring. When he shakes rattle, "it is as though he is asking his power for help." AW: Poisonous for anyone other than shaman to handle.

2093. SW: Gray papery sack, ca. 5 in. long, 2-3 in. wide; neither cocoon nor wasp's nest, but resembling these, used as rattle; broken mussel shells put inside it; used by children.

2097. WT: Refers to single-split rattle.

2098, 2099. WT: Refers to multiple-split rattle.

2101. WT: Refers to single-split rattle.

2103. AW, WM, WS, MF: By shamans only. MM: Snake rattles regarded as poisonous.

2108. SE: 7-8 hoofs.

2111. Mo: Obsidian arrowheads shaken inside open-mouthed basket cap, to encourage men to go to war.

[534] [177] 2114. Kl: 2 notched rasps, held in hand, "played like a fiddle." No basket. Recency denied. Cp. Spier, Klamath, p. 35.

Bull-roarer; whistles and flutes.--

[534] [177] 2116. Kl: Learned from Whites.

2120. At: Children, twirling bull-roarer for fun, ordered to stop, because sound produces sickness.

2130. Mo: Used when hunting ducks. SW: Used for any dance. WS: 2 types whistle; (1) of bone, old; (2) of elder, recent.

2131, 2133-2134. WS: Refers to older type bone whistle.

2136. WS: Used for Ghost (Dream) dance only; recent.

2147. Mo: Whipsnakes around elderberry bushes. See note 2161. SE: Also not good to handle elderberry bush; gives person headache. MV: Whistling with lips also taboo at any time.

2148. MV: Any variety of snake will come to whistler.

[203-B]

534 2153. Kl: 3-4 holes.

000 2160. SE: To accustom player to hold his breath for long time, in order that he may be strong man, good swimmer.

2161. Mo: If shaman has whipsnake for his guardian, he uses elderberry flute; "whipsnake's food is elderberry." Flute also used to imitate bird calls, to obtain hunting luck.

2162. Mo: To make girl sleepy.

[533] 2163. Kl: "Just playing, to all kinds of water snakes." SW: Used by old men, chiefly, playing songs for self-gratification.

Pictographs

[532] 2164. Kl, Mo, At: Pictographs. AE, WT: Petroglyphs. WM: Occasional incised rock found in area.

2169. Mo, SE, WS, MF, NF: Impress of bare human foot on rocks. WS: Footprint is that of Moon, made when traveling; 1 such occurs at Big Bend (Madesi Achomawi area), another near Portuguese Flat, near Dunsmuir. NS: Footprints of bear, 2 does on rock.

RECREATION

Games

Shinny.--

2170. AW: Women's shinny game "learned from tribes NE of AW," ca. 50 years ago, or when informant was "pretty good-sized man." Men's shinny game learned from Round Valley (Mendocino Co.) and Covelo Indians. "The Yuki and Wailaki played it; some of AW [including informant's father] were taken down there by the Whites, and learned to play it there; they brought it back to AW area." WS: Women's shinny game, k'ara; old game.

2172. SW: Preëminently woman's game; "among Karuk down-river a man's game only." Women alone bet on it; women do not bet on any man's game. "When men play hand game, and women not allowed to, latter go outside and start shinny game to help their men if they are losing, by betting and playing too."

2175. AW: In women's game.

2176. AW: For men's shinny game.

2180. AW: For women's shinny game.

2182. WT, WM: Thick bark disks.

2184. Braided, ca. 15 in. long. AW: For women's shinny game.

2187. AW: For men's game.

2188. AW: For women's game.

2189. AW: For men's game.

2194. AW: In men's game.

2195, 2196. AW: In women's game.

2198. AW: In both men's, women's game ball flung straight between 2 poles, slightly higher than poles.

2200. AW: 8, if women play; 6 in men's game.

[204-A]

*539

533 755 192 165; 13. It is by no means certain whether the above is the full wording of this song or not.

165; 16. nen involves the idea: "you hear it yourselves." Cf. 167; 36. 170; 59.

[534] 166; 17. kódsinksh was in this connection explained by Ilíhanksam stĕ'ksh. Conjurers' rattles are made of deer's claws.

166; 18. This hawk is a kind of sparrow-hawk, Falco sparverius.

166; 20. Compare the song of the weíwash-goose: 170; 69.

166; 21. This song of a female conjurer or "doctress" is quite analogous to the song 166; 17.

166; 22. The káls flies around in cold nights followed often by foggy mornings, hence the belief that it makes the fog.

166; 25. Compare the gray wolf's song, 165; 12., which forms alliteration to this.

166; 26. Refers very probably to the cremation of the dead.

[778] 167; 30. In line 2 the same object is alluded to as in line 3, kóltam sχí'l. This is a broad strip of dressed otter skin, ornamented in various ways with shells, feathers, bird-scalps, etc. To all these objects a magic power is attributed severally, and as they are now all united on one strip of skin, this strip must unite the magic powers of them all. The conjurer suspends the sχí'l on his neck and lets it dangle over his chest or back, according to the manipulations in which he is engaged at the time. It is considered as one of the most powerful of all the curing tools or múluash.

167; 32. Alludes to the grayish-white color of this bird, which burrows underground. This bird is also mentioned in 154; 12. and *Note;* cf. also 132, 7. 8.

[193] 168; 41. Sχi'pa is the abbreviated form of the possessive case in -am, as in wásha wéka 105, 9. and *Note* to 105, 7.; in: ní'l wéksa, 144, 1. cf. 165; 13.

168; 44. Interpreted by others: "I am scolding and threatening the earth".

169; 50. Another túktukuash-song is contained in 162; 3. cf. *Note.*

169; 52. Shaíkish is another name given to the tchákiuks.

169; 54. The kingfisher or Ceryle alcyon is called in Klamath Lake tchántchan, tsántsan, tchánshan after its cry: tchătchătchă, and chiefly feeds on salmon.

169; 56. The second line was referred by "Sergeant" Morgan to the otter. Cf. 177; 13.

170; 58. This alludes to the name of the bird, which imitates its twittering.

170; 62. This bird circles in the air to discover fish on the lake's surface and to pounce upon them. The tchuaísh is the red headed vulture or black buzzard: Cathartes aura. The Indian name is an imitation of the bird's cry.

170; 63. 64. The wákash-crane is identical with the tuákish, the name being derived from its cry. These birds creep along the edge of the water in search of small fish. Compare the tuákish-songs 154; 9. 156; 33. 34.

170; 65. This song is much better expressed in the series of Modoc incantations: 174; 13. Here as well as there alliteration is perceptible.

[193] 170; 67. After gé-u, the subject of the sentence, nä'paks or the disease, is omitted. In the name of the duck the final -s, -sh is geminated here in the possessive case, to stand for wa-u'htŭ'asam.

[194] 170; 68. In the onomatopoetic word wä'ks the dissimilation of the vowel into wă'-aks is frequently observed. Also pronounced wékash.

170; 69. The weíwash- or waíwash-goose is a long-necked white bird, commonly known as snow-goose: Anser hyperboreus.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

K 721
648

The topography directs Shasta attacks against southern settlements. Coming by the open country along the Klamath river, they attack iwau'wōnᴇ at Klamath Falls, sometimes swimming the river there. Or they cross by the little island to the south to surprise the settlement on the east bank. Many years ago a large body of Ya'mōkkni, northerners, descended on the Klamath on Sycan marsh in the northeastern corner of their territory. These may have been marauding bands of Shoshoni and Bannock, fought by the soldiery of Fort Klamath in the summer of 1864.[43] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of Indians coming south about 1876 or earlier by way of the Warm Springs country from the Snake river range east of Lewiston, Idaho.

K [174]

NP K [191]

Northern Paiute scouts use various calls in order to keep contact with one another, imitating the crow by day, coyote in the evening, and owls at night; unlike Klamath scouts. When these are heard, women and children take to canoes, staying on the water until morning. The screech owl is thought to call, kōkᴇdĕ'l sḳiu'ki'u, who sent me? A thrush (sḳo''lĕ) names who is coming, wī'mpis ᴇge'pkwa, they are coming.

K 721
648
[727]

Klamath hunting in the Cascades might meet Upland Takelma from across the range. On one occasion (perhaps about 1850) a party of five or six was wiped out with the exception of a boy who made his way at night, arriving footsore at Klamath marsh. Those who fetched the bodies for cremation found that the Takelma had taken scalps, hands, and feet as trophies. Two of those killed were brothers to the maternal grandfather of my informant, Coley. A wife of this grandfather was an Upland Takelma woman, perhaps a slave, who was a sister to the Upland Takelma chief Töḳtö'ḳli 'red). They killed her in revenge. She had been living among them at the marsh for years but had no children. The reciprocal raid can be reconstructed from Gatschet's information[44] and my own. The expedition was undertaken at the call of Lᴇle'ks, the most prominent ă'ukckni chief and a distant relative of Coley's grandfather. Men of all the tribelets took part. Crossing the mountains on foot, they found the Takelma encamped in Molala territory at the head of Rogue river. They attacked as the Takelma rose at dawn, scalping many and carrying off women and children. Among those killed was Töḳtö'ḳli, whose hands and heart they took. After the man was shot, Lᴇle'ks lanced him through the throat. Lᴇle'ks invited all the Klamath to a huge scalp dance at Klamath marsh. During the dance a wife of Coley's grandfather danced about with the heart in her teeth. The captives were dragged by their arms and forced to dance close to the fire.

K [727]

K 726
535

A preparatory performance, called nī'ḳĕba, is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance,

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[43] Gatschet, 1:lxii.

[44] *Op. cit.*, 1:16.

726 as it is doubtful that it contains any true dance form. It is held in the
535 open for from one to three nights depending on the size of the group engaged. It consists essentially of two things, mimicry of an onslaught by the warriors and prevision of their success by a shaman.

The men are dressed and armed for battle. Possibly they dance to the songs by jumping with both feet together. In their midst is a shaman who predicts their fate. Possibly only women sing and jump about, pretending to stab at imaginary foes with spears. Early on the morning that the war party sets out, the warriors rush at their women and children to show how they will act in the attack. This sham attack is called t'k!o'la.[43]

[756] The shaman exercises his clairvoyant powers before they set out or while encamped on the march. He jumps about in front of the men, "looking through them," and predicting who will be shot, and how the enemy will be slain. One informant had it that those for whom disaster was predicted would stay at home; another that they were too brave to do so.

714 They dance and go to war nearly naked, wearing breech clouts or the short fringed skirts, but not the more recently acquired skin shirt.
562 Their hair, and that of the dancing women too, is drawn into a single loose bunch to fall down the back, wound close to the scalp with strips of skin: deer, otter, mink, or weasel. Only women shamans may use the last. Neither sex wears basket hats with this peculiar headdress. (Incidentally, quarreling men who come to blows seize one another by the long hair.) Their faces are painted; men's white, women's red, sometimes with blood from the nose. The shaman's garb is slightly more elaborate; his hair is tied with weasel or mink, around his neck a rattlesnake skin, and the skin of a bull snake across his chest as a bandolier. On the march with the war party, he wears skunk skin and eagle feathers.

726 Shamans accompany war parties not only to fight but especially
756 to use their clairvoyant gifts in their behalf. Wounds and broken limbs are treated by them, a distinctly unusual practice for shamans, but so well attested by circumstantial detail in this case as to be beyond doubt. Wounds and fractures are sucked and the patient turned over to lay hands for further treatment.

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[43] Gatschet (1:196) describes this for the Modoc. "The whoops were chanted and howled while going round in a circle for one to two hours; even now they are heard on solemn occasions. This uniform performance was, however, interrupted sometimes by feigned attacks on a supposed hostile force lying in ambush or marching past. A scalp-dance tune is added, also battle cries."

peculiar to the chief Lele'ks, to whom they were accustomed to trade their slaves for transportation to the north. On the other hand this may be a reflection of the Plains custom of reciting coups. 727

Scalps are of liberal size, including the whole skin above the ears and brows, as is generally the case among western Indians. Bodies are dismembered for trophies; hands, feet, ears, heart, the lips cut away as one piece, genitals, and the whole head. (One informant denied that the head is taken entire.) Trophies are never taken from women nor from any men except leaders, the best fighters. There [114] may then be some truth in the statement of Gatschet's informant that they disdained scalping Pit river people.[30] [191] Kroeber has pointed out that the northwestern Californians as far east as the Shasta neither scalp nor hold a victory (scalp) dance.[31] Klamath practice is in accord with more general custom.

The scalp dance (sa'tca) is one of rejoicing over vengeance 727 achieved. Hence the invitation issues from a relative of the avenged, not of necessity from a chief. 535 Dancing begins immediately on the return of the war party and lasts two to five nights depending on the size of the group that collects. A minor raid is of course a matter of only local concern, but an affair of consequence brings everyone to a celebration for the full five days dictated by tribal pattern. Gatschet's informant recounted how on one occasion they made their captives dance before them at the first camp on their homeward journey.[32]

Older people of both sexes take part in the dance as well as the returned warriors. The young are barred and children especially must be kept at a distance. Quiet, decorous conduct is expected of those who do not dance, else they would be shot, for at this time the dancers are violent. Faces are painted white or red; hair is tied as for the war dance. They fast or at least eat no meat nor fish. This is the taboo that the Klamath impose during every crisis. There is no special purification for those who have slain an enemy.

The dance takes place in an open place, the very one on which the war dance was held, according to one informant. A huge fire is kept burning at the middle, where captured bows and quivers hang on a pole. The captives are huddled at its base, the older ones with their wrists tied before them.

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[30] *Op. cit.*, 1:19.

[31] Handbook, 844.

[32] *Op. cit.*, 1:20.

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727 535 The dance begins in the evening. The women are provided with sticks a meter long from which the scalps are pendant. As instanced above, one carried her enemy's heart in her teeth. Two women commence a sinistral circuit; others, men and women alike, fall in behind them two by two until everyone is engaged. They step forward slowly, the body swaying from side to side as they stamp in unison with the right foot, bend forward with sticks thrust rigidly and obliquely before them, drag the left foot up, and stamp forward again with the right. [533] All the while they are singing a meaningless refrain, wiha'ho wiha. From time to time someone leaves the ranks for a moment to shake the pole, crying aloud. The captives are sometimes made to dance inside the circle with the same step; forced to rejoice over their own defeat. A big boy may be struck with a club, a little one is carried on a man's back. They are whipped with the scalp sticks as they dance. When the song ends the women jump about with feet together, crying a'ho, a'ho, and whipping the huddled slaves with the scalp sticks, they cry alalalala, as they pat their mouths (a practice called gababa'a). During the intervals of rest the sticks are set upright in the ground.

Pat Kane drew a slightly different picture. The dancers form a circle, each with his hands on the shoulders of the one in front; first the leader of the war party, then a file of men, followed by the women. They begin by crying even though no Klamath have been killed, but soon begin to sing.

Scalps are sometimes set on the central pole. On one occasion they had taken the scalp and the store-bought shoes of a Shasta which they hung on the pole and danced around.

[114] Gatschet describes a dance, perhaps for the Modoc, with the implication that it is the scalp dance, but it seems identical with the Ghost dance. "A peeled tree, sometimes twenty feet high, was planted into the ground, otter and rabbit skins fastened on or near the top, and below them the scalps of the enemies killed in battle. Forming a wide ring around this pole (w'alash) the tribe danced, stood or sat on the ground, looking sometimes at solitary dancers, moving and yelling (yä'ka) around the pole, or at others, who tried to shake it, or at fleet horses introduced to run inside of the ring. Circular dances are of course performed by joining hands."[53]

The last dance was held on Williamson river about 1865. Two old women, wives of a Paiute named ķ!oilă'wŏkt, were the captives. After the dance they were freed.

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[53] *Op. cit.*, 1:196.

After the dance, scalps and trophies are usually preserved by those 727
who called the dance, relatives of the avenged man. They are dried 535
and stored far from their homes to be brought out and danced over at
each new scalp dance. Sometimes bits of the scalp are sewn in rows [177]
down each breast of a woman's dress, a Plains custom impossible, of
course, before the introduction of these Plains-like garments. Both [291]
practices are un-Californian.

There is a question whether the notched rattle (ulo'ks) is played in 727
the war and scalp dances. Neither drums, which the Klamath formerly
lacked, nor rattles are used. Only one man, Ma'gai', whose day was 535
well before the middle of the last century, knew the notched rattle. 534
He knew all about war. He had overheard the Upland Takelma
singing to it, according to one informant, and always used their songs
when the Klamath made war on them. No resonator is used; the
notched stick is rested directly on the ground and rasped with
another stick.[84]

CHIEFTAINSHIP

Chiefs are of but minor significance in Klamath life. In contrast 622
my informants invariably stressed the importance of the shamans. As 756
an instance the largest house pits pointed out were always those of
shamans. This relative unimportance of the chiefs was true at least
until just before reservation days. At that time contact with the 622
Columbia river tribes, whose concepts of chieftainship were sharp and
deeprooted, coupled with the developing trade which began to make
considerable differences in wealth among the Klamath, operated to
enhance the position of the chiefs, the rich men. It is significant that
Lɛle'ks, their most prominent chief, had spent several years of continuous
residence at the Dalles. All this was sharply accentuated on
the establishment of the reservation by the government's recognition
of lay leaders while frowning on the shamans. It must be distinctly [114]
understood that the picture Gatschet draws of chiefly powers is non-aboriginal.[85]
In fact, his principal informant, David Hill, was one of [115]
the newly raised chiefs who, we must believe, was not inclined to
underrate his new importance. Both my best informants, Nancy

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[84] The familiar association of this rasping sound with the voice of the frog and its use in a social dance (the Bear dance of the Basin Shoshoneans) are both unknown to the Klamath.

[85] Gatschet, 1:58–62.

601 I have few data on kinship usages. A child's spouse is treated like an own child and freely called son or daughter. Reciprocally, parents-in-law are often addressed by parent terms. The spouses of grandchildren and of nephews and nieces are not related, nor are step-brothers and sisters. There is no joking relation.

593 The close bond between siblings and their families is attested by the opening of a tale:

> [539] Wiwi'aak had five fathers, who were the five sons of Wile'akak. That is, one was his father, but the others were fathers because they were father's brothers. . . . .

PUBERTY AND MENSTRUAL CUSTOMS

881 [554] The puberty dance is held only for the daughters of chiefs and others of wealth. For a poor man's daughter the rites are curtailed to the most necessary observances. The celebration serves as an announcement of nubility: girls marry within a year or so of their dance.

881 535 The dance (yo'k̦'ɛla) occupies five nights at the first menstruation and is repeated at the four subsequent periods. It seems doubtful that any but the socially pretentious carry out full five celebrations. During the day the girl goes alone to sleep in the brush at some distance, returning for the dance just before sundown. I am not certain that she then seeks supernatural power. At least the girl does not run about piling up rocks in lonely places as boys do.

The dancing may take place in the lodge or outside, perhaps according to the season. It is simple enough; the girl trots forward and backward in the same course facing the east all the while. She is supported on each side by a man or woman whose arms are linked in hers. As they tire others take their places but the girl must keep on throughout the night. These others are young or old, relatives or otherwise, as convenience dictates.

881 533 The singing is provided by a group of men and women who alone know the appropriate songs. These singers are in demand for every dance. They are paid by the girl's relatives, a horse apiece, a blanket for each man, a half-fathom of beads for the women, or an equivalent. Some are provided with rattles, poles to the upper ends of which bunches of dew claws are fastened, the butts of which they pound on the ground. At least the song leader has one; other informants spoke of two or three, of five men and five women, or of rattles for all.

Everyone is quiet during the singing, else the girl will die. My infor- 881
mant could not say what would be done to the one who broke this 533
rule. The singers are fed at midnight.

The choristers sing about one another, men about women, women about men.[88] The opening song is always:

iwünc′ sken djidja′lwis djaiyo′djai′wa [539]
toward sundown bachelors making a noise (?)
The young men are having a jollification in the west.

Toward daylight they sing:

pe′ēt keskā′ni dji′ḳ!a ho′llidoŋga
Toward the dawn place a tiny brown bird came to meet us. 881

The girl herself is expected to dance with downcast eyes, although
there is no express prohibition against looking at the sky as among 535 •
the Shasta. Common girls, however, will laugh and look around as 576
they dance. There is no suggestion that the girl's glance is malignant. [171] *

She observes three precautions during these five days, as she will
at subsequent menstruations and during mourning. She must abstain 881
from meat and fish, eating only lily seed or roots. She may, however,
eat when she pleases and with the others. Should she eat the forbid- 784
den flesh, she will get "consumption" and die.[89] She must not touch
her hands to her face or head, using instead a scratcher (sadŏ′ktcuts). [302]
This scratching stick or bone is tucked under the left wristband or hung about the neck. Every morning she runs toward the dawn.

In the Field Museum collections are several bone scratchers used during
the girl's rites (nos. 61633, 61692, 63632). These are of two types; lozenge-
shaped and oval. They are decorated with incised lines, set close together and
filled with black pigment. Each is provided with a thong (fig. 6). [531]

During the day the girl retires to sleep in the bushes or in a dome- 881
shaped mat-lodge a few hundred yards distant. [343]

She wears an old, dirty, fringed skirt, a blanket of skin (coyote,
wolf, raccoon, or deer), and buckskin moccasins. The long buckskin [291]
dress commonly worn at dances may be used, although one informant
stated otherwise. She does not wash nor comb her hair during this [302]
period. Her face is blackened with pitch and charcoal, but none is put on her hair as it would be in mourning. Instead the hair, hanging as usual in two braids in front of the shoulders, is doubled on itself to form two clubs, which are bound with braided cords of buck-brush

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[88] Some of these songs are given by Gatschet, 1:182, 189.

[89] A bone drinking tube is not used.

534 Several instruments whose presence might have been expected
are unknown. Such are the cocoon rattle, the foot drum, or any other
form except the hand drum. As to the cocoon rattle I doubt that
there are any large cocoons in this region. It is rather surprising
that those who accompany the singers do not beat time on a plank with
*[171] clubs after the fashion of more northerly tribes. A peculiar Wishram
drum, a horizontal pole slung from the roof by a rope and
pounded against the wall, had been played at the Dalles by one of my
[342] informants, but it was never introduced among the Klamath. To be
sure, their houses do not have plank walls but alternatives might have
been substituted.

The musical bow should be mentioned here only for comparative purposes. The Klamath lack any special form but sometimes toy with an ordinary bow, holding the bow in the mouth and tapping the string with a stick. There is no name for this.

Whistles (stu'ta) are also playthings. These are made of willow, of a plant called wa'ḳŭm, or a jointed grass called watcŏŏ'ḳwls. The willow whistles are seven or eight inches long and provided with side holes like a flute. Whistles are blown direct into the open end.

533 Whistling with the lips was indulged in even before the coming of the whites.[143] Songs are not whistled.

SOCIAL DANCES

• 535 It is not clear whether there were any dances of purely social
intent in earlier times or whether they were so rare as to be negligible.
[534] Two good informants said that formerly there were none. Indeed the
use of the hand drum with social dances (yĕka') suggests their
[755] recency. Shamanistic performances, which were evidently frequent,
may have provided a substitute entertainment.

Some time during the year a good singer will busy himself arranging
a dance solely for amusement, called k'si'ulüks. Men and women
form a circle with hands clasped, but the fingers not entwined. The
step is a sidewise jump, not a shuffling of feet as is usual in circling
dances among other tribes; the movement is in a counter-clockwise
direction, I think. The circling begins with the song; they do not wait
[534] to sing a phrase before moving. Formerly, according to an unreliable
informant, no musical instruments were in use but recently the hand
drum was introduced from the tribes to the north.

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*[171] [143] So, too, the Northern Paiute, according to my Klamath informant.

Another circling dance, called skŏ'tcpŭs, may not be a social dance but may be used in the scalp and war dances in a way that is not clear. Here those in the circle do not hold hands and their step consists in shuffling along by moving the toes and heels alternately. 535

The headdress for dancers consists of long eagle feathers, or a bunch of small eagle and gull feathers may be kept in place on top of the basket hat by means of cord passing under the chin. Downy feathers are hung pendant at the back of the head. [292]

New Year's observances, or new fire ceremony, such as the Yurok and Karok know, are not found among the Klamath.[144] 796 171*

ETIQUETTE

The Klamath are on the whole a hospitable and friendly lot. 574
Good breeding demands that visitors be invited to share one's meal. There is no studied effort at ostentatious feasting, however, nor is food forced on a visitor in the manner of our eastern Indians. If visitors, men or women, arrive at meal time, the children of the household are sent out on the pretext, as they tell the children, that the food will stick in the visitors' gullets. A kind of grace is said before eating. Bits of food are cast toward the spirit places to feed them first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula[145] is a prayer. Good form does not demand that the visitors clean up their portions,
nor does one hear the smacking of lips in appreciation. There is 264
among them no objection to noisy eating. Children are told not to talk while eating fish, for fear of their swallowing bones. It is usual
to rinse the mouth with water before and after eating. Soiled fingers [515]
are washed in a near-by stream after the meal. Children are definitely instructed in good behavior.

The common salutation to the visitor is i gŏtpi'is, yes, have you 576
come?, followed by go'li, come in. On leaving, the guest announces i gŭ'mbīn, yes, I am going, which evokes the invariable response i gă'mbli, yes, go. One hears moĭ'nskăndīte, thank you, but rarely.

For a man to remove a woman's hat from her head is reprehensible; it is usually construed as a solicitation.

Certain behavior is not so much a matter of general good form as [481]
of sex difference. Egress from the earth-lodge is by a ladder projecting through the hatchway overhead. Men mount the rungs facing the ladder, but women place their feet sideways, mounting crab-wise.

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[144] Kroeber, Handbook, 53, 102.

[145] See p. 166.

the winter dance. They bring food for a feast, especially pond-lily seed contained in large boiling baskets. This is left outside the lodge until the close of each night's dance and may not be touched for fear of sickness. Children are excluded except from some of the sleight-of-hand performances. The invitation includes men and women, not necessarily relatives, who know the songs and are willing to help. A man is chosen to shout during the performance, calling the spirits from their distant homes to help the shaman. Another is more carefully chosen to act as the shaman's interpreter.

This speaker or interpreter (lodŏ'tka) functions both at this performance and at curing practice. The shaman always asks the same man to act for him; obviously an important element in his success. Nancy's husband, for example, was always speaker for White Sindey, the berdache shaman. Older men are preferred and never women. The shaman holds his clenched fist over his mouth while talking with the spirit's voice, and while he talks no esoteric language but good Klamath, he shouts and whispers so rapidly and incoherently that his words must be repeated by the speaker. This assistant also prepares and lights the shaman's pipe. Evening and morning during the performance he stands atop the lodge and calls to the shaman's spirits in the mountains. He is paid in blankets and beads. Clownishness is not part of his rôle.

The audience sits close to the walls, each family by itself. The shaman reclines on his sleeping mats which are usually on the northern side of the lodge, but sometimes on the opposite side. This is his place on everyday occasions. His family is grouped back of him and his speaker is at his side. He dances on the northern side in front of his bed or rather in the central space between the four posts.[164] [535] • This is swept smooth and no one is allowed to cross it to reach the ladder, for instance, even when there is a lull in the singing. The singers are seated on the southern side.

The performance, called wa'hla, takes five days and nights, of which the first day and night are the most significant. They begin in the early morning with the fire dance. Five piles of dry non-resinous wood have been placed at intervals outside the central space. The pile to the south of the foot of the ladder is first used. The shaman dances [535] on the south (?) side of the huge fire as close as he dares; the men who help him, dance on the opposite side.[165] Their step may be a [171]*

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[164] There is no dance platform, such as the stretched elk hide of the Wishram, which my informant had seen.

[165] Their positions are probably the reverse.

756 jump (sideways ?) with the feet together, but I am not sure. Women
[535] may dance if men are few, but all the audience joins in the singing.
As the fire dies down it is replenished with each of the four remaining
[533] piles in sinistral order, the last being that north of the foot of the
ladder. This occupies the whole day and is not repeated during the
five-day period. Its purpose is to call the spirits to act through the
shaman, to give him the strength to perform the feats of legerdemain
that follow.[168]

The nights are given over to these shamanistic tricks. Two tricks, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are part of every shaman's stock in trade. They are performed by the novice during the first night, though they may never be repeated in any subsequent winter ceremony. Until the novice has made the ceremony to show that he can carry off these two feats, he is no shaman and cannot cure.

The fire-swallowing trick (ko'pgūs p'an, torches eating) is performed with the aid of an old lake trout spirit (tcwīm or me'"yās),
or rather they say the spirit eats the fire. Five men stand in a row
each holding a bundle of resinous wood slivers, ten inches long and
[535] two inches thick, called ko'pgūs. The shaman dances in front of
them, others dance vigorously with him while they sing,

[539] ko'pgūs babi's ġistsa'mpka
I eat fire while I walk.
gēno gĭta ġistsa'mpka
This is where I have been walking.

The trout is represented as singing. The torches are lighted, the shaman snatches them in quick succession, puts out the fire with a gulp, and flings them aside.

The companion trick is swallowing arrowheads; this follows fire-swallowing after an interval. The fire has been allowed to die and is only rekindled as a little light is needed. Perhaps twenty obsidian arrowheads are tied at intervals on a cord, which one man feeds to the shaman as he dances. He swallows these with the aid of certain bird spirits, or rather the spirits eat the blades: gau'wi, a blue and brown bird, wĕ'tgōtgis, a spotted hawk, and ķ!ōt'ia'was, a small sea gull
(noisy, white, with forked tail and black spots on head). A tule mat is
[533] arranged like a cape over the shaman who now seats himself. They
sing the songs of the bear spirit, now represented in the shaman, to
bring back the arrows. Soon they hear him cry out, "ha," as each

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[168] Briefly described by Gatschet (1:70).

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177 hood of my elderly informant. This is a simple one-piece affair, shown diagrammatically in figure 21*b*. The upper is cut to form a long tongue. It is sewn along the toe and one side, and up the heel.[385]

481 Snowshoes may be conveniently described at this place. The snowshoe (ni') is the circular Californian form; a hoop of tough service berry wood, about twelve inches long by six wide.[386] Within the hoop is a net of thongs on which the foot is placed; tie strings are drawn up about the ankle. My woman informant drew a sketch showing five parallel longitudinal thongs crossed transversely by five others, [114] also parallel, thus forming a simple rectangular web. This may well have been merely diagrammatic, since five is the pattern number. Kroeber illustrates a more intricate pattern of webbing, a central lozenge filled by transverse lashings and connected with the frame by others.[387] Barrett illustrates a snowshoe with still a third style of web. This seems to be a single longitudinal strip of skin, crossed by three others.[388] Such shoes are also used when wading in the marshes.

291 Mittens (wakă'pks) of coyote or other fur are worn in cold weather, [714] possibly by men alone. They are also used for protection in war. These are sock-like, without fingers, and of arm or elbow length. A muffler (sau'kaks) is also made of skin.

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177 The woman's skin dress (gokc) is the long woman's garment of the Plains tribes, completely covering the body to the mid-calf. Unlike the corresponding man's shirt, these are worn most of the time, especially in winter. In summer the lighter unbeaded dresses are [535] used. This is not essentially a dance costume, although worn at the war and scalp dances. But these are held outdoors at night; and [756] during the shaman's dances in the earth-lodge, the fringed skirt only is worn because of the great heat. It is possible, of course, that this is a rationalization of etiquette, for if the shaman's dance is older than the forms of war and scalp dance now in use, there may be an association of the older fringed skirt with one and the newer skin dress with the other. There can be little doubt that the fringed skirt is the antecedent form. Plains influences appear to be recent, and

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* [171] [385] This has been redrawn from a sketch made by my informant. On the Yakima reservation moccasins of this type have a tab at the heel, which my informant may have omitted.

[386] Coville (Notes, 94) states that "the frames of snowshoes are usually made of willow wood. The mesh in old times was commonly made of the Rocky Mountain flax, *Linum lewisii*, less commonly of nettle fiber, *Urtica breweri*."

[387] Handbook, fig. 68a; evidently taken from Mason, Aboriginal American Basketry, 215.

[388] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17.

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*171 on the other, were entirely absent among the Klamath. Nevertheless
556 the mechanism of the Northwest Coast for the exchange of presents,
the potlatch, does appear here in the form of prescribed reciprocal
584 visits between the families of bride and groom. It has not been clearly
recognized that these features of Northwest Coast social life have
spread even farther from that focus into the northern Plains and to
north central California.

*171 Of the slender stock of Klamath ceremonials, the scalp dance is
widely known, the war or incitement dance is common to northwestern
535 California and perhaps all of Oregon. Kroeber has pointed out that
726 so far as California is concerned scalp and war dances are mutually
exclusive in their distributions.[418] But the Klamath, like all others
*171 of eastern Oregon, carry out both dances. The girls' adolescence rite
of the Klamath is one with those of western Oregon and northern
881 California. This is a local phrasing of similar rites known from
Alaska to the Southwest, but lacking east of the Sierra-Cascades.
Specific details of the Klamath affair are closer to northern Cali-
*171 fornian forms than to those of Oregon. The Ghost dance of 1870 was
evanescent among them. Its first form was that characteristic of the
original dance of Nevada; later it was overlaid by features char-
acteristic of central California.[419]

177 Some historical relief emerges in this survey. It is definitely
traceable in some details and can be established inferentially for more
basic elements. The most recent stratum of adopted traits is post-
[285] reservation, i.e., later than 1865. This includes two types of basketry
derived from the Northern Paiute settled on the reservation, a sifting
basket and a coiled water bucket, and the Ghost dance. The earlier
[668] form of the Ghost dance was instituted by the same group of Paiute
in 1870 or '71. This was the familiar circle of dancers, whose leaders
[343] dreamed new regulations; its ideology the return of the dead. In
1873 a Pit River introduced central Californian elements; a dance
[534] lodge, probably the clap-stick rattle, new songs, etc. To the same
[533] stratum belongs the imitation of the Warm Springs-Yakima one-piece
moccasin.

[291] Other elements are recognized as pertaining to pre-reservation
days, but probably not earlier than the middle of the last century:
177 the hand drum derived from the north, and perhaps the social dances
534 in which it is used; the hand game brought by a Spokane (?) man.

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535 [418] Kroeber, Handbook, 144, 844.

[419] Spier, Ghost Dance.

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177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
• 535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
174 only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[622] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
[721] carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-
[567] holding existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their dis-
177 tribution established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kin-
ship terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
[622] custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[619] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctive-
101 ness from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
105 to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some north-
western influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

787 experiences with it. Power may also come involuntarily, when a dreamer hears a spirit song. There is no obligation to accept, but resistance brings illness.

796 756 The midwinter month (December-January) has a curious place in the Klamath calendar. While a shaman must of necessity evoke his spirit to cure or foretell at any time of the year, this is the period when every shaman feels called on to exhibit his powers. The novice shaman also waits for this time to give a public test of his possession, and only after this does he attempt to cure. These seances are solely for displaying power, manifested by the songs and a series of feats. During these performances, those among the audience who have spirits also sing their own songs if the spirit impels. In other words, the midwinter month is the period *par excellence* when spirits regularly resume contact with their communicants.

[535] [372] The essential of the winter seance is a dance by the shaman as close as possible to a huge fire in order to call his spirits to assist him in the feats that follow. These are stereotyped tricks, of which two, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are the test of the novice. Other tricks are of the type of making things appear and disappear.

A few other details should be mentioned here. There is an assistant at this performance, a layman, who repeats the shaman's words. Food brought to the seance is thought first to be eaten by a frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one may touch it. The performance takes place in the shaman's own dwelling.

[789] Weather control, like the display of powers at the midwinter seances, offers an opportunity for shamanistic rivalry. Clairvoyance appears in connection with the war dance preparatory to an expedition, and, curiously, the shaman accompanies the party to continue his clairvoyant function, and, what is still more unique, to serve as surgeon.

753 755 Illness is the result of the intrusion of something foreign, usually a spirit and commonly the spirit of a malignant shaman. A cure consists in extracting a tiny object which is either the disease itself or embodies it. The curing procedure is highly formalized: spirit after spirit is invoked to search the patient, beginning always with the Old Frog Woman, until the culpable spirit is found. The shaman's familiars are thought to stand beside him ready to assist. When he succeeds in sucking out the disease object he swallows it, while blood streams from his mouth.

*171 756 Very little of this is unique with the Klamath, as we may see by comparison with the shamanistic complex of neighboring peoples.

*171 From this perspective the Klamath complex takes its place with
756 the relatively simple shamanism of the northwestern interior and the
Basin, overlaid with elements shared by tribes of the northwestern
coast and those of northern, or better, northwestern California.

Shamanism bulks large in the social scheme of the Klamath as it
does in the interior Plateau and the Basin, for the reason that com-
[881] peting rituals are lacking. Beyond the girls' rite, the war and scalp
dances, and for a brief time the Ghost dance, the Klamath have noth-
[535] ing but shamans' performances. The winter ritual of the Northwest
Coast extends only to central coastal Washington, the potlatch only
to the Columbia river. The wealth display dances of northwestern
[726] California do not penetrate even to the Shasta; those of the central
Californian Kuksu cult not beyond the head of the Sacramento. Ele-
[786] ments of these ritual systems do indeed appear among the Klamath,
*171 but the dances as such are absent.

The Klamath hold the acquisition of supernatural power within
796 the reach of anyone. In this they accord with the generality of North
*171 Americans and differ emphatically from the Californians for whom
power descends only on the few. The Klamath form of quest fol-
787 lowed by a dream in which power comes links the common quest of
America with the dream experience of California. The Northwest
Coast, its interior, and the Basin are a unit with the Klamath in that
the quest is for power of a general sort, not for visions yielding spe-
cific sanctions as in the Plains. The spirits whose benevolence is sought
are birds and animals as in the interior, the Plains and eastward, not
the mystic supernaturals of the Northwest Coast. The source of
power and disease among the northwest Californians, the "pain"
*171 objects, do not appear among them in any form. The Klamath con-
cept of disease is the very general North American one of intrusion;
753 the soul-loss concept of the Northwest Coast and tribes to the Colum-
bia is unknown here.

*171 The Klamath novitiate dance for shamans is shared by groups from
the Sacramento to the Columbia. It is the northern demonstration of
756 ability rather than the initiation and mastery of power of the northern
Californians. The repeated dance of the Yurok prevails through
Shasta and Modoc, but the single Klamath dance is of the interior
type.

*171 The Northwest Coast winter ritual makes its appearance here only
756 in its general aspects. Klamath shamanistic seances are held only in
midwinter and this is also the time for repossession by spirits among

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*171 Achomawi, Atsugewi, more southerly Pomo, Miwok, and Yokuts, and
756 in the north among Quinault, Klallam, and the Puget Sound Salish, which sets limits on the south and north. It appears again, however, among the Cahuilla.

*171 The dance has by no means everywhere the same function or form.
For the Klamath and Shasta it is merely a demonstration of power;
535 the same is implied for the Modoc and in our very brief note on the
756 Tillamook.[466] The Wishram case belongs to this category in part: the novice demonstrates his power to cure, but there is this difference, that he must first be restored from his seizure. That is, from the Shasta northward the inaugural dance is primarily a demonstration.

The inaugural dance has quite another purpose in northwestern California: it is to enable the novice to acquire control over his powers, in this case the rather material "pains," which correspond to the spirit powers of other tribes. The dance is, as Kroeber remarks, essentially a professional initiation. The novice is aided by qualified shamans to retain in his body and control the "pains," which up to this point make him ill as they do any layman. Prior to the dance, he receives instruction from older shamans. This type of performance is credited to Yurok, Tolowa, presumably Hupa (and Karok?), Chimariko, Sinkyone, Yuki, Northern Pomo, northerly Wintun, Sacramento Valley and Northeastern Maidu, and the Southern Maidu.

There are then two types of inaugural dance, so far as function is concerned: the demonstration type of Oregon and the control type of northern California. Kroeber's designation of the dance as northwest Californian is not quite adequate in view of the Oregon data.

From a wider point of view, the control dance of northern California and the Wishram case link with the southern part of the Northwest Coast proper. A feature of repossession during the winter sacred period of the northern tribes is the overpowering strength of the spirit which makes its possessor "ill" until he is relieved by dancing. This is also described among a number of them as characteristic of the condition of the youth who has newly acquired a spirit. It is the essential point in the novice's part in the winter ritual of the Kwakiutl and Quileute: he must be relieved of his superabundant power. Similarly, among the Klallam a boy who has received a strong power must remain away from home for some months until he has learned to control or dull it.[467] I do not know how widespread in western Washing-

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[466] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 136; Boas, Notes on the Tillamook, 10.

[467] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 290.

ton this idea is, but it crops up again among the Wishram. A lad 171*
who acquires a spirit is "sick"; a shaman is employed to relieve and
restore him. This is one of the essentials of a Wishram novice sha- 535
man's inaugural dance. It must be noted that in all these instances 756
the condition of the possessed is described in one way: he is "sick." This is precisely what is at the bottom of the north Californian control dances, although the sickness is due to an agent of another sort. It is altogether regrettable that there is no information on the coastal tribes of Washington and Oregon, since the similarity of the ideas suggests that there may have been a continuous distribution along the coast. At least in the interior, the "sickness" of the repossessed does not hold beyond the Wishram. Klamath and Shasta have the form of the recovery ceremony without the substance.

To turn to some comparisons of detail, the dance made by the Shasta immediately on the spirit seizure is not duplicated among the Klamath. When the Shasta novice revives, she dances and may be carried or swung over the fire. This is repeated on two nights following. At the last dance the spirit shoots a "pain" into her, which she masters, withdraws, and reinserts in her body. The later inaugural dance is, however, much like that of the Klamath. The novice waits until winter to demonstrate. This dance takes place in a dwelling just as among the Klamath. She dances and sings while an assistant calls on her spirits to help her.[408] What is lacking to complete the analogy are the tricks of legerdemain, but these among the Klamath are the stock in trade of all shamanistic performances and appear to be unknown to Shasta practice. There is just a possibility that the Klamath arrow-swallowing trick is related to the Shasta novice's demonstration of her ability to extract and replace the "pains," described as small clear objects pointed at each end. Another difference is that her dance is under the aegis of qualified shamans; a feature linking the Shasta with the typical north Californian performance.

The Modoc novice dance which Meacham described[409] is externally like that of the Shasta yet smacks of Klamath ideology. The spirit seizure takes place apparently at home. When this is manifested by hemorrhages, the novice is made to perform ten dances while an

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[408] Dixon, Shasta, 475.

[409] Wi-ne-ma, 129–136. As the original is difficult of access, it is reprinted below in an appendix. Despite Meacham's naïveté and his obviously faulty knowledge of the Modoc tongue, as evidenced elsewhere in Wi-ne-ma, all his descriptions of Modoc life ring true.

*171 established shaman calls various spirits until the tutelary is discovered.
This is repeated for five nights. The novice then goes to the mountains
756 to seek further power. On his return he dances during a month,
• 535 aided by others, to prepare for his profession. This terminates in
another ceremony under the shaman's direction.

In the opposite direction the Wishram also have an inaugural dance for a shaman novice which, unlike these southern examples, occurs at any time he receives power. As in the Klamath affair, he performs in the characteristic manner of a shaman of his tribe, even demonstrating a cure. When he dances to call his spirits, others perform to help him acquire strength. There is a difference, however; the lad is overcome by his power so that a shaman must dance to relieve him and help him regain control. While this is foreign to Klamath-Shasta thought, it is characteristically Wishram. There everyone on returning from an experience is overpowered by it and must be restored by a shaman.

[114] As Kroeber justifiably points out, the unique characteristics of the Californian control dances center among the Yurok and Hupa, and gradually diminish in number as far as the Maidu.[479] It may be profitable to reexamine the data.

There are two distinctive features of these complexes: the "pains"
by which the novice is possessed and the dance for control. It is
obvious that there is no inherent connection between this particular
type of possession and such a dance. Among the Yurok, Hupa, and
Shasta "pains" take the place of spirit familiars among the Klamath,
*171 for example. Among the tribes to the east and south (Achomawi,
Atsugewi, the several Maidu groups, Wintun and Yuki) the shamans
756 operate with spirits, but "pains" appear as causes of disease. All
these have the dance, which is far wider in its distribution than
"pains" as sources of shamanistic power.

The concept of the "pain" has interesting variations among the several tribes. It is everywhere animate, sometimes with personality, and while ordinarily immaterial, has sometimes a material form. When its material characteristics are described, it is commonly a clear double-pointed object, like an obsidian arrowpoint. Thus the Shasta "pain" is a small, clear double-pointed object; they are the same as spirits, yet each spirit possesses one. The Chimariko disease object is small, double-pointed, and animate; the Achomawi like a little needle of glass. The Wintun "pain" is a spirit missile, a flint or 171* obsidian arrowpoint, and like its Yuki analogue, is dispatched to 756 cause illness. The Yuki "pain" is an invisible obsidian point. The object which the Sacramento Valley Maidu shamans insert into the novice to see if he can get it out, is neither a disease object nor the embodiment of power, yet is obviously related to these; an invisible double-pointed object as long as the finger. The disease objects of the Northeastern Maidu are not described in this fashion, but they have the animate, personal character of the "pains" elsewhere. Southern Maidu initiates are "killed" with a "piece of medicine" a half inch long. No description is available from Yurok and Hupa.[471]

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[479] Kroeber, Handbook, 852.

It is unfortunate that the term "pains" has crept into the literature to describe things which, it seems to me, are not related to these concepts. Thus, the "pains" of the Takelma are neither substitutes for spirits nor have they personality. Of the Sinkyone, it is recorded: 171* "Ordinary disease was cured by sucking out of the body the *sinsing* or material 'pains.'" In neither case do these differ one whit from the 755 disease objects of peoples outside this area. The case is somewhat different for Achomawi-Atsugewi: the "pain" is described as "a small black thing, like a bit of horse-hair" which a shaman sucks out in a cure, but "the 'pains' grow in size and strength by killing people. If the shaman does not catch the 'pain' when it returns to him after killing the person it has been shot into, he loses all control over it, and it goes about killing people of its own initiative. This is the cause of epidemics." This closely resembles the Northeastern Maidu concept.[472]

The inaugural dance of California is of considerable proportions 171* only among Yurok, Hupa, Shasta, and Northeastern Maidu, and as such is comparable to the Klamath affair. On the other hand those 756 of the more southerly peoples seem relatively unpretentious: Sinkyone, 535 Yuki, Northern Pomo, northerly Wintun, Maidu of the Sacramento valley, and Southern Maidu.

The Shasta performance has been described above. The Yurok novice dreams of a dead shaman who puts a "pain" in her body. A dance is made in the sweat-house for ten days during which she dances under the direction of older shamans. The "pain" is induced to leave her body and is re-swallowed, thus demonstrating control. She

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[471] Kroeber, Handbook, 111, 197–199 302, 361; Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 562; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 268, 280; Gifford, Southern Maidu, 244.

[472] Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 42; Kroeber, Handbook, 150; Dixon, Some Shamans, 25, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218.

* 171 then goes to a seat or little monument on the mountain for reasons obscure. On her return the dance is repeated and followed by one • 535 about a large fire to "cook the pains." The Tolowa dance is like that 756 of the Yurok. The Hupa dance is but barely described. "At night a dance is held in the sweat-house. The candidate dances around the fire as many times as possible. This is continued until the prospective doctor gets the desired clairvoyance, or the sucking doctor gets the 'pain' in his mouth. During the nightly dance the candidate makes the motion of catching the pain and putting it into his mouth. Sometimes the desired power is long in coming. The candidate goes in that case to a high mountain and dances in the rarer air." When dreams come to the Northeastern Maidu novice, or he has had an answer to his quest in the mountains, he becomes ill. A performance is then held at which older shamans attempt to appease his spirits. He then sings his spirit songs. This may continue through the winter, when, after his ear lobes are pierced, he sets off to the mountains to acquire more spirits.[478]

The southern performances are simpler. The Chimariko dance takes place out of doors, where an established shaman put a "pain" into the novice's mouth. Of the northerly Wintun, Kroeber writes: "Shamans are 'finished' in a dance held in the sweat-house at night. Older doctors suck the novices' bodies clean; then call the *yapaitu* or spirits, who enter the neophytes and render them temporarily unconscious or maniac"; of the Sinkyone: "A new shaman fasted and danced at nights [*sic*] for a period of some duration in a conical house erected or reserved for the occasion, while more experienced colleagues accompanied him, interpreting his symptoms and advising him in the gradual acquisition of mastery over the difficulties of his involuntary art." The Yuki dance takes place in summer; older shamans dance with the novices for five days. The novices' spirits come to the older shamans and instruct them how they can be made manageable. The spirits shoot the novice with spirit obsidians to make his heart light and clean. Among the Northern Pomo a shaman is called in to diagnose the novice who has had an experience. They dance together and the shaman sucks out a feather as a sign that the novice will become a shaman. The Maidu novice of the Sacramento valley division falls sick after his experience. Shamans sing over him and give instructions. They insert long spirit objects in his

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[478] Kroeber, Handbook, 63, 127; Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 65; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 274–279.

nose, over which he must demonstrate control by withdrawing them. 171*
Southern Maidu are initiated by established shamans. "They are
placed in pits with 'medicine' and 'killed' with a piece of 'poison 535
medicine' about a half inch long."[474] 756

It does not seem probable that the Cahuilla novice dance is related to these northern forms, since it is not only different but is not known in the intervening area. The Cahuilla youth gives a feast and then dances for three nights to gain ability to sing his songs.[475]

There are some rather interesting linkages in these data. Klamath and Shasta have the dance in winter. Possibly the Northeastern Maidu novice's dance through the winter is related but that is doubtful. Presumably summer is the dance time for others, as specifically the Yuki. Its duration is five days among Klamath; Shasta, three for each performance; Modoc, five in at least the first performance; Yurok, ten; Yuki, five. Klamath and Shasta hold it in a dwelling, others in the sweat-house (Yurok, Hupa, northerly Wintun) or special dance house (Sinkyone). The Klamath novice dances as close to a huge fire as he dares; so the Shasta in the earlier dance; the Yurok dances around a hot fire to "cook the pains," the Hupa around a fire. Shasta, Yurok, and Yuki believe the aspirant is shot with "pains" by his spirits; the Yurok draws them out and swallows them to show his control. The Hupa novice duplicates this by seizing and swallowing the "pains." The older shamans' part in the Yurok, Sinkyone, Yuki, and Northeastern Maidu dances is to show the novice how to gain mastery of his "pains" or spirits. Among the northerly Wintun, Northern Pomo, and Sacramento Valley Maidu they treat him for his disorder. They first suck his body clean; the Pomo suck out a feather. The Valley Maidu combine this with an opportunity for the novice to demonstrate his control by drawing out "pain"-like objects they put in him. The Yurok, Hupa, and Northeastern Maidu novice seeks further experiences in the mountains; the last after his ears are pierced. Ear piercing is the preliminary to a power quest among the neighboring Achomawi and Atsugewi.

There can be little doubt that the north Californian dance, which is essentially one of instruction and control, is related to the tutelage exercised over neophytes in the Secret Society-Kuksu complex centering farther south.

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[474] Kroeber, Handbook, 149, 197, 199, 361; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 326; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 267, Chimariko, 303; Gifford, Southern Maidu, 244.

[475] Hooper, Cahuilla, 334.

similar to the Klallam-Sound Salish affairs. These likewise are held 171*
only or primarily in midwinter, that is, from December to March.
Potlatching on this occasion is represented by some trifling gifts made 756
by the singers. It is not clear that the man who rises to sing his spirit 787
song at this time is repossessed, but it is suggested by a statement I
recorded that when the auditors heard their songs sung, they "became 796
like fire inside, wild," offering bits of flesh to be cut off. The guardian
spirit dance of the Nez Percé closely parallels this performance. This
appears again among the Lillooet, and it may be that Teit's reference
to the "manitou dance" of the middle Columbia Salish refers to a
similar affair. (These people formerly occupied the territory between
the Wishram and Nez Percé.)[478] A Wasco analogue may be reflected
in a tale describing just such a singing and dancing festival among
the animals; each of the five nights they dance closer to the flames.[479]
This is similar to the Klamath practice of dancing as close as possible [535]
to the fire, which I know is also the custom among Puget Sound
groups, hence may have been universal in these performances.

There is a suggestive connection with these northern ideas in the Alsea custom of telling traditions in one month alone, January, and never again during the year.[480]

It is significant that the novice among Klamath and Shasta waits until winter for his inaugural dance. Among the latter this is the period in which the candidate is most likely to be possessed: "doctors generally begin their dreams and dancing early in the winter, as it is then that the Axeki [spirits] are always about the camp."[481]

If then the Klamath winter performance is construed as related to northern rites, by reason of its time, and the repossession of both shaman and layman, it is unique in one respect. I have been unable to find that elsewhere there are such regularly recurring opportunities for shamanistic display. To be sure, these occur elsewhere and quite widely, but not as regimented performances fixed as to time.

The Shaman's Assistant

The Klamath shaman regularly employs an assistant who serves as 756
interpreter of his rushing mumbled speech. Similarly, at both winter 796
performances and while curing, a second individual is selected to call
the spirits and prompt them to act. 755

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[478] Spinden, Nez Percé, 262–264; Teit, Lillooet, 286, The Middle Columbia Salish, 98, 128.

[479] Sapir, Wishram Texts, 311–312, cf. 95–99, 129–131.

[480] Farrand, Alsea, 245.

[481] Dixon, Some Shamans, 24.

*171 756 Pomo ghost dancers, Cahuilla and Pima shamans. Perhaps the Nisqually trick of eating cold ashes is connected with these.[487]

Treading on fire or hot coals is no trick of the Klamath, but occurs I believe among the Modoc. It is also known from the Quinault, the Puget Sound Salish, Northeastern Maidu, and in the boys' rites of southern California. The Pomo can plunge his hands in fire; the Yurok shaman handles hot stones.[488]

The Klamath shaman can fill or empty at will a basket with live fish, pond-lily seed, or blood. The Thompson is credited with causing water to appear and disappear, the southern Yokuts with making fish appear in water, and the Pima with transforming water to wheat.[489]

The Klamath hold that food brought to the shamanistic performances is first eaten by the frog spirit. Until this spirit has partaken, the food may not be touched for fear of sickness. Similarly in a Shasta ceremonial in which a shaman frees a village of lurking disease, his guardian spirit is thought to eat food which has been brought for that purpose. If this is not forthcoming, the spirit may devour someone instead. The Takelma analogue takes a different form: a shaman must not eat before dancing, for, since the dance is reckoned food for his guardian spirit, he, the shaman, would be guilty of the impropriety of eating first.[490]

It may be that this is only a special construction put on the Klamath custom of throwing morsels of food to the spirits before one eats. Certainly the Kwakiutl who puts bits of food in the fire before the feasters eat is presenting them to the spirits of the fire.[491]

*171 756 532 The Klamath, and probably Modoc, shaman has set up on the outside of his dwelling a carved image of a boy or dwarf spirit. To find a carved image here is distinctly unusual in a culture in which woodworking is minimal. This seems to me to be another evidence of influence from the woodcarving area to the north. While the analogy may not be proper, it may be pointed out that to the northward a shaman, in fact everyone with a guardian spirit, carves or represents that spirit on a stick which he carries during his performances.
[535] Tillamook, Chinook, and Quinault shamans have such carved sticks,

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[487] Teit, Lillooet, 289; Thompson Indians, 362; Olson, Quinault field notes; Kroeber, Handbook, 264; Hooper, Cahuilla, 331, 335; Russell, Pima, 259; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 68.

[488] Haeberlin-Gunther, *op. cit.*, 61; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 279; Kroeber, Handbook, 68.

[489] Kroeber, Handbook, 507; Russell, Pima, 258.

[490] Dixon, Shasta, 488; Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 42.

[491] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1331.

which their assistants hold or with which they dance. In fact, the use 171*
of special dance staffs is general among all Quinault who have spirits, 532
as it is among the southern Puget Sound Salish. It is strange that 756
neither Dr. Sapir nor I learned of either type of carving among the 535 •
Wishram, but our information is not full.[492] [114]

A tall painted pole is erected in front of the Klamath shaman's 171*
lodge from which dangles a cord bearing at intervals bunches of
feathers, a piece of wood, and a miniature gambling tray, all these 756
representative of spirits. There are analogues of this southward to the 778
Maidu. Such a pole is also erected outside a Modoc shaman's dwelling; it is painted and bears the skins and feathers of various spirit animals. It is used earlier at the novice's dance. This is described as some three or four meters high and decorated with paint and a few feathers. Such a pole is set up when a Shasta shaman rids a locality of disease: it has baskets hung from it. Again when an Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman cures, a pole is sometimes set up near the house, to which is tied a bunch of feathers (*qaqu*). The *qaqu* has a significant function; it is obtained with difficulty on his spirit quest and has the power to tell him where the disease is located. The poles used for a Northeastern Maidu shaman novice are somewhat different. They are set up on the roof of the house in which the inaugural dance takes place, and inside above the spot where he stays; others are carried to the mountains where novices go on their quests. These are short wands, a meter to a meter and a half long, variously painted, with pendent strings of feathers and acorn shells, or bunches of feathers. These have some obscure but intimate relation to his spirits. Similar wands are set up at the dedication of a new dance house by the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento valley.[493]

Among the items of a Klamath shaman's costume are a forehead 171*
band or neckband of woodpecker scalps mounted on a buckskin founda- 756
tion and a bunch of yellowhammer feathers worn on hat or neck. 292
The feathers of both these birds have value and ceremonial usage in California but not to the north.

Woodpecker scalps attain the status of money among the Yurok 171*
and perhaps their neighbors. Not only have they value in themselves,
but they are worked into ceremonial headdresses over most of northern 292
California. The Yurok and Hupa use forehead headbands like those 435

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[492] Boas, Notes on Tillamook, 10, Doctrine of Souls, 40; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[493] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130, 136; Dixon, Shasta, 475–476, 487, Notes on Achomawi, 218, Some Shamans, 24, Northern Maidu, 275–278, 312.

Maidu of the Sacramento valley may kill merely by letting his shadow 171*
fall on his victim. A Klamath cannot pass in front of a shaman nor 756
drop something in front of him, else the shaman suffers a hemorrhage.
Similarly a Kwakiutl apparently does not pass behind an eating
shaman, else he too has a hemorrhage. The Wishram shaman, angry
with one who endangers him by passing behind or startling him, may
bewitch in revenge. A Cowichan of the mainland group will not let
his shadow fall on a sick shaman, for the latter may seize the chance
to replace his own lost soul. Similarly the Lillooet avoid letting their
shadows fall on a shaman or standing in his, for fear of consequences.
The Thompson, too, will not let his shadow fall on a shaman (the
reverse is not harmful), and dares not startle him nor eat meat without inviting him to share it.[498]

Clairvoyance

Prediction is a widespread, if not universal, ability of shamans. 171*
A somewhat unique form among the Klamath is that at the dance pre- 756
ceding the departure of a war party. The shaman dances in front of
the warriors in order to discover those who will be wounded: he sees 787
them bleeding. He also accompanies the party to watch over them 726
and cure wounds. Something of the same sort is noted for the Modoc. [535] •
This also seems to take place among the Chinook: "before the people
go to war they sing. If one of them sees blood, he will be killed in [755]
battle." Perhaps this is general in the northwest; at any rate Goddard observes of the Northwest Coast at large: "Every war party includes a shaman who by his supernatural knowledge warns of danger and points out favorable times and places for attacks. The shaman, by catching or destroying the souls of the enemy, makes the killing of their bodies an easy matter."[499]

As I have pointed out it is unusual that the Klamath shaman treats 171*
wounds and fractures by matter-of-fact methods. But this has also 755
been noted of the Achomawi. Angulo thinks this true only since the advent of the whites, but it is surely an old practice of the Klamath.[500]

The practice of freeing a locality or village of disease, dispatched there by a malevolent shaman, is probably more common than I have

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[498] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 269; Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 730; Lower Fraser River, 9; Teit, Lillooet, 288; Thompson Indians, 361.

[499] Gatschet, 1:21; Boas, Chinook Texts, 270; Goddard, Indians of the Northwest Coast, 119.

[500] Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 571.

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The time of life at which supernatural power may be gained is not limited among most western tribes. Those of eastern Washington and the interior of British Columbia, however, tend to restrict the quest to adolescence, and with them seem to link the secret society initiations of the Northwest Coast. One gains the impression that in northwestern California, where the acquisition is involuntary, it descends only on adults. The Klamath, like others of northeastern California, follow the more widespread habit of seeking power at any time. 171* 787

Feminine shamanism is characteristic of northwestern California. While this appears in the relatively large number of women practitioners as far east as Shasta and Achomawi, the Klamath are unaffected by this influence. 171* 756 [562]

Specialization among shamans is not marked over most of western America. Such distinctions as are made between those who cure and mere clairvoyants, or the really powerful shaman and one with limited abilities, are very variable and never particularly impressive. Such distinctions do not appear among the Klamath at all. Neither do the common Californian specialists, the rattlesnake, bear, and weather shamans. Weather control is exercised by any Klamath shaman who has the requisite spirits.

Northern California and Oregon share an initial dance for the novice: a performance of initiation and mastory in the south, a demonstration of ability in Oregon. The Klamath affiliate with the latter. Its local form on the Klamath river below the Klamath (Yurok, Shasta, and Modoc), a dance made immediately on the acquisition of power with a second somewhat later, has no counterpart among the Klamath. The general form of the Klamath novice dance is identical with all their shamanistic seances. In one particular they affiliate with the down-river tribes, namely in dancing over a hot fire, but even this is known on the southern fringe of the Northwest Coast proper, if not elsewhere. 171* 756 535

Northwest Coast influences appear at two points: the time of shamanistic seances and the woodcarvings representing spirits. Klamath seances are restricted to midwinter, the novice dance among them. This is regularly the period at which all who have spirits are repossessed and impelled to dance, shamans among them. The regimentation of the repossessed in the midwinter sacred period of the Northwest Coast is lacking, but a diminution of the idea and its forms is clearly traceable from that focus to Shasta and Klamath. Wooden 171* 756 796 000

a line of men moving sideways. It was only in connection with 171*
the latter form of dance that the girl performed; to be specific it is 881
known that she danced among Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, North-
eastern Maidu, Shasta, Karok, and, though we do not know the dance 535
form, Sinkyone and Yuki. Inasmuch as it is specified in the case of the last two that the girl was supported as she danced, we may well suspect that they had the same dance form.

It should not be assumed that dancing during the puberty rite was confined to this area. Dancing may have occurred on the Northwest Coast in connection with the potlatch more commonly than recorded (Nootka and Ten'a?). There is nothing to suggest that it was the same form of performance, however. In southern California the dancing was about the girl as she lay on a hot bed (Luiseño, Juaneño, Miwok) and was apparently quite different in character and intent. Dancing was again characteristic of the Southwestern ceremonies (White Mountain and Jicarilla Apache, Pima), and again the White Mountain and Pima forms were lines moving to and fro, with the girl engaged with them in the case of the former. Even the Jicarilla girl herself danced. These specific features are suspiciously like those of northern California and Oregon. Perhaps we do not yet know all that can be learned of this rite in the Basin.

To revert to the dance rattle; it was prevailingly the deer-hoof 171*
jingler type, although handled somewhat varyingly. This has been 534
noted for Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, Shasta, Karok, and Tolowa, while the Hupa, Sinkyone, and again the Northeastern Maidu used the clapper rattle. This type of deer-hoof rattle was distinctively Californian and generally distributed in the state. So far as I know it does not occur north of the Klamath. The clapper rattle was on the other hand a central Californian type, as Kroeber has pointed out.[594] As he further remarks, rattles were used in northwestern California only in connection with adolescence ceremonies, but this was also true of the sector to the north and east apparently (Shasta, Achomawi-Atsugewi, certainly Klamath,[595] and perhaps Takelma and Coos).

There is little information on the songs, but the little existing 171*
suggests that these were of two types only; songs about foodstuffs and 533
about love affairs. Thus it is noted that the Sacramento Valley Maidu

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[594] Handbook, 823, 862.

[595] The Klamath acquired the use of the clapper rattle as well only with the Ghost dance of 1870.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	226
282. 1st salmon	•−	•o	•+	•+	•−	•−	•o	•+	•+	•−	•o	•+	•+	•o	•+	•+	
283. 1st sucker	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
284. 1st steelhead trout	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	
285. Taboo to catch salmon before rite	−	o	−	+	−	−	o	+	−	−	−	·	+	o	+	+	[784]
286. Steelhead	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	
287. Suckers	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
288. Taboo to eat salmon before rite	−	o	−	+	−	−	o	+	−	−	−	+	+	o	+	+	
289. Steelhead	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
290. Suckers	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
291. Spring of year	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	
292. Priest prepares for rite	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	
293. Neighboring tribe holds (salmon) rite	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
294. Old man catches 1st fish	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
295. Anyone may catch 1st fish for rite	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	
296. Anyone may eat 1st fish	−	+	−	•−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
297. First (2) suckers burned	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
298. All of 1st catch eaten immediately	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
299. Punishment for removal of portion	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
300. Taboo against leaving in basket overnight	−								•+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	[784]

Gathering

Gathering Techniques and Observances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
•300a. Poles, staves for gathering acorns, pine cones	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	222
•300b. Shepherd's crook stave	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	
•301. Forked stick grapple	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	
•302. Straight pole	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	
303. Straight pole with cross bar	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	
304. Also used for wood gathering	−	−	+								−	+	+	+	−	+	
305. Limbs shaken with hands, feet	−	−	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
•306. Sapling as ladder for climbing trees	−	−	+	•+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	
307. Double-pole ladder, buckskin rungs	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
308. Digging stick	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
309. Plain, pointed at one end	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	
310. Plain, bipointed	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
311. Crutch handled	+	+	+	•R	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
312. Seed plants sometimes broken by hand		•+	+	−	+	−	−		+	−	−		−	−	−	−	
313. 1st-fruits rite	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
314. Observed for: acorns	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	
315. Pine nuts	−	−	−	−	−	−	−						+	−	+	−	
316. Wokus (water lily seeds)	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
317. Ipos bulbs (Calochortus sp.)		+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
318. Manzanita berries						o	o						−	+	+	•o	
319. Annual; observed in	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[221]
320. Springtime	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	
321. Midsummer	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
322. Fall of year	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
‡323. Number of days	10	−	−	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	1	1	1	1	1	1	
324. Dancing	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	[535]
325. Praying	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[782]
326. Singing	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	
326a. Feasting on 1st fruit	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[538]
327. 1st fruit gathered thrown away	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	•+	+	

Preagriculture (Other than Tobacco)

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
328. Burning for better wild-seed crops	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	•+	•+	•+	·	+	−	241

2: Voegelin E-S (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
767b. Earth covering partial	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	343
768. Earth covering all over	•+	+	–	•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
768a. Main entrance through roof	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
768b. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
768c. Flush	+	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
768d. In end of house	+	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
768e. Secondary entrance at ground level	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
769. Sliding wooden door	•–	•–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
769a. Stone paved "porch"	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
769b. Steam or hot-rock heat	•+	•(+)	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
770. Direct-fire heat.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
770a. Small, for 1-4 persons	•+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
770b. Large, for group	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
770c. Used throughout year	•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	
771. Used in winter only	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
772. Used by both sexes	+	+	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
773. Used by men only	–	–	–	•+	(+)	–	–	+	•–	•–	–	–	+	–	–	+	[562]
774. Used by mourners only	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
775. Communally owned	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–		

Plains-Type Sweat House

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
776. Plains-type sweat house	•+	•+	•+	•+	•R	•R	•+	•(–)	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–
777. Dome shaped	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
778. Mat covered	+	+	•+	+	R	–	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
778a. Hide covered	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
779. Brush, bough covered	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	(–)	•+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
780. Small, for 1-3 persons	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
781. Steam heat	+	+	+	•+	R	R	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
782. Used throughout year	–	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)		–	–	–	–	–	+	–
783. Used in summer only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)		+	–	–	–	–	–	–

Sweating Customs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
784. Individual sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	515
785. Sweating in groups of 2-4, or larger	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	
786. Women sometimes sweat with men	+	+	+	•+	•R	•+	•+	–	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	[562]
787. Women sometimes sweat separately	+	+	+	+	R	+	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
788. Sweating daily or every 2-3 days	+	–	–	•+	+	R	•–	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	
789. Sweaters sit or crouch	+	+	•+	+	+	R	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
790. Sweaters lie down	•+	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	
791. Sweaters "dance around"	–	–	•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
792. Formalized sweat dance	–	–				–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	•(+)	[535]
793. Sweaters kneel	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
794. All men sleep in sweat house occasionally	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	[513]
795. Male mourners sleep in sweat house	•+	•+		–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
796. Unmarried old men sleep, eat in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	•+	•–	–	+	
797. Men gamble in sweat house	–	–	–	•–	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	•–	•–	
798. Men work (handicrafts) in sweat house	–	–	+	–	–	•+	•+	•–	–	+	+	+	•+	–	•–	•–	
799. Youths gather fuel for sweating	–	–		+		•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	•–	–	•–	
800. Office of fire maker	–	•–	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	•R	–	•	•+	+	•+	•+	[312]
801. Competitive sweat groups	–	–	–	•+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	+	•	–	–	–	–	[372]
802. All sweators sing	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	[533]
803. 1 man sings for group	–	–				–	–	•(+)	•+	•+	–	+	•+	–	–	–	
804. Sweat for success in hunting	+	•+	•+	•+	+	–	+	–	•+	•+	–	+	•	–	–	–	[224]
805. Sweat for success in gambling	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	•	–	–	–	[525]
806. Sweat for general good luck	+	+		+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	[777]
807. Sweat as cure for disease	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	•+	–	–	•	+	+	–	
808. Scarify selves, let blood drip on hot rocks	–	+	+	•+				–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[757]
809. Sweat to cleanse body	–	–	+	+		+	•+	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	[304]

2. Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
1633. Cut with stone knife	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	R	R	.	.	–	–	–	+	304
1634. Cut with porcupine quill	–		–				+	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	–	
1635. Charcoal rubbed in	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	R	R	.	.	–	–	–	–	
1636. Soot rubbed in	–	–	.	+				+	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	–	
1637. Plant juice rubbed in	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	+	
1638. Burning	+	+	+		+				+	+	+	R	–		–	–	
1639. On arms	+	+	+						+	–	+	R	–		–	–	
1640. Depilation	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	
1641. Eyebrows	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	
1642. Beard	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	
1643. Deer-bone tweezers		–					+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	
1644. Plucking with fingers	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	–	+	
1645. Ashes on fingers, for plucking	+	+	+								–	.	.	+	–	–	
1646. Plucking, stone flake opposed to fingernail	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	
1647. Shaving with obsidian or flint	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1648. Beard allowed to grow	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	
Ear, Nose Ornaments; Necklaces, etc.																	
1649. Earrings	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	301
1650. Bone ring	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1651. Clamshell beads	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1652. Buckskin string	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1653. Dentalia pendant	R	–	+	+	(+)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1654. Flat shell pendants	–	+	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1655. Haliotis pendant	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
1656. Ear stick: wooden	R	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	
1657. Worn when hole healing, only	R	+	–			+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1658. Worn during dances only						–	–	–					+	+	+	+	[535]
1659. Plain, 1/2-inch long						+	+	+			+	–	+	–	–	–	
1660. Painted design	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	[531]
1661. Burned design	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1662. Shell beads or pendant on end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
1663. Ear tube: bone	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	(–)	+	+	–	+	
1664. Worn when hole healing, only	–	–	+			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1665. Applied decoration																+	
1666. Feathers on end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1667. Shell beads or pendant on end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1668. Ear tube: shell	R	–	+	–	(+)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	
1669. Solid-shell cylinder	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	
1670. Dentalium	R	–	+	–	(+)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1671. Feather in ear	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
1672. Quill alone in ear	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1673. Flowers in ear	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	(+)	–	
1674. Nosepins	R	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	
1675. Bone, bipointed	R	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	
1676. Solid-shell cylinder	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1677. Dentalium through nose	R	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1678. Wooden nosepin	R	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1679. Feather	R	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1680. Nose pendants	R	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1681. Bone ring			–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1682. Strings of beads	R	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
1683. Necklaces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1684. Deer hoofs or dewclaws	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1685. Bear teeth	.	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	
1686. Elk teeth	(+)	+	+								–	+	–	–	–	.	
1687. Bear claws	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	
1688. Bird claws	.	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1844. Shell embroidery	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	291
1845. Painted, top front	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[53]
1846. Painted, seams	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	
1847. Slippers	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1848. Woven bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1849. Tule, twined	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1850. Sandal	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1851. Hide	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1852. Bark	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1853. Leggings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1854. Tule, twined	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1855. Fur piece	(+)	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1856. Buckskin	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1857. Sewed	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1858. Fringed	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1859. Painted	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1860. Porcupine-quill decoration							+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[237]
1861. Tied at knee and ankle	–	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1862. Knee-to-ankle length	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1863. Hip-to-knee length	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1864. Snowshoes	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	o	
1865. Circular	•+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	(+)	–	o	481
1866. Oval	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	o	–	+	o	
1867. Kite-shaped	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1868. Lashing withes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	o	–	+	o	
1869. Lashing buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	o	+	–	o	
1870. Lashing rawhide	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	o	–	–	o	
1871. Lashing of fiber string	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	–	–	o	
Ceremonial Dress																	
1872. Feather garment on net foundation	–	–	–	–	(R)	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	292
1873. Half length	–	–	–	–	(R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	
1874. Tied over shoulders	–	–	–	–	(R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	237
1875. Held up by shoulder straps	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1876. Tied under arms	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
1877. Full length, neck to ankles	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
1878. Down-feather ropes or strings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	•–	•–	–	•+	•+	•	•+	•+	
1879. Yellowhammer-quill band	–	–	–	–	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1880. Feather tips at intervals	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
1881. Feathers solid, edge untrimmed	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1881a. Feathers solid, edge trimmed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
1882. Worn across forehead	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1883. Ends extend, side of head	–	–	–	–		–					+	+	–	+	+	–	
1884. Worn as belt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1885. Worn as bracelet	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[301]
1886. Worn as necklace	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–	
1887. Worn as bandolier	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
1888. Worn over head and down back	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1889. Decorated with beads	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
1890. Used as dance ornament	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[535]
1891. Used by doctor	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	[756]
1892. Whole yellowhammer feathers solid on headband	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1893. All same direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1894. Worn across forehead	–	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1895. Worn as belt	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1896. Worn as bracelet	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[301]
1897. Worn as necklace	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1898. Worn in head net	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1899. Worn over head and down back	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1956. Down woven into	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	292
1957. For war, dances only	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	[535]
1957a. Worn habitually by some men	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[721]
CURRENCY, TREASURE																	
Currency																	
1959. Dentalia	R	+	+	+	•+	+		•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	436
1960. Standard of value	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	825
1961. Incised	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1962. Feathers on large end	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1963. Wrapped with sinew, painted like snake skin	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1964. Graded on finger creases	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1965. Counted	–	–	–							+							
1966. Measured in fathom and fractions of	+	+	•+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1967. Upper-arm tattoo for measuring whole string	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1968. Measured on arm, no tattoo	–	+	.	–	+	–		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1969. Cylindrical purse of horn	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[415]
1970. Purse of horn fork	–	–	–	–	+	–		•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1971. Buckskin purse	–	+	+					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1972. Cased fur purse	–	–	.	–	+	•–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1973. Shells rolled in fur	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1974. Shells kept in basket	+	+	+	–	+	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1975. Long dentalia preferred	–	–	+					•–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1976. Clamshell disks	R	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1977. Standard of value	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1978. Manufactured	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1979. Smoothing slab	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1980. Disks counted	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1981. Short strings only	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1982. Measured around neck												+	+	+	.	–	
1983. Measured on elbow	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1984. Measured in fathoms	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	+	–	
1985. Measured in half-fathoms	+	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	(+)	+	–	
1986. Cased-fur purse	–	–		•(+)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	
1987. Buckskin sack for purse	+	–	+			•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	[415]
1988. Basket for purse	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	
1989. Loans of shell currency without interest	–	•+	+		+	•–		+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	[426]
Treasure								–									
1990. Olivella: whole shell	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	(+)	(+)	.	–	–	
1991. Shell cylinders or Columnella	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	
1992. Sizes distinguished	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	.	.	.	
1993. Bone cylinders		–	.		+	(–)	–	.	–	–	.	–	.	+	+	+	
1994. Magnesite cylinders	–	–	.	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1995. Imported	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[439]
1996. Haliotis-disk beads	–	–	+	+	–	+	.	–	+	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	
1997. Large obsidian blades, used for display	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1998. Manufactured, not used	–		–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1999. Charmstones	•–	–	–	+	(–)	•+	+	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•+	
2000. Natural shape	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	789
2001. Most effective if found by possessor.	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	823
2002. Used in doctoring	–	–	–	+		•	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2003. Animated; can travel of own accord.				+												+	
2004. Doughnut stones	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
2005. Natural shape	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
534 2087. Feathers on stick handle	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2088. Number of cocoons	–	–	–	–	•3	•5	6	–	–	•4	•5	5	•4	5	•3	•5
[758] 2089. Used by shaman in curing	•–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2090. Used by Big Head singers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	–	–	–	–
2091. Used for any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
[787] 2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										–	+	+	+	–	–	–
2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	–	–	–	•+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2094. Split-stick clapper	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2095. Single split	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2096. Multiple splits	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2097. Painted	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	•R	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[881] 2098. Burned decoration	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
[535] 2099. For girl's puberty dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[720] 2100. For war dance	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[796] 2101. For Ghost dance	·	–	R	–		R		•R	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2102. For any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
2103. Snake rattles on stick	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•–	•+	–	–	–	–
2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2106. On cord or thong, no handle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2107. Worn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[881] 2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	•7	15	20	20	20	–	25	8	20	1	2	4	–	–
2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[524] 2111. Basket rattle	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2112. Child's toy	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	–	–

Rasp

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2114. Notched-wood rasp	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2115. Basket scraped	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–

Bull-roarer, Musical Bow

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2116. Bull-roarer	•R	–	–	–	(R)	–	+	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2117. Wood	R	–	–	–	(R)	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
[789] 2118. Bone or horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[753] 2119. Produces storm or wind	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2120. Produces sickness	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[756] 2121. Only shamans use	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2122. Only boys, men use	–	–	–	–	R			+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2123. For amusement, boys	R	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2124. Musical bow	(R)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Hunting bow	(R)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Separate instrument	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2127. Played with finger	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2128. Played with stick	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2129. Boys only					·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Whistles and Flutes

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2130. Whistle	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2131. Single hole	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–
2133. Bone	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2134. Bird or rodent	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	–	+	–	–	+
2135. Large mammal	–	·	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
2136. Elder	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	•R	–	–	–	+	+	–
2137. Cane	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2490. Moving figures	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	+	–	+
2492. Done in winter only	+	•+	–	–						–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2493. Done any time, for fun	–	–	+							+	–	+	+	+	–	+
[481] 2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	–	•+						–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2494a. Stilts	–	•+	–	–	•+	R	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–
Contests																
526 2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. To throw man down	•	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. No tripping allowed	–	+	–			+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	.	–
2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	–	+	+	.
2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								–	+	+	+	+	+
2502. Dodging	–	+	–			+	+	+	–	–	–	(–)	–	+	–	+
2503. Stones	–	+	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–
2504. Hard objects inside geese	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–
2505. Sand bag	–	–	–					•+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–
2506. Tule, grass balls	–	+	–					–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+
2507. Two sides	–	+	–			+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
o2508. Number on each side	–	•5	–			1	.	15	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–
2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[857] 2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	.	–
2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	.	+
2515. To mark and back	–	–	–			+	+	–	+	–	.	+	+	+	–	–
2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+			+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+
2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+
Storytelling																
528 2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2520. Myths told at night	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•		•+	•+
[516] 2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.		–	+
2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	•+	+	–			+		+	–	+	–	–	.		–	–
[784] 2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
2524. Rattlesnake will bite	–	+	.		+	+	+	+	–	.	+	–	.		.	–
2525. Winter will come quickly	+	–	.						+	.	+	–	.		.	–
[887] 2526. Narrated by old people only	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
[515] 2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	•–	+	+			+				+	–	+	.		+	+
2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	–	+	+			+				+	–	+	.		+	+
Social Dances																
Circle Dances																
535 2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	•R	•+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	–	R	–		–	–
[417] 2530. Performed in brush corral	–	–	+	+		–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
[224] 2532. At fall rabbit hunt	–	–	–	–		–	+	–		–	–	–	–		–	–
[221] 2533. In springtime	–	–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[226] 2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2535. During communal-fishing periods	+	+	+							+	–	–	–		–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2536. Any time	-	-	-	+		-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	535
2537. Several bands assemble together	+	-	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	
2538. Young people dance, mainly	-	+									-	-	-		-	-	
2539. Purpose mainly pleasure	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-	[789]
2540. To make seeds grow	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2541. Dance around center post	-	+	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	-	
2542. Juniper tree	-	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2543. Dance around fire	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2544. All dancers sing	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[533]
†2545. Special singers	-	-	-	-		-	°2	-	°4	-	-	°1	-		-	-	
2546. Each local group sings own songs, in turn	+	-	+			+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2547. Split-stick rattle accompaniment	-	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2548. Clap hands as accompaniment	-	-	+			+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2549. Women choose partners	-	-	-	-		-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	[562]
2550. Men choose partners	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2551. Dance in 1 circle	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	
2552. Dance in 2 concentric circles	+	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	
2553. Dance in 2 circles next to each other	-	-	-			+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
2554. Sexes alternate	+	-	+	-		+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
2555. Sexes dance opposite each other in 1 circle	+	-	-					°+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2556. Quick shuffle step	+	(+)	+	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	
2557. Hopping step	-	.	-	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2558. Stamp both feet, moving slightly									+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
2559. Start: counterclockwise	+	(+)	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-	
2560. Reverse: dance clockwise	-	.	-	+		-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2561. When dance stops, all shout	+	+	+					+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-	
2562. Good singer dance leader	+	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2563. Band or district chief dance leader	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	[622]
2564. Clowns	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2565. Act of own accord; not appointed	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	[522]
o2566. Duration of dance, nights	1	+	°1	1		°1	°1	°3	1	°2	-	°2	-		-	-	
2567. Dance occasion for courting	+	+	+	-		-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
2568. Visitors camp in circular brush corral	-	-	+	-		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	[574]
2569. Visitors feasted by hosts	-	-	+			+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
Sweat "Dance"																	
2570. Held inside sweat house											+	+	+		-	-	[515]
2571. At night											+	+	+		-	-	
2572. Any time of year												+	+		-	-	
2573. Both sexes participate											+	+	-		-	-	
2574. Hot fire in sweat house											+	+	+		-	-	
2575. 1 singer; hits center pole with stick											+	-	-		-	-	[523]
2576. Split-stick rattle used											-	+	-		-	-	
2577. Participants stand in 1 spot, dance until exhausted											+	+	+		-	-	
2578. Swim after dancing											+	+	+		-	-	[481]
Bear Dances																	
2579. Bear dance aboriginal	-	-	-	-		-	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	-		°-	+	[177]
2580. Given for good time	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	?	-		-	-	
2581. Given to dress bearskin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
2582. Held in spring	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
2583. Held in winter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
2584. Held any time, in good weather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-	
2585. Danced in sweat house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	+	
2586. Danced in open	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-		-	-	
o2587. Whole gathering lasts ... days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-		-	2	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
535 ‡2588. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	3	2	–		–	1
o2589. Actual dance lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–		–	1
o2590. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	2	1	2	–		–	–
2591. Dance ~~begins near~~ sundown	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
2592. Dance begins in morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
o2593. Number of singers, musicians	–	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	–		•2	1	–		–	2
2594. Split-stick rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+
2595. Deer-hoof rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2596. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2597. Women, only, dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–
2598. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2599. Touch with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–
2600. Each person dances separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	+
2601. Dancers abreast	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2602. Dancers in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2603. Stretch bear hide, as out to dry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[533] 2604. Male singer sits by hide and sings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2605. Women, or man, rub, hit bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2606. Man puts on bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+
2607. In morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	(+)
2608. Dances, walks with bearskin on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
2609. Impersonates bear, claws tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
2610. Dog set onto him	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2611. Drops shell beads, which women pick up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2612. Killer of bear ultimately given bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[515] 2613. Impersonator, girl dancers wash at sacred spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2614. Performers from other groups	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–		–	+
2615. Feast follows performance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				+	–	–		–	+
(825] 2616. Held for black bear only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	•–	–		–	–

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political Units

Sovereign Bodies

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
621 2617. Each village is autonomous unit	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+
2618. Community of closely adjacent villages forms autonomous unit	–	–	+		–	•+		–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–
2619. Local group, embracing several communities is recognized, or is autonomous unit	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	+	–	–
619 2620. Tribe, embracing all local groups, is recognized unit	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Chiefs and Other Officials

Number of Male Chiefs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
622 2621. 1 per autonomous unit	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
[613] 2622. Multiple, of equal rank, per autonomous unit	–	–	–	–	–	•4	–	–	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2623. Chiefly lineages	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2624. Tribal chief	R+	R+	–	(+)	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Basis for Selection

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
[611] 2625. Heredity, primary factor	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+
2626. Paternal only	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
624 2756. Attends to fire for sweating			–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
372 2757. Attends to fire for ceremonies				+	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2758. Builds fire for encamped visitors				+	–	–	–				–	–	+		–	–
Singers																
624 2759. No. male singers per village or local group	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	*2		–	3
533 2760. Variable number	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	(+)	–		+	–
2761. Office lifelong	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		+	+
2762. Hereditary, in paternal line	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+
2763. Any gifted individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	*+
2764. Appointed by chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		+	+
[562] 2765. Female singers also	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+		+	+
2766. Sister, daughter of male singer	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
Dance Manager																
624 2767. Owner of sweat house (headman)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	+	+	+		+	–
535 2768. Hereditary office, paternal line	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		+	+
2769. Schedules dances	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		+	+
2769a. Urges people to dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+		+	+
2769b. Orders wood gathered for dance fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
2769c. Talks at intervals (prays) at dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		+	–

WAR

Nature and Causes

Nature of Warfare

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
726 2770. Intertribal wars	+	+	+	*+	*+	*+	*+	*+	*+	+	*+	+	*+	•	+	*
721 2771. Intratribal raids and feuds	+	+	+	+	*–	*+	*+	*+	+	–	*+	*+	*+		+	.
Motivation																
721 2772. War for adventure or plunder	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	
2773. War for revenge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2774. Common	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–		–	
2775. Rare	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+		+	
2776. Intertribal murders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2777. Strangers from hostile tribes killed on sight	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2778. Intratribal murders, if uncompensated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+		+	
2779. Rape	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		+	
2780. Stealing women, young girls	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	•
2781. Women, girls bought back, no war	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	.
2782. Insult or slight to chief	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	.		.	
2783. To avenge witchcraft against group	+	+	+	+	–	–	*+	–	+	+	+	+	.		–	
2784. Intratribally, for poisoning of girl by suitor			+	+		–	–				–	.			–	
2785. Poaching	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–		+	
2786. By alien tribe	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–		–	
2787. By another local group of same tribe	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–		–	
2788. No war; merely run off intruders	+		+	+		–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		+	
2789. Stealing stored food	–	–	–	*–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
Participants															
Groups Involved															
*2790. Autonomous group alone	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	721
2791. Autonomous group plus allies	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	–	.	726
Combatants															
2792. All able-bodied men of group	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	726
2793. Sometimes only limited number	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	701
2794. Some men stay to protect women	(+)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	
2795. Neighboring groups, tribes asked to give aid	•+	–	+	.	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2796. Warriors or neighboring tribes "hired" for war	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Leaders															
o2797. Chief or headman may lead war party	±	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	±	•–	•+	+	+	+	
o2798. Chief goes to war, neutral in battle	–	+	–	–	•+	–	±	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
o2799. Chief stays home	±	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	±	+	+	–	–	–	
o2800. War leader distinct official, not chief	±	±	+	+	+	–	+	–	±	–	+	–	–	–	
2801. Selected by chief	–	+	.	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	
2802. Chosen at popular assembly	+	+	.	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2803. Chosen on basis of competency	•+	+	.	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	
2804. Holds office until physically disabled	–	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	
2805. Appointed for 1 expedition, usually	–	–	.		+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2806. Shaman goes to war	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	+	–	[756]
2807. Occasionally only	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
Preparation															
Prognostication															
2808. Prediction of deaths in war	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	726
2809. By war leader, through dreams	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	
2810. By shaman	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	–	–	.	–	–	[787]
2811. Dreams	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2812. Shaman tests contestants	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[756]
2813. If man falls during war dance, sign of death	–	–	+							+	+	.	–	–	
Shamanistic Activities Against Enemy															
2814. Shaman sings all night against enemy, prior to encounter	–	+	+	–	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	[756]
2815. "Charms" enemy	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	
2816. "Poisons" enemy	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2817. Formulas against enemy	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2818. Shaman sings during fighting					•			–	–	.	+	+	+	–	
2819. Shaman sometimes hired to kill enemy; no expedition	+	+	+	+		+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
Practice Fighting															
*2820. Combatants practice dodging arrows	+	(+)	.					•+	+	+	+	–	+	–	
2821. Night before fight	+	(+)	.					+	+	+	+	–	–		
2822. In daytime	–	–						–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
War Dance															
2823. War dance of incitement	•–	•+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	[535] ●

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
726 o2824. Held ... days before fight	-	-	2	-	-	-	•2	•2	1	•2	6	-	-	-
o2825. Lasts ... days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
535 o2826. Lasts ... nights	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	•2	-	5	-	-	-
2827. Part of night only	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
2828. At or near village	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2829. Outside in open	+	+	-			-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
2830. Inside in sweat house, around pole	-	-	+			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2831. Dancers abreast in row	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2832. Dancers in circle	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2833. Each person runs around	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
2834. Carry bow and arrows	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	-	-	-
2835. Talk to arrows	-	.	+					+	+	+	.	-	-	-
2836. Shoot at human effigy	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562] 2837. Men only dance	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2838. Men and women dance	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2839. Women carry feathers	-		-				+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-
[533] 2840. Women sing for men	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Painting, Headdress														
714 2841. Contestants paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	•.
2842. Red	-	-	+	+	.	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	.
2843. Black	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.
2844. White	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	.
2845. Face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.
2846. Arms	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	.
2847. Body and legs	-		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	.
2848. Stripes	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	.
[776] 2849. Variable patterns	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	.	-	.
2850. According to guardian spirit	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-
2851. Head net	-	-	-								+	+	-	-
[301] 2852. Headband	-	-	-					+	+	+	+	+	•+	-
2853. Bone hairpins	-	-	-					•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-
Procedure														
Declaration and Manner of Fighting														
726 2854. Declaration of war	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-
[721] 2855. Prearranged encounters	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
2856. Surprise attacks	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2857. Early morning, before dawn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2858. Scouts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	•-	+
2859. Use owl calls, etc.	•+	+	+	-	-	-	•+	+	+	+	+	.	-	.
2860. Hand-to-hand fighting	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2861. Shaman sings											+	+	+	-
2862. Men killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2863. Women killed	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2864. Children killed	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
Captives														
727 2865. Prisoners taken	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2866. Women: young	+	+	•+	+	-	-	+	+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-
2867. Children	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2868. Mainly	+	+	+	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2869. Women captives killed	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	+	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2870. Kept month or so before being killed	-	.	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2871. Abused, mistreated	-	.	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2872. Body left unburied, unburned	-	.	-	-				+	+	-	-	-	-	-	727
2873. Women captives enslaved	*+	*(-)	+	*+	-	*-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	[562]
2874. Violated	+	(-)	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
o2875. Married	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	
2876. Child captives killed	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	[858]
2877. Kept for month or so	-	-	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2878. Abused	-	-	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2879. Body left unburied, unburned	-	-	-	-				+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2880. Child captives enslaved	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2881. Adopted	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	[597]

Booty and Scalps

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
2882. Booty taken	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
2883. Bows of slain kept	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	-	-	(+)	*+	-
2884. Scalps taken	+	+	+	*-	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	-	*+	*-
2885. Scalp dried on frame	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	*+	-
2886. Special custodian for scalp	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2887. Scalp kept permanently	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2888. Scalp thrown away	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-
2889. Scalp burnt	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	(+)	+	(+)	-	+	-
2890. Whole head taken	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2891. Fingers taken	+	-	+	-							-	-	-	-
2892. Heart cut out, taken	+	-	+	-					*	.	-	-	-	-

Behavior of Noncombatants

Women's Dance

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2893. Women dance while warriors away	-	+	+		*+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	722
2894. Each day or night	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	
2895. Sing, pray to help men at war	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	535
2896. Each woman dances separately	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	562
2897. Round dance	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
2898. Dance abreast	-	+	+		-		+	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
2899. Outside	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	
2900. Woman singer	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	
2901. Male singer	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	
2902. Flint "rattle," on basket caps	-		+					-	-	-	-	.	-	-	
2903. Panther teeth, bear claws on stick rattle	-	-	+					-	-		-	.	-	-	
2904. No rattle used	-	(+)	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	
2905. Wear skirts of strung pine nuts	-	+	+		-		+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	
2906. Hold bow and arrow, or flint knife, in hand	-	-	+		*-			-	-	+	+	.	-	-	

Prognostications

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2907. If woman drops knife during dance, sign husband killed, hurt	-	-	.							+	+	.	-	-	[787]
2908. Shaman doctors to learn of warrior's progress	-	-	.						+	-	+	.	+	-	[556]

Return of War Party

Victory Dance

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2908a. Victory (scalp) dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	*+	-	727
2909. Held in or near village	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	535
2910. Held in brush corral	-	-	+								-	-	-	-	
2911. All men dance	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	[562]
2912. Warriors only, among men, dance	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2913. Women dance	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NS
727 2914. Dancing proceeds around fire and pole	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
535 2915. 2 circles, men and women separately	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
2916. 1 circle, men	-	-	+								-	-	+	-
2917. Dancers in row abreast	*-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2918. Each person dances separately	-	-			+						+	-	+	-
2919. Dancers stamp 1 foot	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2920. Dancers stamp both feet	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
2921. Scalp on center pole	+	*+	+	-	*+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	*+	-
2922. Heart on top of center pole	+	-	+	-					*R	-	-	-	-	-
2923. Scalp(s) on small hand pole(s).	+	*+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
[532] 2924. Human effigy	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2925. Each warrior pantomimes his war deeds	-	.	-			+	+	+	+	+	.	-	+	-
2926. Each warrior dances singly, once around, with scalp	-	.	-	-		+	+	-	+	+	.	-	-	-
2927. Old women dance with scalps	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2928. Wipe themselves with bloody scalp	+	+	-	-					+	-	.	-	-	-
2929. Chew and bite scalp, heart	.	+	+	-		+	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-
2930. Scalps dragged and rubbed in dirt	+	+	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2931. 1-2 women walk back and forth in front of dancers	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2932. Warriors carry bow and arrows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
2933. Shoot at scalp or heart	.	.	+	-				+	+	+	-	-	+	-
2934. Women dancers carry brush or pole	-		-						+	-	+	-	+	-
[302] 2935. Participants painted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2936. Black	+	-	+				+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2937. Red	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2938. White	+		+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
[292] 2939. Participants wear brush, feather headdresses	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2940. Warriors wear fighting gear	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
Purification of Killers; Treatment of Wounded														
727 2941. Swims	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	.	+	-
783 2942. Sweats	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	.	-	-
2943. Steam type	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	.	-	-
2944. Direct-fire type	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-	-
[304] 2945. Scarification and bleeding	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	-
2946. Aromatic plants rubbed on body	.	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	.	+	-
2947. Women brush off men with plant	.	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	-
2948. Must stay outside	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	.	+	-
2949. Stays awake mainly, or naps	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	.	+	-
[792] 2950. Prays for luck	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	.	+	-
[262] *2951. Meat taboo ... days	-	-	.	+	*2	-	-	-	*4	-	28	.	6	-
2952. Warm food taboo	-											.	+	-
2953. Scratching stick used	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	+	+
2954. Bath at end of taboo period	-	-	+	+							+	.	+	+
2955. Meat taboo to wounded	*+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	.	+	+
2956. Hot food taboo to wounded	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	+	+
[752] 2957. Wash wounded with special decoction			+								+	.	+	+
Peace Negotiations														
Compensation for Slain														
728 2958. Intertribal wars: compensation	+	-	-	*-	-	R	*-	-	-	-	*-	-	-	-
2959. Revenge only	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS	
2960. Intratribal feuds or murders: compensation	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	728
2961. Revenge only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	
2962. Victims send envoy(s) to ask aggressors for pay	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	
2963. Chief or headman as envoy	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	[622]
2964. Paid for services by 1 side	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2965. Chief or headman makes peace	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2966. Compensation for slain, 1 side only	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2967. Compensation for all dead	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	
2968. If victims on both sides, no compensation	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
2969. Payment in beads, property	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2970. Payment in women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2971. Customarily	+	+	.	(+)	.	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
2972. Intratribally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2973. Intertribally	+	–	–	–	(+)	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2974. Pay according to wealth, more for rich	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	[556]
2975. Pay according to status of victim	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	
2976. Pay according to sex of victim	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	.	–	–	[554]
2977. Pay according to age of victim	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	[560]
2978. If sufficient reason for killing, not much pay	–	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	[560]
2979. If kill "for meanness," pay large amount	–	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2980. Sticks of 1-string length for negotiation	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2981. Amount same as victim's mother's bride price	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	[585]
2982. Amount (for woman) same as usual bride price	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	
2983. Payment divided among all villagers	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2984. Most of payment goes to chief	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2985. Payment for woman goes to husband	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2986. Payment for woman goes to her family	•+	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	
2987. Payment for man goes to his family	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2988. Payment for slave goes to owner	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2989. Payment for slave goes to latter's family	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2990. Compensation for property destroyed	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Dance or Meeting for Settlement

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS	
2991. Both groups present	–	–	+	+	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	728
2992. Daytime	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	535 ●
2993. Night	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2994. At certain localities outside village	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2995. Halfway between 2 villages	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2996. Dressed for war; armed	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2997. Dance in circle	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2998. Dance in row, abreast	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2999. 2 groups face each other	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3000. All dance together	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3001. Payment in beads	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3002. During dance	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3003. Dancers disarm after money paid	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3004. Women dance with blood money	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3005. Blood money smoked over fire	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3006. Groups sometimes eat together	–	–	+			–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	

		Kl	Mo	SE	SV	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
846	3208. Merely stays indoors	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
784	‡3209. For ... days	5	5	−	5	−	−	−	°4	−	°4	−	−	6	·	28	28
	3210. Until child's cord drops off	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
	3211. Sleeps little	−	+	+			+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	−	−	·	+
	3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535]	3212a. Dances	−	−	−	−	−	°+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[481]	3213. Runs	+	+	+	−	°+	°+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3214. First child only	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3215. Breaks up wood		−	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3216. Brings back firewood	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3217. Piles up rocks	°+	°+	°+										−	−	−	−
[787]	o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	°−	−	−	+	±	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3220. First 4-5 children only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
[481]	3221. Swims	·	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	·	−
[252]	3222. In spring in mountains	−	+	−			−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	·	−
	3223. Cooks for self and children	−	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	3224. Bathing taboo	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·	−
[515]	o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	−	−	°4	−	−	°4	−	°4	−	°4	+	3	−	−	·	−
	†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	−	5	°4	−	−	°4	−	+	°4	°4	+	−	−	−	·	−
	3227. Certain activities taboo.	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[224]	‡3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	−	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
	†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	−	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
	†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	−	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	°2	+	3	+	6	+	30
	3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
[525]	†3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	−	−	−	28	°2	+	3	+	+	·	+
	3233. Until cord drops off	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
[276]	3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	(+)	−	−	·	−
[484]	†3235. Traveling taboo ... days	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	°2	+	3	+	+	+	40
	3236. Until cord drops off	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
	†3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	−	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	°2	+	3	+	−	+	°28
[262]	†3238. Fresh fish taboo	−	5	−	−	+	+	+	28	+	−	+	3	+	−	+	35
[265]	†3239. Dried fish taboo	−	5	−	−	+	+	+	28	−	−	+	3	+	−	+	35
	†3240. Salt taboo	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	5	+	−	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312]	3241. Cold water taboo	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3242. Until cord drops off	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
	3243. Until child smiles first time													−	−	+	−
	3244. Eats with wife	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3245. Uses own receptacles	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
	3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
[292]	3247. Special belt worn	°(+)	+	−	−	+	−	°+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
	3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	°+	°+	+	−	−	−
	3249. Combing hair taboo	+	°+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3250. Until navel has healed	·	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
	3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3252. Bathes	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	°+	−	−	−	+	°+	+	+	−
	3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
	3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
	3255. Gives away old clothes	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
	3256. Burns old clothes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3257. Throws away old clothes	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
[526]	3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	+	+								+	−	−	−	−	−
[224]	3259a. Shoots at target	−	−	+	−	°+						−	·	−	−	−	−
	3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	−	+	+	−	°+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
[525]	3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	−	−	−		°+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	°+	−	·	−
	3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							°+	+	°+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 881 3606a. Belt given attendant	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3607. Belt hung on tree, end of last dance.	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3608. Public rites: major dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
841 3609. Night dance	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	−	•+	−	•+
881 3609a. Begins 1st night of girl's menstruation	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
535 3610. Day dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−
3611. Given mainly for girls of rich families	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	(−)
[787] •3612. Given to avert disaster to participant(s)	•+	•+	+	•−	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	.	+	+	•+	+	−	•−
3613. Given to have girl get power in dreams	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	.	.	−	−	−	−	−	−
‡3614. Lasts ... nights or days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•3	•3	5	•5	5	4	5	•1	5	−	1
‡3615. Repeated for ... subsequent menses.	5	5	•1	•1	•2	•1	2	2	1	1	−	1	−	5	−	=
3616. Held in dwelling or cookhouse, winter	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
3617. Held in sweat house, winter	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
•3618. Held outside, summer or winter	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
3619. Held outside, summer only	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
3620. Rainy weather, no dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
3621. Rainy weather, sing only, in girl's hut	−	−	−	−					+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
•3622. Girl's family in charge	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	+
•3623. Old man in charge	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	+	−	+	−	−
[756] 3623a. Singers in charge	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
3624. Shaman in charge	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3625. Youths, men participate	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
3626. Girls, women participate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•3626a. Girl's suitor may participate	−	−	−				+	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	−	−
3627. Neighbors notified by girl's sister, friend	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3628. Girl dances by self, near group	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3629. 1-2 persons "support" menstruant	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3630. Girl dances with group	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
o3631. Girl dances each night	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	±	•−	+	−	+	−	−
3632. Youths dance	−	−	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
3633. Men dance	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
3634. Old men dance	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
3635. Betrothed dances with menstruant	−	−	−				•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
3636. Women, girls dance	−	−	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
3637. Menstruant dances beside fire	+	+	•+	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
3638. Menstruant dances back and forth	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
3639. Menstruant dances east to west	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
3640. Menstruant faces E continually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
3641. Menstruant rests at intervals	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−
3642. Men, women dance separately	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
3643. Men, women dance together	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−
3644. Men, women in 1 circle	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
3645. Men, women in 2 circles	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
3646. Men, women abreast, 1 line	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
3647. Men, women abreast, 2 lines	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3648. Clockwise start	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+	−	+
3649. Counterclockwise start	−	−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	−	−
3650. Dance proceeds around pit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
3651. Dance proceeds around fire	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
[533 3652. Singers mainly women	+	•+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	•+	−	•+
562] 3653. Singers mainly men	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
3654. Volunteer singers, men and women	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3655. Professional singers	+	+	−					−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
3656. 1 singer paid	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3657. 4-5 (all) singers paid	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	841
3658. Reciprocal obligations only	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	881
3659. Menstruant sings	-	-	-	-	•+	+	+	+	-	.	-	+	+	-	-	-	535
3660. Participants join in singing	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
3661. Night singing, minus dancing	-	-	.	•+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	
3662. "Love" songs sung	•+	•+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	
3663. Enemy songs sung, final dance	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3664. Women's songs sung	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
3665. Special song cycle sung	•+	•+	.	•+	•(+)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	-	+	
3666. Joking by singers	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	-	-	+	[522]
3667. Multiple split-stick rattle used by menstruant, singers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3668. Deer-hoof rattle used by singers	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	-	
3669. Deer-hoof rattle used by menstruant	-	-	+	+	•+	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3670. Stick hit against board, as drum	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
3671. Whistle used	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	[533]
3672. Singing, dancing continues throughout night	+	•	-		•+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	(+)	
3673. Singing, dancing ends middle of night	-	-	+		-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
3674. Entire assembly fed, middle of night.	+	-	+	+	•+	•+	R	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	
3675. Singers, dancers bathe daily	-	-	+					+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	[515]
3676. Girl's attendant(s) have eyebrows, face blackened	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
3677. Men wear eagle down plumes	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	•-	•-	+	+	-	+	-	-	[292]
3678. Men wear fur headband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	[237]
3679. Men wear woodpecker scalp headband	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	[302]
3680. Men paint face red	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
3680a. Men paint face white	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
3680b. Men paint face black	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3681. Men wear bead necklaces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
3682. Men wear head net	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	
3683. Men wear yellowhammer bands	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3684. Menstruant wears braided grass fringed visor	-	-	-	-			•		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3685. Women wear basket cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
3686. Women wear yellowhammer bands													+	+	-	-	
3687. Women wear brush, flower crowns	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
3688. Women paint faces red	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3689. Women paint faces black	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3690. Women carry branches in hands	-	-	-					+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3691. Boys, girls wear flower wreaths	-	-	-					•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3692. Dress, headgear changed nightly	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	
3693. Public rites: minor day dances.	-	-	+	-	•+	•+	+	(+)	-	+	-	(+)	-	•+	-	-	
3694. Menstruant dances	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	
3695. Men dance	-	-	+	-	-	-		(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3696. Women dance	-	-	+	-	•+	•+		(+)	-	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	
o3697. Lasts ... days	-	-	•8	-	•3	•3		.	-	.	-	(5)	-	5	-	-	
3698. Lasts part of each day only	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	
3699. Held in open	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	
3700. Rain in winter, no dance	-	-	(+)	-	-	•-			-		-		-	-	-	-	
3701. Circle dance	-	-	-	-	+	+			-		-		-	-	-	-	
3702. Dancers abreast, 1 line	-	-	+	-	-	-			-				-	-	-	-	
3703. Special songs, female singers	-	-		-	+	+			-		-		-	-	-	-	
3704. Public concluding rites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3705. Held in daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3706. "War" dance	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3707. Round dance	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
3708. Dancers abreast, in 1 line	-	-	-	+				•+									
3708a. Women grasp men's belts	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3709. Feather visor lifted off menstruant	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

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		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841	3710. Menstruant's ears pierced	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
881	3711. Girl dances in front of dancers	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
● 535	3712. Girl stands on view in finery	–	–	–	–				+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+
[304]	3713. Betrothed stands on view with girl	–	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3714. Poor girl may stand with rich celebrant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[574]	3715. Visitors present food	–	–		+	+	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3716. Visitors feasted after dance	–	–		+	•+	–	R	+	(–)	+	–	•(–)	+	–	–	+
	3717. Visitors given return gifts of food	–	–		+	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3718. Girl runs at daybreak	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	(–)	–
	3719. Spectators throw lighted sticks at girl	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3720. Girl's anklets, wristlets burnt	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3721. Girl passes through fire	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•–	–	–	–
	3721a. Girls sing, escort menstruant to stream															+	–
881	**Boys' Puberty Observances**																
[578]	3722. Formal group rites	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
	3723. Secret society initiation	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
[787]	3724. Individual vision questing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
	3725. Optional, for all boys of group	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
	General Menstrual Customs																
841	3726. Certain foods taboo to all menstruants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3727. Meat, fresh or dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3728. Fresh fish	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3729. Dried fish	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3730. Grease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3731. Salt	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3732. Cold water	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3733. Menstruant eats alone	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3734. Daughter may eat with mother								+	+	+	.	+	+	+	–	+
	3735. Uses separate receptacles	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3736. Menstruant stays in dwelling house	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
	3737. Menstruant secluded	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
	3738. In menstrual hut or cookhouse	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
	o3739. For ... days and nights	5	5	5	5	5	–	–	5	•4	•4	•3	5	–	5	–	•3
	3740. All women	•+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
	3741. Shamans' wives only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3742. Old women attend menstruant												+	–	+	–	–
	3743. Certain activities taboo	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3744. Basketmaking	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3745. Wood gathering	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
	3746. Preparing vegetable food	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
	3747. Preparing vegetable food for family	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3747a. Cooking meat	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3747b. If cook meat, give hunters bad luck													+	+	+	+
	3748. Intercourse taboo	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
	3749. Cannot sleep with back to man	–		–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
	3750. Walking beside streams taboo			.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	–	+
	3751. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3752. Hair left uncombed	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
	o3753. Head scratcher used for ... periods after puberty	5	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	5	–	–
	3754. Head scratcher obligatory all periods	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3755. No bathing during period	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3756. Purificatory bath, end of period; obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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NR10 Klamath N[illegible]10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4318. Compensation to kin for uttering in presence	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	+	–	764
*4319. If no compensation paid, fight starts	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	,	–	–	+	–	765
4320. No rule of compensation: fight starts	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	[551]
*4321. Dances taboo	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
†4322. For ... years	–	–	1+	1	–	1	1	•1	•1	1	3	3	3	3	3	•2	764
4323. Violent deaths in war excepted	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	765
4324. Girl's puberty rite taboo	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	535
4325. May be held 1/2 mi. from mourner's camp	–	–	+	–			+	+	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	
4326. No dance held; only sing for girl	–	–	–	–			–	–	+	+	+	.	–	+	–	–	
4326a. Brush dance taboo	–	–	–	•+			–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
4327. Doctor-making dance taboo	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4328. Scalp dance taboo	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4329. Social dances taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	
4330. Must be held 10-15 mi. away	–	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	
4331. Mourners' consent obtained, before dance	–	–	+	+	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
4332. Mourners paid	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4333. Choice food presented mourners	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
Mourning Ceremonies																	
4334. Family mourning ceremony	+	+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	765
4335. Informal; at assembly old people may cry	+	+	+		–				•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
†4336. Held ... yrs. following death	–	–	–		3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4337. Held variable time following death.	+	+	+		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4338. Held only if child of deceased sick	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o4339. Lasts ... day and night	–	–	–		1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o4340. Lasts ... hour	1	1	1		–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	
4341. For 1 dead	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4342. Chief sanctions					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4343. Fellow tribesmen only	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4344. All close relatives of deceased assemble	+	+	+		.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4345. Doctor sings over widow, sick child	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4346. All mourners cry	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4347. Widow removes pitch from hair, face	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4348. Widow burns pitch necklace	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4349. Male undertakers sweat	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4350. Feast concludes ceremony	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4351. All eat	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4352. Mourners wash selves outside at end	–	–	–		+				+			–	–	–	–	+	
4353. Ceremony removes all taboos	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
*4354. Group mourning ceremony	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•–	+	+	+	+	•+	
4355. Held by each village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
4356. Held by several villages together	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	
4357. For each dead separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
4358. For several dead together	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4359. For all dead together	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	
o4360. Held ... years after death	–	•2	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	1	•1	+	•–	•1	
o4361. Held ... months after death	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	
4362. Annually	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
4363. Irregularly	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	
4364. Fall	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	
4365. Any time of year, dry weather	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
o4836. Number	2	–	1	–	–				1	1	1	2	–		–	–	756
4836a. Indefinite; many	–	+	–	+	+				–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4837. Kept outside shaman's body	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–	
4838. Kept inside shaman's body	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–		–	–	
4839. Novice acquires guardian spirit helper from natural phenomena, fauna	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	[821]
4840. Sun	–	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	.	
4841. Moon	–	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	.	
4842. Wind		+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	.	
4843. Thunder	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	.	+	–		–	.	
4844. Lightning								+	+	+	.	+	–		–	.	
4845. Fire		+	.	+		+	+	–	+	+	.	+	–		–	.	
4846. Animals, all kinds	+	+	.	•–	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	–	–		–	–	[825]
4847. Coyote mainly	–	–	+	+							+	+	–		–	–	
4848. Wolf, only or mainly	–	–	–	+				+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4849. Birds	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	(+)	
4850. Eagle				+	+		+	–	–	+	+	+	–		–	.	
4851. Chicken hawk	+	+	.	+	+		+	–	–	+	+	+	–		–	.	
4852. Small birds								+	+	–	+	+	–		–	.	
4853. Reptiles	+	+	.	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–		–	•+	
4854. Fish	+	+	.	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	.	+	–		–	.	
4855. Frog	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–		–	.	
4856. Favorite, best power	–	+	.	+	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	.	
4857. Insects								+	–	+	+	–	–		–	.	
4858. Ghosts or spirits	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	.	[775]
4859. Doctor gets power from several guardian spirits, successively	+	+	.		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	(–)	–		–	.	775
4860. After power from "pain" acquired											+	(–)	–		–	.	756
4861. Guardian spirits communicate with novice	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4862. Are visible to novice	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4863. Are audible	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4864. Can be felt	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–	
4865. Give song	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4866. Novice, in training sings by himself	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–	
4867. Give paint		+	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	.	+	–		–	–	
4868. Give dance		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–		–	–	
4869. Instruct as to paraphernalia, curing methods	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4870. Novice acquires feathers, feather flags	.	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	–		.	–	
4871. Must be kept outside house		+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		.	–	
4872. Kept in hollow tree when not in use		–	+	+	•–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–		.	–	
4873. Novice keeps fact he has power secret	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	756

Sucking Doctors: Doctor-Making Rites

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4874. Doctor-making rites for sucking doctors	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	–	
o4874a. Rites last ... days and nights	•1)	–	–	–	1	–	–	•1	–	–	–	–	2		4	–	
‡4875. For ... nights	+	5	•3	5	–	–	–	+	•1	1	1	1	+		+	–	
4876. Novices assisted by older shamans	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	–	
4877. Doctor dance	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	+	+	+	–	–	•+		(+)	–	756
4878. Held irregularly	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		(+)	–	535
4878a. Held immediately before, after vision attained	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–		–	–	
4879. After specified objects collected	–	–	•+	•+	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
†4880. Repeated yearly for ... yrs.	–	–	•8	•5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4881. Given in winter only	+	+	–	•+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 4881a. Given in summer only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	+		–	–
535 4882. In open fire sweat house	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4883. In dwelling house	+	+	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4883a. In open	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
4884. Shaman in charge	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+		+	–
4885. Novice doctor dances alone	–	–	•+	•+	•+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4886. All shamans dance	•+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		(+)	–
4887. All men except novice dance	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4888. All prepubescent boys, girls, adults dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4889. One time only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4890. Dance in 1 spot	•+	+	–	–			–	–	+	–	–	–	–		.	–
4891. Informal dance; jump around								+	+	+	–	–	–		.	–
4892. Room dark	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4893. Small fire for light	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		+	–
[533] 4894. All or anyone sings	–	–	•+	•+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4895. Men, women lie on back before dance; sing			–		–			+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4896. Women sing.	•+	+	•+	•+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4897. Some men sing	+	+	•+	•+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+		(+)	–
4898. Singers kick on floor planks	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4899. Sit on stools, pieces of wood	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4900. Outside speaker calls spirits to sweat house	+	+	•+		–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4901. Novice(s) bleed at mouth	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+		+	–
4902. Fall in trance	–	–	•+		+			+	+	+	–	–	+		+	–
4903. Not touched until next morning	–	–	–		–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4904. Grabbed	–	–	•+		–			–	–	–	–	–	+		.	–
4905. Older shaman may deprive novice of power	•+	.	•+	–	–				•+		–	–	–		–	–
4906. Disease organisms fly around in air	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4907. Novice enters house via regular entrance	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4908. Novice swallows and vomits up pains	•+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4909. Exhibits pains	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4910. Novice or doctors handle fire, hot stones	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+		+	•+
4911. Eat fire	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	•–	+	–	–	–		.	+
4912. Novice or doctors eat pounded obsidian	(+)	+	•+	•+			–	–	–	–	–	–	–		.	–
4913. Novice can start curing immediately after dance	(+)	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	•–		(+)	–
[533] 4914. Novice sings in sweat house; no dancing	–	–	–	–	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–
4915. Novice, in training, sings by himself	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
4916. Novice trains outside in woods	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		+	–
4917. With older shamans	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	–
4918. Small fire for light	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	–
4919. Bleeds at mouth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
4920. Falls in trance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
4921. Taught to handle fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
4922. Taught use of medicines	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	.
4923. For ... days and nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		4	–
4924. Novice cures, helps cure patient, as part of training	+	+	•(+)	•+	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
755 **Sucking Doctors: Curing Techniques**																
o4925. Treatment lasts ... nights.	1	•1	•1	•2	•3	•1	•2	1	2	•1	•1	2	•3		1	1
4926. Public, indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4927. Private, indoors	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		•+	– 755
4928. Doctor has ... assistants	1	2	1	2	•2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		–	–
4929. "Interpreter" for doctor while doctoring, or in trance	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
4930. "Outside speaker" to call doctor's spirit(s)	–	•+	+	•+	+	•–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4931. Friend or relative of doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4932. Must know esoteric language	–	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	– [776]
4933. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	•–		–	.
4934. Assistant calls doctor's spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•–		–	– [787]
4935. Spirit takes possession of doctor	•–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.		–	–
4936. Doctor diagnoses by singing	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		.	+ [533]
4937. Audience joins in songs	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	+ [535]
4938. Doctor diagnoses by dancing	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		.	–
4939. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+ [276]
4940. When trance coming on			–					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
o4941. Blows tobacco smoke over patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	±	–	+		–	–
4942. Assistant lights doctor's pipe	+	–	+	•–				+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
4943. Doctor drinks through bark tube	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	– [371]
4944. Has basket cup of water beside him	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
4945. Doctor uses feathers or stick	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		.	–
4946. Bunch of supernatural feathers	–	+	•+	+	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		.	–
4947. Eagle down	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	–		.	–
4948. Eagle wing	–	–	+					–	–	–		–	–		.	–
4949. Stick	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		.	–
4950. Doctor uses fire	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		.	+ [372]
4951. For light only: usually small	+	+	+	•+	•–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		.	•–
4952. Doctor applies ashes, clay to patient	•+	•+	–	•–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		.	–
4953. Doctor uses charmstone (pestle)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4954. Brushes or fans away disease	–	+	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4955. With feathers	–		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4956. Sprays liquid from mouth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		.	•+
4957. Administers herb medicines	–	–	–					•+	•–	–	•+	•+	–		•+	•+ [278]
4958. Doctor, assistant, or singers use rattle	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
4959. Cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	+	•–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	•+ [534]
4960. Walking cane								+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4961. Beat on plank with board			–						+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4962. Whistle	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		.	–
4963. Doctor's spirit or "pain" tells location of disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+
4964. Tells cause of sickness	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
4965. Doctor can see or feel disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+
4966. Disease object ("pain") sucked out	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+
4967. Directly into doctor's mouth	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4968. Vomited out of mouth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–.
o4969. Disease object removed with hand	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	±	–	–			–	–
4970. Pus ("bad feelings") sucked out	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+
4971. Women doctors use same technique as men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	– [562]
4972. Disease object tells doctor who sent it	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
4973. Disease object exhibited	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4974. Put in basket cup of water	–	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–			–
4975. Invisible to all except shamans	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4976. Disease object disappears	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+
4977. By sleight of hand	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	+	+	+	–		–	–
4978. Doctor bites it	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	•+
4979. Doctor swallows it	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4980. Sent back to owner, for revenge, sometimes			+	•–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
4981. Buried	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+		–	+
4982. Blown away			–					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
4983. Burned	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
5210. Shot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	-	575
5211. Hooked	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	.		-	-	
5212. In seclusion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	•+	
†5213. For ... months	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	•3		-	•4	
5214. Meat, salt taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
5215. Lie down, do not move	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	+	
5216. In dance house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
5217. Instructed, taught	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
Impersonated Spirits																	
5218. Moki (wūta)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	+	575
5219. Wholly covered feather net												+	-		-	+	
5220. Big-head (yohyo, t'uya)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	R	•+	-	+	776
5221. Women (kūla, dē, dadu)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	+	
5222. Sili (racer, in net)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.		-	+	
5223. Yat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5224. Sobe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5225. Yabe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5226. Koto	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5227. Grizzly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5228. Coyote	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5229. Deer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	•+	
5230. Kuksu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5231. Ghosts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	(+)	
Officials																	
5232. Moki: head of whole ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+		-	+	575
5233. Kuksu: leader of dancers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-		-	•+	
5234. Limo (wulu)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.		-	+	
5235. Temegu, doorkeeper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+		-	+	
5236. Fire tender, clown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+		-	+	
5237. Yomi (yomta) is curing doctor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
Ceremonies																	
5238. Hesi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	R	+	-	+	575
5239. Aki	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	+	796
5240. Waima	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•(+)	-		-	+	
5241. Grizzly bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-		-	+	
5242. Deer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	+	
Dances																	
5243. Coyote	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)		-	+	575
5244. Goose	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	+	535 ●
5245. Condor (Moloko)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-		-	-	
5246. Wololok (yellowhammer)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	(+)		-	-	
5247. Eagle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	
5248. Thunder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	-	
5249. Lole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
5250. With feather ropes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
5251. Hilewe (hiwe?)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	-	
5252. K'aima	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				-	+	
5253. Toto	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•R		-	•R	
5254. Selalu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	+		-	+	
5255. Duck dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	+	
5256. Kenu, keni (sweat dance)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	
5257. Knee swinging from rafters	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	•+	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
575 5258. Head-first sliding down center post	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	*+	–		–	–
● 535 5259. In sweat dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–
Seating Arrangement in Dance House																
5260. Performers sit on 1 side	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		+	+
5261. Spectators sit on other side	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		+	+
5262. Performers graded by classes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.		–	+
5263. Chief in middle of post side	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	.		–	+

526 seed beater to propel ball; carrying ball in racket or stick permitted; picking up and batting ball permitted; goal a stake or post, hole, circle on ground, rock, stakes or posts, arch, circular hoop, row of stakes. Ball race: single ball a hoop, stick, stone; carrying ball permitted; goal a line on ground, a stake, hole; home man catches ball on stick. Hoop-and-pole game; quoits.--Hoop and pole: unwrapped hoop, netted hoop, short stick as hoop; pole tossed underarm, both arms, thrust into rolling hoop; pole under hoop or stick scores; closest wins point(s); win by elimination. Quoits: target a stick lying loose; target a stone. Spear or dart throwing; snow snake; ring and pin.--Spear or dart throwing: specially made dart, feathered; target buried hoop, previously thrown dart. Snow snake: women play; arrow bounced. Ring and pin: ring a rabbit skull, pine cone, brush ball, piece of cane with 1 hole. Many-stick game; 524 hand game; objects laid down.--Many-stick: 3-choice guess. Hand game: cane "bone"; finger loops on "bones." Objects laid down: women play; 1 of each pair wrapped; unwrapped guessed; objects covered with mat, hide. Dice games.--Disk dice: animal shell, half walnut shells, wooden tablets, wooden hemispheres for dice; stone counters; dice thrown on hide, mat, into hopper basket, on hard ground, plank. Bone dice: women play. Stick dice. Jacks, tops, buzzer.--Jacks of foot bones of animal. Top of pepperwood nut; twirled with string. Buzzer, edge of disk notched; snake rattles used as buzzer. Games wholly absent.--Catching dart in ring. Many-stick game of take away, guess remainder. Guessing marks on ground. Scoring circuit for dice.

Social Dances

● 535 Circle dance; Bear dance.--Circle dance: performed at fall pine-nut harvest, to make piñons grow, produce rain, bring deer; performed at mourning ceremony; at funeral; center post dry cottonwood tree, pine-nut tree; dance occasion for public mourning. Bear dance: held in brush corral; musical rasp, gourd rattle; dance in couples; whip to make dance; chief urges dancers with stick; stop dance at fall; rub fallen person with rasp; cover fallen person with blanket; held at mourning ceremony. Dances wholly lacking.--"South" dance or Exhibition dance. Crazy dance.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

622 Chief paid to settle disputes. Chief owns all eagles, eyries; pays to have eagles released; buys them from captors. Assistant cult chief. Chief equated to birds. Totem for assistant 624 chief (screech owl, hawk). Boss for rabbit drives; irrigating boss. Crier has totem bird. Messenger has rod as symbol of office; builds

000 2475. MV: Shoe-leather disk, also top of tin can used for recent buzzers. Using buzzer "makes people sick; don't use it much."

2483. SE: Name for buzzer similar to that for bird that makes whirring noise at night; when playing with buzzer people say they "are making the deer fat."

2484. WM: "The puisus (Achomawi) play this, but WM never do."

2485. WT: Informant had never seen Indians play this; had seen Whites doing it.

2489. AW: Names of 2 figures: Sundown; Spider's House.

[524] 2490. Kl, Mo, SW, AW: Popular moving figure is that of "2 coyotes running from each other."

2492. Mo: If play in summer, ensuing winter will be severe.

2494. SW: Figures made during first quarter of moon, in spring especially, to make moon grow (by stretching string).

2494a. Mo: Both informants stated stilts aboriginal. At: "Danced on ice with stilts". Like Mo informant, At informant had used stilts as girl.

2505. WT: Willow-bark bag, sand inside.

2508. Mo: 5-6.

2520. Mo, MM, MF: Narrators presented with small amount of food by auditors; NS: uncertain about this; MV: denied. Not inquired into for other groups. NF: Myths told to youths, men only (during secret society initiation?); informant for this group a woman.

[538 855] 2522. Kl: Belief held more in jest than in earnest; told to small children who "would never go to sleep."

2523. SW: If myths told toward spring, look out for rattlesnake.

[481 883] 2527. Kl: Youths "made to swim in winter anyway"; no rule which applies to myth telling per se.

Social Dances

Circle dances.--

535 177 2529. Kl: See note 2076. Dance Kl brought back from N with drum was "a round dance; men and women danced, holding hands, men on 1 side, women on other of single circle, with fire inside in middle. It was held any time of year, but mostly in summer, just for fun. Given at night; people stopped dancing around midnight. [No leader who brought it back, or no data on such.] One man might say, 'Let's have fun'; people told each other; they came and danced. The drummer was the leader; he sang, and the men and women dancers sang too. The drummer stood by himself; just 1 man drummed. The [179] Kl no longer give this dance; the old people have mostly died." Mo: Dance relatively slight affair; 000 "a few young people assemble for 'evening joy' dance; join hands and go around fire in circle; old man watches them. When they become reckless, he stops dance." SW: Circle dance (k'aphek), an old summer dance, given for pleasure sometimes;

000 A headman of a single village never collected just his own men and went off to war; he had too small a bunch. Sometimes 3-4 Fall River men [Achomawi proper] would go with the war party."

2796. At: "Hat Creek people gave Round Mountain people pay for helping them fight; gave them beads, arrows, bows" (see note 2771).

2797. WS: No war leader; chief arranges that 40-50 men go to war, from his village, but appoints no leader for group and he himself does not go. MM: Headmen (see note 2619).

2798. At: Chief may stop fight, as when At and N Yana fighting Wintu, N Yana chief finally stopped battle, telling contestants, "You'd better let me talk; stop fighting." So the Wintu "quieted down, and stopped and finally paid. But At had killed Wintun man or so by then, and had their scalps."

2802. SW: That is, by fellow fighters.

[726] [701] [533] 2803. Kl: Because he is "a good singer" (?); WT, WM, MM: because he has power to dodge arrows.

Preparation

Prognostication; shamanistic activities; practice fighting; war dance; painting.--

2810. WT: Night before war party leaves, all men who intend to go to war practice fighting by dodging arrows that are shot at them; if a man falls down, it is warning he will be killed in war; shaman doctors such and tells him not to go. "But sometimes such men went anyway, and were killed." This practice was not a dance. No women participated.

[726] [756] 2812. Kl: Before war party sets out, all warriors line up, outside village; each man holds stone-tipped arrow straight in front of him. Shaman walks down line of men with his back to them; each man strikes in turn at shaman's back, below shoulder, with stone-tipped arrow. If man's arrowhead cuts doctor, latter turns quickly and tells man not to go to war, because he is certain to be killed. Sometimes man, thus forewarned, does not go; "sometimes he does, and is always killed if he does so."

2814. At: Shaman sings all night, on war expedition, for his power, so that enemies' bowstrings will break. In early morning warriors rise, and doctor talks to arrows, saying, "Get up, and wash your face"; then war party leaves.

2817. Mo: Shamans hired to make enemy sleepy.

2818. At: During fight shaman stays behind tree, all time, "giving out his power."

2820. Considered in nature of "training" for war. WT: See note 2810.

[726] [535] 2823. Kl: No real war dance; cp. Spier, Klamath, pp. 29-30. Mo: Ho·laklal; of minor importance; "just a little practice, for part of night, to show how active they are going to be, in war." WT: "Arrow dance"; men, only, build small fire at night, outside; talk to bows and arrows men who are going to war will take with

727 535 2917. Kl: Men and women dancers in 2 separate single files; circle fire, men circling it clockwise, women counterclockwise. Women dance on inside, near fire, men on outside. Stamp left foot continually. As men come down to fire, hand women dancers scalps, each on small hand pole. Dancers sing; also have singers who stand by fire. No rattles used. Dance thus for 5 nights sometimes; each night dance stops about midnight.

000 2921. Mo: Center pole has several scalps on it. At: Pole 5 ft. tall. NF: Scalp at top of pole.

[648] 2922. WM: "Learned to tie heart on top of pole from Kl."

2923. Mo: Woman leader of dance carries single scalp on small hand pole.

2940. Such as elkhide tunic, rod armor; carry bow and arrows, and shield if such is used.

727 783 627 Purification of killers; wounded.--This section relates in the main to persons who have engaged in intratribal murders rather than to warriors returning from open combats. The distinction between the taboos imposed on killers in open warfare and individuals who have secretly killed in a feud should have been more specifically inquired about, and separate entries made for the purification practices followed in each instance. Unfortunately this was not done and the field data do not allow insertion of separate entries for more than 5 or 6 of the groups covered. As a general rule, warriors seemed to have engaged in few purificatory practices; whereas for SW, SE, and other groups feud-murderers observed many of the taboos listed in this section. NF taboos which follow relate to person who has taken scalp in intertribal war. Such person is deemed witai (crazy) after he has taken scalp; must be purified before he can rejoin family.

2941. Kl: No ceremonialism connected with observance, however. Klamath Marsh men swim in lake.

2951. At: 2-3. WM: 4-5 days.

2955. Kl: Fish also taboo.

Peace Negotiations

000 Compensation for slain; dance of settlement.--

2958. SW: No compensation for slain, but compensation for captives. See note 2873, SW. AE: No settlement for intertribal killings in war; "just keep on owing each other a war (AE owe Paiute a war now; the Paiute came over and killed a man, years ago)." It is modern custom to settle for intertribal wars; Mo did it, under Captain Jack. MM: For intertribal wars, as with Washo, neither side will take payment for those killed. "Just fight it out; when good and ready, MM chief may send messenger man over to Washo; then they'd make friends with them."

[212-A]

000 3586. AW: See note 3584. AE: Girl may obtain vision while she is dancing after having ears, nose pierced.

[341] 3587. NF: Ca. 10 years of age.

[881] 3589. Kl, Mo, SE: Sweat bath after first 5 or
[783] 3 menstrual periods. WM, WS: 1 month or 1 year after girl first menstruates. MV: 1 month after first menstruation.

3591. NS: Menstruant followed to stream by sister, girl relatives who sing for her, early morning 5th day.

3593. NF: Wormwood decoction.

3597a. Either at end of each menstrual period, or at end of entire puberty ceremony.

[841] 3599. Kl: For 5 periods. Mo: For 3-5. SE,
[881] At, AW, AE: For 3.

3601. MV: To old woman attendant.

3603. MV: Exchanged with girl attendant.

3606. SE: Worn each subsequent menstruation.

[881] 3609. Kl, Mo, SE, SW, At, AE, AW, WM, WS, MV:
[535] Emphasized jollity connected with girl's puberty dance. Lack of ritual obligations on any of participants except menstruant, made it (SW) "most popular and well attended of all the dances." NM: Puberty dance, yomuse. MV: Round dance held on final night of girl's 28-day seclusion. "This [night] dance was the main dance; each night (of the 28) the people came and gambled; the girl's family fed the visitors."

3610. NF: Name of day dance, wulu. Held after girl has come out of menstrual hut, and bathed; in daytime. Girl and women dance in circle, holding hands; no fire, pole. Dance a short while, then 2 women singers, with girl between them, sing, girl joining in singing. No deerhoof rattle.

[881] 3612. So girl will not dream bad dreams; will
[535] have good luck. Kl: "If girl sleeps little
[777] while, she dreams there's a noise in the sky; she
[787] dreams of thunder. That's a bad dream, so they keep her dancing all night, for 5 nights, so she won't dream." Mo: "If she sleeps at this time, the girl will dream about thunder, then it will sure strike her, and kill her." SW: Girl's puberty dance "just a common good-time dance, held to help the girl out of her trouble, to keep her from dreaming" (see also note 3721). At: Girl sleeps head toward east; "the west, they said, was a bad place, where bad dreams come from, Silver Fox said... They dance with her all night, to make her lively, so she won't sleep and dream ... [when girl is menstruating] she never touches water; that's no good; she'll dream bad." AW: Given "so the girl will get power in 'dreams' as she gets sleepier and sleepier, dancing. But she must not tell anyone what she dreams. They don't let her sleep in the daytime; if she sleeps she'll dream bad for herself and be sick." WT: Puberty observances held "so girl won't dream bad dreams." On first day of menstruation, girl's grandmother sits by her, sings, uses clapper to keep girl awake. WM: Girl "never dreamt bad, but her grandmother, who was staying with her, might; she might

000 dream that some animal came and packed her away. NF: Girl stays in menstrual hut because "a big buzzard [Thunder?] would come if she went outside, and take her up to the sky. They come to get the girl; coming down they sound like thunder; that's why people are careful of girls." The day dance is given to celebrate girl's maturity, as well as to avert disaster to girl. MV: Given so girl will be lucky in being able to gather abundance of wild seeds.

3614. SE: 8-10 nights. At: 3-10 nights. 1st period, girl dances 3 nights; 2d period, girl dances 5 nights; 3d period, girl dances 6 nights; 4th period, girl dances 7-5 nights; 5th period, girl dances 5 nights; 6th period, girl dances 10 nights. Some girls dance for only 3 menstrual periods, not 6. AW: 3-12 nights. If only few singers come, dance lasts only 3-4 nights; if many singers come, dance 6-12 nights. AE: 3-4 nights. WM: Ca. 5 nights. NF: Dance lasts 1 day.

3615. SE, SW, AW: 1-2 subsequent menses. At: 2-5.

3618. Near dwellings. SW, SE hold dance outside; under tree if rainy weather.

3622. In general, girl's father. MM: Girl's mother.

3623. Usually, girl's father's father. WS: "No one in charge."

3625. Mo: 1-2 men only, to sing.

3626a. See note 3635, AE, WS.

3628. AE: See figure.

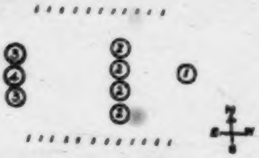

'''''''', men, women dancing; 1, fire; 2 singers; 3, dancers supporting menstruant; 4, menstruant.

[88/535] 3629. Kl, Mo: Girls support menstruant. SW, SE: Men or women support menstruant. At, AW, AE: Boys or girls support menstruant. AE: Menstruant's betrothed and girl may support menstruant.

3631. MM: Girl dances 4 nights, rests 1 night, dances and has ears pierced on 6th (final) night.

3635. AE: Girl's betrothed dances with girl, for each of the 3 successive monthly periods of 5 days each that girl dances. During these periods his conduct parallels that of girl's; he eats no meat, grease, fish; he eats sparingly, runs alone each morning, takes bath by self, uses scratching stick, is employed on errands in daytime. He wears braided greasewood headband, capelike head covering, greasewood wristlets and anklets. On morning of final rite he washes himself, changes clothes. WS: Girl's be-

[221-A]

764 4301. Child of 2 years or over.

765 4309. Distribution of this trait probably widespread among groups under investigation. SW
000 informant mentioned heavy taboos both parents are under if woman has miscarriage or child dies soon after birth, but no entries made of element until MM informant emphasized its importance, in discussion of childbirth. WM: If woman loses first baby, and then walks outside, heavy storm will arise; for this reason she is kept indoors. MM: If couple lose first child before navel cord drops off, both give away everything they possess to other couples who have lost child under similar circumstances; do not give any of possessions to parents who have raised children successfully. Then relatives and friends of bereaved couple give them new possessions. MV: No special taboos if lose baby before cord drops off, or if child is stillborn; "bad luck is bad luck, that's all."

Taboos on community.--

4312. NF: 6-7 days.

4314. Mo: Hearing name of dead mentioned reminds persons too forcibly of their bereavement; dislike now to hear English surnames of dead uttered after death, or to have towns, such as Chiloquin (on Klamath reserve), named for dead. AW: Also if, for example, man has sister, and she dies, he cannot use relationship term meaning "sister"; if he says, "my dead sister" in presence of his mother, she will begin to cry; jump up and say, "I'm sorry, sorry." Man therefore does not talk of his dead sister, except slowly, and while crying; if he behaves thus, his father will not reprove or chastise him; his mother may cry a little, though. If same man has 1 sister who is dead, another still living, he refers to latter as "that young woman." Cf. note 3308.

4319. Fight, or shaman hired to poison offender.

[535] [764] [765] 4321. Taboo in village where death has occurred. WM: Rule also applies to near-by villages, local groups (?); this extension of taboo denied by SE, WS, all Maidu, Nisenan groups.

4322. WT, WM: 1-2 yrs. MV: To 1; depends upon how important deceased was.

4326a. SW: Brush dance among SW is danced at girl's puberty dance; see note 3665.

4331. AW: Sometimes relatives of deceased refuse to give their consent for dance; in this event dance not held. WM: Mourning family sometimes does not attend any dance for 3 years.

Mourning ceremonies.--

4334. At: Informant's account of this somewhat confused, but apparently if child of a deceased person became sick, about 3 years after the death, in spring, the widow takes off pitch and shaman doctors widow's child; all people gather and feast at end. Even though widow removes pitch, she may announce her intention never to remarry; whereupon chief says, "It's all right;

000 at sun; Sun "shoots" shaman, who is "killed" and falls down, and another shaman has to shake him by feet and awaken him; stricken shaman has blood streaming from nose. Clowns function at this dance.

4878a. SE, SW: Refers to dance novice performs alone. WT, WM, WS: Held immediately before and during time vision obtained.

4879. SE, SW: Refers to dance novice performs alone.

4880. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4881. SW: Refers to public winter dance. AW: See note 4805 AW.

4881a. WS: Held once year, in spring only; "not in winter--too cold; not in summer--too warm."

4885. SE, SW: Refers to novice's dance by self, not to public winter dance. At: "After man gets his power [from vision quest] he dances, while sweating, 1 day and night after returning home. He dances by himself; children must keep away from the sweat house, and keep quiet. The next day his family prepares food, and he eats alone. But he doesn't doctor for a long time after this."

[756] [535] 4886. Kl: 3-4 shamans attend. One midwinter dance, only, given for all 4 local groups of Kl (see also note 4437 Kl). SW: Refers to public winter dance.

[756] [535] 4890. Kl: 2 groups, 6 men each, dance on 1 side of fire inside house.

4894. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

[756] [535] [533] [562] 4896. Kl: Women sit in circle around house, next to wall, singing for male dancers. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4897-4900. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4901. Mo: Any time shaman becomes excited, his spirit causes him to bleed at mouth; therefore shaman always keeps quiet around his house. At: This does not happen during any public doctor-making dance (of which At have none), but if novice attends curing performance by older shaman, he may fall down in faint and blood comes from his mouth. Older shaman then sings for him and, when boy revives, tells him he had better help him cure patient. See note 4924.

4902-4904. SE: Refers to public winter dance.

756 4905. Kl: "Sometimes the old doctors are jealous because there's a new doctor, so they poison him, right there. The 'mean' doctor's medicine [perhaps weasel, or bear] meets that new doctor's medicine [guardian spirit] up in the mountains somewhere; the old doctor's medicine hides and catches the new doctor's medicine, and 'poisons' the new doctor thus. When the new doctor becomes sick from this [very soon after the dance], he says, 'Some doctor gave me poison; I'm sick.' One old man will ask him, 'What's the matter, what's the matter; what did they do to you?' The new doctor tells the old man that the mean doctor's medicine has grabbed his own medicine; that's why he has taken sick. So he lies down all the time and sings; he sings his medicine.

[242-B]

*539 tä'-inánnăn nä'-innánnăn, tä'-innánnăn nä'-innánnăn
533 tá naniánai náníana, tá naniánai nániãna
[171] walwiléga palpiléga, walwiléga palpiléga
pálpilēga pálpilēga, pálpilēga etc.

DANCING TUNES.

A. *Tunes heard during Puberty-Dances.*

[535] hō'-wina wē'na tchálam tchálam wéna
[891] úha u-ai hai hai hévĕlălt,
 háhai u-ai hehai hévĕlălt.
witcha kenná, wítcha kéna kenō', wítcha kenna kenó
nû kĕno kĕno kéno, n'ō kĕno u'o kĕno kénō

B. *Tunes adopted from Shasti Indians.*

*539
533 huí'no hō hotino hû-û huino hû'tnino kû'ino hō-o
177 wínna hádina háwina, há-ina ā-ā, háwina ná-ina
tóyo wínno hoyo wínna nó, weyawinna nó, heyowinná
ho owínno heyä'nlia kina ho-owínna heyä'nlia kena
he-ännowinná, innatá lowinna, he-eänno wínna
hewü' iwinnaná ō wi'nna óhō häna wínna óhō
hännanáwiya ná-uya náyua hännaná-uya ō-uya
héwa enna hé-au wennéā hé-aunné heyawenné
ha wennō hahiyó wennó wennó ha wenna, awenó hewō
hó nínu henú henó înû' ho-înú hóninō-u henû'

C. *Dance and war tunes adopted from Snake Indians.*

háwinna haú-inna nō', í'nna hawínna háwinna nō'
hé-a wennē, a héa, heahē, héa wennē
haweā' wennā, hau-á, hawenná ē'nna, hawá

D. *Dancing tune heard from Warm Spring Indians.*

kaní luya . . . . . . uya tasí wene nāsi

*171
622 those of the Klamath; theirs was an advisory function and they led in war.[672]

A corollary of the chief rich man's position in California and Oregon was that he did not himself engage in war. By reason of his wealth he could terminate the conflict by paying the blood money necessary to balance the score. This has been observed of the Tillamook, Shasta, Hupa, Kato, Pomo, and was perhaps general.[673] There is some suggestion of this in Klamath custom; a chief was not ordinarily a war leader but he certainly did not make good the blood-money payments. On the other hand this may have been nothing more than the common western attitude that a chief was not of necessity a war leader. [701]

*171
683 One characteristic feature of the cultures from Columbia river southward, which has been touched on before, was a well developed system of fines for injuries. This did not appear on the Northwest Coast nor in western Washington, but was by no means confined to northwestern California as has been implied. It is quite characteristic of a larger area: Wishram, Alsea, Coos, Takelma, Yurok, Karok, Hupa, Shasta, Pomo.[674] Remuneration was often demanded for comparatively slight injuries; thus an Alsea shinny player who was hit exceptionally hard had to be compensated. The eastern groups (Klamath, Maidu, etc.) had no such sentiment, but it is worthy of note that they did compound a murder by a property settlement, a notion which may have been absent still farther east in the Basin.

Speaker

*171
622
• 537
[756] Chiefs' speakers occurred among many western tribes. There were none such among the Klamath, whose shamans had however assistants with comparable functions. These have been discussed with shamanism. The chief's speaker was eminently characteristic of the Northwest Coast, where his activity in the potlatch and other ceremonies has been often remarked. He not only repeated the words of his chief to the gathering but also served as his representative and advocate. In the Great Basin, on the other hand, the function of the speaker was merely to repeat verbatim after an orator or story-teller.

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[672] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 58; Kroeber, Handbook, 164, 296; McKern, Functional Families; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 223, Notes on the Achomawi, 215; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 41.

[673] Kroeber, A Kato War; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 202, 203, 236.

[674] Frachtenberg, Alsea Texts, 190; Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 270; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 207.

The northwestern type of speaker was known among Klallam, Quinault, and Wishram, and probably to all the intervening tribes.[575] 171* 537 622 Their presence may also be suspected in coastal Oregon, for their functions would have been quite consistent with the social sentiment there. Some positiveness is lent to this by the presence of what seems to have been a chief's speaker among the Rogue river tribes participating in the treaty negotiations of September 10, 1855. It is recorded that the chief spoke to a man who shouted his words to the assembled warriors.[576] Certainly the speaker was absent in northwestern California. On the other hand, Drake's description of the Coast Miwok in 1579 makes it certain that the speaker was a recognized functionary further south.[577] The Basin type of word for word repeater occurred over a wide area, having been recorded for the Nez Percé, the Sahaptins of Priest Rapids on the Columbia, Southern Maidu, Paviotso (Northern Paiute), Kaibab Paiute (?), and Havasupai.[578] Something of the sort might have been expected among the Klamath; they share, however, a substitute, the shaman's speaker, with the northern California groups.

Slavery

Slave-raiding and slave-holding may not have developed among the Klamath until the coming of the horse and the opening of a slave traffic with the Columbia river tribes in the early nineteenth century. 174 567 It is probable that prior to that time there was only the mild interest in holding captives found among their southern and eastern neighbors. Their slaves were captives of war. Slave-holding and the measure of wealth in terms of slaves were characteristic of all northwestern people. 171* 567 These were everywhere taken in war and sold. Slave-holding of this type prevailed not only in western Washington to the Columbia but southward through Oregon (Tillamook, Alsea, Takelma, Upland Takelma,[579] and Shasta). Coos and others of western Oregon should undoubtedly be included. Slavery is not mentioned in Teit's account of the Middle Columbia Salish of eastern Washington, and does not appear consistent with their general mode of life.[580] Directly

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[575] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 306 f.; Olson, Quinault field notes; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

[576] Walling, History of Southern Oregon, 223.

[577] Kroeber, Handbook, 276.

[578] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, 255.

[579] Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 252, 267.

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
622 2664. Fishing	−	−	+					+	−	*+	+	+	−	−	+	−
2665. Vegetable-food quests	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2666. Pine-nut trips	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[587] 2667. Orates at public ceremonies	+	−	+	−	+	*+	+	+	*+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
2668. Talks from sweat house, at dances	−		−					*+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2669. Talks morning and evening	*+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	−
2670. Moral lectures to children	+	+	+					*+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
[627] 2671. Settles disputes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
2672. Pays or helps pay wergild	−		+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	−
2673. Sets price for wergild payments			−			+	+	+	+	−	.	(+)	−	−	−	.
2674. Sanctions killing of offenders	−	−	−					−	−	+	−	.	+	−	+	−
[721] 2675. Concerned with war	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	.	+	.
2676. Declares war	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	*+	+	+	.	+	.
c2677. Goes to war	+	−	−	−	+	±	+	+	+	−	*+	+	+	.	+	.
2678. Negotiates for peace	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	*+	−	−	.	+	.
Escort																
[574] 2679. Some 1 person accompanies chief on visit	(−	−	−				+	*+	−	−	*+	+	*+	+	*+	−
2680. Several men, youths, accompany chief on visits	+	+	+				−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	*+
Female Chiefs and Titled Women																
[562] 2681. Female chiefs	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
2682. No male chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2683. Male chief also	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
2684. Sister, cousin of male chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2685. Daughter of male chief	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
2686. Wife of male chief	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	.
2687. Gives orders to men	−	−	+	*+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2688. Sends messengers with orders.	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2689. Substitutes for male chief in absence of latter	−	−	.	*+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2690. Supervises preparation of food for ceremony	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
2691. Titled women	−	−	−			(−)	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	+	+
2692. Sister, cousin of male chief	−	−	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+
2693. Daughter of male chief	−	−	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	+	−
Assistant to Male Chief																
2694. Assistant chief	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
c2695. Number per political unit	.	1	.	−	−	−	2	1	1	−	1	1	−	−	1	−
2696. Son or brother of chief	.	−	.	−	−	−		+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
2697. Advises chief	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
2698. Substitutes for chief in his absence.	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2699. Provides money for public gathering	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
2700. Supervises preparation, division of food for ceremony	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	+	−
2701. Lifelong office	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
Criers																
624 2702. Appointed by chief	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2703. Chosen at assembly of old men	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2704. Hereditary, paternal line	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
2705. Ability basis of selection	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
c2706. Number per chief or headman	−	1	2	−	−	−	1	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	1
c2707. Number per village	−		2	*2	−	−	1	−	1	−	−	−	1	−	−	1

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
585 3798. Groom's family gives pay, presents to bride's family after marriage established	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	−	+	+	.	−
3799. Amount of gifts depends on approval of girl	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	.	−
3800. No gifts if girl a "run around" (loose)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
583 3800a. Service for bride, no payment	−	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	−	.	+
3801. Poor man only	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	+
3802. May buy or work out	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	+	−	−	+
[591] 3802a. Temporary matrilocal residence	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	+	−	−	−
3803. Permanent matrilocal residence	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	+
3803a. Marriage by abduction tolerated	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−
3804. Married women only	+	+	+						−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
3805. Woman won by contest	−	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−
3805a. Friends assist	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[556] 3806. Husband bought	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
3806a. By wealthy man, for daughter	−	−	+	−	+	•+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3807. Girl sent to live with rich man, gratis	−	−	−						•+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−

Marriage Observances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
585 3808. Groom goes to bride's house	+	+	•+	−	•−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	−
3808a. Groom stays at bride's house	•+	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	−
3809. Groom takes bride to his father's house	•+	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	−
[591] 3809a. Couple live at groom's father's house	+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	•+
3810. Short time only	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	.	•+
3810a. Indefinitely	•+	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	−
3811. Bride returns to her parent's house	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	−	−	•−	•−	.	−
3812. Groom's or bride's sister or family escort her to groom's home	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	−	.	•+
3812a. Groom and some friends go to bride's home	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	.	−
3813. Friends help groom hunt, fish	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	.	−
3814. Groom and family go to bride's house	−	−	•+	−	−	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	−	•+	−	•+	.	−
†3815. Visiting family (either side) stays ... nights, days	•1	•1	•1	−	•3	•2	•+	−	•0	•6	−	.	−	.	.	•3
3816. Marriage feast given by hosts	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	.	•+	•+	•+	•+
3817. Both parties contribute	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	•+	−	.	•+	•+	•+	−
3818. Bride and groom sit together on mat	•+	•+									−	−	−	−	−	−
3818a. Presents piled beside couple	•+	•+									−	−	−	−	−	−
3819. Couple fed	•+	•+									−	−	−	−	−	−
3819a. Sleep together at spot where they sat	•+	•+									−	−	−	−	−	−
[537] 3820. Speeches	•R	•+	•+	−	•+	−	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
[622] 3820a. By heads of both families	•R	•+	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+
3821. By headmen of group	−	•+	•+	−		−	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+

Polygamy

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
595 3822. Polygyny, wives unrelated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
‡3823. Maximum number paid for	1	1	3	5	1	1	1	3	1	0	1	1	−	0	0	2
o3824. Maximum number in same house	5	2	2	2	2	•10	2	1	10	2	•2	2	−	2	2	2
3824a. First wife outranks others	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	+	•+	+
3825. Wives live in separate houses	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	+	+	−	.	•+	−
3826. Wives live in separate towns	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−
3827. Concubines in separate towns	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
3828. Prominent men have greatest no. of wives	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	−	+	•+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
765 4366. Other towns invited												+	+	+	+	+
[628] 4367. Other local groups sometimes invited	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
4368. Sanctioned by headman	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
[622] 4369. Headman in charge	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
4370. Headman attends, speaks	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
†4371. Ceremony lasts ... days, nights	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	2	3	2
4372. Daytime affair, entirely	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
4373. Mainly night affair, some daytime activities	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
4374. Held outside	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
4375. Unroofed brush fence, near cemetery	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
4376. Under trees, in summer	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
4377. In round bfush enclosure	–	(–)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
4378. At cemetery, no enclosure	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
4379. Held inside	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
4380. Living house	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4381. Assembly house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
*4382. Participants wail	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
4383. Participants dance													+	+	–	+
[537] 4384. Oratory	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
4385. By headman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
4386. By shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
4387. By orator	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
4388. Images used in ceremony	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
4389. Made by relatives of deceased	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
4390. Made by chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
4391. Made by nonrelatives	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
4392. All images burnt at cemetery, at dawn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
4393. Offerings in honor of dead	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
4394. Food	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
4395. Baskets	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
4396. Clothes	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
4397. Offerings put on poles	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
4398. Single pole for each variety of offering	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
4399. Poles planted in ground	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
4400. Poles carried about	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
4401. Offerings burnt at cemetery at dawn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
4402. Dance, holding baskets, before burning; wail													+	+	–	+
4403. Offerings put on graves	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4404. Ceremonial purification	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
4405. All who cry wash own faces	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
4406. All who cry swim at end	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
4407. All change clothes												+	+	+	–	+
[525] 4408. Gambling in daytime, after burning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
4409. Feast during daytime	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
4410. Rich mourners all contribute food	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
4411. Held at same spot where mourners wailed	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
4412. Held in village camp	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
4413. Held day following burning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
4414. After eating, cry again	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
4415. Mourners return home at sundown	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–

585
000 3816, 3817. Kl, Mo, SE, At, AE, MV: Refers to child betrothal, bride-purchase marriage. AW: Refers to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. In simple marriage, feast may be given if groom meets with approval of bride's family, and both groom's and bride's family are wealthy. Host contributes larger share of food; friends help him. "Sometimes at times like this the people dance, too, just for fun, because there are so many people there." WS: Refers to bride purchase. MM, NM: Refers to bride purchase. NF: Refers to simple marriage. NS: Refers to child betrothal and marriage where woman won by contest.

[585] 3818-3819a. Kl, Mo: Refers to child-betrothal, bride-purchase marriages. Bride sits with back to people, groom faces people.

[537]
[585] 3820-3821. Kl, WS: Refers to bride purchase. Mo, SE, At, AE, WM, MV: Refers to child betrothal, bride purchase. MM, MF, NM: Refers to child betrothal. NF: Refers to simple marriage. NS: Refers to child betrothal, to marriage where woman won in contest.

Polygamy; marriage of blood relatives.--

3824. AW: Shaman may have as many as 10 wives, given to him in payment for doctoring. More usual for man to have about 3 wives, 1 of whom he paid for; other 2 may be orphans or relations of his first wife. MM: See note 3826.

3824a. NS: First wife head wife; "supposed to look after her first of all."

3825. WT, WM: Sometimes, not always. NS: If live in same house, "wives fight each other, pull hair."

3826. MM: Example: man at Big Meadows (MM group) has wife, whom he lives with part of year; other part he may spend with his wife who lives in Indian Valley (informant's group). "Just common men do this; and sometimes, if comman man has 2 wives, they both live with him, in same house."

3828. MM, MF: Headman has 1 wife only; "common men" are only ones who practice polygyny. NS: Chief has several wives to pound acorns for him.

3835. Mo: See note 3961. AE: If first wife barren, she may urge husband to marry her younger sister, so that latter will have baby. "Then barren wife almost claims that little baby; they like it so much."

3836. AE: If man's first wife has 3-4 or more children, she may send her husband over to her family, to get a younger sister as wife, telling him, "You go get my sister, to help me take care of these children."

3838. SW: See note 3839.

3839. SW: Man can demand that his dead wife be replaced, and it is then obligatory for dead wife's sister to marry him; "but most men want to 'get away' from their dead wife's family" (and so do not demand this replacement; informant did not know why). WT: Dead wife's sister marries brother-in-law "because it would make her feel bad to see him with another woman, in place of her dead sister. Man feels he belongs to his dead wife's

600 4032. SE: Sprinkle water, medicine around
[764] house as body is removed through wall. Purification of house as corpse removed denied for Kl,
[783] Mo, all Maidu and Nisenan groups. SW: Through wall on E side of house (see note 4093). WT: Through hole torn in wall at back of house, opposite entrance.

4036. AW: But see note 4136.

Funerary procedure.--

4040. SE, SW: 1-2 nights.

4043. At: Wail throughout night while body is in house; continue wailing and dancing next day until body buried near sundown.

[764] 4045. Kl: Mourners wail throughout night as body lies on pyre, before being burnt early next morning; no dance.

4046. SW: "Whenever you go to a funeral always take some money with you. You get something back again for whatever you take there." WT: See note 4028. NF, NS, MV: Gifts buried or burned with corpse.

4047. AW: Mourners merely "jump around as they cry on viewing corpse."

4048. SE, SW, At: Mourners wail ritually as they dance around corpse. MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Mourners hold "fire dance" in assembly house; wail, dance, circling corpse 4 times. MV: Such dance held only when important man dies.

4049. SE, SW: Wear fir or willow boughs. SE: Mourners whip each other on legs with boughs they are carrying; therapeutic measure. SW: Women also bring ipos roots in their basket caps. At: Mourners bring cedar boughs into house of death; when through dancing boughs piled and burnt, to purify house if relatives of dead plan to continue using house.

4051. SW: Ipos roots women bring also laid beside corpse.

[764] 4052. Kl: Everyone in house collects ashes in basket from fireplace of dwelling, talks to dead person's spirit, then sprinkles ashes toward W. AW: As body is borne from house to grave, 1 old woman takes basket of ashes, another old woman basket of water, and they throw water and ashes behind line of people, for entire journey from house to grave. The 2 old women wail "too bad, too bad" as they perform this act to keep spirit of deceased away.

4053. Mo: Not old enough to realize what is happening; likely to laugh, play.

[764] 4056. Generally given by "old man, wise man,"
[537] who is not undertaker. AW: "At grave old man may talk crossly; then people know he is going to
[887] hire a doctor to kill the poisoner [who caused death of person being buried]. Or else old man tells the people there not to mourn too much; only a few years. 'You can cry a little bit; some of you will dream good luck, with a little cry[ing]. Don't tell anyone, if you dream good, or else you'll lose it [the good luck].'" WM: At funeral old man talks to spirit of deceased, tells it where to go, upward to sky dance house

[229-A]

> *648 Make them better men and women." He was a Methodist
> *657 preacher and was a big man. He had a loud voice and was a
> 797 good singer. He was awfully strict. He didn't want the Indians
> to get into trouble. He said, "If you don't mind me, I will put
> you in jail or put a ball and chain on you." And he did. So the
> Indians behaved well, you know. I understood what he said,
> and it sounded good to me and after they interpreted his sermon
> in Klamath, the old Indians liked it too. Testimonies were then
> given. . . . The preacher read from the scriptures and made
> sermon. . . . He said, "I want people to come together and work
> together as one."[38]

*648 The emergence of native preachers provides another illustration
*657 of the confrontation of native and American roles. From
793 the Indian viewpoint, the role of shaman did not coincide with
756 that of the American preacher, for in aboriginal times the shaman's
177 duties had encompassed curative powers, and through
178 sorcery and counter-sorcery he had come to wield quasipolitical
influence as well. Now healing lay within the duties of the
Agency physician, while political sway had passed progressively,
first to the raid-and-trade leaders and latterly to the Agency
chiefs.

*648 On the other hand, points of resemblance existed between the
*657 traditional role of the chief and that of the preacher. The sermon,
793 the most distinctive and formal exercise of the minister, as the
622 Indian saw him, corresponded most closely with the exhortations
• 537 to a better life given by chiefs to followers and by elders to the
177 young. The correspondence of preaching with political authority
178 was furthered by the circumstance that a number of Agents had
assumed the responsibility of preaching to the Indians. Among
those realizing the linkage in their actions were Dave Hill and,
to a lesser extent, Lileks, Allen David, and Henry Blow. Jesse
Kirk, soon to become a preacher, later applied that office to
political ends.

*648 In the Klamath view of the supernatural order, syncretism set
*657 in early, probably as the result of an Indian effort to reconcile
776 native and Christian belief. The trickster-transformer figure of
177 Gmukamps, known in myth by the epithets, "Earth-Maker" and
178 "The One Above," became identified by some with God, although
his trickster exploits led others to reject this. Within the first
decade of reservation life, Christian dualism, seizing upon the
first correspondence, became responsible for the coining of

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
2490. Moving figures	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	.	+	-	+
2492. Done in winter only	+	•+	-	-						-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2493. Done any time, for fun	-	-	+							+	-	+	+	+	-	+
[481] 2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	-	•+						-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2494a. Stilts	-	•+	-	-	•+	R	-	-	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	-
Contests																
526 2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. To throw man down	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. No tripping allowed	-	+	-			+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	.	-
2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	-	+	+	.
2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								-	+	+	+	+	+
2502. Dodging	-	+	-			+	+	+	-	-	-	(-)	-	+	-	+
2503. Stones	-	+	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-
2504. Hard objects inside geese	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-
2505. Sand bag	-	-	-					•+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-
2506. Tule, grass balls	-	+	-					-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	+
2507. Two sides	-	+	-			+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
o2508. Number on each side	-	•5	-			1	.	15	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-
2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[857] 2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	.	-
2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	.	+
2515. To mark and back	-	-	-			+	+	-	+	-	.	+	+	+	-	-
2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+			+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+
2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+
Storytelling																
528 2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2520. Myths told at night	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•		•+	•+
[516] 2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	.		-	+
2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	•+	+	-			+		+	-	+	-	-	.		-	-
[784] 2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
2524. Rattlesnake will bite	-	+	.		+	+	+	+	-	.	+	-	.		.	-
2525. Winter will come quickly	+	-	.						+	.	+	-	.		.	-
[887] 2526. Narrated by old people only	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
[515] 2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	•-	+	+			+				+	-	+	.		+	+
2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	-	+	+			+				+	-	+	.		+	+

Social Dances

Circle Dances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
535 2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	•R	•+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	-	R	-		-	-
[417] 2530. Performed in brush corral	-	-	+	+		+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
[224] 2532. At fall rabbit hunt	-	-	-	-		-	+	-		-	-	-	-		-	-
[221] 2533. In springtime	-	-	-	-		-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
[226] 2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+	-		+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
2535. During communal fishing periods	+	+	+							+	-	-	-		-	-

000 2475. MV: Shoe-leather disk, also top of tin can used for recent buzzers. Using buzzer "makes people sick; don't use it much."

2483. SE: Name for buzzer similar to that for bird that makes whirring noise at night; when playing with buzzer people say they "are making the deer fat."

2484. WM: "The puisus (Achomawi) play this, but WM never do."

2485. WT: Informant had never seen Indians play this; had seen Whites doing it.

2489. AW: Names of 2 figures: Sundown; Spider's House.

[524] 2490. Kl, Mo, SW, AW: Popular moving figure is that of "2 coyotes running from each other."

2492. Mo: If play in summer, ensuing winter will be severe.

2494. SW: Figures made during first quarter of moon, in spring especially, to make moon grow (by stretching string).

2494a. Mo: Both informants stated stilts aboriginal. At: "Danced on ice with stilts". Like Mo informant, At informant had used stilts as girl.

2505. WT: Willow-bark bag, sand inside.

2508. Mo: 5-6.

2520. Mo, MM, MF: Narrators presented with small amount of food by auditors; NS: uncertain about this; MV: denied. Not inquired into for other groups. NF: Myths told to youths, men only (during secret society initiation?); informant for this group a woman.

[538] [855] 2522. Kl: Belief held more in jest than in earnest; told to small children who "would never go to sleep."

2523. SW: If myths told toward spring, look out for rattlesnake.

[481] [883] 2527. Kl: Youths "made to swim in winter anyway"; no rule which applies to myth telling per se.

Social Dances

Circle dances.--

535 177 2529. Kl: See note 2076. Dance Kl brought back from N with drum was "a round dance; men and women danced, holding hands, men on 1 side, women on other of single circle, with fire inside in middle. It was held any time of year, but mostly in summer, just for fun. Given at night; people stopped dancing around midnight. [No leader who brought it back, or no data on such.] One man might say, 'Let's have fun'; people told each other; they came and danced. The drummer was the leader; he sang, and the men and women dancers sang too. The drummer stood by himself; just 1 man drummed. The [179] Kl no longer give this dance; the old people have mostly died." Mo: Dance relatively slight affair; 000 "a few young people assemble for 'evening joy' dance; join hands and go around fire in circle; old man watches them. When they become reckless, he stops dance." SW: Circle dance (k'aphek), an old summer dance, given for pleasure sometimes;

[206-B]

Families

K
M
eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [412]
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K M
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [364]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is K
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a M [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the chil-
dren sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up
the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel,
the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's
child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their
marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral
and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M
221
756
796

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

M
789 as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing
756 they are the shaman's "helpers."

K However differently they construe the degree of individual
M access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that
787 human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those
K M who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer
[782] in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtu-
[772] ous striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the
universe appears basically to be a moral order.

K In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The
M annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the
181 progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon
461 industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme
that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic
K M exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this
461 virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to
556 maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a follow-
595 ing. Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the
K common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a
M contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent
622 men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In
556 war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his
[881] panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man
[701] of property is likely to be decked with many valuables con-
[764] tributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the
• [538] man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowl-
[756] edge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send
out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power
in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to
K the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in
622 the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:
539

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee—to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

As if to supply counterpoint to the virtues of the esteemed, K M
the myths cast scorn upon the baseborn, with their noisy pre- 556
tensions to eminence, their repeated disregard and outright 554
ignorance of good breeding, their ignoble cheating of members 735
of their own village, the shabbiness of their gear, and their 538 •
downright poverty. A poor man is "like a slave." The impecunious aged, lacking kinfolk to provide for them, are no better. Yet the myths do not depict the lot of the poor and the orphan as inalterably fixed: by dint of striving they may win their way to spiritual power and to material affluence, thereby gaining the esteem of their fellows.

The behavior traditionally to be maintained toward others is K
well illustrated by the formal counsel given in recent days by 577
one old Klamath woman. Speaking to her great-grandson, she said:

> Now you listen to me; I want to tell you what is right. When you go into town, don't run around; don't go with them bad Indians. Stay in the house. Do what is right. We know that children should do what their father and mother tell them. Listen to what old people tell you. Some people, them bad Indians, they steal. Stealing is bad. No one should take anything without paying for it. Don't make trouble; be nice to everybody. Some people, they smash things and then they get into trouble. If you stay home you won't be in no trouble. Don't pay attention to those people who want to lead you into trouble. Stay away from them. They will only lead you into temptation and you will be sorry. Speak nice to poor people. Don't laugh at them. Pay attention to them and help them. Don't make people talk about you. Help all; act good all the time. Be nice and smart. Lead the blind; don't laugh at them. When you see a poor person, go up and tell him who you are. That way everybody thinks good of you. Don't play tricks on people. Be smart and nice. Be careful you don't get into trouble. *Now I am correcting you.*[11]

This is the ideal behavior for the well born or for those who aspire to advance themselves: the ability to maintain boundaries against outsiders, to find the fundamental strength within the home and the wise counsel of elders, and to be considerate of those less fortunate.

These norms, however, must be tempered by the demands of existence in a real world, in which particularistic loyalties take precedence. At the center of concentric circles of concern stands 000

Those same traits others[13] had held to be conservatively Ojibway; 648*
and marking their counterparts among Menominee and other 657*
peoples the Spindlers[14] propose to see in them a common survival 177
of psychological characteristics shared widely by American Indians. 156
Underhill,[15] by contrast, accounts for the commonalty by 171
reference, like James, to experience in a shared situation, the
reservation.

These differences of interpretation are by no means irreconcilable.
The writer would agree with James[16] that "the genesis of [114]
the modern Indian self lies in the social processes that constitute
reservation life," but he would include among those processes
such relationships as may have survived in the peculiar cultural
environment furnished by the reservation.[17] Favored in persistence 648*
at Klamath have been generalized characteristics, rather 657*
than complex and specific traits. They have survived in part 156
because they are inculcated during childhood;[18] and the family, 177
within which child-rearing takes place, is one of the structures 178
that has retained distinctive qualities. They are sustained in the [571]
quality of primary relationships and are rooted in the individual,
often at an unconscious level.[19] As Spencer observes, "The diffuseness
of the social structure may be regarded as a survival from the
heritage of the past, while individual activity continues to be
couched in essentially aboriginal terms."[20] Reservation existence
has provided, however, an ever changing context—albeit somewhat
sheltered from the rapidly changing environs—in response
to which enduring features have undergone modification.

To take the quality of guarded restraint, which Clifton regards 648*
as characteristic of the personality configuration of modern Klamath, 657*
one can indeed trace continuities with the past. In the 156
myths there are present themes of watchful waiting and the use 177
of subterfuge in dealing with strangers and foes, and a wary 178
reserve in conflict with affinals.[21] In traditional relationships, as 571
Spencer has shown, sub-rosa patterns of aggression characterized [538] •
"hostility . . . driven underground" by public disapproval.[22] That
covert revenge has persisted is evidenced by historic records of
several murders, of such acts as the firing of a haystack in 1897,
attributed by the victim in part to the perpetrators' "envy of
his prosperity . . .";[23] and to modern incidents of the same nature.
Today jealousy is frequently attributed to unspecified others,

[p.344A]

221 the warmth of the winter dwelling. There are
usually two or three related families sharing a
[592] single winter house; and evenings are spent in
playing games, telling stories, or gossiping, as
[517] well as in making baskets and manufacturing fish
nets. Small children are not allowed outdoors
[857] in the cold, but older ones go out some days to
slide on the ice or downhill on pieces of bark.

[524] Cat's cradle is a popular pastime engaged in by both adults and children in the winter. The number of possible figures is great. Coyote, Skunk, Bear, Bullfrog's Tail, Owl's Eyes, Sunrise, Boy Running, and Man Chasing a Rabbit are but a few of the many that most individuals can make. Children learn how to make the figures from adults or from older children. However, if the children play at cat's cradle very often, the string is taken away with the comment, "You'll stretch the months if you do that so much." There is apparently no such restriction on adults.

In one version of string figures an adult fixes a loop in the string. A child is told to put his finger through the loop, which is then pulled tight around the finger; and he must tell his name before he can be released.

538 Every night throughout the winter months
[221] myths are told. They are never told in the summer or daytime lest the narrator age quickly. Most myths serve for amusement, not being regarded as especially sacred. Stories about Creator are taken somewhat more seriously than others. "You have to keep quiet and listen to them." *It is from the Creator myths that children first learn about sacred beings.*

There are many stories explaining the origin of local geographic features. Most of the myths have personified animal characters. There are a few tales that offer advice to the children. After stories about hunting or gathering, the teller may turn to the children and say, "If you want to be a good man (or woman), do like that."

In contrast to many other tribes there is very little formality connected with the telling of myths among the Klamath. In the evening an old man or woman starts to tell stories, and others gather around. Young adults never tell them because a storyteller begins to age rapidly. The children lie down to listen; they may request their favorites and are free to complain that the narrator is not telling the story right, if they do not like his particular version. A few old people are recognized as the best raconteurs.

Adults also listen to the stories and make requests. Certain characters are especially liked; and children often ask for tales about Little Weasel, Chipmunk, Coyote, and Skunk. Skunk is funny because he thinks himself very clever, but all his undertakings are fiascos. After a Skunk story, children are warned, "Don't be like that." A few stories, such as those about Owl, are told to frighten children into behaving. As the evening wears on, the children fall asleep one by one. Indeed, one of the main

538 purposes of telling the stories seems to be to keep the children quiet and put them to sleep.

867 Concepts of etiquette and what constitutes a well brought up individual are clearly defined among the Klamath. Standards for proper behavior toward one's own family and toward other members of the tribe are taught at an early age. As soon as the child can understand what is said to him, he receives ethical advice from parents and others. Not only relatives but also other [887] adults may give advice. Elderly people are especially apt to counsel children.

> Old people start giving advice right away whenever they meet you. They tell you to be kind to everyone, don't brag, don't put yourself before anyone, work hard and you'll live a long time and be respected by everybody.

593 867 Either parent may take the responsibility of advising the children, but the father is generally stricter. In the early morning and at night, and "whenever everyone is gathered around and it is quiet" the father exhorts his children to be good and kind and to help others, demanding and receiving the attention of his youngsters for these harangues.

867 858 Since a well mannered child brings some prestige to his family, even a very small one is taught how to conduct himself before visitors; and the highest respect is shown to large families whose children are polite and well behaved.[16]

858 574 Visiting is a favorite pastime, especially in the fall after the winter house has been prepared. When visitors arrive, they are offered something to eat. At this point, the children are sent out to play; for "food will stick in the visitors' gullets if children stay around." Exemplary children learn to disappear without being told whenever visitors arrive.

867 264 Eating involves a few rules of etiquette for the young. Meals are not regular, and all are free to take food when there is any available. Ordinarily the family eats at least two meals a day, in the morning and again in the evening. The whole family eats together, and children are told to wait until the father has said a grace, holding a bit of food or water out toward the mountains, lake, and earth as an offering. If this were not done, the children might become ill.

Immediately afterwards all start eating. There is no particular seating arrangement. Children are required to sit quietly during the meal. "They would choke if they ran around or talked." Children are also told never to walk in front of anyone who is eating--a rule doubly important if the person is a shaman.

869 778 An important part of training consists in developing respectful attitudes toward the many sacred places in Klamath territory. Children

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[16] See Spier, p. 91, for a few of the Klamath rules of etiquette.

773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however, be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is
free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during
the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of
suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency build-
532 ings, which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face
flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also
artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the lan-
538 guage fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of
success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration, assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

121 more useful dates and facts. Such results as these may be confidently looked for when several dialects of one linguistic family can be compared; and a careful comparison of one language with others spoken in the vicinity, belonging to the same or a different family, will always be attended with beneficial results for the increase of our scientific knowledge.

124 The aboriginal literary monuments printed below are authentic national
127 records of a brave and industrious mountain tribe of Indians. Ethnologic notices have at a comparatively early period been gathered concerning the Modocs and Klamath Lake Indians, but most of them were of doubtful scientific value, because the information was gathered from them in the English language, which they understood but very imperfectly. Even now, the dates and facts recounted by them, as well as by Indians of many other tribes, in English, are so extremely confused, that only texts written in their own language can give us a clear insight into their traditions, myths, and mode of thinking.

● 538 No Indian tribe possesses a history of itself reaching back further than two or three generations, unless it has been recorded by whites at an early date, and what goes beyond this limit is tradition, on which we must be careful not to place any implicit reliance. But mythology records in a certain sense the intellectual history as well as the metaphysical ideas of a people, and thus by the gathering of the numerous mythic tales and legends of the Máklaks a start at least is made for the investigation of their intellectual development. A very moderate estimate puts at several hundred the more generally circulated myths of the Klamath Lake or É-ukshikni alone, and the number of their popular song-lines, so interesting and unique in many respects, may be called infinite, for their number is increased every day by new ones. The bulk of their mythic folklore is of great poetic beauty, freshness, and originality, and, like that of other tribes, full of childlike "naïveté." This latter characteristic forms one of their greatest attractions, and the animal myths of every uncultured people will prove attractive, because they were invented for religious or poetic and not for
[173] didactic purposes. To some of the myths given below we may confidently ascribe an antiquity of over three centuries, for their archaic terms

● 538 and locutions, repeated from generation to generation, are not always understood
[173] at the present day by the young people, who most attentively listen to the aged rhapsodists, when they expound these miraculous stories in the lurid glare of the nocturnal campfire. Nothing in them indicates a migration of these upland tribes from any part of the country into their present homes, and hence the Mák̲laks must have had undisturbed possession of the headwaters of Klamath River for some centuries prior to the advent of the white population.

197 The various texts obtained clearly exhibit the character of the language
538 actually spoken and the difference existing between the two dialects,
124 but they do not all possess the same linguistic value. The texts of Dave Hill and others are worded in the conversational language of the tribe, which in many particulars differs from the more elaborate and circumstantial mode of speech which appears in the mythic tales given by
124 Minnie Froben. The "Modoc War" and some of the shorter pieces could be
126 obtained only by putting down the English first and then getting sentence for sentence in the dialect, whereas the best worded stories and specimens were written in continuous dictation. All texts obtained were carefully revised first with the informants, then with other natives, and all the necessary explanations added at the time.

533 From a purely linguistic view the popular songs or song-lines are the most valuable contributions. The melodies of some of their number deserve to be called pretty, according to our musical taste. To the natives all of them appear harmonious; but when the Western Indian calls some melody "pretty," guided by his musical principles, he very frequently does so in opposition to what our ear tells us to call by this predicate.

124 The Klamath Lake dialect was spoken by the majority of the contributors
191 to my linguistic anthology.[1] I obtained these specimens, with the exclusion of the Modoc texts, in the autumn of 1877, at the Klamath Reservation, Lake County, Oregon. Though many of these natives speak the Chinook jargon more fluently than English, I never availed myself, for obtaining any information whatever, of that imperfect and hybrid medium, through which the Indians of the Northwest carry on so much of their intercourse.

8: Spencer

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[For information on tales which deal with mythology, see category 773.]

Introductory Note to Text 4

124 After giving the foregoing three texts, Mrs. Ohles was strongly hesitant about giving more. She felt that she had forgotten too many of the details which make the text "correct" to a good Klamath storyteller. She pointed out that she could neither recall the names nor the kinship relationships of the lesser characters, and she felt that she was omitting incidents and garbling the action.

At last, however, Mrs. Ohles kindly agreed to relate all she could remember of the story about the red-haired woman of Sprague River. She had previously narrated this in English to the author, up to the point where Gmok̓amč enters the story. She began the myth with the [126] author recording it in his notebook only (she felt the tape recorder might confuse her), but after she had gained confidence, the remainder of the myth was tape-recorded. When she reached the end of her previous English narration, she continued with incidents leading into the Gmok̓amč myth—much to the surprise of the author, who had not seen versions of the Gmok̓amč story beginning in this fashion anywhere else. The stimulus for this may have been provided by Gatschet's recorded texts,[15] which the author had shown her some days previously. At that time she had recalled these myth incidents easily as part of the corpus of material she had heard in her childhood and since forgotten. With this as a crutch to memory, she produced the text given here. She felt that her version was more generally correct and that Gatschet's texts were only short incidents taken from a long cycle of connected [538] incidents. This cycle, she said, might take three or four days in the telling by a really proficient storyteller. The action and final conclusion of her version she felt to be correct, but she was sure that many minor incidents and characters had been omitted.

This text differs from her previous ones in that it is more conversational and less formal in style. She comments in English and Klamath on her story, makes side remarks to the author and jovially berates him for getting her to tell a story she only partially remembers, and breaks into English at difficult points to supplement half-remembered "hard words." Mrs. Ohles' style in this text is valuable as a sample of less formal Klamath discourse. She contrasts strongly

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[15] Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon" (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. II, pts. 1 and 2, Washington, 1890), pp. 99-122, 142-143. The present author read some of Gatschet's texts to Mrs. Ohles, and she was able to recall other incidents and versions.

(110) čoy honk ʔat domni hoḿas gi. (111) geega ʔan ho·skanks giʔank. (112) čoy honk ʔat naʔas, "mbo·sant na·t hoḿas, mbo·sant. (113) ʔaMĺa ʔa·di na·lk ẃini·giwapk pačit." (I think that's what that girl said: "I think maybe she'll raise herself further out of the water tonight."[21]) (114) čoy honk ʔat sa gena. (115) čoy honk naʔas sas, "gočgočgočgoji·p! " (116) čoy honk ge·t sas ʔebliWi·ya. (117) čoy honk wele·q̇a·k do·—pĺs·wip sam, naʔas, "ya··· nen daks! "

(118) čoy sa honk ʔat tabi·ge·ni. (119) hok ńewe·čka naʔas, "q̇ay na·t be·n dada· slomtanwapk. (120) ʔat na·ĺam sibač, na·nok dwa·." (121) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔi·." (122) čoy da·ts q̇a··· sińamsta wele·qs. (123) čoy honk ʔat čaĺi·ta, q̇a gin gatdaksdat. (124) čoy honk naʔas ʔat, be·n sa honk do···m kyem, do···m me·maqla, na·nok, ńoga. (125) čoy honk naʔas, "gočgočgoji·p! gočgočgoji·p! " (126) čoy honk ʔat ʔa···di· ẃini·gi. (127) čoy honk ńewe·čka honks ńogank, lakča honk ʔat! (128) ńogank laq. (129) čoy honk ʔat hadakt losa kyemmat, me·maqlatdat, honkĺam ńos. (130) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔat na·t gembliwapk." (131) čoy sa ʔat gembli.

(132) čoy wele·q̇a·k sas hosdangank naʔas, "dam lis ʔa·t dom gi? (133) dam ʔa·t dom lwela?" (134) "ʔi···. dom ʔa na·t lwela." (135) čoy sa honk naʔas, "q̇a··· ʔa na·ĺs gagatka. (136) q̇a··· gatdaks pačit." (137) čoy sa dosLibli.

(138) čoy honk ʔat do· gaẃal, wele·q̇a·k, mna be·yam ńos. (139) čoy honk ʔat naʔas, "gent ʔan nido·—geḿas mis sas giwapkst. (140) čoy q̇ay dodamnis. (141) q̇ay ʔins dwa· domni·ya." (She's talking to the dead now: there's just the head of her daughter.)

(142) čoy honk ʔat hok sa da·ts honk ĺaĺakani goLĺ·blyank, ḿolẃa ʔat. (143) "q̇ay na·t gida či·wapk, čoy na·t genwapk. dat." (q̇ay ni sʔaywakta dat sas genwapkst.) (144) čoy da·ts honk, hoḿas hak gosanča sa, honkast ancyĺaqsdat. (145) čoy sa lkom salkiča. (146) na·noke·ńs sa sdoli·ča naʔas, "q̇ay ʔa·t sʔabwapk dat na·ĺs geyst." (147) čoy honk saqdaʔas sa honk ẏaMtgi (—čosak sa saqdaʔas ẏaMtgi, na·nok—).[22] (148) čoy honk ʔat sa gena. (149) čoy honk wele·qs na···noke·ńs wolantanʔa dat sas geyst.

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[21] Mrs. Chiles thought the occurrence was repeated five times. Each night the Aunt leaned farther and farther into the boat. In the older myth style, each occurrence would be repeated by the story-teller. Compare Mr. Grover Pompey's myth about the five geese (Text 8).

[22] Mrs. Chiles was quite aware of the repetition of incidents in various myths. The same occurrence (fleeing characters warning all the household items not to tell where they were going and somehow forgetting to warn Awl) is found in Text 1, 94-118, in an expanded form.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

411 the shaft is withdrawn. The tips are not poisoned.[48] However they
726 believe that those made of obsidian obtained on a mountain west of
Klamath lake are poisonous. A tale has it that an Upland Takelma
[539] shot a presumably mythical man, called Teewls hu'lūms (alighting
flicker), there. Crow laughed and he turned into the pillar of rock
still standing. This is presumably the widely known tale of the shat-
701 tered rock-monster. A war leader, a rich man, carries several quivers;
one under each arm and a third across his back. The short stabbing
411 lance is stone headed; the club simply a straight stick or one bearing
714 a knot for a head. Armor is the familiar long skin tunic and wooden
slat armor of waistcoat shape. The round hand shield is used, but not
the curtain shield, i.e., a skin hung before the body. Sock-like skin
gloves sometimes protect the forearms.

726 It is planned to arrive in enemy territory at the end of the day.
Several good runners are sent forward as scouts (gau'ulū'ḳdja) to
[191] look for smoke from enemy fires. Scouts do not use animal cries like
those of the Northern Paiute. The camps are surprised at dawn, for,
(171) in addition to the confusion, there is the advantage of a long day in
which to make good an escape. Yet the fight may last several days, I
was told, but it is more likely that the raiders withdraw at once unless
beset by a rallied foe. One thing sets off the intensity of this conflict
from that of the Arizona Havasupai as I found it; there never occurs
here the gesture of bravado of drawing off for refreshment before
[554] returning to the attack. Yet there is something formal about these
fights too; the leaders make a point of engaging with men of like rank
in the forefront of battle, although they do not disdain lesser men.
Warriors do not pat the mouth as they charge (go'lgi); this is done
727 only in the scalp dance. The foray usually ends with the fleeing of the
ablebodied among the enemy, the killing of the infirm, and the capture
of women, children, and such property as beads and quivers.

[114] These are kept by their captors; perhaps some division of the spoil
is made. Disputes are inevitable: Gatschet's informant describes how
he wantonly shot down a girl whom he claimed as his due rather than
let another have her.[49] Pat Kane told me that all the booty is carried
to the principal chief who asks for an accounting of the dead and
slaves. The leader enumerates how each man took slaves or scalps and
how the opposing chiefs were killed. The trophies of these chiefs are
exhibited. I doubt his statement, unless he had in mind the prestige

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[48] Gatschet's informant credits the Modoc with poisoned arrows (*op. cit.*, 1:90).

[49] *Op. cit.*, 1:23.

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must have been purely a matter of personality. Pat Kane had it that the principal chief is always one of the ă'ukckni. This is by far the largest subdivision, hence chiefs in other divisions may well have less influence. Yet I believe he had the instance of Lzle'ks in mind. He said further that the ă'ukckni invariably issued the invitation to war and their chief selected the leader and received the booty. I doubt it.

A chief is one who has acquired his position in war, with some background of spirit experiences, wealth, ability to talk, and a suggestion of hereditary interest; this beyond natural ability for leadership. As one informant summed up his qualifications: he must be brave and have property; he must have presence to meet and talk with anyone, must be competent to arrange matters without dispute, and must have the interest of all his people at heart. I have described above how one leader sought power to lead a party to war. Since power is implicit for undertaking all things difficult, it must be assumed to be part of every chief's make-up.

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Several anecdotes of Tcɪ'loḳin will make some of these qualities clear. Tcɪ'loḳin was a short man, deep-chested, powerful, and exceptionally hardy. It is related that he overtook a party camped in the deep snows atop the Cascades. Not being properly equipped, he lay beside a fire covered only with a single blanket. In the morning he was covered with frost but apparently had not suffered.

Somewhere in the north, possibly Warm Springs, was a [illegible] who owned a big slave who was very much a bully. While the slave was absent Tcɪ'loḳin traded three horses for the master's best horse. When t[illegible]eturned he inquired for the horse and sent a man to demand it. Th[illegible]ent twice but each time Tcɪ'loḳin sat quietly sewing and did not rep[illegible]en the slave himself went out and demanded its return but Tcɪ'loḳin paid no attention. When the slave went to untie it, Tcɪ'loḳin tripped him. The former struck at him with his hatchet but missed. Then Tcɪ'loḳin wounded the other and he retreated.

Tcautcau, a northerner, wanting Tcɪ'loḳin's daughter, offered horses and other valuables. The latter refused. He came to Tcɪ'loḳin at night and fought with him till daybreak. Tcɪ'loḳin clung to the other's hair despite the beating he was receiving. He came again next night and again they fought. This performance kept up through the whole winter. When spring came, Tcautcau acknowledged his defeat "I, Tcɪ'loḳin, ḳelo's; yes, Tcɪ'loḳin, you are fierce," and they were again friends.

Again in the north some northern shamans went into a sweat-lodge. They wanted a shaman among their Klamath visitors to accompany them. None was present so the Klamath insisted on Tcɪ'loḳin joining them. One after the other each northern shaman sprinkled water on the hot rocks as he sang his song, hoping to force the others out.[37] Some overcome by heat and steam had to be dragged out. Once outside they wondered what had become of Tcɪ'loḳin;

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[37] This recalls the well-known test theme of western mythology.

539 he was nowhere to be seen. They thought he must have died. After a long time he began to talk, throwing water on the rocks. When he was quite ready he came out and walked to his own people. He had bested the shamans.

One informant completed the humorous tale of the lizard who killed five grizzlies with the comment, "He was braver than Tel'lok̇is."

622 Chiefs are wealthy. All informants gave the same term, lŏ'k̇i, for
rich man and chief, and when asked for the rich men named the chiefs.
556 They own many slaves; other people may have slaves, but many have
595 none. Some chiefs have a number of wives. Lɛle'ks had seven at one
[567] time, not slaves, but one a Modoc, the others native. This, the largest
marrige group known, argues considerable wealth. Lɛle'ks was accus-
[439] tomed to make frequent trips to northern tribes with captives to
exchange for horses. Everything points to the rise in wealth of these
men as dating only from the comparatively recent period of contact
with the northern tribes. Up to that time at least shamans rivaled
[756] chiefs in wealth.

622 A chief becomes such primarily by his leadership in war. When a group is gathered preparatory to war, chiefs address them and under their guidance war leaders, prominent, brave, and wealthy, are agreed on. Chiefs themselves are among the war leaders and no one alone captains the party. Chiefs make a point of engaging prominent adversaries in the forefront of battle. In addition to their other qualities, it is assumed that they are brave, unexcitable, and able to do without sleep.

Under the circumstances there can hardly be inheritance of chieftainship, largely because it is not an office to be regulated by definite succession. A chief's relative may be chosen as war leader, but not of necessity. Since wealth figures, it may be that at least the possibility of succession is heritable, but a man who is personally disqualified will not be considered. Pat Kane's paternal grandfather was a chief at du'kwa; further vision experiences had made him a good gambler but no shaman. But his son did not succeed because he was not competent and, in addition poor, nor has Pat any pretensions. On the death of Lɛle'ks, his son Solomon was passed over as lacking caliber, and in reservation days Alan David, previously a minor figure, was recognized in his place. Their relationship is unknown. My informants did not know whether the fathers of any of the chiefs named above had been chiefs before them.

[565] The Klamath have no feeling of class stratification as on the Columbia river and northward. A chief is a leader and nothing more.

601 I have few data on kinship usages. A child's spouse is treated like an own child and freely called son or daughter. Reciprocally, parents-in-law are often addressed by parent terms. The spouses of grandchildren and of nephews and nieces are not related, nor are step-brothers and sisters. There is no joking relation.

593 The close bond between siblings and their families is attested by the opening of a tale:

> [539] Wiwi'aak had five fathers, who were the five sons of Wile'aḳaḳ. That is, one was his father, but the others were fathers because they were father's brothers. . . . .

PUBERTY AND MENSTRUAL CUSTOMS

881 [554] The puberty dance is held only for the daughters of chiefs and others of wealth. For a poor man's daughter the rites are curtailed to the most necessary observances. The celebration serves as an announcement of nubility: girls marry within a year or so of their dance.

881 535 The dance (yo'ḳ'ᴇla) occupies five nights at the first menstruation and is repeated at the four subsequent periods. It seems doubtful that any but the socially pretentious carry out full five celebrations. During the day the girl goes alone to sleep in the brush at some distance, returning for the dance just before sundown. I am not certain that she then seeks supernatural power. At least the girl does not run about piling up rocks in lonely places as boys do.

The dancing may take place in the lodge or outside, perhaps according to the season. It is simple enough; the girl trots forward and backward in the same course facing the east all the while. She is supported on each side by a man or woman whose arms are linked in hers. As they tire others take their places but the girl must keep on throughout the night. These others are young or old, relatives or otherwise, as convenience dictates.

881 533 The singing is provided by a group of men and women who alone know the appropriate songs. These singers are in demand for every dance. They are paid by the girl's relatives, a horse apiece, a blanket for each man, a half-fathom of beads for the women, or an equivalent. Some are provided with rattles, poles to the upper ends of which bunches of dew claws are fastened, the butts of which they pound on the ground. At least the song leader has one; other informants spoke of two or three, of five men and five women, or of rattles for all.

Everyone is quiet during the singing, else the girl will die. My informant could not say what would be done to the one who broke this rule. The singers are fed at midnight. 881 533

The choristers sing about one another, men about women, women about men.[88] The opening song is always:

iwūne' sken djidja'lwis djaiyo'djai'wa [539] •
toward sundown bachelors making a noise (?)
The young men are having a jollification in the west.

Toward daylight they sing:

pe'ĕt keskă'ni dji'ḳ!a ho'llidowga
Toward the dawn place a tiny brown bird came to meet us.

The girl herself is expected to dance with downcast eyes, although there is no express prohibition against looking at the sky as among the Shasta. Common girls, however, will laugh and look around as they dance. There is no suggestion that the girl's glance is malignant. 881 535 576 [171] *

She observes three precautions during these five days, as she will at subsequent menstruations and during mourning. She must abstain from meat and fish, eating only lily seed or roots. She may, however, eat when she pleases and with the others. Should she eat the forbidden flesh, she will get "consumption" and die.[89] She must not touch her hands to her face or head, using instead a scratcher (sadŏ'ktcuts). This scratching stick or bone is tucked under the left wristband or hung about the neck. Every morning she runs toward the dawn. 881 784 [302]

In the Field Museum collections are several bone scratchers used during the girl's rites (nos. 61633, 61692, 63632). These are of two types; lozenge-shaped and oval. They are decorated with incised lines, set close together and filled with black pigment. Each is provided with a thong (fig. 6). [531]

During the day the girl retires to sleep in the bushes or in a dome-shaped mat-lodge a few hundred yards distant. 881 [343]

She wears an old, dirty, fringed skirt, a blanket of skin (coyote, wolf, raccoon, or deer), and buckskin moccasins. The long buckskin dress commonly worn at dances may be used, although one informant stated otherwise. She does not wash nor comb her hair during this period. Her face is blackened with pitch and charcoal, but none is put on her hair as it would be in mourning. Instead the hair, hanging as usual in two braids in front of the shoulders, is doubled on itself to form two clubs, which are bound with braided cords of buck-brush [291] [302]

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[88] Some of these songs are given by Gatschet, 1:182, 189.

[89] A bone drinking tube is not used.

765 [302] [291]

ened with charcoal. This is strictly enjoined for mourning women; older men follow the custom and perhaps even children, except the little ones, but young men may be exempt. This pitch is not that exuding from the logs of the pyre as among the Modoc[105] but is gathered from any tree. The hair cut off is later tied in little rolls all over the mourner's buckskin dress or shirt by way of decoration. (Enemy scalps serve the same end.) These garments are burned with their owners.

765 784

During the sweat-bath period and for perhaps a year longer, the mourner must abstain from fish for fear of sickness,[106] must not touch his hands to the face else it will wrinkle, nor may he touch his hair lest it turn gray. Instead, a bunch of grass is used when washing, and a scratching stick (wa'was), nine inches long, is suspended around the neck on a sage-brush band, or tucked under the wristband. The mourner spits into a hole dug with the scratcher. This may explain a song record by Gatschet: "This is my song [or spirit], that of the (sweatlodge) stick-hole."[107] These are the same taboos observed by a menstruating woman and by a boy at puberty.

After the loss of a wife or child, a man abandons the first fish or game that he takes, gives the second to another, and succeeding ones he keeps; a gambler gives away his gains. This is called säpu'tsa. A woman does similarly with the roots she digs after her husband or child dies. Something of the same attitude is shared by a gambler after receiving spirit aid, a novice hunter or root digger; all give away their first gains. Similarly no one who has recently lost a child may fish or even cross a river for fear the fish will go away. They must wait a year and then again use the mourner's sweat-house. These may all be viewed as rites of purification or attempts to reestablish oneself as a normal being.

[539]

Wolf lived opposite the cave at komÂ'êksi on Sprague river. When his wife died he brought his children to the river bank. The people shouted to him not to cross the river because fish were running. But Wolf said, "I did not come to catch fish. I brought my children because they wanted fish." They stopped there. Then Crow laughed at them and they turned into a row of rocks.[108]

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[105] Gatschet, 1:86.

[106] Gatschet (1:89) understood his informant to mean that after sweating for five days, a widow eats only fish and no meat.

[107] *Op. cit.*, 168.

[108] Told by Tom Lang.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

765 The following myth brings out some of the mourning practices.[109]

539 Coyote's wife died. He set out to seek power. He burned up his house and all his belongings. He went along crying: he sang

hä'newa hä'newa bölükö'mhükdino'lit
(a cry) It ought be dusk quickly.

He wanted the sun to go down quickly so that he could swim for power. There was a woman sitting by the road. He said, "I do not want a woman. I am crying because my wife died." Again he went on singing hä'newa. . . . .

Next he saw some moccasins on the road. He said, "I am not looking for moccasins. I burned mine when my wife died." He went on singing again hä'newa. . . . .

Now he saw a heap of food on the road ahead. He said, "I am not looking for food. I burned all my food when my wife died." He went on, singing hä'newa. . . . .

Then he came on a pile of ripe plums which had fallen to the ground. There was water there so he washed out his mouth with a handful [as is always done before a meal]. He had his scratching stick at his wrist. He stuck it into the ground and spat into the hole. He said, "This is the way the pæ'odiwas (humans) will do."

So he ate, ate, ate the plums until his belly got big. Then he got sick and could not swim. Thus he made the rule that mourning Indians must not eat plums, else they will get sick.

GAMES

525
787 Gamblers seek spirit power for success, men and women alike, by swimming in spirit haunts in the river or in mountain lakes. The first of his gains after receiving this power must be given away, just as he must give them away the first time he plays after the death of his child. This is of a piece with a lad or girl destroying or giving away the first results of their efforts at hunting or root gathering.

777 Luck is also acquired by finding large obsidian blades and certain dead animals; mole, weasel, mink, or frog.[110] Finding the mole is luckiest. "To find anything like this is lucky, so it gives you luck." These must be found dead; there is no use taking a trapped animal, or a recently manufactured blade. The premium put on the obsidian blades is reminiscent of their exaggerated value as symbols of wealth among the tribes of the lower Klamath river.[111] All such lucky objects are bundled in white sage twigs and hidden some distance from the house. This may also be true of the gambling bones; at least Pat Kane keeps his at the crematory several miles from home. I was not

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[109] Told by Nancy Phillips.

[110] Gatschet lists as similar Modoc charms, a hummingbird's nest, the leg of a dead frog, a dead mole, a rare "fire-bug," and arrowheads (1:124).

[111] Kroeber, Handbook, 26, 54ff.

276 rattlesnake skin. This may be used by the shaman only during the
756 ceremonies, but I think not. The tubular pipe is not Klamath. A
[177] long tubular pipe, with a small mouthpiece, found by the Indians at Pelican bay, had been described to my informant as the probable possession of a shaman who resided there. This is probably a trade piece.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 The only true musical instrument known to the Klamath is the flute. This with three varieties of rattle and the hand drum make up the sum of their instruments. The musical bow is a plaything.

The flute (slo'lüs) is played for amusement and in courting;
[562] curiously enough it is played by women as well as men even when courting. Its music is called su'lulu. Various sounds are imitated on
534 the flute, such as the noise of flying pelicans' wings. The melodies include those of shaman's songs, although it is never used in shamanis-
533 tic rites. I do not know that song is ever accompanied by flute. It
[756] seems more probable that the melodies of certain songs are considered appropriate flute music.[141] There are flute songs about the turtle and deer. The song for the antelope is:

[539]

gaiyo'	gaiyo'wa	gaiyo'	gaiyo'wa
chewing			
tcĕwŏm	aiĕ'nol	tĕli'dŏŋga	
antelope	me	am browsing	
slewi's	aiĕ'nol	tĕli'dŏŋga	
wind	me	am browsing.	

He browses along (toward me?) when the wind strikes him (?).

A flute song for the mountain sheep is:

hotŭks	nis	sĕwă'ĕt	geoge'lᴇ	wiĕ'sŏm
that	allows	me	that earth	mountain sheep
dostŏn	hoiha'nsᴇ	lalī'sdŏt		
where I	run on the ledge	on the steep hill.		

These are not magical songs for calling game but solely for amusement.

Another song referring to any bird is:

djīkgasītgo	djīkgasītgo	nenea
flutterer		flapping.

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[141] Gatschet gives the text of several songs, which, because they are neither appropriate to shamanistic or puberty rites, may belong to this category (1:189, 192).

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

516 Sitting positions are of wide latitude; of course they sit directly on
the ground. Almost any position is assumed except sitting on the
crossed ankles. Both sexes sit with their legs crossed before them,
[291] Turk-fashion, or with the legs extending straight before them, in
which case women cross their ankles. It must be remembered that the
[501] common dress of both sexes is the string skirt. They kneel while
paddling, both sexes alike, sitting on their heels. This is quite possible
because the gunwale of a laden canoe is only a few inches above the
water.

201 The Klamath sometimes use the lips for unostentatious pointing,
but they more commonly point with the forefinger. In a common
516 position of rest, a seated individual places one hand on the other over
the abdomen.

758 To curse a man his dead are mentioned, not necessarily by name;
[539] in fact the reference may be quite indirect. In a tale the skunks say
to Coyote, "You are the son of a person always on the lake," knowing
full well that his father was dead. I was told of two men jocularly
calling each other tc!ima'ntk, widower. One named the dead wife of
the other and was covered with embarrassment because the grandson
of that woman, who was present, was provoked. An old man may be
called wa'kōntk, adolescent boy, or skote, a man with a first child, in
[114] derision. This is nearly equivalent to a curse. Gatschet gives the
expression skō'ksam käila gén I, go to hell! (or more literally, go to
the ghosts) which may well be aboriginal. But watchágalam wéash,
you son [child] of a bitch! and watchágalam pé-ip, you old bitch!,
strike me as apt translations from frontier vernacular.[149]

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[149] Gatschet, 2:319, 477.

787 would be allowed to go unattended. Women well along in years, how-
881 ever, follow the regular practice, at least as to bathing in the spirit
562 places.

787 The same method is pursued by the mourner, gambler, or shaman
787 who seeks power, but swimming in the deep river eddies was more
756 frequently mentioned in this connection. These seekers are almost
525 always men, but older strong-willed women will attempt it. Power may be sought at any time during the year, but they do not dive for it until the first willow buds appear (in the seventh month, March or April). I presume that deep snows and ice in the mountains preclude earlier attempts.

787 During the day the seeker sweats and fasts, waiting in the brush until nightfall. He then goes to the river and dives to the bottom in search of the spirit. He must not be frightened even if he sees some-
[756] thing moving under the water. He prays before diving, "I want to be a shaman. Give me power. Catch me. I need the power." Sometimes he comes up unconscious, blood streaming from his mouth and nose. He must wait until the flow stops before going home.[148] This night he hears nothing because he has been frightened by the spirit, nor will he eat the following day for fear of falling ill. On the following night or soon after, he hears the song of the spirit as it sings beneath the water. He may dream of hunting deer, acquiring horses, of success in gambling or with women, and of marriage. One informant dreamed of being in an earth-lodge. When he wakes the
[539] seeker sings about the subject of his dream. One song dreamed by an old woman is

e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha
(repeated four times)
noai'meso spu'ŋgŏtgŏple' spŭ'ŋgŏtgŏple'
I am the one pursuing you.

It seems that, like a boy at puberty, this seeker, after swimming, may go to the mountains to fast and pile rocks. He may remain there for some time, but one exceptionally rapid quest was cited. Nancy's father having lost a child, he went swimming in Crater lake; before evening he had become a shaman.

787 A power quest under unusual circumstances is that of Lele'ks.
This man, the most prominent and successful chief of the last century,
159 was a berdache in his youth. His people wanted him to give up woman's garb. One day when he lay asleep they placed a woman's

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[148] Gatschet also describes this (*op. cit.*, 1:82-84).

canoe pole and a bow and arrows beside him. Shouting suddenly, they 787
woke him and as he leaped up he seized the bow, thus determining his 159
future life. Running off to Mount Scott he spent the night there. As he was returning he smelled the sweaty odor of running horses. In later life he was lucky in everything; much wealth, especially horses, came to him.

Dreams of the same sort came to men or to old women without 787
being deliberately sought. Should a man have several such visions, he may decide to become a shaman, whereupon he undertakes the customary fire dance of the novice. But if he chooses to ignore them, the power and the opportunity slip away.

Last night I [Pat] dreamed a song: I am nearly a shaman. Yesterday I tried to catch fish but it rained too hard. I then went to town but I could not get what I wanted. So I returned home, ate, and lay down. I dreamed that my horses fell in the mire when I drove near the mountain. I wanted to save them
but I could not raise them. I heard a woman's song behind me. [539] •

dje'udjls snalwãs
feathers all over woman
Helen sna'wãs
[his daughter's name] woman

The fish did not like me; they did not let me catch any. They made the bad dream. This is the same way as a shaman dreams.

Another dream, though not of this type, may be inserted here.

Last night I (Coley) dreamed I was chased by a big, black man; not a Negro, just hard to distinguish. He had nearly caught me when I woke and heard the chickens squawking.

There is only a slight tendency to the inheritance of the shaman's 756
art. The case cited above where a shaman received spirit songs because his grandfather had an experience is hardly to the point, since these experiences are so common that every shaman must have had a close relative who obtained power. But my informant's statement that when a powerful shaman dies his child may become a shaman is borne out by her own case. His spirits and his clairvoyant powers (dode'üks, dreaming) are released by his death and must go to someone else. If his relatives keep his pipe or other paraphernalia about, it is certain that his spirits will come to one of them.

Nancy's father, who died before she was born, was a shaman. When she was 159
quite small and could first understand, she began to dream of Frog, a big woman
spirit. Sometimes she would jump up at night and run, afraid of the dream. The 756
spirits persisted in trying to make her accept until she was grown; finally she
heard their voices whispering close behind her. She was about twenty and had 787
several children at the time. Her relatives did not want her to become a shaman.

the heads of others. He was frightened and did not swim but went home. As 778
soon as he started home the thunder began to roll; it pursued him all the way. 787
He was afraid of it, so he jumped into Klamath lake. He sat in the water for a long time before the thunder left him. He became a shaman because of this; he had the thunder spirit in him and sang the thunder song. Finally people killed him because he became so powerful that they feared he would kill them with his spirit.

Stö'kmöte, the headland of Eagle Ridge, is on the west side of 778
Klamath lake. Spirit horses live in the lake near the point, as instanced above.

North of Modoc point are two groups of rocks. The first, red rocks on the hillside a half-mile from the station, represents a bear's entrails. Two big rocks somewhat farther north and on the plain are
Wolf and his wife. When people mourn for a dead child, men go to 778
the Wolf rock to seek power, women to his wife. They seek to be
strong and to run well. They wrestle with these rocks. 787

There is an eddy in which they swim a mile and a half above the mouth of Williamson river, opposite the cremation pile on the right bank. An otter (k!olt), bearing stripes, is seen in this. Many spirit otters of this sort are seen at ķ!o'ltamtcis, north of Klamath Falls.

A channel cutting through a bend of this river several miles from its mouth is called ķoķa'ķ'ūt. A man saw a water snake (called to'kĕ) in this place. It was as big as a tree and had two straight, pointed white horns. He told a shaman, who said that, the snake having caught him, he could not be cured. This man died in two days. While this story suggests it, I am not sure that they swim for power here. Another informant stated that at Tcoka'lwas, just above this, is a huge horned snake (wisiŋk, snake generically). Possibly the
same one is meant. In a tale the hero Wawiwö'ķlos cuts the snake's [539]
head off.

Witā'mŭmpsi, black bear's place, is at a sharp bend in the lower Williamson river (a mile above the highway bridge) overlooked by a high bluff. Long ago when men came to this place to swim they found no water there. Standing on the bluff they saw several bears below. Another man came to swim at sunset. He saw a bear standing upright in the water. "That is what I like. I will swim there," he said. The bear disappeared. The man dived in but did not come up. He was found lying on the bank, blood flowing from his mouth. The bear had caught him and made him a shaman. So people try to get power there now.

wind; it is really that she breaks wind. 776 They shout to her to stop the wind when it blows too hard, to give them a stern wind to drive their canoes along, or to blow the mosquitoes away from Pelican bay. She also lives at Rocky point on Pelican bay and at Kowa'edi, at the mouth of Wood river, as the following tales[166] relate.

There were two young girls playing with pond-lily seed at Rocky point. This 776 old woman came and spilled the seed all about. So they fought her, but while they were doing so, they fell over dead. When the two were found, shamans were called who cured them. These two told Nancy about this; they died only recently. 539

There was an old woman sleeping at the same place. She felt something very heavy sitting on her chest. She put her hand there and caught the wile'ẕkaḳ. Still holding it she started to light a fire, but by the time she had the fire lighted, it had vanished from her grasp.

An old man at Kowa'edi was going home. He saw the wile'ẕkaḳ sitting in his way, grunting. He was a shaman. He went right past it but it never harmed him. This sort of thing has happened many times.

Tcaḳia'ḳ may be seen anywhere, probably most frequently in 776 water. There is one, for instance, in lower Williamson river, above the cut-off channel. One of the upright rocks at the cremation place at Pelican bay is a tcaḳia'ḳ. The name is also derived from an age term, tc!a'ḳi, a small boy, but the spirit is said to be no larger than a baby. He has long hair which hangs to his waist in back and he is [532] entirely nude. The wooden images of Tcaḳia'ḳ set up by the shamans, however, have red-shafted flicker feathers around the neck. [754]

Gōga'nε are dwarf men seen in many places but commonly frequenting the Cascade mountains. Their footprints are no longer than a baby's. While all my informants spoke of these beings, it happens that the following experiences (except the last tale) were told Nancy by an old Paiute resident of the reservation.

This man saw a gōgna'nε while hunting in a canyon near Snake Camp. The 776 little man stood up, shaded his eyes with his hand, and looked around. There were some Paiute at Snake Camp who were going to dig Indian potatoes. They 539 saw a baby walking around. One woman picked it up. The gōga'nε carried her far off to a cave in the mountains.

A Paiute woman was cutting willows. She left her little baby near-by while she worked. A gōga'nε came along and, devouring the baby, substituted himself in the cradle board. When the mother came back she thought it was her own. She picked it up and began to nurse it. The baby would not stop suckling. She pinched its mouth but it would not stop, it only smiled. When she got home she heated an iron and put it against the baby's mouth, but still it just smiled. They could not get the baby away from her. Then they built a big fire. They cut her breast off, but the woman immediately died. They threw the baby into the fire,

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[166] Told by Nancy Phillips.

776 but at once it jumped out and ran away. This happened after the whites arrived in this country. There are other "bad stories" about the gŏga'nᴇ.

539 Two little men, gŏga'nᴇ, made a big pit and chased a deer into it. They saw the deer standing in it. One of the gŏga'nᴇ climbed down and held on with his arms around the deer's neck. The deer bounded out. The gŏga'nᴇ had a bow and arrows on his back, but he lost them when the deer jumped. The deer started running. The other gŏga'nᴇ followed. He found the first dwarf's hat, then his moccasins. He picked them up. The one who was following called, "The deer is carrying him." The one who was hanging on choked the deer to death.

Gatschet undoubtedly refers to Gŏga'nᴇ in the first of the following paragraphs, despite the apparent difference in name. That which he gives, na'hnias, was evidently known to him only from a song and sounds much like a form adopted for euphony's sake. The second dwarf, Gwinwin, is unknown to me, unless it is Gŏga'nᴇ; the manner of Gatschet's reference suggests that it was named in a myth.

"A miraculous dwarf is mentioned under the name of na'hnias, whose footprints, as small as those of a child, are sometimes seen upon the snow-clad slopes of the Cascade Range by the natives. But the dwarfish creatures who make them can be seen only by those initiated into the mysteries of witchcraft, who by such spirit-like beings are inspired with a superior kind of knowledge, especially in their treatment of disease. The name is derived either from néna, *to swing the body from one to the other side*, or from nainḱya, *to shiver, tremble.*

"Another dwarf genius, about four feet high, *Gwinwin*, lived on Williamson River, where he habitually sat on the top of his winter lodge and killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird."[187]

776 [821] [823] Various natural phenomena are spirits: clouds, thunder, lightning, the sun, moon, and stars, and each of the seven winds (one for each of the compass points except northeast). Rainbow is also a spirit, or rather it is Wlle'ᴇḳaḳ's spirit, and, to add to this confusion, it is said that she swallows it like a conjurer's sword. Earth and earth's child, the snake, are also spirits.

It is not quite clear how certain other things are spirits. A piece of wood which is fastened to the pole that stands before a shaman's lodge is a spirit called wŏḳda'lls. I could not discover that it is anything but the stick itself. Hă'nowas is a pestle-shaped stone which stands at Dŭnŏ'kai village on Pelican bay. It is about eighteen inches high and five in diameter with protuberances called breasts.

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[187] Gatschet, 1:xcix, 163.

756 jump (sideways ?) with the feet together, but I am not sure. Women [535] may dance if men are few, but all the audience joins in the singing. As the fire dies down it is replenished with each of the four remaining [533] piles in sinistral order, the last being that north of the foot of the ladder. This occupies the whole day and is not repeated during the five-day period. Its purpose is to call the spirits to act through the shaman, to give him the strength to perform the feats of legerdemain that follow.[108]

The nights are given over to these shamanistic tricks. Two tricks, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are part of every shaman's stock in trade. They are performed by the novice during the first night, though they may never be repeated in any subsequent winter ceremony. Until the novice has made the ceremony to show that he can carry off these two feats, he is no shaman and cannot cure.

The fire-swallowing trick (ko'pgüs p'an, torches eating) is performed with the aid of an old lake trout spirit (tcwīm or me″yăs), or rather they say the spirit eats the fire. Five men stand in a row each holding a bundle of resinous wood slivers, ten inches long and [535] two inches thick, called ko'pgüs. The shaman dances in front of them, others dance vigorously with him while they sing,

[539] ko'pgūs babi's ġistsa'mpka
I eat fire while I walk.
gēno gīta ġistsa'mpka
This is where I have been walking.

The trout is represented as singing. The torches are lighted, the shaman snatches them in quick succession, puts out the fire with a gulp, and flings them aside.

The companion trick is swallowing arrowheads; this follows fire-swallowing after an interval. The fire has been allowed to die and is only rekindled as a little light is needed. Perhaps twenty obsidian arrowheads are tied at intervals on a cord, which one man feeds to the shaman as he dances. He swallows these with the aid of certain bird spirits, or rather the spirits eat the blades: gau'wi, a blue and brown bird, wĕ'tgōtgis, a spotted hawk, and ķ!ōt'ia'was, a small sea gull (noisy, white, with forked tail and black spots on head). A tule mat is [533] arranged like a cape over the shaman who now seats himself. They sing the songs of the bear spirit, now represented in the shaman, to bring back the arrows. Soon they hear him cry out, "ha," as each after another talks to the various spirits that fill the house. The 756 shaman tells the old woman to hold a light over the basket; nothing is seen. Two (?) songs of the frog are next sung and when she looks again the basket is filled with pond-lily seeds. All the old men look at it. When he sings the frog's final song, she finds the seeds gone and a tiny frog in their place. No one touches the basket. This conjunction of seeds and frog is rather interesting because it suggests that there is an association of the two. It will be recalled that pond-lily seeds brought to the feast cannot be touched until the spirit frog has partaken. It may also be significant that the attendant here is an old woman, for the frog spirit is conceived as an old woman and a woman with spirit power is necessarily old.

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[108] Briefly described by Gatschet (1:70).

The spirit for the blood trick is nameless. It resembles a wild man, [776] but was not described further. The shaman tells them to fetch a basket, part of the paraphernalia of another shaman. He sings this spirit's song. One man told to investigate finds the basket-full of blood. When he sings again, the blood disappears. All the while the shaman lies covered up far from the basket. Only the most powerful shamans can perform this trick.

A trick of quite another sort is that of making the stuffed skins of animals which adorn the shaman's lodge move about as in life. A powerful Modoc shaman, Djö'ḳlonos (black sage-brush head), had little cottontail rabbits hanging in his earth-lodge. Sometimes they would run around as though alive; they were spirits. He had a stuffed butterball duck skin hanging on the south side. Sometimes this spirit made blood flow from the duck's bill and at other times it flew about in the lodge. His song was [539]

gle'götk sne'en
dead one flying about
nanĕ'mbŏmba'ktinnise'ĕn
butterball duck flying around.
Even though I am dead, I am butterball duck flying around.

Pat Kane described a performance which he saw when a little boy at Pelican bay. The shaman held a fire dance during the day. Then he told the people to place various stuffed skins on the floor of the lodge: mink, weasel, a shitepoke (tuwa'), and owl. He sang songs for each of the animals. He first sang one of the shitepoke's songs and told them to watch whether it moved. It did not. He sang its second song and the bird walked around pecking at the ground. It had been a dried skin for ten years or more. He sang the mink's song three times. The mink moved about holding a little minnow in its teeth.

The songs of these spirits bring southerly winds and storm or the cold north wind to clear the sky. There is the suggestion here that weather control is a winter practice; hence it falls in the period most suitable for shamanistic performances. Rain is brought with the songs of the flicker, a black bird (năo'lins), the horned owl, red shitepoke, and a big water snail (ķ!awi's). Wile'aķaķ, Dwarf Old Woman, lying on Mount Pitt, controls the west wind; she can cause the heaviest downpour when the snow lies too deep. The prairie chicken makes the loudest thunder. Rattlesnake makes rain and thunder; the thunder is his rattling. To make it snow they use the songs of various white things, such as the pelican, which causes the greatest fall, and the white grizzly and brown bears. Clear weather is brought by a strong north wind; the songs for this are those of a hawk (tel'ktu), magpie, crow, and Gōga'nᴇ, a dwarf, who is most potent. Crow is thought to have cross-eyes; when he rolls them, it stops snowing. The songs of the winds are also used; there are seven of these, one for each of the compass points except northeast. Winds raised by shamans cause sickness and death. There are other spirits which control the weather but these are the principal ones.

The shaman lies alone singing in his earth-lodge or sweat-lodge. If he does not succeed in a single night or if he is only partly successful, he calls the people to help him with the regular performance (wa'hla), dancing and singing to invoke the aid of more spirits. Nancy's father could make the weather change. He had two spirits, crow to stop the falling snow and the water snail to bring rain when it grew too cold. While other shamans could make the wind blow, the snow drift, and cause it to thunder, Nancy does not know that her [539] father could. His crow song was

ķaķ kō'mᴇ ge'o
crow mine
bĕlis galo' holi'ta
cross-eyed sky cleared.

His second song made it rain immediately,

ķ!awiķ!a ya'nu'
water snail am I.

He sang these in his earth-lodge.

An exhibition of weather control of quite different character is described in the following incident. The shaman ķiu'kamag (Shaman Man) went to Ashland in the autumn to trade but he could not return because of deep snow on the Cascade range. He was challenged to make it rain. He melted a strip of lead in a frying pan and had some one pour it down his gullet. They could hear it hiss. In the middle of the night it rained so hard that the snow melted away.

Curing is possible only through certain spirits, including the fish hawk, falcon, golden eagle, buzzard, magpie, crow, weasel, fisher (ʔwa'lḳötcka), coyote, wolf, lizard, rattlesnake, a big sluggish snake (wŭ'mznŭks), and a woman spirit. Frog and her daughter, and the winds are necessary to the ceremony, but I do not know that they actually effect the cure. Other spirits were mentioned as non-curing: bear, bald eagle, clouds, thunder, lightning, sun, moon, and stars. 755 776

Shamans of standing are invited from a distance. When the services of a shaman are needed, it is likely that he is to be found at home. Shamans are expected to maintain a certain amount of reserve, to lie quietly at home, especially in winter. The summoner does not enter the shaman's earth-lodge but calls down from outside, asking if the shaman is there.[173] Some woman of the household answers in the affirmative, never the shaman himself. The messenger announces his errand. If the shaman is willing to cure, the messenger stands on the roof shouting to the spirits while the shaman is getting ready. This is a long harangue calling on the spirits in the distant mountains: 755

ya'mŏks	dakĕ'loġis	tcŏmgi'as
north	earth	step forward.

[539]

He calls to all the directions, every region from which a wind blows:

mowa'kada	mŭlwa'nki
south	get ready.

[539]

When the shaman feels that his spirits have come to him, that he is potent to cure, he is ready. Then he decks himself with his medicine outfit (mŭ'lwas),[174] flicker feathers or grizzly claws, for example, and sets out.

The shaman may refuse to go, "Do not ask me now. I have no spirit; it has gone back to the mountains." When a man loses a child, his spirit quits him when he grieves. "After a month I will talk to my spirit and get it back. I mourn now; I cry. I cannot sing and dance; my spirit has gone. Return in a month." When the messenger returns—presumably the patient holds his peace!—he asks again, "Is the shaman there? Then I come to ask you to cure as you promised." Now if the spirit does not answer the shaman, another (?) man, called saswa'kia, mounts on the lodge before sunrise and again after sunset to call to all the spirits to give their songs to the

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[173] Also described by Gatschet (1:68–69, 71).

[174] If Gatschet's derivation is correct the word means "what is prepared" (2:221).

155 shaman that he may again be powerful. The shaman tells the messenger to return that night, perhaps then the spirits will answer. At night the shaman sings several songs. "All my spirits have now returned. Go back; tell all the good singers and my speaker, for now I have strong power to cure."

The man returns to say that the shaman is coming. They hang the doctor's fee above the recumbent patient; a rope to represent a horse, or a blanket and beads. The shaman does not name his fee, but he doubtless gauges his efforts by what he sees offered. Before he begins he says that he will cure in two nights, or that they had better fetch another shaman for he is powerless to cure this patient, or that the patient has been poisoned by another shaman and he is not sure of a cure.

He brings his wife to sing, for a shaman's wife is generally a good, loud singer. If they want one or two more to help him besides such relatives as know the songs, they pay them blankets, etc. These are individuals who can sing and talk loudly to the spirits. There is one in particular, called hămto'mġis, who prompts the spirits, shouting to them to excite them to work for the shaman. If the shaman's speaker is not available, he will take anyone who is willing to serve.

The patient always lies with his head toward the east, the shaman sits or kneels at his feet, the speaker near his shoulders. The singers sit back of the shaman, the prompter near-by. There is no dancing during a cure. Children are excluded. Apparently the curing normally takes place at night, but it may continue into the following day. If it takes place in a dome-shaped mat-lodge during the day, the smokehole is covered to shut out the light. Baskets of parched and ground pond-lily seed in the form called enõps are provided.[175]

The general plan of the performance is first a series of songs to call the spirits to work through the shaman's person; these spirit helpers then tax other spirits with causing the sickness in a second set of songs; finally the shaman tells what he has seen and sucks out the sickness.

The prompter first commands the spirits to come to the shaman. The first he calls is Frog, for this is the principal spirit,[176] and Frog makes the shaman call all the other spirits.

● [539]

a'tikĕsi̇lke'wōp	wasi	e'itcōmgi's
Now you should	stand there	inside [the house].

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[175] Caring is briefly described by Gatschet (1:71–72).

[176] I am not altogether satisfied that other Klamath, besides my informants Nancy and Tom, would have said that Frog is the principal spirit.

Then the frog in the person of the shaman sings about the moving of the pond-lily seed upon the surface of the water as it boils.[177]

[539]

tĕnĕkoŋgi'so	tĕnĕkoŋ
moving (?)	

Frog's daughter is next called, singing:

stai'las	aino'liota'mpga
pond-lily seed mush	looking at it.
ko'lamwĕ'as	liota'mpga
Frog's child	looking at it.

These two spirits then step out ready; other spirits follow standing there behind them. They are thought of as standing with one foot forward ready for action.

The shaman sings all night. From time to time the prompter shouts to the spirits to help him. The shaman halloos to his distant spirits, throwing his head back and muffling his shouts with the back of his clenched hand. Whatever the shaman sings or says, the speaker repeats. The singers (wịno'tnis) follow the spirit songs. There is no drumming or rattling with these songs.

Now a spirit talks through the shaman from far away:

[539]

tcŏkna'slsk	nasîskwasi	galĕ'ks	ala'hi
Now tell me	tell me inside;	dying	show me.

Various spirits are named to find the offender.

teaka'ni	igĕ'ngi	dakŏ'newis	i'adakŏ'newis
Now you	are the one,	this earth.	you, this earth [that gave the sickness].

As he talks the shaman covers his eyes with his hands, or rather the wrists cover the eyes, the hands are extended prone. This is called smĕtdŏ'nwa. Again the spirit challenges:

[539]

i'agĕngi	laki'wltcis
You are the one,	chief of the winds.

And again,

tca'	i'angĕngi	ke'lalŏmwe'as
Now	you are the one	Earth's child,

by which he means the spirit snake. So he runs through the gamut of suspected spirits. If it is this one, Earth's child, it will have to give up the patient so that he can recover. The shaman's spirit says:

[539]

ita'lgĕngî'pka	ke'lalŏmwe'as
You are the one who gave the sickness,	Earth's child.

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[177] This is an esoteric reference; it is not cooked during the ceremony.

533 114 I feel that many of his translations are far from the point, but I do not know enough to correct them. The numbers in parentheses refer to the page and number in Gatschet's work.

539 *Fire dance (wa'hla) songs?*
In flames I am enveloped (154, 8).
I am now wrapped in flames (166, 26).

Songs referring to various items of the shaman's outfit (mū'lwas).
This scoop is my instrument, that tool used on the lake[189] (167, 34).
This is my medicine arrow (164, 3).
The pipe is my instrument, that tool used for tobacco[190] (167, 33).
I the shaman's pole [wa'"las] am shaking to and fro (170, 66).
Planks [covering the lodge?] are rattling (155, 18).
This is my song, that of the sweat-lodge stick-hole[191] (168, 45).
So looks the yellowhammer medicine-decoration;
The otter is my equipment; the otter skin neckband is my equipment (167, 30).
I the neckband am medicine-equipment; I the neckband am a spirit [or song] (168, 40).
Thus I walk when I tie up the hair (165, 9).
I will pull a rope from my entrails[192] (165, 11).

Songs referring to anthropomorphic spirits.
I the shai'kish [tcaḳia'ḳ] tramp[193] (169, 52).
Tcaḳia'ḳ is my song [or spirit]; thunder is my song [or spirit] (169, 53).
I the ghost lean on a staff (168, 38).
Bones only I rattle (157, 44).
I the woman am painted black on the body[194] (158, 51).
My dew claws are rattling (166, 17).
Dew claws are my medicine-outfit[195] (166, 21).
In quill-fringed buck-skin dressed (154, 6).
I search the ground with my hands, find there the feathers of the yellowhammer and devour them (154, 10).
Quick! make ye eyes for me! (154, 11).
In the fog I am straying blind; all over the earth I am wandering[196] (157, 40).

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[189] Or the lake is my instrument.

[190] Or tobacco is my instrument.

[191] I do not know what Gatschet means by the "stick-hole."

[755] [192] "Feigning to draw a rope or string from their posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear" (Gatschet, 1:171). I was not told of this and it sounds more like a shamanistic trick than a curing practice.

[114] [193] Gatschet says "shai'kish is another name given to the tch'akiuks" and this is a "song of a gray aquatic fowl, called tch'akiuka." The following song, wherein he translates ts'akiag as little boy clearly indicates that the reference here is to Tcaḳia'ḳ, the little boy spirit which lives in water.

[194] Gatschet implies that this refers to a woman dancer, but it is as likely that it is a woman spirit.

[114] [756] [195] Gatschet says of these two songs "Conjurer's rattles are made of deer's claws" and "this song of a female conjurer or 'doctress' . . . ." (1: 172). But deer-claw rattles are used only in a girl's puberty dance; shamans use none at all. I interpret these songs to be those of a woman spirit, like the one which precedes them and perhaps the one to follow.

[534] [196] The first two of these three songs are those of "the blind medicine-girl" according to Gatschet and the third that of "the blind girl." I assume a spirit is referred to.

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Songs of cosmic phenomena.

I the earth resound[197] (158, 48).
My lake is glittering in azure colors (164, 1).
Who, I wonder, is blowing out of my mouth? The disease is emanating from my mouth[198] (153, 3).
I am shivering! the wind blows down on me! (156, 27).
I am the north wind who stalked (164, 4).
The north wind blows around me from the distance (155, 20 and note).
Southeast, southeast, southeast, southeast[199] (165, 7).
I am indeed the south wind spirit [or song]; I sweep over the earth (167, 29).
The storm gust dashes right on me (155, 25).
I the storm wind I wind around (168, 42).
My disease has indeed arrived; I am the sleet spirit (164, 2).
Heavy hailstones I possess[200] (156, 26).
Fog followed drifting after me (158, 57).

Songs referring to animal spirits.

I have five springs and my springs are dry[201] (157, 46).
I am scratching up the ground (157, 42).
On the mountain top I am peeping out; of the grizzly bear I am the child (156, 36).
I am the wolf song [or spirit] (165, 12).
I, the she-wolf, am rolling against (a tree?) (157, 37).
Long and slim I am (154, 7).
Crazed I am wandering[202] (155, 22).
The red fox's child I follow up[203] (156, 30).
I am blowing air *from* my flanks (156, 32).
Everything I can devour (158, 53).
I the dog am straying; in the north wind I am straying (155, 24).
I [the weasel] am squealing, I am squalling (155, 23).
From under the ground I [the weasel] am singing (162, 5).
Fooling, fooling I [the weasel] run around (158, 52).
While walking I [the weasel] shine in multiple colors (169, 55).
Mine is this ground, the weasel's; muddy is my ground, the weasel's (169, 56).
I [the marten) go up and stick *fast* to the tree (168, 37).
I [the mink] am swimming out while the south wind blows (156, 29).
Ripples in the water sheet I [the mink] am spreading *far* and wide (162, 6).
Shaman: The smallpox brought by me, the otter, is upon ye

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[197] "This is song when water is poured over the patient."

[198] "Song of the wind."

[199] Ye'was is southeast and the southeast wind, not east as Gatschet has it. [114]

[200] "Probably refers to one of those birds to whom the power is attributed to bring about storms, fog, snow, or any change of the weather."

[201] This and the *following* are songs of the *grizzly*, according to Gatschet.

[202] These two are songs of the "washpálaks-fox" according to Gatschet. This is a fox, he says. But the translation elsewhere (2:476) "the emaciated prairie-wolf" rather indicates that these refer to the coyote. [114]

[203] This song and the two that *follow* refer to one or both species of fox. Of the first Gatschet says, "This is probably a song of the wind, not of the young silver-fox (as I was told), and I have translated it as such."

539 *Chorus:* The otter's tread has whirled up the dust (166, 24).
I the marmot, I travel around this land[204] (154, 15).
I [the woodchuck] am descending into the ground (154, 5).
In the north wind I [the skunk] dance gaily around (155, 16).
With shortened steps I [the skunk] am dancing (162, 7).
Through what do I [the black mouse] pass with my paws? My paws glide over the hair of the disease (155, 21).
Down in the dark ground I [the black ground-mouse] am singing (165, 10).

Songs referring to bird spirits.

Blown off! I blew off the feather crest (153, 2 and note).
As a head only, I roll around (154, 12).
I flutter along the ground (while walking) (158, 40).
I [bald eagle] am screaming high up in the skies (162, 4).
High up in the skies I [bald eagle] circle (165, 5).
I am the eagle feather, I am going down, hö! (168, 11).
High up in the skies I [fish hawk] circle; through the clear skies I carry my prey (169, 50).
I [fish hawk] am pinching hard (162, 3).
North wind is my [fish hawk's] song [or spirit] (170, 58).
This is my head crest; the crest of the wī'tgötgis hawk (171, 71).
I [sparrow hawk] carry my offspring with me (166, 18).
I the buzzard circle in the air (170, 62).
I [the shkä' bird][205] am a song [or spirit] and circle high above the earth (167, 36).
I [the female shkä bird] am snapping (or scolding) at the ground (168, 44).
This is my sickness, the wa'-u'htuash-duck (170, 67).
Belly-ache is the disease I [the butterball duck] am bring on (167, 28).
Belly-ache is the disease which I[206] carry along with me (166, 27).
The náta-duck is now singing about itself (167, 31).
I the fish duck would like to fly over the country (169, 51).
I the mallard float on the water's bosom (170, 66).
In my lake ripples I [the kilidshiksh-duck] am spreading (165, 15).
I [the shitepoke] stand upon the rim of my nest (154, 9).
I [the shitepoke] crouch on the water's edge (170, 63).
The disease brought on comes from me, the young shitepoke (170, 64).
Noisily I [the pelican] am blowing around (166, 19).
By me, by the swan, this storm has been produced (166, 20).
This tempest is my[207] work (170, 60).
I am the loon and my waves follow me (168, 46).
I the kingfisher am eating up the salmon (169, 54).
High-crested I (the bluejay) sing my song (or am a spirit) (170, 61).
I the young woodpecker have brought on sickness (168, 39).
I, the woodpecker, am holding fast the tree stem (170, 65).
I [the woodpecker] am picking hard at the bark of a pine tree (162, 2).
The disease brought on by me, the lark, spreads everywhere (168, 43).

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[114]

[204] Gatschet gives wálzatchāka as the long-tailed black marten, but this is the marmot.

[205] If its name is in imitation of its cry, this would seem to be a hawk.

[206] The ma'makten duck: by my information má'mūkls means waterfowl in general.

[207] The wai wash goose, the snow goose; by my information the white brant.

This is the kála-bird's fog (166, 22).
This is the *female* kala-bird's fog (166, 23).
I [the tchikass-bird] am wafted off from the mountain (157, 43).
I am the póp-tchikas-bird's song [or spirit] (167, 35).
Fearfully the wind blows underneath here[308] (157, 39).
The snow made by me, the taluta wash-bird is ready to arrive (170, 60).
A flint-headed arrow I [the gáwi-bird] am ready to dispatch (163, 10).
White chalk is my [the nû'sh-tilanné ash-bird's] medicine-tool (167, 32).
I the little black *female* bird[309] am lost and strayed (163, 16).
I [the tsiszixi-bird] am singing about myself (170, 59).
I [the wipĕli'wash forest-bird] am singing my song [or am a spirit] (171, 70).
Of the axib-bird I am the song [or spirit] (168, 41).

Songs referring to frogs, lizards, fish, and bugs.

An old *frog* woman I sit down at the spring[310] (163, 9).
I the slow speckled snake [wû'mxnûks] am hanging here (157, 47).
This is mine, the black snake's, gait (165, 8).
Lo! thus I the lizard stick my head out (155, 19).
When I the [male] lizard am walking, my body is resplendent with colors (165, 14).
The land on which I, the female lizard, am treading, belongs to the lark (165, 13).
Which game did you play with me [the turtle]? (159, 58).
Now the wind gust sings about me, the little sucker fish (165, 6).
I the tsíwas-fish am singing my own song [or am a spirit] (169, 57).
Here I [the yellow jacket] am buzzing around (165, 16).
I the bug,[311] I bite and suck (156, 28).

Other songs.

I the song [or spirit] am walking here (156, 31).
I am the song of evil (ko'idsi) (166, 25).

Songs referring to sickness and curing.

I the disease am meandering through the skies (162, 1 and note).
The pangs of hunger I carry about (169, 48).
I feel too bad for dancing (163, 12).
I carry pains about (168, 47).
What thing do I blow around? The disease I am blowing around in the air (156, 35).
Breath I am emitting[312] (157, 45).
What do I remove from my mouth; the disease I extract from my mouth.
What is the thing I take out; it is the disease I am taking out (153, 4).

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[308] "Song of the tchiwititikaga-bird."

[309] Shaixish-bird; elsewhere (169, 52) shaikish is given as a name for Tcaḳia'ḳ, the little boy spirit.

[310] "Songs by a companion of the old *frog*," but the frog spirit is an old woman herself.

[311] Shaixish; but elsewhere Gatschet translates this as a little black *female* bird (163, 16) and as a bird called tchákiuks (169, 52) which is Tcaḳia'ḳ, the little boy spirit (see note above).

[312] "Sung by the disease, found to live in water."

[776]
[114]

539 What is coming out of my mouth? Black substance is hanging down from my mouth (158, 56).
What do I suck [bite] out? The disease I am sucking out[213] (155, 17).

I have recorded several songs the use of which I do not know. A shaman's song is about a mythical hero, Wawiwŏ'ķ!os, who is represented as singing.

ga'no wawi'awŏk
I am Wawiwŏ'ķ!os.

Nancy dreamed a song about the pole and pendant (wa''lasdŭ'pka) which stands before a shaman's earth-lodge.

wa'' li'sasa nos nos
shaman's pole I I
nisowa' lis tu'ntani
shaman's pole hanging on.
I am the pole and the cord hangs from me.

[821] The rainbow is the spirit of Wīle'aķaķ, Dwarf Old Woman. In a song she says that she swallows it like a sword.

wile'aķaķni	wīle'aķaķni	stŏ'ngi	wī''te!iŏķ
Dwarf Old Woman	something long	swallowed	rainbow

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

128 In addition to omens and miscellaneous beliefs that have no proper place elsewhere in this account I have resuméd below all cases of beliefs which have their setting in the social and economic life of these people. I have not repeated here beliefs touched on in other parts of this section on shamanism.

763 The omens of death or disaster are varied. The thrush tells of an approaching enemy: wī'mpis ɛge'pkwa, they are coming. The horned owl also warns; mm, mm, mm, kŏkdɛlŏ'n skiu'klu, who sent me? Or he predicts: ma'ķlaķs gɛlĕķ gɛlĕķ gɛlĕķ, someone will die. Gatschet recorded similar constructions of the call of a crow, the howling of coyote or dog, a cat's mewing, or a hen's clamor just after sunset.[214] One may suggest that these associations are derived from the association of the sunset with the land of the dead which lies in the west. On the other hand the call of the loon at early dawn is a sign that someone will kill another. Yet this may really be a case in point, for then the general association would be with any night cry, since night is the time when the dead arise and roam.

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[213] Chorus while the shaman bites and sucks the patient.
[214] 1:88, 133.

Grace is said before eating; bits of food are cast toward the earth, the mountains, old house pits, and cremation places so as to feed them first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula is a prayer. If this is neglected, the earth would harm the little children. 264

An earthquake (ke'la t!illĭ'ŋgᴇ, earth shakes) is caused by the hero Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps who moves the earth. It has no special significance. The only quake recalled by my informant occurred during the Ghost Dance of 1870; it was interpreted as a not unfavorable sign. 823

An eclipse is called loḳ slo'ki, grizzly bear eats. They say that Grizzly Bear eats the sun or moon at this time. People gather to make a noise, crying ḳo, ḳo, Frog; they hire the Frog (ḳo'wĕ) in the moon to use her powers on the bear, because Frog is the moon's wife as the following tale explains. The frog can be seen in the moon. The sun is included in this explanation. Although sun and moon are called by the same word, sa'bas, they are known to be separate entities. 821

Moon had two sisters. When Frog went to visit, she went into Moon's house. Moon told his sisters, "You had better let her sleep with you." But they said, "No, you had better take her." Frog was angry at this and jumping on Moon, clung fast. Moon tried to cut Frog loose with a knife but he could not. So she is stuck fast, part of him, today. He said, "Well, I will keep her as my wife, so that whenever Bear eats me Frog can exercise her shamanistic power to drive him away." So they are living together today. [539] •

There are several magical ways of making the wind blow, but they turn on the same notion. There is a rock in the water south of Bare island which is a mythical hero, and another on Eagle Ridge near-by is his dog. If the latter is struck the wind will blow a gale from the south. 789

My father told me [Pat Kane], "Do not hit this else a very strong wind will blow. Do not throw stones in the lake there or play there." I wondered what would happen. I was a big boy. I took a club and struck the rock. Next day a strong wind blew, the strongest wind I have ever seen. It thundered, snowed, and hailed for two days. My father asked, "Why did you hit it?" I could not answer. He said, "I told you not to hit it."

Similarly, poking in an eddy (sŭ'laŭks) near the mouth of Williamson river with a pole, pumping it up and down, will cause a strong wind to blow. Both localities are connected by the same tale; the eddy is where the hero disappeared under the water, the rock his resting place. There is another spot where the wind can be made to blow, the rocks at Squaw point. Pounding in the holes on the south side, for instance, will bring a south wind.

roasted and allowed to burn to ashes. Those that follow must not be 226 taken home but roasted there, else no more will come. If the rite is observed, suckers will be plentiful. Wo'kstat is the only place where the rite is held; the only place "where Kemū'kūmps made this law."

> Kemū'kūmps was living at kemā'ćaki. He made a dome-shaped mat-lodge [the cave] using stéholas mats to cover it [the poorest mats]. That is why it leaks. Right at his home he killed fish. The fish had great difficulty in swimming up there, so Kemū'kūmps killed the first he saw. He roasted it right at the river bank. He did not take it; let it burn to ashes. He said, "This is the way the pꜫsā'odiwas [humans, in mythical terminology] will do." After he did this, fish came in great numbers. [539]

There is no individual ownership of fishing places, as with dams. Nor, for that matter, are there proprietary rights to hunting territories, berry or seed patches. A chief has no control, no ownership of fishing rights. Even those whose permanent dwellings are near the dams have no particular claim to them. To be sure, one might ask those who live near-by to fish in the spot for him, but solely because they know best how to use the nets there.

One reason for this is that the fish dams date from remote antiquity. They are, in fact, said to have been built by Kemū'kūmps.[226] These are quite common in the rivers wherever a shelf of rock in the stream bed favors their construction. Their purpose is to create an eddy of still water in which the fish can be netted when they take refuge from the swift current. Most of these have been destroyed by the loggers who have cleared the channels of obstructions to float their logs. Gatschet seems to doubt that these are artificial constructions, but it is clear that only the foundation is a natural [114] configuration. These are short dams (sa'mkauūs) or wings of rocks extending out from one bank. One such in the low falls of middle Williamson river at tákalma'keda takes advantage of a bend in the river bank to enclose a pool thirty-five feet across.[227] Weirs are not used in connection with dams; in fact they are unknown to the Klamath.

Fish are taken mostly with nets (wītco'lhus).[228] As among pro- 227 fessional fishermen everywhere, line fishing is hardly sufficiently profitable to be trifled with. Yet lines are sometimes used, as well as the spear, and there is some sporadic use of traps. There are several kinds of dip net as well as a gill net.

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[226] See Gatschet, Mythologic Text, 161.

[227] Other dams on Lost river are mentioned by Clarke (Rock Piles, 40).

[228] The Klamath do not poison fish. Gatschet has a curious reference to kûlχamsh and slé'ds as "fish-killing-articles" put in the nets, but these are respectively flax and nettles used for net cordage! (1:150). [114]

805 and index finger of the first hand again. Naturally Gatschet's twelve months and my ten do not correspond; the following tabulation shows that there is close agreement only in the earlier part of the year.

Finger	*Gatschet's description*	*Identifiable as*	*Nancy's dating*
Thumb	Berry gathering; dry the fruit; mares foal	Late September	August–September
Index	Inaugurate winter house by feast: stack hay	October	September–October
Middle	Leaves fall	October–November	October–November
Ring	Snows	November	December–January
Small	Snows heavily	November–December	February
Thumb	Lake frozen; snows	December	March
Index	Much rain; dances in dance house	December–January	April
Middle	Kill large suckers	March–April	May–June
Ring	Take large suckers; dig ipos	April	June
Small	Dry suckers; leave home to dig camas and ipos	April–May; Gatschet says about May	July–August
Thumb	Store camas; gather wokas	Mid-August to end of September	
Index	Return from wokas harvest; gather berries	Late August and September	

The Indians quarrel a great deal over the month reckoning. One old man, who is so deaf that he cannot be argued with, so I was told, held that September, 1926, was ḳ!ö'ptc!alüm sīnö'kstis, ring finger month, that is, either fourth or ninth. He was counting too fast, according to Nancy. If he meant the ninth month, he was in substantial agreement with Pat Kane in putting the beginning of the year at the end of our calendar year.

[841] In this connection we note that women do not reckon the intervals between menstruations, nor recognize their recurrence with the lunations.[696]

A tale, in which the number of months is fixed by a council of animals, follows.[697]

> 805
> 539 The animals each tried to make so many sticks to represent the number of months they wanted. One made ten sticks for a ten-month winter. Another objected that this was much too long: "If you make a winter of ten months, people will freeze and starve to death before it ends." So he broke the ten sticks that stood for winter. If he had left them there would have been twenty months in a year.

The solstices are recognized but their exact dates not noted. They are unnamed but the apparent movement is called lo'ldüm (or găpgö'-pli), going away, and sḳowha' (or toḳa'lḳa), returning.

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[696] Knotted string records, such as are used on Puget sound, are not kept.

[697] Told by Nancy Phillips, who knew it only imperfectly. Cf. Gatschet, 1:105.

Both sun and moon are called sa''bas, but they are clearly recognized as separate entities. There is a tale accounting for the confusion. 821

When Coyote was the sun at one time, daylight came so early that people did not get enough sleep. He shouted at them every morning, "It has been daylight a long time." The sunshine was too bright and hot. Coyote abused the people because he was sun. Finally they deposed him, putting the moon person in his place.[498] 821 539

The Klamath say that during an eclipse the Grizzly Bear devours the sun or moon, hence it is called lok̦ slo'ki, grizzly eats. They gather and shout, calling moon's wife, the Frog, to use her power on the bear. The Frog can be seen in the moon.[499] 821

The Klamath share the habit of most other Indians in distinguishing only the more obvious or isolated constellations. So far as I identify them these are Orion's belt, Gemini, Big Dipper, and Pleiades. It is notable that these are all winter constellations. Perhaps the Milky Way is named; I neglected to enquire. Polaris is known to be stationary; its name was unknown to my informant. The evening star is called pse'gĕknls; the morning star has no significance. But I judge that other stars (k'tc!ol) are not signaled for naming; Cassiopeia, for instance, is not recognized.

The constellation slūks (Orion's belt) comprises six stars; the three of the belt and those pendant forming the sword. The Gemini are twins (wiwi'sak̦), boy and girl. When they barely appear on the eastern horizon in the evening, they look over the lake and it freezes (December). Later when they stand higher, it indicates that spring is coming. Their bow rises a considerable interval before them, a bent arc of six stars, with the string supposedly indicated. As nearly as I can discover this group includes the western part of the constellation Gemini, the stars Ξ, Γ, N, M, and another directly above them in Auriga. Rabbit (kai) is another star following these. He looks over the lake, making it freeze. Possibly this is Altair or Fomalhaut, although this does not well fit the time of its appearance: on the eastern horizon before dawn in dŏtklū'mĕni (May–June), somewhat south of east. The Pleiades, called mdandŏ'ksni, are a group of little children who announce the dawn when they first appear on the morning horizon. Ursa Major (k̦o'k̦iuk̦s, the divers, i.e., loons) is a group of people in a row diving into the water one after the other, gambling to see who can dive farthest.

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[498] Told by Nancy Phillips.

[499] For the appropriate tale see p. 141.

[P 2]

• 539 NOW HE CAME BACK HERE FROM [THE AFTERWORLD]. HAVING finished his journey, he laid down two bones right here in this region, right here at Klamath Lake. Once *more* he laid down two bones in the Modoc country. Then said Gmukamps, "I placed these bones too close together. They might understand each other's language." Then again he went. Once again he went. Pit River country. In this direction to the north he put down another two bones and a little farther away again placed two more. Going along, he did the same thing, setting down bones as he passed along. Toward the east, he placed two bones in the same fashion. Now *all* the bones were used up.

Next day, climbing up on top of his house and sitting there, he looked around to see whether any smoke was rising. That day smoke was rising in several places. He looked around to the north, he looked eastward, southward. He was content. He talked to himself, "May you live well, people!"

That is the end.

—KLAMATH MYTH[1]

M
787 as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing
756 they are the shaman's "helpers."

K However differently they construe the degree of individual
M access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that
787 human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those
K who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer
M [782] in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtuous
[772] striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the
universe appears basically to be a moral order.

K In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The
M annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the
181 progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon
461 industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme
that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic
K exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this
M 461 virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to
556 maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a following.
595 Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the
K common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a
M contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent
622 men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In
556 war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his
[881] panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man
[701] of property is likely to be decked with many valuables contributed
[764] by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the
[538] man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowledge.
[756] These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send
out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power
in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to
K the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in
622 the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:
539

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee—to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

[P. 267]

Appendix

LETTERS TO DAVE HILL

539

In 1875, while A. B. Meacham was conducting his lyceum tour of the East with a troupe composed of participants in the recent Modoc War, a number of Klamath remaining on the reservation sent letters to Dave Hill and Tecumseh, two Klamath with the party. Dave Hill was, of course, a principal figure among the Agency-supported leaders and was then at the height of his power. Tecumseh, his friend, was an erstwhile shaman and Agency employee who was to meet death under ambiguous circumstances a year after his return. The letters were dictated to the Agent, Leroy S. Dyar, in whose hand they are penciled, and were meant to be read by Oliver Applegate, who was likewise with the troupe.

Despite their varying quality and the limitations imposed by the circumstances under which they were written, these letters, interlarded as they are with Chinook jargon, provide graphic vignettes of some of the concerns of the day and the personalities of leaders, old and new. "Jack" is undoubtedly Link River Jack, and his remarks are designed to counter accusations made during the war that his band was responsible for driving the Modoc off the reservation and that he had later provided them with help against the army. "Frank" is tentatively identified here with Frank Chilks, later an Indian policeman. "Allie," who writes to Tecumseh, is his brother, later known as Allie Tecumseh.

The letters are in two sets, plus a single separate letter. The first set, in the Lindsay Applegate Papers, comprises letters written in succession upon a single piece of paper, bearing the bracketed date [Sept. 1872?]. Undoubtedly it should read 1875. The second set, written in similar fashion, is dated Feb. 4, 1875. The single letter bears the date, March 24, 1875. Both the latter are in the O. C. Applegate Papers. All the items are in the Special Collections, University of Oregon Library.

[Sept. 1872?]
[1875]

CAPTAIN WRITES TO DAVE HILL

539 I want a wagon. I want you to tell this to the Tyee[*] at Washington. I want Oliver to know this. You are going to Washington and are to see the Commissioner and others and this is the reason I send this word to you. (Get him a wagon Dave by all means – Dyar) Allen David, Blow La-Lakes, Chiloquin & Jack have wagons & other things. Now I am chief I also want them. I have become like a Boston[†] man and I want these things. Mr. Dyar tells us that our annuities are getting small but I very much want these things. Perhaps the Hias Tyee[‡] will think this is cultus wa-wa.[§] Some of our children are going to school now. I think perhaps they will look out for us by and by. Perhaps they will be like white men in dress and appearance. This is good.

Yours Captain

---

[*] Chief
[†] American
[‡] Great chief, i.e. the President
[§] Worthless talk

JACK SAYS

I hardly know what to write today. I have been Chief a long time and all the Agents know how I have done. A long time ago, the Govt. wanted to buy my land. I said all right I don't want to be a wild Ind. I used to be wild and cultus,[*] now I want to marsh that wild tum-tum[†] and be decent. I advised Capt. Jack to do that a long time ago. I told him that I used to carry a bow & arrow, knife & hatchet but had thrown them away and advised him to do the same. In Huntington's time he did come to the Agency, but soon got bad and ran off again. Now he is dead and it is uncertain where he has gone to. He all the same as killed himself by his own deeds. He said to us "you Klamath may get the Boston's ictas.[‡] I mean to fight." We got them and they are doing us good. Now I live very well, all the same as hias heavy.[§] Have a close tum tum.[‖] I think that I live straight now, and that the Agents think so too. I was ready to help the Whites subdue the Modocs although we were nearly related. I am anxious to do right, and know what is right. I want Mr. Dyar to tell me when I get out of the way, for I am getting old now and I am liable to make mistakes. You can tell these words to the Tyee.[#]

Yours Truly
Jack

---

[*] Worthless
[†] Abandon that wild view
[‡] American's goods
[§] Very weighty, i.e. substantially
[‖] A good heart
[#] Chief, here the President

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

OLD CHILOQUIN SAYS

I am very much pleased that our young men are doing so well. I mean to try and stop all bad actions, fighting, gambling &c &c. I see Daves friends every day and give them good advice. I tell them to remember what Dave told them. I tell them not to get a cry tum-tum* about Dave nor a foolish angry tum-tum† for this will only make Dave feel bad when he comes home. Perhaps by and by I may have a different story to tell you. Perhaps there may be quarrelling & fighting among our people, but I hope not. Captain has said that he wants a great many things. I don't want to talk that way I am well pleased to see our young men trying to get right. 539

Yours Truly
Chiloquin

* Sad heart
† Heart

ALLEN DAVID SAYS

I want to let you know about Choler.* He paid one small horse & one large one equal to three in all as a fine for getting foolish and stealing a young girl, Dr. Chinchalo's daughter. The girl said that she wanted to get Choler for life, and we fined her also. [684]

Allen David

* Appears on the rolls as Chula

FRANK SAYS

You Dave told me when he left that he wanted me to close nanitch* all the people. I called the young men together and told them that I wanted them to come all right. Allie also helped me and now all of us young men are agreed on this point. We don't want to throw away what you told us but to get and keep your tum-tum.† We don't want to break the laws or to get bad. We want to work and make rails, houses, farms, &c &c. If any of us want to get bad again I will let you know.

Frank [Chilks?]

* Take good care of
† Literally "heart"; here the meaning is "view."

DAVE'S WIFE SAYS

Our babe was sick a little while ago and an Indian Doctress cured it and I paid one blanket. Now all the children are well. Everything is right now except that Elmer crys a good deal in the night because he wants to see Dave. If you get money I want you to send me some. [756]

Your wife

ALLIE SAYS

• 539 You Tecumseh sent us a letter stating that you had a skookum tum tum.[*] I am glad to hear this. We are all the same here. Are all living comfortably and have a hias close tum tum.[†] Your wife and children hias close mitlite.[‡] No one troubles them or mistreats them. You must not get a sick tum tum[§] while you are gone. We are all right – and want you to have no fears about us. Your little girl is not entirely well, has not a very good appetite & I asked Mr. Dyar to let her have some store flour.

Yours Allie

[*] Strong heart
[†] Very good heart
[‡] Remain very well
[§] Worry, grieve

BLOW SAYS

Old Hias man's wife is dead, and I had a notion to put Chick Chick and Link River Doctor in the guard house. The old woman said that L. R. Doctor was not guilty. Ortugul became foolish & could not seem to get Boston[*] law, and also, Eli[†] so we broke them of being Sargeants. They could not seem to understand matters properly.

We try to help Mr. Dyar and carry out his instructions but these two men could not throw away their Indian ways. I have had to talk to Yainax Ben because he was not quite straight about some of these matters. He has tried to persuade Mr. Dyar to let certain parties go unpunished that we all thought should be kept in the guard house. Old Chick Chick for one. Ben did not talk straight but told some untruths.

Allen David has told you how our young men are doing. My mind is that this is first-rate. I am very glad about these things could almost cry about it I am so glad. I don't want them to give these things up. I want you to know about these things.

I understand that no provision has ever been made for pay of Head [648] Chief on this Agency. George the old chief who was hung[‡] was promised pay for being chief by those who first made a treaty with him and a paper was sent to Washington to that effect. I know that straight and this is why I tell you this. Lincoln was President at that time. Chief George told us this, and shortly after he was hung when La-Lakes became chief again but said nothing about pay. Now Lincoln and George are both dead and I don't know what has become of the paper. I want you and Oliver & Meacham to talk to the Hias Tyee[§] about this.

You Oliver[||] promised Allen David that you would get a salary for him. Now you are going to Washington I want you to talk to the Tyee about this. I want Dave Hill & Tecumseh to know what the Tyee says about this. (By the way it would be a great relief to all of us if you can possibly bring this matter before the Comr. in the presence of Dave & Tecumseh as then perhaps Allen David might be convinced that it is useless to talk more about it – Dyar) We have cut our hair as Mr. Meacham wished us to do and try to be like white men. I live up to the treaty and am all right. Capt Jack did not and is no more. What Captain said is straight. I think is good that he should have a wagon. He wants one very much. I think if you tell the Hias Tyee about this he will not get frightened as a wagon don't cost very much. I think that we should be helped to these things if possible. I have been chief for a long time. God knows that I am free from the blood of White men and that I want to live right. I help Mr. Dyar and we both are big men. I know about Gen. Grant and I want him to know that I help him in keeping my people straight. I want him to know what I say today. I have not sent him any talk for a long time.

I talk to him as a man – a big man – and I want to consider him as my father and never give him up. I never want anything but the best of feelings between us. I don't want to talk foolishness to him, only about big things. Mr. Dyar keeps a close watch over us and he knows that I talk straight. I wish a mowing machine so that we can cut more hay for our cattle. I fear that some of them will die this winter.

Yours Truly
Blow

* American
† Probably Eli Chikaskane
‡ Captain George
§ President
‖ O. C. Applegate

Feb. 4th 1875

Today Mr. Dyar read your letter to us and we are very glad to hear from you. Today we came to the agency to hear your letter read, so that we can tell all the people what you wrote and all are very glad to hear from you to get your first letter, and glad to hear your good talk.

Julia, Chickaskane's wifes little girl (half breed) is dead or lost. She was living with Tom McKezy [McKay?] down on the Klamath above Bogus, and Tom sent a letter to Mr. Dyar stating that she had run off. Tobakelly went down to see about it and Tom told him that she was lost. I do not know the facts about it

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• 539 Since you have been gone we have been doing very well. No one has done anything very bad, only little cultus[*] things

539 75 You, Dave have lived with me at the Agency ever since the Agency was formed. Now everything is straight except the Doctors. They are all the time bad. Link River Dr is making some trouble. He says that the Skookum Dr is giving his poison and making some people sick and the Skookum Dr says that the other Doctors dont tell the truth about him.

One time we made law at the Agency about Skedaddle's[†] child and also about Charly Preston's old woman. Two Modoc Doctors, old Chick Chick and Susie accused Link River Dr. of killing Skedaddle's child which he owned up to and now they say that he is making the old woman at Chas. Prestons sick and all the people tell Link River Dr that he must cure her

We all told him that he killed Skedaddle's child and now he wants to kill the old woman; that we don't want him to do that way any more; that we have made him quit a great many times before and that if he dont stop now and make the old woman well we will put him in the guard house, and Mr Dyar will help us. Chick Chick said that the old woman was partly sick from his poison but he would take it away—which he did—and promise to give no more. Chick Chick said that he had given her crow poison, but now took it away. After lawing about these things we told the Link River Dr. that he must cure the old woman, so he came and after working on her for, maybe two hours she got better, but the Dr became very sick and said that he could not make her all right, that some times when he gave poison he could cure it without getting sick himself but he could not in her case.

Old Tutopkacks was sick and Mr Dyar told me to tell Skookum Dr. to cure him. I did so and he told me that he had no medicine then. I told him not to talk that way, and he then said, well you bring the old man to my house. So Blow went and took the old man over in his sleigh and he staid there one night. In the morning I told Skookum Dr that he used to say that Tutopkacks was his brother. Now he seemed to be mad at him. I also told Tutopcocks that he had told no chiefs that the Skookum Dr was making him sick, and now I wanted them both, as he was now at the Drs. house, to tell all about what was the matter. Tutopcocks then said that every night he was afraid of the Skookum Dr. and that one time when the Dr. came to his house he said to him, Dr.—what is your tumtum?[‡] You are the hias[§] Dr. Now I don't want to die. I want to get well Tutopcocks then said to Skookum Dr, I don't say that you make me sick, I only say that I want to get well. Ortugul's wife then said to the old man, what do you talk that way for. You first told the chiefs that the Skookum Dr made you

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sick now you all the same as lie Maybe you are afraid of the Dr. Then I (Allen David) said to the old man, why do you talk that way. You told us that the Dr. was making you sick, and now you tell him another way. Maybe you want to make the Dr think that I want to mammook skookum law[‖] on him and that I have been lying. 539 75

Then the old man got mad and started out as we supposed for only a moment, but as he didn't come back immediately some one went out to look for him and found that he had started for home on foot and had got a long way off, leaving his wife and all the congregation [?] in waiting. The old man was skookum[#] sick but he got so mad that he walked all the way from the Dr's house to his own away up near Ortugul's. Proably he though that we were not any longer his friends and he didn't care if he died in the snow on his way back.

Allen David

The Skookum Dr. says that he gave the old man medicine six times and did the best he could to make him well, but finally got tired. That he didn't want the old man to die. I dont want to kill the old man my brother. Perhaps Dave will think that I want to kill my brother, but I don't want him to think that way. The Modoc Drs. at Yainax say that I made the old man sick but they lie. I think they are mad at me because Dave Hill—my tillicom[**]—fought their friends and got pay for it from the soldiers and they think that they will get me into trouble and get Mr. Dyar to punish me. I have tried a long time to cure the old man until I am hias[††] tired but can't cure him. He is skookum sick. Sometimes the Boston[‡‡] Drs do the best they can but their patients get worse and become very sick, and it is the same way with me and the old man. At the time Solomon was sick the Inds. came near making me wild until Mr Dyar came down and gave me a good heart. He has also given me blankets axes and cow, and I have thrown away that old cultus tumtum[§§]

Skookum Dr.

---

[*] Worthless
[†] Henry Jackson
[‡] Heart, here intention
[§] Big
[‖] Make strong law, prosecute
[#] "Powerful," very
[**] Fellow, relative, band member
[††] Here, very
[‡‡] American
[§§] Worthless view

MORE FROM ALLEN DAVID

After we had had our talk at the Agency I sent word for all the people to come to my house to talk about these things, and see who would agree to listen to what Dave, Tecumseh and I had said, and who would get our hearts and who would not. I told them to come on Sunday the Lord's day and we would all the same as mammook 539

539 church,[*] we would make good hearts and the Lord would mammook close nanich[†] us on his day. So some Yainax Inds.—Brown Mosenkosket and some Modocs, some Lake Inds. some Chiloquin's people and some of all the Inds. came. Chikaskane first spoke and said that at first he had a bad heart. That the chiefs first listened to the Agents and got their hearts; that they had put him in the guard house which was right, and Mr Dyar was also right for he was in the wrong and all the same as said to the Chiefs & Mr. Dyar, 'here, you mammook law[‡] on me'. Their hearts were all right while I was wrong and deserved what I got. Now I throw away all that old bad heart.

I—Allen David—first got a close tumtum[§] and throwd away all cultus[||] things and then Dave came to the same conclusion. He said yes, I'll not whip my wife any more, nor gamble, nor shoot myself but will live like a white man. Now all the following persons have come to a skookum tumtum[¶] to do the same, and are going to help me, viz Chek-askane—Brown Mosenkosket—Frank—George (Tecumseh's tilacom)[**] Bob (Williams R.) Allie—Chas. Brown—Bob (Allen David's) Audly—Yatchoos—Ben (Long Johns Bro) Dawish—Chilowis (Jacks tilacom) Say May—Tobakelly—Oder—Captain's Bob—Bill (Bobs Bro.) Jim Heart.

Jim Heart said now I will quit lying, gambling and every such bad thing. My father is a Doctor but I say all right suppose you mammook law on the Doctors. They don't want to mammook hias copa nisika,[††] but the chiefs want to do that—they want to raise us up. I have been afraid of the Doctors and I have paid them nearly all that I had

Tobakelly said—'At first I didn't want to listen to these things, didn't want to get a close tumtum. Didn't want to go to the law house, but wanted to elip[‡‡] the chiefs. Now I throw that away. All the young men want to get Dave's tumtum and I say yes. Mr Dyar has stopped gambling and I say all right. I want to help the chiefs and Dave.

Allie said, Now Dave and My Brother Tecumseh has gone all the same as chaco halo.[§§] They always listened to Mr Dyar and always conducted themselves properly, but I didn't always get their tumtum. If I had I should not have been punished by the chiefs. Now I think I will all the same as take their place and help Mr Dyar and the chiefs. I have a good wagon and ride in Tecumseh's sleigh. I look after Tecumseh's horses and other property. I don't want to be lawed any more, and think if I always behave myself, shall not be as I was a short time ago when I paid a horse when Blows wife lied about me. I didn't do what she said I did but I thought best to pay the horse and stop the talk, but if I never give occasion for such things, they will probably never come.

[15] Now Allie sends this to Tecumseh. At the time you started I was

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sick and I got rapidly worse I called Susie and Alex Wilson and they 539
both said I should die. Then I went to Chiloquins to see Modoc 75
Doctors and they told me that I was very sick. I got frightened and sent for Jennie. The Doctors told me that she made me sick. She came and helped my throat but not my chest. I have paid the Doctors a good many things. Paid Jennie a Blanket. Finally thought—I was going to die; thought that I would send word to Tecumseh not to feel bad about it. I have made up my mind that if he dies before he gets back I will bear it the best I can, and I thot I wanted him do [sic] do the same.

Night before last Jennie told me now I kilipie[‖‖] all my poison and you will get sick no more. Now I cure you. If I am not sick tonight I shall think that she has cured me.

Allie

[*] Hold church
[†] Take good care of
[‡] Make law, here prosecute
[§] Good heart
[‖] Worthless
[¶] Firm intention
[**] Relative or fellow band-member
[††] Make us great
[‡‡] Get the better of
[§§] Vanish
[‖‖] Reverse

WILLIAMS RIVER BOB SAYS,

Now Mr Dyar writes this letter for us and I think you will see it. 539
We are getting allong [sic] first rate. I am trying to help Mr Dyar and Allen David and remember what Dave & Tecumseh told us. I close nanich Tecumseh's boys. We all the same as live in a big corrall [sic] but don't want to jump over the fence. You must not think that we will get cultus while you are gone, on the contrary we are trying to keep your tum tum, and are getting along first rate.

Bob

ALLEN DAVID SAYS

Bliwas Lackie[*] you first made me chief and told me that you would try and get a salary paid to me. You wrote to the Tyee about it several times and then told me that he said he could not pay me. I then got Mr Dyar to try with the same result. Then I said I would quit. Now Mr. Dyar wants me to continue as Sub Chief, and I have concluded to do so. Now I want you to see what can be done about getting pay for me while you are in Washington. I was not here when you left or I would have spoken to you about it.

NOW TO DAVE AND TECUMSEH AGAIN

539 [829] Ninteen [sic] of the young men have determined to renounce their old Indian ways and do as you have advised them to do, and as I have wanted them to do, and as fast as others come to the same determination I will let you know. Now, whatever you learn about other Indians that you may see I want to you to let me know about it, whether [sic] it be anything good or bad, and you can tell others how we are getting along here. You can tell all the Inds., you see that the above no of Klamath Inds. have determined to throw away all bad things and live as white men should. If the Tyee at Washington tells you or Oliver what he know about us or any other Inds that he don't like—that he thinks is cultus—I want you to write me about it I want to know all about these things.

We are getting flour from the Mill, also Beef this winter and we [434] are very well satisfied about it. We have the Sawmill to help us get some money, and we are having help from the Flour Mill and some beef; and things are getting about straight. Now I feel strong to punish those that do wrong, because there are so many young men now to help Mr. Dyar Blow and myself. Now all we lack is some good sleighs that we may ride around like white men in winter, like we do in our wagons in summer. Now we are going to plow make rails &c this spring, and by and by I will let you know how we are getting along. A[l]so by and by I will let you know about the hay on the flat above the Agency. I understand that you are to tell the Hias Tyee how we used to live here and how we are doing now. After you have done this I want you to let me know all about it, Just what he thinks. Don't be afraid to tell us all his heart, for I'll not get afraid, nor run away. You know that bad men are trying to get our lands and are lying to the President. Now if I were there I would talk the whole truth to him and would not chaco tenas tumtum[†] at whatever he might say or do. I want you to do the same. Don't be afraid of him, but tell him all about these things. Tell him that we all, both Whites and Inds. have *one* Father in Heaven that we are made alike, we all have hands, feet and bodies alike, and we all have minds; In fact are brothers; and nowhere do I learn that any of us have any right to take wrongfully or by force from another any of the lands which our common Father has made for *all* his children.

I told Mr. Meacham when he was Supt. that if the Snakes or Modocs or any other Inds. were to become bad and fight the whites I would not help them. That I wanted to stay at home and keep everything straight on the reservation. We have hias heavy ictas[‡] here now, and I want to close nanich[§] these. When Capt. Jack commenced to fight I told all my people not to go there to help Jack. I was also opposed

to their going to help kill Jack's people, but thought it best for my p[e]ople to stay at home and keep quiet; but the soldiers wanted Dave and some more to go and I gave my consent. Mr. Meacham told me the truth at first when he told me that after awhile I should see a Saw Mill—Flour Mill—Cattle, Wagons Harness &c. Now I see them, and I am very well pleased. Mr. Meacham told me that suppose we had a good Agent he would give us these things. Now Mr. Dyar has carried out his promise, and we have them.

The most of us are determined to use the advantages we have. Mr Dyar gave us a good many axes and we are making rails. This season we mean to build fences and improve our places on Williamsons River. We intend to haul a great deal of lumber from the Mill down there also for that purpose.

We are intending to put up a building that will do for a church and courthouse if possible this year. I am not like the Snakes who get mad and kill each other, but am very anxious to bring my people up to a condition where there will be no such bad actions.

Yours Truly A. David

* I.e. O. C. Applegate
† Become discouraged
‡ Very substantial goods
§ Take good care of

NOW ALLIE SAYS

Dave, Tecumseh and Oliver you sent me word to make the matter of the Buckskin Shirt straight by paying a horse, and then let you know by letter I have paid her a horse as you suggested Tecumseh knows the horse. It is the roan mare that George has had so long.

Yours Affately
Allie

DEAR OLIVER

I intended when I commenced this to copy it in ink and smooth it off a little as I have written it down very hastily as they have dictated, but it has run out to such a leangth [sic] that the task seems too great, and I'll sent it just as it is.

You will wonder at what is said about Ind. Doctors but I am taking a new turn on them which I have not time to explain now. Don't know how it will succeed.

Ivan has just returned home with his family from a visit to the Agency & Fort.

Yours Truly
L. S. Dyar

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

March 24, 1875

539 TECUMSEH

DEAR BROTHER

I write to let you know that George's little babe is dead and will be buried today. George says that he don't want you to get a sick [964] (177) tumtum about it. That he thinks it is all right. That he is going to do as White men do–that is–bury it decently, with one blanket–some white sal*–and a nice white shirt only, in the coffin. He wants you to be contented and happy, as he, and all of his people are.

Allie

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* Cloth

869 778 hear about these spots first in stories. Later the parents point out the sacred sites as they pass by them. Many of the places are referred to as "doctor rocks." Children are warned never to run or play near them lest they should fall and become crippled.

869 756 Klamath religion is very closely associated with shamanism[17] so that most of the religious attitudes acquired are directed toward shamans. Shamans are the most important, powerful, and feared individuals in the tribe. Small children are warned never to bother one, but to run and hide whenever a shaman appears, or he may cause sickness. Children are told, "There's a doctor; don't run in front of him, or he'll trip you. Don't ever look at him when he is smoking." Even the shaman's own children fear him.

861 Obedience is achieved by parents in a number of ways. They frequently scold erring children, small ones being perhaps most often threatened with some supernatural punishment for misbehavior. Whippings are not rare, but are probably never severe. A child is switched across his hands or the back of his legs with a willow switch, or the child's hair or ears are pulled. Corporal punishment is seldom resorted to unless the child has made the same mistake several times and has not heeded scoldings.

861 776 775 [539] Obedience is also achieved by instilling in the child a fear of ghosts, spirits, and other supernatural beings who kidnap bad children. Owl is the most potent supernatural threat, feared by child and adult alike. When a child cries at night or is naughty, his parents threaten, "Owl will come to pluck out your eyes or carry you off to a cave." If the child fails to heed the warning at first, the parents call, "Owl, come listen to this child." The effectiveness of the threat is increased by the child's knowledge of the story about a baby who was carried off by an owl to a cave near Modoc Point. The baby gradually sprouted feathers and turned into an owl. Bear and Coyote are similarly used to silence a crying child.

In the same way children are warned about ghosts who might snatch them away from the camp unless they are good.[18] Ghosts hover about the camp constantly and are especially dangerous to little ones. For that reason children are never allowed out after sundown unless accompanied by an adult. The child is told to turn his left side and raise his left arm to a ghost if he ever sees one; only in this manner can sickness be avoided.

784 775 Since ghosts constitute such a peril, children must never go near the cremation grounds where they might contract a ghost sickness, which can be cured only by a powerful shaman. Children never attend funerals, nor are they allowed to cross the path over which a corpse has been carried.

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[17] A thorough discussion of Klamath shamanism appears, ibid., pp. 93-138.

[18] Ghosts are described in Voegelin, elements 4655-4706.

7: Gatschet NR10 Klamath NR10

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[For the texts of Klamath myths and songs, see category 116, pp. 16-33, 58-125, 129-172, 176-185 and 187-197.]

823 as poetical, that the Earth is our common mother. "She is dealing out her bountiful gifts to her children, the human beings, without envy or restraint, in the shape of corn, fruits, and esculent roots. Her eyes are the lakes and ponds disseminated over the green surface of the plains, her breasts are the hills and hillocks; and the rivulets and brooks irrigating the valleys are the milk flowing from her breasts." This is the poetical imagery in use among the Eastern Indians when the Earth is mentioned to them.* The idea that earthquakes and unaccountable tremors or noises within the body of the earth, also the malarial fevers, are the utterances of threat or displeasure at the misdoings of mankind, is as general among Indians as among other nations, and a consequence of the animistic tendency of primitive nations. The Indian prophet Smúχale at Priest Rapids, on Middle Columbia River, and his numerous followers, called the "Dreamers," from the implicit faith these Sahaptin sectarians place in dreams, dissuade their adherents from tilling the ground, as the white man does; "for it is a sin to wound or cut, tear up or scratch our common mother by agricultural pursuits; she will revenge herself on the whites and on the Indians following their example by opening her bosom and engulfing such malefactors for their misdeeds." This advice was probably caused by the common observation that ground recently broken up exhales miasmas deleterious to all people dwelling near.

[193] That the Earth was regarded as an animate if not personified being is
shown by the form käílash of the objective case (125, 1), this case being
[821] formed in -ash only in terms applied to man and quadrupeds. Their myth
of the earth's creation of course does not refer to the whole globe, but only
to the small part of North America known to these Indians. The earth's
interior is also the home of the Thunders, because lightnings are often
observed to shoot up from the earth into the skies.

[539] Special songs referring to the Earth are contained in 175; 16: käíla nû shuinálla; 176; 3 käíla ai nû wálta; 158; 48 käílanti nû shílshila—

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* After Tecumseh had delivered a speech to Governor Harrison at Vincennes, in 1811, he was offered a chair by the interpreter, who said to him: "Your father requests you to take a chair." To this Tecumseh made, with great dignity of expression, an answer which has since become classical: "*The sun is my father, and the earth is my mother; and on her bosom will I repose,*" and immediately seated himself, in the Indian manner, upon the ground.

823 the two latter alluding to rumblings below the earth's surface. In the song 539 192; 3 the term hämóla should be changed to t'hämóla, temóla, *was covered with haze* or *mist*, a phenomenon often producing malarial and other fevers, and therefore regarded by these Indians as of bad augury. Other passages mentioning the Earth, personified or not, are quoted in Dictionary, p. 123; in one of these, K'múkamtch is threatening to "whirl the earth around" in a dance, and probably this song forms part of some mythic story. (Texts, pg. 192; 9.)

MUNATÁLKNI.

773 776 Besides the Earth there is another chthonic deity known to the Klamath people, Munatálkni or the Genius of the Underworld. I have met his name in one story only, which is that of the creation and first sojourn of the people around Wood River, between Fort Klamath and the Upper Klamath Lake. English-speaking Indians readily identify him with our *devil;* but no wicked or immoral qualities are ascribed to him, as morals enter into the religious ideas of the hunter tribes but sporadically. There is something of the aboriginal in him, and he is also called Lĕmunákni, the signification of both names being analogous.

He appears in the following tale: When K'múkamtch created this world, he made one man, and one woman intended to be the man's sister. The creator placed them in a garden (háshuash) studded with trees producing sweet fruits and built a house for them. The adjoining stable contained domestic animals for their use. All this was upon the prairie watered by Wood River. Man and woman were both blind, and had to remain so until the fruits would be ripe. K'múkamtch told them he would visit them on a Sunday and would knock at the top of their house. Should anybody knock at the door, the knocks would be those of Munatálkni and they must not open. Munatálkni came and knocked at the door, informing them that the fruits were ripe and that he brought them all kinds of berries. The woman said to the man: "Open the door, K'múkamtch is here!" but the man said: "Don't open; it is not K'múkamtch who stands at the door!" The woman opened; Munatálkni put one sweet berry in her mouth and she tasted it. He was wearing a long head-dress of feathers tied to the top of his hair, his emblem as conjurer, and this string of feathers was so long as

PRESENT MODE OF INHUMATION.

GIVEN BY MINNIE FROBEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

539. 764 177 [115]

Hishuákshash snawédshash gíntak k̲'lē'ksht tchúi sha hû'nk bóxtka
Male or female upon having died then they (him or her) in a coffin
ísha húnkantka waítashtka ámpka waitólank tchísh. Pápkashti shû'tank
bury on the same day or one day past also. Of lumber they are making
box, shnutchlû'ktagiank k̲áyak tadsh tálakank Bóshtinam-shítko. Pú-
a coffin, planing (it). not however they are painting (it) in the American shape. Small
pakuak gí'ntak a sha nánuktua ílχóta, shulótish gíntak, kmā' tchí'sh,
drinking-cups thereupon they of every kind (him), bury with clothing hereupon, skull-caps too,
yámnash tchísh, tálatoks k̲á-i. Hä' nen wä'g'n kä'git, wátchatka sha hû'nk
beads too, but money not. If a wagon is not on hand, on horses they them
énank í'lχtcha. Tû'mi shashā'moks ílksχē'ni shash, túmi wéwanuish
carrying out bury. Many relatives to the grave them, many women
tchí'sh, hihassuáksh tchí'sh, k̲á-i tatáksni, gasháktsina shash ílksχē'ni.
too, men also, (but) no children, follow them to grave.
Ílksgish yépontk tû'nep nádshgshapt pē'tch atí gintégatk.
The graves are dug five (or) six feet deep into the ground going.

Wä'g'n a lû'pi géna ílksχēni, sháshamoks tchí'k kí'nshaksna; hû'd-
The wagon first goes to the grave, relatives hereupon walk in file; those
shatoks atíkni gátpa, wátchatka gátpa. Ilkshχē'ni a sha shnúka nē'p
who from afar come, on horses come. At the grave they seize by the hand
k̲'lākápkash, a tchíks hû'nk unégank kélua käfla ílχuk, tánktak tchiksh
the deceased, then him lowering fill up the earth to bury (him), simultaneously also
a hû'nk luátpishluk shúina. Gakiámnank tû'k sha tχálamtana gû''hliank
over him for mourning they sing. Forming a circle from it they through the middle passing
shnû'ka stélapksh nē'p, lupí'tal tchík sha gékampēle; télishtoks wudámatko
shake (his) right hand, to the first place then they return; (his) face is covered
handkerchipátka: "Tchá shék̲ug mí'sh nû shnúka nē'p; tchá at tchí' m'sh
by a handkerchief: "Now to bid good bye to you I shake (seize) hand; now thus to you
nû shék̲a gēn waítash; géna mí at hukí'sh!"
I bid farewell this day; gone is your spirit!"

Títatnatoks flags mák̲laks kí'utchna ílksχēni wä'ginat; shashámoksh
Sometimes flags an Indian sticks up at the grave on the wagon; the relatives
láp kí'mbaks gasháktchna, wéwanuish násh kí'mbaks, híhashuaksh tchí'sh
in two files follow, the women in one file, the males too

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539
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"reptile," "amphibian" or "plant." Even the English language had to borrow these terms from Latin. The Klamath Lakes often use kō'sh (pine) generically for "tree," and wishink, "garter snake" for "snake," the Modocs wáměnigsh (black snake) for the same order of reptiles, these species being the most frequent of their kind in their respective countries. Birds are hohánkankatk as well as quadrupeds, because they fly "in a straight line".

539
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824
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ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES.

LIST OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN AND MINNIE FROBEN.

Yántch kálkali, tχópo-pátpan, pakí'sh; kak tán: 18"; käílatat lû'sha,
cylindric, thumb so large as, eatable; so long: 18"; on ground it lies,
ktaíyatat lushá. Shláps pushpúshli, lā'pi shlápsh.
on rocks it lies. The flowers (are) dark, two flowers (to it).

Kápiunksăm k̲édsha saígatat; lû'k pûpashpúsh-tkani, lúiχitk tchí'pshash.
grows in the pra'rie; the seeds (are) blackish, larger than tchípash.

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Wéwanuish hûnk shtä'ila wékank yákitka páta-gíulshēmi. Pék-
The women gather (it) by beating (it) into seed-baskets at summer's end. By
shank sha hû'nk gápiunks shúta; tchilála sha títatna. Wû'kash-
grinding they kápiunks prepare; boil (it) they sometimes. Wókash-
shitk máshetk kápiunks.
like tastes kápiunks.

Káshma k̲édsa walídsat, käílatat ushá; pálpal shlápsh, tsmō'k pi'luitk.
grows on rock cliffs, on the ground lies; white (is) flower, after fish smelling.

Kělátch k̲édsha wí-ukayant kělädshamat; kělädsh ntchekáni mämätch-
grows on the low kelädsh-bushes; keládsh-berry small blue
mä'tchli lálkaya. Wéwanuish kělädshla wâkslólank; shpahá sha
grow on bushes. The females collect (it) after wókash-season; dry (it) they
tchúi ishkû'lank, í'lχa sha shpáhank í'lkshlûk lúldam, tchilálank
then after gathering, keep they (it) by drying to preserve (it) for winter, boiling (it)
tchēk sha pán.
then they eat (it).

Kěnáwot k̲édsha saígatat, tsélas ka tánni 1', pakí'sh; p'lái shláps pushpúshli,
grows on prairie, stalk so long 1', eatable; on top the flower is dark,
tídsh piluítko.
good smelling.

Klána pálpalish shlápshaltk p'laí, k̲édsha k̲ók̲etat, pákish, tíds másitk; má-
a white flower having on top, grows in rivers, is eatable, well tasting; the
k̲laks pán.
Indians eat (it).

9: Barker

NR10 Klamath NR10

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[For the native text and translation of Klamath myths, see category 116, pp. 6-21, 24-117, and 126-185.]

Weasel: Male, Age 29

Background Data

In contrast to all other subjects Weasel's role in the reservation community 159*
is a totally negative, destructive one, largely that of a supposedly vicious [156]
criminal. He was born and raised on an economically un-productive ranch, which
for twenty years or more has been the location of continuous drinking parties.
Weasel was raised within a circle of a pack of older brothers, half-brothers, [593]
and step brothers, all of whom were bigger, stronger, and more capable than he. [733]
His father has been an alcoholic for thirty years and has rarely worked or con-
tributed much to the organization of the family, which as a co-residential [592]
household usually included more than a dozen persons. In all, Weasel had 17
full and part siblings, half of whom are now deceased, three directly as a re- [165]
sult of drinking, three from acts of violence or car accidents.

Weasel's formal education ceased when he was 15, in the ninth grade, at which [871]
time he was arrested on a burglary charge. Since then he has spent six years
in reformatories or penal institutions. He was tested while in jail on an [674]
assault charge. Shortly thereafter he was found not-guilty, then re-arrested [697]
and sentenced on a different assault with a deadly weapon charge to three years
in the state penitentiary.

Weasel has repeatedly moved out of the circle of the family group, only to
fail "outside" and return to its sheltering arms. For a time Weasel was a
professional boxer, but one without much skill or stamina. He never won a fight [542]*
and his face shows the evidence of the capabilities of his opponents. His
membership in this profession did not last long, and Weasel states, rather
proudly, that the Boxing Commission expelled him "For conduct unbecoming a
professional boxer." Weasel was once married (a common-law marriage, which [588]
for Weasel's primary reference groups is well sanctioned) but this lasted just
16 weeks. During this period Weasel stayed sober, the longest time he has spent [581]
without a drink since the age of 12. Weasel was consciously trying to reform [733]
himself, but now feels that he was a fool to ever try. Additionally, Weasel
has repeatedly made a circuit of nearby towns and cities either singly or in [156]
the company of a brother or friend. These visitations have more of the charac- [579]
ter of raids than anything else, and Weasel is usually arrested in one or a-
nother place and either charged or shipped out of town. [697]

In addition to being a minor criminal Weasel is frequently also the scapegoat 159*
for the aggressions of stronger men than he. He constantly asks for trouble,
but has never given any evidence that he can back of his threats with appro- 156
priate force. His successful acts of aggression have always been sneak attacks, [186]
or attacks on feeble old men or young boys. He seldom attempts to avoid the
consequences of these actions, and, indeed, is frequently not able to do so, because of his extreme drunken condition. He seems to obtain some gratification from the minor prestige afforded his performances in these roles, but this gratification is highly personalized and is not recognized as appropriate by others. It may be that he has been attempting to build up his standing and reputation within his own circle by acting out the role of a "dangerous Indian," but it would seem that he has been singularly unsuccessful in this. One aspect of this behavior is his reputed skill with a knife. On two occasions he wanted to obtain vocational training, once as a barber, the other time as a butcher, both times implying that this would be a simple extension of his native talent.

1870, demanding that whites living with Indian women and 657*
fathering children upon them be required to marry them or that 648*
the women be sent back and punished by law.[6] 563

The previous year, the Agent responsible for Indians in the vicinity of Jacksonville had reported a total of 60 Indians, 28 of them Klamath or Modoc, comprising Indian women living in casual unions with whites, together with their children. "The head quarters of the persons keeping these women," he continued, "is at Kanaka Flat about two (2) miles from this town.
At that point there is an establishment called a 'Dance House' [547] •
where whiskey is sold and where women are plied with liquor and debauched in the most shameless manner." He advocated removing the women to their reservations, and this was subsequently done.[7]

As time went on, however, a small but growing number of stable marriages appeared in the areas fringing the reservation; and others, contracted about the same period, later came to light in more distant regions in the course of allotting tribal members.
One such marriage was that of the Kentuckian, Frank Riddle, 648*
and Winema, the Modoc heroine of the war between her people 657*
and the whites. To judge from Meacham, who in turn quotes an 563
informant—perhaps O. C. Applegate, who knew the family well 177
—Winema was an early advocate for the acceptance of the new ways she herself had adopted.

> "In the evening you would see the women and men gather around Wi-ne-ma while she told them of the wonderful things she had seen among the white people, of their manners and social customs; of the laws and rules of life; of their way of making law; making machinery, its uses, &c. For hours they would listen while she talked, and to her, much of the advancement of the Indians at Klamath and Yai-nax may be attributed."[8]

Clearly, along with other features there were qualities of self-enhancement in her new role.

Few mixed couples even tried to remain on the reservation. 657*
The official and lay attitude was disdainful of "squaw men," and 648*
they in turn must have been reluctant to subject themselves to 563
the minute regulations of Agency life and the limited economic 167
opportunities there. Too, they may have found the kinsmen of their wives both abundant and demanding. For their part, the wives may have been eager to reach beyond the limited oppor-

881 head; pollen on head. Legs, torso painted; white paint blown on with mouth; pollen blown on. Painting done by self; from own paint box. Painting before eating only. Tattooing. Nose pierced. Tattooing so girl can touch fire. Thighs, arms, breasts cut. Shell skirt for eating. Sage leggings. Chest band. Labret. Nose feather. Girl ducked in water during ceremonial bath. Belt, anklets, wristlets buried. Girl given new name.

Public rites (major or night dance): Given for group of selected girls. Poor girls excluded. Several girls together, only 1 menstruating. Dancers mill around menstruant. Men hold to wall. Dancers file out of house after each dance. Given during fixed season. Coincides with boys' initiation. Given in ceremonial enclosure. Conducted by chief, priest, clan. Single split-stick rattle. Deer-hoof headband. Deer-hoof anklets. Deer hoofs on moccasins. Cocoon, gourd, tortoise shell, pottery rattles. Masks worn. Attendants wear woolen fringed headdress; woolen fringed rattles. Male participants wear haliotis-rim horns; blind. Women paint face white; all colors. Sand paintings. Tobacco eaten. Haliotis gazing.

841 *General menstrual customs*.--Woman confined in penthouse against dwelling. Head, face covered when going outside. Bathes daily. Bathing optional.

Marriage

58 Service for bride: children belong to mother's family. Sororate obviated if children, payment rendered. Polyandry: lovers in separate towns. Marriage of man to first cousins, cross or parallel; to mother's sister. Mother-in-law, son-in-law taboos temporary, for newlyweds only; temporary up to first child; optional. Father-in-law, son-in-law taboos. Mother-in-law, daughter-in-law taboos. Husband punished for adultery by being fined, before wife will return. Woman's family pays husband fine for constructive adultery by woman. Repayment of bride price in event of divorce depends on number of children. Intercourse taboo inside dwelling. Lie on side to
548 prevent twins. Prostitution with compensation
684 to woman. Unchaste girl killed. Unmarried pregnant girl killed. Man fined for seduction.

Death

764 *Treatment of corpse; taboos*.--Body removed from house prior to death. Removed from house through roof; feet first; throw-out or animal after corpse; body carried on plank. Undertakers of opposite moiety; priest; shaman; chosen by chief; paid; gifts; one a scapegoat. Corpse's nose, ears pierced. Body buried with head uphill, upstream, downstream. Cremation for shamans especially. Pyre over pit. Urn burial. Any form scaffold burial. Undertaker(s) visit grave nightly; build fire at grave; put food out for ghost; wear brush on head. Widow's hair cut-

000 that woman; he acts just like a boss toward her."

3975. WT: Also, in Upper Trinity subarea of Wintu, informant had heard of 1 instance of mother-in-law killing daughter-in-law after husband died. "The mother-in-law didn't want that woman to take another husband, so she killed her with a bone needle [dagger?]. She was sorry after she did it; but she didn't like the woman having another husband who would look just like her son; it would make her [mother-in-law] feel badly."

[587] 3976. In case there is no brother-in-law to ask.

3977. If there is no brother-in-law to receive the payment. AW: Sister-in-law may dispose of widow to more-distant male relative of dead husband also.

3980. SW: A divorce "puts a man and woman clear away from each other"; no payment rendered former husband.

562 3981. Kl: If man does not like his wife for
587 some reason, he announces, "Anyone who wants my wife can take her, if they give me something. If
593 you people don't want her, I'll kill her." The men discuss it; husband repeats the announcement, sets date when he will kill woman; some man finally takes her for wife, gives the husband something; "that's how they save a woman, sometimes." No one knows what trouble between husband and wife prompts man to do this, and man never tells; he doesn't beat his wife, he just sells her. Only done occasionally; when informant was boy such sales still taking place; informant had seen one couple separated this way. Woman not captive.

000 Intercourse; promiscuity.--

3984. NF: Girl cries, fights husband, so girl's mother sleeps beside girl first night latter sleeps with husband.

3985. NF: Do not allow people to sleep lying on back "like dead people"; lie on side and "put their heart in hiding" so no evil will befall sleepers.

[152] 3987. Purse lips and make sound, "ŏk, ŏk,"
[192] repeatedly, close to baby's face. AW: Rub hands over baby's face or neck while making sound; same done between adults. AE: "Learned to make this sound from animals--badger, raccoon."

3988. SE: No virginity tests, but observe boy's actions around girls. AE: If girl's, boy's legs get "heavy" (tired) during girl's puberty dance, sign he or she is not virgin. Spectators watch to see whether this happens. WT: Can tell whether girl is virgin or not by shape of her abdomen, if firm, smooth, judge she is.

[548] 3989. Kl: Prostitution with payment recent
[178] custom only.

3990. WM: Especially at girl's puberty dance.

836 3991. Kl: Said to have been extremely rare; "girls never ran around; pretty hard to get a woman." Girl's parents wanted girl to marry man who could get her lots of fish, so she would eat

six short loops on each side. A carrying band goes over the mother's forehead. 854

Frontal flattening is customary but not universal. No reason is given. Hrdlička was informed "that the Klamath regard a long head, i.e., a non-deformed head, with derision. They say it is slave-like, that their slaves had such, and that a man with such a head is not fit to be a great man in the tribe. Deformed heads are called 'good heads.' "[33] A buckskin sack, somewhat larger than the forehead, stuffed with dry cat-tail down, is tied to holes in the cradle. Hrdlička was told that this was filled with seeds, such as water-lily seeds. This lies across the forehead but is not tied so tightly that the child cannot turn his head. Pressure is begun at birth and continued as long as the child continues in the cradle. According to my informant's representation the Molala flatten foreheads, some Pit River Indians do, while the Upland Takelma do not practice deformation of any sort. 856 [114] [171]*

The cradle receives ornaments symbolic of the child's future, in the shape of a tiny digging stick for a girl and a bow and arrow for a boy, tied to the edge of the board. Possibly they have more than ornamental significance. These are no longer than the finger; the single arrow is as long as the bow. These are tied to the proper side of the board; the bow and arrow to the child's left, for a man holds his bow in that hand, the root digger to the right.

Use of the cradle continues until the child can walk well. It is not discarded but kept for the use of another baby, unless the child dies, when it is burned with his body. [766]

NAMES

The name is usually given in early infancy; always by the time the child talks. It is the choice of the parents, given without ceremony. Sometimes it is changed in later life, but there is no set occasion for this. Seemingly names change less frequently than their nickname character would give opportunity for. Perhaps these are always additional names, for I learned of several men known by more than one name; perhaps this holds as true for women as men. But it was said that the first name (hlcwa'ska) is the most important. 553

There is considerable reluctance to the use of names, kinship terms being substituted. This does not mean that there is a taboo; merely 551 they do not like to name their own relatives now dead nor tell each other's appellations. On the other hand there was no hesitancy where reference was to things of the past. Children do not bear the names of dead relatives. As with most Indians, naming another's dead relative is the common curse.

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[33] Head Deformation Among the Klamath.

Most names are of the nickname type, given for personal characteristics such as appearance, gait, actions, habits. A few are named for their birthplaces, for birds and animals, or for some circumstance connected with themselves. Children may also be named for spirits; for instance, a little girl is named Sodö'tki for a woman spirit. Several men bear names of mythical characters, but given as nicknames.

The following names are those for which I was given a meaning:

Males

K!okla'ndjamks, refers to its bearer's big knees.

K!ök!a'as, great blue heron (a shaman's name).

Löpa'ktcis, he rolls when walking.

Notçọ'ks, curled (as by singeing); given to a man as a curly-haired child.

Ta!lnitpaks (meaning unknown), given this man as a baby; he is also called P!asai'wöks, big eater, because he was voracious as a boy.

K!ömö's and Skẹ'lag, named respectively for the culture hero Kεmü'kümps and Skëlöm, marten, a similar trickster-hero of the myths. Both names were given because their bearers are liars—which gives some insight into their idea of the tricksters.[43] The man who bears the opprobrious name Skelag is more commonly called Ya'tcus (meaning unknown).

Lεle'ks, spotted, the chief named for the piebald horses he introduced to the Klamath, according to my informant and Gatschet's. My best informant denied that the name has this meaning, however. Gatschet gives a second name for him, Shmókaltko, bearded, for the little beard he wore.[44]

Kεp!ētihas, short (?), the native name of the chief Tci'lokịn, who was short. Tci'lokin is a name given by some northern tribe. One informant derived it from errors in his pronounciation, substituting Ilns in words, as another man "might put *gi?* in every word," but just what these substitutions are is anything but clear.

Females

Blaia'kni, so-called because one of the blai'kni, uplanders, of upper Sprague river; a shaman.

Ha'ntaklötk, wide open, because she has a big mouth. Similarly she is called literally Mu'asomgitk, mouth big.

Kokö'pli hole (kûpkûp), because she had small sunken eyes when a child. This is the only name my informant has ever had.

Lime'lak, mule colt, because the woman is strong and can carry heavy loads.

---

[43] "To act like Skë'lamtch is to do something not meaning to do it apparently. . . . . In speaking of somebody who acts on the sly, and differently from what he proposes and means to do, the Klamath Lake people will say, 'He acts like Skélamtch' " (Gatschet, 1:cii, 115).

[44] *Op. cit.*, 2:335.

551

Mā'ōka, crying. This is given to children of both sexes but I recorded it as a woman's name.

Pēpe'tcwa, to put feet (pēte) in water, because she had done so, my informant surmised.

Wọkoi'ikōvks, leaning over, because this old woman as a child walked leaning to one side.

Yatco'ksōp (a shaman), the mother (p'ki'sōp) of a man named Yatco's.

Another woman is called "greasy" but I failed to get the native word.

STATUS AND KINSHIP TERMS

Age Classification Terms

561

A series of terms are in current use to designate individuals at the various stages of their careers. Unlike kinship terms, these are not used in direct address except for an occasional usage like "old man." They are descriptive of status, as much as the term lō'ki, chief. There are exact equivalents for boys and girls, men and women. The outstanding features of the classification are: infants are sexless; thereafter discriminations turn on puberty, marriage, parenthood, bereavement, and old age. The curious category of a parent who has lost a child by death has real social significance. Like the loss of a spouse, the death of a child calls for a protracted period of mourning with special restrictions of conduct and is made the occasion of a vision quest. This is, of course, exactly comparable to our own bereavement within the immediate family but the idea of a terminological distinction is foreign to our thought. All the other distinctions have their counterpart among ourselves and are perhaps common to all mankind.

561
562

	Male[85]		*Female*
Newborn baby		mukak[86]	
Baby still at the breast		muks	
Child of two years to puberty	tcia'ki		ni'ṣḳak
At puberty	wa'kōntk		stc'pwitk (lit., menstruant)
Youth after puberty	tcil'loyak[87], or		siwa'k
Bachelor, spinster	tcil'lwis		si'ubmpts
Young woman			tcina[88]
Newly married	ṣḳa'bōks[89]		ṣḳa'bōkak

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[85] Compare Gatschet, 2:140, 469, 509, 518, 560, 571, 602, 615, 697, 698.

[86] Diminutive of the following.

[87] Gatschet says before puberty.

[88] Forms from Gatschet: cf. my informants' tic'niwas, a woman living with her husband's family.

[89] On another occasion given me as the term *for* a woman in matrilocal residence.

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Naming																
553 3306. Child named at, soon after, birth	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	•+	-	-	•.	-
3307. Child named up to 6 months after birth	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
3308. Child named after 1 year plus	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
3309. Child named around puberty	-	-	-					+	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
3310. Named by father	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+
3311. Named by mother	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+
3312. Girl baby named by mother's mother	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	.	-
3313. Boy baby named by father's father	+	+	+	+			+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	.	-
3314. Child named by any near relative	+	+	-	•-				+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-
3315. Child named by relative or nonrelative	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
551 3316. Names meaningful	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+
3317. Names meaningless	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	.	+
3318. Names duplicated during lifetime 2 people	-	-	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	•+
3319. Name "given away"	-	-	•+							•+	-	-	-	-	.	-
[787] 3320. Names dreamt	-	+	-		+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
3321. Naming after grandparents, other relatives	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	.	+
3322. After death of relative only	-	-	-	+		-	-	+	+	+	-	+	(-)	+	.	-
Mutilations																
304 3323. Ears pierced	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	•+	+
3324. Soon after birth	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
3325. Prepuberty	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	+
3326. Around or after puberty	+	-	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
3327. Obligatory for all boys and girls	-	+	-	•-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3328. Girls only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
3329. Virgins only	-	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3330. Done by older relative	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	•+
3331. Done by skilled person	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	.	+	-
3332. Done by good or "powerful" person	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	•+
3333. To make child good-tempered	-	+	+				+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
3334. For "fun" or style; to display wealth	+	-	+	+						+	-	-	-	+	+	.
3335. For good fortune	-	-	-								+	-	•+	-	-	.
3336. Dance follows	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
3337. Nasal septum pierced	R+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
3338. Soon after birth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
3339. Prepuberty	R+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3340. At or around puberty	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	•+	-	-
3341. Any time	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3342. Men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
3343. Obligatory for all	-	+	+	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3344. All girls only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3345. Done by relative	R+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
3346. Done by skilled person	-	-	-	+	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3347. Done by self	-	-	-					-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3348. Boy: sent on vision quest	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3349. Girl: dance follows								-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
3350. Tattooing	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	R	R	(+)	-	-	-	+
3351. Women: prepuberty	R	+	-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
3352. Women: postpuberty, any time	R	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	R	R	R	(+)	-	-	-	+
3353. Obligatory for woman	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3354. Rare among women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	R	R	+	-	-	-	+
3355. Men: when adult, any time	-	-	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
3356. Done by skilled person, usually woman	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	•R	R	R	.	-	-	-	+
3357. Done by "good" person	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3358. For style only	R	-	+	•+	-	+	+	-	•R	R	R	.	-	-	-	.
[755] 3359. As therapeutic measure	-	-	-						•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3360. To insure longevity	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
764 765 587 4271. Pitch wears off naturally	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
4272. Mourning necklace worn until remarriage	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	°-	-	+	°-
o4273. Approximate no. yrs. before remarriage	°1	°2	°+	1	°2	°1	+	°+	1	°2	°1	-	°3	°3	°3	°2
4274. Indefinite period; shorter for younger women	-	-	-								+	+	+	+	+	+
4275. Older women often do not remarry	+	+	+								·	+	+	+	-	-
764 765 4276. Widower	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
4277. Cuts or burns hair, slightly	+	+	°+	°+	°+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	°+	-	°+
4278. Pitches hair or face, or both	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
†4279. Meat, fish, salt taboo ... days after funeral	56	10	10	5	1	-	1	5	28	-	-	1	-	5	-	-
†4280. Hunting taboo ... days	+	10	10	5	-	+	-	10	+	-	-	1	+	+	-	+
†4281. For ... months	12	-	-	-	-	°3	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	°4
†4282. Fishing taboo ... days	5	10	5	5	-	+	-	10	+	-	-	1	+	+	-	+
†4283. For ... months	-	-	-	-	-	°3	-	-	°3	-	-	-	1	1	-	°4
4284. Gives away all or most of 1st kill.	-	-	+				+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
4285. Cannot "cry" before hunting	+	+	+								·	·	+	·	·	-
[787] †4286. Spends ... nights in mountains	5	°5	10	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	°1	-	-	-	-	-
4287. To obtain vision	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
4288. Piles up rocks	+	+	+	-	-						-	-	-	-	-	-
4289. Gathers or breaks wood	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4290. Sleeps little or none	+	+									+	+	+	-	-	-
[787] 4291. Returns home wailing	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4292. Obtains dream at home, night of funeral		-	+			+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
†4293. Sweats alone daily for ... days after cremation	5	5	-			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4294. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
o4295. Sweats with other mourners ... days after funeral	-	-	°1	5	-	°+	°+	-	2	°+	-	-	-	-	-	-
[304] †4296. Swims ... days after funeral.	-	-	°1	5	1	°+	°+	5	1	°+	-	3	2	5	-	°-
4297. Cuts shoulder	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4298. Children observe taboos for dead parent	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
[787] 4299. Son, daughter cut hair close; slight pitch	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	°+	-	-
4300. Do not seek for power	+	+	-				+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
°4301. Parents observe taboos for child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4302. Cut hair slightly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4303. Pitch on hair or face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
4304. Mother only	+	+	-		+					+	-	-	-	+	+	+
†4305. Meat taboo ... days	5	5	10	5	3	-	1	5	+	-	-	1	-	5	-	-
o4306. For ... months	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[787] 4307. Sweat or bathe	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	°+
4308. Man goes to mountains to seek power	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
°4309. Loss of 1st child before cord drops off entails rigid taboos				°(+)					°(+)		°+	+	+	+	+	°-
4310. Couple give everything away, start anew											+	+	+	+	+	-
4311. Secluded for 1 month													+			-
Taboos on Community																
†4312. Foot travel stopped for ... days	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	4	°5	5	-	+
4313. Until burial of corpse	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	+	-	-	-	+
[551] 4314. Uttering name of dead taboo	+	°+	+	+	-	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4315. Indefinitely	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
4316. Until formally regiven	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	(+)	-	-
4317. Only in presence of kin	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4318. Compensation to kin for uttering in presence	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	+	–	764
•4319. If no compensation paid, fight starts	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	+	–	765
4320. No rule of compensation: fight starts	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	[551]
•4321. Dances taboo	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
†4322. For ... years	–	–	1+	1	–	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	7	764
4323. Violent deaths in war excepted	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	765
4324. Girl's puberty rite taboo	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	535
4325. May be held 1/2 mi. from mourner's camp	–	–	+	–			+	+	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	
4326. No dance held; only sing for girl	–	–	–	–			–	–	+	+	+	.	–	+	–	–	
4326a. Brush dance taboo	–	–	–	•+			–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
4327. Doctor-making dance taboo	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4328. Scalp dance taboo	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4329. Social dances taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	
4330. Must be held 10-15 mi. away	–	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	
4331. Mourners' consent obtained, before dance	–	–	+	+	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
4332. Mourners paid	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4333. Choice food presented mourners	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
Mourning Ceremonies																	
4334. Family mourning ceremony	+	+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	765
4335. Informal; at assembly old people may cry	+	+	+		–				•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
†4336. Held ... yrs. following death	–	–	–		3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4337. Held variable time following death	+	+	+		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4338. Held only if child of deceased sick	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o4339. Lasts ... day and night	–	–	–		1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o4340. Lasts ... hour	1	1	1		–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	
4341. For 1 dead	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4342. Chief sanctions					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	
4343. Fellow tribesmen only	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4344. All close relatives of deceased assemble	+	+	+		.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4345. Doctor sings over widow, sick child	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4346. All mourners cry	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4347. Widow removes pitch from hair, face	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4348. Widow burns pitch necklace	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4349. Male undertakers sweat	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4350. Feast concludes ceremony	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4351. All eat	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4352. Mourners wash selves outside at end	–	–	–		+				+			–	–	–	–	+	
4353. Ceremony removes all taboos	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
•4354. Group mourning ceremony	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•–	+	+	+	+	•+	
4355. Held by each village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	•+	
4356. Held by several villages together	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	
4357. For each dead separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
4358. For several dead together	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4359. For all dead together	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	
o4360. Held ... years after death	–	•2	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	1	•1	+	•–	•1	
o4361. Held ... months after death	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	
4362. Annually	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
4363. Irregularly	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	
4364. Fall	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	
4365. Any time of year, dry weather	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	

*657 two years earlier, about 1868, Chief Lileks had induced his tribes-
177 men to abandon the practice of cremation in favor of the inhuma-
764 tion he had observed in trips to Jacksonville, Yreka, and The
*657 Dalles.[7] With burial came new symbols of mourning and, ap-
177 parently, a partial relinquishment of the association with crop-
765 ping the hair. A few conservative individuals, however, still
302 resorted to the practice over a half century later.

[178] Naming the Indians was a matter of administrative necessity.
*657 Officials, faced with the duty of identifying their charges, labored
177 under the task of reducing unfamiliar sounds and lengthy, in-
• 551 comprehensible names into writing. For the Klamath, the addi-
553 tion of another name posed no problem. It had been native practice to use age terms for the very young—"My name is *niskag* (young girl)," one woman recalls telling her teacher—and to employ relationship terms when addressing kinsmen and occasional names in referring to others. The occasional names, of which an individual might have more than one, were often far from complimentary. Thus the literal meaning of the name of the Upland chief, Monchnkasgitk, is "One-who-has-a-big-belly;" while that of the individual later known as Allen David was "Black Anus."

Many new names were assigned when annuities were issued or when children entered school.

> It became one of the functions of the interpreter and clerk [recounts Good] to rename the stalwart braves, who were highly delighted with such commonplace appellations as "Joe Wilson" and "George Brown." "This is your name," he would say, writing it on a card, "and if you forget what it is, ask anyone who can read, and he will tell you." The bestower of names was sometimes amused at the corruptions arising from the Indians' peculiar pronunciation, as when "John Wesley" became "Whistler" and one who went forth as "Simeon" returned as "Sammy Andy."[8]

It may be added that the soldiers at the Fort and the settlers were also responsible for such names as "Great Eastern," "Old Faithful," "Skinflint," and "Skedaddle."[9]

*657
HOUSING

177 A relatively greater effort was needed to induce the Indians
342 to abandon what Agent L. S. Dyar characterized as "their warm,

142 tall, and wiry, while the women are short and often incline to embonpoint.
Nevertheless obesity is not more frequent there than it is with us.
No better illustration of their bodily characteristics can be had than a collection
of their personal names. These sketch the Indian in a striking and
often an unenviable light, because they generally depict the extremes observed
on certain individuals. The sex can not, or in a few instances only,
[551] be inferred from the name of a person. We frequently meet with designations
like "Large Stomach," "Big Belly," "Round Belly," "Sharp Nose,"
"Grizzly's Nose," "Spare-Built," "Grease," "Crooked Neck," "Conical
Head," "Wide-Mouth," "Small-Eyes," "Squinter," "Large Eyes," "Halfblind,"
or with names referring to gait, to the carriage of the body, to
habitual acts performed with hands or feet, to dress, and other accidental
matters.

165 With all these deformities, and many others more difficult to detect,
145 these Indians have bodies as well formed as those of the Anglo-American
race, and in spite of their privations and exposure they live about as long
as we do, though no Indian knows his or her age with any degree of accuracy.
169 A very common defect is the blindness of one eye, produced by the
smudge of the lodge-fire, around which they pass the long winter evenings.
304 With the majority of the Indians the septum of the nose hangs down at
301 adult age, for the nose of every Indian is pierced in early years, whether
they afterwards wear the dentalium-shell in it or not.

000 Stephen Powers, who had good opportunities for comparing the Modocs with the tribes of Northern California, says of them:

> They present a finer physique than the lowland tribes of the Sacramento, taller and less pudgy, partly, no doubt, because they engage in the chase more than the latter. There is more rugged and stolid strength of feature than in the Shastika now living; cheek bones prominent; lips generally thick and sensual; noses straight as the Grecian, but depressed at the root and thick-walled; a dullish, heavy cast of feature; eyes frequently yellow where they should be white. They are true Indians in their stern immobility of countenance.*

Passing over to the psychic and mental qualities of these Oregonian natives, only a few characteristics can be pointed out by which they differ from the other Indians of North America. The Indian is more dependent

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* Contributions to North Amer. Ethnology, III, 252, 253. By Shastika he means the Shasti Indians of middle Klamath River, California.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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Tsúi Tétĕmadshish hû'nk shemtchálχa tawí'sht Doctor Johnash k̲'lekáp-
Then Aunt Susie discovered that had be-witched Dr. John the de-
kash; tsúi mbû'shant waitólank ná-ent waítashtka í'lktcha; Doctor Johnash
ceased; and next day being over on other day buried (him); Dr. John
tchī'sh sha shpúnshna, at k̲léwiank sha Doctor Johnash shpúnshampĕlank
also they conveyed, now after their return Dr. John taking along
shpúlhi, tchúi sha k̲á-ishuank skúkum-house mpámpatkia tchíkĕminatka.
imprisoned, and they locking the strong-house nailed (it) down with (iron-) nails.
Tchikéskni Shkélaksh tû'la shpúlhi Doctor Johnásh. Tchúi tchiwí'χa
Tchikéskni Skélag with imprisoned Dr. John. And he sat in
hátokt, tchúi hû'ksha gä'mpĕle spulhí'tkuk. Păn ndā'ni tchēk waitólank
therein, and those men went home after imprisonment. Again three at last days past
Shχélag gátpa ktû'tp'nuk pā'sh; tchúi Sχélag gä'mpĕle káyak hassasuákiank
Skélag came to bring (him) food; and Skélag returned not at all having spoken
Doctor Johnash. Păn géna Sχélag ndáni waitólank pāsh äníyuk; shû'lip-
to Dr. John. Again went Skélag three days elapsed victuals to bring; hand-
kank p'laíkni hak shéwana Doctor Johnash, P'lú toks lápĕni shéwana
ing from above there he gave (them) to Dr. John, Blow however twice gave
náyant waítashtat. Hû'kt pil nā'dshek; hû'ksha toks, nánka k̲á-i hû'masht
another on day. This one (was) the only one; those (men) (did), other (men) not like (him)
shéwanat shí'ukshtka gíug Doctor Johnash. Tchúshak lápi sha shíkĕnitksh
gave (any food) kill in order to Dr. John. Constantly two (men) they a pistol

[657]
shishí'tilatk shlíutuapkug hû'nk. Agency tchúi gépksht tapí' tí'ta shash,
were carrying in their dress to fire on him. To the Agency (they) had gone after a while they,
k̲tiugíulank k̲á-ishtish, tchúi wátch hátokt tkû'tkapksh shláank gé'hlap-
he kicked open the door-cover, and a horse there standing finding (he) mounted
tchapka, m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Tchúi gí'ta hushótpa agency, tchúi
it, his son having come (with the horse). Then here he rode up to the agency, and
yá-uks-mĕnámksh gútpĕnank gulí'. Tchúi agencí'nish lák̲iash hashashu-
in the physician's house coming entered. And to the agent he ap-
ákia, Mínnīash shahamúyank shnû'ntatka lák̲iash hashashuakítki gíug.
plied, for Minnie sending to interpret the agent for conversing with.

NOTES.

64, 1. In September 1877 Púkish, an elderly Indian, died after a very short illness on the western side of Upper Klamath Lake. The rumor that he had been bewitched and thereby feloniously killed by K̲ák̲ash, one of the conjurers who treated him, soon gained credence, and the excitement in the tribe ran high. The first account of the occurrence was obtained by one of the subchiefs, who, with his colleagues, passed sentence over the unfortunate K̲ák̲ash.

[192]
[193]
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[769]

64, 1. hû't, "this one", forms one of the substitutes for names of deceased persons, which no Indian dares to pronounce. Hû't refers to a person standing visibly *before* the speaker, and it is remarkable that the dead are referred to by this pronoun, and not by a pronoun marking distance out of sight, like húkt, hû'kta etc. Cf. hû't hishuaksh, 64, 9., gén, 64, 2., hû'nk pi'sh, 64, 5., 66, 11. etc The subject nánka kukíaks does not exclude the use of the subject pronoun sha, *they*, the account being worded in the conversational style.

*539 683 [551] [756] **64, 1.** Tetĕmádshish or Aunt Susie is one of the numerous female "doctors", who eke out a scanty living from some patients of the Klamath Lake tribe. She received the above name for having been a washerwoman to the soldiers stationed at Fort Klamath, and the nickname Wúya-ak was bestowed on her on account of her predilection for small sucker fish.

64, 2. sămtsálya. The means employed by her to discover that Dr. John had cast upon the patient a spell of a deadly character, were the singing or recital of tamánuash songs, and the *dreams* which she had on that subject. Her tamánuash songs had *seen* those of the accused conjurer. See 65, 9. The great majority of the tribe still believes in the possibility of witchcraft.

64, 7. The two sentences contained in this line anticipate the result of the whole trial, and the popular verdict. The proper place for them would be after 65, 15.

64, 9. Tuá ni etc. The defense made by Dr. John in his own case is not an unable one, nor is it devoid of oratorical powers. But if the arguments were delivered in the order as given by Dave Hill, they ought to have followed each other in a more logical order to attain their full effect.

64, 10. wák lish etc. The logical connection existing between this sentence and the foregoing has to be supplied by: "why should he have been my personal enemy!"

[192] **64, 10, 11, 15 etc.** I, ik stands here for ăt (*ye*); because, when the headchief is addressed in council, all the others are addressed also. Lóli stands for lóla i. The trial took place on Williamson River.

64, 13. kúkamtchish. The distributive form is used here instead of the absolute verbal k'mú'tchish, because old age comes on *gradually, by degrees.*

64, 16. tchi ínsh instead of tchi nish; the language likes juxtaposition of two short equal vowels, even when a metathesis is required.

65, 8. Kátak etc. Aunt Susie's opinion, given just after Púkish's death and some time *before* the trial, did not fail to have a striking effect on the superstitious judges and tribe, for her arguments perfectly agree with the national ideas. But to us the arguments seem so weak, that no conviction seems justified, if not based on other evidence.

65, 9. nä'nsak etc. "Your defense does not disprove any of the points advanced against you."

[192] **65, 11.** K'mukámtsam nä'-ulaks: "the old customs of the people."

[124] **65, 16.** The second account of this tamánuash-case was obtained a few weeks after the trial; Dr. John was present at the agency buildings at the time of the dictation, furnishing the facts to my informant.

[697] **66, 4.** ká-ishnank etc. This underground jail was in such an unhealthy condition that Dr. John could not have lived in it through the tenth part of his long term of imprisonment.

[625] **66, 5.** Tchikéskni and Skélag, names of two watchmen (i-álhish); the chiefs appoint watchmen from time to time. Skélag is "the young weasel" and Tchikéskni "man living at Tchikési camping-place". They were armed with pistols to foil any attempt at escape.

[192] **66, 10.** nä'dshek for nä'dsh ak: "the only one". Compare nádshiak, 60, 21; waítak, 56, 7. and *Notes.*

[192] [193] **66, 12.** shishi'tilatk. The past participle often stands for forms of periphrastic conjugation: shishítilatko gi, they *were* carrying in their dress. Cf. illólatko, 55, 20.

*539 **94, 4.** I-ulalóuan or Yulalóua is the Indian name of the cascade of Link River
773 above the town of Linkville, and for that town itself. The origin of this name is ex-
192 plained in **94, 5. 6,** for the verb i-ulalóna means to move forth and back, referring here
193 to the waters of the river receding under the pressure of the south wind.

103 **94, 6.** ítklank, partic. pres. of ítkal, means here: obtaining by basketfuls.

137 **94, 9.** The kĕnáwat is a plant growing high in the warm climate of Northern California, especially in the ancient habitat of the Shasti Indians, and in this myth it suggested itself to the Indians on account of its property of growing very fast.

95, 5. gé'hlapka: he swung himself into the nest by climbing over the rim. Cf. *Note* to **66, 13.**

95, 10. kaízema K'mukámtchish for the regular form K'mukámtchash. Cf. **91, 8.**

95, 15. skáyamtch etc. More plainly expressed this sentence runs as follows: sha skáyamna pásh tchish ámbu tchish; the first tchish being placed before pásh and appended to the apocopated skáyamna.

95, 16. shéwana here used differently from tchíya, which applies to liquids only.

95, 17. p'lû' ítchuank seems to be a quite modern interpolation, for it smells of pomade and hair-oil; but it is as ancient as the myth itself.

765 **95, 23. 96, 2. 3. 4.** Tchíka. I have rendered this bird-name elsewhere by "Chaffinch," and Klétish by "Sandhill Crane".

551 **96, 3.** shlámia, to feel insulted. She resented it as an insult that the child called her deceased husband by name; for it was a capital crime among the ancestors of the present Klamaths to call a dead person's name for many years after his demise.

96, 5. hú'tna is changed to hû'tan on account of being followed by a word commencing with k.

765 **96, 6.** stiya. The custom of widows to put pitch or resin on their heads at the death of their husbands was abolished only at the time when cremation became a thing of the past.

178 **96, 6.** galdsha-ńyank is a more explicit form of the participle; the verb gáldshui being the contracted form of galdsháwi.

96, 8. yámnashla. He used the bristles of porcupines to make necklaces of.

96, 11. unakáka m'na was the son of Aíshish and of the above mentioned Tchíka.

96, 11. 12. K'mukámtcham qualifies pä'ks, not lúlukshtat.

96, 14. pakakóleshtka, verbal desiderative of pakakóla, to jerk away from. The suffix -óla indicates that K'múkamtch wore his tobacco-pipe tied to his body; he wore it on his neck.

96, 15. tchitchiks is used when speaking to children. It signifies *so, so!* and means: be quiet, shut up, stop!

96, 17. tchē'k kēléwi. In similar connections this phrase very frequently ends a whole narrative in Modoc and Klamath. Here it means that Aíshish ceased to poke the pipe into the fire. Cf. **85, 10. 89, 7.**

96, 18. medshá: he removed from that spot with all his wives and children. Ancient customs forbid the offspring to stay where the father had breathed his last.

96, 20. Gén húnk nánuk etc. This portion of the myth describes the destruction of all the living organisms on earth by a general conflagration caused by K'múkamtch. Myths of this kind are suggested by intense heat experienced in summer. This mode of destroying life on earth is less frequently met with in myths than the drowning in a general flood.

*539 (150) čoy q̓a···y ho·t s?asẃi·gis. (151) dič̓i· ho·t gi. (152) ge·ks ni s?abi·ya.[180] (153) ho·t sa dank do· goWasdi, (Proper name¹), čoy (Proper name²), čoy—ago·—(Proper name³). (154) Waltga sa. (155) kani hak č̓is ?aMḱa na?as, kant sa na?as ?elga čopbaqs či. (156) čoy čik sa wlayqdamna nen. (157) čoy sas ni mamča·di·la—no· mamča·di·lis či hak ni ge·ks s?abi·ya. (158) čoy sas na?as, dam mat honk dada· sa (Proper name²) sle?a·. qiLo·s se·wist, wage·nha q̓oy si·ksikst, wage·nha siJaqtis. (159) q̓a···y, q̓ay dada· sle?a·. (160) čoy (Proper name¹) na?as, "no· dak honks sle?a· s?awi·gapks diḿa·." (161) "?a···, dada· hay?" na?as či honk hok (Proper name²). (162) čoy (Proper name¹) na?as gi, "dada·t lis ?i wač mi spača·ytdatqḿa!" (163) čoy sa sdoqdamna. (164) neḿas ni ge·ks s?abi·ya. (165) čoy ni Jo·nas č̓is s?abi·ya, kat mis dank č̓osak sle·lgi. (166) do· hok swina·, se·ridan.[181] (167) do·st sa nen na?as ?elga do·, do·st hok maqlaqs na···noḱa·skni·sogo·lgi. (168) nen hok swinwapk sanditdat, litgi. (169) nen hok ?at ?akýa gatba, do . (170) čoy mbaws solo·tnank swinwapk, Jo·n. (171) hok ?a gew—ṕla·lam gew be·p, kat mis č̓osak sle·lgi.

(172) AC: ?i·, mago·q̓ap. (173) gew dak hok biblanksla gi. (174) no· honklam ṕle·wa hok nis—hok nis tapýalpgatk. (175) ?i·, hok nis tapýalpga, ṕle·wip honklam. (176) čoy hok gew pikča nis honklam mbegapks, wele·q̓apgam, q̓e·gi hok, ṕallapga ?ans hok kani. (177) q̓e·gi hok. (178) na?as honk ho·skanga seybliwapgok ga·yḱa dank. (179) ga·yḱa ?an honk, čoy hok q̓e·gi hok.

(The machine was temporarily turned off at this point.)

(180) AC: sẃews?am.

(181) PO: (I never could think of that!) waq čik ho·t bosbosli se·satk?

(182) AC: ḱal. (183) ?i·t sa hon gi, ṕan.[182] (184) lo·st gyank, lo·st gyank sa ṕan. (185) honk č̓is ḱal, ṕan sa honk.

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[192] [180] /ge·ks/ again refers to the investigator.

[551] [533] [463] [181] /Jo·n/ "June" is the name of Mrs. Chiles' niece, Mrs. June Dick, who is quite well known on the Reservation and in Portland (her present home) as a singer. She had gone to Sheridan, Wyoming, to sing at the annual gathering of American Indian tribes there.

[192] [182] /?i·t/ is the English word "eat," and /lo·st/ is English "roast." In speaking to the investigator directly, Mrs. Cowan felt it necessary to employ frequent English words as supplements to her Klamath explanations.

#539

(290) čoy bloksip, ṕe·wip—ʔat ho·t ḱanni gi. (291) ge·ksíadaĺ lalʔa·bi hok gi.

PB: And what is a "ṕo·nip"?

(292) PO: ṕo·nip, dwa· hok? (293) waq hok nen hasʔa·Mḱa, kańs sa ṕo·nip naʔas ʔelg̣a?

(294) AC: ṕo·nip dak ho·t pʔa·nip gi. (295) ho·t ʔa gew ḱoḱo·nip gi. (Great Uncle.)

(The conversation was carried on in English at this point, mostly about friends from the old days.)

(296) PO: . . . čoy waq dal hok se·satk gi, kańsíet honk dola či·ya·—kańs honk dola či·ya·?

(297) AC: q̓ay, wiḱa· bańi ʔa mat honk hok sq̓olligo·ta. (298) mna da·k dwa·, waq da·k sa gin—mna da·k honk sʔa·Maks dwa· hak. (299) čoy ho·t sa hon hoḿas gyank ʔat hasʔa·Maḱatk. (300) ptisa· honk blogo·člank, honkĺam honk q̓e·gitk.[109]

(301) PO: ʔi·, honk hay ni ho·skanga.

(The conversation reverted to English and drifted to a recollection of a personal experience from Mrs. Ohles' childhood. The machine was turned off during this time and was only turned on again when she returned to Klamath.)

(302) PO: . . . čoy dank ḿa·sʔa dwa·. (303) čoy ma·ns q̓e·gi, ma·ns q̓e·gi. (304) čoy ndanni waytas q̓e·giwapgatk, čoy ma·ns na·ĺ q̓e·gi, ḿa·sʔok. (305) čoy honk hokt ʔat wosga na·ts, hokt (Proper name). (306) čoy hok gembli, čoy honk ḿa·sis gota·, honkčgas. (307) čoy ma·ma gatbamblyank na·ĺs be·n blay ʔembli, blaydaĺ.[110] (308) waq dal sa blay maqlaqsyalank ʔelg̣a?

(309) AC: blay, či. (310) ge· dak nen gina·t ẏayńa.

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[109] The form /q̓e·gitk/ is used for respectful mention of a dead person. It was considered impolite to mention the names of the other person's deceased relations in a conversation, and this was extended often to refer to the names of deceased friends and acquaintances. Compare the English "the dear departed."

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[110] Mrs. Ohles uses the form /blay/ here to mean only the town of Bligh. It may be that the vowel of the two repetitions of /blay/ in this sentence is somewhat longer than is usual for the Klamath morpheme {blay} "up, above." It is certainly longer than Mrs. Cowan's /blay, či/ in Sentence 309. If so, this may account for Mrs. Ohles' failure to recognize "Bligh" as Klamath {blay}.

224 The Klamath are evidently catholic in their tastes, excluding among larger animals only the out-and-out carnivores.

Most land animals are taken with the bow. Snares are not used, even for birds, and the deadfall trap finds only occasional use. Snares (knēs) for deer, an important hunting device of northwestern California,[266] are said to be used by the Molala. Several hunting methods which might have been expected here are unknown: driving deer or antelope into an enclosure (chute-and-pound) or over a cliff, and the use of nets for taking rabbits.[267] The first is a Great Basin practice; the latter used both there and in California. Nor are pits dug on deer trails.

Deer driving of an alternative nature is practiced in at least one locality. At Pelican bay tongues of land extend into the marsh from the toe of the timbered mountains. The deer are driven onto these, where they can be readily shot, or pursued into the water where women wait in canoes to slay them. The humming sound of a buzzer made of a deer astragalus bone is a "sign of this."

The Klamath do not stalk the deer in disguise, but my informant ascribed this to the people at Yainax, i.e., Modoc or Paiute. They stuff the head skin of a deer to wear over their own heads, but add no horns; the body is covered by the attached deer hide.[268]

231 [224] Dogs are used in hunting, but not to the same extent as with the Molala, who employ them to track deer or drive game toward the hunter. The dogs are described as small, slim, with short legs, the hind legs crooked. They were short-haired, had erect ears, short faces, with sometimes black marks on the upper eyelids, called ķ!au'li. A rock south of Barclay spring is famous as a place to train hunting dogs. The puppy is thrown into a near-by spring while the master [552] hides behind the rock. A dog's name is given for individual markings or happenings, as wano'mgoķs, marten bites him. One received the name of a man, ķoi'yās, because the dog was brown(?). Dogs are called by name, or tc!lsk, tc!lsk. They are chased away, ecce gē'ka, get out. To encourage them to fight, one says, kūc, kūc, kūc.

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[114] [266] Kroeber, Handbook, 817. Barrett (Material Culture, 246) states that Klamath and Modoc took deer in snares, but I am certain he is mistaken.

× [171] [267] Despite a myth referring to this, my informant did not know whether the Northern Paiute use it.

[268] There is, however, an antelope headdress in the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 61678) which is ascribed to the Klamath. It is formed of the whole head skin of the animal, but is hardly more than a cap. Pendant from the rear is a bunch of hawk(?) feathers.

used;[373] then grass or pine boughs, covered with dirt, are heaped half- 342 way up the side. The outer mats are held in place by tying them along the edges to poles propped against the side of the house. The rope (pĕķ'os) used for this is three strand, braided of grass or the outer layer of tule. In placing the mats, a space about two feet across is left at the top for a smoke hole, and another only three and a half feet high for a doorway. One has to stoop to enter. The door is a mat like that of the summer house; it is not weighted nor tied down.

Drying racks are not placed inside the houses. All fish and meat [251] are dried on racks near-by. [417]

Houses are not decorated, nor are the house posts carved or painted except by shamans. These may paint them with horizontal stripes, 342 alternately red and white. One informant had it that men's faces, snakes, lizards, and various other animals, not spirits, are painted on the posts, but I am doubtful. Shamans also hung stuffed bird and animal skins about the interior. [756] A wooden image and a stuffed crane skin are set up outside on the northern side of the hatchway, i.e., above the shaman's bed. 552 Houses are not given individual names, Yurok fashion, 171 though the localizing tendency of the Klamath might have found an outlet in this.

The fireplace (sne'lŭķs) in the earth-lodge is in the middle of the 354 floor, between the four center posts and under the open hatchway. Neither a pit nor stones are used to confine the fire. Most of the time there is no fire on the hearth, only in the morning and evening; at other times the hatch is closed. A huge fire is built when it is nearly sundown, and after the mat is drawn across the opening the heat is so great that blankets may be dispensed with. [132] This despite the severe winters; at this altitude (4000 feet) lakes and streams are frozen solid. [133] Fires are usually made by piling short lengths of wood in log-cabin (crib-work) fashion to a height of eighteen inches. They cook when this is reduced to a bed of coals. A piece of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire from one place to another.

Cooking ordinarily takes place outside the dwelling in a dome- 343 shaped house (sti'nă'ę) erected near-by. An earth-lodge on lower Williamson river, for example, set some fifty yards from the stream, 252 had its cooking lodge close to the bank. 592 All the women of the household prepare their food together, even where several families have joint tenancy. It is carried to the earth-lodge and there passed about six short loops on each side. A carrying band goes over the mother's forehead. 854

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[373] Barrett gives the successive layers as made of "a kind of reed," triangular-stemmed tule, and circular-stemmed tule (*op. cit.*, 244).

Frontal flattening is customary but not universal. No reason is given. Hrdlička was informed "that the Klamath regard a long head, i.e., a non-deformed head, with derision. They say it is slave-like, that their slaves had such, and that a man with such a head is not fit to be a great man in the tribe. Deformed heads are called 'good heads.'"[83] A buckskin sack, somewhat larger than the forehead, stuffed with dry cat-tail down, is tied to holes in the cradle. Hrdlička was told that this was filled with seeds, such as water-lily seeds. This lies across the forehead but is not tied so tightly that the child cannot turn his head. Pressure is begun at birth and continued as long as the child continues in the cradle. According to my informant's representation the Molala flatten foreheads, some Pit River Indians do, while the Upland Takelma do not practice deformation of any sort. 856 [114] [171]*

The cradle receives ornaments symbolic of the child's future, in the shape of a tiny digging stick for a girl and a bow and arrow for a boy, tied to the edge of the board. Possibly they have more than ornamental significance. These are no longer than the finger; the single arrow is as long as the bow. These are tied to the proper side of the board; the bow and arrow to the child's left, for a man holds his bow in that hand, the root digger to the right.

Use of the cradle continues until the child can walk well. It is not discarded but kept for the use of another baby, unless the child dies, when it is burned with his body. [766]

NAMES

The name is usually given in early infancy; always by the time the child talks. It is the choice of the parents, given without ceremony. Sometimes it is changed in later life, but there is no set occasion for this. Seemingly names change less frequently than their nickname character would give opportunity for. Perhaps these are always additional names, for I learned of several men known by more than one name; perhaps this holds as true for women as men. But it was said that the first name (hlewa'ska) is the most important. 553

There is considerable reluctance to the use of names, kinship terms being substituted. This does not mean that there is a taboo; merely 551

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[83] Head Deformation Among the Klamath.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
553 **Naming**																
3306. Child named at, soon after, birth	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	•	–
3307. Child named up to 6 months after birth	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
3308. Child named after 1 year plus	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
3309. Child named around puberty	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
3310. Named by father	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+
3311. Named by mother	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+
3312. Girl baby named by mother's mother	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	–
3313. Boy baby named by father's father	+	+	+	+			+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	–
3314. Child named by any near relative	+	+	–	•–				+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–
3315. Child named by relative or nonrelative	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
551 3316. Names meaningful	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	+
3317. Names meaningless	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	+
3318. Names duplicated during lifetime 2 people	–	–	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	•+
3319. Name "given away"	–	–	•+							•+	–	–	–	–	.	–
[787] 3320. Names dreamt	–	+	–		+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
3321. Naming after grandparents, other relatives	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	.	+
3322. After death of relative only	–	–	–	+		–	–	+	+	+	–	+	(–)	+	.	–
Mutilations																
304 3323. Ears pierced	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+
3324. Soon after birth	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	
3325. Prepuberty	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	+
3326. Around or after puberty	+	–	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
3327. Obligatory for all boys and girls	–	+	–	•–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3328. Girls only	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
3329. Virgins only	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3330. Done by older relative	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	•+
3331. Done by skilled person	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	–
3332. Done by good or "powerful" person	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+
3333. To make child good-tempered	–	+	+				+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
3334. For "fun" or style; to display wealth	+	–	+	+						+	–	–	–	+	+	.
3335. For good fortune	–	–	–								+	–	•+	–	–	.
3336. Dance follows	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
3337. Nasal septum pierced	R+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
3338. Soon after birth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
3339. Prepuberty	R+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3340. At or around puberty	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–
3341. Any time	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3342. Men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
3343. Obligatory for all	–	+	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3344. All girls only	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3345. Done by relative	R+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
3346. Done by skilled person	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3347. Done by self	–	–	–					–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3348. Boy: sent on vision quest	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3349. Girl: dance follows								–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
3350. Tattooing	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	R	R	(+)	–	–	–	+
3351. Women: prepuberty	R	+	–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
3352. Women: postpuberty, any time	R	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	R	R	R	(+)	–	–	–	+
3353. Obligatory for woman	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3354. Rare among women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	R	+	–	–	–	+
3355. Men: when adult, any time	–	–	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3356. Done by skilled person, usually woman	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•R	R	R	.	–	–	–	+
3357. Done by "good" person	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3358. For style only	R	–	+	•+	–	+	+	–	R	■	R	.	–	–	–	.
[755] 3359. As therapeutic measure	–	–	–						•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3360. To insure longevity	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.

[Klamath Reservation]

FOUR

[P.52]

Clothing, Names, and Houses

*648 SOME OF THE OBJECTIVES SET FORTH BY GOVERNMENTAL POLICY
*657 called for programs of broad institutional transformation in
177 economy, political structure, and religion, and for only slightly less sweeping modifications in the family. Indian life was to assume the pattern of the rural, homesteading families of postbellum America. To judge by the wording of the treaty, a generation was deemed sufficient at least to launch the changes.[1] Meanwhile, the young were to be schooled to take up that new life—a life yet to be realized by their parents.

The dangers of increasing intergenerational frictions, of augmenting stresses between different segments of the tribesmen, were not directly faced. Among them, individuals responded to the opportunity according to their differing capacities and inclinations. Those who forged to the front in the early days of the reservation included a number of persons already familiar with life in the white settlements; and the Agency threw its weight behind them and cited their cumulative development as evidence of the wisdom of government policy. When so construed, however, their achievements created administrative expectations for their fellow tribesmen that proved unrealistic.

In enumerating the features that would be taken as indexes of progress in the statistical reports, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was doing no more than seeking common denominators of acculturation, readily observed and counted. At the same time, there was a temptation for local administrators to manipulate the
[291] markers and satisfy the indexes directly. Thus white clothing was
[342] issued directly as part of the annuities and houses were built for
[554] Indian leaders. To these practices, and toward such acts as the
[553] bestowal of new names, there was no organized opposition, and acceptance was rapid.

*657 two years earlier, about 1868, Chief Lileks had induced his tribes-
177 men to abandon the practice of cremation in favor of the inhuma-
764 tion he had observed in trips to Jacksonville, Yreka, and The
*657 Dalles.[7] With burial came new symbols of mourning and, ap-
177 parently, a partial relinquishment of the association with crop-
765 ping the hair. A few conservative individuals, however, still
302 resorted to the practice over a half century later.

[178] Naming the Indians was a matter of administrative necessity.
*657 Officials, faced with the duty of identifying their charges, labored
177 under the task of reducing unfamiliar sounds and lengthy, in-
551 comprehensible names into writing. For the Klamath, the addi-
• 553 tion of another name posed no problem. It had been native practice to use age terms for the very young—"My name is *niskag* (young girl)," one woman recalls telling her teacher—and to employ relationship terms when addressing kinsmen and occasional names in referring to others. The occasional names, of which an individual might have more than one, were often far from complimentary. Thus the literal meaning of the name of the Upland chief, Monchnkasgitk, is "One-who-has-a-big-belly;" while that of the individual later known as Allen David was "Black Anus."

Many new names were assigned when annuities were issued or when children entered school.

> It became one of the functions of the interpreter and clerk [recounts Good] to rename the stalwart braves, who were highly delighted with such commonplace appellations as "Joe Wilson" and "George Brown." "This is your name," he would say, writing it on a card, "and if you forget what it is, ask anyone who can read, and he will tell you." The bestower of names was sometimes amused at the corruptions arising from the Indians' peculiar pronunciation, as when "John Wesley" became "Whistler" and one who went forth as "Simeon" returned as "Sammy Andy."[8]

It may be added that the soldiers at the Fort and the settlers were also responsible for such names as "Great Eastern," "Old Faithful," "Skinflint," and "Skedaddle."[9]

*657

HOUSING

177 A relatively greater effort was needed to induce the Indians
342 to abandon what Agent L. S. Dyar characterized as "their warm,

[p.342A]

867 terms for all his relatives, whether he has seen them yet or not. This is considered one of the most important things a child must learn.[8]

With the knowledge of kinship terms the child acquires certain attitudes toward his relatives, although patterns of behavior toward
particular kin do not seem to be very clearly
[593] defined among the Klamath. Parents are re-
spected and obeyed, as are grandparents though a
[603] certain amount of indulgence and teasing is to
be expected from the latter. Uncles and aunts
[604] are shown considerable respect. Cousins call
each other by sibling terms; those of opposite
[605] sex play together freely when small but are told
that it is not proper to "play rough" with each
other. Even small children learn that marriage
between cousins is "a very bad thing," and that
children from such an incestuous union will
never live.

856 There is some effort to teach the child the names of objects by pointing to them and repeating the word, but he probably acquires more of his vocabulary simply by listening to adult conversation. There is no baby talk or any attempt to simplify words for the children. If the child mispronounces or misuses words, he is laughed at and corrected.

553 Children acquire their personal names in a casual manner at any time from birth to the age of five or six. There is no ceremony connected with naming, and some individuals receive two or three names which may all be in use at the same time. Names are, for the most part, of the nickname variety and refer to some personal mannerism or peculiarity.[9] In addition, some refer to spirits, birds, or animals. Names are given by the parents or other relatives. One person

[text continues on top of p. 342-B]

857 By the time a child is three he begins to play with other children, parents encouraging group play. Children from all social strata play together. "After all, you can't keep kids apart." Children of chiefs or shamans are no
[848] different from the rest. Illegitimate children
are looked down upon by the community as a
whole, but they are not segregated from their
age-mates.

[865] At first the youngsters are apt to start fights with each other, but the parents are usually on hand to stop rough play. A child who fights all the time brings disgrace to his family and especially to himself. He must play by himself for awhile. "Everyone knows he has been bad; no one likes him." He is ashamed and experiences great remorse when he is told he cannot play with other children.

Three- and four-year-olds find a variety of

[text continues on bottom of p.342B]

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[8] See Spier, pp. 62-68, for a discussion of the Klamath kinship system.

[9] Naming customs and typical names are given by Spier, pp. 59-61, and Voegelin, elements 3306-3321.

553 coins it, and soon all are using it.

Personal names are freely used at all times, but within the family kinship terms are more commonly applied. There are also age status terms for direct address or in reference to an individual as "newborn baby," "infant," "child," "youth," and so forth.[10]

855 757 Throughout infancy the health of the child is a matter of considerable concern. Whenever he cries and cannot be pacified by feeding, the parents fear that he is ill. For certain obvious physical ailments there is a variety of simple home remedies known to most adults. For stomachaches, warm ashes are held over the abdomen, and sagebrush tea may be administered orally. For a fever, sagebrush bark is mashed, mixed with warm water, and rubbed on the child to produce sweating. Deer grease is applied to burns. Pine pitch is rubbed on chapped faces and is also used to heal sore eyes. These and similar remedies serve for both children and adults.[11]

75 Ailments not so readily diagnosed require the services of a shaman, who then demands a large fee. Shamans are believed to send diseases to individuals, particularly through the medium of bad dreams. A child's nightmares are, therefore, taken as an indication that some shaman is trying to sicken the child. A curing ceremony must then be held either by the suspected shaman or another of equal power. [841] Some women try to prevent children's nightmares by placing a cloth or piece of fur stained with menstrual discharge under the sleeping child. Shamans fear the contamination of a menstruating woman and are unable to use their powers in the presence of one.

EARLY CHILDHOOD

857 simple amusements for themselves. They erect piles of dirt, mark in the sand with sticks, or [865] make neat rows of sticks on the ground. Older children are punished if they try to bother the youngsters at play.

[864] Until the age of six or seven, boys and girls play together as much as they wish. When a bit older they will be warned not to be intimate with members of the opposite sex, but young children often play at "man and wife" in imitation of their elders, using the proper status terms for husband and wife and pretending to keep house. The boys go off to hunt, and the girls wait for them to bring meat home to cook. Such play is not discouraged, nor is it apparently encouraged.

Small children also enjoy pretending to be very old people. In this game they hobble around on canes. One old lady of eighty laughed as she recalled playing in this manner:

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[10] Spier, pp. 61-68.

[11] Therapeutic knowledge and beliefs of the Klamath are mentioned in Voegelin, elements 4469-4512.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

411 the shaft is withdrawn. The tips are not poisoned.[48] However they 726 believe that those made of obsidian obtained on a mountain west of Klamath lake are poisonous. A tale has it that an Upland Takelma [539] shot a presumably mythical man, called Teewls hu'lüms (alighting flicker), there. Crow laughed and he turned into the pillar of rock still standing. This is presumably the widely known tale of the shattered rock-monster. 701 A war leader, a rich man, carries several quivers; one under each arm and a third across his back. 411 The short stabbing lance is stone headed; the club simply a straight stick or one bearing 714 a knot for a head. Armor is the familiar long skin tunic and wooden slat armor of waistcoat shape. The round hand shield is used, but not the curtain shield, i.e., a skin hung before the body. Sock-like skin gloves sometimes protect the forearms.

726 It is planned to arrive in enemy territory at the end of the day. Several good runners are sent forward as scouts (gau'ulü'ḳdja) to [191] look for smoke from enemy fires. Scouts do not use animal cries like those of the Northern Paiute. [171] The camps are surprised at dawn, for, in addition to the confusion, there is the advantage of a long day in which to make good an escape. Yet the fight may last several days, I was told, but it is more likely that the raiders withdraw at once unless beset by a rallied foe. One thing sets off the intensity of this conflict from that of the Arizona Havasupai as I found it; there never occurs here the gesture of bravado of drawing off for refreshment before [554] returning to the attack. Yet there is something formal about these fights too; the leaders make a point of engaging with men of like rank in the forefront of battle, although they do not disdain lesser men. Warriors do not pat the mouth as they charge (go'lgi); this is done 727 only in the scalp dance. The foray usually ends with the fleeing of the ablebodied among the enemy, the killing of the infirm, and the capture of women, children, and such property as beads and quivers.

[114] These are kept by their captors; perhaps some division of the spoil is made. Disputes are inevitable: Gatschet's informant describes how he wantonly shot down a girl whom he claimed as his due rather than let another have her.[49] Pat Kane told me that all the booty is carried to the principal chief who asks for an accounting of the dead and slaves. The leader enumerates how each man took slaves or scalps and how the opposing chiefs were killed. The trophies of these chiefs are exhibited. I doubt his statement, unless he had in mind the prestige

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[48] Gatschet's informant credits the Modoc with poisoned arrows (*op. cit.*, 1:90).

[49] *Op. cit.*, 1:23.

834 836 [881] She dances with downcast eyes in her adolescent rite; she sits apart and does not talk with male visitors at home. A man seen prowling about the camp is shouted away. A girl who does not wish to be molested will go over to her mother to sleep. A father will whip a daughter who has clandestine visitors, and his son for misconduct. No obligations may be assumed for which no payment is made.

583 [836] Despite the fact that elopements are frowned on, clandestine visits and elopements are frequent. The girl's parents may follow a runaway couple and force her to return with them. It is usual however for the families to accept the fact and make gifts in proper form.

583 159 585 The most lavish marriage display ever known was that of Lzle'ks' only daughter, Go'solülb. They were living at tàka'lmakeda during the fishing season when Ski'lüls of Yainax eloped with her. They fled riding double; the horse fell with them while fording the river, but they escaped to Yainax. Soon after the girl returned alone. It took a month to get ready to conduct a proper marriage. Lzle'ks made the trip across the mountains to Jacksonville to get store goods. A great many people went with them to Yainax, the majority taking gifts of horses, blankets, clothing, or anything they had. One man with nothing better stripped himself of his only shirt. It must be remembered that such Plains shirts were then newly fashionable and hence valuable. They gave the horses they rode there, hoping for reciprocal gifts on which to return. Horses to a total of ten were given the groom's people. They gave horses and other gifts in return. Payment having been made the affair was considered as honorably ended, and as though the groom had sent an emissary in proper order.

583 554 Marriage without payment brings a slur on the children to be cast in the teeth by quarreling women. "Your children are worth nothing; you were not bought." Children taunt each other in the same way. They are respected in proportion to the amount changing hands at their parents' marriage, but this does not mean that a man's life is assessed at this sum. Nor is there any suggestion here that husband and wife are financially accountable to each other for injuries to their children. Marriage payment is prescribed not alone because it fixes social status in a general way but because, as one informant phrased it, it is decidedly unlucky not to make payment. So it is, for the couple have made an unsuccessful start of their social career.

The amount is not prescribed but varies with the wealth of the individuals. A chief gives a slave and more; a poor man buys with food. A chief will not give his daughter for nothing; the groom must
583 continue to bring gifts even after marriage. The valuables customarily exchanged are slaves, horses, blankets, beads, food (pond-lily seed and roots), elk and other hides, and strings of beads. Pat Kane's father gave five fathoms of glass trade beads. It is important to

601 I have few data on kinship usages. A child's spouse is treated like an own child and freely called son or daughter. Reciprocally, parents-in-law are often addressed by parent terms. The spouses of grandchildren and of nephews and nieces are not related, nor are step-brothers and sisters. There is no joking relation.

593 The close bond between siblings and their families is attested by the opening of a tale:

> [539] Wiwí'aak had five fathers, who were the five sons of Wilo'aḳaḳ. That is, one was his father, but the others were fathers because they were father's brothers. . . .

PUBERTY AND MENSTRUAL CUSTOMS

881 [554] The puberty dance is held only for the daughters of chiefs and others of wealth. For a poor man's daughter the rites are curtailed to the most necessary observances. The celebration serves as an announcement of nubility: girls marry within a year or so of their dance.

881 535 The dance (yo'ḳ'ɛla) occupies five nights at the first menstruation and is repeated at the four subsequent periods. It seems doubtful that any but the socially pretentious carry out full five celebrations. During the day the girl goes alone to sleep in the brush at some distance, returning for the dance just before sundown. I am not certain that she then seeks supernatural power. At least the girl does not run about piling up rocks in lonely places as boys do.

The dancing may take place in the lodge or outside, perhaps according to the season. It is simple enough; the girl trots forward and backward in the same course facing the east all the while. She is supported on each side by a man or woman whose arms are linked in hers. As they tire others take their places but the girl must keep on throughout the night. These others are young or old, relatives or otherwise, as convenience dictates.

881 533 The singing is provided by a group of men and women who alone know the appropriate songs. These singers are in demand for every dance. They are paid by the girl's relatives, a horse apiece, a blanket for each man, a half-fathom of beads for the women, or an equivalent. Some are provided with rattles, poles to the upper ends of which bunches of dew claws are fastened, the butts of which they pound on the ground. At least the song leader has one; other informants spoke of two or three, of five men and five women, or of rattles for all.

If we look for elements peculiarly Klamath, they are difficult to 171*
find. At best there is only the regularity with which seances occur at 756
midwinter, and even here we do not know with certainty that this does not occur elsewhere. Further, if we feel that this regularity is due to recurrent possession, this merges with general Northwest Coast practice, and its uniqueness disappears. The peculiarity of the Klamath complex, then, rests only in the specific combination of widely distributed elements that they have effected, a combination known nowhere else in exactly this form.

THE MARRIAGE COMPLEX

Social relations among the Klamath, even more than the shaman- 105
istic practices, are clearly explicable as a function of their geographic position. They are most clearly crystallized in the matters of chieftainship, slaveholding, concepts of wealth, and the relative social standing of shaman and chief, but especially in their marital relations. Household and village groupings, puberty rites and analogous customs, have much less definite or peculiar form among them. For this reason, the discussion which follows will be confined largely to the earlier group of topics. As the most complex situation is that surrounding marriage, I will analyze this first.

While marriage among the Klamath is contracted by purchase, it 583
is not a negotiated transaction. Payment is socially obligatory. It is
a seal of respectability and in a rough way the amount changing hands [554] •
is a measure of the social pretensions of the families involved. Hence clandestine matches are severely frowned on. No obligation may be assumed for which payment is not forthcoming. Yet such payment does not fix the status nor the value of an individual with any precision. For example, the purchase price of a murdered man's mother or that of his bride never enters consciously in assessing his blood price. Failure to pay for a bride is a blot not easily erased.

It must be remembered that the reciprocal gifts from the bride's 583
family frequently outweigh the purchase price. Further, the bride is 431
in no sense a chattel, but free to leave her husband at will, he having
but slight recourse to recover his gifts. Nor is a wife obligated to 581
bear children to her husband, nor does their birth cancel the marriage
debt. In adultery it is clear that a man has no eye to the monetary 837
value of his wife's affections. He kills the lover; to take payment is
unthinkable. It does not appear that a marriage brings about a con- 000

To return to the coastal groups of northern California, the Yurok 171 * and their neighbors had attitudes toward social standing, wealth, 582 and marriage appreciably like those of the Northwest Coast tribes. 583 For the Yurok every social relation was nicely valued and the basis of them all was the marriage settlement. Social status was propor- 554 tionate to a man's wealth and the amount he was willing to pay for the mother of his children. His own life was valued at the amount paid for his mother. Partial payment or a small sum put him at the bottom of the social scale. The price itself was definitely fixed. Marriage was outside the kinship group and commonly outside the village, but not necessarily so. Kroeber represents the smaller villages as practicing exogamy by reason of kinship of their inhabitants, but it is at least as likely, in view of the exaggerated importance of wealth, that a sufficiently large bride price could be obtained in many instances only from men of other towns.[556] An analogous situation may be inferred for the Tolowa, whose little known culture closely resembled that of the Yurok. On one fundamental point we have the verdict of the Yurok, who "regard the Tolowa as rich, a distinction they accord to few others of the people known to them." Inference also places the Karok in the same category, for in all other known aspects of culture they were as one with Yurok and Hupa.[557] The Hupa attitudes in the matters we are concerned with here were so nearly identical with the Yurok that to cite them would be but to repeat the Yurok case. At one point there is some difference, yet one only of degree. Our authority states briefly that women went regularly to their husbands' villages on marriage, implying that this was a uniform practice, or nearly so.[558] Yet in actual practice it may mean no more than the Yurok habit, local exogamy based on kindred exclusion and the desire for a wealthy alliance. (If the marriages were as regularly exogamous as we are told, then I can see no reason why we should not describe this as a system of unnamed patrilineal local sibs.)

The lower Klamath attitude is also that of the Shasta. It is essential that a wife be paid for in order to fix the value of the children. Even elopements are condoned if the bride price is paid later. Blood money for death or injury is equal to the sum paid for a man's mother. The price varied widely but tends to be fixed at a value somewhat less than that of the Yurok. The wealthier families, who arrange infant betrothals, ordinarily choose the girl from another village.

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[556] Kroeber, Handbook, 28, 42.

[557] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 98, 108, 126.

[558] Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 54, 58.

*171 Poorer men offer the bride price directly, or may serve their parents-
583 in-law in lieu of payment.[579]

Purchase appears again among the Sinkyone, and perhaps pre-
[582] vailed in the intervening region. By no means so wealthy as their
• [554] northern neighbors, values were correspondingly less. Nevertheless
[114] we observe something of the Yurok attitude in a definite value attached
to a man's life. A wife was seemingly paid for, although Kroeber
suggests that this may have been in the nature of a gift to be reciprocated rather than a formal purchase price. If this is so, it suggests
only the practice of the generality of more southerly Californians.
[848] But inasmuch as illegitimate children were paid for, the suggestion is
rather of an approximation to the northwestern norm. Something
of the same regularity of purchase, with reciprocal giving, is implied
by Yuki statements.[580]

*171 The Huchnom and Pomo attitude toward marriage did not differ
appreciably from more southerly Californians. The exchange of mar-
554 riage gifts can hardly be described as true purchase, but appears
rather "an expression of good will and dignified but affectionate
etiquette." Loeb observes, however, that the man's family gave more than it received in return. It would therefore not be possible to see in it certain affiliation with northwestern customs, were it not that both people prescribed a series of gift-bearing visits of the northwestern type to consummate the marriage. I shall subsequently trace such formal visiting from the Kwakiutl southward to this point. As to exogamy, there was none; marriages were contracted indifferently within the community, outside it, or with foreigners. In neither group were there serious rankings based on wealth which might prescribe a studied attitude toward maintaining it in marriage.[581]

The typical central Californians (Wintun, Miwok, Yokuts, and Costanoan) register negative to the characteristics of northwest marriage. Social stratification of any range and rigidity was absent, wealth unimportant, marriage gifts were presents of friendship however much formality demanded their bestowal, formal visiting seemingly unknown, and exogamy casual, certainly not for the express purpose of maintaining social position. In a word marriage does not function to uphold social stratification nor do the northwestern rites appear.[582]

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[579] Dixon, Shasta, 261 f.

[580] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 146, 179.

[581] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 210, 254; Gifford, Clear Lake Pomo Society, 310; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 277.

[582] Compare Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 357, 456, 469, 493.

*171 591 ern, and the foothill groups), Eastern and Northern Pomo. Thereafter it was not of necessity patrilocal, for residence might be continued with the woman's unit. Outright matrilocal habits appeared among the Sacramento Valley Maidu (although the majority of marriages were there patrilocal from the outset), Huchnom, and Yokuts. Southern California was again an area of patrilocal habits. Great Basin practice conformed with that of north central California; temporary matrilocal residence for Paviotso, Southern Paiute (?), Uintah Ute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni. Northern Plains tribes were generally patrilocal: Crow, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin. Matrilocal residence as well occurred among the last two. Hidatsa indulge in temporary matrilocal residence, after which there is no fixed rule.

Summary

*171 554 556 We may now review the data detailed above. Sharply crystallized distinctions of rank and the importance of wealth in establishing them, wealth itself assuming real proportions, center in this area in the Kwakiutl and other northern tribes. Similar caste distinctions are traceable southward on the coast to the Alsea and Coos, and eastward not beyond the Wishram. Social distinctions based on wealth to the almost complete exclusion of other factors extend beyond these limits; in attenuated form to the Sinkyone and Yuki and perhaps beyond to the south, to the Klamath and Shasta, to the Middle Columbia Salish of eastern Washington. *171 583 431 Marriage by purchase had an even more extended distribution; from the same center it is traceable southward perhaps to Huchnom and Pomo, to the Southern Maidu, and eastward into the northern Plains, if my interpretation of the Crow, Assiniboin, and Hidatsa cases is justified. In the northwestern portions of this territory marriage by purchase is a function of the caste-wealth system; in the outlying regions, as among the Maidu on the one side and Nez Percé, Crow, etc., on the east, it would seem that we witness the spread of the purchase factor with little of these underlying concepts. It must be borne in mind that nowhere in this area are the marriage payments justly described as purchase; there is always a reciprocation of the gift. The express point is that marriage is contracted only by the making of such gifts.

*171 583 556 Wealth was very real, huge in quantity, north of the Columbia, and a correspondingly high value set for a marriage settlement, at least among the upper classes. Valuables and marriage values dwin-

dle beyond this limit, with a notable recrudescence of the latter on the 171 *
lower Klamath river. Part of the mechanism of its exchange in 583
marriage was a series of reciprocal visits, of potlatch character southward 556
to the Columbia, a mere formal practice beyond.

Among the concepts underlying the practice of bride purchase 171*
was the sense of mutual obligations of the contractants' families.
This was avowed by the coastal tribes from British Columbia to
northern California. It assumed the express forms of compulsory
levirate and sororate and of the right to children. Further, the families
were obligated to restore the marriage settlements if the marriage
terminated unfortunately. The man's financial interest in the wife he (837)
had bought was evidenced by his ability to mulct damages from an
adulterer or one even thought to be such.

The exogamy which appears in this area was not the prohibition 171*
of marrying within the community, but an exogamy of practice. To
maintain caste, marriage must of necessity have frequently been with 582
persons of the same rank and wealth outside the village or tribe. 554
This was undoubtedly more the circumstance in the upper strata of society. It is obvious then that the distribution of this practice coincides closely with that of sharp distinctions of caste and wealth. Beyond those tribes whose attitudes may be so characterized, there was a fringe of peoples who had taken over the custom without its antecedents. Such local exogamy has been noted as far southward as the Hupa, the Sacramento Valley Maidu, and as far eastward as the Nez Percé.

The habits of postnuptial residence seem to correspond closely 171*
with the sense of purchase. It was patrilocal, the bride being taken
at once to her husband, in the coastal area southward to northern 591
California. Some variability does indeed appear but this seems no more than the common circumstance of residence according to preference. The Wishram instance of regular temporary matrilocal residence is an anomaly.

The position of the Klamath with respect to this northwestern 171 *
marriage complex was that of a distinctly marginal group. Purchase
to maintain social standing was present but the values not fixed; 583
the actual amount changing hands, relatively small. A series of formal 431
gift-bearing visits was prescribed, in which the bride's family returned more than they received, but there was no intentional rivalry in giving. The first visit was that of conducting the bride to the
groom as among all the southerly peoples. Residence was patrilocal 171 *
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*171 in conformity with northwestern views. The sense of obligation was
[591] weakly developed; the levirate was a mere custom, the sororate rare;
birth of heirs played no part in their scheme of things. In brief, the
[587] Klamath derived the sense of social standing based on wealth from
[583] the northwestern center, and the mechanism of marriage purchase to
effect it, but no more.

174 I am not inclined to indulge in an historical reconstruction of the northwestern marriage complex. But if it be in order, it seems better to suggest that the ancient, undifferentiated custom was the practice of mutual giving, subsequently formalized with the growth of concepts of wealth and rank on the Northwest Coast. The alternative is to hold that these attitudes and practices diffused from that center only after they attained full flower there. If this were so we should expect to find the specific forms of Northwest Coast procedure at a greater distance. I am very doubtful that ideas and sentiments diffuse as such, though I may have given that impression in some of the summary statements above. It seems rather that particular practices are imitated, and if but imperfectly copied or made rational in their new context, then alone do we say that merely the underlying idea has been borrowed.

*171 In the present case social stratification based on wealth had spread
over a wide area; wife purchase with it. I conceive that members of
174 the imitating tribes observed the aggrandizement that went with
583 wealth and took occasion among their fellows to insist on a similar,
and in their eyes proper, respect for themselves and their wealth
• 554 when opportunity offered. The spread of the marriage purchase custom
556 must have been one of the most effective mechanisms for the
spread of the sense of rank. Boas has already made such a case for the Kwakiutl and their neighbors. By marriage with the northern tribes among whom privilege concepts were highly developed, the Kwakiutl obtained these privileges through their wives.[587] The mechanism is clearly transparent in the Klallam preference for marriages to the north.[588] We are not told this of other tribes, to be sure, but it appeals to me that marriage into foreign tribes where payment for their women was demanded would inevitably bring in its train the notion that these women were in some way superior to those at home. This view is not drafted from thin air; among the tribes of Puget sound, e.g., the women of the more northerly tribes consider them-

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[587] Boas, Social Organization of North-Pacific Coast; Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 124.

[588] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 242.

selves the superiors of those among whom they are resident. Once the 171*
sentiment had become lodged in the group its fruition was made inevitable 174
by the imitation of others. 583

With Kroeber, who has so expressed himself on the subject of the 554•
Yurok,[338] I do not believe that the levirate and sororate were born of 556
this special development of purchase. Both customs have a nearly universal distribution in North America. It seems rather that such existing practices were drawn into the developing marriage complex of this area.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The background for a study of social stratification has been laid 128
in the preceding section. I will here deal with chieftainship, its relations to wealth and heredity, and related topics.

Social stratification was but weakly developed among the Klamath. 554
Social standing did not depend directly on heredity and there was 556
apparently little difference in wealth from richest to poorest. Since wealth was inherited there was at least some stability to family standing. The marriage purchase gave respectability to the union; it did not fix the standing of the couple by reason of the amount paid. Yet [56]
there was some differentiation based on wealth, a continuous gradation from the wealthiest to the slaves.

The wealthiest individuals were called lō'ki, rich men. This was 556
also the term by which chiefs were styled. My interpretation of the
Indian's statements is that those prominent individuals, who exer- 622
cised functions which would elsewhere have led to their being called chiefs, were at the same time the wealthiest. A chief became such primarily by successful leadership in war, coupled with some background of spirit power, wealth, personal qualities, especially ability as an advisor, with some suggestion of hereditary interest.

The chiefly functions emphasized were leadership in war and 622
haranguing the people. The chief could not issue injunctions, he re- [70]
ceived no tribute, and was in no way responsible for the conduct or debts of his people. Just prior to reservation days there was introduced from Columbia river the practice of chiefs sitting as judges. [565]

While chiefs were set off from the mass, this did not imply any sense of caste stratification. Their wives and children were not known by a distinctive class term.

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[338] Handbook, 31.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1860-1900)

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756 Every evidence points to the recency of the rise of chieftainship among these people. It is doubtful that material differences in wealth and slave-holding existed prior to the opening of direct contact with the Columbia river tribes after 1800. Even then chiefs were of relatively minor importance. The shamans were the great men and the wealthiest, easily eclipsing the chiefs. As an instance I have cited the difficulty of obtaining the names of chiefs of pre-reservation days, whereas shamans are well remembered. It is clear that some of the local groups did not have chiefs. The relative dominance of the shaman persisted until reservation days. Prior to this time chiefs were barely differentiated leaders of the Great Basin type.

Basis of Chieftainship

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554 The Northwest Coast tribes stood in sharp contrast to this simple social scheme. There existed a caste system, a division into aristocracy, commoners, and slaves. While the relative ranking was continuous from the noblest aristocrat to the meanest commoner, there was nevertheless a well defined consciousness of distinction between the grades. This aristocracy was based on lineage and wealth. Its highest members were the chiefs, ordinarily the wealthiest persons. Yet a chief might lose wealth but retain his rank by reason of his birth. Within each community were several chiefs of the first rank whose authority extended hardly beyond their immediate retainers. Their advice was followed rather than their dictates obeyed. They were, however, among the Kwakiutl, for example, the recipients of gifts from their followers, not so much by reason of right as to bespeak their future aid and to enrich them to the further glory of the whole group.[460]

A definite caste system of this type is traceable southward from British Columbia through coastal Washington and Oregon at least as far as the Alsea. It has been noted, for example, for Klallam, the Puget sound tribes, Chinook, Wishram, and Alsea. It did not appear in the interior among the upper Fraser river tribes, nor in eastern Washington as among the Okanagon and Middle Columbia Salish, nor in eastern Oregon among Klamath, Modoc, and Northern Paiute. At the southern extremity of this area of distribution a somewhat different situation prevailed. There was no rigid caste system, but differences of wealth were considerable and on these social standing rested. This held at least for coastal Oregon and northwestern California (Coos, Yurok, Hupa) while inland among Takelma and Shasta it was true to a lesser degree. The Klamath feeling for stratification based on wealth is thus intelligible as an attenuated form. 171* 622 565

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[460] See Sapir, Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes, 360; Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 338, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1333 f., Social Organization of the Kwakiutl.

It follows that chieftainship was hereditary in the area in which ranking was fixed by birth as well as wealth, while it rested on wealth alone in the southern area. Merely to list the instances, it was hereditary among Klallam, Snohomish, Chinook, Wishram, Wasco, and Alsea (but see below). The richest men among the southern tribes were the equivalent: Coos, Yurok, Hupa, and Shasta, and, if we reverse this statement, the Klamath. It is thus intelligible why Sapir found among the Wishram that "being a chief did not necessitate being a particularly wealthy man. It often happened that the wealthiest people did not belong to the highest rank."[561] Similarly that a wealthy Coos could flout the orders of a chief, and among the Alsea "it was possible . . . . for a common man, by reason of extraordinary power or wealth, to rise to the dignity of a chief and thus raise his family in rank."[562] 554

There was in none of these tribes a governmental organization involving hierarchy of chiefs. The point is really that what we here write of as tribes were rather dialectic and cultural units, not political entities. Political separation was carried to a high degree throughout the Pacific slope, the local communities being almost without exception autonomous, or at most grouped for common action within a quite restricted district. It followed from this that the number of chiefs was rarely or never fixed. Those who were entitled to leadership by virtue of birth or wealth were recognized as leaders. Thus it happened that while some communities had more than one of first rank, others had none. Yet other tribes did not always exhibit the haphazardness of the Klamath in this regard. 171* 622

Where the feeling was strong that every wealthy man was entitled to consideration, as among the Hupa, "each village had a head-man who was the richest there. . . . . The very fact of his wealth gave him the power of a chief and maintained him in that power."[563] We may presume this true of the Yurok as well and probably the Karok. The Shasta "chief was the head of the richest family in the district," 171* 622 556

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[561] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

[562] St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 25; Farrand, Notes on the Alsea, 242.

[563] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 58.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2960. Intratribal feuds or murders: compensation	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	728
2961. Revenge only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	
2962. Victims send envoy(s) to ask aggressors for pay	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	
2963. Chief or headman as envoy	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	[622]
2964. Paid for services by 1 side	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2965. Chief or headman makes peace	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2966. Compensation for slain, 1 side only	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2967. Compensation for all dead	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	
2968. If victims on both sides, no compensation	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
2969. Payment in beads, property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2970. Payment in women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2971. Customarily	+	+	.	(+)	.	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
2972. Intratribally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2973. Intertribally	+	–	–	–	(+)	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2974. Pay according to wealth, more for rich	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	[556]
2975. Pay according to status of victim	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	[554]
2976. Pay according to sex of victim	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	.	–	–	
2977. Pay according to age of victim	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	[562]
2978. If sufficient reason for killing, not much pay	–	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	[561]
2979. If kill "for meanness," pay large amount	–	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2980. Sticks of 1-string length for negotiation	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2981. Amount same as victim's mother's bride price	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	[583]
2982. Amount (for woman) same as usual bride price	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	
2983. Payment divided among all villagers	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2984. Most of payment goes to chief	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2985. Payment for woman goes to husband	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2986. Payment for woman goes to her family	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2987. Payment for man goes to his family	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2988. Payment for slave goes to owner	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2989. Payment for slave goes to latter's family	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2990. Compensation for property destroyed	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Dance or Meeting for Settlement

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2991. Both groups present	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	728
2992. Daytime	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	535
2993. Night	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2994. At certain localities outside village	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2995. Halfway between 2 villages	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2996. Dressed for war; armed	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2997. Dance in circle	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2998. Dance in row, abreast	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2999. 2 groups face each other	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3000. All dance together	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3001. Payment in beads	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3002. During dance	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3003. Dancers disarm after money paid	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3004. Women dance with blood money	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3005. Blood money smoked over fire	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3006. Groups sometimes eat together	–	–	+			–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	

[Klamath Reservation]

As if to supply counterpoint to the virtues of the esteemed, K M
the myths cast scorn upon the baseborn, with their noisy pre- 556
tensions to eminence, their repeated disregard and outright 554 •
ignorance of good breeding, their ignoble cheating of members 735
of their own village, the shabbiness of their gear, and their 538
downright poverty. A poor man is "like a slave." The impecunious aged, lacking kinfolk to provide for them, are no better. Yet the myths do not depict the lot of the poor and the orphan as inalterably fixed: by dint of striving they may win their way to spiritual power and to material affluence, thereby gaining the esteem of their fellows.

The behavior traditionally to be maintained toward others is K
well illustrated by the formal counsel given in recent days by 577
one old Klamath woman. Speaking to her great-grandson, she said:

> Now you listen to me; I want to tell you what is right. When you go into town, don't run around; don't go with them bad Indians. Stay in the house. Do what is right. We know that children should do what their father and mother tell them. Listen to what old people tell you. Some people, them bad Indians, they steal. Stealing is bad. No one should take anything without paying for it. Don't make trouble; be nice to everybody. Some people, they smash things and then they get into trouble. If you stay home you won't be in no trouble. Don't pay attention to those people who want to lead you into trouble. Stay away from them. They will only lead you into temptation and you will be sorry. Speak nice to poor people. Don't laugh at them. Pay attention to them and help them. Don't make people talk about you. Help all; act good all the time. Be nice and smart. Lead the blind; don't laugh at them. When you see a poor person, go up and tell him who you are. That way everybody thinks good of you. Don't play tricks on people. Be smart and nice. Be careful you don't get into trouble. *Now I am correcting you.*[15]

This is the ideal behavior for the well born or for those who aspire to advance themselves: the ability to maintain boundaries against outsiders, to find the fundamental strength within the home and the wise counsel of elders, and to be considerate of those less fortunate.

These norms, however, must be tempered by the demands of existence in a real world, in which particularistic loyalties take precedence. At the center of concentric circles of concern stands 000

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K M 593 602 K M [601] [591]

At the center of concentric circles of concern stands the natal family.[16] In the myths, parents and offspring and siblings are bound by the strongest affective bonds: in trouble they provide succor and in death, revenge. The obligation transcends abstract ethical considerations. In real life, mutual responsibility reaches out to embrace the extended family, the close consanguineal kindred linked through two or three generations. Although kinship terminology acknowledges equally relationships on the maternal and paternal sides, residence practices in general favor the latter. From close kinsmen on both sides come the gifts that set the seal of approval upon the marriage of a member; during his lifetime they share food with him in his need, support him in his quarrels, and assist his avenger should he be slain. At his funeral, it is they, together with friends of the deceased, who are expected to place valuables upon the funeral pyre.

K M 602 621 571 K M [577] K 756 622 621 554

Beyond the sphere of immediate kindred and of friends lies the domain of neighbors and remote relatives. If more central obligations tend to be principally a function of consanguinity, and thus to be ascriptive in character, village relationships and those outside are more frequently based upon performance. Here enter those standards of behavior by which a person of good family may be confirmed in position, the poor but worthy rise, and the ne'er-do-well sink in the public view. At the head of this loose and shifting status scale stand the shamans and other influential men, the leaders of hamlet groups. On occasion they may meet in an informal village council to concert decisions. Yet the village, which in its spatial limits often blends with adjacent settlements and which dissolves with the turn of the seasons, can exert little constraint upon its members.

K M 62

The prestige of the leaders, the force of public opinion, and checks imposed by rival village interests hold the unruly in line. The principle of self-help and the responsibility of kinsmen may enlarge grievances to feuds if the differences are not soon ended, and thus threaten the very being of the community. To counter such fissive tendencies, leaders mediate disputes and exhort to their fellow villagers the need to maintain harmony.

K M 621 563 582

Time may alter the membership of villages. Men frequently seek wives in other communities; and there is considerable intermarriage between Klamath and Modoc and Klamath and Molala,

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

FOUR

[P. 52]

Clothing, Names, and Houses

*648 *657 177 SOME OF THE OBJECTIVES SET FORTH BY GOVERNMENTAL POLICY called for programs of broad institutional transformation in economy, political structure, and religion, and for only slightly less sweeping modifications in the family. Indian life was to assume the pattern of the rural, homesteading families of post-bellum America. To judge by the wording of the treaty, a generation was deemed sufficient at least to launch the changes.[1] Meanwhile, the young were to be schooled to take up that new life—a life yet to be realized by their parents.

The dangers of increasing intergenerational frictions, of augmenting stresses between different segments of the tribesmen, were not directly faced. Among them, individuals responded to the opportunity according to their differing capacities and inclinations. Those who forged to the front in the early days of the reservation included a number of persons already familiar with life in the white settlements; and the Agency threw its weight behind them and cited their cumulative development as evidence of the wisdom of government policy. When so construed, however, their achievements created administrative expectations for their fellow tribesmen that proved unrealistic.

In enumerating the features that would be taken as indexes of progress in the statistical reports, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was doing no more than seeking common denominators of acculturation, readily observed and counted. At the same time, there was a temptation for local administrators to manipulate the markers and satisfy the indexes directly. Thus white clothing was issued directly as part of the annuities and houses were built for Indian leaders. To these practices, and toward such acts as the bestowal of new names, there was no organized opposition, and acceptance was rapid.

[291] [342] [554] [553]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

SIXTEEN

[P.214]

Status Gradient, Ethnic Hierarchy, and Acculturative Range

*648 WHEREVER THEY WENT, UPON THE RESERVATION OR IN THE *657 communities beyond its borders, tribal members encountered a • 554 status gradient not of their own devising, and found themselves assigned a place upon it. It was not that they had not possessed their own ways of appraising others, or that some of those judgments were not continued. The standards upon which they found themselves judged were largely extrinsic to their own life. To be sure, in communities such as Beatty, judgments were most closely akin to those of traditional Klamath culture, for here they were informally applied upon the basis of direct acquaintance. At the other extreme, in such cities as Klamath Falls, where firsthand familiarity was often lacking, a person or family was judged upon outward evidence of appearance and demeanor, of possessions and associations. Under these contexts, the stereotype of "Klamath" or—in regions farther from home—of "Indian" became significant.

Towns such as Chiloquin occupied a middle range in the formation of status gradients, for they were still small enough to permit each person to be known directly, while evincing sufficient complexity to provide for an institutionalization of [571] social precedence. Participation in a number of formal associa- [573] tions, together with informal cliquing of varying degrees of exclu- siveness, was invested with social value. The standing of men [562] was more narrowly related to their economic achievements; the

position of women was linked to participation in bodies overtly 648*
directed toward social benevolences, the standing for the entire 667*
family being summative for its members. 554.

All of this will prove familiar, for the social system in Chilo- [562]
quin had been derived from that in other American communities.
The formal, secondary associations, membership in which served
as counters in the social game, included church auxiliaries, ser- [571]
vice fraternities and lodges, and groups devoted to sports, politics, the school, and to youth activities. The manner in which the organizations were ranked had little to do with their functions or their local historical priority. It related instead to the prestige which they enjoyed generally in the western United States and their identification with social status. Even within such a small community as Chiloquin, social assessment had become refined to a marked degree. It was maintained by indirection and with considerable tact, yet gave structure to much of the social interaction.

Since the social order in Chiloquin has been discussed at length elsewhere,[1] only the major outlines need be drawn here. Yet it is inadvisable to leave the impression that any single di-
mension provided a clear means of ranking. It was evident, for [795]
example, that there was an ordering of the Protestant churches,
ranging from the Methodist church through intermediate bodies down to the pentecostal Full Gospel body and two ethnic sects—one Klamath and the other Negro—in major membership. Their congregations and ministers, their location and material endowment, together with the character of their worship, all afforded a basis for this ranking. Two churches, nonetheless, stood somewhat outside this range. One, the Williamson River Mission, was the Klamath church founded in the early days of the reservation. As such, it had historical venerability, a Methodist affiliation, but an ethnic membership. The second was the Catholic church, located in a less favored section of town, yet eminently endowed and drawing members from the entire social span.

Status differences in Chiloquin, moreover, were variously 648*
assessed by its residents. Several of those who objectively occu- 657*
pied high status stressed the leveling qualities of primary rela- 554
tions which they regarded as characterizing the town, and dis- 829
counted the reality of a hierarchical ordering. Others, of middle

*648 *657 • 554 829 status, whose desires to move upward had been temporarily baffled, delineated the system in terms far more precise than appeared justifiable, and as an instrument of calculated power. Members of several church groups of intermediate or low ranking, each of which saw themselves as a body of the elect in a world of sinners, denied the validity of any other assessment. It was frequent in such instances to find individuals contrasting the superiority of their own ideals with the fallible conduct of members of other reference groups.

*648 *657 571 554 Despite such demurrers, which have become a sociological commonplace, the evidence of informal association in parties, bridge clubs, drinking cliques, and loafing groups, together with participation in more formal associations, attests the existence of a status grid, with a multiplicity of positions ranked relatively, rather than in an order of fixed classes.[2] The results of a sociometric study indicate[3] that the primary criteria underlying evaluation in Chiloquin included income, occupation, landownership, and educational status. For the person with the proper qualifications, mobility was relatively easy; while the daily contact of everyday life made possible—particularly for long-time residents—an easy association, spiced with mutual esteem, across wide differences in status.

Klamath standing in such a system was relatively low. The majority of tribal members failed to qualify for most of the specific criteria valued; and in one area, the style of their life, they fell conspicuously short of the standards set. They did not enter readily into most of the associations within which the formal social life of the town was transacted. Some felt they would not be welcome, and often they were right. Even that handful who were acceptable only inched forward, anticipating rebuff at every step. As a group, tribal members suffered disesteem for their wardlike subjugation to the government and the legal disabilities that hedged them in. Within the community, their low productive status, their dependence upon a credit system, and their record before the law all provided grounds for being judged deficient.

*648 *657 563 For the white citizens of Chiloquin, achievement was the token by which each person was ideally placed. Klamath, however, also labored under their inclusion in a fixed category; for in the ethnic

*648 divided into three segments as nearly equal in size as possible.[24]
*657 The symmetrical cuts resulted in a Conformant segment, pre-
177 vailingly law-abiding in record, almost twice as large as the In-
178 framodal category at the other end, which consisted of these
184 persons with the highest record of violations. The Intermediate
125 membership was slightly larger than that of the Conformant.[25]

The characteristics of each of these categories, when contrasted, tend to confirm statements made previously. Members of the Conformant segment were least Indian biologically and included the highest proportion of women. They seem to have come from comparatively smaller families and, with the Intermediate subjects, seem to have received far more adequate parental care than did the Inframodal category. Educational achievements are less distinctive, reflecting the compulsory nature of schooling on the reservation, but again the Inframodal segment lags behind the others in school grade completed. In the measure of engagement in business or ranching and in record of money management, the distinctions are decisive, with the Conformant category far outstripping its fellows and the Inframodal segment at the bottom. Finally, in both the percentage of those married and living with spouse and family as well as in the stability of residence the same order is seen.

In the second part of the study, the thirty Klamath subjects who had given Dr. Clifton responses to the Murray Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)[26] were assigned by judgment to the three segments, the protocols of each category being treated together by a method of analysis previously employed in examining Klamath mythology.[27] When all of the modern TAT segments were combined and contrasted with the myths, the responses were seen to reflect changes which had in fact taken place through time. Thus a trend toward a universalistic outlook
[602] was reflected, along with lessened attention to the ramifications
[594] of kinship, a reduction of the family itself to nuclear form, and
[554] a concurrent diversification of role relationships toward individ-
[571] uals acting impersonally as employer, policeman, doctor, or
teacher. A secularization of life may also be reflected by the scant consideration of religion in the modern protocols.

[571] When the modern TAT segments were compared, the Conformant subjects were seen to place a strong emphasis upon support

771 To treat aboriginal Klamath religion under three headings of shamanism,
[791] power quest, and cosmology is patent oversimplification. In nature and
[554] content these features formed an integrated configuration reflecting a major
cultural preoccupation. It is true that the shaman in each community played
a dominant role and in his capacity as curer, magician, and entertainer commanded
[787] the utmost in social prestige. On the other hand, as was common in
western North America, every individual, at puberty and thereafter, deliberately
and repeatedly sought contact with a variably defined spirit world.
Thus Klamath culture had a variation of the American Indian guardian-
773 spirit theme. Less specifically formalized, and so perhaps, less well integrated,
776 were the elements of myth and tale, the rationalizations for the presence of
various natural phenomena, for eschatology, and for the general conception
of the universe. Like adjacent tribes, the Klamath interested themselves in
animal spirits. These were of particular importance in providing shamanistic
power. In the individual power quest, however, the sources from which spiritual
forces emanated were less specifically defined. A rather wide range of supernatural
powers was recognized, some being animals, some vaguely anthropomorphic,
others relating to such natural features as mountains, streams,
rocks, or even landmarks like Crater Lake. In respect to these forces an
involved folklore has arisen which allows some classification of the Klamath
[775] concepts of the supernatural. In this realm, for example, are views about
the abode of the dead and the nature of ghosts and souls, these being carefully
differentiated from nonhuman spirits.[3] Here too is a body of myth relating
to superhuman dwarf men and women, to the forces in specific places or
natural phenomena in the Klamath terrain, and finally, the most important
for this discussion, to the culture hero, the anthropomorphic Kemu'kemps.[4]

[171] Kemu'kemps, while not usually identified with an animal spirit, has many
characteristics suggesting the folklore regarding Coyote in the Plateau-Basin.
He is at once creator and trickster, angrily forbidding in some contexts,
indifferent in others, and in still others a ludicrous buffoon.

[825] Essentially human in conceptualization (a myth complex relating to a
[821] human hero also occurs in adjacent regions), Kemu'kemps is sometimes
identified with the marten, whose younger brother is weasel, and with the
winds.[5] In the myths assembled by Gatschet, he constantly rivals his magically
born son 'Ayšiš, whose destruction he repeatedly plans, often with the result
[821] of encompassing his own. Weather, such as rain or heat, was also attributed
to him. Kemu'kemps is also the creator, and there are numerous folktales
which tell how he brought various locations into being. At his instigation,

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[113] 1939), cf. 145-149; Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distributions: Northeastern California* (Anthropological Records, 7: 2, Berkeley, 1942).

[3] Spier, 1930, pp. 100 ff.

[113] [4] Cf. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (U. S. Geological Survey, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Washington, 1890), pt. 1, lxxix-lxxxv, and pt. 2, 138-140. A summary is also given by Spier, 1930, loc. cit.

[5] Gatschet, 1890, pt. 1, lxxxii-iii.

balance, ascribed it to war and stated that in 1864, "the females 657* 648*
were largely in the majority . . . a condition which continues . . . 563
to this day."[13] 162

That the sources were indeed to be found in the conditions of native life is suggested by the circumstance that subsequently the imbalance was reduced: about 1875, the overall ratio was 0.72; while by the latter part of the period, from 1885 to 1906, it had reached an average of 0.87. It has since continued upward, to attain the approximate equality that characterizes the white neighbors of the Klamath.

Freed slaves constituted a second novel element in the population. 657*
Marriage to a slave had once been scorned, though Chief 648*
Chiloquin himself had married a Shasta slave; and even today 567
some stigma is attached to slave descent, albeit it is likely to be 178
brought up only as damaging gossip. Both sentimental family 177
attachments—a traditional attitude transcending acknowledged differences[14]—and recognition of the achievement of former slaves went far to ameliorate their position. One slave, Charlie Pitt, had been raised with his captor's son, Drummer David, in fraternal amity. The bond remained strong through life, and Charlie willed David his property when he died.[15] Another, one of three captured Pit River brothers, escaped to friendly whites who raised him in Ashland and gave him the distinguished name of Stonewall Jackson. In 1878 he returned to the Agency and the following year became a sawyer's apprentice. In recommending an increase in salary for him, Nickerson remarked that he "speaks the English language fluently, & is what may be called a civilized Indian." With several offers at better wages off the reservation, he wished to remain until he could qualify as a competent sawyer.[16] The best known of the slaves was Henry Jackson, whose rise has already been sketched. It is worth noting that he married the daughter of a Modoc chief, and that tribal members from over the reservation were not too proud to accept his bounty.

The altered social order was characterized by greatly increased 657*
mobility. An entire new range of opportunities was open 648*
to those who possessed or could develop new skills. Opportunity, 555•
however, fell unequally, for the major new enterprises and position 177
in nineteenth-century America were masculine. As they were 178
incorporated into the regular activities of the Agency and within [562]

*657 the surrounding white neighborhood, the men came to take up
*648 roles narrowly and specifically defined in American terms and
• 555 to rephrase them in terms of their closest native counterparts.[17]
177 Thus, in the political field, judges and Indian police enlarged
178 the formal duties of office with some of the powers traditionally exerted by chiefs. Assimilation of roles, however, progressed in both directions; and in the end even relationships within Indian society upon the reservation were modified toward the American system. This was only partially the consequence of conscious imitation on the part of the Indians or of change directly instituted by the whites. In some measure, it came as the undesigned byplay of a modification made for another purpose.

*657 This, for example, was one of the effects of the educational
*648 system and its particular instrument, the boarding school. Be-
871 cause boarding school spanned the time of life upon which the
177 Klamath vision quest and the girls' puberty rite fell, those native
178 experiences were largely eliminated; and change of status was
[881] signaled instead by the final return from school. Education was designed for an altered future, but it increased intergenerational
[561] strife, as elders, their accumulated wisdom rendered obsolete in a changed setting, confronted youths skeptical in the superiority of their book-won knowledge. From the vantage of program, this was unfortunate—if inevitable—for the Agent depended for cooperation upon those same vexed adults.

To be sure, much of the change instituted might be regarded as supplementing and enlarging—rather than replacing—native content, for many a Klamath who was a schoolboy in those days today combines the learning of his elders with the lessons taught him in the schools. Participation in two orders juxtaposed for them made manifest the relativity of each one. For those youths, the new order was not to be taken on simple assertion; it had to demonstrate its superiority in a manner not required by those born into it.

*657 With all the changes that tended to distort the social order,
*648 women were less directly affected than were their husbands and
562 children. Their roles were still principally internal to the family,
177 as wife and mother; and though opportunities for employment
178 were beginning to open for them in the schools, their contacts with the ambient American culture were more fleeting and more

539 he was nowhere to be seen. They thought he must have died. After a long time he began to talk, throwing water on the rocks. When he was quite ready he came out and walked to his own people. He had beated the shamans.

One informant completed the humorous tale of the lizard who killed five grizzlies with the comment, "He was braver than Tci'lokin."

622 Chiefs are wealthy. All informants gave the same term, lŏ'ki, for rich man and chief, and when asked for the rich men named the chiefs.
556 They own many slaves; other people may have slaves, but many have
595 none. Some chiefs have a number of wives. Lɛle'ks had seven at one time, not slaves, but one a Modoc, the others native. This, the largest
[567] marrige group known, argues considerable wealth. Lɛle'ks was accus-
[439] tomed to make frequent trips to northern tribes with captives to exchange for horses. Everything points to the rise in wealth of these men as dating only from the comparatively recent period of contact with the northern tribes. Up to that time at least shamans rivaled
[756] chiefs in wealth.

622 A chief becomes such primarily by his leadership in war. When a group is gathered preparatory to war, chiefs address them and under their guidance war leaders, prominent, brave, and wealthy, are agreed on. Chiefs themselves are among the war leaders and no one alone captains the party. Chiefs make a point of engaging prominent adversaries in the forefront of battle. In addition to their other qualities, it is assumed that they are brave, unexcitable, and able to do without sleep.

Under the circumstances there can hardly be inheritance of chieftainship, largely because it is not an office to be regulated by definite succession. A chief's relative may be chosen as war leader, but not of necessity. Since wealth figures, it may be that at least the possibility of succession is heritable, but a man who is personally disqualified will not be considered. Pat Kane's paternal grandfather was a chief at du'kwa; further vision experiences had made him a good gambler but no shaman. But his son did not succeed because he was not competent and, in addition poor, nor has Pat any pretensions. On the death of Lɛle'ks, his son Solomon was passed over as lacking caliber, and in reservation days Alan David, previously a minor figure, was recognized in his place. Their relationship is unknown. My informants did not know whether the fathers of any of the chiefs named above had been chiefs before them.

[565] The Klamath have no feeling of class stratification as on the Columbia river and northward. A chief is a leader and nothing more.

648 fishing on Lost river near Olene. A shallow bowl-shaped twined
[439] basket, called ḳ!we'lu, is obtained from the Modoc, who in turn trade
it from Pit river. There is no direct trade with the latter people.

231 Horses were first acquired in any number about 1840. They had
177 been previously acquainted with them in the hands of whites who
crossed their country about this time; dates are uncertain. Ogden
in 1826 remarked on a single horse seen as though it was a rarity
231 among them.[66] The first sources were Warm Springs and perhaps
177 some group immediately east of that place. These were obtained by
chiefs; others were too poor in slaves to buy them. The name given
437 the new animal follows the common habit, wa'tcag from wate, dog.
Saddles (pă'olăs) were first made of antelope hide. Here, as in the
Plains, horses served as a stimulator of contacts, especially with the
Columbia river peoples. As I have remarked, their introduction seems
responsible for the rapid increase in wealth, the flow of northern ideas
concerning social stratification, importance of wealth and of slave-holding,
Plains costume, and those predatory habits which furnished
the withal to maintain the new status.

237 Buffalo (yo'ho) skins are obtained at second hand; the Klamath
177 know that their origin is east of the Umatilla, that is, in Idaho.
Buffalo never ranged into this country, although they reached the
437 Harney Lake district. But very few skins ever make their way into
567 Klamath hands; only men with many slaves can afford them. They
are wanted to cover a gambler's hands in the stick game, an opportunity
for ostentation.

177 Parfleches (sḳŏ'psōli, folded up) are traded from Warm Springs
437 people and Sahaptins beyond them on the Columbia. They are not
415 made by Klamath.

Incidentally, many older people have fluent command of Chinook
*171 jargon. They, or somewhat doubtfully the Modoc, are the southernmost
people with whom this trade jargon is current. Kroeber remarks
437 on the fragments in use by Yuki and Shasta.[67] Naturally enough, it
191 served a purpose with the Columbia river peoples alone and was of but
small value with the whites coming from California.

It is interesting to know what constituted wealth among the Kla-
• 556 math, but with the old life now gone it is difficult to get direct evidence.
However, certain things alone were spoken of when describing

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[66] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

[67] Handbook, 308, 319.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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wealthy individuals. In approximate frequency of mention are slaves, horses, beads—and not always dentalium—food, archers' equipment, furs and hides, especially elk hides, Plains type garments, armor, large houses, buffalo skins, canoes. It is just as interesting to observe what things were not mentioned as valuable, or so to a lesser degree: baskets, nets, mortars, etc. In a word, articles of value in foreign commerce, articles of dress and adornment, of war, ritual, and sustenance, have value; domestic utensils have not. Some of the phrases describing wealthy men are illuminating. A war leader is chosen in part for his riches: he would own five quivers (five is the pattern number); he goes into battle with a quiver under each arm and one on his back. If his bowstring is cut he has another. A rich man has fur blankets, coyote and wolf pelts.

Dentalium shell beads do not function as money here as on the 436
lower Klamath river. They are strung in fathom or half-fathom lengths, but neither length of string nor size of shell is standardized. The longer individual shells are more valuable but no one is known to haggle over the precise length as Yurok and their neighbors do.

MARRIAGE

A marriage payment is a social obligation. It is not a negotiated 583
transaction as with the Yurok, Hupa, and Karok, for example, where [171]*
indeed the social status of the family is measured in exact accord to the sum paid for the bride. Here failure to pay, which can be only a confession of inability, leads only to a lowering in social esteem. It is consonant with this that the bride is in no sense a chattel; she may leave her husband at will, and she certainly cannot be disposed of as a possession. Bride purchase is as inapplicable a term as can be found for the Klamath practice. In the interchange of presents which follows marriage the advantage lies most frequently with the husband's family. Payment constitutes an obligation, a seal of respectability. This is the well-nigh universal situation in North America if payments enter at all; it is a far cry from the commercial, contractual bride
purchase of Africa, for example. The peculiarity of the Klamath is [626]
that failure to pay constitutes a social stigma. This is clearly explicable as a function of their geographic position, lying between the [177]
tribes to the west, with their clear-cut monetary evaluations of social relations, and the tribes of the Great Basin to the east, utterly devoid of any such sentiments.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Costume is scanty for both men and women. Poorer individuals 291 are equipped with simply a fringed skirt and nothing more beyond 291 basketry hats. The wealthier, however, affect a dress which strongly resembles that of the Plains tribes. Such men are clad in breech- 556 clout, leggings, moccasins, and on gala days buckskin shirts; women, in the long dress of Plains type, with short leggings and moccasins. 177 This Plains costume seems to be of recent introduction; traditional feeling to that effect is reflected in the proscription of its use during shamanistic performances and in the Ghost dance of 1870–73. This might also be inferred from the fact that the Klamath represent its most westerly extension, or nearly so, in this quarter. Plains influences have reached the Klamath through the Columbia river tribes, with whom direct contact dates only from the beginning of the last century. We may hazard the guess that this costume does not date back before 1800 among the Klamath, and is perhaps not so old.

The fringed skirt is a garment which completely encircles the 291 wearer's waist, not an apron nor two aprons. It is formed of tule, or sage-brush bark, or possibly of buckskin strips, braided in cords which hang thickly from the belt. These pendants are closely set at the front and back, and hang but scantily over the hips. Distinctive names for the front and back parts (respectively hlsci'aks, hangs between the legs, and hlsteo'lic, hangs behind) suggest its relation to the familiar two-apron garment of California. Men's skirts do not reach the knee; women's hang below it.

The man's shirt (teuli's) is of the Plains poncho type. This is a large skin with a hole in the middle, put on over the head. It reaches to the upper thighs and hangs loosely over the arms, without any attempt at sleeves, but is tied together under the arms. When only small skins are to be had, two of these are sewed together along the shoulders. Front and back are the same, the neck hole is round, and they are indifferent as to which side hangs in front.[379]

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[379] A shirt illustrated in a photograph shown me had deep fringes along its lower border and on the seams joining the sleeves to the body of the garment. The sleeves indicate that this is a modern derivative of the old garment. I was told that a fringe is sometimes placed horizontally across the chest. A man's shirt in the collections of the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 67383) has a short fringed opening down the breast from the neck hole, and a border of beads on the low collar rising around the neck.

Taken as a whole Klamath material culture is of Plateau type with 171*
strong leanings toward northeastern California. But their social and 101
religious culture has a different aspect. While basically of the
extremely simple Basin-Plateau type, social habits reflect the Northwest 105
Coast, religious ones rather those of northern California and
western Oregon.

The basis of Klamath religious experience is that of the northern 171*
interior, the Basin, and the Northwest Coast, in distinction to California
and the Southwest. The experience is deliberately sought and 771
the power obtained is of a generalized, unspecialized nature. In this
they resemble as well the generality of North Americans. Even their
spirits are of the sort universal east of the Pacific coast. Specific
Northwest Coast influence appears in the circumscription of general
spirit repossession to the midwinter month. On the other hand, the
shaman novice's inaugural dance, which gives at least as much color
to Klamath shamanism, is characteristic of northern California and
western Oregon. The Klamath form of it is, rather, Oregonian.
Details of shamanism, on the other hand, link more firmly with
northern, especially northeastern, California.

Social organization is extremely simple, and it is quite patent that 171*
as late as the end of the eighteenth century, it resembled that of the
Basin and Plateau in every particular. Even now social stratification
is only weakly developed. Chiefs were only recently set off from the
mass, their functions vague and their influence slight. At the very 171*
moment that Klamath society began to break down with the coming of 177
the whites, they first imported from the Columbia river judicial functions
for the chiefs. Chiefs are the wealthiest individuals, but they 622
are not chiefs because they are wealthy. Their selection is still based
on principles of personal ability. The basis of this differentiation,
wealth, came from the same direction, but the accompanying principle
of the Northwest Coast, caste stratification, never reached here; nor
did the chief's adjunct, a speaker or advocate, although this functionary
is known in the Plateau and Basin as well as in the Northwest.
At the other end of the scale, slavery is apparently an old institution, 171*
but was of little importance until wealth began to figure among them. 567
The Northwest Coast concept of status based on wealth appears again
in marriage, here regularly by purchase. But social estimation did 171*
not rest on the amount paid, which was in fact very little. With so 556*
slight an emphasis on rank and wealth, those northwestern corollaries,
local exogamy to maintain the one and the family compact following 584

*171 on the other, were entirely absent among the Klamath. Nevertheless
• 556 the mechanism of the Northwest Coast for the exchange of presents,
the potlatch, does appear here in the form of prescribed reciprocal
584 visits between the families of bride and groom. It has not been clearly
recognized that these features of Northwest Coast social life have
spread even farther from that focus into the northern Plains and to
north central California.

*171 Of the slender stock of Klamath ceremonials, the scalp dance is
widely known, the war or incitement dance is common to northwestern
535 California and perhaps all of Oregon. Kroeber has pointed out that
726 so far as California is concerned scalp and war dances are mutually
exclusive in their distributions.[418] But the Klamath, like all others
*171 of eastern Oregon, carry out both dances. The girls' adolescence rite
of the Klamath is one with those of western Oregon and northern
881 California. This is a local phrasing of similar rites known from
Alaska to the Southwest, but lacking east of the Sierra-Cascades.
Specific details of the Klamath affair are closer to northern Cali-
*171 fornian forms than to those of Oregon. The Ghost dance of 1870 was
evanescent among them. Its first form was that characteristic of the
original dance of Nevada; later it was overlaid by features char-
acteristic of central California.[419]

177 Some historical relief emerges in this survey. It is definitely
traceable in some details and can be established inferentially for more
basic elements. The most recent stratum of adopted traits is post-
[285] reservation, i.e., later than 1865. This includes two types of basketry
derived from the Northern Paiute settled on the reservation, a sifting
[668] basket and a coiled water bucket, and the Ghost dance. The earlier
form of the Ghost dance was instituted by the same group of Paiute
in 1870 or '71. This was the familiar circle of dancers, whose leaders
[343] dreamed new regulations; its ideology the return of the dead. In
1873 a Pit River introduced central Californian elements; a dance
[534] lodge, probably the clap-stick rattle, new songs, etc. To the same
[533] stratum belongs the imitation of the Warm Springs-Yakima one-piece
moccasin.

[291] Other elements are recognized as pertaining to pre-reservation
177 days, but probably not earlier than the middle of the last century:
the hand drum derived from the north, and perhaps the social dances
534 in which it is used; the hand game brought by a Spokane (?) man.

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535 [418] Kroeber, Handbook, 144, 844.

[419] Spier, Ghost Dance.

177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
174 Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[622] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
[721] carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-
[567] holding existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their dis-
177 tribution established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kin-
ship terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
[622] southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[619] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctive-
101 ness from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
105 to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some north-
western influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
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*171 The alternative to this exogamic practice was marriage with blood
582 kindred. While it was generally frowned on, an exception was permitted
if no other mate was available. This is an attitude different
from that of the Kwakiutl, who, desiring to keep privileges within the
family, married his niece or cousin. When there is no available mate
(114) outside the blood group, a Klallam may marry his first cousin. Eells
implies that a Twana (and Klallam?) always sought a wife first
"within a certain circle of his relatives."[511]

There is no adequate information for western Washington tribes save from the Klallam and more moderately from the Chinook. Inasmuch as their attitudes and practices coincide in large degree, it is safe to assume that they are representative of the intervening territory.

Both Klallam and Chinook view wealth as a criterion of rank and
its lavish display in the wedding ceremonial as an index of social
pretension. Marriage with a person of lower rank is unthinkable.
*171 It is apparent that most Klallam brides are paid for, yet elopements
occur and slave alliances are formed. Once such marriages are con-
• 556 tracted the parents make no effort to separate the couple, but a girl who
583 marries in this way is not highly respected. Whether payments are
585 made following elopements to legitimatize them, we are not told.
Upper-class Klallam have a definite preference for extra-tribal mar-
*171 riages, especially with the people of Vancouver island. Local exogamy
is even more general, holding for all ranks, for in a record of fifty-
582 seven marriages only five were with co-villagers.[512] Purchase, or its
*171 simulation, is so obviously the normal Chinook procedure also that
even a successful elopement will be nullified unless a small sum is
583 paid. And these sticklers for form go through the orthodox ritual on
this occasion as though the marriage was not yet consummated. For a
man too poor to pay, there is no recourse but in matrilocal residence
with bride service.[513]

There are but scattered observations on the tribes of the intervening territory but they suggest conformable practices. Since we learn that common people among the Makah paid a small amount for a bride without any ceremony, purchase must have been the regular form for all classes of society. Yet as elopements were frequent and are said always to have ended amicably, this suggests an approxima-

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[511] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 241; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 655.

[512] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 241 f.

[513] Boas, Chinook Texts, 251; Franchère, Narrative, 254.

*171 but heavily fined. "Generally speaking, these Indians seek their wives
582 from among other tribes than their own. . . . . It seems to be a
matter of pride, in fact, to unite the blood of several different ones
in their own persons. . . . . With the chiefs, this is almost always
the case."[617]

*171 Marriage by purchase was the usual form among the Nez Percé,
583 but it is said that a marriage by agreement because of the groom's
capabilities was a more desirable and honored form. This is a new
585 note, but it was characteristic of Plains tribes to the east. The purchase was effected with little ceremony. Bride and groom were not
ordinarily members of the same village.[618] The exogamic habit here
*171 had not the same basis as among the tribes previously discussed. It
seems due solely to the Nez Percé habit of forbidding marriages to
582 relatives of even remote degree, which necessarily resulted in village
exogamy. I am unable to find evidence of exogamic practice farther
to the east, but will return later to analogous forms of wife purchase.

*171 To return to the Columbia river: the Wishram had as strong a sentiment for caste and wealth as their down-river relatives, the Chinook
582 proper. Rank and wealth were here not quite synonymous, for chiefs
583 were not always the wealthiest individuals. Marriage was always
with one of the same rank, so that the children would have as high
• 556 standing as their parents. Payment was insisted on in every case;
583 even in the case of marriage with a deceased brother's wife the
procedure was gone through, else the children were as "nothing," i.e.,
[587] not legitimate. The feeling was that the marriage must be regularized by payment, else the contractants were the subject of odium, and furthermore the marriage would not be permanent. So strong was the feeling, that a lower-class man guilty of adultery with a chief's daughter or other close relation would be killed; not for his crime as such, but because he was too poor to make proper recompense in marriage. Even constructive adultery, such as accidentally touching another man's wife, was heavily fined. The insistence seems to have been on the regularity of the form, for it was freely acknowledged that the gifts made on either side were about equal. The marriage of very young children was arranged and carried out in full form. Chiefs and wealthy men marry women of other tribes, but marriage within the village was prohibited to no one save a blood relative.[619] Much the same situation is implied for other Upper Chinook.

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[617] Gibbs, Tribes of Western Washington, 197.

[618] Spinden, Nez Percé, 250; Farrand, Notes on the Nez Percé Indians, 246.

[619] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

*171 591 ern, and the foothill groups), Eastern and Northern Pomo. Thereafter it was not of necessity patrilocal, for residence might be continued with the woman's unit. Outright matrilocal habits appeared among the Sacramento Valley Maidu (although the majority of marriages were there patrilocal from the outset), Huchnom, and Yokuts. Southern California was again an area of patrilocal habits. Great Basin practice conformed with that of north central California; temporary matrilocal residence for Paviotso, Southern Paiute (?), Uintah Ute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni. Northern Plains tribes were generally patrilocal: Crow, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin. Matrilocal residence as well occurred among the last two. Hidatsa indulge in temporary matrilocal residence, after which there is no fixed rule.

Summary

*171 554 556 We may now review the data detailed above. Sharply crystallized distinctions of rank and the importance of wealth in establishing them, wealth itself assuming real proportions, center in this area in the Kwakiutl and other northern tribes. Similar caste distinctions are traceable southward on the coast to the Alsea and Coos, and eastward not beyond the Wishram. Social distinctions based on wealth to the almost complete exclusion of other factors extend beyond these limits; in attenuated form to the Sinkyone and Yuki and perhaps beyond to the south, to the Klamath and Shasta, to the Middle Columbia Salish of eastern Washington. *171 Marriage by purchase had an even more extended distribution; from the same center it is traceable 583 southward perhaps to Huchnom and Pomo, to the Southern Maidu, 431 and eastward into the northern Plains, if my interpretation of the Crow, Assiniboin, and Hidatsa cases is justified. In the northwestern portions of this territory marriage by purchase is a function of the caste-wealth system; in the outlying regions, as among the Maidu on the one side and Nez Percé, Crow, etc., on the east, it would seem that we witness the spread of the purchase factor with little of these underlying concepts. It must be borne in mind that nowhere in this area are the marriage payments justly described as purchase; there is always a reciprocation of the gift. The express point is that marriage is contracted only by the making of such gifts.

*171 583 556 Wealth was very real, huge in quantity, north of the Columbia, and a correspondingly high value set for a marriage settlement, at least among the upper classes. Valuables and marriage values dwin-

dle beyond this limit, with a notable recrudescence of the latter on the 171 *
lower Klamath river. Part of the mechanism of its exchange in 583
marriage was a series of reciprocal visits, of potlatch character south- 556
ward to the Columbia, a mere formal practice beyond.

Among the concepts underlying the practice of bride purchase 171*
was the sense of mutual obligations of the contractants' families.
This was avowed by the coastal tribes from British Columbia to
northern California. It assumed the express forms of compulsory
levirate and sororate and of the right to children. Further, the fam-
ilies were obligated to restore the marriage settlements if the marriage
terminated unfortunately. The man's financial interest in the wife he [837]
had bought was evidenced by his ability to mulct damages from an
adulterer or one even thought to be such.

The exogamy which appears in this area was not the prohibition 171*
of marrying within the community, but an exogamy of practice. To
maintain caste, marriage must of necessity have frequently been with 582
persons of the same rank and wealth outside the village or tribe. 554
This was undoubtedly more the circumstance in the upper strata of
society. It is obvious then that the distribution of this practice coin-
cides closely with that of sharp distinctions of caste and wealth.
Beyond those tribes whose attitudes may be so characterized, there
was a fringe of peoples who had taken over the custom without its
antecedents. Such local exogamy has been noted as far southward as
the Hupa, the Sacramento Valley Maidu, and as far eastward as the
Nez Percé.

The habits of postnuptial residence seem to correspond closely 171*
with the sense of purchase. It was patrilocal, the bride being taken 591
at once to her husband, in the coastal area southward to northern
California. Some variability does indeed appear but this seems no
more than the common circumstance of residence according to pref-
erence. The Wishram instance of regular temporary matrilocal
residence is an anomaly.

The position of the Klamath with respect to this northwestern 171*
marriage complex was that of a distinctly marginal group. Pur-
chase to maintain social standing was present but the values not fixed; 583
the actual amount changing hands, relatively small. A series of for- 431
mal gift-bearing visits was prescribed, in which the bride's family
returned more than they received, but there was no intentional rivalry
in giving. The first visit was that of conducting the bride to the
groom as among all the southerly peoples. Residence was patrilocal 171*
591

*171 in conformity with northwestern views. The sense of obligation was
[591] weakly developed; the levirate was a mere custom, the sororate rare;
birth of heirs played no part in their scheme of things. In brief, the
[587] Klamath derived the sense of social standing based on wealth from
[583] the northwestern center, and the mechanism of marriage purchase to
effect it, but no more.

174 I am not inclined to indulge in an historical reconstruction of the northwestern marriage complex. But if it be in order, it seems better to suggest that the ancient, undifferentiated custom was the practice of mutual giving, subsequently formalized with the growth of concepts of wealth and rank on the Northwest Coast. The alternative is to hold that these attitudes and practices diffused from that center only after they attained full flower there. If this were so we should expect to find the specific forms of Northwest Coast procedure at a greater distance. I am very doubtful that ideas and sentiments diffuse as such, though I may have given that impression in some of the summary statements above. It seems rather that particular practices are imitated, and if but imperfectly copied or made rational in their new context, then alone do we say that merely the underlying idea has been borrowed.

*171 In the present case social stratification based on wealth had spread
174 over a wide area; wife purchase with it. I conceive that members of
the imitating tribes observed the aggrandizement that went with
583 wealth and took occasion among their fellows to insist on a similar,
and in their eyes proper, respect for themselves and their wealth
554 when opportunity offered. The spread of the marriage purchase cus-
556 tom must have been one of the most effective mechanisms for the spread of the sense of rank. Boas has already made such a case for the Kwakiutl and their neighbors. By marriage with the northern tribes among whom privilege concepts were highly developed, the Kwakiutl obtained these privileges through their wives.[557] The mechanism is clearly transparent in the Klallam preference for marriages to the north.[558] We are not told this of other tribes, to be sure, but it appeals to me that marriage into foreign tribes where payment for their women was demanded would inevitably bring in its train the notion that these women were in some way superior to those at home. This view is not drafted from thin air; among the tribes of Puget sound, e.g., the women of the more northerly tribes consider them-

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[557] Boas, Social Organization of North-Pacific Coast; Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 124.

[558] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 242.

selves the superiors of those among whom they are resident. Once the 171*
sentiment had become lodged in the group its fruition was made inev- 174
itable by the imitation of others. 583

With Kroeber, who has so expressed himself on the subject of the 554
Yurok,[380] I do not believe that the levirate and sororate were born of 556 •
this special development of purchase. Both customs have a nearly universal distribution in North America. It seems rather that such existing practices were drawn into the developing marriage complex of this area.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The background for a study of social stratification has been laid 128
in the preceding section. I will here deal with chieftainship, its relations to wealth and heredity, and related topics.

Social stratification was but weakly developed among the Klamath. 554
Social standing did not depend directly on heredity and there was 556
apparently little difference in wealth from richest to poorest. Since wealth was inherited there was at least some stability to family standing. The marriage purchase gave respectability to the union; it did not fix the standing of the couple by reason of the amount paid. Yet [56]
there was some differentiation based on wealth, a continuous gradation from the wealthiest to the slaves.

The wealthiest individuals were called lö'ki, rich men. This was 556
also the term by which chiefs were styled. My interpretation of the
Indian's statements is that those prominent individuals, who exer- 622
cised functions which would elsewhere have led to their being called chiefs, were at the same time the wealthiest. A chief became such primarily by successful leadership in war, coupled with some background of spirit power, wealth, personal qualities, especially ability as an advisor, with some suggestion of hereditary interest.

The chiefly functions emphasized were leadership in war and 622
haranguing the people. The chief could not issue injunctions, he re- [70]
ceived no tribute, and was in no way responsible for the conduct or debts of his people. Just prior to reservation days there was introduced from Columbia river the practice of chiefs sitting as judges. [565]

While chiefs were set off from the mass, this did not imply any sense of caste stratification. Their wives and children were not known by a distinctive class term.

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[380] Handbook, 31.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1860-1900)

rested. This held at least for coastal Oregon and northwestern Cali- 171*
fornia (Coos, Yurok, Hupa) while inland among Takelma and Shasta 622
it was true to a lesser degree. The Klamath feeling for stratification 565
based on wealth is thus intelligible as an attenuated form.

It follows that chieftainship was hereditary in the area in which 554
ranking was fixed by birth as well as wealth, while it rested on wealth alone in the southern area. Merely to list the instances, it was hereditary among Klallam, Snohomish, Chinook, Wishram, Wasco, and Alsea (but see below). The richest men among the southern tribes were the equivalent: Coos, Yurok, Hupa, and Shasta, and, if we reverse this statement, the Klamath. It is thus intelligible why Sapir found among the Wishram that "being a chief did not necessitate being a particularly wealthy man. It often happened that the wealthiest people did not belong to the highest rank."[561] Similarly that a wealthy Coos could flout the orders of a chief, and among the Alsea "it was possible . . . . for a common man, by reason of extraordinary power or wealth, to rise to the dignity of a chief and thus raise his family in rank."[562]

There was in none of these tribes a governmental organization 171*
involving hierarchy of chiefs. The point is really that what we here 622
write of as tribes were rather dialectic and cultural units, not political entities. Political separation was carried to a high degree throughout the Pacific slope, the local communities being almost without exception autonomous, or at most grouped for common action within a quite restricted district. It followed from this that the number of chiefs was rarely or never fixed. Those who were entitled to leadership by virtue of birth or wealth were recognized as leaders. Thus it happened that while some communities had more than one of first rank, others had none. Yet other tribes did not always exhibit the haphazardness of the Klamath in this regard.

Where the feeling was strong that every wealthy man was entitled 171*
to consideration, as among the Hupa, "each village had a head-man 622
who was the richest there. . . . . The very fact of his wealth gave
him the power of a chief and maintained him in that power."[563] We 556 •
may presume this true of the Yurok as well and probably the Karok. The Shasta "chief was the head of the richest family in the district,"

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[561] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

[562] St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 25; Farrand, Notes on the Alsea, 242.

[563] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 58.

*171 and "one family was recognized as preeminent in each of the four
556 geographic divisions into which the Shasta are grouped."[564]

622 The number of chiefs was definitely fixed only on the Oregon coast, where there were two for each local division or village. "There were two chiefs for every river, among the Tillamook as well as among the Alsea," one the principal chief.[565] "The Coos Indians lived in small villages, each of which had two chiefs. . . . . Of the two village-chiefs, one usually ranked higher." There was in addition a tribal head chief.[566] This is the multiple chief-wealthy-man situation of the whole coast reduced to definite form, and it is even conceivable that these people did not differ at all, particular cases where there were two chiefs having been cited as the general custom. It must be remembered that our accounts are of the slightest. It is possible however that there was a dual chieftainship prevailing on the Oregon coast. This might account for the curious fact that two chiefs of presumably equal rank are repeatedly referred to among the Rogue river Indians assembled at Table Rock about 1855 (possibly Takelma proper or Upland Takelma).[567]

Quite another basis for the recognition of chiefs existed in the northern Basin-Plateau and the Plains, namely, a war record coupled with generosity and other personal qualifications. The Klamath shared this sentiment as well as the northwestern recognition of wealth. The warlike character of chiefs extended as far west as the Middle Columbia Salish, including Nez Percé, Wind River Shoshoni,[568] and such typical north Plains tribes as Crow and Assiniboin.

In the southern parts of the Basin the characteristics of chiefs, their functions and powers, were vague. There were headmen or leaders for hunting, perhaps the only communal enterprises, among Paviotso, Washo, and Southern Paiute. These individuals were chosen
[756] by their people.[569] In importance they were eclipsed by the shamans.

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[564] Kroeber, Handbook, 296.

[565] Boas, Notes on the Tillamook, 4.

[566] St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 25.

[567] See Walling, History of Southern Oregon, 182.

[568] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, 126; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 283.

[569] Lowie, *op. cit.*, 284–285.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
291 1791. Men										+		+	+	−	−	+
1792. Women										+		+	+	+	−	+
1793. Buckskin	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	•+	+	+	−	−	−
1794. Bear hide												•+	−	−	−	−
1795. 1 or more buckskins	−	+	−			−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1796. 4 coyote skins																+
1797. Fringed	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
1798. Fur	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−
1799. Grass stems	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1800. Soaproot fiber, reaches to knee														+	−	−
1801. Bark	+	−	−	•−	(+)	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
1802. Tule	+	+	−	−	−	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1803. Single small apron or kilt, front only	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+
1804. Buckskin	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1805. Fur	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1806. Inner bark	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
1807. Tule	−	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1808. Double apron	−	+	+	−	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	+	−	−
1809. Buckskin	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
1810. Fringed or slit	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1811. Small skins, sewn together	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1812. Woven bird skins	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1813. Inner bark	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1814. Grass	−	−	+	−	(+)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1815. Tules	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1816. String apron-skirts	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1817. On buckskin belt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1818. Nut, seed, shell strings	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1819. Shell embroidery	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
[292] 1820. Braids on cord, bottom of skirt	−	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1821. Worn by women for dances, special occasions	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1822. Buckskin trousers	−	R	−	•+	R	R	R	R	−	−	R	−	R	R	−	−

Muffs and Mittens

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1823. Muff of cased fur	•(−)	−	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1824. Sewed onto shirt, for sleeves	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1825. Single muff	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[415] 1826. Double, 1 on each arm	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1827. Quiver used as muff when hunting	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
1828. Mittens	(−)	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−

Footgear and Leggings

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1829. Barefoot around house	−		+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
1830. Moccasins	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1831. Men	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1832. Women	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
[556] 1833. Rich people only										+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1834. Buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1835. Fur	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	=	−	−	−
†1836. Number of pieces	2	2	•	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	.	−	−	−
1837. Added sole	−	•+	R	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1838. Heel seam	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
1839. Toe seam	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−
1840. Seam on outside	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	−
1841. Tongue	+	+	−	R	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−
1842. Ankle length	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
1843. Boot length	−	−	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2627. Both paternal, maternal	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	.	.	.	+	622
2628. Primogeniture	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	.	−	−	+	[611]
2629. Oldest member paternal lineage	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	
2630. Only if direct heir too young	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
2631. Brother of deceased chief	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	.	+	+	+	
2632. Only if direct heir too young			+						+	−	•+	−	.	−	−	−	
2633. Brother's son	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	.	−	+	+	
Qualifications for Appointment																	
2634. Character and knowledge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	
2635. Possession of wealth	−	−	+	.	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[556]
2636. Good speaker, and "talks to everyone"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
Appointment																	
2637. Chosen at assembly of elders	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	.	+	+	+	[623]
2638. Chosen at assembly of all males	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	−	.	−	−	−	
2639. Women sometimes attend and speak			−				+	−	−	−	.	+	.	−	−	−	[562]
2640. Incumbent may select successor	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	.	−	+	+	+	+	
2641. New leader may be appointed before incumbent dies	−	+	+				+	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	+	−	
2642. Headmen of other groups select or help select new leader	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	−	+	+	
2643. Approval of community required	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	.	−	−	−	
Tenure																	
2644. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2645. Dependent on satisfactory behavior	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	
2646. May be deposed by killing	−	−	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	.	•−	
Title																	
2647. Individual title	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2648. Title extended to children	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	
2649. To daughter only	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2650. Daughter called by special title													−	−	•+	−	
2651. Title extended to wife; "chief's wife"	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	.	−	+	
Insignia																	
2652. Wears "hairpin" with quail crest at ceremonies																+	[301]
2653. Chief only person who uses eagle feathers					−								−	−	+	−	[237]
Activities and Duties																	
2654. Hunts, fishes for self	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	
2655. Relatives hunt, fish for him	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2656. All give chief food free	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	
2657. Food bought for chief	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2658. Feeds visitors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2659. Impoverished thereby	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[574]
2660. Provides most of food for ceremonies	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2661. Directs communal economic activities	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	[224]
2662. Deer drives	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
2663. Antelope, duck hunts, etc.	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2960. Intratribal feuds or murders: compensation	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	728
2961. Revenge only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	
2962. Victims send envoy(s) to ask aggressors for pay	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	
2963. Chief or headman as envoy	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	[622]
2964. Paid for services by 1 side	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2965. Chief or headman makes peace	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2966. Compensation for slain, 1 side only	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2967. Compensation for all dead	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	
2968. If victims on both sides, no compensation	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
2969. Payment in beads, property	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2970. Payment in women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2971. Customarily	+	+	.	(+)	.	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
2972. Intratribally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2973. Intertribally	+	–	–	–	(+)	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2974. Pay according to wealth, more for rich	+	+	–	–	+	–	±	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	[556]
2975. Pay according to status of victim	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	[554]
2976. Pay according to sex of victim	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	.	–	–	
2977. Pay according to age of victim	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	[562]
2978. If sufficient reason for killing, not much pay	–	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	[561]
2979. If kill "for meanness," pay large amount	–	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2980. Sticks of 1-string length for negotiation	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2981. Amount same as victim's mother's bride price	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	[583]
2982. Amount (for woman) same as usual bride price	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	
2983. Payment divided among all villagers	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2984. Most of payment goes to chief	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2985. Payment for woman goes to husband	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2986. Payment for woman goes to her family	•+	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	
2987. Payment for man goes to his family	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2988. Payment for slave goes to owner	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2989. Payment for slave goes to latter's family	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2990. Compensation for property destroyed	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Dance or Meeting for Settlement

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2991. Both groups present	–	–	•	+	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	728
2992. Daytime	–	–	•	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	535
2993. Night	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2994. At certain localities outside village	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2995. Halfway between 2 villages	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2996. Dressed for war; armed	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2997. Dance in circle	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2998. Dance in row, abreast	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2999. 2 groups face each other	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3000. All dance together	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3001. Payment in beads	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3002. During dance	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3003. Dancers disarm after money paid	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3004. Women dance with blood money	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3005. Blood money smoked over fire	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3006. Groups sometimes eat together	–	–	+			–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
585 3798. Groom's family gives pay, presents to bride's family after marriage established	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	·+	–	+	+	.	–
3799. Amount of gifts depends on approval of girl	+	+	·–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	.	–
3800. No gifts if girl a "run around" (loose)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
583 3800a. Service for bride, no payment	–	·+	·+	·+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	–	.	+
3801. Poor man only	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	+
3802. May buy or work out	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	+	–	–	+
[591] 3802a. Temporary matrilocal residence	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	+	–	–	–
3803. Permanent matrilocal residence	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	+
3803a. Marriage by abduction tolerated	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
3804. Married women only	+	+	+						–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
3805. Woman won by contest	–	–	–	–	·+	–	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+	–
3805a. Friends assist	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[556] 3806. Husband bought	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3806a. By wealthy man, for daughter	–	–	+	–	+	·+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3807. Girl sent to live with rich man, gratis	–	–	–						·+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–

Marriage Observances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
585 3808. Groom goes to bride's house	+	+	·+	–	·–	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	.	–
3808a. Groom stays at bride's house	·+	·+	·+	–	–	·+	·+	–	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	.	–
3809. Groom takes bride to his father's house	·+	·+	·+	–	–	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	.	–
[591] 3809a. Couple live at groom's father's house	+	·+	·+	–	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	.	·+
3810. Short time only	·+	·+	·+	–	·+	·+	·+	·+	–	·+	–	–	–	–	.	·+
3810a. Indefinitely	·+	·+	·+	–	–	·+	·+	·+	·+	–	·+	·+	·+	·+	.	–
3811. Bride returns to her parent's house	·+	·+	·+	–	·+	·+	·+	·+	–	·+	–	–	·–	·–	.	–
3812. Groom's or bride's sister or family escort her to groom's home	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	–	–	.	·+
3812a. Groom and some friends go to bride's home	–	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	.	–
3813. Friends help groom hunt, fish	–	·–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	.	–
3814. Groom and family go to bride's house	–	–	·+	–	–	·+	·+	–	·+	·+	–	·+	–	·+	.	–
†3815. Visiting family (either side) stays ... nights, days	·1	·1	·1	–	·3	·2	·+	–	·0	·5	–	.	–	.	.	·3
3816. Marriage feast given by hosts	·+	·+	·+	–	·+	·+	·+	–	–	·+	·+	.	·+	·+	·+	·+
3817. Both parties contribute	·+	·+	·+	–	·+	·+	·+	–	–	·+	–	.	·+	·+	·+	–
3818. Bride and groom sit together on mat	·+	·+									–	–	–	–	–	–
3818a. Presents piled beside couple.	·+	·+									–	–	–	–	–	–
3819. Couple fed	·+	·+									–	–	–	–	–	–
3819a. Sleep together at spot where they sat	·+	·+									–	–	–	–	–	–
[537] [622] 3820. Speeches	·R	·+	·+	–	·+	–	·+	–	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+
3820a. By heads of both families	·R	·+	·+	–	·+	–	–	–	–	·+	–	–	·+	·+	·+	·+
3821. By headmen of group	–	·+	·+	–		–	·+	–	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+

Polygamy

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
595 3822. Polygyny, wives unrelated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+
‡3823. Maximum number paid for	1	1	3	5	1	1	1	3	1	0	1	1	–	0	0	2
o3824. Maximum number in same house	5	2	2	2	2	·10	2	1	10	2	·2	2	–	2	2	2
3824a. First wife outranks others	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	·+	+
3825. Wives live in separate houses	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	·+	·+	–	+	+	–	.	·+	–
3826. Wives live in separate towns	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	·+	+	–	–	–	–
3827. Concubines in separate towns	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
3828. Prominent men have greatest no. of wives	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	·–	·–	–	+	·+	+

DDD he had 12 wives, said he had no women. (c) Bisuskalal was chief (wi') on Pit River, for elpomenbos (Keswick) group of Wintu; "he was a mean chief; stole." (d) After Dolikɛntiluma's death, Norɛlputus, chief of Keswick group, was active among WM; Sunusa, chief for Upper Sacramento Wintu, was never "chief" for WM. (e) Charlie Klutchie's father's father came from Salmon River; informant had never heard of him purchasing land among Upper Sacramento Wintu. His son, Charlie Klutchie's father, was "a real wenɛmɛmɛnbos [WM], and did not belong to Upper Sacramento band. He lived 3 1/2 miles N of Baird all his life, had dance house [Lut] there, 5 women, and was called wi' [chief]." WS informant also stated "Charlie Klutchie's father's father came from Salmon River, way W of here"; had never heard of any sale of land to this man. Denied Klutchie's father was ever a chief; Klutchie's father had Dream dance house, merely.

2624. SW: Informant claimed that his father's father, chief for kohosadi group of Shasta (Rogue River group) also settled disputes and arranged wergild payments for all Shasta groups and was, in effect, tribal chief. In addition, Shasta Valley group had subchief, but informant had never heard of subchiefs for Scott Valley or Klamath River groups of Shasta. Tribal chief in Oregon had no assistant chief. AW: "General Crook [White] took Captain Dick as head chief, but this was White man's way."

2625. MM: At headman's death, his oldest son, or deceased's brother, builds another dance house, and inherits office as headman of village community.

2626, 2628, 2631, 2632. MM: Entries refer to selection of headman for village community.

[556] 2635. In no group was wealth especially stressed, although chiefs were in several groups admittedly wealthy men.

2636. WT: Chief "never says anything mean about poor people; he always has a good word for everyone. He helps orphans, murderers and no-account people--that's why he is called chief; he tries to coax bad people to be good, and gives them things to get them started."

2645. AW: Bad chief "hires lots of doctors to kill good men; then people won't have anything to do with him. He does this because he's 'mean.' Or he may want to kill good doctors. People won't obey a chief if he wants to kill too many Indian doctors who are good men, either." Among AW there may have existed at times partnership between chiefs and shamans similar to that noted for Yokuts by Gayton (Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans) but no adequate investigation was made of this.

2646. AW, MM: Chief killed (witched) by shaman. MV: Chief may withdraw voluntarily, "if he has a violent temper; usually he blames his wife."

2647. MM: For chief of all MM. See note 2619.

[208-A]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

M
787 as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing
756 they are the shaman's "helpers."

K However differently they construe the degree of individual
M access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that
787 human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those
K who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer
M
[782] in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtuous
[772] striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the
universe appears basically to be a moral order.

K In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The
M annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the
181 progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon
461 industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme
that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic
K exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this
M
461 virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to
• 556 maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a follow-
595 ing. Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the
K common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a
M contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent
622 men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In
556 war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his
[881] panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man
[701] of property is likely to be decked with many valuables con-
[764] tributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the
[538] man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowl-
[756] edge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send
out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power
in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to
K the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in
622 the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:
539

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee—to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

[Klamath Reservation]

As if to supply counterpoint to the virtues of the esteemed, K M
the myths cast scorn upon the baseborn, with their noisy pre- 556 •
tensions to eminence, their repeated disregard and outright 554
ignorance of good breeding, their ignoble cheating of members 735
of their own village, the shabbiness of their gear, and their 538
downright poverty. A poor man is "like a slave." The impecunious aged, lacking kinfolk to provide for them, are no better. Yet the myths do not depict the lot of the poor and the orphan as inalterably fixed: by dint of striving they may win their way to spiritual power and to material affluence, thereby gaining the esteem of their fellows.

The behavior traditionally to be maintained toward others is K
well illustrated by the formal counsel given in recent days by 577
one old Klamath woman. Speaking to her great-grandson, she said:

> Now you listen to me; I want to tell you what is right. When you go into town, don't run around; don't go with them bad Indians. Stay in the house. Do what is right. We know that children should do what their father and mother tell them. Listen to what old people tell you. Some people, them bad Indians, they steal. Stealing is bad. No one should take anything without paying for it. Don't make trouble; be nice to everybody. Some people, they smash things and then they get into trouble. If you stay home you won't be in no trouble. Don't pay attention to those people who want to lead you into trouble. Stay away from them. They will only lead you into temptation and you will be sorry. Speak nice to poor people. Don't laugh at them. Pay attention to them and help them. Don't make people talk about you. Help all; act good all the time. Be nice and smart. Lead the blind; don't laugh at them. When you see a poor person, go up and tell him who you are. That way everybody thinks good of you. Don't play tricks on people. Be smart and nice. Be careful you don't get into trouble. *Now I am correcting you.*"[18]

This is the ideal behavior for the well born or for those who aspire to advance themselves: the ability to maintain boundaries against outsiders, to find the fundamental strength within the home and the wise counsel of elders, and to be considerate of those less fortunate.

These norms, however, must be tempered by the demands of existence in a real world, in which particularistic loyalties take
precedence. At the center of concentric circles of concern stands 000

I was informed were sold for three horses each, some cheaper."[6] 000

In the changing conditions of the early nineteenth century, K
the Klamath were caught up in currents generated from without. 175
The advent of horses and of firearms made it possible for the 177
tribes of the east-central Plateau, the eastern Salish and eastern 648
Sahaptin, to cross the Rocky Mountains, to hunt buffalo and [231]
enter into relations, both peaceful and bellicose, with the tribes [411]
of the Plains. As they came under Plains influence, the appeal
of Plains garb, of parfleches and tipis, grew.[7] The Klamath were K [291]
attracted to these new goods, and the clothing at least came to [556] •
replace or supplement traditional forms of wealth.

Moreover, the horse and the gun had revolutionized warfare K M
patterns. Although traditional enemies beyond the Cascades 175
were preoccupied with white settlers, on the east the Paiute were 177
gradually developing mounted bands of great mobility and 726
striking power. The Klamath and Modoc were not slow to seek 231
the new instruments of war. 411

The opening trade to the north brought a corresponding K M
intensification of the raids carried south into the territory of the 175
Pit River tribes—the Achumawi and Atsugewi—to capture women 177
and children, Pit River bows, and other loot. As Chiloquin, one 721
of the leaders of the time, recalled:

> When the Snakes [Northern Paiute] made war on us that made us keen to fight other Indians and we made war without provocation on the Pitt Rivers, Shastas and Rogue Rivers, but they never made willing war on us. Those wars lasted a great many years. We found we could make money by war, for we sold the provisions and property captured for horses and other things we needed. It was like soldiers nowadays who fight for money. We made war because we made money by it and we rather got to like it anyhow. The Snakes provoked us to make war on them.[8]

With developing warfare and the accumulation of foreign K M
wealth came a gradual transformation of Klamath, and to a 175
lesser extent, of Modoc society. The forays into hostile country 178
enlarged the scale of the war party. Chiloquin speaks of a body 726
totaling one hundred warriors, which included, according to Spier,
members of all the Klamath tribelets, and took in some Modoc as
well.[9] A joint raid on the part of Umpqua, Upland Takelma, and
other western tribes brought one such retaliatory reprisal about

M
175 1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-
178 scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes.
726 The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging
K M scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty,
175 brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of
726 which based their power upon eminence in war and possession
182 of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers,
622 and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times
565 to cement alliances with shamans.

556 Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean
756 weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power
[754] was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of
us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain
persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would
die."[11]

K The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties.
M
175 A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-
178 bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader
622 increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers
619 from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country.
628 As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance ren-
726 dered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment
of worth.

K In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary
622 principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his
father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother
175 as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill,
a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David,
later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain
George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not
essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks,
K of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite
[833] in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the
power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

K A minor factor in these developments may have been the
195 interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in
643 order that they might deal more effectively with responsible
648 leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs
177 met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

175 River renegades had slain five prospectors on a tributary of the
648 Rogue River, the whites apprehended three Klamath involved
in the affair, "whom the Klamaths voluntarily killed to prevent
trouble; that tribe being now desirous of standing well with the
K U.S. Government."[19] It is probable that the hand of Lileks is to
[622] be discerned in this matter also. In brief, his power and that of
Chiloquin, often termed his second chief, was challenged only
by Captain George, leader of a faction hostile to the whites, and
by Monchnkasgitk, leader of the remote Upland tribelet.

K Thus the frontier condition brought a heightened rate of inter-
175 tribal warfare and of intertribal trading. It gave the Klamath
648 both peaceful and bellicose exposure to whites, largely outside
177 the Klamath homeland. In the awareness of new ways of life
[721] beyond the limited range of which their fathers had been con-
[439] scious the Klamath of the first half of the nineteenth century
became diversified in outlook. Enriched with new goods, Klamath
culture prospered, although in comparison with the levels
K achieved by the whites it seemed poorer than ever. Warfare had
M 721 consolidated power and wealth in the hands of leaders and the
648 magnitude of their operations drew Klamath and Modoc into an
175 uneasy cooperation.

622 Indeed, in many of these developments the Modoc participated
K only to a small degree. In disposing of those slaves destined to
M 175 be sold at The Dalles, the Klamath and occasionally the Warm
567 Springs peoples acted as middlemen; in consequence the Modoc
721 did not come as fully under the influence of the Columbia River
177 tribes, nor did they amass as much wealth. The development of
• 556 a chiefly class among them was feebler, and the tribelets co-
M 643 alesced under a single acknowledged leader only tardily and
525 incompletely.[20]

-619 When in 1846 an exploring party under Jesse and Lindsay
M Applegate laid out an alternate emigrant route known as the
175 South Road, they directed it from Fort Hall down through Modoc
648 country and past the winter settlements on Tule and Lower
721 Klamath lakes, then west of the Cascades and north to the
Willamette settlements. The Modoc bitterly resented the in-
vasion of their homeland and waged war against the wagon
trains, a war which in turn brought reprisals from the settlers.
In 1852, after the Modoc had extensively damaged several trains

K

circumscribed. Because the step involved a wholesale commit- 657*
ment, those bold enough to marry whites, as already noted, 648*
tended to pass out of reservation society. One or two women in 562
the early days sought to demonstrate they they could support 177
themselves as well as men were capable of doing, but they were 178
clearly exceptional.[18]

K
Confronted by shifting social values, tribesmen on the reserva- 657*
tion still could take assurance from a value acknowledged both 648*
by the whites and by their traditional culture. The high prestige 556 •
assigned to industry and to its material manifestation, wealth, 181
proved a common denominator upon which to rank the ability of 178
men engaged in new activities. In the new day, Plains garments, K
horses, and slaves were outmoded, and were replaced by a house [177]
and outbuildings, a fenced farm or ranch, wagons and buggies,
and plenty of livestock.

K
Within this context, the family also changed as movements 657*
within the reservation, the construction of smaller frame dwell- 648*
ings, and the cultivation of individual farms reduced household 592
size to approximately that of a single conjugal family. Some idea 177
of the shift may be gained by comparing subsistence rolls from 178
the administration of Lindsay Applegate[19] with data from the K
end of the period. A summary of issues made in 1872-73 to heads 657*
of families of Klamath, Modoc, and Yahuskin Snakes lists 54 648*
families totaling 658 persons. The majority were from Klamath 592
Marsh, with some from Link River and Sprague River bands and 162
several Modoc. One is possibly Paiute. The other two pages N M
duplicate some of the individuals, listing Schonchin's band of 657
Modoc, some eight "houses" comprising 97 individuals; Ocheho's 648
band of Warner Valley Paiute, 17 "houses" and 161 persons; 592
Chocktoot's band of Paiute, 13 "houses" and 113 persons; and 162
the Sprague River band of Monchnkasgitk, 8 "houses" and 97
individuals. A tally made in 1866 by one Jackson Jones (Link
River Jack ?), "Chief of Ulalona," lists for the Link River band
22 men, 18 boys, 42 women, and 20 girls in five houses.[20]

K
An analysis of these three lists reveals interesting facts about 657*
the contemporary social groupings. Where the two censuses over- 648*
lap, there is overall agreement, although the figures for individual 592
households differ slightly. For the census of the Klamath at 162
large, the average household size is approximately 12 persons,

Of all the societal
relationships, the government sought directly 657*
to change only those within the family. It was clear that a nation 648*
that was soon to impose upon the Mormons the American, and 595
not the Biblical family, would permit no special marital practices 177
among the Indians. Polygamy was banned, although not retroactively 178
for unions such as those of Allen David and Monchnkasgitk,
which had been contracted prior to January 1, 1870.
Some leaders themselves appear to have advocated the change in
a desire to emulate whites. In 1877, Gatschet noted that there
were still two or three polygamous men.[26] Since polygamy had [556] •
been a mark of the affluent, the ban, like the emancipation of the
slaves that preceded it, served to erode the status of the traditional
chiefs.

An effort was also made to place under the authority of the 657*
court of chiefs certain relationships which had formerly been 648*
regulated privately between the families or individuals concerned. 622
In the legal code instituted when the court was established, 692
the consecration of marriage was made the function of 685
the head chief, to whom the groom was to pay a fee of five, three, 583
or two dollars or the same amount in horses, graduated according [643]
to his means. It was again the chiefs who punished fornication [684]
and polygamy and performed divorce.[27] The traditional ritual [586]
of marriage still was being practiced by some families in the
1890's[28] but the gift exchanges between the families concerned
which set a public seal on the union were superseded, and the
controls exerted by the family over the couple were thereby
diminished. The effects of these and other changes were recognized
by Gatschet. "Matrimonial reverses . . . among the Klamath
[he declared] . . are one of the unavoidable consequences of
the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of
their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also
of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers
at Fort Klamath."[29]

With time, the seal upon marriage came to be set by the 657*
Methodist church and its ethics in turn permitted the independent 648*
of spirit to flout tradition. One woman recalled that upon 581
the death of her husband his family proposed that she wed his 587
brother in customary manner, but she refused out of regard for 177
the memory of her husband and the sanctity of the bond of their 178
marriage in the church.

*648 members, but others refused to do so, taking the position that
*657 merchants were encouraging extravagance in their Indian customers.
434 Tribal members, on the other hand, learned to connive
[452] with Agency employees to evade restrictive regulations, citing spurious but legitimate needs in order to secure cash releases, with the zeal of other Americans in search of income tax loopholes. The money thus secured was often applied to outstanding debts as well as to fresh expenditures.

*648 The payment of per capitas in two large, semiannual installments,
*657 rather than in smaller and more frequent disbursements,
511 was an incentive to squandering. Of a sample of tribal members on the reservation from whom data are available, over one-half were deemed poor in money management or were so deficient that their funds had been programmed.[14]

*648 There were special areas of extravagance. Upon the open
*657 reservation the automobile had replaced the horse, both as a
511 means of transportation and as an extremely personal symbol of
493 wealth. Low down payments furnished an inducement to buy;
452 but among the improvident automobiles were often loaned to
• [556] friends and relatives who might then prove irresponsible. Upon
[426] rough reservation roads, automobiles often did not survive to see the last installment payment. As a consequence, it had proved difficult for any tribal member to secure automobile insurance.

Observed Superintendent Fred A. Baker in 1924:

> If I were called upon to name one thing which has tended more than anything else to the squandering of the funds of the Klamath Indians I should mention the purchase of expensive automobiles. The first step was the issuance of a patent in fee for the sale of inherited lands. The second, the turning over of the funds to the Indian. The third step, the purchase of a high priced automobile, with the subsequent necessity of its upkeep and maintenance. The effect upon the life of the Indian has been demoralizing in that it invites him to take long and expensive trips and to absent himself from his home to the neglect of his farming operations and the building up and improvement of his allotment.[15]

*648 Items such as automobiles which the Klamath purchased
*657 were often esteemed by whites as status symbols; and many of
511 them resented the circumstances that the Klamath not only
493

000
[114]

that the ration issues for which the main lists were drawn up were made in midwinter, when all were in winter lodges.

22. But Ocheho's household is not below the average for his own band (9).

23. O. C. Applegate to M. F. Holland, Supervisor Ind. Schools (Dec. 27, 1904).

24. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Dec. 1, 1884), report for November.

25. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price (Feb. 3, 1883), report for January.

26. *Agent's Report*, Roll 26 (Jan. 6, 1870), cited in Zakoji (1953), p. 80; Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 63, n.60, 17.

27. Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 60 ff. Note that the Paiute did not at that time subject themselves to the jurisdiction of the court. P. 62, footnote.

28. T. L. in Zakoji (1953), p. 260, describes one feature: the [556] mother of the groom poured a basket of beads, a form of wealth, upon the head of the seated bride.

29. Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 78.

EIGHT. SCHOOL

1. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 43d Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1873–74), Vol. 4, Pt. 5, 692.

2. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 41st Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1869–70), Vol. 3, Pt. 3, 619, 618.

3. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 42d Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1871–72), Vol. 3, Pt. 5, 715.

4. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 42d Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1872–73), Vol. 3, Pt. 5, 757; 43d Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1873–74), Vol. 4, Pt. 5, 692.

5. John Meacham to A. B. Meacham (July 31, 1871), report for July.

6. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Jan. 1, 1874), report for preceding December.

7. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Jan. 13, 1881).

8. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (June 1, 1874), report for May.

9. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (Nov. 1, 1874), report for October.

10. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Commr. (July 31, 1875), report for July.

11. L. S. Dyar to O. C. Applegate (Feb. 13, 1875). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

648 Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation, by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members" with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.
[619]

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically, less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
[786] area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
[181] Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided in-
[556] creased opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
[436] had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[473] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal mem-
[434] bers, as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and for-
[651] feited bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*657 time had come, he summoned his people "to receive his solemn
*648 admonishments err [sic] his spirit take flight." Soon recovering,
622 he voiced to the Agency farmer, S. D. Whitemore, the suspicion that the shaman who had cured him, and whose professional charges had stripped him of all his effects, had been in league with the subchiefs to bring about his death; and he requested that the shaman be imprisoned by the military. Later events made it clear that Monchnkasgitk had been a leader in the conspiracy, plotting to take the place of the old chief. Thereupon, Whitemore, then in charge of the Agency, called a council, at which he "stated that it will be highly necessary to consult their, and the government agent, or the change could not be regonized [sic]. . . . I learned that after a lengthy consultation with the indians has [sic] become impressed with the belief that Mosen Kasket and his band have no hostile intentions."[7]

• [558] With Agency backing, Lileks once more was restored to a position of relative authority, but his recourse to outside support caused his personal prestige to decline. He thus had to resort increasingly to formal instruments to bolster his power and to implement the changes he sought. When one Spokane Ike slew
[682] his child in Jacksonville, Lileks asked that the Agent order all Indians back upon the reservation. Spokane Ike was tried by the Indian court, Lileks presiding, and was fined fifty dollars.

[692] Lileks took readily to the court, and Whitemore reported, "The indians are holding court dayly [sic]. I am not informed of the nature of their cases." O. C. Applegate described one session thus: "A few days ago the Grand Court of Klamath set, Chief LaLakes presiding, and many men were convicted of many
[681] crimes. One in particular had stolen a number of women, 20 mink skins and otherwise trampeled [sic] on the rights of his people, he now wears shackles and a heavy log chain and chops wood for La Lakes."[8]

*648 The head chief was by no means an advocate of indiscriminate
*657 change. He favored inhumation of the dead, which he had
622 witnessed among the whites in his travels to Jacksonville, Yreka,
177 and The Dalles, over the native practice of cremation; and about
[764] 1868 he secured its adoption.[9] On the other hand, when the
[567] proposal was made in 1865 to liberate the slaves, Lileks was prominent in voicing his displeasure, undoubtedly backed by

selves the superiors of those among whom they are resident. Once the 171*
sentiment had become lodged in the group its fruition was made inev- 174
itable by the imitation of others. 583

With Kroeber, who has so expressed himself on the subject of the 554
Yurok,[589] I do not believe that the levirate and sororate were born of 556
this special development of purchase. Both customs have a nearly universal distribution in North America. It seems rather that such existing practices were drawn into the developing marriage complex of this area.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The background for a study of social stratification has been laid 128
in the preceding section. I will here deal with chieftainship, its relations to wealth and heredity, and related topics.

Social stratification was but weakly developed among the Klamath. 554
Social standing did not depend directly on heredity and there was 556
apparently little difference in wealth from richest to poorest. Since
wealth was inherited there was at least some stability to family stand-
ing. The marriage purchase gave respectability to the union; it did
not fix the standing of the couple by reason of the amount paid. Yet [56] •
there was some differentiation based on wealth, a continuous gradation
from the wealthiest to the slaves.

The wealthiest individuals were called lŏ'ki, rich men. This was 556
also the term by which chiefs were styled. My interpretation of the
Indian's statements is that those prominent individuals, who exer- 622
cised functions which would elsewhere have led to their being called
chiefs, were at the same time the wealthiest. A chief became such
primarily by successful leadership in war, coupled with some back-
ground of spirit power, wealth, personal qualities, especially ability
as an advisor, with some suggestion of hereditary interest.

The chiefly functions emphasized were leadership in war and 622
haranguing the people. The chief could not issue injunctions, he re- [701]
ceived no tribute, and was in no way responsible for the conduct or
debts of his people. Just prior to reservation days there was intro-
duced from Columbia river the practice of chiefs sitting as judges. [565]

While chiefs were set off from the mass, this did not imply any sense of caste stratification. Their wives and children were not known by a distinctive class term.

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[589] Handbook, 31.

551

Mā'čks, crying. This is given to children of both sexes but I recorded it as a woman's name.

Pēpo'tcwa, to put feet (pēts) in water, because she had done so, my informant surmised.

Woḳoi'lkōçka, leaning over, because this old woman as a child walked leaning to one side.

Yatco'kcōp (a shaman), the mother (p'ki'sōp) of a man named Yatco's.

Another woman is called "greasy" but I failed to get the native word.

STATUS AND KINSHIP TERMS

Age Classification Terms

A series of terms are in current use to designate individuals at the various stages of their careers. Unlike kinship terms, these are not used in direct address except for an occasional usage like "old man." They are descriptive of status, as much as the term lŏ'ki, chief. There are exact equivalents for boys and girls, men and women. The outstanding features of the classification are: infants are sexless; thereafter discriminations turn on puberty, marriage, parenthood, bereavement, and old age. The curious category of a parent who has lost a child by death has real social significance. Like the loss of a spouse, the death of a child calls for a protracted period of mourning with special restrictions of conduct and is made the occasion of a vision quest. This is, of course, exactly comparable to our own bereavement within the immediate family but the idea of a terminological distinction is foreign to our thought. All the other distinctions have their counterpart among ourselves and are perhaps common to all mankind. 561 •

561
562

	Male[55]	*Female*
Newborn baby	muka'ꞔ[56]	
Baby still at the breast	muks	
Child of two years to puberty	tcia'ki	ai'sḳak
At puberty	wa'kōntk	sto'pwitk (lit., menstruant)
Youth after puberty	tcilī'loyak[56, 57]	ciwa'k
Bachelor, spinster	tcilī'lwis	ci'uōmpts
Young woman		tcina[59]
Newly married	sḳa'bōks[58]	sḳa'bōkak

---

[55] Compare Gatschet, 2:140, 469, 509, 516, 560, 571, 603, 615, 697, 698.

[56] Diminutive of the following.

[57] Gatschet says before puberty.

[58] Forms from Gatschet: cf. my informants' tic'alwas, a woman living with her husband's family.

[59] On another occasion given me as the term for a woman in matrilocal residence.

561 562

After the birth of the first child	skote		sko'ksip
Woman who has lost one child			K'lekála[29]
After the death of a child	telě'kalatk		lěpkiă'ḳs
Widower, widow	telims'ntk		wě'nuitk
Old man, woman	tel'kia		wiliă'čḳs
Old person		k'mútcha[29,30]	

To misuse these terms disparingly is an insult; e.g., to call an old man wa'kòntk or skote.

Kinship Terms

601 The peculiarities of the Klamath kinship system are to be found in the groupings of relatives in the parental and grandparental generations with correlative terminology in the two descending generations. That is, the classification is made not only on the basis of generation but regularly according to the sex of the connecting relative. Thus grandparents are distinguished as they are father's or mother's parents, and the classification appears reciprocally distinguishing a son's from a daughter's children. Again great-grandparents are either a grandfather's or a grandmother's parents and these terms are used reciprocally. Father's siblings are distinguished from the mother's and correlatively fraternal from sororal nephews and nieces. Similarly grandfather's and grandmother's siblings are separately termed and correspondingly the grandchildren of brother and sister. The connecting relatives whose sex is significant in these classifications are father and mother for the avuncular relatives and grandparents, the grandparents in their generation and the one anterior, and brother and sister for the two descending generations derived from them.

It appears further that this whole scheme revolves about the use of separate terms for siblings by male and female speakers. By extension then a father's brother differs from a mother's brother just as a man's brother differs from a woman's brother, and so on. The nepotic relatives are thought of in terms of the siblings, the avuncular relatives as siblings of the parents, and the granduncle-aunt as siblings of the grandparents.

Add verbal reciprocity as the universal usage between those two generations apart and the Klamath have four kinds of grandparent-grandchild and four kinds of granduncle-aunt—grandnephew-niece. It is consistent with this that, while the sex of the individual addressed

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[30] Hence the name of the culture hero Kmú'kámps, old one.

524 wö'ks, men) are ornamented along one face with zigzag lines; the lower pair (gu'lu, women) bear a row of dots or parallel cross-lines. The hollow ends are plugged with something red for decoration. They are swept up off the thigh and scattered on a flat stone, such as a grinding slab. If they lie so that the marked faces of two "men" or two "women" are uppermost, the player wins one counter; if the cast shows all blanks, he gains two, and if all marked faces, he wins the game. When he throws one blank, the dice pass to another player. [114] This is called k̦'ai'dwa anī'käl, to win no counters. The first three of these scores agree with Gatschet's information.[121] Another of my informants said that any two marked faces count one, all of a kind, marked or unmarked, two. The counters (anī'käl) are twelve (ten?) sticks, which are used in the usual fashion; each player draws from a central pile, then from his opponent's, until he has all. I am not certain, but they may play as two opposing sides.

524 114 Both Culin and Gatschet describe the use of woodchuck teeth as well. Gatschet writes of all four marked with parallel lines or crosses on one side. Dorsey describes stick dice for this game, seven and three-quarter inches long, flat on one side, rounded on the other, and tapering at the ends. Gatschet's information is that the game is played by women only, by two persons or two partners to the side.[122]

A form of the stick game from the Klamath at Siletz reservation is described by Culin[123] under the name tuckinaw. This, the familiar game of northwestern California, must have been learned at Siletz, since it is unknown on the Klamath reservation. Of a bundle of thirteen sticks, two are marked differently from the others. The bundle is divided into groups each wrapped in a wisp of grass. Evidently the guesser must avoid choosing the bundle containing the two special sticks.

Double ball shinny (djima') is a woman's game played in summer. • [561] [114] The "ball" (djima') consists of two bones or hardwood billets, eight inches long, and somewhat more than an inch in diameter, fastened at their middles by a nine-inch length of buckskin.[124] Each player has a fathom-long straight stick (so my feminine informant states, but Gatschet says two) with which the ball is struck or rather thrown. The stick is called swĕ'kos. The object is to drive the double ball between the opponents' goal posts (Gatschet gives yúash; yo"a is to

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[121] *Op. cit.* 1:80.

[122] Culin, *op. cit.*, 137; Gatschet, 1:80, 81; Dorsey, 25, 26.

[123] Culin, *op. cit.*, 247. These may be Klamath river people, not the Klamath of Oregon.

[124] Gatschet describes the string as two to three feet long connecting two sticks or pieces of cloth (*op. cit.*, 1:81). Culin figures a ball in which the cord passes through the center of each billet (Games, 650).

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	MP	NS	
2960. Intratribal feuds or murders: compensation	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	−	−	728
2961. Revenge only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	
2962. Victims send envoy(s) to ask aggressors for pay	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	
2963. Chief or headman as envoy	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	[622]
2964. Paid for services by 1 side	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2965. Chief or headman makes peace	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2966. Compensation for slain, 1 side only	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2967. Compensation for all dead	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	
2968. If victims on both sides, no compensation	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
2969. Payment in beads, property	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	
2970. Payment in women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
2971. Customarily	+	+	.	(+)	.	+	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	
2972. Intratribally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
2973. Intertribally	+	−	−	−	(+)	R	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2974. Pay according to wealth, more for rich	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	[556]
2975. Pay according to status of victim	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	[554]
2976. Pay according to sex of victim	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	.	−	−	
2977. Pay according to age of victim	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	.	−	−	[566]
2978. If sufficient reason for killing, not much pay	−	−	+				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	[564]
2979. If kill "for meanness," pay large amount	−	−	+				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2980. Sticks of 1-string length for negotiation	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2981. Amount same as victim's mother's bride price	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	[583]
2982. Amount (for woman) same as usual bride price	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	
2983. Payment divided among all villagers	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2984. Most of payment goes to chief	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2985. Payment for woman goes to husband	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2986. Payment for woman goes to her family	•+	−	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	
2987. Payment for man goes to his family	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	−	−	
2988. Payment for slave goes to owner	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2989. Payment for slave goes to latter's family	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2990. Compensation for property destroyed	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Dance or Meeting for Settlement

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	MP	NS	
2991. Both groups present	−	−	+	+	+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	728
2992. Daytime	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	535
2993. Night	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2994. At certain localities outside village	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2995. Halfway between 2 villages	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2996. Dressed for war; armed	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2997. Dance in circle	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2998. Dance in row, abreast	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2999. 2 groups face each other	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3000. All dance together	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3001. Payment in beads	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
3002. During dance	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3003. Dancers disarm after money paid	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3004. Women dance with blood money	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3005. Blood money smoked over fire	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3006. Groups sometimes eat together	−	−	+			−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	

*657 the surrounding white neighborhood, the men came to take up
*648 roles narrowly and specifically defined in American terms and
555 to rephrase them in terms of their closest native counterparts.[17]
177 Thus, in the political field, judges and Indian police enlarged
178 the formal duties of office with some of the powers traditionally
exerted by chiefs. Assimilation of roles, however, progressed in both directions; and in the end even relationships within Indian society upon the reservation were modified toward the American system. This was only partially the consequence of conscious imitation on the part of the Indians or of change directly instituted by the whites. In some measure, it came as the undesigned byplay of a modification made for another purpose.

*657 This, for example, was one of the effects of the educational
*648 system and its particular instrument, the boarding school. Be-
871 cause boarding school spanned the time of life upon which the
177 Klamath vision quest and the girls' puberty rite fell, those native
178 experiences were largely eliminated; and change of status was
signaled instead by the final return from school. Education was
[881] designed for an altered future, but it increased intergenerational
● [561] strife, as elders, their accumulated wisdom rendered obsolete in
a changed setting, confronted youths skeptical in the superiority of their book-won knowledge. From the vantage of program, this was unfortunate—if inevitable—for the Agent depended for cooperation upon those same vexed adults.

To be sure, much of the change instituted might be regarded as supplementing and enlarging—rather than replacing—native content, for many a Klamath who was a schoolboy in those days today combines the learning of his elders with the lessons taught him in the schools. Participation in two orders juxtaposed for them made manifest the relativity of each one. For those youths, the new order was not to be taken on simple assertion; it had to demonstrate its superiority in a manner not required by those born into it.

*657 With all the changes that tended to distort the social order,
*648 women were less directly affected than were their husbands and
562 children. Their roles were still principally internal to the family,
177 as wife and mother; and though opportunities for employment
178 were beginning to open for them in the schools, their contacts
with the ambient American culture were more fleeting and more

[Klamath Reservation]

Within the
*648 reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally
*657 esteemed attributes had lost place. Age was no longer accorded
•561 respect, for the wisdom of experience seemed irrelevant under
593 the new conditions, and in the environing society the emphasis
577 was upon youthful qualities. The premium upon industry as an
434 ideal for old and young alike had become submerged by the
178 golden flow of per capitas which rewarded equally the wastrel
177 and the unremitting toiler. Remarked one man wryly, "I can
make more money raising Klamath than I can raising cattle."[2]
Under these changes, paternal authority had declined sharply.
"Why should I listen to you?" demanded one adolescent son of
his father. "I've got just as much money saved up [in a compulsory trust fund] as you have!"

*648 By contrast, the status of the mother within the household
*657 had been enhanced. Housekeeping and child rearing constituted
562 concrete activities that possessed a high measure of continuity
434 with the past, of a type normally respected in her counterpart
177 in white society. Access to her own per capitas had raised the
178 economic standing of a wife to a par with that of her husband.
[623] The relative changes in local roles, together with the passage
of woman's suffrage in the nation at large, had become reflected
in the increasing prominence of women in the debates of the
General Council.

*648 The major point of contrast between white and tribal house-
*657 holds on the reservation was the relatively greater fluidity among
563 the Klamath, as reflected in the record of sequent marriages,
58 the figures for common-law unions, and the broken families. In
this respect, Beatty did not differ significantly from Chiloquin.
Interethnic marriages—those between a Klamath and a nontribal
partner—were more stable than those contracted between tribal
members.

*648 Household composition makes it clear that the traditional
*657 valuation of kin had by no means been entirely relinquished.
592 In a number of instances, Klamath, particularly women, had
587 taken in the children of collateral kin. Remarriage produced
[178] composite families, in which the couple reared not only their
own children but the offspring of previous unions of one or both
partners.

*648 Consequently, Klamath households exhibited a diversity of
*657 form, size, and composition, frequently characterized as well by
592
593

Lily: Female, Age 15

Background Data

159*

Lily is an attractive young high school freshman. She is now repeating her 156
freshman year, due to various difficulties the year before. One of these in-
volved her cursing the principal, for which she was temporarily expelled, to [873]
be returned by her mother the next day. She spent the rest of the year in
silent rebellion. This incident is not too serious, for more than anything [561]*
else it indicates the strength of her attachment to a close-knit girls peer-
group which is slightly wild and which makes it a matter of honor to oppose
adults. There is little additional evidence of any serious hostility or re-
belliousness. Lily is the eldest of two children; she has an elder half-sister,
her mother's illegitimate daughter; and she has lived all of her life on the
reservation.

Lily's major activities and concerns are those of a typical, small town teen- [883]
age girl. She attends school, "hangs around" a local teen age center, flirts
with the boys — White and Indian, dances — at her home or the home of a friend,
and listens to records. She comes from one of the most stable families on the
reservation. Her mother is Klamath, a grade school graduate who worked her way [874]
through two years of business school, evenings, in a nearby city. Her mother in
recent years has begun to assume a position of leadership in certain community [571]
activities, particularly recreation and education. Additionally, she has for
long been the advisor for numerous relatives. Her mother verbalizes great fear
and anxiety associated with this "getting out" and has done so only under con-
siderable external pressure. Her father is a California Indian who is the model [177]
of local White conceptions of masculinity. That is, he is vigorous and physi-
cally powerful, a hard, reliable, steady worker in a logging company, a hard [464]
"Saturday Night" style drinker, absolutely fearless, and a masterful fighter
in brawls. His fights are the focus of several local folk anecdotes, and suggest [157]
his excellent reputation, for he protects the underdog, takes on the bully (by
the half-dozen, if necessary), neatly dispatches all and never bears a grudge.

Lily is a more flexible and less submissive person that she would seem on first 159*
acquaintance. The difficulty with knowing her is that she wears a completely 157
impassive, rigid, unexpressive mask before all. One morning after knowing her
for a year the writer walked by her and then stopped, mildly startled, for Lily
had smiled (slightly) and mumbled "Good Morning" under her breath. She is also [123]
less inhibited than this mask of impassivity would suggest, as is evident from
her behavior with her peers and parents, but in all instances she prefers to
communicate with slight gestures and to make do with very few words. She is,
in fact, a remarkably self-possessed, poised, and reserved adolescent girl, a
consequence of which is that she is far more graceful than many other local girls
her own age. But, generally, her responses only minimally involve her with 159*
others. She is always among people, but not always with them. Her reserve does
not dissipate much with continued acquaintance, but is a constant feature of her 156
mode of adjusting to others. She never talks freely and her terse responses to
the blots and TAT cards are paralleled by an equal economy in all personal re-
lationships. There is no evidence to suggest that she is suspicious or distrust-
ful of others, although she can be quite persistent in avoiding people she does
not like.

726 535 as it is doubtful that it contains any true dance form. It is held in the open for from one to three nights depending on the size of the group engaged. It consists essentially of two things, mimicry of an onslaught by the warriors and prevision of their success by a shaman.

The men are dressed and armed for battle. Possibly they dance to the songs by jumping with both feet together. In their midst is a shaman who predicts their fate. Possibly only women sing and jump about, pretending to stab at imaginary foes with spears. Early on the morning that the war party sets out, the warriors rush at their women and children to show how they will act in the attack. This sham attack is called t'k!o'la.[43]

[756] The shaman exercises his clairvoyant powers before they set out or while encamped on the march. He jumps about in front of the men, "looking through them," and predicting who will be shot, and how the enemy will be slain. One informant had it that those for whom disaster was predicted would stay at home; another that they were too brave to do so.

714 562 They dance and go to war nearly naked, wearing breech clouts or the short fringed skirts, but not the more recently acquired skin shirt. Their hair, and that of the dancing women too, is drawn into a single loose bunch to fall down the back, wound close to the scalp with strips of skin: deer, otter, mink, or weasel. Only women shamans may use the last. Neither sex wears basket hats with this peculiar headdress. (Incidentally, quarreling men who come to blows seize one another by the long hair.) Their faces are painted; men's white, women's red, sometimes with blood from the nose. The shaman's garb is slightly more elaborate; his hair is tied with weasel or mink, around his neck a rattlesnake skin, and the skin of a bull snake across his chest as a bandolier. On the march with the war party, he wears skunk skin and eagle feathers.

726 756 Shamans accompany war parties not only to fight but especially to use their clairvoyant gifts in their behalf. Wounds and broken limbs are treated by them, a distinctly unusual practice for shamans, but so well attested by circumstantial detail in this case as to be beyond doubt. Wounds and fractures are sucked and the patient turned over to lay hands for further treatment.

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[43] Gatschet (1:196) describes this for the Modoc. "The whoops were chanted and howled while going round in a circle for one to two hours; even now they are heard on solemn occasions. This uniform performance was, however, interrupted sometimes by feigned attacks on a supposed hostile force lying in ambush or marching past. A scalp-dance tune is added, also battle cries."

726 562

Women also accompany a war party according to one informant, but this is denied by another. They cook or paddle; that is easily understood, but I am inclined to believe that they actually participate in conflict. Perhaps the solution is that they accompany feudists, but do not go on extended raids into enemy territory. Some are said to fight with the men, shouting and jumping about to add to the terrifying effect of the surprise. Armed with short spears by preference, they help to catch women and children and to slay the aged as they run to hide.

701

Leaders of the party are appointed by the chief, usually men of affluence and commonly his relatives. There may be four or five leaders of a single large party. The qualities expected of them are bravery, ability to maintain their good sense in the excitement, and to go without sleep. Chiefs became such largely by the prestige of successful leadership in battle.

726 [231] [171] [501]

The war party proceed well-nigh naked and afoot no matter what the weather. It is of some interest that even after the advent of the horse they prefer to go afoot. This is reminiscent of the Blackfoot, but in our case at least may indicate how recent is the acquisition of the horse. My information suggests the second quarter of the last century for the coming of the horse, and the wars were over by about 1865. The raid against the Upland Takelma mentioned above was undertaken afoot. But this is not really a case in point because it is doubtful that there were then horse trails across these timbered mountains. The introduction of the horse facilitated long-range raiding. Gatschet's informant describes its use against the Pit river tribes about 1848–50; even then it was a ride of three days and a night.[46] Canoe travel was of little importance in any but expeditions within their own territory.

726 411

A warrior's armament includes bow, club, and sometimes spear, with shield and body armor. Fighting is wholly individual; there is no sort of battle array. After the first rush of a surprise attack, they fight by preference from cover. No line of bowmen ever fights in the open, nor do lancers make a concerted charge. The sinew-backed war bow is a powerful short-range weapon.[47] Arrow shafts are wooden, the heads of stone loosely affixed so as to remain in the wound when

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[46] *Op. cit.*, 1:19–27.

[47] Frémont observed that in 1846 he saw Indians behind the bushes with their arrows spread fan-wise so as to be ready at hand (Memoirs, 494).

567 frequent and had slave-taking as a primary object. It is probable that the introduction of the horse stimulated predatory habits and made possible frequent trading visits to the Columbia river people. From them they adopted for themselves the practices of slave-holding on an enlarged scale and of measuring wealth in terms of slaves, and were encouraged to raid more frequently, and to carry their spoil to the river to exchange for the highly desired horses. Prior to the coming of the horse, we may suppose the very mild interest in holding captives found in any Basin or Californian tribe.

567
721 Most slaves (loks) are from Pit river (Achomawi and Atsugewi); others are Northern Paiute and Shasta, with a few Upland Takelma from the Rogue river drainage. A few of these Takelma are known to have been made captive on a raid into Klamath territory. The Klamath sporadically raid the Pit river people in spring or summer when the latter are scattered. Young children, women, and even men are taken.[60] Other plunder (du'ta) consists of blankets, bows and arrows, dentalia, and other beads. Captives are similarly taken in the course of feuds among the tribal subdivisions, and perhaps as freely sold. One informant had it that they are not sold but grow to manhood as foster children and visit back and forth with their own people on the friendliest terms. This view implies that they are taken and cherished as recompense for a loss by murder.

567
437 Slaves are commonly traded to individuals who make a practice of taking them to Warm Springs and the Dalles to sell again. Such was Lεle'ks in his day, who, having got three or four together, would set out for the north to trade for horses and blankets. Some he would keep to treat much as his own relatives.

567 It is quite likely that a slave's life is much like that of any poor Klamath. They commonly live in dome-shaped mat-lodges set up beside the family's earth-lodge, and there the women are visited by their masters. How far they are abused or suffer from uncertainty, I do not know. Gatschet records the escape of Pit river captives while their captors were hurrying back from a raid.[61] When the agency was established by the government all slaves were freed, but most elected to stay, and of those who returned to their own people, some came back. Evidently they had not suffered from too harsh treatment; at any rate, by my informant's account, those who had

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[114] [60] Gatschet says adult men were not enslaved but killed if captured. The instance he cites bears him out (*op. cit.*, 1:24, 25).

[562] [61] *Op. cit.*, 1:20.

fested by several tribes of northern California and in view of their 845
association with the weather and salmon on the Northwest coast. [171]*
Neither of these attitudes appears among the Klamath. Nor is there
any sympathetic bond between twins, nor is one of them destroyed at
birth. Informants had never heard of triplets although they must
occur in the usual biological proportions. Monsters are said always [766]
to be born dead—perhaps the midwives see to that. Like the stillborn,
they are said to receive the universal cremation, but it is more likely
that they are secretly disposed of, like abortions.

The child of an adulterous union, if not palmed off on the husband, 847
is aborted by pressing the abdomen heavily on a rock. Naturally this
takes place in the seclusion of the brush. No medicines are in use for
abortion. To abort is called hlso'ḳoga; infanticide, siu'ga.

How much of a disgrace barrenness is I do not know, but it does 842
not lead to separation. To aid conception women grind a white shell[60]
(lō'ḳtās) and drink it in water. Men do the same for impotence. A
small dentalium shell (t'u'tas) is also used.

Klamath cradles show an interesting cultural amalgamation. The 854
cradle for the newborn is the northern California sitting type; the
carrying board for later use is identical with the oval wooden forms
of the northern Basin.[61] Through western Oregon and Washington,
along the line of contact of the Basin board with the wooden trough
cradle of the Northwest Coast, both forms are used or else a modification
of one toward the form of the other.

The basketry cradle (ḳwāls) for the first month or two of the
baby's life is a trough with one rounded end on which the child sits. It [593]
is made by the mother of the expectant woman; woven of willow twigs,
it measures eighteen inches in length. Its purpose is said to be to prevent
the infant scratching its navel, with consequent illness, and to
support its weak back. Its usefulness ended, it is thrown away.

The carrying board (swēns) is made by the baby's father or a near
kinsman. It is a flat board of oval outline, carved from a single piece
of wood. The lower end is rather pointed so that it can be stuck into
the ground while the mother is occupied. An unexpected feature is [562]•
that the sex of the infant is distinguishable from the shape of the

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[60] This is flat, two inches long, and spotted. It may have been got from the whites.

[61] Barrett has it that the first cradle is of soft tules, followed by the sitting type of more rigid materials, with occasional use of the board (Material Culture, 257, pl. 14).

854 cradle (fig. 5). Those for boys are relatively narrow and pointed,
562 and with only one handle at the top, carved in one piece with the
board. The girl's cradle is very wide, so that she will grow up broad,
*[171] and is provided with two handles. Sex is distinguished in the cradles
of some eastern California, Nevada, and Arizona peoples (Yokuts,
Mono, Washo, Paviotso, Mohave, Maricopa) where it appears in the
decoration of the hood. The angular board cradle of the Wishram
and their neighbors is not used here.

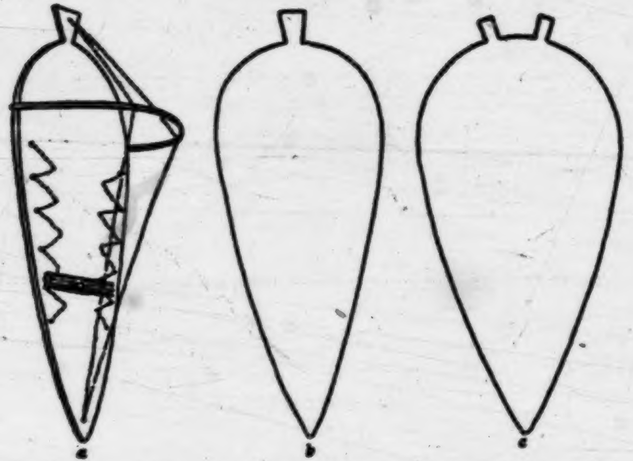

Fig. 5. Cradle boards; *b*, shape of boy's cradle; *c*, shape of girl's cradle. (Drawn from description.)

854 The arch (tsl'ella) is a single willow stick tied to holes on each
edge of the board at its widest part. It is held rigid by two strings to
a hole in the handle and two others to one near the point. There is no
rest for the feet as in some cradles of this type, but a rest just below
the buttocks permits the baby to half sit at times. This is of tules,
possibly twined, placed transversely and in such a way that it can be
turned down on the board and built over with padding so that the baby
*[171] will lie flat. It is called slotĕta'a. There is no buckskin cover to the
board; this is credited by my informants to the Modoc, Northern
Paiute, and the Upland Takelma. Instead, soft tule bark rubbed up
fine is heaped over the infant, who is wrapped in a fur by the wealthy.
The single lacing string is drawn back and forth through the five or

551

Mă'ŏka, crying. This is given to children of both sexes but I recorded it as a woman's name.

Pēpo'tewa, to put feet (pēte) in water, because she had done so, my informant surmised.

Woḳoi'ikōŋka, leaning over, because this old woman as a child walked leaning to one side.

Yatco'ksōp (a shaman), the mother (p'ʟi'sōp) of a man named Yatco's.

Another woman is called "greasy" but I failed to get the native word.

STATUS AND KINSHIP TERMS

Age Classification Terms

561

A series of terms are in current use to designate individuals at the various stages of their careers. Unlike kinship terms, these are not used in direct address except for an occasional usage like "old man." They are descriptive of status, as much as the term lō'ʟi, chief. There are exact equivalents for boys and girls, men and women. The outstanding features of the classification are: infants are sexless; thereafter discriminations turn on puberty, marriage, parenthood, bereavement, and old age. The curious category of a parent who has lost a child by death has real social significance. Like the loss of a spouse, the death of a child calls for a protracted period of mourning with special restrictions of conduct and is made the occasion of a vision quest. This is, of course, exactly comparable to our own bereavement within the immediate family but the idea of a terminological distinction is foreign to our thought. All the other distinctions have their counterpart among ourselves and are perhaps common to all mankind.

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562

	Male[55]	*Female*
Newborn baby	muka'ḳ[56]	
Baby still at the breast	muks	
Child of two years to puberty	tcia'ʟi	ni'ṣḳak
At puberty	wa'kōntk	sto'pwitk (lit., menstruant)
Youth after puberty	tcilʟ'oyak[55, 57]	siwa'k
Bachelor, spinster	tcilʟ'iwis	si'nŏmptc
Young woman		tcina[58]
Newly married	sḳa'bōks[59]	sḳa'bōkak

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[55] Compare Gatschet, 2:140, 469, 509, 518, 560, 571, 602, 615, 697, 698.

[56] Diminutive of the following.

[57] Gatschet says before puberty.

[58] Forms from Gatschet: *cf.* my informants' tic'niwas, a woman living with her husband's family.

[59] On another occasion given me as the term *for* a woman in matrilocal residence.

561 After the birth of the first child	skote		sko'ksip
• 562 Woman who has lost one child			K'lekála[89]
After the death of a child	telé'kalatk		lé'pklä'ks
Widower, widow	telima'ntk		wé'nuitk
Old man, woman	tel'kla		wilä'ėks
Old person		k'mútcha[89,90]	

To misuse these terms disparingly is an insult; e.g., to call an old man wa'kòntk or skote.

Kinship Terms

601 The peculiarities of the Klamath kinship system are to be found in the groupings of relatives in the parental and grandparental generations with correlative terminology in the two descending generations. That is, the classification is made not only on the basis of generation but regularly according to the sex of the connecting relative. Thus grandparents are distinguished as they are father's or mother's parents, and the classification appears reciprocally distinguishing a son's from a daughter's children. Again great-grandparents are either a grandfather's or a grandmother's parents and these terms are used reciprocally. Father's siblings are distinguished from the mother's and correlatively fraternal from sororal nephews and nieces. Similarly grandfather's and grandmother's siblings are separately termed and correspondingly the grandchildren of brother and sister. The connecting relatives whose sex is significant in these classifications are father and mother for the avuncular relatives and grandparents, the grandparents in their generation and the one anterior, and brother and sister for the two descending generations derived from them.

It appears further that this whole scheme revolves about the use of separate terms for siblings by male and female speakers. By extension then a father's brother differs from a mother's brother just as a man's brother differs from a woman's brother, and so on. The nepotic relatives are thought of in terms of the siblings, the avuncular relatives as siblings of the parents, and the granduncle-aunt as siblings of the grandparents.

Add verbal reciprocity as the universal usage between those two generations apart and the Klamath have four kinds of grandparent-grandchild and four kinds of granduncle-aunt—grandnephew-niece. It is consistent with this that, while the sex of the individual addressed

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[90] Hence the name of the culture hero Kmū'kāmps, old one.

cure by blowing smoke on the patient nor blow it to the distant spirits as an offering. The impression gained was that this is a matter only of self-indulgence during his periods of rest. Gatschet translates a song as "The smoking pipe is my medicine-tool (mūlwas), the implement for tobacco," but the word also means any esoteric paraphernalia of the shaman.[135] The lay use of tobacco is at any time that convenience dictates, e.g., when resting in the evening. Women use tobacco as freely as men. The custom of passing the pipe from one to another is probably absent though I made no specific inquiry. 276 [755] [562]

Tobacco (ko'tcka)[136] is smoked, never eaten. A boiled decoction of it is sometimes taken for bowel disorders.

The plant (*Nicotiana attenuata* Wats.) is not cultivated, but commonly grows in dry places.[137] A bundle of these plants together with kinnikinick is hung to dry in the top of the sweat-lodge until the leaves turn brown. Coville states that the dried leaves of manzanita, also, are mixed with the tobacco.[138] According to an informant the seed pods (which are sticky when fresh) and the adjacent parts of the flower are smoked; according to another the leaves and stem. The several plants are ground with any convenient little stone.

The pipe (p!ōks) is commonly clay with a spherical bowl and a short wooden stem, but is sometimes of stone and discoidal. The more common stone bowl is elbow-shaped with the arms at an obtuse angle, made of soft sandstone, shaped and hollowed by pecking. Barrett states that the discoidal form is less used than the angular but my information is to the contrary.[139] The stem is elder with the pith pushed out; Coville mentions the wood of the wild rose.[140] The manufacture of clay pipes by a non-pottery making people seems unusual; the only other use of clay is for making dolls. Yet the ease with which clay can be manipulated as against the difficulty of drilling and shaping stone must have favored its use. 276 323 [114] [524]

A shaman's pipe (which has no special name) is the common clay bowl fitted with a long stem, eighteen inches or more, wrapped with 276 756

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[135] 1:167.

[136] No word corresponding to the Shasta ŏp, tobacco, Takelma ŏ'p, Crow ŏp, etc., is known.

[137] Coville, Notes, 104. One of Powers' correspondents states that the Klamaths (Klamath river people?) cultivated it (Tribes of California, 426).

[138] Coville, Notes, 102. What is here called kinnikinick is probably Coville's bearberry (kā-mā-ml, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray); the common kinnikinick of northern latitudes does not grow so far south as Klamath lakes.

[139] Barrett, Material Culture, 253, pl. 22.

[140] Coville, Notes, 99.

276 756 [177] rattlesnake skin. This may be used by the shaman only during the ceremonies, but I think not. The tubular pipe is not Klamath. A long tubular pipe, with a small mouthpiece, found by the Indians at Pelican bay, had been described to my informant as the probable possession of a shaman who resided there. This is probably a trade piece.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 The only true musical instrument known to the Klamath is the flute. This with three varieties of rattle and the hand drum make up the sum of their instruments. The musical bow is a plaything.

The flute (slo'lūs) is played for amusement and in courting; [562] curiously enough it is played by women as well as men even when courting. Its music is called su'lulu. Various sounds are imitated on 534 the flute, such as the noise of flying pelicans' wings. The melodies include those of shaman's songs, although it is never used in shamanis- 533 tic rites. I do not know that song is ever accompanied by flute. It seems more probable that the melodies of certain songs are considered [756] appropriate flute music.[141] There are flute songs about the turtle and deer. The song for the antelope is:

[539]

gaiyo'	gaiyo'wa	gaiyo'	gaiyo'wa
chewing			
tcĕwōm	aiĕ'nol	tĕli'dŏŋga	
antelope	me	am browsing	
slęwi's	aiĕ'nol	tĕli'dŏŋga	
wind	me	am browsing.	

He browses along (toward me?) when the wind strikes him (?).

A flute song for the mountain sheep is:

hotūks	nis	sĕwā'ĕt	geoġe'lɪ	wiĕ'sōm
that	allows	me	that earth	mountain sheep
dostōn	hoiha'nsɪ	lall'sdōt		
where I	run on the ledge	on the steep hill.		

These are not magical songs for calling game but solely for amusement.

Another song referring to any bird is:

djĭkgasltgo	djĭkgasltgo	nenea
flutterer		flapping.

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[141] Gatschet gives the text of several songs, which, because they are neither appropriate to shamanistic or puberty rites, may belong to this category (1:189, 192).

An old woman, gathering wood at this place, also saw two horses in the water. Turning to her husband she said, "There are horses standing over there," but when they looked again, the horses had disappeared. Such a disappearance (tzko'tḳa) is a sign that a relative will die; one of her relatives died after this. 787 [159]

Visions evidently follow one of two formulae. Either, as above, the spirit appears standing in the water and then disappears, or it drags the swimmer below the water for the purpose of devouring him, as instanced below.

One word swi'ls means song and spirit being. A certain dualism 787
is involved here. Spirits are definite beings that dwell in the moun- 776
tains and in the water. On the other hand all songs are called swi'ls, 533
including those for amusement and non-shamanistic dancing, which bear no reference to spirits. That is, spirits and songs are certainly recognized as separate entities. Nevertheless, when it is said that a man has a Coyote swi'ls, for example, it means that he has the appropriate song or songs and that this animal is his supernatural helper. The spirit never manifests itself but in the song; the singer is the vehicle, the voice of the spirit. Song and spirit are one and the same thing.

Power is sought in lonely spots on the mountains, in mountain 787
pools, in eddies in the rivers, in all places where spirits are known to 881
dwell. A boy is sent into the mountains on a vigil of several days, perhaps five, at puberty, that is, when his voice changes. He seeks power that he may acquire property, be a good hunter, become rich, a chief, and be able to do all the things that are difficult. (One does not need power to be a fisherman, for instance.) He must fast and must not touch his hands to his face, but must use a scratcher instead. He must sleep without covering and warm himself only occasionally by a little fire. He runs about constantly throughout the night, piling rocks into high piles[147] (called sewa'l) and swimming in the mountain pools. He prays, calling loudly to the spirits, and finally gets an answer. At night he may see a spirit with blood flowing from his mouth; then he faints and when he wakes he too will have a hemorrhage (djăkglökgĕ'ḳa). He "nearly dies" before he secures the song.

It is possible that girls also seek power at puberty. Their dance at this time takes place at night; during the day they sleep in the brush or on the near-by hills. Then a song may be dreamed. One [562]
informant had it that they spend the night piling rocks like boys, returning at daylight, but I consider it very unlikely that a girl

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[147] Clarke, Rock Piles, 40, refers to the many piles of four or five boulders placed on one another which occur in this country.

787 would be allowed to go unattended. Women well along in years, how-
881 ever, follow the regular practice, at least as to bathing in the spirit
● 562 places.

787 The same method is pursued by the mourner, gambler, or shaman
787 who seeks power, but swimming in the deep river eddies was more
756 frequently mentioned in this connection. These seekers are almost
~ 525 always men, but older strong-willed women will attempt it. Power
may be sought at any time during the year, but they do not dive for it until the first willow buds appear (in the seventh month, March or April). I presume that deep snows and ice in the mountains preclude earlier attempts.

787 During the day the seeker sweats and fasts, waiting in the brush
until nightfall. He then goes to the river and dives to the bottom in
search of the spirit. He must not be frightened even if he sees some-
[756] thing moving under the water. He prays before diving, "I want to be
a shaman. Give me power. Catch me. I need the power." Sometimes he comes up unconscious, blood streaming from his mouth and nose. He must wait until the flow stops before going home.[148] This night he hears nothing because he has been frightened by the spirit, nor will he eat the following day for fear of falling ill. On the following night or soon after, he hears the song of the spirit as it sings beneath the water. He may dream of hunting deer, acquiring horses, of success in gambling or with women, and of marriage. One informant dreamed of being in an earth-lodge. When he wakes the
[539] seeker sings about the subject of his dream. One song dreamed by an
old woman is

e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha
(repeated four times)
noai'meso spu'ŋgŏtgŏple' spū'ŋgŏtgŏple'
I am the one pursuing you.

It seems that, like a boy at puberty, this seeker, after swimming, may go to the mountains to fast and pile rocks. He may remain there for some time, but one exceptionally rapid quest was cited. Nancy's father having lost a child, he went swimming in Crater lake; before evening he had become a shaman.

787 A power quest under unusual circumstances is that of Lɛle'ks.
This man, the most prominent and successful chief of the last century,
159 was a berdache in his youth. His people wanted him to give up
woman's garb. One day when he lay asleep they placed a woman's

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[148] Gatschet also describes this (*op. cit.*, 1:82–84).

This is a spirit. Doubtful as spirits are certain other stones; yati's 776
which stands at I'wal, and nĕ'ķnŭķ, a group of stones back of
Du''Ilķŭt, both towns on Klamath marsh. These are "shaman 776
stones"; evidently once living things, for it was said that they were 756
transformed when Crow laughed at them.

A Molala struck one of the nĕ'ķnŭķ stones with a basket, saying, "How can this rock have power?" He soon sickened and died. The nĕ'ķnŭķ is a shaman.

SHAMANISM

The shaman (ķiu'ks) is one who has acquired more than usual 756
spirit power. This is a relative matter; some shamans have considerably more power than others, and everyone who has got power is in some degree capable of using it as a shaman does. One of my informants, for example, now avowedly a member of the pseudo-Christian Shaker sect, maintains that he too is a little qualified; he can make it rain. Shamanism is completely individualistic among the Klamath; there are no shamanistic organizations.

It is clear that the shaman is the most important individual in 756
Klamath society, taking precedence over rich men, the chiefs. Shamans' houses are the largest in the village and they have at least as 622
much property as wealthy laymen. Invariably my informants spoke first of shamans in describing outstanding individuals. Their behavior and practices were readily formulated, whereas I experienced considerable difficulty in learning the functions and even the names of chiefs. It is reasonably certain that the status of the chiefs, that is the rich [178]
men, was relatively unimportant until the introduction of horses in the middle of the last century stimulated trading with the Columbia [177]
river tribes and perhaps brought in some of the northern view of the importance of wealth and chieftaincy. There is no doubt that the position of chiefs was strengthened by the habit of the whites of dealing with chiefs and other prominent laymen.

Shamans are both men and women, but unlike the Shasta, the 756
majority are men. My informants mentioned many men shamans 562 •
during the course of my visits, and this probably did not exhaust their memories; but on request they could muster only four women [170]*
shamans and one berdache. Women never acquire the prestige of men for they are rarely credited with such unusual powers as men. They cannot wander in the mountains nor dive for power so well as men;

756 562 they are more easily frightened. Nevertheless two of my informants said that women could cure more readily than men. All four women held the regular shamanistic winter performance, and cured as well, but only one of them had power to find out if another shaman had poisoned her patients, although all male shamans can do this.[160] The berdache White Sindey claimed to be a powerful shaman but no one believed her.

756 There are no specialized types of shaman. The weather shaman, the rattlesnake and bear shamans of Californian tribes are not known here. There is however a suggestion; wounds made by grizzly bears can be cured by songs of a huge spirit grizzly according to one informant, although this was scouted by another. Weather is controlled by the songs of a special group of spirits, but, as elsewhere, this power is exercised by shamans in addition to their usual curative capacity. There is no special power for curing snake bites. It may happen that some shamans have only the power to control the weather or to cure bear wounds, but I heard of none. It is clear, however, that the Klamath would not single them out.

756 776 A shaman has powers from many spirits and is always accumulating more. I could not get my informants to specify which powers belonged to particular shamans. Beyond specifying what songs a shaman used in a particular instance, they implied that an experienced shaman knew an inexhaustible number or would doubtless claim to have them at his command. Hence several shamans have songs from a spirit at the same time. The songs are probably not identical. At the same time it is not likely that two shamans will be performing at once, so that the problem of conflicting claims to possession probably never arises. I am also uncertain whether spirits are thought of as individuals or genera; even in the case of anthropomorphic beings, I believe they imply a plurality. Hence they would doubtless resolve the difficulty by maintaining that they had the same songs from different spirit coyotes, dwarfs, winds, or whatever.

New spirits are always being sought or come unsolicited in dreams. A spirit, like that which gives the power to swallow fire, "comes stronger and stronger" until the shaman feels compelled to perform this trick. If he fails to obey the insistent spirit he will die.

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[160] This is the case described by Gatschet (1:64-66) and also cited by my informant.

343 is gable-shaped, the ridgepole being supported at each end on a pair of struts thrust obliquely into the margin of the pit. Sticks and bark resting on this form the roof; a layer of dry grass and dirt covers the whole. This stands three and a half feet above the ground. The entrance, which is quite small, is covered by a mat (fig. 20).

Stones, heated outside, are rolled into a hollow in the lodge. There does not seem to be any prescribed place for this, as among other peoples. The stones are said to be at the rear in the winter lodge, and anywhere in the summer affair, but in a winter lodge that I saw, the hollow was near the doorway to the right of one entering, and at the back in a summer lodge. For the use of five or ten men, I was told, a large summer lodge has the stones at the center. [801] Five is the Klamath pattern number, but it was said that there was no prescription of the number who may enter at one time, nor of the number of times they sweat. Water is thrown on the hot stones after they are somewhat cooled, otherwise the steam would scald the inmates. There is a certain amount of rivalry on the part of those who have the water to drive the others out by raising steam; sometimes four or five have it at one time.[376]

They talk to the stones when sprinkling them, asking to be cured, to live long, work well, to have luck in gambling, and to get spirits. This is the same as talking to the water [illegible] swimming on a vision quest. "The stones are 'doctor'; the water [illegible] 'doctor.'" They talk to the wind, the mountains, the water. Everyone outside is quiet. [562] Men and women go into these lodges together.

Coville observes that "the branches and twigs of the 'cedar,' (*Librocedrus decurrens* Torr.) are often used in administering a sweat bath to a sick person."[377]

343 The three sweat-lodges used solely by mourners closely resemble the "winter" lodge. In fact, the lodge just north of Klamath Agency does not differ in any respect. I have seen but one of the other two, that near Algoma. This is now a U-shaped wall of stones which once bore a rough gable roof covered with dirt. It is much larger than the [178] winter lodge, enclosing an area ten by twenty feet.[378] It may be suggested that conservatism has preserved the type for this use, while for secular uses it has been, or is being, supplanted by the dome-shaped lodge.

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[376] For a tale describing such rivalry, see p. 37.

[377] Notes, 88.

[378] For its description and use, see pp. 73 f.

ideas are appreciably close to those of the Shasta in that the novice 171 *
has an involuntary seizure, apparently while at home, but following 787
his inaugural dance, he goes to the mountains in quest of power.[484] 756

Corresponding to the absence of sharp distinctions between shaman and layman in the northwest, the quest is open to everyone throughout that area. Yet there are some differences with respect to sex. This is measurable in part by the relative number of men and women shamans.

Men are more frequently successful in acquiring power than 171 *
women and are accordingly more often shamans among the Thompson,
Klallam, Quinault, Snohomish, Nisqually, Wishram, and Klamath. 787
The evidence is quite definite on this point. Among the Tillamook
and Nez Percé both sexes obtained powers: it is conceivable that men 756
predominated. 562 •

The statement that Takelma shamans are equally men and women is perhaps significant in view of the situation to the south. Shasta, Yurok, and Wiyot shamans are chiefly women, with but few men. Goddard merely mentions both men and women shamans among the Hupa, and Dixon among the Chimariko, but Kroeber implies that they were normally women.[485]

Elsewhere in California it seems that men predominated as shamans; specifically Achomawi, Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu and those of the foothills region, Yuki, and Salinan. In southern California, where the equivalent of the shaman is one who has had visions induced by jimsonweed, this situation holds even more stringently because the narcotic is rarely administered to girls. Yet in northeastern California the northwestern emphasis on feminine shamanism is reflected. Dixon observes of the Northeastern Maidu: "There were women shamans as well as men; the former being, however, more numerous in Big Meadows, where the Maidu come nearest in contact with the Achomawi, among whom women shamans were very numerous."[486] Angulo[487] states that their number was about equal among the Achomawi, which is not a contradiction of Dixon. This implies that the Achomawi-Atsugewi and Big Meadows Maidu were both influenced by Shasta custom. Elsewhere here (Yuki and Foothill Maidu) women were rarely shamans.

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[484] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 279; Notes on Achomawi and Atsugewi, 216; Chimariko, 303; Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 120–136.

[485] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 66; Dixon, Chimariko, 303; Kroeber, Handbook, 111, 137.

[486] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 274.

[487] Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 564.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

The time of life at which supernatural power may be gained is not limited among most western tribes. Those of eastern Washington and the interior of British Columbia, however, tend to restrict the quest to adolescence, and with them seem to link the secret society initiations of the Northwest Coast. One gains the impression that in northwestern California, where the acquisition is involuntary, it descends only on adults. The Klamath, like others of northeastern California, follow the more widespread habit of seeking power at any time. 171* 787

Feminine shamanism is characteristic of northwestern California. While this appears in the relatively large number of women practitioners as far east as Shasta and Achomawi, the Klamath are unaffected by this influence. 171* 756 [562]

Specialization among shamans is not marked over most of western America. Such distinctions as are made between those who cure and mere clairvoyants, or the really powerful shaman and one with limited abilities, are very variable and never particularly impressive. Such distinctions do not appear among the Klamath at all. Neither do the common Californian specialists, the rattlesnake, bear, and weather shamans. Weather control is exercised by any Klamath shaman who has the requisite spirits.

Northern California and Oregon share an initial dance for the novice: a performance of initiation and mastery in the south, a demonstration of ability in Oregon. The Klamath affiliate with the latter. Its local form on the Klamath river below the Klamath (Yurok, Shasta, and Modoc), a dance made immediately on the acquisition of power with a second somewhat later, has no counterpart among the Klamath. The general form of the Klamath novice dance is identical with all their shamanistic seances. In one particular they affiliate with the down-river tribes, namely in dancing over a hot fire, but even this is known on the southern fringe of the Northwest Coast proper, if not elsewhere. 171* 756 535

Northwest Coast influences appear at two points: the time of shamanistic seances and the woodcarvings representing spirits. Klamath seances are restricted to midwinter, the novice dance among them. This is regularly the period at which all who have spirits are repossessed and impelled to dance, shamans among them. The regimentation of the repossessed in the midwinter sacred period of the Northwest Coast is lacking, but a diminution of the idea and its forms is clearly traceable from that focus to Shasta and Klamath. Wooden 171* 756 796 000

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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*171 567 southward of the Klamath there was no slavery; this is certain for Northern and Southern Maidu,[561] and very probably Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northern Paiute. This seems generally true of California with the exception of the northwest (Yurok and probably their neighbors), where there was debt slavery, but where slaves were not measurable articles of wealth.

Summary

101 105 174 The general position of the Klamath in relation to surrounding tribes was in earlier days the simple social structure of the Basin peoples. Since the opening of the last century they have borrowed from the Columbia tribes some sense of social stratification based on wealth, slave-holding, and trading, enhanced importance for their chiefs coincident with a change in the basis of selection from war to wealth, and quite recently judicial functions for the chiefs. There was thus a shift in social dominance from shaman to chief.

GIRLS' PUBERTY RITES AND WOMEN'S OBSERVANCES

*171 562 881 787 It is characteristic of western America that adolescence ceremonies were held for girls rather than boys. This is not to ignore the wide extension of the guardian spirit quest, more regularly performed by boys than girls, nor the boys' initiation ceremonies of southern California and the Southwest, but the boys' activities were less commonly ritualized save in the southwestern sector. The boys' quest among the Klamath has been discussed in connection with shamanism.

*171 841 The girls' rites in the west can best be understood with reference to a background of women's observances throughout the continent. Certain features of women's behavior had a well-nigh universal distribution. The general conception was that woman during her periodical illnesses was a source of contamination to others or a peril to herself. A series of restrictions ensued; she was secluded or her movements restricted during the period. For her own well-being she must fast or at least refrain from fresh meat or fish, but the latter proscription was also rationalized as avoiding damage to the food supply, especially fishing. She must not touch hands to face or hair, using instead a scratching stick, must not wash nor arrange her hair, and must dispose of her garments before resuming her normal life.

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[560] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, esp. 122.

[561] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 206; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 44.

Restrictions to women's behavior at this time have a very different implication from elsewhere in the world, for on the whole in North America the Indian woman's social position was on a plane of equality with that of the man. At least women were not excluded from social and ceremonial participation merely because they were women, although they were commonly excluded during their illnesses. On the contrary, in almost all parts of the continent women did participate in ceremonies with men and in analogous ceremonies of their own. 171* 562

Such restrictions held throughout the major part of the continent; California, Northwest Coast, Basin, among the non-Pueblo Southwestern tribes, in the greater part of the Plains, and Eastern Woodlands. On the other hand very meager restrictions or none at all have been noted in the northern Plains (Gros Ventre, Blackfoot, Crow, Arapaho), in the Arctic (Copper and Central Eskimo), possibly among the Pueblos generally (Zuñi), and again among the Wishram.[662] 171* 841

Quite uniformly seclusion was in a hut apart, a scratcher was used, and fresh meat tabooed. Lowie has discussed the distribution of these features in the Basin and southern California, Kroeber in California at large.[663] They are however not confined to these areas. I will give here the distribution of these features so far as literature is available; our authorities are remarkably reticent on the whole subject.

Hut and the period of seclusion: Tlingit (1 or 3 days), Snohomish, Nisqually (5), Middle Columbia Salish, Nez Percé, Kutenai ?, Chinook ? (5 or 4), sometimes Klamath (5), Achomawi-Atsugewi (3 or 4), Sacramento Valley Maidu (3 or 4), Northeastern Maidu (4 or 5), Pomo ?, Northern and Southern Ute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Pima (4), Assiniboin, Dakota, Cheyenne, Omaha and Ponca (4), Menomini, Winnebago, Chickasaw (3).[664] To these should be

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[662] Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre, 181; Wissler, Blackfoot Social Life, 29; Lowie, Crow Social Life, 220; Kroeber, The Arapaho, 15; Jenness, The Copper Eskimo, 108; Boas, Central Eskimo, 596; Parsons, in American Indian Life, 157 *f.*; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

[663] Lowie, Cultural Connection, 145; Kroeber, Handbook, 861 *f.*

[664] Krause, Die Tlinkit-Indianer, 218; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 46, 47; Teit, Middle Columbia Salish, 114; Spinden, Nez Percé, 198; Chamberlain, 186; Boas, Chinook Texts, 247; Dixon, Notes on Achomawi-Atsugewi, 217; Northern Maidu, 233, 238; Kroeber, Handbook, 254, but cf. Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 278 *f.*; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 273 *f.*; Northern Shoshone, 214; Russell, Pima Indians, 183; Lowie, The Assiniboine, 39; Kroeber, The Arapaho, 15; Grinnell, Cheyenne Indians, I, 130; J. O. Dorsey, Omaha Sociology, 267; Skinner, Menomini Social Life, 53; Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, 136; Speck, Notes on Chickasaw Ethnology, 56. Modoc women "abstained *from* the use of all kinds of meat for five days in each moon" (Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 137).

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
252 476. Eaten dry	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	−	+
477. Buckeyes eaten	o	o	o	•+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
478. Leached	o	o	o	−	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
479. Boiled whole	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	−	−	+	o
480. Earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
481. For flesh food	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
482. For vegetable food	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	•+
483. Food sprinkled with water	−		+	+	−		−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
484. Food covered with leaves or grass	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
485. Water sprinkled into oven after closed up	−	•+	−	−	−		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
486. Eggs cooked	+	+	+			•+	+	•	+		+			+	+	+
487. Baked in earth oven	•+	−	−		−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
488. Baked in hot ashes	−	+	+			−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
489. Stone boiled in basket	−	+	+								+	−	−	+	+	+
272 490. Berry "cider"	•+	o	+	+	+	•o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
491. Sipped with deer tail	−	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−
263 492. Salt obtained in mineral form, dry	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
493. Salt from spring or marsh	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
494. Salt locally	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+
[439] 495. Salt imported	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	•+	−
496. Used little or not at all; disliked	+	+	+	−	•−	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
497. "Salt" from burning grass	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	•+
498. "Salt" clover eaten fresh	−	+	−					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262 499. Soaproot eaten	o	o	o	+	−	•o	•o	•o	•o	•o	o	+	−	+	+	−
500. Top eaten	o	o	o	−	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	−	−	+	+	−
501. Root eaten	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	+	−	−
502. Cooked in earth oven	o	o	o	+	−	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	−	−	−	−
[272] 503. Root concoction drunk as medicine	o	o	o	−	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	−	−	.	−	−
[439] 504. Imported if not obtainable locally	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
[515] 505. Soaproot for washing	o	•o	o	+	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	R	+
506. Milkweed chewing gum	−	−	+	•+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[26] 507. Pine pitch chewing gum	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	o	+	+	+
508. Pine "sugar"	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	•+	−	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	−
509. Honeydew from leaves eaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
510. Inner bark of trees eaten.	•+	−	+	−	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
511. Mushrooms and fungi eaten											+	+	+			+
512. Fresh or dried											•+	+	•+			•+

Eating Customs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
264 513. Men served before women, if crowd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
[562] 514. All eat out of one basket	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
515. Men each have own basket	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+
516. Women also have separate baskets	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+
517. Man and wife eat from same basket	+	+	+						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
[865] 518. Children "piece" whenever hungry						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
519. Two main meals daily, usually	•−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
520. Three main meals daily	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−		−	−	−	−	−	+
[574] 521. Meal whenever visitor arrives	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[515] 522. Hands washed after eating deer, bear meat	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
523. Men's rule only	−	−	−			−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−
524. Wipe face, hands with grass, bark after eating	+	+	+						+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	•+

Storage of Food

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
251 525. Outdoor granaries	−	+	+	−	+	•+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
526. Against tree	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
527. In burnt tree stump	−		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
528. On platform in tree; covered	−	•+	+			•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
684. Separate hole	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	342
685. Hole rectangular or square	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	
685a. Secondary entry	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	(−)	·+	·+	·+	·(+)	−	−	+	·+	
686. Ground level	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
687. Side or end of house	−	−	−	+	·+	·+	·+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
688. For children	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	(−)	−	·+	+	−	−	−	−	·+	
689. For deer, wood	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	·+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
690. Draft hole	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	(−)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
691. Smoke hole	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	+	−	
692. Ceremonial use only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
693. Single fireplace	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
694. Center of house	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	·+	·+	−	−	+	+	+	+	
695. Between center and door	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	
696. Between draft hole and center post	−	−	−	−	+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
697. Beside main (ground) entrance	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
698. On surface or in shallow depression	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	·+	+	+	−	+	+	+	·+	
699. In definite pit	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	·+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
700. Cooking fire outside dwelling	+	+	·+	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
701. Smoke hole	·+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
702. Draft hole in rear of house	−	−	−	+	+	·+	+	−	·+	·+	·+	·	−	−	−	·+	
703. House ladder	+	+	−	·−	+	·+	+	+	·−	·+	·+	·+	−	−	·−	·+	
704. Notched plank or log	−	−	−	·−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	
705. 2 poles, rungs tied between	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
706. Center post as ladder	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	·+	+	−	−	−	−	
707. Crosspieces lashed on	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
708. Interior wall coverings	−	−	−		+	·+	+		·+	·+	+	+	−	−	−	+	
709. Tule mats	−	−	−		−	·+	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
710. Hides	−	−	−		·	−	+		−	−	+	(+)	−	−	−	−	
711. Bark slabs to bank walls	−	−	−		−	−	−		·−	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	
712. Planks to bank walls	−	−	−		−	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
713. Bed scaffolds	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	
714. Floor coverings and pallets	+	+	+	·(−)	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
715. Mats	+	+	+	(−)	+	·+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	
716. Loose grass or boughs	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
717. Pine-needle pallet	+	+	−			·+	−	−	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
718. Wooden stool	−	−	−	·(+)	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
719. Individually owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	·	·+	[423]
720. Chief nominal owner	−	+	+	+	+	·+	+	−	+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	·	−	
721. Rich man	+	+	−	+	+	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	
722. Shaman	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
722a. Communally owned	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	·	·+	
723. Used as living house	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	−	·+	·+	+	+	·+	−	−	·+	
724. 1-family	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	
725. Multifamily	+	+	+	−	+	·+	·+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	
726. To sleep in, only	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
727. For sleeping, cooking	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	·+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	
728. Serves as sweat house	−	(+)	+	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	·−	·+	·+	·+	+	+	−	−	
729. Serves as assembly house	+	+	+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	+	·+	[562] ●
730. Open to both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·+	+	+	+	+	−	−	
731. Open to men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	·+	−	−	−	−	+	+	
732. Women admitted only during ceremonies	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	[756]
733. Used for shamanistic activities	·+	·+	·+	·+	(−)	(−)	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	
733a. Winter use mainly	+	+	·+	−	+	−	·+	−	−	·+	+	·+	−	−	−	·+	[221]
734. Summer use mainly	−	−	−	−	·−	−	−	−	−	−	·−	·+	−	−	−	−	
735. Used throughout year	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	·+	−	−	+	+	+	·+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
767b. Earth covering partial	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	343
768. Earth covering all over	•+	+	-	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768a. Main entrance through roof	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
768b. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768c. Flush	+	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768d. In end of house	+	+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
768e. Secondary entrance at ground level	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769. Sliding wooden door	•-	•-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769a. Stone paved "porch"	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769b. Steam or hot-rock heat	•+	•(+)	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
770. Direct-fire heat	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
770a. Small, for 1-4 persons	•+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
770b. Large, for group	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
770c. Used throughout year	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	+	
771. Used in winter only	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
772. Used by both sexes	+	+	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562] ●
773. Used by men only	-	-	-	•+	(+)	-	-	+	•-	•-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
774. Used by mourners only	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
775. Communally owned	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	+	-	-		
Plains-Type Sweat House																	
776. Plains-type sweat house	•+	•+	•+	•+	•R	•R	•+	•(-)	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	
777. Dome shaped	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
778. Mat covered	+	+	•+	+	R	-	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
778a. Hide covered	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
779. Brush, bough covered	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	(-)	•+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	
780. Small, for 1-3 persons	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	
781. Steam heat	+	+	+	•+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	
782. Used throughout year	-	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)		-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
783. Used in summer only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Sweating Customs																	
784. Individual sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	+	-	515
785. Sweating in groups of 2-4, or larger	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	
786. Women sometimes sweat with men	+	+	+	•+	•R	•+	•+	-	-	•+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	[562]
787. Women sometimes sweat separately	+	+	+	+	R	+	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
788. Sweating daily or every 2-3 days	+	-	-	•+	+	R	•-	-	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	
789. Sweaters sit or crouch	+	+	•+	+	+	R	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
790. Sweaters lie down	•+	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	
791. Sweaters "dance around"	-	-	•+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
792. Formalized sweat dance	-	-				-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	[535]
793. Sweaters kneel	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
794. All men sleep in sweat house occasionally	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	[513]
795. Male mourners sleep in sweat house	•+	•+		-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
796. Unmarried old men sleep, eat in sweat house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	•-	-	+	
797. Men gamble in sweat house	-	-	-	•-	-	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	-	•-	•-	
798. Men work (handicrafts) in sweat house	-	-	+	-	-	•+	•+	•-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	•-	•-	
799. Youths gather fuel for sweating	-	[illegible]		+		•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	•-	-	•-	
800. Office of fire maker	-	•-	•+	•+	-	-	-	+	•+	•R	-	.	•+	+	•+	•+	[312]
801. Competitive sweat groups	-	-	-	•+	-	•-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	[372]
802. All sweators sing	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	[533]
803. 1 man sings for group	-	-				-	-	•(+)	•+	•+	-	+	•+	-	-	-	
804. Sweat for success in hunting	+	•+	•+	•+	+	-	+	-	•+	•+	-	+	.	-	-	-	[224]
805. Sweat for success in gambling	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	[525]
806. Sweat for general good luck	+	+		+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	[777]
807. Sweat as cure for disease	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	•+	-	-	.	+	+	-	
808. Scarify selves, let blood drip on hot rocks	-	+	+	•+				-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[757]
809. Sweat to cleanse body	-	-	+	+		+	•+	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	[104]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Preparation																	
2049. Stalk hung up to dry	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	276
2050. Leaves dried, whole	+	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	
2051. Leaves rubbed and hung to dry in sack												+	+	–	–	+	
2052. Leaves only, used	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2053. Leaves rubbed fine in palm, with fingertips	+	+	–	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2054. Dried leaves put in sack, pounded on slab			+								–	–	–	–	–	–	
o2055. Tobacco mixed for smoking	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	–	–	•±	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o2056. Kinnikinick, manzanita mixtures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2057. Grease added	+	+	–	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
Tobacco Containers																	
2058. Basket	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	[415]
2059. Buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	
2060. Cased-fur pouch	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
Tobacco Substitutes																	
2061. Plant substitutes used occasionally	–	–	+						•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2062. Manzanita	–	–	+						–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2063. Parched and ground	–	–	+						–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Uses																	
2064. Smoking at social gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2065. Pipe passed	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2066. Smoking after sweating	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
2067. Bedtime smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2068. No smoking in dwelling house	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
2069. Men smoke, generally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[561]
2070. Smoking limited among women; shamans mainly	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	[756]
2071. Tobacco chewed	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o2072. Tobacco as offering	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2073. Tossed or blown in air	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	[782]
2074. Burnt in fire	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	
2075. Smoked	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	•+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	

MUSIC AND DRAWING

Musical Instruments

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Drums																	
2076. Hide drum	•R	+	•+	•+	+	•R	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	534
2077. Cylindrical	R	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2078. 2-headed	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2079. 1-headed	R	+	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2080. Tambourine type	R	+	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2081. Drumstick wrapped at head	R	+	–	+	+	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2082. Plain drumstick, knot for head	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2083. Footdrum	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
2084. Basket drummed	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•–	•+	
Rattles																	
2085. Cocoon rattle	•–	–	–	•–	•+	•+	•+	•–	•–	•R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
2086. Stick handle	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2138. Sinew-wrapped at mouthpiece	–	+	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	534
o2139. End stopped	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	R	R	+	±	+	.	+	+	+	
2140. Partially stopped inside at hole	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2141. Stop of pitch	–	.	+	+	–	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	
2142. Stop of salmon glue	–	.	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2143. Stop of wood	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	
2144. Single whistle	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	
2145. 2 whistles bound together	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2146. Whistle worn, suspended from string around neck	–	–	+								+	+	+	+	.	+	
2147. Taboo to whistle around elderberry bush		°+	°+								+	–	+	+	–	°+	[784]
2148. Snake will strike whistler.		+	+								+	–	+	+	–	°+	
2149. Flute	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2150. Bone	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	
2151. Elder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2152. Cane	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
‡2153. Number of holes	3	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	–	6	
2154. Holes burnt in		+	+						R	R	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2155. Holes put in with awl									+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2156. Entire upper surface flattened			–						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2157. End blown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	.	–	–	+	
2158. Side blown	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	(–)	+	+	+	–	+	
2159. Mouth blown	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
2160. Nose blown	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2161. Used by shaman	–	°+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[756]
2162. Used for courting	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–		
2163. Used for self-amusement	°+	–	+	°+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	

Pictographs, Petroglyphs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2164. Pictographs, petroglyphs present in area.	°+	°+	–	–	°+	–	°+	°+	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	532
2165. Nonhuman origin	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	.	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2166. Made by tiny people	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2167. Made by mythological characters	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2168. Bring bad luck; charm viewer	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[777]
2169. Impress of feet, etc., on rocks	–	°+	°+							°+	–	°+	°+	–	°+		[823]

RECREATION

Games

Shinny

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2170. Shinny played	+	+	+	+	+	°R	+	–	+	°+	+	+	+	+	–	+	526
2171. Men, youths play occasionally	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	[562] ●
2172. Women play	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2173. Each sex plays separately	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
2174. Both sexes play together	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2175. Children play	–	+	–	+	+	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[857]
2176. Single ball	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2177. Wood	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2178. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2179. Oak gall	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2180. Double ball	–	+	+	+	–	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	
2181. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2182. 2 blocks on ends of cord	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	°+	°+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2183. 2 grass balls on end of cord	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
°2184. Cord or hide strip only	–	–	–	–	+	°+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
526 2185. Hoop or ring for ball	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2186. Shinny stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2187. Curved stick	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2188. Straight stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2189. Netted stick	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2190. Ball propelled with feet	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2191. Start: ball buried in center of field	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2192. Start: ball on ground, center of field	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2193. Start: ball thrown or dropped, center of field	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
2194. Attempt to keep ball on ground	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2195. Attempt to keep ball in air	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
2196. Grappling permitted	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
2197. Goal at each end of field	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
2198. 2 poles, ca. 4 ft. apart	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
2199. Marked line of ground	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
o2200. Number of players on each side	4	20	6	4	5	8	3	10	6	4	3	5	2	4	–	5
2201. Sides local groups	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2202. Betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2203. Referee	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
Ball Race																
[562] 2204. Ball races	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	R	+	R	+	+	+	+
2205. Men	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	R	+	R	+	+	+	+
2206. Women play, occasionally	–	–	–	–	+	R	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2207. Each sex plays separately	–	–	–	–		R	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2208. Play along a course, not returning	–	–	–	–	+	R	–	–	–	R	+	–	–	–	+	–
2209. Along a course and return	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	–	–	–	+		+	+	–	–
2210. Single ball	–	–	–	–	+	R	+				+	R	+	–	–	+
2211. Wood	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2212. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	R	–	–	–	+
2213. 2 balls, 1 for each side	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	–	–	R	+	–	+	+	+	–
2214. Wood	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2215. Oak gall	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2215a. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
2216. Curved stick to propel ball	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2217. Straight stick to propel ball	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2218. Feet to propel ball	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	R	–	+	+	+
2219. Wrestling permitted	–	–	–	–							+	–	–	+	–	–
2220. Paired posts for goal(s)	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	R	–	+	+	+
2221. Arch of poles for goal(s)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	–	–
2222. 2 goals, 1 for each side	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	–	–	R	+	R	–	–	–	+
2223. Speed wins	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	R	+	R	·	+	+	+
2224. Fewest number of strokes wins	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
o2225. Number on each side	–	–	–	–	5	6	6	–	–	4	4	10	2	2	4	4
†2226. Number of sides	–	–	–	–	2	2	2	–	–	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
2227. Sides local groups	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	R	+	R	+	+	+	+
2228. 2 out of 3 games wins	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	(+)	(+)	–	–
2229. Referee	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
Hoop and Pole																
2230. Hoop-and-pole game played	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2231. Men	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2232. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2233. Hoop, wrapped	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2234. Pole, thrown overhand, 1 arm	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2235. Sides cast simultaneously	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	–	–
2236. Sides cast in turns	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2237. Pole through hoop scores	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	526
2238. Pole over hoop or stick scores	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
o2239. Number of counters	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•10	–	–	–	–	
o2240. Number on a side	2	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•10	–	–	–	–	
†2241. Number of sides	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(2)	–	–	–	–	
2242. Sides local groups	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	
2243. Referee	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	
2244. Betting	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	
Quoits																	
2245. Quoits played	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2246. Quoit a ring, from limber rope or withe	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2247. Quoit a stone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2248. Target: single stake	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2249. Target, 2 stakes, at each end of the field.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
‡2250. No. of throws for each player	10	12	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	2	–	–	–	–	
2251. All players throw simultaneously	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o2252. No. of points for ringer or strike	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	1	.	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	
o2253. No. of points for closest throw	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	.	1	–	2	–	–	–	–	
2254. Distance from pole measured with stick	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	
‡2255. No. of points for game	10	12	–	–	–	–	–	1	.	1	–	4	–	–	–	–	
Spear or Dart Throwing																	
2256. Spear or dart-throwing games	+	+	•+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	.	+	
2257. Men play	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	+	
2258. Spear thrown	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	+	
2259. Pole thrown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
2260. Arrow thrown	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	
2261. Stationary target	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	–	
2262. Tule or grass bundle	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
2263. 1 stake	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
2264. 2 stakes, small	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	–	
2265. 2 targets; throw back and forth	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	
2266. Closest wins points	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2267. Stuck in target, or between, 2 points	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2268. Players cast in turn	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	
o2269. Number on each side	2	•5	–	–	3	–	–	•2	–	2	–	5	–	–	.	–	
†2270. Number of sides	2	2	–	–	2	–	–	2	–	2	–	2	–	–	.	–	
Stick Bouncing (Snow Snake)																	
2271. Sticks bounced	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
2272. Men play	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[562]
2273. Children play	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[89]
2274. Plain stick bounced	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2275. Bounced off rise in ground	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2276. Bounced off pile of snow	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2277. Bounced for distance	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Archery																	
2278. Target games played; men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[562]
2279. Stationary target, above ground	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2280. Shoulder bone			+	–							–	–	–	+	–	–	
2281. Brush bundle	–	–	–	–					+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	
2282. Single stake or bush	–	–	+	–				+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
2283. Arrow, previously shot	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2284. Small tule, willow target	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2285. Double, shoot back and forth.	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	.	−
2286. Buried target	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
2287. Bundle of tules	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
2288. Buried in circle of dug ground	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
2289. Buried in ground	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
2290. All contestants shoot into circle simultaneously	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2291. Contestants shoot individually	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2292. Person hitting buried target wins	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2293. Target rolled	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2294. Downhill	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2295. On level	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2296. Hoop	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2297. Disk	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2298. Target thrown in air	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+
2299. Pine cone													−	−	+	+
2300. Bark disk	−	+	+								−	+	−	−	−	+
2301. Closest wins	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	.	−	+
2302. Hitting target scores only	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	.	+	+
2303. Shooting for distance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
2304. Gambling for arrows in archery games	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	.	−
Ring and Pin																
524 2305. Ring-and-pin game played	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
[562] 2306. Men	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
[857] 2307. Women	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2308. Children	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
‡2309. Number of rings	−	1	·	10	−	−	•1	10	•20	•7	−	−	−	−	−	−
2310. Fish vertebrae	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2311. Deer carpals	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2312. Tule bundle	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
†2313. Number of pins	−	1	1	1	−	−	1	1	1	1	−	−	−	−	−	−
2314. Outfit transferred at miss	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2315. Each player has 2 tries	−		+		−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2316. Each ring counts 1 point	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2317. Ring counts game	−		−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2318. All rings on for game	−		−		−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
†2319. Number of sides	−	2	−	−	−	−	2	−	2	2	−	−	−	−	−	−
o2320. Number on each side	−	•−	•−	−	−	−	•2	−	•4	1	−	−	−	−	−	−
†2321. No teamwork; number playing	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	15	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2322. Betting on game	−		−	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2323. Winner raps opponent's knuckles, forehead	−	+	+		−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2324. Winner pulls out opponent's eyebrows	−	+	−		−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2325. Played to make moon wane	−	+	.	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Many-Stick Game, 1 Marked																
[562] 2326. Many-stick game played	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	•R	−	−	−	−	−	−
2327. Men play	−	−	−	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−
2328. Women play	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	•R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
o2329. Many small sticks	−	−	10	•15	20	20	−	20	20	30	−	−	−	−	−	−
2330. 1 marked	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2331. 1 specially made stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−
2332. "Marked" stick guessed for	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2333. 2 sides	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	524
2334. 1 player on a side holds sticks	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2335. 2 players on a side each hold set of sticks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2336. Sticks grass-wrapped, held in hand	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	•+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2337. Hide in bare hand only	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2338. Shuffle in front of body	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2339. In grass	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	•+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2340. Shuffle behind back	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2341. Sticks rolled in grass, set on ground	–	–	–			+	–	–	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	
‡2342. Number of counters	–	–	·	•12	10	10	–	10	•20	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2343. Counters in 1 neutral pile at start	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2344. Counters in 2 piles	–	–	·	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2345. Referee to hand out counters	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2346. Holder ("dealer") wins point, if guess incorrect	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2347. Correct guessing side takes over sticks	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2348. Played in winter only	–	–	–				–		•+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Hand or Grass Game																	
2349. Hand or grass game played	•R	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
2350. Men play	R	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[562]
2351. Women play	R	+	+	–	•R	+	•+	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	+	•+	
2352. 2 objects held by each player	R	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	•R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2353. 1 wrapped or marked	R	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	•R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2354. Wrapped or marked guessed for	–	+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	•R	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
2355. Unwrapped guessed for	R	–	–	+	•R	+	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
2356. Call tep and wei, when guessing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
2357. "Bones" called by special terms	R	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	·	–	·	+	
2358. Man and woman	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	–	·	+	
2359. Black and white	R	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	·	–	·	–	
2360. Alive and dead		–				•+		–	–	–	–	–	·	–	·	–	
2361. Bones called by own terms	–	·	+	+	–	–	(–)	–	•R	•+	+	•+	·	–	·	–	
2362. Made from solid wood	R	+	–	+	+	+	•+	–	•R	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2363. Made from hollow bone	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2364. Made from solid bone or horn	R	+	+	–	•R	R	•R	–	•R	–	–	+	(+)	–	+	+	
2365. 1 object held by each player	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2366. Solid wooden object	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2367. String of shell beads	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2368. 1 player at a time holds objects	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2369. 2 players at a time hold objects	+	–	–	(+)	•R	+	+	+	•R	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	
2370. Hide in bare hand only	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•R	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
2371. Hide in grass in hand	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	•R	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
2372. Shuffling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2373. Under mat	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2374. Under hide blanket	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2375. Under grass pile	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2376. Under basket	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2377. In front of body	+	+							+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
2378. Behind back	+	+				+	+	–	•R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2379. Grass bundles thrown up in air	–	–								•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
2380. Counters sticks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
‡2381. Total no. of counters for 2 sides	10	12	·	·	10	10	10	10	•15	10	16	6	16	20	·	16	
2382. Counters in 1 neutral pile at start	–	+	·	·	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2383. Counters in 2 equal piles at start	+	–	·	·	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2384. Holder wins point, if guess incorrect	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2385. Correct guessing side takes over "bones"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2386. Sides local groups	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2387. Played in summer only	–	–	+						•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2388. Played any time	+	+	·						•R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WN	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
Objects Laid Down, Position Guessed																
2389. 4 sticks, 2 large, 2 small, laid down	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562] 2390. Men play	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2391. 1 pair wrapped	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2392. Large sticks guessed for	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2393. Small sticks guessed for	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2394. Sticks covered with basket	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
‡2395. Number of counters	6	12	-	-	10	10	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2396. Counters in 1 neutral pile at start	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2397. Counters equally divided at start	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2398. Indefinite no. of players on each side	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stick Hiding																
2399. Single small stick hidden between fingers	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	•(-)	-	-	•+	-	-
[562] 2400. Men, boys play	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2401. Women play	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2402. Hider wins point when opponent misses	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2403. Correct guesser hides	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2404. Betting	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
o2405. Number of counters	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-
Dice Games																
2406. Dice, disk type	R	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	(-)	•+	(+)	-
[562] 2407. Men play	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
2408. Women play	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	.	-
2409. Split acorn kernels	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	.	-
2410. Animal-teeth dice	•R	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
o2411. Number of dice	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3	.	-
2412. All same size	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	.	-
2413. 2 pairs, different sizes	(-)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
2414. Each pair similarly marked	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
o2415. Number of counters	10	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	•-	.	-
2416. Stick counters	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-
2417. 1 neutral pile, at start	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
2418. Referee to hand out counters	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-
2419. Dice thrown on basket tray	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	.	-
2420. Dice thrown on flat stone	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
o2421. Number of sides	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	.	-
o2422. Number on each side	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	.	-
o2423. 1 pair up, 1 pair down, scores ...(?)	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	.	-
2424. 2 unmatched up, 2 unmatched down, scores ...(?)	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	.	-
o2425. 0 up, all down, scores ...(?) or wins	0	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	.	.	-
2426. 1 up, 3 down, scores ...(?)	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	.	-
2427. 3 up, 1 down, scores ...(?)	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	.	-
o2428. 4 up, 0 down, scores ...(?)	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	.	-
2429. Bone dice	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	(-)	.	-
2430. Men play	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-
2431. Carpal or tarsal bones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-
o2432. Number thrown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	.	-
o2433. Number of counters	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	.	-
2434. Scoring	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
Objects Thrown in Air																
2435. Stick thrown up	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-
[562] 2436. Men	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	HF	HM	HS	MV	
2437. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	526
2438. Children	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2439. Stick sharpened at both ends	–	–	–	–	'+	'+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	'+	–	–	[562]
2440. Natural vestigial deer metapodial	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[857]
2441. 1 point when it lands erect in ground	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2442. Person who catches stick wins	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2443. Thrower scores	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2444. Unsuccessful thrower transfers	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
†2445. Number of counters	–	–	–	–	10	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2446. Jacks	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	
2447. Men play	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	[562]
2448. Women play	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[857]
2449. Children play	–	–	–	–	–	+	R	–	–	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	
2450. Stones	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	
†2451. Number of objects	–	–	–	–	10	10	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	3	–	–	
2452. Indefinite	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2453. Last object thrown up heaviest	–	–	–	–	–	'+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2454. For fun; no betting	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2455. Juggling	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2456. Rocks	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2457. Acorns	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
o2458. Number thrown up	–	–	–			'2	3	–	–	2	–	–	–	2	–	–	
2459. Thrown up in both hands, same time	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2460. Women	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	[562]
2461. Boys	–	–	–					–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	[857]
2462. For fun; no betting	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Gambling Taboos

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	HF	HM	HS	MV	
2463. Intercourse taboo before gambling	+	+	+	+	–			+	+	.	.	–	–	–	–	.	525
2464. Only if man has washed in sacred spot, for luck	–	–	–	–	–			+	+	.	.	–	–	–	–	.	834
2465. Intercourse taboo after gambling													'+	–	–	.	

Amusements

Toys

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	HF	HM	HS	MV	
2466. Tops	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	524
2467. Children play	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	[857]
2468. Adults play								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
2469. Acorn	–	–	–	'+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	
2470. Bark or wood disk, horizontal plane	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2471. Lump of pitch	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2472. Deer kneecap	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2473. Twirl with fingers	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	
2474. Twirl between palms	–	+	–				+		–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	
2475. Buzzer	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	R	.	'R	[857]
2476. Children play	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	R	
2477. Adults play			+					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	R	
2478. Wood or bark disk	–	+	+	–	'+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2479. Deer carpal	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2480. Shell disk	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2481. Acorns	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2482. Shoe-leather disk						R	–	–	R	R	R	–	–	R	.	R	
2483. To make snow	+	–	'–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2484. String figures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	'–	+	–	R	R	+	–	+	
2485. Old men, women play	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	'–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	[857]
2486. Men play	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	
2487. Women play	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	[562]

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	Kl	Mo	SK	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2490. Moving figures	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	·	+	−	+
2492. Done in winter only	+	•+	−	−						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2493. Done any time, for fun	−	−	+							+	−	+	+	+	−	+
[481] 2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	−	•+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2494a. Stilts	−	•+	−	−	•+	R	−	−	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−

Contests

	Kl	Mo	SK	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
526 2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. To throw man down	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. No tripping allowed	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	·	−
2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	−	+	+	·
2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								−	+	+	+	+	+
2502. Dodging	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	(−)	−	+	−	+
2503. Stones	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	−
2504. Hard objects inside geese	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
2505. Sand bag	−	−	−					•+	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
2506. Tule, grass balls	−	+	−					−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	+
2507. Two sides	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
c2508. Number on each side	−	•5	−			1	·	15	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[857] 2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	·	−
2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	·	+
2515. To mark and back	−	−	−			+	+	−	+	−	·	+	+	+	−	−
2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+			+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·	+
2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·	+

Storytelling

	Kl	Mo	SK	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
528 2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2520. Myths told at night	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•		•+	•+
[516] 2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	·		−	+
2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	•+	+	−			+		+	−	+	−	−	·		−	−
[784] 2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·		+	+
2524. Rattlesnake will bite	−	+	·		+	+	+	+	−	·	+	−	·		·	−
2525. Winter will come quickly	+	−	·						+	·	+	−	·		·	−
[887] 2526. Narrated by old people only	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	·		+	+
[515] 2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	•−	+	+			+				+	−	+	·		+	+
2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	−	+	+			+				+	−	+	·		+	+

Social Dances

Circle Dances

	Kl	Mo	SK	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
535 2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	R	•+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	−	R	−		−	−
[47] 2530. Performed in brush corral	−	−	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
[224] 2532. At fall rabbit hunt	−	−	−	−		−	+	−		−	−	−	−		−	−
2533. In springtime	−	−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
[221] 2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
[226] 2535. During communal fishing periods	+	+	+							+	−	−	−		−	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2536. Any time	–	–	–	+		–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	535
2537. Several bands assemble together	+	–	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	
2538. Young people dance, mainly	–	+									–	–	–		–	–	
2539. Purpose mainly pleasure	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	[789]
2540. To make seeds grow	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2541. Dance around center post	–	+	–			–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–	
2542. Juniper tree	–	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2543. Dance around fire	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2544. All dancers sing	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[533]
†2545. Special singers	–	–	–	–		–	·2	–	·4	–	–	·1	–		–	–	
2546. Each local group sings own songs, in turn	+	–	+			+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2547. Split-stick rattle accompaniment	–	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2548. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	+			+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2549. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–		–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[562]
2550. Men choose partners	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2551. Dance in 1 circle	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2552. Dance in 2 concentric circles	+	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
2553. Dance in 2 circles next to each other	–	–	–			+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2554. Sexes alternate	+	–	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2555. Sexes dance opposite each other in 1 circle	+	–	–					·+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2556. Quick shuffle step	+	(+)	+	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
2557. Hopping step	–	·	–	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2558. Stamp both feet, moving slightly									+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2559. Start: counterclockwise	+	(+)	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2560. Reverse: dance clockwise	–	·	–	+		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2561. When dance stops, all shout	+	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2562. Good singer dance leader	+	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2563. Band or district chief dance leader	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	[622]
2564. Clowns	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2565. Act of own accord; not appointed	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	[522]
o2566. Duration of dance, nights	1	+	·1	1		·1	·1	·3	1	·2	–	·2	–		–	–	
2567. Dance occasion for courting	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2568. Visitors camp in circular brush corral	–	–	+	–		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[574]
2569. Visitors feasted by hosts	–	–	+			+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	

Sweat "Dance"

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2570. Held inside sweat house											+	+	+		–	–	[515]
2571. At night											+	+	+		–	–	
2572. Any time of year												+	+		–	–	
2573. Both sexes participate											+	+	–		–	–	
2574. Hot fire in sweat house											+	+	+		–	–	
2575. 1 singer; hits center pole with stick											+	–	–		–	–	[583]
2576. Split-stick rattle used											–	+	–		–	–	
2577. Participants stand in 1 spot, dance until exhausted											+	+	+		–	–	
2578. Swim after dancing											+	+	+		–	–	[481]

Bear Dances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2579. Bear dance aboriginal	–	–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	–		·–	+	[177]
2580. Given for good time	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2581. Given to dress bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2582. Held in spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
2583. Held in winter	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
2584. Held any time, in good weather	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2585. Danced in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+	
2586. Danced in open	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	–	
o2587. Whole gathering lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	–		–	2	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
535 †2588. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	3	2	–		–	1
o2589. Actual dance lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–		–	1
o2590. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	2	1	2	–		–	–
2591. Dance begins near sundown	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
2592. Dance begins in morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
o2593. Number of singers, musicians	–	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	–		•2	1	–		–	2
2594. Split-stick rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+
2595. Deer-hoof rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2596. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2597. Women, only, dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–
2598. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2599. Touch with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–
2600. Each person dances separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	+
2601. Dancers abreast	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
2602. Dancers in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2603. Stretch bear hide, as out to dry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[533] 2604. Male singer sits by hide and sings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2605. Women, or man, rub, hit bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2606. Man puts on bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+
2607. In morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	(+)
2608. Dances, walks with bearskin on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
2609. Impersonates bear, claws tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
2610. Dog set onto him	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2611. Drops shell beads, which women pick up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2612. Killer of bear ultimately given bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[515] 2613. Impersonator, girl dancers wash at sacred spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2614. Performers from other groups	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–		–	+
2615. Feast follows performance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	+
[825] 2616. Held for black bear only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	•–	–		–	–

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political Units

Sovereign Bodies

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
621 2617. Each village is autonomous unit	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+
2618. Community of closely adjacent villages forms autonomous unit	–	–	+		–	•+		–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–
2619. Local group, embracing several communities is recognized, or is autonomous unit	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	+	–	–
619 2620. Tribe, embracing all local groups, is recognized unit	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Chiefs and Other Officials

Number of Male Chiefs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
622 2621. 1 per autonomous unit	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
[613] 2622. Multiple, of equal rank, per autonomous unit.	–	–	–	–	–	•4	–	–	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2623. Chiefly lineages	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2624. Tribal chief	R+	R+	–	•(+)	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Basis for Selection

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
[611] 2625. Heredity, primary factor	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+
2626. Paternal only	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2627. Both paternal, maternal	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	.	.	+	622
2628. Primogeniture	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	·+	+	.	–	–	+	[641]
2629. Oldest member paternal lineage	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
2630. Only if direct heir too young	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2631. Brother of deceased chief	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	.	+	+	+	
2632. Only if direct heir too young			+						+	–	·+	–	.	–	–	–	
2633. Brother's son	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	+	
Qualifications for Appointment																	
2634. Character and knowledge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		
2635. Possession of wealth	–	–	+	.	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[556]
2636. Good speaker, and "talks to everyone"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
Appointment																	
2637. Chosen at assembly of elders	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	.	+	+	+	[623]
2638. Chosen at assembly of all males	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	–	.	–	–	–	
2639. Women sometimes attend and speak			–				+	–	–	–	.	+	.	–	–	–	[562]
2640. Incumbent may select successor	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	+	
2641. New leader may be appointed before incumbent dies	–	+	+				+	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	+	–	
2642. Headmen of other groups select or help select new leader	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	+	
2643. Approval of community required	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	.	–	–	–	
Tenure																	
2644. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2645. Dependent on satisfactory behavior	–	–	+	+	+	·+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	
2646. May be deposed by killing	–	–	–	+	–	·+	–	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	.	·–	
Title																	
2647. Individual title	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	
2648. Title extended to children	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	
2649. To daughter only	–	–	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2650. Daughter called by special title													–	–	·+	–	
2651. Title extended to wife; "chief's wife"	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	.	–	+	
Insignia																	
2652. Wears "hairpin" with quail crest at ceremonies																+	[301]
2653. Chief only person who uses eagle feathers													–	–	+	–	[239]
Activities and Duties																	
2654. Hunts, fishes for self	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	·–	–	+	·+	+	–	–	+	–	
2655. Relatives hunt, fish for him	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2656. All give chief food free	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	·+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
2657. Food bought for chief	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2658. Feeds visitors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	
2659. Impoverished thereby	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[574]
2660. Provides most of food for ceremonies	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	·+	+	+	+	+	+	
2661. Directs communal economic activities	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	[224]
2662. Deer drives	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
2663. Antelope, duck hunts, etc.	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
622 2664. Fishing	-	-	+					+	-	·+	+	+	-	-	+	-
2665. Vegetable-food quests	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2666. Pine-nut trips	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[537] 2667. Orates at public ceremonies	+	-	+	-	+	·+	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+
2668. Talks from sweat house, at dances	-		-					·+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
2669. Talks morning and evening	·+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	-
2670. Moral lectures to children	+	+	+					·+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+
[627] 2671. Settles disputes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
2672. Pays or helps pay wergild	-		+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
2673. Sets price for wergild payments			-			+	+	+	+	-	.	(+)	-	-	-	.
2674. Sanctions killing of offenders	-	-	-					-	-	+	-	.	+	-	+	-
2675. Concerned with war	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	.	+	.
[721] 2676. Declares war	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	·+	+	+	.	+	.
c2677. Goes to war	+	-	-	-	+	±	+	+	+	-	·+	+	+	.	+	.
2678. Negotiates for peace	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	·+	-	-	.	+	.

Escort

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
[574] 2679. Some 1 person accompanies chief on visit	-	-	-				+	·+	-	-	·+	+	·+	+	·+	-
2680. Several men, youths, accompany chief on visits	+	+	+				-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	·+

Female Chiefs and Titled Women

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
[562] 2681. Female chiefs	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
2682. No male chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2683. Male chief also	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
2684. Sister, cousin of male chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2685. Daughter of male chief	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
2686. Wife of male chief	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	.
2687. Gives orders to men	-	-	+	·+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2688. Sends messengers with orders.	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2689. Substitutes for male chief in absence of latter	-	-	.	·+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2690. Supervises preparation of food for ceremony	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
2691. Titled women	-	-	-			(-)	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	+	+
2692. Sister, cousin of male chief	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+
2693. Daughter of male chief	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	+	-

Assistant to Male Chief

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
2694. Assistant chief	.	+	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
c2695. Number per political unit	.	1	.	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
2696. Son or brother of chief	.	-	.	-	-	-		+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2697. Advises chief	.	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2698. Substitutes for chief in his absence.	.	+	.	-	-	-	+	±	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2699. Provides money for public gathering	.	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
2700. Supervises preparation, division of food for ceremony	.	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	+	-
2701. Lifelong office	.	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-

Criers

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
624 2702. Appointed by chief	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2703. Chosen at assembly of old men	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2704. Hereditary, paternal line	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2705. Ability basis of selection	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
c2706. Number per chief or headman	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
c2707. Number per village	-		2	·2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2708. Speaks twice daily, from top of sweat house	-	*+	*+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	624
2710. Moral lectures to children	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2711. Stops disputes, chief's orders	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2712. Acts as dance manager	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	
2713. Acts as messenger man	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[203]
2714. Talks at ceremonies	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
2715. Clowns and ridicules	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
Clowns																	
2716. Informal clowning, joking, only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	522
2717. Formal clowns	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	*-	*-	-	-	*+	*+	-	-	*+	
2718. Office distinct from crier's	-	-	-	-		-	-	+	+	-	-	+	*-	-	-	-	
2719. Hereditary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
2720. Appointed by chief	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
2721. Lifelong	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
2722. Clowns at ceremonies	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	*+	-	-	+	
2723. Wears acorn necklace	-	-	-							-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
2724. Paid	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	[465]
2725. Helps dreamer call spirits													+	-	-	-	
Messengers																	
o2726. No. male messengers per village or local group	-	-	[illegible]	2	-	-	1	*1	*3	2	*5	2	1	2	-	-	203
2727. No. variable for intratribal matters	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	*+	
2728. Individuals serve in temporary capacity only.	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	
2728a. Official messenger for war matters only	-		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2729. Competency and willingness chief criteria for selection of	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2729a. Must be good speaker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	
2730. Appointed by chief	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2731. Hereditary, paternal line	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	
2732. Lifelong tenure	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	
2733. If incompetent, discharged	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2734. Paid if travels a distance	-	+	-		*+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2735. Paid occasionally; given board	-	+	+				+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	
2736. Carries messages for chief or headman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	
2737. Travels about; gathers news	+	+	+								+	+	+	-	-	-	
2738. Welcomes guests	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	+		.	-	
2739. Orders hunt for chief	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		+	-	
2739a. Attends to fire at ceremonies	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2740. Women messengers	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2741. Carry messages for anyone	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
o2742. Number going together	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2743. Suitability only criterion	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2744. Travel only short distances	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2745. Act in temporary capacity only	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Fire Tender																	
†2746. No. per village or local group	*-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	624
2747. Lifelong office	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	R+	-	+	+	+	-	+	372
2748. Temporary office only	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	R-	+	-	-	-	+	-	
2749. Hereditary in paternal line	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	(+)	-	+	[611]
2750. Appointed by chief	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	R+	+	-	-	-	+	-	
2751. Chief acts as fire tender	-	-	-									+	-	+	-	-	
2752. Clown acts as fire tender	-	-	-									-	+	-	-	+	[522]
2753. Attends to fire in assembly house	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2754. Keeps assembly house clean	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	R	+	+	+		-	+	
2755. Has 1 assistant	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	(R)	+	+	-		+	+	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
624 2756. Attends to fire for sweating			−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
372 2757. Attends to fire for ceremonies				+	−	−	−	−	−	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2758. Builds fire for encamped visitors				+	−	−	−				−	−	+		−	−

Singers

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
624 2759. No. male singers per village or local group	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	2		−	3
533 2760. Variable number	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	(+)	−		+	−
2761. Office lifelong	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+		+	+
2762. Hereditary, in paternal line	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		+
2763. Any gifted individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+
2764. Appointed by chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+		+	+
[562] 2765. Female singers also	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+
2766. Sister, daughter of male singer	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	+

Dance Manager

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
624 2767. Owner of sweat house (headman)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	+	+	+		+	−
535 2768. Hereditary office, paternal line	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		+	+
2769. Schedules dances	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		+	+
2769a. Urges people to dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+		+	+
2769b. Orders wood gathered for dance fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
2769c. Talks at intervals (prays) at dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−		+	−

WAR

Nature and Causes

Nature of Warfare

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
726 2770. Intertribal wars	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•	+	•
721 2771. Intratribal raids and feuds	+	+	+	+	•−	•+	•+	•+	+	−	•+	•+	•+		+	•

Motivation

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
721 2772. War for adventure or plunder	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	
2773. War for revenge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2774. Common	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−		−	
2775. Rare	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
2776. Intertribal murders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2777. Strangers from hostile tribes killed on sight	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2778. Intratribal murders, if uncompensated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+		+	
2779. Rape	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	
2780. Stealing women, young girls	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−		−	•
2781. Women, girls bought back, no war	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	•
2782. Insult or slight to chief	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	•	•		•	
2783. To avenge witchcraft against group	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	−	+	+	+	+	•		−	
2784. Intratribally, for poisoning of girl by suitor			+	+		−	−				−	•			−	
2785. Poaching	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−		+	
2786. By alien tribe	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−		−	
2787. By another local group of same tribe	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−		−	
2788. No war; merely run off intruders	+		+	+		−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−		+	
2789. Stealing stored food	−	−	−	•−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
726 o2824. Held ... days before fight	-	-	*2	-	-	-	*2	*2	1	*2	6	-	-	-
o2825. Lasts ... days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
535 o2826. Lasts ... nights	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	*2	-	5	-	-	-
2827. Part of night only	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
2828. At or near village	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2829. Outside in open	+	+	-			-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
2830. Inside in sweat house, around pole	-	-	+			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2831. Dancers abreast in row	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2832. Dancers in circle	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2833. Each person runs around	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
2834. Carry bow and arrows	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	-	-	-
2835. Talk to arrows	-	.	+					+	+	+	.	-	-	-
2836. Shoot at human effigy	-	-	-	-	*+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
● [562] 2837. Men only dance	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2838. Men and women dance	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2839. Women carry feathers	-		-				+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-
[533] 2840. Women sing for men	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Painting, Headdress

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
714 2841. Contestants paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	*.
2842. Red	-	-	+	+	.	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	.
2843. Black	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.
*2844. White	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	.
2845. Face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.
2846. Arms	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	.
2847. Body and legs	-		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	.
2848. Stripes	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	.
[776] 2849. Variable patterns	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	.	-	.
2850. According to guardian spirit	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-
2851. Head net	-	-	-								+	+	-	-
[301] 2852. Headband	-	-	-					+	+	+	+	+	*+	-
2853. Bone hairpins	-	-	-					*+	*+	*+	-	-	-	-

Procedure

Declaration and Manner of Fighting

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
726 2854. Declaration of war	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-
[721] 2855. Prearranged encounters	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
2856. Surprise attacks	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2857. Early morning, before dawn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2858. Scouts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	*-	+
2859. Use owl calls, etc.	*+	+	+	-	-	-	*+	+	+	+	+	.	-	.
2860. Hand-to-hand fighting	*+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2861. Shaman sings											+	+	+	-
2862. Men killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2863. Women killed	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2864. Children killed	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+

Captives

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 2865. Prisoners taken	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2866. Women: young	+	+	*+	+	-	-	+	+	*+	*+	-	-	-	-
2867. Children	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2868. Mainly	+	+	+	-	.	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2869. Women captives killed	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	+	*+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2870. Kept month or so before being killed	-	.	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2871. Abused, mistreated	-	.	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2872. Body left unburied, unburned	-	.	-	-				+	+	-	-	-	-	-	727
2873. Women captives enslaved	•+	•(-)	+	•+	-	•-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2874. Violated	+	(-)	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
·o2875. Married	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	
2876. Child captives killed	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	[858]
2877. Kept for month or so	-	-	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2878. Abused	-	-	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2879. Body left unburied, unburned	-	-	-	-				+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2880. Child captives enslaved	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2881. Adopted	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	[597]
Booty and Scalps															
2882. Booty taken	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	
2883. Bows of slain kept	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	-	-	(+)	•+	-	
2884. Scalps taken	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	•+	•-	
2885. Scalp dried on frame	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	•+	-	
2886. Special custodian for scalp	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2887. Scalp kept permanently	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2888. Scalp thrown away	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	
2889. Scalp burnt	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	(+)	+	(+)	-	+	-	
2890. Whole head taken	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2891. Fingers taken	+	-	+	-							-	-	-	-	
2892. Heart cut out, taken	+	-	+	-					+	.	-	-	-	-	
Behavior of Noncombatants															
Women's Dance															
2893. Women dance while warriors away	-	+	+		•+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	722
2894. Each day or night	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	
2895. Sing, pray to help men at war	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	535
2896. Each woman dances separately	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	562
2897. Round dance	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
2898. Dance abreast	-	+	+		-		+	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
2899. Outside	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	
2900. Woman singer	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	
2901. Male singer	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	
2902. Flint "rattle," on basket caps	-		+					-	-	-	-	.	-	-	
2903. Panther teeth, bear claws on stick rattle	-	-	+					-	-		-	.	-	-	
2904. No rattle used	-	(+)	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	
2905. Wear skirts of strung pine nuts	-	+	+		-		+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	
2906. Hold bow and arrow, or flint knife, in hand	-	-	+		•-			-	-	+	+	.	-	-	
Prognostications															
2907. If woman drops knife during dance, sign husband killed, hurt	•-	-	.							+	+	.	-	-	[787]
2908. Shaman doctors to learn of warrior's progress	-	-	.						+	-	+	.	+	-	[556]
Return of War Party															
Victory Dance															
2908a. Victory (scalp) dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	•+	-	727
2909. Held in or near village	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	535
2910. Held in brush corral	-	-	+								-	-	-	-	
2911. All men dance	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	[562]
2912. Warriors only, among men, dance	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2913. Women dance	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2960. Intratribal feuds or murders: compensation	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	728
2961. Revenge only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	
2962. Victims send envoy(s) to ask aggressors for pay	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	
2963. Chief or headman as envoy	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	[622]
2964. Paid for services by 1 side	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2965. Chief or headman makes peace	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2966. Compensation for slain, 1 side only	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2967. Compensation for all dead	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	
2968. If victims on both sides, no compensation	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
2969. Payment in beads, property	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2970. Payment in women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2971. Customarily	+	+	.	(+)	.	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
2972. Intratribally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2973. Intertribally	+	–	–	–	(+)	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2974. Pay according to wealth, more for rich	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	[556]
2975. Pay according to status of victim	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	[554]
2976. Pay according to sex of victim	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	.	–		
2977. Pay according to age of victim	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–		[564]
2978. If sufficient reason for killing, not much pay	–	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	[564]
2979. If kill "for meanness," pay large amount	–	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2980. Sticks of 1-string length for negotiation	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2981. Amount same as victim's mother's bride price	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–		[583]
2982. Amount (for women) same as usual bride price	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	
2983. Payment divided among all villagers	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2984. Most of payment goes to chief	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2985. Payment for woman goes to husband	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2986. Payment for woman goes to her family	•+	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	
2987. Payment for man goes to his family	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2988. Payment for slave goes to owner	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2989. Payment for slave goes to latter's family	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2990. Compensation for property destroyed	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Dance or Meeting for Settlement															
2991. Both groups present	–	–	+	+	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	728
2992. Daytime	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2993. Night	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	535
2994. At certain localities outside village	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2995. Halfway between 2 villages	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2996. Dressed for war; armed	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2997. Dance in circle	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2998. Dance in row, abreast	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2999. 2 groups face each other	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3000. All dance together	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3001. Payment in beads	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3002. During dance	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3003. Dancers disarm after money paid	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3004. Women dance with blood money	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3005. Blood money smoked over fire	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3006. Groups sometimes eat together	–	–	+			–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	HF	HM	HS	MV	
3159. Until cord drops off	-	-	-	-				-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	844
3160. Pit or trench dug	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	846
3161. Hot rocks, charcoal put in pit	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	
3162. Pit covered with grass, bark.	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	
3163. Fire direct on ground; lies beside it	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	
Treatment of Midwife																	
3164. Bathes, immediately after child born	+	+	+						+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	844
3165. Cuts arms, later	-	-	+						+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-	759
Restrictions on Mother																	
‡3166. Restrictions last for ... days	5	5	-	28	-	•5	-	28	28	28	-	3	6	5	28	28	846
3167. Until blood stops flowing	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	784
3168. Until navel cord drops off	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
o3169. Bathing taboo	+	+	•±	•±	+	+	•±	•+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	•±	[515]
3170. In stream	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3171. Sweat bath	+	+	-	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3172. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3173. Eats alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[262]
3174. Fed by old woman	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3175. Uses separate receptacles	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176. Eats sparingly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176a. Fresh meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3177. Dried meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3178. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3179. Dried fish taboo	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3181. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3182. Salt taboo	-	-	-	-	•-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3183. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	
3184. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	[302]
3185. Combing hair taboo	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	
3186. Head, face scratcher used	•+	•+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
3187. Especially for first child.	-	-	-				+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	
3188. Tabooed activities	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
3189. Making baskets taboo	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3190. Preparing food taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
‡3191. Traveling taboo ... days	5	5	-	28	-	-	-	28	28	28	-	3	6	5	28	-	[484]
3192. Until blood stops flowing or cord drops off	-	-	+	-	+	•+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	
o3193. Sees no men for ... days	5	•-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	•2	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562] ●
†3194. Intercourse taboo for ... months	•2	•2	•2						2	2	.	.	+	1	.	3	[834]
3195. Loud noise near child taboo	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3196. Would make child deaf	-	+	+							-	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3197. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3198. Bathes	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	[515]
3199. Midwife or mother assists	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3200. Medicated bath	-	-	+	+		•+	•+	-	-	-	-	+	•+	+	.	-	[754]
3201. Sweats	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3202. Swims after sweating	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[481]
Restrictions on Father																	
3203. Required for all offspring	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	
3204. For first child only	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	
3205. Retirement period	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3206. Stays with mother in hut	-	-	-	+	•+	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3207. Must stay in own dwelling house	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3361. Spirit of tattooed goes to good place	-	+	-					+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	304
3362. Cranial deformation	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3363. Male	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3364. Female	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
3365. Pads bound to head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3366. Back	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3367. Front	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3368. Mother attends to baby's head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Disposal of Milk Teeth																	
3369. Thrown away, no particular place	+	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	856
3370. Thrown away, toward sun	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3371. Thrown in river	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	826
3372. Buried in gopher hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3373. Buried in excrement	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3374. Hidden in grass clump	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3375. Buried, no special place	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3376. Exchanged with gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3377. Formula spoken	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Twins																	
3378. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	845
3379. Considered unlucky	-	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	[777]
3380. Attempts made to prevent conception of twins	-	-	-						+	-	+	+	.	+	+	.	
3381. People "ashamed" for woman	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	.	
3382. No significance	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	
3383. Relative adopts 1	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	+	[illegible]	.	[597]
Adoption of Children																	
3384. Parents impoverished: relatives, only, adopt child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	-	+	+	+	597
3385. Orphan: adopted by paternal, maternal kin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
3386. Paternal relatives only	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
o3387. Childless couples given child by relatives	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	+	.	+	
3388. Anyone may adopt orphan	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Infanticide, Illegitimate Children																	
3389. Illegitimate children killed, occasionally	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	847
3390. Legitimate children killed occasionally	-	-	+						+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	848
3391. To avert disaster	-	-	+						+	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	
3392. If mother dies in childbirth	-	-	+						+	-	-	.	-	+	+	-	
3393. Infant buried alive with mother	-	-	+						+	-	-	.	-	+	+	-	
3394. Infant put in badger hole	+	+	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	
3395. Infant smothered	-	-	+						+	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	
3396. Mother keeps illegitimate child	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	-	.	+	+	+	
3397. Mother's mother takes illegitimate child	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	.	+	+	-	
3398. Father of illegitimate child provides for baby	-	-	+	+	.	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Impregnatives, Contraceptives, Abortion																	
3399. Measures taken to induce pregnancy	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	842
3400. Shell, vegetable decoction drunk	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	
3401. Doctor makes miniature baby cradle													-	-	+	.	

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		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841	3606a. Belt given attendant	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
881	3607. Belt hung on tree, end of last dance.	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3608. Public rites: major dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
841	3609. Night dance	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	-	•+	-	•+
881	3609a. Begins 1st night of girl's menstruation	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
535	3610. Day dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-
	3611. Given mainly for girls of rich families	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)
[787]	•3612. Given to avert disaster to participant(s)	•+	•+	+	•-	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	.	+	+	•+	+	-	•-
	3613. Given to have girl get power in dreams	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	.	.	-	-	-	-	-	-
	‡3614. Lasts ... nights or days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•3	•3	5	•5	5	4	5	•1	5	-	1
	‡3615. Repeated for ... subsequent menses.	5	5	•1	•1	•2	•1	2	2	1	1	-	1	-	5	-	-
	3616. Held in dwelling or cookhouse, winter	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	3617. Held in sweat house, winter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	•3618. Held outside, summer or winter	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
	3619. Held outside, summer only	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+
	3620. Rainy weather, no dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
	3621. Rainy weather, sing only, in girl's hut	-	-	-	-					+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
	•3622. Girl's family in charge	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	+
	•3623. Old man in charge	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	+	-	+	-	-
[756]	3623a. Singers in charge	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
	3624. Shaman in charge	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3625. Youths, men participate	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
	3626. Girls, women participate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	•3626a. Girl's suitor may participate	-	-	-				+	-	+	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
	3627. Neighbors notified by girl's sister, friend	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3628. Girl dances by self, near group	+	+	+	-	+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3629. 1-2 persons "support" menstruant	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3630. Girl dances with group	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	o3631. Girl dances each night	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	±	•-	+	-	+	-	-
	3632. Youths dance	-	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
	3633. Men dance	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
	3634. Old men dance	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
	3635. Betrothed dances with menstruant	-	-	-				•+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3636. Women, girls dance	-	-	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	3637. Menstruant dances beside fire	+	+	•+	-	-	-	•-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3638. Menstruant dances back and forth	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
	3639. Menstruant dances east to west	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	3640. Menstruant faces E continually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
	3641. Menstruant rests at intervals	+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-
	3642. Men, women dance separately	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	3643. Men, women dance together	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
	3644. Men, women in 1 circle	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
	3645. Men, women in 2 circles	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3646. Men, women abreast, 1 line	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	3647. Men, women abreast, 2 lines	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3648. Clockwise start	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	+	+	-	+
	3649. Counterclockwise start	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	-	-	-
	3650. Dance proceeds around pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	3651. Dance proceeds around fire	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
[533]	3652. Singers mainly women	+	•+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	•+	•+	-	•+
[562]	3653. Singers mainly men	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3654. Volunteer singers, men and women	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3655. Professional singers	+	+	-		.			-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
	3656. 1 singer paid	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3757. Bathes in stream	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	∔	∔	+	−	+	+	+	∔	841
3758. Bathes in house												+	+	−	−	+	
3759. Sweat bath, optional	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3760. Sweat bath, obligatory	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3761. Avoids sick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
3762. Avoids hunters	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3763. Avoids attending dances	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3764. Some menstruants "lucky" for husbands	−	−	.				+	+	+	+	.	−	−	−	−	+	
3765. Restrictions extend to menstruant's husband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3766. Husband eats sparingly	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	841
3767. Meat, fish taboo											+	+	+	+	−	+	562
3768. Smoking taboo	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	593
3769. Fishing taboo	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	
3770. Hunting taboo	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	
3771. Gambling taboo	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
3772. Intercourse with wife taboo	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3773. Menopause: measures taken to induce	−	−	−					∔	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Marriage

Child Betrothal

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3774. Child betrothal	∔	+	+	∔	+	∔	+	+	+	+	∔	+	−	+	+	+	584
3775. Boy's father starts negotiations	+	+	+		+	+	∔	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	
3776. Payment by boy's side	+	−	∸	+	−	+	+	∸	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	
3777. Exchange of presents	−	∔	∸	−	∔	+	∔	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	
3777a. Taboo relationship between children	∸	∸	∔								−	−	−	−	−	−	
3778. Binding on children	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3779. Good-will pledge only, for parents	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
3780. Common	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3781. To pay debt	−	−	+	∔	+	+	+	∸	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	−	
3782. Usually chief's or prominent family	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	[622]
3783. Payment in beads at time of marriage.	−	+	+	+	∔	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	∔	
3784. Gifts given at time of marriage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	

Bride Purchase

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3785. Bride purchase, postpuberty	∔	+	+	+	+	∔	+	+	+	∔	−	−	−	−	−	+	583
3786. Negotiated bride price	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	584
3787. Suitor's father makes offer; no negotiations	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3788. Intermediary acts	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
3789. Suitor's father acts	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	+	
3789a. Suitor himself acts	∔	+	−	−	−	−	−	∔	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3790. Money payment for bride	−	+	+	+	∔	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	∔	
3791. Gifts by suitor's family in payment	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	+	
3792. Gifts by suitor	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	+	
3793. Additional presents from groom's family after marriage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		+	
3794. Bride's family gives groom's presents	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
3795. Mature daughter given, to pay debt to groom's family	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3795a. Payment made to establish children's status	−	(+)	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Other Forms of Marriage

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3796. Simple marriage, established by couple living together	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	585
3797. DisApproved by community	+	∔	∔	∔	+	∔	∔	−	−	−	∔	−	−	−	−	(+)	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
587 3975. New husband pays widow's parents-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
3976. New husband asks widow's parents-in-law consent	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	.	+	-	.	-
3977. New husband pays widow's sister-in-law	-	-	-	-		•+	+	+	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-
3978. New husband pays, gives gifts to widow's family	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	-	+
3979. Remarriage of widows rare, if husband good man	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3980. Divorcee's former husband paid by new husband	-	-	-	•-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562] 3981. Man sells wife to male bidder	•+	+	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o3982. New husband pays divorcee's parents	-	-	+	+	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o3983. New husband asks divorcee's parents	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intercourse																
833 3984. Bride scratches at 1st intercourse	-	-	+	-	-	-		(+)	-	-	.	.	•+	.	.	.
3985. Natural position lying on side	.		+										•+			
3986. Kissing unknown	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
[152] [192] 3987. Exclamation of endearment for adults, children	+	+	-		+	•+	•+	+	+	+	.	-	+	+	-	-
3988. Virginity tests	.	.	•-				•+	•+	-	.	.	.	-	.	.	.
Promiscuity																
836 3989. Promiscuity any time	•-	-	+	+	-		+	+	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
3990. At dances chiefly	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	•-	-	.	+	-	-	+	-
3991. Promiscuity denied by informant	•-	-	•-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
3992. Unchaste unmarried girl beaten, shaken, scolded	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
836 3993. Unmarried pregnant girl scolded, beaten		+	+			+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
848 3994. Father of bastard punished	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
3995. Killed by girl's relatives														+	+	-
3996. Obligated to marry girl	•+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
3997. Might marry girl, not obligated	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-
3998. Payment for girl	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transvestites																
Male																
838 3999. Male transvestites affirmed for group	+	•-	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•-	-	-	•-	.	•-
4000. Sweat with women	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4001. Perform women's work	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4002. Wear women's clothes	+	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4003. Live with normal man	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
4004. Special functions at funerals	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
[756] 4005. Some are shamans	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4006. Nursing in war		-	-			-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
4007. Regarded indifferently by community	+	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	-	.	-
4008. Turn berdache at puberty, prepuberty	-		+			(+)		+	+	+	-	.	-	-	.	-
4009. Turn berdache postpuberty, later in life	+	-	-		+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
[587] 4010. Act upon dream	-	+	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
Female																
4011. Female transvestites affirmed for group	+	-	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012. Live with woman	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012a. Live with man			-					+	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012b. Wear women's clothes	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
[756] 4013. Some are shamans	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-

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Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
787 4717. Crow, quail calling, tells of enemy passing	−	+	+	−		·	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+
825 4718. Dog howling, sign of war	+	−	−	−	+	·		+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
4719. Coyote, fox howling sign of war	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+
4720. Any animal calling out of time evil sign	−	+	+	−	·	·	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
4721. May be shaman, sending out spirit								+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Vision Quest

787

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4722. Vision questing to obtain guardian spirit(s).	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	•+		−	•−
4723. By individuals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		−	−
4624. By group	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−		−	−
[562] 4725. Men, youths, boys	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+		−	−
4726. Women, girls	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	•−	•+	+	−	+		−	−
4726a. Optional, not obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		−	−
4727. First quest, prepuberty	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+		−	−
4728. First quest at or around puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+	+	(-)		−	−
4729. Questing during adult life	+	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	•+	+	+	−	−		−	−
4730. Quest once only	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	•+	−	−	+	+		−	−
4731. Quest repeated, to gain power, or for successive powers	+	+	·		+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	−	−		−	−
4732. Some candidates never obtain vision	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		−	−
4733. Undertaken in winter, annually	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4734. Undertaken in spring, summer only	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	+		−	−
°4735. Undertaken any time, after birth child, death of near relative	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
4736. Vision quest general, may obtain any variety power	•+	•+	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
°4736a. Vision quest may yield all powers except those for doctoring	−	−	+	•+	−	•−	−	•−	•+	•+	−	−	−		−	−
4737. Vision quest yields doctoring powers only	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
4738. Youths prepared for quest	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
4739. Lectured by father, father's brother	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
[304] 4740. Whipped with bowstring, stick	−	−	−			+	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−		−	−
4741. Ears pierced	−	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4742. Go out naked, or with breech-clout only	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+				−		−	−
4743. Seeker quests at fixed localities in mountains	•+	•+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−
4744. Alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
4745. With older shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−
4746. Men or youths only	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
‡4747. For ... days, nights	5	5	•4	1	5	•1	•2	0	1	1	1	2	2		−	−
4748. Before doctor-making dance	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	(+)	+		−	−
4749. After doctor-making dance	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−		−	−
[262] ‡4750. Complete food fast ... days	5	5	(+)	−	5	•2	−	−	−	−	1	−	2		−	−
o4751a. Eats sparingly, or according to spirit's instructions ... days	−	+	28	5	2	−	•2	5	1	•2	−	2	•+		−	−
[262] 4752. Meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−
4753. Abstains from water	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4754. Drinks water with acorn meal in it			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−		−	−
[834] 4755. Sexual continence during quest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		−	−

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Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Shamanism																
756 Sucking Doctors: Personnel																
4792a. Sucking doctors recognized	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
[562] 4793. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		+	+
4794. Mainly men, few women	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
4795. Mainly women, few men	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4796. Both sexes, about equal	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
4797. Men can cure and sicken	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−
4798. Women's powers equal to male doctors'	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−		−	−
4799. Stronger	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4800. More limited	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+		−	−
4801. Can only cure; no sickening	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	·+	·+	+		−	−
4802. Mainly send illness	+	.	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
Sucking Doctors: Acquisition of Power																
4803. Shamanistic power inherited	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	•	+		+	·+
4804. Before relative's death, paternal or maternal	+	·+	−	+	·+	·+	·+	+	−	−	−	+	+		·+	+
4805. After relative's death, paternal or maternal		·+	+	+	+	·+	·+	+	·+	+	+	−	−		−	−
*4806. Dependent on power's or "pain's" willingness		·+			·+	·+	·+				·+	+	+		−	−
4807. Shamanistic power acquired unsought	−	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	·+
4808. While in conscious state	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	.		−	+
4809. While ill	−	−	−	(−)	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4810. During trance or faint	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+		−	+
†4811. Sick for ... days	−	−	−	·4	o	−	o	·1	·1	−	−	+	+		−	·+
o4812. Sick for ... years	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	1		−	·3
4813. In dream when adult	−	+	·+	+	+	·+	·+	−	+	+	+	+	+		−	+
4814. In dream before puberty, anytime	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−
4815. Novice bleeds	−	+	·+	·−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	·+		−	+
†4816. Novice dances for ... nights after apparition	−		·2	5	−	−	−	1	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4817. Alone	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4818. Smokes when dancing	−	−	+								−	−	−		−	−
4819. Sings	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4820. Nonacceptance of power dangerous	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	−
4821. May involve sickness, death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	−
4822. Legitimate methods of refusing power.		+				·±	+	+	+	+	+	+	.		−	·+
4823. Eat fresh food			−					·+	·+	−	·+	−	.		−	−
4824. Put ashes on body	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4825. "Pain" may leave of own accord			−						+	−	−	−	−		−	−
4825a. Shaman sometimes cures sufferer			−				+	−	+	+	•	•	.		−	−
4826. Shamanistic power acquired during vision quest	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	·+	−	−	+	•	+		−	−
4827. Shamanistic power acquired during group initiatory dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
4828. Held in open-fire sweat house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
4829. Novices instructed	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+		·+	+
4830. By older shaman	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	(+)	(+)	−	+	+	+		+	·+
4831. In sweat house	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−		−	+
4832. In open	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		+	−
4833. Novice acquires "pain" or poison object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
*4834. Animate; can move, talk	·−	·±	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
4835. Pain calls possessor "father" or "mother"	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	•	+	.	+	−		−	−

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
4927. Private, indoors	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		•+	–	755
4928. Doctor has ... assistants	1	2	1	2	•2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		–	–	
4929. "Interpreter" for doctor while doctoring, or in trance	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4930. "Outside speaker" to call doctor's spirit(s)	–	•+	+	•+	+	•–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4931. Friend or relative of doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4932. Must know esoteric language	–	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	[776]
4933. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	•–		–	.	
4934. Assistant calls doctor's spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•–		–	–	[787]
4935. Spirit takes possession of doctor	•–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.		–	–	
4936. Doctor diagnoses by singing	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		.	+	[533]
4937. Audience joins in songs	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4938. Doctor diagnoses by dancing	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		.	–	[535]
4939. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	[276]
4940. When trance coming on			–					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
o4941. Blows tobacco smoke over patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	±	–	+		–	–	
4942. Assistant lights doctor's pipe	+	–	+	•–				+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
4943. Doctor drinks through bark tube	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[371]
4944. Has basket cup of water beside him.	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4945. Doctor uses feathers or stick	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		.	–	
4946. Bunch of supernatural feathers	–	+	•+	+	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		.	–	
4947. Eagle down	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	–		.	–	
4948. Eagle wing	–	–	+					–	–	–		–	–		.	–	
4949. Stick	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		.	–	
4950. Doctor uses fire	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		.	+	[372]
4951. For light only: usually small	+	+	+	•+	•–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		.	•–	
4952. Doctor applies ashes, clay to patient	•+	•+	–	•–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		.	–	
4953. Doctor uses charmstone (pestle)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4954. Brushes or fans away disease	–	+	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4955. With feathers	–		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4956. Sprays liquid from mouth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		.	•+	
4957. Administers herb medicines	–	–	–					•+	•–	–	•+	•+	–		•+	•+	[278]
4958. Doctor, assistant, or singers use rattle	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+	
4959. Cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	+	•–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	•+	[534]
4960. Walking cane								+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4961. Beat on plank with board			–						+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4962. Whistle	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		.	–	
4963. Doctor's spirit or "pain" tells location of disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+	
4964. Tells cause of sickness	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4965. Doctor can see or feel disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4966. Disease object ("pain") sucked out	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	
4967. Directly into doctor's mouth	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4968. Vomited out of mouth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–	
o4969. Disease object removed with hand	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	±	–	–			–	–	
4970. Pus ("bad feelings") sucked out	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+	
4971. Women doctors use same technique as men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	–	[562]
4972. Disease object tells doctor who sent it	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4973. Disease object exhibited	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4974. Put in basket cup of water	–	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–			–	
4975. Invisible to all except shamans	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4976. Disease object disappears	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4977. By sleight of hand	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4978. Doctor bites it	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	•+	
4979. Doctor swallows it	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4980. Sent back to owner, for revenge, sometimes			+	•–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4981. Buried	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+		–	+	
4982. Blown away			–					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
4983. Burned	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
5024. Blown through pipe	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	.	+	+	+	+		-	-	756
5025. Blown with smoke			+	-	+	·+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+		-	-	
5026. Disease object put in pipe; pipe offered victim	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	.	+	+	+	+		-	-	754
5027. Disease object, evil spirit may use tiny bow	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-	
5028. Shoots at victim	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-		-	-	
5029. Shaman talks to animal spirit, sends it to victim	·+	+	+		+						+		-		-	-	
5030. Disease object injected by animal	+	+	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-		-	-	
5031. Dreaming of doctor may cause illness.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+		-	-	
5032. Dreaming of animal may cause illness.	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-		-	-	
5033. Shaman steals victim's soul	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+		-	-	
5034. Heavy fall may also cause soul loss	-	-	-	-	+	-	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	·+	·+		-	-	
5035. Shaman causes minor injuries that lead to death	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
5036. Curing doctors hired to kill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	
5037. Malevolent doctor killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	756
5038. Burned to death	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5039. Jumped upon, neck broken											+	+	+		-	-	683
5040. Shot with bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	·+		+	-	
5041. Poisoned by another shaman	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-		-	-	
5042. Chief's consent necessary	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	·+	·+		-	-	
5043. Relative of victim kills doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+		+	-	
5044. Chief kills doctor	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	-		(+)	-	
5045. Chief hires killers	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	.	+	+		-	-	
5046. Woman may hire killers	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+	+		+	-	

Sucking Doctors: Competitions

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
5047. Competitions of sucking shamans	·+	·+	(+)	-	-	-	+	-	-	·-	+	-	(+)		-	-	578 756
5048. Male shamans only	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
5049. Sing, charm opponent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	[562]
5050. Shaman sings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+		-	-	
5051. Shakes cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+		-	-	
5052. Is "shot" by sun	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5053. Shamans boast of power	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-		-	-	
5054. Exchange pipes filled with tobacco.	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	[274]
o5055. Inhale from pipes ... times	5	5	.	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5056. Overpowered shaman cures self	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
5057. Overpowered shaman cured by winner.	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5058. Sometimes dies	-	·+	.	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
5059. Contest held publicly	+	(+)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5060. Contest held privately	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	

Singing Shamans

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
5060a. Singing shamans recognized	-	(-)	+	R	-	+	-	·+	-	-	·+	·+	·+	·+	·-	·-	756
5061. Men	-	-	-		-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	533
5062. Women	-	-	-		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	-	
5063. Power acquired during sleep	-	-	.		-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-	
5064. Power acquired by vision, often unsought	-	-	.		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-	
5065. Knowledge acquired by instruction	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5066. May also be sucking doctor	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	
5067. Limited power only	-	-	-		-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	
5068. Use outfit bundle	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5069. Kept inside house	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5070. Buried with patient if latter dies.	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5071. Burned at owner's death	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
533 5072. Diagnosis by singing, rubbing patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5073. Singing, rubbing to cure patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5074. Brushes patient	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5075. Sprinkles water from feather on patient	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-
5076. Sucks patient	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5077. Sprays water from mouth on patient	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
5078. Can foretell future events											+	+	+		-	-
[775] 5079. Performs in round house, at night											+	+	•+	•+	-	-
5080. Spirit comes and sings in dark													+	+	-	-

774
755

Soul-Loss Doctors

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5081. Soul loss doctors recognized	-	-	-	-	+	-	•+	+	+	+	-	-	+		-	-
[562] 5081a. Men	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+		-	-
5082. Women	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-			-	-
5083. Is also sucking doctor	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5084. Inherit power	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5085. Power through vision, dream	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5086. Instructed by older shaman, or in dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5087. Shaman sucks on head, neck	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	(+)		-	-
5088. Shaman sends own soul after lost one	-	-	-	-	•(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)		-	-
5089. Shaman sends guardian spirit to catch soul	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	(+)		-	-
5090. Shaman goes outside to coax soul back	-	-	-	-		+	+	•+	•+	+	-	+			-	-
5091. Sings	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5092. Dances	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5093. Has ... assistants	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	1	•1	-	1	-		-	-
5094. Outside speaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5095. Interpreter	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5096. Spectators sing in house	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5097. Beat time with 1-2 sticks	-	-	-	-			-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5098. Doctor uses cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5099. Doctor uses bone "bull-roarer"	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[826] 5100. Soul returns through fontanelle	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	+	-	+	(+)		-	-

Weather Shamans

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5100a. Weather shamans recognized	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
821 5101. Men mostly	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5102. Both sexes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[562] 5103. Specialized profession	-	-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5104. Weather shaman may also be curing shaman	+	+	-	•-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5105. Office inherited	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
5106. Knowledge acquired by instruction	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-		-	-
5107. Supernatural experience required	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-		-	-
5108. Make rain by formula, song	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5109. Sing with spectators	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5110. Smoke pipe				-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-		-	-
5111. Motion with hands, 4 directions											+	-	-		-	-
5112. Contortions or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-		-	-
5113. Can make fog, high winds	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-		-	-
5114. Make rain to remove snow	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-		-	-
5115. Can make rain stop	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	•+	-	+	+	-		-	-
5116. Performs whenever need arises	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5117. Paid for performance	-	-	-	•-	-	+	R	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	-
5118. Bets made on outcome of	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5119. Rain doctors, competing, test powers										•+	-	-	-		-	-
5120. When doctor cries, rain will ensue	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5121. At funeral	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[763] 5122. Thunders when doctor dies	•+	•+						+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Rattlesnake Shamans			−														
5123. Rattlesnake shamans recognized	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	•−		−	+	756
5124. Men only	+	(+)		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	+	825
5125. Mostly men, some women	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	
5126. Mostly women	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	[562]
5127. Berdache					+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5128. May also be curing shaman	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−		−	+	[838]
5129. Hereditary	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−		−	−	
5130. Instruction given	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5131. Supernatural experience required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−		−	+	
5132. Power from thunder	.	.	.		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5133. Power from rattlesnake	.	.	.	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−		−	+	
5134. Dreams of buzzard	.	.	.	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
5135. Immune to snake bites	.	.	•	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−		−	+	
5136. Plays with snakes publicly	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	
5137. Uses bone whistle	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5138. Carries snake around neck	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	
5139. Can skin snake alive								+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5140. Cures snake bites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	−	−		−	+	
5141. By sucking	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	.	+	+	−	−		−	−	
5142. Sucks out fangs, snakes	+	(+)	+	+	+	−	−	+	.	+	+	−	−		−	−	
5143. Rubs patient with buzzard wing	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5144. Rattlesnake ceremony	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5145. Songs sung to snakes	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
5146. In winter, by woman	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5147. Early in spring	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	
5148. Privately	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	(+)	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	
5149. Snakes emerge from holes	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−		−	−	
5150. Talked to, told not to molest villagers	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	
5151. Rattlesnake shamans from other tribes, not local	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
Bear Shamans																	
5151a. Bear shamans	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−		+	−	
5152. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−		+	−	[562]
5153. Mostly men	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5154. Both sexes	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5155. Is regular curing shaman	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		+	−	
5156. Hereditary	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		+	−	
5157. Instruction given	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		+	−	
5158. Supernatural experience required	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
5159. Power obtained from bear	−	−	−	+	+	.	−	.	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
5160. Cure wounds made by grizzly bear	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−		−	−	
5161. Simulates bear's guise	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−		.	−	
5162. Rubs self with snake	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		+	−	
5163. Transformation into bear	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−		•+	−	
5164. Wears bearskin, bear hair	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−		+	−	
5165. Wears bear claws	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−		+	−	
5166. Impersonator invulnerable	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−		+	−	
5167. Can travel rapidly	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		+	−	
5168. Maliciously inclined	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		+	−	
Money Finders																	
5168a. Money finders recognized	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	756
5169. Any doctor capable of	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
5170. Only doctor with certain guardian spirits	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5171. Instruction	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5172. Supernatural experience	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5173. Sings	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5174. Goes into trance	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5175. Tells who hid or stole money	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5176. Tracks money, if hiding place changed	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5177. Talks to piece of money	-	-	-	-	-			-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
5178. Listens to hear money singing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5179. Functions when money is lost	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5180. Performs at any public ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5181. Money hidden, to test shaman	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-
Witchcraft																
Black Magic																
791 754 5182. Love medicine	+	.	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
832 5183. Roots	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-
5184. Hair treated with formula, blood								+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
5185. Songs				•+		+	•+	•+	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-
5186. "Diamond" (charmstone)						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
754 5187. Poisoners distinct from doctors	+	-	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	.	•+		+	-
791 5188. Men only	+	-	-	+	-			+	-	-	-	.	+		-	-
[562] 5189. Have power from various animals	-	-	.	-	-		-	-	-	+	-	.	-		-	-
5190. From evil spirit	-		-	-	-		-	-	-	+	-	.	-		-	-
5191. Have knowledge of herbs	(+)		•		-								+		-	-
754 5192. Shamans, poisoners practice contagious magic.	+		•+	+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•	•+	-
756 5193. Poisoner, curing shaman hired to revenge refusal of girl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		+	(-)
5194. Make girl crazy, or kill her outright	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	•+		•+	(-)
5195. Colored lights (transformed witches) cause illness	-	-	•+	•+				•+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5195a. Epidemics caused by spirit creatures	-	-	-	-				•+	•+	+	-	-	-		-	-
Prayer, Offerings																
782 5196. Prayers frequent by all	+	+	-	•(-)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
264 5197. Offerings of food at meals	•+	+	•-	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	+		+	+
Eagle Ceremony																
825 5198. Special observances connected with eagle.								•(-)					-	-	+	-
5199. Eaglets captured alive													-	-	•+	-
5200. People eat acorn soup on spot													-	-	•+	-
5201. Eaglets kept tied by leg													-	-	+	-
5202. Killed when grown													-	-	+	-
5203. Feathers plucked out													-	-	+	-
[766] 5204. Beads put on body													-	-	+	-
5205. Eagle buried in basket, like person													-	-	+	-
5206. Owners cry at funeral, as for person.													-	-	+	-
5206a. Chief only uses eagle feathers								•-	•-				-	-	+	-
Kukmu																
Initiation (Boys)																
575 5207. Tossed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	-
5208. Over fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	.		-	-
5209. Held over fire												(+)	.		-	-

Sweating customs.--

343 784. Kl: In Plains-type sweat house and mourners' lodge. WM, WS: In Plains-type sweat house.

785. Kl: In earth-covered winter sweat house and Plains-type sweat house. Mo: In winter living house (?), and in Plains-type sweat house. MM: See note 766.

000 786. Husband and wife, usually. SW: Women do not sweat with men in men's earth-covered sweat house; do occasionally in Plains-type sudatory. This latter type used chiefly by women after menstruating, childbirth, or during mourning. If woman's husband is also under taboos, he sweats with his wife in dome-shaped sudatory, but if sweating for "luck" he usually uses earth-covered sweat house. At: In Plains-type sweat house only. AW: Several men and women together; this general rule, but at large gatherings men sweat together while women are cooking outside; women sweat afterward. AE: In semisubterranean earth lodge (see note 728). WS: In Plains-type sudatory; when men use assembly house to sweat in, if women, children living in latter, they must vacate it temporarily. NF: In large assembly house.

787. AE: After men vacate Plains-type sweat house, women use house to sweat in. WS: In Plains-type sudatory.

788. SW: Applies to use of men's earth-covered sweat house. AE: Used fortnightly, or sometimes only once a month; "people don't think it's very lucky, if they sweat right along" (every day or so). WM: In sweat house-assembly house. NF: In small sweat house.

789. SE: When sweating in small Plains-type sweat house.

[343] 790. Kl, Mo: In mourners' lodge only (see note 769). At: In semisubterranean earth lodge.

791. SE: When sweating in large semisubterranean winter living house. SW: In men's sweat house.

792. MV: See note 729, mentioning kenu or "sweat dance" held to open new assembly house. There is some question whether, among MV, this dance was in any way a "sweat" dance, as it was among MM, MF.

794. NF: In large assembly house.

[765] 795. Kl: Also female mourners. Mo: Both
[582] male, female mourners may, but not obligatory, as among Kl.

796. NF: In large assembly house. NM: 2 old men sleep in round house each night; during large dances, feasts, all people sleep in round house.

797. SW: Men gamble, work, and sleep mainly in semisubterranean earth lodge, not in men's sudatory. AW, AE: In earth-covered sweat house-living house, not in Plains-type sweat house. NF: In large assembly house. NF, NS: Men gamble, work in large assembly house, which, among NS, does not serve as sweat house. MV: Men gamble, work in assembly house, not in sweat house.

[188-A]

000 ized pieces of decayed log. Skin hung up to dry; resoaked; worked with hands, over feet, to soften. NS: Informant relieved "only certain people tanned buckskin, not everyone"; no knowledge of tanning. Beals, Nisenan, p. 345, observes: "Buckskin seems to have been little employed"; my information agrees.

1453. MM: For skins other than deerskin. NF: Hair plucked out by hand, after hide soaked.

1454. WT: Also fleshed on outstretched leg.

[26] 1455. Usually lower front leg bone of deer,
[237] which is sharp. SE: Elk shoulder blade or lower front leg bone of deer. WS: Deer rib.

1457. Mo: Obsidian knife. AW; WT: Sharp piece of rock.

1460. AW: Sometimes use wild duck egg yolks, but "deer brains best."

1463. As described in Spier, Havasupai, fig. 17, p. 141.

1470. AW: Least-used method. If stone, bone graining implement used, hide merely held with hands; if hide pulled back and forth over foot, it is held with hands only.

1476. SE, AW, AE: Grass. SW, At, WS: Moss; WS: of "poisonous" variety. WT: Bark.

1478. MM: Plus boiled roots and weeds.

1479. NS: For bows, arrows.

1481. MV: Plus plant.

1482. Usually "mixed with something." WS: Mixed with charcoal.

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

Haircut; coiffure; comb; care of hair.--

1487. WT: Occasionally only.

1488. SW: Mother, for child.

1489. SW: Woman, after death of husband.

1492. WM: Orphaned girls have hair cut, orphaned boys, hair burnt short.

1493. WM: See note 1492.

1494. Ca. 1 month after birth burn off hair with pine needles to make it grow in long. AE: If infant has thin hair, cut it close when baby 2-3 months old. MV: Girl babies only.

1495. WM: If hair cut at any other time, someone will die.

1496. At: Men, women. AE, WM, MV: Women, girls.

[302] 1497. Kl: Temple locks, men. AE: Forelock, men.
[56 2] 1498. Kl: Men. Mo: Shamans; braid scalp lock. AE: Boys; tie feathers, weasel hide, on scalp lock.

1500. MV: 2 women perform operation; 1 woman holds glowing brand, other holds hair, especially bangs.

1502. WM: Occasionally only.

1506. On top of, or at back of head. SW, WT, WM, WS, MM, MF: Hairpins in hair (see element 1544). AE, WS, MM, MF, MV: Roll or bunch hair when head net worn, only.

[196-B]

000 trothed not subject to any of above regulations, but dances with girl for 3 periods and is dressed well when on view with menstruant year after girl first menstruates. Morning following this large final puberty dance parents of girl and betrothed line up in row, singing; girl and youth dance, hand in hand, in front of line 1 hour; boy then takes girl to his father's house, all guests depart, couple considered married. This done only by virgins, chaste boys; marriage has been arranged previously by parents of principals; common form of marriage, "done often." Betrothal dance, doharilpurik. All other groups explicitly denied any such puberty marriage customs as described herein for AE, WS.

3637. SE: With back toward fire, however. AE: Singers between girl and fire (see fig., note 3628).

3641. SW: Between dances men and women sit in line or group, with menstruant in front of them; women, mainly, sing, although men may help. Sing special women's songs that are used only for this purpose; also sing songs of more exoteric nature. MM: Girl rests at intervals during night's dancing; also dances 4 nights, rests on fifth, on sixth has ears pierced, dances and runs in morning.

3652. Mo: Men sing for few hours, then go home; women stay and sing all night. NF, NM, MV: 2 female singers figure prominently in accounts of ceremony.

3653. AW: Men sing for girl, passing rattle as each sings in turn. Any woman takes rattle, sings, if she is good singer.

[53 3]
[56 2]
[88 1]

3654. Kl: "Have 1 singer they hire, a woman; they pay her. Then lots of people help her sing, men and women."

3659. At: Occasionally only, if mother thinks girl is tired. Mother also rubs ashes on girl's legs, if girl tired.

3661. SW: See note 3641.

[53 3]
[56 2]
[88 1]

3662. Kl, Mo: Men and women sing about each other (see Spier, Klamath, p. 69).

3665. Kl, Mo: Begin with an evening song, and end in morning at daylight with a morning song (see Spier, Klamath, p. 69). During night sing "love" songs (see note 3662). SW: See note 3641. Brush dance is 1 of dances given during puberty dance; men carry bows and arrows. At: In winter sing of snow melting; other songs in regular (?) order.

[52 2]
[53 3]
[88 1]

3666. Kl: Singers and others, joke with menstruant as she dances. MF, NF: Joking by clown.

3668. At: Use 2 deer-hoof rattles during night dance; 1 for singers, 1 to keep passing to persons who are sleepy. At end of night dancing, menstruant given rattle and told to go and run; she rattles and sings throughout day by herself. NM: Deer-hoof rattle, kosiltil.

3669. At: See note 3668. WM: Deer-hoofs used for this rattle have been saved, hung up in top part of house in smoke, for several years (cf. note 3547).

[221-B]

000 that woman; he acts just like a boss toward her."

3975. WT: Also, in Upper Trinity subarea of Wintu, informant had heard of 1 instance of mother-in-law killing daughter-in-law after husband died. "The mother-in-law didn't want that woman to take another husband, so she killed her with a bone needle [dagger?]. She was sorry after she did it; but she didn't like the woman having another husband who would look just like her son; it would make her [mother-in-law] feel badly."

[587] 3976. In case there is no brother-in-law to ask.

3977. If there is no brother-in-law to receive the payment. AW: Sister-in-law may dispose of widow to more-distant male relative of dead husband also.

3980. SW: A divorce "puts a man and woman clear away from each other"; no payment rendered former husband.

562 587 593 3981. Kl: If man does not like his wife for some reason, he announces, "Anyone who wants my wife can take her, if they give me something. If you people don't want her, I'll kill her." The men discuss it; husband repeats the announcement, sets date when he will kill woman; some man finally takes her for wife, gives the husband something; "that's how they save a woman, sometimes." No one knows what trouble between husband and wife prompts man to do this, and man never tells; he doesn't beat his wife, he just sells her. Only done occasionally; when informant was boy such sales still taking place; informant had seen one couple separated this way. Woman not captive.

000 Intercourse; promiscuity.--

3984. NF: Girl cries, fights husband, so girl's mother sleeps beside girl first night latter sleeps with husband.

3985. NF: Do not allow people to sleep lying on back "like dead people"; lie on side and "put their heart in hiding" so no evil will befall sleepers.

[152 192] 3987. Purse lips and make sound, "čk, čk," repeatedly, close to baby's face. AW: Rub hands over baby's face or neck while making sound; same done between adults. AE: "Learned to make this sound from animals--badger, raccoon."

3988. SE: No virginity tests, but observe boy's actions around girls. AE: If girl's, boy's legs get "heavy" (tired) during girl's puberty dance, sign he or she is not virgin. Spectators watch to see whether this happens. WT: Can tell whether girl is virgin or not by shape of her abdomen, if firm, smooth, judge she is.

[548 178] 3989. Kl: Prostitution with payment recent custom only.

3990. WM: Especially at girl's puberty dance.

836 3991. Kl: Said to have been extremely rare; "girls never ran around; pretty hard to get a woman." Girl's parents wanted girl to marry man who could get her lots of fish, so she would eat

[228-A]

000 4610. AW: See note 4605. Formerly Thunder made noise all time, but in contest between Thunder and Raven, Raven finally told Thunder, "Don't make noise all the time; the only time you can make a noise is when somebody dreams about you, in spring." See note 4612. WT: See note 4600.

4611. WM: Twin boys returning "to see their own baby basket [cradle]; make noise when on earth." See note 4604.

4612. AW: During contest between Thunder and Raven, Thunder decreed that if any woman who is about to be delivered of a child in springtime dreams that she is struck by lightning, she will be killed. See notes 4600, 4610. Informant's wife had dreamt of lightning under these circumstances; her mouth became crooked, but "a doctor was called; he came and kicked the cloud back; he talked to it" and patient recovered. NF: See note 4600.

4613. SW: Hold up raccoon skin and tell Thunder to go away, as there are too many rattlesnakes in vicinity; "go to some other place." At: Any sort of skin including raccoon skin held on stick.

[821]
[23]

4614. Kl, SE: Pinch bitch's ear.

4615. Serviceberry stick.

4616. SW, AE, WT: Thunder commanded to go away, especially when people camping out. AE: Tell Thunder couple, "Go that way [naming mountain]; that's where your grandfather and grandmother went." WM: Talk to twin boys, welcome their return. See note 4604. WS: Shaman talks to boys, to make them stop.

4618. At: Lightning issues from mouth of Thunder man, "like a snake." AW: Lightning issues from Thunder's hand, when he raises his arm (wing) to strike.

[821]
[562]

4625. Women, only, cover head. Kl, MF, NF, MV: Cover head with willow basket. NM, NS: Cover head with deerskin.

Whirlwind; rain and storms.--

4629. AW: "Don't bother much about whirlwind; they let children run into them for fun; there is no danger."

4631. SW: Does not contain poison, but dead shaman sends his dust, and later person struck will suffer some minor misfortune, such as turning ankle. NF: But see note 5040.

4632. SE: Also, whirlwind rising from ashes of house burnt after death is dangerous; ashes will make person sick.

4633. WM, NF, MV: Whirlwind is spirit of dead person.

4635. Mo, SE, AE, WT, WM, WS, NF: Bad for mourners to dream of, especially. Among Mo, SE, AE, WT, WM, WS if mourners dream thus, it means that whirlwind will take dreamer's spirit. See also element 4646a. SE: Also it is "bad for any man to dream of whirlwind or of butterfly; means he will be burnt up." NF: Also bad for menstruants, women in labor to dream of.

4639. AW: Also, whirlwind may give power to run fast.

[237-B]

000 at sun; Sun "shoots" shaman, who is "killed" and falls down, and another shaman has to shake him by feet and awaken him; stricken shaman has blood streaming from nose. Clowns function at this dance.

4878a. SE, SW: Refers to dance novice performs alone. WT, WM, WS: Held immediately before and during time vision obtained.

4879. SE, SW: Refers to dance novice performs alone.

4880. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4881. SW: Refers to public winter dance. AW: See note 4805 AW.

4881a. WS: Held once year, in spring only; "not in winter--too cold; not in summer--too warm."

4885. SE, SW: Refers to novice's dance by self, not to public winter dance. At: "After man gets his power [from vision quest] he dances, while sweating, 1 day and night after returning home. He dances by himself; children must keep away from the sweat house, and keep quiet. The next day his family prepares food, and he eats alone. But he doesn't doctor for a long time after this."

[756 [535 4886. Kl: 3-4 shamans attend. One midwinter dance, only, given for all 4 local groups of Kl (see also note 4437 Kl). SW: Refers to public winter dance.

[756 [535 4890. Kl: 2 groups, 6 men each, dance on 1 side of fire inside house.

4894. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

[756 [535 [533 [562] 4896. Kl: Women sit in circle around house, next to wall, singing for male dancers. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4897-4900. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4901. Mo: Any time shaman becomes excited, his spirit causes him to bleed at mouth; therefore shaman always keeps quiet around his house. At: This does not happen during any public doctor-making dance (of which At have none), but if novice attends curing performance by older shaman, he may fall down in faint and blood comes from his mouth. Older shaman then sings for him and, when boy revives, tells him he had better help him cure patient. See note 4924.

4902-4904. SE: Refers to public winter dance.

756 4905. Kl: "Sometimes the old doctors are jealous because there's a new doctor, so they poison him, right there. The 'mean' doctor's medicine [perhaps weasel, or bear] meets that new doctor's medicine [guardian spirit] up in the mountains somewhere; the old doctor's medicine hides and catches the new doctor's medicine, and 'poisons' the new doctor thus. When the new doctor becomes sick from this [very soon after the dance], he says, 'Some doctor gave me poison; I'm sick.' One old man will ask him, 'What's the matter, what's the matter; what did they do to you?' The new doctor tells the old man that the mean doctor's medicine has grabbed his own medicine; that's why he has taken sick. So he lies down all the time and sings; he sings his medicine.

[242-B]

balance, ascribed it to war and stated that in 1864, "the females 657*
were largely in the majority . . . a condition which continues . . . 648*
to this day."[13] 563
162

That the sources were indeed to be found in the conditions of native life is suggested by the circumstance that subsequently the imbalance was reduced: about 1875, the overall ratio was 0.72; while by the latter part of the period, from 1885 to 1906, it had reached an average of 0.87. It has since continued upward, to attain the approximate equality that characterizes the white neighbors of the Klamath.

Freed slaves constituted a second novel element in the popula- 657*
tion. Marriage to a slave had once been scorned, though Chief 648*
Chiloquin himself had married a Shasta slave; and even today 567
some stigma is attached to slave descent, albeit it is likely to be 178
brought up only as damaging gossip. Both sentimental family 177
attachments—a traditional attitude transcending acknowledged differences[14]—and recognition of the achievement of former slaves went far to ameliorate their position. One slave, Charlie Pitt, had been raised with his captor's son, Drummer David, in fraternal amity. The bond remained strong through life, and Charlie willed David his property when he died.[15] Another, one of three captured Pit River brothers, escaped to friendly whites who raised him in Ashland and gave him the distinguished name of Stonewall Jackson. In 1878 he returned to the Agency and the following year became a sawyer's apprentice. In recommending an increase in salary for him, Nickerson remarked that he "speaks the English language fluently, & is what may be called a civilized Indian." With several offers at better wages off the reservation, he wished to remain until he could qualify as a competent sawyer.[16] The best known of the slaves was Henry Jackson, whose rise has already been sketched. It is worth noting that he married the daughter of a Modoc chief, and that tribal members from over the reservation were not too proud to accept his bounty.

The altered social order was characterized by greatly in- 657*
creased mobility. An entire new range of opportunities was open 648*
to those who possessed or could develop new skills. Opportunity, 555
however, fell unequally, for the major new enterprises and posi- 177
tion in nineteenth-century America were masculine. As they were 178
incorporated into the regular activities of the Agency and within [562]

*657 the surrounding white neighborhood, the men came to take up
*648 roles narrowly and specifically defined in American terms and
555 to rephrase them in terms of their closest native counterparts.[17]
177 Thus, in the political field, judges and Indian police enlarged
178 the formal duties of office with some of the powers traditionally exerted by chiefs. Assimilation of roles, however, progressed in both directions; and in the end even relationships within Indian society upon the reservation were modified toward the American system. This was only partially the consequence of conscious imitation on the part of the Indians or of change directly instituted by the whites. In some measure, it came as the undesigned byplay of a modification made for another purpose.

*657 This, for example, was one of the effects of the educational
*648 system and its particular instrument, the boarding school. Be-
871 cause boarding school spanned the time of life upon which the
177 Klamath vision quest and the girls' puberty rite fell, those native
178 experiences were largely eliminated; and change of status was signaled instead by the final return from school. Education was
[881] designed for an altered future, but it increased intergenerational
[561] strife, as elders, their accumulated wisdom rendered obsolete in a changed setting, confronted youths skeptical in the superiority of their book-won knowledge. From the vantage of program, this was unfortunate—if inevitable—for the Agent depended for cooperation upon those same vexed adults.

To be sure, much of the change instituted might be regarded as supplementing and enlarging—rather than replacing—native content, for many a Klamath who was a schoolboy in those days today combines the learning of his elders with the lessons taught him in the schools. Participation in two orders juxtaposed for them made manifest the relativity of each one. For those youths, the new order was not to be taken on simple assertion; it had to demonstrate its superiority in a manner not required by those born into it.

*657 With all the changes that tended to distort the social order,
*648 women were less directly affected than were their husbands and
• 562 children. Their roles were still principally internal to the family,
177 as wife and mother; and though opportunities for employment
178 were beginning to open for them in the schools, their contacts with the ambient American culture were more fleeting and more

3: Stern (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17
Northern Paiute NR13

[Klamath Reservation]

K

circumscribed. Because the step involved a wholesale commit- 657*
ment, those bold enough to marry whites, as already noted, 648*
tended to pass out of reservation society. One or two women in 562 •
the early days sought to demonstrate they they could support 177
themselves as well as men were capable of doing, but they were 178
clearly exceptional.[18]

K
Confronted by shifting social values, tribesmen on the reserva- 657*
tion still could take assurance from a value acknowledged both 648*
by the whites and by their traditional culture. The high prestige 556
assigned to industry and to its material manifestation, wealth, 181
proved a common denominator upon which to rank the ability of 178
men engaged in new activities. In the new day, Plains garments, K
horses, and slaves were outmoded, and were replaced by a house [177]
and outbuildings, a fenced farm or ranch, wagons and buggies,
and plenty of livestock.

K
Within this context, the family also changed as movements 657*
within the reservation, the construction of smaller frame dwell- 648*
ings, and the cultivation of individual farms reduced household 592
size to approximately that of a single conjugal family. Some idea 177
of the shift may be gained by comparing subsistence rolls from 178
the administration of Lindsay Applegate[19] with data from the K
end of the period. A summary of issues made in 1872-73 to heads 657*
of families of Klamath, Modoc, and Yahuskin Snakes lists 54 648*
families totaling 658 persons. The majority were from Klamath 592
Marsh, with some from Link River and Sprague River bands and 162
several Modoc. One is possibly Paiute. The other two pages M
duplicate some of the individuals, listing Schonchin's band of 657
Modoc, some eight "houses" comprising 97 individuals; Ocheho's 648
band of Warner Valley Paiute, 17 "houses" and 161 persons; 592
Chocktoot's band of Paiute, 13 "houses" and 113 persons; and 162
the Sprague River band of Monchnkasgitk, 8 "houses" and 97
individuals. A tally made in 1866 by one Jackson Jones (Link
River Jack ?), "Chief of Ulalona," lists for the Link River band
22 men, 18 boys, 42 women, and 20 girls in five houses.[20]

An analysis of these three lists reveals interesting facts about K
the contemporary social groupings. Where the two censuses over- 657*
lap, there is overall agreement, although the figures for individual 648*
households differ slightly. For the census of the Klamath at 592
large, the average household size is approximately 12 persons, 162

Within the
*648 reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally
*657 esteemed attributes had lost place. Age was no longer accorded
561 respect, for the wisdom of experience seemed irrelevant under
593 the new conditions, and in the environing society the emphasis
577 was upon youthful qualities. The premium upon industry as an
434 ideal for old and young alike had become submerged by the
198 golden flow of per capitas which rewarded equally the wastrel
177 and the unremitting toiler. Remarked one man wryly, "I can
make more money raising Klamath than I can raising cattle."[2]
Under these changes, paternal authority had declined sharply.
"Why should I listen to you?" demanded one adolescent son of
his father. "I've got just as much money saved up [in a compulsory trust fund] as you have!"

*648 By contrast, the status of the mother within the household
*657 had been enhanced. Housekeeping and child rearing constituted
• 562 concrete activities that possessed a high measure of continuity
434 with the past, of a type normally respected in her counterpart
177 in white society. Access to her own per capitas had raised the
178 economic standing of a wife to a par with that of her husband.
[623] The relative changes in local roles, together with the passage
of woman's suffrage in the nation at large, had become reflected
in the increasing prominence of women in the debates of the
General Council.

*648 The major point of contrast between white and tribal house-
*657 holds on the reservation was the relatively greater fluidity among
563 the Klamath, as reflected in the record of sequent marriages,
58 the figures for common-law unions, and the broken families. In
this respect, Beatty did not differ significantly from Chiloquin.
Interethnic marriages—those between a Klamath and a nontribal
partner—were more stable than those contracted between tribal
members.

*648 Household composition makes it clear that the traditional
*657 valuation of kin had by no means been entirely relinquished.
592 In a number of instances, Klamath, particularly women, had
587 taken in the children of collateral kin. Remarriage produced
[178] composite families, in which the couple reared not only their
own children but the offspring of previous unions of one or both
partners.

*648 Consequently, Klamath households exhibited a diversity of
*657 form, size, and composition, frequently characterized as well by
592
593

*648 in seventh and ninth grades—the beginning grades respectively
*657 for junior high and high school—was less than half the figure for
87 first grade in the same year. For tribal children, by contrast, the
563 figures for the advanced grades were each almost twice as large
as that for the first grade.

On an average, roughly one-half the small number of Klamath children entering high school could be expected to graduate.
[125] That this record was not to be attributed to a difference in intellectual ability is intimated by the results of California mental maturity tests which, as administered to Klamath children as a whole at the fourth grade, yielded normal scores, averaging 96.9. When, however, the same children had reached the eighth grade, their average score had declined to 80.4.[6] A sharp drop in incentive had taken its toll.

The stresses within the school fell unequally upon Klamath boys and girls. Athletic prowess and artistic ability—both often conceived as racially innate and as masculine attributes—gave the boys legitimate avenues to social approval. At puberty, however, Klamath girls were often beginning to develop the physical
[142] massiveness that is so frequent in their racial constitution, but
• [562] that at the same time is foreign to American ideals of beauty. Some bore their lot with dignity and poise. Others courted a fleeting favor through promiscuity or took out their resentments in direct assault upon rivals or upon substitute figures. Direct violence against whites occurred in the schools at about this age, and most frequently involved girls. Still others sought alternatives outside the school, dropping out entirely, going away to vocational schools, or entering into early marriages.

*648 Indeed, for many of the tribal youth—boys as well as girls—
*657 confronted by a school experience that grew increasingly irrele-
871 vant as they became older, it was merely a matter of "serving
563 time" until they gained release by attaining the age of eighteen.
582 Many Klamath tended to marry young, and there were incentives peculiar to their position. For a girl striving to escape the pressures and dissatisfactions of home life, the regimen of caring for younger siblings, and the boredom and vexation of the school, the importance and security of being a newlywed possessed a
[434] fairyland appeal. For the boy, the trust fund accumulated by
[429] the Agency for each minor, amounting in some instances to

SIXTEEN

[P.214]

Status Gradient, Ethnic Hierarchy, and Acculturative Range

*648 WHEREVER THEY WENT, UPON THE RESERVATION OR IN THE
*657 communities beyond its borders, tribal members encountered a
554 status gradient not of their own devising, and found themselves assigned a place upon it. It was not that they had not possessed their own ways of appraising others, or that some of those judgments were not continued. The standards upon which they found themselves judged were largely extrinsic to their own life. To be sure, in communities such as Beatty, judgments were most closely akin to those of traditional Klamath culture, for here they were informally applied upon the basis of direct acquaintance. At the other extreme, in such cities as Klamath Falls, where firsthand familiarity was often lacking, a person or family was judged upon outward evidence of appearance and demeanor, of possessions and associations. Under these contexts, the stereotype of "Klamath" or—in regions farther from home—of "Indian" became significant.

Towns such as Chiloquin occupied a middle range in the formation of status gradients, for they were still small enough to permit each person to be known directly, while evincing sufficient complexity to provide for an institutionalization of
[571] social precedence. Participation in a number of formal associa-
[573] tions, together with informal cliquing of varying degrees of exclusiveness, was invested with social value. The standing of men
[562] was more narrowly related to their economic achievements; the

position of women was linked to participation in bodies overtly directed toward social benevolences, the standing for the entire family being summative for its members. 648* 657* 554

[562] All of this will prove familiar, for the social system in Chiloquin had been derived from that in other American communities. [571] The formal, secondary associations, membership in which served as counters in the social game, included church auxiliaries, service fraternities and lodges, and groups devoted to sports, politics, the school, and to youth activities. The manner in which the organizations were ranked had little to do with their functions or their local historical priority. It related instead to the prestige which they enjoyed generally in the western United States and their identification with social status. Even within such a small community as Chiloquin, social assessment had become refined to a marked degree. It was maintained by indirection and with considerable tact, yet gave structure to much of the social interaction.

Since the social order in Chiloquin has been discussed at length elsewhere,[1] only the major outlines need be drawn here. Yet it is inadvisable to leave the impression that any single dimension provided a clear means of ranking. [795] It was evident, for example, that there was an ordering of the Protestant churches, ranging from the Methodist church through intermediate bodies down to the pentecostal Full Gospel body and two ethnic sects—one Klamath and the other Negro—in major membership. Their congregations and ministers, their location and material endowment, together with the character of their worship, all afforded a basis for this ranking. Two churches, nonetheless, stood somewhat outside this range. One, the Williamson River Mission, was the Klamath church founded in the early days of the reservation. As such, it had historical venerability, a Methodist affiliation, but an ethnic membership. The second was the Catholic church, located in a less favored section of town, yet eminently endowed and drawing members from the entire social span.

648* 657* 554 829 Status differences in Chiloquin, moreover, were variously assessed by its residents. Several of those who objectively occupied high status stressed the leveling qualities of primary relations which they regarded as characterizing the town, and discounted the reality of a hierarchical ordering. Others, of middle

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

SEVENTEEN

[P.236]

The Tribal Government

*648 FOR NEARLY FIFTY YEARS FOLLOWING ALLOTMENT, THE KLAMATH
*657 tribal government constituted the formal instrument for arriving
619 at common objectives, the ultimate guardian against encroach-
646 ments upon Klamath treaty rights, and the corporate symbol of Indian status. Its form and operations sensitively reflected the interplay of continued efforts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to mold Indian life and the Indian reaction to those efforts. They gave evidence as well of the diversity of opinion which presently arose among tribal members as to the future in which they wished to live.[1]

[423] Central to the importance of the tribal government was the considerable wealth over which it presided: at the close of allotment, tribal property amounted to over 860,000 acres of land, roughly three-fourths of it in prime timber, owned corporately by some 1,150 members. By contrast, the Umatilla reservation, in the northeast section of the state, in 1908 possessed fewer than 2,000 acres in unallotted tribal lands for a comparable (893) membership.[2]

*648 The principal body of the tribal organization was the General
*657 Council, a successor to those sessions convened on occasion in
646 times past to discuss matters of common concern. Such *ad hoc*
623 councils had formerly been found useful to the federal government for mustering a representative Indian body; but with the development of an executive body, the General Council also emerged as a more regular entity. Like its predecessors, it was
• [562] originally composed of all the men of the Tribe; after the pas-
[177] sage of the Nineteenth Amendment, the women were added to their number.

*648 Since the highly rationalized bureaucracy of the government
*657 found the occasional councils too unwieldly to handle the in-
646

857 water. Such duties ordinarily devolve upon the women, but young boys as well as girls help their mothers.

Children accompany their mother as she collects large bundles of wood, which she carries on her back. The youngsters pick up smaller pieces to carry in their arms. The mother may be the one to ask the child to help. As often, however, help seems to be voluntary.

> I saw my mother getting a load of wood so I picked some up in my hands. She was proud of me because I was helping.

[text continues on top of p. 346B]

LATE CHILDHOOD

857 562 The duties and responsibilities of a child increase greatly as he reaches the age of eight or nine. He still engages in many of the games and amusements of childhood, but he is expected to take on more and more adult activities. Training which has heretofore been largely casual and noncompulsory now takes on more serious aspects. Girls begin to take up feminine pursuits while boys learn masculine occupations.

857 If there are younger children in the family, the nine- and ten-year-olds may be called on to watch them and, if neglectful, the older ones are reprimanded. On the whole, however, the children accept the responsibility willingly, look after the youngsters around camp, teach them, and occasionally take them along on short jaunts away from the immediate campsite. Parents tell the youngsters to obey their older brothers and sisters.

861 Physical training is emphasized in late childhood. The strong, fearless warrior is one of the Klamath ideals of manhood. Women, too, are expected to be strong and brave. Training toward this goal actually begins when cold water is sprinkled on infants daily to inure them to hardships. Somewhat larger infants are held in the cold water of the lake or river to harden them to physical discomforts.

The father or grandfather forces older children to rise before sunrise each day, winter and summer, for a plunge into cold water and to run and exercise. The morning swim is more strictly enforced for boys; but girls also rise early, and many of them swim each morning. A few families start training a child in this manner at the age of five. Most start somewhat later, and some families are never strict in the matter, but such households have little standing in the community.

A boy of ten or twelve who whimpers when made to run to the lake in the morning is considered a weakling. If a child pretends to be asleep when called, he is whipped and thrown into the water by his father. The bravest boys never cry and are proud of being able to roll in the snow in the winter without calling out. Parents boast of a brave boy. But if he is lazy, they are ashamed and hope the neighbors will not hear of their disgrace. Only individuals who arise early throughout their lives to

[text continues on bottom of p. 346B]

analysis of 53 Klamath Rorschachs and 33 Thematic Apperception Tests, with 128
additional evidence derived from participant observation and life history data [127]
(Clifton 1960). Moreover, the assessment agrees, in large part, with the observations
and conclusions of other field workers working independently. The
significant point is that Levine, working blind from records of persons he has
never observed has reinforced and expanded upon previous evaluations of Klamath
character.

A second hypothesis about the Klamath which arises from our study — an hypothesis 121
of which we are less certain when compared with the observation that they are
a people who may be viewed as guarded and restrained — is the finding that "in 157
the total kin network the influence of the male is weak..." and "whether or not 562
there is a male attached to the household group, the wife-mother is usually the
power figure." This finding, based on the anthropological data, is theoretically [156]
congruent, almost startlingly so, with the fact that the more imaginative,
creative, rich — healthy, if you will — Klamath Rorschach records were produced
by the women in the sample, while the men's records were typically stereotyped
and constricted, and often unrealistic, disorganized or suspicious. The statistical [127]
comparisons (Clifton 1960) as well as the individual Rorschach analysis
(Chapter III) convey this impression very clearly. [128]

The importance of these findings can be viewed profitably in the light of contemporary 121
psychoanalytic theory, especially in relation to the concepts of identification
and modeling in child development. The theory holds that the child
identifies with, i.e., adapts the characteristics, attitudes, and values, of his
parents because he envies them; they are the powerful people who receive the
rewards and gratifications which he is denied. In classical psychoanalytic theory,
the boy is said to identify with the father because the father is the power figure
in the family and receives the love of the mother. Although Freud never was as
content with his psychology of women as he was with the Oedipus Complex, presumably
similar processes account for feminine psychology. The classical Oedipus [128]
Complex has been modified in order to integrate more satisfactorily with cross-cultural
data, and it is in this more flexible framework that the present results
can be understood best.

In those societies in which the father is not a stable, respected member of the 121
family the process of identification is not as straightforward: the growing boy
does not want to be like his weak father; he cannot identify with an absent
father figure; yet he is biologically unable to be like his mother. The theory
holds that his identification as a person will not be well integrated or complete.
In the Klamath family, the mother is the stable figure, the one who commands the 121
boy's respect. Since a consistent and integrated identification is needed for a 156
healthy development of the ego, we are not surprised to find that the males in
our Klamath sample show signs of poor ego structure. The women, on the other 562
hand, come off much better and one may hypothesize that they are able to make a
more integrated identification with the wife-mother figure in the Klamath family. 593

It may be necessary for a well-stated theoretical position to distinguish between 121
two qualities of the parent which are confounded in the present discussion: stability
of the model on the one hand and the extent to which the parent receives
rewards, on the other. The general theoretical position, however, states that
those societies in which the father is more stable, receives more of the respect
and material reward, or is more powerful will be societies in which the boys can
establish their roles more readily. On the other hand, in groups like the Klamath, 121
in which the father is weak or absent, we can expect to see signs of role conflict, 156
562
593

121
156 vague identification and, since it is largely through identification that the
562 super-ego is established, weak super-egos.

593 It has been suggested that what we have called guarded restraint may be a "front"
121 maintained only when Klamath are interacting with whites. The point is that
156 guarded restraint may be another name for the extreme suspicion and reserve of
many enclaved or colonized minority groups vis-a-vis representatives of the
177 dominant culture (Underhill 1960). It cannot be denied that, in fact, reserve
(171) and suspicion do characterize much of the relationship between Klamath and Whites,
but the reserve and restraint which so characterize Klamath persons is not solely
a function of such situations. We agree that guarded restraint is one important
consequence of acculturative contacts, but the evidence of observation and life
histories clearly indicate that this is a personality attribute manifest in many
(829) situations exclusive of the presence of outsiders. Life history subjects, for
example, speak of the "Indianness" of their parents, meaning precisely an aloof,
reserved style of interaction. Many other informants verbalize reactions to the
endemic if latent suspiciousness of Klamath life. Thus guarded restraint is not
purely an observer construct with a referent limited to the test situation. Certainly, a measure of reserve and suspicion may serve utilitarian functions when
interacting with strangers, but the same characteristic makes strangers out of
neighbors.

121 Underhill's suggestion does raise the issue of a broader connection between
156 guarded restraint and the impact of acculturation. If there is such an association then we should expect to find these attributes widely distributed among
177 other acculturated populations, especially those which have been exposed to the
171 imposition of external political and administrative controls, and deculturation
or detribalization. That there may be some validity to this hypothesis is sugges-
157 ted by the fact that attempts to communicate our findings to observers with experience among other acculturated populations frequently evoke memories of similarity in character. What we have called guarded restraint has been suggested
as characteristic of the contemporary Southern Ute (Stewart 1961) and especially
the Mountain or Towoac Ute (Canan 1961), and of the Cree, Northern Athabascan,
and Eskimo (Heinrich 1961). In each instance there are differences, but differences which seem to play upon a common theme.

Personality attributes analogous to what we have called guarded restraint have repeatedly been discerned among other more or less acculturated North American Indian populations. Thus Barnouw describes the Wisconsin Chippewa as emotionally isolated, suspicious of outsiders, and fearful of expressing emotions overtly (Barnouw 1950: 22-23). Klopfer's analysis of Chippewa Rorschachs suggests that "...the individual is under pressure to become as emotionally independent of his environment as possible, and to expect very little from others." (Barnouw 1950: 27). The Ojibwa have been described as emotionally restrained, suspicious, and anxious (Hallowell 1955: 350). Hallowell's interpretation of these characteristics is that they constitute persistent aboriginal components of Ojibwa character structure. In a similar fashion, the Native-Oriented Menomini have been described by Spindler as a group characterized by a non-defensive reduction of emotional display, whose perception is narrowed to only a very selective portion of their environment, and who are further characterized by a non-manipulatory passivity. Outside of the presumed character structure of the Eastern Woodlands, the most widely distributed "aboriginal" characteristics of North American Indians, generally, are given by the Spindlers as non-demonstrative emotionality, great reserve, individual autonomy, and a generalized fear of the world as dangerous (Spindler and Spindler 1957: 148).

SHAMANIC DANCE-DIRECTIONS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539
755

"Wálok mat tû'nepni waitólat nát génuapka kshiulăktsuápkuk we-
"For sweating during five days we shall go to have a dance the
walä'ksh tchîsh. At géntak í'lksat pán a. Wû'sa nî lúskuapkug. Kíîlank
old women also. Ye (men) shall go on a feast to eat. I fear I may get too warm. Loud
ăt tsuínuapk; túnepni ăt nûtísh tsuí'nuapk. At tchîsh híbashuaksh ksíu-
ye must sing; at five ye fires ye have to sing. Ye too (women and) fellows begin
laktampka lítstakiank; untsä'g nä'tnag pá-uapk tû'm mbû'shant. "Sílalsh
to dance with exertion; by and by then ye shall eat plenty to-morrow. "Disease
mat nä'bakuapk" kíuks ná-asht shápa, yayayá-as mat ná-asht sápa; "kû't-
will come on" the shaman thus says, some tămánuash-medicine (to him) "it is so" says; "of small-
kaks mat síssalaluapk" yayayá-as mat ná-ast shápa. Suássuaktch mák-
pox it says will suffer (the people)" the tamánuash just so says. Are weeping peo-
laks nánuk wussóga kû'tχaks. Ná-ast kíuks wálok sápa: "Tánni ílksh
ple all afraid of smallpox. So the shaman before sweating speaks: "How many food-buckets
shä'tu ăt? tánkĕni at í'lksh? Lápni tá-unepanta pä'n túnep pé-ula;
do ye count? how many already buckets? Twice ten and five;
kánk a nî sä'tû."
so many I count."

NOTES.

70, 1 etc. This is a fair specimen of the careless, jargon-like conversational style in vogue among the É-ukshikni, and without commentaries and glosses it would be impossible to get at the true meaning.

751 These directions are intended to gather the people at the communal dance-house for a dance lasting five nights. The dance is performed around the fires with almost superhuman exertions, in order to produce profuse perspiration and to prevent thereby any infection by disease. 192 The conjurer or shaman is charged with the inauguration of all dances, most of which are of a religious character. This kind of sweating is called "wála", while sweating in a temazcalli or sweat-house is "spúkli". The kíuks is introduced as speaking all these words. The particle mat indicates that the words given are those of another than of the narrator.

192 70, 1. waitólat; in common parlance: túnepni waítash gí'ulank, or: túnepni gíulank, or in Modoc túnepni waitólan.

796 70, 1. kshíulaktcha different from ksíulĕχa; see Grammar (List of suffixes). These dances take place in winter time and are held from two to four times every season.

70, 2. wewalä'ksh. This is one of the festivities from which old women are not
562
888 excluded; they often take part in the dance themselves.

II.

*539
525
[562]

É-ukshikni	wéwanuish	sk̲û'sha	pû'mam	tútatka	lĕmátchat	kĕ'ltamank.
The Klamath Lake	females	play a game	beavers'	with teeth,	on a rubbing stone	letting (them) drop.

Shúshmalua-kipksh	p'laítala	tút	nánuk	ní'kualksht	lā'p	kshē'sh	yánkua.
Where they are marked	upside	teeth	all	having fallen,	two	checks	they win.

Kukaluák	taksh	takaní'lkuk	gélχa,	tsúi	sha	nā'sh	kshē'sh	wí-uχa.
Both female (teeth) only	(if)	falling right side up	come down,	then	they	one	check	win.

Lálak̲iak	tchish	takaní'lχuk	gélχa,	hû'nkant	tchish	a	nā'sh	wí-uka	kshē'sh.
Both male (teeth) only	(if)	falling right side up	come down,	on that account	also		one	(they) gain	check.

Kshawínasht	tûksh	k̲aítua	wí-uχant;	tchúi	sha	nánuk	héshkûsh	shí-í'χaguk
Falling unequally	however	nothing	they win;	and	they	all	the stakes	having won from each other

kĕléwi.	Wéwanuish	píla	sk̲û'sha,	híhashuaksh	pil shákalsh.
quit.	Women	only	play (this game),	men	only play the stick-game.

III.

É-ukskni	wéwanuish	tchí'mma-uk	tínkanka	nánuk	shuékûsh	shésham-
The Klamath Lake	women	in playing tchímmá-ash	run forth and back,	every one	(willow-) poles	hold-

tchantk.	Pípĕlangshtant	yû'ashlank	tátχĕlam	shalχuétgish	téwa	ánku,
ing.	On either side	for fixing bases	in the middle	of the starting places	(they) plant	sticks,

tchúi	sha	wutû'walχa	shuekō'shtka	tchímma-ash.	Kawû'tank	sha	vu-
then	they	throw up	with (their) poles	the game-string.	Having caught (it)	they	throw

tû'dshna,	tchúi	sha	tínshna	hátoktala,	shû'dshnuk	tchímma-ash	shútualsha.
(it to others),	then	they	run	over there,	while chasing each other	the game-string	they throw.

Túkni	w̥á'hlkīsh	wûtû-ípĕle	shiwákuash	m'na;	tchúi	sha	kíudshna	léna,
One party	the poles	throw back	to the girls	(on) their (side);	and	they	run off	run aside,

shû'dshna	yû'ashtala	sha	tchúi.
chase each other	to the bases	they	then.

NOTES.

[193]
[192]

I. The game described in this paragraph is played with four shúlshesh-sticks. From this term is formed a denominative verb, shulshéshla: to play the stick-game. It is a guessing game, and the guesses are made known by putting fingers forward, a gesture which is called spélshna. Hence spélshna, sometimes corrupted into spéldshna, is used as a term equivalent to shulshéshla, to play the stick-game; and a third verb for this pastime is s̥hákalsha. More minute descriptions of the three games will follow elsewhere.

79, 1. shi-í'χaga is the reciprocal form of í'χaga *to win, gain*, occurring below. These terms mainly refer to gains made in gambling.

79, 2. shulshéshlank stands here for the periphrastic shulshéshlank gi, or the simple shulshéshla. Derived from shúlshesh, and this from shúla, to hand over, to pass to another.

79, 2. sχû'tash, not to be confounded with skútash, *blanket*, forms apposition to lápi udshekáne. The two slender game-sticks are wrapped in narrow strips of buckskin leather (skúta, to wrap in).

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

At the center of concentric circles of concern stands
K the natal family.[16] In the myths, parents and offspring and
M siblings are bound by the strongest affective bonds: in trouble
593 they provide succor and in death, revenge. The obligation tran-
602 scends abstract ethical considerations. In real life, mutual re-
sponsibility reaches out to embrace the extended family, the
close consanguineal kindred linked through two or three genera-
K M tions. Although kinship terminology acknowledges equally re-
[601] lationships on the maternal and paternal sides, residence practices
[591] in general favor the latter. From close kinsmen on both sides
come the gifts that set the seal of approval upon the marriage of
a member; during his lifetime they share food with him in his
need, support him in his quarrels, and assist his avenger should
he be slain. At his funeral, it is they, together with friends of the
deceased, who are expected to place valuables upon the funeral
pyre.

K Beyond the sphere of immediate kindred and of friends lies
M the domain of neighbors and remote relatives. If more central
602 obligations tend to be principally a function of consanguinity,
621 and thus to be ascriptive in character, village relationships and
571 those outside are more frequently based upon performance.
K M Here enter those standards of behavior by which a person of
[577] good family may be confirmed in position, the poor but worthy
rise, and the ne'er-do-well sink in the public view. At the head
K of this loose and shifting status scale stand the shamans and
M other influential men, the leaders of hamlet groups. On occasion
756 they may meet in an informal village council to concert decisions.
622 Yet the village, which in its spatial limits often blends with
621 adjacent settlements and which dissolves with the turn of the
554 seasons, can exert little constraint upon its members.

K The prestige of the leaders, the force of public opinion, and
M checks imposed by rival village interests hold the unruly in line.
62 The principle of self-help and the responsibility of kinsmen may
enlarge grievances to feuds if the differences are not soon ended,
and thus threaten the very being of the community. To counter
such fissive tendencies, leaders mediate disputes and exhort to
their fellow villagers the need to maintain harmony.

K Time may alter the membership of villages. Men frequently
M seek wives in other communities; and there is considerable inter-
621 marriage between Klamath and Modoc and Klamath and Molala,
563
582

to say nothing of captured women from Shasta, the Achumawi K M
and Atsugewi of the Pit River region, Paiute, and the tribes 621
beyond the Cascades. Among the Modoc, the villages of the band 582
called *gumbatwas* are said to be composite in membership, in- 563
cluding Modoc, Klamath, Pit River, and Shasta; and those of the
Upland Klamath consist of Klamath with some Modoc and
Paiute elements.[17]

Allegiance with the village may be partial. If an attack is to K M
be launched, war leaders can find recruits only among those men 621
with proclivity for fighting and an attraction toward the leader. 628
On the other hand, feuds may ignite attacks that are restricted 581
to the family groups concerned. While the myths reveal currents 701
of hostility between affinals, in real life marriage acts to extend
the ramifications of support, often into other communities.

Beyond the village lies the tribelet, an entity that recognizes its K M
being in a territorial name and in a common cause in feuds with 619
other tribelets. In its virtual autonomy this unit marks an extreme K
in band organization within the larger tribe, a quality that was 619
reduced by subsequent tribal integration. For the Klamath there
are six tribelets (see map): (1) The Klamath Marsh people,
who outnumber all the others together; (2) the tiny Agency
Lake group; (3) those of the lower Williamson River; (4) the
Pelican Bay tribelet; (5) the Klamath Falls group; and (6) the
Upland Klamath of the Sprague River valley. The Modoc com- M
prise three main groups: (7) that of Lower Klamath Lake, ex- 619
tending to Tule Lake (the *gumbatwas* mentioned above); (8)
those clustered upon the lower Lost River; and (9) the eastern
tribelet, with settlements dispersed as far as Goose Lake. No K
firm evidence exists that these local territorial units are distin- M
guished by either language or culture, although, as already 619
mentioned, at least two are of composite origin. Each tribelet 726
seems to have gained a tenuous cohesion through a common
recognition of the worth of several prominent headmen. Between K
tribelets there is sometimes war. Under their formidable leader, 619
Kokdinks, the Williamson River group attacked in turn villages 726
of each of the other lower Klamath tribelets, including that at
Pelican Bay, to which they considered themselves related; and
the prolonged war ended only when the Upland Klamath leader,
Monchnkasgitk, a kinsman, first joined, then slew Kokdinks.[18]

*657 strengths reflecting emergent neighborhoods; common employ-
*648 ment at the Agency, or as freighters and as work crews; shared
621 church interests; and, with time, friendships formed at school.
619 The growing importance of the adjacent white settlements and
177 the administrative colonies at the Agency and at Yainax set in
178 relief the larger community of the Indian reservation.

*657 Klamath relationships with members of the Agency staff seem
*648 to have been restricted largely to those demanded by their official duties. Their scanty numbers would in any case have made contact with them infrequent for the great body of the population, and the whites tended to maintain a closed community in their social relationships. An important exception to the general social insulation were some of the more acceptable members of the families of Indian employees, who were sometimes hired as help and thus received a conditional entrée to the houses of whites. Off the reservation, special protector-employer roles seem to have been assumed by such men as Sykes Worden, contractor and post trader at Fort Klamath, O. C. Applegate, and several others.

By far the most unhindered contacts were made at Fort Klamath. The freedom of the individual from social constraint in the early days is evinced in the situation John Meacham found.

> Certain Indian women [he remarked] . . . had established several habitations in the vicinity of the Agency. They were in the habit of hanging around the office, the quarters, private houses and other buildings of the Agency, losing no opportunity of insinuating themselves into the presence of the employes. They were saucy, impudent and lewd in the extreme.

He therefore placed the post off limits for women unless they had legitimate business, an order that "met with the hearty approval of the Indian men and the faithful observance of the women."[4] The practice was not stopped, however, and Dyar, who tried to institute a pass system to control the traffic, noted that "soldiers are in the habit of frequently visiting the Indian camps below this point—sometimes remaining over night."[5]

*657 Native marital practice posed no very great obstacle to a white
*648 who wished to consort with an Indian woman. In the nature of
• 563 things many of these unions were casual, but others possessed a more permanent character, though often common law in form. Indignant settlers in the Klamath Valley circulated a petition in

1870, demanding that whites living with Indian women and 657*
fathering children upon them be required to marry them or that 648*
the women be sent back and punished by law.[6] 563 •

The previous year, the Agent responsible for Indians in the vicinity of Jacksonville had reported a total of 60 Indians, 28 of them Klamath or Modoc, comprising Indian women living in casual unions with whites, together with their children. "The head quarters of the persons keeping these women," he continued, "is at Kanaka Flat about two (2) miles from this town.
At that point there is an establishment called a 'Dance House' [547]
where whiskey is sold and where women are plied with liquor and debauched in the most shameless manner." He advocated removing the women to their reservations, and this was subsequently done.[7]

As time went on, however, a small but growing number of stable marriages appeared in the areas fringing the reservation; and others, contracted about the same period, later came to light in more distant regions in the course of allotting tribal members.
One such marriage was that of the Kentuckian, Frank Riddle, 648*
and Winema, the Modoc heroine of the war between her people 657*
and the whites. To judge from Meacham, who in turn quotes an 563
informant—perhaps O. C. Applegate, who knew the family well 177
—Winema was an early advocate for the acceptance of the new ways she herself had adopted.

> "In the evening you would see the women and men gather around Wi-ne-ma while she told them of the wonderful things she had seen among the white people, of their manners and social customs; of the laws and rules of life; of their way of making law; making machinery, its uses, &c. For hours they would listen while she talked, and to her, much of the advancement of the Indians at Klamath and Yai-nax may be attributed."[8]

Clearly, along with other features there were qualities of self-enhancement in her new role.

Few mixed couples even tried to remain on the reservation. 657*
The official and lay attitude was disdainful of "squaw men," and 648*
they in turn must have been reluctant to subject themselves to 563
the minute regulations of Agency life and the limited economic 167
opportunities there. Too, they may have found the kinsmen of their wives both abundant and demanding. For their part, the wives may have been eager to reach beyond the limited oppor-

*657 *648 • 563 167 tunities of the reservation. As they moved away, they extended Indian experience into the midst of frontier society. During the allotment period they in turn enlarged reservation perspectives.

*657 *648 563 162 The majority of the interbreed children that appeared upon the early reservation, then, were the product of temporary or unstable unions and appeared as fatherless children. The annual reports are unrealistic as to their number. In 1885, for example, it was claimed that there were only 12 interbreeds in the total population of 919,[9] although to judge from later censuses, the number must have been several times as great.

*657 *648 563 [144] [848] [602] One of the long-range results of this intercourse was to reduce somewhat the difference in physical appearance that separated the Indians from the surrounding population. Another—and more immediate—consequence, however, was to raise the divisive issue of illegitimacy among the Indians themselves and to introduce into the tribal body individuals who could claim only maternal kinsmen. Thus, one Klamath recalls his father, a stage driver in Klamath Falls, as a drunkard whom his mother finally left. The family returned to his maternal grandparents, in whose care the boy grew up. His mother subsequently married a man who ran a logging camp at Pelican Bay, a hard worker and good hunter who treated the boy well. Nonetheless, throughout his life he bore an animus against his father and in part against the heritage he represented.[10]

*657 *648 563 162 [595] Interracial unions were encouraged, not only by a dearth of white women but by an early preponderance of women among the Klamath and by regulations which put an end to polygamy. The early imbalance between the sexes was striking. The figures supplied by Captain Kelly for the adult Klamath in 1864 give a sex ratio of no more than 0.47.[11] Those for the Link River band two years later areonly a little higher for the adults, 0.52, although the overall figure is 0.64, since boys and girls are in approximate balance.[12]

[164] [847] Neither sex-linked disease nor the practice of selective infanticide is known to have occurred among the Klamath, and the most probable explanation must be sought among such factors as differential exposure to rigorous training, warfare, and vicissitudes of the food quest, as well as to possible emigration of single men. O. C. Applegate, the only Agent to comment upon the im-

balance, ascribed it to war and stated that in 1864, "the females 657* 648*
were largely in the majority . . . a condition which continues . . . 563 •
to this day."[13] 162

That the sources were indeed to be found in the conditions of native life is suggested by the circumstance that subsequently the imbalance was reduced: about 1875, the overall ratio was 0.72; while by the latter part of the period, from 1885 to 1906, it had reached an average of 0.87. It has since continued upward, to attain the approximate equality that characterizes the white neighbors of the Klamath.

Freed slaves constituted a second novel element in the popula- 657*
tion. Marriage to a slave had once been scorned, though Chief 648*
Chiloquin himself had married a Shasta slave; and even today 567
some stigma is attached to slave descent, albeit it is likely to be 178
brought up only as damaging gossip. Both sentimental family 177
attachments—a traditional attitude transcending acknowledged differences[14]—and recognition of the achievement of former slaves went far to ameliorate their position. One slave, Charlie Pitt, had been raised with his captor's son, Drummer David, in fraternal amity. The bond remained strong through life, and Charlie willed David his property when he died.[15] Another, one of three captured Pit River brothers, escaped to friendly whites who raised him in Ashland and gave him the distinguished name of Stonewall Jackson. In 1878 he returned to the Agency and the following year became a sawyer's apprentice. In recommending an increase in salary for him, Nickerson remarked that he "speaks the English language fluently, & is what may be called a civilized Indian." With several offers at better wages off the reservation, he wished to remain until he could qualify as a competent sawyer.[16] The best known of the slaves was Henry Jackson, whose rise has already been sketched. It is worth noting that he married the daughter of a Modoc chief, and that tribal members from over the reservation were not too proud to accept his bounty.

The altered social order was characterized by greatly in- 657*
creased mobility. An entire new range of opportunities was open 648*
to those who possessed or could develop new skills. Opportunity, 555
however, fell unequally, for the major new enterprises and posi- 177
tion in nineteenth-century America were masculine. As they were 178
incorporated into the regular activities of the Agency and within [562]

TEN

[P.125]

The Changing Environs

THE ISOLATION OF THE RESERVATION HAD NEVER BEEN MORE THAN A 657*
relative condition. From early days the soldiers at Fort Klamath, 648*
the settlers on Wood River and the Upper Sprague, together [361]
with the growing towns of Linkville and Lakeview, made its [166]
seclusion far less than absolute. A policy that permitted the [464]
freighting runs to Jacksonville and Ashland or the pass system
by which perhaps three-fourths of the men and their families
were permitted to leave the reservation for as long as four months
to work for whites: these greatly diminished the policy controls
exercised by the Agent.

In the period ahead, however, boundaries were to be further [161]
dissolved. In 1882 Nickerson could declare, "This reservation
contains as many inhabitants to the square mile as Lake County
or Eastern Oregon."[2] Homesteaders were even then filling up the
land, and the rate accelerated as Linkville—become Klamath
Falls—and Lakeview responded to the market and communication
needs of the region. When the Southern Pacific railroad
reached Klamath Falls in 1909, the resource relationships in the
Klamath Basin changed radically. Reservation timber, previously [313]
of little commercial value, suddenly possessed great worth and
the mills in Klamath Falls and neighboring communities soon
became reliant upon it. The Oregon, Central, and Eastern railroad
ran up the Sprague River Valley, while by 1911 the Southern
Pacific had pushed north across the western face of the reservation
to Kirk. In 1923 work was resumed on the latter line to
complete the Natron Cutoff from the Willamette Valley; three
years later it was completed. Thereafter, the Lower End lay on
a main line.

Thus, to the cattlemen and sheepmen operating on the reservation [563]
under grazing leases were added railway gangs, then

*657 logging camps and mill towns. In 1930, at a time when the total
*648 enrollment of the tribe was some 1,250 persons, the predomi-
• [563] nantly non-Indian population of one such reservation town,
[161] Chiloquin, and its environs was roughly 1,850, a figure which placed it second in size in the entire county. Indian-white relationships in such communities could no longer be adequately regulated by the Agent. Moreover, improved means of communi-
[484] cation made it possible for an Indian to travel off the reservation at will and thus beyond the reach of Agency authority. Most
[434] important of all, income from grazing leases, claims against the government, and land and timber sales gave him the equality of the marketplace.

*648 The maintenance of boundaries was justified in official corre-
*657 spondence of the eighties by the fate of those Indians who went
166 off the reservation. "Quite a number of the Indians," wrote
423 Emery, "obtain passes and go out to seek a living among the whites. They usually camp in the suburbs of our little towns. With few exceptions these Indians become thriftless vagabonds. . . ."[3]

In 1884, Nickerson felt it necessary to counter the proposal of Judge W. S. Moore, of Linkville, that Sammy Andy, an Indian who had been working for Moore on pass, be allowed to locate permanently at Linkville and be released from the control of the U.S. Indian Agent.

> As there is no land that this man can secure as a homestead [he concluded], . . . [and] as I have no assurance that he has means sufficient to purchase a home suitable for his support, I do not approve of nor advise that the request be granted at present. Judge Moore has been very kind to this Indian, but should he die or move away, the Indian would be in a poor position to live, and would be subject to many serious temptations.[4]

The need for a general policy became apparent when several Modoc families who had never been on the reservation preempted homesteads in the Tule Basin. A reservation Indian, upon the advice of an attorney, likewise renounced his tribal relations and took up a homestead. "He has become deficient under his supposed citizenship," reported Nickerson, "and says he will not allow the Police to arrest him. . . . There is a white man

among them who is their counselor, . . . and who tells the 648*
Indians on the reservation that they can leave the reservation 657*
when they please."[5] Despite the contrary views of the U.S. 166
District Attorney, two years later the Commissioner held that 423
any adult Indian or the head of a family was free to take a homestead on the public domain, and was further exempted from paying entry fees or commission.[6] When the General Allotment Act came into force next year, provision was made that nonreservation Indians might be allotted on the public domain.[7]

As reservation control weakened, there was an increase in the 648*
incidence of crime. Dyar had had to contend with "professional" 657*
gamblers in his day, with the prostitution of Indian women, and 694
with a few instances of bootlegging. When two Agency employees were killed in separate incidents little more than a month apart, the events had "had a very disheartening effect upon these [Indians] and many of them [were] for the time inclined to let go all holds and go back to their old customs."[8] Significantly one of those deaths, a shooting by a white sheepherder, occurred along the public road through the reservation.

Soon, across the reservation line on Wood River beyond Fort Klamath, saloons began to spring up. Nickerson stopped one man, a discharged soldier from Fort Klamath, and seized the liquor he was transporting to that oasis. He thereupon found himself facing extensive litigation, for the man had influential associates in Linkville. Before he was done with this and other cases arising from enforcement of the liquor regulations, the Agent was out of pocket nearly $1,000 in his own defense.

Although bootlegging, quarrels, and some shootings continued 648*
to involve whites, frictions began to develop with alien "half- 657*
breeds." The death of one of the employees slain in Dyar's time 674
was at first attributed to a "half-breed"; another was involved in 563 •
shooting up a saloon in the Wood River settlement; it was at least an outside Indian, a Pit River, who shot an Indian policeman at the Lost River fishery in 1883, and an interbreed who slew police lieutenant David Hill at the same place nine years later. An interbreed served as contact man for a saloonkeeper of the Wood River settlement, and another was accused of bootlegging in the nearby woods and at the autumn camps on Huckleberry

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648
*657 Mountain. Indeed, it became customary for some Agents to
674 attribute any breach of law, author unknown, to a member of
[563] that class.

As the country became more thickly populated, there came a brief period when outlaws took advantage of the distinct jurisdiction of the reservation. Cattle rustlers and horse thieves plied their trade across the line, stealing from Indians and whites alike. About the turn of the century, when the stage was being robbed with discouraging frequency, some of the outlaws seem to have operated occasionally out of the thinly patrolled reservation. At least one man, after having stolen a horse and saddle on the reservation, was soon thereafter caught in a stage holdup. These conditions while they lasted gave increased point to the need to maintain surveillance over whites within the reservation.

Against these various threats, the Agents strove valiantly. In the 1880's, when trespassing cattle from the eastern side of the reservation brought the integrity of the boundaries into issue, Emery resorted to cavalry to clear them off. Repeatedly, Agents ordered undesirables off the reservation, recommended to the Commissioner action to be taken on the licensing of traders, and sent the Indian police after runaway schoolboys and their seniors who were off the reservation without pass. Indians traveling in a group away from the reservation were accompanied by an Agency employee, often a member of the police. Whites who wished to work for Indians were screened. "I am quite sure from the statement of your letter," wrote O. C. Applegate to a man who proposed to work for Henry Jackson, ". . . that you are a man who wishes to be governed by the rules of the reservation. I therefore have no objection to your doing the work you propose for Jackson. . . ."[9] To the pass system was sometimes added the condition of the white sponsor. "Hereafter," Applegate declared, "I shall not give an Indian girl a pass to remain in town on the plea that she wants to work, until she brings an application from some responsible party."[10]

*648 Leasing likewise passed through the hands of the Agent during
*657 much of this period. "It is true that you are capable of handling
427 small things," Superintendent H. G. Wilson wrote Modoc Henry,
"but as it is against the regulations to lease land outside of this

> his wife will be allotted on Klamath Marsh, some 50 miles away. 648*
> They are almost compelled to live a part of the year in each 657*
> place on account of putting up hay for their cattle.[40] 423

O. C. Applegate saw a supplementary relationship between the allotted and tribal lands. 311

> There are a few localities on the Reservation [he stated] where industrious Indians may be able to make a living on 160 acres of land, especially after the land best calculated for farming is improved by irrigation; but the opening of the Reservation to settlement by White men upon the unallotted lands would make it hard for those Indians who live in the meadow districts by stockraising to make a living, as it would deprive them of the advantage of pasture on the tribal lands.[41]

Immediately following the passage of the Dawes Act, there 648*
were reports of heightened industry among the Indians, as they 657*
set about to build upon and improve their allotments. It must 423
be borne in mind that by the time the act was applied at Kla- [427]
math it had already been amended in 1891 and 1894, and soon
again in 1897 and 1900, to permit leasing under certain con-
ditions.[42] Leasing of what was then tribal domain had been 648*
secured through Nickerson by Sykes Worden in 1882 and by 657*
Matt Obenchain in 1884. Before lands were finally allotted, E. 563
L. Applegate had permitted Dave Hill to make an informal 427
agreement with one white rancher, by which the latter cut and stacked hay on Hill's place and winterfed his cattle there, paying Hill for the hay.

Matthews, Applegate's successor, at first clashed with the system when he sought to impose an additional fifty cents per head fee for bringing the cattle on the reservation.[43] Soon, however, he was advocating that whites be permitted to come upon the reservation and cut hay on lands which Indians had enclosed, paying the Indians for the hay. Like his successors, he argued the help the Indians would derive from this revenue and the advantages of utilizing resources which would otherwise go to waste.[44] Soon thereafter a group of stockmen proposed to him [464] the leasing of the Klamath Marsh area, which he favored as affording employment to a number of Indians in putting up hay.[45]

At a council with "the representative Indians of this Reserva- [311]
tion," a vote was take to lease certain lands for grazing pur- [623]
poses.

*648 poses. The proposal was that Klamath and Sycan marshes be
*657 constituted two grazing districts for leasing purposes. The Indians
427 further proposed "that the funds derived from the said grazing
311 privilege shall be divided per capita among the Indians of this
• 563 Reservation." The 41 signatories included the leading names on
the reservation. Matthews rightly doubted the feasibility of
[651] making such a division; for the General Deficiency Act of March
3, 1883, provided that unearned income of this sort should go
into a tribal fund in the Treasury.[46]

With the allotment of land, the leasing of individual tracts came into common practice. In advocating this measure Agent Petet urged in now familiar terms "that some Indians might get some money in this way to buy cattle of their own, who scarcely ever would be able to get a start in any other way." He thought that "if a few of the active Indians could do well in this business, it will be an incentive to others to fence their lands and try to make something off of it."[47] An informal grazing system was authorized. Meanwhile five men—Jesse Kirk, Henry Jackson, Harrison Brown, Frank Lynch (Tall Jim), and Scot Modoc—pushed matters further by enquiring into the rights of allottees with unfenced tracts to graze and expel cattle, asking further that money received from pasturage be distributed equally among tribal members, and that the price for grazing be raised to one dollar per head.[48]

Eight other Indians, led by Charley Pitt, under the advice of Daniel Cronemiller, a lessee, and with the assistance of Petet, erected a fence six miles in length enclosing the outer boundaries of about 4,000 acres of allotments, their own as well as others'. One of them, George Gray, was chosen by his fellows to count and drive in all cattle brought into the pasture by lessees.[49]

Emery advocated a continuation of the practice of permitting leasing by allottees of fenced lands. He cited the contract entered into by a Klamath interbreed, William Ball, formerly an Indian judge, with two whites. By its terms, Ball agreed to give exclusive pasture to their 300 head of cattle on his tract at Klamath Marsh at one dollar per head for the season. "This money," the Agent remarked, "insures a competency for him and his family for a year, and leaves him abundance of grass and

hay for his own [cattle]."[50] The practice of contract grazing on 648*
tribal land was also continued, though with scanty returns.[51] 657*

Leasing brought regulatory headaches. Trespass could less 563
easily be controlled. Some stockmen who rented land from the 427
Indians turned in more cattle than the pasture could sustain, [311]
while keeping the fences in such disrepair that the cattle drifted
onto the unfenced lands of neighboring allotments.[52] In consequence, [625]
the meager band of reservation police had to be diverted
to the task of enforcing the grazing rules. The Superintendent [675]
was obliged to see that all contracts were made through
his office. When disputes arose, he was often forced to intervene
and even at times to threaten a lawsuit in order to collect on
behalf of an Indian. Meanwhile, some lessees were themselves
fencing the lands in lieu of part of the lease, so that many Indians
were no longer compelled to put in any work in order to receive
returns from their property.[53] By 1903, even unfenced allotments
were being leased. In that year payments from leases [434]
comprised thirty per cent of estimated personal income, providing
$8,220 distributed among some ninety to one hundred allottees.[54]

By 1908, a large number of Indians were entrusted with the 648*
"experiment" of managing their own allotments, including the 657*
hiring of necessary labor and leasing their tracts for a term not 423
to exceed the legal limit. The narrow discretion afforded, however, 427
is seen from the provision that "the leases that you are to
draw this year will be drawn for you in this office," although the
Indian was to collect his own rental. Fifty-eight Indians were
empowered at once to handle their allotments and apparently
those of their children as well, upon these cautious terms.[55]

Leasing had scarcely gotten under way when a movement for 648*
the sale of lands began. The act had originally envisaged a trust 657*
period of twenty-five years, to be extended at the discretion of 423
the President, during which time the United States retained title to 432
the land. For many individuals, allotted just prior to 1910, that
period—although subsequently extended—was to expire in 1935.
However, amendments provided for sale under proper supervision
when circumstances required, and by 1912 five sales had
been consummated, all involving heirship cases.[56]

When an allottee died, his land passed to his heirs—by the 648*
657*
423
428

gaged them, and many were reported to be hopelessly involved 648* 657*
in debts. Despite all administrative efforts to the contrary, re- 423
ported Superintendent Fred A. Baker, whites were acquiring title 432
to Klamath lands at a rate which he estimated would render the [563] •
Indians homeless in twenty-five years.[63]

Since that time the pressure on the remaining allotted lands has been unremitting. Of 1,624 allotments issued totaling 247,515 acres, there remained in trust status as of August 13, 1954, the date when the Termination Act became law, only 1,130 allotments or fractions thereof, amounting to 133,000 acres. Three years later, 371 additional tracts had been sold at owners' requests, 107 had been fee patented, and restrictions had been removed from 20. The 630 tracts remaining by October 1, 1957, comprised but 73,681 acres.[64]

Along with income from leasing and sale of allotments came 648*
that from claims payments. By the terms of the McLaughlin 657*
Agreement of 1901, the Indians were to receive $537,007.20 in 423
payment for excluded lands. Of this, $25,000 was to be issued in 432
per capitas within 150 days from ratification and an additional 427
$350,000 was to be deposited to the tribal credit in the U.S. 434
Treasury, the interest at five per cent annually to be issued in 651
yearly per capita payments. The remaining sum, after payment of attorney fees, was to be utilized for drainage and irrigation of allotments on a pro rata basis, with issuance-in-lieu of stock cattle or other articles to those not so benefited.[65]

Amounts thus received were small. Payment of the $25,000 648*
was made in 1907, each individual receiving approximately 657*
$22.00—no princely sum. The annual interest produced per 434
capita payments of approximately $15.00; but a provision that by a petition of the men of the Tribe the amount might be increased to ten per cent of the principal fund led to its successive diminution. As early as 1909, a petition was submitted for this payment,[66] and Charles S. Hood took the lead in enquiring of the Secretary of the Interior whether parents were empowered to withdraw the money due their children.[67] The move seems to have been denied. Stringent regulations, however, were established by the Secretary to govern eligibility to receive a share of the trust funds. These related to improvement of allotments, self-support, moral character, and controlled use of liquor, and

petition to set aside Spring Creek and an adjacent portion of 648* Williamson River as a park or game and fish reserve. "A locality 657* so fitted by natural beauty of scenery," he thought, ". . . should 423 belong to all the people instead of to a few who have a practical monopoly of a princely domain such as the Klamath Reservation is. . . ." Although H. G. Wilson later seconded this motion, it came to nothing.[111] In 1910, a bill was introduced into Congress to open the reservation. The tribal council is reported to have taken exception to certain unspecified provisions, while remaining sympathetic to others. The bill failed to become law.[112]

From time to time, other attempts were made upon the tribal domain. There were those who advocated a reopening of the allotment rolls. When the growing exploitation of reservation timber enhanced the value of timbered tracts, members sought to secure them as grazing allotments. In 1910, eighteen members requested that they be permitted to exchange their allotments for other lands, but as Superintendent Wilson cautiously observed, the new lands desired were timbered tracts, unsuitable for grazing, and he questioned the compatibility of such an exchange with the intent of the Allotment Act.[113]

Although the attempted move had failed, the drive to secure allotments on the tribal domain was supported by a number of parents with children as yet unallotted. It was an issue that united members of varied background; and it drew as well the advocacy of whites adjacent to the reservation. Indeed, Supt. W. G. West, who opposed additional allotment, foresaw an attempt to engineer such a measure through Congress.[114] In 1920, considerable agitation on the reservation was aimed toward this end, but what West termed "wiser counsel" prevailed.[115] The matter came to a head in 1927, when twenty-nine tribal members sued to force the U.S. government to allot grazing tracts from what the district attorney characterized (in one instance) as among "the most valuable pine timber lands on the reservation." Six of the suits, tried in the federal court in Medford, ended in the sustaining of the government's position, and the remaining suits were dismissed.[116]

Contention over the member's equity in tribal lands is also [563] evident in the matter of grazing leases. As we have seen, such [427] leases were sometimes advocated as forestalling cattle trespass

*648 which would exploit the Indians' tribal lands without compen-
*657 sating them. Another stock reason is that given in 1915 by Supt.
423 William B. Freer. Reporting that "a sentiment has arisen lately
• 563 against the continued use of the tribal lands by outsiders," crys-
427 tallizing in action by the tribal council, he nonetheless advocated
[432] maintaining the practice, to prevent wasting the grass.[117] By 1922,
relying increasingly upon timber per capitas, members had sold
their grazing allotments; and by 1927 one white rancher had
acquired 7,000 acres.[118]

*648 While there was a concommitant decline in Indian stock
*657 raising, those who continued depended more heavily upon tribal
423 grazing lands, to which their tribal membership gave them free
231 access.[119]

In his policy, the Superintendent stood at the vortex of con-
*648 tending interests. Some tribal members who no longer ran stock
*657 were eager to maximize the cash income by leasing out as much
423 land as possible to white ranchers. The latter, on their part, had
427 developed their herds in anticipation of continued utilization of
563 the reservation, and they favored any possible expansion of
311 leasing. It was in acknowledgment of their commitment that
Arnold favored continuing local leasing arrangements, rather than advertising the tribal ranges for general bidding.[120] Considerations of this sort, however, won him the opposition of even those Indians who preferred the leasing of the tribal domain. For tribal ranchers it was an indication that the Superintendent was in league with the white stockmen, and the charge recurred that the latter were overgrazing the range and crowding out the Indians. One tribal member, then taking the first steps toward his eventual success as a rancher, recalls today that as soon as he had improved the section of tribal range assigned to him the Superintendent leased it to whites.

Among tribal ranchers were a number of Indian women married to white men who, between them, owned the major part of the stock listed as Indian. "They always affirm," said Arnold, "that all the stock is owned by the Indian wife," and thus secured grazing on the tribal range.[121] At least one woman among them had also been party to the suits to secure allotments within the tribal timber lands.

Arnold insisted that the charges were groundless, that range

reserved for Indian cattlemen was ample, and that indeed the 648*
tribe was losing between $6,000 and $8,000 a year on land with- 657*
held for their use but not grazed. "Even this, he went on to say, 423
"did not seem to satisfy a number of Indians, and as a result the 427
tribal council recently [1926], passed a resolution to close the 563
range next year." He recommended that the Bureau disapprove 311
the tribal action.[122] During the remainder of his tenure, the issue of leasing the tribal range recurred at least twice more; and it arose from time to time to plague his successors.[123]

The desire to convert equal access to tribal resources into a pro 648*
rata share of rentals found a counterpart in such measures as 657*
those involving tribally supported programs for lumber. The lum- 313
ber mills operated for years by the Agency had been partially intended to supply materials for building houses and barns, but by 1908 only the mill at Yainax remained, and the Indians were no longer bringing in enough logs to keep the sawyer busy.[124]

With the establishment of sawmills on the reservation, the government mill drew less and less traffic. It was moved to a new location in 1927, but although there was no commercial sawmill within twenty miles, business was not measurably improved.[125] By 1930 it functioned only a short period each year for those members who wished to haul their own logs and pay twenty per cent of the lumber to defray milling expenses. Reported Arnold:

> During the past two years a few disgruntled Indians who do not avail themselves of the opportunity of obtaining lumber through their own efforts have objected to its operation on the theory that is being operated at the expense of the tribe for the benefit of a few of the Indians. Due to this criticism, the future of the sawmill is uncertain.

Soon thereafter the mill was closed.[126]

These were some of the expectations among the Indians created 648*
by increasing contact with a free-enterprise system. Individuals 657*
came to see that tribal membership entailed not only the restric- 619
tions imposed by Agency regulation but pecuniary returns as well. [177]
Those members dwelling off the reservation discovered that they could realize their pro rata share of tribal income without being subjected to supervision in expending it. Moreover, insofar as the Superintendent was willing and able to take decisions into

*648 inferior to those off the reservation. While administrators did not
*657 commonly seek to suppress criticism, neither did they court it;
871 and they failed in the difficult but essential task of encouraging responsible parental comment as a means of gaining Indian participation. Matthews had rejected the plan of appointing Indian visitors to inspect the schools, on the grounds that "they might possibly become dictatorial."[7] In fact, parents tacitly expressed dissatisfaction with the school by keeping a child home on the grounds that he was ill—a maneuver that was clear to the officials. When they made open comment they criticized the discipline as being either too lax or too strict, and they enlarged upon occasional breaches of morals. A topic of official comment were the aggravated acts of insubordination on the part of full-grown boys who had been kept in school to swell the student totals.[8]

Dissatisfaction with these conditions provided the immediate circumstance—but by no means the sole reason—for the movement that now began, as parents sought to place children in schools beyond the jurisdiction of the reservation. Some members,
• [563] such as Mrs. Minnie Corbell, interbreed wife of a white man, enrolled their children in the public schools;[9] while others, such as Mrs. Celia DuFault, also an interbreed, and her half-sisters, Mrs. Coburn and Mrs. William Crawford, entered theirs at the Indian Training School at Chemawa.[10] When an influential man like Judge Jeff C. Riddle of Yainax, son of Frank Riddle and Winema, first kept his children out of class and then talked of sending them to a nonreservation school, matters had become serious.[11]

In 1898, while aversion to the Chemawa School was still high in the wake of the student mortality there, Applegate took up the suggestion of Inspector W. J. McConnell that he seek to send a body of students to Carlisle Training School in Pennsylvania.[12] After considerable effort, extending over two years, he succeeded in forming a party in 1900 that included two sons of the Rev. Jesse Kirk, one of whom had just been caught in an escapade at the Klamath boarding school.[13] It was the Agent's idea, since Kirk was bound as a delegate to Washington, perhaps in the company of Judge Henry Wilson, to have them visit the school en route in order to "get the assistance of these prominent men in making up a good class for Carlisle."[14]

648* 657* 16 men. The major attractions, however, were the stores, the schools, the movies, the excitement, and the entertainment. These advantages seem likewise to have favored the shift to larger communities.

Thus, over an extended period of time, there has been a substantial and growing body of Klamath who, while retaining an equity in the tribal estate and membership in the tribal body, have come to dwell away from the reservation and who visit it infrequently, if at all. Their daily life is spent within a milieu, and in reliance upon a "personal community"—to use Jules Henry's expressive term[5]—made up largely of non-Klamath.

648* 657* 144 The heterogeneity of the Klamath is also reflected by their biological composition. While the characterization of the degree of Indian heritage, expressed as a "blood quantum," is open to occasional error in individual instances, the figures taken in summation reveal significant differences. By 1955, only twenty-eight per cent of the absentee members could claim to be biologically of over one-half Indian ancestry, and even for those dwelling upon the reservation the corresponding figure was no more than fifty-four per cent. Within the reservation, in turn, Lower End Klamath were markedly less Indian by this measure, falling between the values for absentee and Upper End members.[6]

648* 657* 162 Like many other Indian groups, the Klamath population possesses a large segment of younger members, marking an increase over the early decades of the present century. In the days of termination, those under twenty years of age comprised no fewer than forty-seven per cent of the total tribal membership, a figure exceeding that for the general population of the United States, of which only one-third fell within the corresponding bracket.[7] Although these figures are often interpreted as reflecting improved health conditions on the reservation, they also reflect an increased rate of marriage with non-Indians. [563]•

648* 657* 184 361 The variety of Klamath life during the latter days of their tribal existence may be illustrated by data from the Upper End community of Beatty, the Lower End city of Chiloquin, and from the off-reservation communities of Klamath Falls and Eugene-Springfield in the Willamette Valley.

Beatty and Chiloquin represent special facets of reservation

*648 history. Beatty, in the upper valley of the Sprague, lies between
*657 the town of Sprague River, some fourteen miles below it, and
184 Bly, roughly the same distance away over the eastern boundary
361 of the reservation. It drew some of its population from Yainax,
when that subagency was closed, as well as from Paiute Camp
[797] to the east. Beatty's nucleus had been the Methodist mission and
store, to which other establishments presently were added, and
houses began to be built about them. White ranchers have
• [563] moved in to work the allotted land they bought or rented, usually
bringing their families with them. Others, white, Indian—using
that term for non-Klamath—and Negro, have married tribal
members.

[871] By 1959, however, when the community was studied,[8] it was
in a sharp decline: for in the 1940's the local school had been
[797] closed in a consolidation with the one at Bly; the Methodist
[313] mission had been reduced to an adjunct of the principal mission
on Williamson River, at the Lower End; and the lumber mill
at Sprague River had ceased operations. The community had
[162] survived, though on a greatly reduced scale, with a population
totaling 136 persons, 105 of them tribal members, prevailingly of
Modoc and Paiute derivation, 5 Indians from other reservations,
25 whites, and 1 Negro.

Chiloquin, located at the confluence of the Sprague and Williamson rivers, was the largest community on the reservation, with a population then almost seven times that of Beatty.[9] A mill and market town which burgeoned when tribal timber was opened by the advent of the railroad, Chiloquin was incorporated as a city in 1926 and soon afterward boasted a population, including adjacent woods camps, of approximately two thousand. In its heyday, when along with Modoc Point, Braymill, and Sprague River it pulsed with activity, Chiloquin was a lusty and sometimes rowdy city, enjoying the wicked sobriquet of "The Little Chicago of the West." Below the surface was a structure which provided an institutional extension of American civic life elsewhere. A bank, a newspaper, telephone company, hotels and rooming houses, schools and churches, a boxing association and occasional Chatauqua, moving picture house, taxi company, Ladies' Community Club, Commerce Club, Masons and V.F.W., lawyers, dentists, and doctors: all these shared space with dancehalls, card rooms, bootleggers, pimps, and prostitutes.

The depression and the subsequent loss of mills through fire 648*
and economic distress stripped Chiloquin temporarily of many 657*
of her specialized services. By the time she had emerged from 184
the slump a decade after World War II, improved communica- 361
tions had enabled Klamath Falls, twenty times as large and only thirty miles away, to supplant Chiloquin in many functions which had previously been discharged locally. Nonetheless, in the course of recovery some services were regained. With an institutional complexity that far transcended that of Beatty, Chiloquin, an enclave of the state of Oregon within the federal jurisdiction of the reservation, offered tribal residents a foretaste of the life that lay beyond reservation boundaries. In 1958 more than thirty per cent of the entire tribal membership had mailing addresses there.

In examining the households of Beatty and Chiloquin, re- 648*
spectively 31 and 297 in number, it is convenient to distinguish 657*
two categories among those including tribal members. That 621
designated Interethnic is headed by a tribal member married to 184
a partner of another ethnic group, white, Mexican, alien Indian, 563 •
or other. The second, in which both partners are tribal members, 592
will be designated Tribal. The term Klamath will subsume both. [162]

Klamath households in the rural community of Beatty in 1959 comprised well over eighty per cent of the community, the remaining households being largely white. By contrast, in Chiloquin (1949-50) white households were twice the Beatty percentage; while Klamath households amounted only to little over half the population. The remaining ten per cent was made up of other minorities, Mexican, Negro, and Indian. Within the next decade continuing trends in Chiloquin increased the disparity, as white households gained at the expense of all other components.

The figures for Interethnic marriages harmonize with this picture of white preponderance in the larger community. When the total marital record is considered, including successive mates, it is seen that unions with whites comprise only slightly more than one-fifth of the total for reservation members, almost one-third for the Chiloquin segment, and well over three-quarters for a small sample of off-reservation Klamath.[10] Among the Interethnic households of Beatty, the non-Klamath partner was more frequently Indian than white, while in Chiloquin he was

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 *657 184 621 •563 592

generally white. When it is considered that in American society the husband maintains significant external relationships,[11] it seems significant that in both Chiloquin and Beatty in some three-fourths of the Interethnic households the husband was an outsider and the wife a Klamath.

ECONOMIC LIFE

*648 *657 621 434 464 162

From an economic standpoint, tribal members occupied a subsidiary position in reservation communities. Their participation in productive activities as a whole was small. In 1958, a sample of the reservation population showed the following economic profile: presently engaged in business or ranching, eighteen per cent; previous record of such experience, eleven per cent; no such experience, forty-eight per cent; no data, twenty-three per cent. The figures for those resident in Chiloquin showed, if anything, a lesser degree of direct participation. Available records on a small absentee sample (but one with a higher proportion of women) do not reveal a higher degree of economic experience. The figures are: presently engaged in business or ranching, seven per cent; previous record of such experience, twenty-one per cent; no such experience, seventy per cent; no data, two per cent.

*648 *657 434 454

The record of scanty business experience is in large measure a consequence of the steady flow of income from tribal timber. In 1950, the $800 per capita payments enabled a Klamath family of four to exceed the median income for all families in the county. Since they could also hunt and fish throughout the year, and many families did, their actual income was considerably higher. There was thus little incentive to work to supplement timber revenues. The Meriam committee, to be sure, had observed years before, in the course of their comprehensive study of Indian administration, that the Klamath per capitas were too small for investment and thus tended to be disbursed for current living expenses;[12] but it is also true that, lacking investment experience, tribal members who realized substantial sum from the sale of allotments too often treated them as windfalls to be squandered, rather than as capital capable of bringing further financial returns.

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Comparison with the record of white performances places the

> I might call attention to the fact that at the last election in 648*
> Klamath County a trust patented Indian was elected Justice of 657*
> the Peace, and a fee patented Indian was elected Constable of 641
> the Beatty District on the Klamath reservation. It seems a rather [693]
> unusual situation when a trust patented Indian can preside as a judge over a court and pass sentence on other people and at the same time question the same court's jurisdiction over him.[8]

Nor was this all. Federally regulated land on the reservation [625]
was off bounds for officers of the law from city, county, and state; yet in 1947 there were only two special Indian officers and two deputies to enforce law and order over almost one million acres of reservation. It was physically impossible for them to follow up all cases, and consequently they could not deal effectively with the misdemeanors of delinquents or with truancy from the county schools.

In the 1920's, soon after the opening of the reservation, towns 648*
such as Chiloquin were faced with the influx of a mobile population 657*
in which the unmarried "timber beast" was prominent. 621
Roistering and violence occasionally assumed major proportions, 625
and law enforcement broke down at first. Within the first three 563 •
years after its incorporation in 1926, Chiloquin witnessed no 674
less than twelve appointments to the position of town marshal. At times the Superintendent, concerned over the effect upon the Indians, intervened, delivering an ultimatum or sending in his officers to restore order. His jurisdiction, in turn, was also limited: When Arnold brought pressure to bear upon Chiloquin authorities to close down gambling in the pool halls and card rooms, the gamblers merely shifted their operation to Bly, just over the eastern boundary of the reservation, and the same procedure had to be repeated by state and local officials there.

The interdependence of law enforcement on state lands and 648*
reservation was emphasized during the depression. In 1931, when 657*
logging on the reservation—and with it tribal income—had been 641
temporarily reduced by Washington, a tribal leader, Wade 625
Crawford, succeeded in securing a congressional cut in the [651]
administrative budget of the Agency, which from about 1924 had been supported out of tribal revenue. Since the budgetary allocation for law enforcement then became inadequate, the federal officers left, until there remained only a constable and an

*648 Indian officer, both at Beatty. Thereupon, Chiloquin's marshal
*657 and his deputy also resigned, asserting that enforcement under
641 those conditions was too difficult—and too dangerous, to boot.
625 The county, which had already barred tribal members from the county jail, now took the position that, short of a government request, its courts would try no more Indian cases. Crawford
[692] countered with a proposal that the Court of Indian Offenses be reinstituted, while other leaders fell back upon that time-honored solution, the United States cavalry. Several months passed before funds were found to restore the reservation staff to normal strength.[4]

*648 Within the interlocking jurisdictions of the reservation and
*657 the reservation community, Klamath came to play out the role
641 of citizen as a voter, a taxpayer, and the object of legal control.
571 In small towns such as Chiloquin and Sprague River, relationships were primary in character, dominated by face-to-face relationships. Within the special environment of the reservation, with the vast potential of its unexploited resources, something of a western frontier tradition was preserved, with emphasis placed upon individualism and a high premium set upon voluntaristic action in concerting effort.

*648 These conditions were nowhere better evident than in Beatty.
*657 In this little community, with fewer than one hundred fifty
621 members, leadership was furnished by a few individuals and
• 563 action was highly informal. Perhaps the most influential person was a white storekeeper, a resident in the community for almost four decades, who had on occasion donated land and cash for worthy causes, who presided over a credit system, and who was much respected by the older tribal members. Among the latter, a leading spirit was the widow of his brother-in-law, who could be counted upon to act with him. His store was a frequent gathering place and the debating ground of the "hot stove league," where tribal politicians from the Upper End were often to be found. Another local leader was a young white, married to a tribal member, who farmed along the Sprague and in his spare time was a vigorous preacher in the Assembly of God Church.

Indians from other reservations, also married to Klamath, provided specialized leadership. One was prominent in the affairs of

the Beatty Roping Club, an organization that sponsored a local 648*
rodeo, with white, Klamath, and Indian members from the 657*
reservation and its environs. Another, an Agency employee until 621
his transfer to the Lower End, was active in organizing a youth 563
program. In Beatty in 1959, informal discussion still sufficed to decide common issues; and such men as these could marshal support to implement decisions. In the entire town, two deputy sheriffs, an arm of the county, were the sole embodiments of officialdom.[5]

Chiloquin, by contrast, was a larger and more complex community, having a formal municipal structure headed by a mayor and a council of six aldermen, along with a recorder-police judge and a treasurer. It hired a town marshal, ran an elementary and high school under the aegis of the county and state, operated sewage and water systems, owned a municipal tavern, and supported a volunteer fire department.

Not surprisingly, within this community principal economic interests were often aligned in the control of political power. Such devices as the massing of supporters to control party caucuses and interim appointments to fill vacancies on the council have enabled such interests to provide continuity of representation. With the exception of the treasurer, the elective offices for years were filled by men. Until 1957, they were invariably held by whites. In that year, when awareness of incipient termination had drawn together some tribal members, a group of Klamath succeeded in voting into office as alderman the Indian wife of a well-respected tribal member.

Leadership recruitment in Chiloquin was directed toward those individuals who had shouldered responsibility in such civic activities as the drives for Community Chest and Red Cross. Only one-third of the white families were actively represented in one or more such ventures. Among tribal families, however, the proportion was far smaller: certainly it lay below one-tenth of those resident in Chiloquin. The reasons were not far to seek. For one, the civic activities involved were quasisocial in character, and the low participation of Klamath reflected
their social isolation within the community. Again, their own [619]
political orientation was rather toward the Tribe than to the
affairs of towns which they identified with the dominant society.

*648
*657 Although tribal members in Chiloquin lagged little behind their
621 white neighbors in registering to vote (1958), their concern was
• 563 less with local than with national issues.[6]

641 A second aspect of Indian citizenship was the support of local
619 government through payment of taxes. Since all property held
666 in trust or restricted status by the government, together with
*648 income derived from such property, was exempt from taxation,
*657 many tribal members occupied an unusual position among their
641 fellow citizens. The effect was particularly felt by the county and
651 local communities, which were heavily dependent upon property
taxes. For years, Klamath County sought to secure funds from the government to compensate it for the trust lands within its boundaries, which were served by county roads, sheriffs, courts, and schools. Johnson-O'Malley funds finally provided money in lieu of taxes to support the schools; to these the Klamath Tribe on occasion added funds for special purposes, but the other causes were unavailing.

In Chiloquin, officials resented the action of one Superintendent, who advised tribal residents that any property bought within the city with funds in trust or restricted status might be restored to corresponding status, even though it had been owned in fee simple when purchased. Such house lots were thus removed from the tax rolls and, although benefited by sewers and other municipal improvements, could not be levied for their support. It was not commonly recognized by white citizens of
[563] Chiloquin that a number of tribal members paid taxes regularly
upon property held in fee simple and that a multitude of indirect taxes fell as heavily upon tribal consumers as upon their fellow citizens. Rather, the image was that of a people exempt from financial responsibility toward the support of local institutions from which they benefited. Though a distortion, like many other parts of the stereotype, this evaluation nonetheless contained a substantial kernel of truth.

If truth be told, the citizens of Chiloquin were no more disposed to pay taxes than American citizens anywhere, and indeed they were somewhat less inclined to do so than those elsewhere in Oregon. In 1951-52, the millage rates of Chiloquin were by far the lowest among the organized communities of Klamath

FIFTEEN

[P. 205]

Family and School

WHITES AND KLAMATH ON THE RESERVATION RECOGNIZED IN FAMILY 648*
ties a bond that might be useful as well in formal enterprises. 657*
Several leading businesses in Chiloquin relied in part upon con- 602
sanguinity and upon marital ties to recruit members and ensure 178
continuity of control. Similarly, among the Klamath, during the bidding for tracts of tribal property in the course of termination, members characteristically acted in kin groups to undertake purchases that were beyond the resources of a single individual. In primary relations among both groups, visiting patterns and the occasional appearance of extended family households betokened the continued strength of ties reaching beyond the nuclear family.

For the whites who had come originally from outside the [167]
reservation, kinship ties stretched to distant places and there [563] •
were comparatively few relatives close at hand. Of the whites in Chiloquin in 1950, although fifty-six per cent had moved from a previous residence in Oregon, fewer than forty per cent came from the reservation, from Klamath Falls, or from southwestern Oregon. Only a handful had raised children and in turn had seen grandchildren being reared in the town.[1]

The Klamath, with many kinsmen still upon the reservation, [587]
saw the network of relationship close at hand, however tangled
it might be by the intricacies of remarriage. To be sure, the [596]
extended family as a residential group was not prominent, for in Chiloquin there were but two such households and in Beatty one. The strength of the bonds manifested themselves in other ways. Tribal residents in the city of Springfield, in the Willamette Valley, several of whom asserted that they had originally moved away to escape the importunities of kinsmen, had made the move as nuclear families over a period of several decades. None-

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 Within the reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally
*657 esteemed attributes had lost place. Age was no longer accorded
561 respect, for the wisdom of experience seemed irrelevant under
593 the new conditions, and in the environing society the emphasis
577 was upon youthful qualities. The premium upon industry as an
434 ideal for old and young alike had become submerged by the
178 golden flow of per capitas which rewarded equally the wastrel
177 and the unremitting toiler. Remarked one man wryly, "I can
make more money raising Klamath than I can raising cattle."[2]
Under these changes, paternal authority had declined sharply.
"Why should I listen to you?" demanded one adolescent son of
his father. "I've got just as much money saved up [in a compulsory trust fund] as you have!"

*648 By contrast, the status of the mother within the household
*657 had been enhanced. Housekeeping and child rearing constituted
562 concrete activities that possessed a high measure of continuity
434 with the past, of a type normally respected in her counterpart
177 in white society. Access to her own per capitas had raised the
178 economic standing of a wife to a par with that of her husband.
[623] The relative changes in local roles, together with the passage
of woman's suffrage in the nation at large, had become reflected
in the increasing prominence of women in the debates of the
General Council.

*648 The major point of contrast between white and tribal house-
*657 holds on the reservation was the relatively greater fluidity among
• 563 the Klamath, as reflected in the record of sequent marriages,
58 the figures for common-law unions, and the broken families. In
this respect, Beatty did not differ significantly from Chiloquin.
Interethnic marriages—those between a Klamath and a nontribal
partner—were more stable than those contracted between tribal
members.

*648 Household composition makes it clear that the traditional
*657 valuation of kin had by no means been entirely relinquished.
592 In a number of instances, Klamath, particularly women, had
587 taken in the children of collateral kin. Remarriage produced
[178] composite families, in which the couple reared not only their
own children but the offspring of previous unions of one or both
partners.

*648 Consequently, Klamath households exhibited a diversity of
*657 form, size, and composition, frequently characterized as well by
592
593

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

All too frequently, however, childhood experience in the
*648 event-centered activities of Klamath households, with their
*657 diffusely focused social expectations, clashed with school routine.
871 For many young Klamath, coming from such a background,
•563 exposure to a clear-cut, hierarchial system which they entered
[155] from the bottom and to a sustained discipline proved stressful.
[592] The conflict between family subculture and that represented by the middle-class teachers, felt as well by white children, was experienced more sharply by the Klamath, not alone because the disparity was often objectively greater in their case, but because it came to be invested with ethnic judgments.

That tribal parents differed from white parents in educational background and intellectual interests is evident; and the differences upon the reservation have tended to persist despite the fact that the Klamath have long been subjected, like whites, to compulsory education and that since 1926 they have attended county schools. A comparison of a small sample of tribal members in Chiloquin with other segments of the population revealed that no fewer than fifty-two per cent of Tribal house heads and thirty-nine per cent of Interethnic house heads had stopped their education at grade school. For white house heads, the corresponding figure was only twenty-two per cent.[5] In the use of the public library, a branch of the county system lodged in Chiloquin's city hall, the figures for adults show white, Interethnic, and Indian users far outstripping the Tribal; and while among the children Interethnic users fell close to the Tribal figure, the latter still lagged behind all others. With a few individual exceptions, data on the periodicals taken in the home and attendance at concerts in Klamath Falls showed a corresponding gap.

*648 Thus the school experience marked a grave discontinuity in
*657 the life of many tribal families, and particularly among those
871 in which both parents were Klamath. The stresses mounted,
155 however, in the transitional years of junior high school, during the seventh and eighth grades. The reasons are not far to seek. The schools, viewed by whites, Indians, and a minority of tribal members as an objective preparation for a life in which the demands for training were ever mounting, offered little incentive to children who were convinced that a ceaseless flow of per capita dividends gave them an assured income for life. Klamath parents

648*
often seemed to take the school for granted as just another of the 657*
rights granted them in the treaty of 1864. 871

For their part, whites often ignored the contributions made 155
either on behalf of the Klamath or directly by them toward 648*
school support. Tribal parents tended to see in the school bureau- 657*
cracy another manifestation of white surrogacy. Even at the time 871
when an Indian—a non-Klamath employed at the Agency—was 563 •
elected to the presidency of the PTA, the large majority of tribal members declined to join that body. On other occasions, students elected a tribal member and an Indian president of the senior class. Notwithstanding, issues which arose from time to time convinced some Klamath parents that the schools were racially biased. Although restive, they confined themselves to individual action, in angry criticism, occasional arguments with teachers, and rarely in assaults upon a teacher or principal.

In the Chiloquin grade school, most of the teachers were the 648*
wives of local men, having a comparatively long residence in the 657*
area and a familiarity with local conditions. At that level, the 87
curriculum was largely undifferentiated and a policy of social 563
promotion was followed. Consequently, the grade school offered conditions for a smoother adjustment than did the secondary school. Even so, truancy was more substantial among tribal children than white, and the imposition of discipline, often interpreted by indignant Klamath mothers as an expression of prejudice, was hedged with difficulties.

It was in the junior high school that the frictions rapidly mounted. Here, and increasingly in the high school, the modest educational assets—the two schools in 1950-51 had a combined staff of nine teachers—were strained by contending demands for both vocational training and a college-preparatory curriculum. With subject specialization, a professionally oriented teaching staff, composed primarily of men who had been hired from outside the area, dominated the school. Individually, they tended to be less permissive toward their students than their fellow teachers in the grade school. Promotion in high school was upon merit. Meanwhile, as students attained puberty, they came to be increasingly aware of the significance attached by their elders to racial differences. Disciplinary problems now mounted, and so did dropouts. The truancy rate (1956-57) for white children

*648 in seventh and ninth grades—the beginning grades respectively
*657 for junior high and high school—was less than half the figure for
87 first grade in the same year. For tribal children, by contrast, the
563 figures for the advanced grades were each almost twice as large
as that for the first grade.

On an average, roughly one-half the small number of Klamath
children entering high school could be expected to graduate.
[125] That this record was not to be attributed to a difference in intellectual
ability is intimated by the results of California mental
maturity tests which, as administered to Klamath children as a
whole at the fourth grade, yielded normal scores, averaging 96.9.
When, however, the same children had reached the eighth grade,
their average score had declined to 80.4.[6] A sharp drop in incentive
had taken its toll.

The stresses within the school fell unequally upon Klamath
boys and girls. Athletic prowess and artistic ability—both often
conceived as racially innate and as masculine attributes—gave
the boys legitimate avenues to social approval. At puberty, however,
Klamath girls were often beginning to develop the physical
[142] massiveness that is so frequent in their racial constitution, but
[562] that at the same time is foreign to American ideals of beauty.
Some bore their lot with dignity and poise. Others courted a
fleeting favor through promiscuity or took out their resentments
in direct assault upon rivals or upon substitute figures. Direct
violence against whites occurred in the schools at about this age,
and most frequently involved girls. Still others sought alternatives
outside the school, dropping out entirely, going away to
vocational schools, or entering into early marriages.

*648 Indeed, for many of the tribal youth—boys as well as girls—
*657 confronted by a school experience that grew increasingly irrelevant
871 as they became older, it was merely a matter of "serving
563 time" until they gained release by attaining the age of eighteen.
582 Many Klamath tended to marry young, and there were incentives
peculiar to their position. For a girl striving to escape the pressures
and dissatisfactions of home life, the regimen of caring for
younger siblings, and the boredom and vexation of the school,
the importance and security of being a newlywed possessed a
[434] fairyland appeal. For the boy, the trust fund accumulated by
[429] the Agency for each minor, amounting in some instances to

$10,000, constituted an inexhaustible treasure. Ordinarily, this 648*
was placed in his hands only when he had come of age, but with 657*
marriage he attained seniority at once, and it became his. 871

Many a young couple, then, sought a new life in the last few 563 •
years of high school in an elopement to Reno or Las Vegas. In 582
a week or so they returned to take up adult life; and thus to [434]
reconcile their hopes with the social realities of the reservation. [429]
Although they would continue to maintain a degree of camara- [583]
derie with a few of their schoolmates, such intimacy as they had known across ethnic boundaries was at an end. For the majority of tribal members, their course and that of their white schoolmates increasingly diverged.

*648 status, whose desires to move upward had been temporarily
*657 baffled, delineated the system in terms far more precise than
554 appeared justifiable, and as an instrument of calculated power.
829 Members of several church groups of intermediate or low ranking, each of which saw themselves as a body of the elect in a world of sinners, denied the validity of any other assessment. It was frequent in such instances to find individuals contrasting the superiority of their own ideals with the fallible conduct of members of other reference groups.

*648 Despite such demurrers, which have become a sociological
*657 commonplace, the evidence of informal association in parties,
571 bridge clubs, drinking cliques, and loafing groups, together with
554 participation in more formal associations, attests the existence of a status grid, with a multiplicity of positions ranked relatively, rather than in an order of fixed classes.[2] The results of a sociometric study indicate[3] that the primary criteria underlying evaluation in Chiloquin included income, occupation, landownership, and educational status. For the person with the proper qualifications, mobility was relatively easy; while the daily contact of everyday life made possible—particularly for longtime residents—an easy association, spiced with mutual esteem, across wide differences in status.

Klamath standing in such a system was relatively low. The majority of tribal members failed to qualify for most of the specific criteria valued; and in one area, the style of their life, they fell conspicuously short of the standards set. They did not enter readily into most of the associations within which the formal social life of the town was transacted. Some felt they would not be welcome, and often they were right. Even that handful who were acceptable only inched forward, anticipating rebuff at every step. As a group, tribal members suffered disesteem for their wardlike subjugation to the government and the legal disabilities that hedged them in. Within the community, their low productive status, their dependence upon a credit system, and their record before the law all provided grounds for being judged deficient.

*648 For the white citizens of Chiloquin, achievement was the token
*657 by which each person was ideally placed. Klamath, however, also
• 563 labored under their inclusion in a fixed category; for in the ethnic

spectrum of the town they were ranked with alien Indians, and 648*
combined with Mexicans and Negroes. As such, they were people 657*
of color, and their conduct and low status were sometimes alike 563 •
regarded as the products of inherent deficiencies. A character so fixed upon the group made it still more difficult for the individual to rise upon the social scale.

The image of the Klamath that has been conjured up has been 648*
a complex one. Among whites, joke and anecdote have developed 657*
about varying attributes, as Klamath have been viewed, now as 563
romantic figures, now as naïve or degraded. In Chiloquin, it was 181
sometimes maintained that the Klamath proper, who made up much of the immediate Indian population, were inferior in character to the Modoc, who were both more remote—dwelling as they did on the Upper End—and had a war of resistance to their credit as well. Seen historically, romantic anecdotes began to gain local currency when Indian culture was a thing of the past and perspective had endowed with glamor the events of earlier days. The Klamath Falls *Express* spoke in this vein early in the twentieth century. Of one pathetic old lady living in a hovel on the outskirts of town, it observed, "Princess Matilda . . . [is] a full blood Klamath and royal Indian blood courses through her veins. Her brother was chief of the Link river band of Klamaths. . . ."[4] From the more general stereotype of the Indian were drawn the figures of the stoic hunter, the child of nature; the orator; the superior athlete; and the natural artist.

At times, the Klamath have been regarded as quaintly naïve, and some individuals have taken wry pleasure in fulfilling this expectation. The *Express* in 1907 carried an anecdote concerning William A. Moore, product of the reservation schools, former Indian judge, and later the owner of a hotel in Chiloquin. Moore was depicted as seeking to retrieve, and thus to nullify, the marriage license of a friend, the while saying, "Me want to buy him back; how much he cost?"[5]

Still other anecdotes painted the Klamath as dirty, immoral—"My children are *not* illegitimate," one woman was quoted as saying. "I know the father of each one!"—often a drunkard, violent, lazy, and improvident. "They say in Chiloquin," related the automobile editor of the Portland *Sunday Oregonian* in 1931, "that a popular promenade for the Indians scarcely takes them

*648 off Chocktoot Street: to the postoffice to get the government
*657 allowance [sic!] of $600 a year; to the bank to get the cash; to
• 563 the iceman around the corner; to parts unknown; and then to the
181 justice of the peace."[6]

There were several reasons why the views concerning the
*648 Klamath should become increasingly invidious with time. Al-
*657 though they had come to adopt most of the outward trappings
563 of American culture, those who remained on the reservation often
181 displayed a style of life at variance with that of white neighbors,
571 until some of the latter came to see the differences as innate. In
[167] Chiloquin, the influx of southern whites after World War II was
said to have sharpened the stereotype: it seemed in fact to be maintained in less-qualified fashion among them. Antagonistic bias was least in evidence in Beatty, more strongly evinced in Chiloquin, and most apparent in Klamath Falls. Away from the reservation, Klamath tended to be absorbed in the larger category of American Indian, and to lose their special tribal identity.

*648 The impact of a felt discrimination was heightened for the
*657 Klamath by a sensitivity to slights in situations which whites
563 regarded as devoid of bias. Tribal members have been keenly
571 aware of the pairing of public equality and private bias. As one
elderly and highly respected Klamath matron in Chiloquin saw it:

> The Four Hundred are those who live among the Indians but feel that they are better than the Indian. The [poorer] people are more fussy. . . . They will talk to the Indians on the street and are friendly when they want business, but otherwise they don't know them.[7]

Indeed, intimate social intercourse has been discouraged by both sides. Comparison of the names of whites mentioning tribal members in a sociometric test conducted in Chiloquin with those included in a census of Klamath drinking cliques ten years later revealed that only a handful of individuals crossed the social boundary. From a general standpoint, Klamath and whites were virtually exclusive in their intimate associations. Those few whites who drank with Klamath and named Klamath among their friends were low in the esteem of their peers. Among tribal members, individuals who consorted regularly with whites thereby

648* 657* 563 • 571 [86]

estranged themselves from Klamath society. Few, indeed, had attempted to cross the chasm; and fewer were able to straddle it.

Klamath, on their part, entertained strong prejudices. Some were matters of ancient history. Klamath and Modoc were disdainful of Paiute and Pit River, and the epithets, 'daughter of a Paiute!' or 'slave!' still stung. At the time of allotment, when many members had come back upon the reservation, while the numbers of those calling themselves Klamath had soared, the absolute number of Pit River had declined. Evidently, members of mixed parentage were passing into the more prestigious category. Toward other minority groups tribal members displayed various attitudes. Indians from nearby reservations were generally well received, but those from afar were resented, particularly if they held Agency jobs coveted by the Klamath.

Whites tended to lump all Indians together, and the accomplishments of some nonlocal Indians elevated the general Indian status in the popular view. Nonetheless, tribal members were wont to regard them as trespassers. Toward Mexicans, with whom they occasionally intermarried, they were on terms of approximate equality. Negroes were viewed with strong disdain and two tribal families of part-Negro ancestry often were the object of pointed remarks.

648* 657* 829

Among themselves, Klamath also sometimes reflected the biases of the major society. Younger men have been heard to express a preference for a wife of lighter pigmentation. The epithet, "You big, black Indian!" was occasionally hurled between angry children; and one woman who reported this recalled how shocked she was, in her early teens, when she realized that it was true, that she was indeed an Indian. Against the valuation on light color there is, however, another view. Those of darker hue not infrequently voice their pride in this token of racial purity, and some speak disparagingly of the "half-breeds," alleging that they stem from lewd intercourse with the soldiery of old Fort Klamath. One young leader with a high degree of Indian ancestry, in considering the division of tribal property under termination, ingeniously proposed that each member receive a share proportional to his direct biological Klamath heritage. In the end, pigmentation offers no certain index of ethnic self-image: for

*648 *657 829 schoolboys with no discernible trace of Indian ancestry will often assert fiercely their Klamath character.

One expression of Klamath preference among their ethnic *648 *657 • 563 neighbors is to be found in the intermarriages into which tribal members enter. In Chiloquin in 1949-50, a census of Klamath households which omits those tribal members living alone showed 46 per cent of the remaining households to be headed by a Klamath couple. Interethnic households and those headed by the Klamath survivor in an Interethnic union were distributed as follows: with white partner, 25 per cent; with Indian, 14 per cent; with Mexican, 11 per cent; Indeterminate (white or Indian partner), 3 per cent; with Chinese, 1 per cent. In each class of Interethnic union, the prevailing form of marriage was that in which the wife was the tribal member.[8]

There is some evidence of trends in comparative figures, though these must be tentatively posed. Rural Beatty, with a much smaller number of households, some ten years later included a [369] somewhat larger proportion of units headed by Klamath partners, with somewhat more Indian and somewhat fewer white, Interethnic couples. This suggests that the rural areas of the reservation have tended to lag somewhat behind the larger towns in either producing or attracting white Interethnic families.[9] In turn, over time the Interethnic component of Chiloquin has proved more transient than that headed by Tribal partners: in a ten year period, almost two-thirds of the former moved away, as against somewhat less than one-third of the latter.[10] Although there was a corresponding replacement by new families moving in, the net result was a drop in the Interethnic population. The direction of their movement had been for the main part into Klamath Falls and other larger cities off the reservation.

It was in just those communities in which ethnic differences were most sharply weighted that Interethnic couples were most commonly found. There were several diverse reasons for this seeming paradox. In Chiloquin, a small but growing number of marriages had come to take place between schoolmates. Some of these involved the offspring of Interethnic farm couples, in which a white man had married a Klamath woman; and these families, with long-standing ties with leading families in Chiloquin, were at once esteemed and still regarded as Klamath. The small seg-

ment of Klamath families that had become directed toward the 648* values of American middle-class society were also acceptable to 557* whites, and intermarriage with their children could be countenanced. 563 • Finally, the proclivity of the whites to lump together Klamath and alien Indian proved beneficial to the general image. For the majority of the small group of Indians who were employed at the Agency had white spouses, and if they were sometimes snubbed socially, they nonetheless provided a precedent for new Interethnic unions; while Indian children often proved socially acceptable. These, taken together, constituted a nucleus within which others of their kind might be accepted; and though they were socially somewhat interstitial, they nonetheless were sufficiently numerous to constitute a viable body.

To the number of Interethnic unions thus engendered, there [369] were others attracted to Chiloquin from the rural reservation by the amenities of city life. In the end, however, the generalized hostility of the Klamath toward the outsider in such unions, coupled with the social and ethnic gradient maintained by the whites, often led such couples to seek the opportunities of the larger city, where some degree of anonymity at least might be found.

The circumstance that it was chiefly whites low in social standing who drank with tribal members—and, as it turned out, chiefly with Interethnic members and those with least Klamath ancestry—raises the question whether intermarriage took place as well primarily upon this level. This was largely, but not exclusively true, for several of the numerically few such marriages noted took place between classmates without regard to social equivalence. For those contemplating a step across ethnic distance, social class was a minor issue indeed.

Whites in Chiloquin tended to view the Klamath as culturally and socially the inferior partner in such a union. Having in mind the masculine ideal of husbandly dominance cultivated in American society, some men held that in intermarriage a Klamath husband was likely to abuse his white mate; while a white man would be able to train a tribal wife in conformant behavior. In point of fact, the review of a number of cases of intermarriages of the latter type revealed much the following generalized outline. A Klamath girl and her family had moved to Klamath Falls,

*648 *657 • 563

where after attending public school or the Catholic academy, she took special training or found a job. About that time she met her future husband, a white employed as a laborer in logging, millwork, or construction. Evidently, he then stood below her in socioeconomic status, although in a superior ethnic bracket. The subsequent advance of the husband, after their marriage, may be regarded in no small degree as the result of her own drive and ambition as well as his. Such couples rarely returned to the reservation; and their life together was undoubtedly an extension of that first step, before they met, which had taken her away from the reservation.

Acculturation

*648 *657 177 [171] [434]

The suggestion has recently been made for the Ojibway that the sociocultural position they now maintain on their reservation in Wisconsin represents an accommodation to the standards of living of lower status whites.[11] At Klamath, the circumstances that might have reduced tribal members to a similar economic condition have been offset by income from leases and from tribal timber. The question may still be posed, however: to what degree does Klamath life on the reservation represent the direct acculturative influence of those whites, particularly of lower-class status, whom they most closely approximate?

The historical record, already reviewed, shows clearly that many early contacts of a persistent character were with whites whom Agents with some justification regarded as outcasts or renegades from their own society; but, their influence although it was undoubtedly felt, did not compare with the broader programs of the official staff, directed at the whole Klamath population and implemented through influential leaders. A few individuals such as Frank Riddle stand out; but their own ties tended to be with administrators like Oliver Applegate. The major individuals to offer opposing counsel were former Agency employees or individuals of substance in neighboring towns. Klamath recognized the tokens of success, and were unlikely to follow persons who showed every evidence of failure in their own lives.

There is some warrant for seeing in the Klamath situation a structural convergence. On the one hand, the skills and roles acquired by Klamath in the early days of the reservation during

sect were permitted to make temporary use of the Shaker church 648*
building until their own structure could be erected. Tribal mem- 657*
bers were drawn into entrant fundamentalist sects as well as the 795
Shaker faith, and on the occasion of revivals Shakers freely 177
visited their services. 178

Together with some of those sects, the Shaker faith embodied [787]
many of the demonstrative acts, in dramatized testimonial, visions, and the inspired state known as "the shakes," which had been largely abandoned by other churches that had become more staid with the passage of time. Its cures were the most spectacular demonstration of its power, and many of its converts came to it in this way. At the same time, it drew no very large membership: in 1925, Spier found only twenty Klamath thus affiliated. Any claim to the exclusive allegiance of members—an aspect of the Christian heritage—made heavy way against the broad tolerance in things religious characteristic of the Klamath.

The member of the Indian police who had found favorably for the Shakers was cured by them on another occasion, rang bells in the services, and even sparked a drive to improve the appearance of the church. With equal concern, he contributed heavily to the Four Square Gospel mission, which he felt was beneficial to the "coming generation." His formal affiliation continued with the Methodist Church, and he was often in attendance at the Williamson River Mission. Nor did commitment to Christianity dim his evident belief in the validity of aboriginal Klamath religion. In his mind, and the minds of many other elderly Klamath, there was no need to select narrowly and exclusively a single revelation of the divine order on earth.

The fundamentalist churches—the "emotional" churches, as 648*
they were disparagingly dubbed by some white Methodists in 657*
Chiloquin—appealed primarily to whites and ethnic minorities of 795
lower social status, and indeed participation in their services 563 •
was a factor weighed in status evaluation. Accordingly, these 177
sects brought tribal communicants into intimate contact with those components of the community, providing the basis for a certain degree of acculturation as well as of intermarriage. A few of the Mexican Interethnic unions stemmed from these associations, and at least one white Interethnic couple was regularly affiliated with the Negro church.

The Shaker church, however, was an ethnic church of some

*648 rigidity, and while its members freely attended the services of
*657 other sects, they were selective in admitting non-Klamath to their
795 worship. It was finally upon the issue of its Indian character that
177 the church was riven. The immediate circumstance was the effort
• [563] of the "Annie Lee" faction to introduce the Bible into the ritual.
*648 A stout minority of the members refused to allow this, observing,
*657 in the words of one member, "The Indian has his religion: God
795 speaks to him through the 'shakes.' The white man hasn't got
578 them; he has to use the Bible." The contest soon came to litiga-
177 tion, during which the conservatives held services in private dwellings, while their rivals occupied the church building. Some years later, while the issue dragged on, a fire destroyed the structure; but the "Annie Lee" faction possessed sufficient vigor to rebuild it. Increasingly, that group had been gravitating toward the Four Square Gospel; and when the church was rebuilt it came to be used jointly with another fundamentalist sect.

*648 Thus, even the maintenance of an "Indian" religion, objectively
*657 syncretic in form and content, is sought by a state charter of
795 incorporation and internal disputes are placed before the courts
177 for decision. Moreover, its growth parallels the revivalistic move-
[692] ment of fundamentalist sects upon the West Coast; it vies with them for members; and its destiny is finally interwoven with theirs. Any theory that sees in the growth of such a religion a reaction of the Klamath people to pressures of the time must consider that special history and account for the parallel growth of other sects among non-Klamath at about the same time. For the Klamath, those sects must be regarded alternant to the Shaker faith in providing opportunities for expression. In assessing the features that attracted converts, the appeal of familiar Christian practice, known from earlier Methodist services, must be reckoned, as well as those features which were strictly aboriginal. For some, indeed, the identity of the church as Indian may have been compelling, as fostering an image of independence from the almost overwhelming presence of American culture.

To evaluate the impact of the Shaker Church from the members involved is hazardous. Although only a handful of individuals became exclusively committed to the Shaker way, its impact extended far beyond their ranks. At the same time, the majority

aboriginal Klamath culture; it has assumed some of the aspects 648*
of criminal behavior among whites; and as already noted is 657*
turned against the institutions of the whites and the persons of 177
Klamath. If Inframodal individuals are seen as rejecting the 178
ambient culture, they spurn only selected parts of it; and they 184
might have rebelled in similar fashion had they lived in the
native society a century and a half earlier.

There is much that continues to link most tribal members together. The assessment of an earlier paper seems valid.

> An individual may act in a manner that both we and the Klamath define as anti-social. Affected kinfolk may object, but their voice is muted and their efforts frequently null. Yet outside of the group immediately affected, the offender may find ready acceptance and even approval, so long as he has not violated the cultural standards of independence, of indifference to pain, danger, or personal inconvenience, of open-handed liberality, of steadfastness to a friend, and of a shrewd opportunism to others. But because there is now no homogeneous mode of behavior governing relations with members of social groups, and no effective coercive agent, Klamath behavior today probably departs more widely from the mode than it did in aboriginal times.* [571]

Thus, in various ways the Klamath have come to be differentially distributed, even within the confines of one small reservation town. Members have become acculturated in behavior and attitude to varying degrees and in divergent directions. Through [563] intermarriage, they have come to manifest a range of biological features, some more acceptable than others to non-Klamath. Finally, they have come to be ranked by whites upon a social gradient, although as a whole they are assigned an inferior position. In turn, historical, cultural, ethnic, and social considerations have led most tribal members to eschew their placement and to maintain a life somewhat apart. A major factor in their sense of separateness is the identity accorded corporate image by the tribal government. The following chapter reviews that institution.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

crease of tribal business following allotment, the Bureau of Indian 648*
Affairs pressed for the formation of a supplementary executive 657*
body. At Klamath the need for such a body may have been underscored 646
by the abuse of the common council in the partisan [665]
sessions called by the Kirk and Brown factions. Thus, 1908 saw
the introduction of an executive body, called the tribal council,
to function in addition to the occasional councils. Initially, it [563] •
was made up of twelve men, six from each End of the reservation,
and with communal representation: its membership included
seven Klamath, three Modoc, and one each from the Pit River
and Paiute. Since it proved difficult to maintain a quorum, the
number was subsequently reduced to eight members.

In 1927, the factionalism which had earlier brought into question 648*
the legitimacy of the common council now touched the 657*
tribal council; for in that year a dissident group elected a rival 646
body and claimed that it had superseded the existing council. 665
Their action placed in jeopardy the efficient administration of [578]
the tribal resources, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs consequently
insisted that matters be set upon a constitutional
footing. After considering several tribal charters submitted to [642]
them as models, the Klamath in 1929 enacted their own constitution
and by-laws for the executive body, now restyled the Business
Committee. Its six members, three from each End, were to
consider ". . . business matters pertaining to the Tribe. [Matters]
of great importance to the Tribe and which the Business Committee
believe should be referred to a general tribal council"
might be so referred by a vote of five members of the Committee,
with the consent of the Superintendent.[2]

Once more, in 1950, envisaging a time when the tribal government 648*
would have full control over the common estate, a new 657*
constitution was enacted, this time for the General Council. By 642
its terms, all powers were vested in that body, made up of all 646
adult tribal members. In addition, an Executive Committee was
designated, to be composed of the eight members—the number
had again been increased—of the erstwhile Business Committee,
together with the President and Secretary of the General Council.
To this new committee, the General Council was authorized to
delegate powers, although as matters turned out it did so only
reluctantly and after long delay. In turn, by appropriate vote

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

While the political strength of a family is seen not only in the 648*
succession of interest but in a propensity for members of a family 657*
to vote *en bloc*, this is far from invariably true. The schism 619
separating Jesse Kirk from his half-brother, Joseph, is one promi- 602
nent instance—and by no means the only one—to the contrary. [665]
In fact, alignment within the family and extended kin has often [578]
been modified by contending considerations.

Nonetheless, for some leaders the solidarity of family some- 648*
times took precedence over impartiality in the discharge of office. 657*
One tribal council member is quoted as defending his action 661
favoring certain enrollments by the explanation ". . . that since 602
two children were his niece's children, he felt that it was his duty 619
to guard the interests of his minor relatives."[8] Political leaders,
seeking to emphasize the purity of their motives, needed to go no
further in justification than to declare that they sought only the
welfare of their grandchildren.

Although intermarriage and alternative associations have long 648*
overlaid clear identification with the several peoples who had 657*
entered into the treaty, such affiliations have continued to exert 563 •
political force, however greatly diminished in recent years. In 621
turn, they related to the two broad communities on the reserva- 619
tion. The Lower End remained predominantly Klamath, while
Modoc, Paiute, as well as a number of Klamath and Pit River,
comprised the Upper End community some forty miles away.
Even after the closing of the subagency at Yainax, the populations [184]
of Sprague River and Beatty continued to reflect the special
character of the eastern reservation.

In turn, the relatively easier access of the Lower End to out- [177]
side influences—a subject already reviewed in discussing modern
tribal demography—superimposed the effects of differential ac-
culturation and intermarriage upon the traditional subtribal
allegiances that distinguished the two Ends. Difficulty of travel 648*
along the road from the Agency to Yainax had given rise to the 657*
practice, long maintained, of holding separate councils at each 621
place. Thus at the two Ends there had developed political com- 665
munities responsive to their own local leaders. Harrison Brown, 619
in 1931, played upon a familiar theme when he recognized in
Wade Crawford, a leader from the Lower End ". . . a young man
who is not a full-blood, who is trying to stir up trouble, and we

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to termination, however, many Indians invested funds from their pro-rata shares of the tribal estate in purchasing tribal lands.

65. *Statutes at Large* Vol. 34 (1907), pp. 367–68.

66. H. G. Wilson to Commr. (March 8, 1910).

67. Chas. S. Hood to R. A. Ballinger, Secty. Int. (Jan. 9, 1909).

68. H. G. Wilson to All Indians (Feb. 11, 1910).

69. Edson Watson, *Annual Narrative Report* (1915), p. 43.

70. Council, resolution (Sept. 5, 1908); H. G. Wilson to Commissioner (Oct. 23, 1908).

71. A. D. Hotchkins, Clerk in charge, to F. C. Randolph, Clerk, Redding District, California (Dec. 12, 1913).

72. E.g., H. G. Wilson to Louis Pankey (Sept. 9, 1909).

73. Celia DuFault to H. G. Wilson (Jan. 5, 1910). Another letter identical in wording and date, also from Klamath Falls, came from the three Siemens.

74. E. Watson to Commissioner (June 20, 1910).

75. E. Watson, *Annual Narrative Report* (1910), p. 1.

76. O. C. Applegate to W. F. Arrant (March 14, 1901).

77. C. F. Larrabee, Acting Commr., to Superintendent, Klamath Agency (March 10, 1908). The person in question was one Short Bob.

78. H. G. Wilson to Commr. (April 28, 1910).

79. H. G. Wilson to Sargent Brown *et al.* (Feb. 20, 1908).

80. *Annual Narrative Report* (1917), p. 18.

81. W. G. West to Commr. (Aug. 30, 1920), transmitting *Annual Statistical Report* for that year.

82. Fred A. Baker, *Annual Narrative Report* (1924), pp. 30–32.

83. *Annual Narrative Report* (1926), pp. 49 ff., 61.

84. *Annual Narrative Report* (1927), p. 54.

85. See Table, *Livestock Permitted*, in *Klamath Indians, Oregon.* Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Public Lands, U.S. 80th Cong., 1st sess., on S.1222 (1948), Pt. 2, 245. Note that the livestock listed as Indian belongs preponderantly to the Indian wives of local stockmen. [563]

86. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price (Dec. 2, 1884). In his *Annual Report*, U.S. 48th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1884–85), Vol. 12, 188, the estimated acreage was reduced to 2,000.

87. *Annual Report*, U.S. 56th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. (1900–01), Vol. 27, 354. Applegate himself had been a member of one such early enterprise, the "Linkville Water Ditch." George T. Baldwin, Secretary, to O. C. Applegate (April 9, 1882). O. C. Applegate *Papers*, Special Collections, University of Oregon Library.

88. Ore. State Dept. of Educ., *Data on Termination of Federal*

tribes, Oliver (1959) presents rulings of the United States Supreme Court that suggest that the court itself has not been immune from the shift. 000

In 1958, the Department of the Interior found it necessary to revise the *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, first published under the editorship of the late Felix S. Cohen, a moving figure in the planning of the Collier administration. (Zimmerman, in Simpson and Yinger [1957], p. 31). The new volume, which reflects the viewpoint emergent since that time, states in part:

> Much of the earlier Federal law and many Indian treaties now have only historical significance. As national development and progress continue and as new patterns of policy evolve, legal answers to questions of Federal Indian law will be found predominantly in the latest statutory law and judicial determination of justiciable issues. Those are stressed in this revision for the purpose, not only of seeking balance . . . but also for the purpose of foreclosing, if possible, further uncritical use of the earlier edition. . . . U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Solicitor ([1958] p. 1).

27. Ostrom and Stern (1959).

EIGHTEEN. CONCLUSION

1. Klamath *Tribune*, Chiloquin, Ore. (July-Aug. 1961), p. 3.
2. Linton (1940), Spicer (1961).
3. Watson (1963).
4. For corresponding evaluation in British Columbia, see Hawthorn, Belshaw, and Jamieson (1958). At Klamath, in the days of [563] allotment "half-breeds" were sometimes accorded more discretion in [423] leasing or selling lands than "full-bloods." At a somewhat later date, [427] success in stock-raising and farming, as well as in the handling of funds disbursed by the Agency were gauged. One survey during the administration of Arnold assessed the material prosperity and industry of househeads on the reservation. Notwithstanding such attempts, the competent all too often chafed under an overly solicitous supervision, while wastrels claimed citizen's right to squander per capita income, without effective training in management.
5. Spicer (1962), p. 349.
6. Gordon (1964).
7. Geertz (1957).
8. Leighton (1959), pp. 318–22.
9. Clifton and Levine (1961), p. 77.

648 Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reserva-
tion, by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal mem-
[619] bers" with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, gene-
tically, less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier com-
munities were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
[786] 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
[181] Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
[556] wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided in-
creased opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal mem-
[434] bers, as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and for-
[251] feited bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are exclusively 621
White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office outside [575]
the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [794]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are frequently
tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously, [651]
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chiloquin [674]
during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a reconstituted 648
"Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be administered 657
by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the 619
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal supervision
has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Attendance 619
at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
[848] out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-style"
[177] marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
596 but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
[177] extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, de facto groupings
rather than de jure. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organization
[594] of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obligatory
592 responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-father
592 frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly extreme
cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual ownership
of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with regard
to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
434 children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have 593
other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are sometimes 855
non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are [581]
frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time,
or to an older relative, or to an older sibling. If the party occurs in the [181]
household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be
left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may [603]
find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence
and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of [155]
the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one)
or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually
faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloofness.
The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and
both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating
fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little experience [155]
with consistency in role relationships.

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, [602]
amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other
kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting 872
the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax,
permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear-cut, 861
specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not [593]
accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet [181]
these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and [155]
attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu.
In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to
be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly [156]
characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts.
This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture,
but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society.

In many respects the values and skills learned within the household to not adequately 155
prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of 156
regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the household [871]
may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may
throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get
him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time
the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted,
the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in inferiority
is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, contributing
in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebelliousness,
or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation
of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school [563]
years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the [582]
areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites
is not an easy one.

It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child 882
are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child 156
may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete 155
with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he
is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors
cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into
an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high [871]

175 changed their settlements, as hunting nations are in the habit of doing.
648 Thus Pauline Marsh, near Silver Lake, and Pauline Lake, on one of the head springs of Des Chutes River, were both named after the Snake chief Panaína of our Texts. The bands established upon the Reservation since the treaty was concluded are called Walpapi and Yahushkin. At first they ran off and committed depredations in the vicinity, whereupon the Government was compelled to force them back. General Crook made several expeditions in the execution of the task. These campaigns were short and decisive, and the Klamath Lake scouts engaged in them did good service, as evidenced by General Crook's reports* and Dave Hill's Text, pages 28–33. Upon the defeat and killing of Panaína, the Walpapi chief, the tribe finally quieted down and remained neutral in the commotion caused by the Modoc war of 1872–'73.

175 No indications are at hand of the number of Indians formerly inhabit-
161 ing the headwaters of the Klamath River. Before the first census was
164 taken estimates deserving no credence were made, varying from one thousand to two thousand Indians. In those times the scourges of small-pox, syphilis, and whisky did not inflict such terrible ravages as they do now among the Indians; but instead of these the continual tribal quarrels, family vengeance, the ordeals of witchcraft, dearth of food, and the inhuman treatment of the females must have claimed many more victims than at
[523] present. Emigration and intermarriages with other tribes were rather the
[167] exception than the rule, and are so even now.

THE TREATY OF 1864.

175 During the ten years following Wright's massacre the country began
648 to assume a somewhat different aspect through the agricultural and stock-raising settlements of white people that sprung up in Lost River Valley, around Little Klamath Lake and in other places. The cession of lands to the "Oregon Central Military Road Company" from Eugene City, in Willámet Valley, through the Cascade range, across the Klamath Marsh, to

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[113] *Contained in the Report of the Secretary of War, 1868–'69, Part I, pp 69, 70, dated September 2, 1867, and March 19, 1868. The troops killed twenty-four Snake Indians in the expedition of 1867. See also Texts, Note to 28, 14.

*539 622 692 hishnáksh m'na wudópka, tsúi nî snawä'dshash hû'nk nä'-ulχ, k̲á-i hû'nk
husband here whips, then I wife that punish, not the
hishuákshash, láp súndē.
husband, for two weeks.

[593] [683] Tsúi tchik kíuks tchí'sh títatna tawí shash, tsúi hûk k̲'lĕká tawí'sh.
Then a conjorer also at times bewitches them, and dies the bewitched one.

[683] Tsúi ni nä'-ulχa, tsúi tû'nip sháppash spû'lhi-síukst; tsúi tchik wátch nísh
Then I try (him), and for five months imprison for manslaughter; and (if) horses to me

[593] sχókta tû'nip, tsúi nî k̲á-i spû'lhit sχoktí'sht nísh. Tsúi tch lak̲í ts ktû'pka
he pays five, then I not may imprison (him), he having paid me. And (if) a chief beats

m'na snáwädsh, tsúi nî snä'kēlua; gä'tak lak̲í gî hûk.
his wife, then I remove (him); no longer chief remains he.

NOTES.

[177] **58–62.** The legal practices, regulations, and ordinances given here by a subchief of the Klamath Lake tribe are observed by all the chiefs, and are apparently fashioned after American models. The principle which seems to guide most of the judicial decisions of the chiefs, is given in one (59, 20. 21) of these regulations: "If a chief makes law like white people, that will be right."[*] This article is composed of three parts:

Part I. List of the chiefs acting as judges on the reservation in 1877.

Part II. Legal customs governing the Klamath Lake people.

Part III. Instances of application of these legal customs; amount of fines, terms of imprisonment, etc. These are the "*novellæ*" of Klamath legislation.

58, 1–3. P'lú, Lilu, and some other headmen mentioned here have signed the treaty of Oct. 14, 1864.

[563] [657] **58, 4.** Móatuash. There are only two Pit River *families* living on the whole reservation.

58, 8. Tcháktot belongs to the Yahúskin tribe of Snake Indians. Cf. Ind. Aff. Report 1873, p. 324.

[193] **58, 10 etc.** The future tense employed in these behests, regulations and defenses recalls the French future used in an impressive manner instead of the imperative: *tu ne tueras point, tu ne déroberas point.*

58, 10. shlí-uapk shash. The pronoun shash has here almost the force of a reciprocal pronoun, for the meaning of the sentence is: "do not shoot at people of your own tribe." The same is true of sas in pallnápk sas, 58, 10; 58, 13 (twice); pálla shash, 61, 14.

[194] **58, 10.** ksaggayuapkámsni is pronounced as one word, as the removal of the accent from the syllable -nápk demonstrates; and so in many of the following verbs standing in the future tense. For the sake of clearness, I have preferred to resolve these forms graphically into their component elements.

[192] [193] **58, 11.** wátsam, etc. The possessive wátsam stands here instead of the instrumental case watsátka through attraction from wännikísham. Tchíkla here means to ride away on another's horse, the horse being missed by his owner.

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[*] Dave Hill introduces himself in the first person as chief; but many of these decisions can be given by the headchief only, not by any of the subchiefs, to whose number Dave Hill belonged. The Modocs at Yáneks claim to observe these regulations; the Snake Indians do not.

539 he was nowhere to be seen. They thought he must have died. After a long time he began to talk, throwing water on the rocks. When he was quite ready he came out and walked to his own people. He had bested the shamans.

One informant completed the humorous tale of the lizard who killed five grizzlies with the comment, "He was braver than Tel'lokin."

622 Chiefs are wealthy. All informants gave the same term, lŏ'ki, for
rich man and chief, and when asked for the rich men named the chiefs.
556 They own many slaves; other people may have slaves, but many have
595 none. Some chiefs have a number of wives. Lᴇle'ks had seven at one
time, not slaves, but one a Modoc, the others native. This, the largest
[567] marrige group known, argues considerable wealth. Lᴇle'ks was accus-
[439] tomed to make frequent trips to northern tribes with captives to
exchange for horses. Everything points to the rise in wealth of these
men as dating only from the comparatively recent period of contact
with the northern tribes. Up to that time at least shamans rivaled
[756] chiefs in wealth.

622 A chief becomes such primarily by his leadership in war. When
a group is gathered preparatory to war, chiefs address them and under their guidance war leaders, prominent, brave, and wealthy, are agreed on. Chiefs themselves are among the war leaders and no one alone captains the party. Chiefs make a point of engaging prominent adversaries in the forefront of battle. In addition to their other qualities, it is assumed that they are brave, unexcitable, and able to do without sleep.

Under the circumstances there can hardly be inheritance of chieftainship, largely because it is not an office to be regulated by definite succession. A chief's relative may be chosen as war leader, but not of necessity. Since wealth figures, it may be that at least the possibility of succession is heritable, but a man who is personally disqualified will not be considered. Pat Kane's paternal grandfather was a chief at du'kwa; further vision experiences had made him a good gambler but no shaman. But his son did not succeed because he was not competent and, in addition poor, nor has Pat any pretensions. On the death of Lᴇle'ks, his son Solomon was passed over as lacking caliber, and in reservation days Alan David, previously a minor figure, was recognized in his place. Their relationship is unknown. My informants did not know whether the fathers of any of the chiefs named above had been chiefs before them.

● [565] The Klamath have no feeling of class stratification as on the
Columbia river and northward. A chief is a leader and nothing more.

tion to the Klallam situation and perhaps the payments made in such 171*
cases by Chinook. Marriage occurred in or out of the tribe, but with
no near relative, which includes fourth cousins.[514] Caste stratification 583
was as strong among the Quinault as among their northern neighbors, 171*
and marriages had to be contracted with persons of equivalent status.
This brought it about that tribal or at least village exogamy was 565 •
insisted on for chiefs. The sentiment was nearly as strong for com- 582
moners as well, although in their case emphasis was on the fact that
all co-villagers, or nearly all, were related; marriage of relatives of
even remote degree being forbidden. Not only might a man normally
not marry in his own village, but for the same reason he could not
ordinarily marry in that from which his mother came. The upper [583]
class always purchased wives from other noble families; to marry
below one's rank was disgraceful in the highest degree. If a common
man wanted to marry a chief's daughter, the chief would pay someone
to kill him. In contrast to the Klallam desire in extra-tribal mar-
riages, the Quinault had no preference for northern tribes. All mar-
riages, of whatever rank, were made by purchase, that is by the
exchange of gifts of high value. Elopements were common, yet this 171*
was theft and therefore dangerous, for the girl's father might kill the
man, whose relatives could not retaliate. The bride who eloped must 583
be paid for, in fact the price then demanded was inclined to be
exorbitant. Legitimatizing of marriage was Quinault theory at least, [848]
yet illegitimate children were many and not looked on with contempt.[515]

Purchase of the same order appears among the Puget Sound tribes, 171*
at least for the wealthy, that is the upper classes. The interchange
of gifts was not compulsory, so that poor people married on agree- 565
ment alone or deferred payment until they were able. The general 583
impression obtained from the account of these people (Nisqually,
Snohomish, Snuqualmi, Skokomish, and Suquamish) is that class dis-
tinctions did not cut so deep as on Vancouver island and coastal
Washington. Differences of wealth were not so great, hence, com- 171*
paratively, wealth and its function in marriage were not emphasized
to the same degree. The exogamic habit is present however but
apparently confined rather to the upper class. Even fourth and fifth
cousins could not marry.[516] The Nisqually maintain that tribal
exogamy held for all; one who broke the rule was not only disgraced

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[514] Swan, Indians of Cape Flattery, 11 ff.

[515] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925, 1926.

[516] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 34–38; Spier, Nisqually field notes, 1922.

171* 582 583 From the Columbia river southward the exogamic practice extended among the coastal tribes as far as the Hupa and some form of the purchase feature to the Pomo. The caste sentiment of the northern tribes existed on the Oregon coast, with its concomitant local exogamy to maintain caste in marriage. This is implied for the Alsea, where there was "a decided preference for marriage with women from another tribe. This is explicitly stated of the nobility. At the same time there is evidence that the men did not care to go too far afield for their wives, for in such specific cases as could be cited, the favored tribes were the Yaquina and Siuslaw, whose languages are almost identical with Alsea and who regarded each other as closely akin. It is more likely that the exogamous tendency was local and extended to villages rather than to tribes."[580] In general culture the Coos resembled the Alsea, hence it may be presumed that the same exogamic sentiments prevailed. This is the more certain since the tribes to the south, the northwestern Californians, were also locally exogamous by habit. Coos marriages were apparently all made by purchase, often being those of children. The amount transferred was pitifully small in comparison with bride prices north and south. How far there was proprietary interest in the purchase, may be judged by the fact that the husband would demand the return of the bride price from the parents of an adulterous wife.[581]

[565] While caste sentiment was not so definitely crystallized among the Takelma, distinctions were drawn between rich and poor, freeman and slave. "There is no well-defined rule against marriage within the village, but as it must very often have happened that practically all the residents of a village were related [marriage of relatives being forbidden], it was customary to look beyond the village for a mate, and in many cases even to marry into some neighboring tribe of alien speech, like the Shasta or the Galice Creek Athabascans." But it was as true here as to the north that such extra-local marriages were dictated by the necessity of finding a wealthy mate, for "the social status of the children depended very largely, of course, on the price paid for the mother, so that poor people's children were looked down upon as not much better than dogs. . . . . The indebtedness of the husband to his father-in-law did not entirely cease with the initial purchase of the wife." He was obliged to visit him later with further gifts and to pay him again on the birth of the first child. "This pay-

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[580] Farrand, Notes on the Alsea, 242.

[581] St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 26.

*171 ment was considered as equivalent to the buying of the child." Here
582 too childhood marriages often occurred.[332]

583 East of the Cascades among the Klamath, social stratification was
far more fluid. There were rich and poor but the caste feeling was only
*171 slightly developed. Indeed the sentiment may not be more than a
582 century old, for the impression was derived that differences of wealth
were slight and rank absent prior to the opening of direct contact with
583 the Columbia river tribes. This does not date back of the opening of
• 565 the nineteenth century. Marriage here was indifferently within or
without the local community, but inasmuch as there was no sentiment dictating marriage with one of equivalent wealth and rank, such exogamy as does occur is random and without purpose. The only prescription is that some payment must be made. The amount was relatively small and no great weight attached to its size as indicative of rank, or pretension to rank.

*171 The Northern Maidu have no general rule of marriage within or
582 without the village. Of the Sacramento valley division however it is
observed that "there would appear to have been a slightly greater
583 practice of local exogamy." The reason for this is not clear unless it be that co-villagers were commonly related, for these people have no feeling for distinctions of rank based on wealth.[333] Whether the Southern Maidu had a similar exogamic tendency does not appear. There is however some simulation of purchase, since the girl's father received more than the boy's in the exchange of gifts.[334]

*171 Local exogamy of a type affiliated with northwestern forms was
not found in this direction beyond the Maidu. Exogamy did occur
582 among the south-central Californians, but it was the exogamy of totemic moieties, which was local exogamy only to the extent that the totemic groups were localized. Thus it happened that the majority of Yokuts marriages were locally exogamic. The most northerly of such tribes were the Miwok.[335] Since the habit of local exogamy was so slightly developed among them, it is doubtful that the Maidu case should be interpreted as an imitation of their practice. I should rather hold that it is to be taken as a result of the prohibition of marriage with relatives, hence not a reflection of either northern or southern influences.

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[332] Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 268, 274.

[333] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 239, 240.

[334] Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 36.

[335] Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 141; Kroeber, Handbook, 457, 493.

selves the superiors of those among whom they are resident. Once the 171*
sentiment had become lodged in the group its fruition was made inev- 174
itable by the imitation of others. 583

With Kroeber, who has so expressed himself on the subject of the 554
Yurok,[386] I do not believe that the levirate and sororate were born of 556
this special development of purchase. Both customs have a nearly universal distribution in North America. It seems rather that such existing practices were drawn into the developing marriage complex of this area.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The background for a study of social stratification has been laid 128
in the preceding section. I will here deal with chieftainship, its relations to wealth and heredity, and related topics.

Social stratification was but weakly developed among the Klamath. 554
Social standing did not depend directly on heredity and there was 556
apparently little difference in wealth from richest to poorest. Since wealth was inherited there was at least some stability to family standing. The marriage purchase gave respectability to the union; it did
not fix the standing of the couple by reason of the amount paid. Yet [56]
there was some differentiation based on wealth, a continuous gradation from the wealthiest to the slaves.

The wealthiest individuals were called lō'ki, rich men. This was 556
also the term by which chiefs were styled. My interpretation of the
Indian's statements is that those prominent individuals, who exer- 622
cised functions which would elsewhere have led to their being called chiefs, were at the same time the wealthiest. A chief became such primarily by successful leadership in war, coupled with some background of spirit power, wealth, personal qualities, especially ability as an advisor, with some suggestion of hereditary interest.

The chiefly functions emphasized were leadership in war and 622
haranguing the people. The chief could not issue injunctions, he re- [701]
ceived no tribute, and was in no way responsible for the conduct or debts of his people. Just prior to reservation days there was intro-
duced from Columbia river the practice of chiefs sitting as judges. [565] •

While chiefs were set off from the mass, this did not imply any sense of caste stratification. Their wives and children were not known by a distinctive class term.

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[386] Handbook, 31.

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Every evidence points to the recency of the rise of chieftainship among these people. It is doubtful that material differences in wealth and slave-holding existed prior to the opening of direct contact with the Columbia river tribes after 1800. Even then chiefs were of relatively minor importance. The shamans were the great men and the wealthiest, easily eclipsing the chiefs. As an instance I have cited the difficulty of obtaining the names of chiefs of pre-reservation days, whereas shamans are well remembered. It is clear that some of the local groups did not have chiefs. The relative dominance of the shaman persisted until reservation days. Prior to this time chiefs were barely differentiated leaders of the Great Basin type.

Basis of Chieftainship

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The Northwest Coast tribes stood in sharp contrast to this simple social scheme. There existed a caste system, a division into aristocracy, commoners, and slaves. While the relative ranking was continuous from the noblest aristocrat to the meanest commoner, there was nevertheless a well defined consciousness of distinction between the grades. This aristocracy was based on lineage and wealth. Its highest members were the chiefs, ordinarily the wealthiest persons. Yet a chief might lose wealth but retain his rank by reason of his birth. Within each community were several chiefs of the first rank whose authority extended hardly beyond their immediate retainers. Their advice was followed rather than their dictates obeyed. They were, however, among the Kwakiutl, for example, the recipients of gifts from their followers, not so much by reason of right as to bespeak their future aid and to enrich them to the further glory of the whole group.[580]

A definite caste system of this type is traceable southward from British Columbia through coastal Washington and Oregon at least as far as the Alsea. It has been noted, for example, for Klallam, the Puget sound tribes, Chinook, Wishram, and Alsea. It did not appear in the interior among the upper Fraser river tribes, nor in eastern Washington as among the Okanagon and Middle Columbia Salish, nor in eastern Oregon among Klamath, Modoc, and Northern Paiute. At the southern extremity of this area of distribution a somewhat different situation prevailed. There was no rigid caste system, but differences of wealth were considerable and on these social standing

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[580] See Sapir, Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes, 360; Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 338, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1333 f., Social Organization of the Kwakiutl.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
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rested. This held at least for coastal Oregon and northwestern California (Coos, Yurok, Hupa) while inland among Takelma and Shasta it was true to a lesser degree. The Klamath feeling for stratification based on wealth is thus intelligible as an attenuated form. 171* 622 565 554

It follows that chieftainship was hereditary in the area in which ranking was fixed by birth as well as wealth, while it rested on wealth alone in the southern area. Merely to list the instances, it was hereditary among Klallam, Snohomish, Chinook, Wishram, Wasco, and Alsea (but see below). The richest men among the southern tribes were the equivalent: Coos, Yurok, Hupa, and Shasta, and, if we reverse this statement, the Klamath. It is thus intelligible why Sapir found among the Wishram that "being a chief did not necessitate being a particularly wealthy man. It often happened that the wealthiest people did not belong to the highest rank."[561] Similarly that a wealthy Coos could flout the orders of a chief, and among the Alsea "it was possible . . . . for a common man, by reason of extraordinary power or wealth, to rise to the dignity of a chief and thus raise his family in rank."[562]

There was in none of these tribes a governmental organization involving hierarchy of chiefs. The point is really that what we here write of as tribes were rather dialectic and cultural units, not political entities. Political separation was carried to a high degree throughout the Pacific slope, the local communities being almost without exception autonomous, or at most grouped for common action within a quite restricted district. It followed from this that the number of chiefs was rarely or never fixed. Those who were entitled to leadership by virtue of birth or wealth were recognized as leaders. Thus it happened that while some communities had more than one of first rank, others had none. Yet other tribes did not always exhibit the haphazardness of the Klamath in this regard. 171* 622

Where the feeling was strong that every wealthy man was entitled to consideration, as among the Hupa, "each village had a head-man who was the richest there. . . . . The very fact of his wealth gave him the power of a chief and maintained him in that power."[563] We may presume this true of the Yurok as well and probably the Karok. The Shasta "chief was the head of the richest family in the district," 171* 622 556

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[561] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

[562] St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 25; Farrand, Notes on the Alsea, 242.

[563] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 58.

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occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of any sharp geographic division, rivers or ranges, such as we should expect to figure in political separatism. There are only three or four miles of open, unoccupied country between the middle Williamson river group and that at the river mouth, for instance, or between the latter and the northernmost outposts of the Klamath falls people about Modoc point. The cases of doubtful divisions really stress this point. Kowa'edi on the lake shore may belong with the middle Williamson division; though only three miles away over a low range of hills, it is somewhat isolated. Similarly the Sprague river settlements toward Yainax, usually included in the same group, are in quite a different district.

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The third feature pointing to their separatism is the frequent feuds between them. It is quite clear that these involve the tribelets; they never occur between the settlements of a single division. The point will be clearer if we contrast Yurok sentiments. There feuds are between the towns or with only a group of kinsmen within a town, and at most when several towns are involved in a joint cause, it appears rather that kinsmen and their friends have been drawn in.[24]
• [567] Further, feuds are carried on much as warfare with foreigners; property is destroyed, women and children enslaved. Such slaves can be retained indefinitely or sold again. We may wonder however if they are not restored when a settlement is bought, or at most retained only to even the score in lives.

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The identity of these groups resolves itself solely into such aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large part a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole.

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Only one informant, Pat Kane, suggested dialectic and cultural differentiation. The dialect groupings he gave are purely geographic. He also assigned shamanistic tricks, medical practices, and games to the several divisions, which all other informants emphatically denied. I could observe no linguistic differences and Gatschet recorded none.

000 The subdivisions or tribelets are:

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[24] Kroeber, Handbook, 49.

connection the Sahaptins of the Columbia and the Cayuse seem 648
meant.[86] Both Ya'mökni and Shasta made slaves among the Klamath. 721
How infrequent were these raids may be judged by the circumstance [567]
that my informants independently mentioned the half-dozen recorded years ago by Gatschet, and no others.

The Pit river people, possibly only the Achomawi, may alone be raided with impunity. Reciprocity on their part would lead them only into the intervening territory of the hostile Modoc, who may well
have served the Klamath as a buffer. For their part the Klamath were [567]
stimulated by the lucrative traffic in slaves established with the Columbia river tribes, and the majority of captives were by all accounts Pit
river people. Gatschet writes of these raids as a regular occurrence. 114
"In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround 437
the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their
homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place 567
at The Dalles"; and again, "the Lake men enslaved many every
spring time."[87] To be sure, consonant with Kroeber's view,[88] raiding [231]
was undoubtedly accelerated by the appearance of the horse in the north. Contacts were then more rapid, and the beast itself became
an important and desirable article to possess. But there can be no 567
doubt that the practice of taking slaves on Pit river was already established. This is not only implied in the informants' statements, but it must be kept in mind that slaves were an important element in the society of the Wishram, Wasco, and their down-river neighbors. This means that the Klamath were not only turning to slave-taking as a lucrative traffic, but that slave-holding as indicative of social distinction was becoming their habit by imitation.[89]

How frequently the Klamath made war as a whole is unknown. It 721
seems doubtful that concerted action was frequent. Perhaps large- 567

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[86] Henry Reaier, an old settler, told me of such a raid up the Deschutes about 1876. 619

[87] *Op. cit.*, 1:lix, 19.

[88] Handbook, 319.

[89] While the Klamath do not distinguish among the Pit river peoples raided, Kniffen's recent account of the Achomawi (Achomawi Geography) makes it clear that Klamath and Modoc descended most frequently on Achomawi settlements north of the Pit and also crossed it to Atsugewi territory in Hat Creek and Dixie valleys. The Achomawi proper about Fall river were subject to continual attack; the Hewisedawi, south of Goose lake, and the Astariwawi, near them on the Pit, bore the brunt. The Atsugewi divisions, Atsuge (Hat creek) and Aporige (Dixie valley), were also freely raided. The Atwamsini, on the middle Pit, and the Kosalektawi, on the extreme headwaters of the river, were reached much less frequently. The other groups of Achomawi were free from attack probably by reason of their inaccessibility; the Ilmawi, Itsatawi, and Madesi at the western end of their range, and the Hammawi on the extreme east.

721 [619] [567] scale expeditions were undertaken only after the slave traffic was established on an extensive scale. On one occasion at least all the chiefs were at a dance preparatory to going to war: this implies that all the tribelets were engaged. All the tribelets joined similarly in a raid for revenge against the Upland Takelma. It is said that the Klamath marsh division (ä'ukekni), by far the largest group, always extended the invitation for war, but I doubt that this is literally so. It is true that they led in aggressions just prior to reservation days, but this seems because of the initiative of their chief Lɛle'ks, the most prominent ever known, who was singularly interested in the slave trade for his personal advantage.

726 628 Internecine warfare is probably as significant as that with foreigners, for quarrels and blood feuds are quite common. Feuds exist between the several subdivisions, not within them, evincing a solidarity which but rarely extends to the tribe. Thus the du'kwakni of the mouth of Williamson river are known to have taken action against members of each of the four other divisions, even the gu'mbötkni of Pelican bay with whom they are closely linked. There are cases of reciprocated action by each of the five against the others indiscriminately. Yet Pat Kane stated that the lesser divisions avoided conflict with the ä'ukekni. Yet there is the case of his own people, du'kwakni, fighting with an ä'ukekni settlement. Nancy Phillips said it was true that she knew of no cases involving gu'mbötkni or iu'' laloҁkni (southern lake people) with ä'ukekni, but this does not mean they would not fight. I think it hardly likely that the others are awed by the numbers of the ä'ukekni, for the feuds are essentially between groups of relatives alone. Yet others besides relatives might be induced to join.

721 628 A characteristic circumstance initiating a feud is the murder of a man residing with a wife of another tribelet. Ten or twenty of his male relatives take canoe and demand the delivery of the murderer or satisfaction from his relatives in the form of women, slaves, beads, dentalia, etc. The parley (ndĕ'na) is held from a safe distance at the top of their voices. Instead of acceding, the offenders may offer fight. But an effort is usually made to reach an agreement by offering payment. They may forestall retaliation by dispatching as a go-between (gaķö'ķwa) a relative of the offended group who is paid for his trouble, a canoe, a shirt, net, skin armor, or a woman's dress. If they have neither women nor money to offer, they give nets, weapons, anything, even to the last things they have. If no amicable adjustment can be reached they resort to fight. Even though the score be evened

539 he was nowhere to be seen. They thought he must have died. After a long time he began to talk, throwing water on the rocks. When he was quite ready he came out and walked to his own people. He had bested the shamans.

One informant completed the humorous tale of the lizard who killed five grizzlies with the comment, "He was braver than Tel'lokis."

622 Chiefs are wealthy. All informants gave the same term, lö'ki, for
rich man and chief, and when asked for the rich men named the chiefs.
556 They own many slaves; other people may have slaves, but many have
595 none. Some chiefs have a number of wives. Lɛle'ks had seven at one
time, not slaves, but one a Modoc, the others native. This, the largest
[567] marrige group known, argues considerable wealth. Lɛle'ks was accus-
[439] tomed to make frequent trips to northern tribes with captives to
exchange for horses. Everything points to the rise in wealth of these
men as dating only from the comparatively recent period of contact
with the northern tribes. Up to that time at least shamans rivaled
[756] chiefs in wealth.

622 A chief becomes such primarily by his leadership in war. When a group is gathered preparatory to war, chiefs address them and under their guidance war leaders, prominent, brave, and wealthy, are agreed on. Chiefs themselves are among the war leaders and no one alone captains the party. Chiefs make a point of engaging prominent adversaries in the forefront of battle. In addition to their other qualities, it is assumed that they are brave, unexcitable, and able to do without sleep.

Under the circumstances there can hardly be inheritance of chieftainship, largely because it is not an office to be regulated by definite succession. A chief's relative may be chosen as war leader, but not of necessity. Since wealth figures, it may be that at least the possibility of succession is heritable, but a man who is personally disqualified will not be considered. Pat Kane's paternal grandfather was a chief at du'kwa; further vision experiences had made him a good gambler but no shaman. But his son did not succeed because he was not competent and, in addition poor, nor has Pat any pretensions. On the death of Lɛle'ks, his son Solomon was passed over as lacking caliber, and in reservation days Alan David, previously a minor figure, was recognized in his place. Their relationship is unknown. My informants did not know whether the fathers of any of the chiefs named above had been chiefs before them.

[565] The Klamath have no feeling of class stratification as on the Columbia river and northward. A chief is a leader and nothing more.

His wife and children are commoners and not known by distinctive terms. 622

The emphasis among the chiefly functions is clearly on leadership in war and haranguing the people. [701] Every morning before daylight he addresses them and again in the evening until the sun is well down. I am somewhat dubious that this procedure is as standardized as my informant had it. The address runs on fighting and acquiring spirit aid. He warns against hostile raiders; tells them to rise before daybreak; tells the young people to seek visions. "If you get a spirit, you cannot be killed; you will never fall sick; you will live to be old." But he has no word as to where they shall hunt or fish or carry on other routine activities.

A chief has no speaker as a shaman has. [756] Such might have been expected here, for Paviotso, Wishram, and Nez Percé chiefs have. [171] *

A chief is not looked to to preserve peace. Old men may interfere in quarrels, but these are no especial concern of a chief. Nevertheless the word of an influential chief might end a feud. Just prior to reservation days the practice was introduced of tieing up and lashing quarrelsome men at the word of a chief. [177] This was brought from the north by the cousin of my informant Nancy. It has a decided un-aboriginal flavor. A chief is under no obligation to help his people pay blood money, nor to assist them when starving. These are matters for relatives alone; they may die for all he is concerned.

SLAVES, TRADE, AND WEALTH

Slaves are captives of war, some of whom are kept by the Klamath 567 • but the majority are carried to the Dalles to be sold. They seem to have been numerous. Gatschet quotes a statement of Taylor in 1859 that in the raid on the Pit river people two years previously fifty-six of their women and children had been taken and sold on the Columbia river.[68] Doubt has been cast both on the number of slaves and the frequency of the raids as described by early writers. Kroeber, for instance, scouts the idea of yearly raids on the Achomawi and suggests that a few actual cases have been exaggerated.[69] Whatever the case be with regard to annual raids, I am certain that the evidences are too many and too circumstantial to permit of doubt that raids were

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[68] 1:lx.

[69] Handbook, 319.

567 frequent and had slave-taking as a primary object. It is probable that the introduction of the horse stimulated predatory habits and made possible frequent trading visits to the Columbia river people. From them they adopted for themselves the practices of slave-holding on an enlarged scale and of measuring wealth in terms of slaves, and were encouraged to raid more frequently, and to carry their spoil to the river to exchange for the highly desired horses. Prior to the coming of the horse, we may suppose the very mild interest in holding captives found in any Basin or Californian tribe.

567 721 Most slaves (loks) are from Pit river (Achomawi and Atsugewi); others are Northern Paiute and Shasta, with a few Upland Takelma from the Rogue river drainage. A few of these Takelma are known to have been made captive on a raid into Klamath territory. The Klamath sporadically raid the Pit river people in spring or summer when the latter are scattered. Young children, women, and even men are taken.[60] Other plunder (du'ta) consists of blankets, bows and arrows, dentalia, and other beads. Captives are similarly taken in the course of feuds among the tribal subdivisions, and perhaps as freely sold. One informant had it that they are not sold but grow to manhood as foster children and visit back and forth with their own people on the friendliest terms. This view implies that they are taken and cherished as recompense for a loss by murder.

567 437 Slaves are commonly traded to individuals who make a practice of taking them to Warm Springs and the Dalles to sell again. Such was Lεle'ks in his day, who, having got three or four together, would set out for the north to trade for horses and blankets. Some he would keep to treat much as his own relatives.

567 It is quite likely that a slave's life is much like that of any poor Klamath. They commonly live in dome-shaped mat-lodges set up beside the family's earth-lodge, and there the women are visited by their masters. How far they are abused or suffer from uncertainty, I do not know. Gatschet records the escape of Pit river captives while their captors were hurrying back from a raid.[61] When the agency was established by the government all slaves were freed, but most elected to stay, and of those who returned to their own people, some came back. Evidently they had not suffered from too harsh treatment; at any rate, by my informant's account, those who had

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[114] [60] Gatschet says adult men were not enslaved but killed if captured. The instance he cites bears him out (*op. cit.*, 1:24, 25).

[562] [61] *Op. cit.*, 1:20.

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grown up among the Klamath, Klamath in speech and custom, were K 567
not tempted to begin life anew elsewhere. Some, at least, had considerable K
prestige. Pit River Charley, for instance, a freed slave, [786]
returned from his people in 1873 with novel rites which were engrafted [177]
on the Ghost dance then newly come to the Klamath.[62]

Trade is probably of no great consequence within the tribe although K
it figures intertribally. Contacts were few and frequently unfriendly 439
until after the coming of the whites. The exception is the neighboring 221
Modoc groups; others are too distant. Winters are too severe for 361
travel and trade, but summers find the Warm Springs people in residence
with the Klamath. These similarly set out for Warm Springs
and the Dalles when the grass begins to grow, camping there in the
open during the summer, and building mat-covered structures of
earth-lodge shape (wakĕ'ploks) if they stay through the winter. K
Slaves, Pit River bows, and beads are taken there to trade for horses, 439
blankets, buffalo skins, parfleches, beads (probably dentalium shells), 436
dried salmon, and lampreys.[63] Two slave children are valued at five 567
horses, several buffalo skins, and some beads. This is not far from
the values recorded by Taylor in 1859; one woman was worth five or
six horses, a boy one horse.[64]

The Molala are also visitors and are met on the headwaters of the K
Rogue west of Crater lake. From them buckskins are obtained for 648
pond-lily seed and beads. Relations with the Shasta have not always [437]
been unfriendly; some of the Klamath Falls group and Modoc married S
with them, possibly only since the white advent. The nearest Shasta 131
settlements at Shovel and Jennie creeks can be reached afoot several K
days' journey down the Klamath. Laik'ĕlmi is a jointly occupied 648
fishing site somewhat upstream but below the Klamath canyon. Skins [226]
and skin blankets are traded for Shasta beads. Dixon states that [437]
Shasta trade with the Klamath is slight.[65]

In the period 1860-70 the few Shasta remaining in their territory congregated S
on the lower Shasta river and near the frontier town, Yreka. They were 131
reached by crossing the Black Mountain range. At that time this was a S
much mixed group, principally half-breeds. My informant Tom Lang, taken [302]
there as a youngster, remarked how he was afraid of their highly tattooed faces.

Intercourse and marriage went on freely with the Modoc. They K
were visited on Tule and Lower Klamath lakes, and joined for the 648
fishing on Lost River near Olene. 131
226

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[62] Spier, Ghost Dance of 1870, 45, 51.

[63] Cf. Gatschet, 1:93; 2:436.

[64] *Op. cit.*, 1:lx.

[65] The Shasta, 436.

648 fishing on Lost river near Olene. A shallow bowl-shaped twined
[439] basket, called ķ!we'lu, is obtained from the Modoc, who in turn trade
it from Pit river. There is no direct trade with the latter people.

231 Horses were first acquired in any number about 1840. They had
177 been previously acquainted with them in the hands of whites who
crossed their country about this time; dates are uncertain. Ogden
in 1826 remarked on a single horse seen as though it was a rarity
231 among them.[66] The first sources were Warm Springs and perhaps
177 some group immediately east of that place. These were obtained by
chiefs; others were too poor in slaves to buy them. The name given
437 the new animal follows the common habit, wa'tcag from watc, dog.
Saddles (pă'olăs) were first made of antelope hide. Here, as in the
Plains, horses served as a stimulator of contacts, especially with the
Columbia river peoples. As I have remarked, their introduction seems
responsible for the rapid increase in wealth, the flow of northern ideas
concerning social stratification, importance of wealth and of slave-holding,
Plains costume, and those predatory habits which furnished
the withal to maintain the new status.

237 Buffalo (yo'ho) skins are obtained at second hand; the Klamath
177 know that their origin is east of the Umatilla, that is, in Idaho.
Buffalo never ranged into this country, although they reached the
437 Harney Lake district. But very few skins ever make their way into
Klamath hands; only men with many slaves can afford them. They
• 527 are wanted to cover a gambler's hands in the stick game, an opportunity
for ostentation.

177 Parfleches (sķŏ'psŏli, folded up) are traded from Warm Springs
437 people and Sahaptins beyond them on the Columbia. They are not
made by Klamath.

415 Incidentally, many older people have fluent command of Chinook
* 171 jargon. They, or somewhat doubtfully the Modoc, are the southernmost
people with whom this trade jargon is current. Kroeber remarks
437 on the fragments in use by Yuki and Shasta.[67] Naturally enough, it
191 served a purpose with the Columbia river peoples alone and was of but
small value with the whites coming from California.

556 It is interesting to know what constituted wealth among the Klamath,
but with the old life now gone it is difficult to get direct evidence.
However, certain things alone were spoken of when describing

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[66] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

[67] Handbook, 308, 319.

The number of plural wives depends on wealth; hence chiefs have more than others. From my notes I glean two instances of two wives, another of three. The wives in both bigamous cases were sisters. The greatest number known was the case of the chief Lᴇle'ks, who had at one time seven wives, two of them sisters.[72] I have described their derivations above. These women bore him many children. Whether the wives are sisters is a matter of complete indifference. To have two wives is called la'bwewa'nsgĭtkt (lit., two females), three ᴇnda'nwewa'nsgĭtkt, and so on. Collectively the wives may be referred to as sĭpkska'ltk; they call each other p'tcĭlki'p. Plural wives are paid for, but whether there is reciprocal visiting I do not know. Slaves are also taken to wife. Polyandry is unthinkable to the Klamath; it would be adulterous. 595 [622] [567]

Barrenness is as usual a reason for taking a second wife, but not always. Pat's maternal uncle had a barren wife. He kept her throughout his life and never took another. The case of three wives noted above was one in which there were no children; the children of this family always died in infancy, I was told. Whether this implied that two of the three were barren, I do not know. One word, ts'e'do, means a sterile man or woman. 595 842

The sororate is not obligatory on the death of a wife, nor is there any notion that a girl must marry an older sister's husband when she comes of age.[73] It is thought better to marry a deceased wife's sister, and from her family's point of view it is evidence that they care for the husband when they provide another daughter. There is however no feeling that they are under compulsion to make good the loss he sustained because of his marriage payments. A bereaved person waits a year or more before remarrying. The second wife has to be paid for like the first, but the amount is less. Again this depends on the man's affluence. The sororate is called spĭno'la, the sister, spĭ'nuwĭp, i.e., sibling-in-law when the spouse is dead (cf. spĭnu', to cremate, spĭ'nuks, cremation place). 587 [601]

The levirate is customary but not obligatory. It is desirable to keep a woman in the family, especially one with children. This is perhaps nothing more than an expression of household solidarity, for

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[72] Gatschet states ten, but I am certain there were not more than seven, at least at one time (2:126).

[73] There is just a suggestion. When asked for the kinship term used by a woman for her sister's husband, my informant gave the term for husband, but somewhat in confusion corrected herself with the woman's term for brother-in-law. [601]

Taken as a whole Klamath material culture is of Plateau type with 171*
strong leanings toward northeastern California. But their social and 101
religious culture has a different aspect. While basically of the
extremely simple Basin-Plateau type, social habits reflect the Northwest 105
Coast, religious ones rather those of northern California and
western Oregon.

The basis of Klamath religious experience is that of the northern 171*
interior, the Basin, and the Northwest Coast, in distinction to California
and the Southwest. The experience is deliberately sought and 771
the power obtained is of a generalized, unspecialized nature. In this
they resemble as well the generality of North Americans. Even their
spirits are of the sort universal east of the Pacific coast. Specific
Northwest Coast influence appears in the circumscription of general
spirit repossession to the midwinter month. On the other hand, the
shaman novice's inaugural dance, which gives at least as much color
to Klamath shamanism, is characteristic of northern California and
western Oregon. The Klamath form of it is, rather, Oregonian.
Details of shamanism, on the other hand, link more firmly with
northern, especially northeastern, California.

Social organization is extremely simple, and it is quite patent that 171*
as late as the end of the eighteenth century, it resembled that of the
Basin and Plateau in every particular. Even now social stratification
is only weakly developed. Chiefs were only recently set off from the
mass, their functions vague and their influence slight. At the very 171*
moment that Klamath society began to break down with the coming of 177
the whites, they first imported from the Columbia river judicial functions 622
for the chiefs. Chiefs are the wealthiest individuals, but they
are not chiefs because they are wealthy. Their selection is still based
on principles of personal ability. The basis of this differentiation,
wealth, came from the same direction, but the accompanying principle
of the Northwest Coast, caste stratification, never reached here; nor
did the chief's adjunct, a speaker or advocate, although this functionary
is known in the Plateau and Basin as well as in the Northwest.
At the other end of the scale, slavery is apparently an old institution, 171*
but was of little importance until wealth began to figure among them. 567 •
The Northwest Coast concept of status based on wealth appears again
in marriage, here regularly by purchase. But social estimation did 171*
not rest on the amount paid, which was in fact very little. With so 556
slight an emphasis on rank and wealth, those northwestern corollaries,
local exogamy to maintain the one and the family compact following 584

177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
174 Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[622] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

[721] It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slaveholding
[567] existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their distribution
177 established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kinship
terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
[622] custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[619] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctiveness
101 from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
105 to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some northwestern
influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

The northwestern type of speaker was known among Klallam, Quinault, and Wishram, and probably to all the intervening tribes.[575] Their presence may also be suspected in coastal Oregon, for their functions would have been quite consistent with the social sentiment there. Some positiveness is lent to this by the presence of what seems to have been a chief's speaker among the Rogue river tribes participating in the treaty negotiations of September 10, 1855. It is recorded that the chief spoke to a man who shouted his words to the assembled warriors.[576] Certainly the speaker was absent in northwestern California. On the other hand, Drake's description of the Coast Miwok in 1579 makes it certain that the speaker was a recognized functionary further south.[577] The Basin type of word for word repeater occurred over a wide area, having been recorded for the Nez Percé, the Sahaptins of Priest Rapids on the Columbia, Southern Maidu, Paviotso (Northern Paiute), Kaibab Paiute (?), and Havasupai.[578] Something of the sort might have been expected among the Klamath; they share, however, a substitute, the shaman's speaker, with the northern California groups. 171* 537 622

Slavery

Slave-raiding and slave-holding may not have developed among the Klamath until the coming of the horse and the opening of a slave traffic with the Columbia river tribes in the early nineteenth century. 174 567* It is probable that prior to that time there was only the mild interest in holding captives found among their southern and eastern neighbors. Their slaves were captives of war. Slave-holding and the measure of wealth in terms of slaves were characteristic of all northwestern people. 171* 567 These were everywhere taken in war and sold. Slave-holding of this type prevailed not only in western Washington to the Columbia but southward through Oregon (Tillamook, Alsea, Takelma, Upland Takelma,[579] and Shasta). Coos and others of western Oregon should undoubtedly be included. Slavery is not mentioned in Teit's account of the Middle Columbia Salish of eastern Washington, and does not appear consistent with their general mode of life.[580] Directly

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[575] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 306 f.; Olson, Quinault field notes; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

[576] Walling, History of Southern Oregon, 223.

[577] Kroeber, Handbook, 276.

[578] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, 255.

[579] Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 268, 267.

*171 southward of the Klamath there was no slavery; this is certain for
• 567 Northern and Southern Maidu,[581] and very probably Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northern Paiute. This seems generally true of California with the exception of the northwest (Yurok and probably their neighbors), where there was debt slavery, but where slaves were not measurable articles of wealth.

Summary

101 The general position of the Klamath in relation to surrounding
105 tribes was in earlier days the simple social structure of the Basin peoples. Since the opening of the last century they have borrowed
174 from the Columbia tribes some sense of social stratification based on wealth, slave-holding, and trading, enhanced importance for their chiefs coincident with a change in the basis of selection from war to wealth, and quite recently judicial functions for the chiefs. There was thus a shift in social dominance from shaman to chief.

GIRLS' PUBERTY RITES AND WOMEN'S OBSERVANCES

*171 It is characteristic of western America that adolescence ceremonies
562 were held for girls rather than boys. This is not to ignore the wide
881 extension of the guardian spirit quest, more regularly performed by boys than girls, nor the boys' initiation ceremonies of southern Cali-
787 fornia and the Southwest, but the boys' activities were less commonly ritualized save in the southwestern sector. The boys' quest among the Klamath has been discussed in connection with shamanism.

The girls' rites in the west can best be understood with reference to a background of women's observances throughout the continent.
*171 Certain features of women's behavior had a well-nigh universal dis-
841 tribution. The general conception was that woman during her periodical illnesses was a source of contamination to others or a peril to herself. A series of restrictions ensued; she was secluded or her movements restricted during the period. For her own well-being she must fast or at least refrain from fresh meat or fish, but the latter proscription was also rationalized as avoiding damage to the food supply, especially fishing. She must not touch hands to face or hair, using instead a scratching stick, must not wash nor arrange her hair, and must dispose of her garments before resuming her normal life.

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[580] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, esp. 122.

[581] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 206; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 44.

000 bow and arrow, from behind, as she is dancing. During month's captivity prisoner is "slapped and kicked around," but is not made to work. A man is delegated to lead captive around by hand; captive may become so attached to guard that she cries if anyone else takes charge of her. If she or her guard try to escape either on return to village from war or during captivity, both are killed.

[727] [567] 2873. Kl: Women hide during fighting; a few might be taken home, 1 or 2. Mo: "The Kl took their slaves up N to sell, but Mo had no place to sell slaves, so they didn't take any" (?). SW: Women captives made to work, but "really taken in order to obtain payment for their release later by tribe they belonged to." AW: "When they got mad, Mo came and took babies away. But when AW went [to war] they killed everyone, men, women and children; they didn't make slaves." Occasionally, however, child taken and adopted.

2883. At: Keep bows of slain, and use them; "they said the bow cried, because the man it belonged to was dead." (Never used it as musical bow.) NF: Ultimately burned.

2884. SW: "Mo always scalped Shasta, but Shasta never did this." WT: Take only 1 or 2 scalps, from persons killed in war. After killing man, woman, or child, disembowel corpse and string intestines, etc., around on bushes near enemy village; also cut off genitals and pound them on rock; no fear of counterattack while doing this, according to informant. Captives killed after returning home (see note 2869), not scalped, but bodies treated in fashion described above. NF: Scalping pre-White custom; "scalping stopped when White people came into the country." NS: "Only scalps taken were those of White men."

2885. NF: Scalp stuffed with straw.

Behavior of Noncombatants; Return of War Party

Women's dance; victory (scalp) dance.--

2893. At: Women dance, "just like men, in daytime, in village outside (no fire). Do this so men will return unhurt. Carry feathers."

2894. For all groups in which occurrence of dance is recorded, dancing starts same day or night as departure if warriors going only short distance; starts next day or night if warriors going far away.

2906. At: Carry feathers.

2908a. NF: Scalp dance (wetem) not celebrated immediately upon warriors' return, but "put scalps [taken in war] away for awhile, then arranged scalp dance, with visitors from other villages invited." Circle "dance" around scalps on poles all day; at night burn them. Some strong women run at scalp and hit it with long spear; men shoot it, or spear it. Run around thus all day, crying; those women who join men in this dance and men eat nothing during day. Men dance in center, women on outside.

[211-B]

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TWO

[P.22]

The Frontier Condition

726 FOR MANY YEARS THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WILLAMETTE AND CO-
648 lumbia valleys bypassed the tribes of the Klamath Basin.[1] In-
175 directly, however, they felt the first remote influences, as the
Sahaptin-speaking tribes of the middle Columbia, equipped with
the superior weapons of the trading posts and mounted on horses
acquired from the Shoshonean bands to the south, began to raid
up the Deschutes Valley to take Klamath slaves.[2] The Klamath
[231] were at a disadvantage: in 1826 Peter Skene Ogden, of the
Hudson's Bay Company, found them with but a single horse
[411] and uneasily awaiting raids by joint parties of Cayuse and Nez
Percés; and even by midcentury they had only one firearm
among them.[3] The scantiness of the local beaver made their
territory of little interest to the company, however, and they came
to enjoy a reputation as fierce warriors which preserved them
[101] for some time from settlers. Nonetheless, they were known even
then to the tribes of the Columbia, for Ogden applied to them
a name, "Clammite," that was not their own and seems to stem
from Chinookan.[4]

648 Some ten years after Ogden passed through, a party of French-
175 Canadian trappers made their way into the region and on their
return to The Dalles took along some Klamath.[5] From that time
on, contact with the tribes at that great Indian trading center in-
creased. Klamath parties moved down the Deschutes Valley,
making their way either to The Dalles itself, or branching west-
ward down the north fork of the Santiam along what came to
be known as the Klamath Trail, through the settlement of the
northern Molala, thence to the Kalapuya on the outskirts of
648 Oregon City. There, in 1843, one missionary recorded the visit
567 of "a large party of the Clamath tribe, fierce and warlike . . .
439 with about twenty slaves, [who] sold most or all of them. Some,
435 I was informed, were sold for three horses each,
175 some cheaper."[6]

[Klamath Reservation]

K

175 River renegades had slain five prospectors on a tributary of the
648 Rogue River, the whites apprehended three Klamath involved
in the affair, "whom the Klamaths voluntarily killed to prevent
trouble; that tribe being now desirous of standing well with the
K U.S. Government."[19] It is probable that the hand of Lileks is to
[622] be discerned in this matter also. In brief, his power and that of
Chiloquin, often termed his second chief, was challenged only
by Captain George, leader of a faction hostile to the whites, and
by Monchnkasgitk, leader of the remote Upland tribelet.

K Thus the frontier condition brought a heightened rate of intertribal
175 warfare and of intertribal trading. It gave the Klamath
648 both peaceful and bellicose exposure to whites, largely outside
177 the Klamath homeland. In the awareness of new ways of life
[721] beyond the limited range of which their fathers had been conscious
[439] the Klamath of the first half of the nineteenth century
became diversified in outlook. Enriched with new goods, Klamath
culture prospered, although in comparison with the levels
K achieved by the whites it seemed poorer than ever. Warfare had
M
721 consolidated power and wealth in the hands of leaders and the
648 magnitude of their operations drew Klamath and Modoc into an
175 uneasy cooperation.

622 Indeed, in many of these developments the Modoc participated
K only to a small degree. In disposing of those slaves destined to
M
175 be sold at The Dalles, the Klamath and occasionally the Warm
• 567 Springs peoples acted as middlemen; in consequence the Modoc
721 did not come as fully under the influence of the Columbia River
177 tribes, nor did they amass as much wealth. The development of
556 a chiefly class among them was feebler, and the tribelets coalesced
M
643 under a single acknowledged leader only tardily and
565 incompletely.[20]

619 When in 1846 an exploring party under Jesse and Lindsay
M Applegate laid out an alternate emigrant route known as the
175 South Road, they directed it from Fort Hall down through Modoc
648 country and past the winter settlements on Tule and Lower
721 Klamath lakes, then west of the Cascades and north to the
Willamette settlements. The Modoc bitterly resented the invasion
of their homeland and waged war against the wagon
trains, a war which in turn brought reprisals from the settlers.
In 1852, after the Modoc had extensively damaged several trains

657*

fall; while freighting, limited by road conditions, had the same 177 178
range of seasons. 221

For the farmer, splitting rails and fencing started in the winter 433
and ranged toward spring, as did the clearing of ground. Plow- [464]
ing and sowing of grain might start in March, while vegetable [489]
gardens were not planted before May or June. Harvesting and [241]
haying took place in late summer and threshing in the fall.

The stockman rounded up and branded his cattle at first in the [231]
fall and later in the spring. He sold his beef in the fall, then drove his herd to winter in the upper valley of the Sprague.

Those who relied upon aboriginal foods fished in the late winter and early spring, dug roots or hunted antelope and mule deer in late spring, gathered wokas, wild fruits and berries in the fall, hunted in the Cascades in the fall, and trapped for furs
in the winter. 657*

Beyond this lay the domestic cycle. Homes were built or re- 221
paired in the spring and fall, supplies were bought in the fall, 342
and fuel was gathered in the fall and winter. 356

This summary, bald as it is, will illustrate the fact that many 313
more ventures were now open to the enterprising, as well as a 657*
wider range of relationships. It was possible to draw from 433
several cycles activities that were seasonally compatible. Thus, 464
when the harvests were in, fully one-half to two-thirds of the 177 178
men might leave the reservation on passes to work for whites, taking their families with them.[74] Frequent crop failures drove many to seek outside employment to provide for the coming winter. Because new tastes had given rise to new needs, many at this time forsook those traditional pursuits that conflicted with more lucrative employment. Nor did money alone lie at the root of those preferences. Work for white settlers and freighting provided variety and seasonal mobility, opportunities to meet people, to change scenery, and to escape on occasion beyond the rule (however benevolent in intent) of the Agent.

The new opportunities were open primarily to men, consonant 657*
with the roles of the sexes in nineteenth-century rural America. 433
For them the new system, aside from a certain administrative 177
favoritism, provided an equal chance for advancement. It is no 178
accident that a number of the earliest employees of the Agency [567] •
were Pit River Indians, of whom it was later said: ". . . as a

*657 general thing, they are quite prosperous, and energetic, having
433 learned how to work well as slaves for the Klamaths."[75] One of
177 them, the Indian named Skedaddle, formerly the slave of Chief
178 Lilu, was first employed as farm laborer by the Agency.[76] During
• 567 the Modoc War he enlisted under the name Henry Jackson. In 1883, he reappears as an interpreter at Yainax, in which office he cut hay and cared for the Agency herd as well as butchering the beef cattle.[77] Subsequently, he contracted with white ranchers to split rails, taking half his pay in cash, half in cattle, eventually amassing a sizable herd, which multiplied until it amounted to some eight hundred head of cattle and five hundred head of horses and mules.[78]

ANNUITIES

*657 It was Agency policy to develop the quality of industry and
*648 to ensure the growth of individual enterprise. From this standpoint, the annuity system, in providing rations, was a device to surmount agricultural failures, to carry the Indians through the winter, and to keep them settled quietly upon the reservation. At the same time, there was a danger, of which the Agents were soon aware, that such issues would sap the self-reliance of their charges. As early as 1865 when Lindsay Applegate took over their supervision, he found that, though the Klamath and Yahuskin were well enough supplied with native foods to sustain them through the winter, it was necessary to quiet "their loud clamorings for flour." Accordingly he "made some moderate issues to the chiefs and, through them, to some of their subjects who seemed rather needy." The issue, it would seem, was sought as a right and as an exemplification of the good faith of the government, for he adds, "I became convinced at this time of a growing disaffection among the Indians, on account of the tardiness of the government in fulfilling treaty stipulations."[79]

Discontent was compounded by the suspicion, possibly inspired by unofficial advisors among the whites, that inferior goods were being palmed off in the annuities.

> I was approached today [recounted Captain Sprague to Applegate in 1867] by a Sub-Chief who requested me in the name of all Sub Chiefs to be present at the distribution, and in case the goods distributed were not of good quality and deficient in quantity to note the fact and represent to the authorities at

*657 time had come, he summoned his people "to receive his solemn
*648 admonishments err [sic] his spirit take flight." Soon recovering,
622 he voiced to the Agency farmer, S. D. Whitemore, the suspicion
that the shaman who had cured him, and whose professional
charges had stripped him of all his effects, had been in league
with the subchiefs to bring about his death; and he requested
that the shaman be imprisoned by the military. Later events
made it clear that Monchnkasgitk had been a leader in the
conspiracy, plotting to take the place of the old chief. Thereupon,
Whitemore, then in charge of the Agency, called a council, at
which he "stated that it will be highly necessary to consult their,
and the government agent, or the change could not be regonized
[sic]. . . . I learned that after a lengthy consultation with the
indians has [sic] become impressed with the belief that Mosen
Kasket and his band have no hostile intentions."[7]

[558] With Agency backing, Lileks once more was restored to a
position of relative authority, but his recourse to outside support
caused his personal prestige to decline. He thus had to resort
increasingly to formal instruments to bolster his power and to
implement the changes he sought. When one Spokane Ike slew
[682] his child in Jacksonville, Lileks asked that the Agent order all
Indians back upon the reservation. Spokane Ike was tried by the
Indian court, Lileks presiding, and was fined fifty dollars.

[692] Lileks took readily to the court, and Whitemore reported, "The
indians are holding court dayly [sic]. I am not informed of the
nature of their cases." O. C. Applegate described one session
thus: "A few days ago the Grand Court of Klamath set, Chief
LaLakes presiding, and many men were convicted of many
[681] crimes. One in particular had stolen a number of women, 20
mink skins and otherwise trampeled [sic] on the rights of his
people, he now wears shackles and a heavy log chain and chops
wood for La Lakes."[8]

*648 The head chief was by no means an advocate of indiscriminate
*657 change. He favored inhumation of the dead, which he had
622 witnessed among the whites in his travels to Jacksonville, Yreka,
177 and The Dalles, over the native practice of cremation; and about
[764] 1868 he secured its adoption.[9] On the other hand, when the
• [567] proposal was made in 1865 to liberate the slaves, Lileks was
prominent in voicing his displeasure, undoubtedly backed by

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[Klamath Reservation]

other chiefs who were the principal slaveholders. "The Indians," 648*
reported Lindsay Applegate, "have declared that if such was to 657*
be the case, they would kill all of the Pitt River Indians among 622
them or run them off to other places to trade for horses."[10] Per- 177
haps in deference to that feeling, the slaves were not liberated 567 •
until 1869, after Lileks had been deposed.

Within the reservation polity, the ailing and senile Lileks 657*
proved increasingly difficult to control. Growing autocratic 648*
toward his followers, he stubbornly opposed Agency policy. 622
Meanwhile, Monchnkasgitk, sensing his weakness, was waxing troublesome in a new bid for power. Early in 1868, Whitemore reported that the Klamath were venting a "more turbulent spirit one with another," and that they were flourishing arms and axes upon one another. Lileks now openly admitted that he could no longer control them.[11]

Meanwhile, the administration had progressively lost confidence in the turbulent chiefs and came instead to rely upon younger men such as Allen David, Henry Blow, Dave Hill, and Charley Preston, who combined a warlike record sufficient to give them standing in Klamath eyes with a dependable advocacy of white ways. These were men with whom young Oliver Applegate found strong mutual ties. When Lileks lost sway over the Klamath, it seemed natural to Applegate to move while he was temporarily in charge of the Agency to depose him.

The manner in which he did so is illustrative of the direct intervention by which the adminstration subsequently shaped political affairs. Applegate's own notation is sufficiently succinct.

> A few days ago [he wrote his brother in the spring of 1869] I had a great Council with the indians and tried some chiefs for various offences. Two of them (La Lakes & Moshenkosket) finding themselves about to be impeached, resigned. A grand Convention was held and candidates nominated for President. The campaign is now fairly open with Allen David & Blow in nomination.[12]

The matter as he later recalled it in greater detail was something more than the convention he deemed it:

> The younger Captain Applegate [narrated his daughter] took charge of the affair and called a meeting of the Indians at Kowasta in the early summer of 1868 [sic]. Here, seated on the

balance, ascribed it to war and stated that in 1864, "the females 657*
were largely in the majority . . . a condition which continues . . . 648*
to this day."[13] 563
162

That the sources were indeed to be found in the conditions of native life is suggested by the circumstance that subsequently the imbalance was reduced: about 1875, the overall ratio was 0.72; while by the latter part of the period, from 1885 to 1906, it had reached an average of 0.87. It has since continued upward, to attain the approximate equality that characterizes the white neighbors of the Klamath.

Freed slaves constituted a second novel element in the popula- 657*
tion. Marriage to a slave had once been scorned, though Chief 648*
Chiloquin himself had married a Shasta slave; and even today 567 •
some stigma is attached to slave descent, albeit it is likely to be 178
brought up only as damaging gossip. Both sentimental family 177
attachments—a traditional attitude transcending acknowledged differences[14]—and recognition of the achievement of former slaves went far to ameliorate their position. One slave, Charlie Pitt, had been raised with his captor's son, Drummer David, in fraternal amity. The bond remained strong through life, and Charlie willed David his property when he died.[15] Another, one of three captured Pit River brothers, escaped to friendly whites who raised him in Ashland and gave him the distinguished name of Stonewall Jackson. In 1878 he returned to the Agency and the following year became a sawyer's apprentice. In recommending an increase in salary for him, Nickerson remarked that he "speaks the English language fluently, & is what may be called a civilized Indian." With several offers at better wages off the reservation, he wished to remain until he could qualify as a competent sawyer.[16] The best known of the slaves was Henry Jackson, whose rise has already been sketched. It is worth noting that he married the daughter of a Modoc chief, and that tribal members from over the reservation were not too proud to accept his bounty.

The altered social order was characterized by greatly in- 657*
creased mobility. An entire new range of opportunities was open 648*
to those who possessed or could develop new skills. Opportunity, 555
however, fell unequally, for the major new enterprises and posi- 177
tion in nineteenth-century America were masculine. As they were 178
incorporated into the regular activities of the Agency and within [562]

*657 The removal of property interests in the marriage on the part
*648 of the natal families of the couple, together with the general
581 upheaval of society, brought to the fore the practice of common-
588 law marriage, previously an unusual form of union. In time, such
177 a marriage, if generally acknowledged as stable, was officially
178 termed an "Indian custom" marriage, and recognized by authorities
and Indians alike. Many unions, however, were unstable, and genealogies reveal that then as now it was common to find individuals who had had as many as three mates. Indeed, the woman previously mentioned as refusing to marry her husband's brother subsequently consorted informally with her ranch foreman.

*657 Thus by the end of the period of its firmest control, the government
*648 had altered the family in form to correspond to that
177 idealized in American society. It had done away with the special
593 status of slaves. Children were removed from the physical custody
• [567] of their parents and sent away to school, to be returned as
adolescents at odds with the ways of their parents. These were individual measures, not calculated for their total impact. The approach to social, as to other aspects of change, was predicated upon the individual and upon the conjugal family. It failed to envisage the need to create bodies that would give strength and continuity to a reservation community.

173	selluálshuk.	Ndánnitaksni	tamĕnō′tka;	tiná	nat	k̲áyak	shenótankatk,	
	fighting.	Three times	I was there;	once	we	not at all	were fighting.	
×539 726	kinkák	i	nat	lúluagsla.	Tchín	at nat	at gä′tak	ndáni támĕnotk.
	few only	there	we	enslaved.	So I,	when we	quit (fighting),	three times had been there.

NOTES.

197 19. The long and fertile valley of the Pit River, an eastern affluent of the Sacramento River, is inhabited by several tribes of Indians who speak dialects of the same language family. Of the peculiarities of these tribes, Stephen Powers has given the first comprehensive sketch in the Overland Monthly, 1874, pp. 412–416, and in Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. III, pp. 267–274. The various tribes greatly differ in their physical and mental qualities. The Pacamallies, on Hat Creek, at the lower end of the valley, were much dreaded by peaceable travellers on account of their sudden attacks from an ambush. The Indians in Big Valley are a fleshy, stout, and physically well-made people, while the Hot Spring Valley people has become deteriorated through prolonged national misfortune. Against both of these the slaving raids of the Klamaths and Modocs were mainly directed.

721 567 727 19, 2. The raids were undertaken by the Klamaths and Modocs just before wókash-time; that is, in April and May. They had no other purpose than to make slaves of the females and children of the unwarlike, poor, and suffering Pit River Indians, and to keep them either at their homes or sell them for ponies, provisions, beads, etc., at the Dalles to the Columbia River tribes. Adult men were not enslaved, but killed outright if captured. Similar instances of suppression of weaker tribes of the West by warlike Indians who were their neighbors are those of the Kayuses on Middle Columbia River, of the Yuki between Sacramento River and the Pacific Ocean, of the Húpa on Trinity River, Cal., all of whom were, at the advent of the whites, the terror of the districts surrounding their homes.

648 19, 3. shläóta k for shläóta ak; the Pit Rivers ran away at the *mere sight* of the Klamath men; k̲á-i tata siúkat, the Pit Rivers never killed any Klamath men. Both statements are exaggerations; Hill's own account and Toby Riddle's biographic notice tend to prove the contrary.

727 19, 3. nellínat, or nell′nat. When they had killed an enemy, they did not follow the custom of the Oregonians of taking the scalp. This custom is not found among any of the Central Californian tribes.

193 19, 4. hû′stchok̲-huya; by the suffix -huya, -uya, the action of the verb is shown to take place at intervals, or in a small degree. "They did only little damage by killing or massacring." Cf. shenótank-huya, 20, 2, and -uya in the "List of Suffixes".

196 19, 4. tû′m tát sa. Change of the subjects introduced by the pronoun sha, sa, in consecutive sentences, is sometimes observed, as here and in 19, 16; 20, 3. Hill often uses sha when speaking of the Klamath Lake men, where nat, *we*, would be more appropriate.

193 19, 6. Kitchkanin nû for kitchkáni nû (or ni) nû. Pronouns and particles are repeated quite frequently.

19, 11. Wúksalks is a camping-place distant about six miles from Linkville. It was not possible for me to obtain definite information about the trail followed most generally in those raids, but Dave Hill said that from there they went due south. He

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

ÁMPΧÄNKNI MÁK̲LAKS.

*539
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439

AN OPINION ABOUT THE WASCO INDIANS.

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM CHARLES PRESTON.

Ámpχänkni	gátpa	mû	shanáholiuk	snáwedsh,	k̲á-i	spûní	vushúk;
One Wasco	came	very much	desiring	a wife,	(but) not	gave	from fear;

Ámpχänkni	shawígatk;	k̲íya	Ámpχänkni.	Génuapk	túmi	É-ukskni
the Wascoes	are irritable;	liars are	the Wascoes.	Would go	many	Lake men

Ámpχäni	sheshatuíkuapk	lû'ksh	mā'ntch-gítko;	skútash	shanáholiuk
to the Dalles,	would trade off	slaves	formerly;	blankets	(they) wanted

pä'niak,	skútash	í'ktsa	Ámpχäni	yámnash	tchísh.	Nāsh	sápash	gépgapĕ-
being unclothed,	blankets	they fetched	at the Dalles	beads	also.	In one	month	they would

liuapk,	tsíalsh	épkuapk,	káwi	tchísh	épkuapk.	Tánni	sha	géna?	té-unipni
return,	salmon	they would bring,	lamprey-eels	too	bring.	How many	of them	did go?	ten men

a-i	sha	géna,	snáwedsh	tchísh	géna,	k̲á-i	sha	i-a	vû'sha	Ampχänkníshash.
	they	went,	(a) woman	also	went,	not	they	of course	feared	the Wascoes.

Ámpχänkni	ak	sas	hushtsóχuapk;	sasságank	í	gí!	K̲á-i	nû	shtínta
The Wascoes		them	might kill;	imperilled	ye	are!	Not	I	like

Ampχänkníshash,	k̲á-i	tídshi,	k̲á-i	tídsh	hû'shkank.	Hä'	tidshí	gítk
the Wasco people,	not	good (they are),	not	well	intentioned.	If	good-hearted	were

mák̲laks	Ámpχänkni,	tánkt	ní	gē'nt,	sasságuk	k̲á-i	géna.	Tídshi	hä'k
people	the Wascoes,	then	I	may go there,	being in peril	I will not go.		Good	if to be

túmĕnank	génuapka	nû.
I hear (them)	shall go	I (there).

NOTES.

The Wasco Indians form a portion of the Upper Chinook Indians of Columbia River. Their ancient homes were around and at the Dalles, and a few of them still live there, while others now inhabit a section of the Warm Spring Indian reservation on Des Chutes River, Oregon. The Dalles formerly were, and are still to a certain extent, the locality, where all the tribes of the Columbia River Basin sold and bartered their products and commodities. The Warm Spring Indians call the Wascoes: Waskopam, "men of the grass region"; the Klákamas-Chinooks call them Guithlasko. The Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians also were among the frequenters of the intertribal market, exchanging there the slaves caught on their raids for ponies, provisions etc., when they went down to the Dalles on their annual trips. My Indian informant, Charles Preston, had lived long at the Dalles, and also gave me a list of Wasco words and sentences.

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(57) Everything, trout mixed in, even trout were mixed in that. (58) Once they drew it out that way. (59) So the Indians' food was good. 539* 226 [648]

(60) And he had told them that long ago, someone—perhaps Gmoḱamč—to do thus. (61) Gmoḱamč helped the Indians. (62) It was never like that long ago, only the river flowed, they say. (63) And they were weak. (64) They were unable to kill fish. (65) And because they were thus, he told them thus, "I will make [something] for you [pl.], where you will kill [fish] every spring." (66) Thus he them, Gmoḱamč told, long ago. (67) [That] is as I know it, that much.

Introductory Note to Text 27

In this text Mrs. Butler describes two incidents dealing with the cruelty of the early white settlers. Various renditions of these stories were also obtained from other informants. The first incident concerns a party of white men, led by a now-famous local figure, who came upon a party of Klamath women picking wokas, and wantonly shot one of them in the face. According to Mrs. Butler, the woman lived, and the scar still showed years later. The second occurrence concerns a group of Rogue River Indians (?) who were hired by a settler to dig a deep trench. Once the trench was dug, the settler and his men opened fire on the Indians and threw their bodies into this ready-made grave. According to Mrs. Butler's text, this incident was one of the sparks which led to the Modoc War. The names of these white men have been omitted from the text for obvious reasons. 539* 648

The informant also describes the customs of "raiding" and "slavery," as practiced by the Indians of Southern Oregon. She points out that this was a far different thing from the concept of slavery as found in Rome or ancient Egypt or Asia. Many of the children, originally stolen in childhood, grew up among their captors and received good treatment, eventually coming to love their new home more than the old. 539* 567

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

27. Some Historical Incidents

(Mrs. Aggie Butler)

(1) Now I will tell, something, a little to you [pl.]. (2) We Indians lived in the distant past, and we lived correctly [lit. "well"], not doing anything [bad]. (3) And there were many of us Klamath Indians living everywhere, all along the shores of the Lake. 539* 173 648

(4) And once the white men attacked us old ladies gathering wokas. (5) And they almost killed there, shot some. (6) And he was among them—(Proper name)—he, [of] whom the white people are so very proud. (7) He was there with them. (8) And [he?] shot one of the women, in the face, and it showed.

(9) And some did not hide from them, and they left them alone in their winter-houses, living. (10) And the Indians, those Klamath men, were away hunting for some time, and on their returning [the women] told them. (11) And the women [told] them what the white people had done to them, and they almost tracked them, but they did not do anything again, to that white man.

(12) And then the Warmsprings people always used to quarrel with them, and having come, they made slaves, of the Klamaths. (13) And the Klamaths having tracked them, killed some, having taken the women back. (14) So thus the people of the old days always fought wars here. [726] [567] (15) And they [did] the very same way to the Pit River Indians, having gone, the Klamaths, and they enslaved their children too. (16) They raised them, however. (17) And some never went away from them, [for] they loved some of them. (18) They did the same thing to the Paiutes. (19) And they made slaves of the Paiutes also, and they grew up right there, so they live there today, those Paiutes who used to be slaves there.

(20) And the white people did evil to the Indians, and once that one called (Proper name), to the Rogue River Indians. (21) And that white man wanted all of them to dig, on his land. (22) And having dug something, then he killed some of them there, and threw them down into that ditch. (23) And he covered them [with] earth, the children too. (24) And one who escaped told of it. (25) And because of being thus at that time, when the Modocs made war [i.e., the Modoc War], then one of the chiefs spoke thus, "Let them not do it to us, as that (Proper name) [did] to the Pit River Indians awhile ago! (26) Perhaps they want to do the same to us. (27) They want to 'speak' to us Modocs in the same fashion,"

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 141]

that Modoc said once. (28) They never forgot it, [their] doing thus, 539*
[their] killing the Indians wrongfully [lit. "badly"]. 173

(29) And I have only related little bits of it. (30) But I know a great 648
deal, but I am not telling all of it, however. (31)—How the Indians used
to fight amongst themselves, always they fought even among themselves. [721]
(32) Even among themselves they enslaved someone's child, and sold it. [567]
(33) That much is all I will tell. (34) I have nothing else to tell.

Introductory Note to Text 28

This text is a continuation of the foregoing by Mrs. Butler's sister. 124
Both are part of a recorded conversation about Klamath history in gen- 128
eral, and no particular attempt was made to formalize the texts into "stories." When Mrs. Butler had finished her historical narrative above, the topic turned to the Modoc War, and Miss Skellock began to discuss their father's role in that conflict. Rightfully, this text should include the remarks in English which led up to the Klamath portion, and also an explanation and continuation in English which follows it. Limitations of space require that these English parts be edited and abbreviated, however.

Introductory Remarks in English

"Our father was a scout in the Modoc War. He was with the white 539*
soldiers and went to those Lava Beds where the Modocs were." 726
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28. Recollection of the Modoc War

(Miss Irene Skellock)

(1) My father went there, to the battleground. (2) And he was with the white men. (3) And he was a soldier—ah—a "scout." (4) And they were falling on both sides of him, soldiers. (5) And if they shot one, the soldier behind him marched up to the front. (6) However, they never shot him. (7) And he, however, was afraid of seeing (?) those Modoc Indians only. (8) So he lived in fear, thus they said, and some of those Klamath Indians who went with him, they also were afraid. (9) And that's all I'm going to tell [in Klamath].

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 143]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K
M draws upland Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute and gives to the
226 nearby settlement, the easternmost of the permanent villages of
103 the Klamath, the name, "Sucker-fishery." Others make their way
648 K to stone weirs, built, it is said, by Gmukamps himself, or to the
M lakes to fish with a variety of dip nets, gill net baskets, the two-
226 pronged harpoon and the multibarbed spear. At night, men set
forth in canoes upon the lake to fish by torchlight. Set lines are
K M put out infrequently. While the men catch the fish—suckers,
[261] salmon, and trout—their wives work ceaselessly, splitting them
and laying them in the sun to dry.

K Released from the protracted confinement to the winter settle-
M ments, tribesmen eagerly renew bonds with relatives and friends
221 from other villages. Related families may rendezvous to travel
222 together down to the fisheries and set up their lodges side by
[571] side. Then, as spring advances and the runs of suckers and
[602] salmon abate, the fishing settlements break up and parties of
[226] two or three families fan out along the flats and meadows to dig
[103] roots: the succulent camas, the nutlike ipos, yans, and the arrow-
root for which Chewaucan Marsh is named. In the watery flats
they seek the roots of tule and cattail; elsewhere they pick wild
K celery and mosses. There are the eggs of swan and other water-
M fowl to gather; trout in the streams to be caught; and for the
22 Modoc, antelope and mountain sheep to hunt. At this time, some
[361] areas are occupied that at other times are too cold or barren.

K If there is danger of hostile attack, the parties coalesce; and
M 22 under all circumstances they maintain a wary lookout. In the
726 north small bands make cautious excursions into the upper valley
of the Deschutes, watchful for raiding parties of Cayuse, Nez
K Percés, Warm Springs, and Paiute. Toward the east, Sycan and
M Chewaucan marshes are dug over by Klamath and Paiute. Fré-
222 mont once found the latter tract furrowed as if it had been
252 plowed. In many places the stone-lined earth ovens in which
camas and other vegetal foods were baked for winter storage
can still be seen.

K As the long summer days wear on, the pond-lily seeds, known
M as wokas, begin to ripen on the marshes, and once more the
221 people draw together. The Modoc congregate especially along
222 Tule and Lower Klamath Lake, while some join the Klamath
648 on Wokas Marsh. Many Klamath, together with a few Modoc

[Klamath Reservation]

At the center of concentric circles of concern stands
K the natal family.[18] In the myths, parents and offspring and
M siblings are bound by the strongest affective bonds: in trouble
593 they provide succor and in death, revenge. The obligation tran-
602 scends abstract ethical considerations. In real life, mutual responsibility reaches out to embrace the extended family, the close consanguineal kindred linked through two or three genera-
K M tions. Although kinship terminology acknowledges equally re-
[601] lationships on the maternal and paternal sides, residence practices
[591] in general favor the latter. From close kinsmen on both sides come the gifts that set the seal of approval upon the marriage of a member; during his lifetime they share food with him in his need, support him in his quarrels, and assist his avenger should he be slain. At his funeral, it is they, together with friends of the deceased, who are expected to place valuables upon the funeral pyre.

K Beyond the sphere of immediate kindred and of friends lies
M the domain of neighbors and remote relatives. If more central
602 obligations tend to be principally a function of consanguinity,
621 and thus to be ascriptive in character, village relationships and
• 571 those outside are more frequently based upon performance.
K M Here enter those standards of behavior by which a person of
[577] good family may be confirmed in position, the poor but worthy rise, and the ne'er-do-well sink in the public view. At the head
K M of this loose and shifting status scale stand the shamans and
756 other influential men, the leaders of hamlet groups. On occasion
622 they may meet in an informal village council to concert decisions.
621 Yet the village, which in its spatial limits often blends with
554 adjacent settlements and which dissolves with the turn of the seasons, can exert little constraint upon its members.

K The prestige of the leaders, the force of public opinion, and
M checks imposed by rival village interests hold the unruly in line.
62 The principle of self-help and the responsibility of kinsmen may enlarge grievances to feuds if the differences are not soon ended, and thus threaten the very being of the community. To counter such fissive tendencies, leaders mediate disputes and exhort to their fellow villagers the need to maintain harmony.

K Time may alter the membership of villages. Men frequently
M seek wives in other communities; and there is considerable inter-
621 marriage between Klamath and Modoc and Klamath and Molala,
563
582

K M 609 In such a sphere, and in relations with strangers beyond, the myths picture encounters fraught with possible danger. They may be initiated by a trucial period which endures until, by proper guest-host behavior, by a claim of kinship or on the other hand by an act of aggression, the issue of "friend or foe" is K M [574] precipitated. Hospitality dictates that one receive and feed the stranger, though a visiting kinsman brings a gift of food or otherwise repays the kindness. If, however, hostility is decided upon, it rarely becomes open: instead, both sides proceed indirectly, under the guise of amicability, and employ followers or auxiliaries to encompass the destruction of the other. It is here that the prescient qualities of the hero, his access to assistants and to supernatural forces, are decisive.[19]

K 648 In ethnographic reality, the outer limits of society are marked by the boundaries of common speech. Beyond this, the Klamath maintain amity with the Molala, intermittent friendship and hostility toward the Warm Springs and other Columbia River Sahaptin, who sometimes raid them, and toward the Paiute; inveterate hostility toward the Takelma of the upper Rogue and other peoples west of the Cascades; and a predatory aggressiveness toward the Pit River and Shasta to the south, whom they increasingly raid for slaves and loot.

K M 571 156 [838] The horizons of such a society are not wide. With the exception of the shaman, a part-time specialist, each man and each woman has much the same skills and knowledge as his fellows. The aberrant individual can do no more than assume the dress and behavior of the other sex, ascribing his action to supernatural dictate. The transient forms of the community and the informal constraint it imposes, the paucity of activities that demand concerted action, go hand in hand with a permissiveness in the individual. When this takes aggressive form, it may threaten the very fabric of society.

K M 754 571 152 682 The covert expression of hostility is likely to invest relations beyond the natal family with fear and mistrust. Revenge can take the form of murder from ambush, sorcery to engender the illness or death of the enemy, or the stealthy destruction of his property.[20] One frequent cause of open slayings, and of the feuds that ensue, is suspicion that a shaman has brought about the death of one's kinsman. Commonly, such charges are leveled

K

against a member of another band or tribe, but malevolence or M
greed, it is thought, may sometimes lead a shaman to compound 754
the illness or death of a fellow bandsman; and sometimes his 571 •
spirits may act independently of him to bring the same end. 152
Klamath recall with horror the unnatural event which took place 682
in the present decade of the present century, when that suspicion
caused a woman to slay her own mother for the fatal bewitchment of her child.

To end a description of the aboriginal life of Klamath and K
Modoc in this manner is to risk too somber a balance. Loosely M
structured in society, modest in scale, precariously balanced 181
against the winters, their cultures made possible a good life in
which dignity and worth had a place. That those were not, how- K
ever, the halcyon days sometimes depicted today is intimated by 181
the words spoken in 1873 by the Klamath leader, Henry Blow. 829
If they exaggerate as almost certainly they do, they still possess
an essential truth:

> Before the Bostons came there was no law. The strongest man took what he wanted and the man who had the most property and the most friends was the chief. It was a bad country in those times. Some men were bad and took away the property of other men. If a man was poor and had no friends, and had a beautiful squaw, some stronger man would steal his squaw and kill him if he resisted.[illegible] Might was right in those days and there was much fighting and killing everywhere. If a man was jealous because another was getting rich and had many friends, he would steal into his lodge and kill him when he was asleep, or lay in ambush to kill him as he went by. Those were bad times as we see now, since the Bostons have come and made law to protect every man's rights and property.[illegible]

> *657 A large number of Indian offences come before this Court for
> *648 trial, consisting mainly of family quarrels, disputes about the
> 692 ownership of property and acts of licentiousness.[88]

With the accidental death of Crain, Jesse Kirk was appointed in his stead.[89]

Thus, within a generation the administration had replaced the
popular leaders with those among them who were Agency em-
ployees, and in turn had supplanted them with the products of its
schools. Legally constituted authority was administered through
the Agency, at first through a customary court of chiefs and later
[625] through a Court of Indian Offenses. The Indian police, who took
their orders directly from the Agent, were satisfactory to him as
the instrument of his hand. Not so the courts, which tended
instead to constitute seats of power alternative to that of the
Agent. The result was to be that Agents tended to strengthen the
police while circumscribing the functions of the courts.

*657 Meanwhile, beyond the administrative structure thrived an
*648 unacknowledged informal leadership, based as in former days
622 upon wealth and accomplishment. Unlike that of the Agency, it
571 was not restricted in position nor limited narrowly in function.
This was a leadership in which employees could also participate;
and it was presently to see such diverse men as the old chiefs,
Monchnkasgitk, Henry Blow, and Allen David, make cause with
Dave Hill, and he with young Jesse Kirk, and he in turn with Jeff
Riddle, son of Frank Riddle and Winema, the heroine of the
Modoc War, and with Henry Jackson, the wealthy exslave. In
this sense at least E. L. Applegate was right when he observed:

> [179] The tribal distinction among the Indians on this Reservation is
> [178] practically disregarded by the Indians, and the ancient preju-
> [101] dices are rapidly fading away. The general name of Klamath
> People seems to be superseding all other distinctions.[90]

another figure, known only as "The One Below," to represent the 648*
Devil. This figure appears in a Klamath version of the Garden 657*
of Eden recorded by Gatschet[29]—a tale no longer recalled today. 776
The identification of Gmukamps with God is strengthened in 177
Indian eyes by his mythical foster-parentage of the hero, Aisis. 178
As one Modoc, a fundamentalist preacher, has put it:

> you know, Gmukamps and Aisis—that's nothing but God and Jesus. The Indians knew the story of the Bible, but they were ignorant in those days. They thought that the lakes they performed their miracles around were the Klamath lakes; they didn't know it was really the Sea of Galilee."[30]

Looking back over the entire field of change from the last 657*
decades of the nineteenth century, the observer could discern 648*
major acculturative trends. The Klamath who entered upon the 177
treaty had already undergone pervasive, though largely un- 178
directed modification. Thereafter, they were subjected to a consistent policy of change which, despite defects in execution, outside interference, and an intervening war, was maintained for well over a generation. Within this frame, a reservation culture had taken shape, embodying a synthesis of white and Indian lifeways. By the middle of the next century, only a handful of tribesmen would be left who could report from direct knowledge events of pretreaty days; the remaining elders would be products of the synthesis.

Measured by the indexes which the Bureau employed to
register progress, the advance was evident. When that formula- [464]
tive period was ended, a large number of the Klamath were [511]
productively engaged in work of "civilized" character, and their
material wants had come to approximate those of their white
neighbors. Many were conversant, and a few literate, in English, [191]
and their numbers were increasing steadily. The extended family, [212]
at least among the progressive, had made way for the more [596]
mobile and assimilable conjugal family. In the schools, a new [594]
generation was being trained to embrace as natural and desirable [871]
a way of life which the Church, in turn, commended as good to
old and young alike. Expectations seemed to lie within the grasp
of those willing to work to achieve them.

Beneath the surface upon which these changes could be traced, [571] •
however, lay cleavages and disconformities as yet unfathomed

*648 that were to threaten their success. Under the pressure of change,
*657 the Klamath had responded in diverse ways and had drawn
177 apart. A program addressed to a single people—if drawn from
178 several tribal cultures—had now to cope with a growing variety
• 571 of subgroups shaped by the acculturative experiences they had
undergone. Loosely structured as the native societies had been, they had nonetheless been clearly delimited. Participation in American culture now greatly extended their limits, and beyond the reservation the simple clarity of the social relationships they knew soon became distorted. As they participated in the life that went on beyond the reservation, the Klamath grew conscious of roles that not merely diverged from those of native society but at times were even lacking there.

In the new setting, expectations blossomed, on the part of whites as well as of the Indians, for which the reservation provided inadequate soil. A central goal in administrative planning was the inculcation of individualism, a characteristic ideal of American society of that day. The pursuit of self-interest must, however, have its limits; otherwise it trespasses upon the interests of others. Even in the days of the "robber barons" of nineteenth-century enterprise, American culture provided a context of value and structure within which individualism flourished, and which set limits upon untrammeled license. On the reservation, the creation of a similar context proved difficult indeed; it might even be said that the planners seemed unaware of the need to establish such restraints. As a result, they left the field free for the burgeoning of narrow self-interest.

Tribal society had been small in scale,[31] marked by scanty numbers and intensive face-to-face relations. Self-interest had been present here as well, but it had been subjected to major restraints by family and village. In transforming this society, the Agency had placed a premium upon explicit and formal controls exercised by its staff and by those Indians closely dependent upon it. A major characteristic of reservation society was the extent to which the Agency had become implicated in its being. Administrators, seeking to transform that society, strove to remove a strictly Klamath leadership as an intermediate variable in control, in the well-founded fear that such leaders might prove too independent. In so doing, they enlarged the gulf separating

political authority from the governed. The Klamath, in turn, be- 657*
came increasingly unresponsive to political control vested in an 648*
alien administration. Consequently, when the Agency later be- 177
came aware of the need to limit the growth of rampant individ- 178
ualism, it no longer was heeded. Moreover, the dissolution of 571 •
other restraining bodies had gone on apace, until at the end of the period of control there were left as social stabilizers only a weakened extended family, shifting neighborhoods, and the followings of popular, informal leaders.

On the threshold of allotment in severalty, with its further stress upon separatism, the prospect was not auspicious.

[P. 122 is blank]

share of the principal from the tribal fund, the per capitas, 648*
begun two years before, were flowing in from timber sales. By 657*
1926 they were $500 annually, and four years later had risen to 434
$700. Though they thereafter declined slightly, they rose again to 313
a figure in excess of $800. Acess to these funds gave the Indians a considerable measure of economic independence. A family of four, at the 1926 figure, received $2,000 from timber receipts alone, an income sufficient to provide for all their needs or to indulge some of their luxury cravings. Where "money talked," it afforded access to many areas previously closed. Having money gave at least partial emancipation from Agency surveillance.

Indeed, from the days of allotment on, the growth of a money 648*
economy upon the reservation had been an emergent theme. 657*
Amounts of money that Indians had been able to secure prior to 434
that time, though important in their economy, had not given them 452
the same degree of independence as was later to be theirs. After allotment, anticipation of income from leasing and from other
sources increased the volume of purchases on credit. To his [454]
knowledge, Emery reported in 1897, no Indian had funds deposited with the Agent or with any bank, firm, or person.[102] Although in the next few years O. C. Applegate transmitted checks drawn by a number of Indians to cover debts they had incurred, the practice was less a payment from accumulated savings than a convenience in handling money. What the correspondence strikingly shows was the practice of buying on expectation. Then as now risks were involved, and many individuals in the parlance of the day were rather difficult to "bring to time." That difficulty had sometimes to be surmounted by asking local men of property, such as Henry Jackson, to stand behind an impecunious would-be customer. At times the Agent exerted moral pressure upon a delinquent debtor, but under some conditions he declined to serve as collection agent. Repossession of property for nonpayment often ran against the jurisdictional barrier of the reservation line.

Along with access to individual real property went the translation 648*
of traditional relationships into a more pecuniary idiom. Such 657*
tribal members as Robert Wilson and his wife, William Crawford, 178
and Jesse Kirk purchased insurance policies.[103] A number of 571 •
Indians hired farmhands, both white and Indian, instead of draw- [171]
ing exclusively or even principally upon kinsmen. [464]

*648 *657 429 178 • 371

ing exclusively or even principally upon kinsmen. A responsible man sometimes was appointed guardian of an estate, as was William Crawford in the case of the minor, Frederick Schonchin.[104] Indians sometimes volunteered to assume a somewhat analogous relationship even for nonkin. Thus William Ball, a prosperous interbreed, proposed to feed, clothe, and bury an aged and destitute couple from the Warm Springs reservation, "providing he can get their allotments to use while they live, and become the actual owner of their lands after death."[105] [891] As interpersonal relations became increasingly concerned with the manipulation of property, litigation in the tribal court gained volume and acerbity.[106]

*648 *657 423

The Board of Indian Commissioners had foreseen that undivided tribal funds might perpetuate the "Indian problem" that allotment had been designed to solve, and they advocated breaking them up.[107] Among the Klamath were a number of persons, stemming principally from the more acculturated members, who shared the same sentiments toward unallotted lands. Paralleling the stress upon individual pecuniary interests, they developed what may be termed claims against the tribal equity. In one instance, Celia DuFault, sister-in-law of William Crawford, and a nonresident member, claimed part of the Klamath school farm as her allotment;[108] in another, the returned Modoc, Charles S. Hood, made inquiries concerning the Yainax school farm with an eye, it was alleged, to a similar allotment for himself and his children.[109]

*648 *667 423 313

These efforts must be viewed in the context of corresponding measures on the part of whites. The conflicting claims and suits had delayed the completion of allotment, and hence the sale of surplus lands, into a time when it became obvious that the tribal timber possessed great value. The government then decided that the surplus lands would be retained and the timber exploited for the tribal benefit. There were various plans, however, to contest the retention on an undivided tribal equity. In 1909, the eight-man tribal council requested that a bill be prepared "giving the Klamath Allottees an additional 160 acres of timber land on this reservation; and that this be done at once in order that the surplus lands may then be disposed of otherwise."[110]

*648 *657 423

Meanwhile, O. C. Applegate had remarked favorably upon a

*648 *657 622 159 working without salary or assistance of any kind, for the moral and religious improvement of his people. He has a great thirst for knowledge, but has no books, not even a Bible, only some torn fragments of an old one."[19] From Nickerson's time on he had served as judge in the Court of Indian Offenses, while he had likewise been in the forefront of several actions earlier detailed. Thus, in 1896 he was one of five men advocating that money received for pasture be distributed equally among tribal members and that the price for grazing be raised.[20]

Applegate, who had long known him, had gone out of his way to endorse Kirk's financial credit. That he tended to be somewhat slow in paying his debts is more than suggested by a partisan letter written late in the clash by one of Applegate's friends, formerly a trader at the Agency.[21] There is little question that the attention Kirk received magnified his own opinion of his status. In Washington, he gave as his title, "Delegate and Representative Agent of the Klamath Indians of Oregon," suggestive of the equality with the U.S. Indian Agent toward which he aspired. Indeed, ambition of this character, blunted by an administrative surrogacy, was one of the unacknowledged ingredients of the new spirit abroad on the reservation.

*648 *657 •571 159 On the Upper End, Henry Jackson, at the summit of his power, chafed under restraint. A former employer recalled him in the time of his power,

> . . . riding day after day like a feudal lord accompanied by his buskined and bespurred henchmen, often white men among them, looking after his cattle on a thousand hills. Henry Jackson is generous and hospitable. No weary traveller is turned away from his mansion, no matter what his race may be, and of the many Indians who appeal to him for financial aid, few are refused. Especially are the people of his home tribe welcomed to his bounty, and when any of them come to Klamath from the Moatwas land on Pit River, his house is their home. He has been known to go to Bonanza, the nearest white Trading Post, and make his neighbors happy by calling for their accounts, amounting to hundreds of dollars, and settling them in full.[22]

Knott C. Egbert, superintendent of the Yainax school and the administrator in charge of the Upper End, saw Henry Jackson somewhat differently. Upon the pages of his reports the "feudal lord" appears as a man defiant of authority and addicted to drink.

His son, Ralph, is depicted as a ne'er-do-well, a ruffian, and a 648*
drunkard. (He later died while awaiting trial for cattle theft.) 657*
His indulgent father, it was said, was convinced that Ralph had 571 •
a weak heart, and would pay his fine rather than see him in jail. 159
There are manifest in Henry Jackson as in Jesse Kirk some of the same values evinced by the early Klamath: kin-loyalty honored above abstract ethical mandates, merit gauged by generosity, and the dissimulation of hostility are three among them.

As Egbert saw it, "The Jackson outfit are so used to lawlessness and successful concealment afterward that they have gotten to thinking that they have a right to almost anything and then hire witnesses to lie them out of the scrapes. Then too they are all afraid of the czar, Ralph." Alluding to the murder of the Modoc shaman which Henry Jackson had been suspected of instigating, he added, "I will also be afraid of him if they are allowed to go on till they think they can duplicate the killing of Dr. George in the Caucasian race."[23]

The Jacksons in turn were linked to Jeff Riddle, whose daughter Ralph had married. There were, indeed, limits beyond which Riddle would not go. His father had known Applegate well from Modoc War days on, and when stranded on the lyceum tour had relied upon Applegate's generosity for funds. Even after Applegate had resigned his position, Riddle continued to correspond intimately with him.[24] When Ralph beat his wife, Jeff Riddle preferred charges against him.[25] These circumstances aside, Jeff Riddle exemplifies one of the less-partisan leaders who stood somewhat aside from attacks on Applegate but was nonetheless restive under administrative restraint. Later the author of *The Indian History of the Modoc War* (1914), he was first and
foremost a patriot of his people. With others, he focused his bit- 648*
terness against the Indian police, who as "Agency men" consti- 657*
tuted the immediate embodiment of administrative sanctions. 625
Such critics were quick to ferret out and to report derelictions [159]
on the part of the police lieutenant[26] and to oppose other members of the force. Of one such man, Egbert wrote:

> Jeff and others are bitter against Ike Mose as policeman mainly because, I think, he will arrest one of the big men as quickly as one of the smaller prize, so called. Jeff has made his brag that Ike will not be on the force July 4th. For this reason, as well

*648 *657 625

> as for the reason that he is the most effective man we have, I think he should be retained. The whiskey element has made some virilent [sic] attempts to raise its head lately, and scruples not to tell lies."

*648 *657 • 571

The leading men among the "Agency Indians" are, unfortunately, less clearly delineated. Among them were Joseph Kirk, born of a Modoc mother, and half-brother of Jesse Kirk; Harrison Brown, the son of Monchnkasgitk; and Jack Palmer, son of another treaty signatory. The fact that dissidents as well as the faithful numbered many among the more acculturated, and that both sides included Agency employees demonstrates clearly that the battle was not fought on progressive-conservative alignments.

Central to this dispute was the personality of Oliver Applegate. Scion of a pioneer family, he was the son of the first Agent, and, as he states, the first employee of the Agency. For years, his destiny and that of his brothers was intertwined with that of the reservation. He had served in a number of positions and had sought the office of Agent at least twice before he secured it;[28] his brother, Ivan, had served as an early Commissary at Yainax; and Elisha, another brother, had been Agent for about a year.

From the early days of the reservation, Oliver Applegate had known the Indians intimately, had gained some familiarity with their language and customs, and had formed many friendships. By the turn of the century, however, the fortunes of life had borne the people he knew away from the attractive naïveté of their early state, when they had willingly depended upon him. Now there was impatience at being denied equality. Many of the acquaintances of his youth were gone, and the rising generation thought him—the man who was moved by the flag upon Dave Hill's grave on Decoration Day, or who perennially entered pleas for support of the remaining treaty chiefs—somewhat heavy-handed and insensitive. He, the man that all whites were convinced "knew Indians," could not take the measure of the younger leaders. The title by which he had been known to their elders, *blaiwas laqe*, "Eagle Chief," acquired an ironic ring.

Among the informal counselors to whom both Klamath and whites turned in common problems, the Applegates were prominent. Yet, perhaps inevitably their own property interests and their wide and intimate relationships with the white community eventually confronted them with a grave conflict of interests.

In 1887, when Ivan Applegate had testified before Emery on 648* treaty boundaries, he had asserted that the eastern boundary 657* lay by rights farther within the reservation than the Indians regarded as 571 • correct.[29] At that time he and his brothers, Oliver and Lucien, owned several ranches that might be affected by his testimony. It may well be that the properties had been developed in the understanding that the boundary lay where Ivan's testimony located it, but it is doubtful that the Indians would so wholeheartedly have nominated him for boundary commissioner had they then known his views. The properties are said subsequently to have been sold during the depression of 1893-94.[30]

In 1890, Elisha Applegate, who had just lost the Agency after a brief, turbulent reign, transmitted a memorial to President Benjamin Harrison from the Klamath. Disturbed by the outstanding issues on reservation boundaries, the Military Road claims, and the swampland action of the state of Oregon, they requested—in vain, as it turned out—permission and funds for a delegation of five of the head men to visit him at Washington, together with Elisha as their attorney. This measure made no headway; and next year another memorial to the President advocated appointment of a commission of three to adjudicate the boundary claims.[31]

The tribal delegation, a relic of the days when tribes made 648* treaties and the government made chiefs, had its own history at 657* Klamath. The first delegates had been Dave Hill and Tecumseh 423 on Meacham's 1875 lyceum tour. Thirteen years later, with Jesse Kirk, Henry Jackson, and Dan Schonchin, Hill desired permission to visit "their great Father at Washington" to discuss the Allotment Act and other matters.[32] Permission and funds seem to have been denied, and the memorial of 1890 was an attempt to resume the effort. The desirability of being represented in the capital on the boundary issue led the Klamath in 1893 to conclude an eight-year contract with two Washington attorneys, W. K. McCammon and J. V. Belt.[33]

The following year, so it is recalled today, a group comprising Jesse Kirk, Henry Jackson and William Crawford made the trip, paying their own expenses. Possibly a delegation visited John H. Mitchell, perennial senator from Oregon who had long been interested in the reservation, although he undoubtedly had also heard from such advocates as Ivan Applegate. The Senator pres-

as well by envious whites. Indeed, prominent among the local 648*
advantages which white residents stated bound them to Chilo- 657*
quin were the advantages offered by the reservation for hunting 224
and fishing. At the same time, the whites tended to regard those 226
pursuits as no more than recreational avocations; and if the 181
Klamath were sometimes credited with inherent aptitudes for
the chase, they were also looked down upon for devoting so
much time to "play," and for ignoring, as many did, the white
canons of sportsmanship.

Conflicting viewpoints were likewise evinced in the relation- 648*
ships of tribal members seen as consumers. While there were 657*
wide differences in actual behavior both among and between 571 •
whites and Indians, relationships came often to be governed by
stereotypes. This was particularly so in the larger communities, [621]
in instances in which individuals were not personally known to [184]
each other.

Those relationships were in fact strongly conditioned by the 648*
peculiar status of the tribal members who relied upon per capitas 657*
for their income. Few Klamath on the reservation had ever 434
banked money, and the absence of a bank in Chiloquin since the 571
depression, or in any other reservation town, made necessary 452
the institution of a credit system.[13] Since much Indian property [453]
was held in trust by the government, which thus could not be advanced as security, merchants had to rely heavily upon a knowledge of the individual in advancing credit. Reservation stores resorted to a credit system to compete with the businesses in Klamath Falls, and through a more intimate acquaintance with tribal members could assess the risk more skillfully than those—particularly the newcomers—in the county seat. At the same time, the expense of operating such a system was one of the factors in advancing prices in reservation stores. Thus merchants, who not infrequently did their own private shopping in Klamath Falls, were galled to see tribal customers, whom they had carried on credit, patronizing competitors in the larger city as soon as they had received their per capitas.

In attempting to collect outstanding debts, merchants could 648*
not count upon the Superintendents, but had to resort to moral 657*
suasion and threaten to cut off further credit. Some Superinten- 434
dents did assist in bringing pressure to bear upon delinquent 452

*648 Indian officer, both at Beatty. Thereupon, Chiloquin's marshal
*657 and his deputy also resigned, asserting that enforcement under
641 those conditions was too difficult—and too dangerous, to boot.
625 The county, which had already barred tribal members from the county jail, now took the position that, short of a government request, its courts would try no more Indian cases. Crawford
[692] countered with a proposal that the Court of Indian Offenses be reinstituted, while other leaders fell back upon that time-honored solution, the United States cavalry. Several months passed before funds were found to restore the reservation staff to normal strength.[4]

*648 Within the interlocking jurisdictions of the reservation and
*657 the reservation community, Klamath came to play out the role
641 of citizen as a voter, a taxpayer, and the object of legal control.
• 571 In small towns such as Chiloquin and Sprague River, relationships were primary in character, dominated by face-to-face relationships. Within the special environment of the reservation, with the vast potential of its unexploited resources, something of a western frontier tradition was preserved, with emphasis placed upon individualism and a high premium set upon voluntaristic action in concerting effort.

*648 These conditions were nowhere better evident than in Beatty.
*657 In this little community, with fewer than one hundred fifty
621 members, leadership was furnished by a few individuals and
563 action was highly informal. Perhaps the most influential person was a white storekeeper, a resident in the community for almost four decades, who had on occasion donated land and cash for worthy causes, who presided over a credit system, and who was much respected by the older tribal members. Among the latter, a leading spirit was the widow of his brother-in-law, who could be counted upon to act with him. His store was a frequent gathering place and the debating ground of the "hot stove league," where tribal politicians from the Upper End were often to be found. Another local leader was a young white, married to a tribal member, who farmed along the Sprague and in his spare time was a vigorous preacher in the Assembly of God Church.

Indians from other reservations, also married to Klamath, provided specialized leadership. One was prominent in the affairs of

time, few years have not seen at least one murder upon the 648* 657*
reservation. 674

Lesser crimes have also been frequent. Of the 1958 sample of the reservation population above the age of sixteen, no fewer than forty-three per cent had been arrested for misdemeanor, seventeen per cent for felony. Liquor had led to arrest for thirty- 648*
seven per cent, and no fewer than forty-nine per cent were 657*
judged to have problems associated with drinking. The corre- 273
sponding figures were slightly higher for those members living in [674]
Chiloquin, where opportunity, observation, and arresting officers were all more frequent.

In situations in which other peoples have sought redress in [154]
religious movements or covert sorcery, Klamath have more commonly fallen back upon drink and violence. For them the [165]
bottle has proven a maladaptive instrument, as shown by a recent survey of the causes of death of 139 members who expired during a period of four and one-half years: drinking was adjudged to be a contributory factor in no fewer than fifty-seven per cent of the deaths.[9] The violence which often caps drinking bouts is likewise self-destructive: for it often strikes close friends or family members.

From the viewpoint of the city fathers, then, the Klamath have been an unruly segment of the citizenry; and the figures on law and order pose the difficulty confronting the community in the maintenance of an orderly life. Alternatively, however, those same figures represent a sizable income to be realized through the administration of the law. In the latter days of the reservation, as the Indians themselves were clearly aware,[10] the city seemed on the one hand to be profiting from the sale of beer and wine to tribal members and on the other to collect large fines from them when, under the influence of alcohol, they had fallen into the toils of the law. The implications of this policy, by which almost two-thirds of the income of the town was supplied, made many white citizens uneasy. The city fathers, concerned with a parsimonious administration, were not eager to seek a substitute and, indeed, any change would have presented obstacles.

So long as the tribal government remained to articulate their 648* 657* 178 571•

*648 loyalties, Klamath were unlikely to consider seriously their
*657 relations with the reservation communities. They were fully
178 aware that through their membership in that body they held an
• 571 effective check over the destiny of those towns, for whom the
approval of a timber contract by the General Council might spell
the difference between prosperity and hard times. Similar knowledge among city fathers doubtless abetted conscience in curbing political discrimination.

SIXTEEN

[p.214]

Status Gradient, Ethnic Hierarchy, and Acculturative Range

*648 *657 554 WHEREVER THEY WENT, UPON THE RESERVATION OR IN THE communities beyond its borders, tribal members encountered a status gradient not of their own devising, and found themselves assigned a place upon it. It was not that they had not possessed their own ways of appraising others, or that some of those judgments were not continued. The standards upon which they found themselves judged were largely extrinsic to their own life. To be sure, in communities such as Beatty, judgments were most closely akin to those of traditional Klamath culture, for here they were informally applied upon the basis of direct acquaintance. At the other extreme, in such cities as Klamath Falls, where firsthand familiarity was often lacking, a person or family was judged upon outward evidence of appearance and demeanor, of possessions and associations. Under these contexts, the stereotype of "Klamath" or—in regions farther from home—of "Indian" became significant.

Towns such as Chiloquin occupied a middle range in the formation of status gradients, for they were still small enough to permit each person to be known directly, while evincing sufficient complexity to provide for an institutionalization of [571] [573] [562] social precedence. Participation in a number of formal associations, together with informal cliquing of varying degrees of exclusiveness, was invested with social value. The standing of men was more narrowly related to their economic achievements; the

position of women was linked to participation in bodies overtly 648*
directed toward social benevolences, the standing for the entire 657*
family being summative for its members. 554

All of this will prove familiar, for the social system in Chilo- [562]
quin had been derived from that in other American communities.
The formal, secondary associations, membership in which served [571] •
as counters in the social game, included church auxiliaries, service fraternities and lodges, and groups devoted to sports, politics, the school, and to youth activities. The manner in which the organizations were ranked had little to do with their functions or their local historical priority. It related instead to the prestige which they enjoyed generally in the western United States and their identification with social status. Even within such a small community as Chiloquin, social assessment had become refined to a marked degree. It was maintained by indirection and with considerable tact, yet gave structure to much of the social interaction.

Since the social order in Chiloquin has been discussed at length elsewhere,[1] only the major outlines need be drawn here. Yet it is inadvisable to leave the impression that any single di-
mension provided a clear means of ranking. It was evident, for [795]
example, that there was an ordering of the Protestant churches, ranging from the Methodist church through intermediate bodies down to the pentecostal Full Gospel body and two ethnic sects—one Klamath and the other Negro—in major membership. Their congregations and ministers, their location and material endowment, together with the character of their worship, all afforded a basis for this ranking. Two churches, nonetheless, stood somewhat outside this range. One, the Williamson River Mission, was the Klamath church founded in the early days of the reservation. As such, it had historical venerability, a Methodist affiliation, but an ethnic membership. The second was the Catholic church, located in a less favored section of town, yet eminently endowed and drawing members from the entire social span.

Status differences in Chiloquin, moreover, were variously 648*
assessed by its residents. Several of those who objectively occu- 657*
pied high status stressed the leveling qualities of primary rela- 554
tions which they regarded as characterizing the town, and dis- 829
counted the reality of a hierarchical ordering. Others, of middle

*648 status, whose desires to move upward had been temporarily
*657 baffled, delineated the system in terms far more precise than
554 appeared justifiable, and as an instrument of calculated power.
829 Members of several church groups of intermediate or low ranking, each of which saw themselves as a body of the elect in a world of sinners, denied the validity of any other assessment. It was frequent in such instances to find individuals contrasting the superiority of their own ideals with the fallible conduct of members of other reference groups.

*648 Despite such demurrers, which have become a sociological
*657 commonplace, the evidence of informal association in parties,
• 571 bridge clubs, drinking cliques, and loafing groups, together with
554 participation in more formal associations, attests the existence of a status grid, with a multiplicity of positions ranked relatively, rather than in an order of fixed classes.[2] The results of a sociometric study indicate[3] that the primary criteria underlying evaluation in Chiloquin included income, occupation, landownership, and educational status. For the person with the proper qualifications, mobility was relatively easy; while the daily contact of everyday life made possible—particularly for long-time residents—an easy association, spiced with mutual esteem, across wide differences in status.

Klamath standing in such a system was relatively low. The majority of tribal members failed to qualify for most of the specific criteria valued; and in one area, the style of their life, they fell conspicuously short of the standards set. They did not enter readily into most of the associations within which the formal social life of the town was transacted. Some felt they would not be welcome, and often they were right. Even that handful who were acceptable only inched forward, anticipating rebuff at every step. As a group, tribal members suffered disesteem for their wardlike subjugation to the government and the legal disabilities that hedged them in. Within the community, their low productive status, their dependence upon a credit system, and their record before the law all provided grounds for being judged deficient.

*648 For the white citizens of Chiloquin, achievement was the token
*657 by which each person was ideally placed. Klamath, however, also
563 labored under their inclusion in a fixed category; for in the ethnic

*648 off Chocktoot Street: to the postoffice to get the government
*657 allowance [sic!] of $600 a year; to the bank to get the cash; to
563 the iceman around the corner; to parts unknown; and then to the
181 justice of the peace."[6]

There were several reasons why the views concerning the
*648 Klamath should become increasingly invidious with time. Al-
*657 though they had come to adopt most of the outward trappings
563 of American culture, those who remained on the reservation often
181 displayed a style of life at variance with that of white neighbors,
• 571 until some of the latter came to see the differences as innate. In
[167] Chiloquin, the influx of southern whites after World War II was
said to have sharpened the stereotype: it seemed in fact to be maintained in less-qualified fashion among them. Antagonistic bias was least in evidence in Beatty, more strongly evinced in Chiloquin, and most apparent in Klamath Falls. Away from the reservation, Klamath tended to be absorbed in the larger category of American Indian, and to lose their special tribal identity.

*648 The impact of a felt discrimination was heightened for the
*657 Klamath by a sensitivity to slights in situations which whites
563 regarded as devoid of bias. Tribal members have been keenly
571 aware of the pairing of public equality and private bias. As one
elderly and highly respected Klamath matron in Chiloquin saw it:

> The Four Hundred are those who live among the Indians but feel that they are better than the Indian. The [poorer] people are more fussy. . . . They will talk to the Indians on the street and are friendly when they want business, but otherwise they don't know them.'[7]

Indeed, intimate social intercourse has been discouraged by both sides. Comparison of the names of whites mentioning tribal members in a sociometric test conducted in Chiloquin with those included in a census of Klamath drinking cliques ten years later revealed that only a handful of individuals crossed the social boundary. From a general standpoint, Klamath and whites were virtually exclusive in their intimate associations. Those few whites who drank with Klamath and named Klamath among their friends were low in the esteem of their peers. Among tribal members, individuals who consorted regularly with whites thereby

estranged themselves from Klamath society. Few, indeed, had attempted to cross the chasm; and fewer were able to straddle it. 648* 657* 563 571 • [086]

Klamath, on their part, entertained strong prejudices. Some were matters of ancient history. Klamath and Modoc were disdainful of Paiute and Pit River, and the epithets, 'daughter of a Paiute!' or 'slave!' still stung. At the time of allotment, when many members had come back upon the reservation, while the numbers of those calling themselves Klamath had soared, the absolute number of Pit River had declined. Evidently, members of mixed parentage were passing into the more prestigious category. Toward other minority groups tribal members displayed various attitudes. Indians from nearby reservations were generally well received, but those from afar were resented, particularly if they held Agency jobs coveted by the Klamath.

Whites tended to lump all Indians together, and the accomplishments of some nonlocal Indians elevated the general Indian status in the popular view. Nonetheless, tribal members were wont to regard them as trespassers. Toward Mexicans, with whom they occasionally intermarried, they were on terms of approximate equality. Negroes were viewed with strong disdain and two tribal families of part-Negro ancestry often were the object of pointed remarks.

Among themselves, Klamath also sometimes reflected the biases of the major society. Younger men have been heard to express a preference for a wife of lighter pigmentation. The epithet, "You big, black Indian!" was occasionally hurled between angry children; and one woman who reported this recalled how shocked she was, in her early teens, when she realized that it was true, that she was indeed an Indian. Against the valuation on light color there is, however, another view. Those of darker hue not infrequently voice their pride in this token of racial purity, and some speak disparagingly of the "half-breeds," alleging that they stem from lewd intercourse with the soldiery of old Fort Klamath. One young leader with a high degree of Indian ancestry, in considering the division of tribal property under termination, ingeniously proposed that each member receive a share proportional to his direct biological Klamath heritage. In the end, pigmentation offers no certain index of ethnic self-image: for 648* 657* 829

*648 formal occasions in the General Council in a demonstration of
*657 decorative oratory; and there it might also serve a speaker to
177 shut out a heckler who knew only English. In such a session, a
178 member in the audience, although fluent in English, might de-
191 mand the services of an interpreter for the purpose of underscoring his Indian status. Similar functions were served when Klamath was spoken in the presence of whites. The ability to shift from one language to another, or from one behavioral modality to another, was akin to the behavior which Polgar has described in the "biculturation" of Fox children.[21]

*648 In the latter days of the reservation, there were few occasions
*657 when tribal members came together for traditional events, and
177 the sessions of the General Council constituted the main remain-
178 ing tribal gathering. Such individuals as our old friend mentioned
623 above had their closest and most continuous relations with chil-
619 dren and grandchildren, who by no means shared their outlook.
• 571 On the occasional visits of their aged peers, these elders exchanged memories and expressed common concerns which were as much the product of the parallel roles they then performed in their respective families as of the time in which they had grown up.

*648 Such accommodation as there has been to American culture has
*657 not only changed through time with alterations in the state of
177 Klamath and American cultures; but at any single time, Klamath
178 have drawn diversely from what was available. Thus, the small
184 number of families in Chiloquin that have attained a measure of social acceptance by whites of middle or high status have done so by manifesting the appropriate life style. In so doing, unless they are able deftly to shift role-orientations, being now Klamath, now white, they have had to sacrifice close relations with their kin. "Some of my family I never see any more," remarked one such woman, "and I don't want to see them." They often forbade their children to play with undesirable tribal children. Insistence upon household neatness, fastidious emphasis upon personal cleanliness, punctuality, and adherence to self-standards usually accompanied these attitudes.

Inframodal behavior among Klamath in turn has by no means been random in form, but has approximated already established patterns in the dominant culture; often combining them in ways

that seem bizarre. In evading prohibition, as already noted, tribal 648*
members learned successively to operate stills, to patronize and 657*
to serve as bootleggers, and to drink alcoholic extracts. For local 177
roughs, the pug and the cowboy provided glamorous models; 178
and several youths ventured upon the hard trail of the profes- 184
sional boxer. [883]
Although cowboy hats and boots were still worn in the latter days of the reservation, they were giving way among this set to the ducktail haircut and the leather jacket. Drag racing and drinking were pursuits as common among tribal adolescents in Chiloquin as among their peers elsewhere. The intermittent use of marijuana cigarettes and an occasional Pachuco tattoo were evidence of the selective adoption of Inframodal practices.

As a category, the inframodal Klamath were often the immediate descendants of some of the elderly individuals already mentioned, dependent upon them for money once they had squandered their own funds, sometimes residing with them, sometimes "shacking up" in a separate household in a common-law union. They formed but one range of the main body of tribal members, among whom they found associates perhaps as often
as they did among their own sort. They did not habitually asso- [571]
ciate with Inframodal peers among other racial groups, but [573]
characteristically remained in small tribal cliques, of which the [273]
drinking groups were the chief stable expression.[22]

Those tribal members still on the reservation comprised a main body, upon which three lobes might be distinguished: the elders, the Inframodal, and those conformant to American standards. The latter alone had tended to become almost completely cut off from the major body of their fellow tribesmen, save for a few leaders, who had been able to keep the respect of both whites and Klamath. The remainder constituted a single society of strong egalitarian persuasions.

While recognizing that a single criterion must fail as a device 648*
for sorting out categories which are the product of such com- 657*
plexity, a first approximation was attempted in an analysis of the 177
records of a random sample of tribal members in Chiloquin.[23] As 178
sorting criteria, the subjects were first scaled against five some- 184
what overlapping entries involving behavior before the law. Then, 125
working symmetrically from the extremes of the scale, they were

*648 divided into three segments as nearly equal in size as possible.[24]
*657 The symmetrical cuts resulted in a Conformant segment, pre-
177 vailingly law-abiding in record, almost twice as large as the In-
178 framodal category at the other end, which consisted of these
184 persons with the highest record of violations. The Intermediate
125 membership was slightly larger than that of the Conformant.[25]

The characteristics of each of these categories, when contrasted, tend to confirm statements made previously. Members of the Conformant segment were least Indian biologically and included the highest proportion of women. They seem to have come from comparatively smaller families and, with the Intermediate subjects, seem to have received far more adequate parental care than did the Inframodal category. Educational achievements are less distinctive, reflecting the compulsory nature of schooling on the reservation, but again the Inframodal segment lags behind the others in school grade completed. In the measure of engagement in business or ranching and in record of money management, the distinctions are decisive, with the Conformant category far outstripping its fellows and the Inframodal segment at the bottom. Finally, in both the percentage of those married and living with spouse and family as well as in the stability of residence the same order is seen.

In the second part of the study, the thirty Klamath subjects
who had given Dr. Clifton responses to the Murray Thematic
Apperception Test (TAT)[26] were assigned by judgment to the
three segments, the protocols of each category being treated
together by a method of analysis previously employed in ex-
amining Klamath mythology.[27] When all of the modern TAT seg-
ments were combined and contrasted with the myths, the re-
sponses were seen to reflect changes which had in fact taken
place through time. Thus a trend toward a universalistic outlook
[602] was reflected, along with lessened attention to the ramifications
[594] of kinship, a reduction of the family itself to nuclear form, and
[554] a concurrent diversification of role relationships toward individ-
[571] uals acting impersonally as employer, policeman, doctor, or
teacher. A secularization of life may also be reflected by the
scant consideration of religion in the modern protocols.

[571] When the modern TAT segments were compared, the Conform-
ant subjects were seen to place a strong emphasis upon support

given the family by neighbors as well as by the impersonal agents 648*
of society, while making little mention of any kinsmen beyond 657*
the immediate, two-generation family. Members of this category, 177
who objectively were least Indian genetically and who mani- 178
fested the highest measure of intermarriage with whites, were 184
the only ones to introduce racial comments in their responses. 125
This may well be taken as evidence of their sensitivity to a [571]
marginal condition. In treating intrafamilial roles, they saw a [829]
strong paternal figure (lacking in the protocols of the other two [593]
segments), but they viewed his authority as one against which the son repeatedly rebelled. Moreover, contrary to their own superior record of family stability, members of the Conformant category envisaged the marital bond as frequently threatened by feminine interlopers. Here again is an indication that the Conformant families, like the most acculturated among Vogt's Navaho veterans,[28] had achieved their condition only at the cost of gnawing anxiety.

By contrast, both of the remaining TAT segments tended to [602]
stress kinship, for in their protocols a greater reliance is placed upon grandparents and more remote kinsmen, with correspondingly less dependence upon friends, neighbors, or impersonal agents. Indeed, the Inframodal subjects tended to view the
latter with suspicion and outright hostility. In neither segment [593]
was the paternal role seen as prominent; and the mother instead occupied a central position, not disciplining, but strongly supporting her children. Sibling relations, which in the Conformant category had been seen as continuing through life, stood on a lower level among the intermediate subjects, who viewed the bond as existing only in childhood; and were negligible among the Inframodal segment. Similarly, the marital bond appeared to be conceived by Intermediate members as weak, being marked by a succession of casual liaisons, while the Inframodal saw strife between the couple, rather than outside interference, as disrupting the union.

By contrast with Conformant subjects, members of the other
two categories exhibited a far less realistic view of the conditions [829]
making possible achievement, but they did so in different ways. Those of the Intermediate segment seemed to see conformance as a necessary factor for success, although their behavioral record

aboriginal Klamath culture; it has assumed some of the aspects 648*
of criminal behavior among whites; and as already noted is 657*
turned against the institutions of the whites and the persons of 177
Klamath. If Inframodal individuals are seen as rejecting the 178
ambient culture, they spurn only selected parts of it; and they 184
might have rebelled in similar fashion had they lived in the native society a century and a half earlier.

There is much that continues to link most tribal members together. The assessment of an earlier paper seems valid.

> An individual may act in a manner that both we and the Klamath define as anti-social. Affected kinfolk may object, but their voice is muted and their efforts frequently null. Yet outside of the group immediately affected, the offender may find ready acceptance and even approval, so long as he has not violated the cultural standards of independence, of indifference to pain, danger, or personal inconvenience, of open-handed liberality, of steadfastness to a friend, and of a shrewd opportunism to others. But because there is now no homogeneous mode of behavior governing relations with members of social groups, and no effective coercive agent, Klamath behavior today probably departs more widely from the mode than it did in aboriginal times.[illegible] [571] •

Thus, in various ways the Klamath have come to be differentially distributed, even within the confines of one small reservation town. Members have become acculturated in behavior and attitude to varying degrees and in divergent directions. Through [563] intermarriage, they have come to manifest a range of biological features, some more acceptable than others to non-Klamath. Finally, they have come to be ranked by whites upon a social gradient, although as a whole they are assigned an inferior position. In turn, historical, cultural, ethnic, and social considerations have led most tribal members to eschew their placement and to maintain a life somewhat apart. A major factor in their sense of separateness is the identity accorded corporate image by the tribal government. The following chapter reviews that institution.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

had come to be restricted to those agencies formally responsible 648*
for their education. 657*

Thus, in the supervision of Klamath resources, the Agency 619
preferred the short-range goals of prudence and efficiency over
the distant one of training individuals. As if to underscore the
generally alien character of the Agency staff, officials had pre- [571]
ferred to fill jobs earmarked for Indians with skilled persons
from other reservations; and even those Klamath who were hired
seemed to take the side of the government and refused, for the
most part, to make exceptions for their kin and friends. Thus, the
dependence implicit in Agency control was often rendered more
distasteful because its operations were not conducted under those
relaxed and particularistic contexts so much valued by Klamath
in interpersonal relationships. And, as in ethnic relations, the
irritations seemed to stick longer in the memory than those of
pleasanter character.

To the special qualities of Klamath factionalism there was 648*
added the independence conferred by the institution of the tribal 657*
attorney and the Washington delegation. Although tribal gov- 693
ernment had originally been envisioned as the lowest link in a 619
chain running upward through the Bureau to the head of state,
during the superintendency of Oliver Applegate the Klamath had
forged an alternative linkage. The tribal attorney, whose retention had often been justified as providing independent counsel
when claims were pressed against the government, was also expected to provide advice in areas in which the Bureau already
had the duty of counsel. In such instances as the negotiating of
timber contracts and in long-range planning for the tribal future,
he thus furnished an expertise apart from that offered as a matter
of course by the Bureau.

Although the greater part of tribal business was in fact con- 648*
ducted directly through the Agency, pending claims and legisla- 657*
tion under consideration by Congress drew delegations on annual 619
pilgrimage to the Capitol to present the tribal viewpoint. Through
the years, veteran Klamath delegates came to establish informal
understandings, not alone with their own representatives and
senators, but with those from other states who shared similar
political outlooks. Since those legislators were often also influen-

Those same traits others[13] had held to be conservatively Ojibway; 648*
and marking their counterparts among Menominee and other 657*
peoples the Spindlers[14] propose to see in them a common survival 177
of psychological characteristics shared widely by American Indians. 156
Underhill,[15] by contrast, accounts for the commonalty by 171
reference, like James, to experience in a shared situation, the reservation.

These differences of interpretation are by no means irreconcilable.
The writer would agree with James[16] that "the genesis of [114]
the modern Indian self lies in the social processes that constitute reservation life," but he would include among those processes such relationships as may have survived in the peculiar cultural
environment furnished by the reservation.[17] Favored in persistence 648*
at Klamath have been generalized characteristics, rather 657*
than complex and specific traits. They have survived in part 156
because they are inculcated during childhood;[18] and the family, 177
within which child-rearing takes place, is one of the structures 178
that has retained distinctive qualities. They are sustained in the [571] •
quality of primary relationships and are rooted in the individual, often at an unconscious level.[19] As Spencer observes, "The diffuseness of the social structure may be regarded as a survival from the heritage of the past, while individual activity continues to be couched in essentially aboriginal terms."[20] Reservation existence has provided, however, an ever changing context—albeit somewhat sheltered from the rapidly changing environs—in response to which enduring features have undergone modification.

To take the quality of guarded restraint, which Clifton regards 648*
as characteristic of the personality configuration of modern Klamath, 657*
one can indeed trace continuities with the past. In the 156
myths there are present themes of watchful waiting and the use 177
of subterfuge in dealing with strangers and foes, and a wary 178
reserve in conflict with affinals.[21] In traditional relationships, as 571
Spencer has shown, sub-rosa patterns of aggression characterized [538]
"hostility . . . driven underground" by public disapproval.[22] That covert revenge has persisted is evidenced by historic records of several murders, of such acts as the firing of a haystack in 1897, attributed by the victim in part to the perpetrators' "envy of his prosperity . . .";[23] and to modern incidents of the same nature. Today jealousy is frequently attributed to unspecified others,

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 usually Klamath by inference and to be identified only in part
*657 with feuding groups. It may well be that such a projection is an
156 indication in many modern Klamath of an alienation from their
177 own membership group. More central to the issue taken here,
178 however, is the probability that under the tensions of reservation
• 571 life guarded restraint, once restricted to a few role relationships,
has become generalized to a much broader range of contexts,
while at the same time it has grown to be a pervasive characteristic of Klamath personality.

*648 The modern situation at Klamath, with its measure of human
*657 disengagement, apathy, and generated hostility, may be inter-
156 preted by some as justification for the abolition of the reservation
177 there and as an indictment of reservations everywhere. Such
178 conclusions are likely to be far too sweeping. The Klamath situation was a consequence of a reservation become a holding operation, with a program that had ground to a halt. Ironically, termination of the reservation was founded upon the premise that the Klamath had attained a successful level of integration with their white neighbors. It may not be concluded that problems have automatically been solved by the action taken; nor may it be maintained that other, less drastic steps, if taken in time, might not have proved more effective.

*648 For many Indian peoples reservations are a highly significant
*657 reality, constituting the only familiar homeland, the major con-
171 tinuity with the past, the sole real property, and the principal
token of the government's resolution to honor pledges made long ago. At the same time, chosen with an eye to native exploitation or to the needs of the small farm of the nineteenth century, they are often unfitted to support a population by current standards. They thus pose the dilemma embodied in schemes on the one hand for local development and on the other for the relocation of Indian families. Sweeping measures are inappropriate; each reservation merits consideration in its own terms. Yet it would be shortsighted to seek only for material advancement, essential though this is; for, as the Klamath instance shows, unless the program give men hope, they languish even in prosperity.

Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
648 towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation,
by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically,
less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities
were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
[786] area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
[181] Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided in-
[556] creased opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
[436] had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal mem-
[434] bers, as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and for-
[651] feited bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

● [571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are exclusively 621
White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office outside [575]
the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [794]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are frequently
tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously, [651]
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chiloquin [674]
during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a reconstituted 648
"Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be administered 657
by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal supervision
has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Attendance 619
at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
[848] out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-
[177] style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
596 there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
[177] extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, de facto groupings
rather than de jure. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organization
[594] of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obligatory
592 responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-
592 father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly extreme
cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual ownership
of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with regard
to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
434 children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159
[156] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White segments
of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but
in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
[871] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
[586] fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of
the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of
numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
[597] an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has
spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was
closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became
dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
[874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She
took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if
she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[852] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child
nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she
had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them
her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[791] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., persons
[608] she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an advisor,
and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making
a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
[273] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my
glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its
walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is associated
with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is
noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites,
for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, because
she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

Lily: Female, Age 15

Background Data 159*

Lily is an attractive young high school freshman. She is now repeating her 156
freshman year, due to various difficulties the year before. One of these in-
volved her cursing the principal, for which she was temporarily expelled, to [873]
be returned by her mother the next day. She spent the rest of the year in
silent rebellion. This incident is not too serious, for more than anything [561]
else it indicates the strength of her attachment to a close-knit girls peer-
group which is slightly wild and which makes it a matter of honor to oppose
adults. There is little additional evidence of any serious hostility or re-
belliousness. Lily is the eldest of two children; she has an elder half-sister,
her mother's illegitimate daughter; and she has lived all of her life on the
reservation.

Lily's major activities and concerns are those of a typical, small town teen- [883]
age girl. She attends school, "hangs around" a local teen age center, flirts
with the boys — White and Indian, dances — at her home or the home of a friend,
and listens to records. She comes from one of the most stable families on the
reservation. Her mother is Klamath, a grade school graduate who worked her way [874]
through two years of business school, evenings, in a nearby city. Her mother in
recent years has begun to assume a position of leadership in certain community [571]•
activities, particularly recreation and education. Additionally, she has for
long been the advisor for numerous relatives. Her mother verbalizes great fear
and anxiety associated with this "getting out" and has done so only under con-
siderable external pressure. Her father is a California Indian who is the model [177]
of local White conceptions of masculinity. That is, he is vigorous and physi- [464]
cally powerful, a hard, reliable, steady worker in a logging company, a hard
"Saturday Night" style drinker, absolutely fearless, and a masterful fighter
in brawls. His fights are the focus of several local folk anecdotes, and suggest [157]
his excellent reputation, for he protects the underdog, takes on the bully (by
the half-dozen, if necessary), neatly dispatches all and never bears a grudge.

Lily is a more flexible and less submissive person that she would seem on first 159*
acquaintance. The difficulty with knowing her is that she wears a completely 157
impassive, rigid, unexpressive mask before all. One morning after knowing her
for a year the writer walked by her and then stopped, mildly startled, for Lily
had smiled (slightly) and mumbled "Good Morning" under her breath. She is also [123]
less inhibited than this mask of impassivity would suggest, as is evident from
her behavior with her peers and parents, but in all instances she prefers to
communicate with slight gestures and to make do with very few words. She is,
in fact, a remarkably self-possessed, poised, and reserved adolescent girl, a
consequence of which is that she is far more graceful than many other local girls
her own age. But, generally, her responses only minimally involve her with 159*
others. She is always among people, but not always with them. Her reserve does 156
not dissipate much with continued acquaintance, but is a constant feature of her
mode of adjusting to others. She never talks freely and her terse responses to
the blots and TAT cards are paralleled by an equal economy in all personal re-
lationships. There is no evidence to suggest that she is suspicious or distrust-
ful of others, although she can be quite persistent in avoiding people she does
not like.

795
771 reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors,
178 the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

182 The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are
allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some
771 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal
795 and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in
184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to
those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on
797 the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual
571 or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members
find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies
as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions
to aboriginal concepts.

771 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The
Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation
177 is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals,
184 while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display
or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely.
Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious
questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly
curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes
755 demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this consideration,
757 shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally
accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged
with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects
of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

183 The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there.
773 For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter
are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two,
183 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first
224 deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away,
he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation
today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too,
the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy
that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem
from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is
825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath
197 but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a harbinger
763 of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear
it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means
183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter,
the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed
among western tribes.

But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past
178 which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

kinship loyalties and that had provided relatively stable focal 648*
interests about which allegiances might cluster. The anonymous 657*
destruction of property as a time-honored method of exacting 602
personal revenge remained even in the last days of the reserva- 578
tion, when the jacklight shooting of a cow was construed as the 178
malicious act of a foe. Distrust thus engendered was likely in 177
turn to lead to a search for potential allies, especially among kinsmen and cronies. Local legend in Chiloquin still recounts the memorable gunfight between two tribal families in the days before its incorporation, one firing from the railway depot while the other entrenched itself in the family hotel. At the first few shots the stationmaster, a newcomer to town, was flushed from the depot; and when the fusillades were stilled he left town, never to return.

As law and order became more firmly established over the reservation, and extended families, their members scattered on separate allotments and among the reservation towns, became
dispersed, retaliatory obligations declined. In the end, feudatory 648*
alignment left their mark chiefly in a continued reluctance of 657*
former opponents to drink together or otherwise associate. The 602
drinking cliques, with their stable membership cores, reflected 578
these antipathies: three decades after the gunfight mentioned 273
above, the families involved still did not consort together. Only 178
one person, and she an affinal, had crossed the line. 177
[573] •

Indeed, the violence of more recent years, as remarked, lay far less between families than it did within them, for many of the quarrels that precipitated assaults arose in the course of drinking parties, and thus antagonized persons who were accustomed to associate together. Although there was a degree of mobility in the membership of such parties, and clashes at times might involve a visitor, many instances of homicide arose out of family disputes. That the tensions thus vented were generated by the changes in familial roles seems at least partially true, to judge by an examination of court cases; but they were affected indirectly by other segments of the psychosocial system, such as the relations with whites. Such disputes, however, could only weaken the family, and that at a time when family solidarity had become a less imperative need.

Within the reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally 000

SIXTEEN

[P.214]

Status Gradient, Ethnic Hierarchy, and Accultarative Range

*648 *657 554 WHEREVER THEY WENT, UPON THE RESERVATION OR IN THE communities beyond its borders, tribal members encountered a status gradient not of their own devising, and found themselves assigned a place upon it. It was not that they had not possessed their own ways of appraising others, or that some of those judgments were not continued. The standards upon which they found themselves judged were largely extrinsic to their own life. To be sure, in communities such as Beatty, judgments were most closely akin to those of traditional Klamath culture, for here they were informally applied upon the basis of direct acquaintance. At the other extreme, in such cities as Klamath Falls, where firsthand familiarity was often lacking, a person or family was judged upon outward evidence of appearance and demeanor, of possessions and associations. Under these contexts, the stereotype of "Klamath" or—in regions farther from home—of "Indian" became significant.

Towns such as Chiloquin occupied a middle range in the formation of status gradients, for they were still small enough to permit each person to be known directly, while evincing sufficient complexity to provide for an institutionalization of [571] social precedence. Participation in a number of formal associations, [573] together with informal cliquing of varying degrees of exclusiveness, was invested with social value. The standing of men [562] was more narrowly related to their economic achievements; the

that seem bizarre. In evading prohibition, as already noted, tribal 648*
members learned successively to operate stills, to patronize and 657*
to serve as bootleggers, and to drink alcoholic extracts. For local 177
roughs, the pug and the cowboy provided glamorous models; 178
and several youths ventured upon the hard trail of the professional 184
boxer. Although cowboy hats and boots were still worn in [883]
the latter days of the reservation, they were giving way among this set to the ducktail haircut and the leather jacket. Drag racing and drinking were pursuits as common among tribal adolescents in Chiloquin as among their peers elsewhere. The intermittent use of marijuana cigarettes and an occasional Pachuco tattoo were evidence of the selective adoption of Inframodal practices.

As a category, the inframodal Klamath were often the immediate descendants of some of the elderly individuals already mentioned, dependent upon them for money once they had squandered their own funds, sometimes residing with them, sometimes "shacking up" in a separate household in a common-law union. They formed but one range of the main body of tribal members, among whom they found associates perhaps as often
as they did among their own sort. They did not habitually asso- [571]
ciate with Inframodal peers among other racial groups, but [573]
characteristically remained in small tribal cliques, of which the [273]
drinking groups were the chief stable expression.[22]

Those tribal members still on the reservation comprised a main body, upon which three lobes might be distinguished: the elders, the Inframodal, and those conformant to American standards. The latter alone had tended to become almost completely cut off from the major body of their fellow tribesmen, save for a few leaders, who had been able to keep the respect of both whites and Klamath. The remainder constituted a single society of strong egalitarian persuasions.

While recognizing that a single criterion must fail as a device 648*
for sorting out categories which are the product of such com- 657*
plexity, a first approximation was attempted in an analysis of the 177
records of a random sample of tribal members in Chiloquin.[23] As 178
sorting criteria, the subjects were first scaled against five some- 184
what overlapping entries involving behavior before the law. Then, 125
working symmetrically from the extremes of the scale, they were

Another circling dance, called skoʹtcpŭs, may not be a social dance 535
but may be used in the scalp and war dances in a way that is not
clear. Here those in the circle do not hold hands and their step consists in shuffling along by moving the toes and heels alternately.

The headdress for dancers consists of long eagle feathers, or a [292]
bunch of small eagle and gull feathers may be kept in place on top of
the basket hat by means of cord passing under the chin. Downy
feathers are hung pendant at the back of the head.

New Year's observances, or new fire ceremony, such as the Yurok 796
and Karok know, are not found among the Klamath.[144] 171*

ETIQUETTE

The Klamath are on the whole a hospitable and friendly lot. 574 •
Good breeding demands that visitors be invited to share one's meal.
There is no studied effort at ostentatious feasting, however, nor is
food forced on a visitor in the manner of our eastern Indians. If
visitors, men or women, arrive at meal time, the children of the household are sent out on the pretext, as they tell the children, that the
food will stick in the visitors' gullets. A kind of grace is said before
eating. Bits of food are cast toward the spirit places to feed them
first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula[145] is a prayer.
Good form does not demand that the visitors clean up their portions,
nor does one hear the smacking of lips in appreciation. There is 264
among them no objection to noisy eating. Children are told not to
talk while eating fish, for fear of their swallowing bones. It is usual
to rinse the mouth with water before and after eating. Soiled fingers [515]
are washed in a near-by stream after the meal. Children are definitely
instructed in good behavior.

The common salutation to the visitor is i gŏtpiʹiᴇ, yes, have you 576
come?, followed by goʹli, come in. On leaving, the guest announces
i gäʹmbIn, yes, I am going, which evokes the invariable response
i gäʹmbli, yes, go. One hears moIʹnskăndItc, thank you, but rarely.

For a man to remove a woman's hat from her head is reprehensible; it is usually construed as a solicitation.

Certain behavior is not so much a matter of general good form as [481]
of sex difference. Egress from the earth-lodge is by a ladder projecting through the hatchway overhead. Men mount the rungs facing the
ladder, but women place their feet sideways, mounting crab-wise.

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[144] Kroeber, Handbook, 53, 102.

[145] See p. 166.

343 as in "one big family." This is inevitably a matter of personal preference;
252 some dwellings have two cooking lodges attached, the families
eating separately and sharing food only as friendship dictates. The
592 mortars and grinding slabs are kept in the cooking-lodge. The introduction
[177] of flour has wrought a change in these habits. Loaves of
bread are baked in the ashes in the earth-lodge itself. Flour is always
[262] shared among the inmates. I was assured that there was no earlier
custom resembling this.

264 But two meals a day are eaten, morning and evening. I was also
told that there is no regular period for meals. Visitors are given
574 something on their arrival, such as a little pond-lily seed, but no stress
is placed on this phase of hospitality. A sort of grace is said before
eating.

352 The entire floor of the earth-lodge or summer mat-house is carpeted
with mats except for the space within the four central posts. Thicker
piles of these for beds are placed all around the walls, but the best
352 locations are at the sides (*O*, fig. 19). Children might sleep in the
corners. People always sleep with their feet toward the fire, no
513 matter in what direction their heads then lie.[374]

Beds (slai'is) are of mats of various sorts. Rich people use tule, the twined mats (slai'is) being preferred to the sewn (st!ŏps). One or more of these laid on dry grass serves as a mattress, or they sleep directly on the grass. One or two more form the covering. The few who have them use grizzly bear, coyote, wolf, lynx (? slowa'), or deer pelts, or several *Bassariscus* (? slĕt) skins sewn together, for mattress and blanket (sa'walc). A blanket for a little child is made from the skin of a red fox, a stretched raccoon skin, or several marten skins sewn together. Blankets (called sŏlŭmtai') are also made of tule and cat-tail twined to produce a checkerboard decoration. Others are made of tules with the wing feathers of water fowl (pelicans, geese, swans, ducks, etc.) caught in one face. These are called lă'cdălap'ö'tᴇ, wing feathers (lac) put together. Another type of feather blanket (called ḳ'a'lyᴇ) is made of the dried skins of waterfowl twisted with a cord to form a fluffy rope. This is twined with cords inserted at intervals to form the blanket. Pillows (sᴇ'o'lhas) are a heap of grass, or anything else, even wood, but the wooden headrest of the lower Klamath river tribes is unknown. Gatschet records a sack stuffed with mallard duck down for a pillow.[375]

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[374] I could find no notion that a sleeper is affected by moonlight.

[375] 1:144.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
252	476. Eaten dry	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	–	+
	477. Buckeyes eaten	o	o	o	•+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
	478. Leached	o	o	o	–	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
	479. Boiled whole	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	–	–	+	o
	480. Earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
	481. For flesh food	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
	482. For vegetable food	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	•+
	483. Food sprinkled with water	–		+	+	–		–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
	484. Food covered with leaves or grass	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
	485. Water sprinkled into oven after closed up	–	•+	–	–	–		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
	486. Eggs cooked	+	+	+			•+	+	•	+		+			+	+	+
	487. Baked in earth oven	•+	–	–		–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	488. Baked in hot ashes	–	+	+			–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	489. Stone boiled in basket	–	+	+								+	–	–	+	+	+
272	490. Berry "cider"	•+	o	+	+	+	•o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
	491. Sipped with deer tail	–	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
263	492. Salt obtained in mineral form, dry	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
	493. Salt from spring or marsh	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	494. Salt locally	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	•+	+
[439]	495. Salt imported	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	•+	–
	496. Used little or not at all; disliked	+	+	+	–	•–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
	497. "Salt" from burning grass	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	•+
	498. "Salt" clover eaten fresh	–	+	–					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262	499. Soaproot eaten	o	o	o	+	–	•o	•o	•o	•o	•o	o	+	–	+	+	–
	500. Top eaten	o	o	o	–	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	–	+	+	–
	501. Root eaten	o	o	o	+	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	–	+	–	–
[278]	502. Cooked in earth oven	o	o	o	+	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	–	–	–	–
[439]	503. Root concoction drunk as medicine	o	o	o	–	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	–	·	–	–
	504. Imported if not obtainable locally	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
[515]	505. Soaproot for washing	o	•o	o	+	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	R	+
	506. Milkweed chewing gum	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[26]	507. Pine pitch chewing gum	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	o	+	+	+
	508. Pine "sugar"	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–
	509. Honeydew from leaves eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
	510. Inner bark of trees eaten.	•+	–	+	–	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
	511. Mushrooms and fungi eaten											+	+	+			+
	512. Fresh or dried											•+	+	•+			•+

Eating Customs

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
264	513. Men served before women, if crowd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
[562]	514. All eat out of one basket	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
	515. Men each have own basket	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•–	–	–	+
	516. Women also have separate baskets	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	517. Man and wife eat from same basket	+	+	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
[855]	518. Children "piece" whenever hungry						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	519. Two main meals daily, usually	•–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
	520. Three main meals daily	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–		–	–	–	–	–	+
[574]	521. Meal whenever visitor arrives	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[515]	522. Hands washed after eating deer, bear meat	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
	523. Men's rule only	–	–	–			–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–
	524. Wipe face, hands with grass, bark after eating	+	+	+						+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	•+

Storage of Food

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
251	525. Outdoor granaries	–	+	+	–	+	•+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	526. Against tree	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	527. In burnt tree stump	–		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	528. On platform in tree; covered	–	•+	+			•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	NV
515 810. Pray or wish while sweating	°+	°+	°(+)	+	R	°R	°+	+	°+	°+	+	(+)	−	−	−	−
782 811. Cold bath follows sweat	+	°+	°+	°+	+	+	°+	+	°+	+	+	(−)	+	+	−	+
House Furnishings and Arrangement																
281 812. Blankets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
813. Elk and deerskin	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
513 814. Painted hides for fine blankets	−	−	−			−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
815. Woven rabbitskin blankets	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
816. Patchwork skin blankets	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
817. Deerskin	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
818. Coyote skin	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
819. Wildcat skin	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
820. Raccoon skin	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
821. Rabbitskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
822. Blue-fox skin	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−
[439] 823. Buffalo hides, imported for blankets	−		+	+	°+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[287] 824. Feather blankets	+	°+	−	−	−	°+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	°+
825. Loose tule, grass blanket covering	+	+	+		+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
826. Pillows	+	+	+	+	.	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.
827. Individual wooden pillow	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
828. Pole pillow	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	.
829. Piece of wood or rock	+	−	−		−	−			+	+	+	.	−	−	+	.
830. Rolled skin	−	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.
831. Rolled tule mat	−	−	+	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
832. Leaf or grass pillow	−	+	−	−	(+)	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.
584 833. Pine needles heaped up for pillow	−	+	−	−			−	−	−	−	(−)	+	−	−	−	.
†834. Wooden foot drum	−	−	°R	−	−	−	−	−	°R	°R	°+	°+	°+	°+	°+	°+
†835. Hollow half log	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	.	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†836. In line with door	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†837. Over hole in ground	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	+	+	+	+	.	+
†838. Post before drum	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	R	R	+	.	−	−	−	+
361 †838a. Houses in rows	−	−	−	−	−	°+	−	°+	°+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
†838b. Houses in circle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	−	°+
Shelters																
Brush Enclosures and Shades																
417 839. Roofless circular brush enclosure	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
840. Large, used for ceremonies	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
● [574] 841. As camping place for visitors	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	−	−	−
[764] 842. At cemeteries only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	+	−	−	+
843. Fire in center	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
844. Opening(s) oriented	−	°+	°+	°+	°+	−	°+	°+	°+	°+	−	°+	−	−	.	°+
845. Same, but smaller, for summer shelter	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
846. Partly roofed over	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
847. Roofed circular brush enclosure	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	°+	−	−	−	−	−		−
848. Shades	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	−	+	+	−	°+
849. Horizontal roof	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
850. Sloping roof	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
851. 4 supporting posts	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+
852. 3 side walls	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
853. Brush heaped around pit mortars, for shade	−	−	−		−	−	−		−	−	−	(+)	+	+	−	−
854. Conical bark grinding house, 2 families	−	−	−		+	°+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Menstrual Huts																
343 855. Menstrual hut	+	+	°+	+	°+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+
841 856. Similar to living house, but smaller	−	−	−	°+	−	+	°+	°+	−	−	−	−	°+	°+	+	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2536. Any time	-	-	-	+		-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	535
2537. Several bands assemble together	+	-	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	
2538. Young people dance, mainly	-	+									-	-	-		-	-	
2539. Purpose mainly pleasure	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-	[789]
2540. To make seeds grow	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2541. Dance around center post	-	+	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	-	
2542. Juniper tree	-	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2543. Dance around fire	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2544. All dancers sing	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[533]
†2545. Special singers	-	-	-	-		-	2	-	+	-	-	1	..		-	-	
2546. Each local group sings own songs, in turn	+	-	+			+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2547. Split-stick rattle accompaniment	-	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2548. Clap hands as accompaniment	-	-	+			+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2549. Women choose partners	-	-	-	-		-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	[562]
2550. Men choose partners	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2551. Dance in 1 circle	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	
2552. Dance in 2 concentric circles	+	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	
2553. Dance in 2 circles next to each other	-	-	-			+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
2554. Sexes alternate	+	-	+	-		+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
2555. Sexes dance opposite each other in 1 circle	+	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2556. Quick shuffle step	+	(+)	+	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	
2557. Hopping step	-	.	-	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2558. Stamp both feet, moving slightly									+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
2559. Start: counterclockwise	+	(+)	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-	
2560. Reverse: dance clockwise	-	.	-	+		-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2561. When dance stops, all shout	+	+	+					+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-	
2562. Good singer dance leader	+	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2563. Band or district chief dance leader	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	[622]
2564. Clowns	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2565. Act of own accord; not appointed	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	[522]
o2566. Duration of dance, nights	1	+	1	1		1	1	3	1	2	-	2	-		-	-	
2567. Dance occasion for courting	+	+	+	-		-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
2568. Visitors camp in circular brush corral	-	-	+	-		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	[574]
2569. Visitors feasted by hosts	-	-	+			+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
Sweat "Dance"																	
2570. Held inside sweat house											+	+	+		-	-	[515]
2571. At night											+	+	+		-	-	
2572. Any time of year												+	+		-	-	
2573. Both sexes participate											+	+	-		-	-	
2574. Hot fire in sweat house											+	+	+		-	-	
2575. 1 singer; hits center pole with stick											+	-	-		-	-	[533]
2576. Split-stick rattle used											-	+	-		-	-	
2577. Participants stand in 1 spot, dance until exhausted											+	+	+		-	-	
2578. Swim after dancing											+	+	+		-	-	[481]
Bear Dances																	
2579. Bear dance aboriginal	-	-	-	-		-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	+	[177]
2580. Given for good time	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2581. Given to dress bearskin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
2582. Held in spring	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
2583. Held in winter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
2584. Held any time, in good weather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-	
2585. Danced in sweat house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	+	
2586. Danced in open	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-		-	-	
o2587. Whole gathering lasts ... days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-		-	2	

	Kl	Mo	Sh	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2627. Both paternal, maternal	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	.	.	+	622
2628. Primogeniture	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	·+	+	.	–	–	+	[611]
2629. Oldest member paternal lineage	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
2630. Only if direct heir too young	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2631. Brother of deceased chief	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	.	+	+	+	
2632. Only if direct heir too young			+						+	–	·+	–	.	–	–	–	
2633. Brother's son	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	+	
Qualifications for Appointment																	
2634. Character and knowledge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		
2635. Possession of wealth	–	–	+	.	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[556]
2636. Good speaker, and "talks to everyone"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
Appointment																	
2637. Chosen at assembly of elders	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	.	+	+	+	[623]
2638. Chosen at assembly of all males	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	–	.	–	–	–	
2639. Women sometimes attend and speak			–				+	–	–	–	.	+	.	–	–	–	[562]
2640. Incumbent may select successor	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	+	
2641. New leader may be appointed before incumbent dies	–	+	+				+	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	+	–	
2642. Headmen of other groups select or help select new leader	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	+	
2643. Approval of community required	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	.	–	–	–	
Tenure																	
2644. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2645. Dependent on satisfactory behavior	–	–	+	+	+	·+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	
2646. May be deposed by killing	–	–	–	+	–	·+	–	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	.	·–	
Title																	
2647. Individual title	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	
2648. Title extended to children	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	
2649. To daughter only	–	–	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2650. Daughter called by special title													–	–	·+	–	
2651. Title extended to wife; "chief's wife"	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	.	–	+	
Insignia																	
2652. Wears "hairpin" with quail crest at ceremonies																+	[301]
2653. Chief only person who uses eagle feathers													–	–	+	–	[237]
Activities and Duties																	
2654. Hunts, fishes for self	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	·–	–	+	·+	+	–	–	+	–	
2655. Relatives hunt, fish for him	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2656. All give chief food free	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	·+	+	[illegible]	–	–	+	+	+	+	
2657. Food bought for chief	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2658. Feeds visitors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	[574]
2659. Impoverished thereby	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2660. Provides most of food for ceremonies	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	·+	+	+	+	+	+	
2661. Directs communal economic activities	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	[224]
2662. Deer drives	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
2663. Antelope, duck hunts, etc.	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
622 2664. Fishing	−	−	+					+	−	•+	+	+	−	−	+	−
2665. Vegetable-food quests	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2666. Pine-nut trips	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[587] 2667. Orates at public ceremonies	+	−	+	−	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
2668. Talks from sweat house, at dances	−		−					•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2669. Talks morning and evening	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−
2670. Moral lectures to children	+	+	+					•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
[627] 2671. Settles disputes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
2672. Pays or helps pay wergild	−		+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	−
2673. Sets price for wergild payments			−			+	+	+	+	−	.	(-)	−	−	−	.
2674. Sanctions killing of offenders	−	−	−					−	−	+	−	.	+	−	+	−
[921] 2675. Concerned with war	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	.	+	.
2676. Declares war	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	•+	+	+	.	+	.
c2677. Goes to war	+	−	−	−	+	±	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	.	+	.
2678. Negotiates for peace	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	−	−	.	+	.

Escort

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
[574] 2679. Some 1 person accompanies chief on visit	−	−	−				+	•+	−	−	•+	+	•+	+	•+	−
2680. Several men, youths, accompany chief on visits	+	+	+				−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+

Female Chiefs and Titled Women

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
[562] 2681. Female chiefs	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
2682. No male chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2683. Male chief also	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
2684. Sister, cousin of male chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2685. Daughter of male chief	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
2686. Wife of male chief	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	.
2687. Gives orders to men	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2688. Sends messengers with orders.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2689. Substitutes for male chief in absence of latter	−	−	.	•+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2690. Supervises preparation of food for ceremony	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
2691. Titled women	−	−	−			(-)	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	+	+
2692. Sister, cousin of male chief	−	−	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+
2693. Daughter of male chief	−	−	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	+	−

Assistant to Male Chief

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
2694. Assistant chief	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
c2695. Number per political unit	.	1	.	−	−	−	2	1	1	−	1	1	−	−	1	−
2696. Son or brother of chief	.	−	.	−	−	−		+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
2697. Advises chief	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
2698. Substitutes for chief in his absence.	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2699. Provides money for public gathering	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
2700. Supervises preparation, division of food for ceremony	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	+	−
2701. Lifelong office	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−

Criers

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
624 2702. Appointed by chief	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2703. Chosen at assembly of old men	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2704. Hereditary, paternal line	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
2705. Ability basis of selection	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
c2706. Number per chief or headman	−	1	2	−	−	−	1	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	1
c2707. Number per village	−		2	•2	−	−	1	−	1	−	−	−	1	−	−	1

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	NV
841 3710. Menstruant's ears pierced	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
881 3711. Girl dances in front of dancers	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
535 3712. Girl stands on view in finery	-	-	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
[304] 3713. Betrothed stands on view with girl	-	-	-	-						+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3714. Poor girl may stand with rich celebrant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
● [574] 3715. Visitors present food	-	-		+	+	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
3716. Visitors feasted after dance	-	-		+	+	-	R	+	(+)	+	-	(+)	+	-	-	+
3717. Visitors given return gifts of food	-	-		+	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
3718. Girl runs at daybreak	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	(+)	-
3719. Spectators throw lighted sticks at girl	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3720. Girl's anklets, wristlets burnt	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3721. Girl passes through fire	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
3721a. Girls sing, escort menstruant to stream															+	-
Boys' Puberty Observances																
881 [578] 3722. Formal group rites	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
3723. Secret society initiation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
3724. Individual vision questing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
[787] 3725. Optional, for all boys of group	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
General Menstrual Customs																
841 3726. Certain foods taboo to all menstruants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3727. Meat, fresh or dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3728. Fresh fish	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3729. Dried fish	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3730. Grease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3731. Salt	-	-	-		-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
3732. Cold water	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3733. Menstruant eats alone	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3734. Daughter may eat with mother								+	+	+	.	+	+	+	-	+
3735. Uses separate receptacles	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3736. Menstruant stays in dwelling house	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
3737. Menstruant secluded	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
3738. In menstrual hut or cookhouse	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
o3739. For ... days and nights	5	5	5	5	5	-	-	5	4	4	3	5	-	5	-	3
3740. All women	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
3741. Shamans' wives only	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3742. Old women attend menstruant												+	-	+	-	-
3743. Certain activities taboo	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3744. Basketmaking	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3745. Wood gathering	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
3746. Preparing vegetable food	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
3747. Preparing vegetable food for family	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3747a. Cooking meat	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3747b. If cook meat, give hunters bad luck													+	+	+	+
3748. Intercourse taboo	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
3749. Cannot sleep with back to man	-		-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
3750. Walking beside streams taboo			.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	-	+
3751. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3752. Hair left uncombed	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
o3753. Head scratcher used for ... periods after puberty	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5	-	-
3754. Head scratcher obligatory all periods	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
3755. No bathing during period	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3756. Purificatory bath, end of period; obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit K M 756
and compelling in its demands. 796

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and K M
serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and 221
the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, 261
housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social [356]
bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take
pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or K
the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed M
and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans [574] [685]
who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still [756]
conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers. [796]

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating [789]
hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will K
not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, M 261
they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to 22
gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer
of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance
of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate K
odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. M 221
Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied 361
through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The
decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining
in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. K
The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, M [501]
where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the
household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the
pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already,
in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and
Sprague.

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted K 226
the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, 823
which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost
River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, K
where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, M 226
catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream 103
tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers 648

K M 609 In such a sphere, and in relations with strangers beyond, the myths picture encounters fraught with possible danger. They may be initiated by a trucial period which endures until, by proper guest-host behavior, by a claim of kinship or on the other hand by an act of aggression, the issue of "friend or foe" is K M [574] precipitated. Hospitality dictates that one receive and feed the stranger, though a visiting kinsman brings a gift of food or otherwise repays the kindness. If, however, hostility is decided upon, it rarely becomes open: instead, both sides proceed indirectly, under the guise of amicability, and employ followers or auxiliaries to encompass the destruction of the other. It is here that the prescient qualities of the hero, his access to assistants and to supernatural forces, are decisive.[19]

K 648 In ethnographic reality, the outer limits of society are marked by the boundaries of common speech. Beyond this, the Klamath maintain amity with the Molala, intermittent friendship and hostility toward the Warm Springs and other Columbia River Sahaptin, who sometimes raid them, and toward the Paiute; inveterate hostility toward the Takelma of the upper Rogue and other peoples west of the Cascades; and a predatory aggressiveness toward the Pit River and Shasta to the south, whom they increasingly raid for slaves and loot.

K M 571 156 [838] The horizons of such a society are not wide. With the exception of the shaman, a part-time specialist, each man and each woman has much the same skills and knowledge as his fellows. The aberrant individual can do no more than assume the dress and behavior of the other sex, ascribing his action to supernatural dictate. The transient forms of the community and the informal constraint it imposes, the paucity of activities that demand concerted action, go hand in hand with a permissiveness in the individual. When this takes aggressive form, it may threaten the very fabric of society.

K M 754 571 152 682 The covert expression of hostility is likely to invest relations beyond the natal family with fear and mistrust. Revenge can take the form of murder from ambush, sorcery to engender the illness or death of the enemy, or the stealthy destruction of his property.[20] One frequent cause of open slayings, and of the feuds that ensue, is suspicion that a shaman has brought about the death of one's kinsman. Commonly, such charges are leveled

[p. 3448]

538 purposes of telling the stories seems to be to keep the children quiet and put them to sleep.

867 Concepts of etiquette and what constitutes a well brought up individual are clearly defined among the Klamath. Standards for proper behavior toward one's own family and toward other members of the tribe are taught at an early age. As soon as the child can understand what is said to him, he receives ethical advice from parents and others. Not only relatives but also other [887] adults may give advice. Elderly people are especially apt to counsel children.

> Old people start giving advice right away whenever they meet you. They tell you to be kind to everyone, don't brag, don't put yourself before anyone, work hard and you'll live a long time and be respected by everybody.

593
867 Either parent may take the responsibility of advising the children, but the father is generally stricter. In the early morning and at night, and "whenever everyone is gathered around and it is quiet" the father exhorts his children to be good and kind and to help others, demanding and receiving the attention of his youngsters for these harangues.

867
858 Since a well mannered child brings some prestige to his family, even a very small one is taught how to conduct himself before visitors; and the highest respect is shown to large families whose children are polite and well behaved.[16]

858
574 Visiting is a favorite pastime, especially in the fall after the winter house has been prepared. When visitors arrive, they are offered something to eat. At this point, the children are sent out to play; for "food will stick in the visitors' gullets if children stay around." Exemplary children learn to disappear without being told whenever visitors arrive.

867
264 Eating involves a few rules of etiquette for the young. Meals are not regular, and all are free to take food when there is any available. Ordinarily the family eats at least two meals a day, in the morning and again in the evening. The whole family eats together, and children are told to wait until the father has said a grace holding a bit of food or water out toward the mountains, lake, and earth as an offering. If this were not done, the children might become ill.

Immediately afterwards all start eating. There is no particular seating arrangement. Children are required to sit quietly during the meal. "They would choke if they ran around or talked." Children are also told never to walk in front of anyone who is eating--a rule doubly important if the person is a shaman.

869
778 An important part of training consists in developing respectful attitudes toward the many sacred places in Klamath territory. Children

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[16] See Spier, p. 91, for a few of the Klamath rules of etiquette.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 3710. Menstruant's ears pierced	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
881 3711. Girl dances in front of dancers	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
535 3712. Girl stands on view in finery	–	–	–	–				+	+·	+·	–	–	–	–	–	+
[304] 3713. Betrothed stands on view with girl	–	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3714. Poor girl may stand with rich celebrant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[574] 3715. Visitors present food	–	–		+	+	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
3716. Visitors feasted after dance	–	–		+	+·	–	R	+	(–)	+	–	(–)	+	–	–	+
3717. Visitors given return gifts of food	–	–		+	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
3718. Girl runs at daybreak	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	(–)	–
3719. Spectators throw lighted sticks at girl	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3720. Girl's anklets, wristlets burnt	+·	+·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3721. Girl passes through fire	–	–	–	+·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+·	–	–	–	–
3721a. Girls sing, escort menstruant to stream															+	–
Boys' Puberty Observances 881																
● [575] 3722. Formal group rites	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
3723. Secret society initiation	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
[787] 3724. Individual vision questing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
3725. Optional, for all boys of group	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
General Menstrual Customs																
841 3726. Certain foods taboo to all menstruants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3727. Meat, fresh or dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3728. Fresh fish	+	+	–	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3729. Dried fish	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3730. Grease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3731. Salt	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3732. Cold water	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3733. Menstruant eats alone	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3734. Daughter may eat with mother								+	+	+	·	+	+	+	–	+
3735. Uses separate receptacles	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3736. Menstruant stays in dwelling house	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
3737. Menstruant secluded	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
3738. In menstrual hut or cookhouse	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
o3739. For ... days and nights	5	5	5	5	5	–	–	5	4	4	3	5	–	5	–	3
3740. All women	+·	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
3741. Shamans' wives only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3742. Old women attend menstruant												+	–	+	–	–
3743. Certain activities taboo	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3744. Basketmaking	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3745. Wood gathering	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
3746. Preparing vegetable food	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3747. Preparing vegetable food for family	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3747a. Cooking meat	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3747b. If cook meat, give hunters bad luck													+	+	+	+
3748. Intercourse taboo	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+
3749. Cannot sleep with back to man	–		–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	–
3750. Walking beside streams taboo			·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	·	·	+	–	+
3751. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3752. Hair left uncombed	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+		–	–	–	–
o3753. Head scratcher used for ... periods after puberty	5	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	5	–	–
3754. Head scratcher obligatory all periods	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
3755. No bathing during period	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3756. Purificatory bath, end of period; obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5171. Instruction	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5172. Supernatural experience	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5173. Sings	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5174. Goes into trance	−	−	−	−	−			+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5175. Tells who hid or stole money	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5176. Tracks money, if hiding place changed	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5177. Talks to piece of money	−	−	−	−	−			−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
5178. Listens to hear money singing	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5179. Functions when money is lost	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5180. Performs at any public ceremony	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5181. Money hidden, to test shaman	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	±	−	+	−	−	−		−	−

Witchcraft

Black Magic

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
791 754 5182. Love medicine	+	.	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
832 5183. Roots	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	±	−
5184. Hair treated with formula, blood								+	+	±	−	−	−	−	−	−
5185. Songs				±		+	±	±	−	−	+	±	−	−	−	−
5186. "Diamond" (charmstone)						+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
754 5187. Poisoners distinct from doctors	+	−	±	+	−	−	−	+	+	±	+	.	±		+	−
791 5188. Men only	+	−	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	.	+		−	−
[562] 5189. Have power from various animals	−	−	.	−	−		−	−	−	+	−	.	−		−	−
5190. From evil spirit	−		−	−	−		−	−	−	+	−	.	−		−	−
5191. Have knowledge of herbs	(+)		+		−								+		−	−
754 5192. Shamans, poisoners practice contagious magic	+		±	+	±			±	±	±	±	±	±	+	±	−
756 5193. Poisoner, curing shaman hired to revenge refusal of girl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	(+)
5194. Make girl crazy, or kill her outright	+	+	±	±	±	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	±		±	(+)
5195. Colored lights (transformed witches) cause illness	−	−	±	±				±	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
5195a. Epidemics caused by spirit creatures	−	−	−	−				±	±	+	−	−	−		−	−

Prayer, Offerings

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
782 5196. Prayers frequent by all	+	+	−	(+)	+	+	±	+	+	+	+	+	+		±	+
264 5197. Offerings of food at meals	±	+	±	±	+	−	−	−	−	−	±	+	+		+	+

Eagle Ceremony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
825 5198. Special observances connected with eagle								(±)					−	−	+	−
5199. Eaglets captured alive													−	−	±	−
5200. People eat acorn soup on spot													−	−	±	−
5201. Eaglets kept tied by leg													−	−	+	−
5202. Killed when grown													−	−	+	−
5203. Feathers plucked out													−	−	+	−
[766] 5204. Beads put on body													−	−	+	−
5205. Eagle buried in basket, like person													−	−	+	−
5206. Owners cry at funeral, as for person													−	−	+	−
5206a. Chief only uses eagle feathers								±	±				−	−	+	−

Kuksu

Initiation (Boys)

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
575 5207. Tossed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.		−	−
5208. Over fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	.		−	−
5209. Held over fire												(+)	.		−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV	
5210. Shot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	-	575
5211. Hooked	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	.		-	-	
5212. In seclusion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	?	
†5213. For ... months	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3		-	?	
5214. Meat, salt taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
5215. Lie down, do not move	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	+	
5216. In dance house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
5217. Instructed, taught	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	

Impersonated Spirits

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV	
5218. Moki (wöta)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	+	575
5219. Wholly covered feather net												+	-		-	+	
5220. Big-head (yohyo, t'uya)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	R	?	-	+	776
5221. Woman (köla, dü, dada)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	+	
5222. Sili (racer, in net)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.		-	+	
5223. Yat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5224. Sobe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5225. Yabe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5226. Koto	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5227. Grizzly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5228. Coyote	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5229. Deer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	?	
5230. Kuksu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5231. Ghosts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	(+)	

Officials

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV	
5232. Moki: head of whole ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?		-	.	
5233. Kuksu: leader of dancers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-		-	?	575
5234. Limo (wulu)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.		-	+	
5235. Tomaga, doorkeeper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	?		-	+	
5236. Fire tender, clown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?		-	+	
5237. Yomi (yomta) is curing doctor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	

Ceremonies

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV	
5238. Hesi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	R	+	-	+	575
5239. Aki	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	+	
5240. Waima	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	+	776
5241. Grizzly bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-		-	+	
5242. Deer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	+	

Dances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV	
5243. Coyote	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)		-	+	575
5244. Goose	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	+	535
5245. Condor (Molokn)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-		-	-	
5246. Wololok (yellowhammer)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	(+)		-	-	
5247. Eagle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	
5248. Thunder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	-	
5249. Lole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
5250. With feather ropes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	.	-	+	
5251. Hilowe (hiwe?)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	-	
5252. K'aima	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	+	
5253. Toto	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	R		-	R	
5254. Salalu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	+		-	+	
5255. Duck dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	+	
5256. Kenu, keni (sweat dance)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	
5257. Knee swinging from rafters	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	?	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

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535

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
5258. Head-first sliding down center post	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	*+	–		–	–
5259. In sweat dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–
Seating Arrangement in Dance House																
5260. Performers sit on 1 side	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		+	+
5261. Spectators sit on other side	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		+	+
5262. Performers graded by classes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.		–	+
5263. Chief in middle of post side	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	.		–	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
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Kuksu

● 575 Initiation: boys stabbed, drowned, go crazy; use scratching stick, drinking tube, bull-roarer. Impersonated woman spirit wears tarat woodpecker visor; tokoilulu, north spirits; spirits with contrasting stripes of paint, distorted faces, twigs in nostrils and mouth. Yomta is ceremonial director. Ceremonies: wai-saltu. Dances: kilak. Pole-climbing, diving in roof hole. Girls instructed with boys; women initiated (?).

[168-B]

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are ex- 621
clusively White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office out- [575]
side the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local [194]
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the
place and role of the Klamath is a special one. [571]

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are fre-
quently tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously, [651]
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chilo-
quin during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of [674]
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a recon- 648
stituted "Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be adminis- 657
tered by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal super-
vision has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual 619
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Atten-
dance at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

Everyone is quiet during the singing, else the girl will die. My informant could not say what would be done to the one who broke this rule. The singers are fed at midnight. 881 533

The choristers sing about one another, men about women, women about men.[88] The opening song is always: [539]

iwûne' sken djidja'lwis djaiye'djal'wa
toward sundown bachelors making a noise (?)
The young men are having a jollification in the west.

Toward daylight they sing:

pe'ēt kesăă'ni dji'ḳla ho'llidouga
Toward the dawn place a tiny brown bird came to meet us.

The girl herself is expected to dance with downcast eyes, although there is no express prohibition against looking at the sky as among the Shasta. Common girls, however, will laugh and look around as they dance. There is no suggestion that the girl's glance is malignant. 881 535 576• [171] *

She observes three precautions during these five days, as she will at subsequent menstruations and during mourning. She must abstain from meat and fish, eating only lily seed or roots. She may, however, eat when she pleases and with the others. Should she eat the forbidden flesh, she will get "consumption" and die.[89] She must not touch her hands to her face or head, using instead a scratcher (sadŏ'ktcuts). This scratching stick or bone is tucked under the left wristband or hung about the neck. Every morning she runs toward the dawn. 881 784 [302]

In the Field Museum collections are several bone scratchers used during the girl's rites (nos. 61633, 61692, 63632). These are of two types; lozenge-shaped and oval. They are decorated with incised lines, set close together and filled with black pigment. Each is provided with a thong (fig. 6). [531]

During the day the girl retires to sleep in the bushes or in a dome-shaped mat-lodge a few hundred yards distant. 881 [343]

She wears an old, dirty, fringed skirt, a blanket of skin (coyote, wolf, raccoon, or deer), and buckskin moccasins. The long buckskin dress commonly worn at dances may be used, although one informant stated otherwise. She does not wash nor comb her hair during this period. Her face is blackened with pitch and charcoal, but none is put on her hair as it would be in mourning. Instead the hair, hanging as usual in two braids in front of the shoulders, is doubled on itself to form two clubs, which are bound with braided cords of buck-brush [291] [302]

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[88] Some of these songs are given by Gatschet, 1:182, 189.

[89] A bone drinking tube is not used.

Another circling dance, called ako'tepüs, may not be a social dance but may be used in the scalp and war dances in a way that is not clear. Here those in the circle do not hold hands and their step consists in shuffling along by moving the toes and heels alternately. 535

The headdress for dancers consists of long eagle feathers, or a bunch of small eagle and gull feathers may be kept in place on top of the basket hat by means of cord passing under the chin. Downy feathers are hung pendant at the back of the head. [292]

New Year's observances, or new fire ceremony, such as the Yurok and Karok know, are not found among the Klamath.[144] 796 171*

ETIQUETTE

The Klamath are on the whole a hospitable and friendly lot. 574 Good breeding demands that visitors be invited to share one's meal. There is no studied effort at ostentatious feasting, however, nor is food forced on a visitor in the manner of our eastern Indians. If visitors, men or women, arrive at meal time, the children of the household are sent out on the pretext, as they tell the children, that the food will stick in the visitors' gullets. A kind of grace is said before eating. Bits of food are cast toward the spirit places to feed them first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula[145] is a prayer. Good form does not demand that the visitors clean up their portions, nor does one hear the smacking of lips in appreciation. 264 There is among them no objection to noisy eating. Children are told not to talk while eating fish, for fear of their swallowing bones. It is usual to rinse the mouth with water before and after eating. [515] Soiled fingers are washed in a near-by stream after the meal. Children are definitely instructed in good behavior.

The common salutation to the visitor is i gŏtpi'is, yes, have you come?, followed by go'li, come in. 576 • On leaving, the guest announces i gă'mbIn, yes, I am going, which evokes the invariable response i gă'mbli, yes, go. One hears mol'nakăndIte, thank you, but rarely.

For a man to remove a woman's hat from her head is reprehensible; it is usually construed as a solicitation.

Certain behavior is not so much a matter of general good form as [481] of sex difference. Egress from the earth-lodge is by a ladder projecting through the hatchway overhead. Men mount the rungs facing the ladder, but women place their feet sideways, mounting crab-wise.

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[144] Kroeber, Handbook, 53, 102.

[145] See p. 168.

775 763 Last month an old woman, who was very sick, was left alone. As she lay there she saw ghosts. They caught her; she died. When her children returned she was dead. Her daughter and grandson rubbed her chest to revive her. She was soon restored except that one ear, which the ghosts had touched, was "closed." Her daughter asked, "What is the matter?" She answered faintly, "The ghosts caught me." Today she can barely talk; her sight and hearing are gone.

775 787 A Klamath Falls man met a ghost on the trail. It was short and had long white nails on hands and feet. The ghost said, "Let us trade nails." The man said that he could not take his off. The ghost said, "I can pull them out," and exchanged nails with him. The man went home with the long nails and went to bed. When he woke, he looked at his hands and feet, but he had his own nails again.

The same man saw ghosts dancing at the cremation place on the hill east of Link river (Klamath falls). He watched them dance all night. They gave him a pipe to smoke. Then they threw firebrands at him and he ran away.

About ten years ago I [Pat Kane] had been swimming in the river. I was returning to my home with some horses when I heard crying. I saw an immense fire at the cremation place on lower Williamson river. Men, women, and children were wailing there. I held my hat over my face and did not listen. I did not tell my wife. For three or four days I was sick, so I went into the sweat-lodge. Later I went down there but found no signs of a recent fire.

576 The names of the dead are mentioned rather freely, but no one likes to name his own relatives or hear another do so. In fact, such a reference is insulting. But this is not due to any fear of the dead; it is rather a matter of taste.

775 The land of the dead, No'lískăn,[183] lies in the west, the sunset. Everyone goes there. It was created by the culture hero, Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, who made the humans that figure in the tales (called psaudi'was) and ordained that they should go to this land when they died. Nothing is said of the road thither but the characteristics of the land and its people are tolerably well conceptualized.

Everything in the land of the dead is inverted from this living world. The ghosts sleep by day and live at night. In the day there is nothing to be seen but their houses and skeletons. At sundown they are clothed with flesh again; they rise and build fires. They dance through the night to fall asleep when dawn breaks. They feed on swan's eggs and perhaps they do not eat them in the manner of humans, since a tale suggests that Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps is fed in the manner of the ghosts; the eggs are thrown at him. Further, the eggs are [825] unnatural in that they are hot.[184] So far as the Klamath are concerned, swan's eggs themselves are mythical, for while swans cross

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[183] I suggest that the word means, literally, land of the departed; compare no'tsna, departed for ——; nutsnota, soul leaves; tcō'lĭkăn, service berry land; ā'stikan, country of the Shasta.

[262] [184] Perhaps the Klamath do not eat eggs at all. I neglected to inquire.

#539

(290) čoy bloksip, pé·wip—ʔat ho·t ƙanni gi. (291) ge·kaíadaí lalʔa·bi hok gi.

PB: And what is a "pḱo·nip"?

(292) PO: pḱo·nip, dwa· hok? (293) waq hok nen hasʔa·Mḱa, kańs sa pḱo·nip naʔas ʔelga?

(294) AC: pḱo·nip dak ho·t pʔa·nip gi. (295) ho·t ʔa gew ḱoḱo·nip gi. (Great Uncle.)

(The conversation was carried on in English at this point, mostly about friends from the old days.)

(296) PO: . . . čoy waq dal hok se·satk gi, kańsíst honk dola či·ya·—kańs honk dola či·ya·?

(297) AC: q̇ay, wiḱa· bańi ʔa mat honk hok sq̇olligo·ta. (298) mna da·k dwa·, waq da·k sa gin—mna da·k honk sʔa·Maks dwa· hak. (299) čoy ho·t sa hon hom̓as gyank ʔat hasʔa·Maḱatk. (300) ptisa· honk blogo·člank, honkĺam honk q̇e·gitk.[109]

(301) PO: ʔi·, honk hay ni ho·skanga.

(The conversation reverted to English and drifted to a recollection of a personal experience from Mrs. Ohles' childhood. The machine was turned off during this time and was only turned on again when she returned to Klamath.)

(302) PO: . . . čoy dank m̓a·sʔa dwa·. (303) čoy ma·ns q̇e·gi, ma·ns q̇e·gi. (304) čoy ndanni waytas q̇e·giwapgatk, čoy ma·ns na·ĺ q̇e·gi, m̓a·sʔok. (305) čoy honk hokt ʔat wosga na·ts, hokt (Proper name). (306) čoy hok gembli, čoy honk m̓a·sis gota·, honkčgas. (307) čoy ma·ma gatbamblyank na·ĺs be·n blay ʔembli, blaydaí.[110] (308) waq dal sa blay maqlaqsyalank ʔelga?

(309) AC: blay, či. (310) ge· dak nen gina·t ẏayńa.

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[192]
[551]
[576]
[103]
[193]
[194]

[109] The form /q̇e·gitk/ is used for respectful mention of a dead person. It was considered impolite to mention the names of the other person's deceased relations in a conversation, and this was extended often to refer to the names of deceased friends and acquaintances. Compare the English "the dear departed."

[110] Mrs. Ohles uses the form /blay/ here to mean only the town of Bligh. It may be that the vowel of the two repetitions of /blay/ in this sentence is somewhat longer than is usual for the Klamath morpheme (blay) "up, above." It is certainly longer than Mrs. Cowan's /blay, či/ in Sentence 309. If so, this may account for Mrs. Ohles' failure to recognize "Bligh" as Klamath (blay).

As if to supply counterpoint to the virtues of the esteemed, the myths cast scorn upon the baseborn, with their noisy pretensions to eminence, their repeated disregard and outright ignorance of good breeding, their ignoble cheating of members of their own village, the shabbiness of their gear, and their downright poverty. A poor man is "like a slave." The impecunious aged, lacking kinfolk to provide for them, are no better. Yet the myths do not depict the lot of the poor and the orphan as inalterably fixed: by dint of striving they may win their way to spiritual power and to material affluence, thereby gaining the esteem of their fellows. K 556 554 735 538

The behavior traditionally to be maintained toward others is well illustrated by the formal counsel given in recent days by one old Klamath woman. Speaking to her great-grandson, she said: K 577

> Now you listen to me; I want to tell you what is right. When you go into town, don't run around; don't go with them bad Indians. Stay in the house. Do what is right. We know that children should do what their father and mother tell them. Listen to what old people tell you. Some people, them bad Indians, they steal. Stealing is bad. No one should take anything without paying for it. Don't make trouble; be nice to everybody. Some people, they smash things and then they get into trouble. If you stay home you won't be in no trouble. Don't pay attention to those people who want to lead you into trouble. Stay away from them. They will only lead you into temptation and you will be sorry. Speak nice to poor people. Don't laugh at them. Pay attention to them and help them. Don't make people talk about you. Help all; act good all the time. Be nice and smart. Lead the blind; don't laugh at them. When you see a poor person, go up and tell him who you are. That way everybody thinks good of you. Don't play tricks on people. Be smart and nice. Be careful you don't get into trouble. *Now I am correcting you.*"

This is the ideal behavior for the well born or for those who aspire to advance themselves: the ability to maintain boundaries against outsiders, to find the fundamental strength within the home and the wise counsel of elders, and to be considerate of those less fortunate.

These norms, however, must be tempered by the demands of existence in a real world, in which particularistic loyalties take precedence. At the center of concentric circles of concern stands 000

At the center of concentric circles of concern stands
K the natal family.[18] In the myths, parents and offspring and
M siblings are bound by the strongest affective bonds: in trouble
593 they provide succor and in death, revenge. The obligation tran-
602 scends abstract ethical considerations. In real life, mutual re-
sponsibility reaches out to embrace the extended family, the
close consanguineal kindred linked through two or three genera-
K M tions. Although kinship terminology acknowledges equally re-
[601] lationships on the maternal and paternal sides, residence practices
[591] in general favor the latter. From close kinsmen on both sides
come the gifts that set the seal of approval upon the marriage of
a member; during his lifetime they share food with him in his
need, support him in his quarrels, and assist his avenger should
he be slain. At his funeral, it is they, together with friends of the
deceased, who are expected to place valuables upon the funeral
pyre.

K Beyond the sphere of immediate kindred and of friends lies
M the domain of neighbors and remote relatives. If more central
602 obligations tend to be principally a function of consanguinity,
621 and thus to be ascriptive in character, village relationships and
571 those outside are more frequently based upon performance.
K M Here enter those standards of behavior by which a person of
• [577] good family may be confirmed in position, the poor but worthy
rise, and the ne'er-do-well sink in the public view. At the head
K of this loose and shifting status scale stand the shamans and
M 756 other influential men, the leaders of hamlet groups. On occasion
622 they may meet in an informal village council to concert decisions.
621 Yet the village, which in its spatial limits often blends with
554 adjacent settlements and which dissolves with the turn of the
seasons, can exert little constraint upon its members.

K The prestige of the leaders, the force of public opinion, and
M checks imposed by rival village interests hold the unruly in line.
62 The principle of self-help and the responsibility of kinsmen may
enlarge grievances to feuds if the differences are not soon ended,
and thus threaten the very being of the community. To counter
such fissive tendencies, leaders mediate disputes and exhort to
their fellow villagers the need to maintain harmony.

K Time may alter the membership of villages. Men frequently
M seek wives in other communities; and there is considerable inter-
621 563 marriage between Klamath and Modoc and Klamath and Molala,
582

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Within the
*648 reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally
*657 esteemed attributes had lost place. Age was no longer accorded
561 respect, for the wisdom of experience seemed irrelevant under
593 the new conditions, and in the environing society the emphasis
577 was upon youthful qualities. The premium upon industry as an
434 ideal for old and young alike had become submerged by the
178 golden flow of per capitas which rewarded equally the wastrel
177 and the unremitting toiler. Remarked one man wryly, "I can
make more money raising Klamath than I can raising cattle."[3]
Under these changes, paternal authority had declined sharply.
"Why should I listen to you?" demanded one adolescent son of
his father. "I've got just as much money saved up [in a compulsory trust fund] as you have!"

*648 By contrast, the status of the mother within the household
*657 had been enhanced. Housekeeping and child rearing constituted
562 concrete activities that possessed a high measure of continuity
434 with the past, of a type normally respected in her counterpart
177 in white society. Access to her own per capitas had raised the
178 economic standing of a wife to a par with that of her husband.
[623] The relative changes in local roles, together with the passage
of woman's suffrage in the nation at large, had become reflected
in the increasing prominence of women in the debates of the
General Council.

*648 The major point of contrast between white and tribal house-
*657 holds on the reservation was the relatively greater fluidity among
563 the Klamath, as reflected in the record of sequent marriages,
58 the figures for common-law unions, and the broken families. In
this respect, Beatty did not differ significantly from Chiloquin.
Interethnic marriages—those between a Klamath and a nontribal
partner—were more stable than those contracted between tribal
members.

*648 Household composition makes it clear that the traditional
*657 valuation of kin had by no means been entirely relinquished.
592 In a number of instances, Klamath, particularly women, had
587 taken in the children of collateral kin. Remarriage produced
[178] composite families, in which the couple reared not only their
own children but the offspring of previous unions of one or both
partners.

*648 Consequently, Klamath households exhibited a diversity of
*657 form, size, and composition, frequently characterized as well by
592
593

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 67

Background Data

*159
156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, particularly
in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
[593] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma
William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
[733] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
[83] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by
three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
[587] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She
[871] completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and
she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri,
[178] California, and Mexico.

[657] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father
for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation
[464] and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous
bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal
penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her
sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five,
and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their
violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how
such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
*[577] Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams
is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
[177] a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values,
and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of
either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and
has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[191] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her
English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that children
[871] today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I
can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
[593] no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her
children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this respect,
[603] Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
[867] spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, behaviors
in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of
place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations
with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at
riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them
coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
[657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was
carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
[871] and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who
[177] promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were rejected
from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate interchanges
156 and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS

Counting, Calendar, Directions

Counting

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
4416. Finger count for months	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	802
4417. Finger count for objects	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	805
4418. Begin counting on thumb	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	.	+	
4419. Begin count on 4th finger	-	+	+	.	+	-	+	+	+		-	-	+	+	.	-	
4420. End on 4th finger of other hand	-	+	+	.	+	-	+	+	+		-	-	+	+	.	-	
4421. Count on toes	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
4422. Mnemonic devices	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4423. Knotted string for measuring time intervals	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	[211]
4424. Knotted string for messages	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4425. Stick for 1, 5, 10, 100 objects	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	
4426. Stick counters used in games	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4427. Rocks to count objects	-		.						+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
4428. Marks on house to measure time intervals	+	-	+					+	-	-	-	(+)	+	-	.	-	
4429. Scratch on ground for 10 and 100	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-	
4430. Stick poker burned to mark month's duration													+	-	+	-	
4431. Sack with berries in it	-		-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Calendar

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
‡4432. Number of seasons	4	4	4	4	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	3	4	4	805
○4433. Number of names for moons	10	.	.	10	10	12	10	14	?	?	4	-	12	.	.	.	
4434. Names descriptive	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	.	.	
4435. Finger names	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	
4436. Winter solstice observed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4437. Calendar begins winter solstice	+	+	.	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	-	-	-	-	.	(+)	.	+	-	
4438. Summer month counted	+	.	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	.	.	+	
4439. Month begins on new moon	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
4439a. Stars as month markers	+	-	.	+	-	.	+	+	+	-	+	.	.	.	-	-	
4440. Month record kept	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4441. Sticks put away													.	+	-	-	
4442. Stones put in sack	-	.	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	
4442a. Knots tied in string		.	.			+	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	
4443. Old man keeps record	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4444. By memory only	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	(-)	(-)	-	-	-	
4445. Old people argue which month	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	+	+	[578] ●
4446. Fisticuffs	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	.	.	+	-	
4447. Solstices observed by marks or shadow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4448. Summer solstice	+	+	-	+	.	+			+	+	+	+	+	.	.	+	
4449. Winter solstice	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4450. In sweat house	-	.	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	.	.	.	
4451. Trees or mountains	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4452. Sunrise and sunset	+	+	-			-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
4453. Sunrise only	-	-	+			+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	
4454. Sun's monthly position observed	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	
4455. Marks on shadows from trees, mountains	+	.	-	+	.	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	.	.	+	
4456. Marks in sweat house	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	.	.	-	
4457. Daily sunrise, sunset observed	+		-	+					+	+	-	+	.	.	-	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	KF	HM	NS	MV	
5024. Blown through pipe	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+	+	+		−	−	756
5025. Blown with smoke			+	−	+	%	+	+	.	+	+	+	+		−	−	
5026. Disease object put in pipe; pipe offered victim	+	+	−	−	−	−		+	.	+	+	+	+		−	−	754
5027. Disease object, evil spirit may use tiny bow	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−		−	−	
5028. Shoots at victim	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−		−	−	
5029. Shaman talks to animal spirit, sends it to victim	%	+	+		+						+		−		−	−	
5030. Disease object injected by animal	+	+	−	−	%	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−		−	−	
5031. Dreaming of doctor may cause illness.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+		−	−	
5032. Dreaming of animal may cause illness.	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−		−	−	
5033. Shaman steals victim's soul	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+		−	−	
5034. Heavy fall may also cause soul loss	−	−	−	−	+	−	%	%	%	%	+	%	%		−	−	
5035. Shaman causes minor injuries that lead to death	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
5036. Curing doctors hired to kill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	
5037. Malevolent doctor killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	756
5038. Burned to death	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5039. Jumped upon, neck broken											+	+	+		−	−	683
5040. Shot with bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	%	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	%		+	−	
5041. Poisoned by another shaman	+	+	+	+	%	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−		−	−	
5042. Chief's consent necessary	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	%	%		−	−	
5043. Relative of victim kills doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+		+	−	
5044. Chief kills doctor	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	−		(+)	−	
5045. Chief hires killers	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	.	+	+		−	−	
5046. Woman may hire killers	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+	+		+	−	
Sucking Doctors: Competitions																	
5047. Competitions of sucking shamans	%	%	(+)	−	−	−	+	−	−	%	+	−	(+)		−	−	578 756
5048. Male shamans only	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
5049. Sing, charm opponent	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	[582]
5050. Shaman sings	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+		−	−	
5051. Shakes cocoon rattle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
5052. Is "shot" by sun	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
5053. Shamans boast of power	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	−		−	−	
5054. Exchange pipes filled with tobacco.	+	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	[576]
c5055. Inhale from pipes ... times	5	5	.	−	−	−	3	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5056. Overpowered shaman cures self	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
5057. Overpowered shaman cured by winner.	+	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
5058. Sometimes dies	−	%	.	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
5059. Contest held publicly	+	(+)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
5060. Contest held privately	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
Singing Shamans																	
5060a. Singing shamans recognized	−	(+)	+	%	−	+	−	%	−	−	%	%	%	%	%	%	756
5061. Men	−	−	−		−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	583
5062. Women	−	−	−		−	+	−	+	−	−	−	(+)	−		−	−	
5063. Power acquired during sleep	−	−	.		−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−	
5064. Power acquired by vision, often unsought	−	−	.		−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
5065. Knowledge acquired by instruction	−	−	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5066. May also be sucking doctor	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	
5067. Limited power only	−	−	−		−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	
5068. Use outfit bundle	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5069. Kept inside house	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5070. Buried with patient if latter dies.	−	−	−	−	−	%	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

served at the Agency and three at Yainax, with an additional 657*
policeman at each school to bring in new scholars, recapture 648*
runaways, and oversee the prisoners. Dave Hill presided over 625
the police building at the Agency, with quarters for his family and cells for the prisoners.[66] On occasion, policemen accompanied labor parties off the reservation and worked alongside them for pay in addition to their salaries; and they served as escort to the freighting runs to Ashland and Jacksonville and the late winter expeditions to the Lost River fisheries. They were a considerable power in maintaining order, even apprehending deserters from Fort Klamath; and Emery used them effectively in imposing his agricultural policy upon his wards.

The police, however, at times found themselves at odds with 657*
the very laws and regulations they were employed to uphold. 648*
Among those involved in the illicit traffic in reservation timber, 625
as already described, were several members of the police, to- 622
gether with other Agency employees, and three chiefs: Monchn- 578
kasgitk, Allen David, and David Hill. The latter, in 1888, learned at first hand the impersonal character of authority when, disturbed by some ruling concerning his son, he approached the clerk who was acting as Agent in the absence of Emery, in what that worthy described as "an angry, insulting, insolent, defiant, threatening, warlike and rebellious manner." He was arrested—resisting the while—and locked in the guardhouse; and the clerk requested that he be kept in solitary confinement for one week, or until the clerk had returned from Yainax.[67]

Emery apparently conceived that too much power was con- 657*
centrated in a few hands, for later that year he reorganized the 648*
court, with the observation that "in the very nature of things the 692
Judge should not be the *Sheriff*." His appointments were drawn 622
from a new generation of leaders: William Crain, William Craw- [693]
ford, and Benjamin Butler.

> They are intelligent men [he observed], [and] can read and write and speak accurately the English language. One of them is a graduate of the Chemawa Indian School, another educated at the Klamath School and the third one is the best informed man on the reservation.
>
> Court is held once a quarter at Yainax—40 miles from here and twice a quarter at the Agency.

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His planning and that of his successors was concerned solely 648*
with the engineering problems and the financing involved. The 657*
desirability of irrigating, at a time when reclamation projects 312
were springing up everywhere, was never doubted. When a 653
small ditch was dug in 1900, largely by the Indians themselves, [578]
to bring the waters of Crooked Creek upon lands between the Agency and Fort Klamath, the "remarkable" increase in yield that resulted gave rise in turn to exacerbated strife over water rights among the allottees affected. As Agent O. C. Applegate observed, there was need for "an organization of interested parties upon a plan of mutual cooperation," modeled perhaps upon irrigation districts then coming into being elsewhere in the Basin.[87] The organization was not forthcoming.

No further attempts seem to have been made to prepare the Indians for irrigated farming, but the plans for additional units nonetheless went ahead. The lower course of the Modoc Point canal was dug in 1901-03, and in 1905 the Agency Spring Ditch was constructed. The years 1912-20 saw completion of the Modoc Point, Sand Creek, and Spring Creek units. Of all units, the Modoc Point and Agency projects were the largest, embracing 5,400 acres and 4,234 acres respectively. The Modoc Point project, which Applegate had at first estimated would require $5,000, in the end cost $356,535.00 for construction alone; and its many defects have since led to additional costs approximating two-thirds of that figure for operation and maintenance.[88]

Nor were the difficulties surrounding the Modoc Point project
limited to construction. As of 1920 only a total of 5,000 acres was [311]
being cultivated on the reservation. The largest acreage tilled by an individual was 200 acres sown in oats and alfalfa by the young Klamath interbreed, Joseph Ball. Lesser amounts were being farmed by Harrison Brown (100 acres), Drummer David (80 acres), and Lincoln P. Butler (80 acres).[89] While some Indians were building their own irrigation ditches in the Yainax area,[90] those served by the Modoc Point system seemed to prefer dry farming.

The Act of Congress authorizing the Modoc Point project had stipulated that the cost of construction be paid by the Tribe. A number of Indians, however, petitioned to have the cost assessed on an acreage basis against the land served, and this policy met

error which has crept in from the lapse of years or the result of 648*
modern nomenclature applied to the mountains by the younger 657*
Indians since the treaty was made." They noted that the latter 423
confidently located points upon the boundary that their elders, the actual signatories, could identify only with uncertainty or conflict.[40] The reservation boundaries thus delineated often exceeded considerably those described by the signatories. The claims of the younger men recall the oral traditions of the treaty councils, for they are surely part of the same outlook.

The commission report brought dismay to the Klamath. The eastern boundary, recalls one adherent of Jesse Kirk, was satisfactory as finally delineated, but strong feeling simmered regarding the location of the southern boundary. The finding that the southeastern boundary point, *kalwal*, Point of Rocks, lay at Barkley Springs, placed it too far north, the Indians claimed, and it had the effect of leaving the Swan Lake area (where the Applegates had interests)[41] outside the reservation. The suspicions thus generated soured Klamath relations with the Agent as well as with his brother, but remained latent until other frictions aroused them.

In 1900, James McLaughlin, U.S. Indian inspector, executed what was to be the penultimate agreement upon the boundary issue. In his report to the Secretary of the Interior, he warmly praised a local assistant:

> I was fortunate in securing as guide and interpreter, the services of Jesse Kirk, an intelligent full blood Klamath Indian, to accompany me throughout my field work, as he had accompanied the Boundary Commission in 1896 when the boundary line described in the treaty of October 14, 1864 was determined, and was also employed by the Allotting Agents 'throughout the entire allotment of lands on the Klamath reservation, and, having a most remarkable memory, knows the legal sub-divisions of section, township and range of every allottee on the reservation.[42]

With ratification of the agreement hanging in the balance, the 648*
Indians once more proposed a delegation to Washington, to be 657*
comprised of Jesse Kirk, William Crawford, and Jeff Riddle.[43] 578 •
There was, however, a significant discord. In a petition trans- 665
mitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Harrison Brown, judge of the Indian Court, related that after the council with

*648 McLaughlin, Jesse Kirk had called together about forty Indians
*657 in a secret, "pretend Council" to select the delegation. When
• 578 queried, Kirk maintained that it had the sanction and authori-
665 zation of the Agent. Brown had then sought out Applegate, who told him "that he had concluded to have nothing to do with said council."

About the date that the delegation was due to leave, Brown and others assembled at Yainax, where they asked for and received a petition in which they set forth their views. Then and there it was signed by forty-three persons, together with further endorsements from the Lower End. Brown then conferred with Applegate and with Henry Jackson. The Agent, he reported, assented to the action that had been taken. However, that night two members of the Indian police, allegedly acting on Applegate's orders, accosted Brown and relieved him of the petition. The next day, in Klamath Falls, one John S. Orr, who seems to have been serving as advocate for Brown's faction, received a letter from Applegate instructing him to desist from communicating with the authorities at Washington.

The petition, with corroboration by Henry Jackson, was duly notarized at Klamath Falls. F. H. Mills, who signed as witness, was soon to reappear.[44]

As matters turned out, Jesse Kirk finally left for Washington alone, armed with letters of introduction from the Agent to Oregon's Senators McBride and Simon, Congressmen Tongue and Moody, and Commissioner Hermann of the General Land Office. Applegate had gone out of his way to secure for Kirk a special fare on the railroad and a loan from the bank in Klamath Falls. Reading his almost anxious instructions to the delegate, now arrived in the capital, one has a clear impression that the Agent felt that he was writing to a devoted friend.[45]

He was soon disillusioned. As we know now, Jesse Kirk had even then fired off his salvo declaring his half-brother, Joseph Kirk, and Jack Palmer to be the chief foes of the nonreservation schools. Soon thereafter, his son's escapade at Carlisle led Kirk violently to reverse his own position.

In Washington, the delegate made his rounds. Several of his letters, to the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and to Commissioner Hermann, urged ratification

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

of the McLaughlin agreement, praising the Inspector as "a man 648*
that got heart in him for a Poor Indian People."[44] Toward the 657*
end of his visit, the envoy was stricken with appendicitis, and his 578
half-brother and political foe, Joseph Kirk, rushed to his bedside 665
and remained to bring him home.

New contacts, both with officials and attorneys and possibly 648*
with the delegates from other tribes, must greatly have enlarged 657*
the horizon for men like Jesse Kirk. Indeed, James McLaughlin, 578
returned to the reservation to execute a new agreement with the 665
Tribe rectifying a mistake in the boundary surveys used, soon 423
found the new mettle in the man. The revised draft, he reported,
was

> duly executed by more than the necessary number of Indians belonging to the Agency, but not without having to overcome strong opposition, evidently prearranged and determinedly led by the most influential Indian of the reservation, Reverend Jesse Kirk, who demanded that the clause providing for irrigation of their lands be stricken out, also the clause for the payment of the legal fees of attorneys having duly approved contracts. I, however, remained firm and would not concede any modification or change of a single word, letter or punctuation mark in the agreement as prepared by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and it was thus concluded by a large majority of the Indians signing the agreement. When Rev. Jesse Kirk found that I was going to succeed in obtaining the required number of signatures he, together with his followers, finally came forward and signed the agreement—and he also signed as one of the two Interpreters.
>
> The opposition of said Rev. Jesse Kirk, was influenced by the fact that he visited Washington last winter, remaining there some months, during which time he learned that large appropriations were being made by Congress for general irrigation purposes on Indian reservations, and that the Klamath could have from such appropriations all the money necessary for irrigating their lands without providing for such in this agreement, and as the contract with their attorneys was for a period of eight years, and expires on July 21, 1901, he captiously desired to exclude the clause protecting them.

Jesse Kirk, so McLaughlin learned, had been informed in 648*
Washington that the Indians need not employ attorneys, since the 657*
case was sure to be decided in their favor. Many Indians, how- 578
ever, did not agree with his view and desired to keep good faith 665
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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 with the attorneys. There were some, who nonetheless wanted to
*657 submit a petition setting forth their views.[47]

• 578 If all who signed the agreement after Jesse Kirk were his ad-
665 herents, he could count on 121 men against 70 for the proadmin-
668 istration faction.

*648 Domestic issues added weight to discontent. Soon after taking
*657 office, Oliver Applegate had set up road districts, each presided
665 over by the policeman within it, and had permitted the police to
666 settle minor differences within their several districts.[48] He had,
668 moreover, apparently reversed the policy of Emery, who had
578 permitted the Indians to elect both police and judges for the
reservation. Early in 1900, a group of Klamath, apparently led by Jesse Kirk, became insistent that elections be reinstituted. Applegate was reluctant to accede, since he "felt that an Agents selection of his military force and administrators of justice should not be trammeled by selections which might be the result more of 'political' management than of the honest opinions of the majority." However, he agreed to ask for an opinion from the Commissioner.[49]

Gen. A. C. Hawley was sent to consider the issue, and conducted his investigation largely during Jesse Kirk's absence in Washington. At the end of his tour, Hawley strongly supported the position entertained by Applegate, who observed:

> . . . if at any time this electoral system should become in order, in the selection of the agent's personal assistants and executive force, the time had not yet arrived to put this privilege in the hands of the people. It would increase rather than limit the number of tribal and family feuds and keep alive the numerous personal jealousies which we are endeavoring to stamp out.[50]

The matter, however, was far from settled. Early in 1902, on the eve of Jesse Kirk's departure for Washington to secure ratification of the revised McLaughlin agreement, a petition was prepared by his faction requesting the privilege of being allowed to elect the mooted officers, subject to approval of the U.S. Indian Agent. This document bore 120 signatures, and is in line with estimates of the strength of this faction. The covering letter, by Jesse Kirk, urged in behalf of the Klamath that

> they desire to take steps forward and prepare themselves in citizenship for the years to come, and encourage them into civili-

> zation only, and not into blankets and long haired Indians in old custom. But to encourage them in education as well as christianity, which will enable them to be a civilized people.

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He cited the industry of the Klamath, claiming that they were self-sustaining through such enterprises as stock raising and laboring. The concession of a safeguard in elections may have been his, for he stressed that election of officers must be confirmed not only by the Agent but by the Secretary of the Interior. The Commissioner simply forwarded the documents to Applegate,[51] who, as if to point up the grievances, had just named three new judges.[52]

The actions of the Agent—now retitled Superintendent—in the investigation of the death of one George Modoc brought into the fray that educated gadfly, Charles S. Hood. A Carlisle graduate and leader of the returned Modoc, Hood took an interest in the case when Grant Smith, a fellow tribesman, was held on suspicion of having had a hand in the death. Some four months later, Hood wrote Applegate urging that Smith be released to look after his family and stock, with the understanding that Smith would come back to stand trial. Apparently rebuffed, Hood then wrote to the U.S. Attorney in Portland, who sternly demanded of Applegate, "Will you please inform me by what process or authority he is confined in jail, and whether or not in your judgment if [he] is liberated he will run away." Stung, the Superintendent denied that statement and claimed that Smith had been on parole most of the time so that he could look after his affairs.[53] The attacks upon him seem to have driven Applegate toward a more extreme position, as reflected in his recourse for local cases to police courts instead of the less subordinate Court of Indian Offenses.[54]

In 1904, the pace quickened. Through the early part of the year, Knott C. Egbert found Henry Jackson ungovernable. In April, Jesse Kirk, once more in Washington, directed a letter to Commissioner Jones. It was transmitted by Oregon's Senators Mitchell and Fulton and Representative Williamson, with these words:

> We have every confidence in Mr. Kirk, and we are sure he would made no recommendations that he did not feel were fully justified, and we are also aware of the fact that the Indians of

*648 the Agency, in the main, have implicit confidence in him, or
*657 they would not send him here each year as their agent to look
665 after their interests."[55]

668 In his letter, Kirk once more called for elections, stating, "The
• 578 present manner of selection does not result in securing the ser-
[666] vices of the best men. . . ." He was instructed, he said, to suggest and request that an election be held on the fifth of July when the tribe in council might make its selection, and further proposed

> that you instruct your Superintendent to be guided by such selection in the appointment of persons to fill these offices; these appointments by the Superintendent, of course, to be ratified and approved by you. This in order that, should our selection be ignored by the Superintendent, we may have the opportunity of being heard by you."[56]

This bold typescript letter, its flowing style so unlike Jesse Kirk's, bears every earmark of expert assistance. The source of that aid, either legal or legislative, is suggested by the circumstance that the next letter, to Applegate, was forwarded by the congressional trio with a covering letter dated the same day. The Kirk epistle set forth the same demands for an election, but did not mention an appeal to the Commissioner. In their covering letter, Mitchell and his colleagues observed, "Mr. Kirk seems to be very strongly of the opinion that the plans suggested in this communication should be adopted," and they urged that Applegate give it "very careful consideration."[57]

On his return, Jesse Kirk set about a direct assult upon the Superintendent. First came a letter from the "Delegate and Agent of the Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin band of Snake Indians" to the Commissioner, charging that livestock were permitted to trespass upon the reservation and that O. C. Applegate and his stockman and chief of police, George W. Loosley, "systematically" ignored and suppressed complaints on the subject. Loosley, it was charged, continually evaded his duty and "loiters indolently his time away at the agency. . . ." Jesse Kirk, for his part, wanted no white cattle at all upon the reservation. This letter, together with that written earlier to the commissioner on the elections, was buttressed by two petitions circulated together, bearing 184 and 183 signatures, each certified by nine men, Jesse

Kirk, Henry Jackson, Drummer David, Logan Pompey, Albert 648* Jackson, Yank Lobert, Ike Jackson, William A. Moore, and Sargent Brown.[58] 657* 665

A letter to the Commission one month later, signed by the same 668 nine men, asserted that Abraham Charley (then captain of 578 • police) was immediately responsible for stock trespass upon the reservation through his policy of renting tribal and unfenced allotted lands, a practice for which he lacked tribal consent.[59]

Within the month, the delegate wrote Senator Mitchell on behalf of a runaway schoolboy who, it was claimed, preferred to go to Chemawa. Mitchell sent the letter on to the Commissioner. When the Commissioner detailed the matter to his subordinate, Applegate at last flared forth.

> Permit me to say in this connection that the interference of the "Rev." Jesse Kirk in the affairs of the Agency and Schools has become nearly intolerable and that it is a decided menace to the peace and tranquility of the Schools and in fact of the entire reservation. His hostility to the authorities is now boldly asserted, though for a long time treacherously veiled, and it may be necessary, and that very soon, to restrain him in some way or to remove him from the reservation.[60]

Applegate had not long to wait for the next blow. His letter crossed one from the Commissioner transmitting a telegram and a letter sent to the President by Jesse Kirk and others charging the Superintendent with mismanagement of the affairs of the Agency and schools. Applegate was ineffectual, claimed the letter; he did not maintain discipline and permitted drunkenness; he bestowed undue favors upon Abraham Charley, particularly in allowing him to take out a grazing permit; he let the fields grow up to weeds; and he opposed sending children to nonreservation schools. Applegate roundly denied all charges, pointing out that three of his ten accusers were former Agency employees, dropped from service for various reasons, and that another three were expolicemen who had been found undesirable. All of them he branded "henchmen and followers of the chief conspirator, the 'Rev.' Jesse Kirk." Even then they were circulating another petition on the reservation.[61]

Before Applegate's round was fairly on the way, the hapless administrator received the next salvo. This time the Commissioner forwarded the letters and petitions from the Kirk faction

*648 on the trespass and election issues, together with a telegram
*657 protesting approval of the Abraham Charley permit and sup-
665 porting letters from the Washington law firm of Dudley and
668 Michener. Several months passed before Applegate came around
• 578 to answering, which he did in temperate and reasoned tones.
His remarks add little to what he had said previously.[62]

Meanwhile, Applegate was given an assignment which could only embroil him further. Upon instructions from the Commissioner, he and an assistant set forth with representatives of the Booth-Kelly Lumber Company, which had succeeded to the Military Road claims, to select lands in lieu of the 111,000 acres they held across the face of the reservation. Eventually, a tract of 87,000 acres of prime timber in the northeastern corner of the reservation was selected.[63]

Jesse Kirk is said to have opposed vehemently any cession of land, while his half-brother favored the arrangement finally arrived at.[64] Not until the fiery Indian leader was dead did the tribe finally agree to accept the sum of $108,750 from the United States in return for a quitclaim against the government; and that was achieved in the face of determined opposition from Clayton Kirk, who took up the battle from his father and bombarded Washington with petitions.

In later days Applegate believed that "in equity the Indians ought to have had the entire reservation. . . . They should be fully compensated." In 1904, however, he stood too close to the factionalism, and Ivan's role in the negotiations was too well recalled for him to avoid suspicion. Any of his acts were likely to become, in Merton's term, a self-fulfilling prophecy of complicity.[65]

Conditions at Klamath now prompted the Commissioner to send out as inspector Supervisor of Indian Schools M. F. Holland, whose harsh measures precipitated the final battle. At the
[361] Agency, a number of Indians, several of them employees, had erected a dozen shanties out of rejected lumber from the sawmill. Holland evidently found Slabtown, as the settlement was known, an eyesore. A former inhabitant there has suggested that Holland may also have been irked by the community's practice of providing food for various councils conducted by Jesse Kirk. The supervisor now ordered Slabtown razed. Accordingly, Applegate served notice on the residents to remove by the first of March.[66]

At the same time, Holland ordered that Indians be prohibited 648*
from loitering about the Agency office and other buildings. 657*

Soon thereafter, Jesse Kirk with a group estimated by Applegate 665
to number twenty or thirty persons and enumerated by the 668
opposition at fourteen, either attempted to test the prohibition 578 •
or were the objects of its first enforcement. In the ensuing scuffle with the Indian police, Holland seems to have been struck.[67] "Though the effort to expel them was successful, and without loss of life," related Applegate, "they left the Agency in a defiant and sullenish humor and the ensuing night sent to the other Agency (Yainax) for reinforcements and yet maintain an ugly and rebellious gathering on the reservation." Terming the incident a "riot," the Superintendent called in all seven policemen from the Lower End, added five more special police, and sought permission to expedite purchase of ammunition.[68]

What had been the business of the "rebels" at the Agency that day? They had been collecting signatures for another of Jesse Kirk's petitions, this time directed against O. C. Applegate, George W. Loosley, and "their special appointed man, Abraham Charley."[69] The petition had been drawn up by Jesse Kirk and a local attorney, F. H. Mills, retained by the Indians. Mills, a deputy district attorney for Klamath Falls, had previously taken Indian cases,[70] but a crusading element seems evident in his involvement in this dispute. J. W. Evans, the Assistant Superintendent at Yainax, noted that Henry Jackson had been paying his fees and that the Indians had put up $500 as a retainer.[71]

After their rebuff at the Agency, the Kirk faction withdrew to Yainax, where they held meetings at the home of Henry Jackson and gathered signatures for their petition. In the end, 133 men, over half of the eligible voters, signed. Evans claimed that deceit and force were used, and that a "kind of secrecy" was maintained, but Mills contended that others had also desired to sign, being prevented from doing so by subsequent events. Mills, charged Evans, "used his personal influence to get the Indians to sign."

While the meeting was still in session, one of the Indian police came in with a request from three of the "leading Indians" (unnamed by Evans) of the Yainax district, asking that the police stop the session, on the grounds that the disputes would engender trouble. Evans thereupon ordered Abraham Charley, captain of

*648 police, to put an end to that meeting and to call one at the house
*657 of Harrison Brown—a proadministration leader—to try to effect
665 a settlement. At that session, not unexpectedly, feelings ran high.
668 Unable to come to an agreement, the Kirk faction broke off dis-
• 578 cussion and resumed their meeting at Jackson's.

Thereupon, Abraham Charley summoned all parties to the office of the Assistant Superintendent in the Yainax school, where, for six hours, some forty men argued. Finally, Evans stated that he could not prevent circulation of the petition so long as that did not cause a disturbance. Harrison Brown's party promptly surged forward and sought to seize the petition by force, but were prevented, said Evans, by the police. The conditions of unrest having been established, Evans was able to require that the petition be delivered up to him "until a general council could be regularly called and decide on its disposal."

Evans ended his report with a denunciation of Jesse Kirk as "a disturbing element on the reservation, [who] has a bad influence on the Indians. He should be told to go to his ranch and work it, or be put off the reservation." Of the attorney, he observed:

> Frank Mills should be told to leave the Indians and go out of the Government's business, and if there is anything to be attended to or settled, there are proper officers belonging to the Commissioner's Department and Department of the Interior who can do it."[72]

Despite his brave front, Oliver Applegate had already privately conceded defeat and was writing his friend and former subordinate, Knott C. Egbert, at Siletz reservation, suggesting that he apply for the Superintendency. He was evidently dismayed by the turn events had taken and alarmed, suggests his son, for the safety of his family. Moreover, a letter from Egbert intimates that Applegate felt a lack of administrative support, since he had been confirmed as Superintendent through his service as Agent, and had not passed the civil service examinations. Egbert proposed that he take the examination quietly in Portland; but the Applegates had long opposed the establishment of the civil service, and the advice seems to have proven repugnant.[73]

Meanwhile, early in March, a council was held at Yainax. It was presided over by Levi Walker, and the principal business

was transacted by Jack Palmer, Harrison Brown, Ike Mose, and 648*
Abraham Charley. A committee of ten men submitted a report 659*
of the findings of the council, presenting the proadministration 665
viewpoint and requesting “that these men [Kirk and party] be 668
not allowed to do any more business pertaining to the tribe with- 578 •
out tribal authority.”[74]

Jesse Kirk and his adherents did not participate in the “loyal” council. After the scene in Evans' office, Kirk and Jackson had consulted with Mills in Klamath Falls. In the company of the attorney they then returned to demand the petition. Evans refused, informing Mills that “no attorney had any right to interfere in tribal affairs without permission from the Interior Department.” The three retired and with others of the faction drew up another petition which they forwarded to Washington.[75]

In his letter of transmittal to the firm of Dudley and Michener in the capital, who were in turn to present the matter to the Commissioner, Mills shed a new perspective upon matters. After reviewing some of the earlier developments, he turned to the [692]
investigations of Inspector Holland, which, as he said, [681]

> proceeded along smothly [sic] enough until the questions of money and property became the subject of inquiry when it developed that during the last four years a system of collecting money, stock, lumber and other property had been adopted; it seems that this was done by first having the “Indian” court (a sort of disciplinary tribunal which has been authorized or rather sanctioned by the department) impose a penalty or punishment and then allow the indian defendant to pay in cash or such other property as he might chance to have and notwithstanding that such court has no such authority to impose fine or collect money in that way. . . . During the time of the investigation some of the fines which had been collected one or two years were paid back to the defendants. . . . It is conclusive proof had there not been an illegal practice . . . no such returns would have been made. . . .

Although Holland had inquired into only one case, there had been several. Jesse Kirk had requested of George Loosley, chief of police, the list of fines imposed, but was denied it. Finally, Loosley consented to divulge the sum, amounting to $2,651 collected over a four-year period.

At the center of the case, claimed Mills, was Applegate, related through marriage to three brothers of the Loosley family. Two

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648

*657 of them, George and Fred, while employees of the Agency, had
665 purchased lumber, posts, and similar items from Indians to build
668 upon their 10,000-acre ranch.

•578 The most serious malfeasance he charged, however was "the
[423] matter of leasing under the special permit system of unallotted
[427] tribal lands during the past three or four years." The usual system was for the Superintendent and George Loosley (who was also Agency stockman) to lease a district to an Indian, for example Abraham Charley or Harrison Brown, who in turn leased to whites at one dollar per head of cattle. "It is only those who have engaged in leasing the lands," Mills went on, "that have threatened violence if the petition was sent on to Washington. . . ." He suspected "a large discrepancy between the books of account and the amounts paid in for grazing upon the various districts of unallotted tribel [sic] lands as well as trespasses." During the past four years, less than $4,000 (and probably only $2,667) had been paid in, as against estimated returns of $10,000 from grazing alone.

The Indians therefore demanded the removal of Applegate and George Loosley, the election of officials, and an end to cattle trespass. They demanded more effective voice for the council in
leasing and in disbursing Indian money. Finally, they noted other
[871] grievances in the treatment of sick school children and demanded
that they be permitted to send their children to outside schools.[8]

The accuracy of these charges is secondary to the images of the truth they generated. It is of principal importance that Jesse Kirk was able to convince a large following that the charges were indeed correct. From the standpoint of his faction he then became a man deeply concerned with administrative abuses and striving to remove them by free elections. In that view, Applegate's obduracy drove Kirk reluctantly to more explicit detail until in the end he was forced openly to seek the Superintendent's removal.

In Washington, a new administration was in the saddle, and the new Commissioner was the reformer, F. E. Leupp. Even if Applegate were innocent, the embroilments under his administration would not have recommended his retention. In May, he vacated his office for Horace G. Wilson. Applegate had already received a temporary appointment as clerk at the Grande Ronde

Reservation, and within a year he was to return to Klamath as 648*
clerk for Indian employment. Evidently, the Bureau did not place 657*
much credence in the accusations.[77] 665

The "rebels" were jubilant, and the Commissioner found it 668
necessary to visit the reservation and issue a statement denying 578 •
that the Superintendent had been forced to resign. Though he "gave it good to Jesse," he did little to dampen his spirit.[78] Evans, writing to his former superior, detailed Kirk's efforts to assume a fuller leadership. He had informed the Indians that Superintendent Wilson had no right to go to Washington unless by their direction and with their instructions. Moreover, he was maintaining that "the man who was here was not the real Commr. but a just believe one. The real man would talk different to them he says."[79] His period of triumph, however, was brief, for in December, 1906, Jesse Kirk succumbed to typhoid.[80]

His death ended a critical phase of Klamath political development. When it closed, tribal political leaders had established the institution of the delegation that, bypassing the Bureau, dealt directly with congressional leaders in Washington. In matters requiring expert counsel, they relied upon attorneys retained by tribe or faction. Claims against the government, as political leaders found, were effective issues to attract adherents; and those who sought self-enhancement were ready to take advantage of them.

With the enlargement of sphere, the extension of operations to Washington, decisive action tended to be removed from the reservation to the capital. In the factionalism just reviewed, it is significant that there appears, perhaps for the first time, the spectacle of partisan councils, each excluding the opposition and each purporting to represent tribal opinion.

Saddened by the conflict, Knott C. Egbert wrote prophetic words from Siletz. "The Klamaths," he observed, "might be enormously wealthy if less turbulent, and had behaved. . . . After all though, notwithstanding it would make them paupers, it may be best for the govt. to buy them out and sell the surplus lands. They will sooner become rational." And he added, "One could well dread the sweating period through which the Klamaths must pass on the path to full citizenship, involving as it does the acquisition of money, the drinking of lots rum &c. . . ."[81]

[P. 182 is blank]

*648 theless, analysis showed that they aggregated two extended
*657 families together with one other nuclear family unrelated to
602 either. The earlier arrivals had attracted relatives, but they had
178 been selective, encouraging some and in at least one instance
giving the cold shoulder to a kinsman deemed undesirable, when
he paid them an exploratory visit. For their part, they were
scrupulous in choosing compatible relatives to visit on their
occasional brief returns to the reservation.

[736] That kinship bonds, selectively utilized, were still in force
is shown not only by such action as the bidding for tribal tracts, but in the assumption of responsibility for the care of children from a broken home. Although choice was exercised among relatives, and the uncongenial among close kindred might be passed over in favor of more distant, but more compatible, relations, the principle first evoked was that of consanguinity. In the majority of instances, primary reliance was placed upon parents and children, upon siblings, grandparents, and grandchildren.

*648 Among kinsmen, there was an enlargement of the sphere of
*657 individual, at the expense of common, property. At times it took
602 bizarre extremes. In one adult household, for example, each
421 member's foodstuffs were separately stored and even individually
177 cooked; and each independently purchased his supply of the
178 wood to be burned in a common stove. There was evident in
family interdependence what might be termed a pecuniarization of relationships, a conversion of traditional reciprocal obligations into the common denominator of coin. Already evident in the early days of allotment, it had grown with time, taking on as it did a onesidedness that was increasingly dysfunctional. Money could be extracted by the importunate from kinsmen still sensi-
[888] tive to the charge of stinginess. The aged, dependent upon their
children for tenderness, were often likely to be besieged by their requests for "loans" from lease and per capita checks, and once those funds were dissipated, might then be left without enough to maintain themselves. Some families, like the ranchers previously described, were beginning to resist such demands, but for those still immersed in tribal society, refusal was difficult.

*648 The weakening of kin bonds entailed the disappearance of
*657 feud groups, entities that formerly had drawn principally upon
602
• 578
177
178

kinship loyalties and that had provided relatively stable focal 648*
interests about which allegiances might cluster. The anonymous 657*
destruction of property as a time-honored method of exacting 602
personal revenge remained even in the last days of the reservation, 578 •
when the jacklight shooting of a cow was construed as the 178
malicious act of a foe. Distrust thus engendered was likely in 177
turn to lead to a search for potential allies, especially among kinsmen and cronies. Local legend in Chiloquin still recounts the memorable gunfight between two tribal families in the days before its incorporation, one firing from the railway depot while the other entrenched itself in the family hotel. At the first few shots the stationmaster, a newcomer to town, was flushed from the depot; and when the fusillades were stilled he left town, never to return.

As law and order became more firmly established over the reservation, and extended families, their members scattered on separate allotments and among the reservation towns, became
dispersed, retaliatory obligations declined. In the end, feudatory 648*
alignment left their mark chiefly in a continued reluctance of 657*
former opponents to drink together or otherwise associate. The 602
drinking cliques, with their stable membership cores, reflected 578
these antipathies: three decades after the gunfight mentioned 273
above, the families involved still did not consort together. Only 178
one person, and she an affinal, had crossed the line. 177
[573]

Indeed, the violence of more recent years, as remarked, lay far less between families than it did within them, for many of the quarrels that precipitated assaults arose in the course of drinking parties, and thus antagonized persons who were accustomed to associate together. Although there was a degree of mobility in the membership of such parties, and clashes at times might involve a visitor, many instances of homicide arose out of family disputes. That the tensions thus vented were generated by the changes in familial roles seems at least partially true, to judge by an examination of court cases; but they were affected indirectly by other segments of the psychosocial system, such as the relations with whites. Such disputes, however, could only weaken the family, and that at a time when family solidarity had become a less imperative need.

Within the reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally [illegible]

*648 rigidity, and while its members freely attended the services of
*657 other sects, they were selective in admitting non-Klamath to their
795 worship. It was finally upon the issue of its Indian character that
177 the church was riven. The immediate circumstance was the effort
[563] of the "Annie Lee" faction to introduce the Bible into the ritual.
*648 A stout minority of the members refused to allow this, observing,
*657 in the words of one member, "The Indian has his religion: God
795 speaks to him through the 'shakes.' The white man hasn't got
• 578 them; he has to use the Bible." The contest soon came to litiga-
177 tion, during which the conservatives held services in private dwellings, while their rivals occupied the church building. Some years later, while the issue dragged on, a fire destroyed the structure; but the "Annie Lee" faction possessed sufficient vigor to rebuild it. Increasingly, that group had been gravitating toward the Four Square Gospel; and when the church was rebuilt it came to be used jointly with another fundamentalist sect.

*648 Thus, even the maintenance of an "Indian" religion, objectively
*657 syncretic in form and content, is sought by a state charter of
795 incorporation and internal disputes are placed before the courts
177 for decision. Moreover, its growth parallels the revivalistic move-
[692] ment of fundamentalist sects upon the West Coast; it vies with them for members; and its destiny is finally interwoven with theirs. Any theory that sees in the growth of such a religion a reaction of the Klamath people to pressures of the time must consider that special history and account for the parallel growth of other sects among non-Klamath at about the same time. For the Klamath, those sects must be regarded alternant to the Shaker faith in providing opportunities for expression. In assessing the features that attracted converts, the appeal of familiar Christian practice, known from earlier Methodist services, must be reckoned, as well as those features which were strictly aboriginal. For some, indeed, the identity of the church as Indian may have been compelling, as fostering an image of independence from the almost overwhelming presence of American culture.

To evaluate the impact of the Shaker Church from the members involved is hazardous. Although only a handful of individuals became exclusively committed to the Shaker way, its impact extended far beyond their ranks. At the same time, the majority

crease of tribal business following allotment, the Bureau of Indian 648*
Affairs pressed for the formation of a supplementary executive 657*
body. At Klamath the need for such a body may have been underscored 646
by the abuse of the common council in the partisan [665]
sessions called by the Kirk and Brown factions. Thus, 1908 saw
the introduction of an executive body, called the tribal council,
to function in addition to the occasional councils. Initially, it [563]
was made up of twelve men, six from each End of the reservation,
and with communal representation: its membership included
seven Klamath, three Modoc, and one each from the Pit River
and Paiute. Since it proved difficult to maintain a quorum, the
number was subsequently reduced to eight members.

In 1927, the factionalism which had earlier brought into question 648*
the legitimacy of the common council now touched the 657*
tribal council; for in that year a dissident group elected a rival 646
body and claimed that it had superseded the existing council. 665
Their action placed in jeopardy the efficient administration of [578]
the tribal resources, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs consequently
insisted that matters be set upon a constitutional
footing. After considering several tribal charters submitted to [642]
them as models, the Klamath in 1929 enacted their own constitution
and by-laws for the executive body, now restyled the Business
Committee. Its six members, three from each End, were to
consider ". . . business matters pertaining to the Tribe. [Matters]
of great importance to the Tribe and which the Business Committee
believe should be referred to a general tribal council"
might be so referred by a vote of five members of the Committee,
with the consent of the Superintendent.[2]

Once more, in 1950, envisaging a time when the tribal government 648*
would have full control over the common estate, a new 657*
constitution was enacted, this time for the General Council. By 642
its terms, all powers were vested in that body, made up of all 646
adult tribal members. In addition, an Executive Committee was
designated, to be composed of the eight members—the number
had again been increased—of the erstwhile Business Committee,
together with the President and Secretary of the General Council.
To this new committee, the General Council was authorized to
delegate powers, although as matters turned out it did so only
reluctantly and after long delay. In turn, by appropriate vote

While the political strength of a family is seen not only in the 648*
succession of interest but in a propensity for members of a family 657*
to vote *en bloc*, this is far from invariably true. The schism 619
separating Jesse Kirk from his half-brother, Joseph, is one promi- 602
nent instance—and by no means the only one—to the contrary. [665]
In fact, alignment within the family and extended kin has often [578]
been modified by contending considerations.

Nonetheless, for some leaders the solidarity of family some- 648*
times took precedence over impartiality in the discharge of office. 657*
One tribal council member is quoted as defending his action 661
favoring certain enrollments by the explanation "... that since 602
two children were his niece's children, he felt that it was his duty 619
to guard the interests of his minor relatives."[9] Political leaders, seeking to emphasize the purity of their motives, needed to go no further in justification than to declare that they sought only the welfare of their grandchildren.

Although intermarriage and alternative associations have long 648*
overlaid clear identification with the several peoples who had 657*
entered into the treaty, such affiliations have continued to exert 663
political force, however greatly diminished in recent years. In 621
turn, they related to the two broad communities on the reserva- 619
tion. The Lower End remained predominantly Klamath, while Modoc, Paiute, as well as a number of Klamath and Pit River, comprised the Upper End community some forty miles away.
Even after the closing of the subagency at Yainax, the populations [184]
of Sprague River and Beatty continued to reflect the special character of the eastern reservation.

In turn, the relatively easier access of the Lower End to out- [177]
side influences—a subject already reviewed in discussing modern tribal demography—superimposed the effects of differential acculturation and intermarriage upon the traditional subtribal
allegiances that distinguished the two Ends. Difficulty of travel 648*
along the road from the Agency to Yainax had given rise to the 657*
practice, long maintained, of holding separate councils at each 621
place. Thus at the two Ends there had developed political com- 665
munities responsive to their own local leaders. Harrison Brown, 619
in 1931, played upon a familiar theme when he recognized in Wade Crawford, a leader from the Lower End "... a young man who is not a full-blood, who is trying to stir up trouble, and we

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

Here Christian
175 elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath
668 traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The
177 acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost
Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather
[578] than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the
pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt
at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete
with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting
pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream
Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

175 By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had
177 burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with
[668] essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic
competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so
[797] lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values
[791] were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic
practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One infor-
[533] mant tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power)
have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in
that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important
771 movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the
175 Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with
177 longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused
slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orienta-
795 tion, the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology;
but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross
as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence
of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements
[755] also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are employed (for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's
body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers
vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil,
178 and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult,
771 too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some
795 years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services.
The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

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[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kemps was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

[113] [11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

[113] [12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivations: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

[113] [13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.

Weasel: Male, Age 20

Background Data

159*
In contrast to all other subjects Weasel's role in the reservation community [156]
is a totally negative, destructive one, largely that of a supposedly vicious
criminal. He was born and raised on an economically un-productive ranch, which
for twenty years or more has been the location of continuous drinking parties. [593]
Weasel was raised within a circle of a pack of older brothers, half-brothers,
and step brothers, all of whom were bigger, stronger, and more capable than he. [733]
His father has been an alcoholic for thirty years and has rarely worked or contributed
much to the organization of the family, which as a co-residential [592]
household usually included more than a dozen persons. In all, Weasel had 17
full and part siblings, half of whom are now deceased, three directly as a result [165]
of drinking, three from acts of violence or car accidents.

Weasel's formal education ceased when he was 15, in the ninth grade, at which [871]
time he was arrested on a burglary charge. Since then he has spent six years [674]
in reformatories or penal institutions. He was tested while in jail on an
assault charge. Shortly thereafter he was found not-guilty, then re-arrested [697]
and sentenced on a different assault with a deadly weapon charge to three years
in the state penitentiary.

Weasel has repeatedly moved out of the circle of the family group, only to
fail "outside" and return to its sheltering arms. For a time Weasel was a [542]
professional boxer, but one without much skill or stamina. He never won a fight
and his face shows the evidence of the capabilities of his opponents. His
membership in this profession did not last long, and Weasel states, rather
proudly, that the Boxing Commission expelled him "For conduct unbecoming a
professional boxer." Weasel was once married (a common-law marriage, which [588]
for Weasel's primary reference groups is well sanctioned) but this lasted just
16 weeks. During this period Weasel stayed sober, the longest time he has spent [581]
without a drink since the age of 12. Weasel was consciously trying to reform [733]
himself, but now feels that he was a fool to ever try. Additionally, Weasel
has repeatedly made a circuit of nearby towns and cities either singly or in [156]
the company of a brother or friend. These visitations have more of the character [579]
of raids than anything else, and Weasel is usually arrested in one or another [697]
place and either charged or shipped out of town.

In addition to being a minor criminal Weasel is frequently also the scapegoat 159*
for the aggressions of stronger men than he. He constantly asks for trouble, 156
but has never given any evidence that he can back of his threats with appropriate
force. His successful acts of aggression have always been sneak attacks, [186]
or attacks on feeble old men or young boys. He seldom attempts to avoid the
consequences of these actions, and, indeed, is frequently not able to do so,
because of his extreme drunken condition. He seems to obtain some gratification
from the minor prestige afforded his performances in these roles, but this
gratification is highly personalized and is not recognized as appropriate by
others. It may be that he has been attempting to build up his standing and reputation
within his own circle by acting out the role of a "dangerous Indian,"
but it would seem that he has been singularly unsuccessful in this. One aspect
of this behavior is his reputed skill with a knife. On two occasions he wanted
to obtain vocational training, once as a barber, the other time as a butcher,
both times implying that this would be a simple extension of his native talent.

881 head; pollen on head. Legs, torso painted; white paint blown on with mouth; pollen blown on. Painting done by self; from own paint box. Painting before eating only. Tattooing. Nose pierced. Tattooing so girl can touch fire. Thighs, arms, breasts cut. Shell skirt for eating. Sage leggings. Chest band. Labret. Nose feather. Girl ducked in water during ceremonial bath. Belt, anklets, wristlets buried. Girl given new name.

Public rites (major or night dance): Given for group of selected girls. Poor girls excluded. Several girls together, only 1 menstruating. Dancers mill around menstruant. Men hold to wall. Dancers file out of house after each dance. Given during fixed season. Coincides with boys' initiation. Given in ceremonial enclosure. Conducted by chief, priest, clan. Single split-stick rattle. Deer-hoof headband. Deer-hoof anklets. Deer hoofs on moccasins. Cocoon, gourd, tortoise shell, pottery rattles. Masks worn. Attendants wear woolen fringed headdress; woolen fringed rattles. Male participants wear haliotis-rim horns; blind. Women paint face white; all colors. Sand paintings. Tobacco eaten. Haliotis gazing.

841 General menstrual customs.--Woman confined in penthouse against dwelling. Head, face covered when going outside. Bathes daily. Bathing optional.

Marriage

58 Service for bride: children belong to mother's family. Sororate obviated if children, payment rendered. Polyandry: lovers in separate towns. Marriage of man to first cousins, cross or parallel; to mother's sister. Mother-in-law, son-in-law taboos temporary, for newlyweds only; temporary up to first child; optional. Father-in-law, son-in-law taboos. Mother-in-law, daughter-in-law taboos. Husband punished for adultery by being fined, before wife will return. Woman's family pays husband fine for constructive adultery by woman. Repayment of bride price in event of divorce depends on number of children. Intercourse taboo inside dwelling. Lie on side to
548 prevent twins. Prostitution with compensation
684 to woman. Unchaste girl killed. Unmarried pregnant girl killed. Man fined for seduction.

Death

764 Treatment of corpse; taboos.--Body removed from house prior to death. Removed from house through roof; feet first; throw-out of animal after corpse; body carried on plank. Undertakers of opposite moiety; priest; shaman; chosen by chief; paid; gifts; one a scapegoat. Corpse's nose, ears pierced. Body buried with head uphill, upstream, downstream. Cremation for shamans especially. Pyre over pit. Urn burial. Any form scaffold burial. Undertaker(s) visit grave nightly; build fire at grave; put food out for ghost; wear brush on head. Widow's hair cut-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Within the
*648 reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally
*657 esteemed attributes had lost place. Age was no longer accorded
561 respect, for the wisdom of experience seemed irrelevant under
593 the new conditions, and in the environing society the emphasis
577 was upon youthful qualities. The premium upon industry as an
434 ideal for old and young alike had become submerged by the
178 golden flow of per capitas which rewarded equally the wastrel
177 and the unremitting toiler. Remarked one man wryly, "I can
make more money raising Klamath than I can raising cattle."[9] Under these changes, paternal authority had declined sharply. "Why should I listen to you?" demanded one adolescent son of his father. "I've got just as much money saved up [in a compulsory trust fund] as you have!"

*648 By contrast, the status of the mother within the household
*657 had been enhanced. Housekeeping and child rearing constituted
562 concrete activities that possessed a high measure of continuity
434 with the past, of a type normally respected in her counterpart
177 in white society. Access to her own per capitas had raised the
178 economic standing of a wife to a par with that of her husband.
[623] The relative changes in local roles, together with the passage
of woman's suffrage in the nation at large, had become reflected in the increasing prominence of women in the debates of the General Council.

*648 The major point of contrast between white and tribal house-
*657 holds on the reservation was the relatively greater fluidity among
563 the Klamath, as reflected in the record of sequent marriages,
• 58 the figures for common-law unions, and the broken families. In
this respect, Beatty did not differ significantly from Chiloquin. Interethnic marriages—those between a Klamath and a nontribal partner—were more stable than those contracted between tribal members.

*648 Household composition makes it clear that the traditional
*659 valuation of kin had by no means been entirely relinquished.
592 In a number of instances, Klamath, particularly women, had
587 taken in the children of collateral kin. Remarriage produced
[178] composite families, in which the couple reared not only their
own children but the offspring of previous unions of one or both partners.

*648 Consequently, Klamath households exhibited a diversity of
*657 form, size, and composition, frequently characterized as well by
592
593

If we look for elements peculiarly Klamath, they are difficult to 171*
find. At best there is only the regularity with which seances occur at 756
midwinter, and even here we do not know with certainty that this
does not occur elsewhere. Further, if we feel that this regularity is
due to recurrent possession, this merges with general Northwest Coast
practice, and its uniqueness disappears. The peculiarity of the Klamath
complex, then, rests only in the specific combination of widely
distributed elements that they have effected, a combination known
nowhere else in exactly this form.

THE MARRIAGE COMPLEX

Social relations among the Klamath, even more than the shamanistic 105
practices, are clearly explicable as a function of their geographic
position. They are most clearly crystallized in the matters of chieftainship,
slaveholding, concepts of wealth, and the relative social
standing of shaman and chief, but especially in their marital relations.
Household and village groupings, puberty rites and analogous
customs, have much less definite or peculiar form among them. For
this reason, the discussion which follows will be confined largely to
the earlier group of topics. As the most complex situation is that
surrounding marriage, I will analyze this first.

While marriage among the Klamath is contracted by purchase, it 583
is not a negotiated transaction. Payment is socially obligatory. It is
a seal of respectability and in a rough way the amount changing hands [554]
is a measure of the social pretensions of the families involved. Hence
clandestine matches are severely frowned on. No obligation may be
assumed for which payment is not forthcoming. Yet such payment
does not fix the status nor the value of an individual with any precision.
For example, the purchase price of a murdered man's mother
or that of his bride never enters consciously in assessing his blood
price. Failure to pay for a bride is a blot not easily erased.

It must be remembered that the reciprocal gifts from the bride's 583
family frequently outweigh the purchase price. Further, the bride is 431
in no sense a chattel, but free to leave her husband at will, he having
but slight recourse to recover his gifts. Nor is a wife obligated to 581
bear children to her husband, nor does their birth cancel the marriage
debt. In adultery it is clear that a man has no eye to the monetary 837
value of his wife's affections. He kills the lover; to take payment is
unthinkable. It does not appear that a marriage brings about a con- 000

observance, far removed from the set contractual relations established 171*
by a Northwest Coast marriage. It is nowhere an occasion for the 583
display of wealth, and social prestige is not fixed by it.[366]

Among the Basin tribes there is not even this semblance of pur- 171*
chase. What these people desire in a son-in-law is a good provider,
who normally takes up residence with his wife's people. His incidental 581 •
services can hardly be construed as payment in any sense. The groom 585
slips into their life as unobtrusively as possible. Ceremonial is almost
wholly lacking; at most a feast in celebration.[367]

The situation in the ~~Plains is not~~ far distant, resembling rather 171*
that in California. In general the approach to the northwestern con-
cept consists only in an exchange of gifts. The groom's family bring 583
gifts to the home of the bride, receiving an equivalent, sometimes to 585
a greater amount. Married life begins at once with the bride's family
to whom the son-in-law renders services. But it is doubtful that either
the gifts or the services are looked on as specific payment. Rather
they serve to establish friendly relations and no more. Large amounts
of property might be given for the honor of the act, but it was equally
common for an old man to marry his daughter to a suitable man to
obtain a provider for the family, no compensation being thought
necessary. While some ostentation is inevitable in a Plains ceremonial
act, there is here no lavish display of wealth. Equally foreign to their
thought is the idea of social status fixed by a transfer of property.[368]

If we turn from these to the Northwest Coast tribes, a very different picture is presented. We need go no farther north than the Kwakiutl for a typical expression of attitudes. The rank of a family, the social status of a child, are clearly defined in a regimented series depending largely on primogeniture coupled with wealth. Marriage is a purchase conducted on the same plan as the purchase of all ceremonial symbols of exceptional value. Its mechanism is the potlatch, the ceremonious bestowal of wealth on a social rival to enhance one's own status, with the certainty of its return several fold if the rival is to maintain his rank undiminished. A man buys in this fashion the rank and social privileges of his bride's family for the children of this marriage or heirs or relatives whoever they be. When the bridal price is ultimately returned two or three-fold, the contractual relation is at an end. The groom has the obvious advantage in this transfer of

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[366] See for example, Dixon, Northern Maidu, 239; Kroeber, Handbook, 492.

[367] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 275.

[368] Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre, 12; McClintock, Old North Trail, 184; Grinnell, The Cheyenne, 137.

Marriage practices of the Northwest Coast type can be traced into the northern Plains. At least this appeals to me as the most rational explanation for the similarities which Crow, Hidatsa, and Assiniboin show and for their divergence from the general Plains custom. It will be well to define the latter again. Such typical tribes as Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Blackfoot viewed with favor marriages in which the son-in-law was chosen for his capacity as a man of honor, of war-like prowess, and a good provider. The father-in-law's desire was commonly to secure his services. Gifts were exchanged, but rather for the honor of the act than with thought of definite purchase and the return of an investment. 171* 581 583

The anomaly of Crow attitudes is most intelligible, in view of their geographic position in the northwestern Plains, as ultimately derived from the Northwest Coast. The most honorable form of marriage for the Crow was by purchase, which gave to the woman a position of respect beyond that of any of her unpurchased sisters whose matches were in contrast mere elopements. The young man presented horses to her male relatives and meat to her mother. There was no band exogamy here, although marriages may have occurred outside the group almost as frequently as among the Nez Percé.[388] 171* 582 583

It will be observed that the Crow attitude is appreciably like that of the Nez Percé. That the Nez Percé placed a higher value on a marriage contracted because of a groom's capabilities, the Crow on purchase, is no argument against historic connection between the two. Both tribes recognize marriages of both forms; wherein they both differ from the majority of Plains peoples, is that they have marriage by purchase, and even stress it. As a matter of fact, the difference may be really one of formulation on the part of the ethnographers. Lowie's account of the Crow is so circumstantially detailed as to leave no doubt of their attitudes, but Spinden's description of Nez Percé marriage is of the briefest. If he was impressed by the Plains-like character of the culture of this Plateau tribe, his formulation may well have stressed this non-northwestern marriage form. It may also be that the history of marriage in the two tribes has taken opposite directions. Possibly the Crow, recently acquiring the purchase habit, stressed the novel form as giving distinction to marriage; the Nez Percé, possibly with purchase as the original form, took over Plains marriage regulations with a deal of other culture and stressed what was the novelty from their viewpoint. 171* 583 [114]

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[388] Lowie, Social Life of the Crow, 220, Notes on the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, 74.

to say nothing of captured women from Shasta, the Achumawi K M
and Atsugewi of the Pit River region, Paiute, and the tribes 621
beyond the Cascades. Among the Modoc, the villages of the band 582
called *gumbatwas* are said to be composite in membership, including 563
Modoc, Klamath, Pit River, and Shasta; and those of the
Upland Klamath consist of Klamath with some Modoc and
Paiute elements.[17]

Allegiance with the village may be partial. If an attack is to K M
be launched, war leaders can find recruits only among those men 621
with proclivity for fighting and an attraction toward the leader. 628
On the other hand, feuds may ignite attacks that are restricted 581 •
to the family groups concerned. While the myths reveal currents 701
of hostility between affinals, in real life marriage acts to extend
the ramifications of support, often into other communities.

Beyond the village lies the tribelet, an entity that recognizes its K
being in a territorial name and in a common cause in feuds with M 619
other tribelets. In its virtual autonomy this unit marks an extreme K
in band organization within the larger tribe, a quality that was 619
reduced by subsequent tribal integration. For the Klamath there
are six tribelets (see map): (1) The Klamath Marsh people,
who outnumber all the others together; (2) the tiny Agency
Lake group; (3) those of the lower Williamson River; (4) the
Pelican Bay tribelet; (5) the Klamath Falls group; and (6) the
Upland Klamath of the Sprague River valley. The Modoc comprise M
three main groups: (7) that of Lower Klamath Lake, extending 619
to Tule Lake (the *gumbatwas* mentioned above); (8)
those clustered upon the lower Lost River; and (9) the eastern
tribelet, with settlements dispersed as far as Goose Lake. No K
firm evidence exists that these local territorial units are distinguished M 619
by either language or culture, although, as already 726
mentioned, at least two are of composite origin. Each tribelet
seems to have gained a tenuous cohesion through a common
recognition of the worth of several prominent headmen. Between K
tribelets there is sometimes war. Under their formidable leader, 619
Kokdinks, the Williamson River group attacked in turn villages 726
of each of the other lower Klamath tribelets, including that at
Pelican Bay, to which they considered themselves related; and
the prolonged war ended only when the Upland Klamath leader,
Monchnkasgitk, a kinsman, first joined, then slew Kokdinks.[18]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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Social Change 103

Of all the societal
relationships, the government sought directly
to change only those within the family. It was clear that a nation 657*
that was soon to impose upon the Mormons the American, and 648*
not the Biblical family, would permit no special marital practices 595
among the Indians. Polygamy was banned, although not retro- 177
actively for unions such as those of Allen David and Monchn- 178
kasgitk, which had been contracted prior to January 1, 1870.
Some leaders themselves appear to have advocated the change in
a desire to emulate whites. In 1877, Gatschet noted that there
were still two or three polygamous men.[26] Since polygamy had [556]
been a mark of the affluent, the ban, like the emancipation of the
slaves that preceded it, served to erode the status of the tradi-
tional chiefs.

An effort was also made to place under the authority of the 657*
court of chiefs certain relationships which had formerly been 648*
regulated privately between the families or individuals con- 622
cerned. In the legal code instituted when the court was estab- 692
lished, the consecration of marriage was made the function of 585
the head chief, to whom the groom was to pay a fee of five, three, 583
or two dollars or the same amount in horses, graduated according [643]
to his means. It was again the chiefs who punished fornication [684]
and polygamy and performed divorce.[27] The traditional ritual [586]
of marriage still was being practiced by some families in the
1890's[28] but the gift exchanges between the families concerned
which set a public seal on the union were superseded, and the
controls exerted by the family over the couple were thereby
diminished. The effects of these and other changes were recog-
nized by Gatschet. "Matrimonial reverses . . . among the Klamath
[he declared] . . are one of the unavoidable consequences of
the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of
their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also
of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers
at Fort Klamath."[29]

With time, the seal upon marriage came to be set by the 657*
Methodist church and its ethics in turn permitted the independ- 648*
ent of spirit to flout tradition. One woman recalled that upon 581
the death of her husband his family proposed that she wed his 587
brother in customary manner, but she refused out of regard for 177
the memory of her husband and the sanctity of the bond of their 178
marriage in the church.

*657 The removal of property interests in the marriage on the part
*648 of the natal families of the couple, together with the general
• 581 upheaval of society, brought to the fore the practice of common-
588 law marriage, previously an unusual form of union. In time, such
177 a marriage, if generally acknowledged as stable, was officially
178 termed an "Indian custom" marriage, and recognized by authorities and Indians alike. Many unions, however, were unstable, and genealogies reveal that then as now it was common to find individuals who had had as many as three mates. Indeed, the woman previously mentioned as refusing to marry her husband's brother subsequently consorted informally with her ranch foreman.

*657 Thus by the end of the period of its firmest control, the gov-
*648 ernment had altered the family in form to correspond to that
177 idealized in American society. It had done away with the special
593 status of slaves. Children were removed from the physical cus-
[567] tody of their parents and sent away to school, to be returned as
adolescents at odds with the ways of their parents. These were individual measures, not calculated for their total impact. The approach to social, as to other aspects of change, was predicated upon the individual and upon the conjugal family. It failed to envisage the need to create bodies that would give strength and continuity to a reservation community.

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION[1]

by

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

The communication of knowledge from one 121
generation to another is a subtle process in any
culture, and especially so among primitive
groups with no clearly defined and well formulated
educational system. Any study of primitive
education is, therefore, difficult to demarcate.
In its broadest sense, education might
be defined as the formation of manners and
habits by means of instruction, by both physical
and moral discipline. The acquisition of all
attitudes, knowledge, and skills can be included
in education. A thorough investigation would
have to answer the question of where, when, and
how the individual acquires each item of his
adult personality.

Obviously, no complete picture of education
in any primitive group can be drawn after a
single season in the field. The present study
makes no pretense of being definitive. It is
our intent to show the gradual development of
the Klamath child from infancy to adulthood as
he receives physical, religious, and moral
training, as well as instruction in the food
gathering techniques and skilled crafts of his
culture. Undoubtedly many phases of the culture
have been slighted, but we have tried to show in
a general way the type of instruction and encouragement
given the maturing child. Klamath 114
ethnography has been well known for years
through the works of Gatschet (1890), Coville
(1898, 1904), Dorsey (1901), Barrett (1910),
Spier (1930), Voegelin (1942), and others. For 128
that reason, the details of language, material

[text continues on top of p. 339-B]

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Parenthood with its attendant responsibili- 581
ties is not taken lightly by the average Kla- 593
math. One gets married for the express purpose
of raising a large family, and the couple with
several strong sons and hardworking daughters is
highly respected in the community. A childless 842
couple, on the other hand, is looked upon with
contempt and pity. Barrenness is sometimes con-

[text continues on bottom of p. 339-B]

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[1] The present study is based on data collected for the University of California during a two-month stay on the Klamath Indian reservation in southern Oregon in the summer of 1947. Much of the material presented in this paper was gathered by Mrs. Betty T. Dasey, and the research represents our joint efforts. [122]

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected 648
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 621
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are ex-
clusively White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office out- [575]
side the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local [794]
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are fre- [651]
quently tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously,
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chilo-
quin during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of [674]
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a recon- 648
stituted "Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be adminis- 657
tered by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal super-
vision has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual 619
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Atten-
dance at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

*581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
[848] out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-style"
[177] marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
596 there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
[177] aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, de facto groupings
rather than de jure. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organization
[594] of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obligatory
592 responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-father
592 frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly extreme
cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual ownership
of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with regard
to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
434 children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

Weasel: Male, Age 29

Background Data

In contrast to all other subjects Weasel's role in the reservation community 159*
is a totally negative, destructive one, largely that of a supposedly vicious [156]
criminal. He was born and raised on an economically un-productive ranch, which
for twenty years or more has been the location of continuous drinking parties.
Weasel was raised within a circle of a pack of older brothers, half-brothers, [593]
and step brothers, all of whom were bigger, stronger, and more capable than he. [733]
His father has been an alcoholic for thirty years and has rarely worked or con-
tributed much to the organization of the family, which as a co-residential [592]
household usually included more than a dozen persons. In all, Weasel had 17
full and part siblings, half of whom are now deceased, three directly as a re- [165]
sult of drinking, three from acts of violence or car accidents.

Weasel's formal education ceased when he was 15, in the ninth grade, at which [871]
time he was arrested on a burglary charge. Since then he has spent six years [674]
in reformatories or penal institutions. He was tested while in jail on an
assault charge. Shortly thereafter he was found not-guilty, then re-arrested [697]
and sentenced on a different assault with a deadly weapon charge to three years
in the state penitentiary.

Weasel has repeatedly moved out of the circle of the family group, only to
fail "outside" and return to its sheltering arms. For a time Weasel was a [542]
professional boxer, but one without much skill or stamina. He never won a fight
and his face shows the evidence of the capabilities of his opponents. His
membership in this profession did not last long, and Weasel states, rather
proudly, that the Boxing Commission expelled him "For conduct unbecoming a
professional boxer." Weasel was once married (a common-law marriage, which [588]
for Weasel's primary reference groups is well sanctioned) but this lasted just
16 weeks. During this period Weasel stayed sober, the longest time he has spent [581]
without a drink since the age of 12. Weasel was consciously trying to reform [733]
himself, but now feels that he was a fool to ever try. Additionally, Weasel
has repeatedly made a circuit of nearby towns and cities either singly or in [156]
the company of a brother or friend. These visitations have more of the charac-
ter of raids than anything else, and Weasel is usually arrested in one or a- [579]
nother place and either charged or shipped out of town. [697]

In addition to being a minor criminal Weasel is frequently also the scapegoat 159*
for the aggressions of stronger men than he. He constantly asks for trouble,
but has never given any evidence that he can back of his threats with appro- 156
priate force. His successful acts of aggression have always been sneak attacks, [186]
or attacks on feeble old men or young boys. He seldom attempts to avoid the
consequences of these actions, and, indeed, is frequently not able to do so,
because of his extreme drunken condition. He seems to obtain some gratification from the minor prestige afforded his performances in these roles, but this
gratification is highly personalized and is not recognized as appropriate by
others. It may be that he has been attempting to build up his standing and reputation within his own circle by acting out the role of a "dangerous Indian,"
but it would seem that he has been singularly unsuccessful in this. One aspect
of this behavior is his reputed skill with a knife. On two occasions he wanted
to obtain vocational training, once as a barber, the other time as a butcher,
both times implying that this would be a simple extension of his native talent.

Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have 593
other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are sometimes 855
non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are [581]
frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time, [181]
or to an older relative, or to an elder sibling. If the party occurs in the
household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be
left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may [603]
find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence
and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of [155]
the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one)
or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually
faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloofness.
The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and
both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating
fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little experience [155]
with consistency in role relationships.

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, [602]
amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other
kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting 872
the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax, 861
permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear-cut,
specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not [593]
accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet [181]
these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and [155]
attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu.
In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to
be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly [156]
characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts.
This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture,
but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society.

In many respects the values and skills learned within the household to not adequately 155
prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of 156
regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the household [871]
may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may
throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get
him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time
the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted,
the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in inferiority
is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, contributing
in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebelliousness,
or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation
of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school [563]
years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the [582]
areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites
is not an easy one.

It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child 882
are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child 156
may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete 155
with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he
is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors
cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into
an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high [871]

773 776 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however, be added on the last page of this Report.

614 171 582 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the 595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather 581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their 304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present 178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths, 769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a 531 532 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency buildings, which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed. 285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could 323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes 533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the lan- 538 guage fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration, assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

33. A Childhood Incident
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) When I was small, I always wanted to whirl around. (2) So I whirled around. (3) Then my mother said, "Don't do that! (4) You will get hurt!" (5) Then I whirled around, not minding. (6) So I then fell upon my stomach on a sharp place like this here. (7) Now I got hurt. (8) Then she spanked me with a piece of wood.

34. Marriage Customs
(Mr. Robert David)

539*
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(1) I do not know it awfully well. (2) It was such a long time ago. (3) However, I heard thus, [that] these people long ago, when they liked each other thus, then they told their mother and their father too thus, "I want that girl," that man said. (4) "I want that woman." (5) And they asked, "Does she, then, want you? (6) Does she then want you, that girl?" they asked that man about that woman, his parents. (7) And he said, "Yes, she wants me," he said. (8) "Yes," they said, "Let us get ready." (9) They said, "We will get ready, and on this day we will gather together. (10) Now [you] will get her," they said.

[431]

(11) Now then they came [the groom and his parents are denoted by the verb]. (12) That man's people from this side will come—all the relatives. (13) And those from that side will do the same thing, her fathers [i.e., parents?], whatever they might be, the same sort of relatives of the girl. (14) And now they give [gifts] to each other the same way. (15) And those from that side give [gifts] to the groom. (16) All sorts of things that they have, even very valuable [things], they even did thus with horses long ago. (17) They used to give each other even many horses, if they had horses. (18) These horses have been here for a long time, among the Indians. (19) And they did thus, at that time.

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(20) Then when they had finished doing thus, now being pleased they did thus—now they made it tight [i.e., concluded the marriage agreement], having done thus. (21) On both sides they told [the couple], "Live as long as you will live, together. (22) You will be one now," they said. (23) Now they said, "Even however difficult [it might be], you will always

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

live together with that man of yours," they said. (24) "You will never leave him. (25) You will never deceive him. (26) You will give him everything. (27) You will hide nothing [from him]." (28) Thus they told them. (29) "Everything of yours [pl.] will be just one. (30) Now you will tell each other [everything]. (31) Anything at all—if someone would tell you, something, then you would tell your husband. (32) If [someone] would tell you, the husband, also, then you will tell your wife. (33) Now you [pl.] will be just one. (34) Then having become just one, then you will tell your [pl.] children in the same way, to do just thus, just as we live," said that old man, speaking, who was their father, his [hers?].

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(35) "So now you [pl.] will become just one. (36) We are this many living. (37) And thus having begotten children, then you will advise [them], just as we are telling you today. (38) And you must never, never forget it!" they said. (39) "If you indeed would forget it, something evil will take hold of you forever. (40) And it will always be thus. (41) Now you will hide something from him next, even something big, which you did wrongly—perhaps [something you] did. (42) If you do thus," they said, "Then something you do not want, evil, to be thus, to fall between [you] thus, then it will catch you. (43) Where we live, so you will live, being happy. (44) And so far, when we are old now. (45) So you will live together until old age with that wife of yours." (46) Thus they told them. (47) Now that's as far [as it goes].

Introductory Note to Text 35

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[124]

This is the Klamath version of "This Little Piggy Went to Market." Mrs. Chiles felt that it, or something very similar, had been used since pre-White days, but she was not sure about the details. Several of the items are untranslatable in terms of this corpus, and one, No. (5), seems to contain myth material. Mrs. Chiles thought that there definitely was a myth connected with this but could not recall it in any detail and did not wish to commit herself.

Method: The adult takes the baby's fingers one by one, starting at the little finger and ending with the thumb, reciting one of the first five words for each finger. Taking the baby's open palm, the adult taps it rhythmically and recites sentence (6). She then circles the baby's palm

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 151]

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of any such sentiments. It also seems that the reciprocal visits by which the marriage is consummated, with their exchange of presents, is a reflection at a distance of the Northwest Coast potlatch, perhaps its most southerly extension.

• 582 Beyond the ability to pay, the choice of a mate is restricted only by kinship. No relative of any degree may be married; the children, they contend, will not survive. Common residence is for example no bar to marriage. Step-brothers and sisters, being unrelated, are free to marry even though they have grown up together. Several men now living here married their step-sisters. Sibling terms are not used between step-siblings, though they have half-brothers and sisters in common.

There is no village exogamy despite the relationship of most co-villagers. Yet there is a great deal of shifting residence especially among the several settlements of each division. Marriage within or without the tribelet is immaterial. Such evidence as exists however suggests that the tendency is for marriage within the subdivision. The data are few but summarize in this fashion:

Husband	Wife					
	ă'ukckni	du'kwakni	gu'mbŏtkni	iu''laloqkni	Modoc	Molala
ă'ukckni	8	1	......	1	1	1
du'kwakni	......	1	1	......	......	......
gu'mbŏtkni	......	......	1	......	......	2
iu''laloqkni	......	2	......	1	......	......

Of the ă'ukekni marriages among themselves, two above were with co-villagers, I have no data for other endogamous marriages.

Explicitly the data are the following: Pat Kane's father and his paternal grandparents were du'kwakni, his mother and her parents gu'mbŏtkni. These tribelets are more closely linked than with the others. His father lived at the time of his marriage at wudŏ'kăn, a gu'mbŏt village north of Klamath lake; his mother with her people lived at sle'taksi just across Seven Mile creek. Pat himself was born and grew up at mo'giqkŭnka, the du'kwa village at the mouth of Williamson river. His father's sisters married a man at iu''laloqs on Klamath falls.

Tom Lang's father was white; his mother lived at iu''laloqs. Both her parents were also iu''laloqkni; her mother was related to Modoc and Shasta.

Nancy Phillips is ă'ukekni, born at k'taidi on Williamson river. Her father was ă'ukekni although he lived at du'kwa. His mother was of the du'kwakni. Nancy's mother was ă'ukekni of k'taidi village; her parents in turn both ă'ukekni, the father from k'taidi also, the mother from glă'tepak'is on the opposite river bank.

[595] The chief Lzle'ks had seven co-wives; four, ă'ukekni, one each, du'kwakni and Modoc, and one from ne''laksi hence probably iu''laloqkni. Two of the

ă'ukckni were sisters from his own settlement on Williamson river above 582
bzzūkse'was, a third was from that town, and the fourth from glă'tspak'ĭs, a 595
mile or so down river. His daughter by the Modoc wife was counted ă'ukckni;
while living at k'taidi she married an ă'ukckni of Yainax.

A gu'mböt man, Woķau'k!alis, married two Molala sisters.

Girls usually marry within a year or so after puberty, which is 584
marked, at least among the well-to-do, by a big dance. Betrothals
may have been arranged while the couple were yet pre-adolescent,
presents having been exchanged by the families. They are expected
to carry out the agreement after the girl's dance, payments being
made again. Should one of them die another match may be arranged
with the same family, but not of necessity. Poor and rich alike
arrange such betrothals.

How far great disparity of age occurs I do not know, but it does [582]
happen that an older man marries a young girl. A shaman for
instance may be given a daughter by a man too poor to reward him [756]
otherwise.

But it must not be thought that there is no choice. On the contrary, the majority of marriages follow the desire of the couples.
Elopements take place and although the levirate is the rule, much 583
depends on the widow's willingness. Yet a girl's consent is not necessary. Despite her protests she may be carried to her husband's home. 587
If she runs home she is almost invariably taken back again. That she
would be driven to suicide is doubtful; one informant never heard of [762]
such a thing; another stated she would hang herself and in this event
her parents had to return the gifts of the groom.

An orphan girl of du'kwa lived with her mother's brother. She was married 583
against her will to a man of k'taidi. She clung to the ladder of the earth-
lodge but they pulled her away and dragged her up-river to k'taidi. Next 159
morning she ran home and never went back. Nothing had been paid for her
at the time but she was given in return for valuables contributed to the
cremation of a relative of hers some time before by her husband's relatives.
Immediately after this she married a man at Klamath marsh; whether payment
was then made is not remembered.

Elopements occur but payment is so much insisted on as a sign 583
of respectability that parents guard their daughters with great care.
This is at least true where the family wealth makes a suitable payment
imperative. It is unthinkable that a chief's daughter should be permitted to enter an unceremonious, clandestine union. The poor and 834
forward have little to lose. Modest demeanor is expected of a girl.

585 After a month of marriage the couple visits the bride's former home,
593 accompanied by the groom's relatives, for a further exchange of gifts. Soon after this, the girl's father and his family reciprocate. Beyond this it is a matter of mutual solicitude; undoubtedly the visits grow less frequent as the passing years bring diverging interests. Later visits are of some duration, the couple even staying through the winter.

591 Marriage is normally patrilocal, but if a man is poor, or has no close relatives, he may take up residence with his wife's people. When a young wife is about to have her first child the couple return to her mother to stay until she is strong again. This must be the circumstance of temporary matrilocal residence as it ordinarily occurs elsewhere. First marriages among primitive peoples usually follow closely on a girl's nubility. The need for advice and care during this trying period of pregnancy and delivery, the natural solicitude of the mother, are surely the reasons for the frequency with which residence is temporarily matrilocal. It will be observed that this is formally prescribed as the proper procedure almost solely in cases of first marriage. There is no need to search for a more esoteric reason such as the older writers had, matrilinear grouping, maternal authority, and the demand that the young husband prove himself to the wife's family. Among the Klamath this is the rule only on the birth of a first child.

591 A series of terms describes the facts of residence. A man and his
wife in matrilocal residence are non-vocatively wuko'bŏks and ska'bŏks
593 respectively.[69] A woman with her husband's people is t!e'niwas.[70]
601 On separation a woman who returns to her former home is ko'stbŏmbli,
a man returning to his, wuko'tbŏmbli.

601 I was told at least that a child's spouse is treated like an own
child, that parent and child terms are used between them for there
606 are no parent-in-law taboos. This is the usage of intimacy; there are specific terms for parents-in-law. There is the familiar Indian usage of a term between the parents of a couple, "my child's parent-in-law."

582 Marriages occur any time during the year. There is no evidence suggesting their greater frequency during any season, nor any mating period[71]

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[69] The latter term was given me at another time as meaning a newly married woman (probably the form ska'bŏkak was intended). This comes to the same thing. These two words apparently correspond to Gifford's wapake and kapake, earlier and later co-wife (Californian Kinship Terminologies, 42). Gifford's record is doubtless due to a misunderstanding; I enquired about these words and found that there are no terms for particular co-wives.

[70] Gatschet (2:608) gives tcina, a young woman. The meanings are not incompatible but I believe mine to be correct.

[71] As among the Yurok (Kroeber, Handbook, 44).

river at ḳa'umkän (14) and one on middle Williamson river near ya'ak (23). The du'kwa division crematory is near the mouth of that river. The Pelican bay division has a crematory at dûnö'kai (38). The remaining division, the Klamath falls people, have two at dī'tklaḳs (50) on the east side of Klamath lake and two on either side of Link river. These eleven constitute the total for the Klamath territory.

The body is dressed, with such beads as the dead possessed tied around the neck, wrists, and ankles. It is then wrapped in a tule mat. For ease in transportation on a man's back, the legs of a small corpse are flexed and tied. A larger corpse is lashed between two poles so that four men may carry it. Canoe transportation is of course necessary in most cases since the settlements are strung out along the shores. The corpse is taken out of the house by the regular exit. Cremation takes place five days after death, according to Gatschet's Modoc informant.[99]

The pyre of green logs, three or four feet high, stands in a slight depression on the ash-heap (sĕkă'lgi) of preceding cremations. These heaps are said to have been ten or twelve feet high, "as high as a haystack," built up of the ashes scraped together after each burning (spīnu'). Gatschet states that the one north of the (middle?) Williamson river was twelve feet high in 1877.[100] White vandals have long since leveled these in search of plunder. All those I saw are now low mounds not more than a few feet in height nor more than thirty feet in diameter.

[582] Property of the dead, such as his beads, arms, and skins, is piled on the body as it lies on the pyre. Other valuables are contributed by relatives and others who wish to honor the dead. The recipient family assumes a peculiar obligation by accepting these; should the contributor later stand in need of a wife for himself or a relative, this family must provide the bride. The amount consumed is considerable, for even today the ash-heaps are littered with glass trade beads, iron halter rings, gun barrels, and fragments of obsidian blades that have withstood the flames.

When the fire has burned down, several of the male relatives who stir it with long poles, roll the remains out to be rewrapped in a mat and burned again. It is said that bodies are hard to burn; the fire must be renewed several times. The heart is the last portion to be destroyed. Poor people might not be able to burn the whole body.

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[99] *Op. cit.*, 1:85. The singing in the dead man's lodge described by Gatschet (1:90, 92) is apparently modern. I was not told of it.

[100] *Op. cit.*, 1:86.

It does not appear that a marriage brings about a con-

587 tractual union between the families. The levirate is customary but not obligatory, and the sororate only occasional. It is true that the husband's brothers may take exception to her marriage with another, but this may mean only that they look upon it as an affront to their brother's memory.

582 Marriage is denied only between blood relatives. There is no village exogamy nor trace of restrictions or preference of any other order. At best the evidence suggests some tendency to marry within the tribal subdivision, but this may mean only that contacts are less frequent outside of this group.

584 585 The formalities of marriage prescribe a series of visits with an exchange of gifts. The prospective groom sends a male emissary with a bundle of sticks representing his offering. The bride's family proceed to the groom's house where they exchange gifts with the family of the groom. In kind and in quantity these are modest indeed when measured by Northwest Coast standards. A month later the couple and the groom's family return the visit, when again gifts are exchanged. Beyond these two, further formal visits are made only by the social pretentious. These formalities may be frequently initiated while the couple are still pre-adolescent, the bride being carried to her husband's home after her puberty dance.

583 *171 The general nature of the Klamath marriage relation smacks strongly of the Northwest Coast. This is apparent in the premium attached to purchase, to a lesser extent in the weighting accorded the amount of the purchase price, in the reciprocal nature of the gifts, and the series of formal visits before the affair is considered terminated. What is absent here is the notion that rank and privileges of a tangible nature are acquired by a marriage purchase.

This can best be brought out by instituting a series of comparisons with other tribes. For this purpose I shall select only a limited number of cases. For one thing data from Oregon tribes are almost wholly lacking, and those for California and Washington are both scattered and scanty.

Throughout California, save on the eastern border of the state, there is an appearance of purchase. But in reality it is only a presentation of gifts of no great amount as an earnest of the son-in-law's good will, a matter of etiquette rather than a stipulated price. The formality of giving varies as much as its conventional expression. With some, bride service is in order; with others, the parents-in-law must reciprocate the gifts. It is everywhere little more than an

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1860-1900)

The marriage of those of lower rank is doubtless analogous but on a smaller scale.[509] 171*

I shall trace the elements of this marriage complex from this area southward, in order to make clear their relation to the customs of the Klamath. At the outset I will deal with the interrelated attitudes toward wealth and rank, marriage as an expression of it, and local exogamy dictated by it. Later I will return to a comparison of the marriage ceremony itself, to the levirate and sororate as expressions of family contracts, and to related phenomena such as reactions to adultery. 583 585

Purchase, Rank, and Exogamy

The marital customs of other Vancouver island tribes duplicate those of the Kwakiutl in all essentials. Their divergence is in a less sharp definition of rank and prerogative and diminished elaborateness of marriage ceremonialism. This diminution can be traced by successive steps to the Klamath and beyond. Not only are the attitudes of the island tribes respecting rank and wealth analogous to the Kwakiutl, but marriage is the same kind of mechanism for their transfer. We may also assume here the kind of local exogamy implied for the Kwakiutl. As marriages with relatives are normally prohibited, and mates of suitable rank and wealth are not to be found in the same tribe or village, a practice of local exogamy follows. While there is no prohibition against marriage within the community, the vast majority of alliances must be outside, since pretension to rank sinks deep in the several strata of society. There is at least some studied exogamy on the part of those of highest rank for whom foreign alliances mean increased prestige. 171* 582 •

As expressed by Sapir "among the more southern tribes intermarriage is prohibited only between such as are demonstrably related by blood, even if fairly remotely so. Owing to the structure of the village community, this would in many cases mean that there are few persons in a village that one is legally entitled to marry; but it is important to note that the village community as such need not be exogamous, that is, does not specifically prohibit intermarriage among its members."[510] [114]

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[509] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 358, 421, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 776, 1344, Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 116.

[510] Sapir, Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes, 367.

*171 The alternative to this exogamic practice was marriage with blood
• 582 kindred. While it was generally frowned on, an exception was permitted if no other mate was available. This is an attitude different from that of the Kwakiutl, who, desiring to keep privileges within the family, married his niece or cousin. When there is no available mate
[114] outside the blood group, a Klallam may marry his first cousin. Eells implies that a Twana (and Klallam?) always sought a wife first "within a certain circle of his relatives."[511]

There is no adequate information for western Washington tribes save from the Klallam and more moderately from the Chinook. Inasmuch as their attitudes and practices coincide in large degree, it is safe to assume that they are representative of the intervening territory.

Both Klallam and Chinook view wealth as a criterion of rank and its lavish display in the wedding ceremonial as an index of social pretension. Marriage with a person of lower rank is unthinkable.
*171 It is apparent that most Klallam brides are paid for, yet elopements
occur and slave alliances are formed. Once such marriages are
556 contracted the parents make no effort to separate the couple, but a girl who
583 marries in this way is not highly respected. Whether payments are
585 made following elopements to legitimatize them, we are not told. Upper-class Klallam have a definite preference for extra-tribal
*171 marriages, especially with the people of Vancouver island. Local exogamy
is even more general, holding for all ranks, for in a record of
582 fifty-seven marriages only five were with co-villagers.[512] Purchase, or its
*171 simulation, is so obviously the normal Chinook procedure also that
even a successful elopement will be nullified unless a small sum is
583 paid. And these sticklers for form go through the orthodox ritual on this occasion as though the marriage was not yet consummated. For a man too poor to pay, there is no recourse but in matrilocal residence with bride service.[513]

There are but scattered observations on the tribes of the intervening territory but they suggest conformable practices. Since we learn that common people among the Makah paid a small amount for a bride without any ceremony, purchase must have been the regular form for all classes of society. Yet as elopements were frequent and are said always to have ended amicably, this suggests an approxima-

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[511] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 241; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 655.

[512] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 241 f.

[513] Boas, Chinook Texts, 251; Franchère, Narrative, 254.

tion to the Klallam situation and perhaps the payments made in such 171*
cases by Chinook. Marriage occurred in or out of the tribe, but with
no near relative, which includes fourth cousins.[814] Caste stratification 583
was as strong among the Quinault as among their northern neighbors, 171*
and marriages had to be contracted with persons of equivalent status.
This brought it about that tribal or at least village exogamy was 565
insisted on for chiefs. The sentiment was nearly as strong for commoners 582 ●
as well, although in their case emphasis was on the fact that
all co-villagers, or nearly all, were related; marriage of relatives of
even remote degree being forbidden. Not only might a man normally
not marry in his own village, but for the same reason he could not
ordinarily marry in that from which his mother came. The upper [583]
class always purchased wives from other noble families; to marry
below one's rank was disgraceful in the highest degree. If a common
man wanted to marry a chief's daughter, the chief would pay someone
to kill him. In contrast to the Klallam desire in extra-tribal marriages,
the Quinault had no preference for northern tribes. All marriages,
of whatever rank, were made by purchase, that is by the
exchange of gifts of high value. Elopements were common, yet this 171*
was theft and therefore dangerous, for the girl's father might kill the
man, whose relatives could not retaliate. The bride who eloped must 583
be paid for, in fact the price then demanded was inclined to be
exorbitant. Legitimatizing of marriage was Quinault theory at least, [848]
yet illegitimate children were many and not looked on with contempt.[815]

Purchase of the same order appears among the Puget Sound tribes, 171*
at least for the wealthy, that is the upper classes. The interchange
of gifts was not compulsory, so that poor people married on agreement 565
alone or deferred payment until they were able. The general 583
impression obtained from the account of these people (Nisqually,
Snohomish, Snuqualmi, Skokomish, and Suquamish) is that class distinctions
did not cut so deep as on Vancouver island and coastal
Washington. Differences of wealth were not so great, hence, comparatively, 171*
wealth and its function in marriage were not emphasized
to the same degree. The exogamic habit is present however but
apparently confined rather to the upper class. Even fourth and fifth
cousins could not marry.[816] The Nisqually maintain that tribal
exogamy held for all; one who broke the rule was not only disgraced

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[814] Swan, Indians of Cape Flattery, 11 ff.

[815] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925, 1926.

[816] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 34–38; Spier, Nisqually field notes, 1922.

*171 but heavily fined. "Generally speaking, these Indians seek their wives
• 582 from among other tribes than their own. . . . . It seems to be a
matter of pride, in fact, to unite the blood of several different ones
in their own persons. . . . . With the chiefs, this is almost always
the case."[217]

*171 Marriage by purchase was the usual form among the Nez Percé,
583 but it is said that a marriage by agreement because of the groom's
capabilities was a more desirable and honored form. This is a new
585 note, but it was characteristic of Plains tribes to the east. The purchase
was effected with little ceremony. Bride and groom were not
ordinarily members of the same village.[218] The exogamic habit here
*171 had not the same basis as among the tribes previously discussed. It
seems due solely to the Nez Percé habit of forbidding marriages to
582 relatives of even remote degree, which necessarily resulted in village
exogamy. I am unable to find evidence of exogamic practice farther
to the east, but will return later to analogous forms of wife purchase.

*171 To return to the Columbia river: the Wishram had as strong a sentiment
for caste and wealth as their down-river relatives, the Chinook
582 proper. Rank and wealth were here not quite synonymous, for chiefs
583 were not always the wealthiest individuals. Marriage was always
with one of the same rank, so that the children would have as high
556 standing as their parents. Payment was insisted on in every case;
583 even in the case of marriage with a deceased brother's wife the
[587] procedure was gone through, else the children were as "nothing," i.e.,
not legitimate. The feeling was that the marriage must be regularized by payment, else the contractants were the subject of odium, and furthermore the marriage would not be permanent. So strong was the feeling, that a lower-class man guilty of adultery with a chief's daughter or other close relation would be killed; not for his crime as such, but because he was too poor to make proper recompense in marriage. Even constructive adultery, such as accidentally touching another man's wife, was heavily fined. The insistence seems to have been on the regularity of the form, for it was freely acknowledged that the gifts made on either side were about equal. The marriage of very young children was arranged and carried out in full form. Chiefs and wealthy men marry women of other tribes, but marriage within the village was prohibited to no one save a blood relative.[219] Much the same situation is implied for other Upper Chinook.

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[217] Gibbs, Tribes of Western Washington, 197.

[218] Spinden, Nez Percé, 250; Farrand, Notes on the Nez Percé Indians, 246.

[219] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

From the Columbia river southward the exogamic practice extended 171*
among the coastal tribes as far as the Hupa and some form of the 582
purchase feature to the Pomo. The caste sentiment of the northern 583
tribes existed on the Oregon coast, with its concomitant local exogamy to maintain caste in marriage. This is implied for the Alsea, where there was "a decided preference for marriage with women from another tribe. This is explicitly stated of the nobility. At the same time there is evidence that the men did not care to go too far afield for their wives, for in such specific cases as could be cited, the favored tribes were the Yaquina and Siuslaw, whose languages are almost identical with Alsea and who regarded each other as closely akin. It is more likely that the exogamous tendency was local and extended to villages rather than to tribes."[580] In general culture the Coos resembled the Alsea, hence it may be presumed that the same exogamic sentiments prevailed. This is the more certain since the tribes to the south, the northwestern Californians, were also locally exogamous by habit. Coos marriages were apparently all made by purchase, often being those of children. The amount transferred was pitifully small in comparison with bride prices north and south. How far there was proprietary interest in the purchase, may be judged by the fact that the husband would demand the return of the bride price from the parents of an adulterous wife.[581]

While caste sentiment was not so definitely crystallized among the [565] Takelma, distinctions were drawn between rich and poor, freeman and slave. "There is no well-defined rule against marriage within the village, but as it must very often have happened that practically all the residents of a village were related [marriage of relatives being forbidden], it was customary to look beyond the village for a mate, and in many cases even to marry into some neighboring tribe of alien speech, like the Shasta or the Galice Creek Athabascans." But it was as true here as to the north that such extra-local marriages were dictated by the necessity of finding a wealthy mate, for "the social status of the children depended very largely, of course, on the price paid for the mother, so that poor people's children were looked down upon as not much better than dogs. . . . . The indebtedness of the husband to his father-in-law did not entirely cease with the initial purchase of the wife." He was obliged to visit him later with further gifts and to pay him again on the birth of the first child. "This pay-

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[580] Farrand, Notes on the Alsea, 242.

[581] St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 26.

*171 ment was considered as equivalent to the buying of the child." Here
• 582 too childhood marriages often occurred.[632]

583 East of the Cascades among the Klamath, social stratification was far more fluid. There were rich and poor but the caste feeling was only
*171 slightly developed. Indeed the sentiment may not be more than a
582 century old, for the impression was derived that differences of wealth were slight and rank absent prior to the opening of direct contact with
583 the Columbia river tribes. This does not date back of the opening of
565 the nineteenth century. Marriage here was indifferently within or without the local community, but inasmuch as there was no sentiment dictating marriage with one of equivalent wealth and rank, such exogamy as does occur is random and without purpose. The only prescription is that some payment must be made. The amount was relatively small and no great weight attached to its size as indicative of rank, or pretension to rank.

*171 The Northern Maidu have no general rule of marriage within or
582 without the village. Of the Sacramento valley division however it is observed that "there would appear to have been a slightly greater
583 practice of local exogamy." The reason for this is not clear unless it be that co-villagers were commonly related, for these people have no feeling for distinctions of rank based on wealth.[633] Whether the Southern Maidu had a similar exogamic tendency does not appear. There is however some simulation of purchase, since the girl's father received more than the boy's in the exchange of gifts.[634]

*171 Local exogamy of a type affiliated with northwestern forms was not found in this direction beyond the Maidu. Exogamy did occur
582 among the south-central Californians, but it was the exogamy of totemic moieties, which was local exogamy only to the extent that the totemic groups were localized. Thus it happened that the majority of Yokuts marriages were locally exogamic. The most northerly of such tribes were the Miwok.[635] Since the habit of local exogamy was so slightly developed among them, it is doubtful that the Maidu case should be interpreted as an imitation of their practice. I should rather hold that it is to be taken as a result of the prohibition of marriage with relatives, hence not a reflection of either northern or southern influences.

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[632] Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 268, 274.

[633] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 239, 240.

[634] Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 36.

[635] Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 141; Kroeber, Handbook, 457, 493.

171 * 582 583 554

To return to the coastal groups of northern California, the Yurok and their neighbors had attitudes toward social standing, wealth, and marriage appreciably like those of the Northwest Coast tribes. For the Yurok every social relation was nicely valued and the basis of them all was the marriage settlement. Social status was proportionate to a man's wealth and the amount he was willing to pay for the mother of his children. His own life was valued at the amount paid for his mother. Partial payment or a small sum put him at the bottom of the social scale. The price itself was definitely fixed. Marriage was outside the kinship group and commonly outside the village, but not necessarily so. Kroeber represents the smaller villages as practicing exogamy by reason of kinship of their inhabitants, but it is at least as likely, in view of the exaggerated importance of wealth, that a sufficiently large bride price could be obtained in many instances only from men of other towns.[666] An analogous situation may be inferred for the Tolowa, whose little known culture closely resembled that of the Yurok. On one fundamental point we have the verdict of the Yurok, who "regard the Tolowa as rich, a distinction they accord to few others of the people known to them." Inference also places the Karok in the same category, for in all other known aspects of culture they were as one with Yurok and Hupa.[667] The Hupa attitudes in the matters we are concerned with here were so nearly identical with the Yurok that to cite them would be but to repeat the Yurok case. At one point there is some difference, yet one only of degree. Our authority states briefly that women went regularly to their husbands' villages on marriage, implying that this was a uniform practice, or nearly so.[668] Yet in actual practice it may mean no more than the Yurok habit, local exogamy based on kindred exclusion and the desire for a wealthy alliance. (If the marriages were as regularly exogamous as we are told, then I can see no reason why we should not describe this as a system of unnamed patrilineal local sibs.)

The lower Klamath attitude is also that of the Shasta. It is essential that a wife be paid for in order to fix the value of the children. Even elopements are condoned if the bride price is paid later. Blood money for death or injury is equal to the sum paid for a man's mother. The price varied widely but tends to be fixed at a value somewhat less than that of the Yurok. The wealthier families, who arrange infant betrothals, ordinarily choose the girl from another village.

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[666] Kroeber, Handbook, 28, 42.

[667] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 98, 108, 126.

[668] Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 54, 58.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1860-1900)

*171 583 Poorer men offer the bride price directly, or may serve their parents-in-law in lieu of payment.[579]

582 554 114 Purchase appears again among the Sinkyone, and perhaps prevailed in the intervening region. By no means so wealthy as their northern neighbors, values were correspondingly less. Nevertheless we observe something of the Yurok attitude in a definite value attached to a man's life. A wife was seemingly paid for, although Kroeber suggests that this may have been in the nature of a gift to be reciprocated rather than a formal purchase price. If this is so, it suggests only the practice of the generality of more southerly Californians. 848 But inasmuch as illegitimate children were paid for, the suggestion is rather of an approximation to the northwestern norm. Something of the same regularity of purchase, with reciprocal giving, is implied by Yuki statements.[580]

*171 554 The Huchnom and Pomo attitude toward marriage did not differ appreciably from more southerly Californians. The exchange of marriage gifts can hardly be described as true purchase, but appears rather "an expression of good will and dignified but affectionate etiquette." Loeb observes, however, that the man's family gave more than it received in return. It would therefore not be possible to see in it certain affiliation with northwestern customs, were it not that both people prescribed a series of gift-bearing visits of the northwestern type to consummate the marriage. I shall subsequently trace such formal visiting from the Kwakiutl southward to this point. As to exogamy, there was none; marriages were contracted indifferently within the community, outside it, or with foreigners. In neither group were there serious rankings based on wealth which might prescribe a studied attitude toward maintaining it in marriage.[581]

The typical central Californians (Wintun, Miwok, Yokuts, and Costanoan) register negative to the characteristics of northwest marriage. Social stratification of any range and rigidity was absent, wealth unimportant, marriage gifts were presents of friendship however much formality demanded their bestowal, formal visiting seemingly unknown, and exogamy casual, certainly not for the express purpose of maintaining social position. In a word marriage does not function to uphold social stratification nor do the northwestern rites appear.[582]

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[579] Dixon, Shasta, 261 f.

[580] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 146, 179.

[581] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 210, 254; Gifford, Clear Lake Pomo Society, 310; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 277.

[582] Compare Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 357, 456, 469, 493.

Marriage practices of the Northwest Coast type can be traced into 171*
the northern Plains. At least this appeals to me as the most rational 581
explanation for the similarities which Crow, Hidatsa, and Assiniboin 583
show and for their divergence from the general Plains custom. It will be well to define the latter again. Such typical tribes as Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Blackfoot viewed with favor marriages in which the son-in-law was chosen for his capacity as a man of honor, of war-like prowess, and a good provider. The father-in-law's desire was commonly to secure his services. Gifts were exchanged, but rather for the honor of the act than with thought of definite purchase and the return of an investment.

The anomaly of Crow attitudes is most intelligible, in view of their 171*
geographic position in the northwestern Plains, as ultimately derived 582 •
from the Northwest Coast. The most honorable form of marriage for 583
the Crow was by purchase, which gave to the woman a position of respect beyond that of any of her unpurchased sisters whose matches were in contrast mere elopements. The young man presented horses to her male relatives and meat to her mother. There was no band exogamy here, although marriages may have occurred outside the group almost as frequently as among the Nez Percé.[583]

It will be observed that the Crow attitude is appreciably like that 171*
of the Nez Percé. That the Nez Percé placed a higher value on a mar- 583
riage contracted because of a groom's capabilities, the Crow on purchase, is no argument against historic connection between the two. Both tribes recognize marriages of both forms; wherein they both differ from the majority of Plains peoples, is that they have marriage by purchase, and even stress it. As a matter of fact, the difference [114]
may be really one of formulation on the part of the ethnographers. Lowie's account of the Crow is so circumstantially detailed as to leave no doubt of their attitudes, but Spinden's description of Nez Percé marriage is of the briefest. If he was impressed by the Plains-like character of the culture of this Plateau tribe, his formulation may well have stressed this non-northwestern marriage form. It may also be that the history of marriage in the two tribes has taken opposite directions. Possibly the Crow, recently acquiring the purchase habit, stressed the novel form as giving distinction to marriage; the Nez Percé, possibly with purchase as the original form, took over Plains marriage regulations with a deal of other culture and stressed what was the novelty from their viewpoint.

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[583] Lowie, Social Life of the Crow, 230, Notes on the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, 74.

1 Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
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*171 582 583 It is also conceivable that purchase among the Crow is not related to the Northwest Coast forms, but that it is a derivative of their matriliny. That is, the desire to become affiliated with a particular matrilinear lineage may have been met by insistence on purchase, the groundwork for this being present in the common Plains custom of exchanging gifts. But there is nothing otherwise in Crow life to suggest that lineage as such was important.

*171 583 Among other Plains tribes possible analogies to northwestern practice are found only among Hidatsa and Assiniboin. "The Hidatsa and Crow agree in considering marriage by purchase as the most honorable form from the woman's point of view; but among the Hidatsa I got the impression, which I did not receive among the Crow, that it was somewhat discreditable for a man to have to buy a wife," for it implies a lack of personal qualifications. This attitude disposes of the suggestion made in the last paragraph, for the Hidatsa are also matrilinear. This is a duplication of the Nez Percé case; in contrast to the Crow, it may be said that here the novelty, purchase, if indeed it is a novelty, has not acquired the prestige found among the Crow. [114] There is nothing in Lowie's brief account to suggest formality in purchase, and in fact such procedure would appear quite at odds with their attitude. Matthews' statement confirms the absence of formal purchase. Nor is the Assiniboin case one of outright purchase. There are however features which suggest the Northwest Coast. As with other Plains tribes the marriage is accompanied by an exchange of gifts. Here the gifts of the bride's family were distributed among the groom's relatives, who return next day "returning to the donor some gifts of superior value to those received," these then being carried to the girl's group. This is faintly reminiscent of the potlatch. Further, the first gift-bearing party was that of the bride, whereas the Plains habit at large is for the young man's party first to make contribution. The impression gleaned from the account of the Assiniboin is a certain formality in the terms of settlement and in the marriage processions somewhat at variance with the generality of Plains marriage habits.[584] Typifying these, Beckwith's brief statement concerning the Dakota implies only the exchange of gifts, although in one form of marriage the groom offers horses until the bride's father is satisfied with the amount.[585]

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[584] Lowie, Notes on the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, 46, The Assiniboine, 40; Matthews, Ethnology of the Hidatsa, 52.

[585] Beckwith, Customs of the Dakotahs, 255.

dle beyond this limit, with a notable recrudescence of the latter on the 171 *
lower Klamath river. Part of the mechanism of its exchange in 583
marriage was a series of reciprocal visits, of potlatch character southward 556
to the Columbia, a mere formal practice beyond.

Among the concepts underlying the practice of bride purchase 171*
was the sense of mutual obligations of the contractants' families.
This was avowed by the coastal tribes from British Columbia to
northern California. It assumed the express forms of compulsory
levirate and sororate and of the right to children. Further, the families
were obligated to restore the marriage settlements if the marriage
terminated unfortunately. The man's financial interest in the wife he (837]
had bought was evidenced by his ability to mulct damages from an
adulterer or one even thought to be such.

The exogamy which appears in this area was not the prohibition 171 *
of marrying within the community, but an exogamy of practice. To
maintain caste, marriage must of necessity have frequently been with 582 •
persons of the same rank and wealth outside the village or tribe. 554
This was undoubtedly more the circumstance in the upper strata of
society. It is obvious then that the distribution of this practice coincides
closely with that of sharp distinctions of caste and wealth.
Beyond those tribes whose attitudes may be so characterized, there
was a fringe of peoples who had taken over the custom without its
antecedents. Such local exogamy has been noted as far southward as
the Hupa, the Sacramento Valley Maidu, and as far eastward as the
Nez Percé.

The habits of postnuptial residence seem to correspond closely 171 *
with the sense of purchase. It was patrilocal, the bride being taken
at once to her husband, in the coastal area southward to northern 591
California. Some variability does indeed appear but this seems no
more than the common circumstance of residence according to preference.
The Wishram instance of regular temporary matrilocal
residence is an anomaly.

The position of the Klamath with respect to this northwestern 171 *
marriage complex was that of a distinctly marginal group. Purchase
to maintain social standing was present but the values not fixed; 583
the actual amount changing hands, relatively small. A series of formal 431
gift-bearing visits was prescribed, in which the bride's family
returned more than they received, but there was no intentional rivalry
in giving. The first visit was that of conducting the bride to the
groom as among all the southerly peoples. Residence was patrilocal 171 *
591

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3829. Polygyny prerogative of any man	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	595
3830. Polygyny rare in tribe	–	+	+			–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
3831. Sororal polygyny	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	
3832. During life of sisters	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	
‡3833. Maximum number paid for	1	2	.	1	1	1	1	–	–	1	1	.	–	–	–	2	
o3834. Maximum number in same house	2	2	.	2	2	2	2	–	3	2	2	2	–	2	2	2	
3835. Because first wife barren	–	•+	.	+	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
3836. Without barrenness of first wife	+	+	.	–	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3837. Post-mortem sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3838. General	+	+	+	•–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	.	587
3839. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	•+	–	–	+	•–	+	+	–	+	–	•–	+	.	
3840. Especially if children	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	.	
3841. Obligatory for widower	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	•–	+	–	
3842. Life endangered, if he does not comply	•+	•+	•+	–		•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	.	–	–	•+	.	
3843. Stepdaughter marriage	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	587
3844. Simultaneous	•+	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	595
3845. Successive	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3846. Additional payment for daughter	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3847. Rare	+	+	–					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3848. Disapproved	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	
3849. Polyandry, husbands unrelated	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	595
o3850. Maximum no. of husbands	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o3851. Maximum no. in same house	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3852. Polyandry, fraternal	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
o3853. Maximum no. of brothers in same house	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	
3854. Wife lending	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
3855. Between any 2 men	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	837
3856. Levirate	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	587
3857. Obligatory for man	+	+	•–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
3858. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	–	+	–	
3859. Additional payment, gifts for woman	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	
3860. Brother-in-law can punish woman if she refuses	•+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	[686]
3861. Cut her hair, ear, nose	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	[607]
*3862. Can kill her	+	+	+			+	+	+	•+	+	.	–	–	–	•+	–	[304]
3863. Killing common	–	+	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	
3864. Man may marry son's son's wife	–	+	–	–				+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3865. Common	–	–	–	–				+	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	
Marriage of Blood Relatives																	
3866. Cousins; man to any cross-cousin's daughter	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	582 ●
3867. Sister exchange	.	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3868. 2 men exchange sisters	.	–	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3869. Simultaneously or nearly so	.	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3870. Successively	.	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3871. No payment or gifts for brides	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	
3872. Payment for both brides	.	–	+	+	–	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	
3873. 2 brothers marry 2 sisters	–	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
Exogamy																	
*3874. Local group exogamy	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	•+	+	+	
3875. Preferred	+	+	.	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	•+	
3876. Obligatory	–	–	.	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	
3877. Endogamy, if not related	•+	+	.	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	+	+	+	
*3878. Tribal exogamy optional	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*3879. Often practiced	•+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	

DDO 3867. Mo: "Honorable" form of marriage, but practiced mostly by poorer people; wealthy persons pay for bride. SW: Permissible, but not formalized.

3868. AW: Done occasionally, but "don't like it; it's no good marrying that way; there's no sense to it."

Exogamy; postnuptial residence; kinship avoidances.--

3874. See element 2619. NM: Local group exogamy practiced, but seemingly neither preferred nor obligatory. Men take wives from Chicago Park, Nevada City groups; do not intermarry with Colfax or Mooretown (MF) groups.

3875. MV: Man usually takes his wife from village other than his own.

● 582 3877. Kl: Local group endogamy permissible, but "can't take wife from near-by neighbor's house, even if woman unrelated to man; have to take wife from house at least 1 mile away, and rather take wives from farther off."

3878. No rule, among any of groups, forbidding intertribal marriages.

3879. "Often practiced" may be putting case too strongly. However, number of intertribal marriages, as revealed in genealogies of informants (all of whom were between 60-90 years old themselves) was rather surprising. See section on Informants, this study. Kl: Intertribal marriages of Kl with Mo, Warm Springs Sahaptin commented upon by informant.

DDO 3880-3882. MM: Applies to child-betrothal marriages.

3883, 3884. MM: Applies to simple form of marriage in which couple merely live together.

3890. AW, WS, MM: 1-2 months.

3891. Before birth of first child, couple usually go to wife's parents' home and birth hut is made for woman near her parents' house.

[606] 3901. Kl, Mo, SE, SW: Taboo attenuated; Kl: man accords mother-in-law same respect he accords his own mother. At, AW, AE, WT, WM, WS, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Taboo important; marked.

3919. At: If mother-in-law talks to son-in-law, bear will "chew up" son-in-law; he will never be seen again. Same applies to conversation between father-in-law, daughter-in-law. WT: If do not observe taboos, mother-in-law will have bad luck; rattlesnake will bite her, or grizzly devour her, or she will be killed by enemies or burnt. MV: "Observe [these taboos] for love of son-in-law; think world of son-in-law; think so much of him that mother-in-law won't look at him."

3921. All items listed under mother-in-law, son-in-law taboos inquired about in field for father-in-law, daughter-in-law. AW: Taboos similar, except that whereas perhaps only "1 man out of 200" may violate taboo against marrying his mother-in-law it is not matter for much disapproval if under some circumstances woman marries her father-in-law after her husband's death.

[226-B]

[Klamath Reservation]

At the center of concentric circles of concern stands K M 593 602 the natal family.[16] In the myths, parents and offspring and siblings are bound by the strongest affective bonds: in trouble they provide succor and in death, revenge. The obligation transcends abstract ethical considerations. In real life, mutual responsibility reaches out to embrace the extended family, the close consanguineal kindred linked through two or three generations. K M [601] [591] Although kinship terminology acknowledges equally relationships on the maternal and paternal sides, residence practices in general favor the latter. From close kinsmen on both sides come the gifts that set the seal of approval upon the marriage of a member; during his lifetime they share food with him in his need, support him in his quarrels, and assist his avenger should he be slain. At his funeral, it is they, together with friends of the deceased, who are expected to place valuables upon the funeral pyre.

K M 602 621 571 Beyond the sphere of immediate kindred and of friends lies the domain of neighbors and remote relatives. If more central obligations tend to be principally a function of consanguinity, and thus to be ascriptive in character, village relationships and those outside are more frequently based upon performance. K M [577] Here enter those standards of behavior by which a person of good family may be confirmed in position, the poor but worthy rise, and the ne'er-do-well sink in the public view. K M 756 622 621 554 At the head of this loose and shifting status scale stand the shamans and other influential men, the leaders of hamlet groups. On occasion they may meet in an informal village council to concert decisions. Yet the village, which in its spatial limits often blends with adjacent settlements and which dissolves with the turn of the seasons, can exert little constraint upon its members.

K M 62 The prestige of the leaders, the force of public opinion, and checks imposed by rival village interests hold the unruly in line. The principle of self-help and the responsibility of kinsmen may enlarge grievances to feuds if the differences are not soon ended, and thus threaten the very being of the community. To counter such fissive tendencies, leaders mediate disputes and exhort to their fellow villagers the need to maintain harmony.

K M 621 563 • 582 Time may alter the membership of villages. Men frequently seek wives in other communities; and there is considerable intermarriage between Klamath and Modoc and Klamath and Molala,

to say nothing of captured women from Shasta, the Achumawi K M
and Atsugewi of the Pit River region, Paiute, and the tribes 621
beyond the Cascades. Among the Modoc, the villages of the band 582 •
called *gumbatwas* are said to be composite in membership, including 563
Modoc, Klamath, Pit River, and Shasta; and those of the
Upland Klamath consist of Klamath with some Modoc and
Paiute elements.[17]

Allegiance with the village may be partial. If an attack is to K M
be launched, war leaders can find recruits only among those men 621
with proclivity for fighting and an attraction toward the leader. 628
On the other hand, feuds may ignite attacks that are restricted 581
to the family groups concerned. While the myths reveal currents 701
of hostility between affinals, in real life marriage acts to extend
the ramifications of support, often into other communities.

Beyond the village lies the tribelet, an entity that recognizes its K M
being in a territorial name and in a common cause in feuds with 619
other tribelets. In its virtual autonomy this unit marks an extreme K
in band organization within the larger tribe, a quality that was 619
reduced by subsequent tribal integration. For the Klamath there
are six tribelets (see map): (1) The Klamath Marsh people,
who outnumber all the others together; (2) the tiny Agency
Lake group; (3) those of the lower Williamson River; (4) the
Pelican Bay tribelet; (5) the Klamath Falls group; and (6) the
Upland Klamath of the Sprague River valley. The Modoc comprise M
three main groups: (7) that of Lower Klamath Lake, ex- 619
tending to Tule Lake (the *gumbatwas* mentioned above); (8)
those clustered upon the lower Lost River; and (9) the eastern
tribelet, with settlements dispersed as far as Goose Lake. No K
firm evidence exists that these local territorial units are distinguished M 619
by either language or culture, although, as already 726
mentioned, at least two are of composite origin. Each tribelet
seems to have gained a tenuous cohesion through a common
recognition of the worth of several prominent headmen. Between K
tribelets there is sometimes war. Under their formidable leader, 619 726
Kokdinks, the Williamson River group attacked in turn villages
of each of the other lower Klamath tribelets, including that at
Pelican Bay, to which they considered themselves related; and
the prolonged war ended only when the Upland Klamath leader,
Monchnkasgitk, a kinsman, first joined, then slew Kokdinks.[18]

*648 in seventh and ninth grades—the beginning grades respectively
*657 for junior high and high school—was less than half the figure for
87 first grade in the same year. For tribal children, by contrast, the
563 figures for the advanced grades were each almost twice as large as that for the first grade.

On an average, roughly one-half the small number of Klamath children entering high school could be expected to graduate.
[125] That this record was not to be attributed to a difference in intellectual ability is intimated by the results of California mental maturity tests which, as administered to Klamath children as a whole at the fourth grade, yielded normal scores, averaging 96.9. When, however, the same children had reached the eighth grade, their average score had declined to 80.4.[8] A sharp drop in incentive had taken its toll.

The stresses within the school fell unequally upon Klamath boys and girls. Athletic prowess and artistic ability—both often conceived as racially innate and as masculine attributes—gave the boys legitimate avenues to social approval. At puberty, however, Klamath girls were often beginning to develop the physical
[142] massiveness that is so frequent in their racial constitution, but
[562] that at the same time is foreign to American ideals of beauty. Some bore their lot with dignity and poise. Others courted a fleeting favor through promiscuity or took out their resentments in direct assault upon rivals or upon substitute figures. Direct violence against whites occurred in the schools at about this age, and most frequently involved girls. Still others sought alternatives outside the school, dropping out entirely, going away to vocational schools, or entering into early marriages.

*648 Indeed, for many of the tribal youth—boys as well as girls—
*657 confronted by a school experience that grew increasingly irrele-
871 vant as they became older, it was merely a matter of "serving
563 time" until they gained release by attaining the age of eighteen.
• 582 Many Klamath tended to marry young, and there were incentives peculiar to their position. For a girl striving to escape the pressures and dissatisfactions of home life, the regimen of caring for younger siblings, and the boredom and vexation of the school, the importance and security of being a newlywed possessed a
[434] fairyland appeal. For the boy, the trust fund accumulated by
[429] the Agency for each minor, amounting in some instances to

$10,000, constituted an inexhaustible treasure. Ordinarily, this 648*
was placed in his hands only when he had come of age, but with 657*
marriage he attained seniority at once, and it became his. 871

Many a young couple, then, sought a new life in the last few 563
years of high school in an elopement to Reno or Las Vegas. In 582 •
a week or so they returned to take up adult life; and thus to [434]
reconcile their hopes with the social realities of the reservation. [429]
Although they would continue to maintain a degree of camara- [583]
derie with a few of their schoolmates, such intimacy as they had
known across ethnic boundaries was at an end. For the majority
of tribal members, their course and that of their white school-
mates increasingly diverged.

Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have 593
other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are sometimes 855
non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are [581]
frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time, [181]
or to an older relative, or to an elder sibling. If the party occurs in the
household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be
left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may [603]
find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence [155]
and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of
the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one)
or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually
faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloofness.
The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and
both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating
fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little experience [155]
with consistency in role relationships.

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, [602]
amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other
kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting 872
the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax, 861
permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear-cut,
specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not [593]
accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet [181]
these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and [156]
attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu.
In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to [156]
be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly
characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts.
This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture,
but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society.

In many respects the values and skills learned within the household to not adequately 155
prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of 156
regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the household [871]
may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may
throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get
him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time
the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted,
the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in inferiority
is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, contributing
in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebelliousness,
or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation
of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school [563]
years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the [582]
areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites
is not an easy one.

It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child 882
are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child 156
may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete 155
with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he
is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors
cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into
an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high [871]

Susan: Female, Age 24

Background Data

156 Unlike Slim, Susan is not so well liked or respected. The occasion for this is
*159 specific, an unsanctioned pregnancy during her last year in high school and a
[848] more recent marriage to an entirely disreputable Mexican from Utah. This community
evaluation is accentuated because of the very high respect in which her
•[582] own family is held. Everyone expected better of Susan.

[626] Susan has worked as a dishwasher in several cafeterias, both on and off the
reservation, and moved to Utah so as to take a practical nursing course. She
*159 found this training uncongenial, met and married her husband, and they returned
[464] to the reservation when his small business failed. Susan is a high school graduate.

[874] Susan's mode of selecting a husband parallels that of her mother, who met her
husband while hospitalized in New Mexico. Her father by birth is an Apache
*159 Indian, and by cultural affiliation a southwestern United States Spanish-American.
593 Without doubt, he is the most autocratic, stern, demanding, rigid adult male on
the reservation. Although a married woman with children of her own, Susan must
ask her father's permission to use the telephone or to walk downtown. Her mother
was Klamath and very well respected for her stable family life and for her active
participation in many community activities. Susan was extremely close to her
mother until her unexpected death several years ago. They were known as an inseparable
pair and her mother never went out of the house without her. The
mother's death was, perhaps, the major cause of Susan's failure to complete her
nurse's training. Susan's illegitimate pregnancy in high school was a considerable
shock to her mother and is, with her marriage, a continuing source of strain
[155] with her father. Susan evidently feels that her behavior was a contributing
cause for her mother's death. She made a death-bed promise to her mother that
she would not be a loose girl and that she would marry and stay married to one
man. It was shortly thereafter that she married and returned to the reservation
to live with her father. There is much strain within this household, derived
from the relations between father and son-in-law, and from Susan's unsuccessful
efforts to serve two masters, for along with her marital relationship she evidently
[626] was trying to act as a replacement for her deceased mother's role. At the
same time her conduct has alienated her from the church, from family friends,
and from the community.

*159 The contact with Susan was made via her father, who told her that she should
[124] cooperate. Her father's motivation in this was not, as may be supposed, the conviction
that she needed testing because something was wrong with her, but involved
[123] a more general sentiment. He felt somewhat honored to have an "educated
man" visit his house and that such a contact was a good experience for his children.
[593] Susan accepted this like an obedient, dutiful daughter. She came readily,
with no indication of unwillingness, and relations with her were quite good,
perhaps because of the strains of her marginal position and her need to talk
with someone.

*159 Susan seemed an apathetic person whose feelings were dulled. If anything, her
reactions were those of an over-trained, too obedient child. She was not very
157 responsive or active, and would seldom talk except to answer a direct question.
Then she would, frequently with evident pain and anxiety, describe her feelings
and situations tersely and haltingly. Susan clearly wants more than her life
now gives her, but cannot define her present conflicts or see her way clear to

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159
156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from
his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never
[461] worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen.
Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five
[891] school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from
the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at
[592] home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger siblings
may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal
[434] income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly
[657] for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the
bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very
reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit
•582 Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging
company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the
[648] logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually
[221] away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when
drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father
does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household
[593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his
father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion
knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this person
[848] is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity,
which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's
*159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards
156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or
593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting,
and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits
the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls,
and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt
and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common
[421] activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to
one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his belongings,
and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle
for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not
borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which
engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the
father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom
she spends much time.

*159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks
156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the
law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time
[673] loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his
buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom
[512] awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away
from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which
may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to
suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a
future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however,
be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is
free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during
the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of
suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency buildings,
532 which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face
flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also
artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the language
538 fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of
success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration,
assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to
this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes
which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be
the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

556

wealthy individuals. In approximate frequency of mention are slaves, horses, beads—and not always dentalium—food, archers' equipment, furs and hides, especially elk hides, Plains type garments, armor, large houses, buffalo skins, canoes. It is just as interesting to observe what things were not mentioned as valuable, or so to a lesser degree: baskets, nets, mortars, etc. In a word, articles of value in foreign commerce, articles of dress and adornment, of war, ritual, and sustenance, have value; domestic utensils have not. Some of the phrases describing wealthy men are illuminating. A war leader is chosen in part for his riches: he would own five quivers (five is the pattern number); he goes into battle with a quiver under each arm and one on his back. If his bowstring is cut he has another. A rich man has fur blankets, coyote and wolf pelts.

Dentalium shell beads do not function as money here as on the lower Klamath river. They are strung in fathom or half-fathom lengths, but neither length of string nor size of shell is standardized. The longer individual shells are more valuable but no one is known to haggle over the precise length as Yurok and their neighbors do. 436

MARRIAGE

A marriage payment is a social obligation. It is not a negotiated transaction as with the Yurok, Hupa, and Karok, for example, where indeed the social status of the family is measured in exact accord to the sum paid for the bride. Here failure to pay, which can be only a confession of inability, leads only to a lowering in social esteem. It is consonant with this that the bride is in no sense a chattel; she may leave her husband at will, and she certainly cannot be disposed of as a possession. Bride purchase is as inapplicable a term as can be found for the Klamath practice. In the interchange of presents which follows marriage the advantage lies most frequently with the husband's family. Payment constitutes an obligation, a seal of respectability. This is the well-nigh universal situation in North America if payments enter at all; it is a far cry from the commercial, contractual bride purchase of Africa, for example. The peculiarity of the Klamath is that failure to pay constitutes a social stigma. This is clearly explicable as a function of their geographic position, lying between the tribes to the west, with their clear-cut monetary evaluations of social relations, and the tribes of the Great Basin to the east, utterly devoid of any such sentiments. 583 • [171]* [626] [177]

ä'ukckni were sisters from his own settlement on Williamson river above 582
bɛxākse'was, a third was from that town, and the fourth from glā'tapak'is, a 595
mile or so down river. His daughter by the Modoc wife was counted ä'ukckni;
while living at k'taidi she married an ä'ukckni of Yainax.

A gu'mbôt man, Woḳau'k!alla, married two Molala sisters.

Girls usually marry within a year or so after puberty, which is 584
marked, at least among the well-to-do, by a big dance. Betrothals may have been arranged while the couple were yet preadolescent, presents having been exchanged by the families. They are expected to carry out the agreement after the girl's dance, payments being made again. Should one of them die another match may be arranged with the same family, but not of necessity. Poor and rich alike arrange such betrothals.

How far great disparity of age occurs I do not know, but it does [582]
happen that an older man marries a young girl. A shaman for
instance may be given a daughter by a man too poor to reward him [756]
otherwise.

But it must not be thought that there is no choice. On the contrary, the majority of marriages follow the desire of the couples.
Elopements take place and although the levirate is the rule, much 583 •
depends on the widow's willingness. Yet a girl's consent is not necessary. Despite her protests she may be carried to her husband's home. 587
If she runs home she is almost invariably taken back again. That she
would be driven to suicide is doubtful; one informant never heard of [762]
such a thing; another stated she would hang herself and in this event her parents had to return the gifts of the groom.

An orphan girl of du'kwa lived with her mother's brother. She was married 583
against her will to a man of k'taidi. She clung to the ladder of the earthlodge but they pulled her away and dragged her up-river to k'taidi. Next 159
morning she ran home and never went back. Nothing had been paid for her at the time but she was given in return for valuables contributed to the cremation of a relative of hers some time before by her husband's relatives. Immediately after this she married a man at Klamath marsh; whether payment was then made is not remembered.

Elopements occur but payment is so much insisted on as a sign 583
of respectability that parents guard their daughters with great care. This is at least true where the family wealth makes a suitable payment imperative. It is unthinkable that a chief's daughter should be per-
mitted to enter an unceremonious, clandestine union. The poor and 834
forward have little to lose. Modest demeanor is expected of a girl.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

834 836 [881] She dances with downcast eyes in her adolescent rite; she sits apart and does not talk with male visitors at home. A man seen prowling about the camp is shouted away. A girl who does not wish to be molested will go over to her mother to sleep. A father will whip a daughter who has clandestine visitors, and his son for misconduct. No obligations may be assumed for which no payment is made.

583 [836] Despite the fact that elopements are frowned on, clandestine visits and elopements are frequent. The girl's parents may follow a runaway couple and force her to return with them. It is usual however for the families to accept the fact and make gifts in proper form.

583 159 585 The most lavish marriage display ever known was that of Lzlo'ks' only daughter, Go'solülb. They were living at taka'lmakeda during the fishing season when Ski'lüls of Yainax eloped with her. They fled riding double; the horse fell with them while fording the river, but they escaped to Yainax. Soon after the girl returned alone. It took a month to get ready to conduct a proper marriage. Lzlo'ks made the trip across the mountains to Jacksonville to get store goods. A great many people went with them to Yainax, the majority taking gifts of horses, blankets, clothing, or anything they had. One man with nothing better stripped himself of his only shirt. It must be remembered that such Plains shirts were then newly fashionable and hence valuable. They gave the horses they rode there, hoping for reciprocal gifts on which to return. Horses to a total of ten were given the groom's people. They gave horses and other gifts in return. Payment having been made the affair was considered as honorably ended, and as though the groom had sent an emissary in proper order.

583 554 Marriage without payment brings a slur on the children to be cast in the teeth by quarreling women. "Your children are worth nothing; you were not bought." Children taunt each other in the same way. They are respected in proportion to the amount changing hands at their parents' marriage, but this does not mean that a man's life is assessed at this sum. Nor is there any suggestion here that husband and wife are financially accountable to each other for injuries to their children. Marriage payment is prescribed not alone because it fixes social status in a general way but because, as one informant phrased it, it is decidedly unlucky not to make payment. So it is, for the couple have made an unsuccessful start of their social career.

The amount is not prescribed but varies with the wealth of the individuals. A chief gives a slave and more; a poor man buys with food. A chief will not give his daughter for nothing; the groom must
583 continue to bring gifts even after marriage. The valuables customarily exchanged are slaves, horses, blankets, beads, food (pond-lily seed and roots), elk and other hides, and strings of beads. Pat Kane's father gave five fathoms of glass trade beads. It is important to

recognize that the marriage is consummated by a series of gift 583 exchanges and inasmuch as it was said that in the long run the man and his relatives have the advantage, it is clear that this is no outright bride purchase.

583 Giving a girl in marriage is sometimes a means of paying off a social obligation. Considerable property is destroyed at a cremation. This is normally furnished by the relatives of the deceased but in 764 order to do honor a non-relative may contribute beads and other valuables to be consumed on the pyre. The recipient family is under obligation to reciprocate. Should one of the contributing family later want a wife from among them, they must acquiesce. The groom must make payment at the time of marriage, however. That no payment had been made in the case cited above undoubtedly explains why the runaway bride was not forced to return to her husband.

586 Possibly the sum must be repaid in the event of separation, at least if the wife leaves the husband. Probably the time element is important; a marriage soon terminated means restoring the *status quo;* in one of long duration this is impossible.

584 A man sends a friend to sound the girl's people on their willingness and the price expected. This man is chosen for his forwardness; he may be a relative but never a brother or father. He carries a bundle of sticks representing the gifts offered, which if successful he leaves, though they are not used further. The girl's father consults his wife before agreeing. 584 Next day or as soon as the girl's people can get ready their gifts and contributions of food they take their 585 daughter to the groom.[66] The groom's relatives have gathered meanwhile, collecting their gifts in the groom's home. The exchange takes place within the lodge, each party putting down its gifts beside the other seated opposite. The gifts from the bride's side, at least, commonly include clothing (presumably the Plains type), pond-lily seed, and roots of various sorts. The payment now made on behalf of the groom includes the promised articles. Speeches are made by the parents of both, admonishing them to live in harmony. Payment for a bride is called woḳo'wi, the reciprocal gifts, i'wi.

It is difficult to say just how formal are the visits that follow marriage; at least one or two are usual, if not prescribed for the well-to-do among whom further payments by the groom are expected.

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[66] In a Modoc (or Klamath?) song recorded by Gatschet (Songs of the Modoc Indians, 27, 29) a bride is carried on her brother's back. As Gatschet points out, carrying the bride is a custom of northerly tribes.

177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
174 only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
[622] The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
[721] carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-holding
[567] existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their distribution
177 established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kinship
terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
[622] custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[619] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

• [583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctiveness
101 from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
105 to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some northwestern
influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

If we look for elements peculiarly Klamath, they are difficult to 171*
find. At best there is only the regularity with which seances occur at 756
midwinter, and even here we do not know with certainty that this
does not occur elsewhere. Further, if we feel that this regularity is due to recurrent possession, this merges with general Northwest Coast practice, and its uniqueness disappears. The peculiarity of the Klamath complex, then, rests only in the specific combination of widely distributed elements that they have effected, a combination known nowhere else in exactly this form.

THE MARRIAGE COMPLEX

Social relations among the Klamath, even more than the shaman- 105
istic practices, are clearly explicable as a function of their geographic position. They are most clearly crystallized in the matters of chieftainship, slaveholding, concepts of wealth, and the relative social standing of shaman and chief, but especially in their marital relations. Household and village groupings, puberty rites and analogous customs, have much less definite or peculiar form among them. For this reason, the discussion which follows will be confined largely to the earlier group of topics. As the most complex situation is that surrounding marriage, I will analyze this first.

While marriage among the Klamath is contracted by purchase, it 583 •
is not a negotiated transaction. Payment is socially obligatory. It is
a seal of respectability and in a rough way the amount changing hands [554]
is a measure of the social pretensions of the families involved. Hence clandestine matches are severely frowned on. No obligation may be assumed for which payment is not forthcoming. Yet such payment does not fix the status nor the value of an individual with any precision. For example, the purchase price of a murdered man's mother or that of his bride never enters consciously in assessing his blood price. Failure to pay for a bride is a blot not easily erased.

It must be remembered that the reciprocal gifts from the bride's 583
family frequently outweigh the purchase price. Further, the bride is 431
in no sense a chattel, but free to leave her husband at will, he having
but slight recourse to recover his gifts. Nor is a wife obligated to 581
bear children to her husband, nor does their birth cancel the marriage
debt. In adultery it is clear that a man has no eye to the monetary 837
value of his wife's affections. He kills the lover; to take payment is
unthinkable. It does not appear that a marriage brings about a con- 000

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

It does not appear that a marriage brings about a con-

587 tractual union between the families. The levirate is customary but not obligatory, and the sororate only occasional. It is true that the husband's brothers may take exception to her marriage with another, but this may mean only that they look upon it as an affront to their brother's memory.

582 Marriage is denied only between blood relatives. There is no village exogamy nor trace of restrictions or preferences of any other order. At best the evidence suggests some tendency to marry within the tribal subdivision, but this may mean only that contacts are less frequent outside of this group.

584 585 The formalities of marriage prescribe a series of visits with an exchange of gifts. The prospective groom sends a male emissary with a bundle of sticks representing his offering. The bride's family proceed to the groom's house where they exchange gifts with the family of the groom. In kind and in quantity these are modest indeed when measured by Northwest Coast standards. A month later the couple and the groom's family return the visit, when again gifts are exchanged. Beyond these two, further formal visits are made only by the social pretentious. These formalities may be frequently initiated while the couple are still pre-adolescent, the bride being carried to her husband's home after her puberty dance.

583 *171 The general nature of the Klamath marriage relation smacks strongly of the Northwest Coast. This is apparent in the premium attached to purchase, to a lesser extent in the weighting accorded the amount of the purchase price, in the reciprocal nature of the gifts, and the series of formal visits before the affair is considered terminated. What is absent here is the notion that rank and privileges of a tangible nature are acquired by a marriage purchase.

This can best be brought out by instituting a series of comparisons with other tribes. For this purpose I shall select only a limited number of cases. For one thing data from Oregon tribes are almost wholly lacking, and those for California and Washington are both scattered and scanty.

Throughout California, save on the eastern border of the state, there is an appearance of purchase. But in reality it is only a presentation of gifts of no great amount as an earnest of the son-in-law's good will, a matter of etiquette rather than a stipulated price. The formality of giving varies as much as its conventional expression. With some, bride service is in order; with others, the parents-in-law must reciprocate the gifts. It is everywhere little more than an

observance, far removed from the set contractual relations established 171*
by a Northwest Coast marriage. It is nowhere an occasion for the 583
display of wealth, and social prestige is not fixed by it.[586]

Among the Basin tribes there is not even this semblance of purchase. 171*
What these people desire in a son-in-law is a good provider,
who normally takes up residence with his wife's people. His incidental 581
services can hardly be construed as payment in any sense. The groom 585
slips into their life as unobtrusively as possible. Ceremonial is almost wholly lacking; at most a feast in celebration.[587]

The situation in the Plains is not far distant, resembling rather 171*
that in California. In general the approach to the northwestern concept
consists only in an exchange of gifts. The groom's family bring 583
gifts to the home of the bride, receiving an equivalent, sometimes to 585
a greater amount. Married life begins at once with the bride's family to whom the son-in-law renders services. But it is doubtful that either the gifts or the services are looked on as specific payment. Rather they serve to establish friendly relations and no more. Large amounts of property might be given for the honor of the act, but it was equally common for an old man to marry his daughter to a suitable man to obtain a provider for the family, no compensation being thought necessary. While some ostentation is inevitable in a Plains ceremonial act, there is here no lavish display of wealth. Equally foreign to their thought is the idea of social status fixed by a transfer of property.[588]

If we turn from these to the Northwest Coast tribes, a very different picture is presented. We need go no farther north than the Kwakiutl for a typical expression of attitudes. The rank of a family, the social status of a child, are clearly defined in a regimented series depending largely on primogeniture coupled with wealth. Marriage is a purchase conducted on the same plan as the purchase of all ceremonial symbols of exceptional value. Its mechanism is the potlatch, the ceremonious bestowal of wealth on a social rival to enhance one's own status, with the certainty of its return several fold if the rival is to maintain his rank undiminished. A man buys in this fashion the rank and social privileges of his bride's family for the children of this marriage or heirs or relatives whoever they be. When the bridal price is ultimately returned two or three-fold, the contractual relation is at an end. The groom has the obvious advantage in this transfer of

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[586] See for example, Dixon, Northern Maidu, 239; Kroeber, Handbook, 492.

[587] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 275.

[588] Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre, 12; McClintock, Old North Trail, 184; Grinnell, The Cheyenne, 137.

*171 wealth in addition to the privileges that accrue by his investment. So
583 little is the bride concerned and so great the emphasis on the acquisition of new prerogatives for his family, that a man may carry out the
585 fiction of a marriage where there is no bride.

In the desire to keep the privileges within the family, a man of high degree may even espouse his younger brother's daughter.

Normally in return for the huge purchase price, the wife is given him as a first instalment. The heraldic crests of her family, its social privileges, and a considerable amount of property are given later to members of the husband's family. This repayment annuls the marriage; the wife is now free to return to her people, but should she choose to stay it is customary to make a new payment to the father-in-law.

The chief who desires marriage for himself or his son invites the aid of his townsmen in a matter of mutual interest; "our bride" is to be acquired, "all the tribes [lineages] have married my daughter" is her father's phrase. Four men are dispatched to the bride's town to offer the huge bride price, four hundred blankets and more. When the groom's party arrive, their spokesmen with stereotyped speech measure out the blankets, which are carried into the father-in-law's house. Like most Kwakiutl ceremonies, the marriage ritual is interwoven with myth; at this point the son-in-law and his party are put to a test which has mythical background. They must rush through torches into the house, or they are tried by a great fire and shown the sea monster whose mask spews out the bones of unsuccessful suitors. The father-in-law now makes his first repayment in self-depreciatory manner, two hundred blankets, a gesture derogatory of his rival's lavish giving. These the groom promises his followers in the name of his future heir. Soon after, when the father-in-law is ready to make full repayment, he visits the other with his followers. He makes a symbolical gift indicating the wealth he returns, the copper plates, the house and carvings the son-in-law demands, his own title acquired in marriage, and his ceremonial office and dance in the secret societies, which are to go to his grandson. The bride is brought out to have her valuable finery placed on the shoulders of the groom. Next day the young man distributes the wealth among his tribesmen in recompense for their aid at the marriage, and to start the wealth on an interest-bearing round once more. In doing so he assumes the proud titles acquired from his wife's father and bestows them too on others.

The marriage of those of lower rank is doubtless analogous but on a smaller scale.[509] 171*

I shall trace the elements of this marriage complex from this area southward, in order to make clear their relation to the customs of the Klamath. At the outset I will deal with the interrelated attitudes toward wealth and rank, marriage as an expression of it, and local exogamy dictated by it. Later I will return to a comparison of the marriage ceremony itself, to the levirate and sororate as expressions of family contracts, and to related phenomena such as reactions to adultery. 583 585

Purchase, Rank, and Exogamy

The marital customs of other Vancouver island tribes duplicate those of the Kwakiutl in all essentials. Their divergence is in a less sharp definition of rank and prerogative and diminished elaborateness of marriage ceremonialism. This diminution can be traced by successive steps to the Klamath and beyond. Not only are the attitudes of the island tribes respecting rank and wealth analogous to the Kwakiutl, but marriage is the same kind of mechanism for their transfer. We may also assume here the kind of local exogamy implied for the Kwakiutl. As marriages with relatives are normally prohibited, and mates of suitable rank and wealth are not to be found in the same tribe or village, a practice of local exogamy follows. While there is no prohibition against marriage within the community, the vast majority of alliances must be outside, since pretension to rank sinks deep in the several strata of society. There is at least some studied exogamy on the part of those of highest rank for whom foreign alliances mean increased prestige. 171* 582

As expressed by Sapir "among the more southern tribes intermarriage is prohibited only between such as are demonstrably related by blood, even if fairly remotely so. Owing to the structure of the village community, this would in many cases mean that there are few persons in a village that one is legally entitled to marry; but it is important to note that the village community as such need not be exogamous, that is, does not specifically prohibit intermarriage among its members."[510] [114]

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[509] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 358, 421, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 776, 1344, Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 116.

[510] Sapir, Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes, 367.

*171 The alternative to this exogamic practice was marriage with blood 582 kindred. While it was generally frowned on, an exception was permitted if no other mate was available. This is an attitude different from that of the Kwakiutl, who, desiring to keep privileges within the family, married his niece or cousin. When there is no available mate [114] outside the blood group, a Klallam may marry his first cousin. Eells implies that a Twana (and Klallam?) always sought a wife first "within a certain circle of his relatives."[611]

There is no adequate information for western Washington tribes save from the Klallam and more moderately from the Chinook. Inasmuch as their attitudes and practices coincide in large degree, it is safe to assume that they are representative of the intervening territory.

Both Klallam and Chinook view wealth as a criterion of rank and its lavish display in the wedding ceremonial as an index of social pretension. Marriage with a person of lower rank is unthinkable. *171 It is apparent that most Klallam brides are paid for, yet elopements occur and slave alliances are formed. Once such marriages are con- 556 tracted the parents make no effort to separate the couple, but a girl who • 583 marries in this way is not highly respected. Whether payments are 585 made following elopements to legitimatize them, we are not told. Upper-class Klallam have a definite preference for extra-tribal mar- *171 riages, especially with the people of Vancouver island. Local exogamy is even more general, holding for all ranks, for in a record of fifty- 582 seven marriages only five were with co-villagers.[612] Purchase, or its *171 simulation, is so obviously the normal Chinook procedure also that even a successful elopement will be nullified unless a small sum is 583 paid. And these sticklers for form go through the orthodox ritual on this occasion as though the marriage was not yet consummated. For a man too poor to pay, there is no recourse but in matrilocal residence with bride service.[613]

There are but scattered observations on the tribes of the intervening territory but they suggest conformable practices. Since we learn that common people among the Makah paid a small amount for a bride without any ceremony, purchase must have been the regular form for all classes of society. Yet as elopements were frequent and are said always to have ended amicably, this suggests an approxima-

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[611] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 241; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 655.

[612] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 241 f.

[613] Boas, Chinook Texts, 251; Franchère, Narrative, 254.

tion to the Klallam situation and perhaps the payments made in such 171*
cases by Chinook. Marriage occurred in or out of the tribe, but with
no near relative, which includes fourth cousins.[314] Caste stratification 583
was as strong among the Quinault as among their northern neighbors, 171*
and marriages had to be contracted with persons of equivalent status.
This brought it about that tribal or at least village exogamy was 565
insisted on for chiefs. The sentiment was nearly as strong for commoners 582
as well, although in their case emphasis was on the fact that
all co-villagers, or nearly all, were related; marriage of relatives of
even remote degree being forbidden. Not only might a man normally
not marry in his own village, but for the same reason he could not
ordinarily marry in that from which his mother came. The upper [583]
class always purchased wives from other noble families; to marry
below one's rank was disgraceful in the highest degree. If a common
man wanted to marry a chief's daughter, the chief would pay someone
to kill him. In contrast to the Klallam desire in extra-tribal marriages,
the Quinault had no preference for northern tribes. All marriages,
of whatever rank, were made by purchase, that is by the
exchange of gifts of high value. Elopements were common, yet this 171*
was theft and therefore dangerous, for the girl's father might kill the
man, whose relatives could not retaliate. The bride who eloped must 583
be paid for, in fact the price then demanded was inclined to be
exorbitant. Legitimatizing of marriage was Quinault theory at least, [848]
yet illegitimate children were many and not looked on with contempt.[315]

Purchase of the same order appears among the Puget Sound tribes, 171*
at least for the wealthy, that is the upper classes. The interchange
of gifts was not compulsory, so that poor people married on agreement 565
alone or deferred payment until they were able. The general 583
impression obtained from the account of these people (Nisqually,
Snohomish, Snuqualmi, Skokomish, and Suquamish) is that class distinctions
did not cut so deep as on Vancouver island and coastal
Washington. Differences of wealth were not so great, hence, comparatively, 171*
wealth and its function in marriage were not emphasized
to the same degree. The exogamic habit is present however but
apparently confined rather to the upper class. Even fourth and fifth
cousins could not marry.[316] The Nisqually maintain that tribal
exogamy held for all; one who broke the rule was not only disgraced

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[314] Swan, Indians of Cape Flattery, 11 ff.

[315] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925, 1926.

[316] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 34-38; Spier, Nisqually field notes, 1922.

*171 but heavily fined. "Generally speaking, these Indians seek their wives
582 from among other tribes than their own. . . . . It seems to be a
matter of pride, in fact, to unite the blood of several different ones in their own persons. . . . . With the chiefs, this is almost always the case."[317]

*171 Marriage by purchase was the usual form among the Nez Percé,
583 but it is said that a marriage by agreement because of the groom's
capabilities was a more desirable and honored form. This is a new
585 note, but it was characteristic of Plains tribes to the east. The purchase was effected with little ceremony. Bride and groom were not ordinarily members of the same village.[318] The exogamic habit here
*171 had not the same basis as among the tribes previously discussed. It
seems due solely to the Nez Percé habit of forbidding marriages to
582 relatives of even remote degree, which necessarily resulted in village exogamy. I am unable to find evidence of exogamic practice farther to the east, but will return later to analogous forms of wife purchase.

*171 To return to the Columbia river: the Wishram had as strong a sentiment for caste and wealth as their down-river relatives, the Chinook
582 proper. Rank and wealth were here not quite synonymous, for chiefs
583 were not always the wealthiest individuals. Marriage was always
with one of the same rank, so that the children would have as high
556 standing as their parents. Payment was insisted on in every case;
583 even in the case of marriage with a deceased brother's wife the
[587] procedure was gone through, else the children were as "nothing," i.e., not legitimate. The feeling was that the marriage must be regularized by payment, else the contractants were the subject of odium, and furthermore the marriage would not be permanent. So strong was the feeling, that a lower-class man guilty of adultery with a chief's daughter or other close relation would be killed; not for his crime as such, but because he was too poor to make proper recompense in marriage. Even constructive adultery, such as accidentally touching another man's wife, was heavily fined. The insistence seems to have been on the regularity of the form, for it was freely acknowledged that the gifts made on either side were about equal. The marriage of very young children was arranged and carried out in full form. Chiefs and wealthy men marry women of other tribes, but marriage within the village was prohibited to no one save a blood relative.[319] Much the same situation is implied for other Upper Chinook.

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[317] Gibbs, Tribes of Western Washington, 197.

[318] Spinden, Nez Percé, 250; Farrand, Notes on the Nez Percé Indians, 246.

[319] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

From the Columbia river southward the exogamic practice extended 171* among the coastal tribes as far as the Hupa and some form of the 582 purchase feature to the Pomo. The caste sentiment of the northern 583 tribes existed on the Oregon coast, with its concomitant local exogamy to maintain caste in marriage. This is implied for the Alsea, where there was "a decided preference for marriage with women from another tribe. This is explicitly stated of the nobility. At the same time there is evidence that the men did not care to go too far afield for their wives, for in such specific cases as could be cited, the favored tribes were the Yaquina and Siuslaw, whose languages are almost identical with Alsea and who regarded each other as closely akin. It is more likely that the exogamous tendency was local and extended to villages rather than to tribes."[580] In general culture the Coos resembled the Alsea, hence it may be presumed that the same exogamic sentiments prevailed. This is the more certain since the tribes to the south, the northwestern Californians, were also locally exogamous by habit. Coos marriages were apparently all made by purchase, often being those of children. The amount transferred was pitifully small in comparison with bride prices north and south. How far there was proprietary interest in the purchase, may be judged by the fact that the husband would demand the return of the bride price from the parents of an adulterous wife.[581]

While caste sentiment was not so definitely crystallized among the [565] Takelma, distinctions were drawn between rich and poor, freeman and slave. "There is no well-defined rule against marriage within the village, but as it must very often have happened that practically all the residents of a village were related [marriage of relatives being forbidden], it was customary to look beyond the village for a mate, and in many cases even to marry into some neighboring tribe of alien speech, like the Shasta or the Galice Creek Athabascans." But it was as true here as to the north that such extra-local marriages were dictated by the necessity of finding a wealthy mate, for "the social status of the children depended very largely, of course, on the price paid for the mother, so that poor people's children were looked down upon as not much better than dogs. . . . . The indebtedness of the husband to his father-in-law did not entirely cease with the initial purchase of the wife." He was obliged to visit him later with further gifts and to pay him again on the birth of the first child. "This pay-

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[580] *Farrand*, Notes on the Alsea, 242.

[581] St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 26.

*171 ment was considered as equivalent to the buying of the child." Here
582 too childhood marriages often occurred.[552]

• 583 East of the Cascades among the Klamath, social stratification was
far more fluid. There were rich and poor but the caste feeling was only
*171 slightly developed. Indeed the sentiment may not be more than a
582 century old, for the impression was derived that differences of wealth
583 were slight and rank absent prior to the opening of direct contact with
565 the Columbia river tribes. This does not date back of the opening of
the nineteenth century. Marriage here was indifferently within or without the local community, but inasmuch as there was no sentiment dictating marriage with one of equivalent wealth and rank, such exogamy as does occur is random and without purpose. The only prescription is that some payment must be made. The amount was relatively small and no great weight attached to its size as indicative of rank, or pretension to rank.

*171 The Northern Maidu have no general rule of marriage within or
582 without the village. Of the Sacramento valley division however it is
583 observed that "there would appear to have been a slightly greater
practice of local exogamy." The reason for this is not clear unless it be that co-villagers were commonly related, for these people have no feeling for distinctions of rank based on wealth.[553] Whether the Southern Maidu had a similar exogamic tendency does not appear. There is however some simulation of purchase, since the girl's father received more than the boy's in the exchange of gifts.[554]

*171 Local exogamy of a type affiliated with northwestern forms was
582 not found in this direction beyond the Maidu. Exogamy did occur
among the south-central Californians, but it was the exogamy of totemic moieties, which was local exogamy only to the extent that the totemic groups were localized. Thus it happened that the majority of Yokuts marriages were locally exogamic. The most northerly of such tribes were the Miwok.[555] Since the habit of local exogamy was so slightly developed among them, it is doubtful that the Maidu case should be interpreted as an imitation of their practice. I should rather hold that it is to be taken as a result of the prohibition of marriage with relatives, hence not a reflection of either northern or southern influences.

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[552] Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 268, 274.

[553] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 230, 240.

[554] Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 36.

[555] Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 141; Kroeber, Handbook, 457, 493.

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To return to the coastal groups of northern California, the Yurok and their neighbors had attitudes toward social standing, wealth, and marriage appreciably like those of the Northwest Coast tribes. For the Yurok every social relation was nicely valued and the basis of them all was the marriage settlement. Social status was proportionate to a man's wealth and the amount he was willing to pay for the mother of his children. His own life was valued at the amount paid for his mother. Partial payment or a small sum put him at the bottom of the social scale. The price itself was definitely fixed. Marriage was outside the kinship group and commonly outside the village, but not necessarily so. Kroeber represents the smaller villages as practicing exogamy by reason of kinship of their inhabitants, but it is at least as likely, in view of the exaggerated importance of wealth, that a sufficiently large bride price could be obtained in many instances only from men of other towns.[586] An analogous situation may be inferred for the Tolowa, whose little known culture closely resembled that of the Yurok. On one fundamental point we have the verdict of the Yurok, who "regard the Tolowa as rich, a distinction they accord to few others of the people known to them." Inference also places the Karok in the same category, for in all other known aspects of culture they were as one with Yurok and Hupa.[587] The Hupa attitudes in the matters we are concerned with here were so nearly identical with the Yurok that to cite them would be but to repeat the Yurok case. At one point there is some difference, yet one only of degree. Our authority states briefly that women went regularly to their husbands' villages on marriage, implying that this was a uniform practice, or nearly so.[588] Yet in actual practice it may mean no more than the Yurok habit, local exogamy based on kindred exclusion and the desire for a wealthy alliance. (If the marriages were as regularly exogamous as we are told, then I can see no reason why we should not describe this as a system of unnamed patrilineal local sibs.)

The lower Klamath attitude is also that of the Shasta. It is essential that a wife be paid for in order to fix the value of the children. Even elopements are condoned if the bride price is paid later. Blood money for death or injury is equal to the sum paid for a man's mother. The price varied widely but tends to be fixed at a value somewhat less than that of the Yurok. The wealthier families, who arrange infant betrothals, ordinarily choose the girl from another village.

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[586] Kroeber, Handbook, 28, 42.

[587] Kroeber, op. cit., 98, 108, 126.

[588] Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 54, 56.

*171 Poorer men offer the bride price directly, or may serve their parents- 583 in-law in lieu of payment.[529]

Purchase appears again among the Sinkyone, and perhaps pre- [582] vailed in the intervening region. By no means so wealthy as their [554] northern neighbors, values were correspondingly less. Nevertheless [114] we observe something of the Yurok attitude in a definite value attached to a man's life. A wife was seemingly paid for, although Kroeber suggests that this may have been in the nature of a gift to be reciprocated rather than a formal purchase price. If this is so, it suggests only the practice of the generality of more southerly Californians. [848] But inasmuch as illegitimate children were paid for, the suggestion is rather of an approximation to the northwestern norm. Something of the same regularity of purchase, with reciprocal giving, is implied by Yuki statements.[530]

*171 The Huchnom and Pomo attitude toward marriage did not differ appreciably from more southerly Californians. The exchange of mar- 554 riage gifts can hardly be described as true purchase, but appears rather "an expression of good will and dignified but affectionate etiquette." Loeb observes, however, that the man's family gave more than it received in return. It would therefore not be possible to see in it certain affiliation with northwestern customs, were it not that both people prescribed a series of gift-bearing visits of the northwestern type to consummate the marriage. I shall subsequently trace such formal visiting from the Kwakiutl southward to this point. As to exogamy, there was none; marriages were contracted indifferently within the community, outside it, or with foreigners. In neither group were there serious rankings based on wealth which might prescribe a studied attitude toward maintaining it in marriage.[531]

The typical central Californians (Wintun, Miwok, Yokuts, and Costanoan) register negative to the characteristics of northwest marriage. Social stratification of any range and rigidity was absent, wealth unimportant, marriage gifts were presents of friendship however much formality demanded their bestowal, formal visiting seemingly unknown, and exogamy casual, certainly not for the express purpose of maintaining social position. In a word marriage does not function to uphold social stratification nor do the northwestern rites appear.[532]

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[529] Dixon, Shasta, 261 f.

[530] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 146, 179.

[531] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 210, 254; Gifford, Clear Lake Pomo Society, 310; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 277.

[532] Compare Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 357, 456, 469, 493.

Marriage practices of the Northwest Coast type can be traced into 171* the northern Plains. At least this appeals to me as the most rational 581 explanation for the similarities which Crow, Hidatsa, and Assiniboin 583 show and for their divergence from the general Plains custom. It will be well to define the latter again. Such typical tribes as Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Blackfoot viewed with favor marriages in which the son-in-law was chosen for his capacity as a man of honor, of war-like prowess, and a good provider. The father-in-law's desire was commonly to secure his services. Gifts were exchanged, but rather for the honor of the act than with thought of definite purchase and the return of an investment.

The anomaly of Crow attitudes is most intelligible, in view of their 171* geographic position in the northwestern Plains, as ultimately derived 582 from the Northwest Coast. The most honorable form of marriage for the Crow was by purchase, which gave to the woman a position of 583 respect beyond that of any of her unpurchased sisters whose matches were in contrast mere elopements. The young man presented horses to her male relatives and meat to her mother. There was no band exogamy here, although marriages may have occurred outside the group almost as frequently as among the Nez Percé.[333]

It will be observed that the Crow attitude is appreciably like that 171* of the Nez Percé. That the Nez Percé placed a higher value on a marriage 583 contracted because of a groom's capabilities, the Crow on purchase, is no argument against historic connection between the two. Both tribes recognize marriages of both forms; wherein they both differ from the majority of Plains peoples, is that they have marriage by purchase, and even stress it. As a matter of fact, the difference [114] may be really one of formulation on the part of the ethnographers. Lowie's account of the Crow is so circumstantially detailed as to leave no doubt of their attitudes, but Spinden's description of Nez Percé marriage is of the briefest. If he was impressed by the Plains-like character of the culture of this Plateau tribe, his formulation may well have stressed this non-northwestern marriage form. It may also be that the history of marriage in the two tribes has taken opposite directions. Possibly the Crow, recently acquiring the purchase habit, stressed the novel form as giving distinction to marriage; the Nez Percé, possibly with purchase as the original form, took over Plains marriage regulations with a deal of other culture and stressed what was the novelty from their viewpoint.

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[333] Lowie, Social Life of the Crow, 220, Notes on the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, 74.

*171 582 583 It is also conceivable that purchase among the Crow is not related to the Northwest Coast forms, but that it is a derivative of their matriliny. That is, the desire to become affiliated with a particular matrilinear lineage may have been met by insistence on purchase, the groundwork for this being present in the common Plains custom of exchanging gifts. But there is nothing otherwise in Crow life to suggest that lineage as such was important.

*171 583 Among other Plains tribes possible analogies to northwestern practice are found only among Hidatsa and Assiniboin. "The Hidatsa and Crow agree in considering marriage by purchase as the most honorable form from the woman's point of view; but among the Hidatsa I got the impression, which I did not receive among the Crow, that it was somewhat discreditable for a man to have to buy a wife," for it implies a lack of personal qualifications. This attitude disposes of the suggestion made in the last paragraph, for the Hidatsa are also matrilinear. This is a duplication of the Nez Percé case; in contrast to the Crow, it may be said that here the novelty, purchase, if indeed it is a novelty, has not acquired the prestige found among the Crow. [114] There is nothing in Lowie's brief account to suggest formality in purchase, and in fact such procedure would appear quite at odds with their attitude. Matthews' statement confirms the absence of formal purchase. Nor is the Assiniboin case one of outright purchase. There are however features which suggest the Northwest Coast. As with other Plains tribes the marriage is accompanied by an exchange of gifts. Here the gifts of the bride's family were distributed among the groom's relatives, who return next day "returning to the donor some gifts of superior value to those received," these then being carried to the girl's group. This is faintly reminiscent of the potlatch. Further, the first gift-bearing party was that of the bride, whereas the Plains habit at large is for the young man's party first to make contribution. The impression gleaned from the account of the Assiniboin is a certain formality in the terms of settlement and in the marriage processions somewhat at variance with the generality of Plains marriage habits.[584] Typifying these, Beckwith's brief statement concerning the Dakota implies only the exchange of gifts, although in one form of marriage the groom offers horses until the bride's father is satisfied with the amount.[585]

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[584] Lowie, Notes on the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, 46, The Assiniboine, 40; Matthews, Ethnology of the Hidatsa, 52.

[585] Beckwith, Customs of the Dakotahs, 255.

The Amount of the Bride Price

Analogous comparisons may be made of the quantity and value of the bride price. This is somewhat difficult for lack of precise data, but such as exist make it clear that the largest amount was that of the Kwakiutl, with diminishing values toward the peripheries of the area. A further difficulty arises from the fact that from the Columbia river northward we know only the amounts paid by members of the chiefly class. We are concerned here not alone with the gifts made by the groom, but with those given in return by the bride's relatives.

It is not easy to give an adequate notion of the huge quantity of wealth which the Kwakiutl gave in the course of their marriage exchange. A few random observations make clear that it was a vast amount; four hundred blankets and other valuables were presented on the groom's behalf, and in return the bride's father made gifts of larger value, coppers valued at thousands of blankets, his house and carvings, "a large stock of food, blankets, boxes, dishes, spoons, kettles, bracelets, coppers, and the ceremonial box lids." In addition there were the intangibles, privileges, titles, and crests. Such were the valuables transferred on the marriage of the chiefly class, which represent of course an upper limit. The price to one of lesser rank was inevitably much smaller, but in any case a very real aggregation of wealth.[536]

Contrast with this the meager amount exchanged by the Coos, where the usual price was ten fathoms of beads, a couple of blankets, an otter hide or a canoe; and the Crow, horses to the bride's male relatives, meat to her mother.

It may be well to brief all relevant data. The Klallam gave blankets, shell money, and several canoe-loads of food; on Puget sound, gifts of like value, including a fine canoe in one instance, in another forty blankets, two slaves, and a canoe, and in a third, five horses and $50 in cash. The Twana gave money, blankets, guns, horses, etc., to a total value of $100 to $400. The same lavishness, although moderate in comparison with Kwakiutl, is implied for the Chinook. The Wishram gave horses, packs of blankets, etc., and kept the dishes of the marriage feast. In return they received baskets, beads, slaves, and a good horse. A trunk full of clothing and other finery was exchanged.

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[536] Professor Boas tells me that he was never able to get an account of a commoner's marriage.

*171 583 622 South of the Columbia river the quantity was quite moderate, even where its value in native eyes was high. For the Tillamook, the price was generally one adult and one child slave. The Coos value has been cited above. A chief's daughter came higher, being usually bought with woodpecker scalps, valuable for their use in dance caps. Such scalps formed valuables from this point to northern California. A Takelma paid dentalia and the like in moderation; the return was baskets, women's hats, camas, dried salmon, and other such household articles. The impression I derived among the Klamath was that the quantity was somewhat greater, approaching somewhat Wishram practice. A chief gave a slave, horses, blankets, beads, food, elk and other hides, but not nearly so much as my Wishram informant implied. One poorer man gave five fathoms of beads for his bride.

*171 583 Values drop appreciably among the Maidu; the northern groups made a gift of beads, deer, or gave nothing; the southerner gave shell money or other valuables such as blankets, and in return obtained baskets and other property.

On the northern coast of California values rise high again. The Yurok price was standardized. For a wealthy girl, ten strings of beads, fifty woodpecker scalps, an obsidian blade, a boat, etc., up to $300 in value, were given, with a return of ten baskets of dentalia, otter skins, a canoe or two, several deerskin blankets, and other valuables. A poor girl was valued at eight strings of beads and a boat. Hupa values may have been the same or somewhat less; Karok certainly were, five to ten strings. The Hupa groom gave woodpecker scalps, several strings of shell money, to a value of $30 to $100. Presumably he also gave articles of the kind returned to him, dresses, weapons, baskets, and food. The average Shasta price is set at one or two deerskins, fifteen or twenty long dentalia, ten or fifteen strings of disk beads, and twenty or thirty woodpecker scalps. Values dwindled again markedly south of here; the Sinkyone price was less than that of Yurok or Hupa, shell beads alone are mentioned for the Huchnom, and presumably neither group gave more, or much more, than the Pomo. The Pomo gave beads and deerskin and in return received baskets, or, according to another account, gave food, beads, deerskin or rabbit-skin blankets, receiving in return baskets, belts, and food.

Eastward of the Columbia river values were again low, even if measured in terms of the lesser quantity of valuables possessed by

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these people. The Nez Percé gave a horse, elk teeth, and similar articles; the return gift comprised bags, food, and the like. Hidatsa and Assiniboin prices were similar to those of the Crow noted above. A Hidatsa man gave horses to the girl's parents, who reciprocated with as many or sometimes more; an Assiniboin gave one or more horses, received pemmican and twelve pairs of moccasins, and then gave somewhat more than he had received.

The impression derived from these data, despite their paucity, is that the bridal payments were made on a lavish scale as far southward and eastward as the Columbia river peoples. Beyond this they were meager in comparison. The region north of the Columbia was one in which material possessions bulked large. Wealth was a matter not alone of relative values but of quantity. To be sure the material wealth of the Washington tribes was by no means so great as that of the Kwakiutl. I get the impression that there the bride price was high, relatively as well as quantitatively, in comparison with the southerners. A second focal area of relatively high values appears again in northwestern California, as Kroeber pointed out, rising above those of coastal Oregon and the region to the south. It is not easy to define relative value, but it does appear when we realize that the material possessions of the Pomo and the Crow cannot have been far different from those of the Yurok. The higher values, both quantitatively and relatively, may be viewed as a corollary of a social structure dependent for its standards on wealth.

We note incidentally the articles that constituted valuables in bride purchase. Woven blankets (in the historic period, trade blankets) figure as far south as the Oregon coast, dentalium shells beyond to the south as far as Sinkyone and perhaps Huchnom, and southeastward to Klamath and Shasta. Woodpecker scalps are part of the marriage price in California, extending northward to Coos on the coast, to Shasta in the interior. The significance of this restricted distribution, for example, is that the Klamath made use of woodpecker scalps for headbands in California fashion but never mentioned them as having money value. Horses are of course associated with the Plains forms of purchase, but are mentioned as far northwestward as Klamath, Nez Percé, Wishram, and southern Puget sound. To be sure the horse was not carried beyond Puget sound, or there were few until after 1850.

*171 591 ern, and the foothill groups), Eastern and Northern Pomo. Thereafter it was not of necessity patrilocal, for residence might be continued with the woman's unit. Outright matrilocal habits appeared among the Sacramento Valley Maidu (although the majority of marriages were there patrilocal from the outset), Huchnom, and Yokuts. Southern California was again an area of patrilocal habits. Great Basin practice conformed with that of north central California; temporary matrilocal residence for Paviotso, Southern Paiute (?), Uintah Ute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni. Northern Plains tribes were generally patrilocal: Crow, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin. Matrilocal residence as well occurred among the last two. Hidatsa indulge in temporary matrilocal residence, after which there is no fixed rule.

Summary

*171 554 556 We may now review the data detailed above. Sharply crystallized distinctions of rank and the importance of wealth in establishing them, wealth itself assuming real proportions, center in this area in the Kwakiutl and other northern tribes. Similar caste distinctions are traceable southward on the coast to the Alsea and Coos, and eastward not beyond the Wishram. Social distinctions based on wealth to the almost complete exclusion of other factors extend beyond these limits; in attenuated form to the Sinkyone and Yuki and perhaps beyond to the south, to the Klamath and Shasta, to the Middle Columbia Salish of eastern Washington. *171 583 431 Marriage by purchase had an even more extended distribution; from the same center it is traceable southward perhaps to Huchnom and Pomo, to the Southern Maidu, and eastward into the northern Plains, if my interpretation of the Crow, Assiniboin, and Hidatsa cases is justified. In the northwestern portions of this territory marriage by purchase is a function of the caste-wealth system; in the outlying regions, as among the Maidu on the one side and Nez Percé, Crow, etc., on the east, it would seem that we witness the spread of the purchase factor with little of these underlying concepts. It must be borne in mind that nowhere in this area are the marriage payments justly described as purchase; there is always a reciprocation of the gift. The express point is that marriage is contracted only by the making of such gifts.

*171 583 556 Wealth was very real, huge in quantity, north of the Columbia, and a correspondingly high value set for a marriage settlement, at least among the upper classes. Valuables and marriage values dwin-

dle beyond this limit, with a notable recrudescence of the latter on the 171 *
lower Klamath river. Part of the mechanism of its exchange in 583 •
marriage was a series of reciprocal visits, of potlatch character southward 556
to the Columbia, a mere formal practice beyond.

Among the concepts underlying the practice of bride purchase 171*
was the sense of mutual obligations of the contractants' families.
This was avowed by the coastal tribes from British Columbia to
northern California. It assumed the express forms of compulsory
levirate and sororate and of the right to children. Further, the families
were obligated to restore the marriage settlements if the marriage
terminated unfortunately. The man's financial interest in the wife he (837]
had bought was evidenced by his ability to mulct damages from an
adulterer or one even thought to be such.

The exogamy which appears in this area was not the prohibition 171 *
of marrying within the community, but an exogamy of practice. To
maintain caste, marriage must of necessity have frequently been with 582
persons of the same rank and wealth outside the village or tribe. 554
This was undoubtedly more the circumstance in the upper strata of
society. It is obvious then that the distribution of this practice coincides
closely with that of sharp distinctions of caste and wealth.
Beyond those tribes whose attitudes may be so characterized, there
was a fringe of peoples who had taken over the custom without its
antecedents. Such local exogamy has been noted as far southward as
the Hupa, the Sacramento Valley Maidu, and as far eastward as the
Nez Percé.

The habits of postnuptial residence seem to correspond closely 171 *
with the sense of purchase. It was patrilocal, the bride being taken 591
at once to her husband, in the coastal area southward to northern
California. Some variability does indeed appear but this seems no
more than the common circumstance of residence according to preference.
The Wishram instance of regular temporary matrilocal
residence is an anomaly.

The position of the Klamath with respect to this northwestern 171 *
marriage complex was that of a distinctly marginal group. Purchase
to maintain social standing was present but the values not fixed; 583
the actual amount changing hands, relatively small. A series of formal 431
gift-bearing visits was prescribed, in which the bride's family
returned more than they received, but there was no intentional rivalry
in giving. The first visit was that of conducting the bride to the
groom as among all the southerly peoples. Residence was patrilocal 171 *
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*171 in conformity with northwestern views. The sense of obligation was
[591] weakly developed; the levirate was a mere custom, the sororate rare;
[587] birth of heirs played no part in their scheme of things. In brief, the
[583] Klamath derived the sense of social standing based on wealth from
• [583] the northwestern center, and the mechanism of marriage purchase to
effect it, but no more.

174 I am not inclined to indulge in an historical reconstruction of the northwestern marriage complex. But if it be in order, it seems better to suggest that the ancient, undifferentiated custom was the practice of mutual giving, subsequently formalized with the growth of concepts of wealth and rank on the Northwest Coast. The alternative is to hold that these attitudes and practices diffused from that center only after they attained full flower there. If this were so we should expect to find the specific forms of Northwest Coast procedure at a greater distance. I am very doubtful that ideas and sentiments diffuse as such, though I may have given that impression in some of the summary statements above. It seems rather that particular practices are imitated, and if but imperfectly copied or made rational in their new context, then alone do we say that merely the underlying idea has been borrowed.

*171 In the present case social stratification based on wealth had spread
174 over a wide area; wife purchase with it. I conceive that members of
583 the imitating tribes observed the aggrandizement that went with
554 wealth and took occasion among their fellows to insist on a similar,
556 and in their eyes proper, respect for themselves and their wealth
when opportunity offered. The spread of the marriage purchase custom must have been one of the most effective mechanisms for the spread of the sense of rank. Boas has already made such a case for the Kwakiutl and their neighbors. By marriage with the northern tribes among whom privilege concepts were highly developed, the Kwakiutl obtained these privileges through their wives.[557] The mechanism is clearly transparent in the Klallam preference for marriages to the north.[558] We are not told this of other tribes, to be sure, but it appeals to me that marriage into foreign tribes where payment for their women was demanded would inevitably bring in its train the notion that these women were in some way superior to those at home. This view is not drafted from thin air; among the tribes of Puget sound, e.g., the women of the more northerly tribes consider them-

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[557] Boas, Social Organization of North-Pacific Coast; Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 124.

[558] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 242.

selves the superiors of those among whom they are resident. Once the 171*
sentiment had become lodged in the group its fruition was made inev- 174
itable by the imitation of others. 583 •

With Kroeber, who has so expressed himself on the subject of the 554
Yurok,[509] I do not believe that the levirate and sororate were born of 556
this special development of purchase. Both customs have a nearly universal distribution in North America. It seems rather that such existing practices were drawn into the developing marriage complex of this area.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The background for a study of social stratification has been laid 128
in the preceding section. I will here deal with chieftainship, its relations to wealth and heredity, and related topics.

Social stratification was but weakly developed among the Klamath. 554
Social standing did not depend directly on heredity and there was 556
apparently little difference in wealth from richest to poorest. Since wealth was inherited there was at least some stability to family standing. The marriage purchase gave respectability to the union; it did
not fix the standing of the couple by reason of the amount paid. Yet [56]
there was some differentiation based on wealth, a continuous gradation
from the wealthiest to the slaves.

The wealthiest individuals were called lō'ki, rich men. This was 556
also the term by which chiefs were styled. My interpretation of the
Indian's statements is that those prominent individuals, who exer- 622
cised functions which would elsewhere have led to their being called chiefs, were at the same time the wealthiest. A chief became such primarily by successful leadership in war, coupled with some background of spirit power, wealth, personal qualities, especially ability as an advisor, with some suggestion of hereditary interest.

The chiefly functions emphasized were leadership in war and 622
haranguing the people. The chief could not issue injunctions, he re- [701]
ceived no tribute, and was in no way responsible for the conduct or
debts of his people. Just prior to reservation days there was intro-
duced from Columbia river the practice of chiefs sitting as judges. [565]
While chiefs were set off from the mass, this did not imply any
sense of caste stratification. Their wives and children were not known by a distinctive class term.

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[509] Handbook, 31.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2960. Intratribal feuds or murders: compensation	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	728
2961. Revenge only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	
2962. Victims send envoy(s) to ask aggressors for pay	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	
2963. Chief or headman as envoy	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	[622]
2964. Paid for services by 1 side	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2965. Chief or headman makes peace	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2966. Compensation for slain, 1 side only	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2967. Compensation for all dead	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	
2968. If victims on both sides, no compensation	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
2969. Payment in beads, property	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2970. Payment in women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2971. Customarily	+	+	.	(+)	.	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
2972. Intratribally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2973. Intertribally	+	–	–	–	(+)	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2974. Pay according to wealth, more for rich	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	[556]
2975. Pay according to status of victim	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	[554]
2976. Pay according to sex of victim	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	.	–	–	
2977. Pay according to age of victim	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	[562]
2978. If sufficient reason for killing, not much pay	–	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	[560]
2979. If kill "for meanness," pay large amount	–	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2980. Sticks of 1-string length for negotiation	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2981. Amount same as victim's mother's bride price	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	[583]
2982. Amount (for woman) same as usual bride price	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	
2983. Payment divided among all villagers	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2984. Most of payment goes to chief	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2985. Payment for woman goes to husband	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2986. Payment for woman goes to her family	•+	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	
2987. Payment for man goes to his family	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2988. Payment for slave goes to owner	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2989. Payment for slave goes to latter's family	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2990. Compensation for property destroyed	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Dance or Meeting for Settlement

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2991. Both groups present	–	–	+	+	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	728
2992. Daytime	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2993. Night	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	535
2994. At certain localities outside village	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2995. Halfway between 2 villages	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2996. Dressed for war; armed	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2997. Dance in circle	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2998. Dance in row, abreast	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2999. 2 groups face each other	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3000. All dance together	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3001. Payment in beads	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3002. During dance	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3003. Dancers disarm after money paid	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3004. Women dance with blood money	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3005. Blood money smoked over fire	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3006. Groups sometimes eat together	–	–	+			–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3757. Bathes in stream	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	-	+	+	+	•+	841
3758. Bathes in house												+	+	-	-	+	
3759. Sweat bath, optional	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3760. Sweat bath, obligatory	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3761. Avoids sick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
3762. Avoids hunters	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3763. Avoids attending dances	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3764. Some menstruants "lucky" for husbands	-	-	.				+	+	+	+	.	-	-	-	-	+	
3765. Restrictions extend to menstruant's husband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	841
3766. Husband eats sparingly	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	562
3767. Meat, fish taboo											+	+	+	+	-	+	
3768. Smoking taboo	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	593
3769. Fishing taboo	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	
3770. Hunting taboo	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	
3771. Gambling taboo	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	
3772. Intercourse with wife taboo	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3773. Menopause: measures taken to induce	-	-	-					•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Marriage

Child Betrothal

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3774. Child betrothal	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-	+	+	+	584
3775. Boy's father starts negotiations	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	
3776. Payment by boy's side	+	-	•-	+	-	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	
3777. Exchange of presents	-	•+	•-	-	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	
3777a. Taboo relationship between children	•-	•-	•+								-	-	-	-	-	-	
3778. Binding on children	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	
3779. Good-will pledge only, for parents	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
3780. Common	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	
3781. To pay debt	-	-	+	•+	+	+	+	•-	-	+	+	.	-	-	-		
3782. Usually chief's or prominent family	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[622]
3783. Payment in beads at time of marriage	-	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
3784. Gifts given at time of marriage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	

Bride Purchase

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3785. Bride purchase, postpuberty	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	583 ●
3786. Negotiated bride price	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	584
3787. Suitor's father makes offer; no negotiations	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3788. Intermediary acts	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
3789. Suitor's father acts	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	
3789a. Suitor himself acts	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3790. Money payment for bride	-	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
3791. Gifts by suitor's family in payment	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	
3792. Gifts by suitor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	
3793. Additional presents from groom's family after marriage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		+	
3794. Bride's family gives groom's presents	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
3795. Mature daughter given, to pay debt to groom's family	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3795a. Payment made to establish children's status	-	(+)	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Other Forms of Marriage

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3796. Simple marriage, established by couple living together	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	585
3797. Disapproved by community	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	(+)	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
585 3798. Groom's family gives pay, presents to bride's family after marriage established	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	–	+	+	.	–
3799. Amount of gifts depends on approval of girl	+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	.	–
3800. No gifts if girl a "run around" (loose)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
583 3800a. Service for bride, no payment	–	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	–	.	+
3801. Poor man only	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	+
3802. May buy or work out	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	+	–	–	+
[591] 3802a. Temporary matrilocal residence	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	+	–	–	–
3803. Permanent matrilocal residence	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	+
3803a. Marriage by abduction tolerated	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
3804. Married women only	+	+	+						–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
3805. Woman won by contest	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–
3805a. Friends assist	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[556] 3806. Husband bought	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3806a. By wealthy man, for daughter	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3807. Girl sent to live with rich man, gratis	–	–	–						•+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
Marriage Observances																
585 3808. Groom goes to bride's house	+	+	•+	–	•–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	–
3808a. Groom stays at bride's house	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	–
3809. Groom takes bride to his father's house	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	–
[591] 3809a. Couple live at groom's father's house	+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	•+
3810. Short time only	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	.	•+
3810a. Indefinitely	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	–
3811. Bride returns to her parent's house	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•–	•–	.	–
3812. Groom's or bride's sister or family escort her to groom's home	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	.	•+
3812a. Groom and some friends go to bride's home	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	.	–
3813. Friends help groom hunt, fish	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	.	–
3814. Groom and family go to bride's house	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	–	•+	–	•+	.	–
†3815. Visiting family (either side) stays ... nights, days	•2	•2	•2	–	•3	•2	•+	–	•0	•5	–	.	–		.	•3
3816. Marriage feast given by hosts	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	.	•+	•+	•+	•+
3817. Both parties contribute	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	–	.	•+	•+	•+	–
3818. Bride and groom sit together on mat	•+	•+									–	–	–	–	–	–
3818a. Presents piled beside couple	•+	•+									–	–	–	–	–	–
3819. Couple fed	•+	•+									–	–	–	–	–	–
3819a. Sleep together at spot where they sat	•+	•+									–	–	–	–	–	–
[537] 3820. Speeches	•R	•+	•+	–	•+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
[622] 3820a. By heads of both families	•R	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+
3821. By headmen of group	–	•+	•+	–		–	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
Polygamy																
595 3822. Polygyny, wives unrelated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
‡3823. Maximum number paid for	1	1	3	5	1	1	1	3	1	0	1	1	–	0	0	2
o3824. Maximum number in same house	5	2	2	2	2	•10	2	1	10	2	•2	2	–	2	2	2
3824a. First wife outranks others	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	•+	+
3825. Wives live in separate houses	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	+	+	–	.	•+	–
3826. Wives live in separate towns	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–
3827. Concubines in separate towns	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
3828. Prominent men have greatest no. of wives	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	–	+	•+	+

[Klamath Reservation]

Of all the societal relationships, the government sought directly to change only those within the family. It was clear that a nation that was soon to impose upon the Mormons the American, and not the Biblical family, would permit no special marital practices among the Indians. Polygamy was banned, although not retroactively for unions such as those of Allen David and Monchnkasgitk, which had been contracted prior to January 1, 1870. Some leaders themselves appear to have advocated the change in a desire to emulate whites. In 1877, Gatschet noted that there were still two or three polygamous men.[26] Since polygamy had been a mark of the affluent, the ban, like the emancipation of the slaves that preceded it, served to erode the status of the traditional chiefs.

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An effort was also made to place under the authority of the court of chiefs certain relationships which had formerly been regulated privately between the families or individuals concerned. In the legal code instituted when the court was established, the consecration of marriage was made the function of the head chief, to whom the groom was to pay a fee of five, three, or two dollars or the same amount in horses, graduated according to his means. It was again the chiefs who punished fornication and polygamy and performed divorce.[27] The traditional ritual of marriage still was being practiced by some families in the 1890's[28] but the gift exchanges between the families concerned which set a public seal on the union were superseded, and the controls exerted by the family over the couple were thereby diminished. The effects of these and other changes were recognized by Gatschet. "Matrimonial reverses . . . among the Klamath [he declared] . . are one of the unavoidable consequences of the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers at Fort Klamath."[29]

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[684]
[586]

With time, the seal upon marriage came to be set by the Methodist church and its ethics in turn permitted the independent of spirit to flout tradition. One woman recalled that upon the death of her husband his family proposed that she wed his brother in customary manner, but she refused out of regard for the memory of her husband and the sanctity of the bond of their marriage in the church.

657*
648*
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$10,000, constituted an inexhaustible treasure. Ordinarily, this 648*
was placed in his hands only when he had come of age, but with 657*
marriage he attained seniority at once, and it became his. 871

Many a young couple, then, sought a new life in the last few 563
years of high school in an elopement to Reno or Las Vegas. In 582
a week or so they returned to take up adult life; and thus to [434]
reconcile their hopes with the social realities of the reservation. [429]
Although they would continue to maintain a degree of camara- [583]
derie with a few of their schoolmates, such intimacy as they had
known across ethnic boundaries was at an end. For the majority
of tribal members, their course and that of their white schoolmates increasingly diverged.

*539 58, 15. shetcháktanuapk stands for the more common form: shitcháktanuapk.

622 58, 16. nánuktua shéshatuish m'na: "all what your husband has transferred to
692 your parents to obtain your hand"; m'na stands for hishuáksham. Cf. 61, 8.

[193] [192] 59, 7. mish, *you, to you*, is often used in this article for málash, málsh, *ye, to ye*, in allocutions to two or more persons. This is a way of expressing what may be called the "inclusive plural of the second person". This mode of speaking is observed in m's lápuk, 59, 7; lápuk mish, 59, 7. In the same manner 1 stands for ät, 59, 8: 1 sissók-uapk, if ye whip each other; also 60, 22.

59, 9. 1 mi stands for mish mi.

59, 17. hä k̲úi gí'uapk: if he should fail to do his duty; 59, 10. hä tídsh gí'uapk: if he does his duty well; nanuktuánta: in every respect.

59, 22. í'χaks mi: what you may win by betting on the horses engaged in the race.

60, 2. kä'lish is the objective case of kä'liak, kéliak, "not having", the simple form of which, without -ak, would be kä'li or kä'liu (kä'li hû).

[583] 60, 11. túma wátch gitk. The horses have, of course, to be transferred to the parents of the bride and not to any of the chiefs.

[231] 60, 12. wátch. The horses owned by the Klamath Lake and Modoc people are valued from 20 to 25 dollars each; they descend from the hardy, enduring race of Cayuse ponies, and were originally obtained by bartering commodities with the Columbia River Indians at the Dalles, Oregon.

[192] [193] 60, 15. wátch spuni'-uapka; wátch refers to *one* horse only, for the verb spuni', to transfer, is used of one (living) object only; shäwána is: to give *many* objects. "Not even one horse your wife has to give to you, if she leaves you; but if you leave her, you must give her several."

[177] [595] 60, 17. láp snawä'dshla. Polygamy was abolished by the headmen of the tribe shortly after the establishment of the reservation, and this ruling was one of the greatest benefits ever conferred upon that tribe by the progress of civilization. But those who had several wives then were not compelled to dismiss all but one, and so in 1877 two or three men were still polygamists. The irascible and excitable disposition of the Modoc and Klamath females must have produced many chin-music intermezzos with their husbands at the time when polygamy was predominant.

[193] 61, 3. K̲á-i mi'sh etc. In this paragraph, in: k̲í'tgik, káktak, hémkanktgik, gitkik, the terminal k contains the abbreviated gi, which joined to the foregoing nû, n means *I said*. The construction runs as follows: Hû'nk ni gi k̲á-i mish k̲í'tgi; nánuktuanta káktak gi píla m's n hû'nk hémkanktki gi; nä'-ulakt gí'tki 1 snawä'dshash tchí'sh káktak gi píl. K̲á-i etc.

61, 6. tchik. This particle does not mean *if*, but cannot be rendered *here* (and below) with a more appropriate word. It is identical with tchĕk, *then*. A subordinate clause is here expressed by a co-ordinate one. Cf. 61, 9. 10. 12. 62, 4.

[192] [193] 61, 6. któktatska: "we clip their hair in every instance", is the distributive form of któtchka, któtska, occurring in 58, 16.

61, 9. Tsúi etc. This inverted sentence has to be construed as follows: Tsúi tchish násh híshuaksh wutódshish snawä'dsh m'na pä'n hû'nk snúkp'la, tsúi nä'-ulĕkan etc.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

NOTES.

*539 I. Erotic songs obtained from Chief Johnson, Minnie Froben, and others, in the
533 Klamath Lake dialect. The twelve songs obtained from Minnie Froben are among the
832 prettiest and most melodious, as for instance 9. 16. 17. 18. 25. 26., and the eighteen songs
dictated by Johnson are of importance for the study of manners and customs, viz: 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. 19. 20. 28. 29. 41. 42. 43 etc.

With the Indians all of these and many other erotic songs pass under the name of *pilpil* or puberty songs. They include lines on signs of womanhood, courting, love sentiments, disappointments in love, marriage fees paid to parents, on marrying and on
*539 conjugal life. Some love songs have quite pretty melodies. A few songs of the present
533 interesting series of song-lines seem to treat of commonplace subjects only, as 22. to 24.;
832 28. to 31., while others apparently contain nothing but heartless mockeries and satiric
192 strictures, like 9. 28. 40. 44. But they all refer in fact to love-making and kindred sentiments, the satiric lines confirming the proverbial inclination of lovers to fight among themselves. I have deemed appropriate to gather all these songs under a heading which unmistakably expresses their real purport.

[194] 182; 1. The accent is laid sometimes on first, sometimes on second syllable. This word is abbreviated from yuyulinē'pka, as it occurs in the Modoc pilpil song. The event mentioned here is followed by a dance-feast; cf. shúyuχalsh, and 134, 21.

182; 4. ginhiéna "inside" means into a secluded spot, lodge or enclosure. O-ólka, ō'laka is the diminutive of ō'lsh, the grayish pigeon with the plaintive voice.

182; 7. gítkuapka, a contraction of gítko gi-uápka I.

[583] 182; 8. Pay a wedding gift is equivalent to purchasing a girl from her parents for a handsome consideration.

[193] 182; 11. Sung by women. The original as given to me does not contain the negative particle: Géntala nû haíkanka púshpushlish hishuákshash.

183; 12. yan'wán I stands for yanhuáni I.

183; 13. kali'napka: they are not only "dead but out of sight", as the suffix -apka indicates. This being an erotic song-line, kalínapka simply means that the females looked for are either asleep or absent, and not deceased, as kalína would seem to indicate. 'mutchéwatk for kĕmutchéwatko; cf. 136, 5.

183; 14. 15. These two songs follow a purely anapæstic metre, No. 15 adding two acatalectic syllables to its three anapæsts. Compare also the first line of 182; 7. with one supernumérary syllable. As for the contents of 183; 15. compare the analogous Modoc song 186; 51.

[194] 183; 17. Melody very engaging. In lúluash the second *u* is redoubled for metrical reasons. Dactylic rhythm prevails here, in 16, and in 182; 11.

183; 18. That is, while he was seeking young girls inside the kayátas. Melody very beautiful.

[193] 183; 19. wayósham, possessive case of waíwash, *q. v.*

183; 20. shkutántki stands for skútatko gi or shkutanátko gi: "he is wrapped in."

183; 21. The much more so, because he is in his festive garb, the pátash and lás stuck on his headdress.

184; 26. Melody very pretty. A young woman addresses these words to a lover.

184; 27. Sung by young women who have fallen out with their beaux.

ä'ukckni were sisters from his own settlement on Williamson river above 582
bezŭkse'was, a third was from that town, and the fourth from glä'tspak'is, a 595
mile or so down river. His daughter by the Modoc wife was counted ä'ukckni; while living at k'taidi she married an ä'ukckni of Yainax.

A gu'mböt man, Wokau'kialla, married two Molala sisters.

Girls usually marry within a year or so after puberty, which is 584 •
marked, at least among the well-to-do, by a big dance. Betrothals may have been arranged while the couple were yet pre-adolescent, presents having been exchanged by the families. They are expected to carry out the agreement after the girl's dance, payments being made again. Should one of them die another match may be arranged with the same family, but not of necessity. Poor and rich alike arrange such betrothals.

How far great disparity of age occurs I do not know, but it does [582]
happen that an older man marries a young girl. A shaman for
instance may be given a daughter by a man too poor to reward him [756]
otherwise.

But it must not be thought that there is no choice. On the contrary, the majority of marriages follow the desire of the couples.
Elopements take place and although the levirate is the rule, much 583
depends on the widow's willingness. Yet a girl's consent is not necessary. Despite her protests she may be carried to her husband's home. 587
If she runs home she is almost invariably taken back again. That she [762]
would be driven to suicide is doubtful; one informant never heard of such a thing; another stated she would hang herself and in this event her parents had to return the gifts of the groom.

An orphan girl of du'kwa lived with her mother's brother. She was married 583
against her will to a man of k'taidi. She clung to the ladder of the earth-
lodge but they pulled her away and dragged her up-river to k'taidi. Next 159
morning she ran home and never went back. Nothing had been paid for her at the time but she was given in return for valuables contributed to the cremation of a relative of hers some time before by her husband's relatives. Immediately after this she married a man at Klamath marsh; whether payment was then made is not remembered.

Elopements occur but payment is so much insisted on as a sign 583
of respectability that parents guard their daughters with great care. This is at least true where the family wealth makes a suitable payment imperative. It is unthinkable that a chief's daughter should be permitted to enter an unceremonious, clandestine union. The poor and 834
forward have little to lose. Modest demeanor is expected of a girl.

Taken as a whole Klamath material culture is of Plateau type with 171 * strong leanings toward northeastern California. But their social and 101 religious culture has a different aspect. While basically of the extremely simple Basin-Plateau type, social habits reflect the Northwest 105 Coast, religious ones rather those of northern California and western Oregon.

The basis of Klamath religious experience is that of the northern 171* interior, the Basin, and the Northwest Coast, in distinction to California and the Southwest. The experience is deliberately sought and 771 the power obtained is of a generalized, unspecialized nature. In this they resemble as well the generality of North Americans. Even their spirits are of the sort universal east of the Pacific coast. Specific Northwest Coast influence appears in the circumscription of general spirit repossession to the midwinter month. On the other hand, the shaman novice's inaugural dance, which gives at least as much color to Klamath shamanism, is characteristic of northern California and western Oregon. The Klamath form of it is, rather, Oregonian. Details of shamanism, on the other hand, link more firmly with northern, especially northeastern, California.

Social organization is extremely simple, and it is quite patent that 171* as late as the end of the eighteenth century, it resembled that of the Basin and Plateau in every particular. Even now social stratification is only weakly developed. Chiefs were only recently set off from the mass, their functions vague and their influence slight. At the very 171* moment that Klamath society began to break down with the coming of 177 the whites, they first imported from the Columbia river judicial functions for the chiefs. Chiefs are the wealthiest individuals, but they 622 are not chiefs because they are wealthy. Their selection is still based on principles of personal ability. The basis of this differentiation, wealth, came from the same direction, but the accompanying principle of the Northwest Coast, caste stratification, never reached here; nor did the chief's adjunct, a speaker or advocate, although this functionary is known in the Plateau and Basin as well as in the Northwest. At the other end of the scale, slavery is apparently an old institution, 171* but was of little importance until wealth began to figure among them. 567 The Northwest Coast concept of status based on wealth appears again in marriage, here regularly by purchase. But social estimation did 171* not rest on the amount paid, which was in fact very little. With so 556 slight an emphasis on rank and wealth, those northwestern corollaries, local exogamy to maintain the one and the family compact following 584

*171 on the other, were entirely absent among the Klamath. Nevertheless
556 the mechanism of the Northwest Coast for the exchange of presents,
the potlatch, does appear here in the form of prescribed reciprocal
• 594 visits between the families of bride and groom. It has not been clearly
recognized that these features of Northwest Coast social life have
spread even farther from that focus into the northern Plains and to
north central California.

*171 Of the slender stock of Klamath ceremonials, the scalp dance is
widely known, the war or incitement dance is common to northwestern
535 California and perhaps all of Oregon. Kroeber has pointed out that
726 so far as California is concerned scalp and war dances are mutually
exclusive in their distributions.[418] But the Klamath, like all others
*171 of eastern Oregon, carry out both dances. The girls' adolescence rite
of the Klamath is one with those of western Oregon and northern
881 California. This is a local phrasing of similar rites known from
Alaska to the Southwest, but lacking east of the Sierra-Cascades.
Specific details of the Klamath affair are closer to northern Cali-
*171 fornian forms than to those of Oregon. The Ghost dance of 1870 was
evanescent among them. Its first form was that characteristic of the
original dance of Nevada; later it was overlaid by features characteristic of central California.[419]

177 Some historical relief emerges in this survey. It is definitely
traceable in some details and can be established inferentially for more
basic elements. The most recent stratum of adopted traits is post-
[285] reservation, i.e., later than 1865. This includes two types of basketry
derived from the Northern Paiute settled on the reservation, a sifting
[668] basket and a coiled water bucket, and the Ghost dance. The earlier
form of the Ghost dance was instituted by the same group of Paiute
in 1870 or '71. This was the familiar circle of dancers, whose leaders
[343] dreamed new regulations; its ideology the return of the dead. In
1873 a Pit River introduced central Californian elements; a dance
[534] lodge, probably the clap-stick rattle, new songs, etc. To the same
[533] stratum belongs the imitation of the Warm Springs-Yakima one-piece
moccasin.

[291] Other elements are recognized as pertaining to pre-reservation
days, but probably not earlier than the middle of the last century:
177 the hand drum derived from the north, and perhaps the social dances
534 in which it is used; the hand game brought by a Spokane (?) man.

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535 [418] Kroeber, Handbook, 144, 844.

[419] Spier, Ghost Dance.

It does not appear that a marriage brings about
a con-

587 tractual union between the families. The levirate is customary but not obligatory, and the sororate only occasional. It is true that the husband's brothers may take exception to her marriage with another, but this may mean only that they look upon it as an affront to their brother's memory.

582 Marriage is denied only between blood relatives. There is no village exogamy nor trace of restrictions or preference of any other order. At best the evidence suggests some tendency to marry within the tribal subdivision, but this may mean only that contacts are less frequent outside of this group.

584 The formalities of marriage prescribe a series of visits with an
exchange of gifts. The prospective groom sends a male emissary with
585 a bundle of sticks representing his offering. The bride's family proceed to the groom's house where they exchange gifts with the family of the groom. In kind and in quantity these are modest indeed when measured by Northwest Coast standards. A month later the couple and the groom's family return the visit, when again gifts are exchanged. Beyond these two, further formal visits are made only by the social pretentious. These formalities may be frequently initiated while the couple are still pre-adolescent, the bride being carried to her husband's home after her puberty dance.

583 The general nature of the Klamath marriage relation smacks
strongly of the Northwest Coast. This is apparent in the premium
*171 attached to purchase, to a lesser extent in the weighting accorded the amount of the purchase price, in the reciprocal nature of the gifts, and the series of formal visits before the affair is considered terminated. What is absent here is the notion that rank and privileges of a tangible nature are acquired by a marriage purchase.

This can best be brought out by instituting a series of comparisons with other tribes. For this purpose I shall select only a limited number of cases. For one thing data from Oregon tribes are almost wholly lacking, and those for California and Washington are both scattered and scanty.

Throughout California, save on the eastern border of the state, there is an appearance of purchase. But in reality it is only a presentation of gifts of no great amount as an earnest of the son-in-law's good will, a matter of etiquette rather than a stipulated price. The formality of giving varies as much as its conventional expression. With some, bride service is in order; with others, the parents-in-law must reciprocate the gifts. It is everywhere little more than an

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3757. Bathes in stream	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	∔	∔	+	−	+	+	+	∔	841
3758. Bathes in house												+	+	−	−	+	
3759. Sweat bath, optional	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3760. Sweat bath, obligatory	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3761. Avoids sick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
3762. Avoids hunters	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3763. Avoids attending dances	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3764. Some menstruants "lucky" for husbands	−	−	·				+	+	+	+	·	−	−	−	−	+	
3765. Restrictions extend to menstruant's husband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	841
3766. Husband eats sparingly	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
3767. Meat, fish taboo											+	+	+	+	−	+	562
3768. Smoking taboo	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	593
3769. Fishing taboo	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	
3770. Hunting taboo	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	
3771. Gambling taboo	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
3772. Intercourse with wife taboo	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	
3773. Menopause: measures taken to induce	−	−	−					∔	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Marriage																	
Child Betrothal																	
3774. Child betrothal	∔	+	+	∔	+	∔	+	+	+	+	∔	+	−	+	+	+	584
3775. Boy's father starts negotiations	+	+	+		+	+	∔	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	
3776. Payment by boy's side	+	−	∸	+	−	+	+	∸	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	
3777. Exchange of presents	−	∔	∸	−	∔	+	∔	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	
3777a. Taboo relationship between children	∸	∸	∔								−	−	−	−	−	−	
3778. Binding on children	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3779. Good-will pledge only, for parents	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
3780. Common	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3781. To pay debt	−	−	+	∔	+	+	+	∸	−	+	+	·	−	−	−	−	
3782. Usually chief's or prominent family	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	[622]
3783. Payment in beads at time of marriage	−	+	+	+	∔	+	+	+	∔	+	−	−	−	−	−	∔	
3784. Gifts given at time of marriage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	
Bride Purchase																	
3785. Bride purchase, postpuberty	∔	+	+	+	+	∔	+	+	+	∔	−	−	−	−	−	+	583
3786. Negotiated bride price	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	584
3787. Suitor's father makes offer; no negotiations	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3788. Intermediary acts	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3789. Suitor's father acts	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	·	+	
3789a. Suitor himself acts	∔	+	−	−	−	−	−	∔	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3790. Money payment for bride	−	+	+	+	∔	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	∔	
3791. Gifts by suitor's family in payment	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	·	+	
3792. Gifts by suitor	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	·	+	
3793. Additional presents from groom's family after marriage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		+	
3794. Bride's family gives groom's presents	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
3795. Mature daughter given, to pay debt to groom's family	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3795a. Payment made to establish children's status	−	(+)	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Other Forms of Marriage																	
3796. Simple marriage, established by couple living together	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	585
3797. Disapproved by community	+	∔	∔	∔	+	∔	∔	−	−	−	∔	−	−	−	−	(+)	

000 3773. WT: Each month when period begins menstruant stands over nest of piss ants, allows ants to crawl up her legs and bite her, to induce menopause.

Marriage

Child betrothal.--

584 3774. Kl: Boy and girl know nothing of arrangement; boy's father asks girl's, "What do you think about it; you're going to let her get married when she grows up; what do you think?" Girl's father says, "Yes; I think it [will] be all right." Boy's father then gives girl's people food; "that's how they hold her. When girl grows up, perhaps another boy tries to get her [to marry him]; her father says, 'No; you already belong to that boy over there; we already gave you to those folks.' Boy's father then tells his boy to go get girl, and boy goes after her, and brings her back to his father's house for about 5 days. Even if girl doesn't like youth, she has to comply, and her parents have to give her to her betrothed." Before marriage, boy may take gifts to girl's parents--buckskin, and such. Child betrothal an old form [178] of marriage; informant had never seen it carried out in his lifetime. SW: Boy's father sends buckskin load of money by friend to girl's fa- 000 ther; latter "sits there and looks at money, and finally accepts it; or, if he doesn't, boy's father may hire shaman to bewitch girl, so she becomes loose woman. AW: Practiced by wealthy. After betrothal arranged, "don't allow any other man to touch that girl." Child betrothal characterized by informant as "real old-time t[illegible] MM: Here, as among other groups, child bet[illegible] highly approved form of marriage. Couples [illegible] be of about same age, or young girl may be [illegible] for by old man, who marries her after she reaches puberty.

3775. AE: Usually boy's father goes to girl's family, taking hides, food with him; if girl's father does not wish to enter into agreement, he does not touch present. However, girl's father, if headman, can also start negotiations, if he wishes to. If girl and boy of 2 different local groups betrothed, boy's family "have somebody [who lives near girl] watch the girl until she is grown to see how good or how mean she is."

3776. SE: At time of actual marriage only. WT: See note 3781.

3777. Mo: Boy's side gives meat, girl's side, roots. But concept of "buying" girl recognized, although exchange of gifts also emphasized. SE: Exchange of gifts at time of actual marriage only. At: Boy's side gives meat, girl's side acorns and baskets, while children are young. AE: Exchange some presents, not many.

[584] [784] [858] 3777a. Kl, Mo: Denied any taboos; children ignorant that they are betrothed until grown. SE: After boy and girl are betrothed, taboo for them to see each other's face. Boy wears buffalo

[223-A]

000 or elkhide over head when going out of house; is "bashful." If betrothed wishes to give him bad luck, she climbs up on top of sweat house and looks down inside when he is in there eating; this makes him sick.

3781. SW: Man, A, may hire shaman to kill someone on his, A's, behalf. For this, A pays shaman by giving him his daughter, for shaman's son to espouse when both children grow up. Issue of such union are "very valuable"; they are valued "beyond any price." WT: Marked reaction against using child to pay debt. "Chinese do that; they buy women; we never did this."

3783. At: 10 strings shell beads standard payment for bride; paid only at time of marriage. MV: Beads given to girl's mother; she sends back yellowhammer bands, and other ornaments, to boy's family.

Bride purchase.--

● 584 3785. Kl: Youth's parents tell youth, "You'd better go over and get that woman [naming her], if you want her." Youth says, "Yes, I'll take her, if she likes me." So he goes over to girl's family's house, talks to girl alone; she may refuse, but if she accepts him he brings her back to his father's house, where she sleeps with him 3-5 nights. Girl then returns to her home, unescorted. At end of 5 days her relatives (father, mother, mother's relatives, some neighbors--perhaps 10 people altogether) escort her back to her husband's family's house; take gifts of food, which they present to his mother. In return, groom's family gives dried meat and suckers to bride's parents. Latter distribute these gifts among all people who have come with them. Both families eat together; bride and groom sit together on mat (see elements 3818-3819a). Bride's party departs same day they came, except for bride's mother, who may stay for 3 days, teaching girl how to live, telling her to "work hard all the time; don't let anybody tell you what to do; I'll tell you myself what you can do." In recent times, groom's and bride's fathers have both made speeches at time of marriage observance; tell couple how they are going to live, and other things. Informant had seen them do this
[178] when a boy. Also, recently, groom's father gives horses and clothes for girl; her family also gives groom's same, "just like a trade. In early
000 days, though, just gave food." AW: Youth's father goes to girl's father's house and talks to her parents, saying, "I like you; we'll 'treat' one another; I'd like to see those young folk stay together." The girl's father smokes, then says, "All right." Sometimes he asks his wife; she tells him it's up to him [father], all on him. Sometimes he says, "No, I can't do that." After this is settled, youth's father collects food and shell currency, then takes these things, together with his family, over to girl's father; big feast given. "It's just as though he's paying for that girl." If both families "have lots

[223-B]

000 of friends, they all trade together, become friends; everybody says, 'Good.'" WS: "The only time they pay for a girl is when she is a young woman, at her first marriage."

3788. Usually relative of groom's father.

[584] 3789a. Kl: Initially. See note 3785. WT: If man's parents like girl, they may advise their grown son to offer her gifts "for about 1 month; if she and her parents accept them, in about 1 month the couple are married [sleep together]."

3790. At, MV: See note 3783.

3797. Mo, SE, SW: Strongly disapproved; (SW) "only trashy people do this." AW: Disapproved of, but not so strongly as among Mo, SE, SW. "Sometimes boy goes over and sleeps with girl--marries her; his father hears gossip about it and scolds his son, and says that if he brings girl home, he is going to throw her out. Or, if youth does bring her home, sometimes his parents throw hot ashes over couple when they are asleep. Girl's parents talk to her the same way, if they don't like the boy she's sleeping with. But if boy gets a good girl this way, his father tells him to surely bring the girl home, and then both families trade food and clothes, if rich." MM: "Common" form of marriage, not much approved of.

3798. MM: Sometimes, not always.

3799. SE: Depends on whether child is born of union; if child born, mother must be paid for, to establish child's status.

3800a. Mo: If poor, groom may go over and work for girl; this type marriage referred to as wo·kobuks. SE, SW: Peculiar type bride service; if widow has daughter, she may give this daughter to good hunter gratis, in order to get man to live with her daughter, hunt for daughter and herself. But in event there are children, groom's father must pay for the wife, in order to establish status of children of union. SW informant related following concerning Kammatwa, down-river group between SW and Karuk (see note 282). "If widow wants husband for her daughter, she'd get a likely man to come over to her house and live there and marry her daughter; he would not only have to hunt and fish for women, but cook and gather vegetable food for them too. SW didn't do this; it's too bad, to make a man do anything like this." Possibly slave procured (?). Bride service in widely accepted sense of term not practiced among SW ("half marriage" also absent); "a poor man never was married; he was just kicked around; he was nothing."

3805. At, AE, WT: In fight with bare hands. NS: By race between 2 prospective suitors; swifter runner obtains girl as wife. Informant's mother's mother's father had obtained his wife thus; race run in a meadow in Pleasant Valley. Such race referred to as yulumkatu.

3806a. Rich man buys husband for daughter, in order that son-in-law may get him wood, hunt or gamble for him. AW: Rich man pays youth's father dried salmon, acorns, deermeat.

3807. WM: Well-to-do man sometimes sends grown

33. A Childhood Incident

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

539*
861

(1) When I was small, I always wanted to whirl around. (2) So I whirled around. (3) Then my mother said, "Don't do that! (4) You will get hurt!" (5) Then I whirled around, not minding. (6) So I then fell upon my stomach on a sharp place like this here. (7) Now I got hurt. (8) Then she spanked me with a piece of wood.

34. Marriage Customs

(Mr. Robert David)

539*
584 •

(1) I do not know it awfully well. (2) It was such a long time ago. (3) However, I heard thus, [that] these people long ago, when they liked each other thus, then they told their mother and their father too thus, "I want that girl," that man said. (4) "I want that woman." (5) And they asked, "Does she, then, want you? (6) Does she then want you, that girl?" they asked that man about that woman, his parents. (7) And he said, "Yes, she wants me," he said. (8) "Yes," they said, "Let us get ready." (9) They said, "We will get ready, and on this day we will gather together. (10) Now [you] will get her," they said.

[431]

(11) Now then they came [the groom and his parents are denoted by the verb]. (12) That man's people from this side will come—all the relatives. (13) And those from that side will do the same thing, her fathers [i.e., parents?], whatever they might be, the same sort of relatives of the girl. (14) And now they give [gifts] to each other the same way. (15) And those from that side give [gifts] to the groom. (16) All sorts of things that they have, even very valuable [things], they even did thus with horses long ago. (17) They used to give each other even many horses, if they had horses. (18) These horses have been here for a long time, among the Indians. (19) And they did thus, at that time.

539*
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581

(20) Then when they had finished doing thus, now being pleased they did thus—now they made it tight [i.e., concluded the marriage agreement], having done thus. (21) On both sides they told [the couple], "Live as long as you will live, together. (22) You will be one now," they said. (23) Now they said, "Even however difficult [it might be], you will always

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

585 177 of any such sentiments. It also seems that the reciprocal visits by which the marriage is consummated, with their exchange of presents, is a reflection at a distance of the Northwest Coast potlatch, perhaps its most southerly extension.

582 Beyond the ability to pay, the choice of a mate is restricted only by kinship. No relative of any degree may be married; the children, they contend, will not survive. Common residence is for example no bar to marriage. Step-brothers and sisters, being unrelated, are free to marry even though they have grown up together. Several men now living here married their step-sisters. Sibling terms are not used between step-siblings, though they have half-brothers and sisters in common.

There is no village exogamy despite the relationship of most co-villagers. Yet there is a great deal of shifting residence especially among the several settlements of each division. Marriage within or without the tribelet is immaterial. Such evidence as exists however suggests that the tendency is for marriage within the subdivision. The data are few but summarize in this fashion:

Husband	Wife					
	ä'ukckni	du'kwakni	gu'mbötkni	iu'"laloqkni	Modoc	Molala
ä'ukckni	8	1	——	1	1	1
du'kwakni	——	1	1	——	——	——
gu'mbötkni	——	——	1	——	——	2
iu'"laloqkni	——	2	——	1	——	——

Of the ä'ukckni marriages among themselves, two above were with co-villagers, I have no data for other endogamous marriages.

Explicitly the data are the following: Pat Kane's father and his paternal grandparents were du'kwakni, his mother and her parents gu'mbötkni. These tribelets are more closely linked than with the others. His father lived at the time of his marriage at wadö'kän, a gu'mböt village north of Klamath lake; his mother with her people lived at sle'tskai just across Seven Mile creek. Pat himself was born and grew up at mo'giqkünks, the du'kwa village at the mouth of Williamson river. His father's sisters married a man at iu'"laloqs on Klamath falls.

Tom Lang's father was white; his mother lived at iu'"laloqs. Both her parents were also iu'"laloqkni; her mother was related to Modoc and Shasta.

Nancy Phillips is ä'ukckni, born at k'taidi on Williamson river. Her father was ä'ukckni although he lived at du'kwa. His mother was of the du'kwakni. Nancy's mother was ä'ukckni of k'taidi village; her parents in turn both ä'ukckni, the father from k'taidi also, the mother from glä'tepak'is on the opposite river bank.

[595] The chief Lzle'ks had seven co-wives; four, ä'ukckni, one each, du'kwakni and Modoc, and one from no'"lukni hence probably iu'"laloqkni. Two of the

834
836 She dances with downcast eyes in her adolescent rite; she sits apart
and does not talk with male visitors at home. A man seen prowling
[881] about the camp is shouted away. A girl who does not wish to be
molested will go over to her mother to sleep. A father will whip a
daughter who has clandestine visitors, and his son for misconduct.
No obligations may be assumed for which no payment is made.

583 Despite the fact that elopements are frowned on, clandestine visits
and elopements are frequent. The girl's parents may follow a run-
[836] away couple and force her to return with them. It is usual however
for the families to accept the fact and make gifts in proper form.

583 The most lavish marriage display ever known was that of Lalo'ks' only
daughter, Go'solülb. They were living at táka'lmakeda during the fishing
159 season when Ski'lüls of Yainax eloped with her. They fled riding double; the
horse fell with them while fording the river, but they escaped to Yainax.
585 Soon after the girl returned alone. It took a month to get ready to conduct a proper marriage. Lalo'ks made the trip across the mountains to Jacksonville to get store goods. A great many people went with them to Yainax, the majority taking gifts of horses, blankets, clothing, or anything they had. One man with nothing better stripped himself of his only shirt. It must be remembered that such Plains shirts were then newly fashionable and hence valuable. They gave the horses they rode there, hoping for reciprocal gifts on which to return. Horses to a total of ten were given the groom's people. They gave horses and other gifts in return. Payment having been made the affair was considered as honorably ended, and as though the groom had sent an emissary in proper order.

583 Marriage without payment brings a slur on the children to be cast
554 in the teeth by quarreling women. "Your children are worth nothing;
you were not bought." Children taunt each other in the same way. They are respected in proportion to the amount changing hands at their parents' marriage, but this does not mean that a man's life is assessed at this sum. Nor is there any suggestion here that husband and wife are financially accountable to each other for injuries to their children. Marriage payment is prescribed not alone because it fixes social status in a general way but because, as one informant phrased it, it is decidedly unlucky not to make payment. So it is, for the couple have made an unsuccessful start of their social career.

The amount is not prescribed but varies with the wealth of the individuals. A chief gives a slave and more; a poor man buys with food. A chief will not give his daughter for nothing; the groom must
583 continue to bring gifts even after marriage. The valuables customarily exchanged are slaves, horses, blankets, beads, food (pond-lily seed and roots), elk and other hides, and strings of beads. Pat Kane's father gave five fathoms of glass trade beads. It is important to

recognize that the marriage is consummated by a series of gift exchanges and inasmuch as it was said that in the long run the man and his relatives have the advantage, it is clear that this is no outright bride purchase. 583

Giving a girl in marriage is sometimes a means of paying off a social obligation. Considerable property is destroyed at a cremation. This is normally furnished by the relatives of the deceased but in order to do honor a non-relative may contribute beads and other valuables to be consumed on the pyre. The recipient family is under obligation to reciprocate. Should one of the contributing family later want a wife from among them, they must acquiesce. The groom must make payment at the time of marriage, however. That no payment had been made in the case cited above undoubtedly explains why the runaway bride was not forced to return to her husband. 583 764

Possibly the sum must be repaid in the event of separation, at least if the wife leaves the husband. Probably the time element is important; a marriage soon terminated means restoring the *status quo;* in one of long duration this is impossible. 586

A man sends a friend to sound the girl's people on their willingness and the price expected. This man is chosen for his forwardness; he may be a relative but never a brother or father. He carries a bundle of sticks representing the gifts offered, which if successful he leaves, though they are not used further. The girl's father consults his wife before agreeing. Next day or as soon as the girl's people can get ready their gifts and contributions of food they take their daughter to the groom.[66] The groom's relatives have gathered meanwhile, collecting their gifts in the groom's home. The exchange takes place within the lodge, each party putting down its gifts beside the other seated opposite. The gifts from the bride's side, at least, commonly include clothing (presumably the Plains type), pond-lily seed, and roots of various sorts. The payment now made on behalf of the groom includes the promised articles. Speeches are made by the parents of both, admonishing them to live in harmony. Payment for a bride is called wok̦o'wi, the reciprocal gifts, i'wi. 584 584 585

It is difficult to say just how formal are the visits that follow marriage; at least one or two are usual, if not prescribed for the well-to-do among whom further payments by the groom are expected.

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[66] In a Modoc (or Klamath?) song recorded by Gatschet (Songs of the Modoc Indians, 27, 29) a bride is carried on her brother's back. As Gatschet points out, carrying the bride is a custom of northerly tribes.

[114]

585 After a month of marriage the couple visits the bride's former home,
593 accompanied by the groom's relatives, for a further exchange of gifts. Soon after this, the girl's father and his family reciprocate. Beyond this it is a matter of mutual solicitude; undoubtedly the visits grow less frequent as the passing years bring diverging interests. Later visits are of some duration, the couple even staying through the winter.

591 Marriage is normally patrilocal, but if a man is poor, or has no close relatives, he may take up residence with his wife's people. When a young wife is about to have her first child the couple return to her mother to stay until she is strong again. This must be the circumstance of temporary matrilocal residence as it ordinarily occurs elsewhere. First marriages among primitive peoples usually follow closely on a girl's nubility. The need for advice and care during this trying period of pregnancy and delivery, the natural solicitude of the mother, are surely the reasons for the frequency with which residence is temporarily matrilocal. It will be observed that this is formally prescribed as the proper procedure almost solely in cases of first marriage. There is no need to search for a more esoteric reason such as the older writers had, matrilinear grouping, maternal authority, and the demand that the young husband prove himself to the wife's family. Among the Klamath this is the rule only on the birth of a first child.

591 A series of terms describes the facts of residence. A man and his
593 wife in matrilocal residence are non-vocatively wuko'bŏks and sḳa'bŏks
respectively.[69] A woman with her husband's people is t!e'niwas.[70]
601 On separation a woman who returns to her former home is ko'stbŏmbli,
a man returning to his, wuko'tbŏmbli.

601 I was told at least that a child's spouse is treated like an own
606 child, that parent and child terms are used between them for there are no parent-in-law taboos. This is the usage of intimacy; there are specific terms for parents-in-law. There is the familiar Indian usage of a term between the parents of a couple, "my child's parent-in-law."

582 Marriages occur any time during the year. There is no evidence suggesting their greater frequency during any season, nor any mating period[71]

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[69] The latter term was given me at another time as meaning a newly married woman (probably the form sḳa'bŏkak was intended). This comes to the same thing. These two words apparently correspond to Gifford's wapake and kapake, earlier and later co-wife (Californian Kinship Terminologies, 42). Gifford's record is doubtless due to a misunderstanding; I enquired about these words and found that there are no terms for particular co-wives.

[70] Gatschet (2:608) gives tcina, a young woman. The meanings are not incompatible but I believe mine to be correct.

[71] As among the Yurok (Kroeber, Handbook, 44).

II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION 771

Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be
permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices, [756]
the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of
supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the
shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance [881]
in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps, [721]
some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance
of 1870. [727]

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a
host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These [585]
are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, [786]
and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however definitely
localized in many instances and partly identified with the 776
figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the
spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no
ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart 775
from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic
existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living.

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are 776
times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the 787
loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

It does not appear that a marriage brings about a con-

587 tractual union between the families. The levirate is customary but not obligatory, and the sororate only occasional. It is true that the husband's brothers may take exception to her marriage with another, but this may mean only that they look upon it as an affront to their brother's memory.

582 Marriage is denied only between blood relatives. There is no village exogamy nor trace of restrictions or preference of any other order. At best the evidence suggests some tendency to marry within the tribal subdivision, but this may mean only that contacts are less frequent outside of this group.

584 585 The formalities of marriage prescribe a series of visits with an exchange of gifts. The prospective groom sends a male emissary with a bundle of sticks representing his offering. The bride's family proceed to the groom's house where they exchange gifts with the family of the groom. In kind and in quantity these are modest indeed when measured by Northwest Coast standards. A month later the couple and the groom's family return the visit, when again gifts are exchanged. Beyond these two, further formal visits are made only by the social pretentious. These formalities may be frequently initiated while the couple are still pre-adolescent, the bride being carried to her husband's home after her puberty dance.

583 *171 The general nature of the Klamath marriage relation smacks strongly of the Northwest Coast. This is apparent in the premium attached to purchase, to a lesser extent in the weighting accorded the amount of the purchase price, in the reciprocal nature of the gifts, and the series of formal visits before the affair is considered terminated. What is absent here is the notion that rank and privileges of a tangible nature are acquired by a marriage purchase.

This can best be brought out by instituting a series of comparisons with other tribes. For this purpose I shall select only a limited number of cases. For one thing data from Oregon tribes are almost wholly lacking, and those for California and Washington are both scattered and scanty.

Throughout California, save on the eastern border of the state, there is an appearance of purchase. But in reality it is only a presentation of gifts of no great amount as an earnest of the son-in-law's good will, a matter of etiquette rather than a stipulated price. The formality of giving varies as much as its conventional expression. With some, bride service is in order; with others, the parents-in-law must reciprocate the gifts. It is everywhere little more than an

observance, far removed from the set contractual relations established by a Northwest Coast marriage. It is nowhere an occasion for the display of wealth, and social prestige is not fixed by it.[666] 171* 583

Among the Basin tribes there is not even this semblance of purchase. What these people desire in a son-in-law is a good provider, who normally takes up residence with his wife's people. His incidental services can hardly be construed as payment in any sense. The groom slips into their life as unobtrusively as possible. Ceremonial is almost wholly lacking; at most a feast in celebration.[667] 171* 581 585

The situation in the Plains is not far distant, resembling rather that in California. In general the approach to the northwestern concept consists only in an exchange of gifts. The groom's family bring gifts to the home of the bride, receiving an equivalent, sometimes to a greater amount. Married life begins at once with the bride's family to whom the son-in-law renders services. But it is doubtful that either the gifts or the services are looked on as specific payment. Rather they serve to establish friendly relations and no more. Large amounts of property might be given for the honor of the act, but it was equally common for an old man to marry his daughter to a suitable man to obtain a provider for the family, no compensation being thought necessary. While some ostentation is inevitable in a Plains ceremonial act, there is here no lavish display of wealth. Equally foreign to their thought is the idea of social status fixed by a transfer of property.[668] 171* 583 585

If we turn from these to the Northwest Coast tribes, a very different picture is presented. We need go no farther north than the Kwakiutl for a typical expression of attitudes. The rank of a family, the social status of a child, are clearly defined in a regimented series depending largely on primogeniture coupled with wealth. Marriage is a purchase conducted on the same plan as the purchase of all ceremonial symbols of exceptional value. Its mechanism is the potlatch, the ceremonious bestowal of wealth on a social rival to enhance one's own status, with the certainty of its return several fold if the rival is to maintain his rank undiminished. A man buys in this fashion the rank and social privileges of his bride's family for the children of this marriage or heirs or relatives whoever they be. When the bridal price is ultimately returned two or three-fold, the contractual relation is at an end. The groom has the obvious advantage in this transfer of

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[666] See for example, Dixon, Northern Maidu, 230; Kroeber, Handbook, 492.

[667] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 275.

[668] Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre, 18; McClintock, Old North Trail, 184; Grinnell, The Cheyenne, 137.

*171 wealth in addition to the privileges that accrue by his investment. So
583 little is the bride concerned and so great the emphasis on the acquisition of new prerogatives for his family, that a man may carry out the
585 fiction of a marriage where there is no bride.

In the desire to keep the privileges within the family, a man of high degree may even espouse his younger brother's daughter.

Normally in return for the huge purchase price, the wife is given him as a first instalment. The heraldic crests of her family, its social privileges, and a considerable amount of property are given later to members of the husband's family. This repayment annuls the marriage; the wife is now free to return to her people, but should she choose to stay it is customary to make a new payment to the father-in-law.

The chief who desires marriage for himself or his son invites the aid of his townsmen in a matter of mutual interest; "our bride" is to be acquired, "all the tribes [lineages] have married my daughter" is her father's phrase. Four men are dispatched to the bride's town to offer the huge bride price, four hundred blankets and more. When the groom's party arrive, their spokesmen with stereotyped speech measure out the blankets, which are carried into the father-in-law's house. Like most Kwakiutl ceremonies, the marriage ritual is interwoven with myth; at this point the son-in-law and his party are put to a test which has mythical background. They must rush through torches into the house, or they are tried by a great fire and shown the sea monster whose mask spews out the bones of unsuccessful suitors. The father-in-law now makes his first repayment in self-depreciatory manner, two hundred blankets, a gesture derogatory of his rival's lavish giving. These the groom promises his followers in the name of his future heir. Soon after, when the father-in-law is ready to make full repayment, he visits the other with his followers. He makes a symbolical gift indicating the wealth he returns, the copper plates, the house and carvings the son-in-law demands, his own title acquired in marriage, and his ceremonial office and dance in the secret societies, which are to go to his grandson. The bride is brought out to have her valuable finery placed on the shoulders of the groom. Next day the young man distributes the wealth among his tribesmen in recompense for their aid at the marriage, and to start the wealth on an interest-bearing round once more. In doing so he assumes the proud titles acquired from his wife's father and bestows them too on others.

The marriage of those of lower rank is doubtless analogous but on a smaller scale.[809] 171*

I shall trace the elements of this marriage complex from this area southward, in order to make clear their relation to the customs of the Klamath. At the outset I will deal with the interrelated attitudes toward wealth and rank, marriage as an expression of it, and local exogamy dictated by it. Later I will return to a comparison of the marriage ceremony itself, to the levirate and sororate as expressions of family contracts, and to related phenomena such as reactions to adultery. 583 585

Purchase, Rank, and Exogamy

The marital customs of other Vancouver island tribes duplicate those of the Kwakiutl in all essentials. Their divergence is in a less sharp definition of rank and prerogative and diminished elaborateness of marriage ceremonialism. This diminution can be traced by successive steps to the Klamath and beyond. Not only are the attitudes of the island tribes respecting rank and wealth analogous to the Kwakiutl, but marriage is the same kind of mechanism for their transfer. We may also assume here the kind of local exogamy implied for the Kwakiutl. As marriages with relatives are normally prohibited, and mates of suitable rank and wealth are not to be found in the same tribe or village, a practice of local exogamy follows. While there is no prohibition against marriage within the community, the vast majority of alliances must be outside, since pretension to rank sinks deep in the several strata of society. There is at least some studied exogamy on the part of those of highest rank for whom foreign alliances mean increased prestige. 171* 582

As expressed by Sapir "among the more southern tribes intermarriage is prohibited only between such as are demonstrably related by blood, even if fairly remotely so. Owing to the structure of the village community, this would in many cases mean that there are few persons in a village that one is legally entitled to marry; but it is important to note that the village community as such need not be exogamous, that is, does not specifically prohibit intermarriage among its members."[810] [114]

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[809] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 358, 421, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 776, 1344, Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 116.

[810] Sapir, Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes, 367.

*171 The alternative to this exogamic practice was marriage with blood
582 kindred. While it was generally frowned on, an exception was permitted if no other mate was available. This is an attitude different from that of the Kwakiutl, who, desiring to keep privileges within the family, married his niece or cousin. When there is no available mate
(114) outside the blood group, a Klallam may marry his first cousin. Eells implies that a Twana (and Klallam?) always sought a wife first "within a certain circle of his relatives."[511]

There is no adequate information for western Washington tribes save from the Klallam and more moderately from the Chinook. Inasmuch as their attitudes and practices coincide in large degree, it is safe to assume that they are representative of the intervening territory.

Both Klallam and Chinook view wealth as a criterion of rank and its lavish display in the wedding ceremonial as an index of social pretension. Marriage with a person of lower rank is unthinkable.
*171 It is apparent that most Klallam brides are paid for, yet elopements occur and slave alliances are formed. Once such marriages are con-
556 tracted the parents make no effort to separate the couple, but a girl who
583 marries in this way is not highly respected. Whether payments are
• 585 made following elopements to legitimatize them, we are not told. Upper-class Klallam have a definite preference for extra-tribal mar-
*171 riages, especially with the people of Vancouver island. Local exogamy is even more general, holding for all ranks, for in a record of fifty-
582 seven marriages only five were with co-villagers.[512] Purchase, or its
*171 simulation, is so obviously the normal Chinook procedure also that even a successful elopement will be nullified unless a small sum is
583 paid. And these sticklers for form go through the orthodox ritual on this occasion as though the marriage was not yet consummated. For a man too poor to pay, there is no recourse but in matrilocal residence with bride service.[513]

There are but scattered observations on the tribes of the intervening territory but they suggest conformable practices. Since we learn that common people among the Makah paid a small amount for a bride without any ceremony, purchase must have been the regular form for all classes of society. Yet as elopements were frequent and are said always to have ended amicably, this suggests an approxima-

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[511] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 241; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 655.

[512] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 241 f.

[513] Boas, Chinook Texts, 251; Franchère, Narrative, 254.

*171 but heavily fined. "Generally speaking, these Indians seek their wives
582 from among other tribes than their own. . . . . It seems to be a matter of pride, in fact, to unite the blood of several different ones in their own persons. . . . . With the chiefs, this is almost always the case."[317]

*171 Marriage by purchase was the usual form among the Nez Percé,
583 but it is said that a marriage by agreement because of the groom's capabilities was a more desirable and honored form. This is a new
• 585 note, but it was characteristic of Plains tribes to the east. The purchase was effected with little ceremony. Bride and groom were not ordinarily members of the same village.[318] The exogamic habit here
*171 had not the same basis as among the tribes previously discussed. It seems due solely to the Nez Percé habit of forbidding marriages to
582 relatives of even remote degree, which necessarily resulted in village exogamy. I am unable to find evidence of exogamic practice farther to the east, but will return later to analogous forms of wife purchase.

*171 To return to the Columbia river: the Wishram had as strong a sentiment for caste and wealth as their down-river relatives, the Chinook
582 proper. Rank and wealth were here not quite synonymous, for chiefs
583 were not always the wealthiest individuals. Marriage was always
556 with one of the same rank, so that the children would have as high standing as their parents. Payment was insisted on in every case;
583 even in the case of marriage with a deceased brother's wife the
[587] procedure was gone through, else the children were as "nothing," i.e., not legitimate. The feeling was that the marriage must be regularized by payment, else the contractants were the subject of odium, and furthermore the marriage would not be permanent. So strong was the feeling, that a lower-class man guilty of adultery with a chief's daughter or other close relation would be killed; not for his crime as such, but because he was too poor to make proper recompense in marriage. Even constructive adultery, such as accidentally touching another man's wife, was heavily fined. The insistence seems to have been on the regularity of the form, for it was freely acknowledged that the gifts made on either side were about equal. The marriage of very young children was arranged and carried out in full form. Chiefs and wealthy men marry women of other tribes, but marriage within the village was prohibited to no one save a blood relative.[319] Much the same situation is implied for other Upper Chinook.

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[317] Gibbs, Tribes of Western Washington, 197.

[318] Spinden, Nez Percé, 250; Farrand, Notes on the Nez Percé Indians, 246.

[319] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

Marriage Visits

*171 • 585 431 One of the most characteristic features of marriage in the northwest was a series of reciprocal visits. These visits were more or less formally prescribed as to number and were always the occasion for making gifts in fulfillment of the contract obligations. For the more northerly groups, they were avowedly potlatches. The peripheral groups, who did not participate in the potlatch system, had at least some approximation in the marriage ceremony. To be sure, visiting back and forth carrying gifts after marriage was the habit of the Californians at large, as well as others. The peculiarity of this series is, however, that the visits were more or less formally prescribed and stereotyped as to time and conduct.

Their number among the Kwakiutl is not described; it may not have been fixed. But it is clear that the father-in-law visited the groom's people on several occasions to return an equivalent of their payments and to deliver the privileges, honors, etc., due them. This was by their own account potlatching; indeed the emphasis is so much on this aspect that a fiction might be substituted for an actual marriage. The return of the property was several-fold; the groom distributed the articles among his followers who had previously lent him the amount needed to make the purchase, and so the property was once more started on an interest-bearing round.

Klallam marriage was just as clearly a potlatch. "After six months or a year the bride's family visits the groom's relatives, bringing food and gifts. They are expected to bring at least as much as the groom's people brought to the wedding. Generally they try to bring a little more."[587] We may presume the distribution of these in regular potlatch fashion. As potlatching is also the custom of other western Washington tribes, we may assume that it also appears in their marriage settlements. It is true that we are told that those of Puget sound were not potlatches, but they do not differ one whit from the Klallam case.[588] Further, after the exchange of gifts the parents of the couple loaned each other property, expecting to get it back some time. The reciprocating visit of the bride's parents took place a few weeks or months after the marriage.

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[587] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 244.

[588] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 35. Both authors, who had little experience with Northwest Coast culture, clearly misunderstood the implications of their information. What may have been meant was that this was not a potlatch for the sole purpose of getting a return.

Whether the Chinook had an extended series of visits I do not know, but there is the same formal appearance of a gift-bearing messenger of the groom and the reciprocating visit of the bride's party conducting the bride to her new home. Boas' informant set their gifts at slightly less than the bride price, but Franchère would have it that even more was repaid, depending on the means and munificence of the bride's parents. The Wishram case was just as clearly one of potlatching; that is, the gifts must be reciprocated in superior amount else her parents lost caste; they were given with a lavish hand through the medium of a spokesman, participants were paid for their services, and the goods distributed among the members of the parties. The visits ran in this fashion: a messenger conveyed the groom's gifts, the groom's party proceeded to the bride's home where they were feasted, they distributed their further gifts and were recipients in turn. The same form was followed in transferring these later gifts. After matrilocal residence of a few weeks, a series of reciprocal visits began which ended in permanent residence among the man's people. Two visits apiece terminated the affair. 171* 585 • 431

From this point southward we do not seem to be dealing with the same affair, rivalry in lavish giving, although the series of visits persists. The Klamath also sent an emissary, the bride's party appeared at the groom's house, and the exchange followed. After a month the couple, with the groom's relatives, proceeded to the bride's former home, when an exchange again took place. Soon after the bride's relatives repeated their visit. Beyond this point visiting in this fashion was not fixed but occurred as an expression of mutual solicitude. The Shasta procedure was much curtailed in contrast. The girl was taken to the groom immediately after her puberty ceremony. Some time later her relatives visited to exchange gifts; after several months they were recipients in turn. Below this on the Klamath river postmarital visiting did not appear as a fixed form. Something of the sort appears among the Huchnom. The kinsmen of the groom carried gifts to the bride's home, where the groom then stayed. "The return of the husband to his own people was made the occasion of gifts of food and beads to the pair, which they gave to the wife's parents, besides entertaining their kin. A return visit to the wife's people followed, after which the couple usually founded their own home. This was always among the group or in the town of the wife."[illegible] Precisely the same visits are noted for the Pomo, and in addition the procedure was repeated several times, particularly if the couple's original homes had

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[illegible] Kroeber, Handbook, 211.

*171 been at a distance. This sort of formal visiting did not occur to the
• 585 southward so far as I know.

431 To return to Oregon, the Tillamook sent a messenger who brought back an equivalent gift. A week later the groom's party went to make the purchase, when they also received gifts. "Once every month this exchange of visits was repeated."[640] Something of the sort held among the Takelma, for the son-in-law was obligated to visit his parents-in-law with presents from time to time.

We must not believe that the potlatch sentiment was entirely extinguished in this direction. Farrand was impressed by the Alsea practice as suggesting "in certain ways the potlatch system of Vancouver island, for there was an apparent effort on the side of each family party to the contract to keep the other family in debt to it."[641] Coastal Oregon seems to be the limit to which such sentiment extended; it was certainly not the thought of the Klamath or the Californians.

In the direction of the Plains, potlatching did not appear unless we so construe the fact that among the Nez Percé the gifts made by the bride's people were somewhat greater than the groom's. The visits of these people consisted in conducting the bride to the groom's home, with a return visit a month later. Crow and Hidatsa knew nothing of this formal visiting. The Assiniboin procedure however resembled that to the northwest. A messenger was dispatched with purchase presents, the girl's party went to the groom, and soon after the groom's people returned the visit.

It thus appears that the marriage ceremonial partook of the nature of a potlatch in the northwest, but that beyond the Columbia river the practice had dwindled to an attenuated copy of the potlatch visiting without its sentiment of rivalry.

One further point in this connection should be noted. The first gift-bearing party is sometimes the groom's, sometimes the bride's; the distribution of the practice is not random. Among the Kwakiutl, Klallam, Puget sound tribes, and Wishram, it is the groom's party who go to the bride. Among the Chinook, Klamath, Shasta, Hupa, Yurok, Nez Percé, and significantly the Assiniboin, the bride's party first approaches the groom's group. The data on the Tillamook are not clear and for others wanting. Huchnom and Pomo, Crow and Hidatsa, conform to the generality of Californian and Plains practices in that the groom carries his gifts to the bride's parents.

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[640] Boas, Notes on the Tillamook, 7.

[641] Farrand, Notes on the Alsea, 243.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3757. Bathes in stream	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	841
3758. Bathes in house												+	+	−	−	+	
3759. Sweat bath, optional	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3760. Sweat bath, obligatory	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3761. Avoids sick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
3762. Avoids hunters	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3763. Avoids attending dances	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*3764. Some menstruants "lucky" for husbands	−	−	.				+	+	+	+	.	−	−	−	−	+	
3765. Restrictions extend to menstruant's husband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3766. Husband eats sparingly	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	841
3767. Meat, fish taboo											+	+	+	+	−	+	562
3768. Smoking taboo	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	593
3769. Fishing taboo	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	
3770. Hunting taboo	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	
3771. Gambling taboo	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
3772. Intercourse with wife taboo	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3773. Menopause: measures taken to induce	−	−	−					•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Marriage

Child Betrothal

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3774. Child betrothal	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	584
3775. Boy's father starts negotiations	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	
3776. Payment by boy's side	+	−	•−	+	−	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	
3777. Exchange of presents	−	•+	•−	−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	
3777a. Taboo relationship between children	•−	•−	•+								−	−	−	−	−	−	
3778. Binding on children	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3779. Good-will pledge only, for parents	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
3780. Common	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3781. To pay debt	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	−	
3782. Usually chief's or prominent family	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	[622]
3783. Payment in beads at time of marriage	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	
3784. Gifts given at time of marriage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	

Bride Purchase

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
*3785. Bride purchase, postpuberty	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	583
3786. Negotiated bride price	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	584
3787. Suitor's father makes offer; no negotiations	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
*3788. Intermediary acts	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
3789. Suitor's father acts	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	+	
3789a. Suitor himself acts	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3790. Money payment for bride	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	
3791. Gifts by suitor's family in payment	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	+	
3792. Gifts by suitor	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	+	
3793. Additional presents from groom's family after marriage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		+	
3794. Bride's family gives groom's presents	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
3795. Mature daughter given, to pay debt to groom's family	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3795a. Payment made to establish children's status	−	(+)	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Other Forms of Marriage

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3796. Simple marriage, established by couple living together	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	585
3797. Disapproved by community	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	(+)	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
585 3798. Groom's family gives pay, presents to bride's family after marriage established	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	·+	−	+	+	.	−
3799. Amount of gifts depends on approval of girl	+	+	·−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	.	−
3800. No gifts if girl a "run around" (loose)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
583 3800a. Service for bride, no payment	−	·+	·+	·+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	−	.	+
3801. Poor man only	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	+
3802. May buy or work out	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	+	−	−	+
[591] 3802a. Temporary matrilocal residence	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	+	−	−	−
3803. Permanent matrilocal residence	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	+
3803a. Marriage by abduction tolerated	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−
3804. Married women only	+	+	+						−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
3805. Woman won by contest	−	−	−	−	·+	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−
3805a. Friends assist	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[556] 3806. Husband bought	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
3806a. By wealthy man, for daughter	−	−	+	−	+	·+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3807. Girl sent to live with rich man, gratis	−	−	−						·+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
Marriage Observances																
585 3808. Groom goes to bride's house	+	+	·+	−	·−	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	.	−
3808a. Groom stays at bride's house	·+	·+	·+	−	−	·+	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	.	−
3809. Groom takes bride to his father's house	·+	·+	·+	−	−	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	.	−
[591] 3809a. Couple live at groom's father's house	+	·+	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	.	·+
3810. Short time only	·+	·+	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	·+	−	·+	−	−	−	−	.	·+
3810a. Indefinitely	·+	·+	·+	−	−	·+	·+	·+	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	·+	.	−
3811. Bride returns to her parent's house	·+	·+	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	·+	−	·+	−	−	·−	·−	.	−
3812. Groom's or bride's sister or family escort her to groom's home	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	−	−	.	·+
3812a. Groom and some friends go to bride's home	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	.	−
3813. Friends help groom hunt, fish	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	.	−
3814. Groom and family go to bride's house	−	−	·+	−	−	·+	·+	−	·+	·+	−	·+	−	·+	.	−
†3815. Visiting family (either side) stays ... nights, days	·1	·1	·1	−	·3	·2	·+	−	·0	·5	−	.	−	.	.	·3
3816. Marriage feast given by hosts	·+	·+	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	−	−	·+	·+	.	·+	·+	·+	·+
3817. Both parties contribute	·+	·+	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	−	−	·+	−	.	·+	·+	·+	−
3818. Bride and groom sit together on mat	·+	·+									−	−	−	−	−	−
3818a. Presents piled beside couple.	·+	·+									−	−	−	−	−	−
3819. Couple fed	·+	·+									−	−	−	−	−	−
3819a. Sleep together at spot where they sat	·+	·+									−	−	−	−	−	−
[537] 3820. Speeches	·R	·+	·+	−	·+	−	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+
[622] 3820a. By heads of both families	·R	·+	·+	−	·+	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	·+	·+	·+	·+
3821. By headmen of group	−	·+	·+	−		−	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+
Polygamy																
595 3822. Polygyny, wives unrelated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
‡3823. Maximum number paid for	1	1	3	5	1	1	1	3	1	0	1	1	−	0	0	2
o3824. Maximum number in same house	5	2	2	2	2	·10	2	1	10	2	·2	2	−	2	2	2
3824a. First wife outranks others	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	+	·+	+
3825. Wives live in separate houses	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	·+	·+	−	+	+	−	.	·+	−
3826. Wives live in separate towns	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	·+	+	−	−	−	−
3827. Concubines in separate towns	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
3828. Prominent men have greatest no. of wives	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	·−	·−	−	+	·+	+

daughter or daughters (2) to chief, or may send 1 daughter to man who is good hunter. Young women carry 2 large baskets fine acorn flour; when reach chief's house, they sit down outside until chief's mother or 1 of his wives bids them enter. In evening chief comes in, and sits down between 2 girls (if 2 sent); when he eats 1 puts acorn soup in basket for him, other salmon in basket "pan"; all 3 eat together. That night he sleeps with both of them; they stay with him about 1 month or so; he or his helpers kill deer and they dry meat; when they leave they take this meat home to their mother. At their departure, chief tells them, "whenever you girls want to come back, you can come," and they return later, to him.

Marriage observances.--
If entry applies only to 1 or more of several forms of marriage practiced by group, note explains to which it applies. If entry applies to all forms practiced by group, no note given.

3808. SE: Refers to simple marriage established by couple living together; to marriage by service for bride, no payment; to marriage by abduction and marriage where husband bought. At: Groom's father goes to girl's house, pays girl's father 5 strings (1/2 of total) of shell beads, while girl is asleep. Girl is awakened, and goes over to groom's father's house with her family; she and family stay there 2-3 days; girl sleeps with youth; much feasting; remaining 5 strings of beads paid to her family and gifts of meat, salmon given them. After 2-3 days bride returns home with her family; stays there 2-3 days, then goes back to husband, loaded with presents from her side, roots, acorns, other foodstuffs. Her sister escorts her back to her husband's house; sister stays there 1 night, then returns home. AW, AE: Applies to simple marriage. WT, WM, WS: Applies to child-betrothal marriage; bride-purchase marriage; simple marriage. WS: See note 3635 for data on child-betrothal marriage. MM, MF, NM: Applies to child betrothal and simple marriage. NS: Applies to simple marriage.

[585] 3808a. Kl, WM: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. Mo: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage; service for bride. SE: Applies to simple marriage and marriage where husband bought. AW, AE: Applies to simple marriage. WT: Applies to bride purchase and simple marriage. MM, MF, NM: Applies to child betrothal and simple marriage. MM: In child-betrothal marriage groom stays at bride's house about 6 or 8 days; in simple marriage groom may live at bride's house from 6 days to 2 or 3 months. NF: Applies to simple marriage.

[585] 3809. Kl, WT, WM: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. Mo, SE: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage; marriage by abduction. AW, AE, NF: Applies to simple marriage. WS: Applies to bride purchase and simple marriage. MM, MF, NM: Applies to child betrothal and simple marriage.

[224-B]

000 3809a. Mo: Applies to all Mo forms marriage except service for bride. SE, AW, WT, WM: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. At, MV: Applies to child betrothal and bride purchase. AE, NF: Applies to simple marriage. WS: Applies to bride purchase and simple marriage. MM, MF, NM: Applies to child betrothal and simple marriage.

585 591 3810. Kl, Mo, At, WT, MV: Refers to child betrothal and bride purchase. SE, AW, AE: Refers to simple marriage. WS: Applies to bride purchase and to simple marriage.

000 3810a. Kl, Mo: Refers to child betrothal and marriage by abduction. SE: Refers to child betrothal and bride purchase. AW, AE, WT, NF: Refers to simple marriage. WM: Refers to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. MM, MF, NM: Applies to child betrothal and simple marriage. NF: Applies to simple marriage.

[585] 3811. Kl, Mo, At, WT: Refers to child betrothal and bride purchase. SE, AW, AE: Refers to simple marriage. SE: Short time after marriage consummated groom escorts wife to his father's house. WS: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. NF, NM: Bride makes informal visits at irregular intervals to her family, but no formal return shortly after she has begun living in her husband's father's house.

[585] 3812. Kl, Mo, SE, SW, At, AW, AE, WT, WM, WS, MV: Refers to child betrothal and bride purchase. Mo: "This was the decent way to do--for the family to take the girl to her husband's house. This made her respectable; they couldn't have her running back and forth between those 2 houses. Wealthy people always did this." MM, MF: Refers to child betrothal.

3812a, 3813. Mo, SE, WM, WS: Applies to simple marriage.

3814. SE, AW, AE, WM: Refers to child betrothal and bride purchase. AW: See note 3815. Bride and groom may stay on at bride's family's home (if marriage celebrated there) anywhere from 2 days to 1 or 2 months. Groom gets wood for his father-in-law; bride packs water for mother-in-law, whichever place they are staying. If both families wealthy, couple keep visiting back and forth; if 1 family does not have much to eat, stay with more affluent relatives, and "take food and pack wood for poorer side once in awhile." WS: Refers to bride purchase. MF, NM: Refers to child betrothal.

[585] 3815. Kl, Mo: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. SE, At, AW, AE, MV: Refers to child betrothal, bride purchase. WS: Refers to bride purchase. Kl, Mo, At: Bride's family escort daughter back to groom's house, on her return to her husband. SE: Groom's family stays at bride's family's house. AW: In child-betrothal marriage, either groom's family goes to bride's house or vice versa, depending on which side says, "You come to my place." AE: Visiting family may stay from 2 to 6 months at groom's father's house. WM: Visiting family stays only few hours.

[225-A]

585 000 3816, 3817. Kl, Mo, SE, At, AE, MV: Refers to child betrothal, bride-purchase marriage. AW: Refers to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. In simple marriage, feast may be given if groom meets with approval of bride's family, and both groom's and bride's family are wealthy. Host contributes larger share of food; friends help him. "Sometimes at times like this the people dance, too, just for fun, because there are so many people there." WS: Refers to bride purchase. MM, NM: Refers to bride purchase. NF: Refers to simple marriage. NS: Refers to child betrothal and marriage where woman won by contest.

[585] 3818-3819a. Kl, Mo: Refers to child-betrothal, bride-purchase marriages. Bride sits with back to people, groom faces people.

[537] [585] 3820-3821. Kl, WS: Refers to bride purchase. Mo, SE, At, AE, WM, MV: Refers to child betrothal, bride purchase. MM, MF, NM: Refers to child betrothal. NF: Refers to simple marriage. NS: Refers to child betrothal, to marriage where woman won in contest.

Polygamy; marriage of blood relatives.--

3824. AW: Shaman may have as many as 10 wives, given to him in payment for doctoring. More usual for man to have about 3 wives, 1 of whom he paid for; other 2 may be orphans or relations of his first wife. MM: See note 3826.

3824a. NS: First wife head wife; "supposed to look after her first of all."

3825. WT, WM: Sometimes, not always. NS: If live in same house, "wives fight each other, pull hair."

3826. MM: Example: man at Big Meadows (MM group) has wife, whom he lives with part of year; other part he may spend with his wife who lives in Indian Valley (informant's group). "Just common men do this; and sometimes, if comman man has 2 wives, they both live with him, in same house."

3828. MM, MF: Headman has 1 wife only; "common men" are only ones who practice polygyny. NS: Chief has several wives to pound acorns for him.

3835. Mo: See note 3961. AE: If first wife barren, she may urge husband to marry her younger sister, so that latter will have baby. "Then barren wife almost claims that little baby; they like it so much."

3836. AE: If man's first wife has 3-4 or more children, she may send her husband over to her family, to get a younger sister as wife, telling him, "You go get my sister, to help me take care of these children."

3838. SW: See note 3839.

3839. SW: Man can demand that his dead wife be replaced, and it is then obligatory for dead wife's sister to marry him; "but most men want to 'get away' from their dead wife's family" (and so do not demand this replacement; informant did not know why). WT: Dead wife's sister marries brother-in-law "because it would make her feel bad to see him with another woman, in place of her dead sister. Man feels he belongs to his dead wife's

As for the deposed Monchnkasgitk, his place was promptly 657*
filled by the election of one "Barcley." Despite the rebuff, 648*
Monchnkasgitk rose again in time to the position of subchief at 622
Yainax, where he came to be known as Moses Brown.[17]

The major election had removed from immediate power one who had obstructed Agency-sponsored reforms, but had left the membership of the lesser chieftaincies intact. It is clear that administration policy held that representation by a chief was
adequate to secure the interests of a band. Thus, in 1871, when 657*
John Meacham found the lot of the slaves little improved his 648*
remedy was to authorize them to elect a chief "to represent 622
them in the councils and courts of the tribes."[18] In the political 692
order thus established, the chiefs had been displaced from an 693
executive role to constitute a court, while a sheriff, chosen from among the Indians, together with constables, one per chief, were to maintain order. Chiefs, somewhat extralegally, soon began to assume magisterial functions.

It took some time to make the court aware of the bounds 657*
within which it ought to operate. John Meacham noted in his 648*
charges "an excessive disposition to go to law," and remarked, 622
"I have counciled [sic] the board of chiefs against this, especially 692
against making arrests for trifling offenses or for *no* offence at all, advising them that the object of the law is to *protect* the people and not to *oppress* them."[19] Soon thereafter, he reduced the court to a membership of only seven chiefs and set its sessions at monthly intervals.[20]

As outlined by Dave Hill, one of the members of the court, 657*
the list of offenses combined crimes against the person (murder, 648*
adultery, stealing, fornication, witchcraft, and fighting), those 622 [68]
against property (arson), together with what can only be considered redefinitions of customary procedure. Thus, cremation [764]
of the dead was enjoined and the license permitted a chief in
dealing with his followers was severely circumscribed. Marriages [585] •
were to be confirmed before the principal chief, who was to [643]
receive a fee; the bride price was not to be returned on the [586]
desertion of the husband; while the court might order the separation of an irreconcilable couple. Monogamy alone was per- [595]
missible.[21]

Thus, not only were the chiefs given new and different powers,

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Of all the societal relationships, the Social Change ~~government~~ sought directly 103 657*
to change only those within the family. It was clear that a nation 648*
that was soon to impose upon the Mormons the American, and 595
not the Biblical family, would permit no special marital practices 177
among the Indians. Polygamy was banned, although not retro- 178
actively for unions such as those of Allen David and Monchnkasgitk, which had been contracted prior to January 1, 1870. Some leaders themselves appear to have advocated the change in a desire to emulate whites. In 1877, Gatschet noted that there
were still two or three polygamous men.[26] Since polygamy had [556]
been a mark of the affluent, the ban, like the emancipation of the slaves that preceded it, served to erode the status of the traditional chiefs.

An effort was also made to place under the authority of the 657*
court of chiefs certain relationships which had formerly been 648*
regulated privately between the families or individuals con- 622
cerned. In the legal code instituted when the court was estab- 692
lished, the consecration of marriage was made the function of 685 •
the head chief, to whom the groom was to pay a fee of five, three, 583
or two dollars or the same amount in horses, graduated according [643]
to his means. It was again the chiefs who punished fornication [684]
and polygamy and performed divorce.[27] The traditional ritual [586]
of marriage still was being practiced by some families in the 1890's[28] but the gift exchanges between the families concerned which set a public seal on the union were superseded, and the controls exerted by the family over the couple were thereby diminished. The effects of these and other changes were recognized by Gatschet. "Matrimonial reverses . . . among the Klamath [he declared] . . are one of the unavoidable consequences of the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers at Fort Klamath."[29]

With time, the seal upon marriage came to be set by the 657*
Methodist church and its ethics in turn permitted the independ- 648*
ent of spirit to flout tradition. One woman recalled that upon 581
the death of her husband his family proposed that she wed his 587
brother in customary manner, but she refused out of regard for 177
the memory of her husband and the sanctity of the bond of their 178
marriage in the church.

648*

office, I will have to insist upon having the leases drawn through 657*
this office."[11] Even marriage had to be restricted at first in order 427
that proper records be maintained. Thus Marshall Petet rejected 648*
the request of an off-reservation preacher to marry a couple 657*
with the statement that "it is the custom for the Indians to either 585 •
be married by Mr. Starnes, the Methodist preacher, or myself."
He added, "Indians marrying off of the Reservation, and where
no notice of the same ever reaches this office, has given rise to
much trouble, and I therefore require that they be married
here."[12] With time, such controls had to be relinquished.

Meanwhile, such a man as O. C. Applegate, with his broad 648*
acquaintanceship in Klamath Falls and his long familiarity with 657*
the Indians, took upon himself the role of patron and middle- 426
man. For several women who wished to employ an Indian house- [464]
keeper or cook he was indefatigable in his efforts. He gave
advice on the credit ratings of various Indians to numerous merchants in Klamath Falls. Occasionally he loaned money to those he deemed good risks, or advanced out of pocket cash to pay a debt long outstanding. Usually, however, he merely paraphrased the words of Emery that "Jim Smith has a contract to cut wood" and therefore can be trusted for an advance of $50.00 worth of merchandise. He might observe that "Judge Joseph Kirk is a good square man, and I wish you might make him an exception in his case." On a few occasions he sought to have Henry Jackson agree to underwrite a credit for another Indian.

Other men undertook to extend credit on a smaller scale. Daniel Cronemiller, who long before (1883) had advanced credit to Indians, cosigned at least two notes with Indians: one with Jesse Kirk and another with Henry Wilson. About the turn of the century, the former Agent, Leroy S. Dyar, estimated that through the years he had loaned approximately six hundred dollars to Indians.

The Agent's power, however, was an important condition of 648*
his patronage. The assignment of freight loads from the railroads 657*
at Ager and Pokegama, California, was rotated among available 464
Indian teamsters, but the administrator made sure that the de- 494
serving received more frequent assignments. Thus, Emery could
request a merchant to let Stonewall Jackson have the merchan-

*539 Hä' ī k̲ä'liak híshuaksh ná-änds sätólakuapk, hû'k tchīsh híssuaks
If you, not having a husband, with another should cohabit, this also man
622 k̲ä'liak snáwädsh, spû'lhi-uapka nû kä'lish snáwedsh. Hä hû'ksa heshtó-
(is) without a wife, shall imprison I the unmarried (man). If they should live
692 [684] lakuapk, hû'nk nī túmĕnuk nä'-ulakuapk spúlhi-uapka nu hishuáks hû'nk.
in concubinage, of it I hearing will punish (and) will imprison I man that.

Tchī' Ä'-ukskni lalák̲i nä'-ulĕka tchī' huk käílatat m'nálam; tsúi k̲ī'llitk
So the Klamath Lake chiefs order so they in districts their; and severe (is)
nä'-ulaks lalák̲iam.
the law of the chiefs.

[585] Hä'toks ī sû'msealstka gíuapk sī-ī'huapk ī lápuk, snawä'dshash
And if you on the point of marriage should be and should agree you both, female
hissuáksh tchī'sh, tsúi ī gépkuapk lak̲iámksi; tsúi mī'sh lak̲í snû'mpsä-
male also, then you must come to chief's house; and you the chief will unite in
aluapk, tû'nep ī n's tála skû'ktanuapk hû'nk pīl mû'yäns pī'la lák̲iash;
wedlock, five you to me dollars shall pay only to the principal only chief;
hä'toks ī yúalks, tsī hû'k ī ndán tála, wakiánhua lä'p tála skû'ktanuapk.
but if you (are) poor, then you three dollars, may be two dollars have to pay.
Hä ī yuálks tsi gíuapk súmsä-aluapk, gä't ī n's skû'ktanuapk. Häts ī
If you poor should be (and) intend to marry, that much you to me have to pay. And if you
skû'ktish háměniuk tû'ma wátch gitk, túnīp ī skû'ktanuapk snawä'dshash;
to pay want of many horses possessed, five (horses) you can give in payment for the wife;
hä'toks yúalks tsī ī lápi wátch skû'ktanuapk, wakiánhua ndán wátch,
and if poor you two horses can pay, or perhaps three horses,
tû'ma-kans wátch gī'tkiug.
many horses when having.

[586] Hä' tchi m's snawä'dsh gû'skuapk, k̲á-i ī wátch shnû'kp'li-uapk
And if you (your) wife should leave, not you the horses can take back
k̲á-i tch snawä'dsh hûk wátch spunī'-uapka m'sh; ī pī'l ī hissuáksh pīl
and not (your) wife a horse need transfer to you; you alone, you husband only
shä'wanuapk snawä'dshash gû'shkank.
must give (them) (your) wife when leaving.

[595] K̲á-i ī láp snawä'dsaluapk; nä'sak ī snawä'dslank gíuapk; hä'toks ī
Not you two wives shall marry; one only you marrying must live; but if you
[684] láp snawä'dsaluapk, nä'-ulakuapka m'sh. Hä' tchīk wéwanuish lä'pi gíug
two wives marry, shall punish (I) you. If the wives double for being
hishtcháktanuapk, tánkt mī'sh nī skuyû'shkuapk snáwädsh nä'sh; tsûshnī'
should quarrel, then from you I shall divorce wife one; forever
m'sh nī skuyû'shkuapk, k̲á-i ī tatá mbushäálp'luapk. Hä'toks ī mbuseál-
from you I shall sever her, not you ever can marry her again. And if you associate again
[586] p'luapk spûlhi-uapká m'sh nī. Häts nä'dsiak mī snawä'ds tsû'ssak ī
(with her) shall imprison you I. And if monogamic your with wife constantly you
hishtcháktanuapk, tánkt mīsh nī skuyû'shkuapk, ampkáak ī hishû'kat;
should quarrel, finally from you I shall separate (her), or else ye may kill each other;

4. Section 1: The Red-Haired Woman of Sprague River

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) dińa· mat hok či·ya sńewe·ts, doma· wewe·ʔas gitk. (2) čoy da·ts Na·čyak sńewe·čḱa, taktak ńos gitk, ʔa·di·ńs laq gitk, taktakĺis ńos gitk. (3) čoy honk ʔat mo·ni giwk ʔat lis honk, distbnok, hiswaqsĺa—kańs bas q̓ay ni s'ʔaywakta, datgi·sas. (4) ʔaMḱa ǥoWasdigi·sas. (5) čoy da·ts honk gatbamblidamna[16] (6) wičta honk Na·s mna p'ʔa·na. (7) čoy honk naʔas, "ʔat ʔan gembliwapk, či·sdaĺ." (8) čoy honk pḱisap naʔas gi, "hok ʔa mis spončambliwapk, Na·s p'ʔa·nip." (9) čoy naʔas, "q̓ay. ho·t ʔans spončambliwapk. (10) q̓ay ni gembliwapk, he· če· nis ho·t spončambliwapk." (11) čoy honk ʔat če·t hak hok naʔas, "ʔi·. spončambliwapk mis ni." (12) čoy sa honk ʔat gepga, gepga. (13) hi·t sas sponne·kĺa. (14) čoy sa honk loĺalliǥa, mo· so·čank. (15) čoy mna tobaksa slambli·ya Naykséant loloqs, čoy bi ge·ksĺant. (16) čoy honk ʔat qaqtanča. (17) čoy honk ʔat qtampks, sq̓olliǥo·ta mna p'ʔa·na. (18) čoy honk ʔat weq so·di·la, ńosdat. (19) čoy honk sǥiso·lank naʔas gi, "waq hak ča·ms ge·! (20) gent ʔan ge·ks nidwalla! (21) waq bas nis giwapk, sńewe·tsalpks p'ʔa·na mna!" (22) ʔat honk ḱewńi kčitgal, čoy honk ʔat mo·ńs weq gaẃal, ḱet ba det bi honk bi gi. (23) čoy honk ʔat qtana dak, honk taktak ńos gitk. (24) čoy honk hosʔalha. (25) čoy honk ʔat qtayai gembli.

(26) čoy honk pḱisa mna naʔas waq ʔans hok do·. (27) čoy honk pḱisap naʔas, "ya···, mo· ʔa na·ĺs q̓oyči dwa· geLWanwapk!"

(28) čoy honk ʔat hok sǥiso·la gida, ʔa·di··· dini·gisi. (29) naʔas gi, "čoy da·ts no· honks hosle·wapk dwa·! (She started a fire which leaped ahead of her.) (30) čoy honk mo· nońatĺa na·nok. (31) na·nok ʔa neńalǥa, p'ʔa·nisa, we·ẃańs mańi· sam. (32) čoy honk ʔat bičgasdat hayo·ẃi·na hok sńewe·čḱa, dam bas kani wipga. (33) čoy honk naʔas, pḱisa mna, "stintnok ʔams ni sniẃapga." (34) čoy wele·qs naʔas gi, "dankt ho·t ʔambotdat gewi!" (35) čoy honk ʔat hok pḱisap bičgasdat gawʔi·na. (36) čoy honk dwa· ǥa·yḱa, q̓ay ni s'ʔaywakta dwa· ǥa·yakst. (37) čoy honk sdipambli ga·mo·ts. (38) čoy honk sqoĺs nekḱapks qe·mat gitk. (39) čoy honk naʔas, "hãhãʔ!" (40) čoy honk sdagal, čoy honk la·ba ḿomḱa·k hadakt gaẃal.

[585]

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[16] Mrs. Ohles remarked that in the old days a newly married woman might make frequent and extended trips to her parents' home. Sometimes her husband would accompany her and sometimes not, as is the case in this myth.

33. A Childhood Incident
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) When I was small, I always wanted to whirl around. (2) So I whirled around. (3) Then my mother said, "Don't do that! (4) You will get hurt!" (5) Then I whirled around, not minding. (6) So I then fell upon my stomach on a sharp place like this here. (7) Now I got hurt. (8) Then she spanked me with a piece of wood.

34. Marriage Customs
(Mr. Robert David)

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(1) I do not know it awfully well. (2) It was such a long time ago. (3) However, I heard thus, [that] these people long ago, when they liked each other thus, then they told their mother and their father too thus, "I want that girl," that man said. (4) "I want that woman." (5) And they asked, "Does she, then, want you? (6) Does she then want you, that girl?" they asked that man about that woman, his parents. (7) And he said, "Yes, she wants me," he said. (8) "Yes," they said, "Let us get ready." (9) They said, "We will get ready, and on this day we will gather together. (10) Now [you] will get her," they said.

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(11) Now then they came [the groom and his parents are denoted by the verb]. (12) That man's people from this side will come—all the relatives. (13) And those from that side will do the same thing, her fathers [i.e., parents?], whatever they might be, the same sort of relatives of the girl. (14) And now they give [gifts] to each other the same way. (15) And those from that side give [gifts] to the groom. (16) All sorts of things that they have, even very valuable [things], they even did thus with horses long ago. (17) They used to give each other even many horses, if they had horses. (18) These horses have been here for a long time, among the Indians. (19) And they did thus, at that time.

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581

(20) Then when they had finished doing thus, now being pleased they did thus—now they made it tight [i.e., concluded the marriage agreement], having done thus. (21) On both sides they told [the couple], "Live as long as you will live, together. (22) You will be one now," they said. (23) Now they said, "Even however difficult [it might be], you will always

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

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581

live together with that man of yours," they said. (24) "You will never leave him. (25) You will never deceive him. (26) You will give him everything. (27) You will hide nothing [from him]." (28) Thus they told them. (29) "Everything of yours [pl.] will be just one. (30) Now you will tell each other [everything]. (31) Anything at all—if someone would tell you, something, then you would tell your husband. (32) If [someone] would tell you, the husband, also, then you will tell your wife. (33) Now you [pl.] will be just one. (34) Then having become just one, then you will tell your [pl.] children in the same way, to do just thus, just as we live," said that old man, speaking, who was their father, his [hers?].

(35) "So now you [pl.] will become just one. (36) We are this many living. (37) And thus having begotten children, then you will advise [them], just as we are telling you today. (38) And you must never, never forget it!" they said. (39) "If you indeed would forget it, something evil will take hold of you forever. (40) And it will always be thus. (41) Now you will hide something from him next, even something big, which you did wrongly—perhaps [something you] did. (42) If you do thus," they said, "Then something you do not want, evil, to be thus, to fall between [you] thus, then it will catch you. (43) Where we live, so you will live, being happy. (44) And so far, when we are old now. (45) So you will live together until old age with that wife of yours." (46) Thus they told them. (47) Now that's as far [as it goes].

Introductory Note to Text 35

539*
854
[124]

This is the Klamath version of "This Little Piggy Went to Market." Mrs. Ohles felt that it, or something very similar, had been used since pre-White days, but she was not sure about the details. Several of the items are untranslatable in terms of this corpus, and one, No. (6), seems to contain myth material. Mrs. Ohles thought that there definitely was a myth connected with this but could not recall it in any detail and did not wish to commit herself.

Method: The adult takes the baby's fingers one by one, starting at the little finger and ending with the thumb, reciting one of the first five words for each finger. Taking the baby's open palm, the adult taps it rhythmically and recites sentence (6). She then circles the baby's palm

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 151]

recognize that the marriage is consummated by a series of gift exchanges and inasmuch as it was said that in the long run the man and his relatives have the advantage, it is clear that this is no outright bride purchase. 583

Giving a girl in marriage is sometimes a means of paying off a social obligation. Considerable property is destroyed at a cremation. This is normally furnished by the relatives of the deceased but in order to do honor a non-relative may contribute beads and other valuables to be consumed on the pyre. The recipient family is under obligation to reciprocate. Should one of the contributing family later want a wife from among them, they must acquiesce. The groom must make payment at the time of marriage, however. That no payment had been made in the case cited above undoubtedly explains why the runaway bride was not forced to return to her husband. 583 764

Possibly the sum must be repaid in the event of separation, at least if the wife leaves the husband. Probably the time element is important; a marriage soon terminated means restoring the *status quo;* in one of long duration this is impossible. 586

A man sends a friend to sound the girl's people on their willingness and the price expected. This man is chosen for his forwardness; he may be a relative but never a brother or father. He carries a bundle of sticks representing the gifts offered, which if successful he leaves, though they are not used further. The girl's father consults his wife before agreeing. Next day or as soon as the girl's people can get ready their gifts and contributions of food they take their daughter to the groom.[66] The groom's relatives have gathered meanwhile, collecting their gifts in the groom's home. The exchange takes place within the lodge, each party putting down its gifts beside the other seated opposite. The gifts from the bride's side, at least, commonly include clothing (presumably the Plains type), pond-lily seed, and roots of various sorts. The payment now made on behalf of the groom includes the promised articles. Speeches are made by the parents of both, admonishing them to live in harmony. Payment for a bride is called wo'ko'wi, the reciprocal gifts, i'wi. 584 584 585

It is difficult to say just how formal are the visits that follow marriage; at least one or two are usual, if not prescribed for the well-to-do among whom further payments by the groom are expected.

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[66] In a Modoc (or Klamath?) song recorded by Gatschet (Songs of the Modoc Indians, 27, 29) a bride is carried on her brother's back. As Gatschet points out, carrying the bride is a custom of northerly tribes.

587 a woman with young children is as likely as not to be a member of a joint house group with her husband's immediate kin. We may also wonder if she would not ordinarily continue to reside with them even though she does not remarry in the group. It might be illuminating to know how residence with or apart from this family affects the practice. In default of a husband's brother, the widow should marry a nephew, either fraternal or sororal, or another of his kinsmen. A payment is made but not so large an amount as at her first marriage. Since only close relatives are paid, a widow may not be paid for if she has none. Much depends on the woman's willingness; she may not care to be a plural wife. Nevertheless, it is in some degree compulsory, for if she should marry another, her deceased husband's brothers may kill the man. While their objection is voiced loudly enough, they do not announce their purpose but await a favorable opportunity to surprise him.

586 Quarrels and adultery lead to separation, which is frequent;
there seems no compulsion to endure an unbearable situation. Incompatibility and jealousy (suki'ksale'a) bring on quarrels as frequently
as they do in any other group of human beings. Typical causes
837 of domestic friction cited to me are adultery, as with a slave
woman of the household, a woman's continual anger with her husband, or her demand for sole attention in a polygynous household.
It is always the wife who leaves. My informants could imagine no
situation short of adultery which would lead a man to send his wife
away. Nevertheless he can force her to act. A good, stout-hearted
woman stays, so they said, no matter how badly she is treated; only a
mean-spirited one flies home. Inevitably the situation is complicated
by children. A wife may take all her children with her or only the
little ones. This seems a question of who is at fault, for a woman
taken in adultery may choose to submit to beatings by her husband
rather than be separated from her children. If a wife leaves of her
own volition and for just cause, her husband must pay again to have
her return, must assuage the feelings of her family by gifts. If he
does not desire her, he may ask for the return of the marriage gifts
but they are not automatically forthcoming. If the wife is at fault
he may choose to demand the return of the bride price. Its return
586 is called sĕldŏnga. If a man is impotent his wife may leave him for
842 another. But he cannot cast his wife aside because she is barren; he
adds another to the household.

In the matter of adultery it is quite clear that a man has no recourse but to kill the lover; demanding payment for the wrong is unthinkable. He waits his opportunity to ambush the other. A man of no consequence may have to put up with the situation, but at least he would never think of turning to a chief for help.[74] The husband may send his guilty wife away, may beat or even kill her. Sometimes he will send someone to demand the return of the bride price, and her people return what still remains. The woman is then free to marry her lover who must pay for her in regular fashion. Nothing goes to the former husband. If a woman finds her husband unfaithful, she may beat (satŏ'mdoḳa) the other woman; her final recourse is to return home. 837 [586]

TRANSVESTITES

Transvestites or berdaches (tw!Innă'ĕk) are found among the Klamath as in all probability among all other North American tribes. These are men and women who for reasons that remain obscure take on the dress and habits of the opposite sex. Their number is small. Five men who lived as women were cited by an informant, two women who lived as men, and others are known. One of the former was from the Dalles. This is a very minor fraction in a population numbering upward of two thousand. Kroeber has assumed that such individuals are invariably psychologically abnormal, homosexual;[75] I am not sure. The case of Lᴇle'ks below rather argues against it. At any rate their abnormality is socially canalized: they are permitted to live as they desire despite the distaste of the normal Klamath for the practice, and the scorn and taunting to which he subjects them. 838 [114]

It is to the point to note that the men who turned women adopted woman's dress, pursuits, personal habits, and speech, and in one case at least married. Neither of the two women affected male garb; one married and made some pretense of men's habits, the other is rather simply a case of an irregular sex life. The cases of two of the transformed men which follow seem to turn on adolescent experiences. While these are phrased with relation to esoteric situations, they are more adequately explained as states of psychological disturbance rationalized in these terms. A third of the men-women turned shaman, but I do not know that this followed directly from the transformation. [756]

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[74] Punishment of adultery and other torts by a chief, as described by Gatschet (1:58 *et seq.*), are post-reservation customs.

[75] Handbook, 46, and elsewhere.

The latter reciprocated by visiting with gifts for the husband's father. 171* Here, too, indemnity was demanded for adultery or constructive adultery. Shasta data also indicate a contractual relation between the families; the levirate was compulsory and a sister must be furnished for a deceased wife or an adulteress. So firm is the contract conceived 171* that a man who carries off a widow without compensating her husband's family stands in danger of his life. Parallel to the Yurok case, 587 the husband who made no payment for his wife had no redress for adultery. Perhaps the contractual relation was as strong among the Puget sound people but the data are insufficient to support the view. A Nisqually widow was obliged to marry her husband's brother or cousin, and a widower married his wife's sister. But if the widow did not marry among his relatives, she usually returned to her own people with her children. Among Snohomish and Snuqualmi, if a [586] woman abandoned her husband or was divorced for good cause, her people had to return the bride price. Klallam expression is much the same; a widow was expected to marry her brother-in-law or a near relative, a woman's family to offer a sister or relative of hers on her death. Similarly a wife's parents were expected to offer repayment [586] of the bride price if she left her husband, but it was bad form for him to accept it.

The Klamath attitude is at some remove from this one of mutual obligations. The levirate was customary but not obligatory, and the sororate permissible but no fixed custom. The widow was under some obligation to her husband's brothers, who might object should she marry another, but this seems rather a matter of sentiment than right. The feeling was that she, a member of their family and even an inmate of their house, should remain one. The reaction to a wife's adultery [837] is the common one of revenge on the lover, but with no thought that the husband's rights to the wife had been damaged.

Throughout a wider area the levirate and sororate were both practiced, but nowhere do we find them of the obligatory nature described above. It will suffice to list these cases. The levirate was customary among the Tillamook. (Perhaps if we knew more of this people this would transpire to be another obligatory case, considering their proximity to the Chinook.) Among the Achomawi it was perhaps regular;[446] the Sacramento Valley Maidu, usual; the Northwestern Maidu, general; occurred sometimes among Yuki and Pomo (northern, southeastern, and eastern divisions, although of the latter Gifford says

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[446] Kroeber, Handbook, 312.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
Adultery																	
3930. Adultery rare	+	+	+	+	.+	+					+	–	.+	+	+	–	837
3931. Wife punished	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R+	+	R+	+	+	–	684
3932. Beaten	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R+	+	R+	+	+	–	
3933. Hair cut	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3934. Mouth burnt		–	.+								–	–	–	–	–	–	
3935. Sometimes killed	.+	.+	.+	–	.+	–	.+	.+	.+	.+	–	.+	–	.+	.+	–	
3936. Wife's seducer punished	+	+	.+	+		+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	
3937. Killed	+	+	+	+		.+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	
3938. Fine paid by killer	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3939. No fine, if seducer instigated affair	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
3940. No fine if wife instigated affair	–	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
3941. Feud starts	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	
3942. Feud stopped by payment	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3943. Beaten, by husband	–	–	–					+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	
3944. Seducer pays fine	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3945. To husband	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3946. To woman's family	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3947. Wife sent home; let go; given to seducer	.+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	
3948. Husband punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	
3949. Beaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.+	–	+	(–)	–	
3950. Deserted	.+	.+	.+	.+	+	.+	.+	+	–	.+	–	+	–	–	.+	.+	
3951. Killed	–		.+											.+	–	–	
3952. Husband's paramour punished	–		–						.+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3953. Constructive adultery punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	–	–	.	–	
3954. Husband pays man, if wife proposes such	–	–	–	–	–	–	.+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
3955. Woman beaten if she proposes such	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	–	–	.	–	
3956. Woman sent home, if she proposes such	–	+	+								–	–	–	–	.	+	
3957. Man fined for proposing adultery	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
3958. Man killed for proposing adultery	+	+	.+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	
Divorce																	
3959. Divorces rare, especially if children	+	+	+		+	.+					+	+	.	+	+	+	586 ●
3960. Adultery by wife grounds for divorce.	+	+	+	.+	.+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	–	+	+	+	
3960a. Adultery by husband grounds for divorce	+	+	+	.+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	+	
3961. Barrenness	–	.+	+	.–	+	–	–	–	.+	–	–	–	–	+	.	.	
3962. Jealousy	+	+	+	.+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
3963. Fighting	+	+	+	.+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3964. Laziness	+	+	+	.+	+	+	.–	.–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	
3965. Maltreatment by husband	+	+	+	.+	+	+	.–	+	.+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	
3966. Divorce involves repaying bride price to husband's family	–	–	+	.+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3967. Children go to husband's family	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	–	.	+	+	–	
3968. Children divided	–	–	–	.+	.+	.+	+	–	–	+	.	–	.	–	.	–	
3969. Children stay with mother	–	–	–					+	+	+	.	+	.	–	–	–	
3970. Wife keeps nursing baby	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	+	+	+	
3971. Grandparents, either side, take children	–	–	–							+	.	–	.	+	+	+	
3972. Wife keeps own property	.–	–	–	+	–	+	+	.+	.+	+	.	–	.	+	+	+	
Nonaffinal Remarriage																	
3973. New husband pays widow's brother-in-law	.+	–	–	–	–	.+	+	–	–	+	–	.	+	–	.	–	587
3974. New husband asks widow's brother-in-law's consent	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	.	+	.	.	–	

DdO run around, just like dogs. In old days women never ran around; they stayed home." SW: Husband may send wife home, and demand bride price be returned.

3960a. SW: Wife may return home, and her bride price need not be returned.

3961. Mo: Husband may send barren woman home to parents; "that's been done, lots of times; but if he loves her, he will keep her, and take another woman also as wife. SW: Barren wife not divorced, but her family must supply second wife free to her husband. WM: If woman barren, husband deserts her, often for another woman; does not bring this second wife home to live with first one; latter returns home to her parents.

3962. SW: Wife may leave husband, no return of bride price necessary.

3963. SW: No return of bride price if husband is aggressor.

3964. SW: If husband lazy, "after awhile wife returns home." If wife lazy, she is sent home and bride price must be returned. AE: If husband lazy or "mean," and woman returns to her family, her father or father's brother usually sends her back to her husband; tells her to come home "only in a good way, together with her husband." Daughters, when told this, usually return to husband. WT: If woman lazy, but if she stays home and behaves self, husband keeps her; but if she is "run-around" as well as lazy, husband turns her out of house.

3965. SW: If husband "mean," and beats wife, and wife returns home, first time she does so her parents send her back to her husband; second time she comes home for such reason she can stay; no return of bride price. AE: See note 3964. WM: Woman never fights back, if husband beats her, hits her with rock, but her brother or uncle may fight husband in her stead.

3966. SW: See notes 3960-3965. In all instances where repayment is mentioned above, such is necessary only if there have not been children born of union. But if 1 or more children have been born, money is not repaid (would ruin child's status), and either wife or husband may take charge of child.

3968. SW, At, AW: Boys usually stay with father, girl with mother's mother or grandmother. AW: "But hardly ever do this."

[586] 3972. Kl: Wife leaves her belongings in her husband's house. WT: Wife does not take her clothes, "because her husband has made them; she just takes clothes she has on." But anything she herself has made, such as baskets, she takes with her. WM: Woman takes clothes and baskets.

[587
684] 3973. Kl: If new husband does not pay before he marries woman, liable to be killed. AW: 6-10 strings of beads paid to widow's brother-in-law by her suitor. Brother-in-law then tells widow to marry suitor; if she demurs, he may threaten her with death. (Brother-in-law often more violent in demeanor toward widow than her husband ever was.) "The brother-in-law has a share in

[227-B]

As for the deposed Monchnkasgitk, his place was promptly 657*
filled by the election of one "Barcley." Despite the rebuff, 648*
Monchnkasgitk rose again in time to the position of subchief at 622
Yainax, where he came to be known as Moses Brown.[17]

The major election had removed from immediate power one who had obstructed Agency-sponsored reforms, but had left the membership of the lesser chieftaincies intact. It is clear that administration policy held that representation by a chief was
adequate to secure the interests of a band. Thus, in 1871, when 657*
John Meacham found the lot of the slaves little improved his 648*
remedy was to authorize them to elect a chief "to represent 622
them in the councils and courts of the tribes."[18] In the political 692
order thus established, the chiefs had been displaced from an 693
executive role to constitute a court, while a sheriff, chosen from among the Indians, together with constables, one per chief, were to maintain order. Chiefs, somewhat extralegally, soon began to assume magisterial functions.

It took some time to make the court aware of the bounds 657*
within which it ought to operate. John Meacham noted in his 648*
charges "an excessive disposition to go to law," and remarked, 622
"I have counciled [sic] the board of chiefs against this, especially 692
against making arrests for trifling offenses or for *no* offence at all, advising them that the object of the law is to *protect* the people and not to *oppress* them."[19] Soon thereafter, he reduced the court to a membership of only seven chiefs and set its sessions at monthly intervals.[20]

As outlined by Dave Hill, one of the members of the court, 657*
the list of offenses combined crimes against the person (murder, 648*
adultery, stealing, fornication, witchcraft, and fighting), those 622
against property (arson), together with what can only be con- [68]
sidered redefinitions of customary procedure. Thus, cremation [764]
of the dead was enjoined and the license permitted a chief in
dealing with his followers was severely circumscribed. Marriages [585]
were to be confirmed before the principal chief, who was to [643]
receive a fee; the bride price was not to be returned on the [586] •
desertion of the husband; while the court might order the sepa-
ration of an irreconcilable couple. Monogamy alone was per- [595]
missible.[21]

Thus, not only were the chiefs given new and different powers,

[Klamath Reservation]

Of all the societal relationships, the government sought directly 657*
to change only those within the family. It was clear that a nation 648*
that was soon to impose upon the Mormons the American, and 595
not the Biblical family, would permit no special marital practices 177
among the Indians. Polygamy was banned, although not retro- 178
actively for unions such as those of Allen David and Monchnkasgitk, which had been contracted prior to January 1, 1870. Some leaders themselves appear to have advocated the change in a desire to emulate whites. In 1877, Gatschet noted that there
were still two or three polygamous men.[26] Since polygamy had [556]
been a mark of the affluent, the ban, like the emancipation of the slaves that preceded it, served to erode the status of the traditional chiefs.

An effort was also made to place under the authority of the 657*
court of chiefs certain relationships which had formerly been 648*
regulated privately between the families or individuals con- 622
cerned. In the legal code instituted when the court was estab- 692
lished, the consecration of marriage was made the function of 685
the head chief, to whom the groom was to pay a fee of five, three, 583 [643]
or two dollars or the same amount in horses, graduated according
to his means. It was again the chiefs who punished fornication [684]
and polygamy and performed divorce.[27] The traditional ritual [586]
of marriage still was being practiced by some families in the 1890's[28] but the gift exchanges between the families concerned which set a public seal on the union were superseded, and the controls exerted by the family over the couple were thereby diminished. The effects of these and other changes were recognized by Gatschet. "Matrimonial reverses . . . among the Klamath [he declared] . . are one of the unavoidable consequences of the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers at Fort Klamath."[29]

With time, the seal upon marriage came to be set by the 657*
Methodist church and its ethics in turn permitted the independ- 648*
ent of spirit to flout tradition. One woman recalled that upon 581
the death of her husband his family proposed that she wed his 587
brother in customary manner, but she refused out of regard for 177
the memory of her husband and the sanctity of the bond of their 178
marriage in the church.

4: Pearsall E-5 (1947) 1950 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1875)

[p. 339-B]

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION[1]

By

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

128 culture, social and political organization are
not described here except in their effect on
124 education. Wherever particular items are mentioned, we specifically asked our informants for
a description, even though they had been described in previous ethnographies. Such accounts may thus be taken as corroborating
earlier evidence unless otherwise specified in
the text.

131 The Klamath reside in their old territory
178 in southern Oregon, but the aboriginal way of
life has long since disappeared. Today they are
241 farmers and ranchers, but a considerable part of
the earlier culture remains alive in the memo-
233 ries of a few oldsters. Our seven informants
178 (4 men and 3 women) were all in their late
seventies or eighties and had participated in
the last phases of the aboriginal culture as
115 children. It is regrettable that it was necessary to reconstruct childhood training from the reminiscences of elderly individuals. Doubtless much of the material represents the ideal rather than the actual pattern of education. The ideals do, however, give a definite insight into what was considered important in the upbringing of children, whether these standards were always maintained or not. Since there is little or nothing in the early literature on this subject, there is no way of comparing impressions received from old people who are admittedly looking back to "the good old days" with impressions of objective eyewitnesses to the old ways as they were really practiced.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Barrenness is sometimes con-
sidered cause for divorce. Since the blame
842 seems to fall most commonly on the woman, her
husband's parents may suggest that he send her
586 away and get a wife who can provide him with
606 children. Ordinarily, though, the parents-in-
law are more lenient with a barren woman.
Most Klamath express a preference for boys. A
842 variety of reasons are offered, the most common
being that boys are less bother than girls.
"Girls are always getting into trouble, and you just raise them for someone else because they go off to their husbands when they get married." Once the child is born, however, there seems to be no special favoritism shown to boys. One

Sparrow: Male, Age 63

Background Data

*159

156 Sparrow's case is cited because of his position on the lowest rung of the local status hierarchy. He is known as a happy-go-lucky, worthless old drunk and is 872 generally considered as "lacking a few of his marbles." However, Sparrow is seldom publicly disparaged, for local citizens simply pay little attention to 464 him. He has a sixth grade education, gained at the Agency school. He has apparently never worked consistently at any job, and most of his work experience 434 has been as a farm or ranch laborer. He is and has for years been totally dependent upon per capita income and the income from ranch lands owned by his mother, with whom he lives. Their affairs are managed by a local businessman who some years ago was appointed their guardian. He is the second eldest of four siblings. After his father's death forty years ago, his mother remarried and bore two other 586 children. He was married once when a young man, and after four years divorced his wife because of "her shiftless ways." He is a semi-invalid, the result of 164 an accident years ago when a drunken brother drove over him with a truck, crushing 191 his pelvis. He speaks fluent Klamath, the result of constant association with his aged mother who represents a direct link with the aboriginal Klamath past, as well as adequate English, learned in school.

733 Much of Sparrow's time is spent in jail for drunkenness, in the local tavern, with one of the drinking cliques, or passed out in a doorway. When he is not totally drunk he spends much of his time with his mother, for whom he cares in his fashion. Occasionally he goes fishing in a nearby river. For at least twenty five years, this has been the pattern of his activities.

*159 154 Sparrow has many skills, among the most striking of which is the ability to "fly from here to the Agency without once touching the ground." There are several dimensions to this delusion, one of which is an association, in Sparrow's thinking, with the acquisition of power. When a young man he dreamed of acquiring the power to "rise up off the ground, like Jesus Christ." While such a belief may have aboriginal correlates, there are no Klamath today who would accept it as valid. Sparrow keeps this secret to himself, and relates it only to strangers and transients from whom he intends to borrow money. His other skills include the following: the ability to keep house and cook, harness making, leather working, painting, canning food (the notion involves laying in stores for the winter), tanning buckskin, wood carving, carpentry, poetry composition (in Klamath), arrowhead making, making traditional basketry, stock raising, restaurant management, and finally, the ability to bewitch rich old white ladies, who are captivated by him and who drive him about in their white Cadillacs. The latter may be associated with a recurrent dream of meeting with a white buffalo, also a symbol of power, but it is difficult to say, for there were never any buffalo near the Klamath, and it is more likely that he has got this idea from reading western stories. Needless to say, most of these skills are quite delusional also. There is no evidence for any of them being more than this. Relating one or more of these is Sparrow's single style of interacting with others, for in reaction to a question or another's anecdote he will sift about in his memory until he comes up with one of his capacities which seems relevant. Very frequently, the writer could not see where or how they were appropriate, but for Sparrow there seemed to be some connection. He relates these matter of factly, with only the most slight suggestion that they were self-enhancing, and no indication that he meant to justify himself, and will then coyly watch his listener to see if he is properly impressed. This behavior tends to merge with Sparrow's

Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

159*
In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively
sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of [156]
the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the [464]
last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She
is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except [874]
for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her hus-
bands in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second oldest of
nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals
and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played
with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making
and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early
twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for
everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were [871]
sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from
home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, [857]
and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an
extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her [593]
parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking"
activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area,
with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruc- [868]
tion from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother.
Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were [191]
disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in
boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote
her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother
was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be
due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before [864]
she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was
at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she [626]
is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. [156]
She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of
their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband,
who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and [586]●
divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five
other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never [156]
more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occa-
sionally one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts [588]
to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages,
and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house
(it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are tech-
nically illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this 59*
sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her. 56

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone,
particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first
advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request [124]
testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was
wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159
[156] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White seg-
ments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but
in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
[871] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of
[586] the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of
numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
[597] an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has
spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was
closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became
dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
[894] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She
took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if
she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[857] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child
nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she
had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them
her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., per-
sons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an ad-
[608] visor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making
156 a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
[273] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my
glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its
walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is asso-
ciated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is
noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites,
for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, be-
cause she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 Hä' î k̲ä'liak híshuaksh ná-ände sätólakuapk, hû'k tchîsh híssuaks
If you, not having a husband, with another should cohabit, this also man
622 k̲ä'liak snáwädsh, spû'lhi-uapka nû kä'lish snáwedsh. Hä hû'ksa heshtó-
(is) without a wife, shall imprison I the unmarried (man). If they should live
692 [684] lakuapk, hû'nk nî túmĕnuk nä'-ulakuapk spúlhi-uapka nu hishuáks hû'nk.
in concubinage, of it I hearing will punish (and) will imprison I man that.
Tchî' Ä'-ukskni lalák̲i nä'-ulĕka tchî' huk käílatat m'nálam; tsúi k̲î'llitk
So the Klamath Lake chiefs order, so they in district their; and severe (is)
nä'-ulaks lalák̲iam.
the law of the chiefs.

[585] Hä'toks î sû'msealstka gíuapk sî-î'huapk î lápuk, snawä'dshash
And if you on the point of marriage should be and should agree you both, female
hissuáksh tchî'sh, tsúi î gépkuapk lak̲iámksi; tsúi mî'sh lak̲í snû'mpsä-
male also, then you must come to chief's house; and you the chief will unite in
aluapk, tû'nep î n's tála skû'ktanuapk hû'nk pîl mû'yäns pî'la lák̲iash;
wedlock, five you to me dollars shall pay only to the principal only chief;
hä'toks î yúalks, tsî hû'k î ndán tála, wakiánhua lā'p tála skû'ktanuapk.
but if you (are) poor, then you three dollars, may be two dollars have to pay.
Hä î yuálks tsi gíuapk súmsä-aluapk, gä't î n's skû'ktanuapk. Häts î
If you poor should be (and) intend to marry, that much you to me have to pay. And if you
skû'ktish háměniuk tû'ma wátch gitk, túnîp î skû'ktanuapk snawä'dshash;
to pay want of many horses possessed, five (horses) you can give in payment for the wife;
hä'toks yúalks tsî î lápi wátch skû'ktanuapk, wakiánhua ndán wátch,
and if poor you two horses can pay, or perhaps three horses,
tû'ma-kans wâtch gî'tkiug.
many horses when having.

[586] Hä' tchi m's snawä'dsh gû'skuapk, k̲á-i î wátch shnû'kp'li-uapk
And if you (your) wife should leave, not you the horses can take back
k̲á-i tch snawä'dsh hûk wátch spunî'-uapka m'sh; î pî'l î hissuáksh pîl
and not (your) wife a horse need transfer to you; you alone, you husband only
shä'wanuapk snawä'dshash gû'shkank.
must give (them) (your) wife when leaving.

[595] K̲á-i î láp snawä'dsaluapk; nā'sak î snawä'dslank gíuapk; hä'toks î
Not you two wives shall marry; one only you marrying must live; but if you
[684] láp snawä'dsaluapk, nä'-ulakuapka m'sh. Hä' tchîk wéwanuish lā'pi gíug
two wives marry, shall punish (I) you. If the wives double for being
hishtcháktanuapk, tánkt mî'sh nî skuyû'shkuapk snáwädsh nā'sh; tsûshnî'
should quarrel, then from you I shall divorce wife one; forever
m'sh nî skuyû'shkuapk, k̲á-i î tatá mbushäálp'luapk. Hä'toks î mbuseál-
from you I shall sever her, not you ever can marry her again. And if you associate again
[586] p'luapk spûlhi-uapká m'sh nî. Häts nā'dsiak mî snawä'ds tsû'ssak î
(with her) shall imprison you I. And if monogamic your with wife constantly you
hishtcháktanuapk, tánkt mîsh nî skuyû'shkuapk, ampkáak î hishû'kat;
should quarrel, finally from you I shall separate (her), or else ye may kill each other;

*539
622
692
[586]

hû'masht mish ni gíug skuyû'shkuapk. Hä ní skuyû'shkuapka m'sh,
therefore ye I will separate. If I should separate (her) from you,
tsû'shni m'sh ní skuyû'shkuapk.
forever from you I shall divorce (her).

K̲á-i mish ni hû'nk k̲í'tgik; nánuktuanta káktak píla m's n hû'nk hém-
Not you I that to tell lies told; about everything to tell the truth alone to you I that to
kanktgík; nä'-ulakt gí'tki í snawä'dshash tchí'sh káktak píl. K̲á-i n
tell said; to observe the laws you wife also to tell the truth only. Not I
hû'nk gí'tkik m's píla, hihashuákshash tchísh nánukänsh.
this to do tell to you only, (but) to men too all (others.)

III.

[689]

Snáwedsh tchík shû'ldshash shetólχa, tsúi nát któktatska; at hûnk
A female (if) with a soldier copulates, then we cut her hair off; she
yakä'wa nä'-ulaks, k̲á-i hû'nk tû'mĕna shunû'kanksh nálam lalák̲iam.
broke the law, not she listens to the behests of our chiefs.
Tchúi tchík titátna heshsχálpĕli sésatuish m'nálam, tsúi sχō'ktnank tchä'k
Also sometimes she reobtains through barter the price paid (for her) to them, and by paying
héshsχalpĕli. Tsúi snawä'dsh tchísh násh híshuaksh wutódshísh m'na pä'n
she reobtains it. And wife one husband who repudiated his again
hû'nk snúkp'la, tsúi nä'-ulĕkan titátnan hû'masht-gísht shnû'kp'lisht lä'p
her takes up, then chastise I (him) sometimes I because he took her back for two
sháppash spû'lhí, titatnatóks ní ndán sháppash, títatna tchín násh sháppash
months imprison, but sometimes I for three months, at times and I for one month
spû'lhí. Tsúi tch' hishtchákta hû'k kat lalápa wä'wans gítk; tsúi tsin nä'-
imprison (him). And quarrel they who two wives have; and thus I or-
ulk̲a skuyû'shkan. K̲á-i ní nä'-ulĕχa, sguyushkuyá ní; gä'tak. Títatna
der (and) separate (them) I. No more I try (them) in court, separate just I; that's the end of it. Sometimes
tch pálla shash ná-änts hihassuáksas snáwädsh, tchúi ní nä'-ulk̲an ndán
also seduces (them) other married men a female, then I try (her) I (and) for three
sáppash spû'lhi.
months imprison.

[683]
[593]

Tchúi shishóka títatna, tchúi náyäns wudsáya; hû'nkst ní násh sû'ndē
And they fight sometimes, and others they injure; him I one week
spû'lhi, kát sas hû'k wudsháya. Títatna tch shishóka shipapĕlánkstant hak,
imprison, who them has whipped. At times also they have fights among each other only,
k̲á-i shû'tka, sissukúya hak; tsúi ní né-ulĕka hû'nkiasht kákat hûk sissóka.
not injure, but scuffle merely; then I try those who had the row.
Láp sû'ndin lapukáyäns ilhí'. Títatna udû'pka hissuáksh snawä'dsh m'na;
For two weeks I both parties lock up. Sometimes whips a husband wife his;
hû'nks ní hissuáksas spû'lhi ndán sû'ndē; hä káa udópkpakuapk snáwedsh
that I husband lock up for three weeks; if roughly he should whip wife
m'na, hû'masht n'unk gíug ndán súndē spû'lhi. Títatna tch snáwädsh
his, on that account I him for three (other?) weeks imprison. Sometimes also a wife

ä'ukckni were sisters from his own settlement on Williamson river above bäzŭkse'was, a third was from that town, and the fourth from glä'tspak'is, a mile or so down river. His daughter by the Modoc wife was counted ä'ukckni; while living at k'taidi she married an ä'ukckni of Yainax. 582 595

A gu'mböt man, Wokau'k!alls, married two Molala sisters.

Girls usually marry within a year or so after puberty, which is marked, at least among the well-to-do, by a big dance. Betrothals may have been arranged while the couple were yet pre-adolescent, presents having been exchanged by the families. They are expected to carry out the agreement after the girl's dance, payments being made again. Should one of them die another match may be arranged with the same family, but not of necessity. Poor and rich alike arrange such betrothals. 584

How far great disparity of age occurs I do not know, but it does happen that an older man marries a young girl. A shaman for instance may be given a daughter by a man too poor to reward him otherwise. [582] [756]

But it must not be thought that there is no choice. On the contrary, the majority of marriages follow the desire of the couples. Elopements take place and although the levirate is the rule, much depends on the widow's willingness. Yet a girl's consent is not necessary. Despite her protests she may be carried to her husband's home. If she runs home she is almost invariably taken back again. That she would be driven to suicide is doubtful; one informant never heard of such a thing; another stated she would hang herself and in this event her parents had to return the gifts of the groom. 583 587 • [762]

An orphan girl of du'kwa lived with her mother's brother. She was married against her will to a man of k'taidi. She clung to the ladder of the earth-lodge but they pulled her away and dragged her up-river to k'taidi. Next morning she ran home and never went back. Nothing had been paid for her at the time but she was given in return for valuables contributed to the cremation of a relative of hers some time before by her husband's relatives. Immediately after this she married a man at Klamath marsh; whether payment was then made is not remembered. 583 159

Elopements occur but payment is so much insisted on as a sign of respectability that parents guard their daughters with great care. This is at least true where the family wealth makes a suitable payment imperative. It is unthinkable that a chief's daughter should be permitted to enter an unceremonious, clandestine union. The poor and forward have little to lose. Modest demeanor is expected of a girl. 583 834

The number of plural wives depends on wealth; hence chiefs have 595 more than others. From my notes I glean two instances of two wives, [622] another of three. The wives in both bigamous cases were sisters. The greatest number known was the case of the chief Lzle'ks, who had at one time seven wives, two of them sisters.[72] I have described their derivations above. These women bore him many children. Whether the wives are sisters is a matter of complete indifference. To have two wives is called la'bwewa'nsgītkt (lit., two females), three ꭓnda'nwewa'nsgītkt, and so on. Collectively the wives may be referred to as sīpkska'ltk; they call each other p'telki'p. Plural wives are paid for, but whether there is reciprocal visiting I do not know. Slaves [567] are also taken to wife. Polyandry is unthinkable to the Klamath; it would be adulterous.

Barrenness is as usual a reason for taking a second wife, but not 595 always. Pat's maternal uncle had a barren wife. He kept her 842 throughout his life and never took another. The case of three wives noted above was one in which there were no children; the children of this family always died in infancy, I was told. Whether this implied that two of the three were barren, I do not know. One word, ts'e'do, means a sterile man or woman.

The sororate is not obligatory on the death of a wife, nor is there 587 any notion that a girl must marry an older sister's husband when she comes of age.[73] It is thought better to marry a deceased wife's sister, and from her family's point of view it is evidence that they care for the husband when they provide another daughter. There is however no feeling that they are under compulsion to make good the loss he sustained because of his marriage payments. A bereaved person waits a year or more before remarrying. The second wife has to be paid for like the first, but the amount is less. Again this depends on the man's affluence. The sororate is called spīno'la, the sister, [601] spī'nuwīp, i.e., sibling-in-law when the spouse is dead (cf. spīnu', to cremate, spī'nuks, cremation place).

The levirate is customary but not obligatory. It is desirable to keep a woman in the family, especially one with children. This is perhaps nothing more than an expression of household solidarity, for

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[72] Gatschet states ten, but I am certain there were not more than seven, at least at one time (2:126).

[73] There is just a suggestion. When asked for the kinship term used by a [601] woman for her sister's husband, my informant gave the term for husband, but somewhat in confusion corrected herself with the woman's term for brother-in-law.

587 a woman with young children is as likely as not to be a member of a joint house group with her husband's immediate kin. We may also wonder if she would not ordinarily continue to reside with them even though she does not remarry in the group. It might be illuminating to know how residence with or apart from this family affects the practice. In default of a husband's brother, the widow should marry a nephew, either fraternal or sororal, or another of his kinsmen. A payment is made but not so large an amount as at her first marriage. Since only close relatives are paid, a widow may not be paid for if she has none. Much depends on the woman's willingness; she may not care to be a plural wife. Nevertheless, it is in some degree compulsory, for if she should marry another, her deceased husband's brothers may kill the man. While their objection is voiced loudly enough, they do not announce their purpose but await a favorable opportunity to surprise him.

586 Quarrels and adultery lead to separation, which is frequent; there seems no compulsion to endure an unbearable situation. Incompatibility and jealousy (suki'kssle'a) bring on quarrels as frequently as they do in any other group of human beings. Typical causes
837 of domestic friction cited to me are adultery, as with a slave woman of the household, a woman's continual anger with her husband, or her demand for sole attention in a polygynous household. It is always the wife who leaves. My informants could imagine no situation short of adultery which would lead a man to send his wife away. Nevertheless he can force her to act. A good, stout-hearted woman stays, so they said, no matter how badly she is treated; only a mean-spirited one flies home. Inevitably the situation is complicated by children. A wife may take all her children with her or only the little ones. This seems a question of who is at fault, for a woman taken in adultery may choose to submit to beatings by her husband rather than be separated from her children. If a wife leaves of her own volition and for just cause, her husband must pay again to have her return, must assuage the feelings of her family by gifts. If he does not desire her, he may ask for the return of the marriage gifts but they are not automatically forthcoming. If the wife is at fault he may choose to demand the return of the bride price. Its return
586 is called sĕldŏnga. If a man is impotent his wife may leave him for
842 another. But he cannot cast his wife aside because she is barren; he adds another to the household.

It does not appear that a marriage brings about a con-

587 tractual union between the families. The levirate is customary but not obligatory, and the sororate only occasional. It is true that the husband's brothers may take exception to her marriage with another, but this may mean only that they look upon it as an affront to their brother's memory.

582 Marriage is denied only between blood relatives. There is no village exogamy nor trace of restrictions or preference of any other order. At best the evidence suggests some tendency to marry within the tribal subdivision, but this may mean only that contacts are less frequent outside of this group.

584 585 The formalities of marriage prescribe a series of visits with an exchange of gifts. The prospective groom sends a male emissary with a bundle of sticks representing his offering. The bride's family proceed to the groom's house where they exchange gifts with the family of the groom. In kind and in quantity these are modest indeed when measured by Northwest Coast standards. A month later the couple and the groom's family return the visit, when again gifts are exchanged. Beyond these two, further formal visits are made only by the social pretentious. These formalities may be frequently initiated while the couple are still pre-adolescent, the bride being carried to her husband's home after her puberty dance.

583 *171 The general nature of the Klamath marriage relation smacks strongly of the Northwest Coast. This is apparent in the premium attached to purchase, to a lesser extent in the weighting accorded the amount of the purchase price, in the reciprocal nature of the gifts, and the series of formal visits before the affair is considered terminated. What is absent here is the notion that rank and privileges of a tangible nature are acquired by a marriage purchase.

This can best be brought out by instituting a series of comparisons with other tribes. For this purpose I shall select only a limited number of cases. For one thing data from Oregon tribes are almost wholly lacking, and those for California and Washington are both scattered and scanty.

Throughout California, save on the eastern border of the state, there is an appearance of purchase. But in reality it is only a presentation of gifts of no great amount as an earnest of the son-in-law's good will, a matter of etiquette rather than a stipulated price. The formality of giving varies as much as its conventional expression. With some, bride service is in order; with others, the parents-in-law must reciprocate the gifts. It is everywhere little more than an

*171 but heavily fined. "Generally speaking, these Indians seek their wives
582 from among other tribes than their own. . . . . It seems to be a
matter of pride, in fact, to unite the blood of several different ones
in their own persons. . . . . With the chiefs, this is almost always
the case."[517]

*171 Marriage by purchase was the usual form among the Nez Percé,
583 but it is said that a marriage by agreement because of the groom's
capabilities was a more desirable and honored form. This is a new
585 note, but it was characteristic of Plains tribes to the east. The purchase
was effected with little ceremony. Bride and groom were not
ordinarily members of the same village.[518] The exogamic habit here
*171 had not the same basis as among the tribes previously discussed. It
seems due solely to the Nez Percé habit of forbidding marriages to
582 relatives of even remote degree, which necessarily resulted in village
exogamy. I am unable to find evidence of exogamic practice farther
to the east, but will return later to analogous forms of wife purchase.

*171 To return to the Columbia river: the Wishram had as strong a sentiment
for caste and wealth as their down-river relatives, the Chinook
582 proper. Rank and wealth were here not quite synonymous, for chiefs
583 were not always the wealthiest individuals. Marriage was always
556 with one of the same rank, so that the children would have as high
standing as their parents. Payment was insisted on in every case;
583 even in the case of marriage with a deceased brother's wife the
• [587] procedure was gone through, else the children were as "nothing," i.e.,
not legitimate. The feeling was that the marriage must be regularised
by payment, else the contractants were the subject of odium, and
furthermore the marriage would not be permanent. So strong was
the feeling, that a lower-class man guilty of adultery with a chief's
daughter or other close relation would be killed; not for his crime as
such, but because he was too poor to make proper recompense in
marriage. Even constructive adultery, such as accidentally touching
another man's wife, was heavily fined. The insistence seems to have
been on the regularity of the form, for it was freely acknowledged
that the gifts made on either side were about equal. The marriage
of very young children was arranged and carried out in full form.
Chiefs and wealthy men marry women of other tribes, but marriage
within the village was prohibited to no one save a blood relative.[519]
Much the same situation is implied for other Upper Chinook.

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[517] Gibbs, Tribes of Western Washington, 197.

[518] Spinden, Nez Percé, 250; Farrand, Notes on the Nez Percé Indians, 246.

[519] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

Family Compacts

To revert to the nature of the marriage contract, this was in some instances avowedly a compact between families. It takes two forms. When a man had paid for a wife and her family had made a settlement on him, one of them had a grievance if the marriage was disrupted by the death or desertion of the other. It appears again in the assumption that children are a natural fruit of the union; that the husband must be indemnified if there were none or the woman's family absolved from payments for every child born. These features can best be brought out by considering the levirate, sororate, divorce, and other relevant data. 171*

It is exceedingly difficult to disengage the difference in meaning between the statements that the levirate, e.g., was compulsory or customary. So much must have depended on the precise personal circumstances (the lack of appropriate relatives, the ages of the persons concerned, their sentiments, antipathies, etc.) that even where the custom was so regular as to be styled compulsory, it may nevertheless have never been more than a customary practice. The best that can be done is to discriminate those cases where the sentiment was an obligation to marry from those where it was merely good form. 171* 587 ▪

It should also be borne in mind that while the levirate was always of one kind, namely the marriage with a deceased husband's brother (or cousin), there being no polyandry in North America, the sororate included two different social situations. In one form there was the analogue of marrying a deceased wife's sister; in the other, of taking sisters as plural wives, in particular taking them to wife as they came of age. While the two forms occurred together, it was not so by necessity. They should not be confused.

The sentiment of mutual obligation was perhaps strongest among the Yurok. If a wife died early in marriage and sometimes even in later life, a sister or kinswoman was due from her family; similarly she was obligated to marry his brother on her husband's death. A divorce was possible only if each party was willing to make full restitution. If the wife desired to take the children with her, it could only be done if the full marriage price was returned. Analogously "each child left with the husband reduced the repayment, and several cancelled it altogether." Such contractual relations appear as a function of the regularity of purchase. How far that sentiment held may be

*171 judged by the fact that the husband demanded payment for adultery
*587 or actions construed as adulterous, a practise unthinkable to the majority of Indians.[443] The attitudes of the Hupa were quite analogous.[444]

Mutual obligation of the same sort is described for the Chinook. Levirate and marriage with a deceased wife's sister were a matter of course. The widow may be taken to wife by her husband's father or another relative in default of a brother. A man must be indemnified if his deceased brother's wife is carried away or he would kill the abductor. Similarly a man was indemnified with many slaves if his wife was abducted, else he had revenge. Children were as much part of the bargain as among the Yurok; if a child died the wife's father was obligated to pay a slave or a canoe as indemnity.[445]

The family contract did not differ in kind among the Kwakiutl, but had another emphasis. The members of a chieftain's tribe were jointly concerned in the purchase; they speak of "our bride"; the father-in-law says, "All the tribes came to marry my daughter." These participants were relatives of the groom, of near or remote degree. I cannot find any reference to the levirate and sororate among them, although it ought to have followed from this attitude. Here, even more emphatically than among the Yurok, children were an essential part of the compact. What is bought is "the right of membership in her [the wife's] clan for the future children of the couple." Indeed the number of children fixes the rate of repayment by the father-in-law.[446]

The feature of the families as contractants appears in other cases but I doubt that the sentiment is so emphatically expressed as in those
*171 cited above. The levirate was well-nigh compulsory among the Wishram, and the sororate in polygamous unions followed, but not always.
587 The widow married the husband's brother or a cousin, unless he did not desire an additional wife. If she married any other, which was permissible, he had to make payment to her dead husband's kin, not to
*171 hers, so that they would look on him as one of themselves. While I received no suggestion from my informants that children were part of the marriage bargain, there is an analogue pointing in this direction. A few months after the birth of each child, the husband's people, with the couple and the newborn, visited the wife's parents bearing gifts.

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[443] Kroeber, Handbook, 30 f.

[444] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 55, 56, 58.

[445] Boas, Chinook Texts, 251, 252, 257.

[446] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 358 f.

The latter reciprocated by visiting with gifts for the husband's father. 171*
Here, too, indemnity was demanded for adultery or constructive adultery. Shasta data also indicate a contractual relation between the
families; the levirate was compulsory and a sister must be furnished
for a deceased wife or an adulteress. So firm is the contract conceived 171+
that a man who carries off a widow without compensating her husband's family stands in danger of his life. Parallel to the Yurok case, 587 •
the husband who made no payment for his wife had no redress for
adultery. Perhaps the contractual relation was as strong among the
Puget sound people but the data are insufficient to support the view.
A Nisqually widow was obliged to marry her husband's brother or
cousin, and a widower married his wife's sister. But if the widow
did not marry among his relatives, she usually returned to her own
people with her children. Among Snohomish and Snuqualmi, if a [586]
woman abandoned her husband or was divorced for good cause, her
people had to return the bride price. Klallam expression is much the
same; a widow was expected to marry her brother-in-law or a near
relative, a woman's family to offer a sister or relative of hers on her
death. Similarly a wife's parents were expected to offer repayment [586]
of the bride price if she left her husband, but it was bad form for him
to accept it.

The Klamath attitude is at some remove from this one of mutual
obligations. The levirate was customary but not obligatory, and the
sororate permissible but no fixed custom. The widow was under some
obligation to her husband's brothers, who might object should she
marry another, but this seems rather a matter of sentiment than right.
The feeling was that she, a member of their family and even an inmate
of their house, should remain one. The reaction to a wife's adultery [837]
is the common one of revenge on the lover, but with no thought that
the husband's rights to the wife had been damaged.

Throughout a wider area the levirate and sororate were both practiced, but nowhere do we find them of the obligatory nature described above. It will suffice to list these cases. The levirate was customary among the Tillamook. (Perhaps if we knew more of this people this would transpire to be another obligatory case, considering their proximity to the Chinook.) Among the Achomawi it was perhaps regular;[444] the Sacramento Valley Maidu, usual; the Northwestern Maidu, general; occurred sometimes among Yuki and Pomo (northern, southeastern, and eastern divisions, although of the latter Gifford says

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[444] Kroeber, Handbook, 318.

*171 they did not practice it).[547] Kroeber states that levirate and sororate
• 587 were followed everywhere in California except among the Colorado river tribes.[548] I have found specific statements to except from the
[114] levirate the Yuma, Akwa'ala, Cupeño, and perhaps Luiseño.[549] Further the Huchnom, in an area where it generally held, avoided the levirate. In the Great Basin it was customary among Paviotso, Moapa, Shivwits, and Wind River Shoshoni; in the Plains, Crow, Assiniboin, and Hidatsa.[550] How frequently the practice was indulged in these cases is not clear. The Hidatsa, for example, held the levirate proper but marriages of this sort were uncommon.

Curiously enough these practices seem to be absent on the Northwest Coast precisely where one would expect contractual relations of the families to be strongest. I find no mention of them among the Tsimshian and Kwakiutl. Boas recorded only one Tsimshian tale where wives were sisters.[551] The Chilcotin will have nothing of the levirate, for the widow "is still regarded as his own sister" by the brother-in-law.[552] On the other hand, the levirate was common among the interior Salish.[553] Certain of the Plains tribes apparently lack it: Blackfoot[554] and Gros Ventre.

The sororate occurred throughout much the same areas. In California, I note specifically the Northeastern Maidu, Northern and Eastern Pomo, Northern Costanoan, and Southern Diegueño; in the Basin, Paviotso, Southern Paiute, Uintah Ute, and Wind River Shoshoni; in the Plains, it was the regular practice, commonly taking the form of polygamous marriage with sisters, viz., Crow, Blackfoot, Assiniboin, Hidatsa, and Iowa.[555] Again no mention appears in the account of the Gros Ventre.

Levirate and sororate are customs so widespread in North America as to give us little concern here, were it not that they acquire special significance in connection with marriage by purchase. I have tried here to make out a case that in the coastal region from the strait of Juan de Fuca to northern California they have been absorbed in a

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[547] Clear Lake Pomo Society, 319.

[548] *Op. cit.*, 839.

[549] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, 254.

[550] Matthews, 53.

[551] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, 535, 422.

[552] Farrand, Chilcotin, 18.

[553] Boas, Salish Tribes, 222.

[554] Wissler, Social Life, 12, 13.

[555] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 469; Spier, Southern Diegueño Customs, 311; Matthews, 53; Skinner, Societies of the Iowa, 739.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
(ca. 1860-1900)

special configuration of social relations most aptly described as a set of mutual obligations constraining the families of marriage contractants. The Klamath, by reason of their geographical position marginal to these, show the effects of this to only a moderate degree. 171* 587

Postnuptial Residence

Residence after marriage was prevailingly patrilocal in the northwest, the bride proceeding at once to her husband's home. This held from Alaska to northwestern California; Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, mainland Cowichan, Lillooet,[586] Klallam, Puget Sound Salish, Twana, Coos, Takelma, Hupa, and Yurok. The Yurok and Hupa cases indicate that this mode of residence is derived from the fact that brides were purchased; there if full payment could not be met, the husband had to be content with joining his wife who would not be given up by her people. I am not asserting that in general patrilocal residence following promptly on marriage is due to purchase; in these northwestern tribes this seems to be the case. It is conceivable that they might have held that a man must furnish services before they would release the bride to him, but this was contrary to their feeling respecting wealth. Services were a poor substitute for material wealth. Even in those cases where temporary matrilocal residence did occur this sentiment was absent; it was simply customary practice. The Klallam sometimes resided with the wife's people for a short time; among the Wishram it was apparently the regular practice. The Tillamook had a curious alternation; first matrilocal, then patrilocal, each for a few days, settling down to matrilocal residence, which however they might change later. 171* 591

The Klamath conformed to the northwestern practice. Residence was normally patrilocal, the bride being brought at once to her husband's home; but, as with the Yurok and elsewhere, a man too poor to pay tendered services while living at his bride's home. The patrilocal habit was by no means rigid; matrilocal residence might set in from the outset if it was desired.

The relation of the Klamath to the northern tribes can best be brought out by pointing out their contrast to those to the south. Temporary matrilocal residence was the custom of a large part of north central California; Achomawi, Atsugewi, Maidu (northeastern, south-

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[586] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, 421, 424, 441, 532, Third Report, 12, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 358 f., Lower Fraser River, 5.

*171 in conformity with northwestern views. The sense of obligation was [591] weakly developed; the levirate was a mere custom, the sororate rare; birth of heirs played no part in their scheme of things. In brief, the • [587] Klamath derived the sense of social standing based on wealth from [583] the northwestern center, and the mechanism of marriage purchase to effect it, but no more.

174 I am not inclined to indulge in an historical reconstruction of the northwestern marriage complex. But if it be in order, it seems better to suggest that the ancient, undifferentiated custom was the practice of mutual giving, subsequently formalized with the growth of concepts of wealth and rank on the Northwest Coast. The alternative is to hold that these attitudes and practices diffused from that center only after they attained full flower there. If this were so we should expect to find the specific forms of Northwest Coast procedure at a greater distance. I am very doubtful that ideas and sentiments diffuse as such, though I may have given that impression in some of the summary statements above. It seems rather that particular practices are imitated, and if but imperfectly copied or made rational in their new context, then alone do we say that merely the underlying idea has been borrowed.

*171 In the present case social stratification based on wealth had spread over a wide area; wife purchase with it. I conceive that members of 174 the imitating tribes observed the aggrandizement that went with 583 wealth and took occasion among their fellows to insist on a similar, and in their eyes proper, respect for themselves and their wealth 554 when opportunity offered. The spread of the marriage purchase custom 556 must have been one of the most effective mechanisms for the spread of the sense of rank. Boas has already made such a case for the Kwakiutl and their neighbors. By marriage with the northern tribes among whom privilege concepts were highly developed, the Kwakiutl obtained these privileges through their wives.[557] The mechanism is clearly transparent in the Klallam preference for marriages to the north.[558] We are not told this of other tribes, to be sure, but it appeals to me that marriage into foreign tribes where payment for their women was demanded would inevitably bring in its train the notion that these women were in some way superior to those at home. This view is not drafted from thin air; among the tribes of Puget sound, e.g., the women of the more northerly tribes consider them-

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[557] Boas, Social Organization of North-Pacific Coast; Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 124.

[558] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 242.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3829. Polygyny prerogative of any man	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	595
3830. Polygyny rare in tribe	−	+	+			−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	
3831. Sororal polygyny	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	
3832. During life of sisters	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	
‡3833. Maximum number paid for	1	2	.	1	1	1	1	−	−	1	1	.	−	−	−	2	
o3834. Maximum number in same house	2	2	.	2	2	2	2	−	3	2	2	2	−	2	2	2	
3835. Because first wife barren	−	•+	.	+	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
3836. Without barrenness of first wife	+	+	.	−	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3837. Post-mortem sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	.	587
3838. General	+	+	+	•−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	.	
3839. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	•−	+	.	
3840. Especially if children	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	.	
3841. Obligatory for widower	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	−	
3842. Life endangered, if he does not comply	•+	•+	•+	−		•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	.	−	−	+	.	
3843. Stepdaughter marriage	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	587
3844. Simultaneous	•+	+	•+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	595
3845. Successive	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3846. Additional payment for daughter	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3847. Rare	+	+	−					+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3848. Disapproved	−	−	−						+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	
3849. Polyandry, husbands unrelated	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	595
o3850. Maximum no. of husbands	−	−	−	−	−	2	−	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
o3851. Maximum no. in same house	−	−	−	−	−	2	−	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3852. Polyandry, fraternal	•−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
o3853. Maximum no. of brothers in same house	−	−	−	−	−	−	2	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	•1	−	
3854. Wife lending	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	837
3855. Between any 2 men	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	
3856. Levirate	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	587
3857. Obligatory for man	+	+	•−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
3858. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	−	+	−	
3859. Additional payment, gifts for woman	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	
3860. Brother-in-law can punish woman if she refuses	•+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	[686]
3861. Cut her hair, ear, nose	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	[607]
3862. Can kill her	+	+	+			+	+	+	•+	+	.	−	−	−	•+	−	[304]
3863. Killing common	−	+	+				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	
3864. Man may marry son's son's wife	−	+	−	−				+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3865. Common	−	−	−	−				+	−	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	
Marriage of Blood Relatives																	
3866. Cousins; man to any cross-cousin's daughter	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	582
3867. Sister exchange	.	•+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3868. 2 men exchange sisters	.	−	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3869. Simultaneously or nearly so	.	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3870. Successively	.	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3871. No payment or gifts for brides	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	
3872. Payment for both brides	.	−	+	+	−	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	
3873. 2 brothers marry 2 sisters	−	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
Exogamy																	
3874. Local group exogamy	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	•+	+	+	
3875. Preferred	+	+	.	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	•+	
3876. Obligatory	−	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	
3877. Endogamy, if not related	•+	+	.	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.	+	+	+	
3878. Tribal exogamy optional	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3879. Often practiced	•+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Adultery																	
3930. Adultery rare	+	+	+	+	•+	+					+	–	•+	+	+	–	837
3931. Wife punished	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R+	+	R+	+	+	–	684
3932. Beaten	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R+	+	R+	+	+	–	
3933. Hair cut	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3934. Mouth burnt		–	•+								–	–	–	–	–	–	
3935. Sometimes killed	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	
3936. Wife's seducer punished	+	+	•+	+		+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	
3937. Killed	+	+	+	+		•+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	
3938. Fine paid by killer	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3939. No fine, if seducer instigated affair	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
3940. No fine if wife instigated affair	–	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
3941. Feud starts	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	
3942. Feud stopped by payment	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3943. Beaten, by husband	–	–	–					+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	
3944. Seducer pays fine	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3945. To husband	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3946. To woman's family	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3947. Wife sent home; let go; given to seducer	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	
3948. Husband punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	
3949. Beaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	(–)	–	
3950. Deserted	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	•+	•+	
3951. Killed	–		•+											•+	–	–	
3952. Husband's paramour punished	–		–						•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3953. Constructive adultery punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	–	–	.	–	
3954. Husband pays man, if wife proposes such	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
3955. Woman beaten if she proposes such	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	–	–	.	–	
3956. Woman sent home, if she proposes such	–	+	+								–	–	–	–	.	+	
3957. Man fined for proposing adultery	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
3958. Man killed for proposing adultery	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	
Divorce																	
3959. Divorces rare, especially if children	+	+	+		+	•+					+	+	.	+	+	+	586
3960. Adultery by wife grounds for divorce	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	–	+	+	+	
3960a. Adultery by husband grounds for divorce	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	+	
3961. Barrenness	–	•+	+	•–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	.	.	
3962. Jealousy	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
3963. Fighting	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3964. Laziness	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•–	•–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	
3965. Maltreatment by husband	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•–	+	•+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	
3966. Divorce involves repaying bride price to husband's family	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3967. Children go to husband's family	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	–	.	+	+	–	
3968. Children divided	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	+	–	–	+	.	–	.	–	.	–	
3969. Children stay with mother	–	–	–					+	+	+	.	+	.	–	–	–	
3970. Wife keeps nursing baby	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	+	+	+	
3971. Grandparents, either side, take children	–	–	–							+	.	–	.	+	+	+	
3972. Wife keeps own property	•–	–	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	.	–	.	+	+	+	
Nonaffinal Remarriage																	
3973. New husband pays widow's brother-in-law	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	+	–	.	+	–	.	–	587
3974. New husband asks widow's brother-in-law's consent	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	.	+	.	.	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
587 3975. New husband pays widow's parents-in-law	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
3976. New husband asks widow's parents-in-law consent	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	.	+	–	.	–
3977. New husband pays widow's sister-in-law	–	–	–	–		•+	+	+	–	+	–	.	–	–	–	–
3978. New husband pays, gives gifts to widow's family	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	+
3979. Remarriage of widows rare, if husband good man	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3980. Divorcee's former husband paid by new husband	–	–	–	•–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 3981. Man sells wife to male bidder	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
o3982. New husband pays divorcee's parents	–	–	+	+	–	±	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
o3983. New husband asks divorcee's parents	–	–	–	–	–	±	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Intercourse																
833 3984. Bride scratches at 1st intercourse	–	–	+	–	–	–		(+)	–	–	.	.	•+	.	.	.
3985. Natural position lying on side	.		+										•+			
3986. Kissing unknown	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
[152 192] 3987. Exclamation of endearment for adults, children	+	+	–		+	•+	•+	+	+	+	.	–	+	+	–	–
3988. Virginity tests	.	.	•–				•+	•+	–	.	.	.	–	.	.	.
Promiscuity																
836 3989. Promiscuity any time	•–	–	+	+	–		+	+	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–
3990. At dances chiefly	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	–	.	+	–	–	+	–
3991. Promiscuity denied by informant	•–	–	•–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3992. Unchaste unmarried girl beaten, shaken, scolded	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
836 3993. Unmarried pregnant girl scolded, beaten		+	+			+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
848 3994. Father of bastard punished	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
3995. Killed by girl's relatives														+	+	–
3996. Obligated to marry girl	•+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3997. Might marry girl, not obligated	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–
3998. Payment for girl	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Transvestites																
Male																
838 3999. Male transvestites affirmed for group	+	•–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	–	•–	.	•–
4000. Sweat with women	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	(–)	–	–	.	–
4001. Perform women's work	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	(–)	–	–	.	–
4002. Wear women's clothes	+	–	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	(+)	–	–	.	–
4003. Live with normal man	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	.	–
4004. Special functions at funerals	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	–
[756] 4005. Some are shamans	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	(+)	–	–	.	–
4006. Nursing in war		–	–			–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	–
4007. Regarded indifferently by community	+	–	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	.	–
4008. Turn berdache at puberty, prepuberty	–		+			(+)		+	+	+	–	.	–	–	.	±
[587] 4009. Turn berdache postpuberty, later in life	+	–	–		+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	–
4010. Act upon dream	–	+	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	–
Female																
4011. Female transvestites affirmed for group	+	–	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
4012. Live with woman	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
4012a. Live with man			–					+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
4012b. Wear woman's clothes	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
[756] 4013. Some are shamans	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	HS	MV	765
4215. Hair cut, close crop, or burned off	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	(-)	·+	764
4216. Cuttings saved	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	[302]
4217. Cuttings kept in house	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–		
4218. Cuttings made into belt	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
4219. Cuttings burnt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4220. Cuttings thrown in river	–	·–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4221. Cuttings buried in grave	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4223. Mutilations	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[304]
4224. Arms cut soon after death	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4225. Beat breast	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4226. Beat head	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[302]
4227. Facial and head coatings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4228. Pitch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4229. Dirt, ashes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4230. Chalk, charcoal	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4231. Pounded shell									+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4232. White clay on bangs	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4233. Pitch on arms or legs, chest	–	+	+					·+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	
4234. Touching face with fingers taboo	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4235. Face left unwashed	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4236. "Washed" with wet grass	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	.	
4237. Space around eyes washed	+	–	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
4238. Scratching stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4239. For head	+	+	+	–	+.	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(–)	–	
4240. For body	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	
4241. Worn tied around neck	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4242. Special attire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	[292]
·4243. Mourning necklace	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	·+	·+	
·4244. Basket cap, coated with pitch	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4245. Head covered with blanket													–	+		+	
‡4246. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	[262]
†4247. Meat ... days	·15	6	·14	·28	1	–	–	5	·86	–	–	2	–	5	–	·5	
†4248. Grease ... days	·15	6	·14	·28	1	–	–	5	·86	–	–	2	–	5	–	·5	
†4249. Fresh fish ... days	·15	6	·14	–	1	–	–	5	·86	–	–	2	–	5	–	·5	
†4250. Dried fish ... days	·15	6	–	–	1	–	–	5	–	–	–	2	–	5	–	·5	
4251. Cold water ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	
†4252. Salt ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	
4253. Seclusion	+	·+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
4254. In house	·+	·+	·+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	·+	·+	·+	·+	
†4255. For ... days	5	·–	–	–	·2	–	–	5	28	–	–	3	+	+	·+	+	
†4256. For ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	+	1	
4257. For variable period	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
4258. Prescribed activities during taboo period	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	·+	+	·+	
†4259. Sweats for ... days or nights	5	6	5	5	1	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4260. Gathers wood for sweating	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4261. Goes to grave or cremation spot and wails	·+	·+	·+	–	–	·+	+	–	·+	+	+	·+	·+	–	·+	·+	
4262. Walks around, wailing	+	+									+	+	·+	·+	–	·+	
4263. May go to mountains to seek power	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
4264. Making baskets taboo	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	·–	·–	·–	–	·–	
4265. Gathering food taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	
4266. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	–	[783]
‡4267. Sweats to remove taboos, after ... months	·12	12	12	–	–	12	·2	–	·+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4268. Washes head, face to remove taboos	–	–	–	+	·+	–	+	+	–	–	–	·+	+	·+	.	–	
4269. Drinks medicine	+	.	+									(+)	–	–	–	–	
4270. Takes pitch off head, face at remarriage only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[587] ●

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
764 765 4271. Pitch wears off naturally	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
587 4272. Mourning necklace worn until remarriage	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•–	–	+	•–
o4273. Approximate no. yrs. before remarriage	•1	•2	•2	1	•2	•1	½	•2	1	•2	•1	–	•3	•3	•3	•2
4274. Indefinite period; shorter for younger women	–	–	–								+	+	+	+	+	+
4275. Older women often do not remarry	+	+	+								·	+	+	+	–	–
764 765 4276. Widower	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
4277. Cuts or burns hair, slightly	+	+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	–	•+
4278. Pitches hair or face, or both	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
†4279. Meat, fish, salt taboo ... days after funeral	56	10	10	5	1	–	1	5	28	–	–	1	–	5	–	–
†4280. Hunting taboo ... days	+	10	10	5	–	+	–	10	+	–	–	1	+	+	–	+
†4281. For ... months	12	–	–	–	–	•3	–	–	3	–	–	–	1	1	–	•4
†4282. Fishing taboo ... days	5	10	5	5	–	+	–	10	+	–	–	1	+	+	–	+
†4283. For ... months	–	–	–	–	–	•3	–	–	3	–	–	–	1	1	–	•4
4284. Gives away all or most of 1st kill	–	–	+				+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
4285. Cannot "cry" before hunting	+	+	+								·	·	+	·	·	–
[787] †4286. Spends ... nights in mountains	5	•5	10	–	–	1	1	1	1	1	•1	–	–	–	–	–
4287. To obtain vision	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
4288. Piles up rocks	+	+	+	–	–						–	–	–	–	–	–
4289. Gathers or breaks wood	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4290. Sleeps little or none	+	+									+	+	+	–	–	–
[787] 4291. Returns home wailing	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4292. Obtains dream at home, night of funeral		–	+			+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
†4293. Sweats alone daily for ... days after cremation	5	5	–			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4294. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
o4295. Sweats with other mourners ... days after funeral	–	–	•1	5	–	•+	•+	–	2	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[304] †4296. Swims ... days after funeral	–	–	•1	5	1	•+	•+	5	1	•+	–	3	2	5	–	•–
4297. Cuts shoulder	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4298. Children observe taboos for dead parent	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
4299. Son, daughter cut hair close; slight pitch	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	–	–
[787] 4300. Do not seek for power	+	+	–				+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
4301. Parents observe taboos for child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4302. Cut hair slightly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
4303. Pitch on hair or face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
4304. Mother only	+	+	–		+					+	–	–	–	+	+	+
†4305. Meat taboo ... days	5	5	10	5	3	–	1	5	+	–	–	1	–	5	–	–
o4306. For ... months	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[787] 4307. Sweat or bathe	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
4308. Man goes to mountains to seek power	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
4309. Loss of 1st child before cord drops off entails rigid taboos				•(+)					•(+)		•+	+	+	+	+	•–
4310. Couple give everything away, start anew											+	+	+	+	+	–
4311. Secluded for 1 month													+			–
Taboos on Community																
†4312. Foot travel stopped for ... days	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	4	•5	5	–	+
4313. Until burial of corpse	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	+
[551] 4314. Uttering name of dead taboo	+	•+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4315. Indefinitely	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
4316. Until formally regiven	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	(+)	–	–
4317. Only in presence of kin	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

000 family, not that his sister-in-law belongs to him." NM: Woman may refuse to marry brother-in-law, saying she "does not want to die like [her] sister did." Not obligatory for man either.

3841. At, WT: Only if widower treated first wife well. NM: See note 3839.

587 3842. Kl, Mo, SE, AW, AE, WT, WS, NS: Dead woman's parents hire shaman to kill son-in-law,
756 if he refuses to marry one of deceased wife's
684 sisters. WM: Woman's parents hire men to kill son-in-law outright.

587 3844. Kl, SE: Usually, however, relative of
595 man marries latter's stepdaughter.

3852. Kl: Informant "had heard lots about this,
595 among [N] California tribes and up at Warm Springs--about man living with his sister-in-law--but not practiced among Kl." AE: Not es-
000 pecially disapproved. WT: Indulged in only by "loose" women, and generally disapproved.

3853. NS: Man sleeps with sister-in-law, only during brother's absence from home.

3855. NS: Not necessarily between namesakes only.

3856. SE: Extension of levirate also occurs; man may marry father's brother's wife, "to keep her in the family; he has to pay for his aunt, however, to give any children he may have by her status. But in outright levirate, gifts only given; levirate not always obligatory for man; "woman has to be good woman, to have treated dead husband well and pitched her face for him when he died, for his family to make strenuous efforts to keep her after his death." SW: Levirate more obligatory, for both man and woman concerned, than post-mortem sororate (see note 3839). WM: Day after funeral, when all relatives of dead man are crying, brother of deceased may ask widow for drink of water. If she gives it to him, they are considered as married from then on. Both widow and brother-in-law have blackened, pitched faces, and let pitch stay on until it wears off, but in event of speedy remarriage widow does not wear pitch necklace.

3857. SE: See preceding note.

3858. At: Widow may tell her brother-in-law she is going to marry another man; "All right," he says, and tells her to "take care of those children [by dead husband] good; be careful with them and let me know when they're sick."

[587 3860. Kl: But because levirate is so obliga-
684] tory for woman and for dead husband's brother, rule seldom if ever violated. However, see element 3973.

[587 3862. By hiring shaman to kill woman, for all
684] groups except WM, NS. WM: If woman refuses to give brother-in-law drink of water (see note 3856 WM) "then her brother-in-law or father-in-law get mad at her and try to kill her." NS: Woman shot with bow and arrow.

3866. SW: Kammatwa and Katiru groups intermediate between Shasta proper and Karok (see note 282) permit marriage of blood relatives; Shasta do not.

DOO run around, just like dogs. In old days women never ran around; they stayed home." SW: Husband may send wife home, and demand bride price be returned.

3960a. SW: Wife may return home, and her bride price need not be returned.

3961. Mo: Husband may send barren woman home to parents; "that's been done, lots of times; but if he loves her, he will keep her, and take another woman also as wife. SW: Barren wife not divorced, but her family must supply second wife free to her husband. WM: If woman barren, husband deserts her, often for another woman; does not bring this second wife home to live with first one; latter returns home to her parents.

3962. SW: Wife may leave husband, no return of bride price necessary.

3963. SW: No return of bride price if husband is aggressor.

3964. SW: If husband lazy, "after awhile wife returns home." If wife lazy, she is sent home and bride price must be returned. AE: If husband lazy or "mean," and woman returns to her family, her father or father's brother usually sends her back to her husband; tells her to come home "only in a good way, together with her husband." Daughters, when told this, usually return to husband. WT: If woman lazy, but if she stays home and behaves self, husband keeps her; but if she is "run-around" as well as lazy, husband turns her out of house.

3965. SW: If husband "mean," and beats wife, and wife returns home, first time she does so her parents send her back to her husband; second time she comes home for such reason she can stay; no return of bride price. AE: See note 3964. WM: Woman never fights back, if husband beats her, hits her with rock, but her brother or uncle may fight husband in her stead.

3966. SW: See notes 3960-3965. In all instances where repayment is mentioned above, such is necessary only if there have not been children born of union. But if 1 or more children have been born, money is not repaid (would ruin child's status), and either wife or husband may take charge of child.

3968. SW, At, AW: Boys usually stay with father, girl with mother's mother or grandmother. AW: "But hardly ever do this."

[586] 3972. Kl: Wife leaves her belongings in her husband's house. WT: Wife does not take her clothes, "because her husband has made them; she just takes clothes she has on." But anything she herself has made, such as baskets, she takes with her. WM: Woman takes clothes and baskets.

● [587] [688] 3973. Kl: If new husband does not pay before he marries woman, liable to be killed. AW: 6-10 strings of beads paid to widow's brother-in-law by her suitor. Brother-in-law then tells widow to marry suitor; if she demurs, he may threaten her with death. (Brother-in-law often more violent in demeanor toward widow than her husband ever was.) "The brother-in-law has a share in

000 that woman; he acts just like a boss toward her."

3975. WT: Also, in Upper Trinity subarea of Wintu, informant had heard of 1 instance of mother-in-law killing daughter-in-law after husband died. "The mother-in-law didn't want that woman to take another husband, so she killed her with a bone needle [dagger?]. She was sorry after she did it; but she didn't like the woman having another husband who would look just like her son; it would make her [mother-in-law] feel badly."

[587] 3976. In case there is no brother-in-law to ask.

3977. If there is no brother-in-law to receive the payment. AW: Sister-in-law may dispose of widow to more-distant male relative of dead husband also.

3980. SW: A divorce "puts a man and woman clear away from each other"; no payment rendered former husband.

562 3981. Kl: If man does not like his wife for
587 some reason, he announces, "Anyone who wants my
593 wife can take her, if they give me something. If you people don't want her, I'll kill her." The men discuss it; husband repeats the announcement, sets date when he will kill woman; some man finally takes her for wife, gives the husband something; "that's how they save a woman, sometimes." No one knows what trouble between husband and wife prompts man to do this, and man never tells; he doesn't beat his wife, he just sells her. Only done occasionally; when informant was boy such sales still taking place; informant had seen one couple separated this way. Woman not captive.°

000 Intercourse; promiscuity.--

3984. NF: Girl cries, fights husband, so girl's mother sleeps beside girl first night latter sleeps with husband.

3985. NF: Do not allow people to sleep lying on back "like dead people"; lie on side and "put their heart in hiding" so no evil will befall sleepers.

[152] 3987. Purse lips and make sound, "čk, čk,"
[192] repeatedly, close to baby's face. AW: Rub hands over baby's face or neck while making sound; same done between adults. AE: "Learned to make this sound from animals--badger, raccoon."

3988. SE: No virginity tests, but observe boy's actions around girls. AE: If girl's, boy's legs get "heavy" (tired) during girl's puberty dance, sign he or she is not virgin. Spectators watch to see whether this happens. WT: Can tell whether girl is virgin or not by shape of her abdomen, if firm, smooth, judge she is.

[548] 3989. Kl: Prostitution with payment recent
[178] custom only.

3990. WM: Especially at girl's puberty dance.

836 3991. Kl: Said to have been extremely rare; "girls never ran around; pretty hard to get a woman." Girl's parents wanted girl to marry man who could get her lots of fish, so she would eat

764 and nights, sweating; at end of this 5-day peri-
765 od widow can eat fish; "she's cleaned good, then."
262 SE: Or more. SW: 1 lunar month. WM: 3 lunar
months. MV: 6-7.

000 4251. MF: Drinks medicinal tea instead of water.

4253. Mo: Young widow stays in house "for few days" after husband's death. Older woman with children may have to go out to get wood. None of seclusion taboos enforced if it is necessary to get food for dependents. All widows however sweat twice daily for duration of food taboos. Final purification comes 1 year later.

[764] [765] 4254. Kl, Mo: In mourners' sweat lodge (see note 4247). SE: Mourner cannot come into living house if deermeat there; gives hunter bad luck. NF: Partial seclusion only; does not talk to any man during this period. NS: Stays in seclusion until necklace she is wearing breaks. NM: Stays in seclusion until she attends another funeral, usually in about 1 year. MV: Widow sometimes stays with mother-in-law; usually with her own mother.

4255. Mo: See note 4253. At: 2-3. NS: See note 4254.

4258. MF, NF, NM, MV: Widow makes baskets during period of seclusion, for post-burial ceremony (see elements 4354-4415).

[764] [765] 4261. Kl, Mo, SE, AW, WM, MF, NF, NS, MV: Shadowed by attendant.

4262. NF, NM, MV: Talks only in low voice. NM, MV: 2 women watch mourner, take her outside at night.

4264. MF, NF, NM, NS: See note 4258.

[765] [783] 4267. Kl: Or more. AE: 2-6 months. WM: Widow after death of husband sometimes builds and uses small steam-heated sweat house to remove contamination of disease from her arms, body.

4268. At: After 2-3 years. MF, NM: Ca. 1 year after funeral.

4270. WM: When woman about to remarry, takes pitch off 1 month before marriage.

4272. NF: Worn until burnt at group mourning ceremony, 2-3 years later. MV: Worn for ca. 1 year, then burnt at group mourning ceremony. At this burning young widows put small amount of pitch on face, also.

[764] [765] [587] 4273. Kl: 1-6 yrs. Mo: 2-3. SE: 6 mos. or longer. At: 2-3 yrs. AW: 1-2. WT: 2 mos. to 5 yrs. WS: 2-3 yrs. MM: 1-3. NF, NM, NS: 3 or more yrs. MV: 2-3.

4277. SE, SW, MV: Burn hair; all other groups cut hair. NM: Puts cuttings in gopher hole. At: "A man hardly does anything in mourning for his dead wife."

4281, 4283. AW: 3-4 months. MV: 4-5.

4286. Mo: 5-6 nights. MM: 1-2.

4295, 4296. SE: 1-2 days. AW, AE, WS: Immediately after funeral.

4296. MV: Bathes in medicated water, 4-5 months after funeral.

4299. MF: Put on pitch only. NF: Cut hair, put on pitch. NM: Cut hair only.

[Klamath Reservation]

Of all the societal
relationships, the government sought directly
to change only those within the family. It was clear that a nation 657*
that was soon to impose upon the Mormons the American, and 648*
not the Biblical family, would permit no special marital practices 595
among the Indians. Polygamy was banned, although not retroactively 177
for unions such as those of Allen David and Monchnkasgitk, 178
which had been contracted prior to January 1, 1870.
Some leaders themselves appear to have advocated the change in
a desire to emulate whites. In 1877, Gatschet noted that there
were still two or three polygamous men.[26] Since polygamy had [556]
been a mark of the affluent, the ban, like the emancipation of the
slaves that preceded it, served to erode the status of the traditional
chiefs.

An effort was also made to place under the authority of the 657*
court of chiefs certain relationships which had formerly been 648*
regulated privately between the families or individuals concerned. 622
In the legal code instituted when the court was established, 692
the consecration of marriage was made the function of 685
the head chief, to whom the groom was to pay a fee of five, three, 583
or two dollars or the same amount in horses, graduated according [643]
to his means. It was again the chiefs who punished fornication [684]
and polygamy and performed divorce.[27] The traditional ritual [586]
of marriage still was being practiced by some families in the
1890's[28] but the gift exchanges between the families concerned
which set a public seal on the union were superseded, and the
controls exerted by the family over the couple were thereby
diminished. The effects of these and other changes were recognized
by Gatschet. "Matrimonial reverses . . . among the Klamath
[he declared] . . are one of the unavoidable consequences of
the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of
their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also
of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers
at Fort Klamath."[29]

With time, the seal upon marriage came to be set by the 657*
Methodist church and its ethics in turn permitted the independent 648*
of spirit to flout tradition. One woman recalled that upon 581
the death of her husband his family proposed that she wed his 587 •
brother in customary manner, but she refused out of regard for 177
the memory of her husband and the sanctity of the bond of their 178
marriage in the church.

FIFTEEN

Family and School

WHITES AND KLAMATH ON THE RESERVATION RECOGNIZED IN FAMILY 648*
ties a bond that might be useful as well in formal enterprises. 657*
Several leading businesses in Chiloquin relied in part upon con- 602
sanguinity and upon marital ties to recruit members and ensure 178
continuity of control. Similarly, among the Klamath, during the bidding for tracts of tribal property in the course of termination, members characteristically acted in kin groups to undertake purchases that were beyond the resources of a single individual. In primary relations among both groups, visiting patterns and the occasional appearance of extended family households betokened the continued strength of ties reaching beyond the nuclear family.

For the whites who had come originally from outside the [167]
reservation, kinship ties stretched to distant places and there [563]
were comparatively few relatives close at hand. Of the whites in Chiloquin in 1950, although fifty-six per cent had moved from a previous residence in Oregon, fewer than forty per cent came from the reservation, from Klamath Falls, or from southwestern Oregon. Only a handful had raised children and in turn had seen grandchildren being reared in the town.[1]

The Klamath, with many kinsmen still upon the reservation, [587] •
saw the network of relationship close at hand, however tangled
it might be by the intricacies [illegible] remarriage. To be sure, the [596]
extended family as a residential group was not prominent, for in Chiloquin there were but two such households and in Beatty one. The strength of the bonds manifested themselves in other ways. Tribal residents in the city of Springfield, in the Willamette Valley, several of whom asserted that they had originally moved away to escape the importunities of kinsmen, had made the move as nuclear families over a period of several decades. None-

[Klamath Reservation]

Within the
*648 reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally
*657 esteemed attributes had lost place. Age was no longer accorded
561 respect, for the wisdom of experience seemed irrelevant under
593 the new conditions, and in the environing society the emphasis
577 was upon youthful qualities. The premium upon industry as an
434 ideal for old and young alike had become submerged by the
178 golden flow of per capitas which rewarded equally the wastrel
177 and the unremitting toiler. Remarked one man wryly, "I can make more money raising Klamath than I can raising cattle."[3] Under these changes, paternal authority had declined sharply. "Why should I listen to you?" demanded one adolescent son of his father. "I've got just as much money saved up [in a compulsory trust fund] as you have!"

*648 By contrast, the status of the mother within the household
*657 had been enhanced. Housekeeping and child rearing constituted
562 concrete activities that possessed a high measure of continuity
434 with the past, of a type normally respected in her counterpart
177 in white society. Access to her own per capitas had raised the
178 economic standing of a wife to a par with that of her husband.
[623] The relative changes in local roles, together with the passage
of woman's suffrage in the nation at large, had become reflected in the increasing prominence of women in the debates of the General Council.

*648 The major point of contrast between white and tribal house-
*657 holds on the reservation was the relatively greater fluidity among
563 the Klamath, as reflected in the record of sequent marriages,
58 the figures for common-law unions, and the broken families. In this respect, Beatty did not differ significantly from Chiloquin. Interethnic marriages—those between a Klamath and a nontribal partner—were more stable than those contracted between tribal members.

*648 Household composition makes it clear that the traditional
*657 valuation of kin had by no means been entirely relinquished.
592 In a number of instances, Klamath, particularly women, had
587 taken in the children of collateral kin. Remarriage produced
[178] composite families, in which the couple reared not only their own children but the offspring of previous unions of one or both partners.

*648 Consequently, Klamath households exhibited a diversity of
*657 form, size, and composition, frequently characterized as well by
592
593

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 67

Background Data

*159
156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, par-
ticularly in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
595 Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma
William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
733 like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
83 She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by
three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
587 having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She
completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and
871 she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri,
178 California, and Mexico.

651 Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father
for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation
464 and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five, and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
577 Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams
is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
177 a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values, and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

191 Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her
English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that chil-
871 dren today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I
can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
593 no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her
children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this res-
603 pect, Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, be-
867 haviors in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affilations with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
657 She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was
carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
871 and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who
177 promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were rejected from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate inter-
changes and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses
156

*657 The removal of property interests in the marriage on the part
*648 of the natal families of the couple, together with the general
581 upheaval of society, brought to the fore the practice of common-
• 588 law marriage, previously an unusual form of union. In time, such
177 a marriage, if generally acknowledged as stable, was officially
178 termed an "Indian custom" marriage, and recognized by authorities and Indians alike. Many unions, however, were unstable, and genealogies reveal that then as now it was common to find individuals who had had as many as three mates. Indeed, the woman previously mentioned as refusing to marry her husband's brother subsequently consorted informally with her ranch foreman.

*657 Thus by the end of the period of its firmest control, the gov-
*648 ernment had altered the family in form to correspond to that
177 idealized in American society. It had done away with the special
593 status of slaves. Children were removed from the physical cus-
[567] tody of their parents and sent away to school, to be returned as adolescents at odds with the ways of their parents. These were individual measures, not calculated for their total impact. The approach to social, as to other aspects of change, was predicated upon the individual and upon the conjugal family. It failed to envisage the need to create bodies that would give strength and continuity to a reservation community.

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are exclusively 621
White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office outside [575]
the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [794]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are frequently [651]
tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously,
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chiloquin [674]
during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a reconstituted 648
"Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be administered 657
by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal supervision
has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual 619
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Attendance
at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
581 borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
[848] out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
[177] is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
596 but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
[177] extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, *de facto* groupings
rather than *de jure*. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organiza-
[594] tion of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obliga-
592 tory responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-
592 father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly ex-
treme cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual owner-
ship of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with re-
gard to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
434 industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively 159*
sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of [156]
the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the
last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She [464]
is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except [874]
for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her husbands in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of
nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals
and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played
with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making
and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early
twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for
everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were [871]
sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from
home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, [857]
and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an
extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her [593]
parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking"
activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area,
with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruction [868]
from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother.
Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were [191]
disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in
boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote
her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother
was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be
due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before [864]
she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was
at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she [626]
is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. [156]
She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of
their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband,
who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and [586]
divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five
other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never [156]
more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occasionally
one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts [588]*
to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages,
and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house
(it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are technically
illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this [59*
sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her. 56

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone,
particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first
advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request [124]
testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was
wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

Weasel: Male, Age 29

Background Data

In contrast to all other subjects Weasel's role in the reservation community 159*
is a totally negative, destructive one, largely that of a supposedly vicious [156]
criminal. He was born and raised on an economically un-productive ranch, which
for twenty years or more has been the location of continuous drinking parties.
Weasel was raised within a circle of a pack of older brothers, half-brothers, [593]
and step brothers, all of whom were bigger, stronger, and more capable than he.
His father has been an alcoholic for thirty years and has rarely worked or contributed [733]
much to the organization of the family, which as a co-residential [592]
household usually included more than a dozen persons. In all, Weasel had 17
full and part siblings, half of whom are now deceased, three directly as a result [165]
of drinking, three from acts of violence or car accidents.

Weasel's formal education ceased when he was 15, in the ninth grade, at which [871]
time he was arrested on a burglary charge. Since then he has spent six years
in reformatories or penal institutions. He was tested while in jail on an [674]
assault charge. Shortly thereafter he was found not-guilty, then re-arrested [697]
and sentenced on a different assault with a deadly weapon charge to three years
in the state penitentiary.

Weasel has repeatedly moved out of the circle of the family group, only to
fail "outside" and return to its sheltering arms. For a time Weasel was a [542]
professional boxer, but one without much skill or stamina. He never won a fight
and his face shows the evidence of the capabilities of his opponents. His
membership in this profession did not last long, and Weasel states, rather
proudly, that the Boxing Commission expelled him "For conduct unbecoming a
professional boxer." Weasel was once married (a common-law marriage, which [588]
for Weasel's primary reference groups is well sanctioned) but this lasted just [581]
16 weeks. During this period Weasel stayed sober, the longest time he has spent
without a drink since the age of 12. Weasel was consciously trying to reform [733]
himself, but now feels that he was a fool to ever try. Additionally, Weasel
has repeatedly made a circuit of nearby towns and cities either singly or in [156]
the company of a brother or friend. These visitations have more of the character [579]
of raids than anything else, and Weasel is usually arrested in one or another
place and either charged or shipped out of town. [697]

In addition to being a minor criminal Weasel is frequently also the scapegoat 159*
for the aggressions of stronger men than he. He constantly asks for trouble,
but has never given any evidence that he can back of his threats with appropriate 156
force. His successful acts of aggression have always been sneak attacks, [186]
or attacks on feeble old men or young boys. He seldom attempts to avoid the consequences of these actions, and, indeed, is frequently not able to do so, because of his extreme drunken condition. He seems to obtain some gratification from the minor prestige afforded his performances in these roles, but this gratification is highly personalized and is not recognized as appropriate by others. It may be that he has been attempting to build up his standing and reputation within his own circle by acting out the role of a "dangerous Indian," but it would seem that he has been singularly unsuccessful in this. One aspect of this behavior is his reputed skill with a knife. On two occasions he wanted to obtain vocational training, once as a barber, the other time as a butcher, both times implying that this would be a simple extension of his native talent.

585 After a month of marriage the couple visits the bride's former home,
593 accompanied by the groom's relatives, for a further exchange of gifts. Soon after this, the girl's father and his family reciprocate. Beyond this it is a matter of mutual solicitude; undoubtedly the visits grow less frequent as the passing years bring diverging interests. Later visits are of some duration, the couple even staying through the winter.

591 Marriage is normally patrilocal, but if a man is poor, or has no close relatives, he may take up residence with his wife's people. When a young wife is about to have her first child the couple return to her mother to stay until she is strong again. This must be the circumstance of temporary matrilocal residence as it ordinarily occurs elsewhere. First marriages among primitive peoples usually follow closely on a girl's nubility. The need for advice and care during this trying period of pregnancy and delivery, the natural solicitude of the mother, are surely the reasons for the frequency with which residence is temporarily matrilocal. It will be observed that this is formally prescribed as the proper procedure almost solely in cases of first marriage. There is no need to search for a more esoteric reason such as the older writers had, matrilinear grouping, maternal authority, and the demand that the young husband prove himself to the wife's family. Among the Klamath this is the rule only on the birth of a first child.

591 A series of terms describes the facts of residence. A man and his
wife in matrilocal residence are non-vocatively wuko'bŏks and sḳa'bŏks
593 respectively.[69] A woman with her husband's people is t!e'niwas.[70]
601 On separation a woman who returns to her former home is ko'stbŏmbli,
a man returning to his, wuko'tbŏmbli.

601 I was told at least that a child's spouse is treated like an own
child, that parent and child terms are used between them for there
606 are no parent-in-law taboos. This is the usage of intimacy; there are specific terms for parents-in-law. There is the familiar Indian usage of a term between the parents of a couple, "my child's parent-in-law."

582 Marriages occur any time during the year. There is no evidence suggesting their greater frequency during any season, nor any mating period[71]

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[69] The latter term was given me at another time as meaning a newly married woman (probably the form ska'bŏkak was intended). This comes to the same thing. These two words apparently correspond to Gifford's wapake and kapake, earlier and later co-wife (Californian Kinship Terminologies, 42). Gifford's record is doubtless due to a misunderstanding; I enquired about these words and found that there are no terms for particular co-wives.

[70] Gatschet (2:608) gives teina, a young woman. The meanings are not incompatible but I believe mine to be correct.

[71] As among the Yurok (Kroeber, Handbook, 44).

159

subsequent career seems quite normal unless exception be made of his seven wives! 838 [622]

A woman named Co'pak lived like a man although she retained women's dress. She married a woman who lived with her a long time and finally died. She observed the usual mourning, wearing a bark belt as a man does at this time to prevent the back from growing bowed. She tried to talk like a man and invariably referred to herself as one.

Another woman still living has had relations with both women and men. She never adopted men's garb but told them that she was a man. She is today a common prostitute, an abnormal, irascible person. Those she lived with were all older women, not young girls. This practice is known as sawa'lînâa, to live as partners. They say of such: they have lots of partners, friends (anewă'ĕts doma' sawa' lînâa'sgltkt). Other Klamath of any standing have always avoided her and her women partners. She was never married to a man.

HOUSE GROUPS

It is now difficult to get evidence on household composition. Houses 342 vary in size, to judge by the existing pits, from twelve feet in diameter 592 to as much as thirty-five feet. The larger houses must have held a number of families and as many as ten or twelve persons. One described below had five families, numbering twenty.

The majority of the inmates of a house can usually trace some relationship. This is also true of most of the inhabitants of a settlement. For example, the village mo'giŋkünks had half a dozen earth-lodges, of which three held the families of two brothers and their father's male cousin. Residence is normally patrilocal. In the cases [591] which follow the connecting relatives are for the most part related in the first degree.

An earth-lodge on the lower Williamson river built about 1870, and measuring thirty feet in diameter, contained five men, their wives and children, whose respective portions of the house are shown in figure 4. This was known as the home of the shaman Boke's; the others were related to his wife.

1. Boke's, wife, and two children.
2. Lek!o'c, wife and two children.
3. Wokau'k!alls, a widower, whose two wives had been Molala sisters.[76]

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[76] Their Molala names were Slowa' and A'li'ak.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1860-1900)

special configuration of social relations most aptly described as a set of mutual obligations constraining the families of marriage contractants. The Klamath, by reason of their geographical position marginal to these, show the effects of this to only a moderate degree. 171 * 587

Postnuptial Residence

Residence after marriage was prevailingly patrilocal in the northwest, the bride proceeding at once to her husband's home. This held from Alaska to northwestern California; Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, mainland Cowichan, Lillooet,[586] Klallam, Puget Sound Salish, Twana, Coos, Takelma, Hupa, and Yurok. The Yurok and Hupa cases indicate that this mode of residence is derived from the fact that brides were purchased; there if full payment could not be met, the husband had to be content with joining his wife who would not be given up by her people. I am not asserting that in general patrilocal residence following promptly on marriage is due to purchase; in these northwestern tribes this seems to be the case. It is conceivable that they might have held that a man must furnish services before they would release the bride to him, but this was contrary to their feeling respecting wealth. Services were a poor substitute for material wealth. Even in those cases where temporary matrilocal residence did occur this sentiment was absent; it was simply customary practice. The Klallam sometimes resided with the wife's people for a short time; among the Wishram it was apparently the regular practice. The Tillamook had a curious alternation; first matrilocal, then patrilocal, each for a few days, settling down to matrilocal residence, which however they might change later. 171 * 591 •

The Klamath conformed to the northwestern practice. Residence was normally patrilocal, the bride being brought at once to her husband's home; but, as with the Yurok and elsewhere, a man too poor to pay tendered services while living at his bride's home. The patrilocal habit was by no means rigid; matrilocal residence might set in from the outset if it was desired.

The relation of the Klamath to the northern tribes can best be brought out by pointing out their contrast to those to the south. Temporary matrilocal residence was the custom of a large part of north central California; Achomawi, Atsugewi, Maidu (northeastern, south-

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[586] Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, 421, 424, 441, 532, Third Report, 12, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 358 f., Lower Fraser River, 5.

*171 591 ern, and the foothill groups), Eastern and Northern Pomo. Thereafter it was not of necessity patrilocal, for residence might be continued with the woman's unit. Outright matrilocal habits appeared among the Sacramento Valley Maidu (although the majority of marriages were there patrilocal from the outset), Huchnom, and Yokuts. Southern California was again an area of patrilocal habits. Great Basin practice conformed with that of north central California; temporary matrilocal residence for Paviotso, Southern Paiute (?), Uintah Ute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni. Northern Plains tribes were generally patrilocal: Crow, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin. Matrilocal residence as well occurred among the last two. Hidatsa indulge in temporary matrilocal residence, after which there is no fixed rule.

Summary

*171 554 556 We may now review the data detailed above. Sharply crystallized distinctions of rank and the importance of wealth in establishing them, wealth itself assuming real proportions, center in this area in the Kwakiutl and other northern tribes. Similar caste distinctions are traceable southward on the coast to the Alsea and Coos, and eastward not beyond the Wishram. Social distinctions based on wealth to the almost complete exclusion of other factors extend beyond these limits; in attenuated form to the Sinkyone and Yuki and perhaps beyond to the south, to the Klamath and Shasta, to the Middle Columbia Salish of eastern Washington. *171 583 431 Marriage by purchase had an even more extended distribution; from the same center it is traceable southward perhaps to Huchnom and Pomo, to the Southern Maidu, and eastward into the northern Plains, if my interpretation of the Crow, Assiniboin, and Hidatsa cases is justified. In the northwestern portions of this territory marriage by purchase is a function of the caste-wealth system; in the outlying regions, as among the Maidu on the one side and Nez Percé, Crow, etc., on the east, it would seem that we witness the spread of the purchase factor with little of these underlying concepts. It must be borne in mind that nowhere in this area are the marriage payments justly described as purchase; there is always a reciprocation of the gift. The express point is that marriage is contracted only by the making of such gifts.

*171 583 556 Wealth was very real, huge in quantity, north of the Columbia, and a correspondingly high value set for a marriage settlement, at least among the upper classes. Valuables and marriage values dwin-

dle beyond this limit, with a notable recrudescence of the latter on the 171 *
lower Klamath river. Part of the mechanism of its exchange in 583
marriage was a series of reciprocal visits, of potlatch character southward 556
to the Columbia, a more formal practice beyond.

Among the concepts underlying the practice of bride purchase 171 *
was the sense of mutual obligations of the contractants' families. This was avowed by the coastal tribes from British Columbia to northern California. It assumed the express forms of compulsory levirate and sororate and of the right to children. Further, the families were obligated to restore the marriage settlements if the marriage terminated unfortunately. The man's financial interest in the wife he (837)
had bought was evidenced by his ability to mulct damages from an adulterer or one even thought to be such.

The exogamy which appears in this area was not the prohibition 171 *
of marrying within the community, but an exogamy of practice. To 582
maintain caste, marriage must of necessity have frequently been with 554
persons of the same rank and wealth outside the village or tribe. This was undoubtedly more the circumstance in the upper strata of society. It is obvious then that the distribution of this practice coincides closely with that of sharp distinctions of caste and wealth. Beyond those tribes whose attitudes may be so characterized, there was a fringe of peoples who had taken over the custom without its antecedents. Such local exogamy has been noted as far southward as the Hupa, the Sacramento Valley Maidu, and as far eastward as the Nez Percé.

The habits of postnuptial residence seem to correspond closely 171 *
with the sense of purchase. It was patrilocal, the bride being taken 591 •
at once to her husband, in the coastal area southward to northern California. Some variability does indeed appear but this seems no more than the common circumstance of residence according to preference. The Wishram instance of regular temporary matrilocal residence is an anomaly.

The position of the Klamath with respect to this northwestern 171 *
marriage complex was that of a distinctly marginal group. Purchase 583
to maintain social standing was present but the values not fixed; 431
the actual amount changing hands, relatively small. A series of formal gift-bearing visits was prescribed, in which the bride's family returned more than they received, but there was no intentional rivalry in giving. The first visit was that of conducting the bride to the
groom as among all the southerly peoples. Residence was patrilocal 171 *
591

*171 in conformity with northwestern views. The sense of obligation was
• [591] weakly developed; the levirate was a mere custom, the sororate rare;
birth of heirs played no part in their scheme of things. In brief, the
[587] Klamath derived the sense of social standing based on wealth from
[583] the northwestern center, and the mechanism of marriage purchase to
effect it, but no more.

174 I am not inclined to indulge in an historical reconstruction of the northwestern marriage complex. But if it be in order, it seems better to suggest that the ancient, undifferentiated custom was the practice of mutual giving, subsequently formalized with the growth of concepts of wealth and rank on the Northwest Coast. The alternative is to hold that these attitudes and practices diffused from that center only after they attained full flower there. If this were so we should expect to find the specific forms of Northwest Coast procedure at a greater distance. I am very doubtful that ideas and sentiments diffuse as such, though I may have given that impression in some of the summary statements above. It seems rather that particular practices are imitated, and if but imperfectly copied or made rational in their new context, then alone do we say that merely the underlying idea has been borrowed.

*171 In the present case social stratification based on wealth had spread
over a wide area; wife purchase with it. I conceive that members of
174 the imitating tribes observed the aggrandizement that went with
583 wealth and took occasion among their fellows to insist on a similar,
and in their eyes proper, respect for themselves and their wealth
554 when opportunity offered. The spread of the marriage purchase cus-
556 tom must have been one of the most effective mechanisms for the
spread of the sense of rank. Boas has already made such a case for the Kwakiutl and their neighbors. By marriage with the northern tribes among whom privilege concepts were highly developed, the Kwakiutl obtained these privileges through their wives.[887] The mechanism is clearly transparent in the Klallam preference for marriages to the north.[888] We are not told this of other tribes, to be sure, but it appeals to me that marriage into foreign tribes where payment for their women was demanded would inevitably bring in its train the notion that these women were in some way superior to those at home. This view is not drafted from thin air; among the tribes of Puget sound, e.g., the women of the more northerly tribes consider them-

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[887] Boas, Social Organization of North-Pacific Coast; Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 124.

[888] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 242.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
585 3798. Groom's family gives pay, presents to bride's family after marriage established	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	·+	-	+	+	.	-
3799. Amount of gifts depends on approval of girl	+	+	·-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	.	-
3800. No gifts if girl a "run around" (loose)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
583 3800a. Service for bride, no payment	-	·+	·+	·+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	-	.	+
3801. Poor man only	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	.	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	+
3802. May buy or work out	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	.	+	-	-	+
[591] 3802a. Temporary matrilocal residence	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	.	+	-	-	-
3803. Permanent matrilocal residence	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	-	+
3803a. Marriage by abduction tolerated	[illegible]	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
3804. Married women only	+	+	+		.				-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
3805. Woman won by contest	-	-	-	-	·+	-	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-
3805a. Friends assist	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[556] 3806. Husband bought	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3806a. By wealthy man, for daughter	-	-	+	-	+	·+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3807. Girl sent to live with rich man, gratis	-	-	-						·+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
Marriage Observances																
585 3808. Groom goes to bride's house	+	+	·+	-	·-	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	.	-
3808a. Groom stays at bride's house	·+	·+	·+	-	-	·+	·+	-	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	.	-
3809. Groom takes bride to his father's house	·+	·+	·+	-	-	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	.	-
[591] 3809a. Couple live at groom's father's house	+	·+	·+	-	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	.	·+
3810. Short time only	·+	·+	·+	-	·+	·+	·+	·+	-	·+	-	-	-	-	.	·+
3810a. Indefinitely	·+	·+	·+	-	-	·+	·+	·+	·+	-	·+	·+	·+	·+	.	-
3811. Bride returns to her parent's house	·+	·+	·+	-	·+	·+	·+	·+	-	·+	-	-	·-	·-	.	-
3812. Groom's or bride's sister or family escort her to groom's home	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	-	-	.	·+
3812a. Groom and some friends go to bride's home	-	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	.	-
3813. Friends help groom hunt, fish	-	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	.	-
3814. Groom and family go to bride's house	-	-	·+	-	-	·+	·+	-	·+	·+	-	·+	-	·+	.	-
†3815. Visiting family (either side) stays ... nights, days	1	1	1	-	3	2	·+	-	0	5	-	.	-	.	.	3
3816. Marriage feast given by hosts	·+	·+	·+	-	·+	·+	·+	-	-	·+	·+	.	·+	·+	·+	·+
3817. Both parties contribute	·+	·+	·+	-	·+	·+	·+	-	-	·+	-	.	·+	·+	·+	-
3818. Bride and groom sit together on mat	·+	·+									-	-	-	-	-	-
3818a. Presents piled beside couple.	·+	·+									-	-	-	-	-	-
3819. Couple fed	·+	·+									-	-	-	-	-	-
3819a. Sleep together at spot where they sat	·+	·+									-	-	-	-	-	-
[537] [622] 3820. Speeches	·R	·+	·+	-	·+	-	·+	-	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+
3820a. By heads of both families	·R	·+	·+	-	·+	-	-	-	-	·+	-	-	·+	·+	·+	·+
3821. By headmen of group	-	·+	·+	-		-	·+	-	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+
Polygamy																
595 3822. Polygyny, wives unrelated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+
‡3823. Maximum number paid for	1	1	3	5	1	1	1	3	1	0	1	1	-	0	0	2
o3824. Maximum number in same house	5	2	2	2	2	10	2	1	10	2	2	2	-	2	2	2
3824a. First wife outranks others	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	-	+	·+	+
3825. Wives live in separate houses	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	·+	·+	-	+	+	-	.	·+	-
3826. Wives live in separate towns	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	·+	+	-	-	-	-
3827. Concubines in separate towns	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
3828. Prominent men have greatest no. of wives	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	·-	·-	-	+	·+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MV	NP	NM	NS	MV
591 Postnuptial Residence																
3880. First residence patrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
3881. Husband's parent's house	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
3882. In own house, husband's village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	+	–	–
3883. First residence matrilocal	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
3884. Wife's parent's house	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
3885. Only if widow selected man for daughter	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3886. Only if some form bride service	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3889. Own house, wife's village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	=	(+)
‡3890. Time in months	–	–	–	–	–	1	12	–	1	1	1	–	2	.	–	–
3891. First residence alternating	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
3892. First residence variable, no rule	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–
3893. Final residence patrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
3894. Husband's parents' house	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
3895. Own house, husband's village	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
3896. Final residence matrilocal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
3897. Own house, wife's village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
3898. Final residence own house, another village	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3899. Final residence variable, no rule	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Kinship Avoidances																
602 3900. Parents-in-law taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
606 3901. Mother-in-law son-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
3902. Never speak together	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
3903. Speak little	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
3904. Plural address	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	–	–	–
3905. Convey messages through 3d person	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3906. If talk together, someone between them	–	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3907. Cannot touch each other					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3908. Cannot look at each other														+	+	+
3909. Woman covers head	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
3910. Both turn aside on trail	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3911. Eat separately	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
3912. Receive objects through 3d person	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3913. Laughing together taboo	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3914. Obscenity between taboo	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
[835] 3915. Intercourse between taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3916. Wash if any bodily contact	–	–	–					+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3917. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3918. Obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3919. Penalty: bear might eat mother or son-in-law	–	–	–		+		–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
3920. Father-in-law daughter-in-law	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
3921. Similar to mother-in-law taboos	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
593 3922. Brother-sister taboos	+	+	.	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
602 3923. Play apart, near puberty and afterward	+	+	.	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
3924. Joking between taboo	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
3925. Touching each other taboo	+	+							+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
3926. Eating together taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
602 3927. Brother-in-law, sister-in-law taboos	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
607 3928. Joking relationship	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3929. Respect each other	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–

000 3809a. Mo: Applies to all Mo forms marriage except service for bride. SE, AW, WT, WM: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. At, MV: Applies to child betrothal and bride purchase. AE, NF: Applies to simple marriage. WS: Applies to bride purchase and simple marriage. MM, MF, NM: Applies to child betrothal and simple marriage.

585 591 3810. Kl, Mo, At, WT, MV: Refers to child betrothal and bride purchase. SE, AW, AE: Refers to simple marriage. WS: Applies to bride purchase and to simple marriage.

000 3810a, Kl, Mo: Refers to child betrothal and marriage by abduction. SE: Refers to child betrothal and bride purchase. AW, AE, WT, NF: Refers to simple marriage. WM: Refers to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. MM, MF, NM: Applies to child betrothal and simple marriage. NF: Applies to simple marriage.

[585] 3811. Kl, Mo, At, WT: Refers to child betrothal and bride purchase. SE, AW, AE: Refers to simple marriage. SE: Short time after marriage consummated groom escorts wife to his father's house. WS: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. NF, NM: Bride makes informal visits at irregular intervals to her family, but no formal return shortly after she has begun living in her husband's father's house.

[585] 3812. Kl, Mo, SE, SW, At, AW, AE, WT, WM, WS, MV: Refers to child betrothal and bride purchase. Mo: "This was the decent way to do--for the family to take the girl to her husband's house. This made her respectable; they couldn't have her running back and forth between those 2 houses. Wealthy people always did this." MM, MF: Refers to child betrothal.

3812a, 3813. Mo, SE, WM, WS: Applies to simple marriage.

3814. SE, AW, AE, WM: Refers to child betrothal and bride purchase. AW: See note 3815. Bride and groom may stay on at bride's family's home (if marriage celebrated there) anywhere from 2 days to 1 or 2 months. Groom gets wood for his father-in-law; bride packs water for mother-in-law, whichever place they are staying. If both families wealthy, couple keep visiting back and forth; if 1 family does not have much to eat, stay with more affluent relatives, and "take food and pack wood for poorer side once in awhile." WS: Refers to bride purchase. MF, NM: Refers to child betrothal.

[585] 3815. Kl, Mo: Applies to child betrothal; bride purchase; simple marriage. SE, At, AW, AE, MV: Refers to child betrothal, bride purchase. WS: Refers to bride purchase. Kl, Mo, At: Bride's family escort daughter back to groom's house, on her return to her husband. SE: Groom's family stays at bride's family's house. AW: In child-betrothal marriage, either groom's family goes to bride's house or vice versa, depending on which side says, "You come to my place." AE: Visiting family may stay from 2 to 6 months at groom's father's house. WM: Visiting family stays only few hours.

[225-A]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

At the
center of concentric circles of concern stands
K the natal family.[16] In the myths, parents and offspring and
M siblings are bound by the strongest affective bonds: in trouble
593 they provide succor and in death, revenge. The obligation tran-
602 scends abstract ethical considerations. In real life, mutual re-
sponsibility reaches out to embrace the extended family, the
close consanguineal kindred linked through two or three genera-
K M tions. Although kinship terminology acknowledges equally re-
[601] lationships on the maternal and paternal sides, residence practices
[591] in general favor the latter. From close kinsmen on both sides
come the gifts that set the seal of approval upon the marriage of
a member; during his lifetime they share food with him in his
need, support him in his quarrels, and assist his avenger should
he be slain. At his funeral, it is they, together with friends of the
deceased, who are expected to place valuables upon the funeral
pyre.

K Beyond the sphere of immediate kindred and of friends lies
M the domain of neighbors and remote relatives. If more central
602 obligations tend to be principally a function of consanguinity,
621 and thus to be ascriptive in character, village relationships and
571 those outside are more frequently based upon performance.
K M Here enter those standards of behavior by which a person of
[577] good family may be confirmed in position, the poor but worthy
rise, and the ne'er-do-well sink in the public view. At the head
K of this loose and shifting status scale stand the shamans and
M 756 other influential men, the leaders of hamlet groups. On occasion
622 they may meet in an informal village council to concert decisions.
621 Yet the village, which in its spatial limits often blends with
554 adjacent settlements and which dissolves with the turn of the
seasons, can exert little constraint upon its members.

K The prestige of the leaders, the force of public opinion, and
M checks imposed by rival village interests hold the unruly in line.
62 The principle of self-help and the responsibility of kinsmen may
enlarge grievances to feuds if the differences are not soon ended,
and thus threaten the very being of the community. To counter
such fissive tendencies, leaders mediate disputes and exhort to
their fellow villagers the need to maintain harmony.

K Time may alter the membership of villages. Men frequently
M 621 seek wives in other communities; and there is considerable inter-
563 marriage between Klamath and Modoc and Klamath and Molala,
582

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
[848] out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-
[177] style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
596 but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
[177] extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, *de facto* groupings
rather than *de jure*. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organization
[594] of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obligatory
592 responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-father
592 frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly extreme
cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual ownership
of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with regard
to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
434 industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

Slim: Male, Age 30

Background Data

Slim's case was selected so as to illustrate the situation of a regularly em- 159*
ployed, well liked and respected young male. He is currently employed as a [464]
laborer in a lumber mill, and in the past has worked as a carpenter, and in
heavy industries in the mid-west. He has ten years of formal schooling, obtained [463]
his 12th grade certificate by examination while in military service, and for [871]
one month studied commercial art in Portland. [701]

Slim was born into a large, influential kin group, one which for several genera- [619]
tions has provided much of the tribe's leadership. While his own father has
not been so influential in tribal politics, preferring to work his ranch in-
stead, Slim grew up in association with male relatives noted for their forth-
right independence and leadership, and within a family tradition of progressive-
ness and self-improvement. Slim's early life was spent in alternating periods
of residence with his own father and mother on their ranch, and with his father's [591]
mother in her cabin on the Sycan marsh. This association with "Grandma" was [603]
partly in response to the gradual disintegration of relations between his father
and mother, and partly the result of his father's desire to have "Grandma" teach [593]
him some of the old lore. His mother became increasingly erratic, unpredic-
table, and violent, finally leaving his father. Slim felt badly rejected by [153]
her and was never able to understnad why she would not accept his efforts to be
helpful. On the other hand, he was very close to his father and his grand-
mother. Today he recalls with satisfaction the many things these two persons
taught him, and dreams recurrently of being in the army, defending the reserva-
tion from attack, and checking in on the old lady to see if she is all right.
This dream is interesting because it expresses succinctly his style of relations
with superiors, for in the dream Slim asks permission of his squad leader to
leave, explains his reasons, then checks in on "Grandma," and returns to his duty.

After the 10th grade was completed, Slim quit school and worked on various ranches.
Early in the Korean war he consciously followed the model of an uncle, who was
a career soldier, and enlisted in the army. His service record was good, marred
only by what Slim feels were two justifiable periods of unauthorized absence,
and he voluntarily served with a combat unit in Korea. This army experience
considerably broadened Slim's horizons, and after his discharge he lived and
worked with an army buddy in the east for a year. Then Slim traveled and worked
in several places in the east and midwest. On two occasions his regular habits [961]
and good capacity for steady work were responsible for a promotion. Characteris-
tically, Slim enjoys this kind of reward, but he does not specifically strive
for advancement.

Slim has many skills, hobbies, and social graces. When young his father taught him to dig ditches, with the advice that this skill would always provide him with a job. He is an expert horseman and stock-keeper, and is a skilled hunter and woodsman who frequently guides his friends on hunting trips. He has learned carpentry, house-painting, and the operation of various industrial machines. More recently, he has turned to archery, sketching, and photography for hobbies to occupy his spare time. Then too, he is an amiable, jolly person who makes good company and who is well regarded as a friend. He is not married, and has never seriously considered marrying. He has had occasional sexual liaisons of a transitory nature, which he finds quite satisfying, and has been "going steady" for several years with an older woman, a person who is a grandmother in her own right.

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[622]

subsequent career seems quite normal unless exception be made of his seven wives!

A woman named Co'pak lived like a man although she retained women's dress. She married a woman who lived with her a long time and finally died. She observed the usual mourning, wearing a bark belt as a man does at this time to prevent the back from growing bowed. She tried to talk like a man and invariably referred to herself as one.

Another woman still living has had relations with both women and men. She never adopted men's garb but told them that she was a man. She is today a common prostitute, an abnormal, irascible person. Those she lived with were all older women, not young girls. This practice is known as sawa'līnăa, to live as partners. They say of such: they have lots of partners, friends (anewă'ĕts doma' sawa' līnăa'sgītkt). Other Klamath of any standing have always avoided her and her women partners. She was never married to a man.

HOUSE GROUPS

It is now difficult to get evidence on household composition. Houses vary in size, to judge by the existing pits, from twelve feet in diameter to as much as thirty-five feet. The larger houses must have held a number of families and as many as ten or twelve persons. One described below had five families, numbering twenty. 342 592

The majority of the inmates of a house can usually trace some relationship. This is also true of most of the inhabitants of a settlement. For example, the village mo'giŋkŭnks had half a dozen earth-lodges, of which three held the families of two brothers and their father's male cousin. Residence is normally patrilocal. In the cases which follow the connecting relatives are for the most part related in the first degree. [591]

An earth-lodge on the lower Williamson river built about 1870, and measuring thirty feet in diameter, contained five men, their wives and children, whose respective portions of the house are shown in figure 4. This was known as the home of the shaman Boke's; the others were related to his wife.

1. Boke's, wife, and two children.
2. Lek!o'c, wife and two children.
3. Wokau'k!alls, a widower, whose two wives had been Molala sisters.[16]

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[16] Their Molala names were Slowa' and A'li'nk.

342
592 4. Lo'lōklis, wife, and seven children.

5. Te!ōnte!ōn and his wife (childless).

The wives of Boke's (1) and Lo'lōklis (4) were sisters; Te!ōnte!ōn (5) was their brother. Leķ!o'c and Woķau'ķ!alis were distant cousins of this trio.

In front of this lodge stood another, a mat-covered house (wu'kĕ'plōķs), housing the mother and three sisters of Woķau'ķ!alis. This was only ten feet distant, measured about fifteen feet in diameter, and also had its entrance, this time at ground level, on the southeastern side facing the river. The inmates of both houses were gu'mbōtkni from the western side of Klamath lake with the exception of Lo'lōklis, a du'kwa man, who alone properly belonged in this locality.

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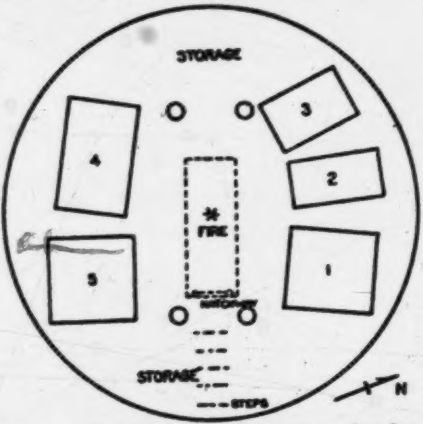

Fig. 4. Plan of an earth-lodge, showing the areas assigned to the beds of five families.

342
592 One earth-lodge in the same district was known as wĕwalāčķsumlo'ltmalōķs, old woman's earth-lodge. Its inmates were an old woman, her two daughters each in early life, the younger with three children, and an elderly woman, first cousin to the daughters, hence called older sister by them. The house was built especially for them.

342
595 Data on the arrangement of polygynous households are of the slightest. It is clear that all the wives occupy one house with their husband. Their beds are separate. This is true where their number is few, but in the case of Lzle'ks' seven wives, these were housed in two lodges. In one family of a man and three childless wives only one earth-lodge was used.

used;[378] then grass or pine boughs, covered with dirt, are heaped halfway up the side. 342 The outer mats are held in place by tying them along the edges to poles propped against the side of the house. The rope (pĕḳ'os) used for this is three strand, braided of grass or the outer layer of tule. In placing the mats, a space about two feet across is left at the top for a smoke hole, and another only three and a half feet high for a doorway. One has to stoop to enter. The door is a mat like that of the summer house; it is not weighted nor tied down.

Drying racks are not placed inside the houses. All fish and meat [251] are dried on racks near-by. [417]

Houses are not decorated, nor are the house posts carved or painted except by shamans. These may paint them with horizontal stripes, 342 alternately red and white. One informant had it that men's faces, snakes, lizards, and various other animals, not spirits, are painted on the posts, but I am doubtful. Shamans also hung stuffed bird and animal skins about the interior. [756] A wooden image and a stuffed crane skin are set up outside on the northern side of the hatchway, i.e., above the shaman's bed. 552 Houses are not given individual names, Yurok fashion, though the localizing tendency of the Klamath might have 171* found an outlet in this.

The fireplace (sne'lŭḳs) in the earth-lodge is in the middle of the 354 floor, between the four center posts and under the open hatchway. Neither a pit nor stones are used to confine the fire. Most of the time there is no fire on the hearth, only in the morning and evening; at other times the hatch is closed. A huge fire is built when it is nearly sundown, and after the mat is drawn across the opening the heat is so great that blankets may be dispensed with. [132] This despite the severe winters; at this altitude (4000 feet) lakes and streams are frozen solid. [133] Fires are usually made by piling short lengths of wood in log-cabin (crib-work) fashion to a height of eighteen inches. They cook when this is reduced to a bed of coals. A piece of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire from one place to another.

Cooking ordinarily takes place outside the dwelling in a dome- 343 shaped house (sti'nă'c) erected near-by. An earth-lodge on lower 252 Williamson river, for example, set some fifty yards from the stream, had its cooking lodge close to the bank. 592 All the women of the household prepare their food together, even where several families have joint tenancy. It is carried to the earth-lodge and there passed about

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[378] Barrett gives the successive layers as made of "a kind of reed," triangular-stemmed tule, and circular-stemmed tule (*op. cit.*, 244).

343 as in "one big family." This is inevitably a matter of personal pref-
252 erence; some dwellings have two cooking lodges attached, the families
eating separately and sharing food only as friendship dictates. The
592 mortars and grinding slabs are kept in the cooking-lodge. The intro-
[177] duction of flour has wrought a change in these habits. Loaves of
bread are baked in the ashes in the earth-lodge itself. Flour is always
[262] shared among the inmates. I was assured that there was no earlier
custom resembling this.

264 But two meals a day are eaten, morning and evening. I was also
told that there is no regular period for meals. Visitors are given
574 something on their arrival, such as a little pond-lily seed, but no stress
is placed on this phase of hospitality. A sort of grace is said before
eating.

352 The entire floor of the earth-lodge or summer mat-house is carpeted
with mats except for the space within the four central posts. Thicker
piles of these for beds are placed all around the walls, but the best
352 locations are at the sides (*O*, fig. 19). Children might sleep in the
corners. People always sleep with their feet toward the fire, no
513 matter in what direction their heads then lie.[374]

Beds (slai'is) are of mats of various sorts. Rich people use tule, the twined mats (slai'is) being preferred to the sewn (st!ŏps). One or more of these laid on dry grass serves as a mattress, or they sleep directly on the grass. One or two more form the covering. The few who have them use grizzly bear, coyote, wolf, lynx (? slowa'), or deer pelts, or several *Bassariscus* (? slĕt) skins sewn together, for mattress and blanket (sa'walc). A blanket for a little child is made from the skin of a red fox, a stretched raccoon skin, or several marten skins sewn together. Blankets (called sŏlŭmtai') are also made of tule and cat-tail twined to produce a checkerboard decoration. Others are made of tules with the wing feathers of water fowl (pelicans, geese, swans, ducks, etc.) caught in one face. These are called lă'cdā-lap'ŏ'tᴇ, wing feathers (lac) put together. Another type of feather blanket (called ḳ'a'lyᴇ) is made of the dried skins of waterfowl twisted with a cord to form a fluffy rope. This is twined with cords inserted at intervals to form the blanket. Pillows (sᴇ'o'lhas) are a heap of grass, or anything else, even wood, but the wooden headrest of the lower Klamath river tribes is unknown. Gatschet records a sack stuffed with mallard duck down for a pillow.[375]

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[374] I could find no notion that a sleeper is affected by moonlight.

[375] 1:144.

M
342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old
352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the
513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another
K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are
M houses that hold more than two families and others that hold
• [592] only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no
K M longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content
342 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.
888 735 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women
K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered
M the visitor[11] are of powerful frame—though of no more than
142 average height—and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily
K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber
M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early
291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing
[177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the
trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down
the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside
add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a
K mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in
M 302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips
301 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads,
ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum
K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy
M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face,
304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by
[142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter prac-
[177] tice, says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit
River neighbors of the Modoc.

K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys.
M Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grand-
512 father and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black
[857] waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the
sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to
stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its
K cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the
M [252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it
[415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they
[177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

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> cause he knew how to make the house and handle the saw and hammer. . . . I was glad because I could stay in a wood house and not a wikiup. Our rough house was wood all around and the roof was a regular roof. The roof was rough and tough. We had just one room. On one end of the house we had a stove. . . . [My mother] had a friend come over and help her cook on the stove. . . . We had tule mats in there because we couldn't get beds or other furniture. We had cracks all around. I was glad and rolled around on the mats. We didn't have two families in this home like in the wikiup. Just my family."

• [592]

As families began to cultivate individual farms, to fence their land, and to erect barns and other outbuildings, some homes began to approach in quality those of the white farmers in the surrounding region. And, as they did, the Indian houses came to reflect a widening span between persons in standard of living.

3: Stern (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17
Northern Paiute NR13

[Klamath Reservation]

K

circumscribed. Because the step involved a wholesale commitment, 657*
those bold enough to marry whites, as already noted, 648*
tended to pass out of reservation society. One or two women in 562
the early days sought to demonstrate they they could support 177
themselves as well as men were capable of doing, but they were 178
clearly exceptional.[18] K

Confronted by shifting social values, tribesmen on the reservation 657*
still could take assurance from a value acknowledged both 648*
by the whites and by their traditional culture. The high prestige 556
assigned to industry and to its material manifestation, wealth, 181
proved a common denominator upon which to rank the ability of 178
men engaged in new activities. In the new day, Plains garments, K
horses, and slaves were outmoded, and were replaced by a house [177]
and outbuildings, a fenced farm or ranch, wagons and buggies,
and plenty of livestock. K

Within this context, the family also changed as movements 657*
within the reservation, the construction of smaller frame dwellings, 648*
and the cultivation of individual farms reduced household 592 •
size to approximately that of a single conjugal family. Some idea 177
of the shift may be gained by comparing subsistence rolls from 178
the administration of Lindsay Applegate[19] with data from the K
end of the period. A summary of issues made in 1872-73 to heads 657*
of families of Klamath, Modoc, and Yahuskin Snakes lists 54 648*
families totaling 658 persons. The majority were from Klamath 592
Marsh, with some from Link River and Sprague River bands and 162
several Modoc. One is possibly Paiute. The other two pages K M
duplicate some of the individuals, listing Schonchin's band of 657
Modoc, some eight "houses" comprising 97 individuals; Ocheho's 648
band of Warner Valley Paiute, 17 "houses" and 161 persons; 592
Chocktoot's band of Paiute, 13 "houses" and 113 persons; and 162
the Sprague River band of Monchnkasgitk, 8 "houses" and 97
individuals. A tally made in 1866 by one Jackson Jones (Link
River Jack ?), "Chief of Ulalona," lists for the Link River band
22 men, 18 boys, 42 women, and 20 girls in five houses.[20]

An analysis of these three lists reveals interesting facts about K
the contemporary social groupings. Where the two censuses overlap, 657*
there is overall agreement, although the figures for individual 648*
households differ slightly. For the census of the Klamath at 592
large, the average household size is approximately 12 persons, 162

*657 and this corresponds fairly closely with averages from the listing
*648 of Upper End bands. Only the Link River tally is aberrant, with
592 an average of about 20, far above the figure to be obtained from
162 those Link River households included in the census of the tribe at
large. Since the tally was made in September, it may reflect the
open living conditions of that season.[21]

Household size ranges from 27 persons down to 2, the latter
*657 figure for the household of a widow. Households of known chiefs
*648 —taking as criterion a signatory to the treaty of 1864—are well
592 above the average, ranging generally between 22 and 15, with
622 only those of the Modoc, Schonchin, and the Paiute, Ocheho,[22]
162 falling below. However, as will be seen, chiefly households were
not the largest in absolute figures: those of some of their followers
exceeded them. The large households indicated here
[178] point to the continued presence of the extended family as a
residential group.

*657 By contrast, the census of Slabtown, a small settlement near the
*648 Agency occupied primarily by Agency employees in 1901, shows
592 13 households comprising house head, wife, and from three
162 children down to none, with an average of 1.4. In one family a
girl past school age, and in another a grown son, were among
the children. In addition to those children at home, the families
had others in school, in the same numerical range and with the
same average. The total family size ranged from 2 to 8, with an
average of 4.7. Because some of the family heads, perhaps all,
were young at this time, family size may thus have been somewhat
skewed.[23] Nonetheless, the contrast of these households
comprising conjugal families with those occupied by extended
families forty years earlier clearly demonstrates the residential
fractionation of the larger units.

*657 A seasonal mobility still characterized the Klamath family.
*648 Nickerson mentioned in 1884 that the heads of reservation families—from
166 one-half to two-thirds of the men—had been away for
the last four months, and added, "They generally take their
families with them on such occasions."[24] Similarly, in a predecessor
of Slabtown, over fifty families engaged in hauling logs on
sleds to the sawmill camped in tents in January to be near their
work.[25]

000 Of all the societal relationships, the government sought directly

The depression and the subsequent loss of mills through fire 648*
and economic distress stripped Chiloquin temporarily of many 657*
of her specialized services. By the time she had emerged from 184
the slump a decade after World War II, improved communica- 361
tions had enabled Klamath Falls, twenty times as large and only thirty miles away, to supplant Chiloquin in many functions which had previously been discharged locally. Nonetheless, in the course of recovery some services were regained. With an institutional complexity that far transcended that of Beatty, Chiloquin, an enclave of the state of Oregon within the federal jurisdiction of the reservation, offered tribal residents a foretaste of the life that lay beyond reservation boundaries. In 1958 more than thirty per cent of the entire tribal membership had mailing addresses there.

In examining the households of Beatty and Chiloquin, re- 648*
spectively 31 and 297 in number, it is convenient to distinguish 657*
two categories among those including tribal members. That 621
designated Interethnic is headed by a tribal member married to 184
a partner of another ethnic group, white, Mexican, alien Indian, 563
or other. The second, in which both partners are tribal members, 592
will be designated Tribal. The term Klamath will subsume both. [162]

Klamath households in the rural community of Beatty in 1959 comprised well over eighty per cent of the community, the remaining households being largely white. By contrast, in Chiloquin (1949-50) white households were twice the Beatty percentage; while Klamath households amounted only to little over half the population. The remaining ten per cent was made up of other minorities, Mexican, Negro, and Indian. Within the next decade continuing trends in Chiloquin increased the disparity, as white households gained at the expense of all other components.

The figures for Interethnic marriages harmonize with this picture of white preponderance in the larger community. When the total marital record is considered, including successive mates, it is seen that unions with whites comprise only slightly more than one-fifth of the total for reservation members, almost one-third for the Chiloquin segment, and well over three-quarters for a small sample of off-reservation Klamath.[10] Among the Interethnic households of Beatty, the non-Klamath partner was more frequently Indian than white, while in Chiloquin he was

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• 592

generally white. When it is considered that in American society the husband maintains significant external relationships,[11] it seems significant that in both Chiloquin and Beatty in some three-fourths of the Interethnic households the husband was an outsider and the wife a Klamath.

ECONOMIC LIFE

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*657
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From an economic standpoint, tribal members occupied a subsidiary position in reservation communities. Their participation in productive activities as a whole was small. In 1958, a sample of the reservation population showed the following economic profile: presently engaged in business or ranching, eighteen per cent; previous record of such experience, eleven per cent; no such experience, forty-eight per cent; no data, twenty-three per cent. The figures for those resident in Chiloquin showed, if anything, a lesser degree of direct participation. Available records on a small absentee sample (but one with a higher proportion of women) do not reveal a higher degree of economic experience. The figures are: presently engaged in business or ranching, seven per cent; previous record of such experience, twenty-one per cent; no such experience, seventy per cent; no data, two per cent.

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*657
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The record of scanty business experience is in large measure a consequence of the steady flow of income from tribal timber. In 1950, the $800 per capita payments enabled a Klamath family of four to exceed the median income for all families in the county. Since they could also hunt and fish throughout the year, and many families did, their actual income was considerably higher. There was thus little incentive to work to supplement timber revenues. The Meriam committee, to be sure, had observed years before, in the course of their comprehensive study of Indian administration, that the Klamath per capitas were too small for investment and thus tended to be disbursed for current living expenses;[12] but it is also true that, lacking investment experience, tribal members who realized substantial sum from the sale of allotments too often treated them as windfalls to be squandered, rather than as capital capable of bringing further financial returns.

000 Comparison with the record of white performances places the

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Within the
*648 reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally
*657 esteemed attributes had lost place. Age was no longer accorded
561 respect, for the wisdom of experience seemed irrelevant under
593 the new conditions, and in the environing society the emphasis
577 was upon youthful qualities. The premium upon industry as an
434 ideal for old and young alike had become submerged by the
178 golden flow of per capitas which rewarded equally the wastrel
177 and the unremitting toiler. Remarked one man wryly, "I can
make more money raising Klamath than I can raising cattle."[2]
Under these changes, paternal authority had declined sharply.
"Why should I listen to you?" demanded one adolescent son of
his father. "I've got just as much money saved up [in a compulsory trust fund] as you have!"

*648 By contrast, the status of the mother within the household
*657 had been enhanced. Housekeeping and child rearing constituted
562 concrete activities that possessed a high measure of continuity
434 with the past, of a type normally respected in her counterpart
177 in white society. Access to her own per capitas had raised the
178 economic standing of a wife to a par with that of her husband.
[623] The relative changes in local roles, together with the passage
of woman's suffrage in the nation at large, had become reflected
in the increasing prominence of women in the debates of the
General Council.

*648 The major point of contrast between white and tribal house-
*657 holds on the reservation was the relatively greater fluidity among
563 the Klamath, as reflected in the record of sequent marriages,
58 the figures for common-law unions, and the broken families. In
this respect, Beatty did not differ significantly from Chiloquin.
Interethnic marriages—those between a Klamath and a nontribal
partner—were more stable than those contracted between tribal
members.

*648 Household composition makes it clear that the traditional
*657 valuation of kin had by no means been entirely relinquished.
• 592 In a number of instances, Klamath, particularly women, had
587 taken in the children of collateral kin. Remarriage produced
[178] composite families, in which the couple reared not only their
own children but the offspring of previous unions of one or both
partners.

*648 Consequently, Klamath households exhibited a diversity of
*657 form, size, and composition, frequently characterized as well by
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a weak differentiation of parental roles and the extension of 648*
surrogacy to grandparents or other kinsmen. In many instances, 657*
the father was either absent or aloof, and the chief burden of 592
child rearing fell upon the mother, who might shift it for several 593
hours or longer upon the slender shoulders of an older child. Among such families, parents often proved unpredictable, their excesses of affection and indulgence alternating with fits of anger, depression, and withdrawal. Rather than being consistently directed toward a program of training, parental behavior tended to be a response to a mood or an isolated element in the immediate situation. Even the admonitions of the elders, the traditional set speeches enjoining ideal behavior, frequently were made without reference to the immediate conduct of the child.

In children, this experience tended to generate a defensive 648*
isolation, a dependent craving which anticipated rebuff, and a 657*
marked hypersensitivity toward others concealed beneath an 592
outward manner of stoic indifference. One probable outcome 593
of childhood exposure such as this was the "guarded restraint" 155
which Clifton discerns as a marked characteristic of Klamath personality, an attribute which, it appears, lessens in severity only in old age.[3]

If there were few fixed and dependable social relationships 648* 657*
in many Klamath families, there likewise was little predictability 592
in daily routine. As Pierce notes, meals were rarely served at 593
fixed times or attended by the entire family. Instead, individuals [264]
ate when hungry. Children rarely had regular chores or bedtime.[4] [857]

It was in the training of children to become functioning members 648*
of society that the tribal families faced a central test of their 657*
effectiveness. Although it was not clear to what segment of that 592
society the children were to aspire, their elders were in agreement 593
in wishing well for them. Tribal orators, challenged upon 858
their personal aims, could disavow self-interest and strike a resonant chord by asserting that they were acting only for the good of their grandchildren. Adults, however dissatisfied they might be with their own achievement, might still hope to see a transcendent future for their sons and daughters. In the school, with its promise of equal opportunity to advance through merit, American society held out the means to implement that hope.

All too frequently, however, childhood experience in the 000

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

All too frequently, however, childhood experience in the
*648 event-centered activities of Klamath households, with their
*657 diffusely focused social expectations, clashed with school routine.
871 For many young Klamath, coming from such a background,
563 exposure to a clear-cut, hierarchial system which they entered
[155] from the bottom and to a sustained discipline proved stressful.
• [592] The conflict between family subculture and that represented by the middle-class teachers, felt as well by white children, was experienced more sharply by the Klamath, not alone because the disparity was often objectively greater in their case, but because it came to be invested with ethnic judgments.

That tribal parents differed from white parents in educational background and intellectual interests is evident; and the differences upon the reservation have tended to persist despite the fact that the Klamath have long been subjected, like whites, to compulsory education and that since 1926 they have attended county schools. A comparison of a small sample of tribal members in Chiloquin with other segments of the population revealed that no fewer than fifty-two per cent of Tribal house heads and thirty-nine per cent of Interethnic house heads had stopped their education at grade school. For white house heads, the corresponding figure was only twenty-two per cent.[5] In the use of the public library, a branch of the county system lodged in Chiloquin's city hall, the figures for adults show white, Interethnic, and Indian users far outstripping the Tribal; and while among the children Interethnic users fell close to the Tribal figure, the latter still lagged behind all others. With a few individual exceptions, data on the periodicals taken in the home and attendance at concerts in Klamath Falls showed a corresponding gap.

*648 Thus the school experience marked a grave discontinuity in
*657 the life of many tribal families, and particularly among those
871 in which both parents were Klamath. The stresses mounted,
155 however, in the transitional years of junior high school, during the seventh and eighth grades. The reasons are not far to seek. The schools, viewed by whites, Indians, and a minority of tribal members as an objective preparation for a life in which the demands for training were ever mounting, offered little incentive to children who were convinced that a ceaseless flow of per capita dividends gave them an assured income for life. Klamath parents

221 the warmth of the winter dwelling. There are
[592] usually two or three related families sharing a
single winter house; and evenings are spent in
[517] playing games, telling stories, or gossiping, as
well as in making baskets and manufacturing fish
[857] nets. Small children are not allowed outdoors
in the cold, but older ones go out some days to
slide on the ice or downhill on pieces of bark.

[524] Cat's cradle is a popular pastime engaged
in by both adults and children in the winter. The number of possible figures is great. Coyote, Skunk, Bear, Bullfrog's Tail, Owl's Eyes, Sunrise, Boy Running, and Man Chasing a Rabbit are but a few of the many that most individuals can make. Children learn how to make the figures from adults or from older children. However, if the children play at cat's cradle very often, the string is taken away with the comment, "You'll stretch the months if you do that so much." There is apparently no such restriction on adults.

In one version of string figures an adult fixes a loop in the string. A child is told to put his finger through the loop, which is then pulled tight around the finger; and he must tell his name before he can be released.

538 Every night throughout the winter months
[221] myths are told. They are never told in the summer or daytime lest the narrator age quickly. Most myths serve for amusement, not being regarded as especially sacred. Stories about Creator are taken somewhat more seriously than others. "You have to keep quiet and listen to them." It is from the Creator myths that children first learn about sacred beings.

There are many stories explaining the origin of local geographic features. Most of the myths have personified animal characters. There are a few tales that offer advice to the children. After stories about hunting or gathering, the teller may turn to the children and say, "If you want to be a good man (or woman), do like that."

In contrast to many other tribes there is very little formality connected with the telling of myths among the Klamath. In the evening an old man or woman starts to tell stories, and others gather around. Young adults never tell them because a storyteller begins to age rapidly. The children lie down to listen; they may request their favorites and are free to complain that the narrator is not telling the story right, if they do not like his particular version. A few old people are recognized as the best raconteurs.

Adults also listen to the stories and make requests. Certain characters are especially liked; and children often ask for tales about Little Weasel, Chipmunk, Coyote, and Skunk. Skunk is funny because he thinks himself very clever, but all his undertakings are fiascos. After a Skunk story, children are warned, "Don't be like that." A few stories, such as those about Owl, are told to frighten children into behaving. As the evening wears on, the children fall asleep one by one. Indeed, one of the main

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
[848] borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-
[177] style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
596 but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
[177] extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, *de facto* groupings
rather than *de jure*. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organiza-
[594] tion of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obliga-
592 tory responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-
592 father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly ex-
treme cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual owner-
ship of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with re-
gard to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
434 children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are ex- 621
clusively White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office out- [575]
side the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [194]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are fre-
quently tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously, [651]
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chilo-
quin during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of [674]
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a recon- 648
stituted "Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be adminis- 657
tered by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal super-
vision has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual 619
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Atten-
dance at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a [191]
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592•
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159
156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from
his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never
[461] worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen.
Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five
[871] school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from
the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at
[592] home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger sib-
[434] lings may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal
income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly
[657] for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the
bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very
reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit
[582] Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging
[648] company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the
logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually
[221] away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when
drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father
does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household
[593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his
father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion
knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this per-
[848] son is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity,
which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's
*159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards
156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or
593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting,
and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits
the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls,
and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt
and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common
[421] activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to
one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his be-
longings, and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle
for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not
borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which
engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the
father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom
she spends much time.

*159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks
156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the
law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time
[673] loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his
buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom
[512] awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away
from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which
may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

Weasel: Male, Age 29

Background Data

In contrast to all other subjects Weasel's role in the reservation community 159*
is a totally negative, destructive one, largely that of a supposedly vicious [156]
criminal. He was born and raised on an economically un-productive ranch, which
for twenty years or more has been the location of continuous drinking parties.
Weasel was raised within a circle of a pack of older brothers, half-brothers, [593]
and step brothers, all of whom were bigger, stronger, and more capable than he. [733]
His father has been an alcoholic for thirty years and has rarely worked or con-
tributed much to the organization of the family, which as a co-residential [592]•
household usually included more than a dozen persons. In all, Weasel had 17
full and part siblings, half of whom are now deceased, three directly as a re- [165]
sult of drinking, three from acts of violence or car accidents.

Weasel's formal education ceased when he was 15, in the ninth grade, at which [871]
time he was arrested on a burglary charge. Since then he has spent six years
in reformatories or penal institutions. He was tested while in jail on an [674]
assault charge. Shortly thereafter he was found not-guilty, then re-arrested [697]
and sentenced on a different assault with a deadly weapon charge to three years
in the state penitentiary.

Weasel has repeatedly moved out of the circle of the family group, only to
fail "outside" and return to its sheltering arms. For a time Weasel was a [542]
professional boxer, but one without much skill or stamina. He never won a fight
and his face shows the evidence of the capabilities of his opponents. His
membership in this profession did not last long, and Weasel states, rather
proudly, that the Boxing Commission expelled him "For conduct unbecoming a
professional boxer." Weasel was once married (a common-law marriage, which [588]
for Weasel's primary reference groups is well sanctioned) but this lasted just
16 weeks. During this period Weasel stayed sober, the longest time he has spent [581]
without a drink since the age of 12. Weasel was consciously trying to reform [733]
himself, but now feels that he was a fool to ever try. Additionally, Weasel
has repeatedly made a circuit of nearby towns and cities either singly or in [156]
the company of a brother or friend. These visitations have more of the charac- [579]
ter of raids than anything else, and Weasel is usually arrested in one or a-
nother place and either charged or shipped out of town. [697]

In addition to being a minor criminal Weasel is frequently also the scapegoat 159*
for the aggressions of stronger men than he. He constantly asks for trouble, 156
but has never given any evidence that he can back of his threats with appro-
priate force. His successful acts of aggression have always been sneak attacks, [186]
or attacks on feeble old men or young boys. He seldom attempts to avoid the consequences of these actions, and, indeed, is frequently not able to do so, because of his extreme drunken condition. He seems to obtain some gratification from the minor prestige afforded his performances in these roles, but this gratification is highly personalized and is not recognized as appropriate by others. It may be that he has been attempting to build up his standing and reputation within his own circle by acting out the role of a "dangerous Indian," but it would seem that he has been singularly unsuccessful in this. One aspect of this behavior is his reputed skill with a knife. On two occasions he wanted to obtain vocational training, once as a barber, the other time as a butcher, both times implying that this would be a simple extension of his native talent.

585 593 After a month of marriage the couple visits the bride's former home, accompanied by the groom's relatives, for a further exchange of gifts. Soon after this, the girl's father and his family reciprocate. Beyond this it is a matter of mutual solicitude; undoubtedly the visits grow less frequent as the passing years bring diverging interests. Later visits are of some duration, the couple even staying through the winter.

591 Marriage is normally patrilocal, but if a man is poor, or has no close relatives, he may take up residence with his wife's people. When a young wife is about to have her first child the couple return to her mother to stay until she is strong again. This must be the circumstance of temporary matrilocal residence as it ordinarily occurs elsewhere. First marriages among primitive peoples usually follow closely on a girl's nubility. The need for advice and care during this trying period of pregnancy and delivery, the natural solicitude of the mother, are surely the reasons for the frequency with which residence is temporarily matrilocal. It will be observed that this is formally prescribed as the proper procedure almost solely in cases of first marriage. There is no need to search for a more esoteric reason such as the older writers had, matrilinear grouping, maternal authority, and the demand that the young husband prove himself to the wife's family. Among the Klamath this is the rule only on the birth of a first child.

591 593 601 A series of terms describes the facts of residence. A man and his wife in matrilocal residence are non-vocatively wuko'bŏks and sḳa'bŏks respectively.[69] A woman with her husband's people is t!e'niwas.[70] On separation a woman who returns to her former home is ko'stbŏmbli, a man returning to his, wuko'tbŏmbli.

601 606 I was told at least that a child's spouse is treated like an own child, that parent and child terms are used between them for there are no parent-in-law taboos. This is the usage of intimacy; there are specific terms for parents-in-law. There is the familiar Indian usage of a term between the parents of a couple, "my child's parent-in-law."

582 Marriages occur any time during the year. There is no evidence suggesting their greater frequency during any season, nor any mating period[71]

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[69] The latter term was given me at another time as meaning a newly married woman (probably the form sḳa'bŏkak was intended). This comes to the same thing. These two words apparently correspond to Gifford's wapake and kapake, earlier and later co-wife (Californian Kinship Terminologies, 42). Gifford's record is doubtless due to a misunderstanding; I enquired about these words and found that there are no terms for particular co-wives.

[70] Gatschet (2:698) gives teina, a young woman. The meanings are not incompatible but I believe mine to be correct.

[71] As among the Yurok (Kroeber, Handbook, 44).

fested by several tribes of northern California and in view of their 845 association with the weather and salmon on the Northwest coast. [171]* Neither of these attitudes appears among the Klamath. Nor is there any sympathetic bond between twins, nor is one of them destroyed at birth. Informants had never heard of triplets although they must occur in the usual biological proportions. Monsters are said always [766] to be born dead—perhaps the midwives see to that. Like the stillborn, they are said to receive the universal cremation, but it is more likely that they are secretly disposed of, like abortions.

847 The child of an adulterous union, if not palmed off on the husband, is aborted by pressing the abdomen heavily on a rock. Naturally this takes place in the seclusion of the brush. No medicines are in use for abortion. To abort is called hlso'ḳoga; infanticide, siu'ga.

842 How much of a disgrace barrenness is I do not know, but it does not lead to separation. To aid conception women grind a white shell[80] (lŏ'ḳtās) and drink it in water. Men do the same for impotence. A small dentalium shell (t'u'tas) is also used.

854 Klamath cradles show an interesting cultural amalgamation. The cradle for the newborn is the northern California sitting type; the carrying board for later use is identical with the oval wooden forms of the northern Basin.[81] Through western Oregon and Washington, along the line of contact of the Basin board with the wooden trough cradle of the Northwest Coast, both forms are used or else a modification of one toward the form of the other.

The basketry cradle (ḳwāls) for the first month or two of the baby's life is a trough with one rounded end on which the child sits. It [593] • is made by the mother of the expectant woman; woven of willow twigs, it measures eighteen inches in length. Its purpose is said to be to prevent the infant scratching its navel, with consequent illness, and to support its weak back. Its usefulness ended, it is thrown away.

The carrying board (swĕns) is made by the baby's father or a near kinsman. It is a flat board of oval outline, carved from a single piece of wood. The lower end is rather pointed so that it can be stuck into the ground while the mother is occupied. An unexpected feature is [562] that the sex of the infant is distinguishable from the shape of the

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[80] This is flat, two inches long, and spotted. It may have been got from the whites.

[81] Barrett has it that the first cradle is of soft tules, followed by the sitting type of more rigid materials, with occasional use of the board (Material Culture, 257, pl. 14).

601 I have few data on kinship usages. A child's spouse is treated like an own child and freely called son or daughter. Reciprocally, parents-in-law are often addressed by parent terms. The spouses of grandchildren and of nephews and nieces are not related, nor are step-brothers and sisters. There is no joking relation.

593 The close bond between siblings and their families is attested by the opening of a tale:

> [539] Wiwi'aak had five fathers, who were the five sons of Wile'aḳaḳ. That is, one was his father, but the others were fathers because they were father's brothers. . . . .

PUBERTY AND MENSTRUAL CUSTOMS

881 [554] The puberty dance is held only for the daughters of chiefs and others of wealth. For a poor man's daughter the rites are curtailed to the most necessary observances. The celebration serves as an announcement of nubility: girls marry within a year or so of their dance.

881 535 The dance (yo'ḳ'ɛla) occupies five nights at the first menstruation and is repeated at the four subsequent periods. It seems doubtful that any but the socially pretentious carry out full five celebrations. During the day the girl goes alone to sleep in the brush at some distance, returning for the dance just before sundown. I am not certain that she then seeks supernatural power. At least the girl does not run about piling up rocks in lonely places as boys do.

The dancing may take place in the lodge or outside, perhaps according to the season. It is simple enough; the girl trots forward and backward in the same course facing the east all the while. She is supported on each side by a man or woman whose arms are linked in hers. As they tire others take their places but the girl must keep on throughout the night. These others are young or old, relatives or otherwise, as convenience dictates.

881 533 The singing is provided by a group of men and women who alone know the appropriate songs. These singers are in demand for every dance. They are paid by the girl's relatives, a horse apiece, a blanket for each man, a half-fathom of beads for the women, or an equivalent. Some are provided with rattles, poles to the upper ends of which bunches of dew claws are fastened, the butts of which they pound on the ground. At least the song leader has one; other informants spoke of two or three, of five men and five women, or of rattles for all.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3757. Bathes in stream	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	+	-	+	+	+	·+	841
3758. Bathes in house												+	+	-	-	+	
3759. Sweat bath, optional	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3760. Sweat bath, obligatory	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3761. Avoids sick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
3762. Avoids hunters	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3763. Avoids attending dances	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3764. Some menstruants "lucky" for husbands	-	-	.				+	+	+	+	.	-	-	-	-	+	
3765. Restrictions extend to menstruant's husband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3766. Husband eats sparingly	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	841
3767. Meat, fish taboo											+	+	+	+	-	+	562
3768. Smoking taboo	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	593
3769. Fishing taboo	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	
3770. Hunting taboo	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	
3771. Gambling taboo	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	
3772. Intercourse with wife taboo	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3773. Menopause: measures taken to induce	-	-	-					·+	-	-	·-	-	-	-	-	-	
Marriage																	
Child Betrothal																	
3774. Child betrothal	·+	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	-	+	+	+	
3775. Boy's father starts negotiations	+	+	+		+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	584
3776. Payment by boy's side	+	-	·-	+	-	+	+	·-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	
3777. Exchange of presents	-	·+	·-	-	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	
3777a. Taboo relationship between children	·-	·-	·+								-	-	-	-	-	-	
3778. Binding on children	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	
3779. Good-will pledge only, for parents	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
3780. Common	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	
3781. To pay debt	-	-	+	·+	+	+	+	·-	-	+	+	.	-	-	-	-	
3782. Usually chief's or prominent family	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[622]
3783. Payment in beads at time of marriage	-	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	·+	
3784. Gifts given at time of marriage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	
Bride Purchase																	
3785. Bride purchase, postpuberty	·+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
3786. Negotiated bride price	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	583
3787. Suitor's father makes offer; no negotiations	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	584
3788. Intermediary acts	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
3789. Suitor's father acts	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	
3789a. Suitor himself acts	·+	+	-	-	-	-	-	·+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3790. Money payment for bride	-	+	+	+	·+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	·+	
3791. Gifts by suitor's family in payment	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	
3792. Gifts by suitor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	
3793. Additional presents from groom's family after marriage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		+	
3794. Bride's family gives groom's presents	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
3795. Mature daughter given, to pay debt to groom's family	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3795a. Payment made to establish children's status	-	(+)	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Other Forms of Marriage																	
3796. Simple marriage, established by couple living together	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	585
3797. Disapproved by community	+	·+	·+	·+	+	·+	·+	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	(+)	

2: Voegelin E-S (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Postnuptial Residence																
591 3880. First residence patrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	+	–
3881. Husband's parent's house	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–
3882. In own house, husband's village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		•+	–	–	+	–	–
3883. First residence matrilocal	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	+
3884. Wife's parent's house	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	+
3885. Only if widow selected man for daughter	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3886. Only if some form bride service	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3889. Own house, wife's village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)
‡3890. Time in months	–	–	–	–	–	1	12	–	1	1	1	–	2	.	–	–
3891. First residence alternating	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
3892. First residence variable, no rule	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–
3893. Final residence patrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
3894. Husband's parents' house	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
3895. Own house, husband's village	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
3896. Final residence matrilocal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
3897. Own house, wife's village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
3898. Final residence own house, another village	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3899. Final residence variable, no rule	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Kinship Avoidances																
602 3900. Parents-in-law taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
606 3901. Mother-in-law son-in-law	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
3902. Never speak together	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
3903. Speak little	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
3904. Plural address	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	–	–	–
3905. Convey messages through 3d person	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3906. If talk together, someone between them	–	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3907. Cannot touch each other					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3908. Cannot look at each other														+	+	+
3909. Woman covers head	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
3910. Both turn aside on trail	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3911. Eat separately	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
3912. Receive objects through 3d person	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3913. Laughing together taboo	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3914. Obscenity between taboo	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
[835] 3915. Intercourse between taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3916. Wash if any bodily contact	–	–	–					+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3917. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3918. Obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3919. Penalty: bear might eat mother or son-in-law	–	–	–		•+			•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•–
3920. Father-in-law daughter-in-law	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
3921. Similar to mother-in-law taboos	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
593 602 3922. Brother-sister taboos	+	+	.	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3923. Play apart, near puberty and afterward	+	+	.	+	–	•+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
3924. Joking between taboo	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
3925. Touching each other taboo	+	+							+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
3926. Eating together taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
602 607 3927. Brother-in-law, sister-in-law taboos	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3928. Joking relationship	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3929. Respect each other	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–

900 that woman; he acts just like a boss toward her."

3975. WT: Also, in Upper Trinity subarea of Wintu, informant had heard of 1 instance of mother-in-law killing daughter-in-law after husband died. "The mother-in-law didn't want that woman to take another husband, so she killed her with a bone needle [dagger?]. She was sorry after she did it; but she didn't like the woman having another husband who would look just like her son; it would make her [mother-in-law] feel badly."

[587] 3976. In case there is no brother-in-law to ask.

3977. If there is no brother-in-law to receive the payment. AW: Sister-in-law may dispose of widow to more-distant male relative of dead husband also.

3980. SW: A divorce "puts a man and woman clear away from each other"; no payment rendered former husband.

562
587
593 3981. Kl: If man does not like his wife for some reason, he announces, "Anyone who wants my wife can take her, if they give me something. If you people don't want her, I'll kill her." The men discuss it; husband repeats the announcement, sets date when he will kill woman; some man finally takes her for wife, gives the husband something; "that's how they save a woman, sometimes." No one knows what trouble between husband and wife prompts man to do this, and man never tells; he doesn't beat his wife, he just sells her. Only done occasionally; when informant was boy such sales still taking place; informant had seen one couple separated this way. Woman not captive.

000 Intercourse; promiscuity.--

3984. NF: Girl cries, fights husband, so girl's mother sleeps beside girl first night latter sleeps with husband.

3985. NF: Do not allow people to sleep lying on back "like dead people"; lie on side and "put their heart in hiding" so no evil will befall sleepers.

[152]
[192] 3987. Purse lips and make sound, "čk, čk," repeatedly, close to baby's face. AW: Rub hands over baby's face or neck while making sound; same done between adults. AE: "Learned to make this sound from animals--badger, raccoon."

3988. SE: No virginity tests, but observe boy's actions around girls. AE: If girl's, boy's legs get "heavy" (tired) during girl's puberty dance, sign he or she is not virgin. Spectators watch to see whether this happens. WT: Can tell whether girl is virgin or not by shape of her abdomen, if firm, smooth, judge she is.

[548]
[178] 3989. Kl: Prostitution with payment recent custom only.

3990. WM: Especially at girl's puberty dance.

836 3991. Kl: Said to have been extremely rare; "girls never ran around; pretty hard to get a woman." Girl's parents wanted girl to marry man who could get her lots of fish, so she would eat

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

At the
center of concentric circles of concern stands
K the natal family.[16] In the myths, parents and offspring and
M siblings are bound by the strongest affective bonds: in trouble
593 they provide succor and in death, revenge. The obligation tran-
602 scends abstract ethical considerations. In real life, mutual re-
sponsibility reaches out to embrace the extended family, the
close consanguineal kindred linked through two or three genera-
K M tions. Although kinship terminology acknowledges equally re-
[601] lationships on the maternal and paternal sides, residence practices
[591] in general favor the latter. From close kinsmen on both sides
come the gifts that set the seal of approval upon the marriage of
a member; during his lifetime they share food with him in his
need, support him in his quarrels, and assist his avenger should
he be slain. At his funeral, it is they, together with friends of the
deceased, who are expected to place valuables upon the funeral
pyre.

K Beyond the sphere of immediate kindred and of friends lies
M the domain of neighbors and remote relatives. If more central
602 obligations tend to be principally a function of consanguinity,
621 and thus to be ascriptive in character, village relationships and
571 those outside are more frequently based upon performance.
K M Here enter those standards of behavior by which a person of
[577] good family may be confirmed in position, the poor but worthy
rise, and the ne'er-do-well sink in the public view. At the head
K of this loose and shifting status scale stand the shamans and
M other influential men, the leaders of hamlet groups. On occasion
756 they may meet in an informal village council to concert decisions.
622 621 Yet the village, which in its spatial limits often blends with
554 adjacent settlements and which dissolves with the turn of the
seasons, can exert little constraint upon its members.

K The prestige of the leaders, the force of public opinion, and
M checks imposed by rival village interests hold the unruly in line.
62 The principle of self-help and the responsibility of kinsmen may
enlarge grievances to feuds if the differences are not soon ended,
and thus threaten the very being of the community. To counter
such fissive tendencies, leaders mediate disputes and exhort to
their fellow villagers the need to maintain harmony.

K Time may alter the membership of villages. Men frequently
M seek wives in other communities; and there is considerable inter-
621 563 marriage between Klamath and Modoc and Klamath and Molala,
582

*657 The removal of property interests in the marriage on the part
*648 of the natal families of the couple, together with the general
581 upheaval of society, brought to the fore the practice of common-
588 law marriage, previously an unusual form of union. In time, such
177 a marriage, if generally acknowledged as stable, was officially
178 termed an "Indian custom" marriage, and recognized by authorities and Indians alike. Many unions, however, were unstable, and genealogies reveal that then as now it was common to find individuals who had had as many as three mates. Indeed, the woman previously mentioned as refusing to marry her husband's brother subsequently consorted informally with her ranch foreman.

*657 Thus by the end of the period of its firmest control, the gov-
*648 ernment had altered the family in form to correspond to that
177 idealized in American society. It had done away with the special
• 593 status of slaves. Children were removed from the physical cus-
[567] tody of their parents and sent away to school, to be returned as adolescents at odds with the ways of their parents. These were individual measures, not calculated for their total impact. The approach to social, as to other aspects of change, was predicated upon the individual and upon the conjugal family. It failed to envisage the need to create bodies that would give strength and continuity to a reservation community.

[Klamath Reservation]

Within the
*648 reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally
*657 esteemed attributes had lost place. Age was no longer accorded
561 respect, for the wisdom of experience seemed irrelevant under
• 593 the new conditions, and in the environing society the emphasis
577 was upon youthful qualities. The premium upon industry as an
434 ideal for old and young alike had become submerged by the
178 golden flow of per capitas which rewarded equally the wastrel
177 and the unremitting toiler. Remarked one man wryly, "I can make more money raising Klamath than I can raising cattle."[2] Under these changes, paternal authority had declined sharply. "Why should I listen to you?" demanded one adolescent son of his father. "I've got just as much money saved up [in a compulsory trust fund] as you have!"

*648 By contrast, the status of the mother within the household
*657 had been enhanced. Housekeeping and child rearing constituted
562 concrete activities that possessed a high measure of continuity
434 with the past, of a type normally respected in her counterpart
177 in white society. Access to her own per capitas had raised the
178 economic standing of a wife to a par with that of her husband.
[623] The relative changes in local roles, together with the passage of woman's suffrage in the nation at large, had become reflected in the increasing prominence of women in the debates of the General Council.

*648 The major point of contrast between white and tribal house-
*657 holds on the reservation was the relatively greater fluidity among
563 the Klamath, as reflected in the record of sequent marriages,
58 the figures for common-law unions, and the broken families. In this respect, Beatty did not differ significantly from Chiloquin. Interethnic marriages—those between a Klamath and a nontribal partner—were more stable than those contracted between tribal members.

*648 Household composition makes it clear that the traditional
*657 valuation of kin had by no means been entirely relinquished.
592 In a number of instances, Klamath, particularly women, had
587 taken in the children of collateral kin. Remarriage produced
[178] composite families, in which the couple reared not only their own children but the offspring of previous unions of one or both partners.

*648 Consequently, Klamath households exhibited a diversity of
*657 form, size, and composition, frequently characterized as well by
592
593

a weak differentiation of parental roles and the extension of 648*
surrogacy to grandparents or other kinsmen. In many instances, 657*
the father was either absent or aloof, and the chief burden of 592
child rearing fell upon the mother, who might shift it for several 593
hours or longer upon the slender shoulders of an older child. Among such families, parents often proved unpredictable, their excesses of affection and indulgence alternating with fits of anger, depression, and withdrawal. Rather than being consistently directed toward a program of training, parental behavior tended to be a response to a mood or an isolated element in the immediate situation. Even the admonitions of the elders, the traditional set speeches enjoining ideal behavior, frequently were made without reference to the immediate conduct of the child.

In children, this experience tended to generate a defensive 648*
isolation, a dependent craving which anticipated rebuff, and a 657*
marked hypersensitivity toward others concealed beneath an 592
outward manner of stoic indifference. One probable outcome 593
of childhood exposure such as this was the "guarded restraint" 155
which Clifton discerns as a marked characteristic of Klamath personality, an attribute which, it appears, lessens in severity only in old age.[3]

If there were few fixed and dependable social relationships 648*
in many Klamath families, there likewise was little predictability 657*
in daily routine. As Pierce notes, meals were rarely served at 592
fixed times or attended by the entire family. Instead, individuals 593
ate when hungry. Children rarely had regular chores or bedtime.[4] [264] [857]

It was in the training of children to become functioning mem- 648*
bers of society that the tribal families faced a central test of their 657*
effectiveness. Although it was not clear to what segment of that 592
society the children were to aspire, their elders were in agree- 593
ment in wishing well for them. Tribal orators, challenged upon 858
their personal aims, could disavow self-interest and strike a resonant chord by asserting that they were acting only for the good of their grandchildren. Adults, however dissatisfied they might be with their own achievement, might still hope to see a transcendent future for their sons and daughters. In the school, with its promise of equal opportunity to advance through merit, American society held out the means to implement that hope.

All too frequently, however, childhood experience in the 000

given the family by neighbors as well as by the impersonal agents 648*
of society, while making little mention of any kinsmen beyond 657*
the immediate, two-generation family. Members of this category, 177
who objectively were least Indian genetically and who manifested 178
the highest measure of intermarriage with whites, were 184
the only ones to introduce racial comments in their responses. 125
This may well be taken as evidence of their sensitivity to a [571]
marginal condition. In treating intrafamilial roles, they saw a [829]
strong paternal figure (lacking in the protocols of the other two [593]
segments), but they viewed his authority as one against which the son repeatedly rebelled. Moreover, contrary to their own superior record of family stability, members of the Conformant category envisaged the marital bond as frequently threatened by feminine interlopers. Here again is an indication that the Conformant families, like the most acculturated among Vogt's Navaho veterans,[28] had achieved their condition only at the cost of gnawing anxiety.

By contrast, both of the remaining TAT segments tended to [602]
stress kinship, for in their protocols a greater reliance is placed upon grandparents and more remote kinsmen, with correspondingly less dependence upon friends, neighbors, or impersonal agents. Indeed, the Inframodal subjects tended to view the
latter with suspicion and outright hostility. In neither segment [593]
was the paternal role seen as prominent; and the mother instead occupied a central position, not disciplining, but strongly supporting her children. Sibling relations, which in the Conformant category had been seen as continuing through life, stood on a lower level among the intermediate subjects, who viewed the bond as existing only in childhood; and were negligible among the Inframodal segment. Similarly, the marital bond appeared to be conceived by Intermediate members as weak, being marked by a succession of casual liaisons, while the Inframodal saw strife between the couple, rather than outside interference, as disrupting the union.

By contrast with Conformant subjects, members of the other
two categories exhibited a far less realistic view of the conditions [829]
making possible achievement, but they did so in different ways. Those of the Intermediate segment seemed to see conformance as a necessary factor for success, although their behavioral record

4: Pearsall E-5 (1947) 1950 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1875)

[p. 339-A]

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION [1]

By

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

The communication of knowledge from one 121
generation to another is a subtle process in any
culture, and especially so among primitive
groups with no clearly defined and well formulated educational system. Any study of primitive education is, therefore, difficult to demarcate. In its broadest sense, education might
be defined as the formation of manners and
habits by means of instruction, by both physical
and moral discipline. The acquisition of all
attitudes, knowledge, and skills can be included
in education. A thorough investigation would
have to answer the question of where, when, and
how the individual acquires each item of his
adult personality.

Obviously, no complete picture of education
in any primitive group can be drawn after a
single season in the field. The present study
makes no pretense of being definitive. It is
our intent to show the gradual development of
the Klamath child from infancy to adulthood as
he receives physical, religious, and moral
training, as well as instruction in the food
gathering techniques and skilled crafts of his
culture. Undoubtedly many phases of the culture
have been slighted, but we have tried to show in
a general way the type of instruction and encouragement given the maturing child. Klamath 114
ethnography has been well known for years
through the works of Gatschet (1890), Coville
(1898, 1904), Dorsey (1901), Barrett (1910),
Spier (1930), Voegelin (1942), and others. For 128
that reason, the details of language, material

[text continues on top of p. 339-B]

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Parenthood with its attendant responsibilities 581
is not taken lightly by the average Klamath. 593 One gets married for the express purpose
of raising a large family, and the couple with
several strong sons and hardworking daughters is
highly respected in the community. A childless 842
couple, on the other hand, is looked upon with
contempt and pity. Barrenness is sometimes con-

[text continues on bottom of p. 339-B]

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[1] The present study is based on data collected for the University of California during a two-month stay on the Klamath Indian reservation in southern Oregon in the summer of 1947. Much of the material presented in this paper was gathered by Mrs. Betty T. Dasey, and the research represents our joint efforts. [122]

[p.340A]

842 hopes to have many sons, but the inevitable is accepted philosophically.

843 The sex of the child is not entirely left to chance, for certain traditional precautions are taken. A man does not cut wood while his wife is pregnant lest she have a girl. He may also hang a tiny bow and arrow in his house to assure the birth of a boy. If a girl is born, the opposite sex may be assured for the next child by turning over the afterbirth.

844 The arrival of the first child is of special significance.
[821] It is said that at this time there will be strong winds and thunder.[2] This
[787] is also a propitious time for a man to seek supernatural power in the mountains. In spite of the great importance attached to the birth of
[593] the first child there is nothing to indicate that he will be shown any favoritism. On the contrary, he will probably learn adult activities at an earlier age than his younger siblings and will be expected to assume a certain amount of responsibility in caring for younger children in the family.

At delivery, a soft pad is arranged to receive the child.[3] The umbilical cord is tied with the mother's hair and cut with an obsidian knife. The cord is buried when it drops off, or sometimes kept and wrapped in a piece of buckskin to be worn around the child's neck for luck. The navel is anointed with squirrel grease to hasten healing. As a general rule the afterbirth is disposed of at once by burial. Occasionally a woman throws the afterbirth away carelessly because she wishes to prevent future pregnancies.

846 The newborn baby is sponged off immediately with water, and the face and body are massaged and molded for the first time to conform to Klamath standards of beauty. He is kept beside the mother in the birth lodge during the four or five days of her seclusion. Once each day during this period the child is held over the heated rocks on which the mother lies, to insure his future health.

The infant is put to the breast a few hours after birth. The mother's nipples are squeezed and a hair worked around in them to start the
853 flow of milk. Thereafter the child is nursed whenever he cries. If the mother is unable to nurse her child, a wet nurse is called--generally a relative, but apparently any neighbor woman will do.

852 In many families presents are brought to the newborn child. A boy receives a tiny bow and arrow or small quiver, a girl a small digging stick or basket. These gifts are later hung from the hood of the child's cradleboard. As the presents are brought, a prayer or blessing is said "to encourage the child." Over a

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[2] Spier (1930), p. 55. None of our informants mentioned this.

[14]

[3] The practices surrounding pregnancy, birth, and the care of the mother are described in detail by Spier, pp. 55 ff., and Voegelin (1942), elements 3007-3062.

867 terms for all his relatives, whether he has seen them yet or not. This is considered one of the most important things a child must learn.[8]

With the knowledge of kinship terms the child acquires certain attitudes toward his relatives, although patterns of behavior toward particular kin do not seem to be very clearly
[593] defined among the Klamath. Parents are re-
[603] spected and obeyed, as are grandparents though a
certain amount of indulgence and teasing is to
[604] be expected from the latter. Uncles and aunts
are shown considerable respect. Cousins call
[605] each other by sibling terms; those of opposite
sex play together freely when small but are told
that it is not proper to "play rough" with each other. Even small children learn that marriage between cousins is "a very bad thing," and that children from such an incestuous union will never live.

856 There is some effort to teach the child the names of objects by pointing to them and repeating the word, but he probably acquires more of his vocabulary simply by listening to adult conversation. There is no baby talk or any attempt to simplify words for the children. If the child mispronounces or misuses words, he is laughed at and corrected.

553 Children acquire their personal names in a casual manner at any time from birth to the age of five or six. There is no ceremony connected with naming, and some individuals receive two or three names which may all be in use at the same time. Names are, for the most part, of the nickname variety and refer to some personal mannerism or peculiarity.[9] In addition, some refer to spirits, birds, or animals. Names are given by the parents or other relatives. One person

[text continues on top of p. 342-B]

EARLY CHILDHOOD

857 By the time a child is three he begins to play with other children, parents encouraging group play. Children from all social strata play together. "After all, you can't keep kids apart." Children of chiefs or shamans are no
[848] different from the rest. Illegitimate children are looked down upon by the community as a whole, but they are not segregated from their age-mates.

[865] At first the youngsters are apt to start fights with each other, but the parents are usually on hand to stop rough play. A child who fights all the time brings disgrace to his family and especially to himself. He must play by himself for awhile. "Everyone knows he has been bad; no one likes him." He is ashamed and experiences great remorse when he is told he cannot play with other children.

Three- and four-year-olds find a variety of

[text continues on bottom of p. 342-B]

[8] See Spier, pp. 62-68, for a discussion of the Klamath kinship system.

[9] Naming customs and typical names are given by Spier, pp. 59-61, and Voegelin, elements 3306-3321.

[p.344B]

538 purposes of telling the stories seems to be to keep the children quiet and put them to sleep.

867 Concepts of etiquette and what constitutes a well brought up individual are clearly defined among the Klamath. Standards for proper behavior toward one's own family and toward other members of the tribe are taught at an early age. As soon as the child can understand what is said to him, he receives ethical advice from parents and others. Not only relatives but also other [887] adults may give advice. Elderly people are especially apt to counsel children.

> Old people start giving advice right away whenever they meet you. They tell you to be kind to everyone, don't brag, don't put yourself before anyone, work hard and you'll live a long time and be respected by everybody.

593 867 Either parent may take the responsibility of advising the children, but the father is generally stricter. In the early morning and at night, and "whenever everyone is gathered around and it is quiet" the father exhorts his children to be good and kind and to help others, demanding and receiving the attention of his youngsters for these harangues.

867 858 Since a well mannered child brings some prestige to his family, even a very small one is taught how to conduct himself before visitors; and the highest respect is shown to large families whose children are polite and well behaved.[16]

858 574 Visiting is a favorite pastime, especially in the fall after the winter house has been prepared. When visitors arrive, they are offered something to eat. At this point, the children are sent out to play; for "food will stick in the visitors' gullets if children stay around." Exemplary children learn to disappear without being told whenever visitors arrive.

867 264 Eating involves a few rules of etiquette for the young. Meals are not regular, and all are free to take food when there is any available. Ordinarily the family eats at least two meals a day, in the morning and again in the evening. The whole family eats together, and children are told to wait until the father has said a grace, holding a bit of food or water out toward the mountains, lake, and earth as an offering. If this were not done, the children might become ill.

Immediately afterwards all start eating. There is no particular seating arrangement. Children are required to sit quietly during the meal. "They would choke if they ran around or talked." Children are also told never to walk in front of anyone who is eating--a rule doubly important if the person is a shaman.

869 778 An important part of training consists in developing respectful attitudes toward the many sacred places in Klamath territory. Children

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[16] See Spier, p. 91, for a few of the Klamath rules of etiquette.

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
[848] borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-
[177] style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
596 but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
[177] extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, de facto groupings
rather than de jure. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organiza-
[594] tion of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obliga-
592 tory responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-
592 father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly ex-
treme cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual owner-
ship of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with re-
gard to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
434 children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have 593
other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are sometimes 855
non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are [581]
frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time, [181]
or to an older relative, or to an elder sibling. If the party occurs in the
household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be
left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may [603]
find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence [155]
and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of
the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one)
or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually
faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloofness.
The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and
both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating
fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little experience [155]
with consistency in role relationships.

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, [602]
amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other
kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting 872
the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax, 861
permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear-cut,
specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not [593]
accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet [181]
these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and [155]
attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu.
In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to
be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly [156]
characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts.
This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture,
but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society.

In many respects the values and skills learned within the household to not adequately 155
prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of 156
regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the household [871]
may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may
throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get
him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time
the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted,
the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in inferiority
is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, contributing
in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebelliousness,
or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation
of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school [563]
years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the [582]
areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites
is not an easy one.

It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child 882
are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child 156
may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete 155
with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he
is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors
cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into
an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high [871]

Slim: Male, Age 30

Background Data

Slim's case was selected so as to illustrate the situation of a regularly employed, 159*
well liked and respected young male. He is currently employed as a [464]
laborer in a lumber mill, and in the past has worked as a carpenter, and in
heavy industries in the mid-west. He has ten years of formal schooling, obtained [463]
his 12th grade certificate by examination while in military service, and for [871]
one month studied commercial art in Portland. [701]

Slim was born into a large, influential kin group, one which for several generations [619]
has provided much of the tribe's leadership. While his own father has
not been so influential in tribal politics, preferring to work his ranch instead,
Slim grew up in association with male relatives noted for their forthright
independence and leadership, and within a family tradition of progressiveness
and self-improvement. Slim's early life was spent in alternating periods [591]
of residence with his own father and mother on their ranch, and with his father's
mother in her cabin on the Sycan marsh. This association with "Grandma" was [603]
partly in response to the gradual disintegration of relations between his father
and mother, and partly the result of his father's desire to have "Grandma" teach [593]●
him some of the old lore. His mother became increasingly erratic, unpredictable,
and violent, finally leaving his father. Slim felt badly rejected by [153]
her and was never able to understnad why she would not accept his efforts to be
helpful. On the other hand, he was very close to his father and his grandmother.
Today he recalls with satisfaction the many things these two persons
taught him, and dreams recurrently of being in the army, defending the reservation
from attack, and checking in on the old lady to see if she is all right.
This dream is interesting because it expresses succinctly his style of relations
with superiors, for in the dream Slim asks permission of his squad leader to
leave, explains his reasons, then checks in on "Grandma," and returns to his duty.

After the 10th grade was completed, Slim quit school and worked on various ranches.
Early in the Korean war he consciously followed the model of an uncle, who was
a career soldier, and enlisted in the army. His service record was good, marred
only by what Slim feels were two justifiable periods of unauthorized absence,
and he voluntarily served with a combat unit in Korea. This army experience
considerably broadened Slim's horizons, and after his discharge he lived and
worked with an army buddy in the east for a year. Then Slim traveled and worked
in several places in the east and midwest. On two occasions his regular habits [961]
and good capacity for steady work were responsible for a promotion. Characteristically,
Slim enjoys this kind of reward, but he does not specifically strive
for advancement.

Slim has many skills, hobbies, and social graces. When young his father taught him to dig ditches, with the advice that this skill would always provide him with a job. He is an expert horseman and stock-keeper, and is a skilled hunter and woodsman who frequently guides his friends on hunting trips. He has learned carpentry, house-painting, and the operation of various industrial machines. More recently, he has turned to archery, sketching, and photography for hobbies to occupy his spare time. Then too, he is an amiable, jolly person who makes good company and who is well regarded as a friend. He is not married, and has never seriously considered marrying. He has had occasional sexual liaisons of a transitory nature, which he finds quite satisfying, and has been "going steady" for several years with an older woman, a person who is a grandmother in her own right.

Susan: Female, Age 24

Background Data

156 *159 Unlike Slim, Susan is not so well liked or respected. The occasion for this is specific, an unsanctioned pregnancy during her last year in high school and a [848] more recent marriage to an entirely disreputable Mexican from Utah. This community evaluation is accentuated because of the very high respect in which her [582] own family is held. Everyone expected better of Susan.

[626] Susan has worked as a dishwasher in several cafeterias, both on and off the *459 reservation, and moved to Utah so as to take a practical nursing course. She found this training uncongenial, met and married her husband, and they returned [464] to the reservation when his small business failed. Susan is a high school graduate.

[874] Susan's mode of selecting a husband parallels that of her mother, who met her husband while hospitalized in New Mexico. Her father by birth is an Apache *159 Indian, and by cultural affiliation a southwestern United States Spanish-American. •593 Without doubt, he is the most autocratic, stern, demanding, rigid adult male on the reservation. Although a married woman with children of her own, Susan must ask her father's permission to use the telephone or to walk downtown. Her mother was Klamath and very well respected for her stable family life and for her active participation in many community activities. Susan was extremely close to her mother until her unexpected death several years ago. They were known as an inseparable pair and her mother never went out of the house without her. The mother's death was, perhaps, the major cause of Susan's failure to complete her nurse's training. Susan's illegitimate pregnancy in high school was a considerable shock to her mother and is, with her marriage, a continuing source of strain [155] with her father. Susan evidently feels that her behavior was a contributing cause for her mother's death. She made a death-bed promise to her mother that she would not be a loose girl and that she would marry and stay married to one man. It was shortly thereafter that she married and returned to the reservation to live with her father. There is much strain within this household, derived from the relations between father and son-in-law, and from Susan's unsuccessful efforts to serve two masters, for along with her marital relationship she evi-[626]dently was trying to act as a replacement for her deceased mother's role. At the same time her conduct has alienated her from the church, from family friends, and from the community.

*159 The contact with Susan was made via her father, who told her that she should cooperate. Her father's motivation in this was not, as may be supposed, the con-[124]viction that she needed testing because something was wrong with her, but in-[123]volved a more general sentiment. He felt somewhat honored to have an "educated man" visit his house and that such a contact was a good experience for his chil-[593]dren. Susan accepted this like an obedient, dutiful daughter. She came readily, with no indication of unwillingness, and relations with her were quite good, perhaps because of the strains of her marginal position and her need to talk with someone.

*159 Susan seemed an apathetic person whose feelings were dulled. If anything, her reactions were those of an over-trained, too obedient child. She was not very 157 responsive or active, and would seldom talk except to answer a direct question. Then she would, frequently with evident pain and anxiety, describe her feelings and situations tersely and haltingly. Susan clearly wants more than her life now gives her, but cannot define her present conflicts or see her way clear to

Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

159*
In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively
sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of [156]
the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the
last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She [464]
is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except [874]
for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her husbands in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of
nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals
and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played
with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making
and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early
twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for
everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were [871]
sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from
home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, [857]
and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an
extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her [593]
parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking"
activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area,
with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruction from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother. [868]
Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were [191]
disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in
boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote
her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother
was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be
due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before [864]
she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was
at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she [626]
is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. [156]
She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of
their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband,
who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and [586]
divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five
other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never [156]
more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occasionally one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts [588]
to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages,
and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house
(it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are technically illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this 159*
sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her. 156

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone,
particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first
advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request [124]
testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was
wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

Weasel: Male, Age 29

Background Data

In contrast to all other subjects Weasel's role in the reservation community 159*
is a totally negative, destructive one, largely that of a supposedly vicious [156]
criminal. He was born and raised on an economically un-productive ranch, which
for twenty years or more has been the location of continuous drinking parties. [593]
Weasel was raised within a circle of a pack of older brothers, half-brothers,
and step brothers, all of whom were bigger, stronger, and more capable than he. [733]
His father has been an alcoholic for thirty years and has rarely worked or contributed
much to the organization of the family, which as a co-residential [592]
household usually included more than a dozen persons. In all, Weasel had 17
full and part siblings, half of whom are now deceased, three directly as a result [165]
of drinking, three from acts of violence or car accidents.

Weasel's formal education ceased when he was 15, in the ninth grade, at which [871]
time he was arrested on a burglary charge. Since then he has spent six years [674]
in reformatories or penal institutions. He was tested while in jail on an
assault charge. Shortly thereafter he was found not-guilty, then re-arrested [697]
and sentenced on a different assault with a deadly weapon charge to three years
in the state penitentiary.

Weasel has repeatedly moved out of the circle of the family group, only to
fail "outside" and return to its sheltering arms. For a time Weasel was a [542]
professional boxer, but one without much skill or stamina. He never won a fight
and his face shows the evidence of the capabilities of his opponents. His
membership in this profession did not last long, and Weasel states, rather
proudly, that the Boxing Commission expelled him "For conduct unbecoming a
professional boxer." Weasel was once married (a common-law marriage, which [588]
for Weasel's primary reference groups is well sanctioned) but this lasted just [581]
16 weeks. During this period Weasel stayed sober, the longest time he has spent
without a drink since the age of 12. Weasel was consciously trying to reform [733]
himself, but now feels that he was a fool to ever try. Additionally, Weasel
has repeatedly made a circuit of nearby towns and cities either singly or in [156]
the company of a brother or friend. These visitations have more of the character [579]
of raids than anything else, and Weasel is usually arrested in one or another
place and either charged or shipped out of town. [697]

In addition to being a minor criminal Weasel is frequently also the scapegoat 159*
for the aggressions of stronger men than he. He constantly asks for trouble, 156
but has never given any evidence that he can back of his threats with appropriate
force. His successful acts of aggression have always been sneak attacks, [186]
or attacks on feeble old men or young boys. He seldom attempts to avoid the
consequences of these actions, and, indeed, is frequently not able to do so,
because of his extreme drunken condition. He seems to obtain some gratification
from the minor prestige afforded his performances in these roles, but this
gratification is highly personalized and is not recognized as appropriate by
others. It may be that he has been attempting to build up his standing and reputation
within his own circle by acting out the role of a "dangerous Indian,"
but it would seem that he has been singularly unsuccessful in this. One aspect
of this behavior is his reputed skill with a knife. On two occasions he wanted
to obtain vocational training, once as a barber, the other time as a butcher,
both times implying that this would be a simple extension of his native talent.

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 67

Background Data

*159
156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, particularly in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
[593] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma
William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
[733] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
[83] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by
three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
[587] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She
[871] completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and
she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri,
[178] California, and Mexico.

[657] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father
for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation
[464] and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal
penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her
sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five,
and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their
violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how
such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
[577] Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams
is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
[177] a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values,
and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of
either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and
has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[191] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her
English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that children
[871] today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I
can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
[593] no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her
children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this respect,
[603] Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, be-
[867] haviors in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of
place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations
with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at
riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them
coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
[657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was
carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
[871] and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who
[177] promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were rejected from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate inter-
156 changes and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159
156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from
his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never
[461] worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen.
Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five
[871] school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from
the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at
[592] home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger sib-
lings may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal
[434] income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly
[657] for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the
bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very
reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit
[582] Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging
[618] company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the
logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually
[221] away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when
drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father
does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household
*[593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his
father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion
knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this per-
[848] son is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity,
which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's
*159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards
156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or
593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting,
and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits
the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls,
and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt
and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common
[421] activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to
one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his be-
longings, and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle
for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not
borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which
engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the
father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom
she spends much time.

*159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks
156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the
law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time
[673] loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his
buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom
[512] awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away
from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which
may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

159*
156
593•
[871]

Fidel quit school because of what he defines as "family trouble," and this failure is probably equally due to his lack of support and training at home, as well as from the mildly hostile, indifferent posture he maintains. He expresses bitter contempt for his family, for the filthy house, for the lack of regular hours, and for the frequent squabbles. His isolation from this group is adequately measured by his lack of knowledge of the interests and affiliations of family members. His contempt for them is balanced by his father's derogatory, competitive attitude towards his son and his mother's indifference. Fidel stands thus, mildly hostile, ambivalent, and infinitely bored, at the brink of independent adulthood.

159*
157

Rorschach Record

159*
125

No.
of
Resp. Score Time Response

I

(1) WS FM ad 2" Well I dunno...could be some kind of animal. (AE?) Just LL a dog or smth looking at you...its ears hanging over. (Rotates card) How are you supposed to look at it, anyway? () (Rotates card and looks at it briefly, but not attentively, looks at E. and waits for him to finish writing.)

(1) Whole, space. () Well—the ears hanging over the side and the two eyes (S) and the mouth (S). LL its head. () LL it's looking at you.

II

(2) D FMc' ad P 27" (Much rotation) (Laughs) LL a couple of dogs w/their noses together—how come they put different colored ink in them? That's the way it looks—both ways,
(3) D FMc' ad upside down and the other way.

(2) All grey. () Just the black part. () Well—it LL a dog's head w/ears sticking out and the nose up against the other one. () Just the...it LL the shadows of two dogs w/their noses together. () Just the outline—the silhouette.

III

(4) W M h P 17" This one LL two guys dancing. (AE?) I can't make anth else out on there.

(4) All grey. () Just the black part. (Men?) Well, I dunno. Could be a cpl of kids cause that's the way they dance. (Boys/girls?) Could be either a boy or a girl or two boys or two girls...just LL people dancing.

IV

(5) W FM a 33" I don't know what the heck this is...some kind of bug with wings or (rotating card)
(6) D F ad some kind of horse head or something...everybody sees these different, huh? () Nothing else but a big black ink spot.

(5) Whole, down. () I dunno what kind...just like it's reaching for you or anth. (Frightening?) Could be. (6) Headlike bottom center, D23, down. looking at it from above.

V

(7) W FM a P 17" That LL a bat with its wings out—down. Turn him
(8) W FM a upside down and it LL you got him spread out.

analysis of 53 Klamath Rorschachs and 33 Thematic Apperception Tests, with 128
additional evidence derived from participant observation and life history data [127]
(Clifton 1960). Moreover, the assessment agrees, in large part, with the ob-
servations and conclusions of other field workers working independently. The
significant point is that Levine, working blind from records of persons he has
never observed has reinforced and expanded upon previous evaluations of Klamath
character.

A second hypothesis about the Klamath which arises from our study — an hypothesis 121
of which we are less certain when compared with the observation that they are
a people who may be viewed as guarded and restrained — is the finding that "in 157
the total kin network the influence of the male is weak..." and "whether or not 562
there is a male attached to the household group, the wife-mother is usually the
power figure." This finding, based on the anthropological data, is theoreti- [156]
cally congruent, almost startlingly so, with the fact that the more imaginative,
creative, rich — healthy, if you will — Klamath Rorschach records were produced
by the women in the sample, while the men's records were typically stereotyped
and constricted, and often unrealistic, disorganized or suspicious. The statis- [127]
tical comparisons (Clifton 1960) as well as the individual Rorschach analysis
(Chapter III) convey this impression very clearly. [128]

The importance of these findings can be viewed profitably in the light of con- 121
temporary psychoanalytic theory, especially in relation to the concepts of iden-
tification and modeling in child development. The theory holds that the child
identifies with, i.e., adapts the characteristics, attitudes, and values, of his
parents because he envies them; they are the powerful people who receive the
rewards and gratifications which he is denied. In classical psychoanalytic theory,
the boy is said to identify with the father because the father is the power figure
in the family and receives the love of the mother. Although Freud never was as
content with his psychology of women as he was with the Oedipus Complex, pre-
sumably similar processes account for feminine psychology. The classical Oedipus [128]
Complex has been modified in order to integrate more satisfactorily with cross-
cultural data, and it is in this more flexible framework that the present re-
sults can be understood best.

In those societies in which the father is not a stable, respected member of the 121
family the process of identification is not as straightforward: the growing boy
does not want to be like his weak father; he cannot identify with an absent
father figure; yet he is biologically unable to be like his mother. The theory
holds that his identification as a person will not be well integrated or complete.
In the Klamath family, the mother is the stable figure, the one who commands the 121
boy's respect. Since a consistent and integrated identification is needed for a 156
healthy development of the ego, we are not surprised to find that the males in
our Klamath sample show signs of poor ego structure. The women, on the other 562
hand, come off much better and one may hypothesize that they are able to make a
more integrated identification with the wife-mother figure in the Klamath family. 593

It may be necessary for a well-stated theoretical position to distinguish between 121
two qualities of the parent which are confounded in the present discussion: sta-
bility of the model on the one hand and the extent to which the parent receives
rewards, on the other. The general theoretical position, however, states that
those societies in which the father is more stable, receives more of the respect
and material reward, or is more powerful will be societies in which the boys can
establish their roles more readily. On the other hand, in groups like the Klamath, 121
in which the father is weak or absent, we can expect to see signs of role conflict, 156
562
593

121

156 vague identification and, since it is largely through identification that the
562 super-ego is established, weak super-egos.

593 It has been suggested that what we have called guarded restraint may be a "front"
121 maintained only when Klamath are interacting with whites. The point is that
156 guarded restraint may be another name for the extreme suspicion and reserve of
156 many enclaved or colonized minority groups vis-a-vis representatives of the
177 dominant culture (Underhill 1960). It cannot be denied that, in fact, reserve
[171] and suspicion do characterize much of the relationship between Klamath and Whites,
but the reserve and restraint which so characterize Klamath persons is not solely a function of such situations. We agree that guarded restraint is one important consequence of acculturative contacts, but the evidence of observation and life histories clearly indicate that this is a personality attribute manifest in many
[829] situations exclusive of the presence of outsiders. Life history subjects, for
example, speak of the "Indianness" of their parents, meaning precisely an aloof, reserved style of interaction. Many other informants verbalize reactions to the endemic if latent suspiciousness of Klamath life. Thus guarded restraint is not purely an observer construct with a referent limited to the test situation. Certainly, a measure of reserve and suspicion may serve utilitarian functions when interacting with strangers, but the same characteristic makes strangers out of neighbors.

121 Underhill's suggestion does raise the issue of a broader connection between
156 guarded restraint and the impact of acculturation. If there is such an association then we should expect to find these attributes widely distributed among
177 other acculturated populations, especially those which have been exposed to the
171 imposition of external political and administrative controls, and deculturation
or detribalization. That there may be some validity to this hypothesis is sugges-
157 ted by the fact that attempts to communicate our findings to observers with experience among other acculturated populations frequently evoke memories of similarity in character. What we have called guarded restraint has been suggested as characteristic of the contemporary Southern Ute (Stewart 1961) and especially the Mountain or Towoac Ute (Canan 1961), and of the Cree, Northern Athabascan, and Eskimo (Heinrich 1961). In each instance there are differences, but differences which seem to play upon a common theme.

Personality attributes analogous to what we have called guarded restraint have repeatedly been discerned among other more or less acculturated North American Indian populations. Thus Barnouw describes the Wisconsin Chippewa as emotionally isolated, suspicious of outsiders, and fearful of expressing emotions overtly (Barnouw 1950: 22-23). Klopfer's analysis of Chippewa Rorschachs suggests that "...the individual is under pressure to become as emotionally independent of his environment as possible, and to expect very little from others." (Barnouw 1950: 27). The Ojibwa have been described as emotionally restrained, suspicious, and anxious (Hallowell 1955: 350). Hallowell's interpretation of these characteristics is that they constitute persistent aboriginal components of Ojibwa character structure. In a similar fashion, the Native-Oriented Menomini have been described by Spindler as a group characterized by a non-defensive reduction of emotional display, whose perception is narrowed to only a very selective portion of their environment, and who are further characterized by a non-manipulatory passivity. Outside of the presumed character structure of the Eastern Woodlands, the most widely distributed "aboriginal" characteristics of North American Indians, generally, are given by the Spindlers as non-demonstrative emotionality, great reserve, individual autonomy, and a generalized fear of the world as dangerous (Spindler and Spindler 1957: 148).

*539 sχóktnank i häsχálp'luapk, hunkantchä' mîsh nî k̲á-i né-ulakuapk: waké-
paying you should reobtain it, on account of that you I not shall try; per-
622 anhua spû'lhi-uapk. Hä î híshuaksh pálluapk snawä'dshash, hä'doks
haps (I) will imprison. If you, as a married man, seduce a married woman, if
692 [684] î ná-änt snawä'dshash shetō'lakuapk, nä-ulakuapká m's nî. Hä î k̲î'-
you another with wife cohabit, shall punish you I. If you should
uapka ts, nä'-ulakuapka m's nî.
lie also, would punish you I.

[687] Hä'toks î nä's lúlûksaluapk k̲'lä'kapksh, mû' mîsh nî nä'-ulakuapk.
And if you a person should cremate, who is dead, heavily you I shall punish.

[683] Hä' î kiúks tsîs táwi-uapk, mû' mîsh nî nä'-ulakuapk. Hä î shishókuapk
If you as a conjurer should bewitch, hard you I shall chastise. If you have a fight
[593] illí-uapka m's nánukäns; hä î snawä'dsh mî sissókuapk, ilhî'-uapka m's
I will lock up all of ye; if you (and) wife your should fight, will lock up you
nî lápuk sumseálĕmamks. Hä î shuhánk-sitk sissókuapk, lápuk mîsh nî
I both married folks. If you evenly whip each other, both of ye I
nä'-ulakuapk; hä'toks snä'wedsh î mî udópkuapk, tchúi mîsh k̲á-i sekák-
will punish; but if wife you your beat, and to you not returns
tsuapk hûk snáwädsh, k̲á-i nî nä'-ulakuapk snawä'dshash, mî'sh nî hissuák-
blows the wife, not I will punish the wife, you I, the hus-
shash spû'lhi-uapk. Hä î tuánksî wudsháyuapk hû'nkst, mî'sh nî mû'ak
band, will imprison. If you anywhere bruise her, you I more heavily
nä'-ulakuapk; hä'toks lak̲í û'dopkuapk snawä'dsh m'na, snäkĕluápka nî.
shall punish; but if a chief bruises wife his, shall remove (him) I.

[683] Hä'toks î hî'hashuaksh shishókuapk, lápuk mîsh nî ilhí-uapk. Hä'toks
If you with men should fight, both of ye I will lock up. If
[685] î shnä'lχuapk látchash mû' mish nî nä'-ulakuapk.
you set on fire a lodge hard you I will chastise.

Hä lak̲í shishókuapk humáshtak nî shnäkĕlui-uápka; hä' tchik lak̲í
If a chief starts a fight, in the same manner I shall remove (him); if a chief
húntsak a mák̲laksas shishókuapk, lápĕni, ndánni, tánknî shishókuapk,
for no reason people should beat, twice, thrice, many times should beat,
tánkt nî snä'kĕlui-uapka nî. Hä' tchik î'-alhîsh tchîsh k̲úi gî'uapk, shnä-
then I shall remove (him) I. If a guardian wrong does, shall
kĕluí-uapka nî; hä nánuktua k̲úi gî'uapka, tánkt nî shnäkĕlui-uápkan
remove (him) I; if in everything wrong does (he), then I will remove (I)
î'-alhîshash; hä'toks î'alhish tíds, nanuktuánta tídsh gî'uapk, k̲á-i nî shnä-
the watchman; but if watchman well, all through well shall act, not I will
kĕluí-uapk. Lak̲iásh tchîsh tídsh gîsht k̲á-i nî shnäkĕlúi-uapk; hä Bóshtin
remove (him). A chief also doing his duty not I will remove; if white-man-
yálank nä'-ulapkuapk, tî'dsh hûnk gî'uapk, k̲á-i nî hûnk wutódshanuapk.
alike he deals, right he shall act, not I him will cast away.

[689] K̲á-i î hussî'nuapk; hä'toks î hussî'nuapk nû hû'nk î'-amnuapk î'χaks
Not you must run horse-races; but if you run horse-races I the will take away gain
mî. Tchí lak̲í nä'-ulχa.
your. So the chief orders.

*539
622
692
[586]

hû'masht mish ni giug skuyû'shkuapk. Hä ni skuyû'shkuapka m'sh,
therefore ye I will separate. If I should separate (her) from you,
tsû'shni m'sh ni skuyû'shkuapk.
forever from you I shall divorce (her).

K̲á-i mish ni hû'nk k̲i'tgik; nánuktuanta káktak píla m's n hû'nk hém-
Not you I that to tell lies told; about everything to tell the truth alone to you I that to
kanktgik; nä'-ulakt gi'tki i snawä'dshash tchí'sh káktak píl. K̲á-i n
tell said; to observe the laws you wife also to tell the truth only. Not I
hû'nk gi'tkik m's píla, hibashuákshash tchísh nánukänsh.
this to do tell to you only, (but) to men too all (others.)

III.

[689]

Snáwedsh tchik shû'ldshash shetólχa, tsúi nát któktatska; at hûnk
A female (if) with a soldier copulates, then we cut her hair off; she
yakä'wa nä'-ulaks, k̲á-i hû'nk tû'mĕna shunû'kanksh nálam lalák̲iam.
broke the law, not she listens to the behests of our chiefs.
Tchúi tchik titátna heshsχálpĕli sésatuish m'nálam, tsúi sχō'ktnank tchä'k
Also sometimes she reobtains through barter the price paid (for her) to them, and by paying
héshsχalpĕli. Tsúi snawä'dsh tchísh násh híshuaksh wutódshish m'na pä'n
she reobtains it. And wife one husband who repudiated his again
hû'nk snúkp'la, tsúi nä'-ulĕkan titátnan hû'masht-gisht shnû'kp'lisht lä'p
her takes up, then chastise I (him) sometimes I because he took her back for two
sháppash spû'lhi, titatnatóks ni ndán sháppash, títatna tchín násh sháppash
months imprison, but sometimes I for three months, at times and I for one month
spû'lhi. Tsúi tch' hishtchákta hû'k kat lalápa wä'wans gitk; tsúi tsin nä'-
imprison (him). And quarrel they who two wives have; and thus I or-
ulk̲a skuyû'shkan. K̲á-i ni nä'-ulĕχa, sguyushkuyá ni; gä'tak. Títatna
der (and) separate (them) I. No more I try (them) in court, separate just I; that's the end of it. Sometimes
tch pálla shash ná-änts hihassuáksas snáwädsh, tchúi ni nä'-ulk̲an ndán
also seduce (them) other married men a female, then I try (her) I (and) for three
sáppash spû'lhi.
months imprison.

[683]
[593]

Tchúi shishóka títatna, tchúi náyäns wudsáya; hû'nksṭ ni násh sû'ndē
And they fight sometimes, and others they injure; him I one week
spû'lhi, kát sas hû'k wudsháya. Títatna tch shishóka shipapĕlánkstant hak,
imprison, who them has whipped. At times also they have fights among each other only,
k̲á-i shû'tka, sissukúya hak; tsúi ni né-ulĕka hû'nkiasht kákat hûk sissóka.
not injure, but scuffle merely; then I try those who had the row.
Láp sû'ndin lapukáyäns ilhí'. Títatna udû'pka hissuáksh snawä'dsh m'na;
For two weeks I both parties lock up. Sometimes whips a husband wife his;
hû'nks ni hissuáksas spû'lhi ndán sû'ndē; hä káa udópkpakuapk snáwedsh
that I husband lock up for three weeks; if roughly he should whip wife
m'na, hû'masht n'unk gíug ndán súndē spû'lhi. Títatna tch snáwädsh
his, on that account I him for three (other ?) weeks imprison. Sometimes also a wife

*539 hishuáksh m'na wudópka, tsúi nî snawä'dshash hû'nk nä'-ulχ, k̲á-i hû'nk
622 husband here whips, then I wife that punish, not the
692 hishuákshash, láp súndē.
husband, for two weeks.

[593] [683] Tsúi tchik kíuks tchî'sh títatna tawí shash, tsúi hûk k̲'lĕká tawí'sh.
Then a conjurer also at times bewitches them, and dies the bewitched one.

[683] Tsúi nî nä'-ulχa, tsúi tû'nip sháppash spû'lhi-síukst; tsúi tchik wátch nísh
Then I try (him), and for five months imprison for manslaughter; and (if) horses to me

[593] sχókta tû'nip, tsúi nî k̲á-i spû'lhit sχoktí'sht nísh. Tsúi tch lak̲í ts ktû'pka
he pays five, then I not may imprison (him), he having paid me. And (if) a chief beats

m'na snáwädsh, tsúi nî snä'kĕlua; gä'tak lak̲í gî hûk.
his wife, then I remove (him); no longer chief remains he.

NOTES.

[177] **58–62.** The legal practices, regulations, and ordinances given here by a subchief of the Klamath Lake tribe are observed by all the chiefs, and are apparently fashioned after American models. The principle which seems to guide most of the judicial decisions of the chiefs, is given in one (59, 20. 21) of these regulations: "If a chief makes law like white people, that will be right."* This article is composed of three parts:

Part I. List of the chiefs acting as judges on the reservation in 1877.

Part II. Legal customs governing the Klamath Lake people.

Part III. Instances of application of these legal customs; amount of fines, terms of imprisonment, etc. These are the "*novellæ*" of Klamath legislation.

58, 1–3. P'lú, Lilu, and some other headmen mentioned here have signed the treaty of Oct. 14, 1864.

[563] [657] **58, 4.** Móatuash. There are only two Pit River *families* living on the whole reservation.

58, 8. Tcháktot belongs to the Yahúskin tribe of Snake Indians. Cf. Ind. Aff. Report 1873, p. 324.

[193] **58, 10 etc.** The future tense employed in these behests, regulations and defenses recalls the French future used in an impressive manner instead of the imperative: *tu ne tueras point, tu ne déroberas point.*

58, 10. shlí-uapk shash. The pronoun shash has here almost the force of a reciprocal pronoun, for the meaning of the sentence is: "do not shoot at people of your own tribe." The same is true of sas in palluápk sas, 58, 10; 58, 13 (twice); pálla shash, 61, 14.

[194] **58, 10.** ksaggayuapkámeni is pronounced as one word, as the removal of the accent from the syllable -uápk demonstrates; and so in many of the following verbs standing in the future tense. For the sake of clearness, I have preferred to resolve these forms graphically into their component elements.

[192] [193] **58, 11.** wátsam, etc. The possessive wátsam stands here instead of the instrumental case watsátka through attraction from wännikísham. Tchíkla here means to ride away on another's horse, the horse being missed by his owner.

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[*] Dave Hill introduces himself in the first person as chief; but many of these decisions can be given by the headchief only, not by any of the subchiefs, to whose number Dave Hill belonged. The Modocs at Yáneks claim to observe these regulations; the Snake Indians do not.

*539 221 All these different kinds of sacks or bags were originally made of bulrush-stalks (tule) 192 and the táyash was made of straw.

415 74, 11. k̲aítua nû kä'ila. The sense is incomplete. Probably sháyuakta is left out: "I do not know of any in the whole country", kiila often standing for käilatat.

192 74, 14. áwalues. There are several islands in the shallow waters of the vast extent of Klamath Marsh, but only *one* is meant here.

103 74, 15. wö'ns ílktsat. They submerge their dug-outs at several places on the beach, where they are certain to find them in the next wókash-season.

501 74, 17. pi'la wí'hla (or píla wíllash) contains perhaps a proper name of a locality, 103 or stands in connection with Tóilkat, "at the Rail-Pyramid"; wílhaslash means top, apex. The stations from the "Ford" to "Bird's Lookout" are passed by the tribe when they return home with the lily-seed harvest-crop. "They drop the rifle" is: they take a rest. All these localities are either on the open waters of Klamath Marsh or on Williamson River, which forms its outlet.

484 75, 1. iwí-idsha wókash. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Williamson 492 River is from 20 to 25 miles, and horses carrying wókash can make it in one day. The next day they return to carry another load.

482 75, 2. nátoks waítuapk: we will lie over one day to let our horses rest, or recover from the swellings on their backs. Nátoks stands for nát toks.

829 75, 5. klá-ads is probably a kind of wild prunes. See Dictionary: kĕlátch.

192 75, 8. wídsika íwam. "Some are economical with their own berries, and prefer not to scatter them in the hands of others"; íwam, huckleberry, has become the generic term for all berries, and i-umä'mi is "*berry-season*".

346 75, 11. spû'klish here means the large communal sweat-house; it is used frequently for dances and kshiuwál*χ*ishtat, contr. kshiû'l*χ*ishtat might stand instead of spúklishtat.

75, 11. papiä'na, vocalic dissimilation for papa-éna; derived from pán, to eat.

193 75, 13. atí'sh etc. "Heap ye up that hay in two stacks, which must have a lengthy, long-stretching, and not a high, cone-shaped form!" For heaping up long stacks one verb is here used, and another for making the high, round ones.

PŬ'LAM SHUMSHE-ÉLSHTAT SHASHAPKĔLÉASH.

A SKETCH OF BALL'S MARRIED LIFE.

115 Given by Dave Hill, Subchief, in the Klamath Lake Dialect.

*539 ● 593 Póluk k̲ä'liak snáwäds t'shín. Tsúi snawä'dshla Pámpiam pä'-ia lupí';
Ball he without a wife grew up. Then he married Pámpi's daughter at first;

tsúi wä'kala, tsúi tatá mántsak mbusä'lan gí. Tsúi kä'tsa, tsúi mbusä'-
and she had a babe, and then quite a while he lived with (her). Then he left (her), and lived with

alpĕli pän, tsúi pän kétsa sissû'kuk tsû'ssak. Násh wä'ka sham k̲läká, nä'sh
(her) again, and again left (her) quarreling continually. One babe to them died, another

tchía; at sa sipí'tχa, tsúi nä's shnawä'dshla pän Látsam pä'-ia; wáts säwána
lived; still they separated, then one (woman) he married after (this) Látchash's daughter; horses he gave

*539
● 593

sas tánkak. Tsúi wiggátak tchía, tsúi wä'kala, tsúi hûk mukák k̲'läká.
to them not many. Then together they lived, and she became mother, and the babe died.

Tsúi hû'nk pän wutódsna, tsúi pän mbusé-alpĕle. K̲ú-idshi hû'k snawéds;
Then her again he gave up, and again lived with (her). Mischievous (is) that woman;

tsû'ssak sû'la sha, hissuáks hû'k wû'lantana: "tám mí'sh setû'lχa kaní?
constantly haggled they, husband the used to ask (her): "(did) with you consort anybody?

sü'gs' ish, k̲á-i sa-í'shiank." Tsí sa hû'n kí nánuk spunä'ks; tsúi sí'ssûka
tell me, not concealing." So they said every night; then they fought

ná-asht gíug. Tsúi sa k̲ú-i sû'ta pipĕlángshtan staínas, tsúi sa k̲ú-i tchía.
for saying so. And they embittered mutually hearts, and they wretchedly lived.

Hû'masht-gíug tû'mĕni laláki̲ nä'-ulχa, túmĕni huskiū'tankpĕle. Tína
On this subject often the chiefs ruled, many times made them live together again. Once

snáwäds hûk púlla hishuáks m'na shû'ldsisas shätō'lχ; vû'nsatka hûnk
woman that deceived husband her (and) with a soldier copulated; in canoe (she)

[684]

sk̲ä'na pállank sas sûldsámkshi. Tsí hûk shû'ta titná huk snawä'ds; tsúi
rowed away abstracting (it) from them to the troops. Thus acted at a time that woman; and

laláki̲ nä'-ulχa hû'nksht Pû'lam snawä'dsas; ktû'tsga sa hûk laláki̲ sätó-
the chiefs tried that Ball's wife; cut hair off they the chiefs for hav-

lakst sû'ldsisas. Tchúi pän kédsa Paúl; Waitängí'shash tsí's setō'lχ tánkt.
ing slept with soldier. Then again left (her) Ball; with a Warm Spring man too he lodged then.

Tsúi pän mbusé-alpla, tsúi sas wáts sk̲ókta pän, tsúi sha pän ak sissō'ka;
And again he lived with (her), and to them horses he paid over once more, and they again quarreled;

at sa k̲ú-i hak tsía tsússak, tsúi laláki̲ pänak hû'skiûtka. Tsúi pän
they wretchedly lived always, and the chiefs once more made them live together. And again

mbû'se-alp'l, tû'sh spungátgapĕle É-ustat tchí'pkshí hûnk snawä'dsas. Pû'l
he lived with (her), over there he brought back on Lake shore home the wife. Ball

toks hí'wí hímboks tánkt, tchúi hí'-i lélktcha tchí'ktchik spû'nktchapaluk.
hauled logs then, and there abandoned the wagon to bring (her) back.

Tsúi spû'ntpampĕle, tsúi nä'-ulχa sha pä'n, spû'lhi sa Pû'lash, tsúi sa
And he brought (her) back, and tried they again, imprisoned they Ball, and he and she

sχókta sas pä'n wátch, tsúi sa spunkámpĕle pän, tsúi sa pän hû'nk
paid them once more horses, and they set (him) free again, and they again

sumsä'-alank tsía.
marrying lived.

Wakák tsik sa tchía, k̲á-i ní tû'mĕnat.
How since they have lived, not I learnt.

NOTES.

[178]
[837]

Matrimonial reverses like the one given in this narrative are by no means uncommon among the Klamaths of the present day. They are one of the unavoidable consequences of the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers at Fort Klamath.

*539 593 77, 1. The name Púl is pronounced in very different ways, and most people think it is the English name Ball; Póluk is Pú'l hû'k; tchía, "lived", would be preferable to t'shín in this connection.

[192] 77, 2. 3. kă'tsa, kétsa properly means to cast away; here: to abandon, leave; almost identical with wutódsna occurring below, 78, 2.

77, 4. săwána sas: he did not give many horses for her to her parents.

78, 8. pállank sas. This shash properly refers to Pámpi and his family, for Púl's wife took the dug-out canoe of Pámpi and rowed with it to the soldiers. This was in the northeastern part of Upper Klamath Lake, and occurred in the winter of 1876–'77.

[103] 78, 13. É-ustat is the location of the old agency buildings at Kohásbti, in northeast corner of Upper Klamath Lake.

[192] 78, 14. hí'-i. On that occasion Ball left his wagon in the midst of the woods; hi, hí-i means "on the ground".

[657] [692] [697] 78, 15. nă'ulχa sha pă'n. About the middle of September 1877 a strong escort of Indians brought Ball and his wife to the "law-house" at the Klamath agency to be tried by the chiefs. A delay of several days occurred before he was confronted with the judges, and during the time he was imprisoned at the "skúkum-house", a strong log cabin at the agency serving as jail. He is still a very young man, and on being brought there he was allowed to ride on horseback with a rifle on his shoulders. His father is an Indian from the Spokane tribe, and Spúkăn is his name.

[192] 78, 16. sχókta, to pay a fine; to be fined (by the chiefs). See: "Legal Customs", 62, 5.

GAMES OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROBEN.

I.

*539 525

Ê-ukshikni	shákĕluk	shî-í'χaga	yámnash,	wátch,	skútash	tchísh.
The Lake people	in gambling	win from each other	beads,	horses,	blankets	also.

Vû'nip	shulshéshlank;	láp	mû'mĕni,	sχû'tash	tchish	lápi	ndshekáne.
With four (sticks)	they play the stick-game;	(there are) two	thick (sticks),	skin-covered sticks	also	two	slender.

Ndshékansh	sha	sχétchashtka	shlín,	mû'mĕnish	toksh	a	yû'shakĕnank
At the slender (sticks)	they	with index and middle finger	guess,	at the thick (ones)	however	(they)	with index finger

shlín;	vû'ish	sha	klátchnank	shlín,	tχopowátka	tch	lénank	shlín.	Wû'ishtka
guess;	at the vûish	they	moving hand sideways	guess,	with the thumb	also	making a side move	they guess at.	By the vûish

toks	sha	nā'shak	kshē'sh	wí-uka;	sχétchashtka	sha	láp	wí-uka	kshē'sh,
	they	only one	counting-stick	(can) win;	with index and middle finger	they	two	win	counting-sticks,

yû'shχish	spélshisht.	Tchúi	sa	k̲ĕléwi	udúiwisham	í'χaguk	nánuk.
the index	having put forward.	Then	they	stop,	from the losers	when they have won	all (stakes).

another figure, known only as "The One Below," to represent the 648*
Devil. This figure appears in a Klamath version of the Garden 657*
of Eden recorded by Gatschet[29]—a tale no longer recalled today. 776
The identification of Gmukamps with God is strengthened in 177
Indian eyes by his mythical foster-parentage of the hero, Aisis. 178
As one Modoc, a fundamentalist preacher, has put it:

> you know, Gmukamps and Aisis—that's nothing but God and Jesus. The Indians knew the story of the Bible, but they were ignorant in those days. They thought that the lakes they performed their miracles around were the Klamath lakes; they didn't know it was really the Sea of Galilee.[30]

Looking back over the entire field of change from the last 657*
decades of the nineteenth century, the observer could discern 648*
major acculturative trends. The Klamath who entered upon the 177
treaty had already undergone pervasive, though largely un- 178
directed modification. Thereafter, they were subjected to a consistent policy of change which, despite defects in execution, outside interference, and an intervening war, was maintained for well over a generation. Within this frame, a reservation culture had taken shape, embodying a synthesis of white and Indian lifeways. By the middle of the next century, only a handful of tribesmen would be left who could report from direct knowledge events of pretreaty days; the remaining elders would be products of the synthesis.

Measured by the indexes which the Bureau employed to
register progress, the advance was evident. When that formula- [464]
tive period was ended, a large number of the Klamath were [511]
productively engaged in work of "civilized" character, and their
material wants had come to approximate those of their white
neighbors. Many were conversant, and a few literate, in English, [191]
and their numbers were increasing steadily. The extended family, [212]
at least among the progressive, had made way for the more [596]
mobile and assimilable conjugal family. In the schools, a new [594] •
generation was being trained to embrace as natural and desirable [871]
a way of life which the Church, in turn, commended as good to old and young alike. Expectations seemed to lie within the grasp of those willing to work to achieve them.

Beneath the surface upon which these changes could be traced, [571]
however, lay cleavages and disconformities as yet unfathomed

*648 divided into three segments as nearly equal in size as possible.[24]
*657 The symmetrical cuts resulted in a Conformant segment, pre-
177 vailingly law-abiding in record, almost twice as large as the In-
178 framodal category at the other end, which consisted of these
184 persons with the highest record of violations. The Intermediate
125 membership was slightly larger than that of the Conformant.[25]

The characteristics of each of these categories, when contrasted, tend to confirm statements made previously. Members of the Conformant segment were least Indian biologically and included the highest proportion of women. They seem to have come from comparatively smaller families and, with the Intermediate subjects, seem to have received far more adequate parental care than did the Inframodal category. Educational achievements are less distinctive, reflecting the compulsory nature of schooling on the reservation, but again the Inframodal segment lags behind the others in school grade completed. In the measure of engagement in business or ranching and in record of money management, the distinctions are decisive, with the Conformant category far outstripping its fellows and the Inframodal segment at the bottom. Finally, in both the percentage of those married and living with spouse and family as well as in the stability of residence the same order is seen.

In the second part of the study, the thirty Klamath subjects who had given Dr. Clifton responses to the Murray Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)[26] were assigned by judgment to the three segments, the protocols of each category being treated together by a method of analysis previously employed in examining Klamath mythology.[27] When all of the modern TAT segments were combined and contrasted with the myths, the responses were seen to reflect changes which had in fact taken place through time. Thus a trend toward a universalistic outlook
[602] was reflected, along with lessened attention to the ramifications
[594] of kinship, a reduction of the family itself to nuclear form, and
[554] a concurrent diversification of role relationships toward individ-
[571] uals acting impersonally as employer, policeman, doctor, or
teacher. A secularization of life may also be reflected by the scant consideration of religion in the modern protocols.

[571] When the modern TAT segments were compared, the Conform-
ant subjects were seen to place a strong emphasis upon support

[Klamath Reservation]

000 For the recency of separation of the Modoc, see Gatschet (1890), Pt. 1, pp. 13, 14, n.13, 1.

5. See Sapir, reprinted in Mandelbaum (1951), pp. 169-78.

K M [114] [161] 6. Mooney (1928), p. 18, gives a value for the Klamath of 800 and for the Modoc, 400 persons. Kroeber (1925), p. 320, sets the combined figure at 2,000 and estimates that the Klamath have always numbered more than twice the Modoc population. Spier (1930), p. 5, reaches total figures in agreement with Kroeber. Kroeber (1939), pp. 136-38, reverts to Mooney's values in estimating tribal densities.

7. For the latter, chiefly Barrett (1910), Coville (1897, 1904), Curtin (1912), Curtis (1924), Dorsey (1901), Gatschet (1890), Kroeber (1925), Powers (1877), Ray (1963), and Spier (1930), the last two being the most important sources, respectively, for Modoc and Klamath.

8. Anastasio (1955). The changing societal constellations each directed toward a common task also resemble the "structural poses" described by Gearing (1962), for the eighteenth-century Cherokee, with the difference that the social groups entering into the constellations among the Klamath and Modoc are, by comparison, far more diffuse and less well defined.

9. Spier (1930), p. 13, site 6.

10. See Spier (1930), p. 15, site 23. The settlement size follows Spier.

11. As the Klamath pungently express it, "They even divide up a flea." Barker (1963), pp. 162-63.

K [648] [625] 12. An Agent once requested waiver of the stipulation that Indian police must stand five feet eight inches in height, since few Klamath men could qualify.

13. Dorsey (1901), p. 21.

14. Quoted in Pearsall (1950), pp. 348 ff. For details of wokas preparation, see Coville (1904).

15. Spencer (1956), pp. 77 ff. From time to time, I heard much the same speech directed by this woman to the boy, aged twelve. As Spencer remarks, at no time did his immediate actions give occasion for her harangue. She was, however, much concerned over some of his associates.

K M [594] 16. The term "natal family" is employed as a more graceful alternative to the conventional "family of orientation," to denote the nuclear unit into which the individual is born and within which he is reared. For similar reasons, I have preferred the term "marital family" to denote the "family of procreation," a similar entity seen from the vantage of the married partners who stand at its head. See Murdock (1949), p. 13, for a discussion of the original terms.

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
[848] out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-style"
[177] marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
596 there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
[177] aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, de facto groupings
rather than de jure. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organization
[594] of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obligatory
592 responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-father
592 frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly extreme
cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual ownership
of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with regard
to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
434 children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

539 he was nowhere to be seen. They thought he must have died. After a long
time he began to talk, throwing water on the rocks. When he was quite ready
he came out and walked to his own people. He had beated the shamans.

One informant completed the humorous tale of the lizard who killed five grizzlies with the comment, "He was braver than Tci'lokin."

622 Chiefs are wealthy. All informants gave the same term, lŏ'ki, for
rich man and chief, and when asked for the rich men named the chiefs.
556 They own many slaves; other people may have slaves, but many have
• 595 none. Some chiefs have a number of wives. Lɛle'ks had seven at one
time, not slaves, but one a Modoc, the others native. This, the largest
[567] marrige group known, argues considerable wealth. Lɛle'ks was accus-
[439] tomed to make frequent trips to northern tribes with captives to
exchange for horses. Everything points to the rise in wealth of these
men as dating only from the comparatively recent period of contact
with the northern tribes. Up to that time at least shamans rivaled
[756] chiefs in wealth.

622 A chief becomes such primarily by his leadership in war. When
a group is gathered preparatory to war, chiefs address them and under their guidance war leaders, prominent, brave, and wealthy, are agreed on. Chiefs themselves are among the war leaders and no one alone captains the party. Chiefs make a point of engaging prominent adversaries in the forefront of battle. In addition to their other qualities, it is assumed that they are brave, unexcitable, and able to do without sleep.

Under the circumstances there can hardly be inheritance of chieftainship, largely because it is not an office to be regulated by definite succession. A chief's relative may be chosen as war leader, but not of necessity. Since wealth figures, it may be that at least the possibility of succession is heritable, but a man who is personally disqualified will not be considered. Pat Kane's paternal grandfather was a chief at du'kwa; further vision experiences had made him a good gambler but no shaman. But his son did not succeed because he was not competent and, in addition poor, nor has Pat any pretensions. On the death of Lɛle'ks, his son Solomon was passed over as lacking caliber, and in reservation days Alan David, previously a minor figure, was recognized in his place. Their relationship is unknown. My informants did not know whether the fathers of any of the chiefs named above had been chiefs before them.

[565] The Klamath have no feeling of class stratification as on the
Columbia river and northward. A chief is a leader and nothing more.

585 177 of any such sentiments. It also seems that the reciprocal visits by which the marriage is consummated, with their exchange of presents, is a reflection at a distance of the Northwest Coast potlatch, perhaps its most southerly extension.

582 Beyond the ability to pay, the choice of a mate is restricted only by kinship. No relative of any degree may be married; the children, they contend, will not survive. Common residence is for example no bar to marriage. Step-brothers and sisters, being unrelated, are free to marry even though they have grown up together. Several men now living here married their step-sisters. Sibling terms are not used between step-siblings, though they have half-brothers and sisters in common.

There is no village exogamy despite the relationship of most co-villagers. Yet there is a great deal of shifting residence especially among the several settlements of each division. Marriage within or without the tribelet is immaterial. Such evidence as exists however suggests that the tendency is for marriage within the subdivision. The data are few but summarize in this fashion:

Husband	Wife					
	ä'ukekni	du'kwakni	gu'mbötkni	iu''laloŋkni	Modoc	Molala
ä'ukekni	8	1	......	1	1	1
du'kwakni	......	1	1	......	......	......
gu'mbötkni	......	......	1	......	......	2
iu''laloŋkni	......	2	......	1	......	......

Of the ä'ukekni marriages among themselves, two above were with co-villagers, I have no data for other endogamous marriages.

Explicitly the data are the following: Pat Kane's father and his paternal grandparents were du'kwakni, his mother and her parents gu'mbötkni. These tribelets are more closely linked than with the others. His father lived at the time of his marriage at wudö'kän, a gu'mböt village north of Klamath lake; his mother with her people lived at sle'taksi just across Seven Mile creek. Pat himself was born and grew up at mo'giŋkŭnka, the du'kwa village at the mouth of Williamson river. His father's sisters married a man at iu''laloŋs on Klamath falls.

Tom Lang's father was white; his mother lived at iu''laloŋs. Both her parents were also iu''laloŋkni; her mother was related to Modoc and Shasta.

Nancy Phillips is ä'ukekni, born at k'taidi on Williamson river. Her father was ä'ukekni although he lived at du'kwa. His mother was of the du'kwakni. Nancy's mother was ä'ukekni of k'taidi village; her parents in turn both ä'ukekni, the father from k'taidi also, the mother from glä'tepał'is on the opposite river bank.

[595] The chief Lale'ks had seven co-wives; four, ä'ukekni, one each, du'kwakni and Modoc, and one from ne''luksi hence probably iu''laloŋkni. Two of the

á'ukckni were sisters from his own settlement on Williamson river above 582
bzsükse'was, a third was from that town, and the fourth from glä'tspak'is, a 595
mile or so down river. His daughter by the Modoc wife was counted á'ukckni;
while living at k'taidi she married an á'ukckni of Yainax.

A gu'mböt man, Woḳau'k!alls, married two Molala sisters.

Girls usually marry within a year or so after puberty, which is 584
marked, at least among the well-to-do, by a big dance. Betrothals
may have been arranged while the couple were yet pre-adolescent,
presents having been exchanged by the families. They are expected
to carry out the agreement after the girl's dance, payments being
made again. Should one of them die another match may be arranged
with the same family, but not of necessity. Poor and rich alike
arrange such betrothals.

How far great disparity of age occurs I do not know, but it does [582]
happen that an older man marries a young girl. A shaman for
instance may be given a daughter by a man too poor to reward him [756]
otherwise.

But it must not be thought that there is no choice. On the contrary,
the majority of marriages follow the desire of the couples.
Elopements take place and although the levirate is the rule, much 583
depends on the widow's willingness. Yet a girl's consent is not necessary.
Despite her protests she may be carried to her husband's home. 587
If she runs home she is almost invariably taken back again. That she
would be driven to suicide is doubtful; one informant never heard of [762]
such a thing; another stated she would hang herself and in this event
her parents had to return the gifts of the groom.

An orphan girl of du'kwa lived with her mother's brother. She was married 583
against her will to a man of k'taidi. She clung to the ladder of the earth-
lodge but they pulled her away and dragged her up-river to k'taidi. Next 159
morning she ran home and never went back. Nothing had been paid for her
at the time but she was given in return for valuables contributed to the
cremation of a relative of hers some time before by her husband's relatives.
Immediately after this she married a man at Klamath marsh; whether payment
was then made is not remembered.

Elopements occur but payment is so much insisted on as a sign 583
of respectability that parents guard their daughters with great care.
This is at least true where the family wealth makes a suitable payment
imperative. It is unthinkable that a chief's daughter should be per-
mitted to enter an unceremonious, clandestine union. The poor and 834
forward have little to lose. Modest demeanor is expected of a girl.

The number of plural wives depends on wealth; hence chiefs have 595 more than others. From my notes I glean two instances of two wives, [622] another of three. The wives in both bigamous cases were sisters. The greatest number known was the case of the chief Lᴇle'ks, who had at one time seven wives, two of them sisters.[72] I have described their derivations above. These women bore him many children. Whether the wives are sisters is a matter of complete indifference. To have two wives is called la'bwewa'nsgĭtkt (lit., two females), three ᴇnda'nwewa'nsgĭtkt, and so on. Collectively the wives may be referred to as sĭpkska'ltk; they call each other p'tcĭki'p. Plural wives are paid for, but whether there is reciprocal visiting I do not know. Slaves [567] are also taken to wife. Polyandry is unthinkable to the Klamath; it would be adulterous.

Barrenness is as usual a reason for taking a second wife, but not 595 always. 842 Pat's maternal uncle had a barren wife. He kept her throughout his life and never took another. The case of three wives noted above was one in which there were no children; the children of this family always died in infancy, I was told. Whether this implied that two of the three were barren, I do not know. One word, ts'e'do, means a sterile man or woman.

The sororate is not obligatory on the death of a wife, nor is there 587 any notion that a girl must marry an older sister's husband when she comes of age.[73] It is thought better to marry a deceased wife's sister, and from her family's point of view it is evidence that they care for the husband when they provide another daughter. There is however no feeling that they are under compulsion to make good the loss he sustained because of his marriage payments. A bereaved person waits a year or more before remarrying. The second wife has to be paid for like the first, but the amount is less. Again this depends on the man's affluence. The sororate is called spĭno'la, the sister, [601] spĭ'nuwĭp, i.e., sibling-in-law when the spouse is dead (cf. spĭnu', to cremate, spĭ'nuks, cremation place).

The levirate is customary but not obligatory. It is desirable to keep a woman in the family, especially one with children. This is perhaps nothing more than an expression of household solidarity, for

---

[72] Gatschet states ten, but I am certain there were not more than seven, at least at one time (2:126).

[73] There is just a suggestion. When asked for the kinship term used by a woman for her sister's husband, my informant gave the term for husband, but [601] somewhat in confusion corrected herself with the woman's term for brother-in-law.

342
592 4. Lo'löklis, wife, and seven children.

5. Tc!öntc!ön and his wife (childless).

The wives of Boke's (1) and Lo'löklis (4) were sisters; Tc!öntc!ön (5) was their brother. Lek!o'c and Wokau'k!alis were distant cousins of this trio.

In front of this lodge stood another, a mat-covered house (wu'kĕ'plöks), housing the mother and three sisters of Wokau'k!alis. This was only ten feet distant, measured about fifteen feet in diameter, and also had its entrance, this time at ground level, on the southeastern side facing the river. The inmates of both houses were gu'mbötkni from the western side of Klamath lake with the exception of Lo'löklis, a du'kwa man, who alone properly belonged in this locality.

592
352
353

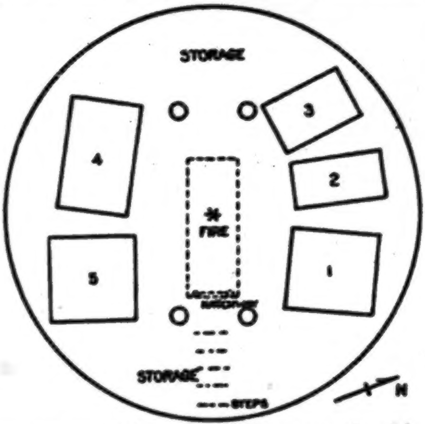

Fig. 4. Plan of an earth-lodge, showing the areas assigned to the beds of five families.

342
592 One earth-lodge in the same district was known as wĕwalăĕksumlo'ltmalöks, old woman's earth-lodge. Its inmates were an old woman, her two daughters each in early life, the younger with three children, and an elderly woman, first cousin to the daughters, hence called older sister by them. The house was built especially for them.

342
595 Data on the arrangement of polygynous households are of the slightest. It is clear that all the wives occupy one house with their husband. Their beds are separate. This is true where their number is few, but in the case of Lzle'ks' seven wives, these were housed in two lodges. In one family of a man and three childless wives only one earth-lodge was used.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
585 3798. Groom's family gives pay, presents to bride's family after marriage established	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	–	+	+	.	–
3799. Amount of gifts depends on approval of girl	+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	.	–
3800. No gifts if girl a "run around" (loose)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
583 3800a. Service for bride, no payment	–	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	–	.	+
3801. Poor man only	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	+
3802. May buy or work out	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	+	–	–	+
[591] 3802a. Temporary matrilocal residence	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	+	–	–	–
3803. Permanent matrilocal residence	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	+
3803a. Marriage by abduction tolerated	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
3804. Married women only	+	+	+						–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
3805. Woman won by contest	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–
3805a. Friends assist	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[556] 3806. Husband bought	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3806a. By wealthy man, for daughter	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3807. Girl sent to live with rich man, gratis	–	–	–						•+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
Marriage Observances																
585 3808. Groom goes to bride's house	+	+	•+	–	•–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	–
3808a. Groom stays at bride's house	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	–
3809. Groom takes bride to his father's house	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	–
[591] 3809a. Couple live at groom's father's house	+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	•+
3810. Short time only	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	.	•+
3810a. Indefinitely	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	–
3811. Bride returns to her parent's house	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•–	•–	.	–
3812. Groom's or bride's sister or family escort her to groom's home	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	.	•+
3812a. Groom and some friends go to bride's home	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	.	–
3813. Friends help groom hunt, fish	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	.	–
3814. Groom and family go to bride's house	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	–	•+	–	•+	.	–
†3815. Visiting family (either side) stays ... nights, days	•1	•1	•1	–	•3	•2	•+	–	•0	•5	–	.	–	.	.	•3
3816. Marriage feast given by hosts	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	.	•+	•+	•+	•+
3817. Both parties contribute	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	–	.	•+	•+	•+	–
3818. Bride and groom sit together on mat	•+	•+									–	–	–	–	–	–
3818a. Presents piled beside couple.	•+	•+									–	–	–	–	–	–
3819. Couple fed	•+	•+									–	–	–	–	–	–
3819a. Sleep together at spot where they sat	•+	•+									–	–	–	–	–	–
[537] 3820. Speeches	•R	•+	•+	–	•+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
[622] 3820a. By heads of both families	•R	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+
3821. By headmen of group	–	•+	•+	–		–	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
Polygamy																
595 3822. Polygyny, wives unrelated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+
‡3823. Maximum number paid for	1	1	3	5	1	1	1	3	1	0	1	1	–	0	0	2
o3824. Maximum number in same house	5	2	2	2	2	•10	2	1	10	2	•2	2	–	2	2	2
3824a. First wife outranks others	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	•+	+
3825. Wives live in separate houses	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	+	+	–	.	•+	–
3826. Wives live in separate towns	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–
3827. Concubines in separate towns	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
3828. Prominent men have greatest no. of wives	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	–	+	•+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3829. Polygyny prerogative of any man	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	595
3830. Polygyny rare in tribe	-	+	+			-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	
3831. Sororal polygyny	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	
3832. During life of sisters	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	
‡3833. Maximum number paid for	1	2	.	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	.	-	-	-	2	
o3834. Maximum number in same house	2	2	.	2	2	2	2	-	3	2	2	2	-	2	2	2	
3835. Because first wife barren	-	•+	.	+	-	+	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
3836. Without barrenness of first wife	+	+	.	-	+	+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	
3837. Post-mortem sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	
3838. General	+	+	+	•-		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	587
3839. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	•+	-	-	+	•-	+	+	-	+	-	•-	+	.	
3840. Especially if children	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	.	
3841. Obligatory for widower	+	+	+	-	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	-	•-	+	-	
3842. Life endangered, if he does not comply	•+	•+	•+	-		•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	.	-	-	•+	.	
3843. Stepdaughter marriage	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	587
3844. Simultaneous	•+	+	•+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	595
3845. Successive	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
3846. Additional payment for daughter	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
3847. Rare	+	+	-					+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3848. Disapproved	-	-	-						+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	
3849. Polyandry, husbands unrelated	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	595
o3850. Maximum no. of husbands	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
o3851. Maximum no. in same house	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3852. Polyandry, fraternal	•-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
o3853. Maximum no. of brothers in same house	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	•1	-	
3854. Wife lending	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	837
3855. Between any 2 men	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	
3856. Levirate	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	587
3857. Obligatory for man	+	+	•-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	
3858. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	-	+	-	
3859. Additional payment, gifts for woman	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	
3860. Brother-in-law can punish woman if she refuses	•+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	[686]
3861. Cut her hair, ear, nose	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	[607]
3862. Can kill her	+	+	+			+	+	+	•-	+	.	-	-	-	•+	-	[304]
3863. Killing common	-	+	+				+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	
3864. Man may marry son's son's wife	-	+	-	-				+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3865. Common	-	-	-	-				+	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	
Marriage of Blood Relatives																	
3866. Cousins; man to any cross-cousin's daughter	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	582
3867. Sister exchange	.	•+	+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	
3868. 2 men exchange sisters	.	-	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	
3869. Simultaneously or nearly so	.	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	
3870. Successively	.	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	
3871. No payment or gifts for brides	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	
3872. Payment for both brides	.	-	+	+	-	.	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	
3873. 2 brothers marry 2 sisters	-	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	
Exogamy																	
°3874. Local group exogamy	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	•+	+	+	
3875. Preferred	+	+	.	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	-	•+	
3876. Obligatory	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	
3877. Endogamy, if not related	•+	+	.	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	.	+	+	+	
°3878. Tribal exogamy optional	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
°3879. Often practiced	•+	+	+		+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	

000 family, not that his sister-in-law belongs to
him." NM: Woman may refuse to marry brother-in-law, saying she "does not want to die like [her] sister did." Not obligatory for man either.

3841. At, WT: Only if widower treated first wife well. NM: See note 3839.

3842. Kl, Mo, SE, AW, AE, WT, WS, NS: Dead
587 woman's parents hire shaman to kill son-in-law,
756 if he refuses to marry one of deceased wife's
684 sisters. WM: Woman's parents hire men to kill
son-in-law outright.

587 3844. Kl, SE: Usually, however, relative of
● 595 man marries latter's stepdaughter.

3852. Kl: Informant "had heard lots about this,
595 among [N] California tribes and up at Warm
Springs--about man living with his sister-in-law--but not practiced among Kl." AE: Not es-
000 pecially disapproved. WT: Indulged in only by
"loose" women, and generally disapproved.

3853. NS: Man sleeps with sister-in-law, only during brother's absence from home.

3855. NS: Not necessarily between namesakes only.

3856. SE: Extension of levirate also occurs; man may marry father's brother's wife, "to keep her in the family; he has to pay for his aunt, however, to give any children he may have by her status. But in outright levirate, gifts only given; levirate not always obligatory for man; "woman has to be good woman, to have treated dead husband well and pitched her face for him when he died, for his family to make strenuous efforts to keep her after his death." SW: Levirate more obligatory, for both man and woman concerned, than post-mortem sororate (see note 3839). WM: Day after funeral, when all relatives of dead man are crying, brother of deceased may ask widow for drink of water. If she gives it to him, they are considered as married from then on. Both widow and brother-in-law have blackened, pitched faces, and let pitch stay on until it wears off, but in event of speedy remarriage widow does not wear pitch necklace.

3857. SE: See preceding note.

3858. At: Widow may tell her brother-in-law she is going to marry another man; "All right," he says, and tells her to "take care of those children [by dead husband] good; be careful with them and let me know when they're sick."

[587] 3860. Kl: But because levirate is so obliga-
[684] tory for woman and for dead husband's brother,
rule seldom if ever violated. However, see element 3973.

[587] 3862. By hiring shaman to kill woman, for all
groups except WM, NS. WM: If woman refuses to
[684] give brother-in-law drink of water (see note
3856 WM) "then her brother-in-law or father-in-law get mad at her and try to kill her." NS: Woman shot with bow and arrow.

3866. SW: Kammatwa and Katiru groups intermediate between Shasta proper and Karok (see note 282) permit marriage of blood relatives; Shasta do not.

[226-A]

M
787 as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing
756 they are the shaman's "helpers."

K However differently they construe the degree of individual
M access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that
787 human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those
K who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer
M [782] in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtu-
[772] ous striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the
universe appears basically to be a moral order.

K In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The
M annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the
181 progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon
461 industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme
that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic
K exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this
M 461 virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to
556 maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a follow-
• 595 ing. Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the
K common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a
M contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent
622 men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In
556 war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his
[881] panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man
[701] of property is likely to be decked with many valuables con-
[764] tributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the
[538] man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowl-
[256] edge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send
out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power
in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to
K the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in
622 the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:
539

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee—to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

> told him about the Holy Spirit that was to come to the whole 175
> world and visit its remotest parts. When he came back from the 648
> Dalles he told his people about it but found them groping in [797]
> perfect darkness. . . . They would not believe him and told him he lied. He had watched long for the coming of the Holy Spirit and had never doubted that he should see him. He had heard Mr. Meacham talk for many days. . [and] now he saw that he was not like other men and knew that he must be the Holy Spirit come at last to bring gracious gifts for all tribes. . . ."

Others—and they were to become more influential—lived for 175
some time with whites and became convinced that the best 177
policy for the Klamath was one of peace. They included Lileks, 648
who in the course of the trading excursions to the north dwelled 622
for several years at The Dalles and was exposed there, no doubt, to the examples of authority set by whites as well as by the Columbia River tribes themselves. Another was Dave Hill, who, starting about 1859, lived approximately five years in Oregon City. Allen David, later to succeed Lileks as head chief in reservation days, was "well versed in the ways of the white man, from travel among the Willamette settlement." Another was Charley Preston who, like Hill, had spent five years at Oregon City, working for white farmers and had become "quite civilized and learned many of the white man's ways. He returned to his tribe and became a headman. . . ."[17]

Men such as these became the leaders of a "peace party" among the Klamath, and their views achieved dominance in the 175
growing centralization of power among the Klamath. Lileks may 159
have consolidated the ascendancy he presently achieved as head 622
of this group by marriages beyond his tribelet: to the four wives [595] •
from his own, Klamath Marsh, division, he added one each from the Lower Williamson and Klamath Falls groups, as well as one from the Modoc. From the Columbia he or a contemporary [177]
brought back new "laws," which included the institution of [681]
flogging as punishment for murder or for persistent quarreling. In one instance, ascribed by Spier, with some question, to prereservation days, when two men of the Lower Williamson River tribelet slew a Klamath Falls man, Lileks had them haled to Klamath Marsh, where each was beaten five times.[18]

When, in 1858, it was indicated that Klamath and Rogue 175
648

As for the deposed Monchnkasgitk, his place was promptly 657*
filled by the election of one "Barcley." Despite the rebuff, 648*
Monchnkasgitk rose again in time to the position of subchief at 622
Yainax, where he came to be known as Moses Brown.[17]

The major election had removed from immediate power one
who had obstructed Agency-sponsored reforms, but had left the
membership of the lesser chieftaincies intact. It is clear that
administration policy held that representation by a chief was
adequate to secure the interests of a band. Thus, in 1871, when 657*
John Meacham found the lot of the slaves little improved his 648*
remedy was to authorize them to elect a chief "to represent 622
them in the councils and courts of the tribes."[18] In the political 692
order thus established, the chiefs had been displaced from an 693
executive role to constitute a court, while a sheriff, chosen from
among the Indians, together with constables, one per chief, were
to maintain order. Chiefs, somewhat extralegally, soon began to
assume magisterial functions.

It took some time to make the court aware of the bounds 657*
within which it ought to operate. John Meacham noted in his 648*
charges "an excessive disposition to go to law," and remarked, 622
"I have counciled [sic] the board of chiefs against this, especially 692
against making arrests for trifling offenses or for *no* offence at
all, advising them that the object of the law is to *protect* the
people and not to *oppress* them."[19] Soon thereafter, he reduced
the court to a membership of only seven chiefs and set its sessions
at monthly intervals.[20]

As outlined by Dave Hill, one of the members of the court, 657*
the list of offenses combined crimes against the person (murder, 648*
adultery, stealing, fornication, witchcraft, and fighting), those 622
against property (arson), together with what can only be con- [68]
sidered redefinitions of customary procedure. Thus, cremation [764]
of the dead was enjoined and the license permitted a chief in
dealing with his followers was severely circumscribed. Marriages [585]
were to be confirmed before the principal chief, who was to [643]
receive a fee; the bride price was not to be returned on the [586]
desertion of the husband; while the court might order the sepa-
ration of an irreconcilable couple. Monogamy alone was per- [595] •
missible.[21]

Thus, not only were the chiefs given new and different powers,

*657
*648 tunities of the reservation. As they moved away, they extended
563 Indian experience into the midst of frontier society. During the
167 allotment period they in turn enlarged reservation perspectives.

*657 The majority of the interbreed children that appeared upon
*648 the early reservation, then, were the product of temporary or
563 unstable unions and appeared as fatherless children. The annual
162 reports are unrealistic as to their number. In 1885, for example,
it was claimed that there were only 12 interbreeds in the total population of 919,[9] although to judge from later censuses, the number must have been several times as great.

*657 One of the long-range results of this intercourse was to reduce
*648 somewhat the difference in physical appearance that separated
563 the Indians from the surrounding population. Another—and more
[144] immediate—consequence, however, was to raise the divisive issue
[848] of illegitimacy among the Indians themselves and to introduce
[602] into the tribal body individuals who could claim only maternal
kinsmen. Thus, one Klamath recalls his father, a stage driver in Klamath Falls, as a drunkard whom his mother finally left. The family returned to his maternal grandparents, in whose care the boy grew up. His mother subsequently married a man who ran a logging camp at Pelican Bay, a hard worker and good hunter who treated the boy well. Nonetheless, throughout his life he bore an animus against his father and in part against the heritage he represented.[10]

*657 Interracial unions were encouraged, not only by a dearth of
*648 white women but by an early preponderance of women among
563 the Klamath and by regulations which put an end to polygamy.
162 The early imbalance between the sexes was striking. The figures
• [595] supplied by Captain Kelly for the adult Klamath in 1864 give a
sex ratio of no more than 0.47.[11] Those for the Link River band two years later areonly a little higher for the adults, 0.52, although the overall figure is 0.64, since boys and girls are in approximate balance.[12]

[164] Neither sex-linked disease nor the practice of selective infanti-
[847] cide is known to have occurred among the Klamath, and the most
probable explanation must be sought among such factors as differential exposure to rigorous training, warfare, and vicissitudes of the food quest, as well as to possible emigration of single men. O. C. Applegate, the only Agent to comment upon the im-

Of all the societal
relationships, the government sought directly
to change only those within the family. It was clear that a nation 657*
that was soon to impose upon the Mormons the American, and 648*
not the Biblical family, would permit no special marital practices 595
among the Indians. Polygamy was banned, although not retro- 177
actively for unions such as those of Allen David and Monchn- 178
kasgitk, which had been contracted prior to January 1, 1870.
Some leaders themselves appear to have advocated the change in
a desire to emulate whites. In 1877, Gatschet noted that there
were still two or three polygamous men.[26] Since polygamy had [556]
been a mark of the affluent, the ban, like the emancipation of the
slaves that preceded it, served to erode the status of the tradi-
tional chiefs.

An effort was also made to place under the authority of the 657*
court of chiefs certain relationships which had formerly been 648*
regulated privately between the families or individuals con- 622
cerned. In the legal code instituted when the court was estab- 692
lished, the consecration of marriage was made the function of 685
the head chief, to whom the groom was to pay a fee of five, three, 583
or two dollars or the same amount in horses, graduated according [643]
to his means. It was again the chiefs who punished fornication [684]
and polygamy and performed divorce.[27] The traditional ritual [586]
of marriage still was being practiced by some families in the
1890's[28] but the gift exchanges between the families concerned
which set a public seal on the union were superseded, and the
controls exerted by the family over the couple were thereby
diminished. The effects of these and other changes were recog-
nized by Gatschet. "Matrimonial reverses . . . among the Klamath
[he declared] . . are one of the unavoidable consequences of
the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of
their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also
of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers
at Fort Klamath."[29]

With time, the seal upon marriage came to be set by the 657*
Methodist church and its ethics in turn permitted the independ- 648*
ent of spirit to flout tradition. One woman recalled that upon 581
the death of her husband his family proposed that she wed his 587
brother in customary manner, but she refused out of regard for 177
the memory of her husband and the sanctity of the bond of their 178
marriage in the church.

773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to
suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a
future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however,
be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is
free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
586 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during
the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of
suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency buildings,
532 which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face
flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also
artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the language
538 fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of
success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration,
assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to
this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes
which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be
the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

*539 Hä' ī kä'liak híshuaksh ná-änds sätólakuapk, hû'k tchīsh híssuaks
If you, not having a husband, with another should cohabit, this also man
622 kä'liak snáwädsh, spû'lhi-uapka nû kä'lish snáwedsh. Hä hû'ksa heshtó-
(is) without a wife, shall imprison I the unmarried (man). If they should live
692 [684] lakuapk, hû'nk nī túmĕnuk nä'-ulakuapk spúlhi-uapka nu hishuáks hû'nk.
in concubinage, of it I hearing will punish (and) will imprison I man that.
Tchí' Ä'-ukskni laláki nä'-ulĕka tchí' huk käílatat m'nálam; tsúi kí'llitk
So the Klamath Lake chiefs order so they in districts their; and severe (is)
nä'-ulaks lalákiam.
the law of the chiefs.

[585] Hä'toks ī sû'msealstka gíuapk sī-í'huapk ī lápuk, snawä'dshash
And if you on the point of marriage should be and should agree you both, female
hissuáksh tchī'sh, tsúi ī gépkuapk lakiámksi; tsúi mī'sh lakí snû'mpsä-
male also, then you must come to chief's house; and you the chief will unite in
aluapk, tû'nep ī n's tála skû'ktanuapk hû'nk pīl mû'yäns pī'la lákiash;
wedlock, five you to me dollars shall pay only to the principal only chief;
hä'toks ī yúalks, tsī hû'k ī ndán tála, wakiánhua lä'p tála skû'ktanuapk.
but if you (are) poor, then you three dollars, may be two dollars have to pay.
Hä ī yuálks tsi gíuapk súmsä-aluapk, gä't ī n's skû'ktanuapk. Häts ī
If you poor should be (and) intend to marry, that much you to me have to pay. And if you
skû'ktish háměniuk tû'ma wátch gitk, túnīp ī skû'ktanuapk snawä'dshash;
to pay want of many horses possessed, five (horses) you can give in payment for the wife;
hä'toks yúalks tsī ī lápi wátch skû'ktanuapk, wakiánhua ndán wátch,
and if poor you two horses can pay, or perhaps three horses,
tû'ma-kans wátch gī'tkiug.
many horses when having.

[586] Hä' tchi m's snawä'dsh gû'skuapk, ká-i ī wátch shnû'kp'li-uapk
And if you (your) wife should leave, not you the horses can take back
ká-i tch snawä'dsh hûk wátch spunī'-uapka m'sh; ī pī'l ī hissuáksh pīl
and not (your) wife a horse need transfer to you; you alone, you husband only
shä'wanuapk snawä'dshash gû'shkank.
must give (them) (your) wife when leaving.

[595] Ká-i ī láp snawä'dsaluapk; nä'sak ī snawä'dslank gíuapk; hä'toks ī
Not you two wives shall marry; one only you marrying must live; but if you
[684] láp snawä'dsaluapk, nä'-ulakuapka m'sh. Hä' tchīk wéwanuish lä'pi gíug
two wives marry, shall punish (I) you. If the wives double for being
hishtchákfanuapk, tánkt mī'sh nī skuyû'shkuapk snáwädsh nä'sh; tsûshnī'
should quarrel, then from you I shall divorce wife one; forever
m'sh nī skuyû'shkuapk, ká-i ī tatá mbushäálp'luapk. Hä'toks ī mbuseál-
from you I shall sever her, not you ever can marry her again. And if you associate again
[586] p'luapk spûlhi-uapká m'sh nī. Häts nä'dsiak mī snawä'ds tsû'ssak ī
(with her) shall imprison you I. And if monogamic your with wife constantly you
hishtcháktanuapk, tánkt mish nī skuyû'shkuapk, ampkáak ī hishû'kat;
should quarrel, finally from you I shall separate (her), or else ye may kill each other;

*539 58, 15. shetcháktanuapk stands for the more common form: shitcháktanuapk.

622 692 58, 16. nánuktua shéshatuish m'na: "all what your husband has transferred to your parents to obtain your hand"; m'na stands for hishuáksham. Cf. 61, 8.

193 192 59, 7. mish, *you, to you*, is often used in this article for málash, málsh, *ye, to ye*, in allocutions to two or more persons. This is a way of expressing what may be called the "inclusive plural of the second person". This mode of speaking is observed in m's lápuk, 59, 7; lápuk mish, 59, 7. In the same manner i stands for ât, 59, 8: i sissók-uapk, if ye whip each other; also 60, 22.

59, 9. i mî stands for mish mi.

59, 17. hă k̲úi gí'uapk: if he should fail to do his duty; 59, 10. hă tídsh gí'uapk: if he does his duty well; nanuktuánta: in every respect.

59, 22. í'χaks mí: what you may win by betting on the horses engaged in the race.

60, 2. kă'lish is the objective case of kă'liak, kéliak, "not having", the simple form of which, without -ak, would be kă'li or kă'liu (kă'li hû).

583 60, 11. túma wátch gitk. The horses have, of course, to be transferred to the parents of the bride and not to any of the chiefs.

231 60, 12. wátch. The horses owned by the Klamath Lake and Modoc people are valued from 20 to 25 dollars each; they descend from the hardy, enduring race of Cayuse ponies, and were originally obtained by bartering commodities with the Columbia River Indians at the Dalles, Oregon.

192 193 60, 15. wátch spuní'-uapka; wátch refers to *one* horse only, for the verb spuní', to transfer, is used of one (living) object only; shäwána is: to give *many* objects. "Not even one horse your wife has to give to you, if she leaves you; but if you leave her, you must give her several."

60, 17. láp snawă'dshla. Polygamy was abolished by the headmen of the tribe shortly after the establishment of the reservation, and this ruling was one of the greatest benefits ever conferred upon that tribe by the progress of civilization. 177 595 But those who had several wives then were not compelled to dismiss all but one, and so in 1877 two or three men were still polygamists. The irascible and excitable disposition of the Modoc and Klamath females must have produced many chin-music intermezzos with their husbands at the time when polygamy was predominant.

61, 3. K̲á-i mí'sh etc. In this paragraph, in: k̲í'tgik, káktak, hémkanktgik, gitkik, the terminal k contains the abbreviated gi, which joined to the foregoing nû, n means 193 *I said*. The construction runs as follows: Hû'nk ni gi k̲á-i mish k̲í'tgi; nánuktuanta káktak gi píla m's n hû'nk hémkanktki gi; nă'-ulakt gí'tki i snawă'dshash tchí'sh káktak gi pil. K̲á-i etc.

61, 6. tchik. This particle does not mean *if*, but cannot be rendered *here* (and below) with a more appropriate word. It is identical with tchĕk, *then*. A subordinate clause is here expressed by a co-ordinate one. Cf. 61, 9. 10. 12. 62, 4.

192 193 61, 6. któktatska: "we clip their hair in every instance", is the distributive form of któtchka, któtaka, occurring in 58, 16.

61, 9. Tsúi etc. This inverted sentence has to be construed as follows: Tsúi tchish násh híshuaksh wutódshish snawă'dsh m'na pă'n hû'nk snúkp'la, tsúi nă'-ulĕkan etc.

another figure, known only as "The One Below," to represent the 648*
Devil. This figure appears in a Klamath version of the Garden 657*
of Eden recorded by Gatschet[29]—a tale no longer recalled today. 776
The identification of Gmukamps with God is strengthened in 177
Indian eyes by his mythical foster-parentage of the hero, Aisis. 178
As one Modoc, a fundamentalist preacher, has put it:

> you know, Gmukamps and Aisis—that's nothing but God and Jesus. The Indians knew the story of the Bible, but they were ignorant in those days. They thought that the lakes they performed their miracles around were the Klamath lakes; they didn't know it was really the Sea of Galilee.[30]

Looking back over the entire field of change from the last 657*
decades of the nineteenth century, the observer could discern 648*
major acculturative trends. The Klamath who entered upon the 177
treaty had already undergone pervasive, though largely un- 178
directed modification. Thereafter, they were subjected to a consistent policy of change which, despite defects in execution, outside interference, and an intervening war, was maintained for well over a generation. Within this frame, a reservation culture had taken shape, embodying a synthesis of white and Indian lifeways. By the middle of the next century, only a handful of tribesmen would be left who could report from direct knowledge events of pretreaty days; the remaining elders would be products of the synthesis.

Measured by the indexes which the Bureau employed to
register progress, the advance was evident. When that formula- [464]
tive period was ended, a large number of the Klamath were [511]
productively engaged in work of "civilized" character, and their
material wants had come to approximate those of their white
neighbors. Many were conversant, and a few literate, in English, [191]
and their numbers were increasing steadily. The extended family, [212]
at least among the progressive, had made way for the more [596] •
mobile and assimilable conjugal family. In the schools, a new [594]
generation was being trained to embrace as natural and desirable [871]
a way of life which the Church, in turn, commended as good to old and young alike. Expectations seemed to lie within the grasp of those willing to work to achieve them.

Beneath the surface upon which these changes could be traced, [571]
however, lay cleavages and disconformities as yet unfathomed

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

FIFTEEN

[P. 205]

Family and School

WHITES AND KLAMATH ON THE RESERVATION RECOGNIZED IN FAMILY 648*
ties a bond that might be useful as well in formal enterprises. 657*
Several leading businesses in Chiloquin relied in part upon con- 602
sanguinity and upon marital ties to recruit members and ensure 178
continuity of control. Similarly, among the Klamath, during the bidding for tracts of tribal property in the course of termination, members characteristically acted in kin groups to undertake purchases that were beyond the resources of a single individual. In primary relations among both groups, visiting patterns and the occasional appearance of extended family households betokened the continued strength of ties reaching beyond the nuclear family.

For the whites who had come originally from outside the [167]
reservation, kinship ties stretched to distant places and there [563]
were comparatively few relatives close at hand. Of the whites in Chiloquin in 1950, although fifty-six per cent had moved from a previous residence in Oregon, fewer than forty per cent came from the reservation, from Klamath Falls, or from southwestern Oregon. Only a handful had raised children and in turn had seen grandchildren being reared in the town.[1]

The Klamath, with many kinsmen still upon the reservation, [587]
saw the network of relationship close at hand, however tangled
it might be by the intricacies of remarriage. To be sure, the [596] •
extended family as a residential group was not prominent, for in Chiloquin there were but two such households and in Beatty one. The strength of the bonds manifested themselves in other ways. Tribal residents in the city of Springfield, in the Willamette Valley, several of whom asserted that they had originally moved away to escape the importunities of kinsmen, had made the move as nuclear families over a period of several decades. None-

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
[848] out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
[563] and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-
[177] style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
•596 but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
[177] extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, de facto groupings
rather than de jure. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organiza-
[594] tion of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obliga-
592 tory responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-
592 father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly ex-
treme cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual owner-
ship of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with re-
gard to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
434 children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2872. Body left unburied, unburned	-	.	-	-				+	+	-	-	-	-	-	727
2873. Women captives enslaved	•+	(+)	+	•+	-	•-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2874. Violated	+	(-)	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
c2875. Married	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	
2876. Child captives killed	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	[858]
2877. Kept for month or so	-	-	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2878. Abused	-	-	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2879. Body left unburied, unburned	-	-	-	-				+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2880. Child captives enslaved	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2881. Adopted	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	[597] ●

Booty and Scalps

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
2882. Booty taken	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
2883. Bows of slain kept	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	-	-	(+)	•+	-
2884. Scalps taken	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	•+	•-
2885. Scalp dried on frame	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	•+	-
2886. Special custodian for scalp	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2887. Scalp kept permanently	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2888. Scalp thrown away	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-
2889. Scalp burnt	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	(+)	+	(+)	-	+	-
2890. Whole head taken	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2891. Fingers taken	+	-	+	-							-	-	-	-
2892. Heart cut out, taken	+	-	+	-					+	.	-	-	-	-

Behavior of Noncombatants

Women's Dance

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2893. Women dance while warriors away	-	+	+		•+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	722
2894. Each day or night	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	
2895. Sing, pray to help men at war	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	535
2896. Each woman dances separately	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	562
2897. Round dance	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
2898. Dance abreast	-	+	+		-		+	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
2899. Outside	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	
2900. Woman singer	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	
2901. Male singer	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	
2902. Flint "rattle," on basket caps	-		+					-	-	-	-	.	-	-	
2903. Panther teeth, bear claws on stick rattle	-	-	+					-	-		-	.	-	-	
2904. No rattle used	-	(+)	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	
2905. Wear skirts of strung pine nuts	-	+	+		-		+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	
2906. Hold bow and arrow, or flint knife, in hand	-	-	+		•-			-	-	+	+	.	-	-	

Prognostications

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2907. If woman drops knife during dance, sign husband killed, hurt	-	-	.							+	+	.	-	-	[787]
2908. Shaman doctors to learn of warrior's progress	-	-	.						+	-	+	.	+	-	[056]

Return of War Party

Victory Dance

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2908a. Victory (scalp) dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	•+	-	727
2909. Held in or near village	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	525
2910. Held in brush corral	-	-	+								-	-	-	-	
2911. All men dance	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	[562]
2912. Warriors only, among men, dance	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2913. Women dance	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3361. Spirit of tattooed goes to good place	−	•+	−					+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	304
3362. Cranial deformation	+	•+	+	•+	−	•+	+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3363. Male	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3364. Female	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[562]
3365. Pads bound to head	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3366. Back	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3367. Front	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3368. Mother attends to baby's head	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Disposal of Milk Teeth																	
3369. Thrown away, no particular place	+	−	−			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	856
3370. Thrown away, toward sun	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3371. Thrown in river	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	826
3372. Buried in gopher hole	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	
3373. Buried in excrement	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3374. Hidden in grass clump	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3375. Buried, no special place	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3376. Exchanged with gopher	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3377. Formula spoken	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	
Twins																	
3378. Twins feared	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•	+	+	•	845
3379. Considered unlucky	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	[777]
3380. Attempts made to prevent conception of twins	−	−	−						•+	−	+	•+	.	•+	•+	.	
3381. People "ashamed" for woman	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	−	.	
3382. No significance	+	+	+	+	−	(+)	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	
3383. Relative adopts 1	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	+	+	.	[597] ●
Adoption of Children																	
3384. Parents impoverished: relatives, only, adopt child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	.	−	+	+	+	597
3385. Orphan: adopted by paternal, maternal kin	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	
3386. Paternal relatives only	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
c3387. Childless couples given child by relatives	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	−	+	.	+	
3388. Anyone may adopt orphan	−	−	−					+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Infanticide, Illegitimate Children																	
3389. Illegitimate children killed, occasionally	+	+	+	−	+	•−	+	•−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	847
3390. Legitimate children killed occasionally	−	−	•+						•+	•+	−	−	−	•+	•+	•−	848
3391. To avert disaster	−	−	+						+	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	
3392. If mother dies in childbirth	−	−	+						+	•−	−	.	−	−	−	−	
3393. Infant buried alive with mother	−	−	+						+	•+	−	.	−	+	+	−	
3394. Infant put in badger hole	−	−	+						•+	−	−	.	−	+	+	+	
3395. Infant smothered	+	+	−	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	
3396. Mother keeps illegitimate child	−	−	•+						•+	•+	.	−	−	−	−	−	
3397. Mother's mother takes illegitimate child	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	−	.	+	+	+	
3398. Father of illegitimate child provides for baby	−	−	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	.	+	.	+	+	−	
	−	−	+	+	.	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Impregnatives, Contraceptives, Abortion																	
3399. Measures taken to induce pregnancy	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	842
3400. Shell, vegetable decoction drunk	+	•+	•+	−	−	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	
3401. Doctor makes miniature baby cradle													−	−	•+	.	

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159
[156] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White segments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
[871] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
[586] fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
[597] an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
[874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[857] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., persons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an ad-
[608] visor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
[273] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is associated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites, for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, because she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

585 After a month of marriage the couple visits the bride's former home,
593 accompanied by the groom's relatives, for a further exchange of gifts. Soon after this, the girl's father and his family reciprocate. Beyond this it is a matter of mutual solicitude; undoubtedly the visits grow less frequent as the passing years bring diverging interests. Later visits are of some duration, the couple even staying through the winter.

591 Marriage is normally patrilocal, but if a man is poor, or has no close relatives, he may take up residence with his wife's people. When a young wife is about to have her first child the couple return to her mother to stay until she is strong again. This must be the circumstance of temporary matrilocal residence as it ordinarily occurs elsewhere. First marriages among primitive peoples usually follow closely on a girl's nubility. The need for advice and care during this trying period of pregnancy and delivery, the natural solicitude of the mother, are surely the reasons for the frequency with which residence is temporarily matrilocal. It will be observed that this is formally prescribed as the proper procedure almost solely in cases of first marriage. There is no need to search for a more esoteric reason such as the older writers had, matrilinear grouping, maternal authority, and the demand that the young husband prove himself to the wife's family. Among the Klamath this is the rule only on the birth of a first child.

591 A series of terms describes the facts of residence. A man and his
593 wife in matrilocal residence are non-vocatively wuko'bŏks and sḳa'bŏks
respectively.[69] A woman with her husband's people is t!e'niwas.[70]
601 On separation a woman who returns to her former home is ko'stbŏmbli,
a man returning to his, wuko'tbŏmbli.

601 I was told at least that a child's spouse is treated like an own
606 child, that parent and child terms are used between them for there are no parent-in-law taboos. This is the usage of intimacy; there are specific terms for parents-in-law. There is the familiar Indian usage of a term between the parents of a couple, "my child's parent-in-law."

582 Marriages occur any time during the year. There is no evidence suggesting their greater frequency during any season, nor any mating period[71]

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[69] The latter term was given me at another time as meaning a newly married woman (probably the form sḳa'bŏkak was intended). This comes to the same thing. These two words apparently correspond to Gifford's wapake and kapake, earlier and later co-wife (Californian Kinship Terminologies, 42). Gifford's record is doubtless due to a misunderstanding; I enquired about these words and found that there are no terms for particular co-wives.

[70] Gatschet (2:698) gives tcina, a young woman. The meanings are not incompatible but I believe mine to be correct.

[71] As among the Yurok (Kroeber, Handbook, 44).

The number of plural wives depends on wealth; hence chiefs have more than others. From my notes I glean two instances of two wives, another of three. The wives in both bigamous cases were sisters. The greatest number known was the case of the chief Lɛle'ks, who had at one time seven wives, two of them sisters.[77] I have described their derivations above. These women bore him many children. Whether the wives are sisters is a matter of complete indifference. To have two wives is called la'bwewa'nagɪtkt (lit., two females), three xnda'nwewa'nagɪtkt, and so on. Collectively the wives may be referred to as sɪpkaka'ltk; they call each other p'tclki'p. Plural wives are paid for, but whether there is reciprocal visiting I do not know. Slaves are also taken to wife. Polyandry is unthinkable to the Klamath; it would be adulterous. 595 [622] [567]

Barrenness is as usual a reason for taking a second wife, but not always. Pat's maternal uncle had a barren wife. He kept her throughout his life and never took another. The case of three wives noted above was one in which there were no children; the children of this family always died in infancy, I was told. Whether this implied that two of the three were barren, I do not know. One word, ts'e'do, means a sterile man or woman. 595 842

The sororate is not obligatory on the death of a wife, nor is there any notion that a girl must marry an older sister's husband when she comes of age.[78] It is thought better to marry a deceased wife's sister, and from her family's point of view it is evidence that they care for the husband when they provide another daughter. There is however no feeling that they are under compulsion to make good the loss he sustained because of his marriage payments. A bereaved person waits a year or more before remarrying. The second wife has to be paid for like the first, but the amount is less. Again this depends on the man's affluence. The sororate is called spɪno'la, the sister, spɪ'nuwɪp, i.e., sibling-in-law when the spouse is dead (cf. spɪnu', to cremate, spɪ'nuks, cremation place). 587 [601]

The levirate is customary but not obligatory. It is desirable to keep a woman in the family, especially one with children. This is perhaps nothing more than an expression of household solidarity, for

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[77] Gatschet states ten, but I am certain there were not more than seven, at least at one time (2:126).

[78] There is just a suggestion. When asked for the kinship term used by a woman for her sister's husband, my informant gave the term for husband, but somewhat in confusion corrected herself with the woman's term for brother-in-law. [601]

561	After the birth of the first child	skote		sko'ksip
562	Woman who has lost one child			K'lehála[19]
	After the death of a child	telö'kalatk		lëpklä'ķs
	Widower, widow	telima'atk		wë'aultk
	Old man, woman	tel'kla		wilä'ëķs
	Old person		k'mútcha[19,20]	

To misuse these terms disparingly is an insult; e.g., to call an old man wa'köntk or skote.

Kinship Terms

601 The peculiarities of the Klamath kinship system are to be found in the groupings of relatives in the parental and grandparental generations with correlative terminology in the two descending generations. That is, the classification is made not only on the basis of generation but regularly according to the sex of the connecting relative. Thus grandparents are distinguished as they are father's or mother's parents, and the classification appears reciprocally distinguishing a son's from a daughter's children. Again great-grandparents are either a grandfather's or a grandmother's parents and these terms are used reciprocally. Father's siblings are distinguished from the mother's and correlatively fraternal from sororal nephews and nieces. Similarly grandfather's and grandmother's siblings are separately termed and correspondingly the grandchildren of brother and sister. The connecting relatives whose sex is significant in these classifications are father and mother for the avuncular relatives and grandparents, the grandparents in their generation and the one anterior, and brother and sister for the two descending generations derived from them.

It appears further that this whole scheme revolves about the use of separate terms for siblings by male and female speakers. By extension then a father's brother differs from a mother's brother just as a man's brother differs from a woman's brother, and so on. The nepotic relatives are thought of in terms of the siblings, the avuncular relatives as siblings of the parents, and the granduncle-aunt as siblings of the grandparents.

Add verbal reciprocity as the universal usage between those two generations apart and the Klamath have four kinds of grandparent-grandchild and four kinds of granduncle-aunt—grandnephew-niece. It is consistent with this that, while the sex of the individual addressed

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[20] Hence the name of the culture hero Kmú'kámps, old one.

is important in the parents' and grandparents' generation, sex is of no consequence among grandchildren, nephew-niece, or grandnephew-niece. The status is determined as a brother or sister of some connecting relative, or through a brother or sister, and in the latter cases the sex of the person addressed cannot matter.

There are some particulars in which this system is not consistent. Thus one would expect from the above that there would be only four terms for siblings, a division only on the basis of the sex of the speaker and that of the person addressed. But in addition age distinctions are made although not consistently. Thus a single term means a younger sibling, but it is not applied to a man's younger sister. Nor is this distinction reflected in the correlative groupings.

For the rest, there are terms for father, mother, son, and daughter, and all cousins (parallel and cross) of the speaker's generation are siblings. Hence parents' parallel and cross-cousins are avuncular relatives. Relatives beyond this all in the collateral lines are indiscriminately "cousins."

Among relatives by marriage, we note a single term for a sibling-in-law of the opposite sex. Men and women use different terms for siblings-in-law of the same sex. The husbands of two sisters and the wives of two brothers have a term in common: this reflects the sororate and levirate. The levirate appears again in a single term for step-mother and father's brother's wife. Correlative groupings which might follow from these forms of marriage do not occur.

The list of kinship terms follows. All are vocative so far as I know. This list was obtained independently of Gifford's and Gatschet's published lists; cases of conflict were later resolved by discussion with the informants.[81] [114]

p'ti'sōp, father.
p'ki'sōp, mother.
ke'elga, step-father (Gifford, a man's step-child. He also gives as meanings, mother's sister's husband and wife's sister's child, for both of whom I found no terms).
p'sa'sip, step-mother; mother's co-wife; father's brother's wife (Gifford adds a woman's step-child and husband's sister's child, but the latter is doubtful).

These groupings follow from the sororate and levirate which are practiced.

wänä'k, son.
bä'ēp, daughter.

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[81] Gifford, Kinship, 41–43.

blü'ksip, father's father; a man's son's child.
ptlä'wip, father's mother; a woman's son's child.
pkla'sip, mother's father; a man's daughter's child.
pklo'lip, mother's mother; a woman's daughter's child.

Gifford obtained these forms with the diminutive suffix—pak *for young* grandchildren, Gatschet and I without.

tcüteül, grandfather's mother; a woman's son's grandchild.
wa'wiks, grandmother's mother; a woman's daughter's grandchild. (Gatschet gives this term as great-grandparent, Gifford as mother's grandmother and a woman's granddaughter's child, which are included in my meaning.)
p'teopteolip (from Gifford), father's grandmother; a woman's grandson's child.

p'se'yip, father's brother.
p'ko'djip, father's sister; a woman's brother's child.
bloko'tcip, mother's brother.
p'sa'kip, mother's sister.

All parents' parallel and cross-cousins and half-siblings are included in these avuncular terms.

p'a'ktis, a man's brother's child.
bötega'lip, a man's sister's child.
mako'klöp, a woman's sister's child.

These apply as well to half-siblings' children and those of parallel and cross-cousins.

baba'kip, grandfather's brother; a man's brother's grandchild.
blülo'cip, grandfather's sister; a woman's brother's grandchild.
koko'i (Gifford gives p'kuyip), grandmother's brother; a man's sister's grandchild. (This was also obtained specifically as reciprocal between a man and his father's mother's brother.)
bligi'p, grandmother's sister, a woman's sister's grandchild.

Possibly there are separate terms for these granduncles and aunts corresponding to the distinctions of paternal and maternal relatives in other generations. It is evident that the cross and parallel cousins of the grandparents are included in these terms. *For example*, in the genealogy below, bligi'p is reciprocal between a man and his mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter, as well as between a man and his father's mother's sister.

tkä'unöp, a man's older brother.
tö'piyüp, younger brother; a woman's younger sister.
tobö'kcip, a man's sister.
p'a'nip, a woman's older brother.
p'ta'lip, a woman's older sister.

Half-brothers and sisters and all parallel and cross-cousins are called by these sibling terms, including the children of parents' half-siblings. It is possible that cousins in the nearest collateral lines are called siblings as well (that is, children of parents' parallel and cross-cousins, who are themselves called by avuncular terms), but it is more probable that the following term, p'o'mdjip, is used.

p'o'mdjip, cousin, i.e., any distant relative. (In the genealogy below this is used by a man for his maternal grandmother's sister's daughter's son.)

hi'cwöks, husband (lit., man). I also recorded a form smbu'cnip, which may mean something else.
snĕwä'ĕte, wife (lit., woman).

hosa'pk̦!öp (Gifford gives ceplugict), a child's parent-in-law (i.e., mutual parents-in-law). (Gifford gives the usage of hosa'pk̦!öp as rare).
pkäsip, son-in-law (note: this should not be confused with pk!a'sip).
pte'döp (or wūnö'kgūmanēwä'ētc, lit., son's wife), daughter-in-law.
ko'spöks, a man's parent-in-law.
pto'tk!öp, a woman's parent-in-law.

Gifford notes the suffix -gewitk used in reference to the parent-in-law and child-in-law, but not in address, when the connecting relative is dead.

mū'lgüp, a man's sister-in-law; a woman's brother-in-law.

My informant gave hl'ewöka, husband, for a woman's sister's husband, but in evident confusion hastened to correct herself. Such a usage would be consistent with the sororate which they practice.

p'tco'küp, a man's brother-in-law.
p'ala'mip, a woman's sister-in-law.
p'tc!lkip, wife's sister's husband; husband's brother's wife; co-wife.

This classification follows from the levirate and sororate. There seems to be no term corresponding to this for a wife's brother's wife and a husband's sister's husband.

spī'nuwip, sibling-in-law when the connecting relative is dead (cf. spinu', to cremate). (I did not obtain this for a man's brother-in-law, but as no other term was recorded the use seems implied.)
ba'ocīp, father's sister's husband; wife's brother's child.
p'k̦!o'mkīp, mother's brother's wife; husband's sister's child (possibly mother's sister's husband but I doubt it because my informant at first denied that there is any term).

There are no corresponding terms for husband's brother's child nor, I presume, for wife's sister's child. The latter corresponds to the absence of a term for mother's sister's husband. The reciprocal of the first is p'sa'sip; this is given by Gifford for husband's brother's child. Evidently the feeling for verbal reciprocity is so strong that his informant gave the term, although, as will be seen by the genealogy below, there is no term for this child.

sna'mūks, relative.

GENEALOGY

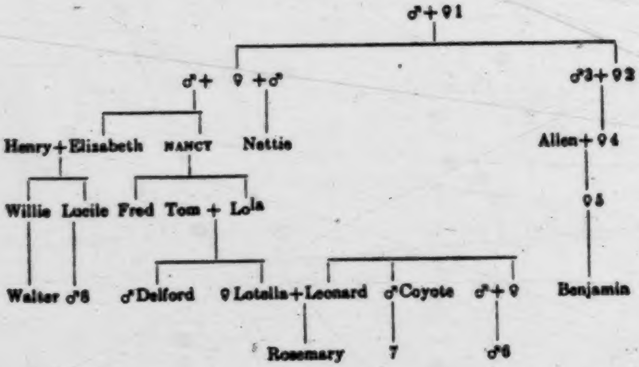

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

• 601 Nancy calls 1, p'ḳlo'līp; 2, p'sa'līp; 3, no term; Elizabeth and 4 (both older), p'ta'līp, who reciprocate with tö'piyäp; Nettie (younger), tö'piyäp, who reciprocates with p'ta'līp; Allen, Henry, mö'lgäp, who answer mö'lgäp; Henry (since Elizabeth died), spi'nuwip, and he calls her the same; Willie and 5, maḳo'ḳlöp, who call her p'sa'līp; Walter, Benjamin, bilgi'p, and they call her the same; Rosemary, wa'wiks, and she reciprocates; Henry's siblings and father's brother's son, no terms.

Lola calls Elizabeth, p'sa'līp.

Delford calls Lucile, p'sa'līp; 8, p'o'mdjīp.

Lotella calls 6, p'ḳlo'mkip; 7 (sex not stated), no term.

*601 *171 The Klamath system resembles many others in this region, as I have previously pointed out.[92] In general structure it belongs to the class I have called the Mackenzie Basin type, the distinguishing feature of which is the classification of both cross and parallel cousins as siblings. This is common to a group of tribes extending from the lower Columbia river through eastern California and adjacent Nevada nearly to the Colorado river, and also in northwestern California. In the following table are listed all cases of the classification of relatives identical with that of the Klamath. This gives a somewhat different impression. The greatest number of identical categories are common to Achomawi, Atsugewi, Southern Maidu, Northern Paiute (Paviotso), and Washo; tribes lying consecutively southward of the Klamath, with only Northern Maidu omitted. There can hardly be any doubt of a common historic cause for this much of their terminologies.

The Klamath system is set off from these, however, by the peculiarities noted below. There is no exact parallel to the Klamath use of four separate terms for parent's siblings, with reciprocal usage between father's sister and a woman's brother's child. As Gifford has pointed out,[93] the use of four terms for these relatives is the most widespread type of grouping in California, but in the majority of cases these terms are not used for parent's siblings alone. Four individual terms not used for other relatives (save sometimes for step-parents and spouses of parents' siblings) are used by tribes on the Columbia, in northwestern and eastern California; Chinook, Wishram, Hupa, Whilkut, Wiyot, Atsugewi, Northern Yana, all Maidu groups, Northern Paiute, Washo, Northeastern Mono, Yauelmani, Yaudanchi, and Paleuyami. None of these have the peculiar reciprocal usage of the Klamath.

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[92] Spier, Distribution of Kinship Systems, 77. Numbers preceding tribal names in the table below refer to the maps of this paper.

[93] *Op. cit.*, 142.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

601 •

As Gifford has also noted,[94] the Klamath use of four special self-reciprocal terms for grandparents' siblings is unique. The general custom is to class them with the grandparents.

RESEMBLANCES OF KLAMATH KINSHIP SYSTEM TO OTHERS

601
171*

	System as a whole	Cousins	Nephews and nieces	Parents and children	Grand-parents	Grand-children
71. Chinook	×	?	....	....	×	×
69. Wishram	×	×	....	....	×	×
70. Wasco	×	?	....	....	....	....
6a. Shasta	....	....	×	×	....	×
8. Karok	×	×	×	×	....	....
2a. Yurok	....	×	....	×	....	....
1b. Tolowa	....	....	....	....	×	....
1c. Hupa	×	×	....	....	×	....
1e. Whilkut	×	×	....	....	×	....
9. Chimariko	....	....	....	×	....	....
1h. Lassik	....	....	....	....	×	....
1i. Sinkyone	....	....	....	....	×	....
1j. Wailaki	....	....	×	....	×	....
1k. Kato	....	....	×	....	×	....
4c. Coast Yuki	×	×	....	....	....	....
4a. Yuki	×	×	×	....	....	....
4b. Huchnom	×	×	×	....	....	....
10a-g. Pomo	....	....	....	....	....	?
16a. Northern Wintun	....	....	....	×	....	....
6e. Achomawi	×	×	×	×	×	×
6f. Atsugewi	×	×	....	×	×	×
7a. Northern Yana	....	....	....	....	×	....
7d. Yahi	....	....	....	....	×	×
17a. Northeastern Maidu	....	....	....	×	×	....
17b. Northwestern Maidu	....	....	....	....	×	....
17c. Southern Maidu	×	×	×	×	×	....
21a-84. Northern Paiute (Paviotso)	×	×	×	×	×	×
11. Washo	×	×	×	×	×	×
21b. Eastern Mono	×	×	....	×	....	×
21c. Western Mono	×	×	....	....	....	×
87. Moapa Paiute	×	?	....	....	....	×
88. Shivwits Paiute	×	×	....	....	....	....
85. Uintah Ute	....	?	....	....	×	×

The Klamath terminology for siblings is exceptional: five terms, viz., man's sister, woman's older sister, woman's older brother, man's older brother, younger sibling (for all except man's sister). The usual grouping in this region is by four terms (older and younger brother, older and younger sister) regardless of the speaker's sex.

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[94] *Ibid.*, 134.

• 601 I have few data on kinship usages. A child's spouse is treated like an own child and freely called son or daughter. Reciprocally, parents-in-law are often addressed by parent terms. The spouses of grandchildren and of nephews and nieces are not related, nor are step-brothers and sisters. There is no joking relation.

593 The close bond between siblings and their families is attested by the opening of a tale:

> [539] Wiwi'aak had five fathers, who were the five sons of Wile'aḳaḳ. That is, one was his father, but the others were fathers because they were father's brothers. . . . .

PUBERTY AND MENSTRUAL CUSTOMS

881 [554] The puberty dance is held only for the daughters of chiefs and others of wealth. For a poor man's daughter the rites are curtailed to the most necessary observances. The celebration serves as an announcement of nubility: girls marry within a year or so of their dance.

881 535 The dance (yo'ḳ'ɛla) occupies five nights at the first menstruation and is repeated at the four subsequent periods. It seems doubtful that any but the socially pretentious carry out full five celebrations. During the day the girl goes alone to sleep in the brush at some distance, returning for the dance just before sundown. I am not certain that she then seeks supernatural power. At least the girl does not run about piling up rocks in lonely places as boys do.

The dancing may take place in the lodge or outside, perhaps according to the season. It is simple enough; the girl trots forward and backward in the same course facing the east all the while. She is supported on each side by a man or woman whose arms are linked in hers. As they tire others take their places but the girl must keep on throughout the night. These others are young or old, relatives or otherwise, as convenience dictates.

881 533 The singing is provided by a group of men and women who alone know the appropriate songs. These singers are in demand for every dance. They are paid by the girl's relatives, a horse apiece, a blanket for each man, a half-fathom of beads for the women, or an equivalent. Some are provided with rattles, poles to the upper ends of which bunches of dew claws are fastened, the butts of which they pound on the ground. At least the song leader has one; other informants spoke of two or three, of five men and five women, or of rattles for all.

At the center of concentric circles of concern stands
K the natal family.[16] In the myths, parents and offspring and
M siblings are bound by the strongest affective bonds: in trouble
593 they provide succor and in death, revenge. The obligation tran-
602 scends abstract ethical considerations. In real life, mutual responsibility reaches out to embrace the extended family, the close consanguineal kindred linked through two or three genera-
K M tions. Although kinship terminology acknowledges equally re-
• [601] lationships on the maternal and paternal sides, residence practices
[591] in general favor the latter. From close kinsmen on both sides come the gifts that set the seal of approval upon the marriage of a member; during his lifetime they share food with him in his need, support him in his quarrels, and assist his avenger should he be slain. At his funeral, it is they, together with friends of the deceased, who are expected to place valuables upon the funeral pyre.

K Beyond the sphere of immediate kindred and of friends lies
M the domain of neighbors and remote relatives. If more central
602 obligations tend to be principally a function of consanguinity,
621 and thus to be ascriptive in character, village relationships and
571 those outside are more frequently based upon performance.
K M Here enter those standards of behavior by which a person of
[577] good family may be confirmed in position, the poor but worthy rise, and the ne'er-do-well sink in the public view. At the head
K M of this loose and shifting status scale stand the shamans and
756 other influential men, the leaders of hamlet groups. On occasion
622 they may meet in an informal village council to concert decisions.
621 Yet the village, which in its spatial limits often blends with
554 adjacent settlements and which dissolves with the turn of the seasons, can exert little constraint upon its members.

K The prestige of the leaders, the force of public opinion, and
M checks imposed by rival village interests hold the unruly in line.
62 The principle of self-help and the responsibility of kinsmen may enlarge grievances to feuds if the differences are not soon ended, and thus threaten the very being of the community. To counter such fissive tendencies, leaders mediate disputes and exhort to their fellow villagers the need to maintain harmony.

K Time may alter the membership of villages. Men frequently
M seek wives in other communities; and there is considerable inter-
621 marriage between Klamath and Modoc and Klamath and Molala,
563
582

*539 [787]

Hä'	ı	shma'htcháktak	yaínatat,	k̲á-i	ı	ûn	k̲ésh	shlé-etak;	hü'-atoks
If	you	let your shadow fall	on the hill,	not	you		ipo	will find;	but if

ı	k̲á-i	shma'htcháktak,	tû'm	ı	ûn	k̲ésh	shlé-etak.
you	not	let your shadow fall,	much	you		ipo	will find.

000

Móatuash,	k̲'le-ugtkiuápkasht	tchíalash	Móatuashăm k̲ók̲etat,	k̲á-i	mhû'
The Pit River Indians,	(lest) would cease to come	the salmon	up the Pit River,	not	grouses

lúela	skó;	Mō'dokni	tchí'sh	lóla	shuátash	kíäm	tchûk̲á	shátma,	humáshtgisht	k̲á-i	lúela.
they kill	in spring time;	the Modocs	also	assume,	sage-hens	the fish	to swim up stream	invite,	therefore	not	they kill (them).

NOTES.

*539 171 I. What is contained in these short items refers equally to the Klamath Lake and to the Modoc people, although those contained under I. were obtained from various informants belonging to the former chieftaincy.

[192] 133, 2. páka to howl, bark; pák'la to howl repeatedly, to howl for a while; pák'luipka to howl for a while in the distance towards somebody.

[177] [231] 133, 4. 5. The cat and the chicken being but recently introduced among these tribes, this superstition must have been transferred to them from other animals. By inversion, the words tchíkin gû'lu, *the hen*, appear here widely separated from each other.

[192] 133, 6. K̲ú-i tchămlûk has to be resolved into: k̲ú-i tchē mál (for málash) hú'k: "bad then for you this is!" Cruel fights will follow.

133, 7–11. This story is not clearly worded, but we are taught by it how these Indians are conversing among each other with laconic breviloquence. An Indian living in the vicinity has heard the whining of the dog which means death to his owner. He goes there, shoots the man and takes to his heels. A relative of the murdered man comes up and is mistaken by others for the murderer. They deprive him of his wife, his property and his liberty; he becomes a madman on account of the injustice done to him.

[825] 134, 1. 2. The raven (k̲ák̲) is supposed to be a bird of fatal augury, because he was seen devouring the flesh of dead Indians. Compare: General *Note* on page 130.

[202] 134, 4. kíukayunk. They adjust a rag or piece of skin to a pole and stick out that improvised *flag* on the top of the lodge to notify neighbors that they had a dream last night and desire an interpreter for it.

[525] [825] 134, 5. One of the legs of a dead black tmélhak-squirrel is cut off and laid under the gaming-disk or the pá'hla to insure luck to the player.

134, 7–12. Tcháshásh etc. This is a fragmentary extract of a scurrilous skunk-myth, which I have not been able to obtain in full from my informant, the Modoc chief Johnson, who speaks the Klamath dialect. This myth is well known through the whole of Oregon, for parts of it are embodied in a popular and melodious song of the Mólale tribe, whose ancient home is the country east and southeast of Oregon City and Portland.

134, 7. 8. mák̲laks nánuk is the direct object of hushtsóga; the skunk killed them by his stench.

[601] 134, 9. tû'paks stands for tû'pakshash; túpakship, abbreviated túpaksh, is properly the younger sister, as called by or with reference to an elder brother, while pa-ánip

*539 171 is the elder sister, called so by or with reference to a younger brother. Two other terms exist for the relative age of sisters among themselves.

601 134, 11. pátkalp'le. The myth adds, that the eagle got up again at dinner-time and that after washing the face he took a nap before taking his sister home.

525 777 II. These items were all obtained in the Modoc dialect from J. C. D. Riddle. Many of the articles mentioned as gamblers' amulets are supposed to bring good luck to the gambler on account of their *scarcity*, which must have made them more interesting to the aboriginal mind than other objects of a brighter exterior.

192 134, 13. ntággal, ndákal: to find accidentally; shléa: to find, generally, after a search. vumí' is to hide away either on one's own person or in the ground.

134, 16. 18. tídsh tínχa is to succeed, to be lucky; without tídsh in: hûtoks tínχantko gi, that man is lucky.

411 134, 17. shtáp is a black arrow-head made of obsidian, a volcanic rock found in several places in these highlands.

135, 1. hä'-atoka is formed from hä toks with intercalation of the declarative particle a.

192 193 825 135, 3. k'le-ugtki-uápkasht is a periphrastic conjugational form composed of giuápkasht, of the verb gi, and of k̲'lé-utka, the usitative of k̲'léwi, to cease, stop, terminate; -utka has turned into -ugt- by metathesis. Literally: "would habitually cease to be in the Pit River." mhû', the grouse, is called by the Klamath Lakes tmû'.

*539 171 115

REFLECTIONS OF EVERY-DAY LIFE

MONOLOGUES IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY JOHNSON, CHIEF OF THE MODOCS

K̲á-i	mish	nû	ó-it	nû	tidsä'wa	nté-ish,	shliútuk	mä'makla	pá-uk	shlínk
Not	you	I	to let have	I	like	(my) bow,	for shooting	ducks	to eat	killing (them)

ndektí'shtka.	Tidsä'wa	k̲á-i	mish	úya,	tû	génuapka	úyamnank	nté-ish
with arrows.	I like	not	to you	to give (it),	over there	I will go	taking along	bow and arrows

gé-u,	hishlátsanuapka.	Yó-ishi!	tatála	k̲ä'gi,	k̲á-i	shláa	tatákni	yû'lχ;
my,	(and) will amuse myself by shooting.	Are lost!	right (ahead)	they are not,	not	I found (them)	where	they went down;

yó-ishin,	mā'ns	k̲á-ika.	Únds	mbúsant	pēn	k̲áyakuapk.
they are lost,	for a long time	I searched.	Some-time	to-morrow	again	I will look out (for them).

Shikútchipk	tchiká	kĕmutsátk;	undsĕ'ks	séwanuapk	pátki	giúga
Walks on stick	an old	decrepit (man);	some time	I will give (him)		to eat

méhiess;	yuyálks	tsi	pá-uk	hûn	tchē'k	tídsh	kí'-uapk.	Kí'shtchipk	huk
trout;	being poor	thus	through eating	of it	then	at ease	he will feel.	Comes to me	this

snéwedsh;	oní'sh	kíäm	shéwant	í;	tû'm	nû'sh	shewantamnuápka	sáwalktko
woman;	to her	fish	you may give;		plenty	to me	she will continue to give	having received presents.

Kámp'kuk	k̲éliak	pásh	tiä'ma.	Undsē't	kátchkal	pa-uápk	gé-utala	steínash.
The indigent	without	food	is hungry.	By and by	tobacco	I will chew		to my heart's content.

(252) AC: "wa·l"—it is good also. (253) My mother always used to find it somewhere, I don't know how long it thus was. (254) They were this big, here. (255) However, [they] were long, tapering, that "wa·l." (256) It tasted good. (257) I do not know it, I never followed her around long ago, when she dug that kind. (258) But she dug [for roots] knowing everything. (259) I do not know it, that "wa·l" thus. 539* 124 [173] [262]

(260) PO: Its name is all I know. (261) They told [about it] in myths for [us].

(262) AC: It tasted just thus. (263) It was very good thus. (Interruption, and the machine was turned off.)

(264) PO: . . . , "ksegi·." (265) Why would they say that? (266) "He 'ksegi·' me," as [they said].

(267) AC: Here, close by, I am deaf now!

(268) PO: "ksegi·"—why would they say that, "He 'ksegi·' me," as [they said].

(269) AC: When he lived with me. (270) If I would live with you, there at your place, then you would say, "She always 'ksegi·' me." (271) Thus you would say.

(272) AC: Then there is one more even, just about like it. (273) "nčegi·."

(274) PO: Didn't I [tell] you so! (275) "nčegi·!"

(276) AC: "nčegi·," that is one even. (277) "Now I will take offence [i.e., "nčegiwapk"] at him." (278) "Now [I] will quarrel [with him]. (279) For a long time I ignored him, but now I take offence. (280) So now I will take offence."

(281) PO: How did you [say] it first? (282) How would I say it, if you lived with me?

(283) AC: "ksegi·."

(284) PO: (That last one means I never paid any attention for a long time, but I will now, take offence to what this other person says and quarrel with them or fight with them or whatever.) So I know it for the first time, having become so old. (Interruption.)

PB: What is a "pča·sip"?

(285) PO: Which is that something—Grandfather [mother's father] and Grandfather [father's father]? (286) On the father's side, or perhaps on the mother's side? [601]

(287) AC: Yes, he is on the mother's side, that "pča·sip." (288) And he is on the father's side however, the "bloksip." (289) The "pq̓oli·p" is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 175]

539*
124
[601]

the woman on this side, the "pḱa·sip." (290) And the "bloksip," [the woman on that side is the] "pĺe·wip"—now they are that many. (291) On this side they are two each.

PB: And what is a "pḱo·nip"?

(292) PO: "pḱo·nip," what is that? (293) How is he related, he whom they call "pḱo·nip"?

(294) AC: The "pḱo·nip" is a brother [woman's elder brother]. (295) He [they?] would be my "ḱoḱo·nip." (Great uncle.) (?)

(The conversation was carried on in English at this point, mostly about friends from the old days.)

(296) PO: . . . And how was he called, with whom she lived—whom she lived with?

(297) AC: No, she just lived with him for a little while. (298) Something herself, even being something to each other—they were some sort of relation to each other. (300) He considered [her] father an uncle [mother's brother], his absent one.

(301) PO: Yes, I thought so.

(The conversation reverted to English and drifted to a recollection of a personal experience from Mrs. Ohles' childhood. The machine was turned off during this time and was only turned on again when she returned to Klamath.)

(302) PO: . . . And she was sick with something for a long time. (303) And she was gone a long time, gone a long time. (304) So she was supposed to be gone only three days, and she was gone much longer, because she was sick. (305) And then he left us [lit. "fell off of us"], that (Proper name). (306) Then he returned, and sickness attacked, him next. (307) Then Mama having come back, she took us back to Bligh, toward Bligh. (308) What do they call Bligh in Klamath?

(309) AC: "Blay." (310) It is on this side of the mountain.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 177]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
Postnuptial Residence																
591 3880. First residence patrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	+	+	−
3881. Husband's parent's house	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	+	−
3882. In own house, husband's village	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		•+	−	−	+	−	−
3883. First residence matrilocal	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	−	+
3884. Wife's parent's house	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	−	+
3885. Only if widow selected man for daughter	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3886. Only if some form bride service	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3889. Own house, wife's village	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)
‡3890. Time in months	−	−	−	−	−	1	12	−	1	1	1	−	2	.	−	−
3891. First residence alternating	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−
3892. First residence variable, no rule	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−
3893. Final residence patrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
3894. Husband's parents' house	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
3895. Own house, husband's village	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
3896. Final residence matrilocal	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
3897. Own house, wife's village	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
3898. Final residence own house, another village	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3899. Final residence variable, no rule	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Kinship Avoidances																
602 3900. Parents-in-law taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
606 3901. Mother-in-law son-in-law	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
3902. Never speak together	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
3903. Speak little	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
3904. Plural address	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	.	+	−	−	−
3905. Convey messages through 3d person	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
3906. If talk together, someone between them	−	−	−	−					+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
3907. Cannot touch each other					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3908. Cannot look at each other														+	+	+
3909. Women covers head	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
3910. Both turn aside on trail	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3911. Eat separately	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
3912. Receive objects through 3d person	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3913. Laughing together taboo	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
[835] 3914. Obscenity between taboo	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
3915. Intercourse between taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3916. Wash if any bodily contact	−	−	−					+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
3917. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3918. Obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3919. Penalty: bear might eat mother or son-in-law	−	−	−		•+			•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	•−
3920. Father-in-law daughter-in-law	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
3921. Similar to mother-in-law taboos	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
593 3922. Brother-sister taboos	+	+	.	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
602 3923. Play apart, near puberty and afterward	+	+	.	+	−	•+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
3924. Joking between taboo	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+
3925. Touching each other taboo	+	+							+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
3926. Eating together taboo	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
602 3927. Brother-in-law, sister-in-law taboos	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
607 3928. Joking relationship	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
3929. Respect each other	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−

K M draws upland Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute and gives to the
226 nearby settlement, the easternmost of the permanent villages of
103 the Klamath, the name, "Sucker-fishery." Others make their way
498 K to stone weirs, built, it is said, by Gmukamps himself, or to the
M lakes to fish with a variety of dip nets, gill net baskets, the two-
226 pronged harpoon and the multibarbed spear. At night, men set
forth in canoes upon the lake to fish by torchlight. Set lines are
K put out infrequently. While the men catch the fish—suckers,
M [251] salmon, and trout—their wives work ceaselessly, splitting them
and laying them in the sun to dry.

K Released from the protracted confinement to the winter settle-
M ments, tribesmen eagerly renew bonds with relatives and friends
221 from other villages. Related families may rendezvous to travel
222 together down to the fisheries and set up their lodges side by
[571] side. Then, as spring advances and the runs of suckers and
[602] salmon abate, the fishing settlements break up and parties of
[226] two or three families fan out along the flats and meadows to dig
[103] roots: the succulent camas, the nutlike ipos, yans, and the arrow-
root for which Chewaucan Marsh is named. In the watery flats
they seek the roots of tule and cattail; elsewhere they pick wild
K celery and mosses. There are the eggs of swan and other water-
M fowl to gather; trout in the streams to be caught; and for the
22 Modoc, antelope and mountain sheep to hunt. At this time, some
[361] areas are occupied that at other times are too cold or barren.

K If there is danger of hostile attack, the parties coalesce; and
M 22 under all circumstances they maintain a wary lookout. In the
726 north small bands make cautious excursions into the upper valley
of the Deschutes, watchful for raiding parties of Cayuse, Nez
K Percés, Warm Springs, and Paiute. Toward the east, Sycan and
M Chewaucan marshes are dug over by Klamath and Paiute. Fré-
222 mont once found the latter tract furrowed as if it had been
252 plowed. In many places the stone-lined earth ovens in which
camas and other vegetal foods were baked for winter storage
can still be seen.

K As the long summer days wear on, the pond-lily seeds, known
M as wokas, begin to ripen on the marshes, and once more the
221 people draw together. The Modoc congregate especially along
222 648 Tule and Lower Klamath Lake, while some join the Klamath
on Wokas Marsh. Many Klamath, together with a few Modoc

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

At the center of concentric circles of concern stands
K the natal family.[18] In the myths, parents and offspring and
M siblings are bound by the strongest affective bonds: in trouble
593 they provide succor and in death, revenge. The obligation tran-
• 602 scends abstract ethical considerations. In real life, mutual responsibility reaches out to embrace the extended family, the close consanguineal kindred linked through two or three genera-
K M tions. Although kinship terminology acknowledges equally re-
[601] lationships on the maternal and paternal sides, residence practices
[591] in general favor the latter. From close kinsmen on both sides come the gifts that set the seal of approval upon the marriage of a member; during his lifetime they share food with him in his need, support him in his quarrels, and assist his avenger should he be slain. At his funeral, it is they, together with friends of the deceased, who are expected to place valuables upon the funeral pyre.

K Beyond the sphere of immediate kindred and of friends lies
M the domain of neighbors and remote relatives. If more central
602 obligations tend to be principally a function of consanguinity,
621 and thus to be ascriptive in character, village relationships and
571 those outside are more frequently based upon performance.
K M Here enter those standards of behavior by which a person of
[577] good family may be confirmed in position, the poor but worthy rise, and the ne'er-do-well sink in the public view. At the head
K M of this loose and shifting status scale stand the shamans and
756 other influential men, the leaders of hamlet groups. On occasion
622 they may meet in an informal village council to concert decisions.
621 Yet the village, which in its spatial limits often blends with
554 adjacent settlements and which dissolves with the turn of the seasons, can exert little constraint upon its members.

K The prestige of the leaders, the force of public opinion, and
M checks imposed by rival village interests hold the unruly in line.
62 The principle of self-help and the responsibility of kinsmen may enlarge grievances to feuds if the differences are not soon ended, and thus threaten the very being of the community. To counter such fissive tendencies, leaders mediate disputes and exhort to their fellow villagers the need to maintain harmony.

K Time may alter the membership of villages. Men frequently
M seek wives in other communities; and there is considerable inter-
621 563 582 marriage between Klamath and Modoc and Klamath and Molala,

acceptance was rapid. They will serve as a simple introduction to 648* 657*
the programs as a whole and to some of the underlying factors. 177

Clothing and Names

An individual's acceptance of white clothing and names affected only himself. 177
Consequently, it waited less upon consensus 291
than did the assumption of a reservation political order, a change- 657*
over to farming, or even the decision to build a house in the new fashion. Moreover, both clothes and names, external manifestations of a new status, were supplementary to those already worn. Their addition to the stock already on hand did not at first require that native counterparts be discarded. The same eagerness shown toward Plains-type garments was now exhibited toward those new, prestigeful novelties: the blankets, trade cloth, and surplus military uniforms issued as part of the treaty annuities.

Although some of the first trade flannel was made into banners,[2] a monthly report of 1872 notes that it was being "cut into dresses for the old women and calico [is] purchased for lining."[3] A photograph of Dave Hill and Tecumseh, two Agency employees, taken in Washington in 1875,[4] shows them impeccably clad in the fashion of the day. It is unlikely that their garb could have been matched among the men on the reservation, yet the easy availability of men's clothing in the form of surplus uniforms gave men an advantage over their wives in the attainment of the new mode. For lack of suitable models, women's clothing lagged, but by 1877 the Agent could state, "The women try to imitate the fashion of dress, and many show a commendable neatness in their apparel. They adorn themselves in many instances with native styles of ornament; but they generally couple with this cleanliness of person and dress; but all, both men and women, adopt and seem to prefer the American style of dress."[5]

Along with their easy acceptance of the new clothing, the 657*
Klamath also "readily" agreed to cut their hair.[6] This was a 177
significant step, for close-cropped hair was worn only by 602 •
mourners, and to wear the hair in this fashion at another time might bring on a bereavement. Here the example of the whites
may have provided encouragement for the step. Moreover, the 657*
whole sphere of funerary practices was undergoing change; some 177 764

*657
*648 tunities of the reservation. As they moved away, they extended
563 Indian experience into the midst of frontier society. During the
167 allotment period they in turn enlarged reservation perspectives.

*657 The majority of the interbreed children that appeared upon
*648 the early reservation, then, were the product of temporary or
563 unstable unions and appeared as fatherless children. The annual
162 reports are unrealistic as to their number. In 1885, for example,
it was claimed that there were only 12 interbreeds in the total population of 919,[9] although to judge from later censuses, the number must have been several times as great.

*657 One of the long-range results of this intercourse was to reduce
*648 somewhat the difference in physical appearance that separated
563 the Indians from the surrounding population. Another—and more
[144] immediate—consequence, however, was to raise the divisive issue
[848] of illegitimacy among the Indians themselves and to introduce
• [602] into the tribal body individuals who could claim only maternal
kinsmen. Thus, one Klamath recalls his father, a stage driver in Klamath Falls, as a drunkard whom his mother finally left. The family returned to his maternal grandparents, in whose care the boy grew up. His mother subsequently married a man who ran a logging camp at Pelican Bay, a hard worker and good hunter who treated the boy well. Nonetheless, throughout his life he bore an animus against his father and in part against the heritage he represented.[10]

*657 Interracial unions were encouraged, not only by a dearth of
*648 white women but by an early preponderance of women among
563 the Klamath and by regulations which put an end to polygamy.
162 The early imbalance between the sexes was striking. The figures
[595] supplied by Captain Kelly for the adult Klamath in 1864 give a
sex ratio of no more than 0.47.[11] Those for the Link River band two years later areonly a little higher for the adults, 0.52, although the overall figure is 0.64, since boys and girls are in approximate balance.[12]

[164] Neither sex-linked disease nor the practice of selective infanti-
[847] cide is known to have occurred among the Klamath, and the most
probable explanation must be sought among such factors as differential exposure to rigorous training, warfare, and vicissitudes of the food quest, as well as to possible emigration of single men. O. C. Applegate, the only Agent to comment upon the im-

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[P. 205]

Family and School

WHITES AND KLAMATH ON THE RESERVATION RECOGNIZED IN FAMILY 648*
ties a bond that might be useful as well in formal enterprises. 657*
Several leading businesses in Chiloquin relied in part upon consanguinity 602 •
and upon marital ties to recruit members and ensure 178
continuity of control. Similarly, among the Klamath, during the bidding for tracts of tribal property in the course of termination, members characteristically acted in kin groups to undertake purchases that were beyond the resources of a single individual. In primary relations among both groups, visiting patterns and the occasional appearance of extended family households betokened the continued strength of ties reaching beyond the nuclear family.

For the whites who had come originally from outside the [167]
reservation, kinship ties stretched to distant places and there [563]
were comparatively few relatives close at hand. Of the whites in Chiloquin in 1950, although fifty-six per cent had moved from a previous residence in Oregon, fewer than forty per cent came from the reservation, from Klamath Falls, or from southwestern Oregon. Only a handful had raised children and in turn had seen grandchildren being reared in the town.[1]

The Klamath, with many kinsmen still upon the reservation, [587]
saw the network of relationship close at hand, however tangled it might be by the intricacies of remarriage. To be sure, the [596]
extended family as a residential group was not prominent, for in Chiloquin there were but two such households and in Beatty one. The strength of the bonds manifested themselves in other ways. Tribal residents in the city of Springfield, in the Willamette Valley, several of whom asserted that they had originally moved away to escape the importunities of kinsmen, had made the move as nuclear families over a period of several decades. None-

*648 theless, analysis showed that they aggregated two extended
*657 families together with one other nuclear family unrelated to
• 602 either. The earlier arrivals had attracted relatives, but they had
178 been selective, encouraging some and in at least one instance giving the cold shoulder to a kinsman deemed undesirable, when he paid them an exploratory visit. For their part, they were scrupulous in choosing compatible relatives to visit on their occasional brief returns to the reservation.

[736] That kinship bonds, selectively utilized, were still in force is shown not only by such action as the bidding for tribal tracts, but in the assumption of responsibility for the care of children from a broken home. Although choice was exercised among relatives, and the uncongenial among close kindred might be passed over in favor of more distant, but more compatible, relations, the principle first evoked was that of consanguinity. In the majority of instances, primary reliance was placed upon parents and children, upon siblings, grandparents, and grandchildren.

*648 Among kinsmen, there was an enlargement of the sphere of
*657 individual, at the expense of common, property. At times it took
602 bizarre extremes. In one adult household, for example, each
421 member's foodstuffs were separately stored and even individually
177 cooked; and each independently purchased his supply of the
178 wood to be burned in a common stove. There was evident in family interdependence what might be termed a pecuniarization of relationships, a conversion of traditional reciprocal obligations into the common denominator of coin. Already evident in the early days of allotment, it had grown with time, taking on as it did a onesidedness that was increasingly dysfunctional. Money could be extracted by the importunate from kinsmen still sensi-
[888] tive to the charge of stinginess. The aged, dependent upon their children for tenderness, were often likely to be besieged by their requests for "loans" from lease and per capita checks, and once those funds were dissipated, might then be left without enough to maintain themselves. Some families, like the ranchers previously described, were beginning to resist such demands, but for those still immersed in tribal society, refusal was difficult.

*648 The weakening of kin bonds entailed the disappearance of
*657 feud groups, entities that formerly had drawn principally upon
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578
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kinship loyalties and that had provided relatively stable focal 648*
interests about which allegiances might cluster. The anonymous 657*
destruction of property as a time-honored method of exacting 602
personal revenge remained even in the last days of the reserva- 578
tion, when the jacklight shooting of a cow was construed as the 178
malicious act of a foe. Distrust thus engendered was likely in 177
turn to lead to a search for potential allies, especially among kinsmen and cronies. Local legend in Chiloquin still recounts the memorable gunfight between two tribal families in the days before its incorporation, one firing from the railway depot while the other entrenched itself in the family hotel. At the first few shots the stationmaster, a newcomer to town, was flushed from the depot; and when the fusillades were stilled he left town, never to return.

As law and order became more firmly established over the reservation, and extended families, their members scattered on separate allotments and among the reservation towns, became
dispersed, retaliatory obligations declined. In the end, feudatory 648*
alignment left their mark chiefly in a continued reluctance of 657*
former opponents to drink together or otherwise associate. The 602
drinking cliques, with their stable membership cores, reflected 578
these antipathies: three decades after the gunfight mentioned 273
above, the families involved still did not consort together. Only 178
one person, and she an affinal, had crossed the line. 177
[573]

Indeed, the violence of more recent years, as remarked, lay far less between families than it did within them, for many of the quarrels that precipitated assaults arose in the course of drinking parties, and thus antagonized persons who were accustomed to associate together. Although there was a degree of mobility in the membership of such parties, and clashes at times might involve a visitor, many instances of homicide arose out of family disputes. That the tensions thus vented were generated by the changes in familial roles seems at least partially true, to judge by an examination of court cases; but they were affected indirectly by other segments of the psychosocial system, such as the relations with whites. Such disputes, however, could only weaken the family, and that at a time when family solidarity had become a less imperative need.

Within the reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally 000

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 divided into three segments as nearly equal in size as possible.[24]
*657 The symmetrical cuts resulted in a Conformant segment, pre-
177 vailingly law-abiding in record, almost twice as large as the In-
178 framodal category at the other end, which consisted of these
184 persons with the highest record of violations. The Intermediate
125 membership was slightly larger than that of the Conformant.[25]

The characteristics of each of these categories, when contrasted, tend to confirm statements made previously. Members of the Conformant segment were least Indian biologically and included the highest proportion of women. They seem to have come from comparatively smaller families and, with the Intermediate subjects, seem to have received far more adequate parental care than did the Inframodal category. Educational achievements are less distinctive, reflecting the compulsory nature of schooling on the reservation, but again the Inframodal segment lags behind the others in school grade completed. In the measure of engagement in business or ranching and in record of money management, the distinctions are decisive, with the Conformant category far outstripping its fellows and the Inframodal segment at the bottom. Finally, in both the percentage of those married and living with spouse and family as well as in the stability of residence the same order is seen.

In the second part of the study, the thirty Klamath subjects who had given Dr. Clifton responses to the Murray Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)[26] were assigned by judgment to the three segments, the protocols of each category being treated together by a method of analysis previously employed in examining Klamath mythology.[27] When all of the modern TAT segments were combined and contrasted with the myths, the responses were seen to reflect changes which had in fact taken place through time. Thus a trend toward a universalistic outlook
[602] was reflected, along with lessened attention to the ramifications
[594] of kinship, a reduction of the family itself to nuclear form, and
[554] a concurrent diversification of role relationships toward individ-
[571] uals acting impersonally as employer, policeman, doctor, or
teacher. A secularization of life may also be reflected by the scant consideration of religion in the modern protocols.

[571] When the modern TAT segments were compared, the Conform*ant subjects* were seen to place a strong emphasis upon support

given the family by neighbors as well as by the impersonal agents 648*
of society, while making little mention of any kinsmen beyond 657*
the immediate, two-generation family. Members of this category, 177
who objectively were least Indian genetically and who mani- 178
fested the highest measure of intermarriage with whites, were 184
the only ones to introduce racial comments in their responses. 125
This may well be taken as evidence of their sensitivity to a [571]
marginal condition. In treating intrafamilial roles, they saw a [829]
strong paternal figure (lacking in the protocols of the other two [593]
segments), but they viewed his authority as one against which the son repeatedly rebelled. Moreover, contrary to their own superior record of family stability, members of the Conformant category envisaged the marital bond as frequently threatened by feminine interlopers. Here again is an indication that the Conformant families, like the most acculturated among Vogt's Navaho veterans,[28] had achieved their condition only at the cost of gnawing anxiety.

By contrast, both of the remaining TAT segments tended to [602]
stress kinship, for in their protocols a greater reliance is placed upon grandparents and more remote kinsmen, with correspondingly less dependence upon friends, neighbors, or impersonal agents. Indeed, the Inframodal subjects tended to view the
latter with suspicion and outright hostility. In neither segment [593]
was the paternal role seen as prominent; and the mother instead occupied a central position, not disciplining, but strongly supporting her children. Sibling relations, which in the Conformant category had been seen as continuing through life, stood on a lower level among the intermediate subjects, who viewed the bond as existing only in childhood; and were negligible among the Inframodal segment. Similarly, the marital bond appeared to be conceived by Intermediate members as weak, being marked by a succession of casual liaisons, while the Inframodal saw strife between the couple, rather than outside interference, as disrupting the union.

By contrast with Conformant subjects, members of the other
two categories exhibited a far less realistic view of the conditions [829]
making possible achievement, but they did so in different ways. Those of the Intermediate segment seemed to see conformance as a necessary factor for success, although their behavioral record

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 *657 619 641 Tribal membership was, as we have seen, only one of several political roles in which Klamath might participate, and in some measure it lay athwart the others. Citizenship in the United States, granted generally to American Indians in 1924, affiliation with state, county, and municipality: these political memberships are explicit in character, conditional upon the fulfillment of stated requirements and with the exercise of well-defined rights. Superficially, tribal membership appears to possess a similar character. In the admission of new members, both the establishment of qualifications and the decision upon individual candidates rested with the Tribe, though subject to review by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Applicants had to be of Klamath parentage on at least one side, and those of one-quarter or more Klamath heritage were automatically admitted upon application. In 1945 a clause was added permitting adoption of members of one-sixteenth heritage, contingent upon assurances that they would reside upon the reservation and participate in tribal activities.

In practice, Indian heritage of any sort, and not merely that stemming from the Klamath Tribe, was reckoned in; and token assurances of participation and residence have conventionally [161] [162] been accepted. Of the final enrollment of 2,133 tribal members, 86 fell within the category of one-sixteenth quantum. Of these, 12 dwelt on the reservation and another 12 in Klamath Falls, the remaining 62 residing at some distance from the seat of tribal government. Once enrolled, members have not been subject to review, save when their original qualifications were called into question.

In a membership that was not conditional upon performance, [602] [621] the Tribe had a great deal in common with such ascriptive entities as the family and ramified kin, the traditional tribe, and the broad regional communities into which the latter had tended to cluster.

Family loyalties have been at once strong and selective. At times, they have provided continuities of interest within a single [602] line. Here, for example, were the Rev. Jesse Kirk, himself the son of a treaty signatory, and his sons, Clayton, Seldon, and Jesse Lee; here old chief Monchnkasgitk, and his sons, Harrison and Henry Brown; here Judge William Crawford, his wife, Eliza, and their son, Wade; here Henry Jackson, his half-brother, Ike, and the latter's son, Boyd Jackson.

While the political strength of a family is seen not only in the 648*
succession of interest but in a propensity for members of a family 657*
to vote *en bloc*, this is far from invariably true. The schism 619
separating Jesse Kirk from his half-brother, Joseph, is one promi- 602•
nent instance—and by no means the only one—to the contrary. [665]
In fact, alignment within the family and extended kin has often [578]
been modified by contending considerations.

Nonetheless, for some leaders the solidarity of family some- 648*
times took precedence over impartiality in the discharge of office. 657*
One tribal council member is quoted as defending his action 661
favoring certain enrollments by the explanation ". . . that since 602
two children were his niece's children, he felt that it was his duty 619
to guard the interests of his minor relatives."[8] Political leaders, seeking to emphasize the purity of their motives, needed to go no further in justification than to declare that they sought only the welfare of their grandchildren.

Although intermarriage and alternative associations have long 648*
overlaid clear identification with the several peoples who had 657*
entered into the treaty, such affiliations have continued to exert 563
political force, however greatly diminished in recent years. In 621
turn, they related to the two broad communities on the reserva- 619
tion. The Lower End remained predominantly Klamath, while Modoc, Paiute, as well as a number of Klamath and Pit River, comprised the Upper End community some forty miles away.
Even after the closing of the subagency at Yainax, the populations [184]
of Sprague River and Beatty continued to reflect the special character of the eastern reservation.

In turn, the relatively easier access of the Lower End to out- [177]
side influences—a subject already reviewed in discussing modern tribal demography—superimposed the effects of differential acculturation and intermarriage upon the traditional subtribal
allegiances that distinguished the two Ends. Difficulty of travel 648*
along the road from the Agency to Yainax had given rise to the 657*
practice, long maintained, of holding separate councils at each 621
place. Thus at the two Ends there had developed political com- 665
munities responsive to their own local leaders. Harrison Brown, 619
in 1931, played upon a familiar theme when he recognized in Wade Crawford, a leader from the Lower End ". . . a young man who is not a full-blood, who is trying to stir up trouble, and we

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
[848 borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563 tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588 hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-
[177 style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
596 but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591 notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
[177 extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, de facto groupings
rather than de jure. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626 status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organiza-
[594 tion of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obliga-
592 tory responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-
592 father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422 group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly ex-
treme cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual owner-
ship of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with re-
gard to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181 Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
434 children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have 593
other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are sometimes 855
non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are [581]
frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time, [181]
or to an older relative, or to an elder sibling. If the party occurs in the
household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be
left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may [603]
find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence [155]
and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of
the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one)
or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually
faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloofness.
The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and
both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating
fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little experience [155]
with consistency in role relationships.

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, [602]
amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other
kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting 872
the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax, 861
permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear-cut,
specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not [593]
accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet [181]
these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and [155]
attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu.
In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to
be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly [156]
characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts.
This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture,
but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society.

In many respects the values and skills learned within the household to not adequately 155
prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of 156
regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the household [871]
may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may
throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get
him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time
the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted,
the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in inferiority
is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, contributing
in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebelliousness,
or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation
of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school [563]
years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the [582]
areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites
is not an easy one.

It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child 882
are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child 156
may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete 155
with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he
is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors
cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into
an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high [871]

867 terms for all his relatives, whether he has seen them yet or not. This is considered one of the most important things a child must learn.[8]

With the knowledge of kinship terms the
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between cousins is "a very bad thing," and that
children from such an incestuous union will
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856 There is some effort to teach the child the names of objects by pointing to them and repeating the word, but he probably acquires more of his vocabulary simply by listening to adult conversation. There is no baby talk or any attempt to simplify words for the children. If the child mispronounces or misuses words, he is laughed at and corrected.

553 Children acquire their personal names in a casual manner at any time from birth to the age of five or six. There is no ceremony connected with naming, and some individuals receive two or three names which may all be in use at the same time. Names are, for the most part, of the nickname variety and refer to some personal mannerism or peculiarity.[9] In addition, some refer to spirits, birds, or animals. Names are given by the parents or other relatives. One person

[text continues on top of p. 342-B]

EARLY CHILDHOOD

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are looked down upon by the community as a
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[865] At first the youngsters are apt to start fights with each other, but the parents are usually on hand to stop rough play. A child who fights all the time brings disgrace to his family and especially to himself. He must play by himself for awhile. "Everyone knows he has been bad; no one likes him." He is ashamed and experiences great remorse when he is told he cannot play with other children.

Three- and four-year-olds find a variety of

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[8] See Spier, pp. 62-68, for a discussion of the Klamath kinship system.

[9] Naming customs and typical names are given by Spier, pp. 59-61, and Voegelin, elements 1306-1321.

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
[848] out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-
[177] style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
596 there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
[177] aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, *de facto* groupings
rather than *de jure*. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organiza-
[594] tion of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obliga-
592 tory responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-
592 father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly ex-
treme cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual owner-
ship of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with re-
gard to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
434 children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have 593
other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are sometimes 855
non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are [581]
frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time,
or to an older relative, or to an elder sibling. If the party occurs in the [181]
household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be
left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may [603]
find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence
and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of [155]
the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one)
or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually
faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloofness.
The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and
both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating
fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little experience [155]
with consistency in role relationships.

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, [602]
amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other
kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting 872
the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax, 861
permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear-cut,
specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not [593]
accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet [181]
these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and
attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu. [155]
In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to
be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly [156]
characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts.
This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture,
but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society.

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It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child 882
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may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete 155
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an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high [871]

Slim: Male, Age 30

Background Data

Slim's case was selected so as to illustrate the situation of a regularly em- 159*
ployed, well liked and respected young male. He is currently employed as a [464]
laborer in a lumber mill, and in the past has worked as a carpenter, and in
heavy industries in the mid-west. He has ten years of formal schooling, obtained [463]
his 12th grade certificate by examination while in military service, and for [871]
one month studied commercial art in Portland. [701]

Slim was born into a large, influential kin group, one which for several genera- [619]
tions has provided much of the tribe's leadership. While his own father has
not been so influential in tribal politics, preferring to work his ranch in-
stead, Slim grew up in association with male relatives noted for their forth-
right independence and leadership, and within a family tradition of progressive-
ness and self-improvement. Slim's early life was spent in alternating periods [591]
of residence with his own father and mother on their ranch, and with his father's
mother in her cabin on the Sycan marsh. This association with "Grandma" was [603]
partly in response to the gradual disintegration of relations between his father
and mother, and partly the result of his father's desire to have "Grandma" teach [593]
him some of the old lore. His mother became increasingly erratic, unpredic-
table, and violent, finally leaving his father. Slim felt badly rejected by [153]
her and was never able to understnad why she would not accept his efforts to be
helpful. On the other hand, he was very close to his father and his grand-
mother. Today he recalls with satisfaction the many things these two persons
taught him, and dreams recurrently of being in the army, defending the reserva-
tion from attack, and checking in on the old lady to see if she is all right.
This dream is interesting because it expresses succinctly his style of relations
with superiors, for in the dream Slim asks permission of his squad leader to
leave, explains his reasons, then checks in on "Grandma," and returns to his duty.

After the 10th grade was completed, Slim quit school and worked on various ranches.
Early in the Korean war he consciously followed the model of an uncle, who was
a career soldier, and enlisted in the army. His service record was good, marred
only by what Slim feels were two justifiable periods of unauthorized absence,
and he voluntarily served with a combat unit in Korea. This army experience
considerably broadened Slim's horizons, and after his discharge he lived and
worked with an army buddy in the east for a year. Then Slim traveled and worked
in several places in the east and midwest. On two occasions his regular habits [961]
and good capacity for steady work were responsible for a promotion. Characteris-
tically, Slim enjoys this kind of reward, but he does not specifically strive
for advancement.

Slim has many skills, hobbies, and social graces. When young his father taught him to dig ditches, with the advice that this skill would always provide him with a job. He is an expert horseman and stock-keeper, and is a skilled hunter and woodsman who frequently guides his friends on hunting trips. He has learned carpentry, house-painting, and the operation of various industrial machines. More recently, he has turned to archery, sketching, and photography for hobbies to occupy his spare time. Then too, he is an amiable, jolly person who makes good company and who is well regarded as a friend. He is not married, and has never seriously considered marrying. He has had occasional sexual liaisons of a transitory nature, which he finds quite satisfying, and has been "going steady" for several years with an older woman, a person who is a grandmother in her own right.

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 87

Background Data

*159
156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, particularly
in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
[595] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma
William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
[733] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
[83] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by
three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
[587] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She
[871] completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and
she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri,
[178] California, and Mexico.

[657] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father
for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation
[464] and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous
bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal
penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her
sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five,
and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their
violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how
such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
[577] Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams
is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
[177] a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values,
and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of
either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and
has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[191] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her
English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that children
[871] today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I
can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
[593] no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her
children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this respect,
*[603] Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
[867] spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, behaviors
in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of
place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations
with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at
riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them
coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
[657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was
carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
[871] and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
[177] seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who
promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were rejected
from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate inter-
156 changes and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses

[p.342A]

867 terms for all his relatives, whether he has seen them yet or not. This is considered one of the most important things a child must learn.[8]

With the knowledge of kinship terms the child acquires certain attitudes toward his relatives, although patterns of behavior toward particular kin do not seem to be very clearly [593] defined among the Klamath. Parents are respected [603] and obeyed, as are grandparents though a certain amount of indulgence and teasing is to [604] be expected from the latter. Uncles and aunts are shown considerable respect. Cousins call [605] each other by sibling terms; those of opposite sex play together freely when small but are told that it is not proper to "play rough" with each other. Even small children learn that marriage between cousins is "a very bad thing," and that children from such an incestuous union will never live.

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[865] At first the youngsters are apt to start fights with each other, but the parents are usually on hand to stop rough play. A child who fights all the time brings disgrace to his family and especially to himself. He must play by himself for awhile. "Everyone knows he has been bad; no one likes him." He is ashamed and experiences great remorse when he is told he cannot play with other children.

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585 After a month of marriage the couple visits the bride's former home,
593 accompanied by the groom's relatives, for a further exchange of gifts.
Soon after this, the girl's father and his family reciprocate. Beyond this it is a matter of mutual solicitude; undoubtedly the visits grow less frequent as the passing years bring diverging interests. Later visits are of some duration, the couple even staying through the winter.

591 Marriage is normally patrilocal, but if a man is poor, or has no close relatives, he may take up residence with his wife's people. When a young wife is about to have her first child the couple return to her mother to stay until she is strong again. This must be the circumstance of temporary matrilocal residence as it ordinarily occurs elsewhere. First marriages among primitive peoples usually follow closely on a girl's nubility. The need for advice and care during this trying period of pregnancy and delivery, the natural solicitude of the mother, are surely the reasons for the frequency with which residence is temporarily matrilocal. It will be observed that this is formally prescribed as the proper procedure almost solely in cases of first marriage. There is no need to search for a more esoteric reason such as the older writers had, matrilinear grouping, maternal authority, and the demand that the young husband prove himself to the wife's family. Among the Klamath this is the rule only on the birth of a first child.

591 A series of terms describes the facts of residence. A man and his
593 wife in matrilocal residence are non-vocatively wuko'bŏks and sḳa'bŏks
respectively.[69] A woman with her husband's people is t!e'niwas.[70]
601 On separation a woman who returns to her former home is ko'stbŏmbli,
a man returning to his, wuko'tbŏmbli.

601 I was told at least that a child's spouse is treated like an own
child, that parent and child terms are used between them for there
606 are no parent-in-law taboos. This is the usage of intimacy; there are specific terms for parents-in-law. There is the familiar Indian usage of a term between the parents of a couple, "my child's parent-in-law."

582 Marriages occur any time during the year. There is no evidence suggesting their greater frequency during any season, nor any mating period[71]

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[69] The latter term was given me at another time as meaning a newly married woman (probably the form ska'bŏkak was intended). This comes to the same thing. These two words apparently correspond to Gifford's wapake and kapake, earlier and later co-wife (Californian Kinship Terminologies, 42). Gifford's record is doubtless due to a misunderstanding; I enquired about these words and found that there are no terms for particular co-wives.

[70] Gatschet (2:698) gives tcína, a young woman. The meanings are not incompatible but I believe mine to be correct.

[71] As among the Yurok (Kroeber, Handbook, 44).

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
591 Postnuptial Residence																
3880. First residence patrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	+	+	-
3881. Husband's parent's house	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	+	-
3882. In own house, husband's village	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		•+	-	-	+	-	-
3883. First residence matrilocal	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	•+	-	+	-	-	+
3884. Wife's parent's house	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	•+	-	+	-	-	+
3885. Only if widow selected man for daughter	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3886. Only if some form bride service	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3889. Own house, wife's village	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)
‡3890. Time in months	-	-	-	-	-	1	12	-	1	1	1	-	2	.	-	-
3891. First residence alternating	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
3892. First residence variable, no rule	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	-
3893. Final residence patrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
3894. Husband's parents' house	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
3895. Own house, husband's village	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
3896. Final residence matrilocal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
3897. Own house, wife's village	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
3898. Final residence own house, another village	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3899. Final residence variable, no rule	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Kinship Avoidances																
602 3900. Parents-in-law taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
606 3901. Mother-in-law son-in-law	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
3902. Never speak together	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
3903. Speak little	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
3904. Plural address	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	+	-	-	-
3905. Convey messages through 3d person	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
3906. If talk together, someone between them	-	-	-	-					+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
3907. Cannot touch each other					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3908. Cannot look at each other														+	+	+
3909. Woman covers head	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
3910. Both turn aside on trail	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3911. Eat separately	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
3912. Receive objects through 3d person	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3913. Laughing together taboo	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
[835] 3914. Obscenity between taboo	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
3915. Intercourse between taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3916. Wash if any bodily contact	-	-	-					+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3917. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3918. Obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3919. Penalty: bear might eat mother or son-in-law	-	-	-		•+			•+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	•-
3920. Father-in-law daughter-in-law	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
3921. Similar to mother-in-law taboos	-	-	-	-	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
593 3922. Brother-sister taboos	+	+	.	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
602 3923. Play apart, near puberty and afterward	+	+	.	+	-	•+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
3924. Joking between taboo	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
3925. Touching each other taboo	+	+							+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
3926. Eating together taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
602 3927. Brother-in-law, sister-in-law taboos	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
607 3928. Joking relationship	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
3929. Respect each other	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-

C

000 3867. Mo: "Honorable" form of marriage, but practiced mostly by poorer people; wealthy persons pay for bride. SW: Permissible, but not formalized.

3868. AW: Done occasionally, but "don't like it; it's no good marrying that way; there's no sense to it."

Exogamy; postnuptial residence; kinship avoidances.--

3874. See element 2619. NM: Local group exogamy practiced, but seemingly neither preferred nor obligatory. Men take wives from Chicago Park, Nevada City groups; do not intermarry with Colfax or Mooretown (MF) groups.

3875. MV: Man usually takes his wife from village other than his own.

582 3877. Kl: Local group endogamy permissible, but "can't take wife from near-by neighbor's house, even if woman unrelated to man; have to take wife from house at least 1 mile away, and rather take wives from farther off."

3878. No rule, among any of groups, forbidding intertribal marriages.

3879. "Often practiced" may be putting case too strongly. However, number of intertribal marriages, as revealed in genealogies of informants (all of whom were between 60-90 years old themselves) was rather surprising. See section on Informants, this study. Kl: Intertribal marriages of Kl with Mo, Warm Springs Sahaptin commented upon by informant.

000 3880-3882. MM: Applies to child-betrothal marriages.

3883, 3884. MM: Applies to simple form of marriage in which couple merely live together.

3890. AW, WS, MM: 1-2 months.

3891. Before birth of first child, couple usually go to wife's parents' home and birth hut is made for woman near her parents' house.

● [606] 3901. Kl, Mo, SE, SW: Taboo attenuated; Kl: man accords mother-in-law same respect he accords his own mother. At, AW, AE, WT, WM, WS, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Taboo important; marked.

3919. At: If mother-in-law talks to son-in-law, bear will "chew up" son-in-law; he will never be seen again. Same applies to conversation between father-in-law, daughter-in-law. WT: If do not observe taboos, mother-in-law will have bad luck; rattlesnake will bite her, or grizzly devour her, or she will be killed by enemies or burnt. MV: "Observe [these taboos] for love of son-in-law; think world of son-in-law; think so much of him that mother-in-law won't look at him."

3921. All items listed under mother-in-law, son-in-law taboos inquired about in field for father-in-law, daughter-in-law. AW: Taboos similar, except that whereas perhaps only "1 man out of 200" may violate taboo against marrying his mother-in-law it is not matter for much disapproval if under some circumstances woman marries her father-in-law after her husband's death.

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION[1]

by

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

128 culture, social and political organization are not described here except in their effect on
124 education. Wherever particular items are mentioned, we specifically asked our informants for a description, even though they had been described in previous ethnographies. Such accounts may thus be taken as corroborating earlier evidence unless otherwise specified in the text.

131 The Klamath reside in their old territory
178 in southern Oregon, but the aboriginal way of life has long since disappeared. Today they are
241 farmers and ranchers, but a considerable part of
233 the earlier culture remains alive in the memories of a few oldsters. Our seven informants
178 (4 men and 3 women) were all in their late seventies or eighties and had participated in the last phases of the aboriginal culture as
115 children. It is regrettable that it was necessary to reconstruct childhood training from the reminiscences of elderly individuals. Doubtless much of the material represents the ideal rather than the actual pattern of education. The ideals do, however, give a definite insight into what was considered important in the upbringing of children, whether these standards were always maintained or not. Since there is little or nothing in the early literature on this subject, there is no way of comparing impressions received from old people who are admittedly looking back to "the good old days" with impressions of objective eyewitnesses to the old ways as they were really practiced.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Barrenness is sometimes considered cause for divorce. Since the blame
842 seems to fall most commonly on the woman, her husband's parents may suggest that he send her
586 away and get a wife who can provide him with children. Ordinarily, though, the parents-in-
606 law are more lenient with a barren woman.

842 Most Klamath express a preference for boys. A variety of reasons are offered, the most common being that boys are less bother than girls. "Girls are always getting into trouble, and you just raise them for someone else because they go off to their husbands when they get married."[2] Once the child is born, however, there seems to be no special favoritism shown to boys. One

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	HF	HM	NS	MV	
3829. Polygyny prerogative of any man	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	595
3830. Polygyny rare in tribe	–	+	+			–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
3831. Sororal polygyny	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	
3832. During life of sisters	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	
*3833. Maximum number paid for	1	2	.	1	1	1	1	–	–	1	1	.	–	–	–	2	
o3834. Maximum number in same house	2	2	.	2	2	2	2	–	3	2	2	2	–	2	2	2	
3835. Because first wife barren	–	•+	.	+	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
3836. Without barrenness of first wife	+	+	.	–	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3837. Post-mortem sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	.	587
3838. General	+	+	+	•–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	.	
3839. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	•+	–	–	+	•–	+	+	–	+	–	•–	+	.	
3840. Especially if children	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	.	
3841. Obligatory for widower	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	•–	+	–	
3842. Life endangered, if he does not comply	•+	•+	•+	–		•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	.	–	–	•+	.	
3843. Stepdaughter marriage	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	587
3844. Simultaneous	•+	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	595
3845. Successive	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3846. Additional payment for daughter	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3847. Rare	+	+	–					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3848. Disapproved	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	
3849. Polyandry, husbands unrelated	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	595
o3850. Maximum no. of husbands	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o3851. Maximum no. in same house	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3852. Polyandry, fraternal	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
o3853. Maximum no. of brothers in same house	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	•1	–	
3854. Wife lending	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	837
3855. Between any 2 men	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	
3856. Levirate	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	587
3857. Obligatory for man	+	+	•–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
3858. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	–	+	–	
3859. Additional payment, gifts for woman	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	
3860. Brother-in-law can punish woman if she refuses	•+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	[686] [607]
3861. Cut her hair, ear, nose	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	
3862. Can kill her	+	+	+			+	+	+	•+	+	.	–	–	–	•+	–	[304]
3863. Killing common	–	+	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	
3864. Man may marry son's son's wife	–	+	–	–				+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3865. Common	–	–	–	–				+	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	

Marriage of Blood Relatives

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	HF	HM	NS	MV	
3866. Cousins; man to any cross-cousin's daughter	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	582
3867. Sister exchange	.	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3868. 2 men exchange sisters	.	–	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3869. Simultaneously or nearly so	.	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3870. Successively	.	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
3871. No payment or gifts for brides	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	
3872. Payment for both brides	.	–	+	+	–	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	
3873. 2 brothers marry 2 sisters	–	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	

Exogamy

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	HF	HM	NS	MV
*3874. Local group exogamy	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	•+	+	+
3875. Preferred	+	+	.	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	•+
3876. Obligatory	–	–	.	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
3877. Endogamy, if not related	•+	+	.	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	+	+	+
*3878. Tribal exogamy optional	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*3879. Often practiced	•+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

Postnuptial Residence

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
591 3880. First residence patrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	+	–
3881. Husband's parent's house	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–
3882. In own house, husband's village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		•+	–	–	+	–	–
3883. First residence matrilocal	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	+
3884. Wife's parent's house	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	+
3885. Only if widow selected man for daughter	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3886. Only if some form bride service	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3889. Own house, wife's village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)
*3890. Time in months	–	–	–	–	–	1	12	–	1	1	1	–	2	.	–	–
3891. First residence alternating	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
3892. First residence variable, no rule	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–
3893. Final residence patrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
3894. Husband's parents' house	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
3895. Own house, husband's village	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
3896. Final residence matrilocal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
3897. Own house, wife's village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
3898. Final residence own house, another village	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3899. Final residence variable, no rule	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–

Kinship Avoidances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
602 3900. Parents-in-law taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
604 3901. Mother-in-law son-in-law	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
3902. Never speak together	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
3903. Speak little	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
3904. Plural address	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	–	–	–
3905. Convey messages through 3d person	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3906. If talk together, someone between them	–	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3907. Cannot touch each other					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3908. Cannot look at each other														+	+	+
3909. Woman covers head	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
3910. Both turn aside on trail	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3911. Eat separately	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
3912. Receive objects through 3d person	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3913. Laughing together taboo	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
[835] 3914. Obscenity between taboo	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3915. Intercourse between taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3916. Wash if any bodily contact	–	–	–					+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3917. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3918. Obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3919. Penalty: bear might eat mother or son-in-law	–	–	–		•+			•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•–
3920. Father-in-law daughter-in-law	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
3921. Similar to mother-in-law taboos	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
593 3922. Brother-sister taboos	+	+	.	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
602 3923. Play apart, near puberty and afterward	+	+	.	+	–	•+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
3924. Joking between taboo	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
3925. Touching each other taboo	+	+							+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
3926. Eating together taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
602 3927. Brother-in-law, sister-in-law taboos	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
607 3928. Joking relationship	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3929. Respect each other	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159
[156] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White seg-
ments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but
in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
[871] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
[586] fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of
the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of
numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
[597] an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has
spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was
closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became
dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
[874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She
took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if
she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[857] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child
nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she
had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them
her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., per-
sons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an ad-
[608] visor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making
a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
[273] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my
glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its
walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is asso-
ciated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is
noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites,
for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, be-
cause she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and
biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a
person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Per-
haps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social
role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she
will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and
quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

K M 609 In such a sphere, and in relations with strangers beyond, the myths picture encounters fraught with possible danger. They may be initiated by a trucial period which endures until, by proper guest-host behavior, by a claim of kinship or on the other hand by an act of aggression, the issue of “friend or foe” is K M [574] precipitated. Hospitality dictates that one receive and feed the stranger, though a visiting kinsman brings a gift of food or otherwise repays the kindness. If, however, hostility is decided upon, it rarely becomes open: instead, both sides proceed indirectly, under the guise of amicability, and employ followers or auxiliaries to encompass the destruction of the other. It is here that the prescient qualities of the hero, his access to assistants and to supernatural forces, are decisive.[19]

K 648 In ethnographic reality, the outer limits of society are marked by the boundaries of common speech. Beyond this, the Klamath maintain amity with the Molala, intermittent friendship and hostility toward the Warm Springs and other Columbia River Sahaptin, who sometimes raid them, and toward the Paiute; inveterate hostility toward the Takelma of the upper Rogue and other peoples west of the Cascades; and a predatory aggressiveness toward the Pit River and Shasta to the south, whom they increasingly raid for slaves and loot.

K M 571 156 [838] The horizons of such a society are not wide. With the exception of the shaman, a part-time specialist, each man and each woman has much the same skills and knowledge as his fellows. The aberrant individual can do no more than assume the dress and behavior of the other sex, ascribing his action to supernatural dictate. The transient forms of the community and the informal constraint it imposes, the paucity of activities that demand concerted action, go hand in hand with a permissiveness in the individual. When this takes aggressive form, it may threaten the very fabric of society.

K M 754 571 152 682 The covert expression of hostility is likely to invest relations beyond the natal family with fear and mistrust. Revenge can take the form of murder from ambush, sorcery to engender the illness or death of the enemy, or the stealthy destruction of his property.[20] One frequent cause of open slayings, and of the feuds that ensue, is suspicion that a shaman has brought about the death of one's kinsman. Commonly, such charges are leveled

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
535	‡2588. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	3	2	–		–	1
	o2589. Actual dance lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–		–	1
	o2590. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	2	1	2	–		–	–
	2591. Dance begins near sundown	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
	2592. Dance begins in morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
	o2593. Number of singers, musicians	–	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	–		•2	1	–		–	2
	2594. Split-stick rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+
	2595. Deer-hoof rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2596. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[562]	2597. Women, only, dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–
	2598. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
	2599. Touch with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–
	2600. Each person dances separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	+
	2601. Dancers abreast	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
	2602. Dancers in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
	2603. Stretch bear hide, as out to dry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[533]	2604. Male singer sits by hide and sings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
	2605. Women, or man, rub, hit bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2606. Man puts on bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+
	2607. In morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	(+)
	2608. Dances, walks with bearskin on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
	2609. Impersonates bear, claws tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
	2610. Dog set onto him	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	2611. Drops shell beads, which women pick up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	2612. Killer of bear ultimately given bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[515]	2613. Impersonator, girl dancers wash at sacred spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–		–	–
	2614. Performers from other groups	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	+
(825]	2615. Feast follows performance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				+	–	–		–	+
	2616. Held for black bear only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	•–	–		–	–

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political Units

Sovereign Bodies

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
621	2617. Each village is autonomous unit	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+
	2618. Community of closely adjacent villages forms autonomous unit	–	–	+		–	•+		–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–
	2619. Local group, embracing several communities is recognized, or is autonomous unit	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	+	–	–
619	2620. Tribe, embracing all local groups, is recognized unit	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Chiefs and Other Officials

Number of Male Chiefs

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
622	2621. 1 per autonomous unit	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
[613]	2622. Multiple, of equal rank, per autonomous unit	–	–	–	–	–	•4	–	–	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2623. Chiefly lineages	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
	2624. Tribal chief	R+	R+	–	(+)	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Basis for Selection

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
[611]	2625. Heredity, primary factor	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+
	2626. Paternal only	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2627. Both paternal, maternal	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	·	·	·	+	622
2628. Primogeniture	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	·	–	–	+	[611]
2629. Oldest member paternal lineage	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
2630. Only if direct heir too young	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2631. Brother of deceased chief	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	·	+	+	+	
2632. Only if direct heir too young			+						+	–	•+	–	·	–	–	–	
2633. Brother's son	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	·	–	+	+	
Qualifications for Appointment																	
2634. Character and knowledge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	[556]
2635. Possession of wealth	–	–	+	·	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2636. Good speaker, and "talks to everyone"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	
Appointment																	
2637. Chosen at assembly of elders	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	+	·	+	+	+	[623]
2638. Chosen at assembly of all males	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	·	–	·	–	–	–	
2639. Women sometimes attend and speak			–				+	–	–	–	·	+	·	–	–	–	[562]
2640. Incumbent may select successor	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	·	–	+	+	+	+	
2641. New leader may be appointed before incumbent dies	–	+	+				+	+	–	–	–	+	·	–	+	–	
2642. Headmen of other groups select or help select new leader	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	–	–	·	–	+	+	
2643. Approval of community required	+	+	–	–	[illegible]	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	·	–	–	–	
Tenure																	
2644. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2645. Dependent on satisfactory behavior	–	–	+	+	+	•+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	
2646. May be deposed by killing	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	·	•–	
Title																	
2647. Individual title	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2648. Title extended to children	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	
2649. To daughter only	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2650. Daughter called by special title													–	–	•+	–	
2651. Title extended to wife; "chief's wife"	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	·	–	+	
Insignia																	
2652. Wears "hairpin" with quail crest at ceremonies																+	[301]
2653. Chief only person who uses eagle feathers													–	–	+	–	[237]
Activities and Duties																	
2654. Hunts, fishes for self	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	
2655. Relatives hunt, fish for him	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2656. All give chief food free	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
2657. Food bought for chief	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2658. Feeds visitors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2659. Impoverished thereby	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[574]
2660. Provides most of food for ceremonies	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2661. Directs communal economic activities	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	[224]
2662. Deer drives	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
2663. Antelope, duck hunts, etc.	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2708. Speaks twice daily, from top of sweat house	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	624
2710. Moral lectures to children	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
2711. Stops disputes, chief's orders	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2712. Acts as dance manager	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
2713. Acts as messenger man	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[203]
2714. Talks at ceremonies	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
2715. Clowns and ridicules	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	

Clowns

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2716. Informal clowning, joking, only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	522
2717. Formal clowns	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•–	•–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	•+	
2718. Office distinct from crier's	–	–	–	–		–	–	+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	–	
2719. Hereditary	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
2720. Appointed by chief	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	
2721. Lifelong	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
2722. Clowns at ceremonies	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	•+	–	–	+	
2723. Wears acorn necklace	–	–	–							–	–	+	+	–	–	+	[645]
2724. Paid	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2725. Helps dreamer call spirits													+	–	–	–	

Messengers

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
o2726. No. male messengers per village or local group	–	–	(2)	2	–	–	1	•1	•3	2	•3	2	1	2	–	–	203
2727. No. variable for intratribal matters	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	•+	
2728. Individuals serve in temporary capacity only.	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	
2728a. Official messenger for war matters only	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2729. Competency and willingness chief criteria for selection of	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2729a. Must be good speaker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	–	
2730. Appointed by chief	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2731. Hereditary, paternal line	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2732. Lifelong tenure	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
2733. If incompetent, discharged	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2734. Paid if travels a distance	–	+	–		•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2735. Paid occasionally; given board	–	+	+				+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	
2736. Carries messages for chief or headman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	
2737. Travels about; gathers news	+	+	+								+	+	+	–	–	–	
2738. Welcomes guests	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	+		.	–	
2739. Orders hunt for chief	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+		+	–	
2739a. Attends to fire at ceremonies	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2740. Women messengers	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[562]
2741. Carry messages for anyone	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o2742. Number going together	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2743. Suitability only criterion	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2744. Travel only short distances	–	+	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2745. Act in temporary capacity only	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Fire Tender

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
†2746. No. per village or local group	•–	–	1	1	–	–	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	624
2747. Lifelong office	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	R+	–	+	+	+	–	+	372
2748. Temporary office only	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	R–	+	–	–	–	+	–	[611]
2749. Hereditary in paternal line	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	+	
2750. Appointed by chief	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	R+	+	–	–	–	+	–	
2751. Chief acts as fire tender	–	–	–									+	–	+	–	–	[522]
2752. Clown acts as fire tender	–	–	–									–	+	–	–	+	
2753. Attends to fire in assembly house	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2754. Keeps assembly house clean	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	+	+		–	+	
2755. Has 1 assistant	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(R)	+	+	–		+	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
535 †2588. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	3	2	–		–	1
o2589. Actual dance lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–		–	1
o2590. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	2	1	2	–		–	–
2591. Dance begins near sundown	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
2592. Dance begins in morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
o2593. Number of singers, musicians	–	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	–		•2	1	–		–	2
2594. Split-stick rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+
2595. Deer-hoof rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2596. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2597. Women, only, dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–
2598. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2599. Touch with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–
2600. Each person dances separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	+
2601. Dancers abreast	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
2602. Dancers in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2603. Stretch bear hide, as out to dry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[533] 2604. Male singer sits by hide and sings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2605. Women, or man, rub, hit bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2606. Man puts on bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+
2607. In morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	(+)
2608. Dances, walks with bearskin on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
2609. Impersonates bear, claws tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
2610. Dog set onto him	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2611. Drops shell beads, which women pick up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2612. Killer of bear ultimately given bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[515] 2613. Impersonator, girl dancers wash at sacred spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2614. Performers from other groups	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–		–	+
(825] 2615. Feast follows performance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				+	–	–		–	+
2616. Held for black bear only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	[illegible]	+	•–	•–	–		–	–

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political Units

Sovereign Bodies

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
621 2617. Each village is autonomous unit	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+
2618. Community of closely adjacent villages forms autonomous unit	–	–	+		–	•+		–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–
2619. Local group, embracing several communities is recognized, or is autonomous unit	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	+	–	–
619 2620. Tribe, embracing all local groups, is recognized unit	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Chiefs and Other Officials

Number of Male Chiefs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
622 2621. 1 per autonomous unit	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
2622. Multiple, of equal rank, per autonomous unit.	–	–	–	–	–	•4	–	–	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[613] 2623. Chiefly lineages	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2624. Tribal chief	R+	R+	–	•(+)	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Basis for Selection

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
[611] 2625. Heredity, primary factor	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+
2626. Paternal only	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–

624 fire at ceremony; totem. Female dance managers.
Fire tender appointed by crier. Judge. Moieties
615 lacking; lineages lacking, except possibly among
613 AE.

WAR

72 Leader has totem animal, bird. Painting of contestants according to totem. Men taken prisoners in war; enslaved. Compensation for slain amounts to more than victim's or victim's mother's bride price. Compensation paid before dance of settlement; at end of dance.

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth

844 Pit, small hole dug in preparation for child-
birth. Animal medicine to aid childbirth. Navel
cord cut with bone, cane knife. Cord buried in
ashes. Cord thrown in bush, stream. Mother
baked in pit. Mother uses drinking tube.
Father lies down, after birth of child. Father
uses drinking tube. Milk teeth thrown toward
moon; backward; over pregnant woman; over house.
845 Twins liked; one killed, only if of opposite
847 sex, incest theory. Abortion accomplished by
taking animal, vegetable medicines, massaging
with hot stones. Infanticide practiced on all
illegitimate, deformed children, twins; infant
killed by sitting upon, drowning, abandoning.

Puberty and Menstrual Observances

881 Girls' puberty rites.--Private seclusion: held for group of related, unrelated girls. Held outside in ceremonial enclosure. Girl sits, lies on curtained couch, bed platform, heated pit. Girl sits, lies face down. Girl's blankets given attendant(s). Girl abstains from food completely. Meals limited to once a day; girl eats after others. All liquids taboo. 4-day increase in food taboos after first period. Food taboos enforced limited number of subsequent periods. Food taboos not enforced after first period. Girl chews deer-fat pellets. Girl fed in pit. Does own cooking. Uses bone drinking tube. No sleeping. Girl avoids all people. No visitors. Scratcher yew wedge, horn. Girl scratches head with fingers. Delousing by self. Mud plastered on hair. Girl makes flower garlands. All join girl in running. Girl travels at night. Girl uses blanket, rabbit-skin blanket, mat wool head covering. Girl wears woodpecker scalp, shell, brush, flower crown headband; brush visor. Hair hangs over face. Girl stands at wall covered. Hair worn done up; braided with goat's wool. Hair dressed by self. Bangs cut at end of ceremony. Face painted white; all colors; sun painted on fore-

773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however, be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency build-
532 ings, which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the lan-
538 guage fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration, assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

624 fire at ceremony; totem. Female dance managers.
Fire tender appointed by crier. Judge. Moieties
615 lacking; lineages lacking, except possibly among
613 AE.

WAR

72 Leader has totem animal, bird. Painting of contestants according to totem. Men taken prisoners in war; enslaved. Compensation for slain amounts to more than victim's or victim's mother's bride price. Compensation paid before dance of settlement; at end of dance.

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth

844 Pit, small hole dug in preparation for child-
birth. Animal medicine to aid childbirth. Navel
cord cut with bone, cane knife. Cord buried in
ashes. Cord thrown in bush, stream. Mother
baked in pit. Mother uses drinking tube.
Father lies down, after birth of child. Father
uses drinking tube. Milk teeth thrown toward
moon; backward; over pregnant woman; over house.
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through the rock, had only a narrow way between them to allow 103
passage along the shore. On a point of rocks on the hill above stands 131
a cremation pile. A hillock west of the bay is called lalau'ḳ!ŏt, flat, 361
for the many flat rocks on top. The opposite point of the river mouth also has a settlement, called tc!a'tc!ŏmsi, for some unidentified bird.

57, wĕḳă'ĕls, fallen tree, is a settlement of moderate size on the shore a mile west of the river mouth, now intersected by the road.

58, wut!ana'kŏḳs, a low gap, and 59, iup!a'tŏna, end place, are summer sites respectively at the ends of a little marsh (now drained) on the west side of the lake.

60, woḳsa'lks, lily seed (wokas) picking place, is a summer camp [222]
on the north shore of Wokas marsh. When leaving in the fall it is
customary to sink the canoes at the edge of the marsh, hide the grinding [501]
slabs in the juniper thicket, and pack by a regular trail to [415]
dĕ'ktcŏŋks, whence they return to the winter villages.

61, dĕ'ktcŏŋks, netting place, is a camp site on the west shore of [226]
Klamath lake opposite Buck island. Midway between this site and the island is a favorite place for catching fish at night with a triangular scoop net. The point Skillet Handle is called iuwa''lɪ, end of a point, and a flat-topped mountain west of Wocus bay, seolŏpǵĭs.

62, sa'stĭtḳa'wals, Shasta stand on end, is Squaw point where a few [823]
Klamath falls people might be found in winter. There are holes in the rocks here in which they pound to make the wind blow, pounding in those on the south side, for instance, to bring a south wind.

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS

The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or 101
possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct dis- 619
trict, and practically autonomous. This is separatism of the familiar Californian order. Nevertheless, the cohesion rising from a common dialect, common culture, and a uniform reaction against all non-tribesmen, which on occasion leads to jointly taking the field against them, produces a tribal solidarity resembling that of the Plains people.

The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the modern name Klamath for the Klamath marsh—Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they

101 • 619 occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of any sharp geographic division, rivers or ranges, such as we should expect to figure in political separatism. There are only three or four miles of open, unoccupied country between the middle Williamson river group and that at the river mouth, for instance, or between the latter and the northernmost outposts of the Klamath falls people about Modoc point. The cases of doubtful divisions really stress this point. Kowa'edi on the lake shore may belong with the middle Williamson division; though only three miles away over a low range of hills, it is somewhat isolated. Similarly the Sprague river settlements toward Yainax, usually included in the same group, are in quite a different district.

721 619 [171] The third feature pointing to their separatism is the frequent feuds between them. It is quite clear that these involve the tribelets; they never occur between the settlements of a single division. The point will be clearer if we contrast Yurok sentiments. There feuds are between the towns or with only a group of kinsmen within a town, and at most when several towns are involved in a joint cause, it appears rather that kinsmen and their friends have been drawn in.[24]
[567] Further, feuds are carried on much as warfare with foreigners; property is destroyed, women and children enslaved. Such slaves can be retained indefinitely or sold again. We may wonder however if they are not restored when a settlement is bought, or at most retained only to even the score in lives.

The identity of these groups resolves itself solely into such aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns
[621] are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large part a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole.

115 197 184 Only one informant, Pat Kane, suggested dialectic and cultural differentiation. The dialect groupings he gave are purely geographic. He also assigned shamanistic tricks, medical practices, and games to the several divisions, which all other informants emphatically denied. I could observe no linguistic differences and Gatschet recorded none.

000 The subdivisions or tribelets are:

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[24] Kroeber, Handbook, 49.

The subdivisions or tribelets are:

I. ä'ukckni, the people of Klamath marsh and middle Williamson river, the Klamath proper. Evidently the Sprague river people are included here; there is some doubt, but I am even more doubtful whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague river as Yainax in pre-reservation times. 101 131 619 •

II. kowa'cdikni, those of a village of that name on Agency lake. They may be ä'ukckni.

III. du'kwakni, on the delta of Williamson river. These are more closely affiliated with the Pelican bay people than with ä'ukckni.

IV. gu'mbötkni, those of Pelican bay and the marsh to the north.

V. iu'' laloŋkni, the people of Klamath falls (Link river) and the eastern shore of Klamath lake.

The names are those of the districts they occupy with the suffix -kni, those of, people of: ä'ukei, Klamath marsh; du'kwa, the district about the mouth of Williamson river; gu'mböt, Pelican bay, possibly taking its name from Rocky point; iu'' laloŋᴇ, on the end, the village at the outlet of the lake into Link river.

It is now difficult to get a true estimate of the size of these groups. 361 The ä'ukckni count twenty-nine or more settlements, half of the total; 162 of the others iu'' laloŋkni have thirteen, gu'mbötkni seven or more, du'kwakni five, and kowa'cdikni, one. The towns vary considerably in size, yet this mere count agrees closely with the populational proportions as my several informants phrased them. The ä'ukckni are by far the largest group, perhaps as large as all the others together. Nancy Phillips recalls the large number of children who played [115] together at gu'mböt, Pelican bay. At this place the settlements do form a large compact group. Next in order she places the du'kwa group, then those clustering about iu'' laloŋᴇ at Klamath falls, and goyᴇmske'ᴇgis on Williamson river. The settlements on Williamson river are small and scattered, but she places their joint population above the gu'mbötkni. The iu'' laloŋkni were comparatively few despite their large territory. Of the ä'ukckni more lived at Klamath marsh even in winter than on Williamson river. The huge size of a single site, du'' Ilk̦ūt, bears this out.

Consonant with their unequal size is it that the principal chief, at 619 least in early reservation days, was the principal chief of the ä'ukckni; 622 all others were distinctly subordinate in prestige. According to one informant, himself a du'kwa man, the ä'ukckni are the highest people. [829] Kᴇmū'kūmps, the culture hero, made them first, best, and strongest; later he made the others.

WARFARE AND FEUDS

721 Klamath warfare is deserving of the name in contrast to the conflicts
of the northern Californian tribes. Raids are carried into
foreign parts for plunder, slaves, and revenge, and received in turn.
No single town or tribelet is alone concerned: warriors are drawn
[171] from the Klamath at large. This is in marked contrast to the Yurok
and their neighbors, e.g., whose foreign wars seem but an extension
of the private quarrels that set town against town, and in which the
large body of Yurok may remain neutral. Warfare is here not mere
retaliation, murder for murder, but is engendered by patriotic motive
and tangible benefits.

There can be little doubt that the Klamath attitude is due to their
contact with tribes of warlike habit to the north and east. Raids from
that direction had to be met and countered. The interesting circumstance
is that the Pit river people were under a similar compulsion
but apparently made no effort to cope with the raids by reciprocating.
So far as I can learn they never ventured against the Klamath despite
their equivalence or even superiority of numbers. The cause for the
difference seems to be that the Klamath had reason to raid; slaves and
[437] plunder were important to them. There was a market for these
articles at the Dalles with much-coveted horses to be had in return.
[231] The Achomawi had no such outlet. I would not underestimate the
difference in tribal solidarity, which may have been entirely lacking
[619] among the Achomawi, but the suggestion is that such solidarity may
in this instance be a function of a common cause against a common
enemy. The Klamath had their share of internecine warfare.

648 Besides the close bond with the Modoc, normally friendly relations
are maintained with the Molala across the Cascades, the Wätä'nkni
(Warm Springs people) of the Deschutes, and the Wishram-Wasco
648 at the Dalles. Warfare is directed toward all other directions. Raids
are exchanged with the Shasta several days' journey down the Klamath
721 river, the Upland Takelma on the Rogue river, and the Northern
[231] Paiute (Snake) of the desert to the east. The Klamath fight the
Kalapuya and take horses from the Warm Springs Indians.[26] Since
horses were obtained by them, raids may be expected of the Ya'mökni
two hundred or more miles away; northerners generically, but in this

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[26] Gatschet, 1:16.

connection the Sahaptins of the Columbia and the Cayuse seem 648
meant.[86] Both Ya'mŏkni and Shasta made slaves among the Klamath. 721
How infrequent were these raids may be judged by the circumstance [567]
that my informants independently mentioned the half-dozen recorded
years ago by Gatschet, and no others.

The Pit river people, possibly only the Achomawi, may alone be
raided with impunity. Reciprocity on their part would lead them
only into the intervening territory of the hostile Modoc, who may well
have served the Klamath as a buffer. For their part the Klamath were [567]
stimulated by the lucrative traffic in slaves established with the Columbia
river tribes, and the majority of captives were by all accounts Pit
river people. Gatschet writes of these raids as a regular occurrence. 114
"In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround 437
the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their
homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place 567
at The Dalles"; and again, "the Lake men enslaved many every
spring time."[87] To be sure, consonant with Kroeber's view,[88] raiding [231]
was undoubtedly accelerated by the appearance of the horse in the
north. Contacts were then more rapid, and the beast itself became
an important and desirable article to possess. But there can be no 567
doubt that the practice of taking slaves on Pit river was already
established. This is not only implied in the informants' statements,
but it must be kept in mind that slaves were an important element in
the society of the Wishram, Wasco, and their down-river neighbors.
This means that the Klamath were not only turning to slave-taking
as a lucrative traffic, but that slave-holding as indicative of social
distinction was becoming their habit by imitation.[89]

How frequently the Klamath made war as a whole is unknown. It 721
seems doubtful that concerted action was frequent. Perhaps large- 567

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[86] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of such a raid up the Deschutes 619
about 1876.

[87] *Op. cit.*, 1:lix, 19.

[88] Handbook, 319.

[89] While the Klamath do not distinguish among the Pit river peoples raided, Kniffen's recent account of the Achomawi (Achomawi Geography) makes it clear that Klamath and Modoc descended most frequently on Achomawi settlements north of the Pit and also crossed it to Atsugewi territory in Hat Creek and Dixie valleys. The Achomawi proper about Fall river were subject to continual attack; the Hewisedawi, south of Goose lake, and the Astariwawi, near them on the Pit, bore the brunt. The Atsugewi divisions, Atsuge (Hat creek) and Aporige (Dixie valley), were also freely raided. The Atwamsini, on the middle Pit, and the Kosalektawi, on the extreme headwaters of the river, were reached much less frequently. The other groups of Achomawi were free from attack probably by reason of their inaccessibility; the Ilmawi, Itsatawi, and Madesi at the western end of their range, and the Hammawi on the extreme east.

721 [619] [567] scale expeditions were undertaken only after the slave traffic was established on an extensive scale. On one occasion at least all the chiefs were at a dance preparatory to going to war: this implies that all the tribelets were engaged. All the tribelets joined similarly in a raid for revenge against the Upland Takelma. It is said that the Klamath marsh division (ä'ukekni), by far the largest group, always extended the invitation for war, but I doubt that this is literally so. It is true that they led in aggressions just prior to reservation days, but this seems because of the initiative of their chief Lele'ks, the most prominent ever known, who was singularly interested in the slave trade for his personal advantage.

726 628 Internecine warfare is probably as significant as that with foreigners, for quarrels and blood feuds are quite common. Feuds exist between the several subdivisions, not within them, evincing a solidarity which but rarely extends to the tribe. Thus the du'kwakni of the mouth of Williamson river are known to have taken action against members of each of the four other divisions, even the gu'mbötkni of Pelican bay with whom they are closely linked. There are cases of reciprocated action by each of the five against the others indiscriminately. Yet Pat Kane stated that the lesser divisions avoided conflict with the ä'ukekni. Yet there is the case of his own people, du'kwakni, fighting with an ä'ukekni settlement. Nancy Phillips said it was true that she knew of no cases involving gu'mbötkni or iu''lalo̧kni (southern lake people) with ä'ukekni, but this does not mean they would not fight. I think it hardly likely that the others are awed by the numbers of the ä'ukekni, for the feuds are essentially between groups of relatives alone. Yet others besides relatives might be induced to join.

721 628 A characteristic circumstance initiating a feud is the murder of a man residing with a wife of another tribelet. Ten or twenty of his male relatives take canoe and demand the delivery of the murderer or satisfaction from his relatives in the form of women, slaves, beads, dentalia, etc. The parley (ndĕ'na) is held from a safe distance at the top of their voices. Instead of acceding, the offenders may offer fight. But an effort is usually made to reach an agreement by offering payment. They may forestall retaliation by dispatching as a go-between (gaḳö'ḳwa) a relative of the offended group who is paid for his trouble, a canoe, a shirt, net, skin armor, or a woman's dress. If they have neither women nor money to offer, they give nets, weapons, anything, even to the last things they have. If no amicable adjustment can be reached they resort to fight. Even though the score be evened

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
174 Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[622] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
[721] carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-holding
[567] existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their distribution
177 established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kinship
terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
[622] custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[619] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctiveness
101 from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
105 to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some northwestern
influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
535 ‡2588. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	3	2	–		–	1
o2589. Actual dance lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–		–	1
o2590. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	2	1	2	–		–	–
2591. Dance begins near sundown	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
2592. Dance begins in morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
o2593. Number of singers, musicians	–	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	–		•2	1	–		–	2
2594. Split-stick rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+
2595. Deer-hoof rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2596. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2597. Women, only, dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–
2598. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2599. Touch with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–
2600. Each person dances separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	+
2601. Dancers abreast	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
2602. Dancers in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2603. Stretch bear hide, as out to dry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[533] 2604. Male singer sits by hide and sings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2605. Women, or man, rub, hit bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2606. Man puts on bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+
2607. In morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	(+)
2608. Dances, walks with bearskin on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
2609. Impersonates bear, claws tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
2610. Dog set onto him	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2611. Drops shell beads, which women pick up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2612. Killer of bear ultimately given bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[515] 2613. Impersonator, girl dancers wash at sacred spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2614. Performers from other groups	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–		–	+
2615. Feast follows performance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				+	–	–		–	+
(825) 2616. Held for black bear only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	•–	–		–	–

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political Units

Sovereign Bodies

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
621 2617. Each village is autonomous unit	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+
2618. Community of closely adjacent villages forms autonomous unit	–	–	+		–	•+		–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–
2619. Local group, embracing several communities is recognized, or is autonomous unit	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	+	–	–
619 2620. Tribe, embracing all local groups, is recognized unit	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	~	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Chiefs and Other Officials

Number of Male Chiefs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
622 2621. 1 per autonomous unit	+	+	+	+	–	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
[613] 2622. Multiple, of equal rank, per autonomous unit.	–	–	–	–	–	•4	–	–	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2623. Chiefly lineages	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2624. Tribal chief	R+	R+	–	•(+)	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Basis for Selection

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
[611] 2625. Heredity, primary factor	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+
2626. Paternal only	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–

to say nothing of captured women from Shasta, the Achumawi K M
and Atsugewi of the Pit River region, Paiute, and the tribes 621
beyond the Cascades. Among the Modoc, the villages of the band 582
called *gumbatwas* are said to be composite in membership, including 563
Modoc, Klamath, Pit River, and Shasta; and those of the
Upland Klamath consist of Klamath with some Modoc and
Paiute elements.[17]

Allegiance with the village may be partial. If an attack is to K
be launched, war leaders can find recruits only among those men M 621
with proclivity for fighting and an attraction toward the leader. 628
On the other hand, feuds may ignite attacks that are restricted 581
to the family groups concerned. While the myths reveal currents 701
of hostility between affinals, in real life marriage acts to extend
the ramifications of support, often into other communities.

Beyond the village lies the tribelet, an entity that recognizes its K
being in a territorial name and in a common cause in feuds with M 619 •
other tribelets. In its virtual autonomy this unit marks an extreme K
in band organization within the larger tribe, a quality that was 619
reduced by subsequent tribal integration. For the Klamath there
are six tribelets (see map): (1) The Klamath Marsh people,
who outnumber all the others together; (2) the tiny Agency
Lake group; (3) those of the lower Williamson River; (4) the
Pelican Bay tribelet; (5) the Klamath Falls group; and (6) the
Upland Klamath of the Sprague River valley. The Modoc comprise M
three main groups: (7) that of Lower Klamath Lake, extending 619
to Tule Lake (the *gumbatwas* mentioned above); (8)
those clustered upon the lower Lost River; and (9) the eastern
tribelet, with settlements dispersed as far as Goose Lake. No K
firm evidence exists that these local territorial units are distinguished M
by either language or culture, although, as already 619
mentioned, at least two are of composite origin. Each tribelet 726
seems to have gained a tenuous cohesion through a common
recognition of the worth of several prominent headmen. Between K
tribelets there is sometimes war. Under their formidable leader, 619
Kokdinks, the Williamson River group attacked in turn villages 726
of each of the other lower Klamath tribelets, including that at
Pelican Bay, to which they considered themselves related; and
the prolonged war ended only when the Upland Klamath leader,
Monchnkasgitk, a kinsman, first joined, then slew Kokdinks.[18]

K

M
175 1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-
178 scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes.
726 The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging
K scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty,
M 175 brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of
726 which based their power upon eminence in war and possession
182 of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers,
622 and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times
565 to cement alliances with shamans.

556 756 Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean
[754] weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power
was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of
us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain
persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would
die."[11]

K The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties.
M 175 A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-
178 bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader
622 increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers
● 619 from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country.
628 As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance ren-
726 dered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment
of worth.

K In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary
622 principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his
175 father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother
as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill,
a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David,
later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain
George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not
essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks,
K [838] of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite
in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the
power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

K A minor factor in these developments may have been the
195 interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in
643 order that they might deal more effectively with responsible
648 leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs
177 met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

SIX

[P. 74]

Political Changes

K
*648 UNDER THE TREATY OF 1864, THREE INDIAN GROUPS, DIFFERING IN
*657 size and degree of internal cohesion, were brought together to
• 619 form a single polity. The Klamath, under Lileks and Chiloquin,
622 had achieved some measure of chiefly centralization in the decades immediately preceding the treaty, but band cleavages were still very real. Principal among these was that which separated the Upland Klamath of Monchnkasgitk from the Lakeside tribelets. The Yahuskin Snakes at that time seem to have been closely linked to the Upland band, and in early reservation times were numbered among the adherents of its chief.

M
643 The Modoc not only showed a lesser degree of political inte-
648 gration than did the Klamath but were disputing over the nomi-
657 nal office of head chief. The position of the aging Schonchin was precarious; for Steele in 1864, after treating with him as representative for his tribe, had presided over the election which was widely construed as providing a successor. In the treaty with Huntington, Schonchin was again treated as head man,[1] but less than a year later it was reported that "the Modoc Indians are very much dissatisfied and have deposed their head chief who signed the treaty of friendship with the Whites, because of his doings in the premises." The officer relaying the information to Huntington at the same time offered the support of the army "to sustain the chief and bring the Indians to terms by force."[2] The revolt was short-lived, nor, judging by Schonchin's later actions, is it probable that the military were needed. He and his followers came on the reservation for the first distribution of annuities in 1867, but Captain Jack and John Schonchin, together with their adherents, remained in their homeland in the Tule Basin, which they understood to have been reserved to them in the treaty with Steele.[3]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

SEVEN

[P.95]

Social Change

WITHIN LESS THAN TEN YEARS AFTER THE RESERVATION HAD BEEN 648*
established, two communities had developed. The one at the 657*
Lower End was composed primarily of Klamath, with a small 361
number of freed slaves. Yainax was far less homogeneous. Near
the subagency were the Upland Klamath and the Modoc, while
some ten miles beyond lay Paiute Camp. With the beginning
of stock raising, the fine grazing lands of the Upper End drew
Klamath from the Agency side.[1] The Klamath Marsh settlements,
formerly the area of densest concentration, had been
abandoned as a winter residence in favor of warmer localities
about Upper Klamath Lake. Although O. C. Applegate later [731]
intimated the move was caused by losses from smallpox and other
introduced diseases,[2] the general advantages of proximity to
Agency and Fort may also have recommended it. Settlements on
the Lower End now clustered about the Agency and upon the
lower course of Williamson River. Only a scattering of houses
extended along the Sprague as far as Lilu's seat at Kawumkan
Springs, approximately ten miles above its mouth.[3] Beyond that
point, almost thirty miles intervened between the two communities.

In their settlements, former foes were brought together: Pelican 657*
Bay and other bands on the Williamson, Klamath and Walpapi 648*
at Yainax. Band affiliations, which rested on kinship and 621
long association, continued to be strong for some time even within 619 •
the new settings. Thus members of the Pelican Bay band sometimes 177
shared foodstuffs, and the claim that their parents stemmed 178
from the same tribelet long provided a bond strong enough to
enable one person to borrow from another. By the end of the
period, however, band identities had been largely relinquished
as peoples intermingled. In their place developed ties of varying

*657 strengths reflecting emergent neighborhoods; common employ-
*648 ment at the Agency, or as freighters and as work crews; shared
621 church interests; and, with time, friendships formed at school.
• 619 The growing importance of the adjacent white settlements and
177 the administrative colonies at the Agency and at Yainax set in
178 relief the larger community of the Indian reservation.

*657 Klamath relationships with members of the Agency staff seem
*648 to have been restricted largely to those demanded by their official
duties. Their scanty numbers would in any case have made contact with them infrequent for the great body of the population, and the whites tended to maintain a closed community in their social relationships. An important exception to the general social insulation were some of the more acceptable members of the families of Indian employees, who were sometimes hired as help and thus received a conditional entrée to the houses of whites. Off the reservation, special protector-employer roles seem to have been assumed by such men as Sykes Worden, contractor and post trader at Fort Klamath, O. C. Applegate, and several others.

By far the most unhindered contacts were made at Fort Klamath. The freedom of the individual from social constraint in the early days is evinced in the situation John Meacham found.

> Certain Indian women [he remarked] . . . had established several habitations in the vicinity of the Agency. They were in the habit of hanging around the office, the quarters, private houses and other buildings of the Agency, losing no opportunity of insinuating themselves into the presence of the employes. They were saucy, impudent and lewd in the extreme.

He therefore placed the post off limits for women unless they had legitimate business, an order that "met with the hearty approval of the Indian men and the faithful observance of the women."[4] The practice was not stopped, however, and Dyar, who tried to institute a pass system to control the traffic, noted that "soldiers are in the habit of frequently visiting the Indian camps below this point—sometimes remaining over night."[5]

*657 Native marital practice posed no very great obstacle to a white
*648 who wished to consort with an Indian woman. In the nature of
563 things many of these unions were casual, but others possessed a
more permanent character, though often common law in form. Indignant settlers in the Klamath Valley circulated a petition in

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 *657 423 were allotted land under the provisions of the act of May 27, 1902,[14] they were usually assigned tracts adjacent to those of their parents. The total for some families aggregated 800 to 1000 acres; and in 1914 there were several with over twice that amount.[15]

In design, the conditions of allotment differed from those governing homesteading. The homesteader was ordinarily an adult, head of a family, or single adult, or veteran of war service. By contrast the allottee was any individual on the tribal rolls.[16] For adult allottees, the condition of competency, as demonstrated in homesteading by residence and improvements made upon the tract, formed no part of the legal requirement. In practice, it was called into issue only at the instance of the Agent, or Superintendent, largely as a contingency upon the leasing of land or the award of a share in tribal trust funds. Thus, after the amendment of 1891 permitted leasing, O. C. Applegate wrote regarding the possible allotment of one Indian, "If he secures land, he can lease it for a term of years, after the approval of his allottment [sic], provided that he should not care to reside permanently upon it." To another person, Edson Watson, a later Superintendent, wrote, "When an allotting agent arrives and you should not or would not select land [for your child], then I would select for him." It is clear that another off-reservation allottee, Modoc Nancy, had never even seen her allotment.[17] The acquisition of a tract of land was clearly construed as a right acquired by virtue of tribal membership.

*648 *657 423 •619 Who, indeed, were tribal members? It is recalled today that during the council called to consider the General Allotment Act, some of the older leaders, principally Monchnkasgitk and Lilu, opposed the division of tribal lands, and when they lost this point they objected to the inclusion of any Indian with white forebears. Jesse Kirk, whose wife accordingly would have been excluded, defiantly stated that he would leave the reservation, and he was joined by the interbreed, William Crawford. Rather than lose such men, lifelong residents of the reservation, who came of respected family and were conversant in Klamath, the opposition withdrew their protests. However, the point was maintained for such whites as John Corbell, who was married to a tribal member and who had been adopted into the tribe.[18]

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Indeed, for some time after the passage of the act, the details of membership had not been worked out. As late as 1892, the Assistant Commissioner was writing, "No final decision has been rendered on the question of the status of half-breeds or mixed-bloods, as regards their right to take lands and receive other benefits with the tribes with which they claim to belong."[19] By the time that allotment was well under way at Klamath, the matter had been resolved in their favor. While Indians not residing upon a reservation might receive an allotment upon the public domain, it became the practice to encourage them to take up land upon the reservation. A vigorous campaign was mounted to ensure that all who had legitimate claims should be allotted before the surplus lands were opened. In a characteristic letter, O. C. Appleton wrote one woman:

> I am of the opinion that you and the relatives you mention are all right. *Blood* is what we must depend upon to decide who has rights upon the reservation. If you have Klamath blood or Modoc blood in your veins you are entitled to lands upon the reservation and to have your children in school here.[20]

A policeman was dispatched to Yreka and other points in Northern California in search of persons "who have rights on the Klamath Indian Reservation."[21] Reservation residents were encouraged to invite eligible relatives to write to the Agent and to make application.

Candidates for admission to the tribal rolls were obliged to submit affidavits of their affiliation with enrolled members. Emery could write to Capt. J. W. Siemens of Klamath Falls:

> . . . as I understand it, your wife is a member of this tribe and she and your children are justly entitled to allottments [sic]. If you will furnish this Office with the full name of your wife, together with those of your children, I will instruct the clerk to place them on the census roll.[22]

This procedure was highly irregular. The evidence was customarily submitted to a tribal council for consideration.

One such council of "the people of Klamath Reservation" was called by Petet for the consideration of six named persons and others who might present themselves for admission. Of the six, four were admitted, in addition to Frank Riddle, the white husband of Winema of Modoc War fame.[23]

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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 The qualifications argued by a council in 1908 included con-
*657 ditions of family relationship and tribal association. Of two
423 applicants considered favorably only the circumstances of re-
619 lationship was cited. "The council," ran the findings, "was of the
623 opinion that both of these Indians are related to the Indians of this reservation, and are entitled to allotment and enrollment here."

In denying the application of another on behalf of her children, failure to associate was the main ground given: ". . . to the best of our knowledge and belief," the council stated, "as Amelia Skeen does not associate and affiliate with the Indians on the Klamath reservation, . . . her children are not entitled to enrollment and allotment. . . ." The claims of Amelia Skeen were later accepted when a number of tribal members traced out their relationship with her.[24]

Meanwhile, the Superintendent expressed his own opinion. Forwarding the statements of a council that had found two Indians entitled to membership, Wilson observed:

> Neither of these Indians have come forward and made any affidavits in their favor, setting forth their rights here, nor furnished any affidavits from other Indians that they are entitled, as I am informed in other Office letters is required by your Office.

He added that one of the Indians was already allotted on the Warm Springs Reservation.[25] On the other hand, he recommended allotment of the three children by a former wife of an Umpqua Indian now married to an enrolled member. The council refused to admit them, despite favorable affidavits of six local Indians. Wilson himself cited the regular school attendance of the children as a point in their favor. They were finally enrolled and allotted.[26]

A general reading of cases shows that the council was disposed to give greater weight to evidence of association than to relationship, and that the Superintendent tended to reverse the order of importance. In the official view, all Indians were to be allotted either on the reservation or on the public domain. O. C. Applegate, indeed, labored for a time under the impression that "Halfbreeds cannot hold allotment on the public domain," and he urged all eligible to take up land on the reservation.[27] Even when persons affiliated with tribal members had already secured

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allotments on the public domain, Applegate advocated that they 657*
relinquish them in favor of tracts upon the reservation.[28] 423

For tribal members, the enrollment of outsiders was often 619•
objectionable; although opposition was less to their being [623]
granted allotments upon the reservation than to admitting them to equal shares in the tribal funds. By the terms of the McLaughlin Agreement of 1901 settling boundary claims, over a half-million dollars had been entered to tribal credit, part of which then became available to tribal members in per capita payments. As Applegate wrote to one off-reservation member, "there are a good many who would like to see people who do not live on the Reservation cut off from all benefits of the Treaty."[29]

In 1903, Applegate had estimated that there were "about 185 nonresidents, a number of them allottees though not residing on the reservation—with them are about 80 children of school age, many of whom are attending white schools."[30]

Analysis of the annuity payments from trust shares sent out 648*
between November, 1907, and January, 1908, reveals interesting 657*
characteristics of the nonresident membership. Omitting shares 619
to 13 students (8 girls, 5 boys) at off-reservation schools, payments went to 6 married couples, in which both parties were enrolled members, and to 39 women and 14 men either single or married to nonenrolled spouses. In addition, shares were sent to these adults for a total of 51 children. Children's shares were sent to 4 married, enrolled couples, to 14 enrolled mothers, and to only 2 enrolled fathers. While other explanations are plausible, the figures are highly suggestive of a preponderance of off-reservation marriages between Indian women and white men.

From the point of view of geographical distribution, the off- 648*
reservation population is also of interest. The table below, which 657*
excludes scholars sent away to government schools, presents the 162
salient features:

CALIFORNIA		20
South	5	
North (including San Francisco)	15	
OREGON		88
Southern Coast	4	
Klamath Basin	66	

K
visited by a large delegation of Klamath, headed by Henry 648*
Wilson, member of the tribal council, who wished to send the 657*
Superintendent to Washington on a number of issues, of which 162
the first was that "we have heard that the Modoc Indians are to 423
come back here and get lands and money the same as we do; M
we do not like that and want our side explained to you. . . ."[36] 648
Later that year, the Superintendent certified 16 Modoc for 657
allotment, observing however, "I do not believe that Congress 162
intended to simply let the Modocs return and get allotments and 423
then return to Oklahoma to live. This is, however, exactly what some of them intend to do."[37]

Allotment thus brought back to the reservation persons who had already made extensive adjustment to the larger society. Applegate, indeed, asserted that "nearly all of these people who have been allotted lands have become residents of the reservation,"[38] but the figures already reviewed show a sizable number remaining away. Despite the fact they did not in any other way identify their interests with the reservation community, they received equities in lands and in the undivided tribal fund.

Finally, the right of tribal members to allotment was affected by the closure of the rolls. The original allotments had been made in 1895 and were resumed in 1909. At that time, however, considerable discontent was generated by the exclusion of all children born after April 15, 1910. Those born later, although tribal members and as such retaining an equity in tribal property, did not receive a share of land. Their parents agitated for two years to have allotments issued to them. Although they were granted permission to select tracts on behalf of their children, it was with the understanding that their choice would have no legal status. Meanwhile, the Bureau opposed allotments for these new members. Not until the Yamsay Judgment of 1938, with the successful conclusion of the Military Road suit, were funds set aside by the Klamath Tribe for in-lieu payments of $1,500 to each unallotted member.

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In this manner, then, allotments were made. To qualify, an 648*
individual had to be a tribal member, born before the terminal 657*
date in 1910. Membership was determined at times by the tribal 619*
council, at times by the Agent, employing a standard that M 648
wavered between the two criteria of proven kinship and habitual 657
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*648 association and residence. The membership thus construed in-
*657 cluded not alone the reservation peoples, but the absentee
619 Modoc and those who had severed their connections with the
423 reservation.

M
648 The ambiguities thus introduced might have been avoided in
657 part had the allotment program maintained some of the pro-
619 visions of an early allotment plan outlined in 1871 by Com-
423 missioner E. S. Parker. By its terms, residence and association taken together were to be made the primary criteria. Whites or interbreeds married to tribal women, who resided with them upon the reservation, and who had been adopted into the tribe might be allotted. Indian women married to whites and living off the reservation forfeited that right, and the children of Indian women living in common-law relations with whites were to receive a share of land only if they moved back to the reservation.[29] It should be remarked, however, that this principle would only have been effective in preventing absentee ownership had residence also been required of heirs. Otherwise, in the first generation the allotments would have been treated like an inherited property. That, indeed, was their fate under the administration of the Dawes Act.

Once allotted, an Indian had a new status. His allotment could be fenced and it could be leased. The results of his industry, together with anticipated lease funds made many a man a good risk for advances in merchandise and foodstuffs.
K Citizenship lay within his grasp, involving with it a changing
M jurisdiction under law and bringing about a restive reappraisal
[641] of the sometimes autocratic rule of the Superintendent.

K
The original intent of the act had been to transform the
+648 Indians into yeomen-farmers. That 160 acres of grazing land
on the upper reservation was an economically practicable unit
+657 had been doubted by Nickerson, and the subsequent experience
423 of at least one white rancher with long experience in the same
311 area tends to confirm that judgment. At the same time, when several members of a family possessed adjoining tracts, the acreage might be adequate. In later times at least there were complications. Remarked Wilson in 1909:

> . . . the allotting was not made as it should have been made. An Indian will be allotted in Modoc Point district and perhaps

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

reserved for Indian cattlemen was ample, and that indeed the 648*
tribe was losing between $6,000 and $8,000 a year on land with- 657*
held for their use but not grazed. "Even this, he went on to say, 423
"did not seem to satisfy a number of Indians, and as a result the 427
tribal council recently [1926], passed a resolution to close the 563
range next year." He recommended that the Bureau disapprove 311
the tribal action.[122] During the remainder of his tenure, the issue of leasing the tribal range recurred at least twice more; and it arose from time to time to plague his successors.[123]

The desire to convert equal access to tribal resources into a pro 648*
rata share of rentals found a counterpart in such measures as 657*
those involving tribally supported programs for lumber. The lum- 313
ber mills operated for years by the Agency had been partially intended to supply materials for building houses and barns, but by 1908 only the mill at Yainax remained, and the Indians were no longer bringing in enough logs to keep the sawyer busy.[124]

With the establishment of sawmills on the reservation, the government mill drew less and less traffic. It was moved to a new location in 1927, but although there was no commercial sawmill within twenty miles, business was not measurably improved.[125] By 1930 it functioned only a short period each year for those members who wished to haul their own logs and pay twenty per cent of the lumber to defray milling expenses. Reported Arnold:

> During the past two years a few disgruntled Indians who do not avail themselves of the opportunity of obtaining lumber through their own efforts have objected to its operation on the theory that is being operated at the expense of the tribe for the benefit of a few of the Indians. Due to this criticism, the future of the sawmill is uncertain.

Soon thereafter the mill was closed.[126]

These were some of the expectations among the Indians created 648*
by increasing contact with a free-enterprise system. Individuals 657*
came to see that tribal membership entailed not only the restric- 619 •
tions imposed by Agency regulation but pecuniary returns as well. [177]
Those members dwelling off the reservation discovered that they could realize their pro rata share of tribal income without being subjected to supervision in expending it. Moreover, insofar as the Superintendent was willing and able to take decisions into

*648 *657 • 619 his own hands, Indians frequently became emancipated from responsibility to any strictly tribal body.

Exclusion of children born after a given date in 1910 gave rise to an unpropertied membership both on and off the reservation. With the return to the reservation of some acculturated members, often the product of intermarriage with whites, the outlook of

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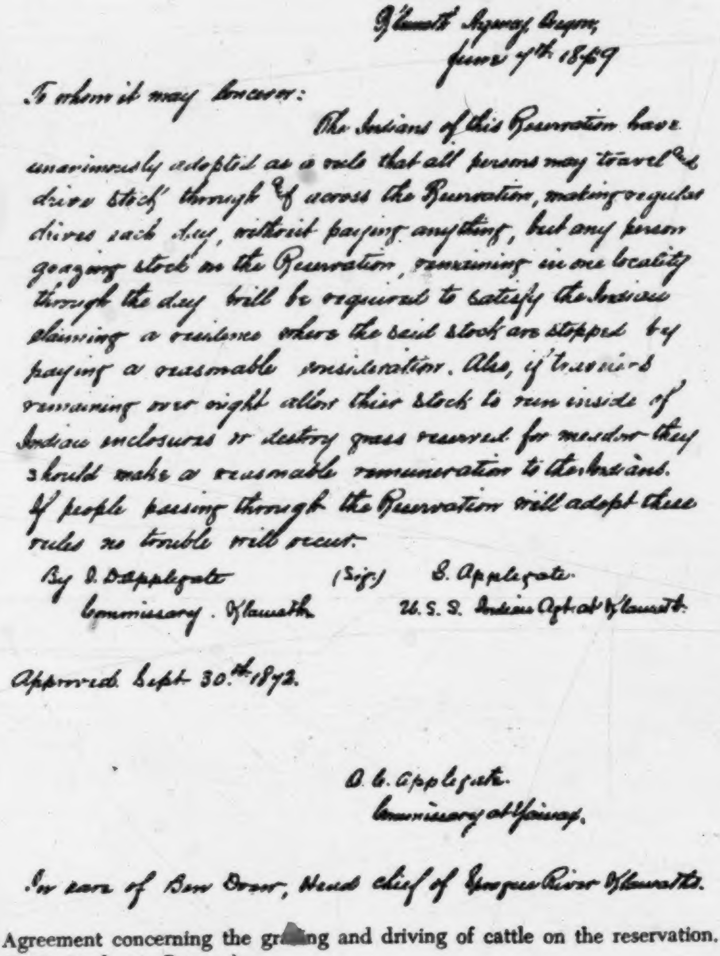

Klamath Agency Oregon,
June 7th 1869

To whom it may concern:

The Indians of this Reservation have unanimously adopted as a rule that all persons may travel & drive stock through & across the Reservation, making regular drives each day, without paying anything, but any person grazing stock on the Reservation, remaining in one locality through the day will be required to satisfy the Indians claiming a residence where the said stock are stopped by paying a reasonable consideration. Also, if travelers remaining over night allow their stock to run inside of Indian enclosures or destroy grass reserved for meadow they should make a reasonable remuneration to the Indians. If people passing through the Reservation will adopt these rules no trouble will occur.

By I. D. Applegate (Sig.) L. Applegate.
Commissary. Klamath U. S. S. Indian Agt at Klamath.

Approved Sept 30th 1872.

O. C. Applegate.
Commissary at Yainax.

In care of Bow Dow, Head chief of Sprague River Klamaths.

Agreement concerning the gr[illegible]ng and driving of cattle on the reservation. (O. C. Applegate *Papers.*)

the local populace became increasingly diverse. In view of the 648* original plan for the sale of surplus lands, it is not surprising 657* that members, particularly those who had not received allotments, 619 • sought lands upon the tribal domain. Public interest came to be interpreted in two ways: the older view—compatible with aboriginal tenure—of equal opportunity of use, contended against the new outlook, which regarded the member's interest as a pro rata share of the monies from rental. The latter viewpoint, which in time prevailed, minimized the individual's direct concern in exploitation of tribal resources and, together with the income that gave him economic independence and the paternal Agency supervision, liberated him from major responsibilities. In the limbo into which reservation society was thrust, its constituent units continued to erode; and the administration, which had planned to transform them, now found them so weakened that it had to bear the major task of regulating the conduct of tribal members. Tribal members, finding that the chief restraint upon their conduct was wielded by the Agency, increasingly rebelled.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

THIRTEEN

[P. 185]

Modern Klamath: Demography and Economy

ALTHOUGH THEY LACK THE DRAMA OF CULTURAL CONFRONTATION, 648* the years since the barriers of the reservation crumbled have 657* been eventful ones for the Klamath, and deserve minute study. 619 • The wealth of material makes such a treatment inappropriate, 177 and recommends instead a summary approach. Viewed as a 178 whole, a half-century of change has been marked by progression, with no major discontinuities. Geographically, physically, culturally, and socially, the Klamath lost special attributes they had once shared; yet, held together by a joint history, through participation in a tribal government, and by interest in a tribal estate held in common, they retained their identity as Klamath. This was a period in which, compared to the dominant society, the Klamath passed into a condition of reduced power, unable even to control the tribal assets save through a veto, constituting an ethnic minority in the communities where they resided, even within the reservation.

One of the indexes of latterday Klamath diversity has been 648* their geographic distribution. At the turn of the century, approxi- 657* mately ten per cent of the tribal membership resided off the reservation.[2] By 1955 the number had mounted to over forty per cent; and three years later, after termination, it exceeded fifty per cent of the Tribe. As had been true earlier, the absentee members were grouped concentrically about the reservation. Perhaps a quarter of their number resided within Klamath County in towns adjacent to the reservation. Outside the county, they were scattered throughout areas of southern Oregon and northern California where Klamath had long had ties. Along the

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 Pacific Coast, tribal members lived in urban centers as well: in
*657 the cities of the Willamette Valley, in Portland, where about a
hundred dwelled, in Seattle to the north and Sacramento and
San Francisco to the south. Beyond this area and eastward to
the Atlantic Coast the number dropped sharply, although there
were tribal members as far distant as Massachusetts. Only a
handful of the absentee members lived on other reservations.[3]
• [619] Tribal families residing in the same city demonstrated little tendency to form a compact ethnic enclave.

*648 Within the reservation, tribal members in the Lower End
*657 communities of Chiloquin, Modoc Point, and Klamath Agency
489 were almost half again as numerous as those in the Upper End
[491] towns of Sprague River and Beatty.[4] (See map of Klamath
Indian Reservation.) Travel between the Lower End and Klamath Falls, the largest city in the county and its administrative seat, was relatively easy by comparison with the Upper End, and the advantage remained even after a market road was constructed linking the latter directly with the county seat. As a result, Beatty and Sprague River long had closer ties with such towns on the eastern periphery as Bly, Bonanza, and Lakeview, far smaller communities than Klamath Falls, and correspondingly less complex from an institutional standpoint.

*648 During the first years of the termination program, between
*657 the publication of the provisional and final rolls of the Tribe, the
16 change of address of tribal members reflected the migration
currents. Within the reservation, movement ran from smaller to larger communities. Between the reservation and the outer world, the records show almost three times as many Klamath departing as returning. Those leaving the reservation were drawn to cities, rather than the rural countryside or the smaller towns. Although the rate of movement had accelerated in those days, the trends hold true for the entire postallotment period.

A survey of the motives which at an earlier time had brought Klamath to Chiloquin and to Klamath Falls shows that consumer values ranked high. A few had come to seek jobs, particularly to the county seat, for the narrow range of opportunities on the reservation offered little choice. Others left the reservation to escape what they regarded as the stultification of reservation life or the demands upon the ambitious made by the claims of kins-

the Beatty Roping Club, an organization that sponsored a local 648*
rodeo, with white, Klamath, and Indian members from the 657*
reservation and its environs. Another, an Agency employee until 621
his transfer to the Lower End, was active in organizing a youth 563
program. In Beatty in 1959, informal discussion still sufficed to decide common issues; and such men as these could marshal support to implement decisions. In the entire town, two deputy sheriffs, an arm of the county, were the sole embodiments of officialdom.[5]

Chiloquin, by contrast, was a larger and more complex community, having a formal municipal structure headed by a mayor and a council of six aldermen, along with a recorder-police judge and a treasurer. It hired a town marshal, ran an elementary and high school under the aegis of the county and state, operated sewage and water systems, owned a municipal tavern, and supported a volunteer fire department.

Not surprisingly, within this community principal economic interests were often aligned in the control of political power. Such devices as the massing of supporters to control party caucuses and interim appointments to fill vacancies on the council have enabled such interests to provide continuity of representation. With the exception of the treasurer, the elective offices for years were filled by men. Until 1957, they were invariably held by whites. In that year, when awareness of incipient termination had drawn together some tribal members, a group of Klamath succeeded in voting into office as alderman the Indian wife of a well-respected tribal member.

Leadership recruitment in Chiloquin was directed toward those individuals who had shouldered responsibility in such civic activities as the drives for Community Chest and Red Cross. Only one-third of the white families were actively represented in one or more such ventures. Among tribal families, however, the proportion was far smaller: certainly it lay below one-tenth of those resident in Chiloquin. The reasons were not far to seek. For one, the civic activities involved were quasisocial in character, and the low participation of Klamath reflected
their social isolation within the community. Again, their own
political orientation was rather toward the Tribe than to the [619]
affairs of towns which they identified with the dominant society.

*648 *657 Although tribal members in Chiloquin lagged little behind their
621 white neighbors in registering to vote (1958), their concern was
563 less with local than with national issues.[*]
641 A second aspect of Indian citizenship was the support of local
619 government through payment of taxes. Since all property held
666 in trust or restricted status by the government, together with
*648 income derived from such property, was exempt from taxation,
*657 many tribal members occupied an unusual position among their
641 fellow citizens. The effect was particularly felt by the county and
651 local communities, which were heavily dependent upon property taxes. For years, Klamath County sought to secure funds from the government to compensate it for the trust lands within its boundaries, which were served by county roads, sheriffs, courts, and schools. Johnson-O'Malley funds finally provided money in lieu of taxes to support the schools; to these the Klamath Tribe on occasion added funds for special purposes, but the other causes were unavailing.

In Chiloquin, officials resented the action of one Superintendent, who advised tribal residents that any property bought within the city with funds in trust or restricted status might be restored to corresponding status, even though it had been owned in fee simple when purchased. Such house lots were thus removed from the tax rolls and, although benefited by sewers and other municipal improvements, could not be levied for their support. It was not commonly recognized by white citizens of
[563] Chiloquin that a number of tribal members paid taxes regularly upon property held in fee simple and that a multitude of indirect taxes fell as heavily upon tribal consumers as upon their fellow citizens. Rather, the image was that of a people exempt from financial responsibility toward the support of local institutions from which they benefited. Though a distortion, like many other parts of the stereotype, this evaluation nonetheless contained a substantial kernel of truth.

If truth be told, the citizens of Chiloquin were no more disposed to pay taxes than American citizens anywhere, and indeed they were somewhat less inclined to do so than those elsewhere in Oregon. In 1951-52, the millage rates of Chiloquin were by far the lowest among the organized communities of Klamath

*648 formal occasions in the General Council in a demonstration of
*657 decorative oratory; and there it might also serve a speaker to
177 shut out a heckler who knew only English. In such a session, a
178 member in the audience, although fluent in English, might de-
191 mand the services of an interpreter for the purpose of underscoring his Indian status. Similar functions were served when Klamath was spoken in the presence of whites. The ability to shift from one language to another, or from one behavioral modality to another, was akin to the behavior which Polgar has described in the "biculturation" of Fox children.[21]

*648 In the latter days of the reservation, there were few occasions
*657 when tribal members came together for traditional events, and
177 the sessions of the General Council constituted the main remain-
178 ing tribal gathering. Such individuals as our old friend mentioned
623 above had their closest and most continuous relations with chil-
• 619 dren and grandchildren, who by no means shared their outlook.
571 On the occasional visits of their aged peers, these elders exchanged memories and expressed common concerns which were as much the product of the parallel roles they then performed in their respective families as of the time in which they had grown up.

*648 Such accommodation as there has been to American culture has
*657 not only changed through time with alterations in the state of
177 Klamath and American cultures; but at any single time, Klamath
178 have drawn diversely from what was available. Thus, the small
number of families in Chiloquin that have attained a measure
184 of social acceptance by whites of middle or high status have done so by manifesting the appropriate life style. In so doing, unless they are able deftly to shift role-orientations, being now Klamath, now white, they have had to sacrifice close relations with their kin. "Some of my family I never see any more," remarked one such woman, "and I don't want to see them." They often forbade their children to play with undesirable tribal children. Insistence upon household neatness, fastidious emphasis upon personal cleanliness, punctuality, and adherence to self-standards usually accompanied these attitudes.

Inframodal behavior among Klamath in turn has by no means been random in form, but has approximated already established patterns in the dominant culture; often combining them in ways

SEVENTEEN

[P.236]

The Tribal Government

* 648 FOR NEARLY FIFTY YEARS FOLLOWING ALLOTMENT, THE KLAMATH
* 657 tribal government constituted the formal instrument for arriving
• 619 at common objectives, the ultimate guardian against encroach-
646 ments upon Klamath treaty rights, and the corporate symbol of Indian status. Its form and operations sensitively reflected the interplay of continued efforts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to mold Indian life and the Indian reaction to those efforts. They gave evidence as well of the diversity of opinion which presently arose among tribal members as to the future in which they wished to live.[1]

[423] Central to the importance of the tribal government was the considerable wealth over which it presided: at the close of allotment, tribal property amounted to over 860,000 acres of land, roughly three-fourths of it in prime timber, owned corporately by some 1,150 members. By contrast, the Umatilla reservation, in the northeast section of the state, in 1908 possessed fewer than 2,000 acres in unallotted tribal lands for a comparable (893) membership.

*648 The principal body of the tribal organization was the General
*657 Council, a successor to those sessions convened on occasion in
646 times past to discuss matters of common concern. Such *ad hoc*
623 councils had formerly been found useful to the federal government for mustering a representative Indian body; but with the development of an executive body, the General Council also emerged as a more regular entity. Like its predecessors, it was
[562] originally composed of all the men of the Tribe; after the pas-
[177] sage of the Nineteenth Amendment, the women were added to their number.

*648 Since the highly rationalized bureaucracy of the government
*657 found the occasional councils too unwieldly to handle the in-
646

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Tribal membership was, as we have seen, only one of several
*648 *657 •619 641 political roles in which Klamath might participate, and in some measure it lay athwart the others. Citizenship in the United States, granted generally to American Indians in 1924, affiliation with state, county, and municipality: these political memberships are explicit in character, conditional upon the fulfillment of stated requirements and with the exercise of well-defined rights. Superficially, tribal membership appears to possess a similar character. In the admission of new members, both the establishment of qualifications and the decision upon individual candidates rested with the Tribe, though subject to review by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Applicants had to be of Klamath parentage on at least one side, and those of one-quarter or more Klamath heritage were automatically admitted upon application. In 1945 a clause was added permitting adoption of members of one-sixteenth heritage, contingent upon assurances that they would reside upon the reservation and participate in tribal activities.

In practice, Indian heritage of any sort, and not merely that stemming from the Klamath Tribe, was reckoned in; and token assurances of participation and residence have conventionally
[161] [162] been accepted. Of the final enrollment of 2,133 tribal members, 86 fell within the category of one-sixteenth quantum. Of these, 12 dwelt on the reservation and another 12 in Klamath Falls, the remaining 62 residing at some distance from the seat of tribal government. Once enrolled, members have not been subject to review, save when their original qualifications were called into question.

In a membership that was not conditional upon performance,
[602] [621] the Tribe had a great deal in common with such ascriptive entities as the family and ramified kin, the traditional tribe, and the broad regional communities into which the latter had tended to cluster.

Family loyalties have been at once strong and selective. At times, they have provided continuities of interest within a single
[602] line. Here, for example, were the Rev. Jesse Kirk, himself the son of a treaty signatory, and his sons, Clayton, Seldon, and Jesse Lee; here old chief Monchnkasgitk, and his sons, Harrison and Henry Brown; here Judge William Crawford, his wife, Eliza, and their son, Wade; here Henry Jackson, his half-brother, Ike, and the latter's son, Boyd Jackson.

While the political strength of a family is seen not only in the 648*
succession of interest but in a propensity for members of a family 657*
to vote *en bloc*, this is far from invariably true. The schism 619 •
separating Jesse Kirk from his half-brother, Joseph, is one prominent 602
instance—and by no means the only one—to the contrary. [665]
In fact, alignment within the family and extended kin has often [578]
been modified by contending considerations.

Nonetheless, for some leaders the solidarity of family sometimes 648*
took precedence over impartiality in the discharge of office. 657*
One tribal council member is quoted as defending his action 661
favoring certain enrollments by the explanation ". . . that since 602
two children were his niece's children, he felt that it was his duty 619
to guard the interests of his minor relatives."[8] Political leaders, seeking to emphasize the purity of their motives, needed to go no further in justification than to declare that they sought only the welfare of their grandchildren.

Although intermarriage and alternative associations have long 648*
overlaid clear identification with the several peoples who had 657*
entered into the treaty, such affiliations have continued to exert 563
political force, however greatly diminished in recent years. In 621
turn, they related to the two broad communities on the reservation. 619
The Lower End remained predominantly Klamath, while Modoc, Paiute, as well as a number of Klamath and Pit River, comprised the Upper End community some forty miles away.
Even after the closing of the subagency at Yainax, the populations [184]
of Sprague River and Beatty continued to reflect the special character of the eastern reservation.

In turn, the relatively easier access of the Lower End to outside [177]
influences—a subject already reviewed in discussing modern tribal demography—superimposed the effects of differential acculturation and intermarriage upon the traditional subtribal
allegiances that distinguished the two Ends. Difficulty of travel 648*
along the road from the Agency to Yainax had given rise to the 657*
practice, long maintained, of holding separate councils at each 621
place. Thus at the two Ends there had developed political communities 665
responsive to their own local leaders. Harrison Brown, 619
in 1931, played upon a familiar theme when he recognized in Wade Crawford, a leader from the Lower End ". . . a young man who is not a full-blood, who is trying to stir up trouble, and we

*648 *657 621 want to set him aside, as he does not understand what we want. . . . I am one of the full-blood Klamath leaders," he continued, "and I don't want any trouble with the government."[9]

665 • 619 In the factional struggle marking the final generation of tribal government, Wade Crawford and his wife, Ida, drew their principal strength from the Lower End and the absentee membership; while many of the leaders opposing them, including Harrison Brown, Levi Walker, Boyd Jackson, and later Jesse Lee Kirk, hailed from the Upper End and found their major strength there. Despite exceptions and progressive weakening, the dichotomy was long a working reality, of which the loyalty of the Paiute to Boyd Jackson was only the most signal of many expressions.

A review of tribal minutes over the last half-century reveals a striking faithfulness in the voting of the most prominent adherents of those leaders. It seems clear that out of factionalism small but stable parties were beginning to emerge, to which, however, the large body of tribal members remained uncommitted. It was upon his immediate followers that a leader relied for support in raising funds or carrying a point to the undecided. At the same time, his image drew dimension from the character, as well as the number, of his adherents. That the personal image was still important, and that loyalties were not invoked in terms of issues alone, is seen by the personal denigration which took place between factional opponents and by the identification of each partisan group with its leader in the phrase, "He's a Crawford—or Jackson—man."

*648 *657 665 619 The professional politician had come to dominate the ranks of leaders. It was not simply that industry in the management of one's private affairs held less significance in a world made equal by the flow of per capitas. The tasks confronting the new leaders also were different. It was no longer sufficient to provide aid out of one's pocket and offer sage advice in public gatherings. The new leader must be prepared to devote most of his time to political matters. He must concern himself with the administrative duties of the tribal office, to prolonged negotiation with Bureau personnel and with the officials and private individuals representing the interests of neighboring whites. On occasion, there were the delegations to Washington. Daily, there were the chores to be undertaken for constituents in the fence-mending that was

integral to the maintenance of power. Tribal leadership had be- 648*
come a full-time job, requiring its own set of special talents. The 657*
rewards offered were considerable, not only those of power and 665
prestige, but in per diem fees and in the funds advanced on 619 •
occasion by followers and—persistent rumor had it—by outside
interests as well.

The rise of the new leaders did not entirely spell the eclipse
of the old. Even in the last decade of tribal government, a senior [646]
member of the executive was James Johnson, a wealthy stockman
from the Lower End. Another man, Seldon Kirk, one of the three
politically prominent sons of Jesse Kirk, worked as a carpenter
for the Agency, and was therefore sometimes accused of being
a pawn of the administration. He took up the guerdon from his
brother, Clayton, and later came to exemplify a moderate position
in his own right, even in the last, turbulent days of the Tribe.
Until his retirement, he served as permanent chairman of the [646]
General Council, then was succeeded by his brother, Jesse Lee.
The example of Seldon Kirk in turn brought onto the political
scene several younger men, like him occupying the middle
ground, and concerned only peripherally with the party building
activities of the professional politicians.

Tribal government thus developed along the intersection of an informal, particularistic political system and a counterposed, highly rationalized bureaucracy; and the emergence of the new leaders was merely one of the consequences. Within the frame so defined, the leaders were beset with the party-political[10] task of marshaling support for their programs. It was hazardous to trust alone to appeals to reason, for the issues were often complex and difficult to interpret for a wary electorate. Since the number of his devoted adherents was inadequate to carry the day, the practical politician had resort to a supplementary arsenal of tactical devices. It was at this level that political acculturation proved to have been most pervasive.

In he first instance, a leader might sometimes seek to mobilize support by playing upon a popular cause. Often this took the form of a defense against an outsider. A claim against the government, attacks upon the Bureau, particularly in the person of the Superintendent,[11] the repulse of intrusions upon the tribal domain by white commercial or sporting interests: these issues

*648 *657 665 •619 might be exploited instrumentally to broaden the base of appeal. Other devices entailed the manipulation of particularistic loyalties. Politicians from the less populous and ethnically more diverse Upper End endeavored to retain districting, whereby the members of the executive body were elected in equal numbers by each End; and they also sought to preserve communal representation, which ensured that each of the traditional subtribal groups, Pit River and Paiute, as well as Modoc and Klamath, would find a place in that body. These measures were opposed as a matter of course by Crawford, the Lower End leader; but it was he in turn who had been responsible for the election in 1927 in which only the Lower End took part, thus creating a second tribal council and precipitating the Bureau's demand for a tribal constitution.

*648 *657 665 619 646 666 The tactics employed to control voting were diverse. In general elections, Jackson favored restriction of voting to polling places located on the reservation, against attempts by his rival to secure absentee balloting, a measure that would swell the response from his off-reservation constituency. For General Council meetings, Jackson sought to continue the practice of alternating their site between the Ends, and for those held at the Agency he provided stages at tribal expense to transport members from the Upper End.

Seating within the General Council was conventionally by faction, a device that provided an easy check upon voting regularity, although the chairs along the wall afforded a retreat for the less partisan. Jackson further favored a standing vote,[12] while Crawford, particularly while he was out of power, called instead for a secret ballot. Each side on occasion exercised the boycott to prevent the mustering of a quorum when the issue was likely to go against it,[13] and Crawford also resorted to the filibuster, under cover of which his forces might withdraw in order to attain the same end. Each also strove, when he no longer controlled the executive body, to route business instead through the General Council.

*648 *657 665 619 661 In the recruitment of a following, leaders found many occasions to render personal services, appointing the faithful to tribal positions, serving as advocate in their favor, sponsoring the enrollment of their children as tribal members, or advancing them

money from the tribal fund set aside for the purpose. Interlocking 648*
memberships of the Executive Committee, the Enrollment 657*
Committee, and the Loan Board made those bodies the apex of 665
tribal power. If the first-named was the central body, and important 619•
particularly in relations with agencies beyond the Tribe, the 661
other two were no less essential in the administration of patronage. [646]
[647]

The Tribal Loan Board had been established to preside over 648*
a fund set aside from the Yamsay Judgment of 1938, by which the 657*
issue of the Military Road had finally been settled. The fund had 619
been designed to provide capital advances for tribal members, 452
many of whom found bankers reluctant to lend to them. Although 647
loans were supposed to be applied only to improvements, it became common practice to spend them merely as an anticipation of the next per capita. When the Bureau called a halt to its operations in 1955, the Board had out on loan approximately a half-million dollars, or the equivalent of almost $250 per member, and a collector had to be engaged to recover a sizeable portion of it.[14]

The Enrollment Committee was the third seat of power. Admission 648*
of one's children to tribal membership was eagerly 657*
sought, and not alone for reasons of sentiment. Once he was a 619
tribal member, a child was vested with a pro-rata share of the 647
undivided tribal estate, amounting at the time of termination to 434
some $43,500. In addition he qualified to receive the per capita dividends that, subject to Agency restriction, were commonly drawn upon to defray current family living expenses.

Despite—and sometimes because of—these tactical measures, 648*
by which partisan leaders strove to bind them, many tribal 657*
members were driven into abstention by the bitter contentions 646
that marked the final generation of tribal life. Although hundreds 619
flocked to the luncheon set out at tribal expense in the Council Hall for those attending the General Council, morning meetings failed so frequently to draw a quorum that they were discontinued; and even afternoon sessions sometimes could not muster one hundred adults from among the thronging diners to transact tribal business. When they did come, they were often in holiday mood, frequently interrupting speakers, and exhibiting a keen appreciation for lengthy, eloquent, and often irrelevant harangues

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 *657 646 • 619 in the Klamath language.[15] In this setting, the chairman and principal leaders sought with great difficulty to operate under Robert's Rules of Order. Council minutes record numerous instances in which many of those present cast no vote.

In this, as in other political contexts, the observer could sense what some members admitted readily: a reluctance to commit themselves to decisions that might lead to dangerous consequences on either side. As in their dealings with the Agency, individuals accepted as a right what those controlling the executive had to offer, and declined to be bound thereby. Factional charge and innuendo had so sapped confidence in the Klamath leadership that interviews conducted in the course of termination revealed that all but one of the respondents (118 in all) favored a management plan administered by unknown trustees over an organization headed by their own members.[16]

It was not, however, factionalism alone that was at the root of the uncertainty. [178] The long dependence of individuals upon per capitas, and the corresponding lack of experience in pursuing a livelihood, understandably enough made many wary of any change that might threaten the economic niche in which they dwelt. Moreover, on many of the more complex issues involving property their very lack of experience made them easily swayed by irrelevancies. [666] Not infrequently, Seldon Kirk, when presiding over a vote of the General Council, would query, "I wonder how many of you know what you were voting for?"—and, calling for a reballoting, would see the issue solidly reversed.

*648 *657 619 If they were uncertain in the exercise of their power, tribal members nonetheless felt a strong need to display it. Real and fancied acts of coercion had left a legacy of alienation, to which the impersonal bureaucratic operation of the Agency only added. In a span during which tribal membership had done little more than double, the Agency staff had swelled from an early 5 members to an ultimate figure of 139, some twenty-five times as great. With expansion, the Agency program had become compartmentalized, each division taking on a life of its own and growing endlessly ramified. Bureaucratization, together with the frequent turnover in the upper echelons of administration, led to increasing impersonalization of relations. Subtly, the training of Klamath

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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had come to be restricted to those agencies formally responsible 648* for their education. 657*

Thus, in the supervision of Klamath resources, the Agency 619 • preferred the short-range goals of prudence and efficiency over the distant one of training individuals. As if to underscore the generally alien character of the Agency staff, officials had pre- [571] ferred to fill jobs earmarked for Indians with skilled persons from other reservations; and even those Klamath who were hired seemed to take the side of the government and refused, for the most part, to make exceptions for their kin and friends. Thus, the dependence implicit in Agency control was often rendered more distasteful because its operations were not conducted under those relaxed and particularistic contexts so much valued by Klamath in interpersonal relationships. And, as in ethnic relations, the irritations seemed to stick longer in the memory than those of pleasanter character.

To the special qualities of Klamath factionalism there was 648* added the independence conferred by the institution of the tribal 657* attorney and the Washington delegation. Although tribal gov- 693 ernment had originally been envisioned as the lowest link in a 619 chain running upward through the Bureau to the head of state, during the superintendency of Oliver Applegate the Klamath had forged an alternative linkage. The tribal attorney, whose retention had often been justified as providing independent counsel when claims were pressed against the government, was also expected to provide advice in areas in which the Bureau already had the duty of counsel. In such instances as the negotiating of timber contracts and in long-range planning for the tribal future, he thus furnished an expertise apart from that offered as a matter of course by the Bureau.

Although the greater part of tribal business was in fact con- 648* ducted directly through the Agency, pending claims and legisla- 657* tion under consideration by Congress drew delegations on annual 619 pilgrimage to the Capitol to present the tribal viewpoint. Through the years, veteran Klamath delegates came to establish informal understandings, not alone with their own representatives and senators, but with those from other states who shared similar political outlooks. Since those legislators were often also influen-

*648 tial in controlling Bureau programs and appropriations, tribal
*657 delegations formed an instrument of power the mere awareness
• 619 of which undoubtedly tempered ordinary intercourse between Bureau and Tribe.

*648 In turn, the knowledge that the final decisions were made in
*657 distant Washington endowed local politics with an aspect remote
619 from reality. Congressmen, mindful of the right of the citizen to
665 be heard, began to be treated to the spectacle of official delegates comprising members of both factions, who argued among themselves before committee hearings, each claiming to represent the position of "the Klamath people." If a tribal politician was defeated for a place on the delegation, he had only to raise funds from supporters in order to make his way to the capital. Enlisting the aid of long-time legislative allies, he would then secure a hearing every whit as attentive as that accorded the official representatives of the Tribe. In the words of Wade Crawford, uttered after a local defeat in 1947:

> I can be outvoted, that doesn't mean one thing to me. . . . There are 400 Congressmen and 96 Senators, and I'm going to talk to each man that will give me five minutes. People ought to understand who Congress is. Anybody can go. You don't have to be an official delegate, you can go as an individual."

*648 Since Washington had become the seat of decision, local con-
*657 sensus was rendered largely superfluous, and tribal affairs de-
619 scended to a level of wrangling and petty maneuver. Nonetheless,
major issues were being debated, concerned with no less a
421 subject than the disposal of the tribal estate and the consequent transformation of the Tribe itself. Because Bureau administration was prominently involved in the handling of tribal or personal property, any attempt to secure release from federal trusteeship was customarily addressed first to the freeing of tribal resources. In 1900, the Board of Indian Commissioners, hailing the changes anticipated from allotment, had called for the pro rata apportionment among members of any undivided tribal funds, the retention of which, they contended, merely served to perpetuate the Indian problem. They continued:

> A law of this character would enable us all to see some reasonable limit of time to special Indian laws and special Indian administration. It would put an end to the expectation of per-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

petual inheritance and new claims through an indefinite number 648*
of generations, by people who may claim a fraction of Indian 657*
blood and therefore a share in undivided Indian tribal funds.[18] 619
421

THE COURSE OF TERMINATION

It was toward the ending of a special status that reservation 648*
leaders were soon to address themselves. They began shortly after 657*
the closing of the allotment rolls in 1910, when, in opposition to 423
the designs of some whites to open up the surplus lands to home- 619
steading, tribal members countered with the suggestion that they be parceled among tribal members. Later, those "final settlement" proposals came to envisage the sale of the lands and the allocation of the funds thus realized in pro rata shares to members, an act that would have the effect of bringing the Tribe itself to an end.[19] Final settlement in the early years drew widespread endorsement from tribal leaders, among whom its chief advocate was Judge Levi Walker.

In 1929, Wade and Ida Crawford, then in Washington as tribal delegates, with the active assistance of Secretary of the Interior Ray L. Wilbur drew up an alternative plan, calling for the establishment of a tribal corporation to take over and manage tribal assets. This unauthorized proposal—which, as Ostrom suggests,[20] in some measure foreshadowed provisions that were to appear in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934—won tribal support only with difficulty against the opposition raised by adherents of the final settlement bill. Although both bills continued to be pressed in Congress, neither made headway.

In 1933, Crawford was appointed Superintendent of the Klamath Reservation by his friend, the reformer John Collier, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The legacy of opposition which Crawford bore into office united with his conduct while there to bring about his removal for cause four years later. Although as Superintendent he advocated endorsement of the Indian Reorganization Act, it was rejected by the Tribe. In time he too came to denounce it, for his experience as administrator of the reservation had prejudiced him against the competence of the Klamath to manage their own estate. Instead, he sought for the time only to circumscribe what he deemed to be federal and tribal extravagance, while gradually maturing his plans for the

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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*648 pro rata apportionment of the tribal assets. Toward this end, he
*657 turned increasingly for support toward the absentee membership.

423 Thus it was that in 1945, returned to Washington as a delegate,
• 619 Crawford sought passage of a bill that combined some of the
*648 aims of the final settlement proposals with federal purchase of
*657 the tribal tracts, which would then be established as national
423 forests, and with the liquidation of other properties. This met
619 opposition from the dominant tribal party, by this time under the
665 leadership of Boyd Jackson, Dice Crain, and Jesse Lee Kirk. In successive versions, the proposed legislation was the subject of hearings conducted both in Washington and on the reservation. As an outcome of suggestions made then, Supt. Bert. G. Courtright prepared a trial bill permitting voluntary withdrawal of competent members, each of whom was to be paid a portion of his share in the tribal estate. A shift of political winds now swept Crawford, who became the chief proponent of this bill, back into political ascendancy.

*648 At this juncture, Seldon Kirk, the respected chairman of the
*657 General Council, intervened to secure establishment of an extra-
642 ordinary special committee of those "who believe in the per-
619 petuation of the Klamath Reservation." Among the eight members, in addition to Kirk himself, were Jackson and several of his adherents. The committee drew up a new constitution for the Tribe, designed to provide a structure satisfactory for self-government over a proposed transition of two decades. It was adopted in 1950, but only after being linked with the voluntary withdrawal bill; and thus for a time both parties rested satisfied.
*648 From a long-range view, it is noteworthy that Crawford had
*657 turned from a plan for an enduring tribal cooperative to one
619 directed to the piecemeal withdrawal of members who wished to sever tribal connections. In their turn, the former advocates of final settlement had become the champions for the preservation of the tribal body.

Further attempts by Crawford to amend the voluntary withdrawal bill and other circumstances delayed action on it until 1953, by which time the government had embarked upon a program seeking to terminate federal supervision over a number of Indian reservations. Chief among them was that at Klamath, for which terms were proposed similar to those outlined for the

timber-rich Menominee.[21] Crawford and Jackson, examining the 648*
federal proposal, which envisaged a private corporation, jointly 657*
concluded that such an arrangement would be uneconomic for 619 •
the Tribe under Oregon law, and in its place advocated a tribal
cooperative. This harmony between factional leaders seemed [665]
highly suspect to tribesmen long attuned to discord; and they
rejected the proposal.

Eager for a resolution, congressional forces now brought pres- 648*
sure upon the Bureau, which produced another draft of the 657*
proposal and, under similar pressure,[22] the factional leaders were 619
brought to a compromise in the final hours of the 1954 session. 423
Enacted as Public Law 587, the legislation provided that mem- 665
bers might elect either to withdraw, receiving their pro rata share of tribal property, or remain in a surviving economic entity. Thereafter, as it became apparent that the unanticipated size of the withdrawing body was likely to remove large tracts of timber from sustained-yield management, thus plunging the Klamath Basin into a cycle of "boom and bust," various bodies, both public and private, began tardily to intervene. Since the legislation had favored their position, the Crawford forces adamantly opposed any changes whatsoever, while Jackson and Jesse Lee Kirk were equally zealous in endorsing any amendment that promised to better the position of the remaining members.

In the latter days of the termination program, as they approached the election that was to mark the personal decision to withdraw or remain, there emerged among tribal members a new coalition of moderates, seeking a position independent of the factions. The Klamath Information and Education Office, established by the State Department of Education under the Termination Act, had encouraged tribal members to come together to explore together the issues posed by the Act, so that they might cast their votes more intelligently. The Reservation Discussion Group that resulted included in its membership individuals who had long held aloof from the partisan struggle, together with younger moderates holding secondary tribal posts. The coalition now entered the lists and, in one of the last formal elections held by the General Council, scored impressive gains. They lacked a clear-cut program, however, and soon after their victory their group was sundered. Within the remaining members, however,

*648 members of the Discussion Group remained influential. More
*657 significantly, perhaps, for the long run, they began to employ
• 619 their newfound unity in fund-raising enterprises in Chiloquin,
423 and thus took an initial step in creating a new civic image for
665 the Klamath.

*648 When the vote was held, over seventy per cent of the tribal
*657 membership elected to withdraw, the government purchasing
619 their land and creating from it the Winema National Forest. Of
666 the other voters, the majority did not directly elect to enter into
423 the trust under which the U.S. National Bank has since been managing their joint resources. In this last decisive moment, they returned no ballot at all, and thus were automatically included among the remaining members. The outcome of the vote was in part an expression of confidence among the Klamath in their ability to handle their own affairs, in a measure a rejection of any continued trust status, colored with the anticipation of realizing a large sum—approximately $43,500 per person. However, so complex were the issues and so heavily were they beclouded at the time of voting by contending claims and interpretations, that it is doubtful whether many members could in fact specify all the considerations which guided their final decision.

668 In the period since the enactment of termination in 1954, the Klamath became increasingly receptive toward inclusion within the broader rubric of what Mead has termed "American Indian nationality," and have begun to participate in pan-Indian affairs.[23] Membership in the National Congress of American Indians, participation in American Indian Days at Sheridan, Wyoming,[24] sponsorship of the All-Indian Invitational Basketball Tournament in Chiloquin and of an American Indian Beauty contest held in conjunction with it: these were only some of the more concrete manifestations. Although pan-Indianism has been growing, the receptivity on the part of the Klamath seems keyed to their needs in the crisis that confronted them. Threatened with the loss of the tribal body that had symbolized their collective heritage, they repaired to others which enabled them to preserve their identity. Those who would see the termination vote as an election by the majority of tribal members to become completely assimilated into the larger society must reckon in the significance of this neo-nativist movement.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

EFFECT OF TERMINATION

After some ninety years of existence, the federal government 648* brought to an end the Klamath Indian reservation. At Menom- 657* inee, which was terminated at the same time, the reservation 619 • became a county and the tribal body, converted into a corpora- [171] tion, was to continue the management of tribal timber and other assets.[25] The decision at Klamath was otherwise. With the closing of the tribal rolls, there was no longer succession to membership in the Klamath Tribe; and although the body of remaining members under trust was to be designated by the same title, it also had a closed membership and—if its members did not elect to end it sooner—would expire with the death of the last of the individuals who had entered it at termination.

The movement for termination of Indian tribes formed part 000 of a broad revolt against the philosophy of the New Deal, a movement which gained strength in the latter years of the Truman administration and reached full power in the first years of the Eisenhower presidency. In a campaign directed against what was conceived to be an encroaching statism, it was seen as repugnant for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to maintain an indefinite paternalistic supervision over the lives of a racial segment of the American citizenry. By some, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was reckoned a misguided effort to maintain an existence for Indians separate from the main currents of American life. The view drew adherents from those who saw in reservations, as in national parks and forests, bureaucratic restraint of free enterprise. They hailed an administration pledged at once to give greater opportunity to the Indians and to a "businesslike" conduct of government that would prune unnecessary waste from the management of national affairs.

Clearly, the decision to alter the status of the Klamath was 648* not an isolated one—witness House Concurrent Resolution 108 657* of the 83rd Congress—and the solution that was proposed, the 619 devolution of responsibility to local agencies, formed part of a national shift in policy.[26] One must add that the Klamath had long been among the tribes considered particularly eligible for release from federal supervision. Yet it is clear, and the details have been related elsewhere,[27] that under legislative pressure

*648 Bureau officials at times distorted or even suppressed data that
*657 reflected unfavorably upon the competence of the Klamath to
• 619 fend for themselves. These elided data were swiftly discovered when the Termination Act had been passed and the Bureau faced the difficult task of treating individual tribal members. Though the programming of termination was handled capably at the local level, the original legislation was so defective that two major amendments, together with several lesser ones, were required to supplement and remedy it; and lawsuits, already mounted or threatened by tribal members, over alleged omission of rights from its provisions may stream in its wake for years.

The immediate consequence of termination for a major part of the Klamath people has been an exchange of private for federal trusteeship. A large number have chosen to forego any
[434] further common management of their assets. A number of adults,
[429] both among remaining members and those who withdrew, were placed under guardianship or involuntary trusteeships as having demonstrated incompetence to handle their own affairs. Among adults, they comprised 14.4 per cent of those living on the reservation and 12.7 per cent of absentee members. Since that time, a substantial but undetermined number of individuals not under personal trust have exhausted the funds they received, and some have turned to kinsmen for assistance. The large body of minors, both on and off the reservation was placed under trust. By the terms of a recent court ruling, upon reaching majority they are to receive their funds without further demonstration of competence.

In all, no less than 48.9 per cent of the tribal membership were deemed to require protection under provisions of the Termination Act, while an additional 13.6 per cent, deemed competent, elected to remain under the group trust operated by the United States National Bank. Another 18.3 per cent were absentee members, of whom only a very few, with allotments or other assets in trust or restricted status, were subjected to federal supervision. It was the remaining 15.1 per cent of the membership (the deceased have not been figured in), constituting persons dwelling on the reservation who elected to withdraw, that correspond to the legislative image of the deprived yet competent Indian.

[429] [434] The slight character of the change with reference to those

under personal trust or guardianship is indicated by the "state- 648*
ment of principles" contained in the agreement between the 657*
Secretary of the Interior and the banks that administer the 619 •
private trusts. This stipulates that the beneficiary is to be en- 429
couraged and assisted in obtaining a satisfactory education and 434
is to be aided in gaining employment or engaging in other business activity. As the trust officers of those banks were soon to discover, the banks have assumed a role which closely resembles that previously exercised by the government.

A similar effect may be seen in the relations of the remaining Klamath to the U.S. National Bank, which as trustee administered their undivided assets, including a segment of the former tribal timber. An executive committee continues to represent them in their dealings with the bank, but it is accorded only nominal consultation in the conduct of the trust. Bank officials clearly consider their primary obligation to lie with the prudent adminis-
tration of the estate. Similarly, while willing to employ Klamath [464]
in minor positions, the bank has found most of them unsatisfactory. Tribal members insinuate that the bank is giving contracts for farm work to whites to whom it has made loans. In brief, antipathies formerly vented against the Bureau are now directed against the bank.

In this manner, the reservation, the Agency rule, and the 648*
Klamath Tribe have come to an end together. 657*
619

[P. 256 is blank]

[Klamath Reservation]

EIGHTEEN

[P.259]

Conclusion

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KLAMATH TRIBE UNDER THE PROVISIONS 648*
of the Treaty of 1864 comprised a program of directed change, 657*
paralleling in its general features the relationships of the United 171
States government with diverse other Indian peoples. Because a
common policy lay behind the administration of Indian affairs,
the history that unfolded at Klamath was similar at many points
to developments on other reservations. Since, however, unique
characteristics of Klamath culture entered into the equation, and
common events were locally mediated, that policy had different
effects in execution.

Within the spectrum of American Indian cultures, it was important 648*
that the tribes brought upon the Klamath reservation 657*
were unacquainted with agriculture, but had some knowledge of, 241
and esteem for horse-herding; that while they lacked traditions 233
of large-scale political organization, they placed a premium upon 619 •
industry and the acquisition of material wealth. These attributes, 181
while by no means unique, were distinctive in their combination; 177
and they gain significance when seen from the perspective of 178
the policy objectives of the government. Similarly, the circumstance
that many individuals had already undergone extensive
acculturation beyond the Klamath country provided the early
Agents with native allies already won over to the prospects of
change.

Even the application of a common policy exhibited special 648*
features. Two instances should illustrate the point. The recognition 657*
of the tribal claim to a large domain, together with the [423]
retention of surplus lands after allotment, laid the basis for a [619]
corporate wealth equaled by only a few other reservation peoples. [434]
Later, the rejection of the Indian Reorganization Act during the
Collier administration placed the Klamath among a minority of

*648 surveillance; they have then had to make their peace in another
*657 community. In other instances, measures—for example, early
177 sawmills, drought cattle, loan funds—designed by the administration to be instrumental in helping the Indians to attain distant goals of betterment, were diverted by tribal recipients to provide short-range benefits. Such action, present even in early times, became more pronounced as disillusionment set in; and organized forms of opposition were also added. In a formal character, there
• [619] was an insistence upon the prerogatives that marked tribal identity. Hence the highly emotional attachment to treaty rights, in however altered form hunting and fishing may be exploited; to the tribal government, however criticized its incumbents; and to the self-preserving myth of the past.

*648 There is, however, another side to the Klamath reaction which
*657 is to be seen in the anomic aspects of the life of Intermediate and
177 Inframodal segments of those dwelling in Chiloquin—although
182 this behavior was not limited to that city. Within Chiloquin,
184 those persons manifest many of the traits that Leighton terms
156 disintegrative: a high frequency of broken homes, of hostility, crime, and delinquency; weak development of associations, recreation, communication, and leadership.[8] For the community as a whole, their effect is accurately characterized by his term. At the same time, their behavior had acquired such substantial predictability that the city fathers had come to rely upon it in the form of revenues from the municipal tavern and fines and trusty labor, for a considerable portion of the municipal budget. Under these circumstances, one might fairly say that a stabilized cultural pluralism existed.

*648 A situation like this cannot fail to leave psychological marks,
*657 and indeed Clifton,[9] observing that "there is very little evidence
177 to suggest, unequivocally, that guarded restraint was a dominant
156 component of aboriginal character structure," considers that attribute to be largely a reaction to the complex unpredictabilities of the reservation. Indeed, the Klamath reaction has striking
[171] parallels in the "hostile dependence" of the Sioux[10] and the "valuation group alienation" of the Aleut;[11] and it bears close resemblance to the situation described for the Ojibway by James,[12] who sees the personality traits he analyzes to have their source in the immediate context of white-Ojibway relations.

[Klamath Reservation]

[P. 281]

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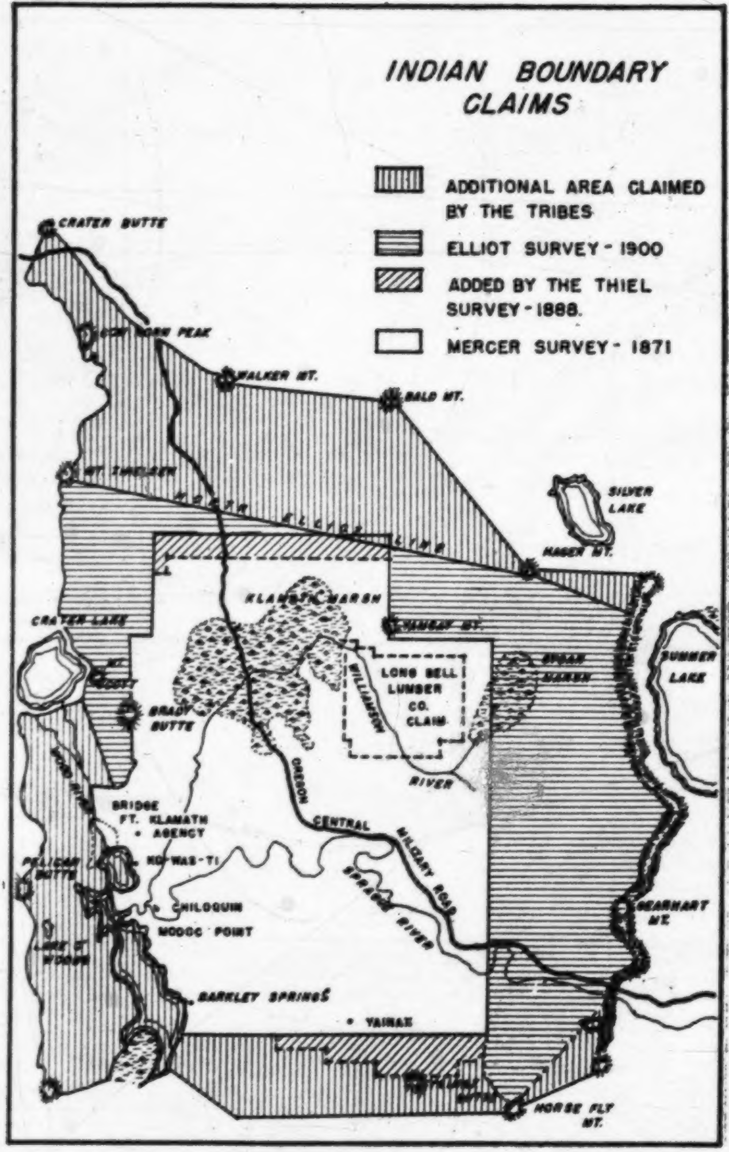
INDIAN BOUNDARY CLAIMS
ADDITIONAL AREA CLAIMED BY THE TRIBES
ELLIOT SURVEY - 1900
ADDED BY THE THIEL SURVEY - 1888.
MERCER SURVEY - 1871
CRATER BUTTE
PEAK
WALKER MT.
BALD MT.
MT. THIELSEN
NORTH KLAMATH LINE
SILVER LAKE
HAGER MT.
KLAMATH MARSH
CRATER LAKE
YAMSAY MT.
SYCAN MARSH
SUMMER LAKE
LONG BELL LUMBER CO. CLAIM
WILLIAMSON
RIVER
BRADY BUTTE
WOOD RIVER
BRIDGE
FT. KLAMATH
AGENCY
KO-WAS-TI
PELICAN BUTTE
CHILOQUIN
MODOC POINT
OREGON CENTRAL MILITARY ROAD
SPRAGUE RIVER
GEARHART MT.
BARKLEY SPRINGS
YAINAX
HORSE FLY MT.

Adapted from a map prepared by Otis H. Johnson. (From Johnson, 1957.)

648 Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reserva-
tion, by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal mem-
[619] bers" with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, gene-
tically, less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier com-
munities were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
[786] 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
[181] Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
[556] wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided in-
creased opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal mem-
[434] bers, as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and for-
[251] feited bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are ex- 621
clusively White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office out- [575]
side the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [194]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are fre-
quently tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously, [651]
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chilo- [674]
quin during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a recon- 648
stituted "Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be adminis- 657
tered by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the 619
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal super-
vision has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual 619
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Atten-
dance at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have [588]

Slim: Male, Age 30

Background Data

Slim's case was selected so as to illustrate the situation of a regularly employed, 159*
well liked and respected young male. He is currently employed as a [464]
laborer in a lumber mill, and in the past has worked as a carpenter, and in
heavy industries in the mid-west. He has ten years of formal schooling, obtained [463]
his 12th grade certificate by examination while in military service, and for [871]
one month studied commercial art in Portland. [701]

Slim was born into a large, influential kin group, one which for several generations [619]●
has provided much of the tribe's leadership. While his own father has
not been so influential in tribal politics, preferring to work his ranch instead,
Slim grew up in association with male relatives noted for their forthright
independence and leadership, and within a family tradition of progressiveness
and self-improvement. Slim's early life was spent in alternating periods
of residence with his own father and mother on their ranch, and with his father's [591]
mother in her cabin on the Sycan marsh. This association with "Grandma" was [608]
partly in response to the gradual disintegration of relations between his father
and mother, and partly the result of his father's desire to have "Grandma" teach [593]
him some of the old lore. His mother became increasingly erratic, unpredictable,
and violent, finally leaving his father. Slim felt badly rejected by [153]
her and was never able to understnad why she would not accept his efforts to be helpful. On the other hand, he was very close to his father and his grandmother. Today he recalls with satisfaction the many things these two persons taught him, and dreams recurrently of being in the army, defending the reservation from attack, and checking in on the old lady to see if she is all right. This dream is interesting because it expresses succinctly his style of relations with superiors, for in the dream Slim asks permission of his squad leader to leave, explains his reasons, then checks in on "Grandma," and returns to his duty.

After the 10th grade was completed, Slim quit school and worked on various ranches.
Early in the Korean war he consciously followed the model of an uncle, who was
a career soldier, and enlisted in the army. His service record was good, marred
only by what Slim feels were two justifiable periods of unauthorized absence,
and he voluntarily served with a combat unit in Korea. This army experience
considerably broadened Slim's horizons, and after his discharge he lived and
worked with an army buddy in the east for a year. Then Slim traveled and worked
in several places in the east and midwest. On two occasions his regular habits [961]
and good capacity for steady work were responsible for a promotion. Characteristically,
Slim enjoys this kind of reward, but he does not specifically strive
for advancement.

Slim has many skills, hobbies, and social graces. When young his father taught him to dig ditches, with the advice that this skill would always provide him with a job. He is an expert horseman and stock-keeper, and is a skilled hunter and woodsman who frequently guides his friends on hunting trips. He has learned carpentry, house-painting, and the operation of various industrial machines. More recently, he has turned to archery, sketching, and photography for hobbies to occupy his spare time. Then too, he is an amiable, jolly person who makes good company and who is well regarded as a friend. He is not married, and has never seriously considered marrying. He has had occasional sexual liaisons of a transitory nature, which he finds quite satisfying, and has been "going steady" for several years with an older woman, a person who is a grandmother in her own right.

VARIOUS ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTICES.

I.

* 539 [619] [161] É-ukshikni vunépni lalák̲i gítko. Tiná hundred ndankshaptánkni
The Lake people four chiefs have. Once hundred (and) eight times
té-unip hihashuátchχash pé-ulatko É-ushtat, túnepni tá-uuep mák̲laks
ten men (are) at the Lake, five times ten persons
É-ukshikni Yaínakshi. Tiná hundred pēn láp pé-ula látchash. Tumántka
of the Lake people at Yáneks. Once hundred and two (are) lodges. By the crowd
shute-uápka lak̲í.
will be elected a chief.

[302] É-ukshikni hushmō′kla hushmoklō′tkishtka; kinkán′ smō′k gí′tk,
The Lake men remove the beard with hair-pincers; spare beard they have,
atínsh lák gí′tko. Shiáshgatko lák; snawédshash kaflish pan lák gitk. Hä
long hair having. Is cut (their) hair; a woman belt down to hair wears. If
snáwedshash hishuátchχash mbû′shni, hûnk ktû′tchka; hishuákshash wátch
a female with a man consorts, they crop (her) hair; the man for horses
sχókta: tû′m wátch wuχó-we.
they fine: many horses he has to give up.

[372] Shû′dsha lóloks slikuíshtka; tsússak m′nálamtana látchash shû′dsha.
They kindle the fire by fire drill; constantly close to their lodges they have a fire.

Lak̲í kshiulakgishχéni géna nanukä′nash ndéna: "tíds ul wéwalχat! tchä′lχet nánuk! wawálχat! shúinat! híshuaksh pīl shúinat! Nû
A chief to the dance-house goes (and) to all cries out: "straight stand up! sit down ye all! stand up! sing! the men only must sing! Myself
[533] tchúinuapk! î tchuí′n! túla shuín! Tiä′mantk shuí′sh. Átĕnish ewá
I will sing! you sing! with (me) sing! (I am) hungry for songs. Now I have enough
shuí′sh; átĕni k̲ĕléwi shuí′sh."—"Slámuapk î nánuk! shuáktchuapk î nánuk!
of songs; now I quit singing." "Stop singing ye all! cry and weep ye every one!
K̲á-i î shlámuapk, shuínuapk î nánuk. Nánuk tíds wawálχat! shlä-uápkat
Not ye cease to sing, but sing all of ye. All straight stand up! (and) look at
k̲′lekápksh!"
the corpse!"

II.

000 K̲á-iu Bóshtinash gátpish, Mō′dokni mbá-ush shulō′tantko, pupuitlantchámpkash ka-ilalápsh-kitko, vúnăm mbá-ush tchutchi-eshíltko.
Before the Americans arrived, the Modocs in buckskins (were) dressed, with fringes on in leggings dressed, (of) elk's skin dressed in caps.
Shelóluka shtétmashtka ngē′shtka shenótanka; tchiktchikáshtka snawédshash shkéa. Hä′ tchilloyága lō′k̲ shiúka ámka táslatch, át hûk
(When) fighting with poisoned arrows they fought; for hatchets a woman they bought. If a young man a grizzly killed or a cougar, then
sheshalólesh k̲ēléχa.
a warrior he became.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

At the center of concentric circles of concern stands
K the natal family.[16] In the myths, parents and offspring and
M siblings are bound by the strongest affective bonds: in trouble
593 they provide succor and in death, revenge. The obligation tran-
602 scends abstract ethical considerations. In real life, mutual responsibility reaches out to embrace the extended family, the close consanguineal kindred linked through two or three generations.
K M Although kinship terminology acknowledges equally re-
[601] lationships on the maternal and paternal sides, residence practices
[591] in general favor the latter. From close kinsmen on both sides come the gifts that set the seal of approval upon the marriage of a member; during his lifetime they share food with him in his need, support him in his quarrels, and assist his avenger should he be slain. At his funeral, it is they, together with friends of the deceased, who are expected to place valuables upon the funeral pyre.

K Beyond the sphere of immediate kindred and of friends lies
M the domain of neighbors and remote relatives. If more central
602 obligations tend to be principally a function of consanguinity,
621 and thus to be ascriptive in character, village relationships and
571 those outside are more frequently based upon performance.
K M Here enter those standards of behavior by which a person of
[577] good family may be confirmed in position, the poor but worthy rise, and the ne'er-do-well sink in the public view.
K At the head of this loose and shifting status scale stand the shamans and
M other influential men, the leaders of hamlet groups. On occasion
756 they may meet in an informal village council to concert decisions.
622 Yet the village, which in its spatial limits often blends with
621 adjacent settlements and which dissolves with the turn of the
554 seasons, can exert little constraint upon its members.

K The prestige of the leaders, the force of public opinion, and
M checks imposed by rival village interests hold the unruly in line.
• 62 The principle of self-help and the responsibility of kinsmen may enlarge grievances to feuds if the differences are not soon ended, and thus threaten the very being of the community. To counter such fissive tendencies, leaders mediate disputes and exhort to their fellow villagers the need to maintain harmony.

K Time may alter the membership of villages. Men frequently
M seek wives in other communities; and there is considerable inter-
621 marriage between Klamath and Modoc and Klamath and Molala,
563
582

101 occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of
619 any sharp geographic division, rivers or ranges, such as we should
expect to figure in political separatism. There are only three or four miles of open, unoccupied country between the middle Williamson river group and that at the river mouth, for instance, or between the latter and the northernmost outposts of the Klamath falls people about Modoc point. The cases of doubtful divisions really stress this point. Kowa'edi on the lake shore may belong with the middle Williamson division; though only three miles away over a low range of hills, it is somewhat isolated. Similarly the Sprague river settlements toward Yainax, usually included in the same group, are in quite a different district.

721 The third feature pointing to their separatism is the frequent feuds
619 between them. It is quite clear that these involve the tribelets; they
never occur between the settlements of a single division. The point
[171] will be clearer if we contrast Yurok sentiments. There feuds are
between the towns or with only a group of kinsmen within a town, and at most when several towns are involved in a joint cause, it appears rather that kinsmen and their friends have been drawn in.[24]
[567] Further, feuds are carried on much as warfare with foreigners;
property is destroyed, women and children enslaved. Such slaves can be retained indefinitely or sold again. We may wonder however if they are not restored when a settlement is bought, or at most retained only to even the score in lives.

The identity of these groups resolves itself solely into such aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns
[621] are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large part a body
of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole.

115 Only one informant, Pat Kane, suggested dialectic and cultural
197 differentiation. The dialect groupings he gave are purely geographic.
He also assigned shamanistic tricks, medical practices, and games to
184 the several divisions, which all other informants emphatically denied.
I could observe no linguistic differences and Gatschet recorded none.

000 The subdivisions or tribelets are:

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[24] Kroeber, Handbook, 49.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
535 ‡2568. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	3	2	–		–	1
o2589. Actual dance lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–		–	1
o2590. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	2	1	2	–		–	–
2591. Dance begins near sundown	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
2592. Dance begins in morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
o2593. Number of singers, musicians	–	–	–	–	–	–	*2	–	–		*2	1	–		–	2
2594. Split-stick rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+
2595. Deer-hoof rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2596. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2597. Women, only, dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–
2598. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2599. Touch with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–
2600. Each person dances separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	+
2601. Dancers abreast	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
2602. Dancers in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2603. Stretch bear hide, as out to dry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[533] 2604. Male singer sits by hide and sings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2605. Women, or man, rub, hit bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2606. Man puts on bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+
2607. In morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	(+)
2608. Dances, walks with bearskin on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
2609. Impersonates bear, claws tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
2610. Dog set onto him	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2611. Drops shell beads, which women pick up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2612. Killer of bear ultimately given bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[515] 2613. Impersonator, girl dancers wash at sacred spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2614. Performers from other groups	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–		–	+
2615. Feast follows performance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				+	–	–		–	+
(825] 2616. Held for black bear only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	*–	*–	–		–	–

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political Units

Sovereign Bodies

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
621 2617. Each village is autonomous unit	–	–	–	–	+	–	*+	*+	–	–	–	+	*+	+	–	+
2618. Community of closely adjacent villages forms autonomous unit	–	–	+		–	*+		–	*+	–	*+	–	–	–	*+	–
2619. Local group, embracing several communities is recognized, or is autonomous unit	+	+	–	+	–	*+	–	–	+	*+	*+	–	–	+	–	–
619 2620. Tribe, embracing all local groups, is recognized unit	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Chiefs and Other Officials

Number of Male Chiefs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
622 2621. 1 per autonomous unit	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+
[613] 2622. Multiple, of equal rank, per autonomous unit.	–	–	–	–	–	*4	–	–	*2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2623. Chiefly lineages	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2624. Tribal chief	R+	R+	–	*(+)	–	*R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Basis for Selection

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
[611] 2625. Heredity, primary factor	–	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	*+	+	*+	–	+	+	+	+
2626. Paternal only	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	*+	–	+	+	+	–

[Klamath Reservation]

At the center of concentric circles of concern stands
K the natal family.[16] In the myths, parents and offspring and
M siblings are bound by the strongest affective bonds: in trouble
593 they provide succor and in death, revenge. The obligation tran-
602 scends abstract ethical considerations. In real life, mutual re-
sponsibility reaches out to embrace the extended family, the
close consanguineal kindred linked through two or three genera-
K M tions. Although kinship terminology acknowledges equally re-
[601] lationships on the maternal and paternal sides, residence practices
[591] in general favor the latter. From close kinsmen on both sides
come the gifts that set the seal of approval upon the marriage of
a member; during his lifetime they share food with him in his
need, support him in his quarrels, and assist his avenger should
he be slain. At his funeral, it is they, together with friends of the
deceased, who are expected to place valuables upon the funeral
pyre.

K Beyond the sphere of immediate kindred and of friends lies
M the domain of neighbors and remote relatives. If more central
602 obligations tend to be principally a function of consanguinity,
621 and thus to be ascriptive in character, village relationships and
571 those outside are more frequently based upon performance.
K M Here enter those standards of behavior by which a person of
[577] good family may be confirmed in position, the poor but worthy
rise, and the ne'er-do-well sink in the public view. At the head
K of this loose and shifting status scale stand the shamans and
M other influential men, the leaders of hamlet groups. On occasion
756 they may meet in an informal village council to concert decisions.
622 Yet the village, which in its spatial limits often blends with
621 adjacent settlements and which dissolves with the turn of the
554 seasons, can exert little constraint upon its members.

K The prestige of the leaders, the force of public opinion, and
M checks imposed by rival village interests hold the unruly in line.
62 The principle of self-help and the responsibility of kinsmen may
enlarge grievances to feuds if the differences are not soon ended,
and thus threaten the very being of the community. To counter
such fissive tendencies, leaders mediate disputes and exhort to
their fellow villagers the need to maintain harmony.

K Time may alter the membership of villages. Men frequently
M seek wives in other communities; and there is considerable inter-
621 marriage between Klamath and Modoc and Klamath and Molala,
563
582

to say nothing of captured women from Shasta, the Achumawi K M
and Atsugewi of the Pit River region, Paiute, and the tribes 621 •
beyond the Cascades. Among the Modoc, the villages of the band 582
called *gumbatwas* are said to be composite in membership, in- 563
cluding Modoc, Klamath, Pit River, and Shasta; and those of the
Upland Klamath consist of Klamath with some Modoc and
Paiute elements.[17]

Allegiance with the village may be partial. If an attack is to K
be launched, war leaders can find recruits only among those men M 621
with proclivity for fighting and an attraction toward the leader. 628
On the other hand, feuds may ignite attacks that are restricted 581
to the family groups concerned. While the myths reveal currents 701
of hostility between affinals, in real life marriage acts to extend
the ramifications of support, often into other communities.

Beyond the village lies the tribelet, an entity that recognizes its K
being in a territorial name and in a common cause in feuds with M 619
other tribelets. In its virtual autonomy this unit marks an extreme K
in band organization within the larger tribe, a quality that was 619
reduced by subsequent tribal integration. For the Klamath there
are six tribelets (see map): (1) The Klamath Marsh people,
who outnumber all the others together; (2) the tiny Agency
Lake group; (3) those of the lower Williamson River; (4) the
Pelican Bay tribelet; (5) the Klamath Falls group; and (6) the
Upland Klamath of the Sprague River valley. The Modoc com- M
prise three main groups: (7) that of Lower Klamath Lake, ex- 619
tending to Tule Lake (the *gumbatwas* mentioned above); (8)
those clustered upon the lower Lost River; and (9) the eastern
tribelet, with settlements dispersed as far as Goose Lake. No K
firm evidence exists that these local territorial units are distin- M 619
guished by either language or culture, although, as already 726
mentioned, at least two are of composite origin. Each tribelet
seems to have gained a tenuous cohesion through a common
recognition of the worth of several prominent headmen. Between K
tribelets there is sometimes war. Under their formidable leader, 619
Kokdinks, the Williamson River group attacked in turn villages 726
of each of the other lower Klamath tribelets, including that at
Pelican Bay, to which they considered themselves related; and
the prolonged war ended only when the Upland Klamath leader,
Monchnkasgitk, a kinsman, first joined, then slew Kokdinks.[18]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

SEVEN

[P.95]

Social Change

WITHIN LESS THAN TEN YEARS AFTER THE RESERVATION HAD BEEN 648*
established, two communities had developed. The one at the 657*
Lower End was composed primarily of Klamath, with a small 361
number of freed slaves. Yainax was far less homogeneous. Near
the subagency were the Upland Klamath and the Modoc, while
some ten miles beyond lay Paiute Camp. With the beginning
of stock raising, the fine grazing lands of the Upper End drew
Klamath from the Agency side.[1] The Klamath Marsh settlements,
formerly the area of densest concentration, had been
abandoned as a winter residence in favor of warmer localities
about Upper Klamath Lake. Although O. C. Applegate later [731]
intimated the move was caused by losses from smallpox and other
introduced diseases,[2] the general advantages of proximity to
Agency and Fort may also have recommended it. Settlements on
the Lower End now clustered about the Agency and upon the
lower course of Williamson River. Only a scattering of houses
extended along the Sprague as far as Lilu's seat at Kawumkan
Springs, approximately ten miles above its mouth.[3] Beyond that
point, almost thirty miles intervened between the two communities.

In their settlements, former foes were brought together: Pelican 657*
Bay and other bands on the Williamson, Klamath and Walpapi 648*
at Yainax. Band affiliations, which rested on kinship and 621•
long association, continued to be strong for some time even within 619
the new settings. Thus members of the Pelican Bay band sometimes 177
shared foodstuffs, and the claim that their parents stemmed 178
from the same tribelet long provided a bond strong enough to
enable one person to borrow from another. By the end of the
period, however, band identities had been largely relinquished
as peoples intermingled. In their place developed ties of varying

*657 strengths reflecting emergent neighborhoods; common employment
*648 at the Agency, or as freighters and as work crews; shared
• 621 church interests; and, with time, friendships formed at school.
619 The growing importance of the adjacent white settlements and
177 the administrative colonies at the Agency and at Yainax set in
178 relief the larger community of the Indian reservation.

*657 Klamath relationships with members of the Agency staff seem
*648 to have been restricted largely to those demanded by their official
duties. Their scanty numbers would in any case have made contact with them infrequent for the great body of the population, and the whites tended to maintain a closed community in their social relationships. An important exception to the general social insulation were some of the more acceptable members of the families of Indian employees, who were sometimes hired as help and thus received a conditional entrée to the houses of whites. Off the reservation, special protector-employer roles seem to have been assumed by such men as Sykes Worden, contractor and post trader at Fort Klamath, O. C. Applegate, and several others.

By far the most unhindered contacts were made at Fort Klamath. The freedom of the individual from social constraint in the early days is evinced in the situation John Meacham found.

> Certain Indian women [he remarked] . . . had established several habitations in the vicinity of the Agency. They were in the habit of hanging around the office, the quarters, private houses and other buildings of the Agency, losing no opportunity of insinuating themselves into the presence of the employes. They were saucy, impudent and lewd in the extreme.

He therefore placed the post off limits for women unless they had legitimate business, an order that "met with the hearty approval of the Indian men and the faithful observance of the women."[4] The practice was not stopped, however, and Dyar, who tried to institute a pass system to control the traffic, noted that "soldiers are in the habit of frequently visiting the Indian camps below this point—sometimes remaining over night."[5]

*657 Native marital practice posed no very great obstacle to a white
*648 who wished to consort with an Indian woman. In the nature of
563 things many of these unions were casual, but others possessed a
more permanent character, though often common law in form. Indignant settlers in the Klamath Valley circulated a petition in

The depression and the subsequent loss of mills through fire 648*
and economic distress stripped Chiloquin temporarily of many 657*
of her specialized services. By the time she had emerged from 184
the slump a decade after World War II, improved communications 361
had enabled Klamath Falls, twenty times as large and only thirty miles away, to supplant Chiloquin in many functions which had previously been discharged locally. Nonetheless, in the course of recovery some services were regained. With an institutional complexity that far transcended that of Beatty, Chiloquin, an enclave of the state of Oregon within the federal jurisdiction of the reservation, offered tribal residents a foretaste of the life that lay beyond reservation boundaries. In 1958 more than thirty per cent of the entire tribal membership had mailing addresses there.

In examining the households of Beatty and Chiloquin, respectively 648*
31 and 297 in number, it is convenient to distinguish 657*
two categories among those including tribal members. That 621 •
designated Interethnic is headed by a tribal member married to 184
a partner of another ethnic group, white, Mexican, alien Indian, 563
or other. The second, in which both partners are tribal members, 592
will be designated Tribal. The term Klamath will subsume both. [162]

Klamath households in the rural community of Beatty in 1959 comprised well over eighty per cent of the community, the remaining households being largely white. By contrast, in Chiloquin (1949-50) white households were twice the Beatty percentage; while Klamath households amounted only to little over half the population. The remaining ten per cent was made up of other minorities, Mexican, Negro, and Indian. Within the next decade continuing trends in Chiloquin increased the disparity, as white households gained at the expense of all other components.

The figures for Interethnic marriages harmonize with this picture of white preponderance in the larger community. When the total marital record is considered, including successive mates, it is seen that unions with whites comprise only slightly more than one-fifth of the total for reservation members, almost one-third for the Chiloquin segment, and well over three-quarters for a small sample of off-reservation Klamath.[10] Among the Interethnic households of Beatty, the non-Klamath partner was more frequently Indian than white, while in Chiloquin he was

*648 generally white. When it is considered that in American society
*657 the husband maintains significant external relationships,[11] it
184 •621 seems significant that in both Chiloquin and Beatty in some three-
563 fourths of the Interethnic households the husband was an out-
592 sider and the wife a Klamath.

Economic Life

*648 From an economic standpoint, tribal members occupied a
*657 subsidiary position in reservation communities. Their participa-
621 tion in productive activities as a whole was small. In 1958, a
434 sample of the reservation population showed the following eco-
464 nomic profile: presently engaged in business or ranching, eigh-
162 teen per cent; previous record of such experience, eleven per cent; no such experience, forty-eight per cent; no data, twenty-three per cent. The figures for those resident in Chiloquin showed, if anything, a lesser degree of direct participation. Available records on a small absentee sample (but one with a higher proportion of women) do not reveal a higher degree of economic experience. The figures are: presently engaged in business or ranching, seven per cent; previous record of such experience, twenty-one per cent; no such experience, seventy per cent; no data, two per cent.

*648 The record of scanty business experience is in large measure
*657 a consequence of the steady flow of income from tribal timber.
434 In 1950, the $800 per capita payments enabled a Klamath family
of four to exceed the median income for all families in the county.
454 Since they could also hunt and fish throughout the year, and many families did, their actual income was considerably higher. There was thus little incentive to work to supplement timber revenues. The Meriam committee, to be sure, had observed years before, in the course of their comprehensive study of Indian administration, that the Klamath per capitas were too small for investment and thus tended to be disbursed for current living expenses;[12] but it is also true that, lacking investment experience, tribal members who realized substantial sum from the sale of allotments too often treated them as windfalls to be squandered, rather than as capital capable of bringing further financial returns.

000 Comparison with the record of white performances places the

as well by envious whites. Indeed, prominent among the local 648*
advantages which white residents stated bound them to Chilo- 657*
quin were the advantages offered by the reservation for hunting 224
and fishing. At the same time, the whites tended to regard those 226
pursuits as no more than recreational avocations; and if the 181
Klamath were sometimes credited with inherent aptitudes for the chase, they were also looked down upon for devoting so much time to "play," and for ignoring, as many did, the white canons of sportsmanship.

Conflicting viewpoints were likewise evinced in the relation- 648*
ships of tribal members seen as consumers. While there were 657*
wide differences in actual behavior both among and between 571
whites and Indians, relationships came often to be governed by
stereotypes. This was particularly so in the larger communities, [621] •
in instances in which individuals were not personally known to [184]
each other.

Those relationships were in fact strongly conditioned by the 648*
peculiar status of the tribal members who relied upon per capitas 657*
for their income. Few Klamath on the reservation had ever 434
banked money, and the absence of a bank in Chiloquin since the 571
depression, or in any other reservation town, made necessary 452
the institution of a credit system.[13] Since much Indian property [453]
was held in trust by the government, which thus could not be advanced as security, merchants had to rely heavily upon a knowledge of the individual in advancing credit. Reservation stores resorted to a credit system to compete with the businesses in Klamath Falls, and through a more intimate acquaintance with tribal members could assess the risk more skillfully than those—particularly the newcomers—in the county seat. At the same time, the expense of operating such a system was one of the factors in advancing prices in reservation stores. Thus merchants, who not infrequently did their own private shopping in Klamath Falls, were galled to see tribal customers, whom they had carried on credit, patronizing competitors in the larger city as soon as they had received their per capitas.

In attempting to collect outstanding debts, merchants could 648*
not count upon the Superintendents, but had to resort to moral 657*
suasion and threaten to cut off further credit. Some Superinten- 434
dents did assist in bringing pressure to bear upon delinquent 452

> I might call attention to the fact that at the last election in 648*
> Klamath County a trust patented Indian was elected Justice of 657*
> the Peace, and a fee patented Indian was elected Constable of 641
> the Beatty District on the Klamath reservation. It seems a rather [693]
> unusual situation when a trust patented Indian can preside as a judge over a court and pass sentence on other people and at the same time question the same court's jurisdiction over him.[8]

Nor was this all. Federally regulated land on the reservation [625]
was off bounds for officers of the law from city, county, and state; yet in 1947 there were only two special Indian officers and two deputies to enforce law and order over almost one million acres of reservation. It was physically impossible for them to follow up all cases, and consequently they could not deal effectively with the misdemeanors of delinquents or with truancy from the county schools.

In the 1920's, soon after the opening of the reservation, towns 648*
such as Chiloquin were faced with the influx of a mobile popu- 657*
lation in which the unmarried "timber beast" was prominent. 621 •
Roistering and violence occasionally assumed major proportions, 625
and law enforcement broke down at first. Within the first three 563
years after its incorporation in 1926, Chiloquin witnessed no 674
less than twelve appointments to the position of town marshal. At times the Superintendent, concerned over the effect upon the Indians, intervened, delivering an ultimatum or sending in his officers to restore order. His jurisdiction, in turn, was also limited: When Arnold brought pressure to bear upon Chiloquin authorities to close down gambling in the pool halls and card rooms, the gamblers merely shifted their operation to Bly, just over the eastern boundary of the reservation, and the same procedure had to be repeated by state and local officials there.

The interdependence of law enforcement on state lands and 648*
reservation was emphasized during the depression. In 1931, when 657*
logging on the reservation—and with it tribal income—had been 641
temporarily reduced by Washington, a tribal leader, Wade 625
Crawford, succeeded in securing a congressional cut in the [651]
administrative budget of the Agency, which from about 1924 had been supported out of tribal revenue. Since the budgetary allocation for law enforcement then became inadequate, the federal officers left, until there remained only a constable and an

*648 Indian officer, both at Beatty. Thereupon, Chiloquin's marshal
*657 and his deputy also resigned, asserting that enforcement under
641 those conditions was too difficult—and too dangerous, to boot.
625 The county, which had already barred tribal members from the county jail, now took the position that, short of a government request, its courts would try no more Indian cases. Crawford
[692] countered with a proposal that the Court of Indian Offenses be reinstituted, while other leaders fell back upon that time-honored solution, the United States cavalry. Several months passed before funds were found to restore the reservation staff to normal strength.[4]

*648 Within the interlocking jurisdictions of the reservation and
*657 the reservation community, Klamath came to play out the role
641 of citizen as a voter, a taxpayer, and the object of legal control.
571 In small towns such as Chiloquin and Sprague River, relationships were primary in character, dominated by face-to-face relationships. Within the special environment of the reservation, with the vast potential of its unexploited resources, something of a western frontier tradition was preserved, with emphasis placed upon individualism and a high premium set upon voluntaristic action in concerting effort.

*648 These conditions were nowhere better evident than in Beatty.
*657 In this little community, with fewer than one hundred fifty
• 621 members, leadership was furnished by a few individuals and
563 action was highly informal. Perhaps the most influential person was a white storekeeper, a resident in the community for almost four decades, who had on occasion donated land and cash for worthy causes, who presided over a credit system, and who was much respected by the older tribal members. Among the latter, a leading spirit was the widow of his brother-in-law, who could be counted upon to act with him. His store was a frequent gathering place and the debating ground of the "hot stove league," where tribal politicians from the Upper End were often to be found. Another local leader was a young white, married to a tribal member, who farmed along the Sprague and in his spare time was a vigorous preacher in the Assembly of God Church.

Indians from other reservations, also married to Klamath, provided specialized leadership. One was prominent in the affairs of

the Beatty Roping Club, an organization that sponsored a local 648*
rodeo, with white, Klamath, and Indian members from the 657*
reservation and its environs. Another, an Agency employee until 621 •
his transfer to the Lower End, was active in organizing a youth 563
program. In Beatty in 1959, informal discussion still sufficed to decide common issues; and such men as these could marshal support to implement decisions. In the entire town, two deputy sheriffs, an arm of the county, were the sole embodiments of officialdom.[5]

Chiloquin, by contrast, was a larger and more complex community, having a formal municipal structure headed by a mayor and a council of six aldermen, along with a recorder-police judge and a treasurer. It hired a town marshal, ran an elementary and high school under the aegis of the county and state, operated sewage and water systems, owned a municipal tavern, and supported a volunteer fire department.

Not surprisingly, within this community principal economic interests were often aligned in the control of political power. Such devices as the massing of supporters to control party caucuses and interim appointments to fill vacancies on the council have enabled such interests to provide continuity of representation. With the exception of the treasurer, the elective offices for years were filled by men. Until 1957, they were invariably held by whites. In that year, when awareness of incipient termination had drawn together some tribal members, a group of Klamath succeeded in voting into office as alderman the Indian wife of a well-respected tribal member.

Leadership recruitment in Chiloquin was directed toward those individuals who had shouldered responsibility in such civic activities as the drives for Community Chest and Red Cross. Only one-third of the white families were actively represented in one or more such ventures. Among tribal families, however, the proportion was far smaller: certainly it lay below one-tenth of those resident in Chiloquin. The reasons were not far to seek. For one, the civic activities involved were quasisocial in character, and the low participation of Klamath reflected their social isolation within the community. Again, their own political orientation was rather toward the Tribe than to the affairs of towns which they identified with the dominant society. [619]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648
*659 Although tribal members in Chiloquin lagged little behind their
• 621 white neighbors in registering to vote (1958), their concern was
563 less with local than with national issues.[8]

641 A second aspect of Indian citizenship was the support of local
619 government through payment of taxes. Since all property held
666 in trust or restricted status by the government, together with
*648 income derived from such property, was exempt from taxation,
*657 many tribal members occupied an unusual position among their
641 fellow citizens. The effect was particularly felt by the county and
651 local communities, which were heavily dependent upon property taxes. For years, Klamath County sought to secure funds from the government to compensate it for the trust lands within its boundaries, which were served by county roads, sheriffs, courts, and schools. Johnson-O'Malley funds finally provided money in lieu of taxes to support the schools; to these the Klamath Tribe on occasion added funds for special purposes, but the other causes were unavailing.

In Chiloquin, officials resented the action of one Superintendent, who advised tribal residents that any property bought within the city with funds in trust or restricted status might be restored to corresponding status, even though it had been owned in fee simple when purchased. Such house lots were thus removed from the tax rolls and, although benefited by sewers and other municipal improvements, could not be levied for their support. It was not commonly recognized by white citizens of [563] Chiloquin that a number of tribal members paid taxes regularly upon property held in fee simple and that a multitude of indirect taxes fell as heavily upon tribal consumers as upon their fellow citizens. Rather, the image was that of a people exempt from financial responsibility toward the support of local institutions from which they benefited. Though a distortion, like many other parts of the stereotype, this evaluation nonetheless contained a substantial kernel of truth.

If truth be told, the citizens of Chiloquin were no more disposed to pay taxes than American citizens anywhere, and indeed they were somewhat less inclined to do so than those elsewhere in Oregon. In 1951-52, the millage rates of Chiloquin were by far the lowest among the organized communities of Klamath

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Tribal member-
*648 ship was, as we have seen, only one of several
*657 political roles in which Klamath might participate, and in some
619 measure it lay athwart the others. Citizenship in the United
641 States, granted generally to American Indians in 1924, affiliation
with state, county, and municipality: these political memberships are explicit in character, conditional upon the fulfillment of stated requirements and with the exercise of well-defined rights. Superficially, tribal membership appears to possess a similar character. In the admission of new members, both the establishment of qualifications and the decision upon individual candidates rested with the Tribe, though subject to review by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Applicants had to be of Klamath parentage on at least one side, and those of one-quarter or more Klamath heritage were automatically admitted upon application. In 1945 a clause was added permitting adoption of members of one-sixteenth heritage, contingent upon assurances that they would reside upon the reservation and participate in tribal activities.

In practice, Indian heritage of any sort, and not merely that stemming from the Klamath Tribe, was reckoned in; and token assurances of participation and residence have conventionally
[161] been accepted. Of the final enrollment of 2,133 tribal members,
[162] 86 fell within the category of one-sixteenth quantum. Of these, 12
dwelt on the reservation and another 12 in Klamath Falls, the remaining 62 residing at some distance from the seat of tribal government. Once enrolled, members have not been subject to review, save when their original qualifications were called into question.

In a membership that was not conditional upon performance,
[602] the Tribe had a great deal in common with such ascriptive en-
[621] tities as the family and ramified kin, the traditional tribe, and
the broad regional communities into which the latter had tended to cluster.

Family loyalties have been at once strong and selective. At times, they have provided continuities of interest within a single
[602] line. Here, for example, were the Rev. Jesse Kirk, himself the
son of a treaty signatory, and his sons, Clayton, Seldon, and Jesse Lee; here old chief Monchnkasgitk, and his sons, Harrison and Henry Brown; here Judge William Crawford, his wife, Eliza, and their son, Wade; here Henry Jackson, his half-brother, Ike, and the latter's son, Boyd Jackson.

While the political strength of a family is seen not only in the 648*
succession of interest but in a propensity for members of a family 657*
to vote *en bloc*, this is far from invariably true. The schism 619
separating Jesse Kirk from his half-brother, Joseph, is one prominent 602
instance—and by no means the only one—to the contrary. [665]
In fact, alignment within the family and extended kin has often [578]
been modified by contending considerations.

Nonetheless, for some leaders the solidarity of family some- 648*
times took precedence over impartiality in the discharge of office. 657*
One tribal council member is quoted as defending his action 661
favoring certain enrollments by the explanation ". . . that since 602
two children were his niece's children, he felt that it was his duty 619
to guard the interests of his minor relatives."[8] Political leaders, seeking to emphasize the purity of their motives, needed to go no further in justification than to declare that they sought only the welfare of their grandchildren.

Although intermarriage and alternative associations have long 648*
overlaid clear identification with the several peoples who had 657*
entered into the treaty, such affiliations have continued to exert 563
political force, however greatly diminished in recent years. In 621 •
turn, they related to the two broad communities on the reservation. 619
The Lower End remained predominantly Klamath, while Modoc, Paiute, as well as a number of Klamath and Pit River, comprised the Upper End community some forty miles away.
Even after the closing of the subagency at Yainax, the populations [184]
of Sprague River and Beatty continued to reflect the special character of the eastern reservation.

In turn, the relatively easier access of the Lower End to outside [177]
influences—a subject already reviewed in discussing modern tribal demography—superimposed the effects of differential acculturation and intermarriage upon the traditional subtribal
allegiances that distinguished the two Ends. Difficulty of travel 648*
along the road from the Agency to Yainax had given rise to the 657*
practice, long maintained, of holding separate councils at each 621
place. Thus at the two Ends there had developed political com- 665
munities responsive to their own local leaders. Harrison Brown, 619
in 1931, played upon a familiar theme when he recognized in Wade Crawford, a leader from the Lower End ". . . a young man who is not a full-blood, who is trying to stir up trouble, and we

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 *657 • 621 want to set him aside, as he does not understand what we want. . . . I am one of the full-blood Klamath leaders," he continued, "and I don't want any trouble with the government."[9]

665 619 In the factional struggle marking the final generation of tribal government, Wade Crawford and his wife, Ida, drew their principal strength from the Lower End and the absentee membership; while many of the leaders opposing them, including Harrison Brown, Levi Walker, Boyd Jackson, and later Jesse Lee Kirk, hailed from the Upper End and found their major strength there. Despite exceptions and progressive weakening, the dichotomy was long a working reality, of which the loyalty of the Paiute to Boyd Jackson was only the most signal of many expressions.

A review of tribal minutes over the last half-century reveals a striking faithfulness in the voting of the most prominent adherents of those leaders. It seems clear that out of factionalism small but stable parties were beginning to emerge, to which, however, the large body of tribal members remained uncommitted. It was upon his immediate followers that a leader relied for support in raising funds or carrying a point to the undecided. At the same time, his image drew dimension from the character, as well as the number, of his adherents. That the personal image was still important, and that loyalties were not invoked in terms of issues alone, is seen by the personal denigration which took place between factional opponents and by the identification of each partisan group with its leader in the phrase, "He's a Crawford—or Jackson—man."

*648 *657 665 619 The professional politician had come to dominate the ranks of leaders. It was not simply that industry in the management of one's private affairs held less significance in a world made equal by the flow of per capitas. The tasks confronting the new leaders also were different. It was no longer sufficient to provide aid out of one's pocket and offer sage advice in public gatherings. The new leader must be prepared to devote most of his time to political matters. He must concern himself with the administrative duties of the tribal office, to prolonged negotiation with Bureau personnel and with the officials and private individuals representing the interests of neighboring whites. On occasion, there were the delegations to Washington. Daily, there were the chores to be undertaken for constituents in the fence-mending that was

Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
648 towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation,
by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically,
less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities
were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
[786] 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
[181] Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
[556] wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased
opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members,
[434] as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited
[651] bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are ex- 621
clusively White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office out- [575]
side the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local [794]
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are fre-
quently tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously, [651]
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chilo- [674]
quin during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a recon- 648
stituted "Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be adminis- 657
tered by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the 619
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal super-
vision has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Atten- 619
dance at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

BY ROBERT F. SPENCER

773 IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians
177 of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of
178 aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among
179 other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in
the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of
interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of
their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way
and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching
Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer
182 can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the
folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common
economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies
combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising
to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations.
A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to
find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal
myth.

175 Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation
177 from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal
to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its
culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which
222 it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In
226 its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent
gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes
631 of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic
621 economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separatistic
771 hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly
791 developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest
and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points
to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

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101 [1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949,
122 on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund,
1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by
research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

113 [2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American
Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations
in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

The subdivisions or tribelets are:

I. ä'ukckni, the people of Klamath marsh and middle Williamson 101
river, the Klamath proper. Evidently the Sprague river people are 131
included here; there is some doubt, but I am even more doubtful 619
whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague river as
Yainax in pre-reservation times.

II. kowa'edikni, those of a village of that name on Agency lake. They may be ä'ukckni.

III. du'kwakni, on the delta of Williamson river. These are more closely affiliated with the Pelican bay people than with ä'ukckni.

IV. gu'mbŏtkni, those of Pelican bay and the marsh to the north.

V. iu"laloŋkni, the people of Klamath falls (Link river) and the eastern shore of Klamath lake.

The names are those of the districts they occupy with the suffix -kni, those of, people of: ä'ukci, Klamath marsh; du'kwa, the district about the mouth of Williamson river; gu'mbŏt, Pelican bay, possibly taking its name from Rocky point; iu"laloŋᴇ, on the end, the village at the outlet of the lake into Link river.

It is now difficult to get a true estimate of the size of these groups. 361
The ä'ukckni count twenty-nine or more settlements, half of the total; 162
of the others iu"laloŋkni have thirteen, gu'mbŏtkni seven or more,
du'kwakni five, and kowa'edikni, one. The towns vary considerably
in size, yet this mere count agrees closely with the populational pro-
portions as my several informants phrased them. The ä'ukckni are
by far the largest group, perhaps as large as all the others together.
Nancy Phillips recalls the large number of children who played [115]
together at gu'mbŏt, Pelican bay. At this place the settlements do
form a large compact group. Next in order she places the du'kwa
group, then those clustering about iu"laloŋᴇ at Klamath falls, and
goyᴇmske'ᴇgIs on Williamson river. The settlements on Williamson
river are small and scattered, but she places their joint population
above the gu'mbŏtkni. The iu"laloŋkni were comparatively few
despite their large territory. Of the ä'ukckni more lived at Klamath
marsh even in winter than on Williamson river. The huge size of a
single site, du"Ilkŭt, bears this out.

Consonant with their unequal size is it that the principal chief, at 619
least in early reservation days, was the principal chief of the ä'ukckni; 622
all others were distinctly subordinate in prestige. According to one
informant, himself a du'kwa man, the ä'ukckni are the highest people. [829]
Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero, made them first, best, and strongest;
later he made the others.

by the death of several on each side, the feud continues until payment 726
is made. Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried 628
out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery.

A chief may intervene; so I was told, though I doubt it. Chiefs do 728
accompany parleying parties and other men may echo their words. 622
Beyond that there seems to be nothing to their position but personal prestige which has been enhanced by developments since reservation days. Lɛle'ks and his successors among the ă'ukckni seem to have made much of their position. Pat's father and Tc!i'wi, both du'kwakni, killed a iu"lalonɛ man at stŏ'kmatc, Eagle Point. They were taken to Klamath marsh and each beaten five times at the order of this chief. This was in pre-reservation days, or at least prior to the establishment of the agency in 1864 (?). Nevertheless this is not aboriginal, but,
according to Nancy Phillips, these "laws" were brought by her cousin [177]
from the north.

The group that owes recompense, having lost fewer men, goes to 728
the other offering payment to even the score. The value of a man's life is not a fixed item, as it is for the lower Klamath river tribes; this despite the similarity of marriage payment and the slur on children not born of a purchased mother. My informants professed ignorance of what should be paid, yet it can hardly be doubted that recompense accorded with a man's wealth and prestige.

Children who are captured are kept; settling the score does not mean that they are restored, though this may well be only in case they have been sold. Their fate depends on their captors, who may elect to rear them as their own children. More commonly they are miserably treated, made to sleep with the dogs, fetch water, etc., and beaten if
they are lazy. They are as quickly sold at Warm Springs and the [437]
Dalles as are foreign captives. With the latter at least there is an advantage in immediately disposing of them, that they do not grow up to carry back to their own people precise knowledge of the habits and topography of the Klamath world.

Kŏ'kdiɳks of du'kwa was a chief (lŏ'ki) in warfare. He would tell his tribes- 159
men to get ready to fight with the iu"laloɳkni, for instance. He was always 701
in the forefront of battle. When a youth he went out to seek power by bathing
and wandering through the mountains at night. His mother had told him that 721
long before those of iu"lalonɛ had slain his father, Lĕ"l'wis, a du'kwa shaman
accused of poisoning one of them. He wanted to become a warrior to have

After the dance, scalps and trophies are usually preserved by those 727 535 who called the dance, relatives of the avenged man. They are dried and stored far from their homes to be brought out and danced over at each new scalp dance. Sometimes bits of the scalp are sewn in rows [177] down each breast of a woman's dress, a Plains custom impossible, of course, before the introduction of these Plains-like garments. [291] Both practices are un-Californian.

There is a question whether the notched rattle (ulo'ks) is played in 727 the war and scalp dances. Neither drums, which the Klamath formerly lacked, nor rattles are used. 535 Only one man, Ma'gai', whose day was well before the middle of the last century, knew the notched rattle. 534 He knew all about war. He had overheard the Upland Takelma singing to it, according to one informant, and always used their songs when the Klamath made war on them. No resonator is used; the notched stick is rested directly on the ground and rasped with another stick.[84]

CHIEFTAINSHIP

Chiefs are of but minor significance in Klamath life. 622 • In contrast my informants invariably stressed the importance of the shamans. 756 As an instance the largest house pits pointed out were always those of shamans. This relative unimportance of the chiefs was true at least until just before reservation days. 622 At that time contact with the Columbia river tribes, whose concepts of chieftainship were sharp and deeprooted, coupled with the developing trade which began to make considerable differences in wealth among the Klamath, operated to enhance the position of the chiefs, the rich men. It is significant that Lᴌle'ks, their most prominent chief, had spent several years of continuous residence at the Dalles. All this was sharply accentuated on the establishment of the reservation by the government's recognition of lay leaders while frowning on the shamans. [114] It must be distinctly understood that the picture Gatschet draws of chiefly powers is nonaboriginal.[85] [115] In fact, his principal informant, David Hill, was one of the newly raised chiefs who, we must believe, was not inclined to underrate his new importance. Both my best informants, Nancy

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[84] The familiar association of this rasping sound with the voice of the frog and its use in a social dance (the Bear dance of the Basin Shoshoneans) are both unknown to the Klamath.

[85] Gatschet, 1:58–62.

622 Phillips and Tom Lang, doubted that there had been anyone who could properly be called chief in pre-reservation days.

756 As good a test of this as might be was the difficulty I had in getting the names of pre-reservation chiefs, let alone their functions. Shamans on the other hand were freely named and the many cited came far from exhausting the list. Gatschet encountered the same difficulty. 114 622 "Many times I attempted to obtain a list of the former head chiefs of the two chieftaincies [Klamath and Modoc]. I succeeded only in learning the names of two chiefs recently deceased, and no biographic details were obtainable." This he explains was due to their strong repugnance to name the dead,[88] but I found hardly a trace of a name taboo.

622 This situation seems much like that of the Great Basin tribes and the particular functions of chieftainship reenforce the view.

Some settlements have chiefs, others do not. It is very doubtful that they feel that political solidarity demands a chief for each subdivision. The three chiefs alone named with some certainty were all ă'ukekni men (Klamath marsh-Williamson river division): Tel'lokĭn who lived at the site of the present town Chiloquin, Lɛle'ks at bezükse'was across the river, and Motcŭnkă'skɛt at Yainax. Others of this subdivision were Li'lu at ḳa'umkăn on Sprague river and Dŏ'tklɛm sa'rdjĕnt (literally middle sergeant) at about the same place. In other tribelets were my informant's grandfather at mo'giŋkünks, and Kŏ'ḳdiŋka, both du'kwakni; a chief and another unnamed war leader at gu'mbŏt. It is quite in accord with this that none were named for iu'"laloŋkni, southern lake people. One informant suggested Link River Jack (nĕlo'lŏtk) for this group, but Tom Lang, himself one of them, was certain that this man was a post-reservation leader and doubted that his people had ever had a chief. All these chiefs were contemporaries of the period 1850 to 1870. Their predecessors, if they had any, are unknown. It proved quite fruitless to enquire for which groups or districts these men were chiefs. Tel'lokĭn was chief for the towns about the mouth of Sprague river (lobŏ'kstaŏksi, taka'lmakeda, etc.); Lɛle'ks for the whole middle Williamson valley, which includes these towns, and for Klamath marsh as well. In other words, each was a chief so far as people of his subdivision chose to follow his leadership.

Such is the separatism among the subdivisions that there can hardly be a tribal chief. How far any of the above functioned as such must have been purely a matter of personality. Pat Kane had it that the principal chief is always one of the ä'ukckni. This is by far the largest subdivision, hence chiefs in other divisions may well have less influence. Yet I believe he had the instance of Lxle'ks in mind. He said further that the ä'ukckni invariably issued the invitation to war and their chief selected the leader and received the booty. I doubt it. 622

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[88] *Op. cit.*, 1:xli.

A chief is one who has acquired his position in war, with some background of spirit experiences, wealth, ability to talk, and a suggestion of hereditary interest; this beyond natural ability for leadership. As one informant summed up his qualifications: he must be brave and have property; he must have presence to meet and talk with anyone, must be competent to arrange matters without dispute, and must have the interest of all his people at heart. I have described above how one leader sought power to lead a party to war. Since power is implicit for undertaking all things difficult, it must be assumed to be part of every chief's make-up.

Several anecdotes of Tci'lok̈in will make some of these qualities clear. Tci'lok̈in was a short man, deep-chested, powerful, and exceptionally hardy. It is related that he overtook a party camped in the deep snows atop the Cascades. Not being properly equipped, he lay beside a fire covered only with a single blanket. In the morning he was covered with frost but apparently had not suffered. 539

Somewhere in the north, possibly Warm Springs, was a man who owned a big slave who was very much a bully. While the slave was absent Tci'lok̈in traded three horses for the master's best horse. When the slave returned he inquired for the horse and sent a man to demand it. That man went twice but each time Tci'lok̈in sat quietly sewing and did not reply. Then the slave himself went out and demanded its return but Tci'lok̈in paid no attention. When the slave went to untie it, Tci'lok̈in tripped him. The former struck at him with his hatchet but missed. Then Tci'lok̈in wounded the other and he retreated.

Teauteau, a northerner, wanting Tci'lok̈in's daughter, offered horses and other valuables. The latter refused. He came to Tci'lok̈in at night and fought with him till daybreak. Tci'lok̈in clung to the other's hair despite the beating he was receiving. He came again next night and again they fought. This performance kept up through the whole winter. When spring came, Teauteau acknowledged his defeat "I, Tci'lok̈in, k̈elo's; yes, Tci'lok̈in, you are fierce," and they were again friends.

Again in the north some northern shamans went into a sweat-lodge. They wanted a shaman among their Klamath visitors to accompany them. None was present so the Klamath insisted on Tci'lok̈in joining them. One after the other each northern shaman sprinkled water on the hot rocks as he sang his song, hoping to force the others out.[57] Some overcome by heat and steam had to be dragged out. Once outside they wondered what had become of Tci'lok̈in;

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[57] This recalls the well-known test theme of western mythology.

539 he was nowhere to be seen. They thought he must have died. After a long time he began to talk, throwing water on the rocks. When he was quite ready he came out and walked to his own people. He had bested the shamans.

One informant completed the humorous tale of the lizard who killed five grizzlies with the comment, "He was braver than Tci'lokin."

• 622 Chiefs are wealthy. All informants gave the same term, lö'ki, for
rich man and chief, and when asked for the rich men named the chiefs.
556 They own many slaves; other people may have slaves, but many have
595 none. Some chiefs have a number of wives. Lɛle'ks had seven at one
time, not slaves, but one a Modoc, the others native. This, the largest
[567] marrige group known, argues considerable wealth. Lɛle'ks was accus-
[439] tomed to make frequent trips to northern tribes with captives to
exchange for horses. Everything points to the rise in wealth of these
men as dating only from the comparatively recent period of contact
with the northern tribes. Up to that time at least shamans rivaled
[756] chiefs in wealth.

622 A chief becomes such primarily by his leadership in war. When a group is gathered preparatory to war, chiefs address them and under their guidance war leaders, prominent, brave, and wealthy, are agreed on. Chiefs themselves are among the war leaders and no one alone captains the party. Chiefs make a point of engaging prominent adversaries in the forefront of battle. In addition to their other qualities, it is assumed that they are brave, unexcitable, and able to do without sleep.

Under the circumstances there can hardly be inheritance of chieftainship, largely because it is not an office to be regulated by definite succession. A chief's relative may be chosen as war leader, but not of necessity. Since wealth figures, it may be that at least the possibility of succession is heritable, but a man who is personally disqualified will not be considered. Pat Kane's paternal grandfather was a chief at du'kwa; further vision experiences had made him a good gambler but no shaman. But his son did not succeed because he was not competent and, in addition poor, nor has Pat any pretensions. On the death of Lɛle'ks, his son Solomon was passed over as lacking caliber, and in reservation days Alan David, previously a minor figure, was recognized in his place. Their relationship is unknown. My informants did not know whether the fathers of any of the chiefs named above had been chiefs before them.

[565] The Klamath have no feeling of class stratification as on the Columbia river and northward. A chief is a leader and nothing more.

His wife and children are commoners and not known by distinctive terms. 622

The emphasis among the chiefly functions is clearly on leadership in war and haranguing the people. Every morning before daylight he addresses them and again in the evening until the sun is well down. I am somewhat dubious that this procedure is as standardized as my informant had it. The address runs on fighting and acquiring spirit aid. He warns against hostile raiders; tells them to rise before daybreak; tells the young people to seek visions. "If you get a spirit, you cannot be killed; you will never fall sick; you will live to be old." But he has no word as to where they shall hunt or fish or carry on other routine activities. [701]

A chief has no speaker as a shaman has. Such might have been expected here, for Paviotso, Wishram, and Nez Percé chiefs have. [756]

A chief is not looked to to preserve peace. Old men may interfere in quarrels, but these are no especial concern of a chief. Nevertheless the word of an influential chief might end a feud. Just prior to reservation days the practice was introduced of tieing up and lashing quarrelsome men at the word of a chief. This was brought from the north by the cousin of my informant Nancy. It has a decided un-aboriginal flavor. A chief is under no obligation to help his people pay blood money, nor to assist them when starving. These are matters for relatives alone; they may die for all he is concerned. [71] [177]

SLAVES, TRADE, AND WEALTH

Slaves are captives of war, some of whom are kept by the Klamath but the majority are carried to the Dalles to be sold. They seem to have been numerous. Gatschet quotes a statement of Taylor in 1859 that in the raid on the Pit river people two years previously fifty-six of their women and children had been taken and sold on the Columbia river.[88] Doubt has been cast both on the number of slaves and the frequency of the raids as described by early writers. Kroeber, for instance, scouts the idea of yearly raids on the Achomawi and suggests that a few actual cases have been exaggerated.[89] Whatever the case be with regard to annual raids, I am certain that the evidences are too many and too circumstantial to permit of doubt that raids were 567

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[88] 1:lx.

[89] Handbook, 819.

The number of plural wives depends on wealth; hence chiefs have 595
more than others. From my notes I glean two instances of two wives, [622]
another of three. The wives in both bigamous cases were sisters. The greatest number known was the case of the chief Lʟle'ks, who had at one time seven wives, two of them sisters.[73] I have described their derivations above. These women bore him many children. Whether the wives are sisters is a matter of complete indifference. To have two wives is called la'bwewa'nagītkt (lit., two females), three ʟnda'nwewa'nagītkt, and so on. Collectively the wives may be referred to as sīpkska'ltk; they call each other p'tcīki'p. Plural wives are paid for, but whether there is reciprocal visiting I do not know. Slaves [567]
are also taken to wife. Polyandry is unthinkable to the Klamath; it would be adulterous.

Barrenness is as usual a reason for taking a second wife, but not 595
always. Pat's maternal uncle had a barren wife. He kept her 842
throughout his life and never took another. The case of three wives noted above was one in which there were no children; the children of this family always died in infancy, I was told. Whether this implied that two of the three were barren, I do not know. One word, ts'e'do, means a sterile man or woman.

The sororate is not obligatory on the death of a wife, nor is there 587
any notion that a girl must marry an older sister's husband when she comes of age.[74] It is thought better to marry a deceased wife's sister, and from her family's point of view it is evidence that they care for the husband when they provide another daughter. There is however no feeling that they are under compulsion to make good the loss he sustained because of his marriage payments. A bereaved person waits a year or more before remarrying. The second wife has to be paid for like the first, but the amount is less. Again this depends on the man's affluence. The sororate is called spīno'la, the sister, [601]
spī'nuwīp, *i.e.*, sibling-in-law when the spouse is dead (cf. spīnu', to cremate, spī'nuks, cremation place).

The levirate is customary but not obligatory. It is desirable to keep a woman in the family, especially one with children. This is perhaps nothing more than an expression of household solidarity, for

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[73] Gatschet states ten, but I am certain there were not more than seven, at least at one time (2:126).

[74] There is just a suggestion. When asked for the kinship term used by a woman for her sister's husband, my informant gave the term for husband, but somewhat in confusion corrected herself with the woman's term for brother-in-law. [601]

756 As both sexes are shamans there was no need for the transformation
838 had this been the goal.

Mŭksamse'lapli, also called White Sindey, was the berdache shaman. He tried to laugh like a woman. He was twice married, first to a Molala man named Tci'ptci, later to a Klamath, Tc!o'mŏks. The latter is known to me as a normal old man who has since raised a family of his own. White Sindey made considerable pretense to shamanistic powers, but was rather scouted. He performed and reacted like an
159 ordinary shaman.

838 One of my informants now in his sixties had been a berdache in his youth. I had observed his general unmasculine behavior but it was not until my visit of the second year that another informant gave the reason. He lives alone, takes pride in his cooking and the care of his house, weaves baskets for sale as women do, and still wears a basket hat, which no Klamath man now will. He is fleshy, slow, and distinctly feminine in gait and gestures, and speaks with the higher pitch of women's voices. Yet his transvestite state was given up nearly half a century ago. He is shrewd enough, though mild mannered, yet I confess that I suspected no abnormality. When about sixteen years old he was at the Dalles where an old woman shaman of the place took a fancy to him. He however was afraid that she would harm him so he put on woman's dress. He wore his hair long, prepared lily seeds, wove mats and baskets; all typical women's pursuits. He has never married. After learning his history I brought up the subject of marriage with him. He claimed that he had once been married, his wife having died twenty years ago, and in answer to the question why he had not remarried replied: "Some men like it that way."

838 The most striking case is that of the chief Lɛle'ks. As an ado-
lescent he wore women's dress and performed the appropriate tasks.
159 One day after returning from the lily seed harvest he lay down to
• 622 sleep. They placed a bow and arrow and a punt pole by his side, the latter a symbol of women's work. They stood over him and shouted. As he jumped to his feet he grasped the bow, thus determining his future. He ran off to Mount Scott (t!u'msŭmɛni), staying through the night on the mountain in quest of a supernatural experience. As he was returning he smelled the sweaty odor of running horses. He left off women's dress and actions from that time. He became lucky in every way, acquired wealth, especially in horses, and prestige, and became the foremost chief the Klamath have known. His

159 838 [622] subsequent career seems quite normal unless exception be made of his seven wives!

A woman named Co'pak lived like a man although she retained women's dress. She married a woman who lived with her a long time and finally died. She observed the usual mourning, wearing a bark belt as a man does at this time to prevent the back from growing bowed. She tried to talk like a man and invariably referred to herself as one.

Another woman still living has had relations with both women and men. She never adopted men's garb but told them that she was a man. She is today a common prostitute, an abnormal, irascible person. Those she lived with were all older women, not young girls. This practice is known as sawa'lĭnăa, to live as partners. They say of such: they have lots of partners, friends (snewă'ĕts doma' sawa' lĭnăa'sgitkt). Other Klamath of any standing have always avoided her and her women partners. She was never married to a man.

HOUSE GROUPS

342 592 It is now difficult to get evidence on household composition. Houses vary in size, to judge by the existing pits, from twelve feet in diameter to as much as thirty-five feet. The larger houses must have held a number of families and as many as ten or twelve persons. One described below had five families, numbering twenty.

The majority of the inmates of a house can usually trace some relationship. This is also true of most of the inhabitants of a settlement. For example, the village mo'giŋkŭnks had half a dozen earth-lodges, of which three held the families of two brothers and their father's male cousin. Residence is normally patrilocal. In the cases [591] which follow the connecting relatives are for the most part related in the first degree.

An earth-lodge on the lower Williamson river built about 1870, and measuring thirty feet in diameter, contained five men, their wives and children, whose respective portions of the house are shown in figure 4. This was known as the home of the shaman Boke's; the others were related to his wife.

1. Boke's, wife, and two children.
2. Lek!o'c, wife and two children.
3. Wokau'k!alls, a widower, whose two wives had been Molala sisters.[76]

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[76] Their Molala names were Slowa' and A'li'ak.

[622] [177] The shaman himself is, or was, the outstanding figure of Klamath society. He had no rival in the chiefs, the rich man, until the coming of the whites brought a redistribution of emphasis in Klamath life. Chiefs had previously been persons of little influence.

771 *171 All this is familiar enough among Indians; the Klamath differ only in particulars. In its several aspects, their religion, as well as its practice, is one with that of the Great Basin, Plateau, and Mackenzie tribes.

THE POWER QUEST

787 The quest for supernatural aid is open to everyone, men and women, boys and girls. It is a constantly recurring feature of their lives. Everyone, perhaps without exception, seeks the powers at least once during his lifetime and further experiences seem to be repeatedly sought.

[881] The first occasion is always puberty. I doubt that boys and girls
are expected to be uniformly successful in securing aid at this time,
because, it was said, at shamanistic performances those who had power
might sing their songs. This may imply that the others either never
[765] acquired power or had lost it. My informants' frequent emphasis
on the period of mourning for a husband, wife, or child marks this,
too, as a peculiarly pregnant period when power may be successfully
sought. At least at such a time a man loses his power and must seek
[844] again if he wishes to regain it. A man also seeks power at the birth
of a first child. But it is not only the crises of life that provide
[756] occasion; the quest may be undertaken at any time, and it is the prac-
tice of such as gamblers and shamans to renew and enhance their
[525] powers by frequent attempts. The quest is called spū'tu.

The experience does not ordinarily include a vision, but is made manifest in a song heard in a dream. In some instances where a vision is had, a dream song follows, but it is clear that the latter is the essential experience. In the following case a man and a woman had identical visions but to the man alone fell the experience leading to power.

787 159 The grandfather of a Klamath Falls shaman went to stō'kmōte, the point of Eagle Ridge, in the evening. There is a spot in the lake where bubbles rise. Horses lived in this long ago (!). When this man reached the headland he saw two pinto horses, with long manes, rearing against each other from the water. He was not frightened but took off his clothes and plunged into the water in order to secure power. When he recovered consciousness he found himself again on land. From that time he was lucky; he began to get many pintos, large horses. Because of this experience his grandson, the shaman, also acquired, in his turn, spirit songs of all kinds.

This is a spirit. Doubtful as spirits are certain other stones; yati's 776
which stands at I'wal, and nĕ'ḳnŭḳ, a group of stones back of
Du"Ilḳŭt, both towns on Klamath marsh. These are "shaman 776
stones"; evidently once living things, for it was said that they were 756
transformed when Crow laughed at them.

A Molala struck one of the nĕ'ḳnŭḳ stones with a basket, saying, "How can this rock have power?" He soon sickened and died. The nĕ'ḳnŭḳ is a shaman.

SHAMANISM

The shaman (ḳiu'ks) is one who has acquired more than usual 756
spirit power. This is a relative matter; some shamans have considerably more power than others, and everyone who has got power is in some degree capable of using it as a shaman does. One of my informants, for example, now avowedly a member of the pseudo-Christian Shaker sect, maintains that he too is a little qualified; he can make it rain. Shamanism is completely individualistic among the Klamath; there are no shamanistic organizations.

It is clear that the shaman is the most important individual in 756
Klamath society, taking precedence over rich men, the chiefs. Sha- 622 •
mans' houses are the largest in the village and they have at least as much property as wealthy laymen. Invariably my informants spoke first of shamans in describing outstanding individuals. Their behavior and practices were readily formulated, whereas I experienced considerable difficulty in learning the functions and even the names of chiefs. It is reasonably certain that the status of the chiefs, that is the rich [178]
men, was relatively unimportant until the introduction of horses in the middle of the last century stimulated trading with the Columbia [177]
river tribes and perhaps brought in some of the northern view of the importance of wealth and chieftaincy. There is no doubt that the position of chiefs was strengthened by the habit of the whites of dealing with chiefs and other prominent laymen.

Shamans are both men and women, but unlike the Shasta, the 756
majority are men. My informants mentioned many men shamans 562
during the course of my visits, and this probably did not exhaust their memories; but on request they could muster only four women [170]*
shamans and one berdache. Women never acquire the prestige of men for they are rarely credited with such unusual powers as men. They cannot wander in the mountains nor dive for power so well as men;

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342 lodges is curious. "It [a Klamath marsh village] was composed of
20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents
[361] built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or
gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. . . . . Reached Indian
village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the
door at the top a defense against arrows but not balls."[368] Frémont
notes "they were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with
rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into
the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams." At
another place "the huts . . . . were made of tall rushes and willows."[369]

342 There is considerable variation in the size of houses, even those of
184 one type. Earth-lodges range in diameter from twelve to thirty feet
or more, the larger accommodating several families. The largest pit
I saw measured thirty-five feet in diameter. The largest earth-lodges
are invariably those of shamans, larger even that those of chiefs. This
is not only the statement of my several informants, but on every site
[756] I visited the largest pits were pointed out to me as the former residences
of shamans. The shaman's lodge, to be sure, houses the winter
[622] performances, but this also implies that shamans are the wealthiest
individuals, or were so at least before the ascendancy of the chiefs
during the last century. Winter houses are commonly larger than the
corresponding summer mat-covered forms.

342 The semi-subterranean earth-lodge is erected over a shallow pit (sloko'ps). This is commonly but knee deep, but the thirty-five-foot pit mentioned above had been excavated waist deep or even more. All the clearly defined house pits that I saw were circular, but I got the impression from one informant that the house might be somewhat squared. This is probably the case only with the summer mat-lodge: wu'kē'plōḳs. The circle is not measured in any way. The pit is dug with digging sticks, the earth thrown back all around the excavation with storage baskets (tlūḳs) or slabs of pine bark.

The roof has the form of a truncated, wedge-shaped cone, resting as it does on the circular periphery of the pit but with its upper truncated surface an elongated rectangle. The main frame is formed by four central posts, set to form the corners of this rectangle.[370] The tops of these are connected by stringers. Poles extending obliquely

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[368] Elliott, The Ogden Journals, 210.

[369] Frémont, Narrative, 122; Memoirs, 494.

[417] [370] Barrett implies a single center post ("climbs down . . . . by means of steps cut into the center pole itself," p. 244), but this was denied by my informants.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

Taken as a whole Klamath material culture is of Plateau type with 171*
strong leanings toward northeastern California. But their social and 101
religious culture has a different aspect. While basically of the
extremely simple Basin-Plateau type, social habits reflect the Northwest 105
Coast, religious ones rather those of northern California and
western Oregon.

The basis of Klamath religious experience is that of the northern 171*
interior, the Basin, and the Northwest Coast, in distinction to California
and the Southwest. The experience is deliberately sought and 771
the power obtained is of a generalized, unspecialized nature. In this
they resemble as well the generality of North Americans. Even their
spirits are of the sort universal east of the Pacific coast. Specific
Northwest Coast influence appears in the circumscription of general
spirit repossession to the midwinter month. On the other hand, the
shaman novice's inaugural dance, which gives at least as much color
to Klamath shamanism, is characteristic of northern California and
western Oregon. The Klamath form of it is, rather, Oregonian.
Details of shamanism, on the other hand, link more firmly with
northern, especially northeastern, California.

Social organization is extremely simple, and it is quite patent that 171*
as late as the end of the eighteenth century, it resembled that of the
Basin and Plateau in every particular. Even now social stratification
is only weakly developed. Chiefs were only recently set off from the
mass, their functions vague and their influence slight. At the very 171*
moment that Klamath society began to break down with the coming of 177
the whites, they first imported from the Columbia river judicial functions
for the chiefs. Chiefs are the wealthiest individuals, but they 622•
are not chiefs because they are wealthy. Their selection is still based
on principles of personal ability. The basis of this differentiation,
wealth, came from the same direction, but the accompanying principle
of the Northwest Coast, caste stratification, never reached here; nor
did the chief's adjunct, a speaker or advocate, although this functionary
is known in the Plateau and Basin as well as in the Northwest.
At the other end of the scale, slavery is apparently an old institution, 171*
but was of little importance until wealth began to figure among them. 567
The Northwest Coast concept of status based on wealth appears again
in marriage, here regularly by purchase. But social estimation did 171*
not rest on the amount paid, which was in fact very little. With so
slight an emphasis on rank and wealth, those northwestern corollaries, 556
local exogamy to maintain the one and the family compact following 584

The judicial function of chiefs, dispensing fines and punishments, is 177
known to have been derived from the Columbia river tribes at 622
this time.

Some trade articles not manufactured by the Klamath also pertain 439
to this era: parfleches, skin bags, and buffalo hides from Warm Springs and the Dalles, flat basketry bowls from Pit river through the Modoc, and beads, even dentalia, from the same southern source or from the Shasta.

The second quarter of the last century saw the coming of the 177
horse. Ogden remarked on only one among them in 1826, but they
began to be obtained in numbers, probably from Warm Springs, about 231
1840. There can be little question that with the horse came elements of Plains culture from the half-Plains tribes of the Columbia-Snake, the adoption of predatory habits, and the great stimulus to slave-raiding and to slave-trading with the people at the Dalles on the Columbia.

Both tradition and inference assign Plains traits to this period. 177
The relative newness of Plains style of dress is attested by the incom-
pleteness with which it was adopted. It was never the universal garb, [291]
but confined to the wealthiest, and, most significantly, proscribed at
the performances of shamans and the Ghost dance. Further, men
did not wear Plains costume to war and set out on their raids afoot, [714]
even after the acquisition of horses, which suggests that the new accouterment and habits had not taken firm root. The circular shield, which also was never in general use, may well have come in at this
time. The earlier types of Plains garments here were only simply
decorated or not at all. It is known that the elaborate beading of the [291]
yoke and the use of scalps, etc., for appendages on women's dress, and
the painted designs on men's shirts, are much more recent than the [531]
first adoption of these garments. These local changes probably reflect a similar transformation in decoration in the southern Plateau.
Possibly the dome-shaped sweat-lodge was introduced at this early
period. It seems to have been displacing the small earth-covered [343]
affair for some time. But the latter is also generically the eastern type, not the Californian, and is without doubt older than this incursion of Plains elements in the early nineteenth century. Finally, I cannot avoid the feeling that the sense of tribal solidarity, in which, even though but slightly developed, the Klamath differ from their Californian neighbors, dates from this contact with Plains-like peoples.

177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
174 only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[622] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

[721] It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-
[567] holding existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their dis-
177 tribution established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kin-
ship terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
[622] custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[619] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctive-
101 ness from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
105 to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some north-
western influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

*171 583 ● 622 South of the Columbia river the quantity was quite moderate, even where its value in native eyes was high. For the Tillamook, the price was generally one adult and one child slave. The Coos value has been cited above. A chief's daughter came higher, being usually bought with woodpecker scalps, valuable for their use in dance caps. Such scalps formed valuables from this point to northern California. A Takelma paid dentalia and the like in moderation; the return was baskets, women's hats, camas, dried salmon, and other such household articles. The impression I derived among the Klamath was that the quantity was somewhat greater, approaching somewhat Wishram practice. A chief gave a slave, horses, blankets, beads, food, elk and other hides, but not nearly so much as my Wishram informant implied. One poorer man gave five fathoms of beads for his bride.

*171 583 Values drop appreciably among the Maidu; the northern groups made a gift of beads, deer, or gave nothing; the southerner gave shell money or other valuables such as blankets, and in return obtained baskets and other property.

On the northern coast of California values rise high again. The Yurok price was standardized. For a wealthy girl, ten strings of beads, fifty woodpecker scalps, an obsidian blade, a boat, etc., up to $300 in value, were given, with a return of ten baskets of dentalia, otter skins, a canoe or two, several deerskin blankets, and other valuables. A poor girl was valued at eight strings of beads and a boat. Hupa values may have been the same or somewhat less; Karok certainly were, five to ten strings. The Hupa groom gave woodpecker scalps, several strings of shell money, to a value of $30 to $100. Presumably he also gave articles of the kind returned to him, dresses, weapons, baskets, and food. The average Shasta price is set at one or two deerskins, fifteen or twenty long dentalia, ten or fifteen strings of disk beads, and twenty or thirty woodpecker scalps. Values dwindled again markedly south of here; the Sinkyone price was less than that of Yurok or Hupa, shell beads alone are mentioned for the Huchnom, and presumably neither group gave more, or much more, than the Pomo. The Pomo gave beads and deerskin and in return received baskets, or, according to another account, gave food, beads, deerskin or rabbit-skin blankets, receiving in return baskets, belts, and food.

Eastward of the Columbia river values were again low, even if measured in terms of the lesser quantity of valuables possessed by

selves the superiors of those among whom they are resident. Once the 171*
sentiment had become lodged in the group its fruition was made inev- 174
itable by the imitation of others. 583

With Kroeber, who has so expressed himself on the subject of the 554
Yurok,[339] I do not believe that the levirate and sororate were born of 556
this special development of purchase. Both customs have a nearly
universal distribution in North America. It seems rather that such
existing practices were drawn into the developing marriage complex
of this area.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The background for a study of social stratification has been laid 128
in the preceding section. I will here deal with chieftainship, its
relations to wealth and heredity, and related topics.

Social stratification was but weakly developed among the Klamath. 554
Social standing did not depend directly on heredity and there was 556
apparently little difference in wealth from richest to poorest. Since
wealth was inherited there was at least some stability to family standing.
The marriage purchase gave respectability to the union; it did
not fix the standing of the couple by reason of the amount paid. Yet [56]
there was some differentiation based on wealth, a continuous gradation
from the wealthiest to the slaves.

The wealthiest individuals were called lō'ki, rich men. This was 556
also the term by which chiefs were styled. My interpretation of the
Indian's statements is that those prominent individuals, who exer- 622 •
cised functions which would elsewhere have led to their being called
chiefs, were at the same time the wealthiest. A chief became such
primarily by successful leadership in war, coupled with some background
of spirit power, wealth, personal qualities, especially ability
as an advisor, with some suggestion of hereditary interest.

The chiefly functions emphasized were leadership in war and 622
haranguing the people. The chief could not issue injunctions, he re- [700]
ceived no tribute, and was in no way responsible for the conduct or
debts of his people. Just prior to reservation days there was intro-
duced from Columbia river the practice of chiefs sitting as judges. [565]

While chiefs were set off from the mass, this did not imply any
sense of caste stratification. Their wives and children were not known
by a distinctive class term.

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[339] Handbook, 31.

174 Every evidence points to the recency of the rise of chieftainship
• 622 among these people. It is doubtful that material differences in wealth
and slave-holding existed prior to the opening of direct contact with
756 the Columbia river tribes after 1800. Even then chiefs were of relatively minor importance. The shamans were the great men and the wealthiest, easily eclipsing the chiefs. As an instance I have cited the difficulty of obtaining the names of chiefs of pre-reservation days, whereas shamans are well remembered. It is clear that some of the local groups did not have chiefs. The relative dominance of the shaman persisted until reservation days. Prior to this time chiefs were barely differentiated leaders of the Great Basin type.

Basis of Chieftainship

* 171 The Northwest Coast tribes stood in sharp contrast to this simple
social scheme. There existed a caste system, a division into aristocracy,
622 commoners, and slaves. While the relative ranking was continuous
565 from the noblest aristocrat to the meanest commoner, there was never-
554 theless a well defined consciousness of distinction between the grades. This aristocracy was based on lineage and wealth. Its highest members were the chiefs, ordinarily the wealthiest persons. Yet a chief might lose wealth but retain his rank by reason of his birth. Within each community were several chiefs of the first rank whose authority extended hardly beyond their immediate retainers. Their advice was followed rather than their dictates obeyed. They were, however, among the Kwakiutl, for example, the recipients of gifts from their followers, not so much by reason of right as to bespeak their future aid and to enrich them to the further glory of the whole group.[560]

A definite caste system of this type is traceable southward from British Columbia through coastal Washington and Oregon at least as far as the Alsea. It has been noted, for example, for Klallam, the Puget sound tribes, Chinook, Wishram, and Alsea. It did not appear in the interior among the upper Fraser river tribes, nor in eastern Washington as among the Okanagon and Middle Columbia Salish, nor in eastern Oregon among Klamath, Modoc, and Northern Paiute. At the southern extremity of this area of distribution a somewhat different situation prevailed. There was no rigid caste system, but differences of wealth were considerable and on these social standing

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[560] See Sapir, Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes, 360; Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 338, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1333 f., Social Organization of the Kwakiutl.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1860-1900)

rested. This held at least for coastal Oregon and northwestern California (Coos, Yurok, Hupa) while inland among Takelma and Shasta it was true to a lesser degree. The Klamath feeling for stratification based on wealth is thus intelligible as an attenuated form. 171* 622 565 554

It follows that chieftainship was hereditary in the area in which ranking was fixed by birth as well as wealth, while it rested on wealth alone in the southern area. Merely to list the instances, it was hereditary among Klallam, Snohomish, Chinook, Wishram, Wasco, and Alsea (but see below). The richest men among the southern tribes were the equivalent: Coos, Yurok, Hupa, and Shasta, and, if we reverse this statement, the Klamath. It is thus intelligible why Sapir found among the Wishram that "being a chief did not necessitate being a particularly wealthy man. It often happened that the wealthiest people did not belong to the highest rank."[561] Similarly that a wealthy Coos could flout the orders of a chief, and among the Alsea "it was possible . . . . for a common man, by reason of extraordinary power or wealth, to rise to the dignity of a chief and thus raise his family in rank."[562]

There was in none of these tribes a governme[illegible]ganization involving hierarchy of chiefs. The point is really th[illegible] we here write of as tribes were rather dialectic and cultural units, not political entities. Political separation was carried to a high degree throughout the Pacific slope, the local communities being almost without exception autonomous, or at most grouped for common action within a quite restricted district. It followed from this that the number of chiefs was rarely or never fixed. Those who were entitled to leadership by virtue of birth or wealth were recognized as leaders. Thus it happened that while some communities had more than one of first rank, others had none. Yet other tribes did not always exhibit the haphazardness of the Klamath in this regard. 171* 622

Where the feeling was strong that every wealthy man was entitled to consideration, as among the Hupa, "each village had a head-man who was the richest there. . . . . The very fact of his wealth gave him the power of a chief and maintained him in that power."[563] We may presume this true of the Yurok as well and probably the Karok. The Shasta "chief was the head of the richest family in the district," 171* 622 556

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[561] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

[562] St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 25; Farrand, Notes on the Alsea, 242.

[563] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 58.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
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*171 and "one family was recognized as preeminent in each of the four
556 geographic divisions into which the Shasta are grouped."[564]

• 622 The number of chiefs was definitely fixed only on the Oregon coast, where there were two for each local division or village. "There were two chiefs for every river, among the Tillamook as well as among the Alsea," one the principal chief.[565] "The Coos Indians lived in small villages, each of which had two chiefs. . . . . Of the two village-chiefs, one usually ranked higher." There was in addition a tribal head chief.[566] This is the multiple chief-wealthy-man situation of the whole coast reduced to definite form, and it is even conceivable that these people did not differ at all, particular cases where there were two chiefs having been cited as the general custom. It must be remembered that our accounts are of the slightest. It is possible however that there was a dual chieftainship prevailing on the Oregon coast. This might account for the curious fact that two chiefs of presumably equal rank are repeatedly referred to among the Rogue river Indians assembled at Table Rock about 1855 (possibly Takelma proper or Upland Takelma).[567]

Quite another basis for the recognition of chiefs existed in the northern Basin-Plateau and the Plains, namely, a war record coupled with generosity and other personal qualifications. The Klamath shared this sentiment as well as the northwestern recognition of wealth. The warlike character of chiefs extended as far west as the Middle Columbia Salish, including Nez Percé, Wind River Shoshoni,[568] and such typical north Plains tribes as Crow and Assiniboin.

In the southern parts of the Basin the characteristics of chiefs, their functions and powers, were vague. There were headmen or leaders for hunting, perhaps the only communal enterprises, among Paviotso, Washo, and Southern Paiute. These individuals were chosen
[756] by their people.[569] In importance they were eclipsed by the shamans.

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[564] Kroeber, Handbook, 296.

[565] Boas, Notes on the Tillamook, 4.

[566] St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 25.

[567] See Walling, History of Southern Oregon, 182.

[568] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, 126; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 283.

[569] Lowie, *op. cit.*, 284–285.

Chiefs' Functions

The functions of chiefs both to the northwest and in central California differed sharply from those of the Klamath. 171* 622

On the Northwest Coast proper the authority of a chief was by no means absolute. The commoners were subject to his admonition rather than his will, his direct authority extending hardly beyond his immediate following. Such gifts as they made him were free-will offerings, large as they were, dictated solely by traditional sentiment. While these include almost all articles of food among the Kwakiutl, to the south, as among the Klallam and Snohomish, they were rather such things as were difficult to procure, such as the products of the hunt, and were no more than were given to any respected old man.[570]

The situation on the Columbia river and in coastal Washington and Oregon was different. These chiefs had real authority. Wishram, Quinault,[571] and Coos chiefs were obeyed, their authority being challenged only by the rich. Commoners among Wishram and Coos gave largely from their gains and in return could expect the aid of their chiefs when in distress. The chiefs sat as judges in cases of witchcraft [692] and murder, assessing heavy fines and ordering the culprit killed if he defaulted. Such fines were not theirs but went to the family of the [682] murdered man. They also paid such fines for their followers. What little is known of the Tillamook suggests an identical situation.

This judicial function, with its meting of fines and punishment, made its appearance among the Klamath by way of the Dalles early in the middle of the last century.

Northwestern California shows considerable similarity to western Oregon, but the authority of rich men was slight in comparison and they did not sit as judges. Among the Hupa, Shasta, and presumably their neighbors, they were obeyed because they gave of their store in times of scarcity and paid fines for followers who were in difficulties. The headmen in more southerly Californian groups exercised more formal authority, as the Yuki and Patwin headmen, who may have made decisions of war and directed town activities. In northeastern California (Maidu, Achomawi, Atsugewi) chiefs were much like

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[570] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1333 f.; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 204; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 38.

[571] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1926.

*171 those of the Klamath; theirs was an advisory function and they led
622 in war.[672]

A corollary of the chief rich man's position in California and Oregon was that he did not himself engage in war. By reason of his wealth he could terminate the conflict by paying the blood money necessary to balance the score. This has been observed of the Tillamook, Shasta, Hupa, Kato, Pomo, and was perhaps general.[673] [701] There is some suggestion of this in Klamath custom; a chief was not ordinarily a war leader but he certainly did not make good the blood-money payments. On the other hand this may have been nothing more than the common western attitude that a chief was not of necessity a war leader.

*171 683 One characteristic feature of the cultures from Columbia river southward, which has been touched on before, was a well developed system of fines for injuries. This did not appear on the Northwest Coast nor in western Washington, but was by no means confined to northwestern California as has been implied. It is quite characteristic of a larger area: Wishram, Alsea, Coos, Takelma, Yurok, Karok, Hupa, Shasta, Pomo.[674] Remuneration was often demanded for comparatively slight injuries; thus an Alsea shinny player who was hit exceptionally hard had to be compensated. The eastern groups (Klamath, Maidu, etc.) had no such sentiment, but it is worthy of note that they did compound a murder by a property settlement, a notion which may have been absent still farther east in the Basin.

Speaker

*171 622 537 [756] Chiefs' speakers occurred among many western tribes. There were none such among the Klamath, whose shamans had however assistants with comparable functions. These have been discussed with shamanism. The chief's speaker was eminently characteristic of the Northwest Coast, where his activity in the potlatch and other ceremonies has been often remarked. He not only repeated the words of his chief to the gathering but also served as his representative and advocate. In the Great Basin, on the other hand, the function of the speaker was merely to repeat verbatim after an orator or story-teller.

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[672] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 58; Kroeber, Handbook, 164, 296; McKern, Functional Families; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 223, Notes on the Achomawi, 215; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 41.

[673] Kroeber, A Kato War; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 202, 203, 236.

[674] Frachtenberg, Alsea Texts, 199; Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 270; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 297.

The northwestern type of speaker was known among Klallam, Quinault, and Wishram, and probably to all the intervening tribes.[575] 171* 537
Their presence may also be suspected in coastal Oregon, for their functions would have been quite consistent with the social sentiment 622 •
there. Some positiveness is lent to this by the presence of what seems to have been a chief's speaker among the Rogue river tribes participating in the treaty negotiations of September 10, 1855. It is recorded that the chief spoke to a man who shouted his words to the assembled warriors.[576] Certainly the speaker was absent in northwestern California. On the other hand, Drake's description of the Coast Miwok in 1579 makes it certain that the speaker was a recognized functionary further south.[577] The Basin type of word for word repeater occurred over a wide area, having been recorded for the Nez Percé, the Sahaptins of Priest Rapids on the Columbia, Southern Maidu, Paviotso (Northern Paiute), Kaibab Paiute (?), and Havasupai.[578] Something of the sort might have been expected among the Klamath; they share, however, a substitute, the shaman's speaker, with the northern California groups.

Slavery

Slave-raiding and slave-holding may not have developed among 174
the Klamath until the coming of the horse and the opening of a slave 567
traffic with the Columbia river tribes in the early nineteenth century. It is probable that prior to that time there was only the mild interest in holding captives found among their southern and eastern neighbors. Their slaves were captives of war. Slave-holding and the meas- 171*
ure of wealth in terms of slaves were characteristic of all north-
western people. These were everywhere taken in war and sold. Slave- 567
holding of this type prevailed not only in western Washington to the Columbia but southward through Oregon (Tillamook, Alsea, Takelma, Upland Takelma,[579] and Shasta). Coos and others of western Oregon should undoubtedly be included. Slavery is not mentioned in Teit's account of the Middle Columbia Salish of eastern Washington, and does not appear consistent with their general mode of life.[580] Directly

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[575] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 306 f.; Olson, Quinault field notes; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

[576] Walling, History of Southern Oregon, 223.

[577] Kroeber, Handbook, 276.

[578] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, 255.

[579] Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 258, 267.

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2536. Any time	–	–	–	+		–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	535
2537. Several bands assemble together	+	–	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	
2538. Young people dance, mainly	–	+									–	–	–		–	–	
2539. Purpose mainly pleasure	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	[719]
2540. To make seeds grow	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2541. Dance around center post	–	+	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–	
2542. Juniper tree	–	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2543. Dance around fire	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2544. All dancers sing	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[533]
†2545. Special singers	–	–	–	–		–	2	–	4	–	–	1	–		–	–	
2546. Each local group sings own songs, in turn	+	–	+			+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2547. Split-stick rattle accompaniment	–	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2548. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	+			+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2549. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–		–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[562]
2550. Men choose partners	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2551. Dance in 1 circle	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2552. Dance in 2 concentric circles	+	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
2553. Dance in 2 circles next to each other	–	–	–			+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2554. Sexes alternate	+	–	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2555. Sexes dance opposite each other in 1 circle	+	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2556. Quick shuffle step	+	(+)	+	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
2557. Hopping step	–	.	–	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2558. Stamp both feet, moving slightly									+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2559. Start: counterclockwise	+	(+)	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2560. Reverse: dance clockwise	–	.	–	+		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2561. When dance stops, all shout	+	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2562. Good singer dance leader	+	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2563. Band or district chief dance leader	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	[622]
2564. Clowns	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2565. Act of own accord; not appointed	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	[522]
o2566. Duration of dance, nights	1	+	1	1		1	1	3	1	2	–	2	–		–	–	
2567. Dance occasion for courting	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2568. Visitors camp in circular brush corral	–	–	+	–		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[574]
2569. Visitors feasted by hosts	–	–	+			+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
Sweat "Dance"																	
2570. Held inside sweat house											+	+	+		–	–	[515]
2571. At night											+	+	+		–	–	
2572. Any time of year												+	+		–	–	
2573. Both sexes participate											+	+	–		–	–	
2574. Hot fire in sweat house											+	+	+		–	–	
2575. 1 singer; hits center pole with stick											+	–	–		–	–	[533]
2576. Split-stick rattle used											–	+	–		–	–	
2577. Participants stand in 1 spot, dance until exhausted											+	+	+		–	–	[481]
2578. Swim after dancing											+	+	+		–	–	
Bear Dances																	
2579. Bear dance aboriginal	–	–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+	[177]
2580. Given for good time	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
2581. Given to dress bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
2582. Held in spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
2583. Held in winter	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
2584. Held any time, in good weather	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
2585. Danced in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+	
2586. Danced in open	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	–	
o2587. Whole gathering lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	–		–	2	

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	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
535 ‡2588. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	3	2	–		–	1
o2589. Actual dance lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–		–	1
o2590. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	2	1	2	–		–	–
2591. Dance begins near sundown	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
2592. Dance begins in morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
o2593. Number of singers, musicians	–	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	–		•2	1	–		–	2
2594. Split-stick rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+
2595. Deer-hoof rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2596. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2597. Women, only, dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–
2598. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2599. Touch with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–
2600. Each person dances separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	+
2601. Dancers abreast	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
2602. Dancers in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2603. Stretch bear hide, as out to dry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[533] 2604. Male singer sits by hide and sings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2605. Women, or man, rub, hit bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2606. Man puts on bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+
2607. In morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	(+)
2608. Dances, walks with bearskin on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
2609. Impersonates bear, claws tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
2610. Dog set onto him	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2611. Drops shell beads, which women pick up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2612. Killer of bear ultimately given bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[515] 2613. Impersonator, girl dancers wash at sacred spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2614. Performers from other groups	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–		–	+
2615. Feast follows performance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				+	–	–		–	+
[825] 2616. Held for black bear only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	•–	–		–	–

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political Units

Sovereign Bodies

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
621 2617. Each village is autonomous unit	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+
2618. Community of closely adjacent villages forms autonomous unit	–	–	+		–	•+		–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–
2619. Local group, embracing several communities is recognized, or is autonomous unit	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	+	–	–
619 2620. Tribe, embracing all local groups, is recognized unit	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Chiefs and Other Officials

Number of Male Chiefs

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
● 622 2621. 1 per autonomous unit	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
[613] 2622. Multiple, of equal rank, per autonomous unit	–	–	–	–	–	•4	–	–	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2623. Chiefly lineages	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2624. Tribal chief	R+	R+	–	(+)	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Basis for Selection

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
[611] 2625. Heredity, primary factor	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+
2626. Paternal only	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2627. Both paternal, maternal	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	.	.	.	+	622
2628. Primogeniture	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	•+	+	.	-	-	+	[611]
2629. Oldest member paternal lineage	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2630. Only if direct heir too young	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2631. Brother of deceased chief	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	.	+	+	+	
2632. Only if direct heir too young			+						+	-	•+	-	.	-	-	-	
2633. Brother's son	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	+	+	
Qualifications for Appointment																	
2634. Character and knowledge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	
2635. Possession of wealth	-	-	+	.	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[556]
2636. Good speaker, and "talks to everyone"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
Appointment																	
2637. Chosen at assembly of elders.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	.	+	+	+	[623]
2638. Chosen at assembly of all males	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	-	.	-	-	-	
2639. Women sometimes attend and speak			-				+	-	-	-	.	+	.	-	-	-	[562]
2640. Incumbent may select successor	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	.	-	+	+	+	+	
2641. New leader may be appointed before incumbent dies	-	+	+				+	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	+	-	
2642. Headmen of other groups select or help select new leader	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	+	+	
2643. Approval of community required	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	
Tenure																	
2644. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2645. Dependent on satisfactory behavior	-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	
2646. May be deposed by killing	-	-	-	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	.	•-	
Title																	
2647. Individual title	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2648. Title extended to children	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	
2649. To daughter only	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2650. Daughter called by special title													-	-	•+	-	
2651. Title extended to wife; "chief's wife"	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	.	-	+	
Insignia																	
2652. Wears "hairpin" with quail crest at ceremonies																+	[301]
2653. Chief only person who uses eagle feathers													-	-	+	-	[237]
Activities and Duties																	
2654. Hunts, fishes for self	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	+	•+	+	-	-	+	-	
2655. Relatives hunt, fish for him	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2656. All give chief food free.	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	
2657. Food bought for chief	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2658. Feeds visitors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2659. Impoverished thereby	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[574]
2660. Provides most of food for ceremonies	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2661. Directs communal economic activities	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	[224]
2662. Deer drives	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	
2663. Antelope, duck hunts, etc.	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
622 2664. Fishing	–	–	+					+	–	·+	+	+	–	–	+	–
2665. Vegetable-food quests	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2666. Pine-nut trips	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[537] 2667. Orates at public ceremonies	+	–	+	–	+	·+	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+
2668. Talks from sweat house, at dances	–		–					·+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2669. Talks morning and evening	·+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	–
2670. Moral lectures to children	+	+	+					·+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+
[627] 2671. Settles disputes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
2672. Pays or helps pay wergild	–		+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	–
2673. Sets price for wergild payments			–			+	+	+	+	–	.	(+)	–	–	–	.
2674. Sanctions killing of offenders	–	–	–					–	–	+	–	.	+	–	+	–
[721] 2675. Concerned with war	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	.	+	.
2676. Declares war	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	·+	+	+	.	+	.
o2677. Goes to war	+	–	–	–	+	±	+	+	+	–	·+	+	+	.	+	.
2678. Negotiates for peace	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	·+	–	–	.	+	.
Escort																
[574] 2679. Some 1 person accompanies chief on visit	–	–	–				+	·+	–	–	·+	+	·+	+	·+	–
2680. Several men, youths, accompany chief on visits	+	+	+				–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	·+
Female Chiefs and Titled Women																
[562] 2681. Female chiefs	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
2682. No male chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2683. Male chief also	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
2684. Sister, cousin of male chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2685. Daughter of male chief	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
2686. Wife of male chief	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	.
2687. Gives orders to men	–	–	+	·+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2688. Sends messengers with orders.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2689. Substitutes for male chief in absence of latter	–	–	.	·+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2690. Supervises preparation of food for ceremony	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
2691. Titled women	–	–	–			(–)	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	+	+
2692. Sister, cousin of male chief	–	–	–			–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	+
2693. Daughter of male chief	–	–	–			–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	+	–
Assistant to Male Chief																
2694. Assistant chief	.	+	.	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
o2695. Number per political unit	.	1	.	–	–	–	2	1	1	–	1	1	–	–	1	–
2696. Son or brother of chief	.	–	.	–	–	–		+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
2697. Advises chief	.	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
2698. Substitutes for chief in his absence.	.	+	.	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2699. Provides money for public gathering	.	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
2700. Supervises preparation, division of food for ceremony	.	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	+	–
2701. Lifelong office	.	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
Criers																
624 2702. Appointed by chief	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2703. Chosen at assembly of old men	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2704. Hereditary, paternal line	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
2705. Ability basis of selection	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
o2706. Number per chief or headman	–	1	2	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
o2707. Number per village	–		2	·2	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	1

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS	
2960. Intratribal feuds or murders: compensation	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	728
2961. Revenge only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	
2962. Victims send envoy(s) to ask aggressors for pay	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	[622]
2963. Chief or headman as envoy	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	
2964. Paid for services by 1 side	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2965. Chief or headman makes peace	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2966. Compensation for slain, 1 side only	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2967. Compensation for all dead	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	
2968. If victims on both sides, no compensation	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
2969. Payment in beads, property	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2970. Payment in women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2971. Customarily	+	+	.	(+)	.	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
2972. Intratribally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2973. Intertribally	+	–	–	–	(+)	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2974. Pay according to wealth, more for rich	+	+	–	–	+	–	±	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	[556]
2975. Pay according to status of victim	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	[554]
2976. Pay according to sex of victim	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	.	–	–	
2977. Pay according to age of victim	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	[560]
2978. If sufficient reason for killing, not much pay	–	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	[561]
2979. If kill "for meanness," pay large amount	–	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2980. Sticks of 1-string length for negotiation	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2981. Amount same as victim's mother's bride price	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	[583]
2982. Amount (for woman) same as usual bride price	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	
2983. Payment divided among all villagers	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2984. Most of payment goes to chief	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2985. Payment for woman goes to husband	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2986. Payment for woman goes to her family	•+	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	
2987. Payment for man goes to his family	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2988. Payment for slave goes to owner	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2989. Payment for slave goes to latter's family	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2990. Compensation for property destroyed	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Dance or Meeting for Settlement

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS	
2991. Both groups present	–	–	+	+	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	728
2992. Daytime	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	535
2993. Night	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2994. At certain localities outside village	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2995. Halfway between 2 villages	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2996. Dressed for war; armed	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2997. Dance in circle	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2998. Dance in row, abreast	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2999. 2 groups face each other	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3000. All dance together	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3001. Payment in beads	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3002. During dance	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3003. Dancers disarm after money paid	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3004. Women dance with blood money	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3005. Blood money smoked over fire	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3006. Groups sometimes eat together	–	–	+			–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3757. Bathes in stream	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	-	+	+	+	°+	841
3758. Bathes in house												+	+	-	-	+	
3759. Sweat bath, optional	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3760. Sweat bath, obligatory	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3761. Avoids sick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
3762. Avoids hunters	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3763. Avoids attending dances	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3764. Some menstruants "lucky" for husbands	-	-	.				+	+	+	+	.	-	-	-	-	+	
3765. Restrictions extend to menstruant's husband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	841
3766. Husband eats sparingly	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	
3767. Meat, fish taboo											+	+	+	+	-	+	562
3768. Smoking taboo	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	593
3769. Fishing taboo	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	
3770. Hunting taboo	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	
3771. Gambling taboo	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	
3772. Intercourse with wife taboo	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3773. Menopause: measures taken to induce	-	-	-					°+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Marriage

Child Betrothal

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3774. Child betrothal	°+	+	+	°+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	-	+	+	+	584
3775. Boy's father starts negotiations	+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	
3776. Payment by boy's side	+	-	°-	+	-	+	+	°-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	
3777. Exchange of presents	-	°+	°-	-	°+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	
3777a. Taboo relationship between children	°-	°-	°+								-	-	-	-	-	-	
3778. Binding on children	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	
3779. Good-will pledge only, for parents	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
3780. Common	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	
3781. To pay debt	-	-	+	°+	+	+	+	°-	-	+	+	.	-	-	-		
3782. Usually chief's or prominent family	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[622]
3783. Payment in beads at time of marriage	-	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	°+	
3784. Gifts given at time of marriage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	

Bride Purchase

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3785. Bride purchase, postpuberty	°+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	°+	-	-	-	-	-	+	583
3786. Negotiated bride price	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	584
3787. Suitor's father makes offer; no negotiations	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3788. Intermediary acts	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
3789. Suitor's father acts	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	
3789a. Suitor himself acts	°+	+	-	-	-	-	-	°+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3790. Money payment for bride	-	+	+	+	°+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	°+	
3791. Gifts by suitor's family in payment	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	
3792. Gifts by suitor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	
3793. Additional presents from groom's family after marriage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		+	
3794. Bride's family gives groom's presents	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
3795. Mature daughter given, to pay debt to groom's family	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3795a. Payment made to establish children's status	-	(+)	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Other Forms of Marriage

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3796. Simple marriage, established by couple living together	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	585
3797. Disapproved by community	+	°+	°+	°+	+	°+	°+	-	-	-	°+	-	-	-	-	(+)	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
585 3798. Groom's family gives pay, presents to bride's family after marriage established	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	−	+	+	.	−
3799. Amount of gifts depends on approval of girl	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	.	−
3800. No gifts if girl a "run around" (loose)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
583 3800a. Service for bride, no payment	−	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	−	.	+
3801. Poor man only	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	+
[591] 3802. May buy or work out	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	+	−	−	+
3802a. Temporary matrilocal residence	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	+	−	−	−
3803. Permanent matrilocal residence	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	+
3803a. Marriage by abduction tolerated	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−
3804. Married women only	+	+	+						−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
3805. Woman won by contest	−	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−
3805a. Friends assist	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[556] 3806. Husband bought	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
3806a. By wealthy man, for daughter	−	−	+	−	+	•+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3807. Girl sent to live with rich man, gratis	−	−	−						•+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
Marriage Observances																
585 3808. Groom goes to bride's house	+	+	•+	−	•−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	−
3808a. Groom stays at bride's house	•+	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	−
3809. Groom takes bride to his father's house	•+	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	−
[591] 3809a. Couple live at groom's father's house	+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	•+
3810. Short time only	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	.	•+
3810a. Indefinitely	•+	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	.	−
3811. Bride returns to her parent's house	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	−	−	•−	•−	.	−
3812. Groom's or bride's sister or family escort her to groom's home	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	−	.	•+
3812a. Groom and some friends go to bride's home	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
3813. Friends help groom hunt, fish	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	.	−
3814. Groom and family go to bride's house	−	−	•+	−	−	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	−	•+	−	•+	.	−
†3815. Visiting family (either side) stays ... nights, days	•1	•1	•1	−	•3	•2	•+	−	•0	•3	−	.	−	.	.	•3
3816. Marriage feast given by hosts	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	.	•+	•+	•+	•+
3817. Both parties contribute	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	•+	−	.	•+	•+	•+	−
3818. Bride and groom sit together on mat	•+	•+									−	−	−	−	−	−
3818a. Presents piled beside couple	•+	•+									−	−	−	−	−	−
3819. Couple fed	•+	•+									−	−	−	−	−	−
3819a. Sleep together at spot where they sat	•+	•+									−	−	−	−	−	−
[537] 3820. Speeches	•R	•+	•+	−	•+	−	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
[622] 3820a. By heads of both families	•R	•+	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+
3821. By headmen of group	−	•+	•+	−		−	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
Polygamy																
595 3822. Polygyny, wives unrelated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+
‡3823. Maximum number paid for	1	1	3	5	1	1	1	3	1	0	1	1	−	0	0	2
o3824. Maximum number in same house	5	2	2	2	2	•10	2	1	10	2	•2	2	−	2	2	2
3824a. First wife outranks others	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	+	•+	+
3825. Wives live in separate houses	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	+	+	−	.	•+	−
3826. Wives live in separate towns	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−
3827. Concubines in separate towns	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
3828. Prominent men have greatest no. of wives	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	−	+	•+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MT
765 4366. Other towns invited												+	+	+	+	+
[628] 4367. Other local groups sometimes invited.	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4368. Sanctioned by headman	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
[622] 4369. Headman in charge	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
4370. Headman attends, speaks	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
†4371. Ceremony lasts ... days, nights	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	3	2
4372. Daytime affair, entirely	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
4373. Mainly night affair, some daytime activities	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4374. Held outside	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4375. Unroofed brush fence, near cemetery	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
4376. Under trees, in summer	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
4377. In round brush enclosure	-	(-)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
4378. At cemetery, no enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
4379. Held inside	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
4380. Living house	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4381. Assembly house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
*4382. Participants wail	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4383. Participants dance													+	+	-	+
[537] 4384. Oratory	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4385. By headman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4386. By shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
4387. By orator	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
4388. Images used in ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4389. Made by relatives of deceased	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
4390. Made by chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
4391. Made by nonrelatives	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
4392. All images burnt at cemetery, at dawn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4393. Offerings in honor of dead	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4394. Food	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
4395. Baskets	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4396. Clothes	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4397. Offerings put on poles	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4398. Single pole for each variety of offering	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4399. Poles planted in ground	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
4400. Poles carried about	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
4401. Offerings burnt at cemetery at dawn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4402. Dance, holding baskets, before burning; wail												.	+	+	-	+
4403. Offerings put on graves	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4404. Ceremonial purification	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4405. All who cry wash own faces	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4406. All who cry swim at end	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4407. All change clothes												+	+	+	-	+
[525] 4408. Gambling in daytime, after burning	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
4409. Feast during daytime	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4410. Rich mourners all contribute food	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4411. Held at same spot where mourners wailed	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
4412. Held in village camp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
4413. Held day following burning	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4414. After eating, cry again	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
4415. Mourners return home at sundown	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-

526 seed beater to propel ball; carrying ball in racket or stick permitted; picking up and batting ball permitted; goal a stake or post, hole, circle on ground, rock, stakes or posts, arch, circular hoop, row of stakes. Ball race: single ball a hoop, stick, stone; carrying ball permitted; goal a line on ground, a stake, hole; home man catches ball on stick. Hoop-and-pole game; quoits.--Hoop and pole: unwrapped hoop, netted hoop, short stick as hoop; pole tossed underarm, both arms, thrust into rolling hoop; pole under hoop or stick scores; closest wins point(s); win by elimination. Quoits: target a stick lying loose; target a stone. Spear or dart throwing; snow snake; ring and pin.--Spear or dart throwing: specially made dart, feathered; target buried hoop, previously thrown dart. Snow snake: women play; arrow bounced. Ring and pin: ring a rabbit skull, pine cone, brush ball, piece of cane with 1 hole. Many-stick game; 524 hand game; objects laid down.--Many-stick: 3-choice guess. Hand game: cane "bone"; finger loops on "bones." Objects laid down: women play; 1 of each pair wrapped; unwrapped guessed; objects covered with mat, hide. Dice games.--Disk dice: animal shell, half walnut shells, wooden tablets, wooden hemispheres for dice; stone counters; dice thrown on hide, mat, into hopper basket, on hard ground, plank. Bone dice: women play. Stick dice. Jacks, tops, buzzer.--Jacks of foot bones of animal. Top of pepperwood nut; twirled with string. Buzzer, edge of disk notched; snake rattles used as buzzer. Games wholly absent.--Catching dart in ring. Many-stick game of take away, guess remainder. Guessing marks on ground. Scoring circuit for dice.

Social Dances

535 Circle dance; Bear dance.--Circle dance: performed at fall pine-nut harvest, to make piñons grow, produce rain, bring deer; performed at mourning ceremony; at funeral; center post dry cottonwood tree, pine-nut tree; dance occasion for public mourning. Bear dance: held in brush corral; musical rasp, gourd rattle; dance in couples; whip to make dance; chief urges dancers with stick; stop dance at fall; rub fallen person with rasp; cover fallen person with blanket; held at mourning ceremony. Dances wholly lacking.--"South" dance or Exhibition dance. Crazy dance.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

622 Chief paid to settle disputes. Chief owns all eagles, eyries; pays to have eagles released; buys them from captors. Assistant cult chief. Chief equated to birds. Totem for assistant 624 chief (screech owl, hawk). Boss for rabbit drives; irrigating boss. Crier has totem bird. Messenger has rod as symbol of office; builds

[165-B]

622 2648. Child called "chief's child."

000 2649. AW: Chief's daughter called "little chief"; wife, son not called by this title; "the son will be chief pretty soon."

2650. NS: Chief's daughter called maiyen. Has women to wait on her, does not cook, gather acorns. Generally only eldest daughter of chief has this title; to be maiyen "she has to be pleasant and good, not silly and saucy."

2651. MM: Title extends to wife of chief for all MM (see note 2619).

Activities and duties; escort.--

2654. WT: Chief stays home and "studies his words, and talks to the young boys and girls, telling them how to behave; doesn't hunt or fish much." MM: Applies both to chief for all MM and to village headmen. See note 2619.

2656. WT: All people bring chief food; he accepts it, eats what he wants after it is cooked and has rest put out for other people to eat.

2658. MM: Applies both to head chief and village headmen (see note 2619).

2659. WS: See note 2664.

2660. MM: Refers to village headmen (see note 2619).

2661. NP: Headman (hu·ku) mainly "stays around the assembly house all the time," however; does not go hunting, fishing. MM: Refers to village headmen (see note 2619).

2664. WS: Sunusa (see note 2622, WM) chief of WS, "was great hand to catch salmon; he'd call all the people in spring to catch salmon. He never got much himself, because he gave it away. In fall he went out and caught salmon for himself; fish spawn then."

2667. AW: Also tells people to feed visitors well; "give them plenty, don't hurt them, leave them alone." WM: When chief has invited people for a "big time," upon day set for their arrival he sends out scouts in all directions from which visitors expected. When scouts return saying visitors are coming, chief sends them out again to tell each group of visitors to camp by river until sundown, then to come into village where he is presiding. Visitors dress down by river; at sundown come in. Chief stands in center of brush enclosure made for occasion, and talks to visitors; "he tells them not to stumble over any little rock, but to have a good time. Then visitors are told in which sections of brush corral they are to camp." Each visiting local group has appointed place. MM: Refers both to head chief and village headmen (see note 2619). Headmen in charge of spring Bear dances, which last altogether for about 1 month. These dances held in succession in 4 valleys--Honey Lake, Big Meadows, Indian Valley, American Valley.

2668. WT: Headman owns assembly or "sweat house," which he has built "for the people to dance in. When new house is built and ready to be used, chief gets up on roof and makes long speech to assembled people."

[208-B]

622 2669. Occasionally. Kl: Stands by his own
800 house and talks; tells people what to do. MM: Refers to head chief (see note 2619).

2670. WT: See note 2654. MM: Refers to head chief and village headmen. See note 2619.

2675. MM: Refers to head chief and village headmen (see note 2619).

2676, 2678. MM: Refers to head chief.

2677. MM: Refers to village headmen.

2679. WT: A "protector." MM: Refers to head chief and local headmen. NF: A relative. NS: Chief's assistant.

2680. MV: "A whole group of his boys go with him."

Female chiefs; criers; clowns; messengers; fire tender; singers.--

2687. SW: Chief's wife may also talk for chief, morning and evening, occasionally, if she has good voice.

2689. SW: In time of raids, chief's wife "if she is spirited woman, dashes out and cuts bowstrings of enemy raiders." This was done, "especially if [neighboring] Kammatwa group [see note 282] were raiding SW." Denied for all other groups.

2707. SW: 2-3 criers.

2708. Mo, SE: Only when there is "news" to announce.

2712. MV: Orders fuel gathered for dances.

2716. WM: Mainly by boys who are called, when clowning, "Coyote."

2717. At: 2 clowns; WT, WM: several, but not formal office (see note 2716). MF: 5; NF, MV: 1 per village ("rancheria").

2718. NF: Clown (pepe) stands on top of assembly house, watching for people to return from hunting, other expeditions; when they come back, he shouts to notify villagers.

2722. NF: Also stands on top of assembly house and calls to visitors to enter; attends to fire in assembly house.

2726. WT: 1-3 messengers. WM: 3-5. Referred to as yemerikait. MM: 6-7.

2727. MV: Youths.

2734. At: Messenger who carries knotted string around when there is a "big war," paid; otherwise not paid.

2738. Often tells guests where to halt outside village, in order that they may dress for participation in dance to be given in village.

[515] [624] 2746. Kl: Man who wants to sweat builds fire and tends to it in sweat house; no special official.

2752. See also element 2722, NF.

2759. NF: 2-4 singers.

2760. MM: For sweat "dances," have 1 singer; for Bear dance, 2; for girl's puberty dance, ca. 6.

2763. MV: To serve as "common singer."

2765. MM: For women's songs, use women singers.

[209-A]

[Klamath Reservation]

M
789 as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing
756 they are the shaman's "helpers."

K However differently they construe the degree of individual
M access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that
787 human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those
K M who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer
[782] in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtu-
[772] ous striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the
universe appears basically to be a moral order.

K In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The
M annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the
181 progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon
461 industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme
that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic
K exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this
M 461 virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to
556 maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a follow-
595 ing. Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the
K common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a
M contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent
• 622 men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In
556 war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his
[881] panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man
[701] of property is likely to be decked with many valuables con-
[764] tributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the
[538] man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowl-
[756] edge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send
out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power
in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to
K the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in
622 the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:
539

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee—to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

[Klamath Reservation]

At the
center of concentric circles of concern stands
K the natal family.[16] In the myths, parents and offspring and
M siblings are bound by the strongest affective bonds: in trouble
593 they provide succor and in death, revenge. The obligation transcends
602 abstract ethical considerations. In real life, mutual responsibility
reaches out to embrace the extended family, the
close consanguineal kindred linked through two or three generations.
K Although kinship terminology acknowledges equally relationships
M [601] on the maternal and paternal sides, residence practices
[591] in general favor the latter. From close kinsmen on both sides
come the gifts that set the seal of approval upon the marriage of
a member; during his lifetime they share food with him in his
need, support him in his quarrels, and assist his avenger should
he be slain. At his funeral, it is they, together with friends of the
deceased, who are expected to place valuables upon the funeral
pyre.

K Beyond the sphere of immediate kindred and of friends lies
M the domain of neighbors and remote relatives. If more central
602 obligations tend to be principally a function of consanguinity,
621 and thus to be ascriptive in character, village relationships and
571 those outside are more frequently based upon performance.
K Here enter those standards of behavior by which a person of
M [577] good family may be confirmed in position, the poor but worthy
rise, and the ne'er-do-well sink in the public view. At the head
K of this loose and shifting status scale stand the shamans and
M 756 other influential men, the leaders of hamlet groups. On occasion
622 they may meet in an informal village council to concert decisions.
621 Yet the village, which in its spatial limits often blends with
554 adjacent settlements and which dissolves with the turn of the
seasons, can exert little constraint upon its members.

K The prestige of the leaders, the force of public opinion, and
M checks imposed by rival village interests hold the unruly in line.
62 The principle of self-help and the responsibility of kinsmen may
enlarge grievances to feuds if the differences are not soon ended,
and thus threaten the very being of the community. To counter
such fissive tendencies, leaders mediate disputes and exhort to
their fellow villagers the need to maintain harmony.

K Time may alter the membership of villages. Men frequently
M seek wives in other communities; and there is considerable inter-
621 marriage between Klamath and Modoc and Klamath and Molala,
563
582

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

M
175 1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-
178 scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes.
726 The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging
K M scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty,
175 brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of
726 which based their power upon eminence in war and possession
182 of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers,
• 622 and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times
565 556 to cement alliances with shamans.

756 Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean
[754] weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power
was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of
us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain
persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would
die."[11]

K M The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties.
175 A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-
178 bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader
622 increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers
619 from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country.
628 As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance ren-
726 dered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment
of worth.

K In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary
622 principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his
175 father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother
as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill,
a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David,
later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain
George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not
essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks,
K [838] of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite
in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the
power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

K A minor factor in these developments may have been the
175 interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in
643 order that they might deal more effectively with responsible
648 leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs
177 met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

> told him about the Holy Spirit that was to come to the whole 175
> world and visit its remotest parts. When he came back from the 648
> Dalles he told his people about it but found them groping in [797]
> perfect darkness. . . . They would not believe him and told him
> he lied. He had watched long for the coming of the Holy Spirit
> and had never doubted that he should see him. He had heard
> Mr. Meacham talk for many days. . [and] now he saw that he
> was not like other men and knew that he must be the Holy
> Spirit come at last to bring gracious gifts for all tribes. . . ."[16]

Others—and they were to become more influential—lived for 175
some time with whites and became convinced that the best 177
policy for the Klamath was one of peace. They included Lileks, 648
who in the course of the trading excursions to the north dwelled 622
for several years at The Dalles and was exposed there, no doubt, to the examples of authority set by whites as well as by the Columbia River tribes themselves. Another was Dave Hill, who, starting about 1859, lived approximately five years in Oregon City. Allen David, later to succeed Lileks as head chief in reservation days, was "well versed in the ways of the white man, from travel among the Willamette settlement." Another was Charley Preston who, like Hill, had spent five years at Oregon City, working for white farmers and had become "quite civilized and learned many of the white man's ways. He returned to his tribe and became a headman. . . ."[17]

Men such as these became the leaders of a "peace party"
among the Klamath, and their views achieved dominance in the 175
growing centralization of power among the Klamath. Lileks may 159
have consolidated the ascendancy he presently achieved as head 622
of this group by marriages beyond his tribelet: to the four wives [595]
from his own, Klamath Marsh, division, he added one each from
the Lower Williamson and Klamath Falls groups, as well as one
from the Modoc. From the Columbia he or a contemporary [177]
brought back new "laws," which included the institution of [681]
flogging as punishment for murder or for persistent quarreling. In one instance, ascribed by Spier, with some question, to prereservation days, when two men of the Lower Williamson River tribelet slew a Klamath Falls man, Lileks had them haled to Klamath Marsh, where each was beaten five times.[18]

When, in 1858, it was indicated that Klamath and Rogue 175
648

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
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175 River renegades had slain five prospectors on a tributary of the
648 Rogue River, the whites apprehended three Klamath involved
in the affair, "whom the Klamaths voluntarily killed to prevent
trouble; that tribe being now desirous of standing well with the
K U.S. Government."[19] It is probable that the hand of Lileks is to
• [622] be discerned in this matter also. In brief, his power and that of
Chiloquin, often termed his second chief, was challenged only
by Captain George, leader of a faction hostile to the whites, and
by Monchnkasgitk, leader of the remote Upland tribelet.

K Thus the frontier condition brought a heightened rate of intertribal
175 warfare and of intertribal trading. It gave the Klamath
648 both peaceful and bellicose exposure to whites, largely outside
177 the Klamath homeland. In the awareness of new ways of life
[721] beyond the limited range of which their fathers had been conscious
[439] the Klamath of the first half of the nineteenth century
became diversified in outlook. Enriched with new goods, Klamath
culture prospered, although in comparison with the levels
K M achieved by the whites it seemed poorer than ever. Warfare had
721 consolidated power and wealth in the hands of leaders and the
648 magnitude of their operations drew Klamath and Modoc into an
175 uneasy cooperation.

622 Indeed, in many of these developments the Modoc participated
K only to a small degree. In disposing of those slaves destined to
M 175 be sold at The Dalles, the Klamath and occasionally the Warm
567 Springs peoples acted as middlemen; in consequence the Modoc
721 did not come as fully under the influence of the Columbia River
177 556 tribes, nor did they amass as much wealth. The development of
a chiefly class among them was feebler, and the tribelets coalesced
M 643 under a single acknowledged leader only tardily and
525 incompletely.[20]

619 When in 1846 an exploring party under Jesse and Lindsay
M Applegate laid out an alternate emigrant route known as the
175 South Road, they directed it from Fort Hall down through Modoc
648 country and past the winter settlements on Tule and Lower
721 Klamath lakes, then west of the Cascades and north to the
Willamette settlements. The Modoc bitterly resented the invasion
of their homeland and waged war against the wagon
trains, a war which in turn brought reprisals from the settlers.
In 1852, after the Modoc had extensively damaged several trains

175 of the English language, and fully comprehended the civil war 648 under which our unfortunate country is now suffering, and he thought, or professed to think, that if all the Indians unite they could kill off all the whites and retake the country." He and another chief, known as Skookum John—a man suspected of instigating trouble in 1856—were reputed to counsel war continuously.[38]

In power, the redoubtable hostile had few peers. As of about [624] 1859, he was war chief of both Klamath and Modoc, in which capacity he divested a Modoc chief of his elk-skin cuirasses for refusing to join an expedition against the Pit River tribes. In- [622] deed, Henry Blow later averred that Captain George had superseded Lileks as chief for a time, during which he had entered into a treaty—with whom is uncertain, though possibly with Rosborough or Steele in Northern California—and had been promised pay as head chief.[39]

In its own time, the government moved to contain the threat posed by his ascendancy. The necessary action embraced both military and civil commitments, and the contentions engendered lie vividly upon the pages of the day.

Outstanding among the individuals involved were members of the numerous Applegate clan, whose destinies were to be intertwined with the Klamath for almost a half-century. They were led by the doughty Lindsay Applegate, who had crossed the plains with his brothers, Jesse and Charles, and their families in the great migration of 1843. A staunch Union man and a Republican, he then resided at Ashland Mills, across the Cascades from the Klamath country. Of his extensive family, mention should be made of four of his sons, Elisha, who held the office of surveyor general, Ivan, Lucien, and Oliver. As a member of the state legislature, Lindsay Applegate had been instrumental in securing passage of the joint resolution calling for the establishment of a military post in the Klamath country. During the Rogue River War, he had served with distinction as captain of a company of mounted volunteers. His second-in-command on that occasion had been J. W. Perit Huntington, married to a daughter of brother Charles, and a man with whom he shared the conviction that the Indians must be dealt with firmly but justly.[40]

K 175 648 citizen—his office having lapsed for lack of authorized pay—denounced the location in a letter to Huntington, now Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon. "Drew . . . and his *Copperhead* friends, have already committed an outrage in the country, by locating the Fort in a place, where it entirely fails to accomplish the objects for which a post was ordered, solely I believe for selfish and factious purposes of their clan."[44]

Drew, while recommending that treaties be concluded with Lileks' and Old George's bands of Klamath, and with certain other groups, roundly scored these tribes as "a horde of practical thieves, highwaymen, and murderers, cowardly sycophants before the white man's face, and perfidious assassins behind his back". He annexed to his report a detailed list of hostilities in the Klamath Lake – Tule Lake – Goose Lake region from the opening of the South Road down to the time of his report. Following one such attack in 1856 which left at least thirty-nine fatalities, and in which the abduction of women and children was suspected, as he claimed, "the Indians of Umpqua valley exhibited an unusual number of dresses and other articles of female apparel," which they alleged they had obtained from the Indians at Klamath Lake".[45]

K M 175 648 721 622 Drew moved with dispatch. To the south, the long-standing warfare waged by Klamath and Modoc against Shasta and Pit River tribes had ended by embroiling them with the settlers. Suspecting the whites of having sided with the Shasta, who had slain several of their warriors, the hostile Klamath and Modoc under Captain George had, in the words of Steele, "commenced depredations by stealing the cattle of the frontier settlements, robbing travellers passing through their country, and uttering threats of murder and war on the opening of the spring." Acting upon a petition by citizens and a letter from Sub-agent Amos E. Rogers, Drew promptly arrested Captain George and summarily hanged him. George's troublesome colleague, Skookum John, met his death in the same action. At one stroke the bellicose faction had been decapitated.[46]

K 175 648 So draconian a measure did not pass without comment. In a confidential letter to Huntington, Rogers wrote from Jacksonville, intimating that it had all been planned beforehand by Drew and other Copperheads at a "turkey and champaign dinner" at

[Klamath Reservation]

> but they came more and more like new grass in the spring. I looked around and saw that many of our young men were dead and could not come back to fight. My heart was sick. My people were few. I threw down my gun. I said, "I will not fight again." I made friends with the white man."[51]

M 175 648 643

Despite the fact that Schonchin was favorably disposed toward the whites and had represented the Modoc in an agreement at which Steele had presided, Steele heeded more militant factions which sought to replace him. Two chief contenders came forward: the extremist, John Schonchin, a younger brother of the chief who was then absent, and the somewhat more moderate Kintpuash, whom Steele dubbed Captain Jack. At the election, the tribesmen in attendance chose the latter, and Steele designated him chief of all the Modoc.

M 175 648 643 578

M [666]

In the course of the council, under the mistaken belief that Modoc territory lay largely within California, Steele negotiated a treaty with that tribe whereby they pledged their readiness to relinquish all their territory in exchange for assurances that they would be permitted to retain the area about Tule Lake. Since Steele was not authorized to enter into agreements of this character, his treaty was not ratified by Congress, although the Modoc remained unaware of that fact. Shortly thereafter, he was removed from office by a political maneuver.[52]

M 175 648

Less than a month after the Yreka council, the newspapers carried the news that Congress had appropriated $20,000 to effect a treaty and purchase the lands of the Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute. Late in June, Huntington was instructed to effect the treaty, and in August he visited the tribes for a preliminary conference. About the same time, Lileks and a delegation of Klamath are said to have waited on their friend, Captain Kelly, to propose that such a treaty be entered into. Early in October, Huntington, together with Agent William Logan to represent the absent superintendent for California, repaired once more to Fort Klamath to enter into the treaty.

K M 175 648

The parties to the treaty, according to Huntington, included 21 Klamath chiefs and headmen, led by Lileks and Chiloquin, representing 710 Klamath then present. Of the signatories who can be identified, at least 9 were Klamath Marsh men. The Modoc were led by Schonchin, still recognized as head chief by Huntington, and included the Klamath-Modoc interbreed, Chief

K M 175 648 622 • M 643

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M George (Sleketatk), Captain Jack, and one Chuck-e-i-ox
175 (Njakeaks).[53] They are said to have represented 339 Modoc.
648 Finally, there were two Paiute, who signed for some 22 members
• 622 then present of a group known as the Yahuskin band of Snakes.[54]
M The Walpapi Snakes, under their crafty leader, Panaina, were
[643] also to have been included, but they withdrew and were dealt
with in a separate treaty in August, 1865.[55]

Captain Kelly, who was present, gives figures for the tribes that differ somewhat from those of Huntington. He notes that all the Klamath, including their slaves, were present, and numbered 133 males over fifteen years of age, 286 women, and 214 children. Of the Modoc, 46 men, 15 women, and 16 children were in attendance. "About 40 of the Modoc warriors," he adds, "were absent with the women and children in their own country. They have about the same proportion of women and children as the Klamaths." Finally, the Snakes numbered 11 men, 5 women, and 6 children.[56] It is possible that the absent Modoc included members of the party advocating continued resistance.

Many years later, the Upland Klamath leader, Monchnkasgitk, recalled the treaty making:

> Huntington came to Council Grove and sent out invitations to all the Indians to meet him to discuss a treaty about the lands. I went as chief with Seven Warm Springs Indians to the first meeting at Council Grove. I met La Lake, head chief, and Chiloquen, chiefs of the Klamaths; also Captain Jack, Schonchen, and Chief George of the Modocs.
>
> Huntington met me there with the man who wrote for him, and another white man. We were there about a week and talked three days about the treaty. We built our first camp fire under a big pine tree which I think is still there. Huntington made a speech and said: "I have come from Washington, from the Great Father, to see about buying your land and have brought [with] me the things to pay for it." He then showed up fishhooks, beads, buttons, coarse blankets, and red paint. Huntington finished his speech by saying, "Tell me how much land you want to save for yourselves?" The chiefs went back to the camp and talked among themselves and agreed, and the next day told Huntington they wanted the land from the three snow mountains and the Cascades (the three sisters) from there to Steens Mountain; thence southerly along the mountains east of Goose Lake Valley to the California line, then westerly to the Cascades, taking in the Tule Lake country; then back to the beginning.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
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SIX

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Political Changes

K
*648 UNDER THE TREATY OF 1864, THREE INDIAN GROUPS, DIFFERING IN
*657 size and degree of internal cohesion, were brought together to
619 form a single polity. The Klamath, under Lileks and Chiloquin,
• 622 had achieved some measure of chiefly centralization in the decades immediately preceding the treaty, but band cleavages were still very real. Principal among these was that which separated the Upland Klamath of Monchnkasgitk from the Lakeside tribelets. The Yahuskin Snakes at that time seem to have been closely linked to the Upland band, and in early reservation times were numbered among the adherents of its chief.

M
643 The Modoc not only showed a lesser degree of political integration than did the Klamath but were disputing over the nomi-
648 nal office of head chief. The position of the aging Schonchin
657 was precarious; for Steele in 1864, after treating with him as representative for his tribe, had presided over the election which was widely construed as providing a successor. In the treaty with Huntington, Schonchin was again treated as head man,[1] but less than a year later it was reported that "the Modoc Indians are very much dissatisfied and have deposed their head chief who signed the treaty of friendship with the Whites, because of his doings in the premises." The officer relaying the information to Huntington at the same time offered the support of the army "to sustain the chief and bring the Indians to terms by force."[2] The revolt was short-lived, nor, judging by Schonchin's later actions, is it probable that the military were needed. He and his followers came on the reservation for the first distribution of annuities in 1867, but Captain Jack and John Schonchin, together with their adherents, remained in their homeland in the Tule Basin, which they understood to have been reserved to them in the treaty with Steele.[3]

By the terms of the treaty concluded with Huntington, the 657*
United States had established the right to bring other tribes not 648*
signatory upon the reservation. This clause was invoked in
1865, when a treaty was concluded with Panaina, elusive chief
of the Walpapi Snakes, who had withdrawn from participation
in the original treaty. Place was accordingly made for him on
the Upper End in Monchnkasgitk's territory,[4] where he and his
followers remained until the following spring, when they left,
apparently upon the summons of the hostile Snake chief, Howlark.[5]
Soon the Walpapi returned, with an attack—vigorously repulsed—upon
Schonchin's band, then summering in the Sprague
River Valley.

The fear of raids drove the Uplanders in to take up residence
at the council ground near the Agency. In the hostilities that [726]
followed, Fort Klamath served as a base of military operations
and a small body of Klamath under subchief Henry Blow functioned
as scouts. At the end of the war, when peace had been
restored and the arrival of annuities attested the good faith of
the government, Schonchin and his followers came upon the
Lower End and located near Modoc Point, adjacent to their
former neighbors, the Klamath Falls tribelet.

Thrust together, bands, tribes, and their leaders attempted to 657*
adjust their political balance. In the first days, before the Agent 648*
moved upon the reservation, his major contact with his charges 622 •
was through the military at Fort Klamath. Drawing upon the
enhanced prestige of government backing and in the absence
of the Agent, Lileks grew imperious. Applegate found it necessary
to write Major Rinehart in 1865:

> I learned after seeing you that LaLakes had in his prison house on Williams' [sic] River on the day of our conference with 'Taunina' several Indians bound hand and foot for unruley and disorderly conduct, and I should be happy if you would inquire into the matter and see that indians thus confined are not inhumanly treated.
>
> Lalakes [he continued] seems to have commended a policy rather more regal than usual for him, and has constructed a "guardhouse" in which to bring his subjects to a better state of discipline, and I believe the plan a good one unless carried to an extreme.[6]

Within less than a year, Lileks had fallen ill. Feeling that his

*657 time had come, he summoned his people "to receive his solemn
*648 admonishments err [sic] his spirit take flight." Soon recovering,
• 622 he voiced to the Agency farmer, S. D. Whitemore, the suspicion
that the shaman who had cured him, and whose professional
charges had stripped him of all his effects, had been in league
with the subchiefs to bring about his death; and he requested
that the shaman be imprisoned by the military. Later events
made it clear that Monchnkasgitk had been a leader in the
conspiracy, plotting to take the place of the old chief. Thereupon,
Whitemore, then in charge of the Agency, called a council, at
which he "stated that it will be highly necessary to consult their,
and the government agent, or the change could not be regonized
[sic]. . . . I learned that after a lengthy consultation with the
indians has [sic] become impressed with the belief that Mosen
Kasket and his band have no hostile intentions."[7]

[558] With Agency backing, Lileks once more was restored to a
position of relative authority, but his recourse to outside support
caused his personal prestige to decline. He thus had to resort
increasingly to formal instruments to bolster his power and to
implement the changes he sought. When one Spokane Ike slew
[682] his child in Jacksonville, Lileks asked that the Agent order all
Indians back upon the reservation. Spokane Ike was tried by the
Indian court, Lileks presiding, and was fined fifty dollars.

[692] Lileks took readily to the court, and Whitemore reported, "The
indians are holding court dayly [sic]. I am not informed of the
nature of their cases." O. C. Applegate described one session
thus: "A few days ago the Grand Court of Klamath set, Chief
LaLakes presiding, and many men were convicted of many
[681] crimes. One in particular had stolen a number of women, 20
mink skins and otherwise trampeled [sic] on the rights of his
people, he now wears shackles and a heavy log chain and chops
wood for La Lakes."[8]

*648 The head chief was by no means an advocate of indiscriminate
*657 change. He favored inhumation of the dead, which he had
622 witnessed among the whites in his travels to Jacksonville, Yreka,
177 and The Dalles, over the native practice of cremation; and about
[764] 1868 he secured its adoption.[9] On the other hand, when the
[567] proposal was made in 1865 to liberate the slaves, Lileks was
prominent in voicing his displeasure, undoubtedly backed by

other chiefs who were the principal slaveholders. "The Indians," 648*
reported Lindsay Applegate, "have declared that if such was to 657*
be the case, they would kill all of the Pitt River Indians among 622•
them or run them off to other places to trade for horses."[10] Per- 177
haps in deference to that feeling, the slaves were not liberated 567
until 1869, after Lileks had been deposed.

Within the reservation polity, the ailing and senile Lileks 657*
proved increasingly difficult to control. Growing autocratic 648*
toward his followers, he stubbornly opposed Agency policy. 622
Meanwhile, Monchnkasgitk, sensing his weakness, was waxing troublesome in a new bid for power. Early in 1868, Whitemore reported that the Klamath were venting a "more turbulent spirit one with another," and that they were flourishing arms and axes upon one another. Lileks now openly admitted that he could no longer control them.[11]

Meanwhile, the administration had progressively lost confidence in the turbulent chiefs and came instead to rely upon younger men such as Allen David, Henry Blow, Dave Hill, and Charley Preston, who combined a warlike record sufficient to give them standing in Klamath eyes with a dependable advocacy of white ways. These were men with whom young Oliver Applegate found strong mutual ties. When Lileks lost sway over the Klamath, it seemed natural to Applegate to move while he was temporarily in charge of the Agency to depose him.

The manner in which he did so is illustrative of the direct intervention by which the adminstration subsequently shaped political affairs. Applegate's own notation is sufficiently succinct.

> A few days ago [he wrote his brother in the spring of 1869] I had a great Council with the indians and tried some chiefs for various offences. Two of them (La Lakes & Moshenkosket) finding themselves about to be impeached, resigned. A grand Convention was held and candidates nominated for President. The campaign is now fairly open with Allen David & Blow in nomination.[12]

The matter as he later recalled it in greater detail was something more than the convention he deemed it:

> The younger Captain Applegate [narrated his daughter] took charge of the affair and called a meeting of the Indians at Kowasta in the early summer of 1868 [sic]. Here, seated on the

*657 *648 • 622

> top rail of a fence, facing the redskins assembled in the meadow before him, flanked by a group of young and energetic Indians who were his sworn friends and allies, he dispensed summary justice to the most notorious recent offender. . . . He then proceded [sic] to explain, through a Klamath interpreter, that the old chief, though entitled to all honor and respect for his years of valuable service, had ceased to be an effective officer and should be replaced by a younger and more active man. The new day had arrived, he said, when the Indians were adopting the white man's ways of life, and chief among these was the white man's law, which demanded that justice should be done and order maintained without fear or favor, and which provided for such justice and order by the election of officers who were chosen for their capabilities in performing these duties. He suggested that another meeting be held a week later for the nomination of candidates for head chief of the whole reservation—not only of the Klamaths who owed allegiance to La-Lakes, but also of the Modocs, Paiutes, and Pit Rivers who made their homes on the reservation. The old chief was naturally crestfallen at this procedure, and his relatives and friends grieved, but there seems to have been no attempt at open rebellion against the dicta of the young white leader. . . . Throughout the whole campaign, however, the feeling of personal loyalty to the old sachem was the greatest obstacle to be overcome.[13]

*657 *648 622 643 666

The election that followed pitted Henry Blow, "a prominent sub-chief under La-Lakes, a man of the finest personal and executive qualities," with support from both Lower End Klamath and the Modoc,[14] against Allen David, "a tall handsome, and popular young brave from the upper country,[15] progressive, well versed in the ways of the white man, from travel among the Willamette settlements," backed not only by Lower End Klamath but by the Upland band and the Paiute as well. Charley Preston was a third nominee, "a man popular on account of his personal qualities and admired for his ability in various industries acquired by residence among the whites, but not possessing the prestige of a sub-chief." Young Applegate seems also to have been proposed, but declined. "There were many at this meeting who deplored the whole procedure in view of their allegiance to the old chief. . . ." At the election which followed, Allen David was elected by a plurality of five.[16] Thus a panreservation polity was established, to which tribal distinctions thereafter were subordinated.

As for the deposed Monchnkasgitk, his place was promptly 657*
filled by the election of one "Barcley." Despite the rebuff, 648*
Monchnkasgitk rose again in time to the position of subchief at 622
Yainax, where he came to be known as Moses Brown.[17]

The major election had removed from immediate power one who had obstructed Agency-sponsored reforms, but had left the membership of the lesser chieftaincies intact. It is clear that administration policy held that representation by a chief was
adequate to secure the interests of a band. Thus, in 1871, when 657*
John Meacham found the lot of the slaves little improved his 648*
remedy was to authorize them to elect a chief "to represent 622
them in the councils and courts of the tribes."[18] In the political 692
order thus established, the chiefs had been displaced from an 693
executive role to constitute a court, while a sheriff, chosen from among the Indians, together with constables, one per chief, were to maintain order. Chiefs, somewhat extralegally, soon began to assume magisterial functions.

It took some time to make the court aware of the bounds 657*
within which it ought to operate. John Meacham noted in his 648*
charges "an excessive disposition to go to law," and remarked, 622
"I have counciled [sic] the board of chiefs against this, especially 692
against making arrests for trifling offenses or for *no* offence at all, advising them that the object of the law is to *protect* the people and not to *oppress* them."[19] Soon thereafter, he reduced the court to a membership of only seven chiefs and set its sessions at monthly intervals.[20]

As outlined by Dave Hill, one of the members of the court, 657*
the list of offenses combined crimes against the person (murder, 648*
adultery, stealing, fornication, witchcraft, and fighting), those 622
against property (arson), together with what can only be con- [68]
sidered redefinitions of customary procedure. Thus, cremation [764]
of the dead was enjoined and the license permitted a chief in
dealing with his followers was severely circumscribed. Marriages [585]
were to be confirmed before the principal chief, who was to [643]
receive a fee; the bride price was not to be returned on the [586]
desertion of the husband; while the court might order the sepa-
ration of an irreconcilable couple. Monogamy alone was per- [595]
missible.[21]

Thus, not only were the chiefs given new and different powers,

*657 but they were made the arbiters for the acceptance by their
*648 fellows of changes in customary practice. Their position was
• 622 buttressed by the procedure at first adopted of issuing annuities through them, of loaning equipment to the chiefs for the use of their followers, of building houses for them, and of giving them priority when breaking ground for planting.[22]

*657 Even as an embodiment of indirect rule, however, the early
*648 reservation courts knew the intervention of the Agents. Meacham
756 records that, "Captain Knapp forbade thier [sic] Doctors to
692 practice and shackeled [sic] them for attempting to persist in the same."[23] And Meacham himself, having requested the commander of Fort Klamath to arrest and confine one Link River Doctor for the same offense, proceeded to try him during the next session of the court and sentenced him to four months' imprisonment at Fort Klamath.[24] Dyar similarly set sentence for Pitt River Dick, convicted of assaulting another Indian with a knife.[25]

*657 The degree to which the Agency had set itself up to confirm
*648 the chiefs, and thus to constitute the supreme authority, is shown
622 by the commission earlier awarded to Allen David, which runs,

> The Bearer
>
> for his intelligence, loyalty and long continued good behavior, is hereby appointed during good conduct Chief of the Chucklolum division of the Klamath Tribe. He will exercise authority over the said people subject to the will of the High Chief of the Klamath Nation and also of the proper authorities of the United States.
>
> Witness
> O. C. Applegate Intr.
> Saml. D. Whitmore
> Acting Farmer
>
> Signed at the Klamath
> Agency Sept 28th 1867
> L. Applegate
> U. S. Indn Sub Agent

Note especially that the division referred to does not correspond with any of the Klamath tribelets. Thus a regrouping was either being recognized or, more probably, instigated by the Agency.[26]

Despite their increasing control, Agents continued to chafe under the independence still exercised by the chiefs. As Commissary Meacham chose to phrase it, "In thier [sic] present condition it is probably best that each tribe should be represented by thier hereditary chiefs, but I am satisfied that the time is not

far distant when good judgment will direct the deposing of all 657*
hereditary sovereigns and the election of proper officers by the 648*
people at large. Thier present mode of constituting courts of 622 •
justice and of conducting trials is probably far in advance of
thier primitive style—but is anything but Republican. . . ."[27]

The contrast between the old and new leaders is shown by one 657*
of two liquor cases that vexed Dyar. A saloonkeeper, guided by 648*
a "squaw man" to an Indian village a few miles above Linkville 622
"for vile purposes," gave a bottle of whiskey to the Indian who 273
transported them. After the Indian had drunk part, he gave the
remainder to Lileks, who shared it with another man. Of this
instance and another, Dyar observed, "Allan David, Head Chief [643]
of the Klamaths, first brought these cases to my knowledge and
is anxious that the parties shall be punished."[28]

Allen David, indeed, impressed Meacham strongly, for he 657*
characterized him among the Indians as "unquestionably the 648*
clearest and most logical talker I have ever listened to. . . . He 643
is fully imbued with the ideas of civilization and never misses an opportunity to give his people good advice."[29] Dyar, echoing these sentiments, added, "his time is so much taken up in settling the little disputes of his people, and he is naturally compelled to give away so much food in thier [sic] frequent visits, that he is kept continually poor." As head chief for the entire reservation, David was expected by the Indians to feed them during the frequent assemblies at his house. From visits to other reservations and to the American settlements, he was aware that white officials received pay for performing their duties and that even Mark, the head chief at Warm Springs, drew a salary. Before David would undertake the head chieftaincy, O. C. Applegate had had to promise to try to secure a salary for him. Subsequently, Dyar himself recommended that Allen David be paid an annual salary of $300.00.[30] It was not forthcoming.

The concept of an all-reservation hierarchy of chiefs was rudely 657*
challenged by the Modoc War. For a brief time, upon the urging 648*
of A. B. Meacham, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, Captain Jack and his adherents had joined Schonchin at Modoc Point in 1869. They were soon disillusioned. The Klamath acted like lords of the land and treated the Modoc as if they were there only on sufferance. When the Modoc split fence rails, Klamath

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
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*657
*648

726 were mustered out of service. Subsequently, when Jack and his
M followers slew the Peace Commissioners, Oliver Applegate re-
657 648 ported that the reservation Indians were ready to take the war-
726 path against them in revenge, but they were not called upon.[40]

K In the end, the Modoc were defeated and the leaders tried at
*657 Fort Klamath. During the hearing, they attempted to implicate
*648 728 the Klamath, with claims that Link River Jack had cached
M ammunition for them and that Schonchin—"the noblest Roman
657 of them all!" exploded Oliver Applegate indignantly—had brought
648 them a message from Allen David promising aid if they would
728 hold out a little longer. The countercharges proved misdirected
as defense; and in the presence of the reservation Indians and
other spectators the leaders of the hostiles were hanged or committed to Alcatraz; and the remainder, 153 in number, were
shipped off to Fort Quapaw, Indian Territory.[41]

K With the end of the war, the reservation became in effect a
*657 closed political system. The only exception was Ocheho's band
*648 of Paiute, which alternated between the reservation and their
M 657 Warner Valley homeland until 1876, when the major part of
648 them remained off the reservation for good. Meanwhile, with no
K salary forthcoming to offset the heavy financial burdens of his
[643] office, Allen David resigned, and Henry Blow was elected in his
stead.[42]

K The statement made in 1877 by Dave Hill gives a fair idea
*657 of the chiefs of the time and contrasts the hierarchy at the
*648 Agency with the comparatively open order at Yainax.

• 622
643
> We Lake People live here thus: Blow is chief of all, and I,
> M Dave Hill, am chief second to Blow, Long John after Dave,
> 657 then too Link River Jack after Long John, and Lilu. Pit River
> 648 Charley is chief of the Pit River people at the Lake. Ben and
> 622 Littlejohn are the chiefs, and Schonchin is chief of the Yainax
> 643 people. Johnson is chief of the Modoc at Yainax. George Kuatilak also is Modoc chief after Johnson. Chocktoot is chief of the
> Paiute.[43]

Gatschet's list for the same year, which includes the adherents
K for each leader, differs somewhat from that of Hill. At the Lower
[062] End, the chiefs, all Klamath, and the number of their followers
M were: Blow, head chief (122), Hill (225), Long John (103),
[062] Link River Jack (92), and Lilu (23). At Yainax, the Modoc bands

K
comprised those of Modoc Johnson, head chief (71), and Schonchin 657*
(18). The Upland Klamath leaders were Brown [i.e. Monchnkasgitk] 648*
(30), Ben (61), and Littlejohn (14). 622 • 643

Gatschet thus omits Pit River Charley at the Lower End and 162
the adherents of George Kuatilak and Chocktoot at Yainax, but M
includes that of Monschnkasgitk. If the Klamath and Modoc 657
followings are separately totaled, the figures agree closely with 648 622
those of the statistical summary for that year,[44] suggesting that 643
the Pit River chief was subsumed under one of the Klamath 162
leaders and George Kuatilak under Modoc Johnson. Note that the Paiute, who seem to be predominantly Walpapi, account for 137, almost half the Yainax total of 331, while the Lower End, with 565, then contained almost twice as many people.

The replacement of leaders had already gone far: Of the chiefs K 657*
listed above, only five, Blow, Jack, Lilu, Schonchin, and Monchnkasgitk, 648*
had been prominent enough in 1864 to sign the treaty; 622
and only Lilu, Monchnkasgitk, and Schonchin were then noted 643
chiefs.[45] By 1877, their followings had dwindled, amounting to M
only a fraction of their previous numbers. Most of the losses had 657
been to Agency men advancing in favor. Among them Dave Hill 648
far outstripped even Henry Blow, the head chief, in adherents. 622 643

Beneath this system, we know from the accounts of elderly
Indians, a system of informal local headmen continued. Some K
of these individuals were, indeed, also favored with a measure 657*
of government support. Among them were some of the older 648*
chiefs, now out of official power. Lileks was put in charge of a 622
ferry across the river—probably the Williamson—where he kept track of passengers by drawing pictures of a man, mules, and so on.[46] Allen David, still a chief, figured among the progressive Indians for some years. In 1883, however, his quiet opposition to Agency inroads upon the remaining chiefly authority drew remarks from Nickerson:

> There is but one man, Allen David, 3rd chief, who in any way proves a hinderance [sic] to the discharge of duties of the police. He does not do this openly, but covertly and slily, and is ready with a denial when charged with it. I have been seriously thinking of depriving him of his position and power as one of the cheifs [sic]. Indeed, I think the time is not far distant when this tribe will be better off without any chiefs whatever.[47]

*648 Men such as Chiloquin at the Lower End and Chief George at
*657 Yainax continued for years their informal leadership. Along with
• 622 them were local leaders of kinship groups, such as Hunter Wilson
on the lower Williamson. Here, in good farming country, a large number of Indians had been collected, including Wilson's band, which had been uprooted from Pelican Bay, now off the reservation, and moved among former feudatory foes. Those in this vicinity, for whom Dave Hill was now responsible, were thus far from constituting a homogeneous following.

The new leaders were at one with their predecessors in the vigilant scrutiny which they maintained over the acts of their Agent. When Lindsay Applegate relinquished that office in 1869 to Capt. O. C. Knapp, the chiefs made speeches voicing their personal esteem for the ex-Agent; and Monchnkasgitk and Chiloquin were content to leave it at that. Lileks and Blow, however, improved on the occasion to recall promises as yet unfulfilled. Said Lileks,

> Its a long time since Mr Huntington told us we should have Saw and Flour Mill, and many other things, we have not seen. The President sends new men and new promises, but no new things; Yes Applegate looks after us, but the white men that were to mak[e] our houses are not among us, we have learned that we must rely upon our selves to build our houses—

To this Henry Blow added,

> You have been here a long time, Applegate is tired and my heart is like his, both tired wa[i]ting for what was promiced [sic]—The Government bought our Country, it was a word of mouth trade, we saw nothing—Yes we have learned that our land brings us grain and means of subsistance, for this we owe a debt to Applegate[.] I kill Ducks and Geese, sell feathers, buy calico for my wife when I was told in beginning this would be furnished by Government. Six years I have had no oxen, have no cows chickens and such like good things[.]
>
> Maby [sic] the President thinks he gave us all these things but we have them not.
>
> Many women and men have died without ever seeing those things that were promiced [sic] [.]

And he recalled Joel Palmer and the council of 1854 and the "many good goods [he gave] to other Indians."[48]

*657 Thus, within the very year that had seen the ratification of the
*648 treaty, Indian spokesmen were already vocal in discontent over

improvements at Yainax Station." Elsewhere, he warned, "the 657*
settlement of whites within the Reservation limits would bring 648*
endless trouble if not open war."[54]

For some time Dyar withheld the unwelcome information from the Indians, until at length it was brought out into the open in a petition by local citizens. Dyar himself signed a similar paper after discussing the matter with some of the leading Indians; in the course of these talks he gave assurances to the Indians that the government would protect them in their rights. Their reply is quoted in words that Dyar had anticipated in earlier correspondence. The treaty, they contended, had mentioned nothing about lands to be withheld; and when they had consented to the construction of the military road they had understood it to be no more than a public road, such as was provided for in the treaty. They had no intimation that additional lands were to be claimed. They added that if the government allowed these lands to be taken away they had no reason to believe they would be protected in any of their rights, and might as well be killed off at once in a war, however futile, as to make a slow end.[55]

Thus was joined the struggle which was to command the unified support of the diverse people of the reservation and to shape the political structure for years to come. From time to time new developments agitated the Indians. Such, for example, was the move of the California Oregon Land Company, when it had come into possession of the Military Road claims, to push a bill through Congress in 1881 to open the Upper End for sale to homesteaders.[56]

Another threat, the claims of the state of Oregon, acting under the swampland grant of March 12, 1860, to the swamplands on the reservation, was quietly contested by Nickerson in 1880 and 1881, and the Indians do not seem to have learned of it. At the same time, the Bureau was not loathe to call general councils of the Indians to discuss such issues as the proposed transfer of Bureau functions to the War Department.[57] These meetings provided occasions for continued political expression on the reservation. The issues, in turn, gave focus for a more militant leadership.

Meanwhile, the Agency was grappling with the problem of [622]
sustaining the elected chiefs, for they received no salary for their

*657 *648 • 622 services in the court. In 1878, support took the form of a suit of clothes for Henry Blow and three years later of a request to provide him with a weekly ration of flour and beef. However, as Agent Roork then found, the issue could not be authorized even for one who "spends a good deal of time looking after the interests of his people, when he can ill afford it."[58]

*657 *648 625 At this juncture a temporary solution was found. In 1878, drawing upon successful experience on other reservations, the Bureau authorized the employment of a small force of Indian police. In the first days of the reservation, Lindsay Applegate claimed to have organized such a force, one that served without pay, with power to perform military duties as well to arrest malefactors; and though it was later discontinued, Dyar had subsequently proposed a similar body.[59]

The number now settled upon was six, at Roork's request, "in order to have one for every tribe."[60] O. C. Applegate, then clerk at the Agency, was appointed chief of police. The first men in the service, with one or two exceptions, were not particularly distinguished; and neither of the officers of the force is now recalled as having been a leader. Within a year or two, however after many fluctuations in numbers, both Henry Blow and Dave Hill had been appointed as officers. The subsequent reduction of the force from fifteen to three for budgetary reasons dictated from Washington was distressing.

> As the Police Force was too small to be of much account [wrote Nickerson], the Indians felt under less restraint & were now dificult [sic] to manage. The chiefs considered that the Government had taken their authority to rule and administer punishment out of their hands, and did not consider themselves responsible for good order. They are now anxious to be allowed to administer law as before the Police force was organized. Unless this force can be put upon a permanent basis, and consist of from 8 to 10 members with a yearly allowance of rations I am of the opinion that it would be best to grant them their request. In that case it would be desirable to keep 2 or 3 men in the service to aid in arresting offenders & to take charge of all prisoners. . . . The Agent would of course be the judge in all trials.

[643] [622] He suggested that, following the plan he had put into operation before the force was reduced, the head chief be named captain and the second chief, lieutenant, while two other chiefs be appointed sergeants of the force.

appointed sergeants of the force. "This," he added, "would give 657*
these chiefs something to do & a support. They would be interested 648*
in watching their people and in keeping good order."[81] 625
The move also would counter the opposition to the police among 622
the chiefs themselves, led by Allen David.

Once the force was authorized, Nickerson became aware of 657*
its peculiar jurisdictional limitations. When he sent the police 648*
625
[175]

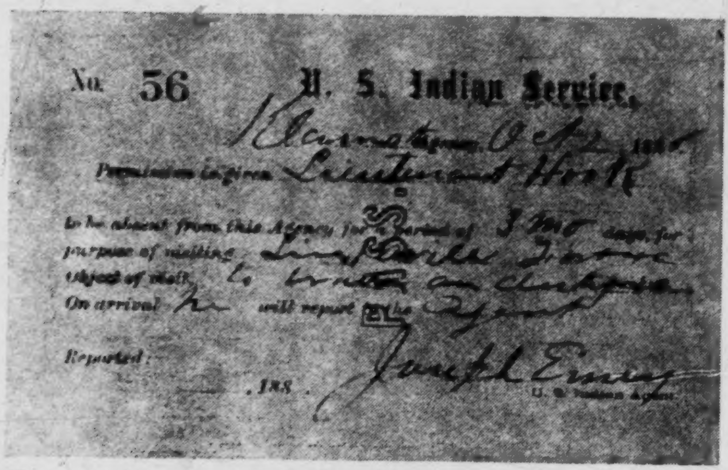

No. 56 U. S. Indian Service.

Joseph Emery

This pass authorized an Indian police officer to leave the reservation for three months while on duty in the Linkville area. 1886.

to Linkville to round up Indians absent without passes and to pursue Indian horse thieves, he was informed that they had no power to make arrests off the reservation: the United States authorities must be notified to act. Yet when the turbulent Spokane Ike shot Skookum Doctor and fled, to be captured by the Indian police near Prineville, the U.S. District Attorney declined jurisdiction, saying that it lay either with the state courts or
with the tribe. Accordingly, "the chiefs in council, acting as a 657*
grand jury, accused Spokane Ike of the crime of murder. A court 648*
was held, the Indian Agent presiding. A jury, of twelve of the 622
most intelligent Indians of the tribe was selected. . . ." Both by 692
the testimony of a witness and by his own statement the defendant 695
was found guilty of murder in the first degree. Upon further 000

Upon further
*657 instructions from Washington, he was publicly hanged. Struck
*648 by the solemnity of the proceedings, Nickerson reported, "Fully
696 half the people of the nation was [sic] present. The order and behavior were admirable. The arrangements and execution of the plans were in the highest degree creditable to the Indians having charge of the same."[62]

*657 The following year, a parsimonious Congress made necessary
*648 a reduction in pay. "They are all poor men," exclaimed Nicker-
434 son, "and can not support their families on one ration and 5
625 dollars per month. Young men have not the experience needed & do not command the respect of the tribe & nation." He searched about for alternatives to help them eke out an existence.[63] Opportunely, there arrived a copy of *Rules Governing the Court of Indian Offenses* which, pronounced Nickerson, would "work a radical change in the government of this people."

*657 He suggested that Blow and Hill "loyal, intelligent, and pro-
*648 gressive Christian men" be appointed as judges, to serve con-
• 622 currently as policemen. To them he proposed to add another,
625 Jesse Kirk, a pupil at the Agency school and a carpenter's appren-
692 tice, to be both a member of the force and a judge. Of the three, he wrote, "David Hill will make the most competent man for presiding Judge. If necessary I will nominate him for Captain and Blowe [sic] for Lieutenant of Police. Otherwise I would prefer that they remain as they [are] as Blowe is head chief of the nation."[64]

The triple role of Hill and Blow made it difficult to delimit their judicial functions. Wrote Nickerson in 1886:

> I was obliged to be quite positive and firm in the exercise of my authority as an agent, before they came to understand that they were not independent in the performance of their duties as Judges. It also required some time to convince them that they were not to become prosecutors of supposed criminals, and that they were not to form and express an opinion in advance of hearing all the testimony, and then not until they had taken time to deliberate together. I am satisfied that we have no better material for judges than those that are now acting in that capacity, and yet they are strongly opinionated, and are making but slow progress in the right direction.[65]

*657 The police force, meanwhile, had been distributed so that four
*648
625

657* 648* 625

served at the Agency and three at Yainax, with an additional policeman at each school to bring in new scholars, recapture runaways, and oversee the prisoners. Dave Hill presided over the police building at the Agency, with quarters for his family and cells for the prisoners.[66] On occasion, policemen accompanied labor parties off the reservation and worked alongside them for pay in addition to their salaries; and they served as escort to the freighting runs to Ashland and Jacksonville and the late winter expeditions to the Lost River fisheries. They were a considerable power in maintaining order, even apprehending deserters from Fort Klamath; and Emery used them effectively in imposing his agricultural policy upon his wards.

657* 648* 625 622 • 578

The police, however, at times found themselves at odds with the very laws and regulations they were employed to uphold. Among those involved in the illicit traffic in reservation timber, as already described, were several members of the police, together with other Agency employees, and three chiefs: Monchnkasgitk, Allen David, and David Hill. The latter, in 1888, learned at first hand the impersonal character of authority when, disturbed by some ruling concerning his son, he approached the clerk who was acting as Agent in the absence of Emery, in what that worthy described as "an angry, insulting, insolent, defiant, threatening, warlike and rebellious manner." He was arrested—resisting the while—and locked in the guardhouse; and the clerk requested that he be kept in solitary confinement for one week, or until the clerk had returned from Yainax.[67]

657* 648* 692 622 [693]

Emery apparently conceived that too much power was concentrated in a few hands, for later that year he reorganized the court, with the observation that "in the very nature of things the *Judge* should not be the *Sheriff*." His appointments were drawn from a new generation of leaders: William Crain, William Crawford, and Benjamin Butler.

> They are intelligent men [he observed], [and] can read and write and speak accurately the English language. One of them is a graduate of the Chemawa Indian School, another educated at the Klamath School and the third one is the best informed man on the reservation.
>
> 657* 648* 692
>
> Court is held once a quarter at Yainax—40 miles from here and twice a quarter at the Agency.

> *657 *648 692 A large number of Indian offences come before this Court for trial, consisting mainly of family quarrels, disputes about the ownership of property and acts of licentiousness.[88]

With the accidental death of Crain, Jesse Kirk was appointed in his stead.[89]

Thus, within a generation the administration had replaced the popular leaders with those among them who were Agency employees, and in turn had supplanted them with the products of its schools. Legally constituted authority was administered through the Agency, at first through a customary court of chiefs and later [625] through a Court of Indian Offenses. The Indian police, who took their orders directly from the Agent, were satisfactory to him as the instrument of his hand. Not so the courts, which tended instead to constitute seats of power alternative to that of the Agent. The result was to be that Agents tended to strengthen the police while circumscribing the functions of the courts.

*657 *648 • 622 571 Meanwhile, beyond the administrative structure thrived an unacknowledged informal leadership, based as in former days upon wealth and accomplishment. Unlike that of the Agency, it was not restricted in position nor limited narrowly in function. This was a leadership in which employees could also participate; and it was presently to see such diverse men as the old chiefs, Monchnkasgitk, Henry Blow, and Allen David, make cause with Dave Hill, and he with young Jesse Kirk, and he in turn with Jeff Riddle, son of Frank Riddle and Winema, the heroine of the Modoc War, and with Henry Jackson, the wealthy exslave. In this sense at least E. L. Applegate was right when he observed:

> [179] [178] [101] The tribal distinction among the Indians on this Reservation is practically disregarded by the Indians, and the ancient prejudices are rapidly fading away. The general name of Klamath People seems to be superseding all other distinctions.[90]

*657 and this corresponds fairly closely with averages from the listing
*648 of Upper End bands. Only the Link River tally is aberrant, with
592 an average of about 20, far above the figure to be obtained from
162 those Link River households included in the census of the tribe at
large. Since the tally was made in September, it may reflect the
open living conditions of that season.[21]

*657 Household size ranges from 27 persons down to 2, the latter
*648 figure for the household of a widow. Households of known chiefs
592 —taking as criterion a signatory to the treaty of 1864—are well
• 622 above the average, ranging generally between 22 and 15, with
162 only those of the Modoc, Schonchin, and the Paiute, Ocheho,[22]
falling below. However, as will be seen, chiefly households were
not the largest in absolute figures: those of some of their followers
exceeded them. The large households indicated here
[178] point to the continued presence of the extended family as a
residential group.

*657 By contrast, the census of Slabtown, a small settlement near the
*648 Agency occupied primarily by Agency employees in 1901, shows
592 13 households comprising house head, wife, and from three
162 children down to none, with an average of 1.4. In one family a
girl past school age, and in another a grown son, were among
the children. In addition to those children at home, the families
had others in school, in the same numerical range and with the
same average. The total family size ranged from 2 to 8, with an
average of 4.7. Because some of the family heads, perhaps all,
were young at this time, family size may thus have been somewhat
skewed.[23] Nonetheless, the contrast of these households
comprising conjugal families with those occupied by extended
families forty years earlier clearly demonstrates the residential
fractionation of the larger units.

*657 A seasonal mobility still characterized the Klamath family.
*648 Nickerson mentioned in 1884 that the heads of reservation families—from
one-half to two-thirds of the men—had been away for
166 the last four months, and added, "They generally take their
families with them on such occasions."[24] Similarly, in a predecessor
of Slabtown, over fifty families engaged in hauling logs on
sleds to the sawmill camped in tents in January to be near their
work.[25]

000 Of all the societal relationships, the government sought directly

[Klamath Reservation]

Of all the societal relationships, the government sought directly 657*
to change only those within the family. It was clear that a nation 648*
that was soon to impose upon the Mormons the American, and 595
not the Biblical family, would permit no special marital practices 177
among the Indians. Polygamy was banned, although not retroactively 178
for unions such as those of Allen David and Monchnkasgitk, which had been contracted prior to January 1, 1870. Some leaders themselves appear to have advocated the change in a desire to emulate whites. In 1877, Gatschet noted that there were still two or three polygamous men.[26] [556]
Since polygamy had been a mark of the affluent, the ban, like the emancipation of the slaves that preceded it, served to erode the status of the traditional chiefs.

An effort was also made to place under the authority of the 657*
court of chiefs certain relationships which had formerly been 648*
regulated privately between the families or individuals con- 622•
cerned. In the legal code instituted when the court was estab- 692
lished, the consecration of marriage was made the function of 685
the head chief, to whom the groom was to pay a fee of five, three, 583
or two dollars or the same amount in horses, graduated according [643]
to his means. It was again the chiefs who punished fornication [684]
and polygamy and performed divorce.[27] [586]
The traditional ritual of marriage still was being practiced by some families in the 1890's[28] but the gift exchanges between the families concerned which set a public seal on the union were superseded, and the controls exerted by the family over the couple were thereby diminished. The effects of these and other changes were recognized by Gatschet. "Matrimonial reverses . . . among the Klamath [he declared] . . are one of the unavoidable consequences of the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers at Fort Klamath."[29]

With time, the seal upon marriage came to be set by the 657*
Methodist church and its ethics in turn permitted the independ- 648*
ent of spirit to flout tradition. One woman recalled that upon 581
the death of her husband his family proposed that she wed his 587
brother in customary manner, but she refused out of regard for 177
the memory of her husband and the sanctity of the bond of their 178
marriage in the church.

> *657 To prevent a *practice* is one thing, to change the belief in the
> *648 theory which actuated that practice is quite another thing. Thus
> 756 while it is very true the *practice* of medicine by Indian doctors
> 178 is abolished yet I am fully warranted in saying that there is not
> half a dozen Indians on the Reservation who are not as firm as ever in the belief of "spiritual medicine." Even Head Chief Allan David grave, sedate, and logical as he is in most things, acknowledged to me the other day that he *still believed* and was afraid to punish the Doctors.[2]

Notwithstanding his appreciation of the difficulty in eradicating belief in this way, Meacham continued to war against the shamans, causing Link River Doctor, whom Knapp had imprisoned, to be arrested and tried for having openly defied the order against shamanistic practice.[3] Meanwhile, he hailed the ministrations of the agency physician as demonstrating "that an efficient, patient and intelligent physician can do more than almost any other person in rooting out thier [sic] faith in thier own 'spiritual' medicine, and thus opening the way for the white man's customs, laws and religion."[4]

Not all shamans were initially singled out, for many were held in esteem. Of his paternal grand-aunt, a shaman, a present-day informant recalled, "She was like a preacher and all respected her. Chief Chiloquin always called her first when he had a meeting because she had a good brain. . . . Sally had a strong power
*657 [i.e. tutelary spirit]. . . ."[5] Tecumseh, an early Agency employee
*648 and Dave Hill's companion during the lyceum tour of 1875, was
756 a noted shaman. It was the parvenu chiefs, replacing Lileks and
754 Chiloquin, who abetted the Agents; and initially, as in the code
• 622 set forth by Dave Hill, their censure was directed only against sorcery.
177 Indeed, Hill's wife wrote him that she had taken their ailing child
178 to a female shaman to be cured.[6] As Henry Blow remarked, "Since there is a white man's law among us the doctors are afraid to kill for malice or money as they did long ago, but exert the same power to heal the sick as they did."

*657 Significantly, when the court of chiefs tried Doctor John, a
*648 shaman, for having bewitched and thus slain another, the chief
756 witness against him was Sally, the woman shaman mentioned
622 above, who testifyed that in her dreams her shamanistic powers
177 had seen those of the accused.[7]

178 In 1880, Nickerson took a further step toward reducing the
[754] number of shamans, but thereby gave those who remained a

measure of official sanction. "I have recently induced their chiefs 657*
and people," he reported, "to dispense with one half or more of 648*
their native doctors, each chief and his people selecting one to 756
retain. They came into this plan more readily than I had appre- 622
hended."[8] On a visit to the Agency, Lindsay Applegate came 178
upon the new system and, in a letter bristling with indignation, 177
wrote "[Nickerson] turned to me and remarked that they ware
his indian docters that he had invited the indians to furnish to
practice with his docter at the same time [.]"[9]

Meanwhile, the growing success of the medical program upon 657*
the reservation sapped the authority of the shamans in what was 648*
their last legitimate field. The personality of Dr. Royal, who had 756
doubled as chief of police, apparently did much to win over 164
some of the chiefs, as did his treatment of syphilitic cases among 177
the Indians. (Since, as Roork had remarked, the disease had been 178
contracted by Indians in the course of their annual trading trips
to Oregon City and other points,[10] it may have had a higher
incidence in chiefly families.) They desired to retain him and,
wrote Nickerson in advocating this, "Should he remain perma-
nently the chiefs have agreed to do all they can to do away with
their Indian doctors. These Indian doctors have heretofore had
almost unbounded sway over the people."[11]

In outlawing shamanistic activities, the Agency in effect drove 657*
a wedge between the shaman and his ritual assistants: the inter- 648*
preter, caller, and singers. Since a curing seance was a public 756
demonstration, it involved too many participants to be concealed 177
easily; and the shamans, formerly among the most respected and 178
feared members of the tribe, were not given to skulking. More- [178]
over, in native theory, supernatural power waxes with use; and
when performances were no longer given frequently, that power
declined.

Recalled H. N.:

> I always seen David Hill go among the people and interpret the agent's words. Sally [the shaman] said, "I didn't do it myself, but my medicine do it. It's up to my medicine. If I do it, it's the medicine's fault." But David Hill said, "It's better for you to quit than to have trouble for yourself, or your family. That's what the agent wants."
>
> . . .
>
> Nobody ever called her after the orders were given. They might help minor things. I watched Sally. I watched her doctor.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648

668
777 shamans widened again as ordinary people ceased dreaming,
778 and shamans incorporated Dream Dance symbols and practices
756 into their rituals."[16]

While these nativistic movements were going on, the first steps
*648 were being taken to provide Christian training to replace the
*657 native faith which was being discredited. In 1872, Thomas
797 Pearne, an educated Indian from the Yakima reservation, had been appointed interpreter. During that year, until his resignation to return to Washington Territory in the following spring, he carried on missionary work among the Klamath, bringing
• [622] thirty-six into the church. Among them was Lileks, who at his death three years later was numbered among the "Praying Indians."[17]

The following year, the Reverend James Harer was appointed Commissary at Yainax, where for a brief period he preached at religious meetings which were well attended.[18] By 1876, the Agent at the Lower End and the farmer at Yainax still were holding forth. Employees had volunteered to advance half the salary for a missionary if the Methodist Missionary Society would match the amount; but nothing came of it.[19] Roork, the following year, took a number of the principal men and women, along with some scholars from the Indian School, to the annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Salem, probably in another appeal for a missionary.[20]

The flavor of those early meetings is preserved in one of the letters to Dave Hill, dictated in 1875 by Allen David.

> After we had had our talk at the Agency I sent word for all the people to come to my house to talk about these things, and see who would agree to listen to what Dave, Tecumseh and I had said, and who would get our hearts and who would not. I told them to come on Sunday the Lord's day and we would all the same as mammook [make, hold] church, we would make good hearts and the Lord would mammook close nanish [take good care of] us on his day. So some Yainax Inds.—Brown Mosenkosket and some Modocs, some Lake Inds., some Chiloquin's people and some of all the Inds. came. Chikaskane first spoke and said that at first he had a bad heart. That the chiefs first listened to the Agents and got their hearts and then tried to get the other Inds. to get the same hearts; that they had put him in the guard house which was right, and Mr. Dyar was also right for he was in the wrong and all the same as said to the Chiefs

*648 778 *657 797

> Make them better men and women." He was a Methodist preacher and was a big man. He had a loud voice and was a good singer. He was awfully strict. He didn't want the Indians to get into trouble. He said, "If you don't mind me, I will put you in jail or put a ball and chain on you." And he did. So the Indians behaved well, you know. I understood what he said, and it sounded good to me and after they interpreted his sermon in Klamath, the old Indians liked it too. Testimonies were then given. . . . The preacher read from the scriptures and made sermon. . . . He said, "I want people to come together and work together as one."[36]

*648 *657 793 756 177 178 The emergence of native preachers provides another illustration of the confrontation of native and American roles. From the Indian viewpoint, the role of shaman did not coincide with that of the American preacher, for in aboriginal times the shaman's duties had encompassed curative powers, and through sorcery and counter-sorcery he had come to wield quasipolitical influence as well. Now healing lay within the duties of the Agency physician, while political sway had passed progressively, first to the raid-and-trade leaders and latterly to the Agency chiefs.

*648 *657 793 • 622 537 177 178 On the other hand, points of resemblance existed between the traditional role of the chief and that of the preacher. The sermon, the most distinctive and formal exercise of the minister, as the Indian saw him, corresponded most closely with the exhortations to a better life given by chiefs to followers and by elders to the young. The correspondence of preaching with political authority was furthered by the circumstance that a number of Agents had assumed the responsibility of preaching to the Indians. Among those realizing the linkage in their actions were Dave Hill and, to a lesser extent, Lileks, Allen David, and Henry Blow. Jesse Kirk, soon to become a preacher, later applied that office to political ends.

*648 *657 776 177 178 In the Klamath view of the supernatural order, syncretism set in early, probably as the result of an Indian effort to reconcile native and Christian belief. The trickster-transformer figure of Gmukamps, known in myth by the epithets, "Earth-Maker" and "The One Above," became identified by some with God, although his trickster exploits led others to reject this. Within the first decade of reservation life, Christian dualism, seizing upon the first correspondence, became responsible for the coining of

*648 those Indians who were "ready, competent and willing" to re-
*657 ceive lands in severalty, to report such opposition as might be
423 raised, "and . . . endeavor to overcome it by pointing out the
advantages of individual ownership."[3]

A month later Emery reported on a council that he had called,
• [622] at which he and Captain Carpenter had explained the law. "The
[666] Indians," he continued, "were then permitted to council among themselves for an hour, when, by the request of the Chiefs and leading men, they were again called together, and requested to be given the privilege to vote—which was given—nearly all present voting in affirmative. The number present was estimated at 600." Later he held another council at Yainax "at which were over 200 Indians, nearly all of whom received favorably the proposition of the Government." At another passage he noted, "no leading Indian opposes the measure."[4] Over 800 names were enrolled for allotment, out of a total of 933.

By the provisions of the act as amended in 1891, each enrolled
[311] member was to receive a single allotment, comprising one-eighth of a section (80 acres) of farming land or double the amount of grazing land. Emery termed the Klamath a grazing reservation with a proportion of agricultural to pastoral lands of one to twenty-five; and accordingly requested that double allotments be issued and that all eligible members take turns at selecting the first allotment, repeating by rotation on the second tract. "This," he observed, " will distribute the good land *more equally* among the Indians." Matthews, terming the mountainous portions of the reservation worthless, advocated that after allotment these acres be held in common by the tribe.[5]

The actual allotment of land was delayed several years, pending settlement of a controversy over the external boundaries of the reservation and of the overlapping claims of the California and Oregon Land Company, successor to the Military Road tracts. The Indians grew somewhat restive under the delay, and Matthews found it necessary to warn that "should the Indians be persuaded to give up their surplus lands before they have made improvements upon their allotments I fear there would be much dissatisfaction among them."[6] Only in 1895 did Maj. Charles E. Worden, assisted by Jesse Kirk as interpreter, launch

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

No sooner had the party of nine pupils finally gotten under 648*
way than Applegate received a letter from the Commissioner 657*
calling attention to a letter sent him, apparently by Jesse Kirk 871
himself. In it, the writer accused Police Captain Joseph Kirk, a part-Modoc, and Judge Jack Palmer, a Lower End Klamath, of using their influence against sending children to nonreservation schools. "There are two parties here," wrote Applegate, "who [865]
oppose each other on nearly all propositions, the two leaders of which are Captain Joseph Kirk and Rev. Jesse Kirk, half brothers, and who are among our most advanced and able men." He promised to refer the matter to Gen. A. C. Hawley, a Special Agent then visiting Klamath.[15]

Ironically, Jesse Kirk's stand was soon reversed. Soon after he had deposited his sons at Carlisle, the elder boy, Clayton, in company with another pupil, Joseph Ball, ran away and was only recaptured in Pittsburgh. In Applegate's view, Joe Ball, an interbreed and a product of the public school in Klamath Falls, was the ringleader of the escapade and had led his more impressionable companion astray.[16] The senior Kirk thereupon sought to have both sons returned, and Applegate tried to put him off.[17] To Major Pratt at Carlisle he wrote ruefully:

> . . . I have been reconsidering the idea of sending you a class and even regret that I did send the class of nine, as things have turned out. It is hard to get pure bloods to go, and the pressure to get away from the reservation to our non-reservation schools is almost invariably from the mixed element. The Klamaths and Modocs are a determined lot and Rev. Jesse Kirk, son of a resolute old warchief, is no exception to the rule. A short time ago the principal champion of Carlisle he is now ready to move Heaven and Earth to secure the return of his boys since Clayton's escapade, and I wish they were all back."[18]

This action brought into confrontation an embattled Agent 648*
and the defiant leaders of the reservation. In Jesse Kirk the 657*
Indians has as leader a product of those very "civilizing" forces 622 •
upon which the government had rested sanguine hopes. The son 159
and namesake of one of the treaty signatories, we have encountered him previously as schoolboy and carpenter's apprentice, as interpreter and as ordained Methodist preacher. In 1886 a representative of the Indian Rights Association characterized him as "a superior man, in poor health and great poverty, . . .

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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 working without salary or assistance of any kind, for the moral
*657 and religious improvement of his people. He has a great thirst
• 622 for knowledge, but has no books, not even a Bible, only some torn
159 fragments of an old one."[19] From Nickerson's time on he had served as judge in the Court of Indian Offenses, while he had likewise been in the forefront of several actions earlier detailed. Thus, in 1896 he was one of five men advocating that money received for pasture be distributed equally among tribal members and that the price for grazing be raised.[20]

Applegate, who had long known him, had gone out of his way to endorse Kirk's financial credit. That he tended to be somewhat slow in paying his debts is more than suggested by a partisan letter written late in the clash by one of Applegate's friends, formerly a trader at the Agency.[21] There is little question that the attention Kirk received magnified his own opinion of his status. In Washington, he gave as his title, "Delegate and Representative Agent of the Klamath Indians of Oregon," suggestive of the equality with the U.S. Indian Agent toward which he aspired. Indeed, ambition of this character, blunted by an administrative surrogacy, was one of the unacknowledged ingredients of the new spirit abroad on the reservation.

*648 On the Upper End, Henry Jackson, at the summit of his power,
*657 chafed under restraint. A former employer recalled him in the
571 time of his power,

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> . . . riding day after day like a feudal lord accompanied by his buskined and bespurred henchmen, often white men among them, looking after his cattle on a thousand hills. Henry Jackson is generous and hospitable. No weary traveller is turned away from his mansion, no matter what his race may be, and of the many Indians who appeal to him for financial aid, few are refused. Especially are the people of his home tribe welcomed to his bounty, and when any of them come to Klamath from the Moatwas land on Pit River, his house is their home. He has been known to go to Bonanza, the nearest white Trading Post, and make his neighbors happy by calling for their accounts, amounting to hundreds of dollars, and settling them in full.[22]

Knott C. Egbert, superintendent of the Yainax school and the administrator in charge of the Upper End, saw Henry Jackson somewhat differently. Upon the pages of his reports the "feudal lord" appears as a man defiant of authority and addicted to drink.

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32. Spaid (1950), pp. 174, 193-94, 194, n.3.

33. *Contra*: Spier (1930), p. 8, n.25, and Stern (1956), p. 250. Lula Lang, the source for my earlier statement and, she claims, for Spier's as well, in the interval had requestioned her informant, Lotches, a member of the party and now dead. According to him, the Klamath made their way home taking turns walking and riding their few ponies. No wagons, supplies, or military escort were furnished them.

34. Bancroft (1888), II, p. 375; Clark (1927), I, p. 552; Spaid (1950), p. 192, n.4.

35. *Report* . . . , U.S. 35th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 2 (1857-58), Vol. 2, 299.

36. Bancroft (1888), II, pp. 437-38, 476, 477, n.25; Good (1941), p. 44.

37. *Report* . . . , U.S. 38th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1863-64), Vol. 3, 174-78. See Stern (1956), p. 253, n.76, for additional data.

38. The statement of Elijah Steele (1852) and that of Rosborough are from letters to Col. C. S. Drew dated, respectively, Nov. 15, 1857, and Nov. 23, 1857. They were in answer to requests for information on the part of Drew and are part of a manuscript entitled, "Statement of Inhabitants of Southern Oregon and Northern California in regard to the character and conduct of the Modoc Indians." The manuscript, in the Bancroft Library, bears the designation P-A 57.

39. Letter of E. Steele to A. H. Steele, in Riddle (1914), pp. 262-82. Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, pp. lxii, n.19-21, 21-25. The statement by Henry Blow is contained in his letter to Dave Hill, to be found in the Appendix. It places the event in the administration of Lincoln.

Note that the Klamath Lake chief was distinct from another individual, Chief George, Sleketatk, a Klamath-Modoc interbreed who signed the treaty of 1864 as a Modoc. See Stern (1956), p. 257, n.84. [622]

40. Data on the Applegates come from the Lindsay and O. C. Applegate *Papers*. Military post: Lindsay Applegate to Gen. Benjamin Alvord (May 3, 1873). For Huntington's service with Applegate, see "Muster roll of Captain Lindsay Applegate's detatchment [sic] of Oregon volunteers . . . from the 22nd, August, 1853 . . ." O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

41. See Riddle (1914) for sketches of Rosborough and Steele; Nash (1937), pp. 389 ff., 397 ff., though much of this dates to the time of the Modoc War; and letters to be cited below.

42. Steele's opinion is quoted in a letter from Amos E. Rogers to J. W. Perit Huntington (Aug. 19, 1863). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

43. J. W. P. Huntington in *Report* . . . , U.S. 38th Cong., 1st sess.,

Carrie: Male, Age 36

Background Data

156 Carrie is the model of a self-made, upwardly mobile, brash and back-slapping
*159 young American male. He is a tribal leader whose power is rooted in an amalgamation of various dissident elements, rather than in a large kin group, and a
[622] business man with numerous interests. He says, of himself, that "I have no occupation, as occupations go. I guess you might say I am a confidence man."

*159 Like the other subjects, Carrie was raised on a ranch by his parents. He is a high school graduate and a graduate of a junior college course in accounting.
[873] His work record suggests his ambition and his upward progression, for he started as a farm laborer, went to truck driving, then worked during World War II as
[464] a production machinist, completed his education, then worked for the Agency and, finally, was able to settle down to living off his several sources of income. He has never been out of the state except for short business trips. He spends most of his time on the reservation attending to tribal and his own business,
156 and participating in various voluntary and formal associations. More recently
*159 he has become active in politics on a local level and by some has been ear-marked as a "comer." His intellectual horizons are very wide, extending to a keen
[66] awareness of the difficulties faced by Dag Hammarskjold. His reputation is excellent and he is particularly esteemed by many Whites, although this esteem is
[626] not shared by all Klamath, which reflects only the factionalism of Klamath politics and, perhaps, the efforts of some to control a man who is too successful.

[184] Carrie has been married once and this marriage has lasted 15 years. He has six children and his family life, again, is precisely what might be expected of a successful young American. Carrie's entire style of life is entirely different from that of most other young Klamath men.

*159 Very little is known of Carrie's early life except that his background is rural Klamath and that his mother was a housewife and his father an indifferently and intermittantly employed laborer.

156 The writer never made much headway with understanding Carrie until the day he was brow-beaten into taking the Rorschach. Before this time he had been seen
124 only as an aggressive, back-slapping, competitive, and somewhat empty character. He had agreed to testing, but had managed to slip out of several appointments until one day when the entire complement of field workers descended on him during a visit, arguing and insisting that he had to set the example. Carrie was thus hung on his own petard, and when we walked into the testing room there was some question as to who was the most fearful of the consequences of this episode, Carrie or the examiner. Carrie was manifestly tense and fearful, but in a very short period of time relaxed and accepted the test situation. Rapport was excellent, and Carrie clearly defined the situation as one where he should discuss
156 his private concerns, motives, and sentiments. From sessions like this it became evident that Carrie's brash front consisted of a set of behaviors he saw as appropriate to his position. That is, the social Carrie was a well defined role. Behind this persona lay a genuine concern with the welfare of tribal members and their future, as well as strong personal aspirations, deep committments to family and community, and fears associated with his private feeling that he was not an adequate or relaxed "mixer." He stated, for example, that "I guess I just don't have the courage to get out, even among my own people. I'm not much of a talker and I guess you'd say I'm kind of backward. I really prefer to be alone by myself." Some of this apprehensiveness is associated

175 Alexander S. Taylor has the following passage in his "California
● 622 Farmer" of June 22, 1860: "Cumtukus, Lalacks, Schonches, and Tertupkark are names of chiefs among Klamath Lake Indians of the Oukskenah tribe. The big Klamath Lake is called Toakwa." Except the first, the above head-men were all identified in the Dictionary with the well-known names of Lelékash, Skóntchish (a Modoc chief) and Tatápkaksh. Cumtukni, who died about 1866, is mentioned by Stephen Powers as a great orator, prophet, and rain-maker.†

175 Whether the two incursions made upon the Klamath Lake people by
648 the Rogue River Indians of Tinné lineage, across the Cascade range, of
726 which detailed accounts were furnished in our Texts by Dave Hill, took place about 1855 or earlier I have not the means of ascertaining. The Lake tribe were not slow in inflicting vengeance upon the attacking party, for they crossed the mountain pass and fell upon the camps of their enemies, making sad havoc among them.

Frequent disputes and encounters occurred between the two chieftaincies and the *Shasti Indians* around Yreka, California; but the warlike qualities of the latter were often too strong for the aggressors, and the conflicts were not very bloody.† With the Pit River or Móatwash tribe the matter was different. They were not, like the Shasti, possessed of the warrior spirit, and therefore had to suffer terribly from the annual raids perpetrated upon them. In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place at The Dalles. Some of these raids were provoked by horse-stealing, others by greed for gain and plunder, and the aggressors never suffered heavily thereby. When they began is not known, but the treaty of 1864
000 put an end to them. The recitals in the Texts, pages 19–27 and 54, 55,

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* Overland Monthly, 1873, June number, page 540. His appearance had something fascinating for the Indians, and some are said to have traveled two hundred miles to consult him. His name appears to be Kúmᵉtakni="coming from a cave," or "living in a cave."

† One of these fights took place between the Shasti, Modoc, and Trinity River Indians for the possession of an obsidian quarry north of Shasta Butte, mentioned by B. B. Redding in American Naturalist, XIII, p. 668, et seq., and Archiv f. Anthropologie, XIV, p. 425.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM MÁKLAKSAM NÉ-ULAKS.

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[115]

LEGAL CUSTOMS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

GIVEN BY SUBCHIEF DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

I.

E-ukskni nä'd tchí tchía gitá: P'lú lakí tútasχēnini, nū'ds Dave
Lake-people we then live here: Blow is chief general, and I Dave
Hill lakí P'lúash tapí'tan, Lánk-Tchān Dávish tapí'tan, tchē'k tchish Link
Hill am chief to Blow second, Long John Dave after, then too Link
River Jack Lánk-Tchánash tapí'tan, Lílu ta.
River Jack Long John after, and Lílu.

Pit River Charley Móatuasham lakí E-ukshí'.
Pit River Charley of Pit River people is the chief at the Lake.

Ben Littlejohn lálaki, Skóntchiesh lakí Yainakskíshām máklaksam.
Ben (and) Littlejohn are the chiefs, Skóntchiesh is (sub-) chief of the Yáneks people.
Johnson lakí Moadoknísham Yaínakshi. George Kuatí'lak ta Módokni
Johnson is chief of Modocs at Yáneks. George Kuatílak also is Modoc
lakí tapí'tan Jóhnsonash.
chief after Johnson.

Tcháktot Sátam lakí.
Tcháktot of Snake Indians is chief.

II.

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[682]
[684]
[685]
[681]

Nánuk laláki Ä'-uksi nä'dsant shiū'lgishtat tsí sa hémkank:
All the chiefs on Klamath Lake on one and same reservation thus they speak:

Ká-i i shlí-uapk shash: ksaggayuapká m's ní; ká-i i palluápk sas
Not you shall shoot each other: would hang you I; not you seduce each other's
snáwedsh: spûlhi-uapká m's ní, hä' i sas pálluapk. Ká-i i wátsam tchí'k-
wives: would imprison you I, if you them seduce. Not you a horse shall
luapk wännikí'sham; hä'doks i tchíkluapk, spulhi-uapká m's ní. Ká-i i
ride of another man; but if you should ride, would imprison you I. Not you
pálluapk sas nánuktua, hä'doks i pálluapk sas spûlhi-uápka m's ní.
shall steal from each other anything, for if you should steal from each other would imprison you I.
(Nánuktua ká-i i pálluapk; hä'doks i yekä'-uapk nä'-ulaks, hunkantí'
(Nothing you must steal; for if you should break the laws, thereat
m's ní shetcháktanuapk.) Hä'doks i snawä'dsh Bóshtinash shä'tolakuapk,
at you I would get angry.) If you, as a female, with a white man should sleep,
któtchkuapka m's ní. Hä'doks i hä'sχalp'luapk nánuktua shéshatuish m'na,
will cut off hair to you I. If you should have returned to yourself the whole marriage fee his,

*539 622 692 [684]
sχóktnank i häsχálp'luapk, hunkantchä' mîsh nî k̲á-i né-ulakuapk: waké-
paying you should re-obtain it, on account of that you I not shall try; per-
anhua spû'lhi-uapk. Hä î híshuaksh pálluapk snawä'dshash, hä'doks
haps (I) will imprison. If you, as a married man, seduce a married woman, if
î ná-änt snawä'dshash shetō'lakuapk, nä-ulakuapká m's nî. Hä î k̲í'-
you another with wife cohabit, shall punish you I. If you should
uapka ts, nä'-ulakuapka m's nî.
lie also, would punish you I.

[687]
Hä'toks î nä's lúlûksaluapk k̲'lä'kapksh, mû' mîsh nî nä'-ulakuapk.
And if you a person should cremate, who is dead, heavily you I shall punish.

[683]
Hä' î kiúks tsîs táwi-uapk, mû' mîsh nî nä'-ulakuapk. Hä î shishókuapk
If you as a conjurer should bewitch, hard you I shall chastise. If you have a fight

[593]
illí-uapka m's nánukäns; hä î snawä'dsh mî sissókuapk, ilhí'-uapka m's
I will lock up all of ye; if you (and) wife your should fight, will lock up you
nî lápuk sumseálĕmamka. Hä î shuhánk-sitk sissókuapk, lápuk mîsh nî
I both married folks. If you evenly whip each other, both of ye I
nä'-ulakuapk; hä'toks snä'wedsh î mî udópkuapk, tchúi mîsh k̲á-i sekák-
will punish; but if wife you your beat, and to you not returns
tsuapk hûk snáwädsh, k̲á-i nî nä'-ulakuapk snawä'dshash, mí'sh nî hissuák-
blows the wife, not I will punish the wife, you I, the hus-
shash spû'lhi-uapk. Hä î tuánksî wudsháyuapk hû'nkst, mí'sh nî mû'ak
band, will imprison. If you anywhere bruise her, you I more heavily
nä'-ulakuapk; hä'toks lak̲í û'dopkuapk snawä'dsh m'na, snäkĕluápka nî.
shall punish; but if a chief bruises wife his, shall remove (him) I.

[683] [685]
Hä'toks î hí'hashuaksh shishókuapk, lápuk mish nî ilhí-uapk. Hä'toks
If you with men should fight, both of ye I will lock up. If
î shnä'lχuapk látchash mû' mish nî nä'-ulakuapk.
you set on fire a lodge hard you I will chastise.

Hä lak̲í shishókuapk humâshtak nî shnäkĕlui-uápka; hä' tchik lak̲í
If a chief starts a fight, in the same manner I shall remove (him); if a chief
húntsak a mák̲laksas shishókuapk, lápĕni, ndánni, tánknî shishókuapk,
for no reason people should beat, twice, thrice, many times should beat,
tánkt nî snä'kĕlui-uapka nî. Hä' tchik î'-alhîsh tchîsh k̲úi gí'uapk, shnä-
then I shall remove (him) I. If a guardian wrong does, shall
kĕluí-uapka ní; hä nánuktua k̲úi gí'uapka, tánkt nî shnäkĕlui-uápkan
remove (him) I; if in everything wrong does (he), then I will remove (I)
î'-allhishash; hä'toks î'alhish tíds, nanuktuánta tídsh gí'uapk, k̲á-i nî shnä-
the watchman; but if watchman well, all through well shall act, not I will
kĕluí-uapk. Lak̲iásh tchîsh tídsh gîsht k̲á-i nî shnäkĕlúi-uapk; hä Bóshtin
remove (him). A chief also doing his duty not I will remove; if white-man-
yálank nä'-ulapkuapk, tí'dsh hûnk gí'uapk, k̲á-i nî hûnk wutódshanuapk.
alike he deals, right he shall act, not I him will cast away.

[689]
K̲á-i î hussí'nuapk; hä'toks î hussí'nuapk nû hû'nk î'-amnuapk î'χaks
Not you must run horse-races; but if you run horse-races I the will take away gain
mî. Tchí lak̲í nä'-ulχa.
your. So the chief orders.

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[684]

Hä' i k̲ä'liak híshuaksh ná-änds sätólakuapk, hû'k tchish híssuaks
If you, not having a husband, with another should cohabit, this also man
k̲ä'liak snáwädsh, spû'lhi-uapka nû kä'lish snáwedsh. Hä hû'ksa heshtó-
(is) without a wife, shall imprison I the unmarried (man). If they should live
lakuapk, hû'nk ni túmĕnuk nä'-ulakuapk spúlhi-uapka nu hishuáks hû'nk.
in concubinage, of it I hearing will punish (and) will imprison I man that.
Tchí' Ä'-ukskni lalák̲i nä'-ulĕka tchí' huk käílatat m'nálam; tsúi k̲í'llitk
So the Klamath Lake chiefs order as they in district their; and severe (is)
nä'-ulaks lalák̲iam.
the law of the chiefs.

[585]

Hä'toks i sû'msealstka gíuapk sí-í'huapk i lápuk, snawä'dshash
And if you on the point of marriage should be and should agree you both, female
hissuáksh tchí'sh, tsúi i gépkuapk lak̲iámksi; tsúi mí'sh lak̲í snû'mpsä-
male also, then you must come to chief's house; and you the chief will unite in
aluapk, tû'nep i n's tála skû'ktanuapk hû'nk píl mû'yäns pí'la lák̲iash;
wedlock, five you to me dollars shall pay only to the principal only chief;
hä'toks i yúalks, tsí hû'k i ndán tála, wakiánhua lä'p tála skû'ktanuapk.
but if you (are) poor, then you three dollars, may be two dollars have to pay.
Hä i yuálks tsi gíuapk súmsä-aluapk, gä't i n's skû'ktanuapk. Häts i
If you poor should be (and) intend to marry, that much you to me have to pay. And if you
skû'ktish háměniuk tû'ma wátch gitk, túnip i skû'ktanuapk snawä'dshash;
to pay want of many horses possessed, five (horses) you can give in payment for the wife;
hä'toks yúalks tsí i lápi wátch skû'ktanuapk, wakiánhua ndán wátch,
and if poor you two horses can pay, or perhaps three horses,
tû'ma-kans wátch gí'tkiug.
many horses when having.

[586]

Hä' tchi m's snawä'dsh gû'skuapk, k̲á-i i wátch shnû'kp'li-uapk
And if you (your) wife should leave, not you the horses can take back
k̲á-i tch snawä'dsh hûk wátch spuní'-uapka m'sh; i pí'l i hissuáksh píl
and not (your) wife a horse need transfer to you; you alone, you husband only
shä'wanuapk snawä'dshash gû'shkank.
must give (them) (your) wife when leaving.

[595]
[684]

K̲á-i i láp snawä'dsaluapk; nä'sak i snawä'dslank gíuapk; hä'toks i
Not you two wives shall marry; one only you marrying must live; but if you
láp snawä'dsaluapk, nä'-ulakuapka m'sh. Hä' tchík wéwanuish lä'pi gíug
two wives marry, shall punish (I) you. If the wives double for being
hishtcháktanuapk, tánkt mí'sh ni skuyû'shkuapk snáwädsh nä'sh; tsûshní'
should quarrel, then from you I shall divorce wife one; forever
m'sh ni skuyû'shkuapk, k̲á-i i tatá mbushäálp'luapk. Hä'toks i mbuseál-
from you I shall sever her, not you ever can marry her again. And if you associate again

[586]

p'luapk spûlhi-uapká m'sh ni. Häts nä'dsiak mí snawä'ds tsû'ssak i
(with her) shall imprison you I. And if monogamic your with wife constantly you
hishtcháktanuapk, tánkt mísh ni skuyû'shkuapk, ampkáak i hishû'kat;
should quarrel, finally from you I shall separate (her), or else ye may kill each other;

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hû'masht mish ni gíug skuyû'shkuapk. Hä ni skuyû'shkuapka m'sh,
therefore ye I will separate. If I should separate (her) from you,
tsû'shni m'sh ni skuyû'shkuapk.
forever from you I shall divorce (her).

Ḵá-i mish ni hû'nk ḵí'tgik; nánuktuanta káktak píla m's n hû'nk hém-
Not you I that to tell lies told; about everything to tell the truth alone to you I that to
kanktgik; nä'-ulakt gí'tki i snawä'dshash tchí'sh káktak píl. Ḵá-i n
tell said; to observe the laws you wife also to tell the truth only. Not I
hû'nk gí'tkik m's píla, hihashuákshash tchísh nánukänsh.
this to do tell to you only, (but) to men too all (others.)

III.

[689]

Snáwedsh tchik shû'ldshash shetólχa, tsúi nát któktatska; at hûnk
A female (if) with a soldier copulates, then we cut her hair off; she
yaḵä'wa nä'-ulaka, ḵá-i hû'nk tû'mĕna shunû'kanksh nálam laláḵiam.
broke the law, not she listens to the behests of our chiefs.
Tchúi tchik titátna heshaχálpĕli sésatuish m'nálam, tsúi sχō'ktnank tchä'k
Also sometimes she reobtains through barter the price paid (for her) to them, and by paying
héshaχalpĕli. Tsúi snawä'dsh tchísh násh híshuaksh wutódshish m'na pä'n
she reobtains it. And wife one husband who repudiated his again
hû'nk snúkp'la, tsúi nä'-ulĕkan titátnan hû'masht-gisht shnû'kp'lisht lä'p
her takes up, then chastise I (him) sometimes I because he took her back for two
sháppash spû'lhí, titatnatóks ni ndán sháppash, títatna tchín násh sháppash
months imprison, but sometimes I for three months, at times and I for one month
spû'lhí. Tsúi tch' hishtchákta hû'k kat lalápa wä'wans gítk; tsúi tsin nä'-
imprison (him). And quarrel they who two wives have; and thus I or-
ulḵa skuyû'shkan. Ḵá-i ni nä'-ulĕχa, sguyushkuyá ni; gä'tak. Títatna
der (and) separate (them) I. No more I try (them) in court, separate just I; that's the end of it. Sometimes
tch pálla shash ná-änts hihassuáksas snáwädsh, tchúi ni nä'-ulḵan ndán
also seduces (them) other married men a female, then I try (her) I (and) for three
sáppash spû'lhi.
months imprison.

[683]
[593]

Tchúi shishóka títatna, tchúi náyäns wudsáya; hû'nkst ni násh sû'ndē
And they fight sometimes, and others they injure; him I one week
spû'lhi, kát sas hû'k wudsháya. Títatna tch shishóka shipapĕlánkstant hak,
imprison, who them has whipped. At times also they have fights among each other only,
ḵá-i shû'tka, sissukúya hak; tsúi ni né-ulĕka hû'nkiasht kákat hûk sissóka.
not injure, but scuffle merely; then I try those who had the row.
Láp sû'ndin lapukáyäns ilhí'. Títatna udû'pka hissuáksh snawä'dsh m'na;
For two weeks I both parties lock up. Sometimes whips a husband wife his;
hû'nks ni hissuáksas spû'lhi ndán sû'ndē; hä kána udópkpakuapk snáwedsh
that I husband lock up for three weeks; if roughly he should whip wife
m'na, hû'masht n'unk gíug ndán súndē spû'lhi. Títatna tch snáwädsh
his, on that account I him for three (other?) weeks imprison. Sometimes also a wife

*539 622 692 hishnáksh m'na wudópka, tsúi ni snawä'dshash hû'nk nä'-ulχ, ká-i hû'nk
husband here whips, then I wife that punish, not the
hishuákshash, láp súndē.
husband, for two weeks.

[593] [683] Tsúi tchik kíuks tchi'sh títatna tawí shash, tsúi hûk k'lĕká tawí'sh.
Then a conjurer also at times bewitches them, and dies the bewitched one.

[683] Tsúi ni nä'-ulχa, tsúi tû'nip sháppash spû'lhi síukst; tsúi tchik wátch nish
Then I try (him), and for five months imprison for manslaughter; and (if) horses to me

[593] sχókta tû'nip, tsúi ni ká-i spû'lhit sχoktí'sht nish. Tsúi tch lakí ts ktû'pka
he pays five, then I not may imprison (him), he having paid me. And (if) a chief beats

m'na snáwädsh, tsúi ni snä'kĕlua; gä'tak lakí gi hûk.
his wife, then I remove (him); no longer chief remains he.

NOTES.

[177] 58–62. The legal practices, regulations, and ordinances given here by a subchief of the Klamath Lake tribe are observed by all the chiefs; and are apparently fashioned after American models. The principle which seems to guide most of the judicial decisions of the chiefs, is given in one (59, 20. 21) of these regulations: "If a chief makes law like white people, that will be right."* This article is composed of three parts:

Part I. List of the chiefs acting as judges on the reservation in 1877.

Part II. Legal customs governing the Klamath Lake people.

Part III. Instances of application of these legal customs; amount of fines, terms of imprisonment, etc. These are the "*novellæ*" of Klamath legislation.

58, 1–3. P'lú, Lilu, and some other headmen mentioned here have signed the treaty of Oct. 14, 1864.

[563] [657] 58, 4. Móatuash. There are only two Pit River *families* living on the whole reservation.

58, 8. Tcháktot belongs to the Yahúskin tribe of Snake Indians. Cf. Ind. Aff. Report 1873, p. 324.

[193] 58, 10 etc. The future tense employed in these behests, regulations and defenses recalls the French future used in an impressive manner instead of the imperative: *tu ne tueras point, tu ne déroberas point.*

58, 10. shlí-uapk shash. The pronoun shash has here almost the force of a reciprocal pronoun, for the meaning of the sentence is: "do not shoot at people of your own tribe." The same is true of sas in palluápk sas, 58, 10; 56, 13 (twice); pálla shash, 61, 14.

[194] 58, 10. ksaggayuapkámsui is pronounced as one word, as the removal of the accent from the syllable -uápk demonstrates; and so in many of the following verbs standing in the future tense. For the sake of clearness, I have preferred to resolve these forms graphically into their component elements.

[192] [193] 58, 11. wátsam, etc. The possessive wátsam stands here instead of the instrumental case watsátka through attraction from wännikísham. Tchíkla here means to ride away on another's horse, the horse being missed by his owner.

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* Dave Hill introduces himself in the first person as chief; but many of these decisions can be given by the headchief only, not by any of the subchiefs, to whose number Dave Hill belonged. The Modocs at Yáneks claim to observe these regulations; the Snake Indians do not.

*539 58, 15. shetcháktanuapk stands for the more common form: shitcháktanuapk.

622 58, 16. nánuktua shéshatuish m'na: "all what your husband has transferred to
692 your parents to obtain your hand"; m'na stands for hishuáksham. Cf. 61, 8.

193 192 59, 7. mish, *you, to you*, is often used in this article for málash, málsh, *ye, to ye*, in allocutions to two or more persons. This is a way of expressing what may be called the "inclusive plural of the second person". This mode of speaking is observed in m's lápuk, 59, 7; lápuk mish, 59, 7. In the same manner î stands for ât, 59, 8: î sissókuapk, if ye whip each other; also 60, 22.

59, 9. î mî stands for mish mî.

59, 17. hă k̲úi gí'uapk: if he should fail to do his duty; 59, 19. hă túdsh gí'uapk: if he does his duty well; nanuktuánta: in every respect.

59, 22. î'χaks mî: what you may win by betting on the horses engaged in the race.

60, 2. kä'lish is the objective case of kä'liak, kéliak, "not having", the simple form of which, without -ak, would be kä'li or kä'liu (kä'li hû).

583 60, 11. túma wátch gitk. The horses have, of course, to be transferred to the parents of the bride and not to any of the chiefs.

231 60, 12. wátch. The horses owned by the Klamath Lake and Modoc people are valued from 20 to 25 dollars each; they descend from the hardy, enduring race of Cayuse ponies, and were originally obtained by bartering commodities with the Columbia River Indians at the Dalles, Oregon.

192 193 60, 15. wátch spuni'-uapka; wátch refers to *one* horse only, for the verb spuni', to transfer, is used of one (living) object only; shäwána is: to give *many* objects. "Not even one horse your wife has to give to you, if she leaves you; but if you leave her, you must give her several."

177 595 60, 17. láp snawä'dshla. Polygamy was abolished by the headmen of the tribe shortly after the establishment of the reservation, and this ruling was one of the greatest benefits ever conferred upon that tribe by the progress of civilization. But those who had several wives then were not compelled to dismiss all but one, and so in 1877 two or three men were still polygamists. The irascible and excitable disposition of the Modoc and Klamath females must have produced many chin-music intermezzos with their husbands at the time when polygamy was predominant.

193 61, 3. K̲á-i mi'sh etc. In this paragraph, in: k̲i'tgik, káktak, hémkanktgik, gitkik, the terminal k contains the abbreviated gi, which joined to the foregoing nû, n means *I said*. The construction runs as follows: Hû'nk ni gî k̲á-i mish k̲i'tgi; nánuktuanta káktak gi pîla m's n hû'nk hémkanktki gi; nä'-ulakt gí'tki î snawä'dshash tchi'sh káktak gi pîl. K̲á-i etc.

61, 6. tchik. This particle does not mean *if*, but cannot be rendered *here* (and below) with a more appropriate word. It is identical with tchĕk, *then*. A subordinate clause is here expressed by a co-ordinate one. Cf. 61, 9. 10. 12. 62, 4.

192 193 61, 6. któktatska: "we clip their hair in every instance", is the distributive form of któtchka, któtska, occurring in 58, 16.

61, 9. Tsúi etc. This inverted sentence has to be construed as follows: Tsúi tchish násh bíshuaksh wutódshish snawä'dsh m'na pä'n hû'nk snúkp'la, tsúi nä'-ulĕkan etc.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	NV	
2627. Both paternal, maternal	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	.	.	+	622
2628. Primogeniture	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	°+	+	.	–	–	+	[611]
2629. Oldest member paternal lineage	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
2630. Only if direct heir too young	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2631. Brother of deceased chief	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	.	+	+	+	
2632. Only if direct heir too young			+						+	–	°+	–	.	–	–	–	
2633. Brother's son	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	+	
Qualifications for Appointment																	
2634. Character and knowledge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		
2635. Possession of wealth	–	–	+	.	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[556]
2636. Good speaker, and "talks to everyone"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
Appointment																	
2637. Chosen at assembly of elders	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	.	+	+	+	[623]
2638. Chosen at assembly of all males	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	–	.	–	–	–	
2639. Women sometimes attend and speak			–				+	–	–	–	.	+	.	–	–	–	[562]
2640. Incumbent may select successor	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	+	
2641. New leader may be appointed before incumbent dies	–	+	+				+	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	+	–	
2642. Headmen of other groups select or help select new leader	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	+	
2643. Approval of community required	+	+	–	–	+	[illegible]	–	+	+	–	+	–	.	–	–	–	
Tenure																	
2644. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2645. Dependent on satisfactory behavior	–	–	+	+	+	°+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	
2646. May be deposed by killing	–	–	–	+	–	°+	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–	.	°–	
Title																	
2647. Individual title	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
2648. Title extended to children	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	
2649. To daughter only	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2650. Daughter called by special title													–	–	°+	–	
2651. Title extended to wife; "chief's wife"	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	.	–	+	
Insignia																	
2652. Wears "hairpin" with quail crest at ceremonies																+	[301]
2653. Chief only person who uses eagle feathers													–	–	+	–	[237]
Activities and Duties																	
2654. Hunts, fishes for self	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	°–	–	+	°+	+	–	–	+	–	
2655. Relatives hunt, fish for him	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2656. All give chief food free	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	°+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
2657. Food bought for chief	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2658. Feeds visitors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
2659. Impoverished thereby	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[574]
2660. Provides most of food for ceremonies	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
2661. Directs communal economic activities	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	°+	+	+	+	[224]
2662. Deer drives	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
2663. Antelope, duck hunts, etc.	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

THREE

[P.45]

The Klamath Agency

THE TREATY BROUGHT TOGETHER TWO PEOPLES, INDIAN AND WHITE, 648* in a program of directed change and marked a termination of tribal autonomy. From records still available, it seems improbable that the treaty commissioners made any attempt to place before the Indians the weighted advantages and disadvantages of the step being urged upon them.[1] They had been directed to secure a treaty and they seem to have argued well its attractive features. Within the Indian councils, the individuals best [623] qualified to speak upon the matter were those who had been attracted to white ways and thus had become most conversant with them. The discussions, carried on through the medium of [191] Chinook jargon, contained much that was not included in the written treaty, but in the Indian view they were equally binding.

When the Indians passed under the governance of an Agent, 648* they gradually found that their commitments brought unanticipated consequences. 657* The new garment they had donned was another man's suit, not cut to their proportions, and if it was loose in some places, it pinched unexpectedly in others. The system of roles they were asked to assume was in many ways incommensurate with that they had known. They found themselves subjected to constrains that often seemed harsh and uncomprising and that were circumscribed by obscure administrative rulings which seemed to have little bearing upon their advancement.

Although there was some comfort in the knowledge that all were taking the step together, the new life yielded rewards to a somewhat different array of qualities and skills than had the old; and some persons surged forward while others lagged or held back. The relatively homogeneous society of native times, already somewhat diversified in the days of early contact, now

648* 657* 423 619

Indeed, for some time after the passage of the act, the details of membership had not been worked out. As late as 1892, the Assistant Commissioner was writing, "No final decision has been rendered on the question of the status of half-breeds or mixed-bloods, as regards their right to take lands and receive other benefits with the tribes with which they claim to belong."[19] By the time that allotment was well under way at Klamath, the matter had been resolved in their favor. While Indians not residing upon a reservation might receive an allotment upon the public domain, it became the practice to encourage them to take up land upon the reservation. A vigorous campaign was mounted to ensure that all who had legitimate claims should be allotted before the surplus lands were opened. In a characteristic letter, O. C. Appleton wrote one woman:

> I am of the opinion that you and the relatives you mention are all right. *Blood* is what we must depend upon to decide who has rights upon the reservation. If you have Klamath blood or Modoc blood in your veins you are entitled to lands upon the reservation and to have your children in school here.[20]

A policeman was dispatched to Yreka and other points in Northern California in search of persons "who have rights on the Klamath Indian Reservation."[21] Reservation residents were encouraged to invite eligible relatives to write to the Agent and to make application.

Candidates for admission to the tribal rolls were obliged to submit affidavits of their affiliation with enrolled members. Emery could write to Capt. J. W. Siemens of Klamath Falls:

> . . . as I understand it, your wife is a member of this tribe and she and your children are justly entitled to allottments [sic]. If you will furnish this Office with the full name of your wife, together with those of your children, I will instruct the clerk to place them on the census roll.[22]

This procedure was highly irregular. The evidence was customarily submitted to a tribal council for consideration.

648* 657* 423 619 623 •

One such council of "the people of Klamath Reservation" was called by Petet for the consideration of six named persons and others who might present themselves for admission. Of the six, four were admitted, in addition to Frank Riddle, the white husband of Winema of Modoc War fame.[23]

*648 *657 423 619 • 623 The qualifications argued by a council in 1908 included conditions of family relationship and tribal association. Of two applicants considered favorably only the circumstances of relationship was cited. "The council," ran the findings, "was of the opinion that both of these Indians are related to the Indians of this reservation, and are entitled to allotment and enrollment here."

In denying the application of another on behalf of her children, failure to associate was the main ground given: ". . . to the best of our knowledge and belief," the council stated, "as Amelia Skeen does not associate and affiliate with the Indians on the Klamath reservation, . . . her children are not entitled to enrollment and allotment. . . ." The claims of Amelia Skeen were later accepted when a number of tribal members traced out their relationship with her.[24]

Meanwhile, the Superintendent expressed his own opinion. Forwarding the statements of a council that had found two Indians entitled to membership, Wilson observed:

> Neither of these Indians have come forward and made any affidavits in their favor, setting forth their rights here, nor furnished any affidavits from other Indians that they are entitled, as I am informed in other Office letters is required by your Office.

He added that one of the Indians was already allotted on the Warm Springs Reservation.[25] On the other hand, he recommended allotment of the three children by a former wife of an Umpqua Indian now married to an enrolled member. The council refused to admit them, despite favorable affidavits of six local Indians. Wilson himself cited the regular school attendance of the children as a point in their favor. They were finally enrolled and allotted.[26]

A general reading of cases shows that the council was disposed to give greater weight to evidence of association than to relationship, and that the Superintendent tended to reverse the order of importance. In the official view, all Indians were to be allotted either on the reservation or on the public domain. O. C. Applegate, indeed, labored for a time under the impression that "Halfbreeds cannot hold allotment on the public domain," and he urged all eligible to take up land on the reservation.[27] Even when persons affiliated with tribal members had already secured

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

648*

allotments on the public domain, Applegate advocated that they 657*
relinquish them in favor of tracts upon the reservation.[28] 423

For tribal members, the enrollment of outsiders was often 619
objectionable; although opposition was less to their being [623] •
granted allotments upon the reservation than to admitting them to equal shares in the tribal funds. By the terms of the McLaughlin Agreement of 1901 settling boundary claims, over a half-million dollars had been entered to tribal credit, part of which then became available to tribal members in per capita payments. As Applegate wrote to one off-reservation member, "there are a good many who would like to see people who do not live on the Reservation cut off from all benefits of the Treaty."[29]

In 1903, Applegate had estimated that there were "about 185 nonresidents, a number of them allottees though not residing on the reservation—with them are about 80 children of school age, many of whom are attending white schools."[30]

Analysis of the annuity payments from trust shares sent out 648*
between November, 1907, and January, 1908, reveals interesting 657*
characteristics of the nonresident membership. Omitting shares 619
to 13 students (8 girls, 5 boys) at off-reservation schools, payments went to 6 married couples, in which both parties were enrolled members, and to 39 women and 14 men either single or married to nonenrolled spouses. In addition, shares were sent to these adults for a total of 51 children. Children's shares were sent to 4 married, enrolled couples, to 14 enrolled mothers, and to only 2 enrolled fathers. While other explanations are plausible, the figures are highly suggestive of a preponderance of off-reservation marriages between Indian women and white men.

From the point of view of geographical distribution, the off- 648*
reservation population is also of interest. The table below, which 657*
excludes scholars sent away to government schools, presents the 162
salient features:

CALIFORNIA		20
South	5	
North (including San Francisco)	15	
OREGON		88
Southern Coast	4	
Klamath Basin	66	

> his wife will be allotted on Klamath Marsh, some 50 miles away. 648*
> They are almost compelled to live a part of the year in each 657*
> place on account of putting up hay for their cattle.[40] 423

O. C. Applegate saw a supplementary relationship between 311
the allotted and tribal lands.

> There are a few localities on the Reservation [he stated] where industrious Indians may be able to make a living on 160 acres of land, especially after the land best calculated for farming is improved by irrigation; but the opening of the Reservation to settlement by White men upon the unallotted lands would make it hard for those Indians who live in the meadow districts by stockraising to make a living, as it would deprive them of the advantage of pasture on the tribal lands.[41]

Immediately following the passage of the Dawes Act, there 648*
were reports of heightened industry among the Indians, as they 657*
set about to build upon and improve their allotments. It must 423
be borne in mind that by the time the act was applied at Kla- [427]
math it had already been amended in 1891 and 1894, and soon
again in 1897 and 1900, to permit leasing under certain conditions.[42] Leasing of what was then tribal domain had been 648*
secured through Nickerson by Sykes Worden in 1882 and by 657*
Matt Obenchain in 1884. Before lands were finally allotted, E. 563
L. Applegate had permitted Dave Hill to make an informal 427
agreement with one white rancher, by which the latter cut and stacked hay on Hill's place and winterfed his cattle there, paying Hill for the hay.

Matthews, Applegate's successor, at first clashed with the system when he sought to impose an additional fifty cents per head fee for bringing the cattle on the reservation.[43] Soon, however, he was advocating that whites be permitted to come upon the reservation and cut hay on lands which Indians had enclosed, paying the Indians for the hay. Like his successors, he argued the help the Indians would derive from this revenue and the advantages of utilizing resources which would otherwise go to
waste.[44] Soon thereafter a group of stockmen proposed to him [464]
the leasing of the Klamath Marsh area, which he favored as affording employment to a number of Indians in putting up hay.[45]

At a council with "the representative Indians of this Reserva- [311]
tion," a vote was take to lease certain lands for grazing pur- [623]
poses.

[Klamath Reservation]

[P. 176-B]

• 623

Meeting of the General Council in the latter days of the Tribe. Above, Boyd Jackson addresses the membership while Jesse Lee Kirk presides. Below, members of the "Crawford side." (Courtesy Klamath Information and Education Office.)

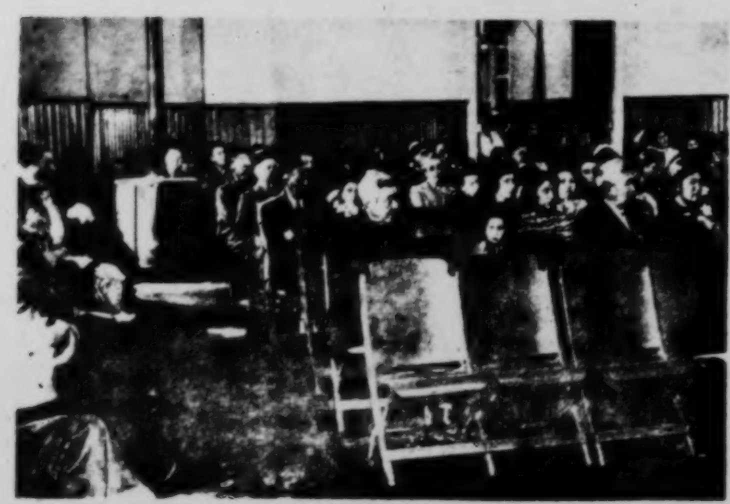

Comparison
with the record of white performances places the 648*
tribal picture in perspective. In Beatty, six out of seven white 657*
househeads were employed. A sample taken in 1950 including 464
almost every white household in Chiloquin showed that all the 162
men save those who were ill or retired were gainfully employed, 171
and that in thirty-seven per cent of the households wives or junior
members also held jobs.

By this token, the Klamath had come to occupy a marginal 648*
position as economic producers. That this had not always been 657*
true is shown by the record of those who in the early days of 464
Chiloquin had tried their hand at business; and several continued 433
to maintain themselves by ranching or business. The large majority of the men, however, were content to labor seasonally as unskilled farmhands. The undependability of some workers had generated an adverse reputation among potential employers for the Klamath as a whole. The industrious Klamath came to be viewed as exceptional.

Thus, even on their own reservation, the Klamath stood beneath the shadow of economic structures dominated by whites. This condition was, of course, true for the reservation as a unit; for distant interests dictated that it should be devoted to the production of lumber, beef, power, and to communications. Within the several communities the major enterprises were also controlled by whites. To be sure, there were checks upon the
ruthless exercise of economic power. Local awareness of inter- [623]
dependence, the intimate acquaintance developed in the daily life of a small community, and the knowledge that the tribal council controlled the fate of timber contracts upon which the community depended: all these served to temper purely eco-
nomic decisions. The exercise of a credit system by storekeepers [452]
in the face of lower prices in Klamath Falls, the good faith they expected of their customers, and the occasional need for hired hands by ranchers, were equally conducive to restraint.

Klamath families who chose to farm were often similar to their [241]
white counterparts in the concentration which they devoted to their farming; and they often exchanged labor or equipment with white neighbors. There were few successful farmers among
tribal members, perhaps no more than a dozen in all. By contrast, [233]
there were those in the countryside who chose to follow other time-honored values than industry, giving precedence to per-

[Klamath Reservation]

Within the
*648 reticulation of familial roles, the traditionally
*657 esteemed attributes had lost place. Age was no longer accorded
561 respect, for the wisdom of experience seemed irrelevant under
593 the new conditions, and in the environing society the emphasis
577 was upon youthful qualities. The premium upon industry as an
434 ideal for old and young alike had become submerged by the
178 golden flow of per capitas which rewarded equally the wastrel
177 and the unremitting toiler. Remarked one man wryly, "I can make more money raising Klamath than I can raising cattle."[3] Under these changes, paternal authority had declined sharply. "Why should I listen to you?" demanded one adolescent son of his father. "I've got just as much money saved up [in a compulsory trust fund] as you have!"

*648 By contrast, the status of the mother within the household
*657 had been enhanced. Housekeeping and child rearing constituted
562 concrete activities that possessed a high measure of continuity
434 with the past, of a type normally respected in her counterpart
177 in white society. Access to her own per capitas had raised the
178 economic standing of a wife to a par with that of her husband.
• [623] The relative changes in local roles, together with the passage of woman's suffrage in the nation at large, had become reflected in the increasing prominence of women in the debates of the General Council.

*648 The major point of contrast between white and tribal house-
*657 holds on the reservation was the relatively greater fluidity among
563 the Klamath, as reflected in the record of sequent marriages,
58 the figures for common-law unions, and the broken families. In this respect, Beatty did not differ significantly from Chiloquin. Interethnic marriages—those between a Klamath and a nontribal partner—were more stable than those contracted between tribal members.

*648 Household composition makes it clear that the traditional
*657 valuation of kin had by no means been entirely relinquished.
592 In a number of instances, Klamath, particularly women, had
587 taken in the children of collateral kin. Remarriage produced
[178] composite families, in which the couple reared not only their own children but the offspring of previous unions of one or both partners.

*648 Consequently, Klamath households exhibited a diversity of
*657 form, size, and composition, frequently characterized as well by
592
593

*648 formal occasions in the General Council in a demonstration of
*657 decorative oratory; and there it might also serve a speaker to
177 shut out a heckler who knew only English. In such a session, a
178 member in the audience, although fluent in English, might de-
191 mand the services of an interpreter for the purpose of underscoring his Indian status. Similar functions were served when Klamath was spoken in the presence of whites. The ability to shift from one language to another, or from one behavioral modality to another, was akin to the behavior which Polgar has described in the "biculturation" of Fox children.[21]

*648 In the latter days of the reservation, there were few occasions
*657 when tribal members came together for traditional events, and
177 the sessions of the General Council constituted the main remain-
178 ing tribal gathering. Such individuals as our old friend mentioned
• 623 above had their closest and most continuous relations with chil-
619 dren and grandchildren, who by no means shared their outlook.
571 On the occasional visits of their aged peers, these elders exchanged memories and expressed common concerns which were as much the product of the parallel roles they then performed in their respective families as of the time in which they had grown up.

*648 Such accommodation as there has been to American culture has
*657 not only changed through time with alterations in the state of
177 Klamath and American cultures; but at any single time, Klamath
178 have drawn diversely from what was available. Thus, the small
184 number of families in Chiloquin that have attained a measure of social acceptance by whites of middle or high status have done so by manifesting the appropriate life style. In so doing, unless they are able deftly to shift role-orientations, being now Klamath, now white, they have had to sacrifice close relations with their kin. "Some of my family I never see any more," remarked one such woman, "and I don't want to see them." They often forbade their children to play with undesirable tribal children. Insistence upon household neatness, fastidious emphasis upon personal cleanliness, punctuality, and adherence to self-standards usually accompanied these attitudes.

Inframodal behavior among Klamath in turn has by no means been random in form, but has approximated already established patterns in the dominant culture; often combining them in ways

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

SEVENTEEN

[P.236]

The Tribal Government

* 648 FOR NEARLY FIFTY YEARS FOLLOWING ALLOTMENT, THE KLAMATH
* 657 tribal government constituted the formal instrument for arriving
619 at common objectives, the ultimate guardian against encroachments
646 upon Klamath treaty rights, and the corporate symbol of
Indian status. Its form and operations sensitively reflected the interplay of continued efforts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to mold Indian life and the Indian reaction to those efforts. They gave evidence as well of the diversity of opinion which presently arose among tribal members as to the future in which they wished to live.[1]

[423] Central to the importance of the tribal government was the
considerable wealth over which it presided: at the close of allotment, tribal property amounted to over 860,000 acres of land, roughly three-fourths of it in prime timber, owned corporately by some 1,150 members. By contrast, the Umatilla reservation, in the northeast section of the state, in 1908 possessed fewer than 2,000 acres in unallotted tribal lands for a comparable (893) membership.

* 648 The principal body of the tribal organization was the General
* 657 Council, a successor to those sessions convened on occasion in
646 times past to discuss matters of common concern. Such *ad hoc*
• 623 councils had formerly been found useful to the federal government
for mustering a representative Indian body; but with the development of an executive body, the General Council also emerged as a more regular entity. Like its predecessors, it was
[562] originally composed of all the men of the Tribe; after the passage
[177] of the Nineteenth Amendment, the women were added to
their number.

*648 Since the highly rationalized bureaucracy of the government
*657 found the occasional councils too unwieldly to handle the in-
646

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
622 2664. Fishing	–	–	+					+	–	°+	+	+	–	–	+	–
2665. Vegetable-food quests	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2666. Pine-nut trips	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[587] 2667. Orates at public ceremonies	+	–	+	–	+	°+	+	+	°+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
2668. Talks from sweat house, at dances	–		–					°+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2669. Talks morning and evening	°+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	–
2670. Moral lectures to children	+	+	+					°+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
[627] 2671. Settles disputes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
2672. Pays or helps pay wergild	–		+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	–
2673. Sets price for wergild payments			–			+	+	+	+	–	.	(+)	–	–	–	.
2674. Sanctions killing of offenders	–	–	–					–	–	+	–	.	+	–	+	–
[721] 2675. Concerned with war	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	.	+	.
2676. Declares war	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	°+	+	+	.	+	.
o2677. Goes to war	+	–	–	–	–	±	+	+	+	–	°+	+	+	.	+	.
2678. Negotiates for peace	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	°+	–	–	.	+	.
Escort																
[577] 2679. Some 1 person accompanies chief on visit	–	–	–				+	°+	–	–	°+	+	°+	+	°+	–
2680. Several men, youths, accompany chief on visits	+	+	+				–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	°+
Female Chiefs and Titled Women																
[562] 2681. Female chiefs	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
2682. No male chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2683. Male chief also	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
2684. Sister, cousin of male chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2685. Daughter of male chief	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
2686. Wife of male chief	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	.
2687. Gives orders to men	–	–	+	°+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2688. Sends messengers with orders	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2689. Substitutes for male chief in absence of latter	–	–	.	°+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2690. Supervises preparation of food for ceremony	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
2691. Titled women	–	–	–			(–)	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	+	+
2692. Sister, cousin of male chief	–	–	–			–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	+
2693. Daughter of male chief	–	–	–			–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	+	–
Assistant to Male Chief																
2694. Assistant chief	.	+	.	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
o2695. Number per political unit	.	1	.	–	–	–	2	1	1	–	1	1	–	–	1	–
2696. Son or brother of chief	.	–	.	–	–	–		+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
2697. Advises chief	.	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
2698. Substitutes for chief in his absence	.	+	.	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2699. Provides money for public gathering	.	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
2700. Supervises preparation, division of food for ceremony	.	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	+	–
2701. Lifelong office	.	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
Criers																
624 2702. Appointed by chief	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2703. Chosen at assembly of old men	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2704. Hereditary, paternal line	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
2705. Ability basis of selection	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
o2706. Number per chief or headman	–	1	2	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
o2707. Number per village	–		2	°2	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	1

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2708. Speaks twice daily, from top of sweat house	-	•+	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	624
2710. Moral lectures to children	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2711. Stops disputes, chief's orders	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2712. Acts as dance manager	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
2713. Acts as messenger man	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[203]
2714. Talks at ceremonies	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
2715. Clowns and ridicules	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	

Clowns

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2716. Informal clowning, joking, only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	522
2717. Formal clowns	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	•-	•-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	•+	
2718. Office distinct from crier's	-	-	-	-		-	-	+	+	-	-	+	•-	-	-	-	
2719. Hereditary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
2720. Appointed by chief	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
2721. Lifelong	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
2722. Clowns at ceremonies	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	•+	-	-	+	
2723. Wears acorn necklace	-	-	-							-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
2724. Paid	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	[465]
2725. Helps dreamer call spirits													+	-	-	-	

Messengers

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
o2726. No. male messengers per village or local group	-	-	[illegible]	2	-	-	1	1	3	2	6	2	1	2	-	-	203
2727. No. variable for intratribal matters	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	•+	
2728. Individuals serve in temporary capacity only.	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	
2728a. Official messenger for war matters only	-		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
2729. Competency and willingness chief criteria for selection of	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2729a. Must be good speaker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	
2730. Appointed by chief	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2731. Hereditary, paternal line	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	
2732. Lifelong tenure	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	
2733. If incompetent, discharged	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2734. Paid if travels a distance	-	+	-		•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2735. Paid occasionally; given board	-	+	+				+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	
2736. Carries messages for chief or headman	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	
2737. Travels about; gathers news	+	+	+								+	+	+	-	-	-	
2738. Welcomes guests	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	+		.	-	
2739. Orders hunt for chief	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		+	-	
2739a. Attends to fire at ceremonies	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2740. Women messengers	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
2741. Carry messages for anyone	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
o2742. Number going together	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2743. Suitability only criterion	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2744. Travel only short distances	-	+	-		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2745. Act in temporary capacity only	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Fire Tender

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
†2746. No. per village or local group	•-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	624
2747. Lifelong office	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	R+	-	+	+	+	-	+	372
2748. Temporary office only	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	R-	+	-	-	-	+	-	
2749. Hereditary in paternal line	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	(+)	-	+	[611]
2750. Appointed by chief	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	R+	+	-	-	-	+	-	
2751. Chief acts as fire tender	-	-	-									+	-	+	-	-	
2752. Clown acts as fire tender	-	-	-									-	+	-	-	+	[522]
2753. Attends to fire in assembly house	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2754. Keeps assembly house clean	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	R	+	+	+		-	+	
2755. Has 1 assistant	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	(R)	+	+	-		+	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
624 2756. Attends to fire for sweating			−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
372 2757. Attends to fire for ceremonies				+	−	−	−	−	−	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2758. Builds fire for encamped visitors				+	−	−	−				−	−	+		−	−

Singers

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
624 2759. No. male singers per village or local group	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	•2		−	3
533 2760. Variable number	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	(+)	−		+	−
2761. Office lifelong	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+		+	+
2762. Hereditary, in paternal line	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		+
2763. Any gifted individual	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+
2764. Appointed by chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+		+	+
[562] 2765. Female singers also	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+
2766. Sister, daughter of male singer	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	+

Dance Manager

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
624 2767. Owner of sweat house (headman)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	+	+	+		+	−
535 2768. Hereditary office, paternal line	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		+	+
2769. Schedules dances	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		+	+
2769a. Urges people to dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+		+	+
2769b. Orders wood gathered for dance fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
2769c. Talks at intervals (prays) at dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−		+	−

WAR

Nature and Causes

Nature of Warfare

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
726 2770. Intertribal wars	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•	+	•
721 2771. Intratribal raids and feuds	+	+	+	+	•−	•+	•+	•+	+	−	•+	•+	•−		+	.

Motivation

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
721 2772. War for adventure or plunder	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	
2773. War for revenge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	
2774. Common	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−		−	
2775. Rare	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
2776. Intertribal murders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2777. Strangers from hostile tribes killed on sight	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2778. Intratribal murders, if uncompensated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+		+	
2779. Rape	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	
2780. Stealing women, young girls	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−		−	•
2781. Women, girls bought back, no war	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	.
2782. Insult or slight to chief	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	.		.	
2783. To avenge witchcraft against group	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	−	+	+	+	+	.		−	
2784. Intratribally, for poisoning of girl by suitor			+	+		−	−				−	.			−	
2785. Poaching	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−		+	
2786. By alien tribe	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−		−	
2787. By another local group of same tribe	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−		−	
2788. No war; merely run off intruders	+		+	+		−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−		+	
2789. Stealing stored food	−	−	−	•−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	

526 seed beater to propel ball; carrying ball in racket or stick permitted; picking up and batting ball permitted; goal a stake or post, hole, circle on ground, rock, stakes or posts, arch, circular hoop, row of stakes. Ball race: single ball a hoop, stick, stone; carrying ball permitted; goal a line on ground, a stake, hole; home man catches ball on stick. Hoop-and-pole game; quoits.--Hoop and pole: unwrapped hoop, netted hoop, short stick as hoop; pole tossed underarm, both arms, thrust into rolling hoop; pole under hoop or stick scores; closest wins point(s); win by elimination. Quoits: target a stick lying loose; target a stone. Spear or dart throwing; snow snake; ring and pin.--Spear or dart throwing: specially made dart, feathered; target buried hoop, previously thrown dart. Snow snake: women play; arrow bounced. Ring and pin: ring a rabbit skull, pine cone, brush ball, piece of cane with 1 hole. Many-stick game; 524 hand game; objects laid down.--Many-stick: 3-choice guess. Hand game: cane "bone"; finger loops on "bones." Objects laid down: women play; 1 of each pair wrapped; unwrapped guessed; objects covered with mat, hide. Dice games.--Disk dice: animal shell, half walnut shells, wooden tablets, wooden hemispheres for dice; stone counters; dice thrown on hide, mat, into hopper basket, on hard ground, plank. Bone dice: women play. Stick dice. Jacks, tops, buzzer.--Jacks of foot bones of animal. Top of pepperwood nut; twirled with string. Buzzer, edge of disk notched; snake rattles used as buzzer. Games wholly absent.--Catching dart in ring. Many-stick game of take away, guess remainder. Guessing marks on ground. Scoring circuit for dice.

Social Dances

535 Circle dance; Bear dance.--Circle dance: performed at fall pine-nut harvest, to make piñons grow, produce rain, bring deer; performed at mourning ceremony; at funeral; center post dry cottonwood tree, pine-nut tree; dance occasion for public mourning. Bear dance: held in brush corral; musical rasp, gourd rattle; dance in couples; whip to make dance; chief urges dancers with stick; stop dance at fall; rub fallen person with rasp; cover fallen person with blanket; held at mourning ceremony. Dances wholly lacking.--"South" dance or Exhibition dance. Crazy dance.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

622 Chief paid to settle disputes. Chief owns all eagles, eyries; pays to have eagles released; buys them from captors. Assistant cult chief. Chief equated to birds. Totem for assistant 624 chief (screech owl, hawk). Boss for rabbit drives; irrigating boss. Crier has totem bird. Messenger has rod as symbol of office; builds

[165-B]

624 fire at ceremony; totem. Female dance managers. Fire tender appointed by crier. Judge. Moieties
615 lacking; lineages lacking, except possibly among
613 AE.

WAR

72 Leader has totem animal, bird. Painting of contestants according to totem. Men taken prisoners in war; enslaved. Compensation for slain amounts to more than victim's or victim's mother's bride price. Compensation paid before dance of settlement; at end of dance.

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth

844 Pit, small hole dug in preparation for childbirth. Animal medicine to aid childbirth. Navel cord cut with bone, cane knife. Cord buried in ashes. Cord thrown in bush, stream. Mother baked in pit. Mother uses drinking tube. Father lies down, after birth of child. Father uses drinking tube. Milk teeth thrown toward moon; backward; over pregnant woman; over house.
845 Twins liked; one killed, only if of opposite
847 sex, incest theory. Abortion accomplished by taking animal, vegetable medicines, massaging with hot stones. Infanticide practiced on all illegitimate, deformed children, twins; infant killed by sitting upon, drowning, abandoning.

Puberty and Menstrual Observances

881 Girls' puberty rites.--Private seclusion: held for group of related, unrelated girls. Held outside in ceremonial enclosure. Girl sits, lies on curtained couch, bed platform, heated pit. Girl sits, lies face down. Girl's blankets given attendant(s). Girl abstains from food completely. Meals limited to once a day; girl eats after others. All liquids taboo. 4-day increase in food taboos after first period. Food taboos enforced limited number of subsequent periods. Food taboos not enforced after first period. Girl chews deer-fat pellets. Girl fed in pit. Does own cooking. Uses bone drinking tube. No sleeping. Girl avoids all people. No visitors. Scratcher yew wedge, horn. Girl scratches head with fingers. Delousing by self. Mud plastered on hair. Girl makes flower garlands. All join girl in running. Girl travels at night. Girl uses blanket, rabbit-skin blanket, mat wool head covering. Girl wears woodpecker scalp, shell, brush, flower crown headband; brush visor. Hair hangs over face. Girl stands at wall covered. Hair worn done up; braided with goat's wool. Hair dressed by self. Bangs cut at end of ceremony. Face painted white; all colors; sun painted on fore-

622 2669. Occasionally. Kl: Stands by his own
600 house and talks; tells people what to do. MM: Refers to head chief (see note 2619).

2670. WT: See note 2654. MM: Refers to head chief and village headmen. See note 2619.

2675. MM: Refers to head chief and village headmen (see note 2619).

2676, 2678. MM: Refers to head chief.

2677. MM: Refers to village headmen.

2679. WT: A "protector." MM: Refers to head chief and local headmen. NF: A relative. NS: Chief's assistant.

2680. MV: "A whole group of his boys go with him."

Female chiefs; criers; clowns; messengers; fire tender; singers.--

2687. SW: Chief's wife may also talk for chief, morning and evening, occasionally, if she has good voice.

2689. SW: In time of raids, chief's wife "if she is spirited woman, dashes out and cuts bowstrings of enemy raiders." This was done, "especially if [neighboring] Kammatwa group [see note 282] were raiding SW." Denied for all other groups.

2707. SW: 2-3 criers.

2708. Mo, SE: Only when there is "news" to announce.

2712. MV: Orders fuel gathered for dances.

2716. WM: Mainly by boys who are called, when clowning, "Coyote."

2717. At: 2 clowns; WT, WM: several, but not formal office (see note 2716). MF: 5; NF, MV: 1 per village ("rancheria").

2718. NF: Clown (pepe) stands on top of assembly house, watching for people to return from hunting, other expeditions; when they come back, he shouts to notify villagers.

2722. NF: Also stands on top of assembly house and calls to visitors to enter; attends to fire in assembly house.

2726. WT: 1-3 messengers. WM: 3-5. Referred to as yemèrikait. MM: 6-7.

2727. MV: Youths.

2734. At: Messenger who carries knotted string around when there is a "big war," paid; otherwise not paid.

2738. Often tells guests where to halt outside village, in order that they may dress for participation in dance to be given in village.

[515] 2746. Kl: Man who wants to sweat builds fire
[624] and tends to it in sweat house; no special official.

2752. See also element 2722, NF.

2759. NF: 2-4 singers.

2760. MM: For sweat "dances," have 1 singer; for Bear dance, 2; for girl's puberty dance, ca. 6.

2763. MV: To serve as "common singer."

2765. MM: For women's songs, use women singers.

175 of the English language, and fully comprehended the civil war 648 under which our unfortunate country is now suffering, and he thought, or professed to think, that if all the Indians unite they could kill off all the whites and retake the country." He and another chief, known as Skookum John—a man suspected of instigating trouble in 1856—were reputed to counsel war continuously.[38]

• [624] In power, the redoubtable hostile had few peers. As of about 1859, he was war chief of both Klamath and Modoc, in which capacity he divested a Modoc chief of his elk-skin cuirasses for refusing to join an expedition against the Pit River tribes. Indeed, [622] Henry Blow later averred that Captain George had superseded Lileks as chief for a time, during which he had entered into a treaty—with whom is uncertain, though possibly with Rosborough or Steele in Northern California—and had been promised pay as head chief.[39]

In its own time, the government moved to contain the threat posed by his ascendancy. The necessary action embraced both military and civil commitments, and the contentions engendered lie vividly upon the pages of the day.

Outstanding among the individuals involved were members of the numerous Applegate clan, whose destinies were to be intertwined with the Klamath for almost a half-century. They were led by the doughty Lindsay Applegate, who had crossed the plains with his brothers, Jesse and Charles, and their families in the great migration of 1843. A staunch Union man and a Republican, he then resided at Ashland Mills, across the Cascades from the Klamath country. Of his extensive family, mention should be made of four of his sons, Elisha, who held the office of surveyor general, Ivan, Lucien, and Oliver. As a member of the state legislature, Lindsay Applegate had been instrumental in securing passage of the joint resolution calling for the establishment of a military post in the Klamath country. During the Rogue River War, he had served with distinction as captain of a company of mounted volunteers. His second-in-command on that occasion had been J. W. Perit Huntington, married to a daughter of brother Charles, and a man with whom he shared the conviction that the Indians must be dealt with firmly but justly.[40]

> *657 10 acres of land. I am commanded, to go among the Indians
> *648 with my farmer and direct them in plowing, sowing, planting,
> 241 etc, and see that they have the necessary tools and know how to
> 177 use them.

Vegetables, he thought, could be sold at Fort Klamath and Linkville; grain would always find a market at some price.[16] In order to heighten the incentives, Emery reported,

> I have found it necessary. . .to make temporary divisions of lands suited to Agriculture.
>
> During the Spring and Summer months, I laid off, assisted by Indian boys, about 50 farms, chaining boundary lines; the Indians greatly desired the work to be continued, each Indian agreed to fence and cultivate a portion of the land assigned to him.
>
> The plots laid off ranging from 30 to 120 acres—according to treaty stipulations.[17]

[625] The next year, however, he had recourse to the Indian police. "During the present Spring," he reported, "they have assisted in enforcing the general order that all able-bodied Indians will be required to do some work in Agriculture. I owe much to the police for the marked advance made this year in the lines of agriculture."[18] By these methods he soon had three quarters of the available adults helping, nearly every family seeding from 2 to 20 acres.[19] The following year he reported that "nine tenths of the Indians have been induced to engage in the work of agriculture,"[20] but the year after, with a record 2,400 acres sown, he was complaining about the "unprecedented heat"—and was moving on to greener pastures.[21] When he returned for another tour in 1896-97, however, he resumed the same program.

[829] Lindsay Applegate had remarked, some thirty years earlier, that the Indians "look upon the whites as superior beings. . . ."[22] It must have been difficult, even with the best will, to maintain that estimate in the face of administrative obstinacy of this order.

Stock Raising

*657 231 177 Meanwhile, with the discovery that the upper valley of the Sprague provided satisfactory condition for winter range, stock raising had gradually come to the fore. In prereservation days, horses had constituted an important form of wealth, and cattle were now accepted into the pecuniary system. By 1879, Agent

*657 services in the court. In 1878, support took the form of a suit of
*648 clothes for Henry Blow and three years later of a request to
622 provide him with a weekly ration of flour and beef. However, as Agent Roork then found, the issue could not be authorized even for one who "spends a good deal of time looking after the interests of his people, when he can ill afford it."[58]

*657 At this juncture a temporary solution was found. In 1878,
*648 drawing upon successful experience on other reservations, the
• 625 Bureau authorized the employment of a small force of Indian police. In the first days of the reservation, Lindsay Applegate claimed to have organized such a force, one that served without pay, with power to perform military duties as well to arrest malefactors; and though it was later discontinued, Dyar had subsequently proposed a similar body.[59]

The number now settled upon was six, at Roork's request, "in order to have one for every tribe."[60] O. C. Applegate, then clerk at the Agency, was appointed chief of police. The first men in the service, with one or two exceptions, were not particularly distinguished; and neither of the officers of the force is now recalled as having been a leader. Within a year or two, however after many fluctuations in numbers, both Henry Blow and Dave Hill had been appointed as officers. The subsequent reduction of the force from fifteen to three for budgetary reasons dictated from Washington was distressing.

> As the Police Force was too small to be of much account [wrote Nickerson], the Indians felt under less restraint & were now dificult [sic] to manage. The chiefs considered that the Government had taken their authority to rule and administer punishment out of their hands, and did not consider themselves responsible for good order. They are now anxious to be allowed to administer law as before the Police force was organized. Unless this force can be put upon a permanent basis, and consist of from 8 to 10 members with a yearly allowance of rations I am of the opinion that it would be best to grant them their request. In that case it would be desirable to keep 2 or 3 men in the service to aid in arresting offenders & to take charge of all prisoners. . . . The Agent would of course be the judge in all trials.

[643] He suggested that, following the plan he had put into operation
before the force was reduced, the head chief be named captain
[622] and the second chief, lieutenant, while two other chiefs be
appointed sergeants of the force.

appointed sergeants of the force. "This," he added, "would give 657*
these chiefs something to do & a support. They would be in- 648*
terested in watching their people and in keeping good order."[81] 625 •
The move also would counter the opposition to the police among 622
the chiefs themselves, led by Allen David.

Once the force was authorized, Nickerson became aware of 657*
its peculiar jurisdictional limitations. When he sent the police 648*
625
[175]

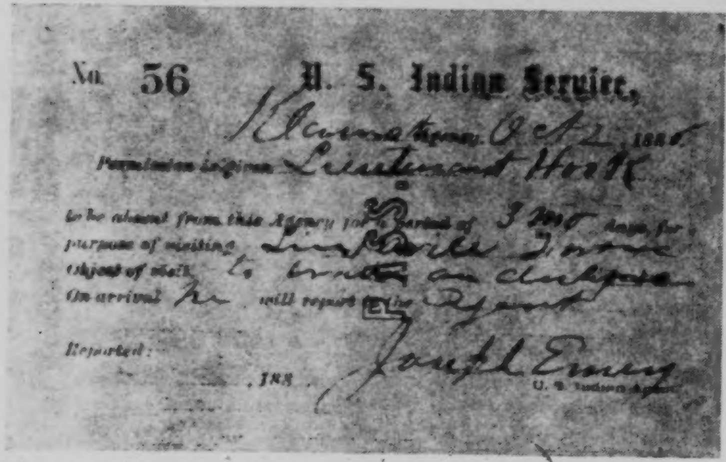

No. 56 U. S. Indian Service,

Klamath Agency, Oct 2 1886

Permission is given Lieutenant Hook

to be absent from this Agency for a period of 3 mos days, for

purpose of visiting Linkville Town

Object of visit to watch an [illegible]

On arrival he will report to the Agent

Reported:

, 188

Joseph Emery

U. S. Indian Agent

This pass authorized an Indian police officer to leave the reservation for three months while on duty in the Linkville area. 1886.

to Linkville to round up Indians absent without passes and to pursue Indian horse thieves, he was informed that they had no power to make arrests off the reservation: the United States authorities must be notified to act. Yet when the turbulent Spokane Ike shot Skookum Doctor and fled, to be captured by the Indian police near Prineville, the U.S. District Attorney declined jurisdiction, saying that it lay either with the state courts or
with the tribe. Accordingly, "the chiefs in council, acting as a 657*
grand jury, accused Spokane Ike of the crime of murder. A court 648*
was held, the Indian Agent presiding. A jury, of twelve of the 622
most intelligent Indians of the tribe was selected. . . ." Both by 292
the testimony of a witness and by his own statement the defend- 695
ant was found guilty of murder in the first degree. Upon further 000

[Klamath Reservation]

*657 *648 696 Upon further instructions from Washington, he was publicly hanged. Struck by the solemnity of the proceedings, Nickerson reported, "Fully half the people of the nation was [sic] present. The order and behavior were admirable. The arrangements and execution of the plans were in the highest degree creditable to the Indians having charge of the same."[62]

*657 *648 434 625 The following year, a parsimonious Congress made necessary a reduction in pay. "They are all poor men," exclaimed Nickerson, "and can not support their families on one ration and 5 dollars per month. Young men have not the experience needed & do not command the respect of the tribe & nation." He searched about for alternatives to help them eke out an existence.[63] Opportunely, there arrived a copy of *Rules Governing the Court of Indian Offenses* which, pronounced Nickerson, would "work a radical change in the government of this people."

*657 *648 622 625 692 He suggested that Blow and Hill "loyal, intelligent, and progressive Christian men" be appointed as judges, to serve concurrently as policemen. To them he proposed to add another, Jesse Kirk, a pupil at the Agency school and a carpenter's apprentice, to be both a member of the force and a judge. Of the three, he wrote, "David Hill will make the most competent man for presiding Judge. If necessary I will nominate him for Captain and Blowe [sic] for Lieutenant of Police. Otherwise I would prefer that they remain as they [are] as Blowe is head chief of the nation."[64]

The triple role of Hill and Blow made it difficult to delimit their judicial functions. Wrote Nickerson in 1886:

> I was obliged to be quite positive and firm in the exercise of my authority as an agent, before they came to understand that they were not independent in the performance of their duties as Judges. It also required some time to convince them that they were not to become prosecutors of supposed criminals, and that they were not to form and express an opinion in advance of hearing all the testimony, and then not until they had taken time to deliberate together. I am satisfied that we have no better material for judges than those that are now acting in that capacity, and yet they are strongly opinionated, and are making but slow progress in the right direction.[65]

*657 *648 625 The police force, meanwhile, had been distributed so that four

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

served at the Agency and three at Yainax, with an additional 657*
policeman at each school to bring in new scholars, recapture 648*
runaways, and oversee the prisoners. Dave Hill presided over 625
the police building at the Agency, with quarters for his family and cells for the prisoners.[66] On occasion, policemen accompanied labor parties off the reservation and worked alongside them for pay in addition to their salaries; and they served as escort to the freighting runs to Ashland and Jacksonville and the late winter expeditions to the Lost River fisheries. They were a considerable power in maintaining order, even apprehending deserters from Fort Klamath; and Emery used them effectively in imposing his agricultural policy upon his wards.

The police, however, at times found themselves at odds with 657*
the very laws and regulations they were employed to uphold. 648*
Among those involved in the illicit traffic in reservation timber, 625
as already described, were several members of the police, to- 622
gether with other Agency employees, and three chiefs: Monchn- 578
kasgitk, Allen David, and David Hill. The latter, in 1888, learned at first hand the impersonal character of authority when, disturbed by some ruling concerning his son, he approached the clerk who was acting as Agent in the absence of Emery, in what that worthy described as "an angry, insulting, insolent, defiant, threatening, warlike and rebellious manner." He was arrested—resisting the while—and locked in the guardhouse; and the clerk requested that he be kept in solitary confinement for one week, or until the clerk had returned from Yainax.[67]

Emery apparently conceived that too much power was con- 657*
centrated in a few hands, for later that year he reorganized the 648*
court, with the observation that "in the very nature of things the 692
Judge should not be the *Sheriff*." His appointments were drawn 622
from a new generation of leaders: William Crain, William Craw- [693]
ford, and Benjamin Butler.

> They are intelligent men [he observed], [and] can read and write and speak accurately the English language. One of them is a graduate of the Chemawa Indian School, another educated at the Klamath School and the third one is the best informed man
> on the reservation. 657*
>
> Court is held once a quarter at Yainax—40 miles from here 648*
> and twice a quarter at the Agency. 692

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

> *657 A large number of Indian offences come before this Court for
> *648 trial, consisting mainly of family quarrels, disputes about the
> 692 ownership of property and acts of licentiousness.[68]

With the accidental death of Crain, Jesse Kirk was appointed in his stead.[69]

Thus, within a generation the administration had replaced the popular leaders with those among them who were Agency employees, and in turn had supplanted them with the products of its schools. Legally constituted authority was administered through the Agency, at first through a customary court of chiefs and later
[625] through a Court of Indian Offenses. The Indian police, who took their orders directly from the Agent, were satisfactory to him as the instrument of his hand. Not so the courts, which tended instead to constitute seats of power alternative to that of the Agent. The result was to be that Agents tended to strengthen the police while circumscribing the functions of the courts.

*657 Meanwhile, beyond the administrative structure thrived an
*648 unacknowledged informal leadership, based as in former days
622 upon wealth and accomplishment. Unlike that of the Agency, it
571 was not restricted in position nor limited narrowly in function. This was a leadership in which employees could also participate; and it was presently to see such diverse men as the old chiefs, Monchnkasgitk, Henry Blow, and Allen David, make cause with Dave Hill, and he with young Jesse Kirk, and he in turn with Jeff Riddle, son of Frank Riddle and Winema, the heroine of the Modoc War, and with Henry Jackson, the wealthy exslave. In this sense at least E. L. Applegate was right when he observed:

> [179] The tribal distinction among the Indians on this Reservation is
> [178] practically disregarded by the Indians, and the ancient preju-
> [101] dices are rapidly fading away. The general name of Klamath
> People seems to be superseding all other distinctions.[70]

hay for his own [cattle]."[50] The practice of contract grazing on 648*
tribal land was also continued, though with scanty returns.[51] 657*

Leasing brought regulatory headaches. Trespass could less 563
easily be controlled. Some stockmen who rented land from the 427
Indians turned in more cattle than the pasture could sustain, [311]
while keeping the fences in such disrepair that the cattle drifted
onto the unfenced lands of neighboring allotments.[52] In consequence, [625] •
the meager band of reservation police had to be diverted
to the task of enforcing the grazing rules. The Superintendent [675]
was obliged to see that all contracts were made through
his office. When disputes arose, he was often forced to intervene
and even at times to threaten a lawsuit in order to collect on
behalf of an Indian. Meanwhile, some lessees were themselves
fencing the lands in lieu of part of the lease, so that many Indians
were no longer compelled to put in any work in order to receive
returns from their property.[53] By 1903, even unfenced allotments
were being leased. In that year payments from leases [434]
comprised thirty per cent of estimated personal income, providing
$8,220 distributed among some ninety to one hundred allottees.[54]

By 1908, a large number of Indians were entrusted with the 648*
"experiment" of managing their own allotments, including the 657*
hiring of necessary labor and leasing their tracts for a term not 423
to exceed the legal limit. The narrow discretion afforded, however, 427
is seen from the provision that "the leases that you are to
draw this year will be drawn for you in this office," although the
Indian was to collect his own rental. Fifty-eight Indians were
empowered at once to handle their allotments and apparently
those of their children as well, upon these cautious terms.[55]

Leasing had scarcely gotten under way when a movement for 648*
the sale of lands began. The act had originally envisaged a trust 657*
period of twenty-five years, to be extended at the discretion of 423
the President, during which time the United States retained title to 432
the land. For many individuals, allotted just prior to 1910, that
period—although subsequently extended—was to expire in 1935.
However, amendments provided for sale under proper supervision
when circumstances required, and by 1912 five sales had
been consummated, all involving heirship cases.[56]

When an allottee died, his land passed to his heirs—by the 648*
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His son, Ralph, is depicted as a ne'er-do-well, a ruffian, and a 648*
drunkard. (He later died while awaiting trial for cattle theft.) 657*
His indulgent father, it was said, was convinced that Ralph had 571
a weak heart, and would pay his fine rather than see him in jail. 159
There are manifest in Henry Jackson as in Jesse Kirk some of the same values evinced by the early Klamath: kin-loyalty honored above abstract ethical mandates, merit gauged by generosity, and the dissimulation of hostility are three among them.

As Egbert saw it, "The Jackson outfit are so used to lawlessness and successful concealment afterward that they have gotten to thinking that they have a right to almost anything and then hire witnesses to lie them out of the scrapes. Then too they are all afraid of the czar, Ralph." Alluding to the murder of the Modoc shaman which Henry Jackson had been suspected of instigating, he added, "I will also be afraid of him if they are allowed to go on till they think they can duplicate the killing of Dr. George in the Caucasian race."[23]

The Jacksons in turn were linked to Jeff Riddle, whose daughter Ralph had married. There were, indeed, limits beyond which Riddle would not go. His father had known Applegate well from Modoc War days on, and when stranded on the lyceum tour had relied upon Applegate's generosity for funds. Even after Applegate had resigned his position, Riddle continued to correspond intimately with him.[24] When Ralph beat his wife, Jeff Riddle preferred charges against him.[25] These circumstances aside, Jeff Riddle exemplifies one of the less-partisan leaders who stood somewhat aside from attacks on Applegate but was nonetheless restive under administrative restraint. Later the author of *The Indian History of the Modoc War* (1914), he was first and
foremost a patriot of his people. With others, he focused his bit- 648*
terness against the Indian police, who as "Agency men" consti- 657*
tuted the immediate embodiment of administrative sanctions. 625 •
Such critics were quick to ferret out and to report derelictions [159]
on the part of the police lieutenant[26] and to oppose other members of the force. Of one such man, Egbert wrote:

> Jeff and others are bitter against Ike Mose as policeman mainly because, I think, he will arrest one of the big men as quickly as one of the smaller prize, so called. Jeff has made his brag that Ike will not be on the force July 4th. For this reason, as well

> *648 *657 • 625 as for the reason that he is the most effective man we have, I think he should be retained. The whiskey element has made some virilent [sic] attempts to raise its head lately, and scruples not to tell lies."[27]

*648 *657 571 The leading men among the "Agency Indians" are, unfortunately, less clearly delineated. Among them were Joseph Kirk, born of a Modoc mother, and half-brother of Jesse Kirk; Harrison Brown, the son of Monchnkasgitk; and Jack Palmer, son of another treaty signatory. The fact that dissidents as well as the faithful numbered many among the more acculturated, and that both sides included Agency employees demonstrates clearly that the battle was not fought on progressive-conservative alignments.

Central to this dispute was the personality of Oliver Applegate. Scion of a pioneer family, he was the son of the first Agent, and, as he states, the first employee of the Agency. For years, his destiny and that of his brothers was intertwined with that of the reservation. He had served in a number of positions and had sought the office of Agent at least twice before he secured it;[28] his brother, Ivan, had served as an early Commissary at Yainax; and Elisha, another brother, had been Agent for about a year.

From the early days of the reservation, Oliver Applegate had known the Indians intimately, had gained some familiarity with their language and customs, and had formed many friendships. By the turn of the century, however, the fortunes of life had borne the people he knew away from the attractive naïveté of their early state, when they had willingly depended upon him. Now there was impatience at being denied equality. Many of the acquaintances of his youth were gone, and the rising generation thought him—the man who was moved by the flag upon Dave Hill's grave on Decoration Day, or who perennially entered pleas for support of the remaining treaty chiefs—somewhat heavy-handed and insensitive. He, the man that all whites were convinced "knew Indians," could not take the measure of the younger leaders. The title by which he had been known to their elders, *blaiwas laqe*, "Eagle Chief," acquired an ironic ring.

Among the informal counselors to whom both Klamath and whites turned in common problems, the Applegates were prominent. Yet, perhaps inevitably their own property interests and their wide and intimate relationships with the white community eventually confronted them with a grave conflict of interests.

> I might call attention to the fact that at the last election in 648*
> Klamath County a trust patented Indian was elected Justice of 657*
> the Peace, and a fee patented Indian was elected Constable of 641
> the Beatty District on the Klamath reservation. It seems a rather [693]
> unusual situation when a trust patented Indian can preside as a judge over a court and pass sentence on other people and at the same time question the same court's jurisdiction over him.'

Nor was this all. Federally regulated land on the reservation [625] •
was off bounds for officers of the law from city, county, and state; yet in 1947 there were only two special Indian officers and two deputies to enforce law and order over almost one million acres of reservation. It was physically impossible for them to follow up all cases, and consequently they could not deal effectively with the misdemeanors of delinquents or with truancy from the county schools.'

In the 1920's, soon after the opening of the reservation, towns 648*
such as Chiloquin were faced with the influx of a mobile popu- 657*
lation in which the unmarried "timber beast" was prominent. 621
Roistering and violence occasionally assumed major proportions, 625
and law enforcement broke down at first. Within the first three 563
years after its incorporation in 1926, Chiloquin witnessed no 674
less than twelve appointments to the position of town marshal. At times the Superintendent, concerned over the effect upon the Indians, intervened, delivering an ultimatum or sending in his officers to restore order. His jurisdiction, in turn, was also limited: When Arnold brought pressure to bear upon Chiloquin authorities to close down gambling in the pool halls and card rooms, the gamblers merely shifted their operation to Bly, just over the eastern boundary of the reservation, and the same procedure had to be repeated by state and local officials there.

The interdependence of law enforcement on state lands and 648*
reservation was emphasized during the depression. In 1931, when 657*
logging on the reservation—and with it tribal income—had been 641
temporarily reduced by Washington, a tribal leader, Wade 625
Crawford, succeeded in securing a congressional cut in the [651]
administrative budget of the Agency, which from about 1924 had been supported out of tribal revenue. Since the budgetary allocation for law enforcement then became inadequate, the federal officers left, until there remained only a constable and an

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Indian officer, both at Beatty. Thereupon, Chiloquin's marshal and his deputy also resigned, asserting that enforcement under those conditions was too difficult—and too dangerous, to boot. The county, which had already barred tribal members from the county jail, now took the position that, short of a government request, its courts would try no more Indian cases. Crawford [692] countered with a proposal that the Court of Indian Offenses be reinstituted, while other leaders fell back upon that time-honored solution, the United States cavalry. Several months passed before funds were found to restore the reservation staff to normal strength.[4]

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Within the interlocking jurisdictions of the reservation and the reservation community, Klamath came to play out the role of citizen as a voter, a taxpayer, and the object of legal control. In small towns such as Chiloquin and Sprague River, relationships were primary in character, dominated by face-to-face relationships. Within the special environment of the reservation, with the vast potential of its unexploited resources, something of a western frontier tradition was preserved, with emphasis placed upon individualism and a high premium set upon voluntaristic action in concerting effort.

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*657
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These conditions were nowhere better evident than in Beatty. In this little community, with fewer than one hundred fifty members, leadership was furnished by a few individuals and action was highly informal. Perhaps the most influential person was a white storekeeper, a resident in the community for almost four decades, who had on occasion donated land and cash for worthy causes, who presided over a credit system, and who was much respected by the older tribal members. Among the latter, a leading spirit was the widow of his brother-in-law, who could be counted upon to act with him. His store was a frequent gathering place and the debating ground of the "hot stove league," where tribal politicians from the Upper End were often to be found. Another local leader was a young white, married to a tribal member, who farmed along the Sprague and in his spare time was a vigorous preacher in the Assembly of God Church.

Indians from other reservations, also married to Klamath, provided specialized leadership. One was prominent in the affairs of

000 For the recency of separation of the Modoc, see Gatschet (1890), Pt. 1, pp. 13, 14, n.13, 1.

5. See Sapir, reprinted in Mandelbaum (1951), pp. 169-78.

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M [114] [161]
6. Mooney (1928), p. 18, gives a value for the Klamath of 800 and for the Modoc, 400 persons. Kroeber (1925), p. 320, sets the combined figure at 2,000 and estimates that the Klamath have always numbered more than twice the Modoc population. Spier (1930), p. 5, reaches total figures in agreement with Kroeber. Kroeber (1939), pp. 136-38, reverts to Mooney's values in estimating tribal densities.

7. For the latter, chiefly Barrett (1910), Coville (1897, 1904), Curtin (1912), Curtis (1924), Dorsey (1901), Gatschet (1890), Kroeber (1925), Powers (1877), Ray (1963), and Spier (1930), the last two being the most important sources, respectively, for Modoc and Klamath.

8. Anastasio (1955). The changing societal constellations each directed toward a common task also resemble the "structural poses" described by Gearing (1962), for the eighteenth-century Cherokee, with the difference that the social groups entering into the constellations among the Klamath and Modoc are, by comparison, far more diffuse and less well defined.

9. Spier (1930), p. 13, site 6.

10. See Spier (1930), p. 15, site 23. The settlement size follows Spier.

11. As the Klamath pungently express it, "They even divide up a flea." Barker (1963), pp. 162-63.

K [648] [625]
12. An Agent once requested waiver of the stipulation that Indian police must stand five feet eight inches in height, since few Klamath men could qualify.

13. Dorsey (1901), p. 21.

14. Quoted in Pearsall (1950), pp. 348 ff. For details of wokas preparation, see Coville (1904).

15. Spencer (1956), pp. 77 ff. From time to time, I heard much the same speech directed by this woman to the boy, aged twelve. As Spencer remarks, at no time did his immediate actions give occasion for her harangue. She was, however, much concerned over some of his associates.

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M [594]
16. The term "natal family" is employed as a more graceful alternative to the conventional "family of orientation," to denote the nuclear unit into which the individual is born and within which he is reared. For similar reasons, I have preferred the term "marital family" to denote the "family of procreation," a similar entity seen from the vantage of the married partners who stand at its head. See Murdock (1949), p. 13, for a discussion of the original terms.

*539 683 [551] [756] **64, 1.** Tetĕmádshish or Aunt Susie is one of the numerous female "doctors", who eke out a scanty living from some patients of the Klamath Lake tribe. She received the above name for having been a washerwoman to the soldiers stationed at Fort Klamath, and the nickname Wúya-ak was bestowed on her on account of her predilection for small sucker fish.

64, 2. sümtsálχa. The means employed by her to discover that Dr. John had cast upon the patient a spell of a deadly character, were the singing or recital of tamánuash songs, and the *dreams* which she had on that subject. Her tamánuash songs had *seen* those of the accused conjurer. See **65, 9.** The great majority of the tribe still believes in the possibility of witchcraft.

64, 7. The two sentences contained in this line anticipate the result of the whole trial, and the popular verdict. The proper place for them would be after **65, 15.**

64, 9. Tuá ni etc. The defense made by Dr. John in his own case is not an unable one, nor is it devoid of oratorical powers. But if the arguments were delivered in the order as given by Dave Hill, they ought to have followed each other in a more logical order to attain their full effect.

64, 10. wák lish etc. The logical connection existing between this sentence and the foregoing has to be supplied by: "why should he have been my personal enemy?"

[192] **64, 10, 11, 13 etc.** î, ik stands here for ăt (*ye*); because, when the headchief is addressed in council, all the others are addressed also. Lóli stands for lóla î. The trial took place on Williamson River.

64, 13. kúkamtchish. The distributive form is used here instead of the absolute verbal k'mû'tchish, because old age comes on *gradually, by degrees.*

64, 16. tchî ínsh instead of tchî nish; the language likes juxtaposition of two short equal vowels, even when a metathesis is required.

65, 8. Kátak etc. Aunt Susie's opinion, given just after Púkish's death and some time *before* the trial, did not fail to have a striking effect on the superstitious judges and tribe, for her arguments perfectly agree with the national ideas. But to us the arguments seem so weak, that no conviction seems justified, if not based on other evidence.

65, 9. nä'nsak etc. "Your defense does not disprove any of the points advanced against you."

[192] **65, 11.** K'mukámtsam nä'-ulaks: "the old customs of the people."

[124] **65, 16.** The second account of this tamánuash-case was obtained a few weeks after the trial; Dr. John was present at the agency buildings at the time of the dictation, furnishing the facts to my informant.

[697] **66, 4.** ká-ishnank etc. This underground jail was in such an unhealthy condition that Dr. John could not have lived in it through the tenth part of his long term of imprisonment.

[625] **66, 5.** Tchikéskni and Skélag, names of two watchmen (i-álhish); the chiefs appoint watchmen from time to time. Skélag is "the young weasel" and Tchikéskni "man living at Tchikési camping-place". They were armed with pistols to foil any attempt at escape.

[192] **66, 10.** nä'dshek for nä'dsh ak: "the only one". Compare nádshiak, **60, 21**; waítak, **56, 7.** and *Notes.*

[192] [193] **66, 12.** shishi'tilatk. The past participle often stands for forms of periphrastic conjugation: shishítilatko gi, they *were* carrying in their dress. Cf. illólatko, **55, 20.**

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

556

wealthy individuals. In approximate frequency of mention are slaves, horses, beads—and not always dentalium—food, archers' equipment, furs and hides, especially elk hides, Plains type garments, armor, large houses, buffalo skins, canoes. It is just as interesting to observe what things were not mentioned as valuable, or so to a lesser degree: baskets, nets, mortars, etc. In a word, articles of value in foreign commerce, articles of dress and adornment, of war, ritual, and sustenance, have value; domestic utensils have not. Some of the phrases describing wealthy men are illuminating. A war leader is chosen in part for his riches: he would own five quivers (five is the pattern number); he goes into battle with a quiver under each arm and one on his back. If his bowstring is cut he has another. A rich man has fur blankets, coyote and wolf pelts.

Dentalium shell beads do not function as money here as on the lower Klamath river. They are strung in fathom or half-fathom lengths, but neither length of string nor size of shell is standardized. The longer individual shells are more valuable but no one is known to haggle over the precise length as Yurok and their neighbors do. 436

MARRIAGE

A marriage payment is a social obligation. It is not a negotiated transaction as with the Yurok, Hupa, and Karok, for example, where indeed the social status of the family is measured in exact accord to the sum paid for the bride. Here failure to pay, which can be only a confession of inability, leads only to a lowering in social esteem. It is consonant with this that the bride is in no sense a chattel; she may leave her husband at will, and she certainly cannot be disposed of as a possession. Bride purchase is as inapplicable a term as can be found for the Klamath practice. In the interchange of presents which follows marriage the advantage lies most frequently with the husband's family. Payment constitutes an obligation, a seal of respectability. This is the well-nigh universal situation in North America if payments enter at all; it is a far cry from the commercial, contractual bride purchase of Africa, for example. The peculiarity of the Klamath is that failure to pay constitutes a social stigma. This is clearly explicable as a function of their geographic position, lying between the tribes to the west, with their clear-cut monetary evaluations of social relations, and the tribes of the Great Basin to the east, utterly devoid of any such sentiments.

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581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
[848] borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-
[177] style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
596 but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
[177] extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, *de facto* groupings
rather than *de jure*. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organiza-
[594] tion of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obliga-
592 tory responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-
592 father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly ex-
treme cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual owner-
ship of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with re-
gard to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
434 children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

Susan: Female, Age 24

Background Data

156 Unlike Slim, Susan is not so well liked or respected. The occasion for this is
*159 specific, an unsanctioned pregnancy during her last year in high school and a
[848] more recent marriage to an entirely disreputable Mexican from Utah. This community
evaluation is accentuated because of the very high respect in which her
[382] own family is held. Everyone expected better of Susan.

•[626] Susan has worked as a dishwasher in several cafeterias, both on and off the
reservation, and moved to Utah so as to take a practical nursing course. She
*159 found this training uncongenial, met and married her husband, and they returned
[464] to the reservation when his small business failed. Susan is a high school graduate.

[874] Susan's mode of selecting a husband parallels that of her mother, who met her
husband while hospitalized in New Mexico. Her father by birth is an Apache
*159 Indian, and by cultural affiliation a southwestern United States Spanish-American.
593 Without doubt, he is the most autocratic, stern, demanding, rigid adult male on
the reservation. Although a married woman with children of her own, Susan must
ask her father's permission to use the telephone or to walk downtown. Her mother
was Klamath and very well respected for her stable family life and for her active
participation in many community activities. Susan was extremely close to her
mother until her unexpected death several years ago. They were known as an inseparable
pair and her mother never went out of the house without her. The
mother's death was, perhaps, the major cause of Susan's failure to complete her
nurse's training. Susan's illegitimate pregnancy in high school was a considerable
shock to her mother and is, with her marriage, a continuing source of strain
[155] with her father. Susan evidently feels that her behavior was a contributing
cause for her mother's death. She made a death-bed promise to her mother that
she would not be a loose girl and that she would marry and stay married to one
man. It was shortly thereafter that she married and returned to the reservation
to live with her father. There is much strain within this household, derived
from the relations between father and son-in-law, and from Susan's unsuccessful
efforts to serve two masters, for along with her marital relationship she evidently
[626] was trying to act as a replacement for her deceased mother's role. At the
same time her conduct has alienated her from the church, from family friends,
and from the community.

*159 The contact with Susan was made via her father, who told her that she should
cooperate. Her father's motivation in this was not, as may be supposed, the conviction
[124] that she needed testing because something was wrong with her, but involved
[123] a more general sentiment. He felt somewhat honored to have an "educated
man" visit his house and that such a contact was a good experience for his children.
[593] Susan accepted this like an obedient, dutiful daughter. She came readily,
with no indication of unwillingness, and relations with her were quite good,
perhaps because of the strains of her marginal position and her need to talk
with someone.

*159 Susan seemed an apathetic person whose feelings were dulled. If anything, her
reactions were those of an over-trained, too obedient child. She was not very
157 responsive or active, and would seldom talk except to answer a direct question.
Then she would, frequently with evident pain and anxiety, describe her feelings
and situations tersely and haltingly. Susan clearly wants more than her life
now gives her, but cannot define her present conflicts or see her way clear to

Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively 159*
sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of [156]
the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the [464]
last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She
is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except [874]
for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her husbands in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of
nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals
and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played
with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making
and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early
twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for
everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were [871]
sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from
home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, [857]
and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an
extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her [593]
parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking"
activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area,
with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruction from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother. [868]
Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were [191]
disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in
boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote
her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother
was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be
due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before [864]
she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was
at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she [626]•
is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. [156]
She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of
their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband,
who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and [586]
divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five
other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never [156]
more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occasionally one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts [588]
to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages,
and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house
(it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are technically illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this 59*
sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her. 56

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone,
particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first
advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request [124]
testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was
wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

Carrie: Male, Age 36

Background Data

156 Carrie is the model of a self-made, upwardly mobile, brash and back-slapping
*159 young American male. He is a tribal leader whose power is rooted in an amalgama-
tion of various dissident elements, rather than in a large kin group, and a
[622] business man with numerous interests. He says, of himself, that "I have no
occupation, as occupations go. I guess you might say I am a confidence man."

*159 Like the other subjects, Carrie was raised on a ranch by his parents. He is a
high school graduate and a graduate of a junior college course in accounting.
[873] His work record suggests his ambition and his upward progression, for he started
as a farm laborer, went to truck driving, then worked during World War II as
[464] a production machinist, completed his education, then worked for the Agency and,
finally, was able to settle down to living off his several sources of income.
He has never been out of the state except for short business trips. He spends
most of his time on the reservation attending to tribal and his own business,
156 and participating in various voluntary and formal associations. More recently
*159 he has become active in politics on a local level and by some has been ear-marked
as a "comer." His intellectual horizons are very wide, extending to a keen
[666] awareness of the difficulties faced by Dag Hammarskjold. His reputation is ex-
cellent and he is particularly esteemed by many Whites, although this esteem is
622 not shared by all Klamath, which reflects only the factionalism of Klamath politics
and, perhaps, the efforts of some to control a man who is too successful.

[184] Carrie has been married once and this marriage has lasted 15 years. He has six
children and his family life, again, is precisely what might be expected of a
successful young American. Carrie's entire style of life is entirely different
from that of most other young Klamath men.

*159 Very little is known of Carrie's early life except that his background is rural
Klamath and that his mother was a housewife and his father an indifferently and
intermittantly employed laborer.

156 The writer never made much headway with understanding Carrie until the day he
was brow-beaten into taking the Rorschach. Before this time he had been seen
124 only as an aggressive, back-slapping, competitive, and somewhat empty character.
He had agreed to testing, but had managed to slip out of several appointments
until one day when the entire complement of field workers descended on him during
a visit, arguing and insisting that he had to set the example. Carrie was thus
hung on his own petard, and when we walked into the testing room there was some
question as to who was the most fearful of the consequences of this episode,
Carrie or the examiner. Carrie was manifestly tense and fearful, but in a very
short period of time relaxed and accepted the test situation. Rapport was ex-
cellent, and Carrie clearly defined the situation as one where he should discuss
156 his private concerns, motives, and sentiments. From sessions like this it be-
came evident that Carrie's brash front consisted of a set of behaviors he saw
as appropriate to his position. That is, the social Carrie was a well defined
role. Behind this persona lay a genuine concern with the welfare of tribal
members and their future, as well as strong personal aspirations, deep committ-
ments to family and community, and fears associated with his private feeling
that he was not an adequate or relaxed "mixer." He stated, for example, that
"I guess I just don't have the courage to get out, even among my own people.
I'm not much of a talker and I guess you'd say I'm kind of backward. I really
prefer to be alone by myself." Some of this apprehensiveness is associated

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
622 2664. Fishing	−	−	+					+	−	·+	+	+	−	−	+	−
2665. Vegetable-food quests	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2666. Pine-nut trips	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[537] 2667. Orates at public ceremonies	+	−	+	−	+	·+	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+
2668. Talks from sweat house, at dances	−		−					·+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2669. Talks morning and evening	·+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	−
2670. Moral lectures to children	+	+	+					·+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+
[627] 2671. Settles disputes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
2672. Pays or helps pay wergild	−		+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	−
2673. Sets price for wergild payments			−			+	+	+	+	−	.	(+)	−	−	−	.
2674. Sanctions killing of offenders	−	−	−					−	−	+	−	.	+	−	+	−
[721] 2675. Concerned with war	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	.	+	.
2676. Declares war	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	·+	+	+	.	+	.
c2677. Goes to war	+	−	−	−	+	±	+	+	+	−	·+	+	+	.	+	.
2678. Negotiates for peace	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	·+	−	−	.	+	.
Escort																
[574] 2679. Some 1 person accompanies chief on visit	−	−	−				+	·+	−	−	·+	+	·+	+	·+	−
2680. Several men, youths, accompany chief on visits	+	+	+				−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	·+
Female Chiefs and Titled Women																
[562] 2681. Female chiefs	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
2682. No male chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2683. Male chief also	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
2684. Sister, cousin of male chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2685. Daughter of male chief	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
2686. Wife of male chief	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	.
2687. Gives orders to men	−	−	+	·+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2688. Sends messengers with orders.	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2689. Substitutes for male chief in absence of latter	−	−	.	·+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2690. Supervises preparation of food for ceremony	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
2691. Titled women	−	−	−			(−)	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	+	+
2692. Sister, cousin of male chief	−	−	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+
2693. Daughter of male chief	−	−	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	+	−
Assistant to Male Chief																
2694. Assistant chief	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
c2695. Number per political unit	.	1	.	−	−	−	2	1	1	−	1	1	−	−	1	−
2696. Son or brother of chief	.	−	.	−	−	−		+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
2697. Advises chief	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
2698. Substitutes for chief in his absence.	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2699. Provides money for public gathering	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
2700. Supervises preparation, division of food for ceremony	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	+	−
2701. Lifelong office	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
Criers																
624 2702. Appointed by chief	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2703. Chosen at assembly of old men	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2704. Hereditary, paternal line	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
2705. Ability basis of selection	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
c2706. Number per chief or headman	−	1	2	−	−	−	1	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	1
c2707. Number per village	−		2	·2	−	−	1	−	1	−	−	−	1	−	−	1

727 535 2917. Kl: Men and women dancers in 2 separate single files; circle fire, men circling it clockwise, women counterclockwise. Women dance on inside, near fire, men on outside. Stamp left foot continually. As men come down to fire, hand women dancers scalps, each on small hand pole. Dancers sing; also have singers who stand by fire. No rattles used. Dance thus for 5 nights sometimes; each night dance stops about midnight.

000 2921. Mo: Center pole has several scalps on it. At: Pole 5 ft. tall. NF: Scalp at top of pole.

[648] 2922. WM: "Learned to tie heart on top of pole from Kl."

2923. Mo: Woman leader of dance carries single scalp on small hand pole.

2940. Such as elkhide tunic, rod armor; carry bow and arrows, and shield if such is used.

727 783 627 Purification of killers; wounded.--This section relates in the main to persons who have engaged in intratribal murders rather than to warriors returning from open combats. The distinction between the taboos imposed on killers in open warfare and individuals who have secretly killed in a feud should have been more specifically inquired about, and separate entries made for the purification practices followed in each instance. Unfortunately this was not done and the field data do not allow insertion of separate entries for more than 5 or 6 of the groups covered. As a general rule, warriors seemed to have engaged in few purificatory practices; whereas for SW, SE, and other groups feud-murderers observed many of the taboos listed in this section. NF taboos which follow relate to person who has taken scalp in intertribal war. Such person is deemed witai (crazy) after he has taken scalp; must be purified before he can rejoin family.

2941. Kl: No ceremonialism connected with observance, however. Klamath Marsh men swim in lake.

2951. At: 2-3. WM: 4-5 days.

2955. Kl: Fish also taboo.

Peace Negotiations

000 Compensation for slain; dance of settlement.--

2958. SW: No compensation for slain, but compensation for captives. See note 2873, SW. AE: No settlement for intertribal killings in war; "just keep on owing each other a war (AE owe Paiute a war now; the Paiute came over and killed a man, years ago)." It is modern custom to settle for intertribal wars; Mo did it, under Captain Jack. MM: For intertribal wars, as with Washo, neither side will take payment for those killed. "Just fight it out; when good and ready, MM chief may send messenger man over to Washo; then they'd make friends with them."

[212-A]

*539
683
[192]
[193]

68, 13. gé'hlaptchapka. The verb gelápka means to step on, to mount, ascend; with 'h infixed, to mount upon something by using one's hands; ge'hláptcha is to perform this while on the way, while going or travelling; gé'hlaptchapka, to perform this at a distance from other people and unseen by them. Doctor John escaped, aided by his son, in the midnight hour.

68, 14. m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Gatpĕnóta is a derivative of gátp'na with a durative signification, the suffix -óta pointing to an action performed while another is going on. "His son having arrived close by, while he was imprisoned."

68, 16. shnû'ntatka, verbal intentional of shnû'nta, the suffix -tka being sometimes substituted for the usual -tki, -tki gíug.

PUNISHMENT OF MANSLAUGHTER THROUGH WITCHCRAFT.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539
755
627
[115]

Tína mák̲laks mā'ntch-gī'tk ná-asht gī: "tû salχī'ta snawédsh gé-u
Once man long ago thus spoke: "over there is bewitched wife my

shíllalsht! ī a-i táwi!" Tsúi tchíkash skúyui suákitsatki gíug; tsúi géna
having fallen sick; you bewitched (her)!" Then an old man he sent out to call a conjurer; and he started

tchíka suákitsuk, tsúi shuákiuk ndéna, tsúyuk túmĕna shuíshuk, kíuksam
the old man to fetch the conjurer, and to call him out halloed, and he heard the magic songs, conjurers'

yaínatat shuī'sh; áti ha shuíshuk. Tsúi géna kíuks tsutánsuk, tû'shtaks a
on the mountain songs; far away (are) songs these. Then goes the conjurer to treat (her), to the spot where

salχíta. At shû'ta hû'nk, tchúi hántsna. Gétpa mû'ns súmmatka, shuī'shuk
she lies bewitched. Now he works on her, and sucks. Comes out a big thing through (his) mouth, to sing

tpéwa, summátka hántsantkiug. Tsúi hántchipka, tsúi putá, tsúi húsatchip-
he orders (those present), with (his) mouth while he would suck on. Then he sucks out, and feels choked, and throws up

gapēle hánshish m'na; sχû'dχa lútatkish. At hû'k sχótka, k̲ú-i hukī' tsutísh
again sucked-out article his; swallows (it) (his) expounder. Now (after) he has swallowed (it), worse that (patient) being treated

gī'ntak, k̲ú-i gī, wigá telsámpka k̲'lä'ksh. Kiúks hû'k tché-ulχa shû'kpal-
in spite of, worse (she) is, almost she looks towards the spirit land. Conjurer the starts to leave wanting to

takiug k̲ú-i gī'sht k̲á-i gī'lχisht pásh; tchúi hû'k ná-asht gī kálamtak
retire worse because she turned (and) not passing through (bowels) the food; hereupon he thus speaks whose own

snéwedsh shī'la shalχī'tnuk, kíukshash: "ī a-i táwi húnksh." Tchúyuk
wife is sick for being bewitched, to the conjurer: "you have bewitched her." But

sakámka kíuks: "k̲á-i a nû táwit! shī'laka hût!" kíuks tchúi nā'sht
opposes denial the conjurer: "not I did bewitch (her)! had become sick (before) she!" conjurer then so

hémkank. At k̲'léka snawédsh.
said. Now dies the woman.

*539 755

Wudoká	hushtsóχa	sha	kíuksas	sálχitnuk	klékshat	húnk	snawédshash.
Struck	(and) killed	they	the conjurer	for being bewitched (and)	having died	this	woman.

627

Tsúi	sa	lúluksla	snawẹ́dsh	kíuksam	síuks;	hû'nk	sa	kíuksas	ä'mpĕle
And		cremated	the woman	by the conjurer	killed;	him	they	the conjurer	brought back

tchī'shtal,	tsúi	sa	lúluksla	máklaks.
to (his) lodge,	and		cremated (him)	the people.

NOTES.

68, 1 etc. This is a pretty good illustration of the method of doctoring by suction adopted in similar tamánnash cases. Persons sent out to call for the conjurer do not enter his cabin, but loudly halloo outside till he appears; in this instance he is supposed to sing his medicine songs amidst the solitary wilds of the mountain slopes.

[192] [177] **68, 1.** mū'ntch-gī'tk. This temporal adverb places the mode of punishment described by the informant among the *ancient* customs of the people. Compared to what is stated here, the trial of Doctor John shows a material modification in the dealings with suspected conjurers, attributable to the influence of the white population.

[192] [193] **68, 1. 10.** salχíta is always used in a passive signification, "to be afflicted with the tamánnash spell or bewitching power", which conjurers can send out at will.

68, 1. 2. The words inclosed in quotation marks *anticipate* all that follows up to 68, 10.

68, 2. 8. a-i. This particle has the signification: "undeniably, evidently".

[754] **68, 5.** shû'ta hû'nk. The "working" of a conjurer on a patient's body consists in rubbing, pressing, magnetizing, in blowing on it, and in pouring water over the face or other parts. [753] Sucking out the object which caused the disease is of course the principal operation called for to effect a cure.

68, 5. mû'ns; it is not stated whether this hánshish was a frog, a worm, a small stick, or any such thing; this is immaterial, for the Indian strictly believes that the article was removed from the patient's body and that it caused the disease.

[192] **68, 6.** hántsantking and 68, 8: shúkpaltakiug stand for hántchantki gíug and shukpalítki gíug; cf. shû'kpĕli.

68, 6. hántchipka properly means: "he sucks towards himself"; husatchipgápĕle [192] "he throws up again to himself"; viz. into his mouth, so as to be able to take it out [193] with his hands.

68, 7. lútatkish is the conjurer's assistant. His office is to repeat his tunes or speeches before those present in the lodge, to expound or explain his sayings, to start songs and tunes in his stead, and to perform such manipulations as mentioned here.

68, 8. k'lä'ksh, contracted from k'läkápkash, the dead, the deceased; k'lekápkash telshámpka, to be on the point of death.

[192] **68, 8.** tché-ulχa: he rises from his seat on the ground, or on a blanket near the patient's couch, for the purpose of leaving.

[756] **69, 1.** hushtsóχa. The killing of a doctor or doctress by the relatives of the patient who died under his or her treatment was nothing unusual in the Columbia Basin until quite recently. In some tribes the third failure in curing brought certain death on the conjurer, especially when he had received his reward in advance.

in importance to fish. Summer is also the time of travel and trade, 221
taking people as far as the Dalles where they may elect to spend the
winter. Winters are exceptionally severe at this altitude (4000 feet), [132]
with deep snow and lakes, marshes, and even streams solidly frozen.
Movement is stopped and unless a winter residence has been chosen [133]
which gives some possibility of fishing, starvation may be faced before 221
spring. These winter sites are in sheltered, sunny spots on running
streams or at springs warm enough to prevent ice from forming. The 361
families return in the fall, rebuild the earth-lodges from the remains [226]
of the previous year's structure, and are all snugly housed by mid-December.
The only permanent settlements are the winter villages.
The summer residences are shifting, and while reoccupied from year
to year, there is no feeling that particular camping localities belong
to certain groups. The summer camps are rather indiscriminate aggregations [628] •
of any Klamath, but the winter locations are so fixed of habit
as to give a measure of political separatism to the several localities.

The case of Tom Lang's family is typical. Their permanent winter home is at iu'laloŋx, a large village on the west side of Link river at the foot of Klamath lake, hence Tom is considered one of the southern lake people, iu''laloŋkni generically. His family is accustomed to move for the spring fishing to dïtk!aks, Barclay spring, or to Modoc point, both on the east side of the lake, where they erect temporary lodges. Crossing the lake to dë'ktcoŋks they leave their canoes and travel overland to woksa'lks on the north shore of Wokas marsh. Here Tom was born in July. When the berry and wokas harvest is ended they retrace their steps and take canoe to Algoma to pick wild plums, berries, etc. From there they drift back to their winter home.

The towns for the most part lie along Williamson river, on the
southern side of Klamath marsh, and along the eastern shore of Klamath
lake. As these are winter settlements, the open lake is avoided,
and occupied only where warm springs outweigh its disadvantages.
They cluster along Williamson river whose sheltered valley is distinctly [133]
warmer than the lake front a few miles distant and where the
running stream contains fish most of the year. [132]

The towns are not isolated, compact groups of houses, but stretch 361
along the banks for half a mile or more. In fact, the settlements on
Williamson river below the Sprague river junction form a practically 342
continuous string of houses for five or six miles, the house pits being,
in many spots, crowded close together. Informants insisted that
many of these were occupied at the same time. When we consider
that these earth-lodges may have housed several families, there is
strong suggestion of a considerable population.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

721 [619] [567] scale expeditions were undertaken only after the slave traffic was established on an extensive scale. On one occasion at least all the chiefs were at a dance preparatory to going to war: this implies that all the tribelets were engaged. All the tribelets joined similarly in a raid for revenge against the Upland Takelma. It is said that the Klamath marsh division (ă'ukckni), by far the largest group, always extended the invitation for war, but I doubt that this is literally so. It is true that they led in aggressions just prior to reservation days, but this seems because of the initiative of their chief Lɛle'ks, the most prominent ever known, who was singularly interested in the slave trade for his personal advantage.

726 628 Internecine warfare is probably as significant as that with foreigners, for quarrels and blood feuds are quite common. Feuds exist between the several subdivisions, not within them, evincing a solidarity which but rarely extends to the tribe. Thus the du'kwakni of the mouth of Williamson river are known to have taken action against members of each of the four other divisions, even the gu'mbötkni of Pelican bay with whom they are closely linked. There are cases of reciprocated action by each of the five against the others indiscriminately. Yet Pat Kane stated that the lesser divisions avoided conflict with the ă'ukckni. Yet there is the case of his own people, du'kwakni, fighting with an ă'ukckni settlement. Nancy Phillips said it was true that she knew of no cases involving gu'mbötkni or iu" laloŋkni (southern lake people) with ă'ukckni, but this does not mean they would not fight. I think it hardly likely that the others are awed by the numbers of the ă'ukckni, for the feuds are essentially between groups of relatives alone. Yet others besides relatives might be induced to join.

721 628 A characteristic circumstance initiating a feud is the murder of a man residing with a wife of another tribelet. Ten or twenty of his male relatives take canoe and demand the delivery of the murderer or satisfaction from his relatives in the form of women, slaves, beads, dentalia, etc. The parley (ndĕ'na) is held from a safe distance at the top of their voices. Instead of acceding, the offenders may offer fight. But an effort is usually made to reach an agreement by offering payment. They may forestall retaliation by dispatching as a go-between (gaḳö'ḳwa) a relative of the offended group who is paid for his trouble, a canoe, a shirt, net, skin armor, or a woman's dress. If they have neither women nor money to offer, they give nets, weapons, anything, even to the last things they have. If no amicable adjustment can be reached they resort to fight. Even though the score be evened

by the death of several on each side, the feud continues until payment 726
is made. Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried 628 ●
out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery.

A chief may intervene; so I was told, though I doubt it. Chiefs do 728
accompany parleying parties and other men may echo their words. 622
Beyond that there seems to be nothing to their position but personal prestige which has been enhanced by developments since reservation days. Lɛle'ks and his successors among the ă'ukekni seem to have made much of their position. Pat's father and Tc!i'wi, both du'kwakni, killed a iu"lalonɛ man at stŏ'kmate, Eagle Point. They were taken to Klamath marsh and each beaten five times at the order of this chief. This was in pre-reservation days, or at least prior to the establishment of the agency in 1864 (?). Nevertheless this is not aboriginal, but, [177]
according to Nancy Phillips, these "laws" were brought by her cousin from the north.

The group that owes recompense, having lost fewer men, goes to 728
the other offering payment to even the score. The value of a man's life is not a fixed item, as it is for the lower Klamath river tribes; this despite the similarity of marriage payment and the slur on children not born of a purchased mother. My informants professed ignorance of what should be paid, yet it can hardly be doubted that recompense accorded with a man's wealth and prestige.

Children who are captured are kept; settling the score does not mean that they are restored, though this may well be only in case they have been sold. Their fate depends on their captors, who may elect to rear them as their own children. More commonly they are miserably treated, made to sleep with the dogs, fetch water, etc., and beaten if
they are lazy. They are as quickly sold at Warm Springs and the [437]
Dalles as are foreign captives. With the latter at least there is an advantage in immediately disposing of them, that they do not grow up to carry back to their own people precise knowledge of the habits and topography of the Klamath world.

Kŏ'kdiŋks of du'kwa was a chief (lŏ'ki) in warfare. He would tell his tribes- 159
men to get ready to fight with the iu"laloŋkni, for instance. He was always 701
in the forefront of battle. When a youth he went out to seek power by bathing
and wandering through the mountains at night. His mother had told him that 721
long before those of iu"lalonɛ had slain his father, Lɛ"l'.wis, a du'kwa shaman accused of poisoning one of them. He wanted to become a warrior to have

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
765 4366. Other towns invited												+	+	+	+	+
[628] 4367. Other local groups sometimes invited	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
[627] 4368. Sanctioned by headman	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
4369. Headman in charge	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
4370. Headman attends, speaks	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
†4371. Ceremony lasts ... days, nights	−	−	−	−	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	1	2	2	3	2
4372. Daytime affair, entirely	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
4373. Mainly night affair, some daytime activities	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4374. Held outside	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4375. Unroofed brush fence, near cemetery	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
4376. Under trees, in summer	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
4377. In round brush enclosure	−	(−)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
4378. At cemetery, no enclosure	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
4379. Held inside	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
4380. Living house	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4381. Assembly house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
*4382. Participants wail	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
4383. Participants dance													+	+	−	+
[537] 4384. Oratory	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
4385. By headman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
4386. By shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
4387. By orator	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
4388. Images used in ceremony	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4389. Made by relatives of deceased	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
4390. Made by chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
4391. Made by nonrelatives	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
4392. All images burnt at cemetery, at dawn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4393. Offerings in honor of dead	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4394. Food	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
4395. Baskets	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4396. Clothes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4397. Offerings put on poles	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4398. Single pole for each variety of offering	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4399. Poles planted in ground	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
4400. Poles carried about	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
4401. Offerings burnt at cemetery at dawn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4402. Dance, holding baskets, before burning; wail													+	+	−	+
4403. Offerings put on graves	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4404. Ceremonial purification	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
4405. All who cry wash own faces	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
4406. All who cry swim at end	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4407. All change clothes												+	+	+	−	+
[525] 4408. Gambling in daytime, after burning	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
4409. Feast during daytime	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
4410. Rich mourners all contribute food	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
4411. Held at same spot where mourners wailed	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−
4412. Held in village camp	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
4413. Held day following burning	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
4414. After eating, cry again	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
4415. Mourners return home at sundown	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

to say nothing of captured women from Shasta, the Achumawi K M
and Atsugewi of the Pit River region, Paiute, and the tribes 621
beyond the Cascades. Among the Modoc, the villages of the band 582
called *gumbatwas* are said to be composite in membership, including 563
Modoc, Klamath, Pit River, and Shasta; and those of the
Upland Klamath consist of Klamath with some Modoc and
Paiute elements.[17]

Allegiance with the village may be partial. If an attack is to K
be launched, war leaders can find recruits only among those men M 621
with proclivity for fighting and an attraction toward the leader. 628 •
On the other hand, feuds may ignite attacks that are restricted 581
to the family groups concerned. While the myths reveal currents 701
of hostility between affinals, in real life marriage acts to extend
the ramifications of support, often into other communities.

Beyond the village lies the tribelet, an entity that recognizes its K
being in a territorial name and in a common cause in feuds with M 619
other tribelets. In its virtual autonomy this unit marks an extreme K
in band organization within the larger tribe, a quality that was 619
reduced by subsequent tribal integration. For the Klamath there
are six tribelets (see map): (1) The Klamath Marsh people,
who outnumber all the others together; (2) the tiny Agency
Lake group; (3) those of the lower Williamson River; (4) the
Pelican Bay tribelet; (5) the Klamath Falls group; and (6) the
Upland Klamath of the Sprague River valley. The Modoc comprise M
three main groups: (7) that of Lower Klamath Lake, extending 619
to Tule Lake (the *gumbatwas* mentioned above); (8)
those clustered upon the lower Lost River; and (9) the eastern
tribelet, with settlements dispersed as far as Goose Lake. No K
firm evidence exists that these local territorial units are distinguished M 619
by either language or culture, although, as already 726
mentioned, at least two are of composite origin. Each tribelet
seems to have gained a tenuous cohesion through a common
recognition of the worth of several prominent headmen. Between K
tribelets there is sometimes war. Under their formidable leader, 619
Kokdinks, the Williamson River group attacked in turn villages 726
of each of the other lower Klamath tribelets, including that at
Pelican Bay, to which they considered themselves related; and
the prolonged war ended only when the Upland Klamath leader,
Monchnkasgitk, a kinsman, first joined, then slew Kokdinks.[18]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K

M
175 1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-
178 scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes.
726 The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging
K M scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty,
175 brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of
726 which based their power upon eminence in war and possession
182 of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers,
622 and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times
565 to cement alliances with shamans.

556 756 Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean
[754] weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power
was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of
us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain
persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would
die."[11]

K The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties.
M
175 A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-
178 bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader
622 increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers
619 from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country.
• 628 As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance ren-
726 dered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment
of worth.

K In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary
622 principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his
175 father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother
as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill,
a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David,
later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain
George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not
essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks,
K [838] of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite
in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the
power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

K A minor factor in these developments may have been the
195 interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in
643 order that they might deal more effectively with responsible
648 leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs
177 met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

BY ROBERT F. SPENCER

173 IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians
177 of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of
178 aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among
[176] other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in
the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of
interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of
their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way
and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer
[182] can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the
folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common
economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies
combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations.
A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to
find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal
myth.

175 Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation
177 from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its
culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which
[222] it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In
[226] its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent
gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes
[631] of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic
[621] economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separatistic hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly
[771] developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest
[791] and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points
to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

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[101] [1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949,
[122] on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund, 1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

[113] [2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

648 Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40 percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation, by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically, less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
[786] area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
[181] Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided in-
[556] creased opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
[436] had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly, local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal mem-
[434] bers, as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners. The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and for-
[651] feited bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street. However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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*648 *657 619 423 association and residence. The membership thus construed included not alone the reservation peoples, but the absentee Modoc and those who had severed their connections with the reservation.

M
648 657 619 423 The ambiguities thus introduced might have been avoided in part had the allotment program maintained some of the provisions of an early allotment plan outlined in 1871 by Commissioner E. S. Parker. By its terms, residence and association taken together were to be made the primary criteria. Whites or interbreeds married to tribal women, who resided with them upon the reservation, and who had been adopted into the tribe might be allotted. Indian women married to whites and living off the reservation forfeited that right, and the children of Indian women living in common-law relations with whites were to receive a share of land only if they moved back to the reservation.[39] It should be remarked, however, that this principle would only have been effective in preventing absentee ownership had residence also been required of heirs. Otherwise, in the first generation the allotments would have been treated like an inherited property. That, indeed, was their fate under the administration of the Dawes Act.

Once allotted, an Indian had a new status. His allotment could be fenced and it could be leased. The results of his industry, together with anticipated lease funds made many a man a good risk for advances in merchandise and foodstuffs. Citizenship lay within his grasp, involving with it a changing jurisdiction under law and bringing about a restive reappraisal of the sometimes autocratic rule of the Superintendent.
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M
• [641]

K
*648 *657 423 311 The original intent of the act had been to transform the Indians into yeomen-farmers. That 160 acres of grazing land on the upper reservation was an economically practicable unit had been doubted by Nickerson, and the subsequent experience of at least one white rancher with long experience in the same area tends to confirm that judgment. At the same time, when several members of a family possessed adjoining tracts, the acreage might be adequate. In later times at least there were complications. Remarked Wilson in 1909:

> . . . the allotting was not made as it should have been made. An Indian will be allotted in Modoc Point district and perhaps

heeded. Surely, the government stands in some measure accountable here; and the Indian viewpoint bears a rough relationship to the events of their history. It errs, however, in oversimplification and has the important consequence of deflecting all responsibility for the condition of the Indians upon the shoulders of others. 648* 657* 829

These developments, when related to the promise of citizenship for Indians, became critical. Originally the Allotment Act had designed that all Indians living apart from their tribes and in assimilation to whites should be awarded citizenship; and that any reservation Indian, upon receiving a patent in trust, would attain the same status. Subsequent amendments postponed citizenship until a patent in fee had been secured. For the Klamath reservation, the local timetable had the result that no trust patents were awarded until all allotments had been made, a condition that in turn had to await settlement of several of the claims suits. The assignment of lands thus took place in an atmosphere heavy with the anticipation of a swift change of status. The better-educated among the leaders, who in turn mingled with those whom allotment had brought back into the reservation polity, were eager to press for greater freedom and increased self-rule. 648* 657* 423 641

Signally, administrators believed the same act implied they had a heightened responsibility toward their charges. Schooling had become compulsory, and O. C. Applegate, then Agent, was convinced that allottees should send their children by preference to reservation school. Repeatedly, in his letters to those seeking allotments, he urged them to send their children to the boarding school "where they will be boarded and clothed without expense to you."[4] To a schoolboy who wished to remain away, he wrote, "Tell your father that I intend all the children to have land on the reservation, and that they must come into school according to the rules."[5] When one off-reservation member failed to send her children to school after having consented to do so, Applegate firmly reproved her and added, "Please write me at once what you propose to do about them, and if it is your wish to have them give up their allotments on the reservation."[6] 648* 657* 871 423

The relationship between schools on and off the reservation now took on a new dimension. Some of the more acculturated tribal members began to criticize the Agency-run schools as 648* 657* 871

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

FOURTEEN

[P.196]

Local Political Relations

*648 IN ADDITION TO THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP EACH KLAMATH BORE
*657 to the federal government, both through the Tribe and as an
• 641 individual, he also entered formally into the role of citizen in a hierarchy of political bodies, ranging from the United States, through state and county, and often participated as well in one of the communities within the reservation. In those relationships, however, his tribal status sometimes conferred upon him special immunities with regard to taxation and the exercise of law. Until the last days of the reservation, when jurisdiction was transferred to the state of Oregon,[1] those Klamath who remained in trust status were responsible solely in federal courts for the commission on Indian land of the so-called "ten major crimes."[2]

[423] Only when the member received a fee patent upon his allotment or—for those who had not been assigned a tract—had all his property placed in unrestricted status, did he become subject to state courts. Oregon's jurisdiction extended within the reservation to the state highways traversing it and to all lands held in fee simple. Since the "Indian country" within the boundaries of the reservation had become checkerboarded with white-owned ranches, the fee-simple tracts of tribal members, together with trust lands and tribally owned territory, the title to which resided with the government, the jurisdictional aspect of law enforcement posed serious problems.

Within this setting operated an interlocking set of agencies, including the state police and courts, the county sheriff and justices of the peace, and the municipal marshal and police judge of communities such as Chiloquin. The sometime immunity of tribal members to their jurisdiction was a frequent cause for comment. Wrote Superintendent Arnold in 1930:

> I might call attention to the fact that at the last election in 648*
> Klamath County a trust patented Indian was elected Justice of 657*
> the Peace, and a fee patented Indian was elected Constable of 641 •
> the Beatty District on the Klamath reservation. It seems a rather [693]
> unusual situation when a trust patented Indian can preside as a judge over a court and pass sentence on other people and at the same time question the same court's jurisdiction over him.'

Nor was this all. Federally regulated land on the reservation [625]
was off bounds for officers of the law from city, county, and state; yet in 1947 there were only two special Indian officers and two deputies to enforce law and order over almost one million acres of reservation. It was physically impossible for them to follow up all cases, and consequently they could not deal effectively with the misdemeanors of delinquents or with truancy from the county schools.

In the 1920's, soon after the opening of the reservation, towns 648*
such as Chiloquin were faced with the influx of a mobile popu- 657*
lation in which the unmarried "timber beast" was prominent. 621
Roistering and violence occasionally assumed major proportions, 625
and law enforcement broke down at first. Within the first three 563
years after its incorporation in 1926, Chiloquin witnessed no 674
less than twelve appointments to the position of town marshal. At times the Superintendent, concerned over the effect upon the Indians, intervened, delivering an ultimatum or sending in his officers to restore order. His jurisdiction, in turn, was also limited: When Arnold brought pressure to bear upon Chiloquin authorities to close down gambling in the pool halls and card rooms, the gamblers merely shifted their operation to Bly, just over the eastern boundary of the reservation, and the same procedure had to be repeated by state and local officials there.

The interdependence of law enforcement on state lands and 648*
reservation was emphasized during the depression. In 1931, when 657*
logging on the reservation—and with it tribal income—had been 641
temporarily reduced by Washington, a tribal leader, Wade 625
Crawford, succeeded in securing a congressional cut in the [651]
administrative budget of the Agency, which from about 1924 had been supported out of tribal revenue. Since the budgetary allocation for law enforcement then became inadequate, the federal officers left, until there remained only a constable and an

*648 Indian officer, both at Beatty. Thereupon, Chiloquin's marshal
*657 and his deputy also resigned, asserting that enforcement under
• 641 those conditions was too difficult—and too dangerous, to boot.
625 The county, which had already barred tribal members from the
county jail, now took the position that, short of a government request, its courts would try no more Indian cases. Crawford
[692] countered with a proposal that the Court of Indian Offenses be reinstituted, while other leaders fell back upon that time-honored solution, the United States cavalry. Several months passed before funds were found to restore the reservation staff to normal strength.[4]

*648 Within the interlocking jurisdictions of the reservation and
*657 the reservation community, Klamath came to play out the role
641 of citizen as a voter, a taxpayer, and the object of legal control.
571 In small towns such as Chiloquin and Sprague River, relationships were primary in character, dominated by face-to-face relationships. Within the special environment of the reservation, with the vast potential of its unexploited resources, something of a western frontier tradition was preserved, with emphasis placed upon individualism and a high premium set upon voluntaristic action in concerting effort.

*648 These conditions were nowhere better evident than in Beatty.
*657 In this little community, with fewer than one hundred fifty
621 members, leadership was furnished by a few individuals and
563 action was highly informal. Perhaps the most influential person was a white storekeeper, a resident in the community for almost four decades, who had on occasion donated land and cash for worthy causes, who presided over a credit system, and who was much respected by the older tribal members. Among the latter, a leading spirit was the widow of his brother-in-law, who could be counted upon to act with him. His store was a frequent gathering place and the debating ground of the "hot stove league," where tribal politicians from the Upper End were often to be found. Another local leader was a young white, married to a tribal member, who farmed along the Sprague and in his spare time was a vigorous preacher in the Assembly of God Church.

Indians from other reservations, also married to Klamath, provided specialized leadership. One was prominent in the affairs of

*648
*657 Although tribal members in Chiloquin lagged little behind their
621 white neighbors in registering to vote (1958), their concern was
563 less with local than with national issues.[6]

• 641 A second aspect of Indian citizenship was the support of local
619 government through payment of taxes. Since all property held
666 in trust or restricted status by the government, together with
*648 income derived from such property, was exempt from taxation,
*657 many tribal members occupied an unusual position among their
641 fellow citizens. The effect was particularly felt by the county and
651 local communities, which were heavily dependent upon property taxes. For years, Klamath County sought to secure funds from the government to compensate it for the trust lands within its boundaries, which were served by county roads, sheriffs, courts, and schools. Johnson-O'Malley funds finally provided money in lieu of taxes to support the schools; to these the Klamath Tribe on occasion added funds for special purposes, but the other causes were unavailing.

In Chiloquin, officials resented the action of one Superintendent, who advised tribal residents that any property bought within the city with funds in trust or restricted status might be restored to corresponding status, even though it had been owned in fee simple when purchased. Such house lots were thus removed from the tax rolls and, although benefited by sewers and other municipal improvements, could not be levied for their support. It was not commonly recognized by white citizens of
[563] Chiloquin that a number of tribal members paid taxes regularly upon property held in fee simple and that a multitude of indirect taxes fell as heavily upon tribal consumers as upon their fellow citizens. Rather, the image was that of a people exempt from financial responsibility toward the support of local institutions from which they benefited. Though a distortion, like many other parts of the stereotype, this evaluation nonetheless contained a substantial kernel of truth.

If truth be told, the citizens of Chiloquin were no more disposed to pay taxes than American citizens anywhere, and indeed they were somewhat less inclined to do so than those elsewhere in Oregon. In 1951-52, the millage rates of Chiloquin were by far the lowest among the organized communities of Klamath

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

County. Of regular municipal income in the year, 1956-57, taxation 648*
supplied only a little over four per cent. The largest sources 657*
of revenue were the water system, the city tavern (which alone 641 •
supplied over one-third of the budget), and the proceeds from 651
law enforcement (amounting to over one-fourth of the budget). Since, after the repeal of Indian prohibition in 1951, tribal members had become the major patrons of the municipal tavern, comprising in 1958 an estimated eighty per cent of its clientele, it is evident that in this indirect manner they had come to constitute a major support in the operation of the municipal government.

Nor was this all. The sizable sum derived from law enforcement 648*
was highly unusual. While the major enforcement problem 657*
in most Oregon cities of comparable size was traffic violations, 641
Chiloquin in 1956-57 found no less than ninety-three per cent of 674
its offenses to be felonies and misdemeanors other than traffic violations. Tribal members and other Indians, including repeaters, accounted for over seventy-two per cent of the arrests; [681]
they paid over seventy per cent of the fines and forfeited bail; [464]
and they furnished over ninety-six per cent of the trusty labor performed in the city.[7]

Aside from a few individual instances, this record does not 648*
reflect a policy of discriminatory arrests on the part of the city 657*
administration. It does, however, mark one of the significant 674
confrontations upon the reservation. It was conditioned in part [641]
by the special statutory position of the Klamath, for as an Indian [656]
under federal supervision he was enjoined by law from having or using liquor and from marrying a white within the state. Until these disabilities were removed in 1951, tribal members were subject to arrest for acts not held criminal when committed
by non-Indians. During prohibition, tribal members had learned [273]
to operate stills, had taken to drinking extracts, proprietary medicines, rubbing alcohol, and "canned heat" in lieu of scarce liquors, and had both patronized and served as bootleggers. Habits of defiant drinking, akin to those of other Americans during the "dry" years, lingered even into the years after repeal.

Klamath experience with strong drink and violence had neither begun with the reservation towns nor was it confined to them;

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Tribal member-
*648 ship was, as we have seen, only one of several
*657 political roles in which Klamath might participate, and in some
619 measure it lay athwart the others. Citizenship in the United
• 641 States, granted generally to American Indians in 1924, affiliation with state, county, and municipality: these political memberships are explicit in character, conditional upon the fulfillment of stated requirements and with the exercise of well-defined rights. Superficially, tribal membership appears to possess a similar character. In the admission of new members, both the establishment of qualifications and the decision upon individual candidates rested with the Tribe, though subject to review by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Applicants had to be of Klamath parentage on at least one side, and those of one-quarter or more Klamath heritage were automatically admitted upon application. In 1945 a clause was added permitting adoption of members of one-sixteenth heritage, contingent upon assurances that they would reside upon the reservation and participate in tribal activities.

In practice, Indian heritage of any sort, and not merely that stemming from the Klamath Tribe, was reckoned in; and token assurances of participation and residence have conventionally
[161] been accepted. Of the final enrollment of 2,133 tribal members,
[162] 86 fell within the category of one-sixteenth quantum. Of these, 12 dwelt on the reservation and another 12 in Klamath Falls, the remaining 62 residing at some distance from the seat of tribal government. Once enrolled, members have not been subject to review, save when their original qualifications were called into question.

In a membership that was not conditional upon performance,
[602] the Tribe had a great deal in common with such ascriptive en-
[621] tities as the family and ramified kin, the traditional tribe, and the broad regional communities into which the latter had tended to cluster.

Family loyalties have been at once strong and selective. At times, they have provided continuities of interest within a single
[602] line. Here, for example, were the Rev. Jesse Kirk, himself the son of a treaty signatory, and his sons, Clayton, Seldon, and Jesse Lee; here old chief Monchnkasgitk, and his sons, Harrison and Henry Brown; here Judge William Crawford, his wife, Eliza, and their son, Wade; here Henry Jackson, his half-brother, Ike, and the latter's son, Boyd Jackson.

crease of tribal business following allotment, the Bureau of Indian 648*
Affairs pressed for the formation of a supplementary executive 657*
body. At Klamath the need for such a body may have been 646
underscored by the abuse of the common council in the partisan [665]
sessions called by the Kirk and Brown factions. Thus, 1908 saw
the introduction of an executive body, called the tribal council,
to function in addition to the occasional councils. Initially, it [563]
was made up of twelve men, six from each End of the reservation,
and with communal representation: its membership included
seven Klamath, three Modoc, and one each from the Pit River
and Paiute. Since it proved difficult to maintain a quorum, the
number was subsequently reduced to eight members.

In 1927, the factionalism which had earlier brought into question 648*
the legitimacy of the common council now touched the 657*
tribal council; for in that year a dissident group elected a rival 646
body and claimed that it had superseded the existing council. 665
Their action placed in jeopardy the efficient administration of [578]
the tribal resources, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs consequently
insisted that matters be set upon a constitutional
footing. After considering several tribal charters submitted to [642] •
them as models, the Klamath in 1929 enacted their own constitution
and by-laws for the executive body, now restyled the Business
Committee. Its six members, three from each End, were to
consider ". . . business matters pertaining to the Tribe. [Matters]
of great importance to the Tribe and which the Business Committee
believe should be referred to a general tribal council"
might be so referred by a vote of five members of the Committee,
with the consent of the Superintendent.[2]

Once more, in 1950, envisaging a time when the tribal government 648*
would have full control over the common estate, a new 657*
constitution was enacted, this time for the General Council. By 642
its terms, all powers were vested in that body, made up of all 646
adult tribal members. In addition, an Executive Committee was
designated, to be composed of the eight members—the number
had again been increased—of the erstwhile Business Committee,
together with the President and Secretary of the General Council.
To this new committee, the General Council was authorized to
delegate powers, although as matters turned out it did so only
reluctantly and after long delay. In turn, by appropriate vote

In turn, by appropriate vote within ninety days, the General Council might—and on occasion did—reverse the action of its Executive Committee. Finally, by a petition of at least one-fourth of the eligible voters, an action of the General Council might be submitted to a referendum of tribal members.[3] *648 *657 • 642 646 [666]

In the succession of tribal bodies, the interest of the government was not solely the convenience of securing formal sanction in property matters concerning the common interest of enrolled members. The tribal government was to provide as well a regular channel by which the government might assess tribal opinion, consult with leaders, and announce programs; and it was to furnish tribal members with experience in responsible citizenship. Through this instrument, a representative body was to be articulated with Bureau administration, its decisions being rendered concrete in official minutes and subjected to review by higher administrative echelons. [182]

Tribal rule is municipal in character, as seen in the restricted scope of its powers.[4] The narrow administrative domain with which the Klamath executive dealt is suggested by the names of the permanent adjuncts of the Executive Committee, the Tribal Loan Board and the Enrollment Committee. In 1947, some fifteen tribal members and one other were employed in General Council and Loan Board activities. By contrast, the Superintendent employed 123 persons, including 31 tribal members and 40 Indians from other groups, in the administration of agency, health, extension, law and order, roads, forestry and grazing, and irrigation.[5] Over these areas the Executive Committee might exercise a veto by cutting from the proposed Agency budget tribal funds allocated to an unwanted item. In this way, the hospital, bull pool, and tribal herd have occasionally been threatened. Ordinarily, however, the Executive Committee took no positive action in the development of a budget. Understandably, Klamath efforts to appoint a tribal member to serve as watchdog over Agency administration were not kindly received.

[693] In the formulation of general policy, the executive drew upon the advice of the tribal attorney, as well as upon unofficial counsel, both sought and volunteered. All major policy decisions required approval by the General Council and were subject to review within the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department

of the Interior. An essential communicatory function was served 648*
by the delegations now sent annually to Washington, to discuss 657*
policy matters with Bureau officials and with members of Con- 642 •
gress. Elected by the General Council, delegates were generally 646
instructed by that body and by the Executive Committee on the official position to be taken. These positions of trust and power were frequently filled by members of the Executive Committee.

By contrast with administrative and executive functions, the regulatory functions which Eisenstadt terms juridical-cultural found little place within the formal structure.[6] For the exercise of legitimate force lay rather with the Superintendent than the Tribe, and even Indian police and courts, while they endured, reflected his authority. For well over a generation during the last period of tribal rule, after "Indian custom" marriage had lost legal status there were no traditional practices requiring special adjudication. In practice, neither expulsion from the Tribe nor curtailment of membership privileges has been meted out as punishment for offenses against the tribal body. At least two tribal members have been re-elected to office despite the common knowledge that they had served prison sentences for felony, a record that by formal regulation should have disqualified them. Presiding over a territory, the Tribe was particularly lax, when not indeed impotent, in exercising control over absentee members. Indeed, the sole coercion brought to bear, and that from a partisan vantage only, has been the withholding of benefits under distribution.

In the General Council there resided undifferentiated tribal powers, and consequently this body best symbolized the continuity of tribal government. For the general membership it simultaneously embodied their tribal identity and functioned as the proper arena for public debate. It was in this assembly, rather than in the executive bodies, that many preferred to see issues discussed and decisions rendered. Reluctance to delegate powers to the executive under the 1950 constitution, which had the result of deferring that act for a year and one-half, was not merely an expression of factional distrust but also voiced a continued Klamath preference for direct and informal consensus in tribal affairs.[7]

Tribal membership was, as we have seen, only one of several 000

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 pro rata apportionment of the tribal assets. Toward this end, he
*657 turned increasingly for support toward the absentee membership.
423 Thus it was that in 1945, returned to Washington as a delegate,
619 Crawford sought passage of a bill that combined some of the
*648 aims of the final settlement proposals with federal purchase of
*657 the tribal tracts, which would then be established as national
423 forests, and with the liquidation of other properties. This met
619 opposition from the dominant tribal party, by this time under the
665 leadership of Boyd Jackson, Dice Crain, and Jesse Lee Kirk. In
successive versions, the proposed legislation was the subject of
hearings conducted both in Washington and on the reservation.
As an outcome of suggestions made then, Supt. Bert. G. Court-
right prepared a trial bill permitting voluntary withdrawal of
competent members, each of whom was to be paid a portion of
his share in the tribal estate. A shift of political winds now swept
Crawford, who became the chief proponent of this bill, back into
political ascendancy.

*648 At this juncture, Seldon Kirk, the respected chairman of the
*657 General Council, intervened to secure establishment of an extra-
• 642 ordinary special committee of those "who believe in the per-
619 petuation of the Klamath Reservation." Among the eight mem-
bers, in addition to Kirk himself, were Jackson and several of
his adherents. The committee drew up a new constitution for
the Tribe, designed to provide a structure satisfactory for self-
government over a proposed transition of two decades. It was
adopted in 1950, but only after being linked with the voluntary
withdrawal bill; and thus for a time both parties rested satisfied.
*648 From a long-range view, it is noteworthy that Crawford had
*657 turned from a plan for an enduring tribal cooperative to one
619 directed to the piecemeal withdrawal of members who wished
to sever tribal connections. In their turn, the former advocates
of final settlement had become the champions for the preserva-
tion of the tribal body.

Further attempts by Crawford to amend the voluntary withdrawal bill and other circumstances delayed action on it until 1953, by which time the government had embarked upon a program seeking to terminate federal supervision over a number of Indian reservations. Chief among them was that at Klamath, for which terms were proposed similar to those outlined for the

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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175 1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-
178 scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes.
726 The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging
K M scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty,
175 brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of
726 which based their power upon eminence in war and possession
182 of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers,
622 and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times
565 to cement alliances with shamans.

556 Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean
756 [754] weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power
was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of
us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain
persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would
die."[11]

K The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties.
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175 A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-
178 bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader
622 increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers
619 from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country.
628 As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance ren-
726 dered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment
of worth.

K In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary
622 principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his
175 father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother
as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill,
a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David,
later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain
George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not
essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks,
K [838] of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite
[839] in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the
power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

K A minor factor in these developments may have been the
195 interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in
• 643 order that they might deal more effectively with responsible
648 leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs
177 met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

Kalapuya settlements in the vicinity of Oregon City, and induced 175
them to be regulated by the same rules as were the Nez Percés 177 643 •
and to appoint a single paramount chief. A disaffected Indian from 648
The Dalles, however, subsequently joined the party as it was making its way homeward and provoked a quarrel in which those favoring the Agent's proposal were slain.[13]

While these events were taking place, the Klamath country 175
was again being visited, at first by occasional parties whom the 648
Indians watched unseen. In the years 1844-45 a mixed party of Walla Walla, Spokane, and Cayuse, under the Walla Walla chief, Piupiumaksmaks, passed through the Klamath region en route to California to buy cattle. In 1843 and again in 1846 the Klamath were visited by the explorer, John C. Frémont. In his earlier visit, the martial captain, in order to quell "the treacherous disposition, which is a remarkable characteristic of the Indians south of the Columbia," fired a round from his howitzer over Klamath Marsh. Although his action was scarcely calculated to allay the suspicions of the Indians, he was shown the same courtesy as had been extended Peter Skene Ogden years before. A village chief—the father of David Hill—and his wife came out to meet the party and guided them east toward Summer Lake.

Frémont's second entrance, in 1846, was less fortunate. In that year, moving up from California, he passed through Modoc country and thereafter up the west shore of Upper Klamath Lake, where he was attacked by a party that had followed him from the southern end of the lake. Three of his Delaware Indians were slain. Although his attackers probably were from the Klamath Falls tribelet, Frémont's reprisal was directed instead at a village of the Lower Williamson group. Neither women nor children were spared in the attack. The slaughter left a legacy of hatred that did much to draw some of the Klamath into the Molala war.[14]

By the time of Frémont's second visit to the Kamath country, [731]
the Indians of Oregon had been sorely stricken. Diseases brought by the whites had ravaged the tribes of the Columbia and Willamette valleys. The Hudson's Bay Company had sought to assure a firm supply of furs in the country it controlled and thus to maintain just and amicable relations with the Indians; and many of its employees had taken Indian wives. It was now being

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> top rail of a fence, facing the redskins assembled in the meadow before him, flanked by a group of young and energetic Indians who were his sworn friends and allies, he dispensed summary justice to the most notorious recent offender. . . . He then proceded [sic] to explain, through a Klamath interpreter, that the old chief, though entitled to all honor and respect for his years of valuable service, had ceased to be an effective officer and should be replaced by a younger and more active man. The new day had arrived, he said, when the Indians were adopting the white man's ways of life, and chief among these was the white man's law, which demanded that justice should be done and order maintained without fear or favor, and which provided for such justice and order by the election of officers who were chosen for their capabilities in performing these duties. He suggested that another meeting be held a week later for the nomination of candidates for head chief of the whole reservation—not only of the Klamaths who owed allegiance to La-Lakes, but also of the Modocs, Paiutes, and Pit Rivers who made their homes on the reservation. The old chief was naturally crestfallen at this procedure, and his relatives and friends grieved, but there seems to have been no attempt at open rebellion against the dicta of the young white leader. . . . Throughout the whole campaign, however, the feeling of personal loyalty to the old sachem was the greatest obstacle to be overcome."

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The election that followed pitted Henry Blow, "a prominent sub-chief under La-Lakes, a man of the finest personal and executive qualities," with support from both Lower End Klamath and the Modoc,[14] against Allen David, "a tall handsome, and popular young brave from the upper country,[15] progressive, well versed in the ways of the white man, from travel among the Willamette settlements," backed not only by Lower End Klamath but by the Upland band and the Paiute as well. Charley Preston was a third nominee, "a man popular on account of his personal qualities and admired for his ability in various industries acquired by residence among the whites, but not possessing the prestige of a sub-chief." Young Applegate seems also to have been proposed, but declined. "There were many at this meeting who deplored the whole procedure in view of their allegiance to the old chief. . . ." At the election which followed, Allen David was elected by a plurality of five.[16] Thus a panreservation polity was established, to which tribal distinctions thereafter were subordinated.

As for the deposed Monchnkasgitk, his place was promptly 657*
filled by the election of one "Barcley." Despite the rebuff, 648*
Monchnkasgitk rose again in time to the position of subchief at 622
Yainax, where he came to be known as Moses Brown.[17]

The major election had removed from immediate power one who had obstructed Agency-sponsored reforms, but had left the membership of the lesser chieftaincies intact. It is clear that administration policy held that representation by a chief was
adequate to secure the interests of a band. Thus, in 1871, when 657*
John Meacham found the lot of the slaves little improved his 648*
remedy was to authorize them to elect a chief "to represent 622
them in the councils and courts of the tribes."[18] In the political 692
order thus established, the chiefs had been displaced from an 693
executive role to constitute a court, while a sheriff, chosen from among the Indians, together with constables, one per chief, were to maintain order. Chiefs, somewhat extralegally, soon began to assume magisterial functions.

It took some time to make the court aware of the bounds 657*
within which it ought to operate. John Meacham noted in his 648*
charges "an excessive disposition to go to law," and remarked, 622
"I have counciled [sic] the board of chiefs against this, especially 692
against making arrests for trifling offenses or for *no* offence at all, advising them that the object of the law is to *protect* the people and not to *oppress* them."[19] Soon thereafter, he reduced the court to a membership of only seven chiefs and set its sessions at monthly intervals.[20]

As outlined by Dave Hill, one of the members of the court, 657*
the list of offenses combined crimes against the person (murder, 648*
adultery, stealing, fornication, witchcraft, and fighting), those 622
against property (arson), together with what can only be con- [68]
sidered redefinitions of customary procedure. Thus, cremation [764]
of the dead was enjoined and the license permitted a chief in
dealing with his followers was severely circumscribed. Marriages [585]
were to be confirmed before the principal chief, who was to [643] •
receive a fee; the bride price was not to be returned on the [586]
desertion of the husband; while the court might order the separation of an irreconcilable couple. Monogamy alone was per- [595]
missible.[21]

Thus, not only were the chiefs given new and different powers,

far distant when good judgment will direct the deposing of all 657*
hereditary sovereigns and the election of proper officers by the 648*
people at large. Thier present mode of constituting courts of 622
justice and of conducting trials is probably far in advance of
thier primitive style—but is anything but Republican. . . ."[27]

The contrast between the old and new leaders is shown by one 657*
of two liquor cases that vexed Dyar. A saloonkeeper, guided by 648*
a "squaw man" to an Indian village a few miles above Linkville 622
"for vile purposes," gave a bottle of whiskey to the Indian who 273
transported them. After the Indian had drunk part, he gave the
remainder to Lileks, who shared it with another man. Of this
instance and another, Dyar observed, "Allan David, Head Chief [643] •
of the Klamaths, first brought these cases to my knowledge and
is anxious that the parties shall be punished."[28]

Allen David, indeed, impressed Meacham strongly, for he 657*
characterized him among the Indians as "unquestionably the 648*
clearest and most logical talker I have ever listened to. . . . He 643
is fully imbued with the ideas of civilization and never misses an
opportunity to give his people good advice."[29] Dyar, echoing
these sentiments, added, "his time is so much taken up in settling
the little disputes of his people, and he is naturally compelled to
give away so much food in thier [sic] frequent visits, that he is
kept continually poor." As head chief for the entire reservation,
David was expected by the Indians to feed them during the
frequent assemblies at his house. From visits to other reservations and to the American settlements, he was aware that white
officials received pay for performing their duties and that even
Mark, the head chief at Warm Springs, drew a salary. Before
David would undertake the head chieftaincy, O. C. Applegate
had had to promise to try to secure a salary for him. Subsequently, Dyar himself recommended that Allen David be paid
an annual salary of $300.00.[30] It was not forthcoming.

The concept of an all-reservation hierarchy of chiefs was rudely 657*
challenged by the Modoc War. For a brief time, upon the urging 648*
of A. B. Meacham, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon,
Captain Jack and his adherents had joined Schonchin at Modoc
Point in 1869. They were soon disillusioned. The Klamath acted
like lords of the land and treated the Modoc as if they were there
only on sufferance. When the Modoc split fence rails, Klamath

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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*657 under Blow and Link River Jack appropriated them as their own
*648 property.[31] Appeal to the Agent, Captain O. C. Knapp, proved fruitless; he only advised the Modoc to move further away from the Klamath. Captain Jack is reported to have told his followers, "I do not want my men to be slaves for these Indians, and they shall not be. My people are just as good as these Indians."[32]

While Schonchin was away fishing, Captain Jack overwhelmed the "friendly" subchiefs, Chief George and Charlie Riddle, and the Modoc left the reservation in a body. After reporting their departure, Schonchin joined them. There remained only a small party of twenty, who had been settled at Yainax earlier that year. Through them, Ivan Applegate contacted the absentee Modoc and persuaded Schonchin to return. When he did so, in the spring of the year (1870), he refused to rejoin the Lower End Klamath and was established instead at Yainax, home of his Upland Klamath mother, where Monchnkasgitk and the Paiute were already in residence. Evidently, the latter held the main voice there, for the following year—though only temporarily as it turned out—Yainax was made independent of Klamath Agency, "owing to the fact that these Indians had long been at war with those at Klamath. . . ." The change, "demanded by the chief headmen of the Snakes and Wall-pah-pe tribes, [was] approved by the chiefs and headmen of the Klamaths."[33]

M With Captain Jack's refusal to return to the reservation, the
657 veto of A. B. Meacham's proposal that he be granted a tract in
648 the Tule Basin (as originally envisaged in the Steele treaty),
921 and the decision of Meacham's successor, T. B. Odeneal, that the Modoc be brought forcibly upon the Klamath reservation, the lines were laid for the fatal flare-up of the Modoc War. The
K outbreak of hostilities found Allen David "very faithful and
• [643] active in his efforts to preserve a good feeling among all the
*[648] Indians on the Reservation, repeatedly visiting the Snakes and
*[657] Scontian's band of Madocs [sic], advising them to keep quiet on the Reservation and have nothing to do with Capt. Jack's people."[34]

M Fearful that the hostile Modoc would induce the Yainax
[902] Paiute and Modoc to join them, Dyar organized a home guard.
K At the Lower End, Dave Hill and Henry Blow swiftly recruited
*[648] 32 men, primarily from the Link River band, while Oliver Apple-
*[657]
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were mustered out of service. Subsequently, when Jack and his followers slew the Peace Commissioners, Oliver Applegate reported that the reservation Indians were ready to take the warpath against them in revenge, but they were not called upon.[40]

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In the end, the Modoc were defeated and the leaders tried at Fort Klamath. During the hearing, they attempted to implicate the Klamath, with claims that Link River Jack had cached ammunition for them and that Schonchin—"the noblest Roman of them all!" exploded Oliver Applegate indignantly—had brought them a message from Allen David promising aid if they would hold out a little longer. The countercharges proved misdirected as defense; and in the presence of the reservation Indians and other spectators the leaders of the hostiles were hanged or committed to Alcatraz; and the remainder, 153 in number, were shipped off to Fort Quapaw, Indian Territory.[41]

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With the end of the war, the reservation became in effect a closed political system. The only exception was Ocheho's band of Paiute, which alternated between the reservation and their Warner Valley homeland until 1876, when the major part of them remained off the reservation for good. Meanwhile, with no salary forthcoming to offset the heavy financial burdens of his office, Allen David resigned, and Henry Blow was elected in his stead.[42]

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The statement made in 1877 by Dave Hill gives a fair idea of the chiefs of the time and contrasts the hierarchy at the Agency with the comparatively open order at Yainax.

> We Lake People live here thus: Blow is chief of all, and I, Dave Hill, am chief second to Blow, Long John after Dave, then too Link River Jack after Long John, and Lilu. Pit River Charley is chief of the Pit River people at the Lake. Ben and Littlejohn are the chiefs, and Schonchin is chief of the Yainax people. Johnson is chief of the Modoc at Yainax. George Kuatilak also is Modoc chief after Johnson. Chocktoot is chief of the Paiute.[43]

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Gatschet's list for the same year, which includes the adherents for each leader, differs somewhat from that of Hill. At the Lower End, the chiefs, all Klamath, and the number of their followers were: Blow, head chief (122), Hill (225), Long John (103), Link River Jack (92), and Lilu (23). At Yainax, the Modoc bands

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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comprised those of Modoc Johnson, head chief (71), and Schon- 657*
chin (18). The Upland Klamath leaders were Brown [i.e. Monchn- 648*
kasgitk] (30), Ben (61), and Littlejohn (14). 622 643 •

Gatschet thus omits Pit River Charley at the Lower End and 162
the adherents of George Kuatilak and Chocktoot at Yainax, but M
includes that of Monschnkasgitk. If the Klamath and Modoc 657
followings are separately totaled, the figures agree closely with 648 622
those of the statistical summary for that year,[44] suggesting that 643
the Pit River chief was subsumed under one of the Klamath 162
leaders and George Kuatilak under Modoc Johnson. Note that the Paiute, who seem to be predominantly Walpapi, account for 137, almost half the Yainax total of 331, while the Lower End, with 565, then contained almost twice as many people.

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The replacement of leaders had already gone far: Of the chiefs 657*
listed above, only five, Blow, Jack, Lilu, Schonchin, and Monchn- 648*
kasgitk, had been prominent enough in 1864 to sign the treaty; 622
and only Lilu, Monchnkasgitk, and Schonchin were then noted 643
chiefs.[45] By 1877, their followings had dwindled, amounting to M
only a fraction of their previous numbers. Most of the losses had 657 648
been to Agency men advancing in favor. Among them Dave Hill 622
far outstripped even Henry Blow, the head chief, in adherents. 643

Beneath this system, we know from the accounts of elderly
Indians, a system of informal local headmen continued. Some K
of these individuals were, indeed, also favored with a measure 657* 648*
of government support. Among them were some of the older 622
chiefs, now out of official power. Lileks was put in charge of a ferry across the river—probably the Williamson—where he kept track of passengers by drawing pictures of a man, mules, and so on.[46] Allen David, still a chief, figured among the progressive Indians for some years. In 1883, however, his quiet opposition to Agency inroads upon the remaining chiefly authority drew remarks from Nickerson:

> There is but one man, Allen David, 3rd chief, who in any way proves a hinderance [sic] to the discharge of duties of the police. He does not do this openly, but covertly and slily, and is ready with a denial when charged with it. I have been seriously thinking of depriving him of his position and power as one of the cheifs [sic]. Indeed, I think the time is not far distant when this tribe will be better off without any chiefs whatever.[47]

*657 services in the court. In 1878, support took the form of a suit of
*648 clothes for Henry Blow and three years later of a request to
622 provide him with a weekly ration of flour and beef. However, as Agent Roork then found, the issue could not be authorized even for one who "spends a good deal of time looking after the interests of his people, when he can ill afford it."[58]

*657 At this juncture a temporary solution was found. In 1878,
*648 drawing upon successful experience on other reservations, the
625 Bureau authorized the employment of a small force of Indian police. In the first days of the reservation, Lindsay Applegate claimed to have organized such a force, one that served without pay, with power to perform military duties as well to arrest malefactors; and though it was later discontinued, Dyar had subsequently proposed a similar body.[59]

The number now settled upon was six, at Roork's request, "in order to have one for every tribe."[60] O. C. Applegate, then clerk at the Agency, was appointed chief of police. The first men in the service, with one or two exceptions, were not particularly distinguished; and neither of the officers of the force is now recalled as having been a leader. Within a year or two, however after many fluctuations in numbers, both Henry Blow and Dave Hill had been appointed as officers. The subsequent reduction of the force from fifteen to three for budgetary reasons dictated from Washington was distressing.

> As the Police Force was too small to be of much account [wrote Nickerson], the Indians felt under less restraint & were now dificult [sic] to manage. The chiefs considered that the Government had taken their authority to rule and administer punishment out of their hands, and did not consider themselves responsible for good order. They are now anxious to be allowed to administer law as before the Police force was organized. Unless this force can be put upon a permanent basis, and consist of from 8 to 10 members with a yearly allowance of rations I am of the opinion that it would be best to grant them their request. In that case it would be desirable to keep 2 or 3 men in the service to aid in arresting offenders & to take charge of all prisoners. . . . The Agent would of course be the judge in all trials.

• [643] He suggested that, following the plan he had put into operation
[622] before the force was reduced, the head chief be named captain
and the second chief, lieutenant, while two other chiefs be
appointed sergeants of the force.

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[Klamath Reservation]

Of all the societal relationships, the government sought directly
to change only those within the family. It was clear that a nation 657*
that was soon to impose upon the Mormons the American, and 648*
not the Biblical family, would permit no special marital practices 595
among the Indians. Polygamy was banned, although not retro- 177
actively for unions such as those of Allen David and Monchnkasgitk, 178
which had been contracted prior to January 1, 1870.
Some leaders themselves appear to have advocated the change in
a desire to emulate whites. In 1877, Gatschet noted that there
were still two or three polygamous men.[26] Since polygamy had [556]
been a mark of the affluent, the ban, like the emancipation of the slaves that preceded it, served to erode the status of the traditional chiefs.

An effort was also made to place under the authority of the 657*
court of chiefs certain relationships which had formerly been 648*
regulated privately between the families or individuals con- 622
cerned. In the legal code instituted when the court was estab- 692
lished, the consecration of marriage was made the function of 685
the head chief, to whom the groom was to pay a fee of five, three, 583
or two dollars or the same amount in horses, graduated according [643] •
to his means. It was again the chiefs who punished fornication [684]
and polygamy and performed divorce.[27] The traditional ritual [586]
of marriage still was being practiced by some families in the 1890's[28] but the gift exchanges between the families concerned which set a public seal on the union were superseded, and the controls exerted by the family over the couple were thereby diminished. The effects of these and other changes were recognized by Gatschet. "Matrimonial reverses . . . among the Klamath [he declared] . . are one of the unavoidable consequences of the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers at Fort Klamath."[29]

With time, the seal upon marriage came to be set by the 657*
Methodist church and its ethics in turn permitted the independ- 648*
ent of spirit to flout tradition. One woman recalled that upon 581
the death of her husband his family proposed that she wed his 587
brother in customary manner, but she refused out of regard for 177
the memory of her husband and the sanctity of the bond of their 178
marriage in the church.

EIGHT

[P. 105]

School

WHILE THE RE-EDUCATION OF THEIR ELDERS WAS BEING CARRIED OUT, it was the youth of the reservation on whom the Agents placed their ultimate hopes. The American faith in the transforming powers of education is nowhere clearer than in the words of Dyar: 657* 648* 871

> Being fully convinced that a radical change in the Indian character can only be wrought in childhood and early youth, I would most respectfully urge the co-operation of the Government in the prosecution of this work of taking the children from their native haunts of degradation, and clothing, feeding, and teaching them the habits and arts of civilization.[1]

It had been a slow start. Lindsay Applegate had employed a teacher, but as that functionary observed, he had been "instructed to labor on the farms and to give instructions to certain Indians in manual labor"—evidently not his metier.[2] The "sickly effort" as A. B. Meacham termed it, was abandoned,[3] and not until 1873 did Dyar's plan for a manual training boarding school bear fruit.[4] It met initial opposition. John Meacham had advocated the hiring of a "good reliable educated Indian" as teacher who "would himself be a living example of the result to be achieved by study. . . ."[5] Such a person might also have been able to reduce the initial aversion of parents to sending their children to school. Dyar noted, "I shall be obliged to commence with a very few—perhaps with orphans who have no friends to oppose." However, he wisely declined to use force.[6] In his efforts he was to have the steadfast support of Henry Blow, who became head chief in 1874. "Mr. Dyar . . . says," wrote Nickerson, "that he never could have established the school on this reservation, had it not been for him. He was its friend when all others were against it."[7] 648* 657* 872 [875] [643]

Soon Dyar had over twenty scholars,[8] only to have to close

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

SEVENTEEN

[P.236]

The Tribal Government

* 648 FOR NEARLY FIFTY YEARS FOLLOWING ALLOTMENT, THE KLAMATH
* 657 tribal government constituted the formal instrument for arriving
619 at common objectives, the ultimate guardian against encroachments
• 646 upon Klamath treaty rights, and the corporate symbol of Indian status. Its form and operations sensitively reflected the interplay of continued efforts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to mold Indian life and the Indian reaction to those efforts. They gave evidence as well of the diversity of opinion which presently arose among tribal members as to the future in which they wished to live.[1]

[423] Central to the importance of the tribal government was the considerable wealth over which it presided: at the close of allotment, tribal property amounted to over 860,000 acres of land, roughly three-fourths of it in prime timber, owned corporately by some 1,150 members. By contrast, the Umatilla reservation, in the northeast section of the state, in 1908 possessed fewer than 2,000 acres in unallotted tribal lands for a comparable (893) membership.

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623 The principal body of the tribal organization was the General Council, a successor to those sessions convened on occasion in times past to discuss matters of common concern. Such *ad hoc* councils had formerly been found useful to the federal government for mustering a representative Indian body; but with the development of an executive body, the General Council also emerged as a more regular entity. Like its predecessors, it was
[562] originally composed of all the men of the Tribe; after the pas-
[177] sage of the Nineteenth Amendment, the women were added to their number.

*648 Since the highly rationalized bureaucracy of the government
*657 found the occasional councils too unwieldly to handle the in-
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crease of tribal business following allotment, the Bureau of Indian 648*
Affairs pressed for the formation of a supplementary executive 657*
body. At Klamath the need for such a body may have been un- 646•
derscored by the abuse of the common council in the partisan [665]
sessions called by the Kirk and Brown factions. Thus, 1908 saw
the introduction of an executive body, called the tribal council,
to function in addition to the occasional councils. Initially, it [563]
was made up of twelve men, six from each End of the reserva-
tion, and with communal representation: its membership included
seven Klamath, three Modoc, and one each from the Pit River
and Paiute. Since it proved difficult to maintain a quorum, the
number was subsequently reduced to eight members.

In 1927, the factionalism which had earlier brought into ques- 648*
tion the legitimacy of the common council now touched the 657*
tribal council; for in that year a dissident group elected a rival 646
body and claimed that it had superseded the existing council. 665
Their action placed in jeopardy the efficient administration of [578]
the tribal resources, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs con-
sequently insisted that matters be set upon a constitutional
footing. After considering several tribal charters submitted to [642]
them as models, the Klamath in 1929 enacted their own constitu-
tion and by-laws for the executive body, now restyled the Busi-
ness Committee. Its six members, three from each End, were to
consider ". . . business matters pertaining to the Tribe. [Matters]
of great importance to the Tribe and which the Business Com-
mittee believe should be referred to a general tribal council"
might be so referred by a vote of five members of the Committee,
with the consent of the Superintendent.[2]

Once more, in 1950, envisaging a time when the tribal govern- 648*
ment would have full control over the common estate, a new 657*
constitution was enacted, this time for the General Council. By 642
its terms, all powers were vested in that body, made up of all 646
adult tribal members. In addition, an Executive Committee was
designated, to be composed of the eight members—the number
had again been increased—of the erstwhile Business Committee,
together with the President and Secretary of the General Council.
To this new committee, the General Council was authorized to
delegate powers, although as matters turned out it did so only
reluctantly and after long delay. In turn, by appropriate vote

In turn, by appropriate vote
*648 within ninety days, the General Council might—and on occasion
*657 did—reverse the action of its Executive Committee. Finally, by a
642 petition of at least one-fourth of the eligible voters, an action of
• 646 the General Council might be submitted to a referendum of tribal
[666] members.[3]

In the succession of tribal bodies, the interest of the government was not solely the convenience of securing formal sanction in property matters concerning the common interest of enrolled
[182] members. The tribal government was to provide as well a regular channel by which the government might assess tribal opinion, consult with leaders, and announce programs; and it was to furnish tribal members with experience in responsible citizenship. Through this instrument, a representative body was to be articulated with Bureau administration, its decisions being rendered concrete in official minutes and subjected to review by higher administrative echelons.

Tribal rule is municipal in character, as seen in the restricted scope of its powers.[4] The narrow administrative domain with which the Klamath executive dealt is suggested by the names of the permanent adjuncts of the Executive Committee, the Tribal Loan Board and the Enrollment Committee. In 1947, some fifteen tribal members and one other were employed in General Council and Loan Board activities. By contrast, the Superintendent employed 123 persons, including 31 tribal members and 40 Indians from other groups, in the administration of agency, health, extension, law and order, roads, forestry and grazing, and irrigation.[5] Over these areas the Executive Committee might exercise a veto by cutting from the proposed Agency budget tribal funds allocated to an unwanted item. In this way, the hospital, bull pool, and tribal herd have occasionally been threatened. Ordinarily, however, the Executive Committee took no positive action in the development of a budget. Understandably, Klamath efforts to appoint a tribal member to serve as watchdog over Agency administration were not kindly received.

[693] In the formulation of general policy, the executive drew upon the advice of the tribal attorney, as well as upon unofficial counsel, both sought and volunteered. All major policy decisions required approval by the General Council and were subject to review within the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

of the Interior. An essential communicatory function was served 648*
by the delegations now sent annually to Washington, to discuss 657*
policy matters with Bureau officials and with members of Con- 642
gress. Elected by the General Council, delegates were generally 646 ●
instructed by that body and by the Executive Committee on the official position to be taken. These positions of trust and power were frequently filled by members of the Executive Committee.

By contrast with administrative and executive functions, the regulatory functions which Eisenstadt terms juridical-cultural found little place within the formal structure.[6] For the exercise of legitimate force lay rather with the Superintendent than the Tribe, and even Indian police and courts, while they endured, reflected his authority. For well over a generation during the last period of tribal rule, after "Indian custom" marriage had lost legal status there were no traditional practices requiring special adjudication. In practice, neither expulsion from the Tribe nor curtailment of membership privileges has been meted out as punishment for offenses against the tribal body. At least two tribal members have been re-elected to office despite the common knowledge that they had served prison sentences for felony, a record that by formal regulation should have disqualified them. Presiding over a territory, the Tribe was particularly lax, when not indeed impotent, in exercising control over absentee members. Indeed, the sole coercion brought to bear, and that from a partisan vantage only, has been the withholding of benefits under distribution.

In the General Council there resided undifferentiated tribal powers, and consequently this body best symbolized the continuity of tribal government. For the general membership it simultaneously embodied their tribal identity and functioned as the proper arena for public debate. It was in this assembly, rather than in the executive bodies, that many preferred to see issues discussed and decisions rendered. Reluctance to delegate powers to the executive under the 1950 constitution, which had the result of deferring that act for a year and one-half, was not merely an expression of factional distrust but also voiced a continued Klamath preference for direct and informal consensus in tribal affairs.[7]

Tribal membership was, as we have seen, only one of several 000

integral to the maintenance of power. Tribal leadership had become 648*
a full-time job, requiring its own set of special talents. The 657*
rewards offered were considerable, not only those of power and 665
prestige, but in per diem fees and in the funds advanced on 619
occasion by followers and—persistent rumor had it—by outside interests as well.

The rise of the new leaders did not entirely spell the eclipse
of the old. Even in the last decade of tribal government, a senior [646]
member of the executive was James Johnson, a wealthy stockman from the Lower End. Another man, Seldon Kirk, one of the three politically prominent sons of Jesse Kirk, worked as a carpenter for the Agency, and was therefore sometimes accused of being a pawn of the administration. He took up the guerdon from his brother, Clayton, and later came to exemplify a moderate position in his own right, even in the last, turbulent days of the Tribe.
Until his retirement, he served as permanent chairman of the [646]
General Council, then was succeeded by his brother, Jesse Lee. The example of Seldon Kirk in turn brought onto the political scene several younger men, like him occupying the middle ground, and concerned only peripherally with the party building activities of the professional politicians.

Tribal government thus developed along the intersection of an informal, particularistic political system and a counterposed, highly rationalized bureaucracy; and the emergence of the new leaders was merely one of the consequences. Within the frame so defined, the leaders were beset with the party-political[10] task of marshaling support for their programs. It was hazardous to trust alone to appeals to reason, for the issues were often complex and difficult to interpret for a wary electorate. Since the number of his devoted adherents was inadequate to carry the day, the practical politician had resort to a supplementary arsenal of tactical devices. It was at this level that political acculturation proved to have been most pervasive.

In he first instance, a leader might sometimes seek to mobilize support by playing upon a popular cause. Often this took the form of a defense against an outsider. A claim against the government, attacks upon the Bureau, particularly in the person of the Superintendent,[11] the repulse of intrusions upon the tribal domain by white commercial or sporting interests: these issues

*648 *657 665 619 might be exploited instrumentally to broaden the base of appeal. Other devices entailed the manipulation of particularistic loyalties. Politicians from the less populous and ethnically more diverse Upper End endeavored to retain districting, whereby the members of the executive body were elected in equal numbers by each End; and they also sought to preserve communal representation, which ensured that each of the traditional subtribal groups, Pit River and Paiute, as well as Modoc and Klamath, would find a place in that body. These measures were opposed as a matter of course by Crawford, the Lower End leader; but it was he in turn who had been responsible for the election in 1927 in which only the Lower End took part, thus creating a second tribal council and precipitating the Bureau's demand for a tribal constitution.

*648 *657 665 619 • 646 666 The tactics employed to control voting were diverse. In general elections, Jackson favored restriction of voting to polling places located on the reservation, against attempts by his rival to secure absentee balloting, a measure that would swell the response from his off-reservation constituency. For General Council meetings, Jackson sought to continue the practice of alternating their site between the Ends, and for those held at the Agency he provided stages at tribal expense to transport members from the Upper End.

Seating within the General Council was conventionally by faction, a device that provided an easy check upon voting regularity, although the chairs along the wall afforded a retreat for the less partisan. Jackson further favored a standing vote,[12] while Crawford, particularly while he was out of power, called instead for a secret ballot. Each side on occasion exercised the boycott to prevent the mustering of a quorum when the issue was likely to go against it,[13] and Crawford also resorted to the filibuster, under cover of which his forces might withdraw in order to attain the same end. Each also strove, when he no longer controlled the executive body, to route business instead through the General Council.

*648 *657 665 619 661 In the recruitment of a following, leaders found many occasions to render personal services, appointing the faithful to tribal positions, serving as advocate in their favor, sponsoring the enrollment of their children as tribal members, or advancing them

money from the tribal fund set aside for the purpose. Interlocking 648*
memberships of the Executive Committee, the Enrollment 657*
Committee, and the Loan Board made those bodies the apex of 665
tribal power. If the first-named was the central body, and important 619
particularly in relations with agencies beyond the Tribe, the 661
other two were no less essential in the administration of patronage. [646]
[647]

The Tribal Loan Board had been established to preside over 648*
a fund set aside from the Yamsay Judgment of 1938, by which the 657*
issue of the Military Road had finally been settled. The fund had 619
been designed to provide capital advances for tribal members, 452
many of whom found bankers reluctant to lend to them. Although 647
loans were supposed to be applied only to improvements, it became common practice to spend them merely as an anticipation of the next per capita. When the Bureau called a halt to its operations in 1955, the Board had out on loan approximately a half-million dollars, or the equivalent of almost $250 per member, and a collector had to be engaged to recover a sizeable portion of it.[14]

The Enrollment Committee was the third seat of power. Admission 648*
of one's children to tribal membership was eagerly 657*
sought, and not alone for reasons of sentiment. Once he was a 619
tribal member, a child was vested with a pro-rata share of the 647
undivided tribal estate, amounting at the time of termination to 434
some $43,500. In addition he qualified to receive the per capita dividends that, subject to Agency restriction, were commonly drawn upon to defray current family living expenses.

Despite—and sometimes because of—these tactical measures, 648*
by which partisan leaders strove to bind them, many tribal 657*
members were driven into abstention by the bitter contentions 646
that marked the final generation of tribal life. Although hundreds 619
flocked to the luncheon set out at tribal expense in the Council Hall for those attending the General Council, morning meetings failed so frequently to draw a quorum that they were discontinued; and even afternoon sessions sometimes could not muster one hundred adults from among the thronging diners to transact tribal business. When they did come, they were often in holiday mood, frequently interrupting speakers, and exhibiting a keen appreciation for lengthy, eloquent, and often irrelevant harangues

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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*648 in the Klamath language.[15] In this setting, the chairman and
*657 principal leaders sought with great difficulty to operate under
• 646 Robert's Rules of Order. Council minutes record numerous in-
619 stances in which many of those present cast no vote.

In this, as in other political contexts, the observer could sense what some members admitted readily: a reluctance to commit themselves to decisions that might lead to dangerous consequences on either side. As in their dealings with the Agency, individuals accepted as a right what those controlling the executive had to offer, and declined to be bound thereby. Factional charge and innuendo had so sapped confidence in the Klamath leadership that interviews conducted in the course of termination revealed that all but one of the respondents (118 in all) favored a management plan administered by unknown trustees over an organization headed by their own members.[16]

It was not, however, factionalism alone that was at the root
[178] of the uncertainty. The long dependence of individuals upon per
capitas, and the corresponding lack of experience in pursuing a livelihood, understandably enough made many wary of any change that might threaten the economic niche in which they dwelt. Moreover, on many of the more complex issues involving property their very lack of experience made them easily swayed
[666] by irrelevancies. Not infrequently, Seldon Kirk, when presiding
over a vote of the General Council, would query, "I wonder how many of you know what you were voting for?"—and, calling for a reballoting, would see the issue solidly reversed.

*648 If they were uncertain in the exercise of their power, tribal
*657 members nonetheless felt a strong need to display it. Real and
619 fancied acts of coercion had left a legacy of alienation, to which
the impersonal bureaucratic operation of the Agency only added. In a span during which tribal membership had done little more than double, the Agency staff had swelled from an early 5 members to an ultimate figure of 139, some twenty-five times as great. With expansion, the Agency program had become compartmentalized, each division taking on a life of its own and growing endlessly ramified. Bureaucratization, together with the frequent turnover in the upper echelons of administration, led to increasing impersonalization of relations. Subtly, the training of Klamath

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[141] [231] They are well provided with bows and arrows. They have only one horse. Snow is so deep, horses perish for want of food. In winter, they live on roots. In summer on antelope and fish.

December 1st. 30 Clammite Indians paid us a visit: fine men in good condition, but wretchedly clad. They say the river to the ocean is far distant and beaver they do not know. They say the Indians become more numerous as we advance to the ocean. . . . .

[342] [161] [439] Tuesday 6th. Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defence against arrows but not balls. 200 of them collected about our camp and traded 4 days. The 2 chiefs delivered traps lost by Mr. McDonald last year with 8 beaver. This is much in favor of their honesty. On our march this day, we passed the camps from wh. Mr. McDonald turned back last year and are consequently strangers to the country in advance.

[161] Thursday 8th. About 300 Indians around our camp. We advanced 6 miles south following the river south. I estimate the Clammitte nation 250 men.

Monday 12th. Reached the lake [Klamath lake?] 1½ × 15 miles well wooded with maple and hazel; course S.

The second visit on record is that of Frémont, who reached the northern shore of Klamath marsh on December 10, 1843. He saw smoke at what appeared to be the middle of the marsh and along the opposite shore. An unoccupied northern shore agrees with my own [361] information. The following day he visited the village "in the middle of the lake (or savannah)," which appears to be one of those at the outlet of the marsh.

[342] The huts were grouped together on the bank of the [Klamath] river, which, from being spread out in a shallow marsh at the upper end of the lake, was collected here into a single stream. They were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams.

[226] [252] [285] [291] Almost like plants, these people seem to have adapted themselves to the soil, and to growing on what the immediate locality afforded. Their only subsistence at this time appeared to be a small fish, great quantities of which, that had been smoked and dried, were suspended on strings about the lodge. Heaps of straw were lying around; and their residence in the midst of grass and rushes had taught them a peculiar skill in converting this material to useful purposes. Their shoes were made of straw or grass, which seemed well adapted for a snowy country; and the women wore on their head a closely woven basket, which made a very good cap. Among other things, were parti-colored mats about four feet square, which we purchased to lay on the snow under our blankets, and to use for table cloths.

[231] Numbers of singular-looking dogs, resembling wolves, were sitting on the tops of the huts. . . . .

[648] They made us comprehend that they were at war with the people who lived to the southward and to the eastward; but I could obtain from them no certain information. . . . .

This morning the camp was thronged with Tlamath Indians from the southeastern shore of the lake. . . . .

Frémont also remarked on the scarcity of their horses.[22]

Frémont reached Klamath lake again May 6, 1846. He commented on the outlet, Link river, "this is a great fishing station for the Indians." His statement on the distribution of their settlements coincides with my information. [231] [226]

> They have fixed habitations around the shores of the lake, particularly at the outlet and inlet [Williamson river], and along the inlet up to the swamp meadow [Klamath marsh], where I met the Tlamaths in the winter of '43–'44, and where we narrowly escaped disaster. . . . . The Indians made me understand that there was another large river [Williamson river] which came from the north and flowed into the lake at the northern end, and that the principal village was at its mouth, where also they caught many fish. [361] [131] [133]

Frémont's party made a circuit of the lake. It is curious that he does not mention the settlements about Pelican lake on the western side, which he could hardly have avoided. On the other hand it is not clear how closely his memoirs follow his diary. Attacked while on the western side, his party reciprocated by raiding a village on the opposite side, perhaps one of those on Williamson river just above the present highway bridge. [726]

> Behind the sage-bushes where they had taken their stand every Indian had spread his arrows on the ground in fan-like shape, so that they would be ready to his hand. . . . . Quantities of fish were drying, spread on scaffolds, or hung up on frames. The huts, which were made of tall rushes and willows, like those on the savannah above [Klamath marsh], were set on fire, and the fish and scaffolds were all destroyed.[23] [252] [342] [726]

The first invaders remembered by the Klamath came from the north about 1835. The stories about them have now a legendary flavor. The first group was mounted; the Klamath dubbed them mpě'tkoŋks (from mětc!a', to pack about) from their roving habits. An alternative name, pásai'ūks (French-Canadian in Chinook jargon), more surely identifies them. During their brief stay at the mouth of Williamson river they bought fat dogs of the Klamath, which to the latter's amazement, they ate. For these they gave buttons and metal disks with a central perforation (wika'lkal). 173 437 648 ●

Almost as early was a white contingent moving northward on the west side of Klamath lake. The Indians watched them unseen. They were impressed with the horses, axes, and the food of the whites. 173 648 177

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[22] Frémont, Narrative, 122.

[23] Frémont, Memoirs, 483, 484, 494.

173 177 [302] When the latter broke camp they left behind a little flour, which the Indians carried home and divided. They rubbed it on their palms and smeared their faces.[24]

648 648 Other early whites came from the southeast on horseback. This marked the beginning of the great migration by way of the Modoc country to the Pacific slope. On the whole the Klamath came off remarkably well in their relations with the whites. The full brunt of immigration was borne by Modoc and Pit River peoples. The Klamath were spared the Oregon wars of the fifties, which all but annihilated the tribes of western Oregon and northern California.[25] The earliest white settlements in the neighborhood were about the present Jacksonville, Medford, and Ashland. The first white settlement within Klamath territory was near the village of kowa'edi at the northern end of the lake. This was about 1860–65, hence may have reference to the first agency established there. Subsequent relations have been on the whole quite amicable. The Klamath took no part in the Modoc war of 1872–73.

Habitat

131 133 The territory of the Klamath is on the high plateau of eastern Oregon, in the shallow basin wherein lies the group of lakes that give rise to Klamath river. The southern half of this basin about lower Klamath and Tule lakes is Modoc territory, extending southward across the lava beds in the direction of Pit river. The northern half, which lies against the Cascade range, is the home of the Klamath.

[361] The Klamath properly reside on Klamath lake (or as it was formerly known, upper or middle Klamath lake), on Klamath marsh, and on Williamson river, which connects them. At least, most of the permanent winter settlements are on these three waters, with a scattering on their tributaries. Summer camps are established over a much wider territory, as far, it would seem, as the natural limits of this drainage area.

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[263] [24] Salt was equally unknown to them at this time.

[174] [648] [25] A somewhat obscure account was given me of the inclusion of Klamath in the great round-up of western Oregon Indians on Siletz (?) reservation in the fifties. These had been wintering at the Dalles and were herded with the Indians there. The Upland Takelma and Molala were penned in together and fed by the soldiers. Some died every day; the Klamath suspected that they were poisoned. The Klamath were kept apart, and, thanks to the strenuous arguments of their chief Lalc'ks, were not only freed but supplied with beef and an escort of soldiery to conduct them back to their own country.

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> East of the Cascade mountains, and south of the 44th parallel, is a country not attached particularly to any agency. That portion at the eastern base of this range, extending twenty-five or thirty miles east, and south to the California line, is the country of the Klamath Indians.[26]

This is essentially correct although the boundary might better be set somewhat farther south to exclude the headwaters of the Deschutes, in earlier times the home of Sahaptin peoples. The country north of Klamath marsh is considered too open and cold for settlement. On the eastern border are a series of lakes (Silver, Summer, Abert, Goose) and rims which give on the desert to the east. There are Northern Paiute settlements on the eastern sides of Summer and Goose lakes, perhaps those of the Walpahpas mentioned by Meacham.

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> The meeting with the Klamath and Snakes was one of interest to all parties, from the fact that they had been enemies, and the chiefs had not met in person since peace was restored. Living in the country intervening [presumably Summer to Goose lakes] was a small tribe of Wal-pah-pas, who are half Snake and half Klamath. They were mediators, though sometimes fighting on alternate sides, as interest or affront gave occasion.[27]

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Sycan river, Sycan *marsh, and Yamsay* mountain are summer resorts of the Klamath, who had their easternmost settlement (hledleluē'luke) somewhere west of Gearhart mountain. Chewaucan marsh, between Summer and Abert lakes, was probably also visited, although I was not told so. Its name is Klamath, probably tcuwa'k̄ān, arrowhead place, derived from the abundance of arrowhead or wappatoo roots (tcuwa') gathered there.[28]

SETTLEMENTS

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The occupation of this territory is determined by the manner of life. The fixed villages are the winter residences to which people return year after year. Early spring finds them leaving for favorable fishing stations where there are successive fish runs. Through the summer they move to the prairies to gather edible roots and berries or to the mountain and desert to hunt. During most of this time families are widely scattered and the winter villages quite deserted, but with the ripening of pond lily seeds in the marshes during August
[262]
and September they again congregate. The pond lilies grow in enormous quantities, the seeds (wo'kas) constituting a staple second only in importance to fish.

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[26] Palmer in Report, Comm. Indian Affairs, 262, 1854.

[27] Meacham, Wigwam and War-path, 222.

[28] Coville, Notes, 90.

WARFARE AND FEUDS

721 Klamath warfare is deserving of the name in contrast to the conflicts of the northern Californian tribes. Raids are carried into foreign parts for plunder, slaves, and revenge, and received in turn. No single town or tribelet is alone concerned: warriors are drawn [171] from the Klamath at large. This is in marked contrast to the Yurok and their neighbors, e.g., whose foreign wars seem but an extension of the private quarrels that set town against town, and in which the large body of Yurok may remain neutral. Warfare is here not mere retaliation, murder for murder, but is engendered by patriotic motive and tangible benefits.

There can be little doubt that the Klamath attitude is due to their contact with tribes of warlike habit to the north and east. Raids from that direction had to be met and countered. The interesting circumstance is that the Pit river people were under a similar compulsion but apparently made no effort to cope with the raids by reciprocating. So far as I can learn they never ventured against the Klamath despite their equivalence or even superiority of numbers. The cause for the difference seems to be that the Klamath had reason to raid; slaves and [437] plunder were important to them. There was a market for these articles at the Dalles with much-coveted horses to be had in return. [231] The Achomawi had no such outlet. I would not underestimate the difference in tribal solidarity, which may have been entirely lacking [619] among the Achomawi, but the suggestion is that such solidarity may in this instance be a function of a common cause against a common enemy. The Klamath had their share of internecine warfare.

648 Besides the close bond with the Modoc, normally friendly relations are maintained with the Molala across the Cascades, the Wätä'nkni (Warm Springs people) of the Deschutes, and the Wishram-Wasco 648 at the Dalles. Warfare is directed toward all other directions. Raids 721 are exchanged with the Shasta several days' journey down the Klamath river, the Upland Takelma on the Rogue river, and the Northern [231] Paiute (Snake) of the desert to the east. The Klamath fight the Kalapuya and take horses from the Warm Springs Indians.[33] Since horses were obtained by them, raids may be expected of the Ya'mökni two hundred or more miles away; northerners generically, but in this

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[33] Gatschet, 1:18.

connection the Sahaptins of the Columbia and the Cayuse seem 648
meant.[36] Both Ya'mökni and Shasta made slaves among the Klamath. 721
How infrequent were these raids may be judged by the circumstance [567]
that my informants independently mentioned the half-dozen recorded
years ago by Gatschet, and no others.

The Pit river people, possibly only the Achomawi, may alone be
raided with impunity. Reciprocity on their part would lead them
only into the intervening territory of the hostile Modoc, who may well
have served the Klamath as a buffer. For their part the Klamath were [567]
stimulated by the lucrative traffic in slaves established with the Columbia
river tribes, and the majority of captives were by all accounts Pit
river people. Gatschet writes of these raids as a regular occurrence. 114
"In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround
the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their 437
homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place 567
at The Dalles"; and again, "the Lake men enslaved many every
spring time."[37] To be sure, consonant with Kroeber's view,[38] raiding [231]
was undoubtedly accelerated by the appearance of the horse in the
north. Contacts were then more rapid, and the beast itself became
an important and desirable article to possess. But there can be no 567
doubt that the practice of taking slaves on Pit river was already
established. This is not only implied in the informants' statements,
but it must be kept in mind that slaves were an important element in
the society of the Wishram, Wasco, and their down-river neighbors.
This means that the Klamath were not only turning to slave-taking
as a lucrative traffic, but that slave-holding as indicative of social
distinction was becoming their habit by imitation.[39]

How frequently the Klamath made war as a whole is unknown. It 721
seems doubtful that concerted action was frequent. Perhaps large- 567

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[36] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of such a raid up the Deschutes about 1876. 619

[37] *Op. cit.*, 1:lix, 19.

[38] Handbook, 319.

[39] While the Klamath do not distinguish among the Pit river peoples raided, Kniffen's recent account of the Achomawi (Achomawi Geography) makes it clear that Klamath and Modoc descended most frequently on Achomawi settlements north of the Pit and also crossed it to Atsugewi territory in Hat Creek and Dixie valleys. The Achomawi proper about Fall river were subject to continual attack; the Hewisedawi, south of Goose lake, and the Astariwawi, near them on the Pit, bore the brunt. The Atsugewi divisions, Atsuge (Hat creek) and Aporige (Dixie valley), were also freely raided. The Atwamsini, on the middle Pit, and the Kosalektawi, on the extreme headwaters of the river, were reached much less frequently. The other groups of Achomawi were free from attack probably by reason of their inaccessibility; the Ilmawi, Itsatawi, and Madesi at the western end of their range, and the Hammawi on the extreme east.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

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The topography directs Shasta attacks against southern settlements. Coming by the open country along the Klamath river, they attack iwau'wōnᴇ at Klamath Falls, sometimes swimming the river there. Or they cross by the little island to the south to surprise the settlement on the east bank. Many years ago a large body of Ya'mökkni, northerners, descended on the Klamath on Sycan marsh in the northeastern corner of their territory. These may have been marauding bands of Shoshoni and Bannock, fought by the soldiery of Fort Klamath in the summer of 1864.[43] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of Indians coming south about 1876 or earlier by way of the Warm Springs country from the Snake river range east of Lewiston, Idaho.

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Northern Paiute scouts use various calls in order to keep contact with one another, imitating the crow by day, coyote in the evening, and owls at night; unlike Klamath scouts. When these are heard, women and children take to canoes, staying on the water until morning. The screech owl is thought to call, kökᴇdĕ'l sḳiu'ki'u, who sent me? A thrush (sḳo''lĕ) names who is coming, wī'mpis ᴇge'pkwa, they are coming.

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Klamath hunting in the Cascades might meet Upland Takelma from across the range. On one occasion (perhaps about 1850) a party of five or six was wiped out with the exception of a boy who made his way at night, arriving footsore at Klamath marsh. Those who fetched the bodies for cremation found that the Takelma had taken scalps, hands, and feet as trophies. Two of those killed were brothers to the maternal grandfather of my informant, Coley. A wife of this grandfather was an Upland Takelma woman, perhaps a slave, who was a sister to the Upland Takelma chief Tö̆ḳtö'ḳli 'red). They killed her in revenge. She had been living among them at the marsh for years but had no children. The reciprocal raid can be reconstructed from Gatschet's information[44] and my own. The expedition was undertaken at the call of Lᴇlo'ks, the most prominent ă'ukckni chief and a distant relative of Coley's grandfather. Men of all the tribelets took part. Crossing the mountains on foot, they found the Takelma encamped in Molala territory at the head of Rogue river. They attacked as the Takelma rose at dawn, scalping many and carrying off women and children. Among those killed was Tö̆ḳtö'ḳli, whose hands and heart they took. After the man was shot, Lᴇlo'ks lanced him through the throat. Lᴇlo'ks invited all the Klamath to a huge scalp dance at Klamath marsh. During the dances a wife of Coley's grandfather danced about with the heart in her teeth. The captives were dragged by their arms and forced to dance close to the fire.

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A preparatory performance, called nī'ḳĕba, is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance,

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[43] Gatschet, 1:lxii.

[44] *Op. cit.*, 1:16.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Shasta NS21

grown up among the Klamath, Klamath in speech and custom, were K 567
not tempted to begin life anew elsewhere. Some, at least, had considerable K
prestige. Pit River Charley, for instance, a freed slave, [786]
returned from his people in 1873 with novel rites which were engrafted [177]
on the Ghost dance then newly come to the Klamath.[62]

Trade is probably of no great consequence within the tribe although K
it figures intertribally. Contacts were few and frequently unfriendly 439
until after the coming of the whites. The exception is the neighboring 221
Modoc groups; others are too distant. Winters are too severe for 361
travel and trade, but summers find the Warm Springs people in residence
with the Klamath. These similarly set out for Warm Springs
and the Dalles when the grass begins to grow, camping there in the
open during the summer, and building mat-covered structures of
earth-lodge shape (wakĕ'ploks) if they stay through the winter. K
Slaves, Pit River bows, and beads are taken there to trade for horses, 439
blankets, buffalo skins, parfleches, beads (probably dentalium shells), 436
dried salmon, and lampreys.[63] Two slave children are valued at five 567
horses, several buffalo skins, and some beads. This is not far from
the values recorded by Taylor in 1859; one woman was worth five or
six horses, a boy one horse.[64]

The Molala are also visitors and are met on the headwaters of the K 648
Rogue west of Crater lake. From them buckskins are obtained for
pond-lily seed and beads. Relations with the Shasta have not always [437]
been unfriendly; some of the Klamath Falls group and Modoc married S
with them, possibly only since the white advent. The nearest Shasta 131
settlements at Shovel and Jennie creeks can be reached afoot several K
days' journey down the Klamath. Laik'ĕlmi is a jointly occupied 648
fishing site somewhat upstream but below the Klamath canyon. Skins [226]
and skin blankets are traded for Shasta beads. Dixon states that [437]
Shasta trade with the Klamath is slight.[65]

In the period 1860–70 the few Shasta remaining in their territory congregated S
on the lower Shasta river and near the frontier town, Yreka. They were 131
reached by crossing the Black Mountain range. At that time this was a S
much mixed group, principally half-breeds. My informant Tom Lang, taken [302]
there as a youngster, remarked how he was afraid of their highly tattooed faces.

Intercourse and marriage went on freely with the Modoc. They K
were visited on Tule and Lower Klamath lakes, and joined for the 648
fishing on Lost River near Olene. 131
226

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[62] Spier, Ghost Dance of 1870, 45, 51.

[63] Cf. Gatschet, 1:93; 2:436.

[64] *Op. cit.*, 1:lx.

[65] The Shasta, 436.

• 648 fishing on Lost river near Olene. A shallow bowl-shaped twined
[439] basket, called ḳ!we'lu, is obtained from the Modoc, who in turn trade
it from Pit river. There is no direct trade with the latter people.

231 Horses were first acquired in any number about 1840. They had
177 been previously acquainted with them in the hands of whites who
crossed their country about this time; dates are uncertain. Ogden
in 1826 remarked on a single horse seen as though it was a rarity
231 among them.[66] The first sources were Warm Springs and perhaps
177 some group immediately east of that place. These were obtained by
chiefs; others were too poor in slaves to buy them. The name given
437 the new animal follows the common habit, wa'tcag from wate, dog.
Saddles (pă'olăs) were first made of antelope hide. Here, as in the
Plains, horses served as a stimulator of contacts, especially with the
Columbia river peoples. As I have remarked, their introduction seems
responsible for the rapid increase in wealth, the flow of northern ideas
concerning social stratification, importance of wealth and of slave-
holding, Plains costume, and those predatory habits which furnished
the withal to maintain the new status.

237 Buffalo (yo'ho) skins are obtained at second hand; the Klamath
177 know that their origin is east of the Umatilla, that is, in Idaho.
Buffalo never ranged into this country, although they reached the
437 Harney Lake district. But very few skins ever make their way into
527 Klamath hands; only men with many slaves can afford them. They
are wanted to cover a gambler's hands in the stick game, an oppor-
tunity for ostentation.

177 Parfleches (sḳö'psöli, folded up) are traded from Warm Springs
437 people and Sahaptins beyond them on the Columbia. They are not
made by Klamath.
415

Incidentally, many older people have fluent command of Chinook
* 171 jargon. They, or somewhat doubtfully the Modoc, are the southern-
most people with whom this trade jargon is current. Kroeber remarks
437 on the fragments in use by Yuki and Shasta.[67] Naturally enough, it
191 served a purpose with the Columbia river peoples alone and was of but
small value with the whites coming from California.

It is interesting to know what constituted wealth among the Kla-
556 math, but with the old life now gone it is difficult to get direct evi-
dence. However, certain things alone were spoken of when describing

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[66] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

[67] Handbook, 308, 319.

177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
174 Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[622] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
[721] carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-
[567] holding existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their dis-
177 tribution established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kin-
ship terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
[622] custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[619] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctive-
101 ness from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
105 to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some north-
western influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

DOO AE: 3-6 players. WT: 10+. WS: 4-5. MM: 3-4. MV: 5, in women's game; 3, in men's.

[526
648] 2201. Often, but not always. Mo: Play Kl often. Concerning 1 such intertribal match between women, informant related following: "Before the [Modoc] war, the Mo and Kl were camping on opposite sides of Lost River, fishing. The Mo and Kl women played shinny; the Mo won, but the Kl women, instead of paying [their gambling debt] jumped in Lost River and ran home. But the Mo women jumped in the river after them, and followed them into camp."

2202. Mo: See note 2201. MV: At spring celebration women play first shinny game of year; no betting on this first game, which opens season for games of all descriptions. Season for games closes in November; "after that everything quiets down for winter."

2203. AW: In men's game. WT, NM: 1 man acts as referee. WT: "Big, strong man, who can stop fights between players." MF, NF: 2 male referees for game.

Ball race; hoop-and-pole.--

2204. For 3 groups, AW, AE, and MM, 2 types of ball races entered in this section. When element refers to one type only, note indicates which type. All other entries refer to both types. AW, AE: Type (1), single ball race. Type (2), 2-ball race. Informant ignorant of source of introduction of types (1) and (2), but positive they are both "half-breed" (post-White) races. WT: Informant denied any ball races, but WS informant said he had seen ball races held at Hayfork, in WT area, and that they were of recent introduction. WS: Ball races lear[illegible]m Round Valley Reservation group, about 60 [illegible]go. They were "played at Hayfork first [illegible] WS group learned to play." Race is somewhat similar to WS form of women's shinny game (see note 2170) but played by men only, with 2 balls. MM: Type (1), 2-ball game. Type (2), "wrestling football," single ball.

2205-2207. MM: Refers to 2-ball game (see note 2204).

2208. AW: Refers to single-ball game. MM: Refers to 2-ball race. See note 2204.

2209. AW, MM: Refers to 2-ball race (see note 2204).

2210-2212. AW, AE: Refers to 2-ball race. MM: Refers to single ball, wrestling football. See note 2204.

2213, 2215a. AW, AE, MM: Refers to 2-ball race (see note 2204).

2219. MM: Refers to wrestling football (see note 2204).

2222. AW, AE, MM: Refers to single-ball race (see note 2204).

2225. AE: 6 on side, in 2-ball race; 4 on side, single-ball race. MM: 4 on side, 2-ball race; 2 on side, single-ball race (see note 2204). NM: 2 men or 3 women.

2228. MM: 2-ball game.

[204-B]

WAR

Nature and Causes

Nature of warfare; motivation.--

000 2770. SW: Four Shasta groups "didn't have much trouble among themselves," but chiefly fought Mo and Wintu. Kammatwa (see note 282) raids against SW also mentioned, but Shasta "didn't fight much against Karuk or the other [Klamath] River tribes." Intertribally, wars chiefly for revenge; any intratribal fights usually over women. At: Mo stole young girls from At, but "latter never went up and fought the Mo; 2 captive women the Mo took managed to escape and return to Fall River (Achomawi territory) where they married Fall River men." Informant did remember a raid by Fall River men, who came down and took roots and baskets from At. Also Kl came down once and stole some women. "Shasta never came over to Hat Creek (At), but the Wintun came over once and killed a Hat Creek man; then men from all the Hat Creek towns went to war." Fighting in this war amounted to little, however (see note 2798), and on the whole At made few offensive raids. AW: Subject to Mo raids; unfriendly toward Mo. Intermarried with, friendly toward Okwanuchu (ye·tatwa) at McCloud. "Afraid of Noze Indians, [N Yana, ti'saiči, salt people, at Round Mountain]; fought with them." Not much intercourse between AW and N Paiute (Surprise Valley); latter "were friendlier with the AE around Likely." "Not very friendly with the 'Shaverhead' [At] tribe." "Not very friendly with Wintun. The people at Big Bend (Madesi Achomawi) were friendly with the Wintun." AW territory sometimes invaded by Shasta; AW pursued them, fought them. AE: Mainly fought with Kl, Mo, Paiute; the Wintun and Shasta were too far away. WT: Fought Karuk, Yurok, Hupa ("Klamath Indians") and Yuki (Round Valley Indians); latter were "real mean." On friendly terms with Chimariko; intermarried with them. WM: Fought Central Yana; on friendly terms with Madesi Achomawi and N Yana of Big Bend, Montgomery Creek. MM: Fought Washo (čaisum); occasionally fought Sacramento Valley Maidu (taiyIm) and people around Mooretown (MF), but after fight, "then they were friends again pretty quick." At of Hat Creek (kom maidum, snow people) and MM friendly; never fought each other; "they were good friends, just like 1 tribe together." Paiute, Wintu, Shasta too distant to engage in any fights with MM. NF: Very few wars; when whites settled around Marysville all fighting stopped. Fought Marysville, Colusa groups (Valley Maidu and Patwin, respectively); when NF went down to Yuba River to pick grapes, Marysville people chased them out. Or "Marysville people might call NF cowards, and tell them to come down and fight"; NF would then accept challenge. Marysville and Colusa people "mean; no good. Never fought Nevada City [NM], Mooretown

[648]

[209-B]

000 [MF group], or Plumas Co. [MM] Indians." MM: This section not discussed with informant. MV: Informant lacked all knowledge of war, declared she had never heard it discussed.

2771. At: "Never fought Aporige [other At group]: partners with them; Aporige helped At fight against Wintun. Also Round Mountain people [N Yana] helped; a Round Mountain man was in charge." AW: Hammawi (AE) raids mentioned by informant; AW retaliated. AE: No fights between small villages referred to collectively by outsiders as Hammawi (see note 2617); there were however feuds between villages "over women and girls, or over a doctor of 1 village poisoning the people of a near-by village." Fights between Hammawi and "Big Valley people [Atwamsini [648] Achomawi] were rare; the Kl and the Shasta fought them. Once in awhile [Hammawi] fought the Fall River people [Achomawi proper]; then they'd pay [in settlement]. The [Hammawi] had relations at Big Valley and Fall River. The Madesi [westernmost group of Achomawi] never came into [Hammawi] territory; only the Big Valley Indians fought them." WT: Fought E Wintu groups occasionally. MM, MF: Fought each other occasionally (see note 2770). MF: See note 2770.

2780. MV: "The only people who stole young girls were White people."

2783. AE: See note 2771.

2789. SW: "Lots of stealing of money and stored food by women; this started fights [but only among the women]. Also fights arose among the women from arguments; then they grabbed each other's hair, and threw dirt in each other's faces. Men didn't steal this way, but women did."

Participants

Groups involved; combatants; leaders.--

2790. For definition of autonomous group, see elements 2617 ff.

2791. At: See note 2771. WT: Villages leagued together and asked Trinity Center and Lewiston Wintu to help them sometimes; former also occasionally called on WT for aid. MM: Sometimes asked At (Hat Creek group) to help in war; never asked MF groups, as on rather unfriendly terms with them.

2792. MF: Women never accompany war party, which is chiefly composed of young men.

[726 701 648] 2795. Kl: Often asked Mo to help. Mo informant also emphasized this. Kl did not pay Mo; latter got food, buckskins, other plunder. At: See note 2771. AE: Headman or "chief" of village group, if latter raided, visits headmen of other near-by village groups, discusses matter during "a big smoke." All headmen consulted then meet at winter living house of group which was attacked, and decide what to do. Headmen then tell their men to join them, when matter is settled, and war dance is held at winter house of attacked group; "then they all go off to war.

[210-A]

727 535 2917. Kl: Men and women dancers in 2 separate single files; circle fire, men circling it clockwise, women counterclockwise. Women dance on inside, near fire, men on outside. Stamp left foot continually. As men come down to fire, hand women dancers scalps, each on small hand pole. Dancers sing; also have singers who stand by fire. No rattles used. Dance thus for 5 nights sometimes; each night dance stops about midnight.

000 2921. Mo: Center pole has several scalps on it. At: Pole 5 ft. tall. NF: Scalp at top of pole.

● [648] 2922. WM: "Learned to tie heart on top of pole from Kl."

2923. Mo: Woman leader of dance carries single scalp on small hand pole.

2940. Such as elkhide tunic, rod armor; carry bow and arrows, and shield if such is used.

727 783 627 Purification of killers; wounded.--This section relates in the main to persons who have engaged in intratribal murders rather than to warriors returning from open combats. The distinction between the taboos imposed on killers in open warfare and individuals who have secretly killed in a feud should have been more specifically inquired about, and separate entries made for the purification practices followed in each instance. Unfortunately this was not done and the field data do not allow insertion of separate entries for more than 5 or 6 of the groups covered. As a general rule, warriors seemed to have engaged in few purificatory practices; whereas for SW, SE, and other groups feud-murderers observed many of the taboos listed in this section. NF taboos which follow relate to person who has taken scalp in intertribal war. Such person is deemed witai (crazy) after he has taken scalp; must be purified before he can rejoin family.

2941. Kl: No ceremonialism connected with observance, however. Klamath Marsh men swim in lake.

2951. At: 2-3. WM: 4-5 days.

2955. Kl: Fish also taboo.

Peace Negotiations

000 Compensation for slain; dance of settlement.--

2958. SW: No compensation for slain, but compensation for captives. See note 2873, SW. AE: No settlement for intertribal killings in war; "just keep on owing each other a war (AE owe Paiute a war now; the Paiute came over and killed a man, years ago)." It is modern custom to settle for intertribal wars; Mo did it, under Captain Jack. MM: For intertribal wars, as with Washo, neither side will take payment for those killed. "Just fight it out; when good and ready, MM chief may send messenger man over to Washo; then they'd make friends with them."

[212-A]

• 648

[For information on Klamath-U.S. government relations during the reservation period, see category 116, pp. xv-xvi, 44-53, 57-65, 70-121, 125-181, 185-255, 259-266, and 316-317.]

many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit and compelling in its demands.

K M 756 796

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers.

K M 221 261 [356]

K M [574] [685] [756] [796] [789]

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

K M 261 22

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already, in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and Sprague.

K M 221 361

K M [501]

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers

K 226 823

K M 226 103 648

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K M draws upland Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute and gives to the
226 nearby settlement, the easternmost of the permanent villages of
103 the Klamath, the name, "Sucker-fishery." Others make their way
648 K to stone weirs, built, it is said, by Gmukamps himself, or to the
M lakes to fish with a variety of dip nets, gill net baskets, the two-pronged
226 harpoon and the multibarbed spear. At night, men set
forth in canoes upon the lake to fish by torchlight. Set lines are
K put out infrequently. While the men catch the fish—suckers,
M [261] salmon, and trout—their wives work ceaselessly, splitting them
and laying them in the sun to dry.

K Released from the protracted confinement to the winter settlements,
M tribesmen eagerly renew bonds with relatives and friends
221 from other villages. Related families may rendezvous to travel
222 together down to the fisheries and set up their lodges side by
[571] side. Then, as spring advances and the runs of suckers and
[602] salmon abate, the fishing settlements break up and parties of
[226] two or three families fan out along the flats and meadows to dig
[103] roots: the succulent camas, the nutlike ipos, yans, and the arrowroot
for which Chewaucan Marsh is named. In the watery flats
they seek the roots of tule and cattail; elsewhere they pick wild
K celery and mosses. There are the eggs of swan and other waterfowl
M to gather; trout in the streams to be caught; and for the
22 Modoc, antelope and mountain sheep to hunt. At this time, some
[361] areas are occupied that at other times are too cold or barren.

K If there is danger of hostile attack, the parties coalesce; and
M 22 under all circumstances they maintain a wary lookout. In the
226 north small bands make cautious excursions into the upper valley
of the Deschutes, watchful for raiding parties of Cayuse, Nez
K Percés, Warm Springs, and Paiute. Toward the east, Sycan and
M Chewaucan marshes are dug over by Klamath and Paiute. Frémont
222 once found the latter tract furrowed as if it had been
252 plowed. In many places the stone-lined earth ovens in which
camas and other vegetal foods were baked for winter storage
can still be seen.

K As the long summer days wear on, the pond-lily seeds, known
M 221 as wokas, begin to ripen on the marshes, and once more the
222 people draw together. The Modoc congregate especially along
648 Tule and Lower Klamath Lake, while some join the Klamath
on Wokas Marsh. Many Klamath, together with a few Modoc

and Paiute, meet on the broad expanses of Klamath Marsh, K M where, as Coville observes, over ten thousand acres of ripening 221 plants promise in good years an abundance not to be exhausted 222 [648] • by the demands of man. In later times Agents describe wokas as the most important single food of the Indians; and its specialized preparation is one of the most distinct features of their subsistence technology. Its importance is emphasized further by K the circumstance that the month of its harvest, August, marks [805] the beginning of the Klamath year. The wokas-gathering is preceded K M by shamanistic performances to ensure a plentiful crop. [756]

Daily, the dugout canoes, somewhat smaller than those used in [789] fishing and ordinary transport, slip out from the camps upon the K N broad expanse of the waters. In the openwork bags twined from 50 tules, the pods accumulate until the canoe is full. One old woman 222 recalled how she and a girlhood chum learned how to collect the pond-lily seeds:

> We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were always lots of extra poles lying K around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for M lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules [252] to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them."[14]

While the women, old men, and children are occupied on the K M marshes some of the men fare forth to hunt. The favored grounds 224 are in the east, where Klamath and Modoc pursue antelope, mule

K M 609 K M [574]

In such a sphere, and in relations with strangers beyond, the myths picture encounters fraught with possible danger. They may be initiated by a trucial period which endures until, by proper guest-host behavior, by a claim of kinship or on the other hand by an act of aggression, the issue of "friend or foe" is precipitated. Hospitality dictates that one receive and feed the stranger, though a visiting kinsman brings a gift of food or otherwise repays the kindness. If, however, hostility is decided upon, it rarely becomes open: instead, both sides proceed indirectly, under the guise of amicability, and employ followers or auxiliaries to encompass the destruction of the other. It is here that the prescient qualities of the hero, his access to assistants and to supernatural forces, are decisive.[19]

K 648

In ethnographic reality, the outer limits of society are marked by the boundaries of common speech. Beyond this, the Klamath maintain amity with the Molala, intermittent friendship and hostility toward the Warm Springs and other Columbia River Sahaptin, who sometimes raid them, and toward the Paiute; inveterate hostility toward the Takelma of the upper Rogue and other peoples west of the Cascades; and a predatory aggressiveness toward the Pit River and Shasta to the south, whom they increasingly raid for slaves and loot.

K M 571 156 [838]

The horizons of such a society are not wide. With the exception of the shaman, a part-time specialist, each man and each woman has much the same skills and knowledge as his fellows. The aberrant individual can do no more than assume the dress and behavior of the other sex, ascribing his action to supernatural dictate. The transient forms of the community and the informal constraint it imposes, the paucity of activities that demand concerted action, go hand in hand with a permissiveness in the individual. When this takes aggressive form, it may threaten the very fabric of society.

K M 754 571 152 682

The covert expression of hostility is likely to invest relations beyond the natal family with fear and mistrust. Revenge can take the form of murder from ambush, sorcery to engender the illness or death of the enemy, or the stealthy destruction of his property.[20] One frequent cause of open slayings, and of the feuds that ensue, is suspicion that a shaman has brought about the death of one's kinsman. Commonly, such charges are leveled

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

TWO

[P.22]

The Frontier Condition

726 648 175 FOR MANY YEARS THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WILLAMETTE AND COlumbia valleys bypassed the tribes of the Klamath Basin.[1] Indirectly, however, they felt the first remote influences, as the Sahaptin-speaking tribes of the middle Columbia, equipped with the superior weapons of the trading posts and mounted on horses acquired from the Shoshonean bands to the south, began to raid up the Deschutes Valley to take Klamath slaves.[2] The Klamath [231] [411] were at a disadvantage: in 1826 Peter Skene Ogden, of the Hudson's Bay Company, found them with but a single horse and uneasily awaiting raids by joint parties of Cayuse and Nez Percés; and even by midcentury they had only one firearm among them.[3] The scantiness of the local beaver made their territory of little interest to the company, however, and they came to enjoy a reputation as fierce warriors which preserved them [101] for some time from settlers. Nonetheless, they were known even then to the tribes of the Columbia, for Ogden applied to them a name, "Clammite," that was not their own and seems to stem from Chinookan.[4]

648 175 Some ten years after Ogden passed through, a party of French-Canadian trappers made their way into the region and on their return to The Dalles took along some Klamath.[5] From that time on, contact with the tribes at that great Indian trading center increased. Klamath parties moved down the Deschutes Valley, making their way either to The Dalles itself, or branching westward down the north fork of the Santiam along what came to be known as the Klamath Trail, through the settlement of the northern Molala, thence to the Kalapuya on the outskirts of 648 567 439 437 435 175 Oregon City. There, in 1843, one missionary recorded the visit of "a large party of the Clamath tribe, fierce and warlike . . . with about twenty slaves, [who] sold most or all of them. Some, I was informed were sold for three horses each, some cheaper."[6]

I was informed were sold for three horses each, some cheaper."[6] 000

In the changing conditions of the early nineteenth century, K
the Klamath were caught up in currents generated from without. 175
The advent of horses and of firearms made it possible for the 177
tribes of the east-central Plateau, the eastern Salish and eastern 648 •
Sahaptin, to cross the Rocky Mountains, to hunt buffalo and [231]
enter into relations, both peaceful and bellicose, with the tribes [411]
of the Plains. As they came under Plains influence, the appeal K
of Plains garb, of parfleches and tipis, grew.[7] The Klamath were [291]
attracted to these new goods, and the clothing at least came to [556]
replace or supplement traditional forms of wealth.

Moreover, the horse and the gun had revolutionized warfare K
patterns. Although traditional enemies beyond the Cascades M 175
were preoccupied with white settlers, on the east the Paiute were 177
gradually developing mounted bands of great mobility and 726
striking power. The Klamath and Modoc were not slow to seek 231
the new instruments of war. 411

The opening trade to the north brought a corresponding K
intensification of the raids carried south into the territory of the M 175
Pit River tribes—the Achumawi and Atsugewi—to capture women 177
and children, Pit River bows, and other loot. As Chiloquin, one 721
of the leaders of the time, recalled:

> When the Snakes [Northern Paiute] made war on us that made us keen to fight other Indians and we made war without provocation on the Pitt Rivers, Shastas and Rogue Rivers, but they never made willing war on us. Those wars lasted a great many years. We found we could make money by war, for we sold the provisions and property captured for horses and other things we needed. It was like soldiers nowadays who fight for money. We made war because we made money by it and we rather got to like it anyhow. The Snakes provoked us to make war on them.[8]

With developing warfare and the accumulation of foreign K
wealth came a gradual transformation of Klamath, and to a M 175
lesser extent, of Modoc society. The forays into hostile country 178
enlarged the scale of the war party. Chiloquin speaks of a body 726
totaling one hundred warriors, which included, according to Spier,
members of all the Klamath tribelets, and took in some Modoc as
well.[9] A joint raid on the part of Umpqua, Upland Takelma, and
other western tribes brought one such retaliatory reprisal about

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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175 1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-
178 scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes.
726 The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging
K scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty,
M
175 brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of
726 which based their power upon eminence in war and possession
182 of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers,
622 and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times
565 to cement alliances with shamans.

556 Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean
756 weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power
[754] was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of
us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain
persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would
die."[11]

K The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties.
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175 A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-
178 bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader
622 increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers
619 from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country.
628 As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance ren-
726 dered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment
of worth.

K In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary
622 principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his
father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother
175 as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill,
a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David,
later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain
George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not
essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks,
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[828 of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite
833] in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the
power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

K A minor factor in these developments may have been the
195 interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in
643 order that they might deal more effectively with responsible
648 leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs
177 met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

Kalapuya settlements in the vicinity of Oregon City, and induced them to be regulated by the same rules as were the Nez Percés and to appoint a single paramount chief. A disaffected Indian from The Dalles, however, subsequently joined the party as it was making its way homeward and provoked a quarrel in which those favoring the Agent's proposal were slain.[13] 175 177 643 648 •

While these events were taking place, the Klamath country was again being visited, at first by occasional parties whom the Indians watched unseen. In the years 1844-45 a mixed party of Walla Walla, Spokane, and Cayuse, under the Walla Walla chief, Piupiumaksmaks, passed through the Klamath region en route to California to buy cattle. In 1843 and again in 1846 the Klamath were visited by the explorer, John C. Frémont. In his earlier visit, the martial captain, in order to quell "the treacherous disposition, which is a remarkable characteristic of the Indians south of the Columbia," fired a round from his howitzer over Klamath Marsh. Although his action was scarcely calculated to allay the suspicions of the Indians, he was shown the same courtesy as had been extended Peter Skene Ogden years before. A village chief—the father of David Hill—and his wife came out to meet the party and guided them east toward Summer Lake. 175 648

Frémont's second entrance, in 1846, was less fortunate. In that year, moving up from California, he passed through Modoc country and thereafter up the west shore of Upper Klamath Lake, where he was attacked by a party that had followed him from the southern end of the lake. Three of his Delaware Indians were slain. Although his attackers probably were from the Klamath Falls tribelet, Frémont's reprisal was directed instead at a village of the Lower Williamson group. Neither women nor children were spared in the attack. The slaughter left a legacy of hatred that did much to draw some of the Klamath into the Molala war.[14]

By the time of Frémont's second visit to the Kamath country, the Indians of Oregon had been sorely stricken. Diseases brought by the whites had ravaged the tribes of the Columbia and Willamette valleys. The Hudson's Bay Company had sought to assure a firm supply of furs in the country it controlled and thus to maintain just and amicable relations with the Indians; and many of its employees had taken Indian wives. It was now being [731]

175 supplanted by immigrants from the wagon trains and ships.
648 Some of the newcomers were from areas in which echoes of the frontier still lingered.

From the first, the settlers were active rivals of the Indians for lands and resources. They brought wives who were often repelled by the Indian way of life, and who established for themselves an insular world in which the Indian could find little place. Where they did not directly displace the natives, their swine uprooted camas and cous and their sheep browsed on berries. After an area had been inhabited by settlers for a time, it could no longer support the Indians, save as degraded and drunken remnants. The newcomers, as a whole, found little to respect in Indian culture; and many Indians who tried to follow the missionary's road found that it did not lead to the easy acquisition of the material wealth and status of the Americans. To the disillusioned apostates, finally, can be added those enraged by the lawless deeds of small bands of renegades, both Indian and white.

These events and others of local character lay behind the Cayuse slayings at the Whitman mission in 1847. In that same year, Crooked Finger, the leader of the closely related Northern Molala, visited the Umpqua, Rogue River, Pit River, Modoc, and Klamath, seeking recruits for an uprising timed to take advantage of the absence of local settlers in the military campaign against the Cayuse. Even as preparations were under way, emissaries from the Cayuse are said to have visited his camp in Molala country; but the settlers, forewarned, struck first. In the ensuing fighting, approximately eighty Klamath were involved, comprising over half of Crooked Finger's supporters, and a Klamath chief, Red Blanket, was slain. The triumphant whites gave the survivors three days to leave, and they departed along the Klamath Trail, bearing their dead with them.[15]

During these troubled times, the experience of the Klamath beyond their homeland was consistent: the white man was too powerful to be withstood. Comparable power, said some, must be sought in the white man's way. Link-River Jo, a Klamath sub-
[997] chief, recalled in later years his contact in the 1840's with missionaries at The Dalles who

> told him about the Holy Spirit that was to come to the whole 175
> world and visit its remotest parts. When he came back from the 648
> Dalles he told his people about it but found them groping in [797]
> perfect darkness. . . . They would not believe him and told him he lied. He had watched long for the coming of the Holy Spirit and had never doubted that he should see him. He had heard Mr. Meacham talk for many days. . [and] now he saw that he was not like other men and knew that he must be the Holy Spirit come at last to bring gracious gifts for all tribes. . . ."

Others—and they were to become more influential—lived for 175
some time with whites and became convinced that the best 177
policy for the Klamath was one of peace. They included Lileks, 648
who in the course of the trading excursions to the north dwelled 622
for several years at The Dalles and was exposed there, no doubt, to the examples of authority set by whites as well as by the Columbia River tribes themselves. Another was Dave Hill, who, starting about 1859, lived approximately five years in Oregon City. Allen David, later to succeed Lileks as head chief in reservation days, was "well versed in the ways of the white man, from travel among the Willamette settlement." Another was Charley Preston who, like Hill, had spent five years at Oregon City, working for white farmers and had become "quite civilized and learned many of the white man's ways. He returned to his tribe and became a headman. . . ."[17]

Men such as these became the leaders of a "peace party"
among the Klamath, and their views achieved dominance in the 175
growing centralization of power among the Klamath. Lileks may 159
have consolidated the ascendancy he presently achieved as head 622
of this group by marriages beyond his tribelet: to the four wives [595]
from his own, Klamath Marsh, division, he added one each from the Lower Williamson and Klamath Falls groups, as well as one
from the Modoc. From the Columbia he or a contemporary [177]
brought back new "laws," which included the institution of [681]
flogging as punishment for murder or for persistent quarreling. In one instance, ascribed by Spier, with some question, to prereservation days, when two men of the Lower Williamson River tribelet slew a Klamath Falls man, Lileks had them haled to Klamath Marsh, where each was beaten five times.[18]

When, in 1858, it was indicated that Klamath and Rogue 175
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Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

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175 River renegades had slain five prospectors on a tributary of the
648 Rogue River, the whites apprehended three Klamath involved
in the affair, "whom the Klamaths voluntarily killed to prevent
trouble; that tribe being now desirous of standing well with the
K U.S. Government."[19] It is probable that the hand of Lileks is to
[622] be discerned in this matter also. In brief, his power and that of
Chiloquin, often termed his second chief, was challenged only
by Captain George, leader of a faction hostile to the whites, and
by Monchnkasgitk, leader of the remote Upland tribelet.

K Thus the frontier condition brought a heightened rate of inter-
175 tribal warfare and of intertribal trading. It gave the Klamath
648 both peaceful and bellicose exposure to whites, largely outside
177 the Klamath homeland. In the awareness of new ways of life
[721] beyond the limited range of which their fathers had been con-
[439] scious the Klamath of the first half of the nineteenth century
became diversified in outlook. Enriched with new goods, Klamath
culture prospered, although in comparison with the levels
K achieved by the whites it seemed poorer than ever. Warfare had
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721 consolidated power and wealth in the hands of leaders and the
648 magnitude of their operations drew Klamath and Modoc into an
175 uneasy cooperation.

622 Indeed, in many of these developments the Modoc participated
K only to a small degree. In disposing of those slaves destined to
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175 be sold at The Dalles, the Klamath and occasionally the Warm
567 Springs peoples acted as middlemen; in consequence the Modoc
721 did not come as fully under the influence of the Columbia River
177 tribes, nor did they amass as much wealth. The development of
556 a chiefly class among them was feebler, and the tribelets co-
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643 alesced under a single acknowledged leader only tardily and
525 incompletely.[20]

619 When in 1846 an exploring party under Jesse and Lindsay
M Applegate laid out an alternate emigrant route known as the
175 South Road, they directed it from Fort Hall down through Modoc
648 country and past the winter settlements on Tule and Lower
721 Klamath lakes, then west of the Cascades and north to the
Willamette settlements. The Modoc bitterly resented the invasion of their homeland and waged war against the wagon trains, a war which in turn brought reprisals from the settlers. In 1852, after the Modoc had extensively damaged several trains

and manhandled some of the survivors, the citizens of Yreka, a mining town in California southwest of the Modoc country, organized a party led by one Ben Wright. Under the guise of a council, they met some forty-six Modoc, to whom they offered a feast of poisoned beef. When the Modoc, forewarned by a Warm Springs Indian, declined to eat, Wright and his followers shot and killed all but five of them.[21]

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By contrast, the Klamath peace party withheld their hand. As Chiloquin later recalled an event of that year, a party under Captain Jim Crosby pursued some of the Modoc in the direction of Silver Lake.

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> The troops did not find the Modocs but at Oux-y [at the north end of Klamath Marsh] killed some Klamaths. They killed a few up on the marsh, some on Williamson River and a good many on both sides of Klamath Lake, but this did not precipitate a war with my people. Even if they felt like avenging the death of the people, they knew they could not contend against the whites long, for they had learned they were as numerous as the trees on the mountains.
>
> Below the Dalles on the Columbia River a Modoc murdered one of the McKays or one of old Tom McKay's friends,[22] The murderer made his escape to the Modoc country, but was pursued as far as Oux-y by McKay's friends. The chief Chim-tolk and my brother, Beaded Hat, who was a sub-chief, and three men pursued the murderer and brought him back to Oux-y and there killed him.[23]

For the emergent leaders of the Klamath, the maintenance of a consistent policy toward neighboring settlers posed problems of control. Similar difficulties beset the whites. From 1852 on, some men were accepted within tribal territory by the Indians as personally known and trustworthy. Wallace Baldwin, who ran cattle on land south of the present site of Klamath Falls, was one to whom Indians made gifts of roots, wokas, and game. Judge F. Adams in 1856 was grazing two thousand head of cattle in the vicinity of Keno; having made terms with the Indians, he was not molested. Wendolen Nus ranged stock in Klamath country in 1858-59, and, following a sojourn in the John Day region, returned in the 1860's to become the first permanent settler in the Klamath Basin. From 1857 on, the fur trader, Marty Frain, made an annual trip out of Yreka for the spring fishing at Lost River. Frain is quoted as saying that the Indians would be

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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

175 peaceable save for the whites who from time to time slew some
648 of them without provocation.[24]

The Indians had provocation in plenty. With the opening of the goldfields in northern California, would-be miners passed from the Willamette Valley through the Klamath country. There were the border ruffians living on the fringe of society, to whom the judgment of the Rev. Samuel Parker might justly apply. "Their demoralizing influence . . . with the Indians," he exclaimed, "has been lamentable, and they have imposed upon them in all the ways that sinful propensities dictate. It is said they have sold them packs of cards at high prices, calling them the bible; and have told them if they should refuse to give white men wives, God would be angry with them and punish them eternally, etc."[25] Some of the depredations ascribed to Indians were their doing.

Even the more responsible settlers found it difficult to escape being tangled in indiscriminate reprisals. Early in 1854 four men were slain near Lower Klamath Lake, and in May of the same year settlers attacked the Indians at Klamath Ferry. In almost every case the government placed the responsibility upon the whites, a view the latter repudiated indignantly.[26]

Armed escorts provided for the immigrant trains discouraged direct and massive assaults, but did not entirely eliminate them. Meanwhile, bands comprising individuals from several tribes were harrying transient prospectors, settlers, and particularly immigrants plodding full-laden through tribal territory.

In 1862 Joseph A. Chaffee established a ferry across the Klamath River and another at the lower end of Klamath Lake, after having paid the sum of one hundred dollars which the bands required of him. The Indians then extorted a second fare from each of his passengers and after two weeks drove Chaffee away. He reported that they levied a charge of one dollar a night for grass upon those passing through the country and robbed small and defenseless parties. These bands, well armed, were said to comprise Modoc, Paiute, and Snakes (Northern Paiute), who asserted "that in case of difficulty, they will be supported by all these different tribes of Indians."[27]

The rapid settlement of the country made evident that some control must be extended over the tribes of southern Oregon. As

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

early as 1849, Jesse Applegate, who had glimpsed the Klamath Basin as a leader of the South Road expedition, introduced a bill into territorial legislature to charter an association, The Klamath Company, to treat with the Indians and purchase lands from them.[28] Since these powers were reserved to the government, the bill failed of passage. In 1854, Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, desired to see at first hand the country and its people, whose "thieving propensities" had been a source of complaint. Consequently he persuaded a Klamath chief whom he encountered in Oregon City to bring together his people for a council at Klamath Lake.

Together with an interpreter, a Warm Springs guide, and the chief he made his way southward up the valley of the Deschutes and into Klamath country. It was mid-August and the tribesmen were doubtless out gathering wokas. Messengers sent to summon the Modoc, Paiute, and Pit River tribes proved to be fruitless; and only members of the Klamath Marsh, Agency Lake, and Lower Williamson River tribelets came in to the council. Palmer warned them of ". . . our determination to punish those who committed acts of violence and theft against our people, and [listened] to their replies and promises of good conduct. . . ." He then made some presents and the council broke up "with an apparent good feeling." Years later, Henry Blow was to contrast his liberality by inference with the parsimony of the government under the treaty.[29]

Palmer came away favorably impressed with the Klamath country as a place to colonize—i.e. remove—the Indians from the Willamette and Umpqua valleys. Of the three full Indian Agents under his control, he felt that the Agent for the southeastern district should reside in the vicinity of Klamath Lake, and that should the reservation he envisaged come into being a cavalry detachment should be posted there.[30]

The plan to remove the western tribes beyond the Cascades was subsequently dropped, but other phases of the plan were soon put into operation. Mounting hostilities, although not within Klamath territory, gave it impetus. Indeed, the surveying expedition under Lt. R. S. Williamson that pursued its way the next year through Klamath country and up the river that now bears his name, encountered no difficulty en route, but emerged from

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

175 its sojourn in eastern Oregon into the midst of the Rogue River
648 and Yakima wars of 1855.[31]

Although behind them the Klamath settlements remained at peace, Klamath in the troubled areas were caught up in the dragnet. When the special agent for the upper Umpqua Valley was collecting the friendly Umpqua in order to shift them temporarily to the site of a proposed reservation, at the request of local citizens he also received some 35 Klamath, "who willingly surrendered their arms and ammunition." Again, in the roundup of approximately 1,440 Indians of coastal Oregon and the Willamette Valley in 1856, awaiting removal to permanent reservations, were members of tribes with whom no treaties had yet been concluded, who usually wintered in the Willamette Valley, and who in those troubled times sought the protection of the Indian department. Among them were 141 Klamath.[32] Even Lileks, out hunting deer in the mountains with some men of the Pelican Bay tribelet, was picked up, as were his companions. With their families they were taken to Oregon City and confined for some time until Lileks was able to secure their release.[33]

In the Klamath country itself, the alarms of war persistently pointed to the Klamath as hostile. Settlers reported the tribesmen armed and threatening on the Santiam and the Kalapuya, 202 and saw signal fires burning along the Klamath Trail from the Lakes to Oregon City.[34]

In the aftermath of warfare grew a new determination to end the recurrent hostilities. Wrote Commissioner of Indian Affairs James W. Denver in 1857:

> I know of no alternative to the present unsatisfactory and dangerous state of things but the adoption of early measures for the extinguishment of [Indian] title, and their colonization on properly located reservations, using and applying the consideration agreed to be allowed to them for their lands to subsist and clothe them until they can be taught and influenced to support and sustain themselves. The losses and damage to the government and to the citizens resulting from another general outbreak on the part of these Indians would probably fully equal, if not exceed, in amount what would be necessary to buy out and colonize them, so that they could be effectively controlled, if not improved and civilized.[35]

In Oregon, Indian Agent G. H. Abbott promptly paid a visit to the Klamath for the twin purpose of concluding treaties with Klamath and Modoc and of selecting a site for an agency. The legislative session of 1858-59 instructed the delegate to Congress to press for the establishment of both agency and a military post in the Klamath country. Once more in 1860 the legislature urged that treaties be signed with the remaining unreduced tribes of Oregon and that military posts be authorized at Warm Springs and in the Klamath region.[36] The outbreak of the Civil War delayed action until the following year.

Meanwhile, the hostile bands in southern Oregon grew bolder. They operated particularly in the zones beyond tribal territory, where the wagon trains, laden with potential loot and owned by nameless strangers who had no claim to consideration, were a fit counterpart to the villages of the Pit Rivers. For at least one leader an additional spur for the attack was provided by the fear that the country would soon fill up with strangers.

This man was the Klamath Lake chief, Kiluampch, "Old Brave," also known as Captain George. He was a brother of Allen David, who, however, held quite different views. It was during Captain George's period of dominance that Chief Sam of the Rogue River hostiles reported in 1852 that "the Indians at the Klamath Lake country had agreed to kill off all that might come in that way. That they do not intend to let any more whites come into their country." Two years later, as Judge A. M. Rosborough wrote Colonel Drew, the Klamath met with emissaries from the tribes of the Illinois, Rogue, and Upper Klamath rivers to plan concerted war upon the whites, with the bands of Shasta and Scott's Valleys attending but declining to take part. "The Upper Klamath or Klamath Lake Indians," he added, "(with the exception of the tribe [of] which La Lakes is chief) commenced their depredations by killing Whites and stealing stock, and a report was current among the friendly Indians that these hostiles intended to destroy the immigrants as fast as they came from the Valley of the Humboldt."[37]

Captain George, like his brother, had been exposed to the American settlements but had been antagonized in the process. "George," wrote Elijah Steele, "had acquired some knowledge

175 648 of the English language, and fully comprehended the civil war under which our unfortunate country is now suffering, and he thought, or professed to think, that if all the Indians unite they could kill off all the whites and retake the country." He and another chief, known as Skookum John—a man suspected of instigating trouble in 1856—were reputed to counsel war continuously.[38]

In power, the redoubtable hostile had few peers. As of about [624] 1859, he was war chief of both Klamath and Modoc, in which capacity he divested a Modoc chief of his elk-skin cuirasses for refusing to join an expedition against the Pit River tribes. [622] Indeed, Henry Blow later averred that Captain George had superseded Lileks as chief for a time, during which he had entered into a treaty—with whom is uncertain, though possibly with Rosborough or Steele in Northern California—and had been promised pay as head chief.[39]

In its own time, the government moved to contain the threat posed by his ascendancy. The necessary action embraced both military and civil commitments, and the contentions engendered lie vividly upon the pages of the day.

Outstanding among the individuals involved were members of the numerous Applegate clan, whose destinies were to be intertwined with the Klamath for almost a half-century. They were led by the doughty Lindsay Applegate, who had crossed the plains with his brothers, Jesse and Charles, and their families in the great migration of 1843. A staunch Union man and a Republican, he then resided at Ashland Mills, across the Cascades from the Klamath country. Of his extensive family, mention should be made of four of his sons, Elisha, who held the office of surveyor general, Ivan, Lucien, and Oliver. As a member of the state legislature, Lindsay Applegate had been instrumental in securing passage of the joint resolution calling for the establishment of a military post in the Klamath country. During the Rogue River War, he had served with distinction as captain of a company of mounted volunteers. His second-in-command on that occasion had been J. W. Perit Huntington, married to a daughter of brother Charles, and a man with whom he shared the conviction that the Indians must be dealt with firmly but justly.[40]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

Acting out of Northern California from the mining town of Yreka, south of the Modoc country, were A. M. Rosborough and his friend and successor, Judge Elijah Steele. They followed a policy in independence of that in Oregon and exercised a restraint in dealing with the hostiles which Applegate and his associates were to denounce as coddling. Animosities between the two states were involved: the Californians with some justification maintained that the Oregonians were bent on making a profit from the location of the military post.[41]

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As if it were not enough to find a schism within the ranks of those civilians who were to be responsible for the handling of Indian affairs, further complications arose. The military campaign was entrusted to a company of volunteers led by Colonel Charles S. Drew, who hailed from the town of Jacksonville, a few miles distant from Ashland Mills and its economic rival. Drew, as Steele averred, had come under the influence of Gen. George Wright, commanding the Department of the Pacific, and was aligned with him in violent disagreement with the leniency displayed toward the natives by the Indian Bureau. Applegate and his friends darkly suspected Drew of seditious views; and the implication is strong that they felt Drew was endeavoring, through harsh measures, to foment a general Indian war which would divert much needed troops from the fighting on the eastern seaboard.[42]

About 1861, the Rogue iver settlements were plagued by an influx of Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, who were soon supporting themselves by trading with the whites, by theft, and by prostitution of their women. They expressed themselves as eager to sell their lands, but in their new location they were "a constant source of annoyance and terror" to the settlers. Consequently, anticipating an immediate danger, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, William H. Rector, appointed Lindsay Applegate to the post of special Indian agent for the Indians of southern Oregon to deal with these and related matters. Shortly thereafter, Elisha Applegate rode off to Salem carrying a petition from the people of Jackson County for a reservation at Klamath Lake.[43]

The new military post was authorized and in 1863 it took form in the heart of the Klamath country, between Fort Creek and Wood River. Bitterly, Lindsay Applegate, once more a private

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K 175 648 citizen—his office having lapsed for lack of authorized pay—denounced the location in a letter to Huntington, now Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon. "Drew . . . and his *Copperhead* friends, have already committed an outrage in the country, by locating the Fort in a place, where it entirely fails to accomplish the objects for which a post was ordered, solely I believe for selfish and factious purposes of their clan."[44]

Drew, while recommending that treaties be concluded with Lileks' and Old George's bands of Klamath, and with certain other groups, roundly scored these tribes as "a horde of practical thieves, highwaymen, and murderers, cowardly sycophants before the white man's face, and perfidious assassins behind his back". He annexed to his report a detailed list of hostilities in the Klamath Lake – Tule Lake – Goose Lake region from the opening of the South Road down to the time of his report. Following one such attack in 1856 which left at least thirty-nine fatalities, and in which the abduction of women and children was suspected, as he claimed, "the Indians of Umpqua valley exhibited an unusual number of dresses and other articles of female apparel,* which they alleged they had obtained from the Indians at Klamath Lake".[45]

K M 175 648 721 622 Drew moved with dispatch. To the south, the long-standing warfare waged by Klamath and Modoc against Shasta and Pit River tribes had ended by embroiling them with the settlers. Suspecting the whites of having sided with the Shasta, who had slain several of their warriors, the hostile Klamath and Modoc under Captain George had, in the words of Steele, "commenced depredations by stealing the cattle of the frontier settlements, robbing travellers passing through their country, and uttering threats of murder and war on the opening of the spring." Acting upon a petition by citizens and a letter from Sub-agent Amos E. Rogers, Drew promptly arrested Captain George and summarily hanged him. George's troublesome colleague, Skookum John, met his death in the same action. At one stroke the bellicose faction had been decapitated.[46]

K 175 648 So draconian a measure did not pass without comment. In a confidential letter to Huntington, Rogers wrote from Jacksonville, intimating that it had all been planned beforehand by Drew and other Copperheads at a "turkey and champaign dinner" at

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Captain T'Vault's. "The party who met at this dinner," he insisted, "freely discussed the policy of this arest* and execution. It was determined that the charges contained in the petition of citizens and my letter to Drew was sufficient to arrest and hang the Indian . . . without trial or further evidence. The insolence that Drew complained of was, of course, but a pretext."[47]

The Indians, not surprisingly, found these measures profoundly unsettling, and sought out their friend, Lindsay Applegate. "I was visited a few days ago by Lake indians," he recounted to Huntington early in 1864,

> who said that they had been instructed by thier people, to learn of me, whether thier country was to be taken from them or not without compensation, and if they were to be made slaves. They say Col. Drew has taken possession without thier having any assurance that they would ever get anything for thier country, and that it would shortly be over run by settlers.
>
> They complain bitterly of these things, [but] say they do not want war with the whites. . . . If the Bill now before Congress proposing to make treaties with these indians, passes, we will be saved in all probability from an indian war, for the course that Drew is pursuing toward them will I think, if not counteracted in some way, certainly lead to war. . . .[48]

In June, Huntington, having communicated with his opposite in California, Austin E. Wiley, made his way to the new post, Fort Klamath, to confer with the Klamath and Modoc chiefs and those headmen that could be assembled in preparation for a treaty council the following October. He reported that they were "friendly with the whites and have been for some time. Their desire to treat for the sale of their lands has been known for some time. . . ." He was pleased to learn that Capt. William Kelly, finding the Indians in a suffering condition during the previous winter, had advanced them foodstuffs out of his own stores. It was an act of statemanship pronounced by Huntington to have "a most salutory effect in conciliating the Indians, and rendering future control of them easy and economical."[49]

In California a few months earlier, another peacemaker had been at work. Elijah Steele, who had succeeded his friend, Rosborough, as Indian Agent, had returned in mid-February from San Francisco to find a large gathering of Indians encamped

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* Original spelling has been adhered to in all reports and letters.

[Klamath Reservation]

K 175 648 near his house, whom his wife "had been lecturing . . . upon the best way to live with each other, and with other people." They were the chastened tribes whose hostilities Drew had summarily
K M 175 648 suppressed, now gathered under their peace chiefs: the Klamath were here under Lileks, the Modoc under Schonchin, and the Shasta bands under their several chiefs.

Steele saw an opportunity to stabilize the frontier, and set about to conclude a treaty. He justified his action by the belief that the country of the Klamath and Modoc extended into California, that "an unhappy difference existed between [Agent Amos E. Rogers at] Jacksonville and the military department [i.e. Drew]," and that there was impending danger of an outbreak of hostilities.

He and interested citizens now found it relatively easy to reach an agreement with the tribes whereby they consented to live in peace and friendship with one another, to give up to the soldiers for punishment any person who violated this principle; to live on the same terms with non-Indians, permitting them free passage through their country and charging them only for ferry passage across rivers or guiding them on their way. They further agreed not to get drunk or to steal when in the settlements or white camps, or to rob the Chinese sluice-miners; to remain out of town at night, to refrain from selling Indian children of their own or other tribes or from selling women to any save an Indian, unless the purchaser agreed to marry her before a judge.

The Klamath and Modoc convenanted not to raid the Pit River tribes and to submit to the regulation of the officers at Fort Klamath. In the settled country, except when hunting, Indians were not to carry bows and arrows or firearms, and they were not to bring the latter into the settlements, except to be repaired. In return, they were granted permission to visit the settlements when provided with a pass from the officers at Fort Klamath, and were assured of protection while there.[50]

M 175 648 643 In his capacity as counselor of the Indians, Steele also intervened in a disputed Modoc leadership. Their dominant chief, Schonchin, had served as spokesman for the Modoc, still a loose congeries of bands, and had led them since his succession in 1846. In his earlier days, he had fought valiantly against the whites.

> I thought [he recollected in later years] if we killed all the white men we saw, that no more would come. We killed all we could;

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

> but they came more and more like new grass in the spring. I looked around and saw that many of our young men were dead and could not come back to fight. My heart was sick. My people were few. I threw down my gun. I said, "I will not fight again." I made friends with the white man."[31]

M 175 648 643

Despite the fact that Schonchin was favorably disposed toward the whites and had represented the Modoc in an agreement at which Steele had presided, Steele heeded more militant factions which sought to replace him. Two chief contenders came forward: the extremist, John Schonchin, a younger brother of the chief who was then absent, and the somewhat more moderate Kintpuash, whom Steele dubbed Captain Jack. At the election, the tribesmen in attendance chose the latter, and Steele designated him chief of all the Modoc.

M 175 648 643 578

M [666]

In the course of the council, under the mistaken belief that Modoc territory lay largely within California, Steele negotiated a treaty with that tribe whereby they pledged their readiness to relinquish all their territory in exchange for assurances that they would be permitted to retain the area about Tule Lake. Since Steele was not authorized to enter into agreements of this character, his treaty was not ratified by Congress, although the Modoc remained unaware of that fact. Shortly thereafter, he was removed from office by a political maneuver.[32]

M 175 648

Less than a month after the Yreka council, the newspapers carried the news that Congress had appropriated $20,000 to effect a treaty and purchase the lands of the Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute. Late in June, Huntington was instructed to effect the treaty, and in August he visited the tribes for a preliminary conference. About the same time, Lileks and a delegation of Klamath are said to have waited on their friend, Captain Kelly, to propose that such a treaty be entered into. Early in October, Huntington, together with Agent William Logan to represent the absent superintendent for California, repaired once more to Fort Klamath to enter into the treaty.

K M 175 648 •

The parties to the treaty, according to Huntington, included 21 Klamath chiefs and headmen, led by Lileks and Chiloquin, representing 710 Klamath then present. Of the signatories who can be identified, at least 9 were Klamath Marsh men. The Modoc were led by Schonchin, still recognized as head chief by Huntington, and included the Klamath-Modoc interbreed, Chief

K M 175 648 622 M 643

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K
M George (Sleketatk), Captain Jack, and one Chuck-e-i-ox
175 (Njakeaks).[53] They are said to have represented 339 Modoc.
648 Finally, there were two Paiute, who signed for some 22 members
622 then present of a group known as the Yahuskin band of Snakes.[54]
M The Walpapi Snakes, under their crafty leader, Panaina, were
[643] also to have been included, but they withdrew and were dealt
with in a separate treaty in August, 1865.[55]

Captain Kelly, who was present, gives figures for the tribes that differ somewhat from those of Huntington. He notes that all the Klamath, including their slaves, were present, and numbered 133 males over fifteen years of age, 286 women, and 214 children. Of the Modoc, 46 men, 15 women, and 16 children were in attendance. "About 40 of the Modoc warriors," he adds, "were absent with the women and children in their own country. They have about the same proportion of women and children as the Klamaths." Finally, the Snakes numbered 11 men, 5 women, and 6 children.[56] It is possible that the absent Modoc included members of the party advocating continued resistance.

Many years later, the Upland Klamath leader, Monchnkasgitk, recalled the treaty making:

> Huntington came to Council Grove and sent out invitations to all the Indians to meet him to discuss a treaty about the lands. I went as chief with Seven Warm Springs Indians to the first meeting at Council Grove. I met La Lake, head chief, and Chiloquen, chiefs of the Klamaths; also Captain Jack, Schonchen, and Chief George of the Modocs.
>
> Huntington met me there with the man who wrote for him, and another white man. We were there about a week and talked three days about the treaty. We built our first camp fire under a big pine tree which I think is still there. Huntington made a speech and said: "I have come from Washington, from the Great Father, to see about buying your land and have brought [with] me the things to pay for it." He then showed up fishhooks, beads, buttons, coarse blankets, and red paint. Huntington finished his speech by saying, "Tell me how much land you want to save for yourselves?" The chiefs went back to the camp and talked among themselves and agreed, and the next day told Huntington they wanted the land from the three snow mountains and the Cascades (the three sisters) from there to Steens Mountain; thence southerly along the mountains east of Goose Lake Valley to the California line, then westerly to the Cascades, taking in the Tule Lake country; then back to the beginning.

Parenthetically, it may be observed that this tract encompasses in a general way the entire holdings of the three signatory groups, save that the Modoc included only the land reserved for them under the treaty with Steele earlier in the year. K M 175 648 •

> Huntington replied [Monchnkasgitk continues] that was "too much land for you to take care of and hold, and I want you to go back to your camp and think it over, and then point out to me land near your homes here, which you can hold and take care of." So we went to camp and all talked it over for many hours, and finally agreed on Lee Lakes proposition, that we should keep the land to Tom sum ne, then to His chok sal as, Bal la wisk se, Tsne whel ste e los, Ba ha, Chok chok e lisk se, then to Kal wal by Ish tish e wax.
>
> To this Huntington agreed, saying, "That is all right; and the matter is now finished. You will be closed up, like in a high fence, so no one can get over to you, or their cattle get over, nor can you get out to them without permission; so, tomorrow I will issue you all the things I have, and to-night we will have a big dance."
>
> The next day the things Huntington had were issued and they all went and signed the treaty.[57]

The Klamath, Nash observes, are reported to have signed the treaty willingly but both Modoc and Paiute did so only with reluctance.[58]

In the designation of boundaries, the seeds for future contention were sown. As members of the Boundary Commission observed in 1896:

> The two Commissioners of the Government, with their assistants, proceeded into a country practically unknown to them to treat with an assemblage of Indians who were ignorant of the fundamental principles of the matter to be discussed, the Indian language having no words expressing the idea of direction, by equivalents of the points of the compass, or distance by measures of miles, yards, etc.[59] To this day the older Indians can only designate direction by pointing, and distance by fractions of a day's travel; hence their topographical descriptions were very vague, unless confined to particular points. It is not surprising, therefore, that confusion should ensue when the agreement, reached after days of discussion, under such conditions, was condensed into a few lines of our language.[60]

The terms of the treaty mark the passage of the Indians—who came to be designated the Klamath Tribe—from a state of sovereign independence to a place under the government of the K 175 648

175 United States, and more directly under the supervision of an
648 Agent. Part of the Agent's duties were "to promote the well-being of the Indians, advance them in civilization, and especially agriculture, and . . . secure their moral improvement and education."[61]

The Tribe thus engaged to enter upon a program of extensive change designed to make its members into farmers by American standards, sending their children to school, and utilizing the services of a physician. It was even envisaged that they should at some time privately own the land they tilled, though without the power to alienate it. The terms of payment make it very probable that both parties to the treaty thought the Indians would be able to attain self-sufficiency by the end of twenty years. The reservation was to be set apart for the Indians, subject to the will of the President of the United States, with rights of way for railroads and public roads reserved for United States citizens, and with governmental option to move other tribes upon it in the future. The Indians agreed to submit to "all laws and regulations which the United States may prescribe for their government and conduct," including that banning their use of liquor, to remain upon the reservation, save when given temporary leave by the Agent, and to relinquish independent military action. They were confirmed in their exclusive right to take fish, roots, seeds, and berries within the reserved area, and were to be protected there against the trespass of any unauthorized white.[62]

The prominent role that governmental planning assigned to economic self-sufficiency and to isolation from outside interference is set forth in the words in which Huntington in his report justified the choice of site.

> In determining the bounds of the reservation, I sought primarily to secure a tract of country which had local advantages for supporting a colony of Indians by industrial pursuits. . . . A second object, and one scarcely less important, was to so locate the tribes that their separation from whites would be as nearly complete as possible. This reservation is not likely to be traversed by any important line of travel, and but a small portion of it will be coveted by whites for settlement.[63]

With slight amendments the treaty was signed once more in December, 1869, by the chiefs and headmen of the Indians, ratified by Congress, and signed into law and proclaimed February 17, 1870.

ALLIE SAYS

539 You Tecumseh sent us a letter stating that you had a skookum tum tum.[*] I am glad to hear this. We are all the same here. Are all living comfortably and have a hias close tum tum.[†] Your wife and children hias close mitlite.[‡] No one troubles them or mistreats them. You must not get a sick tum tum[§] while you are gone. We are all right – and want you to have no fears about us. Your little girl is not entirely well, has not a very good appetite & I asked Mr. Dyar to let her have some store flour.

Yours Allie

[*] Strong heart
[†] Very good heart
[‡] Remain very well
[§] Worry, grieve

BLOW SAYS

Old Hias man's wife is dead, and I had a notion to put Chick Chick and Link River Doctor in the guard house. The old woman said that L. R. Doctor was not guilty. Ortugul became foolish & could not seem to get Boston[*] law, and also, Eli[†] so we broke them of being Sargeants. They could not seem to understand matters properly.

We try to help Mr. Dyar and carry out his instructions but these two men could not throw away their Indian ways. I have had to talk to Yainax Ben because he was not quite straight about some of these matters. He has tried to persuade Mr. Dyar to let certain parties go unpunished that we all thought should be kept in the guard house. Old Chick Chick for one. Ben did not talk straight but told some untruths.

Allen David has told you how our young men are doing. My mind is that this is first-rate. I am very glad about these things could almost cry about it I am so glad. I don't want them to give these things up. I want you to know about these things.

I understand that no provision has ever been made for pay of Head
[648] Chief on this Agency. George the old chief who was hung[‡] was promised pay for being chief by those who first made a treaty with him and a paper was sent to Washington to that effect. I know that straight and this is why I tell you this. Lincoln was President at that time. Chief George told us this, and shortly after he was hung when La-Lakes became chief again but said nothing about pay. Now Lincoln and George are both dead and I don't know what has become of the paper. I want you and Oliver & Meacham to talk to the Hias Tyee[§] about this.

You Oliver[‖] promised Allen David that you would get a salary for him. Now you are going to Washington I want you to talk to the Tyee about this. I want Dave Hill & Tecumseh to know what the Tyee says about this. (By the way it would be a great relief to all of us if you can possibly bring this matter before the Comr. in the presence of Dave & Tecumseh as then perhaps Allen David might be convinced that it is useless to talk more about it – Dyar) We have cut our hair as Mr. Meacham wished us to do and try to be like white men. I live up to the treaty and am all right. Capt Jack did not and is no more. What Captain said is straight. I think is good that he should have a wagon. He wants one very much. I think if you tell the Hias Tyee about this he will not get frightened as a wagon don't cost very much. I think that we should be helped to these things if possible. I have been chief for a long time. God knows that I am free from the blood of White men and that I want to live right. I help Mr. Dyar and we both are big men. I know about Gen. Grant and I want him to know that I help him in keeping my people straight. I want him to know what I say today. I have not sent him any talk for a long time.

I talk to him as a man – a big man – and I want to consider him as my father and never give him up. I never want anything but the best of feelings between us. I don't want to talk foolishness to him, only about big things. Mr. Dyar keeps a close watch over us and he knows that I talk straight. I wish a mowing machine so that we can cut more hay for our cattle. I fear that some of them will die this winter.

Yours Truly
Blow

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[*] American
[†] Probably Eli Chikaskane
[‡] Captain George
[§] President
[‖] O. C. Applegate

Feb. 4th 1875

Today Mr. Dyar read your letter to us and we are very glad to hear from you. Today we came to the agency to hear your letter read, so that we can tell all the people what you wrote and all are very glad to hear from you to get your first letter, and glad to hear your good talk.

Julia, Chickaskane's wifes little girl (half breed) is dead or lost. She was living with Tom McKezy [McKay?] down on the Klamath above Bogus, and Tom sent a letter to Mr. Dyar stating that she had run off. Tobakelly went down to see about it and Tom told him that she was lost. I do not know the facts about it

000 For the recency of separation of the Modoc, see Gatschet (1890), Pt. 1, pp. 13, 14, n.13, 1.

5. See Sapir, reprinted in Mandelbaum (1951), pp. 169-78.

K M [114] [161] 6. Mooney (1928), p. 18, gives a value for the Klamath of 800 and for the Modoc, 400 persons. Kroeber (1925), p. 320, sets the combined figure at 2,000 and estimates that the Klamath have always numbered more than twice the Modoc population. Spier (1930), p. 5, reaches total figures in agreement with Kroeber. Kroeber (1939), pp. 136-38, reverts to Mooney's values in estimating tribal densities.

7. For the latter, chiefly Barrett (1910), Coville (1897, 1904), Curtin (1912), Curtis (1924), Dorsey (1901), Gatschet (1890), Kroeber (1925), Powers (1877), Ray (1963), and Spier (1930), the last two being the most important sources, respectively, for Modoc and Klamath.

8. Anastasio (1955). The changing societal constellations each directed toward a common task also resemble the "structural poses" described by Gearing (1962), for the eighteenth-century Cherokee, with the difference that the social groups entering into the constellations among the Klamath and Modoc are, by comparison, far more diffuse and less well defined.

9. Spier (1930), p. 13, site 6.

10. See Spier (1930), p. 15, site 23. The settlement size follows Spier.

11. As the Klamath pungently express it, "They even divide up a flea." Barker (1963), pp. 162-63.

K [648] [625] 12. An Agent once requested waiver of the stipulation that Indian police must stand five feet eight inches in height, since few Klamath men could qualify.

13. Dorsey (1901), p. 21.

14. Quoted in Pearsall (1950), pp. 348 ff. For details of wokas preparation, see Coville (1904).

15. Spencer (1956), pp. 77 ff. From time to time, I heard much the same speech directed by this woman to the boy, aged twelve. As Spencer remarks, at no time did his immediate actions give occasion for her harangue. She was, however, much concerned over some of his associates.

K M [594] 16. The term "natal family" is employed as a more graceful alternative to the conventional "family of orientation," to denote the nuclear unit into which the individual is born and within which he is reared. For similar reasons, I have preferred the term "marital family" to denote the "family of procreation," a similar entity seen from the vantage of the married partners who stand at its head. See Murdock (1949), p. 13, for a discussion of the original terms.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M
K situated about upper Klamath Lake and in the mountains to the
101 east; except for a part of the Modoc in Oklahoma. It is the
131 object of the present paper to discuss briefly the conditions of
M aboriginal life among these people, due consideration being given
K their natural environment and the influence of surrounding
128 peoples upon them.

TERRITORY.

M The territory occupied by the Klamath Lake and Modoc
K Indians lies chiefly in the drainage basins of Upper and Lower
101 Klamath lakes and Tule or Rhett lake. From a point near the
131 confluence of Keen creek with Klamath river the western boundary
of their territory probably extended along the watershed separating the Klamath lake and Rogue river drainages, to the
K foothills of the mountain in which Crater lake is situated. It
823 should be noted, however, that the Klamath, while they feared
Crater lake, did go upon certain occasions to the lake and seem not to have been molested there by other Indians. It would seem that the lake was looked upon as a sort of territory of mutual rights by the peoples in its vicinity. They visited it when they desired to acquire great merit in hunting or other pursuits in which supernatural power was necessary. To go and bathe in this wonderful lake was a brave thing to do, and made a man lucky for hunting or other similar pursuits and made him very
K strong for war. It would appear that the relations formerly
131 existing between the Klamath and the people of the Rogue river
drainage were not at all friendly, so that the Klamath seldom
648 ventured as far west as the crest of the range. They did on
occasion make up large parties and go up to the crest of the range for the purpose of hunting, but small parties rarely ventured so far. The region for some distance to the west and northwest of Crater lake was also visited by the Klamath for the
K purpose of gathering berries in season.

101 On the north the boundary extended as far as to the head-
131 waters of Deschutes river, thus including the whole drainage
133 basin of Klamath marsh.[1] On the east the boundary probably

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K
[101] [1] The Bureau of Ethnology's map in Bulletin 30 gives to the Lutuami
[114] territory as far north in the Deschutes drainage as latitude 44. See also volume I of this Bulletin, 779, 1907.

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common 101
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's 177
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological [184]
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy,
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present [224]
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly 648
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties:
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an artificial construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local [829]
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet 178
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-residence with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been transferred to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 648
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not 423
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural [241]
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber industry has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have [511]
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

648 Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation,
by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically,
less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
[657] efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities
[726] were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
[786] 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
[181] in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
[556] wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased
opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
[313] is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members,
[434] as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited
[651] bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are exclusively 621
White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office outside [575]
the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [794]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are frequently
tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously, [651]
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chiloquin [674]
during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a reconstituted 648
"Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be administered 657
by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal supervision
has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Attendance 619
at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

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Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification.
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

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155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
[462] of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits
include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers
are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience
with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
426 for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented,
and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation
population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159
156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from
his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never
[461] worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen.
Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five
[871] school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from
the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at
[592] home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger sib-
[434] lings may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal
income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly
[657] for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the
bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very
reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit
[582] Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging
company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the
[618] logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually
[221] away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when
drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father
does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household
[593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his
father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion
knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this per-
[848] son is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity,
which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's
*159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards
156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or
593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting,
and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits
the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls,
and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt
and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common
[421] activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to
one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his belongings, and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom she spends much time.

*159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks
156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the
law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time
[673] loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his
buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom
[512] awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away
from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which
may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

THE HOME OF THE PEOPLE.

131 The home of the Klamath tribe of southwestern Oregon lies upon the
657 eastern slope of the southern extremity of the Cascade Range, and very
648 nearly coincides with what we may call the headwaters of the Klamath River, the main course of which lies in Northern California. Its limits are outlined in a general manner in the first paragraph of the treaty concluded between the Federal Government and the Indians, dated October 14, 1864, which runs as follows: "The Indians cede all the country included between the water-shed of the Cascade Mountains to the mountains dividing Pit and McCloud Rivers from the waters on the north; thence along this water-shed eastwards to the southern end of Goose Lake; thence northeast to the southern end of Harney Lake;* thence due north to the forty-fourth degree of latitude; thence west along this same degree to Cascade Range." It must be remarked that the homes and hunting-grounds of two "bands" of the Snake Indians were included within these limits, for these people were also made participants to the treaty.

Here, as with all other Indian tribes, the territory claimed must be divided into two parts, the districts inclosing their habitual dwelling-places and those embodying their hunting and fishing grounds, the latter being of course much larger than the former and inclosing them. The habitual haunts and dwelling-places of the tribes were on the two Klamath Lakes, on Klamath Marsh, on Tule Lake, and on Lost River. Some of these localities are inclosed within the Klamath Reservation, of which we will speak below.

133 The Cascade Range is a high mountain ridge following a general direction from north to south, with some deflections of its main axis. The line of perpetual snow is at least 10,000 feet above the sea-level, and the altitude of the highest peaks about 12,000 to 14,000 feet. On the west side the sloping is more gradual than on the east side, where abrupt precipices and steep slopes border the Klamath highlands and the valley of Des Chutes River. The range is the result of upheaval and enormous volcanic

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* Harney Lake is the western portion of Malheur Lake, and now united with it into a single sheet of water.

000 one in a series of similar butcheries. Apparently it occurred in 1852, and
the particulars are all given in Texts, pages 13 and 14.

175 One of the earliest reports upon these tribes made to the Bureau of
101 Indian Affairs at Washington is that of Joel Palmer, Superintendent of
131 Indian Affairs for Oregon, dated Dayton, Oregon, September 11, 1854.
Palmer states that the lands of the Klamath Indians extend upon the eastern base of the Cascade range for about thirty miles east, and that east of
them live the "Mo-docks," who speak the same language as the Klamaths;
and east of these again, extending farther south, are the "Mo-e-twas" (Pit
175 River Indians). These two last-named tribes have always evinced a deadly
648 hostility to the whites, and the Modocs boasted of having within the last
four years murdered thirty-six whites. Palmer entered into an agreement
with the Klamath Indians to keep the peace with the white people, and also
sent messengers to the Modocs and Pit Rivers, believing that henceforth
[161] the immigrants would be spared from their attacks. The Klamath Lakes
were then enfeebled by wars with the surrounding tribes and by conflicts
among themselves, and were said to number but four hundred and fifteen
souls. He counted seven villages on Upper Klamath Lake, two on Pliock
Creek (P'laíkni or Sprague River), three on Toqua Lake (Túkua), and one
175 on Coasto (Kohåshti) Lake.* The Indians had some guns, horses, camp
411 equipage, and the aboriginal war-club and "elk-skin shield" (kaknō'lsh).
231 Little Klamath Lake he calls An-coose, a corruption of Agáwesh.

714 Neither Klamath Lake nor Modoc Indians have taken any part in the great Oregon war of 1854–'56, although their sympathies were of course strongly in favor of the aboriginal cause.

000 For the year 1854 Powers records a battle fought by Captain Judy against Modoc and Shasti Indians on the Klamath River, north of Yreka, in which some women of the Shasti were killed.

The Report of 1859 speaks of continued hostilities on the side of the Modocs against passing immigrants and of the murdering of a party of five white men in Jackson County, Oregon. Two of the murderers belonged to the tribe of Chief Lelékash, and three of the perpetrators were seized and killed by the Klamath Indians (page 392).

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* This would make only six, not seven, villages.

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622 Alexander S. Taylor has the following passage in his "California Farmer" of June 22, 1860: "Cumtukus, Lalacks, Schonches, and Tertupkark are names of chiefs among Klamath Lake Indians of the Oukskenah tribe. The big Klamath Lake is called Toakwa." Except the first, the above head-men were all identified in the Dictionary with the well-known names of Lelékash, Skóntchish (a Modoc chief) and Tatápkaksh. Cumtukni, who died about 1866, is mentioned by Stephen Powers as a great orator, prophet, and rain-maker.[†]

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726 Whether the two incursions made upon the Klamath Lake people by the Rogue River Indians of Tinné lineage, across the Cascade range, of which detailed accounts were furnished in our Texts by Dave Hill, took place about 1855 or earlier I have not the means of ascertaining. The Lake tribe were not slow in inflicting vengeance upon the attacking party, for they crossed the mountain pass and fell upon the camps of their enemies, making sad havoc among them.

Frequent disputes and encounters occurred between the two chieftaincies and the *Shasti Indians* around Yreka, California; but the warlike qualities of the latter were often too strong for the aggressors, and the conflicts were not very bloody.[†] With the Pit River or Móatwash tribe the matter was different. They were not, like the Shasti, possessed of the warrior spirit, and therefore had to suffer terribly from the annual raids perpetrated upon them. In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place at The Dalles. Some of these raids were provoked by horse-stealing, others by greed for gain and plunder, and the aggressors never suffered heavily thereby. When they began is not known, but the treaty of 1864 put an end to them. The recitals in the Texts, pages 19–27 and 54, 55, 000

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[*] Overland Monthly, 1873, June number, page 540. His appearance had something fascinating for the Indians, and some are said to have traveled two hundred miles to consult him. His name appears to be Kúm^{e}takni = "coming from a cave," or "living in a cave."

[†] One of these fights took place between the Shasti, Modoc, and Trinity River Indians for the possession o an obsidian quarry north of Shasta Butte, mentioned by B. B. Redding in American Naturalist, XIII, p. 668, et seq., and Archiv f. Anthropologie, XIV, p. 425.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

000 give us graphic sketches of these intertribal broils. Some of the eastern Pit Rivers seem to have lived on friendly terms with the Modocs; but the bands farther south, especially the Hot Spring and Big Valley Indians, were the principal sufferers by these incursions. In a raid of 1857 fifty-six of their women and children were enslaved and sold on the Columbia River for Cayuse ponies, one squaw being rated at five or six horses and a boy one horse.*

The Pit River Indians were a predatory tribe also, and very dangerous to the immigrants passing through their country to northwestern Oregon. Their continued depredations made it a duty of the Government to inflict upon them a heavy chastisement, and Maj. Gen. George Crook, commanding the Colorado Department of the United States Army, was intrusted with its execution. This campaign of 1867 is described by him as follows:†

> I continued the campaign into the Pit River country with Company H, First Cavalry, Lieutenant Parnelle; Company D, Twenty-third Infantry, Lieutenant Madigan, First Cavalry, commanding; and Archie McIntosh, with his twenty Fort Boisé Indian scouts. We found on Pit River a party of warriors in camp. They fled. The next day we discovered a large party of warriors in the bluffs on the river. We had a severe fight, lasting two days and nights. They effected their escape by means of holes and crevices in the ground. A great many were killed, among whom were some of note; how many could not be ascertained. Our loss was Lieutenant Madigan and three men killed, and eight soldiers and one citizen wounded.

The more unruly portion of these Indians were subsequently removed to the Round Valley Reservation, California, and about two hundred are still in their old homes.

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Between the Klamaths and the neighboring Snake tribes there was always a sort of disaffection, based upon difference of race, language, and habits; but whether their earlier relations were always those of open hostility or not is past finding out.‡ The wording of the treaty makes it probable that the hunting grounds north and east of their present seats on Sprague River were shared in common by both, and that the Snake Indians frequently

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*Alex. S. Taylor, "California Farmer," May, 1859.

†Report of the Secretary of War, 1868-'69, Part I, p. 69, dated August 22, 1867. Stephen Powers refers to this fight in Contributions III, p. 268.

‡One of the Texts, p. 28, shows that the Snakes in one instance attacked and massacred in a very cowardly way some women near the outlet of Williamson River.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

175 changed their settlements, as hunting nations are in the habit of doing.
648 Thus Pauline Marsh, near Silver Lake, and Pauline Lake, on one of the head springs of Des Chutes River, were both named after the Snake chief Panaína of our Texts. The bands established upon the Reservation since the treaty was concluded are called Walpapi and Yahushkin. At first they ran off and committed depredations in the vicinity, whereupon the Government was compelled to force them back. General Crook made several expeditions in the execution of the task. These campaigns were short and decisive, and the Klamath Lake scouts engaged in them did good service, as evidenced by General Crook's reports * and Dave Hill's Text, pages 28–33. Upon the defeat and killing of Panaína, the Walpapi chief, the tribe finally quieted down and remained neutral in the commotion caused by the Modoc war of 1872–'73.

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164 No indications are at hand of the number of Indians formerly inhabiting the headwaters of the Klamath River. Before the first census was taken estimates deserving no credence were made, varying from one thousand to two thousand Indians. In those times the scourges of small-pox, syphilis, and whisky did not inflict such terrible ravages as they do now among the Indians; but instead of these the continual tribal quarrels, family vengeance, the ordeals of witchcraft, dearth of food, and the inhuman treatment of the females must have claimed many more victims than at
[523] present. Emigration and intermarriages with other tribes were rather the
[167] exception than the rule, and are so even now.

THE TREATY OF 1864.

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648 During the ten years following Wright's massacre the country began to assume a somewhat different aspect through the agricultural and stock-raising settlements of white people that sprung up in Lost River Valley, around Little Klamath Lake and in other places. The cession of lands to the "Oregon Central Military Road Company" from Eugene City, in Willámet Valley, through the Cascade range, across the Klamath Marsh, to

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[113] * Contained in the Report of the Secretary of War, 1868–'69, Part I, pp 69, 70, dated September 2, 1867, and March 19, 1868. The troops killed twenty-four Snake Indians in the expedition of 1867. See also Texts, Note to 28, 14.

175 Warner Lake, and thence to the boundary of Idaho, with its "six miles
248 limit" grants on both sides, took place before the conclusion of the treaty.

In order to subject the troublesome Snake and Modoc tribes to a stricter control, and to secure more protection to settlers and the immigrants traveling through Oregon, Fort Klamath was established north of Upper Klamath Lake, in Lake County, and garrisoned with several companies, who were of great service in preserving order in these sparsely inhabited tracts. The Klamath Lake Indians were more inclined to keep up friendship with the white people than the other tribes, nevertheless some turbulent characters among them necessitated military restraint.

The Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the Northern District of California, Judge E. Steele, adjusted some grave difficulties between the Shasti and the Máklaks Indians, which threatened to break out into a terrible war of devastation against the Shasti and the white settlers alike. Some of the Máklaks "braves" had been killed upon the lands of white settlers, and the injured Indians had begun retaliation already. Colonel Drew, stationed at Fort Klamath (who fought marauding bands of Shoshoni and Bannocks during the summer of 1864), had arrested and executed "Captain" George, a Klamath Lake chief, for criminal acts, and killed an Indian commonly known as Skukum John. The chiefs and some representative Indians of the contending tribes met Judge Steele near Yreka, California, on February 14, 1864, and for some trifling consideration agreed to forego all further hostilities among themselves, to allow free passage to anybody traveling through their territories, and to maintain terms of friendship with all whites, negroes, and Chinese. The Modocs also made the special promise to harass no longer the Pit River Indians by annual raids. It also appears from Mr. Steele's allocution to the Indians that they had been selling to whites and others Indian children of their own and of other tribes, and also squaws, the latter mainly for the purpose of prostitution.*

The establishment of Fort Klamath, the increase of white men's settlements, the possibility of Indian outbreaks on account of the greater vicinity of the farms to the Indian villages, and the desire of the Indians themselves to obtain rations, supplies, and annuities brought the opportunity of a

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* Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1864, pp. 84, 85 and 108–110.

175 648 treaty with these Indians more forcibly before the Government than ever before. In compliance with instructions from Indian Commissioner William P. Dole, Superintendent J. W. Perit Huntington, accompanied by Agent Logan, went through the Des Chutes Valley to Fort Klamath, and found there a large number of Indians of both sexes assembled, seven hundred and ten of whom were Klamath Lake, three hundred and thirty-nine Modoc people, and twenty-two of the Yahuskin band of Snake Indians. They unanimously concurred in the desire that Lindsey Applegate, a settler of Jackson County, Oregon, be appointed as their agent. The treaty was concluded on the 14th of October, 1864, and duly signed by the contracting parties, including twenty-six chiefs and principal men of the tribes. Huntington's estimate of funds necessary for fulfilling treaty stipulations and subsisting the Indians the first year amounted to a total of $69,400. The text of the treaty being too long for insertion entire, I restrict myself here to the contents of the principal paragraphs:

175 648 657 Article 1 stipulates the cession of the territory described above (p. xvi), and sets apart as a *reservation* for the tribes referred to the tract included within the limits following: Beginning upon the Point of Rocks, about twelve miles south of the mouth of Williamson River,* the boundary follows the eastern shore north to the mouth of Wood River; thence up Wood River to a point one mile north of the bridge at Fort Klamath; thence due east to the summit of the ridge which divides the upper and middle Klamath Lakes (now called Klamath Marsh and Upper Klamath Lake); thence along said ridge to a point due *east* of the north end of the upper lake; thence due east, passing the said north end of the upper lake to the summit of the mountains on the east side of the lake; thence along said mountain to the point where Sprague's River is intersected by the Ish-tish-ea-wax Creek (probably Meryl Creek); then in a southerly direction to the summit of the mountain, the extremity of which forms the Point of Rocks; thence along said mountain to the place of beginning. The tribes will remove to this reservation immediately after the ratification of the treaty and remain thereon. No whites, except employés and officers of the United States Government, are allowed to reside upon this tract, and the Indians have

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*At the foot of Nilakshi Mountain.

175 the exclusive right of taking fish and gathering edible roots, seeds, and
648 berries within the reservation. Provision is made by which the right of
657 way for public roads and railroads across said reservation is reserved to
citizens of the United States.

Article 2. As a payment for the ceded lands the Indians shall receive $8,000 per annum for a period of five years, $5,000 per annum for the next five years, and the sum of $3,000 per annum for the five years next succeeding.

Article 3 provides for the payment of $35,000 for removing the Indians to the reservation, subsisting them during the first year, and providing them with clothing, teams, tools, seeds, etc.

313 Articles 4 and 5 provide for the establishment of a saw-mill, a flouring-
256 mill, a manual-labor school, and hospital buildings, all to be maintained
874 and supplied with working material at the expense of the United States for
783 the period of twenty years. Employés for running these establishments
shall be paid and housed by the Government also.

423 Article 6 reserves the right to the Government to provide each Indian
family with lands in severalty to the extent of forty to one hundred and
twenty acres, and to guarantee possession to them. Indians are not allowed
to alienate these lands.

Article 9. The Indians acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and pledge themselves to be friendly with all citizens thereof, to commit no depredations upon the persons or property of said citizens, and to refrain from carrying on any war upon other Indian tribes.

273 Article 10 prohibits the sale and use of liquors upon the Reservation,
and Article 11 permits the Government to locate other Indian tribes thereon,
the parties to this treaty not losing any rights thereby.

The treaty was proclaimed February 17, 1870.

Like most of the treaties concluded between the United States Government and the Indian tribes, this compact was made much more to the advantage of the white man than of his red brother. Not only were the stipulated annuities rather small for a body of Indians, which was then considered to number about two thousand people, but these annuities were

177 cemetery was inaugurated between the Williamson River and Modoc Point,
764 one mile and a half south of the bridge.

175 President U. S. Grant's peace policy in regard to the Indians was
648 inaugurated by act of Congress dated April 10, 1869. The supervision of
657 the Indian agencies was placed in the hands of the authorities of religious
[797] denominations, a board of commissioners appointed,* and the spiritual interests of that reservation turned over to the Methodist Church.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCHES ON THESE INDIANS.

114 The study of the ethnography of a tribe usually precedes that of its language; sometimes both are pursued simultaneously, and this is undoubtedly the correct method. In the case of the Máklaks, Horatio Hale,† the linguist of Ch. Wilkes's United States Exploring Expedition (1838–1842), and still holding forth as a pioneer in his lines of research, took down a vocabulary from a Klamath Lake Indian whom he met on the Columbia River in 1841. No ethnographic remarks upon the tribe accompany this vocabulary, probably because information obtained from interpreters, who speak the Chinook jargon only, is notoriously unreliable.

Next in time follow the extensive explorations of John Charles Frémont‡ of the interior basin west of the Rocky Mountains and of the Pacific coast from 1843 to 1844, and again from 1845 to 1846, during which the Klamath Lakes and Klamath Marsh were visited and explored. His reports contain graphic sketches of all that was seen and observed by his parties; but scientific accuracy is often wanting, and many countries are described without giving the Indian local names, which are indispensable to identification.

The acquisition of the Pacific coast by the United States (California in 1846, Oregon in 1848) naturally suggested projects of connecting the two oceans by a transcontinental railroad, starting from the Mississippi River and reaching to the Bay of San Francisco. The Central Govern-

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* Cf. Revised Statutes of the United States, second edition, 1878, p. 359.

† Born in Newport, New Hampshire, in 1817.

‡ Born at Savannah, Georgia, January 21, 1813; candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1856; died in New York City, July 13, 1890.

114 that these explorations were the starting-point of all further researches upon the Pacific coast, and as such they are creditable to the men with whom and the epoch at which they originated.

The topographic map of the Klamath headwaters is now being prepared by the U. S. Geological Survey. It is laid out upon a scale of 1 to 250,000, with contour intervals of 200 feet, the rivers and water sheets in blue. The sheets are named as follows: Ashland, Klamath,* Shasta, Modoc Lava Bed, Alturas—the last three belonging to California. The surveys were made from 1883 to 1887 by Henry Gannett, chief geographer, A. H. Thompson, geographer in charge; triangulation by the George M. Wheeler survey, by Mark B. Kerr; and topography, by Eugene Ricksecker and partly by Mark B. Kerr.

THE MODOC WAR OF 1872-1873.

175 The well-known maxim, "it is cheaper to feed the Indians than to
648 fight them," has forced itself upon the governments of all American coun-
657 tries in such indelible characters that it has become a rule for them to conclude treaties with the different "nations" to keep them at peace, feed them by rations or annuities, and confine them within the limits of certain territories. The treaty of 1864 was not attended by all the favorable results expected. The Snake Indians ran off from the Reservation during April, 1866, the Modocs in 1865. The latter tribe were not compelled to leave their old domain, now ceded to the United States, till 1869. Moreover, it always takes several years to gather straying Indians upon a reservation
000 after a treaty has become an accomplished fact. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, Mr. Meacham, on December 30, 1869, after a long and excited "talk," succeeded in bringing two hundred and fifty-eight Modocs to Modoc Point, upon the reservation allotted to them. On April 26, 1870, the supply of rations was exhausted, and the more obstinate half of the tribe left the Reservation again for the old domain upon Lost River and the lakes, whereas the other half, under Skóntchish, went to Yáneks, on Sprague River, where the Superintendent located them. All Modocs

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* The name for the sheet east of Klamath has not yet been determined.

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000 could not remain unpunished. Brought before a jury at Fort Klamath, Kíntpuash, Chief Skóntchish, Black or Húka Jim, and Boston Charley were condemned to the gallows and hung at the Fort October 3, 1873, while two accessories to the deed—Bántcho and Slú'lks (now George Denny)—were condemned to incarceration at Fort Alcatraz, San Francisco Bay.*

Thus ended the long-contested struggle of the little Modoc band against the Oregon and California volunteers and the regular troops of the United States Army. Certainly the heroism and ingenuity displayed by the Modocs would have been worthy of a better cause, and would have passed down to posterity in the brightest colors of patriotism had not the murderous "entreacte" and Canby's death deprived the struggle of its heroic luster. The unworthy termination of this war is well typified by the fact that the skeleton of the Modoc captain is now dangling as an anatomical specimen in the museum of the Surgeon-General's Office, at Washington, District of Columbia.

STATISTICS.

648 From the end of the Modoc war to the present year the condition of
177 affairs has not changed much in the Klamath Highlands. The reports of
178 the United States agent repeat the same story of progress towards civiliza-
657 tion every year; but in view of the difficulty of bringing a hunter tribe into the high road of Christian culture and industrial progress we can not attach much credence to such reports so long as they are couched in generalities and do not contain special facts attesting mental improvement by schooling.

248 In agriculture success is possible only in the Sprague River Valley,
657 but pasturing will succeed almost on every spot of the Reservation. The
241 report of 1888, compared with that of 1880, shows a considerable improve-
231 ment in this direction. The 2,500 horses and mules counted in 1880 had increased to 4,532 in 1888; the 200 head of cattle to 2,201. In the latter year the number of swine figured 208, of domestic fowl, 1,000. Of the 20,000 tillable acres of land 1,400 were cultivated by the Indians in

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* Slú'lks was released, and stays now at the Modoc Reservation, Indian Territory, with Scarface Charley and some other warriors of that war.

648 1888 and 500 broken by them; 10,000 acres were inclosed by fences.
657 The crops of 1888 amounted to 8,000 bushels of wheat, 4,000 of oats and
241 barley, 1,000 bushels of vegetables, 3,000 tons of hay; and 500 pounds of
231 butter were manufactured. Of lumber 100,000 feet were sawed. The
313 Indians transported with their own teams 500 tons of freight, and thereby
434 earned $1,500. The two boarding-schools, one at the Klamath Agency
and the other at Yáneks, in the same year boarded 215 pupils at a cost to
the Government of $18,764—about $10.40 a month per capita.

311 The number of acres contained within the Klamath Reservation is 1,056,000, and of these only about 20,000 acres are considered to be tillable land. The rest is occupied by woods, marshes, rocks, and other hindrances to cultivation.

797 The school and church interests are in the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which also has a vote in the appointment of the United States agent.

657 The statistics of population have furnished reliable data only from the
161 time when annuities were first distributed among these Indians. This ne-
162 cessitated an annual count of each family, giving the number of the individuals belonging to each. One of these was made during my presence on the reserve on October 30, 1877, before the winter supplies were dealt out to the tribe. The summary is as follows:

David Hill, chief, at Agency and on Williamson River	225
P'lú, head chief, at the bridge, Williamson River	122
Long John, chief	103
Jack, chief	92
Lílo, chief	23
Total	565

The census taken in the Sprague River Valley, Yáneks subagency, furnished the following figures, Klamath Lake Indians and Modocs being indiscriminately included:

Littlejohn, chief	14
Skóntchish, chief	18
Modoc Johnson, head chief	71
Ben, chief	61
Brown, chief	30
Total	194

173	selluálshuk.	Ndánnitaksni	tamĕnō'tka;	tiná	nat	ḵáyak	shenótankatk,
*539	fighting.	Three times	I was there;	once	we	not at all	were fighting.

726	kinkák	i	nat	lúluagsla.	Tchín	at	nat	at gä'tak	ndáni	támĕnotk.
	few only	there	we	enslaved.	So I,	when	we	quit (fighting),	three times	had been there.

NOTES.

[197] 19. The long and fertile valley of the Pit River, an eastern affluent of the Sacramento River, is inhabited by several tribes of Indians who speak dialects of the same language family. Of the peculiarities of these tribes, Stephen Powers has given the first comprehensive sketch in the Overland Monthly, 1874, pp. 412–416, and in Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. III, pp. 267–274. The various tribes greatly differ in their physical and mental qualities. The Pacamallies, on Hat Creek, at the lower end of the valley, were much dreaded by peaceable travellers on account of their sudden attacks from an ambush. The Indians in Big Valley are a fleshy, stout, and physically well-made people, while the Hot Spring Valley people has become deteriorated through prolonged national misfortune. Against both of these the slaving raids of the Klamaths and Modocs were mainly directed.

[721] [567] [727] 19, 2. The raids were undertaken by the Klamaths and Modocs just before wókash-time; that is, in April and May. They had no other purpose than to make slaves of the females and children of the unwarlike, poor, and suffering Pit River Indians, and to keep them either at their homes or sell them for ponies, provisions, beads, etc., at the Dalles to the Columbia River tribes. Adult men were not enslaved, but killed outright if captured. Similar instances of suppression of weaker tribes of the West by warlike Indians who were their neighbors are those of the Kayuses on Middle Columbia River, of the Yuki between Sacramento River and the Pacific Ocean, of the Húpa on Trinity River, Cal., all of whom were, at the advent of the whites, the terror of the districts surrounding their homes.

[648] 19, 3. shlüótak for shlüóta ak; the Pit Rivers ran away at the *mere sight* of the Klamath men; ḵá-i tata siúkat, the Pit Rivers never killed any Klamath men. Both statements are exaggerations; Hill's own account and Toby Riddle's biographic notice tend to prove the contrary.

[727] 19, 3. nellínat, or nell'nat. When they had killed an enemy, they did not follow the custom of the Oregonians of taking the scalp. This custom is not found among any of the Central Californian tribes.

[193] 19, 4. hû'stchoḵ-huya; by the suffix -huya, -uya, the action of the verb is shown to take place at intervals, or in a small degree. "They did only little damage by killing or massacring." Cf. shenótank-huya, 20, 2, and -uya in the "List of Suffixes".

[196] 19, 4. tû'm tát sa. Change of the subjects introduced by the pronoun sha, sa, in consecutive sentences, is sometimes observed, as here and in 19, 16; 20, 3. Hill often uses sha when speaking of the Klamath Lake men, where nat, *we*, would be more appropriate.

[193] 19, 6. Kitchkanin nû for kitchkáni nû (or ni) nû. Pronouns and particles are repeated quite frequently.

19, 11. Wúksalks is a camping-place distant about six miles from Linkville. It was not possible for me to obtain definite information about the trail followed most generally in those raids, but Dave Hill said that from there they went due south. He

173 *539 726 was born about the year 1840, and since he was a boy then, carrying only a pistol, this raid may have taken place about the year 1858. His second raid, which was undertaken the year afterward, was made when he was nearly twenty years old. After this he stayed five years in Oregon City, on the Lower Willámet River.

19, 16, and 20, 1. What is said here up to the word snawä'ds is evidently an anticipation of what follows in 20, 6. 7.

192 19, 16. sas tillindsa, or shash tilíndsha: shash is apposition to wéwanuish, which stands here, as frequently, for wewanuíshash; 23, 5, we find: wewánishash.

20, 2. lápik for lápi gi: "two are, two were."

487 20, 9. Tiunŏ'leshtat. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Pit River country was estimated at three days' Indian travel; but it often took four days to reach there on horseback.

192 20, 10 and 11. mak̲laksksákai refers to the encampment and immediate surroundings of the Indian captors, the Klamath Lake men and the Modocs, who had gone with them.

487 20, 13. guhuáshktcha. They seem to have returned home over the same trail which they had followed in going south. They passed between Little Klamath and Rhett Lake, which latter is also called Tule and Modoc Lake.

193 20, 17. tsúi gé-u, etc. This sentence has to be construed as follows: tsúi gúikaka hú'k lû'gs spunísh gé-u: "hereupon that slave, transferred by me, ran away."

21, 2 and 3. Bóshtin tpă-ók. This man was an American settler on Lost River, 648 who, with other settlers, had previously attacked one of the Pit River tribes, in punishment for depredations committed. In the fight which took place, some whites were killed by the Pit Rivers, and this prompted the abovementioned settler to slaughter an ox for the Lake men, in order to raise their spirits for deadly revenge on the common enemy. The beef was slaughtered and eaten at his farm.

21, 5. Tsúi nat, etc. This incident was explained to me by Dave Hill, as follows: The famous Captain George was at that time war-chief both of the Klamaths and the Modocs. He had ordered Kiukamtch, the head-man of the Nushaltkága=Modocs, to join the expedition against the Pit Rivers. His refusal to go prompted Dave Hill and others to deprive him of his elk-skin cuirasses; but finally, to secure success to the expedition, the parfleshes were returned to their owners.

193 21, 7. Húmasht nat. A verb like gi or shúta has to be supplied.

21, 12. séllaluish, translated here by "war-expedition", still retains its verbal nature; for it is connected with two temporal *adverbs:* lupí' and húnk. More circumstantially the sentence can be rendered: "we rode far beyond the terminal point of our previous raiding campaign."

193 21, 18. léwak, a verb composed of two particles. Gétak and kánktak, formed almost in the same manner, are also used as verbs. Below, léwak is separated into its two components by a pronoun: lă nāt wák ka-á; lă' nŭt wák galdsawiá-a.

21, 19. wéwanani. The terminal -ni turns the wéwanuish into a kind of adjectival phrase. See the peculiar use made of this ending in the Dictionary and in the Grammar.

22, 8. hátaktk. The final k is the verb gi, ki, "said"; tchín hátaktk is: tchí nû hátakt gi.

302 22, 21. shatchlχámia is one of the various modes of painting face and body in use among the western Indians. White paint was put on in this manner (see Dictionary) only when the Indians were on the war-path. From the same verbal base is derived

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

É-UKSNI SÉLLUAL SÁTAS.

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HOW THE LAKE MEN FOUGHT THE SNAKE INDIANS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

LUPÍ SÉLLUAL. THE FIRST FIGHT.

Sā't gátpa tiná tû É-uksî; K̲ók̲etat sláá wéwanuish E-ukskí'sas
Snake Indians went once over to Klamath Marsh; on Williamson River they saw females of the Lake tribe
vû'nshatk gépkapsh. Tchúi sákatlank gépka wewanuíshash mák̲'lakuapkst;
in canoes approaching. Then going along the trail they came up (waiting till) the women had gone to their camp;
3 tsúi mák̲'lĕka wéwanuish, tsúi hátakt gátpa Sā't, tsúi ngä'-isa wéwaläks
then went to camp the women, and near (them) came the Snakes, and wounded the old women
pí'la. Tánkt Ä'-ukskni, húktoks híssuaks gépka, k̲'lewidshápka lúela gíug
only. That time the Lake tribe, (when) these (hostile) men arrived, had gone away for killing
kiä'm.
fish.

6 Tsúi at hushtsóχ hû'nk wewalä'ksas Sā't, tchúi gämpĕle; tánktak
And massacred those aged females the Snake men, then returned; pretty soon
tchúi Ä'-ukskni híhassuaks gasáktsna. Tsúi mák̲'lĕχ hûk Sā't lak̲í Nχítsá-
after this the Lake the men pursued. And encamped that Snake chief Dried-
Tsû'ks (nā'sht hû'k sésatk Sā't lak̲í kilû's); tsúi É-ukskni sláá mák̲'lĕχapks.
Leg (so he was called Snake (the) chief-hero); then the Lake men espied him to be encamped.
9 Tsúi gû'lgí sha, tsúi tí'usna Sā't, tsúi síuka hû'nk Nχítsá-Tsû'ksas Sā'tas
Then charged they, and ran away the Snakes, and they killed him Dried-Leg the Snake
lák̲ias. Tchúi nánka Sā't gämpĕle, nánχatoks hû'shtchŏk.
leader. Upon this some Snake men went home, but others were killed.

Tchí séllual títná Shā'tash. Kpudsámpĕli sha hû'nk Sā'tas, tchúi
Thus they fought one time the Snakes. Drove back they those Snakes, and
12 k̲á-itata gátpant Shā't; at vushá E-ukskí'shash.
never again came the Snakes; (for) they feared the Lake tribe.

LÛ'LDATKÍSH BÓSHTINASH TÛ'LA SHENÓTANKA SHÁTASH.

DAVE HILL FIGHTS THE SNAKE INDIANS ON THE SIDE OF THE AMERICANS.

Shiúlka nā'lsh ká-ag Mr. Huntington; Sá-atas í'tpa Moadokí'sh tchish
Collected us long ago Mr. Huntington; the Snakes he brought, the Modocs also,
nā'lsh tchí'sh í'tpa gí'ta, tchúi tchiá nat nā'dsag Tchúi tí'na illólolatk
us likewise he brought here, then lived we in one spot. Then one year-elapsed

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Shā't gúikak. Hû'k lápi laláḵi: Sā't ná-as Tchatcháktchaksh ná-asht
the Snakes went away There (were) two chiefs: Snake man one Tchatcháktchaksh so
sésatk, nā'sh tchīg: Panaína tchī' sésatk. Tchúi sō'ldshas shawíga, tsúi
named. one (man) besides: Panaína so named. Upon this the military was aroused, and
géna; tū' Spá-ish Valley gátpa shō'lsash hû'k, tsúi sakemáwank hátokt
set out; far off to Surprise Valley marched the soldiers, and rendez-vousing there
mû'lua: lā'p mépoks géna shū'ldshash; nā'sh Lieutenant Oatman ná-asht
got ready: two companies went (of) soldiers: one Lieut. Oatman thus
shéshatk laḵí shû'ldshash, nā'sh tchík Lieutenant Small ná-asht shéshatk
named (was) chief of soldiers, one besides Lieut. Small thus named (was)
laḵí shû'ldshash. Tû' nat tálaaks yámtītal géna.
chief of soldiers. (From) there we straight northwards proceeded.

Tsúi nat é-ushtat géluandsa, tsúi náts shlä'pka Shā't; kī'lilks shläá;
Then we a lake went around, and us noticed the Snakes; the dust they perceived;
tchúi yaínatal kakólakpka, nánχa é-ushtat gä'-upkapk (Warner Lake, tchí
then Warner Ridge we climbed, some through the lake waded (Warner Lake, so
hûk nā'sh hû'k sésatk é-us). Tchúi Camp Warner máḵ'lěk tiná nat waíta;
that one one (was) named lake). Then at Camp Warner camped one we day and night;
tsúi nat guháshktcha tálaat tχalamtī'tal. Tchúi nat telō'lī "Tchéwam
then we started out directly towards west. And we looked down "Antilope's
Stû'", tchíhuk sésatk käíla; tsúi nat lápī gulī'ndsa (skuyû'i natch hû'k
Trail", so this named (is) locality; then two of us went down (into it) (detached us the (two)
laláḵi), tsúi shnä'-uldsha nat. Tchúi nat tälō'li; gälō'la nat k'makuápkuk
commanders), and galloped off we. And we scouted; dismounted we to reconnaitre
Sátas máḵlaksas, tsúi nat wawápk k'makká nat, tsúi mā'ntsag gī'tk lā'pi
the Snake Indians, and we sat down (and) spied we, then shortly afterwards two
Sā't tû'kni gepgápěle: ḵoḵagtálkni gépgap'l'. Tsúi tilō'dshipk nat, tsúi
Snake men from a distance returned: over a rivulet they came back. And saw them coming we, then
tálaak gutī'lapkap'lī nats; tsúi nat wál'hha kawaliä'kuapk sä'-ug. Tchúi
towards (us) they descended while rounding a hill us; and we watched (them) they would ascend believing. But
ḵá-i gawaliä'ga, hī'tok tû' gátpampěle tchī'-ishtat m'na; nat mā'nts-gī'tk
not they came up, but from there away they returned to camp theirs; we after a while
gä'lapgapěle shtilshampěli-uápkuk. Tsúi nat gä'mpěli, tsúi nā'ts gayá-
rode back to report again. When we came back, (in front) of us had
itsampk shū'ldshash huk, lúpiak nats gälχalgī'pka.
advanced the military, before we had fully descended from the hill.

Tsúi tû'-hak náts a gépksī at shlä'pka, tsúi tássuīpk, tsúi ktaítal
Then a long way behind (the soldiers) when we came down they saw (the Snakes), and charged (them), and to the rocks
tī'nshampk Sá-at hûk. Sänótanksi nat sash gátpa, tsúi tû' shlíkshgan's
scampered off the Snakes At the moment of fighting we them (the soldiers) reached, and nearly shot me
a Sā't. Tû'taks hûk shō'ldshash nánuk ga-ólěka kpū'lχuk Sā'tas; li-mī'l-
the Snakes. Far up the soldiers all climbed up to dislodge the Snakes; the packer

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män pī'la yána shláka wátch hû'nk. Tsúi sa senótank; wátch nā'sh hátakt
of army baggage alone below guarded horses (theirs). Now they fought; horse a single over there

tkálamna, tsúi nā'sh É-ukskni shnuktsaástkak hû'nk wátch. Tsúi nī
stood on a hill, when one Lake man started to catch that horse. And I

lewé-ula: "shli-uapkám'sh sha, liukáyank a ī-û'ta!" tchín gī; "huíya!"
tried to dissuade (him): "will shoot you they, lying in ambush they are firing!" so I said; "don't go!"

nā'st nī hémkank: "huíya!" Tsúi géna k̲ī'llikankank, tsúi Sā't hûk téwi
so I spoke: "don't go!" And he went speeding off, and the Snakes at him fired

gatpáukshkshi hû'nk wáts. Tsúi k̲üdsûksaksína lä'k̲shktsa gä'-ish hû'k.
when he had almost reached the horse. And right on the chin took (his) skin off bullet that.

Tsúi nat k̲á-i hû'nk snû'kat wátch hûnk; tsúi hûk Sā't tī'nsna kát hû'k
And we not caught horse that; and the Snakes ran away who him

shlī'kshga. Tsúi nat kpú'laktsa tû' atí ga-û'lχa; nánuk hûk Sā't gáktsui
had almost shot. Then we pursued (them and) high up (in the hills) we ascended; all the Snakes went into

walī'shtat, kû'mets hátakt gulī' tû'mi híhassuaks. Tsúi hátokt gī'ank
the rock-cliffs, the caves also there entered many men. And in there staying

sawī'ka hûk Sā't, suashuála sa hû'nk ktá-i, tsúi vû'ssa shū'ldshash. At
became angry the Snakes, (and) piled up they rocks, and became afraid the troops. Then

yána tī'lχa shäppäsh, tsúi nat gémpēle.
down-wards inclined the sun, and we returned (to camp).

Káyaktsna shúldshash wéwanuish; u-ī'tsna sha, tsúi nû shläá
Pursued the soldiers' women; they marched in front file, then I perceived

hissuákshas ktáyat tsutī'la. Mû'ni k̲ä'lo hátakt túya; húnkant taíg
a man the rocks underneath. A tall juniper-tree there stood below; against it then

ts'hálamnank láyipk lû'luksgīshtka. Tsúi ndé-ulχan shlä-ánk hû'nkt layí-
sitting close he pointed (at me) with his gun. And I let me fall seeing him point-

pakst, tsúi nī sī'ktsaslan wiká; tsúi nī shlī'wal nánuyank tχä'lχa; tchúi
ing, and I crawled aside a little; and I cocked making ready (and) stood up; and

nī'sh lés'ma gē'tal tā'ds, láyipk tû'shtal lupí' shlä-ō'lan's. Tsúi nī shlī'n;
me he did not see at that spot, he pointed where at first he had seen me. Then I fired;

pató n shlī'n, tsúi ndéwankā; tsúi nī hō'tχe, tsúi nī pä'n shlín nû'sh
in the cheek I hit (him), and he fell; then I sprang towards (him), and I again shot (him) in the head

sikĕnī'tkstka. Tsúi sō'ldshash tī'ntpa, tsúi nelī'na nû, tsúi kúiχan Sā'tas
with a pistol. Then the soldiers arrived, and scalped (him), I and recognized I Snake man

hú'nk, kándan hû'nk shī'uga. Gitá[illegible]i hû'k P'laíkni; E-ukskíshash
that, whom I had killed. Halling he from Sprague River; to a Klamath Lake (woman)

mbushéaltk; ná-asht hû'k shésatk Lápa-K̲íu-gī'tk; tchíhuk shésatk. At
he was married; as he (was) called Two-Bumps-having; thus he (was) named. Now

nat nelī'nulank at gémpēle mak̲'láktsûk, at tī'nnäga. Tsúi nat mák̲'lēχ;
we having done scalping (him) returned for encamping, and (the sun) was setting. Then we camped;

k̲ók̲ag hátakt tû'nsna, saígatnks hátokt kī; hû'nkant tchī'k hû'k k̲ok̲ág
a brook there was running by, a prairie right there was; through it then that stream

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tû'nsχantsa yáshaltk. Tchúi kissä'mi shû'dsha Sä't; tû' wali'sh î-utíla
was running studded with willows. Then at nightfall made a fire the Snakes; there the cliffs below

tû'shtuk kû'mme. Mû' sk̲á tánkt slä'wi; tsúi psín gátpa Sä't î-úta.
there (was) a cave. Very cold that time (the wind) blew; and in the night came the Snakes (and) fired.

Tsúi shúldshash vû'ssa, tsúi nat mû'lua, a nat guhuáshktsa, psínak
And the soldiers took fright, and we got ready, and we marched, the same night

mû'atan nat géna; nishtá nat géna. Tû' nat yaínatat pä'ktgi, tsû'i nat
southwards we went; the whole night we marched. Far away we on the mountains were at dawn, then we

nî'lka.
stopped there in the early hours.

Lû'luagslash tánkt lápksapt wéwanuish; äná nat hû'nk, tsúi nat pän
They enslaved that time seven women; brought we them, then we again

mák̲'lēχ Nä'wapksh yámakstan gä'dsa tχálamna. Tsúi k̲ok̲ág hátakt
encamped from Goose Lake north side of a little to the west. And a brook there

tû'nsna; tsúi psín gátpa Sä't, tsúi k̲á-i nat káktant; ní'shta nat k̲á-i
is running; and at night came the Snakes, and not we slept; all night we not

káktant. Tsúi mbúsant pän gátpa Sä't; yaína-ag kúita nats hûk tû'pka,
slept. And next morning again came the Snakes; a hillock back of us stood,

tsúi hátakt lî'wal Sä't, tsúi k̲ak̲î''hha shō'ldshash; atí hû'nk k̲ak̲î''hha.
and there gathered the Snakes, and missed (them) the soldiers; by a long way them they missed.

Tsúi nat watsátka tälual-húya; tsúi gáya-a nä'ts hû'k Sä't. Mbúsant
Then we on horseback rode after them; and were hiding before us the Snakes. In the morning

nat gépgap'lî; at gä'tak Sátas släá, tsúi nat gátpampēle. Tsúi shû'ldshash
we returned; no longer any Snakes found we, and we went back home. And the military

hû'k shäwána wewán'sh nä'ls hû'nk, Sä'tas wáts tchîsh lä'p. A nat gat-
gave women to us those, of the Snake tribe horses also two. Then we re-

pámpēle gí'ta E-uk̲ák̲; hû'ktoks Lieutenant Small tû' shipî'tk Nä'wapksh
turned here to Fort Klamath; but he Lieut. Small over there separated Goose Lake

gunî'gstant gémpaluk Spá-ish Valleytála. Lä'p Sátas wéwanuish ä'na.
opposite for returning to Surprise Valley. Two Snake females he took with him.

NOTES.

28. The various bands of Snake Indians inhabiting Oregon east of the Cascade Mountains are gaining their sustenance chiefly by the chase. This accounts for their constant wanderings and ubiquitous presence sometimes at Camp Harney, or the Owyhee and Snake River, at other times near Warner Lake, or the Klamath Marsh.

The date of this raid could not be determined; it may have preceded the fight related below by ten or twenty years.

222 501 28, 1. É-uksi, "to Klamath Marsh"; on Williamson River (K̲ók̲e), which forms the outlet of the Marsh, the Snakes saw women of the Lake tribe crossing or passing down the river in their dug-out canoes, which they use for gathering wókash (the seed of the pond-lily) on the Marsh.

173 **28, 2.** gépkapsh, formed by syllabic elision from gepkápkash; cf. **28, 19.**

*539 **28, 2.** sákatla, to come up, to arrive by the trail.

726 **28,** 3 and 4. wéwalíks pi'la, the old women only; the younger ones, on whom prin-
● 648 cipally devolves the work of wókash-gathering, found time to escape in their canoes
[193] from the raiders.

[192] **28, 4.** k̲lewidshápka. The men had gone fishing to distant places, leaving their
[222] females in the camp, not apprehensive of any hostile attack.

[192] **28, 8.** kilō's, or kilû's, is the epithet given to "Dry-Leg", the Snake chief; it means a bold fighter, leader of a fighting band; literally: "irate, wrathful", and may be here taken as an equivalent to "war-chief" (sesaclólish lak̲í).

[193] **28, 13.** Moadoki'sh, apocopated for Moadokíshash; also **28, 1:** wéwanuish (wé-
[192] wan'sh) for wewanuíshash (shlää gépkapsh). Nā'lsh tchí'sh, *us* also; that is, we of the
[657] Klamath Lake tribe, were gathered by Mr. Perit Huntington into one district, the newly established Klamath Reservation. A large number of the Lake People were then scattered about Klamath Marsh, which is visited by them now in summer only for fishing, gathering wókash and berries, and for hunting.

[657] **28, 14.** Dave Hill, now interpreter (lúldatkish) at the Klamath Lake Agency, took
[175] a part in this short but interesting expedition, in the capacity of an Indian scout. He fixes himself the date of it by the words "tína illolólatko", or a *full* year after the Indians had been gathered on the Reservation by Mr. Perit Huntington. The treaty was concluded on October 14, 1864, and the campaign was undertaken in 1866 by a small body of American troops for the purpose of bringing back to the Reservation a band of Snake Indians who had run away from it. This unruly tribe, jealous of its former independence, has left the Reservation even since then, and could only after much exertion be induced to return. The fights took place west of Warner Lake, and north of the border-line between California and Nevada, within the former haunts of these western Shoshonis.

[175] The Report of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867, page 99 sq., mentions this expedition in the following laconic terms: "October 27, 1866, troops consisting of 21 men, First Oregon infantry, and five Indian Klamath scouts, under Lieutenant Oatman, and 27 men, First Oregon cavalry, under Lieutenant Small, had a fight with a band of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [should read: Abert], in the Klamath country, Southern Oregon. The Indians had so chosen their position that the troops were obliged to dismount to attack them. The fight lasted one and a half hour, and 14 Indians were killed and many wounded."

On page 100 of the same Report, another fight against Snake Indians is spoken of: "Late in November, 1866, in a conflict between the troops and Snake Indians near Fort Klamath, 10 Snake Indians were killed by the troops, and three more by the friendly Klamath and Moadocs who accompanied them." This may have been the same fight as the one above, reported with much less accuracy of detail.

[103] **29, 3.** Spá-ish Valley, name corrupted from Surprise Valley. This valley is situated in the northeastern angle of California, and on the shore of its two alkali lakes several American settlements have sprung up. A few Snake Indians live peaceably around Fort Bidwell, which is located at the northern extremity of the valley.

29, 10. tálaat tχalamti'tal, consonantic assimilation for tálaak tχalamti'tal, due west.

[192] **29,** 17 and 19. nā'ts, natch, for nā'ls, nā'lsh, nā'lash, *us*; náts a gépksl, for nā'lash a gépkash í.

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*539
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29, 17 and 18. gayá-itsampk. The advance of the troops was ordered in consequence of Hill's report that Snake Indians had been seen by him and his fellow-scout.

[192] 29, 19. tû'=hak; hak means: on this side of something or somebody, referring to an object located between the speaker and something more distant.

29, 19 and 20. shlă'pka (for shlă'apka) and tássuipk (for tássui-apk) "they saw and attacked them in Hill's absence"; tínshampk "they scampered off unseen by Hill". If the simplex verbal forms shlă'a, tássui (or táshui), tínshna were used, they would imply that Hill then saw the Snake Indians himself, that he was among the troops charging them, and that he had seen them *in person* scampering off. [193] [196]

30, 3. lewé-ula really means: not to permit, not to allow, to forbid.

[192] 30, 3. tchín gi, short for tchí ni gi: "so I said."

30, 5. Instead of gatpánkshkshi could also stand in the text: gatpannápkshi; the final -i being used in a temporal sense in both terms.

[193] 30, 8. kû'meta, contr. from kû'mme tchish, or from kû'metat tchish.

30, 9. snashuála, etc. They piled up rocks to serve them as barricades to shoot from behind.

[192] 30, 11. u-i'tana, distributive form of ó-itchna; see Dictionary.

31, 7. Nă'wapksh, etc. Transcribed into the fuller and more explicit grammatic forms, this phrase would read: Nă'wapkash yamakíshtana kétcha tχálamna, "to the northwest of Goose Lake." For Nă'wapksh, Né-uapksh, see Dictionary. [193] [196]

31, 13. This campaign terminated in a decided victory over the runaway Snake warriors, but failed to accomplish its real purpose of bringing them back to the Reserve. Nevertheless, these Indians had been severely chastised by losing quite a number of men killed and wounded, and seven women of their tribe captured by the military.

000

Mō'DOKNI MÁKLAKS SHÉLLUAL.

THE MODOC WAR.

OBTAINED FROM THE RIDDLE FAMILY IN THE MODOC DIALECT.

Shálam	1869	A.	B.	Meacham	shuashuláliampkish	nánuk	máklăkshash
In the autumn	of 1869	A.	B.	Meacham	the superintendent	over all	Indians

shualaliámpka	Tχálamtala;	Mōdokí'shăsh	hushtánka	ne-ulákshgishi	Kóke-
kept watch	in Oregon;	the Modocs	he met	at the council-ground	on Lost

tat	wigátan	tchussní'nish	slánkosh;	nûsh	snawédshăsh	gé-u	túla	shátĕla
River	near	the Natural	Bridge;	me	wife	mine	together	he hired

lutatkátki.
to be interpreters.

At	nā	nánuk	ne-ulakgishχē'ni	gátpa;	nánuk	máklaksh	wawápka,
Then	we	all	to council-ground	went;	the whole	tribe	was sitting there,

vûní'pni	hundred	pēn	ndā'ni	tá-unep	pēn	vúnip	pé-ula	hihashuátchχăsh,
four	hundred	besides	three	tens	besides	four		men,

(57) Everything, trout mixed in, even trout were mixed in that. (58) Once they drew it out that way. (59) So the Indians' food was good. 539* 226 [648]

(60) And he had told them that long ago, someone—perhaps Gmoḱaḿc̄—to do thus. (61) Gmoḱaḿc̄ helped the Indians. (62) It was never like that long ago, only the river flowed, they say. (63) And they were weak. (64) They were unable to kill fish. (65) And because they were thus, he told them thus, "I will make [something] for you [pl.], where you will kill [fish] every spring." (66) Thus he them, Gmoḱaḿc̄ told, long ago. (67) [That] is as I know it, that much.

Introductory Note to Text 27

In this text Mrs. Butler describes two incidents dealing with the cruelty of the early white settlers. Various renditions of these stories were also obtained from other informants. The first incident concerns a party of white men, led by a now-famous local figure, who came upon a party of Klamath women picking wokas, and wantonly shot one of them in the face. According to Mrs. Butler, the woman lived, and the scar still showed years later. The second occurrence concerns a group of Rogue River Indians (?) who were hired by a settler to dig a deep trench. Once the trench was dug, the settler and his men opened fire on the Indians and threw their bodies into this ready-made grave. According to Mrs. Butler's text, this incident was one of the sparks which led to the Modoc War. The names of these white men have been omitted from the text for obvious reasons. 539* 648

The informant also describes the customs of "raiding" and "slavery," as practiced by the Indians of Southern Oregon. She points out that this was a far different thing from the concept of slavery as found in Rome or ancient Egypt or Asia. Many of the children, originally stolen in childhood, grew up among their captors and received good treatment, eventually coming to love their new home more than the old. 539* 567

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

27. Some Historical Incidents
(Mrs. Aggie Butler)

(1) Now I will tell, something, a little to you [pl.]. (2) We Indians 539*
lived in the distant past, and we lived correctly [lit. "well"], not doing 173
anything [bad]. (3) And there were many of us Klamath Indians living 648
everywhere, all along the shores of the Lake.

(4) And once the white men attacked us old ladies gathering wokas. (5) And they almost killed there, shot some. (6) And he was among them—(Proper name)—he, [of] whom the white people are so very proud. (7) He was there with them. (8) And [he?] shot one of the women, in the face, and it showed.

(9) And some did not hide from them, and they left them alone in their winter-houses, living. (10) And the Indians, those Klamath men, were away hunting for some time, and on their returning [the women] told them. (11) And the women [told] them what the white people had done to them, and they almost tracked them, but they did not do anything again, to that white man.

(12) And then the Warmsprings people always used to quarrel with
them, and having come, they made slaves, of the Klamaths. (13) And
the Klamaths having tracked them, killed some, having taken the women [726]
back. (14) So thus the people of the old days always fought wars here. [567]
(15) And they [did] the very same way to the Pit River Indians, having
gone, the Klamaths, and they enslaved their children too. (16) They
raised them, however. (17) And some never went away from them, [for]
they loved some of them. (18) They did the same thing to the Paiutes.
(19) And they made slaves of the Paiutes also, and they grew up right
there, so they live there today, those Paiutes who used to be slaves there.

(20) And the white people did evil to the Indians, and once that one called (Proper name), to the Rogue River Indians. (21) And that white man wanted all of them to dig, on his land. (22) And having dug something, then he killed some of them there, and threw them down into that ditch. (23) And he covered them [with] earth, the children too. (24) And one who escaped told of it. (25) And because of being thus at that time, when the Modocs made war [i.e., the Modoc War], then one of the chiefs spoke thus, "Let them not do it to us, as that (Proper name) [did] to the Pit River Indians awhile ago! (26) Perhaps they want to do the same to us. (27) They want to 'speak' to us Modocs in the same fashion."

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 141]

that Modoc said once. (28) They never forgot it, [their] doing thus, 539*
[their] killing the Indians wrongfully [lit. "badly"]. 173
(29) And I have only related little bits of it. (30) But I know a great 648
deal, but I am not telling all of it, however. (31)—How the Indians used
to fight amongst themselves, always they fought even among themselves. [721]
(32) Even among themselves they enslaved someone's child, and sold it. [567]
(33) That much is all I will tell. (34) I have nothing else to tell.

Introductory Note to Text 28

This text is a continuation of the foregoing by Mrs. Butler's sister. 124
Both are part of a recorded conversation about Klamath history in gen- 128
eral, and no particular attempt was made to formalize the texts into
"stories." When Mrs. Butler had finished her historical narrative above, the topic turned to the Modoc War, and Miss Skellock began to discuss their father's role in that conflict. Rightfully, this text should include the remarks in English which led up to the Klamath portion, and also an explanation and continuation in English which follows it. Limitations of space require that these English parts be edited and abbreviated, however.

Introductory Remarks in English

"Our father was a scout in the Modoc War. He was with the white 539*
soldiers and went to those Lava Beds where the Modocs were." 726
648
173

28. Recollection of the Modoc War

(Miss Irene Skellock)

(1) My father went there, to the battleground. (2) And he was with the white men. (3) And he was a soldier—ah—a "scout." (4) And they were falling on both sides of him, soldiers. (5) And if they shot one, the soldier behind him marched up to the front. (6) However, they never shot him. (7) And he, however, was afraid of seeing (?) those Modoc Indians only. (8) So he lived in fear, thus they said, and some of those Klamath Indians who went with him, they also were afraid. (9) And that's all I'm going to tell [in Klamath].

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 143]

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
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Concluding Remarks in English

"He said that whenever someone was killed in front of them they had to jump into their place. Oh, he said he sure was scared! He was with those white soldiers fighting the Modocs in the Lava Beds." 539* 726 648* 173

Mrs. Butler adds: "He told how they had to go to the war, because they (the white people) told them that they'd take all the Klamath Indians away, if they didn't go. All those who went were related, since they didn't want them to take anybody away. Others, some of them, refused and took their canoes across to Pelican Bay. Some did not want to get into the war. One man, a good shot, said, 'I'm not going. I'm going to die! They can kill me right here. I don't want to go.' But they never took him."

29. Menstruation Practices
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

539* 841

(1) When a woman has her menstrual period, she does not come to eat because of menstruation. (2) [She] does not eat with us. (3) [She] does not bathe, does not get wet. (4) [She] will not get chilled. (5) [She] does not feel well, and does not put her hand in water.

30. The Second Coming
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

539* 776 787

(1) According to God's promise [lit. "rule"]. (2) All the earth will burn up. (3) And at that time God will return again.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]

*648 poses. The proposal was that Klamath and Sycan marshes be
*657 constituted two grazing districts for leasing purposes. The Indians
427 further proposed "that the funds derived from the said grazing
311 privilege shall be divided per capita among the Indians of this
563 Reservation." The 41 signatories included the leading names on
the reservation. Matthews rightly doubted the feasibility of
• [651] making such a division; for the General Deficiency Act of March
3, 1883, provided that unearned income of this sort should go
into a tribal fund in the Treasury.[46]

With the allotment of land, the leasing of individual tracts came into common practice. In advocating this measure Agent Petet urged in now familiar terms "that some Indians might get some money in this way to buy cattle of their own, who scarcely ever would be able to get a start in any other way." He thought that "if a few of the active Indians could do well in this business, it will be an incentive to others to fence their lands and try to make something off of it."[47] An informal grazing system was authorized. Meanwhile five men—Jesse Kirk, Henry Jackson, Harrison Brown, Frank Lynch (Tall Jim), and Scot Modoc—pushed matters further by enquiring into the rights of allottees with unfenced tracts to graze and expel cattle, asking further that money received from pasturage be distributed equally among tribal members, and that the price for grazing be raised to one dollar per head.[48]

Eight other Indians, led by Charley Pitt, under the advice of Daniel Cronemiller, a lessee, and with the assistance of Petet, erected a fence six miles in length enclosing the outer boundaries of about 4,000 acres of allotments, their own as well as others'. One of them, George Gray, was chosen by his fellows to count and drive in all cattle brought into the pasture by lessees.[49]

Emery advocated a continuation of the practice of permitting leasing by allottees of fenced lands. He cited the contract entered into by a Klamath interbreed, William Ball, formerly an Indian judge, with two whites. By its terms, Ball agreed to give exclusive pasture to their 300 head of cattle on his tract at Klamath Marsh at one dollar per head for the season. "This money," the Agent remarked, "insures a competency for him and his family for a year, and leaves him abundance of grass and

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

gaged them, and many were reported to be hopelessly involved 648* 657*
in debts. Despite all administrative efforts to the contrary, re- 423
ported Superintendent Fred A. Baker, whites were acquiring title 432
to Klamath lands at a rate which he estimated would render the [563]
Indians homeless in twenty-five years.[63]

Since that time the pressure on the remaining allotted lands has been unremitting. Of 1,624 allotments issued totaling 247,515 acres, there remained in trust status as of August 13, 1954, the date when the Termination Act became law, only 1,130 allotments or fractions thereof, amounting to 133,000 acres. Three years later, 371 additional tracts had been sold at owners' requests, 107 had been fee patented, and restrictions had been removed from 20. The 630 tracts remaining by October 1, 1957, comprised but 73,681 acres.[64]

Along with income from leasing and sale of allotments came 648*
that from claims payments. By the terms of the McLaughlin 657*
Agreement of 1901, the Indians were to receive $537,007.20 in 423
payment for excluded lands. Of this, $25,000 was to be issued in 432
per capitas within 150 days from ratification and an additional 427
$350,000 was to be deposited to the tribal credit in the U.S. 434
Treasury, the interest at five per cent annually to be issued in 651
yearly per capita payments. The remaining sum, after payment
of attorney fees, was to be utilized for drainage and irrigation of
allotments on a pro rata basis, with issuance-in-lieu of stock cat-
tle or other articles to those not so benefited.[65]

Amounts thus received were small. Payment of the $25,000 648*
was made in 1907, each individual receiving approximately 657*
$22.00—no princely sum. The annual interest produced per 434
capita payments of approximately $15.00; but a provision that by a petition of the men of the Tribe the amount might be increased to ten per cent of the principal fund led to its successive diminution. As early as 1909, a petition was submitted for this payment,[66] and Charles S. Hood took the lead in enquiring of the Secretary of the Interior whether parents were empowered to withdraw the money due their children.[67] The move seems to have been denied. Stringent regulations, however, were established by the Secretary to govern eligibility to receive a share of the trust funds. These related to improvement of allotments, self-support, moral character and controlled use of liquor, and

*648 ability of the subject to manage his own affairs; but unconditional
*657 payments to the infirm, aged, and decrepit were also to be
434 allowed.[68] Undoubtedly, lease monies made some Indians, who
[427] would otherwise not have qualified, financially eligible for their
share of the trust funds. By 1915 most of the Indians had realized their full pro rata share of the trust funds, and annuities were received only by children and a very few others. The children's shares by this time were being paid to their parents or guardians.[69]

*648 A similar development took place in the allocation of the re-
*657 maining part of the funds, designated for irrigation improve-
•651 ments or stock issues. When the pro rata shares of this amount,
653 $110,662.16, proved insufficient for the irrigation work required
231 in the Modoc Point area, the tribal council advocated that all
the amount be issued in cattle.[70] Some 4,000 heifers, as desired, were accordingly purchased, with each Indian residing on the reservation receiving four head, save the youngest member of the family, who received three. Although the clerk in charge of the Agency stated that "all Indians residing off the reservation and who were enrolled at that time received nothing,"[71] he is clearly in error, for issues were made to a number of persons dwelling off the reservation.

*648 Here once more is to be seen the interplay of government
*657 policy and considerations of tribal status. The cattle issues were
231 designed by the government to foster stock raising as a reserva-
tion industry, but they were made at a time when land leasing and pro rata shares of the tribal fund had already created an expectation of direct cash receipts. In these terms, a number of the reservation Indians almost at once sold their cattle to neighboring white stockmen, and Superintendent Wilson had to threaten to bring the law upon the latter in order to recover them.[72] Meanwhile, off-reservation members were pleading their absence from the reservation and the advisability of using the money instead "to good advantage toward family necessities."[73] Finally, the discovery that many of the heifers issued were spayed, and so were useless for breeding purposes, capped the experiment. As Watson wrote, "Almost every Indian who has been at the office lately claims that he has from one to five or

> I might call attention to the fact that at the last election in Klamath County a trust patented Indian was elected Justice of the Peace, and a fee patented Indian was elected Constable of the Beatty District on the Klamath reservation. It seems a rather unusual situation when a trust patented Indian can preside as a judge over a court and pass sentence on other people and at the same time question the same court's jurisdiction over him.[8] 648* 657* 641 [693]

Nor was this all. Federally regulated land on the reservation was off bounds for officers of the law from city, county, and state; yet in 1947 there were only two special Indian officers and two deputies to enforce law and order over almost one million acres of reservation. It was physically impossible for them to follow up all cases, and consequently they could not deal effectively with the misdemeanors of delinquents or with truancy from the county schools. [625]

In the 1920's, soon after the opening of the reservation, towns such as Chiloquin were faced with the influx of a mobile population in which the unmarried "timber beast" was prominent. Roistering and violence occasionally assumed major proportions, and law enforcement broke down at first. Within the first three years after its incorporation in 1926, Chiloquin witnessed no less than twelve appointments to the position of town marshal. At times the Superintendent, concerned over the effect upon the Indians, intervened, delivering an ultimatum or sending in his officers to restore order. His jurisdiction, in turn, was also limited: When Arnold brought pressure to bear upon Chiloquin authorities to close down gambling in the pool halls and card rooms, the gamblers merely shifted their operation to Bly, just over the eastern boundary of the reservation, and the same procedure had to be repeated by state and local officials there. 648* 657* 621 625 563 674

The interdependence of law enforcement on state lands and reservation was emphasized during the depression. In 1931, when logging on the reservation—and with it tribal income—had been temporarily reduced by Washington, a tribal leader, Wade Crawford, succeeded in securing a congressional cut in the administrative budget of the Agency, which from about 1924 had been supported out of tribal revenue. Since the budgetary allocation for law enforcement then became inadequate, the federal officers left, until there remained only a constable and an 648* 657* 641 625 [651]

*648
*657 Although tribal members in Chiloquin lagged little behind their
621 white neighbors in registering to vote (1958), their concern was
563 less with local than with national issues.*

641 A second aspect of Indian citizenship was the support of local
619 government through payment of taxes. Since all property held
666 in trust or restricted status by the government, together with
*648 income derived from such property, was exempt from taxation,
*657 many tribal members occupied an unusual position among their
641 fellow citizens. The effect was particularly felt by the county and
• 651 local communities, which were heavily dependent upon property
taxes. For years, Klamath County sought to secure funds from the government to compensate it for the trust lands within its boundaries, which were served by county roads, sheriffs, courts, and schools. Johnson-O'Malley funds finally provided money in lieu of taxes to support the schools; to these the Klamath Tribe on occasion added funds for special purposes, but the other causes were unavailing.

In Chiloquin, officials resented the action of one Superintendent, who advised tribal residents that any property bought within the city with funds in trust or restricted status might be restored to corresponding status, even though it had been owned in fee simple when purchased. Such house lots were thus removed from the tax rolls and, although benefited by sewers and other municipal improvements, could not be levied for their support. It was not commonly recognized by white citizens of
[563] Chiloquin that a number of tribal members paid taxes regularly upon property held in fee simple and that a multitude of indirect taxes fell as heavily upon tribal consumers as upon their fellow citizens. Rather, the image was that of a people exempt from financial responsibility toward the support of local institutions from which they benefited. Though a distortion, like many other parts of the stereotype, this evaluation nonetheless contained a substantial kernel of truth.

If truth be told, the citizens of Chiloquin were no more disposed to pay taxes than American citizens anywhere, and indeed they were somewhat less inclined to do so than those elsewhere in Oregon. In 1951-52, the millage rates of Chiloquin were by far the lowest among the organized communities of Klamath

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

County. Of regular municipal income in the year, 1956-57, taxa- 648*
tion supplied only a little over four per cent. The largest sources 657*
of revenue were the water system, the city tavern (which alone 641
supplied over one-third of the budget), and the proceeds from 651 •
law enforcement (amounting to over one-fourth of the budget). Since, after the repeal of Indian prohibition in 1951, tribal members had become the major patrons of the municipal tavern, comprising in 1958 an estimated eighty per cent of its clientele, it is evident that in this indirect manner they had come to constitute a major support in the operation of the municipal government.

Nor was this all. The sizable sum derived from law enforce- 648*
ment was highly unusual. While the major enforcement problem 657*
in most Oregon cities of comparable size was traffic violations, 641
Chiloquin in 1956-57 found no less than ninety-three per cent of 674
its offenses to be felonies and misdemeanors other than traffic violations. Tribal members and other Indians, including re-
peaters, accounted for over seventy-two per cent of the arrests; [681]
they paid over seventy per cent of the fines and forfeited bail; [464]
and they furnished over ninety-six per cent of the trusty labor performed in the city.[7]

Aside from a few individual instances, this record does not 648*
reflect a policy of discriminatory arrests on the part of the city 657*
administration. It does, however, mark one of the significant 674
confrontations upon the reservation. It was conditioned in part [641]
by the special statutory position of the Klamath, for as an Indian [656]
under federal supervision he was enjoined by law from having or using liquor and from marrying a white within the state. Until these disabilities were removed in 1951, tribal members were subject to arrest for acts not held criminal when committed
by non-Indians. During prohibition, tribal members had learned [273]
to operate stills, had taken to drinking extracts, proprietary medicines, rubbing alcohol, and "canned heat" in lieu of scarce liquors, and had both patronized and served as bootleggers. Habits of defiant drinking, akin to those of other Americans during the "dry" years, lingered even into the years after repeal.

Klamath experience with strong drink and violence had neither begun with the reservation towns nor was it confined to them;

648 Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation, by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members" with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.
[619]

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically, less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
[786] area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
[181] Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
[556] wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members, as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
[434] The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
[251] patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are ex- 621
clusively White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office out- [575]
side the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [794]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are fre-
quently tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously, [651]
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chilo- [674]
quin during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a recon- 648
stituted "Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be adminis- 657
tered by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal super-
vision has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Atten- 619
dance at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

*648 ability of the subject to manage his own affairs; but unconditional
*657 payments to the infirm, aged, and decrepit were also to be
434 allowed.[68] Undoubtedly, lease monies made some Indians, who
[427] would otherwise not have qualified, financially eligible for their share of the trust funds. By 1915 most of the Indians had realized their full pro rata share of the trust funds, and annuities were received only by children and a very few others. The children's shares by this time were being paid to their parents or guardians.[69]

*648 A similar development took place in the allocation of the re-
*657 maining part of the funds, designated for irrigation improve-
651 ments or stock issues. When the pro rata shares of this amount,
653 $110,662.16, proved insufficient for the irrigation work required
231 in the Modoc Point area, the tribal council advocated that all the amount be issued in cattle.[70] Some 4,000 heifers, as desired, were accordingly purchased, with each Indian residing on the reservation receiving four head, save the youngest member of the family, who received three. Although the clerk in charge of the Agency stated that "all Indians residing off the reservation and who were enrolled at that time received nothing,"[71] he is clearly in error, for issues were made to a number of persons dwelling off the reservation.

*648 Here once more is to be seen the interplay of government
*657 policy and considerations of tribal status. The cattle issues were
231 designed by the government to foster stock raising as a reservation industry, but they were made at a time when land leasing and pro rata shares of the tribal fund had already created an expectation of direct cash receipts. In these terms, a number of the reservation Indians almost at once sold their cattle to neighboring white stockmen, and Superintendent Wilson had to threaten to bring the law upon the latter in order to recover them.[72] Meanwhile, off-reservation members were pleading their absence from the reservation and the advisability of using the money instead "to good advantage toward family necessities."[73] Finally, the discovery that many of the heifers issued were spayed, and so were useless for breeding purposes, capped the experiment. As Watson wrote, "Almost every Indian who has been at the office lately claims that he has from one to five or

*648 capitas that far exceeded those previously received from tribal
*657 funds, the incentives of ranching declined. Vainly did C. H.
434 Asbury claim that the new giant was no more than a "temporary
313 industry" that would serve to finance stock raising.[80] When a
*648 special appropriation in 1919 permitted a large number of cattle
*657 to be issued to the Indians, many of them were promptly sold
434 for cash.[81] By 1922 the livestock industry was proclaimed "al-
231 most bankrupt," and the error was acknowledged of having
423 broadcast the cattle issues without recognizing that not everyone
432 had either the inclination or the ability for ranching. By then,
allottees had disposed of valuable haylands and grazing tracts in Sycan Marsh, the valleys of the Williamson, Sprague, and Wood rivers, and at Modoc Point. Klamath Marsh tracts were soon to follow.[82] Wrote Superintendent L. D. Arnold in 1926:

> I have been advised by a number of men who have lived among these Indians for many years that at one time they were very progressive and were engaged successfully in the stock business. Practically all of the Indians at that time lived on their allotments, did considerable farming, harvested many thousands of tons of hay, and owned many thousand head of cattle. They were industrious and were considered capable of handling stock in an efficient manner. During recent years there has been a general decline industrially among them. They have sold their cattle; they have left their allotments; many of them are now not engaged in any profitable work. As a matter of fact I do not believe that there are one thousand head of cattle owned by Indians on this reservation at the present time. Last year the most prominent Indian stockman sold almost his entire herd for about $35,000—the last of the Indians who were formerly quite prosperous.[83]

With the sale of their haylands, the source of their winter feed, the Indians were relinquishing "the very foundation of the stock industry." The older Indians, the mainstay of the industry, had for the most part disposed of their stock and lands, while their juniors showed no inclination for ranching. Arnold did not foresee an encouraging future.[84] The issuance of drought cattle in 1935 was an unavailing attempt to revive the industry.[85]

*648 The fate of irrigation farming is typical in many ways of several
*657 Agency programs. As early as 1884, Nickerson had advocated
312 constructing an irrigation ditch to water some 4,000 acres and
• 653 provide support for a settlement of 80 to 100 Indian families.[86]

His planning and that of his successors was concerned solely 648*
with the engineering problems and the financing involved. The 657*
desirability of irrigating, at a time when reclamation projects 312
were springing up everywhere, was never doubted. When a 653 •
small ditch was dug in 1900, largely by the Indians themselves, [578]
to bring the waters of Crooked Creek upon lands between the Agency and Fort Klamath, the "remarkable" increase in yield that resulted gave rise in turn to exacerbated strife over water rights among the allottees affected. As Agent O. C. Applegate observed, there was need for "an organization of interested parties upon a plan of mutual cooperation," modeled perhaps upon irrigation districts then coming into being elsewhere in the Basin.[87] The organization was not forthcoming.

No further attempts seem to have been made to prepare the Indians for irrigated farming, but the plans for additional units nonetheless went ahead. The lower course of the Modoc Point canal was dug in 1901-03, and in 1905 the Agency Spring Ditch was constructed. The years 1912-20 saw completion of the Modoc Point, Sand Creek, and Spring Creek units. Of all units, the Modoc Point and Agency projects were the largest, embracing 5,400 acres and 4,234 acres respectively. The Modoc Point project, which Applegate had at first estimated would require $5,000, in the end cost $356,535.00 for construction alone; and its many defects have since led to additional costs approximating two-thirds of that figure for operation and maintenance.[88]

Nor were the difficulties surrounding the Modoc Point project
limited to construction. As of 1920 only a total of 5,000 acres was [311]
being cultivated on the reservation. The largest acreage tilled by an individual was 200 acres sown in oats and alfalfa by the young Klamath interbreed, Joseph Ball. Lesser amounts were being farmed by Harrison Brown (100 acres), Drummer David (80 acres), and Lincoln P. Butler (80 acres).[89] While some Indians were building their own irrigation ditches in the Yainax area,[90] those served by the Modoc Point system seemed to prefer dry farming.

The Act of Congress authorizing the Modoc Point project had stipulated that the cost of construction be paid by the Tribe. A number of Indians, however, petitioned to have the cost assessed on an acreage basis against the land served, and this policy met

*648 the approval of the Interior Department. Accordingly, a con-
*657 struction charge of $30.00 per acre and an annual operations and
312 maintenance charge of $1.00 per acre was levied against the
• 653 land. The Indians whose lands lay within the area proved reluctant to irrigate. In 1926 not over 300 acres, out of a total then estimated at 6,000 acres, was under irrigation. Arnold vainly urged the retention of an expert irrigation farmer both to encourage the Indians to bring water upon their lands and to give them the necessary technical advice. In his firm opinion, "the only thing that prevents this project from being a success is the failure of the people to properly prepare the land for irrigation and to use the water efficiently."[91]

Grounds for dissatisfaction existed. Not only were operation and maintenance expenses high, but there were malfunctions which from time to time required stoppages for repairs, thus causing irregular service. Some users complained that they could not get water when they wanted it; others claimed that seepage from the canal upon their land produced an alkaline deposit. At a time when the small Fort Creek system near Fort Klamath and the Spring Creek unit east of Beatty on the Upper End were functioning adequately under local management, the Modoc Point Indian farmers were objecting to paying the annual operation and maintenance charges for the water. Arnold, faced with an expensive project on his hands, was advocating legislation that would permit leases of up to ten years in length in order to put the irrigable lands into use.[92]

In 1928, Arnold summarized the strong discontent of the Indians toward the project. Although, as he conceded, opinion on details was divided, the Indians held firmly to the view

> that the Government should pay the construction charges now against the land and not compel either the land owners or the tribe to pay it. They seem to feel that the project was built without their consent and they should not be held responsible for its failure financially. Some of them seem to feel that the project should be turned over to the land owners who would operate it. Others do not appear to know just what they do want, but they do not want to pay anything.

Arnold advocated that the land be gotten under irrigation and put on a paying basis, to which the inexperience and reluctance of the farmers themselves was the main obstacle. Failing that,

the project should be abandoned entirely and the loss charged 648*
to the Tribe.[93] 657*

It is unnecessary to enter into the later history of the Modoc 312
Point project, which made it a subject of interest at several 653 •
Congressional hearings and a point of contention even into post-termination days, for the basic issues have remained the same. A number of Indians owning land within the project in the course of time sold their lands, just as most of those Indians owning lands served by the Sand Creek project had soon sold out to white farmers.[94]

The failure of the Modoc Point project can be attributed in part to the very real engineering difficulties in maintaining a canal system through a pumice region, feeding from a stream (the Sprague) in multiple use. More than this, however, was involved. There was the expertism of the Agency and Bureau, confusing the technical knowledge about construction and maintenance of such a system with the decision to build it. On the one hand the administrative staff was reluctant to entrust the decision to the Indians; on the other, the Indians did not provide a responsible leadership interested in developing such a program. The enterprise once launched therefore carried responsibility on only one side. There was no effort to enlist tribal support through involvement of tribal members in the fundamental decisions; nor was there sufficient training of the farmers to be affected in the special techniques entailed in irrigation.
Indians resented charges against the land and attempted to [241]
avoid them by continuing to cultivate the fields by dry farming.
Among the farmers, white and Indian, no effective organization
for water use developed. With income from timber available, [434]
the inexperienced farmer sought release from a situation for
which the rewards were not commensurate with the risks and [427]
the onus of subjection to Agency dictates. Leasing or sale of the [423]
lands in the end involve more than the realization of value from
property, which could otherwise only be secured by investment [432]
of labor. For the Indian, relinquishment of farming also freed him from some of the surveillance and scrupulous regulation to which he was subjected.

Plans that saw the Indian farming or ranching struck in the 648*
end upon the stubborn fact that he could frequently realize more, 657*
434

882
155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
[462] of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
426 for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented, and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

3: Stem NR10 Klamath NR10

656

[For U.S. government regulations imposed on the Indians of the Klamath reservation, see categories 648 and 657.]

County. Of regular municipal income in the year, 1956-57, taxation 648*
supplied only a little over four per cent. The largest sources 657*
of revenue were the water system, the city tavern (which alone 641
supplied over one-third of the budget), and the proceeds from 651
law enforcement (amounting to over one-fourth of the budget). Since, after the repeal of Indian prohibition in 1951, tribal members had become the major patrons of the municipal tavern, comprising in 1958 an estimated eighty per cent of its clientele, it is evident that in this indirect manner they had come to constitute a major support in the operation of the municipal government.

Nor was this all. The sizable sum derived from law enforcement 648*
was highly unusual. While the major enforcement problem 657*
in most Oregon cities of comparable size was traffic violations, 641
Chiloquin in 1956-57 found no less than ninety-three per cent of 674
its offenses to be felonies and misdemeanors other than traffic violations. Tribal members and other Indians, including repeaters, accounted for over seventy-two per cent of the arrests; [681]
they paid over seventy per cent of the fines and forfeited bail; [464]
and they furnished over ninety-six per cent of the trusty labor performed in the city.[7]

Aside from a few individual instances, this record does not 648*
reflect a policy of discriminatory arrests on the part of the city 657*
administration. It does, however, mark one of the significant 674
confrontations upon the reservation. It was conditioned in part [641]
by the special statutory position of the Klamath, for as an Indian [656]
under federal supervision he was enjoined by law from having or using liquor and from marrying a white within the state. Until these disabilities were removed in 1951, tribal members were subject to arrest for acts not held criminal when committed
by non-Indians. During prohibition, tribal members had learned [273]
to operate stills, had taken to drinking extracts, proprietary medicines, rubbing alcohol, and "canned heat" in lieu of scarce liquors, and had both patronized and served as bootleggers. Habits of defiant drinking, akin to those of other Americans during the "dry" years, lingered even into the years after repeal.

Klamath experience with strong drink and violence had neither begun with the reservation towns nor was it confined to them;

657

[For information on the U.S. government's care and administration of the Klamath on the established Klamath reservation, see category 116, pp. xv-xvi, 44-121, 125-181, 185-255, 259-266 and 316-317.]

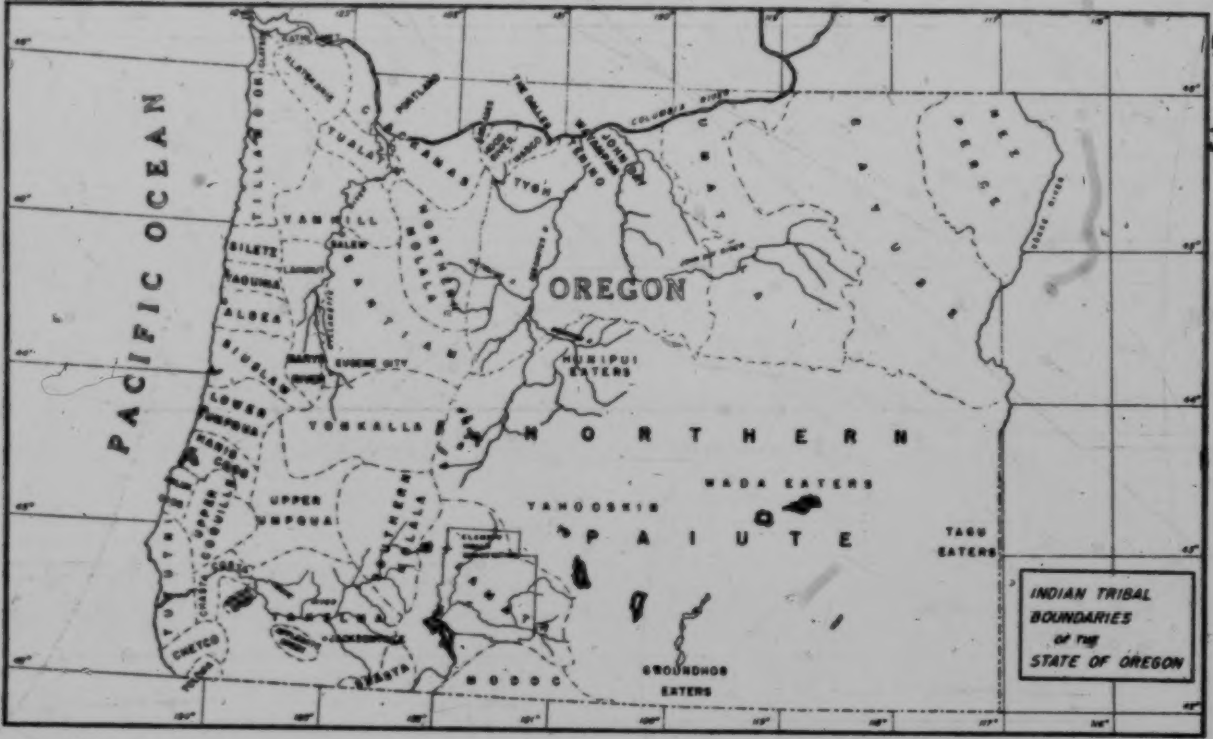
PACIFIC OCEAN
OREGON
CLATSOP
TILLAMOOK
TUALATIN
CLACKAMAS
PORTLAND
THE DALLES
COLUMBIA RIVER
WASCO
TYGH
TENINO
JOHN DAY
CAYUSE
UMATILLA
NEZ PERCE
SNAKE RIVER
JOHN DAY RIVER
YAMHILL
SALEM
SILETZ
YAQUINA
ALSEA
SIUSLAW
EUGENE CITY
NORTHERN MOLALLA
KALAPUYAN
HUNIPUI EATERS
LOWER UMPQUA
HANIS COOS
YONKALLA
NORTHERN
UPPER UMPQUA
UPPER COQUILLE
SOUTHERN MOLALLA
WADA EATERS
YAHOOSKIN
PAIUTE
TAGU EATERS
KLAMATH
CHETCO
JACKSONVILLE
SHASTA
MODOC
GROUNDHOG EATERS
INDIAN TRIBAL BOUNDARIES OF THE STATE OF OREGON

Adapted from "Indian Tribes and Languages of the Old Oregon Country" (Portland, Ore.: Oregon Historical Society, 1958). Data compiled by Claude Schaeffer. (Used by permission of the Oregon Historical Society.)

[P.279]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P.282]

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• 657

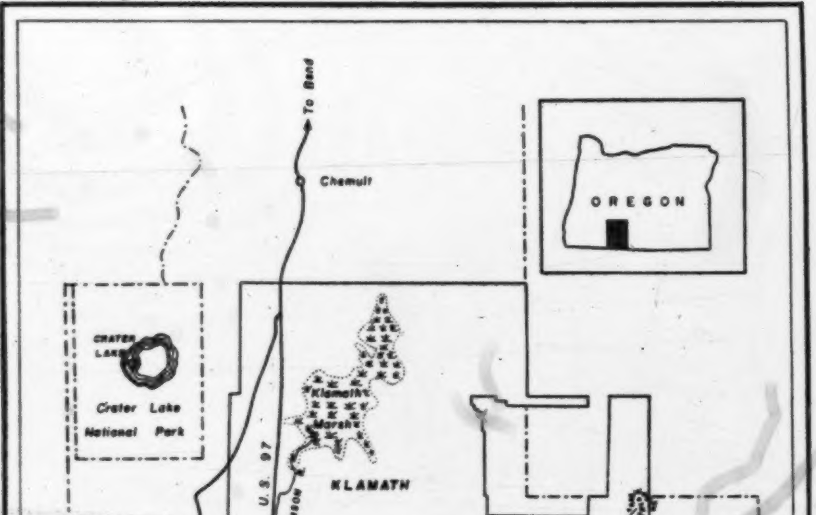
To Bend
Chemult
OREGON
Crater Lake
Crater Lake National Park
Klamath Marsh
U.S. 97
WILLIAMSON
KLAMATH
INDIAN
RESERVATION
Ft. Klamath
Klamath Agency
Agency Lake
Chiloquin
SPRAGUE RIVER ROAD
SPRAGUE
SYCAN
RIVER
RIVER
Modoc Point
Sprague River
Beatty
Bly
ORE 66
To Lakeview
KLAMATH CO.
LAKE CO.
JACKSON CO.
KLAMATH CO.
Upper Klamath Lake
KLAMATH FALLS
Dairy
Bonanza
ORE 66
To Ashland
U.S. 97
Lower Klamath Lake
10 MILES

KLAMATH INDIAN RESERVATION
AND
KLAMATH COUNTY, OREGON

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 175
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 101
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's 177
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological [184]
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy, [224]
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly 648
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties:
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an artificial [829]
construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet 178
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-residence
with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been transferred 648
to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful 423
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural [241]
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber industry [511]
has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

648 Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation,
by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically,
less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities
were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
[786] 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
[181] in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
[556] wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased
opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members,
[434] as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited
[251] bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are exclusively 621
White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office outside [575]
the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [794]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are frequently
tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously, [651]
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chiloquin
during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of [674]
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a reconstituted 648
"Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be administered 657
by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal supervision
has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Attendance 619
at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

592
Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification.
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have
borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable
[848] out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous
[563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians,
and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally
[588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-
[177] style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style
is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group,
596 but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally
there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require
[591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are
[177] extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which
aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, de facto groupings
rather than de jure. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient
[626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses
is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social
control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organiza-
[594] tion of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not
co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obliga-
592 tory responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the
nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the
571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there
are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent
peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships
with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to
their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the
603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and
grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic
593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-
592 father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts
as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household
[422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic
relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly ex-
treme cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual owner-
ship of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father,
that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with re-
gard to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property.
[181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the
657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and
434 industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of
children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments,
which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make
children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come
to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source
of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's
faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification
figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has
thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a
serious source of strain in household groups.

882
155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
[462] in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits
include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers
are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience
with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
426 example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented,
and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation
population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

and the modes of behaving through which the Klamath interact with their behavioral milieu. 181 For this reason it is not to be supposed that White exclusionism 657 or Agency policy alone are the significant antecedents of the stable pluralism of reservation life. For a Klamath to leave the amorphous atmosphere of his home or the circle of his drinking pals to enter into the unfamiliar and unprepared-for activities of White life is a source of fear and anxiety.

Thus, however it may seem to the outsider, the existing way of life on the Klamath reservation offers substantial predictability to tribal members, a place to live, a corporate body with which to identify, and multiple stable human relationships. As a cultural system it may be stable in form although changing in detail, and therefore this novel set of human relationships is not likely to quickly disappear. The Klamath today may not be the same persons who were settled on the reservation a century ago, [177] and aboriginal Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute cultural attributes may have disappeared, [171] yet they are still self-consciously Indian. In studies of acculturation, it is frequently argued that groups like the Klamath are marginal, that is, hung suspended between two cultural 181 worlds. 657 We feel that such a metaphor is both confusing and misleading. It assumes the presence of a reasonably intact cultural alter of aboriginal design 121 and a unilineal path of acculturation process. As indicated above, the former is not present on the contemporary Klamath reservation. As to the latter, we argue that the structural consequences of acculturation are many, and a lineal assimilation process is only one of them. The Klamath situation, we feel, is that of an unassimilated minority group which is itself very actively engaged in maintaining its special position and which is subject to multiple external pressures for maintaining its present boundaries. The Klamath are, therefore, in a position analogous to religious and racial enclaves. They are a group distinct from and in some ways opposed to American culture who fit, as it were, into a special niche in the larger structure of American society. If the term marginality is to be used with reference to any Klamath individual it can only refer to his orientation towards conflicting reference groups in the heterogeneous contemporary community.

Section III. Approach to the Rorschach Protocols

The interpretive approach to the Rorschach protocols was dictated to a large 121 extent by the overall purpose of the investigation. 125 An avowedly inductive and idiographic study requires a broadly clinical, not a narrowly statistical, analysis of the obtained Rorschach responses. The conclusions reached on the basis of this kind of research may be considered hypotheses to be tested in controlled deductive research.

The validity of the Rorschach method for personality exploration is not at issue in the present study; there are obviously more clear-cut and efficient research methods available for that purpose. Rather, the test is being utilized as one means of gaining insights about the adaptive mechanisms of individuals in a particular sub-group that is undergoing an acculturation process — a case-study approach. These insights may lead hopefully to theoretical advances in that area of study called Culture and Personality.

From this statement of the general purpose of the research, several specific 121 methodological decisions follow. It becomes clear immediately that there will be no comparisons of groups by statistical methods and few statistical tabulations of group means and standard deviations. There will be no description of that artificial construct — the modal Klamath personality. On the contrary,

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 67

Background Data

*159
156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, par-
ticularly in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
[595] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma
William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
[733] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
[83] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by
three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
[587] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She
completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and
[871] she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri,
[178] California, and Mexico.

•[657] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father
for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation
[464] and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of nu-
merous bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal
penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her
sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five,
and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their
violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how
such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
[577] Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams
is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
[177] a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values,
and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of
either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and
has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[191] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her
English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that chil-
[871] dren today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I
can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
[593] no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her
children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this res-
[603] pect, Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, be-
[867] haviors in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of
place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations
with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at
riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them
coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
[657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was
carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
[871] and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
[177] seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who
promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were re-
jected from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate inter-
changes and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses
156

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159
156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from
his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never
[461] worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen.
Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five
[871] school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from
the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at
[592] home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger sib-
lings may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal
[434] income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly
•[657] for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the
bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very
reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit
[582] Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging
[618] company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the
logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually
[221] away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when
drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father
does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household
[593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his
father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion
knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this per-
[848] son is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity,
which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's
*159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards
156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or
593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting,
and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits
the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls,
and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt
and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common
[421] activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to
one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his belongings, and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom she spends much time.

*159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks
156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the
law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time
[673] loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his
buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom
[512] awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away
from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which
may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

125
128 response provided some of the first clues as regards this important personality
attribute (Clifton 1960). But other test evidence, as well as life history and
[157] observational data, leads to the same conclusion, regardless of the presence or
absence of a restrained movement response.
[124]

157 One facet of Klamath guardedness and restraint is the general reluctance of
157 Klamath individuals to reveal or communicate to others their needs, wishes, in-
156 terests, or concerns. This may, in part, be seen as a function of suspicion,
of fearful concern with the possible reactions of others, but another character-
istic of Klamath persons may be associated with this reserve. The reference here
is to a general, overt, and conscious devaluation of the self. The Klamath sel-
[125] dom have much good and often much that is bad to say of themselves. Although
this characteristic is not directly manifested in the Rorschach records, these
records do indicate the presence of multiple and conflicting, or unacceptable
prototypal roles.

Another aspect of Klamath guardedness seems to be a precipitate of the very high investment of energies in sheer self-protecting maneuvers, and the time spent in the avoidance of entangling committments to group life. We feel that the Klamath have so over-invested in reserve and self-protection that they have little time or energy to expend on other activities or upon other aspects of their situation. This, we feel, may be responsible for another shared component of Klamath character, their inability in laying plans for the future, and the minimal expenditure upon creative effort. By way of contrast, the Klamath do concentrate upon the superficially rewarding or painful aspects of their current situation.

121 The analysis so far points to a general isolation of Klamath individuals from
156 significant, durable human associations. Given the facts of Klamath reservation
155 culture we consider that this characteristic is probably adaptive, although it
might not seem so if measured against an ideal model of mental health based upon
•657 the functioning of west European, urban, middle-class persons. Considering the
[171] realities of the Klamath situation, guarded restraint in itself may hardly be
considered as pathological. Yet so great a reserve and so extensive an insula-
[158] tion of the self from important human transactions may be a major source of stress
and may predispose Klamath individuals to variant forms of mental illnesses.

157 Several of the cases contained in this report provide evidence for this hypothesis.
In the instance of Slim, for example, we find that a superficially adequate ad-
158 justment may simply be the manifestation of an obsessive control over and reduc-
[121] tion of emotional and intellectual processes to the point of a tentative diag-
nosis of alpha schizophrenia. The cases of Susan, Nell, Fidel and Sparrow are
examples of extremely loose, unrealistic and disorganized thinking with overtones, in some instances, of an almost paranoid suspiciousness, or a reliance upon bizarre, highly personal fantasy. Evidence for a well defined idiosyncratic role or personna which is very poorly integrated with the rest of the personality is seen in the cases of Slim's false optimism, Carrie's brashness, and Aunt May's superficial warmth. We suggest that these more disordered aspects of adjustment may profitably be seen, in part, as a function of a generally poor contact with others, reduced insight into the self and others, and extensive social isolation. The mediating difficulty may well be a relative absence of opportunities to validate beliefs and convictions. Thus in many respects adaptive, Klamath guarded restraint probably serves as a precipitating factor in thinking disorders, sociopathic adaptations, alpha schizophrenia, and paranoid delusions.

128 The validity of this assessment does not depend upon these ten case studies alone.
127 Very similar if more limited conclusions were obtained in a previous, independent

On the face of these parallel descriptions it would seem that the Klamath are 121
similar, as regards guarded restraint, to a variety of differently situated, 156
differentially acculturated North American Indian populations, populations with
diverse cultural heritages. These similarities are, of course, susceptible to 157
different explanations. It would be a simple matter, for example, to explain 171
away the similarities as false, that is, as being a function of unreliable techniques
of assessment and highly ambiguous descriptive constructs or constructs 177
lacking in validity. Aside from being no explanation at all, this approach would [114]
involve discarding most of the available cross-cultural psychological data as
well as existing assessments of the personality dynamics of North American Indians.
Although this is the course advocated by many methodological puritans in the area
of culture and personality research we choose to accept the similarities as valid.

A second way of explaining these similarities might invoke the assumption of an underlying "North American Indian" character structure or basic personality analogous to Devereux's delineation of a core personality type for the Plains (Devereux 1951). Accepting this assumption the persistence of core traits must then somehow be accounted for. In the instance of the Plains, Devereux presents one possibility, namely that acculturation has resulted in a "stripped-down" and impoverished personality type (Devereux 1951: 25). Somewhat differently, Hallowell and his followers have argued that basic personality somehow manages to weather the vicissitudes of history and acculturation (Hallowell 1955: 309;
Spindler 1955: 151). The common feature of both of these explanations is the [114]
assumption of an underlying, basic set of psychological characteristics linked to aboriginal prototypes and common to the population occupying a given culture area.

In the instance of the Klamath there is very little evidence to suggest, unequivocally, 121
that guarded restraint was a dominant component of aboriginal character 156
structure. The information is scanty and points to the definite presence
of great reserve and considerable suspicion, but only as one mode of interpersonal 157
relations among others. Moreover, the Klamath reservation situation does 177
not allow a comparison of differentially acculturated groups after the model
used by Hallowell for the Ojibwa, and the effort to apply Spindler's technique [657]
of an internal comparison raised more problems than it resolved in this setting.
Finally, the evidence from the Klamath psychological data indicates that, if [171]
anything, older members of the tribe are less reserved and suspicious. In short, we cannot assert from available evidence that guarded restraint was basic or dominant in aboriginal Klamath character structure. We suggest that at minimum this characteristic was present, but that it did not receive the emphasis it now gets.

Aside from this difficulty, there are a great many conceptual problems associated 121
with the postulation of an underlying, basic trait of guarded restraint for the 156
North American Indians generally. We feel that it is stretching the point to
attempt to account for present similarities among unrelated cultures of such 157
different cultural heritages with a construct so broad. Due to the absence of 171
firm measures of aboriginal character structure this approach to explanation also involves substantial methodological problems which are not easily resolved.

Instead of explaining contemporary similarities in either of these ways it is 121
possible to view modern Indian populations in the light of common acculturative 156
experiences and their status as dependent wards, as enclaved minority groups,
and as persons who have been promised much but who have attained little. Spindler 157
has suggested that when acculturation conditions permit both a ready identification 171
177

THE HOME OF THE PEOPLE.

131 657 648 The home of the Klamath tribe of southwestern Oregon lies upon the eastern slope of the southern extremity of the Cascade Range, and very nearly coincides with what we may call the headwaters of the Klamath River, the main course of which lies in Northern California. Its limits are outlined in a general manner in the first paragraph of the treaty concluded between the Federal Government and the Indians, dated October 14, 1864, which runs as follows: "The Indians cede all the country included between the water-shed of the Cascade Mountains to the mountains dividing Pit and McCloud Rivers from the waters on the north; thence along this water-shed eastwards to the southern end of Goose Lake; thence northeast to the southern end of Harney Lake;* thence due north to the forty-fourth degree of latitude; thence west along this same degree to Cascade Range." It must be remarked that the homes and hunting-grounds of two "bands" of the Snake Indians were included within these limits, for these people were also made participants to the treaty.

Here, as with all other Indian tribes, the territory claimed must be divided into two parts, the districts inclosing their habitual dwelling-places and those embodying their hunting and fishing grounds, the latter being of course much larger than the former and inclosing them. The habitual haunts and dwelling-places of the tribes were on the two Klamath Lakes, on Klamath Marsh, on Tule Lake, and on Lost River. Some of these localities are inclosed within the Klamath Reservation, of which we will speak below.

133 The Cascade Range is a high mountain ridge following a general direction from north to south, with some deflections of its main axis. The line of perpetual snow is at least 10,000 feet above the sea-level, and the altitude of the highest peaks about 12,000 to 14,000 feet. On the west side the sloping is more gradual than on the east side, where abrupt precipices and steep slopes border the Klamath highlands and the valley of Des Chutes River. The range is the result of upheaval and enormous volcanic

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* Harney Lake is the western portion of Malheur Lake, and now united with it into a single sheet of water.

133 considerable size.* Hot springs of sulphuric taste flow westward east of Linkville, one of them showing a temperature of 190° Fahr.

The Klamath Reservation is studded with a large number of isolated
and short volcanic hill ridges, with a general direction from northwest to
southeast. South of Klamath Marsh there are elevations culminating at
5,650 and 6,000 feet, and in Fuego Mountain 7,020 feet are attained.
Yámsi Peak, between Klamath Marsh and Sykan Marsh (5,170 feet) reaches
an altitude of not less than 8,242 feet, thus rivaling many peaks of the
● [657] Cascade Range. The Black Hills, south of Sykan (Saikéni) Marsh, rise to
133 6,410 feet, but are surpassed by several elevations south of Sprague River,
103 near the middle course of which the Yáneks Agency (4,450 feet) is situated.
Sprague River (P'laíkni k̲ók̲e), the most considerable tributary of Williamson River, drains a valley rich in productive bottoms and in timber.

The basaltic ridge, which forms a spur of the Cascade Range and passes east of Fort Klamath (I-ukák), slopes down very abruptly toward the Quaternary lake basin, now forming a low marshy prairie and watered by Wood River (E-uk̲alkshíni k̲ók̲e), which enters upper Klamath Lake near Koháshti and by Seven Mile Creek, nearer the Cascade Range. This basaltic spur, called Yánalti by the Indians, represents the eastern side of a huge fault-fissure. Its altitude constantly decreases until it is crossed by a rivulet one-eighth of a mile long, called Beetle's Rest (Tgúlutcham Kshutē'lsh), which issues from a pond, drives a mill, and then joins Crooked River (Yánalti k̲ók̲e, or Tutashtalíksini k̲ók̲e). This beautiful spring and stream were selected by the Government as the site for the Klamath Agency buildings. The old agency at Koháshti (Guhuáshkshi or "Starting-place") on the lake, three miles south, was abandoned, and a subagency established at Yáneks. The agency buildings are hidden in a grove of lofty pine trees. South of these the ridge rises again and culminates in an elevation, called Pítsua (4,680 feet). The junction of Sprague and Williamson Rivers is marked by a rock called Ktái-Tupákshi, and described in Dictionary, page 149, as of mythic fame. South of Sprague River the ledge rises again, and, approaching close to the lake shore, forms Modoc Point, a bold head-

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[114] * I have not been able to visit *personally* other parts of the Klamath highlands than the eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake, from Fort Klamath to Linkville.

175 treaty with these Indians more forcibly before the Government than ever
648 before. In compliance with instructions from Indian Commissioner William P. Dole, Superintendent J. W. Perit Huntington, accompanied by Agent Logan, went through the Des Chutes Valley to Fort Klamath, and found there a large number of Indians of both sexes assembled, seven hundred and ten of whom were Klamath Lake, three hundred and thirty-nine Modoc people, and twenty-two of the Yahuskin band of Snake Indians. They unanimously concurred in the desire that Lindsey Applegate, a settler of Jackson County, Oregon, be appointed as their agent. The treaty was concluded on the 14th of October, 1864, and duly signed by the contracting parties, including twenty-six chiefs and principal men of the tribes. Huntington's estimate of funds necessary for fulfilling treaty stipulations and subsisting the Indians the first year amounted to a total of $69,400. The text of the treaty being too long for insertion entire, I restrict myself here to the contents of the principal paragraphs:

175 Article 1 stipulates the cession of the territory described above (p. xvi),
648 and sets apart as a *reservation* for the tribes referred to the tract included
657 within the limits following: Beginning upon the Point of Rocks, about twelve miles south of the mouth of Williamson River,* the boundary follows the eastern shore north to the mouth of Wood River; thence up Wood River to a point one mile north of the bridge at Fort Klamath; thence due east to the summit of the ridge which divides the upper and middle Klamath Lakes (now called Klamath Marsh and Upper Klamath Lake); thence along said ridge to a point due *east* of the north end of the upper lake; thence due east, passing the said north end of the upper lake to the summit of the mountains on the east side of the lake; thence along said mountain to the point where Sprague's River is intersected by the Ish-tish-ea-wax Creek (probably Meryl Creek); then in a southerly direction to the summit of the mountain, the extremity of which forms the Point of Rocks; thence along said mountain to the place of beginning. The tribes will remove to this reservation immediately after the ratification of the treaty and remain thereon. No whites, except employés and officers of the United States Government, are allowed to reside upon this tract, and the Indians have

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*At the foot of Nílakshi Mountain.

175 the exclusive right of taking fish and gathering edible roots, seeds, and
648 berries within the reservation. Provision is made by which the right of
657 way for public roads and railroads across said reservation is reserved to citizens of the United States.

Article 2. As a payment for the ceded lands the Indians shall receive $8,000 per annum for a period of five years, $5,000 per annum for the next five years, and the sum of $3,000 per annum for the five years next succeeding.

Article 3 provides for the payment of $35,000 for removing the Indians to the reservation, subsisting them during the first year, and providing them with clothing, teams, tools, seeds, etc.

313 Articles 4 and 5 provide for the establishment of a saw-mill, a flouring-
256 mill, a manual-labor school, and hospital buildings, all to be maintained
874 and supplied with working material at the expense of the United States for
783 the period of twenty years. Employés for running these establishments shall be paid and housed by the Government also.

423 Article 6 reserves the right to the Government to provide each Indian family with lands in severalty to the extent of forty to one hundred and twenty acres, and to guarantee possession to them. Indians are not allowed to alienate these lands.

Article 9. The Indians acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and pledge themselves to be friendly with all citizens thereof, to commit no depredations upon the persons or property of said citizens, and to refrain from carrying on any war upon other Indian tribes.

273 Article 10 prohibits the sale and use of liquors upon the Reservation, and Article 11 permits the Government to locate other Indian tribes thereon, the parties to this treaty not losing any rights thereby.

The treaty was proclaimed February 17, 1870.

Like most of the treaties concluded between the United States Government and the Indian tribes, this compact was made much more to the advantage of the white man than of his red brother. Not only were the stipulated annuities rather small for a body of Indians, which was then considered to number about two thousand people, but these annuities were

175 to be paid only after the ratification of the treaty by the President and the
648 Senate, which did not take place till five years after the conclusion, viz,
• 657 February 17, 1870. Meanwhile the Indians were always subject to the possibility of being removed from the homes of their ancestors by the stroke of a pen. The bungling composition of the document appears from the fact that a grave mistake was committed by inserting the term "east" instead of *west* (italicized in our text above), and by not mentioning the land grant made to the Oregon Central Military Wagon Road Company before 1864, which, when insisted upon, would, with its twelve-mile limits, take away the best parts of the Reserve, the Sprague River Valley, for instance. At the time when I visited the country, in the autumn of 1877, the Klamath Lake Indians showed much animosity against the settlers establishing themselves within their domain. The company having left many portions of their projected wagon road unfinished, Congress, by act approved March 2, 1889, directed the Attorney-General to cause suits to be brought within six months from that date, in the name of the United States, in the United States Circuit Court for Oregon, to try the questions, among others, of the seasonable and proper completion of said road, and to obtain judgments, which the court was authorized to render, declaring forfeited to the United States all lands lying conterminous with those parts of the road which were not constructed in accordance with the requirements of the granting act. (Cf. on this subject Ex. Doc. 131, House of Representatives, Forty-ninth Congress, first session, and Ex. Doc. 124, Senate, Fiftieth Congress.)

The first representative of the Government, Subagent Lindsey Applegate, erected some buildings at the northwest point of Upper Klamath Lake, called Skohuáshki (abbr. Koháshti); but as early as 1866 he called attention to the fact that the place had no suitable water-power, but that three miles above the little creek at Beetle's Rest was a most excellent motor for driving a saw-mill and a grist-mill, and, being on the edge of the pine woods, was a well-fitted and shady place for the agency buildings. This advice was followed in 1868, two years before the ratification of the
177 treaty. In the same year the old practice of cremating dead bodies was
764 abandoned and inhumation introduced. The grave-yard was established
around the ash-pile of cremation, still visible in 1877, and in 1878 a second

177 cemetery was inaugurated between the Williamson River and Modoc Point,
764 one mile and a half south of the bridge.

175 President U. S. Grant's peace policy in regard to the Indians was
648 inaugurated by act of Congress dated April 10, 1869. The supervision of
652 the Indian agencies was placed in the hands of the authorities of religious
[797] denominations, a board of commissioners appointed,[*] and the spiritual interests
of that reservation turned over to the Methodist Church.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCHES ON THESE INDIANS.

114 The study of the ethnography of a tribe usually precedes that of its language; sometimes both are pursued simultaneously, and this is undoubtedly the correct method. In the case of the Máklaks, Horatio Hale,[†] the linguist of Ch. Wilkes's United States Exploring Expedition (1838–1842), and still holding forth as a pioneer in his lines of research, took down a vocabulary from a Klamath Lake Indian whom he met on the Columbia River in 1841. No ethnographic remarks upon the tribe accompany this vocabulary, probably because information obtained from interpreters, who speak the Chinook jargon only, is notoriously unreliable.

Next in time follow the extensive explorations of John Charles Frémont[‡] of the interior basin west of the Rocky Mountains and of the Pacific coast from 1843 to 1844, and again from 1845 to 1846, during which the Klamath Lakes and Klamath Marsh were visited and explored. His reports contain graphic sketches of all that was seen and observed by his parties; but scientific accuracy is often wanting, and many countries are described without giving the Indian local names, which are indispensable to identification.

The acquisition of the Pacific coast by the United States (California in 1846, Oregon in 1848) naturally suggested projects of connecting the two oceans by a transcontinental railroad, starting from the Mississippi River and reaching to the Bay of San Francisco. The Central Govern-

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[*] Cf. Revised Statutes of the United States, second edition, 1878, p. 359.

[†] Born in Newport, New Hampshire, in 1817.

[‡] Born at Savannah, Georgia, January 21, 1813; candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1856; died in New York City, July 13, 1890.

114 that these explorations were the starting-point of all further researches upon the Pacific coast, and as such they are creditable to the men with whom and the epoch at which they originated.

The topographic map of the Klamath headwaters is now being prepared by the U. S. Geological Survey. It is laid out upon a scale of 1 to 250,000, with contour intervals of 200 feet, the rivers and water sheets in blue. The sheets are named as follows: Ashland, Klamath,* Shasta, Modoc Lava Bed, Alturas—the last three belonging to California. The surveys were made from 1883 to 1887 by Henry Gannett, chief geographer, A. H. Thompson, geographer in charge; triangulation by the George M. Wheeler survey, by Mark B. Kerr; and topography, by Eugene Ricksecker and partly by Mark B. Kerr.

THE MODOC WAR OF 1872-1873.

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The well-known maxim, "it is cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them," has forced itself upon the governments of all American countries in such indelible characters that it has become a rule for them to conclude treaties with the different "nations" to keep them at peace, feed them by rations or annuities, and confine them within the limits of certain territories. The treaty of 1864 was not attended by all the favorable results expected. The Snake Indians ran off from the Reservation during April, 1866, the Modocs in 1865. The latter tribe were not compelled to leave their old domain, now ceded to the United States, till 1869. Moreover, it always takes several years to gather straying Indians upon a reservation after a treaty has become an accomplished fact. 000 The Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, Mr. Meacham, on December 30, 1869, after a long and excited "talk," succeeded in bringing two hundred and fifty-eight Modocs to Modoc Point, upon the reservation allotted to them. On April 26, 1870, the supply of rations was exhausted, and the more obstinate half of the tribe left the Reservation again for the old domain upon Lost River and the lakes, whereas the other half, under Skóntchish, went to Yáneks, on Sprague River, where the Superintendent located them. All Modocs

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* The name for the sheet east of Klamath has not yet been determined.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

000 could not remain unpunished. Brought before a jury at Fort Klamath, Kíntpuash, Chief Skóntchish, Black or Húka Jim, and Boston Charley were condemned to the gallows and hung at the Fort October 3, 1873, while two accessories to the deed—Bántcho and Slû'lks (now George Denny)—were condemned to incarceration at Fort Alcatraz, San Francisco Bay.*

Thus ended the long-contested struggle of the little Modoc band against the Oregon and California volunteers and the regular troops of the United States Army. Certainly the heroism and ingenuity displayed by the Modocs would have been worthy of a better cause, and would have passed down to posterity in the brightest colors of patriotism had not the murderous "entreacte" and Canby's death deprived the struggle of its heroic luster. The unworthy termination of this war is well typified by the fact that the skeleton of the Modoc captain is now dangling as an anatomical specimen in the museum of the Surgeon-General's Office, at Washington, District of Columbia.

STATISTICS.

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● 657 From the end of the Modoc war to the present year the condition of affairs has not changed much in the Klamath Highlands. The reports of the United States agent repeat the same story of progress towards civilization every year; but in view of the difficulty of bringing a hunter tribe into the high road of Christian culture and industrial progress we can not attach much credence to such reports so long as they are couched in generalities and do not contain special facts attesting mental improvement by schooling.

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231 In agriculture success is possible only in the Sprague River Valley, but pasturing will succeed almost on every spot of the Reservation. The report of 1888, compared with that of 1880, shows a considerable improvement in this direction. The 2,500 horses and mules counted in 1880 had increased to 4,532 in 1888; the 200 head of cattle to 2,201. In the latter year the number of swine figured 208, of domestic fowl, 1,000. Of the 20,000 tillable acres of land 1,400 were cultivated by the Indians in

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* Slû'lks was released, and stays now at the Modoc Reservation, Indian Territory, with Scarface Charley and some other warriors of that war.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

648 1888 and 500 broken by them; 10,000 acres were inclosed by fences.
657 The crops of 1888 amounted to 8,000 bushels of wheat, 4,000 of oats and
241 barley, 1,000 bushels of vegetables, 3,000 tons of hay; and 500 pounds of
231 butter were manufactured. Of lumber 100,000 feet were sawed. The
313 Indians transported with their own teams 500 tons of freight, and thereby
434 earned $1,500. The two boarding-schools, one at the Klamath Agency and the other at Yáneks, in the same year boarded 215 pupils at a cost to the Government of $18,764—about $10.40 a month per capita.

311 The number of acres contained within the Klamath Reservation is 1,056,000, and of these only about 20,000 acres are considered to be tillable land. The rest is occupied by woods, marshes, rocks, and other hindrances to cultivation.

797 The school and church interests are in the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which also has a vote in the appointment of the United States agent.

657 The statistics of population have furnished reliable data only from the
161 time when annuities were first distributed among these Indians. This ne-
162 cessitated an annual count of each family, giving the number of the individuals belonging to each. One of these was made during my presence on the reserve on October 30, 1877, before the winter supplies were dealt out to the tribe. The summary is as follows:

David Hill, chief, at Agency and on Williamson River	225
P'lú, head chief, at the bridge, Williamson River	122
Long John, chief	103
Jack, chief	92
Lílo, chief	23
Total	565

The census taken in the Sprague River Valley, Yáneks subagency, furnished the following figures, Klamath Lake Indians and Modocs being indiscriminately included:

Littlejohn, chief	14
Skóntchish, chief	18
Modoc Johnson, head chief	71
Ben, chief	61
Brown, chief	30
Total	194

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

161 The Snake Indians were not counted at that time, but were assumed
657 to have the same population as in 1876: 137. This gives a total of Indians
162 for the Reservation of 896. This count included about eight mixed bloods and seven Warm Spring Indians from the Des Chutes River. The boarding-school at the Klamath Agency then had eighteen pupils of both sexes.

The reports of the Indian Commissioner for 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, and 1884 can not be fully relied on, since they give the same figures for *each* of these years with an unvarying total of 1,023 Indians—Klamaths, 707; Modocs, 151; Snake Indians, 165.

The report of 1888, Joseph Emery agent, gives 788 Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians and 145 Snake Indians, a total of 933 individuals.

Probably the most reliable data were furnished by the Indian census made in 1881 for the United States Census Bureau, from March to August:

	Klamaths.	Modocs.	Molale.	Snakes.	Totals.
Total of tribes on Reservation	676	122	55	165	1,018
Number of males	286	58	30	80	454
Number of females	390	64	25	85	564
Unmarried at fourteen years and upwards	109	6	9	11	135
Number married	286	55	14	65	420
Number of full bloods	664	122	53	165	1,004
Number of mixed bloods	12	....	2	....	14
Number below twenty-one years	291	58	35	89	473
Number above twenty-one years	385	64	20	76	545
Supported one half or more by civilized industries	36	6	7	....	49
Supported one-half or more by Government	37	3	....	2	42
Number wearing citizens' dress	630	112	55	165	962
Acres under cultivation	2,249	140	36	....	2,425
Number attending school	36	1	....	3	40

This enumeration is remarkable on account of the large number of Molale Indians mentioned in it, an element of the population which is nowhere else designated as such in the periodical reports made by the agents.

173 **28, 2.** gépkapsh, formed by syllabic elision from gepkápkash; cf. **29, 10**.

*539 **28, 2.** sákatla, to come up, to arrive by the trail.

726 **28, 3 and 4.** wéwaliks pi'la, the old women only; the younger ones, on whom 648 principally devolves the work of wókash-gathering, found time to escape in their canoes [193] from the raiders.

[192] **28, 4.** k̲'lewidshápka. The men had gone fishing to distant places, leaving their [222] females in the camp, not apprehensive of any hostile attack.

[192] **28, 8.** kilō's, or k̲ilū's, is the epithet given to "Dry-Leg", the Snake chief; it means a bold fighter, leader of a fighting band; literally: "irate, wrathful", and may be here taken as an equivalent to "war-chief" (sessclólish lak̲i).

[193] **28, 13.** Moadoki'sh, apocopated for Moadokíshash; also **28, 1**: wéwanuish (wé- [192] wan'sh) for wewannishash (shlää gépkapsh). Nā'lsh tchi'sh, *us* also; that is, we of the [657] Klamath Lake tribe, were gathered by Mr. Perit Huntington into one district, the newly established Klamath Reservation. A large number of the Lake People were then scattered about Klamath Marsh, which is visited by them now in summer only for fishing, gathering wókash and berries, and for hunting.

[657] **28, 14.** Dave Hill, now interpreter (lúldatkish) at the Klamath Lake Agency, took [175] a part in this short but interesting expedition, in the capacity of an Indian scout. He fixes himself the date of it by the words "tína illolólatko", or a *full* year after the Indians had been gathered on the Reservation by Mr. Perit Huntington. The treaty was concluded on October 14, 1864, and the campaign was undertaken in 1866 by a small body of American troops for the purpose of bringing back to the Reservation a band of Snake Indians who had run away from it. This unruly tribe, jealous of its former independence, has left the Reservation even since then, and could only after much exertion be induced to return. The fights took place west of Warner Lake, and north of the border-line between California and Nevada, within the former haunts of these western Shoshonis.

[175] The Report of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867, page 99 sq., mentions this expedition in the following laconic terms: "October 27, 1866, troops consisting of 21 men, First Oregon infantry, and five Indian Klamath scouts, under Lieutenant Oatman, and 27 men, First Oregon cavalry, under Lieutenant Small, had a fight with a band of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [should read: Albert], in the Klamath country, Southern Oregon. The Indians had so chosen their position that the troops were obliged to dismount to attack them. The fight lasted one and a half hour, and 14 Indians were killed and many wounded."

On page 100 of the same Report, another fight against Snake Indians is spoken of: "Late in November, 1866, in a conflict between the troops and Snake Indians near Fort Klamath, 10 Snake Indians were killed by the troops, and three more by the friendly Klamath and Moadocs who accompanied them." This may have been the same fight as the one above, reported with much less accuracy of detail.

[103] **29, 3.** Spá-ish Valley, name corrupted from Surprise Valley. This valley is situated in the northeastern angle of California, and on the shore of its two alkali lakes several American settlements have sprung up. A few Snake Indians live peaceably around Fort Bidwell, which is located at the northern extremity of the valley.

29, 10. tálaat tχalamti'tal, consonantic assimilation for tálaak tχalamti'tal, due west.

[192] **29, 17 and 19.** nū'ts, natch, for nā'ls, nā'lsh, nā'lash, *us*; náts a gépkal, for nā'lash a gépkash í.

*539 622 692 hishuáksh m'na wudópka, tsúi ni snawä'dshash hû'nk nä'-ulχ, k̲á-i hû'nk
husband here whips, then I wife that punish, not the

hishuákshash, láp súndē.
husband, for two weeks.

[593] [683] Tsúi tchik kíuks tchí'sh títatna tawí shash, tsúi hûk k̲'lĕká tawí'sh.
Then a conjurer also at times bewitches them, and dies the bewitched one.

[683] Tsúi ni nä'-ulχa, tsúi tû'nip sháppash spû'lhi síukst; tsúi tchik wátch nísh
Then I try (him), and for five months imprison for manslaughter; and (if) horses to me

[593] sχókta tû'nip, tsúi ni k̲á-i spû'lhit sχoktí'sht nísh. Tsúi tch lak̲í ts ktû'pka
he pays five, then I not may imprison (him), he having paid me. And (if) a chief beats

m'na snáwädsh, tsúi ni snä'kēlua; gä'tak lak̲í gí hûk.
his wife, then I remove (him); no longer chief remains he.

NOTES.

[177] **58–62.** The legal practices, regulations, and ordinances given here by a subchief of the Klamath Lake tribe are observed by all the chiefs, and are apparently fashioned after American models. The principle which seems to guide most of the judicial decisions of the chiefs, is given in one (59, 20. 21) of these regulations: "If a chief makes law like white people, that will be right."* This article is composed of three parts:

Part I. List of the chiefs acting as judges on the reservation in 1877.

Part II. Legal customs governing the Klamath Lake people.

Part III. Instances of application of these legal customs; amount of fines, terms of imprisonment, etc. These are the "*novellæ*" of Klamath legislation.

58, 1–3. P'lú, Lilu, and some other headmen mentioned here have signed the treaty of Oct. 14, 1864.

[563] [657] 58, 4. Móatuash. There are only two Pit River *families* living on the whole reservation.

58, 8. Tcháktot belongs to the Yahúskin tribe of Snake Indians. Cf. Ind. Aff. Report 1873, p. 324.

[193] 58, 10 etc. The future tense employed in these behests, regulations and defenses recalls the French future used in an impressive manner instead of the imperative: *tu ne tueras point, tu ne déroberas point.*

58, 10. shlí-uapk shash. The pronoun shash has here almost the force of a reciprocal pronoun, for the meaning of the sentence is: "do not shoot at people of your own tribe." The same is true of sas in palluápk sas, 58, 10; 58, 13 (twice); pálla shash, 61, 14.

[194] 58, 10. ksaggayuapkámsni is pronounced as one word, as the removal of the accent from the syllable -uápk demonstrates; and so in many of the following verbs standing in the future tense. For the sake of clearness, I have preferred to resolve these forms graphically into their component elements.

[192] [193] 58, 11. wátsam, etc. The possessive wátsam stands here instead of the instrumental case watsátka through attraction from wännikísham. Tchíkla here means to ride away on another's horse, the horse being missed by his owner.

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* Dave Hill introduces himself in the first person as chief; but many of these decisions can be given by the headchief only, not by any of the subchiefs, to whose number Dave Hill belonged. The Modocs at Yáneks claim to observe these regulations; the Snake Indians do not.

*539 683 Tsúi Tétĕmadshish hû'nk shemtchálχa tawī'sht Doctor Johnash k̲'lekáp-
Then Aunt Susie discovered that had bewitched Dr. John the de-

[697] kash; tsúi mbû'shant waitólank ná-ent waítashtka í'lktcha; Doctor Johnash
ceased; and next day being over on other day buried (him); Dr. John

tchī'sh sha shpúnshna, at k̲léwiank sha Doctor Johnash shpúnshampĕlank
also they conveyed, now after their return Dr. John taking along

shpúlhi, tchúi sha k̲á-ishuank skúkum-house mpámpatkia tchíkĕminatka.
imprisoned, and they locking the strong-house nailed (it) down with (iron-) nails.

Tchikéskni Shkélaksh tû'la shpúlhi Doctor Johnash. Tchúi tchiwī'χa
Tchikéskni Skélag with imprisoned Dr. John. And he sat in

hátokt, tchúi hû'ksha gä'mpĕle spulhī'tkuk. Pän ndā'ni tchēk waitólank
therein, and these men went home after imprisonment. Again three at last days past

Shχélag gátpa ktû'tp'nuk pā'sh; tchúi Sχélag gä'mpĕle káyak hassasuákiank
Skélag came to bring (him) food; and Skélag returned not at all having spoken

Doctor Johnash. Pän géna Sχélag ndáni waitólank pásh äníyuk; shû'lip-
to Dr. John. Again went Skélag three days elapsed victuals to bring; hand-

kank p'laíkni hak shéwana Doctor Johnash, P'lú toks lápĕni shéwana
ing from above there he gave (them) to Dr. John, Blow however twice gave

náyant waítashtat. Hû'kt pīl nā'dshek; hû'ksha toks, nánka k̲á-i hû'masht
another on day. This one (was) the only one; those (men) (did), other (men) not like (him)

shéwanat shī'ukshtka gíug Doctor Johnash. Tchúshak lápi sha shikĕnitksh
gave (any food) kill in order to Dr. John. Constantly two (men) they a pistol

[657] shishī'tilatk shlíutuapkug hû'nk. Agency tchúi gépksht tapí' tí'ta shash,
were carrying in their dress to fire on him. To the Agency (they) had gone after a while they,

ktíugíulank k̲á-ishtish, tchúi wátch hátokt tkû'tkapksh shláank gé'hlap-
he kicked open the door-cover, and a horse there standing finding (he) mounted

tchapka, m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Tchúi gí'ta hushótpa agency, tchúi
it, his son having come (with the horse). Then here he rode up to the agency, and

yá-uks-mĕnámksh gátpĕnank gulí'. Tchúi agencī'nīsh lák̲iash hashashu-
in the physician's house coming entered. And to the agent he ap-

ákia, Mínnīash shahamúyank shnû'ntatka lák̲iash hashashuakítki gíug.
plied, for Minnie sending to interpret the agent for conversing with.

NOTES.

64, 1. In September 1877 Púkish, an elderly Indian, died after a very short illness on the western side of Upper Klamath Lake. The rumor that he had been bewitched and thereby feloniously killed by K̲ák̲ash, one of the conjurers who treated him, soon gained credence, and the excitement in the tribe ran high. The first account of the occurrence was obtained by one of the subchiefs, who, with his colleagues, passed sentence over the unfortunate K̲ák̲ash.

[192] [193] [551] [769] **64, 1.** hû't, "this one", forms one of the substitutes for names of deceased persons, which no Indian dares to pronounce. Hû't refers to a person standing visibly *before* the speaker, and it is remarkable that the dead are referred to by this pronoun, and not by a pronoun marking distance out of sight, like hûkt, hû'kta etc. Cf. hû't hishuaksh, 64, 9., gén, 64, 2., hû'nk pī'sh, 64, 5., 68, 11. etc The subject nánka kukíaks does not exclude the use of the subject pronoun sha, *they*, the account being worded in the conversational style.

*539 593 77, 1. The name Púl is pronounced in very different ways, and most people think it is the English name Ball; Póluk is Pö'l hû'k; tchía, "lived", would be preferable to t'shin in this connection.

[192] 77, 2. 3. kä'tsa, kétsa properly means to cast away; here: to abandon, leave; almost identical with wutódsna occurring below, 78, 2.

77, 4. säwána sas: he did not give many horses for her to her parents.

78, 8. púllank sas. This shash properly refers to Pámpi and his family, for Púl's wife took the dug-out canoe of Pámpi and rowed with it to the soldiers. This was in the northeastern part of Upper Klamath Lake, and occurred in the winter of 1876–'77.

[103] 78, 13. É-ustat is the location of the old agency buildings at Kohásbti, in northeast corner of Upper Klamath Lake.

[192] 78, 14. hí'-i. On that occasion Ball left his wagon in the midst of the woods; hi, hí-i means "on the ground".

[657] [692] [697] 78, 15. nä'ulχa sha pä'n. About the middle of September 1877 a strong escort of Indians brought Ball and his wife to the "law-house" at the Klamath agency to be tried by the chiefs. A delay of several days occurred before he was confronted with the judges, and during the time he was imprisoned at the "skúkum-house", a strong log cabin at the agency serving as jail. He is still a very young man, and on being brought there he was allowed to ride on horseback with a rifle on his shoulders. His father is an Indian from the Spokane tribe, and Spúkän is his name.

[192] 78, 16. sχókta, to pay a fine; to be fined (by the chiefs). See: "Legal Customs", 62, 5.

GAMES OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROBEN.

I.

*539 525

É-ukshikni	shákĕluk	shí-í'χaga	yámnash,	wátch,	skútash	tchish.
The Lake people	in gambling	win from each other	beads,	horses,	blankets	also.

Vû'nip	shulshéshlank;	láp	mû'mĕni,	sχû'tash	tchish	lápi	ndshekáne.
With four (sticks)	they play the stick-game;	(there are) two	thick (sticks),	skin-covered sticks	also	two	slender.

Ndshékansh	sha	sχétchashtka	shlín,	mû'mĕnish	toksh	a	yû'shakĕnank
At the slender (sticks)	they	with index and middle finger	guess,	at the thick (ones)	however	(they)	with index finger

shlín;	vû'ish	sha	klátchnank	shlín,	tχopowátka	tch	lénank	shlín.	Wû'ishtka
guess;	at the vûish	they	moving hand sideways	guess,	with the thumb	also	making a side move	they guess at.	By the vûish

toks	sha	nā'shak	kshē'sh	wí-uka;	sχétchashtka	sha	láp	wí-uka	kshē'sh,
	they	only one	counting-stick	(can) win;	with index and middle finger	they	two	win	counting-sticks,

yû'shχish	spélshisht.	Tchúi	sa	k̲ĕléwi	udúiwisham	í'χaguk	nánuk.
the index	having put forward.	Then	they	stop,	from the losers	when they have won	all (stakes).

*171 on the other, were entirely absent among the Klamath. Nevertheless
556 the mechanism of the Northwest Coast for the exchange of presents,
the potlatch, does appear here in the form of prescribed reciprocal
584 visits between the families of bride and groom. It has not been clearly
recognized that these features of Northwest Coast social life have
spread even farther from that focus into the northern Plains and to
north central California.

*171 Of the slender stock of Klamath ceremonials, the scalp dance is
widely known, the war or incitement dance is common to northwestern
535 California and perhaps all of Oregon. Kroeber has pointed out that
726 so far as California is concerned scalp and war dances are mutually
exclusive in their distributions.[418] But the Klamath, like all others
*171 of eastern Oregon, carry out both dances. The girls' adolescence rite
of the Klamath is one with those of western Oregon and northern
881 California. This is a local phrasing of similar rites known from
Alaska to the Southwest, but lacking east of the Sierra-Cascades.
Specific details of the Klamath affair are closer to northern Cali-
*171 fornian forms than to those of Oregon. The Ghost dance of 1870 was
evanescent among them. Its first form was that characteristic of the
original dance of Nevada; later it was overlaid by features char-
acteristic of central California.[419]

177 Some historical relief emerges in this survey. It is definitely
traceable in some details and can be established inferentially for more
basic elements. The most recent stratum of adopted traits is post-
[285] reservation, i.e., later than 1865. This includes two types of basketry
derived from the Northern Paiute settled on the reservation, a sifting
basket and a coiled water bucket, and the Ghost dance. The earlier
[668] form of the Ghost dance was instituted by the same group of Paiute
in 1870 or '71. This was the familiar circle of dancers, whose leaders
[343] dreamed new regulations; its ideology the return of the dead. In
1873 a Pit River introduced central Californian elements; a dance
[534] lodge, probably the clap-stick rattle, new songs, etc. To the same
stratum belongs the imitation of the Warm Springs-Yakima one-piece
[533] moccasin.

[291] Other elements are recognized as pertaining to pre-reservation
days, but probably not earlier than the middle of the last century;
177 the hand drum derived from the north, and perhaps the social dances
534 in which it is used; the hand game brought by a Spokane (?) man.
535

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[418] Kroeber, Handbook, 144, 844.

[419] Spier, Ghost Dance.

southern Northwest Coast, Oregon, California as far south as the Sinkyone (and perhaps the Costanoan), and the Basin. The number was variable in central and southern California, as Kroeber has pointed out, but was as regularly four on the Colorado river as in the Southwest.[339] The curious feature is that five as the pattern number did not regularly make its appearance in the adolescence rites; it is seemingly missing from them on the northern margin of its distribution and again in the southern Basin. What we have to recognize is that the pattern number does not operate automatically at every possible opportunity; further, that there may be an appreciable lag before a specified number of days, things, etc., is made to conform to the standard number. Thus the Ghost dance of 1890 derived by the Walapai from the Southern Paiute, whose pattern number was five, appeared among them as a five-day ceremony although their pattern was four. 171* 881 801 [668]

Characteristic of this local area was some device to hold the adolescent girl's gaze averted when she left her seclusion. It was a visor of blue-jay feathers among the Takelma, Shasta, and Karok, an eyeshade of skin among the Northern Pomo. Elsewhere her head must be covered in some fashion; it was so prescribed by Hupa, Wiyot, Sinkyone, Coast Central Pomo, Tübatulabal. The visor appeals to me as the local analogue of the large hat or mat prescribed by Northwest Coast tribes: Ten'a, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Nisqually, and Tillamook. The Nootka and Achomawi-Atsugewi headbands may also be analogues. In some instances the girl's head must be covered with a basket even as she rests: Takelma, Shasta, Yuki, Luiseño. This is, to be sure, only a specific form based on a more widespread view that the adolescent's glance was malignant and must be cast down. This notion prevailed as far south as the Colorado river (Yurok, Eastern Pomo, and Mohave in addition to those just cited), but was notably absent in the Basin and Southwest, and may not have been nearly so strongly emphasized on the Northwest Coast. It cropped up again in a far distant area, the southern Great Lakes (Winnebago, Menomini, and probably Ojibway, Ottawa, Sauk-Fox, and Kickapoo), where the menstruant might not look up or out of the lodge. The otherwise unintelligible prescription that the Klamath maiden must dance with downcast eyes—for I did not find that there was any belief that her gaze was malignant—is thus explicable as a bald imitation of neighboring types of behavior. 171* 881

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[339] Handbook, 875.

Carrie: Male, Age 36

Background Data

156 Carrie is the model of a self-made, upwardly mobile, brash and back-slapping
*159 young American male. He is a tribal leader whose power is rooted in an amalgamation of various dissident elements, rather than in a large kin group, and a
[622] business man with numerous interests. He says, of himself, that "I have no occupation, as occupations go. I guess you might say I am a confidence man."

*159 Like the other subjects, Carrie was raised on a ranch by his parents. He is a high school graduate and a graduate of a junior college course in accounting.
[873] His work record suggests his ambition and his upward progression, for he started as a farm laborer, went to truck driving, then worked during World War II as
[464] a production machinist, completed his education, then worked for the Agency and, finally, was able to settle down to living off his several sources of income. He has never been out of the state except for short business trips. He spends most of his time on the reservation attending to tribal and his own business,
156 and participating in various voluntary and formal associations. More recently
*159 he has become active in politics on a local level and by some has been ear-marked as a "comer." His intellectual horizons are very wide, extending to a keen
*[66] awareness of the difficulties faced by Dag Hammarskjold. His reputation is excellent and he is particularly esteemed by many Whites, although this esteem is
[626] not shared by all Klamath, which reflects only the factionalism of Klamath politics and, perhaps, the efforts of some to control a man who is too successful.

[184] Carrie has been married once and this marriage has lasted 15 years. He has six children and his family life, again, is precisely what might be expected of a successful young American. Carrie's entire style of life is entirely different from that of most other young Klamath men.

*159 Very little is known of Carrie's early life except that his background is rural Klamath and that his mother was a housewife and his father an indifferently and intermittantly employed laborer.

156 The writer never made much headway with understanding Carrie until the day he
124 was brow-beaten into taking the Rorschach. Before this time he had been seen only as an aggressive, back-slapping, competitive, and somewhat empty character. He had agreed to testing, but had managed to slip out of several appointments until one day when the entire complement of field workers descended on him during a visit, arguing and insisting that he had to set the example. Carrie was thus hung on his own petard, and when we walked into the testing room there was some question as to who was the most fearful of the consequences of this episode, Carrie or the examiner. Carrie was manifestly tense and fearful, but in a very short period of time relaxed and accepted the test situation. Rapport was excellent, and Carrie clearly defined the situation as one where he should discuss
156 his private concerns, motives, and sentiments. From sessions like this it became evident that Carrie's brash front consisted of a set of behaviors he saw as appropriate to his position. That is, the social Carrie was a well defined role. Behind this persona lay a genuine concern with the welfare of tribal members and their future, as well as strong personal aspirations, deep committments to family and community, and fears associated with his private feeling that he was not an adequate or relaxed "mixer." He stated, for example, that "I guess I just don't have the courage to get out, even among my own people. I'm not much of a talker and I guess you'd say I'm kind of backward. I really prefer to be alone by myself." Some of this apprehensiveness is associated

While the political strength of a family is seen not only in the 648*
succession of interest but in a propensity for members of a family 657*
to vote *en bloc*, this is far from invariably true. The schism 619
separating Jesse Kirk from his half-brother, Joseph, is one promi- 602
nent instance—and by no means the only one—to the contrary. [665]
In fact, alignment within the family and extended kin has often [578]
been modified by contending considerations.

Nonetheless, for some leaders the solidarity of family some- 648*
times took precedence over impartiality in the discharge of office. 657*
One tribal council member is quoted as defending his action 661 •
favoring certain enrollments by the explanation "... that since 602
two children were his niece's children, he felt that it was his duty 619
to guard the interests of his minor relatives."[8] Political leaders, seeking to emphasize the purity of their motives, needed to go no further in justification than to declare that they sought only the welfare of their grandchildren.

Although intermarriage and alternative associations have long 648*
overlaid clear identification with the several peoples who had 657*
entered into the treaty, such affiliations have continued to exert 563
political force, however greatly diminished in recent years. In 621
turn, they related to the two broad communities on the reserva- 619
tion. The Lower End remained predominantly Klamath, while Modoc, Paiute, as well as a number of Klamath and Pit River, comprised the Upper End community some forty miles away.
Even after the closing of the subagency at Yainax, the populations [184]
of Sprague River and Beatty continued to reflect the special character of the eastern reservation.

In turn, the relatively easier access of the Lower End to out- [177]
side influences—a subject already reviewed in discussing modern tribal demography—superimposed the effects of differential acculturation and intermarriage upon the traditional subtribal
allegiances that distinguished the two Ends. Difficulty of travel 648*
along the road from the Agency to Yainax had given rise to the 657*
practice, long maintained, of holding separate councils at each 621
place. Thus at the two Ends there had developed political com- 665
munities responsive to their own local leaders. Harrison Brown, 619
in 1931, played upon a familiar theme when he recognized in Wade Crawford, a leader from the Lower End "... a young man who is not a full-blood, who is trying to stir up trouble and we

*648 might be exploited instrumentally to broaden the base of appeal.
*657 Other devices entailed the manipulation of particularistic
665 loyalties. Politicians from the less populous and ethnically more
619 diverse Upper End endeavored to retain districting, whereby
the members of the executive body were elected in equal numbers by each End; and they also sought to preserve communal representation, which ensured that each of the traditional subtribal groups, Pit River and Paiute, as well as Modoc and Klamath, would find a place in that body. These measures were opposed as a matter of course by Crawford, the Lower End leader; but it was he in turn who had been responsible for the election in 1927 in which only the Lower End took part, thus creating a second tribal council and precipitating the Bureau's demand for a tribal constitution.

*648 The tactics employed to control voting were diverse. In general
*657 elections, Jackson favored restriction of voting to polling places
665 located on the reservation, against attempts by his rival to secure
619 absentee balloting, a measure that would swell the response from
646 his off-reservation constituency. For General Council meetings,
666 Jackson sought to continue the practice of alternating their site
between the Ends, and for those held at the Agency he provided stages at tribal expense to transport members from the Upper End.

Seating within the General Council was conventionally by faction, a device that provided an easy check upon voting regularity, although the chairs along the wall afforded a retreat for the less partisan. Jackson further favored a standing vote,[12] while Crawford, particularly while he was out of power, called instead for a secret ballot. Each side on occasion exercised the boycott to prevent the mustering of a quorum when the issue was likely to go against it,[13] and Crawford also resorted to the filibuster, under cover of which his forces might withdraw in order to attain the same end. Each also strove, when he no longer controlled the executive body, to route business instead through the General Council.

*648 In the recruitment of a following, leaders found many occasions
*657 to render personal services, appointing the faithful to tribal
665 positions, serving as advocate in their favor, sponsoring the enroll-
619 ment of their children as tribal members, or advancing them
• 661

money from the tribal fund set aside for the purpose. Interlocking 648*
memberships of the Executive Committee, the Enrollment 657*
Committee, and the Loan Board made those bodies the apex of 665 619
tribal power. If the first-named was the central body, and important 661
particularly in relations with agencies beyond the Tribe, the [646]
other two were no less essential in the administration of patronage. [647]

The Tribal Loan Board had been established to preside over 648*
a fund set aside from the Yamsay Judgment of 1938, by which the 657*
issue of the Military Road had finally been settled. The fund had 619
been designed to provide capital advances for tribal members, 452
many of whom found bankers reluctant to lend to them. Although 647
loans were supposed to be applied only to improvements, it became common practice to spend them merely as an anticipation of the next per capita. When the Bureau called a halt to its operations in 1955, the Board had out on loan approximately a half-million dollars, or the equivalent of almost $250 per member, and a collector had to be engaged to recover a sizeable portion of it.[14]

The Enrollment Committee was the third seat of power. Ad- 648*
mission of one's children to tribal membership was eagerly 657*
sought, and not alone for reasons of sentiment. Once he was a 619
tribal member, a child was vested with a pro-rata share of the 647
undivided tribal estate, amounting at the time of termination to 434
some $43,500. In addition he qualified to receive the per capita dividends that, subject to Agency restriction, were commonly drawn upon to defray current family living expenses.

Despite—and sometimes because of—these tactical measures, 648*
by which partisan leaders strove to bind them, many tribal 657*
members were driven into abstention by the bitter contentions 646
that marked the final generation of tribal life. Although hundreds 619
flocked to the luncheon set out at tribal expense in the Council Hall for those attending the General Council, morning meetings failed so frequently to draw a quorum that they were discontinued; and even afternoon sessions sometimes could not muster one hundred adults from among the thronging diners to transact tribal business. When they did come, they were often in holiday mood, frequently interrupting speakers, and exhibiting a keen appreciation for lengthy, eloquent, and often irrelevant harangues

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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No sooner had the party of nine pupils finally gotten under 648*
way than Applegate received a letter from the Commissioner 657*
calling attention to a letter sent him, apparently by Jesse Kirk 871
himself. In it, the writer accused Police Captain Joseph Kirk, a part-Modoc, and Judge Jack Palmer, a Lower End Klamath, of using their influence against sending children to nonreservation schools. "There are two parties here," wrote Applegate, "who [665] •
oppose each other on nearly all propositions, the two leaders of which are Captain Joseph Kirk and Rev. Jesse Kirk, half brothers, and who are among our most advanced and able men." He promised to refer the matter to Gen. A. C. Hawley, a Special Agent then visiting Klamath.[15]

Ironically, Jesse Kirk's stand was soon reversed. Soon after he had deposited his sons at Carlisle, the elder boy, Clayton, in company with another pupil, Joseph Ball, ran away and was only recaptured in Pittsburgh. In Applegate's view, Joe Ball, an interbreed and a product of the public school in Klamath Falls, was the ringleader of the escapade and had led his more impressionable companion astray.[16] The senior Kirk thereupon sought to have both sons returned, and Applegate tried to put him off.[17] To Major Pratt at Carlisle he wrote ruefully:

> . . . I have been reconsidering the idea of sending you a class and even regret that I did send the class of nine, as things have turned out. It is hard to get pure bloods to go, and the pressure to get away from the reservation to our non-reservation schools is almost invariably from the mixed element. The Klamaths and Modocs are a determined lot and Rev. Jesse Kirk, son of a resolute old warchief, is no exception to the rule. A short time ago the principal champion of Carlisle he is now ready to move Heaven and Earth to secure the return of his boys since Clayton's escapade, and I wish they were all back.[18]

This action brought into confrontation an embattled Agent 648*
and the defiant leaders of the reservation. In Jesse Kirk the 657*
Indians has as leader a product of those very "civilizing" forces 622
upon which the government had rested sanguine hopes. The son 159
and namesake of one of the treaty signatories, we have encountered him previously as schoolboy and carpenter's apprentice, as interpreter and as ordained Methodist preacher. In 1886 a representative of the Indian Rights Association characterized him as "a superior man, in poor health and great poverty, . . .

error which has crept in from the lapse of years or the result of 648*
modern nomenclature applied to the mountains by the younger 657*
Indians since the treaty was made." They noted that the latter 423
confidently located points upon the boundary that their elders, the actual signatories, could identify only with uncertainty or conflict.[40] The reservation boundaries thus delineated often exceeded considerably those described by the signatories. The claims of the younger men recall the oral traditions of the treaty councils, for they are surely part of the same outlook.

The commission report brought dismay to the Klamath. The eastern boundary, recalls one adherent of Jesse Kirk, was satisfactory as finally delineated, but strong feeling simmered regarding the location of the southern boundary. The finding that the southeastern boundary point, *kalwal*, Point of Rocks, lay at Barkley Springs, placed it too far north, the Indians claimed, and it had the effect of leaving the Swan Lake area (where the Applegates had interests)[41] outside the reservation. The suspicions thus generated soured Klamath relations with the Agent as well as with his brother, but remained latent until other frictions aroused them.

In 1900, James McLaughlin, U.S. Indian inspector, executed what was to be the penultimate agreement upon the boundary issue. In his report to the Secretary of the Interior, he warmly praised a local assistant:

> I was fortunate in securing as guide and interpreter, the services of Jesse Kirk, an intelligent full blood Klamath Indian, to accompany me throughout my field work, as he had accompanied the Boundary Commission in 1896 when the boundary line described in the treaty of October 14, 1864 was determined, and was also employed by the Allotting Agents throughout the entire allotment of lands on the Klamath reservation, and, having a most remarkable memory, knows the legal sub-divisions of section, township and range of every allottee on the reservation.[42]

With ratification of the agreement hanging in the balance, the 648*
Indians once more proposed a delegation to Washington, to be 657*
comprised of Jesse Kirk, William Crawford, and Jeff Riddle.[43] 578
There was, however, a significant discord. In a petition trans- 665 •
mitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Harrison Brown, judge of the Indian Court, related that after the council with

*648 McLaughlin, Jesse Kirk had called together about forty Indians
*657 in a secret, "pretend Council" to select the delegation. When
578 queried, Kirk maintained that it had the sanction and authori-
•665 zation of the Agent. Brown had then sought out Applegate, who
told him "that he had concluded to have nothing to do with said council."

About the date that the delegation was due to leave, Brown and others assembled at Yainax, where they asked for and received a petition in which they set forth their views. Then and there it was signed by forty-three persons, together with further endorsements from the Lower End. Brown then conferred with Applegate and with Henry Jackson. The Agent, he reported, assented to the action that had been taken. However, that night two members of the Indian police, allegedly acting on Applegate's orders, accosted Brown and relieved him of the petition. The next day, in Klamath Falls, one John S. Orr, who seems to have been serving as advocate for Brown's faction, received a letter from Applegate instructing him to desist from communicating with the authorities at Washington.

The petition, with corroboration by Henry Jackson, was duly notarized at Klamath Falls. F. H. Mills, who signed as witness, was soon to reappear.[44]

As matters turned out, Jesse Kirk finally left for Washington alone, armed with letters of introduction from the Agent to Oregon's Senators McBride and Simon, Congressmen Tongue and Moody, and Commissioner Hermann of the General Land Office. Applegate had gone out of his way to secure for Kirk a special fare on the railroad and a loan from the bank in Klamath Falls. Reading his almost anxious instructions to the delegate, now arrived in the capital, one has a clear impression that the Agent felt that he was writing to a devoted friend.[45]

He was soon disillusioned. As we know now, Jesse Kirk had even then fired off his salvo declaring his half-brother, Joseph Kirk, and Jack Palmer to be the chief foes of the nonreservation schools. Soon thereafter, his son's escapade at Carlisle led Kirk violently to reverse his own position.

In Washington, the delegate made his rounds. Several of his letters, to the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and to Commissioner Hermann, urged ratification

of the McLaughlin agreement, praising the Inspector as "a man 648*
that got heart in him for a Poor Indian People."[46] Toward the 657*
end of his visit, the envoy was stricken with appendicitis, and his 578
half-brother and political foe, Joseph Kirk, rushed to his bedside 665 •
and remained to bring him home.

New contacts, both with officials and attorneys and possibly 648*
with the delegates from other tribes, must greatly have enlarged 657*
the horizon for men like Jesse Kirk. Indeed, James McLaughlin, 578
returned to the reservation to execute a new agreement with the 665
Tribe rectifying a mistake in the boundary surveys used, soon 423
found the new mettle in the man. The revised draft, he reported,
was

> duly executed by more than the necessary number of Indians belonging to the Agency, but not without having to overcome strong opposition, evidently prearranged and determinedly led by the most influential Indian of the reservation, Reverend Jesse Kirk, who demanded that the clause providing for irrigation of their lands be stricken out, also the clause for the payment of the legal fees of attorneys having duly approved contracts. I, however, remained firm and would not concede any modification or change of a single word, letter or punctuation mark in the agreement as prepared by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and it was thus concluded by a large majority of the Indians signing the agreement. When Rev. Jesse Kirk found that I was going to succeed in obtaining the required number of signatures he, together with his followers, finally came forward and signed the agreement—and he also signed as one of the two Interpreters.
>
> The opposition of said Rev. Jesse Kirk, was influenced by the fact that he visited Washington last winter, remaining there some months, during which time he learned that large appropriations were being made by Congress for general irrigation purposes on Indian reservations, and that the Klamath could have from such appropriations all the money necessary for irrigating their lands without providing for such in this agreement, and as the contract with their attorneys was for a period of eight years, and expires on July 21, 1901, he captiously desired to exclude the clause protecting them.

Jesse Kirk, so McLaughlin learned, had been informed in 648*
Washington that the Indians need not employ attorneys, since the 657*
case was sure to be decided in their favor. Many Indians, how- 578
ever, did not agree with his view and desired to keep good faith 665
668

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*648 *657 578 • 665 668 with the attorneys. There were some, who nonetheless wanted to submit a petition setting forth their views.[47]

If all who signed the agreement after Jesse Kirk were his adherents, he could count on 121 men against 70 for the proadministration faction.

*648 *657 665 666 668 578 Domestic issues added weight to discontent. Soon after taking office, Oliver Applegate had set up road districts, each presided over by the policeman within it, and had permitted the police to settle minor differences within their several districts.[48] He had, moreover, apparently reversed the policy of Emery, who had permitted the Indians to elect both police and judges for the reservation. Early in 1900, a group of Klamath, apparently led by Jesse Kirk, became insistent that elections be reinstituted. Applegate was reluctant to accede, since he "felt that an Agents selection of his military force and administrators of justice should not be trammeled by selections which might be the result more of 'political' management than of the honest opinions of the majority." However, he agreed to ask for an opinion from the Commissioner.[49]

Gen. A. C. Hawley was sent to consider the issue, and conducted his investigation largely during Jesse Kirk's absence in Washington. At the end of his tour, Hawley strongly supported the position entertained by Applegate, who observed:

> . . . if at any time this electoral system should become in order, in the selection of the agent's personal assistants and executive force, the time had not yet arrived to put this privilege in the hands of the people. It would increase rather than limit the number of tribal and family feuds and keep alive the numerous personal jealousies which we are endeavoring to stamp out.[50]

The matter, however, was far from settled. Early in 1902, on the eve of Jesse Kirk's departure for Washington to secure ratification of the revised McLaughlin agreement, a petition was prepared by his faction requesting the privilege of being allowed to elect the mooted officers, subject to approval of the U.S. Indian Agent. This document bore 120 signatures, and is in line with estimates of the strength of this faction. The covering letter, by Jesse Kirk, urged in behalf of the Klamath that

> they desire to take steps forward and prepare themselves in citizenship for the years to come, and encourage them into civili-

> zation only, and not into blankets and long haired Indians in 648*
> old custom. But to encourage them in education as well as chris- 657*
> tianity, which will enable them to be a civilized people. 665•

He cited the industry of the Klamath, claiming that they were 668
self-sustaining through such enterprises as stock raising and 578
laboring. The concession of a safeguard in elections may have [666]
been his, for he stressed that election of officers must be confirmed not only by the Agent but by the Secretary of the Interior. The Commissioner simply forwarded the documents to Applegate,[51] who, as if to point up the grievances, had just named three new judges.[52]

The actions of the Agent—now retitled Superintendent—in the investigation of the death of one George Modoc brought into the fray that educated gadfly, Charles S. Hood. A Carlisle graduate and leader of the returned Modoc, Hood took an interest in the case when Grant Smith, a fellow tribesman, was held on suspicion of having had a hand in the death. Some four months later, Hood wrote Applegate urging that Smith be released to look after his family and stock, with the understanding that Smith would come back to stand trial. Apparently rebuffed, Hood then wrote to the U.S. Attorney in Portland, who sternly demanded of Applegate, "Will you please inform me by what process or authority he is confined in jail, and whether or not in your judgment if [he] is liberated he will run away." Stung, the Superintendent denied that statement and claimed that Smith had been on parole most of the time so that he could look after his affairs.[53] The attacks upon him seem to have driven Applegate toward a more extreme position, as reflected in his recourse for local cases to police courts instead of the less subordinate Court of Indian Offenses.[54]

In 1904, the pace quickened. Through the early part of the year, Knott C. Egbert found Henry Jackson ungovernable. In April, Jesse Kirk, once more in Washington, directed a letter to Commissioner Jones. It was transmitted by Oregon's Senators Mitchell and Fulton and Representative Williamson, with these words:

> We have every confidence in Mr. Kirk, and we are sure he would made no recommendations that he did not feel were fully justified, and we are also aware of the fact that the Indians of

> *648 the Agency, in the main, have implicit confidence in him, or
> *657 they would not send him here each year as their agent to look
> •665 after their interests."[55]

668 In his letter, Kirk once more called for elections, stating, "The 578 present manner of selection does not result in securing the services [666] of the best men. . . ." He was instructed, he said, to suggest and request that an election be held on the fifth of July when the tribe in council might make its selection, and further proposed

> that you instruct your Superintendent to be guided by such selection in the appointment of persons to fill these offices; these appointments by the Superintendent, of course, to be ratified and approved by you. This in order that, should our selection be ignored by the Superintendent, we may have the opportunity of being heard by you."[56]

This bold typescript letter, its flowing style so unlike Jesse Kirk's, bears every earmark of expert assistance. The source of that aid, either legal or legislative, is suggested by the circumstance that the next letter, to Applegate, was forwarded by the congressional trio with a covering letter dated the same day. The Kirk epistle set forth the same demands for an election, but did not mention an appeal to the Commissioner. In their covering letter, Mitchell and his colleagues observed, "Mr. Kirk seems to be very strongly of the opinion that the plans suggested in this communication should be adopted," and they urged that Applegate give it "very careful consideration."[57]

On his return, Jesse Kirk set about a direct assult upon the Superintendent. First came a letter from the "Delegate and Agent of the Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin band of Snake Indians" to the Commissioner, charging that livestock were permitted to trespass upon the reservation and that O. C. Applegate and his stockman and chief of police, George W. Loosley, "systematically" ignored and suppressed complaints on the subject. Loosley, it was charged, continually evaded his duty and "loiters indolently his time away at the agency. . . ." Jesse Kirk, for his part, wanted no white cattle at all upon the reservation. This letter, together with that written earlier to the commissioner on the elections, was buttressed by two petitions circulated together, bearing 184 and 183 signatures, each certified by nine men, Jesse

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Kirk, Henry Jackson, Drummer David, Logan Pompey, Albert 648*
Jackson, Yank Lobert, Ike Jackson, William A. Moore, and Sar- 657*
gent Brown.[58] 665•

A letter to the Commission one month later, signed by the same 668
nine men, asserted that Abraham Charley (then captain of 578
police) was immediately responsible for stock trespass upon the reservation through his policy of renting tribal and unfenced allotted lands, a practice for which he lacked tribal consent.[59]

Within the month, the delegate wrote Senator Mitchell on behalf of a runaway schoolboy who, it was claimed, preferred to go to Chemawa. Mitchell sent the letter on to the Commissioner. When the Commissioner detailed the matter to his subordinate, Applegate at last flared forth.

> Permit me to say in this connection that the interference of the "Rev." Jesse Kirk in the affairs of the Agency and Schools has become nearly intolerable and that it is a decided menace to the peace and tranquility of the Schools and in fact of the entire reservation. His hostility to the authorities is now boldly asserted, though for a long time treacherously veiled, and it may be necessary, and that very soon, to restrain him in some way or to remove him from the reservation.[60]

Applegate had not long to wait for the next blow. His letter crossed one from the Commissioner transmitting a telegram and a letter sent to the President by Jesse Kirk and others charging the Superintendent with mismanagement of the affairs of the Agency and schools. Applegate was ineffectual, claimed the letter; he did not maintain discipline and permitted drunkenness; he bestowed undue favors upon Abraham Charley, particularly in allowing him to take out a grazing permit; he let the fields grow up to weeds; and he opposed sending children to nonreservation schools. Applegate roundly denied all charges, pointing out that three of his ten accusers were former Agency employees, dropped from service for various reasons, and that another three were expolicemen who had been found undesirable. All of them he branded "henchmen and followers of the chief conspirator, the 'Rev.' Jesse Kirk." Even then they were circulating another petition on the reservation.[61]

Before Applegate's round was fairly on the way, the hapless administrator received the next salvo. This time the Commissioner forwarded the letters and petitions from the Kirk faction

*648 on the trespass and election issues, together with a telegram
*657 protesting approval of the Abraham Charley permit and sup-
• 665 porting letters from the Washington law firm of Dudley and
668 Michener. Several months passed before Applegate came around
578 to answering, which he did in temperate and reasoned tones. His remarks add little to what he had said previously.[62]

Meanwhile, Applegate was given an assignment which could only embroil him further. Upon instructions from the Commissioner, he and an assistant set forth with representatives of the Booth-Kelly Lumber Company, which had succeeded to the Military Road claims, to select lands in lieu of the 111,000 acres they held across the face of the reservation. Eventually, a tract of 87,000 acres of prime timber in the northeastern corner of the reservation was selected.[63]

Jesse Kirk is said to have opposed vehemently any cession of land, while his half-brother favored the arrangement finally arrived at.[64] Not until the fiery Indian leader was dead did the tribe finally agree to accept the sum of $108,750 from the United States in return for a quitclaim against the government; and that was achieved in the face of determined opposition from Clayton Kirk, who took up the battle from his father and bombarded Washington with petitions.

In later days Applegate believed that "in equity the Indians ought to have had the entire reservation. . . . They should be fully compensated." In 1904, however, he stood too close to the factionalism, and Ivan's role in the negotiations was too well recalled for him to avoid suspicion. Any of his acts were likely to become, in Merton's term, a self-fulfilling prophecy of complicity.[65]

Conditions at Klamath now prompted the Commissioner to send out as inspector Supervisor of Indian Schools M. F. Holland, whose harsh measures precipitated the final battle. At the
[361] Agency, a number of Indians, several of them employees, had erected a dozen shanties out of rejected lumber from the sawmill. Holland evidently found Slabtown, as the settlement was known, an eyesore. A former inhabitant there has suggested that Holland may also have been irked by the community's practice of providing food for various councils conducted by Jesse Kirk. The supervisor now ordered Slabtown razed. Accordingly, Applegate served notice on the residents to remove by the first of March.[66]

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At the same time, Holland ordered that Indians be prohibited 648*
from loitering about the Agency office and other buildings. 657*

Soon thereafter, Jesse Kirk with a group estimated by Apple- 665 •
gate to number twenty or thirty persons and enumerated by the 668
opposition at fourteen, either attempted to test the prohibition 578
or were the objects of its first enforcement. In the ensuing scuffle with the Indian police, Holland seems to have been struck.[67] "Though the effort to expel them was successful, and without loss of life," related Applegate, "they left the Agency in a defiant and sullenish humor and the ensuing night sent to the other Agency (Yainax) for reinforcements and yet maintain an ugly and rebellious gathering on the reservation." Terming the incident a "riot," the Superintendent called in all seven policemen from the Lower End, added five more special police, and sought permission to expedite purchase of ammunition.[68]

What had been the business of the "rebels" at the Agency that day? They had been collecting signatures for another of Jesse Kirk's petitions, this time directed against O. C. Applegate, George W. Loosley, and "their special appointed man, Abraham Charley."[69] The petition had been drawn up by Jesse Kirk and a local attorney, F. H. Mills, retained by the Indians. Mills, a deputy district attorney for Klamath Falls, had previously taken Indian cases,[70] but a crusading element seems evident in his involvement in this dispute. J. W. Evans, the Assistant Superintendent at Yainax, noted that Henry Jackson had been paying his fees and that the Indians had put up $500 as a retainer.[71]

After their rebuff at the Agency, the Kirk faction withdrew to Yainax, where they held meetings at the home of Henry Jackson and gathered signatures for their petition. In the end, 133 men, over half of the eligible voters, signed. Evans claimed that deceit and force were used, and that a "kind of secrecy" was maintained, but Mills contended that others had also desired to sign, being prevented from doing so by subsequent events. Mills, charged Evans, "used his personal influence to get the Indians to sign."

While the meeting was still in session, one of the Indian police came in with a request from three of the "leading Indians" (unnamed by Evans) of the Yainax district, asking that the police stop the session, on the grounds that the disputes would engender trouble. Evans thereupon ordered Abraham Charley, captain of

*648 police, to put an end to that meeting and to call one at the house
*657 of Harrison Brown—a proadministration leader—to try to effect
• 665 a settlement. At that session, not unexpectedly, feelings ran high.
668 Unable to come to an agreement, the Kirk faction broke off dis-
578 cussion and resumed their meeting at Jackson's.

Thereupon, Abraham Charley summoned all parties to the office of the Assistant Superintendent in the Yainax school, where, for six hours, some forty men argued. Finally, Evans stated that he could not prevent circulation of the petition so long as that did not cause a disturbance. Harrison Brown's party promptly surged forward and sought to seize the petition by force, but were prevented, said Evans, by the police. The conditions of unrest having been established, Evans was able to require that the petition be delivered up to him "until a general council could be regularly called and decide on its disposal."

Evans ended his report with a denunciation of Jesse Kirk as "a disturbing element on the reservation, [who] has a bad influence on the Indians. He should be told to go to his ranch and work it, or be put off the reservation." Of the attorney, he observed:

> Frank Mills should be told to leave the Indians and go out of the Government's business, and if there is anything to be attended to or settled, there are proper officers belonging to the Commissioner's Department and Department of the Interior who can do it."

Despite his brave front, Oliver Applegate had already privately conceded defeat and was writing his friend and former subordinate, Knott C. Egbert, at Siletz reservation, suggesting that he apply for the Superintendency. He was evidently dismayed by the turn events had taken and alarmed, suggests his son, for the safety of his family. Moreover, a letter from Egbert intimates that Applegate felt a lack of administrative support, since he had been confirmed as Superintendent through his service as Agent, and had not passed the civil service examinations. Egbert proposed that he take the examination quietly in Portland; but the Applegates had long opposed the establishment of the civil service, and the advice seems to have proven repugnant.[73]

Meanwhile, early in March, a council was held at Yainax. It was presided over by Levi Walker, and the principal business

was transacted by Jack Palmer, Harrison Brown, Ike Mose, and 648*
Abraham Charley. A committee of ten men submitted a report 659*
of the findings of the council, presenting the proadministration 665 •
viewpoint and requesting "that these men [Kirk and party] be 668
not allowed to do any more business pertaining to the tribe without 578
tribal authority."[74]

Jesse Kirk and his adherents did not participate in the "loyal" council. After the scene in Evans' office, Kirk and Jackson had consulted with Mills in Klamath Falls. In the company of the attorney they then returned to demand the petition. Evans refused, informing Mills that "no attorney had any right to interfere in tribal affairs without permission from the Interior Department." The three retired and with others of the faction drew up another petition which they forwarded to Washington.[75]

In his letter of transmittal to the firm of Dudley and Michener in the capital, who were in turn to present the matter to the Commissioner, Mills shed a new perspective upon matters. After reviewing some of the earlier developments, he turned to the [692]
investigations of Inspector Holland, which, as he said, [681]

> proceeded along smothly [sic] enough until the questions of money and property became the subject of inquiry when it developed that during the last four years a system of collecting money, stock, lumber and other property had been adopted; it seems that this was done by first having the "Indian" court (a sort of disciplinary tribunal which has been authorized or rather sanctioned by the department) impose a penalty or punishment and then allow the indian defendant to pay in cash or such other property as he might chance to have and notwithstanding that such court has no such authority to impose fine or collect money in that way. . . . During the time of the investigation some of the fines which had been collected one or two years were paid back to the defendants. . . . It is conclusive proof had there not been an illegal practice . . . no such returns would have been made. . . .

Although Holland had inquired into only one case, there had been several. Jesse Kirk had requested of George Loosley, chief of police, the list of fines imposed, but was denied it. Finally, Loosley consented to divulge the sum, amounting to $2,651 collected over a four-year period.

At the center of the case, claimed Mills, was Applegate, related through marriage to three brothers of the Loosley family. Two

*648

*657 of them, George and Fred, while employees of the Agency, had
• 665 purchased lumber, posts, and similar items from Indians to build
668 upon their 10,000-acre ranch.

578 The most serious malfeasance he charged, however was "the
[423] matter of leasing under the special permit system of unallotted
[427] tribal lands during the past three or four years." The usual system was for the Superintendent and George Loosley (who was also Agency stockman) to lease a district to an Indian, for example Abraham Charley or Harrison Brown, who in turn leased to whites at one dollar per head of cattle. "It is only those who have engaged in leasing the lands," Mills went on, "that have threatened violence if the petition was sent on to Washington. . . ." He suspected "a large discrepancy between the books of account and the amounts paid in for grazing upon the various districts of unallotted tribel [sic] lands as well as trespasses." During the past four years, less than $4,000 (and probably only $2,667) had been paid in, as against estimated returns of $10,000 from grazing alone.

The Indians therefore demanded the removal of Applegate and George Loosley, the election of officials, and an end to cattle trespass. They demanded more effective voice for the council in
[871] leasing and in disbursing Indian money. Finally, they noted other grievances in the treatment of sick school children and demanded that they be permitted to send their children to outside schools.[76]

The accuracy of these charges is secondary to the images of the truth they generated. It is of principal importance that Jesse Kirk was able to convince a large following that the charges were indeed correct. From the standpoint of his faction he then became a man deeply concerned with administrative abuses and striving to remove them by free elections. In that view, Applegate's obduracy drove Kirk reluctantly to more explicit detail until in the end he was forced openly to seek the Superintendent's removal.

In Washington, a new administration was in the saddle, and the new Commissioner was the reformer, F. E. Leupp. Even if Applegate were innocent, the embroilments under his administration would not have recommended his retention. In May, he vacated his office for Horace G. Wilson. Applegate had already received a temporary appointment as clerk at the Grande Ronde

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Reservation, and within a year he was to return to Klamath as 648*
clerk for Indian employment. Evidently, the Bureau did not place 657*
much credence in the accusations.[77] 665 •

The "rebels" were jubilant, and the Commissioner found it 668
necessary to visit the reservation and issue a statement denying 578
that the Superintendent had been forced to resign. Though he "gave it good to Jesse," he did little to dampen his spirit.[78] Evans, writing to his former superior, detailed Kirk's efforts to assume a fuller leadership. He had informed the Indians that Superintendent Wilson had no right to go to Washington unless by their direction and with their instructions. Moreover, he was maintaining that "the man who was here was not the real Commr. but a just believe one. The real man would talk different to them he says."[79] His period of triumph, however, was brief, for in December, 1906, Jesse Kirk succumbed to typhoid.[80]

His death ended a critical phase of Klamath political development. When it closed, tribal political leaders had established the institution of the delegation that, bypassing the Bureau, dealt directly with congressional leaders in Washington. In matters requiring expert counsel, they relied upon attorneys retained by tribe or faction. Claims against the government, as political leaders found, were effective issues to attract adherents; and those who sought self-enhancement were ready to take advantage of them.

With the enlargement of sphere, the extension of operations to Washington, decisive action tended to be removed from the reservation to the capital. In the factionalism just reviewed, it is significant that there appears, perhaps for the first time, the spectacle of partisan councils, each excluding the opposition and each purporting to represent tribal opinion.

Saddened by the conflict, Knott C. Egbert wrote prophetic words from Siletz. "The Klamaths," he observed, "might be enormously wealthy if less turbulent, and had behaved. . . . After all though, notwithstanding it would make them paupers, it may be best for the govt. to buy them out and sell the surplus lands. They will sooner become rational." And he added, "One could well dread the sweating period through which the Klamaths must pass on the path to full citizenship, involving as it does the acquisition of money, the drinking of lots rum &c. . . ."[81]

[P.182 is blank]

crease of tribal business following allotment, the Bureau of Indian Affairs pressed for the formation of a supplementary executive body. At Klamath the need for such a body may have been underscored by the abuse of the common council in the partisan sessions called by the Kirk and Brown factions. Thus, 1908 saw the introduction of an executive body, called the tribal council, to function in addition to the occasional councils. Initially, it was made up of twelve men, six from each End of the reservation, and with communal representation: its membership included seven Klamath, three Modoc, and one each from the Pit River and Paiute. Since it proved difficult to maintain a quorum, the number was subsequently reduced to eight members. 648* 657* 646 [665] [563]

In 1927, the factionalism which had earlier brought into question the legitimacy of the common council now touched the tribal council; for in that year a dissident group elected a rival body and claimed that it had superseded the existing council. Their action placed in jeopardy the efficient administration of the tribal resources, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs consequently insisted that matters be set upon a constitutional footing. After considering several tribal charters submitted to them as models, the Klamath in 1929 enacted their own constitution and by-laws for the executive body, now restyled the Business Committee. Its six members, three from each End, were to consider ". . . business matters pertaining to the Tribe. [Matters] of great importance to the Tribe and which the Business Committee believe should be referred to a general tribal council" might be so referred by a vote of five members of the Committee, with the consent of the Superintendent.[2] 648* 657* 646 665 [578] [642]

Once more, in 1950, envisaging a time when the tribal government would have full control over the common estate, a new constitution was enacted, this time for the General Council. By its terms, all powers were vested in that body, made up of all adult tribal members. In addition, an Executive Committee was designated, to be composed of the eight members—the number had again been increased—of the erstwhile Business Committee, together with the President and Secretary of the General Council. To this new committee, the General Council was authorized to delegate powers, although as matters turned out it did so only reluctantly and after long delay. In turn, by appropriate vote 648* 657* 642 646

While the political strength of a family is seen not only in the 648*
succession of interest but in a propensity for members of a family 657*
to vote *en bloc*, this is far from invariably true. The schism 619
separating Jesse Kirk from his half-brother, Joseph, is one promi- 602
nent instance—and by no means the only one—to the contrary. [665]
In fact, alignment within the family and extended kin has often [578]
been modified by contending considerations.

Nonetheless, for some leaders the solidarity of family some- 648*
times took precedence over impartiality in the discharge of office. 657*
One tribal council member is quoted as defending his action 661
favoring certain enrollments by the explanation ". . . that since 602
two children were his niece's children, he felt that it was his duty 619
to guard the interests of his minor relatives."[8] Political leaders, seeking to emphasize the purity of their motives, needed to go no further in justification than to declare that they sought only the welfare of their grandchildren.

Although intermarriage and alternative associations have long 648*
overlaid clear identification with the several peoples who had 657*
entered into the treaty, such affiliations have continued to exert 563
political force, however greatly diminished in recent years. In 621
turn, they related to the two broad communities on the reserva- 619
tion. The Lower End remained predominantly Klamath, while Modoc, Paiute, as well as a number of Klamath and Pit River, comprised the Upper End community some forty miles away.
Even after the closing of the subagency at Yainax, the populations [184]
of Sprague River and Beatty continued to reflect the special character of the eastern reservation.

In turn, the relatively easier access of the Lower End to out- [177]
side influences—a subject already reviewed in discussing modern tribal demography—superimposed the effects of differential acculturation and intermarriage upon the traditional subtribal
allegiances that distinguished the two Ends. Difficulty of travel 648*
along the road from the Agency to Yainax had given rise to the 657*
practice, long maintained, of holding separate councils at each 621
place. Thus at the two Ends there had developed political com- 665
munities responsive to their own local leaders. Harrison Brown, 619
in 1931, played upon a familiar theme when he recognized in Wade Crawford, a leader from the Lower End ". . . a young man who is not a full-blood, who is trying to stir up trouble, and we

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*648 want to set him aside, as he does not understand what we want.
*657 . . . I am one of the full-blood Klamath leaders," he continued,
621 "and I don't want any trouble with the government."[9]

• 665 In the factional struggle marking the final generation of tribal
619 government, Wade Crawford and his wife, Ida, drew their principal strength from the Lower End and the absentee membership; while many of the leaders opposing them, including Harrison Brown, Levi Walker, Boyd Jackson, and later Jesse Lee Kirk, hailed from the Upper End and found their major strength there. Despite exceptions and progressive weakening, the dichotomy was long a working reality, of which the loyalty of the Paiute to Boyd Jackson was only the most signal of many expressions.

A review of tribal minutes over the last half-century reveals a striking faithfulness in the voting of the most prominent adherents of those leaders. It seems clear that out of factionalism small but stable parties were beginning to emerge, to which, however, the large body of tribal members remained uncommitted. It was upon his immediate followers that a leader relied for support in raising funds or carrying a point to the undecided. At the same time, his image drew dimension from the character, as well as the number, of his adherents. That the personal image was still important, and that loyalties were not invoked in terms of issues alone, is seen by the personal denigration which took place between factional opponents and by the identification of each partisan group with its leader in the phrase, "He's a Crawford—or Jackson—man."

*648 The professional politician had come to dominate the ranks of
*657 leaders. It was not simply that industry in the management of
665 one's private affairs held less significance in a world made equal
619 by the flow of per capitas. The tasks confronting the new leaders also were different. It was no longer sufficient to provide aid out of one's pocket and offer sage advice in public gatherings. The new leader must be prepared to devote most of his time to political matters. He must concern himself with the administrative duties of the tribal office, to prolonged negotiation with Bureau personnel and with the officials and private individuals representing the interests of neighboring whites. On occasion, there were the delegations to Washington. Daily, there were the chores to be undertaken for constituents in the fence-mending that was

integral to the maintenance of power. Tribal leadership had be- 648*
come a full-time job, requiring its own set of special talents. The 657*
rewards offered were considerable, not only those of power and 665 •
prestige, but in per diem fees and in the funds advanced on 619
occasion by followers and—persistent rumor had it—by outside interests as well.

The rise of the new leaders did not entirely spell the eclipse of the old. Even in the last decade of tribal government, a senior [646] member of the executive was James Johnson, a wealthy stockman from the Lower End. Another man, Seldon Kirk, one of the three politically prominent sons of Jesse Kirk, worked as a carpenter for the Agency, and was therefore sometimes accused of being a pawn of the administration. He took up the guerdon from his brother, Clayton, and later came to exemplify a moderate position in his own right, even in the last, turbulent days of the Tribe. Until his retirement, he served as permanent chairman of the [646] General Council, then was succeeded by his brother, Jesse Lee. The example of Seldon Kirk in turn brought onto the political scene several younger men, like him occupying the middle ground, and concerned only peripherally with the party building activities of the professional politicians.

Tribal government thus developed along the intersection of an informal, particularistic political system and a counterposed, highly rationalized bureaucracy; and the emergence of the new leaders was merely one of the consequences. Within the frame so defined, the leaders were beset with the party-political[10] task of marshaling support for their programs. It was hazardous to trust alone to appeals to reason, for the issues were often complex and difficult to interpret for a wary electorate. Since the number of his devoted adherents was inadequate to carry the day, the practical politician had resort to a supplementary arsenal of tactical devices. It was at this level that political acculturation proved to have been most pervasive.

In he first instance, a leader might sometimes seek to mobilize support by playing upon a popular cause. Often this took the form of a defense against an outsider. A claim against the government, attacks upon the Bureau, particularly in the person of the Superintendent,[11] the repulse of intrusions upon the tribal domain by white commercial or sporting interests: these issues

*648 might be exploited instrumentally to broaden the base of appeal.
*657 Other devices entailed the manipulation of particularistic
• 665 loyalties. Politicians from the less populous and ethnically more
619 diverse Upper End endeavored to retain districting, whereby the members of the executive body were elected in equal numbers by each End; and they also sought to preserve communal representation, which ensured that each of the traditional subtribal groups, Pit River and Paiute, as well as Modoc and Klamath, would find a place in that body. These measures were opposed as a matter of course by Crawford, the Lower End leader; but it was he in turn who had been responsible for the election in 1927 in which only the Lower End took part, thus creating a second tribal council and precipitating the Bureau's demand for a tribal constitution.

*648 The tactics employed to control voting were diverse. In general
*657 elections, Jackson favored restriction of voting to polling places
665 located on the reservation, against attempts by his rival to secure
619 absentee balloting, a measure that would swell the response from
646 his off-reservation constituency. For General Council meetings,
666 Jackson sought to continue the practice of alternating their site between the Ends, and for those held at the Agency he provided stages at tribal expense to transport members from the Upper End.

Seating within the General Council was conventionally by faction, a device that provided an easy check upon voting regularity, although the chairs along the wall afforded a retreat for the less partisan. Jackson further favored a standing vote,[12] while Crawford, particularly while he was out of power, called instead for a secret ballot. Each side on occasion exercised the boycott to prevent the mustering of a quorum when the issue was likely to go against it,[13] and Crawford also resorted to the filibuster, under cover of which his forces might withdraw in order to attain the same end. Each also strove, when he no longer controlled the executive body, to route business instead through the General Council.

*648 In the recruitment of a following, leaders found many occasions
*657 to render personal services, appointing the faithful to tribal
665 positions, serving as advocate in their favor, sponsoring the enroll-
619 ment of their children as tribal members, or advancing them
661

money from the tribal fund set aside for the purpose. Interlocking 648*
memberships of the Executive Committee, the Enrollment 657*
Committee, and the Loan Board made those bodies the apex of 665 •
tribal power. If the first-named was the central body, and important 619
particularly in relations with agencies beyond the Tribe, the 661
other two were no less essential in the administration of patronage. [646]
[647]

The Tribal Loan Board had been established to preside over 648*
a fund set aside from the Yamsay Judgment of 1938, by which the 657*
issue of the Military Road had finally been settled. The fund had 619
been designed to provide capital advances for tribal members, 452
many of whom found bankers reluctant to lend to them. Although 647
loans were supposed to be applied only to improvements, it became common practice to spend them merely as an anticipation of the next per capita. When the Bureau called a halt to its operations in 1955, the Board had out on loan approximately a half-million dollars, or the equivalent of almost $250 per member, and a collector had to be engaged to recover a sizeable portion of it.[14]

The Enrollment Committee was the third seat of power. Ad- 648*
mission of one's children to tribal membership was eagerly 657*
sought, and not alone for reasons of sentiment. Once he was a 619
tribal member, a child was vested with a pro-rata share of the 647
undivided tribal estate, amounting at the time of termination to 434
some $43,500. In addition he qualified to receive the per capita dividends that, subject to Agency restriction, were commonly drawn upon to defray current family living expenses.

Despite—and sometimes because of—these tactical measures, 648*
by which partisan leaders strove to bind them, many tribal 657*
members were driven into abstention by the bitter contentions 646
that marked the final generation of tribal life. Although hundreds 619
flocked to the luncheon set out at tribal expense in the Council Hall for those attending the General Council, morning meetings failed so frequently to draw a quorum that they were discontinued; and even afternoon sessions sometimes could not muster one hundred adults from among the thronging diners to transact tribal business. When they did come, they were often in holiday mood, frequently interrupting speakers, and exhibiting a keen appreciation for lengthy, eloquent, and often irrelevant harangues

*648 *657 619 tial in controlling Bureau programs and appropriations, tribal delegations formed an instrument of power the mere awareness of which undoubtedly tempered ordinary intercourse between Bureau and Tribe.

*648 *657 619 • 665 In turn, the knowledge that the final decisions were made in distant Washington endowed local politics with an aspect remote from reality. Congressmen, mindful of the right of the citizen to be heard, began to be treated to the spectacle of official delegates comprising members of both factions, who argued among themselves before committee hearings, each claiming to represent the position of "the Klamath people." If a tribal politician was defeated for a place on the delegation, he had only to raise funds from supporters in order to make his way to the capital. Enlisting the aid of long-time legislative allies, he would then secure a hearing every whit as attentive as that accorded the official representatives of the Tribe. In the words of Wade Crawford, uttered after a local defeat in 1947:

> I can be outvoted, that doesn't mean one thing to me. . . . There are 400 Congressmen and 96 Senators, and I'm going to talk to each man that will give me five minutes. People ought to understand who Congress is. Anybody can go. You don't have to be an official delegate, you can go as an individual."

*648 *657 619 421 Since Washington had become the seat of decision, local consensus was rendered largely superfluous, and tribal affairs descended to a level of wrangling and petty maneuver. Nonetheless, major issues were being debated, concerned with no less a subject than the disposal of the tribal estate and the consequent transformation of the Tribe itself. Because Bureau administration was prominently involved in the handling of tribal or personal property, any attempt to secure release from federal trusteeship was customarily addressed first to the freeing of tribal resources. In 1900, the Board of Indian Commissioners, hailing the changes anticipated from allotment, had called for the pro rata apportionment among members of any undivided tribal funds, the retention of which, they contended, merely served to perpetuate the Indian problem. They continued:

> A law of this character would enable us all to see some reasonable limit of time to special Indian laws and special Indian administration. It would put an end to the expectation of per-

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*648 pro rata apportionment of the tribal assets. Toward this end, he
*657 turned increasingly for support toward the absentee membership.

423 Thus it was that in 1945, returned to Washington as a delegate,
619 Crawford sought passage of a bill that combined some of the
*648 aims of the final settlement proposals with federal purchase of
*657 the tribal tracts, which would then be established as national
423 forests, and with the liquidation of other properties. This met
619 opposition from the dominant tribal party, by this time under the
• 665 leadership of Boyd Jackson, Dice Crain, and Jesse Lee Kirk. In successive versions, the proposed legislation was the subject of hearings conducted both in Washington and on the reservation. As an outcome of suggestions made then, Supt. Bert. G. Courtright prepared a trial bill permitting voluntary withdrawal of competent members, each of whom was to be paid a portion of his share in the tribal estate. A shift of political winds now swept Crawford, who became the chief proponent of this bill, back into political ascendancy.

*648 At this juncture, Seldon Kirk, the respected chairman of the
*657 General Council, intervened to secure establishment of an extra-
642 ordinary special committee of those "who believe in the per-
619 petuation of the Klamath Reservation." Among the eight members, in addition to Kirk himself, were Jackson and several of his adherents. The committee drew up a new constitution for the Tribe, designed to provide a structure satisfactory for self-government over a proposed transition of two decades. It was adopted in 1950, but only after being linked with the voluntary withdrawal bill; and thus for a time both parties rested satisfied.
*648 From a long-range view, it is noteworthy that Crawford had
*657 turned from a plan for an enduring tribal cooperative to one
619 directed to the piecemeal withdrawal of members who wished to sever tribal connections. In their turn, the former advocates of final settlement had become the champions for the preservation of the tribal body.

Further attempts by Crawford to amend the voluntary withdrawal bill and other circumstances delayed action on it until 1953, by which time the government had embarked upon a program seeking to terminate federal supervision over a number of Indian reservations. Chief among them was that at Klamath, for which terms were proposed similar to those outlined for the

timber-rich Menominee.[21] Crawford and Jackson, examining the 648*
federal proposal, which envisaged a private corporation, jointly 657*
concluded that such an arrangement would be uneconomic for 619
the Tribe under Oregon law, and in its place advocated a tribal
cooperative. This harmony between factional leaders seemed [665] •
highly suspect to tribesmen long attuned to discord; and they
rejected the proposal.

Eager for a resolution, congressional forces now brought pres- 648*
sure upon the Bureau, which produced another draft of the 657*
proposal and, under similar pressure,[22] the factional leaders were 619
brought to a compromise in the final hours of the 1954 session. 423
Enacted as Public Law 587, the legislation provided that mem- 665
bers might elect either to withdraw, receiving their pro rata share of tribal property, or remain in a surviving economic entity. Thereafter, as it became apparent that the unanticipated size of the withdrawing body was likely to remove large tracts of timber from sustained-yield management, thus plunging the Klamath Basin into a cycle of "boom and bust," various bodies, both public and private, began tardily to intervene. Since the legislation had favored their position, the Crawford forces adamantly opposed any changes whatsoever, while Jackson and Jesse Lee Kirk were equally zealous in endorsing any amendment that promised to better the position of the remaining members.

In the latter days of the termination program, as they approached the election that was to mark the personal decision to withdraw or remain, there emerged among tribal members a new coalition of moderates, seeking a position independent of the factions. The Klamath Information and Education Office, established by the State Department of Education under the Termination Act, had encouraged tribal members to come together to explore together the issues posed by the Act, so that they might cast their votes more intelligently. The Reservation Discussion Group that resulted included in its membership individuals who had long held aloof from the partisan struggle, together with younger moderates holding secondary tribal posts. The coalition now entered the lists and, in one of the last formal elections held by the General Council, scored impressive gains. They lacked a clear-cut program, however, and soon after their victory their group was sundered. Within the remaining members, however,

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*648 members of the Discussion Group remained influential. More
*657 significantly, perhaps, for the long run, they began to employ
619 their newfound unity in fund-raising enterprises in Chiloquin,
423 and thus took an initial step in creating a new civic image for
• 665 the Klamath.

*648 When the vote was held, over seventy per cent of the tribal
*657 membership elected to withdraw, the government purchasing
619 their land and creating from it the Winema National Forest. Of
666 the other voters, the majority did not directly elect to enter into
423 the trust under which the U.S. National Bank has since been
managing their joint resources. In this last decisive moment, they returned no ballot at all, and thus were automatically included among the remaining members. The outcome of the vote was in part an expression of confidence among the Klamath in their ability to handle their own affairs, in a measure a rejection of any continued trust status, colored with the anticipation of realizing a large sum—approximately $43,500 per person. However, so complex were the issues and so heavily were they beclouded at the time of voting by contending claims and interpretations, that it is doubtful whether many members could in fact specify all the considerations which guided their final decision.

668 In the period since the enactment of termination in 1954, the Klamath became increasingly receptive toward inclusion within the broader rubric of what Mead has termed "American Indian nationality," and have begun to participate in pan-Indian affairs.[23] Membership in the National Congress of American Indians, participation in American Indian Days at Sheridan, Wyoming,[24] sponsorship of the All-Indian Invitational Basketball Tournament in Chiloquin and of an American Indian Beauty contest held in conjunction with it: these were only some of the more concrete manifestations. Although pan-Indianism has been growing, the receptivity on the part of the Klamath seems keyed to their needs in the crisis that confronted them. Threatened with the loss of the tribal body that had symbolized their collective heritage, they repaired to others which enabled them to preserve their identity. Those who would see the termination vote as an election by the majority of tribal members to become completely assimilated into the larger society must reckon in the significance of this neonativist movement.

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are ex- 621
clusively White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office out- [575]
side the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [794]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are fre- [651]
quently tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously,
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chilo- [674]
quin during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a recon- 648
stituted "Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be adminis- 657
tered by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal super-
vision has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual 619
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Atten-
dance at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

> *657 *648 622 top rail of a fence, facing the redskins assembled in the meadow before him, flanked by a group of young and energetic Indians who were his sworn friends and allies, he dispensed summary justice to the most notorious recent offender. . . . He then proceded [sic] to explain, through a Klamath interpreter, that the old chief, though entitled to all honor and respect for his years of valuable service, had ceased to be an effective officer and should be replaced by a younger and more active man. The new day had arrived, he said, when the Indians were adopting the white man's ways of life, and chief among these was the white man's law, which demanded that justice should be done and order maintained without fear or favor, and which provided for such justice and order by the election of officers who were chosen for their capabilities in performing these duties. He suggested that another meeting be held a week later for the nomination of candidates for head chief of the whole reservation—not only of the Klamaths who owed allegiance to La-Lakes, but also of the Modocs, Paiutes, and Pit Rivers who made their homes on the reservation. The old chief was naturally crestfallen at this procedure, and his relatives and friends grieved, but there seems to have been no attempt at open rebellion against the dicta of the young white leader. . . . Throughout the whole campaign, however, the feeling of personal loyalty to the old sachem was the greatest obstacle to be overcome."[13]

*657 *648 622 643 •666 The election that followed pitted Henry Blow, "a prominent sub-chief under La-Lakes, a man of the finest personal and executive qualities," with support from both Lower End Klamath and the Modoc,[14] against Allen David, "a tall handsome, and popular young brave from the upper country,[15] progressive, well versed in the ways of the white man, from travel among the Willamette settlements," backed not only by Lower End Klamath but by the Upland band and the Paiute as well. Charley Preston was a third nominee, "a man popular on account of his personal qualities and admired for his ability in various industries acquired by residence among the whites, but not possessing the prestige of a sub-chief." Young Applegate seems also to have been proposed, but declined. "There were many at this meeting who deplored the whole procedure in view of their allegiance to the old chief. . . ." At the election which followed, Allen David was elected by a plurality of five.[16] Thus a panreservation polity was established, to which tribal distinctions thereafter were subordinated.

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*648 those Indians who were "ready, competent and willing" to re-
*657 ceive lands in severalty, to report such opposition as might be
423 raised, "and . . . endeavor to overcome it by pointing out the advantages of individual ownership."[3]

A month later Emery reported on a council that he had called,
[622] at which he and Captain Carpenter had explained the law. "The
• [666] Indians," he continued, "were then permitted to council among themselves for an hour, when, by the request of the Chiefs and leading men, they were again called together, and requested to be given the privilege to vote—which was given—nearly all present voting in affirmative. The number present was estimated at 600." Later he held another council at Yainax "at which were over 200 Indians, nearly all of whom received favorably the proposition of the Government." At another passage he noted, "no leading Indian opposes the measure."[4] Over 800 names were enrolled for allotment, out of a total of 933.

By the provisions of the act as amended in 1891, each enrolled
[311] member was to receive a single allotment, comprising one-eighth of a section (80 acres) of farming land or double the amount of grazing land. Emery termed the Klamath a grazing reservation with a proportion of agricultural to pastoral lands of one to twenty-five; and accordingly requested that double allotments be issued and that all eligible members take turns at selecting the first allotment, repeating by rotation on the second tract. "This," he observed, " will distribute the good land *more equally* among the Indians." Matthews, terming the mountainous portions of the reservation worthless, advocated that after allotment these acres be held in common by the tribe.[5]

The actual allotment of land was delayed several years, pending settlement of a controversy over the external boundaries of the reservation and of the overlapping claims of the California and Oregon Land Company, successor to the Military Road tracts. The Indians grew somewhat restive under the delay, and Matthews found it necessary to warn that "should the Indians be persuaded to give up their surplus lands before they have made improvements upon their allotments I fear there would be much dissatisfaction among them."[6] Only in 1895 did Maj. Charles E. Worden, assisted by Jesse Kirk as interpreter, launch

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with the attorneys. There were some, who nonetheless wanted to submit a petition setting forth their views.[47]

If all who signed the agreement after Jesse Kirk were his adherents, he could count on 121 men against 70 for the proadministration faction.

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Domestic issues added weight to discontent. Soon after taking office, Oliver Applegate had set up road districts, each presided over by the policeman within it, and had permitted the police to settle minor differences within their several districts.[48] He had, moreover, apparently reversed the policy of Emery, who had permitted the Indians to elect both police and judges for the reservation. Early in 1900, a group of Klamath, apparently led by Jesse Kirk, became insistent that elections be reinstituted. Applegate was reluctant to accede, since he "felt that an Agents selection of his military force and administrators of justice should not be trammeled by selections which might be the result more of 'political' management than of the honest opinions of the majority." However, he agreed to ask for an opinion from the Commissioner.[49]

Gen. A. C. Hawley was sent to consider the issue, and conducted his investigation largely during Jesse Kirk's absence in Washington. At the end of his tour, Hawley strongly supported the position entertained by Applegate, who observed:

> . . . if at any time this electoral system should become in order, in the selection of the agent's personal assistants and executive force, the time had not yet arrived to put this privilege in the hands of the people. It would increase rather than limit the number of tribal and family feuds and keep alive the numerous personal jealousies which we are endeavoring to stamp out.[50]

The matter, however, was far from settled. Early in 1902, on the eve of Jesse Kirk's departure for Washington to secure ratification of the revised McLaughlin agreement, a petition was prepared by his faction requesting the privilege of being allowed to elect the mooted officers, subject to approval of the U.S. Indian Agent. This document bore 120 signatures, and is in line with estimates of the strength of this faction. The covering letter, by Jesse Kirk, urged in behalf of the Klamath that

> they desire to take steps forward and prepare themselves in citizenship for the years to come, and encourage them into civili-

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> zation only, and not into blankets and long haired Indians in old custom. But to encourage them in education as well as christianity, which will enable them to be a civilized people.

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He cited the industry of the Klamath, claiming that they were self-sustaining through such enterprises as stock raising and laboring. The concession of a safeguard in elections may have been his, for he stressed that election of officers must be confirmed not only by the Agent but by the Secretary of the Interior. The Commissioner simply forwarded the documents to Applegate,[51] who, as if to point up the grievances, had just named three new judges.[52]

The actions of the Agent—now retitled Superintendent—in the investigation of the death of one George Modoc brought into the fray that educated gadfly, Charles S. Hood. A Carlisle graduate and leader of the returned Modoc, Hood took an interest in the case when Grant Smith, a fellow tribesman, was held on suspicion of having had a hand in the death. Some four months later, Hood wrote Applegate urging that Smith be released to look after his family and stock, with the understanding that Smith would come back to stand trial. Apparently rebuffed, Hood then wrote to the U.S. Attorney in Portland, who sternly demanded of Applegate, "Will you please inform me by what process or authority he is confined in jail, and whether or not in your judgment if [he] is liberated he will run away." Stung, the Superintendent denied that statement and claimed that Smith had been on parole most of the time so that he could look after his affairs.[53] The attacks upon him seem to have driven Applegate toward a more extreme position, as reflected in his recourse for local cases to police courts instead of the less subordinate Court of Indian Offenses.[54]

In 1904, the pace quickened. Through the early part of the year, Knott C. Egbert found Henry Jackson ungovernable. In April, Jesse Kirk, once more in Washington, directed a letter to Commissioner Jones. It was transmitted by Oregon's Senators Mitchell and Fulton and Representative Williamson, with these words:

> We have every confidence in Mr. Kirk, and we are sure he would made no recommendations that he did not feel were fully justified, and we are also aware of the fact that the Indians of

> *648 the Agency, in the main, have implicit confidence in him, or
> *657 they would not send him here each year as their agent to look
> 665 after their interests."[55]

668 In his letter, Kirk once more called for elections, stating, "The
578 present manner of selection does not result in securing the ser-
• [666] vices of the best men. . . ." He was instructed, he said, to suggest
and request that an election be held on the fifth of July when the tribe in council might make its selection, and further proposed

> that you instruct your Superintendent to be guided by such selection in the appointment of persons to fill these offices; these appointments by the Superintendent, of course, to be ratified and approved by you. This in order that, should our selection be ignored by the Superintendent, we may have the opportunity of being heard by you."[56]

This bold typescript letter, its flowing style so unlike Jesse Kirk's, bears every earmark of expert assistance. The source of that aid, either legal or legislative, is suggested by the circumstance that the next letter, to Applegate, was forwarded by the congressional trio with a covering letter dated the same day. The Kirk epistle set forth the same demands for an election, but did not mention an appeal to the Commissioner. In their covering letter, Mitchell and his colleagues observed, "Mr. Kirk seems to be very strongly of the opinion that the plans suggested in this communication should be adopted," and they urged that Applegate give it "very careful consideration."[57]

On his return, Jesse Kirk set about a direct assult upon the Superintendent. First came a letter from the "Delegate and Agent of the Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin band of Snake Indians" to the Commissioner, charging that livestock were permitted to trespass upon the reservation and that O. C. Applegate and his stockman and chief of police, George W. Loosley, "systematically" ignored and suppressed complaints on the subject. Loosley, it was charged, continually evaded his duty and "loiters indolently his time away at the agency. . . ." Jesse Kirk, for his part, wanted no white cattle at all upon the reservation. This letter, together with that written earlier to the commissioner on the elections, was buttressed by two petitions circulated together, bearing 184 and 183 signatures, each certified by nine men, Jesse

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*657 Although tribal members in Chiloquin lagged little behind their
621 white neighbors in registering to vote (1958), their concern was
563 less with local than with national issues.[8]

641 A second aspect of Indian citizenship was the support of local
619 government through payment of taxes. Since all property held
• 666 in trust or restricted status by the government, together with
*648 income derived from such property, was exempt from taxation,
*657 many tribal members occupied an unusual position among their
641 fellow citizens. The effect was particularly felt by the county and
651 local communities, which were heavily dependent upon property
taxes. For years, Klamath County sought to secure funds from the government to compensate it for the trust lands within its boundaries, which were served by county roads, sheriffs, courts, and schools. Johnson-O'Malley funds finally provided money in lieu of taxes to support the schools; to these the Klamath Tribe on occasion added funds for special purposes, but the other causes were unavailing.

In Chiloquin, officials resented the action of one Superintendent, who advised tribal residents that any property bought within the city with funds in trust or restricted status might be restored to corresponding status, even though it had been owned in fee simple when purchased. Such house lots were thus removed from the tax rolls and, although benefited by sewers and other municipal improvements, could not be levied for their support. It was not commonly recognized by white citizens of
[563] Chiloquin that a number of tribal members paid taxes regularly upon property held in fee simple and that a multitude of indirect taxes fell as heavily upon tribal consumers as upon their fellow citizens. Rather, the image was that of a people exempt from financial responsibility toward the support of local institutions from which they benefited. Though a distortion, like many other parts of the stereotype, this evaluation nonetheless contained a substantial kernel of truth.

If truth be told, the citizens of Chiloquin were no more disposed to pay taxes than American citizens anywhere, and indeed they were somewhat less inclined to do so than those elsewhere in Oregon. In 1951-52, the millage rates of Chiloquin were by far the lowest among the organized communities of Klamath

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In turn, by appropriate vote
*648 within ninety days, the General Council might—and on occasion
*657 did—reverse the action of its Executive Committee. Finally, by a
642 petition of at least one-fourth of the eligible voters, an action of
646 the General Council might be submitted to a referendum of tribal
• [666] members.[3]

In the succession of tribal bodies, the interest of the government was not solely the convenience of securing formal sanction in property matters concerning the common interest of enrolled [182] members. The tribal government was to provide as well a regular channel by which the government might assess tribal opinion, consult with leaders, and announce programs; and it was to furnish tribal members with experience in responsible citizenship. Through this instrument, a representative body was to be articulated with Bureau administration, its decisions being rendered concrete in official minutes and subjected to review by higher administrative echelons.

Tribal rule is municipal in character, as seen in the restricted scope of its powers.[4] The narrow administrative domain with which the Klamath executive dealt is suggested by the names of the permanent adjuncts of the Executive Committee, the Tribal Loan Board and the Enrollment Committee. In 1947, some fifteen tribal members and one other were employed in General Council and Loan Board activities. By contrast, the Superintendent employed 123 persons, including 31 tribal members and 40 Indians from other groups, in the administration of agency, health, extension, law and order, roads, forestry and grazing, and irrigation.[5] Over these areas the Executive Committee might exercise a veto by cutting from the proposed Agency budget tribal funds allocated to an unwanted item. In this way, the hospital, bull pool, and tribal herd have occasionally been threatened. Ordinarily, however, the Executive Committee took no positive action in the development of a budget. Understandably, Klamath efforts to appoint a tribal member to serve as watchdog over Agency administration were not kindly received.

[693] In the formulation of general policy, the executive drew upon the advice of the tribal attorney, as well as upon unofficial counsel, both sought and volunteered. All major policy decisions required approval by the General Council and were subject to review within the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department

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*648 might be exploited instrumentally to broaden the base of appeal.
*657 Other devices entailed the manipulation of particularistic
665 loyalties. Politicians from the less populous and ethnically more
619 diverse Upper End endeavored to retain districting, whereby
the members of the executive body were elected in equal numbers by each End; and they also sought to preserve communal representation, which ensured that each of the traditional subtribal groups, Pit River and Paiute, as well as Modoc and Klamath, would find a place in that body. These measures were opposed as a matter of course by Crawford, the Lower End leader; but it was he in turn who had been responsible for the election in 1927 in which only the Lower End took part, thus creating a second tribal council and precipitating the Bureau's demand for a tribal constitution.

*648 The tactics employed to control voting were diverse. In general
*657 elections, Jackson favored restriction of voting to polling places
665 located on the reservation, against attempts by his rival to secure
619 absentee balloting, a measure that would swell the response from
646 his off-reservation constituency. For General Council meetings,
• 666 Jackson sought to continue the practice of alternating their site
between the Ends, and for those held at the Agency he provided stages at tribal expense to transport members from the Upper End.

Seating within the General Council was conventionally by faction, a device that provided an easy check upon voting regularity, although the chairs along the wall afforded a retreat for the less partisan. Jackson further favored a standing vote,[12] while Crawford, particularly while he was out of power, called instead for a secret ballot. Each side on occasion exercised the boycott to prevent the mustering of a quorum when the issue was likely to go against it,[13] and Crawford also resorted to the filibuster, under cover of which his forces might withdraw in order to attain the same end. Each also strove, when he no longer controlled the executive body, to route business instead through the General Council.

*648 In the recruitment of a following, leaders found many occasions
*657 to render personal services, appointing the faithful to tribal
665 positions, serving as advocate in their favor, sponsoring the enroll-
619 ment of their children as tribal members, or advancing them
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*648 *657 646 619 in the Klamath language.[15] In this setting, the chairman and principal leaders sought with great difficulty to operate under Robert's Rules of Order. Council minutes record numerous instances in which many of those present cast no vote.

In this, as in other political contexts, the observer could sense what some members admitted readily: a reluctance to commit themselves to decisions that might lead to dangerous consequences on either side. As in their dealings with the Agency, individuals accepted as a right what those controlling the executive had to offer, and declined to be bound thereby. Factional charge and innuendo had so sapped confidence in the Klamath leadership that interviews conducted in the course of termination revealed that all but one of the respondents (118 in all) favored a management plan administered by unknown trustees over an organization headed by their own members.[16]

It was not, however, factionalism alone that was at the root [178] of the uncertainty. The long dependence of individuals upon per capitas, and the corresponding lack of experience in pursuing a livelihood, understandably enough made many wary of any change that might threaten the economic niche in which they dwelt. Moreover, on many of the more complex issues involving property their very lack of experience made them easily swayed • [666] by irrelevancies. Not infrequently, Seldon Kirk, when presiding over a vote of the General Council, would query, "I wonder how many of you know what you were voting for?"—and, calling for a reballoting, would see the issue solidly reversed.

*648 *657 619 If they were uncertain in the exercise of their power, tribal members nonetheless felt a strong need to display it. Real and fancied acts of coercion had left a legacy of alienation, to which the impersonal bureaucratic operation of the Agency only added. In a span during which tribal membership had done little more than double, the Agency staff had swelled from an early 5 members to an ultimate figure of 139, some twenty-five times as great. With expansion, the Agency program had become compartmentalized, each division taking on a life of its own and growing endlessly ramified. Bureaucratization, together with the frequent turnover in the upper echelons of administration, led to increasing impersonalization of relations. Subtly, the training of Klamath

*648 members of the Discussion Group remained influential. More
*657 significantly, perhaps, for the long run, they began to employ
619 their newfound unity in fund-raising enterprises in Chiloquin,
423 and thus took an initial step in creating a new civic image for
665 the Klamath.

*648 When the vote was held, over seventy per cent of the tribal
*657 membership elected to withdraw, the government purchasing
619 their land and creating from it the Winema National Forest. Of
• 666 the other voters, the majority did not directly elect to enter into
423 the trust under which the U.S. National Bank has since been managing their joint resources. In this last decisive moment, they returned no ballot at all, and thus were automatically included among the remaining members. The outcome of the vote was in part an expression of confidence among the Klamath in their ability to handle their own affairs, in a measure a rejection of any continued trust status, colored with the anticipation of realizing a large sum—approximately $43,500 per person. However, so complex were the issues and so heavily were they beclouded at the time of voting by contending claims and interpretations, that it is doubtful whether many members could in fact specify all the considerations which guided their final decision.

668 In the period since the enactment of termination in 1954, the Klamath became increasingly receptive toward inclusion within the broader rubric of what Mead has termed "American Indian nationality," and have begun to participate in pan-Indian affairs.[23] Membership in the National Congress of American Indians, participation in American Indian Days at Sheridan, Wyoming,[24] sponsorship of the All-Indian Invitational Basketball Tournament in Chiloquin and of an American Indian Beauty contest held in conjunction with it: these were only some of the more concrete manifestations. Although pan-Indianism has been growing, the receptivity on the part of the Klamath seems keyed to their needs in the crisis that confronted them. Threatened with the loss of the tribal body that had symbolized their collective heritage, they repaired to others which enabled them to preserve their identity. Those who would see the termination vote as an election by the majority of tribal members to become completely assimilated into the larger society must reckon in the significance of this neonativist movement.

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are exclusively 621
White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office outside [575]
the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [794]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are frequently [651]
tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously,
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chiloquin [674]
during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a reconstituted 648
"Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be administered 657
by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the 619
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal supervision
has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Attendance 619
at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have [588]

> *657 She worked all night once, and I thought there must be some-
> *648 thing to it. But her power got small. You know what the Chris-
> 756 tians say, "Backslide," not working strong enough. She said, "My
> 177 help is getting small."[12]

178 Alec Wilson was a shaman, one of perhaps three in the lower Williamson River area. After the Agency had outlawed shamanistic curing, he gave up his practice. Later, his child fell ill. His wife railed at him, "You call yourself an Indian doctor! Why don't you do something? Can't you see your own child is dying?" Helplessly, he explained, "My tricks [i.e. powers] are all gone, have left me; I can't do nothing without my tricks."

Though prohibited, shamanistic activities continued into recent times. In 1897, Emery dealt severely with two instances of curing at Paiute Camp, awarding a month at hard labor each to Doctor Sam and Tom Godowa for attempting a shamanistic cure of the latter's daughter and a week in jail to Tom Chocktoot, headman of the Paiute, for a similar effort on behalf of Pete Pauline's daughter. Chocktoot had also to return the sack of flour
K and blanket he had received as his fee.[13] A number of adults who
[838] were products of the boarding school recall the transvestite shaman, White Cindy. One man was cured by him in the early 1890's;[14] and a woman who fell ill through dreaming of him underwent the required shamanistic cure, although she was a Methodist. Henry Jackson is said to have retained shamans to perform cures at his house, and he is widely suspected to have hired the assassin of the Modoc shaman, Doctor George, in 1899,
K on the suspicion that he had encompassed the death of his sons.[15]

*648 While the campaign against the shamans was proceeding,
*657 other events had taken place. In 1871, a Paiute had introduced
756 • 668 upon the Upper End (Yainax) the nativistic Ghost Dance reli-
177 gion; and Doctor George, at that time not yet a shaman, had
M 648 brought it to the Tule Lake Modoc. There it was taken up by the
657 Modoc shaman, Curley-haired Doctor, and played an ideological
756 role during the Modoc War. A Klamath commoner named
668 O'Toole brought the religion to the Lower End, at the Lakes,
177 where a dance was organized by Allen David (then head chief), Lobert, a headman and shaman, O'Toole, and Frank Chilks, another commoner. No Agency employees among the Indians participated.

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After the end of the Modoc War, a second movement, the 657*
Earthlodge Cult, was brought to the reservation by two Pit River 668 •
Indians, Henry Jackson and Pit River Charley, who had learned 177
about it while visiting relatives in northern California. Shortly 178
after this cult was introduced, a delegation of Klamath and Modoc from both Ends of the reservation visited Falls City, California, and Fort Crook to witness dances and seek the "message." Gradually, the Earthlodge Cult passed into a second phase, known as the Dream Dance. At the Upper End, the leaders were again Doctor George and Monchnkasgitk, while at the Lower they included Allen David, Jason Howard, a commoner, Chanchan, a shaman from Pelican Bay, O'Toole, and Lobert. The Paiute abstained from both the earlier and the later phases of this cult. The movement effectively stopped about 1878 with the building of the Methodist Church.

Nash, whose account has been followed here, has set forth the ritual and the theological content of each movement and has convincingly analyzed the social tensions and individual [illegible]ves, so far as they can be recovered, that gave significance [illegible] the movements. The Ghost Dance was given antiwhite con[illegible]
the Tule Lake Modoc, but not by the other groups. The Earth- [184]
lodge Cult, on the other hand, was strongly antiwhite at the Upper End, but not at the Agency. Around this time the Indians were becoming alarmed by reports that they were going to be exterminated by the troops and agitated by the boundary line and military road disputes, which especially affected the Upper End. Such fears may have contributed to the growth and local character of the Earthlodge Cult.

Viewed together, these movements constituted a progressive accommodation to the Klamath scene. As Nash characterizes it:

> The Ghost Dance represented a sharp break with Modoc and Klamath ritual tradition. The Earthlodge Cult was more in accord with this tradition, and the Dream Dance was still more consonant with it, and in the course of its development became
> incorporated into it. At the same time the aboriginal distinction [756]
> between the ritual experience of shamans and the ritual experience of nonshamans was broken down. Participants in the Dream Dance, particularly the strong dreamers, began acting like shamans; and shamans who participated in the Dream Dance acted more like ordinary men. . . . As the Dream Dance grew older, the traditional gap between shamans and non-

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shamans widened again as ordinary people ceased dreaming, and shamans incorporated Dream Dance symbols and practices into their rituals.[16]

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While these nativistic movements were going on, the first steps were being taken to provide Christian training to replace the native faith which was being discredited. In 1872, Thomas Pearne, an educated Indian from the Yakima reservation, had been appointed interpreter. During that year, until his resignation to return to Washington Territory in the following spring, he carried on missionary work among the Klamath, bringing [622] thirty-six into the church. Among them was Lileks, who at his death three years later was numbered among the "Praying Indians."[17]

The following year, the Reverend James Harer was appointed Commissary at Yainax, where for a brief period he preached at religious meetings which were well attended.[18] By 1876, the Agent at the Lower End and the farmer at Yainax still were holding forth. Employees had volunteered to advance half the salary for a missionary if the Methodist Missionary Society would match the amount; but nothing came of it.[19] Roork, the following year, took a number of the principal men and women, along with some scholars from the Indian School, to the annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Salem, probably in another appeal for a missionary.[20]

The flavor of those early meetings is preserved in one of the letters to Dave Hill, dictated in 1875 by Allen David.

> After we had had our talk at the Agency I sent word for all the people to come to my house to talk about these things, and see who would agree to listen to what Dave, Tecumseh and I had said, and who would get our hearts and who would not. I told them to come on Sunday the Lord's day and we would all the same as mammook [make, hold] church, we would make good hearts and the Lord would mammook close nanish [take good care of] us on his day. So some Yainax Inds.—Brown Mosenkosket and some Modocs, some Lake Inds., some Chiloquin's people and some of all the Inds. came. Chikaskane first spoke and said that at first he had a bad heart. That the chiefs first listened to the Agents and got their hearts and then tried to get the other Inds. to get the same hearts; that they had put him in the guard house which was right, and Mr. Dyar was also right for he was in the wrong and all the same as said to the Chiefs

of the McLaughlin agreement, praising the Inspector as "a man 648*
that got heart in him for a Poor Indian People."[46] Toward the 657*
end of his visit, the envoy was stricken with appendicitis, and his 578
half-brother and political foe, Joseph Kirk, rushed to his bedside 665
and remained to bring him home.

New contacts, both with officials and attorneys and possibly 648*
with the delegates from other tribes, must greatly have enlarged 657*
the horizon for men like Jesse Kirk. Indeed, James McLaughlin, 578
returned to the reservation to execute a new agreement with the 665
Tribe rectifying a mistake in the boundary surveys used, soon 423
found the new mettle in the man. The revised draft, he reported,
was

> duly executed by more than the necessary number of Indians belonging to the Agency, but not without having to overcome strong opposition, evidently prearranged and determinedly led by the most influential Indian of the reservation, Reverend Jesse Kirk, who demanded that the clause providing for irrigation of their lands be stricken out, also the clause for the payment of the legal fees of attorneys having duly approved contracts. I, however, remained firm and would not concede any modification or change of a single word, letter or punctuation mark in the agreement as prepared by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and it was thus concluded by a large majority of the Indians signing the agreement. When Rev. Jesse Kirk found that I was going to succeed in obtaining the required number of signatures he, together with his followers, finally came forward and signed the agreement—and he also signed as one of the two Interpreters.
>
> The opposition of said Rev. Jesse Kirk, was influenced by the fact that he visited Washington last winter, remaining there some months, during which time he learned that large appropriations were being made by Congress for general irrigation purposes on Indian reservations, and that the Klamath could have from such appropriations all the money necessary for irrigating their lands without providing for such in this agreement, and as the contract with their attorneys was for a period of eight years, and expires on July 21, 1901, he captiously desired to exclude the clause protecting them.

Jesse Kirk, so McLaughlin learned, had been informed in 648*
Washington that the Indians need not employ attorneys, since the 657*
case was sure to be decided in their favor. Many Indians, how- 578
ever, did not agree with his view and desired to keep good faith 665
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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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with the attorneys. There were some, who nonetheless wanted to submit a petition setting forth their views.[47]

If all who signed the agreement after Jesse Kirk were his adherents, he could count on 121 men against 70 for the proadministration faction.

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Domestic issues added weight to discontent. Soon after taking office, Oliver Applegate had set up road districts, each presided over by the policeman within it, and had permitted the police to settle minor differences within their several districts.[48] He had, moreover, apparently reversed the policy of Emery, who had permitted the Indians to elect both police and judges for the reservation. Early in 1900, a group of Klamath, apparently led by Jesse Kirk, became insistent that elections be reinstituted. Applegate was reluctant to accede, since he "felt that an Agents selection of his military force and administrators of justice should not be trammeled by selections which might be the result more of 'political' management than of the honest opinions of the majority." However, he agreed to ask for an opinion from the Commissioner.[49]

Gen. A. C. Hawley was sent to consider the issue, and conducted his investigation largely during Jesse Kirk's absence in Washington. At the end of his tour, Hawley strongly supported the position entertained by Applegate, who observed:

> . . . if at any time this electoral system should become in order, in the selection of the agent's personal assistants and executive force, the time had not yet arrived to put this privilege in the hands of the people. It would increase rather than limit the number of tribal and family feuds and keep alive the numerous personal jealousies which we are endeavoring to stamp out.[50]

The matter, however, was far from settled. Early in 1902, on the eve of Jesse Kirk's departure for Washington to secure ratification of the revised McLaughlin agreement, a petition was prepared by his faction requesting the privilege of being allowed to elect the mooted officers, subject to approval of the U.S. Indian Agent. This document bore 120 signatures, and is in line with estimates of the strength of this faction. The covering letter, by Jesse Kirk, urged in behalf of the Klamath that

> they desire to take steps forward and prepare themselves in citizenship for the years to come, and encourage them into civili-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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> zation only, and not into blankets and long haired Indians in old custom. 648*
> But to encourage them in education as well as christianity, which will enable 657*
> them to be a civilized people. 665

He cited the industry of the Klamath, claiming that they were 668 • self-sustaining through such enterprises as stock raising and 578 laboring. The concession of a safeguard in elections may have [666] been his, for he stressed that election of officers must be confirmed not only by the Agent but by the Secretary of the Interior. The Commissioner simply forwarded the documents to Applegate,[51] who, as if to point up the grievances, had just named three new judges.[52]

The actions of the Agent—now retitled Superintendent—in the investigation of the death of one George Modoc brought into the fray that educated gadfly, Charles S. Hood. A Carlisle graduate and leader of the returned Modoc, Hood took an interest in the case when Grant Smith, a fellow tribesman, was held on suspicion of having had a hand in the death. Some four months later, Hood wrote Applegate urging that Smith be released to look after his family and stock, with the understanding that Smith would come back to stand trial. Apparently rebuffed, Hood then wrote to the U.S. Attorney in Portland, who sternly demanded of Applegate, "Will you please inform me by what process or authority he is confined in jail, and whether or not in your judgment if [he] is liberated he will run away." Stung, the Superintendent denied that statement and claimed that Smith had been on parole most of the time so that he could look after his affairs.[53] The attacks upon him seem to have driven Applegate toward a more extreme position, as reflected in his recourse for local cases to police courts instead of the less subordinate Court of Indian Offenses.[54]

In 1904, the pace quickened. Through the early part of the year, Knott C. Egbert found Henry Jackson ungovernable. In April, Jesse Kirk, once more in Washington, directed a letter to Commissioner Jones. It was transmitted by Oregon's Senators Mitchell and Fulton and Representative Williamson, with these words:

> We have every confidence in Mr. Kirk, and we are sure he would made no recommendations that he did not feel were fully justified, and we are also aware of the fact that the Indians of

> *648 the Agency, in the main, have implicit confidence in him, or
> *657 they would not send him here each year as their agent to look
> 665 after their interests."

•668 In his letter, Kirk once more called for elections, stating, "The
578 present manner of selection does not result in securing the ser-
[666] vices of the best men. . . ." He was instructed, he said, to suggest and request that an election be held on the fifth of July when the tribe in council might make its selection, and further proposed

> that you instruct your Superintendent to be guided by such selection in the appointment of persons to fill these offices; these appointments by the Superintendent, of course, to be ratified and approved by you. This in order that, should our selection be ignored by the Superintendent, we may have the opportunity of being heard by you."

This bold typescript letter, its flowing style so unlike Jesse Kirk's, bears every earmark of expert assistance. The source of that aid, either legal or legislative, is suggested by the circumstance that the next letter, to Applegate, was forwarded by the congressional trio with a covering letter dated the same day. The Kirk epistle set forth the same demands for an election, but did not mention an appeal to the Commissioner. In their covering letter, Mitchell and his colleagues observed, "Mr. Kirk seems to be very strongly of the opinion that the plans suggested in this communication should be adopted," and they urged that Applegate give it "very careful consideration."[37]

On his return, Jesse Kirk set about a direct assult upon the Superintendent. First came a letter from the "Delegate and Agent of the Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin band of Snake Indians" to the Commissioner, charging that livestock were permitted to trespass upon the reservation and that O. C. Applegate and his stockman and chief of police, George W. Loosley, "systematically" ignored and suppressed complaints on the subject. Loosley, it was charged, continually evaded his duty and "loiters indolently his time away at the agency. . . ." Jesse Kirk, for his part, wanted no white cattle at all upon the reservation. This letter, together with that written earlier to the commissioner on the elections, was buttressed by two petitions circulated together, bearing 184 and 183 signatures, each certified by nine men, Jesse

Kirk, Henry Jackson, Drummer David, Logan Pompey, Albert 648*
Jackson, Yank Lobert, Ike Jackson, William A. Moore, and Sar- 657*
gent Brown.[58] 665

A letter to the Commission one month later, signed by the same 668 •
nine men, asserted that Abraham Charley (then captain of 578
police) was immediately responsible for stock trespass upon the reservation through his policy of renting tribal and unfenced allotted lands, a practice for which he lacked tribal consent.[59]

Within the month, the delegate wrote Senator Mitchell on behalf of a runaway schoolboy who, it was claimed, preferred to go to Chemawa. Mitchell sent the letter on to the Commissioner. When the Commissioner detailed the matter to his subordinate, Applegate at last flared forth.

> Permit me to say in this connection that the interference of the "Rev." Jesse Kirk in the affairs of the Agency and Schools has become nearly intolerable and that it is a decided menace to the peace and tranquility of the Schools and in fact of the entire reservation. His hostility to the authorities is now boldly asserted, though for a long time treacherously veiled, and it may be necessary, and that very soon, to restrain him in some way or to remove him from the reservation.[60]

Applegate had not long to wait for the next blow. His letter crossed one from the Commissioner transmitting a telegram and a letter sent to the President by Jesse Kirk and others charging the Superintendent with mismanagement of the affairs of the Agency and schools. Applegate was ineffectual, claimed the letter; he did not maintain discipline and permitted drunkenness; he bestowed undue favors upon Abraham Charley, particularly in allowing him to take out a grazing permit; he let the fields grow up to weeds; and he opposed sending children to nonreservation schools. Applegate roundly denied all charges, pointing out that three of his ten accusers were former Agency employees, dropped from service for various reasons, and that another three were expolicemen who had been found undesirable. All of them he branded "henchmen and followers of the chief conspirator, the 'Rev.' Jesse Kirk." Even then they were circulating another petition on the reservation.[61]

Before Applegate's round was fairly on the way, the hapless administrator received the next salvo. This time the Commissioner forwarded the letters and petitions from the Kirk faction

*648 on the trespass and election issues, together with a telegram
*657 protesting approval of the Abraham Charley permit and sup-
665 porting letters from the Washington law firm of Dudley and
• 668 Michener. Several months passed before Applegate came around
578 to answering, which he did in temperate and reasoned tones.
His remarks add little to what he had said previously.[62]

Meanwhile, Applegate was given an assignment which could only embroil him further. Upon instructions from the Commissioner, he and an assistant set forth with representatives of the Booth-Kelly Lumber Company, which had succeeded to the Military Road claims, to select lands in lieu of the 111,000 acres they held across the face of the reservation. Eventually, a tract of 87,000 acres of prime timber in the northeastern corner of the reservation was selected.[63]

Jesse Kirk is said to have opposed vehemently any cession of land, while his half-brother favored the arrangement finally arrived at.[64] Not until the fiery Indian leader was dead did the tribe finally agree to accept the sum of $108,750 from the United States in return for a quitclaim against the government; and that was achieved in the face of determined opposition from Clayton Kirk, who took up the battle from his father and bombarded Washington with petitions.

In later days Applegate believed that "in equity the Indians ought to have had the entire reservation. . . . They should be fully compensated." In 1904, however, he stood too close to the factionalism, and Ivan's role in the negotiations was too well recalled for him to avoid suspicion. Any of his acts were likely to become, in Merton's term, a self-fulfilling prophecy of complicity.[65]

Conditions at Klamath now prompted the Commissioner to
send out as inspector Supervisor of Indian Schools M. F. Holland,
whose harsh measures precipitated the final battle. At the
[361] Agency, a number of Indians, several of them employees, had
erected a dozen shanties out of rejected lumber from the sawmill.
Holland evidently found Slabtown, as the settlement was known,
an eyesore. A former inhabitant there has suggested that Holland
may also have been irked by the community's practice of providing food for various councils conducted by Jesse Kirk. The
supervisor now ordered Slabtown razed. Accordingly, Applegate
served notice on the residents to remove by the first of March.[66]

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At the same time, Holland ordered that Indians be prohibited from loitering about the Agency office and other buildings.

Soon thereafter, Jesse Kirk with a group estimated by Applegate to number twenty or thirty persons and enumerated by the opposition at fourteen, either attempted to test the prohibition or were the objects of its first enforcement. In the ensuing scuffle with the Indian police, Holland seems to have been struck.[67] "Though the effort to expel them was successful, and without loss of life," related Applegate, "they left the Agency in a defiant and sullenish humor and the ensuing night sent to the other Agency (Yainax) for reinforcements and yet maintain an ugly and rebellious gathering on the reservation." Terming the incident a "riot," the Superintendent called in all seven policemen from the Lower End, added five more special police, and sought permission to expedite purchase of ammunition.[68]

What had been the business of the "rebels" at the Agency that day? They had been collecting signatures for another of Jesse Kirk's petitions, this time directed against O. C. Applegate, George W. Loosley, and "their special appointed man, Abraham Charley."[69] The petition had been drawn up by Jesse Kirk and a local attorney, F. H. Mills, retained by the Indians. Mills, a deputy district attorney for Klamath Falls, had previously taken Indian cases,[70] but a crusading element seems evident in his involvement in this dispute. J. W. Evans, the Assistant Superintendent at Yainax, noted that Henry Jackson had been paying his fees and that the Indians had put up $500 as a retainer.[71]

After their rebuff at the Agency, the Kirk faction withdrew to Yainax, where they held meetings at the home of Henry Jackson and gathered signatures for their petition. In the end, 133 men, over half of the eligible voters, signed. Evans claimed that deceit and force were used, and that a "kind of secrecy" was maintained, but Mills contended that others had also desired to sign, being prevented from doing so by subsequent events. Mills, charged Evans, "used his personal influence to get the Indians to sign."

While the meeting was still in session, one of the Indian police came in with a request from three of the "leading Indians" (unnamed by Evans) of the Yainax district, asking that the police stop the session, on the grounds that the disputes would engender trouble. Evans thereupon ordered Abraham Charley, captain of

*648 police, to put an end to that meeting and to call one at the house
*657 of Harrison Brown—a proadministration leader—to try to effect
665 a settlement. At that session, not unexpectedly, feelings ran high.
• 668 Unable to come to an agreement, the Kirk faction broke off dis-
578 cussion and resumed their meeting at Jackson's.

Thereupon, Abraham Charley summoned all parties to the office of the Assistant Superintendent in the Yainax school, where, for six hours, some forty men argued. Finally, Evans stated that he could not prevent circulation of the petition so long as that did not cause a disturbance. Harrison Brown's party promptly surged forward and sought to seize the petition by force, but were prevented, said Evans, by the police. The conditions of unrest having been established, Evans was able to require that the petition be delivered up to him "until a general council could be regularly called and decide on its disposal."

Evans ended his report with a denunciation of Jesse Kirk as "a disturbing element on the reservation, [who] has a bad influence on the Indians. He should be told to go to his ranch and work it, or be put off the reservation." Of the attorney, he observed:

> Frank Mills should be told to leave the Indians and go out of the Government's business, and if there is anything to be attended to or settled, there are proper officers belonging to the Commissioner's Department and Department of the Interior who can do it."

Despite his brave front, Oliver Applegate had already privately conceded defeat and was writing his friend and former subordinate, Knott C. Egbert, at Siletz reservation, suggesting that he apply for the Superintendency. He was evidently dismayed by the turn events had taken and alarmed, suggests his son, for the safety of his family. Moreover, a letter from Egbert intimates that Applegate felt a lack of administrative support, since he had been confirmed as Superintendent through his service as Agent, and had not passed the civil service examinations. Egbert proposed that he take the examination quietly in Portland; but the Applegates had long opposed the establishment of the civil service, and the advice seems to have proven repugnant.[73]

Meanwhile, early in March, a council was held at Yainax. It was presided over by Levi Walker, and the principal business

was transacted by Jack Palmer, Harrison Brown, Ike Mose, and 648*
Abraham Charley. A committee of ten men submitted a report 659*
of the findings of the council, presenting the proadministration 665
viewpoint and requesting "that these men [Kirk and party] be 668 •
not allowed to do any more business pertaining to the tribe with- 578
out tribal authority."[74]

Jesse Kirk and his adherents did not participate in the "loyal" council. After the scene in Evans' office, Kirk and Jackson had consulted with Mills in Klamath Falls. In the company of the attorney they then returned to demand the petition. Evans refused, informing Mills that "no attorney had any right to interfere in tribal affairs without permission from the Interior Department." The three retired and with others of the faction drew up another petition which they forwarded to Washington.[75]

In his letter of transmittal to the firm of Dudley and Michener in the capital, who were in turn to present the matter to the Commissioner, Mills shed a new perspective upon matters. After
reviewing some of the earlier developments, he turned to the [692]
investigations of Inspector Holland, which, as he said, [681]

> proceeded along smothly [sic] enough until the questions of money and property became the subject of inquiry when it developed that during the last four years a system of collecting money, stock, lumber and other property had been adopted; it seems that this was done by first having the "Indian" court (a sort of disciplinary tribunal which has been authorized or rather sanctioned by the department) impose a penalty or punishment and then allow the indian defendant to pay in cash or such other property as he might chance to have and notwithstanding that such court has no such authority to impose fine or collect money in that way. . . . During the time of the investigation some of the fines which had been collected one or two years were paid back to the defendants. . . . It is conclusive proof had there not been an illegal practice . . . no such returns would have been made. . . .

Although Holland had inquired into only one case, there had been several. Jesse Kirk had requested of George Loosley, chief of police, the list of fines imposed, but was denied it. Finally, Loosley consented to divulge the sum, amounting to $2,651 collected over a four-year period.

At the center of the case, claimed Mills, was Applegate, related through marriage to three brothers of the Loosley family. Two

*648
*657 of them, George and Fred, while employees of the Agency, had
665 purchased lumber, posts, and similar items from Indians to build
•668 upon their 10,000-acre ranch.

578 The most serious malfeasance he charged, however was "the
[423] matter of leasing under the special permit system of unallotted
[427] tribal lands during the past three or four years." The usual system was for the Superintendent and George Loosley (who was also Agency stockman) to lease a district to an Indian, for example Abraham Charley or Harrison Brown, who in turn leased to whites at one dollar per head of cattle. "It is only those who have engaged in leasing the lands," Mills went on, "that have threatened violence if the petition was sent on to Washington. . . ." He suspected "a large discrepancy between the books of account and the amounts paid in for grazing upon the various districts of unallotted tribel [sic] lands as well as trespasses." During the past four years, less than $4,000 (and probably only $2,667) had been paid in, as against estimated returns of $10,000 from grazing alone.

The Indians therefore demanded the removal of Applegate and George Loosley, the election of officials, and an end to cattle trespass. They demanded more effective voice for the council in leasing and in disbursing Indian money. Finally, they noted other
[871] grievances in the treatment of sick school children and demanded that they be permitted to send their children to outside schools.[76]

The accuracy of these charges is secondary to the images of the truth they generated. It is of principal importance that Jesse Kirk was able to convince a large following that the charges were indeed correct. From the standpoint of his faction he then became a man deeply concerned with administrative abuses and striving to remove them by free elections. In that view, Applegate's obduracy drove Kirk reluctantly to more explicit detail until in the end he was forced openly to seek the Superintendent's removal.

In Washington, a new administration was in the saddle, and the new Commissioner was the reformer, F. E. Leupp. Even if Applegate were innocent, the embroilments under his administration would not have recommended his retention. In May, he vacated his office for Horace G. Wilson. Applegate had already received a temporary appointment as clerk at the Grande Ronde

Reservation, and within a year he was to return to Klamath as 648*
clerk for Indian employment. Evidently, the Bureau did not place 657*
much credence in the accusations.[77] 665

The "rebels" were jubilant, and the Commissioner found it 668 •
necessary to visit the reservation and issue a statement denying 578
that the Superintendent had been forced to resign. Though he "gave it good to Jesse," he did little to dampen his spirit.[78] Evans, writing to his former superior, detailed Kirk's efforts to assume a fuller leadership. He had informed the Indians that Superintendent Wilson had no right to go to Washington unless by their direction and with their instructions. Moreover, he was maintaining that "the man who was here was not the real Commr. but a just believe one. The real man would talk different to them he says."[79] His period of triumph, however, was brief, for in December, 1906, Jesse Kirk succumbed to typhoid.[80]

His death ended a critical phase of Klamath political development. When it closed, tribal political leaders had established the institution of the delegation that, bypassing the Bureau, dealt directly with congressional leaders in Washington. In matters requiring expert counsel, they relied upon attorneys retained by tribe or faction. Claims against the government, as political leaders found, were effective issues to attract adherents; and those who sought self-enhancement were ready to take advantage of them.

With the enlargement of sphere, the extension of operations to Washington, decisive action tended to be removed from the reservation to the capital. In the factionalism just reviewed, it is significant that there appears, perhaps for the first time, the spectacle of partisan councils, each excluding the opposition and each purporting to represent tribal opinion.

Saddened by the conflict, Knott C. Egbert wrote prophetic words from Siletz. "The Klamaths," he observed, "might be enormously wealthy if less turbulent, and had behaved. . . . After all though, notwithstanding it would make them paupers, it may be best for the govt. to buy them out and sell the surplus lands. They will sooner become rational." And he added, "One could well dread the sweating period through which the Klamaths must pass on the path to full citizenship, involving as it does the acquisition of money, the drinking of lots rum &c. . . ."[81]

[P. 182 is blank]

*648 members of the Discussion Group remained influential. More
*657 significantly, perhaps, for the long run, they began to employ
619 their newfound unity in fund-raising enterprises in Chiloquin,
423 and thus took an initial step in creating a new civic image for
665 the Klamath.

*648 When the vote was held, over seventy per cent of the tribal
*657 membership elected to withdraw, the government purchasing
619 their land and creating from it the Winema National Forest. Of
666 the other voters, the majority did not directly elect to enter into
423 the trust under which the U.S. National Bank has since been managing their joint resources. In this last decisive moment, they returned no ballot at all, and thus were automatically included among the remaining members. The outcome of the vote was in part an expression of confidence among the Klamath in their ability to handle their own affairs, in a measure a rejection of any continued trust status, colored with the anticipation of realizing a large sum—approximately $43,500 per person. However, so complex were the issues and so heavily were they beclouded at the time of voting by contending claims and interpretations, that it is doubtful whether many members could in fact specify all the considerations which guided their final decision.

• 668 In the period since the enactment of termination in 1954, the Klamath became increasingly receptive toward inclusion within the broader rubric of what Mead has termed "American Indian nationality," and have begun to participate in pan-Indian affairs.[23] Membership in the National Congress of American Indians, participation in American Indian Days at Sheridan, Wyoming,[24] sponsorship of the All-Indian Invitational Basketball Tournament in Chiloquin and of an American Indian Beauty contest held in conjunction with it: these were only some of the more concrete manifestations. Although pan-Indianism has been growing, the receptivity on the part of the Klamath seems keyed to their needs in the crisis that confronted them. Threatened with the loss of the tribal body that had symbolized their collective heritage, they repaired to others which enabled them to preserve their identity. Those who would see the termination vote as an election by the majority of tribal members to become completely assimilated into the larger society must reckon in the significance of this neo-nativist movement.

773 Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6] 776 the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath [823] Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

177 To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting of the contemporary society, 175 attention must be paid to the religious modifications in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroach- [721] ment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon. [791] An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result [797] proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and [182] patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

175 Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western 668 American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

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[825] [6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'ākemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

[113] [7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

[113] [9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

Here Christian
175 elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath
• 668 traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The
177 acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost
[578] Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather
than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the
pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive
against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt
at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete
with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting
pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream
Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

175 By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had
177 burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with
[668] essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic
competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so
[797] lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values
[791] were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic
practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One informant
[533] tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power)
have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in
that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important
771 movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the
175 Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with
177 longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused
slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orientation,
795 the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology;
but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross
as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence
of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements
[755] also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are employed
(for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's
body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers
vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil,
178 and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult,
771 too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some
years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services.
795 The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

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[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kemps was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

[113] [11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

[113] [12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

[113] [13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are ex- 621
clusively White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office out- [575]
side the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [194]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are fre- [651]
quently tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously,
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chilo- [674]
quin during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a recon- 648
stituted "Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be adminis- 657
tered by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal super-
vision has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual 619
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Atten-
dance at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159
156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from
his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never
[461] worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen.
Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five
[871] school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from
the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at
[592] home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger sib-
lings may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal
[434] income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly
[651] for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the
bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very
reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit
582 Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging
company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the
648 logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually
[221] away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when
drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father
does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household
[593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his
father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion
knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this per-
[848] son is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity,
which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's
*159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards
156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or
593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting,
and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits
the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls,
and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt
and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common
[421] activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to
one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his be-
longings, and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle
for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not
borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which
engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the
father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom
she spends much time.

*159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks
156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the
law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time
•[673] loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his
buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom
[512] awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away
from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which
may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

among them who is their counselor, . . . and who tells the 648*
Indians on the reservation that they can leave the reservation 657*
when they please."[5] Despite the contrary views of the U.S. 166
District Attorney, two years later the Commissioner held that 423
any adult Indian or the head of a family was free to take a homestead on the public domain, and was further exempted from paying entry fees or commission.[6] When the General Allotment Act came into force next year, provision was made that nonreservation Indians might be allotted on the public domain.[7]

As reservation control weakened, there was an increase in the 648*
incidence of crime. Dyar had had to contend with "professional" 657*
gamblers in his day, with the prostitution of Indian women, and 674
with a few instances of bootlegging. When two Agency employees were killed in separate incidents little more than a month apart, the events had "had a very disheartening effect upon these [Indians] and many of them [were] for the time inclined to let go all holds and go back to their old customs."[8] Significantly one of those deaths, a shooting by a white sheepherder, occurred along the public road through the reservation.

Soon, across the reservation line on Wood River beyond Fort Klamath, saloons began to spring up. Nickerson stopped one man, a discharged soldier from Fort Klamath, and seized the liquor he was transporting to that oasis. He thereupon found himself facing extensive litigation, for the man had influential associates in Linkville. Before he was done with this and other cases arising from enforcement of the liquor regulations, the Agent was out of pocket nearly $1,000 in his own defense.

Although bootlegging, quarrels, and some shootings continued 648*
to involve whites, frictions began to develop with alien "half- 657*
breeds." The death of one of the employees slain in Dyar's time 674
was at first attributed to a "half-breed"; another was involved in 563
shooting up a saloon in the Wood River settlement; it was at least an outside Indian, a Pit River, who shot an Indian policeman at the Lost River fishery in 1883, and an interbreed who slew police lieutenant David Hill at the same place nine years later. An interbreed served as contact man for a saloonkeeper of the Wood River settlement, and another was accused of bootlegging in the nearby woods and at the autumn camps on Huckleberry

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 *657 • 674 [563] Mountain. Indeed, it became customary for some Agents to attribute any breach of law, author unknown, to a member of that class.

As the country became more thickly populated, there came a brief period when outlaws took advantage of the distinct jurisdiction of the reservation. Cattle rustlers and horse thieves plied their trade across the line, stealing from Indians and whites alike. About the turn of the century, when the stage was being robbed with discouraging frequency, some of the outlaws seem to have operated occasionally out of the thinly patrolled reservation. At least one man, after having stolen a horse and saddle on the reservation, was soon thereafter caught in a stage holdup. These conditions while they lasted gave increased point to the need to maintain surveillance over whites within the reservation.

Against these various threats, the Agents strove valiantly. In the 1880's, when trespassing cattle from the eastern side of the reservation brought the integrity of the boundaries into issue, Emery resorted to cavalry to clear them off. Repeatedly, Agents ordered undesirables off the reservation, recommended to the Commissioner action to be taken on the licensing of traders, and sent the Indian police after runaway schoolboys and their seniors who were off the reservation without pass. Indians traveling in a group away from the reservation were accompanied by an Agency employee, often a member of the police. Whites who wished to work for Indians were screened. "I am quite sure from the statement of your letter," wrote O. C. Applegate to a man who proposed to work for Henry Jackson, ". . . that you are a man who wishes to be governed by the rules of the reservation. I therefore have no objection to your doing the work you propose for Jackson. . . ."[9] To the pass system was sometimes added the condition of the white sponsor. "Hereafter," Applegate declared, "I shall not give an Indian girl a pass to remain in town on the plea that she wants to work, until she brings an application from some responsible party."[10]

*648 *657 427 Leasing likewise passed through the hands of the Agent during much of this period. "It is true that you are capable of handling small things," Superintendent H. G. Wilson wrote Modoc Henry, "but as it is against the regulations to lease land outside of this

> I might call attention to the fact that at the last election in 648*
> Klamath County a trust patented Indian was elected Justice of 657*
> the Peace, and a fee patented Indian was elected Constable of 641
> the Beatty District on the Klamath reservation. It seems a rather [693]
> unusual situation when a trust patented Indian can preside as a judge over a court and pass sentence on other people and at the same time question the same court's jurisdiction over him.[3]

Nor was this all. Federally regulated land on the reservation [625]
was off bounds for officers of the law from city, county, and state; yet in 1947 there were only two special Indian officers and two deputies to enforce law and order over almost one million acres of reservation. It was physically impossible for them to follow up all cases, and consequently they could not deal effectively with the misdemeanors of delinquents or with truancy from the county schools.

In the 1920's, soon after the opening of the reservation, towns 648*
such as Chiloquin were faced with the influx of a mobile popu- 657*
lation in which the unmarried "timber beast" was prominent. 621
Roistering and violence occasionally assumed major proportions, 625
and law enforcement broke down at first. Within the first three 563
years after its incorporation in 1926, Chiloquin witnessed no 674
less than twelve appointments to the position of town marshal. At times the Superintendent, concerned over the effect upon the Indians, intervened, delivering an ultimatum or sending in his officers to restore order. His jurisdiction, in turn, was also limited: When Arnold brought pressure to bear upon Chiloquin authorities to close down gambling in the pool halls and card rooms, the gamblers merely shifted their operation to Bly, just over the eastern boundary of the reservation, and the same procedure had to be repeated by state and local officials there.

The interdependence of law enforcement on state lands and 648*
reservation was emphasized during the depression. In 1931, when 657*
logging on the reservation—and with it tribal income—had been 641
temporarily reduced by Washington, a tribal leader, Wade 625
Crawford, succeeded in securing a congressional cut in the [651]
administrative budget of the Agency, which from about 1924 had been supported out of tribal revenue. Since the budgetary allocation for law enforcement then became inadequate, the federal officers left, until there remained only a constable and an

County. Of regular municipal income in the year, 1956-57, taxation 648*
supplied only a little over four per cent. The largest sources 657*
of revenue were the water system, the city tavern (which alone 641
supplied over one-third of the budget), and the proceeds from 651
law enforcement (amounting to over one-fourth of the budget). Since, after the repeal of Indian prohibition in 1951, tribal members had become the major patrons of the municipal tavern, comprising in 1958 an estimated eighty per cent of its clientele, it is evident that in this indirect manner they had come to constitute a major support in the operation of the municipal government.

Nor was this all. The sizable sum derived from law enforcement 648*
was highly unusual. While the major enforcement problem 657*
in most Oregon cities of comparable size was traffic violations, 641
Chiloquin in 1956-57 found no less than ninety-three per cent of 674
its offenses to be felonies and misdemeanors other than traffic violations. Tribal members and other Indians, including repeaters,
accounted for over seventy-two per cent of the arrests; [681]
they paid over seventy per cent of the fines and forfeited bail; [464]
and they furnished over ninety-six per cent of the trusty labor performed in the city.[7]

Aside from a few individual instances, this record does not 648*
reflect a policy of discriminatory arrests on the part of the city 657*
administration. It does, however, mark one of the significant 674
confrontations upon the reservation. It was conditioned in part [641]
by the special statutory position of the Klamath, for as an Indian [656]
under federal supervision he was enjoined by law from having or using liquor and from marrying a white within the state. Until these disabilities were removed in 1951, tribal members were subject to arrest for acts not held criminal when committed
by non-Indians. During prohibition, tribal members had learned [273]
to operate stills, had taken to drinking extracts, proprietary medicines, rubbing alcohol, and "canned heat" in lieu of scarce liquors, and had both patronized and served as bootleggers. Habits of defiant drinking, akin to those of other Americans during the "dry" years, lingered even into the years after repeal.

Klamath experience with strong drink and violence had neither begun with the reservation towns nor was it confined to them;

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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*648 *657 • 674 but the access they provided to the means, the example set by the whites in the heyday of logging, and the greater chance of detection all made for a record in which these communities figured prominently. Moreover, in protest against a status they did not like but found it difficult to alter, tribesmen turned their violence outward against the public symbols of white dominance and inward upon their intimates and themselves.

The record is easy to read. Cars were stolen from a garage and raced by a gang of boys; others robbed a store; someone, in the years of prohibition, broke into the municipal tavern, then a forbidden place; others entered the jail, this time to remove some wine held as evidence in a bootlegging case; a boy, forcing his way into the post office, damaged the letter boxes. In subsequent years, the special Indian officer and a school principal were each set upon and beaten.

During the same period, private citizens among the whites were unmolested. The assaults had taken place against the seats of white power. When these events were discussed with a number of the elder Klamath, themselves law-abiding citizens, they reacted with abhorrence of the beatings—the Indian officer in particular had served long years on the reservation and had a reputation for fairness—but exhibited an indulgent amusement for the forays against stores and jocularity over the raid on the jail. The impression was very strong that in the twentieth century the Klamath, while sparing the neutrals in their midst, were still sending out war parties against the enemy.

[273] Among themselves, violence, especially in their drinking parties, was more deadly. Both the statistical and narrative reports from the early days of the reservation detail occasional instances of death through violence, but the number is small, and it is unlikely, in the light of the counteraccusations freely hurled between feuding groups, that a murder could easily have been concealed. It is therefore signal that when, in 1929, the Klamath Falls *Evening Herald* summarized murder trials for the previous year, in five instances both individuals had been tribal members, while in a sixth a Klamath had slain a white during a drinking party in Chiloquin. In three other cases, both parties had been white, and in another, Mexican.[8] Since that

time, few years have not seen at least one murder upon the 648*
reservation. 657*
674

Lesser crimes have also been frequent. Of the 1958 sample
of the reservation population above the age of sixteen, no fewer
than forty-three per cent had been arrested for misdemeanor,
seventeen per cent for felony. Liquor had led to arrest for thirty- 648*
seven per cent, and no fewer than forty-nine per cent were 657*
judged to have problems associated with drinking. The corre- 273
sponding figures were slightly higher for those members living in [674]
Chiloquin, where opportunity, observation, and arresting officers
were all more frequent.

In situations in which other peoples have sought redress in [154]
religious movements or covert sorcery, Klamath have more
commonly fallen back upon drink and violence. For them the [765]
bottle has proven a maladaptive instrument, as shown by a
recent survey of the causes of death of 139 members who expired during a period of four and one-half years: drinking was adjudged to be a contributory factor in no fewer than fifty-seven per cent of the deaths.[9] The violence which often caps drinking bouts is likewise self-destructive: for it often strikes close friends or family members.

From the viewpoint of the city fathers, then, the Klamath have been an unruly segment of the citizenry; and the figures on law and order pose the difficulty confronting the community in the maintenance of an orderly life. Alternatively, however, those same figures represent a sizable income to be realized through the administration of the law. In the latter days of the reservation, as the Indians themselves were clearly aware,[10] the city seemed on the one hand to be profiting from the sale of beer and wine to tribal members and on the other to collect large fines from them when, under the influence of alcohol, they had fallen into the toils of the law. The implications of this policy, by which almost two-thirds of the income of the town was supplied, made many white citizens uneasy. The city fathers, concerned with a parsimonious administration, were not eager to seek a substitute and, indeed, any change would have presented obstacles.

So long as the tribal government remained to articulate their 648*
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000

10. Total number of marriages by ethnic character of mate, expressed as a percentage:

	Reservation (*N=228*)	*Chiloquin* (*N=101*)	*Absentee* (*N=43*)
	%	%	%
Indian (incl. Klamath)	75	64	14
White	21	29	79
Negro	1	0	0
Mexican	4	6	7

11. Parsons and Bales (1955), esp. Chs. 1 and 2.

12. Meriam *et al.* (1928), p. 463.

13. A few individuals entrusted funds to an influential white friend, but did so largely to put them out of reach of importunate kinsmen or of a sudden drunken impulse.

14. For a total of 175 tribal members from the random sample of those living on the reservation (N=228).

	%
Has had funds programmed in past three years, not at present	3
Programmed regularly	17
Not programmed but considered poor manager	34
No record of mismanagement	47

15. *Annual Narrative Report* (1924), pp. 48 ff.

FOURTEEN. LOCAL POLITICAL RELATIONS

1. By Public Law 28, U.S. 83d Cong., 1st sess. (1953).

[674] 2. Murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, arson, burglary, larceny, robbery, incest, and assault with a dangerous weapon. Cohen (1942), pp. 362 ff. It is perhaps an index either of acculturation or of a lag in legal cognizance that it was only in 1956 that there were added the crimes of embezzlement and of theft from the funds of tribal organizations. Oliver (1959), pp. 201 ff.

3. *Annual Narrative Report*, Klamath Agency (1930), pp. 11 ff.

4. Details of this episode are given in Stern and Swanson (1960), pp. 34–36.

5. Du Toit (1959).

6. The figures, based upon eligible adults, are, respectively, 81 per cent for whites, 68 per cent for tribal members.

7. These data come from the analysis of Bert R. Swanson. Stern and Swanson (1960).

8. *Evening Herald* (April 23, 1929), editorial, p. 4; (April 24, 1929), editorial, p. 4.

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are ex- 621
clusively White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office out- [575]
side the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [794]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the
place and role of the Klamath is a special one. [571]

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are fre-
quently tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously, [651]
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chilo- [674]
quin during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a recon- 648
stituted "Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be adminis- 657
tered by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal super-
vision has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual 619
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Atten-
dance at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a [191]
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

Weasel: Male, Age 29

Background Data

159*
In contrast to all other subjects Weasel's role in the reservation community
is a totally negative, destructive one, largely that of a supposedly vicious [156]
criminal. He was born and raised on an economically un-productive ranch, which
for twenty years or more has been the location of continuous drinking parties.
Weasel was raised within a circle of a pack of older brothers, half-brothers, [593]
and step brothers, all of whom were bigger, stronger, and more capable than he. [733]
His father has been an alcoholic for thirty years and has rarely worked or contributed
much to the organization of the family, which as a co-residential [592]
household usually included more than a dozen persons. In all, Weasel had 17
full and part siblings, half of whom are now deceased, three directly as a result [165]
of drinking, three from acts of violence or car accidents.

Weasel's formal education ceased when he was 15, in the ninth grade, at which [871]
time he was arrested on a burglary charge. Since then he has spent six years [674]
in reformatories or penal institutions. He was tested while in jail on an
assault charge. Shortly thereafter he was found not-guilty, then re-arrested [697]
and sentenced on a different assault with a deadly weapon charge to three years
in the state penitentiary.

Weasel has repeatedly moved out of the circle of the family group, only to
fail "outside" and return to its sheltering arms. For a time Weasel was a [542]
professional boxer, but one without much skill or stamina. He never won a fight
and his face shows the evidence of the capabilities of his opponents. His
membership in this profession did not last long, and Weasel states, rather
proudly, that the Boxing Commission expelled him "For conduct unbecoming a
professional boxer." Weasel was once married (a common-law marriage, which [588]
for Weasel's primary reference groups is well sanctioned) but this lasted just
16 weeks. During this period Weasel stayed sober, the longest time he has spent [581]
without a drink since the age of 12. Weasel was consciously trying to reform [733]
himself, but now feels that he was a fool to ever try. Additionally, Weasel
has repeatedly made a circuit of nearby towns and cities either singly or in [156]
the company of a brother or friend. These visitations have more of the character [579]
of raids than anything else, and Weasel is usually arrested in one or another
place and either charged or shipped out of town. [697]

In addition to being a minor criminal Weasel is frequently also the scapegoat 159*
for the aggressions of stronger men than he. He constantly asks for trouble, 156
but has never given any evidence that he can back of his threats with appropriate
force. His successful acts of aggression have always been sneak attacks, [186]
or attacks on feeble old men or young boys. He seldom attempts to avoid the
consequences of these actions, and, indeed, is frequently not able to do so,
because of his extreme drunken condition. He seems to obtain some gratification
from the minor prestige afforded his performances in these roles, but this
gratification is highly personalized and is not recognized as appropriate by
others. It may be that he has been attempting to build up his standing and reputation
within his own circle by acting out the role of a "dangerous Indian,"
but it would seem that he has been singularly unsuccessful in this. One aspect
of this behavior is his reputed skill with a knife. On two occasions he wanted
to obtain vocational training, once as a barber, the other time as a butcher,
both times implying that this would be a simple extension of his native talent.

hay for his own [cattle]."[50] The practice of contract grazing on 648*
tribal land was also continued, though with scanty returns.[51] 657*

Leasing brought regulatory headaches. Trespass could less 563
easily be controlled. Some stockmen who rented land from the 427
Indians turned in more cattle than the pasture could sustain, [311]
while keeping the fences in such disrepair that the cattle drifted
onto the unfenced lands of neighboring allotments.[52] In con- [625]
sequence, the meager band of reservation police had to be di-
verted to the task of enforcing the grazing rules. The Superin- [675] •
tendent was obliged to see that all contracts were made through
his office. When disputes arose, he was often forced to intervene
and even at times to threaten a lawsuit in order to collect on
behalf of an Indian. Meanwhile, some lessees were themselves
fencing the lands in lieu of part of the lease, so that many Indians
were no longer compelled to put in any work in order to receive
returns from their property.[53] By 1903, even unfenced allot-
ments were being leased. In that year payments from leases [434]
comprised thirty per cent of estimated personal income, providing
$8,220 distributed among some ninety to one hundred allottees.[54]

By 1908, a large number of Indians were entrusted with the 648*
"experiment" of managing their own allotments, including the 657*
hiring of necessary labor and leasing their tracts for a term not 423
to exceed the legal limit. The narrow discretion afforded, how- 427
ever, is seen from the provision that "the leases that you are to
draw this year will be drawn for you in this office," although the
Indian was to collect his own rental. Fifty-eight Indians were
empowered at once to handle their allotments and apparently
those of their children as well, upon these cautious terms.[55]

Leasing had scarcely gotten under way when a movement for 648*
the sale of lands began. The act had originally envisaged a trust 657*
period of twenty-five years, to be extended at the discretion of 423
the President, during which time the United States retained title to 432
the land. For many individuals, allotted just prior to 1910, that
period—although subsequently extended—was to expire in 1935.
However, amendments provided for sale under proper super-
vision when circumstances required, and by 1912 five sales had
been consummated, all involving heirship cases.[56]

When an allottee died, his land passed to his heirs—by the 648*
657*
423
428

*648 his own hands, Indians frequently became emancipated from
*657 responsibility to any strictly tribal body.

619 Exclusion of children born after a given date in 1910 gave rise to an unpropertied membership both on and off the reservation. With the return to the reservation of some acculturated members, often the product of intermarriage with whites, the outlook of

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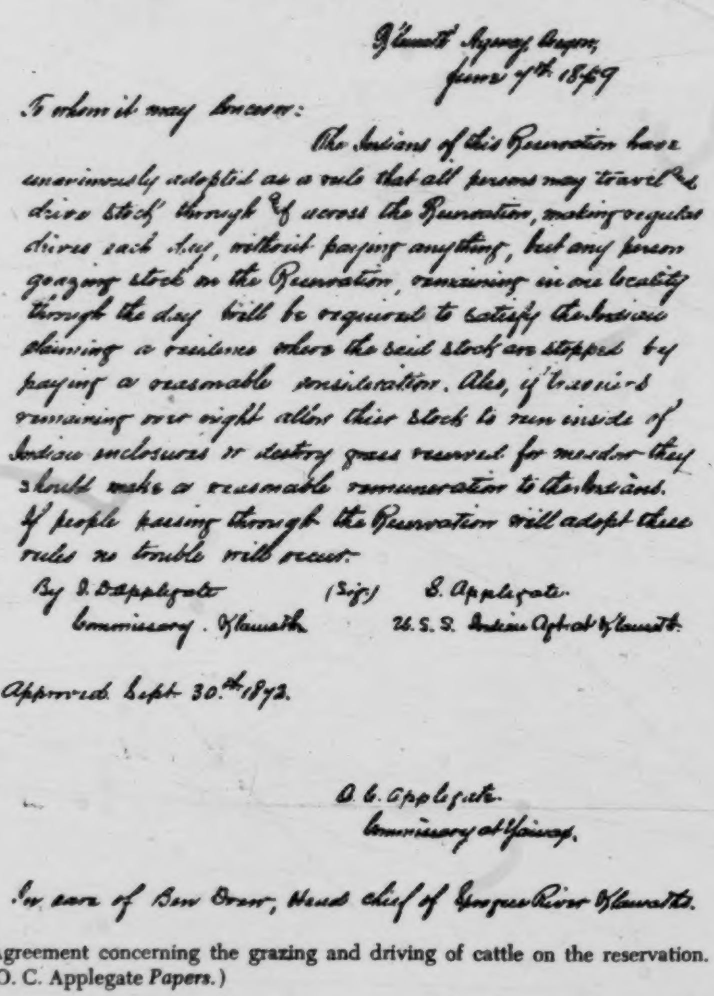

Klamath Agency Oregon,
June 7th 1869

To whom it may Concern:

The Indians of this Reservation have unanimously adopted as a rule that all persons may travel & drive stock through & across the Reservation, making regular drives each day, without paying anything, but any person grazing stock on the Reservation, remaining in one locality through the day will be required to satisfy the Indians claiming a residence where the said stock are stopped by paying a reasonable consideration. Also, if travelers remaining over night allow their stock to run inside of Indian enclosures or destroy grass reserved for meadow they should make a reasonable remuneration to the Indians. If people passing through the Reservation will adopt these rules no trouble will occur.

By I. D. Applegate (Sig.) L. Applegate
Commissary. Klamath U. S. S. Indian Agt at Klamath.

Approved Sept 30th 1872.

O. C. Applegate
Commissary at Yainax.

In care of Ben Drew, Head chief of Sprague River Klamaths.

Agreement concerning the grazing and driving of cattle on the reservation. (O. C. Applegate *Papers.*)

As for the deposed Monchnkasgitk, his place was promptly 657*
filled by the election of one "Barcley." Despite the rebuff, 648*
Monchnkasgitk rose again in time to the position of subchief at 622
Yainax, where he came to be known as Moses Brown.[17]

The major election had removed from immediate power one
who had obstructed Agency-sponsored reforms, but had left the
membership of the lesser chieftaincies intact. It is clear that
administration policy held that representation by a chief was
adequate to secure the interests of a band. Thus, in 1871, when 657*
John Meacham found the lot of the slaves little improved his 648*
remedy was to authorize them to elect a chief "to represent 622
them in the councils and courts of the tribes."[18] In the political 692
order thus established, the chiefs had been displaced from an 693
executive role to constitute a court, while a sheriff, chosen from
among the Indians, together with constables, one per chief, were
to maintain order. Chiefs, somewhat extralegally, soon began to
assume magisterial functions.

It took some time to make the court aware of the bounds 657*
within which it ought to operate. John Meacham noted in his 648*
charges "an excessive disposition to go to law," and remarked, 622
"I have counciled [sic] the board of chiefs against this, especially 692
against making arrests for trifling offenses or for *no* offence at
all, advising them that the object of the law is to *protect* the
people and not to *oppress* them."[19] Soon thereafter, he reduced
the court to a membership of only seven chiefs and set its sessions
at monthly intervals.[20]

As outlined by Dave Hill, one of the members of the court, 657*
the list of offenses combined crimes against the person (murder, 648*
adultery, stealing, fornication, witchcraft, and fighting), those 622
against property (arson), together with what can only be considered [68] •
redefinitions of customary procedure. Thus, cremation [764]
of the dead was enjoined and the license permitted a chief in
dealing with his followers was severely circumscribed. Marriages [585]
were to be confirmed before the principal chief, who was to [643]
receive a fee; the bride price was not to be returned on the [586]
desertion of the husband; while the court might order the separation
of an irreconcilable couple. Monogamy alone was permissible.[21] [595]

Thus, not only were the chiefs given new and different powers,

2: Voegelin   E-5   (1936)   1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
755 Sucking Doctors: Payment for Curing																
4983a. Shaman paid for curing	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4984. Negotiated fee	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4985. Patient, patients' relatives decide amount of fee	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4986. Fee paid to doctor before cure	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4987. Fee shown to doctor, who smells it			-			*+	*+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4988. Fee paid after cure	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	*+	*+	+	+		+	+
4989. Fee set near patient during treatment	+	+	-	-	+	*+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
4990. Shaman's guardian spirit also "paid"	-	-	+	*+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4991. Demands skins, hides, baskets, etc.	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4992. Objects set up by patient during cure	-	-	*+	*+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4993. If treatment unsuccessful, doctor tries again	+					+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-		+	
o4994. Makes ... attempts only						3	3		3	-	-	2			+	
4995. If treatment unsuccessful, fee not offered or not taken	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+		-	-
4996. If treatment unsuccessful, fee returned	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	+
4997. Treatment deemed unsuccessful if patient dies	+	.	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+		+	+
4998. Within 1 to 6 months	-	.	+	+	.	.	-	-	-	+	+	-	-		-	-
†4999. Within ... days	10	.	-	-	.	.	10	10	10	-	-	-	20		20	*20
5000. Assistants paid same amount as doctor	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
5001. Assistants paid less than doctor	-	*(+)	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-		-	-
5002. Doctor pays assistant out of own fee.	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[683] 5003. Doctor liable for refusing case	-	*-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-
5004. May be accused of poisoning	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-
5005. Liable to be killed	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-
5006. Never decline case	-	-	-		+		+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[681] 5007. Unsuccessful doctors killed	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-
Sucking Doctors: Beneficent Powers Other Than Curing																
756, 787 5008. Can capture "poison" sickening village			*+		*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5009. Goes into trance			*+		+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5010. 2 men support him, when poison captured			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-		-	-
5011. Can locate lost, stolen objects	-	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	.	+	+		-	(+)
5012. Can see what is happening afar off	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-		-	-
5013. What will happen in future	-	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+		-	-
Sucking Doctors: Malevolent Practices																
756 754 5014. Shaman causes illness, death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+		+	*-
5015. Talks to disease object (pain), sends it to victim			.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5016. Disease object put in food	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+		+	-
5017. Disease object put under victim's doorstep			-		*+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-		-	-
*5018. Disease object sent to sicken entire village			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-
5019. Disease object applied to person's body	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+		+	-
5020. Scorpion's tail applied to body, or person's urine													-		*+	-
5020a. Ashes, water, dirt thrown toward victim			+								+	+	+		+	-
5021. Disease object pointed at victim	-	-	-	-	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-
5022. Thrown at victim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-		-	-
5023. Blown off hand at victim	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-

> told him about the Holy Spirit that was to come to the whole world and visit its remotest parts. When he came back from the Dalles he told his people about it but found them groping in perfect darkness. . . . They would not believe him and told him he lied. He had watched long for the coming of the Holy Spirit and had never doubted that he should see him. He had heard Mr. Meacham talk for many days. . [and] now he saw that he was not like other men and knew that he must be the Holy Spirit come at last to bring gracious gifts for all tribes. . . ."[16]

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[797]

Others—and they were to become more influential—lived for some time with whites and became convinced that the best policy for the Klamath was one of peace. They included Lileks, who in the course of the trading excursions to the north dwelled for several years at The Dalles and was exposed there, no doubt, to the examples of authority set by whites as well as by the Columbia River tribes themselves. Another was Dave Hill, who, starting about 1859, lived approximately five years in Oregon City. Allen David, later to succeed Lileks as head chief in reservation days, was "well versed in the ways of the white man, from travel among the Willamette settlement." Another was Charley Preston who, like Hill, had spent five years at Oregon City, working for white farmers and had become "quite civilized and learned many of the white man's ways. He returned to his tribe and became a headman. . . ."[17]

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Men such as these became the leaders of a "peace party" among the Klamath, and their views achieved dominance in the growing centralization of power among the Klamath. Lileks may have consolidated the ascendancy he presently achieved as head of this group by marriages beyond his tribelet: to the four wives from his own, Klamath Marsh, division, he added one each from the Lower Williamson and Klamath Falls groups, as well as one from the Modoc. From the Columbia he or a contemporary brought back new "laws," which included the institution of flogging as punishment for murder or for persistent quarreling. In one instance, ascribed by Spier, with some question, to pre-reservation days, when two men of the Lower Williamson River tribelet slew a Klamath Falls man, Lileks had them haled to Klamath Marsh, where each was beaten five times.[18]

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[595]
[177]
[681]

When, in 1858, it was indicated that Klamath and Rogue

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*657 time had come, he summoned his people "to receive his solemn
*648 admonishments err [sic] his spirit take flight." Soon recovering,
622 he voiced to the Agency farmer, S. D. Whitemore, the suspicion
that the shaman who had cured him, and whose professional charges had stripped him of all his effects, had been in league with the subchiefs to bring about his death; and he requested that the shaman be imprisoned by the military. Later events made it clear that Monchnkasgitk had been a leader in the conspiracy, plotting to take the place of the old chief. Thereupon, Whitemore, then in charge of the Agency, called a council, at which he "stated that it will be highly necessary to consult their, and the government agent, or the change could not be regonized [sic]. . . . I learned that after a lengthy consultation with the indians has [sic] become impressed with the belief that Mosen Kasket and his band have no hostile intentions."[7]

[558] With Agency backing, Lileks once more was restored to a position of relative authority, but his recourse to outside support caused his personal prestige to decline. He thus had to resort increasingly to formal instruments to bolster his power and to implement the changes he sought. When one Spokane Ike slew
[682] his child in Jacksonville, Lileks asked that the Agent order all
Indians back upon the reservation. Spokane Ike was tried by the Indian court, Lileks presiding, and was fined fifty dollars.

[692] Lileks took readily to the court, and Whitemore reported, "The
indians are holding court dayly [sic]. I am not informed of the nature of their cases." O. C. Applegate described one session thus: "A few days ago the Grand Court of Klamath set, Chief LaLakes presiding, and many men were convicted of many
[681] crimes. One in particular had stolen a number of women, 20
mink skins and otherwise trampeled [sic] on the rights of his people, he now wears shackles and a heavy log chain and chops wood for La Lakes."[8]

*648 The head chief was by no means an advocate of indiscriminate
*657 change. He favored inhumation of the dead, which he had
622 witnessed among the whites in his travels to Jacksonville, Yreka,
177 and The Dalles, over the native practice of cremation; and about
[764] 1868 he secured its adoption.[9] On the other hand, when the
[567] proposal was made in 1865 to liberate the slaves, Lileks was
prominent in voicing his displeasure, undoubtedly backed by

was transacted by Jack Palmer, Harrison Brown, Ike Mose, and 648*
Abraham Charley. A committee of ten men submitted a report 659*
of the findings of the council, presenting the proadministration 665
viewpoint and requesting "that these men [Kirk and party] be 668
not allowed to do any more business pertaining to the tribe with- 578
out tribal authority."[74]

Jesse Kirk and his adherents did not participate in the "loyal" council. After the scene in Evans' office, Kirk and Jackson had consulted with Mills in Klamath Falls. In the company of the attorney they then returned to demand the petition. Evans refused, informing Mills that "no attorney had any right to interfere in tribal affairs without permission from the Interior Department." The three retired and with others of the faction drew up another petition which they forwarded to Washington.[75]

In his letter of transmittal to the firm of Dudley and Michener in the capital, who were in turn to present the matter to the Commissioner, Mills shed a new perspective upon matters. After reviewing some of the earlier developments, he turned to the [692]
investigations of Inspector Holland, which, as he said, [681] •

> proceeded along smothly [sic] enough until the questions of money and property became the subject of inquiry when it developed that during the last four years a system of collecting money, stock, lumber and other property had been adopted; it seems that this was done by first having the "Indian" court (a sort of disciplinary tribunal which has been authorized or rather sanctioned by the department) impose a penalty or punishment and then allow the indian defendant to pay in cash or such other property as he might chance to have and notwithstanding that such court has no such authority to impose fine or collect money in that way. . . . During the time of the investigation some of the fines which had been collected one or two years were paid back to the defendants. . . . It is conclusive proof had there not been an illegal practice . . . no such returns would have been made. . . .

Although Holland had inquired into only one case, there had been several. Jesse Kirk had requested of George Loosley, chief of police, the list of fines imposed, but was denied it. Finally, Loosley consented to divulge the sum, amounting to $2,651 collected over a four-year period.

At the center of the case, claimed Mills, was Applegate, related through marriage to three brothers of the Loosley family. Two

County. Of regular municipal income in the year, 1956-57, taxa- 648*
tion supplied only a little over four per cent. The largest sources 657*
of revenue were the water system, the city tavern (which alone 641
supplied over one-third of the budget), and the proceeds from 651
law enforcement (amounting to over one-fourth of the budget).
Since, after the repeal of Indian prohibition in 1951, tribal members had become the major patrons of the municipal tavern, comprising in 1958 an estimated eighty per cent of its clientele, it is evident that in this indirect manner they had come to constitute a major support in the operation of the municipal government.

Nor was this all. The sizable sum derived from law enforce- 648*
ment was highly unusual. While the major enforcement problem 657*
in most Oregon cities of comparable size was traffic violations, 641
Chiloquin in 1956-57 found no less than ninety-three per cent of 674
its offenses to be felonies and misdemeanors other than traffic
violations. Tribal members and other Indians, including re-
peaters, accounted for over seventy-two per cent of the arrests; [681] •
they paid over seventy per cent of the fines and forfeited bail; [464]
and they furnished over ninety-six per cent of the trusty labor
performed in the city.[7]

Aside from a few individual instances, this record does not 648*
reflect a policy of discriminatory arrests on the part of the city 657*
administration. It does, however, mark one of the significant 674
confrontations upon the reservation. It was conditioned in part [641]
by the special statutory position of the Klamath, for as an Indian [656]
under federal supervision he was enjoined by law from having
or using liquor and from marrying a white within the state.
Until these disabilities were removed in 1951, tribal members
were subject to arrest for acts not held criminal when committed
by non-Indians. During prohibition, tribal members had learned [273]
to operate stills, had taken to drinking extracts, proprietary
medicines, rubbing alcohol, and "canned heat" in lieu of scarce
liquors, and had both patronized and served as bootleggers.
Habits of defiant drinking, akin to those of other Americans
during the "dry" years, lingered even into the years after repeal.

Klamath experience with strong drink and violence had neither begun with the reservation towns nor was it confined to them;

Chiefs' Functions

The functions of chiefs both to the northwest and in central California differed sharply from those of the Klamath. 171* 622

On the Northwest Coast proper the authority of a chief was by no means absolute. The commoners were subject to his admonition rather than his will, his direct authority extending hardly beyond his immediate following. Such gifts as they made him were free-will offerings, large as they were, dictated solely by traditional sentiment. While these include almost all articles of food among the Kwakiutl, to the south, as among the Klallam and Snohomish, they were rather such things as were difficult to procure, such as the products of the hunt, and were no more than were given to any respected old man.[570]

The situation on the Columbia river and in coastal Washington and Oregon was different. These chiefs had real authority. Wishram, Quinault,[571] and Coos chiefs were obeyed, their authority being challenged only by the rich. Commoners among Wishram and Coos gave largely from their gains and in return could expect the aid of their chiefs when in distress. The chiefs sat as judges in cases of witchcraft and murder, assessing heavy fines and ordering the culprit killed if he defaulted. Such fines were not theirs but went to the family of the murdered man. They also paid such fines for their followers. What little is known of the Tillamook suggests an identical situation. [692] [682]

This judicial function, with its meting of fines and punishment, made its appearance among the Klamath by way of the Dalles early in the middle of the last century.

Northwestern California shows considerable similarity to western Oregon, but the authority of rich men was slight in comparison and they did not sit as judges. Among the Hupa, Shasta, and presumably their neighbors, they were obeyed because they gave of their store in times of scarcity and paid fines for followers who were in difficulties. The headmen in more southerly Californian groups exercised more formal authority, as the Yuki and Patwin headmen, who may have made decisions of war and directed town activities. In northeastern California (Maidu, Achomawi, Atsugewi) chiefs were much like

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[570] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1333 f.; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 204; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 38.

[571] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1926.

K In such a sphere, and in relations with strangers beyond, the
M myths picture encounters fraught with possible danger. They
609 may be initiated by a trucial period which endures until, by
proper guest-host behavior, by a claim of kinship or on the other
hand by an act of aggression, the issue of "friend or foe" is
K precipitated. Hospitality dictates that one receive and feed the
M stranger, though a visiting kinsman brings a gift of food or
[574] otherwise repays the kindness. If, however, hostility is decided
upon, it rarely becomes open: instead, both sides proceed indirectly, under the guise of amicability, and employ followers
or auxiliaries to encompass the destruction of the other. It is
here that the prescient qualities of the hero, his access to assistants and to supernatural forces, are decisive.[19]

K In ethnographic reality, the outer limits of society are marked
648 by the boundaries of common speech. Beyond this, the Klamath
maintain amity with the Molala, intermittent friendship and
hostility toward the Warm Springs and other Columbia River
Sahaptin, who sometimes raid them, and toward the Paiute;
inveterate hostility toward the Takelma of the upper Rogue
and other peoples west of the Cascades; and a predatory aggressiveness toward the Pit River and Shasta to the south, whom they
increasingly raid for slaves and loot.

K The horizons of such a society are not wide. With the ex-
M ception of the shaman, a part-time specialist, each man and each
571 woman has much the same skills and knowledge as his fellows.
156 The aberrant individual can do no more than assume the dress
[838] and behavior of the other sex, ascribing his action to supernatural
dictate. The transient forms of the community and the informal
constraint it imposes, the paucity of activities that demand concerted action, go hand in hand with a permissiveness in the
individual. When this takes aggressive form, it may threaten
the very fabric of society.

K The covert expression of hostility is likely to invest relations
M beyond the natal family with fear and mistrust. Revenge can
754 take the form of murder from ambush, sorcery to engender the
571 illness or death of the enemy, or the stealthy destruction of his
152 property.[20] One frequent cause of open slayings, and of the feuds
• 682 that ensue, is suspicion that a shaman has brought about the
death of one's kinsman. Commonly, such charges are leveled

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against a member of another band or tribe, but malevolence or greed, it is thought, may sometimes lead a shaman to compound the illness or death of a fellow bandsman; and sometimes his spirits may act independently of him to bring the same end. Klamath recall with horror the unnatural event which took place in the present decade of the present century, when that suspicion caused a woman to slay her own mother for the fatal bewitchment of her child.

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To end a description of the aboriginal life of Klamath and Modoc in this manner is to risk too somber a balance. Loosely structured in society, modest in scale, precariously balanced against the winters, their cultures made possible a good life in which dignity and worth had a place. That those were not, however, the halcyon days sometimes depicted today is intimated by the words spoken in 1873 by the Klamath leader, Henry Blow. If they exaggerate as almost certainly they do, they still possess an essential truth:

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> Before the Bostons came there was no law. The strongest man took what he wanted and the man who had the most property and the most friends was the chief. It was a bad country in those times. Some men were bad and took away the property of other men. If a man was poor and had no friends, and had a beautiful squaw, some stronger man would steal his squaw and kill him if he resisted.[21] Might was right in those days and there was much fighting and killing everywhere. If a man was jealous because another was getting rich and had many friends, he would steal into his lodge and kill him when he was asleep, or lay in ambush to kill him as he went by. Those were bad times as we see now, since the Bostons have come and made law to protect every man's rights and property.[22]

*657 time had come, he summoned his people "to receive his solemn
*648 admonishments err [sic] his spirit take flight." Soon recovering,
622 he voiced to the Agency farmer, S. D. Whitemore, the suspicion
that the shaman who had cured him, and whose professional
charges had stripped him of all his effects, had been in league
with the subchiefs to bring about his death; and he requested
that the shaman be imprisoned by the military. Later events
made it clear that Monchnkasgitk had been a leader in the
conspiracy, plotting to take the place of the old chief. Thereupon,
Whitemore, then in charge of the Agency, called a council, at
which he "stated that it will be highly necessary to consult their,
and the government agent, or the change could not be regonized
[sic]. . . . I learned that after a lengthy consultation with the
indians has [sic] become impressed with the belief that Mosen
Kasket and his band have no hostile intentions."[7]

[558] With Agency backing, Lileks once more was restored to a
position of relative authority, but his recourse to outside support
caused his personal prestige to decline. He thus had to resort
increasingly to formal instruments to bolster his power and to
implement the changes he sought. When one Spokane Ike slew
[682] his child in Jacksonville, Lileks asked that the Agent order all
Indians back upon the reservation. Spokane Ike was tried by the
Indian court, Lileks presiding, and was fined fifty dollars.

[692] Lileks took readily to the court, and Whitemore reported, "The
indians are holding court dayly [sic]. I am not informed of the
nature of their cases." O. C. Applegate described one session
thus: "A few days ago the Grand Court of Klamath set, Chief
LaLakes presiding, and many men were convicted of many
[681] crimes. One in particular had stolen a number of women, 20
mink skins and otherwise trampeled [sic] on the rights of his
people, he now wears shackles and a heavy log chain and chops
wood for La Lakes."[8]

*648 The head chief was by no means an advocate of indiscriminate
*657 change. He favored inhumation of the dead, which he had
622 witnessed among the whites in his travels to Jacksonville, Yreka,
177 and The Dalles, over the native practice of cremation; and about
[764] 1868 he secured its adoption.[9] On the other hand, when the
[567] proposal was made in 1865 to liberate the slaves, Lileks was
prominent in voicing his displeasure, undoubtedly backed by

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM MÁK̲LAKSAM NÉ-ULAKS.

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[115]

LEGAL CUSTOMS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

Given by Subchief Dave Hill in the Klamath Lake Dialect.

I.

E-ukskni nä'd tchí tchía gitá: P'lú lak̲í tútasχēnini, nû'ds Dave
Lake-people we then live here: Blow is chief general, and I Dave
Hill lak̲í P'lúash tapí'tan, Lánk-Tchān Dávish tapí'tan, tchē'k tchish Link
Hill am chief to Blow second, Long John Dave after, then too Link
River Jack Lánk-Tchánash tapí'tan, Lílu ts.
River Jack Long John after, and Lila.

Pit River Charley Móatuasham lak̲í E-ukshí'.
Pit River Charley of Pit River people is the chief at the Lake.

Ben Littlejohn lálak̲i, Skóntchiesh lak̲í Yainakskíshăm mák̲laksam.
Ben (and) Littlejohn are the chiefs, Skóntchish is (sub-) chief of the Yánaks people.
Johnson lak̲í Moadokníshaın Yaínakshi. George Kuatí'lak ts Módokni
Johnson is chief of Modocs at Yánaks. George Kuatílak also is Modoc
lak̲í tapí'tan Jóhnsonash.
chief after Johnson.

Tcháktot Sátam lak̲í.
Tcháktot of Snake Indians is chief.

II.

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Nánuk lalák̲i Ă'-uksi nä'dsant shiû'lgishtat tsí sa hémkank:
All the chiefs on Klamath Lake on one and same reservation thus they speak:

[684]

[685]

[689]

K̲á-i i shlí-uapk shash: ksaggayuapká m's ní; k̲á-i i palluápk sas
Not you shall shoot each other: would hang you I; not you seduce each other's
snáwedsh: spûlhi-uapká m's ní, hä' i sas pálluapk. K̲á-i i wátsam tchí'k-
wives: would imprison you I, if you them seduce. Not you a horse shall
luapk wännikí'sham; hä'doks i tchíkluapk, spulhi-uapká m's ní. K̲á-i i
ride of another man; but if you should ride, would imprison you I. Not you
pálluapk sas nánuktua, hä'doks i pálluapk sas spûlhi-uápka m's ní.
shall steal from each other anything, for if you should steal from each other would imprison you I.

(Nánuktua k̲á-i i pálluapk; hä'doks i yekä'-uapk nä'-ulaks, hunkantí'
(Nothing you must steal; for if you should break the laws, thereat
m's ní shetcháktanuapk.) Hä'doks i snawä'dsh Bóshtinash shă'tolakuapk,
at you I would get angry.) If you, as a female, with a white man should sleep,
któtchkuapka m's ní. Hä'doks i hä'sχalp'luapk nánuktua shéshatuish m'na,
will cut off hair to you I. If you should have returned to yourself the whole marriage fee his,

*539 773 825 823 text is far from being complete. It refers to a locality above the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, called Ktaítini, or "Standing Rock". A high rock stands there at the edge of a steep hill, and, according to the legend, the Indians who put pitch on their head were changed into that rock. Near by, a lumber-dam looking like a beaver-dam, across the Williamson River, partly resting on rocks projecting from the bottom of the river. K'múkamtch longed for the destruction of this dam, muddied the water to prevent the Indians from fishing and hired the loon to destroy the objectionable structure. The loon dived into the waters and forced its way through the dam by main strength. The Indians dwelling on the shore depended for their living on the fisheries, and seeing their existence at stake tried to gig the loon, but succeeded only in hitting its tail-feathers. When the loon had accomplished his task K'múkamtch offered to reward him in any manner wished for. The loon then wished to have white spots on its back, and K'múkamtch satisfied the request by spitting chalk upon the downy surface of its body.

122, 3. lúeluak; formed by vocalic dissimilation; cf. *Note* to 114, 3.

BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

I.

*539 Wásh tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lû'la wásham tχû'tχash.
Prairie-wolf is soothsayer; and they believe in wolf's prophecy.

825 Mák̲laks hû'nk lû'la wásham pákluipkash k̲'lékuapkaht tchĕ'k; tχu'-
787 Indians believe, prairie-wolf when howls, they will die after a while; pre-
763 tχuk pákluipka.
saging he howls.

Mák̲laks hû'nk lû'la púshish hă'masht í-unégshtka, tχû'tχuk héma;
Indians believe, the cat when cries just after sunset, for presaging death it mews;
tchíkí'n tchish hă'masht í-unégshtka gû'lu, tχû'tχuk tchĕk hă'ma. Wátchag
the chicken also when crows just after sunset the female, for presaging death then it crows. The dog
tchí'sh wawá-a í-unégshtka, k̲ú-i tchămlûk.
also (when) whines right after sunset, the signs are bad.

*539 Watság tchí'shtat tχótχa í-ună'gshtka; tsúi gátpa mák̲laks, gû'lki ngé-
[682] A dog at a lodge howls prophetically just after sunset; then comes an Indian, attacks, wounds
isha at hustsŏ'χa. Sa-ámoks hátokt tchía tû'sht hushtchŏ'χa, k̲á-i hûnk
and kills (the owner). A relative, (who) there lived right where the murder was, did not him
shiúga; tsúi tû'tûk spû'nshna lû'gshla vû'nsh sχéna witsû'ls éna tû'tuk
kill; then seizing (him) they arrest, enslave him, the canoe row away, fishing-net carry with them taking
ktsí'k, snáwedsh spû'nshna híssuaks shíukaluk. Kilû'sh at kétak a
oars, his wife they abduct, (her) husband being the murderer. Furious he quits and
tsă'wik.
is demented

*171
622 those of the Klamath; theirs was an advisory function and they led in war.[672]

A corollary of the chief rich man's position in California and Oregon was that he did not himself engage in war. By reason of his wealth he could terminate the conflict by paying the blood money necessary to balance the score. This has been observed of the Tillamook, Shasta, Hupa, Kato, Pomo, and was perhaps general.[673] [701] There is some suggestion of this in Klamath custom; a chief was not ordinarily a war leader but he certainly did not make good the blood-money payments. On the other hand this may have been nothing more than the common western attitude that a chief was not of necessity a war leader.

*171
• 683 One characteristic feature of the cultures from Columbia river southward, which has been touched on before, was a well developed system of fines for injuries. This did not appear on the Northwest Coast nor in western Washington, but was by no means confined to northwestern California as has been implied. It is quite characteristic of a larger area: Wishram, Alsea, Coos, Takelma, Yurok, Karok, Hupa, Shasta, Pomo.[674] Remuneration was often demanded for comparatively slight injuries; thus an Alsea shinny player who was hit exceptionally hard had to be compensated. The eastern groups (Klamath, Maidu, etc.) had no such sentiment, but it is worthy of note that they did compound a murder by a property settlement, a notion which may have been absent still farther east in the Basin.

Speaker

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[756] Chiefs' speakers occurred among many western tribes. There were none such among the Klamath, whose shamans had however assistants with comparable functions. These have been discussed with shamanism. The chief's speaker was eminently characteristic of the Northwest Coast, where his activity in the potlatch and other ceremonies has been often remarked. He not only repeated the words of his chief to the gathering but also served as his representative and advocate. In the Great Basin, on the other hand, the function of the speaker was merely to repeat verbatim after an orator or story-teller.

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[672] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 58; Kroeber, Handbook, 164, 296; McKern, Functional Families; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 223, Notes on the Achomawi, 215; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 41.

[673] Kroeber, A Kato War; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 202, 203, 236.

[674] Frachtenberg, Alsea Texts, 199; Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 270; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 297.

755 Sucking Doctors: Payment for Curing

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4983a. Shaman paid for curing	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4984. Negotiated fee	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4985. Patient, patients' relatives decide amount of fee	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4986. Fee paid to doctor before cure	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4987. Fee shown to doctor, who smells it			−			•+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
4988. Fee paid after cure	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	•+	•+	+	+		+	+
4989. Fee set near patient during treatment	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+		−	−
4990. Shaman's guardian spirit also "paid"	−	−	+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4991. Demands skins, hides, baskets, etc.	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4992. Objects set up by patient during cure	−	−	•+	•+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4993. If treatment unsuccessful, doctor tries again	+					+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−		+	
c4994. Makes ... attempts only						3	3		3	−	−	2			.	
4995. If treatment unsuccessful, fee not offered or not taken	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	−
4996. If treatment unsuccessful, fee returned	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	+
4997. Treatment deemed unsuccessful if patient dies	+	.	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	+
4998. Within 1 to 6 months	−	.	+	+	.	.	−	−	−	+	+	−	−		−	−
†4999. Within ... days	10	.	−	−	.	.	10	10	10	−	−	−	20	.	20	•20
5000. Assistants paid same amount as doctor	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
5001. Assistants paid less than doctor	−	(+)	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−		−	−
5002. Doctor pays assistant out of own fee.	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
[683] 5003. Doctor liable for refusing case	−	•−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
5004. May be accused of poisoning	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
5005. Liable to be killed	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
5006. Never decline case	−	−	−		+		+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
[681] 5007. Unsuccessful doctors killed	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−

Sucking Doctors: Beneficent Powers Other Than Curing

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756, 787 *5008. Can capture "poison" sickening village			•+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
5009. Goes into trance			•+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
5010. 2 men support him, when poison captured			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−		−	−
5011. Can locate lost, stolen objects	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	.	+	+		−	(+)
5012. Can see what is happening afar off	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−		−	−
5013. What will happen in future	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+		−	−

Sucking Doctors: Malevolent Practices

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756, 754 5014. Shaman causes illness, death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		+	•−
5015. Talks to disease object (pain), sends it to victim			.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
5016. Disease object put in food	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+		+	−
5017. Disease object put under victim's doorstep			−		•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−		−	−
*5018. Disease object sent to sicken entire village			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−
5019. Disease object applied to person's body	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	−
5020. Scorpion's tail applied to body, or person's urine													−		•+	−
5020a. Ashes, water, dirt thrown toward victim			+								+	+	+		+	−
5021. Disease object pointed at victim	−	−	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−
5022. Thrown at victim	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−		−	−
5023. Blown off hand at victim	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	−

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
5024. Blown through pipe	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+	+	+		−	−	756
5025. Blown with smoke			+	−	+	•+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+		−	−	
5026. Disease object put in pipe; pipe offered victim	+	+	−	−	−	−		+	.	+	+	+	+		−	−	754
5027. Disease object, evil spirit may use tiny bow	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−		−	−	
5028. Shoots at victim	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−		−	−	
5029. Shaman talks to animal spirit, sends it to victim	•+	+	+		+						+		−		−	−	
5030. Disease object injected by animal	+	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−		−	−	
5031. Dreaming of doctor may cause illness.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+		−	−	
5032. Dreaming of animal may cause illness.	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−		−	−	
5033. Shaman steals victim's soul	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+		−	−	
5034. Heavy fall may also cause soul loss	−	−	−	−	+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+		−	−	
5035. Shaman causes minor injuries that lead to death	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
5036. Curing doctors hired to kill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	
5037. Malevolent doctor killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	756
5038. Burned to death	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5039. Jumped upon, neck broken											+	+	+		−	−	683
5040. Shot with bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	•+		+	−	
5041. Poisoned by another shaman	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−		−	−	
5042. Chief's consent necessary	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	•+	•+		−	−	
5043. Relative of victim kills doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+		+	−	
5044. Chief kills doctor	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	−		(−)	−	
5045. Chief hires killers	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	.	+	+		−	−	
5046. Woman may hire killers	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	.	+	+		+	−	
Sucking Doctors: Competitions																	
5047. Competitions of sucking shamans	•+	•+	(+)	−	−	−	+	−	−	•−	+	−	(+)		−	−	578 756
5048. Male shamans only	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
5049. Sing, charm opponent	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	[562]
5050. Shaman sings	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+		−	−	
5051. Shakes cocoon rattle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
5052. Is "shot" by sun	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
5053. Shamans boast of power	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	−		−	−	
5054. Exchange pipes filled with tobacco.	+	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	[276]
o5055. Inhale from pipes ... times	5	5	.	−	−	−	3	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5056. Overpowered shaman cures self	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
5057. Overpowered shaman cured by winner.	+	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
5058. Sometimes dies	−	•+	.	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
5059. Contest held publicly	+	(+)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
5060. Contest held privately	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
Singing Shamans																	
5060a. Singing shamans recognized	−	•(−)	+	•n	−	+	−	•+	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•−	•−	756
5061. Men	−	−	−		−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	533
5062. Women	−	−	−		−	+	−	+	−	−	−	(+)	−		−	−	
5063. Power acquired during sleep	−	−	.		−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−	
5064. Power acquired by vision, often unsought	−	−	.		−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
5065. Knowledge acquired by instruction	−	−	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5066. May also be sucking doctor	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	
5067. Limited power only	−	−	−		−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	
5068. Use outfit bundle	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5069. Kept inside house	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5070. Buried with patient if latter dies.	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	

*539 sχóktnank í häsχálp'luapk, hunkantchä' mísh ní k̲á-i né-ulakuapk: waké-
paying you should re-obtain it, on account of that you I not shall try; per-
622
692 anhua spû'lhi-uapk. Hä í híshuaksh pálluapk snawä'dshash, hä'doks
hape (I) will imprison. If you, as a married man, seduce a married woman, if
[684] í ná-änt snawä'dshash shetō'lakuapk, nä-ulakuapká m's ní. Hä í k̲í'-
you another with wife cohabit, shall punish you I. If you should
uapka ts, nä'-ulakuapka m's ní.
lie also, would punish you I.

[687] Hä'toks í nä's lúlûksaluapk k̲'lä'kapksh, mû' mísh ní nä'-ulakuapk.
And if you a person should cremate, who is dead, heavily you I shall punish.
[683] Hä' í kiúks tsís táwi-uapk, mû' mísh ní nä'-ulakuapk. Hä í shishókuapk
If you as a conjurer should bewitch, hard you I shall chastise. If you have a fight
[593] illí-uapka m's nánukäns; hä í snawä'dsh mí sissókuapk, ilhí'-uapka m's
I will lock up all of ye; if you (and) wife your should fight, will lock up you
ní lápuk sumseálĕmamks. Hä í shuhánk-sitk sissókuapk, lápuk mísh ni
I both married folks. If you evenly whip each other, both of ye I
nä'-ulakuapk; hä'toks snä'wedsh í mí udópkuapk, tchúi mísh k̲á-i sekák-
will punish; but if wife you your beat, and to you not returns
tsuapk hûk snáwädsh, k̲á-i ní nä'-ulakuapk snawä'dshash, mí'sh ní hissuák-
blows the wife, not I will punish the wife, you I, the hus-
shash spû'lhi-uapk. Hä í tuánksí wudsháyuapk hû'nkst, mí'sh ní mû'ak
band, will imprison. If you anywhere bruise her, you I more heavily
nä'-ulakuapk; hä'toks lak̲í ú'dopkuapk snawä'dsh m'na, snäkĕluápka ní.
shall punish; but if a chief bruises wife his, shall remove (him) I.
[683] Hä'toks í hí'hashuaksh shishókuapk, lápuk mísh ní ilhí-uapk. Hä'toks
If you with men should fight, both of ye I will lock up. If
[685] í shnä'lχuapk látchash mû' mísh ní nä'-ulakuapk.
you set on fire a lodge hard you I will chastise.

Hä lak̲í shishókuapk humáshtak ní shnäkĕlui-uápka; hä' tchik lak̲í
If a chief starts a fight, in the same manner I shall remove (him); if a chief
húntsak a mák̲laksas shishókuapk, lápĕni, ndánni, tánkní shishókuapk,
for no reason people should beat, twice, thrice, many times should beat,
tánkt ní snä'kĕlui-uapka ní. Hä' tchik í'-alhish tchísh k̲úi gí'uapk, shnä-
then I shall remove (him) I. If a guardian wrong does, shall
kĕluí-uapka ní; hä nánuktua k̲úi gí'uapka, tánkt ní shnäkĕlui-uápkan
remove (him) I; if in everything wrong does (he), then I will remove (I)
í'-alhishash; hä'toks í'alhish tíds, nanuktuánta tídsh gí'uapk, k̲á-i ní shnä-
the watchman; but if watchman well, all through well shall act, not I will
kĕluí-uapk. Lak̲iásh tchísh tídsh gísht k̲á-i ní shnäkĕlúi-uapk; hä Bóshtin
remove (him). A chief also doing his duty not I will remove; if white-man
yálank nä'-ulapkuapk, tí'dsh hûnk gí'uapk, k̲á-i ní hûnk wutódshanuapk.
alike he deals, right he shall act, not I him will cast away.

[689] K̲á-i í hussí'nuapk; hä'toks í hussí'nuapk nû hû'nk í'-amnuapk í'χaks
Not you must run horse-races; but if you run horse-races I the will take away gain
mí. Tchí lak̲í nä'-ulχa.
your. So the chief orders.

*539 622 692 [586]

hû'masht mish ni gíug skuyû'shkuapk. Hä ní skuyû'shkuapka m'sh,
therefore ye I will separate. If I should separate (her) from you,
tsû'shní m'sh ní skuyû'shkuapk.
forever from you I shall divorce (her).

K̲á-i mish ni hû'nk k̲í'tgik; nánuktuanta káktak píla m's n hû'nk hém-
Not you I that to tell lies told; about everything to tell the truth alone to you I that to
kanktgík; nä'-ulakt gí'tki í snawä'dshash tchí'sh káktak píl. K̲á-i n
tell said; to observe the laws you wife also to tell the truth only. Not I
hû'nk gí'tkik m's píla, hihashuákshash tchísh nánukänsh.
this to do tell to you only, (but) to men too all (others.)

III.

[689] Snáwedsh tchik shû'ldshash shetólχa, tsúi nát któktatska; at hûnk
A female (if) with a soldier copulates, then we cut her hair off; she
yakä'wa nä'-ulaka, k̲á-i hû'nk tû'mĕna shunû'kanksh nálam laláḵiam.
broke the law, not she listens to the behests of our chiefs.
Tchúi tchīk titátna heshsχálpĕli sésatuish m'nálam, tsúi sχō'ktnank tchä'k
Also sometimes she reobtains through barter the price paid (for her) to them, and by paying
héshsχalpĕli. Tsúi snawä'dsh tchísh násh híshuaksh wutódshish m'na pä'n
she reobtains it. And wife one husband who repudiated his again
hû'nk snúkp'la, tsúi nä'-ulĕkan titátnan hû'masht-gísht shnû'kp'lisht lä'p
her takes up, then chastise I (him) sometimes I because he took her back for two
sháppash spû'lhí, titatnatóks ní ndán sháppash, títatna tchín násh sháppash
months imprison, but sometimes I for three months, at times and I for one month
spû'lhí. Tsúi tch' hishtchákta hû'k kat lalápa wä'wans gítk; tsúi tsin nä'-
imprison (him). And quarrel they who two wives have; and thus I or-
ulk̲a skuyû'shkan. K̲á-i ní nä'-ulĕχa, sguyushkuyá ní; gä'tak. Títatna
der (and) separate (them) I. No more I try (them) in court, separate just I; that's the end of it. Sometimes
tch pálla shash ná-änts hihassuáksas snáwädsh, tchúi ní nä'-ulk̲an ndán
also seduce (them) other married men a female, then I try (her) I (and) for three
sáppash spû'lhi.
months imprison.

[683] [593] Tchúi shishóka títatna, tchúi náyäns wudsáya; hû'nkst ní násh sû'ndē
And they fight sometimes, and others they injure; him I one week
spû'lhi, kát sas hû'k wudsháya. Títatna tch shishóka shipapĕlánkstant hak,
imprison, who them has whipped. At times also they have fights among each other only,
k̲á-i shû'tka, sissukúya hak; tsúi ní né-ulĕka hû'nkiasht kákat hûk sissóka.
not injure, but scuffle merely; then I try those who had the row.
Láp sû'ndin lapukáyäns ilhí'. Títatna udû'pka hissuáksh snawä'dsh m'na;
For two weeks I both parties lock up. Sometimes whips a husband wife his;
hû'nks ní hissuáksas spû'lhi ndán sû'ndē; hä káa udópkpakuapk snáwedsh
that I husband lock up for three weeks; if roughly he should whip wife
m'na, hû'masht n'unk gíug ndán súndē spû'lhi. Títatna tch snáwädsh
his, on that account I him for three weeks (other I) imprison. Sometimes also a wife

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 622 692 hishnáksh m'na wudópka, tsúi nî snawä'dshash hû'nk nä'-ulχ, k̲á-i hû'nk
husband her whips, then I wife that punish, not the
hishuákshash, láp súndē.
husband, for two weeks.

[593] [683] Tsúi tchik kíuks tchî'sh títatna tawí shash, tsúi hûk k̲'lēká tawí'sh.
Then a conjurer also at times bewitches them, and dies the bewitched one.

[683] Tsúi ni nä'-ulχa, tsúi tû'nip sháppash spû'lhi·síukst; tsúi tchik wátch nísh
Then I try (him), and for five months imprison for manslaughter; and (if) horses to me

[593] sχókta tû'nip, tsúi nî k̲á-i spû'lhit sχoktí'sht nísh. Tsúi tch lak̲í ts ktû'pka
he pays five, then I not may imprison (him), he having paid me. And (if) a chief beats
m'na snáwädsh, tsúi nî snä'kēlua; gä'tak lak̲í gî hûk.
his wife, then I remove (him); no longer chief remains he.

NOTES.

[177] 58–62. The legal practices, regulations, and ordinances given here by a subchief of the Klamath Lake tribe are observed by all the chiefs, and are apparently fashioned after American models. The principle which seems to guide most of the judicial decisions of the chiefs, is given in one (59, 20. 21) of these regulations: "If a chief makes law like white people, that will be right."* This article is composed of three parts:

Part I. List of the chiefs acting as judges on the reservation in 1877.

Part II. Legal customs governing the Klamath Lake people.

Part III. Instances of application of these legal customs; amount of fines, terms of imprisonment, etc. These are the "*novellæ*" of Klamath legislation.

58, 1–3. P'lú, Lilu, and some other headmen mentioned here have signed the treaty of Oct. 14, 1864.

[563] [657] 58, 4. Móatuash. There are only two Pit River *families* living on the whole reservation.

58, 8. Tcháktot belongs to the Yahúskin tribe of Snake Indians. Cf. Ind. Aff. Report 1873, p. 324.

[193] 58, 10 etc. The future tense employed in these behests, regulations and defenses recalls the French future used in an impressive manner instead of the imperative: *tu ne tueras point, tu ne déroberas point.*

58, 10. shlí-uapk shash. The pronoun shash has here almost the force of a reciprocal pronoun, for the meaning of the sentence is: "do not shoot at people of your own tribe." The same is true of sas in palluápk sas, 58, 10; 58, 13 (twice); pálla shash, 61, 14.

[194] 58, 10. ksaggayuapkámsni is pronounced as one word, as the removal of the accent from the syllable -uápk demonstrates; and so in many of the following verbs standing in the future tense. For the sake of clearness, I have preferred to resolve these forms graphically into their component elements.

[192] [193] 58, 11. wátsam, etc. The possessive wátsam stands here instead of the instrumental case watsátka through attraction from wännikísham. Tchíkla here means to ride away on another's horse, the horse being missed by his owner.

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* Dave Hill introduces himself in the first person as chief; but many of these decisions can be given by the headchief only, not by any of the subchiefs, to whose number Dave Hill belonged. The Modocs at Yáneks claim to observe these regulations; the Snake Indians do not.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

HÚMASHT LALÁKI NÉ-ULAKTA KAKÁSHASH.

DOCTOR JOHN TRIED BY THE CHIEFS.

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

I. ACCOUNT OF DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF.

*539
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[115]

Shíllalsh hû't gû'ta. Tchúi sa tchû'ta nánka kukíaks, Tätĕmatchí'sh
A disease him invaded. Then they treated (him) several conjurers, (and) Aunt Susie

tchúta; tchúi sämtsálχa Doctor John a gén táwi; tû' táwipk, tatá Doctor
treated (him); then (she) discovered (that) Dr. John him bewitched; over there he bewitched (him), when Doctor

Johnam snáwedsh shí'la. Tánkt tawi'pk; tchí hûnk sémtsalχ Tétĕmatsis,
John's wife was sick. That time he had bewitched (him); so it found out Aunt Susie,

ná-ast sémtsalχ. Tsúi Doctor John: "kí-í-á a nen Tétĕmatsis", ná-ast
thus she discovered (it to be). And Doctor John (said): "this lies Aunt Susie", so

Doctor John hémkank. Sákamka: "hû'nk ká-i mat pí'sh siúkat; kí'ya
Dr. John spoke. He denied it: "that man not him I killed; lies

mat hû'nk Tetĕmátsis!" ná-ashtak Doctor John hémkank.
this Aunt Susie!" so again Dr. John said.

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Tsúi sa spû'lhí láp'ni illólash; nánuk hû'nk máklaks lóla Tetĕmatsí-
Then they locked up (him) for two years; about all the Indians believed Aunt

shash. Tsúi vûlá laláki, tsúi hémkank Doctor John, tû'm hémkank ná-asht:
Susie. Then inquired of (him) the chiefs, and said Dr. John, at length he spoke thus:

"Tuá ní wák giug shíukuapk? Tídshi a hû't híshuaksh, ka-ituálash shish-
"I wherefore should have killed (him)? Honest certainly that man (was), with nobody quar-

tchákt'nish; wák lísh í'k lóli a nen Tetĕmatchíshash? At laláki hû'ntsak
relling; how is it ye all believe Aunt Susie? Now (ye) chiefs without reason

í nen lóla, kĕlámtsank sí'tk lû'dshna; ká-i nû hû'nk siúgat. Kátak ní nen
ye believe, closing your eyes-alike walk along; not I him killed. With veracity I

hémkank, p'laítalkni nû'sh shlä'popk hä'mkankst. Tuá ní shutä'-uapk
speak, the Most High me sees, as I speak. What I would have profited

shiúgok? nû yá ká-i ní a kúkamtchish gí'-uapk shíugok; tuá ní tála í'shka?
by murdering (him)? I certainly never I an old man would become, had I killed (him); what I money made?

tuá ní a tála ya í'shka shíugok? Tidsä'wank tchía, ká-i ní kánta shíuksh
what I money ever made by killing (him)? I am glad to be living, not I anybody to kill

sanahō'li; hä' ní klä'kuapk, húmashtak í tsókuapk kläkuí'sh gint nû'sh.
desire; if I shall perish, equally ye will perish as I have died.

Ká-i nä'd tchûssní'ni máklaks nánuk käíla-nákant. Hû'ndsak tchí ínsh
Not we (are) immortal men all world all over. For no cause thus me

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spû'lhi: k̲á-i tchín wák ŏ'skank. Undsä' ní né-ulakuapk; lä'nwak nä'-
(ye) imprison; not I about it am angry. Some time hence I shall arraign (her); not I know how to have
ulēχa Tétmatchishash wák hû'nk nen sémtsalka; lä ní wák nä'-ulaktanuapk
tried Aunt Susie for the manner by which she found out; not I know how to proceed against (her)
sheshamtsalχíshash hû'nk. Tánkt málah ní shä'gsuapk málash lalák̲iash.
for discovering all about it. That time to ye I will speak out my mind to ye chiefs.
K̲á-i nû shayuáktant Tetĕmatsí'sas; hû'nk p'läitélkni shayuákta Tetĕmat-
Not I know about Susie; it the Most High knows, Aunt Su-
sísas wák gisht sä'mstsalkst, wák ta nû'sh tchish kátak shä'gshasht
sie in which manner discovered (it), (but) how me also the truth to have told
slä'popka n'sh hû'nk. Sakámkst pi tsí n'sh hû'nk né-ulakuapk, hä ní
has seen me (he). For having denied it she—thus me must punish, if I
sikí'tnank sä'gsuapk. Kátok ní gé-u sägsä'wa; tchí ní hû'skank."
falsely reporting should speak. Truth I my think I say; thus I think."

Tétĕmadshish hû'nk ná-asht k̲'lékuish at gí: "Kátak am'sh ní sémt-
Aunt Susie so after the death (of Púkish) had said: "Truly you I have
salχa, suís mí'sh gé-u slää; í' hûn síuga, nä'nsak toks í nen sakámka.
found out, tamánuash song you my has seen; you that man murdered, in vain you give a denial.
Ná-asht kuk̲íaks tsû'ssak síukûk; k̲íya hû'nk ná-asht gíug; tíds taks mí'sh
Thus so jurors (say) always after killing; lie (they) when so saying; pretty well you
ní kuiχá m's ní. Gáhak hû'k nä'-ulaks K'mukámtsam: ná-asht hû'nk
I know you I. Long years since this (was) the law of K'múkamtch; in this manner
hä'mkanktgi síukuk mák̲laksas. Húmasht tchí nen hémkanka í', Doctor
to speak after murdering a person. That way so talk you, Dr.
John!" Tsí hä'mkank Tétĕmatsis shapúk.
John!" So spoke Susie when speaking (about it).

Tsúi lalák̲i wáltka. "Síuga í'", tchí nánka wáltk lalák̲i; nánχa ts
Then the chiefs deliberated. "Killed (him) you", so some uttered chiefs; others
"k̲á-i shíuk í'" sä'wa; tsúi tchí'k sa wáltakuapk.
"not killed (him) you" thought; and afterward they were to deliberate again.

II. ACCOUNT OF MINNIE FROBEN.

Tétĕmadshish hû'nk shiunû'tnuk shémtchalχa tawí'sht Doctor Johnash
Aunt Susie by singing tamánuash songs discovered that had bewitched Dr. John,
É-ush guni'gshta mák̲lakshash tchí'pksh. Tékmal géna Doctor Jóhnamksh
Upper Klamath Lake on opposite shore an Indian living. Tékmal had gone to Dr. John's lodge
shuákidshuk tchû'tantki gíug hû'nk shíllalpksh, kánt sha Doctor Jóhn-
calling (him) to treat that (man) who fell sick, whom they Dr. John
ash táwiank shí'uks gishápa. Tchúi hû'nk Doctor John tchútanhuya;
to have bewitched (and) killed said. And him Dr. John treated a while;
káyak tídsh wémpĕlank k̲'leká, tchúi sa shúina k̲'lékuish tutí'ks m'nálam.
never recovering he died, then they sang after his death dreams their.

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Tsúi Tétĕmadshish hû'nk shemtchálχa tawí'sht Doctor Johnash k'lekáp-
Then Aunt Susie discovered that had bewitched Dr. John the de-

kash; tsúi mbû'shant waitólank ná-ent waítashtka í'lktcha; Doctor Johnash
ceased; and next day being over on other day buried (him); Dr. John

tchí'sh sha shpúnshna, at kléwiank sha Doctor Johnash shpúnshampĕlank
also they conveyed, now after their return Dr. John taking along

shpúlhi, tchúi sha ká-ishuank skúkum-house mpámpatkia tchíkĕminatka.
imprisoned, and they locking the strong-house nailed (it) down with (iron-) nails.

Tchikéskni Shkélaksh tû'la shpúlhi Doctor Johnash. Tchúi tchiwí'χa
Tchikéskni Skélag with imprisoned Dr. John. And he sat in

hátokt, tchúi hû'ksha gä'mpĕle spulhí'tkuk. Pän ndä'ni tchēk waitólank
therein, and these men went home after imprisonment. Again three at last days past

Shχélag gátpa ktû'tp'nuk pä'sh; tchúi Sχélag gä'mpĕle káyak hassasuákiank
Skélag came to bring (him) food; and Skélag returned not at all having spoken

Doctor Johnash. Pän géna Sχélag ndáni waitólank pásh äníyuk; shû'lip-
to Dr. John. Again went Skélag three days elapsed victuals to bring; hand-

[65] kank p'laíkni hak shéwana Doctor Johnash, P'lú toks lápĕni shéwana
ing from above there he gave (them) to Dr. John, Blow however twice gave

náyant waítashtat. Hû'kt píl nä'dshek; hû'ksha toks, nánka ká-i hû'masht
another on day. This one (was) the only one; these (men) (did), other (men) not like (him)

shéwanat shí'ukshtka gíug Doctor Johnash. Tchúshak lápi sha shíkĕnitksh
gave (any food) kill in order to Dr. John. Constantly two (men) they a pistol

shishí'tilatk shlíutuapkug hû'nk. Agency tchúi gépksht tapí' tí'ta shash,
were carrying in their dress to fire on him. To the Agency (they) had gone after a while they,

ktíugíulank ká-ishtish, tchúi wátch hátokt tkû'tkapksh shláank gé'hlap-
he kicked open the door-cover, and a horse there standing finding (he) mounted

tchapka, m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Tchúi gí'ta hushótpa agency, tchúi
it, his son having come (with the horse). Then here he rode up to the agency, and

yá-uks-mĕnámksh gátpĕnank gulí'. Tchúi agencí'nish lákiash hashashu-
in the physician's house coming entered. And to the agent he ap-

ákia, Mínnīash shahamúyank shnû'ntatka lákiash hashashuakítki gíug.
plied, for Minnie sending to interpret the agent for conversing with.

NOTES.

64, 1. In September 1877 Púkish, an elderly Indian, died after a very short illness on the western side of Upper Klamath Lake. The rumor that he had been bewitched and thereby feloniously killed by Kákash, one of the conjurers who treated him, soon gained credence, and the excitement in the tribe ran high. The first account of the occurrence was obtained by one of the subchiefs, who, with his colleagues, passed sentence over the unfortunate Kákash.

[192] [193] [551] [769]

64, 1. hû't, "this one", forms one of the substitutes for names of deceased persons, which no Indian dares to pronounce. Hû't refers to a person standing visibly *before* the speaker, and it is remarkable that the dead are referred to by this pronoun, and not by a pronoun marking distance out of sight, like hûkt, hû'kta etc. Cf. hû't hishuaksh, **64**, 9., gén, **64**, 2., hû'nk pí'sh, **64**, 5., **68**, 11. etc The subject nánka kukiaks does not exclude the use of the subject pronoun sha, *they*, the account being worded in the conversational style.

*539 ● 683 [551] [756] **64, 1.** Tetĕmádshish or Aunt Susie is one of the numerous female "doctors", who eke out a scanty living from some patients of the Klamath Lake tribe. She received the above name for having been a washerwoman to the soldiers stationed at Fort Klamath, and the nickname Wúya-ak was bestowed on her on account of her predilection for small sucker fish.

64, 2. sämtsálχa. The means employed by her to discover that Dr. John had cast upon the patient a spell of a deadly character, were the singing or recital of tamánuash songs, and the *dreams* which she had on that subject. Her tamánuash songs had *seen* those of the accused conjurer. See 65, 9. The great majority of the tribe still believes in the possibility of witchcraft.

64, 7. The two sentences contained in this line anticipate the result of the whole trial, and the popular verdict. The proper place for them would be after 65, 15.

64, 9. Tuá ni etc. The defense made by Dr. John in his own case is not an unable one, nor is it devoid of oratorical powers. But if the arguments were delivered in the order as given by Dave Hill, they ought to have followed each other in a more logical order to attain their full effect.

64, 10. wák lish etc. The logical connection existing between this sentence and the foregoing has to be supplied by: "why should he have been my personal enemy?"

[192] **64, 10, 11, 15 etc.** i, ik stands here for ät (*ye*); because, when the headchief is addressed in council, all the others are addressed also. Lóli stands for lóla i. The trial took place on Williamson River.

64, 13. kúkamtchish. The distributive form is used here instead of the absolute verbal k'mû'tchish, because old age comes on *gradually, by degrees.*

64, 16. tchi insh instead of tchi nish; the language likes juxtaposition of two short equal vowels, even when a metathesis is required.

65, 8. Kátak etc. Aunt Susie's opinion, given just after Púkish's death and some time *before* the trial, did not fail to have a striking effect on the superstitious judges and tribe, for her arguments perfectly agree with the national ideas. But to us the arguments seem so weak, that no conviction seems justified, if not based on other evidence.

65, 9. nä'nsak etc. "Your defense does not disprove any of the points advanced against you."

[192] **65, 11.** K'mukámtsam nä'-ulaks: "the old customs of the people."

[124] **65, 16.** The second account of this tamánuash-case was obtained a few weeks after the trial; Dr. John was present at the agency buildings at the time of the dictation, furnishing the facts to my informant.

[697] **66, 4.** ká-ishnauk etc. This underground jail was in such an unhealthy condition that Dr. John could not have lived in it through the tenth part of his long term of imprisonment.

[625] **66, 5.** Tchikéskni and Skélag, names of two watchmen (i-álhish); the chiefs appoint watchmen from time to time. Skélag is "the young weasel" and Tchikéskni "man living at Tchikési camping-place". They were armed with pistols to foil any attempt at escape.

[192] **66, 10.** nä'dshek for nä'dsh ak: "the only one". Compare nádshiak, 60, 21; waítak, 56, 7. and *Notes.*

[192] [193] **66, 12.** shishí'tilatk. The past participle often stands for forms of periphrastic conjugation: shishítilatko gi, they *were* carrying in their dress. Cf. illólatko, 55, 20.

*539
683
[192]
[193]

66, 13. gé’hlaptchapka. The verb gelápka means to step on, to mount, ascend; with ’h infixed, to mount upon something by using one's hands; ge’hláptcha is to perform this while on the way, while going or travelling; gé’hlaptchapka, to perform this at a distance from other people and unseen by them. Doctor John escaped, aided by his son, in the midnight hour.

66, 14. m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Gatpĕnóta is a derivative of gátp'na with a durative signification, the suffix -óta pointing to an action performed while another is going on. "His son having arrived close by, while he was imprisoned."

66, 16. shnû'ntatka, verbal intentional of shnû'nta, the suffix -tka being sometimes substituted for the usual -tki, -tki gíug.

PUNISHMENT OF MANSLAUGHTER THROUGH WITCHCRAFT.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539
755
627
[115]

Tína mák̲laks mā'ntch-gī'tk ná-asht gī: "tû salχī'ta snawédsh gé-u
Once man long ago thus spoke: "over there is bewitched wife my

shíllalsht! ī a-i táwi!" Tsúi tchíkash skúyui suákitsatki gíug; tsúi géna
having fallen sick; you bewitched (her)!" Then an old man he sent out to call a conjurer; and he started

tchíka suákitsuk, tsúi shuákiuk ndéna, tsúyuk túmĕna shuíshuk, kíuksam
the old man to fetch the conjurer, and to call him out halloed, and he heard the magic songs, conjurers'

yaínatat shuī'sh; áti ha shuíshuk. Tsúi géna kíuks tsutánsuk, tû'shtaks a
on the mountain songs; far away (are) songs these. Then goes the conjurer to treat (her), to the spot where

salχíta. At shû'ta hû'nk, tchúi hántsna. Gétpa mû'ns súmmatka, shuī'shuk
she lies bewitched. Now he works on her, and sucks. Comes out a big thing through (his) mouth, to sing

tpéwa, summátka hántsantkiug. Tsúi hántchipka, tsúi putá, tsúi húsatchip-
he orders (those present), with (his) mouth while he would suck on. Then he sucks out, and feels choked, and throws up

gapēle hánshish m'na; sχû'dχa lútatkish. At hû'k sχótka, k̲ú-i hukī' tsutísh
again sucked-out article his; swallows (it) (his) expounder. Now (after) he has swallowed (it), worse that (patient) being treated

gī'ntak, k̲ú-i gī, wigá telsámpka k̲'lä'ksh. Kiúks hû'k tché-ulχa shû'kpal-
in spite of, worse (she) is, almost she looks towards the spirit land. Conjurer the starts to leave wanting to

takiug k̲ú-i gī'sht k̲á-i gī'lχisht pásh; tchúi hû'k ná-asht gī kálamtak
retire worse because she turned (and) not passing through (bowels) the food; hereupon he thus speaks whose own

snéwedsh shī'la shalχī'tnuk, kíukshash: "ī a-i táwi húnksh." Tchúyuk
wife is sick for being bewitched, to the conjurer: "you have bewitched her." But

sakámka kíuks: "k̲á-i a nû táwit! shī'laka hût!" kíuks tchúi nā'sht
opposes denial the conjurer: "not I did bewitch (her)! had become sick (before) she!" conjurer then so

hémkank. At k̲'léka snawédsh.
said. Now dies the woman.

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684 **SEX AND MARITAL OFFENSES**--definitions of and penalties for sex offenses (e.g., fornication, seduction, adultery, prostitution, incest, miscegenation, rape, sodomy, bestiality); punishments for marital and family offenses (e.g., nonsupport, desertion, neglect of children); etc. See also:

Marriage	58	Miscegenation	563
Sex	83	Illegitimacy	848
Prostitution	548		

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Adultery																	
3930. Adultery rare	+	+	+	+	•+	+					+	–	•+	+	+	–	837
3931. Wife punished	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R+	+	R+	+	+	–	684
3932. Beaten	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R+	+	R+	+	+	–	
3933. Hair cut	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3934. Mouth burnt		–	•+								–	–	–	–	–	–	
3935. Sometimes killed	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	
3936. Wife's seducer punished	+	+	•+	+		+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	
3937. Killed	+	+	+	+		•+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	
3938. Fine paid by killer	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3939. No fine, if seducer instigated affair	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
3940. No fine if wife instigated affair	–	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
3941. Feud starts	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	
3942. Feud stopped by payment	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3943. Beaten, by husband	–	–	–					+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	
3944. Seducer pays fine	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3945. To husband	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3946. To woman's family	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3947. Wife sent home; let go; given to seducer	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	
3948. Husband punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	
3949. Beaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	(–)	–	
3950. Deserted	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	•+	•+	
3951. Killed	–		•+											•+	–	–	
3952. Husband's paramour punished	–		–						•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3953. Constructive adultery punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	–	–	.	–	
3954. Husband pays man, if wife proposes such	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
3955. Woman beaten if she proposes such	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	–	–	.	–	
3956. Woman sent home, if she proposes such	–	+	+								–	–	–	–	.	+	
3957. Man fined for proposing adultery	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
3958. Man killed for proposing adultery	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	
Divorce																	
3959. Divorces rare, especially if children	+	+	+		+	•+					+	+	.	+	+	+	586
3960. Adultery by wife grounds for divorce.	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	–	+	+	+	
3960a. Adultery by husband grounds for divorce	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	+	
3961. Barrenness	–	•+	+	•–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	.	.	
3962. Jealousy	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
3963. Fighting	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3964. Laziness	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•–	•–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	
3965. Maltreatment by husband	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•–	+	•+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	
3966. Divorce involves repaying bride price to husband's family	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3967. Children go to husband's family	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	–	.	+	+	–	
3968. Children divided	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	+	–	–	+	.	–	.	–	.	–	
3969. Children stay with mother	–	–	–					+	+	+	.	+	.	–	–	–	
3970. Wife keeps nursing baby	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	+	+	+	
3971. Grandparents, either side, take children	–	–	–							+	.	–	.	+	+	+	
3972. Wife keeps own property	•–	–	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	.	–	.	+	+	+	
Nonaffinal Remarriage																	
3973. New husband pays widow's brother-in-law	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	+	–	.	+	–	.	–	587
3974. New husband asks widow's brother-in-law's consent	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	.	+	.	.	–	

881 head; pollen on head. Legs, torso painted; white paint blown on with mouth; pollen blown on. Painting done by self; from own paint box. Painting before eating only. Tattooing. Nose pierced. Tattooing so girl can touch fire. Thighs, arms, breasts cut. Shell skirt for eating. Sage leggings. Chest band. Labret. Nose feather. Girl ducked in water during ceremonial bath. Belt, anklets, wristlets buried. Girl given new name.

Public rites (major or night dance): Given for group of selected girls. Poor girls excluded. Several girls together, only 1 menstruating. Dancers mill around menstruant. Men hold to wall. Dancers file out of house after each dance. Given during fixed season. Coincides with boys' initiation. Given in ceremonial enclosure. Conducted by chief, priest, clan. Single split-stick rattle. Deer-hoof headband. Deer-hoof anklets. Deer hoofs on moccasins. Cocoon, gourd, tortoise shell, pottery rattles. Masks worn. Attendants wear woolen fringed headdress; woolen fringed rattles. Male participants wear haliotis-rim horns; blind. Women paint face white; all colors. Sand paintings. Tobacco eaten. Haliotis gazing.

841 General menstrual customs.--Woman confined in penthouse against dwelling. Head, face covered when going outside. Bathes daily. Bathing optional.

Marriage

58 Service for bride: children belong to mother's family. Sororate obviated if children, payment rendered. Polyandry: lovers in separate towns. Marriage of man to first cousins, cross or parallel; to mother's sister. Mother-in-law, son-in-law taboos temporary, for newlyweds only; temporary up to first child; optional. Father-in-law, son-in-law taboos. Mother-in-law, daughter-in-law taboos. Husband punished for adultery by being fined, before wife will return. Woman's family pays husband fine for constructive adultery by woman. Repayment of bride price in event of divorce depends on number of children. Intercourse taboo inside dwelling. Lie on side to
548 prevent twins. Prostitution with compensation
to woman. Unchaste girl killed. Unmarried preg-
684 nant girl killed. Man fined for seduction.

Death

764 Treatment of corpse; taboos.--Body removed from house prior to death. Removed from house through roof; feet first; throw-out of animal after corpse; body carried on plank. Undertakers of opposite moiety; priest; shaman; chosen by chief; paid; gifts; one a scapegoat. Corpse's nose, ears pierced. Body buried with head uphill, upstream, downstream. Cremation for shamans especially. Pyre over pit. Urn burial. Any form scaffold burial. Undertaker(s) visit grave nightly; build fire at grave; put food out for ghost; wear brush on head. Widow's hair cut-

000 family, not that his sister-in-law belongs to
him." NM: Woman may refuse to marry brother-in-
law, saying she "does not want to die like [her]
sister did." Not obligatory for man either.

3841. At, WT: Only if widower treated first wife well. NM: See note 3839.

3842. Kl, Mo, SE, AW, AE, WT, WS, NS: Dead
587 woman's parents hire shaman to kill son-in-law,
756 if he refuses to marry one of deceased wife's
684 sisters. WM: Woman's parents hire men to kill
son-in-law outright.

587 3844. Kl, SE: Usually, however, relative of
595 man marries latter's stepdaughter.

3852. Kl: Informant "had heard lots about this,
595 among [N] California tribes and up at Warm
Springs--about man living with his sister-in-
law--but not practiced among Kl." AE: Not es-
000 pecially disapproved. WT: Indulged in only by
"loose" women, and generally disapproved.

3853. NS: Man sleeps with sister-in-law, only during brother's absence from home.

3855. NS: Not necessarily between namesakes only.

3856. SE: Extension of levirate also occurs; man may marry father's brother's wife, "to keep her in the family; he has to pay for his aunt, however, to give any children he may have by her status. But in outright levirate, gifts only given; levirate not always obligatory for man; "woman has to be good woman, to have treated dead husband well and pitched her face for him when he died, for his family to make strenuous efforts to keep her after his death." SW: Levirate more obligatory, for both man and woman concerned, than post-mortem sororate (see note 3839). WM: Day after funeral, when all relatives of dead man are crying, brother of deceased may ask widow for drink of water. If she gives it to him, they are considered as married from then on. Both widow and brother-in-law have blackened, pitched faces, and let pitch stay on until it wears off, but in event of speedy remarriage widow does not wear pitch necklace.

3857. SE: See preceding note.

3858. At: Widow may tell her brother-in-law she is going to marry another man; "All right," he says, and tells her to "take care of those children [by dead husband] good; be careful with them and let me know when they're sick."

[587] 3860. Kl: But because levirate is so obliga-
[684] tory for woman and for dead husband's brother,
rule seldom if ever violated. However, see ele-
ment 3973.

3862. By hiring shaman to kill woman, for all
[587] groups except WM, NS. WM: If woman refuses to
[684] give brother-in-law drink of water (see note
3856 WM) "then her brother-in-law or father-in-
law get mad at her and try to kill her." NS:
Woman shot with bow and arrow.

3866. SW: Kammatwa and Katiru groups intermediate between Shasta proper and Karok (see note 282) permit marriage of blood relatives; Shasta do not.

000 "They do this if the father-in-law is rich, and if her parents tell her to. But if the father-in-law has some close [male] relatives, her parents will tell her to take a relative of her father-in-law's for a husband, instead." WT: Man may marry his son's son's wife, for same reason woman marries her brother-in-law (see note 3839); man may not marry his son's wife. WM: Man tells nephew to marry his son's son's wife; does not marry her himself.

3923. AW: Mother tells her daughter that if latter plays with brother, she (daughter) "will be ashamed."

Adultery; divorce; nonaffinal remarriage.--

3930. Virtually denied by many informants. At: Bear will chew up adulterous man. NP: "They didn't have that sort of trouble in those days; they stayed together good."

3934. SE: With glowing ember.

● [684 837] 3935. Kl, Mo, At, AE, WT, WM, WS, MP, NM, NS: Killed by husband sometimes. SE: Adulterous wife returned to parents, and return of payment for wife demanded; parents sometimes kill such a daughter later. AE: Form of punishment which might end fatally sometimes meted out to adulterous wife; when she and husband come to flooded stream in springtime, husband lays pole across stream and crosses on it; tells woman to follow him. When she is halfway across on pole he pulls it up at his end; she falls into stream, and if she can, saves herself, or else is drowned.

3936. SE: Seducer poisoned by hired shaman.

3937. AW: Woman's husband may kill attacker, if latter does not have "a lot of powerful relations. But if he has a lot of relatives, the husband would be afraid of killing him; his relatives would take revenge."

[684 837] 3947. Kl: After wife severely beaten, husband tells her, "Better go home; I don't want you any more," and wife returns to her parents; "that's the last of her."

3949. MP: By wife.

[684 837] 3950. Kl, Mo, SE, SW, AW, AE, NS, MV: Husband may promise to behave better, and wife then sometimes returns to him, "if he makes a good promise." SE: In such instances, husband usually buys wife back. WS, MV: Woman may desert husband, marry another man.

3951. SE, NM: Wife's parents may hire shaman to poison erring husband, or (SE) man to shoot him.

3952. WM: Wife sometimes goes over to husband's paramour, fights with her, but not with husband.

3954. AE: That is, gives man some gifts.

3958. SE: Usually only if proposals are made to married woman, mother of children.

3959. AW: "Poor people divorce each other; they don't care about anybody, even if person had lots of relatives [to revenge affronts]. But rich people hardly ever divorce."

3960. At: Divorce and sexual license before marriage "used to be unknown; now men and women

040 run around, just like dogs. In old days women never ran around; they stayed home." SW: Husband may send wife home, and demand bride price be returned.

3960a. SW: Wife may return home, and her bride price need not be returned.

3961. Mo: Husband may send barren woman home to parents; "that's been done, lots of times; but if he loves her, he will keep her, and take another woman also as wife. SW: Barren wife not divorced, but her family must supply second wife free to her husband. WM: If woman barren, husband deserts her, often for another woman; does not bring this second wife home to live with first one; latter returns home to her parents.

3962. SW: Wife may leave husband, no return of bride price necessary.

3963. SW: No return of bride price if husband is aggressor.

3964. SW: If husband lazy, "after awhile wife returns home." If wife lazy, she is sent home and bride price must be returned. AE: If husband lazy or "mean," and woman returns to her family, her father or father's brother usually sends her back to her husband; tells her to come home "only in a good way, together with her husband." Daughters, when told this, usually return to husband. WT: If woman lazy, but if she stays home and behaves self, husband keeps her; but if she is "run-around" as well as lazy, husband turns her out of house.

3965. SW: If husband "mean," and beats wife, and wife returns home, first time she does so her parents send her back to her husband; second time she comes home for such reason she can stay; no return of bride price. AE: See note 3964. WM: Woman never fights back, if husband beats her, hits her with rock, but her brother or uncle may fight husband in her stead.

3966. SW: See notes 3960-3965. In all instances where repayment is mentioned above, such is necessary only if there have not been children born of union. But if 1 or more children have been born, money is not repaid (would ruin child's status), and either wife or husband may take charge of child.

3968. SW, At, AW: Boys usually stay with father, girl with mother's mother or grandmother. AW: "But hardly ever do this."

[586] 3972. Kl: Wife leaves her belongings in her husband's house. WT: Wife does not take her clothes, "because her husband has made them; she just takes clothes she has on." But anything she herself has made, such as baskets, she takes with her. WM: Woman takes clothes and baskets.

[587]
[684] 3973. Kl: If new husband does not pay before he marries woman, liable to be killed. AW: 6-10 strings of beads paid to widow's brother-in-law by her suitor. Brother-in-law then tells widow to marry suitor; if she demurs, he may threaten her with death. (Brother-in-law often more violent in demeanor toward widow than her husband ever was.) "The brother-in-law has a share in

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

Of all the societal
relationships, the government sought directly
to change only those within the family. It was clear that a nation 657*
that was soon to impose upon the Mormons the American, and 648*
not the Biblical family, would permit no special marital practices 595
among the Indians. Polygamy was banned, although not retroactively 177
for unions such as those of Allen David and Monchnkasgitk, 178
which had been contracted prior to January 1, 1870.
Some leaders themselves appear to have advocated the change in
a desire to emulate whites. In 1877, Gatschet noted that there
were still two or three polygamous men.[26] Since polygamy had [556]
been a mark of the affluent, the ban, like the emancipation of the
slaves that preceded it, served to erode the status of the traditional chiefs.

An effort was also made to place under the authority of the 657*
court of chiefs certain relationships which had formerly been 648*
regulated privately between the families or individuals concerned. 622
In the legal code instituted when the court was established, 692
the consecration of marriage was made the function of 685
the head chief, to whom the groom was to pay a fee of five, three, 583
or two dollars or the same amount in horses, graduated according [643]
to his means. It was again the chiefs who punished fornication [684]
and polygamy and performed divorce.[27] The traditional ritual [586]
of marriage still was being practiced by some families in the
1890's[28] but the gift exchanges between the families concerned
which set a public seal on the union were superseded, and the
controls exerted by the family over the couple were thereby
diminished. The effects of these and other changes were recognized
by Gatschet. "Matrimonial reverses . . . among the Klamath
[he declared] . . are one of the unavoidable consequences of
the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of
their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also
of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers
at Fort Klamath."[29]

With time, the seal upon marriage came to be set by the 657*
Methodist church and its ethics in turn permitted the independent 648*
of spirit to flout tradition. One woman recalled that upon 581
the death of her husband his family proposed that she wed his 587
brother in customary manner, but she refused out of regard for 177
the memory of her husband and the sanctity of the bond of their 178
marriage in the church.

OLD CHILOQUIN SAYS

I am very much pleased that our young men are doing so well. I mean to try and stop all bad actions, fighting, gambling &c &c. I see Daves friends every day and give them good advice. I tell them to remember what Dave told them. I tell them not to get a cry tum-tum* about Dave nor a foolish angry tum-tum† for this will only make Dave feel bad when he comes home. Perhaps by and by I may have a different story to tell you. Perhaps there may be quarrelling & fighting among our people, but I hope not. Captain has said that he wants a great many things. I don't want to talk that way I am well pleased to see our young men trying to get right. 539

Yours Truly
Chiloquin

* Sad heart
† Heart

ALLEN DAVID SAYS

I want to let you know about Choler.* He paid one small horse & one large one equal to three in all as a fine for getting foolish and stealing a young girl, Dr. Chinchalo's daughter. The girl said that she wanted to get Choler for life, and we fined her also. [684] •

Allen David

* Appears on the rolls as Chula

FRANK SAYS

You Dave told me when he left that he wanted me to close nanitch* all the people. I called the young men together and told them that I wanted them to come all right. Allie also helped me and now all of us young men are agreed on this point. We don't want to throw away what you told us but to get and keep your tum-tum.† We don't want to break the laws or to get bad. We want to work and make rails, houses, farms, &c &c. If any of us want to get bad again I will let you know.

Frank [Chilks?]

* Take good care of
† Literally "heart"; here the meaning is "view."

DAVE'S WIFE SAYS

Our babe was sick a little while ago and an Indian Doctress cured it and I paid one blanket. Now all the children are well. Everything is right now except that Elmer crys a good deal in the night because he wants to see Dave. If you get money I want you to send me some. [756]

Your wife

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM MÁḴLAKSAM NÉ-ULAKS.

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LEGAL CUSTOMS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

GIVEN BY SUBCHIEF DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

I.

E-ukakni nä'd tchí tchía gitá: P'lú laḵí tútasχēnini, nū'ds Dave
Lake-people we thus live here: Blow is chief general, and I Dave
Hill laḵí P'lúash tapí'tan, Lánk-Tchän Dávish tapí'tan, tchē'k tchish Link
Hill am chief to Blow second, Long John Dave after, then too Link
River Jack Lánk-Tchánash tapí'tan, Lílu ts.
River Jack Long John after, and Lílu.

Pit River Charley Móatuasham laḵí E-ukshí'.
Pit River Charley of Pit River people is the chief at the Lake.

Ben Littlejohn lálaḵi, Skóntchiesh laḵí Yainakskíshäm máḵlaksam.
Ben (and) Littlejohn are the chiefs, Skóntchiesh is (sub-) chief of the Yánaks people.
Johnson laḵí Moadoknísham Yaínakshi. George Knatí'lak ts Módokni
Johnson is chief of Modocs at Yánaks. George Knatílak also is Modoc
laḵí tapí'tan Jóhnsonash.
chief after Johnson.

Tcháktot Sátam laḵí.
Tcháktot of Snake Indians is chief.

II.

*539
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[682]

Nánuk laláḵi Ä'-uksi nä'dsant shiū'lgishtat tsí sa hémkank:
All the chiefs on Klamath Lake on one and same reservation thus they speak:

Ḵá-i i shlí-uapk shash: ksaggayuapká m's ní; ḵá-i i palluápk sas
Not you shall shoot each other: would hang you I; not you seduce each other's
snáwedsh: spûlhi-uapká m's ní, hä' i sas pálluapk. Ḵá-i i wátsam tchí'k-
wives: would imprison you I, if you them seduce. Not you a horse shall
luapk wännikí'sham; hä'doks i tchíkluapk, spulhi-uapká m's ní. Ḵá-i i
ride of another man; but if you should ride, would imprison you I. Not you
pálluapk sas nánuktua, hä'doks i pálluapk sas spûlhi-uápka m's ní.
shall steal from each other anything, for if you should steal from each other would imprison you I.

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[685]

(Nánuktua ḵá-i i pálluapk; hä'doks i yekä'-uapk nä'-ulaks, hunkantí'
(Nothing you must steal; for if you should break the laws, thereat
m's ní shetcháktanuapk.) Hä'doks i snawä'dsh Bóshtinash shä'tolakuapk,
at you I would get angry.) If you, as a female, with a white man should sleep,
któtchkuapka m's ní. Hä'doks i hä'sχalp'luapk nánuktua shéshatuish m'na,
will cut off hair to you I. If you should have returned to yourself the whole marriage fee his,

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*539 sχóktnank í häsχálp'luapk, hunkantchä' mísh ní ká-i né-ulakuapk: waké-
paying you should reobtain it, on account of that you I not shall try; per-
622 anhua spû'lhi-uapk. Hä í híshuaksh pálluapk snawä'dshash, hä'doks
haps (I) will imprison. If you, as a married man, seduce a married woman, if
692 [684] í ná-änt snawä'dshash shetō'lakuapk, nä-ulakuapká m's ní. Hä í kí'-
you another with wife cohabit, shall punish you I. If you should
uapka ts, nä'-ulakuapka m's ní.
lie also, would punish you I.

[687] Hä'toks í nä's lúlûksaluapk k'lä'kapksh, mû' mísh ní nä'-ulakuapk.
And if you a person should cremate, who is dead, heavily you I shall punish.

[683] Hä' í kiúks tsis táwi-uapk, mû' mísh ní nä'-ulakuapk. Hä í shishókuapk
If you as a conjurer should bewitch, hard you I shall chastise. If you have a fight
[593] illí-uapka m's nánukäns; hä í snawä'dsh mí sissókuapk, ilhí'-uapka m's
I will lock up all of ye; if you (and) wife your should fight, will lock up you
ní lápuk sumseálěmamka. Hä í shuhánk-sitk sissókuapk, lápuk mísh ní
I both married folks. If you evenly whip each other, both of ye I
nä'-ulakuapk; hä'toks snä'wedsh í mí udópkuapk, tchúi mísh ká-i sekák-
will punish; but if wife you your beat, and to you not recurns
tsuapk hûk snáwädsh, ká-i ní nä'-ulakuapk snawä'dshash, mí'sh ní hissuák-
blows the wife, not I will punish the wife, you I the hus-
shash spû'lhi-uapk. Hä í tuánksí wudsháyuapk hû'nkst, mí'sh ní mû'ak
band, will imprison. If you anywhere bruise her, you I more heavily
nä'-ulakuapk; hä'toks lakí û'dopkuapk snawä'dsh m'na, snäkěluápka ní.
shall punish; but if a chief bruises wife his, shall remove (him) I.
[683] Hä'toks í hí'hashuaksh shishókuapk, lápuk mísh ní ilhí-uapk. Hä'toks
If you with men should fight, both of ye I will lock up. If
[685] í shnä'lχuapk látchash mû' mísh ní nä'-ulakuapk.
you set on fire a lodge hard you I will chastise.

Hä lakí shishókuapk humáshtak ní shnäkělui-uápka; hä' tchik lakí
If a chief starts a fight, in the same manner I shall remove (him); if a chief
húntsak a máklaksas shishókuapk, lápěni, ndánni, tánkní shishókuapk,
for no reason people should beat, twice, thrice, many times should beat,
tánkt ní snä'kělui-uapka ní. Hä' tchik í'-alhísh tchísh kúi gí'uapk, shnä-
then I shall remove (him) I. If a guardian wrong does, shall
kěluí-uapka ní; hä nánuktua kúi gí'uapka, tánkt ní shnäkělui-uápkan
remove (him) I; if in everything wrong does (he), then I will remove (I)
í'-alhishash; hä'toks í'alhish tíds, nanuktuánta tídsh gí'uapk, ká-i ní shnä-
the watchman; but if watchman well, all through well shall act, not I will
kěluí-uapk. Lakiásh tchísh tídsh gísht ká-i ní shnäkělúi-uapk; hä Bóshtin
remove (him). A chief also doing his duty not I will remove; if white-man-
yálank nä'-ulapkuapk, tí'dsh hûnk gí'uapk, ká-i ní hûnk wutódshanuapk.
alike he deals, right he shall act, not I him will cast away.

[689] Ká-i í hussí'nuapk; hä'toks í hussí'nuapk nû hû'nk í'-amnuapk í'χaks
Not you must run horse-races; but if you run horse-races I the will take away gain
mí. Tchí lakí nä'-ulχa.
your. So the chief orders.

*539 622 692 [684] Hä' î k̲ä'liak híshuaksh ná-änds sätólakuapk, hû'k tchîsh híssuaks
If you, not having a husband, with another should cohabit, this also man
k̲ä'liak snáwädsh, spû'lhi-uapka nû kä'lish snáwedsh. Hä hû'ksa heshtó-
(is) without a wife, shall imprison I the unmarried (man). If they should live
lakuapk, hû'nk nî túmĕnuk nä'-ulakuapk spúlhi-uapka nu hishuáks hû'nk.
in concubinage, of it I hearing will punish (and) will imprison I man that.
Tchî' Ä'-ukskni laláki nä'-ulĕka tchî' huk käílatat m'nálam; tsúi k̲î'llitk
So the Klamath Lake chiefs order so they in district their; and severe (is)
nä'-ulaks lalák̲iam.
the law of the chiefs.

[585] Hä'toks î sû'msealstka gíuapk sî-î'huapk î lápuk, snawä'dshash
And if you on the point of marriage should be and should agree you both, female
hissuáksh tchî'sh, tsúi î gépkuapk lak̲iámksi; tsúi mî'sh lak̲í snû'mpsä-
male also, then you must come to chief's house; and you the chief will unite in
aluapk, tû'nep î n's tála skû'ktanuapk hû'nk pîl mû'yäns pî'la lák̲iash;
wedlock, five you to me dollars shall pay only to the principal only chief;
hä'toks î yúalks, tsî hû'k î ndán tála, wakiánhua lä'p tála skû'ktanuapk.
but if you (are) poor, then you three dollars, may be two dollars have to pay.
Hä î yuálks tsi gíuapk súmsä-aluapk, gä't î n's skû'ktanuapk. Häts î
If you poor should be (and) intend to marry, that much you to me have to pay. And if you
skû'ktish háměniuk tû'ma wátch gitk, túnîp î skû'ktanuapk snawä'dshash;
to pay want of many horses possessed, five (horses) you can give in payment for the wife;
hä'toks yúalks tsî î lápi wátch skû'ktanuapk, wakiánhua ndán wátch,
and if poor you two horses can pay, or perhaps three horses,
tû'ma-kans wátch gî'tkiug.
many horses when having.

[586] Hä' tchi m's snawä'dsh gû'skuapk, k̲á-i î wátch shnû'kp'li-uapk
And if you (your) wife should leave, not you the horses can take back
k̲á-i tch snawä'dsh hûk wátch spunî'-uapka m'sh; î pî'l î hissuáksh pîl
and not (your) wife a horse need transfer to you; you alone, you husband only
shä'wanuapk snawä'dshash gû'shkank.
must give (them) (your) wife when leaving.

[595] K̲á-i î láp snawä'dsaluapk; nä'sak î snawä'dslank gíuapk; hä'toks î
Not you two wives shall marry; one only you marrying must live; but if you
[684] láp snawä'dsaluapk, nä'-ulakuapka m'sh. Hä' tchîk wéwanuish lä'pi gíug
two wives marry, shall punish (I) you. If the wives double for being
hishtcháktanuapk, tánkt mî'sh nî skuyû'shkuapk snáwädsh nä'sh; tsûshnî'
should quarrel, then from you I shall divorce wife one; forever
m'sh nî skuyû'shkuapk, k̲á-i î tatá mbushäálp'luapk. Hä'toks î mbuseál-
from you I shall sever her, not you ever can marry her again. And if you associate again
[586] p'luapk spûlhi-uapká m'sh nî. Häts nä'dsiak mî snawä'ds tsû'ssak î
(with her) shall imprison you I. And if monogamic your with wife constantly you
hishtcháktanuapk, tánkt mîsh nî skuyû'shkuapk, ampkáak î hishû'kat;
should quarrel, finally from you I shall separate (her), or also ye may kill each other;

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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[586]

hû'masht mish ni gíug skuyû'shkuapk. Hä ní skuyû'shkuapka m'sh,
therefore ye I will separate. If I should separate (her) from you,
tsû'shnî m'sh ní skuyû'shkuapk.
forever from you I shall divorce (her).

Ká-i mish ni hû'nk kí'tgik; nánuktuanta káktak píla m's n hû'nk hém-
Not you I that to tell lies told; about everything to tell the truth alone to you I that to
kanktgik; nä'-ulakt gí'tki í snawä'dshash tchí'sh káktak píl. Ká-i n
tell said; to observe the laws you wife also to tell the truth only. Not I
hû'nk gí'tkik m's píla, hihashuákshash tchísh nánukänsh.
this to do tell to you only, (but) to men too all (others.)

III.

[689] Snáwedsh tchík shû'ldshash shetólχa, tsúi nát któktatska; at hûnk
A female (if) with a soldier copulates, then we cut her hair off; she
yakä'wa nä'-ulaks, ká-i hû'nk tû'mĕna shunû'kanksh nálam lalákiam.
broke the law, not she listens to the behests of our chiefs.
Tchúi tchík titátna heshsχálpĕli sésatuish m'nálam, tsúi sχō'ktnank tchä'k
Also sometimes she reobtains through barter the price paid (for her) to them, and by paying
héshsχalpĕli. Tsúi snawä'dsh tchísh násh híshuaksh wutódshísh m'na pä'n
she reobtains it. And wife one husband who repudiated his again
hû'nk snúkp'la, tsúi nä'-ulĕkan titátnan hû'masht-gísht shnû'kp'lisht lā'p
her takes up, then chastise I (him) sometimes I because he took her back for two
sháppash spû'lhí, titatnatóks ní ndán sháppash, títatna tchín násh sháppash
months imprison, but sometimes I for three months, at times and I for one month
spû'lhí. Tsúi tch' hishtchákta hû'k kat lalápa wä'wans gítk; tsúi tsin nä'-
imprison (him). And quarrel they who two wives have; and thus I or-
ulka skuyû'shkan. Ká-i ní nä'-ulĕχa, sguyushkuyá ní; gä'tak. Títatna
der (and) separate (them) I. No more I try (them) in court, separate just I; that's the end of it. Sometimes
tch pálla shash ná-änts hihassuáksas snáwädsh, tchúi ní nä'-ulkan ndán
also seduces (them) other married men a female, then I try (her) I (and) for three
sáppash spû'lhi.
months imprison.

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Tchúi shishóka títatna, tchúi náyäns wudsáya; hû'nkst ní násh sû'ndē
And they fight sometimes, and others they injure; him I one week
spû'lhi, kát sas hû'k wudsháya. Títatna tch shishóka shipapĕlánkstant hak,
imprison, who them has whipped. At times also they have fights among each other only,
ká-i shû'tka, sissukúya hak; tsúi ní né-ulĕka hû'nkiasht kákat hûk sissóka.
not injure, but scuffle merely; then I try those who had the row.
Láp sû'ndin lapukáyäns ilhí'. Títatna udû'pka hissuáksh snawä'dsh m'na;
For two weeks I both parties lock up. Sometimes whips a husband wife his;
hû'nks ní hissuáksas spû'lhi ndán sû'ndē; hä kúa udópkpakuapk snáwedsh
that I husband lock up for three weeks; if roughly he should whip wife
m'na, hû'masht n'unk gíug ndán súndē spû'lhi. Títatna tch snáwädsh
his, on that account I him for three (other!) weeks imprison. Sometimes also a wife

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sas tánkak. Tsúi wiggátak tchía, tsúi wä'kala, tsúi hûk mukák k̲'läká.
to them not many. Then together they lived, and she became mother, and the babe died.

Tsúi hû'nk pän wutódsna, tsúi pän mbusé-alpēle. K̲ú-idshi hû'k snawéds;
Then her again he gave up, and again lived with (her). Mischievous (is) that woman;

tsû'ssak sû'la sha, hissuáks hû'k wû'lantana: "túm mí'sh setû'lχa kaní?
constantly haggled they. husband the used to ask (her): "(did) with you consort anybody?

sü'gs' ish, k̲á-i sa-í'shiank." Tsí sa hû'n kí nánuk spunä'ks; tsúi sí'ssûka
tell me, not concealing." So they said every night; then they fought

ná-asht giug. Tsúi sa k̲ú-i sû'ta pipēlángshtan staínas, tsúi sa k̲ú-i tchía.
for saying so. And they embittered mutually hearts, and they wretchedly lived.

Hû'masht-gíug tû'mēni laláki nä'-ulχa, túmēni huskiū'tankpēle. Tína
On this subject often the chiefs ruled, many times made them live together again. Once

snáwäds hûk pálla hishuáks m'na shû'ldsisas shätō'lχ; vû'nsatka hûnk
woman that deceived husband her (and) with a soldier copulated; in canoe (she)

[684] sk̲ä'na pállank sas sûldsámkshi. Tsí hûk shû'ta titná huk snawä'ds; tsúi
rowed away abstracting (it) from them to the troops. Thus acted at a time that woman; and

laláki nä'-ulχa hû'nksht Pû'lam snawä'dsas; ktû'tsga sa hûk laláki sätó-
the chiefs tried that Ball's wife; cut hair off they the chiefs for hav-

lakst sû'ldsisas. Tchúi pän kédsa Paúl; Waitängí'shash tsí's setō'lχ tánkt.
ing slept with soldier. Then again left (her) Ball; with a Warm Spring man too he lodged then.

Tsúi pän mbusé-alpla, tsúi sas wáts sk̲ókta pän, tsúi sha pän ak sissō'ka;
And again he lived with (her), and to them horses he paid over once more, and they again quarreled;

at sa k̲ú-i hak tsía tsússak, tsúi laláki pänak hû'skiûtka. Tsúi pän
they wretchedly lived always, and the chiefs once more made them live together. And again

mbû'se-alp'l, tû'sh spungátgapēle É-ustat tchí'pksht hûnk snawä'dsas. Pû'l
he lived with (her), over there he brought back on Lake shore home the wife. Ball

toks hí'wí hímboks tánkt, tchúi hí'-i lélktcha tchí'ktchik spû'nktchapaluk.
hauled logs then, and there abandoned the wagon to bring (her) back.

Tsúi spû'ntpampēle, tsúi nä'-ulχa sha pä'n, spû'lhi sa Pû'lash, tsúi sa
And he brought (her) back, and tried they again, imprisoned they Ball, and he and she

sχókta sas pä'n wátch, tsúi sa spunkámpēle pän, tsúi sa pän hû'nk
paid them once more horses, and they set (him) free again, and they again

sumsä'-alank tsía.
marrying lived.

Wakák tsik sa tchía, k̲á-i ní tû'mēnat.
How since they have lived, not I learnt.

NOTES.

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[837]

Matrimonial reverses like the one given in this narrative are by no means uncommon among the Klamaths of the present day. They are one of the unavoidable consequences of the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers at Fort Klamath.

many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit and compelling in its demands.

K M 756 796

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers.

K M 221 261 [356]

K M [574] [685] [756] [796] [789]

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

K M 261 22

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already, in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and Sprague.

K M 221 361

K M [501]

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers

K 226 823

K M 226 103 648

E-UKSHIK̲ÍSHAM MÁK̲LAKSAM NÉ-ULAKS.

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LEGAL CUSTOMS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

GIVEN BY SUBCHIEF DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

I.

E-ukskni nā′d tchí tchía gitá: P′lú lak̲í mútasχēnini, nū′ds Dave
Lake-people we thus live here: Blow is chief general, and I Dave
Hill lak̲í P′lúash tapí′tan, Lánk-Tchān Dávish tapí′tan, tchē′k tchish Link
Hill am chief to Blow second, Long John Dave after, then too Link
River Jack Lánk-Tchánash tapí′tan, Lílu ts.
River Jack Long John after, and Lilu.

Pit River Charley Móatuasham lak̲í E-uk̲shí′.
Pit River Charley of Pit River people is the chief at the Lake.

Ben Littlejohn lálak̲i, Skóntchiesh lak̲í Yainakskíshăm mák̲laksam.
Ben (and) Littlejohn are the chiefs, Skóntchish is (sub-) chief of the Yáneks people.
Johnson lak̲í Moadoknísham Yaínakshi. George Kuatí′lak ts Módokni
Johnson is chief of Modocs at Yáneks. George Kuatílak also is Modoc
lak̲í tapí′tan Jóhnsonash.
chief after Johnson.

Tcháktot Sátam lak̲í.
Tcháktot of Snake Indians is chief.

II.

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[682]

Nánuk laláki Ă′-uksi nā′dsant shiū′lgishtat tsí sa hémkank:
All the chiefs on Klamath Lake on one and same reservation thus they speak:

K̲á-i ĭ shlí-uapk shash: ksaggayuapká m′s ní; k̲á-i ĭ palluápk sas
Not you shall shoot each other: would hang you I; not you seduce each other's
[684] snáwedsh: spûlhi-uapká m′s ní, hä′ ĭ sas pálluapk. K̲á-i ĭ wátsam tchí′k-
wives: would imprison you I, if you them seduce. Not you a horse shall
[685] luapk wännikí′sham; hä′doks ĭ tchíkluapk, spulhi-uapká m′s ní. K̲á-i ĭ
ride of another man; but if you should ride, would imprison you I. Not you
pálluapk sas nánuktua, hä′doks ĭ pálluapk sas spûlhi-uápka m′s ní.
shall steal from each other anything, for if you should steal from each other would imprison you I.

(Nánuktua k̲á-i ĭ pálluapk; hä′doks ĭ yekä′-uapk nä′-ulaks, hunkantí′
(Nothing you must steal; for if you should break the laws, thereat
[689] m′s ní shetcháktanuapk.) Hä′doks ĭ snawä′dsh Bóshtinash shä′tolakuapk,
at you I would get angry.) If you, as a female, with a white man should sleep,
któtchkuapka m′s ní. Hä′doks ĭ hä′sχalp′luapk nánuktua shéshatuish m′na,
will cut off hair to you I. If you should have returned to yourself the whole marriage fee his,

*539 sχóktuank i häsχálp'luapk, hunkantchä' mísh ní k̲á-i né-ulakuapk: waké-
paying you should reobtain it, on account of that you I not shall try; per-
622 692 anhua spû'lhi-uapk. Hä í híshuaksh pálluapk snawä'dshash, hä'doks
haps (I) will imprison. If you, as a married man, seduce a married woman, if
[684] í ná-änt snawä'dshash shetö'lakuapk, nä-ulakuapká m's ní. Hä í k̲í'-
you another with wife cohabit, shall punish you I. If you should
uapka ts, nä'-ulakuapka m's ní.
lie also, would punish you I.

[687] Hä'toks í nä's lúlûksaluapk k̲'lä'kapksh, mû' mísh ní nä'-ulakuapk.
And if you a person should cremate, who is dead, heavily you I shall punish.

[683] Hä' í kiúks tsís táwi-uapk, mû' mísh ní nä'-ulakuapk. Hä í shishókuapk
If you as a conjurer should bewitch, hard you I shall chastise. If you have a fight
[593] illí-uapka m's nánukäns; hä í snawä'dsh mí sissókuapk, ilhí'-uapka m's
I will lock up all of ye; if you (and) wife your should fight, will lock up you
ní lápuk sumseálĕmamks. Hä í shuhánk-sitk sissókuapk, lápuk mísh ní
I both married folks. If you evenly whip each other, both of ye I
nä'-ulakuapk; hä'toks snä'wedsh í mí udópkuapk, tchúi mísh k̲á-i sekák-
will punish; but if wife you your beat, and to you not returns
tsuapk hûk snáwädsh, k̲á-i ní nä'-ulakuapk snawä'dshash, mí'sh ní hissuák-
blows the wife, not I will punish the wife, you I, the hus-
shash spû'lhi-uapk. Hä í tuánksí wudsháyuapk hû'nkst, mí'sh ní mû'ak
band, will imprison. If you anywhere bruise her, you I more heavily
nä'-ulakuapk; hä'toks lak̲í û'dopkuapk snawä'dsh m'na, snäkĕluápka ní.
shall punish; but if a chief bruises wife his, shall remove (him) I.
[683] Hä'toks í hí'hashuaksh shishókuapk, lápuk mísh ní ilhí-uapk. Hä'toks
If you with men should fight, both of ye I will lock up. If
[685] í shnä'lχuapk látchash mû' mish ní nä'-ulakuapk.
you set on fire a lodge hard you I will chastise.

Hä lak̲í shishókuapk humáshtak ní shnäkĕlui-uápka; hä' tchik lak̲í
If a chief starts a fight, in the same manner I shall remove (him); if a chief
húntsak a mák̲laksas shishókuapk, lápĕni, ndánni, tánkní shishókuapk,
for no reason people should beat, twice, thrice, many times should beat,
tánkt ní snä'kĕlui-uapka ní. Hä' tchik í'-alhísh tchísh k̲úi gí'uapk, shnä-
then I shall remove (him) I. If a guardian wrong does, shall
kĕluí-uapka ní; hä nánuktua k̲úi gí'uapka, tánkt ní shnäkĕlui-uápkan
remove (him) I; if in everything wrong does (he), then I will remove (I)
í'-alhishash; hä'toks í'alhish tíds, nanuktuánta tídsh gí'uapk, k̲á-i ní shnä-
the watchman; but if watchman well, all through well shall act, not I will
kĕluí-uapk. Lak̲iásh tchísh tídsh gísht k̲á-i ní shnäkĕlúi-uapk; hä Bóshtin
remove (him). A chief also doing his duty not I will remove; if white-man-
yálank nä'-ulapkuapk, tí'dsh hûnk gí'uapk, k̲á-i ní hûnk wutódshanuapk.
alike he deals, right he shall act, not I him will cast away.

[689] K̲á-i í hussí'nuapk; hä'toks í hussí'nuapk nû hû'nk í'-amnuapk í'χaks
Not you must run horse-races; but if you run horse-races I the will take away gain
mí. Tchí lak̲í nä'-ulχa.
your. So the chief orders.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936), 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3829. Polygyny prerogative of any man	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+?	+	−	−	+	−	595
3830. Polygyny rare in tribe	−	+	+			−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	
3831. Sororal polygyny	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	
3832. During life of sisters	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	
*3833. Maximum number paid for	1	2	.	1	1	1	1	−	−	1	1	.	−	−	−	2	
o3834. Maximum number in same house	2	2	.	2	2	2	2	−	3	2	2	2	−	2	2	2	
3835. Because first wife barren	−	•+	.	+	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
3836. Without barrenness of first wife	+	+	.	−	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3837. Post-mortem sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	.	
3838. General	+	+	+	•−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	.	587
3839. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	−	+	−	•−	+	.	
3840. Especially if children	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	.	
3841. Obligatory for widower	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	−	
3842. Life endangered, if he does not comply	•+	•+	•+	−		•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	.	−	−	+	.	
3843. Stepdaughter marriage	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	587
3844. Simultaneous	•+	+	•+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3845. Successive	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	595
3846. Additional payment for daughter	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3847. Rare	+	+	−					+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3848. Disapproved	−	−	−						+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	
3849. Polyandry, husbands unrelated	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
o3850. Maximum no. of husbands	−	−	−	−	−	2	−	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	595
o3851. Maximum no. in same house	−	−	−	−	−	2	−	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3852. Polyandry, fraternal	•−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
o3853. Maximum no. of brothers in same house	−	−	−	−	−	−	2	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	•1	−	
3854. Wife lending	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
3855. Between any 2 men	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	837
3856. Levirate	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	587
3857. Obligatory for man	+	+	•−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
3858. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	−	+	−	
3859. Additional payment, gifts for woman	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	
3860. Brother-in-law can punish woman if she refuses	•+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	[684]
3861. Cut her hair, ear, nose	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	[607]
3862. Can kill her	+	+	+			+	+	+	•+	+	.	−	−	−	•+	−	[304]
3863. Killing common	−	+	+				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	
3864. Man may marry son's son's wife	−	+	−	−				+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3865. Common	−	−	−	−				+	−	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	

Marriage of Blood Relatives

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3866. Cousins; man to any cross-cousin's daughter	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	582
3867. Sister exchange	.	•+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3868. 2 men exchange sisters	.	−	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3869. Simultaneously or nearly so	.	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3870. Successively	.	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3871. No payment or gifts for brides	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	
3872. Payment for both brides	.	−	+	+	−	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	
3873. 2 brothers marry 2 sisters	−	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	

Exogamy

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3874. Local group exogamy	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	•+	+	+
3875. Preferred	+	+	.	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	•+
3876. Obligatory	−	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−
3877. Endogamy, if not related	•+	+	.	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.	+	+	+
3878. Tribal exogamy optional	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3879. Often practiced	•+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+

*539 sχóktnank ī häsχálp'luapk, hunkantchä' mīsh nī k̲á-i né-ulakuapk: waké-
paying you should re-obtain it, on account of that you I not shall try; per-
622
692 anhua spû'lhi-uapk. Hä ī h̲íshuaksh pálluapk snawä'dshash, hä'doks
haps (I) will imprison. If you, as a married man, seduce a married woman, if
684 ī ná-änt snawä'dshash shetō'lakuapk, nä-ulakuapká m's nī. Hä ī k̲ī'-
you another with wife cohabit, shall punish you I. If you should
uapka ts, nä'-ulakuapka m's nī.
lie also, would punish you I.

687 Hä'toks ī nä's lúlûksaluapk k̲'lä'kapksh, mû' mīsh nī nä'-ulakuapk.
And if you a person should cremate, who is dead, heavily you I shall punish.

683 Hä' ī kiúks tsīs táwi-uapk, mû' mīsh nī nä'-ulakuapk. Hä ī shishókuapk
If you as a conjurer should bewitch, hard you I shall chastise. If you have a fight
593 illí-uapka m's nánukäns; hä ī snawä'dsh mī sissókuapk, ilhī'-uapka m's
I will lock up all of ye; if you (and) wife your should fight, will lock up you
nī lápuk sumseálĕmamks. Hä ī shuhánk-sitk sissókuapk, lápuk mīsh nī
I both married folks. If you evenly whip each other, both of ye I
nä'-ulakuapk; hä'toks snä'wedsh ī mī udópkuapk, tchúi mīsh k̲á-i sekák-
will punish; but if wife you your beat, and to you not returns
tsuapk hûk snáwädsh, k̲á-i nī nä'-ulakuapk snawä'dshash, mī'sh nī hiseuák-
blows the wife, not I will punish the wife, you I, the hus-
shash spû'lhi-uapk. Hä ī tuánksī wudsháyuapk hû'nkst, mī'sh nī mû'ak
band, will imprison. If you anywhere bruise her, you I more heavily
nä'-ulakuapk; hä'toks lak̲í û'dopkuapk snawä'dsh m'na, snäkĕluápka nī.
shall punish; but if a chief bruises wife his, shall remove (him) I.
683 Hä'toks ī hī'hashuaksh shishókuapk, lápuk mīsh nī ilhí-uapk. Hä'toks
If you with men should fight, both of ye I will lock up. If
685 ī shnä'lχuapk látchash mû' mish nī nä'-ulakuapk.
you set on fire a lodge hard you I will chastise.

Hä lak̲í shishókuapk humáshtak nī shnäkĕlui-uápka; hä' tchik lak̲í
If a chief starts a fight, in the same manner I shall remove (him); if a chief
húntsak a mák̲laksas shishókuapk, lápĕni, ndánni, tánknī shishókuapk,
for no reason people should beat, twice, thrice, many times should beat,
tánkt nī snä'kĕlui-uapka nī. Hä' tchik ī'-alhīsh tchīsh k̲úi gī'uapk, shnä-
then I shall remove (him) I. If a guardian wrong does, shall
kĕluí-uapka nī; hä nánuktua k̲úi gī'uapka, tánkt nī shnäkĕlui-uápkan
remove (him) I; if in everything wrong does (he), then I will remove (I)
ī'-alhīshash; hä'toks ī'alhish tíds, nanuktuánta tídsh gī'uapk, k̲á-i nī shnä-
the watchman; but if watchman well, all through well shall act, not I will
kĕluí-uapk. Lak̲iásh tchīsh tídsh gīsht k̲á-i nī shnäkĕlúi-uapk; hä Bóshtin
remove (him). A chief also doing his duty not I will remove; if white-man-
yálank nä'-ulapkuapk, tī'dsh hûnk gī'uapk, k̲á-i nī hûnk wutódshanuapk.
alike he deals, right he shall act, not I him will cast away.

689 K̲á-i ī hussī'nuapk; hä'toks ī hussī'nuapk nû hû'nk ī'-amnuapk ī'χaks
Not you must run horse-races; but if you run horse-races I the will take away gain
mī. Tchí lak̲í nä'-ulχa.
your. So the chief orders.

000 they are rather a cloddish, indolent, ordinarily good-natured race, but treacherous at bottom, sullen when angered, notorious for keeping Punic faith. But their bravery nobody can deny."*

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD.

174 Before the middle of the nineteenth century the Máklaks people was unknown to mankind except to the nearest neighbors in Oregon and California. We are therefore justified in beginning its period of documentary history at that time, and in relegating to the domain of prehistorics all that is known of their previous condition. The information upon these points is furnished by three factors: tradition, archæologic remains, and language.

A. TRADITION BEARING UPON HISTORY.

121 Traditional folk-lore, when of the mythic order, generally dates from
773 an earlier epoch of fixation than historic traditions. The remote origin of *genuine* mythic folk-lore is sufficiently evidenced by the archaic terms embodied with it, by the repetition of the same phraseology for ages, and by the circumstance that all nations tend to preserve their religious ideas in an unchanged form. I am laying peculiar stress upon the term *genuine*, for Indians have often mixed recent ideas and fictions with archaic, original folk-lore and with ancient mythic ideas, the whole forming now one inextricable conglomerate which has the appearance of aboriginal poetic prose.

173 The Klamath people possess no historic traditions going further back
769 in time than a century, for the simple reason that there was a strict law
688 prohibiting the mention of the person or acts of a deceased individual by
171 *using his name.* This law was rigidly observed among the Californians no
784 less than among the Oregonians, and on its transgression the death penalty could be inflicted. This is certainly enough to suppress all historic knowledge within a people. How can history be written without names?

[126] Many times I attempted to obtain a list of the former head chiefs of the two chieftaincies. I succeeded only in learning the names of two chiefs recently deceased, and no biographic details were obtainable.

174 This people belongs to the autochthonic nations of America, called so because they have lost all remembrances of earlier habitats or of migrations.

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* Contributions to Amer. Ethnology, III, p. 253.

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787 first catch of suckers on spot. "If they don't eat it all up there, people won't catch any more suckers." After these observances, all suckers caught can be transported home to be eaten, dried.

284. SW: Wait until Karuk give White Deerskin dance at end of July before eating steelhead (rainbow trout); if any steelheads caught in salmon net before Karuk dance given, they must be thrown back into river. Fishermen who disregard this rule are in danger of being killed.

292. NP: "Dreamer" or singing shaman.

294. Kl: First 2 suckers.

296. SW: First run taboo to adolescent girls.

226
689 299. Kl: Old man in charge of rite tells youth, "Don't you pack those fish home on the first day; eat well; don't carry them around, or break their backbones." If youth disobeys, sticks bound from wrist to shoulder on boy's arms, and then bent upward and broken, thus breaking boy's arms at elbow; boy sometimes died. Any of old men present administer this punishment.

300. WM: See note 282.

Gathering

000 Gathering techniques and observances.--

300a. See note 357. AW: Pick up acorns from ground by hand; do not beat trees.

300b. Used to bend down limbs within hand's reach. MV: Obtained pine nuts at Lookout (in MF area); man intending to go for such, continent night before he starts. To obtain pine cones, he climbs tree, hooks branches with staff, cuts off cones.

301. Used to bend down limbs.

302. Used for whipping, knocking acorns and pine cones off limbs.

306. Branches left on pole, to serve as footholds. SW: Wrap grapevine around fir pole, or leave limbs on pole for footholds. AW: Native twine wrapped around sapling for foothold; limb left on sapling at upper end to serve as hook; pole hooked onto upper branches of tree, as climber progresses upward.

[222]
[824] 308. Kl, SW: Made of mountain mahogany.

311. SW: Iron bar across top end. AE: Use crutch-handled type mostly, but sometimes plain bipointed one as well.

312. Mo: Break or pull up entire plant of lamb's-quarters, pile plants on bare hard ground, and beat out seeds with long straight stick.

313. NS: Prepare meal for group, when first batch of any wild fruit gathered. Example, for manzanita berries, make large quantity of cider with first gathered berries, all drink. MV: Headman goes out and tests acorns for ripeness; tells people when they are ripe. His wife then goes out, secures 1 pack-basketful of acorns; dries them, and in about 6 days she is able to make 2 baskets of acorn mush from them. These she takes into assembly house; there members of secret society pray over mush and eat it; then everyone can go out and gather acorns.

[175-B]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

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ing exclusively or even principally upon kinsmen. A responsible man sometimes was appointed guardian of an estate, as was William Crawford in the case of the minor, Frederick Schonchin.[104] Indians sometimes volunteered to assume a somewhat analogous relationship even for nonkin. Thus William Ball, a prosperous interbreed, proposed to feed, clothe, and bury an aged and destitute couple from the Warm Springs reservation, "providing he can get their allotments to use while they live, and become the actual owner of their lands after death."[105] As interpersonal relations became increasingly concerned with the manipulation of property, litigation in the tribal court gained volume and acerbity.[106]

[891]

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The Board of Indian Commissioners had foreseen that undivided tribal funds might perpetuate the "Indian problem" that allotment had been designed to solve, and they advocated breaking them up.[107] Among the Klamath were a number of persons, stemming principally from the more acculturated members, who shared the same sentiments toward unallotted lands. Paralleling the stress upon individual pecuniary interests, they developed what may be termed claims against the tribal equity. In one instance, Celia DuFault, sister-in-law of William Crawford, and a nonresident member, claimed part of the Klamath school farm as her allotment;[108] in another, the returned Modoc, Charles S. Hood, made inquiries concerning the Yainax school farm with an eye, it was alleged, to a similar allotment for himself and his children.[109]

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These efforts must be viewed in the context of corresponding measures on the part of whites. The conflicting claims and suits had delayed the completion of allotment, and hence the sale of surplus lands, into a time when it became obvious that the tribal timber possessed great value. The government then decided that the surplus lands would be retained and the timber exploited for the tribal benefit. There were various plans, however, to contest the retention on an undivided tribal equity. In 1909, the eight-man tribal council requested that a bill be prepared "giving the Klamath Allottees an additional 160 acres of timber land on this reservation; and that this be done at once in order that the surplus lands may then be disposed of otherwise."[110]

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Meanwhile, O. C. Applegate had remarked favorably upon a

Chiefs' Functions

The functions of chiefs both to the northwest and in central California differed sharply from those of the Klamath. 171* 622

On the Northwest Coast proper the authority of a chief was by no means absolute. The commoners were subject to his admonition rather than his will, his direct authority extending hardly beyond his immediate following. Such gifts as they made him were free-will offerings, large as they were, dictated solely by traditional sentiment. While these include almost all articles of food among the Kwakiutl, to the south, as among the Klallam and Snohomish, they were rather such things as were difficult to procure, such as the products of the hunt, and were no more than were given to any respected old man.[670]

The situation on the Columbia river and in coastal Washington and Oregon was different. These chiefs had real authority. Wishram, Quinault,[671] and Coos chiefs were obeyed, their authority being challenged only by the rich. Commoners among Wishram and Coos gave largely from their gains and in return could expect the aid of their chiefs when in distress. The chiefs sat as judges in cases of witchcraft and murder, assessing heavy fines and ordering the culprit killed if he defaulted. Such fines were not theirs but went to the family of the murdered man. They also paid such fines for their followers. What little is known of the Tillamook suggests an identical situation. [692] [682]

This judicial function, with its meting of fines and punishment, made its appearance among the Klamath by way of the Dalles early in the middle of the last century.

Northwestern California shows considerable similarity to western Oregon, but the authority of rich men was slight in comparison and they did not sit as judges. Among the Hupa, Shasta, and presumably their neighbors, they were obeyed because they gave of their store in times of scarcity and paid fines for followers who were in difficulties. The headmen in more southerly Californian groups exercised more formal authority, as the Yuki and Patwin headmen, who may have made decisions of war and directed town activities. In northeastern California (Maidu, Achomawi, Atsugewi) chiefs were much like

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[670] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1333 f.; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 204; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 36.

[671] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1926.

*657 time had come, he summoned his people "to receive his solemn
*648 admonishments err [sic] his spirit take flight." Soon recovering,
622 he voiced to the Agency farmer, S. D. Whitemore, the suspicion that the shaman who had cured him, and whose professional charges had stripped him of all his effects, had been in league with the subchiefs to bring about his death; and he requested that the shaman be imprisoned by the military. Later events made it clear that Monchnkasgitk had been a leader in the conspiracy, plotting to take the place of the old chief. Thereupon, Whitemore, then in charge of the Agency, called a council, at which he "stated that it will be highly necessary to consult their, and the government agent, or the change could not be regonized [sic]. . . . I learned that after a lengthy consultation with the indians has [sic] become impressed with the belief that Mosen Kasket and his band have no hostile intentions."[7]

[558] With Agency backing, Lileks once more was restored to a position of relative authority, but his recourse to outside support caused his personal prestige to decline. He thus had to resort increasingly to formal instruments to bolster his power and to implement the changes he sought. When one Spokane Ike slew
[682] his child in Jacksonville, Lileks asked that the Agent order all Indians back upon the reservation. Spokane Ike was tried by the Indian court, Lileks presiding, and was fined fifty dollars.

[692] Lileks took readily to the court, and Whitemore reported, "The indians are holding court dayly [sic]. I am not informed of the nature of their cases." O. C. Applegate described one session thus: "A few days ago the Grand Court of Klamath set, Chief LaLakes presiding, and many men were convicted of many
[681] crimes. One in particular had stolen a number of women, 20 mink skins and otherwise trampeled [sic] on the rights of his people, he now wears shackles and a heavy log chain and chops wood for La Lakes."[8]

*648 The head chief was by no means an advocate of indiscriminate
*657 change. He favored inhumation of the dead, which he had
622 witnessed among the whites in his travels to Jacksonville, Yreka,
177 and The Dalles, over the native practice of cremation; and about
[764] 1868 he secured its adoption.[9] On the other hand, when the
[567] proposal was made in 1865 to liberate the slaves, Lileks was prominent in voicing his displeasure, undoubtedly backed by

As for the deposed Monchnkasgitk, his place was promptly 657*
filled by the election of one "Barcley." Despite the rebuff, 648*
Monchnkasgitk rose again in time to the position of subchief at 622
Yainax, where he came to be known as Moses Brown.[17]

The major election had removed from immediate power one who had obstructed Agency-sponsored reforms, but had left the membership of the lesser chieftaincies intact. It is clear that administration policy held that representation by a chief was
adequate to secure the interests of a band. Thus, in 1871, when 657*
John Meacham found the lot of the slaves little improved his 648*
remedy was to authorize them to elect a chief "to represent 622
them in the councils and courts of the tribes."[18] In the political 692
order thus established, the chiefs had been displaced from an 693
executive role to constitute a court, while a sheriff, chosen from among the Indians, together with constables, one per chief, were to maintain order. Chiefs, somewhat extralegally, soon began to assume magisterial functions.

It took some time to make the court aware of the bounds 657*
within which it ought to operate. John Meacham noted in his 648*
charges "an excessive disposition to go to law," and remarked, 622
"I have counciled [sic] the board of chiefs against this, especially 692
against making arrests for trifling offenses or for *no* offence at all, advising them that the object of the law is to *protect* the people and not to *oppress* them."[19] Soon thereafter, he reduced the court to a membership of only seven chiefs and set its sessions at monthly intervals.[20]

As outlined by Dave Hill, one of the members of the court, 657*
the list of offenses combined crimes against the person (murder, 648*
adultery, stealing, fornication, witchcraft, and fighting), those 622
against property (arson), together with what can only be con- [68]
sidered redefinitions of customary procedure. Thus, cremation [764]
of the dead was enjoined and the license permitted a chief in
dealing with his followers was severely circumscribed. Marriages [585]
were to be confirmed before the principal chief, who was to [643]
receive a fee; the bride price was not to be returned on the [586]
desertion of the husband; while the court might order the sepa-
ration of an irreconcilable couple. Monogamy alone was per- [595]
missible.[21]

Thus, not only were the chiefs given new and different powers,

*657 but they were made the arbiters for the acceptance by their
*648 fellows of changes in customary practice. Their position was
622 buttressed by the procedure at first adopted of issuing annuities through them, of loaning equipment to the chiefs for the use of their followers, of building houses for them, and of giving them priority when breaking ground for planting.[22]

*657 Even as an embodiment of indirect rule, however, the early
*648 reservation courts knew the intervention of the Agents. Meacham
756 records that, "Captain Knapp forbade thier [sic] Doctors to
692 practice and shackeled [sic] them for attempting to persist in the same."[23] And Meacham himself, having requested the commander of Fort Klamath to arrest and confine one Link River Doctor for the same offense, proceeded to try him during the next session of the court and sentenced him to four months' imprisonment at Fort Klamath.[24] Dyar similarly set sentence for Pitt River Dick, convicted of assaulting another Indian with a knife.[25]

*657 The degree to which the Agency had set itself up to confirm
*648 the chiefs, and thus to constitute the supreme authority, is shown
622 by the commission earlier awarded to Allen David, which runs,

> The Bearer
>
> for his intelligence, loyalty and long continued good behavior, is hereby appointed during good conduct Chief of the Chucklolum division of the Klamath Tribe. He will exercise authority over the said people subject to the will of the High Chief of the Klamath Nation and also of the proper authorities of the United States.
>
> Witness
> O. C. Applegate Intr.
> Saml. D. Whitmore
> Acting Farmer
>
> Signed at the Klamath
> Agency Sept 28th 1867
> L. Applegate
> U. S. Indn Sub Agent

Note especially that the division referred to does not correspond with any of the Klamath tribelets. Thus a regrouping was either being recognized or, more probably, instigated by the Agency.[26]

Despite their increasing control, Agents continued to chafe under the independence still exercised by the chiefs. As Commissary Meacham chose to phrase it, "In thier [sic] present condition it is probably best that each tribe should be represented by thier hereditary chiefs, but I am satisfied that the time is not

appointed sergeants of the force. "This," he added, "would give 657*
these chiefs something to do & a support. They would be in- 648*
terested in watching their people and in keeping good order."[61] 625
The move also would counter the opposition to the police among 622
the chiefs themselves, led by Allen David.

Once the force was authorized, Nickerson became aware of 657*
its peculiar jurisdictional limitations. When he sent the police 648*
625

[175]

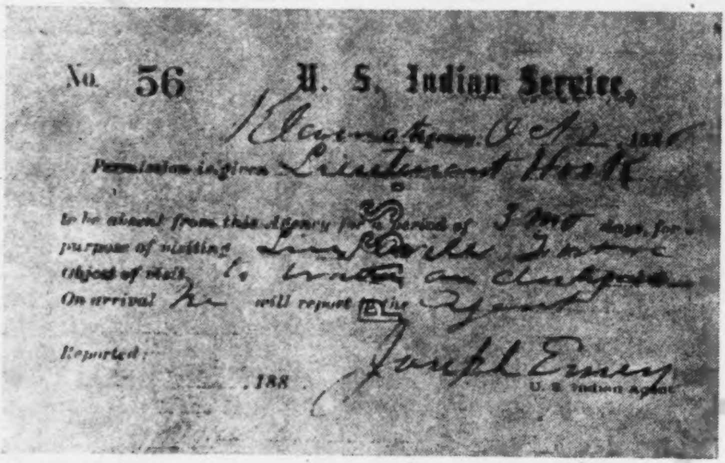

No. 56 U. S. Indian Service.

Klamath Agency O Apl 1886

Permission is given Lieutenant Hook

to be absent from this Agency for a period of 3 mo days, for purpose of visiting Linkville

Object of visit

On arrival he will report to the Agent

Reported:

, 188

Joseph Emery

U. S. Indian Agent

This pass authorized an Indian police officer to leave the reservation for three months while on duty in the Linkville area. 1886.

to Linkville to round up Indians absent without passes and to pursue Indian horse thieves, he was informed that they had no power to make arrests off the reservation: the United States authorities must be notified to act. Yet when the turbulent Spokane Ike shot Skookum Doctor and fled, to be captured by the Indian police near Prineville, the U.S. District Attorney declined jurisdiction, saying that it lay either with the state courts or
with the tribe. Accordingly, "the chiefs in council, acting as a 657*
grand jury, accused Spokane Ike of the crime of murder. A court 648*
was held, the Indian Agent presiding. A jury, of twelve of the 622
most intelligent Indians of the tribe was selected. . . ." Both by 692*
the testimony of a witness and by his own statement the defend- 695
ant was found guilty of murder in the first degree. Upon further 000

[Klamath Reservation]

Upon further

*657 *648 696 instructions from Washington, he was publicly hanged. Struck by the solemnity of the proceedings, Nickerson reported, "Fully half the people of the nation was [sic] present. The order and behavior were admirable. The arrangements and execution of the plans were in the highest degree creditable to the Indians having charge of the same."[62]

*657 *648 434 625 The following year, a parsimonious Congress made necessary a reduction in pay. "They are all poor men," exclaimed Nickerson, "and can not support their families on one ration and 5 dollars per month. Young men have not the experience needed & do not command the respect of the tribe & nation." He searched about for alternatives to help them eke out an existence.[63] Opportunely, there arrived a copy of *Rules Governing the Court of Indian Offenses* which, pronounced Nickerson, would "work a radical change in the government of this people."

*657 *648 622 625 • 692 He suggested that Blow and Hill "loyal, intelligent, and progressive Christian men" be appointed as judges, to serve concurrently as policemen. To them he proposed to add another, Jesse Kirk, a pupil at the Agency school and a carpenter's apprentice, to be both a member of the force and a judge. Of the three, he wrote, "David Hill will make the most competent man for presiding Judge. If necessary I will nominate him for Captain and Blowe [sic] for Lieutenant of Police. Otherwise I would prefer that they remain as they [are] as Blowe is head chief of the nation."[64]

The triple role of Hill and Blow made it difficult to delimit their judicial functions. Wrote Nickerson in 1886:

> I was obliged to be quite positive and firm in the exercise of my authority as an agent, before they came to understand that they were not independent in the performance of their duties as Judges. It also required some time to convince them that they were not to become prosecutors of supposed criminals, and that they were not to form and express an opinion in advance of hearing all the testimony, and then not until they had taken time to deliberate together. I am satisfied that we have no better material for judges than those that are now acting in that capacity, and yet they are strongly opinionated, and are making but slow progress in the right direction.[65]

*657 *648 625 The police force, meanwhile, had been distributed so that four

served at the Agency and three at Yainax, with an additional 657*
policeman at each school to bring in new scholars, recapture 648*
runaways, and oversee the prisoners. Dave Hill presided over 625
the police building at the Agency, with quarters for his family and cells for the prisoners.[66] On occasion, policemen accompanied labor parties off the reservation and worked alongside them for pay in addition to their salaries; and they served as escort to the freighting runs to Ashland and Jacksonville and the late winter expeditions to the Lost River fisheries. They were a considerable power in maintaining order, even apprehending deserters from Fort Klamath; and Emery used them effectively in imposing his agricultural policy upon his wards.

The police, however, at times found themselves at odds with 657*
the very laws and regulations they were employed to uphold. 648*
Among those involved in the illicit traffic in reservation timber, 625
as already described, were several members of the police, together 622
with other Agency employees, and three chiefs: Monchnkasgitk, 578
Allen David, and David Hill. The latter, in 1888, learned at first hand the impersonal character of authority when, disturbed by some ruling concerning his son, he approached the clerk who was acting as Agent in the absence of Emery, in what that worthy described as "an angry, insulting, insolent, defiant, threatening, warlike and rebellious manner." He was arrested—resisting the while—and locked in the guardhouse; and the clerk requested that he be kept in solitary confinement for one week, or until the clerk had returned from Yainax.[67]

Emery apparently conceived that too much power was concentrated 657*
in a few hands, for later that year he reorganized the 648*
court, with the observation that "in the very nature of things the 692
Judge should not be the *Sheriff*." His appointments were drawn 622
from a new generation of leaders: William Crain, William Crawford, [693]
and Benjamin Butler.

> They are intelligent men [he observed], [and] can read and write and speak accurately the English language. One of them is a graduate of the Chemawa Indian School, another educated at the Klamath School and the third one is the best informed man on the reservation.
>
> Court is held once a quarter at Yainax—40 miles from here and twice a quarter at the Agency.

657*
648*
692

> *657 *648 • 692 A large number of Indian offences come before this Court for trial, consisting mainly of family quarrels, disputes about the ownership of property and acts of licentiousness.[88]

With the accidental death of Crain, Jesse Kirk was appointed in his stead.[89]

Thus, within a generation the administration had replaced the popular leaders with those among them who were Agency employees, and in turn had supplanted them with the products of its schools. Legally constituted authority was administered through the Agency, at first through a customary court of chiefs and later [625] through a Court of Indian Offenses. The Indian police, who took their orders directly from the Agent, were satisfactory to him as the instrument of his hand. Not so the courts, which tended instead to constitute seats of power alternative to that of the Agent. The result was to be that Agents tended to strengthen the police while circumscribing the functions of the courts.

*657 *648 622 571 Meanwhile, beyond the administrative structure thrived an unacknowledged informal leadership, based as in former days upon wealth and accomplishment. Unlike that of the Agency, it was not restricted in position nor limited narrowly in function. This was a leadership in which employees could also participate; and it was presently to see such diverse men as the old chiefs, Monchnkasgitk, Henry Blow, and Allen David, make cause with Dave Hill, and he with young Jesse Kirk, and he in turn with Jeff Riddle, son of Frank Riddle and Winema, the heroine of the Modoc War, and with Henry Jackson, the wealthy exslave. In this sense at least E. L. Applegate was right when he observed:

> [179] [178] [101] The tribal distinction among the Indians on this Reservation is practically disregarded by the Indians, and the ancient prejudices are rapidly fading away. The general name of Klamath People seems to be superseding all other distinctions.[90]

Of all the societal
relationships, the government sought directly
to change only those within the family. It was clear that a nation 657*
that was soon to impose upon the Mormons the American, and 648*
not the Biblical family, would permit no special marital practices 595
among the Indians. Polygamy was banned, although not retro- 177 178
actively for unions such as those of Allen David and Monchn-
kasgitk, which had been contracted prior to January 1, 1870.
Some leaders themselves appear to have advocated the change in
a desire to emulate whites. In 1877, Gatschet noted that there
were still two or three polygamous men.[26] Since polygamy had [556]
been a mark of the affluent, the ban, like the emancipation of the
slaves that preceded it, served to erode the status of the tradi-
tional chiefs.

An effort was also made to place under the authority of the 657*
court of chiefs certain relationships which had formerly been 648*
regulated privately between the families or individuals con- 622
cerned. In the legal code instituted when the court was estab- 692 •
lished, the consecration of marriage was made the function of 685
the head chief, to whom the groom was to pay a fee of five, three, 583
or two dollars or the same amount in horses, graduated according [643]
to his means. It was again the chiefs who punished fornication [684]
and polygamy and performed divorce.[27] The traditional ritual [586]
of marriage still was being practiced by some families in the
1890's[28] but the gift exchanges between the families concerned
which set a public seal on the union were superseded, and the
controls exerted by the family over the couple were thereby
diminished. The effects of these and other changes were recog-
nized by Gatschet. "Matrimonial reverses . . . among the Klamath
[he declared] . . are one of the unavoidable consequences of
the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of
their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also
of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers
at Fort Klamath."[29]

With time, the seal upon marriage came to be set by the 657*
Methodist church and its ethics in turn permitted the independ- 648*
ent of spirit to flout tradition. One woman recalled that upon 581
the death of her husband his family proposed that she wed his 587
brother in customary manner, but she refused out of regard for 177
the memory of her husband and the sanctity of the bond of their 178
marriage in the church.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

was transacted by Jack Palmer, Harrison Brown, Ike Mose, and 648 *
Abraham Charley. A committee of ten men submitted a report 657 *
of the findings of the council, presenting the proadministration 665
viewpoint and requesting "that these men [Kirk and party] be 668
not allowed to do any more business pertaining to the tribe without 578
tribal authority."[74]

Jesse Kirk and his adherents did not participate in the "loyal" council. After the scene in Evans' office, Kirk and Jackson had consulted with Mills in Klamath Falls. In the company of the attorney they then returned to demand the petition. Evans refused, informing Mills that "no attorney had any right to interfere in tribal affairs without permission from the Interior Department." The three retired and with others of the faction drew up another petition which they forwarded to Washington.[75]

In his letter of transmittal to the firm of Dudley and Michener in the capital, who were in turn to present the matter to the Commissioner, Mills shed a new perspective upon matters. After reviewing some of the earlier developments, he turned to the [692] •
investigations of Inspector Holland, which, as he said, [681]

> proceeded along smothly [sic] enough until the questions of money and property became the subject of inquiry when it developed that during the last four years a system of collecting money, stock, lumber and other property had been adopted; it seems that this was done by first having the "Indian" court (a sort of disciplinary tribunal which has been authorized or rather sanctioned by the department) impose a penalty or punishment and then allow the indian defendant to pay in cash or such other property as he might chance to have and notwithstanding that such court has no such authority to impose fine or collect money in that way. . . . During the time of the investigation some of the fines which had been collected one or two years were paid back to the defendants. . . . It is conclusive proof had there not been an illegal practice . . . no such returns would have been made. . . .

Although Holland had inquired into only one case, there had been several. Jesse Kirk had requested of George Loosley, chief of police, the list of fines imposed, but was denied it. Finally, Loosley consented to divulge the sum, amounting to $2,651 collected over a four-year period.

At the center of the case, claimed Mills, was Applegate, related through marriage to three brothers of the Loosley family. Two

*648 Indian officer, both at Beatty. Thereupon, Chiloquin's marshal
*657 and his deputy also resigned, asserting that enforcement under
641 those conditions was too difficult—and too dangerous, to boot.
625 The county, which had already barred tribal members from the county jail, now took the position that, short of a government request, its courts would try no more Indian cases. Crawford
[692] countered with a proposal that the Court of Indian Offenses be reinstituted, while other leaders fell back upon that time-honored solution, the United States cavalry. Several months passed before funds were found to restore the reservation staff to normal strength.[4]

*648 Within the interlocking jurisdictions of the reservation and
*657 the reservation community, Klamath came to play out the role
641 of citizen as a voter, a taxpayer, and the object of legal control.
571 In small towns such as Chiloquin and Sprague River, relationships were primary in character, dominated by face-to-face relationships. Within the special environment of the reservation, with the vast potential of its unexploited resources, something of a western frontier tradition was preserved, with emphasis placed upon individualism and a high premium set upon voluntaristic action in concerting effort.

*648 These conditions were nowhere better evident than in Beatty.
*657 In this little community, with fewer than one hundred fifty
621 members, leadership was furnished by a few individuals and
563 action was highly informal. Perhaps the most influential person was a white storekeeper, a resident in the community for almost four decades, who had on occasion donated land and cash for worthy causes, who presided over a credit system, and who was much respected by the older tribal members. Among the latter, a leading spirit was the widow of his brother-in-law, who could be counted upon to act with him. His store was a frequent gathering place and the debating ground of the "hot stove league," where tribal politicians from the Upper End were often to be found. Another local leader was a young white, married to a tribal member, who farmed along the Sprague and in his spare time was a vigorous preacher in the Assembly of God Church.

Indians from other reservations, also married to Klamath, provided specialized leadership. One was prominent in the affairs of

*648 rigidity, and while its members freely attended the services of
*657 other sects, they were selective in admitting non-Klamath to their
795 worship. It was finally upon the issue of its Indian character that
177 the church was riven. The immediate circumstance was the effort
[563] of the "Annie Lee" faction to introduce the Bible into the ritual.
*648 A stout minority of the members refused to allow this, observing,
*657 in the words of one member, "The Indian has his religion: God
795 speaks to him through the 'shakes.' The white man hasn't got
578 them; he has to use the Bible." The contest soon came to litiga-
177 tion, during which the conservatives held services in private dwellings, while their rivals occupied the church building. Some years later, while the issue dragged on, a fire destroyed the structure; but the "Annie Lee" faction possessed sufficient vigor to rebuild it. Increasingly, that group had been gravitating toward the Four Square Gospel; and when the church was rebuilt it came to be used jointly with another fundamentalist sect.

*648 Thus, even the maintenance of an "Indian" religion, objectively
*657 syncretic in form and content, is sought by a state charter of
795 incorporation and internal disputes are placed before the courts
177 for decision. Moreover, its growth parallels the revivalistic move-
• [692] ment of fundamentalist sects upon the West Coast; it vies with them for members; and its destiny is finally interwoven with theirs. Any theory that sees in the growth of such a religion a reaction of the Klamath people to pressures of the time must consider that special history and account for the parallel growth of other sects among non-Klamath at about the same time. For the Klamath, those sects must be regarded alternant to the Shaker faith in providing opportunities for expression. In assessing the features that attracted converts, the appeal of familiar Christian practice, known from earlier Methodist services, must be reckoned, as well as those features which were strictly aboriginal. For some, indeed, the identity of the church as Indian may have been compelling, as fostering an image of independence from the almost overwhelming presence of American culture.

To evaluate the impact of the Shaker Church from the members involved is hazardous. Although only a handful of individuals became exclusively committed to the Shaker way, its impact extended far beyond their ranks. At the same time, the majority

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM MÁKLAKSAM NÉ-ULAKS.

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LEGAL CUSTOMS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

GIVEN BY SUBCHIEF DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

I.

E-ukskni nä'd tchí tchía gitá: P'lú lakí tútasχēnini, nû'ds Dave
Lake-people we thus live here: Blow is chief general, and I Dave
Hill lakí P'lúash tapí'tan, Lánk-Tchān Dávish tapí'tan, tchē'k tchish Link
Hill am chief to Blow second, Long John Dave after, then too Link
River Jack Lánk-Tchánash tapí'tan, Lílu ts.
River Jack Long John after, and Lilu.

Pit River Charley Móatuasham lakí E-ukshí'.
Pit River Charley of Pit River people is the chief at the Lake.

Ben Littlejohn lálaki, Skóntchiesh lakí Yainakskíshām máklaksam.
Ben (and) Littlejohn are the chiefs, Skóntchish is (sub-) chief of the Yánεks people.
Johnson lakí Moadoknísham Yaínakshi. George Kuatí'lak ts Módokni
Johnson is chief of Modocs at Yánεks. George Kuatílak also is Modoc
lakí tapí'tan Jóhnsonash.
chief after Johnson.

Tcháktot Sátam lakí.
Tcháktot of Snake Indians is chief.

II.

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[682]
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[685]
[689]

Nánuk laláki Ä'-uksi nä'dsant shiû'lgishtat tsí sa hémkank:
All the chiefs on Klamath Lake on one and same reservation thus they speak:

Ká-i î shlí-uapk shash: ksaggayuapká m's ní; ká-i î palluápk sas
Not you shall shoot each other: would hang you I; not you seduce each other's
snáwedsh: spûlhi-uapká m's ní, hä' î sas pálluapk. Ká-i î wátsam tchí'k-
wives: would imprison you I, if you them seduce. Not you a horse shall
luapk wännikí'sham; hä'doks î tchíkluapk, spulhi-uapká m's ní. Ká-i î
ride of another man; but if you should ride, would imprison you I. Not you
pálluapk sas nánuktua, hä'doks î pálluapk sas spûlhi-uápka m's ní.
shall steal from each other anything, for if you should steal from each other would imprison you I.
(Nánuktua ká-i î pálluapk; hä'doks î yekä'-uapk nä'-ulaks, hunkantí'
(Nothing you must steal; for if you should break the laws, thereat
m's ní shetcháktanuapk.) Hä'doks î snawä'dsh Bóshtinash shä'tolakuapk,
at you I would get angry.) If you, as a female, with a white man should sleep,
któtchkuapka m's ní. Hä'doks î hä'sχalp'luapk nánuktua shéshatuish m'na,
will cut off hair to you I. If you should have returned to yourself the whole marriage fee his,

*539 sχóktnank i häsχálp'luapk, hunkantchä' mísh ní k̲á-i né-ulakuapk: waké-
paying you should re-obtain it, on account of that you I not shall try; per-
622 692 anhua spû'lhi-uapk. Hä í híshuaksh pálluapk snawä'dshash, hä'doks
haps (I) will imprison. If you, as a married man, seduce a married woman, if
684 í ná-änt snawä'dshash shetō'lakuapk, nä-ulakuapká m's ní. Hä í k̲í'-
you another with wife cohabit, shall punish you I. If you should
uapka ts, nä'-ulakuapka m's ní.
lie also, would punish you I.

687 Hä'toks í nä's lúlûksaluapk k̲'lä'kapksh, mû' mísh ní nä'-ulakuapk.
And if you a person should cremate, who is dead, heavily you I shall punish.
683 Hä' í kiúks tsís táwi-uapk, mû' mísh ní nä'-ulakuapk. Hä í shishókuapk
If you as a conjurer should bewitch, hard you I shall chastise. If you have a fight
593 illí-uapka m's nánukäns; hä í snawä'dsh mí sissókuapk, ilhí'-uapka m's
I will look up all of ye; if you (and) wife your should fight, will look up you
ní lápuk sumseálĕmamks. Hä í shuhánk-sitk sisseókuapk, lápuk mísh ní
I both married folks. If you evenly whip each other, both of ye I
nä'-ulakuapk; hä'toks snä'wedsh í mí udópkuapk, tchúi mísh k̲á-i sekák-
will punish; but if wife you your beat, and to you not returns
tsuapk hûk snáwädsh, k̲á-i ní nä'-ulakuapk snawä'dshash, mí'sh ní hissuák-
blows the wife, not I will punish the wife, you I, the hus-
shash spû'lhi-uapk. Hä í tuánksí wudsháyuapk hû'nkst, mí'sh ní mû'ak
band, will imprison. If you anywhere bruise her, you I more heavily
nä'-ulakuapk; hä'toks lak̲í û'dopkuapk snawä'dsh m'na, snäkĕluápka ní.
shall punish; but if a chief bruises wife his, shall remove (him) I.
683 Hä'toks í hí'hashuaksh shishókuapk, lápuk mísh ní ilhí-uapk. Hä'toks
If you with men should fight, both of ye I will look up. If
685 í shnä'lχuapk látchash mû' mísh ní nä'-ulakuapk.
you set on fire a lodge hard you I will chastise.

Hä lak̲í shishókuapk humáshtak ní shnäkĕlui-uápka; hä' tchik lak̲í
If a chief starts a fight, in the same manner I shall remove (him); if a chief
húntsak a mák̲laksas shishókuapk, lápĕni, ndánni, tánkní shishókuapk,
for no reason people should beat, twice, thrice, many times should beat,
tánkt ní snä'kĕlui-uapka ní. Hä' tchik í'-alhísh tchísh k̲úi gí'uapk, shnä-
then I shall remove (him) I. If a guardian wrong does, shall
kĕluí-uapka ní; hä nánuktua k̲úi gí'uapka, tánkt ní shnäkĕlui-uápkan
remove (him) I; if in everything wrong does (he), then I will remove (I)
í'-alhíshash; hä'toks í'alhish tíds, nanuktuánta tídsh gí'uapk, k̲á-i ní shnä-
the watchman; but if watchman well, all through well shall act, not I will
kĕluí-uapk. Lak̲iásh tchísh tídsh gísht k̲á-i ní shnäkĕlúi-uapk; hä Bóshtin
remove (him). A chief also doing his duty not I will remove; if white-man-
yálank nä'-ulapkuapk, tí'dsh hûnk gí'uapk, k̲á-i ní hûnk wutódshanuapk.
alike he deals, right he shall act, not I him will cast away.

689 K̲á-i í hussí'nuapk; hä'toks í hussí'nuapk nû hû'nk í'-amnuapk í'χaks
Not you must run horse-races; but if you run horse-races I the will take away gain
mí. Tchí lak̲í nä'-ulχa.
your. So the chief orders.

*539
622
692
[684]

Hä' î k̲ä'liak híshuaksh ná-änds sätólakuapk, hû'k tchísh híssuaks
If you, not having a husband, with another should cohabit, this also man
k̲ä'liak snáwädsh, spû'lhi-uapka nû kä'lish snáwedsh. Hä hû'ksa heshtó-
(is) without a wife, shall imprison I the unmarried (man). If they should live
lakuapk, hû'nk ni túmĕnuk nä'-ulakuapk spúlhi-uapka nu hishuáks hû'nk.
in concubinage, of it I hearing will punish (and) will imprison I man that.
Tchí' Ä'-ukskni laláki nä'-ulĕka tchí' huk käílatat m'nálam; tsúi k̲í'llitk
So the Klamath Lake chiefs order so they in district their; and severe (is)
nä'-ulaks lalák̲iam.
the law of the chiefs.

[585]

Hä'toks î sû'msealstka gíuapk si-í'huapk î lápuk, snawä'dshash
And if you on the point of marriage should be and should agree you both, female
hissuáksh tchí'sh, tsúi î gépkuapk lak̲iámksi; tsúi mí'sh lak̲í snû'mpsä-
male also, then you must come to chief's house; and you the chief will unite in
aluapk, tû'nep î n's tála skû'ktanuapk hû'nk pîl mû'yäns pí'la lák̲iash;
wedlock, five you to me dollars shall pay only to the principal only chief;
hä'toks î yúalks, tsí hû'k î ndán tála, wakiánhua lä'p tála skû'ktanuapk.
but if you (are) poor, then you three dollars, may be two dollars have to pay.
Hä î yuálks tsi gíuapk súmsä-aluapk, gä't î n's skû'ktanuapk. Häts î
If you poor should be (and) intend to marry, that much you to me have to pay. And if you
skû'ktish háměniuk tû'ma wátch gitk, túnîp î skû'ktanuapk snawä'dshash;
to pay want of many horses possessed, five (horses) you can give in payment for the wife;
hä'toks yúalks tsí î lápi wátch skû'ktanuapk, wakiánhua ndán wátch,
and if poor you two horses can pay, or perhaps three horses,
tû'ma-kans wátch gí'tking.
many horses when having.

[586]

Hä' tchi m's snawä'dsh gû'skuapk, k̲á-i î wátch shnû'kp'li-uapk
And if you (your) wife should leave, not you the horses can take back
k̲á-i tch snawä'dsh hûk wátch spuní'-uapka m'sh; î pí'l î hissuáksh pîl
and not (your) wife a horse need transfer to you; you alone, you husband only
shä'wanuapk snawä'dshash gû'shkank.
must give (them) (your) wife when leaving.

[595]
[684]

K̲á-i î láp snawä'dsaluapk; nä'sak î snawä'dslank gíuapk; hä'toks î
Not you two wives shall marry; one only you marrying must live; but if you
láp snawä'dsaluapk, nä'-ulakuapka m'sh. Hä' tchík wéwanuish lä'pi gíug
two wives marry, shall punish (I) you. If the wives double for being
hishtcháktanuapk, tánkt mí'sh ní skuyû'shkuapk snáwädsh nä'sh; tsûshní'
should quarrel, then from you I shall divorce wife one; forever
m'sh ní skuyû'shkuapk, k̲á-i î tatá mbushäálp'luapk. Hä'toks î mbuseál-
from you I shall sever her, not you ever can marry her again. And if you associate again

[586]

p'luapk spûlhi-uapká m'sh ní. Häts nä'dsiak mí snawä'ds tsû'ssak î
(with her) shall imprison you I. And if monogamic your with wife constantly you
hishtcháktanuapk, tánkt mísh ní skuyû'shkuapk, ampkáak î hishû'kat;
should quarrel, finally from you I shall separate (her), or else ye may kill each other;

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● 692
[586]

hû'masht mish ni gíug skuyû'shkuapk. Hä nî skuyû'shkuapka m'sh,
therefore ye I will separate. If I should separate (her) from you,
tsû'shnî m'sh nî skuyû'shkuapk.
forever from you I shall divorce (her).

K̲á-i mish ni hû'nk k̲î'tgik; nánuktuanta káktak píla m's n hû'nk hém-
Not you I that to tell lies told; about everything to tell the truth alone to you I that to
kanktgîk; nä'-ulakt gî'tki î snawä'dshash tchî'sh káktak pîl. K̲á-i n
tell said; to observe the laws you wife also to tell the truth only. Not I
hû'nk gî'tkik m's píla, hihashuákshash tchîsh nánukänsh.
this to do tell to you only, (but) to men too all (others.)

III.

[689] Snáwedsh tchîk shû'ldshash shetólχa, tsúi nát któktatska; at hûnk
A female (if) with a soldier copulates, then we cut her hair off; she
yakä'wa nä'-ulaks, k̲á-i hû'nk tû'mĕna shunû'kanksh nálam lalák̲iam.
broke the law, not she listens to the behests of our chiefs.
Tchúi tchĭk titátna heshsχálpĕli sésatuish m'nálam, tsúi sχō'ktnank tchä'k
Also sometimes she reobtains through barter the price paid (for her) to them, and by paying
héshsχalpĕli. Tsúi snawä'dsh tchîsh násh híshuaksh wutódshîsh m'na pä'n
she reobtains it. And wife one husband who repudiated his again
hû'nk snúkp'la, tsúi nä'-ulĕkan titátnan hû'masht-gîsht shnû'kp'lisht lä'p
her takes up, then chastise I (him) sometimes I because he took her back for two
sháppash spû'lhî, titatnatóks nî ndán sháppash, títatna tchín násh sháppash
months imprison, but sometimes I for three months, at times and I for one month
spû'lhî. Tsúi tch' hishtchákta hû'k kat lalápa wä'wans gîtk; tsúi tsin nä'-
imprison (him). And quarrel they who two wives have; and thus I or-
ulk̲a skuyû'shkan. K̲á-i nî nä'-ulĕχa, sguyushkuyá nî; gä'tak. Títatna
der (and) separate (them) I. No more I try (them) in court, separate just I; that's the end of it. Sometimes
tch pálla shash ná-änts hihassuáksas snáwädsh, tchúi nî nä'-ulk̲an ndán
also seduces (them) other married men a female, then I try (her) I (and) for three
sáppash spû'lhi.
months imprison.

[683]
[593]
Tchúi shishóka títatna, tchúi náyäns wudsáya; hû'nkst nî násh sû'ndē
And they fight sometimes, and others they injure; him I one week
spû'lhi, kát sas hû'k wudsháya. Títatna tch shishóka shipapĕlánkstant hak,
imprison, who them has whipped. At times also they have fights among each other only,
k̲á-i shû'tka, sissukúya hak; tsúi nî né-ulĕka hû'nkiasht kákat hûk sissóka.
not injure, but scuffle merely; then I try these who had the row.
Láp sû'ndin lapukáyäns ilhî'. Títatna udû'pka hissuáksh snawä'dsh m'na;
For two weeks I both parties lock up. Sometimes whips a husband wife his;
hû'nks nî hissuáksas spû'lhi ndán sû'ndē; hä káa udópkpakuapk snáwedsh
that I husband lock up for three weeks; if roughly he should whip wife
m'na, hû'masht n'unk gíug ndán súndē spû'lhi. Títatna tch snáwädsh
his, on that account I him for three (other I) weeks imprison. Sometimes also a wife

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 622 ● 692 hishuáksh m'na wudópka, tsúi nî snawä'dshash hû'nk nä'-ulχ, k̲á-i hû'nk
husband here whips, then I wife that punish, not the
hishuákshash, láp súndē.
husband, for two weeks.

[593] [683] Tsúi tchik kíuks tchî'sh títatna tawí shash, tsúi hûk k̲'lĕká tawí'sh.
Then a conjurer also at times bewitches them, and dies the bewitched one.

[683] Tsúi nî nä'-ulχa, tsúi tû'nip sháppash spû'lhi·síukst; tsúi tchik wátch nísh
Then I try (him), and for five months imprison for manslaughter; and (if) horses to me
[593] sχókta tû'nip, tsúi nî k̲á-i spû'lhit sχoktí'sht nísh. Tsúi tch lak̲í ts ktû'pka
he pays five, then I not may imprison (him), he having paid me. And (if) a chief beats
m'na snáwädsh, tsúi nî snä'kĕlua; gä'tak lak̲í gî hûk.
his wife, then I remove (him); no longer chief remains he.

NOTES.

[177] **58–62.** The legal practices, regulations, and ordinances given here by a subchief of the Klamath Lake tribe are observed by all the chiefs, and are apparently fashioned after American models. The principle which seems to guide most of the judicial decisions of the chiefs, is given in one (59, 20. 21) of these regulations: "If a chief makes law like white people, that will be right."[*] This article is composed of three parts:

Part I. List of the chiefs acting as judges on the reservation in 1877.

Part II. Legal customs governing the Klamath Lake people.

Part III. Instances of application of these legal customs; amount of fines, terms of imprisonment, etc. These are the "*novellæ*" of Klamath legislation.

58, 1–3. P'lú, Lilu, and some other headmen mentioned here have signed the treaty of Oct. 14, 1864.

[563] [657] **58, 4.** Móatuash. There are only two Pit River *families* living on the whole reservation.

58, 8. Tcháktot belongs to the Yahúskin tribe of Snake Indians. Cf. Ind. Aff. Report 1873, p. 324.

[193] **58, 10** etc. The future tense employed in these behests, regulations and defenses recalls the French future used in an impressive manner instead of the imperative: *tu ne tueras point, tu ne déroberas point.*

58, 10. shlí-uapk shash. The pronoun shash has here almost the force of a reciprocal pronoun, for the meaning of the sentence is: "do not shoot at people of your own tribe." The same is true of sas in palluápk sas, 58, 10; 58, 13 (twice); pálla shash, 61, 14.

[194] **58, 10.** ksaggayuapkámsni is pronounced as one word, as the removal of the accent from the syllable -uápk demonstrates; and so in many of the following verbs standing in the future tense. For the sake of clearness, I have preferred to resolve these forms graphically into their component elements.

[192] [193] **58, 11.** wátsam, etc. The possessive wátsam stands here instead of the instrumental case watsátka through attraction from wännikísham. Tchíkla here means to ride away on another's horse, the horse being missed by his owner.

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[*] Dave Hill introduces himself in the first person as chief; but many of these decisions can be given by the headchief only, not by any of the subchiefs, to whose number Dave Hill belonged. The Modocs at Yáneks claim to observe these regulations; the Snake Indians do not.

*539 58, 15. shetcháktanuapk stands for the more common form: shitcháktanuapk.

622 692 58, 16. nánuktua shéshatnish m'na: "all what your husband has transferred to your parents to obtain your hand"; m'na stands for hishuáksham. Cf. 61, 8.

[193] [192] 59, 7. mish, *you, to you*, is often used in this article for málash, málsh, *ye, to ye*, in allocutions to two or more persons. This is a way of expressing what may be called the "inclusive plural of the second person". This mode of speaking is observed in m's lápuk, 59, 7; lápuk mish, 59, 7. In the same manner 1 stands for ăt, 59, 8: 1 sissók-uapk, if ye whip each other; also 60, 22.

59, 9. 1 mí stands for mish mí.

59, 17. hă ḵúi gí'uapk: if he should fail to do his duty; 59, 19. hă tídsh gí'uapk: if he does his duty well; nanuktuánta: in every respect.

59, 22. í'χaks mí: what you may win by betting on the horses engaged in the race.

60, 2. kă'lish is the objective case of kă'liak, kéliak, "not having", the simple form of which, without -ak, would be kă'li or kă'liu (kă'li hû).

[583] 60, 11. túma wátch gitk. The horses have, of course, to be transferred to the parents of the bride and not to any of the chiefs.

[231] 60, 12. wátch. The horses owned by the Klamath Lake and Modoc people are valued from 20 to 25 dollars each; they descend from the hardy, enduring race of Cayuse ponies, and were originally obtained by bartering commodities with the Columbia River Indians at the Dalles, Oregon.

[192] [193] 60, 15. wátch spuní'-uapka; wátch refers to *one* horse only, for the verb spuní', to transfer, is used of one (living) object only; shăwána is: to give *many* objects. "Not even one horse your wife has to give to you, if she leaves you; but if you leave her, you must give her several."

60, 17. láp snawă'dshla. Polygamy was abolished by the headmen of the tribe shortly after the establishment of the reservation, and this ruling was one of the greatest [177] [595] benefits ever conferred upon that tribe by the progress of civilization. But those who had several wives then were not compelled to dismiss all but one, and so in 1877 two or three men were still polygamists. The irascible and excitable disposition of the Modoc and Klamath females must have produced many chin-music intermezzos with their husbands at the time when polygamy was predominant.

61, 3. Ḵá-i mí'sh etc. In this paragraph, in: ḵí'tgik, káktak, hémkanktgik, gitkik, the terminal k contains the abbreviated gi, which joined to the foregoing nû, n means [193] *I said.* The construction runs as follows: Hû'nk ni gi ḵá-i mish ḵí'tgi; nánuktuanta káktak gi píla m's n hû'nk hémkanktki gi; nă'-ulakt gí'tki 1 snawă'dshash tchí'sh káktak gi píl. Ḵá-i etc.

61, 6. tchik. This particle does not mean *if*, but cannot be rendered *here* (and below) with a more appropriate word. It is identical with tchĕk, *then*. A subordinate clause is here expressed by a co-ordinate one. Cf. 61, 9. 10. 12. 62, 4.

[192] [193] 61, 6. któktatska: "we clip their hair in every instance", is the distributive form of któtchka, któtaka, occurring in 58, 16.

61, 9. Tsúi etc. This inverted sentence has to be construed as follows: Tsúi tchish nósh híshuaksh wutódshish snawă'dsh m'na pă'n hû'nk snúkp'la, tsúi nă'-ulĕkan etc.

*539 593 77, 1. The name Púl is pronounced in very different ways, and most people think it is the English name Ball; Póluk is Pŏ'l hû'k; tchía, "lived", would be preferable to t'shin in this connection.

[192] 77, 2. 3. kä'tsa, kétsa properly means to cast away; here: to abandon, leave; almost identical with wutódsna occurring below, 78, 2.

77, 4. säwána sas: he did not give many horses for her to her parents.

78, 8. pállank sas. This shash properly refers to Pámpi and his family, for Púl's wife took the dug-out canoe of Pámpi and rowed with it to the soldiers. This was in the northeastern part of Upper Klamath Lake, and occurred in the winter of 1876–'77.

[103] 78, 13. É-ustat is the location of the old agency buildings at Koháshti, in northeast corner of Upper Klamath Lake.

[192] 78, 14. hí'-i. On that occasion Ball left his wagon in the midst of the woods; hi, hí-i means "on the ground".

[657] [692] [697] 78, 15. nä'ulχa sha pä'n. About the middle of September 1877 a strong escort of Indians brought Ball and his wife to the "law-house" at the Klamath agency to be tried by the chiefs. A delay of several days occurred before he was confronted with the judges, and during the time he was imprisoned at the "skúkum-house", a strong log cabin at the agency serving as jail. He is still a very young man, and on being brought there he was allowed to ride on horseback with a rifle on his shoulders. His father is an Indian from the Spokane tribe, and Spúkän is his name.

[192] 78, 16. sχókta, to pay a fine; to be fined (by the chiefs). See: "Legal Customs", 62, 5.

GAMES OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROBEN.

I.

*539 525

É-ukshikni	shákĕluk	shí-í'χaga	yámnash,	wátch,	skútash	tchish.
The Lake people	in gambling	win from each other	beads,	horses,	blankets	also.

Vû'nip	shulshéshlank;	láp	mû'mĕni,	sχû'tash	tchish	lápi	ndshekáne.
With four (sticks)	they play the stick-game;	(there are) two	thick (sticks).	skin-covered sticks	also	two	slender.

Ndshékansh	sha	sχétchashtka	shlín,	mû'mĕnish	toksh	a	yû'shakĕnank
At the slender (sticks)	they	with index and middle finger	guess,	at the thick (ones)	however	(they)	with index finger

shlín;	vû'ish	sha	klátchnank	shlín,	tχopowátka	tch	lénank	shlín.	Wû'ishtka
guess;	at the vûish	they	moving hand sideways	guess,	with the thumb	also	making a side move	they guess at.	By the vûish

toks	sha	nā'shak	kshē'sh	wí-uka;	sχétchashtka	sha	láp	wí-uka	kshē'sh,
	they	only one	counting-stick	(one) win;	with index and middle finger	they	two	win	counting-sticks,

yû'shχish	spélshisht.	Tchúi	sa	k̲ĕléwi	udúiwisham	í'χaguk	nánuk.
the index	having put forward.	Then	they	stop,	from the losers	when they have won	all (stakes).

As for the deposed Monchnkasgitk, his place was promptly 657*
filled by the election of one "Barcley." Despite the rebuff, 648*
Monchnkasgitk rose again in time to the position of subchief at 622
Yainax, where he came to be known as Moses Brown.[17]

The major election had removed from immediate power one who had obstructed Agency-sponsored reforms, but had left the membership of the lesser chieftaincies intact. It is clear that administration policy held that representation by a chief was
adequate to secure the interests of a band. Thus, in 1871, when 657*
John Meacham found the lot of the slaves little improved his 648*
remedy was to authorize them to elect a chief "to represent 622
them in the councils and courts of the tribes."[18] In the political 692
order thus established, the chiefs had been displaced from an 693 •
executive role to constitute a court, while a sheriff, chosen from among the Indians, together with constables, one per chief, were to maintain order. Chiefs, somewhat extralegally, soon began to assume magisterial functions.

It took some time to make the court aware of the bounds 657*
within which it ought to operate. John Meacham noted in his 648*
charges "an excessive disposition to go to law," and remarked, 622
"I have counciled [sic] the board of chiefs against this, especially 692
against making arrests for trifling offenses or for *no* offence at all, advising them that the object of the law is to *protect* the people and not to *oppress* them."[19] Soon thereafter, he reduced the court to a membership of only seven chiefs and set its sessions at monthly intervals.[20]

As outlined by Dave Hill, one of the members of the court, 657*
the list of offenses combined crimes against the person (murder, 648*
adultery, stealing, fornication, witchcraft, and fighting), those 622
against property (arson), together with what can only be [68]
considered redefinitions of customary procedure. Thus, cremation [764]
of the dead was enjoined and the license permitted a chief in
dealing with his followers was severely circumscribed. Marriages [585]
were to be confirmed before the principal chief, who was to [643]
receive a fee; the bride price was not to be returned on the [586]
desertion of the husband; while the court might order the
separation of an irreconcilable couple. Monogamy alone was [595]
permissible.[21]

Thus, not only were the chiefs given new and different powers,

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

served at the Agency and three at Yainax, with an additional 657*
policeman at each school to bring in new scholars, recapture 648*
runaways, and oversee the prisoners. Dave Hill presided over 625
the police building at the Agency, with quarters for his family and cells for the prisoners.[66] On occasion, policemen accompanied labor parties off the reservation and worked alongside them for pay in addition to their salaries; and they served as escort to the freighting runs to Ashland and Jacksonville and the late winter expeditions to the Lost River fisheries. They were a considerable power in maintaining order, even apprehending deserters from Fort Klamath; and Emery used them effectively in imposing his agricultural policy upon his wards.

The police, however, at times found themselves at odds with 657*
the very laws and regulations they were employed to uphold. 648*
Among those involved in the illicit traffic in reservation timber, 625
as already described, were several members of the police, to- 622
gether with other Agency employees, and three chiefs: Monchn- 578
kasgitk, Allen David, and David Hill. The latter, in 1888, learned at first hand the impersonal character of authority when, disturbed by some ruling concerning his son, he approached the clerk who was acting as Agent in the absence of Emery, in what that worthy described as "an angry, insulting, insolent, defiant, threatening, warlike and rebellious manner." He was arrested—resisting the while—and locked in the guardhouse; and the clerk requested that he be kept in solitary confinement for one week, or until the clerk had returned from Yainax.[67]

Emery apparently conceived that too much power was con- 657*
centrated in a few hands, for later that year he reorganized the 648*
court, with the observation that "in the very nature of things the 692
Judge should not be the *Sheriff*." His appointments were drawn 622
from a new generation of leaders: William Crain, William Craw- [693] •
ford, and Benjamin Butler.

> They are intelligent men [he observed], [and] can read and write and speak accurately the English language. One of them is a graduate of the Chemawa Indian School, another educated at the Klamath School and the third one is the best informed man
> on the reservation. 657*
>
> Court is held once a quarter at Yainax—40 miles from here 648*
> and twice a quarter at the Agency. 692

> I might call attention to the fact that at the last election in 648*
> Klamath County a trust patented Indian was elected Justice of 657*
> the Peace, and a fee patented Indian was elected Constable of 641
> the Beatty District on the Klamath reservation. It seems a rather [693] •
> unusual situation when a trust patented Indian can preside as
> a judge over a court and pass sentence on other people and at
> the same time question the same court's jurisdiction over him.[8]

Nor was this all. Federally regulated land on the reservation [625]
was off bounds for officers of the law from city, county, and state; yet in 1947 there were only two special Indian officers and two deputies to enforce law and order over almost one million acres of reservation. It was physically impossible for them to follow up all cases, and consequently they could not deal effectively with the misdemeanors of delinquents or with truancy from the county schools.

In the 1920's, soon after the opening of the reservation, towns 648*
such as Chiloquin were faced with the influx of a mobile popu- 657*
lation in which the unmarried "timber beast" was prominent. 621
Roistering and violence occasionally assumed major proportions, 625
and law enforcement broke down at first. Within the first three 563
years after its incorporation in 1926, Chiloquin witnessed no 674
less than twelve appointments to the position of town marshal. At times the Superintendent, concerned over the effect upon the Indians, intervened, delivering an ultimatum or sending in his officers to restore order. His jurisdiction, in turn, was also limited: When Arnold brought pressure to bear upon Chiloquin authorities to close down gambling in the pool halls and card rooms, the gamblers merely shifted their operation to Bly, just over the eastern boundary of the reservation, and the same procedure had to be repeated by state and local officials there.

The interdependence of law enforcement on state lands and 648*
reservation was emphasized during the depression. In 1931, when 657*
logging on the reservation—and with it tribal income—had been 641
temporarily reduced by Washington, a tribal leader, Wade 625
Crawford, succeeded in securing a congressional cut in the [651]
administrative budget of the Agency, which from about 1924 had been supported out of tribal revenue. Since the budgetary allocation for law enforcement then became inadequate, the federal officers left, until there remained only a constable and an

In turn, by appropriate vote
*648 within ninety days, the General Council might—and on occasion
*657 did—reverse the action of its Executive Committee. Finally, by a
642 petition of at least one-fourth of the eligible voters, an action of
646 the General Council might be submitted to a referendum of tribal
[666] members.[3]

In the succession of tribal bodies, the interest of the government was not solely the convenience of securing formal sanction in property matters concerning the common interest of enrolled
[182] members. The tribal government was to provide as well a regular channel by which the government might assess tribal opinion, consult with leaders, and announce programs; and it was to furnish tribal members with experience in responsible citizenship. Through this instrument, a representative body was to be articulated with Bureau administration, its decisions being rendered concrete in official minutes and subjected to review by higher administrative echelons.

Tribal rule is municipal in character, as seen in the restricted scope of its powers.[4] The narrow administrative domain with which the Klamath executive dealt is suggested by the names of the permanent adjuncts of the Executive Committee, the Tribal Loan Board and the Enrollment Committee. In 1947, some fifteen tribal members and one other were employed in General Council and Loan Board activities. By contrast, the Superintendent employed 123 persons, including 31 tribal members and 40 Indians from other groups, in the administration of agency, health, extension, law and order, roads, forestry and grazing, and irrigation.[5] Over these areas the Executive Committee might exercise a veto by cutting from the proposed Agency budget tribal funds allocated to an unwanted item. In this way, the hospital, bull pool, and tribal herd have occasionally been threatened. Ordinarily, however, the Executive Committee took no positive action in the development of a budget. Understandably, Klamath efforts to appoint a tribal member to serve as watchdog over Agency administration were not kindly received.

• [693] In the formulation of general policy, the executive drew upon the advice of the tribal attorney, as well as upon unofficial counsel, both sought and volunteered. All major policy decisions required approval by the General Council and were subject to review within the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department

had come to be restricted to those agencies formally responsible 648*
for their education. 657*

Thus, in the supervision of Klamath resources, the Agency 619
preferred the short-range goals of prudence and efficiency over
the distant one of training individuals. As if to underscore the
generally alien character of the Agency staff, officials had pre- [571]
ferred to fill jobs earmarked for Indians with skilled persons
from other reservations; and even those Klamath who were hired
seemed to take the side of the government and refused, for the
most part, to make exceptions for their kin and friends. Thus, the
dependence implicit in Agency control was often rendered more
distasteful because its operations were not conducted under those
relaxed and particularistic contexts so much valued by Klamath
in interpersonal relationships. And, as in ethnic relations, the
irritations seemed to stick longer in the memory than those of
pleasanter character.

To the special qualities of Klamath factionalism there was 648*
added the independence conferred by the institution of the tribal 657*
attorney and the Washington delegation. Although tribal gov- 693 •
ernment had originally been envisioned as the lowest link in a 619
chain running upward through the Bureau to the head of state,
during the superintendency of Oliver Applegate the Klamath had
forged an alternative linkage. The tribal attorney, whose reten-
tion had often been justified as providing independent counsel
when claims were pressed against the government, was also ex-
pected to provide advice in areas in which the Bureau already
had the duty of counsel. In such instances as the negotiating of
timber contracts and in long-range planning for the tribal future,
he thus furnished an expertise apart from that offered as a matter
of course by the Bureau.

Although the greater part of tribal business was in fact con- 648*
ducted directly through the Agency, pending claims and legisla- 657*
tion under consideration by Congress drew delegations on annual 619
pilgrimage to the Capitol to present the tribal viewpoint. Through
the years, veteran Klamath delegates came to establish informal
understandings, not alone with their own representatives and
senators, but with those from other states who shared similar
political outlooks. Since those legislators were often also influen-

appointed sergeants of the force. "This," he added, "would give 657*
these chiefs something to do & a support. They would be in- 648*
terested in watching their people and in keeping good order."[61] 625
The move also would counter the opposition to the police among 622
the chiefs themselves, led by Allen David.

Once the force was authorized, Nickerson became aware of 657*
its peculiar jurisdictional limitations. When he sent the police 648*
625

[175]

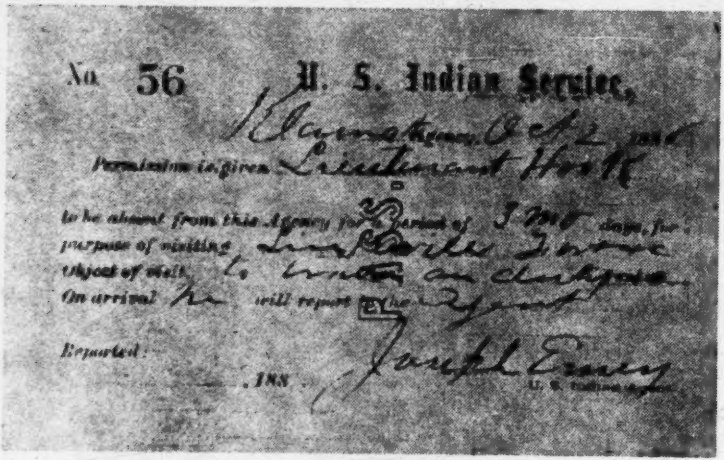

No. 56 U. S. Indian Service,

Klamath Agency, [illegible]

Permission is given Lieutenant [illegible]

to be absent from this Agency for a period of 3 [illegible] days, for

purpose of visiting [illegible]

Object of visit [illegible]

On arrival he will report to the Agent

Reported:

, 188 . Joseph Emery

U. S. Indian Agent

This pass authorized an Indian police officer to leave the reservation for three months while on duty in the Linkville area. 1886.

to Linkville to round up Indians absent without passes and to pursue Indian horse thieves, he was informed that they had no power to make arrests off the reservation: the United States authorities must be notified to act. Yet when the turbulent Spokane Ike shot Skookum Doctor and fled, to be captured by the Indian police near Prineville, the U.S. District Attorney declined jurisdiction, saying that it lay either with the state courts or
with the tribe. Accordingly, "the chiefs in council, acting as a 657*
grand jury, accused Spokane Ike of the crime of murder. A court 648*
was held, the Indian Agent presiding. A jury, of twelve of the 622
most intelligent Indians of the tribe was selected. . . ." Both by 692
the testimony of a witness and by his own statement the defend- 695 •
ant was found guilty of murder in the first degree. Upon further 000

*657 *648 • 696 Upon further instructions from Washington, he was publicly hanged. Struck by the solemnity of the proceedings, Nickerson reported, "Fully half the people of the nation was [sic] present. The order and behavior were admirable. The arrangements and execution of the plans were in the highest degree creditable to the Indians having charge of the same."[62]

*657 *648 434 625 The following year, a parsimonious Congress made necessary a reduction in pay. "They are all poor men," exclaimed Nickerson, "and can not support their families on one ration and 5 dollars per month. Young men have not the experience needed & do not command the respect of the tribe & nation." He searched about for alternatives to help them eke out an existence.[63] Opportunely, there arrived a copy of *Rules Governing the Court of Indian Offenses* which, pronounced Nickerson, would "work a radical change in the government of this people."

*657 *648 622 625 692 He suggested that Blow and Hill "loyal, intelligent, and progressive Christian men" be appointed as judges, to serve concurrently as policemen. To them he proposed to add another, Jesse Kirk, a pupil at the Agency school and a carpenter's apprentice, to be both a member of the force and a judge. Of the three, he wrote, "David Hill will make the most competent man for presiding Judge. If necessary I will nominate him for Captain and Blowe [sic] for Lieutenant of Police. Otherwise I would prefer that they remain as they [are] as Blowe is head chief of the nation."[64]

The triple role of Hill and Blow made it difficult to delimit their judicial functions. Wrote Nickerson in 1886:

> I was obliged to be quite positive and firm in the exercise of my authority as an agent, before they came to understand that they were not independent in the performance of their duties as Judges. It also required some time to convince them that they were not to become prosecutors of supposed criminals, and that they were not to form and express an opinion in advance of hearing all the testimony, and then not until they had taken time to deliberate together. I am satisfied that we have no better material for judges than those that are now acting in that capacity, and yet they are strongly opinionated, and are making but slow progress in the right direction."[65]

*657 *648 625 The police force, meanwhile, had been distributed so that four

Weasel: Male, Age 29

Background Data

In contrast to all other subjects Weasel's role in the reservation community 159*
is a totally negative, destructive one, largely that of a supposedly vicious [156]
criminal. He was born and raised on an economically un-productive ranch, which
for twenty years or more has been the location of continuous drinking parties.
Weasel was raised within a circle of a pack of older brothers, half-brothers, [593]
and step brothers, all of whom were bigger, stronger, and more capable than he. [733]
His father has been an alcoholic for thirty years and has rarely worked or contributed much to the organization of the family, which as a co-residential [592]
household usually included more than a dozen persons. In all, Weasel had 17
full and part siblings, half of whom are now deceased, three directly as a re- [165]
sult of drinking, three from acts of violence or car accidents.

Weasel's formal education ceased when he was 15, in the ninth grade, at which [871]
time he was arrested on a burglary charge. Since then he has spent six years [674]
in reformatories or penal institutions. He was tested while in jail on an
assault charge. Shortly thereafter he was found not-guilty, then re-arrested [697]•
and sentenced on a different assault with a deadly weapon charge to three years
in the state penitentiary.

Weasel has repeatedly moved out of the circle of the family group, only to
fail "outside" and return to its sheltering arms. For a time Weasel was a [542]
professional boxer, but one without much skill or stamina. He never won a fight
and his face shows the evidence of the capabilities of his opponents. His
membership in this profession did not last long, and Weasel states, rather
proudly, that the Boxing Commission expelled him "For conduct unbecoming a
professional boxer." Weasel was once married (a common-law marriage, which [588]
for Weasel's primary reference groups is well sanctioned) but this lasted just
16 weeks. During this period Weasel stayed sober, the longest time he has spent [581]
without a drink since the age of 12. Weasel was consciously trying to reform [733]
himself, but now feels that he was a fool to ever try. Additionally, Weasel
has repeatedly made a circuit of nearby towns and cities either singly or in [156]
the company of a brother or friend. These visitations have more of the charac- [579]
ter of raids than anything else, and Weasel is usually arrested in one or a-
nother place and either charged or shipped out of town. [697]

In addition to being a minor criminal Weasel is frequently also the scapegoat 159*
for the aggressions of stronger men than he. He constantly asks for trouble, 156
but has never given any evidence that he can back of his threats with appro-
priate force. His successful acts of aggression have always been sneak attacks, [186]
or attacks on feeble old men or young boys. He seldom attempts to avoid the consequences of these actions, and, indeed, is frequently not able to do so, because of his extreme drunken condition. He seems to obtain some gratification from the minor prestige afforded his performances in these roles, but this gratification is highly personalized and is not recognized as appropriate by others. It may be that he has been attempting to build up his standing and reputation within his own circle by acting out the role of a "dangerous Indian," but it would seem that he has been singularly unsuccessful in this. One aspect of this behavior is his reputed skill with a knife. On two occasions he wanted to obtain vocational training, once as a barber, the other time as a butcher, both times implying that this would be a simple extension of his native talent.

Húmasht lalák̲i né-ulakta K̲ak̲áshash.

DOCTOR JOHN TRIED BY THE CHIEFS.

Obtained in the Klamath Lake Dialect.

I. ACCOUNT OF DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF.

*539 683 [115] Shíllalsh hû't gû'ta. Tchúi sa tchû'ta nánka kukíaks, Tätěmatchí'sh
A disease him invaded. Then they treated (him) several conjurers, (and) Aunt Susie

tchúta; tchúi sämtsálχa Doctor John a gén táwi; tû' táwipk, tatá Doctor
treated (him); then (she) discovered (that) Dr. John him bewitched; over there he bewitched (him), when Doctor

3 Johnam snáwedsh shí'la. Tánkt tawí'pk; tchí hûnk sémtsalχ Tétěmatsis,
John's wife was sick. That time he had bewitched (him); so it found out Aunt Susie,

ná-ast sémtsalχ. Tsúi Doctor John: "k̲í-í-á a nen Tétěmatsis", ná-ast
thus she discovered (it to be). And Doctor John (said): "this lies Aunt Susie"; so

Doctor John hémkank. Sákamka: "hû'nk k̲á-i mat pí'sh siúkat; k̲í'ya
Dr. John spoke. He denied it: "that man not him I killed; lies

6 mat hû'nk Tetěmátsis!" ná-ashtak Doctor John hémkank.
this Aunt Susie!" so again Dr. John said.

[697] Tsúi sa spû'lhí láp'ni illólash; nánuk hû'nk mák̲laks lóla Tetěmatsíshash. Tsúi vûlá lalák̲i, tsúi hémkank Doctor John, tû'm hémkank ná-asht:
Then they locked (him) up for two years; about all the Indians believed Aunt Susie. Then inquired of (him) the chiefs, and said Dr. John, at length he spoke thus:

9 "Tuá ní wák giug shíukuapk? Tídshi a hû't híshuaksh, k̲a-ituálash shishtchákt'nish; wák lísh í'k lóli a nen Tetěmatchíshash? At lalák̲i hû'ntsak
"I wherefore should have killed (him)? Honest certainly that man (was), with nobody quarrelling; how is it ye all believe Aunt Susie? Now (ye) chiefs without reasons

í nen lóla, kělámtsank sí'tk lû'dshna; k̲á-i nû hû'nk siúgat. Kátak ní nen
ye believe, closing your eyes-alike walk along; not I him killed. With verity I

12 hémkank, p'laítalkni nû'sh shlä'popk hä'mkankst. Tuá ní shutä'-uapk
speak, the Most High me sees, as I speak. What I would have profited

shiúgok? nû yá k̲á-i ní a kúkamtchish gí'-uapk shíugok; tuá ní tála í'shka?
by murdering (him)? I certainly never I an old man would become, had I killed (him); what I money made?

tuá ní a tála ya í'shka shíugok? Tidsä'wank tchía, k̲á-i ní kánts shíuksh
what I money ever made by killing (him)? I am glad to be living, not I anybody to kill

15 sanahō'li; hä' ní k̲lä'kuapk, húmashtak í tsók̲uapk k̲läkuí'sh gint nû'sh.
desire; if I shall perish, equally ye will perish as I have died.

K̲á-i nä'd tchûssní'ni mák̲laks nánuk käíla-nákant. Hû'ndsak tchí ínsh
Not we (are) immortal men all world all over. For no cause thus me

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[697]

Tsúi Tétĕmadshish hû'nk shemtchálχa tawí'sht Doctor Johnash k'lekáp-
Then Aunt Susie discovered that had bewitched Dr. John the de-

kash; tsúi mbû'shant waitólank ná-ent waítashtka í'lktcha; Doctor Johnash
ceased; and next day being over on other day buried (him); Dr. John

tchí'sh sha shpúnshna, at kléwiank sha Doctor Johnash shpúnshampĕlank
also they conveyed, now after their return Dr. John taking along

shpúlhi, tchúi sha ká-ishuank skúkum-house mpámpatkia tchíkĕminatka.
imprisoned, and they locking the strong-house nailed (it) down with (iron-) nails.

Tchikéskni Shkélaksh tû'la shpúlhi Doctor Johnash. Tchúi tchiwí'χa
Tchikéskni Skélag with imprisoned Dr. John. And he sat in

hátokt, tchúi hû'ksha gä'mpĕle spulhí'tkuk. Pän ndā'ni tchēk waitólank
therein, and these men went home after imprisonment. Again three at last days past

Shχélag gátpa ktû'tp'nuk pā'sh; tchúi Sχélag gä'mpĕle káyak hassasuákiank
Skélag came to bring (him) food; and Skélag returned not at all having spoken

Doctor Johnash. Pän géna Sχélag ndáni waitólank pásh äníyuk; shû'lip-
to Dr. John. Again went Skélag three days elapsed victuals to bring; hand-

kank p'laíkni hak shéwana Doctor Johnash, P'lú toks lápĕni shéwana
ing from above there he gave (them) to Dr. John, Blew however twice gave

náyant waítashtat. Hû'kt pil nā'dshek; hû'ksha toks, nánka ká-i hû'masht
another on day. This one (was) the only one; those (men) (did), other (men) not like (him)

shéwanat shí'ukshtka gíug Doctor Johnash. Tchúshak lápi sha shíkĕnitksh
gave (any food) kill in order to Dr. John. Constantly two (men) they a pistol

[657] shishí'tilatk shlíutuapkug hû'nk. Agency tchúi gépksht tapí' tí'ta shash,
were carrying in their dress to fire on him. To the Agency (they) had gone after a while they,

ktíugíulank ká-ishtish, tchúi wátch hátokt tkû'tkapksh shláank gé'hlap-
he kicked open the door-cover, and a horse there standing finding (he) mounted

tchapka, m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Tchúi gí'ta hushótpa agency, tchúi
it, his son having come (with the horse). Then here he rode up to the agency, and

yá-uks-mĕnámksh gátpĕnank gulí'. Tchúi agencí'nish lákiash hashashu-
in the physician's house coming entered. And to the agent he ap-

ákia, Mínnīash shahamúyank shnû'ntatka lákiash hashashuakítki gíug.
plied, for Minnie sending to interpret the agent for conversing with.

NOTES.

64, 1. In September 1877 Púkish, an elderly Indian, died after a very short illness on the western side of Upper Klamath Lake. The rumor that he had been bewitched and thereby feloniously killed by Kákash, one of the conjurers who treated him, soon gained credence, and the excitement in the tribe ran high. The first account of the occurrence was obtained by one of the subchiefs, who, with his colleagues, passed sentence over the unfortunate Kákash.

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[193]
[551]
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64, 1. hû't, "this one", forms one of the substitutes for names of deceased persons, which no Indian dares to pronounce. Hû't refers to a person standing visibly *before* the speaker, and it is remarkable that the dead are referred to by this pronoun, and not by a pronoun marking distance out of sight, like hûkt, hû'kta etc. Cf. hû't hishuaksh, 64, 9., gén, 64, 2., hû'nk pí'sh, 64, 5., 68, 11. etc The subject nánka kukiaks does not exclude the use of the subject pronoun sha, *they*, the account being worded in the conversational style.

*539 683 [551] [756] **64, 1.** Tetĕmádshish or Aunt Susie is one of the numerous female "doctors", who eke out a scanty living from some patients of the Klamath Lake tribe. She received the above name for having been a washerwoman to the soldiers stationed at Fort Klamath, and the nickname Wúyχa-ak was bestowed on her on account of her predilection for small sucker fish.

64, 2. sämtsálχa. The means employed by her to discover that Dr. John had cast upon the patient a spell of a deadly character, were the singing or recital of tamánuash songs, and the *dreams* which she had on that subject. Her tamánuash songs had *seen* those of the accused conjurer. See 65, 9. The great majority of the tribe still believes in the possibility of witchcraft.

64, 7. The two sentences contained in this line anticipate the result of the whole trial, and the popular verdict. The proper place for them would be after 65, 15.

64, 9. Tuá ni etc. The defense made by Dr. John in his own case is not an unable one, nor is it devoid of oratorical powers. But if the arguments were delivered in the order as given by Dave Hill, they ought to have followed each other in a more logical order to attain their full effect.

64, 10. wák lish etc. The logical connection existing between this sentence and the foregoing has to be supplied by: "why should he have been my personal enemy?"

[192] **64, 10, 11, 15 etc.** i, ik stands here for ät (*ye*); because, when the headchief is addressed in council, all the others are addressed also. Lóli stands for lóla i. The trial took place on Williamson River.

64, 13. kúkamtchish. The distributive form is used here instead of the absolute verbal k'mû'tchish, because old age comes on *gradually, by degrees.*

64, 16. tchi ínsh instead of tchi nish; the language likes juxtaposition of two short equal vowels, even when a metathesis is required.

65, 8. Kátak etc. Aunt Susie's opinion, given just after Púkish's death and some time *before* the trial, did not fail to have a striking effect on the superstitious judges and tribe, for her arguments perfectly agree with the national ideas. But to us the arguments seem so weak, that no conviction seems justified, if not based on other evidence.

65, 9. nä'nsak etc. "Your defense does not disprove any of the points advanced against you."

[192] **65, 11.** K'mukámtsam nä'-ulaks: "the old customs of the people."

[124] **65, 16.** The second account of this tamánuash-case was obtained a few weeks after the trial; Dr. John was present at the agency buildings at the time of the dictation, furnishing the facts to my informant.

[697] **66, 4.** ká-ishnank etc. This underground jail was in such an unhealthy condition that Dr. John could not have lived in it through the tenth part of his long term of imprisonment.

[625] **66, 5.** Tchikéskni and Skélag, names of two watchmen (i-álhish); the chiefs appoint watchmen from time to time. Skélag is "the young weasel" and Tchikéskni "man living at Tchikési camping-place". They were armed with pistols to foil any attempt at escape.

[192] **66, 10.** nä'dshek for nä'dsh ak: "the only one". Compare nádshiak, 60, 21; waítak, 56, 7. and *Notes.*

[192] [193] **66, 12.** shishi'tilatk. The past participle often stands for forms of periphrastic conjugation: shishítilatko gi, they *were* carrying in their dress. Cf. illólatko, 55, 20.

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593 77, 1. The name Púl is pronounced in very different ways, and most people think it is the English name Ball; Póluk is Pŭ'l hû'k; tchía, "lived", would be preferable to t'shin in this connection.

[192] 77, 2. 3. kă'tsa, kétsa properly means to cast away; here: to abandon, leave; almost identical with wutódsna occurring below, 78, 2.

77, 4. săwána sas: he did not give many horses for her to her parents.

78, 8. púllank sas. This shash properly refers to Pámpi and his family, for Púl's wife took the dug-out canoe of Pámpi and rowed with it to the soldiers. This was in the northeastern part of Upper Klamath Lake, and occurred in the winter of 1876-'77.

[103] 78, 13. É-ustat is the location of the old agency buildings at Kohásbti, in northeast corner of Upper Klamath Lake.

[192] 78, 14. hí'-i. On that occasion Ball left his wagon in the midst of the woods; hi, hí-i means "on the ground".

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[692]
[697] 78, 15. nă'ulχa sha pă'n. About the middle of September 1877 a strong escort of Indians brought Ball and his wife to the "law-house" at the Klamath agency to be tried by the chiefs. A delay of several days occurred before he was confronted with the judges, and during the time he was imprisoned at the "skúkum-house", a strong log cabin at the agency serving as jail. He is still a very young man, and on being brought there he was allowed to ride on horseback with a rifle on his shoulders. His father is an Indian from the Spokane tribe, and Spúkăn is his name.

[192] 78, 16. sχókta, to pay a fine; to be fined (by the chiefs). See: "Legal Customs", 62, 5.

GAMES OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROBEN.

I.

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525

É-ukshikni	shákĕluk	shi-í'χaga	yámnash,	wátch,	skútash	tchish.
The Lake people	in gambling	win from each other	beads,	horses,	blankets	also.

Vû'nip	shulshéshlank;	láp	mû'mĕni,	sχû'tash	tchish	lápi	ndshekáne.
With four (sticks)	they play the stick-game;	(there are) two	thick (sticks),	skin-covered sticks	also	two	slender.

Ndshékansh	sha	sχétchashtka	shlín,	mû'mĕnish	toksh	a	yû'shakĕnank
At the slender (sticks)	they	with index and middle finger	guess,	at the thick (ones)	however	(they)	with index finger

shlín;	vû'ish	sha	klátchnank	shlín,	tχopowátka	tch	lénank	shlín.	Wû'ishtka
guess;	at the vûish	they	moving hand sideways	guess,	with the thumb	also	making a side move	they guess at.	By the vûish

toks	sha	nā'shak	kshĕ'sh	wí-uka;	sχétchashtka	sha	láp	wí-uka	kshē'sh,
	they	only one	counting-stick	(can) win;	with index and middle finger	they	two	win	counting-sticks,

yû'shχish	spélshisht.	Tchúi	sa	k̲ĕléwi	udúiwisham	í'χaguk	nánuk.
the index	having put forward.	Then	they	stop,	from the losers	when they have won	all (stakes).

by the death of several on each side, the feud continues until payment 726
is made. Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried 628
out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery.

A chief may intervene; so I was told, though I doubt it. Chiefs do 728
accompany parleying parties and other men may echo their words.
Beyond that there seems to be nothing to their position but personal 622
prestige which has been enhanced by developments since reservation days. Lɛle'ks and his successors among the ă'ukekni seem to have made much of their position. Pat's father and Tc!i'wi, both du'kwakni, killed a iu''lalonɛ man at stö'kmate, Eagle Point. They were taken to Klamath marsh and each beaten five times at the order of this chief. This was in pre-reservation days, or at least prior to the establishment of the agency in 1864 (?). Nevertheless this is not aboriginal, but, [177]
according to Nancy Phillips, these "laws" were brought by her cousin from the north.

The group that owes recompense, having lost fewer men, goes to 728
the other offering payment to even the score. The value of a man's life is not a fixed item, as it is for the lower Klamath river tribes; this despite the similarity of marriage payment and the slur on children not born of a purchased mother. My informants professed ignorance of what should be paid, yet it can hardly be doubted that recompense accorded with a man's wealth and prestige.

Children who are captured are kept; settling the score does not mean that they are restored, though this may well be only in case they have been sold. Their fate depends on their captors, who may elect to rear them as their own children. More commonly they are miserably treated, made to sleep with the dogs, fetch water, etc., and beaten if they are lazy. They are as quickly sold at Warm Springs and the [437]
Dalles as are foreign captives. With the latter at least there is an advantage in immediately disposing of them, that they do not grow up to carry back to their own people precise knowledge of the habits and topography of the Klamath world.

Kŏ'kdiŋks of du'kwa was a chief (lō'ki) in warfare. He would tell his tribes- 159
men to get ready to fight with the iu''laloŋkni, for instance. He was always 701
in the forefront of battle. When a youth he went out to seek power by bathing
and wandering through the mountains at night. His mother had told him that 721
long before those of iu''lalonɛ had slain his father, Lē''l'wis, a du'kwa shaman
accused of poisoning one of them. He wanted to become a warrior to have

159
701 revenge. While he was swimming in deep water at du'kwa he found a human
leg in his grasp; it had been given him by the ghosts.[40] Then he became
721 "mean," revengeful, and led his people down the lake to iu'' laloṇẕ for vengeance.
He grew aggressive and attacked gu'mbōt, kowa'edi, and other towns. He
was a hard man to hit; they could not kill him in open battle. His du'kwakni
159 band went up Williamson river to the â'ukekni town at bzzükso'was. Before
the fight opened, Po'moks, an â'ukekni from far up Sprague river, came
701 to him and announced that he would join him. Kö'ḳdiṇks agreed because he
was a relative. During the battle Po'moks slipped behind Kö'ḳdiṇks and shot
726 him. That was the only way they could best him; since then there has been
no feud with du'kwa.

Quite in accord with Klamath custom, Kö'ḳdiṇks band was accompanied by a du'kwa shaman named čḳts'as. When one of his side was shot, this shaman ran to him, extracted the arrow, and sucked the wound.

726 Pat's uncle of gu'mbōt and Nancy's father of du'kwa went to iu'' laloṇẕ where they killed a man.

Some gu'mbōt men went to Buck island and killed a man there. Immediately a party followed them back and killed a man at gu'mbōt.

A brave man from du'kwa lived at gu'mbōt. The gu'mbōtkni traveled with him to kill iu'' laloṇkni, â'ukekni, and kowa'edikni. He stole women everywhere, carrying them to gu'mbōt as his wives. He tried to kill some gu'mbōt men whom he accused of tampering with them, but they dispatched him. After he was cremated all these women returned to their homes.

An attack might be expected at any time. The Upland Takelma (Ha'nis or Wa'lūmskni), for instance, raid the Williamson river district. Crossing by the ridges south of Crater lake, they travel down the ridge separating that river from Klamath lake. From this eminence they can see the smokes of a large part of Klamath territory. Gatschet describes such a raid, plausibly dating it between 1848
175 and 1855.[41]

726 The Takelma descended on bzzükse'was in the middle Williamson valley at salmon fishing time. Most of the warriors were away at Klamath marsh to welcome some northern Indians. Crossing the river the Takelma attacked at dawn, killing a few old people, but they were put to rout by the fierce onslaught of but five cuirassed Klamath, men of nilūksi, the Modoc Point district. They were pursued by the whole force of Klamath, hastily summoned from the marsh. Some escaped, others were found dead of starvation or wounds where they had hidden in the mountains.

Five old women were once left behind at Klamath marsh to gather lily seeds. They brought their canoes down to the falls, as far as they could go. All they could not carry they buried there to leave through the winter. A Paiute lurking on the opposite bank followed them down to the falls. He killed all five with his arrows. When their relatives found them overdue, they went to search. The Paiute, having stayed in the neighborhood to steal horses, was tracked and killed.[42]

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[40] So my informant said, but she surely meant spirits.

[41] The Klamath Indians, 1:16–18.

[42] Gatschet records a similar Paiute raid on Williamson river or perhaps the same (1:28).

Women also accompany a war party according to one informant, 726
but this is denied by another. 562 They cook or paddle; that is easily understood, but I am inclined to believe that they actually participate in conflict. Perhaps the solution is that they accompany feudists, but do not go on extended raids into enemy territory. Some are said to fight with the men, shouting and jumping about to add to the terrifying effect of the surprise. Armed with short spears by preference, they help to catch women and children and to slay the aged as they run to hide.

Leaders of the party are appointed by the chief, usually men of 701
affluence and commonly his relatives. There may be four or five leaders of a single large party. The qualities expected of them are bravery, ability to maintain their good sense in the excitement, and to go without sleep. Chiefs became such largely by the prestige of successful leadership in battle.

The war party proceed well-nigh naked and afoot no matter what 726
the weather. It is of some interest that even after the advent of the horse they prefer to go afoot. This is reminiscent of the Blackfoot, [231]
but in our case at least may indicate how recent is the acquisition of the horse. My information suggests the second quarter of the last [171]
century for the coming of the horse, and the wars were over by about 1865. The raid against the Upland Takelma mentioned above was undertaken afoot. But this is not really a case in point because it is doubtful that there were then horse trails across these timbered mountains. The introduction of the horse facilitated long-range raiding. Gatschet's informant describes its use against the Pit river tribes about 1848–50; even then it was a ride of three days and a night.[46] Canoe travel was of little importance in any but expeditions within their own territory. [501]

A warrior's armament includes bow, club, and sometimes spear, 726
with shield and body armor. 411 Fighting is wholly individual; there is no sort of battle array. After the first rush of a surprise attack, they fight by preference from cover. No line of bowmen ever fights in the open, nor do lancers make a concerted charge. The sinew-backed war bow is a powerful short-range weapon.[47] Arrow shafts are wooden, the heads of stone loosely affixed so as to remain in the wound when

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[46] *Op. cit.*, 1:19–27.

[47] Frémont observed that in 1846 he saw Indians behind the bushes with their arrows spread fan-wise so as to be ready at hand (Memoirs, 494).

411 the shaft is withdrawn. The tips are not poisoned.[48] However they
726 believe that those made of obsidian obtained on a mountain west of
Klamath lake are poisonous. A tale has it that an Upland Takelma
[539] shot a presumably mythical man, called Tcewls hu'lūms (alighting
flicker), there. Crow laughed and he turned into the pillar of rock
still standing. This is presumably the widely known tale of the shat-
701 tered rock-monster. A war leader, a rich man, carries several quivers;
one under each arm and a third across his back. The short stabbing
411 lance is stone headed; the club simply a straight stick or one bearing
714 a knot for a head. Armor is the familiar long skin tunic and wooden
slat armor of waistcoat shape. The round hand shield is used, but not
the curtain shield, i.e., a skin hung before the body. Sock-like skin
gloves sometimes protect the forearms.

726 It is planned to arrive in enemy territory at the end of the day.
Several good runners are sent forward as scouts (gau'ulū'ḳdja) to
[191] look for smoke from enemy fires. Scouts do not use animal cries like
those of the Northern Paiute. The camps are surprised at dawn, for,
(171) in addition to the confusion, there is the advantage of a long day in
which to make good an escape. Yet the fight may last several days, I
was told, but it is more likely that the raiders withdraw at once unless
beset by a rallied foe. One thing sets off the intensity of this conflict
from that of the Arizona Havasupai as I found it; there never occurs
here the gesture of bravado of drawing off for refreshment before
[554] returning to the attack. Yet there is something formal about these
fights too; the leaders make a point of engaging with men of like rank
in the forefront of battle, although they do not disdain lesser men.
Warriors do not pat the mouth as they charge (go'lgi); this is done
727 only in the scalp dance. The foray usually ends with the fleeing of the
ablebodied among the enemy, the killing of the infirm, and the capture
of women, children, and such property as beads and quivers.

(114) These are kept by their captors; perhaps some division of the spoil
is made. Disputes are inevitable: Gatschet's informant describes how
he wantonly shot down a girl whom he claimed as his due rather than
let another have her.[49] Pat Kane told me that all the booty is carried
to the principal chief who asks for an accounting of the dead and
slaves. The leader enumerates how each man took slaves or scalps and
how the opposing chiefs were killed. The trophies of these chiefs are
exhibited. I doubt his statement, unless he had in mind the prestige

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[48] Gatschet's informant credits the Modoc with poisoned arrows (*op. cit.*, 1:90).

[49] *Op. cit.*, 1:23.

His wife and children are commoners and not known by distinctive terms. 622

The emphasis among the chiefly functions is clearly on leadership in war and haranguing the people. [701] • Every morning before daylight he addresses them and again in the evening until the sun is well down. I am somewhat dubious that this procedure is as standardized as my informant had it. The address runs on fighting and acquiring spirit aid. He warns against hostile raiders; tells them to rise before daybreak; tells the young people to seek visions. "If you get a spirit, you cannot be killed; you will never fall sick; you will live to be old." But he has no word as to where they shall hunt or fish or carry on other routine activities.

A chief has no speaker as a shaman has. Such might have been expected here, for Paviotso, Wishram, and Nez Percé chiefs have. [756]

[171] * A chief is not looked to to preserve peace. Old men may interfere in quarrels, but these are no especial concern of a chief. Nevertheless the word of an influential chief might end a feud. Just prior to reservation days the practice was introduced of tieing up and lashing quarrelsome men at the word of a chief. [177] This was brought from the north by the cousin of my informant Nancy. It has a decided un-aboriginal flavor. A chief is under no obligation to help his people pay blood money, nor to assist them when starving. These are matters for relatives alone; they may die for all he is concerned.

SLAVES, TRADE, AND WEALTH

Slaves are captives of war, some of whom are kept by the Klamath 567 but the majority are carried to the Dalles to be sold. They seem to have been numerous. Gatschet quotes a statement of Taylor in 1859 that in the raid on the Pit river people two years previously fifty-six of their women and children had been taken and sold on the Columbia river.[88] Doubt has been cast both on the number of slaves and the frequency of the raids as described by early writers. Kroeber, for instance, scouts the idea of yearly raids on the Achomawi and suggests that a few actual cases have been exaggerated.[89] Whatever the case be with regard to annual raids, I am certain that the evidences are too many and too circumstantial to permit of doubt that raids were

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[88] 1:lx.

[89] Handbook, 319.

selves the superiors of those among whom they are resident. Once the 171*
sentiment had become lodged in the group its fruition was made inevitable 174
by the imitation of others.

583
With Kroeber, who has so expressed himself on the subject of the 554
Yurok,[349] I do not believe that the levirate and sororate were born of 556
this special development of purchase. Both customs have a nearly
universal distribution in North America. It seems rather that such
existing practices were drawn into the developing marriage complex
of this area.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The background for a study of social stratification has been laid 128
in the preceding section. I will here deal with chieftainship, its
relations to wealth and heredity, and related topics.

Social stratification was but weakly developed among the Klamath. 554
Social standing did not depend directly on heredity and there was 556
apparently little difference in wealth from richest to poorest. Since
wealth was inherited there was at least some stability to family standing.
The marriage purchase gave respectability to the union; it did
not fix the standing of the couple by reason of the amount paid. Yet [56]
there was some differentiation based on wealth, a continuous gradation
from the wealthiest to the slaves.

The wealthiest individuals were called lŏ'ki, rich men. This was 556
also the term by which chiefs were styled. My interpretation of the
Indian's statements is that those prominent individuals, who exercised 622
functions which would elsewhere have led to their being called
chiefs, were at the same time the wealthiest. A chief became such
primarily by successful leadership in war, coupled with some background
of spirit power, wealth, personal qualities, especially ability
as an advisor, with some suggestion of hereditary interest.

The chiefly functions emphasized were leadership in war and 622
haranguing the people. The chief could not issue injunctions, he received [701] •
no tribute, and was in no way responsible for the conduct or
debts of his people. Just prior to reservation days there was introduced
from Columbia river the practice of chiefs sitting as judges. [565]

While chiefs were set off from the mass, this did not imply any
sense of caste stratification. Their wives and children were not known
by a distinctive class term.

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[349] Handbook, 31.

*171 622 those of the Klamath; theirs was an advisory function and they led in war.[672]

A corollary of the chief rich man's position in California and Oregon was that he did not himself engage in war. By reason of his wealth he could terminate the conflict by paying the blood money necessary to balance the score. This has been observed of the [701] Tillamook, Shasta, Hupa, Kato, Pomo, and was perhaps general.[673] There is some suggestion of this in Klamath custom; a chief was not ordinarily a war leader but he certainly did not make good the blood-money payments. On the other hand this may have been nothing more than the common western attitude that a chief was not of necessity a war leader.

*171 683 One characteristic feature of the cultures from Columbia river southward, which has been touched on before, was a well developed system of fines for injuries. This did not appear on the Northwest Coast nor in western Washington, but was by no means confined to northwestern California as has been implied. It is quite characteristic of a larger area: Wishram, Alsea, Coos, Takelma, Yurok, Karok, Hupa, Shasta, Pomo.[674] Remuneration was often demanded for comparatively slight injuries; thus an Alsea shinny player who was hit exceptionally hard had to be compensated. The eastern groups (Klamath, Maidu, etc.) had no such sentiment, but it is worthy of note that they did compound a murder by a property settlement, a notion which may have been absent still farther east in the Basin.

Speaker

*171 622 537 [756] Chiefs' speakers occurred among many western tribes. There were none such among the Klamath, whose shamans had however assistants with comparable functions. These have been discussed with shamanism. The chief's speaker was eminently characteristic of the Northwest Coast, where his activity in the potlatch and other ceremonies has been often remarked. He not only repeated the words of his chief to the gathering but also served as his representative and advocate. In the Great Basin, on the other hand, the function of the speaker was merely to repeat verbatim after an orator or story-teller.

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[672] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 58; Kroeber, Handbook, 164, 296; McKern, Functional Families; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 223, Notes on the Achomawi, 215; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 41.

[673] Kroeber, A Kato War; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 202, 203, 236.

[674] Frachtenberg, Alsea Texts, 199; Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 270; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 297.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
Participants															
Groups Involved															
•2790. Autonomous group alone	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	.	721
2791. Autonomous group plus allies	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	−	.	726
Combatants															
2792. All able-bodied men of group	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	•+	−	726
2793. Sometimes only limited number	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	701 ●
2794. Some men stay to protect women	(+)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	
2795. Neighboring groups, tribes asked to give aid	•+	−	+	.	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	
2796. Warriors or neighboring tribes "hired" for war	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Leaders															
o2797. Chief or headman may lead war party	±	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	±	•−	•+	+	+	+	
o2798. Chief goes to war, neutral in battle	−	+	−	−	•+	−	±	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
o2799. Chief stays home	±	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	±	+	+	−	−	−	
o2800. War leader distinct official, not chief	±	±	+	+	+	−	+	−	±	−	+	−	−	−	
2801. Selected by chief	−	+	.	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	
2802. Chosen at popular assembly	+	+	.	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2803. Chosen on basis of competency	•+	+	.	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	
2804. Holds office until physically disabled	−	+	.	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	
2805. Appointed for 1 expedition, usually	−	−	.		+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2806. Shaman goes to war	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	.	+	+	+	−	[756]
2807. Occasionally only	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
Preparation															
Prognostication															
2808. Prediction of deaths in war	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	726
2809. By war leader, through dreams	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	[787]
2810. By shaman	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	−	−	.	−	−	[756]
2811. Dreams	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2812. Shaman tests contestants	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2813. If man falls during war dance, sign of death	−	−	+							+	+	.	−	−	
Shamanistic Activities Against Enemy															
2814. Shaman sings all night against enemy, prior to encounter	−	+	+	−	•+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	[756]
2815. "Charms" enemy	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	
2816. "Poisons" enemy	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2817. Formulas against enemy	−	•+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2818. Shaman sings during fighting					•			−	−	.	+	+	+	−	
2819. Shaman sometimes hired to kill enemy; no expedition	+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
Practice Fighting															
•2820. Combatants practice dodging arrows	+	(+)	.					•+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
2821. Night before fight	+	(+)	.					+	+	+	+	−	−		
2822. In daytime	−	−						−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
War Dance															
2823. War dance of incitement	•−	•+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	−	+	−	−	−	[535]

000 [MF group], or Plumas Co. [MM] Indians." NM: This section not discussed with informant. MV: Informant lacked all knowledge of war, declared she had never heard it discussed.

2771. At: "Never fought Aporige [other At group]: partners with them; Aporige helped At fight against Wintun. Also Round Mountain people [N Yana] helped; a Round Mountain man was in charge." AW: Hammawi (AE) raids mentioned by informant; AW retaliated. AE: No fights between small villages referred to collectively by outsiders as Hammawi (see note 2617); there were however feuds between villages "over women and girls, or over a doctor of 1 village poisoning the people of a near-by village." Fights between Hammawi and "Big Valley people [Atwamsini [648] Achomawi] were rare; the Kl and the Shasta fought them. Once in awhile [Hammawi] fought the Fall River people [Achomawi proper]; then they'd pay [in settlement]. The [Hammawi] had relations at Big Valley and Fall River. The Madesi [westernmost group of Achomawi] never came into [Hammawi] territory; only the Big Valley Indians fought them." WT: Fought E Wintu groups occasionally. MM, MF: Fought each other occasionally (see note 2770). NF: See note 2770.

2780. MV: "The only people who stole young girls were White people."

2783. AE: See note 2771.

2789. SW: "Lots of stealing of money and stored food by women; this started fights [but only among the women]. Also fights arose among the women from arguments; then they grabbed each other's hair, and threw dirt in each other's faces. Men didn't steal this way, but women did."

Participants

Groups involved; combatants; leaders.--

2790. For definition of autonomous group, see elements 2617 ff.

2791. At: See note 2771. WT: Villages leagued together and asked Trinity Center and Lewiston Wintu to help them sometimes; former also occasionally called on WT for aid. MM: Sometimes asked At (Hat Creek group) to help in war; never asked MF groups, as on rather unfriendly terms with them.

2792. NF: Women never accompany war party, which is chiefly composed of young men.

[726] [701] [648] 2795. Kl: Often asked Mo to help. Mo informant also emphasized this. Kl did not pay Mo; latter got food, buckskins, other plunder. At: See note 2771. AE: Headman or "chief" of village group, if latter raided, visits headmen of other near-by village groups, discusses matter during "a big smoke." All headmen consulted then meet at winter living house of group which was attacked, and decide what to do. Headmen then tell their men to join them, when matter is settled, and war dance is held at winter house of attacked group; "then they all go off to war.

[210-A]

000 A headman of a single village never collected just his own men and went off to war; he had too small a bunch. Sometimes 3-4 Fall River men [Achomawi proper] would go with the war party."

2796. At: "Hat Creek people gave Round Mountain people pay for helping them fight; gave them beads, arrows, bows" (see note 2771).

2797. WS: No war leader; chief arranges that 40-50 men go to war, from his village, but appoints no leader for group and he himself does not go. MM: Headmen (see note 2619).

2798. At: Chief may stop fight, as when At and N Yana fighting Wintu, N Yana chief finally stopped battle, telling contestants, "You'd better let me talk; stop fighting." So the Wintu "quieted down, and stopped and finally paid. But At had killed Wintun man or so by then, and had their scalps."

2802. SW: That is, by fellow fighters.

[726] [704] [533] 2803. Kl: Because he is "a good singer" (?); WT, WM, MM: because he has power to dodge arrows.

Preparation

Prognostication; shamanistic activities; practice fighting; war dance; painting.--

2810. WT: Night before war party leaves, all men who intend to go to war practice fighting by dodging arrows that are shot at them; if a man falls down, it is warning he will be killed in war; shaman doctors such and tells him not to go. "But sometimes such men went anyway, and were killed." This practice was not a dance. No women participated.

[726] [756] 2812. Kl: Before war party sets out, all warriors line up, outside village; each man holds stone-tipped arrow straight in front of him. Shaman walks down line of men with his back to them; each man strikes in turn at shaman's back, below shoulder, with stone-tipped arrow. If man's arrowhead cuts doctor, latter turns quickly and tells man not to go to war, because he is certain to be killed. Sometimes man, thus forewarned, does not go; "sometimes he does, and is always killed if he does so."

2814. At: Shaman sings all night, on war expedition, for his power, so that enemies' bowstrings will break. In early morning warriors rise, and doctor talks to arrows, saying, "Get up, and wash your face"; then war party leaves.

2817. Mo: Shamans hired to make enemy sleepy.

2818. At: During fight shaman stays behind tree, all time, "giving out his power."

2820. Considered in nature of "training" for war. WT: See note 2810.

[726] [535] 2823. Kl: No real war dance; cp. Spier, Klamath, pp. 29-30. Mo: Ho·laklal; of minor importance; "just a little practice, for part of night, to show how active they are going to be, in war." WT: "Arrow dance"; men, only, build small fire at night, outside; talk to bows and arrows men who are going to war will take with

M
787 as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing
756 they are the shaman's "helpers."

K However differently they construe the degree of individual
M access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that
787 human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those
K M who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer
[782] in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtu-
[772] ous striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the
universe appears basically to be a moral order.

K In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The
M annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the
181 progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon
461 industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme
that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic
K M exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this
461 virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to
556 maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a follow-
595 ing. Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the
K common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a
M contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent
622 men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In
556 war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his
[881] panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man
• [701] of property is likely to be decked with many valuables con-
[764] tributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the
[538] man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowl-
[756] edge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send
out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power
in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to
K the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in
622 the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:
539

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee—to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

to say nothing of captured women from Shasta, the Achumawi K M
and Atsugewi of the Pit River region, Paiute, and the tribes 621
beyond the Cascades. Among the Modoc, the villages of the band 582
called *gumbatwas* are said to be composite in membership, in- 563
cluding Modoc, Klamath, Pit River, and Shasta; and those of the
Upland Klamath consist of Klamath with some Modoc and
Paiute elements.[17]

Allegiance with the village may be partial. If an attack is to K M
be launched, war leaders can find recruits only among those men 621
with proclivity for fighting and an attraction toward the leader. 628
On the other hand, feuds may ignite attacks that are restricted 581
to the family groups concerned. While the myths reveal currents 701
of hostility between affinals, in real life marriage acts to extend
the ramifications of support, often into other communities.

Beyond the village lies the tribelet, an entity that recognizes its K M
being in a territorial name and in a common cause in feuds with 619
other tribelets. In its virtual autonomy this unit marks an extreme K
in band organization within the larger tribe, a quality that was 619
reduced by subsequent tribal integration. For the Klamath there
are six tribelets (see map): (1) The Klamath Marsh people,
who outnumber all the others together; (2) the tiny Agency
Lake group; (3) those of the lower Williamson River; (4) the
Pelican Bay tribelet; (5) the Klamath Falls group; and (6) the
Upland Klamath of the Sprague River valley. The Modoc com- M
prise three main groups: (7) that of Lower Klamath Lake, ex- 619
tending to Tule Lake (the *gumbatwas* mentioned above); (8)
those clustered upon the lower Lost River; and (9) the eastern
tribelet, with settlements dispersed as far as Goose Lake. No K
firm evidence exists that these local territorial units are distin- M
guished by either language or culture, although, as already 619
mentioned, at least two are of composite origin. Each tribelet 726
seems to have gained a tenuous cohesion through a common
recognition of the worth of several prominent headmen. Between K
tribelets there is sometimes war. Under their formidable leader, 619
Kokdinks, the Williamson River group attacked in turn villages 726
of each of the other lower Klamath tribelets, including that at
Pelican Bay, to which they considered themselves related; and
the prolonged war ended only when the Upland Klamath leader,
Monchnkasgitk, a kinsman, first joined, then slew Kokdinks.[18]

Slim: Male, Age 30

Background Data

Slim's case was selected so as to illustrate the situation of a regularly employed, 159*
well liked and respected young male. He is currently employed as a [464]
laborer in a lumber mill, and in the past has worked as a carpenter, and in
heavy industries in the mid-west. He has ten years of formal schooling, obtained [463]
his 12th grade certificate by examination while in military service, and for [871]
one month studied commercial art in Portland. [701] •

Slim was born into a large, influential kin group, one which for several generations [619]
has provided much of the tribe's leadership. While his own father has
not been so influential in tribal politics, preferring to work his ranch instead,
Slim grew up in association with male relatives noted for their forthright
independence and leadership, and within a family tradition of progressiveness
and self-improvement. Slim's early life was spent in alternating periods
of residence with his own father and mother on their ranch, and with his father's [591]
mother in her cabin on the Sycan marsh. This association with "Grandma" was [603]
partly in response to the gradual disintegration of relations between his father
and mother, and partly the result of his father's desire to have "Grandma" teach [593]
him some of the old lore. His mother became increasingly erratic, unpredictable,
and violent, finally leaving his father. Slim felt badly rejected by [153]
her and was never able to understnad why she would not accept his efforts to be
helpful. On the other hand, he was very close to his father and his grandmother.
Today he recalls with satisfaction the many things these two persons
taught him, and dreams recurrently of being in the army, defending the reservation
from attack, and checking in on the old lady to see if she is all right.
This dream is interesting because it expresses succinctly his style of relations
with superiors, for in the dream Slim asks permission of his squad leader to
leave, explains his reasons, then checks in on "Grandma," and returns to his duty.

After the 10th grade was completed, Slim quit school and worked on various ranches.
Early in the Korean war he consciously followed the model of an uncle, who was
a career soldier, and enlisted in the army. His service record was good, marred
only by what Slim feels were two justifiable periods of unauthorized absence,
and he voluntarily served with a combat unit in Korea. This army experience
considerably broadened Slim's horizons, and after his discharge he lived and
worked with an army buddy in the east for a year. Then Slim traveled and worked
in several places in the east and midwest. On two occasions his regular habits [461]
and good capacity for steady work were responsible for a promotion. Characteristically,
Slim enjoys this kind of reward, but he does not specifically strive
for advancement.

Slim has many skills, hobbies, and social graces. When young his father taught him to dig ditches, with the advice that this skill would always provide him with a job. He is an expert horseman and stock-keeper, and is a skilled hunter and woodsman who frequently guides his friends on hunting trips. He has learned carpentry, house-painting, and the operation of various industrial machines. More recently, he has turned to archery, sketching, and photography for hobbies to occupy his spare time. Then too, he is an amiable, jolly person who makes good company and who is well regarded as a friend. He is not married, and has never seriously considered marrying. He has had occasional sexual liaisons of a transitory nature, which he finds quite satisfying, and has been "going steady" for several years with an older woman, a person who is a grandmother in her own right.

[Klamath Reservation]

K

*657 under Blow and Link River Jack appropriated them as their own
*648 property.[31] Appeal to the Agent, Captain O. C. Knapp, proved fruitless; he only advised the Modoc to move further away from the Klamath. Captain Jack is reported to have told his followers, "I do not want my men to be slaves for these Indians, and they shall not be. My people are just as good as these Indians."[32]

While Schonchin was away fishing, Captain Jack overwhelmed the "friendly" subchiefs, Chief George and Charlie Riddle, and the Modoc left the reservation in a body. After reporting their departure, Schonchin joined them. There remained only a small party of twenty, who had been settled at Yainax earlier that year. Through them, Ivan Applegate contacted the absentee Modoc and persuaded Schonchin to return. When he did so, in the spring of the year (1870), he refused to rejoin the Lower End Klamath and was established instead at Yainax, home of his Upland Klamath mother, where Monchnkasgitk and the Paiute were already in residence. Evidently, the latter held the main voice there, for the following year—though only temporarily as it turned out—Yainax was made independent of Klamath Agency, "owing to the fact that these Indians had long been at war with those at Klamath. . . ." The change, "demanded by the chief headmen of the Snakes and Wall-pah-pe tribes, [was] approved by the chiefs and headmen of the Klamaths."[33]

M With Captain Jack's refusal to return to the reservation, the
657 veto of A. B. Meacham's proposal that he be granted a tract in
648 the Tule Basin (as originally envisaged in the Steele treaty),
721 and the decision of Meacham's successor, T. B. Odeneal, that
the Modoc be brought forcibly upon the Klamath reservation,
the lines were laid for the fatal flare-up of the Modoc War. The
K outbreak of hostilities found Allen David "very faithful and
[643] active in his efforts to preserve a good feeling among all the
*[648] Indians on the Reservation, repeatedly visiting the Snakes and
*[657] Scontian's band of Madocs [sic], advising them to keep quiet on
the Reservation and have nothing to do with Capt. Jack's
people."[34]

M Fearful that the hostile Modoc would induce the Yainax
[702] Paiute and Modoc to join them, Dyar organized a home guard.
K At the Lower End, Dave Hill and Henry Blow swiftly recruited
*[648] 32 men, primarily from the Link River band, while Oliver Apple-
*[657]
[721]
•[702]

[Klamath Reservation]

K 657* 648* 721 702 M 657 648 721 702

gate marshaled together 34 at Yainax, including Monchnkasgitk—again given the title of chief—and many of his Upland band, a number of Schonchin's Modoc, 1 Pit River, and 1 Snake. Soon thereafter, under the militia law of the state, Applegate was authorized to enlist a company of volunteers. The muster rolls of his company bear a total of 69 names, among them those of 28 Indians, apparently exclusive of Hill's scouts.[35] Despite the fact that when they enlisted there had been a distinct understanding that they were to serve only as a home guard, they soon were ordered to the front.

K 657* 648* 726 M 657 648 726

As Capt. Oliver Applegate found, the Lower End Klamath were reluctant to go. Schonchin took the position that Jack's men and the soldiers were both bad, and proposed sensibly to let them fight it out while his men guarded the reservation. Indeed, Lindsay Applegate experienced equal difficulty in raising volunteers among the settlers at Ashland, noting in explanation that, ". . . the nervs of the people aperse to Be shokt."[36]

Although they performed well, the reservation volunteers were something less than fierce warriors in a conflict that was not their own. Oliver Applegate, to be sure, reports that his men were eager to scalp one wounded Modoc and that on another occasion they were reluctant to withdraw from a skirmish.[37] Surely, they were no strangers to internecine warfare among the bands, infrequent though that had been. Fundamentally, however, this was a white man's war, for which they could muster no great zeal.

The hostile Modoc, though irked at the readiness of the volunteers to take the field, exercised a like restraint. When they captured two Klamath, they made them perform war dances in traditional manner, but did not otherwise mistreat them.[38] One Klamath was hit during the fighting, being saved from injury by a "heavy buckskin coat"—perhaps an elkskin cuirass. It may be that he was singled out, for as a guard at Yainax he had earlier fired upon some infiltrating Modoc.[39]

In the first frontal assault on the Lava Beds, it is remembered today that the Klamath called over to the Modoc and reached an agreement that they would not shoot at each other. Soon thereafter the Klamath were replaced by a party of Warm Springs scouts under Donald McKay, and the Oregon Volunteers

726 535 as it is doubtful that it contains any true dance form. It is held in the open for from one to three nights depending on the size of the group engaged. It consists essentially of two things, mimicry of an onslaught by the warriors and prevision of their success by a shaman.

The men are dressed and armed for battle. Possibly they dance to the songs by jumping with both feet together. In their midst is a shaman who predicts their fate. Possibly only women sing and jump about, pretending to stab at imaginary foes with spears. Early on the morning that the war party sets out, the warriors rush at their women and children to show how they will act in the attack. This sham attack is called t'k!o'la.[43]

[756] The shaman exercises his clairvoyant powers before they set out or while encamped on the march. He jumps about in front of the men, "looking through them," and predicting who will be shot, and how the enemy will be slain. One informant had it that those for whom disaster was predicted would stay at home; another that they were too brave to do so.

714 562 They dance and go to war nearly naked, wearing breech clouts or the short fringed skirts, but not the more recently acquired skin shirt. Their hair, and that of the dancing women too, is drawn into a single loose bunch to fall down the back, wound close to the scalp with strips of skin: deer, otter, mink, or weasel. Only women shamans may use the last. Neither sex wears basket hats with this peculiar headdress. (Incidentally, quarreling men who come to blows seize one another by the long hair.) Their faces are painted; men's white, women's red, sometimes with blood from the nose. The shaman's garb is slightly more elaborate; his hair is tied with weasel or mink, around his neck a rattlesnake skin, and the skin of a bull snake across his chest as a bandolier. On the march with the war party, he wears skunk skin and eagle feathers.

726 756 Shamans accompany war parties not only to fight but especially to use their clairvoyant gifts in their behalf. Wounds and broken limbs are treated by them, a distinctly unusual practice for shamans, but so well attested by circumstantial detail in this case as to be beyond doubt. Wounds and fractures are sucked and the patient turned over to lay hands for further treatment.

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[43] Gatschet (1:196) describes this for the Modoc. "The whoops were chanted and howled while going round in a circle for one to two hours; even now they are heard on solemn occasions. This uniform performance was, however, interrupted sometimes by feigned attacks on a supposed hostile force lying in ambush or marching past. A scalp-dance tune is added, also battle cries."

411 the shaft is withdrawn. The tips are not poisoned.[48] However they
726 believe that those made of obsidian obtained on a mountain west of
Klamath lake are poisonous. A tale has it that an Upland Takelma
[539] shot a presumably mythical man, called Tcewls hu'lüms (alighting
flicker), there. Crow laughed and he turned into the pillar of rock
still standing. This is presumably the widely known tale of the shat-
701 tered rock-monster. A war leader, a rich man, carries several quivers;
one under each arm and a third across his back. The short stabbing
411 lance is stone headed; the club simply a straight stick or one bearing
714 a knot for a head. Armor is the familiar long skin tunic and wooden
slat armor of waistcoat shape. The round hand shield is used, but not
the curtain shield, i.e., a skin hung before the body. Sock-like skin
gloves sometimes protect the forearms.

726 It is planned to arrive in enemy territory at the end of the day.
Several good runners are sent forward as scouts (gau'ulü'kdja) to
[191] look for smoke from enemy fires. Scouts do not use animal cries like
those of the Northern Paiute. The camps are surprised at dawn, for,
[171] in addition to the confusion, there is the advantage of a long day in
which to make good an escape. Yet the fight may last several days, I
was told, but it is more likely that the raiders withdraw at once unless
beset by a rallied foe. One thing sets off the intensity of this conflict
from that of the Arizona Havasupai as I found it; there never occurs
here the gesture of bravado of drawing off for refreshment before
[554] returning to the attack. Yet there is something formal about these
fights too; the leaders make a point of engaging with men of like rank
in the forefront of battle, although they do not disdain lesser men.
Warriors do not pat the mouth as they charge (go'lgi); this is done
727 only in the scalp dance. The foray usually ends with the fleeing of the
ablebodied among the enemy, the killing of the infirm, and the capture
of women, children, and such property as beads and quivers.

[114] These are kept by their captors; perhaps some division of the spoil
is made. Disputes are inevitable: Gatschet's informant describes how
he wantonly shot down a girl whom he claimed as his due rather than
let another have her.[49] Pat Kane told me that all the booty is carried
to the principal chief who asks for an accounting of the dead and
slaves. The leader enumerates how each man took slaves or scalps and
how the opposing chiefs were killed. The trophies of these chiefs are
exhibited. I doubt his statement, unless he had in mind the prestige

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[48] Gatschet's informant credits the Modoc with poisoned arrows (*op. cit.*, 1:90).

[49] *Op. cit.*, 1:23.

411 ping. The free edge of the vane is then notched throughout its length to give a servated appearance. The butt of the arrow is cut wedge-shaped transversely to the nock.

The quiver (do'kŏnks) is slung under the left arm by a cord over the opposite shoulder so that the mouth is at the breast. A war leader, a rich man, might carry one under each arm, and a third at his back. To put on a quiver is called sodo'k!ĕ. Quivers are commonly made of tules, well dried, and twined at intervals with sage-brush bark strings. Barrett figures one thirty-two inches in length. Wealthy men, as Barrett notes,[246] had quivers of skin: raccoon, marmot, or otter. The hide is stretched over a frame of sticks or stuffed with grass that it may dry in the proper shape.

The club (dĕ'kis, ķ'ŏ'plĕs, or ķü'pgüs, perhaps several types) is a limb of a tree having a knot to serve as the ball-head. Others are simply long sticks.

The spear (yŏ'ķmŏm) is a short stabbing lance, four to six feet long, bearing a large obsidian blade. The spear is rather the weapon [726] of a woman than a man. In the course of a raid on the Upland Takelma, the Klamath chief Lɛle'ks stabbed their chief through the throat after he had been shot down.

714 Both the long skin tunic and slat armor are in use. The tunic (kŏķ!no'ls) of elk hide, alternatively of bear or deer skin, hangs to the calf, has holes for the arms, and is tied together down the sides. This is a single layer of skin, except that a small separate piece of buckskin (called sĕpŏ'kdilɛ) might be worn under it as additional protection for the front of the trunk. Slat armor (dă'lŏķ) is the familiar waistcoat form; vertical wooden slats, two inches wide, split from any sort of tree, and twined with nettle cords. It is long front and back, but necessarily short under the arms, opens in the front, and ties over the shoulders with buckskin thongs.

The round hand shield (snoto'wïte) is but little used, to judge from my informants' ignorance of it. This is strange for it may well be suspected as of recent introduction among them from Plains-like tribes to the northeast. It was described as eighteen inches in diameter and of unknown material, but undoubtedly skin. These informants knew nothing of the use of a skin as a shield hung like a curtain in front of the body.

The arms are sometimes protected by mittens (wăkăpks) of arm or elbow length. These are sock-like affairs of coyote or other fur.

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[246] *Op. cit.*, pl. 20, fig. 1, 255.

291 177 hood of my elderly informant. This is a simple one-piece affair, shown diagrammatically in figure 21*b*. The upper is cut to form a long tongue. It is sewn along the toe and one side, and up the heel.[265]

481 Snowshoes may be conveniently described at this place. The snowshoe (ni') is the circular Californian form; a hoop of tough service berry wood, about twelve inches long by six wide.[266] Within the hoop is a net of thongs on which the foot is placed; tie strings are drawn up about the ankle. My woman informant drew a sketch showing five parallel longitudinal thongs crossed transversely by five others, [114] also parallel, thus forming a simple rectangular web. This may well have been merely diagrammatic, since five is the pattern number. Kroeber illustrates a more intricate pattern of webbing, a central lozenge filled by transverse lashings and connected with the frame by others.[267] Barrett illustrates a snowshoe with still a third style of web. This seems to be a single longitudinal strip of skin, crossed by three others.[268] Such shoes are also used when wading in the marshes.

291 [714] Mittens (wăkă'pks) of coyote or other fur are worn in cold weather, possibly by men alone. They are also used for protection in war. These are sock-like, without fingers, and of arm or elbow length. A muffler (sau'kaks) is also made of skin.

291 177 [535] [756] The woman's skin dress (gokc) is the long woman's garment of the Plains tribes, completely covering the body to the mid-calf. Unlike the corresponding man's shirt, these are worn most of the time, especially in winter. In summer the lighter unbeaded dresses are used. This is not essentially a dance costume, although worn at the war and scalp dances. But these are held outdoors at night; and during the shaman's dances in the earth-lodge, the fringed skirt only is worn because of the great heat. It is possible, of course, that this is a rationalization of etiquette, for if the shaman's dance is older than the forms of war and scalp dance now in use, there may be an association of the older fringed skirt with one and the newer skin dress with the other. There can be little doubt that the fringed skirt is the antecedent form. Plains influences appear to be recent, and

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*[171] [265] This has been redrawn from a sketch made by my informant. On the Yakima reservation moccasins of this type have a tab at the heel, which my informant may have omitted.

[266] Coville (Notes, 94) states that "the *frames* of snowshoes are usually made of willow wood. The mesh in old times was commonly made of the Rocky Mountain flax, *Linum lewisii*, less commonly of nettle fiber, *Urtica breweri*."

[267] Handbook, fig. 68*a*; evidently taken from Mason, Aboriginal American Basketry, 215.

[268] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

*171
105

		Klamath form	*Links with:*
[285]	Mats	Extensive use	Oregon?, Northwest Coast to Columbia r., Plateau.
		Mat needle	s. Northwest Coast (and northward?), Washington, Oregon?
[281]	Tanning	Smoke-tan	Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, Wishram, Nez Percé; Basin, Plateau, Plains (and elsewhere?—probably not Northwest Coast).
[372]	Fire drill	Compound	Puget sound, Takelma, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi, Wind R. Shoshoni, Crow, Navaho, Hopi.
[415]	Spoon	Paddle	California s. to n. Miwok.
[411]	Bow	Sinew-backed	Arctic, Northwest Coast, Plateau, Washington, Oregon, California s. to Tehachapi, Basin, Southwest, w. Plains.
		Flat; constricted grip	n. w. California, Northwest Coast.
	Arrows	Stone heads	(Not the bone heads of Northwest Coast and w. Washington, where stone heads are scarce.)
[714]	Armor	Tunic	Northwest Coast, Plateau, Oregon, n. California, Basin, Southwest (and southward?).
		Slat or rod	Alaska to Maidu (Tlingit, Plateau, Oregon, Washington, n. California).
	Shield	Round	Plateau, Basin, Plains (not California).
[291]	Dress	Fringed skirt	Coast area west of Cascades-Sierras, probably Basin.
		Men: Plains shirt	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.
		Women: Plains dress	Plateau, Basin, Plains.
		Decorated band on robe	Plateau? (Wishram, Nez Percé), Plains.
		Tule slippers	Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Paviotso.
		Three-piece moccasin	Plateau (moccasins are also n. and central California, Basin, Southwest, Plains, and eastward).
		Basket hats	n. California (=Plateau type?; other types, Northwest Coast, Basin, s. California).
[302]	Hairdress	Braids for both sexes	Plateau, Plains.
	Combs	Porcupine tail	Achomawi, Northern Maidu.
[304]	Head deformation	Fronto-occipital	s. Northwest Coast to Alsea, Siuslaw, and Klamath.
	Tattooing	Women: chin lines	w. Arizona, California, Takelma (Oregon in general?). (Not Plateau? and Northwest Coast.)

The judicial function of chiefs, dispensing fines and punishments, is known to have been derived from the Columbia river tribes at this time. 177 622

Some trade articles not manufactured by the Klamath also pertain to this era: parfleches, skin bags, and buffalo hides from Warm Springs and the Dalles, flat basketry bowls from Pit river through the Modoc, and beads, even dentalia, from the same southern source or from the Shasta. 439

The second quarter of the last century saw the coming of the horse. Ogden remarked on only one among them in 1826, but they began to be obtained in numbers, probably from Warm Springs, about 1840. There can be little question that with the horse came elements of Plains culture from the half-Plains tribes of the Columbia-Snake, the adoption of predatory habits, and the great stimulus to slave-raiding and to slave-trading with the people at the Dalles on the Columbia. 177 231

Both tradition and inference assign Plains traits to this period. The relative newness of Plains style of dress is attested by the incompleteness with which it was adopted. It was never the universal garb, but confined to the wealthiest, and, most significantly, proscribed at the performances of shamans and the Ghost dance. Further, men did not wear Plains costume to war and set out on their raids afoot, even after the acquisition of horses, which suggests that the new accouterment and habits had not taken firm root. The circular shield, which also was never in general use, may well have come in at this time. The earlier types of Plains garments here were only simply decorated or not at all. It is known that the elaborate beading of the yoke and the use of scalps, etc., for appendages on women's dress, and the painted designs on men's shirts, are much more recent than the first adoption of these garments. These local changes probably reflect a similar transformation in decoration in the southern Plateau. Possibly the dome-shaped sweat-lodge was introduced at this early period. It seems to have been displacing the small earth-covered affair for some time. But the latter is also generically the eastern type, not the Californian, and is without doubt older than this incursion of Plains elements in the early nineteenth century. Finally, I cannot avoid the feeling that the sense of tribal solidarity, in which, even though but slightly developed, the Klamath differ from their Californian neighbors, dates from this contact with Plains-like peoples. 177 [291] [714] [291] [531] [343]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Clubs																	
1055. Stone clubs	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	411
1056. "Slave killer" (animal figure)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[532]
1057. Paddle-shaped	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1058. Imported		·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1059. Natural cobblestone, cylindrical	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1060. Wooden clubs	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	
1061. Natural limb	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	
1062. Used in brawls or to kill salmon only	+	+							+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
1063. Ball- or knob-ended	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
1064. Stone or horn spike insert	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1065. Straight rabbit club	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1066. Stone head encased in buckskin	–	(+)	·	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Fighting Spears																	
1067. Spear used in war	*R	+	+	–	*–	*–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	[726]
1068. Thrust mainly	(+)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1069. Flaked stone point	(+)	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1070. Bone or horn point	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Daggers, Slings, Bola																	
1071. Obsidian knife or dagger	+	+	+	+	+	*+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
1072. Center section buckskin-wrapped	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1073. Hafted wooden handle	–	–	–	–				+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1073a. Bone dagger, awl-shaped	–	–	–					*+	*+	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1074. Sling	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1075. Used for war	–	+	·	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
1076. Used for hunting	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1077. Used as toy	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	
1078. Clay shot	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1079. Rocks for shot	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	
1080. Bola	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	*+	*+		·	
Armor																	
1081. Rod jacket	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	714
1082. Hide tunic, no rods	*+	+	+	–	+	+	*–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1083. Hide helmet	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1084. Circular rod shield		–				*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1084a. Hide curtain as shield	–	+	(+)	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Household Implements																	
Mortars and Pestles																	
1085. Bedrock mortar	–	–	–	–	–	*+	*–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	*o	412
1086. Portable stone mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1087. Outside rough hewn	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1088. Outside shaped and smoothed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1089. Found locally, used commonly	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
1090. Found locally, not used for grinding food	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	*+	
1091. Found locally, used by shaman	–	(+)	+	*+	–	*+	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	[756]
1092. Regarded as animate object	–	–	+	+		+	–	–						–	–	*–	[774]
1093. Regarded as dangerous or poisonous	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	*+	–	*+	+	·	–	–	–	*+	
1094. Made by myth character	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	–	–	*+	·	–	–	–	–	*+	[773]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
726	o2824. Held ... days before fight	–	–	2	–	–	–	°2	°2	1	°2	6	–	–	–
535	o2825. Lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
	o2826. Lasts ... nights	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	°2	–	5	–	–	–
	2827. Part of night only	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
	2828. At or near village	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	2829. Outside in open	+	+	–			–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
	2830. Inside in sweat house, around pole	–	–	+			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2831. Dancers abreast in row	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2832. Dancers in circle	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	2833. Each person runs around	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
	2834. Carry bow and arrows	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	–	–	–
	2835. Talk to arrows	–	.	+					+	+	+	.	–	–	–
	2836. Shoot at human effigy	–	–	–	–	°+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562]	2837. Men only dance	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2838. Men and women dance	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
	2839. Women carry feathers	–		–				+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
[533]	2840. Women sing for men	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Painting, Headdress

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
● 714	2841. Contestants paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	°.
	2842. Red	–	–	+	+	.	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.
	2843. Black	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
	2844. White	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	.
	2845. Face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
	2846. Arms	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	.
	2847. Body and legs	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	.
	2848. Stripes	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	.
[776]	2849. Variable patterns	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	.
	2850. According to guardian spirit	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–
	2851. Head net	–	–	–								+	+	–	–
[301]	2852. Headband	–	–	–					+	+	+	+	+	°+	–
	2853. Bone hairpins	–	–	–					°+	°+	°+	–	–	–	–

Procedure

Declaration and Manner of Fighting

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
726	2854. Declaration of war	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
[721]	2855. Prearranged encounters	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
	2856. Surprise attacks	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2857. Early morning, before dawn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2858. Scouts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	°–	+
	2859. Use owl calls, etc.	°+	+	+	–	–	–	°+	+	+	+	+	.	–	.
	2860. Hand-to-hand fighting	°+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2861. Shaman sings											+	+	+	–
	2862. Men killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2863. Women killed	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2864. Children killed	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+

Captives

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727	2865. Prisoners taken	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2866. Women: young	+	+	°+	+	–	–	+	+	°+	°+	–	–	–	–
	2867. Children	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2868. Mainly	+	+	+	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2869. Women captives killed	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	+	°+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2870. Kept month or so before being killed	–	.	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2871. Abused, mistreated	–	.	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–

411 single shaft, no head used for war. String at-
tached to arrow to retrieve. (AW: in myth But-
terfly shoots arrow with string attached; arrow-
chain motif.) Arrow poison made from blood.
[413] Arrow straighteners and smoothers.--1-piece
stone straightener with incised design, used
mainly for cane shafts; heated before using.
Shooting techniques.--Secondary arrow release.
Mongolian arrow release. Clubs and spears.--
Manufactured cylindrical stone club. Curved
rabbit club. Spear with wooden point. Spear
thrower. Daggers and armor.--Horn, wooden dag-
● [714] gers. Bark armor. Rawhide shield, round or
rectangular.

Household Implements

412 Mortars and pestles.--Portable stone mortar,
outside natural. Coiled hopper basket; hopper
415 basket stuck fast to pounding slab with pitch.
Stone pestle with bulb end and slender body.
Metate used on both sides. Loop-handled muller.
Brushes.--Leaves glued to stick with pitch.
Porcupine tail, rodent tail for mealing. Stir-
rers, lifters, spoons, knives.--Looped-stick
stirrer. 2 sticks, bound at 1 end, for stone
tongs. Horn spoon used by men only. Tortoise-
shell dipper. Gourd dipper. Rodent foot as
spoon. Cane knife.

Manufacturing Implements

413 Net shuttle, drills, fire making, mauls.--
Flat round stick, bone or horn 1-piece shuttle.
Vise for drilling: split stick, hide. Stone
bowl to carry coals. Pear-shaped stone maul;
partly shaped stone maul. Adzes, axes.--Curved-
handle adz; D-shaped-handle adz; elbow-shaped-
handle adz. Stone, bone, horn, shell blades.

MANUFACTURES

Textiles

285 Baskets: weaves.--Coiling: rods vertical;
rod-and-splint foundation; grass-bundle foun-
dation. Coiling toward right of worker. Awl
enters inside of basket. Start a piece of hide.
415 Baskets: uses and shapes.--Seed beater of wicker
weave. Deep sifter or winnower, pointed bottom,
Hupa type. Boiling basket in diagonal twine.
Necked water bottle in plain twine. Necked
water bottle with earth smeared over pitch.
Bell-shaped, Pomo-type burden basket; cylindri-
cal or barrel-shaped burden basket. Elliptical
coiled storage basket, Pomo type. Tulare "bot-
tleneck" baskets. Cylindrical side-opening
415 dance basket, Hupa type. Baskets: decoration.--
Break in banded woven ornament, to let soul out.
531 Feather decoration on rim or shoulder. Entire
basket feather covered. Patterns painted on
854 baskets. Cradles.--Deep, Pomo-type sitting

OOO 2 arrows simultaneously from bow in war; informant's father authority for this.

1048. MM: For shooting game. For shooting in war, arrow is underneath bow.

1049. SE, SW, At, AW: Rich man uses skin of gray fox, otter; ordinary man uses skin of raccoon, wildcat, kit fox, fawn. WT: Spotted fawnskin. WM: Rich man uses otter, fisher skin; sign of wealth. Ordinary man uses fawn, wildcat skin.

1064. Mo: Purchased or traded for; wealthy persons only.

[411 -726 178] 1067. Kl: Denied for pre-white days; "now people use spears." At: Ascribed to Kl; denied for At. AW: "Yana used obsidian knife on an 8-ft. stick."

Daggers, slings, bola; armor.--

1071. AW: Obsidian "butcher knife"; jabbed.

1073a. WT, WM, WS: See 2853 and note.

1078. Mo: Natural clay balls, or moist clay picked up, rolled between hands.

1080. NF, NM: Single rock, shaped, 1 end heavier than other, tied to 1 end of string. A NF relative of informant, who had never seen any specimens of this implement but had heard it described, voluntarily likened it to bola.

● 714 824 1081. Kl: Made of split serviceberry stalks, woven into form of tunic; tied together on right side, under armpit.

1082. Kl: 1-piece; no sleeves; 2 arm holes; tied together on 1 side and at top, over 1 shoulder. Arrow unable to penetrate such. AE: Ascribed to Kl; said to have been made "like an apron, lacking any back piece."

OOO 1084. AW: String in center, by which to hold shield. Used also against guns, in recent times, but "didn't work."

Household Implements

Mortars and pestles.--

[412] 1085. Among several groups bedrock mortar used chiefly for substances which require hard pounding, such as acorns. AW: Pit mortar in solid rock, used by shaman to pound his poison; regarded as "dangerous." AE: Informant stated pit mortars occur in vicinity of Fall River (AW area); used, according to him, to pound acorns in (see above). MV: No rocky outcrops suitable for this type mortar present in area.

1090. MV: "People did not want to have anything to do with objects which had been already made." See also note 1093.

1091. Mo: Small mortars used to keep paint in. SW: Not only mortar, but small stone pestle of "dangerous" variety (found, not manufactured) used by doctor. When treating patient, shaman sends this pestle upward; it travels by short cut to road which dead traverse, and blocks this road, so dead person cannot travel over it; "then there is a chance for the doctor to cure the person, since the road is blocked." Old

000 one in a series of similar butcheries. Apparently it occurred in 1852, and
the particulars are all given in Texts, pages 13 and 14.

175 One of the earliest reports upon these tribes made to the Bureau of
101 Indian Affairs at Washington is that of Joel Palmer, Superintendent of
131 Indian Affairs for Oregon, dated Dayton, Oregon, September 11, 1854.
Palmer states that the lands of the Klamath Indians extend upon the eastern
base of the Cascade range for about thirty miles east, and that east of
them live the "Mo-docks," who speak the same language as the Klamaths;
and east of these again, extending farther south, are the "Mo-e-twas" (Pit
175 River Indians). These two last-named tribes have always evinced a deadly
648 hostility to the whites, and the Modocs boasted of having within the last
four years murdered thirty-six whites. Palmer entered into an agreement
with the Klamath Indians to keep the peace with the white people, and also
sent messengers to the Modocs and Pit Rivers, believing that henceforth
[161] the immigrants would be spared from their attacks. The Klamath Lakes
were then enfeebled by wars with the surrounding tribes and by conflicts
among themselves, and were said to number but four hundred and fifteen
souls. He counted seven villages on Upper Klamath Lake, two on Pliock
Creek (P'laíkni or Sprague River), three on Toqua Lake (Túkua), and one
175 on Coasto (Koháshti) Lake.* The Indians had some guns, horses, camp
411 equipage, and the aboriginal war-club and "elk-skin shield" (kaknō'lsh).
231 Little Klamath Lake he calls An-coose, a corruption of Agáwesh.

714 Neither Klamath Lake nor Modoc Indians have taken any part in the
great Oregon war of 1854–'56, although their sympathies were of course
strongly in favor of the aboriginal cause.

000 For the year 1854 Powers records a battle fought by Captain Judy
against Modoc and Shasti Indians on the Klamath River, north of Yreka,
in which some women of the Shasti were killed.

The Report of 1859 speaks of continued hostilities on the side of the Modocs against passing immigrants and of the murdering of a party of five white men in Jackson County, Oregon. Two of the murderers belonged to the tribe of Chief Lelékash, and three of the perpetrators were seized and killed by the Klamath Indians (page 392).

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* This would make only six, not seven, villages.

624 fire at ceremony; totem. Female dance managers.
Fire tender appointed by crier. Judge. Moieties
615 lacking; lineages lacking, except possibly among
613 AE.

WAR

● 72 Leader has totem animal, bird. Painting of contestants according to totem. Men taken prisoners in war; enslaved. Compensation for slain amounts to more than victim's or victim's mother's bride price. Compensation paid before dance of settlement; at end of dance.

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth

844 Pit, small hole dug in preparation for child-
birth. Animal medicine to aid childbirth. Navel
cord cut with bone, cane knife. Cord buried in
ashes. Cord thrown in bush, stream. Mother
baked in pit. Mother uses drinking tube.
Father lies down, after birth of child. Father
uses drinking tube. Milk teeth thrown toward
moon; backward; over pregnant woman; over house.
845 Twins liked; one killed, only if of opposite
847 sex, incest theory. Abortion accomplished by
taking animal, vegetable medicines, massaging
with hot stones. Infanticide practiced on all
illegitimate, deformed children, twins; infant
killed by sitting upon, drowning, abandoning.

Puberty and Menstrual Observances

881 Girls' puberty rites.--Private seclusion: held for group of related, unrelated girls. Held outside in ceremonial enclosure. Girl sits, lies on curtained couch, bed platform, heated pit. Girl sits, lies face down. Girl's blankets given attendant(s). Girl abstains from food completely. Meals limited to once a day; girl eats after others. All liquids taboo. 4-day increase in food taboos after first period. Food taboos enforced limited number of subsequent periods. Food taboos not enforced after first period. Girl chews deer-fat pellets. Girl fed in pit. Does own cooking. Uses bone drinking tube. No sleeping. Girl avoids all people. No visitors. Scratcher yew wedge, horn. Girl scratches head with fingers. Delousing by self. Mud plastered on hair. Girl makes flower garlands. All join girl in running. Girl travels at night. Girl uses blanket, rabbit-skin blanket, mat wool head covering. Girl wears woodpecker scalp, shell, brush, flower crown headband; brush visor. Hair hangs over face. Girl stands at wall covered. Hair worn done up; braided with goat's wool. Hair dressed by self. Bangs cut at end of ceremony. Face painted white; all colors; sun painted on fore-

174 161 The Klamath numbered 3000 in the historic period, the Modoc not so many. This is the testimony of Tom Lang, yet the number is much too large. Palmer[18] put their number at 415 in thirteen villages in 1854, but his list of villages indicates that he counted only the ä'ukckni (Klamath marsh) division. This would be about eighty-three families, a reasonable average of six houses to a settlement. At the time, however, the Klamath were said to be considerably reduced, and I was told of twenty-nine or more ä'ukckni settlements dating from this period, and said to be all occupied at the time. Yet, as no great epidemic was reported, it is doubtful that the population had been diminished by half. Possibly the occupation of the sites was more seasonal than I was told: a movement to Klamath marsh in summer, returning to the warmer Williamson valley in winter. Assuming a partial reduction and some fluctuating occupation, we may arbitrarily set the ä'ukckni at half as many again, say 600. The ä'ukckni settlements numbered half of the total and my informants' impression was that in population they were as many as all the other divisions together. This would mean that the Klamath as a whole numbered only 1200. Palmer's figure would give a mere 800, and the evidence of the settlements, a possible 2000. Our twelve hundred is not far from that of Kroeber, who set the combined Klamath and Modoc population at 2000, two-thirds of them being Klamath.[19] Mooney's estimate of 800 seems low.[20]

Early Contacts with the Whites

Contacts with the whites date back to 1825 or somewhat earlier. 175 In 1826–27 Peter Ogden spent two months among the Klamath.[21] His first meeting with them seems to have been on Klamath marsh.

> [131] [361] [342] [721] Wednesday, 30th Nov. [1826]. Course south to Clammitt River [Klamath marsh?] 25 miles from River of the Falls [Deschutes]. Mr. McKay proceeded ahead to an Indian village distant 3 miles. It was composed of 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. Their tents are constantly guarded. They regretted we had opened a communication from the mountains. They said "The Nez Percés have made different attempts to reach our village but could not succeed. Even last summer we discovered a war party of Cayuse and Nez Percés in search of us; but they did not find us. Now they will have yr. road to follow. We have no fire arms. Still we fear them not.

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[18] Quoted by Gatschet, 1:lviii.

[19] Kroeber, Handbook, 320.

[20] Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 18.

[21] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

101 occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of
619 any sharp geographic division, rivers or ranges, such as we should
expect to figure in political separatism. There are only three or four
miles of open, unoccupied country between the middle Williamson
river group and that at the river mouth, for instance, or between the
latter and the northernmost outposts of the Klamath falls people about
Modoc point. The cases of doubtful divisions really stress this point.
Kowa'edi on the lake shore may belong with the middle Williamson
division; though only three miles away over a low range of hills, it is
somewhat isolated. Similarly the Sprague river settlements toward
Yainax, usually included in the same group, are in quite a different
district.

721 The third feature pointing to their separatism is the frequent feuds
619 between them. It is quite clear that these involve the tribelets; they
never occur between the settlements of a single division. The point
[171] will be clearer if we contrast Yurok sentiments. There feuds are
between the towns or with only a group of kinsmen within a town,
and at most when several towns are involved in a joint cause, it
appears rather that kinsmen and their friends have been drawn in.[34]
[567] Further, feuds are carried on much as warfare with foreigners;
property is destroyed, women and children enslaved. Such slaves
can be retained indefinitely or sold again. We may wonder however
if they are not restored when a settlement is bought, or at most
retained only to even the score in lives.

The identity of these groups resolves itself solely into such aspects
of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the
group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for
itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns
[621] are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large part a body
of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In
short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly
extends to the Klamath as a whole.

115 Only one informant, Pat Kane, suggested dialectic and cultural
197 differentiation. The dialect groupings he gave are purely geographic.
He also assigned shamanistic tricks, medical practices, and games to
184 the several divisions, which all other informants emphatically denied.
I could observe no linguistic differences and Gatschet recorded none.

000 The subdivisions or tribelets are:

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[34] Kroeber, Handbook, 49.

WARFARE AND FEUDS

• 721 Klamath warfare is deserving of the name in contrast to the conflicts of the northern Californian tribes. Raids are carried into foreign parts for plunder, slaves, and revenge, and received in turn. No single town or tribelet is alone concerned: warriors are drawn [171] from the Klamath at large. This is in marked contrast to the Yurok and their neighbors, e.g., whose foreign wars seem but an extension of the private quarrels that set town against town, and in which the large body of Yurok may remain neutral. Warfare is here not mere retaliation, murder for murder, but is engendered by patriotic motive and tangible benefits.

There can be little doubt that the Klamath attitude is due to their contact with tribes of warlike habit to the north and east. Raids from that direction had to be met and countered. The interesting circumstance is that the Pit river people were under a similar compulsion but apparently made no effort to cope with the raids by reciprocating. So far as I can learn they never ventured against the Klamath despite their equivalence or even superiority of numbers. The cause for the difference seems to be that the Klamath had reason to raid; slaves and [437] plunder were important to them. There was a market for these articles at the Dalles with much-coveted horses to be had in return. [231] The Achomawi had no such outlet. I would not underestimate the difference in tribal solidarity, which may have been entirely lacking [619] among the Achomawi, but the suggestion is that such solidarity may in this instance be a function of a common cause against a common enemy. The Klamath had their share of internecine warfare.

648 Besides the close bond with the Modoc, normally friendly relations are maintained with the Molala across the Cascades, the Wătă'nkni (Warm Springs people) of the Deschutes, and the Wishram-Wasco 648 at the Dalles. Warfare is directed toward all other directions. Raids are exchanged with the Shasta several days' journey down the Kla- 721 math river, the Upland Takelma on the Rogue river, and the Northern [231] Paiute (Snake) of the desert to the east. The Klamath fight the Kalapuya and take horses from the Warm Springs Indians.[39] Since horses were obtained by them, raids may be expected of the Ya'mŏkni two hundred or more miles away; northerners generically, but in this

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[39] Gatschet, 1:18.

connection the Sahaptins of the Columbia and the Cayuse seem 648
meant.[36] Both Ya'mokni and Shasta made slaves among the Klamath. 721
How infrequent were these raids may be judged by the circumstance [567]
that my informants independently mentioned the half-dozen recorded
years ago by Gatschet, and no others.

The Pit river people, possibly only the Achomawi, may alone be
raided with impunity. Reciprocity on their part would lead them
only into the intervening territory of the hostile Modoc, who may well
have served the Klamath as a buffer. For their part the Klamath were [567]
stimulated by the lucrative traffic in slaves established with the Columbia river tribes, and the majority of captives were by all accounts Pit
river people. Gatschet writes of these raids as a regular occurrence. 114
"In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround 437
the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their
homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place 567
at The Dalles"; and again, "the Lake men enslaved many every
spring time."[37] To be sure, consonant with Kroeber's view,[38] raiding [231]
was undoubtedly accelerated by the appearance of the horse in the
north. Contacts were then more rapid, and the beast itself became
an important and desirable article to possess. But there can be no 567
doubt that the practice of taking slaves on Pit river was already
established. This is not only implied in the informants' statements,
but it must be kept in mind that slaves were an important element in
the society of the Wishram, Wasco, and their down-river neighbors.
This means that the Klamath were not only turning to slave-taking
as a lucrative traffic, but that slave-holding as indicative of social
distinction was becoming their habit by imitation.[39]

How frequently the Klamath made war as a whole is unknown. It 721
seems doubtful that concerted action was frequent. Perhaps large- 567
619

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[36] Henry Besier, an old settler, told me of such a raid up the Deschutes about 1876.

[37] *Op. cit.*, 1:lix, 19.

[38] Handbook, 319.

[39] While the Klamath do not distinguish among the Pit river peoples raided, Kniffen's recent account of the Achomawi (Achomawi Geography) makes it clear that Klamath and Modoc descended most frequently on Achomawi settlements north of the Pit and also crossed it to Atsugewi territory in Hat Creek and Dixie valleys. The Achomawi proper about Fall river were subject to continual attack; the Hewisedawi, south of Goose lake, and the Astariwawi, near them on the Pit, bore the brunt. The Atsugewi divisions, Atsuge (Hat creek) and Aporige (Dixie valley), were also freely raided. The Atwamsini, on the middle Pit, and the Kosalektawi, on the extreme headwaters of the river, were reached much less frequently. The other groups of Achomawi were free from attack probably by reason of their inaccessibility; the Ilmawi, Itsatawi, and Madesi at the western end of their range, and the Hammawi on the extreme east.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

721 [619] [567] scale expeditions were undertaken only after the slave traffic was established on an extensive scale. On one occasion at least all the chiefs were at a dance preparatory to going to war: this implies that all the tribelets were engaged. All the tribelets joined similarly in a raid for revenge against the Upland Takelma. It is said that the Klamath marsh division (ă'ukekni), by far the largest group, always extended the invitation for war, but I doubt that this is literally so. It is true that they led in aggressions just prior to reservation days, but this seems because of the initiative of their chief Lɛle'ks, the most prominent ever known, who was singularly interested in the slave trade for his personal advantage.

726 628 Internecine warfare is probably as significant as that with foreigners, for quarrels and blood feuds are quite common. Feuds exist between the several subdivisions, not within them, evincing a solidarity which but rarely extends to the tribe. Thus the du'kwakni of the mouth of Williamson river are known to have taken action against members of each of the four other divisions, even the gu'mbŏtkni of Pelican bay with whom they are closely linked. There are cases of reciprocated action by each of the five against the others indiscriminately. Yet Pat Kane stated that the lesser divisions avoided conflict with the ă'ukekni. Yet there is the case of his own people, du'kwakni, fighting with an ă'ukekni settlement. Nancy Phillips said it was true that she knew of no cases involving gu'mbŏtkni or iu"lalo̜kni (southern lake people) with ă'ukekni, but this does not mean they would not fight. I think it hardly likely that the others are awed by the numbers of the ă'ukekni, for the feuds are essentially between groups of relatives alone. Yet others besides relatives might be induced to join.

721 628 A characteristic circumstance initiating a feud is the murder of a man residing with a wife of another tribelet. Ten or twenty of his male relatives take canoe and demand the delivery of the murderer or satisfaction from his relatives in the form of women, slaves, beads, dentalia, etc. The parley (ndĕ'na) is held from a safe distance at the top of their voices. Instead of acceding, the offenders may offer fight. But an effort is usually made to reach an agreement by offering payment. They may forestall retaliation by dispatching as a go-between (gaḳö'ḳwa) a relative of the offended group who is paid for his trouble, a canoe, a shirt, net, skin armor, or a woman's dress. If they have neither women nor money to offer, they give nets, weapons, anything, even to the last things they have. If no amicable adjustment can be reached they resort to fight. Even though the score be evened

by the death of several on each side, the feud continues until payment is made. Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery. 726 628

A chief may intervene; so I was told, though I doubt it. Chiefs do accompany parleying parties and other men may echo their words. Beyond that there seems to be nothing to their position but personal prestige which has been enhanced by developments since reservation days. Lɛle'ks and his successors among the ă'ukekni seem to have made much of their position. Pat's father and Tc!i'wi, both du'kwakni, killed a iu" lalonɛ man at stö'kmatc, Eagle Point. They were taken to Klamath marsh and each beaten five times at the order of this chief. This was in pre-reservation days, or at least prior to the establishment of the agency in 1864 (?). Nevertheless this is not aboriginal, but, according to Nancy Phillips, these "laws" were brought by her cousin from the north. 728 622 [177]

The group that owes recompense, having lost fewer men, goes to the other offering payment to even the score. The value of a man's life is not a fixed item, as it is for the lower Klamath river tribes; this despite the similarity of marriage payment and the slur on children not born of a purchased mother. My informants professed ignorance of what should be paid, yet it can hardly be doubted that recompense accorded with a man's wealth and prestige. 728

Children who are captured are kept; settling the score does not mean that they are restored, though this may well be only in case they have been sold. Their fate depends on their captors, who may elect to rear them as their own children. More commonly they are miserably treated, made to sleep with the dogs, fetch water, etc., and beaten if they are lazy. They are as quickly sold at Warm Springs and the Dalles as are foreign captives. With the latter at least there is an advantage in immediately disposing of them, that they do not grow up to carry back to their own people precise knowledge of the habits and topography of the Klamath world. [437]

Kö'ḳdiŋks of du'kwa was a chief (lö'ḳi) in warfare. He would tell his tribesmen to get ready to fight with the iu" laloŋkni, for instance. He was always in the forefront of battle. When a youth he went out to seek power by bathing and wandering through the mountains at night. His mother had told him that long before those of iu" lalonɛ had slain his father, Lĕ" l'wis, a du'kwa shaman accused of poisoning one of them. He wanted to become a warrior to have 159 701 721

159 701 721 revenge. While he was swimming in deep water at du'kwa he found a human leg in his grasp; it had been given him by the ghosts.[40] Then he became "mean," revengeful, and led his people down the lake to iu'' laloqx for vengeance.

159 701 726 He grew aggressive and attacked gu'mböt, kowa'edi, and other towns. He was a hard man to hit; they could not kill him in open battle. His du'kwakni band went up Williamson river to the ä'ukekni town at bzzükse'was. Before the fight opened, Po'moks, an ä'ukekni from far up Sprague river, came to him and announced that he would join him. Kö'ḳdiqks agreed because he was a relative. During the battle Po'moks slipped behind Kö'ḳdiqks and shot him. That was the only way they could beat him; since then there has been no feud with du'kwa.

Quite in accord with Klamath custom, Kö'ḳdiqks band was accompanied by a du'kwa shaman named čḳts'aa. When one of his side was shot, this shaman ran to him, extracted the arrow, and sucked the wound.

726 Pat's uncle of gu'mböt and Nancy's father of du'kwa went to iu'' laloqx where they killed a man.

Some gu'mböt men went to Buck island and killed a man there. Immediately a party followed them back and killed a man at gu'mböt.

A brave man from du'kwa lived at gu'mböt. The gu'mbötkni traveled with him to kill iu'' laloqkni, ä'ukekni, and kowa'edikni. He stole women everywhere, carrying them to gu'mböt as his wives. He tried to kill some gu'mböt men whom he accused of tampering with them, but they dispatched him. After he was cremated all these women returned to their homes.

An attack might be expected at any time. The Upland Takelma (Ha'nis or Wa'lümskni), for instance, raid the Williamson river district. Crossing by the ridges south of Crater lake, they travel down the ridge separating that river from Klamath lake. From this eminence they can see the smokes of a large part of Klamath territory. Gatschet describes such a raid, plausibly dating it between 1848 and 1855.[41] 175

726 The Takelma descended on bzzükse'was in the middle Williamson valley at salmon fishing time. Most of the warriors were away at Klamath marsh to welcome some northern Indians. Crossing the river the Takelma attacked at dawn, killing a few old people, but they were put to rout by the fierce onslaught of but five cuirassed Klamath, men of nilüksi, the Modoc Point district. They were pursued by the whole force of Klamath, hastily summoned from the marsh. Some escaped, others were found dead of starvation or wounds where they had hidden in the mountains.

Five old women were once left behind at Klamath marsh to gather lily seeds. They brought their canoes down to the falls, as far as they could go. All they could not carry they buried there to leave through the winter. A Paiute lurking on the opposite bank followed them down to the falls. He killed all five with his arrows. When their relatives found them overdue, they went to search. The Paiute, having stayed in the neighborhood to steal horses, was tracked and killed.[42]

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[40] So my informant said, but she surely meant spirits.

[41] The Klamath Indians, 1:16–18.

[42] Gatschet records a similar Paiute raid on Williamson river or perhaps the same (1:28).

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The topography directs Shasta attacks against southern settlements. Coming by the open country along the Klamath river, they attack iwau'wōnɛ at Klamath Falls, sometimes swimming the river there. Or they cross by the little island to the south to surprise the settlement on the east bank. Many years ago a large body of Ya'mŏkkni, northerners, descended on the Klamath on Sycan marsh in the northeastern corner of their territory. These may have been marauding bands of Shoshoni and Bannock, fought by the soldiery of Fort Klamath in the summer of 1864.[43] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of Indians coming south about 1876 or earlier by way of the Warm Springs country from the Snake river range east of Lewiston, Idaho.

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Northern Paiute scouts use various calls in order to keep contact with one another, imitating the crow by day, coyote in the evening, and owls at night; unlike Klamath scouts. When these are heard, women and children take to canoes, staying on the water until morning. The screech owl is thought to call, kŏkɛdĕ'l sḳiu'ki'u, who sent me? A thrush (sḳo''lĕ) names who is coming, wī'mpis ɛge'pkwa, they are coming.

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Klamath hunting in the Cascades might meet Upland Takelma from across the range. On one occasion (perhaps about 1850) a party of five or six was wiped out with the exception of a boy who made his way at night, arriving footsore at Klamath marsh. Those who fetched the bodies for cremation found that the Takelma had taken scalps, hands, and feet as trophies. Two of those killed were brothers to the maternal grandfather of my informant, Coley. A wife of this grandfather was an Upland Takelma woman, perhaps a slave, who was a sister to the Upland Takelma chief Tŏḳtŏ'ḳli 'red). They killed her in revenge. She had been living among them at the marsh for years but had no children. The reciprocal raid can be reconstructed from Gatschet's information[44] and my own. The expedition was undertaken at the call of Lɛlc'ks, the most prominent Ă'ukckni chief and a distant relative of Coley's grandfather. Men of all the tribelets took part. Crossing the mountains on foot, they found the Takelma encamped in Molala territory at the head of Rogue river. They attacked as the Takelma rose at dawn, scalping many and carrying off women and children. Among those killed was Tŏḳtŏ'ḳli, whose hands and heart they took. After the man was shot, Lɛlc'ks lanced him through the throat. Lɛlc'ks invited all the Klamath to a huge scalp dance at Klamath marsh. During the dances a wife of Coley's grandfather danced about with the heart in her teeth. The captives were dragged by their arms and forced to dance close to the fire.

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A preparatory performance, called nī'ḳĕba, is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance,

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[43] Gatschet, 1:lxii.

[44] *Op. cit.*, 1:16.

567 frequent and had slave-taking as a primary object. It is probable that the introduction of the horse stimulated predatory habits and made possible frequent trading visits to the Columbia river people. From them they adopted for themselves the practices of slave-holding on an enlarged scale and of measuring wealth in terms of slaves, and were encouraged to raid more frequently, and to carry their spoil to the river to exchange for the highly desired horses. Prior to the coming of the horse, we may suppose the very mild interest in holding captives found in any Basin or Californian tribe.

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• 721 Most slaves (loks) are from Pit river (Achomawi and Atsugewi); others are Northern Paiute and Shasta, with a few Upland Takelma from the Rogue river drainage. A few of these Takelma are known to have been made captive on a raid into Klamath territory. The Klamath sporadically raid the Pit river people in spring or summer when the latter are scattered. Young children, women, and even men are taken.[60] Other plunder (du'ta) consists of blankets, bows and arrows, dentalia, and other beads. Captives are similarly taken in the course of feuds among the tribal subdivisions, and perhaps as freely sold. One informant had it that they are not sold but grow to manhood as foster children and visit back and forth with their own people on the friendliest terms. This view implies that they are taken and cherished as recompense for a loss by murder.

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437 Slaves are commonly traded to individuals who make a practice of taking them to Warm Springs and the Dalles to sell again. Such was Lɛle'ks in his day, who, having got three or four together, would set out for the north to trade for horses and blankets. Some he would keep to treat much as his own relatives.

567 It is quite likely that a slave's life is much like that of any poor Klamath. They commonly live in dome-shaped mat-lodges set up beside the family's earth-lodge, and there the women are visited by their masters. How far they are abused or suffer from uncertainty, I do not know. Gatschet records the escape of Pit river captives while their captors were hurrying back from a raid.[61] When the agency was established by the government all slaves were freed, but most elected to stay, and of those who returned to their own people, some came back. Evidently they had not suffered from too harsh treatment; at any rate, by my informant's account, those who had

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[114] [60] Gatschet says adult men were not enslaved but killed if captured. The instances he cites bears him out (*op. cit.*, 1:24, 25).

[562] [61] *Op. cit.*, 1:20.

II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

771 [756]

Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices, the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps, some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance of 1870. [881] [721] [727]

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however, definitely localized in many instances and partly identified [illegible] the figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to [illegible] the spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living. [585] [786] 776 775

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate. 776 787

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

K 301 length is "a little too much." The unit, according to one informant,
is the length of the extended left arm to the upper end of the humerus,
or across the chest in addition to the point of the right shoulder. The
other gave the unit as a doubled string from the extended left hand
K to the sternum; that is, a fathom. One thing is clear, that there is
[436] no great concern for dentalia as money, as among the lower Klamath
tribes. The strings are not standardized either as to length or size of
the individual shells. Long dentalia are more valuable than the short,
but my informants never knew anyone to argue over the precise length
of a shell. Both men agreed that the several kinds of beads, or at
least the best, are not worked by the Klamath, but come from the
K south. They are either found in raided Achomawi-Atsugewi camps
[721] or are traded from these people or possibly the Shasta. Both were
[439] certain that the shells are not obtained from the north. This is something of a puzzle, because the Columbia river people have dentalia and
[177] use them extensively in trade. Furthermore, the ultimate point of
origin of the shells is the coast of Washington and British Columbia.
[174] The discrepancy in the statement is further accentuated by the Yurok
statement that the shells came to them both along the coast and down
the Klamath river.[399]

K [789] Finger rings are not made, nor bracelets, except for young children. The cast skin of a water snake is wrapped around their wrists
so that they will swim well.

K 302 Face painting is general, a daily usage, not confined to gala events,
but more obvious at that time. The shaman's body is painted red
[756] during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use,
white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to
[822] war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white. I have
pointed out elsewhere[400] that red paint is associated with warfare by
the Basin tribes and their Californian and Arizonan neighbors. Here
it may be added that black is used by Plains warriors. At dances
white pigment, found along the creek banks, is smeared on the palms
K which are then pressed on the face or on a woman's smooth hair to
[317] form patterns. Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few
localities in the mountains near Crater lake. The Northern Paiute
NP are said to have quantities of it, however.

[317] In winter women smear their faces, hands, and arms with a mix-
K 751 ture of charcoal and pitch, or deer grease, or of pitch and grease

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[399] Kroeber, Handbook, 22.

[400] Havasupai Ethnography, 207.

177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
174 Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[622] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
[721] carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-holding
[567] existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their distribution
177 established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kinship
terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
[622] custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[619] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctiveness
101 from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
105 to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some northwestern
influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1956. Down woven into	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	292
1957. For war, dances only	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	[535]
1957a. Worn habitually by some men	-	-	-	-	+	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[721]

CURRENCY, TREASURE

Currency

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1959. Dentalia	R	+	+	+	•+	+		•+	•	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	436
1960. Standard of value	-	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	825
1961. Incised	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1962. Feathers on large end	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1963. Wrapped with sinew, painted like snake skin	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1964. Graded on finger creases	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1965. Counted	-	-	-							+							
1966. Measured in fathom and fractions of	+	+	•+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1967. Upper-arm tattoo for measuring whole string	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1968. Measured on arm, no tattoo	-	+	.	-	+	-		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1969. Cylindrical purse of horn	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[415]
1970. Purse of horn fork	-	-	-	-	+	-		•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1971. Buckskin purse	-	+	+					+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1972. Cased fur purse	-	-	.	-	+	•-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1973. Shells rolled in fur	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1974. Shells kept in basket	+	+	+	-	+	•+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1975. Long dentalia preferred	-	-	+					•-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1976. Clamshell disks	R	-	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1977. Standard of value	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1978. Manufactured	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1979. Smoothing slab	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1980. Disks counted	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1981. Short strings only	-	-	-						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1982. Measured around neck												+	+	+	.	-	
1983. Measured on elbow	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1984. Measured in fathoms	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	+	-	
1985. Measured in half-fathoms	+	-	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	(+)	+	-	
1986. Cased-fur purse	-	-		•(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1987. Buckskin sack for purse	+	-	+			•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	[415]
1988. Basket for purse	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	
1989. Loans of shell currency without interest	-	•+	+		+	•-		+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	[426]

Treasure

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1990. Olivella: whole shell	-	-	-	•+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	-	(+)	(+)	.	-	-	
1991. Shell cylinders or Columella	-	-	+	-	+	•+	+	+	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	
1992. Sizes distinguished	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+	+	.	.	.	
1993. Bone cylinders		-	.		+	(-)	-	.	-	-	.	-	.	+	+	+	
1994. Magnesite cylinders	-	-	.	-	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[439]
1995. Imported	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1996. Haliotis-disk beads	-	-	+	+	-	+	.	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	
1997. Large obsidian blades, used for display	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1998. Manufactured, not used	-		-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1999. Charmstones	•-	-	-	+	(-)	•+	+	-	•+	+	-	+	+	+	-	•+	
2000. Natural shape	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	789
2001. Most effective if found by possessor.	-	-	-				+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	823
2002. Used in doctoring	-	-	-	+		+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2003. Animated; can travel of own accord.				+												+	
2004. Doughnut stones	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
2005. Natural shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2087. Feathers on stick handle	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2088. Number of cocoons	-	-	-	-	•3	•5	6	-	-	•4	•5	5	•4	5	•3	•5
[758] 2089. Used by shaman in curing	•-	-	-	-	•+	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2090. Used by Big Head singers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	+	-	-	-	-
2091. Used for any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
[787] 2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	-	-	-	•+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2094. Split-stick clapper	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2095. Single split	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2096. Multiple splits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2097. Painted	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	•R	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
[871] 2098. Burned decoration	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
[535] 2099. For girl's puberty dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2100. For war dance	-	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[720] 2101. For Ghost dance	.	-	R	-		R		•R	R	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
[796] 2102. For any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	+	R	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
2103. Snake rattles on stick	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•-	•+	-	-	-	-
2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2106. On cord or thong, no handle	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2107. Worn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[981] 2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	•7	15	20	20	20	-	25	8	20	1	2	4	-	-
2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2111. Basket rattle	-	•+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[524] 2112. Child's toy	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	-	-

Rasp

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2114. Notched-wood rasp	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2115. Basket scraped	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

Bull-roarer, Musical Bow

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2116. Bull-roarer	•R	-	-	-	(R)	-	+	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
2117. Wood	R	-	-	-	(R)	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
2118. Bone or horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[789] 2119. Produces storm or wind	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[753] 2120. Produces sickness	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[756] 2121. Only shamans use	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562] 2122. Only boys, men use	-	-	-	-	R			+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2123. For amusement, boys	R	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2124. Musical bow	(R)	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Hunting bow	(R)	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Separate instrument	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2127. Played with finger	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2128. Played with stick	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562] 2129. Boys only						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Whistles and Flutes

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2130. Whistle	-	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2131. Single hole	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-			-	-	-	+	-	-
2133. Bone	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2134. Bird or rodent	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	-	+	-	-	+
2135. Large mammal	-	.	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
2136. Elder	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	•R	-	-	-	+	+	-
2137. Cane	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
622 2664. Fishing	−	−	+					+	−	·+	+	+	−	−	+	−
2665. Vegetable-food quests	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2666. Pine-nut trips	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[587] 2667. Orates at public ceremonies	+	−	+	−	+	·+	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+
2668. Talks from sweat house, at dances	−		−					·+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2669. Talks morning and evening	·+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	−
2670. Moral lectures to children	+	+	+					·+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+
[627] 2671. Settles disputes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
2672. Pays or helps pay wergild	−		+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	−
2673. Sets price for wergild payments			−			+	+	+	+	−	.	(+)	−	−	−	.
2674. Sanctions killing of offenders	−	−	−					−	−	+	−	.	+	−	+	−
[921] 2675. Concerned with war	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	.	+	.
2676. Declares war	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	·+	+	+	.	+	.
o2677. Goes to war	+	−	−	−	+	±	+	+	+	−	·+	+	+	.	+	.
2678. Negotiates for peace	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	·+	−	−	.	+	.
Escort																
[574] 2679. Some 1 person accompanies chief on visit	−	−	−				+	·+	−	−	·+	+	·+	+	·+	−
2680. Several men, youths, accompany chief on visits	+	+	+				−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	·+
Female Chiefs and Titled Women																
[562] 2681. Female chiefs	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
2682. No male chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2683. Male chief also	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
2684. Sister, cousin of male chief	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
2685. Daughter of male chief	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
2686. Wife of male chief	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	.
2687. Gives orders to men	−	−	+	·+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2688. Sends messengers with orders.	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2689. Substitutes for male chief in absence of latter	−	−	.	·+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2690. Supervises preparation of food for ceremony	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
2691. Titled women	−	−	−			(−)	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	+	+
2692. Sister, cousin of male chief	−	−	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+
2693. Daughter of male chief	−	−	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	+	−
Assistant to Male Chief																
2694. Assistant chief	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
o2695. Number per political unit	.	1	.	−	−	−	2	1	1	−	1	1	−	−	1	−
2696. Son or brother of chief	.	−	.	−	−	−		+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
2697. Advises chief	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
2698. Substitutes for chief in his absence.	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2699. Provides money for public gathering	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
2700. Supervises preparation, division of food for ceremony	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	+	−
2701. Lifelong office	.	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
Criers																
624 2702. Appointed by chief	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2703. Chosen at assembly of old men	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2704. Hereditary, paternal line	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
2705. Ability basis of selection	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
o2706. Number per chief or headman	−	1	2	−	−	−	1	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	1
o2707. Number per village	−		2	·2	−	−	1	−	1	−	−	−	1	−	−	1

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
624 2756. Attends to fire for sweating			-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
372 2757. Attends to fire for ceremonies				+	-	-	-	-	-	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2758. Builds fire for encamped visitors				+	-	-	-				-	-	+		-	-

Singers

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
624 2759. No. male singers per village or local group	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	•2		-	3
533 2760. Variable number	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	(+)	-		+	-
2761. Office lifelong	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		+	+
2762. Hereditary, in paternal line	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		+
2763. Any gifted individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+
2764. Appointed by chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		+	+
[562] 2765. Female singers also	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+
2766. Sister, daughter of male singer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+

Dance Manager

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
624 2767. Owner of sweat house (headman)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	-	-	+	+	+		+	-
535 2768. Hereditary office, paternal line	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		+	+
2769. Schedules dances	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		+	+
2769a. Urges people to dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+		+	+
2769b. Orders wood gathered for dance fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-
2769c. Talks at intervals (prays) at dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		+	-

WAR

Nature and Causes

Nature of Warfare

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
726 2770. Intertribal wars	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•	+	•
721 2771. Intratribal raids and feuds	+	+	+	+	•-	•+	•+	•+	+	-	•+	•+	•+		+	•

Motivation

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
721 2772. War for adventure or plunder	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	
2773. War for revenge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2774. Common	+	+			-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	
2775. Rare	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+		+	
2776. Intertribal murders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2777. Strangers from hostile tribes killed on sight	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2778. Intratribal murders, if uncompensated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+		+	
2779. Rape	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		+	
2780. Stealing women, young girls	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	•
2781. Women, girls bought back, no war	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	•
2782. Insult or slight to chief	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	•	•		•	
2783. To avenge witchcraft against group	+	+	+	+	-	-	•+	-	+	+	+	+	•		-	
2784. Intratribally, for poisoning of girl by suitor			+	+		-	-				-	•			-	
2785. Poaching	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-		+	
2786. By alien tribe	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	
2787. By another local group of same tribe	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-		-	
2788. No war; merely run off intruders	+		+	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-		+	
2789. Stealing stored food	-	-	-	•-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
Participants															
Groups Involved															
2790. Autonomous group alone	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	.	721
2791. Autonomous group plus allies	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	-	.	726
Combatants															
2792. All able-bodied men of group	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	•+	-	726
2793. Sometimes only limited number	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	
2794. Some men stay to protect women	(+)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	701
2795. Neighboring groups, tribes asked to give aid	•+	-	+	.	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	
2796. Warriors or neighboring tribes "hired" for war	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Leaders															
o2797. Chief or headman may lead war party	±	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	±	•-	•+	+	+	+	
o2798. Chief goes to war, neutral in battle	-	+	-	-	•+	-	±	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
o2799. Chief stays home	±	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	±	+	+	-	-	-	
o2800. War leader distinct official, not chief	±	±	+	+	+	±	+	-	±	-	+	-	-	-	
2801. Selected by chief	-	+	.	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	
2802. Chosen at popular assembly	+	+	.	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2803. Chosen on basis of competency	•+	+	.	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	
2804. Holds office until physically disabled	-	+	.	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	
2805. Appointed for 1 expedition, usually	-	-	.		+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2806. Shaman goes to war	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	.	+	+	+	-	[756]
2807. Occasionally only	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
Preparation															
Prognostication															
2808. Prediction of deaths in war	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	-	-	726
2809. By war leader, through dreams	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	
2810. By shaman	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	-	-	.	-	-	[787]
2811. Dreams	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[756]
2812. Shaman tests contestants	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2813. If man falls during war dance, sign of death	-	-	+							+	+	.	-	-	
Shamanistic Activities Against Enemy															
2814. Shaman sings all night against enemy, prior to encounter	-	+	+	-	•+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	[756]
2815. "Charms" enemy	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	
2816. "Poisons" enemy	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2817. Formulas against enemy	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2818. Shaman sings during fighting					•			-	-	.	+	+	+	-	
2819. Shaman sometimes hired to kill enemy; no expedition	+	+	+	+		+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
Practice Fighting															
2820. Combatants practice dodging arrows	+	(+)	.					•+	+	+	+	-	+	-	
2821. Night before fight	+	(+)	.					+	+	+	+	-	-		
2822. In daytime	-	-						-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
War Dance															
2823. War dance of incitement	•-	•+	+	+	+	-	+	•+	+	-	+	-	-	-	[535]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
726 o2824. Held ... days before fight	–	–	2	–	–	–	2	2	1	2	6	–	–	–
535 o2825. Lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
o2826. Lasts ... nights	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	5	–	–	–
2827. Part of night only	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
2828. At or near village	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2829. Outside in open	+	+	–			–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
2830. Inside in sweat house, around pole	–	–	+			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2831. Dancers abreast in row	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2832. Dancers in circle	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2833. Each person runs around	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
2834. Carry bow and arrows	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	–	–	–
2835. Talk to arrows	–	.	+					+	+	+	.	–	–	–
2836. Shoot at human effigy	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2837. Men only danbe	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2838. Men and women dance	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2839. Women carry feathers	–		–				+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
[533] 2840. Women sing for men	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Painting, Headdress														
714 2841. Contestants paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
2842. Red	–	–	+	+	.	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.
2843. Black	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
2844. White	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	.
2845. Face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
2846. Arms	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	.
2847. Body and legs	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	.
2848. Stripes	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	.
[776] 2849. Variable patterns	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	.
2850. According to guardian spirit	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–
2851. Head net	–	–	–								+	+	–	–
[301] 2852. Headband	–	–	–					+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2853. Bone hairpins	–	–	–					+	+	+	–	–	–	–
Procedure														
Declaration and Manner of Fighting														
726 2854. Declaration of war	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
[721] 2855. Prearranged encounters	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
2856. Surprise attacks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2857. Early morning, before dawn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2858. Scouts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	+
2859. Use owl calls, etc.	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	
2860. Hand-to-hand fighting	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2861. Shaman sings											+	+	+	–
2862. Men killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2863. Women killed	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2864. Children killed	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
Captives														
727 2865. Prisoners taken	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2866. Women: young	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2867. Children	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2868. Mainly	+	+	+	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2869. Women captives killed	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2870. Kept month or so before being killed	–	.	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2871. Abused, mistreated	–	.	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–

M deer, and mountain sheep with bow and arrow and dogs. The
224 Modoc, who rely more upon hunting than do the Klamath, go
M out in small parties of co-villagers, then separate to stalk the
224 game. Before the hunt they sweat to render themselves ritually
[783] pure. On the hunt, they may wear disguises and use calls to lure
game. Only in the autumn do collective drives take place. Then
Modoc men and women, sometimes employing fire, herd antelope
or deer into a rude pound where they are dispatched. The
Pelican Bay people of Upper Klamath Lake drive deer into the
water near their village, where the women, waiting in canoes,
kill them. Waterfowl are taken by men sitting in canoes, using
M [223] nets, or they are hunted by jacklight, much as in fishing. Nets
are used also to trap beaver, otter, and rabbits. When a hunter
has killed one of the larger animals, he is expected to be generous
in distributing portions to his friends, relatives, and the needy.

K When the wokas crop is done, other wild seeds ripen, and the
M women move out to garner them with beaters, conical gathering
222 baskets, and mats. For Klamath these seeds are less important
than for the Modoc, and they withdraw earlier toward the Cascades,
and particularly to Harriman, Pitt, and Huckleberry
mountains. The Modoc linger in the lowlands to gather berries,
then they too withdraw. In the mountains, only camas may now
be ripe; but fruits such as the huckleberries, serviceberries,
chokecherries, and wild plums especially draw them. These are
gathered in large quantities and eaten fresh or dried for winter
storage. The berry grounds, however, are attractive to others,
and many a woman, preoccupied with a berry bush, spends her
last mortal seconds in the realization that a grizzly, and not
K another person, is feeding on the far side. During this time, some
M 224 of the men set deadfalls for small furbearers or venture beyond
the mountains to hunt deer and elk with the Southern Molala.
K M Others organize war parties to raid the Upland Takelma of the
• 721 upper Rogue River Valley, the Pit River and Shasta to the south,
or the Paiute to the east.

K The gatherings, both at wokas beds and the berry patches,
M provide welcome opportunity for relaxation from the day's labors.
222 Footracing, gambling with the stick-game or beaver-tooth dice,
517 hockey, and other sports enliven the evenings, while the old
people sit and gossip and young lovers advance their cause. The

I was informed were sold for three horses each, some cheaper."[6] 000

In the changing conditions of the early nineteenth century, K
the Klamath were caught up in currents generated from without. 175
The advent of horses and of firearms made it possible for the 177
tribes of the east-central Plateau, the eastern Salish and eastern 648
Sahaptin, to cross the Rocky Mountains, to hunt buffalo and [231]
enter into relations, both peaceful and bellicose, with the tribes [411]
of the Plains. As they came under Plains influence, the appeal
of Plains garb, of parfleches and tipis, grew.[7] The Klamath were K
attracted to these new goods, and the clothing at least came to [291]
replace or supplement traditional forms of wealth. [556]

Moreover, the horse and the gun had revolutionized warfare K
patterns. Although traditional enemies beyond the Cascades M 175
were preoccupied with white settlers, on the east the Paiute were 177
gradually developing mounted bands of great mobility and 726
striking power. The Klamath and Modoc were not slow to seek 231
the new instruments of war. 411

The opening trade to the north brought a corresponding K
intensification of the raids carried south into the territory of the M 175
Pit River tribes—the Achumawi and Atsugewi—to capture women 177
and children, Pit River bows, and other loot. As Chiloquin, one 721
of the leaders of the time, recalled:

> When the Snakes [Northern Paiute] made war on us that made us keen to fight other Indians and we made war without provocation on the Pitt Rivers, Shastas and Rogue Rivers, but they never made willing war on us. Those wars lasted a great many years. We found we could make money by war, for we sold the provisions and property captured for horses and other things we needed. It was like soldiers nowadays who fight for money. We made war because we made money by it and we rather got to like it anyhow. The Snakes provoked us to make war on them.[8]

With developing warfare and the accumulation of foreign K
wealth came a gradual transformation of Klamath, and to a M 175
lesser extent, of Modoc society. The forays into hostile country 178
enlarged the scale of the war party. Chiloquin speaks of a body 726
totaling one hundred warriors, which included, according to Spier,
members of all the Klamath tribelets, and took in some Modoc as
well.[9] A joint raid on the part of Umpqua, Upland Takelma, and
other western tribes brought one such retaliatory reprisal about

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K

175 River renegades had slain five prospectors on a tributary of the
648 Rogue River, the whites apprehended three Klamath involved
in the affair, "whom the Klamaths voluntarily killed to prevent
trouble; that tribe being now desirous of standing well with the
K U.S. Government."[19] It is probable that the hand of Lileks is to
[622] be discerned in this matter also. In brief, his power and that of
Chiloquin, often termed his second chief, was challenged only
by Captain George, leader of a faction hostile to the whites, and
by Monchnkasgitk, leader of the remote Upland tribelet.

K Thus the frontier condition brought a heightened rate of inter-
175 tribal warfare and of intertribal trading. It gave the Klamath
648 both peaceful and bellicose exposure to whites, largely outside
177 the Klamath homeland. In the awareness of new ways of life
• [721] beyond the limited range of which their fathers had been con-
[439] scious the Klamath of the first half of the nineteenth century
became diversified in outlook. Enriched with new goods, Klamath
culture prospered, although in comparison with the levels
K achieved by the whites it seemed poorer than ever. Warfare had
M 721 consolidated power and wealth in the hands of leaders and the
648 magnitude of their operations drew Klamath and Modoc into an
175 uneasy cooperation.

622 Indeed, in many of these developments the Modoc participated
K only to a small degree. In disposing of those slaves destined to
M 175 be sold at The Dalles, the Klamath and occasionally the Warm
567 Springs peoples acted as middlemen; in consequence the Modoc
721 did not come as fully under the influence of the Columbia River
177 tribes, nor did they amass as much wealth. The development of
556 a chiefly class among them was feebler, and the tribelets co-
M 643 alesced under a single acknowledged leader only tardily and
565 incompletely.[20]

619 When in 1846 an exploring party under Jesse and Lindsay
M Applegate laid out an alternate emigrant route known as the
175 South Road, they directed it from Fort Hall down through Modoc
648 country and past the winter settlements on Tule and Lower
721 Klamath lakes, then west of the Cascades and north to the
Willamette settlements. The Modoc bitterly resented the invasion of their homeland and waged war against the wagon
trains, a war which in turn brought reprisals from the settlers.
In 1852, after the Modoc had extensively damaged several trains

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

and manhandled some of the survivors, the citizens of Yreka, a mining town in California southwest of the Modoc country, organized a party led by one Ben Wright. Under the guise of a council, they met some forty-six Modoc, to whom they offered a feast of poisoned beef. When the Modoc, forewarned by a Warm Springs Indian, declined to eat, Wright and his followers shot and killed all but five of them.[21] M 175 648 721

By contrast, the Klamath peace party withheld their hand. As Chiloquin later recalled an event of that year, a party under Captain Jim Crosby pursued some of the Modoc in the direction of Silver Lake. K M 175 648 721 •

> The troops did not find the Modocs but at Oux-y [at the north end of Klamath Marsh] killed some Klamaths. They killed a few up on the marsh, some on Williamson River and a good many on both sides of Klamath Lake, but this did not precipitate a war with my people. Even if they felt like avenging the death of the people, they knew they could not contend against the whites long, for they had learned they were as numerous as the trees on the mountains.
>
> Below the Dalles on the Columbia River a Modoc murdered one of the McKays or one of old Tom McKay's friends.[22] The murderer made his escape to the Modoc country, but was pursued as far as Oux-y by McKay's friends. The chief Chim-tolk and my brother, Beaded Hat, who was a sub-chief, and three men pursued the murderer and brought him back to Oux-y and there killed him.[23]

For the emergent leaders of the Klamath, the maintenance of a consistent policy toward neighboring settlers posed problems of control. Similar difficulties beset the whites. From 1852 on, some men were accepted within tribal territory by the Indians as personally known and trustworthy. Wallace Baldwin, who ran cattle on land south of the present site of Klamath Falls, was one to whom Indians made gifts of roots, wokas, and game. Judge F. Adams in 1856 was grazing two thousand head of cattle in the vicinity of Keno; having made terms with the Indians, he was not molested. Wendolen Nus ranged stock in Klamath country in 1858-59, and, following a sojourn in the John Day region, returned in the 1860's to become the first permanent settler in the Klamath Basin. From 1857 on, the fur trader, Marty Frain, made an annual trip out of Yreka for the spring fishing at Lost River. Frain is quoted as saying that the Indians would be K 175 648

K 175 648 citizen—his office having lapsed for lack of authorized pay—denounced the location in a letter to Huntington, now Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon. "Drew . . . and his *Copperhead* friends, have already committed an outrage in the country, by locating the Fort in a place, where it entirely fails to accomplish the objects for which a post was ordered, solely I believe for selfish and factious purposes of their clan."[44]

Drew, while recommending that treaties be concluded with Lileks' and Old George's bands of Klamath, and with certain other groups, roundly scored these tribes as "a horde of practical thieves, highwaymen, and murderers, cowardly sycophants before the white man's face, and perfidious assassins behind his back". He annexed to his report a detailed list of hostilities in the Klamath Lake – Tule Lake – Goose Lake region from the opening of the South Road down to the time of his report. Following one such attack in 1856 which left at least thirty-nine fatalities, and in which the abduction of women and children was suspected, as he claimed, "the Indians of Umpqua valley exhibited an unusual number of dresses and other articles of female apparel,* which they alleged they had obtained from the Indians at Klamath Lake".[45]

K M 175 648 • 721 622 Drew moved with dispatch. To the south, the long-standing warfare waged by Klamath and Modoc against Shasta and Pit River tribes had ended by embroiling them with the settlers. Suspecting the whites of having sided with the Shasta, who had slain several of their warriors, the hostile Klamath and Modoc under Captain George had, in the words of Steele, "commenced depredations by stealing the cattle of the frontier settlements, robbing travellers passing through their country, and uttering threats of murder and war on the opening of the spring." Acting upon a petition by citizens and a letter from Sub-agent Amos E. Rogers, Drew promptly arrested Captain George and summarily hanged him. George's troublesome colleague, Skookum John, met his death in the same action. At one stroke the bellicose faction had been decapitated.[46]

K 175 648 So draconian a measure did not pass without comment. In a confidential letter to Huntington, Rogers wrote from Jacksonville, intimating that it had all been planned beforehand by Drew and other Copperheads at a "turkey and champaign dinner" at

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K

*657 under Blow and Link River Jack appropriated them as their own
*648 property.[31] Appeal to the Agent, Captain O. C. Knapp, proved fruitless; he only advised the Modoc to move further away from the Klamath. Captain Jack is reported to have told his followers, "I do not want my men to be slaves for these Indians, and they shall not be. My people are just as good as these Indians."[32]

While Schonchin was away fishing, Captain Jack overwhelmed the "friendly" subchiefs, Chief George and Charlie Riddle, and the Modoc left the reservation in a body. After reporting their departure, Schonchin joined them. There remained only a small party of twenty, who had been settled at Yainax earlier that year. Through them, Ivan Applegate contacted the absentee Modoc and persuaded Schonchin to return. When he did so, in the spring of the year (1870), he refused to rejoin the Lower End Klamath and was established instead at Yainax, home of his Upland Klamath mother, where Monchnkasgitk and the Paiute were already in residence. Evidently, the latter held the main voice there, for the following year—though only temporarily as it turned out—Yainax was made independent of Klamath Agency, "owing to the fact that these Indians had long been at war with those at Klamath. . . ." The change, "demanded by the chief headmen of the Snakes and Wall-pah-pe tribes, [was] approved by the chiefs and headmen of the Klamaths."[33]

M With Captain Jack's refusal to return to the reservation, the
657 veto of A. B. Meacham's proposal that he be granted a tract in
648 the Tule Basin (as originally envisaged in the Steele treaty),
721 and the decision of Meacham's successor, T. B. Odeneal, that
the Modoc be brought forcibly upon the Klamath reservation,
the lines were laid for the fatal flare-up of the Modoc War. The
K outbreak of hostilities found Allen David "very faithful and
[643] active in his efforts to preserve a good feeling among all the
*[648] Indians on the Reservation, repeatedly visiting the Snakes and
*[657] Scontian's band of Madocs [sic], advising them to keep quiet on
the Reservation and have nothing to do with Capt. Jack's
people."[34]

M Fearful that the hostile Modoc would induce the Yainax
[702] Paiute and Modoc to join them, Dyar organized a home guard.
K At the Lower End, Dave Hill and Henry Blow swiftly recruited
*[648] 32 men, primarily from the Link River band, while Oliver Apple-
*[657]
•[721]
[702]

gate marshaled together 34 at Yainax, including Monchnkasgitk–again given the title of chief–and many of his Upland band, a number of Schonchin's Modoc, 1 Pit River, and 1 Snake. Soon thereafter, under the militia law of the state, Applegate was authorized to enlist a company of volunteers. The muster rolls of his company bear a total of 69 names, among them those of 28 Indians, apparently exclusive of Hill's scouts.[35] Despite the fact that when they enlisted there had been a distinct understanding that they were to serve only as a home guard, they soon were ordered to the front.

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As Capt. Oliver Applegate found, the Lower End Klamath were reluctant to go. Schonchin took the position that Jack's men and the soldiers were both bad, and proposed sensibly to let them fight it out while his men guarded the reservation. Indeed, Lindsay Applegate experienced equal difficulty in raising volunteers among the settlers at Ashland, noting in explanation that, "... the nervs of the people aperse to Be shokt."[36]

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Although they performed well, the reservation volunteers were something less than fierce warriors in a conflict that was not their own. Oliver Applegate, to be sure, reports that his men were eager to scalp one wounded Modoc and that on another occasion they were reluctant to withdraw from a skirmish.[37] Surely, they were no strangers to internecine warfare among the bands, infrequent though that had been. Fundamentally, however, this was a white man's war, for which they could muster no great zeal.

The hostile Modoc, though irked at the readiness of the volunteers to take the field, exercised a like restraint. When they captured two Klamath, they made them perform war dances in traditional manner, but did not otherwise mistreat them.[38] One Klamath was hit during the fighting, being saved from injury by a "heavy buckskin coat"–perhaps an elkskin cuirass. It may be that he was singled out, for as a guard at Yainax he had earlier fired upon some infiltrating Modoc.[39]

In the first frontal assault on the Lava Beds, it is remembered today that the Klamath called over to the Modoc and reached an agreement that they would not shoot at each other. Soon thereafter the Klamath were replaced by a party of Warm Springs scouts under Donald McKay, and the Oregon Volunteers

[p. 350-8]

224 after ducks in the canoes. A few informants
868 said that boys give away for luck the first duck or squirrel that they kill, just as they
[787] will later give away their first deer. The hunting of deer and other large game is done only by grown men, especially those who have sought and received special supernatural power
[721] either at the time of puberty or later. The art of warfare is another pursuit reserved for the fully grown although much of the physical training of boys is directed toward building strong and fearless warriors.

CONCLUSION

861 The child learns much through the medium of imitative play in which he plays at being grown-up. A large part of the play is spontaneous, but much is inaugurated and encouraged by parents or older children who show the younger ones how to entertain themselves.

As the child grows older he gradually acquires the skills with which he must be familiar. The greatest part of this knowledge comes from accompanying parents or grandparents in their daily routine of work. Adults often explain how things are done, but they have no well formulated program of education. The youngster is often the one to ask to be allowed to perform certain tasks. He is praised if he starts to help at an early age and is given what instructions he needs to carry out the work in which he has evinced an interest.

There are a few aspects of the culture which the Klamath themselves consider important enough to warrant formalized instruction. These are primarily concerned with demeanor and conduct. Children receive daily lectures on subjects of this nature, and are scolded or whipped when they do not live up to the standards. Physical training, especially for older boys, is also emphasized.

In all aspects of child training, the most important unit is the immediate family. The father in particular exhorts his children to live correctly; but the mother, grandparents, and other relatives also talk to the children.

On the whole, it can be said that Klamath parents do not have a conscious program of instruction for children in the techniques of ordinary daily activity. They do, however, feel a great responsibility to bring up their children well in the fundamentals of Klamath comportment.

177 bury their dead instead of cremating them, and commence to acquire a smattering of English. Indian superstitions, conjurers' practices are not abandoned before the white man's ways have wrought a thorough change in their minds; and a regular school attendance by children can not be expected before this stage of progress has been reached.

157 [72] In his moral aspects the Klamath Indian is more coarse and outspoken than the white man, but in fact he is not better and not worse. He has attacked and enslaved by annual raids the defenseless California Indian simply because he was more aggressive, strong, and cunning than his victim; his family relations would be a disgrace to any cultured people, as would also be the method by which the chiefs rule the community. But the passions are not restrained among savages as they are or ought to be among us, and the force of example exhibited by Indians of other tribes is too strong for them to resist.

121 157 The character of men in the hunter stage depicts itself admirably well in the mythic and legendary stories of both chieftaincies. Low cunning and treacherous disposition manifest themselves side by side with a few traits of magnanimity hardly to be expected of a people formerly merged in a sort of zoolatric fetichism. There is, however, a considerable power of imagination and invention exhibited in these simple stories, and many of the ferocious beasts are sketched in a truly humorous vein.

Man's morals are the product of circumstances, and the white man who judges Indian morals from the Christian standard knows nothing of human nature or of ethnologic science. The moral ideas of every nation differ from those of neighboring peoples, and among us the moral system of every
000 century differs from that of the preceding one. The fact that the Modocs showed themselves more aggressive and murderous towards the white element than the Klamath Lake Indians may thus be explained by the different position of their homes. The latter being more secluded have not molested Americans sensibly, whereas the annals of the Modocs, who lived in an open country, are filled with bloody deeds. They are of a more secretive and churlish disposition, and what Stephen Powers, who saw them shortly after the Modoc war, says of them is, in some respects, true: "On the whole,

173	selluálshuk.	Ndánnitaksni	tamĕnō'tka;	tiná	nat	k̲áyak	shenótankatk,			
	fighting.	Three times	I was there;	once	we	not at all	were fighting.			
×539 726	kinkák	i	nat	lúluagsla.	Tchín	at	nat	at gä'tak	ndáni	támĕnotk.
	few only	there	we	enslaved.	So I,	when	we	quit (fighting),	three times	had been there.

NOTES.

[197] 19. The long and fertile valley of the Pit River, an eastern affluent of the Sacramento River, is inhabited by several tribes of Indians who speak dialects of the same language family. Of the peculiarities of these tribes, Stephen Powers has given the first comprehensive sketch in the Overland Monthly, 1874, pp. 412–416, and in Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. III, pp. 267–274. The various tribes greatly differ in their physical and mental qualities. The Pacamallies, on Hat Creek, at the lower end of the valley, were much dreaded by peaceable travellers on account of their sudden attacks from an ambush. The Indians in Big Valley are a fleshy, stout, and physically well-made people, while the Hot Spring Valley people has become deteriorated through prolonged national misfortune. Against both of these the slaving raids of the Klamaths and Modocs were mainly directed.

[721] [567] [727] 19, 2. The raids were undertaken by the Klamaths and Modocs just before wókash-time; that is, in April and May. They had no other purpose than to make slaves of the females and children of the unwarlike, poor, and suffering Pit River Indians, and to keep them either at their homes or sell them for ponies, provisions, beads, etc., at the Dalles to the Columbia River tribes. Adult men were not enslaved, but killed outright if captured. Similar instances of suppression of weaker tribes of the West by warlike Indians who were their neighbors are those of the Kayuses on Middle Columbia River, of the Yuki between Sacramento River and the Pacific Ocean, of the Húpa on Trinity River, Cal., all of whom were, at the advent of the whites, the terror of the districts surrounding their homes.

[648] 19, 3. shläótak for shläóta ak; the Pit Rivers ran away at the *mere sight* of the Klamath men; k̲á-i tata siúkat, the Pit Rivers never killed any Klamath men. Both statements are exaggerations; Hill's own account and Toby Riddle's biographic notice tend to prove the contrary.

[727] 19, 3. nellínat, or nell'nat. When they had killed an enemy, they did not follow the custom of the Oregonians of taking the scalp. This custom is not found among any of the Central Californian tribes.

[193] 19, 4. hû'stchok̲-huya; by the suffix -huya, -uya, the action of the verb is shown to take place at intervals, or in a small degree. "They did only little damage by killing or massacring." Cf. shenótank-huya, 20, 2, and -uya in the "List of Suffixes".

[196] 19, 4. tû'm tát sa. Change of the subjects introduced by the pronoun sha, sa, in consecutive sentences, is sometimes observed, as here and in 19, 16; 20, 3. Hill often uses sha when speaking of the Klamath Lake men, where nat, *we*, would be more appropriate.

[193] 19, 6. Kitchkanin nû for kitchkáni nû (or nî) nû. Pronouns and particles are repeated quite frequently.

19, 11. Wúksalks is a camping-place distant about six miles from Linkville. It was not possible for me to obtain definite information about the trail followed most generally in those raids, but Dave Hill said that from there they went due south. He

773 Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6] 776 the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath [823] Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting 177 of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifi- 175 cations in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroach- [721] ment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon. [791] An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result [797] proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and [182] patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

175 Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western 668 American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

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[825] [6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'ākemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

[113] [7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

[113] [9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

that Modoc said once. (28) They never forgot it, [their] doing thus, 539*
[their] killing the Indians wrongfully [lit. "badly"]. 173

(29) And I have only related little bits of it. (30) But I know a great 648
deal, but I am not telling all of it, however. (31)—How the Indians used
to fight amongst themselves, always they fought even among themselves. [721]
(32) Even among themselves they enslaved someone's child, and sold it. [567]
(33) That much is all I will tell. (34) I have nothing else to tell.

Introductory Note to Text 28

This text is a continuation of the foregoing by Mrs. Butler's sister. 124
Both are part of a recorded conversation about Klamath history in general, 128 and no particular attempt was made to formalize the texts into "stories." When Mrs. Butler had finished her historical narrative above, the topic turned to the Modoc War, and Miss Skellock began to discuss their father's role in that conflict. Rightfully, this text should include the remarks in English which led up to the Klamath portion, and also an explanation and continuation in English which follows it. Limitations of space require that these English parts be edited and abbreviated, however.

Introductory Remarks in English

"Our father was a scout in the Modoc War. He was with the white 539*
soldiers and went to those Lava Beds where the Modocs were." 726
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28. Recollection of the Modoc War

(Miss Irene Skellock)

(1) My father went there, to the battleground. (2) And he was with the white men. (3) And he was a soldier—ah—a "scout." (4) And they were falling on both sides of him, soldiers. (5) And if they shot one, the soldier behind him marched up to the front. (6) However, they never shot him. (7) And he, however, was afraid of seeing (?) those Modoc Indians only. (8) So he lived in fear, thus they said, and some of those Klamath Indians who went with him, they also were afraid. (9) And that's all I'm going to tell [in Klamath].

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 143]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS	
2872. Body left unburied, unburned	−	.	−	−				+	+	−	−	−	−	−	727
2873. Women captives enslaved	•+	(−)	+	•+	−	•−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	[562]
2874. Violated	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
c2875. Married	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	±	−	−	−	−	
2876. Child captives killed	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	[858]
2877. Kept for month or so	−	−	−	−				+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2878. Abused	−	−	−	−				+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2879. Body left unburied, unburned	−	−	−	−				+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
2880. Child captives enslaved	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2881. Adopted	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	[597]

Booty and Scalps

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS
2882. Booty taken	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−
2883. Bows of slain kept	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	(+)	•+	−
2884. Scalps taken	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	•+	•−
2885. Scalp dried on frame	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	•+	−
2886. Special custodian for scalp	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2887. Scalp kept permanently	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2888. Scalp thrown away	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	(+)	−	−	−
2889. Scalp burnt	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	(+)	+	(+)	−	+	−
2890. Whole head taken	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2891. Fingers taken	+	−	+	−							−	−	−	−
2892. Heart cut out, taken	+	−	+	−					+	.	−	−	−	−

Behavior of Noncombatants

Women's Dance

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS	
2893. Women dance while warriors away	−	+	+		•+	+	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	722
2894. Each day or night	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	
2895. Sing, pray to help men at war	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	535
2896. Each woman dances separately	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	562
2897. Round dance	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	.	−	.	−	−	
2898. Dance abreast	−	+	+		−		+	−	−	.	−	.	−	−	
2899. Outside	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	
2900. Woman singer	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	
2901. Male singer	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	
2902. Flint "rattle," on basket caps	−		+					−	−	−	−	.	−	−	
2903. Panther teeth, bear claws on stick rattle	−	−	+					−	−		−	.	−	−	
2904. No rattle used	±	(+)	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	
2905. Wear skirts of strung pine nuts	−	+	+		−		+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	
2906. Hold bow and arrow, or flint knife, in hand	−	−	+		•−			−	−	+	+	.	−	−	

Prognostications

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS	
2907. If woman drops knife during dance, sign husband killed, hurt	−	−	.							+	+	.	−	−	[787]
2908. Shaman doctors to learn of warrior's progress	−	−	.						+	−	+	.	+	−	[856]

Return of War Party

Victory Dance

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS	
2908a. Victory (scalp) dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	•+	−	727
2909. Held in or near village	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	535
2910. Held in brush corral	−	−	+								−	−	−	−	
2911. All men dance	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	[562]
2912. Warriors only, among men, dance	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2913. Women dance	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	

Frémont also remarked on the scarcity of their horses.[22]

Frémont reached Klamath lake again May 6, 1846. He commented [231]
on the outlet, Link river, "this is a great fishing station for the
Indians." His statement on the distribution of their settlements [226]
coincides with my information.

> They have fixed habitations around the shores of the lake, particularly at [361]
> the outlet and inlet [Williamson river], and along the inlet up to the swamp
> meadow [Klamath marsh], where I met the Tlamaths in the winter of '43-'44, [131]
> and where we narrowly escaped disaster. . . . . The Indians made me understand that there was another large river [Williamson river] which came from [133]
> the north and flowed into the lake at the northern end, and that the principal
> village was at its mouth, where also they caught many fish.

Frémont's party made a circuit of the lake. It is curious that he does not mention the settlements about Pelican lake on the western side, which he could hardly have avoided. On the other hand it is
not clear how closely his memoirs follow his diary. Attacked while [726]
on the western side, his party reciprocated by raiding a village on the opposite side, perhaps one of those on Williamson river just above the present highway bridge.

> Behind the sage-bushes where they had taken their stand every Indian had spread his arrows on the ground in fan-like shape, so that they would be ready
> to his hand. . . . . Quantities of fish were drying, spread on scaffolds, or hung [252]
> up on frames. The huts, which were made of tall rushes and willows, like
> those on the savannah above [Klamath marsh], were set on fire, and the fish [342]
> and scaffolds were all destroyed.[23] [726]

The first invaders remembered by the Klamath came from the
north about 1835. The stories about them have now a legendary flavor. 173
The first group was mounted; the Klamath dubbed them mpĕ'tkoŋks 437
(from mĕtc!a', to pack about) from their roving habits. An alterna- 648
tive name, pásai'ūks (French-Canadian in Chinook jargon), more surely identifies them. During their brief stay at the mouth of Williamson river they bought fat dogs of the Klamath, which to the latter's amazement, they ate. For these they gave buttons and metal disks with a central perforation (wika'lkal).

Almost as early was a white contingent moving northward on the 173
west side of Klamath lake. The Indians watched them unseen. They 648
were impressed with the horses, axes, and the food of the whites. 177

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[22] Frémont, Narrative, 122.

[23] Frémont, Memoirs, 483, 484, 494.

103
131 51, kölwa'l, a point, is Rattlesnake point at Algoma. Only a few
live here during the winter but it is a favorite resort in the autumn
361 when chokecherries and wild plums ripen.

[222] 52, wuk̦!o'twas, wood knot, Buck island, is so called because the
island in the lake is likened to a knot in a piece of wood. In addition
to old house pits here not occupied by any group of the historic period,
there are a few winter houses on the southern end and summer camps
at the northern end where plums could be gathered. It was a favorite
sport to dive from the rocks (called sohowă'ĕks, diving) on the
northern shore.

53, lama'teksi, a place on top of the end of something, is on the
point east of Buck island, and 54, k!su'nk!si, grassy place, is three-fourths
of a mile south on the shore. Many people are at both localities
during the winter. There may be old house sites here like those on
Buck island. Wa'toŋks is a hill a half-mile east where wild plums are
[823] picked. There is an outcrop of white rock high on the hillside above
iu'li (meaning deep in), the end of the marsh east of these settlements.
This is said to be the net of Kᴇmū'kūmps, the culture hero, spread
to dry.

55, iwau'wōnᴇ, meaning against the side hill, is a large settlement
[764] on both sides of Link river at the highway bridge. A crematory is on
[226] the hilltop on the east side a quarter-mile north. Shasta sometimes
swam the river south of the village or crossed by the islet below the
little lake Ewauna to attack the group on the east bank. This settlement
is at the lower end of the falls (Klamath falls) that constitute
[226] Link river in its brief passage through its gorge. This is one of the
principal fishing places of the region and advantage is taken of the
[823] ledges that form the falls for the construction of fish dams. But
these, like all others in Klamath territory, are attributed to the culture
hero, Kᴇmū'kūmps.[33]

56, iu"laloŋᴇ, meaning on the end, is the largest village of the southern lake people and gives its name to the whole group. There are earth-lodges on both sides of the falls but particularly on the western bank from the river mouth to within half a mile of the present power dam. There are many at the point at the river mouth (hence the name of the site) and thence extend westward about a little bay. A group of tall upstanding rocks at the point, called k̦!taigī'ŋkls, hole

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[114] [33] Gatschet's reference (1:94, 97) to the Indians scooping up fish from the dry bed of the stream when a strong south wind drives back the waters in the lake seems like a purely mythical reference, but is confirmed by Clarke (Rock Piles, 41).

721 [619] [567] scale expeditions were undertaken only after the slave traffic was established on an extensive scale. On one occasion at least all the chiefs were at a dance preparatory to going to war: this implies that all the tribelets were engaged. All the tribelets joined similarly in a raid for revenge against the Upland Takelma. It is said that the Klamath marsh division (ă'ukekni), by far the largest group, always extended the invitation for war, but I doubt that this is literally so. It is true that they led in aggressions just prior to reservation days, but this seems because of the initiative of their chief Lele'ks, the most prominent ever known, who was singularly interested in the slave trade for his personal advantage.

726 628 Internecine warfare is probably as significant as that with foreigners, for quarrels and blood feuds are quite common. Feuds exist between the several subdivisions, not within them, evincing a solidarity which but rarely extends to the tribe. Thus the du'kwakni of the mouth of Williamson river are known to have taken action against members of each of the four other divisions, even the gu'mbötkni of Pelican bay with whom they are closely linked. There are cases of reciprocated action by each of the five against the others indiscriminately. Yet Pat Kane stated that the lesser divisions avoided conflict with the ă'ukekni. Yet there is the case of his own people, du'kwakni, fighting with an ă'ukekni settlement. Nancy Phillips said it was true that she knew of no cases involving gu'mbötkni or iu″lalo̦kni (southern lake people) with ă'ukekni, but this does not mean they would not fight. I think it hardly likely that the others are awed by the numbers of the ă'ukekni, for the feuds are essentially between groups of relatives alone. Yet others besides relatives might be induced to join.

721 628 A characteristic circumstance initiating a feud is the murder of a man residing with a wife of another tribelet. Ten or twenty of his male relatives take canoe and demand the delivery of the murderer or satisfaction from his relatives in the form of women, slaves, beads, dentalia, etc. The parley (ndĕ'na) is held from a safe distance at the top of their voices. Instead of acceding, the offenders may offer fight. But an effort is usually made to reach an agreement by offering payment. They may forestall retaliation by dispatching as a go-between (gaḳö'ḳwa) a relative of the offended group who is paid for his trouble, a canoe, a shirt, net, skin armor, or a woman's dress. If they have neither women nor money to offer, they give nets, weapons, anything, even to the last things they have. If no amicable adjustment can be reached they resort to fight. Even though the score be evened

by the death of several on each side, the feud continues until payment 726
is made. Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried 628
out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery.

A chief may intervene; so I was told, though I doubt it. Chiefs do 728
accompany parleying parties and other men may echo their words. 622
Beyond that there seems to be nothing to their position but personal prestige which has been enhanced by developments since reservation days. Lᴇle'ks and his successors among the ă'ukckni seem to have made much of their position. Pat's father and Tc!i'wi, both du'kwakni, killed a iu"lalonᴇ man at stŏ'kmatc, Eagle Point. They were taken to Klamath marsh and each beaten five times at the order of this chief. This was in pre-reservation days, or at least prior to the establishment of the agency in 1864 (?). Nevertheless this is not aboriginal, but, [177]
according to Nancy Phillips, these "laws" were brought by her cousin from the north.

The group that owes recompense, having lost fewer men, goes to 728
the other offering payment to even the score. The value of a man's life is not a fixed item, as it is for the lower Klamath river tribes; this despite the similarity of marriage payment and the slur on children not born of a purchased mother. My informants professed ignorance of what should be paid, yet it can hardly be doubted that recompense accorded with a man's wealth and prestige.

Children who are captured are kept; settling the score does not mean that they are restored, though this may well be only in case they have been sold. Their fate depends on their captors, who may elect to rear them as their own children. More commonly they are miserably treated, made to sleep with the dogs, fetch water, etc., and beaten if they are lazy. They are as quickly sold at Warm Springs and the [437]
Dalles as are foreign captives. With the latter at least there is an advantage in immediately disposing of them, that they do not grow up to carry back to their own people precise knowledge of the habits and topography of the Klamath world.

Kŏ'kdiᶇks of du'kwa was a chief (lŏ'ki) in warfare. He would tell his tribes- 159
men to get ready to fight with the iu"laloᶇkni, for instance. He was always 701
in the forefront of battle. When a youth he went out to seek power by bathing 721
and wandering through the mountains at night. His mother had told him that long before those of iu"lalonᴇ had slain his father, Lĕ"l'wis, a du'kwa shaman accused of poisoning one of them. He wanted to become a warrior to have

159 701 721 revenge. While he was swimming in deep water at du'kwa he found a human leg in his grasp; it had been given him by the ghosts.[40] Then he became "mean," revengeful, and led his people down the lake to iuʷlaloŋɛ for vengeance.

He grew aggressive and attacked gu'mböt, kowa'edi, and other towns. He was a hard man to hit; they could not kill him in open battle. His du'kwakni band went up Williamson river to the ā'ukekni town at bɛzūksə'was. Before the fight opened, Po'moks, an ā'ukekni from far up Sprague river, came to him and announced that he would join him. Kö'ḳdiŋks agreed because he was a relative. During the battle Po'moks slipped behind Kö'ḳdiŋks and shot him. That was the only way they could beat him; since then there has been no feud with du'kwa.

159 701 • 726

Quite in accord with Klamath custom, Kö'ḳdiŋks band was accompanied by a du'kwa shaman named čḳtsə'as. When one of his side was shot, this shaman ran to him, extracted the arrow, and sucked the wound.

726 Pat's uncle of gu'mböt and Nancy's father of du'kwa went to iuʷlaloŋɛ where they killed a man.

Some gu'mböt men went to Buck island and killed a man there. Immediately a party followed them back and killed a man at gu'mböt.

A brave man from du'kwa lived at gu'mböt. The gu'mbötkni traveled with him to kill iuʷlaloŋkni, ā'ukekni, and kowa'edikni. He stole women everywhere, carrying them to gu'mböt as his wives. He tried to kill some gu'mböt men whom he accused of tampering with them, but they dispatched him. After he was cremated all these women returned to their homes.

An attack might be expected at any time. The Upland Takelma (Ha'nis or Wa'lūmskni), for instance, raid the Williamson river district. Crossing by the ridges south of Crater lake, they travel down the ridge separating that river from Klamath lake. From this eminence they can see the smokes of a large part of Klamath territory. Gatschet describes such a raid, plausibly dating it between 1848 and 1855.[41] 175

726 The Takelma descended on bɛzūksə'was in the middle Williamson valley at salmon fishing time. Most of the warriors were away at Klamath marsh to welcome some northern Indians. Crossing the river the Takelma attacked at dawn, killing a few old people, but they were put to rout by the fierce onslaught of but five cuirassed Klamath, men of nilūksi, the Modoc Point district. They were pursued by the whole force of Klamath, hastily summoned from the marsh. Some escaped, others were found dead of starvation or wounds where they had hidden in the mountains.

Five old women were once left behind at Klamath marsh to gather lily seeds. They brought their canoes down to the falls, as far as they could go. All they could not carry they buried there to leave through the winter. A Paiute lurking on the opposite bank followed them down to the falls. He killed all five with his arrows. When their relatives found them overdue, they went to search. The Paiute, having stayed in the neighborhood to steal horses, was tracked and killed.[42]

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[40] So my informant said, but she surely meant spirits.

[41] The Klamath Indians, 1:16-18.

[42] Gatschet records a similar Paiute raid on Williamson river or perhaps the same (1:28).

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

K 721

The topography directs Shasta attacks against southern settlements. Coming by the open country along the Klamath river, they attack iwau'wōnᴇ at Klamath Falls, sometimes swimming the river there. Or they cross by the little island to the south to surprise the settlement on the east bank. Many years ago a large body of Ya'mŏkkni, northerners, descended on the Klamath on Syean marsh in the northeastern corner of their territory. These may have been marauding bands of Shoshoni and Bannock, fought by the soldiery of Fort Klamath in the summer of 1864.[43] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of Indians coming south about 1876 or earlier by way of the Warm Springs country from the Snake river range east of Lewiston, Idaho. 648 K [174] NP

K [191]

Northern Paiute scouts use various calls in order to keep contact with one another, imitating the crow by day, coyote in the evening, and owls at night; unlike Klamath scouts. When these are heard, women and children take to canoes, staying on the water until morning. The screech owl is thought to call, kŏkᴇdĕ'l sḳiu'ki'u, who sent me? A thrush (sḳo''lĕ) names who is coming, wī'mpis ᴇge'pkwa, they are coming.

K 721 648 [727]

Klamath hunting in the Cascades might meet Upland Takelma from across the range. On one occasion (perhaps about 1850) a party of five or six was wiped out with the exception of a boy who made his way at night, arriving footsore at Klamath marsh. Those who fetched the bodies for cremation found that the Takelma had taken scalps, hands, and feet as trophies. Two of those killed were brothers to the maternal grandfather of my informant, Coley. A wife of this grandfather was an Upland Takelma woman, perhaps a slave, who was a sister to the Upland Takelma chief Tŏḳtŏ'ḳli 'red). They killed her in revenge. She had been living among them at the marsh for years but had no children. The reciprocal raid can be reconstructed from Gatschet's information[44] and my own. The expedition was undertaken at the call of Lᴇle'ks, the most prominent *ä'ukckni* chief and a distant relative of Coley's grandfather. Men of all the tribelets took part. Crossing the mountains on foot, they found the Takelma encamped in Molala territory at the head of Rogue river. They attacked as the Takelma rose at dawn, scalping many and carrying off women and children. Among those killed was Tŏḳtŏ'ḳli, whose hands and heart they took. After the man was shot, Lᴇle'ks lanced him through the throat. Lᴇle'ks invited all the Klamath to a huge scalp dance at Klamath marsh. During the dances a wife of Coley's grandfather danced about with the heart in her teeth. The captives were dragged by their arms and forced to dance close to the fire. K [727]

K 726 535

A preparatory performance, called nī'ḳĕba, is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance,

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[43] Gatschet, 1:lxii.

[44] *Op. cit.*, 1:16.

726 535 as it is doubtful that it contains any true dance form. It is held in the open for from one to three nights depending on the size of the group engaged. It consists essentially of two things, mimicry of an onslaught by the warriors and prevision of their success by a shaman.

The men are dressed and armed for battle. Possibly they dance to the songs by jumping with both feet together. In their midst is a shaman who predicts their fate. Possibly only women sing and jump about, pretending to stab at imaginary foes with spears. Early on the morning that the war party sets out, the warriors rush at their women and children to show how they will act in the attack. This sham attack is called t'k!o'la.[45]

[756] The shaman exercises his clairvoyant powers before they set out or while encamped on the march. He jumps about in front of the men, "looking through them," and predicting who will be shot, and how the enemy will be slain. One informant had it that those for whom disaster was predicted would stay at home; another that they were too brave to do so.

714 562 They dance and go to war nearly naked, wearing breech clouts or the short fringed skirts, but not the more recently acquired skin shirt. Their hair, and that of the dancing women too, is drawn into a single loose bunch to fall down the back, wound close to the scalp with strips of skin: deer, otter, mink, or weasel. Only women shamans may use the last. Neither sex wears basket hats with this peculiar headdress. (Incidentally, quarreling men who come to blows seize one another by the long hair.) Their faces are painted; men's white, women's red, sometimes with blood from the nose. The shaman's garb is slightly more elaborate; his hair is tied with weasel or mink, around his neck a rattlesnake skin, and the skin of a bull snake across his chest as a bandolier. On the march with the war party, he wears skunk skin and eagle feathers.

726 756 Shamans accompany war parties not only to fight but especially to use their clairvoyant gifts in their behalf. Wounds and broken limbs are treated by them, a distinctly unusual practice for shamans, but so well attested by circumstantial detail in this case as to be beyond doubt. Wounds and fractures are sucked and the patient turned over to lay hands for further treatment.

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[45] Gatschet (1:196) describes this for the Modoc. "The whoops were chanted and howled while going round in a circle for one to two hours; even now they are heard on solemn occasions. This uniform performance was, however, interrupted sometimes by feigned attacks on a supposed hostile force lying in ambush or marching past. A scalp-dance tune is added, also battle cries."

Women also accompany a war party according to one informant, but this is denied by another. They cook or paddle; that is easily understood, but I am inclined to believe that they actually participate in conflict. Perhaps the solution is that they accompany feudists, but do not go on extended raids into enemy territory. Some are said to fight with the men, shouting and jumping about to add to the terrifying effect of the surprise. Armed with short spears by preference, they help to catch women and children and to slay the aged as they run to hide. 726 562

Leaders of the party are appointed by the chief, usually men of affluence and commonly his relatives. There may be four or five leaders of a single large party. The qualities expected of them are bravery, ability to maintain their good sense in the excitement, and to go without sleep. Chiefs became such largely by the prestige of successful leadership in battle. 701

The war party proceed well-nigh naked and afoot no matter what the weather. It is of some interest that even after the advent of the horse they prefer to go afoot. This is reminiscent of the Blackfoot, but in our case at least may indicate how recent is the acquisition of the horse. My information suggests the second quarter of the last century for the coming of the horse, and the wars were over by about 1865. The raid against the Upland Takelma mentioned above was undertaken afoot. But this is not really a case in point because it is doubtful that there were then horse trails across these timbered mountains. The introduction of the horse facilitated long-range raiding. Gatschet's informant describes its use against the Pit river tribes about 1848–50; even then it was a ride of three days and a night.[46] Canoe travel was of little importance in any but expeditions within their own territory. 726 [231] [171] [501]

A warrior's armament includes bow, club, and sometimes spear, with shield and body armor. Fighting is wholly individual; there is no sort of battle array. After the first rush of a surprise attack, they fight by preference from cover. No line of bowmen ever fights in the open, nor do lancers make a concerted charge. The sinew-backed war bow is a powerful short-range weapon.[47] Arrow shafts are wooden, the heads of stone loosely affixed so as to remain in the wound when 726 411

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[46] *Op. cit.*, 1:19–27.

[47] Frémont observed that in 1846 he saw Indians behind the bushes with their arrows spread fan-wise so as to be ready at hand (Memoirs, 494).

411 the shaft is withdrawn. The tips are not poisoned.[48] However they
726 believe that those made of obsidian obtained on a mountain west of
Klamath lake are poisonous. A tale has it that an Upland Takelma
[539] shot a presumably mythical man, called Tcewis hu'lūms (alighting
flicker), there. Crow laughed and he turned into the pillar of rock
still standing. This is presumably the widely known tale of the shat-
701 tered rock-monster. A war leader, a rich man, carries several quivers;
one under each arm and a third across his back. The short stabbing
411 lance is stone headed; the club simply a straight stick or one bearing
714 a knot for a head. Armor is the familiar long skin tunic and wooden
slat armor of waistcoat shape. The round hand shield is used, but not
the curtain shield, i.e., a skin hung before the body. Sock-like skin
gloves sometimes protect the forearms.

726 It is planned to arrive in enemy territory at the end of the day.
Several good runners are sent forward as scouts (gau'ulū'kdja) to
[191] look for smoke from enemy fires. Scouts do not use animal cries like
those of the Northern Paiute. The camps are surprised at dawn, for,
[171] in addition to the confusion, there is the advantage of a long day in
which to make good an escape. Yet the fight may last several days, I
was told, but it is more likely that the raiders withdraw at once unless
beset by a rallied foe. One thing sets off the intensity of this conflict
from that of the Arizona Havasupai as I found it; there never occurs
here the gesture of bravado of drawing off for refreshment before
[554] returning to the attack. Yet there is something formal about these
fights too; the leaders make a point of engaging with men of like rank
in the forefront of battle, although they do not disdain lesser men.
Warriors do not pat the mouth as they charge (go'lgi); this is done
727 only in the scalp dance. The foray usually ends with the fleeing of the
ablebodied among the enemy, the killing of the infirm, and the capture
of women, children, and such property as beads and quivers.

[114] These are kept by their captors; perhaps some division of the spoil
is made. Disputes are inevitable: Gatschet's informant describes how
he wantonly shot down a girl whom he claimed as his due rather than
let another have her.[49] Pat Kane told me that all the booty is carried
to the principal chief who asks for an accounting of the dead and
slaves. The leader enumerates how each man took slaves or scalps and
how the opposing chiefs were killed. The trophies of these chiefs are
exhibited. I doubt his statement, unless he had in mind the prestige

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[48] Gatschet's informant credits the Modoc with poisoned arrows (*op. cit.*, 1:90).

[49] *Op. cit.*, 1:23.

361 at the lake's edge, large and warm enough to prevent ice forming over
a large area. Winter is severe at this altitude (4000 feet), snowdrifts
[132] are deep, and Klamath lake freezes over to a depth of some ten inches
[133] in late December. Such sheltered valleys as that of the Williamson
river, while but a few miles from the open lake, are distinctly warmer.

221 The annual cycle of activities is dictated largely by the food
habits. It is customary to leave the winter villages in April or May,
when plant growth is well under way and the flat valleys have dried,
not to return until the snow falls again and houses need refurbishing.
When fish begin to run in the spring, the Klamath congregate at the
fishing places to stay for two months or more. For example, some
join the Modoc on Lost river for several weeks to catch and dry
fish. The spring and early summer are spent on the marshes and
prairies, gathering roots such as camas and ipos. When the camas
has been dried and stored, they move to the marshes, especially to
Klamath marsh, to harvest pond-lily seeds from mid-August to the
end of September. While the women are busy with this harvest, men
hunt mule deer, antelope, and other animals whose habitat is in eastern
Klamath territory. Late summer and autumn, seeds, berries, and
nuts are gathered, the Indians congregating where these are plentiful.
Many of those at Klamath marsh, for example, move directly to
Huckleberry mountain, southwest of Crater lake, to garner these
[484] berries. Summer and autumn are the seasons for journeying to visit
[726] and trade, for raiding, and especially for laying up a store of fish
against the coming winter. It must be understood that the winter
[251] locations are not completely abandoned during this season, for many
of them are favorably situated for these very activities. But it is
[361] customary for such a group as the ăukckni division, whose winter
residences cluster thickly along the middle Williamson river, to scatter and meet again at Klamath marsh for the pond-lily harvest in
[805] August and September. (This is the beginning of the Klamath year.)
They begin to return to the winter sites in the latter month, to start
[342] rebuilding the earth-lodges for the coming winter, a task completed
in December, by which time full winter is at hand.[219]

501 The move to Klamath marsh of the people at the mouth of William-
son river, the du'kwakni, can be made by canoe only as far as ya'ak
221 on the middle river, where they join the ăukckni in packing afoot the
rest of the distance. When the water is high, canoes can go upstream
as far as bɪzūkse'was at the mouth of Sprague river (see the maps,

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[219] See also Gatschet, 1:74–77.

are on the basket, so placed that the upper end of one overlaps the lower end of the next to the left. The units are of exactly the same 531 length, which suggests that the stitches were counted with some accuracy. But they are disposed somewhat irregularly around the basket. Figure 17*i*, which may be upside down, is Crow's knee, ga'kŭmk!o'lŏntc (from gak, crow; k!o'lŏntc, knee). The knee is represented by the angles in the median line. A design which does not occur in band form, but is isolated and symmetrical upon itself (fig. 17*j*) may be called sk̥ŏtco'ta, legs (tc!oks is the proper word for leg). This is properly the name for the vertical lines; the horizontal spur is pătc, foot. An old Klamath design is shown in figure 17*k*, but this is called mo'talta'ntk, because Pit river peoples (mo'ᴇtuwas) used designs of this sort. The Pelican bay division of the Klamath call it stŏ'kbunks a'ltantkc (stŏ'kbunks, leech). On one basket ten rhomboids form each unit of design: the unit extends diagonally nearly around the basket, and overlaps with two other units. A similar design (fig. 17*l*) has the units arranged as horizontal bands. There are four of these units disposed on the four quarters of the basket, so that their ends overlap. This represents a mountain flower: the name of the design is unknown.[336]

It is interesting to note that the number of elements in one design unit (*h*) is five, in another (*k*) is ten, in view of the frequent use of the significant number of the Klamath, five. On the other hand, the number of elements and units in other cases is not a multiple of five.

WEAPONS

The warrior's armament consists of bow, club, sometimes a spear, 411 with body armor and perhaps a shield. I have seen none of these; what follows is from descriptions.

Dependence rests primarily on the bow both in warfare and hunt- [726] ing. Hand to hand fighting was not mentioned and the use of snares and traps is slight. Waterfowl are ordinarily shot with a reed arrow so light that it will float. The Klamath never shot fish although in many places the water is sufficiently clear.

Arrow poisoning was not mentioned to me, but Coville was given the following description:

> The root [of the water hemlock (skä'-wänks, *Circuta maculata* L.)] mashed and mixed with poison from a rattlesnake's poison sacs or with the decomposed liver of a deer or some other animal, which has been buried in the ground a

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[336] Other designs are illustrated by Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. 11, 15, 18; O. T. Mason, *op. cit.*, pls. 48, 174. These conform in style.

411 ping. The free edge of the vane is then notched throughout its length to give a servated appearance. The butt of the arrow is cut wedge-shaped transversely to the nock.

The quiver (do'kŏnks) is slung under the left arm by a cord over the opposite shoulder so that the mouth is at the breast. A war leader, a rich man, might carry one under each arm, and a third at his back. To put on a quiver is called sodo'k!ĕ. Quivers are commonly made of tules, well dried, and twined at intervals with sage-brush bark strings. Barrett figures one thirty-two inches in length. Wealthy men, as Barrett notes,[353] had quivers of skin: raccoon, marmot, or otter. The hide is stretched over a frame of sticks or stuffed with grass that it may dry in the proper shape.

The club (dĕ'kis, ḳ'ŏ'plĕs, or ḳŭ'pgŭs, perhaps several types) is a limb of a tree having a knot to serve as the ball-head. Others are simply long sticks.

The spear (yŏ'ḳmŏm) is a short stabbing lance, four to six feet long, bearing a large obsidian blade. The spear is rather the weapon [724] of a woman than a man. In the course of a raid on the Upland Takelma, the Klamath chief Lᴇle'ks stabbed their chief through the throat after he had been shot down.

714 Both the long skin tunic and slat armor are in use. The tunic (kŏḳ!no'ls) of elk hide, alternatively of bear or deer skin, hangs to the calf, has holes for the arms, and is tied together down the sides. This is a single layer of skin, except that a small separate piece of buckskin (called sĕpŏ'kdilᴇ) might be worn under it as additional protection for the front of the trunk. Slat armor (dă'lŏḳ) is the familiar waistcoat form; vertical wooden slats, two inches wide, split from any sort of tree, and twined with nettle cords. It is long front and back, but necessarily short under the arms, opens in the front, and ties over the shoulders with buckskin thongs.

The round hand shield (snoto'wītc) is but little used, to judge from my informants' ignorance of it. This is strange for it may well be suspected as of recent introduction among them from Plains-like tribes to the northeast. It was described as eighteen inches in diameter and of unknown material, but undoubtedly skin. These informants knew nothing of the use of a skin as a shield hung like a curtain in front of the body.

The arms are sometimes protected by mittens (wăkăpks) of arm or elbow length. These are sock-like affairs of coyote or other fur.

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[353] *Op. cit.*, pl. 20, fig. 1, 255.

171 *

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Dentalium shells	Ornament	Ultimate source, coasts of Washington and British Columbia.	105
Cradles	Sitting	N.W. and N. central California.	[301]
	Board	N. Basin, Plateau.	[854]
Games	Beaver teeth dice	Oregon, Washington, British Columbia.	
	Four stick	N.E., central, and S. California (and elsewhere?).	[524]
	Hand game	Some central Californians, Basin, S. Northwest Coast, Plateau, Plains.	
	Modified hoop-pole	Minor game of coast from Alaska to Oregon (not N.W. California).	
	Ring-and-pin; rush ball	Modoc?, Wishram.	
Pipes	Spherical; discoidal	S. Plateau (Nez Percé to Okanagon).	[276]
	Angular	Wasco, Wishram, Middle Columbia, Nez Percé (links with Plains calumet?).	
Musical instruments	Hand drum	Recent in Plateau; Basin, Plains, (Northwest Coast?).	[534]
	Deerhoof rattle in girls' rites	N. California.	
	Notched rasp	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.	
	Clap stick	N. and central California.	
	Open flute	California, Southwest; Takelma, Nez Percé (and probably general in the west).	
Numerals	Finger names	Takelma.	[802]
Ritual number	Five	S. Northwest Coast, Washington, Oregon, California S. to Sinkyone and Northern Maidu, Basin.	[801]
Calendar	Numerical names	N.W. California, Fraser r., N. Northwest Coast.	[805]
Scalping	Whole scalp	California, W. Southwest, Wishram (no scalping in N.W. California E. to Shasta, and Northwest Coast).	[726]
Head trophy	Unusual	California, Northwest Coast.	
Scalp dance		General (except N.W. California) (over head trophies on Northwest Coast).	[727]
War dance	With notched rattle	Upland Takelma?, Wasco, Wishram, Nez Percé; without rattle, Chinook, N.W. California.	
Disposal of dead	Cremation	Modoc; some cremation in N.E. California; central California; formerly in E. Washington; N. Plateau.	[764]

*171 on the other, were entirely absent among the Klamath. Nevertheless
556 the mechanism of the Northwest Coast for the exchange of presents,
584 the potlatch, does appear here in the form of prescribed reciprocal
visits between the families of bride and groom. It has not been clearly
recognized that these features of Northwest Coast social life have
spread even farther from that focus into the northern Plains and to
north central California.

*171 Of the slender stock of Klamath ceremonials, the scalp dance is
widely known, the war or incitement dance is common to northwestern
535 California and perhaps all of Oregon. Kroeber has pointed out that
• 726 so far as California is concerned scalp and war dances are mutually
exclusive in their distributions.[418] But the Klamath, like all others
*171 of eastern Oregon, carry out both dances. The girls' adolescence rite
of the Klamath is one with those of western Oregon and northern
881 California. This is a local phrasing of similar rites known from
Alaska to the Southwest, but lacking east of the Sierra-Cascades.
Specific details of the Klamath affair are closer to northern
*171 Californian forms than to those of Oregon. The Ghost dance of 1870 was
evanescent among them. Its first form was that characteristic of the
original dance of Nevada; later it was overlaid by features characteristic
of central California.[419]

177 Some historical relief emerges in this survey. It is definitely
traceable in some details and can be established inferentially for more
basic elements. The most recent stratum of adopted traits is
[285] post-reservation, i.e., later than 1865. This includes two types of basketry
derived from the Northern Paiute settled on the reservation, a sifting
[668] basket and a coiled water bucket, and the Ghost dance. The earlier
form of the Ghost dance was instituted by the same group of Paiute
in 1870 or '71. This was the familiar circle of dancers, whose leaders
[343] dreamed new regulations; its ideology the return of the dead. In
1873 a Pit River introduced central Californian elements; a dance
[534] lodge, probably the clap-stick rattle, new songs, etc. To the same
[533] stratum belongs the imitation of the Warm Springs-Yakima one-piece
moccasin.

[291] Other elements are recognized as pertaining to pre-reservation
177 days, but probably not earlier than the middle of the last century:
the hand drum derived from the north, and perhaps the social dances
534 in which it is used; the hand game brought by a Spokane (?) man.

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535 [418] Kroeber, Handbook, 144, 844.

[419] Spier, Ghost Dance.

*171
756 From this perspective the Klamath complex takes its place with
the relatively simple shamanism of the northwestern interior and the
Basin, overlaid with elements shared by tribes of the northwestern
coast and those of northern, or better, northwestern California.

Shamanism bulks large in the social scheme of the Klamath as it
does in the interior Plateau and the Basin, for the reason that com-
[881] peting rituals are lacking. Beyond the girls' rite, the war and scalp
dances, and for a brief time the Ghost dance, the Klamath have noth-
[535] ing but shamans' performances. The winter ritual of the Northwest
Coast extends only to central coastal Washington, the potlatch only
to the Columbia river. The wealth display dances of northwestern
[726] California do not penetrate even to the Shasta; those of the central
Californian Kuksu cult not beyond the head of the Sacramento. Ele-
[784] ments of these ritual systems do indeed appear among the Klamath,
*171 but the dances as such are absent.

796 The Klamath hold the acquisition of supernatural power within
the reach of anyone. In this they accord with the generality of North
*171 Americans and differ emphatically from the Californians for whom
power descends only on the few. The Klamath form of quest fol-
787 lowed by a dream in which power comes links the common quest of
America with the dream experience of California. The Northwest
Coast, its interior, and the Basin are a unit with the Klamath in that
the quest is for power of a general sort, not for visions yielding spe-
cific sanctions as in the Plains. The spirits whose benevolence is sought
are birds and animals as in the interior, the Plains and eastward, not
the mystic supernaturals of the Northwest Coast. The source of
power and disease among the northwest Californians, the "pain"
*171 objects, do not appear among them in any form. The Klamath con-
cept of disease is the very general North American one of intrusion;
753 the soul-loss concept of the Northwest Coast and tribes to the Colum-
bia is unknown here.

*171 The Klamath novitiate dance for shamans is shared by groups from
the Sacramento to the Columbia. It is the northern demonstration of
756 ability rather than the initiation and mastery of power of the northern
Californians. The repeated dance of the Yurok prevails through
Shasta and Modoc, but the single Klamath dance is of the interior
type.

*171 The Northwest Coast winter ritual makes its appearance here only
756 in its general aspects. Klamath shamanistic seances are held only in
midwinter and this is also the time for repossession by spirits among
796
177

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1860-1900)

Maidu of the Sacramento valley may kill merely by letting his shadow 171*
fall on his victim. A Klamath cannot pass in front of a shaman nor 756
drop something in front of him, else the shaman suffers a hemorrhage. Similarly a Kwakiutl apparently does not pass behind an eating shaman, else he too has a hemorrhage. The Wishram shaman, angry with one who endangers him by passing behind or startling him, may bewitch in revenge. A Cowichan of the mainland group will not let his shadow fall on a sick shaman, for the latter may seize the chance to replace his own lost soul. Similarly the Lillooet avoid letting their shadows fall on a shaman or standing in his, for fear of consequences. The Thompson, too, will not let his shadow fall on a shaman (the reverse is not harmful), and dares not startle him nor eat meat without inviting him to share it.[498]

Clairvoyance

Prediction is a widespread, if not universal, ability of shamans. 171*
A somewhat unique form among the Klamath is that at the dance preceding the departure of a war party. The shaman dances in front of 756
the warriors in order to discover those who will be wounded: he sees 787
them bleeding. He also accompanies the party to watch over them 726 •
and cure wounds. Something of the same sort is noted for the Modoc. [535]
This also seems to take place among the Chinook: "before the people
go to war they sing. If one of them sees blood, he will be killed in [755]
battle." Perhaps this is general in the northwest; at any rate Goddard observes of the Northwest Coast at large: "Every war party includes a shaman who by his supernatural knowledge warns of danger and points out favorable times and places for attacks. The shaman, by catching or destroying the souls of the enemy, makes the killing of their bodies an easy matter."[499]

As I have pointed out it is unusual that the Klamath shaman treats 171*
wounds and fractures by matter-of-fact methods. But this has also 755
been noted of the Achomawi. Angulo thinks this true only since the advent of the whites, but it is surely an old practice of the Klamath.[500]

The practice of freeing a locality or village of disease, dispatched there by a malevolent shaman, is probably more common than I have

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[498] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 269; Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 730; Lower Fraser River, 9; Teit, Lillooet, 288; Thompson Indians, 361.

[499] Gatschet, 1:21; Boas, Chinook Texts, 270; Goddard, Indians of the Northwest Coast, 119.

[500] Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 571.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
Clubs																	
1055. Stone clubs	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	411
1056. "Slave killer" (animal figure)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1057. Paddle-shaped	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[532]
1058. Imported		.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1059. Natural cobblestone, cylindrical	−	−	−						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1060. Wooden clubs	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	
1061. Natural limb	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	
1062. Used in brawls or to kill salmon only	+	+							+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	
1063. Ball- or knob-ended	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
1064. Stone or horn spike insert	−	*+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1065. Straight rabbit club	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	
1066. Stone head encased in buckskin	−	(+)	.	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Fighting Spears																	
1067. Spear used in war	*R	+	+	−	*−	*−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	[726]
1068. Thrust mainly	(+)	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
1069. Flaked stone point	(+)	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
1070. Bone or horn point	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Daggers, Slings, Bola																	
1071. Obsidian knife or dagger	+	+	+	+	+	*+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	
1072. Center section buckskin-wrapped	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1073. Hafted wooden handle	−	−	−	−				+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	
1073a. Bone dagger, awl-shaped	−	−	−					*+	*+	*+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1074. Sling	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	
1075. Used for war	−	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	
1076. Used for hunting	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
1077. Used as toy	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
1078. Clay shot	−	*+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1079. Rocks for shot	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	
1080. Bola	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	*+	*+		.	
Armor																	
1081. Rod jacket	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	714
1082. Hide tunic, no rods	*+	+	+	−	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
1083. Hide helmet	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1084. Circular rod shield		−				*+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1084a. Hide curtain as shield	−	+	(+)	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Household Implements																	
Mortars and Pestles																	
1085. Bedrock mortar	−	−	−	−	−	*+	*−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+		412
1086. Portable stone mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1087. Outside rough hewn	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1088. Outside shaped and smoothed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1089. Found locally, used commonly	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	
1090. Found locally, not used for grinding food	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	*+	
1091. Found locally, used by shaman	−	*(+)	+	*+	−	*+	−	−	−	−	*+	−	−	−	−	−	[756]
1092. Regarded as animate object	−	−	+	+		+	−	−						−	−	*−	[774]
1093. Regarded as dangerous or poisonous	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	*+	−	*+	+	.	−	−	−	*+	
1094. Made by myth character	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	*+	.	−	−	−	−	*+	[773]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
624 2756. Attends to fire for sweating			–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
372 2757. Attends to fire for ceremonies				+	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2758. Builds fire for encamped visitors				+	–	–	–				–	–	+		–	–
Singers																
624 2759. No. male singers per village or local group	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	•2		–	3
533 2760. Variable number	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	(+)	–		+	–
2761. Office lifelong	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		+	+
2762. Hereditary, in paternal line	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+
2763. Any gifted individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+
2764. Appointed by chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		+	+
[562] 2765. Female singers also	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+
2766. Sister, daughter of male singer	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
Dance Manager																
624 2767. Owner of sweat house (headman)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	+	+	+		+	–
535 2768. Hereditary office, paternal line	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		+	+
2769. Schedules dances	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		+	+
2769a. Urges people to dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+		+	+
2769b. Orders wood gathered for dance fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
2769c. Talks at intervals (prays) at dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		+	–
WAR																
Nature and Causes																
Nature of Warfare																
726 2770. Intertribal wars	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•	+	•
721 2771. Intratribal raids and feuds	+	+	+	+	•–	•+	•+	•+	+	–	•+	•+	•+		+	•
Motivation																
721 2772. War for adventure or plunder	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	
2773. War for revenge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2774. Common	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–		–	
2775. Rare	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+		+	
2776. Intertribal murders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2777. Strangers from hostile tribes killed on sight	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2778. Intratribal murders, if uncompensated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+		+	
2779. Rape	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		+	
2780. Stealing women, young girls	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	•
2781. Women, girls bought back, no war	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	•
2782. Insult or slight to chief	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	•	•		•	
2783. To avenge witchcraft against group	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	–	+	+	+	+	•		–	
2784. Intratribally, for poisoning of girl by suitor			+	+		–	–				–	•			–	
2785. Poaching	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–		+	
2786. By alien tribe	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–		–	
2787. By another local group of same tribe	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–		–	
2788. No war; merely run off intruders	+		+	+		–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		+	
2789. Stealing stored food	–	–	–	•–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
Participants															
Groups Involved															
˙2790. Autonomous group alone	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	.	721
2791. Autonomous group plus allies	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	·+	+	+	·+	+	−	.	726 ●
Combatants															
2792. All able-bodied men of group	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	·+	−	726
2793. Sometimes only limited number	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	
2794. Some men stay to protect women	(+)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	701
2795. Neighboring groups, tribes asked to give aid	·+	−	+	.	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	
2796. Warriors or neighboring tribes "hired" for war	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Leaders															
o2797. Chief or headman may lead war party	±	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	±	·−	·+	+	+	+	
o2798. Chief goes to war, neutral in battle	−	+	−	−	·+	−	±	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
o2799. Chief stays home	±	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	±	+	+	−	−	−	
o2800. War leader distinct official, not chief	±	±	+	+	+	−	+	−	±	−	+	−	−	−	
2801. Selected by chief	−	+	.	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	
2802. Chosen at popular assembly	+	+	.	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2803. Chosen on basis of competency	·+	+	.	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	−	·+	−	−	−	
2804. Holds office until physically disabled	−	+	.	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	
2805. Appointed for 1 expedition, usually	−	−	.		+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2806. Shaman goes to war	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	.	+	+	+	−	[756]
2807. Occasionally only	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
Preparation															
Prognostication															
2808. Prediction of deaths in war	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	726
2809. By war leader, through dreams	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	
2810. By shaman	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	·+	+	−	−	.	−	−	[787]
2811. Dreams	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2812. Shaman tests contestants	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[756]
2813. If man falls during war dance, sign of death	−	−	+							+	+	.	−	−	
Shamanistic Activities Against Enemy															
2814. Shaman sings all night against enemy, prior to encounter	−	+	+	−	·+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	[756]
2815. "Charms" enemy	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	
2816. "Poisons" enemy	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	
2817. Formulas against enemy	−	·+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2818. Shaman sings during fighting					·−			−	−	.	+	+	+	−	
2819. Shaman sometimes hired to kill enemy; no expedition	+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
Practice Fighting															
˙2820. Combatants practice dodging arrows	+	(+)	.					·+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
2821. Night before fight	+	(+)	.					+	+	+	+	−	−		
2822. In daytime	−	−						−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
War Dance															
2823. War dance of incitement	·−	·+	+	+	+	−	+	·+	+	−	+	−	−	−	[535]

411 went for it. When they got it, they wouldn't give it away." As a consequence, not all men secured deer, "because they needed obsidian-tipped arrows to kill deer." NF: Temper obsidian by heating. Professionals make arrow points.

984. See first 2 figures on left, above.

000 985. See center figure, above. WM: Small, white (quartz?) heads; poisonous variety.

986. See second figure from right, above.

987. See right hand figure, above. WM: Black, red obsidian heads.

990. SW: For boy's arrows only.

994. E.g., whole stem of bush. Mo: Serviceberry. NF: Smoke arrows to prevent them becoming water-soaked. NS: Elder used.

1001. AW: Small stick, used for shooting small bullheads.

1002. MM: Beyond point where foreshaft joins main shaft, 2 thorns from wild plum tree set into arrow, opposite each other and on slant so tips of each slant toward arrow head. When arrow penetrates small game, it stops at these thorns instead of passing through body of squirrel, bird, etc.

1007. MF: Entry should read: 1-3 vanes.

1008. SW: Grouse feathers for ordinary arrows. Chicken hawk also used. Feathers always taken "from a bird that sails in sky."

[278] [411] 1015. Kl: Roast rattlesnake head, rub grease from it on arrow point. Roast deer liver in ashes, add pitch of some variety; thrust arrow point into this. Red ants used fresh, mashed. ● [724] Arrows poisoned for war, not for hunting. NS: Rattlesnake made to bite deer liver.

1019. AW: Chips from block of obsidian inspected by arrowpoint maker, who decides whether or not they are poisonous. Rejects from same block may not be considered poisonous; these arrowmaker gives friends to use. "As he splits pieces off and examines them he says, 'This for grizzly bear, this for coyote, this for big buck, this for war, etc.'; these pieces he keeps." See notes 1178, 1222.

Arrow straighteners and smoothers.--

1020. SE, SW, At, AW, WS, MM: Pumice, large deposits of which were noted in At, AW areas.

1027. WT: Informant shown pictures of 1-piece stone straighteners (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 49); said WT variety resembles these, made of soft stone. See, however, section, Elements Denied By All Informants.

1031. At: If man does not have rock with hole in it, "sometimes he ties 2 rocks together with a piece of sinew, so there will be a hole to run arrow through." WM: Natural; found in river.

Shooting techniques; quivers; clubs, spears.--

1042. At: For shooting with large bow.

[411] [516] 1044. Kl: Stand or kneel to shoot; bow held at 45° angle for either position.

1045. AW: Vertical position generally used. Wailaki, who fought Achomawi, reputed to shoot

[191-B]

ODD 2 arrows simultaneously from bow in war; informant's father authority for this.

1048. MM: For shooting game. For shooting in war, arrow is underneath bow.

1049. SE, SW, At, AW: Rich man uses skin of gray fox, otter; ordinary man uses skin of raccoon, wildcat, kit fox, fawn. WT: Spotted fawnskin. WM: Rich man uses otter, fisher skin; sign of wealth. Ordinary man uses fawn, wildcat skin.

1064. Mo: Purchased or traded for; wealthy persons only.

[411 726 178] 1067. Kl: Denied for pre-white days; "now people use spears." At: Ascribed to Kl; denied for At. AW: "Yana used obsidian knife on an 8-ft. stick."

Daggers, slings, bola; armor.--

1071. AW: Obsidian "butcher knife"; jabbed.

1073a. WT, WM, WS: See 2853 and note.

1078. Mo: Natural clay balls, or moist clay picked up, rolled between hands.

1080. NF, NM: Single rock, shaped, 1 end heavier than other, tied to 1 end of string. A NF relative of informant, who had never seen any specimens of this implement but had heard it described, voluntarily likened it to bola.

714 824 1081. Kl: Made of split serviceberry stalks, woven into form of tunic; tied together on right side, under armpit.

1082. Kl: 1-piece; no sleeves; 2 arm holes; tied together on 1 side and at top, over 1 shoulder. Arrow unable to penetrate such. AE: Ascribed to Kl; said to have been made "like an apron, lacking any back piece."

ODD 1084. AW: String in center, by which to hold shield. Used also against guns, in recent times, but "didn't work."

Household Implements

Mortars and pestles.--

[412] 1085. Among several groups bedrock mortar used chiefly for substances which require hard pounding, such as acorns. AW: Pit mortar in solid rock, used by shaman to pound his poison; regarded as "dangerous." AE: Informant stated pit mortars occur in vicinity of Fall River (AW area); used, according to him, to pound acorns in (see above). MV: No rocky outcrops suitable for this type mortar present in area.

1090. MV: "People did not want to have anything to do with objects which had been already made." See also note 1093.

1091. Mo: Small mortars used to keep paint in. SW: Not only mortar, but small stone pestle of "dangerous" variety (found, not manufactured) used by doctor. When treating patient, shaman sends this pestle upward; it travels by short cut to road which dead traverse, and blocks this road, so dead person cannot travel over it; "then there is a chance for the doctor to cure the person, since the road is blocked." Old

000 [MF group], or Plumas Co. [MM] Indians." NM: This section not discussed with informant. MV: Informant lacked all knowledge of war, declared she had never heard it discussed.

2771. At: "Never fought Aporige [other At group]: partners with them; Aporige helped At fight against Wintun. Also Round Mountain people [N Yana] helped; a Round Mountain man was in charge." AW: Hammawi (AE) raids mentioned by informant; AW retaliated. AE: No fights between small villages referred to collectively by outsiders as Hammawi (see note 2617); there were however feuds between villages "over women and girls, or over a doctor of 1 village poisoning the people of a near-by village." Fights between Hammawi and "Big Valley people [Atwamsini [648] Achomawi] were rare; the Kl and the Shasta fought them. Once in awhile [Hammawi] fought the Fall River people [Achomawi proper]; then they'd pay [in settlement]. The [Hammawi] had relations at Big Valley and Fall River. The Madesi [westernmost group of Achomawi] never came into [Hammawi] territory; only the Big Valley Indians fought them." WT: Fought E Wintu groups occasionally. MM, MF: Fought each other occasionally (see note 2770). NF: See note 2770.

2780. MV: "The only people who stole young girls were White people."

2783. AE: See note 2771.

2789. SW: "Lots of stealing of money and stored food by women; this started fights [but only among the women]. Also fights arose among the women from arguments; then they grabbed each other's hair, and threw dirt in each other's faces. Men didn't steal this way, but women did."

Participants

Groups involved; combatants; leaders.--

2790. For definition of autonomous group, see elements 2617 ff.

2791. At: See note 2771. WT: Villages leagued together and asked Trinity Center and Lewiston Wintu to help them sometimes; former also occasionally called on WT for aid. MM: Sometimes asked At (Hat Creek group) to help in war; never asked MF groups, as on rather unfriendly terms with them.

2792. NF: Women never accompany war party, which is chiefly composed of young men.

[726] [701] [648] 2795. Kl: Often asked Mo to help. Mo informant also emphasized this. Kl did not pay Mo; latter got food, buckskins, other plunder. At: See note 2771. AE: Headman or "chief" of village group, if latter raided, visits headmen of other near-by village groups, discusses matter during "a big smoke." All headmen consulted then meet at winter living house of group which was attacked, and decide what to do. Headmen then tell their men to join them, when matter is settled, and war dance is held at winter house of attacked group; "then they all go off to war.

000 A headman of a single village never collected just his own men and went off to war; he had too small a bunch. Sometimes 3-4 Fall River men [Achomawi proper] would go with the war party."

2796. At: "Hat Creek people gave Round Mountain people pay for helping them fight; gave them beads, arrows, bows" (see note 2771).

2797. WS: No war leader; chief arranges that 40-50 men go to war, from his village, but appoints no leader for group and he himself does not go. MM: Headman (see note 2619).

2798. At: Chief may stop fight, as when At and N Yana fighting Wintu, N Yana chief finally stopped battle, telling contestants, "You'd better let me talk; stop fighting." So the Wintu "quieted down, and stopped and finally paid. But At had killed Wintun man or so by then, and had their scalps."

2802. SW: That is, by fellow fighters.

[726] [701] [533] 2803. Kl: Because he is "a good singer" (?); WT, WM, MM: because he has power to dodge arrows.

Preparation

Prognostication; shamanistic activities; practice fighting; war dance; painting.--

2810. WT: Night before war party leaves, all men who intend to go to war practice fighting by dodging arrows that are shot at them; if a man falls down, it is warning he will be killed in war; shaman doctors such and tells him not to go. "But sometimes such men went anyway, and were killed." This practice was not a dance. No women participated.

[726] [756] 2812. Kl: Before war party sets out, all warriors line up, outside village; each man holds stone-tipped arrow straight in front of him. Shaman walks down line of men with his back to them; each man strikes in turn at shaman's back, below shoulder, with stone-tipped arrow. If man's arrowhead cuts doctor, latter turns quickly and tells man not to go to war, because he is certain to be killed. Sometimes man, thus forewarned, does not go; "sometimes he does, and is always killed if he does so."

2814. At: Shaman sings all night, on war expedition, for his power, so that enemies' bowstrings will break. In early morning warriors rise, and doctor talks to arrows, saying, "Get up, and wash your face"; then war party leaves.

2817. Mo: Shamans hired to make enemy sleepy.

2818. At: During fight shaman stays behind tree, all time, "giving out his power."

2820. Considered in nature of "training" for war. WT: See note 2810.

[726] [535] 2823. Kl: No real war dance; cp. Spier, Klamath, pp. 29-30. Mo: Ho·laklal; of minor importance; "just a little practice, for part of night, to show how active they are going to be, *in war." WT: "Arrow dance"; men, only, build* small fire at night, outside; talk to bows and arrows men who are going to war will take with

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700 them. "They tell their arrows to be good and to try and hold up, not to be weak; just as though talking to person. Do this for hour or so, only."

2824. AE, WT, WS: 2-3 days.

2826. WM: 2-3 nights.

2836. At: In war against Wintu (see note 2770) made effigy of Wintu woman, with willow withes and sunflower leaves, and shot at it. Also man "grabbed wife, pulled her around, boasted that was what he was going to do with Wintun women." In excitement of dance, 1 man also shot his own dog.

2841. NS: If use paint when visiting Miwok, for example, it is used to denote that visit is peaceful and visitors do not want any quarrels; usually use red paint, applied in stripes to face. Also use same for dances; informant did not know whether such used for war.

2844. Chalk used most frequently. Large deposits in At, AW area. SW: White paint preeminently war paint.

2852. NP: Yellowhammer-quill headband, or beaver-fur fillet worn; also feather belts with long "tail" pendant in rear; this attire so fascinated enemy, that latter "forgot to shoot."

2853. WT, WM, WS: Used as dagger, sometimes (cf. Du Bois, Wintu, p. 125).

Procedure

Declaration and manner of fighting; captives; booty and scalps.--

● 726 2855. Kl: In feud arising from seduction of married women, 10-20 men may line up on 2 sides, ready to fight, unless settlement is made by payment.

2856. Kl: War party encircles village; when 2 ends of encircling line come near each other, use owl calls as signal they are near by, and as signal to attack by rushing in upon village.

2858. NP: Young men go first, in attack upon village; older men bring up the rear.

[184] 2859. Kl: See note 2856. My information for Kl runs contra to Spier's (Klamath, p. 29). AE: Use crow calls, not owl calls. All other entries refer to owl calls.

2860. Kl: Use clubs in attack, to hit sleeping victim; if latter jumps up, knock him down. After first attack, use bow and arrows; continue fighting for most of day in village; at night return home.

000 2865. SW: Only in intertribal wars; no prisoners taken in intratribal feuds.

[727] 2866. SE, WM: Captive's arm tied to that of capturer's, on return journey of war party; this denied for Kl, WS; Mo uncertain. No rope ("captive leader") used by Kl, Mo, SE, WT, WM, WS. WS: Young women and married women whose husbands had been killed during fighting.

2869. WT: Keep woman or child captive for about month; then hold dance, and shoot her with

[211-A]

K
M draws upland Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute and gives to the
226 nearby settlement, the easternmost of the permanent villages of
103 the Klamath, the name, "Sucker-fishery." Others make their way
498 to stone weirs, built, it is said, by Gmukamps himself, or to the
K M lakes to fish with a variety of dip nets, gill net baskets, the two-
226 pronged harpoon and the multibarbed spear. At night, men set
forth in canoes upon the lake to fish by torchlight. Set lines are
K put out infrequently. While the men catch the fish—suckers,
M [251] salmon, and trout—their wives work ceaselessly, splitting them
and laying them in the sun to dry.

K Released from the protracted confinement to the winter settle-
M ments, tribesmen eagerly renew bonds with relatives and friends
221 from other villages. Related families may rendezvous to travel
222 together down to the fisheries and set up their lodges side by
[571] side. Then, as spring advances and the runs of suckers and
[602] salmon abate, the fishing settlements break up and parties of
[226] two or three families fan out along the flats and meadows to dig
[103] roots: the succulent camas, the nutlike ipos, yans, and the arrow-
root for which Chewaucan Marsh is named. In the watery flats
they seek the roots of tule and cattail; elsewhere they pick wild
K celery and mosses. There are the eggs of swan and other water-
M fowl to gather; trout in the streams to be caught; and for the
22 Modoc, antelope and mountain sheep to hunt. At this time, some
[361] areas are occupied that at other times are too cold or barren.

K If there is danger of hostile attack, the parties coalesce; and
M 22 under all circumstances they maintain a wary lookout. In the
• 226 north small bands make cautious excursions into the upper valley
of the Deschutes, watchful for raiding parties of Cayuse, Nez
K Percés, Warm Springs, and Paiute. Toward the east, Sycan and
M Chewaucan marshes are dug over by Klamath and Paiute. Fré-
222 mont once found the latter tract furrowed as if it had been
252 plowed. In many places the stone-lined earth ovens in which
camas and other vegetal foods were baked for winter storage
can still be seen.

K
M As the long summer days wear on, the pond-lily seeds, known
221 *as wokas, begin to ripen on the marshes,* and once more the
222 people draw together. The Modoc congregate especially along
648 Tule and Lower Klamath Lake, while some join the Klamath
on Wokas Marsh. Many Klamath, together with a few Modoc

to say nothing of captured women from Shasta, the Achumawi K M
and Atsugewi of the Pit River region, Paiute, and the tribes 621
beyond the Cascades. Among the Modoc, the villages of the band 582
called *gumbatwas* are said to be composite in membership, including 563
Modoc, Klamath, Pit River, and Shasta; and those of the
Upland Klamath consist of Klamath with some Modoc and
Paiute elements.[17]

Allegiance with the village may be partial. If an attack is to K M
be launched, war leaders can find recruits only among those men 621
with proclivity for fighting and an attraction toward the leader. 628
On the other hand, feuds may ignite attacks that are restricted 581
to the family groups concerned. While the myths reveal currents 701
of hostility between affinals, in real life marriage acts to extend
the ramifications of support, often into other communities.

Beyond the village lies the tribelet, an entity that recognizes its K M
being in a territorial name and in a common cause in feuds with 619
other tribelets. In its virtual autonomy this unit marks an extreme K
in band organization within the larger tribe, a quality that was 619
reduced by subsequent tribal integration. For the Klamath there
are six tribelets (see map): (1) The Klamath Marsh people,
who outnumber all the others together; (2) the tiny Agency
Lake group; (3) those of the lower Williamson River; (4) the
Pelican Bay tribelet; (5) the Klamath Falls group; and (6) the
Upland Klamath of the Sprague River valley. The Modoc comprise M
three main groups: (7) that of Lower Klamath Lake, extending 619
to Tule Lake (the *gumbatwas* mentioned above); (8)
those clustered upon the lower Lost River; and (9) the eastern
tribelet, with settlements dispersed as far as Goose Lake. No K
firm evidence exists that these local territorial units are distinguished M
by either language or culture, although, as already 619 726
mentioned, at least two are of composite origin. Each tribelet
seems to have gained a tenuous cohesion through a common
recognition of the worth of several prominent headmen. Between K
tribelets there is sometimes war. Under their formidable leader, 619
Kokdinks, the Williamson River group attacked in turn villages 726
of each of the other lower Klamath tribelets, including that at
Pelican Bay, to which they considered themselves related; and
the prolonged war ended only when the Upland Klamath leader,
Monchnkasgitk, a kinsman, first joined, then slew Kokdinks.[18]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

TWO

[P. 22]

The Frontier Condition

726 FOR MANY YEARS THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WILLAMETTE AND COLUMBIA
648 valleys bypassed the tribes of the Klamath Basin.[1] Indirectly,
175 however, they felt the first remote influences, as the
Sahaptin-speaking tribes of the middle Columbia, equipped with
the superior weapons of the trading posts and mounted on horses
acquired from the Shoshonean bands to the south, began to raid
up the Deschutes Valley to take Klamath slaves.[2] The Klamath
[231] were at a disadvantage: in 1826 Peter Skene Ogden, of the
Hudson's Bay Company, found them with but a single horse
[411] and uneasily awaiting raids by joint parties of Cayuse and Nez
Percés; and even by midcentury they had only one firearm
among them.[3] The scantiness of the local beaver made their
territory of little interest to the company, however, and they came
to enjoy a reputation as fierce warriors which preserved them
[101] for some time from settlers. Nonetheless, they were known even
then to the tribes of the Columbia, for Ogden applied to them
a name, "Clammite," that was not their own and seems to stem
from Chinookan.[4]

648 Some ten years after Ogden passed through, a party of French-Canadian
175 trappers made their way into the region and on their
return to The Dalles took along some Klamath.[5] From that time
on, contact with the tribes at that great Indian trading center increased.
Klamath parties moved down the Deschutes Valley,
making their way either to The Dalles itself, or branching westward
down the north fork of the Santiam along what came to
be known as the Klamath Trail, through the settlement of the
northern Molala, thence to the Kalapuya on the outskirts of
648 Oregon City. There, in 1843, one missionary recorded the visit
567 of "a large party of the Clamath tribe, fierce and warlike . . .
439 with about twenty slaves, [who] sold most or all of them. Some,
435 I was informed, were sold for three horses each,
175 some cheaper."[6]

I was informed were sold for three horses each, some cheaper."[6] 000

In the changing conditions of the early nineteenth century, K
the Klamath were caught up in currents generated from without. 175
The advent of horses and of firearms made it possible for the 177
tribes of the east-central Plateau, the eastern Salish and eastern 648
Sahaptin, to cross the Rocky Mountains, to hunt buffalo and [231]
enter into relations, both peaceful and bellicose, with the tribes [411]
of the Plains. As they came under Plains influence, the appeal K
of Plains garb, of parfleches and tipis, grew.[7] The Klamath were [291]
attracted to these new goods, and the clothing at least came to [556]
replace or supplement traditional forms of wealth.

Moreover, the horse and the gun had revolutionized warfare K M
patterns. Although traditional enemies beyond the Cascades 175
were preoccupied with white settlers, on the east the Paiute were 177
gradually developing mounted bands of great mobility and 726
striking power. The Klamath and Modoc were not slow to seek 231
the new instruments of war. 411

The opening trade to the north brought a corresponding K M
intensification of the raids carried south into the territory of the 175
Pit River tribes—the Achumawi and Atsugewi—to capture women 177
and children, Pit River bows, and other loot. As Chiloquin, one 721
of the leaders of the time, recalled:

> When the Snakes [Northern Paiute] made war on us that made us keen to fight other Indians and we made war without provocation on the Pitt Rivers, Shastas and Rogue Rivers, but they never made willing war on us. Those wars lasted a great many years. We found we could make money by war, for we sold the provisions and property captured for horses and other things we needed. It was like soldiers nowadays who fight for money. We made war because we made money by it and we rather got to like it anyhow. The Snakes provoked us to make war on them.[8]

With developing warfare and the accumulation of foreign K M
wealth came a gradual transformation of Klamath, and to a 175
lesser extent, of Modoc society. The forays into hostile country 178
enlarged the scale of the war party. Chiloquin speaks of a body 726
totaling one hundred warriors, which included, according to Spier,
members of all the Klamath tribelets, and took in some Modoc as
well.[9] A joint raid on the part of Umpqua, Upland Takelma, and
other western tribes brought one such retaliatory reprisal about

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K

M
175 1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-
178 scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes.
726 The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging
K M scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty,
175 brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of
726 which based their power upon eminence in war and possession
182 of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers,
622 and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times
565 to cement alliances with shamans.

556 Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean
756 weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power
[754] was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of
us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain
persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would
die."[11]

K The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties.
M 175 A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-
178 bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader
622 increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers
619 from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country.
628 As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance ren-
726 dered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment
of worth.

K In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary
622 principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his
175 father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother
as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill,
a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David,
later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain
George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not
essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks,
K [828 of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite
833] in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the
power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

K A minor factor in these developments may have been the
195 interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in
643 order that they might deal more effectively with responsible
648 leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs
177 met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

[Klamath Reservation]

By the terms of the treaty concluded with Huntington, the 657*
United States had established the right to bring other tribes not 648*
signatory upon the reservation. This clause was invoked in 1865, when a treaty was concluded with Panaina, elusive chief of the Walpapi Snakes, who had withdrawn from participation in the original treaty. Place was accordingly made for him on the Upper End in Monchnkasgitk's territory,[4] where he and his followers remained until the following spring, when they left, apparently upon the summons of the hostile Snake chief, Howlark.[5] Soon the Walpapi returned, with an attack—vigorously repulsed—upon Schonchin's band, then summering in the Sprague River Valley.

The fear of raids drove the Uplanders in to take up residence at the council ground near the Agency. In the hostilities that
followed, Fort Klamath served as a base of military operations [726] •
and a small body of Klamath under subchief Henry Blow functioned as scouts. At the end of the war, when peace had been restored and the arrival of annuities attested the good faith of the government, Schonchin and his followers came upon the Lower End and located near Modoc Point, adjacent to their former neighbors, the Klamath Falls tribelet.

Thrust together, bands, tribes, and their leaders attempted to 657*
adjust their political balance. In the first days, before the Agent 648*
moved upon the reservation, his major contact with his charges 622
was through the military at Fort Klamath. Drawing upon the enhanced prestige of government backing and in the absence of the Agent, Lileks grew imperious. Applegate found it necessary to write Major Rinehart in 1865:

> I learned after seeing you that LaLakes had in his prison house on Williams' [sic] River on the day of our conference with 'Taunina' several Indians bound hand and foot for unruley and disorderly conduct, and I should be happy if you would inquire into the matter and see that indians thus confined are not inhumanly treated.
>
> Lalakes [he continued] seems to have commended a policy rather more regal than usual for him, and has constructed a "guardhouse" in which to bring his subjects to a better state of discipline, and I believe the plan a good one unless carried to an extreme.[6]

Within less than a year, Lileks had fallen ill. Feeling that his

[Klamath Reservation]

gate marshaled together 34 at Yainax, including Monchnkasgitk—again given the title of chief—and many of his Upland band, a number of Schonchin's Modoc, 1 Pit River, and 1 Snake. Soon thereafter, under the militia law of the state, Applegate was authorized to enlist a company of volunteers. The muster rolls of his company bear a total of 69 names, among them those of 28 Indians, apparently exclusive of Hill's scouts.[35] Despite the fact that when they enlisted there had been a distinct understanding that they were to serve only as a home guard, they soon were ordered to the front.

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As Capt. Oliver Applegate found, the Lower End Klamath were reluctant to go. Schonchin took the position that Jack's men and the soldiers were both bad, and proposed sensibly to let them fight it out while his men guarded the reservation. Indeed, Lindsay Applegate experienced equal difficulty in raising volunteers among the settlers at Ashland, noting in explanation that, ". . . the nervs of the people aperse to Be shokt."[36]

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Although they performed well, the reservation volunteers were something less than fierce warriors in a conflict that was not their own. Oliver Applegate, to be sure, reports that his men were eager to scalp one wounded Modoc and that on another occasion they were reluctant to withdraw from a skirmish.[37] Surely, they were no strangers to internecine warfare among the bands, infrequent though that had been. Fundamentally, however, this was a white man's war, for which they could muster no great zeal.

The hostile Modoc, though irked at the readiness of the volunteers to take the field, exercised a like restraint. When they captured two Klamath, they made them perform war dances in traditional manner, but did not otherwise mistreat them.[38] One Klamath was hit during the fighting, being saved from injury by a "heavy buckskin coat"—perhaps an elkskin cuirass. It may be that he was singled out, for as a guard at Yainax he had earlier fired upon some infiltrating Modoc.[39]

In the first frontal assault on the Lava Beds, it is remembered today that the Klamath called over to the Modoc and reached an agreement that they would not shoot at each other. Soon thereafter the Klamath were replaced by a party of Warm Springs scouts under Donald McKay, and the Oregon Volunteers

• 726 were mustered out of service. Subsequently, when Jack and his
M 657 followers slew the Peace Commissioners, Oliver Applegate re-
648 ported that the reservation Indians were ready to take the war-
726 path against them in revenge, but they were not called upon.[40]

K In the end, the Modoc were defeated and the leaders tried at
*657 Fort Klamath. During the hearing, they attempted to implicate
*648 728 the Klamath, with claims that Link River Jack had cached
M ammunition for them and that Schonchin—"the noblest Roman
657 of them all!" exploded Oliver Applegate indignantly—had brought
648 them a message from Allen David promising aid if they would
728 hold out a little longer. The countercharges proved misdirected
as defense; and in the presence of the reservation Indians and
other spectators the leaders of the hostiles were hanged or committed to Alcatraz; and the remainder, 153 in number, were shipped off to Fort Quapaw, Indian Territory.[41]

K With the end of the war, the reservation became in effect a
*657 closed political system. The only exception was Ocheho's band
*648 of Paiute, which alternated between the reservation and their
M 657 Warner Valley homeland until 1876, when the major part of
648 them remained off the reservation for good. Meanwhile, with no
K salary forthcoming to offset the heavy financial burdens of his
[643] office, Allen David resigned, and Henry Blow was elected in his
stead.[42]

K The statement made in 1877 by Dave Hill gives a fair idea
*657 of the chiefs of the time and contrasts the hierarchy at the
*648 Agency with the comparatively open order at Yainax.

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> We Lake People live here thus: Blow is chief of all, and I,
> M Dave Hill, am chief second to Blow, Long John after Dave,
> 657 then too Link River Jack after Long John, and Lilu. Pit River
> 648 Charley is chief of the Pit River people at the Lake. Ben and
> 622 Littlejohn are the chiefs, and Schonchin is chief of the Yainax
> people. Johnson is chief of the Modoc at Yainax. George Kuati-
> 643 lak also is Modoc chief after Johnson. Chocktoot is chief of the
> Paiute.[43]

Gatschet's list for the same year, which includes the adherents
K for each leader, differs somewhat from that of Hill. At the Lower
[162] End, the chiefs, all Klamath, and the number of their followers
M were: Blow, head chief (122), Hill (225), Long John (103),
[162] Link River Jack (92), and Lilu (23). At Yainax, the Modoc bands

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

the Klamath. These mats may be made with both warp and weft of tule in plain twining, though the best mats are made with nettle-string weft.

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Tule is also used in making one form of quiver, such as that shown in pl. 20, fig. 1. It is said that these tule quivers were used chiefly by people of moderate means, the more well-to-do class having quivers made of skin. Tule caps such as that shown in pl. 17, fig. 6, were worn by the men. For summer wear moccasins of buckskin, such as that shown in pl. 17, fig. 5, were always used, but for winter wear moccasins of tule (pl. 17, figs. 2, 4, and pl. 19, fig. 2) were employed. A layer of dry grass was placed in the bottom to make them warm, and it is said that one might in the dead of winter walk with comparative comfort through marshes where the water is extremely cold. With these tule moccasins are worn tule leggings, such as that shown in pl. 17, fig. 3. Another form of footwear is the circular snow-shoe of wood and rawhide (pl. 17, fig. 1). A similarly shaped but somewhat smaller shoe is worn in wading about in the mud of the marshes. The women also wore a cape or, more properly speaking, a blanket, made of shredded tule or of sage-brush bark, or of a combination of the two. Where the wokas grows close in shore, and where the water is shallow and other conditions such as a moderately hard bottom are favorable, the women often drag about canoe-shaped baskets or rafts, as they might be called (pl. 19, fig. 3), into which the wokas is gathered. The weight of the wokas of course sinks the basket down partially below the surface of the water, but it always manages to keep sufficiently above water to prevent the wokas from floating away.

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Another special implement used in harvesting the water-lily is the spoon-shaped basket shown in pl. 13, fig. 2.[13] After the dehiscence of the pods of the water-lily the seeds with their coating form a mucilaginous mass which floats on the surface of the water. This mass is scooped up with the spoon and placed in a basket in the canoe. These seeds, called spŏ'kwas, are kept in water until used, since they lose their flavor if allowed to dry.

Another use for tule is in the making of rafts. While the dug-out canoe above described was the chief means of traveling from

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[13] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

M K 501 [726] place to place, a tule raft was sometimes used, particularly by war parties. Several large bundles of tule, sometimes two feet in diameter and eight or ten, or even fifteen feet in length, were lashed together to form a raft. It is said to have been propelled by lying down along the edges and really swimming the raft by dipping the hands into the water with a motion similar to that used in paddling.

M K 285 415 [262] One of the most characteristic features of the culture of the region is the flat triangular platter made of tule and used for serving food, particularly broiled or otherwise cooked fish and roasted meat. Such trays are shown in pl. 13, figs. 1, 4, 6, and vary greatly in size. Circular baskets of coarse tule, such as that in fig. 3 of the same plate, are more rarely found. Occasionally they are bound about the rim with a hoop. More or less flat trays of several other forms are also used. One such tray is shown in fig. 5 of the same plate.

M K 285 415 222 Though not used at the present time, a tule sack was formerly made for the transportation and storage of wokas. This sack was made of unsplit tule, but was of sufficiently close weave to prevent the wokas from running through. These sacks were sometimes made so large that when filled with the wokas seed, which is comparatively light in weight, they were so heavy that a man of ordinary strength, or a woman, would not attempt to carry more than one at a time.

M K 285 [171] There are several forms of rigid baskets made with willow or other sticks, particularly the conical burden basket (pl. 16, fig. 3) which was used largely in gathering foods such as wild plums; and the flat, more or less triangular, openwork basket with a handle (pl. 16, figs. 1 and 2),[13] used as a sieve and as a grater as well as a general receptacle. In the loop handle this basket differs from most of those of similar form found in various parts of California. It is used for sifting the wokas after drying, the seeds passing through the interstices of the basket, and separating from the larger fragments of the pods. Also camass, ipos, and other roots and tubers are rubbed on this basket in order to grate off or scrape off the skin of the tuber. In addition to being made of round willow stems, these baskets are also made of the split roots

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[13] See also Coville, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

648 Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation,
by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically,
less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
[657] efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities
were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
[786] 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
[181] Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
[556] wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased
opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members,
[434] as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited
[651] bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

175 Alexander S. Taylor has the following passage in his "California
622 Farmer" of June 22, 1860: "Cumtukus, Lalacks, Schonches, and Tertupkark are names of chiefs among Klamath Lake Indians of the Oukskenah tribe. The big Klamath Lake is called Toakwa." Except the first, the above head-men were all identified in the Dictionary with the well-known names of Lelékash, Skóntchish (a Modoc chief) and Tatápkaksh. Cumtukni, who died about 1866, is mentioned by Stephen Powers as a great orator, prophet, and rain-maker.[†]

175 Whether the two incursions made upon the Klamath Lake people by
648 the Rogue River Indians of Tinné lineage, across the Cascade range, of
● 726 which detailed accounts were furnished in our Texts by Dave Hill, took place about 1855 or earlier I have not the means of ascertaining. The Lake tribe were not slow in inflicting vengeance upon the attacking party, for they crossed the mountain pass and fell upon the camps of their enemies, making sad havoc among them.

Frequent disputes and encounters occurred between the two chieftaincies and the *Shasti Indians* around Yreka, California; but the warlike qualities of the latter were often too strong for the aggressors, and the conflicts were not very bloody.[†] With the Pit River or Móatwash tribe the matter was different. They were not, like the Shasti, possessed of the warrior spirit, and therefore had to suffer terribly from the annual raids perpetrated upon them. In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place at The Dalles. Some of these raids were provoked by horse-stealing, others by greed for gain and plunder, and the aggressors never suffered heavily thereby. When they began is not known, but the treaty of 1864
000 put an end to them. The recitals in the Texts, pages 19–27 and 54, 55,

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[*] Overland Monthly, 1873, June number, page 540. His appearance had something fascinating for the Indians, and some are said to have traveled two hundred miles to consult him. His name appears to be Kúmétakni="coming from a cave," or "living in a cave."

[†] One of these fights took place between the Shasti, Modoc, and Trinity River Indians for the possession o an obsidian quarry north of Shasta Butte, mentioned by B. B. Redding in American Naturalist, XIII, p. 668, et seq., and Archiv f. Anthropologie, XIV, p. 425.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

É-ukshkni shéllual Walamskí'shash.

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FIGHTS BETWEEN KLAMATH LAKE AND ROGUE RIVER INDIANS.

Given by Wawáliks, or Dave Hill, Subchief, in the Klamath Lake Dialect.

Lap'ní' sha shéllual Walamskí'sas É-ushkni. Tíná sha luluágsla
Twice they fought the Rogue Rivers the Lake tribe. One time they enslaved

tû'm, tínatoks a k̲á-i luluágsla, puedsä'mpēli sa hû'nk.
many, but the second time not they made slaves, put to flight they.

Títná É-ukskni ktaklí'sh géna Wálamsi; tsúi släá tû'ma tchí'pksh.
The first time the Lake tribe arrayed for war went to Rogue River Valley and found many encamped.

Tsúi gakiámna tchí'sh (ní'shtāk gákiamna), tsúi ní'lka, tsúi Wálamskni
Then they surrounded the lodges (the same night they surrounded) then it dawned, and the Rogue Rivers

papátkal shûshû'dshapēlish. Tchúi É-ukskni shuí'lpka, tsúi tí'ntkal sa,
rose from sleep (and) built their fires again. Then the Lake men laid themselves on the ground, then started up they

yō'ta sha, tchúi ngä'-isa tû'm Walamskí'shash, lák̲iash a sí'ûga; "Taktákli"
shot they, and wounded many Rogue River Indians (and) the chief killed "The Red"

tchí'huk sä'satk Wálamskni lak̲í. Tsúi sa nelí'na lák̲ias hû'nk, nánχatch
as was called the Rogue River chief. Then they scalped chief the some others

sha nelí'na; tû'm tánkt hushtchók̲a sa, lúluagsla tû'm wéwanuish ndénd-
they scalped a good many killed they, made slaves of many women chil-

gan's tchí'sh. Tsúi gépgap'l É-ukskni, tsúi gatpampēlí sa; tsúi sûkû'lki
dren also. Then withdrew the Lake men and home went they, afterwards they assembled

yákanuapkuk lák hû'nk, tsúi sa yä'ka, tsúi sa wálas tsí's täwá lák ipmā'-
for dancing over the scalps and they sang and danced and they a pole also set up the sticking on scalps

tsank, tátχēlam tálaag tû'shtoks gakí'ma sá-atchûk. Túnepni sá-atsa
its top, in the midst just of the place where they moved in a circle scalp-dancing. Five (nights) scalp-danced

sa ní'shta, gä'tak hû'nk sa lû'luags wä'k shnû'shnĕχank shnikshû'lχa
they all night finally them they slaves by the arms seizing forced to dance

lóloks wiggáta
fire close by.

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Titná lû'ks t'shí'n spû'ntpisham; tsúyuk gúikaka gä'mpēle. Tsúyuk
Some (other) time a slave grew up in the power of his abductors, then escaped (and) returned. Then he

sapíya gatpámpalank, tsúi sas hû'k ä'pka sayuáktant hû'k käíla gíug.
made disclosures after getting home, and (his tribe) that man brought well acquainted this with country being.

Tsúi gátpa tumí' mák̲laks Mbû'saks=sáwals tsiäls-hä'mi, tsúi gákua K̲óke,
And arrived many Rogue Rivers to the "Obsidian-Place" at salmon-time and they crossed Williamson River,

tsúi gákiamna látchas. K̲ä'gi híhassuaks tánkt; géna sa nánuk Ă'-uksi
and surrounded the lodges. There were no warriors (there) that time had gone all of them to Klamath Marsh

*539 173 726 gēlédanktsuk Yámakisas. Tapí'ta sha gátpa Wálamskni tchí'shtat. Tsúi
to bid welcome to Des Chutes River Indians. Afterwards (they) came the Rogue Rivers to the camps. Then
nē'lka: tsúi sa gû'lkí, at sa senótank. Tánkt hushtsók̲a; tû'nipni hak
it dawned, then they attacked, now they fought. That time they killed (some): five only
mák̲lēka Ní'lakskní tánkt, tsûi hû'k sa senótank kpû'tsampēli sas kiklō's
were encamped men from Nilakshi that time, and these they fought, put to flight them in their war-fury
hû'k tû'nepni. K̲á-i hû'nk vû'sa tumá mák̲laks kakaknólatk gíug.
these five men. Not they feared many Indian (foes) elbakin-enraged being.

Tsúi gátpampēli nánuk E-ukskní' hûk, at sa haítsna Walamskí'sas.
After this returned the whole Lake tribe, now they pursued the Rogue Rivers.
Tsúi sa sláá hû'nk tû'nipnis híhassuaksas, tsúi sa wû'la hû'nkiast tû'nipäns,
And they met those five men, and they asked those five men,
kát hûk tánkt mák̲'lēχa: "tatátuk mák̲laks gátpa?" Tsúi huk sä'gsa nû
who there that time had encamped whereto the Rogue Rivers had gone? And replied I:
"k̲á-i ní vû'ssa; shawígank gäká ní mû'msh tumí'." Tchúi ní ná-ash gí sa-
"not I am afraid; in my fury start out I (even against) a large number." Then I so spoke to
walinä ash gé-u: "gäkán a nā't! û'tch nā'lsh hushtchō'k̲tgí! gekuánapka
fellow-fighters mine: "will start out we! never mind! us they may kill. I will proceed
kaní!" A nā't gä'ka, at nā'lsh sha ngé-isha, tsúi nát shawí'ga ká-a,
outside (our camp)." And we proceeded, now us they wounded, and we became furious very,
tsúi nát kpû'dsa hû'nkiash Walamskí'shash.
and we drove back these Rogue Rivers.

Tsúi vûssá nā'lsh, k̲ok̲ä'tat gewá sa, udodámkua sa; tsúi sa sä'ksa
Thereupon they took fright at us, into the river leaped they, swam over they; and they reported
ná-ast hû'ksa tû'nepní. Tsúi É-ukskni ná-asht gí: "haítsnat sas pä'n,
thus (to us) these five men. Then the Lake men thus said: "pursue ye them once more,
hushtchók̲tat haítsnank." Tsúi sa penō'dsa, tsúi nánka gaggiába penō'-
kill ye (them) pursuing." And they pursued, and some hid themselves before the
dsasam, tiä'mishtka tsúi nánka hátkak tsók̲a, nánka toks gä'mpēle. Ngeísätk
pursuers, by starvation then some right there perished, some however returned home. Wounded
hû'nk sa shléshla tsók̲apks tcha.
(ones) they found dead ones also.

Tchíssa Walamskísh séllual títná a. K̲á-i sa tuá síúka E-ukskí'sas,
In this manner (they) the Rogue Rivers made warfare at one time. Not they any killed Lake men,
727 tánkakak siúka wewalä'ksas k'mutchápkas tchí'sh. At gä'tak ní sáyuakta,
only a few (they) killed old women old men too. That is all I know
hû'masht sä'llual Ä'-ukskní Walamskí'shash; k̲á-i tatá lû'luagsla Ä'-ukskí'-
how fought the Lake tribe against the Rogue Rivers; never they made slaves of the Lake
shash wuiní'χiank sellólok nánukash-käílakni, É-ukskní pí'la lû'luagsla
tribe conquering by war those from tribes all-around; the Lake men alone enslaved
nánukash-kí'sas gä'nta käílatat, k̲á-i tatá yuyálks-sitk sû'ta mák̲laks
all surrounding Indians in this country, never sorry-alike rendered the Indians
Ä-ukskí'sas.
the Lake tribe.

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Sá-adas	tsí's	Moatuásas	tsí's	ûdúyua,	Sastiásh	tsís	Walamskí'sh tsís
The Snakes	too,	the Pit Rivers	too	(they) whipped	the Shastis	too,	the Rogue Rivers too,

Mókeash	tsí's	ûdúyua	Ă'-ukskni.	Wäitängí'sham	tsí's	tí'tatna	tĕméska
the Kalapuyas	too	whipped	the Lake tribe.	From the Warm Spring Indians	also	at various times	took away

wáts	É-ushkni.
horses	the Lake men.

NOTES.

[124] 16. Dave Hill took part himself in one of these skirmishes. His historical accounts are all given in the conversational style, which almost throughout substitutes the simple *s* for *sh*. I have not been able to determine the exact dates of these Rogue River raids; but they must have occurred before the end of 1855, when the Oregon war broke out, for after its termination most of the Rogue River Indians were removed from their old homes to the coast reservations of Northwestern Oregon. The raids occurred in the early youth of Dave Hill, who was born about 1840; so they may be placed between the years 1848 and 1855.
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16, 2. tínatoks forms antithesis to tína of the preceding clause. The literal meaning of both is: "one time ..... the other time."

16, 3. Wálamsl. The suffix -i, -í, is the adverbial particle hí, and forms a *locative case*, mainly found in local and topographical terms, as in Yámsi, Kakágosi, Ktaíwashi; also in a few generic nouns designating localities, encampments, mountains, etc.

16, 5. shúshú'dshapĕllsh. The suffixed -sh is the pronoun sha, *they*, and in this suffixed form also appears as -tch, -s. This verb stands in the distributive form; shúdshapĕll, to rebuild a fire, being the absolute form.

16, 7. nánʒatch, for nánʒa tchish, "others also".

16, 10. yákauuapkuk, verbal causative of the future of yákna. The forms yä'kna, yä'ka, yékna, yéka, are preferable to yákna, yáka.

[727] 16, 11. sá-atsa. It is a common custom among western, and some eastern, wild tribes to force their captives to dance in honor of the victory gained over their own tribe. This is done especially during the scalp-dances.

16, 14. Titná lû'ks, etc. Here begins the account of a raid made by the Rogue River Indians upon the Klamath Lake settlements. It may have occurred one year after the raid previously narrated.

16, 15. sapíya, etc. After escaping, he informed his own countrymen of all the local conditions of the Klamath Lake people and their country, and used all his topographical knowledge in guiding their warriors to the attack.

17, 1 and 2. Tsúi nĕ'lka. Indians and uncivilized races in all portions of the world begin their raids upon the enemy before dawn, or at the earliest appearance of daylight.

17, 9. gäkán and gekuánapka, inflectional metathesis for gäkná and gekánuapka.

17, 14. hushtchŏ'ktat for hushtchŏ'kat ăt, ăt (*ye*) being repeated twice.

17, 16. tsókapks tcha is a contraction from tsokápkash tchí'sh a.

17, 17. Tchíssa, for tchí sha: thus they.

17, 20. sellólok: synizesis of the longer form shĕllualuk, shelluálúgn: through fighting.

17, 21. yuyálks=sitk, abbreviated from yuyálkish=shítko, looking like persons mourning over their lost companions, or made sorrowful by bondage to Indians of a foreign tribe.

É-ukskni séllual Moatuáshash.

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PIT RIVER INDIANS RAIDED BY KLAMATH LAKE WARRIORS.

Given by Dave Hill in the Klamath Lake Dialect.

E-ukskni títatna séllual Sástias; tsúsaak toks séllual, tû'm hû'shtchoχ
The Lake men not often warred against the Shasti; continually however fought, (and) many killed
Móatuashash. Ä'-ukskni lû'luagslats tû'm nánuk skō'-hs. Ká-i hû'k
Pit River men. The Lake men enslaved also many every spring-time. Not (are) they
kí'llitk, ká-a wō'sēs shläō'tak Ä-ukskí'sas tí'nsna, ká-itat sa nellī'nat
bellicose, very despondent at the mere sight of Lake men they ran away, never they scalped
hû'stchok-huya hak sa; tû'm tát sa hustsóka Móatuash. Ká-itata sí'ukat
killed only they; many then they killed Pit River men. Never massacred
Ä-ukskísas Móatuash.
the Lake men the Pit Rivers.

Wawáliks lupí' shéllual Moatuáshash.

DAVE HILL'S FIRST FIGHT WITH THE PIT RIVER INDIANS.

Kitchkánin tánkt nû géna sikēnitgí'k pí'la úyamnatk. Tsúi nād
Being a boy I that time I went a small pistol only carrying. And we
É-ukskni gelō'la pá-uk Kokáksaakshi, nā'sh nā'ds Bóshtin tû'la. Tsúi
Lake men dismounted for repast at Little River, one with us American (coming). Then
hishtchákta hátakt; wáts mbá-uta na-ä'nam; sawíka híshuaksh hunkánti
they had a contest there; (one man's) horse was wounded by another (man); became angry the man thereat
wátch m'na mbá-utisht, tsúi hushtópakta sha lólokagish: tchí sha hátokt
horse his having been shot, and pulled out they (their) guns: so they there
gelō'lank shewátχastka. Tsúi géna, tû' pē'n máklēχa sha, tsúi sa mbû'-
dismounted about noon-time. Then traveled, far again camped they, then they in the
sant géna pä'n, tsúi sa mák'lēχa Wû'ksalks, tsúi sa pä'n géna mbû'sant,
morning travelled again, and they camped at Wóksa-Place, then they again went on next morning.
tsúi pä'n sa mák'lēχa Tiûnō'lsh; gítaks p'laíkishtka sáppäsh. Tsúi sa
and again they encamped at Tiunólsh; then (was) near culmination point the sun. And they
kákta, tsúi sa mû'lua lí'tχi, tsúi sa psín géna, ní'shta sha géna
held siesta, then they made ready in the evening, and they at night travelled, all night they went on
tûkláktsnank.
stopping at intervals.

Tsúi mbû'sant shläá Móatuashash tchī'pksh, tsúi gû'lki nād, tchúi
And next morning we saw the Pit Rivers encamped, and attacked we, and
tí'nsna Móatuash, vussō'k sas tillí'ndsa wéwanuish; tsúi sa lû'luagsla.
ran away the Pit Rivers, frightened them they abandoned (their) women; then they (them) made slaves.

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Nā'sh ní lû'gsla snawä'ds. Shlä'popkan hátakt shänótanksht ndánni
One I captured female. Noticed I there engaged in fighting three
híhassuaksh Móatuash; É-ukskni toks lápik. Tsúi wigábäní shenótank-
men Pit Rivers; Lake men but two were. And a short while skirmished
húya shash, tsúi kä'ktsna sha, tsúi hō'pelitsnank ámbutat géna; k̲ú-idsi
with them, then fled they, and dodging missiles into the water went; impracticable
ámbu hátakt híuhiuatk. Tsúi nísh ká-a kä'dshíka, tsúi ní kakí'dsapēle, at
the water there giving way. And me greatly it fatigued, and I went by turns,
tchúi k̲ēlē'wi; tû' géna Móatuash k̲'läwísham at. Tsúi É-ukskni gä'pgapēli
then I made halt; away went the Pit Rivers when (shooting) had ceased. Then the Lake men returned
kábhiank tchípkash wéwanuish, tsúi sa shläá yástat lí'ukaipksh. Tsúi sa
looking out for the assembled women, and they found (them) in the willows crowded. And they
shuû'shnχa, nû'ts nāsh shnû'ka, tsúi gepgápēli É-ukskni k̲á-i shash tuá
seized them, I also one took, then withdrew the Lake men and of them none
shlít, Móatuashash pí'la sa síûga tánkak.
was shot Pit Rivers only they killed a few.

Nāsh sē'gsa tánkt É-ukskni sûkō'lkipäluk. Tsúi Tiunō'leshtat mák̲'lak-
All of us ordered then the Lake men to reassemble. Then at Tiunolsh they camped
pēle, tsúi sa pä'n shnikshō'lχa lû'luags hátakt mak̲lakskaáksi. Tsúi
again, and they also made dance each slave there before the Indians. And
gépgapēli sha mbúsant, tsúi sha Móatak mák̲lakpēle, tsúi hátokt mak̲laks-
went away they next day, and they at Modoc Lake encamped, and just there Indians
ksáksi gûkí'kak lúluags. K̲á-i sa hû'nk haítchant; unák tā'ds mû'luapēle
(away from) ran away captives. Not they them pursued; early however got ready again.
Tsúi sa guhuáshktcha, tsúi sa gelō'la K̲ok̲ä'ksaks; tsúi sa sakatpampēlé-
And they started out, and they dismounted at Little River; then they wanted to perform
astka gi: "Kálăm málăm tídsí' wáts gi, hû'k ăt lupí' gátpampēli-uapk!
a race: "To whom of ye fleet horses are, those ye first shall return home!
ksí'utăkiank ăt génuapk!"
faster (than we) ye travel!"

Tsúi sa géna, tsúi luéluałχ nánka wátch, nánχatoks gátpampēle
Then they went abroad, and gave out some horses, some others returned
É-uksi lí'tχí. Tsúi sa tchía gátpampēlank, tsúi gé-u gúikak hû'k lû'gs
to Klamath Marsh at night-fall. Then they stayed (there) after return, then by me ran away the slave
spuní'sh; ná-ens hissuáksas spuní'n hû'nk. Tsúyuk hunkēlámskni gúikak,
the transferred one; to another man I had given her. And she from his lodge ran away,
nánχatoks sa éna Ampχä'ni sésatui tchû'k wátchat; tsúi sa í'tpa tû'm
but others they brought to the Dalles, traded (them) there for horses; and they brought many
wátch hû'nk lû'gs sesatuí'tkuk.
horses those slaves having sold.

Tsín sáyuakta tí'na Móatuashash séllualst É-ukskni.
Thus I know (how) once with the Pit Rivers fought the Lake men.

WAWÁLIKS TAPĪ' SHÉLLUALSHA MOÁTUÁSHASH.

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DAVE HILL'S SECOND FIGHT WITH THE PIT RIVER INDIANS.

Ná-äntka skō'shtka nû géna; tĭ'nkt nté-ish nī ī'-amnatk géna lóloks-
Next spring-time I set out; then bow and arrows I carrying started a ri-
gish tchish. Tû' nād mák̲lĕχa; tsúi nád hátokt mû'shmûsh lúela, Bóshtin
fle also. Far off we camped; and we there an ox butchered, an American
tpä-ók nā'lsh hishtcháktnuk Moatuáshash. Tsúi nat shenotankákska hátak.
inviting us, for he had become angry at the Pit Rivers. Then we almost fought there.
Nánka tchillúk Nûshaltχagakī'shash kaknō'ls tĕméshka; nāt hûnkantí
Some men siding with the Headwater-Modocs cuirasses abstracted; we thereat
sawíkank lā'p nat kaknō'lsh shlétχa. Tsúi nat k̲á-i hû'nk slé-ipĕle
getting angry two we cuirasses took away. And we not them returned
ne-uχálp'lish gī'ntak lák̲iăm E-ukskī'sham; tsúi nat mā'ns-gītk slä'-ipĕle.
the repeated orders in spite of of the chief of the Lake men; but we at last returned them.

Hû'masht nat hátokt mák̲lĕχank; tchúi nat géna mbû'sant, tchúi nat
Thus (did, acted) we there while camping; then we traveled next day, and we
tû' mák̲lĕka Mû'atak. Tsúi nat mbû'sant géna, tsúi nat tû' mák̲lĕk'
over there camped on Modoc Lake. And we in the morning started out, and we over there camped
Tiunō'lsh. Móatokni nánka sá-ulantchna, tsúi sa kaī'ulĕχ kī'uks suawínuk
at Tiunolsh. Modocs some went with (us), and they danced a conjurer when examined
sas kánts sliuápkst: "hä sliuápkst, tchä mā'lsh ngátuapk ná'hlis"; tsúi
them who might be shot: "if ye will be shot, then to you will snap the bowstring"; and
lā'p ngáta ná'hlis. Tsúi nāt mbû'sant géna, tû' nat atī' géna lupī' nálam
two snapped bowstrings. Then we next morning started out, far we off travelled first our
hû'nk séllaluish gunī'ta. Tsúi nat waíta yaínatat télhapkank kmákok
war-expedition further. Then we passed the day from a mountain overlooking to spy
Moatuáshash; tchúi nat shläá tchī'pksh; k̲úitsant tchía ktáyat.
the Pit Rivers; and we saw (them) encamped; inaccessible they stayed in rocks.

Tsúi nád pä'k'gist gákiamna, tsúi gû'lki; tsúi nā'ts shläá Móatuash,
And we at dawn surrounded, then attacked (them); and us discovered the Pit Rivers,
tsúi wetō'li lalī'shtat; k̲ok̲álam hûk pálkuish mûná tû. Hátokt gakáyapguk
and slid down the slope; of a river there (was) the dry bed deep-down. At that place entering the woods
nánχa Móatuash lī'wank i-ō'ta; tû'm shash ngä'-isha Moatokī'shash, Lank-
some Pit River men gathering shot (at us); many (them) they wounded Modoc men, Long-
Tsánash tchish slī'ksga nχak-ksaksī'na; ngä'-ish hû'k ngak-ksáksh
John also they came near wounding on head-top right there; bullet that on the head-top
nī'kshtcha. Ná-ends tchish nû'sh shlín Móatokish. Tsúi nat lé wak ká-a:
grazed. Another too in the head was shot (a) Modoc man. And we (were) undecided very:
lī'wa hû'k tû mû'na sha lĕméwaliĕkshtat ī-utíla; nánuk wéwansni hátokt
were crowded those down-below they driftwood-heap under; all women and all there

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lī'-upka tû' mû'na. Tchúi nī tû' hátokt p'léntant tchī'wishksaksi gī; tchúi
were lumped together deep below. Then I just there above their camping-place was; and

hátokt nī'sh a gishī': "Lä' a nat wák ka-á; lä' nat wák galdsawiá-a!" tsí sa,
there I while stayed: "Not we know what to do, not we (know) how to approach closely!" so they (said),

hátokt nī'sh gī'shī. Tsúi nī hû'tχī, tsúi láp nīsh nté-isalta hû'tχipsh. Tsúi
there I while was. Thereupon I leaped down, then two men at me shot arrows as I leaped. Then

nī hû'tsŋa tû', tsúi nī hû'tpa hīhassuaksas hátokt lī-uká-isī hátakt tchúyunk
I ran over there, and I reached running the (Lake) men there collected there then

senótankash. Tsúi nī'sh sa läwä'-ûla hû'kuapksht kû'kalam palkuī'sham;
fighting. But me they not allowed to run across the river's dry bottom;

hátakt gunī'gshtant nánka É-ukskni lé-uptcha; senótank ktáyat lī'uptsank.
that spot opposite some Lake men had gathered behind; they were fighting rocks hiding behind.

Tsúi nīsh nánka: "ká-i gī; ká-i hû'tsa, shliuápka m'sh!" tsí n's sa
And to me a few: "Don't do it; don't run, they will shoot you!" so to me they

hátaktk. Tsúi nī: "hû'tchanuapk" tchí nī kī', "wiká an' gáldsuish sána-
there said. Then I: "I shall rush over" so I said, "closely I to approach I

hōli" tchín hátaktk "Ká-i kī'lank pī'la ī-ū'ta, tû'm at ngä'-isha; ū'ts
want" thus I there said. "Not in quick succession they shoot, many are wounded; never

gint, shlī'tki nûsh!" tsín at gī. A nī hō'tsnan at, tsúi nīsh kákī'ha, tsúi
mind, let them shoot me!" so I now said. Then I ran towards (them), and me they missed, and

hutapĕnō'lshi n's náyĕns Móatoknī shlī'n pä'n núsh; tsúi káhaha shlī'shăm
after I had reached there running another Modoc was shot also in the head; and he ached through his wounding.

Tsúi nat léwak nä'-ulĕka, tsúi nī ná-astg: "häggi! ī'sh ktīyuiakī'at!"
Then we were at a loss for arranging, and I so spoke: "look here! me lift up there ye!"

tsī' nī gi. Tsúi nī'sh sha ktīwī'χi, tsúi nī ktsī'tsā, tchúi nī gíta Moatuáshash
so I said. And me they placed on top, and I crept forward, then I there the Pit Rivers

nī télshapka wiká lī'wapksh; nánuk nī tíds shlä'popka shash. Tsúi nī
I perceived close by crowded in one body; all I perfectly well saw (of) them. And I

ktchigī'dsapēli tû' stīldsampēlók sas; tsúi nī: "ktíwalχat nā-éntch
crept back over yonder to report to them; and I: "post ye up another man

tchkash" tchī' nī gī. Ktchī'tpampālank shapíya sas, tchúi sa: "wák
besides" so I said. Having crept back I reported to them, and they: "how

haítch i gī?" tchi n'sh sa gi. Tchúi "nī nánukash shlä'shki" tchī' nī gī;
there is it?" so to me they said. Upon this "I all of them can see" so I said;

shapíya shash, tsúi sa ktīwī'χī na-ä'nds tchkash. Tsúi nat lā'p k'lĕ'ka, tsúi
I told them, and they lifted up another (man) too. Then we two were there, and

nat ktsi'ktsa, tsúi nat sas tû' shlä'popk, a nī ná-asht gī: "hágga shlä'k!"
we crept along, and we them down there perceived, and I so said: "let me shoot!"

Tsúi hû'k ná-as hátokt, tû'shtûk Móatuash lī'wa, nánuk sa hû'nk ngä'-is
And to one man there, where the Pit Rivers were gathered, all (others) to him (their) arrows

säwána, ná-adsiak hû'nk ī-û'ta satslχámitk lû'paks. Tsúi tchín a nī
handed, none but he was shooting scratch-painted with chalk. And thus I now I

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shlćwal lóloksgish, tsúi ní shlín hû'nk, kát hûk yū'ta, tsúi ndéwanga; tsí
cocked (my) gun, and I shot him, the one who was shooting, and he fell; thus

tánkt at nat síuga hû'nkst.
at last we killed that fellow.

At hû'ksa líwatk tû'm wáltka tánkt. Tsúi Múatokni nánχa tû'mĕnatk 3
Now they, crowded together, much talked then. And Modocs some understood

Móatuasam hémk̲anks; tsúi hû'k tû'mĕna at Móatuasam wáltoks. Hû'k
of the Pit Rivers the language; and they understood of the Pit Rivers the discourse. They

shapíya nā'tch: "átĕnen gakáyōluapka, nen sa skuyokayō'la wewáni-
notified me: "presently they will get away, they send out of the bush the fe-

shash; ná-asht nen wáltka." Tsúi gakayúluk É-ukskni shíshatχa 6
males; so they say." Then leaving the woods the Lake men picked out

wéwanuish, tsúi hû'k kí'nualk sa; nánχa huhashtlína k̲aítua shnû'kuk.
women, then went on the hill they; some quarrelled none having obtained.

Tsúi núts hăméχe: "shnû'kshtkan nā'sh siwák hû'nk ātí'nsh hûk lák gitk!";
And I too said: "want to get I one girl this long hair wearing!";

tsúi ní'sh sha k̲á-i wā'-ula. Tsúi ní k̲á-i sŭm wā'walsh shlín, tsúi hûk 9
but to me they not allowed (her). Then I not they conceding shot, and she

nde-ukuā'lap'l; hû'nk n'únk shlín siwága.
rolled down (the hill); that I killed girl.

Tsúi tánkt at híhassuaks at tinkayúla, tsúi ní shlín pā'n nás hátakt,
Thereupon the (Pit River) men run out of the bush, and I shot another (man) there,

tsúi at nánχa tinī'χi. Shtá tok sa É-ukskni hashámpka; tsúi sas gawí'na 12
when some went up hill. Compactly they the Lake men encircled (them); then them rejoined

hû'ksa, kák at tinī'χi tsa, ndánni híhassuaks, nā'sh gitsgánits hissuákga.
those, who just had gone up the hill, (viz.) three men, one young also boy.

Tsúyunk vû'ssa É-ukskni, tsúi hû'k Móatuash tí'nχansha; tû' atí yaínatat
Then were frightened the Lake men, as the Pit Rivers ran out of the circle; over-yonder to the mountains

tûshtámpkank ă-óho-uátchna, tsúi shnûshnáta. Tchúi ní nû hû'lipĕli, tsúi 15
coming near they halloed while running and built fires. Thereupon I I entered again (the cañon), and

ní hōpĕlánsa, tsúi ní hupáklĕχa láp-'a híhassuaksas. Tsúi ní'sh hû'k
I followed up (the dry creek), and I encountered two men. And at me they

lápukantka shlatámpk, tsúi nā's téwi, k̲áhhia n's; wiggá n's hû'nk k̲áibha,
both at a time drew the bow, and one shot, (but) missed me; by a hair-breadth me he missed,

ná-ăns tsí'n shlín nepní'ni nguldshótan, nté-ish tchish nχā'wa. Tsúi 18
the other man then I hit, about the head I struck (him), the bow also broke. And

gútalχa hûk ngā'-ish tókstala; tsúi ndé-ulχ. Náshtoks hukáyapk, tsúi
entered the bullet in the navel; and he fell. The other rushed into the thicket and

tí'ntpa sa É-ukskni tánkt, tsúi sa hû'nk síuga kándan hû'nk shlín. Tsúi
arrived (they) the Lake men at last, and they him killed whom I had shot. Then

hû'k nā's hukáyapk mā'ns hû'k tchakáyank í-û'ta; tsúi sa shlín tû'kni 21
the one who went into the woods for some time (he) sitting down was shooting; then they shot (him) from

173 p'lä'ntankni kínshakpkank. Tsnī'pal sa shlín; ná-ãns shlín, hû'k tchaká-
the-hill-top pointing guns downward. In the shoulder they shot (him); another (Lake) man he had shot, he who was sitting in the

*539 726 yan, wä'k E-ukskī'shas.
woods, in the arm a Lake man.

Tsúi nat at gä'tak, a nát sukû'lkip'l' tû'shtok spuká shlī'tk É-ukskni.
After this we ceased (fighting), and we reassembled where lay a wounded Lake man.

[727] [758] Nátak hû'nk hī'shlan Móatuashash ksápok; láki ngû'mshka ngä'-ish hû'k.
Ourselves him we shot at each other, a Pit River man thinking (him to be); (his) forehead had fractured bullet the.

Tsúi nat wátsat shutä'la má-i skû'lhash pet; tsúi nat ksä'lapk hû'nk shlípks;
Then we upon a horse prepared a tule-mat ambulance-bed; and we lifted into (it) that wounded man;

kayúds hûk klä'kat. Tsúi nat guhásbktcha shewatχû'lsī; tsúi nat gä'-ûna
no, yet he had died. And we started out in the afternoon; and we slowly

géna hû'nk ngä'-isapksh ä'nok ndánna: näs nû'sh shlī'tk Móatokni
went on the wounded carrying three (men): one in the head wounded a Modoc

ngä'-ishtka, náshtoks wä'k shlī'tk hû'mtsantkak, náshtoks hû'k luluksgä'-
by an arrow, another in the arm shot in the same manner was, another one this with a

ishtka, kánda nat hû'nk wátsat shutä'lank ä'na. Tchúi nat mák'lakp'l'
gun, whom we upon a horse imbedding brought. And we camped on our return trip

hī'uhiush tχálamta.
of the marsh westward.

Tsúyuk pä'ktgish lû'pia wénga; tchúi nat mbû'sant at ksī'utakiank
Then they daylight before died; and we in the early hours now fast-going

gépgapēle, láp'ni hak gátpampēle É-uksi. Nä'sh nat hátaktak kókēlam
returned, in two days from there we returned to Klamath Marsh. One we right there of river

ntú'ldsanuish wigáta gáwal híssuaks; tsû'tskam snû'lash säkülalō'nank
the dry bottom close by found a man; squirrel's a hole having covered up

kshû'sha taluálχan. Käbatχō'le sa, tchúi wétta híssuaks käbatχō'lsham;
he lay inside lying on back. Uncovered they (him), then laughed the man while they unearthed him;

tsúi sa shpī'tkal, tsúi sa spû'nshna wikáhak; tsúi sa nánka Ä'-ukskni
and they raised (him) up, and they took (him) to a short distance; then some Lake men

lûgsálshtkak, nánχa síukstkak (lä'witchta sha mû'ns lû'gsalsh); nánχa
make a slave wanted, some wanted to kill (not wanted they an adult man to enslave), a few (were)

mä'sa nát staínas hishlá-uk. Tchí nánχa gī'ank síukshtka; tchúi sa síuka,
sorrowful (of) us at heart to have shot at companions. Thus some saying wanted to kill (him); and they killed,

at kléka hûk. Wák tchíhuk pä'tch gítk! stíkshui-shitk hû'k tutī'la stákēlins-
and died he. How so (curious) he feet had! beetle-like they projected at the

ksaksī. Tsíssa hû'nk hátokt tánktē nát hû'nk tatátēnat sukō'lkip'l spû'ks-
heel. Thus they at that place when we that time we formed a crowd where the

ksaksi, tánkt sa hû'nk gáwal kíkaskánkatk.
man lay, then they that (Pit River man) found while walking about.

Tsí nī tamēnō'tka tiná tapī' a nī tchúi tánksknī ká-itata gē'nt
Thus I was out there once for the last time, I from that time never went

173 shatchö'lgi, to contract the half-opened hand or fingers. Compare also: shatχä'daba,
*539 shátuaχa, shátĕlakish.

• 726 23, 6. gakayúluk refers to the women, not to the Klamath men. These latter retired with the captured females to the top of a hill, to secure themselves better against further hostile attacks. shíshatχa, distributive form of shíatχa.

23, 11. tinkayúla. The Pit River men ran out of the timber to flee from further attacks, and some ran up the steep bank from the dry river-bed. While they did so, the Lake men surrounded them and completely closed the circle (shtá hashámpka). Nevertheless, some of them managed to break through the intervals; this frightened the Klamath men, and then the other Pit Rivers also escaped towards the hills.

23, 12–14. The three men and the boy who went up the hill belonged to the Pit Rivers. The Klamath Lake warriors were so surprised at their sudden return to their surrounded companions, that the Pit Rivers had an opportunity to escape during the confusion.

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24, 4. Nátak. The sentence has to be construed: nátak híshlan hû'nk, Moatuáshash hû'nk ksápok. "None others but ourselves shot at him; though he was one of our men, we thought him to be a Pit River man".

24, 4. láki. He had been shot in the eye-bone.

24, 6. k̲lä'kat stands for k̲lä'ka at; cf. 28, 12. gátpant for gátpna at.

24, 6. shewatχû'lsl: for shewatχö'lash l, or shewatχö'lish l; the l appearing here not as a local, but as a temporal case-suffix. shewátχa, *noon*; lit.: the day divides itself in two; shewatχö'la, *afternoon*, the day has divided itself in two *a while ago*.

24, 8. lulukagä'-ish, uncommon form for lúlukagish, lólokagish, *rifle, gun*, lit. "fire-maker".

24, 17. síukshtka stands for the full form síukshtka gi.

24, 18. tutí'la. By inadvertence the distributive form is used here instead of the absolute form tuíla, for the Pit River man spoken of had an abnormal fleshy excrescence on *one* foot only.

25, 1. shéllualshuk: he means fighting with the Pit River Indians.

25, 1. ndánnitaksni, incomplete grammatic form for ndannitánkshni.

25, 2. kínka-ak i, only a few; meaning females of the Pit River tribes.

173	selluálshuk.	Ndánnitaksni	tamĕnō'tka;	tiná	nat	k̲áyak	shenótankatk,
×539	fighting.	Three times	I was there;	once	we	not at all	were fighting,

726	kínkák	i	nat	lúluagsla.	Tchín	at	nat	at gä'tak	ndáni	támĕnotk.
	few only	there	we	enslaved.	So I,	when	we	quit (fighting),	three times	had been there.

NOTES.

[197] 19. The long and fertile valley of the Pit River, an eastern affluent of the Sacramento River, is inhabited by several tribes of Indians who speak dialects of the same language family. Of the peculiarities of these tribes, Stephen Powers has given the first comprehensive sketch in the Overland Monthly, 1874, pp. 412–416, and in Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. III, pp. 267–274. The various tribes greatly differ in their physical and mental qualities. The Pacamallies, on Hat Creek, at the lower end of the valley, were much dreaded by peaceable travellers on account of their sudden attacks from an ambush. The Indians in Big Valley are a fleshy, stout, and physically well-made people, while the Hot Spring Valley people has become deteriorated through prolonged national misfortune. Against both of these the slaving raids of the Klamaths and Modocs were mainly directed.

[721] [567] [727] 19, 2. The raids were undertaken by the Klamaths and Modocs just before wókash-time; that is, in April and May. They had no other purpose than to make slaves of the females and children of the unwarlike, poor, and suffering Pit River Indians, and to keep them either at their homes or sell them for ponies, provisions, beads, etc., at the Dalles to the Columbia River tribes. Adult men were not enslaved, but killed outright if captured. Similar instances of suppression of weaker tribes of the West by warlike Indians who were their neighbors are those of the Kayuses on Middle Columbia River, of the Yuki between Sacramento River and the Pacific Ocean, of the Húpa on Trinity River, Cal., all of whom were, at the advent of the whites, the terror of the districts surrounding their homes.

[648] 19, 3. shlüótak for shlüóta ak; the Pit Rivers ran away at the *mere sight* of the Klamath men; k̲á-i tata siúkat, the Pit Rivers never killed any Klamath men. Both statements are exaggerations; Hill's own account and Toby Riddle's biographic notice tend to prove the contrary.

[727] 19, 3. nellínat, or nell'nat. When they had killed an enemy, they did not follow the custom of the Oregonians of taking the scalp. This custom is not found among any of the Central Californian tribes.

[193] 19, 4. hû'stchok̲-huya; by the suffix -huya, -uya, the action of the verb is shown to take place at intervals, or in a small degree. "They did only little damage by killing or massacring." Cf. shenótank-huya, 20, 2, and -uya in the "List of Suffixes".

[196] 19, 4. tû'm tát sa. Change of the subjects introduced by the pronoun sha, sa, in consecutive sentences, is sometimes observed, as here and in 19, 16; 20, 3. Hill often uses sha when speaking of the Klamath Lake men, where nat, *we*, would be more appropriate.

[193] 19, 6. Kitchkanin nû for kitchkáni nû (or nl) nû. Pronouns and particles are repeated quite frequently.

19, 11. Wúksalks is a camping-place distant about six miles from Linkville. It was not possible for me to obtain definite information about the trail followed most generally in those raids, but Dave Hill said that from there they went due south. He

173 was born about the year 1840, and since he was a boy then, carrying only a pistol, this *539 raid may have taken place about the year 1858. His second raid, which was undertaken the year afterward, was made when he was nearly twenty years old. After this 726 he stayed five years in Oregon City, on the Lower Willámet River.

19, 16, and 20, 1. What is said here up to the word snawä'ds is evidently an anticipation of what follows in 20, 6. 7.

[192] 19, 16. sas tillindsa, or shash tilindsha: shash is apposition to wéwanuish, which stands here, as frequently, for wewannishash; 23, 5, we find: wewánishash.

20, 2. lápik for lápi gi: "two are, two were."

[487] 20, 9. Tiunō'leshtat. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Pit River country was estimated at three days' Indian travel; but it often took four days to reach there on horseback.

[192] 20, 10 and 11. maklakskaákai refers to the encampment and immediate surroundings of the Indian captors, the Klamath Lake men and the Modocs, who had gone with them.

[487] 20, 13. guhuáshktcha. They seem to have returned home over the same trail which they had followed in going south. They passed between Little Klamath and Rhett Lake, which latter is also called Tule and Modoc Lake.

[193] 20, 17. tsúi gé-u, etc. This sentence has to be construed as follows: tsúi gúikaka hú'k lû'gs spunísh gé-u: "hereupon that slave, transferred by me, ran away."

21, 2 and 3. Bóshtin tpä-ók. This man was an American settler on Lost River, [648] who, with other settlers, had previously attacked one of the Pit River tribes, in punishment for depredations committed. In the fight which took place, some whites were killed by the Pit Rivers, and this prompted the abovementioned settler to slaughter an ox for the Lake men, in order to raise their spirits for deadly revenge on the common enemy. The beef was slaughtered and eaten at his farm.

21, 5. Tsúi nat, etc. This incident was explained to me by Dave Hill, as follows: The famous Captain George was at that time war-chief both of the Klamaths and the Modocs. He had ordered Kiukamtch, the head-man of the Nushaltkágu=Modocs, to join the expedition against the Pit Rivers. His refusal to go prompted Dave Hill and others to deprive him of his elk-skin cuirasses; but finally, to secure success to the expedition, the parfleshes were returned to their owners.

[193] 21, 7. Húmasht nat. A verb like gi or shúta has to be supplied.

21, 12. séllaluish, translated here by "war-expedition", still retains its verbal nature; for it is connected with two temporal *adverbs:* lupi' and hûnk. More circumstantially the sentence can be rendered: "we rode far beyond the terminal point of our previous raiding campaign."

[193] 21, 18. léwak, a verb composed of two particles. Gétak and kánktak, formed almost in the same manner, are also used as verbs. Below, léwak is separated into its two components by a pronoun: lä nät wák ka-á; lä' nüt wák galdsawiá-a.

21, 19. wéwansni. The terminal -ni turns the wéwanuish into a kind of adjectival phrase. See the peculiar use made of this ending in the Dictionary and in the Grammar.

22, 8. hátaktk. The final k is the verb gi, ki, "said"; tchín hátaktk is: tchí nû hátakt gi.

[302] 22, 21. shatchlχámia is one of the various modes of painting face and body in use among the western Indians. White paint was put on in this manner (see Dictionary) only when the Indians were on the war-path. From the same verbal base is derived

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É-UKSNI SÉLLUAL SÁTAS.

HOW THE LAKE MEN FOUGHT THE SNAKE INDIANS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

LUPÍ SÉLLUAL. THE FIRST FIGHT.

Sā′t gátpa tiná tû É-uksi; K̲ók̲etat släá wéwanuish E-ukskí′sas
Snake Indians went once over to Klamath Marsh; on Williamson River they saw females of the Lake tribe
vû′nshatk gépkapsh. Tchúi súkatiank gépka wewanuíshash mák̲′lakuapkst;
in canoes approaching. Then going along the trail they came up (waiting till) the women had gone to their camp;
tsúi mák̲′lēka wéwanuish, tsúi hátakt gátpa Sā′t, tsúi ngä′-isa wéwaläks
then went to camp the women, and near (them) came the Snakes, and wounded the old women
pí′la. Tánkt Ă′-ukskni, húktoks híssuaks gépka, k̲′lewidshápka lúela gíug
only. That time the Lake tribe, (when) these (hostile) men arrived, had gone away for killing
kiä′m.
fish.

Tsúi at hushtsóχ hû′nk wewalä′ksas Sā′t, tchúi gämpēle; tánktak
And massacred these aged females the Snake men, then returned; pretty soon
tchúi Ă′-ukskni híhassuaks gasáktsna. Tsúi mák̲′lēχ hûk Sā′t lak̲í Nχítsá-
after this the Lake the men pursued. And encamped that Snake chief Dried-
Tsû′ks (nā′sht hû′k sésatk Sā′t lak̲í kilû′s); tsúi É-ukskni släá mák̲′lēχapks.
Leg (so he was called Snake (the) chief-born); then the Lake men espied him to be encamped.
Tsúi gû′lgí sha, tsúi tí′usna Sā′t, tsúi síuka hû′nk Nχítsá-Tsû′ksas Sā′tas
Then charged they, and ran away the Snakes, and they killed him Dried-Leg the Snake
lák̲ias. Tchúi nánka Sā′t gümpēle, nánχatoks hû′shtchōk.
leader. Upon this some Snake men went home, but others were killed.

Tchí séllual tí′tná Shā′tash. Kpudsámpēli sha hû′nk Sā′tas, tchúi
Then they fought one time the Snakes. Drove back they those Snakes, and
k̲á-itata gátpant Shā′t; at vushá E-ukskí′shash.
never again came the Snakes; (for) they feared the Lake tribe.

LÛ′LDATKÍSH BÓSHTINASH TÛ′LA SHENÓTANKA SHÁTASH.

DAVE HILL FIGHTS THE SNAKE INDIANS ON THE SIDE OF THE AMERICANS.

Shiúlka nā′lsh ká-ag Mr. Huntington; Sá-atas í′tpa Moadokí′sh tchish
Collected us long ago Mr. Huntington; the Snakes he brought, the Modocs also,
nā′lsh tchí′sh í′tpa gí′ta, tchúi tchiá nat nā′dsag Tchúi tí′na illólolatk
as likewise he brought here, then lived we in one spot. Then one year elapsed

173 Shā't gúikak. Hû'k lápi laláki: Sā't ná-as Tchatcháktchaksh ná-asht
*539 the Snakes went away There (were) two chiefs: Snake man one Tchatcháktchaksh so
648 sésatk, nā'sh tchī'g: Panaína tchi' sésatk. Tchúi sō'ldshas shawíga, tsúi
726 named, one (man) besides: Panaína so named. Upon this the military was aroused, and
géna; tû' Spá-ish Valley gátpa shō'lsash hû'k, tsúi sakemáwank hátokt
set out; far off to Surprise Valley marched the soldiers, and rendez-vousing there
mú'lua: lā'p mépoks géna shū'ldshash; nā'sh Lieutenant Oatman ná-asht
got ready; two companies went (of) soldiers; one Lieut. Oatman thus
shéshatk laki shû'ldshash, nā'sh tchík Lieutenant Small ná-asht shéshatk
named (was) chief of soldiers, one besides Lieut. Small thus named (was)
laki shû'ldshash. Tû' nat tálaaks yámtītal géna.
chief of soldiers. (From) there we straight northwards proceeded.

Tsúi nat é-ushtat géluandsa, tsúi náts shlä'pka Shā't; kī'lilks shlää;
Then we a lake went around, and us noticed the Snakes; the dust they perceived;
tchúi yaínatal kakólakpka, nánχa é-ushtat gä'-upkapk (Warner Lake, tchí
then Warner Ridge we climbed, some through the lake waded (Warner Lake, so
hûk nā'sh hû'k sésatk é-us). Tchúi Camp Warner mák'lĕk tiná nat waíta;
that one one (was) named lake). Then at Camp Warner camped one we day and night;
tsúi nat guháshktcha tálaat tχalamtī'tal. Tchúi nat telō'lī "Tchéwam
then we started out directly towards west. And we looked down "Antilope's
Stû'", tchíhuk sésatk käíla; tsúi nat lápi gulī'ndsa (skuyû'i natch hû'k
Trail", so this named (is) locality; then two of us went down (into it) (detached us the (two)
laláki), tsúi shnä'-uldsha nat. Tchúi nat tālō'li; gälō'la nat k'makuápkuk
commanders), and galloped off we. And we scouted; dismounted we to reconnoitre
Sátas mák'laksas, tsúi nat wawápk k'makká nat, tsúi mā'ntsag gī'tk lā'pi
the Snake Indians, and we sat down (and) spied we. then shortly afterwards two
Sā't tû'kni gepgápĕle: kokagtálkni gépgap'l'. Tsúi tilō'dshipk nat, tsúi
Snake men from a distance returned: over a rivulet they came back. And saw them coming we, then
tálaak gutī'lapkap'lī nats; tsúi nat wál'hha kawaliä'kuapk sä'-ug. Tchúi
towards (us) they descended while rounding a hill us; and we watched (them) they would ascend believing. But
ká-i gawaliä'ga, hī'tok tû' gátpampĕle tchī'-ishtat m'na; nat mā'nts-gī'tk
not they came up, but from there away they returned to camp theirs; we after a while
gä'lapgapĕle shtilshampĕli-uápkuk. Tsúi nat gä'mpĕli, tsúi nā'ts gayá-
rode back to report again. When we came back, (in front) of us had
itsampk shū'ldshash huk, lúpiak nats gälχalgī'pka.
advanced the military, before we had fully descended from the hill.

Tsúi tû'-hak náts a gépksī at shlä'pka, tsúi tássuīpk, tsúi ktaítal
Then a long way behind (the soldiers) when we came down they saw (the Snakes), and charged (them), and to the rocks
tī'nshampk Sá-at hûk. Sänótanksi nat sash gátpa, tsúi tû' shlíkshgan's
scampered off the Snakes. At the moment of fighting we them (the soldiers) reached, and nearly shot me
a Sā't. Tû'taks hûk shō'ldshash nánuk ga-ólĕka kpū'lχuk Sā'tas; li-mī'l-
the Snakes. Far up the soldiers all climbed up to dislodge the Snakes; the packer

173 män pí'la yána shláka wátch hû'nk. Tsúi sa senótank; wátch nä'sh hátakt
*539 of army alone baggage below guarded horses (theirs). Now they fought; horse a single over there
648 tkálamna, tsúi nä'sh É-ukskni shnuktsástkak hû'nk wátch. Tsúi ni
726 stood on a hill, when one Lake man started to catch that horse. And I
lewé-ula: "shli-uapkám'sh sha, liukáyank a í-û'ta!" tchín gi; "huíya!"
tried to dissuade (him): "will shoot you they, lying in ambush they are firing!" so I said; "don't go!"
nä'st ni hémkank: "huíya!" Tsúi géna k̲í'llikankank, tsúi Sä't hûk téwi
so I spoke: "don't go!" And he went speeding off, and the Snakes at him fired
gatpánkshkshi hû'nk wáts. Tsúi k̲ädsûksaksína lä'k̲shktsa gä'-ish hû'k.
when he had almost reached the horse. And right on the chin took (his) skin off bullet that.
Tsúi nat k̲á-i hû'nk snû'kat wátch hûnk; tsúi hûk Sä't tí'nsna kát hû'k
And we not caught horse that; and the Snakes ran away who him
shlí'kshga. Tsúi nat kpû'laktsa tû' atí ga-û'lχa; nánuk hûk Sä't gáktsui
had almost shot. Then we pursued (them and) high up (in the hills) we ascended; all the Snakes went into
walí'shtat, kû'mets hátakt guli' tû'mi híhassuaks. Tsúi hátokt gí'ank
the rock-cliffs, the caves also there entered many men. And in there staying
sawí'ka hûk Sä't, suashuála sa hû'nk ktá-i, tsúi vû'ssa shû'ldshash. At
became angry the Snakes, (and) piled up they rocks, and became afraid the troops. Then
yána tí'lχa sháppäsh, tsúi nat gémpēle.
downwards inclined the sun, and we returned (to camp).

Káyaktsna shúldshash wéwanuish; u-í'tsna sha, tsúi nû shläá
Pursued the soldiers women; they marched in front file, then I perceived
hissuákshas ktáyat tsutí'la. Mû'ni k̲ä'lo hátakt túya; húnkant tsíg
a man the rocks underneath. A tall juniper-tree there stood below; against it then
ts'hálamnank láyipk lû'luksgíshtka. Tsúi ndé-ulχan shlä-ánk hû'nkt layí-
sitting close he pointed (at me) with his gun. And I let me fall seeing him point-
pakst, tsúi ni sí'ktsaslan wiká; tsúi ni shli'wal nánuyank tχä'lχa; tchúi
ing, and I crawled aside a little; and I cocked making ready (and) stood up; and
ní'sh lés'ma gē'tal tä'ds, láyipk tû'shtal lupí' shlä-ō'lan's. Tsúi ní shlí'n;
me he did not see at that spot, he pointed where at first he had seen me. Then I fired;
pató n shlí'n, tsúi ndéwankä; tsúi ni hō'tχe, tsúi ní pä'n shlín nû'sh
in the cheek I hit (him), and he fell; then I sprang towards (him), and I again shot (him) in the head
sikēní'tkstka. Tsúi sō'ldshash tí'ntpa, tsúi nelí'na nû, tsúi kúiχan Sä'tas
with a pistol. Then the soldiers arrived, and scalped (him) I and recognized I Snake man
hú'nk, kándan hû'nk shí'uga. Gitákni hû'k P'laíkni; E-ukskíshash
that, whom I had killed. Hailing he from Sprague River; to a Klamath Lake (woman)
mbushéaltk; ná-asht hû'k shésatk Lápa-K̲íu-gí'tk; tchíhuk shésatk. At
he was married; so he (was) called Two-Rumps-having; thus he (was) named. Now
nat nelí'nulank at gémpēle mak̲'láktsûk, at tí'nnäga. Tsúi nat mák̲'lēχ;
we having done scalping (him) returned for encamping, and (the sun) was setting. Then we camped;
k̲ók̲ag hátakt tû'nsna, saígataks hátokt kí; hû'nkant tchí'k hû'k kok̲ág
a brook there was running by, a prairie right there was; through it then that stream

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tû'nsχantsa	yáshaltk.	Tchúi	kissä'mi	shû'dsha	Sā't;	tû'	wali'sh	î-utíla
was running	studded with willows.	Then	at nightfall	made a fire	the Snakes;	there	the cliffs	below

tû'shtuk	kû'mme.	Mû'	sk̲á	tánkt	slä'wi;	tsúi	psín	gátpa	Sā't	î-úta.
there (was)	a cave.	Very	cold	that time	(the wind) blew;	and	in the night	came	the Snakes	(and) fired.

Tsúi	shúldshash	vû'ssa,	tsúi	nat	mû'lua,	a	nat	guhuáshktsa,	psínak
And	the soldiers	took fright,	and	we	got ready,	and	we	marched,	the same night

mû'atan	nat	géna;	níshtá	nat	géna.	Tû'	nat	yaínatat	pä'ktgi,	tsû'i	nat
southwards	we	went;	the whole night	we	marched.	Far away	we	on the mountains	were at dawn.	then	we

ní'lka.
stopped there in the early hours.

Lû'luagslash	tánkt	lápksapt	wéwanuish;	äná	nat	hû'nk,	tsúi	nat	pän
They enslaved	that time	seven	women;	brought	we	those,	then	we	again

mák̲'lēχ	Nä'wapksh	yámakstan	gä'dsa	tχálamna.	Tsúi	k̲ok̲ág	hátakt
encamped	from Goose Lake	north side of	a little	to the west.	And	a brook	there

tû'nsna;	tsúi	psin	gátpa	Sā't,	tsúi	k̲á-i	nat	káktant;	ní'shta	nat	k̲á-i
is running;	and	at night	came	the Snakes,	and	not	we	slept;	all night	we	not

káktant.	Tsúi	mbúsant	pän	gátpa	Sā't;	yaína-ag	kúita	nats	hûk	tû'pka,
slept.	And	next morning	again	came	the Snakes;	a hillock	back of	us		stood,

tsúi	hátakt	lí'wal	Sā't,	tsúi	k̲ak̲í″hha	shō'ldshash;	atí	hû'nk	k̲ak̲í″hha.
and	there	gathered	the Snakes,	and	missed (them)	the soldiers;	by a long way	them	they missed.

Tsúi	nat	watsátka	täl'uak-húya;	tsúi	gáya-a	nā'ts	hû'k	Sā't.	Mbúsant
Then	we	on horseback	rode after them;	and	were hiding	before us	the	Snakes.	In the morning

nat	gépgap'lî;	at gä'tak	Sátas	sláá,	tsúi	nat	gátpampēle.	Tsúi	shû'ldshash
we	returned;	no longer	any Snakes	found we,	and	we	went back home.	And	the military

hû'k	shäwána	wewán'sh	nā'ls	hû'nk,	Sā'tas	wáts	tchîsh	lā'p.	A	nat	gat-
	gave	women	to us	those,	of the Snake tribe	horses	also	two.	Then	we	re-

pámpēle	gí'ta	E-uk̲ák̲;	hû'ktoks	Lieutenant	Small	tû'	shîpî'tk	Nä'wapksh
turned	here	to Fort Klamath;	but he	Lieut.	Small	over there	separated	Goose Lake

gunî'gstant	gémpaluk	Spá-ish	Valleytála.	Lā'p	Sátas	wéwanuish	ä'na.
opposite	for returning	to Surprise	Valley.	Two	Snake	females	he took with him.

NOTES.

28. The various bands of Snake Indians inhabiting Oregon east of the Cascade Mountains are gaining their sustenance chiefly by the chase. This accounts for their constant wanderings and ubiquitous presence sometimes at Camp Harney, or the Owyhee and Snake River, at other times near Warner Lake, or the Klamath Marsh.

The date of this raid could not be determined; it may have preceded the fight related below by ten or twenty years.

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28, 1. É-uksi, "to Klamath Marsh"; on Williamson River (K̲ók̲e), which forms the outlet of the Marsh, the Snakes saw women of the Lake tribe crossing or passing down the river in their dug-out canoes, which they use for gathering wókash (the seed of the pond-lily) on the Marsh.

173 **28, 2.** gépkapsh, formed by syllabic elision from gepkápkash; cf. **29, 19.**

*539 **28, 2.** sákatla, to come up, to arrive by the trail.

726 **28, 3 and 4.** wéwalüks pi'la, the old women only; the younger ones, on whom prin-
648 cipally devolves the work of wókash-gathering, found time to escape in their canoes
[193] from the raiders.

[192] **28, 4.** k̲'lewidshápka. The men had gone fishing to distant places, leaving their
[222] females in the camp, not apprehensive of any hostile attack.

[192] **28, 8.** kilō's, or k̲ilû's, is the epithet given to "Dry-Leg", the Snake chief; it means a bold fighter, leader of a fighting band; literally: "irate, wrathful", and may be here taken as an equivalent to "war-chief" (sessclólish lak̲í).

[193] **28, 13.** Moadoki'sh, apocopated for Moadokíshash; also **28, 1**: wówanuish (wé-
[192] wan'sh) for wewanuíshash (shläá gépkapsh). Nā'lsh tchí'sh, *us* also; that is, we of the
[657] Klamath Lake tribe, were gathered by Mr. Perit Huntington into one district, the newly established Klamath Reservation. A large number of the Lake People were then scattered about Klamath Marsh, which is visited by them now in summer only for fishing, gathering wókash and berries, and for hunting.

[657] **28, 14.** Dave Hill, now interpreter (lúldatkish) at the Klamath Lake Agency, took
[175] a part in this short but interesting expedition, in the capacity of an Indian scout. He fixes himself the date of it by the words "tína illolólatko", or a *full* year after the Indians had been gathered on the Reservation by Mr. Perit Huntington. The treaty was concluded on October 14, 1864, and the campaign was undertaken in 1866 by a small body of American troops for the purpose of bringing back to the Reservation a band of Snake Indians who had run away from it. This unruly tribe, jealous of its former independence, has left the Reservation even since then, and could only after much exertion be induced to return. The fights took place west of Warner Lake, and north of the border-line between California and Nevada, within the former haunts of these western Shoshonis.

[175] The Report of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867, page 99 sq., mentions this expedition in the following laconic terms: "October 27, 1866, troops consisting of 21 men, First Oregon infantry, and five Indian Klamath scouts, under Lieutenant Oatman, and 27 men, First Oregon cavalry, under Lieutenant Small, had a fight with a band of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [should read: Abert], in the Klamath country, Southern Oregon. The Indians had so chosen their position that the troops were obliged to dismount to attack them. The fight lasted one and a half hour, and 14 Indians were killed and many wounded."

On page 100 of the same Report, another fight against Snake Indians is spoken of: "Late in November, 1866, in a conflict between the troops and Snake Indians near Fort Klamath, 10 Snake Indians were killed by the troops, and three more by the friendly Klamath and Moadocs who accompanied them." This may have been the same fight as the one above, reported with much less accuracy of detail.

[103] **29, 3.** Spá-ish Valley, name corrupted from Surprise Valley. This valley is situated in the northeastern angle of California, and on the shore of its two alkali lakes several American settlements have sprung up. A few Snake Indians live peaceably around Fort Bidwell, which is located at the northern extremity of the valley.

20, 10. tálaat tχalamti'tal, consonantic assimilation for tálaak tχalamti'tal, due west.

[192] **29, 17 and 19.** nā'ts, natch, for nā'ls, nā'lsh, nā'lash, *us*; náts a gépkal, for nā'lash a gépkash í.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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726 29, 17 and 18. gayá-itsampk. The advance of the troops was ordered in conse-
648 quence of Hill's report that Snake Indians had been seen by him and his fellow-scout.

[192] 29, 19. tû'-hak; hak means: on this side of something or somebody, referring to an object located between the speaker and something more distant.

29, 19 and 20. shlă'pka (for shlă'apka) and tássulpk (for tássui-apk) "they saw and attacked them in Hill's absence"; tínshampk "they scampered off unseen by Hill". If
[193] the simplex verbal forms shlă'a, tássui (or táshui), tínshna were used, they would imply
[196] that Hill then saw the Snake Indians himself, that he was among the troops charging them, and that he had seen them *in person* scampering off.

30, 3. lewé-ula really means: not to permit, not to allow, to forbid.

[192] 30, 3. tchín gí, short for tchí ni gí: "so I said."

30, 5. Instead of gatpánkshkshi could also stand in the text: gatpannápkshi; the final -i being used in a temporal sense in both terms.

[193] 30, 8. kû'meta, contr. from kû'mme tchish, or from kû'metat tchish.

30, 9. snashuála, etc. They piled up rocks to serve them as barricades to shoot from behind.

[192] 30, 11. u-l'tana, distributive form of ó-itchna; see Dictionary.

31, 7. Nă'wapksh, etc. Transcribed into the fuller and more explicit grammatic
[193] forms, this phrase would read: Nă'wapkash yamakíshtana kétcha tχálamna, "to the
[196] northwest of Goose Lake." For Nă'wapksh, Né-uapksh, see Dictionary.

31, 13. This campaign terminated in a decided victory over the runaway Snake warriors, but failed to accomplish its real purpose of bringing them back to the Reserve. Nevertheless, these Indians had been severely chastised by losing quite a number of men killed and wounded, and seven women of their tribe captured by the military.

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Mō'DOKNI MÁK̲LAKS SHÉLLUAL.

THE MODOC WAR.

OBTAINED FROM THE RIDDLE FAMILY IN THE MODOC DIALECT.

Shálam	1869	A.	B.	Meacham	shuashuláliampkish	nánuk	mák̲lăkshash
In the autumn	of 1869	A.	B.	Meacham	the superintendent	over all	Indians

shualaliámpka	Tχálamtala;	Mōdokí'shăsh	hushtánka	ne-ulákshgíshi	K̲ók̲e-
kept watch	in Oregon;	the Modocs	he met	at the council-ground	on Lost

tat	wigátan	tchussní'nish	slánkosh;	nûsh	snawédshăsh	gé-u	túla	shátĕla
River	near	the Natural	Bridge;	me	wife	mine	together	he hired

lutatkátkí.
to be interpreters.

At	nă	nánuk	ne-ulakgíshχē'ni	gátpa;	nánuk	mák̲laksh	wawápka,
Then	we	all	to council-ground	went;	the whole	tribe	was sitting there,

vûní'pni	hundred	pēn	ndă'ni	tá-unep	pēn	vúnip	pé-ula	hihashuátchχăsh,
four	hundred	besides	three	tens	besides	four		men,

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násh túnshish. Nā′sh käflatoks nādsháshak tchpí′nualank, nánuk titads-
in one row. On one ground all together they are burying, every provided

χátko pi! ílktch spûshpaktchámpka, shushtedshχátko wáshash wuwatuáp-
with boards grave they make mound-shaped, fenced in prairie-wolves to keep

3 kasht ké-utchishash tchí′sh. K̲á-i mā′ntch gítko sha hû′nk spû′klitcha
off grey wolves also. Not long after this they go to sweat

[765]

túteuäpni waítash. Wátch a lúluagsh tchí′sh k̲á-i tatá mā′ntch gínkanka
for five days. Horses slaves also no longer they bring there

luélkish, m′nátoks sha wátch shéshatui shkútashtat í′lχûtchlûk.
to kill, but his own they horses trade off for blankets to bury him in.

NOTES.

This short notice describes a funeral (isha) of the Klamath Lake tribe in the mode as adopted from the Americans not long after the treaty of 1864, when cremation of bodies was abolished. Whatsoever of the ancient customs in disposing of the dead is still observed, the reader will easily gather from the present sketch.

87, 3. tálaka means to go forth and back with the hand; hence to rub with the palm of the hand, to rub paint on, to paint.

87, 5. Hä′ nen wä′g′n. In this connection they can also say: hä′ nem wä′g′n; and for wátchatka: wátchetka.

87, 11. tánktak, in this connection, is a compound of tánkt and ak, not of tánk and tak: "just at that time."

87, 17. láp kímbaks gasháktchna: they follow the corpse, which is placed on the wagon, in two files *on horseback;* kímbaks is apposition to shashámoks.

88, 1. Nä′sh etc. The appearance of their graveyard (tchpinû) near the Williamson River does not differ much from that of our cemeteries; it lies in the midst of the woods. For titadsχátko see Dictionary.

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[115]

FUNERAL OF WARRIORS.

Given in the Klamath Lake Dialect by "Sergeant" Morgan, an Indian from Kohásht̓i.

[726]
[825]

6 Ní′shta hä′ma mû′kash tχû′tχuk: "mák̲laks k̲′lä′k̲!" Tsúi gátpa
All night long screeches the big owl presaging: "people die!" Then came

mák̲laks ktaklí′sh, tsúi shneshnalχō′ta hushtsóχok. Nā′s wípka hû ámbotat,
men parflesh-cuirassed, and while burning down lodges murder they. One (man) escaped into the water,

tsúi shtí′ldshna tû′ sa-amoksámkshi m′na; gená shtí′ldshnuk. Tsúi gépka
and reported over there at relative's house his; he went (there) to announce. Then came

9 tumí′ mák̲laks wa-u′htákiug; tsúi shenótank gē′kshta túnip hushtsóχ shenó-
many people to disperse (them): and while fighting on one side five were killed in

tankok. Gē′kshta tchkash hushtsóχa túm, nánka géna kä′ktsnuk vû′shuk;
battle. On other side also were killed many, some started to run away from fear;

37. Some Historical Incidents

(Mrs. Aggie Butler)

(1) Now I will tell, something, a little to you [pl.]. (2) We Indians lived in the distant past, and we lived correctly [lit. "well"], not doing anything [bad]. (3) And there were many of us Klamath Indians living everywhere, all along the shores of the Lake. 539* 173 648

(4) And once the white men attacked us old ladies gathering wokas. (5) And they almost killed there, shot some. (6) And he was among them—(Proper name)—he, [of] whom the white people are so very proud. (7) He was there with them. (8) And [he?] shot one of the women, in the face, and it showed.

(9) And some did not hide from them, and they left them alone in their winter-houses, living. (10) And the Indians, those Klamath men, were away hunting for some time, and on their returning [the women] told them. (11) And the women [told] them what the white people had done to them, and they almost tracked them, but they did not do anything again, to that white man.

(12) And then the Warmsprings people always used to quarrel with them, and having come, they made slaves, of the Klamaths. (13) And the Klamaths having tracked them, killed some, having taken the women back. (14) So thus the people of the old days always fought wars here. [926] • [567] (15) And they [did] the very same way to the Pit River Indians, having gone, the Klamaths, and they enslaved their children too. (16) They raised them, however. (17) And some never went away from them, [for] they loved some of them. (18) They did the same thing to the Paiutes. (19) And they made slaves of the Paiutes also, and they grew up right there, so they live there today, those Paiutes who used to be slaves there.

(20) And the white people did evil to the Indians, and once that one called (Proper name), to the Rogue River Indians. (21) And that white man wanted all of them to dig, on his land. (22) And having dug something, then he killed some of them there, and threw them down into that ditch. (23) And he covered them [with] earth, the children too. (24) And one who escaped told of it. (25) And because of being thus at that time, when the Modocs made war [i.e., the Modoc War], then one of the chiefs spoke thus, "Let them not do it to us, as that (Proper name) [did] to the Pit River Indians awhile ago! (26) Perhaps they want to do the same to us. (27) They want to 'speak' to us Modocs in the same fashion."

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 141]

that Modoc said once. (28) They never forgot it, [their] doing thus, 539*
[their] killing the Indians wrongfully [lit. "badly"]. 173
(29) And I have only related little bits of it. (30) But I know a great 648
deal, but I am not telling all of it, however. (31)—How the Indians used [721]
to fight amongst themselves, always they fought even among themselves.
(32) Even among themselves they enslaved someone's child, and sold it. [567]
(33) That much is all I will tell. (34) I have nothing else to tell.

Introductory Note to Text 28

This text is a continuation of the foregoing by Mrs. Butler's sister. 124
Both are part of a recorded conversation about Klamath history in general, 128
and no particular attempt was made to formalize the texts into "stories." When Mrs. Butler had finished her historical narrative above, the topic turned to the Modoc War, and Miss Skellock began to discuss their father's role in that conflict. Rightfully, this text should include the remarks in English which led up to the Klamath portion, and also an explanation and continuation in English which follows it. Limitations of space require that these English parts be edited and abbreviated, however.

Introductory Remarks in English

"Our father was a scout in the Modoc War. He was with the white soldiers and went to those Lava Beds where the Modocs were." 539* 726• 648 173

28. Recollection of the Modoc War

(Miss Irene Skellock)

(1) My father went there, to the battleground. (2) And he was with
the white men. (3) And he was a soldier—ah—a "scout." (4) And they
were falling on both sides of him, soldiers. (5) And if they shot one,
the soldier behind him marched up to the front. (6) However, they never
shot him. (7) And he, however, was afraid of seeing (?) those Modoc
Indians only. (8) So he lived in fear, thus they said, and some of those
Klamath Indians who went with him, they also were afraid. (9) And
that's all I'm going to tell [in Klamath].

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 143]

Concluding Remarks in English

"He said that whenever someone was killed in front of them they had 539*
to jump into their place. Oh, he said he sure was scared! He was with 726
those white soldiers fighting the Modocs in the Lava Beds." 648
Mrs. Butler adds: "He told how they had to go to the war, because 173
they (the white people) told them that they'd take all the Klamath Indians away, if they didn't go. All those who went were related, since they didn't want them to take anybody away. Others, some of them, refused and took their canoes across to Pelican Bay. Some did not want to get into the war. One man, a good shot, said, 'I'm not going. I'm going to die! They can kill me right here. I don't want to go.' But they never took him."

29. Menstruation Practices

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) When a woman has her menstrual period, she does not come to eat because of menstruation. (2) [She] does not eat with us. (3) [She] does not bathe, does not get wet. (4) [She] will not get chilled. (5) [She] does not feel well, and does not put her hand in water.

30. The Second Coming

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) According to God's promise [lit. "rule"]. (2) All the earth will burn up. (3) And at that time God will return again.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

K 721 648

The topography directs Shasta attacks against southern settlements. Coming by the open country along the Klamath river, they attack iwau'wōnᴇ at Klamath Falls, sometimes swimming the river there. Or they cross by the little island to the south to surprise the settlement on the east bank. K [174] Many years ago a large body of Ya'mökkni, northerners, descended on the Klamath on Sycan marsh in the northeastern corner of their territory. These may have been marauding bands of Shoshoni and Bannock, fought by the soldiery of Fort Klamath in the summer of 1864.[43] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of Indians coming south about 1876 or earlier by way of the Warm Springs country from the Snake river range east of Lewiston, Idaho. NP

K [191]

Northern Paiute scouts use various calls in order to keep contact with one another, imitating the crow by day, coyote in the evening, and owls at night; unlike Klamath scouts. When these are heard, women and children take to canoes, staying on the water until morning. The screech owl is thought to call, kōkædē'l sḳiu'ki'u, who sent me? A thrush (sḳo''lē) names who is coming, wī'mpis ᴇge'pkwa, they are coming.

K 721 648 [727]

Klamath hunting in the Cascades might meet Upland Takelma from across the range. On one occasion (perhaps about 1850) a party of five or six was wiped out with the exception of a boy who made his way at night, arriving footsore at Klamath marsh. Those who fetched the bodies for cremation found that the Takelma had taken scalps, hands, and feet as trophies. Two of those killed were brothers to the maternal grandfather of my informant, Coley. A wife of this grandfather was an Upland Takelma woman, perhaps a slave, who was a sister to the Upland Takelma chief Tōḳtō'ḳli 'red). They killed her in revenge. She had been living among them at the marsh for years but had no children. The reciprocal raid can be reconstructed from Gatschet's information[44] and my own. The expedition was undertaken at the call of Lᴇle'ks, the most prominent ä'ukckni chief and a distant relative of Coley's grandfather. Men of all the tribelets took part. Crossing the mountains on foot, they found the Takelma encamped in Molala territory at the head of Rogue river. They attacked as the Takelma rose at dawn, scalping many and carrying off women and children. K [727] Among those killed was Tōḳtō'ḳli, whose hands and heart they took. After the man was shot, Lᴇle'ks lanced him through the throat. Lᴇle'ks invited all the Klamath to a huge scalp dance at Klamath marsh. During the dance a wife of Coley's grandfather danced about with the heart in her teeth. The captives were dragged by their arms and forced to dance close to the fire.

K 726 535

A preparatory performance, called nī'ḳēba, is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance,

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[43] Gatschet, 1:lxii.

[44] *Op. cit.*, 1:16.

411 the shaft is withdrawn. The tips are not poisoned.[48] However they
726 believe that those made of obsidian obtained on a mountain west of
Klamath lake are poisonous. A tale has it that an Upland Takelma
[539] shot a presumably mythical man, called Tcewis hu'lüms (alighting
flicker), there. Crow laughed and he turned into the pillar of rock
still standing. This is presumably the widely known tale of the shat-
701 tered rock-monster. A war leader, a rich man, carries several quivers;
one under each arm and a third across his back. The short stabbing
411 lance is stone headed; the club simply a straight stick or one bearing
714 a knot for a head. Armor is the familiar long skin tunic and wooden
slat armor of waistcoat shape. The round hand shield is used, but not
the curtain shield, i.e., a skin hung before the body. Sock-like skin
gloves sometimes protect the forearms.

726 It is planned to arrive in enemy territory at the end of the day.
Several good runners are sent forward as scouts (gau'ulü'ḳdja) to
[191] look for smoke from enemy fires. Scouts do not use animal cries like
those of the Northern Paiute. The camps are surprised at dawn, for,
[171] in addition to the confusion, there is the advantage of a long day in
which to make good an escape. Yet the fight may last several days, I
was told, but it is more likely that the raiders withdraw at once unless
beset by a rallied foe. One thing sets off the intensity of this conflict
from that of the Arizona Havasupai as I found it; there never occurs
here the gesture of bravado of drawing off for refreshment before
[554] returning to the attack. Yet there is something formal about these
fights too; the leaders make a point of engaging with men of like rank
in the forefront of battle, although they do not disdain lesser men.
Warriors do not pat the mouth as they charge (go'lgi); this is done
727 only in the scalp dance. The foray usually ends with the fleeing of the
ablebodied among the enemy, the killing of the infirm, and the capture
of women, children, and such property as beads and quivers.

[114] These are kept by their captors; perhaps some division of the spoil
is made. Disputes are inevitable: Gatschet's informant describes how
he wantonly shot down a girl whom he claimed as his due rather than
let another have her.[49] Pat Kane told me that all the booty is carried
to the principal chief who asks for an accounting of the dead and
slaves. The leader enumerates how each man took slaves or scalps and
how the opposing chiefs were killed. The trophies of these chiefs are
exhibited. I doubt his statement, unless he had in mind the prestige

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[48] Gatschet's informant credits the Modoc with poisoned arrows (*op. cit.*, 1:90).

[49] *Op. cit.*, 1:23.

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peculiar to the chief Lele'ks, to whom they were accustomed to trade their slaves for transportation to the north. On the other hand this may be a reflection of the Plains custom of reciting coups.

Scalps are of liberal size, including the whole skin above the ears and brows, as is generally the case among western Indians. Bodies are dismembered for trophies; hands, feet, ears, heart, the lips cut away as one piece, genitals, and the whole head. (One informant denied that the head is taken entire.) Trophies are never taken from women nor from any men except leaders, the best fighters. There [114] may then be some truth in the statement of Gatschet's informant that they disdained scalping Pit river people.[30] Kroeber has pointed out [171] that the northwestern Californians as far east as the Shasta neither scalp nor hold a victory (scalp) dance.[31] Klamath practice is in accord with more general custom.

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The scalp dance (sa'tca) is one of rejoicing over vengeance achieved. Hence the invitation issues from a relative of the avenged, not of necessity from a chief. Dancing begins immediately on the return of the war party and lasts two to five nights depending on the size of the group that collects. A minor raid is of course a matter of only local concern, but an affair of consequence brings everyone to a celebration for the full five days dictated by tribal pattern. Gatschet's informant recounted how on one occasion they made their captives dance before them at the first camp on their homeward journey.[32]

Older people of both sexes take part in the dance as well as the returned warriors. The young are barred and children especially must be kept at a distance. Quiet, decorous conduct is expected of those who do not dance, else they would be shot, for at this time the dancers are violent. Faces are painted white or red; hair is tied as for the war dance. They fast or at least eat no meat nor fish. This is the taboo that the Klamath impose during every crisis. There is no special purification for those who have slain an enemy.

The dance takes place in an open place, the very one on which the war dance was held, according to one informant. A huge fire is kept burning at the middle, where captured bows and quivers hang on a pole. The captives are huddled at its base, the older ones with their wrists tied before them.

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[30] *Op. cit.*, 1:19.

[31] Handbook, 844.

[32] *Op. cit.*, 1:20.

727 535 The dance begins in the evening. The women are provided with sticks a meter long from which the scalps are pendant. As instanced above, one carried her enemy's heart in her teeth. Two women commence a sinistral circuit; others, men and women alike, fall in behind them two by two until everyone is engaged. They step forward slowly, the body swaying from side to side as they stamp in unison with the right foot, bend forward with sticks thrust rigidly and obliquely before them, drag the left foot up, and stamp forward again with the right. [533] All the while they are singing a meaningless refrain, wiha'ho wiha. From time to time someone leaves the ranks for a moment to shake the pole, crying aloud. The captives are sometimes made to dance inside the circle with the same step; forced to rejoice over their own defeat. A big boy may be struck with a club, a little one is carried on a man's back. They are whipped with the scalp sticks as they dance. When the song ends the women jump about with feet together, crying a'ho, a'ho, and whipping the huddled slaves with the scalp sticks, they cry alalalala, as they pat their mouths (a practice called gababa'a). During the intervals of rest the sticks are set upright in the ground.

Pat Kane drew a slightly different picture. The dancers form a circle, each with his hands on the shoulders of the one in front; first the leader of the war party, then a file of men, followed by the women. They begin by crying even though no Klamath have been killed, but soon begin to sing.

Scalps are sometimes set on the central pole. On one occasion they had taken the scalp and the store-bought shoes of a Shasta which they hung on the pole and danced around.

[114] Gatschet describes a dance, perhaps for the Modoc, with the implication that it is the scalp dance, but it seems identical with the Ghost dance. "A peeled tree, sometimes twenty feet high, was planted into the ground, otter and rabbit skins fastened on or near the top, and below them the scalps of the enemies killed in battle. Forming a wide ring around this pole (w'alash) the tribe danced, stood or sat on the ground, looking sometimes at solitary dancers, moving and yelling (yä'ka) around the pole, or at others, who tried to shake it, or at fleet horses introduced to run inside of the ring. Circular dances are of course performed by joining hands."[33]

The last dance was held on Williamson river about 1865. Two old women, wives of a Paiute named ḳ!oilă'wŏkt, were the captives. After the dance they were freed.

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[33] *Op. cit.*, 1:196.

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After the dance, scalps and trophies are usually preserved by those
who called the dance, relatives of the avenged man. They are dried 535
and stored far from their homes to be brought out and danced over at
each new scalp dance. Sometimes bits of the scalp are sewn in rows [177]
down each breast of a woman's dress, a Plains custom impossible, of
course, before the introduction of these Plains-like garments. Both [291]
practices are un-Californian.

There is a question whether the notched rattle (ulo'ks) is played in 727
the war and scalp dances. Neither drums, which the Klamath formerly
lacked, nor rattles are used. Only one man, Ma'gai', whose day was 535
well before the middle of the last century, knew the notched rattle. 534
He knew all about war. He had overheard the Upland Takelma
singing to it, according to one informant, and always used their songs
when the Klamath made war on them. No resonator is used; the
notched stick is rested directly on the ground and rasped with
another stick.[84]

CHIEFTAINSHIP

Chiefs are of but minor significance in Klamath life. In contrast 622
my informants invariably stressed the importance of the shamans. As 756
an instance the largest house pits pointed out were always those of
shamans. This relative unimportance of the chiefs was true at least
until just before reservation days. At that time contact with the 622
Columbia river tribes, whose concepts of chieftainship were sharp and
deeprooted, coupled with the developing trade which began to make
considerable differences in wealth among the Klamath, operated to
enhance the position of the chiefs, the rich men. It is significant that
Lɛle'ks, their most prominent chief, had spent several years of continuous
residence at the Dalles. All this was sharply accentuated on
the establishment of the reservation by the government's recognition
of lay leaders while frowning on the shamans. It must be distinctly [114]
understood that the picture Gatschet draws of chiefly powers is nonaboriginal.[85]
In fact, his principal informant, David Hill, was one of [115]
the newly raised chiefs who, we must believe, was not inclined to
underrate his new importance. Both my best informants, Nancy

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[84] The familiar association of this rasping sound with the voice of the frog and its use in a social dance (the Bear dance of the Basin Shoshoneans) are both unknown to the Klamath.

[85] Gatschet, 1:58–62.

do keep up their ordinary occupation in part during this time. They 841
dig roots for instance, but others must care for the products further, else the women will never find any more.

There is no comparable rite for boys at puberty. Nevertheless the 881
time when a boy's voice deepens is recognized as propitious for seeking power. He is sent into the mountains for perhaps five days, to wander [787]
at night, running continually, piling up rocks, swimming in the mountain pools and eddies of the rivers, fasting the while until a song comes to him in a dream. He must use a head-scratcher. Preadolescent boys [866]
are tossed into the river or whipped while they sleep. If the boy whimpers he will be a weakling; he is expected to jump up and shout. I have cited above the case of Lɛle'ks who was so treated at puberty, it seems, and thus lost his transvestite habits.

> When I [Pat Kane] was a little boy of seven or ten, my father sometimes 866
> threw me into the river while I slept. I did not ask why. Finally he told me, 159
> "I do not want to kill you. I do it so that when you are grown you will not easily get sick, so that if you are shot you will recover quickly." I always bathed in the river as a boy and you see that I have never even had rheumatism until recently.

DEATH AND MOURNING

Klamath funereal observances are personal, non-ceremonial, and 764
somewhat unique in that they provide occasions for the seeking of power. There are no mourning anniversaries. [765]

Cremation is the universal practice, even for suicides, the newborn, and the stillborn. Only the bodies of secretly aborted infants are buried in the bush. The body of a man killed in war is brought home for cremation.[88] [727]

> Some Klamath men were trapping in the mountains west of Crater lake about eighty years ago when they were met by some Upland Takelma who killed four or five. One boy alone escaped and made his way back to Klamath marsh at night. The Takelma took scalps, hands, and feet of the dead, and held a dance. Many Klamath went to fetch the bodies, which they brought to Klamath marsh for incineration.

Near each group of settlements is a spot where all cremations take place. It is somewhat apart from the settlements but not isolated.

> Three of these serve the Klamath marsh people; on the eastern side of the marsh near the towns k'ɛtaiwas (2, see maps, figs. 1–3), gŭpgŭa'ksi (3), and i'wal (4). For others of this division of the tribe, there is one on Sprague

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[88] Cremation was given up forty or more years ago ("in about 1868," Gatschet, 1:86). The first burial was that of a Molala man, married to a Klamath woman, who was killed by a Klamath. [177]
[178]

II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices, the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps, some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance of 1870. 771 [756] [881] [721] [727] [585] [786]

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however definitely localized in many instances and partly identified with the figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living. 776 775

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate. 776 787

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

171 *

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	105
Dentalium shells	Ornament	Ultimate source, coasts of Washington and British Columbia.	[301]
Cradles	Sitting	n.w. and n. central California.	
	Board	n. Basin, Plateau.	[854]
Games	Beaver teeth dice	Oregon, Washington, British Columbia.	
	Four stick	n.e., central, and s. California (and elsewhere?).	[524]
	Hand game	Some central Californians, Basin, s. Northwest Coast, Plateau, Plains.	
	Modified hoop-pole	Minor game of coast from Alaska to Oregon (not n.w. California).	
	Ring-and-pin; rush ball	Modoc?, Wishram.	
Pipes	Spherical; discoidal	s. Plateau (Nez Percé to Okanagon).	[276]
	Angular	Wasco, Wishram, Middle Columbia, Nez Percé (links with Plains calumet?).	
Musical instruments	Hand drum	Recent in Plateau; Basin, Plains, (Northwest Coast?).	[534]
	Deerhoof rattle in girls' rites	n. California.	
	Notched rasp	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.	
	Clap stick	n. and central California.	
	Open flute	California, Southwest; Takelma, Nez Percé (and probably general in the west).	
Numerals	Finger names	Takelma.	[802]
Ritual number	Five	s. Northwest Coast, Washington, Oregon, California s. to Sinkyone and Northern Maidu, Basin.	[801]
Calendar	Numerical names	n.w. California, Fraser r., n. Northwest Coast.	[805]
Scalping	Whole scalp	California, w. Southwest, Wishram (no scalping in n.w. California e. to Shasta, and Northwest Coast).	[726]
Head trophy	Unusual	California, Northwest Coast.	
Scalp dance		General (except n.w. California) (over head trophies on Northwest Coast).	[727]
War dance	With notched rattle	Upland Takelma?, Wasco, Wishram, Nez Percé; without rattle, Chinook, n.w. California.	
Disposal of dead	Cremation	Modoc; some cremation in n.e. California; central California; formerly in e. Washington; n. Plateau.	[764]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
726 o2824. Held ... days before fight	–	–	2	–	–	–	•2	•2	1	•2	6	–	–	–
535 o2825. Lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
o2826. Lasts ... nights	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	5	–	–	–
2827. Part of night only	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
2828. At or near village	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2829. Outside in open	+	+	–			–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
2830. Inside in sweat house, around pole	–	–	+			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2831. Dancers abreast in row	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2832. Dancers in circle	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2833. Each person runs around	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
2834. Carry bow and arrows	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	–	–	–
2835. Talk to arrows	–	.	+					+	+	+	.	–	–	–
2836. Shoot at human effigy	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2837. Men only dance	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2838. Men and women dance	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2839. Women carry feathers	–		–				+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
[533] 2840. Women sing for men	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Painting, Headdress														
714 2841. Contestants paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•
2842. Red	–	–	+	+	.	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.
2843. Black	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
2844. White	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	.
2845. Face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
2846. Arms	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	.
2847. Body and legs	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	.
2848. Stripes	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	.
[776] 2849. Variable patterns	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	.
2850. According to guardian spirit	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–
2851. Head net	–	–	–								+	+	–	–
[30] 2852. Headband	–	–	–					+	+	+	+	+	•+	–
2853. Bone hairpins	–	–	–					•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–
Procedure														
Declaration and Manner of Fighting														
726 2854. Declaration of war	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
[721] 2855. Prearranged encounters	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
2856. Surprise attacks	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2857. Early morning, before dawn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2858. Scouts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	•–	+
2859. Use owl calls, etc.	•+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	.	–	.
2860. Hand-to-hand fighting	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2861. Shaman sings											+	+	+	–
2862. Men killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2863. Women killed	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2864. Children killed	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
Captives														
727 2865. Prisoners taken	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2866. Women: young	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–
2867. Children	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2868. Mainly	+	+	+	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2869. Women captives killed	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2870. Kept month or so before being killed	–	.	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–
2871. Abused, mistreated	–	.	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NS	
2872. Body left unburied, unburned	-	.	-	-				+	+	-	-	-	-	-	727
2873. Women captives enslaved	•+	•(-)	+	•+	-	•-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2874. Violated	+	(-)	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
o2875. Married	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	
2876. Child captives killed	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	[858]
2877. Kept for month or so	-	-	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2878. Abused	-	-	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2879. Body left unburied, unburned	-	-	-	-				+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2880. Child captives enslaved	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2881. Adopted	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	[597]

Booty and Scalps

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NS
2882. Booty taken	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
2883. Bows of slain kept	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	-	-	(+)	•+	-
2884. Scalps taken	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	•+	•-
2885. Scalp dried on frame	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	•+	-
2886. Special custodian for scalp	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2887. Scalp kept permanently	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2888. Scalp thrown away	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-
2889. Scalp burnt	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	(+)	+	(+)	-	+	-
2890. Whole head taken	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2891. Fingers taken	+	-	+	-							-	-	-	-
2892. Heart cut out, taken	+	-	+	-					+	.	-	-	-	-

Behavior of Noncombatants

Women's Dance

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NS	
2893. Women dance while warriors away	-	+	+		•+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	722
2894. Each day or night	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	
2895. Sing, pray to help men at war	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	535
2896. Each woman dances separately	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	562
2897. Round dance	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
2898. Dance abreast	-	+	+		-		+	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
2899. Outside	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	
2900. Woman singer	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	
2901. Male singer	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	
2902. Flint "rattle," on basket caps	-		+					-	-	-	-	.	-	-	
2903. Panther teeth, bear claws on stick rattle	-	-	+					-	-		-	.	-	-	
2904. No rattle used	-	(+)	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	
2905. Wear skirts of strung pine nuts	-	+	+		-		+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	
2906. Hold bow and arrow, or flint knife, in hand	-	-	+		•-			-	-	+	+	.	-	-	

Prognostications

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NS	
2907. If woman drops knife during dance, sign husband killed, hurt	-	-	.							+	+	.	-	-	[787]
2908. Shaman doctors to learn of warrior's progress	-	-	.						+	-	+	.	+	-	[56]

Return of War Party

Victory Dance

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NS	
2908a. Victory (scalp) dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	•+	-	727
2909. Held in or near village	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	535
2910. Held in brush corral	-	-	+								-	-	-	-	
2911. All men dance	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	[562]
2912. Warriors only, among men, dance	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2913. Women dance	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 2914. Dancing proceeds around fire and pole	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
535 2915. 2 circles, men and women separately	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
2916. 1 circle, men	−	−	+								−	−	+	−
2917. Dancers in row abreast	*−	−	−	+	−	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	−
2918. Each person dances separately	−	−			+						+	−	+	−
2919. Dancers stamp 1 foot	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2920. Dancers stamp both feet	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
2921. Scalp on center pole	+	*+	+	−	*+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	*+	−
2922. Heart on top of center pole	+	−	+	−					*R	−	−	−	−	−
2923. Scalp(s) on small hand pole(s).	+	*+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
[532] 2924. Human effigy	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2925. Each warrior pantomimes his war deeds	−	.	−			+	+	+	+	+	.	−	+	−
2926. Each warrior dances singly, once around, with scalp	−	.	−	−		+	+	−	+	+	.	−	−	−
2927. Old women dance with scalps	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2928. Wipe themselves with bloody scalp	+	+	−	−					+	−	.	−	−	−
2929. Chew and bite scalp, heart	.	+	+	−		+	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−
2930. Scalps dragged and rubbed in dirt	+	+	−	−				+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2931. 1-2 women walk back and forth in front of dancers	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2932. Warriors carry bow and arrows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
2933. Shoot at scalp or heart	.	.	+	−				+	+	+	−	−	+	−
2934. Women dancers carry brush or pole	−		−						+	−	+	−	+	−
[302] 2935. Participants painted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2936. Black	+	−	+				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2937. Red	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2938. White	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
[292] 2939. Participants wear brush, feather headdresses	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2940. Warriors wear fighting gear	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−

Purification of Killers; Treatment of Wounded

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 2941. Swims	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	.	+	−
783 2942. Sweats	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.	−	−
2943. Steam type	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	.	−	−
2944. Direct-fire type	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−
[304] 2945. Scarification and bleeding	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−
2946. Aromatic plants rubbed on body	.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	.	+	−
2947. Women brush off men with plant	.	−	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−
2948. Must stay outside	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	−
2949. Stays awake mainly, or naps	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	−
[792] 2950. Prays for luck	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	.	+	−
[262] ‡2951. Meat taboo ... days	−	−	.	+	*2	−	−	−	*4	−	28	.	6	−
2952. Warm food taboo	−											.	+	−
2953. Scratching stick used	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+
2954. Bath at end of taboo period	−	−	+	+			[illegible]				+	.	+	+
2955. Meat taboo to wounded	*+	[illegible]	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	.	+	+
2956. Hot food taboo to wounded	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+
[752] 2957. Wash wounded with special decoction			+								+	.	+	+

Peace Negotiations

Compensation for Slain

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
728 2958. Intertribal wars: compensation	+	−	−	*−	−	R	*−	−	−	−	*−	−	−	−
2959. Revenge only	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

000 them. "They tell their arrows to be good and to try and hold up, not to be weak; just as though talking to person. Do this for hour or so, only."

2824. AE, WT, WS: 2-3 days.

2826. WM: 2-3 nights.

2836. At: In war against Wintu (see note 2770) made effigy of Wintu woman, with willow withes and sunflower leaves, and shot at it. Also man "grabbed wife, pulled her around, boasted that was what he was going to do with Wintun women." In excitement of dance, 1 man also shot his own dog.

2841. NS: If use paint when visiting Miwok, for example, it is used to denote that visit is peaceful and visitors do not want any quarrels; usually use red paint, applied in stripes to face. Also use same for dances; informant did not know whether such used for war.

2844. Chalk used most frequently. Large deposits in At, AW area. SW: White paint preeminently war paint.

2852. NF: Yellowhammer-quill headband, or beaver-fur fillet worn; also feather belts with long "tail" pendant in rear; this attire so fascinated enemy, that latter "forgot to shoot."

2853. WT, WM, WS: Used as dagger, sometimes (cf. Du Bois, Wintu, p. 125).

Procedure

Declaration and manner of fighting; captives; booty and scalps.--

726 2855. Kl: In feud arising from seduction of married women, 10-20 men may line up on 2 sides, ready to fight, unless settlement is made by payment.

2856. Kl: War party encircles village; when 2 ends of encircling line come near each other, use owl calls as signal they are near by, and as signal to attack by rushing in upon village.

2858. NF: Young men go first, in attack upon village; older men bring up the rear.

[184] 2859. Kl: See note 2856. My information for Kl runs contra to Spier's (Klamath, p. 29). AE: Use crow calls, not owl calls. All other entries refer to owl calls.

2860. Kl: Use clubs in attack, to hit sleeping victim; if latter jumps up, knock him down. After first attack, use bow and arrows; continue fighting for most of day in village; at night return home.

000 2865. SW: Only in intertribal wars; no prisoners taken in intratribal feuds.

[727] 2866. SE, WM: Captive's arm tied to that of capturer's, on return journey of war party; this denied for Kl, WS; Mo uncertain. No rope ("captive leader") used by Kl, Mo, SE, WT, WM, WS. WS: Young women and married women whose husbands had been killed during fighting.

2869. WT: Keep woman or child captive for about month; then hold dance, and shoot her with

[211-A]

000 bow and arrow, from behind, as she is dancing. During month's captivity prisoner is "slapped and kicked around," but is not made to work. A man is delegated to lead captive around by hand; captive may become so attached to guard that she cries if anyone else takes charge of her. If she or her guard try to escape either on return to village from war or during captivity, both are killed.

[727] [567] 2873. Kl: Women hide during fighting; a few might be taken home, 1 or 2. Mo: "The Kl took their slaves up N to sell, but Mo had no place to sell slaves, so they didn't take any" (?). SW: Women captives made to work, but "really taken in order to obtain payment for their release later by tribe they belonged to." AW: "When they got mad, Mo came and took babies away. But when AW went [to war] they killed everyone, men, women and children; they didn't make slaves." Occasionally, however, child taken and adopted.

2883. At: Keep bows of slain, and use them; "they said the bow cried, because the man it belonged to was dead." (Never used it as musical bow.) NF: Ultimately burned.

2884. SW: "Mo always scalped Shasta, but Shasta never did this." WT: Take only 1 or 2 scalps, from persons killed in war. After killing man, woman, or child, disembowel corpse and string intestines, etc., around on bushes near enemy village; also cut off genitals and pound them on rock; no fear of counterattack while doing this, according to informant. Captives killed after returning home (see note 2869), not scalped, but bodies treated in fashion described above. NF: Scalping pre-White custom; "scalping stopped when White people came into the country." NS: "Only scalps taken were those of White men."

2885. NF: Scalp stuffed with straw.

Behavior of Noncombatants; Return of War Party

Women's dance; victory (scalp) dance.--

2893. At: Women dance, "just like men, in daytime, in village outside (no fire). Do this so men will return unhurt. Carry feathers."

2894. For all groups in which occurrence of dance is recorded, dancing starts same day or night as departure if warriors going only short distance; starts next day or night if warriors going far away.

2906. At: Carry feathers.

2908a. NF: Scalp dance (wetem) not celebrated immediately upon warriors' return, but "put scalps [taken in war] away for awhile, then arranged scalp dance, with visitors from other villages invited." Circle "dance" around scalps on poles all day; at night burn them. Some strong women run at scalp and hit it with long spear; men shoot it, or spear it. Run around thus all day, crying; those women who join men in this dance and men eat nothing during day. Men dance in center, women on outside.

[211-B]

727 535 2917. Kl: Men and women dancers in 2 separate single files; circle fire, men circling it clockwise, women counterclockwise. Women dance on inside, near fire, men on outside. Stamp left foot continually. As men come down to fire, hand women dancers scalps, each on small hand pole. Dancers sing; also have singers who stand by fire. No rattles used. Dance thus for 5 nights sometimes; each night dance stops about midnight.

000 2921. Mo: Center pole has several scalps on it. At: Pole 5 ft. tall. NF: Scalp at top of pole.

[648] 2922. WM: "Learned to tie heart on top of pole from Kl."

2923. Mo: Woman leader of dance carries single scalp on small hand pole.

2940. Such as elkhide tunic, rod armor; carry bow and arrows, and shield if such is used.

727 783 627 Purification of killers; wounded.--This section relates in the main to persons who have engaged in intratribal murders rather than to warriors returning from open combats. The distinction between the taboos imposed on killers in open warfare and individuals who have secretly killed in a feud should have been more specifically inquired about, and separate entries made for the purification practices followed in each instance. Unfortunately this was not done and the field data do not allow insertion of separate entries for more than 5 or 6 of the groups covered. As a general rule, warriors seemed to have engaged in few purificatory practices; whereas for SW, SE, and other groups feud-murderers observed many of the taboos listed in this section. NF taboos which follow relate to person who has taken scalp in intertribal war. Such person is deemed witai (crazy) after he has taken scalp; must be purified before he can rejoin family.

2941. Kl: No ceremonialism connected with observance, however. Klamath Marsh men swim in lake.

2951. At: 2-3. WM: 4-5 days.

2955. Kl: Fish also taboo.

Peace Negotiations

000 Compensation for slain; dance of settlement.--

2958. SW: No compensation for slain, but compensation for captives. See note 2873, SW. AE: No settlement for intertribal killings in war; "just keep on owing each other a war (AE owe Paiute a war now; the Paiute came over and killed a man, years ago)." It is modern custom to settle for intertribal wars; Mo did it, under Captain Jack. MM: For intertribal wars, as with Washo, neither side will take payment for those killed. "Just fight it out; when good and ready, MM chief may send messenger man over to Washo; then they'd make friends with them."

[212-A]

000 2960. SW: See note 2962. AE: Intratribal murder may lead to "little war" between 2 villages or 2 local groups [as Hammawi village and Fall River people; see note 2771]; in end such settled by payment for deaths. MM: "Always make [murderer] pay; got to settle it." MF: Sometimes pay relations before killing person. "Big Bar Jack killed a woman; he paid $10 to her relations, first, then he went up to where woman was staying and killed her. Her folks didn't try and kill him, then."

2962. SW: Intratribal feuds only fights in which compensation paid; "the person who did the killing wants to pay, because his life is in danger. He is the one who sends the messenger. Then, if wronged party won't agree, the chief steps in to settle matters." See, however, note 2873.

2965. At: See note 2798.

● 727 435 2969. Kl: Payment in elkskins. At: 3, 5, or 10 strings clamshell disk beads paid for intratribal killings; very wealthy man contributes 6 strings toward wergild payment, rich man 5 strings, poor man 1 string. Arrows also paid.

2986. Kl, SE, MM: Only if woman has no husband.

2990. Kl: "Food and plunder was what war party was after; members certainly did not pay for this later when settling for deaths."

000 2991. AE: When payment made for deaths in intravillage or intratribal war, no dance of settlement, "because the relations feel badly; they couldn't hardly do it [dance]."

3005. SE: At scene of meeting. At: Upon return home money is put on pole, smoked; next day chief gathers people around to divide money among them.

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth Customs

Preparations for delivery; delivery.--

3007. NS: Especially when other children apt to be around.

3009a. Usually trench dug for woman to lie over only after child has been delivered. Mo: Warmed trench used in cases of difficult childbirth, or for abortion (see note 3409).

3014. Mo: If professional midwife can be procured in time, called in; is always woman who has, herself, had an easy time during childbirth. AW: "Always get a woman who understands [about childbirth matters]; she is told [notified] way ahead of time." Parturient's mother is "all right for this, if she understands." However informant's wife had had 7 (?) children, but in none of her confinements had she been assisted by anyone, either another woman or her husband.

3016. NF: 2 women assist parturient, 1 grasping her behind, around waist, other receiving baby.

[212-B]

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

É-ukshkni shéllual Walamskí′shash.

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FIGHTS BETWEEN KLAMATH LAKE AND ROGUE RIVER INDIANS.

Given by Wawáliks, or Dave Hill, Subchief, in the Klamath Lake Dialect.

Lap′ní′ sha shéllual Walamskí′sas É-ushkni. Tíná sha luluágsla
Twice they fought the Rogue Rivers the Lake tribe. One time they enslaved

tû′m, tínatoks a k̲á-i luluágsla, puedsä′mpĕli sa hû′nk.
many, but the second time not they made slaves, put to flight they.

3 Títná É-ukskní ktaklí′sh géna Wálamsi; tsúi släá tû′ma tchí′pksh.
The first time the Lake tribe arrayed for war went to Rogue River Valley and found many encamped.

Tsúi gakiámna tchí′sh (ní′shtāk gákiamna), tsúi ní′lka, tsúi Wálamskní
Then they surrounded the lodges (the same night they surrounded) then it dawned, and the Rogue Rivers

papátkal shûshû′dshapĕlish. Tchúi É-ukskní shuí′lpka, tsúi tí′ntkal sa,
rose from sleep (and) built their fires again. Then the Lake men laid themselves on the ground, then started up they

6 yō′ta sha, tchúi ngä′-isa tû′m Walamskí′shash, lák̲iash a sí′ûga; "Taktáklí"
shot they, and wounded many Rogue River Indians (and) the chief killed "The Red"

tchí′huk sä′satk Wálamskní lak̲í. Tsúi sa nelí′na lák̲ias hû′nk, nánχatch
so was called the Rogue River chief. Then they scalped chief the some others

sha nelí′na; tû′m tánkt hushtchók̲a sa, lúluagsla tû′m wéwanuish ndénd-
they scalped a good many killed they, made slaves of many women chil-

9 gan's tchí′sh. Tsúi gépgap′l É-ukskni, tsúi gatpampĕlí sa; tsúi sûkû′lki
dren also. Then withdrew the Lake men and home went they, afterwards they assembled

yákanuapkuk lák hû′nk, tsúi sa yä′ka, tsúi sa wálas tsí′s täwá lák ipmā′-
for dancing over the scalps and they sang and danced and they a pole also set up the scalps the sticking on

tsank, tátχĕlam tálaag tû′shtoks gakí′ma sá-atchûk. Túnepni sá-atsa
its top, in the midst just of the place where they moved in a circle scalp-dancing. Five (nights) scalp-danced

12 sa ní′shta, gä′tak hû′nk sa lû′luags wä′k shnû′shnĕχank shníkshû′lχa
they all night finally them they slaves by the arms seizing forced to dance

lóloks wíggáta
fire close by.

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Títná lû′ks t'shí′n spû′ntpísham; tsúyuk gúikaka gä′mpĕle. Tsúyuk
Some (other) time a slave grew up in the power of his abductors, then escaped (and) returned. Then he

15 sapíya gatpámpalank, tsúi sas hû′k ä′pka sayuáktant hû′k käíla gíug.
made disclosures after getting home, and (his tribe) that man brought well acquainted this with country being.

Tsúi gátpa tumí′ mák̲laks Mbû′saks=sáwals tsiäls-hä′mi, tsúi gákua K̲óke,
And arrived many Rogue Rivers to the "Obsidian-Place" at salmon-time and they crossed Williamson River,

tsúi gákiamna látchas. K̲ä′gi lílhassuaks túnkt; géna sa nánuk Ä′-uksi
and surrounded the lodges. There were no warriors (there) that time had gone all of them to Klamath Marsh

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gĕlédanktsuk Yámakisas. Tapí′ta sha gátpa Wálamskni tchí′shtat. Tsúi
to bid welcome to Des Chutes River Indians. Afterwards (they) came the Rogue Rivers to the camps. Then
nē′lka: tsúi sa gû′lkí, at sa senótank. Tánkt hushtsók̲a; tû′nipni hak
it dawned, then they attacked, now they fought. That time they killed (some); five only
mák̲lĕka Ní′lakskní tánkt, tsûi hû′k sa senótank kpû′tsampĕli sas kiklō′s
were encamped men from Nílakshi that time, and these they fought, put to flight them in their war-fury
hû′k tû′nepni. K̲á-i hû′nk vû′sa tumá mák̲laks kakaknólatk gíug.
these five men. Not they feared many Indian (foes) elkskin-cuirassed being.

Tsúi gátpampĕli nánuk E-ukskní′ hûk, at sa haítsna Walamskí′sas.
After this returned the whole Lake tribe, now they pursued the Rogue Rivers.
Tsúi sa slää́ hû′nk tû′nipnis híbassuaksas, tsúi sa wû′la hû′nkiast tû′nipäns,
And they met those five men, and they asked those five men,
kát hûk tánkt mák̲′lĕχa: “tatátuk mák̲laks gátpa?” Tsúi huk sä′gsa nû
who there that time had encamped whereto the Rogue Rivers had gone? And replied I:
“k̲á-i ní vû′ssa; shawígank gäká ní mû′msh tumí′.” Tchúi ní ná-ash gí sawalinä
“not I am afraid; in my fury start out I (even against) a large number.” Then I so spoke to fellow-fighters
ash gé-u: “gäkán a nā′t! û′tch nā′lsh hushtchō′k̲tgí! gekuánapka
mine: “will start out we! never mind! us they may kill. I will proceed
kaní!” A nā′t gä′ka, at nā′lsh sha ngé-isha, tsúi nát shawí′ga ká-a,
outside (our camp).” And we proceeded, now us they wounded, and we became furious very,
tsúi nát kpû′dsa hû′nkiash Walamskí′shash.
and we drove back those Rogue Rivers.

Tsúi vûssá nā′lsh, k̲ok̲ä′tat gewá sa, udodámkua sa; tsúi sa sä′ksa
Thereupon they took fright at us, into the river leaped they, swam over they; and they reported
ná-ast hû′ksa tû′nepní. Tsúi É-ukskni ná-asht gí: “haítsnat sas pä′n,
thus (to us) these five men. Then the Lake men thus said: “pursue ye them once more,
hushtchók̲tat haítsnank.” Tsúi sa penō′dsa, tsúi nánka gaggiáha penō′dsasam,
kill ye (them) pursuing.” And they pursued, and some hid themselves before the pursuers,
tiä′mishtka tsúi nánka hátkak tsók̲a, nánka toks gä′mpĕle. Ngeísätk
by starvation then some right there perished, some however returned home. Wounded
hû′nk sa shléshla tsók̲apks tcha.
(some) they found dead ones also.

Tchíssa Walamskísh séllual títná a. K̲á-i sa tuá siúka E-ukskí′sas,
In this manner (they) the Rogue Rivers made warfare at one time. Not they any killed Lake men,

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tánkakak siúka wewalä′ksas k′mutchápkas tchí′sh. At gä′tak ní sáyuakta,
only a few (they) killed old women old men too. That is all I know
hû′masht sä′llual Ä′-ukskní Walamskí′shash; k̲á-i tatá lû′luagsla Ä′-ukskí′shash
how fought the Lake tribe against the Rogue Rivers; never they made slaves of the Lake tribe
wuiní′χiank sellólok nánukash-käílakni, É-ukskní pí′la lû′luagsla
conquering by war those from tribes all-around; the Lake men alone enslaved
nánukash-kí′sas gä′nta käílatat, k̲á-i tatá yuyálks-sitk sû′ta mák̲laks
all surrounding Indians in this country, never sorry-alike rendered the Indians
Ä-ukskí′sas.
the Lake tribe.

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Sá-adas	tsi's	Moatuásas	tsí's	ûdúyua,	Sastiásh	tsis	Walamskí'sh	tsis
The Snakes	too,	the Pit Rivers	too	(they) whipped	the Shastis	too,	the Rogue Rivers	too,

Mókeash	tsi's	ûdúyua	Ă'-ukskni.	Wäitängí'sham	tsí's	tí'tatna	tĕméska
the Kalapuyas	too	whipped	the Lake tribe.	From the Warm Spring Indians	also	at various times	took away

wáts	É-ushkni.
horses	the Lake men.

NOTES.

[124] 16. Dave Hill took part himself in one of these skirmishes. His historical accounts are all given in the conversational style, which almost throughout substitutes the [175] simple *s* for *sh*. I have not been able to determine the exact dates of these Rogue River raids; but they must have occurred before the end of 1855, when the Oregon war broke out, for after its termination most of the Rogue River Indians were removed from their old homes to the coast reservations of Northwestern Oregon. The raids occurred in the early youth of Dave Hill, who was born about 1840; so they may be placed between the years 1848 and 1855.

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16, 2. tínatoks forms antithesis to tína of the preceding clause. The literal meaning of both is: "one time . . . . . the other time."

16, 3. Wálamsi. The suffix -i, -í, is the adverbial particle hí, and forms a *locative case*, mainly found in local and topographical terms, as in Yámsi, Kakágosi, Ktaíwashi; also in a few generic nouns designating localities, encampments, mountains, etc.

16, 5. shûshû'dshapĕllsh. The suffixed -sh is the pronoun sha, *they*, and in this suffixed form also appears as -tch, -s. This verb stands in the distributive form; shúdshapĕll, to rebuild a fire, being the absolute form.

16, 7. nánχatch, for nánχa tchish, "others also".

16, 10. yákanuapkuk, verbal causative of the future of yákna. The forms yă'kna, yă'ka, yékna, yéka, are preferable to yákna, yáka.

[727] 16, 11. sá-atsa. It is a common custom among western, and some eastern, wild tribes to force their captives to dance in honor of the victory gained over their own tribe. This is done especially during the scalp-dances.

16, 14. Titná lû'ks, etc. Here begins the account of a raid made by the Rogue River Indians upon the Klamath Lake settlements. It may have occurred one year after the raid previously narrated.

16, 15. sapíya, etc. After escaping, he informed his own countrymen of all the local conditions of the Klamath Lake people and their country, and used all his topographical knowledge in guiding their warriors to the attack.

17, 1 and 2. Tsúi nē'lka. Indians and uncivilized races in all portions of the world begin their raids upon the enemy before dawn, or at the earliest appearance of daylight.

17, 9. gäkán and gekuánapka, inflectional metathesis for gäkná and gekánuapka.

17, 14. huṣhtchŏ'ktat for hushtchŏ'kat ät, ät (*ye*) being repeated twice.

17, 16. tsóḳapks tcha is a contraction from tsoḳápkash tchí'sh a.

17, 17. Tchíssa, for tchí sha: thus they.

17, 20. sellólok: synizesis of the longer form shéllualuk, shellualúga: through fighting.

17, 21. yuyálks=sitk, abbreviated from yuyálkish=shítko, looking like persons mourning over their lost companions, or made sorrowful by bondage to Indians of a foreign tribe.

É-UKSKNI SÉLLUAL MOATUÁSHASH.

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PIT RIVER INDIANS RAIDED BY KLAMATH LAKE WARRIORS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

E-ukskni títatna séllual Sástias; tsússak toks séllual, tû'm hû'shtchoχ
The Lake men not often warred against the Shasti; continually how-ever fought, (and) many killed
Móatuashash. Ä'-ukskni lû'luagslats tû'm nánuk skō'¹hs. K̲á-i hû'k
Pit River men. The Lake men enslaved also many every spring-time. Not (are) they
k̲ī'llitk, ká-a wō'sĕs shläō'tak Ä-ukskī'sas tī'nsna, k̲á-itat sa nellī'n̲at
bellicose, very despondent at the mere sight of Lake men they ran away, never they scalped
hû'stchok̲-huya hak sa; tû'm tát sa hustsók̲a Móatuash. K̲á-itata sī'ukat
killed only they; many then they killed Pit River men. Never massacred
Ä-ukskísas Móatuash.
the Lake men the Pit Rivers.

WAWÁLIKS LUPÍ' SHÉLLUAL MOATUÁSHASH.

DAVE HILL'S FIRST FIGHT WITH THE PIT RIVER INDIANS.

Kitchkánin tánkt nû géna sikĕnitgī'k pī'la úyamnatk. Tsúi nād
Being a boy I that time I went a small pistol only carrying. And we
É-ukskni gelō'la pá-uk K̲ok̲áksaksbi, nā'sh nā'ds Bóshtin tû'la. Tsúi
Lake men dismounted for repast at Little River, one with us American (coming). Then
hishtchákta hátakt; wáts mbá-uta na-ä'nam; sawíka híshuaksh hunkánti
they had a contest there; (one man's) horse was wounded by another (man); became angry the men thereat
wátch m'na mbá-utisht, tsúi hushtópakta sha lóloksgísh: tchí sha hátokt
horse his having been shot, and pulled out they (their) guns; so they there
gelō'lank shewátχastka. Tsúi géna, tû' pē'n mák̲lĕχa sha, tsúi sa mbû'sant géna pä'n, tsúi sa mák̲'lĕχa Wû'ksalka, tsúi sa pä'n géna mbû'sant,
dismounted about noon-time. Then traveled, far again camped they, then they in the morning travelled again, and they camped at Wókas-Place, then they again went on next morning.
tsúi pä'n sa mák̲'lĕχa Tiûnō'lsh; gítaks p'laíkishtka sáppăsh. Tsúi sa
and again they encamped at Tiunolsh; then (was) near culmination point the sun. And they
kákta, tsúi sa mû'lua lī'tχi, tsúi sa psín géna, nī'shta sha géna
held siesta, then they made ready in the evening, and they at night travelled, all night they went on
tûkláktsnank.
stopping at intervals.

Tsúi mbû'sant shläá Móatuashash tchī'pksh, tsúi gû'lki nād, tchúi
And next morning we saw the Pit Rivers encamped, and attacked we, and
tī'nsna Móatuash, vussō'k sas tillī'ndsa wéwanuish; tsúi sa lû'luagsla.
ran away the Pit Rivers, frightened them they abandoned (their) women; then they (them) made slaves.

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Nā'sh ní lû'gsla snawä'ds. Shlä'popkan hátakt shänótanksht ndánni
One I captured female. Noticed I there engaged in fighting three

híhassuaksh Móatuash; É-ukskni toks lápik. Tsúi wigábǎní shenótank-
men Pit Rivers; Lake men but two were. And a short while skirmished

húya shash, tsúi kä'ktsna sha, tsúi hō'pelitsnank ámbutat géna; k̲ú-idsi
with them, then fled they, and dodging missiles into the water went; impracticable

ámbu hátakt híuhiuatk. Tsúi nísh ká-a kä'dshíka, tsúi ní kakí'dsapěle, at
the water there giving way. And me greatly it fatigued, and I went by turns,

tchúi k̲ělséwi; tû' géna Móatuash k̲'läwísham at. Tsúi É-ukskni gä'pgapěli
then I made halt; away went the Pit Rivers when (shooting) had ceased. Then the Lake men returned

káhhiank tchípkash wéwanuish, tsúi sa shläá yástat lí'ukaipksh. Tsúi sa
looking out for the assembled women, and they found (them) in the willows crowded. And they

shuû'shnχa, nû'ts nāsh shnû'ka, tsúi gepgápěli É-ukskni k̲á-i shash tuá
seized them, I also one took, then withdrew the Lake men and of them none

shlít, Móatuashash pí'la sa síûga tánkak.
was shot, Pit Rivers only they killed a few.

Nāsh sē'gsa tánkt É-ukskni sûkō'lkipǎluk. Tsúi Tiunō'leshtat mák̲'lak-
All of us ordered then the Lake men to reassemble. Then at Tiunolsh they camped

pěle, tsúi sa pä'n shnikshō'lχa lû'luags hátakt mak̲lakshsáksi. Tsúi
again, and they also made dance each slave there before the Indians. And

gépgapěli sha mbúsant, tsúi sha Móatak mák̲lakpěle, tsúi hátokt mak̲laks-
went away they next day, and they at Modoc Lake encamped, and just there Indians

ksáksi gûkí'kak lúluags. K̲á-i sa hû'nk haítchant; unák tā'ds mû'luapěle
(away from) ran away captives. Not they them pursued; early however got ready again.

Tsúi sa guhuáshktcha, tsúi sa gelō'la K̲ok̲ä'ksaks; tsúi sa sakatpampělé-
And they started out, and they dismounted at Little River; then they wanted to perform

astka gi: "Kálǎm málǎm tídsí' wáts gi, hû'k āt lupí' gátpampěli-uapk!
a race: "To whom of ye fleet horses are, those ye first shall return home!

ksí'utǎkiank āt génuapk!"
faster (than we) ye travel!"

Tsúi sa géna, tsúi luéluał̄χ nánka wátch, nánχatoks gátpampěle
Then they went ahead, and gave out some horses, some others returned

É-uksi lí'tχi. Tsúi sa tchía gátpampělank, tsúi gé-u gúikak hû'k lû'gs
to Klamath Marsh at nightfall. Then they stayed (there) after return, then by me ran away the slave

spuní'sh; ná-ens hissuáksas spuní'n hû'nk. Tsúyuk hunkělámskni gúikak,
the transferred one; to another man I had given her. And she from his lodge ran away,

nánχatoks sa éna Ampχä'ni sésatui tchû'k wátchat; tsúi sa í'tpa tû'm
but others they brought to the Dalles, traded (them) there for horses; and they brought many

wátch hû'nk lû'gs sesatuí'tkuk.
horses those slaves having sold.

Tsín sáyuakta tí'na Móatuashash séllualst É-ukskni.
Thus I know (how) once with the Pit Rivers fought the Lake men.

173 p'lä′ntankni kínshakpkank. Tsní′pal sa shlín; ná-äns shlín, hû′k tchaká-
the hill-top pointing guns downward. In the shoulder they shot (him); another (Lake) man he had shot, he who was sitting in the
*539 726 yan, wä′k E-ukskí′shas.
woods, in the arm a Lake man.

Tsúi nat at gä′tak, a nát sukû′lkip'l' tû′shtok spuká shlí′tk É-ukskni.
After this we ceased (fighting), and we reassembled where lay a wounded Lake man.
727 758 Nátak hû′nk hí′shlan Móatuashash ksápok; láki ngû′mshka ngä′-ish hû′k.
Ourselves him we shot at each other, a Pit River man thinking (him to be); (his) forehead had fractured bullet the.
Tsúi nat wátsat shutä′la má-i sk̲û′lhash pet; tsúi nat ksä′lapk hû′nk shlípks;
Then we upon a horse prepared a tule-mat ambulance-bed; and we lifted into (it) that wounded man;
kayúds hûk k̲lä′kat. Tsúi nat guháshktcha shewatχû′lsi; tsúi nat gä′-ûna
no. yet he had died. And we started out in the afternoon; and we slowly
géna hû′nk ngä′-isapksh ä′nok ndánna: nās nû′sh shlí′tk Móatokni
went on those wounded carrying three (men): one in the head wounded a Modoc
ngä′-ishtka, náshtoks wä′k shlí′tk hû′mtsantkak, náshtoks hû′k luluksgä′-
by an arrow, another in the arm shot in the same manner was, another one this with a
ishtka, kánda nat hû′nk wátsat shutä′lank ä′na. Tchúi nat mák̲′lakp'l'
gun, whom we upon a horse imbedding brought. And we camped on our return trip
hí′uhiush tχálamta.
of the marsh westward.

Tsúyuk pä′ktgish lû′pia wénga; tchúi nat mbû′sant at ksí′utakiank
Then they daylight before died; and we in the early hours now fast-going
gépgapĕle, láp'ni hak gátpampĕle É-uksi. Nā′sh nat hátaktak k̲ók̲ĕlam
returned, in two days from there we returned to Klamath Marsh. One we right there of river
ntû′ldsanuish wigáta gáwal híssuaks; tsû′tskam snû′lash säkälalō′nank
the dry bottom close by found a man; squirrel's a hole having covered up
kshû′sha taluálχan. Käbatχō′le sa, tchúi wétta híssuaks käbatχō′lsham;
he lay inside lying on back. Uncovered they (him), then laughed the man while they unearthed him;
tsúi sa shpí′tkal, tsúi sa spû′nshna wikáhak; tsúi sa nánka Ä′-ukskni
and they raised (him) up, and they took (him) to a short distance; then some Lake men
lûgsálshtkak, nánχa síukstkak (lä′witchta sha mû′ns lû′gsalsh), nánχa
make a slave wanted, some wanted to kill (not wanted they an adult man to enslave), a few (were)
mā′sa nát staínas hishlá-uk. Tchí nánχa gí′ank síukshtka; tchúi sa síuka,
sorrowful (of) us at heart to have shot at companions. Thus some saying wanted to kill (him); and they killed,
at k̲léka hûk. Wák tchíhuk pä′tch gítk! stíkshui-shitk hû′k tutí′la stákĕlins-
and died he. How so (curious) he feet had! boot-like they projected at the
ksaksi. Tsíssa hû′nk hátokt tánktĕ nát hû′nk tatátĕnat sukō′lkip'l spû′ks-
heel. Thus they at that place when we that time we formed a crowd where the
ksaksi, tánkt sa hû′nk gáwal kíkaskáukatk.
man lay, then they that (Pit River man) found while walking about.

Tsí ní tamĕnō′tka tiná tapí′ a ní tchúi tánksknī k̲á-itata gē′nt
Thus I was out there once for the last time, I from that time never went

173	selluálshuk.	Ndánnitaksni	tamĕnō'tka;	tiná	nat	k̲áyak	shenótankatk,
	fighting.	Three times	I was there;	once	we	not at all	were fighting.

×539 726	kinkák	i	nat	lúluagsla.	Tchín	at	nat	at gä'tak	ndáni	támĕnotk.
	few only	there	we	enslaved.	So I,	when	we	quit (fighting),	three times	had been there.

NOTES.

197 19. The long and fertile valley of the Pit River, an eastern affluent of the Sacramento River, is inhabited by several tribes of Indians who speak dialects of the same language family. Of the peculiarities of these tribes, Stephen Powers has given the first comprehensive sketch in the Overland Monthly, 1874, pp. 412–416, and in Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. III, pp. 267–274. The various tribes greatly differ in their physical and mental qualities. The Pacamallies, on Hat Creek, at the lower end of the valley, were much dreaded by peaceable travellers on account of their sudden attacks from an ambush. The Indians in Big Valley are a fleshy, stout, and physically well-made people, while the Hot Spring Valley people has become deteriorated through prolonged national misfortune. Against both of these the slaving raids of the Klamaths and Modocs were mainly directed.

721 567 727 19, 2. The raids were undertaken by the Klamaths and Modocs just before wókash-time; that is, in April and May. They had no other purpose than to make slaves of the females and children of the unwarlike, poor, and suffering Pit River Indians, and to keep them either at their homes or sell them for ponies, provisions, beads, etc., at the Dalles to the Columbia River tribes. Adult men were not enslaved, but killed outright if captured. Similar instances of suppression of weaker tribes of the West by warlike Indians who were their neighbors are those of the Kayuses on Middle Columbia River, of the Yuki between Sacramento River and the Pacific Ocean, of the Húpa on Trinity River, Cal., all of whom were, at the advent of the whites, the terror of the districts surrounding their homes.

648 19, 3. shlüótak for shlüóta ak; the Pit Rivers ran away at the *mere sight* of the Klamath men; k̲á-i tata siúkat, the Pit Rivers never killed any Klamath men. Both statements are exaggerations; Hill's own account and Toby Riddle's biographic notice tend to prove the contrary.

727 19, 3. nellínat, or nelí'nat. When they had killed an enemy, they did not follow the custom of the Oregonians of taking the scalp. This custom is not found among any of the Central Californian tribes.

193 19, 4. hû'stchok̲-huya; by the suffix -huya, -uya, the action of the verb is shown to take place at intervals, or in a small degree. "They did only little damage by killing or massacring." Cf. shenótank-huya, 20, 2, and -uya in the "List of Suffixes".

196 19, 4. tû'm tát sa. Change of the subjects introduced by the pronoun sha, sa, in consecutive sentences, is sometimes observed, as here and in 19, 16; 20, 3. Hill often uses sha when speaking of the Klamath Lake men, where nat, *we*, would be more appropriate.

193 19, 6. Kitchkanin nû for kitchkáni nû (or ni) nû. Pronouns and particles are repeated quite frequently.

19, 11. Wúksalks is a camping-place distant about six miles from Linkville. It was not possible for me to obtain definite information about the trail followed most generally in those raids, but Dave Hill said that from there they went due south. He

by the death of several on each side, the feud continues until payment 726
is made. Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried 628
out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery.

A chief may intervene; so I was told, though I doubt it. Chiefs do 728
accompany parleying parties and other men may echo their words. 622
Beyond that there seems to be nothing to their position but personal prestige which has been enhanced by developments since reservation days. Lᴇle'ks and his successors among the ă'ukckni seem to have made much of their position. Pat's father and Te!i'wi, both du'kwakni, killed a iuʷ'lalonᴋ man at stö'kmatc, Eagle Point. They were taken to Klamath marsh and each beaten five times at the order of this chief. This was in pre-reservation days, or at least prior to the establishment of the agency in 1864 (?). Nevertheless this is not aboriginal, but, [177]
according to Nancy Phillips, these "laws" were brought by her cousin from the north.

The group that owes recompense, having lost fewer men, goes to 728
the other offering payment to even the score. The value of a man's life is not a fixed item, as it is for the lower Klamath river tribes; this despite the similarity of marriage payment and the slur on children not born of a purchased mother. My informants professed ignorance of what should be paid, yet it can hardly be doubted that recompense accorded with a man's wealth and prestige.

Children who are captured are kept; settling the score does not mean that they are restored, though this may well be only in case they have been sold. Their fate depends on their captors, who may elect to rear them as their own children. More commonly they are miserably treated, made to sleep with the dogs, fetch water, etc., and beaten if they are lazy. They are as quickly sold at Warm Springs and the [437]
Dalles as are foreign captives. With the latter at least there is an advantage in immediately disposing of them, that they do not grow up to carry back to their own people precise knowledge of the habits and topography of the Klamath world.

Kö'kdiṇks of du'kwa was a chief (lö'ki) in warfare. He would tell his tribes- 159
men to get ready to fight with the iuʷ'laloṇkni, for instance. He was always 701
in the forefront of battle. When a youth he went out to seek power by bathing
and wandering through the mountains at night. His mother had told him that 721
long before those of iuʷ'lalonᴋ had slain his father, Lĕʷl'wis, a du'kwa shaman accused of poisoning one of them. He wanted to become a warrior to have

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727	2914. Dancing proceeds around fire and pole	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
535	2915. 2 circles, men and women separately	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
	2916. 1 circle, men	−	−	+								−	−	+	−
	2917. Dancers in row abreast	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
	2918. Each person dances separately	−	−			+						+	−	+	−
	2919. Dancers stamp 1 foot	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	2920. Dancers stamp both feet	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
	2921. Scalp on center pole	+	•+	+	−	•+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	−
	2922. Heart on top of center pole	+	−	+	−					•R	−	−	−	−	−
	2923. Scalp(s) on small hand pole(s)	+	•+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
[532]	2924. Human effigy	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	2925. Each warrior pantomimes his war deeds	−	.	−			+	+	+	+	+	.	−	+	−
	2926. Each warrior dances singly, once around, with scalp	−	.	−	−		+	+	−	+	+	.	−	−	−
	2927. Old women dance with scalps	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
	2928. Wipe themselves with bloody scalp	+	+	−	−					+	−	.	−	−	−
	2929. Chew and bite scalp, heart	.	+	+	−		+	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−
	2930. Scalps dragged and rubbed in dirt	+	+	−	−				+	+	+	−	−	−	−
	2931. 1-2 women walk back and forth in front of dancers	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
	2932. Warriors carry bow and arrows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
	2933. Shoot at scalp or heart	.	.	+	−				+	+	+	−	−	+	−
	2934. Women dancers carry brush or pole	−		−						+	−	+	−	+	−
[302]	2935. Participants painted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
	2936. Black	+	−	+				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
	2937. Red	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	2938. White	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
[292]	2939. Participants wear brush, feather headdresses	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
	2940. Warriors wear fighting gear	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−

Purification of Killers; Treatment of Wounded

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727	2941. Swims	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	.	+	−
783	2942. Sweats	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.	−	−
	2943. Steam type	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	.	−	−
	2944. Direct-fire type	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−
[304]	2945. Scarification and bleeding	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−
	2946. Aromatic plants rubbed on body	.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	.	+	−
	2947. Women brush off men with plant	.	−	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−
	2948. Must stay outside	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	−
	2949. Stays awake mainly, or naps	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	−
[792]	2950. Prays for luck	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	.	+	−
[262]	‡2951. Meat taboo ... days	−	−	.	+	•2	−	−	−	•4	−	28	.	6	−
	2952. Warm food taboo	−											.	+	−
	2953. Scratching stick used	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+
	2954. Bath at end of taboo period	−	−	−	+							+	.	+	+
	2955. Meat taboo to wounded	•+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	.	+	+
	2956. Hot food taboo to wounded	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+
[752]	2957. Wash wounded with special decoction			−								+	.	+	+

Peace Negotiations

Compensation for Slain

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
728	2958. Intertribal wars: compensation	+	−	−	•−	−	R	•−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−
	2959. Revenge only	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2960. Intratribal feuds or murders: compensation	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	728
2961. Revenge only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	
2962. Victims send envoy(s) to ask aggressors for pay	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	
2963. Chief or headman as envoy	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	[622]
2964. Paid for services by 1 side	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2965. Chief or headman makes peace	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2966. Compensation for slain, 1 side only	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2967. Compensation for all dead	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	
2968. If victims on both sides, no compensation	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
2969. Payment in beads, property	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2970. Payment in women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2971. Customarily	+	+	.	(+)	.	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
2972. Intratribally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2973. Intertribally	+	–	–	–	(+)	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2974. Pay according to wealth, more for rich	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	[556]
2975. Pay according to status of victim	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	[554]
2976. Pay according to sex of victim	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	.	–	–	
2977. Pay according to age of victim	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–		[560]
2978. If sufficient reason for killing, not much pay	–	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	[561]
2979. If kill "for meanness," pay large amount	–	–	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2980. Sticks of 1-string length for negotiation	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2981. Amount same as victim's mother's bride price	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	[583]
2982. Amount (for woman) same as usual bride price	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	
2983. Payment divided among all villagers	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2984. Most of payment goes to chief	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2985. Payment for woman goes to husband	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2986. Payment for woman goes to her family	•+	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	
2987. Payment for man goes to his family	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2988. Payment for slave goes to owner	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2989. Payment for slave goes to latter's family	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2990. Compensation for property destroyed	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Dance or Meeting for Settlement

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2991. Both groups present	–	–	+	+	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	728
2992. Daytime	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	535
2993. Night	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2994. At certain localities outside village	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2995. Halfway between 2 villages	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2996. Dressed for war; armed	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2997. Dance in circle	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2998. Dance in row, abreast	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2999. 2 groups face each other	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3000. All dance together	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3001. Payment in beads	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3002. During dance	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3003. Dancers disarm after money paid	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3004. Women dance with blood money	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3005. Blood money smoked over fire	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3006. Groups sometimes eat together	–	–	+			–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K *657 *648 726 M 657 648 726

were mustered out of service. Subsequently, when Jack and his followers slew the Peace Commissioners, Oliver Applegate reported that the reservation Indians were ready to take the warpath against them in revenge, but they were not called upon.[40]

K *657 *648 • 728 M 657 648 728

In the end, the Modoc were defeated and the leaders tried at Fort Klamath. During the hearing, they attempted to implicate the Klamath, with claims that Link River Jack had cached ammunition for them and that Schonchin—"the noblest Roman of them all!" exploded Oliver Applegate indignantly—had brought them a message from Allen David promising aid if they would hold out a little longer. The countercharges proved misdirected as defense; and in the presence of the reservation Indians and other spectators the leaders of the hostiles were hanged or committed to Alcatraz; and the remainder, 153 in number, were shipped off to Fort Quapaw, Indian Territory.[41]

K *657 *648 M 657 648 K [643]

With the end of the war, the reservation became in effect a closed political system. The only exception was Ocheho's band of Paiute, which alternated between the reservation and their Warner Valley homeland until 1876, when the major part of them remained off the reservation for good. Meanwhile, with no salary forthcoming to offset the heavy financial burdens of his office, Allen David resigned, and Henry Blow was elected in his stead.[42]

K *657 *648 622 643 M 657 648 622 643

The statement made in 1877 by Dave Hill gives a fair idea of the chiefs of the time and contrasts the hierarchy at the Agency with the comparatively open order at Yainax.

> We Lake People live here thus: Blow is chief of all, and I, Dave Hill, am chief second to Blow, Long John after Dave, then too Link River Jack after Long John, and Lilu. Pit River Charley is chief of the Pit River people at the Lake. Ben and Littlejohn are the chiefs, and Schonchin is chief of the Yainax people. Johnson is chief of the Modoc at Yainax. George Kuatilak also is Modoc chief after Johnson. Chocktoot is chief of the Paiute.[43]

K [162] M [162]

Gatschet's list for the same year, which includes the adherents for each leader, differs somewhat from that of Hill. At the Lower End, the chiefs, all Klamath, and the number of their followers were: Blow, head chief (122), Hill (225), Long John (103), Link River Jack (92), and Lilu (23). At Yainax, the Modoc bands

755 patella. One is allowed to burn completely; when the other is half-consumed the sufferer destroys it with a pinch and throws it away, telling it to carry off the pain. The dry bark of the black sage is used for this, chewed and shaped into conical pellets. One informant showed me some prepared from the sage-brush bands used by mourning women and deposited in the trees, which he had gathered. Another informant denied that such bands alone are used.

Rheumatism is also treated with skunk grease rubbed into the affected part and the flesh of the animal eaten.

Earache, deafness, and hemorrhage of the ear are treated by the application at night of poultices of cooked wild parsnip root.

Toothache is kima'dj p'an, ant eats, or literally düt ansma'sx. It is so called because on breaking an extracted tooth they find in it a little worm with a black head, believed to be the larva of the ant, which has been eating the tooth. The sufferer rests his aching face on a stout stick, a paddle for instance, while he sleeps. Some one strikes the paddle a sharp rap; the sleeper is frightened and the aching gone. Pat Kane ascribed this to the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division (ă'ukckni) alone. The river-mouth people's (du'kwakni) method is to chew a bit of rotten fish, holding it on the aching tooth. The cure of the Pelican bay group (gu'mbötkni) is a cautery over the spot "breaking the tooth." Nancy denied the last two methods. Teeth are never extracted.

751 The Klamath used dog flesh in order to avoid smallpox (gotķ!öks, erupting) on at least one occasion. This was during a winter before the birth of my informants, now in their seventies. Many died because they had so few dogs. Ordinarily dog flesh is avoided, but on this [177] occasion the flesh was eaten and the grease rubbed on the body. Considering the date[188] it may well be that this was a cure learned from French half-breeds on the Columbia.

278 For mumps, the root of a plant called sķössķötkgla'ks is rubbed on the swelling. (This waist-high plant grows near the river, is blue topped, with large green leaves.) Mumps has no native name because of its recency.

For colds the root of the yayo'ķaķ plant, found in the mountains, is chewed and swallowed. A poultice of this is also applied to a swelling, then covered with pitch.

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[175] [931] [188] Powers states that about 1847 smallpox killed 150 Modocs (Tribes of California, 254). This is the widespread epidemic of that date which led to the Cayuse uprising against the Whitman mission in southeastern Washington (Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, 1:224). Taylor mentions its presence on the Humboldt and Bear rivers, Nevada, prior to 1853 (Taylor, Oregon Bound, 147, 155).

figs. 1–3). When returning in the fall, they take canoe as far as Kirk, 501
storing the vessels in the lake bottom there until the next season, and 221
packing the rest of the distance to their craft on the middle river, some twenty miles distant.

A similar seasonal migration of the Klamath falls group takes them to Barclay spring and Modoc point on the lake front for the spring fishing. Crossing the lake to dĕ'ktcŏŋks, they leave canoe and march by a well-defined trail to Wocus marsh for the lily-seed harvest. At the end of their stay, they sink the canoes used on the marsh in the water at woḳsa'lks, hide grinding slabs and similar articles in the juniper thickets, and retrace their way across the lake to Algoma. After gathering wild fruits there they return to the falls for the winter.[220]

When one considers that the countryside teems with a wide variety 221
of animal life in summer, and the seeming abundance of seeds, roots,
and fish, it is difficult to comprehend the change that winter brings. 731 •
Yet outright starvation in winter must have been frequent. The constant refrain of Ogden, who visited the country in the winter of 1826, bears on the scarcity of game, the near approach to starvation, throughout the months his party was there.[221] Yet it is not incredible in view of the deep snows that cover the land, the thick ice on lake and marsh, when travel is at a minimum and fish can no longer be taken. Snow falls early, in November, and lies on the ground in exceptional years well into May. The early spring, when winter stores have run low, is the critical period. When the lake remains frozen unduly long and snow still falls, starvation sets in. Then horses are killed, and finally the hides or even dressed elk skins are roasted in
their extremity. Nothing will induce them to turn to dog flesh.[222] [262]
When the snow leaves the prairies, they hasten to glean whatever roots have escaped the previous season's harvest. Then too a few trout may be had to eke out their subsistence.

Fishing

Fish, the primary food stuff, can be taken almost anywhere in 226
Klamath territory, but the supply is more plentiful in some sections than in others. Williamson river is one; fish can be caught there the year round, but in many other streams they run only in the spring.

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[220] Compare Gatschet, 1:xxix.

[221] Elliott, The Peter Skene Ogden Journals.

[222] This has served as a specific against smallpox, however.

Kalapuya settlements in the vicinity of Oregon City, and induced 175
them to be regulated by the same rules as were the Nez Percés 177
and to appoint a single paramount chief. A disaffected Indian from 643
The Dalles, however, subsequently joined the party as it was 648
making its way homeward and provoked a quarrel in which those favoring the Agent's proposal were slain.[13]

While these events were taking place, the Klamath country 175
was again being visited, at first by occasional parties whom the 648
Indians watched unseen. In the years 1844-45 a mixed party of Walla Walla, Spokane, and Cayuse, under the Walla Walla chief, Piupiumaksmaks, passed through the Klamath region en route to California to buy cattle. In 1843 and again in 1846 the Klamath were visited by the explorer, John C. Frémont. In his earlier visit, the martial captain, in order to quell "the treacherous disposition, which is a remarkable characteristic of the Indians south of the Columbia," fired a round from his howitzer over Klamath Marsh. Although his action was scarcely calculated to allay the suspicions of the Indians, he was shown the same courtesy as had been extended Peter Skene Ogden years before. A village chief—the father of David Hill—and his wife came out to meet the party and guided them east toward Summer Lake.

Frémont's second entrance, in 1846, was less fortunate. In that year, moving up from California, he passed through Modoc country and thereafter up the west shore of Upper Klamath Lake, where he was attacked by a party that had followed him from the southern end of the lake. Three of his Delaware Indians were slain. Although his attackers probably were from the Klamath Falls tribelet, Frémont's reprisal was directed instead at a village of the Lower Williamson group. Neither women nor children were spared in the attack. The slaughter left a legacy of hatred that did much to draw some of the Klamath into the Molala war.[14]

By the time of Frémont's second visit to the Kamath country, [731]
the Indians of Oregon had been sorely stricken. Diseases brought by the whites had ravaged the tribes of the Columbia and Willamette valleys. The Hudson's Bay Company had sought to assure a firm supply of furs in the country it controlled and thus to maintain just and amicable relations with the Indians; and many of its employees had taken Indian wives. It was now being

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

SEVEN

[P.95]

Social Change

WITHIN LESS THAN TEN YEARS AFTER THE RESERVATION HAD BEEN 648*
established, two communities had developed. The one at the 657*
Lower End was composed primarily of Klamath, with a small 361
number of freed slaves. Yainax was far less homogeneous. Near the subagency were the Upland Klamath and the Modoc, while some ten miles beyond lay Paiute Camp. With the beginning of stock raising, the fine grazing lands of the Upper End drew Klamath from the Agency side.[1] The Klamath Marsh settlements, formerly the area of densest concentration, had been abandoned as a winter residence in favor of warmer localities
about Upper Klamath Lake. Although O. C. Applegate later [731]
intimated the move was caused by losses from smallpox and other introduced diseases,[2] the general advantages of proximity to Agency and Fort may also have recommended it. Settlements on the Lower End now clustered about the Agency and upon the lower course of Williamson River. Only a scattering of houses extended along the Sprague as far as Lilu's seat at Kawumkan Springs, approximately ten miles above its mouth.[3] Beyond that point, almost thirty miles intervened between the two communities.

In their settlements, former foes were brought together: Pelican 657*
Bay and other bands on the Williamson, Klamath and Walpapi 648*
at Yainax. Band affiliations, which rested on kinship and 621
long association, continued to be strong for some time even within 619
the new settings. Thus members of the Pelican Bay band sometimes 177
shared foodstuffs, and the claim that their parents stemmed 178
from the same tribelet long provided a bond strong enough to enable one person to borrow from another. By the end of the period, however, band identities had been largely relinquished as peoples intermingled. In their place developed ties of varying

Sparrow: Male, Age 63

Background Data

*159
156 Sparrow's case is cited because of his position on the lowest rung of the local
status hierarchy. He is known as a happy-go-lucky, worthless old drunk and is
872 generally considered as "lacking a few of his marbles." However, Sparrow is
seldom publicly disparaged, for local citizens simply pay little attention to
401 him. He has a sixth grade education, gained at the Agency school. He has
apparently never worked consistently at any job, and most of his work experience
434 has been as a farm or ranch laborer. He is and has for years been totally dependent
upon per capita income and the income from ranch lands owned by his mother,
with whom he lives. Their affairs are managed by a local businessman who some
years ago was appointed their guardian. He is the second eldest of four siblings.
After his father's death forty years ago, his mother remarried and bore two other
586 children. He was married once when a young man, and after four years divorced
his wife because of "her shiftless ways." He is a semi-invalid, the result of
164 an accident years ago when a drunken brother drove over him with a truck, crushing
191 his pelvis. He speaks fluent Klamath, the result of constant association with
his aged mother who represents a direct link with the aboriginal Klamath past,
as well as adequate English, learned in school.

233 Much of Sparrow's time is spent in jail for drunkenness, in the local tavern,
with one of the drinking cliques, or passed out in a doorway. When he is not
totally drunk he spends much of his time with his mother, for whom he cares in
his fashion. Occasionally he goes fishing in a nearby river. For at least
twenty five years, this has been the pattern of his activities.

*159 Sparrow has many skills, among the most striking of which is the ability to
"fly from here to the Agency without once touching the ground." There are
154 several dimensions to this delusion, one of which is an association, in Sparrow's
thinking, with the acquisition of power. When a young man he dreamed of acquiring
the power to "rise up off the ground, like Jesus Christ." While such
a belief may have aboriginal correlates, there are no Klamath today who would
accept it as valid. Sparrow keeps this secret to himself, and relates it only
to strangers and transients from whom he intends to borrow money. His other
skills include the following: the ability to keep house and cook, harness making,
leather working, painting, canning food (the notion involves laying in stores
for the winter), tanning buckskin, wood carving, carpentry, poetry composition
(in Klamath), arrowhead making, making traditional basketry, stock raising,
restaurant management, and finally, the ability to bewitch rich old white ladies,
who are captivated by him and who drive him about in their white Cadillacs. The
latter may be associated with a recurrent dream of meeting with a white buffalo,
also a symbol of power, but it is difficult to say, for there were never any
buffalo near the Klamath, and it is more likely that he has got this idea from
reading western stories. Needless to say, most of these skills are quite delusional
also. There is no evidence for any of them being more than this. Relating
one or more of these is Sparrow's single style of interacting with others,
for in reaction to a question or another's anecdote he will sift about in his
memory until he comes up with one of his capacities which seems relevant. Very
frequently, the writer could not see where or how they were appropriate, but for
Sparrow there seemed to be some connection. He relates these matter of factly,
with only the most slight suggestion that they were self-enhancing, and no indication
that he meant to justify himself, and will then coyly watch his listener
to see if he is properly impressed. This behavior tends to merge with Sparrow's

Weasel: Male, Age 29

Background Data

In contrast to all other subjects Weasel's role in the reservation community 159*
is a totally negative, destructive one, largely that of a supposedly vicious [156]
criminal. He was born and raised on an economically un-productive ranch, which
for twenty years or more has been the location of continuous drinking parties. [593]
Weasel was raised within a circle of a pack of older brothers, half-brothers,
and step brothers, all of whom were bigger, stronger, and more capable than he. [733]
His father has been an alcoholic for thirty years and has rarely worked or contributed much to the organization of the family, which as a co-residential [592]
household usually included more than a dozen persons. In all, Weasel had 17
full and part siblings, half of whom are now deceased, three directly as a result of drinking, three from acts of violence or car accidents. [165]

Weasel's formal education ceased when he was 15, in the ninth grade, at which [871]
time he was arrested on a burglary charge. Since then he has spent six years
in reformatories or penal institutions. He was tested while in jail on an [674]
assault charge. Shortly thereafter he was found not-guilty, then re-arrested [697]
and sentenced on a different assault with a deadly weapon charge to three years
in the state penitentiary.

Weasel has repeatedly moved out of the circle of the family group, only to
fail "outside" and return to its sheltering arms. For a time Weasel was a [542]
professional boxer, but one without much skill or stamina. He never won a fight
and his face shows the evidence of the capabilities of his opponents. His
membership in this profession did not last long, and Weasel states, rather
proudly, that the Boxing Commission expelled him "For conduct unbecoming a
professional boxer." Weasel was once married (a common-law marriage, which [588]
for Weasel's primary reference groups is well sanctioned) but this lasted just
16 weeks. During this period Weasel stayed sober, the longest time he has spent [581]
without a drink since the age of 12. Weasel was consciously trying to reform [733]
himself, but now feels that he was a fool to ever try. Additionally, Weasel
has repeatedly made a circuit of nearby towns and cities either singly or in [156]
the company of a brother or friend. These visitations have more of the character of raids than anything else, and Weasel is usually arrested in one or another place and either charged or shipped out of town. [579] [697]

In addition to being a minor criminal Weasel is frequently also the scapegoat 159*
for the aggressions of stronger men than he. He constantly asks for trouble, 156
but has never given any evidence that he can back of his threats with appropriate force. His successful acts of aggression have always been sneak attacks, [186]
or attacks on feeble old men or young boys. He seldom attempts to avoid the consequences of these actions, and, indeed, is frequently not able to do so, because of his extreme drunken condition. He seems to obtain some gratification from the minor prestige afforded his performances in these roles, but this gratification is highly personalized and is not recognized as appropriate by others. It may be that he has been attempting to build up his standing and reputation within his own circle by acting out the role of a "dangerous Indian," but it would seem that he has been singularly unsuccessful in this. One aspect of this behavior is his reputed skill with a knife. On two occasions he wanted to obtain vocational training, once as a barber, the other time as a butcher, both times implying that this would be a simple extension of his native talent.

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 67

Background Data

*159
156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, par-
ticularly in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
[593] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma
William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
[733] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
[83] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by
three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
[587] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She
[871] completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and
she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri,
[178] California, and Mexico.

[657] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father
for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation
[464] and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal
penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her
sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five,
and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their
violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how
such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
[577] Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams
is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
[177] a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values,
and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of
either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and
has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[191] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her
English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that chil-
[871] dren today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I
can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
[593] no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her
children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this res-
[603] pect, Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, be-
[867] haviors in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of
place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations
with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at
riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them
coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
[657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was
carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
[871] and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who
[177] promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were re-
jected from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate inter-
changes and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses
156

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159
156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from
his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never
[461] worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen.
Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five
[871] school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from
the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at
[592] home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger siblings
may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal
[434] income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly
[657] for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the
bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very
reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit
[582] Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging
company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the
[648] logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually
[221] away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when
drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father
does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household
[593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his
father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion
knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this person
[848] is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity,
which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's
*159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards
156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or
593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting,
and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits
the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls,
and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt
and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common
[421] activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to
one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his belongings,
and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle
for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not
borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which
engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the
father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom
she spends much time.

*159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks
156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the
law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time
[673] loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his
buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom
[512] awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away
from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which
may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K M 342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old 352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the 513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are M [592] houses that hold more than two families and others that hold K only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no M longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content 342 888 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.

735 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered M the visitor[11] are of powerful frame—though of no more than 142 average height—and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early 291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing [177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a K mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in M 302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips 301 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads, ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face, 304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by [142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter prac- [177] tice, says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit River neighbors of the Modoc.

K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys. M 512 Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grand- [857] father and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its K M cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the [252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it [415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they [177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

As if to supply counterpoint to the virtues of the esteemed, K M
the myths cast scorn upon the baseborn, with their noisy pre- 556
tensions to eminence, their repeated disregard and outright 554
ignorance of good breeding, their ignoble cheating of members 735 •
of their own village, the shabbiness of their gear, and their 538
downright poverty. A poor man is "like a slave." The impecunious aged, lacking kinfolk to provide for them, are no better. Yet the myths do not depict the lot of the poor and the orphan as inalterably fixed: by dint of striving they may win their way to spiritual power and to material affluence, thereby gaining the esteem of their fellows.

The behavior traditionally to be maintained toward others is K
well illustrated by the formal counsel given in recent days by 577
one old Klamath woman. Speaking to her great-grandson, she said:

> Now you listen to me; I want to tell you what is right. When you go into town, don't run around; don't go with them bad Indians. Stay in the house. Do what is right. We know that children should do what their father and mother tell them. Listen to what old people tell you. Some people, them bad Indians, they steal. Stealing is bad. No one should take anything without paying for it. Don't make trouble; be nice to everybody. Some people, they smash things and then they get into trouble. If you stay home you won't be in no trouble. Don't pay attention to those people who want to lead you into trouble. Stay away from them. They will only lead you into temptation and you will be sorry. Speak nice to poor people. Don't laugh at them. Pay attention to them and help them. Don't make people talk about you. Help all; act good all the time. Be nice and smart. Lead the blind; don't laugh at them. When you see a poor person, go up and tell him who you are. That way everybody thinks good of you. Don't play tricks on people. Be smart and nice. Be careful you don't get into trouble. *Now I am correcting you.*"[13]

This is the ideal behavior for the well born or for those who aspire to advance themselves: the ability to maintain boundaries against outsiders, to find the fundamental strength within the home and the wise counsel of elders, and to be considerate of those less fortunate.

These norms, however, must be tempered by the demands of existence in a real world, in which particularistic loyalties take precedence. At the center of concentric circles of concern stands 000

*648 theless, analysis showed that they aggregated two extended
*657 families together with one other nuclear family unrelated to
602 either. The earlier arrivals had attracted relatives, but they had
178 been selective, encouraging some and in at least one instance giving the cold shoulder to a kinsman deemed undesirable, when he paid them an exploratory visit. For their part, they were scrupulous in choosing compatible relatives to visit on their occasional brief returns to the reservation.

• [736] That kinship bonds, selectively utilized, were still in force is shown not only by such action as the bidding for tribal tracts, but in the assumption of responsibility for the care of children from a broken home. Although choice was exercised among relatives, and the uncongenial among close kindred might be passed over in favor of more distant, but more compatible, relations, the principle first evoked was that of consanguinity. In the majority of instances, primary reliance was placed upon parents and children, upon siblings, grandparents, and grandchildren.

*648 Among kinsmen, there was an enlargement of the sphere of
*657 individual, at the expense of common, property. At times it took
602 bizarre extremes. In one adult household, for example, each
421 member's foodstuffs were separately stored and even individually
177 cooked; and each independently purchased his supply of the
178 wood to be burned in a common stove. There was evident in family interdependence what might be termed a pecuniarization of relationships, a conversion of traditional reciprocal obligations into the common denominator of coin. Already evident in the early days of allotment, it had grown with time, taking on as it did a onesidedness that was increasingly dysfunctional. Money could be extracted by the importunate from kinsmen still sensi-
[888] tive to the charge of stinginess. The aged, dependent upon their children for tenderness, were often likely to be besieged by their requests for "loans" from lease and per capita checks, and once those funds were dissipated, might then be left without enough to maintain themselves. Some families, like the ranchers previously described, were beginning to resist such demands, but for those still immersed in tribal society, refusal was difficult.

*648 The weakening of kin bonds entailed the disappearance of
*657 feud groups, entities that formerly had drawn principally upon
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578
177
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764 tings hidden in woods. Mutilations: scratching
soon after death; finger amputation. Sacrifice
of relatives. Widow pays parents-in-law before
eating. Mourner pays to waive taboos. Taboos
laid on community: boat travel stopped for ...
days; offender pays mourners. Name taboo for
... months; until mourning ceremony; change name
at death of namesake. Deerskin dance, Jump dance
taboo for ... days. Mourning ceremony.--Family
765 mourning ceremony: fixed number of days after
death; mourners washed; ceremony removes meat
taboo only. Group mourning ceremony: held for
prominent persons only; warriors only; spring
only; summer only. Other tribes invited; loans
by mourners; given under flat shade; fence and
flat shade. Dance inside structure, in open;
center pole. Formal seating allotments. Professional performers. Images made by another
tribe; some burnt; given to individuals, to
visiting tribes only, given irrespective of
tribe, to performers only; images thrown to
crowd. Offerings put in hut, hole; single stationary pole for all offerings. Sham battle.
Everyone in tribe washed; mourners only washed.
Post-washing activities: dancing; eagle sacrifice.

KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS

Counting, Calendar, Directions

802 Counting.--Count with twigs between fingers.
Beads over rod for messages; as calendar. Stick
805 mat for messages. Calendar.--Numeral names for
months; 2-solstice calendar. Months recorded on
sticks. Charcoal marks inside house for month
record.

Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs

75 Herb doctoring: knowledge purchased from older person; doctor sings or dances; doctor employs assistant.

Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena

821 Cosmography: world a person, tree, animal; multiple heavens. Sun and moon: sun an animal; moon an animal; figure in moon coyote, dog, river. New moon: children have hair cut, dance. Eclipses: any bird, condor, blue jay, bug, coyote, puma, raccoon, gopher, rattlesnake eating sun or moon; moon's husband lying on her; coyote's tail in front of; condor in front of sun, moon. At eclipse strike plank or canoe; hold raccoon skin on stick; men go to woods or mountains to make medicine; turn vessels over; throw out food, turn over canoe. Falling stars: explained as stars wanting to change place; stars dead man's eyes. Milky Way: is dust from running animals, birds, elk, deer, mountain sheep, bear, frog, prairie falcon, ducks, snakes;

539 Since you have been gone we have been doing very well. No one has done anything very bad, only little cultus[*] things

539 •75 You, Dave have lived with me at the Agency ever since the Agency was formed. Now everything is straight except the Doctors. They are all the time bad. Link River Dr is making some trouble. He says that the Skookum Dr is giving his poison and making some people sick and the Skookum Dr says that the other Doctors dont tell the truth about him.

One time we made law at the Agency about Skedaddle's[†] child and also about Charly Preston's old woman. Two Modoc Doctors, old Chick Chick and Susie accused Link River Dr. of killing Skedaddle's child which he owned up to and now they say that he is making the old woman at Chas. Prestons sick and all the people tell Link River Dr that he must cure her

We all told him that he killed Skedaddle's child and now he wants to kill the old woman; that we don't want him to do that way any more; that we have made him quit a great many times before and that if he dont stop now and make the old woman well we will put him in the guard house, and Mr Dyar will help us. Chick Chick said that the old woman was partly sick from his poison but he would take it away—which he did—and promise to give no more. Chick Chick said that he had given her crow poison, but now took it away. After lawing about these things we told the Link River Dr. that he must cure the old woman, so he came and after working on her for, maybe two hours she got better, but the Dr became very sick and said that he could not make her all right, that some times when he gave poison he could cure it without getting sick himself but he could not in her case.

Old Tutopkacks was sick and Mr Dyar told me to tell Skookum Dr. to cure him. I did so and he told me that he had no medicine then. I told him not to talk that way, and he then said, well you bring the old man to my house. So Blow went and took the old man over in his sleigh and he staid there one night. In the morning I told Skookum Dr that he used to say that Tutopkacks was his brother. Now he seemed to be mad at him. I also told Tutopcocks that he had told no chiefs that the Skookum Dr was making him sick, and now I wanted them both, as he was now at the Drs. house, to tell all about what was the matter. Tutopcocks then said that every night he was afraid of the Skookum Dr. and that one time when the Dr. came to his house he said to him, Dr.—what is your tumtum?[‡] You are the hias[§] Dr. Now I don't want to die. I want to get well Tutopcocks then said to Skookum Dr, I don't say that you make me sick, I only say that I want to get well. Ortugul's wife then said to the old man, what do you talk that way for. You first told the chiefs that the Skookum Dr made you

sick now you all the same as lie Maybe you are afraid of the Dr. Then 539
I (Allen David) said to the old man, why do you talk that way. You 75
told us that the Dr. was making you sick, and now you tell him another way. Maybe you want to make the Dr think that I want to mammook skookum law[‖] on him and that I have been lying.

Then the old man got mad and started out as we supposed for only a moment, but as he didn't come back immediately some one went out to look for him and found that he had started for home on foot and had got a long way off, leaving his wife and all the congregation [?] in waiting. The old man was skookum[#] sick but he got so mad that he walked all the way from the Dr's house to his own away up near Ortugul's. Proably he though that we were not any longer his friends and he didn't care if he died in the snow on his way back.

Allen David

The Skookum Dr. says that he gave the old man medicine six times and did the best he could to make him well, but finally got tired. That he didn't want the old man to die. I dont want to kill the old man my brother. Perhaps Dave will think that I want to kill my brother, but I don't want him to think that way. The Modoc Drs. at Yainax say that I made the old man sick but they lie. I think they are mad at me because Dave Hill—my tillicom[**]—fought their friends and got pay for it from the soldiers and they think that they will get me into trouble and get Mr. Dyar to punish me. I have tried a long time to cure the old man until I am hias[††] tired but can't cure him. He is skookum sick. Sometimes the Boston[‡‡] Drs do the best they can but their patients get worse and become very sick, and it is the same way with me and the old man. At the time Solomon was sick the Inds. came near making me wild until Mr Dyar came down and gave me a good heart. He has also given me blankets axes and cow, and I have thrown away that old cultus tumtum[§§]

Skookum Dr.

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[*] Worthless
[†] Henry Jackson
[‡] Heart, here intention
[§] Big
[‖] Make strong law, prosecute
[#] "Powerful," very
[**] Fellow, relative, band member
[††] Here, very
[‡‡] American
[§§] Worthless view

MORE FROM ALLEN DAVID

After we had had our talk at the Agency I sent word for all the 539
people to come to my house to talk about these things, and see who would agree to listen to what Dave, Tecumseh and I had said, and who would get our hearts and who would not. I told them to come on Sunday the Lord's day and we would all the same as mammook

539 church,[*] we would make good hearts and the Lord would mammook close nanich[†] us on his day. So some Yainax Inds.—Brown Mosenkosket and some Modocs, some Lake Inds. some Chiloquin's people and some of all the Inds. came. Chikaskane first spoke and said that at first he had a bad heart. That the chiefs first listened to the Agents and got their hearts; that they had put him in the guard house which was right, and Mr Dyar was also right for he was in the wrong and all the same as said to the Chiefs & Mr. Dyar, 'here, you mammook law[‡] on me'. Their hearts were all right while I was wrong and deserved what I got. Now I throw away all that old bad heart.

I—Allen David—first got a close tumtum[§] and throwd away all cultus[||] things and then Dave came to the same conclusion. He said yes, I'll not whip my wife any more, nor gamble, nor shoot myself but will live like a white man. Now all the following persons have come to a skookum tumtum[#] to do the same, and are going to help me, viz Chek-askane—Brown Mosenkosket—Frank—George (Tecumseh's tilacom)[**] Bob (Williams R.) Allie—Chas. Brown—Bob (Allen David's) Audly—Yatchoos—Ben (Long Johns Bro) Dawish—Chilowis (Jacks tilacom) Say May—Tobakelly—Oder—Captain's Bob—Bill (Bobs Bro.) Jim Heart.

Jim Heart said now I will quit lying, gambling and every such bad thing. My father is a Doctor but I say all right suppose you mammook law on the Doctors. They don't want to mammook hias copa nisika,[††] but the chiefs want to do that—they want to raise us up. I have been afraid of the Doctors and I have paid them nearly all that I had

Tobakelly said—'At first I didn't want to listen to these things, didn't want to get a close tumtum. Didn't want to go to the law house, but wanted to elip[‡‡] the chiefs. Now I throw that away. All the young men want to get Dave's tumtum and I say yes. Mr Dyar has stopped gambling and I say all right. I want to help the chiefs and Dave.

Allie said, Now Dave and My Brother Tecumseh has gone all the same as chaco halo.[§§] They always listened to Mr Dyar and always conducted themselves properly, but I didn't always get their tumtum. If I had I should not have been punished by the chiefs. Now I think I will all the same as take their place and help Mr Dyar and the chiefs. I have a good wagon and ride in Tecumseh's sleigh. I look after Tecumseh's horses and other property. I don't want to be lawed any more, and think if I always behave myself, shall not be as I was a short time ago when I paid a horse when Blows wife lied about me. I didn't do what she said I did but I thought best to pay the horse and stop the talk, but if I never give occasion for such things, they will probably never come.

[75] Now Allie sends this to Tecumseh. At the time you started I was

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

sick and I got rapidly worse I called Susie and Alex Wilson and they 539
both said I should die. Then I went to Chiloquins to see Modoc 75 •
Doctors and they told me that I was very sick. I got frightened and sent for Jennie. The Doctors told me that she made me sick. She came and helped my throat but not my chest. I have paid the Doctors a good many things. Paid Jennie a Blanket. Finally thought–I was going to die; thought that I would send word to Tecumseh not to feel bad about it. I have made up my mind that if he dies before he gets back I will bear it the best I can, and I thot I wanted him do [sic] do the same.

Night before last Jennie told me now I kilipie‖‖ all my poison and you will get sick no more. Now I cure you. If I am not sick tonight I shall think that she has cured me.

Allie

* Hold church
† Take good care of
‡ Make law, here prosecute
§ Good heart
‖ Worthless
¶ Firm intention
** Relative or fellow band-member
†† Make us great
‡‡ Get the better of
§§ Vanish
‖‖ Reverse

WILLIAMS RIVER BOB SAYS,

Now Mr Dyar writes this letter for us and I think you will see it. 539
We are getting allong [sic] first rate. I am trying to help Mr Dyar and Allen David and remember what Dave & Tecumseh told us. I close nanich Tecumseh's boys. We all the same as live in a big corrall [sic] but don't want to jump over the fence. You must not think that we will get cultus while you are gone, on the contrary we are trying to keep your tum tum, and are getting along first rate.

Bob

ALLEN DAVID SAYS

Bliwas Lackie* you first made me chief and told me that you would try and get a salary paid to me. You wrote to the Tyee about it several times and then told me that he said he could not pay me. I then got Mr Dyar to try with the same result. Then I said I would quit. Now Mr. Dyar wants me to continue as Sub Chief, and I have concluded to do so. Now I want you to see what can be done about getting pay for me while you are in Washington. I was not here when you left or I would have spoken to you about it.

[p. 342-B]

553 coins it, and soon all are using it.

Personal names are freely used at all times, but within the family kinship terms are more commonly applied. There are also age status terms for direct address or in reference to an individual as "newborn baby," "infant," "child," "youth," and so forth.[10]

855 757 Throughout infancy the health of the child is a matter of considerable concern. Whenever he cries and cannot be pacified by feeding, the parents fear that he is ill. For certain obvious physical ailments there is a variety of simple home remedies known to most adults. For stomachaches, warm ashes are held over the abdomen, and sagebrush tea may be administered orally. For a fever, sagebrush bark is mashed, mixed with warm water, and rubbed on the child to produce sweating. Deer grease is applied to burns. Pine pitch is rubbed on chapped faces and is also used to heal sore eyes. These and similar remedies serve for both children and adults.[11]

75 Ailments not so readily diagnosed require the services of a shaman, who then demands a large fee. Shamans are believed to send diseases to individuals, particularly through the medium of bad dreams. A child's nightmares are, therefore, taken as an indication that some shaman is trying to sicken the child. A curing ceremony must then be held either by the suspected shaman or another of equal power. [841] Some women try to prevent children's nightmares by placing a cloth or piece of fur stained with menstrual discharge under the sleeping child. Shamans fear the contamination of a menstruating woman and are unable to use their powers in the presence of one.

EARLY CHILDHOOD

857 [865] simple amusements for themselves. They erect piles of dirt, mark in the sand with sticks, or make neat rows of sticks on the ground. Older children are punished if they try to bother the youngsters at play.

[864] Until the age of six or seven, boys and girls play together as much as they wish. When a bit older they will be warned not to be intimate with members of the opposite sex, but young children often play at "man and wife" in imitation of their elders, using the proper status terms for husband and wife and pretending to keep house. The boys go off to hunt, and the girls wait for them to bring meat home to cook. Such play is not discouraged, nor is it apparently encouraged.

Small children also enjoy pretending to be very old people. In this game they hobble around on canes. One old lady of eighty laughed as she recalled playing in this manner:

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[10] Spier, pp. 61-68.

[114] [11] Therapeutic knowledge and beliefs of the Klamath are mentioned in Voegelin, elements 4469-4511.

114

755 patella. One is allowed to burn completely; when the other is half-consumed the sufferer destroys it with a pinch and throws it away, telling it to carry off the pain. The dry bark of the black sage is used for this, chewed and shaped into conical pellets. One informant showed me some prepared from the sage-brush bands used by mourning women and deposited in the trees, which he had gathered. Another informant denied that such bands alone are used.

Rheumatism is also treated with skunk grease rubbed into the affected part and the flesh of the animal eaten.

Earache, deafness, and hemorrhage of the ear are treated by the application at night of poultices of cooked wild parsnip root.

Toothache is kima'dj p'an, ant eats, or literally dũt ansma'sɛ. It is so called because on breaking an extracted tooth they find in it a little worm with a black head, believed to be the larva of the ant, which has been eating the tooth. The sufferer rests his aching face on a stout stick, a paddle for instance, while he sleeps. Some one strikes the paddle a sharp rap; the sleeper is frightened and the aching gone. Pat Kane ascribed this to the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division (ă'ukckni) alone. The river-mouth people's (du'kwakni) method is to chew a bit of rotten fish, holding it on the aching tooth. The cure of the Pelican bay group (gu'mbŏtkni) is a cautery over the spot "breaking the tooth." Nancy denied the last two methods. Teeth are never extracted.

751 The Klamath used dog flesh in order to avoid smallpox (gotķ!ŏks, erupting) on at least one occasion. This was during a winter before the birth of my informants, now in their seventies. Many died because they had so few dogs. Ordinarily dog flesh is avoided, but on this [177] occasion the flesh was eaten and the grease rubbed on the body. Considering the date[188] it may well be that this was a cure learned from French half-breeds on the Columbia.

278 For mumps, the root of a plant called sķŏsskŏtkgla'ks is rubbed on the swelling. (This waist-high plant grows near the river, is blue topped, with large green leaves.) Mumps has no native name because of its recency.

For colds the root of the yayo'ķaķ plant, found in the mountains, is chewed and swallowed. A poultice of this is also applied to a swelling, then covered with pitch.

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[175] [931] [188] Powers states that about 1847 smallpox killed 150 Modocs (Tribes of California, 254). This is the widespread epidemic of that date which led to the Cayuse uprising against the Whitman mission in southeastern Washington (Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, 1:224). Taylor mentions its presence on the Humboldt and Bear rivers, Nevada, prior to 1853 (Taylor, Oregon Bound, 147, 155).

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

K
301 length is "a little too much." The unit, according to one informant, is the length of the extended left arm to the upper end of the humerus, or across the chest in addition to the point of the right shoulder. The other gave the unit as a doubled string from the extended left hand
K
[436] to the sternum; that is, a fathom. One thing is clear, that there is no great concern for dentalia as money, as among the lower Klamath tribes. The strings are not standardized either as to length or size of the individual shells. Long dentalia are more valuable than the short, but my informants never knew anyone to argue over the precise length of a shell. Both men agreed that the several kinds of beads, or at least the best, are not worked by the Klamath, but come from the
K
south. They are either found in raided Achomawi-Atsugewi camps
[721] or are traded from these people or possibly the Shasta. Both were
[439] certain that the shells are not obtained from the north. This is something of a puzzle, because the Columbia river people have dentalia and
[177] use them extensively in trade. Furthermore, the ultimate point of origin of the shells is the coast of Washington and British Columbia.
[174] The discrepancy in the statement is further accentuated by the Yurok statement that the shells came to them both along the coast and down the Klamath river.[399]

K
[189] Finger rings are not made, nor bracelets, except for young children. The cast skin of a water snake is wrapped around their wrists so that they will swim well.

K
302 Face painting is general, a daily usage, not confined to gala events, but more obvious at that time. The shaman's body is painted red during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use,
[756] white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to
[822] war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white. I have pointed out elsewhere[400] that red paint is associated with warfare by the Basin tribes and their Californian and Arizonan neighbors. Here it may be added that black is used by Plains warriors. At dances white pigment, found along the creek banks, is smeared on the palms which are then pressed on the face or on a woman's smooth hair to
K
[317] form patterns. Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few localities in the mountains near Crater lake. The Northern Paiute
NP
are said to have quantities of it, however.

[317] In winter women smear their faces, hands, and arms with a mixture of charcoal and pitch, or deer grease, or of pitch and grease
K
751

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[399] Kroeber, Handbook, 22.

[400] Havasupai Ethnography, 207.

mixed, to prevent chapping and sunburn. Red paint mixed with this grease is similarly used. Putting on a pitch coating is called sutlu'mx. The pitch is roasted and later scraped with knives.[401] 751

Simple tattooing (sI'tcpale'as) is common to both sexes. It has no connection with puberty rites, although it is usually done in youth; nor any esoteric significance. Anyone may tattoo, even boys and girls tattoo their companions, but it is usually performed by women, who receive no payment. Charcoal is rubbed into incisions cut with fragments of stone. Women have the face tattooed, as well as breast and thighs. The face decoration is regularly a line down the center of the chin and one descending obliquely from each corner of the mouth. One Klamath woman has a line drawn horizontally from each corner to her cheeks. My female informant has a few random lines, including a poor cross, on the inside of her left forearm. A man's decoration is ordinarily confined to his arms. One man has a line running up the back of his hand and a T-figure on his wrist, each of its arms formed by several parallel lines. Another had short lines crossing the inside of his left arm just above the wrist. This is reminiscent of the lines on a Yurok's forearm to measure dentalia shells,[402] but has not that purpose here. A few men have a line across the nose ending in a circle beneath each eye, or the circles alone. This is the sum of face decoration; they lack the large black patches on chin and cheeks of the Shasta. Upland Takelma women, I was told, conform rather to the northwest California style. They tattoo the entire lower part of the face below a line drawn across the cheeks. 304 [171]*

TIME RECKONING, DIRECTIONS, AND NUMERATION

As with most Indians whose ceremonials do not depend on the exact recording of time, the Klamath have little development of time reckoning. The result is the confusion and conflict between native authorities familiar elsewhere. 805

Intervals of the day are of little importance. These are indicated by the position of the sun (sa''bas) for which a few names have been developed.

pä'ëttkIs, early dawn; "this is the time to attack."
ni'lka, sunrise.
xmbo'sant, early forenoon.

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[401] Gatschet, 1:150. He stated that pitch, "wákinsh grows on the pan-tree," by which I presume he meant the lodgepole pine.

[402] Kroeber, Handbook, 25.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
301 1689. Dentalia	R	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1690. Olivella whole shells	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	.	.	+	.
1691. Clamshell disk beads	–	+	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1692. Haliotis pieces	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1693. Banjo-shaped haliotis pendant	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1694. Bone tubes	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1695. Deer, coyote, wildcat carpals	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1696. Pine nuts or shells	(+)	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
•1697. Braided sweet grass		o					+	o	+	+	–	–	o	–	–	–
1698. Wildflowers	R	–	–	•+		•–				+	–	+	+	+	+	–
•1699. Belts of hair	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1700. Worn by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
•1701. Worn continually	–	–	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1702. Worn on special occasions only	+	+	+	+					–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1703. Flower wreaths on head	.	–	–	•+		–		+	•+	+	–	–	•+	+	+	–
1704. Boys and girls, playing	.	–	–	+		–		+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
[791] 1705. Girls, at girl's puberty dance	R	–	–	–		–			+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
Cane or Staff																
481 1706. Straight stick	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1707. Sharpened at lower end	–	–	+					+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
1708. Used by old people	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1709. Old men																
1710. Old women	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1711. Single cane	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[758] 1712. 2 canes, if crippled		+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dress																
Headgear																
29/ 1713. Basketry cap	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•R	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1714. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
•1715. 3-strand diagonal twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1716. Coiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1717. Worn habitually, by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1718. Worn habitually, by men	+	–	–	–	–	•–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1719. Worn for packing, not worn habitually	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1720. Worn for dances, not worn habitually.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1721. Designs on cap	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	R	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1722. Men's undecorated	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
•1723. Fur cap	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1724. Men	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1725. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1726. Buckskin cap	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1727. Solid buckskin	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1728. Buckskin pierced with holes	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1729. Worn habitually	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1730. Band around head	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	•+
1731. Buckskin	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1732. Fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
[756] 1733. Men only	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1734. Doctors only	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1735. Eyeshade	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[751] 1736. Charcoal around eyes for snow-blindness	+	•+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
Robes																
1737. Woven rabbitskin blanket	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	•+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4499. Formula recited, before taking medicine	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	·+	755 757
4500. Disease brushed off body	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	278
4501. Medicine administered internally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4502. Medicine administered externally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4503. Medicine sprayed from mouth	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+		+		
4504. Herbalist can cure any disease													−		+	+	
4505. Can kill disease objects	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4506. Can cure rattlesnake bites	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		+	+	
4507. Can only weaken, check natural diseases	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+		−	−	
4508. Precautions to ward off disease; incense burnt	(+)	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+		+	+	751
4508a. Breach of taboo causes illness	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	753
4509. Eating meat in taboo period causes tuberculosis		+	+							+	+	+	+		−	−	
4510. Worms in tooth cause toothache	−	−	+	·+	+	−	.	·+	+	+	+	+	+		·−	(+)	
4511. Ants, spider-like bug in teeth causes toothache	+	+	−	−	−	·+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	

Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena

Cosmogony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4512. World a disk, floating in water	.	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	+	.	.	.	773
4513. Supported by animal	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	−	.	.	.	
4514. Mythical age; animals persons	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4515. Chief for each species of animal	+	+	−				(+)	−	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	
4516. Flood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	(+)	.	.	.	+	
4517. Human beings created or appear	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	

Sun and Moon

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4518. Sun male human	+	+	.	+	−	·+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	(+)	.	821
4519. Sun female human	−	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	·+	−	−	.	
4520. Moon male human	+	+	+	−	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	−	·+	+	(+)	.	
4521. Moon female human	−	−	.	+	−	(+)	.	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	
4522. Sun and moon husband and wife	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	.	
4523. Frog mate of moon	·+	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	·(+)	−	−	−	.	
4524. Figures in moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	.	+	−	−	.	
4525. Scar from bear's bite									+	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	
4526. Man	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	
4527. Tree	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	.	
4528. Frog	+	·+	+	−	·+	·+	+	−	−	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	

New Moon

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4529. Monthly birth-and-death theory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	+	·+	+
4530. All view new moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	·−	+
4531. Each month	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
4532. In winter, only											·+	−	−	−	−	−
4533. In spring, chiefly	·+	+	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
4534. Speak, pray to moon	·+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	·+	−	−	+
4535. Address by kin term	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
4536. Old persons shake selves, clothes, bedding	−	+	·+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4537. Throw stones at moon	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
4538. Food prepared, guests invited								•	•	•	+	−	+	−	+	−

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

SHAMANIC DANCE-DIRECTIONS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

* 539 755
“Wálok mat tû′nepni waitólat nát génuapka kshiulăktsuápkuk we-
“For sweating during five days we shall go to have a dance the
wală′ksh tchish. At géntak í′lksat pán a. Wû′sa ní lúskuapkug. K̲ílank
old women also. Ye (men) shall go on a feast to eat. I fear I may get too warm. Loud
āt tsuínuapk; túnepni āt nûtísh tsuí′nuapk. At tchish híhashuaksh ksíu-
ye must sing; at five ye fires ye have to sing. * Ye too (women and) fellows begin
laktampka lítstakiank; untsă′g nă′tnag pá-uapk tû′m mbû′shant. “Sílalsh
to dance with exertion; by and by then ye shall eat plenty to-morrow. “Disease
mat nă′bakuapk” kíuks ná-asht shápa, yayayá-as mat ná-asht sápa; “kû′t-
will come on” the shaman thus says, some tamánuash-medicine (to him) “it is so” says; “of small-
kaks mat síssalaluapk” yayayá-as mat ná-ast shápa. Suássuaktch mák̲-
pox it says will suffer (the people)” the tamánuash just so says. Are weeping peo-
laks nánuk wussóga kû′tχaks. Ná-ast kíuks wálok sápa: “Tánni ílksh
ple all afraid of smallpox. So the shaman before sweating speaks: “How many food-baskets
shă′tu āt? tánkĕni at í′lksh? Lápni tá-unepanta pă′n túnep pé-ula;
do ye count? how many already baskets? Twice ten and five;
kánk a ní să′tû.”
so many I count.”

NOTES.

70, 1 etc. This is a fair specimen of the careless, jargon-like conversational style in vogue among the Ē-ukshikni, and without commentaries and glosses it would be impossible to get at the true meaning.

751 These directions are intended to gather the people at the communal dance-house for a dance lasting five nights. The dance is performed around the fires with almost superhuman exertions, in order to produce profuse perspiration and to prevent thereby any infection by disease. 192 The conjurer or shaman is charged with the inauguration of all dances, most of which are of a religious character. This kind of sweating is called “wála”, while sweating in a temazcalli or sweat-house is “spúkli”. The kíuks is introduced as speaking all these words. The particle mat indicates that the words given are those of another than of the narrator.

192 70, 1. waitólat; in common parlance: túnepni waítash gí′ulank, or: túnepni gíulank, or in Modoc túnepni waitólan.

796 70, 1. kshíulaktcha different from ksíulĕχa; see Grammar (List of suffixes). These dances take place in winter time and are held from two to four times every season.

70, 2. wewală′ksh. This is one of the festivities from which old women are not 562 888 excluded; they often take part in the dance themselves.

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755 Shamans never practice in concert. If one fails another is called. If the first discovers that another shaman is responsible for the illness, the relatives will insist on the accused making a cure, if they do not kill him forthwith, which is much more likely.[181] I was not told that a consistently unsuccessful shaman is killed, but it is very probable that he would be accused of witchcraft unless he retired from the field confessing his lack of power.

A shaman of du'kwa named Lĕ"l'wis was thought by the people of iu"laloŋg to have bewitched one of their people who died. Later when another was sick they sent for him pretending their need. They slew him with an axe.[182]

[276] Coville observes that "the dried root stocks [of the blue flag or iris (ghä'-gum läk'-ō, *Iris missouriensis* Nutt.)] are sometimes used by medicine men as a smoking material, mixed with white camas [wild parsnip?], *Zygadenus venenosus*, and a little tobacco, to give a person a severe nausea, in order to secure a heavy fee for making him well again."[183]

752 756 It is distinctly unusual to find that among the Klamath the shaman also figures in curing practice of a non-shamanistic, matter-of-fact variety. Blood is sucked from wounds and ostensibly from fractures; this is one reason for his accompanying a war party. The songs for this are those of buzzard and coyote, who eat carrion, of the wolf, mosquito, fly, horsefly, or any animal or insect that feeds on human blood and flesh. The patient is then usually turned over to a layman for further care. A fracture is treated by applying a cautery all around the spot, smearing the limb with pine pitch and wrapping it with wide strips of buckskin. Wooden splints are not used, nor sweating as a cure. Wounds are dressed with poultices of plants known to some of the older people. One informant said that only wounds in the limbs were dressed, but this is improbable.

Endjla'yukts (the father of my informant Nancy) received an arrow wound in an arm during a feud. Although he was himself a shaman, he did not attempt to treat himself, but called on Ĕkts'as, the shaman who was serving as the spiritual guardian of this war party. The latter pulled out the arrow, applied a poultice made of the leaves of an unidentified plant, and bound the arm. The wounded man eventually died of this wound.

Wounds made by a grizzly bear are treated by a shaman who has the songs of a huge spirit grizzly. The shaman prances about in imitation of the bear, palms raised in front of his shoulders to represent

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[181] Gatschet cites a case (1:68-69).

[182] The revenge taken by his son Kō'ŋdlaks is described above.

[183] Coville, Notes, 93.

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the fore paws. He wears neither a bear skin nor claws. This is the information of Pat Kane, but Nancy Phillips when asked about this scouted the idea. The only one wounded by a bear so far as she knew was a shaman, Pok̓etdjö'tk, who cured himself of a black bear bite. It is of course possible that he had the song of the black bear unknown to her.

There are no special rattlesnake shamans, but a shamanistic cure for the bite was described. While Jim Jackson was in the Modoc country a rattler struck him in the finger leaving a fang in it. He neither killed the snake nor cut open the wound as is customary. The fang traveled up into his arm, which swelled and began to be spotted like the snake. Pok̓etdjö'tk sang one or two songs and sucked out the tooth in a short time. He showed it to everyone after spitting it into his palm. It was minute and fine as a hair; one could not see it well. Next morning Jim, having recovered, paid a horse. This took place by day. This shaman also sucked a fang from the foot of another injured man. So far as Nancy knew, he was the only one who ever cured these bites and what spirit he used she did not know. The rattlesnake is the spirit of many shamans but they do not know how to cure snake bites.

There is a quasi matter-of-fact procedure for the bites, however. 752 The flesh is cut away around the wound or gashed to the bone. It is then wrapped with a fresh snake skin. Lo'lŏklis (Pat Kane's father) saved his sister in this fashion, a rattler having struck her instep. She recovered immediately. No tourniquet is used. Men tie the rattles of snakes they kill to their hair, women do not.

There is a flat-topped mountain called seolŏpg̓is, probably that 755 southwest of Wocus bay on the western side of Klamath lake, on which is a pond where persons ailing from skin trouble and other illnesses are brought. They are laid in the pond so that the water bugs may eat the disease.

A shaman's treatment for sore eyes described to Gatschet is putting a mixture of charcoal into the eyes, together with a louse "to make it eat up the protruding portion of the sore eye."[184]

It is desirable to record other medical practices here although no shaman is involved. The cautery is in frequent use; all my informants have deep burns on the temples or arms. Two or more sagebrush pellets (alkiŏ'kiūs) are lighted and placed on the spot that pains. For rheumatism, for example, they are placed beside the

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[184] *Op. cit.*, 1:71–72.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 2914. Dancing proceeds around fire and pole	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
535 2915. 2 circles, men and women separately	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
2916. 1 circle, men	−	−	+								−	−	+	−
2917. Dancers in row abreast	*−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2918. Each person dances separately	−	−			+						+	−	+	−
2919. Dancers stamp 1 foot	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2920. Dancers stamp both feet	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
2921. Scalp on center pole	+	*+	+	−	*+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	*+	−
2922. Heart on top of center pole	+	−	+	−					*R	−	−	−	−	−
2923. Scalp(s) on small hand pole(s)	+	*+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
[532] 2924. Human effigy	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2925. Each warrior pantomimes his war deeds	−	.	−			+	+	+	+	+	.	−	+	−
2926. Each warrior dances singly, once around, with scalp	−	.	−	−		+	+	−	+	+	.	−	−	−
2927. Old women dance with scalps	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2928. Wipe themselves with bloody scalp	+	+	−	−					+	−	.	−	−	−
2929. Chew and bite scalp, heart	.	+	+	−		+	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−
2930. Scalps dragged and rubbed in dirt	+	+	−	−				+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2931. 1-2 women walk back and forth in front of dancers	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2932. Warriors carry bow and arrows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
2933. Shoot at scalp or heart	.	.	+	−				+	+	+	−	−	+	−
2934. Women dancers carry brush or pole	−		−						+	−	+	−	+	−
[302] 2935. Participants painted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2936. Black	+	−	+				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2937. Red	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2938. White	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
[292] 2939. Participants wear brush, feather headdresses	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2940. Warriors wear fighting gear	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−

Purification of Killers; Treatment of Wounded

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 2941. Swims	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	.	+	−
783 2942. Sweats	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.	−	−
2943. Steam type	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	.	−	−
2944. Direct-fire type	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−
[304] 2945. Scarification and bleeding	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−
2946. Aromatic plants rubbed on body	.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	.	+	−
2947. Women brush off men with plant	.	−	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−
2948. Must stay outside	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	−
2949. Stays awake mainly, or naps	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	−
[792] 2950. Prays for luck	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	.	+	−
[262] ‡2951. Meat taboo ... days	−	−	.	+	*2	−	−	−	*4	−	28	.	6	−
2952. Warm food taboo	−											.	+	−
2953. Scratching stick used	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+
2954. Bath at end of taboo period	−	−	+	+							+	.	+	+
2955. Meat taboo to wounded	*+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	.	+	+
2956. Hot food taboo to wounded	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+
[752] 2957. Wash wounded with special decoction			+								+	.	+	+

Peace Negotiations

Compensation for Slain

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
728 2958. Intertribal wars: compensation	+	−	−	*−	−	R	*−	−	−	−	*−	−	−	−
2959. Revenge only	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Directions																
823																
4458. 4 cardinal directions	•(+)	+	+	+	.	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
4459. 6 cardinal directions	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
4460. 8 cardinal directions	−	−	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4461. Waterflow for directions	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4462. Directions indicated by place names	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4463. Sunrise, sunset terms for E, W	−		+	•+		+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
823 4464. Direction indicated by pursing lips	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
201 o4465. Plus twitching nose, glancing with eyes		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	±	−	−
4466. Plus hand against cheek, pointing	−	−				+	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
°4467. Used for privacy, mainly		+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	.	−	−
4468. Direction indicated by pointing hand, finger.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Therapeutic Practices																
757																
4469. Practices for curing illnesses	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	+	+
4470. Piss ants, for rheumatism, tuberculosis	+	−	+						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4471. Drink boiled decoction of	+	−	+						−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4472. Sit on nest of, let "water" remain on body	−	−	−						+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
● [752] °4473. Cautery	•+	+	+		•+				+	•+	+	−	−		−	−
4474. If blister rises, cure will be effected	+	+	+						+	•−	+	−	−		−	−
[752] 4475. Blood letting			•+	•+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	+		+	+
4476. Cut made with flint knife			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		+	+
4477. Vapor baths, patient covered with robe	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	•+	−	+	−		−	+
4478. Steaming in small steam house, mud and ashes													−		+	−
4479. Poultices	+	+							+						+	+
4480. Sucker skin, for snake bites.	−	−	−						+	−	−	−	−		−	−
4481. Plant poultices with warm rock inside															+	+
4482. Smoking: wild parsnip, for headaches, colds	−		−						+	+	•+	•+	−		.	.
4483. Plant and root decoctions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4484. Datura (jimsonweed) root	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	•+
4485. Decoctions for wounds			•+								•+	.	•+		•+	.
Herb Doctoring; Beliefs Concerning Ailments																
4486. Herbalists	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
755 4487. Informal "doctoring" only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+		−	−
757 4488. Informal and formal doctoring	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−		+	+
278 4489. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	+
4490. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4491. Mostly women	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+		−	−
4492. Herbalist may also be sucking shaman.	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−		+	+
4493. Knowledge inherited	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−
4494. Dream	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−		−	−
4495. Taught free by older person	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+
4496. Taught free by doctor, to relation only													−		•+	−
4497. Formula spoken when gathering plants.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		.	•+
4498. Treatment private, at patient's house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+

(swĭ'is) as we have seen are beings that live in the mountains, in river 774
eddies, and in lakes, where they are sought by those in quest of power. 775
Souls are personal and after death go to the land of the dead,
No'lĭskăn. The soul leaves only at death; illness is not ascribed to its
loss. Ghosts (skuks) wander from the land of the dead where souls
have gone. It was not said that ghosts are souls in other guise nor
were the ghosts referred to those of particular persons. The juxtaposition
is rather like that of our own folk thought.

One word hoki's means soul, breath, and life. It is intelligible then
why one of my informants said that all animals as well as men have
souls. It is the quickening of life rather than spiritual personality
that is implied by the word. They say of death, hoki no'tsna no'lĭskăn,
the life leaves for the land of the dead. Its seat is within the heart
(staii'nas); outside is the flesh (djolĕ'ks). When the body is cremated,
the soul goes to the land of the dead. The flesh is destroyed;
the ashes and smoke blown into the air are carried back to earth by
rain, to the country of which the body is a part. Everything grows
well then. But the soul never returns.[181]

Ghosts return from the land of the dead because they want to live 775
again. They are constantly about seeking to catch someone's soul to
take to the land of the dead. (So I was told; but there was never a [753]
hint when they told me of curing that sickness is due to loss of the
soul.) It makes no difference that one has spirit power, his life may
be taken. This is most likely to happen to one in mourning as he sits [761]
alone weeping in his house at night, for ghosts usually come at night.
Next day he will die. This happens commonly enough; even little
boys at play see them and die at once. Shamans can discover this.
Whatever they are like in the land of the dead, ghosts that return
neither resemble humans exactly nor are they skeletons. Today some
people talk without fear with ghosts, formerly they would have died.
Possibly my informant meant by this that members of his own Shaker
sect or adherents to the Ghost dance cult could talk to them with
impunity, but he may have had in mind only the prohibition of the
folk-tales against talking to the dead as they are being transformed
to living creatures.

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[181] Gatschet records an obscure statement which he interprets: "The Maklaks [114]
[Klamath] believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies
of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore
cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances" (1:130). The
word used is however skuks, ghost. I received no information of this sort.

756 787 Clairvoyance, at least the ability to see distant objects and events, lies within the power of any shaman. This is called dode'üks, to dream. My informant Nancy, who in her youth was on the way to becoming a shaman, had at least this power before she was deprived of her spirits (see above). The spirits talk to the clairvoyant; among her spirits was a bear.

Lost articles are found through the dog spirit. The people are lined up in two opposing rows—an excellent psychological expedient for discovering guilt—while the shaman passes along searching for the suspect. He sees the stolen object shine in the thief's upraised palm. This takes place in the open. My informant had seen this practiced once when some beads were stolen in a gambling group.

The shaman's prevision of what will happen in battle is decidedly more important. This ability is acquired through the eagle and weasel spirits, and perhaps others. During the war dance preparatory to setting out or at camp on the march, the shaman dances in front of the line of warriors, looking "through" them. He predicts who will be killed or wounded, and how the enemy will suffer. He sees them bleeding. One informant stated that those for whom disaster was predicted would not go to war, but others said this is not so and they are probably right. For example, while a mixed group of Klamath and Modoc were encamped on the way to Pit river, a Modoc shaman predicted, "If you are to be shot, then your bowstrings will snap," and the strings of two did snap.[172] Shamans accompany war parties, not only to fight, but to watch over them and cure the wounded.

CURING

755 Curing practice lacks the *mise en scène* of the winter performance held in the figure-decked shaman's lodge, for it always takes place in the patient's home. Nevertheless, it must be quite an impressive affair with its accumulating intensity as spirit after spirit is called to the assemblage, as one after the other they are charged with [753] responsibility for the illness. Sickness in the Klamath view is due to spirit activity, the presence in the patient of an intrusive object rather than possession, and a cure (hĕswŏ'mbli or teo'ta) is effected by removing and destroying it. There is no suggestion here of soul loss as a cause of illness.

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[172] Gatschet, 1:21.

787 experiences with it. Power may also come involuntarily, when a dreamer hears a spirit song. There is no obligation to accept, but resistance brings illness.

796 The midwinter month (December-January) has a curious place in
the Klamath calendar. While a shaman must of necessity evoke his
756 spirit to cure or foretell at any time of the year, this is the period when every shaman feels called on to exhibit his powers. The novice shaman also waits for this time to give a public test of his possession, and only after this does he attempt to cure. These seances are solely for displaying power, manifested by the songs and a series of feats. During these performances, those among the audience who have spirits also sing their own songs if the spirit impels. In other words, the midwinter month is the period *par excellence* when spirits regularly resume contact with their communicants.

[535] The essential of the winter seance is a dance by the shaman as close
as possible to a huge fire in order to call his spirits to assist him in
[372] the feats that follow. These are stereotyped tricks, of which two, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are the test of the novice. Other tricks are of the type of making things appear and disappear.

A few other details should be mentioned here. There is an assistant at this performance, a layman, who repeats the shaman's words. Food brought to the seance is thought first to be eaten by a frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one may touch it. The performance takes place in the shaman's own dwelling.

[789] Weather control, like the display of powers at the midwinter seances, offers an opportunity for shamanistic rivalry. Clairvoyance appears in connection with the war dance preparatory to an expedition, and, curiously, the shaman accompanies the party to continue his clairvoyant function, and, what is still more unique, to serve as surgeon.

753 Illness is the result of the intrusion of something foreign, usually
a spirit and commonly the spirit of a malignant shaman. A cure con-
755 sists in extracting a tiny object which is either the disease itself or embodies it. The curing procedure is highly formalized: spirit after spirit is invoked to search the patient, beginning always with the Old Frog Woman, until the culpable spirit is found. The shaman's familiars are thought to stand beside him ready to assist. When he succeeds in sucking out the disease object he swallows it, while blood streams from his mouth.

*171 Very little of this is unique with the Klamath, as we may see by
756 comparison with the shamanistic complex of neighboring peoples.

*171 756 From this perspective the Klamath complex takes its place with the relatively simple shamanism of the northwestern interior and the Basin, overlaid with elements shared by tribes of the northwestern coast and those of northern, or better, northwestern California.

Shamanism bulks large in the social scheme of the Klamath as it does in the interior Plateau and the Basin, for the reason that com- [881] peting rituals are lacking. Beyond the girls' rite, the war and scalp dances, and for a brief time the Ghost dance, the Klamath have noth- [535] ing but shamans' performances. The winter ritual of the Northwest Coast extends only to central coastal Washington, the potlatch only to the Columbia river. The wealth display dances of northwestern [726] California do not penetrate even to the Shasta; those of the central [786] Californian Kuksu cult not beyond the head of the Sacramento. Elements of these ritual systems do indeed appear among the Klamath, *171 but the dances as such are absent.

796 The Klamath hold the acquisition of supernatural power within the reach of anyone. In this they accord with the generality of North *171 Americans and differ emphatically from the Californians for whom power descends only on the few. The Klamath form of quest fol- 787 lowed by a dream in which power comes links the common quest of America with the dream experience of California. The Northwest Coast, its interior, and the Basin are a unit with the Klamath in that the quest is for power of a general sort, not for visions yielding specific sanctions as in the Plains. The spirits whose benevolence is sought are birds and animals as in the interior, the Plains and eastward, not the mystic supernaturals of the Northwest Coast. The source of power and disease among the northwest Californians, the "pain" *171 objects, do not appear among them in any form. The Klamath concept of disease is the very general North American one of intrusion; • 753 the soul-loss concept of the Northwest Coast and tribes to the Columbia is unknown here.

*171 The Klamath novitiate dance for shamans is shared by groups from the Sacramento to the Columbia. It is the northern demonstration of 756 ability rather than the initiation and mastery of power of the northern Californians. The repeated dance of the Yurok prevails through Shasta and Modoc, but the single Klamath dance is of the interior type.

*171 The Northwest Coast winter ritual makes its appearance here only 756 in its general aspects. Klamath shamanistic seances are held only in midwinter and this is also the time for repossession by spirits among

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2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
534	2087. Feathers on stick handle	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2088. Number of cocoons	-	-	-	-	•3	•5	6	-	-	•4	•5	5	•4	5	•3	•5
[758]	2089. Used by shaman in curing	•-	-	-	-	•+	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
	2090. Used by Big Head singers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	+	-	-	-	-
	2091. Used for any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
[787]	2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										-	+	+	+	-	-	-
	2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	-	-	-	•+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2094. Split-stick clapper	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2095. Single split	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2096. Multiple splits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2097. Painted	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	•R	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
[881]	2098. Burned decoration	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
[535]	2099. For girl's puberty dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[720]	2100. For war dance	-	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[796]	2101. For Ghost dance	.	-	R	-		R		•R	R	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2102. For any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	+	R	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
	2103. Snake rattles on stick	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•-	•+	-	-	-	-
	2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2106. On cord or thong, no handle	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2107. Worn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[881]	2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	•7	15	20	20	20	-	25	8	20	1	2	4	-	-
	2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[524]	2111. Basket rattle	-	•+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2112. Child's toy	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	-	-

Rasp

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
	2114. Notched-wood rasp	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2115. Basket scraped	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

Bull-roarer, Musical Bow

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
	2116. Bull-roarer	•R	-	-	-	(R)	-	+	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2117. Wood	R	-	-	-	(R)	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2118. Bone or horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[789]	2119. Produces storm or wind	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[753]	2120. Produces sickness	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[756]	2121. Only shamans use	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562]	2122. Only boys, men use	-	-	-	-	R			+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2123. For amusement, boys	R	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2124. Musical bow	(R)	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
	2125. Hunting bow	(R)	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
	2126. Separate instrument	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	2127. Played with finger	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
[562]	2128. Played with stick	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2129. Boys only						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Whistles and Flutes

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
	2130. Whistle	-	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2131. Single hole	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-			-	-	-	+	-	-
	2133. Bone	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	2134. Bird or rodent	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	-	+	-	-	+
	2135. Large mammal	-	.	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
	2136. Elder	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	•R	-	-	-	+	+	-
	2137. Cane	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4499. Formula recited, before taking medicine	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	•+	755 757
4500. Disease brushed off body	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	278
4501. Medicine administered internally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4502. Medicine administered externally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4503. Medicine sprayed from mouth	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+		+		
4504. Herbalist can cure any disease													-		+	+	
4505. Can kill disease objects	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4506. Can cure rattlesnake bites	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	+	
4507. Can only weaken, check natural diseases	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+		-	-	
4508. Precautions to ward off disease; incense burnt	(+)	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+		+	+	751
4508a. Breach of taboo causes illness	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	753
4509. Eating meat in taboo period causes tuberculosis		+	+							+	+	+	+		-	-	
4510. Worms in tooth cause toothache	-	-	+	•+	+	-	.	•+	+	+	+	+	+		•-	(+)	
4511. Ants, spider-like bug in teeth causes toothache	+	+	-	-	-	•+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	

Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena

Cosmogony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4512. World a disk, floating in water	.	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	.	-	+	.	.	.	773
4513. Supported by animal	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	-	.	.	.	
4514. Mythical age; animals persons	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4515. Chief for each species of animal	+	+	-				(+)	-	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	
4516. Flood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	(+)	.	.	.	+	
4517. Human beings created or appear	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	

Sun and Moon

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4518. Sun male human	+	+	.	+	-	•+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	(+)	.	821
4519. Sun female human	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	•+	-	-	.	
4520. Moon male human	+	+	+	-	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	-	•+	+	(+)	.	
4521. Moon female human	-	-	.	+	-	(+)	.	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	
4522. Sun and moon husband and wife	-	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	.	
4523. Frog mate of moon	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	(+)	-	-	-	.	
4524. Figures in moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	+	-	-	.	
4525. Scar from bear's bite									+	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	
4526. Man	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	
4527. Tree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	.	
4528. Frog	+	•+	+	-	•+	•+	+	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	

New Moon

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4529. Monthly birth-and-death theory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	+	•+	+
4530. All view new moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	•-	+
4531. Each month	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
4532. In winter, only											•+	-	-	-	-	-
4533. In spring, chiefly	•+	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
4534. Speak, pray to moon	•+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	•+	-	-	+
4535. Address by kin term	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
4536. Old persons shake selves, clothes, bedding	-	+	•+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4537. Throw stones at moon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
4538. Food prepared, guests invited								•	•	•	+	-	+	-	+	-

*648 sent a mission to the Yakima reservation in the state of Washing-
*657 ton. The leaders who came down worked over him for some
795 time, but concluded that his case was hopeless; and indeed he
177 soon died. Notwithstanding this initial failure, the Shakers be-
178 came firmly established. A tribal member, one Stanley Pedro, offered them his dance hall and, drawing a parallel with the better known movement of Europe and the eastern United States, urged that the movement be named the Annie Lee religion. The church, located on the outskirts of Chiloquin, became a focal point from which influences subsequently fanned out to the Siletz reservation on the Oregon coast and to Smith and Klamath Rivers to the southwest. By the circumstance of its location, it drew members primarily from the Klamath proper of the Lower End.

The church met with no official threat. Gone was the day when an Agent might freely move against a religion of which he disapproved. Wrote the Acting Superintendent mildly in 1917, "They are somewhat fanatical and they indulge in some ceremonies that savor very much of ancient Indian customs but their creed contains some very good things. . . ."[13] He or a successor is said to have sent a member of the Indian police to observe the ceremonies, and the latter recalls that he reported with warm favor on the practices he witnessed.[14]

Several features are significant in the establishment of the church at Klamath. It came from other Indian groups along the Columbia which had previously been cultural donors, although the earlier cults received had come rather from the south. As adopted, the Shaker religion was seen as an Indian faith, its syncretism not acknowledged. Proponents thereafter came to underscore the uniqueness of its development by denying that native shamanistic elements or specifically Christian features lay at its core. At the same time, the freedom for inspired expression led converts at Klamath further to modify the received doctrine.
• (153) Illness brought on through the agency of ghosts and the receipt of power through songs are but two such reinterpretations. Klamath communicants likewise differed in not eschewing coffee, normally forbidden in other congregations.

The growth did not take place in a vacuum. Such Pentecostal faiths as the Four Square Gospel were on the move soon after the church had come into being. In 1926, missionaries of that

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Wudoká	hushtsóχa	sha	kíuksas	sálχitnuk	k̲lékaht	húnk	snawédshash.
Struck	(and) killed	they	the conjurer	for being bewitched (and)	having died	this	woman.

627

Tsúi	sa	lúluksla	snawédsh	kíuksam	síuks;	hū'nk	sa	kíuksas	ä'mpēle
And		cremated	the woman	by the conjurer	killed;	him	they	the conjurer	brought back

tchī'shtal,	tsúi sa	lúluksla	mák̲laks.
to (his) lodge,	and	cremated (him)	the people.

NOTES.

68, 1 etc. This is a pretty good illustration of the method of doctoring by suction adopted in similar tamánuash cases. Persons sent out to call for the conjurer do not enter his cabin, but loudly halloo outside till he appears; in this instance he is supposed to sing his medicine songs amidst the solitary wilds of the mountain slopes.

[192] [177] 68, 1. mū'ntchagi'tk. This temporal adverb places the mode of punishment described by the informant among the *ancient* customs of the people. Compared to what is stated here, the trial of Doctor John shows a material modification in the dealings with suspected conjurers, attributable to the influence of the white population.

[192] [193] 68, 1. 10. salχíta is always used in a passive signification, "to be afflicted with the tamánuash spell or bewitching power", which conjurers can send out at will.

68, 1. 2. The words inclosed in quotation marks *anticipate* all that follows up to 68, 10.

68, 2. 8. a-i. This particle has the signification: "undeniably, evidently".

[754] 68, 5. shū'ta hū'nk. The "working" of a conjurer on a patient's body consists in rubbing, pressing, magnetizing, in blowing on it, and in pouring water over the face or [753] other parts. Sucking out the object which caused the disease is of course the principal operation called for to effect a cure.

68, 5. mū'ns; it is not stated whether this hánshish was a frog, a worm, a small stick, or any such thing; this is immaterial, for the Indian strictly believes that the article was removed from the patient's body and that it caused the disease.

[192] 68, 6. hántsantking and 68, 8: shúkpaltaking stand for hántchantki gíug and shukpalítki gíug; cf. shū'kpēli.

68, 6. hántchipka properly means: "he sucks towards himself"; husatchipgápēle [192] [193] "he throws up again to himself"; viz. into his mouth, so as to be able to take it out with his hands.

68, 7. lútatkish is the conjurer's assistant. His office is to repeat his tunes or speeches before those present in the lodge, to expound or explain his sayings, to start songs and tunes in his stead, and to perform such manipulations as mentioned here.

68, 8. k̲'lä'ksh, contracted from k̲'läkápkash, the dead, the deceased; k̲'lekápkash telshámpka, to be on the point of death.

[192] 68, 8. tché-ulχa: he rises from his seat on the ground, or on a blanket near the patient's couch, for the purpose of leaving.

[756] 69, 1. hushtsóχa. The killing of a doctor or doctress by the relatives of the patient who died under his or her treatment was nothing unusual in the Columbia Basin until quite recently. In some tribes the third failure in curing brought certain death on the conjurer, especially when he had received his reward in advance.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
755 Sucking Doctors: Payment for Curing																
4983a. Shaman paid for curing	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4984. Negotiated fee	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4985. Patient, patients' relatives decide amount of fee	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4986. Fee paid to doctor before cure	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4987. Fee shown to doctor, who smells it			−			•+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
4988. Fee paid after cure	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	•+	•+	+	+		+	+
4989. Fee set near patient during treatment	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+		−	−
4990. Shaman's guardian spirit also "paid"	−	−	+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4991. Demands skins, hides, baskets, etc.	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4992. Objects set up by patient during cure	−	−	•+	•+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4993. If treatment unsuccessful, doctor tries again	+					+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−		+	
o4994. Makes ... attempts only						3	3		3	−	−	2			.	
4995. If treatment unsuccessful, fee not offered or not taken	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	−
4996. If treatment unsuccessful, fee returned	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	+
4997. Treatment deemed unsuccessful if patient dies	+	.	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	+
4998. Within 1 to 6 months.	−	.	+	+	.	.	−	−	−	+	+	−	−		−	−
†4999. Within ... days	10	.	−	−	.	.	10	10	10	−	−	−	20		20	•20
5000. Assistants paid same amount as doctor	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
5001. Assistants paid less than doctor	−	•(+)	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−		−	−
5002. Doctor pays assistant out of own fee.	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
[683] 5003. Doctor liable for refusing case	−	•−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
5004. May be accused of poisoning	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
5005. Liable to be killed	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
5006. Never decline case	−	−	−		+		+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
[681] 5007. Unsuccessful doctors killed	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−
Sucking Doctors: Beneficent Powers Other Than Curing																
756 787 5008. Can capture "poison" sickening village			•+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
5009. Goes into trance			•+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
5010. 2 men support him, when poison captured			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−		−	−
5011. Can locate lost, stolen objects	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	.	+	+		−	(+)
5012. Can see what is happening afar off	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−		−	−
5013. What will happen in future	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+		−	−
Sucking Doctors: Malevolent Practices																
756 5014. Shaman causes illness, death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		+	•−
754 5015. Talks to disease object (pain), sends it to victim			.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
5016. Disease object put in food	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+		+	−
5017. Disease object put under victim's doorstep			−		•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−		−	−
5018. Disease object sent to sicken entire village			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−
5019. Disease object applied to person's body	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	−
5020. Scorpion's tail applied to body, or person's urine													−		•+	−
5020a. Ashes, water, dirt thrown toward victim			+								+	+	+		+	−
5021. Disease object pointed at victim	−	−	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−
5022. Thrown at victim	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−		−	−
5023. Blown off hand at victim	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	−

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
5024. Blown through pipe	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	.	+	+	+	+		-	-	756
5025. Blown with smoke			+	-	+	•+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+		-	-	754
5026. Disease object put in pipe; pipe offered victim	+	+	-	-	-	-		+	.	+	+	+	+		-	-	
5027. Disease object, evil spirit may use tiny bow	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-	
5028. Shoots at victim	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-		-	-	
5029. Shaman talks to animal spirit, sends it to victim	•+	+	+		+						+		-		-	-	
5030. Disease object injected by animal	+	+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-		-	-	
5031. Dreaming of doctor may cause illness.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+		-	-	
5032. Dreaming of animal may cause illness.	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-		-	-	
5033. Shaman steals victim's soul	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+		-	-	
5034. Heavy fall may also cause soul loss	-	-	-	-	+	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+		-	-	
5035. Shaman causes minor injuries that lead to death	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
5036. Curing doctors hired to kill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	
5037. Malevolent doctor killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	756
5038. Burned to death	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5039. Jumped upon, neck broken											+	+	+		-	-	683
5040. Shot with bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	•+		+	-	
5041. Poisoned by another shaman	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-		-	-	
5042. Chief's consent necessary	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	•+	•+		-	-	
5043. Relative of victim kills doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+		+	-	
5044. Chief kills doctor	+	+	+	+	>	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	-		(-)	-	
5045. Chief hires killers	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	.	+	+		-	-	
5046. Woman may hire killers	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+	+		+	-	
Sucking Doctors: Competitions																	
5047. Competitions of sucking shamans	•+	•+	(+)	-	-	-	+	-	-	•-	+	-	(+)		-	-	578 756
5048. Male shamans only	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
5049. Sing, charm opponent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	[562]
5050. Shaman sings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+		-	-	
5051. Shakes cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5052. Is "shot" by sun	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5053. Shamans boast of power	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-		-	-	
5054. Exchange pipes filled with tobacco.	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	[274]
o5055. Inhale from pipes ... times	5	5	.	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5056. Overpowered shaman cures self	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
5057. Overpowered shaman cured by winner.	+	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5058. Sometimes dies	-	•+	.	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
5059. Contest held publicly	+	(+)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5060. Contest held privately	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
Singing Shamans																	
5060a. Singing shamans recognized	-	•(-)	+	•R	-	+	-	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•-	•-	756
5061. Men	-	-	-		-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	533
5062. Women	-	-	-		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	-	
5063. Power acquired during sleep	-	-	.		-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-	
5064. Power acquired by vision, often unsought	-	-	.		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
5065. Knowledge acquired by instruction	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5066. May also be sucking doctor	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	
5067. Limited power only	-	-	-		-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	
5068. Use outfit bundle	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5069. Kept inside house	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5070. Buried with patient if latter dies.	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5171. Instruction	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5172. Supernatural experience	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5173. Sings	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5174. Goes into trance	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5175. Tells who hid or stole money	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5176. Tracks money, if hiding place changed	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5177. Talks to piece of money	-	-	-	-	-			-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
5178. Listens to hear money singing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5179. Functions when money is lost	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5180. Performs at any public ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5181. Money hidden, to test shaman	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-

Witchcraft

Black Magic

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
791 754 5182. Love medicine	+	·	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
832 5183. Roots	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·-	-
5184. Hair treated with formula, blood								+	+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-
5185. Songs				·+		+	·+	·+	-	-	+	·+	-	-	-	-
5186. "Diamond" (charmstone).						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
754 5187. Poisoners distinct from doctors	+	-	·+	+	-	-	-	+	+	·+	+	·	·+		+	-
791 5188. Men only	+	-	-	+	-			+	-	-	-	·	+		-	-
[562] 5189. Have power from various animals	-	-	·	-	-		-	-	-	+	-	·	-		-	-
5190. From evil spirit	-		-	-	-		-	-	-	+	-	·	-		-	-
5191. Have knowledge of herbs	(+)		·		-								+		-	-
754 5192. Shamans, poisoners practice contagious magic.	+		·+	+	·+			·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·	·+	-
756 5193. Poisoner, curing shaman hired to revenge refusal of girl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		+	(-)
5194. Make girl crazy, or kill her outright	+	+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	·+		·+	(-)
5195. Colored lights (transformed witches) cause illness	-	-	·+	·+				·+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5195a. Epidemics caused by spirit creatures	-	-	-	-				·+	·+	+	-	-	-		-	-

Prayer, Offerings

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
782 5196. Prayers frequent by all	+	+	-	·(-)	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+		·+	+
264 5197. Offerings of food at meals	·+	+	·-	·-	+	-	-	-	-	-	·+	+	+		+	+

Eagle Ceremony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
825 5198. Special observances connected with eagle.								·(-)					-	-	+	-
5199. Eaglets captured alive													-	-	·+	-
5200. People eat acorn soup on spot													-	-	·+	-
5201. Eaglets kept tied by leg													-	-	+	-
5202. Killed when grown													-	-	+	-
5203. Feathers plucked out													-	-	+	-
[766] 5204. Beads put on body													-	-	+	-
5205. Eagle buried in basket, like person													-	-	+	-
5206. Owners cry at funeral, as for person.													-	-	+	-
5206a. Chief only uses eagle feathers								·-	·-				-	-	+	-

Kuksu

Initiation (Boys)

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
575 5207. Tossed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·		-	-
5208. Over fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	·		-	-
5209. Held over fire												(+)	·		-	-

000 Sucking doctors: malevolent practices; competitions.--

5014. WM: "Long time ago, doctors could [and did] poison other people if they wanted to [as well as cure people], but they didn't do it much. A doctor would always go up on mountain [if he wanted to kill someone]; he had his feathers, and his 'boy' [pain]; he'd talk to boy, tell it he would hire him to kill a man or woman; he'd send that poison out to kill someone--another doctor, or just an ordinary man or woman." MV: Informant commented, "As long as I've been living here, I've never heard of it [sickening by shaman] here; up in the mountains they have poisoners (yompati)." MV: Sickness caused chiefly by dreaming bad dreams.

5017. At: "If person has nice clothes, evil shaman may come around and tell that person he wants them. But person--perhaps young boy--may say, 'Those are the only clothes I have; I can't let you have them.' Then a bad shaman would put his poison down on trail, or by door of boy's house; the boy steps on it; he's sick, next day he dies, before sun-up. The doctor never gets the clothes; he's just angry [and does this for revenge].

5018. See elements 5008-5010.

5020. NS: Shaman puts scorpion tail under his long fingernail on index finger and sticks victim with this tail; victim dies. "A doctor (yomusi) tried to stick my grandmother that way; instead he stuck one of my mother's brothers, who was baby then; that baby died before morning. My grandmother's relatives were angry and tracked the doctor to Indian Diggings and killed him." No formula spoken to tail. Also, shaman uses liver with rattlesnake poison in it, sticks his arrowheads in this liver, then shoots at person. "A doctor shot an old woman who wouldn't marry him with one of these poison arrows, here." Also, shaman sticks his scorpion tail into spot where victim has urinated; latter cannot urinate after this, and dies. Children warned to urinate over bush for this reason.

5021. At: Disease object put on end of willow stick, and stick pointed at person. Then doctor's "power" takes poison over and puts it in the victim. Shaman "smokes, smokes, and sings all night; he eats no meat, acorn soup, anything (but can drink water) for 1 night and day."

5025. AW: See note 4834 AW.

[754] [756] 5029. Kl: Spirit sent to person to give latter bad dreams; victim sickens from them.

5030. At: Shaman's animal also sometimes attacks person, actually chews him.

5034. AE, WT, WM, WS, MF, NF: Less serious than if shaman steals soul.

5040. At: If shaman's animal has actually attacked victim (see note 5030), "long time afterward the victim will find out [who sent animal out]; people will caution him not to mention his knowledge, saying 'Maybe his friend [animal] will hear, listening around here, and tell him [shaman].'

[245-B]

00 But if he knows how, she will waste away within 5-6 years. If he knows nothing of way to do it, he himself will die, too. This has to be done by suitor himself [can't hire anyone to do it for him], secretly."

5185. SW: "There was a song which anyone who knew, could use" [to make girl fall in love with person]. Flute not used. AE: Use the man's or girl's name in song, to charm desired person; then man or girl will come to singer. WT: When such song sung, it will make girl "marry her uncle, even." Also sing songs to be rid of member of opposite sex one does not love. Either man, woman uses love songs. MF: Sing with flute (ya·lulu).

5187. SE: Poisoner (k'ephoaki) "not real doctor, who dances, but anyone, man or woman, who knows how to witch with victim's hair or excrement." WS: No special term for poisoners. All these poisoners could do is to take their own poison off victim; could not cure persons otherwise. NF: Persons who "dope" victims (yompa) rub "some sort of dope on their hands," and lay their hands on victim's body; victim then dies.

5191. SE: Pound lizard scalp and frog together, mix them in person's food, to poison person.

● [754] [756] 5192. Recite formula, generally, over hair, clothes, spittle, footprints, or excrement of intended victim. SE: Hair or excrement. WT, WM, WS: Hair only. At, MM, MF, NS: Poisoners who practice contegious magic are also sucking shamans. At, MM, MF, NF, NS: Poisoners who administer "dope" are not sucking shamans. NM: If want to spoil hunter's luck, burn deer bone taken from deer he has killed. NS: To make boy lucky in hunting, his grandfather, if a shaman, doctors boy's bow and arrow; moves it (no formula, song); or straightens and rubs boy's arms. Refer to this latter as na·k (same term as that used for straightening an arrow). For several other examples of contagious magic see note 5020.

[754] [756] 5193. If girl refuses to marry man, or father refuses to sell daughter in marriage to certain man, poisoner hired.

5194. SE: Poisoner picks up victim's hair or excrement with stick, talks to it, wishes victim bad luck. Girl victim "goes crazy"; apt to go to edge of cliffs, singing, and to run around from one man to another. Girl has to be taken to curing shaman, who tells victim name of poisoner; victim then confronts poisoner, and makes latter take his or her poison off; this is done by poisoner blowing on victim, and singing. SW: Poisoner makes girl crazy, so she will never amount to anything. Sucking doctor can take medicine off the girl, and cure her. At: If girl made crazy thus, her father goes to shaman, perhaps same one who witched her, and asks him to cure girl. Shaman looks girl over, says he can do nothing for her; father then goes to another doctor, who pulls out "pain" evil shaman has put in girl, and talks to it; pain tattles on its possessor, evil shaman, and tells curing shaman all that has been said be-

K M 609 In such a sphere, and in relations with strangers beyond, the myths picture encounters fraught with possible danger. They may be initiated by a trucial period which endures until, by proper guest-host behavior, by a claim of kinship or on the other hand by an act of aggression, the issue of "friend or foe" is precipitated. K M [574] Hospitality dictates that one receive and feed the stranger, though a visiting kinsman brings a gift of food or otherwise repays the kindness. If, however, hostility is decided upon, it rarely becomes open: instead, both sides proceed indirectly, under the guise of amicability, and employ followers or auxiliaries to encompass the destruction of the other. It is here that the prescient qualities of the hero, his access to assistants and to supernatural forces, are decisive.[19]

K 648 In ethnographic reality, the outer limits of society are marked by the boundaries of common speech. Beyond this, the Klamath maintain amity with the Molala, intermittent friendship and hostility toward the Warm Springs and other Columbia River Sahaptin, who sometimes raid them, and toward the Paiute; inveterate hostility toward the Takelma of the upper Rogue and other peoples west of the Cascades; and a predatory aggressiveness toward the Pit River and Shasta to the south, whom they increasingly raid for slaves and loot.

K M 571 156 [838] The horizons of such a society are not wide. With the exception of the shaman, a part-time specialist, each man and each woman has much the same skills and knowledge as his fellows. The aberrant individual can do no more than assume the dress and behavior of the other sex, ascribing his action to supernatural dictate. The transient forms of the community and the informal constraint it imposes, the paucity of activities that demand concerted action, go hand in hand with a permissiveness in the individual. When this takes aggressive form, it may threaten the very fabric of society.

K M • 754 571 152 682 The covert expression of hostility is likely to invest relations beyond the natal family with fear and mistrust. Revenge can take the form of murder from ambush, sorcery to engender the illness or death of the enemy, or the stealthy destruction of his property.[20] One frequent cause of open slayings, and of the feuds that ensue, is suspicion that a shaman has brought about the death of one's kinsman. Commonly, such charges are leveled

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

against a member of another band or tribe, but malevolence or K M
greed, it is thought, may sometimes lead a shaman to compound 754 •
the illness or death of a fellow bandsman; and sometimes his 571
spirits may act independently of him to bring the same end. 152
Klamath recall with horror the unnatural event which took place 682
in the present decade of the present century, when that suspicion
caused a woman to slay her own mother for the fatal bewitchment
of her child.

To end a description of the aboriginal life of Klamath and K
Modoc in this manner is to risk too somber a balance. Loosely M
structured in society, modest in scale, precariously balanced 181
against the winters, their cultures made possible a good life in
which dignity and worth had a place. That those were not, however, K
the halcyon days sometimes depicted today is intimated by 181
the words spoken in 1873 by the Klamath leader, Henry Blow. 829
If they exaggerate as almost certainly they do, they still possess
an essential truth:

> Before the Bostons came there was no law. The strongest man took what he wanted and the man who had the most property and the most friends was the chief. It was a bad country in those times. Some men were bad and took away the property of other men. If a man was poor and had no friends, and had a beautiful squaw, some stronger man would steal his squaw and kill him if he resisted.[11] Might was right in those days and there was much fighting and killing everywhere. If a man was jealous because another was getting rich and had many friends, he would steal into his lodge and kill him when he was asleep, or lay in ambush to kill him as he went by. Those were bad times as we see now, since the Bostons have come and made law to protect every man's rights and property.[12]

K

M
175 1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-
178 scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes.
726 The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging
K M scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty,
175 brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of
726 which based their power upon eminence in war and possession
182 of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers,
622 and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times
565 to cement alliances with shamans.
556
756 Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean
[754] weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power
was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of
us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain
persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would
die."[11]

K The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties.
M
175 A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-
178 bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader
622 increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers
619 from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country.
628 As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance ren-
726 dered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment
of worth.

K In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary
622 principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his
175 father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother
as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill,
a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David,
later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain
George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not
essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks,
K [838] of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite
in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the
power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

K A minor factor in these developments may have been the
195 interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in
643 order that they might deal more effectively with responsible
648 leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs
177 met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

> *657 To prevent a *practice* is one thing, to change the belief in the
> *648 theory which actuated that practice is quite another thing. Thus
> 756 while it is very true the *practice* of medicine by Indian doctors
> 198 is abolished yet I am fully warranted in saying that there is not
> half a dozen Indians on the Reservation who are not as firm as ever in the belief of "spiritual medicine." Even Head Chief Allan David grave, sedate, and logical as he is in most things, acknowledged to me the other day that he *still believed* and was afraid to punish the Doctors.[2]

Notwithstanding his appreciation of the difficulty in eradicating belief in this way, Meacham continued to war against the shamans, causing Link River Doctor, whom Knapp had imprisoned, to be arrested and tried for having openly defied the order against shamanistic practice.[3] Meanwhile, he hailed the ministrations of the agency physician as demonstrating "that an efficient, patient and intelligent physician can do more than almost any other person in rooting out thier [sic] faith in thier own 'spiritual' medicine, and thus opening the way for the white man's customs, laws and religion."[4]

Not all shamans were initially singled out, for many were held in esteem. Of his paternal grand-aunt, a shaman, a present-day informant recalled, "She was like a preacher and all respected her. Chief Chiloquin always called her first when he had a meeting because she had a good brain. . . . Sally had a strong power
*657 [i.e. tutelary spirit]. . . ."[5] Tecumseh, an early Agency employee
*648 and Dave Hill's companion during the lyceum tour of 1875, was
756 a noted shaman. It was the parvenu chiefs, replacing Lileks and
• 754 Chiloquin, who abetted the Agents; and initially, as in the code
set forth by Dave Hill, their censure was directed only against
622 sorcery. Indeed, Hill's wife wrote him that she had taken their
177 ailing child to a female shaman to be cured.[6] As Henry Blow
178 remarked, "Since there is a white man's law among us the doctors are afraid to kill for malice or money as they did long ago, but exert the same power to heal the sick as they did."

*657 Significantly, when the court of chiefs tried Doctor John, a
*648 shaman, for having bewitched and thus slain another, the chief
756 witness against him was Sally, the woman shaman mentioned
622 above, who testifyed that in her dreams her shamanistic powers
177 had seen those of the accused.[7]

178 In 1880, Nickerson took a further step toward reducing the
[754] number of shamans, but thereby gave those who remained a

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Wudoká	hushtsóχa	sha	kíuksas	sálχitnuk	k̲léksht	húnk	snawédshash.
Struck	(and) killed	they	the conjurer	for being bewitched (and)	having died	this	woman.

627

Tsúi	sa	lúluksla	snawédsh	kíuksam	síuks;	hû'nk	sa	kíuksas	ä'mpēle
And		cremated	the woman	by the conjurer	killed;	him	they	the conjurer	brought back

tchī'shtal,	tsúi	sa	lúluksla	mák̲laks.
to (his) lodge,	and		cremated (him)	the people.

NOTES.

68, 1 etc. This is a pretty good illustration of the method of doctoring by suction adopted in similar tamánuash cases. Persons sent out to call for the conjurer do not enter his cabin, but loudly halloo outside till he appears; in this instance he is supposed to sing his medicine songs amidst the solitary wilds of the mountain slopes.

[192] [172] 68, 1. mû'ntchgī'tk. This temporal adverb places the mode of punishment described by the informant among the *ancient* customs of the people. Compared to what is stated here, the trial of Doctor John shows a material modification in the dealings with suspected conjurers, attributable to the influence of the white population.

[192] [193] 68, 1. 10. salχíta is always used in a passive signification, "to be afflicted with the tamánuash spell or bewitching power", which conjurers can send out at will.

68, 1. 2. The words inclosed in quotation marks *anticipate* all that follows up to 68, 10.

68, 2. 8. a-i. This particle has the signification: "undeniably, evidently".

[754] [753] 68, 5. shû'ta hû'nk. The "working" of a conjurer on a patient's body consists in rubbing, pressing, magnetizing, in blowing on it, and in pouring water over the face or other parts. Sucking out the object which caused the disease is of course the principal operation called for to effect a cure.

68, 5. mû'ns; it is not stated whether this hánshish was a frog, a worm, a small stick, or any such thing; this is immaterial, for the Indian strictly believes that the article was removed from the patient's body and that it caused the disease.

[192] 68, 6. hántsantking and 68, 8: shúkpaltakiug stand for hántchantki gíng and shukpalítki gíng; cf. shû'kpēli.

[192] [193] 68, 6. hántchipka properly means: "he sucks towards himself"; husatchipgápēle "he throws up again to himself"; viz. into his mouth, so as to be able to take it out with his hands.

68, 7. lútatkish is the conjurer's assistant. His office is to repeat his tunes or speeches before those present in the lodge, to expound or explain his sayings, to start songs and tunes in his stead, and to perform such manipulations as mentioned here.

68, 8. k̲'lä'ksh, contracted from k̲'läkápkash, the dead, the deceased; k̲'lekápkash telshámpka, to be on the point of death.

[192] 68, 8. tché-ulχa: he rises from his seat on the ground, or on a blanket near the patient's couch, for the purpose of leaving.

[756] 69, 1. hushtsóχa. The killing of a doctor or doctress by the relatives of the patient who died under his or her treatment was nothing unusual in the Columbia Basin until quite recently. In some tribes the third failure in curing brought certain death on the conjurer, especially when he had received his reward in advance.

*539 533 192 [194] 177; 2. "There are two of us black bear cubs" refers to the circumstance that in mythologic tales two cubs only are found to belong to one bear family. Compare what is said of the gíwash, 177; 14. and *Note* to 118, 1. 7.

177; 5. The name of the young antelope is very differently pronounced. Its ears (mumû'atch wil'hágam) form the subject of a shuí'sh.

177; 13. Koyóma. The same idea is met with in 169; 56. 166; 24.

177; 14. gíwash (the *i* pronounced short) is the long, gray-colored squirrel.

178; 7. Púpkash. This song of the lumber-boards was more completely remembered than the one quoted 155; 18.

178; 12. Pä'ksh. A similar tobacco-pipe song is to be found 167; 33.

● [754] 178; 13. welékag. Here as well as in all other portions of the globe the idea of sorcery and witchery is associated with that of old women (welékash, old woman; welekága old woman's spirit). Welä'χatka, to travel around or appear as an old woman's spirit.

NÁNUKTUA KIÚKSAM SHUÍ'SH.

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SUBJECT LIST OF VARIOUS KINDS OF INCANTATIONS IN USE AMONG THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN.

Yámash kiúksam shuí'sh, mû'ash, tχálam[illegible] [illegible]wash, slä'wish,
North wind has an incantation-song, south wind, west wi[illegible] [illegible] wind, gust of wind,
paíshash, lĕmé-ish, lúepalsh, któdshash, gulkásh.
cloud, thunder, lightning, rain, rain mixed with snow.

Sáppas kiúksam shuísh, sháp'sam stutí'sh; yaína, wálidsh, ktá-i sû'- 3
Sun has a tamánuash-song, mock-sun; mountain, rock-cliff, rocks
smaluatk, hä'nuash, yatí'sh, sámχa-ush, é-ush, wélwash, káwam, wäyá-
spotted, upright rocks, upright rocks, smaller, rocks in river, lake, water-spring, eel-spring, floating
lapsh.
ice.

Snáwedsh kiúksam shuí'sh, welékag, tsákiag, tsákiaga tsû'χatχant; 6
Woman has a tamánuash-song, old woman's spirit, little boy, little boy restless;
k'mutchä'witk: kó-idshi shuí'sh génti kä'ilati.
the old man: (is) an untoward song in this country.

Gû'tkaks kiúksam shuí'sh, gudítguls, shíllals, tátktish, lulúlish, tiló-
Small-pox is an incantation, belly-ache, chronic sickness, pain, cramps, cause
takna, tiä'mish. 9
of sickness, hunger.

Munána tatámnish kiúksam shuí'sh, kĕláyua, múkukag, wáshlaag,
Mole has a tamánuash-song, ground-mouse, field-mouse, chipmunk,

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

524 Children imitate not only the daily activities of their elders, but their games as well. Little girls build little dome-shaped lodges. Their dolls are made of clay with modeled eyes, nose, and mouth, but are not dressed.[133] Both these clay images and those made of wood are called a'm'ös, but the wooden figures, representing the spirit Tca'ḳiaḳ, Little Boy, are not played with. Children play at shinny and double ball, and make cat's cradles. They play a game called wo'yĭlītas wherein they run crying wo'yī wo'yī . . . . as long as their breath holds out and stand at the spot where they fail. The object is to see who can go farthest. Or they cry doŋgliu doŋgliu . . . . . Similarly, girls squat on their heels with hands on knees and jump up and down, singing la'masi, to see who can do it longest. They bet on this. A favorite spot to play this game, called salmasi'a, is at dūna'ksi on Pelican bay, where the ground resounds when they jump.

[114] It is worth noting that the number of counters used in the guessing and dice games is always twelve. In the four-stick game—I so recorded it—the counters are thought of as twelve plus two. Another of my informants spoke only of the twelve and this is the number recorded by Culin and Dorsey.[134] This number is unexpected because the pattern number of the Klamath is five. It may be that these games came to the Klamath in a form with twelve units and have not been reduced to the normal five or its multiple. How the pattern operates is illustrated by the informants' statements that five or six on a side play double ball shinny, that the perfect score in the dart game is five, and the penalty there five or more blows. On the other hand, it may be significant that I was told of six men to a side in the hand game and six in shinny. There are three possibilities; six and its multiple may be an indigenous pattern number for games, it may have been acquired as part of the game complex from other tribes, or it may be only a chance reference of the informants.

SMOKING

276 [755] Smoking is a pastime with little to suggest ceremonial usage. To be sure, the shaman smokes in the interludes of the curing ceremonies, using a special form of pipe, special tobacco mixed with reputedly poisonous roots, and prepared for him by his speaker, but he does not

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*[171] [133] The Northern Paiute make clay figurines representing horses and other animals, corrals, etc., according to my informant. The Klamath do not.

[532] [134] Even the form of the dice game described for the "Klamath" of Siletz, involving thirteen sticks, two of which are marked, may really be intended for twelve plus one, since elsewhere only one stick of such a set is marked.

cure by blowing smoke on the patient nor blow it to the distant spirits 276
as an offering. The impression gained was that this is a matter only [755]
of self-indulgence during his periods of rest. Gatschet translates a
song as "The smoking pipe is my medicine-tool (mülwas), the implement for tobacco," but the word also means any esoteric paraphernalia of the shaman.[135] The lay use of tobacco is at any time that
convenience dictates, e.g., when resting in the evening. Women use [562]
tobacco as freely as men. The custom of passing the pipe from one
to another is probably absent though I made no specific inquiry.

Tobacco (ko'tcka)[136] is smoked, never eaten. A boiled decoction of it is sometimes taken for bowel disorders.

The plant (*Nicotiana attenuata* Wats.) is not cultivated, but commonly grows in dry places.[137] A bundle of these plants together with kinnikinick is hung to dry in the top of the sweat-lodge until the leaves turn brown. Coville states that the dried leaves of manzanita, also, are mixed with the tobacco.[138] According to an informant the seed pods (which are sticky when fresh) and the adjacent parts of the flower are smoked; according to another the leaves and stem. The several plants are ground with any convenient little stone.

The pipe (p!ōks) is commonly clay with a spherical bowl and a 276
short wooden stem, but is sometimes of stone and discoidal. The more 323
common stone bowl is elbow-shaped with the arms at an obtuse angle,
made of soft sandstone, shaped and hollowed by pecking. Barrett
states that the discoidal form is less used than the angular but my [114]
information is to the contrary.[139] The stem is elder with the pith
pushed out; Coville mentions the wood of the wild rose.[140] The manu- [524]
facture of clay pipes by a non-pottery making people seems unusual; the only other use of clay is for making dolls. Yet the ease with which clay can be manipulated as against the difficulty of drilling and shaping stone must have favored its use.

A shaman's pipe (which has no special name) is the common clay 276
bowl fitted with a long stem, eighteen inches or more, wrapped with 756

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[135] 1:167.

[136] No word correspinding to the Shasta ōp, tobacco, Takelma ō"p, Crow ōp, etc., is known.

[137] Coville, Notes, 104. One of Powers' correspondents states that the Klamaths (Klamath river people?) cultivated it (Tribes of California, 426).

[138] Coville, Notes, 102. What is here called kinnikinick is probably Coville's bearberry (kâ-mä-mi, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray); the common kinnikinick of northern latitudes does not grow so far south as Klamath lakes.

[139] Barrett, Material Culture, 253, pl. 22.

[140] Coville, Notes, 99.

534 Several instruments whose presence might have been expected
are unknown. Such are the cocoon rattle, the foot drum, or any other
form except the hand drum. As to the cocoon rattle I doubt that
there are any large cocoons in this region. It is rather surprising
that those who accompany the singers do not beat time on a plank with
*[171] clubs after the fashion of more northerly tribes. A peculiar Wishram
drum, a horizontal pole slung from the roof by a rope and
pounded against the wall, had been played at the Dalles by one of my
[342] informants, but it was never introduced among the Klamath. To be
sure, their houses do not have plank walls but alternatives might have
been substituted.

The musical bow should be mentioned here only for comparative purposes. The Klamath lack any special form but sometimes toy with an ordinary bow, holding the bow in the mouth and tapping the string with a stick. There is no name for this.

Whistles (atu'ta) are also playthings. These are made of willow, of a plant called wa'k̦ūm, or a jointed grass called watcōō'k̦wīs. The willow whistles are seven or eight inches long and provided with side holes like a flute. Whistles are blown direct into the open end.

533 Whistling with the lips was indulged in even before the coming of the whites.[144] Songs are not whistled.

SOCIAL DANCES

535 It is not clear whether there were any dances of purely social
intent in earlier times or whether they were so rare as to be negligible.
[534] Two good informants said that formerly there were none. Indeed the
use of the hand drum with social dances (yĕka') suggests their
[755] recency. Shamanistic performances, which were evidently frequent,
may have provided a substitute entertainment.

Some time during the year a good singer will busy himself arranging
a dance solely for amusement, called k'si'ulūk̦s. Men and women
form a circle with hands clasped, but the fingers not entwined. The
step is a sidewise jump, not a shuffling of feet as is usual in circling
dances among other tribes; the movement is in a counter-clockwise
direction, I think. The circling begins with the song; they do not wait
[534] to sing a phrase before moving. Formerly, according to an unreliable
informant, no musical instruments were in use but recently the hand
drum was introduced from the tribes to the north.

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*(171) [144] So, too, the Northern Paiute, according to my Klamath informant.

the Klamath country in the winter, they never nest there. The eggs 775 can be gathered only in bottomless baskets. The ghost's elks are waterbugs to mortal eye, and the flesh that they take is in reality bone. [825] All their possessions are things that were destroyed with the dead, houses, baskets, beads, etc. Their hospitality also provokes them to throw firebrands at their visitors. Perhaps the very fact that Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps is called out of his name by them in a tale is an attempt at inversion.

There is a wide variety of spirits from whom power is sought, 776 animals, birds, reptiles, fish, natural phenomena, and a handful of anthropomorphic and purely mythical beings. The animals, etc., are not individuals of living species, but mythical beings, either immensely large or very small. Such anthropomorphic spirits as are definitely conceptualized are also tiny. Although they speak of all of these as individuals—they say for example that a man's spirit is Weasel or it is Wile'ᴇkaḳ, dwarf old woman—nevertheless there remains the suspicion that they are rather genera, for the same named spirit is described as dwelling in several localities and belonging to several shamans at the same time.

The number of spirits is indefinitely large; the following partial 776 list is made up from various data given by my informants. The 825 animals include grizzly and black bears, wolf, coyote, dog, mink, weasel, and fisher (twa'lḳŏtcka). The birds are the horned owl, bald eagle, golden eagle, fish hawk, a smaller hawk (tcī'ktu), a little hawk (wī'tgŏtgis), falcon, crow, magpie, buzzard, pelican, red and white shitepokes, butterball duck, a small sea gull (ḳ!ŏtya'was), flicker, prairie chicken, an unidentified black bird (nāo'līns), a blue and brown one (gau'wi), and a tiny speckled bird (djīske'gᴇ). In the fish and reptile class are the rattlesnake, a big speckled sluggish snake (wŭ'mᴇnŭks), lizard, frog, a water snail (k!awi's), salmon, and trout. It is obviously the predatory animals that are chosen, with the omission of the cat tribe. The bird list also includes all the birds of prey and carrion eaters. Even though the list is incomplete, there are some significant omissions, such as deer, rodents, the song birds, and most fish are absent. The two fishes included are the largest representatives in Klamath waters.

There is little suggestion of differentiation of function and power [755] among these spirits. To be sure, it is only through certain spirits that curing and the various shamanistic tricks can be performed, but my informants never once volunteered the statement that these were especially powerful. The exception is Frog, described by Nancy Phillips

776 825 [755] as the most prominent and powerful of spirits, one on whom all shamans call, and whose presence is necessary before they can begin their curing ritual. This confirms Gatschet's information.[164] The Frog spirit is interesting on its own account. It is conceived as a big woman and so closely associated with pond-lily seed (wo'kas) as to lead to the suspicion that these are interchangeable concepts in the Klamath mind. It should be noted that the preparation of this staple is peculiarly woman's work among these people. In their mythology *[171] too, Frog figures as a woman. The last association is so widespread, perhaps universal, in North America, that the only special Klamath elements in the triple association are with wo'kas. While I am not certain, it is probable that this is the spirit which was described by Pat Kane as djɛlje'listeĭ, whereas the common word for frog is ko'wᴇ.

776 755 114 Gatschet credits a similarly important rôle to another spirit.[165] "Another class of spirits embodies the spirits of those animals which have to be consulted by the ki'uks or conjurer when he is called to treat a case of disease. Such persons only who have been trained during five years for the profession of conjurers can see these spirits, but by them they are seen as clearly as we see the objects around us. To see them they have to go to the house of a deceased conjurer, and at night only. He is then led by a spirit called Yayayá-ash appearing in the form of a one-legged man toward the spot where the animal spirits live; this specter presides over them; there the conjurer notices that each appears different from the other, and is at liberty to consult them about the patient's case. Yayayá-ash means 'the frightener,' and by the myth-tellers is regarded as the Thunder or its spirit." I received no suggestion confirming any part of this.

776 The mythical beings are also probably genera rather than individuals; to'kĕ, a horned water snake, Wile'ᴇkạkạ, a dwarf old woman, Tcakịa'kạ, a little boy, and Gŏga'nᴇ, a dwarf man. There is also a nameless wild man (the spirit for the trick in which blood is magically produced) and a woman spirit (for curing). Wawiwŏ'kạ!os, a monster-killing hero of a tale, figures in a shaman's song and hence may be a spirit.

Wile'ᴇkạkạ is a dwarf old woman whose name is derived from wilă'ĕkạs, old woman. She is about thirty inches high, and wears a basket hat and long buckskin dress. In one form she appears as a rock on the northeastern slope of Mount Pitt. She controls the west

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[164] Gatschet, 1:ci, 180.

[165] 1:xcviii.

756 no food taboos; shamans and others can eat their spirit animals. The 784 only taboo of conduct peculiar to any spirit known is the prohibition against wearing footgear by one who has a dog spirit. For example, a Molala-Klamath halfbreed, the wife of the chief Lī'lu, who dreamed of this spirit, never wore any protection for her feet even in the winter snows.

756 The shaman is cremated and his house burned like other Klamath. Usually his regalia, feathers and skins, are destroyed with the house. This must wait for calm weather; then only an old woman dare burn them. Immediately a storm rises, with strong winds and thunder, but lasts only a night. When the shaman dies and again when his body is burned, storms rage for several days.

THE SHAMANISTIC PERFORMANCE

755 While curing of necessity takes place at any time, shamanistic per-
221 formances are given at only one time during the year. This is a nameless period, the fourth month (December–January), in midwinter,[162]
756 the coldest period when the lake is frozen and the timber cracks with the cold. By this time all the earth-lodges are reconstructed and the Klamath are settled in their winter quarters. This is a period of enforced inactivity, what with the intense cold, the deep snows, and their inability to hunt and fish. Furthermore, the seances cannot be held any later in the winter for then they begin to run short of provisions, I was told, which is undoubtedly true and yet may be a rationalization. This brings to mind the winter sacred period of the Northwest Coast tribes, with its quiet dictated by a fear of profanation. It is not sacred to the ordinary Klamath; spirits are sought at any time. It is significant only to shamans and others who have spirits.

Shamans make a point of giving their performances every winter. A number of them may join for the purpose. The novice waits for winter to prove the coming of his power and only after this does he attempt to cure. The advent of power is called dodi'ķalgŏt. Nonshamans who have a little power, perhaps a single spirit, may sing their own songs at a shaman's performance if the spirit impels them.

756 The shaman informally[163] invites the participants to his home for

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[805] [162] There is a discrepancy here in that the Klamath reckon a year of ten months, and these lunar periods begin with the lunation of August. My informants made it quite clear, however, that, although they specified the fourth month, they meant the period about Christmas.

[163] Knotted invitation strings, for instance, are unknown.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

756 787 Clairvoyance, at least the ability to see distant objects and events, lies within the power of any shaman. This is called dode'ūka, to dream. My informant Nancy, who in her youth was on the way to becoming a shaman, had at least this power before she was deprived of her spirits (see above). The spirits talk to the clairvoyant; among her spirits was a bear.

Lost articles are found through the dog spirit. The people are lined up in two opposing rows—an excellent psychological expedient for discovering guilt—while the shaman passes along searching for the suspect. He sees the stolen object shine in the thief's upraised palm. This takes place in the open. My informant had seen this practiced once when some beads were stolen in a gambling group.

The shaman's prevision of what will happen in battle is decidedly more important. This ability is acquired through the eagle and weasel spirits, and perhaps others. During the war dance preparatory to setting out or at camp on the march, the shaman dances in front of the line of warriors, looking "through" them. He predicts who will be killed or wounded, and how the enemy will suffer. He sees them bleeding. One informant stated that those for whom disaster was predicted would not go to war, but others said this is not so and they are probably right. For example, while a mixed group of Klamath and Modoc were encamped on the way to Pit river, a Modoc shaman predicted, "If you are to be shot, then your bowstrings will snap," and the strings of two did snap.[172] Shamans accompany war parties, not only to fight, but to watch over them and cure the wounded.

CURING

755 Curing practice lacks the *mise en scène* of the winter performance held in the figure-decked shaman's lodge, for it always takes place in the patient's home. Nevertheless, it must be quite an impressive affair with its accumulating intensity as spirit after spirit is called to the assemblage, as one after the other they are charged with [753] responsibility for the illness. Sickness in the Klamath view is due to spirit activity, the presence in the patient of an intrusive object rather than possession, and a cure (hĕswō'mbli or tco'ta) is effected by removing and destroying it. There is no suggestion here of soul loss as a cause of illness.

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[172] Gatschet, 1:21.

Curing is possible only through certain spirits, including the fish hawk, falcon, golden eagle, buzzard, magpie, crow, weasel, fisher (ṫwa'lḳŏtcka), coyote, wolf, lizard, rattlesnake, a big sluggish snake (wü'mɛnüks), and a woman spirit. Frog and her daughter, and the winds are necessary to the ceremony, but I do not know that they actually effect the cure. Other spirits were mentioned as non-curing: bear, bald eagle, clouds, thunder, lightning, sun, moon, and stars. 755 776

Shamans of standing are invited from a distance. When the services of a shaman are needed, it is likely that he is to be found at home. Shamans are expected to maintain a certain amount of reserve, to lie quietly at home, especially in winter. The summoner does not enter the shaman's earth-lodge but calls down from outside, asking if the shaman is there.[173] Some woman of the household answers in the affirmative, never the shaman himself. The messenger announces his errand. If the shaman is willing to cure, the messenger stands on the roof shouting to the spirits while the shaman is getting ready. This is a long harangue calling on the spirits in the distant mountains: 755

ya'mŏks	dakĕ'logis	tcŏmgi'as
north	earth	step forward.

[539]

He calls to all the directions, every region from which a wind blows:

mowa'ksda	mŭlwa'nki
south	get ready.

[539]

When the shaman feels that his spirits have come to him, that he is potent to cure, he is ready. Then he decks himself with his medicine outfit (mŭ'lwas),[174] flicker feathers or grizzly claws, for example, and sets out.

The shaman may refuse to go, "Do not ask me now. I have no spirit; it has gone back to the mountains." When a man loses a child, his spirit quits him when he grieves. "After a month I will talk to my spirit and get it back. I mourn now; I cry. I cannot sing and dance; my spirit has gone. Return in a month." When the messenger returns—presumably the patient holds his peace!—he asks again, "Is the shaman there? Then I come to ask you to cure as you promised." Now if the spirit does not answer the shaman, another (?) man, called saswa'kis, mounts on the lodge before sunrise and again after sunset to call to all the spirits to give their songs to the

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[173] Also described by Gatschet (1:68–69, 71).

[174] If Gatschet's derivation is correct the word means "what is prepared" (2:221).

755 shaman that he may again be powerful. The shaman tells the messenger to return that night, perhaps then the spirits will answer. At night the shaman sings several songs. "All my spirits have now returned. Go back; tell all the good singers and my speaker, for now I have strong power to cure."

The man returns to say that the shaman is coming. They hang the doctor's fee above the recumbent patient; a rope to represent a horse, or a blanket and beads. The shaman does not name his fee, but he doubtless gauges his efforts by what he sees offered. Before he begins he says that he will cure in two nights, or that they had better fetch another shaman for he is powerless to cure this patient, or that the patient has been poisoned by another shaman and he is not sure of a cure.

He brings his wife to sing, for a shaman's wife is generally a good, loud singer. If they want one or two more to help him besides such relatives as know the songs, they pay them blankets, etc. These are individuals who can sing and talk loudly to the spirits. There is one in particular, called hămto'mģis, who prompts the spirits, shouting to them to excite them to work for the shaman. If the shaman's speaker is not available, he will take anyone who is willing to serve.

The patient always lies with his head toward the east, the shaman sits or kneels at his feet, the speaker near his shoulders. The singers sit back of the shaman, the prompter near-by. There is no dancing during a cure. Children are excluded. Apparently the curing normally takes place at night, but it may continue into the following day. If it takes place in a dome-shaped mat-lodge during the day, the smokehole is covered to shut out the light. Baskets of parched and ground pond-lily seed in the form called enŏps are provided.[175]

The general plan of the performance is first a series of songs to call the spirits to work through the shaman's person; these spirit helpers then tax other spirits with causing the sickness in a second set of songs; finally the shaman tells what he has seen and sucks out the sickness.

The prompter first commands the spirits to come to the shaman. The first he calls is Frog, for this is the principal spirit,[176] and Frog makes the shaman call all the other spirits.

[539]

a'tiķēsllke'wōp	wasi	e'itcōmgi's
Now you should	stand there	inside [the house].

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[175] Curing is briefly described by Gatschet (1:71-72).

[176] I am not altogether satisfied that other Klamath, besides my informants Nancy and Tom, would have said that Frog is the principal spirit.

Then the frog in the person of the shaman sings about the moving of the pond-lily seed upon the surface of the water as it boils.[177]

[539]

tĕnĕkoŋgi'so	tĕnĕkoŋ
moving (?)	

Frog's daughter is next called, singing:

stai'las	aino'liota'mpga
pond-lily seed mush	looking at it.
ko'lamwĕ'as	liota'mpga
Frog's child	looking at it.

These two spirits then step out ready; other spirits follow standing there behind them. They are thought of as standing with one foot forward ready for action.

The shaman sings all night. From time to time the prompter shouts to the spirits to help him. The shaman halloos to his distant spirits, throwing his head back and muffling his shouts with the back of his clenched hand. Whatever the shaman sings or says, the speaker repeats. The singers (wīno'tnis) follow the spirit songs. There is no drumming or rattling with these songs.

Now a spirit talks through the shaman from far away:

[539]

tcŏkna'slak	nasiskwasi	galĕ'ḳs	ala'hi
Now tell me	tell me inside;	dying	show me.

Various spirits are named to find the offender.

tcaka'ni	igĕ'ngi	dakŏ'newis	i'adakŏ'newis
Now you	are the one,	this earth.	you, this earth [that gave the sickness].

As he talks the shaman covers his eyes with his hands, or rather the wrists cover the eyes, the hands are extended prone. This is called amĕtdŏ'nwa. Again the spirit challenges:

[539]

i'agĕngi	laki'wītcis
You are the one,	chief of the winds.

And again,

tca'	i'angĕngi	ke'lalŏmwe'as
Now	you are the one	Earth's child,

by which he means the spirit snake. So he runs through the gamut of suspected spirits. If it is this one, Earth's child, it will have to give up the patient so that he can recover. The shaman's spirit says:

[539]

ita'lgĕngī'pka	ke'lalŏmwe'as
You are the one who gave the sickness;	Earth's child.

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[177] This is an esoteric reference; it is not cooked during the ceremony.

If it is the shaman's fish hawk or buzzard spirit who discovers this, it threatens the snake. It tells him that he will be picked up from the ground and destroyed, unless he lets the patient go. The snake is frightened and gives him up.

The shaman begins to suck when he sees with spirit eyes where the sickness is located. He never asks for symptoms; he can see. As a matter of fact, he probably knows all about the case, for an illness sufficiently serious to call in a shaman is undoubtedly a standard subject of gossip. Before he sucks, he sticks his finger into water and sucks it. Then he bites the body hard and sucks, crying "wann . . . . " while another responds "haa . . . . " as long as he can hold his breath. He really sinks his teeth in, drawing blood as he sucks. (My informant Nancy's head was once bitten.) This is called ha'nsna. It is the spirit who bites with the shaman's mouth and only certain spirits can do this: fish hawk, buzzard, falcon, magpie, crow, and weasel. Magpie and crow in particular draw bad blood from the patient's body. On the other hand, the shaman does not suck when using a nameless female spirit, but cures by stepping over the patient. He interrupts the sucking from time to time to let the spirit talk. He utters his words rapidly and incoherently, while the speaker repeats and interprets.

When the shaman finally draws the sickness out, his head goes back, his eyes close, and blood streams from his mouth. If they want to know what it is, he lets someone feel it on his tongue or spits it into his own palm. The fish hawk spirit is stingy and sometimes refuses to let them see it. This is always something tiny: a bug, the nail of a frog, or the frog itself, a snake, a rattlesnake fang, or a red-shafted flicker feather. When they have felt it on his tongue, the shaman, representing the spirit, eats it.[178] I was told that after showing it, the shaman (especially a woman shaman) has someone strike him five times on the back with a basket, but I do not know what the point is. Instead of showing anything the shaman may simply tell what is the trouble. If a very young child is sick, the shaman may tell the parents that it is because they did not take care of themselves but dreamed of something evil. Gatschet records a shaman's statement, for example: "Therefore this patient was hurt because his mother ate too soon after dreaming. Then this patient turned his face to the spirit land."[179]

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[178] Gatschet says the shaman's speaker swallows it (1:68-69).

[179] *Op. cit.*, 1:158.

One method for forecasting the recovery of the patient is to tie thin nettle cords around his head, each thigh, and upper arm, the free ends being held by as many men. The shaman strikes each cord with a basket. Unless they are all broken the patient is lost.

A patient who has suffered a relapse is cured with the spider song, according to Gatschet's informant. To paraphrase his text slightly:

> Then the spider treats him; a piece of deer skin is the spider's curing tool. Then by means of that deer skin he treats him; he cuts out a piece of the deer skin just the size of the spot where the suffering is located. Then the spider song is started while applying that piece of skin. Then he stretches a blanket over it and they strike it with shaman's arrows (hänä'sish) so that it enters the body. First a particle enters, then it becomes part of the body and now that piece of skin looks dark. Then after so many days that black thing at last looks like flesh.[109]

In the interludes of curing the shaman tells everyone to leave. He remains sitting in the lodge with the patient, silent, eyes closed, and smoking. His pipe has an unusually long wooden stem wrapped with a rattlesnake skin; the bowl is the usual clay or stone affair. (Possibly some shamans use tubular pipes.) It is lit by the speaker who is warned not to inhale the smoke else a spirit will hurt him.

The shaman may also go into a sweat-lodge for communion with his spirits, probably only when curing in the daytime. The shaman and his speaker are alone in the lodge; others wait outside to sing with him. When he comes out, he sucks the patient.

How long the shaman continues his exertions is indeterminate. If the patient is very sick, he sings until midnight or morning. Sometimes the shaman announces that his spirit has told him that the patient must be "doctored" for two nights; otherwise the sick man's relatives must decide. Payment is made only if the cure proves a success; should he die within a month or two the shaman must return the whole amount. While I received no hint that a shaman is mercenary, the size of the proffered fee must figure in his decision. Fifty years ago the usual payment was twenty or twenty-five dollars in cash or an equivalent of clothing, blankets, beads, or horses. Ten or twenty fathoms of beads is the amount. Twenty dollars or one good horse secured his services for one or two nights. A man who has none of these gives a canoe, a suit of elk-skin armor, or even food, and if his only riches are marriageable daughters, he presents one of these to the shaman.

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[109] Gatschet (1:72-73) assumes that the buckskin is actually inserted under the patient's skin but I do not understand this to be the case from the text.

755 Shamans never practice in concert. If one fails another is called. If the first discovers that another shaman is responsible for the illness, the relatives will insist on the accused making a cure, if they do not kill him forthwith, which is much more likely.[181] I was not told that a consistently unsuccessful shaman is killed, but it is very probable that he would be accused of witchcraft unless he retired from the field confessing his lack of power.

A shaman of du'kwa named Lă'ⁿl'wis was thought by the people of lu'ⁿlaloqs to have bewitched one of their people who died. Later when another was sick they sent for him pretending their need. They slew him with an axe.[182]

[276] Coville observes that "the dried root stocks [of the blue flag or iris (ghä'-gum läk'-ō, *Iris missouriensis* Nutt.)] are sometimes used by medicine men as a smoking material, mixed with white camas [wild parsnip?], *Zygadenus venenosus*, and a little tobacco, to give a person a severe nausea, in order to secure a heavy fee for making him well again."[183]

752
756 It is distinctly unusual to find that among the Klamath the shaman also figures in curing practice of a non-shamanistic, matter-of-fact variety. Blood is sucked from wounds and ostensibly from fractures; this is one reason for his accompanying a war party. The songs for this are those of buzzard and coyote, who eat carrion, of the wolf, mosquito, fly, horsefly, or any animal or insect that feeds on human blood and flesh. The patient is then usually turned over to a layman for further care. A fracture is treated by applying a cautery all around the spot, smearing the limb with pine pitch and wrapping it with wide strips of buckskin. Wooden splints are not used, nor sweating as a cure. Wounds are dressed with poultices of plants known to some of the older people. One informant said that only wounds in the limbs were dressed, but this is improbable.

Endjla'yukts (the father of my informant Nancy) received an arrow wound in an arm during a feud. Although he was himself a shaman, he did not attempt to treat himself, but called on Ėḳts'as, the shaman who was serving as the spiritual guardian of this war party. The latter pulled out the arrow, applied a poultice made of the leaves of an unidentified plant, and bound the arm. The wounded man eventually died of this wound.

Wounds made by a grizzly bear are treated by a shaman who has the songs of a huge spirit grizzly. The shaman prances about in imitation of the bear, palms raised in front of his shoulders to represent

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[181] Gatschet cites a case (1:68–69).

[182] The revenge taken by his son Kō'ḳdlaks is described above.

[183] Coville, Notes, 93.

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the fore paws. He wears neither a bear skin nor claws. This is the information of Pat Kane, but Nancy Phillips when asked about this scouted the idea. The only one wounded by a bear so far as she knew was a shaman, Poketdjö'tk, who cured himself of a black bear bite. It is of course possible that he had the song of the black bear unknown to her.

There are no special rattlesnake shamans, but a shamanistic cure for the bite was described. While Jim Jackson was in the Modoc country a rattler struck him in the finger leaving a fang in it. He neither killed the snake nor cut open the wound as is customary. The fang traveled up into his arm, which swelled and began to be spotted like the snake. Poketdjö'tk sang one or two songs and sucked out the tooth in a short time. He showed it to everyone after spitting it into his palm. It was minute and fine as a hair; one could not see it well. Next morning Jim, having recovered, paid a horse. This took place by day. This shaman also sucked a fang from the foot of another injured man. So far as Nancy knew, he was the only one who ever cured these bites and what spirit he used she did not know. The rattlesnake is the spirit of many shamans but they do not know how to cure snake bites.

There is a quasi matter-of-fact procedure for the bites, however. 752
The flesh is cut away around the wound or gashed to the bone. It is then wrapped with a fresh snake skin. Lo'löklls (Pat Kane's father) saved his sister in this fashion, a rattler having struck her instep. She recovered immediately. No tourniquet is used. Men tie the rattles of snakes they kill to their hair, women do not.

There is a flat-topped mountain called seolöpgils, probably that 755
southwest of Wocus bay on the western side of Klamath lake, on which is a pond where persons ailing from skin trouble and other illnesses are brought. They are laid in the pond so that the water bugs may eat the disease.

A shaman's treatment for sore eyes described to Gatschet is putting a mixture of charcoal into the eyes, together with a louse "to make it eat up the protruding portion of the sore eye."[144]

It is desirable to record other medical practices here although no shaman is involved. The cautery is in frequent use; all my informants have deep burns on the temples or arms. Two or more sagebrush pellets (sïklö'klüs) are lighted and placed on the spot that pains. For rheumatism, for example, they are placed beside the

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[144] *Op. cit.*, 1:71–72.

755 patella. One is allowed to burn completely; when the other is half-consumed the sufferer destroys it with a pinch and throws it away, telling it to carry off the pain. The dry bark of the black sage is used for this, chewed and shaped into conical pellets. One informant showed me some prepared from the sage-brush bands used by mourning women and deposited in the trees, which he had gathered. Another informant denied that such bands alone are used.

Rheumatism is also treated with skunk grease rubbed into the affected part and the flesh of the animal eaten.

Earache, deafness, and hemorrhage of the ear are treated by the application at night of poultices of cooked wild parsnip root.

Toothache is kima'dj p'an, ant eats, or literally dŭt ansma'sɛ. It is so called because on breaking an extracted tooth they find in it a little worm with a black head, believed to be the larva of the ant, which has been eating the tooth. The sufferer rests his aching face on a stout stick, a paddle for instance, while he sleeps. Some one strikes the paddle a sharp rap; the sleeper is frightened and the aching gone. Pat Kane ascribed this to the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division (ă'ukckni) alone. The river-mouth people's (du'kwakni) method is to chew a bit of rotten fish, holding it on the aching tooth. The cure of the Pelican bay group (gu'mbŏtkni) is a cautery over the spot "breaking the tooth." Nancy denied the last two methods. Teeth are never extracted.

751 The Klamath used dog flesh in order to avoid smallpox (gotķ!ŏks, erupting) on at least one occasion. This was during a winter before the birth of my informants, now in their seventies. Many died because they had so few dogs. Ordinarily dog flesh is avoided, but on this [177] occasion the flesh was eaten and the grease rubbed on the body. Considering the date[168] it may well be that this was a cure learned from French half-breeds on the Columbia.

278 For mumps, the root of a plant called aķŏsaķŏtkgla'ks is rubbed on the swelling. (This waist-high plant grows near the river, is blue topped, with large green leaves.) Mumps has no native name because of its recency.

For colds the root of the yayo'ķaķ plant, found in the mountains, is chewed and swallowed. A poultice of this is also applied to a swelling, then covered with pitch.

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[175] [931]

[168] Powers states that about 1847 smallpox killed 150 Modocs (Tribes of California, 254). This is the widespread epidemic of that date which led to the Cayuse uprising against the Whitman mission in southeastern Washington (Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, 1:224). Taylor mentions its presence on the Humboldt and Bear rivers, Nevada, prior to 1853 (Taylor, Oregon Bound, 147, 155).

533 I feel that many of his translations are far from the point, but I do
114 not know enough to correct them. The numbers in parentheses refer to the page and number in Gatschet's work.

539 *Fire dance (wa'hla) songs?*
In flames I am enveloped (154, 8).
I am now wrapped in flames (166, 26).

Songs referring to various items of the shaman's outfit (mü'lwas).
This scoop is my instrument, that tool used on the lake[189] (167, 34).
This is my medicine arrow (164, 3).
The pipe is my instrument, that tool used for tobacco[190] (167, 33).
I the shaman's pole [wa''las] am shaking to and fro (170, 66).
Planks [covering the lodge?] are rattling (155, 18).
This is my song, that of the sweat-lodge stick-hole[191] (168, 45).
So looks the yellowhammer medicine-decoration;
The otter is my equipment; the otter skin neckband is my equipment (167, 30).
I the neckband am medicine-equipment; I the neckband am a spirit [or song] (168, 40).
Thus I walk when I tie up the hair (165, 9).
I will pull a rope from my entrails[192] (165, 11).

Songs referring to anthropomorphic spirits.
I the shai'kish [tcaḳia'ḳ] tramp[193] (169, 52).
Tcaḳia'ḳ is my song [or spirit]; thunder is my song [or spirit] (169, 53).
I the ghost lean on a staff (168, 38).
Bones only I rattle (157, 44).
I the woman am painted black on the body[194] (158, 51).
My dew claws are rattling (166, 17).
Dew claws are my medicine-outfit[195] (166, 21).
In quill-fringed buck-skin dressed (154, 6).
I search the ground with my hands, find there the feathers of the yellowhammer and devour them (154, 10).
Quick! make ye eyes for me! (154, 11).
In the fog I am straying blind; all over the earth I am wandering[196] (157, 40).

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[189] Or the lake is my instrument.

[190] Or tobacco is my instrument.

[191] I do not know what Gatschet means by the "stick-hole."

[755] [192] "Feigning to draw a rope or string from their posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear" (Gatschet, 1:171). I was not told of this and it sounds more like a shamanistic trick than a curing practice.

[114] [193] Gatschet says "shai'kish is another name given to the tch'akiuks" and this is a "song of a gray aquatic fowl, called tch'akiuks." The following song, wherein he translates ts'aking as little boy clearly indicates that the reference here is to Tcaḳia'ḳ, the little boy spirit which lives in water.

[194] Gatschet implies that this refers to a woman dancer, but it is as likely that it is a woman spirit.

[114] [195] Gatschet says of these two songs "Conjurer's rattles are made of deer's claws" and "this song of a female conjurer or 'doctress' . . . ." (1: 172). But deer-claw rattles are used only in a girl's puberty dance; shamans use none
[756] at all. I interpret these songs to be those of a woman spirit, like the one which precedes them and perhaps the one to follow.

[534] [196] The first two of these three songs are those of "the blind medicine-girl" according to Gatschet and the third that of "the blind girl." I assume a spirit is referred to.

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787 experiences with it. Power may also come involuntarily, when a dreamer hears a spirit song. There is no obligation to accept, but resistance brings illness.

796 756 The midwinter month (December-January) has a curious place in the Klamath calendar. While a shaman must of necessity evoke his spirit to cure or foretell at any time of the year, this is the period when every shaman feels called on to exhibit his powers. The novice shaman also waits for this time to give a public test of his possession, and only after this does he attempt to cure. These seances are solely for displaying power, manifested by the songs and a series of feats. During these performances, those among the audience who have spirits also sing their own songs if the spirit impels. In other words, the midwinter month is the period *par excellence* when spirits regularly resume contact with their communicants.

[535] [372] The essential of the winter seance is a dance by the shaman as close as possible to a huge fire in order to call his spirits to assist him in the feats that follow. These are stereotyped tricks, of which two, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are the test of the novice. Other tricks are of the type of making things appear and disappear.

A few other details should be mentioned here. There is an assistant at this performance, a layman, who repeats the shaman's words. Food brought to the seance is thought first to be eaten by a frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one may touch it. The performance takes place in the shaman's own dwelling.

[789] Weather control, like the display of powers at the midwinter seances, offers an opportunity for shamanistic rivalry. Clairvoyance appears in connection with the war dance preparatory to an expedition, and, curiously, the shaman accompanies the party to continue his clairvoyant function, and, what is still more unique, to serve as surgeon.

753 755 Illness is the result of the intrusion of something foreign, usually a spirit and commonly the spirit of a malignant shaman. A cure consists in extracting a tiny object which is either the disease itself or embodies it. The curing procedure is highly formalized: spirit after spirit is invoked to search the patient, beginning always with the Old Frog Woman, until the culpable spirit is found. The shaman's familiars are thought to stand beside him ready to assist. When he succeeds in sucking out the disease object he swallows it, while blood streams from his mouth.

*171 756 Very little of this is unique with the Klamath, as we may see by comparison with the shamanistic complex of neighboring peoples.

needle of glass. The Wintun "pain" is a spirit missile, a flint or obsidian arrowpoint, and like its Yuki analogue, is dispatched to cause illness. The Yuki "pain" is an invisible obsidian point. The object which the Sacramento Valley Maidu shamans insert into the novice to see if he can get it out, is neither a disease object nor the embodiment of power, yet is obviously related to these; an invisible double-pointed object as long as the finger. The disease objects of the Northeastern Maidu are not described in this fashion, but they have the animate, personal character of the "pains" elsewhere. Southern Maidu initiates are "killed" with a "piece of medicine" a half inch long. No description is available from Yurok and Hupa.[471] 171 * 756

It is unfortunate that the term "pains" has crept into the literature to describe things which, it seems to me, are not related to these concepts. Thus, the "pains" of the Takelma are neither substitutes for spirits nor have they personality. Of the Sinkyone, it is recorded: "Ordinary disease was cured by sucking out of the body the *sinsing* or material 'pains.'" In neither case do these differ one whit from the disease objects of peoples outside this area. The case is somewhat different for Achomawi-Atsugewi: the "pain" is described as "a small black thing, like a bit of horse-hair" which a shaman sucks out in a cure, but "the 'pains' grow in size and strength by killing people. If the shaman does not catch the 'pain' when it returns to him after killing the person it has been shot into, he loses all control over it, and it goes about killing people of its own initiative. This is the cause of epidemics." This closely resembles the Northeastern Maidu concept.[472] 171 * 755

The inaugural dance of California is of considerable proportions only among Yurok, Hupa, Shasta, and Northeastern Maidu, and as such is comparable to the Klamath affair. On the other hand those of the more southerly peoples seem relatively unpretentious: Sinkyone, Yuki, Northern Pomo, northerly Wintun, Maidu of the Sacramento valley, and Southern Maidu. 171 * 756 535

The Shasta performance has been described above. The Yurok novice dreams of a dead shaman who puts a "pain" in her body. A dance is made in the sweat-house for ten days during which she dances under the direction of older shamans. The "pain" is induced to leave her body and is re-swallowed, thus demonstrating control. She

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[471] Kroeber, Handbook, 111, 197–199 302, 361; Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 562; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 268, 280; Gifford, Southern Maidu, 244.

[472] Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 42; Kroeber, Handbook, 150; Dixon, Some Shamans, 25, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218.

similar to the Klallam-Sound Salish affairs. These likewise are held 171*
only or primarily in midwinter, that is, from December to March.
Potlatching on this occasion is represented by some trifling gifts made 756
by the singers. It is not clear that the man who rises to sing his spirit 787
song at this time is repossessed, but it is suggested by a statement I
recorded that when the auditors heard their songs sung, they "became 796
like fire inside, wild," offering bits of flesh to be cut off. The guardian spirit dance of the Nez Percé closely parallels this performance. This appears again among the Lillooet, and it may be that Teit's reference to the "manitou dance" of the middle Columbia Salish refers to a similar affair. (These people formerly occupied the territory between the Wishram and Nez Percé.)[478] A Wasco analogue may be reflected in a tale describing just such a singing and dancing festival among the animals; each of the five nights they dance closer to the flames.[479]
This is similar to the Klamath practice of dancing as close as possible [535]
to the fire, which I know is also the custom among Puget Sound groups, hence may have been universal in these performances.

There is a suggestive connection with these northern ideas in the Alsea custom of telling traditions in one month alone, January, and never again during the year.[480]

It is significant that the novice among Klamath and Shasta waits until winter for his inaugural dance. Among the latter this is the period in which the candidate is most likely to be possessed: "doctors generally begin their dreams and dancing early in the winter, as it is then that the Axeki [spirits] are always about the camp."[481]

If then the Klamath winter performance is construed as related to northern rites, by reason of its time, and the repossession of both shaman and layman, it is unique in one respect. I have been unable to find that elsewhere there are such regularly recurring opportunities for shamanistic display. To be sure, these occur elsewhere and quite widely, but not as regimented performances fixed as to time.

The Shaman's Assistant

The Klamath shaman regularly employs an assistant who serves as 756
interpreter of his rushing mumbled speech. Similarly, at both winter 796
performances and while curing, a second individual is selected to call
the spirits and prompt them to act. 755 •

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[478] Spinden, Nez Percé, 262–264; Teit, Lillooet, 286, The Middle Columbia Salish, 98, 128.

[479] Sapir, Wishram Texts, 311–312, *cf.* 95–99, 129–131.

[480] Farrand, Alsea, 245.

[481] Dixon, Some Shamans, 24.

*171 Elsewhere in the area from the Columbia river into northern Cali-
755 fornia the shaman is provided with an assistant of this type. He
participates, however, only in curing ceremonies. At the southern
756 fringe of the area his functions fuse with those of the clown attendant
in secret society performances. On the other hand, in western Washington he is not an interpreter or repeater of speeches, but serves purely as a lay assistant.

The Modoc assistant comes nearest to the Klamath in type.
[114] Meacham refers to him as an orator who repeats loudly the shaman's
speeches and who supports the shaman novice while dancing. Since the specific reference to him is in connection with the novice's dance, we may presume that he regularly accompanies the shaman in all his operations.[482]

Takelma, Wishram, and Achomawi assistants function during a cure like those of the Klamath, repeating the shaman's incoherent speech. A shamanistic dance, purely for display, occurs among the Wishram, but I did not learn that an assistant of the Klamath type had any part in it. This appears, however, among the foothill group of Northern Maidu, where, while a shaman shows his ability to commune with the spirits, a layman "apes the shaman in everything, repeats after him everything he says, and in every way tries to make the spectators laugh. It is considered a compliment to laugh, and a sign of appreciation." This "clown" has also full rein at the ceremonial for the dedication of a new dance house. Powers reports for the Southern Maidu a boy who repeats every utterance of a shaman during his performance. This may refer to a clown like that of the Northern Maidu or to an assistant who helps at a cure.[483] There is no trace of the clown in the dances of the Northeastern Maidu, but he appears again in the performances of the Sacramento valley branch. He is speaker for the dance leader, mimics the words and actions of the dancers, and attempts to make the spectators laugh by his antics. Such clowns appear regularly in Kuksu cult dances among other Sacramento valley peoples and are known as far south as the central and southern Yokuts.[484]

In the region west and north of the Wishram, shamans have assistants of a sort but they are not speakers. For example, the Chinook

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[482] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 129–136.

[483] Powers, Tribes of California, 334.

[484] Sapir, Religious Ideas of Takelma, 43; Angulo, Religious Feeling, 356, Psychologie religieuse, 568–569, 574–577; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 271, 286, 295, 311–318, 322; Kroeber, Handbook, 383.

shaman who seeks to recover the soul of a sick man uses "a manikin 171*
made of wood and cedar bark. When a conjurer wants to make use of
this manikin he gives it to a person who has no guardian spirit, who 755 •
shakes it for him, and they two go to the country of the ghosts." 756
Boas states that this type of cure was derived by the Chinook from the Chehalis. Such sticks, carved and painted with reference to their guardians, and here described as manikins, are common property to those with spirit helpers from Oregon northward. When a Quinault shaman goes to cure, he is regularly accompanied by an aid who holds and rattles his carved stick. Here again illness is due to soul loss but there is no journey to the land of the dead.[455]

In quite another direction the Pomo appear with an assistant for the curing shaman. He shakes the shaman's rattle and sings his songs. As Kroeber remarks, the appearance of an assistant in this [114] quarter is unusual, and in the present state of our knowledge not connected by distribution with the instances cited above.[456]

One cannot escape the impression that this provision of a speaker for the shaman is linked with the chief's spokesman of many tribes of the west. The Northwest Coast type of spokesman is known as far south as the Wishram on the Columbia and perhaps in coastal Oregon. In the Basin, from eastern Washington to northern Arizona, there is word-for-word repetition of formal speeches. There is no chief's speaker in the intervening area from Wishram to Maidu, but there is for the shaman. When we realize that in this region, chiefs are socially eclipsed by shamans, we may well argue that a substitution has taken place. Objection may be made, however, that this is equally true in the Basin, where, so far as we know, shamans do not have speakers.

Accessory Elements

The distribution of analogues of the Klamath shamans' feats is 128
quite irregular, to judge by the few notes I have collected, but this is
undoubtedly due to incompleteness of information. Merely to put 756
these on record, I present them here.

The Klamath shaman swallows fire; so does the Lillooet and 171*
Thompson. Live coals are eaten by Quinault secret society performers, 756

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[455] B[illegible], Doctrine of Souls, 40, Chinook Texts, 207; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[456] Handbook, 258.

Maidu of the Sacramento valley may kill merely by letting his shadow 171*
fall on his victim. A Klamath cannot pass in front of a shaman nor 756
drop something in front of him, else the shaman suffers a hemorrhage. Similarly a Kwakiutl apparently does not pass behind an eating shaman, else he too has a hemorrhage. The Wishram shaman, angry with one who endangers him by passing behind or startling him, may bewitch in revenge. A Cowichan of the mainland group will not let his shadow fall on a sick shaman, for the latter may seize the chance to replace his own lost soul. Similarly the Lillooet avoid letting their shadows fall on a shaman or standing in his, for fear of consequences. The Thompson, too, will not let his shadow fall on a shaman (the reverse is not harmful), and dares not startle him nor eat meat without inviting him to share it.[498]

Clairvoyance

Prediction is a widespread, if not universal, ability of shamans. 171*
A somewhat unique form among the Klamath is that at the dance preceding the departure of a war party. 756
The shaman dances in front of the warriors in order to discover those who will be wounded: he sees 787
them bleeding. He also accompanies the party to watch over them 726
and cure wounds. Something of the same sort is noted for the Modoc. [535]
This also seems to take place among the Chinook: "before the people go to war they sing. If one of them sees blood, he will be killed in [755]
battle." Perhaps this is general in the northwest; at any rate Goddard observes of the Northwest Coast at large: "Every war party includes a shaman who by his supernatural knowledge warns of danger and points out favorable times and places for attacks. The shaman, by catching or destroying the souls of the enemy, makes the killing of their bodies an easy matter."[499]

As I have pointed out it is unusual that the Klamath shaman treats 171*
wounds and fractures by matter-of-fact methods. But this has also 755
been noted of the Achomawi. Angulo thinks this true only since the advent of the whites, but it is surely an old practice of the Klamath.[500]

The practice of freeing a locality or village of disease, dispatched there by a malevolent shaman, is probably more common than I have

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[498] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 269; Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 730; Lower Fraser River, 9; Teit, Lillooet, 288; Thompson Indians, 361.

[499] Gatschet, 1:21; Boas, Chinook Texts, 270; Goddard, Indians of the Northwest Coast, 119.

[500] Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 571.

*171 755 been able to discover. At any rate, I note it for Achomawi-Atsugewi and Shasta, as well as Klamath. Following the usual shamanistic seance the Klamath shaman searches the vicinity for the malevolent spirit. He rushes about until he falls, blood streaming from his mouth. Several men must support him by the arms and restrain him until he can destroy it in water. The Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman forces the disease out of the ground by his power and then seizes it. He staggers about in his effort to hold it until he can plunge it into water. He then swallows or burns it, or dispatches it to kill its sender. The Shasta erect a shaman's pole at the affected spot. The shaman dances, calling on her spirit to dislodge the disease "pains" from the ground. "If the shaman's guardian is successful, he succeeds in pushing the pains into the river, and drowns them." Certain features of a Chinook cure are like these. When their shaman has taken a disease from a sick man, he must be held by several men to overcome the strength of the disease spirit, until he can plunge it into water.[601] The destruction of an extracted disease by placing it in water is a common feature among Washington tribes. I have seen it, for example, as part of a cure by members of the pseudo-Christian sect of Shakers among the Skokomish and learned that it occurred among the Okanagon.

Various Beliefs

*171 I have a somewhat random series of analogues of Klamath beliefs.

763 756 821 The Klamath hold that a storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned. The Northern Maidu hold that it thunders at once when a great man dies, and inasmuch as the most important individuals of the Maidu are shamans, it is clear that this is a comparable belief. The Thompson have it that the death or burial of a person causes an immediate change in the weather; that of a shaman, a sudden and extreme change. The death of a Wind River Shoshoni causes a whirlwind.

*171 821 844 These beliefs are apparently a single expression of a more general belief that both births and deaths are signaled by a change in the weather. For example, the Klamath also hold that it always blows at a woman's first parturition. Analogous to this the Wishram say that extreme weather marks a birth. Further, a rainbow points to the spot where the birth takes place. The latter belief at least is

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[601] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 219, Shasta, 487; Boas, Chinook Texts, 208.

*171 Wooden images are unique in the non-woodworking culture of Klamath and
756 Modoc, yet this too is traceable southward from the same center.^ It is
532 far less certain that clairvoyance in connection with a war party is
derived from that source, yet the trait is shared by the northern
coastal people.

*171 Some elements are local in the Oregon-north California interior.
Such is the shaman's assistant, his mouthpiece and interlocutor. He
755 is present at cures from Wishram to Achomawi; present at seances
756 from Klamath to Southern Maidu. For some of the Maidu he is a
clown, which links him with the clown among the Kuksu impersonators of central California. There is reason to think that this functionary is historically connected with the chief's speaker known from the Northwest Coast through the interior to the Southwest. Other local elements are the pole having spirit reference (Klamath to Northern Maidu), the notion that food is first eaten by the spirits (Takelma, Shasta, Klamath), the ridding of a locality of disease (Klamath, Shasta, Achomawi-Atsugewi).

*171 Other elements, while local, are somewhat more widely distributed.
There is the circumspection with respect to the shaman's shadow and
756 to startling him; the notion that weather changes at birth and death:
[821] all these are common from southern British Columbia to the Maidu,
largely through the interior.

*171 The Klamath shamans' dress bears some imprint of northern and
756 central Californian influence in the use of woodpecker scalp headbands and of yellowhammer feathers. Both are characteristic dance
292 regalia in the south; on the Oregon border they have passed over to
237 the shamans.

*171 In broad perspective Klamath shamanism is of generalized,
undifferentiated North American type, sharing some features that are
756 local, and but moderately influenced from the Northwest Coast and
the central and northwestern foci of California. Its general nature is recognizable in the quest and the undifferentiated power it yields; the most marked local elements are the predisposition to inherit power, the novice dance, and the shaman's assistant. California at large appears in the dream as a vehicle of acquiring power; northern California in the dwarfs that figure among Klamath spirits; central California in the shaman's headdress. Northwest Coast influences are no stronger; repossession in midwinter and the use of carvings color Klamath shamanism only mildly.

^ [i.e., the Northwest Coast.-Analyst]

534

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2087. Feathers on stick handle	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2088. Number of cocoons	-	-	-	-	3	5	6	-	-	4	5	5	4	5	3	5
[756] 2089. Used by shaman in curing	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2090. Used by Big Head singers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	+	-	-	-	-
2091. Used for any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
[787] 2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	-	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2094. Split-stick clapper	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2095. Single split	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2096. Multiple splits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2097. Painted	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	R	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
[881] 2098. Burned decoration	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
[535] 2099. For girl's puberty dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[720] 2100. For war dance	-	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[796] 2101. For Ghost dance		-	R	-		R		R	R	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
2102. For any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	+	R	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
2103. Snake rattles on stick	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2106. On cord or thong, no handle	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2107. Worn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[881] 2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	7	15	20	20	20	-	25	8	20	1	2	4	-	-
2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2111. Basket rattle	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[524] 2112. Child's toy	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	-	-

Rasp

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2114. Notched-wood rasp	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2115. Basket scraped	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

Bull-roarer, Musical Bow

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2116. Bull-roarer	R	-	-	-	(R)	-	+	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
2117. Wood	R	-	-	-	(R)	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
2118. Bone or horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[789] 2119. Produces storm or wind	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[753] 2120. Produces sickness	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[756] 2121. Only shamans use	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562] 2122. Only boys, men use	-	-	-	-	R			+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2123. For amusement, boys	R	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2124. Musical bow	(R)	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	·	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Hunting bow	(R)	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	·	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Seperate instrument	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2127. Played with finger	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2128. Played with stick	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562] 2129. Boys only						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Whistles and Flutes

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2130. Whistle	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2131. Single hole	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-			-	-	-	+	-	-
2133. Bone	-	·	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2134. Bird or rodent	-	·	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
2135. Large mammal	-	·	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
2136. Elder	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	R	-	-	-	+	+	-
2137. Cane	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
Naming																
553 3306. Child named at, soon after, birth	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	•.	–
3307. Child named up to 6 months after birth	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
3308. Child named after 1 year plus	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
3309. Child named around puberty	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
3310. Named by father	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+
3311. Named by mother	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+
3312. Girl baby named by mother's mother	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	–
3313. Boy baby named by father's father	+	+	+	+			+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	–
3314. Child named by any near relative	+	+	–	•–				+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–
3315. Child named by relative or nonrelative	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
551 3316. Names meaningful	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	+
3317. Names meaningless	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	+
3318. Names duplicated during lifetime 2 people	–	–	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	•+
3319. Name "given away"	–	–	•+	.						•+	–	–	–	–	.	–
[787] 3320. Names dreamt	–	+	–		+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3321. Naming after grandparents, other relatives.	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	.	+
3322. After death of relative only	–	–	–	+		–	–	+	+	+	–	+	(–)	+	.	–
Mutilations																
304 3323. Ears pierced	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+
3324. Soon after birth	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
3325. Prepuberty	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	+
3326. Around or after puberty	+	–	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
3327. Obligatory for all boys and girls	–	+	–	•–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3328. Girls only	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
3329. Virgins only	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3330. Done by older relative	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	•+
3331. Done by skilled person	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	–
3332. Done by good or "powerful" person	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+
3333. To make child good-tempered	–	+	+				+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
3334. For "fun" or style; to display wealth	+	–	+	+						+	–	–	–	+	+	.
3335. For good fortune	–	–	–								+	–	•+	–	–	.
3336. Dance follows	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
3337. Nasal septum pierced	R+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
3338. Soon after birth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
3339. Prepuberty	R+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3340. At or around puberty	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–
3341. Any time	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3342. Men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
3343. Obligatory for all	–	+	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3344. All girls only	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3345. Done by relative	R+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
3346. Done by skilled person	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3347. Done by self	–	–	–					–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3348. Boy: sent on vision quest	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3349. Girl: dance follows								–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
3350. Tattooing	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	R	R	(+)	–	–	–	+
3351. Women: prepuberty	R	+	–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
3352. Women: postpuberty, any time	R	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	R	R	R	(+)	–	–	–	+
3353. Obligatory for woman	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3354. Rare among women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	R	+	–	–	–	+
3355. Men: when adult, any time	–	–	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3356. Done by skilled person, usually woman	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•R	R	R	.	–	–	–	+
3357. Done by "good" person	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3358. For style only	R	–	+	•+	–	+	+	–	•R	R	R	.	–	–	–	.
[755] 3359. As therapeutic measure	–	–	–						•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3360. To insure longevity	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Directions																
823 4458. 4 cardinal directions	•(+)	+	+	+	.	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
4459. 6 cardinal directions	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
4460. 8 cardinal directions	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4461. Waterflow for directions	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4462. Directions indicated by place names	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4463. Sunrise, sunset terms for E, W	–		+	•+		+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
823 4464. Direction indicated by pursing lips	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
201 o4465. Plus twitching nose, glancing with eyes		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	±	–	–
4466. Plus hand against cheek, pointing	–	–				+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
•4467. Used for privacy, mainly		+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	.	–	–
4468. Direction indicated by pointing hand, finger.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs																
Therapeutic Practices																
757 4469. Practices for curing illnesses	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	+	+
4470. Piss ants, for rheumatism, tuberculosis	+	–	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4471. Drink boiled decoction of	+	–	+						–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4472. Sit on nest of, let "water" remain on body	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[752] •4473. Cautery	•+	+	+		•+				+	•+	+	–	–		–	–
4474. If blister rises, cure will be effected	+	+	+						+	•–	+	–	–		–	–
[752] 4475. Blood letting			•+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	+		+	+
4476. Cut made with flint knife			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
4477. Vapor baths, patient covered with robe	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	•+	–	+	–		–	+
4478. Steaming in small steam house, mud and ashes													–		+	–
4479. Poultices	+	+							+						+	+
4480. Sucker skin, for snake bites.	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4481. Plant poultices with warm rock inside															+	+
4482. Smoking: wild parsnip, for headaches, colds	–		–						+	+	•+	•+	–		.	.
4483. Plant and root decoctions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4484. Datura (jimsonweed) root	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	•+
4485. Decoctions for wounds			•+								•+	.	•+		•+	.
Herb Doctoring; Beliefs Concerning Ailments																
4486. Herbalists	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
755 4487. Informal "doctoring" only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+		–	–
757 4488. Informal and formal doctoring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–		+	+
278 4489. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	+
4490. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4491. Mostly women	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
4492. Herbalist may also be sucking shaman.	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•–		+	+
4493. Knowledge inherited	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4494. Dreamt	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4495. Taught free by older person	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+
4496. Taught free by doctor, to relation only													–		•+	–
4497. Formula spoken when gathering plants.	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		.	•+
4498. Treatment private, at patient's house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4499. Formula recited, before taking medicine	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	•+	755 757
4500. Disease brushed off body	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	278
4501. Medicine administered internally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4502. Medicine administered externally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4503. Medicine sprayed from mouth	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+		+		
4504. Herbalist can cure any disease													-		+	+	
4505. Can kill disease objects	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4506. Can cure rattlesnake bites	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	+	
4507. Can only weaken, check natural diseases	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+		-	-	
4508. Precautions to ward off disease; incense burnt	(+)	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+		+	+	751
4508a. Breach of taboo causes illness	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	753
4509. Eating meat in taboo period causes tuberculosis		+	+							+	+	+	+		-	-	
4510. Worms in tooth cause toothache	-	-	+	•+	+	-	.	•+	+	+	+	+	+		•-	(+)	
4511. Ants, spider-like bug in teeth causes toothache	+	+	-	-	-	•+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	

Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena

Cosmogony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4512. World a disk, floating in water	.	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	.	-	+	.	.	.	773
4513. Supported by animal	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	-	.	.	.	
4514. Mythical age; animals persons	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4515. Chief for each species of animal	+	+	-				(+)	-	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	
4516. Flood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	(+)	.	.	.	+	
4517. Human beings created or appear	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	

Sun and Moon

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4518. Sun male human	+	+	.	+	-	•+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	(+)	.	821
4519. Sun female human	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	•+	-	-	.	
4520. Moon male human	+	+	+	-	+	•.	+	+	+	+	+	-	•+	+	(+)	.	
4521. Moon female human	-	-	.	+	-	(+)	.	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	
4522. Sun and moon husband and wife	-	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	.	
4523. Frog mate of moon	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	(+)	-	-	-	.	
4524. Figures in moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	+	-	-	.	
4525. Scar from bear's bite		.							+	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	
4526. Man	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	
4527. Tree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	.	
4528. Frog	+	•+	+	-	•+	•+	+	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	

New Moon

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4529. Monthly birth-and-death theory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	+	•+	+
4530. All view new moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	•-	+
4531. Each month	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
4532. In winter, only											•+	-	-	-	-	-
4533. In spring, chiefly	•+	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
4534. Speak, pray to moon	•+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	•+	-	-	+
4535. Address by kin term	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
4536. Old persons shake selves, clothes, bedding	-	+	•+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4537. Throw stones at moon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
4538. Food prepared, guests invited								•	•	•	+	-	+	-	+	-

2: Voegelin E-S (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
756 4881a. Given in summer only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	+		-	-
535 4882. In open fire sweat house	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4883. In dwelling house	+	+	-	-	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4883a. In open	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	-
4884. Shaman in charge	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+		+	-
4885. Novice doctor dances alone	-	-	•+	•+	•+	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4886. All shamans dance	•+	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+		(+)	-
4887. All men except novice dance	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4888. All prepubescent boys, girls, adults dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4889. One time only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
4890. Dance in 1 spot	•+	+	-	-			-	-	+	-	-	-	-		.	-
4891. Informal dance; jump around								+	+	+	-	-	-		.	-
4892. Room dark	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4893. Small fire for light	+	+	+	-		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-		+	-
[533] 4894. All or anyone sings	-	-	•+	•+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
4895. Men, women lie on back before dance; sing			-		-			+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4896. Women sing	•+	+	•+	•+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
4897. Some men sing	+	+	•+	•+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+		(+)	-
4898. Singers kick on floor planks	+	+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4899. Sit on stools, pieces of wood	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4900. Outside speaker calls spirits to sweat house	+	+	•+		-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4901. Novice(s) bleed at mouth	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+		+	-
4902. Fall in trance	-	-	•+		+			+	+	+	-	-	+		+	-
4903. Not touched until next morning	-	-	-		-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4904. Grabbed	-	-	•+		-			-	-	-	-	-	+		.	-
4905. Older shaman may deprive novice of power	•+	.	•+	-	-				•+		-	-	-		-	-
4906. Disease organisms fly around in air	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4907. Novice enters house via regular entrance	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4908. Novice swallows and vomits up pains	•+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4909. Exhibits pains	+	+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4910. Novice or doctors handle fire, hot stones	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+		+	•+
4911. Eat fire	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	-	-	•-	+	-	-	-		.	+
4912. Novice or doctors eat pounded obsidian	(+)	+	•+	•+			-	-	-	-	-	-	-		.	-
4913. Novice can start curing immediately after dance	(+)	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	•+	•+	-	-	•-		(+)	-
[533] 4914. Novice sings in sweat house; no dancing	-	-	-	-	(+)	(+)	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
4915. Novice, in training, sings by himself	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-
4916. Novice trains outside in woods	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		+	-
4917. With older shamans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	-
4918. Small fire for light	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	-
4919. Bleeds at mouth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	-
4920. Falls in trance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	-
4921. Taught to handle fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	-
4922. Taught use of medicines	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	.
4923. For ... days and nights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		4	-
4924. Novice cures, helps cure patient, as part of training	+	+	•(+)	•+	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-

755 Sucking Doctors: Curing Techniques

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
c4925. Treatment lasts ... nights.	1	•1	•1	•2	•3	•1	•2	1	2	•1	•1	2	•3		1	1
4926. Public, indoors	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4927. Private, indoors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		•+	-	755
4928. Doctor has ... assistants	1	2	1	2	•2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		-	-	
4929. "Interpreter" for doctor while doctoring, or in trance	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-	
4930. "Outside speaker" to call doctor's spirit(s)	-	•+	+	•+	+	•-	•+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
4931. Friend or relative of doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4932. Must know esoteric language	-	+	+					+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-	[776]
4933. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	•-		-	.	
4934. Assistant calls doctor's spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	•-		-	-	[787]
4935. Spirit takes possession of doctor	•-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	.		-	-	
4936. Doctor diagnoses by singing	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		.	+	[533]
4937. Audience joins in songs	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4938. Doctor diagnoses by dancing	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		.	-	[535]
4939. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	[276]
4940. When trance coming on			-					+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-	
o4941. Blows tobacco smoke over patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	±	-	+		-	-	
4942. Assistant lights doctor's pipe	+	-	+	•-				+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-	
4943. Doctor drinks through bark tube	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	[871]
4944. Has basket cup of water beside him	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-	
4945. Doctor uses feathers or stick	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		.	-	
4946. Bunch of supernatural feathers	-	+	•+	+	•-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		.	-	
4947. Eagle down	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	•-	-	-	-	-	-		.	-	
4948. Eagle wing	-	-	+					-	-	-		-	-		.	-	
4949. Stick	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		.	-	
4950. Doctor uses fire	+	+	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		.	+	[372]
4951. For light only: usually small	+	+	+	•+	•-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		.	•-	
4952. Doctor applies ashes, clay to patient	•+	•+	-	•-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		.	-	
4953. Doctor uses charmstone (pestle)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4954. Brushes or fans away disease	-	+	+	•+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4955. With feathers	-		+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4956. Sprays liquid from mouth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+		.	•+	
4957. Administers herb medicines	-	-	-					•+	•-	-	•+	•+	-		•+	•+	[278]
4958. Doctor, assistant, or singers use rattle	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+	
4959. Cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	+	•-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	•-	[534]
4960. Walking cane								+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4961. Beat on plank with board			-						+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
4962. Whistle	-	-	+	-	+	•	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		.	-	
4963. Doctor's spirit or "pain" tells location of disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	+	
4964. Tells cause of sickness	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-	
4965. Doctor can see or feel disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4966. Disease object ("pain") sucked out	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	
4967. Directly into doctor's mouth	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4968. Vomited out of mouth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	-	
o4969. Disease object removed with hand	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-			-	-	
4970. Pus ("bad feelings") sucked out	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+	
4971. Women doctors use same technique as men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+		-	-	[562]
4972. Disease object tells doctor who sent it	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-	
4973. Disease object exhibited	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4974. Put in basket cup of water	-	+	+	+		+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-			-	
4975. Invisible to all except shamans	-	-	-						+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
4976. Disease object disappears	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4977. By sleight of hand	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	+	+	+	-		-	-	
4978. Doctor bites it	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	•+	
4979. Doctor swallows it	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4980. Sent back to owner, for revenge, sometimes			+	•-	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-	
4981. Buried	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+		-	+	
4982. Blown away			-					+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-	
4983. Burned	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
755 Sucking Doctors: Payment for Curing																
4983a. Shaman paid for curing	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4984. Negotiated fee	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4985. Patient, patients' relatives decide amount of fee	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4986. Fee paid to doctor before cure	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4987. Fee shown to doctor, who smells it			−			•+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
4988. Fee paid after cure	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	•+	•+	+	+		+	+
4989. Fee set near patient during treatment	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+		−	−
4990. Shaman's guardian spirit also "paid"	−	−	+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4991. Demands skins, hides, baskets, etc.	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4992. Objects set up by patient during cure	−	−	•+	•+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4993. If treatment unsuccessful, doctor tries again	+					+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−		+	
o4994. Makes ... attempts only						3	3		3	−	−	2			.	
4995. If treatment unsuccessful, fee not offered or not taken	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	−
4996. If treatment unsuccessful, fee returned	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	+
4997. Treatment deemed unsuccessful if patient dies	+	.	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	+
4998. Within 1 to 6 months	−	.	+	+	.	.	−	−	−	+	+	−	−		−	−
†4999. Within ... days	10	.	−	−	.	.	10	10	10	−	−	−	20		20	•20
5000. Assistants paid same amount as doctor	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
5001. Assistants paid less than doctor	−	•(+)	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−		−	−
5002. Doctor pays assistant out of own fee.	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
[683] 5003. Doctor liable for refusing case	−	•−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
5004. May be accused of poisoning	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
5005. Liable to be killed	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
5006. Never decline case	−	−	−		+		+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
[681] 5007. Unsuccessful doctors killed	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−
Sucking Doctors: Beneficent Powers Other Than Curing																
756, 787 5008. Can capture "poison" sickening village			•+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
5009. Goes into trance			•+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
5010. 2 men support him, when poison captured			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−		−	−
5011. Can locate lost, stolen objects	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	.	+	+		−	(+)
5012. Can see what is happening afar off	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−		−	−
5013. What will happen in future	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+		−	−
Sucking Doctors: Malevolent Practices																
756 5014. Shaman causes illness, death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		+	•−
754 5015. Talks to disease object (pain), sends it to victim				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
5016. Disease object put in food	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+		+	−
5017. Disease object put under victim's doorstep			−		•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−		−	−
5018. Disease object sent to sicken entire village			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−
5019. Disease object applied to person's body	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	−
5020. Scorpion's tail applied to body, or person's urine													−		•+	−
5020a. Ashes, water, dirt thrown toward victim			+								+	+	+		+	−
5021. Disease object pointed at victim	−	−	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−
5022. Thrown at victim	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−		−	−
5023. Blown off hand at victim	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5071. Burned at owner's death	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
533 5072. Diagnosis by singing, rubbing patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5073. Singing, rubbing to cure patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5074. Brushes patient	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5075. Sprinkles water from feather on patient	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-
5076. Sucks patient	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5077. Sprays water from mouth on patient	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
5078. Can foretell future events											+	+	+		-	-
5079. Performs in round house, at night											+	+	•+	•+	-	-
[775] 5080. Spirit comes and sings in dark													+	+	-	-

774
755
756

Soul-Loss Doctors

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5081. Soul loss doctors recognized	-	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
[562] 5081a. Men	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+		-	-
5082. Women	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
5083. Is also sucking doctor	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5084. Inherit power	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5085. Power through vision, dream	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5086. Instructed by older shaman, or in dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5087. Shaman sucks on head, neck	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	(-)		-	-
5088. Shaman sends own soul after lost one	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		-	-
5089. Shaman sends guardian spirit to catch soul	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		-	-
5090. Shaman goes outside to coax soul back	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	•+	•-	+	-	+	.		-	-
5091. Sings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+		-	-
5092. Dances	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-		-	-
5093. Has ... assistants	-	-	-	-	2	-	[illegible]	.	1	•1	-	1	-		-	-
5094. Outside speaker	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5095. Interpreter	-	-	-	-	+	-		+	+	-	-	+	-		-	-
5096. Spectators sing in house	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5097. Beat time with 1-2 sticks	-	-	-	-			-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5098. Doctor uses cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5099. Doctor uses bone "bull-roarer"	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[826] 5100. Soul returns through fontanelle	-	-	-	-	-	-	.		-	+	-	+	(+)		-	-

Weather Shamans

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5100a. Weather shamans recognized	+	+	-	+	.	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	-		-	.
821 5101. Men mostly	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5102. Both sexes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[562] 5103. Specialized profession	-	-	-	•+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5104. Weather shaman may also be curing shaman	+	+	-	•-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-		-	-
5105. Office inherited	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	.		-	-
5106. Knowledge acquired by instruction	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-		-	-
5107. Supernatural experience required	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5108. Make rain by formula, song	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5109. Sing with spectators	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5110. Smoke pipe				-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5111. Motion with hands, 4 directions											+	+	-		-	-
5112. Contortions or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-		-	-
5113. Can make fog, high winds	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5114. Make rain to remove snow	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5115. Can make rain stop	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5116. Performs whenever need arises	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5117. Paid for performance	-	-	-	•-	+	+	R	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	-
5118. Bets made on outcome of	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5119. Rain doctors, competing, test powers										•+	-	-	-		-	-
5120. When doctor cries, rain will ensue	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5121. At funeral	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[763] 5122. Thunders when doctor dies	•+	•+	.					+	+	+	±	-	+		-	-

000 object; on second he finds it (can see it); on third he removes it. Some shamans "work on patient only up to midnight, some until daylight. The Paiute work until daylight, too; the Diggers [Maidu] only 2-3 hours." WS: 1-4 nights. If shaman cannot locate pain first night of doctoring, doctor's dance held next night beside patient and thereafter for 2-3 nights; must locate pain. MM: 1-5. NF: 3-4.

4927. NS: Shaman has to be alone with patient; "other people aren't supposed to watch him, when he is doctoring."

4928. At: Also "everyone comes to help a doctor when he's treating; everyone smokes, helps him out."

4929. Mo: "Interpreter" tells what doctor is saying during curing performance. Shaman uses same interpreter every time; may be either man or woman. SW: Interpreter or "regular assistant" interprets for shaman, who repeats what guardian animal has to say. Only assistant can answer guardian animal (shaman cannot; but only shaman can hear what guardian says). The guardian animal must come to shaman's post (see element, note 4870), which has 10 different objects on it, before it will speak to shaman. AW: Services of interpreter not always necessary (cf. note 5008).

4930. Mo: "Outside speaker" (man or woman) stands outside house, shouts to shaman's spirits, "Come on; your servant wants you to come, help him." Spirits say, "Listen, they're calling us." Same outside speaker or "caller" functions for shaman for life; must "obey the doctor's medicine, just as doctor does, or else the medicine will be angry, and hurt both of them." SW: Calls guardian animal for shaman, outside; "whoops loud." This only done if curing in summer; whoop wakes the guardian spirit (who sleeps all summer); he "reaches round and gets his pipe, dusts it, and smokes; then talks to doctor, finally puts on his moccasins and goes to the doctor to help cure patient. In winter doctors don't have to call their spirits by having an assistant go and shout for them; they're all outside anyway. It's handier for a doctor to cure in winter." AW: Informant scornfully characterized "speakers" for shamans as "half-breed [new] way"; said some of AE now use them. See notes 4929, 5008. AE: Shaman's interpreter also serves as outside speaker to call shaman's "power" for him.

4933. NF: See note 5079. Dreamer, not doctor, goes into trance.

4934. NF: Clown calls spirits for dreamer, however. See note 5079.

[755] 4935. Kl: Doctor's spirit talks to shaman from
[776] far off; no one else hears conversation. Shaman
[787] "interprets" what his spirit has told him to
people present.

4936. SW: Shaman has to tell assistant every song he sings, and from which guardian spirit it comes.

4937. Mo: Many women sing for shaman; "the more the better." AW: See note 4925.

[243-B]

4942. SW: Shaman lights own pipe if curing patient; but if she is witching victim, someone waits on her.

4946. SE: Bunch of feathers that drip blood; held in hands when doctoring. At: Shaman possesses them, but does not use them in curing (see notes 4870-4871 At).

4947. WT: See note 5206a.

4950. AW: Shaman cures in place where there is no fire; true also for deer charming rite. "A big [powerful] doctor puts the fire out in a few minutes if he knows anything."

4951. SW: Not very small fire used for light as "everyone looking on at curing performance has to show his face in light"; person is suspect of evil if he stays in dark. At: Shaman handles fire as well as using it for light. MV: Old shaman (yomi), if he thinks he is getting weak, asks after he has sucked out pain for someone to hold him over fire so he can draw pain out of his body. Otherwise small fire used for light only, when curing.

[755] 4952. Kl, Mo: Clay and ashes. SW: No clay or ashes; ashes inimical to shaman, who cannot use them. At: Clay only. Patient faces east during curing performance.

4954. SW: "A sick person seems covered 2-3 ft. deep, with a dark stuff, or sometimes a grayish stuff, like fog; doctor has to clear all this away before she can see through the patient's body and find out where the 'pain' is, who put it there and when."

4956. MV: Member secret society, when doctoring person who has dreamt about the dances, blows water on patient.

4957. WT: Shaman tells what roots to drink, especially when predicting epidemics. WM: When evil spirits (numyo; see note 5195a) are causing sickness, shaman tells people to smoke house with sunflower roots, buckeye flowers. MM, MF, MV: Shaman prescribes what roots to drink, especially for tuberculosis. NS: Shaman often prescribes herb medicines.

4958. NS: Doctor uses deer-hoof rattle.

4959. AW: "Little doctors" (singing shamans), only, use cocoon rattle; "big doctor" does not use rattle of any sort. MV: Secret society doctor only, not ordinary sucking shaman (yomi).

4966. MM: "Some pains a doctor can't suck out--not when he's young, anyway; later on he can do it, when he's older and stronger."

4970. AW: "Sometimes a person is just naturally sick [not poisoned by shaman]. A sucking doctor [in this event] sucks out only the bad feelings [pus]." MV: Sucked out day following extraction of disease object.

[755] 4973. Described variously as looking like bone, flint (Kl, Mo), icicle (SE, SW), "white thing" (At, AE), hair (AW), bone, blood, snake, flint (WT, WM, WS), inanimate or animate object such as lizard (MM, MF, NF), angleworm (MV).

4978. MV: Shaman chews disease object, and rubs it on his head, or puts it in ashes and throws it away.

[244-A]

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

Another stone implement is the single-grooved, flat-bottomed arrow straightener, such as is shown in pl. 21, fig. 9. A perforated wooden arrow straightener, of the form shown in fig. 5 of the same plate, is still used. K 412

Implements of obsidian and of flint are common. Arrowheads and large spear points, as also knives which were formerly fitted into wooden handles, are yet to be found. These points are found by the Indians in various parts of the country where they have been used and left by former inhabitants. They are chiefly employed at present as charms in medicine and gambling. A gambler may take a large obsidian knife or spear point and, after singing the proper song, place it under the large tule mat upon which the game is being played, to insure good luck. In addition to their use in medicine as charms they are also employed for purposes of scarification. K 411 [172] K [755] • [525] [304]

Stone pipes of several forms (pl. 22, figs. 8, 9, 10) are still used. The discoidal form shown in figure 10, which is quite unusual for the Pacific slope, appears to have been less used in aboriginal times than the obtuse-angled form shown in figure 8. K 276

GAMES.

The Lutuami, like most aboriginal peoples, had many games for both adult and young. It will not be necessary to go into details here, as the subject has been treated by Dr. George A. Dorsey[a] and Mr. Stewart Culin.[b] M K 524 114

BASKETRY.

The basketry of the Klamath and Modoc, which is always twined, may be classified under two heads: soft or pliable basketry and stiff or rigid basketry. The former predominates very largely and all the finer baskets are made in this manner. The materials used for this sort of basketry are as follows. The skin of the leaves of the cat-tail tule forms the white material which is used as the groundwork of almost all of the finer baskets. The M K 285 M K [113]

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[a] Certain Gambling Games of the Klamath Indians, Amer. Anthr., n. s. III, 14-27, 1901.

[b] Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., 136, 247, 291, 328, 479, 550, 659, 740, 1907.

*539
683
192
193

68, 13. gé'hlaptchapka. The verb gelápka means to step on, to mount, ascend; with 'h infixed, to mount upon something by using one's hands; gé'hláptcha is to perform this while on the way, while going or travelling; gé'hlaptchapka, to perform this at a distance from other people and unseen by them. Doctor John escaped, aided by his son, in the midnight hour.

68, 14. m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Gatpĕnóta is a derivative of gátp'na with a durative signification, the suffix -óta pointing to an action performed while another is going on. "His son having arrived close by, while he was imprisoned."

68, 16. shnû'ntatka, verbal intentional of shnû'nta, the suffix -tka being sometimes substituted for the usual -tki, -tki gíug.

PUNISHMENT OF MANSLAUGHTER THROUGH WITCHCRAFT.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539
755
627
115

Tína máklaks mā'ntch-gī'tk ná-asht gī: "tû salχī'ta snàwédsh gé-u
Once man long ago thus spoke: "over there is bewitched wife my

shíllalsht! ī a-i táwi!" Tsúi tchíkash skúyui suákitsatki gíug; tsúi géna
having fallen sick; you bewitched (her)!" Then an old man he sent out to call a conjurer; and he started

tchíka suákitsuk, tsúi shuákiuk ndéna, tsúyuk túmĕna shuíshuk, kíuksam
the old man to fetch the conjurer, and to call him out halloed, and he heard the magic songs, conjurers'

yaínatat shuī'sh; áti ha shuíshuk. Tsúi géna kíuks tsutánsuk, tû'shtaks a
on the mountain songs; far away (are) songs these. Then goes the conjurer to treat (her), to the spot where

salχíta. At shû'ta hû'nk, tchúi hántsna. Gétpa mû'ns súmmatka, shuī'shuk
she lies bewitched. Now he works on her, and sucks. Comes out a big thing through (his) mouth, to sing

tpéwa, summátka hántsantkiug. Tsúi hántchipka, tsúi putá, tsúi húsatchip-
he orders (those present), with (his) mouth while he would suck on. Then he sucks out, and feels choked, and throws up

gapēle hánshish m'na; sχû'dχa lútatkish. At hû'k sχótka, kú-i hukī' tsutísh
again sucked-out article his; swallows (it) (his) expounder. Now (after) he has swallowed (it), worse that (patient) being treated

gī'ntak, kú-i gī, wigá telsámpka k'lä'ksh. Kiúks hû'k tché-ulχa shû'kpal-
in spite of, worse (she) is, almost she looks towards the spirit land. Conjurer the starts to leave wanting to

takiug kú-i gī'sht ká-i gī'lχisht pásh; tchúi hû'k ná-asht gī kálamtak
retire worse because she turned (and) not passing through (bowels) the food; hereupon he thus speaks whose own

snéwedsh shī'la shalχī'tnuk, kíukshash: "ī a-i táwi húnksh." Tchúyuk
wife is sick for being bewitched, to the conjurer: "you have bewitched her." But

sakámka kíuks: "ká-i a nû táwit! shī'laka hût!" kíuks tchúi nā'sht
opposes denial the conjurer: "not I did bewitch (her)! had become sick (before) she!" conjurer then so

hémkank. At k'léka snawédsh.
said. Now dies the woman.

*539 • 755

Wudoká	hushtsóχa	sha	kíuksas	sálχitnuk	k̲léksht	húnk	snawédshash.
Struck	(and) killed	they	the conjurer	for being bewitched (and)	having died	this	woman.

627

Tsúi	sa	lúluksla	snawédsh	kíuksam	síuks;	hû'nk	sa	kíuksas	ä'mpĕle
And		cremated	the woman	by the conjurer	killed;	him	they	the conjurer	brought back

tchī'shtal,	tsúi	sa	lúluksla	mák̲laks.
to (his) lodge,	and		cremated (him)	the people.

NOTES.

68, 1 etc. This is a pretty good illustration of the method of doctoring by suction adopted in similar tamánuash cases. Persons sent out to call for the conjurer do not enter his cabin, but loudly halloo outside till he appears; in this instance he is supposed to sing his medicine songs amidst the solitary wilds of the mountain slopes.

[192] [177] 68, 1. mā'ntchgī'tk. This temporal adverb places the mode of punishment described by the informant among the *ancient* customs of the people. Compared to what is stated here, the trial of Doctor John shows a material modification in the dealings with suspected conjurers, attributable to the influence of the white population.

[192] [193] 68, 1. 10. salχíta is always used in a passive signification, "to be afflicted with the tamánuash spell or bewitching power", which conjurers can send out at will.

68, 1. 2. The words inclosed in quotation marks *anticipate* all that follows up to 68, 10.

68, 2. 8. a-i. This particle has the signification: "undeniably, evidently".

[754] [753] 68, 5. shû'ta hû'nk. The "working" of a conjurer on a patient's body consists in rubbing, pressing, magnetizing, in blowing on it, and in pouring water over the face or other parts. Sucking out the object which caused the disease is of course the principal operation called for to effect a cure.

68, 5. mû'ns; it is not stated whether this hánshish was a frog, a worm, a small stick, or any such thing; this is immaterial, for the Indian strictly believes that the article was removed from the patient's body and that it caused the disease.

[192] 68, 6. hántsantking and 68, 8: shúkpaltaking stand for hántchantki gíug and shukpalítki gíug; cf. shû'kpĕli.

[192] [193] 68, 6. hántchipka properly means: "he sucks towards himself"; husatchipgápĕle "he throws up again to himself"; viz. into his mouth, so as to be able to take it out with his hands.

68, 7. lútatkish is the conjurer's assistant. His office is to repeat his tunes or speeches before those present in the lodge, to expound or explain his sayings, to start songs and tunes in his stead, and to perform such manipulations as mentioned here.

68, 8. k̲'lä'kah, contracted from k̲'läkápkash, the dead, the deceased; k̲'lekápkash telshámpka, to be on the point of death.

[192] 68, 8. tchú-ulχa: he rises from his seat on the ground, or on a blanket near the patient's couch, for the purpose of leaving.

[756] 69, 1. hushtsóχa. The killing of a doctor or doctress by the relatives of the patient who died under his or her treatment was nothing unusual in the Columbia Basin until quite recently. In some tribes the third failure in curing brought certain death on the conjurer, especially when he had received his reward in advance.

SHAMANIC DANCE-DIRECTIONS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539
755

"Wálok mat tû'nepni waitólat nát génuapka kshiulăktsuápkuk we-
"For sweating during five days we shall go to have a dance the
wală'ksh tchish. At géntak í'lksat pán a. Wû'sa ni lúskuapkug. Kílank
old women also. Ye (men) shall go on a feast to eat. I fear I may get too warm. Loud
ăt tsuínuapk; túnepni ăt nûtísh tsuí'nuapk. At tchish híhashuaksh ksíu-
ye must sing; at five ye fires ye have to sing. Ye too (women and) fellows begin
laktampka lítstakiank; untsä'g nä'tnag pá-uapk tû'm mbû'shant. "Sílalsh
to dance with exertion; by and by then ye shall eat plenty to-morrow. "Disease
mat nä'bakuapk" kíuks ná-asht shápa, yayayá-as mat ná-asht sápa; "kû't-
will come on" the shaman thus says, some tamánuash-medicine (to him) "it is so" says; "of small-
kaks mat síssalaluapk" yayayá-as mat ná-ast shápa. Suássuaktch mák-
pox it says will suffer (the people)" the tamánuash just so says. Are weeping peo-
laks nánuk wussóga kû'tχaks. Ná-ast kíuks wálok sápa: "Tánni ílksh
ple all afraid of smallpox. So the shaman before sweating speaks: "How many food-buckets
shä'tu ăt? tánkĕni at í'lksh? Lápni tá-unepanta pä'n túnep pé-ula;
do ye count? how many already buckets? Twice ten and five;
kánk a ni sä'tû."
so many I count."

NOTES.

70, 1 etc. This is a fair specimen of the careless, jargon-like conversational style in vogue among the É-ukshikni, and without commentaries and glosses it would be impossible to get at the true meaning.

751 These directions are intended to gather the people at the communal dance-house for a dance lasting five nights. The dance is performed around the fires with almost superhuman exertions, in order to produce profuse perspiration and to prevent thereby any infection by disease. The conjurer or shaman is charged with the inauguration of all dances, most of which are of a religious character. 192 This kind of sweating is called "wála", while sweating in a temazcalli or sweat-house is "spúkli". The kíuks is introduced as speaking all these words. The particle mat indicates that the words given are those of another than of the narrator.

192 70, 1. waitólat; in common parlance: túnepni waítash gí'ulank, or: túnepni gíulank, or in Modoc túnepni waitólan.

796 70, 1. kshíulaktcha different from ksíulĕχa; see Grammar (List of suffixes). These dances take place in winter time and are held from two to four times every season.

70, 2. wewală'ksh. This is one of the festivities from which old women are not 562 excluded; they often take part in the dance themselves.

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*539 755 70, 2. í'lks (from élχa, ílχa, *to lay down*) is the full dish, basket, or bucket (kála), on which the victuals are brought in; but it means also the food itself, and the dance-feast on which they are eaten. Locative case: í'lksat.

[192] 70, 3. shuína is often incorrectly pronounced tsuína.

[194] 70, 3. nuti'sh; verbally: while burning fivefold; while five fires are blazing.

70, 3. At tchí'sh: the young men, who strip themselves naked down to the hips during the performance, begin their dance after the women have had one turn.

[192] 70, 5. nā'bakuapk: see népka, in Dictionary.

[193] 70, 5. yayayá-as means a certain tamánuash witchcraft which inspires the conjurer: the conjurer tells the people just what (ná-ast) the yayayá-as said to him.

70, 6. 7. *s*, *sh* is here in three words doubled to *ss*: shíshalaluapka, shusshuáktcha, and wusóga; kû'tχaks forms the indirect object of the first of these verbs.

[192] 70, 7. wálok sápa. The kíuks gets the inspiration from the yayayá-as only after sweating; then he can tell (sápa) the people, *when* the disease will come.

70, 8. tánkēni: after tánkēni at í'lksh supply ítpa? (did ye bring in?).

70, 8. 9. shā'tu, sā'tu for the more usual form shā'tua; pā'n after tá-unepanta is incorrect and unnecessary; this conjunction should stand there only after ta-unépni or tá-unep.

DETAILS OF A CONJURER'S PRACTICE.

[115] GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY MINNIE FROBEN.

Mák̲laks	shuákiuk	kíuksash	k̲á-i	gû'l'hi	húnkēlam	ládshashtat,	ndéna
Indians	in calling	the conjurer	not	enter	his	into lodge,	they halloo

sha'hmóknok;	kíuksh	toks	wán	kiukáyank	mû'luash	m'na	kaníta	pí'sh.
to call (him) out;	the conjurer		red fox	hanging out on a pole.	as sign	his	outside	"of him".

Kukíaks	tchû'tanish	gátp'nank	wigáta	tchélχa	mā'shipksh.	Lútatkish
Conjurers	when treating	approaching	close by	sit down	the patient.	The expounder

wigáta	kíukshēsh	tcha'hlánshna.	Shuyéga	kíuks,	wéwanuish	tchík	winóta
close to	the conjurer	sits down.	Starts choruses	the conjurer,	females	then	join in singing

liukiámnank	nadshā'shak	tchûtchtníshash.	Hánshna	mā'shish	hû'nk
crowding around him	simultaneously	while he treats (the sick).	He seeks	diseased	that

hishuákshash,	tátktish	í'shkuk,	hantchípka	tchí'k	kukuága,	wishinkága,
man,	the disease	to extract,	he seeks out	then	a small frog,	small snake,

mû'lkaga,	k̲ák̲o	gi'ntak,	káhaktok	nánuktua	nshendshkáne.	Ts'û'ks	toks
small insect,	bone	afterwards,	whatsoever	anything	small.	A log	

ké-usht	tchékēle	ítkal;	lúlp	toks	mā'shisht	tchékēlitat	lgû'm	shû'kēlank
being fractured	the (bad) blood	he extracts;	eyes	but	being sore	into blood	coal	mixing

k̲í'tua	lû'lpat,	kû'tash	tchish	kshéwa	lúlpat	pû'klash	tuiχámpgatk
he pours	into the eyes,	a louse	too	introduces	into the eye	the white of eye	protruding

ltúiχaktgi	gíug.
for eating out.	

NOTES.

*539 71, 1. shuákia does not mean "*to call on somebody*" generally, but only "*to call on the conjurer* or medicine man".
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71, 2. wán stands for wánam ní'l: the fur or skin of a red or silver fox; kanítapí'sh stands for kanítana látchash m'nálam: "outside of his lodge or cabin". The meaning of the sentence is: they raise their voices to call him out. Conjurers are in the habit of fastening a fox-skin outside of their lodges, as a business-sign, and to let it dangle from a rod stuck out in an oblique direction.

71, 3. tchélya. During the treatment of a patient who stays in a winter-house, the lodge is often shut up at the top, and the people sit in a circle inside in utter darkness.

[193] [192] 71, 5. liukiámnank. The women and all who take a part in the chorus usually sit in a circle around the conjurer and his assistant; the suffix *-mna* indicates close proximity. Nadshä'shak qualifies the verb winóta.

[192] 71, 5. tchûtchtníshash. The distributive form of tchû't'na refers to each of the *various* manipulations performed by the conjurer on the patient.

71, 5. mä'shish, shortened from mäshípkash, mä'shipksh, like k̲'lä'ksh from k̲'läkápkash, 68, 8.

[193] [192] 71, 6. 7. There is a stylistic incongruity in using the distributive form only in kukuága (kúe, *frog*), káhaktok, and in nshendshkáne (nshekáni, ndshékani, tsékani, tchékĕni, *small*), while inserting the absolute form in wishinkága (wíshink, *garter-snake*) and in k̲ák̲o; mû'lkaga is more of a generic term and its distributive form is therefore not in use.

71, 7. káhaktok for ká-akt ak; ká-akt being the transposed distributive form kákat, of kát, which, what (pron. relat.).

[192] 71, 8. lgû'm. The application of remedial *drugs* is very unfrequent in this tribe; and this is one of the reasons why the term "conjurer" or "shaman" will prove to be a better name for the medicine man than that of "Indian doctor".

71, 9. kû'tash etc. The conjurer introduces a louse into the eye to make it eat up the protruding white portion of the sore eye.

KÁLAK.

THE RELAPSE.

[115] GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY DAVE HILL.

Hä	náyäns	hissuáksas	mā'shitk	kálak,	tsúi	kíuks	nā'-ulakta	tchután-
When	another	man	fell sick	as a relapse.	then	the conjurer	concludes	to treat

uapkuk.	Tchúi	tchúta;	tchúi	yá-uks	huk	shläá	kálak	a gēk.	Tchí	huk
(him).	And	he treats;	and	remedy	this	finds out	(that) relapsed	he.	Then	the

shuí'sh	sápa.	Tsúi	nā'sh	shuí'sh	sáyuaks	hû'mtcha kálak,	tchúi	nánuk	hûk
song-remedy	indicates.	And	one	song-remedy	having found out	(that) of the kind of relapsed (he is),	then	all	those

shuí'sh	tpä'wa	hû'nksht	kaltchitchíkshash	heshuampĕlítki gíug.	Tchúi
remedies	indicate	(that) him	the spider (-remedy)	would cure.	Then

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hû'k	káltchitchiks	yá-uka;	ubá-us	hûk	káltchitchiksam	tchutĕnō'tkish.
the	spider	treats him;	a piece of deer-skin		of the spider	(is) the curing-tool.

Tsúi	húnkantka	ubá-ustka	tchutá;	tätáktak	huk	kálak	mā'sha,	gä'tak
Then	by means of that	deer-skin	he treats (him);	just the size of the spot	that	relapse	is infected,	so much

ubá-ush	ktû'shka	tä'tak	h̲uk	mā'sha.	Tsúi	hûk	káltchitchiks	siunóta
of deer-skin	he cuts out	as where	he	is suffering.	Then		the "spider" song	is started

nä'dsḵank	hû'nk	ubá-ush.	Tchû'yuk	p'laíta	nétatka	skútash,	tsúi	sha	hû'nk
while applying	that	skin-piece.	And he	over it	he stretches	a blanket,	and	they	it

udû'pka	hänä'shishtka,	tsûi	hû'k	gutä'ga	tsulä'kshtat;	gä'tsa	lûpí	kiatéga,
strike	with conjurer's arrows,	then	it	enters	into the body;	a particle	firstly	enters,

tsúi	tsulē'ks	ḵ'läká,	tchúi	at	pushpúshuk	shlē'sh	hûk	ubá-ush.	Tsúi	mā'ns
then	(it) body	becomes,	and	now	dark it	to look at	that	skin-piece.	Then	after a while

tánkĕni	ak	waítash	hû'k	pûshpúshli	at	mā'ns-gîtk	tsulä'ks-sitk	shlä'sh.	Tsí
after so and so many		days	that	black (thing)		at last	(is) flesh-like	to look at.	Thus

nî	sáyuakta;	túmi	hû'nk	sháyuakta	hû'masht-gîsht	tchutí'sht;	tsúyuk
I	am informed;	many men		know,	(that) in this manner	were effected cures;	and he then

tsúshni	wä'mpĕle.
always	was well again.

NOTES.

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72, 1. náyäns hissuáksas: another man than the conjurers of the tribe. The objective case shows that mā'shitk has to be regarded here as the participle of an impersonal verb: mā'sha-nûsh, and mā'sha nû, it ails me, I am sick.

72, 1. kálak, relapse. Relapse is not substantive, but adjective in the sense of a person having fallen back into the same disease by which he was afflicted before; kálkĕla, to fall sick.

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72, 2. yá-uks is remedy in general, spiritual as well as material. Here a tamánuash song is meant by it, which, when sung by the conjurer, will furnish him the certainty if his patient is a relapse or not. There are several of these medicine-songs, but all of them (náunk hû'k shuī'sh) when consulted point out the spider-medicine as the one to apply in this case. The spider's curing-instrument is that small piece of buckskin (ubá-ush) which has to be inserted under the patient's skin. It is called the spider's medicine because the spider-song is sung during its application. A spider-song in use among the Modocs is given below.

73, 5. hä'näshish appears as the subject of an incantation song in the song-list of Sergeant Morgan.

73, 5. gutä'ga. The whole operation is concealed from the eyes of spectators by a skin or blanket stretched over the patient and the hands of the operator.

73, 5. kiatéga. The buckskin piece has an oblong or longitudinal shape in most instances, and it is passed under the skin sideways and very gradually.

73, 7. tánkĕni ak waítash. Dave Hill gave as an approximate limit five days' time.

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II.

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Kiä'm	k̲'leká	tchû'shni;	tsúyunk	hû'ksa	tsóχatk	pí'l	kiä'm,	nánuktua
Fish	remain dead	forever;	therefore	these	dead (people)	(exist) only	as fish,	as all kinds of

kiä'm,	nánuktua	mák̲laksni	tsók̲atk.	Hä'	n'	hû'nk	hû'nkiash	shläát	skû'k-
fish,	all kinds	of Indians	dead.	If	I		(of a deceased)	should behold	the

shash,	k̲'läkát	ni	hû'nk	släók;	hä'toks	ni	shuíshaltk,	tchēk	gíug	k̲á-i
spirit,	would die	I	it	through seeing;	but if	I	recur to magic songs,	then		not

siúgat	nía.
he may kill	me.

NOTES.

[128] My efforts towards obtaining exhaustive texts from the natives concerning their belief in the transmigration of human souls were not crowned with entire success. Of the two items obtained, No. II is intended as a commentary of No. I, both treating [262] of the presence of human souls in fish. The cause why so many Indian tribes shun the flesh of certain fish lies in the fact that these species were seen feeding upon the bodies of drowned men and swimming around them. This induced the belief that man's soul will pass into the organisms of these finny inhabitants of the wave, even ×539 775 787 192 when death has resulted from other causes than from drowning. According to Hill, the Mák̲laks believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances. But in *one* status only they become visible to them; when Indians are bewitched by the irresistible, magic spell of a conjurer or of a wicked genius. Then they enter into a tamánuash-dream, and when they see a dead person's spirit in such a dream, they are almost certain to [755] die from it. Only the intervention of the conjurer and of his song-medicine can save them from perishing; rigorous fasting and ascetic performances cannot be then dispensed with, and with all that no certitude of his final rescue is to be had.

[769] Here as elsewhere the pronouns hûk, húnkiash etc., are inserted instead of the unpronounceable name of the deceased, and mean: *dead person, spirit.*

129, 2. píl mák̲laks; only dead Indians, not dead white men, because during their life-time these did not believe in the skû'ks; this belief is a privilege of the Indians.

129, 2. Hushti'χak etc. This sentence runs as follows: Tchĕ'ktoks hushti'χa ak nish, hûk tchĕ'k nish síuksh shanahŏ'li, wakiánhua tchēk p'násh (or pû'sh) nû'sh shuíshaltki gíug shanahŏ'li: "if he (the bad genius) makes me only dream in that manner, then he intends either to kill me, or perhaps he wants me to keep the song-medicine [756] for myself." To keep the song-medicine, shuíshlá, is to undergo fasts and ascetic performances under the supervision of some conjurer for an almost unlimited time, five years at least.

129, 3. 4. Hä'toks ni' shläát etc.: if I should see (the dead) while I am *awake.*

[193] 129, 4. Skû'ks-kiäm, a compound word, may be rendered by spirit-fish, letiferous fish.

130, 1. Kiä'm k̲'leka etc. The rather obscure sense of this statement may be made comprehensible by the following: "When fish are dead, they are dead forever; hence

*539 149, 6. tü'ksh is probably the adessive case of tóke (ō) fire-place, hearth: tók-kshi.

262 149, 12. Tchuá is the long, cylindric root of the Sagittaria sagittifolia, an aquatic
824 plant common in the West and East of the United States. In Oregon the term *potato*
192 or wápatu (Chinook jargon) is most commonly heard for it. The name of Chewaukan
[193] Marsh, a sink and low ground situated east of Upper Klamath Lake, is a corruption of Tchuaχé'ni: "where the arrow-leaf is found." The flower of the wápatu varies between red, reddish and whitish.

149, 17. Tsuni'ka. The flower has a diameter from two to three inches.

149, 21. Kû'lχamsh is put on strings by the women and thus serves to attract the fish.

149, 21. ptchi'nk: after this word ought to be seen the picture of a tiny vegetal cylinder, about one inch long and slightly curved.

[386] 150, 1. Skáwanks or wild parsnip, a poisonous plant growing in wet places to the height of three feet.

150, 8. p'nä'sh, contracted from p'núlash, is the direct object (reflective) of shkukluápkasht: to guard themselves against becoming chapped by sun-burns. The wákinsh seems to be a kind of resin and furnishes a red paint, as does also the k'lépki.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSHAM SHUÍ'SH SHUINŌ'TKISH TCHÍSH.

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INCANTATION SONGS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

1. *Introductory song:*

Yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní *etc.* ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́
I sing, I sing, I sing (in chorus).

2. *Song, reference unknown:*

Wiwiwá! ní sháwalsh wítnank! ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑
Blown off! the plume-crest has disappeared from me!

3. *Song of the wind:*

Kanítala m'sh û shlewitaknû'la? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
népaksh a-i ní'sh shlewitaknû'la. ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
Who, I wonder, is blowing out of my mouth?
The disease is emanating from my mouth.

4. *The conjurer's song:*

Tuá kí nû shatashtaknû'la? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑
nä'paks nû shatashtaknû'la. –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑
tuá kí' nû shatashtatχí'sh? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́
nä'paks nû shatashtatχí'sh. –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́
What do I remove from my mouth?
The disease I extract from my mouth.
What is the thing I take out?
It is the disease I am taking out.

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5. *Song of the woodchuck:*

Käila nû guti'la nû –́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | ⏑

I am descending into the ground.

6. *Little girl's song:*

Shmashmáyalti, shmashmáyalti – ⏑ –́ ⏑ | – ⏑ –́ ⏑

In quill-fringed buckskin dressed,
In porcupine-fringed buckskin dressed.

7. *Song of the washpálaks-fox:*

Ä'kalä'kĕla nû, ä'kalä'kĕla nû –́ ⏑ | – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ‖ ⏑́ ⏑ | – ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Long and slim I am, long and slim I am.

8. *Song of the fire-mantle:*

Lû'luksash nû shkutíya –́ ⏑ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑ | ⏑́

In fire-flames I am enveloped.

9. *Song of the tuákish-crane:*

Nû shnû'lashtat nû tgelí'wa ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

I stand upon the rim of my nest.

10. *Song of the blind medicine-girl:*

Tchatchĕlushkánka nû tchíutchiûsh shneχí'tko
⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑

I search the ground with my hands, find there the feathers of the yellow hammer and devour them.

11. *Another song of the same:*

Palák! ish hû lûlpalpalíat! ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | –

Quick! make ye eyes for me!

12. *Bird's song:*

Nû'sh pí'lan tiláluansha –́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑

As a head only, I roll around.

13. *Song, reference unknown:*

Tuá pash nû? tuá pash ă nû? ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ ‖ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́

What am I? what am I?

14. *Song, reference unknown:*

Há lúyam'na, nû lúyam'na ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

This round thing I hold in my hand.

15. *Song of the long-tailed black marten:*

A wálχatchăka nû gatáml'χa –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I the black marten, I travel around this land.

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16. *Song of the skunk:*
Yámashtka nû tuituigídaha –́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑
In the north wind I dance around, tail spread, festive and gay.

17. *Chorus song:*
Tuá kí nû k̲ógaʔ ⏑|–́⏑⏑|–́⏑
nä'paks ai nû k̲óga. –́⏑⏑⏑|–́⏑
What do I suck out? The disease I am sucking out.

18. *Song of the boards:*
Pápkash huálta –́⏑⏑|–́⏑
Lumber-boards are rattling.

19. *Song of the lizard:*
Kí! kí'ya nû aíkana –́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑⏑
Lo! thus I the lizard stick my head out.

20. *Song, reference unknown:*
Yámash ai nû'sh wílamnapka –́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑
The north wind has followed me.

21. *Song of the black mouse:*
Tuá kí nû tashulólaʔ ⏑–́|⏑–́|⏑⏑–́|⏑
nä'poks ai nû tashulû'la. ⏑–́|⏑–́|⏑⏑–́|⏑
Through what do I pass with my paws?
My paws glide over the hair of the disease.

22. *Song of the washpálaks-fox:*
L'ékish, l'ékish gená –́⏑|–́⏑|⏑–́
Crazed I am wandering.

23. *Song of the weasel:*
Shä'ka nû, shéka nû –́⏑⏑|–́⏑⏑
I am squealing, I am squalling.

24. *Song of the dog:*
Wátchag ai nû nû'kanka, –́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑⏑
yámashtka nû nû'kanka. –́⏑|–́⏑|–́⏑⏑
I the dog am straying.
In the north wind I am straying.

25. *Song, reference unknown:*
Shlä'wish á-i nish wílhua –́⏑|–́⏑⏑|–́⏑⏑
The storm gust dashes right on me.

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26. *Song, reference unknown:*

Mû'mĕni gé-u stû'kish gi –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Heavy hailstones I possess.

27. *Song, reference unknown:*

Naínaya! ní'sh shléwish wítnank! ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́

I am shivering! the wind blows down on me!

28. *Song of the bug:*

Shaíχish a-i ní k̲óga –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I the bug, I bite and suck.

29. *Song of the mink:*

Mû'ashtka nû udumulípka –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am swimming out while the south wind blows.

30. *Song of the young silver-fox:*

Wánam wéash nû wilamnápka –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | – ⏑

The young red fox I follow up.

31. *The incantation sings:*

Shuí'sh hátak nû géna nû

I the song I am walking here.

32. *Fox's song:*

Lalálashtala wiká nû ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am blowing air from my flanks.

33. *Song of the tuákish-crane:*

Tuánχi, tuánχi, tuánχi, tuánχi . . . . . nû. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

34. *Songs, forming refrains to song No. 33.*

a-ahahíya, a-aha-a-ahíya –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
a nû hé-e-i, a nû hé-e-i ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ ‖ ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

35. *Song of the disease:*

Tuá nû shlewílam'na? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
népaks an shlewílam'na. –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑

What thing do I blow around?
The disease I am blowing around in the air.

36. *Song of the grizzly bear's cub:*

Yaínatat nû eitaktnúla, –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
lû'k̲am nû wéash gî. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

On the mountain top I am peeping out,
Of the grizzly bear I am the child.

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37. *Song of the female wolf:*

Kä'-utchish gû'lû h'lílantana –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑́ | ⏑́ ⏑

I, the she-wolf, am rolling against (a tree!)

38. *Spoken by the conjurer while manipulating:*

Netá, netá . . . . hahayí-ía
Nenû', nenû' . . . . hahayí-ía

39. *Song of the tchiwititikaga-bird:*

K̲ú-i witíla, k̲ú-i witíla –́ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑ ‖ –́ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑

Fearfully the wind blows underneath here.

40. *Song of the blind girl:*

Lúashtka nû lû'tchipka, –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
käíla nákant ní lúyapka. – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

In the fog I am straying blind,
All over the earth I am wandering.

41. *Song of the water-bug:*

Ádshi ádshi tcháya, ádshi ádshi tcháya –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ – ‖ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ –

42. *Song of the grizzly bear:*

Käíla nû hû shlû'tila –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

I am scratching up the ground.

43. *Song of the little gray tchikass-bird:*

Yaínash a-i nû shlulóla –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑

I am wafted off from the mountain.

44. *Song of the skō'ks or spirit:*

K̲akó píla nû la-uláwa

Reduced to mere bones, I rattle through the air.

45. *Sung by the disease, found to live in water:*

Shléwishash nû tilutaknû'la

Breath I am emitting.

46. *Song of the grizzly bear:*

Tunépni gé-u wélwash gí, ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́
páltko gé-u wélwash gi. –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́

I have five water springs and (all) my springs are dry.

47. *Song of the black snake:*

Wámnaksh ai í' nû tûnûlúla ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑

I the black-spotted snake am hanging here.

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48. *Conjurer's own song:*

Käílanti nû shí'lshíla –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

I, the earth, am resounding like the roll of thunder.

49. *Bird's song:*

Nená nû, nená nû ⏑ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

I flutter along the ground (while walking).

50. *Song of the grizzly bear:*

Yaínalam shulúyualsh –́ ⏑ ⏑ – | –́ – –

51. *Woman's song:*

Shutpashuítk gûn snewédshash gí, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
shutpashuítk a ní snewédshash gí. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Painted I am on the body,
I, a woman, am painted black.

52. *Song of the weasel:*

Gaíkash, gaíkash nuyámna –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

Fooling, fooling I run around.

53. *Song of the gray fox:*

Nánuktua nû papí'sh gí ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

Everything I can devour.

54. *The conjurer speaks as follows:*

Hû'masht	hûk gēk	lupí'	kálkĕla,	hût	hûnk	tchí'ka-ag	tutíχólatk
Therefore	this (patient)	first	was hurt,	that		(his) mother	after dreaming

unák	pápka.	At	tchīk	hûnk kē'k	k̲'lékshashtala	télshampka.
early	ate.	Then		this (patient)	to the spirit-land	turned his face.

55. *Conjurer speaks:*

Kágga	waktála	í	nûshχē'ni	nía	hémkanksh	wáshí	liwátchampkīsh?
What	(and) why then	you	towards me	a while ago	were speaking	indoors	to hold up (the patient)?

56. *Conjurer's song:*

Tuátala nísh hû lχetk̲núla? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑
gû'pal a-í nísh lχetk̲núla. –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑

What is coming out of my mouth?
Black substance is hanging down from my mouth.

57. *Song, reference unknown:*

Lúash ai nû'sh a lû'lamnapka –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑

Fog followed drifting after me.

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58. *Song of the turtle:*

Tuá ki nish lé-ula? ⏑⏑́|⏑⏑⏑⏑́|⏑

Which game did you play with me?

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This long series of shamanic songs in use on the Williamson River was obtained from *Mary*, a young pupil of the boarding school of Indian children at the Klamath agency. When living among the Indians on the Williamson River she had heard all these songs very frequently, and in an interesting evening entertainment she faithfully reproduced the manipulations of the male and female conjurers upon a little rag baby lying on the floor on a bed made up of old blankets, the figure representing some poor suffering Indian patient. The other Indian girls of the school joined in a lively chorus every time when she had fairly started any of these incantations, and given the signal by clapping hands.

On the day following these incantations were dictated, translated and explained to me by *Minnie Froben*, assisted by Mary, and though both persisted in the statement that the order in which the songs are sung was quite immaterial, I present them here in the order in which I obtained them.

Each of these song-lines is sung many times by the conjurer, then *repeated* by the chorus a dozen times or more. The chorus varies the melody somewhat each time, but this musical variation is so slight and insignificant that the general impression of monotony is not dispelled by it. Quite a number of these songs have very pretty melodies, but by long repetition even these must of course produce tediousness and disgust; other songs have weird and strange tunes, others are quaint, but almost repulsive by their shrill accents; these may be said to form the transition to the mere howls and imitations of animal voices, which are frequent also in doctoring ceremonies, but more frequent in the war-shouts and funereal cries and wailings.

The animal or object of nature to which the conjurer attributes each of the song-lines was not remembered in every instance. Where this reference was obtained, it was added at the head of the song or song-line. The animals mentioned in these songs are all supposed to have been sent out by the conjurer to look out for the whereabouts of the *personified* disease, from which the patient is suffering, and whatever the conjurer sings about the animals refers to what he sees them doing while on their errand. On the distinction made between shuí'sh and shuinó'tkish cf. *Note* to song 9.

Kiúksam shuí'sh is not merely a conjurer's song, but a mysterious agency connected with a spell of preternatural power. This spell is not exclusively attached to a song sung by a conjurer, but it may be borne also by a dream, disease, by some drug, or by that kind of witchcraft which is called elsewhere the evil eye. Kiúksam shuí'sh is therefore a beneficial or destructive tamánuash agency, which when applied to a patient can cure him or make him worse; when appearing under the shape of a dream, it is a dream of good or one of bad augury.

The conjurer sometimes diversifies his songs, all of which are sung in the *minor* keys, by inserting spoken words relating to the condition of the patient and the effects of his treatments; specimens of this are given in 38. 54. 55. Parts of them are also repeated by the chorus.

*539 533 755 Many Indians do not understand all these songs, which contain many archaic forms and words, and the conjurers themselves are generally loth to give their meaning, even if they should understand them. Some songs are of a stereotypic application in the treatment of all or the majority of the maladies. A close familiarity with the habits of animals of the forest manifests itself throughout, as well as in the mythic tales.

*539 533 755 192 The translations added by me are not literal; they render the meaning of the songs in a free and paraphrastic manner. In the metrics the accentuated syllables designate a higher pitch of the singing voice.

153; 2. Literally: "I blew off the feather-crest."

153; 3. To read: shléwi witχnû'lank, seems preferable in this connection. Cf. 35.

[292] 154; 6. On grand occasions young women were in the habit of dressing in buckskin robes, fringed with porcupine quills (shmáyalsh). In a myth the bull-frog was reported to wear constantly this kind of dress, and hence originated a sort of proverbial locution: kó-e shmashmáyalti: "the bull-frog in the shmáyalsh-dress." Cf. shmáyam. Zoologists call this frog: Rana pipiens.

154; 7. This is called washpalákſam shui'sh, the medicine-song of the washpálaksfox species, Vulpes velox. The exterior of this fox may be sketched by the words: ä'kelä'kĕla wátchag hû'tchnuk, a long-bodied dog is running or trotting. Cf. song 22.

154; 9. This is called the tuákſham shuinô'tkish or incantation sung by the crane itself through the mouth of the conjurer. Nobody could hear the bird's voice if the conjurer did not sing its song. A song, which the conjurer sings for himself and by which he does not interpret any animal or other object of nature, is called kiúksam shui'sh and is endowed with magic powers. In the West of the United States the tuákish is popularly known as shitepoke, in the East as fly-up-the-creek.

[825] 154; 10. The feathers of the yellow hammer are worn on neck as an ornament.

[301] 154; 12. This refers to a certain large bird not specified, which contracts its body, so that the head seems to be its largest part. When walking, the bird seems to roll around on the prairie. Pîlan for pîla nû.

154; 14. The object to which song 14 refers is not known.

154; 15. Walχátchaga is very probably, though not certainly, a kind of marten. Mantles were made of its fur. This rimed incantation is called walχátchkalam shuinô'tkish.

155; 16. Called: tcháshisham shuinô'tkish; melody very pretty. The diphthong ui is pronounced here as *one* syllable. Skunks, while running around, are in the habit of holding straight up their bushy tails, which are almost as long as their bodies.

155; 17. This pretty song is chanted by the choristers while the kiuks feigns to suck out of the body the tiny object which is supposed to have caused the disease, and before he gets it out. kóga, kóka means originally *to bite*; bite first, then suck the disease out.

155; 18. Pápkash is pronounced almost like pávkash; 144, 11. kópka like kóvka.

155; 19. Alludes to a peculiar nodding observed in lizards when running out of their holes and stopping at the issue.

155; 20. The animal to which this song refers is not known. Compare No. 16. 24. The literal meaning is: "The north wind blows around me from the distance."

155; 21. This song, with a beautiful melody, is the shuinô'tkish of a mouse species with pig-like proboscis.

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*539 155; 22. Pékah, lékah, distr. lélakah crazy, maddened, intoxicated. This song is
533 sung also: lē-é'kah, lē-é'kah gená: ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ Cf. 154; 7.

755 155; 23. The weasel is squealing, because hunters have caught or trapped it.

192 156; 26. Probably refers to one of those birds to whom the power is attributed to bring about storms, fog, snow, or any change of the weather.

156; 27. Compare songs 2 and 3.

156; 28. This bug, perhaps a scarabee, bites the skin to suck out the disease from the wound.

156; 30. This is probably a song of the wind, not of the young silver-fox (as I was told), and I have translated it as such. The song No. 20 is analogous to it in every respect; the winds, which the Indians constantly compare with the spread of the disease, are frequently mentioned in these songs as blowing upon some animal or other object sent out by the conjurer to discover the whereabouts of the disease. Cf. No. 16. 20. 24. 28. 29. 39. 43. and 57.

156; 32. This song is said to allude to the circumstance that one fox's howl seems to sound like the cries of many foxes howling together. Lalálash are both sides of one and the same beast.

156; 33. With these monotonous sounds the tuákash or tuákish calls itself by its own cry: tuák, wák, tuák. Tuáni̱i is: tuák ni gi "tuák I am crying." Cf. 154; 9. Two refrains to this line are formed by the two lines of No. 34.

156; 35. The *personified* disease spreads the germs of sickness through the atmosphere. This song is comparable to songs 3 and 45.

157; 37. The signification of h'îlantana could not be disclosed, but it seems to be similar to that of tîlantana.

157; 39. This small bird is dark, and has a red or yellow neck.

157; 43. Speaks of a fog drifting away from the mountains and turning into a cloud, which is drifting also.

157; 44. The bones of a dead person's skeleton are supposed to rattle against each other, the spirit being here identified with the skeleton.

157; 46. Often sung wélwashi gi; epenthetic syllables are frequent in these songs, *e. g.* walχátchika in song 15.

157; 47. The wáměnigsh or wámn'aks, a species of Pityophis, has large black spots and frequently occurs in the Klamath country. Tunulúla means to hang down over something as over a rock.

158; 48. This is sung when water is poured over the patient. A more literal translation would be: "I am resounding within the ground."

[823] 158; 50. Yaínalam shulúyualsh means round, cylindric or globiform objects standing in a row on a mountain. The den of the grizzly bear is supposed to be in the mountains or on a mountain top. Cf. song 36. My informants did not know what the objects were which stood in a series, but if any religious notions were connected with them, we may compare the three sacred rocks standing on a mountain top in Peruvian mythology. These rocks were fetishes indicative of stone worship, representing a mother with two sons. Another myth mentions four of them, representing Catequil (the god of thunder), Viracocha, a sun god and a fire god. The song No. 50 is sung by the chorus while the kinks is dancing.

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158; 51. The paint was put on expressly for the dance and smeared across her breast or anywhere on body; gûn for kĕ nû, gĕ nû, vowel û inverted.

158; 54. These spoken words are also repeated by the choristers. The repetition is very long and noisy and winds up in a howling. tutiχólatko, after having ceased to dream. This would imply, that after dreams fasting must be observed as a religious custom. k̲'lékshashtala for the correct form k̲'lekápkashtala. This phrase occurs in 68, 8., and is explained in *Note*.

158; 55. The meaning is rather obscure, probably owing to omissions.

Kiúksham shuí'sh.

CONJURER'S INCANTATIONS.

[115]

Obtained from Chief Johnson and Sub-chief Dave Hill.

1. *Song of the disease:*

Nä'pakshtka hínui nû; k̲aluáshtat nû

By sickness I am prostrate; I am (now) up in the clear sky.

2. *Song of the woodpecker:*

Kóshash ká-a nû píupíutánna –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am picking hard at the bark of a pine tree.

3. *Song of the túktukuash-hawk:*

Kuáta nû tchiliká nû ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑

I am pinching hard.

4. *Song of the white-headed eagle:*

K̲aluáshtat nû tchutchúa ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑

I am croaking high up in the skies.

5. *Song of the weasel:*

Käílash nû shuína a ni yána ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́

From under the ground I am singing.

6. *Song of the mink:*

Atín tchelä'wash géna ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́

Ripples in the water-sheet I am spreading far and wide.

7. *Song of the skunk:*

Té-i, té-i, ksiúlχa –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

With shortened steps I am dancing.

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8. *Song of the quiver:*

Yáhinsh nû tadsí tadsí –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | –́

9. *Song by a companion of the old frog:*

Kú-e welékash nû wélwash tchalekíya ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ ⏑

An old frog-woman I sit down at the spring.

10. *Song of the gáwi-bird:*

Sháwalish haí nû shlataníya –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

A flint-headed arrow I am ready to dispatch.

11. *Song of the eagle-feather:*

Mû'k̲ash a gí nû, gená nû, hō –́ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́

I am the eagle-feather, I am going down, hō!

12. *Song, reference unknown:*

K̲ú-i hai nen kaíul'ka

I feel too bad for dancing.

13. *Song of the dwarf:*

Na'hnías naní naní naní-a a a nanía . . . . . . naní, naní-i-ā

14. *Song, reference unknown:*

Käíla nû spí'amna –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

I am dragging out dirt.

15. *Song, reference unknown:*

Sháppashti nû lak̲í gí

I am the lord of the sun.

16. *Song of the shaiχish-bird:*

Shaiχí'sh gúluaga lulamnóla ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑

I the little black female bird am lost and strayed.

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162; 1. By others this song was given as follows: Nä'paks kinuína ḳalowát nû: "I the disease am meandering through the skies." This variant is evidently preferable to the one above.

162; 2. In the Sahaptin language of the Yákima, Washington Territory, a certain bird is called piúpiu; the Klamath Lakes call a spotted kind of woodpecker shpíu'hpush. Both terms are derived from an onomatopoetic radix piu, imitating the picking at the bark by the woodpecker.

162; 3. The túktuknash or fish-hawk, Pandion carolinensis, occurs in large numbers on the lakes of the Klamath highlands. Like that of many other birds, its Indian name is derived onomatopoetically from its cry.

* 539 162; 4. Of the yaúχal, white-headed or bald eagle, Haliaetus leucocephalus, another
533 conjurer's song was obtained. Cf. 165; 5.

● 755 162; 5. The wording of this song could not be obtained with certainty.

192 162; 6. Stands for: atí tchelä'wash nû géna.

[825] 162; 7. té-i, té-i has no meaning, but simply serves to beat the measure when dancing with short steps.

163; 8. This song is said to be that of the quiver (tókanksh) and its purport the same as that of No. 7. Yáhiash is a kind of aquatic bird.

163; 9. A similarly worded song is in the Modoc collection, given by Toby Riddle.

163; 10. Shráwalsh is here lengthened into sháwallsh for metrical reasons.

163; 11. This is a favorite song of a kíuks on the Williamson River, called Skúkum Doctor (stout doctor). Given by Dave Hill, also 12 and 13.

[776] 163; 13. Foot-prints not larger than those of a baby are sometimes discovered in the higher mountains of the Cascade Range. The Indians refer them to a dwarf called na'hnías, whose body can be seen by the conjurers of the tribe only. The dwarf gives them his advice for curing the sicknesses of others and inspires them with a superior kind of knowledge.

163; 14–16 were dictated by an Indian whom I found at Linkville.

163; 15. The name of the animal, probably a bird, to which this conjurer's song refers was not obtained. Cf. shápsam ptchíwip in Dictionary.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSAM SHUÍ'SH.

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INCANTATIONS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE CONJURERS.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN.

1. *Song of the Lake:*

Ktsálui gé-u é-ush

My lake is glittering in azure colors.

2. *Song of the rain-storm:*

Gé-u a-i népaks népka,
gûlkásh gé-u hû shuísh.

The disease produced by me has arrived,
I am the storm and wind and this is my song.

3. *Song of the conjurer's arrow:*

Gé-u a hû't hänä'sish

This here is my long magic arrow.

4. *Song of the North wind:*

Yámsam gé-u gē'-ish kápa –́ – – ⏑ | –́ – – –

I am the North wind, and in my path I am irresistible.

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5. *Song of the yaúkal-eagle:*

P'laína nû kshakí'dsha ⊥ ⌣ | ⊥ ⌣ | ⊥ ⌣

High up in the skies I describe my magic circles.

6. *Song of the little sucker:*

Yénash ai nísh aléwish wíta ⊥ ⌣ | ⊥ ⌣ | ⊥ ⌣ | ⊥ ⌣

Now the wind-gust sings about me, the yên-fish.

7. *Words sung by the East wind:*

Yéwa, yéwa, yéwa, yéwa ⊥ ⌣ | ⊥ ⌣ | ⊥ ⌣ | ⊥ ⌣

Easter, easter, eastern, eastern.

8. *Song of a black snake:*

Kámtilagam gé-u génhuish ⊥ ⌣ | ⊥ ⌣ | ⊥ ⌣ | ⊥ ⌣

This is mine, the black snake's, gait.

9. *Conjurer's kat'hiáwash-incantation:*

Gé-u hût ké-ish kat'hiáwasam

Thus I walk when I tie up the hair.

10. *Song of the black ground-mouse or kĕláyua:*

Munána nû shuiná

Down in the dark ground I am singing my strain.

11. *Conjurer's song of the rope:*

Kĕnúks a-i nû stû'nχl-uapk ⌣ ⊥ | ⌣ ⊥ | ⌣ ⊥ | ⌣ ⌣ ⌣

I will pull a rope from my entrails.

12. *Gray wolf's song:*

Ké-utchish ai nû shuí'sh gí ⊥ ⌣ ⌣ | ⊥ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ | ⊥ ⌣

I am the gray wolf magic song.

13. *Song of the female lizard, kí'a kúlu:*

Skû'lala gé-u kä'la kíalam ké-ish

The land on which I, the female lizard, am treading, belongs to the lark.

14. *Song of the male lizard, kí'a laki:*

Ktsálui kí'alam gé-u ké-ish

When I the lizard am walking, my body is resplendent with colors.

15. *Song of the kilídshiksh-duck:*

Tseléwa gé-u é-us ⌣ ⊥ | ⌣ ⊥ | ⌣ ⊥ ⌣

In my lake ripples I am spreading.

16. *Song of the yellow jacket or kí'nsh:*

Nû' ai nen nûtû'yamna

Here I am buzzing around.

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17. *Song of the young deer's claws:*
Kodsí'ngs a gé-u wálta
My deer-claws are rattling.

18. *Song of the kshí'kshnish-hawk:*
Wéash á-i nû kshûkátkal ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
I carry my offspring with me.

19. *Song of the pelican or kúmal:*
Há wíshtkak nû núyamna – ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ ⏑
Noisily I am blowing around.

20. *Song of the swan:*
Kû'sham gé-u wítchtaks
By me, by the swan, this storm has been produced.

21. *Woman's song:*
Kutchí'ngshka hû' mû'luesh
The feet of a young deer are my medicine-tools.

22. *Song of the male k̲áls or k̲álχalsh-bird:*
K̲â'lsam gé-u lúmalaks
This is my song, the kálsh-bird's, who made the fog.

23. *Song of the female k̲áls-bird:*
K̲álsam kû'lo gé-u lû'malaks
Like my consort, the kálsh-bird, I produce fog at will.

24. *Song of the otter or kólta:*
Conjurer: Gútkaks gé-u népk
The small-pox brought by me, the otter, is upon ye.

Chorus: K̲illí'lga kóltam génuish
The otter's tread has whirled up the dust.

25. *Conjurer's song:*
K̲ó-idsi ai nû shuí'sh gí
I am a conjurer's fatal song.

26. *Funeral song:*
Lû'luksam nû skû'tchaltko
I am now wrapped in the garments of fire-flame.

27. *Song of the mámaktsu-duck:*
Gutitgúlash gé-u népka ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑
Belly-ache is the disease which I carry along with me.

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28. *Song of mpámpaktish-duck:*

Gutí'tkuls gé-u nä'paks

Belly-ache is the disease I am bringing on.

29. *Song of the South wind:*

Mû'ash ai nû' shuí'sh gî, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
käíla nû wikánsha. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

I am the South wind's magic song and sweep over the earth.

30. *Song of the conjurer's implements:*

Tchí hû tché-us mû'luash;
kóltam gé-u hû mû'luash,
sχí'l gé-u hû mû'luash.

So looks the medicine-tool taken from the yellow hammer;
This is my curing-tool, that of the otter;
This is my curing-tool, that of the otter-skin belt.

31. *Song of the black náta-duck:*

Nû ai náta shuí'sh

The náta-duck is now singing about itself.

32. *Song of the nú'sh-tilansnéash-bird:*

Lû'paksh gé-u mû'luash –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

White chalk is my medicine-tool.

33. *Song of the pipe:*

Kátchkalam mû'luash,
pä'ks gé-u mû'luash.

The smoking pipe is my medicine-tool, the implement for the tobacco.

34. *Song of the scoop:*

É-usam mû'luash,
pála hû gé-u mû'luash hû.

This scooping-paddle is my curing-instrument, that tool used on the lake.

35. *Song of the póp-tchikas bird:*

Póp-tsikas nû' shuí'sh gî –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am the incantation of the little póp-tsikas bird.

36. *Song of the shkä'-bird:*

Nû ai nen nû shuí'sh gî, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
p'laína nû kakí'dsa. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I am a magic song and circle high above the earth.

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37. *Song of Old Marten or Skélamtch:*

Nû′ ai nen aggī′dsha –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

I go up and stick fast to the tree.

38. *Song of spirits' walking-stick, or skû′ksam hă′kskish:*

Skû′ks ai nû sī′kamba ī

Leaning on a staff, I the dead man's spirit am traveling.

39. *Song of the large black woodpecker:*

Sk̲û′kashak nû nä′pka

I the young woodpecker have brought on sickness.

40. *Song of the strap made of otter skin (sχī′l):*

Sχī′l ai nû mû′luash, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
sχī′l ai nû shuī′sh gī. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

I the skin-strap am a conjurer's tool, I am a magic song.

41. *Song of the sχī′b-bird:*

Sχī′pa nû shuī′sh

Of the sχíb-bird I am the song.

Or, in other words:

I the sχíb-bird am singing about myself.

42. *Song of the storm-blast:*

Sléwish ai nû wuyámna

I the storm-wind I wind around.

43. *Song of the lark:*

Nánukash gé-u nä′paksh,
Skólälam gé-u nä′paksh.

The disease brought on by me, the lark, spreads everywhere.

44. *Song of the spû′m or female shkă′-bird:*

Käflash nû shñolóka

I am snapping at the ground.

45. *Song of the sweat-lodge stick-hole:*

Stsaúsawalks gé-u shuī′sh gī –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

This is my song, that of the stick-hole.

46. *Song of the loon or táplal:*

Tseléwash nish shiálamnû taplálas

I am the loon and my waves follow me.

47. *Song of the bodily pains:*

Tatktī′sh ai nû nä′pka

I the painfulness have come upon ye.

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48. *Song of famine or hunger:*

Tiä'mish ai gé-u nä'pka

The pangs of hunger I carry about.

49. *Song of the West wind:*

Tχalamtálkni k̲ú-idsi nû
sléwish hû widsápka.

I the West wind, high above the earth I blow as a pernicious wind-gust.

50. *Song of the túktukuash fish-hawk:*

P'laína nû kshakédsha,
k̲aló nî kshékansha.

High up in the skies I soar and turn my circles.
Through the clear skies I am carrying my prey.

51. *Song of the tsákĕnush, an aquatic bird:*

Kä'lash ak nû wúya tsákĕnûsh

I the tsákĕnush would like to fly over the country.

52. *Song of a gray aquatic fowl, called tchákiuks:*

Shaíkish ai nû yû'ta –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ –

I the shaíkish I walk with ponderous steps.

53. *The little boy's song:*

Tsákiag a-i nû shuí'sh gí,
lĕmé-ish a-i nû shuí'sh gí.

This is my own, the little boy's, song;
About the thunder I am singing now.

54. *Song of the tsántsan-hawk or kingfisher:*

Tsála-esh nû k̲ók̲a tsántsan – ⏑ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ –

I the tsántsan-bird am eating up the salmon.

55. *Song of the weasel or tsásgai:*

Ktsáluï nû génhuish

While walking I shine in my multiple colors.

56. *Weasel's magic song:*

Tsaskáyam gé-u kä'la,
guyúma ké-u kä'la.

Mine is this ground, the weasel's,
Muddy is my ground, the weasel's.

57. *Song of the tcháwash-fish:*

Tsáwas ai nû shuí'sh gí

I the tsáwas-fish am singing my own song.

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58. *Song of the tsí'ktu-hawk:*
Yámash a nû shuí'sh;
yámash a gé-u shuí'sh.
About the north wind I am singing.
About the cold winds I am singing.

59. *Tsisχiχi-bird's song:*
Nû ai nen nû shuí'sh gî
I am singing about myself.

60. *Song of the tsiutsíwäsh-bird:*
Tsiutsiwä'sam kē'sh múlua
The snow made by me, the tsiutsíwäsh-bird, is ready to arrive.

61. *Song of the blue jay, or tsχā-utsχā'-ush:*
Sankáwaltk ai nû shuí'sh
High-crested I sing my song.

62. *Song of the large black vulture:*
Tchuaísh aì nû naggí'dsa
I the vulture describe my circles in the air.

63. *Song of the wákash-crane:*
Wákas ní tchekléla
I the wákash-crane crouch on the water's edge.

64. *Song of the young wákash-crane:*
Wakáshak nû nä'pka
The disease brought on comes from me, the young wákash-bird.

65. *Woodpecker's song:*
Wákwakins wínta wálashtat
I, the woodpecker, am holding fast the tree-stem.

66. *Song of the wá'hlas-tree:*
Walásh ai nû wawíkanka ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
I the pole-tree am shaking my crown.

67. *Song of the wá-u'htuash-duck:*
Wa-u'htû'ssam gé-u nä'pka ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑
A sickness has come, and I the wá-u'htuash-duck have produced it.

68. *Song of the mallard-duck:*
Wä'-aks ai nî tchéwa –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
I the mallard float on the water's bosom.

69. *Song of the weiwash-goose:*
Gé-u ai hû't wítchtaks
This tempest is my work.

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70. *Song of the little wipĕlí'wash forest-bird:*

Wipĕlí'wash nû shuí'sh gi,
wuipléwĕsh nû shuí'sh.

My own song I sing, I the wipĕlíwash-bird.
I the wuipléwash am singing about myself.

71. *Song of the witkatkish-hawk:*

Gé-u aí hû tû' sáwals, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
witkatkísam gé-u sáwals. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

My head-crest this is, it is that of the witkatkish-hawk.

NOTES.

[825] The incantations obtained from Morgan are mostly of the kind called shuinō'tkish, and a large number of them are attributed to birds. Some of them probably exist in a more explicit form, which was not remembered, and the rhythmic or musical form was obtained of a part of them only. A literal translation of these song-lines is an impossibility in most instances, if their sense has to be rendered in full; I have therefore furnished only paraphrastic interpretations. The list is alphabetic, and was arranged after the names of the animals, or other personified objects, to which the incantations are attributed. Many of these songs are referred to in the "Subject List of Incantations" given by Morgan. *539 533 755 182

164; 1. Ktsálui, to be resplendent with colors, is mainly said of objects showing a blue or purple tinge: pû'ksam shláps ktsáluitko, the camass-plant has a bluish color. This verb is also used when speaking of the rainbow; of the lizard: 165; 14., also of the weasel's fur-skin: 169; 55.

[772] 164; 3. The use of these conjurer's arrows is mentioned 73, 5.

164; 4. Yámsam for Yámasham; cf. *Note* to 111, 4. Of the personified North wind the Indians say "he lives up in the mountains". On the north side the basin of the Williamson River is closed up by high mountains. Gé-ish and génuish, génhuish means the action of going and that of having gone, or the present and the past going; both were translated by "*gait*", "*tread*", a term which does not differ much from the real meaning. Both terms also occur in the songs obtained from "Doctor" John, and are mainly used of quadrupeds, amphibians, and reptiles. [183]

164; 4. kápa probably for gátpa (nû), "I have come".

[136] 165; 6. The yĕ'n sucker-fish is quite abundant in the lakes of the Klamath highlands and has been identified by Prof. E. D. Cope as the Catostomus labiatus.

165; 7. yéwa. In Morgan's series of incantations there are song-lines on wind-gusts, tempests, rain-storms and on the winds blowing from each of the four cardinal points of the compass. These latter are not positively stated to be producers of disease, though they are dreaded on account of their force and violence. The East wind (yéwash) blowing over the alkaline or volcanic, arid lands of Southern Oregon sings: yéwa, yéwa (nû) which does not only signify "I blow from the East", but also "I am howling". [821]

165; 11. Feigning to draw a rope or string from their own posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear.

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165; 13. It is by no means certain whether the above is the full wording of this song or not.

165; 16. nen involves the idea: "you hear it yourselves." Cf. 167; 36. 170; 59.

[534] 166; 17. kódsinksh was in this connection explained by lílhanksam stĕ'ksh. Conjurers' rattles are made of deer's claws.

166; 18. This hawk is a kind of sparrow-hawk, Falco sparverius.

166; 20. Compare the song of the weíwash-goose: 170; 69.

166; 21. This song of a female conjurer or "doctress" is quite analogous to the song 166; 17.

166; 22. The ḳála flies around in cold nights followed often by foggy mornings, hence the belief that it makes the fog.

166; 25. Compare the gray wolf's song, 165; 12., which forms alliteration to this.

166; 26. Refers very probably to the cremation of the dead.

[778] 167; 30. In line 2 the same object is alluded to as in line 3, kóltam sχí'l. This is a broad strip of dressed otter skin, ornamented in various ways with shells, feathers, bird-scalps, etc. To all these objects a magic power is attributed severally, and as they are now all united on one strip of skin, this strip must unite the magic powers of them all. The conjurer suspends the sχí'l on his neck and lets it dangle over his chest or back, according to the manipulations in which he is engaged at the time. It is considered as one of the most powerful of all the curing tools or múluash.

167; 32. Alludes to the grayish-white color of this bird, which burrows underground. This bird is also mentioned in 154; 12. and *Note;* cf. also 132, 7. 8.

[193] 168; 41. Sχí'pa is the abbreviated form of the possessive case in -am, as in wásha wéka 105, 9. and *Note* to 105, 7.; in: ní'l wéksa, 144, 1. cf. 165; 13.

168; 44. Interpreted by others: "I am scolding and threatening the earth".

169; 50. Another túktukuash-song is contained in 162; 3. cf. *Note.*

169; 52. Shaíkish is another name given to the tchákiuka.

169; 54. The kingfisher or Ceryle alcyon is called in Klamath Lake tchántchan, tsántsan, tchánshan after its cry: tchătchătchă, and chiefly feeds on salmon.

169; 56. The second line was referred by "Sergeant" Morgan to the otter. Cf. 177; 13.

170; 58. This alludes to the name of the bird, which imitates its twittering.

170; 62. This bird circles in the air to discover fish on the lake's surface and to pounce upon them. The tchuaísh is the red headed vulture or black buzzard: Cathartes aura. The Indian name is an imitation of the bird's cry.

170; 63. 64. The wákash-crane is identical with the tuákish, the name being derived from its cry. These birds creep along the edge of the water in search of small fish. Compare the tuákish-songs 154; 9. 156; 33. 34.

170; 65. This song is much better expressed in the series of Modoc incantations: 174; 13. Here as well as there alliteration is perceptible.

[193] 170; 67. After gé-u, the subject of the sentence, nä'paks or the disease, is omitted. In the name of the duck the final -s, -sh is geminated here in the possessive case, to stand for wa-u'htū'asam.

[194] 170; 68. In the onomatopoetic word wä'ks the dissimilation of the vowel into wă'-aks is frequently observed. Also pronounced wékash.

170; 69. The weíwash- or waíwash-goose is a long-necked white bird, commonly known as snow-goose: Anser hyperboreus.

Here Christian
175 elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath
668 traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The
177 acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost
[578] Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather
than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the
pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

175 By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had
177 burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with
[668] essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic
competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so
[797] lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values
[791] were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic
practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One infor-
[533] mant tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power)
have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in
that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important
771 movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the
175 Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with
177 longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused
slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orienta-
795 tion, the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology;
but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross
as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence
of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements
[755] also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are em-
ployed (for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's
body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers
vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil,
178 and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult,
771 too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some
795 years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services.
The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

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[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kemps was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

[113] [11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

[113] [12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

[113] [13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.

795
771 reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors,
178 the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

182 The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are
allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some
771 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal
795 and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in
184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to
797 those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on
the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual
571 or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members
find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies
as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions to aboriginal concepts.

771 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The
177 Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation
is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals,
184 while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display
or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely. Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious
questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly
curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes
755 demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this considera-
757 tion, shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally
accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged
with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects
of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

183 The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there.
773 For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter
are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two,
183 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first
224 deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away,
he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation
today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too,
the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy
that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem
from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is
825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath
191 but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a har-
763 binger of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear
it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means
183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter,
the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed
among western tribes.

178 But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past
which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

21, ḳ!o'ltawas, a town of ten or fifteen earth-lodges on the left bank, with houses on the right bank extending to the next settlement downstream. There are otter (ḳ!olt) holes in the right bank, hence the name. A mythical otter that lived here is seen in a rock standing in the water; on his back are his children, smaller rocks. 103 131 361 [823]

22, at'awikc, "to catch fish in still water," six to a dozen houses on the right bank; a few on the left. The water here is quiet; fish are caught with the trolling net. [226]

23, ya'ak (ya'ac, willows), two dozen or more houses on the right bank. This was the largest river site in early reservation days, the road from Link river (Klamath falls) fording the river here. Of three house pits together, with their margins nearly in contact, two are twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter, the other fully five feet more. A cremation pile stands on the hill above this town. It is now leveled by marauders, as are all the others in this country, but it apparently covered an area forty feet in diameter.

24, tsa'k'wi, houses on the right bank with a few on the left.

25, wītă'mümpsi, bear's place (wītă'm, black bear). This is a high bluff on the right bank above an eddy in the sharp bend in the river; the scene of vision questing. A large shaman's earth-lodge is located here. Fish are caught all year long above this town. [823] [756] [226]

26, goyᴇmske'ᴇgis, crawfish crawl out, or kizke'trüs, small lizard, a town half a mile long beginning a quarter-mile above the highway bridge. The houses are on the abrupt slope right to the river's brink, and some on the little bluff above. There are pits of perhaps forty or more houses here, but at least half are dome-shaped cooking houses, for they are for the most part only six to ten feet in diameter, with few as much as fifteen feet. One of eighteen feet has its dome-shaped kitchen lodge clearly indicated on the north side. [343]

27, wᴇla'lksi, named for a big quaking-aspen (wᴇla'l) there, is on the eastern shore of Agency lake. A few ă'ukcḳni live here in winter, in five or six small houses.

28, loḳ'o'güt, warm, a little warm spring near which are two houses on the higher land near Agency lake. [133]

29, tcŏ'klalümps, service berry, which grows here abundantly, is a town of one or two small houses overlooking the lake where the Chiloquin road meets the lake highway.

Other towns may have been at ya'mzi, on the western side of Yamsay mountain, and ḳokenă'okᴇ, Spring creek, a large northern affluent of Klamath marsh.

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103 131 361 II. *Agency lake group* (*kowa'cdikni*).—The winter home of these people is on Agency lake, the northern arm of Klamath lake. My questioning did not make it wholly certain that this group is independent of ă'ukekni. In fact they join them at k'ᴇtai'di (19) on Williamson river for the spring fishing.

[756] [226] 44, kowa'cdi is close to the mouth of Wood river. The site is a quarter-mile long. One informant stated that it contained twenty houses, another two earth-lodges (one a shaman's), not incompatible statements. A spring here permits fish to remain all winter. A few houses are at another spring a quarter-mile east.

[133] III. *Lower Williamson river group* (*du'kwakni*).—These settlements are close to the mouth of Williamson river. This region, du'kwa, is one of marsh, separated by a considerable section of open and higher plain (pᴇnŏ'ŋs) from the nearest ă'ukekni settlements. Pᴇnŏ'ŋs seems not to have been occupied in pre-reservation days, although du'kwakni and ă'ukekni now live there. Du'kwa people seem also to live across the lake at Pelican bay, the home of the gu'mbŏtkni. But whether this is a regular thing, or only a matter of my du'kwa informant's [222] personal history, I am not sure. At any rate they go to dig roots in the marshes of the western and northern sides of Klamath lake in summer, not to Klamath marsh. Their winter settlements are on the isolated bits of higher ground within a mile of the river mouth, and on the marsh front immediately south. Most of these settlements, too, are on the right bank of the river.

30, mo'aķsda, five or seven earth-lodges on the left bank nearly a mile above the mouth. Five more houses stood on the opposite bank with numerous springs behind them and the du'kwakni cremation pile a half-mile above.

31, wickămdi, four or five houses on the right bank below this, one or two a little below, then a cluster of four and another of two farther downstream.

32, la'wa'latŏt, three houses on the point forming the right side of the river mouth.

33, mo'giŋkŭnks, the largest settlement in this district with five or six earth-lodges and as usual a number of small structures. This is on the left bank a quarter-mile above the mouth. One or two houses are on this side immediately at the river mouth.

34, djiŋgŭs, four or five houses at a spring on the lake front to the east of the mouth, with one or two more farther in the marsh.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18]

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131 IV. *Pelican bay group (gu'mbötkni)*.—This includes the Pelican bay district (gu'mböt) on the west side of the lake, the settlements along Four Mile creek, and those on the marsh north of the lake. 361 Runs of fish are plentiful on Wood river in the spring when the snow melts on the mountains. [222] People come up along the river in the summer digging camas. But above Fort Klamath there is too much snow to live during the winter. [132]

35, sle'tskai, a group of two or three earth-lodges on the west side of Seven Mile creek near its mouth. A little spring here keeps the water warm enough for fish even in winter.

36, wudö'kän is a settlement in the marsh a mile from the last, and east of Seven Mile creek.

37, iwünau'ts, two earth-lodges on the western side of a little creek emptying into the lake two miles east of Recreation P. O. Houses are scattered along the marsh shore to the northern side of Pelican bay.

38, dünö'ksi, an open space overlooking the northern end of Pelican bay and containing many earth-lodges. Others are on the lower level, [823] lclä'ksti, close to the bay. This is immediately north of the mouth of Four Mile creek. A cremation pile stands a hundred yards north of [756] this town on the slope above the bay, beyond an outcrop of rocks said to be transformed shamans. A big lodge of a shaman on the lower level has a pit twenty-eight feet in diameter; another earth-lodge pit is nearly twenty feet across.

39, e'o'ḳai, four or five earth-lodges a few hundred yards up Four Mile creek on the left bank.

[756] 40, wa'lö'kdi, four to eight earth-lodges, one a shaman's, somewhat farther up the creek on the opposite side.

41, Waḳ'a'k, a winter settlement south of the high ridge south of Odessa. North of the settlement is a sweat-lodge used by mourners.

42, gai'löks or gaila'lḳs is on the point south of Odessa or more probably between Howard and Shoalwater bays. No winter settlements here but a camping place where du'kwakni and gu'mbötkni roasted camas in the spring.

[136] 43, stö'kmate, Eagle point, is a similar spring camp site. In the hot springs here are harmless black snakes (kamdila'k) which crawl over the swimmers. Curiously, in view of the Klamath tendency to localize their tales, there is no story concerning this locality.

Two other localities may belong to this group: 63, e'o'ḳaḳ, gulch, on Wood river toward the mountains, and 64, e'uḳwa'lksi on the east

After the dance, scalps and trophies are usually preserved by those 727
who called the dance, relatives of the avenged man. They are dried 535
and stored far from their homes to be brought out and danced over at
each new scalp dance. Sometimes bits of the scalp are sewn in rows [177]
down each breast of a woman's dress, a Plains custom impossible, of
course, before the introduction of these Plains-like garments. Both [291]
practices are un-Californian.

There is a question whether the notched rattle (ulo'ks) is played in 727
the war and scalp dances. Neither drums, which the Klamath formerly
lacked, nor rattles are used. Only one man, Ma'gai', whose day was 535
well before the middle of the last century, knew the notched rattle. 534
He knew all about war. He had overheard the Upland Takelma
singing to it, according to one informant, and always used their songs
when the Klamath made war on them. No resonator is used; the
notched stick is rested directly on the ground and rasped with
another stick.[34]

CHIEFTAINSHIP

Chiefs are of but minor significance in Klamath life. In contrast 622
my informants invariably stressed the importance of the shamans. As 756
an instance the largest house pits pointed out were always those of
shamans. This relative unimportance of the chiefs was true at least
until just before reservation days. At that time contact with the 622
Columbia river tribes, whose concepts of chieftainship were sharp and
deeprooted, coupled with the developing trade which began to make
considerable differences in wealth among the Klamath, operated to
enhance the position of the chiefs, the rich men. It is significant that
Lɛle'ks, their most prominent chief, had spent several years of continuous
residence at the Dalles. All this was sharply accentuated on
the establishment of the reservation by the government's recognition
of lay leaders while frowning on the shamans. It must be distinctly [114]
understood that the picture Gatschet draws of chiefly powers is nonaboriginal.[35]
In fact, his principal informant, David Hill, was one of [115]
the newly raised chiefs who, we must believe, was not inclined to
underrate his new importance. Both my best informants, Nancy

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[34] The familiar association of this rasping sound with the voice of the frog and its use in a social dance (the Bear dance of the Basin Shoshoneans) are both unknown to the Klamath.

[35] Gatschet, 1:58-62.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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622 Phillips and Tom Lang, doubted that there had been anyone who could properly be called chief in pre-reservation days.

756 As good a test of this as might be was the difficulty I had in getting the names of pre-reservation chiefs, let alone their functions. Shamans on the other hand were freely named and the many cited came far
114 from exhausting the list. Gatschet encountered the same difficulty. "Many times I attempted to obtain a list of the former head chiefs
622 of the two chieftaincies [Klamath and Modoc]. I succeeded only in learning the names of two chiefs recently deceased, and no biographic details were obtainable." This he explains was due to their strong repugnance to name the dead,[66] but I found hardly a trace of a name taboo.

622 This situation seems much like that of the Great Basin tribes and the particular functions of chieftainship reenforce the view.

Some settlements have chiefs, others do not. It is very doubtful that they feel that political solidarity demands a chief for each subdivision. The three chiefs alone named with some certainty were all ă'ukekni men (Klamath marsh-Williamson river division): Tel'lokīn who lived at the site of the present town Chiloquin, Lεle'ks at bezūkse'was across the river, and Motcūnkă'skεt at Yainax. Others of this subdivision were Lī'lu at ka'umkăn on Sprague river and Dŏ'tklεm sa'rdjĕnt (literally middle sergeant) at about the same place. In other tribelets were my informant's grandfather at mo'giŋkūnks, and Kŏ'kdiŋks, both du'kwakni; a chief and another unnamed war leader at gu'mbŏt. It is quite in accord with this that none were named for iu"laloŋkni, southern lake people. One informant suggested Link River Jack (nĕlo'lŏtk) for this group, but Tom Lang, himself one of them, was certain that this man was a post-reservation leader and doubted that his people had ever had a chief. All these chiefs were contemporaries of the period 1850 to 1870. Their predecessors, if they had any, are unknown. It proved quite fruitless to enquire for which groups or districts these men were chiefs. Tel'lokīn was chief for the towns about the mouth of Sprague river (lobŏ'kstsŏksi, tāka'lmakeda, etc.); Lεle'ks for the whole middle Williamson valley, which includes these towns, and for Klamath marsh as well. In other words, each was a chief so far as people of his subdivision chose to follow his leadership.

Such is the separatism among the subdivisions that there can hardly be a tribal chief. How far any of the above functioned as such

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[66] *Op. cit.*, 1:xli.

539 he was nowhere to be seen. They thought he must have died. After a long
time he began to talk, throwing water on the rocks. When he was quite ready
he came out and walked to his own people. He had beated the shamans.

One informant completed the humorous tale of the lizard who killed five grizzlies with the comment, "He was braver than Tel'lokis."

622 Chiefs are wealthy. All informants gave the same term, lö'ki, for
rich man and chief, and when asked for the rich men named the chiefs.
556 They own many slaves; other people may have slaves, but many have
595 none. Some chiefs have a number of wives. Lᴇle'ks had seven at one
[567] time, not slaves, but one a Modoc, the others native. This, the largest
marrige group known, argues considerable wealth. Lᴇle'ks was accus-
[439] tomed to make frequent trips to northern tribes with captives to
exchange for horses. Everything points to the rise in wealth of these
men as dating only from the comparatively recent period of contact
[756] with the northern tribes. Up to that time at least shamans rivaled
chiefs in wealth.

622 A chief becomes such primarily by his leadership in war. When
a group is gathered preparatory to war, chiefs address them and under their guidance war leaders, prominent, brave, and wealthy, are agreed on. Chiefs themselves are among the war leaders and no one alone captains the party. Chiefs make a point of engaging prominent adversaries in the forefront of battle. In addition to their other qualities, it is assumed that they are brave, unexcitable, and able to do without sleep.

Under the circumstances there can hardly be inheritance of chieftainship, largely because it is not an office to be regulated by definite succession. A chief's relative may be chosen as war leader, but not of necessity. Since wealth figures, it may be that at least the possibility of succession is heritable, but a man who is personally disqualified will not be considered. Pat Kane's paternal grandfather was a chief at du'kwa; further vision experiences had made him a good gambler but no shaman. But his son did not succeed because he was not competent and, in addition poor, nor has Pat any pretensions. On the death of Lᴇle'ks, his son Solomon was passed over as lacking caliber, and in reservation days Alan David, previously a minor figure, was recognized in his place. Their relationship is unknown. My informants did not know whether the fathers of any of the chiefs named above had been chiefs before them.

[565] The Klamath have no feeling of class stratification as on the
Columbia river and northward. A chief is a leader and nothing more.

His wife and children are commoners and not known by distinctive terms. 622

The emphasis among the chiefly functions is clearly on leadership in war and haranguing the people. [701] Every morning before daylight he addresses them and again in the evening until the sun is well down. I am somewhat dubious that this procedure is as standardized as my informant had it. The address runs on fighting and acquiring spirit aid. He warns against hostile raiders; tells them to rise before daybreak; tells the young people to seek visions. "If you get a spirit, you cannot be killed; you will never fall sick; you will live to be old." But he has no word as to where they shall hunt or fish or carry on other routine activities.

A chief has no speaker as a shaman has. [756] Such might have been expected here, for Paviotso, Wishram, and Nez Pereé chiefs have. [171]

A chief is not looked to to preserve peace. Old men may interfere in quarrels, but these are no especial concern of a chief. Nevertheless the word of an influential chief might end a feud. Just prior to reservation days the practice was introduced of tieing up and lashing quarrelsome men at the word of a chief. [177] This was brought from the north by the cousin of my informant Nancy. It has a decided un-aboriginal flavor. A chief is under no obligation to help his people pay blood money, nor to assist them when starving. These are matters for relatives alone; they may die for all he is concerned.

SLAVES, TRADE, AND WEALTH

567 Slaves are captives of war, some of whom are kept by the Klamath but the majority are carried to the Dalles to be sold. They seem to have been numerous. Gatschet quotes a statement of Taylor in 1859 that in the raid on the Pit river people two years previously fifty-six of their women and children had been taken and sold on the Columbia river.[88] Doubt has been cast both on the number of slaves and the frequency of the raids as described by early writers. Kroeber, for instance, scouts the idea of yearly raids on the Achomawi and suggests that a few actual cases have been exaggerated.[89] Whatever the case be with regard to annual raids, I am certain that the evidences are too many and too circumstantial to permit of doubt that raids were

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[88] 1:lx.

[89] Handbook, 319.

ä'ukckni were sisters from his own settlement on Williamson river above bzzükse'was, a third was from that town, and the fourth from glä'tapak'is, a mile or so down river. His daughter by the Modoc wife was counted ä'ukckni; while living at k'taidi she married an ä'ukckni of Yainax. 582 595

A gu'mböt man, Wokau'k!alls, married two Molala sisters.

Girls usually marry within a year or so after puberty, which is marked, at least among the well-to-do, by a big dance. Betrothals may have been arranged while the couple were yet pre-adolescent, presents having been exchanged by the families. They are expected to carry out the agreement after the girl's dance, payments being made again. Should one of them die another match may be arranged with the same family, but not of necessity. Poor and rich alike arrange such betrothals. 584

How far great disparity of age occurs I do not know, but it does happen that an older man marries a young girl. A shaman for instance may be given a daughter by a man too poor to reward him otherwise. [582] [756]

But it must not be thought that there is no choice. On the contrary, the majority of marriages follow the desire of the couples. Elopements take place and although the levirate is the rule, much depends on the widow's willingness. Yet a girl's consent is not necessary. Despite her protests she may be carried to her husband's home. If she runs home she is almost invariably taken back again. That she would be driven to suicide is doubtful; one informant never heard of such a thing; another stated she would hang herself and in this event her parents had to return the gifts of the groom. 583 587 [762]

An orphan girl of du'kwa lived with her mother's brother. She was married against her will to a man of k'taidi. She clung to the ladder of the earthlodge but they pulled her away and dragged her up-river to k'taidi. Next morning she ran home and never went back. Nothing had been paid for her at the time but she was given in return for valuables contributed to the cremation of a relative of hers some time before by her husband's relatives. Immediately after this she married a man at Klamath marsh; whether payment was then made is not remembered. 583 159

Elopements occur but payment is so much insisted on as a sign of respectability that parents guard their daughters with great care. This is at least true where the family wealth makes a suitable payment imperative. It is unthinkable that a chief's daughter should be permitted to enter an unceremonious, clandestine union. The poor and forward have little to lose. Modest demeanor is expected of a girl. 583 834

In the matter of adultery it is quite clear that a man has no recourse but to kill the lover; demanding payment for the wrong is unthinkable. He waits his opportunity to ambush the other. A man of no consequence may have to put up with the situation, but at least he would never think of turning to a chief for help.[74] The husband may send his guilty wife away, may beat or even kill her. Sometimes he will send someone to demand the return of the bride price, and her people return what still remains. The woman is then free to marry her lover who must pay for her in regular fashion. Nothing goes to the former husband. If a woman finds her husband unfaithful, she may beat (satŏ'mdoḳa) the other woman; her final recourse is to return home. 837 [586]

TRANSVESTITES

Transvestites or berdaches (tw!innă'ĕk) are found among the Klamath as in all probability among all other North American tribes. These are men and women who for reasons that remain obscure take on the dress and habits of the opposite sex. Their number is small. Five men who lived as women were cited by an informant, two women who lived as men, and others are known. One of the former was from the Dalles. This is a very minor fraction in a population numbering upward of two thousand. Kroeber has assumed that such individuals are invariably psychologically abnormal, homosexual;[75] I am not sure. The case of Lɛle'ks below rather argues against it. At any rate their abnormality is socially canalized: they are permitted to live as they desire despite the distaste of the normal Klamath for the practice, and the scorn and taunting to which he subjects them. 838 (114)

It is to the point to note that the men who turned women adopted woman's dress, pursuits, personal habits, and speech, and in one case at least married. Neither of the two women affected male garb; one married and made some pretense of men's habits, the other is rather simply a case of an irregular sex life. The cases of two of the transformed men which follow seem to turn on adolescent experiences. While these are phrased with relation to esoteric situations, they are more adequately explained as states of psychological disturbance rationalized in these terms. A third of the men-women turned shaman, but I do not know that this followed directly from the transformation. [756]

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[74] Punishment of adultery and other torts by a chief, as described by Gatschet (1:58 et seq.), are post-reservation customs.

[75] Handbook, 46, and elsewhere.

756 838 As both sexes are shamans there was no need for the transformation had this been the goal.

Mŭksamse'lapli, also called White Sindey, was the berdache shaman. He tried to laugh like a woman. He was twice married, first to a Molala man named Tcĭ'ptcĭ, later to a Klamath, Tc!o'mōks. The latter is known to me as a normal old man who has since raised a family of his own. White Sindey made considerable pretense to shamanistic powers, but was rather scouted. He performed and reacted like an ordinary shaman.

159 838 One of my informants now in his sixties had been a berdache in his youth. I had observed his general unmasculine behavior but it was not until my visit of the second year that another informant gave the reason. He lives alone, takes pride in his cooking and the care of his house, weaves baskets for sale as women do, and still wears a basket hat, which no Klamath man now will. He is fleshy, slow, and distinctly feminine in gait and gestures, and speaks with the higher pitch of women's voices. Yet his transvestite state was given up nearly half a century ago. He is shrewd enough, though mild mannered, yet I confess that I suspected no abnormality. When about sixteen years old he was at the Dalles where an old woman shaman of the place took a fancy to him. He however was afraid that she would harm him so he put on woman's dress. He wore his hair long, prepared lily seeds, wove mats and baskets; all typical women's pursuits. He has never married. After learning his history I brought up the subject of marriage with him. He claimed that he had once been married, his wife having died twenty years ago, and in answer to the question why he had not remarried replied: "Some men like it that way."

838 159 622 The most striking case is that of the chief Lᴇle'ks. As an adolescent he wore women's dress and performed the appropriate tasks. One day after returning from the lily seed harvest he lay down to sleep. They placed a bow and arrow and a punt pole by his side, the latter a symbol of women's work. They stood over him and shouted. As he jumped to his feet he grasped the bow, thus determining his future. He ran off to Mount Scott (t!u'maûmᴇni), staying through the night on the mountain in quest of a supernatural experience. As he was returning he smelled the sweaty odor of running horses. He left off women's dress and actions from that time. He became lucky in every way, acquired wealth, especially in horses, and prestige, and became the foremost chief the Klamath have known. His

BIRTH

The birth of a first child is an especially significant occasion. If it is the mother's first it will bring strong winds and thunder.[77] The Klamath also hold that in at least one other crisis, on the death and cremation of a shaman, the wind will rage. For the father the coming of the firstborn is one of those occasions on which to seek power in the mountains. 844 [821] [756] •

Birth (wiă'sla) must always take place outside the dwelling in a dome-shaped lodge especially prepared by the mother of the expectant woman, her mother's sister, or cousin. This is not the menstrual lodge, for this is used only by women of a shaman's household. This proscription of delivery within the dwelling is shared by other tribes of this latitude (Shasta, Northwestern Maidu, Lemhi, and Wind River Shoshoni) but is unknown to the south. [343] [171]*

A woman's first delivery is attended by four or five old women well-known for their skill as midwives and hence not of necessity her relatives. They are sometimes paid a fathom of beads. Men are excluded from the lodge. It may be that no man will chance contamination. I do not know whether shamans are called in difficult cases. It would seem likely, since they have some genuine medical practice, were it not for this restriction. [756]

The procedures surrounding parturition are almost wholly practical and physiologically well founded. The attendants press on the woman's abdomen and lift her repeatedly to hasten delivery. She lies on her back on a bed of grass with a soft pad (coyote or raccoon skin, or duck feathers) arranged to receive the baby. The umbilical cord is cut with an obsidian knife and the stump tied with the mother's hair. If anything else is used for the tie the child will continually cry. The afterbirth (yĕpĕno'ŋ ?) is deeply buried so that no animal may devour it and make the woman barren. Immediately after birth she is seated in the lodge on a bed of hot stones, covered with leaves. On this she must remain blanket-covered for five days. She drinks warm water freely; she may not eat meat nor fish, and must use a scratching stick, just as during catamenia and mourning. At the birth of a first child both parents wear sage-brush bark belts for 846 [292]

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[77] It is also the view of the Wishram that the weather is stormy or hot at the birth of a child, according to my information. [171]*

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[302] or red sage-brush bark. Buck-brush bands are worn around the head,
neck, wrists, ankles, below each knee, and wound perhaps twice around
[301] the waist. This waist band may be a woven belt (k'ai'lls) of sage-brush.

At the close of the ceremony the girl purifies herself by swimming;
[291] she does not use a sweat-bath. Other participants need no purification.
Her clothing and bark bands are burned. Sometimes the cir-
[783] clets are wrapped around the branches of trees near the sweat-lodge
where they are left to rot unless they are earlier gathered by someone
who wishes to use them for a cautery.

[302]
[531]

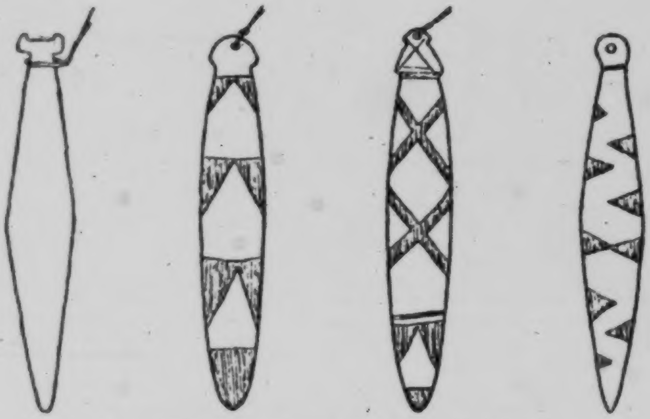

Fig. 6. Head scratchers, used by girls in puberty rites.

A girl for whom no dance is held stays within her home, dressed in this fashion and observing the taboos for the requisite period.

841
[756] Menstruant women stay at home during their illness (ata sto'pwi)
unless they are members of a shaman's household. Shamans must
avoid them; seemingly other men are indifferent. Women of a
shaman's household occupy a little dome-shaped lodge near-by for
five days. Menstruants eat only lily seed, camas, etc.; they permit
themselves dried fish, but meat and fresh fish are taboo. Older women
do not use the scratcher, nor wear the bands, nor burn their clothing.[67]
So much from my feminine friend, but a male informant had it that
all women make use of a menstrual lodge, wear dirty clothing, neither
wash nor care for the hair, and use the scratcher. However, women

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[67] Nor do they keep knotted string records of these events as on Puget sound.

cure by blowing smoke on the patient nor blow it to the distant spirits 276
as an offering. The impression gained was that this is a matter only [755]
of self-indulgence during his periods of rest. Gatschet translates a song as "The smoking pipe is my medicine-tool (mŭlwas), the implement for tobacco," but the word also means any esoteric paraphernalia of the shaman.[135] The lay use of tobacco is at any time that convenience dictates, e.g., when resting in the evening. Women use [562]
tobacco as freely as men. The custom of passing the pipe from one to another is probably absent though I made no specific inquiry.

Tobacco (ko'tcka)[136] is smoked, never eaten. A boiled decoction of it is sometimes taken for bowel disorders.

The plant (*Nicotiana attenuata* Wats.) is not cultivated, but commonly grows in dry places.[137] A bundle of these plants together with kinnikinick is hung to dry in the top of the sweat-lodge until the leaves turn brown. Coville states that the dried leaves of manzanita, also, are mixed with the tobacco.[138] According to an informant the seed pods (which are sticky when fresh) and the adjacent parts of the flower are smoked; according to another the leaves and stem. The several plants are ground with any convenient little stone.

The pipe (p!ōks) is commonly clay with a spherical bowl and a 276
short wooden stem, but is sometimes of stone and discoidal. The more 323
common stone bowl is elbow-shaped with the arms at an obtuse angle,
made of soft sandstone, shaped and hollowed by pecking. Barrett [114]
states that the discoidal form is less used than the angular but my information is to the contrary.[139] The stem is elder with the pith pushed out; Coville mentions the wood of the wild rose.[140] The manu- [524]
facture of clay pipes by a non-pottery making people seems unusual; the only other use of clay is for making dolls. Yet the ease with which clay can be manipulated as against the difficulty of drilling and shaping stone must have favored its use.

A shaman's pipe (which has no special name) is the common clay 276
bowl fitted with a long stem, eighteen inches or more, wrapped with 756

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[135] 1:167.

[136] No word correspinding to the Shasta ôp, tobacco, Takelma ôᵋp, Crow ôp, etc., is known.

[137] Coville, Notes, 104. One of Powers' correspondents states that the Klamaths (Klamath river people?) cultivated it (Tribes of California, 426).

[138] Coville, Notes, 102. What is here called kinnikinick is probably Coville's bearberry (kâ-mä-ml, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray); the common kinnikinick of northern latitudes does not grow so far south as Klamath lakes.

[139] Barrett, Material Culture, 253, pl. 22.

[140] Coville, Notes, 99.

276 rattlesnake skin. This may be used by the shaman only during the
756 ceremonies, but I think not. The tubular pipe is not Klamath. A
[177] long tubular pipe, with a small mouthpiece, found by the Indians at
Pelican bay, had been described to my informant as the probable
possession of a shaman who resided there. This is probably a trade
piece.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 The only true musical instrument known to the Klamath is the flute. This with three varieties of rattle and the hand drum make up the sum of their instruments. The musical bow is a plaything.

The flute (slo'lūs) is played for amusement and in courting;
[562] curiously enough it is played by women as well as men even when
courting. Its music is called su'lulu. Various sounds are imitated on
534 the flute, such as the noise of flying pelicans' wings. The melodies
include those of shaman's songs, although it is never used in shamanis-
533 tic rites. I do not know that song is ever accompanied by flute. It
[756] seems more probable that the melodies of certain songs are considered
appropriate flute music.[141] There are flute songs about the turtle and
deer. The song for the antelope is:

[539]

gaiyo'	gaiyo'wa	gaiyo'	gaiyo'wa
chewing			
tcĕwŏm	aiĕ'nol	tĕli'dŏŋga	
antelope	me	am browsing	
slewi's	aiĕ'nol	tĕli'dŏŋga	
wind	me	am browsing.	

He browses along (toward me?) when the wind strikes him (?).

A flute song for the mountain sheep is:

hotŭks	nis	sĕwă'ĕt	geoge'lᴇ	wiĕ'sŏm
that	allows	me	that earth	mountain sheep
dostŏn	hoiha'nsᴇ	lalī'sdŏt		
where I	run on the ledge	on the steep hill.		

These are not magical songs for calling game but solely for amusement.

Another song referring to any bird is:

djīkgasītgo	djīkgasītgo	nenea
flutterer		flapping.

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[141] Gatschet gives the text of several songs, which, because they are neither appropriate to shamanistic or puberty rites, may belong to this category (1:189, 192).

II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION 771

Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be [756]
permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices,
the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of
supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the
shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance [881]
in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps,
some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance [721]
of 1870.

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a [727]
host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These [585]
are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, [786]
and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however definitely
localized in many instances and partly identified with the 776
figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the
spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no
ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart 775
from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic
existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living.

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are 776
times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the
loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the 787
revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running
about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners
at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for
response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and
mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the
seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings,
no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the
blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The
power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one
and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their
powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic
trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate.

756

[622] [177] The shaman himself is, or was, the outstanding figure of Klamath society. He had no rival in the chiefs, the rich man, until the coming of the whites brought a redistribution of emphasis in Klamath life. Chiefs had previously been persons of little influence.

771 *171 All this is familiar enough among Indians; the Klamath differ only in particulars. In its several aspects, their religion, as well as its practice, is one with that of the Great Basin, Plateau, and Mackenzie tribes.

THE POWER QUEST

787 The quest for supernatural aid is open to everyone, men and women, boys and girls. It is a constantly recurring feature of their lives. Everyone, perhaps without exception, seeks the powers at least once during his lifetime and further experiences seem to be repeatedly sought.

[881] The first occasion is always puberty. I doubt that boys and girls are expected to be uniformly successful in securing aid at this time, because, it was said, at shamanistic performances those who had power might sing their songs. This may imply that the others either never [765] acquired power or had lost it. My informants' frequent emphasis on the period of mourning for a husband, wife, or child marks this, too, as a peculiarly pregnant period when power may be successfully sought. At least at such a time a man loses his power and must seek [844] again if he wishes to regain it. A man also seeks power at the birth of a first child. [756] But it is not only the crises of life that provide occasion; the quest may be undertaken at any time, and it is the practice of such as gamblers and shamans to renew and enhance their [525] powers by frequent attempts. The quest is called spū'tu.

The experience does not ordinarily include a vision, but is made manifest in a song heard in a dream. In some instances where a vision is had, a dream song follows, but it is clear that the latter is the essential experience. In the following case a man and a woman had identical visions but to the man alone fell the experience leading to power.

787 159 The grandfather of a Klamath Falls shaman went to stö'kmöte, the point of Eagle Ridge, in the evening. There is a spot in the lake where bubbles rise. Horses lived in this long ago (!). When this man reached the headland he saw two pinto horses, with long manes, rearing against each other from the water. He was not frightened but took off his clothes and plunged into the water in order to secure power. When he recovered consciousness he found himself again on land. From that time he was lucky; he began to get many pintos, large horses. Because of this experience his grandson, the shaman, also acquired, in his turn, spirit songs of all kinds.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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787 would be allowed to go unattended. Women well along in years, how-
881 ever, follow the regular practice, at least as to bathing in the spirit
562 places.

787 The same method is pursued by the mourner, gambler, or shaman
who seeks power, but swimming in the deep river eddies was more
756 frequently mentioned in this connection. These seekers are almost
525 always men, but older strong-willed women will attempt it. Power
may be sought at any time during the year, but they do not dive for it until the first willow buds appear (in the seventh month, March or April). I presume that deep snows and ice in the mountains preclude earlier attempts.

787 During the day the seeker sweats and fasts, waiting in the brush
until nightfall. He then goes to the river and dives to the bottom in
search of the spirit. He must not be frightened even if he sees some-
[756] thing moving under the water. He prays before diving, "I want to be a shaman. Give me power. Catch me. I need the power." Sometimes he comes up unconscious, blood streaming from his mouth and nose. He must wait until the flow stops before going home.[144] This night he hears nothing because he has been frightened by the spirit, nor will he eat the following day for fear of falling ill. On the following night or soon after, he hears the song of the spirit as it sings beneath the water. He may dream of hunting deer, acquiring horses, of success in gambling or with women, and of marriage. One informant dreamed of being in an earth-lodge. When he wakes the
[539] seeker sings about the subject of his dream. One song dreamed by an
old woman is

e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha
(repeated four times)
noai'meso spu'ŋgötgöple' spŭ'ŋgötgöple'
I am the one pursuing you.

It seems that, like a boy at puberty, this seeker, after swimming, may go to the mountains to fast and pile rocks. He may remain there for some time, but one exceptionally rapid quest was cited. Nancy's father having lost a child, he went swimming in Crater lake; before evening he had become a shaman.

787 A power quest under unusual circumstances is that of Lɛle'ks.
This man, the most prominent and successful chief of the last century,
159 was a berdache in his youth. His people wanted him to give up
woman's garb. One day when he lay asleep they placed a woman's

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[144] Gatschet also describes this (op. cit., 1:82-84).

canoe pole and a bow and arrows beside him. Shouting suddenly, they 787
woke him and as he leaped up he seized the bow, thus determining his 159
future life. Running off to Mount Scott he spent the night there. As he was returning he smelled the sweaty odor of running horses. In later life he was lucky in everything; much wealth, especially horses, came to him.

Dreams of the same sort came to men or to old women without 787
being deliberately sought. Should a man have several such visions, he may decide to become a shaman, whereupon he undertakes the customary fire dance of the novice. But if he chooses to ignore them, the power and the opportunity slip away.

Last night I [Pat] dreamed a song: I am nearly a shaman. Yesterday I tried to catch fish but it rained too hard. I then went to town but I could not get what I wanted. So I returned home, ate, and lay down. I dreamed that my horses fell in the mire when I drove near the mountain. I wanted to save them
but I could not raise them. I heard a woman's song behind me. [539]

dje'udjīs snaīwăs
feathers all over woman

Helen sna'wăs
[his daughter's name] woman

The fish did not like me; they did not let me catch any. They made the bad dream. This is the same way as a shaman dreams.

Another dream, though not of this type, may be inserted here.

Last night I (Coley) dreamed I was chased by a big, black man; not a Negro, just hard to distinguish. He had nearly caught me when I woke and heard the chickens squawking.

There is only a slight tendency to the inheritance of the shaman's 756
art. The case cited above where a shaman received spirit songs because his grandfather had an experience is hardly to the point, since these experiences are so common that every shaman must have had a close relative who obtained power. But my informant's statement that when a powerful shaman dies his child may become a shaman is borne out by her own case. His spirits and his clairvoyant powers (dode'ūks, dreaming) are released by his death and must go to someone else. If his relatives keep his pipe or other paraphernalia about, it is certain that his spirits will come to one of them.

Nancy's father, who died before she was born, was a shaman. When she was 159
quite small and could first understand, she began to dream of Frog, a big woman
spirit. Sometimes she would jump up at night and run, afraid of the dream. The 756
spirits persisted in trying to make her accept until she was grown; finally she
heard their voices whispering close behind her. She was about twenty and had 787
several children at the time. Her relatives did not want her to become a shaman.

159 756 787 Her older sister (i.e., mother's sister's daughter) gave her medicine so that the spirits would no longer bother her. Two of Nancy's children became sick. A shaman, Alec Wilson, diagnosed their case as due to Nancy's refusal to answer the spirits, to begin the shamanistic performance. Another shaman was called in to relieve her of the spirits. He did it very quickly; he had three or four spirits to lead each of Nancy's "to their side." He used the songs of these spirits immediately, for they were now his. These two spirits were Thunder (lɛme'is) and Falcon (ɛndo'gis). Had Nancy wanted to become a shaman she would have called the people together in order to demonstrate to them in a fire dance.

778 A partial list of spirit places (spŭ'tuks) in Klamath territory is gleaned from my notes. As I made little inquiry about the southern and eastern parts of their country, it happens that most of these lie in the north. They are about equally divided between localities in the Cascade mountains and deep eddies of Williamson river. Undoubtedly some of the rocks described as transformed people, animals, etc., are thought of as places where spirits reside, but as I was not told that power was sought there I have not included them in this list.

Ge'wŭs, Crater lake. People were stolen and taken down into Crater lake by beings there. Some say they have found no water in the lake. Instead there were rocks as big as trees and deep tunnels in the bottom. There are animals, snakes, and a sort of people who live at (or in) the ocean. Men swim in the lake at night to get spirit aid.

778 787 A second site is ma'kwalks, a point of rock projecting over Crater lake from the western cliff. The seeker clambers down and piles rocks on the point.

On the northwestern side of Ghost's Nest mountain, which lies southwest from Crater lake, is a saucer-shaped bed of rocks overlooking the whole countryside. Lads built their fires near-by and lie in this in order to see a spirit. On the eastern side of the mountain are piles of four or five large rocks, erected by seekers.

Ho'tkakŏnks, Mare's Egg spring, is six miles north of Cherry creek on the western side of Agency Lake marsh. They swim here at night. Once men found no water in this pool but a big man, with hair covering his body, standing in it. When they returned he had disappeared and the pool again held water.

Pau'usnĕkŭs, Harriman (?) mountain southeast of Mount Pitt. The Klamath say this is higher than Mount Pitt; indeed, being nearer, it appears higher. Two accounts pertaining to this mountain may refer to the same incident.

Long ago a Klamath climbed it, but he never returned, for he died of the cold wind although it was summer.

A Pelican bay man, who died long ago, once went to a lake on this mountain at sundown to seek power by swimming. He saw men in it, the backs of some,

wind; it is really that she breaks wind. They shout to her to stop the wind when it blows too hard, to give them a stern wind to drive their canoes along, or to blow the mosquitoes away from Pelican bay. She also lives at Rocky point on Pelican bay and at Kowa'cdi, at the mouth of Wood river, as the following tales[186] relate. 776

There were two young girls playing with pond-lily seed at Rocky point. This old woman came and spilled the seed all about. So they fought her, but while they were doing so, they fell over dead. When the two were found, shamans were called who cured them. These two told Nancy about this; they died only recently. 776 539

There was an old woman sleeping at the same place. She felt something very heavy sitting on her chest. She put her hand there and caught the wile'ẓkaḳ. Still holding it she started to light a fire, but by the time she had the fire lighted, it had vanished from her grasp.

An old man at Kowa'cdi was going home. He saw the wile'ẓkaḳ sitting in his way, grunting. He was a shaman. He went right past it but it never harmed him. This sort of thing has happened many times.

Tcaḳia'ḳ may be seen anywhere, probably most frequently in water. There is one, for instance, in lower Williamson river, above the cut-off channel. One of the upright rocks at the cremation place at Pelican bay is a tcaḳia'ḳ. The name is also derived from an age term, tc!a'ki, a small boy, but the spirit is said to be no larger than a baby. He has long hair which hangs to his waist in back and he is entirely nude. The wooden images of Tcaḳia'ḳ set up by the shamans, however, have red-shafted flicker feathers around the neck. 776 [532] [754]

Göga'nᴇ are dwarf men seen in many places but commonly frequenting the Cascade mountains. Their footprints are no longer than a baby's. While all my informants spoke of these beings, it happens that the following experiences (except the last tale) were told Nancy by an old Paiute resident of the reservation.

This man saw a gögaa'nᴇ while hunting in a canyon near Snake Camp. The little man stood up, shaded his eyes with his hand, and looked around. There were some Paiute at Snake Camp who were going to dig Indian potatoes. They saw a baby walking around. One woman picked it up. The göga'nᴇ carried her far off to a cave in the mountains. 776 539

A Paiute woman was cutting willows. She left her little baby near-by while she worked. A göga'nᴇ came along and, devouring the baby, substituted himself in the cradle-board. When the mother came back she thought it was her own. She picked it up and began to nurse it. The baby would not stop suckling. She pinched its mouth but it would not stop, it only smiled. When she got home she heated an iron and put it against the baby's mouth, but still it just smiled. They could not get the baby away from her. Then they built a big fire. They cut her breast off, but the woman immediately died. They threw the baby into the fire,

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[186] Told by Nancy Phillips.

This is a spirit. Doubtful as spirits are certain other stones; yati's 776
which stands at I'wal, and nĕ'ḳnūḳ, a group of stones back of
Du''Ilḳūt, both towns on Klamath marsh. These are "shaman 776
stones"; evidently once living things, for it was said that they were 756
transformed when Crow laughed at them.

A Molala struck one of the nĕ'ḳnūḳ stones with a basket, saying, "How can this rock have power?" He soon sickened and died. The nĕ'ḳnūḳ is a shaman.

SHAMANISM

The shaman (ḳiu'ks) is one who has acquired more than usual 756
spirit power. This is a relative matter; some shamans have considerably more power than others, and everyone who has got power is in some degree capable of using it as a shaman does. One of my informants, for example, now avowedly a member of the pseudo-Christian Shaker sect, maintains that he too is a little qualified; he can make it rain. Shamanism is completely individualistic among the Klamath; there are no shamanistic organizations.

It is clear that the shaman is the most important individual in 756
Klamath society, taking precedence over rich men, the chiefs. Sha-
mans' houses are the largest in the village and they have at least as 622
much property as wealthy laymen. Invariably my informants spoke
first of shamans in describing outstanding individuals. Their behavior
and practices were readily formulated, whereas I experienced consider-
able difficulty in learning the functions and even the names of chiefs.
It is reasonably certain that the status of the chiefs, that is the rich [178]
men, was relatively unimportant until the introduction of horses in
the middle of the last century stimulated trading with the Columbia [177]
river tribes and perhaps brought in some of the northern view of the
importance of wealth and chieftaincy. There is no doubt that the
position of chiefs was strengthened by the habit of the whites of deal-
ing with chiefs and other prominent laymen.

Shamans are both men and women, but unlike the Shasta, the 756
majority are men. My informants mentioned many men shamans
during the course of my visits, and this probably did not exhaust 562
their memories; but on request they could muster only four women [171]*
shamans and one berdache. Women never acquire the prestige of men
for they are rarely credited with such unusual powers as men. They
cannot wander in the mountains nor dive for power so well as men;

756 562 they are more easily frightened. Nevertheless two of my informants said that women could cure more readily than men. All four women held the regular shamanistic winter performance, and cured as well, but only one of them had power to find out if another shaman had poisoned her patients, although all male shamans can do this.[100] The berdache White Sindey claimed to be a powerful shaman but no one believed her.

756 There are no specialized types of shaman. The weather shaman, the rattlesnake and bear shamans of Californian tribes are not known here. There is however a suggestion; wounds made by grizzly bears can be cured by songs of a huge spirit grizzly according to one informant, although this was scouted by another. Weather is controlled by the songs of a special group of spirits, but, as elsewhere, this power is exercised by shamans in addition to their usual curative capacity. There is no special power for curing snake bites. It may happen that some shamans have only the power to control the weather or to cure bear wounds, but I heard of none. It is clear, however, that the Klamath would not single them out.

756 776 A shaman has powers from many spirits and is always accumulating more. I could not get my informants to specify which powers belonged to particular shamans. Beyond specifying what songs a shaman used in a particular instance, they implied that an experienced shaman knew an inexhaustible number or would doubtless claim to have them at his command. Hence several shamans have songs from a spirit at the same time. The songs are probably not identical. At the same time it is not likely that two shamans will be performing at once, so that the problem of conflicting claims to possession probably never arises. I am also uncertain whether spirits are thought of as individuals or genera; even in the case of anthropomorphic beings, I believe they imply a plurality. Hence they would doubtless resolve the difficulty by maintaining that they had the same songs from different spirit coyotes, dwarfs, winds, or whatever.

New spirits are always being sought or come unsolicited in dreams. A spirit, like that which gives the power to swallow fire, "comes stronger and stronger" until the shaman feels compelled to perform this trick. If he fails to obey the insistent spirit he will die.

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[100] This is the case described by Gatschet (1:64-66) and also cited by my informant.

A shaman, ḳiu'kamag (Shaman Man), was working in a hayfield for some whites. He lay down saying he had a headache. His spirit, the buzzard, was making him sick because he did not heed it. He told his companions to fetch him a snake. He took the little watersnake by the tail and swallowed it. He said he was cured; the snake was no longer in him but had left his body immediately. 756 776

The shaman is possessed during his performances. He is the vehicle of the spirit; the spirit sings with his voice, sucks with his lips, and sees with his eyes. It is not in him at other times, but in its home in the mountains or under the water and must be called on to enter his body. The shaman's behavior was instanced as follows. 756

A shaman, Alec Wilson, was singing of his coyote spirit during a winter performance attended by my informant Nancy, then a little girl. He chuckled for quite a time, saying, "There are lots of swamp mice here." Then he crawled across the lodge through the audience and stealing up behind Nancy bit her hard. He bit her because she was moving around.

A trance state is not part of the shaman's behavior, nor was a frenzy described. The stereotyped physiological disturbance, real or feigned, is blood gushing from the mouth while he falls unconscious. The absence of the trance state suggests that the shaman is not of necessity psychologically abnormal.

The shaman's house is always an earth-lodge and practically all performances take place within it. Not only larger than the ordinary dwellings, it differs from them in being decorated. It is the usual semi-subterranean structure with a conical earth-covered roof resting on four central posts. The entrance is by a hatchway in the roof with the ladder at the east end. The fire is kindled directly under this opening. The posts are painted with horizontal stripes, alternately red and white. They are not carved. According to one informant, men's faces, snakes, lizards, animals of all sorts, but not spirits, are painted on the posts; but I doubt this. The grass-stuffed skins of various animals and birds, probably all of them representing the shaman's spirits, are hung under the slanting roof beams; mink, skunk, crane, tcauwllŏ'ks (a duck-like bird), butterball duck, white whitepoke, rattlesnake, a big speckled snake, and the dried skin of the lizard were mentioned. The birds have outstretched wings. Standing on the roof of the lodge, on the northern side of the hatchway, is a wooden image of tcaḳia'ḳ, the little boy spirit, made by the shaman. Head, trunk, and arms are rudely carved and painted. Red-shafted flicker (yellowhammer) feathers are fastened around its neck (only shamans wear the feathers of this bird). 756 342 [352] [532]

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532 The Field Museum collection contains a carved wooden image (no. 61763) of a woman bearing a child on her back. This may be one of the figures set on a shaman's house, although I was not told of such. It is about forty inches high. The carving is rudimentary; there is nothing to indicate how the child is carried. The ear lobes of the woman's figure have been pierced and a bit of cloth inserted.

756 The stuffed skin of a blue crane is also propped up outside. I presume these are placed there only when the boy and crane are the shaman's spirits.[159] Gatschet's informant mentioned a red fox skin hanging on an oblique rod set up outside the lodge.[160] A tall slim pole, called waʺlasdŭ'pka (waʺlas, standing up), with horizontal bands of red, is erected in front of the house, that is to the east, about fifteen feet distant. A long cord pendant from the top bears at intervals mixed bunches of feathers from eagles and other spirit birds. A miniature gambling tray tied to it belongs to a woman spirit, and near the top is a piece of wood representing the spirit wŏkda'lIs, which so far as I could learn *is* wood. Similar feather-bearing cords hang from the house posts inside the lodge, but here the gambling tray is one of standard size. All such articles, his special decorations, regalia, pipe, and baskets, are known as the shaman's mŭ'lwas, paraphernalia.

A shaman's outfit "used in certain curing rites" in the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 61564) consists of a cord at intervals on which are tied alternately short sticks and wooden tablets. The short sticks are reeds, nine in number, four to seven inches long. These have marks burned (?) transversely or spirally on them. The tablets are rectangular, with rounded corners and with a short handle at one end by which they are tied to the cord. These measure about five and a half inches long by two inches wide, and are painted red except for the section nearest the cord, which is black. The two-strand cord is also red.

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292 The shaman's dress includes a band of woodpecker scalps worn on the forehead or around the neck, or a bunch of red-shafted flicker (yellowhammer) feathers attached to the top of the hat or worn as a necklace. Shamans alone wear these. These are the familiar ornaments of northern Californian dancers. The forehead band reaches just behind the temples; the woodpecker scalps are fastened on a buckskin foundation. The quills of the flicker feathers are doubled [302] over the cord on which they are strung. The shaman's body is painted red during the winter performances, but not at all when he is curing. That he is barefoot emphasizes the recency of moccasins. The shaman puts on special dress to cure only if the case is urgent. He then dons a mink or weasel skin hat with feathers of all sorts attached, a special

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[159] The Modoc also place them on the lodge, I was told.

[160] Gatschet, 1:71–72.

(?) buckskin shirt, and wrist and neckbands of weasel. Some shamans wear a necklace of grizzly bear claws. (Other men never wear bear claws.) His face is painted black. Then he is powerful to cure, sawi'gan gi'na. Gatschet describes a band of otter skin worn round the neck and bearing various shells, feathers, bird scalps, etc.; hence it "must unite the magic powers of them all."[161] 756 292 [302]

Some articles of shaman's regalia are in the collections of the Field Museum. A bear-skin cap (no. 61563?) consists of the head skin, decorated on two or three sides with circular disks of buckskin ornamented with quillwork. These are one and three-quarters inches in diameter, and bear three concentric equidistant rings of quillwork, the most central containing a cross of the same.

A shaman's wand "used in curing ceremonies" (no. 61676) is a three-foot shaft bearing bunches of feathers bound on at two points, with a bundle of dew claws tied to the butt. The feathers are gray; they are bound at points about one-third of the distance from each end of the shaft. The bindings and the shaft have been painted red. The dew claws are pendant on individual thongs, each of which is wrapped with quills at two points.

The prescriptions affecting the dress of the laity at the shamanistic performances are illuminating. Everyday dress, at least for wealthier individuals, is of the Plains type; moccasins, skin shirt, long leggings, and breech clout for the men and long skin dress for women. Poorer people wear skirts of tule or buckskin and are barefoot. But the latter garb is obligatory at these dances. This is clearly another instance of conservatism in the field of religion, for the marginal position of the Klamath to the area in which Plains garments are worn, and the known recency of manifold contacts with the Plains-like tribes of the Columbia suggest that Plains dress is a recent acquisition. The hair hangs loosely down the back but is tied about close to the head. As usual basket hats are worn. Dancers, however, wear hats made of animals which are spirits. 291 292 [177]

Taboos and other restrictions on shamans are only feebly developed. 756 784 A shaman must avoid a menstruant woman; in fact, women who live in a shaman's house must leave their homes at these periods, whereas otherwise this is not usual. Etiquette requires that anyone crossing the lodge must pass in back of a seated shaman; at least when he shows signs of communing with his spirits or is eating. This holds whether a performance is going on or not. Otherwise blood gushes from his mouth and he falls unconscious. One informant had seen this happen to the berdache shaman White Sindey while she was eating. The result is the same if anything falls in front of a shaman. There are

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[161] *Op. cit.*, 1:172.

756 784 no food taboos; shamans and others can eat their spirit animals. The only taboo of conduct peculiar to any spirit known is the prohibition against wearing footgear by one who has a dog spirit. For example, a Molala-Klamath halfbreed, the wife of the chief Ll'lu, who dreamed of this spirit, never wore any protection for her feet even in the winter snows.

756 The shaman is cremated and his house burned like other Klamath. Usually his regalia, feathers and skins, are destroyed with the house. This must wait for calm weather; then only an old woman dare burn them. Immediately a storm rises, with strong winds and thunder, but lasts only a night. When the shaman dies and again when his body is burned, storms rage for several days.

THE SHAMANISTIC PERFORMANCE

755 221 756 While curing of necessity takes place at any time, shamanistic performances are given at only one time during the year. This is a nameless period, the fourth month (December–January), in midwinter,[162] the coldest period when the lake is frozen and the timber cracks with the cold. By this time all the earth-lodges are reconstructed and the Klamath are settled in their winter quarters. This is a period of enforced inactivity, what with the intense cold, the deep snows, and their inability to hunt and fish. Furthermore, the seances cannot be held any later in the winter for then they begin to run short of provisions, I was told, which is undoubtedly true and yet may be a rationalization. This brings to mind the winter sacred period of the Northwest Coast tribes, with its quiet dictated by a fear of profanation. It is not sacred to the ordinary Klamath; spirits are sought at any time. It is significant only to shamans and others who have spirits.

Shamans make a point of giving their performances every winter. A number of them may join for the purpose. The novice waits for winter to prove the coming of his power and only after this does he attempt to cure. The advent of power is called dodi'kalgöt. Nonshamans who have a little power, perhaps a single spirit, may sing their own songs at a shaman's performance if the spirit impels them.

756 The shaman informally[163] invites the participants to his home for

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[805] [162] There is a discrepancy here in that the Klamath reckon a year of ten months, and these lunar periods begin with the lunation of August. My informants made it quite clear, however, that, although they specified the fourth month, they meant the period about Christmas.

[163] Knotted invitation strings, for instance, are unknown.

the winter dance. They bring food for a feast, especially pond-lily seed contained in large boiling baskets. This is left outside the lodge until the close of each night's dance and may not be touched for fear of sickness. Children are excluded except from some of the sleight-of-hand performances. The invitation includes men and women, not necessarily relatives, who know the songs and are willing to help. A man is chosen to shout during the performance, calling the spirits from their distant homes to help the shaman. Another is more carefully chosen to act as the shaman's interpreter.

This speaker or interpreter (lodŏ'tka) functions both at this performance and at curing practice. The shaman always asks the same man to act for him; obviously an important element in his success. Nancy's husband, for example, was always speaker for White Sindey, the berdache shaman. Older men are preferred and never women. The shaman holds his clenched fist over his mouth while talking with the spirit's voice, and while he talks no esoteric language but good Klamath, he shouts and whispers so rapidly and incoherently that his words must be repeated by the speaker. This assistant also prepares and lights the shaman's pipe. Evening and morning during the performance he stands atop the lodge and calls to the shaman's spirits in the mountains. He is paid in blankets and beads. Clownishness is not part of his rôle.

The audience sits close to the walls, each family by itself. The shaman reclines on his sleeping mats which are usually on the northern side of the lodge, but sometimes on the opposite side. This is his place on everyday occasions. His family is grouped back of him and his speaker is at his side. He dances on the northern side in front [535]
of his bed or rather in the central space between the four posts.[164] This is swept smooth and no one is allowed to cross it to reach the ladder, for instance, even when there is a lull in the singing. The singers are seated on the southern side.

The performance, called wa'hla, takes five days and nights, of which the first day and night are the most significant. They begin in the early morning with the fire dance. Five piles of dry non-resinous wood have been placed at intervals outside the central space. The pile to the south of the foot of the ladder is first used. The shaman dances [535]
on the south (?) side of the huge fire as close as he dares; the men who help him, dance on the opposite side.[165] Their step may be a [171]*

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[164] There is no dance platform, such as the stretched elk hide of the Wishram, which my informant had seen.

[165] Their positions are probably the reverse.

756 jump (sideways ?) with the feet together, but I am not sure. Women [535] may dance if men are few, but all the audience joins in the singing. As the fire dies down it is replenished with each of the four remaining [533] piles in sinistral order, the last being that north of the foot of the ladder. This occupies the whole day and is not repeated during the five-day period. Its purpose is to call the spirits to act through the shaman, to give him the strength to perform the feats of legerdemain that follow.[188]

The nights are given over to these shamanistic tricks. Two tricks, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are part of every shaman's stock in trade. They are performed by the novice during the first night, though they may never be repeated in any subsequent winter ceremony. Until the novice has made the ceremony to show that he can carry off these two feats, he is no shaman and cannot cure.

The fire-swallowing trick (ko'pgŭs p'an, torches eating) is performed with the aid of an old lake trout spirit (tewlm or me"yăs), or rather they say the spirit eats the fire. Five men stand in a row each holding a bundle of resinous wood slivers, ten inches long and [535] two inches thick, called ko'pgŭs. The shaman dances in front of them, others dance vigorously with him while they sing,

[539]
ko'pgŭs babi's ġistsa'mpka
I eat fire while I walk.
gĕno gita ġistsa'mpka
This is where I have been walking.

The trout is represented as singing. The torches are lighted, the shaman snatches them in quick succession, puts out the fire with a gulp, and flings them aside.

The companion trick is swallowing arrowheads; this follows fire-swallowing after an interval. The fire has been allowed to die and is only rekindled as a little light is needed. Perhaps twenty obsidian arrowheads are tied at intervals on a cord, which one man feeds to the shaman as he dances. He swallows these with the aid of certain bird spirits, or rather the spirits eat the blades: gau'wi, a blue and brown bird, wĕ'tgŏtgis, a spotted hawk, and ḳ!öt'ia'was, a small sea gull (noisy, white, with forked tail and black spots on head). A tule mat is [533] arranged like a cape over the shaman who now seats himself. They sing the songs of the bear spirit, now represented in the shaman, to bring back the arrows. Soon they hear him cry out, "ha," as each blade flies back and sticks into the mat. This performance is called stŏpswa'lc.

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[188] Briefly described by Gatschet (1:70).

A variant of this was ascribed by Coley Ball to a shaman of years' standing. He performed it on each of the five nights, which a novice would never do.

I saw a shaman dancing in an earth-lodge. Then two men swung him around head down through the hatchway, each holding by a leg. Two men below held the ends of a string to which five obsidian blades were attached at intervals of a foot. He swallowed the blades and cord, and became unconscious. They rolled him in a mat, bound it, and slung the bundle under the slanting beams at the north side of the lodge so that his head was to the east. Then the women sang. Suddenly he cried, "ha," five times and with each cry a blade appeared stuck in the mat. But the cord was not seen again. They took him down and laid him on his bed. Then he began to sing.

The morning following this dance everyone except the shaman goes to bathe in spite of the ice that may be in the water. When they return to the shaman's house the food is brought inside and eaten. The shaman, however, must fast through the whole five-day period. The food, or at least the pond-lily seed, which has stood outside the lodge for twenty-four hours, is thought to be eaten first by the frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one else may. A young woman once went out to steal some; when she touched it, the pond-lily seeds turned to blood. This frog spirit is a big woman who is the principal spirit [776] of every shaman.

When a novice performs, the following four nights are given over to singing and dancing like that of the first day. Experienced shamans, however, show their power by filling all five nights with such performances. Each morning there is bathing and feasting, and on the fifth morning they return home. One informant said that beside the speaker the dancers were paid for their assistance, but this was explicitly denied by others.

Pat Kane stated that the shaman's winter performance, which he called ba'pie'nᴇ, lasts only two nights and is solely occupied with singing. I probably misunderstood him.

Other shamanistic tricks are of the same order; various objects are swallowed, others are made to appear and vanish, or the stuffed animal skins in the lodge are brought to life. The tricks of plunging the bare arm into hot water and of walking on fire are unknown. During these performances no one walks about or talks except as he is directed by the shaman. These are all carried out in semi-darkness.

For the wood-swallowing trick, five, ten, or twenty small flat wooden splints, called wŏkda'lls (see above), shaped like arrowheads, are hung from as many strings. A circle of old men dance about the shaman each dangling one of these. The shaman goes to each in turn, swallowing the splint held above his mouth. Another night he brings the splints back as in the arrowhead trick, using a different song. He calls to them to build up the fire; they see the splints stuck into the mat with which he is wrapped.

Long sticks are swallowed with the aid of a sea gull (ķ!öt'ia'was) spirit. This is one of the regular winter performance tricks, but the details I have are those of a Fourth of July celebration. Poķĕtdjŏ'tk, a shaman, was hired by some whites to do this. He had a flat stick, six or seven inches long, which was lowered into his gullet by another man. One old white man seized him by the throat, thinking he would choke. Poķĕtdjŏ'tk asked the crowd, "Do you want it to come back?" and at their response it jumped out of his mouth.[187]

Shamans also have a trick of drinking huge quantities of water, four or five gallons, without stopping.

Corresponding to the series of swallowing tricks are several in which various things, fish, seeds, frogs, and blood are made to appear in a basket. For the fish trick the shaman has a man fill a small basket with water. They sing three songs of a big snake, those for male, female, and the young of the snake. The first song is that of the young snake. He then tells someone to look into the water. This man holds a light over it but there is nothing there. He sings another song, that of the male or female indifferently. When the same man looks again the water contains tiny fish (a'mpwăn yĕ'l'ăs). After the third song, they see five minnows or several varieties of fish. He then tells this man to throw the fish into the river. Throughout the affair the shaman remains on his bed; no one goes near the basket except the man who inspects it each time. It may be that this trick is an incidental magical means of increasing the fish supply. A shaman is called on to bring the fish if they are late in running in the early spring, but the informant who told me this had never heard of the trick just described.

The pond-lily seed trick is similar. The songs are those of the big frog spirit (djɛdje'listei). The shaman has an old woman half-fill a basket with water and cover it with a smaller one. He lies well back toward the wall during the performance, rising only to smoke. His speaker lights the pipe but is warned not to inhale the smoke. The shaman first sings the frog's child's (daughter's ?) song. One man after another talks to the various spirits that fill the house. The shaman tells the old woman to hold a light over the basket; nothing is seen. Two (?) songs of the frog are next sung and when she looks again the basket is filled with pond-lily seeds. All the old men look at it. When he sings the frog's final song, she finds the seeds gone and a tiny frog in their place. No one touches the basket. This conjunction of seeds and frog is rather interesting because it suggests that there is an association of the two. It will be recalled that pond-lily seeds brought to the feast cannot be touched until the spirit frog has partaken. It may also be significant that the attendant here is an old woman, for the frog spirit is conceived as an old woman and a woman with spirit power is necessarily old. 756

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[187] See also the snake-swallowing episode above.

The spirit for the blood trick is nameless. It resembles a wild man, but was not described further. The shaman tells them to fetch a basket, part of the paraphernalia of another shaman. He sings this spirit's song. One man told to investigate finds the basket full of blood. When he sings again, the blood disappears. All the while the shaman lies covered up far from the basket. Only the most powerful shamans can perform this trick. [776]

A trick of quite another sort is that of making the stuffed skins of animals which adorn the shaman's lodge move about as in life. A powerful Modoc shaman, Djŏ'ḳlonos (black sage-brush head), had little cottontail rabbits hanging in his earth-lodge. Sometimes they would run around as though alive; they were spirits. He had a stuffed butterball duck skin hanging on the south side. Sometimes this spirit made blood flow from the duck's bill and at other times it flew about in the lodge. His song was [539]

gle'gŏtk sne'en
dead one flying about
nanĕ'mbŏmba'ktisnise'ĕn
butterball duck flying around.
Even though I am dead, I am butterball duck flying around.

Pat Kane described a performance which he saw when a little boy at Pelican bay. The shaman held a fire dance during the day. Then he told the people to place various stuffed skins on the floor of the lodge: mink, weasel, a shitepoke (tuwa'), and owl. He sang songs for each of the animals. He first sang one of the shitepoke's songs and told them to watch whether it moved. It did not. He sang its second song and the bird walked around pecking at the ground. It had been a dried skin for ten years or more. He sang the mink's song three times. The mink moved about holding a little minnow in its teeth.

756 He sang a song of the weasel spirit. The animal rose and danced, holding up his fore paws. That evening Pat's parents took him into the lodge again. The shaman sang the weasel song again. It danced as before; then it disappeared. No one moved. It was dark in the lodge; the shaman had two men standing on opposite sides with torches. He sang a weasel song, telling them to watch for the weasel's return. Suddenly its tail appeared from the ground, shaking. He sang a second weasel song for some time and its hind quarters appeared. A third song brought the trunk, and with the fourth the weasel lay there motionless. Everyone saw it. The shaman asked, "Did you find that the weasel came back?" "Yes." "Did everyone see it?" "Yes." After this they had spirit singing again, so Pat was sent out by his mother. There were bad spirits coming, which might catch and kill him for no one could cure him.[168]

WEATHER CONTROL AND CLAIRVOYANCE

The shaman's art is not confined to these winter performances, but is invoked during the year, not only for curing, but whenever his ability to manipulate conditions and to prophesy is needed. The weather is controlled, fish are made to run, lost articles and thefts discovered, the fate of a war party is foreseen, and the community protected against malignant spirits. It is easy to see why the shaman transcends the chief in the popular mind, for there is not only the recurring winter ceremony in which the shaman alone has a stellar part, but in every emergency they turn to him, not to the chief. Even in war, the one occasion for a layman to star, the shaman steps in to dim his prominence.

756 There are no special weather shamans and the practice is by both
789 sexes. There is the limitation, however, that weather control is exercised only through certain spirits, which the novice does not have.

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[532] [168] There are three stone figurines in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California (catalogue nos. 1-14181, 1-14182, 1-14212) which were said to have been collected on the Klamath reservation and to have been used ceremonially. Two roughly resemble animals, one with a pack, and the third a human bust. Repeated inquiries brought only denials from my informants of any knowledge of their use. Nor have any figurines been found in their country. They may nevertheless have been the private medicine of some shaman. Somewhat similar stone figures from the Wasco are in the collection of the Field Museum of Natural History.

[292] In the Field Museum collection is also a pair of eye rings (no. 61533), resembling our spectacle frames, which were "worn by men with blackened faces to frighten children at certain ceremonies." I learned nothing of such articles. The rings and the cords to fasten them about the head are made of strands wrapped with bark.

The songs of these spirits bring southerly winds and storm or the cold north wind to clear the sky. There is the suggestion here that weather control is a winter practice; hence it falls in the period most suitable for shamanistic performances. Rain is brought with the songs of the flicker, a black bird (năo'lins), the horned owl, red shitepoke, and a big water snail (ḳ!awi'ѕ). Wile'aḳaḳ, Dwarf Old Woman, lying on Mount Pitt, controls the west wind; she can cause the heaviest downpour when the snow lies toọ deep. The prairie chicken makes the loudest thunder. Rattlesnake makes rain and thunder; the thunder is his rattling. To make it snow they use the songs of various white things, such as the pelican, which causes the greatest fall, and the white grizzly and brown bears. Clear weather is brought by a strong north wind; the songs for this are those of a hawk (tcl'ktu), magpie, crow, and Gŏga'nᴇ, a dwarf, who is most potent. Crow is thought to have cross-eyes; when he rolls them, it stops snowing. The songs of the winds are also used; there are seven of these, one for each of the compass points except northeast. Winds raised by shamans cause sickness and death. There are other spirits which control the weather but these are the principal ones.

The shaman lies alone singing in his earth-lodge or sweat-lodge. If he does not succeed in a single night or if he is only partly successful, he calls the people to help him with the regular performance (wa'hla), dancing and singing to invoke the aid of more spirits. Nancy's father could make the weather change. He had two spirits, crow to stop the falling snow and the water snail to bring rain when it grew too cold. While other shamans could make the wind blow, the snow drift, and cause it to thunder, Nancy does not know that her father could. His crow song was [539]

ḳaḳ kŏ'mᴇ ge'o
crow mine
bĕlis galo' holi'ta
cross-eyed sky cleared.

His second song made it rain immediately,

ḳ!awiḳ!a ya'nu'
water snail am I.

He sang these in his earth-lodge.

An exhibition of weather control of quite different character is described in the following incident. The shaman ḳiu'kamag (Shaman Man) went to Ashland in the autumn to trade but he could not return because of deep snow on the Cascade range. He was challenged to make it rain. He melted a strip of lead in a frying pan and had some one pour it down his gullet. They could hear it hiss. In the middle of the night it rained so hard that the snow melted away.

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226 The shaman is called on to exercise this art when the weather is unpropitious and the food supply in danger. If the ice stays late in the spring so that they cannot fish, they go to the shaman to get him to make it rain. If it rains but no fish come, they ask him again to bring the fish. The first catch is always divided so that everyone has something to relieve his hunger.

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226 Should the fish disappear from the mouth of Williamson river, for example, an old man will ask a shaman to discover the cause. He invites them to assist in the singing-dancing performance in his lodge to call the spirits, which in this case is expedited to two nights instead of the usual five. It appears that a shaman above them on the river, growing jealous of their success in fishing, has sent a spirit mink under the water to drive the fish away or take them to some other people. The spirit that makes the fish run is a big sluggish snake. The shaman causes two female snakes to lie in the mouth of the river. Then he tells the fishermen to try their luck and to bring him a fish, male (ḳō'ktsials) or female ('lŭ'ksāls), from each net. This performance is called kie'rmalo'ᴇ, to make fish.

756 Rivalry among the shamans is glaringly apparent. It not only appears in the shamanistic tricks where the results are tangible and visible but extends for obvious reasons to superior claims of weather control and to the detection and conquest of other shamans' sickness-bringing spirits, with the dispatch of malignant spirits in turn. Contests in manipulating the weather are not a special form of shamanistic activity among the Klamath, and I doubt that they are among other American tribes where the practice has been described.

> A Modoc put a spirit on Mount Shasta to make it snow. The spirit caused sickness as well. A Klamath shaman performed the usual dance-song ceremony and discovered that the Modoc shaman was at the bottom of the mischief. He sent one of his own spirits to catch the spirit on the mountain and enslave it. When it was caught the Modoc died.
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> A very powerful Modoc shaman, Black Sage-brush Head, had a stone pipe. Whenever he wanted to smoke, the pipe lit itself, or rather a spirit did it. He visited Ctai'is, a Klamath shaman living at the mouth of Williamson river, and exchanged pipes with him. After his return home, Ctai'is found the pipe missing. Later they had word from the Modoc that the pipe had returned to him.[169]

There is no question that the rivalry cuts deeper at times. A shaman accused of causing sickness stands in danger of his life, and the matter may turn on the relative personalities of the rivals. It is patent then why foreign shamans are accused, Modoc and Paiute for

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[169] This appealed to the humor of my informants enormously.

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example, rather than local men whose secure position in the community may prove a boomerang to the accuser. No man would be called a witch (ḳoi'tᴀᴇ) save one who is thought to possess scant ability to cure. Yet at least one instance was cited of the killing of a shaman of standing: he had repeatedly performed the fire-swallowing trick. Only one among the women shamans was credited with power to discover bewitching.[170] That they believe that only a shaman of great power can discover this or can send a spirit on a similar errand is a sure indication of the seriousness of the accuser's position.

There is a well defined procedure for discovering whether a spirit has been sent into the mountains roundabout by a malevolent shaman. Following the customary five nights' performance, the shaman leaves his lodge in the forenoon. He takes a position in front of a group of women who are to sing his song. He rushes about in an effort to catch the spirit, followed at a distance by five or ten men whom he has chosen. He runs all day; it is very difficult to catch. When he has it, he falls, blood streaming from his mouth. The runners seize him, a man holding each arm while he holds the spirit between his cupped palms. He plunges it into a basket of water, holding it submerged for a long time. Then he exhibits it, a tiny lizard, for example. During all this time blood gushes from his mouth; he can neither sing nor speak. Soon after this some powerful foreign shaman will die, for they have caught his spirit.

Similarly a powerful Klamath shaman may send his spirit among the Modoc, the Pit river tribes, or into another local Klamath group. Warm Springs, my informant thought, is too far away. This is done during the winter performance. No minor shaman can do this, only those who have powerful spirits, animals that kill: for example, snakes, wolf, coyote, weasel, lizard, golden eagle, big black frogs (ko'wᴇ), smaller frogs (wă'ḳătăs), and tiny ones with striped faces (le"eambŏ'tkIs). The spirits of the sun, moon, stars, and the winds are of no use in this connection, although I was told that a magically produced wind causes sickness. Spirit poisoning (bewitching) is called tawi'.[171] Disease is népaks, according to Gatschet.

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[170] The case is described by Gatschet (1:64-68).

[171] There appears to be no word for poison, a noxious agent. Stĕ'tmus is the term applied to "poisoned" arrowheads, but these are obsidians from a certain magical source, and carry no venom. Spawu'ta is bait, such as fish bait and the bait used in traps, hence by extension it has come to include arsenic, for example, now used in poisoning bait. (Gatschet gives Modoc shpaúttĭsh, 1:18.) One cannot say he has been poisoned by the wild parsnip (ska'wŏ̜ks), only that he has eaten it: ska'wŏ̜ks ot pŏ'pgs.

756 787 Clairvoyance, at least the ability to see distant objects and events, lies within the power of any shaman. This is called dode'üks, to dream. My informant Nancy, who in her youth was on the way to becoming a shaman, had at least this power before she was deprived of her spirits (see above). The spirits talk to the clairvoyant; among her spirits was a bear.

Lost articles are found through the dog spirit. The people are lined up in two opposing rows—an excellent psychological expedient for discovering guilt—while the shaman passes along searching for the suspect. He sees the stolen object shine in the thief's upraised palm. This takes place in the open. My informant had seen this practiced once when some beads were stolen in a gambling group.

The shaman's prevision of what will happen in battle is decidedly more important. This ability is acquired through the eagle and weasel spirits, and perhaps others. During the war dance preparatory to setting out or at camp on the march, the shaman dances in front of the line of warriors, looking "through" them. He predicts who will be killed or wounded, and how the enemy will suffer. He sees them bleeding. One informant stated that those for whom disaster was predicted would not go to war, but others said this is not so and they are probably right. For example, while a mixed group of Klamath and Modoc were encamped on the way to Pit river, a Modoc shaman predicted, "If you are to be shot, then your bowstrings will snap," and the strings of two did snap.[173] Shamans accompany war parties, not only to fight, but to watch over them and cure the wounded.

CURING

755 Curing practice lacks the *mise en scène* of the winter performance held in the figure-decked shaman's lodge, for it always takes place in the patient's home. Nevertheless, it must be quite an impressive affair with its accumulating intensity as spirit after spirit is called to the assemblage, as one after the other they are charged with [753] responsibility for the illness. Sickness in the Klamath view is due to spirit activity, the presence in the patient of an intrusive object rather than possession, and a cure (hēswō'mbli or teo'ta) is effected by removing and destroying it. There is no suggestion here of soul loss as a cause of illness.

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[173] Gatschet, 1:21.

755 Shamans never practice in concert. If one fails another is called. If the first discovers that another shaman is responsible for the illness, the relatives will insist on the accused making a cure, if they do not kill him forthwith, which is much more likely.[181] I was not told that a consistently unsuccessful shaman is killed, but it is very probable that he would be accused of witchcraft unless he retired from the field confessing his lack of power.

A shaman of du'kwa named Lë'ˑlˑwis was thought by the people of iu'ˑlalonk to have bewitched one of their people who died. Later when another was sick they sent for him pretending their need. They slew him with an axe.[182]

[276] Coville observes that "the dried root stocks [of the blue flag or iris (ghä'-gum läk'-ō, *Iris missouriensis* Nutt.)] are sometimes used by medicine men as a smoking material, mixed with white camas [wild parsnip?], *Zygadenus venenosus*, and a little tobacco, to give a person a severe nausea, in order to secure a heavy fee for making him well again."[183]

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756 It is distinctly unusual to find that among the Klamath the shaman also figures in curing practice of a non-shamanistic, matter-of-fact variety. Blood is sucked from wounds and ostensibly from fractures; this is one reason for his accompanying a war party. The songs for this are those of buzzard and coyote, who eat carrion, of the wolf, mosquito, fly, horsefly, or any animal or insect that feeds on human blood and flesh. The patient is then usually turned over to a layman for further care. A fracture is treated by applying a cautery all around the spot, smearing the limb with pine pitch and wrapping it with wide strips of buckskin. Wooden splints are not used, nor sweating as a cure. Wounds are dressed with poultices of plants known to some of the older people. One informant said that only wounds in the limbs were dressed, but this is improbable.

Endjla'yukts (the father of my informant Nancy) received an arrow wound in an arm during a feud. Although he was himself a shaman, he did not attempt to treat himself, but called on Ēḳts'as, the shaman who was serving as the spiritual guardian of this war party. The latter pulled out the arrow, applied a poultice made of the leaves of an unidentified plant, and bound the arm. The wounded man eventually died of this wound.

Wounds made by a grizzly bear are treated by a shaman who has the songs of a huge spirit grizzly. The shaman prances about in imitation of the bear, palms raised in front of his shoulders to represent

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[181] Gatschet cites a case (1:68–69).
[182] The revenge taken by his son Kō'ḳdlaks is described above.
[183] Coville, Notes, 93.

the fore paws. He wears neither a bear skin nor claws. This is the 752
information of Pat Kane, but Nancy Phillips when asked about this 756
scouted the idea. The only one wounded by a bear so far as she knew was a shaman, Pok̓etdjŏ'tk, who cured himself of a black bear bite. It is of course possible that he had the song of the black bear unknown to her.

There are no special rattlesnake shamans, but a shamanistic cure for the bite was described. While Jim Jackson was in the Modoc country a rattler struck him in the finger leaving a fang in it. He neither killed the snake nor cut open the wound as is customary. The fang traveled up into his arm, which swelled and began to be spotted like the snake. Pok̓etdjŏ'tk sang one or two songs and sucked out the tooth in a short time. He showed it to everyone after spitting it into his palm. It was minute and fine as a hair; one could not see it well. Next morning Jim, having recovered, paid a horse. This took place by day. This shaman also sucked a fang from the foot of another injured man. So far as Nancy knew, he was the only one who ever cured these bites and what spirit he used she did not know. The rattlesnake is the spirit of many shamans but they do not know how to cure snake bites.

There is a quasi matter-of-fact procedure for the bites, however. 752
The flesh is cut away around the wound or gashed to the bone. It is then wrapped with a fresh snake skin. Lo'lŏklIs (Pat Kane's father) saved his sister in this fashion, a rattler having struck her instep. She recovered immediately. No tourniquet is used. Men tie the rattles of snakes they kill to their hair, women do not.

There is a flat-topped mountain called seolŏpg̓Is, probably that 755
southwest of Wocus bay on the western side of Klamath lake, on which is a pond where persons ailing from skin trouble and other illnesses are brought. They are laid in the pond so that the water bugs may eat the disease.

A shaman's treatment for sore eyes described to Gatschet is putting a mixture of charcoal into the eyes, together with a louse "to make it eat up the protruding portion of the sore eye."[184]

It is desirable to record other medical practices here although no shaman is involved. The cautery is in frequent use; all my informants have deep burns on the temples or arms. Two or more sagebrush pellets (sĭklŏ'kiŭs) are lighted and placed on the spot that pains. For rheumatism, for example, they are placed beside the

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[184] *Op. cit.*, 1:71–72.

Coville noted the use of lodge-pole pine pitch as a remedy for sore eyes, a very small fragment being placed inside the lid, and the leaves of a shrub (ba-bäk'-bak-lha'-näm, *Eriogonum stellatum* Benth.) placed on burns to protect the surface from the air. He also observed that the roots of buck-brush (chäk'-lō, *Kunzia tridentata*), steeped in water, is frequently drunk as a remedy for coughs and other lung and bronchial troubles. The dry ripe bitter fruits of the same, mashed in cold water, are sometimes drunk as an emetic. Cascara (sär'-um-bäk-ish, *Rhamnus purshiana* DC.) is made into a tea for an emetic; foliage, twigs, bark, and berries are all used. Wild parsnip roots (pöd'-chō, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.) are used medicinally. "In medicine a decoction of the herbage [of sage-brush (ghät or bōl'-whē, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt.)] is used internally to check diarrhea, externally as an eyewash, while the mashed herbage is used as a substitute for liniment." The roots of stä'-mäk (*Wyethia mollis* Gray) are mashed and used as a poultice for swellings. The mashed herbage of wäl'-wäl (*Chondrophora nauseosa* (Pursh) Britton), aromatic and resinous, is used to raise blisters. A poultice of the mashed leaves of wä'-mi (*Chrysothamnus bloomeri* (Gray) Greene and related shrubs), similar in principle to the preceding, is used for the same purpose.[188] 278

THE SONGS

With the aid of the large body of texts recorded by Gatschet it is possible to point out some general features of the shamanistic songs. 533 756 [114]

The form of the song is as fixed as its subject. In the first place, the burden of a song is always brief and always invariably consists of words with meaning, not syllables inserted for euphony's sake. If Gatschet's translations are to be trusted, the great preponderance of the songs are in the first person, the spirit speaking. I doubt it. My knowledge of Klamath is very limited but I suspect that such a phrase as Ké-utchish ai nû shui'sh gi which he renders "I am the gray wolf magic song" is as likely to mean "The wolf is my spirit." A very large number of songs mention the spirit by name and are otherwise not especially esoteric but easily intelligible to one with only a slight knowledge of Klamath beliefs.

Certain song patterns recur with some frequency in Gatschet's collection. Four of these have simple forms.

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[188] Coville, Notes, 89, 95, 98, 100, 102, 105, 106.

533 1. ——— ai nû shuí'sh gi
I am the (spirit's) magic song [or the ——— is my spirit].
• 756 2. ——— gé-u hû mû'luash
The ——— is my medicine object.
3. ——— gé-u népk
——— is the disease I bring.
4. ——— gé-u nä'paks
——— is my disease.

In these the appropriate name of the spirit, bit of paraphernalia, or disease is mentioned. There is a slight variability in the grammatical form, but ignoring this we find that these four patterns occur in a total of 145 songs, fifteen, seven, six, and three times respectively.[167]

Another common form has a second phrase practically identical with the first, and, if not a mere repetition, referring to an associated idea or characteristic. This scheme occurs twenty times in the collection. An example is

tunépni gé-u wélwash gi
páltko gé-u wélwash gi
I have five springs and (all) my springs are dry (p. 157, no. 46).

These five patterns make up a third of the whole collection.

533 The number of songs seems well-nigh boundless. The possibilities for inventing new ones are limited only by the number of spirits and all their parts and characteristics. Not only does one get this impression from Gatschet's array, but my own informants gave enough to indicate that it would require great effort to exhaust the supply. At the same time it is clear that once a song had been invented its form is fixed; it is known as so-and-so's song. It is not only that such a shaman has a song about the weasel, for example, but it is a particular song, and my informants would not hazard it unless they knew it.

The subjects of the songs are not only the anthropomorphic beings, spirits of animals, birds, etc., listed above, and others of the same sort, but Gatschet's informant listed others: gust of wind, sleet, mock sun (parhelion), cliff, rocks of various sorts and positions, springs, floating ice, smallpox and various pains, hunger, pond-lily seed and various plants, canoes and other objects, parts of the house, dress, and paint. This is a wide array of subjects, but the same omissions occur that I have noted above: the cats, deer, and most fish, while rodents and song birds hardly appear in Gatschet's collection. Not only do the songs refer directly to the animals but to their parts,

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[167] It should be noted that these occur randomly throughout the songs which Gatschet lists in the haphazard order he obtained them. Four informants were involved, so we may be sure that this recurrence of the same forms is not due to repetition on the part of a single informant.

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I feel that many of his translations are far from the point, but I do not know enough to correct them. The numbers in parentheses refer to the page and number in Gatschet's work.

539
Fire dance (wa'hla) songs?

In flames I am enveloped (154, 8).
I am now wrapped in flames (166, 26).

Songs referring to various items of the shaman's outfit (*mū'lwas*).

This scoop is my instrument, that tool used on the lake[189] (167, 34).
This is my medicine arrow (164, 3).
The pipe is my instrument, that tool used for tobacco[190] (167, 33).
I the shaman's pole [wa''las] am shaking to and fro (170, 66).
Planks [covering the lodge?] are rattling (155, 18).
This is my song, that of the sweat-lodge stick-hole[191] (168, 45).
So looks the yellowhammer medicine-decoration;
The otter is my equipment; the otter skin neckband is my equipment (167, 30).
I the neckband am medicine-equipment; I the neckband am a spirit [or song] (168, 40).
Thus I walk when I tie up the hair (165, 9).
I will pull a rope from my entrails[192] (165, 11).

Songs referring to anthropomorphic spirits.

I the shai'kish [teaḳia'ḳ] tramp[193] (169, 52).
Teaḳia'ḳ is my song [or spirit]; thunder is my song [or spirit] (169, 53).
I the ghost lean on a staff (168, 38).
Bones only I rattle (157, 44).
I the woman am painted black on the body[194] (158, 51).
My dew claws are rattling (166, 17).
Dew claws are my medicine-outfit[195] (166, 21).
In quill-fringed buck-skin dressed (154, 6).
I search the ground with my hands, find there the feathers of the yellowhammer and devour them (154, 10).
Quick! make ye eyes for me! (154, 11).
In the fog I am straying blind; all over the earth I am wandering[196] (157, 40).

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[189] Or the lake is my instrument.

[190] Or tobacco is my instrument.

[191] I do not know what Gatschet means by the "stick-hole."

[755] [192] "Feigning to draw a rope or string from their posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear" (Gatschet, 1:171). I was not told of this and it sounds more like a shamanistic trick than a curing practice.

[114] [193] Gatschet says "shai'kish is another name given to the tch'akiuks" and this is a "song of a gray aquatic fowl, called tch'akiuks." The following song, wherein he translates ts'aking as little boy clearly indicates that the reference here is to Teaḳia'ḳ, the little boy spirit which lives in water.

[194] Gatschet implies that this refers to a woman dancer, but it is as likely that it is a woman spirit.

[114] [195] Gatschet says of these two songs "Conjurer's rattles are made of deer's claws" and "this song of a female conjurer or 'doctress' . . . ." (1: 172). But deer-claw rattles are used only in a girl's puberty dance; shamans use none
[756] at all. I interpret these songs to be those of a woman spirit, like the one which precedes them and perhaps the one to follow.

[534] [196] The first two of these three songs are those of "the blind medicine-girl" according to Gatschet and the third that of "the blind girl." I assume a spirit is referred to.

789 one part of Klamath territory, on the eastern shore of Klamath lake and southward. A bracelet made of the shed skin of a water snake (wī'siŋk) will make a little child swim well. Girl's hair is singed so that it will grow long.

881 Menstrual regulations prescribe that at first menstruation girls
may not eat meat or fish else they will get sick. They must use a
head-scratcher and run toward the dawn. Their clothing and bands
must be burned. Older menstruants are permitted dried fish and
841 may do without the scratcher. Women must not care for the roots
they gather while in this condition, else they will fail to find them in
[756] the future. Shamans must avoid menstruants else they lose their
power.

765 The same food restrictions are imposed on mourners, who also use the head-scratcher. If they touch hands to face it will wrinkle, to hair it will turn gray. They must spit into a hole. Mourners must use special sweat-lodges. A woman's bands are hung on the trees near-by. Men wear bark belts so that their backs will not grow stooped. The house in which a death takes place must be burned with its contents. Mourners must abandon their first kill or harvest, or their gains at gambling, and give the second away. Similarly novice hunters and root-gatherers give away their first fruits, a gambler his first gains after acquiring power. Mourners must not fish nor cross a river else the fish will disappear. These mourners' observances have largely a purificatory intent.

821 A storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned.

823 Klamath marsh, which is now almost wholly dry, is known to have been in that condition on earlier occasions, for instance, about 1840 and again about 1860. On the former occasion it was so dry that its southern arm could be crossed on horseback between the settlements Du"ilḳŭt and I'wal. They did not know what caused it. As a remedy a man would be dispatched to one of the spirit pools in the Cascade mountains (as Crater and Diamond lakes) to bring back water in a squirrel or chipmunk skin to pour into the marsh.

226 The first fish rite of these people is held at one place alone, Komá'·ĕksi on Sprague river. Why at this point, is anything but obvious. The first sucker caught is burned to ashes, others must be roasted on the spot, otherwise no more will follow. The gall of fish caught with difficulty, as when speared through the ice, must be thrown back into the water else the fish will avoid the fisher.

825 Some beliefs concern the nature of wild animals. The "cat" (da′slats, *Bassariscus* sp.) kills deer by wrapping his long tail around their necks. The mountain lion is very dangerous; it is afraid only of fire. One cannot escape it by climbing into a small tree, because the lion will dig it up. When bears fight, the female is always victor. She always buries the male. The grizzly bear during his hibernation sleeps a month on each side alternately. "I do not know who watched them," my informant remarked. The grizzly is a notorious thief, breaking into the winter stores buried near the villages. But to call him that is dangerous, for he then pursues you. The chipmunk or ground squirrel (ts!ĭl'as) hibernates like a bear from November until the spring, they believe. When boys shoot at this animal it changes into a frog.

212

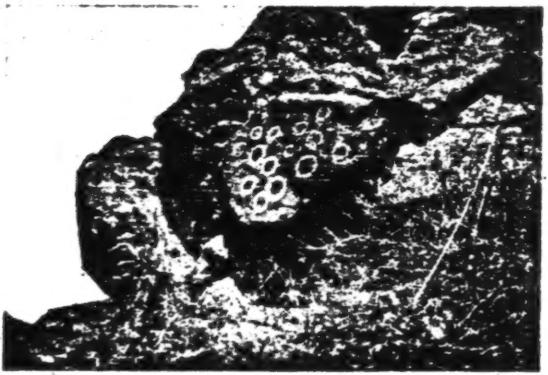

Fig. 9. Pictographs on the eastern side of Klamath lake.

824 Elder is supposed to grow on cremation piles; perhaps it does.

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756
773
The Klamath do not make pictographs. There are however a few in their country, said to have been made by Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero. They refer to them as shaman's mu'lwas, paraphernalia or, better, objects pertaining to a shaman. They are repainted from time to time by old men, "who work for a shaman," by which my informant may have meant shaman's interpreters. They are all of simple
212 form. My informants knew of only two pictographs (sŭ'malo'ta) in the whole Klamath country. Those on a rock slide on the eastern shore of Klamath lake south of Modoc point are shown in figure 9. This is near the former fishing village Iulă'u (47). There are a dozen circles in white paint, the largest four or five inches in diameter.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

114

342 lodges is curious. "It [a Klamath marsh village] was composed of 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents [361] built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. . . . . Reached Indian village of five huts, hut large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defense against arrows but not balls."[368] Frémont notes "they were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams." At another place "the huts . . . . were made of tall rushes and willows."[369]

342 There is considerable variation in the size of houses, even those of 184 one type. Earth-lodges range in diameter from twelve to thirty feet or more, the larger accommodating several families. The largest pit I saw measured thirty-five feet in diameter. The largest earth-lodges are invariably those of shamans, larger even that those of chiefs. This is not only the statement of my several informants, but on every site • [756] I visited the largest pits were pointed out to me as the former residences of shamans. The shaman's lodge, to be sure, houses the winter [622] performances, but this also implies that shamans are the wealthiest individuals, or were so at least before the ascendancy of the chiefs during the last century. Winter houses are commonly larger than the corresponding summer mat-covered forms.

342 The semi-subterranean earth-lodge is erected over a shallow pit (sloko'ps). This is commonly but knee deep, but the thirty-five-foot pit mentioned above had been excavated waist deep or even more. All the clearly defined house pits that I saw were circular, but I got the impression from one informant that the house might be somewhat squared. This is probably the case only with the summer mat-lodge: wu'kē'plōḳs. The circle is not measured in any way. The pit is dug with digging sticks, the earth thrown back all around the excavation with storage baskets (tlūḳs) or slabs of pine bark.

The roof has the form of a truncated, wedge-shaped cone, resting as it does on the circular periphery of the pit but with its upper truncated surface an elongated rectangle. The main frame is formed by four central posts, set to form the corners of this rectangle.[370] The tops of these are connected by stringers. Poles extending obliquely

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[368] Elliott, The Ogden Journals, 210.

[369] Frémont, Narrative, 122; Memoirs, 494.

[417] [370] Barrett implies a single center post ("climbs down . . . . by means of steps cut into the center pole itself," p. 244), but this was denied by my informants.

1

nearly vertical and protrudes considerably above the roof level. Lad- 342
ders are never made of a log with holes cut through it, nor were the 417
central posts notched for this purpose.[373]

The rough planks used in roofing the structure are made by split- 313
ting hollow logs with elk-horn wedges. These are driven with a hard- 412
wood club, oak, or mountain mahogany. Every man has three or four
such wedges; axes are wholly unknown and stone mauls not used.
Obviously such timbers cannot compare with the broad planks of the
Northwest peoples, but are rather of the crude Yurok type. Procuring
the planks is quite a little expedition. They go in four to six canoes,
spending a whole day splitting enough for a single house. The people
of the du'kwa settlements at the mouth of Williamson river, for
instance, cross Klamath lake to its timbered western shore for their
supply. 342
35

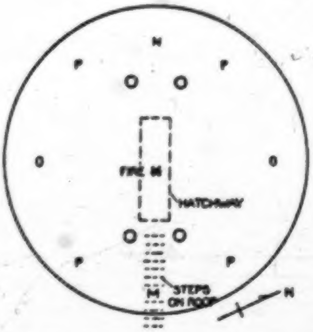

Fig. 19. Named parts of the house.

The several parts of the house interior as set off by the central posts
are named. That portion at the front of the house directly under the
outside steps is called stĕ'kis (*M*, fig. 19); the opposite end, tka'lūm
(*N*). These spaces are used for storage. The sides of the interior
(*O*) are la'lᴇstal and the corner sections (*P*) are stc!oka'ctal. These,
the living quarters, are preferable to the end spaces presumably
because the narrowness of the hatchway yields a greater extent of
roof cover on each side, thus affording greater protection. The sleep- [756]
ing quarters of shamans are on the northern side of the lodges, hence
I assume that this segment is always occupied by the head of the
household. The shaman dances principally on this side of the central
area.

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[373] Compare Barrett, 244.

used;[278] then grass or pine boughs, covered with dirt, are heaped half- 342 way up the side. The outer mats are held in place by tying them along the edges to poles propped against the side of the house. The rope (pēķ'os) used for this is three strand, braided of grass or the outer layer of tule. In placing the mats, a space about two feet across is left at the top for a smoke hole, and another only three and a half feet high for a doorway. One has to stoop to enter. The door is a mat like that of the summer house; it is not weighted nor tied down.

Drying racks are not placed inside the houses. All fish and meat [251] are dried on racks near-by. [417]

Houses are not decorated, nor are the house posts carved or painted except by shamans. These may paint them with horizontal stripes, 342 alternately red and white. One informant had it that men's faces, snakes, lizards, and various other animals, not spirits, are painted on the posts, but I am doubtful. Shamans also hung stuffed bird and animal skins about the interior. [756] A wooden image and a stuffed crane skin are set up outside on the northern side of the hatchway, i.e., above the shaman's bed. Houses are not given individual names, Yurok 552 fashion, though the localizing tendency of the Klamath might have 171* found an outlet in this.

The fireplace (sne'lūķs) in the earth-lodge is in the middle of the 354 floor, between the four center posts and under the open hatchway. Neither a pit nor stones are used to confine the fire. Most of the time there is no fire on the hearth, only in the morning and evening; at other times the hatch is closed. A huge fire is built when it is nearly sundown, and after the mat is drawn across the opening the heat is so great that blankets may be dispensed with. This despite the severe [132] winters; at this altitude (4000 feet) lakes and streams are frozen [133] solid. Fires are usually made by piling short lengths of wood in log-cabin (crib-work) fashion to a height of eighteen inches. They cook when this is reduced to a bed of coals. A piece of rotten wood is ignited to carry fire from one place to another.

Cooking ordinarily takes place outside the dwelling in a dome- 343 shaped house (sti'nă'c) erected near-by. An earth-lodge on lower Williamson river, for example, set some fifty yards from the stream, 252 had its cooking lodge close to the bank. All the women of the house- 592 hold prepare their food together, even where several families have joint tenancy. It is carried to the earth-lodge and there passed about

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[278] Barrett gives the successive layers as made of "a kind of reed," triangular-stemmed tule, and circular-stemmed tule (*op. cit.*, 244).

291 [756] [531] [177] The familiar triangular flaps below the neck in Plains shirts are lacking. Shamans alone paint their shirts, others who attempt it would be poisoned by them. The designs are spots, circles, and lines, not pictures. While I do not know the character of these designs, this suggests the protective shirts of the Ghost dance of 1890. Inasmuch as we must assume that the shirt reached the Klamath from the east, and it is possible that Plains influences are quite recent, it is possible that the shirt, or at least its decoration, came only in Ghost dance days. Nor are shirts worn at all times; they are too valuable, "they might wear out"; which represents their unusualness in the view of the Klamath.

Breechclouts (hacwi'skĭs) are made of buckskin, and nothing else. They are worn by women too, but not with the buckskin dress. It seems that the flaps which hang over the belt are short, for they are said to be long only if the skin happened to be long. The belt is only a thin string, presumably a leather thong, for poor people make it of the soft bark of the tule.

[184] Men's leggings are thigh-length or calf-length (called respectively snasni'ks and midĕ's);[380] women wear only the latter. These are of buckskin or fur, but poor people make them of tules. Barrett illustrates one of the latter sort made in twined technique. The full-length leggings are tied to the belt at one point, the hips. In a photograph shown me, little deer dew claws were hung pendant from the front of the leggings just below the knees.

Moccasins are worn at all times by the men, at home or when traveling, whereas women sometimes go barefoot at home in the summer. For the most part, moccasins are woven of tule or swamp grass; very few are made of skin. Barrett observes that the buckskin moccasins are for summer wear, the winter ones of tule.[381] This is very probably the case, as the tule affair is intended primarily to hold a layer of dry grass next the foot.

¥ [171] [531] Tule moccasins (wipgá') are made in open twine. The fabric is brought together over the toe, but is quite without a heel. A cord laced through the loops along each side draws it up around the foot. They resemble those of the Paviotso.[382] For traveling they make moccasins of this type of swamp grass, which is stronger than tule; those for home use are of tule and bear decorations.

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[380] Gatschet gives mitash, mitas, *from* Chinook jargon mimdash, derived from French mitasse (2:221).

[381] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17, 19.

[382] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 218, fig. 5*b*, *c*.

291 177 hood of my elderly informant. This is a simple one-piece affair, shown diagrammatically in figure 21*b*. The upper is cut to form a long tongue. It is sewn along the toe and one side, and up the heel.[385]

481 Snowshoes may be conveniently described at this place. The snowshoe (ni') is the circular Californian form; a hoop of tough service berry wood, about twelve inches long by six wide.[386] Within the hoop is a net of thongs on which the foot is placed; tie strings are drawn up about the ankle. My woman informant drew a sketch showing five parallel longitudinal thongs crossed transversely by five others, [114] also parallel, thus forming a simple rectangular web. This may well have been merely diagrammatic, since five is the pattern number. Kroeber illustrates a more intricate pattern of webbing, a central lozenge filled by transverse lashings and connected with the frame by others.[387] Barrett illustrates a snowshoe with still a third style of web. This seems to be a single longitudinal strip of skin, crossed by three others.[388] Such shoes are also used when wading in the marshes.

291 [714] Mittens (wäkä'pks) of coyote or other fur are worn in cold weather, possibly by men alone. They are also used for protection in war. These are sock-like, without fingers, and of arm or elbow length. A muffler (sau'kaks) is also made of skin.

291 177 The woman's skin dress (gokc) is the long woman's garment of the Plains tribes, completely covering the body to the mid-calf. Unlike the corresponding man's shirt, these are worn most of the time, especially in winter. In summer the lighter unbeaded dresses are [535] used. This is not essentially a dance costume, although worn at the war and scalp dances. But these are held outdoors at night; and [756] during the shaman's dances in the earth-lodge, the fringed skirt only is worn because of the great heat. It is possible, of course, that this is a rationalization of etiquette, for if the shaman's dance is older than the forms of war and scalp dance now in use, there may be an association of the older fringed skirt with one and the newer skin dress with the other. There can be little doubt that the fringed skirt is the antecedent form. Plains influences appear to be recent, and

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* [171]

[385] This has been redrawn from a sketch made by my informant. On the Yakima reservation moccasins of this type have a tab at the heel, which my informant may have omitted.

[386] Coville (Notes, 94) states that "the frames of snowshoes are usually made of willow wood. The mesh in old times was commonly made of the Rocky Mountain flax, *Linum lewisii*, less commonly of nettle fiber, *Urtica breweri*."

[387] Handbook, fig. 68*a*; evidently taken from Mason, Aboriginal American Basketry, 215.

[388] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

K 301 length is "a little too much." The unit, according to one informant,
is the length of the extended left arm to the upper end of the humerus,
or across the chest in addition to the point of the right shoulder. The
other gave the unit as a doubled string from the extended left hand
K to the sternum; that is, a fathom. One thing is clear, that there is
[436] no great concern for dentalia as money, as among the lower Klamath
tribes. The strings are not standardized either as to length or size of
the individual shells. Long dentalia are more valuable than the short,
but my informants never knew anyone to argue over the precise length
of a shell. Both men agreed that the several kinds of beads, or at
least the best, are not worked by the Klamath, but come from the
K south. They are either found in raided Achomawi-Atsugewi camps
[721] or are traded from these people or possibly the Shasta. Both were
[439] certain that the shells are not obtained from the north. This is something
of a puzzle, because the Columbia river people have dentalia and
[177] use them extensively in trade. Furthermore, the ultimate point of
origin of the shells is the coast of Washington and British Columbia.
[174] The discrepancy in the statement is further accentuated by the Yurok
statement that the shells came to them both along the coast and down
the Klamath river.[399]

K Finger rings are not made, nor bracelets, except for young children.
[789] The cast skin of a water snake is wrapped around their wrists
so that they will swim well.

K Face painting is general, a daily usage, not confined to gala events,
302 but more obvious at that time. The shaman's body is painted red
during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use,
[756] white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to
[822] war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white. I have
pointed out elsewhere[400] that red paint is associated with warfare by
the Basin tribes and their Californian and Arizonan neighbors. Here
it may be added that black is used by Plains warriors. At dances
white pigment, found along the creek banks, is smeared on the palms
K which are then pressed on the face or on a woman's smooth hair to
[317] form patterns. Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few
localities in the mountains near Crater lake. The Northern Paiute
NP are said to have quantities of it, however.

[317] In winter women smear their faces, hands, and arms with a mix-
K ture of charcoal and pitch, or deer grease, or of pitch and grease

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751 [399] Kroeber, Handbook, 22.

[400] Havasupai Ethnography, 207.

177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
174 Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[622] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
[721] carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-
[567] holding existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their dis-
tribution established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kin-
177 ship terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
• [756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
[622] southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[619] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctive-
101 ness from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
105 to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some north-
western influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

THE SHAMANISTIC COMPLEX

However simple and consistent a picture the religious practices of 105
the Klamath may appear, there can be no doubt that they represent an amalgam of historically diverse elements. It is not necessary to indicate the exact sequence in which they were accreted in order to prove this. We can show that these elements have different distributions among neighboring tribes and that they enter into combinations different from that of the Klamath. The Klamath complex is best interpreted as a function of their geographic position, without ignoring the fact that the peculiar form in which the Klamath have these ideas is duplicated nowhere else.

The characteristics of Klamath religious practices and beliefs may 776
be briefly recapitulated. There are a host of weakly defined but sharply localized spirits from whom power is sought. These are chiefly birds and animals, some natural phenomena, and a few anthropomorphic supernaturals. The powers they bestow give success in all 787
things difficult. Power is deliberately sought, it rarely comes involuntarily, and always according to a rigid formula. It is sought by almost every Klamath, perhaps by all, and the majority seem successful in their quest. Shamans are then set off from the laity only in the [756]
possession of a greater number of powers. It is better to make the distinction by their acts: those who cure or practice weather control or clairvoyance, no matter how few their powers or the nature of their familiar spirits, are shamans. The quest is undertaken at any time of [881]
life, although usually at puberty. The most propitious times in later [765]
life are at periods of stress, as in distress or on the death of an immediate relative. The formula prescribes fasting for a number of nights on the mountains, continually running about and piling up rocks, combined with diving into lonely pools, or following the latter plan alone by diving beneath whirlpools in the river or lakes which spirits are known to haunt. The suppliant loses consciousness and wakes to find himself on the shore bleeding profusely from the mouth and nose. He does not ordinarily have a vision, but success is manifested in a song heard in a dream on a night soon following. The dream experience is essential. So closely is the spirit identified with the song, that but a single word indicates both. The song is the embodiment of the spirit, which hardly exists apart from it. The spirit is not the suppliant's guardian and later quests are not necessarily for renewed

787 experiences with it. Power may also come involuntarily, when a dreamer hears a spirit song. There is no obligation to accept, but resistance brings illness.

796 756 The midwinter month (December-January) has a curious place in the Klamath calendar. While a shaman must of necessity evoke his spirit to cure or foretell at any time of the year, this is the period when every shaman feels called on to exhibit his powers. The novice shaman also waits for this time to give a public test of his possession, and only after this does he attempt to cure. These seances are solely for displaying power, manifested by the songs and a series of feats. During these performances, those among the audience who have spirits also sing their own songs if the spirit impels. In other words, the midwinter month is the period *par excellence* when spirits regularly resume contact with their communicants.

[535] [372] The essential of the winter seance is a dance by the shaman as close as possible to a huge fire in order to call his spirits to assist him in the feats that follow. These are stereotyped tricks, of which two, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are the test of the novice. Other tricks are of the type of making things appear and disappear.

A few other details should be mentioned here. There is an assistant at this performance, a layman, who repeats the shaman's words. Food brought to the seance is thought first to be eaten by a frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one may touch it. The performance takes place in the shaman's own dwelling.

[789] Weather control, like the display of powers at the midwinter seances, offers an opportunity for shamanistic rivalry. Clairvoyance appears in connection with the war dance preparatory to an expedition, and, curiously, the shaman accompanies the party to continue his clairvoyant function, and, what is still more unique, to serve as surgeon.

753 755 Illness is the result of the intrusion of something foreign, usually a spirit and commonly the spirit of a malignant shaman. A cure consists in extracting a tiny object which is either the disease itself or embodies it. The curing procedure is highly formalized: spirit after spirit is invoked to search the patient, beginning always with the Old Frog Woman, until the culpable spirit is found. The shaman's familiars are thought to stand beside him ready to assist. When he succeeds in sucking out the disease object he swallows it, while blood streams from his mouth.

*171 756 Very little of this is unique with the Klamath, as we may see by comparison with the shamanistic complex of neighboring peoples.

What is unique, however, is the peculiar conjunction of the elements 171*
affected by them. Even the closely related Modoc differ, to judge by 756 •
what little we know of them.

By way of orientation it is desirable to survey the situation north 171*
and south.[422]

Among the Kwakiutl the guardian spirit is inextricably linked 756
with the hereditary caste system. Rights to a particular guardian are 776
fixed by inheritance, so that the spirits function essentially as badges
of clan rank and secret society affiliation. Hence they are few in 787
number. Apart from this, they have definite mythological character, unlike the bird and animal spirits and the few anthropomorphic supernaturals of the Klamath. Acquisition of a guardian is not the relatively random quest of the Klamath, but is definitely fixed with relation to the midwinter ceremonial. The novice, a lad, is sent at this period under the tutelage of an old woman in quest of the hereditary guardian. He returns to the village so strongly imbued with power as to be of danger to himself and others, hence the essential of the ensuing performance is to reduce his ecstasy to a normal state. A potlatch is offered on his behalf. Such individuals, men or women, may become shamans in this manner; only the dances they perform on their return apparently differ from the ancestral dance forms. In a Kwakiutl tale, a man wandering in the woods is initiated by the animals. On his return his overwhelming power is found dangerous and is dulled by contamination with menstruants.[423] During the midwinter sacred period, spirit repossession is general and at the ceremonies all are impelled to display their hereditary spirit songs and dances. The grouping at this time of those having the same spirits is of a piece with the grouping by clans during the remainder of the year. Both groupings rest essentially on names acquired in the one instance from spirits, in the other by clan inheritance, names throughout giving rank and privilege.[424]

The Kwakiutl form of quest, its relation to the midwinter ceremonies, and its social significance are peculiarities which do not prevail south of Vancouver island. Various elements of this complex, however, are found in the area to the south, such as the secret societies as far as the Quinault on the Washington coast, and the winter dance

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[422] See also the summaries of Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit, 10 f.

[423] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 733–749.

[424] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 393 f., 418 f., 501.

*171
• 756
776
787

period even to the Klamath. But this interrelation of spirit quest and secret society ritual, with the social grouping that rests on it, is lacking. The Kwakiutl must be looked on as a highly specialized form of the spirit quest-shamanistic complex, of which the more normal forms, in the sense that they are less differentiated and widely distributed, are found in western Washington and the interior.

As an example of the more common form, I will present that of the Thompson. The Thompson complex[438] is more nearly that of the Klamath but is even simpler. The vision quest, which takes place at puberty, is essentially the prerogative of boys, although girls may obtain some slight powers. Hence shamans are men and but few women. The vision is sought in the mountains where the boy remains praying, dancing, running about, and fasting. His training does not end with the vision, but continues after power has been acquired, the whole being directed toward magical training for adult life. In fact the powers bestowed by the spirits are specifically for particular professions and arts. The spirits are legion: natural phenomena, animals, birds, and a random collection of objects. The seeker sometimes receives power from the same spirit as his father and shamans sometimes directly inherit their powers. It does not appear that the shaman novice establishes himself by a performance of fixed kind, nor do the shamanistic seances, though they include feats like those of the Klamath, occur only in midwinter.

Shamanism in the area to the east of the Thompson must be of this type, and in the Basin southeast it is clearly so.

South of the Klamath the shamanistic complex takes quite another turn. In California power is not ordinarily sought, hence the blessing descends on the few, the shamans, and for the mass there is nothing. This is an about-face from the situation in Oregon and northward, or in the Plains. In other words, power is a thing that comes involuntarily. Further, the form of the complex has in the northern half of California two quite distinct phrasings.

In northwestern California the person destined to be a shaman is visited in a dream by a spirit or ancestor who inserts the power in his body. This power or "pain" is animate, has personality, and is conceptualized as a small spindle-shaped object. Such "pains" are disease objects, yet their possession by shamans gives the power to remove other malignant "pains" from a patient. Accordingly the shaman-to-be is made ill by the "pain" he has received, until he is

restored by an established shaman and learns to control the gift. The dance in which this takes place is, as Kroeber remarks, essentially a professional initiation.[436] 171* 756 •

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[438] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 317 f.

For example, the Yurok novice dreams of a dead person putting a "pain" in her body. (In northwestern California, shamans are most frequently women.) A dance is made for her, when under the direction of established shamans, she withdraws the "pain" and having thus shown control of it, swallows it again. After a brief dance in the mountains, this rite is repeated and followed by one around a hot fire to further gain control of her "pains."[437] 787 776

The northwest California complex has its ramifications as far north as the Wishram on the Columbia and southeastward to the Southern Maidu. The novice dance is found over this whole area, although in the north being rather a demonstration of power than an occasion for acquiring control of it. The concept of the "pains" as embodiments of power or agents of disease extends eastward across the state. Yet the general aspects of shamanism in northeastern California are appreciably like those of the Klamath and Thompson.

The second form of shamanistic complex is central Californian. Here individual shamanism is overshadowed by group activities of the Kuksu cult ceremonies which are shamanistic at bottom. Some distinction is made between the sucking shaman, who cures in the common manner, and the outfit shaman, whose ability is, rather, clairvoyant. This distinction is also made to the northwest but is by no means impressive. The outfit shaman is usually the heritor of the necessary paraphernalia from a parent or brother who instructs him in their use. His power clearly lies in the objects themselves. On the other hand, the sucking shaman obtains his by a visitation in a dream. Not only are central Californian shamans overshadowed by Kuksu impersonators, to whom has accrued all elaborate display, but the shamanistic complex proper is strongly infiltrated from the northwest.

There is in California at large some further specialization among shamans beyond those who cure. Weather-control shamans seem most clearly differentiated in south-central California, according to Kroeber. The Klamath fall in with the majority of peoples beyond this focus in looking on weather control as only a somewhat specialized function of any shaman. Similarly with rattlesnake shamans, who are general in California save in the northwest. Bear shamans, found in all but peripheral California, are not known to the Klamath. [789]

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[436] Handbook, 852.

[437] *Op. cit.*, 63.

*171 From this perspective the Klamath complex takes its place with
756 the relatively simple shamanism of the northwestern interior and the
Basin, overlaid with elements shared by tribes of the northwestern
coast and those of northern, or better, northwestern California.

Shamanism bulks large in the social scheme of the Klamath as it
does in the interior Plateau and the Basin, for the reason that competing
[881] rituals are lacking. Beyond the girls' rite, the war and scalp
dances, and for a brief time the Ghost dance, the Klamath have nothing
[535] but shamans' performances. The winter ritual of the Northwest
Coast extends only to central coastal Washington, the potlatch only
to the Columbia river. The wealth display dances of northwestern
[726] California do not penetrate even to the Shasta; those of the central
Californian Kuksu cult not beyond the head of the Sacramento. Elements
[784] of these ritual systems do indeed appear among the Klamath,
*171 but the dances as such are absent.

The Klamath hold the acquisition of supernatural power within
796 the reach of anyone. In this they accord with the generality of North
*171 Americans and differ emphatically from the Californians for whom
power descends only on the few. The Klamath form of quest followed
787 by a dream in which power comes links the common quest of
America with the dream experience of California. The Northwest
Coast, its interior, and the Basin are a unit with the Klamath in that
the quest is for power of a general sort, not for visions yielding specific
sanctions as in the Plains. The spirits whose benevolence is sought
are birds and animals as in the interior, the Plains and eastward, not
the mystic supernaturals of the Northwest Coast. The source of
power and disease among the northwest Californians, the "pain"
*171 objects, do not appear among them in any form. The Klamath concept
of disease is the very general North American one of intrusion;
753 the soul-loss concept of the Northwest Coast and tribes to the Columbia
is unknown here.

*171 The Klamath novitiate dance for shamans is shared by groups from
the Sacramento to the Columbia. It is the northern demonstration of
756 ability rather than the initiation and mastery of power of the northern
Californians. The repeated dance of the Yurok prevails through
Shasta and Modoc, but the single Klamath dance is of the interior
type.

*171 The Northwest Coast winter ritual makes its appearance here only
in its general aspects. Klamath shamanistic seances are held only in
756 midwinter and this is also the time for repossession by spirits among
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the people at large as well as the shamans. Inasmuch as both these 177
features are northwestern and non-Californian, they must be looked
on as influences from the north. 756 •

The following sections attempt to substantiate these generalizations. 796

Spirits

Those spirits of which the Klamath seek power are conceived as 776
animals, birds, reptiles, fish, sometimes as natural phenomena, and in a few instances as supernaturals, anthropomorphic and akin to the characters of their mythology. Their number is indefinitely large. Each may be said to constitute a genus of spirits; e.g., "the Coyote spirit" is properly a group of coyote spirits. Members of the class are not singled out for individualization.

The spirits of other tribes of the northwestern sector are of the 171*
same type. All the interior tribes on into California and all others 776
of Oregon for whom we have information hold to this conception: Thompson, Lillooet, Wishram, Nez Percé, Takelma, Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Maidu, and Wintun. There are undoubtedly differences among them in the type of spirit most frequently sought; thus, natural phenomena bulk larger in the Thompson mind. Further, objects, some as trivial as the nipple of a gun, figure as spirits among the Thompson, Lillooet, Snohomish, Nisqually, Nez Percé, Achomawi, and Atsugewi.[426]

A concept of a different sort holds sway on the coast from Vancouver island to the Columbia river. There the principal spirits are supernaturals of mythological character. These are necessarily restricted in numbers since they are highly individualized, and correlatively the powers they bestow are particularized. Where information is available, these creatures are credited, as among the Klallam, with a social existence of human pattern: they live in houses, are provided with servants, and travel in canoes. This is the predominating spirit concept among the Kwakiutl, Klallam, Snohomish, Nisqually, and Quinault. The slight information on Chinook spirits suggests supernaturals of the same sort. This is not to deny that animals and birds figure among the Klallam and Puget Sound Salish, and that among the Quinault there are a few bird spirits that retain their

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[426] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 354; The Lillooet, 283; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247 f.; Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 35; Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130 (skins and feathers of spirits); Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218; Angulo, Religious Feeling, 350.

remarked their presence in the mythology of various Shoshonean 171 *
groups (Western Mono, Northern Paiute of central Oregon, Northern 776
Shoshoni, and Serrano), pointing out their absence in typical central
Californian groups.[482]. But they are not confined to Shoshoneans: the [114]
Yurok believe in dwarf-like spirits that haunt overgrown spots in the creeks, the Hupa speak of little beings resembling men in the water in remote places, and the foothill group of Northern Maidu of one-legged dwarfs found in or about water.[483] So far as these data go, the concept is largely north Californian and Basin in distribution.

Klamath Dwarf-Old-Woman, who figures in one form as a rock on Mount Pitt, may be identifiable with Takelma Rock Old Woman, associated with a rock north of Rogue river.[484]

Inheritance of Spirit Power

On the Northwest Coast proper there is a tendency to fixed inheri- 171 *
tance of experiences with ancestral guardians. Among the Tlingit, 756 ●
e.g., there is some tendency for men to be blessed by spirits according
to their clan affiliations; the spirits descending from uncle to nephew. 787
Among the Kwakiutl, inheritance is rigidly fixed, for a youth expects to find only those spirits that gave powers to his clan.[485]

Something of this prevails southward but in dilute form. A Quinault seeks the spirit his ancestor acquired, and we are told that the guardians of the Chinook are hereditary, like the Kwakiutl. A Nootka may also inherit a spirit with whom an ancestor had an experience.[486] The southern Puget Sound Salish hold that human social organization is reflected among the spirits; that a powerful spirit would appear only to a man of high rank. While this does not define the system as one of strict inheritance, it must approximate this because both the number of persons of high rank and of powerful spirits is small.

Inheritance of a guardian and of the particular guardian thus prevails generally north of the Columbia river. Elsewhere inheritance is present but in less fixed form. There is for the Thompson seeker

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[482] Gifford, Western Mono Myths, 304; Marsden, 183; Lowie, Northern Shoshone, 234; Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 297.

[483] Kroeber, Handbook, 67; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 64; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 265.

[484] Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 45.

[485] Swanton, 465; Boas, Secret Societies and Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 393, 418.

[486] Boas, *op. cit.*, 393; Sapir, Vancouver Island Indians, 593.

K * 171 • 756 787 the possibility of being visited by the spirit his father had met. Inheritance is apparently common among the Nez Percé; at least shamans inherited their status and one could hardly become a shaman save through inheritance. As the number of spirits that give shamanistic powers is small, it seems probable that the particular spirit is frequently inherited, although it is not so stated. Comparable to this, anyone among the southern Puget Sound Salish might involuntarily receive a blessing from a spirit acquired earlier by an ancestor. For instance, if one's forebear had been a great shaman there was a predisposition to acquire a shamanistic spirit. Rather different from these cases is the case of the Klallam shaman who, dying, may will some of his spirits to a younger man, yet it reflects the tendency toward transmission in this area.[437]

K NP * 171 756 787 Inheritance occurs again in northern California, where children of shamans are rather automatically visited by their fathers' spirits. (It must be borne in mind that in this region acquisition of powers sets off shamans from the laity, who do not ordinarily acquire them.) It is intelligible why inheritance does not appear in northwestern California, where a shaman is made, not by the visitation of spirits, but by the insertion of "pains" by established members of the craft. The distribution of inheritance is in the interior: Klamath, Shasta, Chimariko, Pomo, Southwestern Wintun, Maidu, and Paviotso. Inheritance does not appear again, so far as present data show, in all of central and southern California until the Akwa'ala[438] are reached. Inheritance of position is by no means the only way one becomes a shaman even among these north Californian peoples, and the visitation by spirits of one's father is quite limited among them. In other words, there is here little of the rigidity of inheritance known in the northwestern sector.

K * 171 756 787 Shasta and Northeastern Maidu show the closest approximation to the northwest; if the parent is a shaman, the child becomes one, and the particular spirits are heriditary guardians of the family for generations. Among Northeastern Maidu the succession is inevitable, among Shasta there is some latitude. The Klamath situation resembles the Shasta: a shaman's child is the involuntary recipient of his father's spirits, which he may or may not accept. There is nothing to show that the same spirits continue with successive generations.[439]

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[437] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 56; Teit, The Thompson Indians, 320; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 297; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247, 256.

[438] Gifford-Lowie, Notes on the Akwa'ala, 345.

[439] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 274, 275; Shasta, 471, 477.

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The Sacramento Valley Maidu hold that inheritance is not neces- 171 *
sary, while the foothill group of the same people have a greater ten- 756 •
dency to inheritance. Among the Chimariko, shamans similarly may
or may not inherit their positions. The Paviotso shaman's powers are 787
sometimes inherited from father to son. In these cases heredity is
simply one way of achieving shaman's status.[440] NP

In this second group of cases it seems that susceptibility to experi- 787
ence with spirits is heritable, if not the inheritance of powers from 756
specific spirits, but in a third group the inheritance is that of position K
and paraphernalia alone. That is, the individual Pomo, or at least 171*
the Northern and Eastern Pomo, and the Southeastern Wintun sha- 756
man instructs his son, brother, or some other relative and delivers 787
to him amulets and other objects necessary to him as successor. Among the Pomo this is the manner in which "outfit doctors," not "dreaming or sucking doctors," are made.[441] This affiliates with the general habit of instruction of shamans and secret society members in this quarter, where in general the hereditary element is absent.

It seems quite uncertain whether the northern Californian cases as a whole are linked historically with the northwest. Possibly they are, since the hereditary element is lacking in more southerly California. But as the data stand there is a hiatus of distribution in Oregon. On the other hand, there are few Oregonian data save for the nonhereditary Takelma. It seems significant, however, that the Wishram did not mention inheritance in this connection to either Dr. Sapir or myself.

The Power Quest

In a discussion of the vision in the Plains, Benedict points out that there is there a distinction between visions (quests in my terminology) from which sanctions are received, such as the success of a projected war party, and those by which a guardian is acquired. The former are of more frequent occurrence in the life of each individual.[442] Among the Klamath every quest that is successful brings power that abides, not a sanction for a particular project. Every quest corresponds to the specific guardian quest of the Plains, though a guardian in the sense of a familiar is not acquired. So far as

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[440] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 267, 280; Chimariko, 303; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 294.

[441] Freeland, Pomo Doctors, 59; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 320; Kroeber, Handbook, 261.

[442] The Vision in Plains Culture, 12 f.

*171 •756 787 guardians or familiars can be spoken of, they pertain to shamans alone, since they alone conjure up their familiars to their aid. But theoretically, every Klamath who has had an experience could call on his spirit for aid.

The Klamath concept apparently holds for all tribes of the Pacific coast. There does not appear anywhere the Plains type of quest for particular sanctions. The spirits of the experiences are not guardians, they are not invoked for assistance (save by shamans), and they give continuing powers to perform the arts and professions or for success and wealth.

*171 756 Accordingly, shamans are differentiated as a class more by their acts and the possession of powers to perform the shamanistic arts, than by the unique possession of helpers. This statement does not apply, however, to California, for there this is precisely the difference between shamans and laity.

787 The Klamath deliberately seek power by self-isolation and mortifying acts. Their attitude is that it is to be had by a voluntary quest, save in those rare instances which may be described as inheritance and in occasional involuntary dreams.

The terms quest, vision, and dream have commonly been used as though they were fully interchangeable. It is preferable to distinguish the voluntary quest and the involuntary acquisition of power; to confine the term vision to sensory experiences including seeing and hearing a spirit, and the dream to its everyday significance. These are, to be sure, by no means mutually exclusive.

*171 787 [114] The quest and the involuntary dream as sources of power have different distributions in western America. The quest is general over eastern North America and in the Plains. But as Kroeber has pointed out for California and Benedict for the Southwest the deliberate quest is absent and its place is usually taken, so far as individual acquisition of power is concerned, by the dream.[443] I will attempt to define their respective areas of distribution somewhat more precisely.

From this point of view a distinction must be made between the eastern and western sections of the Southwestern area. Personal powers figure only in a minor way among the Pueblos, where priestly craft functions in place of shamanism. Yet at Laguna and Cochiti, at least, there is some occasional questing for powers in isolated spots.

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[443] Kroeber, Religion of Indians of California, 327 f.; Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit, 36 f.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 252]

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*171 • 756 787 At the same time, among the western Apache, who have shamanism full-fledged, those who do not become shamans by the instruction of established practitioners, seek power in the same way.[444]

West of the Apache the dream is the source of power: this is known at least for Havasupai and Pima. Havasupai shamans alone have familiars, which they acquire involuntarily in dreams, and even when they inherit the power it seems necessary that they dream. Pima shamans become such generally by heredity, or by being bitten by a rattlesnake, but they may also have persistent dreams in which they acquire power. Russell makes it clear that this involves no deliberate quest.[445]

Dreaming appears with the same function among the Shivwits, hence may have been general among other Southern Paiute. Prior to the introduction of the Sun Dance among the Southern Ute about 1900, shamans got their powers in dreams without fasting; since then they deliberately seek power in the Sun Dance.[446]

Dreams are the source of supernatural sanctions on the lower Colorado and in southern California alike, despite the difference of setting in the two areas. Mohave, Yuma, Akwa'ala, and Desert Cahuilla shamans derive their powers by dreaming of the great mythological characters, sometimes under the stimulation of jimsonweed, but not as part of adolescence rites. The Cahuilla, indeed, hold the boys' rite but it is reasonably clear that jimsonweed drinking at this, or at other times, does not furnish the setting for acquisition of power. On the other hand the boys' rites provide the proper setting for a majority of southern Californian peoples: the narcotic of jimson weed causing sensory disturbances which are interpreted as dreams of spirit beings, prevailingly animal in character. This is known for both Southern and Northern Diegueño, Luiseño, Juaneño, Kawaiisu, and may be inferred for others. The Kawaiisu, unlike their neighbors, administer jimsonweed regularly to girls as well as boys and with the same end in view. Inasmuch as the candidates for these rites do not present themselves but are selected, we have here a common basis of involuntary dreaming for the region as a whole. This is not to deny that the phrasing of the experience itself is markedly

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[444] Benedict, *op. cit.*, 39; Goldfrank, Organization of Cochiti, 58; Bourke, Medicine Men, 453.

[445] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, 276 f.; Russell, 257.

[446] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 291.

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different among Mohave-Yuma, Akwa'ala-Cahuilla, and the westerly 171*
southern Californians.[447] 787

The quest on the other hand is characteristic of the northwest. [756] •
It is of course voluntary and the looked-for response probably always takes the form of a vision. The Klamath are a partial exception, which I will discuss later. The quest has been noted among all tribes for whom there is information: Klamath, Takelma, Alsea, Tillamook, Chinook, Wishram, Quinault, Twana, Nisqually, Snohomish, and Klallam. It is at the bottom of the initiation practices of the Kwakiutl and Bella Coola. In the interior, it is characteristic of Thompson, probably Lillooet, Nez Percé, Chilcotin, and Tahltan.[448]

As these data stand the areas of distribution are quite distinct. The voluntary quest is characteristic of the northwest and the Plateau, as well as the Plains; the dream, involuntary in its occurrence, of the western section of the Southwest, southern California, and the southern Basin. On the border common to the two areas they occur concurrently, namely in northern California, southern Oregon, and the northern Basin.

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In northern California the dream basis is clear for the Pomo and 171*
the Northern Maidu of the foothills, apart from Pomo shamans who
are such by initiation alone.[449] There is a suggestion that the Wailaki 787
are one with them.[450] All other groups have some kind of combination 756
of dream and quest.

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Northeastern Maidu and Yokuts hold dream and quest equivalents;
the Yokuts stressing the quest in contradistinction to the Maidu. 171*
Sinkyone, Yuki, and the Sacramento valley group of Northern Maidu 787
differ from them only in that their alternative to the deliberate quest
is an involuntary waking experience.[451]

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Of the Paviotso, Lowie remarks: "A shaman gets his song and 787
regalia through a vision in a dream. Annie says in the Walker River 114
District there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision."

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[447] Kroeber, Handbook, 604, 640, 775 f., 783, 793; Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave, 279; Gifford-Lowie, Akwa'ala, 344–5, 347, 348; Hooper, Cahuilla, 334–5, 340; Spier, Southern Diegueño, 312 f.; Waterman, Religious Practices, 296; Du Bois, Religion of Luiseño, 80.

[448] Farrand, Alsea, 245; Boas, Tillamook, 5, Third Report, 10, Chinook Texts, 214; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 674; Farrand, Chilcotin, 19; Emmons, Tahltan, 112.

[449] Freeland, Pomo Doctors, 58, 63, 64; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 269.

[450] "The Yuki state that the Wailaki shamans often dreamed of a spirit coyote" (Kroeber, Handbook, 154).

[451] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 267, 275, 278; Kroeber, Handbook, 149, 196–198, 514.

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*171 787 This may mean only that the quest is undertaken and that the vision appears in a dream at that time, but I interpret it as meaning that both dreaming without a quest and the deliberate quest occurred among them. His description of the Wind River Shoshoni ideas, is, I think, more convincing as to the simultaneous existence of dreaming and the quest.[452]

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*171 787 • 756 Shaman candidates among Yurok, Hupa, and Shasta experience in dreams, but for the laity there are opportunities to acquire power of the quest type. "There are, however, [among the Shasta] one or two very simple ceremonials, whose purpose is merely to acquire luck. For example, on very dark rainy or windy nights, men go out alone, and naked, and walk all night, praying for luck, singing, seeing strange things pass them, and having strange voices calling. Or on very cold nights in the middle of winter, a man will go out just before dawn, and after praying for luck, will plunge into the river, and swim." "The [Hupa] men used to swim a certain course in the icy water [of Trinity river] and then lie on the frozen shore as long as possible that they might win great good luck." "A Yurok man who wishes to be brave and fierce . . . . goes at night to a lonely mountain pond, swims, and is then swallowed or taken below the surface by a monster."[453]

The combination occurring among Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, and Chimariko is most interesting. The regular Klamath formula is that the seeker may have his quest rewarded by a vision, but the power is not obtained at this time. It comes some nights later, when in a dream he hears the spirit's song. I am impressed by the fact that the quest experience and the dream are separated. Indeed the seeker may not have a vision at all. Further, dreams of the same sort, conveying power, come to one unsought. The Klamath notions seem to me most intelligible when considered as the amalgamation of the two kinds of experience. Those of the Northeastern Maidu are explicitly the same: a man on his lonely quest experiences the presence of spirits and on his return they appear to him in dreams. The Achomawi-Atsugewi case seems to be the same: "While he is bathing during the night, he may find something in the water, or may dream of it later when he takes a little sleep." Again the Chimariko seeker is visited in a series of dreams, which were "often the result of solitary visits to remote mountain lakes." Modoc ideas are appreciably close to those of the Shasta in that the novice has an involuntary seizure, apparently while at home, but following his inaugural dance, he goes to the mountains in quest of power.[454]

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[452] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 294–296.

[453] Dixon, Shasta, 489; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 88; Kroeber, Handbook, 40, 68.

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Corresponding to the absence of sharp distinctions between shaman and layman in the northwest, the quest is open to everyone throughout that area. Yet there are some differences with respect to sex. This is measurable in part by the relative number of men and women shamans.

Men are more frequently successful in acquiring power than women and are accordingly more often shamans among the Thompson, Klallam, Quinault, Snohomish, Nisqually, Wishram, and Klamath. The evidence is quite definite on this point. Among the Tillamook and Nez Percé both sexes obtained powers: it is conceivable that men predominated.

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The statement that Takelma shamans are equally men and women is perhaps significant in view of the situation to the south. Shasta, Yurok, and Wiyot shamans are chiefly women, with but few men. Goddard merely mentions both men and women shamans among the Hupa, and Dixon among the Chimariko, but Kroeber implies that they were normally women.[455]

Elsewhere in California it seems that men predominated as shamans; specifically Achomawi, Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu and those of the foothills region, Yuki, and Salinan. In southern California, where the equivalent of the shaman is one who has had visions induced by jimsonweed, this situation holds even more stringently because the narcotic is rarely administered to girls. Yet in northeastern California the northwestern emphasis on feminine shamanism is reflected. Dixon observes of the Northeastern Maidu: "There were women shamans as well as men; the former being, however, more numerous in Big Meadows, where the Maidu come nearest in contact with the Achomawi, among whom women shamans were very numerous."[456] Angulo[457] states that their number was about equal among the Achomawi, which is not a contradiction of Dixon. This implies that the Achomawi-Atsugewi and Big Meadows Maidu were both influenced by Shasta custom. Elsewhere here (Yuki and Foothill Maidu) women were rarely shamans.

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[454] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 279; Notes on Achomawi and Atsugewi, 216; Chimariko, 303; Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 129-136.

[455] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 66; Dixon, Chimariko, 303; Kroeber, Handbook, 111, 137.

[456] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 274.

[457] Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 564.

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The Period of the Quest

*171 787 The Klamath deliberately seek power both in adolescence and in later life. In the discussion of the Plains vision referred to above, Benedict points out that it is there an affair of maturity and not of adolescence.[486] Everywhere in this area, on the other hand, the quest may take place in adolescence, at a time sometimes varying widely from actual puberty, and in the majority of tribes at any time in later life as well. This is consonant with the difference in the result accruing from the experience. This is as much characteristic of Klallam, Snohomish, Nisqually, and Modoc, for example, as it is of the Klamath. The absence of suitable specific data makes it difficult to judge how far this is true of others.

At least among the Wishram and Achomawi-Atsugewi there is a difference; power is sought in youth alone and should the seeker fail then, he has no opportunity in later life. Descriptively the Kwakiutl align with the Wishram, for the novices who acquire spirits at the winter ceremonial of the secret societies are adolescents. Powers are also acquired later but the few references indicate that this is not common. The situation is different, however, for the Kwakiutl does not freely seek the spirit, but automatically acquires it at a time fixed by the round of a predetermined social system. There is a suggestion that the Thompson, Lillooet (who are described as identical with the former), and Nez Percé have their experiences only at adolescence. The Tillamook evidence is equivocal: from the very brief account we learn only that a boy of twenty is sent out.

The situation is different in northern California because of the dream source of power in place of the quest. Nevertheless, this might have been restricted to adolescence, but that seems not to be the case. On the whole, data fail for the region, but our accounts read as though the shaman novices were always adult. To take the Shasta as an instance: it seems unlikely that the novices' experiences would occur to adolescent girls. Such at least is the impression, but we cannot be sure. The quest, open to the laity among Shasta, Yurok, and Hupa, is not restricted to any period in life.

● [756] In southern California, where a shaman's career is initiated in the jimsonweed rites, this is an affair of adolescence.

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[486] The Vision in Plains Culture, 3.

behavior, and finally revealing it only at the point of death. These contrasting attitudes have different distributions. A number of Washington tribes align with the Wishram: the Puget Sound Salish does not reveal his experience until late in life, the Klallam and Nez Percé waits until the spirit dances are held, and there is a suggestion that the Chinook also maintains silence. Similar reticence crops up again in northeastern California: the Achomawi-Atsugewi never tells, the Sacramento Valley Maidu only as an old man.[664] Considering their geographic situation we might have expected similar reticence of the Klamath, but on the contrary they share the freedom of speech of the generality of Californians. 171 * 787

The Novice's Performance

It is obvious that there must always be an initial performance by a shaman to demonstrate his ability, such as a first cure. It does not follow, however, that this need be a performance of a special type, as it is among the Klamath. 756 •

The Klamath novice waits for winter to prove his power and only after this does he attempt to cure. The dance he then performs is much like those he will use in subsequent demonstrations of his power, but includes the demonstration of two feats; eating fire, and swallowing and disgorging arrowheads. He sings his spirit songs as he dances close to a huge fire, while an assistant calls on his spirits to help him perform the feats. It will be observed that this has nothing to do with curing.

An initiatory performance is by no means confined to the Klamath. Kroeber has previously pointed out that this is characteristic of northern California, centering in the northwest.[665] It has also a northward extension beyond the border of that state through western Oregon. Records are available for Wishram, Tillamook, Klamath, Modoc, Shasta, Tolowa, Yurok, Hupa, Chimariko, Sinkyone, Yuki, Northern Pomo, the northerly Wintun, the Sacramento valley branch of the Northern Maidu, the Northeastern Maidu, and the Southern Maidu. There is no reason for supposing that it was wholly lacking among other western Oregon and northwest Californian groups, for most of whom there is meager information. It is apparently absent among 171 * 756

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[664] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 66; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 290; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247 f.; Boas, Chinook Texts, 215; Dixon, Some Shamans, 24, Northern Maidu, 267.

[665] Handbook, 852.

*171 Achomawi, Atsugewi, more southerly Pomo, Miwok, and Yokuts, and
756 in the north among Quinault, Klallam, and the Puget Sound Salish,
which sets limits on the south and north. It appears again, however,
among the Cahuilla.

*171 The dance has by no means everywhere the same function or form.
535 For the Klamath and Shasta it is merely a demonstration of power;
the same is implied for the Modoc and in our very brief note on the
756 Tillamook.[666] The Wishram case belongs to this category in part: the
novice demonstrates his power to cure, but there is this difference, that
he must first be restored from his seizure. That is, from the Shasta
northward the inaugural dance is primarily a demonstration.

The inaugural dance has quite another purpose in northwestern California: it is to enable the novice to acquire control over his powers, in this case the rather material "pains," which correspond to the spirit powers of other tribes. The dance is, as Kroeber remarks, essentially a professional initiation. The novice is aided by qualified shamans to retain in his body and control the "pains," which up to this point make him ill as they do any layman. Prior to the dance, he receives instruction from older shamans. This type of performance is credited to Yurok, Tolowa, presumably Hupa (and Karok?), Chimariko, Sinkyone, Yuki, Northern Pomo, northerly Wintun, Sacramento Valley and Northeastern Maidu, and the Southern Maidu.

There are then two types of inaugural dance, so far as function is concerned: the demonstration type of Oregon and the control type of northern California. Kroeber's designation of the dance as northwest Californian is not quite adequate in view of the Oregon data.

From a wider point of view, the control dance of northern California and the Wishram case link with the southern part of the Northwest Coast proper. A feature of repossession during the winter sacred period of the northern tribes is the overpowering strength of the spirit which makes its possessor "ill" until he is relieved by dancing. This is also described among a number of them as characteristic of the condition of the youth who has newly acquired a spirit. It is the essential point in the novice's part in the winter ritual of the Kwakiutl and Quileute: he must be relieved of his superabundant power. Similarly, among the Klallam a boy who has received a strong power must remain away from home for some months until he has learned to control or dull it.[667] I do not know how widespread in western Washing-

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[666] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 136; Boas, Notes on the Tillamook, 10.

[667] Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 290.

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ton this idea is, but it crops up again among the Wishram. A lad who acquires a spirit is "sick"; a shaman is employed to relieve and restore him. This is one of the essentials of a Wishram novice shaman's inaugural dance. It must be noted that in all these instances the condition of the possessed is described in one way: he is "sick." This is precisely what is at the bottom of the north Californian control dances, although the sickness is due to an agent of another sort. It is altogether regrettable that there is no information on the coastal tribes of Washington and Oregon, since the similarity of the ideas suggests that there may have been a continuous distribution along the coast. At least in the interior, the "sickness" of the repossessed does not hold beyond the Wishram. Klamath and Shasta have the form of the recovery ceremony without the substance.

To turn to some comparisons of detail, the dance made by the Shasta immediately on the spirit seizure is not duplicated among the Klamath. When the Shasta novice revives, she dances and may be carried or swung over the fire. This is repeated on two nights following. At the last dance the spirit shoots a "pain" into her, which she masters, withdraws, and reinserts in her body. The later inaugural dance is, however, much like that of the Klamath. The novice waits until winter to demonstrate. This dance takes place in a dwelling just as among the Klamath. She dances and sings while an assistant calls on her spirits to help her.[448] What is lacking to complete the analogy are the tricks of legerdemain, but these among the Klamath are the stock in trade of all shamanistic performances and appear to be unknown to Shasta practice. There is just a possibility that the Klamath arrow-swallowing trick is related to the Shasta novice's demonstration of her ability to extract and replace the "pains," described as small clear objects pointed at each end. Another difference is that her dance is under the aegis of qualified shamans; a feature linking the Shasta with the typical north Californian performance.

The Modoc novice dance which Meacham described[449] is externally like that of the Shasta yet smacks of Klamath ideology. The spirit seizure takes place apparently at home. When this is manifested by hemorrhages, the novice is made to perform ten dances while an

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[448] Dixon, Shasta, 475.

[449] Wi-ne-ma, 129–136. As the original is difficult of access, it is reprinted below in an appendix. Despite Meacham's naïveté and his obviously faulty knowledge of the Modoc tongue, as evidenced elsewhere in Wi-ne-ma, all his descriptions of Modoc life ring true.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1860-1900)

*171 established shaman calls various spirits until the tutelary is discovered. • 756 This is repeated for five nights. The novice then goes to the mountains to seek further power. On his return he dances during a month, 535 aided by others, to prepare for his profession. This terminates in another ceremony under the shaman's direction.

In the opposite direction the Wishram also have an inaugural dance for a shaman novice which, unlike these southern examples, occurs at any time he receives power. As in the Klamath affair, he performs in the characteristic manner of a shaman of his tribe, even demonstrating a cure. When he dances to call his spirits, others perform to help him acquire strength. There is a difference, however; the lad is overcome by his power so that a shaman must dance to relieve him and help him regain control. While this is foreign to Klamath-Shasta thought, it is characteristically Wishram. There everyone on returning from an experience is overpowered by it and must be restored by a shaman.

[114] As Kroeber justifiably points out, the unique characteristics of the Californian control dances center among the Yurok and Hupa, and gradually diminish in number as far as the Maidu.[470] It may be profitable to reexamine the data.

There are two distinctive features of these complexes: the "pains" by which the novice is possessed and the dance for control. It is obvious that there is no inherent connection between this particular type of possession and such a dance. Among the Yurok, Hupa, and Shasta "pains" take the place of spirit familiars among the Klamath, *171 for example. Among the tribes to the east and south (Achomawi, Atsugewi, the several Maidu groups, Wintun and Yuki) the shamans 756 operate with spirits, but "pains" appear as causes of disease. All these have the dance, which is far wider in its distribution than "pains" as sources of shamanistic power.

The concept of the "pain" has interesting variations among the several tribes. It is everywhere animate, sometimes with personality, and while ordinarily immaterial, has sometimes a material form. When its material characteristics are described, it is commonly a clear double-pointed object, like an obsidian arrowpoint. Thus the Shasta "pain" is a small, clear double-pointed object; they are the same as spirits, yet each spirit possesses one. The Chimariko disease object is small, double-pointed, and animate; the Achomawi like a little

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[470] Kroeber, Handbook, 852.

needle of glass. The Wintun "pain" is a spirit missile, a flint or 171*
obsidian arrowpoint, and like its Yuki analogue, is dispatched to 756
cause illness. The Yuki "pain" is an invisible obsidian point. The object which the Sacramento Valley Maidu shamans insert into the novice to see if he can get it out, is neither a disease object nor the embodiment of power, yet is obviously related to these; an invisible double-pointed object as long as the finger. The disease objects of the Northeastern Maidu are not described in this fashion, but they have the animate, personal character of the "pains" elsewhere. Southern Maidu initiates are "killed" with a "piece of medicine" a half inch long. No description is available from Yurok and Hupa.[471]

It is unfortunate that the term "pains" has crept into the literature to describe things which, it seems to me, are not related to these concepts. Thus, the "pains" of the Takelma are neither substitutes
for spirits nor have they personality. Of the Sinkyone, it is recorded: 171*
"Ordinary disease was cured by sucking out of the body the *sinsing*
or material 'pains.'" In neither case do these differ one whit from the 755
disease objects of peoples outside this area. The case is somewhat different for Achomawi-Atsugewi: the "pain" is described as "a small black thing, like a bit of horse-hair" which a shaman sucks out in a cure, but "the 'pains' grow in size and strength by killing people. If the shaman does not catch the 'pain' when it returns to him after killing the person it has been shot into, he loses all control over it, and it goes about killing people of its own initiative. This is the cause of epidemics." This closely resembles the Northeastern Maidu concept.[472]

The inaugural dance of California is of considerable proportions 171*
only among Yurok, Hupa, Shasta, and Northeastern Maidu, and as
such is comparable to the Klamath affair. On the other hand those 756
of the more southerly peoples seem relatively unpretentious: Sinkyone, 535
Yuki, Northern Pomo, northerly Wintun, Maidu of the Sacramento valley, and Southern Maidu.

The Shasta performance has been described above. The Yurok novice dreams of a dead shaman who puts a "pain" in her body. A dance is made in the sweat-house for ten days during which she dances under the direction of older shamans. The "pain" is induced to leave her body and is re-swallowed, thus demonstrating control. She

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[471] Kroeber, Handbook, 111, 197–199 302, 361; Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 562; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 268, 280; Gifford, Southern Maidu, 244.

[472] Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 42; Kroeber, Handbook, 150; Dixon, Some Shamans, 25, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218.

* 171 then goes to a seat or little monument on the mountain for reasons obscure. On her return the dance is repeated and followed by one 535 about a large fire to "cook the pains." The Tolowa dance is like that • 756 of the Yurok. The Hupa dance is but barely described. "At night a dance is held in the sweat-house. The candidate dances around the fire as many times as possible. This is continued until the prospective doctor gets the desired clairvoyance, or the sucking doctor gets the 'pain' in his mouth. During the nightly dance the candidate makes the motion of catching the pain and putting it into his mouth. Sometimes the desired power is long in coming. The candidate goes in that case to a high mountain and dances in the rarer air." When dreams come to the Northeastern Maidu novice, or he has had an answer to his quest in the mountains, he becomes ill. A performance is then held at which older shamans attempt to appease his spirits. He then sings his spirit songs. This may continue through the winter, when, after his ear lobes are pierced, he sets off to the mountains to acquire more spirits.[473]

The southern performances are simpler. The Chimariko dance takes place out of doors, where an established shaman put a "pain" into the novice's mouth. Of the northerly Wintun, Kroeber writes: "Shamans are 'finished' in a dance held in the sweat-house at night. Older doctors suck the novices' bodies clean; then call the *yapaitu* or spirits, who enter the neophytes and render them temporarily unconscious or maniac"; of the Sinkyone: "A new shaman fasted and danced at nights [*sic*] for a period of some duration in a conical house erected or reserved for the occasion, while more experienced colleagues accompanied him, interpreting his symptoms and advising him in the gradual acquisition of mastery over the difficulties of his involuntary art." The Yuki dance takes place in summer; older shamans dance with the novices for five days. The novices' spirits come to the older shamans and instruct them how they can be made manageable. The spirits shoot the novice with spirit obsidians to make his heart light and clean. Among the Northern Pomo a shaman is called in to diagnose the novice who has had an experience. They dance together and the shaman sucks out a feather as a sign that the novice will become a shaman. The Maidu novice of the Sacramento valley division falls sick after his experience. Shamans sing over him and give instructions. They insert long spirit objects in his nose, over which he must demonstrate control by withdrawing them. 171* Southern Maidu are initiated by established shamans. "They are placed in pits with 'medicine' and 'killed' with a piece of 'poison 535 medicine' about a half inch long."[474] 756

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[473] Kroeber, Handbook, 63, 127; Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 65; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 274–279.

It does not seem probable that the Cahuilla novice dance is related to these northern forms, since it is not only different but is not known in the intervening area. The Cahuilla youth gives a feast and then dances for three nights to gain ability to sing his songs.[475]

There are some rather interesting linkages in these data. Klamath and Shasta have the dance in winter. Possibly the Northeastern Maidu novice's dance through the winter is related but that is doubtful. Presumably summer is the dance time for others, as specifically the Yuki. Its duration is five days among Klamath; Shasta, three for each performance; Modoc, five in at least the first performance; Yurok, ten; Yuki, five. Klamath and Shasta hold it in a dwelling, others in the sweat-house (Yurok, Hupa, northerly Wintun) or special dance house (Sinkyone). The Klamath novice dances as close to a huge fire as he dares; so the Shasta in the earlier dance; the Yurok dances around a hot fire to "cook the pains," the Hupa around a fire. Shasta, Yurok, and Yuki believe the aspirant is shot with "pains" by his spirits; the Yurok draws them out and swallows them to show his control. The Hupa novice duplicates this by seizing and swallowing the "pains." The older shamans' part in the Yurok, Sinkyone, Yuki, and Northeastern Maidu dances is to show the novice how to gain mastery of his "pains" or spirits. Among the northerly Wintun, Northern Pomo, and Sacramento Valley Maidu they treat him for his disorder. They first suck his body clean; the Pomo suck out a feather. The Valley Maidu combine this with an opportunity for the novice to demonstrate his control by drawing out "pain"-like objects they put in him. The Yurok, Hupa, and Northeastern Maidu novice seeks further experiences in the mountains; the last after his ears are pierced. Ear piercing is the preliminary to a power quest among the neighboring Achomawi and Atsugewi.

There can be little doubt that the north Californian dance, which is essentially one of instruction and control, is related to the tutelage exercised over neophytes in the Secret Society-Kuksu complex centering farther south.

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[474] Kroeber, Handbook, 149, 197, 199, 361; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 326; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 267, Chimariko, 303; Gifford, Southern Maidu, 244.

[475] Hooper, Cahuilla, 334.

The Winter Performance

756 787 796 Shamanistic performances among the Klamath could take place only in midwinter (December–January). Every shaman made a point of exhibiting his power at this time, several of them sometimes joining for a performance. Midwinter was the most propitious moment to recall the spirits. In fact, it was at this time that laymen of the audience, who had some spirit power, would feel impelled by their own spirits to sing their songs.

*171 756 787 796 This is the essential element of the Kwakiutl secret society performances in midwinter. The society members are those who are repossessed by their spirits and the novices those who are newly possessed at this time. This is probably general among all adjacent groups having secret societies. Boas remarks that "among all the northwest coast tribes these ritualistic performances are confined to the winter months, and the season is set off from the rest of the year as the sacred season.[476]

Southward of here there are secret societies but they are not specifically connected with spirit repossession; such as those of the Quileute, whose performances take place in the winter months. The possession is general among all individuals. Again, among the Klallam the guardian spirits come to their owners once a year, generally in December or January. The person becomes "ill," calls on his friends to help him sing, and "when the guardian spirit is satisfied, it leaves the owner, who then becomes well again." Identically the same is recorded for the southern Puget Sound groups (Snohomish, Snoqualmi, Nisqually, etc.) as occurring from the middle of November to the beginning of January.[477] Both among the Klallam and on the Sound these dances take place at the winter potlatch, but they also occur at other potlatches through the year, merely as dance performances and without repossession. This renders Olson's observations on the Quinault intelligible: their potlatches are usually given about Christmas or New Year, and at these people sing their spirit songs. This suggests that here too repossession takes place at this time. On the other hand, his notes state specifically that spirit power is not stronger at this time. The spirit dances of the Wishram are very similar to the Klallam-Sound Salish affairs. These likewise are held 171* only or primarily in midwinter, that is, from December to March. Potlatching on this occasion is represented by some trifling gifts made 756• by the singers. It is not clear that the man who rises to sing his spirit 787 song at this time is repossessed, but it is suggested by a statement I recorded that when the auditors heard their songs sung, they "became 796 like fire inside, wild," offering bits of flesh to be cut off. The guardian spirit dance of the Nez Percé closely parallels this performance. This appears again among the Lillooet, and it may be that Teit's reference to the "manitou dance" of the middle Columbia Salish refers to a similar affair. (These people formerly occupied the territory between the Wishram and Nez Percé.)[478] A Wasco analogue may be reflected in a tale describing just such a singing and dancing festival among the animals; each of the five nights they dance closer to the flames.[479] This is similar to the Klamath practice of dancing as close as possible [535] to the fire, which I know is also the custom among Puget Sound groups, hence may have been universal in these performances.

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[476] Tribes of the North Pacific Coast, 244.

[477] Frachtenberg, Ceremonial Societies of Quileute, 322; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 290, 306; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 56, 59, 73.

There is a suggestive connection with these northern ideas in the Alsea custom of telling traditions in one month alone, January, and never again during the year.[480]

It is significant that the novice among Klamath and Shasta waits until winter for his inaugural dance. Among the latter this is the period in which the candidate is most likely to be possessed: "doctors generally begin their dreams and dancing early in the winter, as it is then that the Axeki [spirits] are always about the camp."[481]

If then the Klamath winter performance is construed as related to northern rites, by reason of its time, and the repossession of both shaman and layman, it is unique in one respect. I have been unable to find that elsewhere there are such regularly recurring opportunities for shamanistic display. To be sure, these occur elsewhere and quite widely, but not as regimented performances fixed as to time.

The Shaman's Assistant

The Klamath shaman regularly employs an assistant who serves as 756 interpreter of his rushing mumbled speech. Similarly, at both winter 796 performances and while curing, a second individual is selected to call the spirits and prompt them to act. 755

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[478] Spinden, Nez Percé, 262–264; Teit, Lillooet, 286, The Middle Columbia Salish, 98, 128.

[479] Sapir, Wishram Texts, 311–312, cf. 95–99, 129–131.

[480] Farrand, Alsea, 245.

[481] Dixon, Some Shamans, 24.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1860-1900)

*171 755 756 Elsewhere in the area from the Columbia river into northern California the shaman is provided with an assistant of this type. He participates, however, only in curing ceremonies. At the southern fringe of the area his functions fuse with those of the clown attendant in secret society performances. On the other hand, in western Washington he is not an interpreter or repeater of speeches, but serves purely as a lay assistant.

The Modoc assistant comes nearest to the Klamath in type. [114] Meacham refers to him as an orator who repeats loudly the shaman's speeches and who supports the shaman novice while dancing. Since the specific reference to him is in connection with the novice's dance, we may presume that he regularly accompanies the shaman in all his operations.[482]

Takelma, Wishram, and Achomawi assistants function during a cure like those of the Klamath, repeating the shaman's incoherent speech. A shamanistic dance, purely for display, occurs among the Wishram, but I did not learn that an assistant of the Klamath type had any part in it. This appears, however, among the foothill group of Northern Maidu, where, while a shaman shows his ability to commune with the spirits, a layman "apes the shaman in everything, repeats after him everything he says, and in every way tries to make the spectators laugh. It is considered a compliment to laugh, and a sign of appreciation." This "clown" has also full rein at the ceremonial for the dedication of a new dance house. Powers reports for the Southern Maidu a boy who repeats every utterance of a shaman during his performance. This may refer to a clown like that of the Northern Maidu or to an assistant who helps at a cure.[483] There is no trace of the clown in the dances of the Northeastern Maidu, but he appears again in the performances of the Sacramento valley branch. He is speaker for the dance leader, mimics the words and actions of the dancers, and attempts to make the spectators laugh by his antics. Such clowns appear regularly in Kuksu cult dances among other Sacramento valley peoples and are known as far south as the central and southern Yokuts.[484]

In the region west and north of the Wishram, shamans have assistants of a sort but they are not speakers. For example, the Chinook

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[482] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 129–136.

[483] Powers, Tribes of California, 334.

[484] Sapir, Religious Ideas of Takelma, 43; Angulo, Religious Feeling, 356, Psychologie religieuse, 568–569, 574–577; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 271, 286, 295, 311–318, 323; Kroeber, Handbook, 383.

shaman who seeks to recover the soul of a sick man uses "a manikin 171*
made of wood and cedar bark. When a conjurer wants to make use of
this manikin he gives it to a person who has no guardian spirit, who 755
shakes it for him, and they two go to the country of the ghosts." 756 ●
Boas states that this type of cure was derived by the Chinook from the Chehalis. Such sticks, carved and painted with reference to their guardians, and here described as manikins, are common property to those with spirit helpers from Oregon northward. When a Quinault shaman goes to cure, he is regularly accompanied by an aid who holds and rattles his carved stick. Here again illness is due to soul loss but there is no journey to the land of the dead.[485]

In quite another direction the Pomo appear with an assistant for the curing shaman. He shakes the shaman's rattle and sings his songs. As Kroeber remarks, the appearance of an assistant in this [114]
quarter is unusual, and in the present state of our knowledge not connected by distribution with the instances cited above.[486]

One cannot escape the impression that this provision of a speaker for the shaman is linked with the chief's spokesman of many tribes of the west. The Northwest Coast type of spokesman is known as far south as the Wishram on the Columbia and perhaps in coastal Oregon. In the Basin, from eastern Washington to northern Arizona, there is word-for-word repetition of formal speeches. There is no chief's speaker in the intervening area from Wishram to Maidu, but there is for the shaman. When we realize that in this region, chiefs are socially eclipsed by shamans, we may well argue that a substitution has taken place. Objection may be made, however, that this is equally true in the Basin, where, so far as we know, shamans do not have speakers.

Accessory Elements

The distribution of analogues of the Klamath shamans' feats is 128
quite irregular, to judge by the few notes I have collected, but this is 756
undoubtedly due to incompleteness of information. Merely to put these on record, I present them here.

The Klamath shaman swallows fire; so does the Lillooet and 171*
Thompson. Live coals are eaten by Quinault secret society performers, 756

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[485] Boas, Doctrine of Souls, 40, Chinook Texts, 207; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[486] Handbook, 258.

*171 Pomo ghost dancers, Cahuilla and Pima shamans. Perhaps the Nis-
756 qually trick of eating cold ashes is connected with these.[487]

Treading on fire or hot coals is no trick of the Klamath, but occurs I believe among the Modoc. It is also known from the Quinault, the Puget Sound Salish, Northeastern Maidu, and in the boys' rites of southern California. The Pomo can plunge his hands in fire; the Yurok shaman handles hot stones.[488]

The Klamath shaman can fill or empty at will a basket with live fish, pond-lily seed, or blood. The Thompson is credited with causing water to appear and disappear, the southern Yokuts with making fish appear in water, and the Pima with transforming water to wheat.[489]

The Klamath hold that food brought to the shamanistic performances is first eaten by the frog spirit. Until this spirit has partaken, the food may not be touched for fear of sickness. Similarly in a Shasta ceremonial in which a shaman frees a village of lurking disease, his guardian spirit is thought to eat food which has been brought for that purpose. If this is not forthcoming, the spirit may devour someone instead. The Takelma analogue takes a different form: a shaman must not eat before dancing, for, since the dance is reckoned food for his guardian spirit, he, the shaman, would be guilty of the impropriety of eating first.[490]

It may be that this is only a special construction put on the Klamath custom of throwing morsels of food to the spirits before one eats. Certainly the Kwakiutl who puts bits of food in the fire before the feasters eat is presenting them to the spirits of the fire.[491]

*171 The Klamath, and probably Modoc, shaman has set up on the out-
side of his dwelling a carved image of a boy or dwarf spirit. To find
756 a carved image here is distinctly unusual in a culture in which wood-
532 working is minimal. This seems to me to be another evidence of
influence from the woodcarving area to the north. While the analogy
may not be proper, it may be pointed out that to the northward a
shaman, in fact everyone with a guardian spirit, carves or repre-
sents that spirit on a stick which he carries during his performances.
[535] Tillamook, Chinook, and Quinault shamans have such carved sticks,

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[487] Teit, Lillooet, 289; Thompson Indians, 362; Olson, Quinault field notes; Kroeber, Handbook, 264; Hooper, Cahuilla, 331, 335; Russell, Pima, 259; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 68.

[488] Haeberlin-Gunther, *op. cit.*, 61; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 279; Kroeber, Handbook, 68.

[489] Kroeber, Handbook, 507; Russell, Pima, 258.

[490] Dixon, Shasta, 488; Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 42.

[491] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1331.

which their assistants hold or with which they dance. In fact, the use 171*
of special dance staffs is general among all Quinault who have spirits, 532
as it is among the southern Puget Sound Salish. It is strange that 756 •
neither Dr. Sapir nor I learned of either type of carving among the 535
Wishram, but our information is not full.[492] [114]

A tall painted pole is erected in front of the Klamath shaman's 171*
lodge from which dangles a cord bearing at intervals bunches of
feathers, a piece of wood, and a miniature gambling tray, all these 756
representative of spirits. There are analogues of this southward to the 778
Maidu. Such a pole is also erected outside a Modoc shaman's dwelling; it is painted and bears the skins and feathers of various spirit animals. It is used earlier at the novice's dance. This is described as some three or four meters high and decorated with paint and a few feathers. Such a pole is set up when a Shasta shaman rids a locality of disease: it has baskets hung from it. Again when an Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman cures, a pole is sometimes set up near the house, to which is tied a bunch of feathers (*qaqu*). The *qaqu* has a significant function; it is obtained with difficulty on his spirit quest and has the power to tell him where the disease is located. The poles used for a Northeastern Maidu shaman novice are somewhat different. They are set up on the roof of the house in which the inaugural dance takes place, and inside above the spot where he stays; others are carried to the mountains where novices go on their quests. These are short wands, a meter to a meter and a half long, variously painted, with pendent strings of feathers and acorn shells, or bunches of feathers. These have some obscure but intimate relation to his spirits. Similar wands are set up at the dedication of a new dance house by the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento valley.[493]

Among the items of a Klamath shaman's costume are a forehead 171*
band or neckband of woodpecker scalps mounted on a buckskin founda- 756
tion and a bunch of yellowhammer feathers worn on hat or neck. 292
The feathers of both these birds have value and ceremonial usage in California but not to the north.

Woodpecker scalps attain the status of money among the Yurok 171*
and perhaps their neighbors. Not only have they value in themselves,
but they are worked into ceremonial headdresses over most of northern 292
California. The Yurok and Hupa use forehead headbands like those 435

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[492] Boas, Notes on Tillamook, 10, Doctrine of Souls, 40; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[493] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130, 136; Dixon, Shasta, 475–476, 487, Notes on Achomawi, 218, Some Shamans, 24, Northern Maidu, 275–278, 312.

*171 292 435 of the Klamath in their Jumping dances, and the Hupa "roll-woodpecker hats" in their Brush Dance. Dixon figures what is probably a Shasta shaman's headband with a large woodpecker scalp affixed. Northern Maidu make use of a belt or bandolier of woodpecker scalps now mounted on buckskin, but formerly on a netted foundation. A headdress like a helmet, covered with these, is worn by the highest members of their secret society. A spirit impersonator of the Sacramento Valley Maidu wears a forehead band of these scalps, tapering at its ends. Pomo women wear "a woven band of woodpecker feathers" (scalps?) presumably in dances: this suggests a net foundation. In all the other cases cited above the foundation of the band is a buckskin strip. Kroeber has pointed out that the Yurok headband (and I would add here all northern analogues) have skin mounting, while those used in the Kuksu dances of the lower Sacramento valley are made on a close network. The Northern Maidu belt then represents an intelligible transformation of technique. Klamath and Shasta shamans' headbands, and the Takelma shaman's mere use of the feathers in his hair, are attenuated usages.[494]

Klamath use of yellowhammer feathers is only casual and would have no significance were these not regularly part of ceremonial regalia to the south. There the form is commonly a forehead band. Their use is primarily central and northern Californian and they are not found in most of southern California.[495] A search of the literature shows the use of such bands by shamans only among Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northeastern Maidu, and the feathers alone by Takelma shamans.[496] Elsewhere they are non-shamanistic dance regalia: Chilula, Sinkyone, Coast Yuki, Yuki, Pomo, Patwin, Northern and Southern Maidu, Yokuts, Koso, and Luiseño.[497] It will be observed that this distribution avoids the Klamath river tribes.

*171 156 Circumspection of action in the presence of a shaman is held necessary in a number of groups from Thompson to Maidu. His immediate presence is fraught with power, so that making contact with him by his shadow or one's own, startling him, or making a misstep in passing, are all potentially dangerous. A shaman of the Northern

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[494] Kroeber, Handbook, 26, 56, 433–434; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 19, 69, 86; Dixon, Shasta, 481; Northern Maidu, 149, 284; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 157; Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 264.

[495] Kroeber, Handbook, 140, 149, 508, 665.

[496] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 219, Northern Maidu, 283; Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 316; Sapir, *op. cit.*, 264.

[497] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 140, 149, 173, 216, 261, pls. 59 and 77, 508, 591, 665; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 152, 283; Faye, Southern Maidu, 48, 50.

Maidu of the Sacramento valley may kill merely by letting his shadow 171*
fall on his victim. A Klamath cannot pass in front of a shaman nor 756
drop something in front of him, else the shaman suffers a hemorrhage. Similarly a Kwakiutl apparently does not pass behind an eating shaman, else he too has a hemorrhage. The Wishram shaman, angry with one who endangers him by passing behind or startling him, may bewitch in revenge. A Cowichan of the mainland group will not let his shadow fall on a sick shaman, for the latter may seize the chance to replace his own lost soul. Similarly the Lillooet avoid letting their shadows fall on a shaman or standing in his, for fear of consequences. The Thompson, too, will not let his shadow fall on a shaman (the reverse is not harmful), and dares not startle him nor eat meat without inviting him to share it.[498]

Clairvoyance

Prediction is a widespread, if not universal, ability of shamans. 171*
A somewhat unique form among the Klamath is that at the dance pre- 756
ceding the departure of a war party. The shaman dances in front of
the warriors in order to discover those who will be wounded: he sees 787
them bleeding. He also accompanies the party to watch over them 726
and cure wounds. Something of the same sort is noted for the Modoc. [535]
This also seems to take place among the Chinook: "before the people
go to war they sing. If one of them sees blood, he will be killed in [755]
battle." Perhaps this is general in the northwest; at any rate Goddard observes of the Northwest Coast at large: "Every war party includes a shaman who by his supernatural knowledge warns of danger and points out favorable times and places for attacks. The shaman, by catching or destroying the souls of the enemy, makes the killing of their bodies an easy matter."[499]

As I have pointed out it is unusual that the Klamath shaman treats 171*
wounds and fractures by matter-of-fact methods. But this has also 755
been noted of the Achomawi. Angulo thinks this true only since the advent of the whites, but it is surely an old practice of the Klamath.[500]

The practice of freeing a locality or village of disease, dispatched there by a malevolent shaman, is probably more common than I have

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[498] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 269; Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 730; Lower Fraser River, 9; Teit, Lillooet, 288; Thompson Indians, 361.

[499] Gatschet, 1:21; Boas, Chinook Texts, 270; Goddard, Indians of the Northwest Coast, 119.

[500] Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 571.

*171 755 been able to discover. At any rate, I note it for Achomawi-Atsugewi and Shasta, as well as Klamath. Following the usual shamanistic seance the Klamath shaman searches the vicinity for the malevolent spirit. He rushes about until he falls, blood streaming from his mouth. Several men must support him by the arms and restrain him until he can destroy it in water. The Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman forces the disease out of the ground by his power and then seizes it. He staggers about in his effort to hold it until he can plunge it into water. He then swallows or burns it, or dispatches it to kill its sender. The Shasta erect a shaman's pole at the affected spot. The shaman dances, calling on her spirit to dislodge the disease "pains" from the ground. "If the shaman's guardian is successful, he succeeds in pushing the pains into the river, and drowns them." Certain features of a Chinook cure are like these. When their shaman has taken a disease from a sick man, he must be held by several men to overcome the strength of the disease spirit, until he can plunge it into water.[801] The destruction of an extracted disease by placing it in water is a common feature among Washington tribes. I have seen it, for example, as part of a cure by members of the pseudo-Christian sect of Shakers among the Skokomish and learned that it occurred among the Okanagon.

Various Beliefs

*171 763 •756 821 I have a somewhat random series of analogues of Klamath beliefs. The Klamath hold that a storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned. The Northern Maidu hold that it thunders at once when a great man dies, and inasmuch as the most important individuals of the Maidu are shamans, it is clear that this is a comparable belief. The Thompson have it that the death or burial of a person causes an immediate change in the weather; that of a shaman, a sudden and extreme change. The death of a Wind River Shoshoni causes a whirlwind.

*171 821 844 These beliefs are apparently a single expression of a more general belief that both births and deaths are signaled by a change in the weather. For example, the Klamath also hold that it always blows at a woman's first parturition. Analogous to this the Wishram say that extreme weather marks a birth. Further, a rainbow points to the spot where the birth takes place. The latter belief at least is

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[801] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 219, Shasta, 487; Boas, Chinook Texts, 208.

171* 821 844

shared by other Upper Chinook (Wasco, Cascades, and Clackamas) and the Eastern Pomo. Similar to their belief in respect to death, the Northern Maidu say it thunders when a woman has a miscarriage, and the people of Cochiti say the same of a Navaho woman when the wind blows. Again, a sudden change of the weather accompanies a Thompson birth.[502]

171* 821

An association of the moon and frog is common to several tribes of this quarter. The Klamath say that the Moon is saved by his wife, Frog, during an eclipse, from being eaten by a grizzly. The frog can be seen in the moon. The Quinault hold an identical belief. An eclipse is caused by the "upper fisher" (a spirit animal) biting the moon. "There is a lady frog up there who helps the most and really saves the moon." A tale describes this frog as married to the moon. According to the Northern Maidu, the spots in the moon are thought to be a frog. A Northern Paiute tale describes Moon as swallowing Frog.[503]

171* 789

One of the few acts of outright magic among the Klamath relates to causing the wind to blow. This is accomplished by poking in the hollows of a certain rock, striking another, or poking in a particular eddy. The Wishram also maintain that stirring about in a hole in the rocks near their village will raise a wind; the Quinault that thrusting a stick into a spot where gas bubbles rise in the water will bring a storm; and the Twana (or Klallam?) that shaking a certain rock will cause rain.[504]

171* 825

Comparable to the Klamath belief that the "cat" *Bassariscus* kills deer by wrapping his long tail around their necks, the Northern Maidu state this of the mountain lion.[505]

Summary

171* 756 •

The general basis of Klamath shamanism is like that of other interior Plateau and Basin peoples. Social importance attaches to shamans above even that accorded chiefs. Rituals are meager and throughout are crisis ceremonials. As with the generality of North American tribes, acquisition of power is free for all, shamans stand-

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[502] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266–7; Teit, The Thompson Indians, 374; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 297; Goldfrank, Cochiti, 83; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 316.

[503] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1926; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266 (the tale relative to this is not available to me); Natches, Northern Paiute Verbs, 257.

[504] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 674.

[505] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266.

*171 ing out only by their greater capacities. The voluntary quest in an
• 756 isolated place and the formulation of spirits as birds, animals, and other things in nature are equally general North American.

There is, however, a local phrasing of shamanism in the interior, centering in southeastern Oregon and northeastern California, that is, from Klamath to Maidu. In part this is due to the presence of elements shared equally with the whole of northern California; in part to specific influences from two directions, northwestern California and the Northwest Coast. These have been caught up into complexes characteristic of this territory. Certain features are, further, peculiar to this locality alone.

*171 California and the western segment of the Southwest are char-
756 acterized by the few individuals on whom supernatural grace descends
787 and the dream as the means of its reception. Elsewhere east and north the voluntary quest is open to everyone and the vision its culmination. Northern California combines these variously; the Klamath by making the quest, permitting anyone to do so, and holding the quest a prelude to the dream.

Spirits are the source of power in northeastern California, as they are northward and eastward. The curious northwest Californian concept of "pains," alike sources of power and pathogenic in their action, infiltrates the beliefs of the northeastern quarter of the state but does not penetrate to the Klamath. Nor do the mythic supernaturals of the northwest coastal strip known as far south as the Columbia river make their appearance here. But the conceptualization of the shaman's spirits as dwarfs, localized in northern California, does appear among the Klamath.

There is also in the interior some inheritance of a predilection to acquire spirits: in this the Klamath share. But there is nothing of that rigid inheritance of particular spirits which focuses on the Northwest Coast, nor the inheritance of paraphernalia known to central California.

*171 The manner of conducting the quest has two local peculiarities.
The curious practice of piling rocks in the mountains is known north
787 and south of the Klamath from Nez Percé to Atsugewi. Diving for a spirit, swooning, and awakening with a hemorrhage has a far more widely extended range. In one form or another, it is found from the Kwakiutl through northern California. The emphasis on it links the Klamath definitely with the northern members of this group.

The time of life at which supernatural power may be gained is not 171*
limited among most western tribes. Those of eastern Washington 787
and the interior of British Columbia, however, tend to restrict the quest to adolescence, and with them seem to link the secret society initiations of the Northwest Coast. One gains the impression that in northwestern California, where the acquisition is involuntary, it descends only on adults. The Klamath, like others of northeastern California, follow the more widespread habit of seeking power at any time.

Feminine shamanism is characteristic of northwestern California. 171*
While this appears in the relatively large number of women practitioners as far east as Shasta and Achomawi, the Klamath are unaffected 756 •
by this influence. [562]

Specialization among shamans is not marked over most of western America. Such distinctions as are made between those who cure and mere clairvoyants, or the really powerful shaman and one with limited abilities, are very variable and never particularly impressive. Such distinctions do not appear among the Klamath at all. Neither do the common Californian specialists, the rattlesnake, bear, and weather shamans. Weather control is exercised by any Klamath shaman who has the requisite spirits.

Northern California and Oregon share an initial dance for the 171*
novice: a performance of initiation and mastery in the south, a demonstration of ability in Oregon. The Klamath affiliate with the latter. 756
Its local form on the Klamath river below the Klamath (Yurok, 535
Shasta, and Modoc), a dance made immediately on the acquisition of power with a second somewhat later, has no counterpart among the Klamath. The general form of the Klamath novice dance is identical with all their shamanistic seances. In one particular they affiliate with the down-river tribes, namely in dancing over a hot fire, but even this is known on the southern fringe of the Northwest Coast proper, if not elsewhere.

Northwest Coast influences appear at two points: the time of 171*
shamanistic seances and the woodcarvings representing spirits. Klamath seances are restricted to midwinter, the novice dance among 756
them. This is regularly the period at which all who have spirits are 796
repossessed and impelled to dance, shamans among them. The regimentation of the repossessed in the midwinter sacred period of the Northwest Coast is lacking, but a diminution of the idea and its forms is clearly traceable from that focus to Shasta and Klamath. Wooden 000

*171 Wooden images are unique in the non-woodworking culture of Klamath and
756 Modoc, yet this too is traceable southward from the same center.^ It is far less certain that clairvoyance in connection with a war party is
532 derived from that source, yet the trait is shared by the northern coastal people.

*171 Some elements are local in the Oregon-north California interior. Such is the shaman's assistant, his mouthpiece and interlocutor. He
755 is present at cures from Wishram to Achomawi; present at seances
756 from Klamath to Southern Maidu. For some of the Maidu he is a clown, which links him with the clown among the Kuksu impersonators of central California. There is reason to think that this functionary is historically connected with the chief's speaker known from the Northwest Coast through the interior to the Southwest. Other local elements are the pole having spirit reference (Klamath to Northern Maidu), the notion that food is first eaten by the spirits (Takelma, Shasta, Klamath), the ridding of a locality of disease (Klamath, Shasta, Achomawi-Atsugewi).

*171 Other elements, while local, are somewhat more widely distributed. There is the circumspection with respect to the shaman's shadow and
756 to startling him; the notion that weather changes at birth and death;
[821] all these are common from southern British Columbia to the Maidu, largely through the interior.

*171 The Klamath shamans' dress bears some imprint of northern and
756 central Californian influence in the use of woodpecker scalp headbands and of yellowhammer feathers. Both are characteristic dance
292 regalia in the south; on the Oregon border they have passed over to
237 the shamans.

*171 In broad perspective Klamath shamanism is of generalized, undifferentiated North American type, sharing some features that are
756 local, and but moderately influenced from the Northwest Coast and the central and northwestern foci of California. Its general nature is recognizable in the quest and the undifferentiated power it yields; the most marked local elements are the predisposition to inherit power, the novice dance, and the shaman's assistant. California at large appears in the dream as a vehicle of acquiring power; northern California in the dwarfs that figure among Klamath spirits; central California in the shaman's headdress. Northwest Coast influences are no stronger; repossession in midwinter and the use of carvings color Klamath shamanism only mildly.

^ [i.e., the Northwest Coast.—Analyst]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

If we look for elements peculiarly Klamath, they are difficult to find. At best there is only the regularity with which seances occur at midwinter, and even here we do not know with certainty that this does not occur elsewhere. Further, if we feel that this regularity is due to recurrent possession, this merges with general Northwest Coast practice, and its uniqueness disappears. The peculiarity of the Klamath complex, then, rests only in the specific combination of widely distributed elements that they have effected, a combination known nowhere else in exactly this form. 171* 756

THE MARRIAGE COMPLEX

Social relations among the Klamath, even more than the shamanistic practices, are clearly explicable as a function of their geographic position. They are most clearly crystallized in the matters of chieftainship, slaveholding, concepts of wealth, and the relative social standing of shaman and chief, but especially in their marital relations. Household and village groupings, puberty rites and analogous customs, have much less definite or peculiar form among them. For this reason, the discussion which follows will be confined largely to the earlier group of topics. As the most complex situation is that surrounding marriage, I will analyze this first. 105

While marriage among the Klamath is contracted by purchase, it is not a negotiated transaction. Payment is socially obligatory. It is a seal of respectability and in a rough way the amount changing hands is a measure of the social pretensions of the families involved. Hence clandestine matches are severely frowned on. No obligation may be assumed for which payment is not forthcoming. Yet such payment does not fix the status nor the value of an individual with any precision. For example, the purchase price of a murdered man's mother or that of his bride never enters consciously in assessing his blood price. Failure to pay for a bride is a blot not easily erased. 583 [554]

It must be remembered that the reciprocal gifts from the bride's family frequently outweigh the purchase price. Further, the bride is in no sense a chattel, but free to leave her husband at will, he having but slight recourse to recover his gifts. Nor is a wife obligated to bear children to her husband, nor does their birth cancel the marriage debt. In adultery it is clear that a man has no eye to the monetary value of his wife's affections. He kills the lover; to take payment is unthinkable. It does not appear that a marriage brings about a con- 583 431 581 837 000

174 Every evidence points to the recency of the rise of chieftainship
622 among these people. It is doubtful that material differences in wealth and slave-holding existed prior to the opening of direct contact with
756 the Columbia river tribes after 1800. Even then chiefs were of relatively minor importance. The shamans were the great men and the wealthiest, easily eclipsing the chiefs. As an instance I have cited the difficulty of obtaining the names of chiefs of pre-reservation days, whereas shamans are well remembered. It is clear that some of the local groups did not have chiefs. The relative dominance of the shaman persisted until reservation days. Prior to this time chiefs were barely differentiated leaders of the Great Basin type.

Basis of Chieftainship

*171 The Northwest Coast tribes stood in sharp contrast to this simple social scheme. There existed a caste system, a division into aristocracy,
622 commoners, and slaves. While the relative ranking was continuous
565 from the noblest aristocrat to the meanest commoner, there was never-
554 theless a well defined consciousness of distinction between the grades. This aristocracy was based on lineage and wealth. Its highest members were the chiefs, ordinarily the wealthiest persons. Yet a chief might lose wealth but retain his rank by reason of his birth. Within each community were several chiefs of the first rank whose authority extended hardly beyond their immediate retainers. Their advice was followed rather than their dictates obeyed. They were, however, among the Kwakiutl, for example, the recipients of gifts from their followers, not so much by reason of right as to bespeak their future aid and to enrich them to the further glory of the whole group.[560]

A definite caste system of this type is traceable southward from British Columbia through coastal Washington and Oregon at least as far as the Alsea. It has been noted, for example, for Klallam, the Puget sound tribes, Chinook, Wishram, and Alsea. It did not appear in the interior among the upper Fraser river tribes, nor in eastern Washington as among the Okanagon and Middle Columbia Salish, nor in eastern Oregon among Klamath, Modoc, and Northern Paiute. At the southern extremity of this area of distribution a somewhat different situation prevailed. There was no rigid caste system, but differences of wealth were considerable and on these social standing

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[560] See Sapir, Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes, 360; Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 338, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1333 f., Social Organization of the Kwakiutl.

*171 and "one family was recognized as preeminent in each of the four 556 geographic divisions into which the Shasta are grouped."[564]

622 The number of chiefs was definitely fixed only on the Oregon coast, where there were two for each local division or village. "There were two chiefs for every river, among the Tillamook as well as among the Alsea," one the principal chief.[565] "The Coos Indians lived in small villages, each of which had two chiefs. . . . . Of the two village-chiefs, one usually ranked higher." There was in addition a tribal head chief.[566] This is the multiple chief-wealthy-man situation of the whole coast reduced to definite form, and it is even conceivable that these people did not differ at all, particular cases where there were two chiefs having been cited as the general custom. It must be remembered that our accounts are of the slightest. It is possible however that there was a dual chieftainship prevailing on the Oregon coast. This might account for the curious fact that two chiefs of presumably equal rank are repeatedly referred to among the Rogue river Indians assembled at Table Rock about 1855 (possibly Takelma proper or Upland Takelma).[567]

Quite another basis for the recognition of chiefs existed in the northern Basin-Plateau and the Plains, namely, a war record coupled with generosity and other personal qualifications. The Klamath shared this sentiment as well as the northwestern recognition of wealth. The warlike character of chiefs extended as far west as the Middle Columbia Salish, including Nez Percé, Wind River Shoshoni,[568] and such typical north Plains tribes as Crow and Assiniboin.

In the southern parts of the Basin the characteristics of chiefs, their functions and powers, were vague. There were headmen or leaders for hunting, perhaps the only communal enterprises, among Paviotso, Washo, and Southern Paiute. These individuals were chosen
[756] by their people.[569] In importance they were eclipsed by the shamans.

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[564] Kroeber, Handbook, 296.

[565] Boas, Notes on the Tillamook, 4.

[566] St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 25.

[567] See Walling, History of Southern Oregon, 182.

[568] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, 126; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 283.

[569] Lowie, *op. cit.*, 284–285.

*171 those of the Klamath; theirs was an advisory function and they led
622 in war.[672]

A corollary of the chief rich man's position in California and
Oregon was that he did not himself engage in war. By reason of his
wealth he could terminate the conflict by paying the blood money
necessary to balance the score. This has been observed of the Tilla-
[701] mook, Shasta, Hupa, Kato, Pomo, and was perhaps general.[673] There
is some suggestion of this in Klamath custom; a chief was not ordinarily a war leader but he certainly did not make good the blood-money payments. On the other hand this may have been nothing more than the common western attitude that a chief was not of necessity a war leader.

*171 One characteristic feature of the cultures from Columbia river
southward, which has been touched on before, was a well developed
683 system of fines for injuries. This did not appear on the Northwest Coast nor in western Washington, but was by no means confined to northwestern California as has been implied. It is quite characteristic of a larger area: Wishram, Alsea, Coos, Takelma, Yurok, Karok, Hupa, Shasta, Pomo.[674] Remuneration was often demanded for comparatively slight injuries; thus an Alsea shinny player who was hit exceptionally hard had to be compensated. The eastern groups (Klamath, Maidu, etc.) had no such sentiment, but it is worthy of note that they did compound a murder by a property settlement, a notion which may have been absent still farther east in the Basin.

Speaker

*171 Chiefs' speakers occurred among many western tribes. There
622 were none such among the Klamath, whose shamans had however
assistants with comparable functions. These have been discussed with
537 shamanism. The chief's speaker was eminently characteristic of the
• [756] Northwest Coast, where his activity in the potlatch and other cere-
monies has been often remarked. He not only repeated the words of his chief to the gathering but also served as his representative and advocate. In the Great Basin, on the other hand, the function of the speaker was merely to repeat verbatim after an orator or story-teller.

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[672] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 58; Kroeber, Handbook, 164, 296; McKern, Functional Families; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 223, Notes on the Achomawi, 215; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 41.

[673] Kroeber, A Kato War; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 202, 203, 236.

[674] Frachtenberg, Alsea Texts, 199; Sapir, Notes on the Takelma, 270; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 297.

It will be observed that the Klamath conformed to the general usage in that meat and fresh fish were avoided and the scratcher used, but a woman need not leave her home unless she was a member of a shaman's household. 171* 841 [756]

There are certain other taboos which were by no means universal but occurred over considerable areas in the same form. For example, salt was taboo to menstruants in southern and central California (Mohave, Diegueño, Luiseño, and much to the north, Pomo and Yuki).

It was in the nature of the case that those regulatory prescriptions that surround women throughout their lives held with equal force at the first period. It was not inevitable however that the conduct of the girl at her first period should be further regimented, or that restrictions be applied to the first period and none other (as among the Wishram). As I noted at the outset of this discussion, ritualization of the first period was characteristic of the extreme west alone. 171* 881

The rites had everywhere a composite character as far as purpose went, although it was very much the same throughout their whole range, but differently weighted in the north and south. I think we can safely state that the general purposes of the rites were to announce the nubility of the girl and thus qualify her as a candidate for marriage, and to serve her well-being at this physiological crisis. In the north the inevitable wealth display served as well to fix her social status. In the central section the industry and modesty she was forced to display were intended to fix her habits for life. While this looks much like a magical procedure, it may well have been a more direct way of achieving that end. It is indeed probable that the acts of this period of emotional stress should retain a high degree of consciousness throughout her life or at least until her habits were stabilized. In the south her physiological well-being was accentuated to the extent that other ritualistic possibilities, such as dancing, were dwarfed.

Apart from those features described above that have a general distribution there were rites of a specific character which fall into a number of distinct geographic types:

1. In the Northwest the adolescent girl was secluded in a closed-off section of her home, squatting in a constrained position, her head covered by a hat or mat. At the expiration of this period of seclusion a potlatch, a feast with distribution of property, was given in her honor by her parents. A series of songs were sung, hereditary-

*171 533 sang about foodstuffs gathered by women, the Yuki about acorns, also a woman's food product. The Klamath sang about men and women; similar love songs have been noted for the Klallam and those of the Nootka were satirically sexual. This temptation to invoke the sexual implication of the occasion took another expression; a period of license during the dance among the Northeastern Maidu and the Yuki. It is highly probable that this attitude was widespread.

*171 787 How generally this crisis was made the occasion for a vision quest by the girl is not clear. This may have been a trait of Oregon and Washington alone. To be sure, the guardian spirit concept was but little developed in California, at least among more typical tribes. The girl was sent out at night by Nisqually, Tillamook, Coos, and perhaps the Klamath, to seek a spirit in the manner stereotyped for boys, wandering on the mountains and bathing in lonely pools.

*171 881 The whole performance was repeated at the following monthly periods in this area. The number of subsequent performances brought the total to five among the Klamath, conformable with their pattern number, to three among Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Karok, to two among Chinook, Northeastern Maidu, and Sinkyone, while it was repeated at monthly intervals throughout the winter among the Huchnom. While the number of performances was variable, the habit of their repetition was confined to a fairly consolidated area. The Mohave custom of imposing restrictions at successive periods for a reduced number of days at each period is not directly comparable. It is rather analogous to the continued restriction of a month's duration at first menstruation imposed by Shivwits, Luiseño, and Coast Central Pomo. There is no indication of such continuous restrictions in the Oregon-north Californian area, but this was characteristic again of the Northwest Coast tribes who imposed them for a period upward to a year (a year, Ten'a, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola; six months to a year, Tahltan; four to ten months, Nootka; six to eight months, Nisqually; five months, Quinault; fifty or one hundred days, Chinook).

*171 841 [756] The place of the Klamath in all this is fairly clear. They have very little concern with women's periodicity and its possible social or ceremonial significance. Women are not excluded from home at their periods save in the case of those living with shamans. The rigorous segregation that occurs on all sides of them, throughout the Pacific coast, the Plateau, and Basin, made practically no impression on the Klamath. It is surely not accidental that it is the near-by Wishram who also care nothing for such restriction. Such restrictions as do

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
Hunting Observances																
224 o137. First kill taboo to youth	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
138. To youth's parents also	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+
139. Kill taboo until marriage	−	−	−	−	•−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
140. Youth switched after first kill	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
141. Before he goes to kill first deer	+	+	−	−	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
142. Taboo to voice intent to hunt deer	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
o143. Hunter fasts morning or day of hunt	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	±	−	+
[934] 144. Sexual continence before hunt	−	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[276] 145. Tobacco smoked ritually before hunt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	•+	−	•+
146. Root incense before hunt	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
[783] 147. Weapons smoked over fire	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
148. Hunter smokes self over fire	·	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	−	+	+	+	•−	+	−
149. Root chewed before hunt	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
150. Sweating before hunt	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
[515] 151. With scarification and bleeding	−	+	•+	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
152. Hunter prays while sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•−	−	•−	−	−	−
153. Shell bead burnt as offering	−										+	+	+	−	−	•−
[515] 154. Bathing before hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
155. Body swabbed with medicine	−	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	+	•+
156. Deer doctor charms game prior to hunt	−	+	+			•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
157. Antelope doctor charms game prior to hunt	−	+	·		o	o	+	−	o	o	o	−	o	−	o	−
158. Ceremony before group hunt	−	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
159. Singing	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Praying	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
161. Dancing	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
162. Hoof rattle	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	·	−	+	−
163. Cocoon rattle	−		−		−			−	−		+	+	+	+	−	−
163a. Split-stick rattle	−	−	•R	−	−	•R		+	−	−	−	−	·	−	·	•+
164. Headdress	−	−	+			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	·	−
165. Conducted by shaman	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
166. Acorn-soup dinner									•+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+
167. Ceremony after hunt	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	·	+	•+	−	+
[782] 168. Offerings made for success of hunt	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•·	•+
168a. Eagle down	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	·	−
168b. Tobacco	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	·	−
[754] 169. Shaman goes on hunt to charm game	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•−	+	−
170. Bear spoken to in den or woods	•−	•+	•+	+	•+	•−	o	−	+	·	+	•+	o	·	(−)	•+
171. Addressed by kin term	−	·	+	−	+	−	o	−	−	·	+	+	o	·	(−)	+
172. Apologetic speech after killing	−	−	+	•−	+	−	o	−	+	·	+	+	o	·	−	+
173. Meat eaten in one house	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	+	(+)	o	·	+	−
174. All who eat must wash, be continent	−	+	+	•−							+	+	o	·	+	−
175. Remains in tree or hidden in woods	−	−	+	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	+	−	o	·	−	−
176. Remains burnt	−	−	−			+	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	·	−	+
177. Killing pregnant bear causes death, misfortune	−	·	−	+	−	−	o	−	−	−	·	+	o	·	−	−
[202] 178. Smoke or fire signals when 2 or more hunt together	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
179. Shouting as signal	−	−							+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
180. To obtain aid in packing kill	+	•+	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+
Butchering of Large Game																
181. Large game butchered in woods	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	•−	+	+
182. Lying	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
183. Eyes cut out	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
184. Given to child to eat raw	−	−	−	•−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
185. Nose cut or tied	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
186. Paunch cleaned, filled with blood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+
187. Carcass packed home whole	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	·	−	+	+	+	−	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
684. Separate hole	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	342
685. Hole rectangular or square	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	
685a. Secondary entry	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	(–)	•+	•+	•+	•(+)	–	–	+	•+	
686. Ground level	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	
687. Side or end of house	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	•+	(–)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	
688. For children	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	(–)	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	+	
689. For deer, wood	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	
690. Draft hole	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
691. Smoke hole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	+	–	
692. Ceremonial use only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
693. Single fireplace	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
694. Center of house	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	
695. Between center and door	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	
696. Between draft hole and center post	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
697. Beside main (ground) entrance	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
698. On surface or in shallow depression	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	
699. In definite pit	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
700. Cooking fire outside dwelling	+	+	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
701. Smoke hole	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
702. Draft hole in rear of house	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	–	•+	•+	•+	.	–	–	–	•+	
703. House ladder	+	+	–	•–	+	•+	+	+	•–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•–	•+	
704. Notched plank or log	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	
705. 2 poles, rungs tied between	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	
706. Center post as ladder	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	
707. Crosspieces lashed on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
708. Interior wall coverings	–	–	–		+	•+	+		•+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	
709. Tule mats	–	–	–		–	•+	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
710. Hides	–	–	–		+	–	+		–	–	+	(+)	–	–	–	–	
711. Bark slabs to bank walls	–	–	–		–	–	–		•–	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	
712. Planks to bank walls	–	–	–		–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
713. Bed scaffolds	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
714. Floor coverings and pallets	+	+	+	•(–)	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
715. Mats	+	+	+	(–)	+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	
716. Loose grass or boughs	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
717. Pine-needle pallet	+	+	–			•+	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
718. Wooden stool	–	–	–	•(+)	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
719. Individually owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	.	•+	[423]
720. Chief nominal owner	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	.	–	
721. Rich man	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
722. Shaman	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
722a. Communally owned	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	.	•+	
723. Used as living house	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	•+	•+	+	+	•+	–	–	•+	
724. 1-family	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
725. Multifamily	+	+	+	–	+	•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	
726. To sleep in, only	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
727. For sleeping, cooking	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	
728. Serves as sweat house	–	(–)	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•–	•+	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	
729. Serves as assembly house	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	[562]
730. Open to both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
731. Open to men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	
732. Women admitted only during ceremonies	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	[756]
733. Used for shamanistic activities	•+	•+	•+	•+	(–)	(–)	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	
733a. Winter use mainly	+	+	•+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	•+	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	[221]
734. Summer use mainly	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	•+	–	–	–	–	
735. Used throughout year	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	–	–	+	+	+	•+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Clubs																	
1055. Stone clubs	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	411
1056. "Slave killer" (animal figure)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1057. Paddle-shaped	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[532]
1058. Imported		.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1059. Natural cobblestone, cylindrical	-	-	-						+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1060. Wooden clubs	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
1061. Natural limb	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
1062. Used in brawls or to kill salmon only	+	+							+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1063. Ball- or knob-ended	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
1064. Stone or horn spike insert	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1065. Straight rabbit club	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	
1066. Stone head encased in buckskin	-	(+)	.	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Fighting Spears																	
1067. Spear used in war	•R	+	+	-	•-	•-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	[726]
1068. Thrust mainly	(+)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	
1069. Flaked stone point	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	
1070. Bone or horn point	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Daggers, Slings, Bola																	
1071. Obsidian knife or dagger	+	+	+	+	+	•+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1072. Center section buckskin-wrapped	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1073. Hafted wooden handle	-	-	-	-				+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
1073a. Bone dagger, awl-shaped	-	-	-					•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1074. Sling	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	
1075. Used for war	-	+	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	
1076. Used for hunting	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1077. Used as toy	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	
1078. Clay shot	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1079. Rocks for shot	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	
1080. Bola	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	•+	•+		.	
Armor																	
1081. Rod jacket	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	714
1082. Hide tunic, no rods	•+	+	+	-	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
1083. Hide helmet	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1084. Circular rod shield		-				•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1084a. Hide curtain as shield	-	+	(+)	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Household Implements																	
Mortars and Pestles																	
1085. Bedrock mortar	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	%	412
1086. Portable stone mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1087. Outside rough hewn	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1088. Outside shaped and smoothed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1089. Found locally, used commonly	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	
1090. Found locally, not used for grinding food	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	•+	
1091. Found locally, used by shaman	-	•(+)	+	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	[756] ●
1092. Regarded as animate object	-	-	+	+		+	-	-						-	-	•-	[774]
1093. Regarded as dangerous or poisonous	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	•+	-	•+	+	.	-	-	-	•+	
1094. Made by myth character	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	•+	.	-	-	-	-	•+	[773]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
38 1479. Plant bulb															•+	−
824 1480. Mountain balm and milkweed																+
1481. Pine pitch	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	.	.	.	•+
1482. Chokecherry tree pitch	+	+	.	+	−	−	+	+	.	•+	−	.	.	.	.	−

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

Haircut

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
302 1483. Long, past shoulders	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
1484. Bobbed or shoulder length	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
1485. Men	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1486. Women	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
1487. Girls	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
[765] 1488. After death of relative only	−	+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1489. Close crop	+	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
1490. Men	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1491. Women	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
1492. Girls	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
1493. Boys	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1494. Infants			+	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
[765] 1495. After death of relative only.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
1496. Bangs on forehead	−	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
1497. Temple locks, forelock	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1498. Scalp lock	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1499. Hair cut with knife	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
1500. Hair singed	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+

Coiffure

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1501. Hair hangs loose	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1502. Men	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
1503. Women	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
1504. Boys	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1505. Girls	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
1506. Hair rolled or bunched on head	−	−	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	−	−	•+
1507. Men	−	−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
1508. Women	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1509. Hair combed up, 1 tie on top of head, ends up	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1510. 1 tie around hair, nape of neck	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
1511. Men	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	.	+	+
1512. Women	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	−
1513. Boys	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	.	−	+
1514. Girls	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1515. Hair parted in middle	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	−	−	•+	−
1516. Part painted red	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
[756] 1517. Commonly	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1518. Doctors only	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1519. Hair braided, three strand	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
1520. 2 braids in front of shoulders, men	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
1521. 2 braids in front of shoulders, women	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
1522. 1 braid down back, men	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1523. 1 braid down back; women, girls	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1524. 2 full-length rolls in front of shoulders	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1525. Men	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1526. Women	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1527. Young women	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1528. Girls	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
301 1689. Dentalia	R	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1690. Olivella whole shells	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	.	.	+	.
1691. Clamshell disk beads	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1692. Haliotis pieces	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1693. Banjo-shaped haliotis pendant	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1694. Bone tubes	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1695. Deer, coyote, wildcat carpals	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1696. Pine nuts or shells	(+)	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1697. Braided sweet grass		o					+	o	+	+	–	–	o	–	–	–
1698. Wildflowers	R	–	–	•+		•–				+	–	+	+	+	+	–
1699. Belts of hair	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1700. Worn by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1701. Worn continually	–	–	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1702. Worn on special occasions only	+	+	+	+					–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1703. Flower wreaths on head	.	–	–	•+		–		+	•+	+	–	–	•+	+	+	–
1704. Boys and girls, playing	.	–	–	+		–		+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
[391] 1705. Girls, at girl's puberty dance	R	–	–	–		–			+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–

Cane or Staff

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
481 1706. Straight stick	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1707. Sharpened at lower end	–	–	+					+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
1708. Used by old people	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1709. Old men																
1710. Old women	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1711. Single cane	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[768] 1712. 2 canes, if crippled		+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Dress

Headgear

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
291 1713. Basketry cap	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•R	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1714. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1715. 3-strand diagonal twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1716. Coiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1717. Worn habitually, by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1718. Worn habitually, by men	+	–	–	–	–	•–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1719. Worn for packing, not worn habitually	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1720. Worn for dances, not worn habitually.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1721. Designs on cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1722. Men's undecorated	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1723. Fur cap	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1724. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1725. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1726. Buckskin cap	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1727. Solid buckskin	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1728. Buckskin pierced with holes	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1729. Worn habitually	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1730. Band around head	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	•+
1731. Buckskin	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1732. Fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
● [756] 1733. Men only	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1734. Doctors only	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
[751] 1735. Eyeshade	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1736. Charcoal around eyes for snow-blindness	+	•+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–

Robes

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1737. Woven rabbitskin blanket	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	•+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1844. Shell embroidery	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	291
1845. Painted, top front	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[53]
1846. Painted, seams	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	
1847. Slippers	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1848. Woven bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1849. Tule, twined	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1850. Sandal	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1851. Hide	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1852. Bark	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1853. Leggings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1854. Tule, twined	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1855. Fur piece	(+)	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1856. Buckskin	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1857. Sewed	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1858. Fringed	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1859. Painted	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1860. Porcupine-quill decoration							+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[237]
1861. Tied at knee and ankle	–	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1862. Knee-to-ankle length	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1863. Hip-to-knee length	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1864. Snowshoes	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	o	
1865. Circular	•+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	(+)	–	o	48
1866. Oval	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	o	–	+	o	
1867. Kite-shaped	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1868. Lashing withes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	o	–	+	o	
1869. Lashing buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	o	+	–	o	
1870. Lashing rawhide	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	o	–	–	o	
1871. Lashing of fiber string	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	–	–	o	
Ceremonial Dress																	
1872. Feather garment on net foundation	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	292
1873. Half length	–	–	–	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	
1874. Tied over shoulders	–	–	–	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	237
1875. Held up by shoulder straps	–	–	–	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1876. Tied under arms	–	–	–	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
1877. Full length, neck to ankles	–	–	–	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
1878. Down-feather ropes or strings	–	–	–	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	•–	•–	•–	–	•+	•+	.	•+	•+	
1879. Yellowhammer-quill band	–	–	–	–	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1880. Feather tips at intervals	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
1881. Feathers solid, edge untrimmed	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1881a. Feathers solid, edge trimmed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
1882. Worn across forehead	–	–			+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1883. Ends extend, side of head	–	–	–	–		–					+	+	–	+	+	–	
1884. Worn as belt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1885. Worn as bracelet	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[301]
1886. Worn as necklace	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–	
1887. Worn as bandolier	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
1888. Worn over head and down back	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1889. Decorated with beads	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
1890. Used as dance ornament	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[535]
1891. Used by doctor	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	[756]
1892. Whole yellowhammer feathers solid on headband	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1893. All same direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1894. Worn across forehead	–	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1895. Worn as belt	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1896. Worn as bracelet	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[301]
1897. Worn as necklace	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1898. Worn in head net	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1899. Worn over head and down back	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
292 237 1900. Used by doctors only	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[756] 1901. Feathers notched at sides	+	+	.	+	+	•+	+	–	.	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1901a. Decorated with rattlesnake rattles		–	–						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1902. Woodpecker scalps on band	–	•–	+	•(–)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1903. Buckskin band	–	–	+	(–)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
1904. Fur band	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
1905. Woven-fiber band	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
1906. Scalps sewn on	–	–	+	(–)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–
1907. Scalps tied on	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–
1908. Scalps glued on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–	–
1909. Beaks left on scalps	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1910. Single row of scalps	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–
1911. 2 or more rows of scalps	–	–	–	–	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1912. Headband	–	–	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
1913. Belt	–	–	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
[301] 1914. Necklace	–	–	+	–		+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1915. Bandolier	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1916. Woodpecker scalps in feather headdress												+	–	+	–	+
1917. Woodpecker scalps on head net	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
1918. Mallard duck neck skins on band	–	–	–	–	–	•R	+	–	o	o	+	–	+	o	o	+
1919. Headband	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1920. Belt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1921. Cap	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1922. Bunch of feathers, tied to top of hair	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1923. Topknot headdress	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
1924. Whole feathers radiating from crown of buckskin cap	–	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
1925. Feathers tipped with small white feathers	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1926. Buckskin strip down back, feathers attached	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1927. "Big head" feather-tipped radiating stick headdress	–	–	R	–	•–	R	–	R	–	R	–	+	–	+	–	+
1928. Feather plumes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
1929. Single primary or tail feather	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1930. 2 primary or tail feathers			+						+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–
1931. Woodpecker scalp on feather	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1932. Shells, cedar, small feathers attached								+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1933. Used by doctor	–	–	–		+			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1934. Spliced	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+
†1935. Forked ... times.	–	–	–	–	•2	•2	•2	–	–	–	2	2	–	2	.	2
1936. Twisted sinew body	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	.	+
1937. Stick base	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	.	+
1938. Feathers bunched at fork or top of base	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	.	+
1939. Yellowhammer-quill attachment	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	+
1940. Yellowhammer feathers attached	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
1941. Worn on head	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	–	+	+	–	+	.	+
1942. Hand-held	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	R	R	–	–	–	–	.	–
1943. Fur headband or blind	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
1944. Feathers suspended from lower edge	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1945. Visor	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1946. Head net	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	–	+
292 1947. Flowing down back	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1948. Close woven	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1949. Open woven	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1950. Feathers at bottom	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1951. All on head	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
1952. Bag type	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1953. Hammock type	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
1954. Down-filled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
1955. Down tied on back part	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Preparation																	
2049. Stalk hung up to dry	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	276
2050. Leaves dried, whole	+	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	
2051. Leaves rubbed and hung to dry in sack												+	+	−	−	+	
2052. Leaves only, used	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2053. Leaves rubbed fine in palm, with fingertips	+	+	−	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2054. Dried leaves put in sack, pounded on slab		.	+								−	−	−	−	−	−	
o2055. Tobacco mixed for smoking	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	−	−	•±	−	−	−	−	−	−	
o2056. Kinnikinick, manzanita mixtures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2057. Grease added	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
Tobacco Containers																	
2058. Basket	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	[415]
2059. Buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
2060. Cased-fur pouch	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
Tobacco Substitutes																	
2061. Plant substitutes used occasionally	−	−	+						•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2062. Manzanita	−	−	+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2063. Parched and ground	−	−	+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Uses																	
2064. Smoking at social gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2065. Pipe passed	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2066. Smoking after sweating	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	
2067. Bedtime smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2068. No smoking in dwelling house	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	
2069. Men smoke, generally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[562]
2070. Smoking limited among women; shamans mainly	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	[756]
2071. Tobacco chewed	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
o2072. Tobacco as offering	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2073. Tossed or blown in air	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	[782]
2074. Burnt in fire	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	
2075. Smoked	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	

MUSIC AND DRAWING

Musical Instruments

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Drums																	
2076. Hide drum	•R	+	•+	•+	+	•R	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	534
2077. Cylindrical	R	+	+	+	+	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2078. 2-headed	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2079. 1-headed	R	+	−	−	+	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2080. Tambourine type	R	+	−	−	+	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2081. Drumstick wrapped at head	R	+	−	+	+	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2082. Plain drumstick, knot for head	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2083. Footdrum	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
2084. Basket drummed	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•−	•+	
Rattles																	
2085. Cocoon rattle	•−	−	−	•−	•+	•+	•+	•−	•−	•R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
2086. Stick handle	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
534 2087. Feathers on stick handle	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2088. Number of cocoons	–	–	–	–	•3	•5	6	–	–	•4	•5	5	•4	5	•3	•5
[756] 2089. Used by shaman in curing	•–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2090. Used by Big Head singers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	–	–	–	–
2091. Used for any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
[787] 2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										–	+	+	+	–	–	–
2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	–	–	–	•+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2094. Split-stick clapper	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2095. Single split	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2096. Multiple splits	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2097. Painted	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	•R	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[881] 2098. Burned decoration	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
[535] 2099. For girl's puberty dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[720] 2100. For war dance	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[796] 2101. For Ghost dance	·	–	R	–		R		•R	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2102. For any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
2103. Snake rattles on stick	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•–	•+	–	–	–	–
2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2106. On cord or thong, no handle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2107. Worn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[881] 2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	•7	15	20	20	20	–	25	8	20	1	2	4	–	–
2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[524] 2111. Basket rattle	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2112. Child's toy	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	–	–
Rasp																
2114. Notched-wood rasp	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2115. Basket scraped	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
Bull-roarer, Musical Bow																
2116. Bull-roarer	•R	–	–	–	Ⓡ	–	+	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2117. Wood	R	–	–	–	Ⓡ	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
[789] 2118. Bone or horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[753] 2119. Produces storm or wind	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[756] 2120. Produces sickness	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2121. Only shamans use	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2122. Only boys, men use	–	–	–	–	R			+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2123. For amusement, boys	R	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2124. Musical bow	Ⓡ	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Hunting bow	Ⓡ	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Separate instrument	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2127. Played with finger	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2128. Played with stick	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2129. Boys only						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Whistles and Flutes																
2130. Whistle	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2131. Single hole	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–
2133. Bone	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2134. Bird or rodent	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	–	+	–	–	+
2135. Large mammal	–	.	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
2136. Elder	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	•R	–	–	–	+	+	–
2137. Cane	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2138. Sinew-wrapped at mouthpiece	-	+	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	534
o2139. End stopped	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	R	R	+	±	+	.	+	+	+	
2140. Partially stopped inside at hole	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2141. Stop of pitch	-	.	+	+	-	+	+	R	R	+	-	-	+	+	.	+	
2142. Stop of salmon glue	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2143. Stop of wood	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	.	-	
2144. Single whistle	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	
2145. 2 whistles bound together	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	
2146. Whistle worn, suspended from string around neck	-	-	+								+	+	+	+	.	+	
2147. Taboo to whistle around elderberry bush		·+	·+								+	-	+	+	-	·+	[784]
2148. Snake will strike whistler		+	+								+	-	+	+	-	·+	
2149. Flute	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2150. Bone	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	.	-	
2151. Elder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	
2152. Cane	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
‡2153. Number of holes	3	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	-	6	
2154. Holes burnt in		+	+						R	R	+	+	-	+	-	+	
2155. Holes put in with awl									+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2156. Entire upper surface flattened			-						+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2157. End blown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	.	-	-	+	
2158. Side blown	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	(-)	+	+	+	-	+	
2159. Mouth blown	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
2160. Nose blown	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2161. Used by shaman	-	·+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	[756] ●
2162. Used for courting	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	
2163. Used for self-amusement	·+	-	+	·+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	-	+	

Pictographs, Petroglyphs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2164. Pictographs, petroglyphs present in area	·+	·+	-	-	·+	-	·+	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	532
2165. Nonhuman origin	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	.	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2166. Made by tiny people	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2167. Made by mythological characters	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2168. Bring bad luck; charm viewer	-	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[777]
2169. Impress of feet, etc., on rocks	-	·+	·+							·+	-	·+	·+	-	·+		[823]

RECREATION

Games

Shinny

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2170. Shinny played	+	+	+	+	+	·R	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	-	+	526
2171. Men, youths play occasionally	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	[562]
2172. Women play	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	
2173. Each sex plays separately	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	
2174. Both sexes play together	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2175. Children play	-	+	-	+	+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[857]
2176. Single ball	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2177. Wood	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2178. Stuffed buckskin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
2179. Oak gall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2180. Double ball	-	+	+	+	-	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	
2181. Stuffed buckskin	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2182. 2 blocks on ends of cord	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	·+	·+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2183. 2 grass balls on end of cord	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2184. Cord or hide strip only	-	-	-	-	+	·+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
Participants															
Groups Involved															
2790. Autonomous group alone	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	.	721
2791. Autonomous group plus allies	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	−	.	726
Combatants															
2792. All able-bodied men of group	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	•+	−	726
2793. Sometimes only limited number	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	
2794. Some men stay to protect women	(+)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	701
2795. Neighboring groups, tribes asked to give aid	•+	−	+	.	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	
2796. Warriors or neighboring tribes "hired" for war	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Leaders															
o2797. Chief or headman may lead war party	±	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	±	•−	•+	+	+	+	
o2798. Chief goes to war, neutral in battle	−	+	−	−	•+	−	±	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
o2799. Chief stays home	±	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	±	+	+	−	−	−	
o2800. War leader distinct official, not chief	±	±	+	+	+	−	+	−	±	−	+	−	−	−	
2801. Selected by chief	−	+	.	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	
2802. Chosen at popular assembly	+	+	.	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2803. Chosen on basis of competency	•+	+	.	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	
2804. Holds office until physically disabled	−	+	.	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	
2805. Appointed for 1 expedition, usually	−	−	.		+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2806. Shaman goes to war	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	.	+	+	+	−	[756]
2807. Occasionally only	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
Preparation															
Prognostication															
2808. Prediction of deaths in war	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	726
2809. By war leader, through dreams	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	
2810. By shaman	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	−	−	.	−	−	[787]
2811. Dreams	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2812. Shaman tests contestants	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[756]
2813. If man falls during war dance, sign of death	−	−	+							+	+	.	−	−	
Shamanistic Activities Against Enemy															
2814. Shaman sings all night against enemy, prior to encounter	−	+	+	−	•+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	[756]
2815. "Charms" enemy	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	
2816. "Poisons" enemy	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2817. Formulas against enemy	−	•+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2818. Shaman sings during fighting					•			−	−	.	+	+	+	−	
2819. Shaman sometimes hired to kill enemy; no expedition	+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
Practice Fighting															
2820. Combatants practice dodging arrows	+	(+)	.					•+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
2821. Night before fight	+	(+)	.					+	+	+	+	−	−		
2822. In daytime	−	−						−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
War Dance															
2823. War dance of incitement	•−	•+	+	+	•+	−	+	•+	+	−	+	−	−	−	[535]

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2872. Body left unburied, unburned	–	.	–	–				+	+	–	–	–	–	–	727
2873. Women captives enslaved	•+	•(-)	+	•+	–	•–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	[562]
2874. Violated	+	(-)	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o2875. Married	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	±	–	–	–	–	
2876. Child captives killed	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	[858]
2877. Kept for month or so	–	–	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2878. Abused	–	–	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2879. Body left unburied, unburned	–	–	–	–				+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
2880. Child captives enslaved	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2881. Adopted	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[597]
Booty and Scalps															
2882. Booty taken	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	
2883. Bows of slain kept	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	(+)	•+	–	
2884. Scalps taken	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	•+	•–	
2885. Scalp dried on frame	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	•+	–	
2886. Special custodian for scalp	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2887. Scalp kept permanently	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2888. Scalp thrown away	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	
2889. Scalp burnt	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	(+)	+	(+)	–	+	–	
2890. Whole head taken	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2891. Fingers taken	+	–	+	–							–	–	–	–	
2892. Heart cut out, taken	+	–	+	–					+	.	–	–	–	–	
Behavior of Noncombatants															
Women's Dance															
2893. Women dance while warriors away	–	+	+		•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	722
2894. Each day or night	–	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	
2895. Sing, pray to help men at war	–	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	535
2896. Each woman dances separately	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	562
2897. Round dance	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	.	–	.	–	–	
2898. Dance abreast	–	+	+		–		+	–	–	.	–	.	–	–	
2899. Outside	–	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	
2900. Woman singer	–	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	
2901. Male singer	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	
2902. Flint "rattle," on basket caps	–		+					–	–	–	–	.	–	–	
2903. Panther teeth, bear claws on stick rattle	–	–	+					–	–		–	.	–	–	
2904. No rattle used	–	(+)	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	
2905. Wear skirts of strung pine nuts	–	+	+		–		+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	
2906. Hold bow and arrow, or flint knife, in hand	–	–	+		•–			–	–	+	+	.	–	–	
Prognostications															
2907. If woman drops knife during dance, sign husband killed, hurt	–	–	.							+	+	.	–	–	[787]
2908. Shaman doctors to learn of warrior's progress	–	–	.						+	–	+	.	+	–	[556]
Return of War Party															
Victory Dance															
2908a. Victory (scalp) dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	•+	–	727
2909. Held in or near village	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	535
2910. Held in brush corral	–	–	+								–	–	–	–	
2911. All men dance	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	[562]
2912. Warriors only, among men, dance	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2913. Women dance	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth Customs

844 Preparations for Delivery

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3007. Delivery in special hut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	°+	+
3008. Delivery in dwelling house	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
3009. Ground prepared for delivery	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3009a. Trench dug	−	°+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3010. Ground warmed	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
3011. Grass bed	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
3012. Pine needles, tules, leaves for bed	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Delivery

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3013. Parturient assisted during delivery	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[759] 3014. By professional midwife	+	°+	−	−	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3015. Midwife paid.	+	+	−			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3016. By female relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+
[756] 3017. By husband	+	+	−	−	−	−	°−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
3018. By shaman	−	−	−	°−	−	°+	−	°+	°−	°+	+	+	−	−	−	−
3019. By female herbalist	−	−	−	°+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		+	+	+	−
3020. Birth aided by medicine	−	°−	−	°+	+	°−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
[278] 3021. Vegetable decoction drunk, sometimes.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	°+	°+	+	−	°+	+
3022. Decoction of ashes drunk	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3023. Water blown on parturient's head	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	°+	+	−	−	−
[516] 3024. Parturient kneels	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
3025. Parturient squats	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
3026. Parturient sits down, leaning backward	−	−	−			°+		+	°+	+	−	−	−	−	°−	−
3027. Parturient lies on back	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
3028. Grasps stakes	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
3029. Grasps cord	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3030. Steadies self with hands	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
3031. Holding or handling of parturient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3032. Massaged	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3033. Shaken	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
3034. Held by attendant, from behind	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3035. Abdomen pressed, if slow birth	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
3036. Held suspended, head down	.	°+	°+							°+	−	°+	°(+)		°−	−
3037. Attempts made to hasten birth	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3038. Child "coaxed" by speech or songs	−	−	−	−	°+	−	°+	°+	+	°+	.	−	−	−	°+	−
3039. Child "frightened" by noise	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3040. Child squeezed out	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	°+	−	+	−	°+
3041. Child "shaken" out	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−

Afterbirth

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3042. Assistance in expelling afterbirth	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
3043. Husband aids; tries to shake it out	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
3044. Poor couples only	−	−	−	−	−	°+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3045. Parturient's abdomen pressed	−	−	−						°+	°+	−	°+	°+	°+	°+	°+
3046. Afterbirth sometimes taken out with hands	−	−	+								.	+	.	−	−	−
3047. Womb pushed back with heel													−	+	+	−
3048. Afterbirth disposed of immediately after delivery	+	+	−				−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
3049. Afterbirth kept until navel cord drops off	−	−	+				°+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
3050. Afterbirth wrapped	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3051. Skin	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	+	−	−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

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841
881

841
881
535

[787]

● [756]

[533]
[562]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3606a. Belt given attendant	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3607. Belt hung on tree, end of last dance.	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3608. Public rites: major dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3609. Night dance	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	–	•+	–	•+
3609a. Begins 1st night of girl's menstruation	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
3610. Day dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–
3611. Given mainly for girls of rich families	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)
•3612. Given to avert disaster to participant(s)	•+	•+	+	•–	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	.	+	+	•+	+	–	•–
3613. Given to have girl get power in dreams	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	.	.	–	–	–	–	–	–
‡3614. Lasts ... nights or days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•3	•3	5	•5	5	4	5	•1	5	–	1
‡3615. Repeated for ... subsequent menses.	5	5	•1	•1	•2	•1	2	2	1	1	–	1	–	5	–	–
3616. Held in dwelling or cookhouse, winter	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3617. Held in sweat house, winter	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
•3618. Held outside, summer or winter	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3619. Held outside, summer only	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
3620. Rainy weather, no dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
3621. Rainy weather, sing only, in girl's hut	–	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
•3622. Girl's family in charge	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+
•3623. Old man in charge	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	+	–	+	–	–
3623a. Singers in charge	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
3624. Shaman in charge	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3625. Youths, men participate	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
3626. Girls, women participate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•3626a. Girl's suitor may participate	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	–
3627. Neighbors notified by girl's sister, friend	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3628. Girl dances by self, near group	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3629. 1-2 persons "support" menstruant	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3630. Girl dances with group	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
o3631. Girl dances each night	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	±	•–	+	–	+	–	–
3632. Youths dance	–	–	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
3633. Men dance	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
3634. Old men dance	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
3635. Betrothed dances with menstruant	–	–	–				•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3636. Women, girls dance	–	–	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3637. Menstruant dances beside fire	+	+	•+	–	–	–	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3638. Menstruant dances back and forth	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
3639. Menstruant dances east to west	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3640. Menstruant faces E continually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
3641. Menstruant rests at intervals	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–
3642. Men, women dance separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3643. Men, women dance together	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
3644. Men, women in 1 circle	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
3645. Men, women in 2 circles	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3646. Men, women abreast, 1 line	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
3647. Men, women abreast, 2 lines	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3648. Clockwise start	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+	–	+
3649. Counterclockwise start	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–
3650. Dance proceeds around pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3651. Dance proceeds around fire	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
3652. Singers mainly women	+	•+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	•+
3653. Singers mainly men	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3654. Volunteer singers, men and women	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3655. Professional singers	+	+	–					–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
3656. 1 singer paid	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
587 3975. New husband pays widow's parents-in-law	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
3976. New husband asks widow's parents-in-law consent	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	.	+	−	.	−
3977. New husband pays widow's sister-in-law	−	−	−	−		•+	+	+	−	+	−	.	−	−	−	−
3978. New husband pays, gives gifts to widow's family	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	+	−	−	+
3979. Remarriage of widows rare, if husband good man	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3980. Divorcee's former husband paid by new husband	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[562] 3981. Man sells wife to male bidder	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
o3982. New husband pays divorcee's parents	−	−	+	+	−	±	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
o3983. New husband asks divorcee's parents	−	−	−	−	−	±	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Intercourse																
833 3984. Bride scratches at 1st intercourse	−	−	+	−	−	−		(+)	−	−	.	.	•+	.	.	.
3985. Natural position lying on side	.		+										•+			
3986. Kissing unknown	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
[152] [192] 3987. Exclamation of endearment for adults, children	+	+	−		+	•+	•+	+	+	+	.	−	+	+	−	−
3988. Virginity tests	.	.	•−				•+	•+	−	.	.	.	−	.	.	.
Promiscuity																
836 3989. Promiscuity any time	•−	−	+	+	−		+	+	−	+	.	−	−	−	−	−
3990. At dances chiefly	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	.	+	[illegible]	−	+	−
3991. Promiscuity denied by informant	•−	−	•−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[illegible]	−	−	−
3992. Unchaste unmarried girl beaten, shaken, scolded	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
886 3993. Unmarried pregnant girl scolded, beaten		+	+			+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
848 3994. Father of bastard punished	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
3995. Killed by girl's relatives														+	+	−
3996. Obligated to marry girl	•+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
3997. Might marry girl, not obligated	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−
3998. Payment for girl	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Transvestites																
Male																
838 3999. Male transvestites affirmed for group	+	•−	+	•+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	•−	−	−	•−	.	•−
4000. Sweat with women	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	(+)	−	−	.	−
4001. Perform women's work	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	(+)	−	−	.	−
4002. Wear women's clothes	+	−	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	(+)	−	−	.	−
4003. Live with normal man	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	−	−	.	−
4004. Special functions at funerals	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	−
[756] 4005. Some are shamans	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	(+)	−	−	.	−
4006. Nursing in war		−	−			−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	−
4007. Regarded indifferently by community	+	−	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	.	−
4008. Turn berdache at puberty, prepuberty	−		+			(−)		+	+	+	−	.	−	−	.	−
4009. Turn berdache postpuberty, later in life	+	−	−		+	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	−
[587] 4010. Act upon dream	−	.	−			+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	−
Female																
4011. Female transvestites affirmed for group	+	−	+	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−
4012. Live with woman	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−
4012a. Live with man			−					+	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
4012b. Wear woman's clothes	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−
[756] 4013. Some are shamans	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
821 4632. Contains poison or doctor's pain inside it	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	.		−
4633. Contains spirit (or person?) inside it	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	•+	+	−	−	•+	.	+	•+
4634. Malignant activities of whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
4635. Sickens persons with bad dreams	+	•+	•+		+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	.	+	+
4636. Puts "pain" in person	+	+	+	−							+	+	−	.	−	−
4637. Catches person's shadow or spirit	−	+	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	.	−	−
4638. Causes person to have accident, die	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−
4639. Gives power for doctoring, occasionally	−	+				•+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	.	.	−
4640. Precautions against whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4641. Try to hide from, dodge it	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	+
4642. Throw dirt, water at it	−	+	+		•+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	•−	•+	•+	−
4643. Talk to it, informally	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	+
4644. Smoke when talking to it	−	+	+						+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
4645. Clap hands, stomp feet	−	+	+								−	−	−	.	.	−
4646. Smoke victim of whirlwind													+	+	+	−
4646a. Mourners who dream of whirlwind doctored	−	+	−				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	.	−

Rain and Storms

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4647. Nonshamanistic beliefs concerning rain	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	+
4648. Rolling rocks down hill causes rain				+	+	−	+	−	•−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4649. Shouting in mountains causes rain	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	(+)		−	−
*4650. Sprinkles a little after funeral naturally	+	+	.		+	+	+	∸	−	+	+	+	+		+	+
4651. Nonshamanistic measures for stopping rain	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
4652. Pinch dog's ear	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4653. Old men wave lighted brands	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
4654. Flies and yellow jackets burnt	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−

Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts

Characteristics of Ghost or Spirit

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
775 4655. Visible to anyone	+	+	•−	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
4656. Resembles person	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+	−	+	+	+
4657. Resembles skeleton, shadow, fog, or cloud	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4658. Audible to anyone	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
● [756] 4659. Shamans chiefly	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4660. Wails, whistles	−	−	−	−						+	−	+	+	+	−	+

Activities of Ghosts or Spirits

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4661. Leaves body shortly before death	−	−	•−	•−			+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4662. Leaves body immediately after death	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
o4663. Leaves grave, pyre ... days after death	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	28	•5	−	−	•3	4	4	−
4664. Leaves pyre night of cremation	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4665. Turns back once after leaving body											+	.	−	+	−	−
4666. Retraces steps person has taken when alive												+	+	−	+	+
4667. Departs toward distant place	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4668. Toward west	•+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	+	.	−
4669. To assembly house in mountains, sky									•+					•+		•+
4670. Up to sky	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	+	+	+	−	+	−	.	−	+
4671. Along Milky Way	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	.	−	.
4672. Across water, river	+	+	−	−	+	−	.	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
4673. On bridge													+	+	+	−
4674. If get dizzy crossing, turn into coyote													+	+	+	−

Shamanism

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Sucking Doctors: Personnel

[562]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4792a. Sucking doctors recognized	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4793. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	+
4794. Mainly men, few women	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-
4795. Mainly women, few men	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4796. Both sexes, about equal	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4797. Men can cure and sicken	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-
4798. Women's powers equal to male doctors'	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-		-	-
4799. Stronger	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4800. More limited	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+		-	-
4801. Can only cure; no sickening	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	°+	°+	+		-	-
4802. Mainly send illness	+	.	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
Sucking Doctors: Acquisition of Power																
4803. Shamanistic power inherited	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+		+	°+
4804. Before relative's death, paternal or maternal	+	°+	-	+	°+	°+	°+	+	-	-	-	+	+		°+	+
4805. After relative's death, paternal or maternal		°+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	°+	+	+	-	-		-	-
°4806. Dependent on power's or "pain's" willingness		°+			°+	°+	°+				°+	+	+		-	-
4807. Shamanistic power acquired unsought	-	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	°+
4808. While in conscious state	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	.		-	+
4809. While ill	-	-	-	(-)	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4810. During trance or faint	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+		-	+
†4811. Sick for ... days	-	-	-	°4	o	-	o	°1	°1	-	-	+	+		-	°+
o4812. Sick for ... years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1		-	3
4813. In dream when adult	-	+	°+	+	+	°+	°+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	+
4814. In dream before puberty, anytime	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-
4815. Novice bleeds	-	+	°+	°-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	°+		-	+
†4816. Novice dances for ... nights after apparition	-		°2	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4817. Alone	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4818. Smokes when dancing	-	-	+								-	-	-		-	-
4819. Sings	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4820. Nonacceptance of power dangerous	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+		-	-
4821. May involve sickness, death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+		-	-
4822. Legitimate methods of refusing power		+				°±	+	+	+	+	+	+	.		-	°+
4823. Eat fresh food			-					°+	°+	-	°+	-	.		-	-
4824. Put ashes on body	-	°+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4825. "Pain" may leave of own accord			-						+	-	-	-	-		-	-
4825a. Shaman sometimes cures sufferer			-				+	-	+	+	+	+	.		-	-
4826. Shamanistic power acquired during vision quest	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	°+	-	-	+	+	+		-	-
4827. Shamanistic power acquired during group initiatory dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4828. Held in open-fire sweat house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4829. Novices instructed	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+		°+	+
4830. By older shaman	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	(+)	(+)	-	+	+	+		+	°+
4831. In sweat house	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-		-	+
4832. In open	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	-
4833. Novice acquires "pain" or poison object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
°4834. Animate; can move, talk	°-	°±	°+	°+	°+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
4835. Pain calls possessor "father" or "mother"	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	-		-	-

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
o4836. Number	2	-	1	-	-				1	1	1	2	-		-	-	756
4836a. Indefinite; many	-	+	-	+	+				-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4837. Kept outside shaman's body	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	
4838. Kept inside shaman's body	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-		-	-	
4839. Novice acquires guardian spirit helper from natural phenomena, fauna	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	[821]
4840. Sun	-	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	.	
4841. Moon	-	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	.	
4842. Wind		+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	.	
4843. Thunder	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	+	-		-	.	
4844. Lightning								+	+	+	.	+	-		-	.	
4845. Fire		+	.	+		+	+	-	+	+	.	+	-		-	.	
4846. Animals, all kinds	+	+	.	•-	+	+	+	•-	-	+	+	-	-		-	-	[825]
4847. Coyote mainly	-	-	+	+							+	+	-		-	-	
4848. Wolf, only or mainly	-	-	-	+				+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4849. Birds	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	(+)	
4850. Eagle				+	+		+	-	-	+	+	+	-		-	.	
4851. Chicken hawk	+	+	.	+	+		+	-	-	+	+	+	-		-	.	
4852. Small birds								+	+	-	+	+	-		-	.	
4853. Reptiles	+	+	.	•+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	•+	
4854. Fish	+	+	.	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	.	+	-		-	.	
4855. Frog	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-		-	.	
4856. Favorite, best power	-	+	.	+	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	.	
4857. Insects								+	-	+	+	-	-		-	.	
4858. Ghosts or spirits	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	.	[775]
4859. Doctor gets power from several guardian spirits, successively	+	+	.		+	+	+	-	+	+	+	(-)	-		-	.	775
4860. After power from "pain" acquired											+	(-)	-		-	.	756
4861. Guardian spirits communicate with novice	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4862. Are visible to novice	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4863. Are audible	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4864. Can be felt	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	
4865. Give song	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4866. Novice, in training sings by himself	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-	
4867. Give paint		+	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	.	+	-		-	-	
4868. Give dance		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-		-	-	
4869. Instruct as to paraphernalia, curing methods	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4870. Novice acquires feathers, feather flags	.	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	-		.	-	
4871. Must be kept outside house		+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		.	-	
4872. Kept in hollow tree when not in use		-	+	+	•-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-		.	-	
4873. Novice keeps fact he has power secret	-	-	-	-	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	+	756
Sucking Doctors: Doctor-Making Rites																	
4874. Doctor-making rites for sucking doctors	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	
o4874a. Rites last ... days and nights	(1)	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2		4	-	
‡4875. For ... nights	+	5	•3	5	-	-	-	+	•1	1	1	1	+		+	-	
4876. Novices assisted by older shamans	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	
4877. Doctor dance	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	+	+	-	-	•+		(+)	-	756
4878. Held irregularly	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		(+)	-	535
4878a. Held immediately before, after vision attained	-	-	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-		-	-	
4879. After specified objects collected	-	-	•+	•+	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
†4880. Repeated yearly for ... yrs.	-	-	•3	•5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4881. Given in winter only	+	+	-	•+	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
● 756 4881a. Given in summer only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	+		–	–
535 4882. In open fire sweat house	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4883. In dwelling house	+	+	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4883a. In open	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
4884. Shaman in charge	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+		+	–
4885. Novice doctor dances alone	–	–	•+	•+	•+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4886. All shamans dance	•+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		(+)	–
4887. All men except novice dance	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4888. All prepubescent boys, girls, adults dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4889. One time only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4890. Dance in 1 spot	•+	+	–	–			–	–	+	–	–	–	–		.	–
4891. Informal dance; jump around								+	+	+	–	–	–		.	–
4892. Room dark	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4893. Small fire for light	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		+	–
[533] 4894. All or anyone sings	–	–	•+	•+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4895. Men, women lie on back before dance; sing			–		–			+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4896. Women sing.	•+	+	•+	•+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4897. Some men sing	+	+	•+	•+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+		(+)	–
4898. Singers kick on floor planks	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4899. Sit on stools, pieces of wood	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4900. Outside speaker calls spirits to sweat house	+	+	•+		–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4901. Novice(s) bleed at mouth	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+		+	–
4902. Fall in trance	–	–	•+		+			+	+	+	–	–	+		+	–
4903. Not touched until next morning	–	–	–		–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4904. Grabbed	–	–	•+		–			–	–	–	–	–	+		.	–
4905. Older shaman may deprive novice of power	•+	.	•+	–	–				•+		–	–	–		–	–
4906. Disease organisms fly around in air	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4907. Novice enters house via regular entrance	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4908. Novice swallows and vomits up pains	•+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4909. Exhibits pains	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4910. Novice or doctors handle fire, hot stones	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+		+	•+
4911. Eat fire	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	•–	+	–	–	–		.	+
4912. Novice or doctors eat pounded obsidian	(+)	+	•+	•+			–	–	–	–	–	–	–		.	–
4913. Novice can start curing immediately after dance	(+)	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	•–		(+)	–
[533] 4914. Novice sings in sweat house; no dancing	–	–	–	–	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–
4915. Novice, in training, sings by himself	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
4916. Novice trains outside in woods	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		+	–
4917. With older shamans	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	–
4918. Small fire for light	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	–
4919. Bleeds at mouth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
4920. Falls in trance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
4921. Taught to handle fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
4922. Taught use of medicines	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
4923. For ... days and nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		4	–
4924. Novice cures, helps cure patient, as part of training	+	+	•(+)	•+	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–

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Sucking Doctors: Curing Techniques

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
o4925. Treatment lasts ... nights.	1	•1	•1	•2	•3	•1	•2	1	2	•1	•1	2	•3		1	1
4926. Public, indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
755 Sucking Doctors: Payment for Curing																
4983a. Shaman paid for curing	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4984. Negotiated fee	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4985. Patient, patients' relatives decide amount of fee	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4986. Fee paid to doctor before cure	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4987. Fee shown to doctor, who smells it			−			°+	°+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
4988. Fee paid after cure	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	°+	°+	+	+		+	+
4989. Fee set near patient during treatment	+	+	−	−	+	°+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+		−	−
4990. Shaman's guardian spirit also "paid"	−	−	+	°+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4991. Demands skins, hides, baskets, etc.	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4992. Objects set up by patient during cure	−	−	°+	°+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4993. If treatment unsuccessful, doctor tries again	+					+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−		+	
c4994. Makes ... attempts only						3	3		3	−	−	2			.	
4995. If treatment unsuccessful, fee not offered or not taken	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	−
4996. If treatment unsuccessful, fee returned	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	+
4997. Treatment deemed unsuccessful if patient dies	+	.	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	+
4998. Within 1 to 6 months	−	.	+	+	.	.	−	−	−	+	+	−	−		−	−
†4999. Within ... days	10	.	−	−	.	.	10	10	10	−	−	−	20		20	°20
5000. Assistants paid same amount as doctor	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
5001. Assistants paid less than doctor	−	(+)	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−		−	−
5002. Doctor pays assistant out of own fee.	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
[683] 5003. Doctor liable for refusing case	−	°−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
5004. May be accused of poisoning	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
5005. Liable to be killed	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−
5006. Never decline case	−	−	−		+		+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
[681] 5007. Unsuccessful doctors killed	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−
Sucking Doctors: Beneficent Powers Other Than Curing																
756, 787 5008. Can capture "poison" sickening village			°+		°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
5009. Goes into trance			°+		+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
5010. 2 men support him, when poison captured			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−		−	−
5011. Can locate lost, stolen objects	−	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	.	+	+		−	(+)
5012. Can see what is happening afar off	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−		−	−
5013. What will happen in future	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+		−	−
Sucking Doctors: Malevolent Practices																
756 754 5014. Shaman causes illness, death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+		+	°−
5015. Talks to disease object (pain), sends it to victim			.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−
5016. Disease object put in food	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+		+	−
5017. Disease object put under victim's doorstep			−		°+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−		−	−
5018. Disease object sent to sicken entire village			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−
5019. Disease object applied to person's body	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	−
5020. Scorpion's tail applied to body, or person's urine													−		°+	−
5020a. Ashes, water, dirt thrown toward victim			+								+	+	+		+	
5021. Disease object pointed at victim	−	−	−	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−
5022. Thrown at victim	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−		−	−
5023. Blown off hand at victim	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	−

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NR10 Klamath NR10
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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV	
5024. Blown through pipe	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+	+	+		−	−	756 ●
5025. Blown with smoke			+	−	+	·+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+		−	−	
5026. Disease object put in pipe; pipe offered victim	+	+	−	−	−	−		+	.	+	+	+	+		−	−	754
5027. Disease object, evil spirit may use tiny bow	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−		−	−	
5028. Shoots at victim	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−		−	−	
5029. Shaman talks to animal spirit, sends it to victim	·+	+	+		+						+		−		−	−	
5030. Disease object injected by animal	+	+	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−		−	−	
5031. Dreaming of doctor may cause illness.	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−		−	−	
5032. Dreaming of animal may cause illness.	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−		−	−	
5033. Shaman steals victim's soul	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+		−	−	
5034. Heavy fall may also cause soul loss	−	−	−	−	+	−	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	·+	·+		−	−	
5035. Shaman causes minor injuries that lead to death	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
5036. Curing doctors hired to kill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	
5037. Malevolent doctor killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	756
5038. Burned to death	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5039. Jumped upon, neck broken											+	+	+		−	−	683
5040. Shot with bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	·+		+	−	
5041. Poisoned by another shaman	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−		−	−	
5042. Chief's consent necessary	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	·+	·+		−	−	
5043. Relative of victim kills doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+		+	−	
5044. Chief kills doctor	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	−		(+)	−	
5045. Chief hires killers	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	.	+	+		−	−	
5046. Woman may hire killers	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+	+		+	−	
Sucking Doctors: Competitions																	
5047. Competitions of sucking shamans	·+	·+	(+)	−	−	−	+	−	−	·−	+	−	(+)		−	−	578 756
5048. Male shamans only	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
5049. Sing, charm opponent	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	[562]
5050. Shaman sings	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+		−	−	
5051. Shakes cocoon rattle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
5052. Is "shot" by sun	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
5053. Shamans boast of power	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	−		−	−	
5054. Exchange pipes filled with tobacco.	+	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	[274]
o5055. Inhale from pipes ... times	5	5	.	−	−	−	3	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5056. Overpowered shaman cures self	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
5057. Overpowered shaman cured by winner.	+	+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
5058. Sometimes dies	−	·+	.	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
5059. Contest held publicly	+	(+)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
5060. Contest held privately	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
Singing Shamans																	
5060a. Singing shamans recognized	−	(−)	+	R	−	+	−	·+	−	−	·+	·+	·+	·+	·−	·−	756
5061. Men	−	−	−		−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	533
5062. Women	−	−	−		−	+	−	+	−	−	−	(+)	−	.	−	−	
5063. Power acquired during sleep	−	−	.		−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+		−	−	
5064. Power acquired by vision, often unsought	−	−	.		−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
5065. Knowledge acquired by instruction	−	−	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5066. May also be sucking doctor	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	
5067. Limited power only	−	−	−		−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	
5068. Use outfit bundle	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5069. Kept inside house	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5070. Buried with patient if latter dies.	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5071. Burned at owner's death	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
533 5072. Diagnosis by singing, rubbing patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5073. Singing, rubbing to cure patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5074. Brushes patient	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5075. Sprinkles water from feather on patient	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-
5076. Sucks patient	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5077. Sprays water from mouth on patient.	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
5078. Can foretell future events											+	+	+		-	-
5079. Performs in round house, at night											+	+	•+	•+	-	-
[775] 5080. Spirit comes and sings in dark													+	+	-	-
774 755 Soul-Loss Doctors																
756 5081. Soul loss doctors recognized	-	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
[562] 5081a. Men	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5082. Women	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
5083. Is also sucking doctor	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	•+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5084. Inherit power	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5085. Power through vision, dream	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5086. Instructed by older shaman, or in dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5087. Shaman sucks on head, neck	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	(-)		-	-
5088. Shaman sends own soul after lost one	-	-	-	-	•(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		-	-
5089. Shaman sends guardian spirit to catch soul	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		-	-
5090. Shaman goes outside to coax soul back	-	-	-	-		+	+	•+	•+	+	-	+	.		-	-
5091. Sings	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5092. Dances	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5093. Has ... assistants	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	1	•1	-	1	-		-	-
5094. Outside speaker	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5095. Interpreter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5096. Spectators sing in house	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5097. Beat time with 1-2 sticks	-	-	-	-			-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5098. Doctor uses cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5099. Doctor uses bone "bull-roarer"	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[826] 5100. Soul returns through fontanelle	-	-	-	-	-	-	.		-	+	-	+	(-)		-	-
Weather Shamans																
756 5100a. Weather shamans recognized	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
821 5101. Men mostly	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5102. Both sexes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[562] 5103. Specialized profession	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5104. Weather shaman may also be curing shaman	+	+	-	•-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
5105. Office inherited	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	-	-		-	-
5106. Knowledge acquired by instruction	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-			+	-		-	-
5107. Supernatural experience required	+	+	-	-		+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5108. Make rain by formula, song	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5109. Sing with spectators	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5110. Smoke pipe				-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5111. Motion with hands, 4 directions											+	+	-		-	-
5112. Contortions or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-		-	-
5113. Can make fog, high winds	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5114. Make rain to remove snow	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5115. Can make rain stop	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5116. Performs whenever need arises	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5117. Paid for performance	-	-	-	•-	+	+	R	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	-
5118. Bets made on outcome of	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5119. Rain doctors, competing, test powers										•+	-	-	-		-	-
5120. When doctor cries, rain will ensue	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5121. At funeral	-	-	-	+		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[763] 5122. Thunders when doctor dies	•+	•+	.					+	+	+	±	+	+		-	-

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Rattlesnake Shamans																	
5123. Rattlesnake shamans recognized	+	+	+	•+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	•-		-	+	756
5124. Men only	+	(+)		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	+	825
5125. Mostly men, some women	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	
5126. Mostly women	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	[562]
5127. Berdache					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5128. May also be curing shaman	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	+	[838]
5129. Hereditary	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	-	
5130. Instruction given	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5131. Supernatural experience required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	+	
5132. Power from thunder	.	.	.		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5133. Power from rattlesnake	.	.	.	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	+	
5134. Dreams of buzzard	.	.		-	+	-	•+	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
5135. Immune to snake bites	.	.	.	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	+	
5136. Plays with snakes publicly	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	
5137. Uses bone whistle	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5138. Carries snake around neck	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	
5139. Can skin snake alive								+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5140. Cures snake bites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	-	-		-	+	
5141. By sucking	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	+	+	-	-		-	-	
5142. Sucks out fangs, snakes	+	(+)	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	+	+	-	-		-	-	
5143. Rubs patient with buzzard wing	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5144. Rattlesnake ceremony	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5145. Songs sung to snakes	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
5146. In winter, by woman	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5147. Early in spring	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-		+	-	
5148. Privately	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	(+)	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	
5149. Snakes emerge from holes	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	-	-	-		-	-	
5150. Talked to, told not to molest villagers	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	
5151. Rattlesnake shamans from other tribes, not local	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
Bear Shamans																	
5151a. Bear shamans	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-		+	-	
5152. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-		+	-	[562]
5153. Mostly men	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5154. Both sexes	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
5155. Is regular curing shaman	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		+	-	
5156. Hereditary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		+	-	
5157. Instruction given	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	-	
5158. Supernatural experience required	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
5159. Power obtained from bear	-	-	-	+	+	.	-	.	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
5160. Cure wounds made by grizzly bear	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-		.	-	
5161. Simulates bear's guise	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-		+	-	
5162. Rubs self with snake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	-	
5163. Transformation into bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-		•+	-	
5164. Wears bearskin, bear hair	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-		+	-	
5165. Wears bear claws	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-		+	-	
5166. Impersonator invulnerable	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-		+	-	
5167. Can travel rapidly	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-		+	-	
5168. Maliciously inclined	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-		+	-	
Money Finders																	
5168a. Money finders recognized	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	756
5169. Any doctor capable of	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
5170. Only doctor with certain guardian spirits	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5171. Instruction	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5172. Supernatural experience	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5173. Sings	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5174. Goes into trance	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5175. Tells who hid or stole money	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5176. Tracks money, if hiding place changed	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5177. Talks to piece of money	-	-	-	-	-			-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
5178. Listens to hear money singing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5179. Functions when money is lost	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5180. Performs at any public ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5181. Money hidden, to test shaman	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-
Witchcraft																
Black Magic																
791 754 5182. Love medicine	+	.	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
832 5183. Roots	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-
5184. Hair treated with formula, blood								+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
5185. Songs				•+		+	•+	•+	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-
5186. "Diamond" (charmstone).						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
754 5187. Poisoners distinct from doctors	+	-	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	.	•+		+	-
791 5188. Men only	+	-	-	+	-			+	-	-	-	.	+		-	-
[562] 5189. Have power from various animals	-	-	.	-	-		-	-	-	+	-	.	-		-	-
5190. From evil spirit	-		-	-	-		-	-	-	+	-	.	-		-	-
5191. Have knowledge of herbs	(+)		•		-								+		-	-
754 5192. Shamans, poisoners practice contagious magic.	+		•+	+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•	•+	-
756 5193. Poisoner, curing shaman hired to revenge refusal of girl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		+	(-)
5194. Make girl crazy, or kill her outright	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	•+		•+	(-)
5195. Colored lights (transformed witches) cause illness	-	-	•+	•+				•+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5195a. Epidemics caused by spirit creatures	-	-	-	-				•+	•+	+	-	-	-		-	-
Prayer, Offerings																
782 5196. Prayers frequent by all	+	+	-	•(-)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
264 5197. Offerings of food at meals	•+	+	•-	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	+		+	+
Eagle Ceremony																
825 5198. Special observances connected with eagle.								•(-)					-	-	+	-
5199. Eaglets captured alive													-	-	•+	-
5200. People eat acorn soup on spot													-	-	•+	-
5201. Eaglets kept tied by leg													-	-	+	-
5202. Killed when grown													-	-	+	-
5203. Feathers plucked out													-	-	+	-
[766] 5204. Beads put on body													-	-	+	-
5205. Eagle buried in basket, like person													-	-	+	-
5206. Owners cry at funeral, as for person.													-	-	+	-
5206a. Chief only uses eagle feathers								•-	•-				-	-	+	-
Kuksu																
Initiation (Boys)																
575 5207. Tossed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	-
5208. Over fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	.		-	-
5209. Held over fire												(+)	.		-	-

821 is fire from dove, fire for driving rabbits; is pinole or piñon road, frame or back bone of sky. Rainbow: is man's penis, coyote's penis, childbirth sign; sign of dry weather, bad luck for hunting or fishing; get weak eyes from staring at. Thunder: is female, woman and 2 sons, coyote; noise explained as 2 fawns hiding in intercourse, hummingbird, eagle playing shinny, dancing, sliding on snow, sticks being beaten together, tules being broken, basket being rolled; food or water thrown out, food or water covered. Lightning: from mouth, eyes of Thunder person; from waving of ribbon, drilling, rubbing sticks, striking stones together; is fire from burning tules, birds flying fast; food, water thrown out, covered; dogs made to squeal. Whirlwind: war associated with, snake in it, wind playing; caused by charmstone; spit at to stop, offer beads to, point at, strike or pierce it with weapon; formula and bathing.

Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts

775 Spirit goes to definite underworld; to island; crosses water with boatman; rich and poor different destinations; warriors go to special heaven. Hang hopper basket, grass snare, bay leaves in door to keep away ghost.

ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Vision Quest

787 Jimsonweed (Datura) root drunk to obtain vision, by group or individuals. Ant-fortitude
824 ordeal; group or individuals swallow ants, to obtain vision.

Shamanism

756 Sucking doctors: women only; women can sicken only. Doctor-making rite held in circular brush enclosure; patient brought in for novice to cure; novice enters sweat house via exit hole, enters head first down ladder. Curing: shaman uses beads on stick, quartz crystals; brushes or fans away disease with skin; rubs Datura (jimsonweed) on eyes, drinks Datura; doctor or assistant uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper, flute. Doctor cuts before sucking; disease object sucked out through pipe. Doctor paid by installments throughout night. Sucking doctors: in competition, "bullets" shot; assistants for each contestant, performers paid; contests held at mourning ceremony only. Singing shamans: outfit bundle inherited, bought; shaman uses quartz crystals, portable mortar, charmstone; shaman dies if he loses outfit. Soul-loss doctor: is also singing shaman; uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper; mostly women. Soul recovered by snaring in noose, by refrightening patient. Weather shamans: make rain with aid of black rock, crystal,

● 756 charmstone; water sprinkled, blown on rock, dirt sprinkled, thrown; fence built across creek. Performs at mourning ceremony, any public ceremony; belongs to other tribe, not local. Rattlesnake shaman: gets power from sun; plays with snakes secretly. Public rattlesnake ceremony, annual, in spring, summer, at mourning ceremony; chief furnishes food; sham curing rite, stepping rite with snake in hole. Money finders: wear full-length feather cloak, carry 1 or 2 long sticks; whistle, shake cocoon rattle; function at mourning ceremony; member of another tribe, not local.

✓

[168-A]

OOD 730. WS: Refers to assembly house.

731. WS: Doctor-dance house open to men only, except when dancing going on; at this time women may also seek shamanistic power by dancing.

732. SW: Ceremonies consist largely of dances, attended by both men and women; however, prospective women shamans may also use this house to dance in, alone, while training for doctoring. WS: See note 731.

[342] [756] ● 733. Kl, Mo: Shaman dances publicly in house during training; later cures in house. SE, SW: Shaman dances, alone, in house during training. AE: Shaman cures in house. WT, WM, WS: Would-be shamans, when seeking power, hold dance in dance house. WS, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS: Shaman cures in assembly house. MM, MF, NF: Shaman also holds night séances in assembly house.

733a. SE: See note for assembly and living houses. AE: By end of December all people belonging to certain village gather, live in semisubterranean earth lodge; during summer, fall they "live scattered out in camps" of 1-2 households, "all over the hills." WS: Refers to multifamily living house and assembly house. MF: Refers to multifamily assembly house. MV: Refers to winter dwelling.

734. At: During summer "camp out, under 4-post shade." MM: During summer use flat-topped shades, circular brush enclosures ("corrals"). MF: Refers to 1-family brush house.

735. WS: Refers to 1-family living house. MV: Refers to assembly house.

Domed living house.--

[343] [342] 736. Kl: Cook house (sti'na'as). The following additional traits pertaining to this type house were noted as present, but are not included in element list: 668, 670, 701, 719, 721, 722, 733a. Mo: 2 varieties domed living houses used. (1) multifamily domed eating and sleeping summer house (stakimus), and (2) cook house for winter house (kaiya'da). Type 1 "could be occupied winter and summer; it often is, by ordinary persons. Shamans, headmen live in earth house in winter, and use domed houses only in summer, or when camping." AW: alo'li. Additional positive elements: 693, 694, 699, 701, 702, 714, 715, 717, 719, 721, 723, 727, 735. AE: pastilogi. Willow house, having additional positive elements: 668, 670, 693, 694, 698, 701, 714, 715, 716, 719, 723, 727. MV: Slightly excavated, partly earth-covered domed living house lacking, but it should be noted that the 2 types of semisubterranean earth lodges, and also the earth-covered sweat house have domed roofs.

737. Mo: Positive entry refers to winter cook house.

738. Mo: Positive entry refers to domed summer house.

739. AW, AE: Pair willow poles stuck in ground 8-10 ft. apart; upper ends arched and tied together near tips; second set of poles

000 back into earth and disappear. Paiutes have lots of these diamonds." Possessor of such charmstone can attract deer to him easily, or money. WM: Lucky stones of varied shapes, kept outside house, because if having intercourse in house, stone might make possessor sick or blind. Such stones passed on at death. MV: Charmstones of gray-blue rock, such as shown in Dixon, Maidu, figs. 11,a,b, p. 140, kept in old oak tree by person who knows how to take care of them. As long as they are perfect in shape they are animate; if buried, can travel underground of own accord. When "alive," can hypnotize person; used by gamblers. When such stone is hurt, i.e., nicked or cracked, it "dies" and loses all its power. Noninheritable; effective only if found by possessor.

2004. AB: Few doughnut stones found, but not considered as lucky stones.

SMOKING AND TOBACCO

Pipes and Pipe Sacks

2006. Mo: Both informants denied use of tubular pipe; commented that holding pipe slanting upward would be "tedious" method of smoking. WM: Wooden tubular pipe not made by many people; Okwanuchu (waiboa), N of Wintu, make these. NF: Made of green stone (serpentine?).

2007. At: Similar in shape to Wintun pipe, Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 30,g.

2011. SW: Refers to 1-piece stone pipe. This used by shamans for poisoning persons. Also, when curing patient, shaman smokes it, or sucks out poison object with it occasionally.

[276] 2012. Kl: Used by shamans.

[756] 2013. Kl: Ca. 6 in. long. AW: Ca. 3-4 in. long. Select soft stone, pick out bowl cavity with bone awl.

[276] 2016. Kl: Ca. 2 in. long. AB: Wild rose stem.

2019. Stem inserted only if hole in mouthpiece end of pipe is too large for smoker.

[276] 2021. Kl: Sides flare outward so that bowl end is wider than stem end. WS: Refers to 2-piece stone bowl pipe.

2022. Refers to 1-piece wooden pipe. See Du Bois, Wintu, figs. 7, a-d. WT: Same shape as Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 7, d, but lacking upper bulb. WM: Same shape as Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 7, a. WS: Same shape as Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 7, a, c; also have pipe same shape as fig. 7, e, but with short stem added.

2023. WS: Refers to 1-piece wooden pipe.

2024. Mo: Owned by important men only.

2028. WM: Soft stone bowl picked out with bone awl; wooden stem wrapped with woodpecker skin. Said to be old type.

[202-A]

000 also used board as drum. See element 3670; also cf. Densmore, Musical Instruments, pp. 114-115.

2084. AW: Basket drummed with pack strap, to frighten away bear. MF, NF, NM: Use of pack strap for this purpose denied. MF: Drum on basket, in night ceremony held during April, when men, women sing for good seed crops, plentiful game for year. NF: Men scrape, drum basket when singing in assembly house; no dance. NS: Taboo to drum basket; "must not play with a basket." MV: Basket patted with hands.

Rattles, rasp.--

[534] 2085. Kl: Spier (Klamath, p. 90) doubts whether any large cocoons in Kl area. SW, At, AW, AE, WT, WM, WS, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Cocoons suitable for rattles available in area. WS: Cocoon rattle used for Big Head dance.

2088. At: 30± cocoons. AW, MM: 5-6. WS, NF: 4-5. NS: 3-5. MV: 5-10.

[534 759] 2089. Kl: Shamans do not use any variety rattle. At: Cocoon rattle dangerous; shaman never keeps it in house, or shows it to people, except when doctoring. When he shakes rattle, "it is as though he is asking his power for help." AW: Poisonous for anyone other than shaman to handle.

2093. SW: Gray papery sack, ca. 5 in. long, 2-3 in. wide; neither cocoon nor wasp's nest, but resembling these, used as rattle; broken mussel shells put inside it; used by children.

2097. WT: Refers to single-split rattle.

2098, 2099. WT: Refers to multiple-split rattle.

2101. WT: Refers to single-split rattle.

2103. AW, WM, WS, MF: By shamans only. MM: Snake rattles regarded as poisonous.

2108. SE: 7-8 hoofs.

2111. Mo: Obsidian arrowheads shaken inside open-mouthed basket cap, to encourage men to go to war.

[534 177] 2114. Kl: 2 notched rasps, held in hand, "played like a fiddle." No basket. Recency denied. Cp. Spier, Klamath, p. 35.

Bull-roarer; whistles and flutes.--

[534 177] 2116. Kl: Learned from Whites.

2120. At: Children, twirling bull-roarer for fun, ordered to stop, because sound produces sickness.

2130. Mo: Used when hunting ducks. SW: Used for any dance. WS: 2 types whistle; (1) of bone, old; (2) of elder, recent.

2131, 2133-2134. WS: Refers to older type bone whistle.

2136. WS: Used for Ghost (Dream) dance only; recent.

2147. Mo: Whipsnakes around elderberry bushes. See note 2161. SE: Also not good to handle elderberry bush; gives person headache. MV: Whistling with lips also taboo at any time.

2148. MV: Any variety of snake will come to whistler.

[203-B]

000 A headman of a single village never collected just his own men and went off to war; he had too small a bunch. Sometimes 3-4 Fall River men [Achomawi proper] would go with the war party."

2796. At: "Hat Creek people gave Round Mountain people pay for helping them fight; gave them beads, arrows, bows" (see note 2771).

2797. WS: No war leader; chief arranges that 40-50 men go to war, from his village, but appoints no leader for group and he himself does not go. MM: Headmen (see note 2619).

2798. At: Chief may stop fight, as when At and N Yana fighting Wintu, N Yana chief finally stopped battle, telling contestants, "You'd better let me talk; stop fighting." So the Wintu "quieted down, and stopped and finally paid. But At had killed Wintun man or so by then, and had their scalps."

2802. SW: That is, by fellow fighters.

[726] 2803. Kl: Because he is "a good singer" (?);
[701] WT, WM, MM: because he has power to dodge arrows.
[533]

Preparation

Prognostication; shamanistic activities; practice fighting; war dance; painting.--

2810. WT: Night before war party leaves, all men who intend to go to war practice fighting by dodging arrows that are shot at them; if a man falls down, it is warning he will be killed in war; shaman doctors such and tells him not to go. "But sometimes such men went anyway, and were killed." This practice was not a dance. No women participated.

[726] [756] 2812. Kl: Before war party sets out, all warriors line up, outside village; each man holds stone-tipped arrow straight in front of him. Shaman walks down line of men with his back to them; each man strikes in turn at shaman's back, below shoulder, with stone-tipped arrow. If man's arrowhead cuts doctor, latter turns quickly and tells man not to go to war, because he is certain to be killed. Sometimes man, thus forewarned, does not go; "sometimes he does, and is always killed if he does so."

2814. At: Shaman sings all night, on war expedition, for his power, so that enemies' bowstrings will break. In early morning warriors rise, and doctor talks to arrows, saying, "Get up, and wash your face"; then war party leaves.

2817. Mo: Shamans hired to make enemy sleepy.

2818. At: During fight shaman stays behind tree, all time, "giving out his power."

2820. Considered in nature of "training" for war. WT: See note 2810.

[726] [535] 2823. Kl: No real war dance; cp. Spier, Klamath, pp. 29-30. Mo: Ho·laklal; of minor importance; "just a little practice, for part of night, to show how active they are going to be, in war." WT: "Arrow dance"; men, only, build small fire at night, outside; talk to bows and arrows men who are going to war will take with

[210-B]

000 family, not that his sister-in-law belongs to
him." NM: Woman may refuse to marry brother-in-
law, saying she "does not want to die like [her]
sister did." Not obligatory for man either.

3841. At, WT: Only if widower treated first wife well. NM: See note 3839.

3842. Kl, Mo, SE, AW, AE, WT, WS, NS: Dead
587 woman's parents hire shaman to kill son-in-law,
● 756 if he refuses to marry one of deceased wife's
684 sisters. WM: Woman's parents hire men to kill
son-in-law outright.

587 3844. Kl, SE: Usually, however, relative of
595 man marries latter's stepdaughter.

3852. Kl: Informant "had heard lots about this,
595 among [N] California tribes and up at Warm
Springs--about man living with his sister-in-
law--but not practiced among Kl." AE: Not es-
000 pecially disapproved. WT: Indulged in only by
"loose" women, and generally disapproved.

3853. NS: Man sleeps with sister-in-law, only during brother's absence from home.

3855. NS: Not necessarily between namesakes only.

3856. SE: Extension of levirate also occurs; man may marry father's brother's wife, "to keep her in the family; he has to pay for his aunt, however, to give any children he may have by her status. But in outright levirate, gifts only given; levirate not always obligatory for man; "woman has to be good woman, to have treated dead husband well and pitched her face for him when he died, for his family to make strenuous efforts to keep her after his death." SW: Levirate more obligatory, for both man and woman concerned, than post-mortem sororate (see note 3839). WM: Day after funeral, when all relatives of dead man are crying, brother of deceased may ask widow for drink of water. If she gives it to him, they are considered as married from then on. Both widow and brother-in-law have blackened, pitched faces, and let pitch stay on until it wears off, but in event of speedy remarriage widow does not wear pitch necklace.

3857. SE: See preceding note.

3858. At: Widow may tell her brother-in-law she is going to marry another man; "All right," he says, and tells her to "take care of those children [by dead husband] good; be careful with them and let me know when they're sick."

[587] 3860. Kl: But because levirate is so obliga-
[684] tory for woman and for dead husband's brother,
rule seldom if ever violated. However, see ele-
ment 3973.

[587] 3862. By hiring shaman to kill woman, for all
[684] groups except WM, NS. WM: If woman refuses to
give brother-in-law drink of water (see note
3856 WM) "then her brother-in-law or father-in-
law get mad at her and try to kill her." NS:
Woman shot with bow and arrow.

3866. SW: Kammatwa and Katiru groups intermediate between Shasta proper and Karok (see note 282) permit marriage of blood relatives; Shasta do not.

[226-A]

Shamanism

00D

Sucking doctors; personnel and acquisition of power.--

4801. MM, MF: Female shamans do not suck out disease objects, however.

4803. Mo: If shaman wishes son or daughter to become shaman, feeds offspring some of his own "medicine" ("pain" object). But offspring must also acquire guardian spirit of his own as well. MM: Only under peculiar circumstances; see note 4806. MV: But if person's grandfather, for example, and not spirit creature, makes one a doctor (yomi), "that power fails a person sometimes, and doesn't last long."

4804. Mo: See preceding Mo note. At: "If old man has power, and his power likes a young relative (son or nephew) of old man's, power tells latter, 'Sometimes I'm going to play with that boy.' The power wants to get away and go with the boy. So it does; then the young boy becomes a doctor." If power comes this way, boy often goes out before sundown and plays with power; listens to it "singing all time," and tells his mother or father, who explain what this means. AW: Shaman may give his boy or girl his pain if pain likes the offspring; if it does not, child cannot obtain it. AE: A person's animal "power" or his "pain" may not like its possessor, and transfer to son or daughter of latter, before person's death; then parent's other powers may also desert to offspring. Also, "sometimes the power waited until after its possessor died." NS: Boy's father, or maternal, paternal grandfather, has to be shaman, or else boy cannot be one, as knowledge concerning shamanism is passed on within family; cannot be taught by outsider.

4805. Mo: After shaman's death, some of his "medicine" may go to one of his children if child "is smart enough"; if not, "when shaman dies that is the last of his medicine." If medicine comes unsought to child in this manner, there is no necessity for questing for it. AW: "After doctor's death, pain goes up and stays there for several months, then comes down and goes into ground; in spring it comes up in red roots of rye grass and goes to the person it likes. Sometimes a pain takes a person [master] in middle of winter, but not often." AE: See preceding AE note. WM: Old woman's dead son's spirit (ghost) may ask other spirits, "Will you help me out, and give my mother power; she feels badly [over son's death]." Other spirits may concur, saying, "Yes; maybe some day we'll go to that house, in 10-20 days [years] or sooner."

● [756] 4806. That is, if parent's pain (animate) does not wish to go to offspring, latter cannot inherit it. Mo, At, AW, AE: See notes 4804-4805. MM: My information agrees with Loeb's (Eastern Kuksu, p. 199) on this point; not all children of shaman, as Dixon states (Maidu, p. 274 ff.), or any of them become shamans if pain possessed by deceased shaman does not like any of children. Informant [illegible] and his brother are sons of shaman; neither one of them inherited their father's pain. "That spirit that belonged to my father didn't like us. Once or twice we thought it might be coming to my brother, but it didn't. When my father died, I took all his doctoring things and put them away outside; they were no good to me, just good for my father."

4807. Mo: See preceding Mo note. MV: "Never go out to try and get the power; it just comes to you; the spirit gets you, himself."

4811. SW: 4-5 days. WT, WM: 1-3. MV: Novice is sick for little while after he dreams first time; then begins to dream his training.

4813. SE, AW, AE: In dream after crying for dead, often.

4815. SE: Also, novice or full-fledged shaman cannot smell any burnt hair or burnt skin; makes her sick. SW: Guardian spirit tells novice he will bleed while dancing during training. NF: Novice bleeds at nose; for all other groups, at mouth.

4816. SE: 2-3 nights.

4820. AW: If refuse power from animal, not dangerous, as shaman can blow sickness, caused by refusal, off victim; if person refuses to accept "pain" that comes to one, he will die.

4822. AW: Can refuse animal's offer to become supernatural guardian; cannot refuse offer of "pain"; if refuse latter, will inevitably die. MV: Can refuse power by burning beads at spot where dream came, or by telling about one's dream.

4823. WT, WM, MM: Animal or vegetable.

4824. Mo: This makes one unclean. If fail to put ashes on, death will ensue.

4826. WT: Rarely. See note 4722.

4829. NS: Among this group, instruction by older shamans (who are related to boy in training) is apparently only method followed. Boys, 8-10 years old, taken into woods, to secret place, by 2 male shaman relatives, and there taught how to handle hot stones, other things. Stay there 4 days, fasting; no meat, liquids; instructed concerning food taboos to be followed after training over (not to eat hot foods, and such). Generally keep fact they have been trained and details of such training secret, even from parents. Boy taken out thus might refuse to engage in training; not reprimanded by relative if he decides not to go on with it.

4830. MV: Very little; in main, his guardian spirit teaches him.

[75a] 4834. Described as obsidian flakes by Kl, Mo; as "looking like a hair" by At, AW, WT, WM, WS, MM, MF; "like a bug" by At; "like a little sharp bone" by WS. Kl: Pain not animate. Mo: Either animate or inanimate. SE: Animate; moves but does not speak. Shaman never speaks to own pains, or those she sucks out. SW: "Shaman carries her 'pains' inside her all the time; that makes her the same as her guardian spirit, who also carries the pains (his arrows) inside him all the time." When SW informant stopped doctoring, he buried

000 his doctoring pipe, feathers, and his pains up in mountains under rocks. "Lots of doctors stopped, especially the women doctors; they didn't like the smell of White people. They couldn't see anything any more; it [power] all left them." At: When extracted from patient, pain often pleads with curing shaman to be sent back to its owner, and not to be killed (chewed up, or burnt); curing shaman often makes pain tell him who sent it, and so on. AW: "Before pain [always referred to as "poison" among At, AW, AE] was a pain, it was some kind of a weed." Cf. note 4805. Shaman, in sending out pain, may smoke, blow smoke and pain toward victim; he tells his pain, "Now go," and pain goes and finds victim. Then pain listens to victim; "if he talks good, pain returns to doctor, tells him, 'I didn't hit him, he looks good.' Doctor may say, 'All right, if you want to save him.'" AE: Animal appears to person in dream or otherwise; gives that person song, and tells him what to use as his pain ("poison"); that pain can talk, and has a song, too.

4838. SE, SW: In head, heel, shoulder. WT, WM: In head. WS: In head or heart. "Doctor has to have a clean heart; his heart is the pain's home, and pain has to stay there as long as the man lives; he can't put pain away or get rid of it, if he wants to stop doctoring."

● [756] [776] 4839. Kl, Mo, AE: Although shamans also acquire "pains" (see elements 4833 ff.), emphasis among these 3 groups is chiefly upon guardian-spirit helpers they acquire. SE, SW, At, AW: Emphasis shifts from guardian-spirit helpers to the "pains" themselves, which are always animate and can talk. AW: "If person acquires 10 kinds of powers [guardian-spirit helpers], he will be a doctor. [But must have "pain" to doctor.] Whenever doctor cries at funeral, he gets more power" (through dreams).

4846. SW: "Any animal people eat is nothing at all for giving one power for doctoring. Grizzly Bear, Timber Wolf help doctors; Coyote too; they all look like animals, but they call themselves after a mountain (Wolf) or a bush (Grizzly Bear) or some rocks (Coyote), when they announce themselves to doctors; they don't go by their ordinary names. Panther, deer, raccoon, badger, ground squirrel are nothing at all, because people eat them." WT: Power comes from small animals and flies, other insects.

4853. SW: "Rattlesnake can give power [but only in ancillary fashion]; but he doesn't talk to a doctor, or sing. You can see rattlesnake, though [during trance or faint], and get some power that way; but the only way a doctor uses rattlesnake is to use the skin for her pipe stem [decoration], or to wear the rattles. She never calls on rattlesnake to help her." MV: "Rattlesnake is main doctor."

4856. AE: "Frog--that's the boss of the doctors."

4870. Mo: Shaman has pole outside house, with bald eagle feathers, skunk skin and other skins

[241-B]

strung on it. He never kills bird or animal of same species as his guardian spirit(s), but someone else kills these for him, gives feathers, skins to him. SE: See note 4946. SW: Novice acquires pole, with 10 different objects (feathers, skins) on it; this sacred, kept outside house when not being used during shamanistic performance; at latter, shaman brings pole, plants it in ground outside patient's house. See note 4992. At: After man begins to doctor patients he acquires eagle down, woodpecker feathers, yellowhammer band. Ties these feathers inside his whistle. Also acquires bunch supernatural feathers (kaku) which he keeps tied up on willow branch, near creek; when shaman dies, blood drips from these kaku feathers. When shaman first discovers these feathers they are singing; he walks up to them and picks them up. WM: Shamans pass on their feathers, when old and near death, to another shaman; "keep passing them on from 1 to another. Sometimes the feathers tell doctor to put them in the water ['bury' them]; or feathers may say, 'No, I want to be alive, give me to another doctor.'" If, on receiving the feathers a shaman does not know how to handle them, he tells them he cannot keep them and is going to put them in the water.

4871. At: See preceding At note. Shaman never brings these feathers inside house, or uses them in curing performance; there may be children playing around who might make too much noise; feathers might become disturbed, poison people.

4872. At: See note 4870 At.

4873. At: Also, if man dreams "good" (acquires luck) after birth of child, "he never tells about his dream; if he does, he won't have any luck."

Sucking doctors: doctor-making rites.--

4874. SE, SW: 2 dances entered for each of these groups: (1) dance which novice performs alone in sweat house immediately after obtaining vision; (2) public winter dance in sweat house, following which a novice shaman may start curing. If SE, SW entries for elements 4875-4924 relate to one type dance only, note explains to which; if entries relate to both types dance, no note.

[756] 4874a. Kl: Spier, Klamath, p. 113, says rites
[178] last 5 nights and days; my informant, who had
[184] danced at these performances, said 1, but probably he was referring to more recent curtailed performances. WT: 1-4.

4875. SE: Novice dances 3 nights, alone; public winter dance lasts 2 nights. WM: 4-5 nights.

4877. NF: Doctor dance (yomuse) starts in morning; at noon eat dinner; in afternoon dance again, then eat supper; then dance all night around fire. By daylight dance is over. Men, women shamans dance; women hold fox hides, wildcat hides on sticks, while dancing; men dance inside circle of women dancers, and wear yellowhammer bands on their heads. Novice doctors join in dance. During daytime dancing, shamans, in turn, hold cocoon rattle on stick, gaze straight

000 at sun; Sun "shoots" shaman, who is "killed" and falls down, and another shaman has to shake him by feet and awaken him; stricken shaman has blood streaming from nose. Clowns function at this dance.

4878a. SE, SW: Refers to dance novice performs alone. WT, WM, WS: Held immediately before and during time vision obtained.

4879. SE, SW: Refers to dance novice performs alone.

4880. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4881. SW: Refers to public winter dance. AW: See note 4805 AW.

4881a. WS: Held once year, in spring only; "not in winter--too cold; not in summer--too warm."

4885. SE, SW: Refers to novice's dance by self, not to public winter dance. At: "After man gets his power [from vision quest] he dances, while sweating, 1 day and night after returning home. He dances by himself; children must keep away from the sweat house, and keep quiet. The next day his family prepares food, and he eats alone. But he doesn't doctor for a long time after this."

[756] [535] 4886. Kl: 3-4 shamans attend. One midwinter dance, only, given for all 4 local groups of Kl (see also note 4437 Kl). SW: Refers to public winter dance.

[756] [535] 4890. Kl: 2 groups, 6 men each, dance on 1 side of fire inside house.

4894. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

[756] [535] [533] [562] 4896. Kl: Women sit in circle around house, next to wall, singing for male dancers. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4897-4900. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4901. Mo: Any time shaman becomes excited, his spirit causes him to bleed at mouth; therefore shaman always keeps quiet around his house. At: This does not happen during any public doctor-making dance (of which At have none), but if novice attends curing performance by older shaman, he may fall down in faint and blood comes from his mouth. Older shaman then sings for him and, when boy revives, tells him he had better help him cure patient. See note 4924.

4902-4904. SE: Refers to public winter dance.

756 4905. Kl: "Sometimes the old doctors are jealous because there's a new doctor, so they poison him, right there. The 'mean' doctor's medicine [perhaps weasel, or bear] meets that new doctor's medicine [guardian spirit] up in the mountains somewhere; the old doctor's medicine hides and catches the new doctor's medicine, and 'poisons' the new doctor thus. When the new doctor becomes sick from this [very soon after the dance], he says, 'Some doctor gave me poison; I'm sick.' One old man will ask him, 'What's the matter, what's the matter; what did they do to you?' The new doctor tells the old man that the mean doctor's medicine has grabbed his own medicine; that's why he has taken sick. So he lies down all the time and sings; he sings his medicine.

756 He lies there, eating all right, but he's sick. After awhile he says, 'Well, he grabbed my medicine, just like a chicken hawk [clutches its prey].' That's the last words he may say; he dies right there. The mean doctor has killed
000 him." SE: Refers to public winter dance. WM: When shaman first doctoring (1 month to year after he obtained his power in doctor dance), he may have his "spirit" (guardian spirit) stolen from him. "A relative of a dead shaman may do this [because the young doctor is singing deceased shaman's song]; the new doctor may have the dead doctor's spirit."

756 4908. Kl: Novice swallows 2 flint rock "pains" which assistant gives him; men dance; he then vomits 1 piece flint rock; more singing; vomits second piece; both found in basket of water. Novice also puts his 2 flint rock pains in another man's mouth, on tongue; they vanish; women sing; then pains appear in basket of water.

4909. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4910. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance. MV: This does not happen during any doctor-making dance (of which MV have none), but dance manager (yumbasi) of other types of dances eats fire; doctors (yomi) do not.

4911. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance. WM: "Samson Grant, a puisus [Achomawi] doctor, eats blazing pine splinters [correct]; WM doctors don't."

4912. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance.

4913. WM: After obtaining his power during doctor dance, novice usually does not doctor for from 1 month to 1 year, until older shaman tells him to doctor someone. WS: Informant had cousin, small boy, who doctored when he was young (9-10 years old); later became powerful shaman. NF: Only when novice is middle-aged does he start doctoring.

4924. SE, SW: Refers to public winter dance. At: If novice attends curing performance by older shaman, sometimes latter invites him to help cure patient (see note 4901). Novice demurs, but older shaman urges him; former sings 4 songs, and novice then pulls out "pain" from patient. "The boy [novice] is pretty nearly dead, because he's holding the poison; he puts it in a little basket, and the older shaman sings and sings for him; finally he gets him up. The novice then tells who has poisoned the patient."

Sucking doctors: curing techniques.--

4925. Mo, SE: 1-2 nights. SW: 2-3. If, when diagnosing patient, shaman sees that "pain" (intrusive disease object) has already left him (pains always leave victim night before he dies) she knows there is no hope, and makes no attempt to cure, although patient may actually live until next morning. At: 2-3. AW: 1-2. "Doctoring takes 2-3 nights. The people who sing for a doctor must stay throughout period, or doctor loses his power." AE: 2-3 nights; usually 3. On first night, shaman generally cannot locate intrusive

[243-A]

000 Sucking doctors: malevolent practices; competitions.--

5014. WM: "Long time ago, doctors could [and did] poison other people if they wanted to [as well as cure people], but they didn't do it much. A doctor would always go up on mountain [if he wanted to kill someone]; he had his feathers, and his 'boy' [pain]; he'd talk to boy, tell it he would hire him to kill a man or woman; he'd send that poison out to kill someone--another doctor, or just an ordinary man or woman." MV: Informant commented, "As long as I've been living here, I've never heard of it [sickening by shaman] here; up in the mountains they have poisoners (yompati)." MV: Sickness caused chiefly by dreaming bad dreams.

5017. At: "If person has nice clothes, evil shaman may come around and tell that person he wants them. But person--perhaps young boy--may say, 'Those are the only clothes I have; I can't let you have them.' Then a bad shaman would put his poison down on trail, or by door of boy's house; the boy steps on it; he's sick, next day he dies, before sun-up. The doctor never gets the clothes; he's just angry [and does this for revenge]."

5018. See elements 5008-5010.

5020. NS: Shaman puts scorpion tail under his long fingernail on index finger and sticks victim with this tail; victim dies. "A doctor (yomusi) tried to stick my grandmother that way; instead he stuck one of my mother's brothers, who was baby then; that baby died before morning. My grandmother's relatives were angry and tracked the doctor to Indian Diggings and killed him." No formula spoken to tail. Also, shaman uses liver with rattlesnake poison in it, sticks his arrowheads in this liver, then shoots at person. "A doctor shot an old woman who wouldn't marry him with one of these poison arrows, here." Also, shaman sticks his scorpion tail into spot where victim has urinated; latter cannot urinate after this, and dies. Children warned to urinate over bush for this reason.

5021. At: Disease object put on end of willow stick, and stick pointed at person. Then doctor's "power" takes poison over and puts it in the victim. Shaman "smokes, smokes, and sings all night; he eats no meat, acorn soup, anything (but can drink water) for 1 night and day."

5025. AW: See note 4834 AW.

[754] 5029. Kl: Spirit sent to person to give latter
[756] bad dreams; victim sickens from them.

5030. At: Shaman's animal also sometimes attacks person, actually chews him.

5034. AE, WT, WM, WS, MF, NF: Less serious than if shaman steals soul.

5040. At: If shaman's animal has actually attacked victim (see note 5030), "long time afterward the victim will find out [who sent animal out]; people will caution him not to mention his knowledge, saying 'Maybe his friend [animal] will hear, listening around here, and tell him [shaman].'

[245-B]

D90 So victim says little, but consults with chief, and after getting his consent, he sneaks around to evil shaman and kills him; he's even then. 'How do you feel?' he asks him, after he's shot him with bow and arrow; 'That's how I felt.'" NF: Shoot evil shaman, then "mash him up, like a sausage, and burn him." At burning, whirlwind goes up. Evil shaman's relatives "never say anything" when shaman killed.

5041. Often at curing performance evil shaman's pain is sent back to owner to kill him. At: Evil shaman's pain sent back to kill one of his children (see note 4980).

5042. MF, NF: Hold meeting to decide upon course of action.

● [758] 5047. Kl, Mo: Midwinter shamanistic exhibitions are not here considered as competitions. WS: For competitions between weather shamans, see element 5119.

5068. Mo: If contest held in earnest. "Doctors try to poison each other with their medicine; a big Kl doctor's medicine, Chicken Hawk, hid once and caught a [rival] Mo doctor's medicine, Bald Eagle. But the Mo doctor's medicine caught Chicken Hawk; then the Kl doctor died."

Singing shamans.--

5060a. Mo: "Common" or "little" doctors recognized; "only way these doctor is by laying hands on patient--they don't suck, as a big doctor does." Possibly these might be classed as singing shamans (?). SW: Connected with recent Ghost dance only. WT: Referred to as "raw doctors." MM, MF, NF: Referred to as "dreamers." MM: "Dreamers" (nedim maidü) tell people what is going to happen, and what dead want them to do. "Lots of people don't believe them." Have no pains, cannot cure sick; "not very important." NM: See note 5079. NS: Shamans who use outfit bundle found at Auburn, among another Nisenan group, but not at Placerville. MV: Children always taught to tell what they dream, so if dream evil dreams, can be treated. But MV have no "dreamers" (oye) as MM, MF, NF have; "Dr. Charley at Cherokee (MF) was such. When he didn't feel good, he notified the people, and told them to make a fire in assembly house, because the spirits wanted to tell them something."

5070. AW: If bundle discarded, never obtains another one.

5079. NF: Dreamer dreams of spirits; sings in round house; "all the old people go in and listen when those devils [spirits] come and sing. They don't allow young people in there. Dreamer uses cocoon rattle [4 cocoons]; rattle goes up to smoke hole; dreamer sings and calls that devil, who comes in under the [foot] drum, takes the rattle and goes up center pole to top of house and sings; when devil is through singing he drops rattle down on ground and leaves." Clown (pepe) stays in round house during performance; "he doesn't act funny, but just calls those devils for dreamer." NM: Informant's father dreamer and

000 such shaman probably had power from clouds, or rain; could also cause rain.

5117. SW: "Down-river they [Karuk] pay a person for making rain; Shasta don't."

5119. WS: First doctor may make rain, second make it snow, in summertime.

● [756] [821] [763] 5122. Kl, Mo: Also when shaman is cremated. Mo: Also, once in awhile, at spot where shaman has been cremated, person may see fire; whoever sees this will die.

Rattlesnake shamans; grizzly bear shamans; money finders.--

5123. SW: Recognized, but with qualifications (see note 4853). NF: "When snake sees a doctor (yomim maidü) it lies down and dies; it never chases him. Once in awhile snake bites common man."

5134. AE: "Have to have power from Buzzard to cure rattlesnake bites; Buzzard eats rattlesnake."

5135. SE: Ordinary person can protect self against snake bites by putting crushed haliotis inside moccasin. At: Ordinary persons wear turtle shell suspended from belt, to protect themselves against being bitten by snakes.

5146. SW: Woman goes about to houses in village, doctors small children's moccasins by singing these songs, so children will not be bitten by rattlesnakes. Denied for SE.

5149. WS: Large snake emerges first, when songs sung; "he's the boss snake"; after snakes are talked to, this large snake is first to return to hole. Shaman not paid to do this.

5151a. Among all groups, bear shamans always impersonate grizzly bear (Ursus horribilus), never black or brown bear (Ursus americanus).

5160. MM: If man bitten by grizzly, shaman summoned; latter takes patient short distance away from camp and builds small fire; then shaman sings and digs up acorns, roots, ant eggs and puts them in small piles--these disappear at once. Shaman then sucks out blood and bear teeth from patient.

5163. WT, NS: Belief strong that shaman really turns into bear, does not merely simulate bear.

5170. AW: Spirit from yellow jacket, fly, coyote. AE: Spirit from (Indian) dog.

Witchcraft

Black magic.--

5183. NS: Love medicine lacking, but have belief that, if person carries seeds of a certain plant which grows in old graveyard, this person will have good luck. Must be careful when carrying these seeds not to go in front of people, children especially; seeds will make child, or even adult, faint.

5184. WS: For revenge, jilted suitor gets piece of girl's hair, talks to it and puts it in an evil sacred spot (sauɛl); "if he doesh't know how to do this right, girl will die in 2 days.

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00 But if he knows how, she will waste away within 5-6 years. If he knows nothing of way to do it, he himself will die, too. This has to be done by suitor himself [can't hire anyone to do it for him], secretly."

5185. SW: "There was a song which anyone who knew, could use" [to make girl fall in love with person]. Flute not used. AE: Use the man's or girl's name in song, to charm desired person; then man or girl will come to singer. WT: When such song sung, it will make girl "marry her uncle, even." Also sing songs to be rid of member of opposite sex one does not love. Either man, woman uses love songs. MF: Sing with flute (ya·lulu).

5187. SE: Poisoner (k'ephoaki) "not real doctor, who dances, but anyone, man or woman, who knows how to witch with victim's hair or excrement." WS: No special term for poisoners. All these poisoners could do is to take their own poison off victim; could not cure persons otherwise. NF: Persons who "dope" victims (yompa) rub "some sort of dope on their hands," and lay their hands on victim's body; victim then dies.

5191. SE: Pound lizard scalp and frog together, mix them in person's food, to poison person.

[754 756] 5192. Recite formula, generally, over hair, clothes, spittle, footprints, or excrement of intended victim. SE: Hair or excrement. WT, WM, WS: Hair only. At, MM, MF, NS: Poisoners who practice contagious magic are also sucking shamans. At, MM, MF, NF, NS: Poisoners who administer "dope" are not sucking shamans. NM: If want to spoil hunter's luck, burn deer bone taken from deer he has killed. NS: To make boy lucky in hunting, his grandfather, if a shaman, doctors boy's bow and arrow; moves it (no formula, song); or straightens and rubs boy's arms. Refer to this latter as na·k (same term as that used for straightening an arrow). For several other examples of contagious magic see note 5020.

[754 756] 5193. If girl refuses to marry man, or father refuses to sell daughter in marriage to certain man, poisoner hired.

5194. SE: Poisoner picks up victim's hair or excrement with stick, talks to it, wishes victim bad luck. Girl victim "goes crazy"; apt to go to edge of cliffs, singing, and to run around from one man to another. Girl has to be taken to curing shaman, who tells victim name of poisoner; victim then confronts poisoner, and makes latter take his or her poison off; this is done by poisoner blowing on victim, and singing. SW: Poisoner makes girl crazy, so she will never amount to anything. Sucking doctor can take medicine off the girl, and cure her. At: If girl made crazy thus, her father goes to shaman, perhaps same one who witched her, and asks him to cure girl. Shaman looks girl over, says he can do nothing for her; father then goes to another doctor, who pulls out "pain" evil shaman has put in girl, and talks to it; pain tattles on its possessor, evil shaman, and tells curing shaman all that has been said be-

eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food K M 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [412]
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K M
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [364]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K M
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M
221
756
796

K
756
796
[221]
shamans, individually or in a group, give public performances to invited audiences. It is at this time, too, that novices first demonstrate their powers. The guests bring their own food, depositing it outside the shaman's house, and take their place by families along the wall. K M [778] [531] A ceremonial pole has been erected outside, bearing painted designs and hung with symbols of the shaman's tutelary spirits. Inside, the house posts are also painted, and stuffed birds and animals, representing the shaman's powers, hang from the beams: they transform a residence into a holy place. The shaman wears sacred regalia, including a fillet of woodpecker scalps, and spectators must be clad in traditional clothing. K M [858] Children are excluded from all but the sleight-of-hand demonstrations at night, since at other times they might be imperiled. Modoc children are not allowed to attend any part of the seances.

Each shaman has an interpreter—w[illegible] habitually assists him in curing as well—and who summons the spirits from their distant places, lights the shaman's pipe, repeats his words, and provides other aid. For the performance a caller is also chosen and, together with one or more singers, he leads the audience in dancing and in singing the sacred songs of the shaman.

For five days and nights—only nights for the Modoc—the performance continues. During this time the shaman, when he is not dancing, sits or lies on his bed and observes a fast. The first ceremony is a fire dance by the shaman and helpers while the caller invokes the spirits; it is followed by the singing of the spirit songs. Among the Modoc, successive nights are spent in singing the spirit songs, and for those shamans who are richly endowed with spirit associates, there is no repetition. In the longer Klamath ceremonies—which extend through the day as well—evenings are given over to shamanistic performances, restricted by the Modoc to the final evening. K M [789] Each shaman must demonstrate his ability to swallow fire and arrowheads; and some swallow splints, sticks, or prodigious quantities of water. The powers of many enable them to produce fish, pond-lily seeds, or blood in a basket of water; and some animate the stuffed skins suspended from the ceiling as well. During the entire five-day period the congregation follows ritual prescription. On no other occasion are this

M
many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit 756 •
and compelling in its demands. 796

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and K
serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and M 221
the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, 261
housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social [356]
bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take
pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or
the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed K M
and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans [574]
who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still [685] [756]
conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers. [796]

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating [789]
hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will K
not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, M 261
they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to 22
gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer
of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance
of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate K
odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. M 221
Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied 361
through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The
decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining
in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. K
The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, M
where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the [501]
household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the
pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already,
in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and
Sprague.

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted K 226
the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, 823
which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost K
River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, M
where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, 226
catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream 103
tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers 648

and Paiute, meet on the broad expanses of Klamath Marsh, K M
where, as Coville observes, over ten thousand acres of ripening 221
plants promise in good years an abundance not to be exhausted 222 [648]
by the demands of man. In later times Agents describe wokas
as the most important single food of the Indians; and its specialized preparation is one of the most distinct features of their
subsistence technology. Its importance is emphasized further by K
the circumstance that the month of its harvest, August, marks [805]
the beginning of the Klamath year. The wokas-gathering is pre- K M
ceded by shamanistic performances to ensure a plentiful crop. [756] •

Daily, the dugout canoes, somewhat smaller than those used in [789]
fishing and ordinary transport, slip out from the camps upon the K M
broad expanse of the waters. In the openwork bags twined from 50
tules, the pods accumulate until the canoe is full. One old woman 222
recalled how she and a girlhood chum learned how to collect the pond-lily seeds:

> We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We
> took another canoe. There were always lots of extra poles lying K M
> around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for
> lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules [252]
> to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them.[14]

While the women, old men, and children are occupied on the K M
marshes some of the men fare forth to hunt. The favored grounds 224
are in the east, where Klamath and Modoc pursue antelope, mule

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

M
787 as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing
756 they are the shaman's "helpers."

K However differently they construe the degree of individual
M access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that
787 human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those
K who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer
M [782] in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtu-
[772] ous striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the
universe appears basically to be a moral order.

K In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The
M annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the
181 progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon
461 industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme
that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic
K exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this
M 461 virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to
556 maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a follow-
595 ing. Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the
K common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a
M contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent
622 men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In
556 war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his
[881] panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man
[701] of property is likely to be decked with many valuables con-
[764] tributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the
[538] man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowl-
[756] edge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send
out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power
in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to
K the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in
622 the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:
539

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee —to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

At the
center of concentric circles of concern stands
K the natal family.[16] In the myths, parents and offspring and
M siblings are bound by the strongest affective bonds: in trouble
593 they provide succor and in death, revenge. The obligation transcends
602 abstract ethical considerations. In real life, mutual responsibility
reaches out to embrace the extended family, the
close consanguineal kindred linked through two or three generations.
K M Although kinship terminology acknowledges equally relationships
[601] on the maternal and paternal sides, residence practices
[591] in general favor the latter. From close kinsmen on both sides
come the gifts that set the seal of approval upon the marriage of a member; during his lifetime they share food with him in his need, support him in his quarrels, and assist his avenger should he be slain. At his funeral, it is they, together with friends of the deceased, who are expected to place valuables upon the funeral pyre.

K Beyond the sphere of immediate kindred and of friends lies
M the domain of neighbors and remote relatives. If more central
602 obligations tend to be principally a function of consanguinity,
621 and thus to be ascriptive in character, village relationships and
571 those outside are more frequently based upon performance.
K M Here enter those standards of behavior by which a person of
[577] good family may be confirmed in position, the poor but worthy
rise, and the ne'er-do-well sink in the public view. At the head
K of this loose and shifting status scale stand the shamans and
M other influential men, the leaders of hamlet groups. On occasion
• 756 they may meet in an informal village council to concert decisions.
622 621 Yet the village, which in its spatial limits often blends with
554 adjacent settlements and which dissolves with the turn of the
seasons, can exert little constraint upon its members.

K The prestige of the leaders, the force of public opinion, and
M checks imposed by rival village interests hold the unruly in line.
62 The principle of self-help and the responsibility of kinsmen may
enlarge grievances to feuds if the differences are not soon ended, and thus threaten the very being of the community. To counter such fissive tendencies, leaders mediate disputes and exhort to their fellow villagers the need to maintain harmony.

K Time may alter the membership of villages. Men frequently
M seek wives in other communities; and there is considerable inter-
621 marriage between Klamath and Modoc and Klamath and Molala,
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175 1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-
178 scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes.
726 The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging
K M scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty,
175 brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of
726 which based their power upon eminence in war and possession
182 of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers,
622 and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times
565 to cement alliances with shamans.

556 Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean
756 weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power
[754] was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would die."[11]

K M The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties.
175 A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-
178 bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader
622 increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers
619 from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country.
628 As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance ren-
726 dered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment of worth.

K In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary
622 principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother
175 as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill, a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David, later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks,
K of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite
[838] in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

K A minor factor in these developments may have been the
195 interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in
643 order that they might deal more effectively with responsible
648 leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs
177 met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

*657 but they were made the arbiters for the acceptance by their
*648 fellows of changes in customary practice. Their position was
622 buttressed by the procedure at first adopted of issuing annuities through them, of loaning equipment to the chiefs for the use of their followers, of building houses for them, and of giving them priority when breaking ground for planting.[22]

*657 Even as an embodiment of indirect rule, however, the early
*648 reservation courts knew the intervention of the Agents. Meacham
• 756 records that, "Captain Knapp forbade thier [sic] Doctors to
692 practice and shackeled [sic] them for attempting to persist in the same."[23] And Meacham himself, having requested the commander of Fort Klamath to arrest and confine one Link River Doctor for the same offense, proceeded to try him during the next session of the court and sentenced him to four months' imprisonment at Fort Klamath.[24] Dyar similarly set sentence for Pitt River Dick, convicted of assaulting another Indian with a knife.[25]

*657 The degree to which the Agency had set itself up to confirm
*648 the chiefs, and thus to constitute the supreme authority, is shown
622 by the commission earlier awarded to Allen David, which runs,

> The Bearer
>
> for his intelligence, loyalty and long continued good behavior, is hereby appointed during good conduct Chief of the Chucklolum division of the Klamath Tribe. He will exercise authority over the said people subject to the will of the High Chief of the Klamath Nation and also of the proper authorities of the United States.
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Witness | Signed at the Klamath |
> | O. C. Applegate Intr. | Agency Sept 28th 1867 |
> | Saml. D. Whitmore | L. Applegate |
> | Acting Farmer | U. S. Indn Sub Agent |

Note especially that the division referred to does not correspond with any of the Klamath tribelets. Thus a regrouping was either being recognized or, more probably, instigated by the Agency.[26]

Despite their increasing control, Agents continued to chafe under the independence still exercised by the chiefs. As Commissary Meacham chose to phrase it, "In thier [sic] present condition it is probably best that each tribe should be represented by thier hereditary chiefs, but I am satisfied that the time is not

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

NINE

[p.111]

Religion

THE FINAL FIELD OF PLANNED CHANGE TO BE COSIDERED IS THAT OF 657*
religion. The traditional American separation of church and 648*
state did not obtain in the early history of the reservation, which, 797
during the Grant administration, was entrusted to the Methodist Church. Several Agents, beginning with Dyar, and more than one employee, were ordained ministers. Although for some years the church did not send a missionary upon the reservation, religious services were held and the Word preached. The Annual Conference of the Methodist Church on several occasions served as a sounding board for intrigues on the part of white employees against the Agent.

Nor was religion divorced from political control on the native 657*
side. It will be recalled that shamans had been dominant figures 648*
before the rise of the centralizing chiefs, and that subsequently 756 •
their power often buttressed that of individual chiefs. The con- 178
tinued presence of that influence now challenged the rule of the Agent. Lindsay Applegate later, in his roughhewn spelling, characterized the "Indian doctor" as "the dangers imposter who was the grate Bareer aganst their siviliseation . . ." adding "I made him giv Back the property that he had taken from his people By his false pretences [.] when he got two Bissy I put him in the guard hose[.]"[1] Captain Knapp brought similar pressure to bear in an effort to remove interference with proposed medical innovations. John Meacham, who succeeded him, commented upon the futility of his drastic measures:

> This was well and the Captain deserves credit for it, but it had about as much effect in eradicating these superstitious notions from the minds of the Indians as would the execution of the Pope of Rome and the proscription of every priest in Christendom in abolishing from the earth the papal theory of religion.

> *657 To prevent a *practice* is one thing, to change the belief in the
> *648 theory which actuated that practice is quite another thing. Thus
> • 756 while it is very true the *practice* of medicine by Indian doctors
> is abolished yet I am fully warranted in saying that there is not
> 178 half a dozen Indians on the Reservation who are not as firm as
> ever in the belief of "spiritual medicine." Even Head Chief Allan
> David grave, sedate, and logical as he is in most things, acknowledged
> to me the other day that he *still believed* and was
> afraid to punish the Doctors.[2]

Notwithstanding his appreciation of the difficulty in eradicating belief in this way, Meacham continued to war against the shamans, causing Link River Doctor, whom Knapp had imprisoned, to be arrested and tried for having openly defied the order against shamanistic practice.[3] Meanwhile, he hailed the ministrations of the agency physician as demonstrating "that an efficient, patient and intelligent physician can do more than almost any other person in rooting out thier [sic] faith in thier own 'spiritual' medicine, and thus opening the way for the white man's customs, laws and religion."[4]

Not all shamans were initially singled out, for many were held in esteem. Of his paternal grand-aunt, a shaman, a present-day informant recalled, "She was like a preacher and all respected
her. Chief Chiloquin always called her first when he had a meeting
because she had a good brain. . . . Sally had a strong power
*657 [i.e. tutelary spirit]. . . ."[5] Tecumseh, an early Agency employee
*648 and Dave Hill's companion during the lyceum tour of 1875, was
756 a noted shaman. It was the parvenu chiefs, replacing Lileks and
754 Chiloquin, who abetted the Agents; and initially, as in the code
622 set forth by Dave Hill, their censure was directed only against
sorcery. Indeed, Hill's wife wrote him that she had taken their
177 ailing child to a female shaman to be cured.[6] As Henry Blow
178 remarked, "Since there is a white man's law among us the doctors
are afraid to kill for malice or money as they did long ago, but
exert the same power to heal the sick as they did."

*657 Significantly, when the court of chiefs tried Doctor John, a
*648 shaman, for having bewitched and thus slain another, the chief
756 witness against him was Sally, the woman shaman mentioned
622 above, who testifyed that in her dreams her shamanistic powers
177 had seen those of the accused.[7]

178 In 1880, Nickerson took a further step toward reducing the
[754] number of shamans, but thereby gave those who remained a

measure of official sanction. "I have recently induced their chiefs 657*
and people," he reported, "to dispense with one half or more of 648*
their native doctors, each chief and his people selecting one to 756
retain. They came into this plan more readily than I had apprehended."[8] 622
On a visit to the Agency, Lindsay Applegate came 178
upon the new system and, in a letter bristling with indignation, 177
wrote "[Nickerson] turned to me and remarked that they ware
his indian docters that he had invited the indians to furnish to
practice with his docter at the same time [.]"[9]

Meanwhile, the growing success of the medical program upon 657*
the reservation sapped the authority of the shamans in what was 648*
their last legitimate field. The personality of Dr. Royal, who had 756
doubled as chief of police, apparently did much to win over 164
some of the chiefs, as did his treatment of syphilitic cases among 177
the Indians. (Since, as Roork had remarked, the disease had been 178
contracted by Indians in the course of their annual trading trips
to Oregon City and other points,[10] it may have had a higher
incidence in chiefly families.) They desired to retain him and,
wrote Nickerson in advocating this, "Should he remain permanently the chiefs have agreed to do all they can to do away with
their Indian doctors. These Indian doctors have heretofore had
almost unbounded sway over the people."[11]

In outlawing shamanistic activities, the Agency in effect drove 657*
a wedge between the shaman and his ritual assistants: the inter- 648*
preter, caller, and singers. Since a curing seance was a public 756
demonstration, it involved too many participants to be concealed 177
easily; and the shamans, formerly among the most respected and 178
feared members of the tribe, were not given to skulking. More- [778]
over, in native theory, supernatural power waxes with use; and
when performances were no longer given frequently, that power
declined.

Recalled H. N.:

> I always seen David Hill go among the people and interpret the agent's words. Sally [the shaman] said, "I didn't do it myself, but my medicine do it. It's up to my medicine. If I do it, it's the medicine's fault." But David Hill said, "It's better for you to quit than to have trouble for yourself, or your family. That's what the agent wants."
>
> . . .
>
> Nobody ever called her after the orders were given. They might help minor things. I watched Sally. I watched her doctor.

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> She worked all night once, and I thought there must be something to it. But her power got small. You know what the Christians say, "Backslide," not working strong enough. She said, "My help is getting small."[12]

Alec Wilson was a shaman, one of perhaps three in the lower Williamson River area. After the Agency had outlawed shamanistic curing, he gave up his practice. Later, his child fell ill. His wife railed at him, "You call yourself an Indian doctor! Why don't you do something? Can't you see your own child is dying?" Helplessly, he explained, "My tricks [i.e. powers] are all gone, have left me; I can't do nothing without my tricks."

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Though prohibited, shamanistic activities continued into recent times. In 1897, Emery dealt severely with two instances of curing at Paiute Camp, awarding a month at hard labor each to Doctor Sam and Tom Godowa for attempting a shamanistic cure of the latter's daughter and a week in jail to Tom Chocktoot, headman of the Paiute, for a similar effort on behalf of Pete Pauline's daughter. Chocktoot had also to return the sack of flour and blanket he had received as his fee.[13] A number of adults who were products of the boarding school recall the transvestite shaman, White Cindy. One man was cured by him in the early 1890's;[14] and a woman who fell ill through dreaming of him underwent the required shamanistic cure, although she was a Methodist. Henry Jackson is said to have retained shamans to perform cures at his house, and he is widely suspected to have hired the assassin of the Modoc shaman, Doctor George, in 1899, on the suspicion that he had encompassed the death of his sons.[15]

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While the campaign against the shamans was proceeding, other events had taken place. In 1871, a Paiute had introduced upon the Upper End (Yainax) the nativistic Ghost Dance religion; and Doctor George, at that time not yet a shaman, had brought it to the Tule Lake Modoc. There it was taken up by the Modoc shaman, Curley-haired Doctor, and played an ideological role during the Modoc War. A Klamath commoner named O'Toole brought the religion to the Lower End, at the Lakes, where a dance was organized by Allen David (then head chief), Lobert, a headman and shaman, O'Toole, and Frank Chilks, another commoner. No Agency employees among the Indians participated.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

After the end of the Modoc War, a second movement, the 648* 657*
Earthlodge Cult, was brought to the reservation by two Pit River 668
Indians, Henry Jackson and Pit River Charley, who had learned 177
about it while visiting relatives in northern California. Shortly 178
after this cult was introduced, a delegation of Klamath and Modoc from both Ends of the reservation visited Falls City, California, and Fort Crook to witness dances and seek the "message." Gradually, the Earthlodge Cult passed into a second phase, known as the Dream Dance. At the Upper End, the leaders were again Doctor George and Monchnkasgitk, while at the Lower they included Allen David, Jason Howard, a commoner, Chanchan, a shaman from Pelican Bay, O'Toole, and Lobert. The Paiute abstained from both the earlier and the later phases of this cult. The movement effectively stopped about 1878 with the building of the Methodist Church.

Nash, whose account has been followed here, has set forth the ritual and the theological content of each movement and has convincingly analyzed the social tensions and individual drives, so far as they can be recovered, that gave significance to the movements. The Ghost Dance was given antiwhite content by the Tule Lake Modoc, but not by the other groups. The Earth- [184]
lodge Cult, on the other hand, was strongly antiwhite at the Upper End, but not at the Agency. Around this time the Indians were becoming alarmed by reports that they were going to be exterminated by the troops and agitated by the boundary line and military road disputes, which especially affected the Upper End. Such fears may have contributed to the growth and local character of the Earthlodge Cult.

Viewed together, these movements constituted a progressive accommodation to the Klamath scene. As Nash characterizes it:

> The Ghost Dance represented a sharp break with Modoc and Klamath ritual tradition. The Earthlodge Cult was more in accord with this tradition, and the Dream Dance was still more consonant with it, and in the course of its development became incorporated into it. At the same time the aboriginal distinction [756] •
> between the ritual experience of shamans and the ritual experience of nonshamans was broken down. Participants in the Dream Dance, particularly the strong dreamers, began acting like shamans; and shamans who participated in the Dream Dance acted more like ordinary men. . . . As the Dream Dance grew older, the traditional gap between shamans and non-

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shamans widened again as ordinary people ceased dreaming, and shamans incorporated Dream Dance symbols and practices into their rituals.[16]

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While these nativistic movements were going on, the first steps were being taken to provide Christian training to replace the native faith which was being discredited. In 1872, Thomas Pearne, an educated Indian from the Yakima reservation, had been appointed interpreter. During that year, until his resignation to return to Washington Territory in the following spring, he carried on missionary work among the Klamath, bringing thirty-six into the church. Among them was Lileks, who at his death three years later was numbered among the "Praying Indians."[17]

[622]

The following year, the Reverend James Harer was appointed Commissary at Yainax, where for a brief period he preached at religious meetings which were well attended.[18] By 1876, the Agent at the Lower End and the farmer at Yainax still were holding forth. Employees had volunteered to advance half the salary for a missionary if the Methodist Missionary Society would match the amount; but nothing came of it.[19] Roork, the following year, took a number of the principal men and women, along with some scholars from the Indian School, to the annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Salem, probably in another appeal for a missionary.[20]

The flavor of those early meetings is preserved in one of the letters to Dave Hill, dictated in 1875 by Allen David.

> After we had had our talk at the Agency I sent word for all the people to come to my house to talk about these things, and see who would agree to listen to what Dave, Tecumseh and I had said, and who would get our hearts and who would not. I told them to come on Sunday the Lord's day and we would all the same as mammook [make, hold] church, we would make good hearts and the Lord would mammook close nanish [take good care of] us on his day. So some Yainax Inds.—Brown Mosenkosket and some Modocs, some Lake Inds., some Chiloquin's people and some of all the Inds. came. Chikaskane first spoke and said that at first he had a bad heart. That the chiefs first listened to the Agents and got their hearts and then tried to get the other Inds. to get the same hearts; that they had put him in the guard house which was right, and Mr. Dyar was also right for he was in the wrong and all the same as said to the Chiefs

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> Make them better men and women." He was a Methodist preacher and was a big man. He had a loud voice and was a good singer. He was awfully strict. He didn't want the Indians to get into trouble. He said, "If you don't mind me, I will put you in jail or put a ball and chain on you." And he did. So the Indians behaved well, you know. I understood what he said, and it sounded good to me and after they interpreted his sermon in Klamath, the old Indians liked it too. Testimonies were then given. . . . The preacher read from the scriptures and made sermon. . . . He said, "I want people to come together and work together as one."[illegible]

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The emergence of native preachers provides another illustration of the confrontation of native and American roles. From the Indian viewpoint, the role of shaman did not coincide with that of the American preacher, for in aboriginal times the shaman's duties had encompassed curative powers, and through sorcery and counter-sorcery he had come to wield quasipolitical influence as well. Now healing lay within the duties of the Agency physician, while political sway had passed progressively, first to the raid-and-trade leaders and latterly to the Agency chiefs.

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On the other hand, points of resemblance existed between the traditional role of the chief and that of the preacher. The sermon, the most distinctive and formal exercise of the minister, as the Indian saw him, corresponded most closely with the exhortations to a better life given by chiefs to followers and by elders to the young. The correspondence of preaching with political authority was furthered by the circumstance that a number of Agents had assumed the responsibility of preaching to the Indians. Among those realizing the linkage in their actions were Dave Hill and, to a lesser extent, Lileks, Allen David, and Henry Blow. Jesse Kirk, soon to become a preacher, later applied that office to political ends.

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In the Klamath view of the supernatural order, syncretism set in early, probably as the result of an Indian effort to reconcile native and Christian belief. The trickster-transformer figure of Gmukamps, known in myth by the epithets, "Earth-Maker" and "The One Above," became identified by some with God, although his trickster exploits led others to reject this. Within the first decade of reservation life, Christian dualism, seizing upon the first correspondence, became responsible for the coining of

OLD CHILOQUIN SAYS

I am very much pleased that our young men are doing so well. I mean to try and stop all bad actions, fighting, gambling &c &c. I see Daves friends every day and give them good advice. I tell them to remember what Dave told them. I tell them not to get a cry tum-tum[*] about Dave nor a foolish angry tum-tum[†] for this will only make Dave feel bad when he comes home. Perhaps by and by I may have a different story to tell you. Perhaps there may be quarrelling & fighting among our people, but I hope not. Captain has said that he wants a great many things. I don't want to talk that way I am well pleased to see our young men trying to get right. 539

Yours Truly
Chiloquin

[*] Sad heart
[†] Heart

ALLEN DAVID SAYS

I want to let you know about Choler.[*] He paid one small horse & one large one equal to three in all as a fine for getting foolish and stealing a young girl, Dr. Chinchalo's daughter. The girl said that she wanted to get Choler for life, and we fined her also. [684]

Allen David

[*] Appears on the rolls as Chula

FRANK SAYS

You Dave told me when he left that he wanted me to close nanitch[*] all the people. I called the young men together and told them that I wanted them to come all right. Allie also helped me and now all of us young men are agreed on this point. We don't want to throw away what you told us but to get and keep your tum-tum.[†] We don't want to break the laws or to get bad. We want to work and make rails, houses, farms, &c &c. If any of us want to get bad again I will let you know.

Frank [Chilks?]

[*] Take good care of
[†] Literally "heart"; here the meaning is "view."

DAVE'S WIFE SAYS

Our babe was sick a little while ago and an Indian Doctress cured it and I paid one blanket. Now all the children are well. Everything is right now except that Elmer crys a good deal in the night because he wants to see Dave. If you get money I want you to send me some. [756] •

Your wife

869 hear about these spots first in stories. Later
778 the parents point out the sacred sites as they pass by them. Many of the places are referred to as "doctor rocks." Children are warned never to run or play near them lest they should fall and become crippled.

869 Klamath religion is very closely associated
756 with shamanism[17] so that most of the religious attitudes acquired are directed toward shamans. Shamans are the most important, powerful, and feared individuals in the tribe. Small children are warned never to bother one, but to run and hide whenever a shaman appears, or he may cause sickness. Children are told, "There's a doctor; don't run in front of him, or he'll trip you. Don't ever look at him when he is smoking." Even the shaman's own children fear him.

861 Obedience is achieved by parents in a number of ways. They frequently scold erring children, small ones being perhaps most often threatened with some supernatural punishment for misbehavior. Whippings are not rare, but are probably never severe. A child is switched across his hands or the back of his legs with a willow switch, or the child's hair or ears are pulled. Corporal punishment is seldom resorted to unless the child has made the same mistake several times and has not heeded scoldings.

861 Obedience is also achieved by instilling in
776 the child a fear of ghosts, spirits, and other
775 supernatural beings who kidnap bad children. Owl is the most potent supernatural threat, feared by child and adult alike. When a child cries at night or is naughty, his parents threaten, "Owl will come to pluck out your eyes
[539] or carry you off to a cave." If the child fails to heed the warning at first, the parents call, "Owl, come listen to this child." The effectiveness of the threat is increased by the child's knowledge of the story about a baby who was carried off by an owl to a cave near Modoc Point. The baby gradually sprouted feathers and turned into an owl. Bear and Coyote are similarly used to silence a crying child.

In the same way children are warned about ghosts who might snatch them away from the camp unless they are good.[18] Ghosts hover about the camp constantly and are especially dangerous to little ones. For that reason children are never allowed out after sundown unless accompanied by an adult. The child is told to turn his left side and raise his left arm to a ghost if he ever sees one; only in this manner can sickness be avoided.

784 Since ghosts constitute such a peril, chil-
775 dren must never go near the cremation grounds where they might contract a ghost sickness, which can be cured only by a powerful shaman. Children never attend funerals, nor are they allowed to cross the path over which a corpse has been carried.

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[17] A thorough discussion of Klamath shamanism appears, ibid., pp. 93-138.

[18] Ghosts are described in Voegelin, elements 4655-4706.

M K 343 plunges into the lake or a pool in the river or whatever water there may be at hand. This practice seems to have been medicinal. It was used as a habitual means of warding off disease as well as of curing it.

The second form of sweathouse was of similar size and construction except that it had a saddle roof which was covered with several inches of earth instead of a dome-shaped roof covered with matting. The door of this structure was placed at one end and was usually quite small. It was closed by a blanket or tule mat during the sweating.

There was no large "sweathouse" used for ceremonial purposes as in the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada region to the south. All ceremonies were held out of doors, chiefly in the summer.

IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.[9]

M K 411 The influence of the unusual environment in which the Klamath and Modoc live is also very noticeable in the implements made and used by them, particularly in the various devices for the capture of fish and water birds.

[171] The chief implements of war were the bow and arrow and a rather short javelin. The war bow was of the general type of the northwestern part of California, having a sinew back and sharply upcurved ends. The arrow was made in the ordinary manner, with light wood or cane shaft, hard wood foreshaft, and a moderately large obsidian, or sometimes flint, point.

[178] [756] [525] The javelin or spear was fairly short. Its shaft was made of heavy wood. Its point, usually of obsidian, varied from two to six inches in length. These javelins, like war bows and arrows, are no longer in existence, though the obsidian heads are quite plentiful about old village and camp sites. They are now used by medicine-men in doctoring, and also by gamblers, who place them under the large mats used for gambling to insure good luck, especially in the game called sakalis.

HUNTING IMPLEMENTS.

M K 224 The implements used in hunting animals were usually the bow and arrow. Ensnaring animals was little practiced by the

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[9] The Klamath names of the various implements, etc., here described are given by Gatschet in his dictionary, *op. cit.*

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159
156 Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White seg-
ments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
184 hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but
in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
871 Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
586 fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of
the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
842 has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of
numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
597 an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has
spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
756 country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was
156 closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became
dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
874 wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She
took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
759 She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if
she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
857 a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child
nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she
had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them
her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
791 valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., per-
608 sons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an ad-
visor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making
a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
273 dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my
glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
353 spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its
walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is asso-
ciated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is
noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
571 husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites,
for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, be-
cause she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

157 Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and
biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a
person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Per-
haps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social
role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she
will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and
quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

776 From a Klamath myth we gather the information that there is a guardian over the spirits wafting through the sky, called Wásh k'músh, or the *gray fox.* This name is evidently borrowed from the coloring of the sky, as it appears before or during a polar light, and must be compared with another beast name, the wán or wanáka, the *red fox*, which is the symbol of the sun-halo.

● 756 776 Another class of spirits embodies the spirits of those animals which have to be consulted by the kíuks or conjurer when he is called to treat a case of disease. Such persons only who have been trained during five years for the profession of conjurers can see these spirits, but by them they are seen as clearly as we see the objects around us. To see them they have to go to the home of a deceased conjurer, and at night only. He is then led by a spirit called Yayayá-ash appearing in the form of a one-legged man towards the spot where the animal-spirits live; this specter presides over them; there the conjurer notices that each appears different from the other, and is at liberty to consult them about the patient's case. Yayayá-ash means "the frightener," and by the myth-tellers is regarded as the Thunder or its spirit.

776 *Giants.*—The imagination of every primitive people has been busy in producing monsters of all qualities and shapes, human and animal, even walking mountains and trees. What we call giants are generally personifications of irresistible powers of nature, which are supposed to perform feats impossible for man's utmost strength; by dwarfs are symbolized powers of nature which achieve great and wonderful things by steady and gradual work unnoticed by the generality of human beings.

773 823 Giants are often the originators of geological revolutions of the earth's crust. Thus the giant Léwa represents the circular, lofty island lying within the waters of Crater Lake or Gíwash. He went by an underground passage (fissure?) from his seat over to Yámsi Mountain to wrestle with Skē'l, the all-powerful pine-marten, whose home is at Yámsi. After conquering him, he carried him through the same passage again to Crater Lake for the purpose of feeding him to his children, and his daughter, Léwam pé-ip, struck him with a heavy flint-stone.

776 823 Like the walls of that lake and the whole Cascade range, the island in

776 823 question is of volcanic origin. The natives avoid going near the lake or even ascending the surrounding heights.* Earthquakes are often ascribed by foreign nations to giants stretched out below, who are shifting their underground position. Giants often appear also as ravishers, ogres, and man-eaters, like the Scandinavian Yättur, and two giant-women of the Elip tilikum or "Primeval People," were changed into two columns of sandstone, near the Yákima country, on Middle Columbia River, for having preyed upon the human race.†

776 *Dwarfs.*—A miraculous dwarf is mentioned under the name of na'hnias, whose foot-prints, as small as those of a child, are sometimes seen upon the [756] snow-clad slopes of the Cascade Range by the natives. But the dwarfish creatures who make them can be seen only by those initiated into the mysteries of witchcraft, who by such spirit-like beings are inspired with a [192] superior kind of knowledge, especially in their treatment of disease. The name is derived either from néna *to swing the body from one to the other side*, or from naináya *to shiver, tremble*

[823] [825] Another dwarf genius, about four feet high, *Gwinwin*, lived on Williamson River, where he habitually sat on the top of his winter lodge and killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird.

The Klamaths appear to know about certain spirits having bodies of a diminutive size, but the characteristics of such are not distinct enough to permit identification with the *fairies*, Erdmännchen or Kabeiroi of European mythologies.

ANIMAL DEITIES.

776 825 The deification of animals in the primitive forms of religion is highly instructive, and instances are so numerous that it would take a series of volumes to comprehend its details. Animal stories and shamanism are

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* Among the summits of the San Juan Mountains, New Mexico, there is to-day a lake bounded by precipitous walls, and there is a little island in the center of the lake with a hole in it, and something sticks out of the hole that looks like the top of a ladder, and "this is the place through which our ancestors emerged from the fourth into the fifth or present world." The Návajos never approach near to it, but they stand on high summits around, and view from afar their natal waters. (From Návajo Creation Myth, Am. Antiquarian, V, 1883, p. 213.)

† G. Gibbs in Pacific Railroad Reports, I, 411.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 683 [551] [756] **64, 1.** Tetĕmádshish or Aunt Susie is one of the numerous female "doctors", who eke out a scanty living from some patients of the Klamath Lake tribe. She received the above name for having been a washerwoman to the soldiers stationed at Fort Klamath, and the nickname Wúya-ak was bestowed on her on account of her predilection for small sucker fish.

64, 2. sämtsálχa. The means employed by her to discover that Dr. John had cast upon the patient a spell of a deadly character, were the singing or recital of tamánuash songs, and the *dreams* which she had on that subject. Her tamánuash songs had *seen* those of the accused conjurer. See 65, 9. The great majority of the tribe still believes in the possibility of witchcraft.

64, 7. The two sentences contained in this line anticipate the result of the whole trial, and the popular verdict. The proper place for them would be after 65, 15.

64, 9. Tuá ni etc. The defense made by Dr. John in his own case is not an unable one, nor is it devoid of oratorical powers. But if the arguments were delivered in the order as given by Dave Hill, they ought to have followed each other in a more logical order to attain their full effect.

64, 10. wák lish etc. The logical connection existing between this sentence and the foregoing has to be supplied by: "why should he have been my personal enemy?"

[192] **64, 10, 11, 15 etc.** ì, ìk stands here for ät (*ye*); because, when the headchief is addressed in council, all the others are addressed also. Lóli stands for lóla ì. The trial took place on Williamson River.

64, 13. kúkamtchish. The distributive form is used here instead of the absolute verbal k'mû'tchish, because old age comes on *gradually, by degrees*.

64, 16. tchì ínsh instead of tchì nish; the language likes juxtaposition of two short equal vowels, even when a metathesis is required.

65, 8. Kátak etc. Aunt Susie's opinion, given just after Púkish's death and some time *before* the trial, did not fail to have a striking effect on the superstitious judges and tribe, for her arguments perfectly agree with the national ideas. But to us the arguments seem so weak, that no conviction seems justified, if not based on other evidence.

65, 9. nä'nsak etc. "Your defense does not disprove any of the points advanced against you."

[192] **65, 11.** K'mukámtsam nä'-ulaks: "the old customs of the people."

[124] **65, 16.** The second account of this tamánuash-case was obtained a few weeks after the trial; Dr. John was present at the agency buildings at the time of the dictation, furnishing the facts to my informant.

[697] **66, 4.** ká-ishnauk etc. This underground jail was in such an unhealthy condition that Dr. John could not have lived in it through the tenth part of his long term of imprisonment.

[625] **66, 5.** Tchikéskni and Skélag, names of two watchmen (i-álhish); the chiefs appoint watchmen from time to time. Skélag is "the young weasel" and Tchikéskni "man living at Tchikési camping-place". They were armed with pistols to foil any attempt at escape.

[192] **66, 10.** ná'dshek for nä'dsh ak: "the only one". Compare nádshiak, 60, 21; waitak, 56, 7. and *Notes*.

[192] [193] **66, 12.** shishi'tilatk. The past participle often stands for forms of periphrastic conjugation: shishítilatko gi, they *were* carrying in their dress. Cf. illólatko, 55, 20.

*539 755

Wudoká	hushtsóχa	sha	kíuksas	sálχitnuk	k̲léksht	húnk	snawédshash.
Struck	(and) killed	they	the conjurer	for being bewitched (and)	having died	this	woman.

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Tsúi	sa	lúluksla	snawédsh	kíuksam	síuks;	hû'nk	sa	kíuksas	ä'mpēle
And		cremated	the woman	by the conjurer	killed;	him	they	the conjurer	brought back

tchĭ'shtal,	tsúi	sa	lúluksla	mák̲laks.
to (his) lodge,	and		cremated (him)	the people.

NOTES.

68, 1 etc. This is a pretty good illustration of the method of doctoring by suction adopted in similar tamánuash cases. Persons sent out to call for the conjurer do not enter his cabin, but loudly halloo outside till he appears; in this instance he is supposed to sing his medicine songs amidst the solitary wilds of the mountain slopes.

192 177 **68, 1.** mä'ntch=gī'tk. This temporal adverb places the mode of punishment described by the informant among the *ancient* customs of the people. Compared to what is stated here, the trial of Doctor John shows a material modification in the dealings with suspected conjurers, attributable to the influence of the white population.

192 193 **68, 1. 10.** salχíta is always used in a passive signification, "*to be afflicted with the* tamánuash spell or bewitching power", which conjurers can send out at will.

68, 1. 2. The words inclosed in quotation marks *anticipate* all that follows up to 68, 10.

68, 2. 8. a-i. This particle has the signification: "undeniably, evidently".

754 753 **68, 5.** shû'ta hû'nk. The "working" of a conjurer on a patient's body consists in rubbing, pressing, magnetizing, in blowing on it, and in pouring water over the face or other parts. Sucking out the object which caused the disease is of course the principal operation called for to effect a cure.

68, 5. mû'ns; it is not stated whether this hánshish was a frog, a worm, a small stick, or any such thing; this is immaterial, for the Indian strictly believes that the article was removed from the patient's body and that it caused the disease.

192 **68, 6.** hántsantking and **68, 8**: shúkpaltaking stand for hántchantki gíng and shukpalítki gíng; cf. shû'kpēli.

192 193 **68, 6.** hántchipka properly means: "he sucks towards himself"; husatchipgápēle "he throws up again to himself"; viz. into his mouth, so as to be able to take it out with his hands.

68, 7. lútatkish is the conjurer's assistant. His office is to repeat his tunes or speeches before those present in the lodge, to expound or explain his sayings, to start songs and tunes in his stead, and to perform such manipulations as mentioned here.

68, 8. k̲'lä'ksh, contracted from k̲'läkápkash, the dead, the deceased; k̲'lekápkash telshámpka, to be on the point of death.

192 **68, 8.** tché-ulχa: he rises from his seat on the ground, or on a blanket near the patient's couch, for the purpose of leaving.

756 **69, 1.** hushtsóχa. The killing of a doctor or doctress by the relatives of the patient who died under his or her treatment was nothing unusual in the Columbia Basin until quite recently. In some tribes the third failure in curing brought certain death on the conjurer, especially when he had received his reward in advance.

II.

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Kiä'm	k̲'leká	tchû'shni;	tsúyunk	hû'ksa	tsóχatk	pī'l	kiä'm,	nánuktua
Fish	remain dead	forever;	therefore	those	dead (people)	(exist) only	as fish,	as all kinds of

kiä'm,	nánuktua	mák̲laksni	tsók̲atk.	Hä'	n'	hû'nk	hû'nkiash	shläät	skû'k-
fish,	all kinds	of Indians	dead.	If	I		(of a deceased)	should behold	the

shash,	k̲'läkát	nî	hû'nk	släók;	hä'toks	nî	shuíshaltk,	tchēk	gíug	k̲á-i
spirit,	would die	I	it	through seeing;	but if	I	recur to magic songs,	then		not

siúgat	nîs.
he may kill	me.

NOTES.

[128] My efforts towards obtaining exhaustive texts from the natives concerning their
belief in the transmigration of human souls were not crowned with entire success.
Of the two items obtained, No. II is intended as a commentary of No. I, both treating
[262] of the presence of human souls in fish. The cause why so many Indian tribes shun
the flesh of certain fish lies in the fact that these species were seen feeding upon the
bodies of drowned men and swimming around them. This induced the belief that
man's soul will pass into the organisms of these finny inhabitants of the wave, even
×539 when death has resulted from other causes than from drowning. According to Hill,
775 the Mák̲laks believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of
787 living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore
192 cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances. But in *one* status only
they become visible to them; when Indians are bewitched by the irresistible, magic
spell of a conjurer or of a wicked genius. Then they enter into a tamánuash-dream,
and when they see a dead person's spirit in such a dream, they are almost certain to
[755] die from it. Only the intervention of the conjurer and of his song-medicine can save
them from perishing; rigorous fasting and ascetic performances cannot be then dispensed with, and with all that no certitude of his final rescue is to be had.

[769] Here as elsewhere the pronouns hûk, húnkiash etc., are inserted instead of the unpronounceable name of the deceased, and mean: *dead person, spirit.*

129, 2. pîl mák̲laks; only dead Indians, not dead white men, because during their life-time these did not believe in the skû'ks; this belief is a privilege of the Indians.

129, 2. Hushti'χak etc. This sentence runs as follows: Tchē'ktoks hushti'χa ak nish, hûk tchē'k nish síuksh shanahō'li, wakiánhua tchēk p'násh (or pû'sh) nú'sh shuíshaltki gíug shanahō'li: "if he (the bad genius) makes me only dream in that manner, then he intends either to kill me, or perhaps he wants me to keep the song-medicine
[756] for myself." To keep the song-medicine, shuíshla, is to undergo fasts and ascetic performances under the supervision of some conjurer for an almost unlimited time, five years at least.

129, 3. 4. Hä'toks nî' shläät etc.: if I should see (the dead) while I am *awake.*

[193] 129, 4. Skû'ks-kiäm, a compound word, may be rendered by spirit-fish, letiferous fish.

130, 1. Kiä'm k̲'leka etc. The rather obscure sense of this statement may be made comprehensible by the following: "When fish are dead, they are dead forever; hence

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
767b. Earth covering partial	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	343
768. Earth covering all over	•+	+	-	•+	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768a. Main entrance through roof	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
768b. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768c. Flush	+	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
768d. In end of house	+	+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
768e. Secondary entrance at ground level	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769. Sliding wooden door	•-	•-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769a. Stone paved "porch"	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
769b. Steam or hot-rock heat	•+	•(+)	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
770. Direct-fire heat	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
770a. Small, for 1-4 persons	•+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
770b. Large, for group	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
770c. Used throughout year	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	+	
771. Used in winter only	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
772. Used by both sexes	+	+	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
773. Used by men only	-	-	-	•+	(+)	-	-	+	•-	•-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
774. Used by mourners only	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
775. Communally owned	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	+	-	-		
Plains-Type Sweat House																	
776. Plains-type sweat house	•+	•+	•+	•+	•R	•R	•+	(-)	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	
777. Dome shaped	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
778. Mat covered	+	+	•+	+	R	-	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
778a. Hide covered	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
779. Brush, bough covered	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	(-)	•+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	
780. Small, for 1-3 persons	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	
781. Steam heat	+	+	+	•+	R	R	+	(-)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	
782. Used throughout year	-	+	+	+	R	R	+	(-)		-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
783. Used in summer only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Sweating Customs																	
784. Individual sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	+	-	515
785. Sweating in groups of 2-4, or larger	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	
786. Women sometimes sweat with men	+	+	+	•+	•R	•+	•+	-	-	•+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	[562]
787. Women sometimes sweat separately	+	+	+	+	R	+	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
788. Sweating daily or every 2-3 days	+	-	-	•+	+	R	•-	-	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	
789. Sweaters sit or crouch	+	+	•+	+	+	R	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
790. Sweaters lie down	•+	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	
791. Sweaters "dance around"	-	-	•+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
792. Formalized sweat dance	-	-				-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	[535]
793. Sweaters kneel	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
794. All men sleep in sweat house occasionally	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	[513]
795. Male mourners sleep in sweat house	•+	•+		-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
796. Unmarried old men sleep, eat in sweat house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	•+	•-	-	+	
797. Men gamble in sweat house	-	-	-	•-	-	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	-	•-	•-	
798. Men work (handicrafts) in sweat house	-	-	+	-	-	•+	•+	•-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	•-	•-	
799. Youths gather fuel for sweating	-	-	-	+		•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	•-	-	•-	
800. Office of fire maker	-	•-	•+	•+	-	-	-	+	•+	•R	-	.	•+	+	•+	•+	[312]
801. Competitive sweat groups	-	-	-	•+	-	•-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	[372]
802. All sweators sing	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	[533]
803. 1 man sings for group	-	-				-	-	•(+)	•+	•+	-	+	•+	-	-	-	
804. Sweat for success in hunting	+	•+	•+	•+	+	-	+	-	•+	•+	-	+	.	-	-	-	[224]
805. Sweat for success in gambling	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	[528]
806. Sweat for general good luck	+	+		+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	[777]
807. Sweat as cure for disease	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	•+	-	-	.	+	+	-	
808. Scarify selves, let blood drip on hot rocks	-	+	+	•+				-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[757]
809. Sweat to cleanse body	-	-	+	+		+	•+	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	[104]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
Directions																
823 4458. 4 cardinal directions	+(+)	+	+	+	.	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
4459. 6 cardinal directions	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
4460. 8 cardinal directions	−	−	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4461. Waterflow for directions	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4462. Directions indicated by place names	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4463. Sunrise, sunset terms for E, W	−		+	•+		+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
823 4464. Direction indicated by pursing lips	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
201 o4465. Plus twitching nose, glancing with eyes		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	±	−	−
4466. Plus hand against cheek, pointing	−	−				+	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
°4467. Used for privacy, mainly		+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	.	−	−
4468. Direction indicated by pointing hand, finger.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs																
Therapeutic Practices																
757 4469. Practices for curing illnesses	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	+	+
4470. Piss ants, for rheumatism, tuberculosis	+	−	+						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4471. Drink boiled decoction of	+	−	+						−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4472. Sit on nest of, let "water" remain on body	−	−	−						+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[752] °4473. Cautery	•+	+	+		•+				+	•+	+	−	−		−	−
[752] 4474. If blister rises, cure will be effected	+	+	+						+	•−	+	−	−		−	−
4475. Blood letting			•+	•+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	+		+	+
4476. Cut made with flint knife			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		+	+
4477. Vapor baths, patient covered with robe	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	•+	−	+	−		−	+
4478. Steaming in small steam house, mud and ashes													−		+	−
4479. Poultices	+	+							+						+	+
4480. Sucker skin, for snake bites.	−	−	−						+	−	−	−	−		−	−
4481. Plant poultices with warm rock inside															+	+
4482. Smoking: wild parsnip, for headaches, colds	−		−						+	+	•+	•+	−		.	.
4483. Plant and root decoctions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4484. Datura (jimsonweed) root	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	•+
4485. Decoctions for wounds			•+								•+	.	•+		•+	.
Herb Doctoring; Beliefs Concerning Ailments																
4486. Herbalists	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
755 4487. Informal "doctoring" only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+		−	−
757 4488. Informal and formal doctoring	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−		+	+
278 4489. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	+
4490. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4491. Mostly women	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+		−	−
4492. Herbalist may also be sucking shaman.	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−		+	+
4493. Knowledge inherited	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−
4494. Dreamt	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−		−	−
4495. Taught free by older person	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+
4496. Taught free by doctor, to relation only													−		•+	−
4497. Formula spoken when gathering plants.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		.	•+
4498. Treatment private, at patient's house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4499. Formula recited, before taking medicine	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	•+	755 757
4500. Disease brushed off body	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	278
4501. Medicine administered internally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4502. Medicine administered externally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4503. Medicine sprayed from mouth	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+		+		
4504. Herbalist can cure any disease													−		+	+	
4505. Can kill disease objects	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4506. Can cure rattlesnake bites	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		+	+	
4507. Can only weaken, check natural diseases	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+		−	−	
4508. Precautions to ward off disease; incense burnt	(+)	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+		+	+	751
4508a. Breach of taboo causes illness	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	753
4509. Eating meat in taboo period causes tuberculosis		+	+							+	+	+	+		−	−	
4510. Worms in tooth cause toothache	−	−	+	•+	+	−	.	•+	+	+	+	+	+		•−	(+)	
4511. Ants, spider-like bug in teeth causes toothache	+	+	−	−	−	•+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	

Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena

Cosmogony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4512. World a disk, floating in water	.	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	+	.	.	.	773
4513. Supported by animal	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	−	.	.	.	
4514. Mythical age; animals persons	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4515. Chief for each species of animal	+	+	−				(+)	−	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	
4516. Flood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	(+)	.	.	.	+	
4517. Human beings created or appear	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	

Sun and Moon

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4518. Sun male human	+	+	.	+	−	•+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	(+)	.	821
4519. Sun female human	−	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	.	
4520. Moon male human	+	+	+	−	+	•.	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	(+)	.	
4521. Moon female human	−	−	.	+	−	(+)	.	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	
4522. Sun and moon husband and wife	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	.	
4523. Frog mate of moon	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	•(+)	−	−	−	.	
4524. Figures in moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	.	+	−	−	.	
4525. Scar from bear's bite									+	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	
4526. Man	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	
4527. Tree	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	.	
4528. Frog	+	•+	+	−	•+	•+	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	

New Moon

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4529. Monthly birth-and-death theory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	+	•+	+	
4530. All view new moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•−	+	
4531. Each month	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	
4532. In winter, only											•+	−	−	−	−	−	
4533. In spring, chiefly	•+	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	
4534. Speak, pray to moon	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	
4535. Address by kin term	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
4536. Old persons shake selves, clothes, bedding	−	+	•+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4537. Throw stones at moon	−	[illegible]	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
4538. Food prepared, guests invited								•	•	•	+	−	+	−	+	−	

000 1612. MM: With burnt pepperwood gourds.

[301] [304] [177] 1614. Kl: "Nose plugs and earrings are new; the Klamath learned to use them from the Molala Indians and the S [California] Indians. They never made holes in their nose and ears in old times." SW: Awl used chiefly to pierce noses; sometimes point of quill, but latter makes too small a hole. WM: Male, female mourner if desirous of inflicting loss on others similar to that he has experienced, retires to small sweat house (Lut) and pierces nasal septum with small manzanita stick. Addresses bloody stick, telling it he wishes other persons to die; stays in sweat house 6-7 days, leaving stick in nose until hole has healed; then takes out stick and gives it to relative, shaman usually, to keep and use in poisoning people. WS: By sick persons only, occasionally.

Deformation, mutilations.--

[304] 1617. Kl: See note 1614. SW: Porcupine quill used; keeps ear lobes from becoming sore.

1620. At: Men, women. AE: Women.

[304] [177] 1621. Kl: Learned to tattoo from Shasta (Achomawi?) when informant boy (ca. 50 years ago). "Two Kl women went [S] to see Shasta; when they returned, 1 old woman tattooed herself" with 3 lines on chin radiating from mouth; "people saw it and liked it, and lots of old women did it then. The first old woman thought it made her look pretty." Informant had also seen 1 old man, with circles tattooed under eyes, and connecting line over nose, but "didn't like it; it looked funny." Men's tattooing on arms also recent custom. Mo informants confirmed slight use of tattoo by Kl; commented upon how heavily Shasta tattoo. Mo: Recent (?). SW informant denied Mo, Wintu women tattoo; however, Mo informant attributed tattooing to Tule Lake Mo groups. WM: Little tattooing among WM; if tattoo very much, spirits will take person away. More tattooing among Trinity, Weaverville Wintu groups (Nomsus).

1622. AW: Boys occasionally only. WT: Men on arms, when wife dies only.

1625. WT: 3 narrow stripes put on girl's chin; vertical lines across cheeks added later, when girl is grown woman.

1626. WT: See note 1625.

1627. WT: Women.

1629. SW: Upper-arm marks to measure dentalia; men, only. WT, WM: Men. WM: Men tattoo as therapeutic measure only.

[304] [412] 1633. Obsidian knife, generally. MV: With white rock, procured from river and smashed for sharp edge.

● [757] 1638. Therapeutic measure; see elements 4473-4474.

1641. Mo: "Proud of eyebrows, eyelashes; wouldn't pull them." NS: Hot ashes applied; "eyebrows never grow back."

1642. NS: See preceding note.

1647. MV: Face rubbed with warm rock, so beard will not grow quickly.

1648. SE, WT, MF, NM: Rarely; old men only.

[197-B]

000 "flint side," named for Glass Mountain, where obsidian obtained. S, bak'akma, Big Meadows or "Digger Indian" (MM) side.

4463. SW: See note 4461.

4467. For flirting; also to direct children, while engaged with adults in conversation.

Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs

Therapeutic practices.--

4469. SW: In addition to specifics listed in elements 4470 ff., SW hold belief that person who chokes on fishbone will recover if he calls upon rattlesnake (who swallows food without chewing) and drinks water with river foam on it. Myth connected with this belief.

[757] 4473. Balls of sage bark, furze from wormwood, and such, 1/2-inch in diameter, placed on arm, leg and set afire, to cure rheumatism. Kl: Informant had 12 balls burnt on flesh near spot where he broke his leg; "so bad blood ran out"; later pine pitch put over burns, allowed to stay on for 4-5 days, more pitch put on until leg healed. Cf. Spier, Klamath, pp. 129-130; also Kroeber, Handbook, p. 628, for Gabrieleño, and Voegelin, Tübatulabal, p. 60. At: Sagebrush bark used, "if man sick all time." WS: Wormwood furze.

4474. WS: If ball of furze snaps as it burns on arm, sign sufferer will recover.

4475. SE, SW, WS: Practiced in conjunction with sweating.

4477. WS: Vapor or steam bath (olk Lominas) taken as "old-time remedy for colds"; patient put hot rocks wrapped up in chokecherry bark (latter makes steam pungent) into basket of water; sits over basket, head hanging down, head and body well covered with robe.

4482. MM, MF: For colds.

4484. MV: "A good medicine; old people obtained it at Battle Mountain"; does not grow in vicinity Chico, informant had never seen it. Tea made of roots; used "for almost any ailment."

4485. SE: Urine of young baby. MM, NF, NS: Plant decoctions.

Herb doctoring; beliefs concerning ailments.--

4487. SW: "For fevers, cramps, and such, had herb medicines; didn't call for a doctor [shaman]."

4492. NF: Shaman "doesn't give any root, herb teas, because people would blame him for making them sick. Common people know the roots and herbs themselves, and go out and get them."

4494. WM: Informant herself had dreamt of plant medicine; in dream she heard people talking; "these people said that if persons knew the right plant medicines to drink they'd keep well. One man said to drink rattlesnake plant root, and then one would never be sick. Another person asked, 'How about water snake, green snake root?' 'No, that's no good,' the man told them." Instructions how to use the rattlesnake root also

[235-A]

[p.342-B]

553 coins it, and soon all are using it.

Personal names are freely used at all times, but within the family kinship terms are more commonly applied. There are also age status terms for direct address or in reference to an individual as "newborn baby," "infant," "child," "youth," and so forth.[10]

855 757 Throughout infancy the health of the child is a matter of considerable concern. Whenever he cries and cannot be pacified by feeding, the parents fear that he is ill. For certain obvious physical ailments there is a variety of simple home remedies known to most adults. For stomachaches, warm ashes are held over the abdomen, and sagebrush tea may be administered orally. For a fever, sagebrush bark is mashed, mixed with warm water, and rubbed on the child to produce sweating. Deer grease is applied to burns. Pine pitch is rubbed on chapped faces and is also used to heal sore eyes. These and similar remedies serve for both children and adults.[11]

75 Ailments not so readily diagnosed require the services of a shaman, who then demands a large fee. Shamans are believed to send diseases to individuals, particularly through the medium of bad dreams. A child's nightmares are, therefore, taken as an indication that some shaman is trying to sicken the child. A curing ceremony must then be held either by the suspected shaman or another of equal power. [841] Some women try to prevent children's nightmares by placing a cloth or piece of fur stained with menstrual discharge under the sleeping child. Shamans fear the contamination of a menstruating woman and are unable to use their powers in the presence of one.

EARLY CHILDHOOD

857 [865] simple amusements for themselves. They erect piles of dirt, mark in the sand with sticks, or make neat rows of sticks on the ground. Older children are punished if they try to bother the youngsters at play.

[864] Until the age of six or seven, boys and girls play together as much as they wish. When a bit older they will be warned not to be intimate with members of the opposite sex, but young children often play at "man and wife" in imitation of their elders, using the proper status terms for husband and wife and pretending to keep house. The boys go off to hunt, and the girls wait for them to bring meat home to cook. Such play is not discouraged, nor is it apparently encouraged.

Small children also enjoy pretending to be very old people. In this game they hobble around on canes. One old lady of eighty laughed as she recalled playing in this manner:

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[10] Spier, pp. 61-68.

[114] [11] Therapeutic knowledge and beliefs of the Klamath are mentioned in Voegelin, elements 4469-4511.

114

[p.343-A]

857 My friends all tease me because I always wanted to play I was an old woman. They ask me how I like it now. But we kids all thought it was great to be old. I used to get a cane and limp around. I wanted the others to pretend they were burning [cauterizing] my leg.[12]

524
857 Even in early childhood there is great emphasis on competitive sports. Parents brag about a child who is better at any activity than his age-mates. Children soon acquire a keen desire to best their playmates in games and thus gain approval and prestige.

Small children from four to six years old have simple contests of endurance.[13] In one, each player holds his breath and runs as far as he can before having to take another breath. The one who runs the farthest wins. Another race is run on one leg, with the other leg held out in front; the contestants see who can hop the longest without having to put his leg down. Little girls have a contest in which they squat down with their arms wrapped under or around their knees to see who can jump up and down for the longest time. Both boys and girls have hair-pulling contests to see who can keep from crying with pain. All such contests are accompanied by shouting and shrill cries; apparently, the more noise the better. Adults watch the contests when they have time and encourage their favorites.

One of the most important activities in which young girls engage is playing with dolls.[14] Through their use the girl is encouraged in many of her future activities of housekeeping. A few boys like to play with dolls too, but they are teased about this girlish activity and soon cease. It is the girl's mother or grandmother who first shows her how to make dolls and play with them. They are fashioned from any available material; wood, bark, tules, and clay are all utilized. In lieu of anything better they may even be outlined in the sand. Once the technique has been learned, the girls manufacture their own dolls and play with them alone or in groups. They make little shelters of willow for the dolls, pretend to dig up roots for them, and in every way treat them as actual children. Often the dolls are placed on a piece of bark to represent the cradleboard. Apparently much of this play is spontaneous on the part of the girls, but there is also considerable suggestion and encouragement on the part of mother and grandmother.

While little girls are beginning to play in this way, boys of the same age become interested in the use of the bow and arrow. At first they

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[757] [12] Cautery with sagebrush pellets that are burned over the afflicted part is a common cure for rheumatism from which many elderly Klamath suffer.

[13] Several children's contests are mentioned in Spier, p. 86.

[14] Dolls are described briefly by Spier, ibid.

795
771 reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors,
178 the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

182 The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are
allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some
771 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal
795 and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in
184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to
797 those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on
the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual
571 or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members
find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies
as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no con-
cessions to aboriginal concepts.

771 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The
177 Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation
is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals,
184 while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display
or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches en-
tirely. Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious
questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly
curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes
755 demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this considera-
757 tion, shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally
accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged
with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects
of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern con-
ceptualization.

183 The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there.
773 For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter
are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two,
183 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first
224 deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away,
he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation
today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too,
the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy
that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem
from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is
825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath
191 but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a har-
763 binger of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear
it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means
183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter,
the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed
among western tribes.

178 But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past
which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

516 Sitting positions are of wide latitude; of course they sit directly on
the ground. Almost any position is assumed except sitting on the
crossed ankles. Both sexes sit with their legs crossed before them,
[291] Turk-fashion, or with the legs extending straight before them, in
which case women cross their ankles. It must be remembered that the
[501] common dress of both sexes is the string skirt. They kneel while
paddling, both sexes alike, sitting on their heels. This is quite possible
because the gunwale of a laden canoe is only a few inches above the
water.

201 The Klamath sometimes use the lips for unostentatious pointing,
but they more commonly point with the forefinger. In a common
516 position of rest, a seated individual places one hand on the other over
the abdomen.

758 To curse a man his dead are mentioned, not necessarily by name;
[539] in fact the reference may be quite indirect. In a tale the skunks say
to Coyote, "You are the son of a person always on the lake," knowing
full well that his father was dead. I was told of two men jocularly
calling each other tc!ima'ntk, widower. One named the dead wife of
the other and was covered with embarrassment because the grandson
of that woman, who was present, was provoked. An old man may be
called wa'köntk, adolescent boy, or skotc, a man with a first child, in
[114] derision. This is nearly equivalent to a curse. Gatschet gives the
expression skö'ksam käila gén I, go to hell! (or more literally, go to
the ghosts) which may well be aboriginal. But watchágalam wéash,
you son [child] of a bitch! and watchágalam pé-ip, you old bitch!,
strike me as apt translations from frontier vernacular.[146]

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[146] Gatschet, 2:319, 477.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Swimming																
481 907. Pseudo breast stroke, arms and legs together	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	o	.	+
908. Side stroke	-	-	-	-	-		+	+̇	-	+	+	+	+̇	o	.	.
909. Dog fashion, arms under water	+	+	+̇	+̇	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+̇	+̇	o	.	+
910. Double overhand, arms moving alternately	-	+	.	+̇	-	+	-	+̇	-	-	+	-	(+)	o	.	.
911. On back, frog stroke	.	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	o	+	+
912. Under water	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+
913. Jump in water, feet first	-	-						+̇	+̇	+̇	+	-	-	o	-	+
914. Diving, head first	+	+	+					+	+	+	-	+	+	o	+	+
Land Transport																
Carrying Devices																
482 915. Pack strap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
916. Plain, of hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	-
917. Woven or braided pack strap	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	+
918. Of 2-ply materials	+	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	+
919. Ends braided, narrower than rest	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	+
920. Made from vegetable fiber	+	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	+
921. Pack strap of twisted rope	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
922. Root or bark headband for packing	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
923. Basketry hat for packing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
924. Net carrying bag or "sack"	-	+̇	-	-̇	+̇	+̇	(+̇)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-
925. Small mesh	-	+	-	-	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-
926. Approximately trapezoidal in shape	-	+	-	-	+̇	+	(+)	+	-̇	-̇	+	.	-	-	.	-
927. Cased hide bag (exclusive of quivers)	-	+	+	+	+	-	+̇	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+
415 928. Folded hide bag	+̇	+̇	-	-	+̇	+̇	+̇	-	-	+	-	+̇	+̇	+̇	-	+̇
482 929. Buckskin	-	-	-	-	+	+̇	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
930. Rawhide	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
931. Sewn at edges	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
932. Tied at corners	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
933. Pinned together with stick	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
934. Opens at side	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-		-	(+)	-	-	-	-
935. Opens at top		+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-		+	+	-	-
936. Load rolled up in mat	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
937. Load rolled in hide	-		-					+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
938. Back carrier of hide on frame	-	-	-	(+̇)	-	+̇	-	-	+̇	+̇	-	-	-	-	-	-
939. Conical hide container used for back packing	-	+̇	+̇	+̇	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
940. Pack basket (details under Basketry)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
941. Baby cradles (details under Basketry)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482 942. Litter	.	+	+	+	.	+	R	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+
943. Net or thongs bound to pole framework	.	+	+	+	-	+	R	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
944. Large skin used as litter													+	+		.
[493] 945. Sled	+̇	+̇	-	-̇	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	o
Methods of Packing																
946. Pack strap spreads over top of head	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
947. Pack strap spreads over forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
948. Pack strap spreads across chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
949. Women only use strap on head, forehead	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
950. Men, women use strap on head, forehead	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
951. Men only use strap across chest	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
952. Men, women use strap across chest	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+̇	+	-	-	+
[758] 953. Sick carried on litter	.	+	+	+	-	+̇	R	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
954. Double, load between 2 or 4	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
955. Sick packed on back	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
956. Atop load	.	+	+			+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	482
957. In pack basket	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[758]
958. Loads carried on head	•+	•+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•(+)	
959. Grass, tule, or bark ring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	
960. Hands support load	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	
961. Liquids	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	
962. Loads carried on shoulder	+	+	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	R	+	R	
963. Load suspended from pole, man at each end											•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
964. Liquids carried waiter style on upturned palm.	–	+	+	•–	•+	•+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Weapons

Bows

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
965. Self bow	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	.		+	+	411
966. For rough or occasional use only	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.		+	+	
967. Sinew-backed wooden bow	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
968. Made locally	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	
969. Imported	•+	+	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	•–	+	.	–	–	–	[439]
970. Bow wood from N (shady) side of tree	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	.	–	
971. Recurved tips	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	+	–	
972. Middle recurve	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	+	–	
973. Slight	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	.	+	–	
974. Pronounced	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	
975. Constricted grip	+	+	+	•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	+	
976. Sinew bowstring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
977. 2-ply	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
978. 1-ply, fine strands glued together	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
979. Vegetable-fiber bowstring	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	.	+	
980. Gut bowstring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
980a. Hide-thong bowstring	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
981. Design(s) painted on bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	.	+	
982. Wristguard on left arm	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	

Arrows

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
983. Arrowheads of flaked stone	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
984. Stemmed, no definite barbs	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+	+	.
985. Concave base, notch in each side	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	•+	+	–	.	–	–	+	.
986. Concave base, no notches	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	.
987. Barbed and stemmed	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	•+	–	+	.	–	–	–	.
988. Toothed edges	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	.
989. Ground stone arrowheads	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	.	.
990. Bone arrowheads	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–
991. Awl-shaped	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–
992. Stemmed, no barbs		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
993. Barbed	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
994. Solid wooden shaft	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+
995. Cane shaft	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	.
996. Used for ducks	+	+				+	+	–	o	o	o	–	–	–	–	.
997. Single shaft, no head	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
998. Sharp	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
999. Blunt	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1000. For birds, squirrels, etc.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1001. For fish	–	–	–	+	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1002. Foreshaft, no other head	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	(+)	+	•+	+	+
1003. Foreshaft plus head	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
391 1689. Dentalia	R	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1690. Olivella whole shells	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	·	·	+	·
1691. Clamshell disk beads	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1692. Haliotis pieces	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1693. Banjo-shaped haliotis pendant	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1694. Bone tubes	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1695. Deer, coyote, wildcat carpals	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1696. Pine nuts or shells	(+)	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1697. Braided sweet grass		o					+	o	+	+	−	−	o	−	−	−
1698. Wildflowers	R	−	−	•+		•−				+	−	+	+	+	+	−
1699. Belts of hair	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1700. Worn by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1701. Worn continually	−	−	−	−					+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1702. Worn on special occasions only	+	+	+	+					−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1703. Flower wreaths on head	·	−	−	•+		−		+	•+	+	−	−	•+	+	+	−
1704. Boys and girls, playing	·	−	−	+		−		+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
[791] 1705. Girls, at girl's puberty dance	R	−	−	−		−			+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
Cane or Staff																
481 1706. Straight stick	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1707. Sharpened at lower end	−	−	+					+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
1708. Used by old people	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1709. Old men																
1710. Old women	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1711. Single cane	+	+	+					+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
[768] 1712. 2 canes, if crippled		+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dress																
Headgear																
291 1713. Basketry cap	•+	+	+	+	[illegible]	−	+	•−	R	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1714. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1715. 3-strand diagonal twine	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1716. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1717. Worn habitually, by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1718. Worn habitually, by men	+	−	−	−	−	•−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1719. Worn for packing, not worn habitually	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1720. Worn for dances, not worn habitually.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	R	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1721. Designs on cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	R	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1722. Men's undecorated	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1723. Fur cap	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1724. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1725. Women	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1726. Buckskin cap	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1727. Solid buckskin	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1728. Buckskin pierced with holes	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1729. Worn habitually	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1730. Band around head	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	•+
1731. Buckskin	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1732. Fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
[756] 1733. Men only	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
1734. Doctors only	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1735. Eyeshade	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[751] 1736. Charcoal around eyes for snow-blindness	+	•+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
Robes																
1737. Woven rabbitskin blanket	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	•+

173 *539 p'lä'ntankni kínshakpkank. Tsní'pal sa shlín; ná-äns shlín, hû'k tchaká-
the hill-top pointing guns downward. In the shoulder they shot (him); another (Lake) man he had shot, he who was sitting in the
726 yan, wä'k E-ukskí'shas.
woods, in the arm a Lake man.

Tsúi nat at gä'tak, a nát sukû'lkip'l' tû'shtok spuká shlí'tk É-ukskni.
After this we ceased (fighting), and we reassembled where lay a wounded Lake man.
[727] [758] Nátak hû'nk hí'shlan Móatuashash ksápok; láki ngû'mshka ngä'-ish hû'k.
Ourselves him we shot at each other, a Pit River man thinking (him to be); (his) forehead had fractured bullet the.
Tsúi nat wátsat shutä'la má-i skû'lhash pet; tsúi nat ksä'lapk hû'nk shlípks;
Then we upon a horse prepared a tule-mat ambulance-bed; and we lifted into (it) that wounded man;
kayúds·hûk k̲lä'kat. Tsúi nat guháshktcha shewatχû'lsi; tsúi nat gä'-ûna
not yet he had died. And we started out in the afternoon; and we slowly
géna hû'nk ngä'-isapksh ä'nok ndánna: nās nû'sh shlí'tk Móatokni
went on those wounded carrying three (men): one in the head wounded a Modoc
ngä'-ishtka, náshtoks wä'k shlí'tk hû'mtsantkak, náshtoks hû'k luluksgä'-
by an arrow, another in the arm shot in the same manner was, another one this with a
ishtka, kánda nat hû'nk wátsat shutä'lank ä'na. Tchúi nat mák̲'lakp'l'
gun, whom we upon a horse imbedding brought. And we camped on our return trip
hí'uhiush tχálamta.
of the marsh westward.

Tsúyuk pä'ktgish lû'pia wénga; tchúi nat mbû'sant at ksí'utakiank
Then they daylight before died; and we in the early hours now fast-going
gépgapēle, láp'ni hak gátpampēle É-uksi. Nā'sh nat hátaktak k̲ók̲ēlam
returned, in two days from there we returned to Klamath Marsh. One we right there of river
ntú'ldsanuish wigáta gáwal híssuaks; tsû'tskam snû'lash säkälalō'nank
the dry bottom close by found a man; squirrel's a hole having covered up
kshû'sha taluálχan. Käbatχō'le sa, tchúi wétta híssuaks käbatχō'lsham;
he lay inside lying on back. Uncovered they (him), then laughed the man while they unearthed him;
tsúi sa shpí'tkal, tsúi sa spû'nshna wikáhak; tsúi sa nánka Ä'-ukskni
and they raised (him) up, and they took (him) to a short distance; then some Lake men
lûgsálshtkak, nánχa síukstkak (lä'witchta sha mû'ns lû'gsalsh), nánχa
make a slave wanted, some wanted to kill (not wanted they an adult man to enslave), a few (were)
mā'sa nát staínas hishlá-uk. Tchí nánχa gí'ank síukshtka; tchúi sa síuka,
sorrowful (of) us at heart to have shot at companions. Thus some saying wanted to kill (him); and they killed,
at k̲léka hûk. Wák tchíhuk pä'tch gítk! stíkshui-shitk hû'k tutí'la stákēlins-
and died he. How so (curious) he feet had! boot-like they projected at the
ksaksi. Tsíssa hû'nk hátokt tánktē nát hû'nk tatátēnat sukō'lkip'l spû'ks-
heel. Thus they at that place when we that time we formed a crowd where the
ksaksi, tánkt sa hû'nk gáwal kíkaskánkatk.
man lay, then they that (Pit River man) found while walking about.

Tsí ní tamēnō'tka tiná tapí' a ní tchúi tánksknî k̲á-itata gē'nt
Thus I was out there once for the last time, I from that time never went

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth Customs

Preparations for Delivery

844

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3007. Delivery in special hut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	+
3008. Delivery in dwelling house	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
3009. Ground prepared for delivery	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3009a. Trench dug	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3010. Ground warmed	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
3011. Grass bed	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
3012. Pine needles, tules, leaves for bed	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Delivery

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3013. Parturient assisted during delivery	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
● [759] 3014. By professional midwife	+	•+	−	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3015. Midwife paid.	+	+	−			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3016. By female relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
[756] 3017. By husband	+	+	−	−	−	−	•−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
3018. By shaman	−	−	−	•−	−	•+	−	•+	•−	•+	+	+	−	−	−	−
3019. By female herbalist	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		+	+	+	−
3020. Birth aided by medicine	−	•−	−	•+	+	•−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
[278] 3021. Vegetable decoction drunk, sometimes.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	+	−	•+	+
3022. Decoction of ashes drunk	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3023. Water blown on parturient's head	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−
[516] 3024. Parturient kneels	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
3025. Parturient squats	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
3026. Parturient sits down, leaning backward	−	−	−			•+		+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	•−	−
3027. Parturient lies on back	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
3028. Grasps stakes	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
3029. Grasps cord	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3030. Steadies self with hands	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
3031. Holding or handling of parturient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3032. Massaged	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3033. Shaken	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
3034. Held by attendant, from behind	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3035. Abdomen pressed, if slow birth	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
3036. Held suspended, head down	.	•+	•+							•+	−	•+	•(+)		•−	−
3037. Attempts made to hasten birth	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3038. Child "coaxed" by speech or songs	−	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	•+	+	•+	.	−	−	−	•+	−
3039. Child "frightened" by noise	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3040. Child squeezed out	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+
3041. Child "shaken" out	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−

Afterbirth

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3042. Assistance in expelling afterbirth	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
3043. Husband aids; tries to shake it out	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
3044. Poor couples only	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3045. Parturient's abdomen pressed	−	−	−						•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
3046. Afterbirth sometimes taken out with hands	−	−	+								.	+	.	−	−	−
3047. Womb pushed back with heel													−	+	+	−
3048. Afterbirth disposed of immediately after delivery	+	+	−				−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
3049. Afterbirth kept until navel cord drops off	−	−	+				•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
3050. Afterbirth wrapped	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3051. Skin	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	+	−	−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3159. Until cord drops off	−	−	−	−				−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	844
3160. Pit or trench dug	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	846
3161. Hot rocks, charcoal put in pit	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	
3162. Pit covered with grass, bark.	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	
3163. Fire direct on ground; lies beside it	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	±	+	−	+	+	−	
Treatment of Midwife																	
3164. Bathes, immediately after child born	+	+	+						+	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	844
3165. Cuts arms, later	−	−	+						+	+	−	(+)	−	−	.	−	759
Restrictions on Mother																	
‡3166. Restrictions last for .. days	5	5	−	28	−	•5	−	28	28	28	−	3	6	5	28	28	846
3167. Until blood stops flowing	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	784
3168. Until navel cord drops off	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
o3169. Bathing taboo	+	+	•±	•±	+	+	•±	•+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	•±	[515]
3170. In stream	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3171. Sweat bath	+	+	−	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3172. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	~~[262]~~
3173. Eats alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
3174. Fed by old woman	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3175. Uses separate receptacles	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176. Eats sparingly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176a. Fresh meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3177. Dried meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3178. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3179. Dried fish taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3181. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3182. Salt taboo	−	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3183. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	
3184. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	[302]
3185. Combing hair taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	.	
3186. Head, face scratcher used	•+	•+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
3187. Especially for first child.	−	−	−				+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	
3188. Tabooed activities	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
3189. Making baskets taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
3190. Preparing food taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
‡3191. Traveling taboo .. days	5	5	−	28	−	−	−	28	28	28	−	3	6	5	28	−	[484]
3192. Until blood stops flowing or cord drops off	−	−	+	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	
o3193. Sees no men for .. days	5	•−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	•2	−	−	−	−	−	−	[562]
*3194. Intercourse taboo for ... months	•2	•2	•2						2	2	.	.	+	1	.	3	[834]
3195. Loud noise near child taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3196. Would make child deaf	−	+	+							−	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3197. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3198. Bathes	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	[515]
3199. Midwife or mother assists	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3200. Medicated bath	−	−	+	+		•+	•+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	.	−	[754]
3201. Sweats	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	[481]
3202. Swims after sweating	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Restrictions on Father																	
3203. Required for all offspring	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	
3204. For first child only	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
3205. Retirement period	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3206. Stays with mother in hut	−	−	−	+	•+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3207. Must stay in own dwelling house	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159
[156] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White segments
of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but
in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
[871] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
[586] fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of
the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of
numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
[597] an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has
spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was
closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became
dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
[874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She
took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
*[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if
she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[852] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child
nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she
had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them
her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., persons
she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an ad-
[608] visor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making
a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
[278] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my
glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its
walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is associated
with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is
noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites,
for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, because
she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

(swĭ'is) as we have seen are beings that live in the mountains, in river 774
eddies, and in lakes, where they are sought by those in quest of power. 775
Souls are personal and after death go to the land of the dead, No'liskän. The soul leaves only at death; illness is not ascribed to its loss. Ghosts (skuks) wander from the land of the dead where souls have gone. It was not said that ghosts are souls in other guise nor were the ghosts referred to those of particular persons. The juxtaposition is rather like that of our own folk thought.

One word hoki's means soul, breath, and life. It is intelligible then why one of my informants said that all animals as well as men have souls. It is the quickening of life rather than spiritual personality that is implied by the word. They say of death, hoki no'tana no'liskän, the life leaves for the land of the dead. Its seat is within the heart (staii'nas); outside is the flesh (djolĕ'ks). When the body is cremated, the soul goes to the land of the dead. The flesh is destroyed; the ashes and smoke blown into the air are carried back to earth by rain, to the country of which the body is a part. Everything grows well then. But the soul never returns.[181]

Ghosts return from the land of the dead because they want to live 775
again. They are constantly about seeking to catch someone's soul to take to the land of the dead. (So I was told; but there was never a [753]
hint when they told me of curing that sickness is due to loss of the soul.) It makes no difference that one has spirit power, his life may [761]
be taken. This is most likely to happen to one in mourning as he sits alone weeping in his house at night, for ghosts usually come at night. Next day he will die. This happens commonly enough; even little boys at play see them and die at once. Shamans can discover this. Whatever they are like in the land of the dead, ghosts that return neither resemble humans exactly nor are they skeletons. Today some people talk without fear with ghosts, formerly they would have died. Possibly my informant meant by this that members of his own Shaker sect or adherents to the Ghost dance cult could talk to them with impunity, but he may have had in mind only the prohibition of the folk-tales against talking to the dead as they are being transformed to living creatures.

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[181] Gatschet records an obscure statement which he interprets: "The Maklaks [Klamath] believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances" (1:130). The word used is however skuks, ghost. I received no information of this sort. [114]

ă'ukckni were sisters from his own settlement on Williamson river above 582 bɛzûkse'was, a third was from that town, and the fourth from glă'tspak'is, a 595 mile or so down river. His daughter by the Modoc wife was counted ă'ukckni; while living at k'taidi she married an ă'ukckni of Yainax.

A gu'mböt man, Wok̦au'k!alls, married two Molala sisters.

Girls usually marry within a year or so after puberty, which is 584 marked, at least among the well-to-do, by a big dance. Betrothals may have been arranged while the couple were yet pre-adolescent, presents having been exchanged by the families. They are expected to carry out the agreement after the girl's dance, payments being made again. Should one of them die another match may be arranged with the same family, but not of necessity. Poor and rich alike arrange such betrothals.

How far great disparity of age occurs I do not know, but it does [582] happen that an older man marries a young girl. A shaman for instance may be given a daughter by a man too poor to reward him [756] otherwise.

But it must not be thought that there is no choice. On the contrary, the majority of marriages follow the desire of the couples. Elopements take place and although the levirate is the rule, much 583 depends on the widow's willingness. Yet a girl's consent is not necessary. Despite her protests she may be carried to her husband's home. 587 If she runs home she is almost invariably taken back again. That she [762] would be driven to suicide is doubtful; one informant never heard of such a thing; another stated she would hang herself and in this event her parents had to return the gifts of the groom.

An orphan girl of du'kwa lived with her mother's brother. She was married 583 against her will to a man of k'taidi. She clung to the ladder of the earthlodge but they pulled her away and dragged her up-river to k'taidi. Next 159 morning she ran home and never went back. Nothing had been paid for her at the time but she was given in return for valuables contributed to the cremation of a relative of hers some time before by her husband's relatives. Immediately after this she married a man at Klamath marsh; whether payment was then made is not remembered.

Elopements occur but payment is so much insisted on as a sign 583 of respectability that parents guard their daughters with great care. This is at least true where the family wealth makes a suitable payment imperative. It is unthinkable that a chief's daughter should be permitted to enter an unceremonious, clandestine union. The poor and 834 forward have little to lose. Modest demeanor is expected of a girl.

775 763 Last month an old woman, who was very sick, was left alone. As she lay there she saw ghosts. They caught her; she died. When her children returned she was dead. Her daughter and grandson rubbed her chest to revive her. She was soon restored except that one ear, which the ghosts had touched, was "closed." Her daughter asked, "What is the matter?" She answered faintly, "The ghosts caught me." Today she can barely talk; her sight and hearing are gone.

775 787 A Klamath Falls man met a ghost on the trail. It was short and had long white nails on hands and feet. The ghost said, "Let us trade nails." The man said that he could not take his off. The ghost said, "I can pull them out," and exchanged nails with him. The man went home with the long nails and went to bed. When he woke, he looked at his hands and feet, but he had his own nails again.

The same man saw ghosts dancing at the cremation place on the hill east of Link river (Klamath falls). He watched them dance all night. They gave him a pipe to smoke. Then they threw firebrands at him and he ran away.

About ten years ago I [Pat Kane] had been swimming in the river. I was returning to my home with some horses when I heard crying. I saw an immense fire at the cremation place on lower Williamson river. Men, women, and children were wailing there. I held my hat over my face and did not listen. I did not tell my wife. For three or four days I was sick, so I went into the sweat-lodge. Later I went down there but found no signs of a recent fire.

576 The names of the dead are mentioned rather freely, but no one likes to name his own relatives or hear another do so. In fact, such a reference is insulting. But this is not due to any fear of the dead; it is rather a matter of taste.

775 The land of the dead, No'liskăn,[182] lies in the west, the sunset. Everyone goes there. It was created by the culture hero, Kemŭ'kŭmps, who made the humans that figure in the tales (called psaudi'was) and ordained that they should go to this land when they died. Nothing is said of the road thither but the characteristics of the land and its people are tolerably well conceptualized.

Everything in the land of the dead is inverted from this living world. The ghosts sleep by day and live at night. In the day there is nothing to be seen but their houses and skeletons. At sundown they are clothed with flesh again; they rise and build fires. They dance through the night to fall asleep when dawn breaks. They feed on swan's eggs and perhaps they do not eat them in the manner of humans, since a tale suggests that Kemŭ'kŭmps is fed in the manner of the ghosts; the eggs are thrown at him. Further, the eggs are
[825] unnatural in that they are hot.[183] So far as the Klamath are concerned, swan's eggs themselves are mythical, for while swans cross

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[182] I suggest that the word means, literally, land of the departed; compare no'tsna, departed for ——; nutsnots, soul leaves; tcō'kăn, service berry land; ā'stikan, country of the Shasta.

[262] [183] Perhaps the Klamath do not eat eggs at all. I neglected to inquire.

539 What is coming out of my mouth? Black substance is hanging down from my
mouth (158, 56).
What do I suck [bite] out? The disease I am sucking out[213] (155, 17).

I have recorded several songs the use of which I do not know. A shaman's song is about a mythical hero, Wawiwŏ'ḳ!os, who is represented as singing.

ga'no wawi'awŏk
I am Wawiwŏ'ḳ!os.

Nancy dreamed a song about the pole and pendant (wa"lasdŭ'pka) which stands before a shaman's earth-lodge.

wa"li'sasa nos nos
shaman's pole I I
nisowa'lis tu'ntani
shaman's pole hanging on.
I am the pole and the cord hangs from me.

[821] The rainbow is the spirit of Wile'aḳaḳ, Dwarf Old Woman. In a song she says that she swallows it like a sword.

wile'aḳakni	wile'aḳaḳni	stŏ'ngi	wi"tèliŏḳ
Dwarf Old Woman	something long	swallowed	rainbow

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

128 In addition to omens and miscellaneous beliefs that have no proper place elsewhere in this account I have resumed below all cases of beliefs which have their setting in the social and economic life of these people. I have not repeated here beliefs touched on in other parts of this section on shamanism.

763 The omens of death or disaster are varied. The thrush tells of an approaching enemy: wĭ'mpis ᴇge'pkwa, they are coming. The horned owl also warns; mm, mm, mm̹, kŏkdᴇlŏ'n skiu'klu, who sent me? Or he predicts: ma'ḳlaḳs gᴇlĕḳ gᴇlĕḳ gᴇlĕḳ, someone will die. Gatschet recorded similar constructions of the call of a crow, the howling of coyote or dog, a cat's mewing, or a hen's clamor just after sunset.[214] One may suggest that these associations are derived from the association of the sunset with the land of the dead which lies in the west. On the other hand the call of the loon at early dawn is a sign that someone will kill another. Yet this may really be a case in point, for then the general association would be with any night cry, since night is the time when the dead arise and roam.

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[213] Chorus while the shaman bites and sucks the patient.

[214] 1:88, 133.

*171 755 been able to discover. At any rate, I note it for Achomawi-Atsugewi and Shasta, as well as Klamath. Following the usual shamanistic seance the Klamath shaman searches the vicinity for the malevolent spirit. He rushes about until he falls, blood streaming from his mouth. Several men must support him by the arms and restrain him until he can destroy it in water. The Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman forces the disease out of the ground by his power and then seizes it. He staggers about in his effort to hold it until he can plunge it into water. He then swallows or burns it, or dispatches it to kill its sender. The Shasta erect a shaman's pole at the affected spot. The shaman dances, calling on her spirit to dislodge the disease "pains" from the ground. "If the shaman's guardian is successful, he succeeds in pushing the pains into the river, and drowns them." Certain features of a Chinook cure are like these. When their shaman has taken a disease from a sick man, he must be held by several men to overcome the strength of the disease spirit, until he can plunge it into water.[601] The destruction of an extracted disease by placing it in water is a common feature among Washington tribes. I have seen it, for example, as part of a cure by members of the pseudo-Christian sect of Shakers among the Skokomish and learned that it occurred among the Okanagon.

Various Beliefs

*171 I have a somewhat random series of analogues of Klamath beliefs.

763 756 821 The Klamath hold that a storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned. The Northern Maidu hold that it thunders at once when a great man dies, and inasmuch as the most important individuals of the Maidu are shamans, it is clear that this is a comparable belief. The Thompson have it that the death or burial of a person causes an immediate change in the weather; that of a shaman, a sudden and extreme change. The death of a Wind River Shoshoni causes a whirlwind.

*171 821 844 These beliefs are apparently a single expression of a more general belief that both births and deaths are signaled by a change in the weather. For example, the Klamath also hold that it always blows at a woman's first parturition. Analogous to this the Wishram say that extreme weather marks a birth. Further, a rainbow points to the spot where the birth takes place. The latter belief at least is

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[601] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 219, Shasta, 487; Boas, Chinook Texts, 206.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

000 Eclipses; star lore.--

4558. SW: Solar eclipses only; "don't know anything about lunar eclipses."

4559. NF: New sun (woman) coming out.

4568. Mo: Tell Frog to doctor moon.

4569. AW: Old women only go out and chant to sun or moon during eclipse; "tell sun's, moon's own dog not to eat him."

4570. Bitches only.

4573. WM, WS: Cover food because sun is going to bleed.

4574. WS, NM: So they cannot see eclipse.

4575. SE: People afraid they are going to freeze to death. NM, NS: Build fire.

4577. SE, AW, MM: Sign of war. WS: Sign of bad weather.

4578. If large stars fall. Mo, SE, NF, NM, NS: Sign man living in direction star falls has died, or will die. AW: Sign of earthquake; denied for all other groups except SW, At. NF: Falling stars (sa·to) are "just like turkeys, coming down from sky to spring to drink, their head 1 way, tail the other. Come down into ground, just like sun; then they're gone. Sign of lots of sickness. If 2 large stars come down, sign of war starting."

[787
821] 4579. If small stars fall.

4585. Kl, Mo: White river. Kl: Canes grow on both sides of river, which forks near one end. MM: Creek.

4587. WS, NF, NS: If boys 6-7 look at it during any time of year, will give them bad luck for hunting later.

4588. NF, NS: All girls; would give them bad luck; spirit would frighten them in night. Cf. Voegelin, Tübatulabal, p. 58, people forbidden to count stars.

[821
763] 4589. Kl, Mo, At, AW: Sign of death of adult. SE: "When catches up to moon, sign world will end." SW: "Moon is listening [to star]; therefore someone is saying evil things about person, or will make trouble for person." At: "If star to left of moon, someone near by will die; if to right, person far off. AW: If star very close to moon, death will occur soon. WM: Sign of cold weather.

Rainbow.--

4591. Mo, AW, AE: See note 4592. WM: Sign suckers (fish) calling clouds to make it rain, because girl just after she has had first menstruation is walking close to river or spring "where she ought not to go." After clouds leave, rainbow appears. NF, NM, NS: If end of rainbow falls near village, this is sign that girl there has recently menstruated for first time.

4592. Mo, AW, AE: If rainbow close to where girl dancing at puberty dance, unlucky for menstruant. Negatives for this trait obtained from all other groups except SW, At (not inquired into). Mo: If menstruant dreams of rainbow, sign evil spirit is trying to get her. Mo, AW, AE: If rainbow near by when baby is born, mother will be un-

[236-B]

000 such shaman probably had power from clouds, or rain; could also cause rain.

5117. SW: "Down-river they [Karuk] pay a person for making rain; Shasta don't."

5119. WS: First doctor may make rain, second make it snow, in summertime.

[756] [824] [762] 5122. Kl, Mo: Also when shaman is cremated. Mo: Also, once in awhile, at spot where shaman has been cremated, person may see fire; whoever sees this will die.

Rattlesnake shamans; grizzly bear shamans; money finders.--

5123. SW: Recognized, but with qualifications (see note 4853). NP: "When snake sees a doctor (yomim maidü) it lies down and dies; it never chases him. Once in awhile snake bites common man."

5134. AE: "Have to have power from Buzzard to cure rattlesnake bites; Buzzard eats rattlesnake."

5135. SE: Ordinary person can protect self against snake bites by putting crushed haliotis inside moccasin. At: Ordinary persons wear turtle shell suspended from belt, to protect themselves against being bitten by snakes.

5146. SW: Woman goes about to houses in village, doctors small children's moccasins by singing these songs, so children will not be bitten by rattlesnakes. Denied for SE.

5149. WS: Large snake emerges first, when songs sung; "he's the boss snake"; after snakes are talked to, this large snake is first to return to hole. Shaman not paid to do this.

5151a. Among all groups, bear shamans always impersonate grizzly bear (Ursus horribilus), never black or brown bear (Ursus americanus).

5160. MM: If man bitten by grizzly, shaman summoned; latter takes patient short distance away from camp and builds small fire; then shaman sings and digs up acorns, roots, ant eggs and puts them in small piles--these disappear at once. Shaman then sucks out blood and bear teeth from patient.

5163. WT, NS: Belief strong that shaman really turns into bear, does not merely simulate bear.

5170. AW: Spirit from yellow jacket, fly, coyote. AE: Spirit from (Indian) dog.

Witchcraft

Black magic.--

5183. NS: Love medicine lacking, but have belief that, if person carries seeds of a certain plant which grows in old graveyard, this person will have good luck. Must be careful when carrying these seeds not to go in front of people, children especially; seeds will make child, or even adult, faint.

5184. WS: For revenge, jilted suitor gets piece of girl's hair, talks to it and puts it in an evil sacred spot (seutl); "if he doesn't know how to do this right, girl will die in 2 days.

[247-A]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

000 Klamath (Jan. 8, 1871); J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Jan. 31, 1871), report for January.

4. J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (March 8, 1871), report
[763] for February. See also Zakoji (1953), pp. 63–64. The fear of sub-chief Palmer, dying of consumption, that his body might be violated by a post-mortem autopsy, is expressive of the distrust with which the physician was sometimes regarded. O. C. Applegate to Captain D. J. Ferree (May 6, 1871); Ferree to Applegate (May 8, 1871). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

5. H. N. in Zakoji (1953), p. 199.

6. Dave Hill in Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 59, 62; his wife: Appendix
[787] below. It is an interesting commentary upon the relativity of viewpoint, that during Hill's disappearance from the lecture troupe, A. B. Meacham, brother of the Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, resorted to spiritualistic mediums in an effort to locate him. Meacham (1876), pp. 95 ff.

7. Henry Blow: "Tyee Blowe of Klamath on Doctors," Samuel A. Clarke ms.; Archives, University of Oregon Library, source as well for the quotation of n.5; Doctor John: Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 64–68. The identification of the Susie of Gatschet with H. N.'s Aunt Sally is made by Zakoji (1953), p. 62. The letter of Allen David to Dave Hill and the reply of Skookum Doctor, reproduced in the Appendix, provide a direct illustration of Indian views of that period.

8. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Jan. 1, 1881), report for preceding December.

9. Lindsay Applegate to [Judge James C.] Toleman (Feb. 1, 1883). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

10. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 45th Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1878–79), Vol. 9, Pt. 5, 611.

11. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Oct. 1, 1881), report for September.

12. H. N. in Zakoji (1953), pp. 200 ff.

13. Joseph Emery to W. W. Wilson, Supt. Yainax School (Feb. 5, 1897; March 13, 1897).

14. T. L. in Zakoji (1953), p. 258.

15. O. C. Applegate to Henry Jackson (Sept. 6, 1899); in *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 56th Cong., 1st sess., H. R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1899–1900), Vol. 18, 313. Nash (1937), p. 147, erroneously sets the event at about 1906.

16. Nash (1937), p. 431. The preceding material is summarized from pp. 412–35.

17. L. S. Dyar to T. B. Odeneal, Supt. (Nov. 6, 1872; June 7, 1873; June 16, 1873); in *Report* . . . , U.S. 43d Cong., 1st sess., H.R.

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text is far from being complete. It refers to a locality above the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, called Ktaítini, or "Standing Rock". A high rock stands there at the edge of a steep hill, and, according to the legend, the Indians who put pitch on their head were changed into that rock. Near by, a lumber-dam looking like a beaver-dam, across the Williamson River, partly resting on rocks projecting from the bottom of the river. K'múkamtch longed for the destruction of this dam, muddied the water to prevent the Indians from fishing and hired the loon to destroy the objectionable structure. The loon dived into the waters and forced its way through the dam by main strength. The Indians dwelling on the shore depended for their living on the fisheries, and seeing their existence at stake tried to gig the loon, but succeeded only in hitting its tail-feathers. When the loon had accomplished his task K'múkamtch offered to reward him in any manner wished for. The loon then wished to have white spots on its back, and K'múkamtch satisfied the request by spitting chalk upon the downy surface of its body.

132, 3. lúeluak; formed by vocalic dissimilation; cf. *Note* to 114, 3.

BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

I.

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Wásh tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lû'la wásham tχû'tχash.
Prairie-wolf is soothsayer; and they believe in wolf's prophecy.

Mák̲laks hû'nk lû'la wásham pákluipkash k̲'lékuapkaht tchō'k; tχu'-
Indians believe, prairie-wolf when howls, they will die after a while; pre-
tχuk pákluipka.
saging he howls.

Mák̲laks hû'nk lû'la púshish hä'masht î-unégshtka, tχû'tχuk héma;
Indians believe, the cat when cries just after sunset, for presaging death it mews;
tchîkî'n tchish hä'masht î-unégshtka gû'lu, tχû'tχuk tchēk hä'ma. Wátchag
the chicken also when crows just after sunset the female, for presaging death then it crows. The dog
tchî'sh wawá-a î-unégshtka, k̲ú-i tchämlûk.
also (when) whines right after sunset, the signs are bad.

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[682]

Watság tchî'shtat tχótχa î-unä'gshtka; tsúi gátpa mák̲laks, gû'lki ngé-
A dog at a lodge howls prophetically just after sunset; then comes an Indian, attacks, wounds
isha at hustsō'χa. Sa-ámoks hátokt tchía tû'sht hushtchō'χa, k̲á-i hûnk
and kills (the owner). A relative, (who) there lived right where the murder was, did not him
shiúga; tsúi tû'tûk spû'nshna lû'gshla vû'nsh sχéna witsû'ls éna tû'tuk
kill; then seizing (him) they arrest, enslave him, the canoe row away, fishing-net carry with them taking
ktsî'k, snáwedsh spû'nshna híssuaks shíukaluk. Kilû'sh at kétak a
ears, his wife they abduct, (her) husband being the murderer. Furious he quits and
tsä'wik.
is demented

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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[115]

WAILINGS AT THE APPROACH OF THE FATAL HOUR.

GIVEN BY DOCTOR JOHN, OR K̲ÁK̲ASH, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

"Ngä′-ish a ni tä′lχapksh, gé-u tä′lak, shlín antsa; shkék antsa nû′sh,
"An arrow me striking, my arrow, shot they; they broke (my) head,
shlín nish. Kán ish shlín? Tsuyä′sh ni shlín, gén ish tsuyä′sh mpáta,
they shot me. Who me shot? Through the cap I was struck, this me cap kills,
másha n′sh, shlín ish nû′sh, k̲á-a n′s mā′sh′, guhuá nish, a nish k̲á-a mā′sha!
it pains me, they shot me in the head, intensely me it pains, am swollen I, now me hard it pains!
Pásh ish shéwan i; k̲′lékuapkan pánuk; pálak shéwan i, a nish k̲á-a mā′sha,
Food me give you; I will die after eating; quickly give you, me very hard it pains,
tiä′matk k̲á-a, pálak shä′wan i." At shéwana nû, at pán; shnuk′ át mí′dsû.
(I am) hungry very, quickly give you." And give (him) I, and he eats; he takes now the spoon.
"At k̲′léka, átěni k̲′léka; tsía at, k̲′leká taks nû; shlín nish nû′shtat.
"Now I expire, now I die; I live yet, dying but (am) I; they shot me in the head.
[764] A ni k̲′léka, ā′těni k̲′lekála." At k̲′leká. Shû′dsha lúluksla sa lû′lokshtat
Now I die, now I am sinking fast." Then he dies. Kindle a fire (and) cremate they in the fire
hû′nk k̲′lékapksh.
the deceased man.

NOTES.

This short incident of war is full of the most dramatic interest, and gives some idea of the oratorial powers of the average Indian. It was obtained from a man who undoubtedly had witnessed more than one similar scene during the numerous raiding expeditions made by his tribe before the conclusion of the treaty in 1864.

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138, 1. ngä′-ish a ni tä′lχapksh shlín antsa, forms of the conversational language standing for ngä′-ish a nish tälχápkash shlín a sha. gé-u tä′lak "my arrow," a poetic symbolism for the arrow that causes my death.

138, 1. shkék antsa for shkéka a sha, but nasalized like shlín antsa. Shkéka properly means to pierce, but is used in a medial sense.

138, 2. mpáta properly means to dry up by heat. The cap or hat is said here to kill the man by exciting an intolerable fever heat within him.

[193] 138, 3. mä′sha n′sh. Some impersonal verbs can also assume the personal form of intransitive verbs: mä′sha nû and mä′sha nish: "it pains me"; kédshika nû and nish: "I feel tired". The Modoc dialect prefers the personal form.

138, 6. 7. atěni for at a ni. Cf. sě, 82, 4. tchä′lχet 90, 11. átěnish, atěni 90, 12. 13. gě′ntěni, *Note* to 93, 7. 9.

795
771 reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors,
178 the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

182 The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are
allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some
771 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal
795 and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in
184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to
those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on
797 the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual
571 or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members
find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies
as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions to aboriginal concepts.

771 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The
Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation
177 is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals,
184 while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display
or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely. Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious
questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly
curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes
755 demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this consideration, shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally
757 accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged
with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects
of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

183 The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there.
773 For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter
are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two,
183 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first
224 deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away,
he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation
today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too,
the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy
that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem
from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is
825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath
191 but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a harbinger of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear
763 it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means
183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter,
the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed
among western tribes.

178 But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past
which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

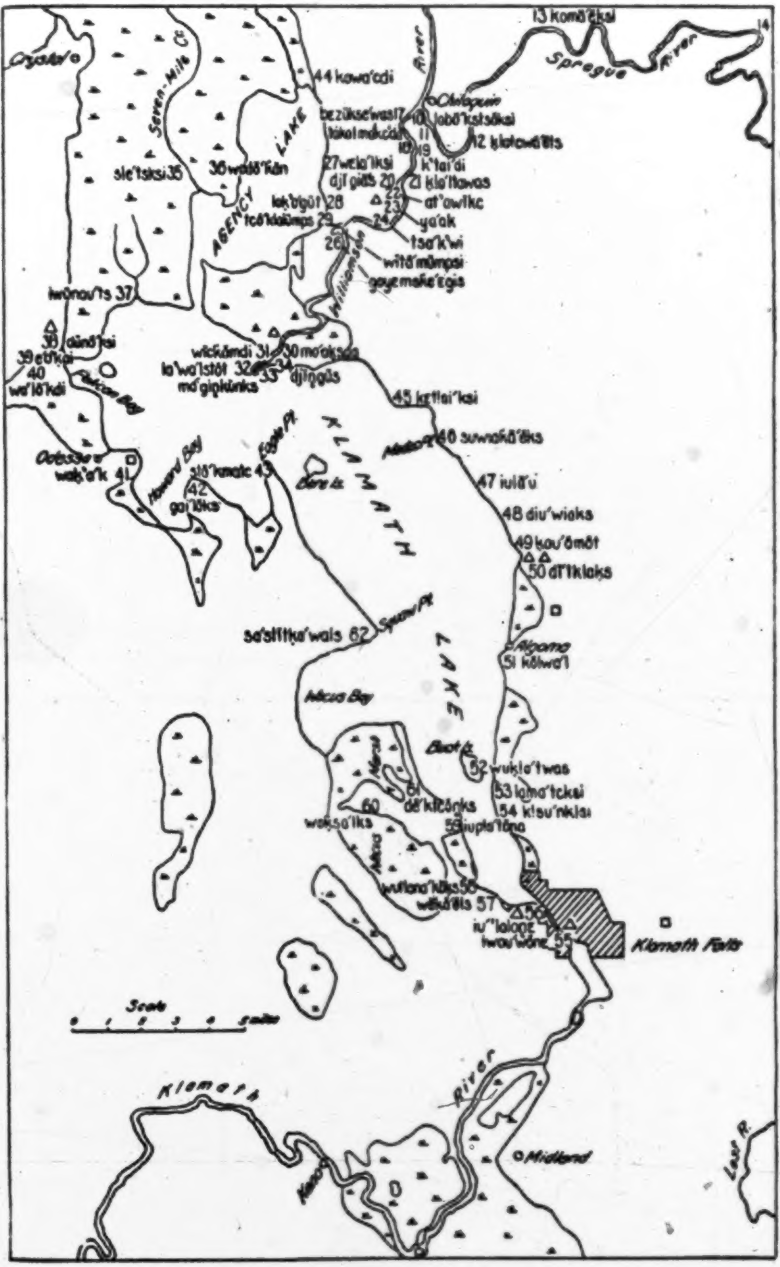
13 komā'ēkai
14
Sprague River
River
Crystal
Seven-Mile Cr.
44 kowa'cdi
Chiloquin
bezūkse'was17
10 lobō'kstsōkai
tūkolmakcāi
11
18 19
12 kįlotawā'ltis
27 wela'lksi
k'tai'di
djī gitīs 20
21 kįlo'ltawas
sle'tsksi 35
36 wāltō'kān
LAKE
22
23
at'owikc
lek'bgōt 28
AGENCY
tcō'ktalūmps 29
24
ya'ak
tsa'k'wi
26
witō'mūmpsi
gayemake'egis
Williamson
iwōnau'ts 37
38 dūnō'kai
39 etī'kai
40
wa'lō'kdi
wickāmdi 31
30 mo'aksda
la'wa'lstōt 32
34
33
djīngūs
mo'giplūnks
Pelican Bay
45 kītlai'kai
Modoc Pt.
46 suwakā'ēks
Odessa
wakį'a'k 41
Howard Bay
stō'kmatc 43
Eagle Pt.
42
gai'lōks
Bare Is.
KLAMATH
47 iulā'u
48 diu'wiaks
49 kau'ōmōt
50 dī'lklaks
sa'slītka'wals 62
Squaw Pt.
Algoma
51 kōlwa'l
Mucca Bay
LAKE
Buck Is.
52 wukį'o'twas
Naylor
53 lama'tcksi
61
60
dē'kitōnks
54 k!su'nklsi
waksa'lks
59 iupla'lōna
Mecca
wutlano'kāks 58
wēkū'ltis 57
56
iu''laloqs
iwau'wōne 55
Klamath Falls
Scale
0 1 2 3 4 5 miles
Klamath
River
Keno
Midland
Lost R.

Fig. 3. Settlements in southern Klamath territory. Triangles represent cremation piles; rectangles, mourners' sweat-lodges.

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[p.17]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

103

131 51, kŏlwa'l, a point, is Rattlesnake point at Algoma. Only a few
361 live here during the winter but it is a favorite resort in the autumn
when chokecherries and wild plums ripen.

[222] 52, wuḳ!o'twas, wood knot, Buck island, is so called because the
island in the lake is likened to a knot in a piece of wood. In addition
to old house pits here not occupied by any group of the historic period,
there are a few winter houses on the southern end and summer camps
at the northern end where plums could be gathered. It was a favorite
sport to dive from the rocks (called sohowă'ĕks, diving) on the
northern shore.

53, lama'teksi, a place on top of the end of something, is on the
point east of Buck island, and 54, k!su'nk!si, grassy place, is three-fourths
of a mile south on the shore. Many people are at both localities
during the winter. There may be old house sites here like those on
Buck island. Wa'toŋks is a hill a half-mile east where wild plums are
[823] picked. There is an outcrop of white rock high on the hillside above
iu'li (meaning deep in), the end of the marsh east of these settlements.
This is said to be the net of Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero, spread
to dry.

55, iwau'wŏnᴇ, meaning against the side hill, is a large settlement
[764] on both sides of Link river at the highway bridge. A crematory is on
[226] the hilltop on the east side a quarter-mile north. Shasta sometimes
swam the river south of the village or crossed by the islet below the
little lake Ewauna to attack the group on the east bank. This settlement
is at the lower end of the falls (Klamath falls) that constitute
[226] Link river in its brief passage through its gorge. This is one of the
principal fishing places of the region and advantage is taken of the
[823] ledges that form the falls for the construction of fish dams. But
these, like all others in Klamath territory, are attributed to the culture
hero, Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps.[33]

56, iu"laloŋᴇ, meaning on the end, is the largest village of the
southern lake people and gives its name to the whole group. There
are earth-lodges on both sides of the falls but particularly on the
western bank from the river mouth to within half a mile of the present
power dam. There are many at the point at the river mouth (hence
the name of the site) and thence extend westward about a little bay.
A group of tall upstanding rocks at the point, called ḳ!taigī'ŋkls, hole

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[114] [33] Gatschet's *reference* (1:94, 97) to the Indians scooping up fish from the dry bed of the stream when a strong south wind drives back the waters in the lake seems like a purely mythical reference, but is confirmed by Clarke (Rock Piles, 41).

recognize that the marriage is consummated by a series of gift 583
exchanges and inasmuch as it was said that in the long run the man
and his relatives have the advantage, it is clear that this is no outright
bride purchase.

Giving a girl in marriage is sometimes a means of paying off a 583
social obligation. Considerable property is destroyed at a cremation.
This is normally furnished by the relatives of the deceased but in 764 •
order to do honor a non-relative may contribute beads and other
valuables to be consumed on the pyre. The recipient family is under
obligation to reciprocate. Should one of the contributing family later
want a wife from among them, they must acquiesce. The groom must
make payment at the time of marriage, however. That no payment
had been made in the case cited above undoubtedly explains why the
runaway bride was not forced to return to her husband.

Possibly the sum must be repaid in the event of separation, at least 586
if the wife leaves the husband. Probably the time element is important;
a marriage soon terminated means restoring the *status quo;* in
one of long duration this is impossible.

A man sends a friend to sound the girl's people on their willingness 584
and the price expected. This man is chosen for his forwardness;
he may be a relative but never a brother or father. He carries a
bundle of sticks representing the gifts offered, which if successful he
leaves, though they are not used further. The girl's father consults
his wife before agreeing. Next day or as soon as the girl's people 584
can get ready their gifts and contributions of food they take their
daughter to the groom.[88] The groom's relatives have gathered meanwhile, 585
collecting their gifts in the groom's home. The exchange takes
place within the lodge, each party putting down its gifts beside the
other seated opposite. The gifts from the bride's side, at least, commonly
include clothing (presumably the Plains type), pond-lily seed,
and roots of various sorts. The payment now made on behalf of the
groom includes the promised articles. Speeches are made by the
parents of both, admonishing them to live in harmony. Payment for
a bride is called woḳo'wi, the reciprocal gifts, i'wi.

It is difficult to say just how formal are the visits that follow
marriage; at least one or two are usual, if not prescribed for the well-to-do
among whom further payments by the groom are expected.

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[88] In a Modoc (or Klamath?) song recorded by Gatschet (Songs of the Modoc Indians, 27, 29) a bride is carried on her brother's back. As Gatschet points out, carrying the bride is a custom of northerly tribes.

do keep up their ordinary occupation in part during this time. They 841 dig roots for instance, but others must care for the products further, else the women will never find any more.

There is no comparable rite for boys at puberty. Nevertheless the 881 time when a boy's voice deepens is recognized as propitious for seeking power. He is sent into the mountains for perhaps five days, to wander [787] at night, running continually, piling up rocks, swimming in the mountain pools and eddies of the rivers, fasting the while until a song comes to him in a dream. He must use a head-scratcher. Preadolescent boys [866] are tossed into the river or whipped while they sleep. If the boy whimpers he will be a weakling; he is expected to jump up and shout. I have cited above the case of Lᴇle'ks who was so treated at puberty, it seems, and thus lost his transvestite habits.

> When I [Pat Kane] was a little boy of seven or ten, my father sometimes 866 threw me into the river while I slept. I did not ask why. Finally he told me, 159 "I do not want to kill you. I do it so that when you are grown you will not easily get sick, so that if you are shot you will recover quickly." I always bathed in the river as a boy and you see that I have never even had rheumatism until recently.

DEATH AND MOURNING

Klamath funereal observances are personal, non-ceremonial, and 764 • somewhat unique in that they provide occasions for the seeking of power. There are no mourning anniversaries. [765]

Cremation is the universal practice, even for suicides, the newborn, and the stillborn. Only the bodies of secretly aborted infants are buried in the bush. [727] The body of a man killed in war is brought home for cremation.[88]

> Some Klamath men were trapping in the mountains west of Crater lake about eighty years ago when they were met by some Upland Takelma who killed four or five. One boy alone escaped and made his way back to Klamath marsh at night. The Takelma took scalps, hands, and feet of the dead, and held a dance. Many Klamath went to fetch the bodies, which they brought to Klamath marsh for incineration.

Near each group of settlements is a spot where all cremations take place. It is somewhat apart from the settlements but not isolated.

> Three of these serve the Klamath marsh people; on the eastern side of the marsh near the towns k'ᴇtaiwas (2, see maps, figs. 1-3), gŭpgúa'kᴇi (3), and l'wal (4). For others of this division of the tribe, there is one on Sprague

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[88] Cremation was given up forty or more years ago ("in about 1868," Gatschet, 1:86). The first burial was that of a Molala man, married to a Klamath woman, who was killed by a Klamath. [177] [178]

river at ḳa'umkän (14) and one on middle Williamson river near ya'ak (23). The du'kwa division crematory is near the mouth of that river. The Pelican bay division has a crematory at dûnö'ksi (38). The remaining division, the Klamath falls people, have two at dI'tk!aḳs (50) on the east side of Klamath lake and two on either side of Link river. These eleven constitute the total for the Klamath territory.

The body is dressed, with such beads as the dead possessed tied around the neck, wrists, and ankles. It is then wrapped in a tule mat. For ease in transportation on a man's back, the legs of a small corpse are flexed and tied. A larger corpse is lashed between two poles so that four men may carry it. Canoe transportation is of course necessary in most cases since the settlements are strung out along the shores. The corpse is taken out of the house by the regular exit. Cremation takes place five days after death, according to Gatschet's Modoc informant.[99]

The pyre of green logs, three or four feet high, stands in a slight depression on the ash-heap (sĕkä'lgi) of preceding cremations. These heaps are said to have been ten or twelve feet high, "as high as a haystack," built up of the ashes scraped together after each burning (spinu'). Gatschet states that the one north of the (middle?) Williamson river was twelve feet high in 1877.[100] White vandals have long since leveled these in search of plunder. All those I saw are now low mounds not more than a few feet in height nor more than thirty feet in diameter.

Property of the dead, such as his beads, arms, and skins, is piled on the body as it lies on the pyre. Other valuables are contributed [582] by relatives and others who wish to honor the dead. The recipient family assumes a peculiar obligation by accepting these; should the contributor later stand in need of a wife for himself or a relative, this family must provide the bride. The amount consumed is considerable, for even today the ash-heaps are littered with glass trade beads, iron halter rings, gun barrels, and fragments of obsidian blades that have withstood the flames.

When the fire has burned down, several of the male relatives who stir it with long poles, roll the remains out to be rewrapped in a mat and burned again. It is said that bodies are hard to burn; the fire must be renewed several times. The heart is the last portion to be destroyed. Poor people might not be able to burn the whole body.

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[99] *Op. cit.*, 1:85. The singing in the dead man's lodge described by Gatschet (1:90, 92) is apparently modern. I was not told of it.

[100] *Op. cit.*, 1:86.

The rewrapping of a man is done by male friends, of a woman by 764 •
women, but men alone tend the fire. They cover the remains as
quickly as possible, all those about crying loudly the while. Little
children are kept at a distance. By way of purification, those who [783]
tend the corpse leave their clothing out of doors for several days and
swim, or bathe in the sweat-lodge.

The house in which the death took place, even that of a child, is burned with its contents.[101] The survivors live elsewhere until, on a remarriage, for instance, a new lodge is built. If the house of a shaman is burned with the regalia it contains, a violent storm springs up in the night, hence they wait for calm weather before setting it afire. It is only safe for an old woman to fire it. When a shaman dies and again when he is cremated, storms rage for two days.

Strict mourning is enjoined on the spouse of the deceased and his 765
parents. It is quite clear that a son or daughter need not mourn so
deeply for a parent. Those who observe the fullest mourning cut their
hair short immediately on the death; this is called sla'mltk. After the 765
cremation they sweat for five days, go out in quest of a vision, and 783
observe the mourning restrictions throughout the following year.

The mourner fasts inside the sweat-lodge (spo'kliks) from early [787]
morning until sundown during these five days. There are only four
sweat-lodges proper to the use of mourners, or rather three. This
restriction is so inconvenient considering the scattering of Klamath
settlements that I would doubt it, had I not definite assurance from all
informants.[102] There are none in the territories of the Pelican bay
and Williamson river-mouth people. The three lodges are semi- [343]
subterranean, of timber and rock construction, and earth-covered.
These are said to be the gift of Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero. A very
small one stands a mile and a half north of Klamath Agency.[103] A
second is on the south side of a point called waḳa'ḳsi, near Odessa on
the western side of Klamath lake.[104] The third and largest is on the
hillside at the angle of the marsh east of Algoma. The Klamath Falls
group have no mourners' lodge but make use of a hot spring at
hŏ'kcwalks, a mile east of the present Klamath Falls railroad station.

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[101] I was not told of cairns of stones tossed on the spot by passers-by as described for the Modoc (Gatschet, 1:85).

[102] Gatschet also noted three alone (*op. cit.*, 1:xlii, 82, 142).

[103] This may be the one mentioned by Gatschet (*op. cit.*, 1:xxxi) although the name he gives resembles that recorded for site 64.

[104] This is referred to in a tale of Mink and Weasel.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

171 *

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	105
Dentalium shells	Ornament	Ultimate source, coasts of Washington and British Columbia.	[301]
Cradles	Sitting	N.W. and N. central California.	
	Board	N. Basin, Plateau.	[854]
Games	Beaver teeth dice	Oregon, Washington, British Columbia.	[524]
	Four stick	N.E., central, and S. California (and elsewhere?).	
	Hand game	Some central Californians, Basin, S. Northwest Coast, Plateau, Plains.	
	Modified hoop-pole	Minor game of coast from Alaska to Oregon (not N.W. California).	
	Ring-and-pin; rush ball	Modoc?, Wishram.	
Pipes	Spherical; discoidal	S. Plateau (Nez Percé to Okanagon).	[276]
	Angular	Wasco, Wishram, Middle Columbia, Nez Percé (links with Plains calumet?).	
Musical instruments	Hand drum	Recent in Plateau; Basin, Plains, (Northwest Coast?).	[534]
	Deerhoof rattle in girls' rites	N. California.	
	Notched rasp	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.	
	Clap stick	N. and central California.	
	Open flute	California, Southwest; Takelma, Nez Percé (and probably general in the west).	
Numerals	Finger names	Takelma.	[802]
Ritual number	Five	S. Northwest Coast, Washington, Oregon, California S. to Sinkyone and Northern Maidu, Basin.	[801]
Calendar	Numerical names	N.W. California, Fraser R., N. Northwest Coast.	[805]
Scalping	Whole scalp	California, W. Southwest, Wishram (no scalping in N.W. California E. to Shasta, and Northwest Coast).	[726]
Head trophy	Unusual	California, Northwest Coast.	
Scalp dance		General (except N.W. California) (over head trophies on Northwest Coast).	[727]
War dance	With notched rattle	Upland Takelma?, Wasco, Wishram, Nez Percé; without rattle, Chinook, N.W. California.	
Disposal of dead	Cremation	Modoc; some cremation in N.E. California; central California; formerly in E. Washington; N. Plateau.	[764] •

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
515	810. Pray or wish while sweating	•+	•+	•(+)	+	R	•R	•+	+	•+	•+	+	(+)	−	−	−	−
782	811. Cold bath follows sweat	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	(−)	+	+	−	+
	House Furnishings and Arrangement																
281	812. Blankets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
513	813. Elk and deerskin	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
	814. Painted hides for fine blankets	−	−	−			−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	815. Woven rabbitskin blankets	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	816. Patchwork skin blankets	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
	817. Deerskin	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	818. Coyote skin	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
	819. Wildcat skin	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
	820. Raccoon skin	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
	821. Rabbitskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
	822. Blue-fox skin	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−
[439]	823. Buffalo hides, imported for blankets	−		+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[237]	824. Feather blankets	+	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	•+
	825. Loose tule, grass blanket covering	+	+	+		+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	826. Pillows	+	+	+	+	.	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.
	827. Individual wooden pillow	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
	828. Pole pillow	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	.
	829. Piece of wood or rock	+	−	−		−	−			+	+	+	.	−	−	+	.
	830. Rolled skin	−	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.
	831. Rolled tule mat	−	−	+	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.
	832. Leaf or grass pillow	−	+	−	−	(+)	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.
534	833. Pine needles heaped up for pillow	−	+	−	−			−	−	−	−	(−)	+	−	−	−	.
	†834. Wooden foot drum	−	−	•R	−	−	−	−	−	•R	•R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
	†835. Hollow half log	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	.	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
	†836. In line with door	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
	†837. Over hole in ground	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	+	+	+	+	.	+
	†838. Post before drum	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	R	R	+	.	−	−	−	+
361	†838a. Houses in rows	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	†838b. Houses in circle	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	−	•+
	Shelters																
	Brush Enclosures and Shades																
417	839. Roofless circular brush enclosure	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
	840. Large, used for ceremonies	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
[574]	841. As camping place for visitors	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	−
[764]	842. At cemeteries only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	+	−	+	+
	843. Fire in center	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
	844. Opening(s) oriented	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	−	−	.	•+
	845. Same, but smaller, for summer shelter	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
	846. Partly roofed over	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
	847. Roofed circular brush enclosure	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	848. Shades	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	−	+	+	−	•+
	849. Horizontal roof	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
	850. Sloping roof	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
	851. 4 supporting posts	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+
	852. 3 side walls	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	853. Brush heaped around pit mortars, for shade	−	−	−		−	−	−		−	−	−	(+)	+	+	−	−
	854. Conical bark grinding house, 2 families	−	−	−		+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	Menstrual Huts																
343	855. Menstrual hut	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
841	856. Similar to living house, but smaller	−	−	−	•+	−	+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	+	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4014. Perform man's work only	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	838
4015. Perform labors both sexes	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	
4016. Digs grave or helps at funerals	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	[764]
4017. Regarded disapprovingly		−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	
4018. Regarded indifferently		−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	

Death

Treatment of corpse

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4019. Left in house until buried or burned	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	764
†4020. Left in house ... days or nights	−	−	1	1	1	−	−	−	−	−	1	2	−	−	−	−	
4021. Removed outside immediately after death	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	
4022. Body prepared for burial, burning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4023. Washed, in house	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	
4024. Washed, at grave	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
4025. Painted	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	
4026. Dentalia, bone tubes in nose, ears.	−	+	+	+	−	+	+		+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
4027. Bead necklaces on wealthy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
4028. Wrapped in hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	
4028a. Flexed, to form round bundle.	−	−	−	−	−				−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	
4029. Wrapped in mat	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4030. Put in basket, occasionally	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	+	−	
4031. Removed from house through regular entrance	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4032. Removed through wall of house	−	−	•+	•+	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	
4033. Removed through draft hole			−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	
4034. Removed from house head first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	−	+	+	.	+	
4035. Body outstretched, carried by 2 persons	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+		(−)	+	
4036. On pole stretcher	−	−	+	+	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4037. On double robe	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
4038. Body carried suspended from pole	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	(+)	−	
4039. Body carried in arms, on back by 1 person	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Funerary Procedure

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
†4040. Body kept outside for ... nights	1	−	•1	•1	−	−	1	−	−	1	−	2	−	−	−	−	
4041. For few hours only	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
4042. Large fire built beside corpse	+	−	+	+						+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4043. Relatives, friends assemble, wail	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4044. Mourning begins before death	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	.	+	+	+	−	
4045. Wailing by mourners at prefuneral dance	•−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	
4046. Mourners bring gifts to dead	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	
4047. Night dance by mourners	−	−	+	+	+	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	
4048. Prior to burial, cremation	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
4049. Mourners wear or carry boughs	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4050. 1 group of dancers follows another	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4051. Officiating woman piles boughs by corpse	−	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4052. Ashes, water sprinkled after corpse	•+	−	+			•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.	−	
4053. Children not allowed at burial, burning	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	
4054. All avoid smoke from pyre											+	−	+	−	−	−	
4055. Widow attends husband's burial, burning		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4056. Speech at burial, burning	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	•+	
4057. Widow(s) try to jump on pyre, in grave	.	+	.	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	−	−	764
4058. Restrained	.	+	.		+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	•+	•+	−	−	786
4059. Mourners jump about as they wail			−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	
4060. Throw dirt over themselves	.	+	−					+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	
4061. Roll in dirt	.	+	+					+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
766 4062. Chief, rich person's funeral differs from common man's	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	•+	−	−	+	+	•+	.	•+	•+
4063. Larger, better attended	+	+				+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	+
4064. Body kept 1-2 days	+	+									+	−	+	.	+	+
4065. Feast follows funeral	−	+	+								+	−	−	−	+	+
Assistants at Burials, Burnings																
764 †4066. One or more men in charge	1	•3	2			•1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	.	1
4067. Inherit position, paternal	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
‡4068. Number of pallbearers	1	1	•3	4	5	•1	•2	2	•2	2	2	−	2	•3	.	3
4069. Kinsmen of deceased	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
4070. Kinswomen of deceased	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4071. Nonrelatives	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4072. Any strong man	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
4073. Chosen by widow	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
4074. Paid	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
o4075. Number of gravediggers	−	−	•3	.	6	•1	.	2	•2	•3	2	3	2	•2	.	.
4076. Paid	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
4077. Herb in mouth when digging grave	−	−	−					−	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−
4078. All help gather wood for cremation	−	•+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
4079. 1-4 persons gather wood	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4080. Relatives or nonrelatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
Disposal of Corpse																
4081. Interment	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
4082. General	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	•−	−	•+	+
4083. Rare	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−
4084. Interred in earth	−	−	+	−	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
4085. Unlined hole, circular or rectangular	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	•+
4086. Round hole, brush or bark lined	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
4087. Inside house	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
4088. Winter only	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−
4089. Interred among rocks	+	+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4090. Corpse rock-covered	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4091. Corpse extended supine	(+)	−	+	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4092. Corpse flexed	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	(+)
4093. Face or head toward east	−	−	+	•+	•+	•+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
4094. Head toward west	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4095. Cord or withe to lower corpse	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	•−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	.	•+
4096. Corpse handed down into grave	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	.	−
4097. String projecting from child's grave.	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4098. Basket of water set in grave	−	−	−			•+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
4099. Basket of water set on grave	−	−	−			−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4100. Food set on grave	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
4101. Sand put on top of grave	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4102. Pounded beads put on top of grave	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4103. Rock(s) set on top of grave	−	−	−	−	+	•−	−	•−	+	−	+	−	−	−	.	+
4104. Fire built near grave	−	−	−				−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4105. Grave marker, vertical pole	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
4106. Bark shed built over grave	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	(+)	−	−	.	−
*4107. Fence of sticks, rocks around grave	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*4108. Secondary basket burial, occasionally	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
4109. Cremation	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	R
4110. General	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	•−	−
4111. Rare	−	−	•+	•+	•−	•−	−	•+	•+	•−	•+	−	−	−	•+	•R
4112. Corpse flexed	−	−	−	+	−	−			−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4113. Corpse extended	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	(+)	764 ●
4114. Body burned outside	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	
4115. Body on top of pyre	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
4116. Body inside pyre	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	
4117. Body burned in house	+	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	R	
4118. Only if whole family dies, epidemic	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
o4119. Duration of burning, days	1	1	1	.	−	.	•1	1	•1	−	1	−	•1	1	1	−	
4120. Partial cremation	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	•−	−	−	−	−	
4121. Bones entirely consumed by fire	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	
4122. Broken with sticks, rocks	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	
4123. Ceremonial eating of corpse	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	
4124. Secondary basket burial of ashes	−	•+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	•+	+	+	−	
4125. Ashes raked into pile after burning	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4126. Covered with rocks or dirt.	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
Cemeteries and Burning Places																	
4127. Cemeteries	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	[361]
4128. Less than 1/2 mile from village	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	
4129. 1/2 mile or more from village	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	
4130. No regular cemetery; burial 1/2 mile or more from village	−	−	+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4131. Grave plots	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4132. Definite grave plots, each family	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
4133. Graves weeded, cleaned occasionally, in spring	−	−	+		+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	.	+	•+	•+	
4134. Wife buried at husband's plot	•−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	−	•+	
4135. Wife buried in own family plot	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	+	+	
4136. Husband occasionally buried at wife's plot	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4137. Wife buried near husband's village.	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
4138. Regular burning places	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	+	+	−	
4139. Near village	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	
Treatment of Property																	
4140. Destruction of personal property.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	768
4145. Burnt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	
4146. During cremation	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
4147. Following cremation	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	
4148. During, after burial	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	
4149. Buried	−	−	+		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	
4150. With corpse	−	−	+							+	+	+	−	−	+	+	
4151. Man's implements broken	−	−	+							+	+	+	−	−	+	+	
4152. Baskets smashed	−	−	+		•+					+	+	+	−	−	+	R+	
4153. Property set on top of grave	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
4154. Canoe broken, given away	•−	•+	−	(+)	−	•+	•o	−	•+	−	•−	•−	•o	•o	−	−	
4155. Canoe of deceased burnt when worn out	+	+	−	+	•+	•+	o	−	−	+	−	+	o	o	−	−	
4156. Slave(s) killed	+	+	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4157. Deceased's dog disposed of	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	
4158. Killed	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
4159. Hung by neck	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4160. Given away	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
4161. Horse killed (recent)	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	.	+	+	−	
4162. Meat distributed and eaten	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	
4163. Hide or carcass burnt	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	
4164. Killed at grave; carcass left there	−	−	+										.	−	+	−	
4165. Preservation of personal property	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	•R	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
762 4166. Relatives take some personal property	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
4167. New unused possessions only	+	−	+	−	−		+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
4168. Outsiders take some personal property	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
4169. Destruction of real property (living houses).																
4170. House burned	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
4171. Only if man owns sweat house-living house	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	•+		+	+	−	−	+	−	−
4172. House torn down or abandoned	•+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
4173. House torn down and rebuilt	•+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
4174. House deserted temporarily	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
4175. Only headman's house burned, deserted	−	−	−	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−
4176. House of man killed in war burned	(−)	+							+	+	.	.	.	.	+	−
4177. Preservation of real property	+	•+			+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
4178. House occupied constantly after death	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
4179. Purification of house	+	+	+	−	+	•+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	•+
4180. With aromatic plants	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	•+	−	•+	•+	−	•+	−
4181. Tobacco smoked inside house	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	.	−	+	+	.	−
4182. Deer hair burnt inside house.												+	−	−	+	•−
Taboos and Purification of Undertakers, etc.																
764 783 4183. Undertakers only contaminated, subject to taboos	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
†4184. Mourners and undertakers contaminated, subject to taboos	−	−	•+	•+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
†4185. Use head scratcher for ... days after funeral	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	5	−	−	•4	2	28	5	−	−
†4186. Eat alone for ... days after funeral	−	−	•10	•5	−	−	−	5	−	−	•4	2	28	5	4	−
†4187. Separate dishes	−	−	•4	•5	−	−	−	5	−	−	•4	2	28	5	4	−
†4188. Meat, meat products taboo ... days.	−	−	•4	•5	1	−	1	5	12	−	•4	2	28	5	4	−
†4189. Fresh fish taboo ... days	−	−	•5	−	1	−	1	5	•5	−	•4	2	28	5	4	−
†4190. Dried salmon taboo ... days	−	−	•5	−					−	−	•4	2	28	5	4	−
†4191. Hunting taboo ... days	−	−	•10	•5	−	−	1	5	−	−	•4	2	−	−	4	−
†4192. For ... months	−	−	−	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	1	−	•2
†4193. Gambling taboo ... days	−	−	•10	•5	−	−	•5	5	−	−	•4	2	−	−	4	−
†4194. For ... months	−	−	−	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	1	4	•2
†4195. Smoking taboo ... days	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	5	−	−	•4	2	28	5	4	−
†4196. Intercourse taboo ... days	−	−	•10	(−)	1	−	1	+	−	−	•4	2	28	5	4	−
4197. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4198. All persons who attend funeral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−
4199. By sweating	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4200. By swimming, washing hands, face	+	+	•+	•+	(+)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
†4201. Immediately after funeral	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	−	.	−	−	+
4202. Everyday	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
o4203. After ... days	−	−	−	•5		−	−	5	•1	−	−	2	.	•5	4	•+
4204. Scarification and bleeding	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4205. Application of medicated water	−	−	•+	•+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
4206. Smoking body			+							+	−	−	+	+	−	−
4207. Plant rubbed on body	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	(−)	+
4208. Medicine drunk	−	−	+	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−
Taboos on Relatives																
764 765 4209. Widow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4210. Taboo to touch corpse	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
4211. Steps between legs as release from marriage tie	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−	−
4212. Lies beside corpse	−	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+
4213. Outside, before corpse taken to grave	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
4214. At grave, pyre	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	765
4215. Hair cut, close crop, or burned off	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	(-)	•+	764 ●
4216. Cuttings saved	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	[302]
4217. Cuttings kept in house	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
4218. Cuttings made into belt	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
4219. Cuttings burnt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4220. Cuttings thrown in river	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4221. Cuttings buried in grave	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4223. Mutilations	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[304]
4224. Arms cut soon after death	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4225. Beat breast	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4226. Beat head	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[302]
4227. Facial and head coatings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4228. Pitch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4229. Dirt, ashes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4230. Chalk, charcoal	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4231. Pounded shell									+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4232. White clay on bangs	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4233. Pitch on arms or legs, chest	–	+	+					•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	
4234. Touching face with fingers taboo	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4235. Face left unwashed	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4236. "Washed" with wet grass	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	.	
4237. Space around eyes washed	+	–	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
4238. Scratching stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4239. For head	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4240. For body	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	
4241. Worn tied around neck	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4242. Special attire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	[292]
4243. Mourning necklace	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	•+	•+	
4244. Basket cap, coated with pitch	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4245. Head covered with blanket													–	+		+	
‡4246. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	[262]
†4247. Meat ... days	•15	6	•14	•28	1	–	–	5	•86	–	–	2	–	5	–	•5	
†4248. Grease ... days	•15	6	•14	•28	1	–	–	5	•86	–	–	2	–	5	–	•5	
†4249. Fresh fish ... days	•15	6	•14	–	1	–	–	5	•86	–	–	2	–	5	–	•5	
†4250. Dried fish ... days	•15	6	–	–	1	–	–	5	–	–	–	2	–	5	–	•5	
4251. Cold water ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	
†4252. Salt ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	
4253. Seclusion	+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
4254. In house	•+	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
†4255. For ... days	5	•–	–	–	•2	–	–	5	28	–	–	3	+	+	•+	+	
†4256. For ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	+	1	
4257. For variable period	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
4258. Prescribed activities during taboo period	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	
†4259. Sweats for ... days or nights	5	6	5	5	1	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4260. Gathers wood for sweating	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4261. Goes to grave or cremation spot and wails	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	+	–	•+	+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	
4262. Walks around, wailing	+	+									+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	
4263. May go to mountains to seek power	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
4264. Making baskets taboo	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	•–	•–	•–	–	•–	
4265. Gathering food taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	
4266. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	–	[783]
‡4267. Sweats to remove taboos, after ... months	•12	12	12	–	–	12	•2	–	•+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4268. Washes head, face to remove taboos	–	–	–	+	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	.	–	
4269. Drinks medicine	+	.	+									(+)	–	–	–	–	
4270. Takes pitch off head, face at remarriage only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[587]

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
764 765 587 4271. Pitch wears off naturally	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
4272. Mourning necklace worn until remarriage	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	•-	-	+	•-
o4273. Approximate no. yrs. before remarriage	•1	•2	•+	1	•2	•1	+	•+	1	•2	•1	-	•3	•3	•3	•2
4274. Indefinite period; shorter for younger women	-	-	-								+	+	+	+	+	+
4275. Older women often do not remarry	+	+	+								·	+	+	+	-	-
764 765 4276. Widower	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
4277. Cuts or burns hair, slightly	+	+	•+	•+	•+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	•+	-	•+
4278. Pitches hair or face, or both	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
‡4279. Meat, fish, salt taboo ... days after funeral	56	10	10	5	1	-	1	5	28	-	-	1	-	5	-	-
†4280. Hunting taboo ... days	+	10	10	5	-	+	-	10	+	-	-	1	+	+	-	+
†4281. For ... months	12	-	-	-	-	•3	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	•4
†4282. Fishing taboo ... days	5	10	5	5	-	+	-	10	+	-	-	1	+	+	-	+
†4283. For ... months	-	-	-	-	-	•3	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	•4
4284. Gives away all or most of 1st kill	-	-	+				+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
4285. Cannot "cry" before hunting	+	+	+								·	·	+	·	·	-
[787] ‡4286. Spends ... nights in mountains	5	•5	10	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	•1	-	-	-	-	-
4287. To obtain vision	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
4288. Piles up rocks	+	+	+	-	-				·		-	-	-	-	-	-
4289. Gathers or breaks wood	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4290. Sleeps little or none	+	+									+	+	+	-	-	-
[787] 4291. Returns home wailing	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4292. Obtains dream at home, night of funeral		-	+			+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
†4293. Sweats alone daily for ... days after cremation	5	5	-			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4294. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
o4295. Sweats with other mourners ... days after funeral	-	-	•1	5	-	•+	•+	-	2	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
[304] †4296. Swims ... days after funeral	-	-	•1	5	1	•+	•+	5	1	•+	-	3	2	5	-	•-
4297. Cuts shoulder	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4298. Children observe taboos for dead parent	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
4299. Son, daughter cut hair close; slight pitch	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	-	-
[787] 4300. Do not seek for power	+	+	-			·	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
•4301. Parents observe taboos for child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4302. Cut hair slightly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
4303. Pitch on hair or face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
4304. Mother only	+	+	-		+					+	-	-	-	+	+	+
†4305. Meat taboo ... days	5	5	10	5	3	-	1	5	+	-	-	1	-	5	-	-
o4306. For ... months	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[787] 4307. Sweat or bathe	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
4308. Man goes to mountains to seek power	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
•4309. Loss of 1st child before cord drops off entails rigid taboos				•(+)					•(+)		•+	+	+	+	+	•-
4310. Couple give everything away, start anew											+	+	+	+	+	-
4311. Secluded for 1 month													+			-
Taboos on Community																
†4312. Foot travel stopped for ... days	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	4	•6	5	-	+
4313. Until burial of corpse	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	+	-	-	-	+
[55] 4314. Uttering name of dead taboo	+	•+	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4315. Indefinitely	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
4316. Until formally regiven	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	(+)	-	-
4317. Only in presence of kin	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4318. Compensation to kin for uttering in presence	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	+	–	764
•4319. If no compensation paid, fight starts	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	+	–	765
4320. No rule of compensation: fight starts	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	[551]
•4321. Dances taboo	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
†4322. For ... years	–	–	1+	1	–	1	1	•1	•1	1	3	3	3	3	3	•3	764
4323. Violent deaths in war excepted	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	765
4324. Girl's puberty rite taboo	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	535
4325. May be held 1/2 mi. from mourner's camp	–	–	+	–			+	+	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	
4326. No dance held; only sing for girl	–	–	–	–			–	–	+	+	+	.	–	+	–	–	
4326a. Brush dance taboo	–	–	–	•+			–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
4327. Doctor-making dance taboo	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4328. Scalp dance taboo	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4329. Social dances taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	
4330. Must be held 10-15 mi. away	–	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	
4331. Mourners' consent obtained, before dance	–	–	+	+	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
4332. Mourners paid	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4333. Choice food presented mourners	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
Mourning Ceremonies																	
4334. Family mourning ceremony	+	+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	765
4335. Informal; at assembly old people may cry	+	+	+		–				•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
†4336. Held ... yrs. following death	–	–	–		3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4337. Held variable time following death.	+	+	+		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4338. Held only if child of deceased sick	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o4339. Lasts ... day and night	–	–	–		1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o4340. Lasts ... hour	1	1	1		–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	
4341. For 1 dead	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4342. Chief sanctions					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4343. Fellow tribesmen only	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4344. All close relatives of deceased assemble	+	+	+		.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4345. Doctor sings over widow, sick child	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4346. All mourners cry	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4347. Widow removes pitch from hair, face	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4348. Widow burns pitch necklace	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4349. Male undertakers sweat	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4350. Feast concludes ceremony	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4351. All eat	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4352. Mourners wash selves outside at end	–	–	–		+				+			–	–	–	–	+	
4353. Ceremony removes all taboos	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
•4354. Group mourning ceremony	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•–	+	+	+	+	•+	
4355. Held by each village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
4356. Held by several villages together	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	
4357. For each dead separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
4358. For several dead together	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4359. For all dead together	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	
o4360. Held ... years after death	–	•2	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	1	•1	+	•–	•1	
o4361. Held ... months after death	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	
4362. Annually	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
4363. Irregularly	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	
4364. Fall	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	
4365. Any time of year, dry weather	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	

881 head; pollen on head. Legs, torso painted; white paint blown on with mouth; pollen blown on. Painting done by self; from own paint box. Painting before eating only. Tattooing. Nose pierced. Tattooing so girl can touch fire. Thighs, arms, breasts cut. Shell skirt for eating. Sage leggings. Chest band. Labret. Nose feather. Girl ducked in water during ceremonial bath. Belt, anklets, wristlets buried. Girl given new name.

Public rites (major or night dance): Given for group of selected girls. Poor girls excluded. Several girls together, only 1 menstruating. Dancers mill around menstruant. Men hold to wall. Dancers file out of house after each dance. Given during fixed season. Coincides with boys' initiation. Given in ceremonial enclosure. Conducted by chief, priest, clan. Single split-stick rattle. Deer-hoof headband. Deer-hoof anklets. Deer hoofs on moccasins. Cocoon, gourd, tortoise shell, pottery rattles. Masks worn. Attendants wear woolen fringed headdress; woolen fringed rattles. Male participants wear haliotis-rim horns; blind. Women paint face white; all colors. Sand paintings. Tobacco eaten. Haliotis gazing.

•841 General menstrual customs.--Woman confined in penthouse against dwelling. Head, face covered when going outside. Bathes daily. Bathing optional.

Marriage

58 Service for bride: children belong to mother's
family. Sororate obviated if children, payment
rendered. Polyandry: lovers in separate towns.
Marriage of man to first cousins, cross or parallel;
to mother's sister. Mother-in-law, son-in-law
taboos temporary, for newlyweds only; temporary
up to first child; optional. Father-in-law,
son-in-law taboos. Mother-in-law, daughter-in-law
taboos. Husband punished for adultery by
being fined, before wife will return. Woman's
family pays husband fine for constructive adultery
by woman. Repayment of bride price in event
of divorce depends on number of children. Intercourse
taboo inside dwelling. Lie on side to
548 prevent twins. Prostitution with compensation
to woman. Unchaste girl killed. Unmarried pregnant
684 girl killed. Man fined for seduction.

Death

● 764 Treatment of corpse; taboos.--Body removed from house prior to death. Removed from house through roof; feet first; throw-out of animal after corpse; body carried on plank. Undertakers of opposite moiety; priest; shaman; chosen by chief; paid; gifts; one a scapegoat. Corpse's nose, ears pierced. Body buried with head uphill, upstream, downstream. Cremation for shamans especially. Pyre over pit. Urn burial. Any form scaffold burial. Undertaker(s) visit grave nightly; build fire at grave; put food out for ghost; wear brush on head. Widow's hair cut-

764 tings hidden in woods. Mutilations: scratching soon after death; finger amputation. Sacrifice of relatives. Widow pays parents-in-law before eating. Mourner pays to waive taboos. Taboos laid on community: boat travel stopped for ... days; offender pays mourners. Name taboo for ... months; until mourning ceremony; change name at death of namesake. Deerskin dance, Jump dance taboo for days. Mourning ceremony: Family

'165 mourning ceremony: fixed number of days after death; mourners washed; ceremony removes meat taboo only. Group mourning ceremony: held for prominent persons only; warriors only; spring only; summer only. Other tribes invited; loans by mourners; given under flat shade; fence and flat shade. Dance inside structure, in open; center pole. Formal seating allotments. Professional performers. Images made by another tribe; some burnt; given to individuals, to visiting tribes only, given irrespective of tribe, to performers only; images thrown to crowd. Offerings put in hut, hole; single stationary pole for all offerings. Sham battle. Everyone in tribe washed; mourners only washed. Post-washing activities: dancing; eagle sacrifice.

KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS

Counting, Calendar, Directions

802 Counting.--Count with twigs between fingers. Beads over rod for messages; as calendar. Stick
805 mat for messages. Calendar.--Numeral names for months; 2-solstice calendar. Months recorded on sticks. Charcoal marks inside house for month record.

Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs

75 Herb doctoring: knowledge purchased from older person; doctor sings or dances; doctor employs assistant.

Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena

821 Cosmography: world a person, tree, animal; multiple heavens. Sun and moon: sun an animal; moon an animal; figure in moon coyote, dog, river. New moon: children have hair cut, dance. Eclipses: any bird, condor, blue jay, bug, coyote, puma, raccoon, gopher, rattlesnake eating sun or moon; moon's husband lying on her; coyote's tail in front of; condor in front of sun, moon. At eclipse strike plank or canoe; hold raccoon skin on stick; men go to woods or mountains to make medicine; turn vessels over; throw out food, turn over canoe. Falling stars: explained as stars wanting to change place; stars dead man's eyes. Milky Way: is dust from running animals, birds, elk, deer, mountain sheep, bear, frog, prairie falcon, ducks, snakes;

836 well after she married; advised her to take such
for husband. Youths never went round for women
[178] by themselves, formerly; both girls and youths
adhered to marriage rules. SE: Admitted, but said
000 to have been very rare, however. 2 women usually
accompanied girl whenever she went anywhere "in
order to see that men didn't bother her." At:
Mother kept girl beside her during night at fiestas (see also note 3960).

[836 849] 3996. Kl: Must marry girl; youth's parents tell him, "Get that baby back." Youth gets girl, without paying anything for her.

3997. WS: "Very few did marry the girl."

Transvestites

[838] 3999. Mo, MM, MV: Known by informants to exist among such tribes as "Pit River" (Achomawi) and Kl, but denied positively for informants' own groups. SW: Informant himself had many traits of transvestite, although he dressed in men's clothes; most of elements listed positively below for SW are entered from volunteered data and observation of facts rather than as result of direct questioning. At: Referred to as ya'wa'. NM: "In early days didn't have any [transvestites]"; informant knew of only 2 hermaphrodites (?), a Mexican at Auburn and a half-breed woman.

4008. "Because born that way."

4009. AW: Informant for At stated, "1 Pit River (Achomawi) woman, after she'd had children, dreamt to be like that."

[838] 4011. See note 3999. At: Referred to as brumaiwi. Wear false penis (?), made of pitch, suspended from belt.

Death

Treatment of corpse.--

[764] 4021. Kl: Body laid on pyre immediately, left lying there overnight; early next morning burned.

4025. Mo: Shamans only. WM: Painted red. Sun dogs considered sign of shaman's death, "because paint dead red." Red clouds presage death of someone.

4027. MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Yellowhammer-quill band also laid with body. MF, NS: Also basket cut, so it will lie flat like plaque on top of chest; this buried with body. Cut basket on body lacking among NM, MV; dubious for NF.

4028. WT: Elkhide article of great value; chief wrapped in such, and grave "almost filled with shell currency and other valuables. Many visitors come from distance and bring world of things to put in chief's grave." WM: "Other groups [of Wintu] wrap body in bearskin cloak"; WM do not, except in rare instances where head, claws cut off old bearskin, and latter put in grave. New skin never treated thus. MV: Wrap wealthy in bearskin.

4030. NF: Also children up to 2-3 years old buried on their cradle.

[228-B]

600 [764] [783] 4032. SE: Sprinkle water, medicine around house as body is removed through wall. Purification of house as corpse removed denied for Kl, Mo, all Maidu and Nisenan groups. SW: Through wall on E side of house (see note 4093). WT: Through hole torn in wall at back of house, opposite entrance.

4036. AW: But see note 4136.

Funerary procedure.--

4040. SE, SW: 1-2 nights.

4043. At: Wail throughout night while body is in house; continue wailing and dancing next day until body buried near sundown.

[764] 4045. Kl: Mourners wail throughout night as body lies on pyre, before being burnt early next morning; no dance.

4046. SW: "Whenever you go to a funeral always take some money with you. You get something back again for whatever you take there." WT: See note 4028. NF, NS, MV: Gifts buried or burned with corpse.

4047. AW: Mourners merely "jump around as they cry on viewing corpse."

4048. SE, SW, At: Mourners wail ritually as they dance around corpse. MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Mourners hold "fire dance" in assembly house; wail, dance, circling corpse 4 times. MV: Such dance held only when important man dies.

4049. SE, SW: Wear fir or willow boughs. SE: Mourners whip each other on legs with boughs they are carrying; therapeutic measure. SW: Women also bring ipos roots in their basket caps. At: Mourners bring cedar boughs into house of death; when through dancing boughs piled and burnt, to purify house if relatives of dead plan to continue using house.

4051. SW: Ipos roots women bring also laid beside corpse.

[764] 4052. Kl: Everyone in house collects ashes in basket from fireplace of dwelling, talks to dead person's spirit, then sprinkles ashes toward W. AW: As body is borne from house to grave, 1 old woman takes basket of ashes, another old woman basket of water, and they throw water and ashes behind line of people, for entire journey from house to grave. The 2 old women wail "too bad, too bad" as they perform this act to keep spirit of deceased away.

4053. Mo: Not old enough to realize what is happening; likely to laugh, play.

[764] [537] [887] 4056. Generally given by "old man, wise man," who is not undertaker. AW: "At grave old man may talk crossly; then people know he is going to hire a doctor to kill the poisoner [who caused death of person being buried]. Or else old man tells the people there not to mourn too much; only a few years. 'You can cry a little bit; some of you will dream good luck, with a little cry[ing]. Don't tell anyone, if you dream good, or else you'll lose it [the good luck].'" WM: At funeral old man talks to spirit of deceased, tells it where to go, upward to sky dance house

[229-A]

000 4105. At: Flat rock or cedar plank.

4107. Around all graves.

4108. Basket reburial of bones which have been dug up by mistake.

4109. At: Never burn bodies; Silver Fox told people not to burn them. "Just bury them," he said.

4110. NS: See note 4082.

4111. SE, SW, WM, MM: Persons dying away from home only; this denied for all other groups. At: No cremation; man killed in war buried on spot. AW: "Only strays, poor people, or poor men killed fighting burned, like Mo." WT: Only time cremation practiced was when corpse was found long time after death. WS: Warriors' bodies left where they fall, untended. MM: Men killed fighting cremated; this denied for WT, WM, WS, NS, MV. NS: Rich man or woman, having many beads, cremated; done in order to prevent grave-robbing. (MV informant also stated grave-robbing "was even bad in old days. After Whites came it was very bad because gold was buried with corpses.") MV: Cremation in recent times only, for victims of disease only; these burnt inside house where death occurred.

4117. AE: If man who owns large communal living-assembly-sweat house dies in spring or good weather, his body is burnt inside house.

4119. AE: 1/2-1. WM: 1-2. NF: Start burning body in morning; burn all day, watch ashes that night. Next day put ashes in basket; men line up in 1 line, women in another, and basket of ashes taken to cemetery and buried.

4123. NS: Of heart, by widow; 1 case only recalled, post-White.

4124. Mo: Ashes of corpse put in basket (more recently in brass kettle) and this buried in ashes at cremation spot. MM: Bones wrapped in buckskin. NF: See note 4119.

Cemeteries and burning places.--

4127. NF, NM, NS: For ashes of cremated (see element 4124).

4128. SW: That is, within packing distance of village.

4129. AW: 2 villages may have joint cemetery halfway between 2 sites.

4130. At: Bury close to living house, in summer (see note 4088).

4132. WM, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Successive burials of relatives in same spots, with reburial of previously interred.

4133. NS: Done if dream of dead; see note 4687. MV: Done by old people; no grass allowed to grow on grave.

[764] 4134. Kl, NF, NM: Wife burned near husband's village, not taken home, but among NF, NM wife's ashes are taken home. AW: Only if poor woman; see note 4136. MV: Rich man may take wife's body and bury it in his own family grave plot, putting good deal of property in grave for his dead relatives, as well as for his wife; in such case wife's relatives would allow him to bury her body.

4135. NF, NM: That is, wife's ashes; see 4134.

[230-B]

● 764
000
4136. In none of groups is this a general practice. SW: Done only if man dies while away from home, at wife's village, and it is winter or too far to pack home body. AW: Poor men only. Wealthy people are brought back to their homes for burial; corpse carried on litter consisting of 2 poles, with large deer hide stretched between, its edges laced to poles with thongs which pass through cuts made in hide. Furs piled on top of hide; litter borne by 4 men, 2 at each end. Litter for poor persons has sticks laid across it, no skins. Bearers paid; poor men accept the clamshell-disk beads in payment, wealthier men refuse them.

Treatment of property.--

4145. MM, MF, NS, MV: Worthless property only; bury person's good possessions.

4152. At: Baskets torn up, thrown out (but not put in grave); "given" thus to deceased.

[768] 4154. Kl, MM, MF: Kept by relatives. Mo, AW: Given to friend. SW, WM: Broken. At, NF, NM: Canoes lacking in area. See note 858.

4155. At, AW: Or allowed to lie and rot in water.

4161. SE: Informant had heard of at least 1 case among SE where, after horse was killed, it was slit down belly, corpse put inside carcass, and carcass buried.

4165. At: Some of woman's baskets kept for her children, others burnt. WM: "Spirit of dead wants all dead person's possessions destroyed; if this not done, spirit comes back and threatens to take its mother or grandmother with it. Relatives give spirit its possessions; burn them; also give spirit powdered red rock. After everything is burnt, spirit no longer bothers living. Persons know when spirit is around because they become sick, have pains in chest, perhaps headache, dizzy, lack appetite. Call in doctor, who treats patient and talks to spirit." As regards recent acquisitions, such as horses, silver money, spirit tells shaman to keep horse and treat it well, and use money to buy acorns.

4166. AE: Relatives take whatever property they can use; when it wears out or they no longer have any use for it, they burn it.

4170. AW: Winter living houses used only about 10 years at best; "after that, fleas get too bad in them."

4171. AE: If anyone, other than owner of winter living house, dies in house, "they just purify the house, and people go on living in it; they don't burn it the next spring. If owner of house dies in winter, house is purified; other occupants live in it until spring, then burn it. WT: Chief owns assembly house; this occasionally burnt, if people feel very badly and are trying to forget deceased.

768 4172. Kl: Relatives of dead person move into small temporary hut after abandoning living house.

4173. Kl: If death occurs in winter earth lodge, house torn down and rebuilt next fall.

[231-A]

990 ing funeral, men, women stand facing E and say, "Sus, sus, sus; good daylight come and give me good dreaming," as they clap their hands. "Some women are bashful, though, to talk that way. The people are talking to approaching daylight. Everyone tries to get good dreams after a funeral; a funeral is good for that."

4200. SE, SW, WM: Refers to mourners, not to undertakers. NM: Refers to undertakers and mourners.

4201. SE: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. SW, WM: Refers to mourners, not to undertakers.

4202. SE: Refers to all undertakers and mourners.

4203. SW, WM: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners. NM: Refers to mourners, not to undertakers. MV: 2-3 lunar months.

4204. SE, WM: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners.

4205, 4208. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners.

4208. SW: Woman (not shaman, however) made special medicine; "have such woman at nearly every village; if don't have 1, send for 1 from another village." Medicine drunk to cleanse,, purify self.

Taboos on relatives.--

4212. Mo, SE, AW, AE, WS, MV: Only because "she feels so sad." SE: Widow lies on top of corpse, outside, "for last time"; her tears must bq washed off before corpse can be buried.

[764 / 302] 4215. Kl, Mo, AE, NM: Cut immediately after cremation. SE, SW, At, AW, WT, MF: Cut immediately after funeral. WM, WS, MV: Cut day following death of husband. MM, MF, NF, NM: Cut few days after burial, cremation.

4218. At: Belts made, similar to Shasta hair belt figured in Dixon, Shasta, fig. 95, p. 415; decorated with bone, shell ornaments.

4[illegible]. Mo: Cuttings or combings never thrown in river or in woods; birds will make nest of it.

4228. WT: Pitches face because she feels badly, "also to prevent any other man falling in love with her."

4230. SW: Reason for application of pitch and charcoal by mourners explained in myth of introduction of death into world: Black Cricket's child died, Coyote vetoed its being brought to life, so child buried; "that's why they [mourners] pitch themselves black, like Cricket."

4233. WT: Widow puts pitch on arms because when she slept with husband, had intercourse with him, she put her arms around him.

4243. Necklace usually consists of lumps of pitch on fiber string. NS: Dubious as to whether pitch used for necklace. MV: Shell beads on string, for necklace. See element 4272.

4244. Very old cap, or one with hole in it.

764 765 262 4247-4250. Kl: 10 days after husband dies, widow goes to mourners' sweat lodge, stays there in seclusion with old woman attendant for 5 days

[232-A]

764 and nights, s[illegible] at end of this 5-day peri-
765 od widow ca[illegible], "she's cleaned good, then."
262 SE: Or more[illegible] lunar month. WM: 3 lunar
months. MV: 6[illegible]

000 4251. MF: Drinks medicinal tea instead of water.

4253. Mo: Young widow stays in house "for few days" after husband's death. Older woman with children may have to go out to get wood. None of seclusion taboos enforced if it is necessary to get food for dependents. All widows however sweat twice daily for duration of food taboos. Final purification comes 1 year later.

[764]
[765] 4254. Kl, Mo: In mourners' sweat lodge (see note 4247). SE: Mourner cannot come into living house if deermeat there; gives hunter bad luck. NF: Partial seclusion only; does not talk to any man during this period. NS: Stays in seclusion until necklace she is wearing breaks. NM: Stays in seclusion until she attends another funeral, usually in about 1 year. MV: Widow sometimes stays with mother-in-law; usually with her own mother.

4255. Mo: See note 4253. At: 2-3. NS: See note 4254.

4258. MF, NF, NM, MV: Widow makes baskets during period of seclusion, for post-burial ceremony (see elements 4354-4415).

[764]
[765] 4261. Kl, Mo, SE, AW, WM, MF, NF, NS, MV: Shadowed by attendant.

4262. NF, NM, MV: Talks only in low voice. NM, MV: 2 women watch mourner, take her outside at night.

4264. MF, NF, NM, NS: See note 4258.

[765]
[783] 4267. Kl: Or more. AE: 2-6 months. WM: Widow after death of husband sometimes builds and uses small steam-heated sweat house to remove contamination of disease from her arms, body.

4268. At: After 2-3 years. MF, NM: Ca. 1 year after funeral.

4270. WM: When woman about to remarry, takes pitch off 1 month before marriage.

4272. NF: Worn until burnt at group mourning ceremony, 2-3 years later. MV: Worn for ca. 1 year, then burnt at group mourning ceremony. At this burning young widows put small amount of pitch on face, also.

[764]
[765]
[587] 4273. Kl: 1-6 yrs. Mo: 2-3. SE: 6 mos. or longer. At: 2-3 yrs. AW: 1-2. WT: 2 mos. to 5 yrs. WS: 2-3 yrs. MM: 1-3. NF, NM, NS: 3 or more yrs. MV: 2-3.

4277. SE, SW, MV: Burn hair; all other groups cut hair. NM: Puts cuttings in gopher hole. At: "A man hardly does anything in mourning for his dead wife."

4281, 4283. AW: 3-4 months. MV: 4-5.

4286. Mo: 5-6 nights. MM: 1-2.

4295, 4296. SE: 1-2 days. AW, AE, WS: Immediately after funeral.

4296. MV: Bathes in medicated water, 4-5 months after funeral.

4299. MF: Put on pitch only. NF: Cut hair, put on pitch. NM: Cut hair only.

● 764 4301. Child of 2 years or over.

765 4309. Distribution of this trait probably widespread among groups under investigation. SW 000 informant mentioned heavy taboos both parents are under if woman has miscarriage or child dies soon after birth, but no entries made of element until MM informant emphasized its importance, in discussion of childbirth. WM: If woman loses first baby, and then walks outside, heavy storm will arise; for this reason she is kept indoors. MM: If couple lose first child before navel cord drops off, both give away everything they possess to other couples who have lost child under similar circumstances; do not give any of possessions to parents who have raised children successfully. Then relatives and friends of bereaved couple give them new possessions. MV: No special taboos if lose baby before cord drops off, or if child is stillborn; "bad luck is bad luck, that's all."

Taboos on community.--

4312. MV: 6-7 days.

4314. Mo: Hearing name of dead mentioned reminds persons too forcibly of their bereavement; dislike now to hear English surnames of dead uttered after death, or to have towns, such as Chiloquin (on Klamath reserve), named for dead. AW: Also if, for example, man has sister, and she dies, he cannot use relationship term meaning "sister"; if he says, "my dead sister" in presence of his mother, she will begin to cry; jump up and say, "I'm sorry, sorry." Man therefore does not talk of his dead sister, except slowly, and while crying; if he behaves thus, his father will not reprove or chastise him; his mother may cry a little, though. If same man has 1 sister who is dead, another still living, he refers to latter as "that young woman." Cf. note 3308.

4319. Fight, or shaman hired to poison offender.

[535] [764] [765] 4321. Taboo in village where death has occurred. WM: Rule also applies to near-by villages, local groups (?); this extension of taboo denied by SE, WS, all Maidu, Nisenan groups.

4322. WT, WM: 1-2 yrs. MV: To 1; depends upon how important deceased was.

4326a. SW: Brush dance among SW is danced at girl's puberty dance; see note 3665.

4331. AW: Sometimes relatives of deceased refuse to give their consent for dance; in this event dance not held. WM: Mourning family sometimes does not attend any dance for 3 years.

Mourning ceremonies.--

4334. At: Informant's account of this somewhat confused, but apparently if child of a deceased person became sick, about 3 years after the death, in spring, the widow takes off pitch and shaman doctors widow's child; all people gather and feast at end. Even though widow removes pitch, she may announce her intention never to remarry; whereupon chief says, "It's all right;

[233-A]

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Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

M
787 as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing
756 they are the shaman's "helpers."

K However differently they construe the degree of individual
M access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that
787 human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those
K who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer
M [782] in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtu-
[772] ous striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the
universe appears basically to be a moral order.

K In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The
M annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the
181 progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon
461 industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme
that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic
K exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this
M 461 virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to
556 maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a follow-
595 ing. Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the
K common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a
M contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent
622 men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In
556 war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his
[881] panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man
[701] of property is likely to be decked with many valuables con-
• [764] tributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the
[538] man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowl-
[756] edge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send
out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power
in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to
K the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in
622 the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:
539

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee—to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

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[Klamath Reservation]

*648 the neighboring settlers were in part made up of men with
*657 Indian wives, and in part, too, of former employees of the
[464] Agency.[19] They were not always respectful of the dignity of the
Agent and frequently challenged his authority. At times, as in
the strife of the 1880's with the stockmen on the eastern border of
the reservation, the clashes assumed an almost warlike character.

177 Despite these preoccupations and deterrents, work somehow
433 proceeded. Not all Indians wanted the progress, with all its cir-
*657 cumscriptions, that was gradually unfolded before them, and not
all who desired it were capable of achieving it. Nonetheless, the
lure of a farm and a herd of horses or cattle of one's own, to be
able to have a wagon and be a man of substance, to use the coffee,
sugar, salt, beef, flour, and baking soda that had become the new
necessities, to dress well: these opportunities, open only to a few
entrepreneurs in the old days of raid-and-trade, now became
available to any who would work hard and subject himself to
177 an alien discipline. It was just this regimen that whole genera-
*657 tions of children were subjected to in the schools. In the main,
871 the program in the early period was a success. The reasons why
its success was no more than qualified are set forth below.

*648 The tasks the government set itself were manifold. The Indians
*657 of independent tribes and bands were to be confined within a
177 reservation and there brought into a single polity. Within twenty
years they were to be transformed into self-sufficient farmers and
their feet set upon a road marked by the use of "citizens' dress,"
of modern homes, preferably situated on individual farms, by
ability to speak English and even to read and write in that me-
dium, and the abandonment of their own faith for Christianity.
Annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs carry a
statistical summary for all reservations of the state of "civiliza-
tion" of the Indians, couched in these and similar terms. Narra-
tive reports of the Agents dwell time and again upon the incul-
cation of proper aspirations, extending at times even to the
minutiae of observance. "During the last two or three years,"
states Linus M. Nickerson (1884) with satisfaction, "I have not
• [764] known a burial when the coffin has not been covered with a good
quality of black cloth or velvet and where the trimmings have
not been equally good."[20]

648*

acceptance was rapid. They will serve as a simple introduction to 657*
the programs as a whole and to some of the underlying factors. 177

Clothing and Names

An individual's acceptance of white clothing and names af- 177
fected only himself. Consequently, it waited less upon consensus 291
than did the assumption of a reservation political order, a change- 657*
over to farming, or even the decision to build a house in the new fashion. Moreover, both clothes and names, external manifestations of a new status, were supplementary to those already worn. Their addition to the stock already on hand did not at first require that native counterparts be discarded. The same eagerness shown toward Plains-type garments was now exhibited toward those new, prestigeful novelties: the blankets, trade cloth, and surplus military uniforms issued as part of the treaty annuities.

Although some of the first trade flannel was made into banners,[2] a monthly report of 1872 notes that it was being "cut into dresses for the old women and calico [is] purchased for lining."[3] A photograph of Dave Hill and Tecumseh, two Agency employees, taken in Washington in 1875,[4] shows them impeccably clad in the fashion of the day. It is unlikely that their garb could have been matched among the men on the reservation, yet the easy availability of men's clothing in the form of surplus uniforms gave men an advantage over their wives in the attainment of the new mode. For lack of suitable models, women's clothing lagged, but by 1877 the Agent could state, "The women try to imitate the fashion of dress, and many show a commendable neatness in their apparrel. They adorn themselves in many instances with native styles of ornament; but they generally couple with this cleanliness of person and dress; but all, both men and women, adopt and seem to prefer the American style of dress."[5]

Along with their easy acceptance of the new clothing, the 657*
Klamath also "readily" agreed to cut their hair.[6] This was a 177
significant step, for close-cropped hair was worn only by 602
mourners, and to wear the hair in this fashion at another time might bring on a bereavement. Here the example of the whites may have provided encouragement for the step. Moreover, the 657*
whole sphere of funerary practices was undergoing change; some 177
764

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[Klamath Reservation]

*657 *two years earlier, about 1868, Chief Lileks* had induced his tribes-
177 men to abandon the practice of cremation in favor of the inhuma-
• 764 tion he had observed in trips to Jacksonville, Yreka, and The
*657 Dalles.[7] With burial came new symbols of mourning and, ap-
177 parently, a partial relinquishment of the association with crop-
765 ping the hair. A few conservative individuals, however, still
302 resorted to the practice over a half century later.

[178] Naming the Indians was a matter of administrative necessity.
*657 Officials, faced with the duty of identifying their charges, labored
177 under the task of reducing unfamiliar sounds and lengthy, in-
551 comprehensible names into writing. For the Klamath, the addi-
553 tion of another name posed no problem. It had been native practice to use age terms for the very young—"My name is *niskag* (young girl)," one woman recalls telling her teacher—and to employ relationship terms when addressing kinsmen and occasional names in referring to others. The occasional names, of which an individual might have more than one, were often far from complimentary. Thus the literal meaning of the name of the Upland chief, Monchnkasgitk, is "One-who-has-a-big-belly;" while that of the individual later known as Allen David was "Black Anus."

Many new names were assigned when annuities were issued or when children entered school.

> It became one of the functions of the interpreter and clerk [recounts Good] to rename the stalwart braves, who were highly delighted with such commonplace appellations as "Joe Wilson" and "George Brown." "This is your name," he would say, writing it on a card, "and if you forget what it is, ask anyone who can read, and he will tell you." The bestower of names was sometimes amused at the corruptions arising from the Indians' peculiar pronunciation, as when "John Wesley" became "Whistler" and one who went forth as "Simeon" returned as "Sammy Andy."[8]

It may be added that the soldiers at the Fort and the settlers were also responsible for such names as "Great Eastern," "Old Faithful," "Skinflint," and "Skedaddle."[9]

*657

HOUSING

177 A relatively greater effort was needed to induce the Indians
342 to abandon what Agent L. S. Dyar characterized as "their warm,

*657 time had come, he summoned his people "to receive his solemn
*648 admonishments err [sic] his spirit take flight." Soon recovering,
622 he voiced to the Agency farmer, S. D. Whitemore, the suspicion
that the shaman who had cured him, and whose professional
charges had stripped him of all his effects, had been in league
with the subchiefs to bring about his death; and he requested
that the shaman be imprisoned by the military. Later events
made it clear that Monchnkasgitk had been a leader in the
conspiracy, plotting to take the place of the old chief. Thereupon,
Whitemore, then in charge of the Agency, called a council, at
which he "stated that it will be highly necessary to consult their,
and the government agent, or the change could not be regonized
[sic]. . . . I learned that after a lengthy consultation with the
indians has [sic] become impressed with the belief that Mosen
Kasket and his band have no hostile intentions."[7]

[558] With Agency backing, Lileks once more was restored to a
position of relative authority, but his recourse to outside support
caused his personal prestige to decline. He thus had to resort
increasingly to formal instruments to bolster his power and to
implement the changes he sought. When one Spokane Ike slew
[682] his child in Jacksonville, Lileks asked that the Agent order all
Indians back upon the reservation. Spokane Ike was tried by the
Indian court, Lileks presiding, and was fined fifty dollars.

[692] Lileks took readily to the court, and Whitemore reported, "The
indians are holding court dayly [sic]. I am not informed of the
nature of their cases." O. C. Applegate described one session
thus: "A few days ago the Grand Court of Klamath set, Chief
LaLakes presiding, and many men were convicted of many
[681] crimes. One in particular had stolen a number of women, 20
mink skins and otherwise trampeled [sic] on the rights of his
people, he now wears shackles and a heavy log chain and chops
wood for La Lakes."[8]

*648 The head chief was by no means an advocate of indiscriminate
*657 change. He favored inhumation of the dead, which he had
622 witnessed among the whites in his travels to Jacksonville, Yreka,
177 and The Dalles, over the native practice of cremation; and about
• [764] 1868 he secured its adoption.[9] On the other hand, when the
[567] proposal was made in 1865 to liberate the slaves, Lileks was
prominent in voicing his displeasure, undoubtedly backed by

As for the deposed Monchnkasgitk, his place was promptly 657*
filled by the election of one "Barcley." Despite the rebuff, 648*
Monchnkasgitk rose again in time to the position of subchief at 622
Yainax, where he came to be known as Moses Brown.[17]

The major election had removed from immediate power one who had obstructed Agency-sponsored reforms, but had left the membership of the lesser chieftaincies intact. It is clear that administration policy held that representation by a chief was
adequate to secure the interests of a band. Thus, in 1871, when 657*
John Meacham found the lot of the slaves little improved his 648*
remedy was to authorize them to elect a chief "to represent 622
them in the councils and courts of the tribes."[18] In the political 692
order thus established, the chiefs had been displaced from an 693
executive role to constitute a court, while a sheriff, chosen from among the Indians, together with constables, one per chief, were to maintain order. Chiefs, somewhat extralegally, soon began to assume magisterial functions.

It took some time to make the court aware of the bounds 657*
within which it ought to operate. John Meacham noted in his 648*
charges "an excessive disposition to go to law," and remarked, 622
"I have counciled [sic] the board of chiefs against this, especially 692
against making arrests for trifling offenses or for *no* offence at all, advising them that the object of the law is to *protect* the people and not to *oppress* them."[19] Soon thereafter, he reduced the court to a membership of only seven chiefs and set its sessions at monthly intervals.[20]

As outlined by Dave Hill, one of the members of the court, 657*
the list of offenses combined crimes against the person (murder, 648*
adultery, stealing, fornication, witchcraft, and fighting), those 622
against property (arson), together with what can only be con- [68]
sidered redefinitions of customary procedure. Thus, cremation [764]
of the dead was enjoined and the license permitted a chief in
dealing with his followers was severely circumscribed. Marriages [585]
were to be confirmed before the principal chief, who was to [643]
receive a fee; the bride price was not to be returned on the [586]
desertion of the husband; while the court might order the sepa-
ration of an irreconcilable couple. Monogamy alone was per- [595]
missible.[21]

Thus, not only were the chiefs given new and different powers,

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[Klamath Reservation]

March 24, 1875

539 **TECUMSEH**

DEAR BROTHER

I write to let you know that George's little babe is dead and will be buried today. George says that he don't want you to get a sick [764] tumtum about it. That he thinks it is all right. That he is going to do [177] as White men do—that is—bury it decently, with one blanket—some white sal[*]—and a nice white shirt only, in the coffin. He wants you to be contented and happy, as he, and all of his people are.

Allie

---

[*] Cloth

[p.340-B]

852 boy one says, "May this one be a good hunter." For a girl the hope is expressed that "this one will be a good worker and dig many ipos [a root used as food]." These statements are amplified in many ways, according to the sentiments of the individual donor.

854 The infant is first placed in a willow or tule cradle,[4] usually prepared by the maternal grandmother. Several informants asserted that it would be bad luck to prepare the cradle before the child's birth; others seemed not to share this belief. The child remains on the basketry cradle for a fortnight to a month and is thereafter placed on a rigid cradleboard,

It is generally the father who makes the cradleboard although, once it has been made, it may be handed down from one child to the next or even from one generation to the next. It is de-
[764] stroyed only in the event of the child's death, in which case the board and all other objects prepared for the child are burned with the body. After the father makes the cradleboard, the maternal grandmother fixes it for the child. She shows her daughter how to arrange the bedding on the board and place the infant on it with his legs straight and arms extended at his sides.

The child remains on the cradleboard for at
[856] least the first year of his life. Even after he can walk he is placed there to sleep; for "if you don't use a cradleboard, the child gets humpbacked." When the child no longer requires a cradleboard, he may still be tightly wrapped in a blanket at night to make him lie straight.

For the first few months of his life the child is cared for almost entirely by his mother with the occasional help of the grandmother. The father would be considered unmanly if he helped with the baby very much. The child is never left alone for more than a few minutes at a time, and then only if the mother knows he is sound asleep. At night the cradleboard lies beside the mother where she can reach out and nurse the child if he cries. During the day the board is propped up in the dwelling, or, if the mother is working elsewhere, she carries the cradle with her and sets it up near her work. While working in a canoe, the woman arranges the cradleboard in one end with a willow shade to protect the child from the sun. If she is busy digging roots or gathering berries or seeds, she sets the cradle against a near-by tree. At such times the child's hands may be unbound so that he is free to play with beads or other objects
[853] suspended from the hood of the cradle. Often he is given a bit of camas root to chew on.

The infant seldom receives physical demonstrations of affection, nor does the mother carry him in her arms. However, he is watched continually; and the mother or other adults often pause in their work to talk to the child. They tell a boy to be strong and brave and grow

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[114] [4] Cradling practices are described by Barrett (1910), pp. 257 ff., Spier, pp. 57-59, and Voegelin, elements 3263-3286.

175 to be paid only after the ratification of the treaty by the President and the 648 Senate, which did not take place till five years after the conclusion, viz, 657 February 17, 1870. Meanwhile the Indians were always subject to the possibility of being removed from the homes of their ancestors by the stroke of a pen. The bungling composition of the document appears from the fact that a grave mistake was committed by inserting the term "east" instead of *west* (italicized in our text above), and by not mentioning the land grant made to the Oregon Central Military Wagon Road Company before 1864, which, when insisted upon, would, with its twelve-mile limits, take away the best parts of the Reserve, the Sprague River Valley, for instance. At the time when I visited the country, in the autumn of 1877, the Klamath Lake Indians showed much animosity against the settlers establishing themselves within their domain. The company having left many portions of their projected wagon road unfinished, Congress, by act approved March 2, 1889, directed the Attorney-General to cause suits to be brought within six months from that date, in the name of the United States, in the United States Circuit Court for Oregon, to try the questions, among others, of the seasonable and proper completion of said road, and to obtain judgments, which the court was authorized to render, declaring forfeited to the United States all lands lying conterminous with those parts of the road which were not constructed in accordance with the requirements of the granting act. (Cf. on this subject Ex. Doc. 131, House of Representatives, Forty-ninth Congress, first session, and Ex. Doc. 124, Senate, Fiftieth Congress.)

The first representative of the Government, Subagent Lindsey Applegate, erected some buildings at the northwest point of Upper Klamath Lake, called Skohuáshki (abbr. Koháshti); but as early as 1866 he called attention to the fact that the place had no suitable water-power, but that three miles above the little creek at Beetle's Rest was a most excellent motor for driving a saw-mill and a grist-mill, and, being on the edge of the pine woods, was a well-fitted and shady place for the agency buildings. This advice was followed in 1868, two years before the ratification of the 177 treaty. In the same year the old practice of cremating dead bodies was ● 764 abandoned and inhumation introduced. The grave-yard was established around the ash-pile of cremation, still visible in 1877, and in 1878 a second

177 cemetery was inaugurated between the Williamson River and Modoc Point,
764 one mile and a half south of the bridge.

175 President U. S. Grant's peace policy in regard to the Indians was
648 inaugurated by act of Congress dated April 10, 1869. The supervision of
657 the Indian agencies was placed in the hands of the authorities of religious
[797] denominations, a board of commissioners appointed,* and the spiritual interests of that reservation turned over to the Methodist Church.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCHES ON THESE INDIANS.

114 The study of the ethnography of a tribe usually precedes that of its language; sometimes both are pursued simultaneously, and this is undoubtedly the correct method. In the case of the Máklaks, Horatio Hale,† the linguist of Ch. Wilkes's United States Exploring Expedition (1838–1842), and still holding forth as a pioneer in his lines of research, took down a vocabulary from a Klamath Lake Indian whom he met on the Columbia River in 1841. No ethnographic remarks upon the tribe accompany this vocabulary, probably because information obtained from interpreters, who speak the Chinook jargon only, is notoriously unreliable.

Next in time follow the extensive explorations of John Charles Frémont‡ of the interior basin west of the Rocky Mountains and of the Pacific coast from 1843 to 1844, and again from 1845 to 1846, during which the Klamath Lakes and Klamath Marsh were visited and explored. His reports contain graphic sketches of all that was seen and observed by his parties; but scientific accuracy is often wanting, and many countries are described without giving the Indian local names, which are indispensable to identification.

The acquisition of the Pacific coast by the United States (California in 1846, Oregon in 1848) naturally suggested projects of connecting the two oceans by a transcontinental railroad, starting from the Mississippi River and reaching to the Bay of San Francisco. The Central Govern-

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* Cf. Revised Statutes of the United States, second edition, 1878, p. 359.

† Born in Newport, New Hampshire, in 1817.

‡ Born at Savannah, Georgia, January 21, 1813; candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1856; died in New York City, July 13, 1890.

773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however, be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is
free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during
the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of
suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency buildings,
532 which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face
flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also
artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the language
538 fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of
success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration,
assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to
this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes
which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be
the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

CREMATION OF THE DEAD.

Obtained from J. C. D. Riddle in the Modoc Dialect.

*539
764
[71]

É-ukshíkni Mō'dokni tutenépni waitólan k̲ělékshi vûmi'. At ídshi'sht
The Klamath Lakes (and) Modocs on the fifth day after decease bury. When bringing out (the bodies)
lā'pi géna tídsh shutedshnóka. At gátpamnan käflatat wawálχa wawaíha
two (men) go (ahead), well to make (all) ready. Then having arrived on the ground they sit down (and) wait
k̲ělekápkash itpanō'pkasht. Skentanápkash at itpanō'pkasht kshet'läχíp-
the dead person to be brought. Sewed up for transportation (and) tied trans-
kash wátchtat at tchpínû'tat ítpa. Hekshatlĕk̲ítko k̲'leχápkash lûpí' wátch
versely on a horse to the burying-ground they bring. Carrying transversely the deceased ahead the horse
géna; k̲'leχápkăm nánuk shá-amoksh tâpí' gálampaga.
marches; of the deceased all relations behind follow in a file.

Tánkni mák̲lăks kshélχa k̲'lekápkash, wátch shiúka, ksháwal at hûnk
The ancient Indians laid down the corpse, the horse they killed, deposited then the
k̲'lekápkash ánko kedshlákstat, wátch hûnk tchúi ktēdéga, wátchăm
deceased of wood on a pile, the horse then cut up, the horse's
tchû'leks nánukash k̲'lekápkash í'dshχa. Lák̲iăm tpéwash vuní'pi hihas-
flesh all over the corpse strewed. Chief's by orders four
suátchχash lóloksh shnuitámpka. Pipĕlántan luelualóyan shnuitámpka
men the fire were keeping up. On both sides standing by they kept (it) up
tchû'shak pítchash tchēk, tchúi sha k̲'léwi. Lû'lûksh shpítcht tchúi tχálăm
constantly, it went out until, then they quit. The fire being out then in the midst
lûksláksbtat hibéna, lûksláksh néwisht tchí'sh shekē'lke, käíla kē'la-unan
of the ashes (a hole) they dug. the ashes, the remains also they raked into (it), earth throwing over
tchúi ktá-i lk̲áppa. Vûmi-û'lan nánuk tchí'shtala kikantchámpĕle. Ge-
then stones (they) piled up. After burial all towards home they marched back single file. Hav-
luipgáp'lin p'nā'lăm tchi'-íshtat k̲'lekápkăm tchí'sh shnélχan tchúi nánuk
ing returned to their settlement, of deceased the lodge burning down then all
mák̲lăks shemáshla. K̲'lekápkăm tchíwishtat ktái lélktcha; k̲'leχápkăm
Indians removed elsewhere. Of deceased on the late dwelling-place stones they left; of deceased
shá-amoksh hádaktna genō'ga ktá-i hádâkt nutolā'ktcha.
(any) relative by this spot passing a stone on it threw.

Hä kaní tû'ma weweshháltko k̲'léχa, pēn húnkĕlam wé-ash k̲'léka
If somebody much offspring-having died, again his children after death
hatóktok hûnk vûmí'; nánka atí' ídshnan hatâ'ktok pēn vûmí'.
right there them they buried; some from afar bringing (them) at this very spot again they buried.

NOTES.

* 539 ● 764 Cremating the dead is a practice which was abolished by the chiefs on the territory of the reservation in or about 1868. At the Indian graveyard north of the Williamson River a hill of 12 feet altitude, where the corpses of Indians of the Klamath Lake (not Modoc) chieftaincy were burnt, is still visible and untouched since then. With the exception of the sentence from Skentanápkash to ítpa, the first paragraph refers to the present as well as to the former mode of funeral, while the second describes [171] the ancient mode of cremation. Cremation prevailed also among the Snake and Pai-Uta Indians, living in the vicinity of the Máklaks; cf. Dr. W. T. Hoffman, Pahute Cremation; Cremation among the Digger Indians, in Proceedings of the Am. Philosophical Soc., Philadelphia; vol. XIV, p. 297 sq., 414 sq., (1876). According to Stephen Powers, cremation prevailed among the Pomos of Northern California, west of the Sacramento River, and the Erio, a tribe living at the mouth of Russian River, believe that all deceased Indians will become grizzly bears if not disposed of in this manner. The Indians inhabiting the shores of Middle and Lower Columbia River placed their dead on platforms erected on hills, or into the canoes of which they had been the owners; the Kalapuyas on both sides of the Willamet River buried their dead by inhumation.

000 Our notice makes no mention of the mourning ceremony among the Modocs, by which widows had their long hair cut off at the funeral of their husbands, then dripped the resin from the pyre, liquefied by the heat, upon their bared heads, vowing not to marry again before this ghastly head-cover had worn off by length of time. The Modocs cremated their dead on any day *from the first* to the fifth day after decease, according to choice.

*539 85, 1. ṭutenépni. Here we have again the sacred number five occurring so often 764 in the traditions, myths and customs of the Oregonian tribes. Cf. 70, 1. 3. 82, 6. 88, 4.

[801] 85, 1. Instead of ídsha may be used Klamath Lake ílχa (*or* éna) lulukshåldshuk, [171] to bring out for cremation. The northern dialect uses vumí only in the sense of putting dried provisions into the ground. A funeral is ílktcha in the Modoc dialect.

85, 2. shutédshna: they remove obstacles upon the road or trail, such as fallen trees or logs; they clear the passage. käílatat means here the same as tchpinû'tat, 85, 4.

[192] 85, 2. wawaíha. Another form of the verb waíha is said to exist in the Modoc dialect: wawaíha; its distributive form: wawawaíha.

85, 3. itpanṓ'pkasht is the synizesis of itpanuápkasht.

85, 6. Tánkni; the term mä'ntchni is often used instead.

85, 7. ánko for ánkuam kedshlákstat.

85, 10. pítchash for Klamath Lake pítchkash, "until it has gone out".

85, 11. Modoc hibéna or ipéna for the Klamath Lake yépa, yépona: to dig a hole.

85, 11. néwisht. Of this term the original meaning seems to be "thrown by hand into the air", a manipulation resorted to by some Indians, though not here, with the burnt ashes of the deceased.

85, 12. lk̲áppa. These piles of stones evidently were, as well as the piles erected on the spot of the burnt lodge, intended as monuments of the deceased. These cairns are of considerable size, and can be seen in the old Modoc country at the present time.

85, 16. pēn húnkēlam etc. Pēn introduces the verb vúmí', and k̲'léka is a verb coordinate to vúmi': "his children die, right there again they bury them."

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

PRESENT MODE OF INHUMATION.

GIVEN BY MINNIE FROBEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

539. Hishuákshash snawédshash gíntak k̲'lō'ksht tchúi sha hû'nk bóxtka
Male or female upon having died then they (him or her) in a coffin
764 ísha húnkantka waítashtka ámpka waitólank tchísh. Pápkashti shû'tank
177 bury on the same day or one day past also. Of lumber they are making
[115] box, shnutchlû'ktagiank k̲áyak tadsh tálakank Bóshtinam-shítko. Pú-
a coffin, planing (it). not however they are painting (it) in the American shape. Small
pakuak gí'ntak a sha nánuktua ílχóta, shulótish gíntak, kmā' tchí'sh,
drinking-cups thereupon they – of every kind (him), bury with clothing hereupon, skull-caps too,
yámnash tchísh, tálatoks k̲á-i. Hä' nen wä'g'n kä'git, wátchatka sha hû'nk
beads too, but money not. If a wagon is not on hand, on horses they them
énank í'lχtcha. Tû'mi shashā'moks ílksχē'ni shash, túmi wéwanuish
carrying out bury. Many relatives to the grave them, many women
tchí'sh, hihassuáksh tchí'sh, k̲á-i tatáksni, gasháktsína shash ílksχē'ni.
too, men also, (but) no children, follow them to grave.
Ílksgish yépontk tû'nep nádshgshapt pē'tch atí gintégatk.
The graves are dug five (or) six feet deep into the ground going.

Wä'g'n a lû'pi géna ílksχēni, sháshamoks tchī'k kí'nshaksna; hû'd-
The wagon first goes to the grave, relatives hereupon walk in file; those
shatoks atíkni gátpa, wátchatka gátpa. Ilkshχē'ni a sha shnúka nē'p
who from afar come, on horses come. At the grave they seize by the hand
k̲'lākápkash, a tchíks hû'nk unégank kélua käíla ílχuk, tánktak tchiksh
the deceased, then him lowering fill up the earth to bury (him), simultaneously also
a hû'nk luátpishluk shúina. Gakiámnank tû'k sha tχálamtana gû''hliank
over him for mourning they sing. Forming a circle from it they through the middle passing
shnû'ka stélapksh nē'p, lupí'tal tchík sha gékampēle; télishtoks wudámatko
shake (his) right hand, to the first place then they return; (his) face is covered
handkerchipátka: "Tchá shék̲ug mí'sh nû shnúka nē'p; tchá at tchí' m'sh
by a handkerchief: "Now to bid good bye to you I shake (mine) hand; now thus to you
nû shék̲a gēn waítash; géna mí at hukí'sh!"
I bid farewell this day; gone is your spirit!"

Títatnatoks flags mák̲laks kí'utchna ílksχēni wä'ginat; shashámoksh
Sometimes flags an Indian sticks up at the grave on the wagon; the relatives
láp kí'mbaks gasháktchna, wéwanuish násh kí'mbaks, híhashuaksh tchí'sh
in two files follow, the women in one file, the males too

*539 ● 764 177

násh túnshish. Nā'sh kāflatoks nādsháshak tchpí'nualank, nánuk titads-
in one row. On one ground all together they are burying, every provided

χátko pil ílktch spûshpaktchámpka, shushtedshχátko wáshash wuwatuáp-
with boards grave they make mound-shaped, fenced in prairie-wolves to keep

kasht ké-utchishash tchí'sh. K̲á-i mā'ntch gítko sha hû'nk spû'klitcha
off grey wolves also. Not long after this they go to sweat

[765] tútenāpni waítash. Wátch a lúluagsh tchí'sh k̲á-i tatá mā'ntch gínkanka
for five days. Horses slaves also no longer they bring there

luélkish, m'nátoks sha wátch shéshatui shkútashtat í'lχûtchlûk.
to kill, but his own they horses trade off for blankets to bury him in.

NOTES.

This short notice describes a funeral (isha) of the Klamath Lake tribe in the mode as adopted from the Americans not long after the treaty of 1864, when cremation of bodies was abolished. Whatsoever of the ancient customs in disposing of the dead is still observed, the reader will easily gather from the present sketch.

87, 3. tálaka means to go forth and back with the hand; hence to rub with the palm of the hand, to rub paint on, to paint.

87, 5. Hä' nen wä'g'n. In this connection they can also say: hä' nem wä'g'n; and for wátchatka: wátchetka.

87, 11. tánktak, in this connection, is a compound of tánkt and ak, not of tánk and tak: "just at that time."

87, 17. láp kímbaks gasháktchna: they follow the corpse, which is placed on the wagon, in two files *on horseback;* kimbaks is apposition to shashámoks.

88, 1. Nā'sh etc. The appearance of their graveyard (tchpinû) near the Williamson River does not differ much from that of our cemeteries; it lies in the midst of the woods. For titadsχátko see Dictionary.

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*539 766 [115]

FUNERAL OF WARRIORS.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY "SERGEANT" MORGAN, AN INDIAN FROM KOHÁSHTI.

[726] [825]

Ní'shta hā'ma mû'kash tχû'tχuk: "mák̲laks k̲'lä'k̲!" Tsúi gátpa
All night long screeches the big owl presaging: "people die!" Then came

mák̲laks ktaklí'sh, tsúi shneshnalχō'ta hushtsóχok. Nā's wípka hû ámbotat,
men parfleshcuirassed, and while burning down lodges murder they. One (man) escaped into the water,

tsúi shtí'ldshna tû' sa-amoksámkshi m'na; gená shtí'ldshnuk. Tsúi gépka
and reported over there at relative's house his; he went (there) to announce. Then came

tumí' mák̲laks wa-u'htákiug; tsúi shenótank gē'kshta túnip hushtsóχ shenó-
many people to disperse (them); and while fighting on one side five were killed in

tankok. Gē'kshta tchkash hushtsóχa túm, nánka géna kä'ktsnuk vû'shuk;
battle. On other side also were killed many, some started to run away from fear;

*539 90, 11. tchă'lχet for tchă'lχat! sit ye down!

90, 11. 14. wéwalχat, wawálχat. Wálχa means: to look out for, to be expectant; the dancers are commanded to make ready for the next song, which implies that they have to rise upon their feet.

90, 12. tchúinuapk. See *Note* to 70, 3.

[764] [533] 90, 13–15. The words from Slámuapk to k̲'lekápksh are commands of the chiefs or subchiefs heard at the solemn ceremonies held in or around the lodge of a deceased person the day before the funeral. Chiefs are entrusted with the leadership of choruses sung by those who mourn over the defunct, and in presence of the corpse.

90, 13. 14. shlámuapk for shlámi-uapkat, or shlámi-uapk' !! See Dictionary.

II. The items contained in section II were obtained from J. C. D. Riddle, and are worded in the Modoc dialect.

[291] 90, 17. The Klamath Lakes wore a kind of elk-skin hat, wide brimmed, high and painted in colors, which they called púkalsh tchuyésh. Leggings were called kailálapsh, because they reached to the ground (kăila).

000 90, 18. 19. Shelóluka and sheshalólish; both derived from the verb shéllual, to make war, to fight.

90, 18. shtétmashtka. All Indian tribes of the border region between California and Oregon are reported to have fought with poisoned arrows in early times.

91, 1. Nkă'kginga, literally: on account of a childbirth. That the father denies to himself the use of meat during ten days is a custom not unlike the world-renowned *couvade;* the sweating has the effect of keeping him at home in such a time when his family stands most in need of his protection.

91, 2. shápēle is flour of any kind of grains and the bread made from such; mák̲laksam pásh, Indian food: edible roots, berries, wókash etc.; lomkóka for the Klamath Lake: spúkli: to sweat in a sweat-house. Cf. *Note* to 89, 7.

91, 3. p'nálam shulótish, the dress which they wore at the time of the childbirth.

91, 4. Tishiwápkash. The Modoc tishíwatko, crooked, stands for Klamath Lake tishílatko, to which compare tikíwatko and tísχantko.

91, 5. k̲alk̲álish. This adjective is variously pronounced k̲álk̲ali and k̲ólk̲oli.

91, 6. In its signification lúlpût approaches very near to lúlpat, as the Klamaths would say; lúlpût, however, involves the idea: she *raises* her hand *up* to the eyes. This manipulation probably contributes to some extent to the oblique convergency of both eyes towards the nose or mouth and approaches the Oregonians to the Mongolian type of mankind. All the manipulations described are frequently repeated by mothers and other females inhabiting a lodge, and they often do it without any necessity.

91, 8. nánuki stands for nánuk gi. suéntchăm: in the Modoc dialect suéntch means a baby, infant, while carried on the baby-board; the Klamath Lakes, however, use this word in its original sense of baby-board, cradle-board, to which the infant is strapped or tied.

91, 10. ktcháyash. The application of insects etc., is certainly done for the purpose of rendering children fearless against danger and unmoved by sudden fright in after-life.

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[115]

WAILINGS AT THE APPROACH OF THE FATAL HOUR.

GIVEN BY DOCTOR JOHN, OR K̲ÁK̲ASH, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

"Ngä′-ish a ni tä′lχapksh, gé-u tä′lak, shlín antsa; shkék antsa nû′sh,
"An arrow me striking, my arrow, shot they; they broke (my) head,
shlín nish. Kán ish shlín? Tsuyä′sh ni shlín, gén ish tsuyä′sh mpáta,
they shot me. Who me shot? Through the cap I was struck, this me cap kills,
másha n′sh, shlín ish nû′sh, k̲á-a n's mā′sh′, guhuá nish, a nish k̲á-a mā′sha!
it pains me, they shot me in the head, intensely me it pains, am swollen I, now me hard it pains!
Pásh ish shéwan i; k̲′lékuapkan pánuk; pálak shéwan i, a nish k̲á-a mā′sha,
Food me give you; I will die after eating; quickly give you, me very hard it pains,
tiä′matk k̲á-a, pálak shä′wan i." At shéwana nû, at pán; shnuk′ át mi′dsû.
(I am) hungry very, quickly give you." And give (him) I, and he eats; he takes now the spoon.
"At k̲′léka, átĕni k̲′léka; tsía at, k̲′leká taks nû; shlín nish nû′shtat.
"Now I expire, now I die; I live yet, dying but (am) I; they shot me in the head.
[764] A ni k̲′léka, ā′tĕni k̲′lekála." At k̲′leká. Shû′dsha lúluksla sa lû′lokshtat
Now I die, now I am sinking fast." Then he dies. Kindle a fire (and) cremate they in the fire
hû′nk k̲′lékapksh.
the deceased man.

NOTES.

This short incident of war is full of the most dramatic interest, and gives some idea of the oratorial powers of the average Indian. It was obtained from a man who undoubtedly had witnessed more than one similar scene during the numerous raiding expeditions made by his tribe before the conclusion of the treaty in 1864.

*539
763
192

138, 1. ngä′-ish a ni tä′lχapksh shlín antsa, forms of the conversational language standing for ngä′-ish a nish tälχápkash shlín a sha. gé-u tä′lak "my arrow," a poetic symbolism for the arrow that causes my death.

138, 1. shkék antsa for shkéka a sha, but nasalized like shlín antsa. Shkéka properly means to pierce, but is used in a medial sense.

138, 2. mpáta properly means to dry up by heat. The cap or hat is said here to kill the man by exciting an intolerable fever heat within him.

[193] 138, 3. mä′sha n'sh. Some impersonal verbs can also assume the personal form of intransitive verbs: mä′sha nû and mä′sha nish: "it pains me"; kédshika nû and nish: "I feel tired". The Modoc dialect prefers the personal form.

138, 6. 7. atĕni for at a ni. Cf. sĕ, 82, 4. tchä′lχet 90, 11. átĕnish, atĕni 90, 12. 13. gĕ′ntĕni, *Note* to 93, 7. 9.

31. A Meteor

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) The stars fell like rain. (2) And they covered me with a mat. (3) And on falling into the water [they made a sound] "čiW čiW"! (4) And I peeked out from under. (5) And I was very much afraid. 539* 821

32. A Funeral

(Miss Irene Skellock)

(1) When a person died, long ago they used to cremate him. (2) But recently they have not done thus, when I was small. (3) And there where we lived, nearby a woman died. (4) And they gave things to each other. (5) They gave to us—a dishpan, a washpan. (6) And one man said, "Whatever they will give you [pl.], you [pl.] must give back likewise." (7) And we—did nothing—[did] not have any use for it. (8) However, we brought it back for him, the very same kind, just as they had given to us. 539* 764• [178]

(9) Then we went there. (10) And we put flowers on for [the deceased?]. (11) And we went there—Sidaykadi. (12) And we slept on the ground, having arrived there. (13) Then those people sang all night. (14) But we did not understand anything of what they did. (15) We only heard them, they beat a drum. (16) And they [sang] thus, "ʔi···!" (17) Only that we heard there.

(18) Then early the next morning they took [the corpse] off to bury it. (19) And having arrived there, [at] the graveyard, then all the people took up a handful of earth. (20) And they having picked it up, they marched [past the grave], and threw it down into it. (21) And on finishing, then they now put all sorts of things on top [of the coffin]. (22) They put plates on, knives, spoons, forks. (23) And now having finished doing thus, then we went back down [the hill] to eat. (24) And now everyone went home. (25) The next morning everyone returned home, to Chiloquin.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 147]

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
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#539

(186) PO: hont hay ni sle·ʔa· honk loloqsaʔas p̓as dank—ƛal.

PB: What do they call a fern?

(187) PO: waq či se·satk "fern"? (188) kant sa mat leʔe·wsam sokʔa, leʔe·wsam sitk geč̓a·, q̓elʔyak da·ts leʔe·wsam. (189) "fern," kant nen basdin "fern" či ʔelga. (190) geega ʔams ni dwa· hesle·wapk.

(191) RC: kant sa nen do· č̓osak "Smith River" ʔigatga.[183] (192) kat ho·t gitgo—tapaq bil.

(193) PO: kat ho·t mo·mni, ʔa···di· geč̓a·.

(194) AC: čya·wisam, ʔaky̓a?

(195) PO: waq mat?

(196) AC: čya·wisam lis. (197) ʔi·, hompča s̓laps wokas sitk p̓an, kat ho·t taktakl̓i, s̓laps ho·t.

(198) PO: q̓ay.

(199) RC: kat ho·t ʔa·di·ni.

(200) PO: kampča na·t ʔiʔačq̓a—sokʔa leʔe·wsammat. (201) t̓apaq bil lis ho·t ʔa···di·ni. (202) ʔaMƛa mis na·t dat s̓nogank hesle·t, dada·.

(203) RC: maqlaqs ʔa ge·t ʔiʔačqge·ni lopy̓a ʔigatga leʔe·wsam, čoy sa hompča sokʔank, kat ho·t ʔa·di·ni, t̓apaq.

(204) AC: kant ʔa·t naʔas ʔelga "sunflowers"?

(205) PO: q̓ay.

PB: Then what would you call sunflowers?

(206) PO: "sunflowers" lis, q̓ay ni sʔaywakta.

(207) AC: ʔi·, honkt ʔa nen ʔat sebamtgi. (208) waq dal ho·t se·satk —ho·t dak ʔoti·s, yawqs gi, magi·p.[184] (209) ʔoti·s, mona·ni. (210) m̓a·sis gaʔas gyank satl̓a·ƛa gaʔas, magi·p.

PO: Those are the sunflower roots, but she can't remember the sunflowers.

PB: And did the Klamath eat the sunflower seeds?

(211) PO: dam ʔeč mat na·t hompča p̓an?

(212) AC: ʔi·, p̓ap̓i·s dak ho·t gi, dič̓i·, hok lo·q. (213) čoy hom̓as siwli·ns sitk ho·t gaʔas, lo·q. (214) lopi·li·nas ho·t gi. (215) sno·gank hokt, hohi·ye·ga n̓čets hok, bobasbostƛ̓a·ni. (216) čoy hok lo·q bil hok gaʔas gist, siwli·ns sitk. (217) dič ma·sitk. (218) ʔi·, na·nok dwa· maqlaqs p̓an, na·nok. (219) na·nok dič pa·p gis, woksam ho·t hok, mayam

[824]
[764]
[196]
[824]

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[183] "Smith River" was a source of ferns for funerals.

[184] /ʔoti·s/ may possibly be ‖ʔʔotnys‖ "long-object-attached-to," referring to its medicinal quality as a poultice. Mrs. Ohles was not certain whether /magi·p/ was really the name of the sunflower root or whether this was another root.

do keep up their ordinary occupation in part during this time. They dig roots for instance, but others must care for the products further, else the women will never find any more. 841

There is no comparable rite for boys at puberty. Nevertheless the time when a boy's voice deepens is recognized as propitious for seeking power. He is sent into the mountains for perhaps five days, to wander at night, running continually, piling up rocks, swimming in the mountain pools and eddies of the rivers, fasting the while until a song comes to him in a dream. He must use a head-scratcher. Preadolescent boys are tossed into the river or whipped while they sleep. If the boy whimpers he will be a weakling; he is expected to jump up and shout. I have cited above the case of Lɛle'ks who was so treated at puberty, it seems, and thus lost his transvestite habits. 881 [787] [866]

When I [Pat Kane] was a little boy of seven or ten, my father sometimes threw me into the river while I slept. I did not ask why. Finally he told me, "I do not want to kill you. I do it so that when you are grown you will not easily get sick, so that if you are shot you will recover quickly." I always bathed in the river as a boy and you see that I have never even had rheumatism until recently. 866 159

DEATH AND MOURNING

Klamath funereal observances are personal, non-ceremonial, and somewhat unique in that they provide occasions for the seeking of power. There are no mourning anniversaries. 764 [765] •

Cremation is the universal practice, even for suicides, the newborn, and the stillborn. Only the bodies of secretly aborted infants are buried in the bush. The body of a man killed in war is brought home for cremation.[88] [727]

Some Klamath men were trapping in the mountains west of Crater lake about eighty years ago when they were met by some Upland Takelma who killed four or five. One boy alone escaped and made his way back to Klamath marsh at night. The Takelma took scalps, hands, and feet of the dead, and held a dance. Many Klamath went to fetch the bodies, which they brought to Klamath marsh for incineration.

Near each group of settlements is a spot where all cremations take place. It is somewhat apart from the settlements but not isolated.

Three of these serve the Klamath marsh people; on the eastern side of the marsh near the towns k'ztaiwas (2, see maps, figs. 1-3), gŭpgŭa'ksi (3), and i'wal (4). For others of this division of the tribe, there is one on Sprague

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[88] Cremation was given up forty or more years ago ("in about 1868," Gatschet, 1:86). The first burial was that of a Molala man, married to a Klamath woman, who was killed by a Klamath. [177] [178]

The rewrapping of a man is done by male friends, of a woman by 764
women, but men alone tend the fire. They cover the remains as
quickly as possible, all those about crying loudly the while. Little
children are kept at a distance. By way of purification, those who [783]
tend the corpse leave their clothing out of doors for several days and
swim, or bathe in the sweat-lodge.

The house in which the death took place, even that of a child, is burned with its contents.[101] The survivors live elsewhere until, on a remarriage, for instance, a new lodge is built. If the house of a shaman is burned with the regalia it contains, a violent storm springs up in the night, hence they wait for calm weather before setting it afire. It is only safe for an old woman to fire it. When a shaman dies and again when he is cremated, storms rage for two days.

Strict mourning is enjoined on the spouse of the deceased and his 765
parents. It is quite clear that a son or daughter need not mourn so
deeply for a parent. Those who observe the fullest mourning cut their
hair short immediately on the death; this is called sla'mltk. After the 765
cremation they sweat for five days, go out in quest of a vision, and
observe the mourning restrictions throughout the following year. 783

The mourner fasts inside the sweat-lodge (spo'kliks) from early [787]
morning until sundown during these five days. There are only four
sweat-lodges proper to the use of mourners, or rather three. This
restriction is so inconvenient considering the scattering of Klamath
settlements that I would doubt it, had I not definite assurance from all
informants.[102] There are none in the territories of the Pelican bay
and Williamson river-mouth people. The three lodges are semi- [343]
subterranean, of timber and rock construction, and earth-covered.
These are said to be the gift of Kmū'kūmps, the culture hero. A very small one stands a mile and a half north of Klamath Agency.[103] A second is on the south side of a point called waķa'ķsi, near Odessa on the western side of Klamath lake.[104] The third and largest is on the hillside at the angle of the marsh east of Algoma. The Klamath Falls group have no mourners' lodge but make use of a hot spring at hō'kewalks, a mile east of the present Klamath Falls railroad station.

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[101] I was not told of cairns of stones tossed on the spot by passers-by as described for the Modoc (Gatschet, 1:85).

[102] Gatschet also noted three alone (*op. cit.*, 1:xlii, 82, 142).

[103] This may be the one mentioned by Gatschet (*op. cit.*, 1:xxxi) although the name he gives resembles that recorded for site 64.

[104] This is referred to in a tale of Mink and Weasel.

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765 783 343 There they place planks over the spring on which to lie. The common small sweat-lodges are not used in this connection.

The sweat-lodge near Algoma is now in ruins but it was always in need of repair, I was told (fig. 7). It is now a U-shaped wall of stones enclosing an area ten by twenty feet. The walls still stand five or six feet high, composed of thousands of small rocks. The roof was a rough gable covered with dirt. The lodge faces the east, uphill on a rather steep hillside. Stones were heated outside and carried just within the entrance. Air seeped in along the ground at the back or lower side of the lodge, so the mourner would retire there from the heat. A little spring is close by. There were no houses within several miles of this place. The little lodge north of Klamath Agency faces south.

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Fig. 7. Mourners' sweat-lodge near Algoma. The nearest man stands in the mouth of the U-shaped structure; the middle figure on the far wall; that to the right beyond it.

765 [783] [787] At the end of the five days of sweating the mourner swims in the spirit places in quest of power or seeks it in the mountains. The reason seems to be not alone that he has lost power through his sorrow, but that this is an especially propitious occasion when the spirits will pity him for his grief. One such place is a pair of rocks, Wolf and his wife, north of Modoc point. A man will wrestle with the Wolf rock, his wife with Wolf's wife, in order to become strong and run well.

[301] During mourning women wear bands of buck-brush or sage-brush around the head, neck, waist, wrists, knees, and ankles like those worn during the puberty dance. The bands are disposed of by wrapping them around trees near the sweat-lodge where they are sometimes collected by those who wish to make cauteries of them. Both parents (or men alone) wear service berry or sage-brush belts like [302] those of girls at puberty, so that the back will not become stooped. For a year or longer, pitch is smeared over the face and hair, and black-

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[302]
[291]

ened with charcoal. This is strictly enjoined for mourning women; older men follow the custom and perhaps even children, except the little ones, but young men may be exempt. This pitch is not that exuding from the logs of the pyre as among the Modoc[105] but is gathered from any tree. The hair cut off is later tied in little rolls all over the mourner's buckskin dress or shirt by way of decoration. (Enemy scalps serve the same end.) These garments are burned with their owners.

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During the sweat-bath period and for perhaps a year longer, the mourner must abstain from fish for fear of sickness,[106] must not touch his hands to the face else it will wrinkle, nor may he touch his hair lest it turn gray. Instead, a bunch of grass is used when washing, and a scratching stick (wa'was), nine inches long, is suspended around the neck on a sage-brush band, or tucked under the wristband. The mourner spits into a hole dug with the scratcher. This may explain a song record by Gatschet: "This is my song [or spirit], that of the (sweatlodge) stick-hole."[107] These are the same taboos observed by a menstruating woman and by a boy at puberty.

After the loss of a wife or child, a man abandons the first fish or game that he takes, gives the second to another, and succeeding ones he keeps; a gambler gives away his gains. This is called săpu'tsa. A woman does similarly with the roots she digs after her husband or child dies. Something of the same attitude is shared by a gambler after receiving spirit aid, a novice hunter or root digger; all give away their first gains. Similarly no one who has recently lost a child may fish or even cross a river for fear the fish will go away. They must wait a year and then again use the mourner's sweat-house. These may all be viewed as rites of purification or attempts to reestablish oneself as a normal being.

[539]

Wolf lived opposite the cave at komâ'čksi on Sprague river. When his wife died he brought his children to the river bank. The people shouted to him not to cross the river because fish were running. But Wolf said, "I did not come to catch fish. I brought my children because they wanted fish." They stopped there. Then Crow laughed at them and they turned into a row of rocks.[108]

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[105] Gatschet, 1:86.

[106] Gatschet (1:89) understood his informant to mean that after sweating for five days, a widow eats only fish and no meat.

[107] *Op. cit.*, 168.

[108] Told by Tom Lang.

765 The following myth brings out some of the mourning practices.[109]

539 Coyote's wife died. He set out to seek power. He burned up his house and all his belongings. He went along crying: he sang

hă'newa hă'newa bölükö'mhükdino'llt
(a cry) It ought be dusk quickly.

He wanted the sun to go down quickly so that he could swim for power. There was a woman sitting by the road. He said, "I do not want a woman. I am crying because my wife died." Again he went on singing hă'newa. . . . .

Next he saw some moccasins on the road. He said, "I am not looking for moccasins. I burned mine when my wife died." He went on singing again hă'newa. . . . .

Now he saw a heap of food on the road ahead. He said, "I am not looking for food. I burned all my food when my wife died." He went on, singing hă'newa. . . . .

Then he came on a pile of ripe plums which had fallen to the ground. There was water there so he washed out his mouth with a handful [as is always done before a meal]. He had his scratching stick at his wrist. He stuck it into the ground and spat into the hole. He said, "This is the way the psc'odiwas (humans) will do."

So he ate, ate, ate the plums until his belly got big. Then he got sick and could not swim. Thus he made the rule that mourning Indians must not eat plums, else they will get sick.

GAMES

525 787 Gamblers seek spirit power for success, men and women alike, by swimming in spirit haunts in the river or in mountain lakes. The first of his gains after receiving this power must be given away, just as he must give them away the first time he plays after the death of his child. This is of a piece with a lad or girl destroying or giving away the first results of their efforts at hunting or root gathering.

777 Luck is also acquired by finding large obsidian blades and certain dead animals; mole, weasel, mink, or frog.[110] Finding the mole is luckiest. "To find anything like this is lucky, so it gives you luck." These must be found dead; there is no use taking a trapped animal, or a recently manufactured blade. The premium put on the obsidian blades is reminiscent of their exaggerated value as symbols of wealth among the tribes of the lower Klamath river.[111] All such lucky objects are bundled in white sage twigs and hidden some distance from the house. This may also be true of the gambling bones; at least Pat Kane keeps his at the crematory several miles from home. I was not

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[109] Told by Nancy Phillips.

[110] Gatschet lists as similar Modoc charms, a hummingbird's nest, the leg of a dead frog, a dead mole, a rare "fire-bug," and arrowheads (1:134).

[111] Kroeber, Handbook, 26, 54ff.

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[622] The shaman himself is, or was, the outstanding figure of Klamath society. He had no rival in the chiefs, the rich man, until the coming [177] of the whites brought a redistribution of emphasis in Klamath life. Chiefs had previously been persons of little influence.

771 All this is familiar enough among Indians; the Klamath differ only *171 in particulars. In its several aspects, their religion, as well as its practice, is one with that of the Great Basin, Plateau, and Mackenzie tribes.

THE POWER QUEST

787 The quest for supernatural aid is open to everyone, men and women, boys and girls. It is a constantly recurring feature of their lives. Everyone, perhaps without exception, seeks the powers at least once during his lifetime and further experiences seem to be repeatedly sought.

The first occasion is always puberty. I doubt that boys and girls [881] are expected to be uniformly successful in securing aid at this time, because, it was said, at shamanistic performances those who had power might sing their songs. This may imply that the others either never • [765] acquired power or had lost it. My informants' frequent emphasis on the period of mourning for a husband, wife, or child marks this, too, as a peculiarly pregnant period when power may be successfully sought. At least at such a time a man loses his power and must seek [844] again if he wishes to regain it. A man also seeks power at the birth of a first child. But it is not only the crises of life that provide [756] occasion; the quest may be undertaken at any time, and it is the practice of such as gamblers and shamans to renew and enhance their [525] powers by frequent attempts. The quest is called spü'tu.

The experience does not ordinarily include a vision, but is made manifest in a song heard in a dream. In some instances where a vision is had, a dream song follows, but it is clear that the latter is the essential experience. In the following case a man and a woman had identical visions but to the man alone fell the experience leading to power.

787 The grandfather of a Klamath Falls shaman went to stö'kmōte, the point of 159 Eagle Ridge, in the evening. There is a spot in the lake where bubbles rise. Horses lived in this long ago (!). When this man reached the headland he saw two pinto horses, with long manes, rearing against each other from the water. He was not frightened but took off his clothes and plunged into the water in order to secure power. When he recovered consciousness he found himself again on land. From that time he was lucky; he began to get many pintos, large horses. Because of this experience his grandson, the shaman, also acquired, in his turn, spirit songs of all kinds.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

789 one part of Klamath territory, on the eastern shore of Klamath lake and southward. A bracelet made of the shed skin of a water snake (wī'sīŋk) will make a little child swim well. Girl's hair is singed so that it will grow long.

881 Menstrual regulations prescribe that at first menstruation girls may not eat meat or fish else they will get sick. They must use a head-scratcher and run toward the dawn. Their clothing and bands must be burned. Older menstruants are permitted dried fish and 841 may do without the scratcher. Women must not care for the roots they gather while in this condition, else they will fail to find them in [756] the future. Shamans must avoid menstruants else they lose their power.

765 The same food restrictions are imposed on mourners, who also use the head-scratcher. If they touch hands to face it will wrinkle, to hair it will turn gray. They must spit into a hole. Mourners must use special sweat-lodges. A woman's bands are hung on the trees near-by. Men wear bark belts so that their backs will not grow stooped. The house in which a death takes place must be burned with its contents. Mourners must abandon their first kill or harvest, or their gains at gambling, and give the second away. Similarly novice hunters and root-gatherers give away their first fruits, a gambler his first gains after acquiring power. Mourners must not fish nor cross a river else the fish will disappear. These mourners' observances have largely a purificatory intent.

821 A storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned.

823 Klamath marsh, which is now almost wholly dry, is known to have been in that condition on earlier occasions, for instance, about 1840 and again about 1860. On the former occasion it was so dry that its southern arm could be crossed on horseback between the settlements Du"īlḳŭt and I'wal. They did not know what caused it. As a remedy a man would be dispatched to one of the spirit pools in the Cascade mountains (as Crater and Diamond lakes), to bring back water in a squirrel or chipmunk skin to pour into the marsh.

226 The first fish rite of these people is held at one place alone, Komă'ĕksi on Sprague river. Why at this point, is anything but obvious. The first sucker caught is burned to ashes, others must be roasted on the spot, otherwise no more will follow. The gall of fish caught with difficulty, as when speared through the ice, must be thrown back into the water else the fish will avoid the fisher.

226 For this reason, the greatest number of settlements cluster on that river. The runs of fish there begin in the early spring, are at their height in March and April, and continue, one variety following another, into the fall. According to Coley Ball seven kinds of fish run in the spring, followed in the fall by the larger varieties. Mid-September marks the end of the sucker run. The time of the salmon run is not clear. Gatschet's statement is that salmon ascend the Klamath river twice a year, in June and again in the autumn.[223] This is in agreement with my information, that the run comes in the middle-finger month, May-June, and that the large fish run in the fall. Pat Kane did not know whether there is more than one variety of salmon, which he called tcia'lɛs.[224] They ascend all the rivers leading from Klamath lake (save Wood river, according to Ball), going as far up Sprague river as Yainax, but are stopped by the falls below the outlet of Klamath marsh. Other fish live in the marsh, however.

There are not many special attitudes toward fish nor restrictions
226 on their use. The principal restriction is that one bereaved of a spouse or child may not fish nor even cross a river for fear the fish
765 will flee. This must have been a serious curtailment of the mourner's activities, considering the high infant mortality which must have existed. At the expiration of a year, the mourner must use a special sweat-lodge a second time before he can resume his occupation. Throughout this period he may not eat fish for fear of sickness.

226 Respecting any fish that is caught with difficulty, for instance those speared through the ice, its gall (blɪs) must be thrown back into the water else others will cease to come. The fish are thought to turn away if this rule is neglected as children turn aside from a morsel of fish they think too small. The practice is called notowa'ble a'mbotŏt, to throw back into the water.

In place of the first salmon ceremony common among the Northwest Coast tribes,[225] the Klamath have an observance over the first sucker. The locale is wo'kstat on the bank of Sprague river near the settlement komă'ĕksi, south of Braymill. Above this spot is a cave styled the home of Kɛmū'kŭmps, the culture hero. The first sucker is

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[223] Gatschet, 2:436.

[224] Information from the lower Klamath river confirms these data. Salmon run through Yurok territory at the mouth of the river in April and in early autumn; the latter being perhaps the greater run, for at this time the Kepel dam rites are held (Kroeber, Handbook, 58, 60, 84).

[225] There is no first salmon ceremony, no prayers for salmon, no salmon heart magic like that of the Yurok, no prohibitions against speaking of the salmon, as among the Wishram, and no special relations or taboos connecting twins with the salmon.

row always began at the same radius, as in the manner of basket decoration. 291
Pendants were attached to the periphery of each disk. These were formed of 531
a continuous strand of black and white beads attached at intervals so as to hang in long loops.

Basket hats are worn by both sexes. That of women is called k!ɛmŭ, of men, k!ane'o. Women and old men wear them at all times, younger women more than the elderly, and the younger men only when they are needed as protection against the pack strap. The small, snug-fitting hats are quite decorative with their contrasting designs, and are clearly thought so. Gala hats are studded with beads. They come halfway down the forehead, are nearly hemispherical yet flat on top. These are made in twined weave of various materials. Women's hats bear woven designs, men's are painted. Men's hats are said [765] •
to have had short brims even prior to the coming of the whites. Widows must wear old hats blackened with pitch, if they wear any; otherwise they are open to ridicule.

Men wear a cylindrical hat or headdress (tc'uyăs) in war, ten or more inches high, and as low as the eyebrows. Made of cottonwood bark (wula'l), it is open at the top, but may be brought together in a point if made of skin; otter, coyote, beaver, skunk, or elk hide. Badger and raccoon skin is not used. These bear painted decorations: large zigzag lines around the hat; and several feathers are fastened in the top. Gatschet speaks of them as "wide brimmed."[illegible]

A cylindrical bark hat, said to have been worn by a chief, is in the Field Museum of Natural History (no. 61725). This is about seven inches in diameter, nine high. The ring of bark is lapped and sewn with a running stitch. The decoration on the light surface is by a series of triangles along the top and bottom margins, with circles at intervals between these. The triangles have their bases on the margins; each consists of a black line within a red line; there are no base lines. The circular decorations consist of a black spot within a red ring. A pendant is fastened on each side at the top, consisting of a bunch of long hair wrapped at the proximal end with fur.

Other hats are made of the scalp of deer or bear, including the 291
ears, but not the face. Rawhide vizors, such as those used by other tribes are unknown, but Barrett mentions a similar sunshade of plain-twined tule.[illegible]

Hairdress is simple. Men wear the hair long, parted on the left 302
side, with a braid lying in front of each shoulder or a single queue behind. The braids are wrapped with strips of otter fur. This is the style of the Plains and Plateau. Women and girls also wear their hair

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[illegible] 1:92. He may have had in mind the basket hat.

[illegible] Material Culture, 255, pl. 17.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

* 302 long and in two braids, but parted in the middle. This again is
[171] reminiscent of the Plains. Their braids may be looped up to hang only to the shoulder; these are not fur wrapped. The hair is cut
• [765] short in mourning, especially that of the women, daubed with black pitch, and generally neglected.

A man who kills a rattlesnake ties the rattles to his hair; women do not do this.

The hairbrush (slitci'lḳs) is a porcupine tail, stuffed with dry grass or sage-brush bark. A thong draws the ends together so that it dries in an arc. This thong fits over the back of the hand when the brush is in use. The open, underside of the tail is closed with a thong lacing. The ends of the quills are burned off evenly, so that only the stiffer body of the quill is left. Barrett notes that the longer quills are removed.[394]

My informant described the comb used by the Molala as a true double-edge comb. It is fashioned of a thin stick bent double. Little pointed sticks, as fine as our toothpicks, are inserted between the halves of this doubled stick, so that they protrude equally on each side, and are bound in place.

The hair is greased; ordinarily with fish oil, but with deer tallow or that of skunk, otter, beaver, or mink, when they can get it.

304 Frontal flattening, the only form practiced, is not universal among
[114] the Klamath, although it is general. My information differs at this point from Hrdlička's who was told that non-deformed heads are derided as slave-like.[395] I was told that it was merely "so that they would look pretty; they have nice round eyes because the forehead is flattened."[396] A deformed head is called lĕplĕ'pli nos, flattened head.

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301 The septum of the nose is pierced and the ear lobes, the latter twice or even more frequently. Both sexes insert dentalium shells horizontally through the septum. These are placed so that the butt ends meet in the septum, the points of this curved conical shell projecting on each side. If the septum hole is large, two may be placed side by side in it. Sometimes the point of one shell is thrust into the hollow butt of a second. The root of a mountain plant, called yayo'ḳaḳ, may be used in place of a dentalium shell. I was told that Molala women choose boldly curved dentalia, placing them so that the points

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[394] *Op. cit.*, 258.

[395] Hrdlička, Head Deformation among the Klamath.

[396] The informant who stated this may have rationalized her own case, an undeformed head. My other principal informants, two men, had flattened heads. Flattening is not noticeable among some of the older Indians, so that the statement that some escape the treatment may be true.

THE SHAMANISTIC COMPLEX

105 However simple and consistent a picture the religious practices of the Klamath may appear, there can be no doubt that they represent an amalgam of historically diverse elements. It is not necessary to indicate the exact sequence in which they were accreted in order to prove this. We can show that these elements have different distributions among neighboring tribes and that they enter into combinations different from that of the Klamath. The Klamath complex is best interpreted as a function of their geographic position, without ignoring the fact that the peculiar form in which the Klamath have these ideas is duplicated nowhere else.

The characteristics of Klamath religious practices and beliefs may 776
be briefly recapitulated. There are a host of weakly defined but
sharply localized spirits from whom power is sought. These are
chiefly birds and animals, some natural phenomena, and a few anthro-
pomorphic supernaturals. The powers they bestow give success in all 787
things difficult. Power is deliberately sought, it rarely comes involun-
tarily, and always according to a rigid formula. It is sought by
almost every Klamath, perhaps by all, and the majority seem success-
ful in their quest. Shamans are then set off from the laity only in the [756]
possession of a greater number of powers. It is better to make the
distinction by their acts: those who cure or practice weather control
or clairvoyance, no matter how few their powers or the nature of their
familiar spirits, are shamans. The quest is undertaken at any time of [881]
life, although usually at puberty. The most propitious times in later
life are at periods of stress, as in distress or on the death of an imme- [765]
diate relative. The formula prescribes fasting for a number of nights
on the mountains, continually running about and piling up rocks,
combined with diving into lonely pools, or following the latter plan
alone by diving beneath whirlpools in the river or lakes which spirits
are known to haunt. The suppliant loses consciousness and wakes to
find himself on the shore bleeding profusely from the mouth and
nose. He does not ordinarily have a vision, but success is manifested
in a song heard in a dream on a night soon following. The dream
experience is essential. So closely is the spirit identified with the song,
that but a single word indicates both. The song is the embodiment of
the spirit, which hardly exists apart from it. The spirit is not the
suppliant's guardian and later quests are not necessarily for renewed

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
38 1479. Plant bulb															•+	–
824 1480. Mountain balm and milkweed																+
1481. Pine pitch	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	.	.	.	•+
1482. Chokecherry tree pitch	+	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	.	•+	–	.	.	.	.	–

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

Haircut

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
302 1483. Long, past shoulders	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1484. Bobbed or shoulder length	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
1485. Men	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1486. Women	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
[765] 1487. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1488. After death of relative only	–	+	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1489. Close crop	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1490. Men	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1491. Women	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1492. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
1493. Boys	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[765] 1494. Infants			+	+	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
1495. After death of relative only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1496. Bangs on forehead	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+
1497. Temple locks, forelock	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1498. Scalp lock	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1499. Hair cut with knife	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1500. Hair singed	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+

Coiffure

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1501. Hair hangs loose	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1502. Men	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
1503. Women	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
1504. Boys	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1505. Girls	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
1506. Hair rolled or bunched on head	–	–	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	–	–	•+
1507. Men	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
1508. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1509. Hair combed up, 1 tie on top of head, ends up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1510. 1 tie around hair, nape of neck	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
1511. Men	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	.	+	+
1512. Women	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–
1513. Boys	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	+
1514. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1515. Hair parted in middle	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	–	–	•+	–
1516. Part painted red	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
[756] 1517. Commonly	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1518. Doctors only	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1519. Hair braided, three strand	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
1520. 2 braids in front of shoulders, men	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
1521. 2 braids in front of shoulders, women	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
1522. 1 braid down back, men	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1523. 1 braid down back; women, girls	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1524. 2 full-length rolls in front of shoulders	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1525. Men	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1526. Women	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1527. Young women	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1528. Girls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
768 4166. Relatives take some personal property	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
4167. New unused possessions only .	+	–	+	–	–		+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
4168. Outsiders take some personal property	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
4169. Destruction of real property (living houses).																
4170. House burned	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
4171. Only if man owns sweat house-living house	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	•+		+	+	–	–	+	–	–
4172. House torn down or abandoned	•+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
4173. House torn down and rebuilt	•+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
4174. House deserted temporarily	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
4175. Only headman's house burned, deserted	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–
4176. House of man killed in war burned . .	(–)	+	.	.					+	+	.	.	.	.	+	–
4177. Preservation of real property	+	•+			+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
4178. House occupied constantly after death	–	–	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
4179. Purification of house	+	+	+	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	•+
4180. With aromatic plants	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	•+	–
4181. Tobacco smoked inside house .	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	–	+	+	.	–
4182. Deer hair burnt inside house.												+	–	–	+	•–
Taboos and Purification of Undertakers, etc.																
764 783 4183. Undertakers only contaminated, subject to taboos	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
‡4184. Mourners and undertakers contaminated, subject to taboos	–	–	•+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
†4185. Use head scratcher for ... days after funeral	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	5	–	–	•4	2	28	5	–	–
†4186. Eat alone for ... days after funeral	–	–	•10	•5	–	–	–	5	–	–	•4	2	28	5	4	–
†4187. Separate dishes	–	–	•4	•5	–	–	–	5	–	–	•4	2	28	5	4	–
†4188. Meat, meat products taboo ... days. .	–	–	•4	•5	1	–	1	5	12	–	•4	2	28	5	4	–
†4189. Fresh fish taboo ... days	–	–	•5	–	1	–	1	5	•6	–	•4	2	28	5	4	–
†4190. Dried salmon taboo ... days	–	–	•5	–					–	–	•4	2	28	5	4	–
†4191. Hunting taboo ... days	–	–	•10	•5	–	–	1	5	–	–	•4	2	–	–	4	–
†4192. For ... months	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	•2
†4193. Gambling taboo ... days	–	–	•10	•5	–	–	•5	5	–	–	•4	2	–	–	4	–
†4194. For ... months	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	4	•2
†4195. Smoking taboo ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	•4	2	28	5	4	–
†4196. Intercourse taboo ... days	–	–	•10	(–)	1	–	1	+	–	–	•4	2	28	5	4	–
4197. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4198. All persons who attend funeral . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–
4199. By sweating	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4200. By swimming, washing hands, face . .	+	+	•+	•+	(+)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
4201. Immediately after funeral	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	–	.	–	–	+
4202. Everyday	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
o4203. After ... days	–	–	–	•5		–	–	5	•1	–	–	2	.	•5	4	•+
4204. Scarification and bleeding	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4205. Application of medicated water . . .	–	–	•+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
4206. Smoking body			+							+	–	–	+	+	–	–
4207. Plant rubbed on body	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	(–)	+
4208. Medicine drunk	–	–	+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–
Taboos on Relatives																
764 765 4209. Widow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4210. Taboo to touch corpse	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
4211. Steps between legs as release from marriage tie	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–
4212. Lies beside corpse	–	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+
4213. Outside, before corpse taken to grave	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
4214. At grave, pyre	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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NR10 Klamath NR10
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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	765
4215. Hair cut, close crop, or burned off	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	(–)	•+	764
4216. Cuttings saved	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	[302]
4217. Cuttings kept in house	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
4218. Cuttings made into belt	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
4219. Cuttings burnt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4220. Cuttings thrown in river	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4221. Cuttings buried in grave	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4223. Mutilations	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[304]
4224. Arms cut soon after death	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4225. Beat breast	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4226. Beat head	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[302]
4227. Facial and head coatings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4228. Pitch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4229. Dirt, ashes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4230. Chalk, charcoal	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4231. Pounded shell									+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4232. White clay on bangs	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4233. Pitch on arms or legs, chest	–	+	+					•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	
4234. Touching face with fingers taboo	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4235. Face left unwashed	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4236. "Washed" with wet grass	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	.	
4237. Space around eyes washed	+	–	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
4238. Scratching stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4239. For head	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4240. For body	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	
4241. Worn tied around neck	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4242. Special attire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	[292]
4243. Mourning necklace	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	•+	•+	
4244. Basket cap, coated with pitch	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4245. Head covered with blanket													–	+		+	
‡4246. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	[262]
†4247. Meat ... days	•15	6	•14	•28	1	–	–	5	•86	–	–	2	–	5	–	•6	
†4248. Grease ... days	•15	6	•14	•28	1	–	–	5	•86	–	–	2	–	5	–	•6	
†4249. Fresh fish ... days	•15	6	•14	–	1	–	–	5	•86	–	–	2	–	5	–	•6	
†4250. Dried fish ... days	•15	6	–	–	1	–	–	5	–	–	–	2	–	5	–	•5	
4251. Cold water ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	
†4252. Salt ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	
4253. Seclusion	+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
4254. In house	•+	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
†4255. For ... days	5	•–	–	–	•2	–	–	5	28	–	–	3	+	+	•+	+	
†4256. For ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	+	1	
4257. For variable period	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
4258. Prescribed activities during taboo period	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	
†4259. Sweats for ... days or nights	5	6	5	5	1	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4260. Gathers wood for sweating	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4261. Goes to grave or cremation spot and wails	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	+	–	•+	+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	
4262. Walks around, wailing	+	+									+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	
4263. May go to mountains to seek power	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
4264. Making baskets taboo	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	•–	•–	•–	–	•–	
4265. Gathering food taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	
4266. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	–	[783]
‡4267. Sweats to remove taboos, after ... months	•12	12	12	–	–	12	•2	–	•+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4268. Washes head, face to remove taboos	–	–	–	+	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	.	–	
4269. Drinks medicine	+	.	+									(+)	–	–	–	–	
4270. Takes pitch off head, face at remarriage only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[587]

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Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
764 765 587	4271. Pitch wears off naturally	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
	4272. Mourning necklace worn until remarriage	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	•-	-	+	•-
	o4273. Approximate no. yrs. before remarriage	•1	•2	•½	1	•2	•1	½	•½	1	•2	•1	-	•3	•3	•3	•2
	4274. Indefinite period; shorter for younger women	-	-	-								+	+	+	+	+	+
	4275. Older women often do not remarry	+	+	+								·	+	+	+	-	-
764 765	4276. Widower	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	4277. Cuts or burns hair, slightly	+	+	•+	•+	•+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	•+	-	•+
	4278. Pitches hair or face, or both	+	-	+	•-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
	‡4279. Meat, fish, salt taboo ... days after funeral	56	10	10	5	1	-	1	5	28	-	-	1	-	5	-	-
	†4280. Hunting taboo ... days	+	10	10	5	-	+	-	10	+	-	-	1	+	+	-	+
	†4281. For ... months	12	-	-	-	-	•3	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	•4
	†4282. Fishing taboo ... days	5	10	5	5	-	+	-	10	+	-	-	1	+	+	-	+
	†4283. For ... months	-	-	-	-	-	•3	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	•4
	4284. Gives away all or most of 1st kill.	-	-	+				+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
	4285. Cannot "cry" before hunting	+	+	+								·	·	+	·	·	-
[787]	‡4286. Spends ... nights in mountains	5	•5	10	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	•1	-	-	-	-	-
	4287. To obtain vision	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
	4288. Piles up rocks	+	+	+	-	-						-	-	-	-	-	-
	4289. Gathers or breaks wood	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4290. Sleeps little or none	+	+									+	+	+	-	-	-
[787]	4291. Returns home wailing	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4292. Obtains dream at home, night of funeral		-	+			+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	†4293. Sweats alone daily for ... days after cremation	5	5	-			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4294. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	o4295. Sweats with other mourners ... days after funeral	-	-	•1	5	-	•+	•+	-	2	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
[304]	†4296. Swims ... days after funeral.	-	-	•1	5	1	•+	•+	5	1	•+	-	3	2	5	-	•-
	4297. Cuts shoulder	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4298. Children observe taboos for dead parent	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
[787]	4299. Son, daughter cut hair close; slight pitch	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	-	-
	4300. Do not seek for power	+	+	-				+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
	•4301. Parents observe taboos for child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	4302. Cut hair slightly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	4303. Pitch on hair or face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	4304. Mother only	+	+	-		+					+	-	-	-	+	+	+
	†4305. Meat taboo ... days	5	5	10	5	3	-	1	5	+	-	-	1	-	5	-	-
	o4306. For ... months	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[787]	4307. Sweat or bathe	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
	4308. Man goes to mountains to seek power	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
	•4309. Loss of 1st child before cord drops off entails rigid taboos				•(+)					•(+)		•+	+	+	+	+	•-
	4310. Couple give everything away, start anew											+	+	+	+	+	-
	4311. Secluded for 1 month			-									-	+			-
	Taboos on Community																
	†4312. Foot travel stopped for ... days	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	4	•5	5	-	+
	4313. Until burial of corpse	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	+	-	-	-	+
[551]	4314. Uttering name of dead taboo	+	•+	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	4315. Indefinitely	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
	4316. Until formally regiven	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	(+)	-	-
	4317. Only in presence of kin	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4318. Compensation to kin for uttering in presence	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	+	–	764
*4319. If no compensation paid, fight starts	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	+	–	765
4320. No rule of compensation: fight starts	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	[551]
*4321. Dances taboo	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
†4322. For ... years	–	–	1+	1	–	1	1	•1	•1	1	3	3	3	3	3	?	764
4323. Violent deaths in war excepted	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	765
4324. Girl's puberty rite taboo	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	535
4325. May be held 1/2 mi. from mourner's camp	–	–	+	–			+	+	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	
4326. No dance held; only sing for girl	–	–	–	–			–	–	+	+	+	.	–	+	–	–	
4326a. Brush dance taboo	–	–	–	•+			–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
4327. Doctor-making dance taboo	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4328. Scalp dance taboo	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4329. Social dances taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	
4330. Must be held 10-15 mi. away	–	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	
4331. Mourners' consent obtained, before dance	–	–	+	+	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
4332. Mourners paid	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4333. Choice food presented mourners	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
Mourning Ceremonies																	
4334. Family mourning ceremony	+	+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	765
4335. Informal; at assembly old people may cry	+	+	+		–				•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
†4336. Held ... yrs. following death	–	–	–		3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4337. Held variable time following death.	+	+	+		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4338. Held only if child of deceased sick	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o4339. Lasts ... day and night	–	–	–		1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o4340. Lasts ... hour	1	1	1		–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	
4341. For 1 dead	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4342. Chief sanctions					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4343. Fellow tribesmen only	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4344. All close relatives of deceased assemble	+	+	+		.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4345. Doctor sings over widow, sick child	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4346. All mourners cry	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4347. Widow removes pitch from hair, face	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4348. Widow burns pitch necklace	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4349. Male undertakers sweat	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4350. Feast concludes ceremony	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4351. All eat	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4352. Mourners wash selves outside at end	–	–	–		+				+			–	–	–	–	+	
4353. Ceremony removes all taboos	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
*4354. Group mourning ceremony	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•–	+	+	+	+	•+	
4355. Held by each village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
4356. Held by several villages together	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	
4357. For each dead separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
4358. For several dead together	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4359. For all dead together	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	
o4360. Held ... years after death	–	•2	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	1	•1	+	•–	•1	
o4361. Held ... months after death	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	
4362. Annually	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
4363. Irregularly	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	
4364. Fall	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	
4365. Any time of year, dry weather	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
765 4366. Other towns invited												+	+	+	+	+
[628] 4367. Other local groups sometimes invited.	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4368. Sanctioned by headman	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
[622] 4369. Headman in charge	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
4370. Headman attends, speaks	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
†4371. Ceremony lasts ... days, nights	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	3	2
4372. Daytime affair, entirely	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
4373. Mainly night affair, some daytime activities	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4374. Held outside	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4375. Unroofed brush fence, near cemetery	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
4376. Under trees, in summer	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
4377. In round brush enclosure	-	(+)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
4378. At cemetery, no enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
4379. Held inside	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
4380. Living house	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4381. Assembly house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
*4382. Participants wail	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4383. Participants dance													+	+	-	+
[537] 4384. Oratory	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4385. By headman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4386. By shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
4387. By orator	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
4388. Images used in ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4389. Made by relatives of deceased	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
4390. Made by chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
4391. Made by nonrelatives	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
4392. All images burnt at cemetery, at dawn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4393. Offerings in honor of dead	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4394. Food	-	-	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
4395. Baskets	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4396. Clothes	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4397. Offerings put on poles	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4398. Single pole for each variety of offering	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4399. Poles planted in ground	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
4400. Poles carried about	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
4401. Offerings burnt at cemetery at dawn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4402. Dance, holding baskets, before burning; wail												.	+	+	-	+
4403. Offerings put on graves	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4404. Ceremonial purification	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4405. All who cry wash own faces	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4406. All who cry swim at end	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
4407. All change clothes												+	+	+	-	+
[525] 4408. Gambling in daytime, after burning	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
4409. Feast during daytime	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4410. Rich mourners all contribute food	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4411. Held at same spot where mourners wailed	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
4412. Held in village camp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
4413. Held day following burning	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
4414. After eating, cry again	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
4415. Mourners return home at sundown	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-

764 tings hidden in woods. Mutilations: scratching
soon after death; finger amputation. Sacrifice
of relatives. Widow pays parents-in-law before
eating. Mourner pays to waive taboos. Taboos
laid on community: boat travel stopped for ...
days; offender pays mourners. Name taboo for
... months; until mourning ceremony; change name
at death of namesake. Deerskin dance, Jump dance
taboo for ... days. Mourning ceremony.--Family
765 mourning ceremony: fixed number of days after
death; mourners washed; ceremony removes meat
taboo only. Group mourning ceremony: held for
prominent persons only; warriors only; spring
only; summer only. Other tribes invited; loans
by mourners; given under flat shade; fence and
flat shade. Dance inside structure, in open;
center pole. Formal seating allotments. Professional
performers. Images made by another
tribe; some burnt; given to individuals, to
visiting tribes only, given irrespective of
tribe, to performers only; images thrown to
crowd. Offerings put in hut, hole; single stationary
pole for all offerings. Sham battle.
Everyone in tribe washed; mourners only washed.
Post-washing activities: dancing; eagle sacrifice.

KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS

Counting, Calendar, Directions

802 Counting.--Count with twigs between fingers.
Beads over rod for messages; as calendar. Stick
mat for messages. Calendar.--Numeral names for
805 months; 2-solstice calendar. Months recorded on
sticks. Charcoal marks inside house for month
record.

Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs

75 Herb doctoring: knowledge purchased from older person; doctor sings or dances; doctor employs assistant.

Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena

821 Cosmography: world a person, tree, animal; multiple heavens. Sun and moon: sun an animal; moon an animal; figure in moon coyote, dog, river. New moon: children have hair cut, dance. Eclipses: any bird, condor, blue jay, bug, coyote, puma, raccoon, gopher, rattlesnake eating sun or moon; moon's husband lying on her; coyote's tail in front of; condor in front of sun, moon. At eclipse strike plank or canoe; hold raccoon skin on stick; men go to woods or mountains to make medicine; turn vessels over; throw out food, turn over canoe. Falling stars: explained as stars wanting to change place; stars dead man's eyes. Milky Way: is dust from running animals, birds, elk, deer, mountain sheep, bear, frog, prairie falcon, ducks, snakes;

000 house, "used oftener than big sweat house (kum) for sweating." NM: All sweating done in semisubterranean earth lodge. MV: Built next to assembly house and used "like a bathhouse."

766a. NF: Circular ground plan.

766b. NF: Conical roof, multipole foundation.

343 766c. Kl, Mo: 1-2 ft. SW, WT, WM, NF, MV: 3-5 ft.

767. Kl, WM: Pole or bough. WT: Thatch.

768. Kl: Mourners' sweat lodge rock covered, with earth piled over rocks. SW: Rocks banked against outer wall under eaves of earth-covered sudatory.

768d. At: In S end of house.

768e. SW: Entrance round; used as draft hole mainly, but if prospective shaman uses this house to dance in, she must enter by this entrance.

769. Kl, Mo: Mat used as door covering. SW: Round door, carved from 2 planks, used for ground-level entrance.

● 765 769b. Kl: In mourners' sweat lodge (see note 766) attendant heats rocks in fire outside house 343 in morning; brings them into house; grass, brush piled on top of hot rocks and mourner lies on this brush bed throughout day; in evening attendant heats more rocks and removes cold ones. Mourner remains in lodge 5 days. In ordinary winter sweat lodge hot rocks brought in, water sprinkled over them for steam bath. Mo: In- 000 formant dubious; thought hot rocks brought in, but no water sprinkled on them. AE: Hot rocks used, without water only if sweat house (of Plains type) is too hot; if such is not the case, water is always sprinkled on the rocks.

770. WT: Men intending to sweat in either semisubterranean earth lodge or sweat house make large fire, close house entrances; when fire has died down, all dance and sweat. WM: Build large manzanita fire at night; men sleep in well warmed house. In morning dance and sweat.

343 770a. Kl: Entry applies to mourners' lodge.

770b. Kl: Entry applies to ordinary winter sweat house. MV: Accommodates ca. 40 men.

770c. Kl: Entry applies to mourners' lodge. NF: Entry applies to small sweat house. See note 766.

771. Kl: Entry applies to winter sweat house (see note 766).

000 773. SW: Used as sweat house by men only, but if no semisubterranean assembly house in village, prospective woman shaman may dance in this sweat house. Must enter house by round draft-hole, not by main entry through roof. All visitors, men, women, children, sleep in this house. WM: At Baird, women allowed in men's sweat house-assembly house only upon 3 occasions. (1) Mourning women may go into Lut, to seek power for doctoring; "an old doctor might tell them to do that. Such women, if lucky, would sing when doctoring, but not have any 'pain' to help them." (2) Girls and women may take part in doctor-making dance. (3) Virgin, whose father has lost

Sweating customs.--

343 784. Kl: In Plains-type sweat house and mourners' lodge. WM, WS: In Plains-type sweat house.

785. Kl: In earth-covered winter sweat house and Plains-type sweat house. Mo: In winter living house (?), and in Plains-type sweat house. MM: See note 766.

000 786. Husband and wife, usually. SW: Women do not sweat with men in men's earth-covered sweat house; do occasionally in Plains-type sudatory. This latter type used chiefly by women after menstruating, childbirth, or during mourning. If woman's husband is also under taboos, he sweats with his wife in dome-shaped sudatory, but if sweating for "luck" he usually uses earth-covered sweat house. At: In Plains-type sweat house only. AW: Several men and women together; this general rule, but at large gatherings men sweat together while women are cooking outside; women sweat afterward. AE: In semisubterranean earth lodge (see note 728). WS: In Plains-type sudatory; when men use assembly house to sweat in, if women, children living in latter, they must vacate it temporarily. NF: In large assembly house.

787. AE: After men vacate Plains-type sweat house, women use house to sweat in. WS: In Plains-type sudatory.

788. SW: Applies to use of men's earth-covered sweat house. AE: Used fortnightly, or sometimes only once a month; "people don't think it's very lucky, if they sweat right along" (every day or so). WM: In sweat house-assembly house. NF: In small sweat house.

789. SE: When sweating in small Plains-type sweat house.

[343] 790. Kl, Mo: In mourners' lodge only (see note 769). At: In semisubterranean earth lodge.

791. SE: When sweating in large semisubterranean winter living house. SW: In men's sweat house.

792. MV: See note 729, mentioning kenu or "sweat dance" held to open new assembly house. There is some question whether, among MV, this dance was in any way a "sweat" dance, as it was among MM, MF.

794. NF: In large assembly house.

● [765] [522] 795. Kl: Also female mourners. Mo: Both male, female mourners may, but not obligatory, as among Kl.

796. NF: In large assembly house. MM: 2 old men sleep in round house each night; during large dances, feasts, all people sleep in round house.

797. SW: Men gamble, work, and sleep mainly in semisubterranean earth lodge, not in men's sudatory. AW, AE: In earth-covered sweat house-living house, not in Plains-type sweat house. NF: In large assembly house. NF, NS: Men gamble, work in large assembly house, which, among NS, does not serve as sweat house. MV: Men gamble, work in assembly house, not in sweat house.

[188-A]

800 ing funeral, men, women stand facing E and say, "Sus, sus, sus; good daylight come and give me good dreaming," as they clap their hands. "Some women are bashful, though, to talk that way. The people are talking to approaching daylight. Everyone tries to get good dreams after a funeral; a funeral is good for that."

4200. SE, SW, WM: Refers to mourners, not to undertakers. NM: Refers to undertakers and mourners.

4201. SE: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. SW, WM: Refers to mourners, not to undertakers.

4202. SE: Refers to all undertakers and mourners.

4203. SW, WM: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners. NM: Refers to mourners, not to undertakers. MV: 2-3 lunar months.

4204. SE, WM: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners.

4205, 4206. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners.

4208. SW: Woman (not shaman, however) made special medicine; "have such woman at nearly every village; if don't have 1, send for 1 from another village." Medicine drunk to cleanse, purify self.

Taboos on relatives.--

4212. Mo, SE, AW, AE, WS, MV: Only because "she feels so sad." SE: Widow lies on top of corpse, outside, "for last time"; her tears must be washed off before corpse can be buried.

[764 302] 4215. Kl, Mo, AE, NM: Cut immediately after cremation. SE, SW, At, AW, WT, MF: Cut immediately after funeral. WM, WS, MV: Cut day following death of husband. MM, MF, NF, NM: Cut few days after burial, cremation.

4218. At: Belts made, similar to Shasta hair belt figured in Dixon, Shasta, fig. 95, p. 415; decorated with bone, shell ornaments.

4220. Mo: Cuttings or combings never thrown in river or in woods; birds will make nest of it.

4228. WT: Pitches face because she feels badly, "also to prevent any other man falling in love with her."

4230. SW: Reason for application of pitch and charcoal by mourners explained in myth of introduction of death into world: Black Cricket's child died, Coyote vetoed its being brought to life, so child buried; "that's why they [mourners] pitch themselves black, like Cricket."

4233. WT: Widow puts pitch on arms because when she slept with husband, had intercourse with him, she put her arms around him.

4243. Necklace usually consists of lumps of pitch on fiber string. NS: Dubious as to whether pitch used for necklace. MV: Shell beads on string, for necklace. See element 4272.

4244. Very old cap, or one with hole in it.

764 765 262 4247-4250. Kl: 10 days after husband dies, widow goes to mourners' sweat lodge, stays there in seclusion with old woman attendant for 5 days

764 and nights, sweating; at end of this 5-day peri-
765 od widow can eat fish; "she's cleaned good, then."
262 SE: Or more. SW: 1 lunar month. WM: 3 lunar
months. MV: 6-7.

000 4251. MF: Drinks medicinal tea instead of water.

4253. Mo: Young widow stays in house "for few days" after husband's death. Older woman with children may have to go out to get wood. None of seclusion taboos enforced if it is necessary to get food for dependents. All widows however sweat twice daily for duration of food taboos. Final purification comes 1 year later.

[764
765] 4254. Kl, Mo: In mourners' sweat lodge (see note 4247). SE: Mourner cannot come into living house if deermeat there; gives hunter bad luck. NF: Partial seclusion only; does not talk to any man during this period. NS: Stays in seclusion until necklace she is wearing breaks. NM: Stays in seclusion until she attends another funeral, usually in about 1 year. MV: Widow sometimes stays with mother-in-law; usually with her own mother.

4255. Mo: See note 4253. At: 2-3. NS: See note 4254.

4258. MF, NF, NM, MV: Widow makes baskets during period of seclusion, for post-burial ceremony (see elements 4354-4415).

[764
765] 4261. Kl, Mo, SE, AW, WM, MF, NF, NS, MV: Shadowed by attendant.

4262. NF, NM, MV: Talks only in low voice. NM, MV: 2 women watch mourner, take her outside at night.

4264. MF, NF, NM, NS: See note 4258.

[765
783] 4267. Kl: Or more. AE: 2-6 months. WM: Widow after death of husband sometimes builds and uses small steam-heated sweat house to remove contamination of disease from her arms, body.

4268. At: After 2-3 years. MF, NM: Ca. 1 year after funeral.

4270. WM: When woman about to remarry, takes pitch off 1 month before marriage.

4272. NF: Worn until burnt at group mourning ceremony, 2-3 years later. MV: Worn for ca. 1 year, then burnt at group mourning ceremony. At this burning young widows put small amount of pitch on face, also.

[764
765
589] 4273. Kl: 1-6 yrs. Mo: 2-3. SE: 6 mos. or longer. At: 2-3 yrs. AW: 1-2. WT: 2 mos. to 5 yrs. WS: 2-3 yrs. MM: 1-3. NF, NM, NS: 3 or more yrs. MV: 2-3.

4277. SE, SW, MV: Burn hair; all other groups cut hair. NM: Puts cuttings in gopher hole. At: "A man hardly does anything in mourning for his dead wife."

4281, 4283. AW: 3-4 months. MV: 4-5.

4286. Mo: 5-6 nights. MM: 1-2.

4295, 4296. SE: 1-2 days. AW, AE, WS: Immediately after funeral.

4296. MV: Bathes in medicated water, 4-5 months after funeral.

4299. MF: Put on pitch only. NF: Cut hair, put on pitch. NM: Cut hair only.

[232-B]

764 4301. Child of 2 years or over.

765 000 4309. Distribution of this trait probably widespread among groups under investigation. SW informant mentioned heavy taboos both parents are under if woman has miscarriage or child dies soon after birth, but no entries made of element until MM informant emphasized its importance, in discussion of childbirth. WM: If woman loses first baby, and then walks outside, heavy storm will arise; for this reason she is kept indoors. MM: If couple lose first child before navel cord drops off, both give away everything they possess to other couples who have lost child under similar circumstances; do not give any of possessions to parents who have raised children successfully. Then relatives and friends of bereaved couple give them new possessions. MV: No special taboos if lose baby before cord drops off, or if child is stillborn; "bad luck is bad luck, that's all."

Taboos on community.--

4312. NF: 6-7 days.

4314. Mo: Hearing name of dead mentioned reminds persons too forcibly of their bereavement; dislike now to hear English surnames of dead uttered after death, or to have towns, such as Chiloquin (on Klamath reserve), named for dead. AW: Also if, for example, man has sister, and she dies, he cannot use relationship term meaning "sister"; if he says, "my dead sister" in presence of his mother, she will begin to cry; jump up and say, "I'm sorry, sorry." Man therefore does not talk of his dead sister, except slowly, and while crying; if he behaves thus, his father will not reprove or chastise him; his mother may cry a little, though. If same man has 1 sister who is dead, another still living, he refers to latter as "that young woman." Cf. note 3308.

4319. Fight, or shaman hired to poison offender.

[535] [764] [765] 4321. Taboo in village where death has occurred. WM: Rule also applies to near-by villages, local groups (?); this extension of taboo denied by SE, WS, all Maidu, Nisenan groups.

4322. WT, WM: 1-2 yrs. MV: To 1; depends upon how important deceased was.

4326a. SW: Brush dance among SW is danced at girl's puberty dance; see note 3665.

4331. AW: Sometimes relatives of deceased refuse to give their consent for dance; in this event dance not held. WM: Mourning family sometimes does not attend any dance for 3 years.

Mourning ceremonies.--

4334. At: Informant's account of this somewhat confused, but apparently if child of a deceased person became sick, about 3 years after the death, in spring, the widow takes off pitch and shaman doctors widow's child; all people gather and feast at end. Even though widow removes pitch, she may announce her intention never to remarry; whereupon chief says, "It's all right;

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season however is now late, and frosts warn that winter is near. K M 222 517 By mid-October, they have begun the homeward journey to their settlements, there to rebuild the earth lodges, gather firewood, K M 221 361 and prepare for the long siege of winter.

Throughout the cycles of the seasons, the tribesmen live under a sense of dependent involvement in a universe that was created K M 82 in the mythic age by supernatural beings who, establishing the present order, also chose their present form within it. Among the creatures of this world, man is less the exploiter than a fellow being, a relationship honored by returning to the water the gall of a fish that had been caught in order that the fish be requickened, as well as in the annual ceremonies of the first sucker and the ripened wokas. Each individual may draw close to the sources of power; and among the Klamath neither age nor sex is a barrier. K 881 787 The young boy at puberty may be sent on vigil to sacred place—in mountains and at certain rivers or lakes—there to fast, pile stones, run, and swim. In time, he may faint, awaken with blood gushing from his mouth, and hear the song that is his power. A girl during the time of her puberty dance goes off to sleep apart during the day; then she too may hear a song. K [765] • Those mourning a deceased mate or child may "travel," seeking solace and power, for the spirit confers power through pity. K 787 Those who seek help desire a specific power, and they may pray for prowess in hunting, gambling, in attracting a mate, or in acquiring wealth. One who already has a spirit associate may seek for others; and some, either through inheritance or by the successive acquisition of tutelaries, may go on to become shamans. Some persons may reject the call. One middle-aged woman recounts a waking dream she had in her girlhood of a stag in full antlers rising out of the waters. Had she followed the opening thus offered she might have acquired great power, but she was afraid and let the chance slip by.

M 787 756 [885] Among the Modoc, says Ray, powers come only to those who seek to become shamans. The call, which comes in a dream, is legitimate only in mature men and women past menopause and may not be experienced in old age. The seeker, like his Klamath counterpart, undertakes a five-day quest; but the chief of the spirit abodes in which he spends his vigil are the house pits of deceased shamans. Those spirits that come to him choose him

*657 two years earlier, about 1868, Chief Lileks had induced his tribes-
177 men to abandon the practice of cremation in favor of the inhuma-
764 tion he had observed in trips to Jacksonville, Yreka, and The
*657 Dalles.[7] With burial came new symbols of mourning and, ap-
177 parently, a partial relinquishment of the association with crop-
• 765 ping the hair. A few conservative individuals, however, still
302 resorted to the practice over a half century later.

[178] Naming the Indians was a matter of administrative necessity.
*657 Officials, faced with the duty of identifying their charges, labored
177 under the task of reducing unfamiliar sounds and lengthy, in-
551 comprehensible names into writing. For the Klamath, the addi-
553 tion of another name posed no problem. It had been native practice to use age terms for the very young—"My name is *niskag* (young girl)," one woman recalls telling her teacher—and to employ relationship terms when addressing kinsmen and occasional names in referring to others. The occasional names, of which an individual might have more than one, were often far from complimentary. Thus the literal meaning of the name of the Upland chief, Monchnkasgitk, is "One-who-has-a-big-belly;" while that of the individual later known as Allen David was "Black Anus."

Many new names were assigned when annuities were issued or when children entered school.

> It became one of the functions of the interpreter and clerk [recounts Good] to rename the stalwart braves, who were highly delighted with such commonplace appellations as "Joe Wilson" and "George Brown." "This is your name," he would say, writing it on a card, "and if you forget what it is, ask anyone who can read, and he will tell you." The bestower of names was sometimes amused at the corruptions arising from the Indians' peculiar pronunciation, as when "John Wesley" became "Whistler" and one who went forth as "Simeon" returned as "Sammy Andy."[8]

It may be added that the soldiers at the Fort and the settlers were also responsible for such names as "Great Eastern," "Old Faithful," "Skinflint," and "Skedaddle."[9]

*657
HOUSING

177 A relatively greater effort was needed to induce the Indians
342 to abandon what Agent L. S. Dyar characterized as "their warm,

858 765 Children have little knowledge of death, but they observe certain mourning taboos on the decease of a parent. The restrictions on children are not as many or as strict as those for adults.[39] Children have their hair cut and pitch put on their faces for a year in observance of mourning. The child is told to play alone for awhile and not laugh or sing. That these regulations are sometimes onerous is indicated by the statement of an informant whose father died when she was about seven.

> I had my hair cut short. I used to wear pretty beads and little rattles in my pigtails, but I couldn't when my hair was short. When it grew out a little, I got my girl friend to braid it for me and put a rattle in it. My mother caught me and was awfully angry. I knew I was doing something wrong, but I just wanted to have fun.

Children do not end the mourning period with a purificatory sweatbath such as adults take. In fact, children are not allowed near the three mourners' sweat-lodges which are surrounded with spirits that are dangerous to young people. A child who disobeys and plays near the lodges will lose his wife or first child when he grows up.

826 869 Through the period of early childhood the individual gradually acquires a knowledge of objects beyond his immediate home environment. There is an effort on the part of many parents and grandparents to instruct the children, who are sometimes taken out at night to see the moon, stars, and planets. They are told that the Milky Way is a river that divides the sky, the Pleiades are children, and the stars of the Big Dipper are brothers. There are names for, and stories about, many constellations. Mothers take their children out to talk to the moon at each new moon. The mother instructs the children to be quiet and listen as she repeats a prayer which varies in length and content according to individual desires and feelings.

Many natural phenomena are considered dangerous, and young children learn to fear such features as thunder, lightning, and the rainbow. They are warned to run home and hide during an electrical storm and never to point at the rainbow lest the finger drop off.

857 Toward the end of his early childhood the individual begins to assume real responsibilities within his family. Till the age of six or seven the child is free to run and play much as he pleases, so long as he obeys instructions not to fight and not to wander away from camp. He has taken no part in the work of his elders. But now he begins to help with a few simple chores.

The first tasks a child performs may be little more than occasionally bringing home a few pieces of firewood or getting a bucket of

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[39] Adult death and mourning customs are described in Spier, pp. 71-76, and Voegelin, elements 4019-4415.

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SWEAT-LODGES.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY MINNIE FROBEN.

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É-ukshkni lápa spû'klish gítko. K̲úk̲iuk k̲ĕlekápkash spû'klishla yé-
The Lake people two (kinds of) sweat-lodges have. To weep over the deceased they build sweat-lodges dig-

pank käíla; stutílantko spû'klish, käíla waltchátko. Spû'klish a sha shû'ta
ging up the ground; are roofed (these) sweat-lodges, with earth covered. (Another) sweat-lodge they build

3 kué-utch, kítchikan'sh stinága-shítko; skû'tash a wáldsha spû'klishtat tata-
of willows, a little cabin looking like; blankets they spread over the sweating-lodge when

ták sĕ spûkliá. Tátataks a hû'nk wéas lúla, tatátaks a híshuaksh tchímĕna,
in it they sweat. Whenever children died, or when a husband became widower,

snáwedsh wénuitk, k̲û'k̲i k̲ĕlekátko, spû'klitcha túmi shashámoks-lólatko;
(or) the wife (is) widowed, they weep for cause of death, go sweating many relatives who have lost;

6 túnepni waítash tchík sa hû'nk spû'klia. Shiúlakiank a sha ktái húyuka
five days then they sweat. Gathering they stones, (they) heat (them)

skoílakuápkuk; hútoks ktái k̲á-i tatá spukliû't'huīsh. Spúklish lúpĭa
to heap them up (after use); those stones never having been used for sweating. Sweat-lodge in front of

húyuka; k̲élpka a át, ílhiat átui, k̲ídshna ai í ámbu, kliulála. Spû'kli a
they heat (them); heated (being) when, they bring (them) inside at once, pour on them water, sprinkle. Sweat then

9 sha túmĕni "hours"; k̲élpkuk gék[illegible] kóltchuk péniak k̲ō'k̲s pép[illegible]-udshak
they several hours; being quite warmed up they leave [illegible] cool themselves off without dress only to go bathing

éwagatat, k̲ók̲etat, é-ush wigáta[illegible] Spukli-uápka mä'ntch. Shpótuok
in a spring, river, lake close by. They will sweat for long hours. To make themselves strong

i-akéwa kápka, skû'tawia sha wéwakag knû'kstga. Ndshiétchatka knû'ks
they bend down young pine-trees, (they) tie together they small brush-wood with ropes. Of (willow-)bark the ropes

12 a sha shúshata. Gátpampĕlank shkoshkí'lχa ktáktiag hû'shkankok k̲ĕle-
they make. On going home they heap up into cairns small stones in remembrance of the

kápkash, ktá-i shúshuankaptcha í'hiank.
dead, stones of equal size selecting.

NOTES.

No Klamath or Modoc sweat-lodge can be properly called a sweat-*house*, as is the custom throughout the West. One kind of these lodges, intended for the use of mourners only, are solid structures, almost underground; three of them are now in existence, all believed to be the gift of the principal national deity. Sudatories of the other kind are found near every Indian lodge, and consist of a few willow-rods stuck into

*539 343 515 765 [193] [192]

the ground, both ends being bent over. The process gone through while sweating is the same in both kinds of lodges, with the only difference as to time. The ceremonies mentioned 82, 4–13., all refer to sweating in the mourners' sweat-lodges. The sudatories of the Oregonians have no analogy with the *estufas* of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, as far as their construction is concerned. Cf. *Notes* to 70, 1. 75, 11.

82, 1. lápa spû′klish, two sweat-lodges, stands for two *kinds* of sweat-lodges.

82, 5. shashámoks-lólatko forms *one* compound word: one who, or: those who have lost relatives by death; cf. ptísh-lûlsh, pgísh-lûlsh; hishuákga ptísh-lúlatk, male orphan whose father has died. In the same manner, k̲ēlekátko stands here as a participle referring simultaneously to híshuaksh and to snáwedsh wénuitk, and can be rendered by "*bereaved*". Shashámoks, distr. form of shá-amoks, is often pronounced sheshámaks. Túmi etc. means, that many others accompany to the sweat-lodge, into which about six persons can crowd themselves, bereaved husbands, wives or parents, because the deceased were related to them. Cf. lē′pk̲′leχa, lē′pk̲′lekatko.

82, 6. Shiúlakiank etc. For developing steam the natives collect only such stones for heating as are neither too large nor too small; a medium size seeming most appropriate for concentrating the largest amount of heat. The old sweat-lodges are surrounded with large accumulations of stones which, to judge from their blackened exterior, have served the purpose of generating steam; they weigh not over 3 to 5 pounds in the average, and in the vicinity travelers discover many small cairns, not over four feet high, and others lying in ruins. The shrubbery around the sudatory is in many localities tied up with willow wisps and ropes.

82, 10. Spukli-uápka mä′ntch means that the sweating-process is repeated many times during the five days of observance; they sweat at least twice a day.

LUÁTPÍSHLA SNÉWEDSH M′NA.

LAMENT OVER A WIFE'S LOSS.

OBTAINED FROM DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 765 787

Snáweds	k̲′leká.	Tsúi	tsik	shpótû	hissuáksûk,	pä′wa	tsúi,	pä′nĕ
A wife	dies.	Upon this		strengthens himself	(her) husband alone,	plunges	then,	again

mákual,	sta-ótank	k̲aítua	pát;	tsúi	tûtí′χ	yaínatat	tû′tshna.	Tsúi	shlaá
camps out,	famished	nothing	eats;	then	(he) dreams, (and)	on the mountains	he dozes.	Then	he sees

mák̲laks,	tûtí′χ	hûnk	ná-asht;	tsúi	gä′mpēle	ládsashtat,	tsúi	psín	hûshtí′k-
people,	dreams	(he)	thus;	then	he returns	to (his) lodge,	and	at night	he frequently

tamna,	tsúi	shlä′popk,	tsúi	at	shlä′popk	siunotí′sh	tchkash.	Tsúi	at	shuí′sh
dreams,	and	has visions,	and	then	he has hallucinations	of (female) choruses	also.	And		magic songs

hû′k	nä′sht	ki:	"tchä′kĕli	gékanuapka,	súmat	tsúk	at	géka	tchákēle"!	tsúi
these	thus	say:	"blood	will come up,	to the throat	in time		comes up	blood"!	then

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huk	tchékēl'	a	gépka.	Tsúi	wéwan'sh	gûlí'	winō'tnish;	shashuakí'sh	tchí'sh,
the	blood		comes up.	Then	women	enter	who form chorus;	people who call the conjurer	too,

lutatkí'sh	tchish,	shuashuáktchish	matchatgí'sh	tchish	gulí'	látchashtat	m'na.
the song-repeater	too,	bewailers,	listeners	also	enter	lodge	his.

NOTES.

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The ascetic performances and ceremonies here described are going into disuse at the present time. When they were fully observed, the bereaved husband wandered alone through the woods and wilds (spótu) for five days, but to the widow these observances extended over a shorter time. For this purpose both sexes wore warm clothing, but took to worn-out blankets or old articles of raiment, and used wisps of the serviceberry-bush as belts.

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83, 1. shpótû: strong and unusual bodily exercise, running up hill, plunging etc. was and is still considered beneficial to the body, and is much in favor with the Indians. Cf. 82, 10. 11.

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83, 1. hissuáksûk for híshuaksh ak; the husband *alone*, not in company of others; pä'nĕ for pä'n a, pēn a, cf. átĕnen for át a nen; and sĕ for sha, they, 82, 4.

83, 2. k̲a-ítua pát or p'át: he eats nothing at the time while wandering; pánk, p'ánk might stand here instead of pát; tû'tshna: for dozing they did not lie down, but tried to catch a little sleep while walking and wandering.

83, 2. shlaá, and tchákēle 83, 5, forms sometimes used in conversation instead of shläá, shleá; tchä'kēle, tchékēli. Cf. yáka for yä'ka, yéka: *Note* to 16, 10.

83, 3. hûshtí'ktamna; the suffix -tamna shows that pshín stands for nánuk pshí'n gí'sh: "nightly, every night."

83, 4. siunō'tish and shuí'sh are both tamánuash-songs, but of a different character. See Dictionary. Shlä'popka: he sees in his dreams what he has heard mentioned in the songs. To sing or repeat songs started by the conjurer devolves almost exclusively on the women present at the ceremony.

83, 5. súmat: into the mouth; their blood, disturbed by the constant excitement produced by the night rambles, ascends to the throat, and is sometimes spit out by them.

84, 2. shuashuáktchish. By their loud and noisy lamentations (shuáktcha, to cry, to weep) they expect to avert from the bereaved husband the effects of the tamánuash-spell (shuí'sh) which he has seen in his dreams.

84, 2. matchátgish: those listening to the words uttered by the conjurer and his repeater or expounder; they are of both sexes and also act as bewailers.

*539 764 177 násh túnshish. Nā′sh käíllatoks nādsháshak tchpí′nualank, nánuk titads-
in one row. On one ground all together they are burying, every provided
χátko pi! ílktch spûshpaktchámpka, shushtedshχátko wáshash wuwatuáp-
with boards grave they make mound-shaped, fenced in prairie-wolves to keep
kasht ké-utchishash tchí′sh. K̲á-i mā′ntch gítko sha hû′nk spû′klitcha
off grey wolves also. Not long after this they go to sweat
[765] túteņāpni waitash. Wátch a lúluagsh tchí′sh k̲á-i tatá mā′ntch gínkanka
for five days. Horses slaves also no longer they bring there
luélkish, m′nátoks sha wátch shéshatui shkútashtat í′lχûtchlûk.
to kill, but his own they horses trade off for blankets to bury him in.

NOTES.

This short notice describes a funeral (isha) of the Klamath Lake tribe in the mode as adopted from the Americans not long after the treaty of 1864, when cremation of bodies was abolished. Whatsoever of the ancient customs in disposing of the dead is still observed, the reader will easily gather from the present sketch.

87, 3. tálaka means to go forth and back with the hand; hence to rub with the palm of the hand, to rub paint on, to paint.

87, 5. Hä′ nen wä′g′n. In this connection they can also say: hä′ nem wä′g′n; and for wátchatka: wátchetka.

87, 11. tánktak, in this connection, is a compound of tánkt and ak, not of tánk and tak: "just at that time."

87, 17. láp kímbaks gasháktchna: they follow the corpse, which is placed on the wagon, in two files *on horseback;* kímbaks is apposition to shashámoks.

88, 1. Nā′sh etc. The appearance of their graveyard (tchpinû) near the Williamson River does not differ much from that of our cemeteries; it lies in the midst of the woods. For titadsχátko see Dictionary.

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*539 766 [115]

FUNERAL OF WARRIORS.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY "SERGEANT" MORGAN, AN INDIAN FROM KOHÁSHTI.

[726] [825] Ní′shta hä′ma mû′kash tχû′tχuk: "mák̲laks k̲′lä′k̲!" Tsúi gátpa
All night long screeches the big owl presaging: "people die!" Then come
mák̲laks ktaklí′sh, tsúi shneshnalχō′ta hushtsóχok. Nā′s wípka hû ámbotat,
men parflesh-cuirassed, and while burning down lodges murder they. One (man) escaped into the water,
tsúi shtí′ldshna tû′ sa-amoksámkshi m′na; gená shtí′ldshnuk. Tsúi gépka
and reported over there at relative's house his; he went (there) to announce. Then came
tumí′ mák̲laks wa-u′htákiug; tsúi shenótank gē′kshta túnip hushtsóχ shenó-
many people to disperse (them); and while fighting on one side five were killed in
tankok. Gē′kshta tchkash hushtsóχa túm, nánka géna kä′ktsnuk vû′shuk;
battle. On other side also were killed many, some started to run away from fear;

*539 773 192 193 [103] [137] 94, 4. I-ulalóna or Yulalóna is the Indian name of the cascade of Link River above the town of Linkville, and for that town itself. The origin of this name is explained in 94, 5. 6, for the verb i-ulalóna means to move forth and back, referring here to the waters of the river receding under the pressure of the south wind.

94, 6. itklank, partic. pres. of itkal, means here: obtaining by basketfuls.

94, 9. The kĕnáwat is a plant growing high in the warm climate of Northern California, especially in the ancient habitat of the Shasti Indians, and in this myth it suggested itself to the Indians on account of its property of growing very fast.

95, 5. gĕ'hlapka: he swung himself into the nest by climbing over the rim. Cf. *Note* to 66, 13.

95, 10. kaiyema K'mukámtchish for the regular form K'mukámtchash. Cf. 91, 8.

95, 13. skáyamtch etc. More plainly expressed this sentence runs as follows: sha skáyamna pásh tchish ámbu tchish; the first tchish being placed before pásh and appended to the apocopated skáyamnu.

95, 16. shéwana here used differently from tchíya, which applies to liquids only.

95, 17. p'lû' ítchuank seems to be a quite modern interpolation, for it smells of pomade and hair-oil; but it is as ancient as the myth itself.

● [765] 95, 23. 96, 2. 3. 4. Tchíka. I have rendered this bird-name elsewhere by "Chaffinch," and Klétish by "Sandhill Crane".

[551] 96, 3. shlámia, to feel insulted. She resented it as an insult that the child called her deceased husband by name; for it was a capital crime among the ancestors of the present Klamaths to call a dead person's name for many years after his demise.

96, 5. hû'tna is changed to hû'tan on account of being followed by a word commencing with k.

[765] 96, 6. stiya. The custom of widows to put pitch or resin on their heads at the death of their husbands was abolished only at the time when cremation became a thing of the past.

[178] 96, 6. galdsha-íyank is a more explicit form of the participle; the verb gáldshui being the contracted form of galdsháwi.

96, 8. yámnashla. He used the bristles of porcûpines to make necklaces of.

96, 11. unakáka m'na was the son of Aíshish and of the above mentioned Tchíka.

96, 11. 12. K'mukámtcham qualifies pü'ks, not lúlukshtat.

96, 14. pakakóleshtka, verbal desiderative of pakakóla, to jerk away from. The suffix -óla indicates that K'múkamtch wore his tobacco-pipe tied to his body; he wore it on his neck.

96, 15. tchítchiks is used when speaking to children. It signifies *so, so!* and means: be quiet, shut up, stop!

96, 17. tchĕ'k kĕléwi. In similar connections this phrase very frequently ends a whole narrative in Modoc and Klamath. Here it means that Aíshish ceased to poke the pipe into the fire. Cf. 85, 10. [illegible], 7.

96, 18. medshá: he removed from that spot with all his wives and children. Ancient customs forbid the offspring to stay where the father had breathed his last.

96, 20. Gén húnk nánuk etc. This portion of the myth describes the destruction of all the living organisms on earth by a general conflagration caused by K'múkamtch. Myths of this kind are suggested by intense heat experienced in summer. This mode of destroying life on earth is less frequently met with in myths than the drowning in a general flood.

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*539 773 103 "Nakótk Wí'tlas k̲ok̲état hí tchí'sh luélks-kiäm gí'-uapk; na-ást shé-
"By (its) dam Witlash in Williamson River there also a fish-killing place shall be; thus
shash élχa ní: Ktá-i-Tupáksi. Mbû'saks nä'st shéshatk mák̲laks gí'-uapk;
name give I: Rocks-where-stand. "Obsidian" so called a people shall exist;
Smä'k nä'st sésatk gí'-uapk mák̲laks gí'ta. Kä'katils nä'st sésatk gí-uapk
"Hairy" so named shall exist a people there. "Armpit-hairy" so called shall exist
gí'ta mák̲laks."
there a people."

NOTES.

All Mák̲laks admit that K'múkamtch created their country, the earth and the universe, but as to the special process by which he created them they seem to have no definite idea, though they possess a multitude of myths for special creations.

Most of the places mentioned in this item are situated around Upper Klamath Lake. That they are localities inhabited for centuries past, and identified with the history of the tribe is proved by the fact that their naming is ascribed to K'múkamtch. The most noticeable of them are no doubt the three sweat-houses, all of which are of remote antiquity, and were put to use only when families were mourning the loss of one of their members. Two of them are quoted here: Wakáksi or Käilalkshíni spúklish on west side of Lake and Ē-ukalksi, a short distance south of Fort Klamath. The third lies about three miles south of Modoc Point; it is called Ká-ashkshi spúklish.

*539 773 103 192 142, 1. käíla. About the meaning of this term in creation myths, cf. *Note* 96, 23. In other connections, in the present text, käíla or kä'la means spot, locality.

142, 2. 3. Tulísh. To enable the Indians to catch fish at that place, K'múkamtch built for them, as tradition has it, an obstruction resembling a beaver-dam. Cf. nakótk, 143, 1.; gíti for gíta hí.

142, 3. 5. Túkua and Koháshti are camping- and fishing-places on the eastern shore of the Lake. At Shuyakē'kish the Indians leap over rocks for amusement.

142, 5. ná-asui, ná'sni stands for ná-asht ni: "thus I".

142, 5. 11. Gúmbat is called Rocky Point by the white population, and lies on the western shore of Upper Klamath Lake. A-usmi is an island of the Lake.

142, 6. Wakáksi or Wáka is named after the tuákish-fowl whose cry is wáka wáka.

765 177 142, 6–10. 12–16. These mourning customs are gradually disappearing at the present time. One reason for this is the progressive assimilation of the tribes to American customs, another is the circumstance, that all of the three ancient sweat-houses are situated outside of the reservation limits.

142, 15. ndânnántak is composed of ndánnanti or ndánnantat ak: "only for three (kinds of relatives)".

193 143, 1. Nákotk is the instrumental case of nákōsh, lumber-dam: "on account of its dam Witlas will be a fish-killing locality." A loon destroyed that dam by forcing its way under it; one of our texts gives this myth. Cf. 132, 1–8 and *Note* to 74, 2.

829 143, 2. 3. Mbû'saks, Smä'k and Kä'katils are names given in contempt or derision of the respective tribes; the latter to Indians living at the Dalles of Columbia River, Smä'k to a tribe living south of that locality. Cf. 103, 2. 3. Mbû'saks is a name for the Snake Indians.

fested by several tribes of northern California and in view of their 845
association with the weather and salmon on the Northwest coast. [171]*
Neither of these attitudes appears among the Klamath. Nor is there
any sympathetic bond between twins, nor is one of them destroyed at
birth. Informants had never heard of triplets although they must
occur in the usual biological proportions. Monsters are said always [766] •
to be born dead—perhaps the midwives see to that. Like the stillborn,
they are said to receive the universal cremation, but it is more likely
that they are secretly disposed of, like abortions.

The child of an adulterous union, if not palmed off on the husband, 847
is aborted by pressing the abdomen heavily on a rock. Naturally this
takes place in the seclusion of the brush. No medicines are in use for
abortion. To abort is called hlso'ḳoga; infanticide, siu'ga.

How much of a disgrace barrenness is I do not know, but it does 842
not lead to separation. To aid conception women grind a white shell[60]
(lö'ḳtäs) and drink it in water. Men do the same for impotence. A
small dentalium shell (t'u'tas) is also used.

Klamath cradles show an interesting cultural amalgamation. The 854
cradle for the newborn is the northern California sitting type; the
carrying board for later use is identical with the oval wooden forms
of the northern Basin.[61] Through western Oregon and Washington,
along the line of contact of the Basin board with the wooden trough
cradle of the Northwest Coast, both forms are used or else a modification
of one toward the form of the other.

The basketry cradle (ḳwäls) for the first month or two of the
baby's life is a trough with one rounded end on which the child sits. It [593]
is made by the mother of the expectant woman; woven of willow twigs,
it measures eighteen inches in length. Its purpose is said to be to prevent
the infant scratching its navel, with consequent illness, and to
support its weak back. Its usefulness ended, it is thrown away.

The carrying board (swĕns) is made by the baby's father or a near
kinsman. It is a flat board of oval outline, carved from a single piece
of wood. The lower end is rather pointed so that it can be stuck into
the ground while the mother is occupied. An unexpected feature is [562]
that the sex of the infant is distinguishable from the shape of the

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[60] This is flat, two inches long, and spotted. It may have been got from the whites.

[61] Barrett has it that the first cradle is of soft tules, followed by the sitting type of more rigid materials, with occasional use of the board (Material Culture, 257, pl. 14).

854 six short loops on each side. A carrying band goes over the mother's forehead.

856 [114] Frontal flattening is customary but not universal. No reason is given. Hrdlička was informed "that the Klamath regard a long head, i.e., a non-deformed head, with derision. They say it is slave-like, that their slaves had such, and that a man with such a head is not fit to be a great man in the tribe. Deformed heads are called 'good heads.' "[53] A buckskin sack, somewhat larger than the forehead, stuffed with dry cat-tail down, is tied to holes in the cradle. Hrdlička was told that this was filled with seeds, such as water-lily seeds. This lies across the forehead but is not tied so tightly that the child cannot turn his head. Pressure is begun at birth and continued as long as the child continues in the cradle. According to my informant's representation [171]* the Molala flatten foreheads, some Pit River Indians do, while the Upland Takelma do not practice deformation of any sort.

The cradle receives ornaments symbolic of the child's future, in the shape of a tiny digging stick for a girl and a bow and arrow for a boy, tied to the edge of the board. Possibly they have more than ornamental significance. These are no longer than the finger; the single arrow is as long as the bow. These are tied to the proper side of the board; the bow and arrow to the child's left, for a man holds his bow in that hand, the root digger to the right.

[766] • Use of the cradle continues until the child can walk well. It is not discarded but kept for the use of another baby, unless the child dies, when it is burned with his body.

NAMES

553 The name is usually given in early infancy; always by the time the child talks. It is the choice of the parents, given without ceremony. Sometimes it is changed in later life, but there is no set occasion for this. Seemingly names change less frequently than their nickname character would give opportunity for. Perhaps these are always additional names, for I learned of several men known by more than one name; perhaps this holds as true for women as men. But it was said that the first name (hlewa'ska) is the most important.

551 There is considerable reluctance to the use of names, kinship terms being substituted. This does not mean that there is a taboo; merely

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[53] Head Deformation Among the Klamath.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
241 329. Seeds scattered to produce better crop	–	+	+				•+	–	–	–	–	(+)	(+)	·	+	–
312 329a. Irrigation	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–
Domesticated Animals and Pets																
Dogs																
231 330. Dogs kept	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	–
331. By relatively few persons	+	+	+				•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
332. Bred	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
333. Bought from other localities	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–
334. Named	+	+	+	•+	+	·	+	•+	+	+	+	·	–	–	–	–
335. Used in hunting	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
336. Trained not to bark	•+	•+	•+				•+	•+	(–)	–	•(+)	–	–	–	–	–
o337. Kept inside dwelling	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	±	+	+	–	–	–
[343] 338. Separate dog house	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
339. Semisubterranean, earth covered	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
340. Domed, thatched	–	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
341. Domed, bark covered	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
342. Conical, slab	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[766] 343. Burned at death, or death of owner	–	+	–	–	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–
344. Buried	–	–	+	•–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	(–)	–	–	–
345. Body thrown outside	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	(–)	–	–	–
346. Suspended in tree at death of owner	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	(–)	–	–	–
Birds, Bear Cubs, Etc.																
347. Birds kept	•–	–	–	•+	+	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•–
348. Caged	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
349. Tied up	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
350. Wings plucked or cut	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–
351. Bear cubs kept	•+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
352. Deer fawns kept	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
353. Small mammals kept	–	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Food and Its Handling																
Staple Foods																
262 354. Deer staple flesh food	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	–
355. Fish staple flesh food	•+	+	–	–	+	•+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+
356. Deer and fish equally important	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
357. Acorns staple plant food	•o	•o	•+	•+	•+	•+	•o	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
358. Sunflower seeds	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
359. Ipos or other bulbs	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+
360. Water lily seeds	+	+	–	–			•+		–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–
Animals Eaten																
361. Dog eaten habitually	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	•–	–
[261] 362. Dog eaten during famines, epidemics	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
363. Fox	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
364. Coyote	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
365. Wolf	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	o	–	–	–
366. Grizzly bear (Ursus horribilus)	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	o	–
366a. Brown bear (Ursus americanus)	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	o	–	+	(+)
367. Deer	+	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
368. Elk (wapiti)	+	+	+	+	o	+	o	+	o	+	o	+	o	o	o	+
369. Antelope	+	+	+	+	o	•+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	+
o370. Puma	–	+	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	(–)	+	–	–

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
● 766 4062. Chief, rich person's funeral differs from common man's	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	•+	−	−	+	+	•+	.	•+	•+
4063. Larger, better attended	+	+				+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	+
4064. Body kept 1-2 days	+	+									+	−	+	.	+	+
4065. Feast follows funeral	−	+	+								+	−	−	−	+	+

Assistants at Burials, Burnings

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
764 †4066. One or more men in charge	1	•3	2			•1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	.	1
4067. Inherit position, paternal	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
‡4068. Number of pallbearers	1	1	•3	4	5	•1	•2	2	•2	2	2	−	2	•3	.	3
4069. Kinsmen of deceased	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
4070. Kinswomen of deceased	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4071. Nonrelatives	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4072. Any strong man	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
4073. Chosen by widow	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
4074. Paid	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
°4075. Number of gravediggers	−	−	•3	.	6	•1	.	2	•2	•3	2	3	2	•2	.	.
4076. Paid	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
4077. Herb in mouth when digging grave	−	−	−					−	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−
4078. All help gather wood for cremation	−	•+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
4079. 1-4 persons gather wood	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4080. Relatives or nonrelatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+

Disposal of Corpse

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
4081. Interment	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
4082. General	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	•+	+
4083. Rare	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−
4084. Interred in earth	−	−	+	−	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
4085. Unlined hole, circular or rectangular	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	•+
4086. Round hole, brush or bark lined	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
4087. Inside house	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
4088. Winter only	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−
4089. Interred among rocks	+	+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4090. Corpse rock-covered	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4091. Corpse extended supine	(+)	−	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4092. Corpse flexed	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	(+)
4093. Face or head toward east	−	−	+	•+	•+	•+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
4094. Head toward west	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4095. Cord or withe to lower corpse	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	.	•+
4096. Corpse handed down into grave	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	.	−
4097. String projecting from child's grave.	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4098. Basket of water set in grave	−	−	−			•+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
4099. Basket of water set on grave	−	−	−			−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4100. Food set on grave	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
4101. Sand put on top of grave	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4102. Pounded beads put on top of grave	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
4103. Rock(s) set on top of grave	−	−	−	−	+	•−	−	•−	+	−	+	−	−	−	.	+
4104. Fire built near grave	−	−	−				−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4105. Grave marker, vertical pole	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
4106. Bark shed built over grave	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	(+)	−	−	.	−
*4107. Fence of sticks, rocks around grave	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
*4108. Secondary basket burial, occasionally	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
4109. Cremation	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	R
4110. General	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	•−	−
4111. Rare	−	−	•+	•+	•−	•+	−	•+	•+	•−	•+	−	−	−	•+	•R
4112. Corpse flexed	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−

2: Voegelin E-5 . (1936) . 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5171. Instruction	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5172. Supernatural experience	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5173. Sings	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5174. Goes into trance	−	−	−	−	−			+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5175. Tells who hid or stole money	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5176. Tracks money, if hiding place changed	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5177. Talks to piece of money	−	−	−	−	−			−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
5178. Listens to hear money singing	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5179. Functions when money is lost	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5180. Performs at any public ceremony	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
5181. Money hidden, to test shaman	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−

Witchcraft

Black Magic

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
791 754 5182. Love medicine	+	.	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
832 5183. Roots	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−
5184. Hair treated with formula, blood								+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
5185. Songs				•+		+	•+	•+	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−
5186. "Diamond" (charmstone)						+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
754 5187. Poisoners distinct from doctors	+	−	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	.	•+		+	−
791 5188. Men only	+	−	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	.	+		−	−
[562] 5189. Have power from various animals	−	−	.	−	−		−	−	−	+	−	.	−		−	−
5190. From evil spirit	−		−	−	−		−	−	−	+	−	.	−		−	−
5191. Have knowledge of herbs	(+)		•		−								+		−	−
784 5192. Shamans, poisoners practice contagious magic	+		•+	+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•	•+	−
756 5193. Poisoner, curing shaman hired to revenge refusal of girl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	(−)
5194. Make girl crazy, or kill her outright	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	•+		•+	(−)
5195. Colored lights (transformed witches) cause illness	−	−	•+	•+				•+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
5195a. Epidemics caused by spirit creatures	−	−	−	−				•+	•+	+	−	−	−		−	−

Prayer, Offerings

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
782 5196. Prayers frequent by all	+	+	−	•(−)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
264 5197. Offerings of food at meals	•+	+	•−	•−	+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	+		+	+

Eagle Ceremony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
825 5198. Special observances connected with eagle								•(−)					−	−	+	−
5199. Eaglets captured alive													−	−	•+	−
5200. People eat acorn soup on spot													−	−	•+	−
5201. Eaglets kept tied by leg													−	−	+	−
5202. Killed when grown													−	−	+	−
5203. Feathers plucked out													−	−	+	−
[766] 5204. Beads put on body													−	−	+	−
5205. Eagle buried in basket, like person													−	−	+	−
5206. Owners cry at funeral, as for person													−	−	+	−
5206a. Chief only uses eagle feathers								•−	•−				−	−	+	−

Kuksu

Initiation (Boys)

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
575 5207. Tossed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.		−	−
5208. Over fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	.		−	−
5209. Held over fire												(+)	.		−	−

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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764
177

násh túnshish. Nā'sh kā̆flatoks nādsháshak tchpí'nualank, nánuk titads-
in one row. On one ground all together they are burying, every provided

χátko pil ílktch spûshpaktchámpka, shushtedshχátko wáshash wuwatuáp-
with boards grave they make mound-shaped, fenced in prairie-wolves to keep

kasht ké-utchishash tchí'sh. K̲á-i mā'ntch gítko sha hû'nk spû'klitcha
off grey wolves also. Not long after this they go to sweat

[765]

tútenäpni waítash. Wátch a lúluagsh tchí'sh k̲á-i tatá mā'ntch gínkanka
for five days. Horses slaves also no longer they bring there

luélkish, m'nátoks sha wátch shéshatui shkútashtat í'lχûtchlûk.
to kill, but his own they horses trade off for blankets to bury him in.

NOTES.

This short notice describes a funeral (isha) of the Klamath Lake tribe in the mode as adopted from the Americans not long after the treaty of 1864, when cremation of bodies was abolished. Whatsoever of the ancient customs in disposing of the dead is still observed, the reader will easily gather from the present sketch.

87, 3. tálaka means to go forth and back with the hand; hence to rub with the palm of the hand, to rub paint on, to paint.

87, 5. Hä' nen wä'g'n. In this connection they can also say: hä' nem wä'g'n; and for wátchatka: wátchetka.

87, 11. tánktak, in this connection, is a compound of tánkt and ak, not of tánk and tak: "just at that time."

87, 17. láp kímbaks gasháktchna: they follow the corpse, which is placed on the wagon, in two files *on horseback;* kímbaks is apposition to shashámoks.

88, 1. Nā'sh etc. The appearance of their graveyard (tchpínû) near the Williamson River does not differ much from that of our cemeteries; it lies in the midst of the woods. For titadsχátko see Dictionary.

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*539
766
[115]

FUNERAL OF WARRIORS.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY "SERGEANT" MORGAN, AN INDIAN FROM KOHÁSHTI.

[726]
[825]

Ní'shta hä'ma mû'kash tχû'tχuk: "mák̲laks k̲'lä'k̲!" Tsúi gátpa
All night long screeches the big owl presaging: "people die!" Then come

mák̲laks ktaklí'sh, tsúi shneshnalχō'ta hushtsóχok. Nā's wípka hû ámbotat,
men parflesh-cuirassed, and while burning down lodges murder they. One (man) escaped into the water,

tsúi shtí'ldshna tû' sa-amoksámkshi m'na; gená shtí'ldshnuk. Tsúi gépka
and reported over there at relative's house his; he went (there) to announce. Then came

tumí' mák̲laks wa-u'htákiug; tsúi shenótank gē'kshta túnip hushtsóχ shenó-
many people to disperse (them); and while fighting on one side five were killed in

tankok. Gē'kshta tchkash hushtsóχa túm, nánka géna kä'ktsnuk vû'shuk;
battle. On other side also were killed many, some started to run away from fear;

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tsúi sha shiû'lgip'l tsóχapksh, tsúi sa ánkuala tû'm, tsúi sa kshû'iwal lû'-
then they collected the fallen, and they cut limbs (of trees) many, and they laid on the pyre to
lukshaluapkug. Tsúi sa nutá hû'k, nánuktua núta; pualála sha hû'nkĕlam
cremate (him). Then they fired it, the whole' they fired; cast into they his
tû'kanksh. Stútχishla sha yutátkug; k'lékaht shtútχishla. At hû'k nánuk
quiver. Sorrowfully wept they in mourning; at his death they wept. Now that whole
nátspka tchulä'ks, at sa nánuk gä'mbĕle lólokshaltkuk. Gátpampĕle
was burnt up body, then they all returned from cremating. They came back
tchi'shtat shishháshka sha lák hû'k snáwedsh hû'nkĕlam wenóya; hissuáksh
to homes (and) cut off they hair to wife his, who was widowed; husband
m'na k'lékaht wenóya. Shtíĕ shupĕlóka nû'ss wenóyuk, tsúi spúklitch.
her having died she became widow. Resin she laid on (her) head because widowed, then went sweating.
Túnipni spúkĕli, k'lä'wi at; at gä'mbĕle, kiä'm pán. At gä'tak.
Five (days) she sweated, stopped then; and returned home, (and) fish ate. That's the end.

NOTES.

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The style of this little piece is far from what we would call accomplished, and of incongruencies and unnecessary repetitions there are a score. The fight in which the five warriors were killed is imputed to the presaging, night-long cry of an ear-owl, and in ancient times Indians seem to have been justified by universal custom in attacking and killing their neighbors if an owl or raven was vociferating at night in close proximity to the lodge or lodges of these unfortunate people.

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88, 7. hushtsóχok for hushtsóχa húk.

88, 9. 10. hushtsóχa is used here in an active sense, but is better translated by the passive form.

89, 1. kshúiwala has for direct object tsóχapksh, the dead body. For the same operation the verb kshawala, kaháwal is also frequently used: 85, 6. From here the informant begins to speak of *one* body only, as if only one warrior, not many, had been killed in this battle. Cf. *Note* to 80, 5.

89, 2. húnkĕlam stands in this line for hunkĕlámsham or p'núlam: "their, theirs".

89, 5. lák. After their return they cut off the hair of the widow and then she put pitch or resin on the head. In most tribes they did it *at the time* of cremation, while they witnessed the action of the flames upon the body.

89, 5. húk snáwedsh: one widowed wife only is mentioned here instead of many: "*pars pro toto*"-construction. This sentence, if built regularly, would run as follows: shishháshka sha lák hû'nkĕlam snawédshash, kát húk wenóya; hissuákshash m'na k'lékaht wenóya.

89, 7. spû'kĕli, to sweat in the sweat-lodge, viz. in one of the three sweat-lodges given by K'múkamtch to the Klamath Lake people: spû'klitcha, spû'klidsha, to start out for sweating there. Cf. lumkóka and wála. To eat fish only, and no meat, means *to fast* on fish.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4113. Corpse extended	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	[illegible]	764
4114. Body burned outside	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	
4115. Body on top of pyre	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
4116. Body inside pyre	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	
4117. Body burned in house	+	+	-	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	
4118. Only if whole family dies, epidemic	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
o4119. Duration of burning, days	1	·+	1	·	-	·	·1	1	·1	-	1	-	·1	1	1	-	
4120. Partial cremation	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
4121. Bones entirely consumed by fire	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	
4122. Broken with sticks, rocks	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	
4123. Ceremonial eating of corpse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-	
4124. Secondary basket burial of ashes	-	·+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	·+	-	·+	+	+	-	
4125. Ashes raked into pile after burning	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4126. Covered with rocks or dirt.	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
Cemeteries and Burning Places																	
4127. Cemeteries	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	·+	+	[361]
4128. Less than 1/2 mile from village	-	-	-	·+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	
4129. 1/2 mile or more from village	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	
4130. No regular cemetery; burial 1/2 mile or more from village	-	-	+	-	·-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4131. Grave plots	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4132. Definite grave plots, each family	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	·+	+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	
4133. Graves weeded, cleaned occasionally, in spring	-	-	+		+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	·	+	·+	·+	
4134. Wife buried at husband's plot	·-	-	+	+	+	·+	-	-	+	+	+	+	·-	·-	-	·+	
4135. Wife buried in own family plot	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	·+	·+	+	+	
·4136. Husband occasionally buried at wife's plot	-	-	+	+	+	·+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4137. Wife buried near husband's village.	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	
4138. Regular burning places	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	+	+	-	
4139. Near village	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	
Treatment of Property																	
4140. Destruction of personal property.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	768 ●
4145. Burnt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	·+	·+	+	+	·+	·+	
4146. During cremation	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	
4147. Following cremation	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	
4148. During, after burial	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	
4149. Buried	-	-	+		+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	
4150. With corpse	-	-	+							+	+	+	-	-	+	+	
4151. Man's implements broken	-	-	+							+	+	+	-	-	+	+	
4152. Baskets smashed	-	-	+		·+					+	+	+	-	-	+	R+	
4153. Property set on top of grave	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
4154. Canoe broken, given away	·-	·+	-	·(+)	-	·+	·o	-	·+	-	·-	·-	·o	·o	-	-	
4155. Canoe of deceased burnt when worn out	+	+	-	+	·+	·+	o	-	-	+	-	+	o	o	-	-	
4156. Slave(s) killed	+	+	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4157. Deceased's dog disposed of	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
4158. Killed	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
4159. Hung by neck	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4160. Given away	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4161. Horse killed (recent)	+	+	·+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	·	+	+	-	
4162. Meat distributed and eaten	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	
4163. Hide or carcass burnt	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	·	-	-	-	
4164. Killed at grave; carcass left there	-	-	+										·	-	+	-	
4165. Preservation of personal property	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	-	·R	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	

.2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
762 4166. Relatives take some personal property	+	+	+	–	+	+	°+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
4167. New unused possessions only .	+	–	+	–	–		+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
4168. Outsiders take some personal property	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
4169. Destruction of real property (living houses).																
4170. House burned	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
4171. Only if man owns sweat house-living house	+	+	+	+	–	–	°+	°+		+	+	–	–	+	–	–
4172. House torn down or abandoned	°+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
4173. House torn down and rebuilt	°+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	°+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
4174. House deserted temporarily	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
4175. Only headman's house burned, deserted	–	–	–	°+	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–
4176. House of man killed in war burned . .	(–)	+	.						+	+	.	.	.	.	+	–
4177. Preservation of real property	+	°+			+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
4178. House occupied constantly after death	–	–	–	–	+	+	°+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
4179. Purification of house	+	+	+	–	+	°+	°+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	°+
4180. With aromatic plants	°+	°+	°+	–	°+	°+	°+	–	–	°+	–	°+	°+	–	°+	–
4181. Tobacco smoked inside house .	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	–	+	+	.	–
4182. Deer hair burnt inside house.												+	–	–	+	°–
Taboos and Purification of Undertakers, etc.																
764 783 4183. Undertakers only contaminated, subject to taboos	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+
†4184. Mourners and undertakers contaminated, subject to taboos	–	–	°+	°+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
†4185. Use head scratcher for ... days after funeral	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	5	–	–	°4	2	28	5	–	–
†4186. Eat alone for ... days after funeral	–	–	°10	°5	–	–	–	5	–	–	°4	2	28	5	4	–
†4187. Separate dishes	–	–	°4	°5	–	–	–	5	–	–	°4	2	28	5	4	–
†4188. Meat, meat products taboo ... days. .	–	–	°4	°5	1	–	1	5	12	–	°4	2	28	5	4	–
†4189. Fresh fish taboo ... days	–	–	°5	–	1	–	1	5	°5	–	°4	2	28	5	4	–
†4190. Dried salmon taboo ... days	–	–	°5	–					–	–	°4	2	28	5	4	–
†4191. Hunting taboo ... days	–	–	°10	°5	–	–	1	5	–	–	°4	2	–	–	4	–
†4192. For ... months	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	°2
†4193. Gambling taboo ... days	–	–	°10	°5	–	–	°5	5	–	–	°4	2	–	–	4	–
†4194. For ... months	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	4	°2
†4195. Smoking taboo ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	°4	2	28	5	4	–
†4196. Intercourse taboo ... days	–	–	°10	(–)	1	–	1	+	–	–	°4	2	28	5	4	–
4197. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4198. All persons who attend funeral . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–
4199. By sweating	+	+	°+	°+	°+	°+	+	–	°+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4200. By swimming, washing hands, face . .	+	+	°+	°+	(+)	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+
4201. Immediately after funeral	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	–	°+	+	+	–	.	–	–	+
4202. Everyday	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
∘4203. After ... days	–	–	–	°5		–	–	5	°1	–	–	2	.	°5	4	°+
4204. Scarification and bleeding	–	–	°+	–	+	–	–	–	°+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4205. Application of medicated water . . .	–	–	°+	°+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
4206. Smoking body			+							+	–	–	+	+	–	–
4207. Plant rubbed on body	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	(–)	+
4208. Medicine drunk	–	–	+	°+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–
Taboos on Relatives																
764 765 4209. Widow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4210. Taboo to touch corpse	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
4211. Steps between legs as release from marriage tie	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–
4212. Lies beside corpse	–	°+	°+	–	–	°+	°+	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	°+
4213. Outside, before corpse taken to grave	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
4214. At grave, pyre	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

764
000
4136. In none of groups is this a general practice. SW: Done only if man dies while away from home, at wife's village, and it is winter or too far to pack home body. AW: Poor men only. Wealthy people are brought back to their homes for burial; corpse carried on litter consisting of 2 poles, with large deer hide stretched between, its edges laced to poles with thongs which pass through cuts made in hide. Furs piled on top of hide; litter borne by 4 men, 2 at each end. Litter for poor persons has sticks laid across it, no skins. Bearers paid; poor men accept the clamshell-disk beads in payment, wealthier men refuse them.

Treatment of property.--

4145. MM, MF, NS, MV: Worthless property only; bury person's good possessions.

4152. At: Baskets torn up, thrown out (but not put in grave); "given" thus to deceased.

-● [768] 4154. Kl, MM, MF: Kept by relatives. Mo, AW: Given to friend. SW, WM: Broken. At, NF, NM: Canoes lacking in area. See note 856.

4155. At, AW: Or allowed to lie and rot in water.

4161. SE: Informant had heard of at least 1 case among SE where, after horse was killed, it was slit down belly, corpse put inside carcass, and carcass buried.

4165. At: Some of woman's baskets kept for her children, others burnt. WM: "Spirit of dead wants all dead person's possessions destroyed; if this not done, spirit comes back and threatens to take its mother or grandmother with it. Relatives give spirit its possessions; burn them; also give spirit powdered red rock. After everything is burnt, spirit no longer bothers living. Persons know when spirit is around because they become sick, have pains in chest, perhaps headache, dizzy, lack appetite. Call in doctor, who treats patient and talks to spirit." As regards recent acquisitions, such as horses, silver money, spirit tells shaman to keep horse and treat it well, and use money to buy acorns.

4166. AE: Relatives take whatever property they can use; when it wears out or they no longer have any use for it, they burn it.

4170. AW: Winter living houses used only about 10 years at best; "after that, fleas get too bad in them."

4171. AE: If anyone, other than owner of winter living house, dies in house, "they just purify the house, and people go on living in it; they don't burn it the next spring. If owner of house dies in winter, house is purified; other occupants live in it until spring, then burn it. WT: Chief owns assembly house; this occasionally burnt, if people feel very badly and are trying to forget deceased.

768 4172. Kl: Relatives of dead person move into small temporary hut after abandoning living house.

4173. Kl: If death occurs in winter earth lodge, house torn down and rebuilt next fall.

[231-A]

OOO WM: Remove 10-15 "good long boards" from house, and keep these for new house; burn remaining part of house. Or, tear down that part of house where man slept, burn entire house, and pile dirt over spot where dead person used to sleep, then pile rocks on top of dirt. "At Hayfork (WT) burn the side of house where man slept, but leave other side standing and build onto it." After family of deceased burn house, they move away, 10-15 miles or so, and live for year or so in the new place; then return to old location.

4175. SW, AE: Burned. NF: Assembly house deserted temporarily; closed for 2-3 years, then reopened, purified by having wormwood burnt inside it, cleaned, and used again.

4177. Mo: House temporarily abandoned in some instances; fumigated before being abandoned.

4178. AE: See note 4171.

4179. AW: Pitch put on inside walls of house. AE: See note 4171. MV: Pounded salt sprinkled inside house and on ceiling.

● [768 824 783] 4180. Kl, SE, At, AW, AE: Juniper; use of juniper denied for all other groups. Mo, AE: Sage; use of sage denied for all other groups. Mo, SE, At, AW, WS: Cedar. AW, AE, NF, NS: Wormwood; use of wormwood denied for WT, WM, WS, MM, MF, NM. WS: Fir. MF, NF: Angelica; denied for NM, MV.

4182. MV: If burn hair of deer (or its bones, hide), hunter who shot deer will lose his hunting luck.

Taboos and purification of undertakers, etc.--

4183. WT: Taboos imposed so that undertakers will not "dream bad," that is, dream of death of close relative, or of being hurt. If do have these dreams, means dreamer will die shortly. NM: Includes 2 men who dig grave for ashes; 2 old women who carry ashes to grave; 3 men who carry corpse out of house.

4184. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers, not merely to scapegoat.

4185. MM: 4-5 days.

4186-4187. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners. MM: 4-5 days.

4188. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. MM: 4-5 days.

4189. SE: Refers to undertakers and mourners. WM: 6-7 days. MM: 4-5 days.

4190. SE: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. MM: 4-5 days.

4191. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. MM: 4-5 days.

4192. MV: 2-3 months.

4193. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. AE: 5-7 days. MM: 4-5 days.

4194. MV: 2-4 months.

4195. MM: 4-6 days.

4196. SE: Refers to all undertakers; not to mourners. MM: 4-6 days.

4199. SE, SW, WM: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners. At: All taboos imposed on undertakers, gravediggers, and others may bring them good luck. AW: After sweating, swimming follow-

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4675. Door keeper at land of dead	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	775
4676. One destination for all	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
4677. Good and bad different destinations	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	-	(+)	•-	-	-	-	
4678. All ghosts stay on earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	✓
4679. Doctors, bad persons	-	.	-	.	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4680. Improperly buried, burned persons	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4681. Ghosts encountered around village	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	.	-	-	+	-	
4682. Ghosts encountered around cremation spot or burying place	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	
4683. In air	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	.	-	.	+	+	
4684. In whirlwind	-	+	-	-	.	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	
4685. Dead visit, in dreams with living	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[787]
4686. Occasional dream may give person power	-	-	-	.	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	
4687. Constant dreaming of dead bad omen.	-	+	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	

Precautions to Keep Away Ghosts

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4688. Ghosts feared	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	769
4689. Offerings of food, if dream of dead	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	(-)	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	+	775
4690. Ghost feast	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	+	-	.	•+	
4691. Eat with dog.	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4692. Shaman hired to sing for dreamer.	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	-	
4693. Dreamer puts ashes, pitch on body							+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4694. Talk to ghost	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	
4695. Throw ashes toward ghost	+	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
4696. Throw water toward ghost or grave								+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4697. Bathe in plain or medicated water	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
4698. Herbs rubbed on body	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	
4699. Roots chewed and spit	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-	
4700. Tobacco smoked	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	.	-	
4701. Burn aromatic plant	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	
4702. After childbirth, to avoid bad dreams	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	.	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4703. Burn hair, skin	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	•+	-	•+	-	
4704. After childbirth, to avoid bad dreams	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4705. Hang small bow and arrow in door		.								+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
4706. Plant, feathers hung up	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	

Omens

Sneezing, etc.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4707. Sudden sneeze sign someone talking about sneezer	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	787
4708. Of opposite sex	-	-	+	-	.	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	827
4709. Relation	-	-	-	+				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4710. At a distance	-	+	+	+	+	+			-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4711. Sudden sneeze sign someone thinking of sneezer	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4712. Invite such to come visit	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4713. Ear buzzing sign someone deprecating person														+	-	-	

Bird, Animal Calls as Omens

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4714. Owl call before dawn omen death, war, rain.	+	+	+	•-	+	.	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
4715. Robin calling after dark bad omen	-	+	+	+	-	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	825
4716. Magpie calling after dark bad omen	-	+	-	-		.		+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	

000 they are rather a cloddish, indolent, ordinarily good-natured race, but treacherous at bottom, sullen when angered, notorious for keeping Punic faith. But their bravery nobody can deny."*

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD.

174 Before the middle of the nineteenth century the Máklaks people was unknown to mankind except to the nearest neighbors in Oregon and California. We are therefore justified in beginning its period of documentary history at that time, and in relegating to the domain of prehistorics all that is known of their previous condition. The information upon these points is furnished by three factors: tradition, archæologic remains, and language.

A. TRADITION BEARING UPON HISTORY.

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773 Traditional folk-lore, when of the mythic order, generally dates from an earlier epoch of fixation than historic traditions. The remote origin of *genuine* mythic folk-lore is sufficiently evidenced by the archaic terms embodied with it, by the repetition of the same phraseology for ages, and by the circumstance that all nations tend to preserve their religious ideas in an unchanged form. I am laying peculiar stress upon the term *genuine*, for Indians have often mixed recent ideas and fictions with archaic, original folk-lore and with ancient mythic ideas, the whole forming now one inextricable conglomerate which has the appearance of aboriginal poetic prose.

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784 The Klamath people possess no historic traditions going further back in time than a century, for the simple reason that there was a strict law prohibiting the mention of the person or acts of a deceased individual by *using his name.* This law was rigidly observed among the Californians no less than among the Oregonians, and on its transgression the death penalty could be inflicted. This is certainly enough to suppress all historic knowledge within a people. How can history be written without names?

[126] Many times I attempted to obtain a list of the former head chiefs of the two chieftaincies. I succeeded only in learning the names of two chiefs recently deceased, and no biographic details were obtainable.

174 This people belongs to the autochthonic nations of America, called so because they have lost all remembrances of earlier habitats or of migrations.

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* Contributions to Amer. Ethnology, III, p. 253.

773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however, be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is
free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during
the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of
suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency build-
532 ings, which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face
flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also
artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the lan-
538 guage fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of
success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration, assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

*539 683 [697] Tsúi Tétĕmadshish hû'nk shemtchálχa tawí'sht Doctor Johnash k̲'lekáp-
Then Aunt Susie discovered that had bewitched Dr. John the de-

kash; tsúi mbû'shant waitólank ná-ent waítashtka í'lktcha; Doctor Johnash
ceased; and next day being over on other day buried (him); Dr. John

tchí'sh sha shpúnshna, at k̲léwiank sha Doctor Johnash shpúnshampĕlank
also they conveyed, now after their return Dr. John taking along

shpúlhi, tchúi sha k̲á-ishuank skúkum-house mpámpatkia tchíkĕminatka.
imprisoned, and they locking the strong-house nailed (it) down with (iron-) nails.

Tchikéskni Shkélaksh tû'la shpúlhi Doctor Johnash. Tchúi tchiwí'χa
Tchikéskni Skélag with imprisoned Dr. John. And he sat in

hátokt, tchúi hû'ksha gä'mpĕle spulhí'tkuk. Pän ndā'ni tchēk waitólank
therein, and these men went home after imprisonment. Again three at last days past

Shχélag gátpa ktû'tp'nuk pā'sh; tchúi Sχélag gä'mpĕle káyak hassasuákiank
Skélag came to bring (him) food; and Skélag returned not at all having spoken

Doctor Johnash. Pän géna Sχélag ndáni waitólank pásh äníyuk; shû'lip-
to Dr. John. Again went Skélag three days elapsed victuals to bring; hand-

kank p'laíkni hak shéwana Doctor Johnash, P'lú toks lápĕni shéwana
ing from above there he gave (them) to Dr. John, Blow however twice gave

náyant waítashtat. Hû'kt pil nā'dshek; hû'ksha toks, nánka k̲á-i hû'masht
another on day. This one (was) the only one; those (men) (did), other (men) not like (him)

shéwanat shí'ukshtka gíug Doctor Johnash. Tchúshak lápi sha shíkĕnitksh
gave (any food) kill in order to Dr. John. Constantly two (men) they a pistol

[657] shishí'tilatk shlíutuapkug hû'nk. Agency tchúi gépksht tapí' tí'ta shash,
were carrying in their dress to fire on him. To the Agency (they) had gone after a while they,

ktíugíulank k̲á-ishtish, tchúi wátch hátokt tkû'tkapksh shláank gé'hlap-
he kicked open the door-cover, and a horse there standing finding (he) mounted

tchapka, m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Tchúi gí'ta hushótpa agency, tchúi
it, his son having come (with the horse). Then here he rode up to the agency, and

yá-uks-mĕnámksh gátpĕnank gulí'. Tchúi agencí'nish lák̲iash hashashu-
in the physician's house coming entered. And to the agent he ap-

ákia, Mínnïash shahamúyank shnû'ntatka lák̲iash hashashuakítki gíug.
plied, for Minnie sending to interpret the agent for conversing with.

NOTES.

64, 1. In September 1877 Púkish, an elderly Indian, died after a very short illness on the western side of Upper Klamath Lake. The rumor that he had been bewitched and thereby feloniously killed by K̲ák̲ash, one of the conjurers who treated him, soon gained credence, and the excitement in the tribe ran high. The first account of the occurrence was obtained by one of the subchiefs, who, with his colleagues, passed sentence over the unfortunate K̲ák̲ash.

[192] [193] [551] [769] **64, 1.** hû't, "this one", forms one of the substitutes for names of deceased persons, which no Indian dares to pronounce. Hû't refers to a person standing visibly *before* the speaker, and it is remarkable that the dead are referred to by this pronoun, and not by a pronoun marking distance out of sight, like hûkt, hû'kta etc. Cf. hû't hishuaksh, **64**, 9., gén, **64**, 2., hû'nk pí'sh, **64**, 5., **68**, 11. etc The subject nánka kukíaks does not exclude the use of the subject pronoun sha, *they*, the account being worded in the conversational style.

II.

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Kiä'm	k̲'leká	tchû'shni;	tsúyunk	hû'ksa	tsóχatk	pí'l	kiä'm,	nánuktua
Fish	remain dead	forever;	therefore	these	dead (people)	(exist) only	as fish,	as all kinds of

kiä'm,	nánuktua	mák̲laksni	tsók̲atk.	Hä'	n'	hû'nk	hû'nkiash	shläát	skû'k-
fish,	all kinds	of Indians	dead.	If	I		(of a deceased)	should behold	the

shash,	k̲'läkát	ni	hû'nk	släók;	hä'toks	ni	shuíshaltk,	tchēk	gíug	k̲á-i
spirits,	would die	I	it	through seeing;	but if	I	recur to magic songs,	then		not

siúgat	nis.
he may kill	me.

NOTES.

[128] My efforts towards obtaining exhaustive texts from the natives concerning their belief in the transmigration of human souls were not crowned with entire success. Of the two items obtained, No. II is intended as a commentary of No. I, both treating [262] of the presence of human souls in fish. The cause why so many Indian tribes shun the flesh of certain fish lies in the fact that these species were seen feeding upon the bodies of drowned men and swimming around them. This induced the belief that man's soul will pass into the organisms of these finny inhabitants of the wave, even ×539 775 787 192 when death has resulted from other causes than from drowning. According to Hill, the Mák̲laks believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances. But in *one* status only they become visible to them; when Indians are bewitched by the irresistible, magic spell of a conjurer or of a wicked genius. Then they enter into a tamánuash-dream, and when they see a dead person's spirit in such a dream, they are almost certain to [755] die from it. Only the intervention of the conjurer and of his song-medicine can save them from perishing; rigorous fasting and ascetic performances cannot be then dispensed with, and with all that no certitude of his final rescue is to be had.

[769] Here as elsewhere the pronouns hûk, húnkiash etc., are inserted instead of the unpronounceable name of the deceased, and mean: *dead person, spirit.*

129, 2. pil mák̲laks; only dead Indians, not dead white men, because during their life-time these did not believe in the skû'ks; this belief is a privilege of the Indians.

129, 2. Hushti'χak etc. This sentence runs as follows: Tchē'ktoks hushti'χa ak nish, hûk tchē'k nish síuksh shanahō'li, wakiánhua tchēk p'násh (or pû'sh) nû'sh shuíshaltki gíug shanahō'li: "if he (the bad genius) makes me only dream in that manner, then he intends either to kill me, or perhaps he wants me to keep the song-medicine [756] for myself." To keep the song-medicine, shuíshla, is to undergo fasts and ascetic performances under the supervision of some conjurer for an almost unlimited time, five years at least.

129, 3. 4. Hä'toks ni' shläát etc.: if I should see (the dead) while I am *awake.*

[193] 129, 4. Skû'ks-kiäm, a compound word, may be rendered by spirit-fish, letiferous fish.

130, 1. Kiä'm k̲'leka etc. The rather obscure sense of this statement may be made comprehensible by the following: "When fish are dead, they are dead forever; hence

*539 825 787 K̲ák̲ tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lúluk sa k̲ák̲am tχû'tχatkash, tsúi sa
A raven is a soothsayer; and they believing the raven's repeated prophecy, they
shenó̆tanka; pits hú'nk pán k̲ák máklaks.
fight each other; it also eats, the raven, (dead) men.

787 Tutíksh mák̲laks shuína tchû'χapkam m'nálam shashámokshaln;
Dreams the natives sing about dead their relatives;
húmasht sháhunk gíug kíukayunk flags.
for this same reason they stick out flags.

525 777 825 Tmélhak gítko shaklō'tkish tídsh tínχa; tû'm íχaga. Tmélhak tā'dsh
A tmélhak-squirrel having, the gambler well succeeds; much he wins. The tmélhak (is) certainly
sháyuaks; shakálshtat lak̲í, tíds sualaliámpkatko.
of much account; in the game (it is) chief, well managing (it).

Tchásbash mû'na lushántsnank mbáwa skí's; tsúi mák̲laks nánuk
The skunk deep down while scratching a hole emitted a blast; upon this people all
825 hushtsóga tsáshash-kíuks. Snáwedsh shanahóliuk spû'nshna p'laiwásham
killed the skunk-conjurer. A wife seeking he carried off the eagle's
tû'paks ktanápkash. Shléank tchawíka p'laíwash, wí-udsna ánkutka
sister when asleep. Seeing (this) became furious eagle, beat with a club
tchásēs, wí-udsish k̲'läká, tsúi k̲ó-i pílui. Ndopóg ktsō'l hämotsípka:
the skunk, the beaten one died, then badly stunk. Smelling (it) the stars said:
"pátkal!" at p'laíwash pátkalp'le, stópatchka, tsúi gémpēle túpakshash
"get up!" and eagle rose up again, washed the face, then went home sister
m'na énank.
his taking with him.

II.

*539 525 825 777 Hä shaklō'tkish pí'sham shnû'lash ntággal, shaklō'tkish tídsh vumí',
If a gambler of humming-bird the nest finds, (and) the gambler well hides (it) away,
k̲aítoks kaní vuiní'χi. Hä kó-e shléa pahápkash, pē'tch ktákta sk̲ä'tish
not any one conquers (him). If a frog he finds dried-up, the leg he cuts off left
tapí'dshnish vumí'; húmashtak shû'ta shaklō'tkish, k̲aítoks kaní vuiní'χi.
hind (leg), hides away; (if) thus acts the gambler, (then) not any one beats (him).
Hä kaní tchatchlaíptcha shlä'-a (kinkáni tût wá), tídsh tí'nχa. Hä kaní
If any one a kind of fire-bug finds (scarce there they are), good luck it brings. If any one
mā'ntchnish mák̲lāksām shtáp shuálka, pahápkash käíla-shushatí'shash
old-fashioned Indian arrow-head saves, dried-up a mole
tchí'sh, hû'kt humáshtak tídsh tí'nχa tchí'sh.
also, he in the same way well succeeds also.

171 776 769 É-ukshikni Mō'dokni lóla p'laikí'shash lák̲iash, shtínta tchísh wengáp-
The Klamath Lakes (and) Modocs believe in the heavenly ruler, revere also of the de-
kam shkō'kshash.
ceased the spirits.

000 Mō'dokni shtûpuyúka túnäpni wäíta túnäpni pahín gshiúlak̲a káyak
The Modocs at first menstruation five days (and) five nights dance never
ktákt'nan; wewánuish ta-unä'pni wäíta k̲á-i tchû'lēks pán.
sleeping; the females for ten days no meat eat.

773 reputed to be a relative (shá-amoksh) of Marten, and consequently of
825 K'múkamtch; he stayed at the lodge of the five Thunders at the time when
it was burnt down, pp. 112. 113. One of his residences is at Mount Shasta.

Other quadrupeds frequently mentioned in these stories are the *skunk* (tcháshash), the three different kinds of *deer*, the *antelope* (tché-u), the *elk* (vū'n), the *mole* (mū'nk, Mod. mū-úe). Men or Indians appear but incidentally in beast stories, as pshe-utíwash, a plural noun, and are engaged only as a passive element in every occurrence where they are mentioned.

Among the *birds* the most prominent part is assigned to the *raven* (K̲ák̲, K̲ák̲amtch), for he is *Fate* personified, and his office is to punish by death all those who act antagonistically to his or his allies' interests. This is done by changing them into rocks. In all nations the croaking, doleful cries of the raven leave a deep impression on the human mind, and hence in mythology the raven fulfills the function of a soothsayer and messenger of woe. In British Columbia and farther to the northwest he is (as Yehl) considered the creator of all organisms, and almost all the folklore centers around him as the main figure.

The *golden eagle* or the one "floating in the skies" (P'laíwash) is in the Klamath lore mentioned as often as the raven, either alone or as a family of five brothers, but does not command so much respect as the raven does.

The *water birds*, as cranes, ducks, geese, coots, form the light infantry of the mythologic make-up, and mostly figure in crowds of five or ten, the coot representing the Ojibwē Shíngibis so well known through Longfellow's Hiawatha. Some of the *lower organisms* rise to an unexpected dignity, like the woodtick or shk̲ō'ks, which becomes the wife of the tricky Marten, and a caterpillar of beautiful colors, whose exterior makes him the rival or "master of the sun" (shápsam ptchíwip). Aíshish counts among his plural wives two butterflies of the gayest colors.

PRINCIPLES OF MYTHIFICATION.

121 The idea that every phenomenon and every change observed in nature
77 and mind is caused by some spirit, ghost, genius, god, or other mysterious,
generally invisible agent, embodies what we call animism, and forms the
foundation of all religions of the world, however abstract they may have

121 become in course of time. The working of animism can best be traced in
77 polytheism and polydemonism, in the shamanistic ideas as well as in the religious. The principles traceable in the myth-making of the Klamath Indians, which differs in some points from those of other Indians, may be summed up as follows:

The sky-gods, as sun, moon, winds, thunder, etc., here as elsewhere surpass in importance and strength the other deified powers of nature, for "theology is meteorology." Some of these chief gods assume the mask of animate beings and inanimate things when they appear among men.

773 Creation myths do not generally mention the material from which or
776 the mode by which objects were created, but simply state that K'múkamtch produced them by his thinking and will power.

The spirit, life, or heart of a deity is made distinct from the deity itself and can live at a distance from it. Cf. the pipe of K'múkamtch burnt in the fire, which in another myth figures as a small ball (ké-iks) and is his spirit or life.

The burlesque element, which the religions of Asia and Europe have banished almost entirely, appears here as an almost integral attribute of a god or genius. This appears to form an offset for the dire cruelties ascribed to the same demons, and is also characteristic of the religions studied east of Mississippi River.

The element of obscenity is only incidental to the burlesque element, but is sometimes very pronounced, especially in the beast stories. It was added to cause merriment only, and not for such immoral purposes as we see it applied to in the Decameron of Boccaccio and other products of a corrupt age.

801 The deified beings of a lower order, as animals, etc., appear sometimes as *one* person, but just as often in the mystic number of *five*, if not of *ten*. Fire, waters, springs, and plants are not deified, but lakes are sometimes. Clouds do not appear here deified as witches, as they do among the Eastern Indians.

Certain miracles are here achieved by bodily contact and symbolic acts; so dead animals are brought to life again by jumping three or five

II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be 771
permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices, [756]
the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of
supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the
shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance [881]
in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps,
some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance [721]
of 1870. [727]

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a
host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These [585]
are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, [786]
and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however definitely
localized in many instances and partly identified with the 776
figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the
spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no
ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart 775
from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic
existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living.

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are 776
times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the
loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the 787
revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate.

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[622] [177] The shaman himself is, or was, the outstanding figure of Klamath society. He had no rival in the chiefs, the rich man, until the coming of the whites brought a redistribution of emphasis in Klamath life. Chiefs had previously been persons of little influence.

• 771 *171 All this is familiar enough among Indians; the Klamath differ only in particulars. In its several aspects, their religion, as well as its practice, is one with that of the Great Basin, Plateau, and Mackenzie tribes.

THE POWER QUEST

787 The quest for supernatural aid is open to everyone, men and women, boys and girls. It is a constantly recurring feature of their lives. Everyone, perhaps without exception, seeks the powers at least once during his lifetime and further experiences seem to be repeatedly sought.

[881] The first occasion is always puberty. I doubt that boys and girls are expected to be uniformly successful in securing aid at this time, because, it was said, at shamanistic performances those who had power might sing their songs. This may imply that the others either never [765] acquired power or had lost it. My informants' frequent emphasis on the period of mourning for a husband, wife, or child marks this, too, as a peculiarly pregnant period when power may be successfully sought. At least at such a time a man loses his power and must seek [844] again if he wishes to regain it. A man also seeks power at the birth of a first child. But it is not only the crises of life that provide [756] occasion; the quest may be undertaken at any time, and it is the practice of such as gamblers and shamans to renew and enhance their [525] powers by frequent attempts. The quest is called spü'tu.

The experience does not ordinarily include a vision, but is made manifest in a song heard in a dream. In some instances where a vision is had, a dream song follows, but it is clear that the latter is the essential experience. In the following case a man and a woman had identical visions but to the man alone fell the experience leading to power.

787 159 The grandfather of a Klamath Falls shaman went to stö'kmöte, the point of Eagle Ridge, in the evening. There is a spot in the lake where bubbles rise. Horses lived in this long ago (!). When this man reached the headland he saw two pinto horses, with long manes, rearing against each other from the water. He was not frightened but took off his clothes and plunged into the water in order to secure power. When he recovered consciousness he found himself again on land. From that time he was lucky; he began to get many pintos, large horses. Because of this experience his grandson, the shaman, also acquired, in his turn, spirit songs of all kinds.

Taken as a whole Klamath material culture is of Plateau type with 171*
strong leanings toward northeastern California. But their social and 101
religious culture has a different aspect. While basically of the
extremely simple Basin-Plateau type, social habits reflect the Northwest 105
Coast, religious ones rather those of northern California and
western Oregon.

The basis of Klamath religious experience is that of the northern 171*
interior, the Basin, and the Northwest Coast, in distinction to California
and the Southwest. The experience is deliberately sought and 771 •
the power obtained is of a generalized, unspecialized nature. In this they resemble as well the generality of North Americans. Even their spirits are of the sort universal east of the Pacific coast. Specific Northwest Coast influence appears in the circumscription of general spirit repossession to the midwinter month. On the other hand, the shaman novice's inaugural dance, which gives at least as much color to Klamath shamanism, is characteristic of northern California and western Oregon. The Klamath form of it is, rather, Oregonian. Details of shamanism, on the other hand, link more firmly with northern, especially northeastern, California.

Social organization is extremely simple, and it is quite patent that 171*
as late as the end of the eighteenth century, it resembled that of the
Basin and Plateau in every particular. Even now social stratification
is only weakly developed. Chiefs were only recently set off from the
mass, their functions vague and their influence slight. At the very 171*
moment that Klamath society began to break down with the coming of 177
the whites, they first imported from the Columbia river judicial functions
for the chiefs. Chiefs are the wealthiest individuals, but they 622
are not chiefs because they are wealthy. Their selection is still based on principles of personal ability. The basis of this differentiation, wealth, came from the same direction, but the accompanying principle of the Northwest Coast, caste stratification, never reached here; nor did the chief's adjunct, a speaker or advocate, although this functionary is known in the Plateau and Basin as well as in the Northwest.
At the other end of the scale, slavery is apparently an old institution, 171*
but was of little importance until wealth began to figure among them. 567
The Northwest Coast concept of status based on wealth appears again
in marriage, here regularly by purchase. But social estimation did 171*
not rest on the amount paid, which was in fact very little. With so
slight an emphasis on rank and wealth, those northwestern corollaries, 556
local exogamy to maintain the one and the family compact following 584

NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

BY ROBERT F. SPENCER

773 IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians
177 of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of
178 aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among
[176] other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in
the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of
interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of
their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way
and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching
Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer
[182] can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the
folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common
economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies
combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising
to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations.
A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to
find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal
myth.

175 Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation
177 from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal
to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its
culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which
[222] it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In
[226] its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent
gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes
[631] of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic
[621] economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separatistic
[771] hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly
[791] developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest
and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points
to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

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[101] [1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949,
[122] on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund, 1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

[113] [2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

771 To treat aboriginal Klamath religion under three headings of shamanism,
791 power quest, and cosmology is patent oversimplification. In nature and
content these features formed an integrated configuration reflecting a major
554 cultural preoccupation. It is true that the shaman in each community played
a dominant role and in his capacity as curer, magician, and entertainer com-
787 manded the utmost in social prestige. On the other hand, as was common in
western North America, every individual, at puberty and thereafter, de-
liberately and repeatedly sought contact with a variably defined spirit world.
Thus Klamath culture had a variation of the American Indian guardian-
773 spirit theme. Less specifically formalized, and so perhaps, less well integrated,
776 were the elements of myth and tale, the rationalizations for the presence of
various natural phenomena, for eschatology, and for the general conception
of the universe. Like adjacent tribes, the Klamath interested themselves in
animal spirits. These were of particular importance in providing shamanistic
power. In the individual power quest, however, the sources from which spiritual
forces emanated were less specifically defined. A rather wide range of super-
natural powers was recognized, some being animals, some vaguely anthro-
pomorphic, others relating to such natural features as mountains, streams,
rocks, or even landmarks like Crater Lake. In respect to these forces an
involved folklore has arisen which allows some classification of the Klamath
775 concepts of the supernatural. In this realm, for example, are views about
the abode of the dead and the nature of ghosts and souls, these being carefully
differentiated from nonhuman spirits.[3] Here too is a body of myth relating
to superhuman dwarf men and women, to the forces in specific places or
natural phenomena in the Klamath terrain, and finally, the most important
for this discussion, to the culture hero, the anthropomorphic Kemu'kemps.[4]

171 Kemu'kemps, while not usually identified with an animal spirit, has many
characteristics suggesting the folklore regarding Coyote in the Plateau-Basin. He is at once creator and trickster, angrily forbidding in some contexts, indifferent in others, and in still others a ludicrous buffoon.

825 Essentially human in conceptualization (a myth complex relating to a
821 human hero also occurs in adjacent regions), Kemu'kemps is sometimes
identified with the marten, whose younger brother is weasel, and with the
winds.[5] In the myths assembled by Gatschet, he constantly rivals his magically
born son 'Ayšiš, whose destruction he repeatedly plans, often with the result
821 of encompassing his own. Weather, such as rain or heat, was also attributed
to him. Kemu'kemps is also the creator, and there are numerous folktales
which tell how he brought various locations into being. At his instigation,

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113 1939), cf. 145-149; Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distributions: Northeastern California* (Anthropological Records, 7: 2, Berkeley, 1942).

[3] Spier, 1930, pp. 100 ff.

113 [4] Cf. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (U. S. Geological Survey, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Washington, 1890), pt. 1, lxxix-lxxxv, and pt. 2, 138-140. A summary is also given by Spier, 1930, loc. cit.

[5] Gatschet, 1890, pt. 1, lxxxii-iii.

Here Christian
175 elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath
668 traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The
177 acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost
Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather
[578] than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the
pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive
against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt
at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete
with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting
pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream
Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

175 By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had
177 burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with
essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic
[668] competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so
[797] lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values
[791] were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic
practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One informant
[533] tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power)
have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in
that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important
● 771 movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the
175 Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with
177 longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused
slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orienta-
795 tion, the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology;
but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross
as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence
of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements
[755] also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are employed
(for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's
body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers
vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil,
178 and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult,
771 too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some
years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services.
795 The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

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[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kemps was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

[113] [11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

[113] [12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

[113] [13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.

795
● 771 reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors,
178 the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

[182] The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are
allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some
771 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal
795 and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in
184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to
those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on
[797] the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual
[571] or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members
find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies
as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions to aboriginal concepts.

771 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The
177 Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation
is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals,
184 while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display
or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely. Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious
questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly
curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes
[755] demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this considera-
[757] tion, shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally
accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged
with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects
of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

183 The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there.
[773] For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter
are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two,
183 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first
224 deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away,
he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation
today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too,
the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy
that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem
from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is
825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath
[191] but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a har-
[763] binger of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear
it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means
183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter,
the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed
among western tribes.

178 But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past
which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

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787 as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing
756 they are the shaman's "helpers."

K However differently they construe the degree of individual
M access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that
787 human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those
K who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer
M
[782] in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtuous
[772] striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the
• universe appears basically to be a moral order.

K In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The
M annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the
181 progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon
461 industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme
that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic
K exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this
M
461 virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to
556 maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a following.
595 Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the
K common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a
M contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent
622 men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In
556 war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his
[881] panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man
[701] of property is likely to be decked with many valuables contributed
[764] by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the
[538] man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowledge.
[756] These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send
out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power
in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to
K the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in
622 the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:
539

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee—to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

THE ELEMENTARY DEITIES.

776 In the Klamath theology the deities of the elements have preserved almost intact their character as representatives of the powers of nature. Imperfectly anthropomorphized as they are, they appear rather as spirits than as gods; all of them, the Earth perhaps excepted, are of the male sex. [193] Like the animal genii they assume the adjectival suffix -ámtchiksh, abbr. -amtch *bygone, ancient, belonging to the past*,* though less among the Modocs than in the northern chieftaincy. The splendor, power, and awe-inspiring qualities of these superhuman beings is not diminished in the least by the grotesque exterior and acts ascribed to some of them. The sky gods were more plastically defined by popular imagination than the subterranean deities, and hence we begin our sketch with the former.

K'MÚKAMTCH.

> Ille mihi par esse deo videtur,
> Ille, si fas est, superare divos.

The chief deity of the Klamath people, the creator of the world and of mankind, is K'múkamtch, or the "Old Man of the Ancients," the "Primeval Old Man." [192] The full form of the name is K'muk'-ámtchiksh, and Modocs frequently use the shorter form Kĕmúsh, K'músh, an abbreviation of k'mútcha, *he has grown old, he is old*, or of its participle k'mutchátko, *old*. He is also named P'tish-amtch nálam, *our old father*. He was also designated P'laitálkni, *the one on high*, though the term is now used for the God of the Christians. In every way he is analogous to the "old man above" or the "chief in the skies" of the Indians of Central California.

773 776 772 What the Indians say and think of their chief deity I have outlined in the Dictionary, pages 138–140, and what follows here will substantiate the data given there. Though K'múkamtch is reputed to have created the earth, what is really meant is only the small portion of the globe known to and inhabited by this mountaineer tribe, and not the immense terrestrial globe, with its seas and continents. Neither have these Indians an idea of what the universe really is when they call him the creator and

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* In Nahuatl we may compare the reverential suffix -tzin, and in Shoshoni dialects the parallel one of -pitch, -bits; e. g., múbu *owl* in Bannock is mú'mbits *owl* in the Shoshoni of Idaho.

773 maintainer of the universe. The Indians do not claim that he created
776 the world with all in it by one single and simultaneous act, but when he is
772 creating, metamorphosing, or destroying, his acts are always special, directed
[123] towards certain objects only. After making the earth, the lakes, islands,
prairies, and mountains he gave a name to each locality (p. 142, 1 sqq.). Some of these names must be regarded as giving indications as to the earliest places inhabited by these Indians, especially when they designate fish-traps and ceremonial sudatories. Thus on Upper Klamath Lake we find Kŭ'mbat, Túkwa, Tulísh, Kohásbti as fishing places, Ktá-i-Tupáksi and Yulalóna as fish-traps, the special gifts of the deity to the people. Other places of this kind are Shuyakē'kish and Ktá-i-Tupáksi. In the old Modoc country, on Lower Klamath Lake, there is a rock shaped like a crescent and called Shapashχē'ni, because "sun and moon once lived there." On Sprague River there is a hill called "at K'múkamtch's Lodge"—K'mútcham Látsaashkshi. Other legendary residences of the deity were at Yámsi, "Northwind's residence," a high mountain east of Klamath Marsh; others on Tule Lake, at Nílakshi Mountain; and finally K'múkamtch was changed into the rock Ktá-iti, which stands in the Williamson River (q. v.). The old people of both chieftaincies remember many localities alleged to have been the theater of his miraculous deeds.

K'múkamtch creates the Indians from the purplish berry of the service-tree or shad-bush (*Amelanchier canadensis*, in Kl. tchák), and the color of both has evidently suggested this idea. He also provides for man's sustenance by supplying him with game and fish and the means to capture them;
[192] also with the necessary vegetal products. Objects noticeable through their
peculiar shape are called after him, e. g., the *thistle*, the piercer of K'múkamtch, K'mukámtcham kä'k. A peculiar haze sometimes perceptible in the west or northwest, shuúish, is regarded as his precursor or that of his son Aíshish.

Although but a passing mention is made of a wife or wives of his, K'múkamtch has a family. The myths speak* of a father, of a daughter, and of Aíshish, his son "by adoption," as members of it. The name of his

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* Cf. Texts, pg. 100, 2: skăki'sh p'tís-lúlsham. Mention is made of one-eyed wives of Skē'l and of Tcháshkai.

773 daughter is not given, but she represents the clouded or mottled evening
776 sky. When she leads him to the under-world they meet there a vast crowd
772 of spirits, who for five nights dance in a large circle around a fire, and on each of the intervening days are changed into dry bones. K'múkamtch takes with him some of these in a bag, and when reaching the horizon at daybreak throws the bones around the world *in pairs* and creates tribes from them, the Modoc tribe being the last of these. Then he travels in the path of the sun till he reaches the zenith, builds his lodge, and lives there now with his daughter.

776 K'múkamtch also figures as the culture-hero of his people; but since
773 he does so only in *one* of the myths which came to our knowledge, this myth may be borrowed from some neighboring tribe. In that myth the primitive arts and practices, as hunting and bow-and-arrow making, are taught by him to men, as was done also by Quetzalcoatl, by Botchika, and in Oregon by the Flint-Boy of the Kalapuyas, in whom the sun's rays were personified.

What the national myths relate of him is not of a nature to make him an object of divine veneration. He resembles men in every particular, is born and dies, acts like other Indians, travels about with companions, starts on gambling jaunts, is indigent and often in want, and experiences more misery throughout his eventful career than Zeus ever did on account of his illicit love-making. Like the chief gods of other Indian nations, he is the great deceiver and trickster for all those that have dealings with him, is attacked and drubbed repeatedly for his meanness and crimes; but after coming out "second best" or being killed over and over he recuperates and comes to life again just as if nothing had occurred to disturb him. Compared with other fictions representing powers of nature, he is fully the equal of such characters as Nanabozho and Gluskap, or of the Kayowē demiurge Sínti, "the Deceiver." Some of the most attractive fictions describe the various tricks and stratagems by which K'múkamtch allures his son Aíshish into perilous situations, from which rescue seems impossible. Prompted by him to climb a tall pine-tree, he would have perished on it by hunger had not his charitable wives, the butterflies, succored him in time. The general conflagration by which the earth and its inhabitants

772 were consumed through a rain of burning pitch was also brought about
773 by K'múkamtch's hatred for his son. Aíshish escapes from this inhuman persecution, and subsequently seeks to revenge himself upon his father. Aíshish's son jerks off the glowing tobacco-pipe from his grandfather's neck and throws it into the fire; Aíshish pushes it farther into the flames until burnt, and thereby K'múkamtch's death is brought about.

It is singular that when he and his son Aíshish are expected to join social or gambling parties the other participants always experience some difficulty in recognizing the one from the other. The camp-fire which K'múkamtch made on approaching the meeting-place was burning badly, the smoke seeming almost to stifle the flames; but that of his son, purple-blue in color, sent the smoke straight up, while the fire of Silver Fox, the companion of K'múkamtch, was yellow. When shooting at the mark, Aíshish's arrow hit it every time, but the arrow of K'múkamtch struck the ground short of the mark. While gambling, Aíshish became the winner of all his companion's stakes.

Assuming the mask of the Marten (Skē'l, Skē'lamtch), K'múkamtch sends out his younger brother, Weasel (Tchásbkai), to look out for one-eyed women and to bring them home as wives (Texts, pp. 107–118). Both try to stop the Northwind and the Southwind at the very orifice whence they are blowing. Weasel loses his life in the attempt, but Marten kills both winds. After Weasel has come to life again, both proceed to the lodge of the five brothers, the Thunders. When inside of the lodge Marten puts on the head-cover of the dead Northwind, and the Thunders feel his gigantic power. At night an internecine fight takes place between the brothers, and while their lodge is on fire their hearts explode in succession.

[772] From the almost infinite wealth of Klamath folklore many more particulars about this chief deity could be adduced, but what stands above is amply sufficient to indicate the powers of nature which he represents. The facts that Wán or Wanáka, *the sun-halo*, is his constant companion* and that the seat in the sky which he constantly holds is that of the sun at

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* The sun-halo is an important factor in some Indian mythologies. The Zuñi Indians say that when a storm is brewing the sun retreats *into his house*, which he built for his safety, and after the storm he leaves it again. Among the Zuñis the sun is the principal deity also.

773 noontime, would alone suffice to show that he represents the *sun*, the most
776 potent, we may say unique factor in giving life, nourishment, and health
● 772 to living organisms, the most important of the sky-gods, and the great
center of myth production among all nations of the world. In one of the
Modoc myths it is stated that "at the call of the morning star K'músh
sprang from the ashes (of the fiery sky or aurora) as hale and as bright as
ever, and so will he continue to live as long as the (solar) disk and the
morning star shall last, for the morning star is the 'medicine' (múluash?)
of the disk." In other myths he appears in the form of the golden or
bright *Disk*, inhabiting the higher mountain ridges and becoming the suitor
of females afterwards deified. Thus, like Hor, Rā, and Atum, he appears
sometimes as the morning sun, at other times as the noonday and evening
sun, and in the myths referring to weather he is either the summer or the
winter sun. The burning pipe which Aíshish's son takes from his grandfather
and destroys in the camp-fire represents the sun setting in a glowing
red evening sky. As the summer sun with his gigantic power he brings
on a conflagration of the world and as a cloud-gatherer he causes an inundation.
In the warm season he appears wrapt up in haze and fogs, which
the myth in its imagery represents as "a smoky camp-fire," almost impenetrable
to the sun-rays: "his arrows fall to the ground before they reach
the mark."* To typify his sagacity and omniscience, K'múkamtch appears
under the symbolic mask of a quadruped, the *pine-marten* or Skē'l, in Modoc
Tchkē'l, which changes its black winter fur to a brown coating in the hot
months of the year, and thereby became a sort of portent to the Indian.
Similar changes occur with all the fur animals, but with the marten the
difference in the color appears to be greater than with others. Skē'l sends
his brother Tcháshgai, or *Weasel*, to obtain one-eyed women for both, these
being sun and moon, which the Eskimos also represent as one-eyed, deified
persons.† The North wind, which is blowing in alternation with the South
[821] wind, is attacked and killed by Skē'l. Here Skē'l represents the sun of the
summer months, for the summer's heat defeats the cold blasts of the wintry

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[113] * Texts, pp. 99, 4 (shláyaks ak), and 5.

† Cf. the Maidu myth of Kodo-Yampē in Stephen Powers's "California Tribes;" Contributions to North American Ethnology, III, 293.

773 and equinoctial seasons; when he places the North wind's hat upon his head
776 he puts an end to the noise of the Thunder brothers and then represents
772 the wintry sun.

821 The attitude which K'múkamtch observes toward his son Aíshish will be spoken of under the next heading. It is necessary to add that the former's position is by no means restricted to that of a solar deity; several of his attributes make him also a god of the sky, or at least of the clouds, for clouds and the weather's changes are due to the sun's agency. When the sun is environed by lamb-clouds, or a mottled sky, this is figuratively expressed by: "K'múkamtch has taken the beaded garments of Aíshish and
821 dressed himself in them." A peculiar red smoke or haze appearing in the northwestern or western sky, shnúish, announces his arrival; he is also recognizable by his bulky posteriors, or, as the Modocs say of him: "K'múkamtch múnish kutúlish gítko." By this they evidently refer to the white and heavy, mountain-shaped summer clouds.

Greek mythology depicts the fecundation of the earth by rain showers and thunder storms as the illicit amours of the sky-god Zeus with the wives and daughters of mortal men. Exactly in the same manner K'múkamtch, as sky-god, seeks to approach illicitly the numerous wives of Aíshish, of whom the majority refuse him, though he has by some stratagem previously removed their husband from the scene.

776 In the aboriginal mind the creation of organisms, vegetal and animal,
773 seems to be in connection with the fecundation of the earth, whereas the creation of the earth, world, or universe implies an act entirely different. All the names of Klamath localities are said to come from K'múkamtch. The manner in which he created plants and animals was, as we are told in one Modoc myth, by *thinking* and by *wishing*, this probably implying that after forming an idea of some creature he made that idea a reality by the strong energy of his will. Many creatures, especially birds and quadrupeds—even men—the myths tell us, were brought forth by him in this manner. The moral qualities ascribed to this deity are in keeping with what is known of his physical and intellectual powers. He provides for mankind, which he has created, but does not tolerate any contravention of his will; for he punishes bad characters by changing them into rocks or by

773 Aíshish's camp fire is of a clear, bright purplish-blue color (yámnash-
776 ptchi); he makes his shirts with his own hands and ornaments these and his leggings with all sorts of beads As a marksman he excels all his companions, whose arrows do not even strike the target (Texts, pag. 99, 4–6). According to the Modoc story his wives are Mole, Badger, Porcupine, Bitch, Crane, Mallard, two Maídiktak-birds, Wren, Tchektiti-bird, Yaulíliks or Snowbird, Butterfly, and a host of others; the Klamath Lake myth (Texts, p. 99, 9. 10) names five: Coot, Long-tailed Squirrel, Crane, Mallard, Chaffinch. Tcháshkai or Weasel, the younger brother of Skē'l, sometimes plays the part of Aíshish, but he is not found in this quality so constantly as his brother Skē'l is in that of K'múkamtch.

● 772 The various attributes ascribed to this deity by the myths show Aíshish
773 to be in many respects similar to Quetzalcoatl of Nahuatl mythology, who
776 has been made alternately the genius of the morning star, of the calendar
and of the atmospheric changes. As to Aíshish and the personal beauty invariably ascribed to him, it may appear doubtful, in view of so many other complex attributes, which idea was the starting-point that created this mythic figure, and subsequently gathered other but less material attributes about this son of the sun. He could represent originally the morning star, or the rainbow or the moon, but after mature reflection upon his complex
[821] attitudes I now believe him to be a lunar deity. The splendor of the full
moon is of a yellow hue, like Aíshish's camp fire (käkä'kli) and the shadow of the famished Aíshish, as seen from below through the pine-trees of the forest, is the narrow crescent of the waxing moon following its disappearance at the new moon period. At the new or "dead" moon Aíshish is famished or dead, to revive again on the days following, and this, like other phases of the moon, which result from her changeable position in regard to the sun, are represented to be the result of the jealousy and enmity of K'múkamtch against Aíshish—and whenever Aíshish succeeds in killing his father, this implies the decrease of sun-heat during the winter season. No myth shows a more striking analogy to the "Birth of Aíshish" than that of the birth of Bacchus from the thigh of Zeus after the destruction of his mother Semele by a thunder-stroke caused by Zeus, the Sky-god.

[821] The moon is the originator of the months, and the progress of the

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

772 months brings on the seasons with the new life seen sprouting up every-
773 where during spring and summer. So the quadrupeds and birds which are
776 the first to appear after the long winter months are considered as the wives
821 of Aíshish, and the flowers of summer vegetation are the beads of his garments. He enjoys more popularity than his father, for the moon's light is mild, not burning nor offensive, nor does it dry up vegetation and make men and beasts drowsy like the rays of the midday sun. Many nations also believe that the changes of weather are partly due to the phases of the moon. Although the "Birth of Aíshish" myth obtained by me represents Aíshish rather as the adopted than as the real son of K'múkamtch, other myths state him to be his son resulting from the union of the sun-disk to the red sky of the morning or evening, symbolized by the woman Le-tka-
[19] káwash. We must recall to mind that the term for *father*, p'tíshap, in Modoc t'shíshap, is really the *nourisher, feeder*, and not the progenitor, for it is a derivative from t'shín *to grow*.* Most other mythologies consider the relation of sun to moon as that of man to wife, or of wife to man (cf. Deus Lunus), but here the thing is different. There are no female characters of importance in Klamath mythology, nor does the language distinguish grammatically between the sexes.

821 The difficulty which we experience to distinguish solar and lunar dei-
171 ties from each other in some of the American religions is caused by the
197 circumstance that in many languages of this western hemisphere the term for *sun* and for *moon* is the same. In such languages both orbs are distinguished from each other by being called day-luminary, or night-sun, night-luminary, and with some tribes the belief has been found, that both are actually the same celestial body, one being merely the image or shadow of the other. In the Maskoki languages hási answers for both, but the moon is commonly called ní'li hási or "night sun." In the Tonica language táχtchiksh, abbrev. táχtchi stands for sun, moon, and star, but the moon is usually named lá-u táχtchi "night luminary," the stars táχtchi tipulá, while the sun is either áχshukun táχtchi, "day luminary" or simply táχtchi. Of the Tinné languages many have tsā, sā, of the Algonkin languages kísis or parallel forms for both celestial bodies, separate distinctions being

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* Cf. the Grammar, in Appendix VI, p. 710.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

825 Some beliefs concern the nature of wild animals. The "cat" (da'slats, *Bassariscus* sp.) kills deer by wrapping his long tail around their necks. The mountain lion is very dangerous; it is afraid only of fire. One cannot escape it by climbing into a small tree, because the lion will dig it up. When bears fight, the female is always victor. She always buries the male. The grizzly bear during his hibernation sleeps a month on each side alternately. "I do not know who watched them," my informant remarked. The grizzly is a notorious thief, breaking into the winter stores buried near the villages. But to call him that is dangerous, for he then pursues you. The chipmunk or ground squirrel (ts!īl'as) hibernates like a bear from November until the spring, they believe. When boys shoot at this animal it changes into a frog.

212

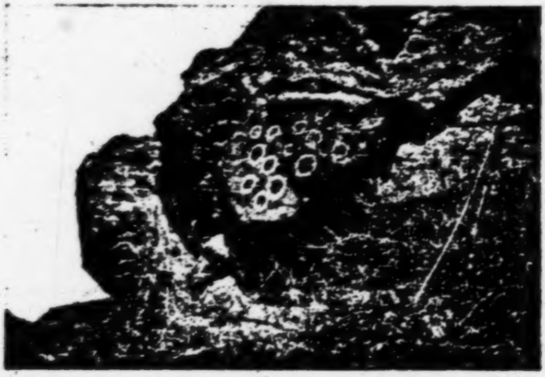

Fig. 9. Pictographs on the eastern side of Klamath lake.

824 Elder is supposed to grow on cremation piles; perhaps it does.

212
756
• 773

The Klamath do not make pictographs. There are however a few in their country, said to have been made by Kᴇmū'kümps, the culture hero. They refer to them as shaman's mu'lwas, paraphernalia or, better, objects pertaining to a shaman. They are repainted from time to time by old men, "who work for a shaman," by which my informant may have meant shaman's interpreters. They are all of simple form. 212 My informants knew of only two pictographs (sū'malo'ta) in the whole Klamath country. Those on a rock slide on the eastern shore of Klamath lake south of Modoc point are shown in figure 9. This is near the former fishing village Iulā'u (47). There are a dozen circles in white paint, the largest four or five inches in diameter.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Clubs																	
1055. Stone clubs	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	411
1056. "Slave killer" (animal figure)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1057. Paddle-shaped	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[532]
1058. Imported		.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1059. Natural cobblestone, cylindrical	−	−	−						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1060. Wooden clubs	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	
1061. Natural limb	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	
1062. Used in brawls or to kill salmon only	+	+							+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	
1063. Ball- or knob-ended	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
1064. Stone or horn spike insert	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1065. Straight rabbit club	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	
1066. Stone head encased in buckskin	−	(+)	.	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Fighting Spears																	
1067. Spear used in war	•R	+	+	−	•−	•−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	[726]
1068. Thrust mainly	(+)	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
1069. Flaked stone point	(+)	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
1070. Bone or horn point	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Daggers, Slings, Bola																	
1071. Obsidian knife or dagger	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	
1072. Center section buckskin-wrapped	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1073. Hafted wooden handle	−	−	−	−				+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	
1073a. Bone dagger, awl-shaped	−	−	−					•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1074. Sling	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	
1075. Used for war	−	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	
1076. Used for hunting	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
1077. Used as toy	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
1078. Clay shot	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1079. Rocks for shot	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	
1080. Bola	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	•+	•+		.	
Armor																	
1081. Rod jacket	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	714
1082. Hide tunic, no rods	•+	+	+	−	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
1083. Hide helmet	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1084. Circular rod shield		−				•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1084a. Hide curtain as shield	−	+	(+)	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Household Implements																	
Mortars and Pestles																	
1085. Bedrock mortar	−	−	−		−	•+	•−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•o	412
1086. Portable stone mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1087. Outside rough hewn	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1088. Outside shaped and smoothed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1089. Found locally, used commonly	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	
1090. Found locally, not used for grinding food	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	•+	
1091. Found locally, used by shaman	−	(+)	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	[756]
1092. Regarded as animate object	−	−	+	+		+	−	−						−	−	•−	[774]
1093. Regarded as dangerous or poisonous	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	•+	−	•+	+	.	−	−	−	•+	
1094. Made by myth character	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	•+	.	−	−	−	−	•+	[773]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4499. Formula recited, before taking medicine	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	•+	755 757
4500. Disease brushed off body	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	278
4501. Medicine administered internally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4502. Medicine administered externally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4503. Medicine sprayed from mouth	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+		+		
4504. Herbalist can cure any disease													–		+	+	
4505. Can kill disease objects	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4506. Can cure rattlesnake bites	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	+	
4507. Can only weaken, check natural diseases	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+		–	–	
4508. Precautions to ward off disease; incense burnt	(+)	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+		+	+	751
4508a. Breach of taboo causes illness	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	–	753
4509. Eating meat in taboo period causes tuberculosis		+	+							+	+	+	+		–	–	
4510. Worms in tooth cause toothache	–	–	+	•+	+	–	.	•+	+	+	+	+	+		•–	(+)	
4511. Ants, spider-like bug in teeth causes toothache	+	+	–	–	–	•+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	

Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena

Cosmogony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4512. World a disk, floating in water	.	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	–	+	.	.	.	773
4513. Supported by animal	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	.	.	.	
4514. Mythical age; animals persons	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4515. Chief for each species of animal	+	+	–				(+)	–	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	
4516. Flood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	(+)	.	.	.	+	
4517. Human beings created or appear	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	

Sun and Moon

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4518. Sun male human	+	+	.	+	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	(+)	.	821
4519. Sun female human	–	–	.	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	.	
4520. Moon male human	+	+	+	–	+	•.	+	+	+	+	+	–	•+	+	(+)	.	
4521. Moon female human	–	–	.	+	–	(+)	.	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	
4522. Sun and moon husband and wife	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	.	
4523. Frog mate of moon	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	•(+)	–	–	–	.	
4524. Figures in moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	.	+	–	–	.	
4525. Scar from bear's bite									+	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	
4526. Man	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	
4527. Tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	.	
4528. Frog	+	•+	+	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	

New Moon

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
4529. Monthly birth-and-death theory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	+	•+	+
4530. All view new moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•–	+
4531. Each month	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
4532. In winter, only											•+	–	–	–	–	–
4533. In spring, chiefly	•+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
4534. Speak, pray to moon	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	[illegible]	+	–	+	+	•+	–	–	+
4535. Address by kin term	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
4536. Old persons shake selves, clothes, bedding	–	+	•+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4537. Throw stones at moon	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
4538. Food prepared, guests invited								•	•	•	+	–	+	–	+	–

000 they are rather a cloddish, indolent, ordinarily good-natured race, but treacherous at bottom, sullen when angered, notorious for keeping Punic faith. But their bravery nobody can deny."*

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD.

174 Before the middle of the nineteenth century the Mák̲laks people was unknown to mankind except to the nearest neighbors in Oregon and California. We are therefore justified in beginning its period of documentary history at that time, and in relegating to the domain of prehistorics all that is known of their previous condition. The information upon these points is furnished by three factors: tradition, archæologic remains, and language.

A. TRADITION BEARING UPON HISTORY.

121 Traditional folk-lore, when of the mythic order, generally dates from
773 an earlier epoch of fixation than historic traditions. The remote origin of *genuine* mythic folk-lore is sufficiently evidenced by the archaic terms embodied with it, by the repetition of the same phraseology for ages, and by the circumstance that all nations tend to preserve their religious ideas in an unchanged form. I am laying peculiar stress upon the term *genuine*, for Indians have often mixed recent ideas and fictions with archaic, original folk-lore and with ancient mythic ideas, the whole forming now one inextricable conglomerate which has the appearance of aboriginal poetic prose.

173 The Klamath people possess no historic traditions going further back
769 in time than a century, for the simple reason that there was a strict law
688 prohibiting the mention of the person or acts of a deceased individual by
171 *using his name.* This law was rigidly observed among the Californians no
784 less than among the Oregonians, and on its transgression the death penalty could be inflicted. This is certainly enough to suppress all historic knowledge within a people. How can history be written without names?

[126] Many times I attempted to obtain a list of the former head chiefs of the two chieftaincies. I succeeded only in learning the names of two chiefs recently deceased, and no biographic details were obtainable.

174 This people belongs to the autochthonic nations of America, called so because they have lost all remembrances of earlier habitats or of migrations.

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* Contributions to Amer. Ethnology, III, p. 253.

773 [776] As a result of their seclusion, all their geogonic and creation myths are acting around the headwaters of Klamath River and in Lost River Valley, and the first man is said to have been created by their national deity, K'mukámtchiksh, at the base of the lofty Cascade Range, upon the prairie drained by Wood River. I have obtained no myth disclosing any knowledge of the ocean, which is scarcely one hundred and fifty miles distant in an air line from their seats. [192] They have no flood or inundation myths that are not imported from abroad; and what is of special importance here, their terms for *salt* (ă'dak, shŏ'lt) are *not their own*, but are derived from foreign languages.

173 773 There is an animal story embodied in the Texts, page 131, forming No. II of the "Spell of the Laughing Raven," containing the sentence: "Hereupon the Klamath Lake people began fighting the Northerners." I believed at first that this contained a historic reminiscence of some intertribal war, but now am rather doubtful about it. The song 192; 1 was supposed by some Indians to be a very old reminiscence, while others referred it to the presence of the Warm Spring scouts in the Modoc war.

I conclude from the foregoing facts that historic traditions do not exist among these mountaineer Indians. If there are any, I was unable to obtain them. 000 The racial qualities of the Modocs, and still more those of the É-ukshikni, indicate a closer resemblance with Oregonians and Columbia River tribes than with Shoshonians and Californians.

B. ARCHÆOLOGIC REMAINS.

211 The Klamath people have not evinced any more propensity for erecting monuments of any kind than they have for perpetuating the memory of their ancestors in song or tradition. [346] [226] In fact, structures the probable age of which exceeds one hundred years are very few. Among these may be particularized the three ceremonial sweat-lodges and perhaps some of the river-barrages, intended to facilitate the catch of fish, if they should turn out to be of artificial and not of natural origin. In the Lost River 172 312 Valley is a well, claimed by Modocs to be Aishish's gift—probably one of the large natural springs or wélwash which are seen bubbling up in so many places upon the reservation Stephen Powers reports that near the

773 maintainer of the universe. The Indians do not claim that he created
776 the world with all in it by one single and simultaneous act, but when he is
772 creating, metamorphosing, or destroying, his acts are always special, directed
[823] towards certain objects only. After making the earth, the lakes, islands,
prairies, and mountains he gave a name to each locality (p. 142, 1 sqq.).
Some of these names must be regarded as giving indications as to the earliest places inhabited by these Indians, especially when they designate fish-traps and ceremonial sudatories. Thus on Upper Klamath Lake we find Kŭ'mbat, Túkwa, Tulísh, Koháshti as fishing places, Ktá-i-Tupáksi and Yulalóna as fish-traps, the special gifts of the deity to the people. Other places of this kind are Shuyakē'kish and Ktá-i-Tupáksi. In the old Modoc country, on Lower Klamath Lake, there is a rock shaped like a crescent and called Shapashχē'ni, because "sun and moon once lived there." On Sprague River there is a hill called "at K'múkamtch's Lodge"—K'mútcham Látsashkshi. Other legendary residences of the deity were at Yámsi, "Northwind's residence," a high mountain east of Klamath Marsh; others on Tule Lake, at Nílakshi Mountain; and finally K'múkamtch was changed into the rock Ktá-iti, which stands in the Williamson River (q. v.). The old people of both chieftaincies remember many localities alleged to have been the theater of his miraculous deeds.

K'múkamtch creates the Indians from the purplish berry of the service-tree or shad-bush (*Amelanchier canadensis*, in Kl. tchák), and the color of both has evidently suggested this idea. He also provides for man's sustenance by supplying him with game and fish and the means to capture them;
[192] also with the necessary vegetal products. Objects noticeable through their
peculiar shape are called after him, e. g., the *thistle*, the piercer of K'múkamtch, K'mukámtcham k̲ă'k̲. A peculiar haze sometimes perceptible in the west or northwest, shnúish, is regarded as his precursor or that of his son Aíshish.

Although but a passing mention is made of a wife or wives of his, K'múkamtch has a family. The myths speak* of a father, of a daughter, and of Aíshish, his son "by adoption," as members of it. The name of his

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* Cf. Texts, pg. 100, 2: sk̲ăk̲i'sh p'tís-lúlsham. Mention is made of one-eyed wives of Skē'l and of Tcháshkai.

773 daughter is not given, but she represents the clouded or mottled evening
776 sky. When she leads him to the under-world they meet there a vast crowd
772 of spirits, who for five nights dance in a large circle around a fire, and on each of the intervening days are changed into dry bones. K'múkamtch takes with him some of these in a bag, and when reaching the horizon at daybreak throws the bones around the world *in pairs* and creates tribes from them, the Modoc tribe being the last of these. Then he travels in the path of the sun till he reaches the zenith, builds his lodge, and lives there now with his daughter.

776 K'múkamtch also figures as the culture-hero of his people; but since
773 he does so only in *one* of the myths which came to our knowledge, this myth may be borrowed from some neighboring tribe. In that myth the primitive arts and practices, as hunting and bow-and-arrow making, are taught by him to men, as was done also by Quetzalcoatl, by Botchika, and in Oregon by the Flint-Boy of the Kalapuyas, in whom the sun's rays were personified.

What the national myths relate of him is not of a nature to make him an object of divine veneration. He resembles men in every particular, is born and dies, acts like other Indians, travels about with companions, starts on gambling jaunts, is indigent and often in want, and experiences more misery throughout his eventful career than Zeus ever did on account of his illicit love-making. Like the chief gods of other Indian nations, he is the great deceiver and trickster for all those that have dealings with him, is attacked and drubbed repeatedly for his meanness and crimes; but after coming out "second best" or being killed over and over he recuperates and comes to life again just as if nothing had occurred to disturb him. Compared with other fictions representing powers of nature, he is fully the equal of such characters as Nanabozho and Gluskap, or of the Kayowē demiurge Sínti, "the Deceiver." Some of the most attractive fictions describe the various tricks and stratagems by which K'múkamtch allures his son Aíshish into perilous situations, from which rescue seems impossible. Prompted by him to climb a tall pine-tree, he would have perished on it by hunger had not his charitable wives, the butterflies, succored him in time. The general conflagration by which the earth and its inhabitants

772 were consumed through a rain of burning pitch was also brought about
773 by K'múkamtch's hatred for his son. Aíshish escapes from this inhuman persecution, and subsequently seeks to revenge himself upon his father. Aíshish's son jerks off the glowing tobacco-pipe from his grandfather's neck and throws it into the fire; Aíshish pushes it farther into the flames until burnt, and thereby K'múkamtch's death is brought about.

It is singular that when he and his son Aíshish are expected to join social or gambling parties the other participants always experience some difficulty in recognizing the one from the other. The camp-fire which K'múkamtch made on approaching the meeting-place was burning badly, the smoke seeming almost to stifle the flames; but that of his son, purple-blue in color, sent the smoke straight up, while the fire of Silver Fox, the companion of K'múkamtch, was yellow. When shooting at the mark, Aíshish's arrow hit it every time, but the arrow of K'múkamtch struck the ground short of the mark. While gambling, Aíshish became the winner of all his companion's stakes.

Assuming the mask of the Marten (Skē'l, Skē'lamtch), K'múkamtch sends out his younger brother, Weasel (Tcháshkai), to look out for one-eyed women and to bring them home as wives (Texts, pp. 107–118). Both try to stop the Northwind and the Southwind at the very orifice whence they are blowing. Weasel loses his life in the attempt, but Marten kills both winds. After Weasel has come to life again, both proceed to the lodge of the five brothers, the Thunders. When inside of the lodge Marten puts on the head-cover of the dead Northwind, and the Thunders feel his gigantic power. At night an internecine fight takes place between the brothers, and while their lodge is on fire their hearts explode in succession.

[772] From the almost infinite wealth of Klamath folklore many more particulars about this chief deity could be adduced, but what stands above is amply sufficient to indicate the powers of nature which he represents. The facts that Wán or Wanáka, *the sun-halo*, is his constant companion* and that the seat in the sky which he constantly holds is that of the sun at

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* The sun-halo is an important factor in some Indian mythologies. The Zuñi Indians say that when a storm is brewing the sun retreats *into his house*, which he built for his safety, and after the storm he leaves it again. Among the Zuñis the sun is the principal deity also.

773 776 772 noontime, would alone suffice to show that he represents the *sun*, the most potent, we may say unique factor in giving life, nourishment, and health to living organisms, the most important of the sky-gods, and the great center of myth production among all nations of the world. In one of the Modoc myths it is stated that "at the call of the morning star K'músh sprang from the ashes (of the fiery sky or aurora) as hale and as bright as ever, and so will he continue to live as long as the (solar) disk and the morning star shall last, for the morning star is the 'medicine' (múluash?) of the disk." In other myths he appears in the form of the golden or bright *Disk*, inhabiting the higher mountain ridges and becoming the suitor of females afterwards deified. Thus, like Hor, Rā, and Atum, he appears sometimes as the morning sun, at other times as the noonday and evening sun, and in the myths referring to weather he is either the summer or the winter sun. The burning pipe which Aíshish's son takes from his grandfather and destroys in the camp-fire represents the sun setting in a glowing red evening sky. As the summer sun with his gigantic power he brings on a conflagration of the world and as a cloud-gatherer he causes an inundation. In the warm season he appears wrapt up in haze and fogs, which the myth in its imagery represents as "a smoky camp-fire," almost impenetrable to the sun-rays: "his arrows fall to the ground before they reach the mark."* To typify his sagacity and omniscience, K'múkamtch appears under the symbolic mask of a quadruped, the *pine-marten* or Skē'l, in Modoc Tchkē'l, which changes its black winter fur to a brown coating in the hot months of the year, and thereby became a sort of portent to the Indian. Similar changes occur with all the fur animals, but with the marten the difference in the color appears to be greater than with others. Skē'l sends his brother Tcháshgai, or *Weasel*, to obtain one-eyed women for both, these being sun and moon, which the Eskimos also represent as one-eyed, deified persons.† The North wind, which is blowing in alternation with the South wind, is attacked and killed by Skē'l. Here Skē'l represents the sun of the summer months, for the summer's heat defeats the cold blasts of the wintry

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* Texts, pp. 99, 4 (shláyaks ak), and 5.

† Cf. the Maidu myth of Kodo-Yampĕ in Stephen Powers's "California Tribes;" Contributions to North American Ethnology, III, 293.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

773 776 772 and equinoctial seasons; when he places the North wind's hat upon his head he puts an end to the noise of the Thunder brothers and then represents the wintry sun.

[821] The attitude which K'múkamtch observes toward his son Aíshish will be spoken of under the next heading. It is necessary to add that the former's position is by no means restricted to that of a solar deity; several of his attributes make him also a god of the sky, or at least of the clouds, for clouds and the weather's changes are due to the sun's agency. When the sun is environed by lamb-clouds, or a mottled sky, this is figuratively expressed by: "K'múkamtch has taken the beaded garments of Aíshish and [821] dressed himself in them." A peculiar red smoke or haze appearing in the northwestern or western sky, shnúish, announces his arrival; he is also recognizable by his bulky posteriors, or, as the Modocs say of him: "K'múkamtch múnish kutúlish gítko." By this they evidently refer to the white and heavy, mountain-shaped summer clouds.

Greek mythology depicts the fecundation of the earth by rain showers and thunder storms as the illicit amours of the sky-god Zeus with the wives and daughters of mortal men. Exactly in the same manner K'múkamtch, as sky-god, seeks to approach illicitly the numerous wives of Aíshish, of whom the majority refuse him, though he has by some stratagem previously removed their husband from the scene.

776 773 In the aboriginal mind the creation of organisms, vegetal and animal, seems to be in connection with the fecundation of the earth, whereas the creation of the earth, world, or universe implies an act entirely different. All the names of Klamath localities are said to come from K'múkamtch. The manner in which he created plants and animals was, as we are told in one Modoc myth, by *thinking* and by *wishing*, this probably implying that after forming an idea of some creature he made that idea a reality by the strong energy of his will. Many creatures, especially birds and quadrupeds—even men—the myths tell us, were brought forth by him in this manner. The moral qualities ascribed to this deity are in keeping with what is known of his physical and intellectual powers. He provides for mankind, which he has created, but does not tolerate any contravention of his will; for he punishes bad characters by changing them into rocks or by

burning them. Our ideas of justice, equity, protection, or love towards men do not and can not enter into the spiritual range of a god whose prototype is constituted of physical powers only.

AÍSHISH.

Φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν.

Aíshish, or Aíshishamtch, the second in importance among the Klamath deities, and certainly the most popular of all, is the son of the world-creator, K'múkamtch, and also his companion and rival. He is beautiful in appearance, beloved and admired by men, and is the husband of many wives, selected by him among the birds, butterflies, and the smaller quadrupeds. His name signifies *the one secreted* or *concealed*, and was given him at the time of his birth; and since "The Birth of Aíshish" myth explains the nature and position of this deity better than any other myth, I translate it in full from the Indian text obtained from a Modoc woman at the Modoc Reservation, Indian Territory.* The name of Aíshish's mythic mother, as other natives informed me, is Le-tkakáwash. This is an Oregonian bird of the size of the tchō'kshash, or blackbird, with a brilliant red or yellow plumage, colors rarely found in birds of that western State. Ornithologists identify it with the Louisiana tanager: *Pyranga ludoviciana.* Thus the bird is an appropriate symbol of the bright sky at moonrise or sunrise, which phenomenon Aíshish's mother is representing. The myth runs as follows:

In order to cremate the body of an old sorceress, Le-tkakáwash gathered wood while carrying her baby son on the back, piled up the wood and set up the ceremonial mourning wail. Proposing to leap into the fire herself, she was uncertain what to do with her son. She fastened him tightly to her back, and when she had applied the fire K'múkamtch perceived that she was in tears and ready to leap into the burning pile. "What on earth is this pretty woman going to do?" said he to himself; and when he saw her retreat more than once before accomplishing the dangerous leap he approached, intending to reach her in time to restrain her; but she rushed

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* The myth of Aíshish's birth forms a portion of a long cyclus of related myths, with the title: Aíshisham shapkalä'-ash wiulamnúlashti. I obtained them from Lucy Faithful, wife of Stutflatko, or "Faithful William;" cf. Dictionary, p. 412.

772 into the fire, and K'múkamtch, regretting to have arrived too late, managed, 773 however, to withdraw from her back the baby, and to rescue it. He wept as he carried the child off in his arms. But where should he place it? If he placed it on his forehead it would look quite ugly, thought he; therefore he placed it on his knee and went home. He complained that he had an ulcer upon his knee, and asked his daughter to open it, for it pained him excruciatingly. She spread a sheet under the knee and another over it, to squeeze the ulcer open He exclaimed: "It hurts me terribly! Go easy! Be careful!" Then she replied: "What is the matter with you? Something like hair comes out in a bunch from the core. Why does it look like hair?" And when the baby appeared on the surface and began to cry she said: "What have you been doing? I have suspected you for quite a while before!" And the babe cried and cried, until the "father" proposed to give a name to him. None was found to answer, for the child cried on and on. Then he proposed to call it Aishíslam'nash ("the one secreted about the body"). This stopped its cries somewhat, but not entirely; so he proposed the name Aíshish, and then it became restful and quiet. So the child grew up with this name, then lived in the company of K'múkamtch, became an expert in making shirts, and when gambling won all the stakes, even from his father, who became jealous on account of his superiority.*

This is the extent of the myth so far as needed for our purpose. The jealousy of the grim and demoniac K'múkamtch against his more popular son forms the subject of a considerable number of Aíshish myths, which are highly imaginative and interesting. By various stratagems based on low cunning he brings his son into perilous positions, from which he is rescued only with the utmost difficulty by others, or is perishing in the attempt to save himself. Meantime he is robbed of his garments by his "father." These constant persecutions finally force Aíshish to revenge himself upon his father, who is killed by him repeatedly, but not by any means so often as he is killed himself.

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196 *The connection of the mythic *pyre* of self-sacrifice with the *dawn* is not only based on similarity of nature, but also on etymological grounds; for the verb ní'lka, *it dawns*, with slight vocalic change turns into nélka, nélχa, *to be on fire*. Cf. the Latin *aurora*, which is a derivative of urere, *to burn*, and Appendix VI to Grammar, pp. 706. 707.

773 776 Aíshish's camp fire is of a clear, bright purplish-blue color (yámnashptchi); he makes his shirts with his own hands and ornaments these and his leggings with all sorts of beads As a marksman he excels all his companions, whose arrows do not even strike the target (Texts, pag. 99, 4–6). According to the Modoc story his wives are Mole, Badger, Porcupine, Bitch, Crane, Mallard, two Maídiktak-birds, Wren, Tchektiti-bird, Yaulfliks or Snowbird, Butterfly, and a host of others; the Klamath Lake myth (Texts, p. 99, 9. 10) names five: Coot, Long-tailed Squirrel, Crane, Mallard, Chaffinch. Tcháshkai or Weasel, the younger brother of Skē'l, sometimes plays the part of Aíshish, but he is not found in this quality so constantly as his brother Skē'l is in that of K'múkamtch.

772 773 776 The various attributes ascribed to this deity by the myths show Aíshish to be in many respects similar to Quetzalcoatl of Nahuatl mythology, who has been made alternately the genius of the morning star, of the calendar and of the atmospheric changes. As to Aíshish and the personal beauty invariably ascribed to him, it may appear doubtful, in view of so many other complex attributes, which idea was the starting-point that created this mythic figure, and subsequently gathered other but less material attributes about this son of the sun. He could represent originally the morning star, or the rainbow or the moon, but after mature reflection upon his complex
821 attitudes I now believe him to be a lunar deity. The splendor of the full moon is of a yellow hue, like Aíshish's camp fire (käkä'kli) and the shadow of the famished Aíshish, as seen from below through the pine-trees of the forest, is the narrow crescent of the waxing moon following its disappearance at the new moon period. At the new or "dead" moon Aíshish is famished or dead, to revive again on the days following, and this, like other phases of the moon, which result from her changeable position in regard to the sun, are represented to be the result of the jealousy and enmity of K'múkamtch against Aíshish—and whenever Aíshish succeeds in killing his father, this implies the decrease of sun-heat during the winter season. No myth shows a more striking analogy to the "Birth of Aíshish" than that of the birth of Bacchus from the thigh of Zeus after the destruction of his mother Semele by a thunder-stroke caused by Zeus, the Sky-god.

821 The moon is the originator of the months, and the progress of the

772 months brings on the seasons with the new life seen sprouting up everywhere
773 during spring and summer. So the quadrupeds and birds which are
776 the first to appear after the long winter months are considered as the wives
821 of Aíshish, and the flowers of summer vegetation are the beads of his garments. He enjoys more popularity than his father, for the moon's light is mild, not burning nor offensive, nor does it dry up vegetation and make men and beasts drowsy like the rays of the midday sun. Many nations also believe that the changes of weather are partly due to the phases of the moon. Although the "Birth of Aíshish" myth obtained by me represents Aíshish rather as the adopted than as the real son of K'múkamtch, other myths state him to be his son resulting from the union of the sun-disk to the red sky of the morning or evening, symbolized by the woman Le-tkakáwash.
19 We must recall to mind that the term for *father*, p'tíshap, in Modoc t'shíshap, is really the *nourisher*, *feeder*, and not the progenitor, for it is a derivative from t'shín *to grow*.* Most other mythologies consider the relation of sun to moon as that of man to wife, or of wife to man (cf. Deus Lunus), but here the thing is different. There are no female characters of importance in Klamath mythology, nor does the language distinguish grammatically between the sexes.

821 The difficulty which we experience to distinguish solar and lunar dei-
171 ties from each other in some of the American religions is caused by the
197 circumstance that in many languages of this western hemisphere the term for *sun* and for *moon* is the same. In such languages both orbs are distinguished from each other by being called day-luminary, or night-sun, night-luminary, and with some tribes the belief has been found, that both are actually the same celestial body, one being merely the image or shadow of the other. In the Maskoki languages hási answers for both, but the moon is commonly called ní'li hási or "night sun." In the Tonica language táχtchiksh, abbrev. táχtchi stands for sun, moon, and star, but the moon is usually named lá-u táχtchi "night luminary," the stars táχtchi tipulá, while the sun is either áχshukun táχtchi, "day luminary" or simply táχtchi. Of the Tinné languages many have tsā, sā, of the Algonkin languages kísis or parallel forms for both celestial bodies, separate distinctions being

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* Cf. the Grammar, in Appendix VI, p. 710.

THE ELEMENTARY DEITIES.

776 In the Klamath theology the deities of the elements have preserved almost intact their character as representatives of the powers of nature. Imperfectly anthropomorphized as they are, they appear rather as spirits than as gods; all of them, the Earth perhaps excepted, are of the male sex. [193] Like the animal genii they assume the adjectival suffix -ámtchiksh, abbr. -amtch *bygone, ancient, belonging to the past,*[*] though less among the Modocs than in the northern chieftaincy. The splendor, power, and awe-inspiring qualities of these superhuman beings is not diminished in the least by the grotesque exterior and acts ascribed to some of them. The sky gods were more plastically defined by popular imagination than the subterranean deities, and hence we begin our sketch with the former.

K'MÚKAMTCH.

> Ille mihi par esse deo videtur,
> Ille, si fas est, superare divos.

The chief deity of the Klamath people, the creator of the world and of mankind, is K'múkamtch, or the "Old Man of the Ancients," the "Primeval Old Man." [192] The full form of the name is K'muk'-ámtchiksh, and Modocs frequently use the shorter form Kĕmúsh, K'músh, an abbreviation of k'mútcha, *he has grown old, he is old,* or of its participle k'mutchátko, *old.* He is also named P'tísh-amtch nálam, *our old father.* He was also designated P'laitálkni, *the one on high,* though the term is now used for the God of the Christians. In every way he is analogous to the "old man above" or the "chief in the skies" of the Indians of Central California.

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772 What the Indians say and think of their chief deity I have outlined in the Dictionary, pages 138–140, and what follows here will substantiate the data given there. Though K'múkamtch is reputed to have created the earth, what is really meant is only the small portion of the globe known to and inhabited by this mountaineer tribe, and not the immense terrestrial globe, with its seas and continents. Neither have these Indians an idea of what the universe really is when they call him the creator and

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[*] In Nahuatl we may compare the reverential suffix -tzin, and in Shoshoni dialects the parallel one of -pitch, -bits; e. g., múbu *owl* in Bannock is mú'mbits *owl* in the Shoshoni of Idaho.

776 phized and too dimly defined to deserve the name "gods." Those among
[821] them that are most frequently mentioned in myths and popular stories are
the genii of the Thunder and of the Winds.

● 773 The genius of the Thunder, Lĕmé-ish, is sometimes mentioned as a
776 single person, or abstract mythic being, but more frequently as a company
821 of five brothers, the Thunders or Lĕmelĕmé-ish. At times they make themselves formidable, for their terrible weapon is the lightning or thunderbolt; they cleave the mountains, rocks, and trees, kill, roast, and devour human beings, in which character they are called máklaks-papísh. The interior of their lodge is dark, for a sky obscured by a thunderstorm is lacking the full daylight. K'múkamtch entering the lodge, disguised as the "strong man" under the mask of Skē'l or pine-marten, annihilates them, for the winter sky with its cold blasts is antagonistic to the display of celestial electricity. The eldest of the Thunders is married to Skúle, the meadow lark, who is the sister of pine-marten. After having made themselves thoroughly odious upon the earth, they were, as the myth tells us, relegated to the far-off skies, where they can frighten the people by their noise only and do no further harm

The parents of the Thunders are supposed to live in a small hut or kayáta, and in their stead two dogs are often mentioned as accompanying the Thunders. Of these there are five, because the thunder rolling along the mountains is heard in *repeated* peals, and these peals are in the myths likened to repeated explosions of the Thunders' hearts. The shooting up of lightnings from the earth to the skies gave rise to the idea that their home is underground, and that the lightnings coming down from the skies are simply the Thunders returning to their homes. As the spirit of the Thunder Yayayá-ash is mentioned in a mythic tale.

The *Thunder-bird*, which plays so prominent a part in the myths of the Eastern and Northwestern tribes, does not appear here under this name, but is represented in some stories by the Raven or Kák.[*]

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[*] The belief in the Thunder-bird is found more frequently among Northern than among Southern Indians. Cf. "The Thunder-bird amongst the Algonkins," by A. F. Chamberlain, Amer. Anthropologist, Jan., 1890, pp. 51–54; and my "Migration Legend of the Creek Indians," vol. 2, 49.

823 the two latter alluding to rumblings below the earth's surface. In the song
539 192; 3 the term hämólå should be changed to t'hämóla, temóla, *was covered with haze* or *mist*, a phenomenon often producing malarial and other fevers, and therefore regarded by these Indians as of bad augury. Other passages mentioning the Earth, personified or not, are quoted in Dictionary, p. 123; in one of these, K'múkamtch is threatening to "whirl the earth around" in a dance, and probably this song forms part of some mythic story. (Texts, pg. 192; 9.)

MUNATÁLKNI.

773 Besides the Earth there is another chthonic deity known to the Kla-
776 math people, Munatálkni or the Genius of the Underworld. I have met his name in one story only, which is that of the creation and first sojourn of the people around Wood River, between Fort Klamath and the Upper Klamath Lake. English-speaking Indians readily identify him with our *devil;* but no wicked or immoral qualities are ascribed to him, as morals enter into the religious ideas of the hunter tribes but sporadically. There is something of the aboriginal in him, and he is also called Lĕmunákni, the signification of both names being analogous.

He appears in the following tale: When K'múkamtch created this world, he made one man, and one woman intended to be the man's sister. The creator placed them in a garden (háshuash) studded with trees producing sweet fruits and built a house for them. The adjoining stable contained domestic animals for their use. All this was upon the prairie watered by Wood River. Man and woman were both blind, and had to remain so until the fruits would be ripe. K'múkamtch told them he would visit them on a Sunday and would knock at the top of their house. Should anybody knock at the door, the knocks would be those of Munatálkni and they must not open. Munatálkni came and knocked at the door, informing them that the fruits were ripe and that he brought them all kinds of berries. The woman said to the man: "Open the door, K'múkamtch is here!" but the man said: "Don't open; it is not K'múkamtch who stands at the door!" The woman opened; Munatálkni put one sweet berry in her mouth and she tasted it. He was wearing a long head-dress of feathers tied to the top of his hair, his emblem as conjurer, and this string of feathers was so long as

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776 to touch the ground. He then stole all the fruits in the garden and went with them to his underground abode.

Then K'múkamtch, who had observed all this from a distance, arrived and knocked at the top of the house. This time it was the man who opened. When asked what had become of the fruits he excused himself by stating that Munatálkni had taken all of them. This put K'múkamtch into such a rage that he threw the woman out of the house and whipped her to death. Then he cut open the eyelids of both, which previously had been fastened together, and the man said: "I can see the sun." K'múkamtch then instructed the man how to make his livelihood by using the bow and arrow, and how to manufacture sinew-strings and obsidian arrow-heads. Upon this he brought the man's sister into life again and both went into the mountains to hunt, for they had nothing to eat. Ever after this K'múkamtch remained angry with them.

This is but the commencement of a long tale designed to show the miraculous growth of the family which sprang from the first man and woman, and their progress in the life-sustaining arts and manufactures. [177] There is no doubt that the above is a singular distortion of the Bible tale concerning Adam and Eve in paradise. The question which remains to be solved is this, whether or not Munatálkni himself is borrowed also from the Jewish story. If he is, then in connection with him we may recall Aíshish, who, according to some Modocs, is nobody else but Jesus Christ, who two thousand years ago passed through Lost River Valley and dug a deep well there which he presented to the Modocs—all this on account of a phonetic similarity between the names Aíshish and Jesus.

The remainder of the story is exactly like what other Oregonian myths relate concerning the origin of mankind and is incontestably of Indian origin. No further mention is made in it of Munatálkni.

SHŪ'KASH OR WHIRLWIND.

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821 Another of the numerous elementary deities is the Whirlwind or Shū'kash. An interesting mythic tale about it, which I have obtained among the Modocs in the Indian Territory, makes of the Shū'kash an engine brought into play from time to time with tremendous effect by the

773 genius presiding over it. This genius is called Tchitchatsχä'-ash or "Big
776 Belly;" he is represented to be an old man whose vigor of life is on the
821 decrease. When he leaves his lodge, his appearance embodies the rain-laden, dark-hued, thick nimbus clouds overhanging the earth. When his engine* comes into action, he attracts by it all the objects within reach, he oppresses the earth with his weight, and forces wayfarers to walk in other paths than they intended to travel lest they may incur danger to life. When he has spent his force by this wanton display, he is rent by a stroke of lightning or a strong gust of wind; he is dissolved into atoms, and the bones filling his big paunch, which had produced the rattling noise attending the course of whirlwinds, fall down to the ground. Tsáskai, the Weasel, the brother of Marten, wrestling with the old man and conquering him after a hard struggle, is the mythic agent who brings about his final discomfiture.

SPIRIT DEITIES.

'Εκτέταμαι φοβερὰν φρένα, δείματι πάλλων.

775 No people has ever been discovered that did not believe in the return
776 of human souls after death to their former homes in the form of ghosts. Ghosts or spirits hovering through space are invisible and may inflict damage to anybody without danger of being recognized; therefore they usually inspire awe and terror, and wherever the existence of these fanciful beings is recognized imagination fills the earth, the atmosphere, and the waters with such spooks. Not all of these are necessarily supposed to be the souls of the deceased, but they may also represent the souls of animals, the spirits of mountains, winds, the celestial bodies, and so forth, for animism has its widest sway in this sort of superstition. Very different qualities are ascribed to each of these hobgoblins or spooks. They are either gigantic or dwarfish in size, powerful or weak in body, attractive or repulsive, of
[787] beneficial or wicked influence. They chiefly appear at night or in stormy weather; some are seen single, others in crowds, and a few of their number

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[193] *Shū'kash is the substantive of sh'hū'ka *to whirl about*, this being the medial distributive form of húka *to run about:* sh'hubóka, sh'hú-oka, sh'hū'ka "*to run about* by itself in various directions."

776 From a Klamath myth we gather the information that there is a guardian over the spirits wafting through the sky, called Wásh k'músh, or the *gray fox*. This name is evidently borrowed from the coloring of the sky, as it appears before or during a polar light, and must be compared with another beast name, the wán or wanáka, the *red fox*, which is the symbol of the sun-halo.

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776 Another class of spirits embodies the spirits of those animals which have to be consulted by the kíuks or conjurer when he is called to treat a case of disease. Such persons only who have been trained during five years for the profession of conjurers can see these spirits, but by them they are seen as clearly as we see the objects around us. To see them they have to go to the home of a deceased conjurer, and at night only. He is then led by a spirit called Yayayá-ash appearing in the form of a one-legged man towards the spot where the animal-spirits live; this specter presides over them; there the conjurer notices that each appears different from the other, and is at liberty to consult them about the patient's case. Yayayá-ash means "the frightener," and by the myth-tellers is regarded as the Thunder or its spirit.

776 *Giants.*—The imagination of every primitive people has been busy in producing monsters of all qualities and shapes, human and animal, even walking mountains and trees. What we call giants are generally personifications of irresistible powers of nature, which are supposed to perform feats impossible for man's utmost strength; by dwarfs are symbolized powers of nature which achieve great and wonderful things by steady and gradual work unnoticed by the generality of human beings.

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823 Giants are often the originators of geological revolutions of the earth's crust. Thus the giant Léwa represents the circular, lofty island lying within the waters of Crater Lake or Gíwash. He went by an underground passage (fissure?) from his seat over to Yámsi Mountain to wrestle with Skē'l, the all-powerful pine-marten, whose home is at Yámsi. After conquering him, he carried him through the same passage again to Crater Lake for the purpose of feeding him to his children, and his daughter, Léwam pé-ip, struck him with a heavy flint-stone.

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823 Like the walls of that lake and the whole Cascade range, the island in

776 825 these curious song lines; the loon (táplal) is noticed there for being the best diving bird of these upland waters; the yellow-hammer, or tché-ush, a woodpecker, for its beautiful red plumage; the kilíwash, another woodpecker, for its precious scalp. The ducks are well remembered in these songs on account of their ubiquity, their numerous species, the elegance of their [821] exterior. Birds renowned for their influence upon the weather are the wíhuash and the tsiutsíwăsh, who can produce snow-fall; the kă'ls or k̲álχalsh, who possesses the power of making fogs (166; 22. 23).

The amphibians, insects and the organisms standing below these in the zoogenetic scale, are also reputed to possess magic powers; the songs of the [824] toad and of the spider are supposed to be especially effective. That the plants did not impress the mental capacity of these Indians to such a point as to make them objects of reverence can not be wondered at, as the mind of the Indian in cold climates is not turned in this direction Plants in which the Klamaths were interested are all mentioned, p. 180; 19, and the pond-lily, with its seeds, stands at the head of them. Even among the totem names of Eastern tribes only a few plant names are represented, *maize* being the most frequent among these; but in tropical countries, with their luxuriant vegetal growth, many trees, bushes, and stalks become objects of worship, like the copal and the ceĭba tree of Central America.

The deified animals of Klamath mythology are all capable of assuming the predicate ámtchiksh, abbr. -ámtch, -amts *primeval*, of which mention has been made previously, and many also appear collectively, as *five* (or *ten*) brothers or *five* sisters, sometimes with their old parents (titchka-ága). This is the case only with gregarious animals, and also applies to the Thunders. Many of the larger quadrupeds appear constantly with *two* young only.

825 773 The personified animals which receive the most frequent attention in Klamath Lake and Modoc myths are the marten, the weasel and the prairie-wolf or coyote.

Marten or Skē'l, Skē'lamtch always appears in connection with *Weasel* or Tcháshkai. Weasel is reputed to be the younger brother (tápiap) of Skē'l and acts as his servant and errand-boy. In the execution of the dangerous errands he is intrusted with, Weasel is often killed, and Skē'l

773 sometimes also, but they manage to revive again and to revenge themselves 825 on their enemies. What brought these two beasts into mutual connection in the popular mind has been already pointed out: both change their furs, more than other animals, from a darker hue in summer to a lighter one [823] in winter, when the weasel's fur becomes white. They are both supposed to live at Yámsi, "Northwind's Home," a high peak east of Klamath Marsh. To act like Skē'lamtch is to do something not meaning to do it apparently. Skē'l is a great wrestler, and like K'múkamtch has the faculty of changing [821] himself into a bird, beast, dog, old woman, etc., at will. To a certain extent he is the counterpart of K'múkamtch and performs the same deeds as he does, it appearing as if K'múkamtch acted under the mask of Marten and Tcháskai under that of Aíshish, in whom we recognize a lunar deity. But there are other acts by which the two pairs differ considerably, and where Marten and his brother appear to represent the wintry season only and the rough weather attending it.

Another deity of the same type, and far-famed over all the Pacific coast, is the *prairie-wolf*, little wolf, or coyote. This quadruped belongs rather to the genus *jackal* than to the wolves, looks as smart as a fox, carries a beautiful fur, and does not attack people unless united in packs of a dozen or more. His habit of living in earth holes, and his doleful, human-like, whining ululation, heard especially during moonlit nights were probably what set him up in the esteem of certain Indians, like the Eastern Selish and the Central Californians, so high as to make of him the creator of the world and of man. In Modoc stories he appears more frequently than in Klamath Lake folklore, and at present there are but few of these animals [821] left on the headwaters of Klamath River. Wásh, or Wáshamtch as the Klamaths call him, always appears in sun and moon stories, and is, like Skē'l and Tcháshgai, a substitute for the sun-and-moon deities. When he ran a race with the clouds he thought at first that there were two of him, for he always saw another person, his shadow, going by his side. When he stayed in the lodge of the Firedrill brothers he took the fire-sticks of these in his hands and they all blazed up. In the lodge of the ten Hot-Water Basket brothers he was burnt terribly by the inmates, and when repairing to the Ants' lodge the inmates punished him fearfully by their

773 925 savage bites. Once when caught in the act of "stealing" a woman, he was captured by the two husbands of the same, who skinned him and hung up the skin to dry, after which the woman was abducted by the five Bear brothers. The female prairie-wolf also appears in folklore with her progeny, e. g., in the tale of the "Creation of the Moons," page 105, which exists in several variations. Such stories and others represent the coyote-wolf as a being which has many points of contact with K'múkamtch, but is distinct from him. Both are regarded simultaneously as sky-gods and as funny clowns. As traits distinguishing the one from the other, we notice that the wolf's body is believed to harbor wicked spirits (Texts, page 128, 4) and that his lugubrious voice is the presager of war, misfortune, and death (133, 1 2). A distinction has to be made throughout between the coyote as an animal and the coyote as representing powers of nature in a deified, abstract form

Of the three varieties of the *bear* species, the *grizzly bear* is the most popular, but also more dreaded than the others on account of his enormous physical force. What makes him popular is a peculiar bonhomie which he exhibits in his behavior, and which forms a peculiar contrast to his bodily strength. In the myths he, or rather the female bear, is called Lúk̲, Lúk̲amtch, Sháshapamtch, Sháshapsh, and her two young Shashápka, the latter name probably referring to the fact that this beast was at one time more than other quadrupeds made the subject of mythic and folk-lore tales (shapkéa, shapke-ía, shashapkaléa *to narrate a story*, shapkaléash, distr. shashapkĕléash *legend, tale*). The tale of the "Bear and the Antelope" is perhaps the most attractive of our collection of Texts. Generally the bear is the aggressive party in these stories, and he also gets generally worsted whenever a fight occurs or a stratagem is played on him. Sometimes there are five bear brothers acting in unison. In the "old yarn," narrated p. 131, this bear is killed by Gray Wolf near Modoc Point, and in his magic song (157; 46) he is made to say that he has five springs which are all dried up. He is often mentioned in the song-lines, but always under the name Lúk̲, not as Sháshapamtch.

Gray Wolf or Ké-utchish, Ké-utchiamtch is another of the carnivores which sometimes appear prominently in folklore stories. Gray Wolf is

773 reputed to be a relative (shá-amoksh) of Marten, and consequently of
825 K'múkamtch; he stayed at the lodge of the five Thunders at the time when it was burnt down, pp. 112. 113. One of his residences is at Mount Shasta.

Other quadrupeds frequently mentioned in these stories are the *skunk* (tcháshash), the three different kinds of *deer*, the *antelope* (tché-u), the *elk* (vũ'n), the *mole* (mû'nk, Mod. mû-úe). Men or Indians appear but incidentally in beast stories, as pshe-utíwash, a plural noun, and are engaged only as a passive element in every occurrence where they are mentioned.

Among the *birds* the most prominent part is assigned to the *raven* (K̲ák̲, K̲ák̲amtch), for he is *Fate* personified, and his office is to punish by death all those who act antagonistically to his or his allies' interests. This is done by changing them into rocks. In all nations the croaking, doleful cries of the raven leave a deep impression on the human mind, and hence in mythology the raven fulfills the function of a soothsayer and messenger of woe. In British Columbia and farther to the northwest he is (as Yehl) considered the creator of all organisms, and almost all the folklore centers around him as the main figure.

The *golden eagle* or the one "floating in the skies" (P'laíwash) is in the Klamath lore mentioned as often as the raven, either alone or as a family of five brothers, but does not command so much respect as the raven does.

The *water birds*, as cranes, ducks, geese, coots, form the light infantry of the mythologic make-up, and mostly figure in crowds of five or ten, the coot representing the Ojibwē Shíngibis so well known through Longfellow's Hiawatha. Some of the *lower organisms* rise to an unexpected dignity, like the woodtick or shk̲ō'ks, which becomes the wife of the tricky Marten, and a caterpillar of beautiful colors, whose exterior makes him the rival or "master of the sun" (shápsam ptchíwip). Aíshish counts among his plural wives two butterflies of the gayest colors.

PRINCIPLES OF MYTHIFICATION.

121 The idea that every phenomenon and every change observed in nature
77 and mind is caused by some spirit, ghost, genius, god, or other mysterious, generally invisible agent, embodies what we call animism, and forms the foundation of all religions of the world, however abstract they may have

121 77 become in course of time. The working of animism can best be traced in polytheism and polydemonism, in the shamanistic ideas as well as in the religious. The principles traceable in the myth-making of the Klamath Indians, which differs in some points from those of other Indians, may be summed up as follows:

The sky-gods, as sun, moon, winds, thunder, etc., here as elsewhere surpass in importance and strength the other deified powers of nature, for "theology is meteorology." Some of these chief gods assume the mask of animate beings and inanimate things when they appear among men.

773 776 Creation myths do not generally mention the material from which or the mode by which objects were created, but simply state that K'múkamtch produced them by his thinking and will power.

The spirit, life, or heart of a deity is made distinct from the deity itself and can live at a distance from it. Cf. the pipe of K'múkamtch burnt in the fire, which in another myth figures as a small ball (ké-iks) and is his spirit or life.

The burlesque element, which the religions of Asia and Europe have banished almost entirely, appears here as an almost integral attribute of a god or genius. This appears to form an offset for the dire cruelties ascribed to the same demons, and is also characteristic of the religions studied east of Mississippi River.

The element of obscenity is only incidental to the burlesque element, but is sometimes very pronounced, especially in the beast stories. It was added to cause merriment only, and not for such immoral purposes as we see it applied to in the Decameron of Boccaccio and other products of a corrupt age.

801 The deified beings of a lower order, as animals, etc., appear sometimes as *one* person, but just as often in the mystic number of *five*, if not of *ten*. Fire, waters, springs, and plants are not deified, but lakes are sometimes. Clouds do not appear here deified as witches, as they do among the Eastern Indians.

Certain miracles are here achieved by bodily contact and symbolic acts; so dead animals are brought to life again by jumping three or five

773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to
suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a
future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however,
be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is
free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during
the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of
suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency build-
532 ings, which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face
flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also
artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the lan-
538 guage fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of
success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration, assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

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93, 1. k̲á-i spûní vushúk: the subject of spûní, É-ukskni mák̲lake, is left out by inadvertence. Some Wascoes wanted to marry into another tribe; for "one Wasco man" stands here for "some men of the Wasco people."

93, 3. 4. Ampχā'ni, contraction of ambuχē'ni "thither, where the water is", where the waters rush down in a cataract, or in rapids. The rapids of the Columbia River at the Dalles impede navigation.

93, 7. sasságank i gí! ye are in peril, when going to the Dalles and being Indians, therefore take care of yourselves! i stands for át; cf. 64, 10 and *Note;* 90, 13. 14.

93, 7. 9. Instead of k̲á-i nû shtínta may be said also, in this connection, k̲á-i nû shanáhole; instead of tánkt ni gĕnt: gē'ntĕni, gē'nt a ni; instead of Tídshi hă'k: tídshăk, tídshi hă gí.

K'MUKÁMTCHAM AÍSHISHAM TCHÍSH SHASHAPKĔLÉASH.

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K'MÛKAMTCH ATTEMPTS THE DESTRUCTION OF HIS SON AÍSHISH.

[115]

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROBEN.

	Lûpí	nā'lsh	hûnk	K'múkamtch	shutäyéga;	ná-asht	nā'lsh	hûnk	gá-ag
	At first	us		K'múkamtch	began to create;	so	to us		long ago

	kĕmûtchátk	shashapk̲ĕlî-i'a	génta	käílatat	Tchía	hû'k	lā'pi	shá-ûngaltk
	an old man	told the myth	this	world about.	Lived	the	two	related as son and father,

3	Aíshish	K'mû'kamtchish;	né-ulχa	hûnk	gē'n,	nánuktua	ká-akt	hû'k	gäg,
	Aíshish	(and) K'múkamtch;	resolved		this one,	(that) all things,	whichever	(are) here, (and)	

	nánuktua	kiä'm	ámbutat	wá,	gítki gíug.	Tchúyunk	pä'n	I-ulalónau
	all kinds of	fish,	in the water	(which) live,	should come into existence.	Then	again	at the outlet at Linkville

	tchkash	né-ulχa	páplishash	gí'tki gíug,	mû'	gínt	nk̲í'llipsh	tí'wish	ndû'l-
	also	he caused	a dam	to come into existence,	very	there	rapidly	the rushing waters	running

6	shampksh	páltkí,	mû'ash	shlé-uyuk,	tchúyunk	mák̲laksash	kiä'm	í'tklank
	down	to leave dry,	the south wind	when blows,	and hereupon	the Indians	the fish	scooping up

	pálshtat	pátki gí.
	on the bottom left dry	should feed upon.

	Tchúi pän	húmasht gíulank	K'mukámtch	únaka	tchkash	m'na	Aíshi-
	Hereupon	having performed this	K'múkamtch	son	then	his	Aíshish

9	shash shtílta	p'laíwasham	shnû'lash,	shléank	kĕnáwatat	shkúlelam	wewéka
	sent after	an eagle's	eyrie,	perceiving	up on a kĕnáwat-stalk	of a lark	the young ones

	hû'nk shû'kayank,	shnepē'mpemuk	vunaká	m'na.	Snáwedsh	spû'ntχashtka
	hanging (on it),	in order to entrap	son	his.	A wife	to abduct (from him)

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ging tchúyunk K'mû'kamtch spû'ushna. K'mû'kamtch hemé*χ*e shí'ash-
then K'múkamtch took (him) along. K'múkamtch told (him) to take
kank hû'n tchûlish, k̲ailish tchish shûkatonolō'tch. Tchúi Aíshish gû'ka
off (his) shirt, belt also (and) hair-ribbon. Then Aíshish climbed
kapkágatat; tchúyunk k̲û'ga, atí k̲édsha. Aíshish shataldí'ldamna gûkĕ-
on the low tree; and (while) he climbed, high it grew. Aíshish steadily looked down while
nû'ta, atí at k̲édshisht; at hû'nk tchúi shläá tchitchili'lĕka pä'-ulapksh
climbing, high until it had grown; and then he saw little birds lying
shnû'lashtat shkû'lelam. Tchúi Aíshish gé'hlapka shnû'lashtat k̲ä'shgug
in the nest of the lark. Then Aíshish went into the nest being unable
gû'tgapĕlish; hí'-itak tchúi tchí'-uapk.
to climb back; there then he was going to stay.

K'mû'kamtch toksh hû'nk nánuk Aíshisham shûlótish shnúka; shû'-
K'múkamtch however the whole of Aíshish's clothing took away; dressing
luatchnank gä'mbĕle k'léwidshnank m'na únaka. Snéwedsh páldshapĕluk
himself in it he returned relinquishing his son. (His) wife to abduct
hátokt gátpampĕle Aíshisham tchí'shtat; tchúi Aíshisham wéwanuish
over there he went back of Aíshish to the dwelling; then Aíshish's wives
kaí*χ*ema K'mukámtchish; "k̲á-i a hû'k gēg nálăm híshuaksh" tchí' hûnk
suspected K'mukámtch; "not (is) this here our husband" thus
hû'ksha gi. Nā'dshak hûk hishuákshlank K'múkamtchash, nánka toks
they said. One only consorted with K'múkamtch, but the others
k̲á-i shanahō'li.
not wanted (him).

Át toks hûk Aíshish shû'isha, nánuk k̲ák̲o pil k̲'lĕká tiä'muk k̲aítua
But now Aíshish became lean, all over bones nothing but he became for starving (and) nothing
pá-uk. Tchúi lápi wä'kwak-wéwanuish gépkatk shléā Aíshishash shnû'-
eating. Then two butterfly-females soaring by saw Aíshish in the
lashtat kshí'klapksh. Ná-iti m'nálam sha skáyamtch pásh úmbutch
nest lying. In basket their they carried on back food water also
í'kugank, tchúi sha Aíshishash shéwana pásh, ámbu tchí'sh sha tchíya.
putting into, hereupon they to Aíshish gave food, water also they gave.
Kû'shga tcha, p'lû' í'tchuank shulótish sha pä'n lĕ'vûta. Aíshish hemé*χ*e:
They combed (him) oil putting on him in clothes they again dressed (him). Aíshish inquired:
"wák haitch āt nûsh gí'-uapk a?" tchúi hû'ksha ná-asht gi: "génta a-i
"what ye with me intend to do?" then they thus said: "into this
mí'sh nā'd hishtcha*χ*û'gank skat*χ*ipĕli-uápka." Aíshish tóksh shash hû'nk
you we placing into (we) shall carry down." Aíshish but to them
nánuk shē'gsha: "pí' nû'sh gén géntch né-ulakta p'tí'shap gé-u K'mukám-
all about it explained: "he me in this manner treated badly father my K'múk-
tchiksh!" hû'nk na-ā'sht gi Aíshish.
amtch!" thus said Aíshish.

Tchúi yapalpûléash mû'lua skat*χ*ipĕli-uápkuk Aíshishash käílant;
Hereupon the butterflies got ready to take down again Aíshish to the ground;
wéwanuish toks hû'k Aíshisham méya lā'pi, Klétiamtch tchí'sh Tchí'ggash
(and) wives of Aíshish dug roots two, (called) old Klétish also Tchika

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tû'la. Wä'kaltk hû'kt ki. Tchúi Aíshish géna me-ishχéni, tapí'tankni

withal. Child-having this was. Then Aishish went to the digging-prairie, keeping behind

gáldshui Tchíkash; Tchíkalam wä'ka shléa máhiash Aíshisham, tchúi

he walked up to Tchika; of Tchika the child perceived the shadow of Aishish, and

p'tí'shalpka. Ktû'pka Tchí'ka m'na wéka shlámiuk; tchúi Aíshish häméχe:

cried: "father!" Slapped Tchika her child in wrath; whereupon Aishish said:

"wák í' ûn giúg' ktû'pka?" Shatalkiámna Tchí'ka, shlaá Aíshishash

"why you (it) slap!" Looked around Tchika, saw she Aishish

huyégank, hû'tan ku-ishéwank shlä'pēle; tchúi Aíshish spûnshámpēle

sitting down, ran she rejoicing to meet (him) again; then Aishish took home again

Tchí'kash stíya pí'l nû'sh gí'pksh Kletíshash pē'n galdshúyank shatmá-

Tchika pitch on her head having. Klétish also approaching he called (her)

pēle; tchúi shash lápok ä'mpēle tchī'shtal m'na. Tchúi shash tchī'shχeni

home; then them both he brought towards home his. to them to his home

í'tpampēlank yámnash shéwana, tchélish hû'nk lúelank yámnashla; ndan-

having brought back neck-wear he gave, porcupines killing he made necklaces; to

nē'ntch hû'nk wéwanshish yámnash shéwana.

three (of his) wives neck-wear he gave.

Tchúyuk K'mû'kamtch túmēna m'na únaka tchī'sht, mû'lua génuapkug

Upon this K'múkamtch heard (that) his son was (still) alive, (and) prepared to proceed

hátaktala. Tchúi Aíshish unakáka m'na shtûlí pā'ks nutolalolátkiuk lû'-

there. Aishish to little son his enjoined the pipe to swing off into

lukshtat K'mukámtcham. Tchúi K'mûkámtch gátpanank tchélχa; Aíshisham

the fire of K'múkamtch. Then K'múkamtch arriving sat down; Aishish's

hû'k wéka ku-ishé-uk hûlladshuitámna p'lukshá m'na. Tchúi hû'nk pā'ksh

son rejoicing ran forth to and back from his grandfather. Then the pipe

pakakóleshtka K'mûkámtcham; pén hûlládshui K'mûkámtchash. Hû'nk-

he tried to jerk off of K'múkamtch; again he ran up to K'múkamtch. For

anti K'mukámtch kä-ashtámēna: "tchítchiks a hû't gí." Pä'n hû'ktag

that K'múkamtch reprimanded: "stop that matter!" Again that child

hû'llatchuyank pakakólank pā'ksh nûtolála lû'lûkshtat; tchúi Aíshish

running up to him jerking off the pipe threw it into the fire; then Aishish

ke-ulálapka nádshpâksht, tchē'k k̲ēléwi. K'múkamtchash shí'uga tchúi

pushed (it) farther until burst, then he quit. K'múkamtch he killed

hû'masht gink, tchúi medshá.

by so doing, then he moved away.

Mā'ntch-gitk pén K'mû'kamtch wémpēle; pí' tchkash né-ulakta m'na

Long after again K'múkamtch became alive; he then proceeded against his

únaka. Gén hûnk nánuk shtí'ya pitlī'ga k̲áluat; tchúi shnatgálka k̲álo

son. There (he) all over pitch daubed on the sky; then he set on fire the sky

hû'masht giúlank. Hû'nkanti Aíshish tía kíuyäga; häméχe: "k̲á-i nû'sh

so after doing. For this reason Aishish a tray held extended; he said: "not me

shíugat táta," wéwanuish m'na shí'namshtisht. Stí'ya ä'-usheltkal hû'k

he may kill ever." wives his being afraid. The pitch turned into a lake

nánukash käíla, Aíshishamksh pí'l pahá. Tchúi Tû'hûsh talpatkóla, stí'ya

all over the world. Aishish's home only remained dry. Then Mud Hen put its head out, the pitch

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tchik	hû'nk	nχí'-uliga	läki;	kat	húk	hû't	tchúi	lalí'ga	Tûhû'shash.	Hû'n
then	to it	dripped	on forehead;	which	thing		since	stuck	on Mud Hen.	This one

gétak	hû'nt	shkálkēla.
only		was hurt.

NOTES.

This is one of the most popular myths current among the Ê-ukishikni, and we shall find it partially repeated in another myth, recounted by Dave Hill. Aíshish and his father K'nukámtchiksh represent powers of nature engaged in everlasting strife for mutual extermination. In this myth K'múkamtch resorts to the following trick to destroy his offspring. Seeing young larks in a nest on the top of a sorrel-stalk, he informs him, that if he climbs up there, he can obtain a nest of eagles with all its inmates. Gladdened with the prospect of this capture, Aíshish climbs up, but the insidious father causes the plant to grow miraculously fast under him, so that descent becomes impossible, and Aíshish comes near perishing by hunger and exposure.

In the recollection and wording of some portions of the myth my informant was assisted by "Captain Jim."

94, 1–7. The short fragment of a creation myth preceding the Aíshish tale stands in no causal connection with it, and could as well be inserted elsewhere. Myths entering upon the *details* of the creation of the world by K'mukámtchiksh do not, as far as ascertained, exist among this people, but in their stead we have many myths for special creations (of man, animals, islands, mountains etc.). A grammatic analysis of the terms occurring in this fragment (from Lûpí nä'lsh to pátki gi) was inserted by me in the *American Antiquarian*, Vol. I, No. 3, pages 161–166, under the heading: "Mythologic Text in the Klamath Language of Southern Oregon."

[192] [193] 94, 1. Lûpí shutäyéga is not to be considered as a repetition, for it means: when K'múkamtch began to create the world he made *us* before he made the fish, other animals, and the dam at Linkville. This is, of course, only a small fragment of all the creation myths of this people.

94, 2. shshapkēlía: to tell or count stories, myths or fables in the interest or for the pleasure of somebody; the i is here doubled to obtain a rhetorical effect.

94, 3. K'nú'kamtchish is a contraction of K'mû'kamtch tchish; Aíshish, K'múkamtch also. The longer form of the name of the deity occurs 95, 20.

94, 3. ká-akt, metathetically for kákat; kát is pron. relat. which, what, the thing which. nánuxtua ká-akt gäg comprehends all animate and inanimate creation.

94, 4. wá uá, to stay, exist, live in; is always connected with an indirect object indicating the place, spot, locality or medium where the subject lives or exists.

94, 4–6. The construction of the sentence runs as follows: Tchúyunk (K'mukámtch) né-ulχa gí'tkiχiug páplishash I-ulalónan, páltki tí'wish gint ndûlshámpkash mû' nkillipkash, mû'ash shlé-uyuk; "when a south wind blows, it will stop the waters from [133] [132] [226] rushing down rapidly over the cataract." The outlet of Upper Klamath Lake, called Link River, runs from north to south, over the falls at Linkville; hence a powerful south wind will stem the current of Link River above the falls, leave its bottom dry or almost dry, and enable the Indians to catch the fish swimming in the shallow water or wriggling in the mud. The rocky ledge under the cataract is supposed to be the gift of K'múlamtch.

*539 773 192 193 94, 4. I-ulalónan or Yulalóna is the Indian name of the cascade of Link River above the town of Linkville, and for that town itself. The origin of this name is explained in 94, 5. 6, for the verb i-ulalóna means to move forth and back, referring here to the waters of the river receding under the pressure of the south wind.

103 94, 6. itklank, partic. pres. of itkal, means here: obtaining by basketfuls.

137 94, 9. The kĕnáwat is a plant growing high in the warm climate of Northern California, especially in the ancient habitat of the Shasti Indians, and in this myth it suggested itself to the Indians on account of its property of growing very fast.

95, 5. ge'hlapka: he swung himself into the nest by climbing over the rim. Cf. *Note* to 66, 13.

95, 10. kaiyema K'mukámtchish for the regular form K'mukámtchash. Cf. 91, 8.

95, 15. skáyamtch etc. More plainly expressed this sentence runs as follows: sha skáyamna pásh tchish ámbu tchish; the first tchish being placed before pásh and appended to the apocopated skáyamna.

95, 16. shéwana here used differently from tchíya, which applies to liquids only.

95, 17. p'lû' ítchnank seems to be a quite modern interpolation, for it smells of pomade and hair-oil; but it is as ancient as the myth itself.

765 95, 23. 96, 2. 3. 4. Tchíka. I have rendered this bird-name elsewhere by "Chaffinch," and Klétish by "Sandhill Crane".

551 96, 3. shlámia, to feel insulted. She resented it as an insult that the child called her deceased husband by name; for it was a capital crime among the ancestors of the present Klamaths to call a dead person's name for many years after his demise.

96, 5. hû'tna is changed to hû'tan on account of being followed by a word commencing with k.

765 96, 6. stiya. The custom of widows to put pitch or resin on their heads at the death of their husbands was abolished only at the time when cremation became a thing of the past.

178 96, 6. galdsha-úyank is a more explicit form of the participle; the verb gáldshui being the contracted form of galdsháwi.

96, 8. yámnashla. He used the bristles of porcupines to make necklaces of.

96, 11. unakáka m'na was the son of Aíshish and of the above mentioned Tchíka.

96, 11. 12. K'mukámtcham qualifies pă'ks, not lúlukshtat.

96, 14. pakakóleshtka, verbal desiderative of pakakóla, to jerk away from. The suffix -óla indicates that K'múkamtch wore his tobacco-pipe tied to his body; he wore it on his neck.

96, 15. tchitchiks is used when speaking to children. It signifies *so, so!* and means: be quiet, shut up, stop!

96, 17. tchē'k kĕléwi. In similar connections this phrase very frequently ends a whole narrative in Modoc and Klamath. Here it means that Aíshish ceased to poke the pipe into the fire. Cf. 85, 10. 89, 7.

96, 18. medshá: he removed from that spot with all his wives and children. Ancient customs forbid the offspring to stay where the father had breathed his last.

96, 20. Gén húnk nánuk etc. This portion of the myth describes the destruction of all the living organisms on earth by a general conflagration caused by K'múkamtch. Myths of this kind are suggested by intense heat experienced in summer. This mode of destroying life on earth is less frequently met with in myths than the drowning in a general flood.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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96, 21. kínyága. Aíshish held the tray over himself, his whole family, and his lodge. The same prefix ki- reappears in a nasalized form in nχí'-uliga: 97, 1. It is nasalized there on account of the preceding -k in hû'nk.

96, 23. kaíla. Where I have rendered this term by "world", as here and elsewhere in creation myths and myths of a similar character, it does not signify the whole surface of the earth as known to us, but only that section of country which is known to that tribe of Indians. Thus ancient creation myths only describe the creation of that part of country where these myths originated; the creation myths of coast tribes will include the ocean in their term for "world".

[825]

96, 23. Túhush talpatkóla. Mud Hen, one of Aíshish's five wives, looked out from under the roof of Aíshish's lodge or shed to see what was going on. This fiction explains the round dark spot visible on the mud-hen's head; its *round* form is indicated by the prefix la- in laliga.

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[115]

AÍSHISHAM SHASHAPKĒLÉASH.

A MYTHIC TALE ABOUT AÍSHISH.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Shashapkēle-uápkan Aíshishash:
I am going to tell a story about Aíshish:

Aíshish mat sákla tû'ma máklaks íyamnatko; shuédshnuk mat sha
Aíshish, they say, gambled many people having with him; when gambling on their way, so they say, they

shnéna lû'loks. Yámnashptchi mat lû'loks Aíshisham, Wanákalam kükü'kli
built fires. Purple-like (was), as reported, the fire of Aíshish, of Silver Fox yellow

lû'loks, K'múkamtcham shláyaksak. Tsúi sa slō'kla; Aíshish shlín túlaak,
the fire (was), of K'múkamtch (it was) smoke only. Then they shot at the mark; Aíshish hit (it) straight,

Wanáka yû'tlansna. K'mukámts tû' hak yû'l'ka, nánka toks tû' hak a-áti
Little Silver Fox missed the mark. K'múkamtch this side of mark struck, the others but far this side of the mark

hak yû'l'ka; tuí sa húmasht gíulank sákaliága. Túm sa héshkû, tsúi sas
struck; right they then after so doing commenced gambling. Many things they bet on, then over them

Aíshish í'kak; séwatkashtka nánuk wátchpka, tsúi sa gü'mpēle. At tû'
Aíshish won; about noon all men had lost all they had, then they went home. Ever

tsússak í'χak nánuk sas.
since he won them all.

Tû'nipnish wéwan's gitk Aíshish: Tûhû'sh násh snáweds Aíshisham,
Five wives had Aíshish: Mud Hen (was) one wife of Aíshish,

Stókua násh snáwedsh, Klí'rish násh, Wü'ka násh, Tsí'ka násh snáwedsh.
Long-tail Squirrel one wife, Sand-hill Crane one, Mallard one, Chaffinch one wife.

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Tsúi	K'múkamts	nä'-ulakta;	at	unák	nä'-ulakta	Aísisas.	Tsúi
Then	K'múkamtch	plotted secretly;		after day-break	he plotted against	Aíshish.	Then

K'múkamts	suáktsa,	sk̲äk̲í'sh	m'na	hû'shûk	p'läíwash	p'tí's-lûlsham	m'na
K'múkamtch	wept,	inherited place	his	remembering	eagles	dead father	his

luélks.	At	sapí'ya	Aíshishash	K'mukámts:	"at	tû'	luélkish	p'laíwash
where had killed.	Now	declared	to Aíshish	K'múkamtch:	"far away		the killing-place	of (young) eagles

yayák̲ia	nû';	k̲á-i	lúela	yáyakiuk",	snáwedsas	kû'ktakiuk	K'múkamts
afraid of	I (am);	not	I killed (them)	being afraid",	a wife	coveting	K'múkamtch

Aísisam,	Stokuā'ks	hû'nk.	At	géna	lápuk:	Aísis	K'mukámts	tchish	géna.
of Aíshish,	Little Squirrel.		Then	set out	both:	Aíshish	K'múkamtch	also	went (there).

Tchúi	sláä	p'laíwash,	tsúi	aláhia	K'mukámts	kokántki	giúg;	tsúi
Then	saw	the eagles,	and	pointed out	K'múkamtch	(the pine) to climb up;		then

p'laíwash	hunkáya	kápkatat.	Aísis	kokántsa	tû';	tsúi	k̲edsá	hûk;	átû
the eagles	flew	on the pine.	Aíshish	climbed	up;	then	grew	it;	far up

k̲aló	kapáta	at	kápka.	Tsúi	hûnk	gû'knank	sláä	tchíliliks	skû'lelam,
the sky	touched	now	the pine.	And	(it)	having climbed	he saw	the young ones	of a lark,

shnúlas	toks	hû'k	p'laíwasham.	Átûnk	at	suáktcha	Aíshish	shnûlástat
the eyrie	though	it (was)	of the eagle.	There now		wept	Aíshish	in the eyrie

tchí'klank;	K'mû'kamts	gä'mpēle	at,	sûlû'tantsa	Aíshish-shitk	slä's.	Gát-
sitting;	K'múkamtch	went away.		dressed himself	to Aíshish alike	to appear.	He

pampēle	tû'	tchí'shtat;	tchúi	shpónäk,	tchúi	shä'tûpk	Stû'kuaksh;	tchúi
came back	far	to dwelling;	then	it was late,	and	he slept with	Little Squirrel;	then

kaíkēma	Stukuág.	Tsúi	nánuk	wéwan's	ká-ikēma,	tsúi	sa	kó-ika.
suspected (him)	Little Squirrel.	Thereupon	all	the wives	became suspicious,	and	they	found out.

"K'mukámts	a hō't ki!"	tsí sa	hû'n ki	hû'ksa	Aísisam	wéwanuish.
"K'mukámts	this one is!"	thus they	said	those	Aíshish's	wives.

Tsúi	shash	at	shuä'tsna	mbû'sant,	tsúi	sa	nánuk	géna	túla,	kat
Then	from them		departed for gambling	next morning,	and	they	all	went	with (him)	those who

Aíshish	túla	shuetsantámēna.	At	sha	shnéna	lû'loks	suétsnuk	sas.	Tsúi
with Aíshish		were in the habit of gambling.	And	they	built	fires	while on their gambling tour.		And

K'mukámtsam	sláyaksak	lû'yäga,	at	sa	káyek'ma,	at	sa:	"k̲á-i	a	kē'k
to K'múkamtch	smoke only	curled up,	now	they	suspected,	and	they (said):	"not	(is)	this

Aísis!"	hû'ksa	ná-ast	sa-ulankánkatk.	"K'múkamts	a	kē'k	gí!";	nā'sht	sa
Aíshish!"	those (in the distance)	thus (said)	(his) followers.	"K'múkamtch		this is!";		so	they

hû'ksa	tû'kni;	"k̲á-i	a	Aísis	gä'pkat,	k̲á-i	hû't	lû'loks	Aíshisham	nû'ta".
(said) those	far off;	"not		Aíshish	came,	not	(here)	the fire	of Aíshish	is burning"

Hû'ksa	tû'	nā'shtk	tälí'tankpkuk:	"ā't	gen	slókalsht	hí	shlä'papakuapk;
Those	afar	thus said	seeing him coming:	"ye	this man	after he has shot at the mark		will find out thee;

Aíshish	toks	shlí'tam'na	tálaak!"	At	gátpa	at	shlō'kla,	tû'	hak	yû'l'ka
Aíshish	however	always hits	straight!"	Then	they arrived	and	they shot,	(but) far this side struck		

K'múkamts;	Wanák	tads	yû'tlansna.	Tsúi	sha	sákaliäg,	tsúi	sa	K'múkam-
K'múkamtch;	Silver Fox		missed a little.	Then	they	commenced gaming,	and	they	over K'mú-

*539 773 tsas í'kak; waítash a tû'm í'kak, tsúi sa gä'mbĕle, tsúi sa gátpampĕle
kamtch won; all day long many stakes they won, then they returned, and they went back

látsastat. At sa tsúi gä'tak sákla salákiuk Aísisas.
to the lodge. Then they quit gambling for they missed Aíshish.

Tsúi Aísisam wéwanuish suásuaktsa tsû'ssak, k̲'lewídsha m'nálam
And Aíshish's wives wept constantly, (and) left their

látchash stä-íldshuk. Shtí'a sa nû'shtat shí'dsho wenépi wéwanuish; nàsh
lodge to dig roots. Pitch they on heads put four wives; one

toks Wä'-aks k̲á-i hli'la Aísisas. Tsúi luátpislals Klíti'sam Aísis tû'mĕna,
but Mallard not mourned Aíshish. Then the weeping cries of Sandhill Crane Aíshish heard,

tsúi Aíshish shuáktsa tû'mĕnank. At Aísis tû' k̲álo wikä't, at k̲'léknapk
and Aíshish wept hearing (them). Now Aíshish (was) far away sky close to, then he was moribund

k̲ak̲ó bĕla; at shí'tsa lápi wékwak tû' k̲álo wikáta; at shlää Aísisas. Tsúi
bones nothing but; then soared up two butterflies far up the sky close to; and (they) saw Aíshish. Then

shitshatχépĕle shla-ólank, tsúi gatpampĕlíssa, tsúi sápa, p'tisá m'na sapíya:
they flew back having seen (him), and returned home they, and told, to father their saying:

"tídsi k̲'lä'kuapk hí'ssuaks; tû' ní k̲aló wigáta shlää hû'nk hissuáksas k̲ak̲ó
"a good will (soon) perish man; far off I sky close to saw that man bones

bĕlat; tí'dsi hû'k k̲'lä'kuapk!" Tchíssa shapíya p'tísa m'nálam.
nothing but; good (man) this will perish!" So they said to father their.

Hû'k p'tíssap sam shkúyui shash mbû'sant at ûnák gá-ulakuapk yákí
The father their ordered them on next morning early to soar up a basket

shléyamĕnank. Tsúi sha géna saptálaltk, tsúi sa tû' gátpa pás a í'yamnatk
strung around (them). And went the sisters, and they up there arrived food carrying

ámbûts í'yamnatk. Tsúi Aísisas líwátkal shnû'lashtat hû'nkant, tsúi wû'la
water also carrying. Then Aíshish they raised up in eyrie that, then inquired

hû'ksa wékwak: "wák í gén gítk?" ná-asht sha wû'la. Tchúi Aísis
these butterflies: "what are you here doing?" so they inquired. Then Aíshish

häméχe: "K'mukámts an'sh p'laíwash shtí'lta; tsúi ní kóka kapka-ágatat,
said: "K'múkamtch me after the eagles sent; and I climbed on the small pine,

tsúi k̲edsnû'tan's; k̲édsha kápka kokí'sh gé-u. Tsúi nû hû'nk shlää
then it grew up under me; grew up the pine during climbing my. Then I (those) saw

p'laíwash, skû'lälam tä'ds n'û'nk shlää tsí'lilika." Tsíhunk Aísis hä'mkank
eagles, of the lark only I found the young." So Aíshish said,

sä'gsuk hû'nkies.
giving explanations to them.

At sa hû'nk slánkok shlóa tchakĕlátat ksékoga sha Aíshishas shewanó-
Now they spreading a wild-cat's skin in the willow-basket placed into they Aíshish after giving

lank pä's ámbuts, tsúi sa skátχídsa, käílatat at gatpámpĕle. Tsúi í'pka
(him) food water also, then they took him down in the basket on the ground he returned. And he lay sick

mä'nts, at wä'mpĕle.
a long time, then he recovered.

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NOTES.

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773 Portions of the same myth, though differently connected, will be found in the
192 mythic tale: K'múkamtch attempts the destruction of his son Aíshish. Both narra-
[372] tives are complementary to each other in some important details.

[484] 99, 3. shnéna. It is the custom of gamblers to build fires at every place where they stop on their road or trail. Any party of travelling Indians will do so when stopping on their way. Cf. 23, 15.

99, 3. Yámnashptchi. Several adjectives designating colors are taken from articles of dress in both dialects: tolalúptchi, green; tchχé-utchχe-ushptchi, a shade of blue; and spálptchi, light-yellow, is called after a face-paint made of a kind of clay.

[825] 99, 3. Wanákalam lú'loka. The fire of Young Silver Fox was yellow or yellowish, not only because the fur of this fox-species turns from silvery white into yellowish by the change of seasons, but also, because this animal represents in mythic stories the halo around the sun. Cf. shakatchálish in Dictionary. Wanáka always figures as the companion of the principal national deity, K'múkamtch.

99, 7. wátchpka: to stake everything in one's possession and then lose it all; wí-uka, to win all the stakes lost by the others.

99, 10. 100, 5. Stókua or Stúkuaga was, according to another of my informants, a fish of this name, and not a squirrel. The other wives of Aíshish all have names of birds.

100, 3. luélks: K'múkamtch had inherited a locality where his father was in the habit of hunting and killing the giant-eagle (p'laíwash). Thinking of this place, K'mukámtch went there with his son Aíshish, after scheming a stratagem to let him perish there. To kill the eagles, it was necessary to climb a pine-tree; this K'múkamtch was afraid of doing, and wanted to send up there his son instead.

100, 9. shnúlas toks etc. The lark had her young in the nest of an eagle.

100, 10. sûlû'tantsa. He dressed himself in Aíshish's garments, as appears from the foregoing mythic tale.

100, 15. sas. Dave Hill often uses shash, sas in an almost reciprocal sense: while (or: for) going to gamble among themselves. This pronoun does not depend here on shnéna, as we might assume. Cf. *Note* to 58, 10. It refers to the playmates of Aíshish, who set out with K'múkamtch, whom they thought to be their beloved Aíshish on account of the dress he had abstracted from him. In 100, 14 shash was explained to me by "from them", viz. from the wives of Aíshish, in whose lodge K'múkamtch had passed the night.

100, 18. gä'pkat for gépka at: did not come now, or: has not come yet.

101, 2. gä'tak. This adverb gives to understand, that they were loth or too tired to play any longer for stakes, because their beloved Aíshish was not present. "To cease or stop gambling" simply, would be expressed by saklóla.

101, 4. shti'a etc. Cf. *Notes* to 89, 5; 96, 6; and general *Note*, on page 86.

[193] 101, 4. shl'daho wenépi, rather unusual forms for shl'dsha hû vunépni. Hû, "up, above, on head," has coalesced with shl'dsha into one word.

101, 5. Kliti'sam. Aíshish heard the cries of Klétish only, because of all the birds which are believed to be his wives, the long-necked sandhill crane is the loudest and noisiest.

[825] 101, 8. gatpampēlísaa for gatpámpēli sha, as tchíssa for tchí sa.

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*539 101, 8. p'tisá m'na for p'tisha m'nálam.

773 101, 10. k̲ak̲ó bēlat for: k̲ak̲ó pil at.

192 101, 11. p'tissap sam. Sham, sam "their", is found standing instead of m'nálam,
192 p'nálam, or húnkēlamsham in the conversational form of language. Cf. 107, 13. 103, 4.

101, 13. liwátkal. They lifted up the famished Aishish, almost reduced to a skeleton, and seated him upright in the nest; they imparted new strength and life to him by feeding him.

101, 16. k̲édsha, to grow, forms k̲édshua, k̲edshuúta; n's is: nû'sh, to me, with me, under me; a sort of *dativus commodi.*

ORIGIN OF HUMAN RACES. DURATION OF HUMAN LIFE.

[115]

GIVEN BY "CAPTAIN JIM" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

K'mû'kamtch hû'nk at né-ulχa ná-asht gén: Hû'nk E-ukshikíshash
K'múkamtch ruled as follows: The Klamath Lake

tchák mák̲laks shû'ta; tchúi pén K̲ä'k̲ak̲ilsh tchágsh mák̲laks shû'ta;
from a service-berry bush people he made; hereupon the Kākakilsh from skunks people made;

yámatalā génûta shûshtédshna. E-ukshkíshash ktchálχishtat í'lχa, Bósh-
northwards while he had gone he created (them) on his way. The Klamath Lakes in the sun-heat he laid down, the white

tinash toks shûtólank máhieshtat í'lχa; húmasht gíug nā'd mák̲laks mû'-
people however after creating (them) in the shade laid down; therefore we Indians (are)

makmûkli, Bóshtin toksh papálpali. É-ush guní'gshta käilalí'a.
dark, the white race but light-complexioned. The sea beyond he made a world for them.

At sha pä'n ne-ulakiéga, K'múkamtch mû'nk tchi'sh shkíshkí'sh tchish
Then they began to legislate, K'múkamtch, mole also, fly-bug also,

wishí'nk tchish. Mû'nk hämé χe: "Nû a gû'ggamtchíshash mák̲lakshash
garter-snake also. Mole said: "I of old age the human beings

gí'tki gi!" Húnkanti wíshink ná-asht häméχe: "nû'toks gémptcha
to become want!" On that subject garter-snake thus spoke: "and I thus-made

mák̲lakshash gí'tki gi!" Tchíhunk wí'shink shkíntchishχagóta: "gá-ash
the men to become order!" Thus garter-snake while shedding its skin: "this way

nû hû'nk mák̲lakshash k̲'léktgi: tí'dshok nétnāk gít k'mû'tchatk gíntak
I the men to become (want): having grown then to be of old age though

tchíltgipēletám'nûk." Húnkanti mû'nk ná-asht heméχe: "nû a gémptcha
always to grow young again." On that subject mole thus said: "but I thus-made

pshe-utíwashash gí'tki gi: gû'ggamtchishash!" Pí muimû'yuk: "gá-asht
the human beings to become want: decrepit by age!" (And) it shivering (said): "thus

nû pse-utíwashash gí'tki gi!" Skí'shkísh tchish ná-asht tok nä'-ulχa
I the human beings to become want!" Fly-bug also thus voted

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mû'nkash túlak. Pi skí'shkish ná-asht: "k̲úi tádsh ak hû'k túmi pshe-
mole along with. It the fly-bug thus (said): "very cruelly many human
utíwash gíug kí'shtchkank hiétalt nûsh".
beings acting, when stepping (on me) (will) crush me".

Tchí'hunk pā'i háshtaltal né-ûlχûg. Tchúi sha pälpeliéga; mû'nk
Thus they mutually disputed for action. Then they began working; the mole
yaína shuteyéga; shtû'ya yaínaluk. At pí'pil húnta né-ulχa K'mukám-
mountains began to make; it made gang-ways to throw up mountains. Now alone thus (it) made after K'múkamtch
tchām shutólash.
had finished creating.

NOTES.

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103, 3. tchák. There is evidently a *jeu de mots* intended between tchák and tchákśh. Which northern tribe the Kákakilsh were, my informant and other Indians were unable to say; it is a nickname, derived from k̲ä'k̲, of some Oregonian tribe held in contempt by the Mák̲laks, and any reference to it causes great merriment to the Klamath Lake Indians. Mák̲laks is in both places separated from the tribal name by inversion; tchák and tchágsh form apposition to these tribal names and to mák̲laks, and for tchágsh we would expect tcháshlsh, which is the usual form of the word.

103, 5. É-ush. The sea or ocean, which is meant here, is múni é-ush, while é-ush means a lake, lagoon or large pond.

103, 6. ne-ulakiéga. Three of the lower animals are here brought together to confer with K'múkamtch to determine the duration of man's life, and every one voted according to its own experience. Stephen Powers mentions a mythic story comparable to this, heard by him among the Pit River Indians (Contrib. to North Amer. Ethnology, vol. III, p. 273): "The coyote and the fox participated in the creation of men and animals, the first being an evil spirit, the other good. They quarreled as to *whether they should let men live always* or *not*. The coyote said: "if they want to die, let them die"; but the fox said: "if they want to come back, let them come back." But nobody ever came back, for the coyote prevailed."

103, 9. 10. After shkíntchishχagóta supply heméχe, and after k̲'léktgi: gi.

[193] 103, 10. tí'dsok, or tít'shok, distributive form of t'shók, of the verb t'shín to grow. Cf. tít'sha, 107, 12.

103, 12. pshe-utíwash, abbreviated pshé-utuash, an archaic word used only in the *collective* sense of people, human beings. It occurs only in mythic stories. Cf. 105, 8.

104, 4. shtû'ya. This fiction was suggested by the manner in which moles throw up mole-hills and shows that the ancient myth-makers were not without a humoristic vein.

104, 4. pí'pil. Every mountain was thrown up by the mole alone, each one separately. The special creation of K'múkamtch was *man*, and whatsoever stands in direct connection with his existence, welfare and customs, as fishing-places, islands, funereal sweat-lodges etc.

104, 4. húnta, abbreviation of húntala: by proceeding in *this* manner, in the *same* manner.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

Hŭ'masht shápash lŭ'pi shuteyégatk.

CREATION OF THE MOONS.

Given in the Klamath Lake Dialect by Minnie Frobén.

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Wásh hûnk lápĕni té-unepant wû'nip pé-ula shápash shû'ta. Lálap
The (female) coyote twenty- four moons made. Two at a time
gé-upkatki gíug sha shipátχûkank; tchúi at vû'nank iggá-idshnank gékan-
when coming up they covered each other; then finishing suspending (them) she went
sha. K'mû'kamtch gû'hlí' kä'liant wáshash, wewéga pîl tchî'shî; vû'la
out. K'múkamtch entered, being absent the coyote, (her) children only in the lodge; he asked
shas: "tát' né gémpka?" "Gē't a genû'la!" K'mû'kamtch heméχe: "tû'sh
them: "where did she go to?" "There she went!" K'múkamtch said: "where
haítch málăm p'gi'shap tchía?" "Hitá tchía!" Tchúi K'mû'kamtch hátakt
(does) your mother sit?" "Here she sits!" Then K'múkamtch there
tchélχank shû'shamka: "hä hä! hä hä?" wákash tétalχok hähä'tamna.
sitting down hummed: "hä hä! hä hä?" bone-awls sticking (into the ground) he went on grunting.
Pä'n shash vû'la: "wákaitch hû'n gíug nä'g tû'm haktch shápĕsh shusháta?
Again of them he inquired: "why then the absent (mother) too many altogether moons did make?
wákak hûnk psé-utiwash tchí-uapk lû'ldam? tchókat ak huk lû'ldam hak;
how then the people could live in winter? they would perish in such (a long) winter;
atí hûk lû'ldam gí't tû'mi shápash gíug." Washa-wéka tχä'wag häméχe:
too long this winter would be, too many moons existing." Coyote-child the oldest said:
"wakaí lálap a hûn shnekû'pkashtkak î?" Tchúi K'múkamtch heméχe:
"why not two at a time shining up there do you need?" Hereupon K'múkamtch said:
"ká-i nû shanahō'le tû'ma shápash gí'tki gíug."
"not I want too many moons to exist."

Tgélχa í'tχe tátχĕlampani shápash, tchúi pekéwa K'mûkámtchiksh,
Started up, took down one-half (of the) moons, then smashed (them) to pieces K'múkamtch,
tchúi gémbĕle. Mä'ntch-gitk wásh gátpampĕle; tχä'wag shapíya p'gí'sha
then left again. Long after this the (mother-) coyote returned home; the oldest (child) told mother
m'na: "K'mû'kamtch a gatpanû'la gí'ta." Wásh vû'la: "tû'sh haítch
its: "K'múkamtch has been here." The coyote asked: "where (did he)
tchä'lχa?" "Hí't a tchä'lχa", shapíya m'na p'gí'sha. Tchúi hátokt tchél-
sit down?" "Here he sat down", said (it) to its mother. Then right there sitting
χank tí'lankanka tálke-ug K'mûkámtchiksh. Kítí'ta píták nkásh.
down she rolled forth and back joking about K'múkamtch. (Then) burst her own bowels.

NOTES.

*539 In preference to any other beast, the prairie-wolf, small wolf, or coyote (as he is
● 773 called in the West after an Aztec term meaning "digger, burrower") became con-
[825] nected in the mind of the Indian with the creation of the moon and the origin of the
months or moons, because in moonlit nights he is heard howling from nightfall to
dawn; sometimes alone, sometimes in packs of several dozen at a time. His querulous,
whining howl is likened by the Indians with a "speaking to the moon". Our tale
above is based upon the double sense of *moon* and *month*, in which the term shápash (the
"indicator," from shápa to tell, indicate) is used. The idea of the creation of twice
twelve moons originated in the delusion that in every period called *new* moon, moons
were really made or manufactured *new* by the creator. The number twenty-four was
perhaps suggested by the observation of lunar eclipses, or mock moons appearing in
hazy weather. The coyote as the creator of the moons (and the creator of the universe
among the Central Californians) naturally desired to have as many moons as possible;
while K'múkamtch, as the wolf's antagonist, thought it better for the benefit of his own
*539 creation, the human beings, not to make the year too long. If the winter had to last
773 twelve months instead of six, how could they collect roots, bulbs, seed, fish, and game
192 enough to live through such a length of time?

105, 2. shipátχûkanka. Two moons being on the sky simultaneously would necessarily often cover and thereby eclipse or hurt each other.

105, 2. iggá-idshnank. The mother-coyote had hung up the twenty-four moons made by herself around the walls and ceiling of her winter-lodge, which in this myth signifies the sky. The suffix -ídshna points to her walking from one spot of the lodge to another while busy in suspending the moons.

[776] 105, 3. gú'hli'. A great deal of shrewdness is ascribed to the principal deity of the Klamath Lake people as well as to those of other *hunting* tribes. He manifests his astuteness in entering the coyote's lodge in her *absence* only, and to prepare a trick for her there.

105, 4. tát' né for táta nen.

[194] 105, 5. Hitá tchía! is pronounced as if it was *one* word only: hitátchia.

105, 6. shû'shamka, distributive form of sh'û'mka, to hum, grunt, to make hă hă. He grunted every time he planted another awl, sometimes in an interrogative tone of voice, and did it to disguise their secret planting into the ground.

105, 7. wákaitch composed of wák haitch; wásha-wéka composed of wásham wéaga; tχéwag or tχéwaga, diminutive of tχé-u first, first in order, eldest; cf. hû'ktag.

[193] 105, 7. tû'm haktch. This language has a term corresponding to our *too much* (tû'm tchátchui), but none which renders our *too* with accuracy. Adjectives or adverbs qualified by *too* are therefore pronounced with a higher pitch of voice and the quantity of their main vowel is increased when the Indian intends to express this adverb.

105, 10. wakaí, "why not," a combination of wák and ká-i.

105, 14. gatpanû'la gí'ta: he has come here and has left again.

[825] 105, 16. Kiti'ta. The coyote-wolf, while rolling forth and back on the ground, as these animals are in the habit of doing, ran her belly into the bone-awls insidiously planted there by K'múkamtch, so that the entrails shed their contents on the lodge-floor.

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Skélamtcham Tchashgayákalam Shasi'apkéléash.

MYTH OF THE MARTEN AND THE WEASLET

Given in the Klamath Lake Dialect by Dave Hill.

K'mukámtch Yámsi tchía. Sátapealtk Tcháshgayaks; lápiak tchía
K'múkamtch in the North m't'n lived. His younger brother (was) Weaslet; only two they lived

k̲äíliak wä'wans. Tsúi sa saíkän géna wéwansh í'ktcha; tû'mi saíkän tchía
without wives. And they to the prairie went wives to bring in; many on the field were

mák̲laks tánkt. Tchúi sgúyue Skä'lamts Tsáagayaks í'ktchatki snáweds:
Indians then. And dispatched old Marten Little Weasel to fetch a woman:

"k̲á-i i labĕ-lû'lp-gipksh shpû'nshipk, shtchokápsh i ä'pka!" Tsúi géna
"not you a two-eyed one bring along a one-eyed one you bring!" Then went he

nádshiak í'ktchuk wéwans, tsúi tû' mé-ipks gáldsui. Saígatat tû'mi
alone to fetch women, and far off digging (roots) he met (them). On the prairie many

wéwanuish méya; shtá saíka; híhashuaksh k̲ä'gi, gánkanka sha. At
females were digging; full was the prairie (of them); the men were away, hunted they. Now

wéwanuish ik̲áyula tí'tatsa pí'la, k̲á-i hû'shkank K'mukámtsam stû'leōls:
women he picked out pretty ones only, not minding of K'múkamtch the order:

shtchû'shtsχapksh K'mû'kamts épkatki gí'ulatki; at í'tpa tû ládsastat
one-eyed ones to K'múkamtch to bring enjoining; then brought (them) over to the lodge

Tsáskai: "gén m's ni spûnshipkía." At häméχe K'mukámts: "kaní ná-asht?
Weasel: "this one for you I brought." And said K'múkamtch: "who (said) so?

kaní ná-asht tidsá ä'pkatki? shtchû'shtskapksh mí'sh nû ä'pkolatkik; k̲aítoks
who so (said) pretty ones to bring? one-eyed (ones) you I to bring told; and not

mí'sh ni tí'dsa ä'pkatki gi!"
you I pretty ones to bring told!"

Tchúi at wä'wanslank shash, tsúi pálakak nχákgi lápuk; tchúi tít'sha
And took as wives them, and pretty soon became mothers both; and grew up

wewéas, at mat sa waslalá. Tchúi sí'ssok hû'k wewéas sham; tsúi stulí'
the children, and, it is said, they hunted chipmunks. And quarreled boys their; and advised

Tsasgáyak: "shlí't i hû'nks!" taltsiágatat sa-ûlí'a. At slä'popk hû'nitak
Weaslet: "shoot you him!" (and) on the little arrows he put stone heads. And was aware by himself,

K'mukámts stûlí'sht pí'ts. K'mukámts stûlí' wä'ka m'ná: "shlí'sht m'nálsh
K'múkamtch that had advised him. K'múkamtch ordered son his: "in case he shoots, him

i shlín!" At lä'-udsha hû'k tátaksni, tsúi shlí'n Tsasgayákalam vû'nakag;
you shoot!" Then went to play the children, and shot Little Weasel's little son;

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shlí'n	K'mukámtsăm	hû'nk	únakag;	tchúi	sa	híshlan.	Tsaskayákalam	
shot	of K'múkamtch	the	little son;	then	they shot at each other.		Little Weasel's	
vúnak	hûnk	shlín	lû'pi	K'mukámtcham	vunáka;	tchúi	hû'nk	hû'tkalpalank
boy		shot	first	at K'múkamtch's	son;	then	(that one)	jumping up again
shlín	Tchashgáyam	únaka,	tchúi	tsóka	lápuk.			
shot	Weasel's	son,	then	perished	both.			

At	sálĕki	ptisaísap	sham.	Tsashgái	at	káyaktsa,	K'mukámts	ká-i
Then	missed (them)	fathers	their.	Weasel		went searching,	(but) K'múkamtch	not
káyaktcha,	skû'lχa	tă'dsh	sá-utamank;	slă'bopk	hû'nitak	tû'	sas	hishō'kst.
searched (for them),	laid himself on bed	lay,	wrapped up;	he knew	by himself,	out there	them	to have killed each other.

NOTES.

Compare with this myth the first part of the "Mythic Tale of Old Marten" (Skélamtcham shashapkĕléash), which contains the same subject-matter.

[103] 107, 1. Yámsi, contraction of Yámashi. This is the name given at present to a mountain North of Klamath Marsh; from this direction the cold winds (yámash) blow over the highlands on Upper Klamath Lake.

*539 773 107, 1. 3. 9. Tcháshgai sometimes occurs in the diminutive form Tchashgáyak, because the Weasel is regarded as the *younger* brother of the Marten.

192 193 107, 2. saíkăn, a contraction of saigaχĕ'ni: they went *to* the prairie, where the women were digging the edible roots.

107, 3. Skĕ'lamts. I have given this myth elsewhere in a longer relation, where the part played here by K'múkamtch is played by Skélamtch. Even in Dave Hill's relation the Marten is called, but once only, by its real name Skélamtch; K'múkamtch and Skélamtch are mentioned *here* as identical. The term skĕ'l, when not employed in its mythologic sense, means a long piece or strip of tanned otter or marten skin, used for tying the hair, or for other purposes.

107, 3. 4. I'ktchatki snáweds etc. One woman only is mentioned here, instead of the two, whom Weaslet was ordered to bring home as wives for his brother K'múkamtch and himself.

107, 5. wéwans a very common elision for wéwanuish.

107, 9. kaní ná-asht? ellipse for kaní ná-asht gi?

107, 10. nû ĕ'pkolatkik. Instead of this may be said also, ĕ'pkatki gíula nû: "I strictly told (you) to bring in."

107, 13. sa waslalá. The two boys went together hunting chipmunks.

[411] 107, 14. sháwala to adjust stone-heads; shawalia, sa-ulía to adjust stone-heads for or in the interest of somebody. Flint-, obsidian- or iron heads are placed only on war-arrows or on arrows used in killing large game (ngé-ish, ngĕ'-ish); but the táldshi or lighter arrow, used in hunting birds, and the taldshiága, arrow used as boy's plaything, are usually provided with wooden points only.

107, 15. K'mukámts stûli sht pi'ts stands for K'mukámtchash stuli'sht pi'sh, the pronoun referring to the little son of K'múkamtch.

107, 15. shli'sht. In this sentence m'nálsh is the subject of shli'sht, and the direct object of shlin is not expressed.

107, 16. lĕ-udsha: they went out to play, from léwa, lĕ'wa to play.

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SKÉLAMTCHAM SHASHAPKĔLÉASH.

MYTHIC TALE OF OLD MARTEN.

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROBEN.

Wéwanuish mat tû′mi méya kä′sh shaigatat yákí shkä′shkatgaltk.
Women, they say, many were digging ipo on prairie, baskets carrying on back.
Shkä′lamtch mat tchía shetχé-unaltχ Tchashgáyaks. Shkä′lamtch shtúlí
Old Marten, as they say, lived as the elder brother of Little Weasel. Old Marten sent
tä′pia m′na Tchásgayaks í′ktchatki gíug kmä′ shtchû′shtchχapkam. Tchúi
younger brother his Weasel to obtain the skull-caps of the one-eyed ones. And
Tcháshgayag géna; gátpnank í′tχa shash nánuk kmä′ ká-i shtchû′shtch-
Weasel went; coming there, he took away from them all skull-caps. (but) not of the one-
χapksham tchi′sh, ítpampĕli Tchashgáyak, shéwana Skélamtchash kmä′.
eyed (women) also, brought Little Weasel (and) gave to Old Marten the caps.
Skélamtch häméχe: "táta mí′sh nû tpéwa ká-i shtchûshχápkam epkátki
Old Marten said: "when you I ordered not of the one-eyed to bring?
giug? lápûk mish nû épkatki gí′ula shtchû′shtchχapkam pí′l." Wéwanuish
of both you I to bring had told of the one-eyed only." Females
nánuk gátpa Skélamtchamkshi shkashkátkaltk kä′sh. Skélamtch shewaná-
all came to Old Marten's home carrying on back ipo. Old Marten re-
pĕle kmä′ wéwan′shash, puäkámpĕle ladshéshtat, hä′mĕta Tchashgáyaksh:
turned the caps to the women, threw (them) back out of his lodge, (and) said to Weasel:
"táta mish nû tpä′wa tûm kmä′ ä′pkatki gíug? lápok ámsh ni ä′pkatki!"
"when you I ordered many caps to bring? of both (only) you I to bring (told)!"
Wéwanuish tchík tchúi gémpĕle, lápuk shtchû′shtchχatk tchí′dsha.
The women after this returned, (but) both one-eyed ones remained.

Tchúi hûk shtchû′shtchχatk wéwanuish wewä′kala. Shû′hank-shitk
Then the one-eyed women bore children. At the same time when
mû′mkak gí′ulχa Skélamtch nteyakalíya, m′na ú′nakag mû′ak t′shí′sht.
the infants were born Old Marten made a little bow, for his little son, taller when he would grow.
Tchashgáyak tchí′sh nteyakalí′ya m′nátak únakag. Tchúi tchatchákiag
Little Weasel also made a little bow for his own little boy. And the little boys
lé-utcha: bí′shla nté-ishtka tatáldshiak. Léwatkuk tátakshní gatpámpĕli;
went to play: they shot at the mark with their bows little arrows. From the play the boys returned;
Tcháshkayagalam únakag heméχe: "hût án′sh tû′ shlí′kshga." Tchash-
Little Weasel's boy remarked: "he me out there well nigh shot." Little
gáyag wû′la m′na únakag: "túm hai tchí′ m′sh hû′nk láyank téwi?"
Weasel asked his young son: "really thus at you taking aim he shot?"

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Tchákiak heméχe: "hûshûtánkapksh pû'sh nûsh hû'n gî" (mshásbaltchatk
The boy said: "approaching on the sly me it was" (squirreling were

sha hû'nk, shléank mshásh hishlákshka). Tchúi Tchashgáyak shtulí'
they, discovering a squirrel they almost shot each other). Then Little Weasel advised

únakag m'na shlí'tki Shkélamtcham únakag, "hä hû't mish pän shlí'shtka
little son his to shoot of Old Marten the son, "if he at you again shooting

gí'uapk." Shkélamtch sháyuakta hûnk nánuk Tchashgáyakalam hém-
should be." Old Marten became aware (of the) whole of Little Weasel's dis-

kanksh; tchúi pí' tchish shtulí' m'na û'nakag shlítki gíug Tchashgáyam
course; and he also ordered his little son to shoot Weasel's

únaka: "hä' mish shlí-uapk, k̲lä'χatk gí'ntak î hû'tkalpalank shlí-uapk
son; "if you he kills, dead though, you rising up again must kill

hû'nksh."
him."

Tchúi mbû'shan pä'n géna wáshlaltchuk; shláa sha wáshla, gánta sha
Then next day again they went to hunt chipmunks; saw they a chipmunk, crept (at it) they

at. Skélam únakag téwi, ká'hhian wáshla; wiggáta î-úlχa Tchashgáyam
then. Marten's little son shot, missing the chipmunk; close to he struck the ground Weasel's

û'naka. Tchashgáyam únak häméχe: "wák ta î gíug shlí'kshga nûsh?"
to the son. Weasel's little son said: "wherefore you almost shot me?"

Skélam únak hémtchna: "shní'ulatchgankan hû'n gî." Guháshktcha pēn
Marten's child replied: "glancing off it was." They started (and) again

géna sha, shláa sha wáshla. Lápuk pí'pēlantana gánta shawaltánkank
travelled they, saw they a chipmunk. Both from opposite sides crept up moving along the ground

tä'wi; Skélām únak shlí'kshga Tchashgáyam únaka. Tchashgáyam vúnak
shot; Marten's little son almost hit Weasel's little son. Weasel's little son

shlínk shíuga Shkélam vúnaka; tchúi shpóka mántchak Tchashgáyam
(then) shooting killed Marten's child; then lay on ground for some time Weasel's

únakag. Tgí'tsχank shlépapka, k̲ék̲almâsh wewatkuéla lû'lp, k'máka tgû't-
little son. Standing near he looked (at him), tears flowed from (his) eyes, he looked around while

gank hátkok. Skélam û'nak hû'tkal, shlín at Tchashgáyam vúnaka
standing there. Marten's son jumped up, shot then Weasel's child

û'shûtal; lápuk tchúi k̲'léklχatk í'pka.
in the breast; both then dead lay there.

Tcháshgai hém'ta Skélash: "wák ta mā'nshaktch tátaksni k̲ä'gi waíta?
Weasel said to Marten: "Why for so long the children are absent the whole day?

tû'sh ak nen hû'k wák k̲ä'la?" Skélamtch k̲á-i kéktchank hû'nksh, shkō'l-
where (are) they somewhat doing?" Old Marten not answering him, recum-

pkank ktána Tcháshgai géna káyaktchuk tátakiash, k̲á-i shléank gatpám-
bent slept. Weasel went to look out for the children, (and) not finding returned

pēle. Mántch-gîtk Skélamtch guháshktcha tû gawálpēli. Tchóχapksh
home. After a while Old Marten started out far out to find (them). Murdered

tátakiash gáwalpālank itpámpēlē; shuashuaktchóta lû'lukshalshok mû'lua,
the children discovering he carried them home; with mourning cries to cremate (them) they get ready,

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túnip wuillishik i-ámuash Skē'l éna, Tchâshgai tchī'sh túnepanti wuílishik
five bags of neckwear Marten took, Weasel too five bags

ī-ámuash éna. Tchúi sha lū'luksla, tū'tĕnipnī' sha lápuk īwálpēle. Skä'lam
of beads brought. And they burnt (them), each five (bags) they both emptied on them. To Marten

tchī'k i'amnash wewilína. Tchúi sha gémpēle tchīshχē'ni k'léwiank.
finally beads were left over. Then they returned to their lodge after performance.

Skélamtch hém'ta Tchashgáyash géntki gíug Mû'shamkshi, pī gé-
Old Marten said to Weasel, he should go to the South Wind's house, himself pro-

nuapkug Yám'shamkshi. Tchâshgai ká-i shaná-ul' Yámshamkshi gé-ishtka
posing to go to the North Wind's home. Weasel not liked to North Wind's lodge to travel.

gíug. Skē'l hemeχe: "ká-i ī génuapk Yámshamkshī, nû'tak gésh shaná-
Marten said: "not you shall go to the North Wind, myself to go want

uli Yámshamksh'; mi'sh nû géntki Múshamkshī." "Ká-i an Mû'shamkshī
to the North Wind; you I (want) to go to South Wind's house." "Not I to South Wind

gē'sh shaná-ul'", at pī hém'ta ná-asht. Tchúi géna Tchâshgai Yám-
to go desire", now he said so. And went Weasel to the

shamksh; gátpa hátokt eíχa Múash; eíχishtok Mû'shash k'léka Tchâsh-
North Wind's lodge; he came there, (when) put the head out the South Wind; while had put the head out the South Wind, died Little

gayak. Tchúi Skélamtch Mû'sham nû'sh lalkádsha; pä'n Yámshamkshi
Weasel. And Old Marten of the South Wind the head cut off; again, to the North Wind's lodge

géna Skélamtch, lalkádsha Yámshamtcham nû'sh.
went Old Marten, (and) cut off the North Wind's head.

K'léwiank guhuáshktcha Lĕmé-ishash géluiptchuk Tchashgáyaksh
Hereupon he set out the Thunders to visit, Little Weasel

hakshaktchuitk. Lĕmé-ish hushtánka Skélamtchash, snéwedsh tû'tash
carrying in his dress. One Thunder fell in with Old Marten, a woman long shells

hahashtamnipksh shû'litanka. Snáwedsh hém'ta Skélamtchish: "wák īsh
having as ear-ornaments he pursued. The woman cried to Old Marten: "somehow me

shû'tä, gé-u shá-amoksh!" Tchúi Skélamtch hemeχe: "wák hai tchī' m's
protect, my friend!" And Old Marten replied: "how then you

nû shuté-uapk?" pniudaktán tcha kátchannat, tchúi guhuáshktcha. Tapítak
I shall protect!" blew (her) instantly into a pitch-pine log, and continued his way. Right after (him)

Lĕmé-ish petégank hī'mboks kshatgatnû'lank shíuga snáwedsh.
the Thunder tearing up the log (and) extracting (her) killed the woman.

Skélamtch tû' at gátpa Lemé-isham ládshashtat. Lápi títsga-ak Lĕmé-
Old Marten then arrived of the Thunders at lodge. Two decrepit old Thun-

ish tchía shuki'kash hû'nkimsham. Skélamtch wā'shī gulī' tchuyétk Yám-
ders lived (there), the parents of them. Old Marten into the room stepped having as hat on of North

sham núsh; wayálpa nánuk wā'shīn, wákish tchish lákĕlaka. Kä'-utchish
Wind the head; froze to icicles everything in the lodge room, the inside ladder too became slippery with ice. Gray Wolf

gánkanktka, Skä'lam shá-amoksh, wawä'kalam pī'l hû'k tchī'sh ká-i wétk.
returned from the hunt, Marten's kinsman, of his children alone the place in the lodge not froze up.

Lĕmé-ish gatpámpēle, máklaks tû'm ī'tpa. Titská-ak Lĕmé-ish stī'llidanka
The Thunders returned home Indians many they brought. The Old Thunders reported

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shapíya m'na wanúnga: "wenníni a tuá gátpa wā'shi ati' nálsh wíniχitk!"
(and) said to their sons: "stranger some has come into the room, largely to us superior!"

Tχé-u Lĕmé-ish heméχe: "gá tuáta shkaínihaktch gátpa, nû' ak ya hûn
The oldest Thunder said: "whosoever stronger (man) has come, I (can) certainly,

shkáyent gi'ntak gu'hlí'plit." Gékansha at, ga-ulapgápĕle pätchō'le nā'shak
strong though (he is), enter (where he is)." He went out then, climbed up, stepped on one step only

wákish, kí'shtchnank huí'χipĕle. "Tútutu!" hûtchampĕlúta Lemé-ish
of inside ladder, stepping on he hurried out again. (Crying:) "tútutu!" after running homewards (this) Thunder

ná-asht giúta, pén nā'sh heméχe: "tuátal shkaíniaks tcheχóga" Gékan-
so reported, and another one said: "some kind of a stronger one is sitting inside." Going

shănank tû' gá-ulapgapĕle pä'patchle lápok wakí'sh; pétchtnank húiχipĕle.
out over there he went on op (of winter lodge), put his feet on two steps only of inside ladder; stepping on he ran out again.

"Tútutu"! huiχipĕlúta, gúlipĕlánk shash kátni shapíya: "wenníni tuá
"Tútutu"! he skipped away, entering again, those being in the káyata he told: "stranger some

gátpa." Tatχĕlamní' tchkash heméχe: "ká tuák shkaíneaksh tchíwíχa?"
has come." The one intermediate in age too said: "what sort of a stronger (man) is inside?"

gekanshĕnû'nk tû' ga-ulapgápĕle pépatchle; tátχĕlam-páni gû'tχítkt lû'lula
(and) running out he went on lodge-top (and stepped down; half-ways having climbed down he rattled up

hû'kantchămpĕlok. Stí'lhipĕli shash kátnî; nā'sh tchkash gékansha tû',
to run out again. He reported to those in the káyata; (another) one also went out out there,

gá-ulapgapĕli, gulí'pĕle, gélχalgitk hû'kanshampĕle tútutu-û'ta. "Ya! ati'
mounted up the ladder, went in, having climbed down he hurried out again while tútutu-crying. "To be sure! by far

a nā'lsh winní'χitk tuā' ki." Tapí'ni tchkash gékansha: "ká tuáta
than we stronger (one) some it is." The last one also rushed out: "what kind of

shkaíniaktch?" gûlhí'pĕlank sháhiashtalá m'na tchē'lkpĕle hû'tkalshnank
a stronger one?" entering (the lodge) on couch his he sat down, (then) starting up

hû'kampĕle.
ran out again.

Tchúi mā'ntch-gitk tchē'k Ké-udshiamtch gatpámpĕle; lí'lhankshti
Then some time after finally Old Wolf came home; some venison

í'tpa. Lemé-ish hém'ta Kä-utchíshash: "ati' a nā'lsh tuá winní'χitk gátpa".
he brought. The Thunders said to Gray Wolf: "by far than we some stronger (one) has come".

Kä'-udshiamtch gá-ulapgapĕle, tchúi hä'mĕle Skélamtchísh: "shanatch-
Old Wolf climbed the lodge, then shouted to Old Marten: "take

vû'lí tchúyesh!" Tchúi Skélamtch shanatchvû'lank nélχa m'na tchúyesh;
off (your) hat!" And Old Marten, unhatting himself, laid down his hat;

nánuk hû'k wayálapsh k̲ä'gipĕle. Kä'-udshiamtch gulhípĕle tchúi, Lĕmé-
all the icicles disappeared again. Old Wolf entered (the lodge) upon this, Thun-

ish tchísh hû'k nánuk gulhí'bĕle, tchúi sha shû'tchapĕlank páshōta.
ders too they all entered again, and they rebuilding a fire had a meal.

Hû'yuka sha hû'nk ktá-i at, tchúi sha mák̲laks pûelhí', mû'nish sha kála
Heated they stones now, and they people threw in, a large they flat bucket

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shláltpa táluodsh máklaks. Tchúi sha ktái kélpokshtak í'kagank í'wa
gave for use. to stew the people. And they the stones as soon as heated took out (and) dipped (them)

kálati ámbo tchi'pgank; í'wa sha tchúi Nókshtak sha ktái í'χakpĕle,
into a kála water containing: put in they then. As soon as stewed they the stones took out again,

Lemé-ish háshpa shash Skélamtchash, gaptchátka Lĕmé-ish tchí'lχia Ské- 3
the Thunders handed as food them to Old Marten, with the small finger the Thunders placed on the floor (the kála) for

lash. Skélamtch gáptchatka shitchálshue máklaks kálati. Tchúi Skélamtch
Marten. Old Marten with the little finger moved (more) Indians towards the kála. Then Old Marten

pátampka; Tcháshgayag tchligátchktcha Skélamtchash shakō'tkug māk-
began to eat; Weaslet pinched Old Marten insisting for human

laksti tchûléksh. Tchúi Shkélamtch ká-i shéwana; "kúidsha gísht", leklek- 6
flesh. (But) Old Marten not gave (any); "it being bad", he

tchámpka Tchatchgáyash; "undshē'k mish ni tchulē'ksh lí'lhankshti tchē'k
whispered to Little Weasel; "by and by to you I meat of venison at last

shéwanuapk." Tchúi nánuk wû'ta káyak hû'nksht shéwanank. Shlé-ipĕle
will give." Then all he ate up not any to him giving. Returned

shash kála, Ké-udshiámtchkash nûkaltámpka tchulē'ks. Tchúi nû'kst 9
to them the bucket, Old Wolf also began roasting meat. When it was done,

tí'atat í'kĕlank shéwana Skélamtchash, tchúi pí hû'nkanti tchē'k shéwana
on a paddle putting it he gave (it) to Old Marten, and he of it then gave

tchulē'ksh Tchashgáyaksh. Tchúi sha lû'lalχa pá-ulank; Skélamtch ktán-
meat to Little Weasel. And they went to bed having done eating; Old Marten fell

shan nánui shχolχótak. 12
asleep as soon as lying down.

Lĕmé-ish sheshnû'lχa shiúkuapkuk Skélamtchash; ka-uloktantk-
The (3) Thunders plotted (how) to kill Old Marten; walking up and down

tám'na sha. Tchékag pí'l télshampka Lĕmé-ishash káyak ktánshna. Pén
continued they. Blackbird only looked towards the Thunders (and) not was asleep. And

Lĕmé-ish gákua shlē'dshuk Skélamtchash, tamû'dsh ktánshisht, shí'uguap- 15
the Thunders approached to look at Old Marten, whether he was asleep, proposing to

kug hû'nk. Tchékaksh Lĕmé-ish mbû'shaksh yí'yuχoga lû'lpat; tchúi
kill him. To Blackbird the Thunders arrow-heads pushed into the eyes; then

hû'nk ká-i ktánuapkug ktámpsh-shítk shléash gí'-uapk. Pshín tátχĕlam
he not going to sleep, asleep-alike appearing would be. At midnight

Lĕmé-ish káktansha; Skélamtch skíshkshō'lank pí' tchkash kakō'dsha 18
the Thunders went to sleep; Old Marten awakening he then went over

Lĕmé-ishamksh, hihashlûtchtánka lák Lemé-isham, tĕ'kish shash huhashlí'-
to Thunders' place, tied together the hair of the Thunders, swords to them handed over

amna; heshamkankō'ta: "Skélam tápia gēn lúelat". Tchúi Skélamtch
to each; they ordered each other: "Marten's younger brother, him kill ye". Then Old Marten

gékantgi Kä-utchí'shash tpä'wa; tchúi Kä'-utchish géka, wewéka m'na 21
to go out Gray Wolf ordered; and Wolf went out, children his

í'ka. Skélamtch shnélχa Lĕmé-isham látchash, tgá-ulank wálχa hû'kĕn-
took out. Old Marten set on fire of the Thunders the lodge, (and) standing on its top he waited to rush

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uksht Lĕmé-ishash; shtéyakēlakpa tgatí'dnank; mû tchä'k nûtísht sχí'sh-
out the Thunders; he hearkened standing outside; strongly at last when (the fire) blazed, awake

kshōla Lemé-ish. Huhashtápka tĕkí'shtka; "Skélam tópia gēn lúelat"!
the Thunders. They stabbed each other with the long blades; "Marten's younger brother, him kill ye"!

pátak huhashtápkuak.
they stabbed each other only.

Tchúi nánuk nû'natank tchû'ka; mbáwa steínash nû'dshnuk. Ské-
Then all by blazing up perished; exploded (one) heart while flying off. Old

lamtch wá'hlχank wi-ulalápēle steínash lû'lukshtat; pä'n nā'sh mbáwa.
Marten looking on struck (one) heart in the fire; again one exploded.

Skä'lamtch wi-ulalápēle; pä'n nā'sh mbáwa, pä'n wi-ulalápēle Skélamtch.
Old Marten struck again; and another one burst, again (when) struck Old Marten.

Tchashgáyak hämé̆χe: "Skélamtch! nû' tchkash nā'sh wí-ulalek!" tchúi
Little Weasel said: "Old Marten! I also one will strike!" then

pä'n mbáwa nā'sh. Tchúi Tchashgáyak ḵá'hhian, tchúi steínash hû'k nu-
again burst one. (But) Weaslet missed, and heart that went

wálχa; Wékweks shû'waltktcha Tchä'kaksh tû'la, shlû'shlakshga shualχóta.
to the sky; Magpie flew after it Blackbird with, and picked (it) to pieces, while it flew.

Shkélamtch hämé̆χe: "ḵá-i ĭ tuá sháyuaksh kiuápka, hû'nshak ĭ pshe-
Old Marten said: "nothing you good for will be, in vain you the

utuáshash shnulû'kuapkak."
people will frighten only."

Tchúi Skélamtch shnélχa Lĕmé-ish titaká-aksh.
Then Old Marten burst Thunders the Old.

NOTES.

This relation of the myths is more circumstantial than the corresponding one obtained from Dave Hill, which omits some of their characteristic features. We have here an interesting and probably the most popular part of the whole cycle of *marten-myths* known to the Klamath Lake people; the above is not a single myth, but a series of myths, some of them thrown together in a rather loose connection. What connects them all is the fact that Weaslet is the constant companion of his older and more sagacious brother Old Marten, who combines the qualities of Reineke Fox with that of an elementary power of irresistible force (shkaíni). The Skélamtch myths present themselves in the following order:

1. Selection of the one-eyed females as wives.
2. The children of the two brothers destróy each other.
3. The fathers cremate their children's bodies.
4. The Winds are exterminated by Skélamtch.
5. Skélamtch hides a woman before one of the five Thunders.
6. Skélamtch enters the lodge of the Thunders; the hat on his head acts as a spell and prevents them from entering it.
7. Old Gray Wolf, Marten, Weasel and the five Thunders are feasting on human flesh in the lodge of the Thunders.
8. Skélamtch sets the lodges of the five Thunders and of the two Old Thunders on fire and kills the inmates.

*539 109, 1. shkä'shgatkaltk. A verbal adjective of shkátkēla, to carry on back; kā,
773 ka is the radical syllable, found also in kä'mat, *back*. This distributive form is appar-
192 ently due to vocalic dissimilation. Women carry conical baskets (yáki) on their backs
[482] when digging roots or bulbs, and throw them over their shoulders into these recep-
[193] tacles.

[222] 109, 2. 6. 8. Skélamtch. See Dave Hill's relation of the same myth; *Note* to 107, 3. In speaking of somebody who acts on the sly, and differently from what he professes and means to do, the Klamath Lake people will say: "He acts like Skélamtch." This [193] is one of the few proverbial locutions, or at least figurative modes of speech that can be traced in this tribe.

[291] 109, 3. kmā' is the rounded light cap usually worn by females, fitting tight to the skull. It is made of the stalks of aquatic plants, several species of them entering into the manufacture of each cap. The taking away of the skull-caps was intended as a signal for the women to go to their new homes.

109, 6. táta. The words of reprehension addressed by Old Marten to Weaslet are: "Did I ever order you to bring the caps of any other than of both the one-eyed women? I told you to get the caps of both one-eyed women only." Lápuk belongs to shtchûshχápkam, though separated from it by the inversion of the sentence; kmā' is left out.

[193] 109, 6. shtchûshχápkam. The distributive form of shtchû'χa is so difficult to articulate, that abbreviations of it like the above and others, have resulted. Shtchúχa is evidently the medial form of tchóχa, and its meaning is therefore "to suffer destruction on oneself." Cf. shtchúyampka.

109, 10. ni ā'pkatki. After ā'pkatki supply gi: "said, told."

109, 11. The text forgets to mention the calling in of the two one-eyed women.

109, 12. Shû'hank-shitk. In many mythic stories the newly-born children are made to grow miraculously fast, so that when a few days old they handle bow and arrows, and after a month or two they are adult people.

[194] 109, 13. ntéyāla, to make a bow or bows (nté-ish), nteyákāla, to make little bows (nteyága), nteyakalía or nteyakalíya, to make little bows *for somebody*.

109, 13. únak, *son*, is variously pronounced û'nak, vúnaka, wúnak; and so is its diminutive únakag, únakaga, vúnakak, *little son*, "*sonny*".

109, 15. híshla has two meanings, both *reciprocal:* to shoot at each other, and to shoot at the mark, *rivalling to outdo each other* in markmanship. Cf. 24, 17.

[193] 109, 15. Léwatkuk for léwatko hûk: they, after having played; participle of léwa to play.

110, 1. hûshûtánkapksh etc. "This was an approaching himself on the sly towards me" is the literal rendering of this sentence, in which the first term is a *nomen actionis*, a verbal indefinite. The two pronouns are governed by it.

110, 3. mish shli'shtka gi'uapk, if he should want to shoot you; if he should shoot at you purposely.

110, 4. Sháyuakta, "he knew." Omniscience and prescience are among the characteristic features of Old Marten, who is the personification of K'múkamtch. Cf. 107, 1. 3. 14. 108, 5. and *Note* to 107, 3.

110, 6. hútkalpéli, to rise up suddenly, to jump up again (though killed beforehand). Cf. 108, 2.

110, 11. "shul'alatchgankan hû'n gi." Marten's son said, that his arrow, when

*539 dispatched after a chipmunk, struck a log or tree, glanced off from it and came very
773 near killing Weasel's little son.

192 110, 11. 21. guháshktcha instead of guhuáshktcha, cf. Dictionary.

110, 17. wû'sho, breast, chest, is also pronounced wû'shu, û'shu; û'shutala, in the chest. k̲'leklχátko is the distributive plural of k̲'lekátko; k̲'léka, to die.

[193] 110, 18. mā'nshaktch, so long; stands for mā'ntchak tchí. The terminal -ak has to be taken here and in 110, 14. in the sense of the diminutive suffix: "a little long".

110, 19. k̲ä'la to *do* or *act* in the sense of amusing oneself, playing, gesticulating, or acting in a loud, noisy, or grotesque manner.

111, 1. túnepanti. The partitive case in -ti, if it stands for túnepanta, is used here, because the bags of neckwear brought by Skélamtch were counted on the digits of one hand, while those of Weasel were counted on the fingers of the other.

111, 3. wewilína. Beads were left over to Old Marten, because he had brought more than five sacks full to the tchpínû or family burying ground, emptying only five sacks on the child's pyre. This was a fabulously extravagant expenditure, the beads standing high in price and the sacks or wíllishik being rated at more than one bushel each.

111, 4. Mû'sh and Yámsh, syncopated from Mû'ash and Yámash.

111, 9. eíχishtok Mû'shash. The South Wind had put his head out; that is, a south wind had been blowing when Little Weasel died and hence was supposed to be the real cause of his death.

[821] 111, 12. Lĕmé-ishash. From the following it appears, that the five Thunders re-
present more the flash of the lightning (lúepalsh) than the roll of the thunder. There
are many of them, because the thunder, when rolling over mountains and valleys, often
increases again in loudness after having almost died out, and five is the often recur-
ring "sacred" number of the Oregonian and other Northwestern Indians. The radix
[193] of lĕmé-ish is *lam*, which indicates a circular, whirling motion. The five Thunders are
brothers, living in a winter-lodge or earth-house: Lĕmé-isham tchi'sh, thought to be
[342] a dark cave; their parents, the two Old Thunders, live in a káyata or low, small hut
covered with bulrush mats. The short episode 111, 12–17 does not refer to all the
five Thunders, but only to one of their number.

[321] 111, 13. tû'tash is the long white marine shell, known as dentalium; it is one of
[301] the most common Indian body-ornaments. The white resin flowing out of pine-trees
seems to be symbolized in this myth by the dentalium-shell.

111, 14. wák ish shû'tă, for wák shúta i nish: "somehow do (something) for me."

[193] 111, 20. In wä'shin are combined two locative particles: *i* and *n* (for na).

111, 22. mák̲laks tû'm (for tû'ma). The Thunders brought home as food many human beings struck by lightning.

112, 1. wanúnga, the distributive plural of û'nak; explained in the Dictionary.

112, 1. wennúni a tuá gátpa etc. Here and throughout this paragraph tuá means "some kind of."

112, 2. 3. shkaíni combines the meaning of strong with that of bad or mischievous, and answers to our *demoniac;* shkaíniak or shkaínihak stands for our comparative: stronger. The -tch, -s, -sh appended is an abbreviation of tcha, *now*, and shkáyent stands for shkaíni at.

[342] 112, 3. Gékansha. Old Marten had entered the solid "earth-house" of the Thun-

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*539 ders, while the Thunders stopped in the small kayáta which was the abode of their
● 773 parents. To enter such an earth-lodge a high ladder called ga-ulúlkish must be climbed
192 on the outside, and another ladder, as long or longer than the other (wakísh) leads into
342 the interior Pätchö'le nä'shak, pépätchle (for pépätchöle) lápok wakísh: "he had
417 stepped once", "twice" down on the inside ladder; that is, he had made one step, two steps on it commencing from the top. Each one of the Thunders, when trying to penetrate into their own lodge, gets a little further down than the previous one, but all are driven out by the *chilling*, powerful spell of Skélamtch's headdress.

112, 7. gúlipĕlánk. The second of the Thunders, frightened at the ill-success of his experiment, retired again to the low hut or kayáta, where the other Thunders were and where their parents dwelt. This word has two accents on account of shash being enclitic; cf. 111, 2. 112, 13. 113, 9.

112, 8. Tátχĕlamni refers in this connection to the relative age of the brothers: "the third in age of the five Thunders."

112, 9. gekanshĕnû'nk: for gékanshna hû'nk. Cf. 113, 12. ktánshan nánui sχol-χótak, for: ktánshna nánui shχolχóta ak.

112, 9. gû'tχitkt, a contraction of gû tkitko at.

193 112, 11. 12. "Ya! atí' a nâ'lsh winnî'χitk tuâ'ki." This was said by all the five Thunders simultaneously and *unisono*. In tuâ' ki, á is altered into â', almost ó. The inserted particle hû, û "in the distance, out there, over there" seems to have produced this change.

112, 15. lí'lhankshti l'tpa "he brought some venison," a phrase corresponding exactly to the French: "il apporta *du gibier*"; both nouns standing in the partitive case. These partitives are governed by another noun in 113, 6 (mákl̦aksti) and 113, 7.

112, 21. pûelhí': they threw the dead Indians down into the lodge from its roof. The suffix -l- indicates a downward direction, like -íla, -kuéla etc., and occurs also in 112, 17, hä'mĕle, to speak in a downward direction, to shout to somebody standing below. The suffix -hi means down to the ground, or on the ground, earth, soil, and since the lodge-floor is the soil itself, it also means "into, or in the lodge or wigwam".

113, 2. íwa sha tchúi. They put into the bucket the bodies of the dead Indians to stew or boil them up.

113, 2. Nókshtak etc. The gray wolf, the marten and the weasel all being carnivores, there is nothing extraordinary in the fact that mythic fiction lets them participate in a meal consisting of human flesh.

113, 3. háshpa shash. Shash stands for mákl̦aksash, the dead Indians.

113, 8. nánuk wû'ta. Marten ate up all the human flesh which he had taken out of the kála.

113, 8. shéwanank. The verb shéwana refers to a plurality of objects, the objects being sometimes expressed by a collective noun, as here (tchulĕ'ksh).

113, 9. Ké-udshiámtchkash stands for Ké-udshiamtch tchkash; nû'kla is to roast on coals; tchulĕ'ks is here venison meat.

113, 13. ka-uloktantktám'na. The verbal suffix -*tám'na*, which marks an action often repeated, or continued for a long time, is not here, as usually, appended to the simple form of the verb, but to its derivative in -tka.

113, 14. Tchékag. The blackbird has yellow eyes shining bright in the darkness,

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and on that account the myth makes it watchful at night. This is another bird-species than the *Merula*, known in Great Britain as blackbird.

114, 3. huhashtápkuak. They suspected each other of the trick, by which they had been tied together by the hair when in danger of being consumed by the raging flames, and in revenge stabbed each other. Huhashtápkuak is vocalic dissimilation for huhashtápka ak; cf. shiwákuash, 80, 11.

114, 8. k̲á'hhian. Weaslet missed the heart in the fire when striking at it.

114, 10. sháyuaksh: "You will not be able, or not be powerful enough, to do mischief." The last heart that flew up is a meteor going through the skies, while the four other hearts indicate successive thunder-claps. When a meteor is seen flying west, the tribes of the Columbia River will say: "That's a deceased big man's heart going to the Great Sea." Cf. *Note* to 41, 7.

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SHÁSHAPAMTCHAM TCHÉWAMTCHAM TCHÎSH SHASHAPK̲ĔLÉASH.

THE MYTH OF THE BEAR AND THE ANTELOPE.

GIVEN BY MINNIE FROBEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Sháshapamtch Tchéwamtch tû'la tchía. Sháshapamtch lápa weweash
Old Grizzly Old Antelope with lived. Old She-Grizzly two children
gítko, Tchéwamtch tchísh lápa weweash gítko. Mbû'shant unák sha géna
had, She-Antelope also two children had. One morning early they went
mé-idshuk k̲ä'sh, k̲léwidshnank m'nálam weweash tchī'shχēni. Tchúi Tché-
to dig ipo-roots, leaving their children at home. And Old
wamtch shtág̲i m'na yă'ki lû'piak Sháshapamtchash káyutch tuá k̲ä'sh
Antelope filled her seed-basket sooner than She-Grizzly (not) yet any ipo
mé-isht. Sháshapamtch hû'nk shpé-ukitchna; tchúi sha gē'mbĕle tchī'shtal.
had dug. Old Grizzly (them) kept on eating up; then they returned homewards.

Pä'n sha mbû'shant géna mé-idshuk k̲ä'sh; tchúi pä'n lû'piak Tché-
Again they next day went out to dig ipo; and again sooner Old
wamtch yă'ki shtág̲i, Lû'k̲amtch gī'nka méya; pä'n sha gä'mpĕle. Gát-
Antelope (her) basket filled, Old Grizzly little dug; again they returned (home). After
pampĕlank sha k̲ä'sh shéshuan' a m'nálam weweka. Tchúi sha lû'lalχank
return they the ipo each gave to their children. And they when going to bed
shtûlī' m'nálam weweka; Sháshapamtch ná-asht shtûlī' m'na weweka: "k̲á-i
left orders to their children; Old Grizzly thus enjoined to her cubs: "not
ā't shuhû'lule-uapk látchashtat: steínash mā'lsh ndī'-ushkuapk! k̲á-i ā't
ye shall skip down from the lodge: the hearts to ye would get loose! not ye
shampatiaχié-uapk: hû'walakuapk ā't ánkutat; k̲á-i ā't shik̲ī'k̲iuapk
shall jump over the logs: would run against ye (some) sticks; not ye shall dive
ámbutat: pû'tank ā't k̲'lä'kuapk."
under the water: smothering ye might die."

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Tchúi pä n Sháshapamtch mbû'shant Tchéwamtchash tû'la géna mé-
Then again Old Grizzly next morning Old Antelope with went to
idshuk. Tchéwamtch lû'piak shtági, Sháshapamtchash gí'nk mé-ishî k̲ä'sh;
dig roots. Old Antelope sooner filled (the basket), Old Grizzly a little having dug ipo-roots;
tchúi Sháshapamtch gáldshui Tchéwash. Vû'la: "gû'tash nū'sh kū'pga
then Old Grizzly went to meet Antelope. She begged: "lice me bite
nū'sh; kuatcháki wē ish!" Tchéwamtch heméχe: "ûntchék nû mí'sh
on the head; bite in the hair for awhile me!" Old Antelope said: "a while from now I you
gû'tchaluapk tchí'shχen tchē'k gátpampēlank." Pēn Sháshapamtch shátēla:
will bite, homeward when (we) have returned." Again Old Grizzly declared:
"k̲íllank í'sh gû'tash kuatcháki!" Tchúi mántch-gitk Tchéwamtch kua-
"very hard me the lice bite in the hair!" And after a while Old Antelope bit into
tchága Sháshapamtchash. Pä'n pí tchkash kuatchágash háměni Tché-
the fur Old She-Grizzly. Then she also to bite the hair wanted to Old
wamtchash. Tchéwamtch heméχe: "k̲ä'gi nûsh gútash." Tchúi Sháshap-
Antelope. Old Antelope said: "none are to me lice." And Old Grizzly
amtch k̲ä'sh tchákiank kuátchaguk pū'kpuka, tchúi kowáktcha ní'sh, Tché-
ipo-roots putting in mouth biting cracked, then bit through (her) neck, the
wash shíuga humasht-gí'nk, tchúi ktetéga nánuk. Tchúi hûnk nánuk
Antelope killed in this manner, then cut (her) up wholly. And all the
k̲ä'sh Tchéwamtcham í'kuga m'nátant yă'kitat, tchúlēksh p'lē'ntant ipěnē'χi.
ipos of Old Antelope placed into her basket, the meat on the top she placed.
Hû'nk toksh nánuk iggá-idsha, tchû'lēksh gí'lît tchí'sh laggá-idsha, kínkag
Those but all she stuck on a pole, the meat the anus too she hung on a stick, a small portion
tchû'lēks émpēle tchī'shtal, tchúyunk m'na wewékash shewána. Tchéwam
of the meat she took home, and it to her children gave. Antelope's
tchish wewékash tchiléya tchû'lēks. Tapínkani heméχe: "pgí'sham-shítko
also to the children she gave meat. The younger said: "to mother alike
toksh nálam mā'sha"; tχéwag hûk ktí-udshna: "tchí'tchiks! k̲á-i ná-asht
but our it tastes"; the elder (it) pushed: "be silent! not so
gí!" Tchilä'lχa sha tchúlēks mbû'shant tchē'k pá-uapkuk. Sháshapamtch
say!" Saved they the meat next day until to eat. Old Grizzly
häméχe: "tû'hak toks nég mák̲lěχa, tû'm nē'gsh p'gí'sha málam mák̲laks
said: "where (she) passed the night, much absent to mother yours the Indians
tchû'lēks shéwana, nū'sh toks sha gí'nkak shéwana. Mbû'shant pē'n nû
meat gave, to me but they a little only gave. To-morrow again I
génuapk nē'gsh málam p'gí'sha haítchnuk." Hû'nk tchí'sh shash shapíya
shall go absent for your mother to look out." Also to them she said
ná-asht: "hû't málam p'gí'shap mák̲lěχuk shû'dsha, killí't hûnk laggáyapksh,
thus: "there your mother for passing the night built a fire, the anus suspending,
shû'dshash hûnkiámsham, p'gí'sha;" gíshápa, pän û'nak guhuáshktcha
while had a camp-fire these (Indians), mother;" said so, (and) again early she started out
í'ktchuk tchû'lēks.
to fetch the meat.

Tchúi wíwalag vū'la shasháshapkash: "shuhûluléna nät!" Shashá-
Now the young antelopes asked the grizzly-cubs: "shall skip down from the house we!" The bear-

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shapka heméχe: "p'gí'shap nálam k̲á-i shanáhûle nálsh shuhûluléatki gíug,
cubs said: "mother our not wants us to go and skip down,

pála nálsh tchíshkuapsht." Wílag pē'n vûlá shash: "haggát nat shampa-
the liver us to have hurt." A young antelope again asked them: "look here! we will jump

tiaχiéna!" Shasháshapka heméχe: "nálam p'gí'shap k̲á-i shanahóle nálsh
over logs!" The cubs said: "our mother not wants us

shampatiaχiéatgi, húalakuapksht nálsh ánkutat." Pē'n wíl'ag vû'la: "hág-
to jump over logs, to run against us tree-limbs." Again a young antelope asked: "look

gat nát shik̲í'χiena!" Lû'k̲ag häméχe: "nálam p'gíshap k̲á-i shanahō'le
here! us let dive!" A cub said: "our mother not wants

nálsh shik̲iχieátki ámbutat; pû'tank nálsh k̲'lekuápksht." Wil'hág vû'la
us to plunge in the water; smothering us to expire." The young antelopes asked

pē'nak: "hággat nád lepleputä'na." Luk̲ág heméχe: "nen nálam p'gíshap
only once more: "look here! us let play "smoke out." The cub said: "our mother

k̲á-i nálsh shapíya; tchá-u hátak nád lä'una hû'masht!"
not us told (about this); presently here we will play thus!"

Tchúi wiwalág mû'lû wétli látchashtat, tsúi lû'pi gulí', tchúi shashá-
And the young antelopes rotten wood threw into the lodge, and first went into, and the bear-

shapka vutátchkia. Wíwalag ná-asht gí: "pálakag ā't hutátchkiuluapk!"
cubs put the cover on. The young antelopes so said: "pretty soon you must open again!"

"Í'", a lû'lχag; tchúi wíwalag "lepleputéa, lepleputéa, lepleputéa . . . .
"yes," (said) the cubs; then the young antelopes cried: "two smoke in, two smoke out, two smoke in . . . .

putā', putā', ā', ā'." Tchúi lû'lχag kaishnóla, wíwalag tû'shkampēle; pén
smother, smother, ā, ā!" Then the cubs opened up, the young antelopes went out; then

lû'lχag tchkash gûlí': "pálakag ā't kaishnû'luapk." Tchúi lû'lχag "lep-
the cubs also went down: "pretty soon ye must uncover." And the cubs cried:

leputéa: pudshá, putā'-ā." Pén wíwalag vu'léliank: "lepleputé leplepūté
"smoke in: smother, smother." Again the young antelopes went into: "two smoke out, two smoke in

. . . . . . putā', putā'ā'"; lûlχág kaishnóla, tchúi wíwalag tû'shkampēle, lulχág
. . . . . . smoke, smoke"; the cubs uncovered, and the antelopes came out, the cubs

tchkash vu'lé'li: "lepleputé, lepleputé . . . . . putā', putā'." Wiwa'hlág k̲á-i
also ran into: "two smoke in, two smoke in . . . . . smother, smother." The young antelopes not

kaishnûli'at lû'lχagsh; tchúχasht tchē'k kaishnû'la. Tchúi í'kampēlank
would uncover for the cubs; after their death then they uncovered. Then taking out

lûlk̲ágsh k̲'lä'pki í'pχa télishtat; tχéwaksh ánkutka shû'm tákuank shnát-
the cubs red paint they lined in (their) faces; to the elder with a gag the snout gagging they raised

kual látchashtat, tapinikáyentch tchísh ánkutka tákuank shû'm ga-ulû'l-
(it) up on the lodge-top, the younger too with a prop gagging the mouth on lodge-

kishtala shnátkual. Tchúi sha shné-ilakshtala gutéktcha, nanuktuálash
ladder they fastened. And they to the fire-place went in, to every article

sha shtuli'dsha k̲á-i sháptki giug Lúk̲ash gátpampēlisht; wákash pí'l sha
they enjoined not to report (to) the Grizzly having returned; the bone-awl alone they

yámtki úggaipksh.
forget as it stuck in the ceiling.

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Tchúi mā'ntch-gitk Sháshapamtch gátpampĕlank shataliáyapkuga;
Then after a while Old Grizzly returned, looking ahead of herself;

shawígank k̲'lepgi' kekewélaksht shash heméχe: "hûn ak sha gé-u k̲'lépgī
angried red paint at their having wasted she said: "they my red paint

kekéwelχa, pshe-utíwashash gé-u anulī'pkūtch"! Tchúi wikátant galtchá-
have wasted, from the Indians I which filched"! Then nearer approach-

wiank shléa lû'lχag tchû'k̲apksh léggūta häméχe: "at nī'sh tátaksni Tché-
ing she saw the cubs to be dead (and) sobbing she said: "now me the children of Old

wamtcham ne-ulaktámpka!" Tchúi wiwál'aāksh hamóasha: "tát ā't
Antelope have punished!" And the young antelopes she called: "where ye

tatákshni gī?" tsúi tátaksni vuálχa Sháshapamtchash: "gī'n at a nád
children are?" and the children replied to Old Grizzly: "right here we

wawatáwa ktchálχishtat." Sháshapamtch hokánsha tû'sh hai at tátaksni
are sitting in the sunshine." Old Grizzly ran out to where now the children

wawatáwa. Pän tátakshni wáshital häméχe vuálχuk Sháshapamtchash;
were sitting. Again the children towards the mud-house spoke in reply to Old Grizzly;

pä'n Sháshapamtch hulhī'pĕle: "tátatatataksni!" Pén wíwalag kaní giánk
again Old Grizzly ran into it: "children!" Again the young antelopes out doors being

wálχa Sháshapamtchash: "gī'n at a nát kátnī léwa; léshma ai ī' nálsh."
replied to Old Grizzly: "here we out-doors play; not find you us."

Pēn Sháshapamtch hókansha.
Again Old Grizzly ran out (of the house).

Tchúi hû'k mántch-gitk m'nátak shákta shapíya: "genû'l a hû'k uná
Then some time after her bone-awl said: "went away long ago

tátakshni, kákiash lī'sh ī k̲á-iga." Tchúi Sháshapamtch vû'la: "tû'shtal
the children, whom you look out for." And Old Grizzly asked: "which way

haítch sha géna?" Tchúi shákta shapíya Shashapámtchash: "gī'tal a
then they travelled?" And the awl told Old Grizzly: "through here

sha gutéktcha, gén lgû'm sha shálgidsha gutekuī'shtala." Tchúi Shásha-
they crawled, here coals they placed opening against." Then Old

pamtch hátaktal kūtéguk tchuktχakánka; k̲éshguk gutéksh. Tchúi guté-
Grizzly through it to crawl in attempted; could not she crawl in. Finally getting

gank géna ámnadsha: "mû'lû mû'lû te-utéwa, mû'lû mû'lû te-utéwa,"
in she went crying on her way: "rotten wood rotten wood breaks easy, rotten wood rotten wood breaks through,"

genúta shuáktcha ná-asht hû'k Sháshapamtch; pén heméχe: "tûsh gint
walking wept so Old Grizzly; then she said: "where

málash nû géntak shléta tatákiash?" hémkankatchna génuk.
ye I am going to find the children?" she said repeatedly while walking.

Tchúi wíwalāksh pinû'dsha mák̲lĕχapksh kû'mĕtat; mû' shúdshank
Then the young antelopes she overtook while they camped in a cave; building a large fire

skû'lχa. At tátaksni shémtchalχa Sháshapamtchash pinódshasht m'nálsh;
she lay down. Now the children became aware, (that) Old Grizzly had overtaken them;

tχéwag tapī'nkayentch wil'hágsh sk̲ishû'la; "at a nā'lsh hû'ktakag pinū'dsha;
the elder the younger antelope woke up; "now us 'she' caught up with;

sk̲ishúlī!" hémta m'na tápīa. Tchúi sχíshûla hû'ktag. Sháshapamtch
wake up!" it said to its younger. And woke up this little one. Old Grizzly

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ktána kshéluyank lû'lukshtat. "Mbû'shant tchēk málsh nû tatákiash shákē-
went to sleep lying near the fire. "To-morrow at last with ye I children will play

miyuapk pshépsha lû'lpatka tchēk"; tchúi ná-asht gíulank skû'lχank
a game in day-time, seeing sharp then"; and so speaking (and) lying down

ktándsha. Tchúi wî'wal'hag ktánhuish shûtûyakiéa ánkutka; tamû'dsh
she got asleep. Then the young antelopes the sleeping one bombarded with sticks; whether

ktándshi shéwuk shutuyakiéa. Tchúi sha k̲á-i shî'ktgisht tû'shkansha
she was asleep trying, they threw (them). And they not she moving about ran out of

kû'mētat, tû'shtchna sha palakmálank; vû'shuk Sháshapamtchash m'nálsh
the cave, ran away they at a quick pace; afraid (that) Old Grizzly them

pînódshuapksht Shû'kamtchash sha hamĕkúpka, kû'tagsh stû'kapksh galali-
might overtake Old Crane they hallooed at, minnow-fish gigging skirting the

nóta: "nk̲î'llank nálsh, kúkui, skō'tki, hû'ktakag nálsh kpû'dshapka pî'nod-
water: "very fast us, uncle, cross over, 'she' us is chasing (and) will

shuapk nálsh at" Tchúi Shû'kamtch skû'tχa shash; wíwalag häshégsha
overtake us now." And Old Crane crossed over them; the young antelopes explained

Shû'kshash. Tchúi Shû'kamtch pníutakta shash shlólushtat, ka-ukawá
to Old Crane. Then Old Crane blew them into a whistle-stick, (and) rattled

sha látchashtat aggáyank shî'namshtnuk. Wiulágalam shapíyash Tché-
they in the lodge being hung up for fear. Of the young antelopes upon the message (that) Old

washash shiúgsht Sháshapamtchash, Shû'kamtch ndshenshkáni tchîsh
Antelope was killed by Old Grizzly, Old Crane the young ones too

shuashuáktcha. Shû'kamtch shuáktcha: "é-ush tchiwá, é-ush tchiwá!"
wept. Old Crane wept (crying): "lake water, lake water!"

Ndshenshkáni tchîsh shuashuáktch: "é-ush tchî'tchû tchî'tchû."
The young (cranes) also wept: "lake wa- wa- wa-ter."

At hû'k tchúi Sháshapamtch mántch-gîtk sχishû'lank tē'lhî kû'mētat:
Now then Old Grizzly after a time awakening looked in the cave:

"ga tuá nink tatákiash shakemíyuapk pshépsha lû'lpatka; û'nagîn shash
"rather hard myself with the children I shall play a game in the day-time when able to see; long ago, after they

génuish tû'toks hû'ksha gátpa Shû'kamtchamksh." Tchúi pén guhuá-
left (the cave), out there they reached to Old Crane's home." Then started

shktcha Sháshapamtch haítchnuk wíwalagsh; kueísh sham haítchna.
out Old Grizzly to follow the young antelopes; the tracks of them she followed.

Gátχapshank k̲ók̲ētat vû'la Shû'kamtchash: "tám tatákiash shlē'sht?"
Reaching to the river she asked Old Crane: "if the children he had seen?"

Shû'kamtch häméχe: "k̲á-i nû shläá tátakiash." Gé a kuéntχapsha tátakiam
Old Crane said: "not I saw the children." Here (were) the out-going tracks of the children

gátχapshuish; hä'mtchna ná-asht Sháshapamtch: "aishíug tā'dsh î shásh
having reached (there); hallooed so Old Grizzly: "to conceal then you them

nen; k̲î'llank îsh sχû'tkî!" Shû'kamtch häméχe: "k̲ägi gé-u vû'nsh"; pän
(want); quickly me set over!" Old Crane said: "None is to me canoe"; again

Sháshapamtch: "k̲íllank skû'tgî îsh! k̲íllank î'sh skû'tkî!" Tchúi mántch-gîtk
(said) Old Grizzly: "quickly cross me! fast me set over!" And after a while

Shû'kamtch spû'kua m'na tchû'ksh, máksha néklank (kä'liak hû'nk vû'nsh
Old Crane spread out his legs, a skull-cap carrying (on leg) (without (he) canoe

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gíug)	tchû'kshtka	shχû'tka.	Sháshapamtch	gélapka	tchû'kshtat;	tátχĕ-
being)	on the leg	he crossed (her).	Old Grizzly	stepped	on the leg;	to the

lampani	gággūtk	ámpû	pû'nua	mákshatka.	Tchúi	wudû'pka	mákshatka
midst (of river)	coming	water	she drank	from the skull-cap.	And	she struck	with the skull-cap

Shû'ksham	tchû'ksh	punû'lank	u'hlítchug.	Shû'kamtch	shawíguk	Shásha-
Crane's	leg	after drinking,	to shake out (the water).	Old Crane	angried	Old

pamtchash	shnindû'wa	ámbutat;	tchúi	nté-ish	í'ktchapĕli	Shû'kamtch,
Grizzly	doused	into the water;	then	a bow	fetched at home	Old Crane,

ngé-ishan	Sháshapamtchash.	Wiwalága	tchûk	géknank	shlû'lûshtat,	Shō'k-
shot	Old Grizzly.	The young antelopes	then	came out	of the whistle,	Crane's

shăm	wewékalam	sha	hû'nk	táldshitko	ngé-ishan	Sháshapamtchash;	tchúi
	of the children	they		armed with the arrows,	shot	Old Grizzly;	then

sha	shiúga.
they	killed (her).

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The myth of the Bear and the Antelope is one of the most attractive and best stylicized of this collection. It forms a whole mythic story by itself, and not a series of myths like the preceding article. The Grizzly Bear's figure is drawn in very natural and characteristic outlines, and the same may be said of the other animals of the story. Some archaic words seem to prove that the myth has been handed down for many centuries to the present generation, which repeats it to the offspring with the *same* expressions as used by the parents. The archaic terms alluded to are Sháshapamtch, paépsha, pshe-utíwash, kúkui, tchitchû; probably also lepleputéa.

118, 1. 7. Sháshapamtch alternates in this tale with Lû'ka̱mtch, the "Grizzly Bear of the Ancients," and so does lû'ka̱ga with shashápka. -ámtch, -ámtchiksh is the usual attribute "old" appended to mythologic characters. In the mythologic stories of the Indians bear-cubs always appear *two* in number, the older and the younger one. The same may be said of the majority of the other quadrupeds; cf. the two young of Old Antelope, in this story, and tχéwag, 105, 9, as well as of many of the personified powers of nature. Cf. the term lepleputéa.

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118, 7. 119, 2. gi'nk or kínka: a little, not much; mé-ishî contains the particle î or hí: "on the ground".

119, 9. pû'kpuka: she cracked hard ipo-roots, feigning to crack lice which she pretended to have found on the antelope's body. Picking lice from each others' heads (gútash kshíkla) and eating them is a disgusting practice which travellers have observed among all Indians of North and South America.

119, 10. nánuk: the whole of her body.

119, 11. ipĕnĕ'χi: to place something into a basket or receptacle which is already filled to the brim.

119, 20. 21. hû t málam etc. The construction is as follows: "málam p'gi'shap hû't mákle̱χuk shû'dsha, p'gi'sha laggayápkash hû'nk killí't, hûnkiámsham shû'dshash": your mother made a fire out there because she must have passed the night there, and because she hung up this anus on a stick, while the Indians (who gave meat to both of us) had a camp-fire.

*539 **120**, 2. tchíshkuapsht instead of tchishkuápkasht.

773 **120**, 10. vutátchkia is also pronounced utátchkia, hutátchkia. Earth-lodges which
192 open on the top can be closed by means of a large cover placed over the smoke-hole.

120, 11. lepleputéa or properly: leplep=putéa, "to play the smoke out game with two on each side," is a compound of lápěni *two* in the shorter form láp, and púta to be
194 smothering. Láp has changed its vowel into a shorter vowel, *e*, on account of removal
193 of accent, and is here redoubled by iterative, not by distributive reduplication. Cf. lepχléks from láp and k̲'léka. A series of points after lepleputéa indicates that the animals repeated this word an indefinite number of times, while the others were inside the lodge, and while pronouncing putā', they opened again to let them out.

120, 17. tchúχasht tchē'k kaishnû'la. Literally rendered, this means: having perished finally, they uncovered. The subject of tchúχasht, lû'lχagsh, has to be supplied from what precedes. The smoke of the burning rotten wood killed the cubs.

342 **120**, 19. ga-ulû'lkish, from ga-ulóla to go out, is the outside ladder of the In-
417 dian "mud-house" or winter-lodge, averaging in length from 10 to 15 feet; the inside ladder, wákish, is somewhat longer to reach the excavated floor.

120, 21. The complete wording of this sentence, in which sháptki stands for shápatki, would be: k̲á-i sháptki giug Lúk̲ash, gátpampělisht hû'nksh (hû'nkiash).

193 **120**, 22. ágguipksh, contraction of aggayápkash: aggáya to be hung up, or to be stuck into; said of long-shaped articles only.

121, 3. anulípka to take away something from another's lodge or house without asking for it; the suffix -ipka expressing the idea of "towards oneself." Anulípkuish, "what was once abstracted from others" appears here in the contracted form anuli'pkŭtch; gé-u̯ "by me, through me."

121, 9. tátatatakani shows repetition of the two first syllables of tatáksni children, but at the same time means "where are the children?"

121, 15. shálgidsha; the antelopes placed the coals there to secure their flight from the Bear; had the coals been put there by somebody else, lákidsha would be used.

121, 22. **122**, 7. hû'ktakag: familiar diminutive name given to the Grizzly Bear; hû'ktag, 121, 23., stands for one of the young antelopes.

122, 1. 2. Mbúshant tchē'k etc. The sense of this exclamatory sentence is as follows: "To-morrow at last I will play a sharp game with ye children, when in the day-time I can use my eyes to advantage." Lúlpatka is: lúlpatko a; "possessing eyes" is the primary signification of lúlpatko, but here it means "enabled to make use of the eyes". Cf. múkasham nû lúlpatko: I see as sharp as a horned owl. The distributive form pshépsha, of pshé, "during day-time" means "any time when the sun shines bright." Cf. pshéksh, noon-time.

122, 9. This blowing of personified objects of nature into sticks etc., is a fiction of which we have another instance in 111, 16.

122, 11. ndshenshkáni. See *Note* to 71, 6. 7.

122, 12. 13. tchiwá, tchi'tchu: tchi is a syllable found in many words referring to water and liquids, as tchíya to give water; tchiéga to overflow. This radical is no doubt an obsolete Klamath word for water and recalls the term tchû'k "water" in Chinook jargon: tltsuk in Lower Chinook, tl'tchuku in Clatsop; tchaúk in Nútka. It also occurs under various forms in the Sahaptin dialects. By this lake undoubtedly Upper Klamath Lake is meant. Cf. tchíwa in Dictionary.

*539 **122, 15.** ga tuá nink for ká-a tuá ni gíank; ká-a means here "vehemently, cruelly, sharply", tuá: "in some way or other".
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192 **122, 16.** shash génuish: after they had left the cave.

[193] **122, 20.** "aishing tä'dsh i shásh nen". Here nen stands for some finite verb; either shana-uli i: you want to conceal them; or for ná-asht i shapíya: "you speak so, in order to conceal them".

122, 23. spû'kua. The spread-out legs of the Crane had to serve as a bridge to the Grizzly Bear, for there was no dug-out canoe at their disposal to cross the river.

122, 23. máksha néklank. Old Crane carried on his leg a vase or skull-cap that belonged to a dug-out canoe, but did not possess a canoe himself.

123, 3. u'hlítcha. Grizzly shook out the remainder of the water to let the skull-cap become dry. Skull-caps are used throughout as drinking vases.

123, 6. táldshitko. This sentence has to be construed: wíwalag, shö'kshâm wewákalam táldshitko, ngé-ishan, and táldshitko stands for táldshi gítko: "the young antelopes, armed with the arrows of the Crane's children, shot" etc.

K'MUKÁMTCHIKSHÂM SHASHAPK̲ĔLÉASH.

000 THE MYTH OF K'MÚKAMTCH, THE FIVE LYNXES AND THE ANTELOPE.

OBTAINED FROM J. C. D. RIDDLE IN THE MODOC DIALECT.

K'múkamtchíktch hûnk géntko käílatat, käílash shutólan, túnep shléa
K'múkamtch walking earth upon, the world having created, five he saw
shlóa ámkotat wawakayápkash. Kaílio skútatko K'mukómtchigsh shpakága
lynxes on trees sitting. In a rabbit-blanket clad K'múkamtch tore to pieces
p'ná kaílio-skútash, heméχen: "tidshí' ûn gé-u skû'tash gítak shlû'a lue-
his rabbit-skin robe, (and) said: "a good to me robe will be the lynxes when
lóka." Ktái pe-uyégan shlóa k̲ai'hhö'ta; nāsh shlóa hûtχídshnan húdshna.
I kill." Stones picking up the lynxes he missed; one lynx jumping down ran away.
Heméχen: "ē, k̲á-i tídshi skútash gi-uápka!" Pēn k̲ai'hhö'ta ktayátka,
He said: "ah! not a good mantle it will become!" Again he missed with a stone,
pē'n nāsh shlóa hûtχídshnan hû'dshna. K'mukómtchigsh heméχen: "pē'n
another lynx jumping down ran off. K'múkamtch said: "again
nāsh hûtχídsha; at gé-u ketchgáne skútash gi-uápka." Ndáni shlóa wawag-
one skipped away; now my small mantle will become." The three lynxes sitting on
gáyan K'mukámtchāsh shúshaluáktn; pén ktayátka shlóa k̲aí'hha. Nā'sh
(trees) at K'múkamtch scoffed; again with a stone the lynxes he missed. Another
pēn hûtχídshna húdshna. K'mukómtchiksh häméχe: "k̲émat pí'la nish
one jumped down (and) ran away. K'múkamtch said: "the back only to me

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775 the souls of all dead Indians continue to exist in the living fish, in all kinds of *living*
787 fish only."
[192] 130, 2. taóχatk. This refers to Indians who have perished by a violent death, as well as to those who died in the natural way.

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[115]

THE SPELL OF THE LAUGHING RAVEN.

GIVEN BY "CAPTAIN JIM" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

I.

Shúyuχalkshi tchúyunk É-ukshikni máklaks hátokt shuyúχĕla, túmi
At "dance-place" when the Klamath Lake people there pûpû-danced, many
hûk hátokt máklaks gî. K'múkamtch hátokt a géna. Tchúi Ká-akamtch
there people were. K'múkamtch there went. Then Old Raven
shash hátokt wétanta shúyûχalpksh, tchúi hû ktá-i k'lă'ka nánuk máklaks
at them there laughed when they danced, and rocks became all people
shúyukaltk hátokt.
dancing there.

II.

Yámakni hû'k Káyutchish gátpa Kî'uti kúitit; tchúyunk î'-uag
From the North Gray Wolf arrived Kluti above; then he stopped
shkû'lχa káyak tchí'sh gátpĕnunk, nánuk shûlû'tamantk hátkok yámnash
(and) lay down (to sleep), not yet home having reached, in full dress at that spot beads
wáwakshnatk tchish; túla tchish hû'k gákatpantk í'uag sha hû'nk tû'kĕlχa.
with moccasins on too; together with (him) those coming stopped they (and) rested.
Tchúi Sháshapamtch hû'nk gáldsha-uyank Ké-utchiamtchash skû'lpkank
Then Old Grizzly approached Old Gray Wolf lying (and)
ktámpsh. Tchúi Sháshapamtch pálla Ke-utchíshash wákshna yámnash
asleep. And Old Grizzly stole from Gray Wolf the moccasins beads
tchish shûlû'dshnank wû'kshχēn génuapkug. Tchúi Ke-utchíamtch
also, (and) put them on, to the fishing-place for going. Upon this Old Gray Wolf
sχishû'lank ktí'ukuela Sháshapamtchash; vud'hitakuéla ktáyat pállapksh
waking up threw down hill the Old Grizzly; he rolled (him) down over the rocks for having robbed
pásh wákshna yámnash tchish. Tchúi hû'nk shíuga pî Sháshapamtchash,
him of moccasins neckwear also. Then killed he the Old Grizzly,
tchúi É-ukshikni máklaks shellualtámpka Yámakishash, Sháshapamtchash
whereupon the Klamath Lake people commenced fighting the Northerners, (because) Old Grizzly
hûnk Kä'-utchishash shíugsht. Tchúi Ká-akamtch wétanta shash shél-
by Gray Wolf had been killed. Then Old Raven laughed at them when
lualpksh, ktá-i sha k'léka.
fighting, and rocks they became.

III.

*539 K'múkamtch hû'nk nákosh hû'nk táplalash né-ulχa shnе-uyalátki
K'múkamtch a dam the loon ordered to destroy
773 shash. K'múkamtch hû'nk pí tpä'wa táplalash shnewí'tki gíug, pí k̲á-i
to them. K'múkamtch he ordered the loon to destroy (it), (but) no
tuá kiä'm lúeluak. Hû'ksha hû'nk nakushkshákshni k̲ú-idsha kiä'm
fish to kill. Those who dwelt at the dam rotten fish
nutuyakía nákosh gä'tant, K'mukámtchish shíuguk, k̲ú-idsha kiä'm pátki
threw over the dam to the other side of, (for) K'múkamtch to kill, rotten fish (be) go-
gíug. Tchúi K'múkamtch sháwiguk k̲ú-i sham nákûsh shû'ta; tchúi
ing to eat. Then K'múkamtch in wrath their dam spoiled; upon this
nákushχēnkni shlámiuk shtí'ya shishí'dsha shû'ktaldshank lák. Tchúi
the dam-neighbors in mourning pitch put on head, cutting off (their) hair. Then
*539 773 K̲á-ag wétanta shash, ktá-i sha k̲'léka. Tchúyunk K'mukámtch lúpaksh
the Raven laughed at them, rocks they became. Hereupon K'múkamtch chalk
192 shna-ulámna taplálash.
spit over the loon.

NOTES.

823 I. This myth intends to explain the existence of the large number of rocks found at the locality called Shúyuχalkshi.

196 193 131, 2. K̲á-ak̲amtch. The adjectives -amtch, -ámtchiksh appended to animal names designate mythologic characters. Adjectives of an equal meaning occur in all the western languages, as far as these have been studied. Cf. *Note* to 126, 11. 12.

825 II. In this myth, as well as in other grizzly bear stories recorded in this volume, this bear is always killed, conquered or cheated by his quicker and more cunning adversaries. Nevertheless his clumsy form and narrow, ferocious intellect are very popular among the tribes, who have invented and still invent numerous stories to illustrate his habits and disposition.

103 131, 5. K̲íuti is the name of an Indian camping-place situated a short distance north of Modoc Point, on eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake.

193 131, 6. hátkok qualifies shkû'lχa and yámnash is the indirect object of shûlû'tamantk. Shkû'lχa, nánuk yámnash shûlû'tamantko, wawakshnátko tchish: "he lay down to sleep, keeping all his neckwear on himself, and not taking off his moccasins." Shûlû'tamna can in other connections refer to the clothing, but here it has special reference to the beads.

131, 11. kti'ukuela. Tradition reports, that Old Grizzly was pushed over some of the high rocks at Modoc Point.

173 131, 13. Yámakishash etc. In these words may be recorded the reminiscence of an ancient fight between the Klamath people and some Northern tribe which had come South on a hunting expedition. A Klamath song-line given in this volume also recalls
*539 an ancient inroad made by the "Northerners". The grizzly bear represented the
773 Klamath tribe, the wolf the Northern Oregonians, perhaps as ancient totem signs; the
825 bear having been killed by an intruder, the Klamaths had to take revenge for the insult.
823 III. The object of this myth is to explain, among other things, the origin of the white spots on the head and back of the loon (táplal). But the myth as given in the

*539 773 825 823 text is far from being complete. It refers to a locality above the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, called Ktaítini, or "Standing Rock". A high rock stands there at the edge of a steep hill, and, according to the legend, the Indians who put pitch on their head were changed into that rock. Near by, a lumber-dam looking like a beaver-dam, across the Williamson River, partly resting on rocks projecting from the bottom of the river. K'múkamtch longed for the destruction of this dam, muddied the water to prevent the Indians from fishing and hired the loon to destroy the objectionable structure. The loon dived into the waters and forced its way through the dam by main strength. The Indians dwelling on the shore depended for their living on the fisheries, and seeing their existence at stake tried to gig the loon, but succeeded only in hitting its tail-feathers. When the loon had accomplished his task K'múkamtch offered to reward him in any manner wished for. The loon then wished to have white spots on its back, and K'múkamtch satisfied the request by spitting chalk upon the downy surface of its body.

132, 3. **lúeluak**; formed by vocalic dissimilation; cf. *Note* to 114, 3.

BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

I.

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Wásh tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lû'la wásham tχû'tχash.
Prairie-wolf is soothsayer; and they believe in wolf's prophecy.

Mák̲laks hû'nk lû'la wásham pákluipkash k̲'lékuapksht tchē'k; tχu'tχuk pákluipka.
Indians believe, prairie-wolf when howls, they will die after a while; presaging he howls.

Mák̲laks hû'nk lû'la púshish hä'masht î-unégshtka, tχû'tχuk héma; tchîkî'n tchish hä'masht î-unégshtka gû'lu, tχû'tχuk tchēk hä'ma. Wátchag tchî'sh wawá-a î-unégshtka, k̲ú-i tchämlûk.
Indians believe, the cat when cries just after sunset, for presaging death it mews; the chicken also when crows just after sunset the female, for presaging death then it crows. The dog also (when) whines right after sunset, the signs are bad.

*539 [682]

Watság tchî'shtat tχótχa î-unä'gshtka; tsúi gátpa mák̲laks, gû'lki ngéisha at hustsō'χa. Sa-ámoks hátokt tchía tû'sht hushtchō'χa, k̲á-i hûnk shiúga; tsúi tû'tûk spû'nshna lû'gshla vû'nsh sχéna witsû'ls éna tû'tuk ktsî'k, snáwedsh spû'nshna híssuaks shíukaluk. Kilû'sh at kétak a tsä'wik.
A dog at a lodge howls prophetically just after sunset; then comes an Indian, attacks, wounds and kills (the owner). A relative, (who) there lived right where the murder was, did not him kill; then seizing (him) they arrest, enslave him, the canoe row away, fishing-net carry with them taking oars, his wife they abduct, (her) husband being the murderer. Furious he quits and is demented.

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[193]

141, 11. gé-uga for the more common giuga, giug.

141, 12. léwapka to play in the distance, out of sight, or unseen by us; but here this term is more probably a synizesis of léwnapka, the future tense of léwa.

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103

NAMES BESTOWED ON UPPER KLAMATH LAKE LOCALITIES.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

K'mukámtch mat käíla shû′ta. Tsúyunks ä′-alk käíla shutólan:
K'múkamtch, so they say, the country made. The following names gave he, the country after creating:

Tuli′sh käíla E-ukski′shash shúta K'mukámts kiäm-luelkslí′a; Tulí′sh tsí-
"Tulish" place for the Lake people made K'múkamtch to be their fish-killing place; Tulish,

hunk ä′lχa. "At hû′nk käíla gît ktaíksi Shúyakēksh tchín ä′lχa; gítî
thus he named it. "And that spot there where the rocks are, "Jumping-Rocks" so I name; here

shuyéakēks gi-uápka". E-ukskísas K'mukámts né-ulχank hemé̆χe:
a leaping place shall be". To the Lake people K'múkamtch ordering said:

"Tû′kua ná-asnî kä′la nā′sni élχa gí′ta Tû′kua; Gû′mbat nā′snî gît élχa;
"Túkua so I a spot, so I name here Túkua; Kúmbat so I there give name;

gíta Kä′lalksi nā′sni élχa gí′ta. Wakáksi spû′klishtat gí′t î spû′kle-uapk;
there Dirt-hauling place, so I give name there. At Wáka in the sweat-house there you shall sweat;

hä′ me wéash k̲′lä′kuapk gí′t î spû′kle-uapk, hä′ mi snáwedsh k̲ĕlákuapk
if your child should die, there you shall sweat, if your wife should die,

gît î spû′kle-uapk túnepni gitá; túnepni spû′kle-uapk snawédsh, hä′ mi
there you shall sweat five (days) there; five (days) shall sweat (you) wife, if your

hishuáktch k̲ĕlä′kuapk. Túnepni spû′kle-uapk, tsúi k̲íllitk tsulä′ks gí′-
husband should die. Five (days) you shall sweat, then strong (your) body will

uapk, k̲á-i pálak î kĕmútchuapk."
become, not fast you will become old."

"Nāsht nî ne-û′lχa Á-usmi shéshuapk; nā′sni élχa gēn käíla.
"Thus I ordain Á-ushmi to be called; thus I give name to this spot.

Koháshti ná-ast nî élk̲a gí′ta. Ê-uk̲alkshi nā′sni élχa gí′ta; gí′tats spû′kle-
"Set out" thus I call that place. E-ukalkshi so I name this place; here also you shall

uapk, tuni′pni î spukle-uápka wéas k̲′lekáluk, tû′nipni snawédshĕsh k̲ĕle-
sweat, five (days) you shall sweat a child after losing, five (days) a wife after

káluk hishuáksh tchish; k̲á-itoks mi su-ámoks k̲ĕlékst k̲á-i î spû′kle-uapk,
losing, a husband also; but not, your relatives having died not (then) you shall sweat,

hä′ mi sa-ámoks nánuktua tsók̲uapk. Ká-i î gitá spû′kle-uapk ndānnántak:
if your kinsmen of all degrees shall have died. Not you there will sweat but for three:

snawédshtat, hishuákshtat, wéashtat."
for wife, for husband, for child."

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 773 103 "Nakótk Wi'tlas kokétat hi tchi'sh luélka-kiäm gi'-uapk; na-ást shéshash élχa ni: Ktá-i-Tupáksi. Mbû'saks nä'st shéshatk máklaks gi'-uapk; Smä'k nä'st sésatk gi'-uapk máklaks gi'ta. Kä'katils nä'st sésatk gí-uapk gi'ta máklaks."

"By (its) dam Witlash in Williamson River there also a fish-killing place shall be; thus name give I: Rocks-where-stand. "Obsidian" so called a people shall exist; "Hairy" so named shall exist a people there. "Armpit-hairy" so called shall exist there a people."

NOTES.

All Máklaks admit that K'múkamtch created their country, the earth and the universe, but as to the special process by which he created them they seem to have no definite idea, though they possess a multitude of myths for special creations.

Most of the places mentioned in this item are situated around Upper Klamath Lake. That they are localities inhabited for centuries past, and identified with the history of the tribe is proved by the fact that their naming is ascribed to K'múkamtch. The most noticeable of them are no doubt the three sweat-houses, all of which are of remote antiquity, and were put to use only when families were mourning the loss of one of their members. Two of them are quoted here: Wakáksi or Käilalkshíni spúklish on west side of Lake and Ê-ukalksi, a short distance south of Fort Klamath. The third lies about three miles south of Modoc Point; it is called Ká-ashkahi spúklish.

*539 773 103 192 142, 1. käíla. About the meaning of this term in creation myths, cf. *Note* 96, 23. In other connections, in the present text, käíla or kä'la means spot, locality.

142, 2. 3. Tulish. To enable the Indians to catch fish at that place, K'múkamtch built for them, as tradition has it, an obstruction resembling a beaver-dam. Cf. nakótk, 143, 1.; gíti for gíta hi.

142, 3. 5. Túkua and Koháshti are camping- and fishing-places on the eastern shore of the Lake. At Shuyakē'kish the Indians leap over rocks for amusement.

142, 5. ná-asni, ná'sni stands for ná-asht ni: "thus I".

142, 5. 11. Gúmbat is called Rocky Point by the white population, and lies on the western shore of Upper Klamath Lake. A-usmi is an island of the Lake.

142, 6. Wakáksi or Wáka is named after the tuákish-fowl whose cry is wáka wáka.

765 177 142, 6–10. 12–16. These mourning customs are gradually disappearing at the present time. One reason for this is the progressive assimilation of the tribes to American customs, another is the circumstance, that all of the three ancient sweat-houses are situated outside of the reservation limits.

142, 15. ndánnántak is composed of ndánnanti or ndánnantat ak: "only for three (kinds of relatives)".

193 143, 1. Nákotk is the instrumental case of nákōsh, lumber-dam: "on account of its dam Witlas will be a fish-killing locality." A loon destroyed that dam by forcing its way under it; one of our texts gives this myth. Cf. 132, 1–8 and *Note* to 74, 2.

829 143, 2. 3. Mbû'saks, Smä'k and Kä'katils are names given in contempt or derision of the respective tribes; the latter to Indians living at the Dalles of Columbia River, Smä'k to a tribe living south of that locality. Cf. 103, 2. 3. Mbû'saks is a name for the Snake Indians.

1

NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

By Robert F. Spencer

773 177 178 [176] [182] IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations. A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal myth.

175 177 [222] [226] [631] [621] [771] [791] Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separatistic hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

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[101] [122] [1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949, on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund, 1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

[113] [2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

771 To treat aboriginal Klamath religion under three headings of shamanism,
[791] power quest, and cosmology is patent oversimplification. In nature and
[551] content these features formed an integrated configuration reflecting a major
cultural preoccupation. It is true that the shaman in each community played
a dominant role and in his capacity as curer, magician, and entertainer com-
[787] manded the utmost in social prestige. On the other hand, as was common in
western North America, every individual, at puberty and thereafter, de-
liberately and repeatedly sought contact with a variably defined spirit world.
Thus Klamath culture had a variation of the American Indian guardian-
773 spirit theme. Less specifically formalized, and so perhaps, less well integrated,
776 were the elements of myth and tale, the rationalizations for the presence of
various natural phenomena, for eschatology, and for the general conception
of the universe. Like adjacent tribes, the Klamath interested themselves in
animal spirits. These were of particular importance in providing shamanistic
power. In the individual power quest, however, the sources from which spiritual
forces emanated were less specifically defined. A rather wide range of super-
natural powers was recognized, some being animals, some vaguely anthro-
pomorphic, others relating to such natural features as mountains, streams,
rocks, or even landmarks like Crater Lake. In respect to these forces an
involved folklore has arisen which allows some classification of the Klamath
[775] concepts of the supernatural. In this realm, for example, are views about
the abode of the dead and the nature of ghosts and souls, these being carefully
differentiated from nonhuman spirits.[3] Here too is a body of myth relating
to superhuman dwarf men and women, to the forces in specific places or
natural phenomena in the Klamath terrain, and finally, the most important
for this discussion, to the culture hero, the anthropomorphic Kemu'kemps.[4]

[171] Kemu'kemps, while not usually identified with an animal spirit, has many characteristics suggesting the folklore regarding Coyote in the Plateau-Basin. He is at once creator and trickster, angrily forbidding in some contexts, indifferent in others, and in still others a ludicrous buffoon.

[825] Essentially human in conceptualization (a myth complex relating to a
[821] human hero also occurs in adjacent regions), Kemu'kemps is sometimes
identified with the marten, whose younger brother is weasel, and with the
winds.[5] In the myths assembled by Gatschet, he constantly rivals his magically
born son 'Ayšiš, whose destruction he repeatedly plans, often with the result
[821] of encompassing his own. Weather, such as rain or heat, was also attributed
to him. Kemu'kemps is also the creator, and there are numerous folktales
which tell how he brought various locations into being. At his instigation,

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[113] 1939), cf. 145-149; Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distributions: Northeastern California* (Anthropological Records, 7: 2, Berkeley, 1942).

[3] Spier, 1930, pp. 100 ff.

[113] [4] Cf. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (U. S. Geological Survey, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Washington, 1890), pt. 1, lxxix-lxxxv, and pt. 2, 138-140. A summary is also given by Spier, 1930, loc. cit.

[5] Gatschet, 1890, pt. 1, lxxxii-iii.

773 776 823 Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6] the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

177 175 721 To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifications in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroachment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon.
797 An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result
797 proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and
182 patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

175 668 Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

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825 [6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'ākemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

113 [7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

113 [9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

795
771 reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors,
178 the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

[182] The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are
allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some
771 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal
795 and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in
184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to
[797] those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on
the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual
[571] or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members
find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies
as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions
to aboriginal concepts.

771 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The
177 Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation
is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals,
184 while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display
or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely.
Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious
questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly
curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes
[755] demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this consideration,
[757] shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally
accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged
with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects
of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

183 The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there.
[773] For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter
are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two,
183 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first
224 deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away,
he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation
today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too,
the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy
that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem
from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is
825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath
[197] but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a harbinger
[763] of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear
it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means
183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter,
the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed
among western tribes.

178 But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past
which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

178 latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence
that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on
the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often
recur.

787 The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, apparently
[881] regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was
usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power
[785] obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts
existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating,
[533] and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath
emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word
/šuw'i·s/ meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on
787 context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from
177 without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior
[797] associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly individualized
and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality,
it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers,
the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions.
One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with
the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The
examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older informants.
Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions associated
with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me,
782 "Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and
776 old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.'
823 I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I
774 say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over
787 there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains
and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I
dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it."
She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to
Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up,
up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man
standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I
773 don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The informant
refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of
whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena:
"When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They
said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never
did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it
was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a
[797] real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those
things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

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[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

782 776 823 774 787 Other informants also give a hint of this attitude. Even where there is sophistication by virtue of education or long-time residence away from the group, one encounters statements like that of a woman, half-Klamath, half-Caucasian: "Those old Indians had a lot of sense. They kind of felt at home around here and they would get a lift just from talking to the mountains and lakes. It was like praying and it made them feel at peace. When I get up in the morning, I look first over there [at Mt. Pitt] and it makes me feel good too. Not that I pray in the old Indian way; that's just idolatry. But it's like the scenery kind of gets ahold of you even if I been seeing it all my life."

787 776 855 823 A possible indication of this attitude appears in the repeated warnings to children to avoid certain rocks and cliffs. "You might fall down and hurt yourself" is of course quite true; on the other hand, places about which some modern Klamath parents feel particularly uneasy were associated aboriginally with power sources. A strong drive in the past was fear that a child might be 784 harmed through contact with "power." Every effort was made to keep the child away from the shaman, the sweat lodge, the mourning place, and the 841 like. (It may be noted that menstrual blood was placed near the cradled child to negate forces whose mere presence could harm the inexperienced.) These attitudes toward nature and the surrounding natural phenomena, at least as sources of uneasiness, still exist among younger Klamath of today.

773 776 177 Also obtainable is evidence on attitudes toward the culture hero. Some offer a rational systematization of beliefs concerning him. Generally, this involves some interpretation in the light of Christian reasoning. Kemu'kemps, because of his essentially human characteristics, readily lends himself to identification with the Christian God. The middle-aged woman quoted above, struck by the linguistic parallels, notes: "Those old Indians were really 273 Christians. It's only the liquor around here that makes the unbelief and trouble. Kemu'kemps means the 'Old One'; that's God. He revealed himself to the Indians long before the Americans [sic] came. He had a son, too, 'Ayšiš, that's just like Jesus. He created the world, just like it says in the Bible. If only those old Indians had been able to see it, they were close to God all the time. They lived good upright lives under his guidance. Another word for Kemu'kemps in our language is *Playtul'kni·*; that means the 'One on High,' 'Somebody up there.' That's the name we give God in our language now. It's all the same."

Not all informants are so definite in their syncretism. One elderly woman remarked: "Who is Kemu'kemps? I don't know. Sometimes I think he's God, but sometimes I think he must be Devil. Maybe he was just a story the old Indians made up. But they called him Playtul·kni· and that means God. My grandson asked me, 'Gramma, who's Kemu'kemps?' I say, 'I don't know. Maybe he's like God.' " In another connection she remarked: "I think that Kemu'kemps is Devil. He gets people into trouble; he leads them into temptation. When I was a little girl, they said to me, 'He's no good; don't believe that any more.' But I don't know. I see the icicles and I think of the wind and Kemu'kemps. He made the world and they call him Playtul'kni·. The Devil

773 is Mu·natul'kni· ("The One Below"). They say Kemu'kemps is everywhere
776 and that's like God. I think about that sometimes."

177 [797] Undoubtedly, a confusion arises because of the adoption by missionaries, years ago, of terms for the Christian God which the Klamath had applied to the culture hero. The overlapping of Christian and native concepts is readily seen and provides a basis for debate and doubt.[15] It may be profitable to note some of the views and to determine how variable present attitudes are. There is scarcely any standardization except a very prevalent view that Kemu'kemps is somehow real.

The statements which follow were made by Klamath in response to the general question: What is Kemu'kemps? One man, aged about seventy-four, remarked to Hiroto Zakoji, University of Oregon: "Kemu'kemps disappears when he wants to. He tells what will happen and it happens exactly. He gives power to the Indian doctors [shamans] and sends them their songs. But I heard in stories that Kemu'kemps does bad things; he does tricks. I think he is mean, too. God in the Bible is mean sometimes, too. In the Bible it says that God is a jealous god. That's in the first Genesis [sic] and the Ten Commandments says that, too . . . . Sometimes I think Kemu'kemps is the Devil himself. There is a place near the dam over near Chiloquin on this side of the river. There is a big rock sticking out over there near a cave. Kemu'kemps tricks people to go there and dance when a girl reaches the age [puberty]. He misleads people. But God sometimes does bad things; he made Adam and Eve, but he also made the apple."

Two older male informants told separately versions of a myth about Kemu'kemps as a trickster. In the tale, the culture hero set what appeared to be venison up on poles. When the people present asked for some, he at once welcomed them to a feast. To their horror, they found that they were eating Kemu'kemps' feces. The hero laughed and disappeared. The remarks of a man, aged sixty-two, are of interest: "Can you imagine him doing a thing like that? I think that's just a disgusting old Indian story. God wouldn't do a thing like that, so Kemu'kemps must be Devil. But God made plagues in Egypt and maybe that's what this was like."

Although some informants conclude that the culture hero is an older revelation of the Christian God, others, as may be seen, are equally convinced that he is allied with or is the Christian Satan. But the ambivalent attitude appears to be most characteristic. H. Zakoji, of the University of Oregon, reports the following statement from a 74-year-old male informant: "I don't know what he is, God or Devil or what he is. According to the Bible, we worship one God. Nobody ever saw God and white people say that. That's what gets me. Kemu'kemps dealt with the Indians only. He must be before Christ came and he must have disappeared when Christ came." In another connection, he said to me: "If Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came, then Christ conquered him. They say when Christ died, he conquered sin and the Devil.

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[113] [15] These statements suggest the views of Father Wilhelm Schmidt and their implications as given in his *High Gods of North America* (Oxford, 1933), especially chap. 8.

773 That's why Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came. But then I remember
776 them talking when I was young about how Kemu'kemps was coming back.
777 That was all lies so I guess Kemu'kemps must be the Devil. Still, they say
he created all just like God. I don't know how to figure it."

Mention was made above that the culture hero had a son who was born miraculously. The possible relationship between 'Ayšiš and Jesus has caught the fancy of some. A man of seventy comments: "Yes, Kemu'kemps and God are one and the same. There's a story that says how Kemu'kemps saved a woman's baby when she jumped into the fire and that baby was raised as his own son. I don't believe it. God created all living things. He made the Devil, too. I think 'Ayšiš is the Devil because he's always trying to get the best of his father. We old Indians knew about God but we didn't know about our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

A 56-year-old woman remarked: "Yes, Kemu'kemps is God and he had a son, just like Jesus. 'Ayšiš even dies and comes alive again in the old Indian stories, and that's like the Christians teach. And that Holy Ghost business, that's the power that God gives. The Indians knew about that. That's why you say 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' "

But so concise a syncretism of aboriginal and Christian religious elements
[184] is rare. Younger people vary greatly in belief. One man, about thirty-eight,
noted: "Kemu'kemps? They told us stories about him when we were kids. They said he's like God. It doesn't matter to me. Maybe he is; they always say how he made everything around here. Maybe he did; things get that way somehow." A 31-year-old woman remarked: "Kemu'kemps stuff is what they tell kids. That's old Indian devil-talk. I don't know nothing about it." And a 16-year-old girl stated: "I've heard my grandmother talk about Kemu'kemps. That's kind of scary stuff like the dead coming back to haunt
[823] you. There's a cave up on the Sprague River where they say Kemu'kemps
used to live. Maybe he still lives there. Anyway, I wouldn't walk up that road in the dark."

A woman of about fifty-five, when questioned about the religious training
[869] she gave the grandchild entrusted to her care, answered: "Children learn
about the Bible very fast. I tell my granddaughter the old Bible stories and she likes to hear them. But I steer off of that old Indian stuff. I think we ought to get away from those old Indian superstitions. I'll sure get mad if anybody scares her with stories about those old Indian things like Kemu'kemps."

Her statement sets the tone for the future. The old beliefs are being lost, and although still very general, they stand out most vividly only in the minds of those who were raised in the period of the second Ghost Dance and the analogous revivalistic movements which followed it. While they obtained, during their upbringing, a detailed background of native Klamath mythology, they succeed, according to their own inclinations, in passing on their point of view to their descendants, or they may fail to do so. The attitudes indicated above are individual; no debate about the nature of Kemu'kemps or related
[795] concepts has been noted. While the formally organized religious groups,
including the Shakers (however dependent on the aboriginal patterns of

773 shamanism and curing), consistently oppose any such conceptual survival,
776 the point does not emerge as a significant controversy.

Thus, despite the decline of Klamath culture, something of the aboriginal
177 world-view persists. If the unformalized aspects of culture have a greater life-
[795] expectancy than the formalized and institutionalized ones, then the point of
view reflected in myth, a series of cultural premises, must in some form outlast the setting of the point of view into motion through actual behavior. This has apparently happened among the Klamath. The overt behavioral aspects are gone entirely, but some individuals uneasily attempt to bridge a gap. The mechanisms which produced a Ghost Dance and a Shaker Cult are now merely vestigial but still present.

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INTRODUCTION

114 The texts presented here were collected during the summers of 1955,
1956, and 1957 which were spent among the Klamath Indians at Chiloquin,
122 Oregon. The field work was carried out under the auspices of the Survey
of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of
115 California, Berkeley. The narrators of the myth texts were Mr. Robert
David, Mrs. Pansy Ohles, and Mr. Grover Pompey; the ethnographic materials were obtained from the first two of these and from Mrs. Aggie Butler, Mrs. Grover Pompey, and Miss Irene Skellock.

126 Most of these texts were recorded directly on tape, but some were taken down first in dictated form and were taped later. Of the myths, only Texts 1 and 7 were not recorded on tape. Of the ethnographic materials, Texts 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, and 35 were dictated only.

[124] No really exhaustive attempt was made to obtain a complete collection of Klamath myth texts. Instead, the author aimed at a representative collection of materials, including myths told by several informants, autobiographical experiences, ethnographic texts, historical incidents, conversation, and also the responses to a series of elicitation pictures (Text 39). It was felt that these texts would provide, on the one hand, good illustrative material for further linguistic studies in Klamath, and, on the other hand, a representative sampling of myths and ethnographic material of interest to the folklorist and ethnologist.

114 The collections of Klamath myths so far published are limited to A. S. Gatschet's "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. II, pts. 1 and 2, Washington, 1890) and some brief song and medicine texts in Leslie Spier's "Klamath Ethnography" (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, 1930). More recently, Dr. Theodore Stern of the University of Oregon has collected a large number of Klamath myths. The author understands that Dr. Spier also possesses a collection of myths. It is urgently hoped that both of these will be published in the near future.

128 The present collection is divided into two major parts: Myths, and
773 Ethnographic Texts. The former contains tales about the inhabitants of

128 the prehuman world, when everything spoke and had life (as Mrs. Ohles
773 put it). The primordial human inhabitants of this world (the /psewdiwa·s/)
[776] are only casually mentioned, and the main figures are the mighty culture-transformers Gmok̓am̓č, c̓ečte·sis, and Sqel̓am̓č. The last two may be alternate names for the same figure, and the informants translated both
128 freely as "Old Marten" or "Old Mink." These beings travel through the
776 world, meeting monsters and inimical beings and destroying them, teaching the /psewdiwa·s/ how to live, and aiding those in trouble. Texts 19 and 20 contain incidents involving hostile, powerful beings and modern humans. Text 21 seems to involve modern humans also, but may refer to the /psewdiwa·s/.

128 The second part of the Texts contains material on food-gathering, historical occurrences, ethnographic descriptions, autobiographical incidents, etc. Text 38 consists of a free conversation between two informants and the author.

The translation of these texts presented considerable difficulties. To render the Klamath morpheme by morpheme—or even word by word—is, of course, impossible. This necessitated the addition of whole new phrases, at times, in order fully to cover the Klamath meaning. An attempt was made to keep the Klamath phrase junctures (/,/, /./, etc.) intact, although this has sometimes produced sentences which are thoroughly un-English.

Some of the Klamath material has been translated with great freedom. This is particularly true of the series of particles (sentence-connectives, etc.). Such sequences as /čoy/, /čoy honk ʔat/, /čoy čik/, /čoy da·ts/, etc., have been rendered as "So," "And," "Then," "So then," "And then," "So now," etc. The full force of these elements cannot be rendered into English without making the English sentence unintelligible. Forms like /či honk/ (lit. "as it") and /naʔas gi/ (lit. "thus did, thus made") have been freely translated as "(he) said, says," since this is the nearest English parallel of their use in Klamath.

Material in the translations which did not seem entirely justified from the Klamath alone has been inserted into the English enclosed in [. . .].

Parentheses have been employed in the Klamath to enclose English interpolations, asides to the investigator, etc.

Quotation marks have been used with several distinct purposes: (1) to enclose direct speech—material quoted by the speaker as being the speech of another (there is nothing in the phonemics to indicate this, but it is done for clarity's sake); (2) to enclose words quoted from the other language (i.e., words from English used in the Klamath, and words from

778 K'tai'di, lava, is a cliff of that rock two miles below Chiloquin on
787 the left bank of Williamson river. Seekers slept on this.

Ska'mdi is an eddy in Williamson river above Chiloquin. This is a spirit place but it does not seem that they swim there.

> Once I [Pat Kane] and my two brothers camped near there just before sunset. We were on our way to Klamath marsh to pick pond-lily seeds. My oldest brother started a fire while the younger fetched water. I went to tie the horses. When I returned, my brother who had been to the river said, "There are many beaver in there." We took our guns to the spot. Soon a beaver swam close to us, only a few yards away, but we could not hit it. Soon two more came swimming close by. We failed to kill these. Then five came and soon so many more that they completely filled the river. My brothers said, "We had better not stop here. Let us get away." We packed the horses and left at once. I saw the water shaking[180] and the sound of thunder. It took all night to get back. My oldest brother got sick; no shaman could cure him. He was sick all summer and in the winter he died. Neither my younger brother nor I were sick.
>
> A man and boy were going to Klamath marsh afoot. The boy was six or seven. The man wanted to try swimming in Ska'mdi. He told the boy, "If those things bite and kill me, you go home." The man had lost his wife; the boy alone was left. "I do not want to stay here; I want to die," the man said. The boy cried to him not to swim there. He walked back from the river bank, ran and plunged in. Big animals reached up and bit him. They came up twice; then he appeared no more. The boy saw it and wept. He started home; it took all night for him to reach Bzūkse'was below Chiloquin. At this place the water boils and cannot move down the river. No one can swim there; something always bites and kills them.

SPIRITS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

776 There is hardly a mile of Klamath territory but has its mythical reference. Everywhere there are personages of the folk-tales, now transformed to rocks by Crow's laughter. Spirits are legion and in many cases are localized, so that one looking over the countryside finds it rich in religious connotation. But despite its comparative richness, Klamath religion is quite unsystematized. There are no deities and the spirits as such hardly figure in the tales. Most of the actors of the tales are not spirits and this is especially true of the principal ones. There is little suggestion of any fixed relation between such as do figure there. In other words, the Klamath lack all architectural feeling in conceiving their religious beings.

Spirits form a uniform class; no one of them can be said to be
774 especially more important than any other. Souls and ghosts are
separate entities, and again are sharply distinct from spirits. Spirits

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[180] It is conceivable that an earth tremor dislodged the beaver.

(swi'is) as we have seen are beings that live in the mountains, in river 774
eddies, and in lakes, where they are sought by those in quest of power. 775
Souls are personal and after death go to the land of the dead, No'lĭskăn. The soul leaves only at death; illness is not ascribed to its loss. Ghosts (skuks) wander from the land of the dead where souls have gone. It was not said that ghosts are souls in other guise nor were the ghosts referred to those of particular persons. The juxtaposition is rather like that of our own folk thought.

One word hoki's means soul, breath, and life. It is intelligible then why one of my informants said that all animals as well as men have souls. It is the quickening of life rather than spiritual personality that is implied by the word. They say of death, hoki no'tsna no'lĭskăn, the life leaves for the land of the dead. Its seat is within the heart (staii'nas); outside is the flesh (djolĕ'ks). When the body is cremated, the soul goes to the land of the dead. The flesh is destroyed; the ashes and smoke blown into the air are carried back to earth by rain, to the country of which the body is a part. Everything grows well then. But the soul never returns.[181]

Ghosts return from the land of the dead because they want to live 775
again. They are constantly about seeking to catch someone's soul to
take to the land of the dead. (So I was told; but there was never a [753]
hint when they told me of curing that sickness is due to loss of the
soul.) It makes no difference that one has spirit power, his life may [761]
be taken. This is most likely to happen to one in mourning as he sits alone weeping in his house at night, for ghosts usually come at night. Next day he will die. This happens commonly enough; even little boys at play see them and die at once. Shamans can discover this. Whatever they are like in the land of the dead, ghosts that return neither resemble humans exactly nor are they skeletons. Today some people talk without fear with ghosts, formerly they would have died. Possibly my informant meant by this that members of his own Shaker sect or adherents to the Ghost dance cult could talk to them with impunity, but he may have had in mind only the prohibition of the folk-tales against talking to the dead as they are being transformed to living creatures.

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[181] Gatschet records an obscure statement which he interprets: "The Maklaks [Klamath] believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances" (1:130). The word used is however skuks, ghost. I received no information of this sort. [114]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Clubs																	
1055. Stone clubs	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	411
1056. "Slave killer" (animal figure)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[532]
1057. Paddle-shaped	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1058. Imported		.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1059. Natural cobblestone, cylindrical	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1060. Wooden clubs	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	
1061. Natural limb	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	
1062. Used in brawls or to kill salmon only	+	+							+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
1063. Ball- or knob-ended	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
1064. Stone or horn spike insert	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1065. Straight rabbit club	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1066. Stone head encased in buckskin	–	(+)	.	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Fighting Spears																	
1067. Spear used in war	•R	+	+	–	•–	•–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	[726]
1068. Thrust mainly	(+)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1069. Flaked stone point	(+)	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1070. Bone or horn point	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Daggers, Slings, Bola																	
1071. Obsidian knife or dagger	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
1072. Center section buckskin-wrapped	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1073. Hafted wooden handle	–	–	–	–				+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1073a. Bone dagger, awl-shaped	–	–	–					•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1074. Sling	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1075. Used for war	–	+	.	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
1076. Used for hunting	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1077. Used as toy	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	
1078. Clay shot	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1079. Rocks for shot	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	
1080. Bola	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	•+	•+		.	
Armor																	
1081. Rod jacket	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	714
1082. Hide tunic, no rods	•+	+	+	–	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1083. Hide helmet	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1084. Circular rod shield		–				•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1084a. Hide curtain as shield	–	+	(+)	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Household Implements																	
Mortars and Pestles																	
1085. Bedrock mortar.	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•o	412
1086. Portable stone mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1087. Outside rough hewn	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1088. Outside shaped and smoothed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1089. Found locally, used commonly	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
1090. Found locally, not used for grinding food	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	
1091. Found locally, used by shaman	–	(+)	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	[756]
1092. Regarded as animate object	–	–	+	+		+	–	–						–	–	•–	[774]
1093. Regarded as dangerous or poisonous.	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	•+	+	.	–	–	–	•+	
1094. Made by myth character	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	•+	.	–	–	–	–	•+	[773]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	No	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 *5071. Burned at owner's death*	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
533 5072. Diagnosis by singing, rubbing patient	–	–	+		–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
5073. Singing, rubbing to cure patient	–	–	+		–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
5074. Brushes patient	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
5075. Sprinkles water from feather on patient	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
5076. Sucks patient	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
5077. Sprays water from mouth on patient	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–		–	–
5078. Can foretell future events											+	+	+		–	–
[775] 5079. Performs in round house, at night											+	+	•+	•+	–	–
5080. Spirit comes and sings in dark													+	+	–	–

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Soul-Loss Doctors

	Kl	No	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5081. Soul loss doctors recognized	–	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
[562] 5081a. Men	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
5082. Women	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
5083. Is also sucking doctor	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
5084. Inherit power	–	–	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
5085. Power through vision, dream	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
5086. Instructed by older shaman, or in dance	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
5087. Shaman sucks on head, neck	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	(–		–	–
5088. Shaman sends own soul after lost one	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
5089. Shaman sends guardian spirit to catch soul	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–)		–	–
5090. Shaman goes outside to coax soul back	–	–	–	–	·	+	+	•+	•+	+	–	+	·		–	–
5091. Sings	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
5092. Dances	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
5093. Has ... assistants	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	1	1	•1	–	1	–		–	–
5094. Outside speaker	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5095. Interpreter	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
5096. Spectators sing in house	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
5097. Beat time with 1-2 sticks	–	–	–	–			–	+	–	+	–	–	–		–	–
5098. Doctor uses cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
5099. Doctor uses bone "bull-roarer"	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
[826] 5100. Soul returns through fontanelle	–	–	–	–	+	–	·		–	+	–	+	(–)		–	–

Weather Shamans

	Kl	No	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5100a. Weather shamans recognized	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
921 5101. Men mostly	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–		–	–
[562] 5102. Both sexes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
5103. Specialized profession	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
5104. Weather shaman may also be curing shaman	+	+	–	•–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–		–	–
5105. Office inherited	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–
5106. Knowledge acquired by instruction	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–		–	–
5107. Supernatural experience required	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
5108. Make rain by formula, song	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
5109. Sing with spectators	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
5110. Smoke pipe				–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
5111. Motion with hands, 4 directions											+	+	–		–	–
5112. Contortions or dancing	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
5113. Can make fog, high winds	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
5114. Make rain to remove snow	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
5115. Can make rain stop	–	+	–	–		+	+		•+	+	+	+	–		–	–
5116. Performs whenever need arises	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
5117. Paid for performance	–	–	–	•–	+	+	R	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–
5118. Bets made on outcome of	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
5119. Rain doctors, competing, test powers										•+	–	–	–		–	–
5120. When doctor cries, rain will ensue	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
5121. At funeral	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
[763] 5122. Thunders when doctor dies	•+	•+	·					+	+	+	±	+	+		–	–

178 latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence
that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on
the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often
recur.

787 The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, apparently
[881] regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was
usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power
[785] obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts
existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating,
[533] and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath
emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word
/ƚuw'i·s/ meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on
787 context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from
177 without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior
[797] associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly individualized
and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality,
it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers,
the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions.
One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with
the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The
examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older informants.
Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions associated
with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

782 A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me,
"Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and
776 old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.'
823 I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I
774 say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over
787 there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains
and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I
dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it."
She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to
Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up,
up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man
standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I
773 don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The informant
refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of
whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena:
"When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They
said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never
did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it
was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a
[797] real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those
things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

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[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

782 Other informants also give a hint of this attitude. Even where there is
776 sophistication by virtue of education or long-time residence away from the
823 group, one encounters statements like that of a woman, half-Klamath, half-
• 774 Caucasian: "*Those old Indians had a lot of sense.* They kind of felt at home
around here and they would get a lift just from talking to the mountains
787 and lakes. It was like praying and it made them feel at peace. When I get
up in the morning, I look first over there [at Mt. Pitt] and it makes me feel
good too. Not that I pray in the old Indian way; that's just idolatry. But
it's like the scenery kind of gets ahold of you even if I been seeing it all my
787 life."

776 A possible indication of this attitude appears in the repeated warnings to
855 children to avoid certain rocks and cliffs. "You might fall down and hurt
823 yourself" is of course quite true; on the other hand, places about which some
modern Klamath parents feel particularly uneasy were associated aboriginally
with power sources. A strong drive in the past was fear that a child might be
[784] harmed through contact with "power." Every effort was made to keep the
child away from the shaman, the sweat lodge, the mourning place, and the
[841] like. (It may be noted that menstrual blood was placed near the cradled
child to negate forces whose mere presence could harm the inexperienced.)
These attitudes toward nature and the surrounding natural phenomena, at
least as sources of uneasiness, still exist among younger Klamath of today.

773 Also obtainable is evidence on attitudes toward the culture hero. Some
776 offer a rational systematization of beliefs concerning him. Generally, this
177 involves some interpretation in the light of Christian reasoning. Kemu'kemps,
because of his essentially human characteristics, readily lends himself to
identification with the Christian God. The middle-aged woman quoted above,
struck by the linguistic parallels, notes: "Those old Indians were really
[273] Christians. It's only the liquor around here that makes the unbelief and
trouble. Kemu'kemps means the 'Old One'; that's God. He revealed himself
to the Indians long before the Americans [sic] came. He had a son, too,
'Ayšiš, that's just like Jesus. He created the world, just like it says in the
Bible. If only those old Indians had been able to see it, they were close to
God all the time. They lived good upright lives under his guidance. Another
word for Kemu'kemps in our language is *Playtul'kni·;* that means the 'One
on High,' 'Somebody up there.' That's the name we give God in our language
now. It's all the same."

Not all informants are so definite in their syncretism. One elderly woman remarked: "Who is Kemu'kemps? I don't know. Sometimes I think he's God, but sometimes I think he must be Devil. Maybe he was just a story the old Indians made up. But they called him Playtul·kni· and that means God. My grandson asked me, 'Gramma, who's Kemu'kemps?' I say, 'I don't know. Maybe he's like God.' " In another connection she remarked: "I think that Kemu'kemps is Devil. He gets people into trouble; he leads them into temptation. When I was a little girl, they said to me, 'He's no good; don't believe that any more.' But I don't know. I see the icicles and I think of the wind and Kemu'kemps. He made the world and they call him Playtul'kni·. The Devil

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

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[756]

Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices, the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps, some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance of 1870.

[881]
[721]
[727]
[585]
[786]

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however definitely localized in many instances and partly identified with the figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living.

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775

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate.

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778 787 K'tai'di, lava, is a cliff of that rock two miles below Chiloquin on the left bank of Williamson river. Seekers slept on this.

Ska'mdi is an eddy in Williamson river above Chiloquin. This is a spirit place but it does not seem that they swim there.

Once I [Pat Kane] and my two brothers camped near there just before sunset. We were on our way to Klamath marsh to pick pond-lily seeds. My oldest brother started a fire while the younger fetched water. I went to tie the horses. When I returned, my brother who had been to the river said, "There are many beaver in there." We took our guns to the spot. Soon a beaver swam close to us, only a few yards away, but we could not hit it. Soon two more came swimming close by. We failed to kill these. Then five came and soon so many more that they completely filled the river. My brothers said, "We had better not stop here. Let us get away." We packed the horses and left at once. I saw the water shaking[180] and the sound of thunder. It took all night to get back. My oldest brother got sick; no shaman could cure him. He was sick all summer and in the winter he died. Neither my younger brother nor I were sick.

A man and boy were going to Klamath marsh afoot. The boy was six or seven. The man wanted to try swimming in Ska'mdi. He told the boy, "If those things bite and kill me, you go home." The man had lost his wife; the boy alone was left. "I do not want to stay here; I want to die," the man said. The boy cried to him not to swim there. He walked back from the river bank, ran and plunged in. Big animals reached up and bit him. They came up twice; then he appeared no more. The boy saw it and wept. He started home; it took all night for him to reach Bzzūkse'was below Chiloquin. At this place the water boils and cannot move down the river. No one can swim there; something always bites and kills them.

SPIRITS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

776 There is hardly a mile of Klamath territory but has its mythical reference. Everywhere there are personages of the folk-tales, now transformed to rocks by Crow's laughter. Spirits are legion and in many cases are localized, so that one looking over the countryside finds it rich in religious connotation. But despite its comparative richness, Klamath religion is quite unsystematized. There are no deities and the spirits as such hardly figure in the tales. Most of the actors of the tales are not spirits and this is especially true of the principal ones. There is little suggestion of any fixed relation between such as do figure there. In other words, the Klamath lack all architectural feeling in conceiving their religious beings.

774 775 Spirits form a uniform class; no one of them can be said to be especially more important than any other. Souls and ghosts are separate entities, and again are sharply distinct from spirits. Spirits

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[180] It is conceivable that an earth tremor dislodged the beaver.

(swi'is) as we have seen are beings that live in the mountains, in river 774
eddies, and in lakes, where they are sought by those in quest of power. 775 •
Souls are personal and after death go to the land of the dead,
No'liskän. The soul leaves only at death; illness is not ascribed to its
loss. Ghosts (skuks) wander from the land of the dead where souls
have gone. It was not said that ghosts are souls in other guise nor
were the ghosts referred to those of particular persons. The juxtaposition
is rather like that of our own folk thought.

One word hoki's means soul, breath, and life. It is intelligible then why one of my informants said that all animals as well as men have souls. It is the quickening of life rather than spiritual personality that is implied by the word. They say of death, hoki no'tana no'liskän, the life leaves for the land of the dead. Its seat is within the heart (staii'nas); outside is the flesh (djolĕ'ks). When the body is cremated, the soul goes to the land of the dead. The flesh is destroyed; the ashes and smoke blown into the air are carried back to earth by rain, to the country of which the body is a part. Everything grows well then. But the soul never returns.[101]

Ghosts return from the land of the dead because they want to live 775
again. They are constantly about seeking to catch someone's soul to
take to the land of the dead. (So I was told; but there was never a [753]
hint when they told me of curing that sickness is due to loss of the
soul.) It makes no difference that one has spirit power, his life may [761]
be taken. This is most likely to happen to one in mourning as he sits
alone weeping in his house at night, for ghosts usually come at night.
Next day he will die. This happens commonly enough; even little
boys at play see them and die at once. Shamans can discover this.
Whatever they are like in the land of the dead, ghosts that return
neither resemble humans exactly nor are they skeletons. Today some
people talk without fear with ghosts, formerly they would have died.
Possibly my informant meant by this that members of his own Shaker
sect or adherents to the Ghost dance cult could talk to them with
impunity, but he may have had in mind only the prohibition of the
folk-tales against talking to the dead as they are being transformed
to living creatures.

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[101] Gatschet records an obscure statement which he interprets: "The Maklaks [114]
[Klamath] believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies
of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore
cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances" (1:130). The
word used is however skuks, ghost. I received no information of this sort.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

775 763 Last month an old woman, who was very sick, was left alone. As she lay there she saw ghosts. They caught her; she died. When her children returned she was dead. Her daughter and grandson rubbed her chest to revive her. She was soon restored except that one ear, which the ghosts had touched, was "closed." Her daughter asked, "What is the matter?" She answered faintly, "The ghosts caught me." Today she can barely talk; her sight and hearing are gone.

775 787 A Klamath Falls man met a ghost on the trail. It was short and had long white nails on hands and feet. The ghost said, "Let us trade nails." The man said that he could not take his off. The ghost said, "I can pull them out," and exchanged nails with him. The man went home with the long nails and went to bed. When he woke, he looked at his hands and feet, but he had his own nails again.

The same man saw ghosts dancing at the cremation place on the hill east of Link river (Klamath falls). He watched them dance all night. They gave him a pipe to smoke. Then they threw firebrands at him and he ran away.

About ten years ago I [Pat Kane] had been swimming in the river. I was returning to my home with some horses when I heard crying. I saw an immense fire at the cremation place on lower Williamson river. Men, women, and children were wailing there. I held my hat over my face and did not listen. I did not tell my wife. For three or four days I was sick, so I went into the sweat-lodge. Later I went down there but found no signs of a recent fire.

576 The names of the dead are mentioned rather freely, but no one likes to name his own relatives or hear another do so. In fact, such a reference is insulting. But this is not due to any fear of the dead; it is rather a matter of taste.

775 The land of the dead, No'lïakän,[182] lies in the west, the sunset. Everyone goes there. It was created by the culture hero, Kemŭ'kümps, who made the humans that figure in the tales (called psaudi'was) and ordained that they should go to this land when they died. Nothing is said of the road thither but the characteristics of the land and its people are tolerably well conceptualized.

Everything in the land of the dead is inverted from this living world. The ghosts sleep by day and live at night. In the day there is nothing to be seen but their houses and skeletons. At sundown they are clothed with flesh again; they rise and build fires. They dance through the night to fall asleep when dawn breaks. They feed on swan's eggs and perhaps they do not eat them in the manner of humans, since a tale suggests that Kemŭ'kümps is fed in the manner of the ghosts; the eggs are thrown at him. Further, the eggs are [825] unnatural in that they are hot.[183] So far as the Klamath are concerned, swan's eggs themselves are mythical, for while swans cross

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[182] I suggest that the word means, literally, land of the departed; compare no'tsna, departed for ——; nutsnota, soul leaves; tcö'kän, service berry land; ä'stikan, country of the Shasta.

[262] [183] Perhaps the Klamath do not eat eggs at all. I neglected to inquire.

775 [825] the Klamath country in the winter, they never nest there. The eggs can be gathered only in bottomless baskets. The ghost's elks are waterbugs to mortal eye, and the flesh that they take is in reality bone. All their possessions are things that were destroyed with the dead, houses, baskets, beads, etc. Their hospitality also provokes them to throw firebrands at their visitors. Perhaps the very fact that Kᴇmū'kūmps is called out of his name by them in a tale is an attempt at inversion.

776 There is a wide variety of spirits from whom power is sought, animals, birds, reptiles, fish, natural phenomena, and a handful of anthropomorphic and purely mythical beings. The animals, etc., are not individuals of living species, but mythical beings, either immensely large or very small. Such anthropomorphic spirits as are definitely conceptualized are also tiny. Although they speak of all of these as individuals—they say for example that a man's spirit is Weasel or it is Wīle'ᴇḳaḳ, dwarf old woman—nevertheless there remains the suspicion that they are rather genera, for the same named spirit is described as dwelling in several localities and belonging to several shamans at the same time.

776 825 The number of spirits is indefinitely large; the following partial list is made up from various data given by my informants. The animals include grizzly and black bears, wolf, coyote, dog, mink, weasel, and fisher (ṫwa'lḳōtcka). The birds are the horned owl, bald eagle, golden eagle, fish hawk, a smaller hawk (tcī'ktu), a little hawk (wī'tgōtgis), falcon, crow, magpie, buzzard, pelican, red and white shitepokes, butterball duck, a small sea gull (ḳ!ōtya'was), flicker, prairie chicken, an unidentified black bird (nǎo'līns), a blue and brown one (gau'wi), and a tiny speckled bird (djīske'gᴇ). In the fish and reptile class are the rattlesnake, a big speckled sluggish snake (wū'mᴇnūks), lizard, frog, a water snail (k!awi's), salmon, and trout. It is obviously the predatory animals that are chosen, with the omission of the cat tribe. The bird list also includes all the birds of prey and carrion eaters. Even though the list is incomplete, there are some significant omissions, such as deer, rodents, the song birds; and most fish are absent. The two fishes included are the largest representatives in Klamath waters.

[755] There is little suggestion of differentiation of function and power among these spirits. To be sure, it is only through certain spirits that curing and the various shamanistic tricks can be performed, but my informants never once volunteered the statement that these were especially powerful. The exception is Frog, described by Nancy Phillips

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
821 4632. Contains poison or doctor's pain inside it	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	.		−
4633. Contains spirit (or person?) inside it	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	•+	+	−	−	•+	.	+	•+
4634. Malignant activities of whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
4635. Sickens persons with bad dreams	+	•+	•+		+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	.	+	+
4636. Puts "pain" in person	+	+	+	−							+	+	−	.	−	−
4637. Catches person's shadow or spirit	−	+	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	.	−	−
4638. Causes person to have accident, die	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−
4639. Gives power for doctoring, occasionally	−	+				•+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	.	.	−
4640. Precautions against whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4641. Try to hide from, dodge it	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	+
4642. Throw dirt, water at it	−	+	+		•+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	•−	•+	•+	−
4643. Talk to it, informally	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	+
4644. Smoke when talking to it	−	+	+						+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
4645. Clap hands, stomp feet	−	+	+								−	−	−	.	.	−
4646. Smoke victim of whirlwind													+	+	+	−
4646a. Mourners who dream of whirlwind doctored	−	+	−				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	.	−
Rain and Storms																
4647. Nonshamanistic beliefs concerning rain	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	+
4648. Rolling rocks down hill causes rain				+	+	−	+	−	•−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4649. Shouting in mountains causes rain	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	(+)		−	−
4650. Sprinkles a little after funeral naturally	+	+	.		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		+	+
4651. Nonshamanistic measures for stopping rain	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
4652. Pinch dog's ear	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4653. Old men wave lighted brands	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
4654. Flies and yellow jackets burnt	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts																
Characteristics of Ghost or Spirit																
● 775 4655. Visible to anyone	+	+	•−	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
4656. Resembles person	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+	−	+	+	+
4657. Resembles skeleton, shadow, fog, or cloud	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4658. Audible to anyone	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
[756] 4659. Shamans chiefly	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4660. Wails, whistles	−	−	−	−						+	−	+	+	+	−	+
Activities of Ghosts or Spirits																
4661. Leaves body shortly before death	−	−	•−	•−			+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4662. Leaves body immediately after death	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
o4663. Leaves grave, pyre ... days after death	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	28	•5	−	−	•3	4	4	−
4664. Leaves pyre night of cremation	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4665. Turns back once after leaving body											+	.	−	+	−	−
4666. Retraces steps person has taken when alive												+	+	−	+	+
4667. Departs toward distant place	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4668. Toward west	•+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	+	.	−
4669. To assembly house in mountains, sky									•+					•+		•+
4670. Up to sky	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	+	+	+	−	+	−	.	−	+
4671. Along Milky Way	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	.	−	.
4672. Across water, river	+	+	−	−	+	−	.	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
4673. On bridge													+	+	+	−
4674. If get dizzy crossing, turn into coyote													•	+	+	−

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	NV	
4675. Door keeper at land of dead	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	775
4676. One destination for all	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
4677. Good and bad different destinations	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	-	(+)	•-	-	-	-	
4678. All ghosts stay on earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
4679. Doctors, bad persons	-	.	-	.	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4680. Improperly buried, burned persons	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4681. Ghosts encountered around village	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	.	-	-	+	-	
4682. Ghosts encountered around cremation spot or burying place	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	
4683. In air	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	.	-	.	+	+	
4684. In whirlwind	-	+	-	-	.	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	
4685. Dead visit in dreams with living	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[787]
4686. Occasional dream may give person power	-	-	-	.	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	
4687. Constant dreaming of dead bad omen.	-	+	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	
Precautions to Keep Away Ghosts																	
4688. Ghosts feared	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	769
4689. Offerings of food, if dream of dead	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	(-)	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	+	775
4690. Ghost feast	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	+	-	.	•+	
4691. Eat with dog.	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4692. Shaman hired to sing for dreamer.	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	-	
4693. Dreamer puts ashes, pitch on body							+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4694. Talk to ghost	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	
4695. Throw ashes toward ghost	+	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
4696. Throw water toward ghost or grave								+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4697. Bathe in plain or medicated water	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
4698. Herbs rubbed on body	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	
4699. Roots chewed and spit	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-	
4700. Tobacco smoked	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	.	-	
4701. Burn aromatic plant	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	
4702. After childbirth, to avoid bad dreams	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	.	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4703. Burn hair, skin	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	•+	-	•+	-	
4704. After childbirth, to avoid bad dreams	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4705. Hang small bow and arrow in door		.								+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
4706. Plant, feathers hung up	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	
Omens																	
Sneezing, etc.																	
4707. Sudden sneeze sign someone talking about sneezer	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	787
4708. Of opposite sex	-	-	+	-	.	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	827
4709. Relation	-	-	-	+				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4710. At a distance	-	+	+	+	+	+			-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4711. Sudden sneeze sign someone thinking of sneezer	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4712. Invite such to come visit	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4713. Ear buzzing sign someone deprecating person														+	-	-	
Bird, Animal Calls as Omens																	
4714. Owl call before dawn omen death, war, rain.	+	+	+	•-	+	.	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
4715. Robin calling after dark bad omen	-	+	+	+	-	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	825
4716. Magpie calling after dark bad omen	-	+	-	-		.		+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	HF	HM	HS	MV	
o4836. Number	2	-	1	-	-				1	1	1	2	-		-	-	756
4836a. Indefinite; many	-	+	-	+	+				-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4837. Kept outside shaman's body	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	
4838. Kept inside shaman's body	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-		-	-	
4839. Novice acquires guardian spirit helper from natural phenomena, fauna	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	[821]
4840. Sun	-	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	.	
4841. Moon	-	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	.	
4842. Wind		+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	.	
4843. Thunder	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	+	-		-	.	
4844. Lightning								+	+	+	.	+	-		-	.	
4845. Fire		+	.	+		+	+	-	+	+	.	+	-		-	.	
4846. Animals, all kinds	+	+	.	•–	+	+	+	•–	-	+	+	-	-		-	-	[825]
4847. Coyote mainly	-	-	+	+							+	+	-		-	-	
4848. Wolf, only or mainly	-	-	-	+				+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4849. Birds	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	(+)	
4850. Eagle				+	+		+	-	-	+	+	+	-		-	.	
4851. Chicken hawk	+	+	.	+	+		+	-	-	+	+	+	-		-	.	
4852. Small birds								+	+	-	+	+	-		-	.	
4853. Reptiles	+	+	.	•+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	•+	
4854. Fish	+	+	.	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	.	+	-		-	.	
4855. Frog	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-		-	.	
4856. Favorite, best power	-	+	.	+	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	.	
4857. Insects								+	-	+	+	-	-		-	.	
4858. Ghosts or spirits	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	.	[775] ●
4859. Doctor gets power from several guardian spirits, successively	+	+	.		+	+	+	-	+	+	+	(-)	-		-	.	775
4860. After power from "pain" acquired											+	(-)	-		-	.	756
4861. Guardian spirits communicate with novice	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4862. Are visible to novice	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4863. Are audible	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4864. Can be felt	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	
4865. Give song	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4866. Novice, in training sings by himself	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-	
4867. Give paint		+	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	.	+	-		-	-	
4868. Give dance		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-		-	-	
4869. Instruct as to paraphernalia, curing methods	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4870. Novice acquires feathers, feather flags	.	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	-		.	-	
4871. Must be kept outside house		+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		.	-	
4872. Kept in hollow tree when not in use		-	+	+	•–	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-		.	-	
4873. Novice keeps fact he has power secret	-	-	-	-	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	+	756

Sucking Doctors: Doctor-Making Rites

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	HF	HM	HS	MV	
4874. Doctor-making rites for sucking doctors	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	
o4874a. Rites last ... days and nights	10	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2		4	-	
‡4875. For ... nights	+	5	3	5	-	-	-	+	1	1	1	1	+		+	-	
4876. Novices assisted by older shamans	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	
4877. Doctor dance	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	+	+	-	-	•+		(+)	-	756
4878. Held irregularly	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		(+)	-	535
4878a. Held immediately before, after vision attained	-	-	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-		-	-	
4879. After specified objects collected	-	-	•+	•+	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
‡4880. Repeated yearly for ... yrs.	-	-	8	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4881. Given in winter only	+	+	-	•+	-	•–	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756	5071. Burned at owner's death	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
533	5072. Diagnosis by singing, rubbing patient	–	–	+		–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
	5073. Singing, rubbing to cure patient	–	–	+		–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
	5074. Brushes patient	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	5075. Sprinkles water from feather on patient	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
	5076. Sucks patient	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	5077. Sprays water from mouth on patient	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–		–	–
	5078. Can foretell future events											+	+	+		–	–
[775]	5079. Performs in round house, at night											+	+	*+	*+	–	–
	5080. Spirit comes and sings in dark													+	+	–	–
774 755	Soul-Loss Doctors																
756	5081. Soul loss doctors recognized	–	–	–	–	+	+	*+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
[562]	5081a. Men	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
	5082. Women	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
	5083. Is also sucking doctor	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
	5084. Inherit power	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
	5085. Power through vision, dream	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
	5086. Instructed by older shaman, or in dance	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
	5087. Shaman sucks on head, neck	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	(–)		–	–
	5088. Shaman sends own soul after lost one	–	–	–	–	*(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)		–	–
	5089. Shaman sends guardian spirit to catch soul	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	(–)		–	–
	5090. Shaman goes outside to coax soul back	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	*+	*+	+	–	+	.		–	–
	5091. Sings	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–
	5092. Dances	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
	5093. Has ... assistants	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	1	1	*1	–	1	–		–	–
	5094. Outside speaker	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
	5095. Interpreter	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
	5096. Spectators sing in house	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
	5097. Beat time with 1-2 sticks	–	–	–	–			–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
	5098. Doctor uses cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
	5099. Doctor uses bone "bull-roarer"	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
[826]	5100. Soul returns through fontanelle	–	–	–	–	+	–	.		–	+	–	+	(–)		–	–
	Weather Shamans																
756	5100a. Weather shamans recognized	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	*–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
821	5101. Men mostly	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
[562]	5102. Both sexes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	5103. Specialized profession	–	–	–	*+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	5104. Weather shaman may also be curing shaman	+	+	–	*–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
	5105. Office inherited	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–
	5106. Knowledge acquired by instruction	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–		–	–
	5107. Supernatural experience required	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
	5108. Make rain by formula, song	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
	5109. Sing with spectators	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
	5110. Smoke pipe			–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
	5111. Motion with hands, 4 directions											+	+	–		–	–
	5112. Contortions or dancing	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
	5113. Can make fog, high winds	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
	5114. Make rain to remove snow	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
	5115. Can make rain stop	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	*+	+	+	+	–		–	–
	5116. Performs whenever need arises	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
	5117. Paid for performance	–	–	–	*–	+	+	R	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–
	5118. Bets made on outcome of	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	5119. Rain doctors, competing, test powers										*+	–	–	–		–	–
	5120. When doctor cries, rain will ensue	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
	5121. At funeral	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
[763]	5122. Thunders when doctor dies	*+	*+	.					+	+	+	±	+	+		–	–

821 is fire from dove, fire for driving rabbits; is pinole or piñon road, frame or back bone of sky. Rainbow: is man's penis, coyote's penis, childbirth sign; sign of dry weather, bad luck for hunting or fishing; get weak eyes from staring at. Thunder: is female, woman and 2 sons, coyote; noise explained as 2 fawns hiding in intercourse, hummingbird, eagle playing shinny, dancing, sliding on snow, sticks being beaten together, tules being broken, basket being rolled; food or water thrown out, food or water covered. Lightning: from mouth, eyes of Thunder person; from waving of ribbon, drilling, rubbing sticks, striking stones together; is fire from burning tules, birds flying fast; food, water thrown out, covered; dogs made to squeal. Whirlwind: war associated with, snake in it, wind playing; caused by charmstone; spit at to stop, offer beads to, point at, strike or pierce it with weapon; formula and bathing.

Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts

● 775 Spirit goes to definite underworld; to island; crosses water with boatman; rich and poor different destinations; warriors go to special heaven. Hang hopper basket, grass snare, bay leaves in door to keep away ghost.

ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Vision Quest

787 Jimsonweed (Datura) root drunk to obtain
824 vision, by group or individuals. Ant-fortitude ordeal; group or individuals swallow ants, to obtain vision.

Shamanism

756 Sucking doctors: women only; women can sicken only. Doctor-making rite held in circular brush enclosure; patient brought in for novice to cure; novice enters sweat house via exit hole, enters head first down ladder. Curing: shaman uses beads on stick, quartz crystals; brushes or fans away disease with skin; rubs Datura (jimsonweed) on eyes, drinks Datura; doctor or assistant uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper, flute. Doctor cuts before sucking; disease object sucked out through pipe. Doctor paid by installments throughout night. Sucking doctors: in competition, "bullets" shot; assistants for each contestant, performers paid; contests held at mourning ceremony only. Singing shamans: outfit bundle inherited, bought; shaman uses quartz crystals, portable mortar, charmstone; shaman dies if he loses outfit. Soul-loss doctor: is also singing shaman; uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper; mostly women. Soul recovered by snaring in noose, by refrightening patient. Weather shamans: make rain with aid of black rock, crystal,

7

000 4642. At: Throw water at whirlwind and tell it to run away. Whirlwind is blind. NF, NM, NS: Also wrap live coal in grass, walk 4 times around victim who has been in whirlwind, letting smoke from grass envelope him. This practice denied for MV.

4648. WM: Never roll rocks on mountains, "because dwarfs live there. When they don't like to see people in mountains, like hunters, they throw rocks at them."

4650. See also element 5120.

4652. SE: Bitch's ear.

Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts

Characteristics; activities; precautions to keep away ghosts.--

4655. SE, SW: Informants knew little about characteristics of ghosts, spirits. SW informant stated, "before Ghost dance, people didn't know anything about ghosts--what they looked like. They did dream of dead when sleeping, however. But they never said anything about a person's spirit or breath leaving his body at death." Dixon (Shasta, p. 468) states colored lights seen around cemeteries are ghosts. Both SE and SW informants stated that these reddish, white, or green lights (SE: purowan) are made by "devils" or witches, or are the witches themselves, sent by down-river peoples (Hupa, chiefly), especially novice shamans who are "practicing" to wreak ill among Shasta. Person touched by one of these lights becomes ill. They are seen sometimes near cemeteries. Down-river peoples know how to combat these "poison" manifestations, but few Shasta shamans do; SW informant's sister one of these rare persons among Shasta. SW informant narrated Orpheus myth, similar to that published by Dixon (Shasta Myths) in which Woodpecker follows wife to land of dead but is not allowed to remain there until he shall have returned to earth and died; this story telling of life after death said to have antedated Ghost dance. See elements and notes 4667, 4668. At: Ghosts only visible to shamans.

4656. WS: Headless, sometimes.

[775] 4657. Kl: Skeleton. AE: Shadow, fog, or cloud.

4661. SE, SW: See note 4655.

4663. WS: 6-7 days. NF: 3-4.

[775] 4668. Kl: Spirit goes up toward E, then travels W; as it travels it shouts, and people hear it. SW: Persons travel E after death, "toward sun--toward daylight," but ultimately stay in land in W, from whence comes night mockingbird, whom no one is supposed to bother. Dead travel in sky from E to W, along Milky Way.

4669. WM: See note 4677. NM: Shamans only. MV: Dead go to large rock assembly house (large mountain, shape of assembly house) at Marysville Buttes, where rock "elder" sits on top of assembly house. This assembly house is starting place, "headquarters," for people on their way to sky; dead stay at assembly house 4 days, then depart.

[238-A]

[p.345A]

869 hear about these spots first in stories. Later
the parents point out the sacred sites as they
778 pass by them. Many of the places are referred
to as "doctor rocks." Children are warned never
to run or play near them lest they should fall
and become crippled.

869 Klamath religion is very closely associated
with shamanism[17] so that most of the religious
756 attitudes acquired are directed toward shamans.
Shamans are the most important, powerful, and
feared individuals in the tribe. Small children
are warned never to bother one, but to run and
hide whenever a shaman appears, or he may cause
sickness. Children are told, "There's a doctor;
don't run in front of him, or he'll trip you.
Don't ever look at him when he is smoking."
Even the shaman's own children fear him.

861 Obedience is achieved by parents in a num-
ber of ways. They frequently scold erring
children, small ones being perhaps most often
threatened with some supernatural punishment for
misbehavior. Whippings are not rare, but are
probably never severe. A child is switched
across his hands or the back of his legs with a
willow switch, or the child's hair or ears are
pulled. Corporal punishment is seldom resorted
to unless the child has made the same mistake
several times and has not heeded scoldings.

861 Obedience is also achieved by instilling in
the child a fear of ghosts, spirits, and other
776 supernatural beings who kidnap bad children.
Owl is the most potent supernatural threat,
775 feared by child and adult alike. When a child
cries at night or is naughty, his parents
threaten, "Owl will come to pluck out your eyes
[539] or carry you off to a cave." If the child fails
to heed the warning at first, the parents call,
"Owl, come listen to this child." The effec-
tiveness of the threat is increased by the
child's knowledge of the story about a baby who
was carried off by an owl to a cave near Modoc
Point. The baby gradually sprouted feathers and
turned into an owl. Bear and Coyote are simi-
larly used to silence a crying child.

In the same way children are warned about
ghosts who might snatch them away from the camp
unless they are good.[18] Ghosts hover about the
camp constantly and are especially dangerous to
little ones. For that reason children are never
allowed out after sundown unless accompanied by
an adult. The child is told to turn his left
side and raise his left arm to a ghost if he
ever sees one; only in this manner can sickness
be avoided.

784 Since ghosts constitute such a peril, chil-
dren must never go near the cremation grounds
775 where they might contract a ghost sickness,
which can be cured only by a powerful shaman.
Children never attend funerals, nor are they al-
lowed to cross the path over which a corpse has
been carried.

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[17] A thorough discussion of Klamath shamanism appears, ibid., pp. 93-138.

[18] Ghosts are described in Voegelin, elements 4695-4706.

773 genius presiding over it. This genius is called Tchitchatsχä'-ash or "Big
776 Belly;" he is represented to be an old man whose vigor of life is on the
821 decrease. When he leaves his lodge, his appearance embodies the rain-laden, dark-hued, thick nimbus clouds overhanging the earth. When his engine[*] comes into action, he attracts by it all the objects within reach, he oppresses the earth with his weight, and forces wayfarers to walk in other paths than they intended to travel lest they may incur danger to life. When he has spent his force by this wanton display, he is rent by a stroke of lightning or a strong gust of wind; he is dissolved into atoms, and the bones filling his big paunch, which had produced the rattling noise attending the course of whirlwinds, fall down to the ground. Tsáskai, the Weasel, the brother of Marten, wrestling with the old man and conquering him after a hard struggle, is the mythic agent who brings about his final discomfiture.

SPIRIT DEITIES.

'Εκπέπταμαι φοβερὸν φρένα, δείμασι πάλλων.

775 No people has ever been discovered that did not believe in the return
776 of human souls after death to their former homes in the form of ghosts. Ghosts or spirits hovering through space are invisible and may inflict damage to anybody without danger of being recognized; therefore they usually inspire awe and terror, and wherever the existence of these fanciful beings is recognized imagination fills the earth, the atmosphere, and the waters with such spooks. Not all of these are necessarily supposed to be the souls of the deceased, but they may also represent the souls of animals, the spirits of mountains, winds, the celestial bodies, and so forth, for animism has its widest sway in this sort of superstition. Very different qualities are ascribed to each of these hobgoblins or spooks. They are either gigantic or dwarfish in size, powerful or weak in body, attractive or repulsive, of
[787] beneficial or wicked influence. They chiefly appear at night or in stormy weather; some are seen single, others in crowds, and a few of their number

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[193] [*] Shū'kash is the substantive of sh'hū'ka *to whirl about*, this being the medial distributive form of húka *to run about;* sh'hubóka, sh'hú·oka, sh'hū'ka "to run about by itself in various directions."

775 can be perceived only by the trained eye of such as are initiated into the
776 conjurer's profession.

787 The classes of specters mentioned more frequently than others in mythology are the spirits of the dead, and giants, dwarfs, and fairies.

775 *The Skō'ks*, or spirits of the deceased, occupy an important place in the psychologic marvels of the Klamath Indian, and are objects of dread and abomination, feelings which are increased by a belief in their omnipresence and invisibility. The popular idea of a ghost is suggested in all climates and historic epochs by that of a *shadow* of somebody's former self, and in several Indian languages the same word is used for *shadow*, *soul*, and *ghost*.* The proper signification of skō'ks, shkū'ksh is "what comes out of;" like skó'hs, skó *spring of the year;* it is derived from skóa *to come out of, to emerge from, sprout up.*

In the mind of the Indian the appearance of a skō'ks comes pretty near the popular idea of a witch or spook as held by the uneducated classes of our population. The soul of a man becomes a skúks as soon as the corpse has been buried or consumed by fire. It hovers in the air around its former home or the wigwams of the neighbors and at night-time only. Its legs hang down and produce a rattling noise, and the whole appears in a white or a black shade of color. Usually nobody sees them, they do not harm anybody, nor do they produce any dreams; they appear to the senses and sight of the living only when they come to presage death to them. They undergo no metempsychosis into animals or plants; after hovering awhile around their former homes they retire to the spirit-land in the sky, "some-
787 where near K'múkamtch." Their arrival there is afterwards revealed by dreams to the surviving relatives, who express in songs what they have seen during their slumbers.

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* In the Tonika or Túnizka language of Louisiana télia or télia'htch signify *shadow*, *soul*, and *reflection in the water;* in the Cha'hta, State of Mississippi, shilámbish is *shadow* and *soul*, while a *ghost* is shílup. The Egyptian ka and the Greek εἴδωλον, the *soul* after death, really signify *image*, and to this we may compare the use made of the Latin *imago*. The Cherokees, as Mr. James Mooney informs me, distinguish between adántă *soul* in the living being, u^{n}dalí' secondary soul of an animal killed once before, and asgína an ordinary *specter*, *ghost* of malevolent disposition, which last term served the missionaries for transcribing the word "devil."

775 The common belief of the Oregonians is that after death the soul travels the path traveled by the sun, which is the westward path; there it joins in the spirit-land (ē'ni) the innumerable souls which have gone the [821] same way before.* If the deceased was a chief, commander, or man of note, his "heart" can be seen going west in the form of a shooting star. The Egyptian belief was that the soul of the dead was following Atum, the sinking sun, to the west; and since then innumerable nations and tribes have adhered to the same belief.

From the Texts obtained from Dave Hill, pp. 129, 130, we learn that other abodes of dead men's spirits are the bodies of living fish. Perhaps Hill learned of this belief among the maritime and river Indians with whom he lived on the Columbia River, where the idea of fish eating corpses could suggest itself more readily than upon the lakes of the Klamath highlands. The *Notes* which I added to these curious texts give all the explanations which it is at present possible to give. It appears from them that such spirits can enter the bodies of "spirit-fish," that one skúks can see another, and that Indians, not white men, sometimes see the skúks, but at the peril of their lives. A distinction is also made between good and bad skúks, the latter being probably those who render the Indian's sleep uncomfortable by unpleasant dreams.

776 821 Some natural phenomena often appear to these Indians in the form of specters or hobgoblins, as clouds, water-spouts, snow-storms, columns of dust, etc Noisily and rapidly they pursue their lonely path, and their gigantic, terrific frames reach up to the skies; whoever meets them unawares is knocked down senseless or killed outright, or must exchange his body for another. Some of these specters look dark on one side and light on the other.

177 775 821 In northern latitudes, where polar lights are frequently visible, they are supposed by the Indians to represent the dance of the dead, and whenever Christianity is introduced among them they identify this beautiful spectacle with the last judgment, when the spirits of the deceased move about in the expectation of the coming Christ.

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* Cf. Dictionary, sub voce ē'ni and Grammar, Appendix VI, p. 702. The Warm Spring Indians call the spirit-land: ayayáni. See also Texts, p. 174; 11.

000 Meacham has given several of these concretionary products of the uncultivated Modoc mind. In making a study of aboriginal mythology and folklore such fictions must be disregarded, though they may be of interest to psychologists.

IV. Races in an undeveloped, primitive state of mind are prone to regard living animals as the abodes of spirits, and most frequently the wild and carnivorous quadrupeds are believed to harbor wicked spirits. These are either elementary spirits, or the ghosts of deceased persons. To see a spirit means death, and in their terrified state they often behold, as here, the spirit in a half human, half beastly appearance, when coyote-wolves, gray wolves, bears, cougars etc. come in sight. Such a sight can cause the instant death of the hunter, or deprive him of his reason, or make him sick for months. In Greek and Roman mythology, Pan, the Satyrs and the Fauns retain something of these primitive notions (in the panic terror etc.), though these genii were largely idealized in the later periods of national development. In every nation a relatively large amount of superstitions refers to hunting and the chase of wild beasts.

128, 9. Tanktchí'kni is in fact an adjective, not an adverb; literally, it means "those who existed, or hunted since that time", and is composed of tánk, a while or time ago, tchēk, finally, and the suffix -ni. Cf. 13, 2. 128, 1.

SKÛ'KS-KIÄ'M.

HUMAN SOULS METEMPSYCHOSED INTO FISH.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY DAVE HILL.

I.

*539 K̲á-i hû'nk shlä' at kaní kiä'mat skû'kshash. Hû'k píl únk shlā't
Not can see anybody in a fish a dead man's spirit. Dead men only can see

● 775 shkū'ks; píl mák̲laks hû'k shlā't skū'ks. Hushtí'χak tsä'taks ní'sh, sí'uks
spirits; only dead Indians can see spirits. He makes dream only (about deceased) but if me, to kill (me)

787

825

tchē'k sanahō'li hûk, wakíanua shuishált̲ki tchä bants' gíug nûsh. Hä'toks
then he wants, or perhaps to keep the song-medicine because he wants me. If

ní' shläát k̲'läkátak ní; hä n' û'nk shläát skū'ks-kiäm, hä n' û'nk shläát
I should see (the dead), might die I; if I it should see, the spirit-fish, if I him should see

mák̲laks hû'nk skō'ks tchí'sh, k̲'lakát n' û'nk shlä-ók; wakiánua hissúnuk
the dead person the spirit also, may die I, him for having seen; or perhaps if song-medicine is applied,

tchätch ní'sh k̲á-i siû'gat. Hû'masht hû'nkash shlä-úkit nā'd mák̲laks,
then me not he may kill. Therefore him if should see we Indians,

hû'k tchísh kiä'm, kat gēk wá; k̲á-i hû'nk shläát hû'nkesh kiä'mat
the dead also (would appear as) a fish, which there lives; not I can see it in the fish

skókshash.
the dead man's spirits.

II.

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Kiä'm	k̲'leká	tchû'shni;	tsúyunk	hû'ksa	tsóχatk	pí'l	kiä'm,	nánuktua
Fish	remain dead	forever;	therefore	those	dead (people)	(exist) only	as fish,	as all kinds of

kiä'm,	nánuktua	mák̲laksni	tsók̲atk.	Hä'	n'	hû'nk	hû'nkiash	shläát	skû'k-
fish,	all kinds	of Indians	dead.	If	I		(of a deceased)	should behold	the

3

shash,	k̲'läkát	ní	hû'nk	släók;	hä'toks	ní	shuíshaltk,	tchēk	gíug	k̲á-i
spirit,	would die	I	it	through seeing;	but if	I	recur to magic songs,	then		not

siúgat	nía.
he may kill	me.

NOTES.

[128] My efforts towards obtaining exhaustive texts from the natives concerning their belief in the transmigration of human souls were not crowned with entire success. Of the two items obtained, No. II is intended as a commentary of No. I, both treating [262] of the presence of human souls in fish. The cause why so many Indian tribes shun the flesh of certain fish lies in the fact that these species were seen feeding upon the bodies of drowned men and swimming around them. This induced the belief that man's soul will pass into the organisms of these finny inhabitants of the wave, even ×539 when death has resulted from other causes than from drowning. According to Hill, 775 the Mák̲laks believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of 787 living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore 192 cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances. But in *one* status only they become visible to them; when Indians are bewitched by the irresistible, magic spell of a conjurer or of a wicked genius. Then they enter into a tamánuash-dream, and when they see a dead person's spirit in such a dream, they are almost certain to [755] die from it. Only the intervention of the conjurer and of his song-medicine can save them from perishing; rigorous fasting and ascetic performances cannot be then dispensed with, and with all that no certitude of his final rescue is to be had.

[769] Here as elsewhere the pronouns hûk, húnkiash etc., are inserted instead of the unpronounceable name of the deceased, and mean: *dead person, spirit.*

129, 2. píl mák̲laks; only dead Indians, not dead white men, because during their life-time these did not believe in the skû'ks; this belief is a privilege of the Indians.

129, 2. Hushtí'χak etc. This sentence runs as follows: Tchē'ktoks hushtí'χa ak nish, hûk tchē'k nish síuksh shanahō'li, wakiánhua tchēk p'násh (or pû'sh) nû'sh shuíshaltki gíug shanahō'li: "if he (the bad genius) makes me only dream in that manner, then he intends either to kill me, or perhaps he wants me to keep the song-medicine [756] for myself." To keep the song-medicine, shuíshli, is to undergo fasts and ascetic performances under the supervision of some conjurer for an almost unlimited time, five years at least.

129, 3. 4. Hä'toks ní' shläát etc.: if I should see (the dead) while I am *awake.*

[193] **129, 4.** Skû'ks-kiäm, a compound word, may be rendered by spirit-fish, letiferous fish.

130, 1. Kiä'm k̲'leká etc. The rather obscure sense of this statement may be made comprehensible by the following: "When fish are dead, they are dead forever; hence

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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[192]

the souls of all dead Indians continue to exist in the living fish, in all kinds of *living* fish only."

130, 2. tsóɣatk. This refers to Indians who have perished by a violent death, as well as to those who died in the natural way.

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*539
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[115]

THE SPELL OF THE LAUGHING RAVEN.

GIVEN BY "CAPTAIN JIM" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

I.

Shúyuχalkshi tchúyunk É-ukshikni máklaks hátokt shuyúχĕla, túmi
At "dance-place" when the Klamath Lake people there pilpil-danced, many
hûk hátokt máklaks gî. K'múkamtch hátokt a géna. Tchúi Ká-akamtch
there people were. K'múkamtch there went. Then Old Raven
shash hátokt wétanta shúyûχalpksh, tchúi hû ktá-i k'lä'ka nánuk máklaks
at them there laughed when they danced, and rocks became all people
shúyukaltk hátokt.
dancing there.

II.

Yámakni hû'k Káyutchish gátpa Kí'uti kúitit; tchúyunk í'-uag
From the North Gray Wolf arrived Klati above; then he stopped
shkû'lχa káyak tchí'sh gátpĕnunk, nánuk shûlû'tamantk hátkok yámnash
(and) lay down (to sleep), not yet home having reached, in full dress at that spot beads
wáwakshnatk tchish; túla tchish hû'k gákatpantk í'uag sha hû'nk tû'kĕlχa.
with moccasins on too; together with (him) those coming stopped they (and) rested.
Tchúi Sháshapamtch hû'nk gáldsha-uyank Ké-utchiamtchash skû'lpkank
Then Old Grizzly approached Old Gray Wolf lying (and)
ktámpsh. Tchúi Sháshapamtch pálla Ke-utchíshash wákshna yámnash
asleep. And Old Grizzly stole from Gray Wolf the moccasins beads
tchish shûlû'dshnank wû'kshχēn génuapkug. Tchúi Ke-utchíamtch
also, (and) put them on, to the fishing-place for going. Upon this Old Gray Wolf
sχishû'lank ktí'ukuela Sháshapamtchash; vud'hitakuéla ktáyat pállapksh
waking up threw down hill the Old Grizzly; he rolled (him) down over the rocks for having robbed
pásh wákshna yámnash tchish. Tchúi hû'nk shíuga pí Sháshapamtchash,
him of moccasins neckwear also. Then killed he the Old Grizzly,
tchúi É-ukshikni máklaks shellualtámpka Yámakishash, Sháshapamtchash
whereupon the Klamath Lake people commenced fighting the Northerners, (because) Old Grizzly
hûnk Kä'-utchishash shíugsht. Tchúi Ká-akamtch wétanta shash shél-
by Gray Wolf had been killed. Then Old Raven laughed at them when
lualpksh, ktá-i sha k'léka.
fighting, and rocks they became.

771 To treat aboriginal Klamath religion under three headings of shamanism,
791 power quest, and cosmology is patent oversimplification. In nature and
551 content these features formed an integrated configuration reflecting a major
cultural preoccupation. It is true that the shaman in each community played
a dominant role and in his capacity as curer, magician, and entertainer commanded
787 the utmost in social prestige. On the other hand, as was common in
western North America, every individual, at puberty and thereafter, deliberately
and repeatedly sought contact with a variably defined spirit world.
Thus Klamath culture had a variation of the American Indian guardian-spirit
773 theme. Less specifically formalized, and so perhaps, less well integrated,
776 were the elements of myth and tale, the rationalizations for the presence of
various natural phenomena, for eschatology, and for the general conception
of the universe. Like adjacent tribes, the Klamath interested themselves in
animal spirits. These were of particular importance in providing shamanistic
power. In the individual power quest, however, the sources from which spiritual
forces emanated were less specifically defined. A rather wide range of supernatural
powers was recognized, some being animals, some vaguely anthropomorphic,
others relating to such natural features as mountains, streams,
rocks, or even landmarks like Crater Lake. In respect to these forces an
involved folklore has arisen which allows some classification of the Klamath
775 concepts of the supernatural. In this realm, for example, are views about
the abode of the dead and the nature of ghosts and souls, these being carefully
differentiated from nonhuman spirits.[3] Here too is a body of myth relating
to superhuman dwarf men and women, to the forces in specific places or
natural phenomena in the Klamath terrain, and finally, the most important
for this discussion, to the culture hero, the anthropomorphic Kemu'kemps.[4]

171 Kemu'kemps, while not usually identified with an animal spirit, has many
characteristics suggesting the folklore regarding Coyote in the Plateau-Basin.
He is at once creator and trickster, angrily forbidding in some contexts,
indifferent in others, and in still others a ludicrous buffoon.

825 Essentially human in conceptualization (a myth complex relating to a
821 human hero also occurs in adjacent regions), Kemu'kemps is sometimes
identified with the marten, whose younger brother is weasel, and with the
winds.[5] In the myths assembled by Gatschet, he constantly rivals his magically
born son 'Ayšiš, whose destruction he repeatedly plans, often with the result
821 of encompassing his own. Weather, such as rain or heat, was also attributed
to him. Kemu'kemps is also the creator, and there are numerous folktales
which tell how he brought various locations into being. At his instigation,

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113 1939), cf. 145-149; Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distributions: Northeastern California* (Anthropological Records, 7: 2, Berkeley, 1942).

[3] Spier, 1930, pp. 100 ff.

113 [4] Cf. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (U. S. Geological Survey, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Washington, 1890), pt. 1, lxxix-lxxxv, and pt. 2, 138-140. A summary is also given by Spier, 1930, loc. cit.

[5] Gatschet, 1890, pt. 1, lxxxii-iii.

index finger under the intersection on the opposite palm. Using the lips, lift the loop from the back of each wrist so that it rests in front of all the fingers (fig. 8*b*). With each index catch the strings at A and pull them through the loops on each index while allowing the latter to slip off the dorsal side of the index. This forms a horizontal rectangle at the center which represents the cradle. This is narrowed by bunching the fingers of each hand. A little stick is thrust through this with the lips; this is the baby. Let slip the loops from each index finger. Pull the hands apart and the stick will fly toward one of them. (The resulting figure is shown in fig. 8c.) The hands represent two Old Women spirits (wlie'aḳak) fighting over the baby; the one who gets the stick wins.

A second figure forms Tca'ḳiaḳ, Little Boy spirit. The loop is placed over the right thumb and the left thumb and index finger. Hold both strings against the palm with the three other fingers of the left hand. Insert the right index under the loop over the left thumb and index from the dorsal proximal side (i.e., from the direction of the wrist). Release the strings held by the other fingers of the left hand. This gives figure 8*d*.[123] . . . . The final figure showing Tca'ḳiaḳ is given by figure 8*e*.

The third figure, sunrise (sa'basdIni'gi), is shown in figure 8*f*. Pulling the hands apart makes the middle loop stand as a triangular figure, representing the appearance of a mountain peak gradually emerging against the dawn. This construction is begun with the loop passing across the dorsal side of the left thumb and little finger and the palmar sides of the other three. Give the loop one complete twist (so that the ulnar string, e.g., of the left hand, is on the ulnar side at the right) and insert the thumb and little fingers of the right hand similarly. Pick up the palm loop of each hand from the proximal side with the opposite index. Hold the radial string on each index against the palm with the middle and ring fingers. Insert each index under the ulnar strings of each thumb from the proximal side, lifting the thumb loops off onto the indexes. Care must be taken to keep these loops at the tips of the indexes. Release the strings held by middle and ring fingers. With each thumb carry the radial string of the proximal loop on each index under (past the proximal side) the ulnar string on the little fingers. Bring back the thumb bearing a loop of this ulnar string. Slip little fingers out of the loops. (At this point my notes fail.)

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[123] Unfortunately my field notes play me false: I cannot give the intermediate stages for either this or the following figure.

II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION 771

Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be [756]
permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices,
the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of
supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the
shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance [881]
in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps, [721]
some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance
of 1870. [727]

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a
host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These [585]
are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, [786]
and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however definitely
localized in many instances and partly identified with the 776 •
figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the
spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no
ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart 775
from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic
existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living.

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are 776
times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the
loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the 787
revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate.

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An old woman, gathering wood at this place, also saw two horses in the water. Turning to her husband she said, "There are horses standing over there," but when they looked again, the horses had disappeared. Such a disappearance (tᴇko'tḳa) is a sign that a relative will die; one of her relatives died after this.

Visions evidently follow one of two formulae. Either, as above, the spirit appears standing in the water and then disappears, or it drags the swimmer below the water for the purpose of devouring him, as instanced below.

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One word swi'ls means song and spirit being. A certain dualism is involved here. Spirits are definite beings that dwell in the mountains and in the water. On the other hand all songs are called swi'ls, including those for amusement and non-shamanistic dancing, which bear no reference to spirits. That is, spirits and songs are certainly recognized as separate entities. Nevertheless, when it is said that a man has a Coyote swi'ls, for example, it means that he has the appropriate song or songs and that this animal is his supernatural helper. The spirit never manifests itself but in the song; the singer is the vehicle, the voice of the spirit. Song and spirit are one and the same thing.

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Power is sought in lonely spots on the mountains, in mountain pools, in eddies in the rivers, in all places where spirits are known to dwell. A boy is sent into the mountains on a vigil of several days, perhaps five, at puberty, that is, when his voice changes. He seeks power that he may acquire property, be a good hunter, become rich, a chief, and be able to do all the things that are difficult. (One does not need power to be a fisherman, for instance.) He must fast and must not touch his hands to his face, but must use a scratcher instead. He must sleep without covering and warm himself only occasionally by a little fire. He runs about constantly throughout the night, piling rocks into high piles[147] (called sᴇwa'l) and swimming in the mountain pools. He prays, calling loudly to the spirits, and finally gets an answer. At night he may see a spirit with blood flowing from his mouth; then he faints and when he wakes he too will have a hemorrhage (djăkglĕkgĕ'ḳa). He "nearly dies" before he secures the song.

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It is possible that girls also seek power at puberty. Their dance at this time takes place at night; during the day they sleep in the brush or on the near-by hills. Then a song may be dreamed. One informant had it that they spend the night piling rocks like boys, returning at daylight, but I consider it very unlikely that a girl

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[147] Clarke, Rock Piles, 40, refers to the many piles of four or five boulders placed on one another which occur in this country.

778 K'tai'di, lava, is a cliff of that rock two miles below Chiloquin on
787 the left bank of Williamson river. Seekers slept on this.

Ska'mdi is an eddy in Williamson river above Chiloquin. This is a spirit place but it does not seem that they swim there.

Once I [Pat Kane] and my two brothers camped near there just before sunset. We were on our way to Klamath marsh to pick pond-lily seeds. My oldest brother started a fire while the younger fetched water. I went to tie the horses. When I returned, my brother who had been to the river said, "There are many beaver in there." We took our guns to the spot. Soon a beaver swam close to us, only a few yards away, but we could not hit it. Soon two more came swimming close by. We failed to kill these. Then five came and soon so many more that they completely filled the river. My brothers said, "We had better not stop here. Let us get away." We packed the horses and left at once. I saw the water shaking[100] and the sound of thunder. It took all night to get back. My oldest brother got sick; no shaman could cure him. He was sick all summer and in the winter he died. Neither my younger brother nor I were sick.

A man and boy were going to Klamath marsh afoot. The boy was six or seven. The man wanted to try swimming in Ska'mdi. He told the boy, "If those things bite and kill me, you go home." The man had lost his wife; the boy alone was left. "I do not want to stay here; I want to die," the man said. The boy cried to him not to swim there. He walked back from the river bank, ran and plunged in. Big animals reached up and bit him. They came up twice; then he appeared no more. The boy saw it and wept. He started home; it took all night for him to reach Bɛzúkse'was below Chiloquin. At this place the water boils and cannot move down the river. No one can swim there; something always bites and kills them.

SPIRITS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

776 There is hardly a mile of Klamath territory but has its mythical reference. Everywhere there are personages of the folk-tales, now transformed to rocks by Crow's laughter. Spirits are legion and in many cases are localized, so that one looking over the countryside finds it rich in religious connotation. But despite its comparative richness, Klamath religion is quite unsystematized. There are no deities and the spirits as such hardly figure in the tales. Most of the actors of the tales are not spirits and this is especially true of the principal ones. There is little suggestion of any fixed relation between such as do figure there. In other words, the Klamath lack all architectural feeling in conceiving their religious beings.

Spirits form a uniform class; no one of them can be said to be
774 especially more important than any other. Souls and ghosts are
775 separate entities, and again are sharply distinct from spirits. Spirits

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[100] It is conceivable that an earth tremor dislodged the beaver.

775 [825]

the Klamath country in the winter, they never nest there. The eggs can be gathered only in bottomless baskets. The ghost's elks are waterbugs to mortal eye, and the flesh that they take is in reality bone. All their possessions are things that were destroyed with the dead, houses, baskets, beads, etc. Their hospitality also provokes them to throw firebrands at their visitors. Perhaps the very fact that Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps is called out of his name by them in a tale is an attempt at inversion.

776 There is a wide variety of spirits from whom power is sought, animals, birds, reptiles, fish, natural phenomena, and a handful of anthropomorphic and purely mythical beings. The animals, etc., are not individuals of living species, but mythical beings, either immensely large or very small. Such anthropomorphic spirits as are definitely conceptualized are also tiny. Although they speak of all of these as individuals—they say for example that a man's spirit is Weasel or it is Wile'ᴇḳaḳ, dwarf old woman—nevertheless there remains the suspicion that they are rather genera, for the same named spirit is described as dwelling in several localities and belonging to several shamans at the same time.

776 825 The number of spirits is indefinitely large; the following partial list is made up from various data given by my informants. The animals include grizzly and black bears, wolf, coyote, dog, mink, weasel, and fisher (ĭwa'lḳŏtcka). The birds are the horned owl, bald eagle, golden eagle, fish hawk, a smaller hawk (tcĭ'ktu), a little hawk (wĭ'tgŏtgis), falcon, crow, magpie, buzzard, pelican, red and white shitepokes, butterball duck, a small sea gull (ḳ!ŏtya'was), flicker, prairie chicken, an unidentified black bird (năo'lĭns), a blue and brown one (gau'wi), and a tiny speckled bird (djĭske'gᴇ). In the fish and reptile class are the rattlesnake, a big speckled sluggish snake (wŭ'mᴇnŭks), lizard, frog, a water snail (k!awi's), salmon, and trout. It is obviously the predatory animals that are chosen, with the omission of the cat tribe. The bird list also includes all the birds of prey and carrion eaters. Even though the list is incomplete, there are some significant omissions, such as deer, rodents, the song birds; and most fish are absent. The two fishes included are the largest representatives in Klamath waters.

[755] There is little suggestion of differentiation of function and power among these spirits. To be sure, it is only through certain spirits that curing and the various shamanistic tricks can be performed, but my informants never once volunteered the statement that these were especially powerful. The exception is Frog, described by Nancy Phillips

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

776 825 [755] as the most prominent and powerful of spirits, one on whom all shamans call, and whose presence is necessary before they can begin their curing ritual. This confirms Gatschet's information.[184] The Frog spirit is interesting on its own account. It is conceived as a big woman and so closely associated with pond-lily seed (wo'kas) as to lead to the suspicion that these are interchangeable concepts in the Klamath mind. It should be noted that the preparation of this staple is peculiarly woman's work among these people. *[171] In their mythology too, Frog figures as a woman. The last association is so widespread, perhaps universal, in North America, that the only special Klamath elements in the triple association are with wo'kas. While I am not certain, it is probable that this is the spirit which was described by Pat Kane as djᴇdje'listcl, whereas the common word for frog is ko'wᴇ.

776 755 114 Gatschet credits a similarly important rôle to another spirit.[185] "Another class of spirits embodies the spirits of those animals which have to be consulted by the ki'uks or conjurer when he is called to treat a case of disease. Such persons only who have been trained during five years for the profession of conjurers can see these spirits, but by them they are seen as clearly as we see the objects around us. To see them they have to go to the house of a deceased conjurer, and at night only. He is then led by a spirit called Yayayá-ash appearing in the form of a one-legged man toward the spot where the animal spirits live; this specter presides over them; there the conjurer notices that each appears different from the other, and is at liberty to consult them about the patient's case. Yayayá-ash means 'the frightener,' and by the myth-tellers is regarded as the Thunder or its spirit." I received no suggestion confirming any part of this.

776 The mythical beings are also probably genera rather than individuals; to'ķē, a horned water snake, Wile'ᴇķaķ, a dwarf old woman, Tcaķia'ķ, a little boy, and Gōga'nᴇ, a dwarf man. There is also a nameless wild man (the spirit for the trick in which blood is magically produced) and a woman spirit (for curing). Wawiwō'ķ!os, a monster-killing hero of a tale, figures in a shaman's song and hence may be a spirit.

Wile'ᴇķaķ is a dwarf old woman whose name is derived from wilā'ēķs, old woman. She is about thirty inches high, and wears a basket hat and long buckskin dress. In one form she appears as a rock on the northeastern slope of Mount Pitt. She controls the west

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[184] Gatschet, 1:ci, 180.

[185] 1:xcviii.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

wind; it is really that she breaks wind. They shout to her to stop the wind when it blows too hard, to give them a stern wind to drive their canoes along, or to blow the mosquitoes away from Pelican bay. She also lives at Rocky point on Pelican bay and at Kowa'cdi, at the mouth of Wood river, as the following tales[184] relate. 776

There were two young girls playing with pond-lily seed at Rocky point. This old woman came and spilled the seed all about. So they fought her, but while they were doing so, they fell over dead. When the two were found, shamans were called who cured them. These two told Nancy about this; they died only recently. 776 539

There was an old woman sleeping at the same place. She felt something very heavy sitting on her chest. She put her hand there and caught the wile'ᴇk̦ak̦. Still holding it she started to light a fire, but by the time she had the fire lighted, it had vanished from her grasp.

An old man at Kowa'cdi was going home. He saw the wile'ᴇk̦ak̦ sitting in his way, grunting. He was a shaman. He went right past it but it never harmed him. This sort of thing has happened many times.

Tcak̦ia'k̦ may be seen anywhere, probably most frequently in water. There is one, for instance, in lower Williamson river, above the cut-off channel. One of the upright rocks at the cremation place at Pelican bay is a tcak̦ia'k̦. The name is also derived from an age term, tc!a'ki, a small boy, but the spirit is said to be no larger than a baby. He has long hair which hangs to his waist in back and he is entirely nude. The wooden images of Tcak̦ia'k̦ set up by the shamans, however, have red-shafted flicker feathers around the neck. 776 [532] [756]

Gōga'nᴇ are dwarf men seen in many places but commonly frequenting the Cascade mountains. Their footprints are no longer than a baby's. While all my informants spoke of these beings, it happens that the following experiences (except the last tale) were told Nancy by an old Paiute resident of the reservation.

This man saw a gōgaa'nᴇ while hunting in a canyon near Snake Camp. The little man stood up, shaded his eyes with his hand, and looked around. There were some Paiute at Snake Camp who were going to dig Indian potatoes. They saw a baby walking around. One woman picked it up. The gōga'nᴇ carried her far off to a cave in the mountains. 776 539

A Paiute woman was cutting willows. She left her little baby near-by while she worked. A gōga'nᴇ came along and, devouring the baby, substituted himself in the cradle board. When the mother came back she thought it was her own. She picked it up and began to nurse it. The baby would not stop suckling. She pinched its mouth but it would not stop, it only smiled. When she got home she heated an iron and put it against the baby's mouth, but still it just smiled. They could not get the baby away from her. Then they built a big fire. They cut her breast off, but the woman immediately died. They threw the baby into the fire,

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[184] Told by Nancy Phillips.

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but at once it jumped out and ran away. This happened after the whites arrived in this country. There are other "bad stories" about the gōga'nᴇ.

Two little men, gōga'nᴇ, made a big pit and chased a deer into it. They saw the deer standing in it. One of the gōga'nᴇ climbed down and held on with his arms around the deer's neck. The deer bounded out. The gōga'nᴇ had a bow and arrows on his back, but he lost them when the deer jumped. The deer started running. The other gōga'nᴇ followed. He found the first dwarf's hat, then his moccasins. He picked them up. The one who was following called, "The deer is carrying him." The one who was hanging on choked the deer to death.

Gatschet undoubtedly refers to Gōga'nᴇ in the first of the following paragraphs, despite the apparent difference in name. That which he gives, na'hnias, was evidently known to him only from a song and sounds much like a form adopted for euphony's sake. The second dwarf, Gwinwin, is unknown to me, unless it is Gōga'nᴇ; the manner of Gatschet's reference suggests that it was named in a myth.

"A miraculous dwarf is mentioned under the name of na'hnias, whose footprints, as small as those of a child, are sometimes seen upon the snow-clad slopes of the Cascade Range by the natives. But the dwarfish creatures who make them can be seen only by those initiated into the mysteries of witchcraft, who by such spirit-like beings are inspired with a superior kind of knowledge, especially in their treatment of disease. The name is derived either from néna, *to swing the body from one to the other side,* or from nainámya, *to shiver, tremble.*

"Another dwarf genius, about four feet high, *Gwinwin,* lived on Williamson River, where he habitually sat on the top of his winter lodge and killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird."[187]

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Various natural phenomena are spirits: clouds, thunder, lightning, the sun, moon, and stars, and each of the seven winds (one for each of the compass points except northeast). Rainbow is also a spirit, or rather it is Wīle'ẓkaḳ's spirit, and, to add to this confusion, it is said that she swallows it like a conjurer's sword. Earth and earth's child, the snake, are also spirits.

It is not quite clear how certain other things are spirits. A piece of wood which is fastened to the pole that stands before a shaman's lodge is a spirit called wōḳda'lis. I could not discover that it is anything but the stick itself. Hā'nowas is a pestle-shaped stone which stands at Dūnō'kai village on Pelican bay. It is about eighteen inches high and five in diameter with protuberances called breasts.

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[187] Gatschet, 1:xcix, 163.

This is a spirit. Doubtful as spirits are certain other stones; yati'a 776
which stands at I'wal, and nĕ'ḳnŭḳ, a group of stones back of
Du"Ilḳŭt, both towns on Klamath marsh. These are "shaman 776
stones"; evidently once living things, for it was said that they were 756
transformed when Crow laughed at them.

A Molala struck one of the nĕ'ḳnŭḳ stones with a basket, saying, "How can this rock have power?" He soon sickened and died. The nĕ'ḳnŭḳ is a shaman.

SHAMANISM

The shaman (ḳiu'ks) is one who has acquired more than usual 756
spirit power. This is a relative matter; some shamans have considerably more power than others, and everyone who has got power is in some degree capable of using it as a shaman does. One of my informants, for example, now avowedly a member of the pseudo-Christian Shaker sect, maintains that he too is a little qualified; he can make it rain. Shamanism is completely individualistic among the Klamath; there are no shamanistic organizations.

It is clear that the shaman is the most important individual in 756
Klamath society, taking precedence over rich men, the chiefs. Sha-
mans' houses are the largest in the village and they have at least as 622
much property as wealthy laymen. Invariably my informants spoke first of shamans in describing outstanding individuals. Their behavior and practices were readily formulated, whereas I experienced considerable difficulty in learning the functions and even the names of chiefs.
It is reasonably certain that the status of the chiefs, that is the rich [178]
men, was relatively unimportant until the introduction of horses in
the middle of the last century stimulated trading with the Columbia [177]
river tribes and perhaps brought in some of the northern view of the
importance of wealth and chieftaincy. There is no doubt that the position of chiefs was strengthened by the habit of the whites of dealing with chiefs and other prominent laymen.

Shamans are both men and women, but unlike the Shasta, the 756
majority are men. My informants mentioned many men shamans 562
during the course of my visits, and this probably did not exhaust
their memories; but on request they could muster only four women [170]*
shamans and one berdache. Women never acquire the prestige of men for they are rarely credited with such unusual powers as men. They cannot wander in the mountains nor dive for power so well as men;

756 562 they are more easily frightened. Nevertheless two of my informants said that women could cure more readily than men. All four women held the regular shamanistic winter performance, and cured as well, but only one of them had power to find out if another shaman had poisoned her patients, although all male shamans can do this.[108] The berdache White Sindey claimed to be a powerful shaman but no one believed her.

756 There are no specialized types of shaman. The weather shaman, the rattlesnake and bear shamans of Californian tribes are not known here. There is however a suggestion; wounds made by grizzly bears can be cured by songs of a huge spirit grizzly according to one informant, although this was scouted by another. Weather is controlled by the songs of a special group of spirits, but, as elsewhere, this power is exercised by shamans in addition to their usual curative capacity. There is no special power for curing snake bites. It may happen that some shamans have only the power to control the weather or to cure bear wounds, but I heard of none. It is clear, however, that the Klamath would not single them out.

756 776 A shaman has powers from many spirits and is always accumulating more. I could not get my informants to specify which powers belonged to particular shamans. Beyond specifying what songs a shaman used in a particular instance, they implied that an experienced shaman knew an inexhaustible number or would doubtless claim to have them at his command. Hence several shamans have songs from a spirit at the same time. The songs are probably not identical. At the same time it is not likely that two shamans will be performing at once, so that the problem of conflicting claims to possession probably never arises. I am also uncertain whether spirits are thought of as individuals or genera; even in the case of anthropomorphic beings, I believe they imply a plurality. Hence they would doubtless resolve the difficulty by maintaining that they had the same songs from different spirit coyotes, dwarfs, winds, or whatever.

New spirits are always being sought or come unsolicited in dreams. A spirit, like that which gives the power to swallow fire, "comes stronger and stronger" until the shaman feels compelled to perform this trick. If he fails to obey the insistent spirit he will die.

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[108] This is the case described by Gatschet (1:64-66) and also cited by my informant.

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A shaman, ḳiu'kmag (Shaman Man), was working in a hayfield for some whites. He lay down saying he had a headache. His spirit, the buzzard, was making him sick because he did not heed it. He told his companions to fetch him a snake. He took the little watersnake by the tail and swallowed it. He said he was cured; the snake was no longer in him but had left his body immediately. 756 776

The shaman is possessed during his performances. He is the vehicle of the spirit; the spirit sings with his voice, sucks with his lips, and sees with his eyes. It is not in him at other times, but in its home in the mountains or under the water and must be called on to enter his body. The shaman's behavior was instanced as follows. 756

A shaman, Alec Wilson, was singing of his coyote spirit during a winter performance attended by my informant Nancy, then a little girl. He chuckled for quite a time, saying, "There are lots of swamp mice here." Then he crawled across the lodge through the audience and stealing up behind Nancy bit her hard. He bit her because she was moving around.

A trance state is not part of the shaman's behavior, nor was a frenzy described. The stereotyped physiological disturbance, real or feigned, is blood gushing from the mouth while he falls unconscious. The absence of the trance state suggests that the shaman is not of necessity psychologically abnormal.

The shaman's house is always an earth-lodge and practically all performances take place within it. Not only larger than the ordinary dwellings, it differs from them in being decorated. It is the usual semi-subterranean structure with a conical earth-covered roof resting on four central posts. The entrance is by a hatchway in the roof with the ladder at the east end. The fire is kindled directly under this opening. The posts are painted with horizontal stripes, alternately red and white. They are not carved. According to one informant, men's faces, snakes, lizards, animals of all sorts, but not spirits, are painted on the posts; but I doubt this. The grass-stuffed skins of various animals and birds, probably all of them representing the shaman's spirits, are hung under the slanting roof beams; mink, skunk, crane, tcauwllŏ'ks (a duck-like bird), butterball duck, white shitepoke, rattlesnake, a big speckled snake, and the dried skin of the lizard were mentioned. The birds have outstretched wings. Standing on the roof of the lodge, on the northern side of the hatchway, is a wooden image of teaḳia'ḳ, the little boy spirit, made by the shaman. Head, trunk, and arms are rudely carved and painted. Red-shafted flicker (yellowhammer) feathers are fastened around its neck (only shamans wear the feathers of this bird). 756 342 [352] [532] blade flies back and sticks into the mat. This performance is called stöpswa'lc. 756

A variant of this was ascribed by Ooley Ball to a shaman of years' standing. He performed it on each of the five nights, which a novice would never do.

I saw a shaman dancing in an earth-lodge. Then two men swung him around head down through the hatchway, each holding by a leg. Two men below held the ends of a string to which five obsidian blades were attached at intervals of a foot. He swallowed the blades and cord, and became unconscious. They rolled him in a mat, bound it, and slung the bundle under the slanting beams at the north side of the lodge so that his head was to the east. Then the women sang. Suddenly he cried, "ha," five times and with each cry a blade appeared stuck in the mat. But the cord was not seen again. They took him down and laid him on his bed. Then he began to sing.

The morning following this dance everyone except the shaman goes to bathe in spite of the ice that may be in the water. When they return to the shaman's house the food is brought inside and eaten. The shaman, however, must fast through the whole five-day period. The food, or at least the pond-lily seed, which has stood outside the lodge for twenty-four hours, is thought to be eaten first by the frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one else may. A young woman once went out to steal some; when she touched it, the pond-lily seeds turned to blood. This frog spirit is a big woman who is the principal spirit of every shaman. [776]

When a novice performs, the following four nights are given over to singing and dancing like that of the first day. Experienced shamans, however, show their power by filling all five nights with such performances. Each morning there is bathing and feasting, and on the fifth morning they return home. One informant said that beside the speaker the dancers were paid for their assistance, but this was explicitly denied by others.

Pat Kane stated that the shaman's winter performance, which he called ba'pie'nz, lasts only two nights and is solely occupied with singing. I probably misunderstood him.

Other shamanistic tricks are of the same order; various objects are swallowed, others are made to appear and vanish, or the stuffed animal skins in the lodge are brought to life. The tricks of plunging the bare arm into hot water and of walking on fire are unknown. During these performances no one walks about or talks except as he is directed by the shaman. These are all carried out in semi-darkness.

For the wood-swallowing trick, five, ten, or twenty small flat wooden splints, called wökda'lls (see above), shaped like arrowheads,

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after another talks to the various spirits that fill the house. The shaman tells the old woman to hold a light over the basket; nothing is seen. Two (?) songs of the frog are next sung and when she looks again the basket is filled with pond-lily seeds. All the old men look at it. When he sings the frog's final song, she finds the seeds gone and a tiny frog in their place. No one touches the basket. This conjunction of seeds and frog is rather interesting because it suggests that there is an association of the two. It will be recalled that pond-lily seeds brought to the feast cannot be touched until the spirit frog has partaken. It may also be significant that the attendant here is an old woman, for the frog spirit is conceived as an old woman and a woman with spirit power is necessarily old.

The spirit for the blood trick is nameless. It resembles a wild man, but was not described further. The shaman tells them to fetch a basket, part of the paraphernalia of another shaman. He sings this spirit's song. One man told to investigate finds the basket full of blood. When he sings again, the blood disappears. All the while the shaman lies covered up far from the basket. Only the most powerful shamans can perform this trick. [776]

A trick of quite another sort is that of making the stuffed skins of animals which adorn the shaman's lodge move about as in life. A powerful Modoc shaman, Djö'ḳlonos (black sage-brush head), had little cottontail rabbits hanging in his earth-lodge. Sometimes they would run around as though alive; they were spirits. He had a stuffed butterball duck skin hanging on the south side. Sometimes this spirit made blood flow from the duck's bill and at other times it flew about in the lodge. His song was [539]

gle'götk sne'en
dead one flying about
naně'mbŏmba'ktisnise'ěn
butterball duck flying around.
Even though I am dead, I am butterball duck flying around.

Pat Kane described a performance which he saw when a little boy at Pelican bay. The shaman held a fire dance during the day. Then he told the people to place various stuffed skins on the floor of the lodge: mink, weasel, a shitepoke (tuwa'), and owl. He sang songs for each of the animals. He first sang one of the shitepoke's songs and told them to watch whether it moved. It did not. He sang its second song and the bird walked around pecking at the ground. It had been a dried skin for ten years or more. He sang the mink's song three times. The mink moved about holding a little minnow in its teeth.

example, rather than local men whose secure position in the community may prove a boomerang to the accuser. No man would be called a witch (ḳoi'tax) save one who is thought to possess scant ability to cure. Yet at least one instance was cited of the killing of a shaman of standing: he had repeatedly performed the fire-swallowing trick. Only one among the women shamans was credited with power to discover bewitching.[170] That they believe that only a shaman of great power can discover this or can send a spirit on a similar errand is a sure indication of the seriousness of the accuser's position.

There is a well defined procedure for discovering whether a spirit has been sent into the mountains roundabout by a malevolent shaman. Following the customary five nights' performance, the shaman leaves his lodge in the forenoon. He takes a position in front of a group of women who are to sing his song. He rushes about in an effort to catch the spirit, followed at a distance by five or ten men whom he has chosen. He runs all day; it is very difficult to catch. When he has it, he falls, blood streaming from his mouth. The runners seize him, a man holding each arm while he holds the spirit between his cupped palms. He plunges it into a basket of water, holding it submerged for a long time. Then he exhibits it, a tiny lizard, for example. During all this time blood gushes from his mouth; he can neither sing nor speak. Soon after this some powerful foreign shaman will die, for they have caught his spirit.

Similarly a powerful Klamath shaman may send his spirit among the Modoc, the Pit river tribes, or into another local Klamath group. Warm Springs, my informant thought, is too far away. This is done during the winter performance. No minor shaman can do this, only [776] those who have powerful spirits, animals that kill: for example, snakes, wolf, coyote, weasel, lizard, golden eagle, big black frogs (ko'wx), smaller frogs (wä'ḳätäs), and tiny ones with striped faces (le''eambö'tkis). The spirits of the sun, moon, stars, and the winds are of no use in this connection, although I was told that a magically produced wind causes sickness. Spirit poisoning (bewitching) is called tawi'.[171] Disease is népaks, according to Gatschet.

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[170] The case is described by Gatschet (1:64–68).

[171] There appears to be no word for poison, a noxious agent. Stö'tmus is the term applied to "poisoned" arrowheads, but these are obsidians from a certain magical source, and carry no venom. Spawu'ta is bait, such as fish bait and the bait used in traps, hence by extension it has come to include arsenic, for example, now used in poisoning bait. (Gatschet gives Modoc shpaátûsh, 1:18.) One cannot say he has been poisoned by the wild parsnip (ska'wöḳks), only that he has eaten it: ska'wöḳks ot pö'pga.

Curing is possible only through certain spirits, including the fish hawk, falcon, golden eagle, buzzard, magpie, crow, weasel, fisher (ʔwa'lḳötcka), coyote, wolf, lizard, rattlesnake, a big sluggish snake (wŭ'mᴇnŭks), and a woman spirit. Frog and her daughter, and the winds are necessary to the ceremony, but I do not know that they actually effect the cure. Other spirits were mentioned as non-curing: bear, bald eagle, clouds, thunder, lightning, sun, moon, and stars. 755 776

Shamans of standing are invited from a distance. When the services of a shaman are needed, it is likely that he is to be found at home. Shamans are expected to maintain a certain amount of reserve, to lie quietly at home, especially in winter. The summoner does not enter the shaman's earth-lodge but calls down from outside, asking if the shaman is there.[173] Some woman of the household answers in the affirmative, never the shaman himself. The messenger announces his errand. If the shaman is willing to cure, the messenger stands on the roof shouting to the spirits while the shaman is getting ready. This is a long harangue calling on the spirits in the distant mountains: 755

ya'mŏks	dakĕ'logis	tcŏmgi'as
north	earth	step forward.

[539]

He calls to all the directions, every region from which a wind blows:

mowa'ksda	mŭlwa'nki
south	get ready.

[539]

When the shaman feels that his spirits have come to him, that he is potent to cure, he is ready. Then he decks himself with his medicine outfit (mŭ'lwas),[174] flicker feathers or grizzly claws, for example, and sets out.

The shaman may refuse to go, "Do not ask me now. I have no spirit; it has gone back to the mountains." When a man loses a child, his spirit quits him when he grieves. "After a month I will talk to my spirit and get it back. I mourn now; I cry. I cannot sing and dance; my spirit has gone. Return in a month." When the messenger returns—presumably the patient holds his peace!—he asks again, "Is the shaman there? Then I come to ask you to cure as you promised." Now if the spirit does not answer the shaman, another (?) man, called saswa'kia, mounts on the lodge before sunrise and again after sunset to call to all the spirits to give their songs to the

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[173] Also described by Gatschet (1:68–69, 71).

[174] If Gatschet's derivation is correct the word means "what is prepared" (2:221).

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This is the kála-bird's fog (166, 22).
This is the female kala-bird's fog (166, 23).
I [the tchikass-bird] am wafted off from the mountain (157, 43).
I am the póp-tchikas-bird's song [or spirit] (167, 35).
Fearfully the wind blows underneath here[308] (157, 39).
The snow made by me, the talutsí wash-bird is ready to arrive (170, 60).
A flint-headed arrow I [the gáwi-bird] am ready to dispatch (163, 10).
White chalk is my [the nû'sh-tilanené sah-bird's] medicine-tool (167, 32).
I the little black female bird[309] am lost and strayed (163, 16).
I [the tsíaxixi-bird] am singing about myself (170, 59).
I [the wipĕlî'wash forest-bird] am singing my song [or am a spirit] (171, 70).
Of the xxib-bird I am the song [or spirit] (168, 41).

Songs referring to frogs, lizards, fish, and bugs.

An old frog woman I sit down at the spring[310] (163, 9).
I the slow speckled snake [wû'mznûks] am hanging here (157, 47).
This is mine, the black snake's, gait (165, 8).
Lo! thus I the lizard stick my head out (155, 19).
When I the [male] lizard am walking, my body is resplendent with colors (165, 14).
The land on which I, the female lizard, am treading, belongs to the lark (165, 13).
Which game did you play with me [the turtle]? (159, 58).
Now the wind gust sings about me, the little sucker fish (165, 6).
I the tsíwas-fish am singing my own song [or am a spirit] (169, 57).
Here I [the yellow jacket] am buzzing around (165, 16).
I the bug,[311] I bite and suck (156, 28).

Other songs.

I the song [or spirit] am walking here (156, 31).
I am the song of evil (ko'idsi) (166, 25).

Songs referring to sickness and curing.

I the disease am meandering through the skies (162, 1 and note).
The pangs of hunger I carry about (169, 48).
I feel too bad for dancing (163, 12).
I carry pains about (168, 47).
What thing do I blow around? The disease I am blowing around in the air (156, 35).
Breath I am emitting[312] (157, 45).
What do I remove from my mouth; the disease I extract from my mouth.
What is the thing I take out; it is the disease I am taking out (153, 4).

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[308] "Song of the tchiwitítikaga-bird."

[309] Shaixish-bird; elsewhere (169, 52) shaíkish is given as a name for Tcaḳia'ḳ, the little boy spirit. [776]

[310] "Songs by a companion of the old frog," but the frog spirit is an old woman herself.

[311] Shaixish; but elsewhere Gatschet translates this as a little black female bird (163, 16) and as a bird called tchákiuks (169, 52) which is Tcaḳia'ḳ, the little boy spirit (see note above). [114]

[312] "Sung by the disease, found to live in water."

171* 756

What is unique, however, is the peculiar conjunction of the elements affected by them. Even the closely related Modoc differ, to judge by what little we know of them.

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By way of orientation it is desirable to survey the situation north and south.[422]

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Among the Kwakiutl the guardian spirit is inextricably linked with the hereditary caste system. Rights to a particular guardian are fixed by inheritance, so that the spirits function essentially as badges of clan rank and secret society affiliation. Hence they are few in number. Apart from this, they have definite mythological character, unlike the bird and animal spirits and the few anthropomorphic supernaturals of the Klamath. Acquisition of a guardian is not the relatively random quest of the Klamath, but is definitely fixed with relation to the midwinter ceremonial. The novice, a lad, is sent at this period under the tutelage of an old woman in quest of the hereditary guardian. He returns to the village so strongly imbued with power as to be of danger to himself and others, hence the essential of the ensuing performance is to reduce his ecstasy to a normal state. A potlatch is offered on his behalf. Such individuals, men or women, may become shamans in this manner; only the dances they perform on their return apparently differ from the ancestral dance forms. In a Kwakiutl tale, a man wandering in the woods is initiated by the animals. On his return his overwhelming power is found dangerous and is dulled by contamination with menstruants.[423] During the midwinter sacred period, spirit repossession is general and at the ceremonies all are impelled to display their hereditary spirit songs and dances. The grouping at this time of those having the same spirits is of a piece with the grouping by clans during the remainder of the year. Both groupings rest essentially on names acquired in the one instance from spirits, in the other by clan inheritance, names throughout giving rank and privilege.[424]

The Kwakiutl form of quest, its relation to the midwinter ceremonies, and its social significance are peculiarities which do not prevail south of Vancouver island. Various elements of this complex, however, are found in the area to the south, such as the secret societies as far as the Quinault on the Washington coast, and the winter dance

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[422] See also the summaries of Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit, 10 f.

[423] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 733–749.

[424] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 393 f., 418 f., 501.

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period even to the Klamath. But this interrelation of spirit quest and secret society ritual, with the social grouping that rests on it, is lacking. The Kwakiutl must be looked on as a highly specialized form of the spirit quest-shamanistic complex, of which the more normal forms, in the sense that they are less differentiated and widely distributed, are found in western Washington and the interior.

As an example of the more common form, I will present that of the Thompson. The Thompson complex[428] is more nearly that of the Klamath but is even simpler. The vision quest, which takes place at puberty, is essentially the prerogative of boys, although girls may obtain some slight powers. Hence shamans are men and but few women. The vision is sought in the mountains where the boy remains praying, dancing, running about, and fasting. His training does not end with the vision, but continues after power has been acquired, the whole being directed toward magical training for adult life. In fact the powers bestowed by the spirits are specifically for particular professions and arts. The spirits are legion: natural phenomena, animals, birds, and a random collection of objects. The seeker sometimes receives power from the same spirit as his father and shamans sometimes directly inherit their powers. It does not appear that the shaman novice establishes himself by a performance of fixed kind, nor do the shamanistic seances, though they include feats like those of the Klamath, occur only in midwinter.

Shamanism in the area to the east of the Thompson must be of this type, and in the Basin southeast it is clearly so.

South of the Klamath the shamanistic complex takes quite another turn. In California power is not ordinarily sought, hence the blessing descends on the few, the shamans, and for the mass there is nothing. This is an about-face from the situation in Oregon and northward, or in the Plains. In other words, power is a thing that comes involuntarily. Further, the form of the complex has in the northern half of California two quite distinct phrasings.

In northwestern California the person destined to be a shaman is visited in a dream by a spirit or ancestor who inserts the power in his body. This power or "pain" is animate, has personality, and is conceptualized as a small spindle-shaped object. Such "pains" are disease objects, yet their possession by shamans gives the power to remove other malignant "pains" from a patient. Accordingly the shaman-to-be is made ill by the "pain" he has received, until he is

restored by an established shaman and learns to control the gift. The dance in which this takes place is, as Kroeber remarks, essentially a professional initiation.[496] 171* 756

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[428] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 317 f.

For example, the Yurok novice dreams of a dead person putting a "pain" in her body. 787 (In northwestern California, shamans are most frequently women.) 776• A dance is made for her, when under the direction of established shamans, she withdraws the "pain" and having thus shown control of it, swallows it again. After a brief dance in the mountains, this rite is repeated and followed by one around a hot fire to further gain control of her "pains."[497]

The northwest California complex has its ramifications as far north as the Wishram on the Columbia and southeastward to the Southern Maidu. The novice dance is found over this whole area, although in the north being rather a demonstration of power than an occasion for acquiring control of it. The concept of the "pains" as embodiments of power or agents of disease extends eastward across the state. Yet the general aspects of shamanism in northeastern California are appreciably like those of the Klamath and Thompson.

The second form of shamanistic complex is central Californian. Here individual shamanism is overshadowed by group activities of the Kuksu cult ceremonies which are shamanistic at bottom. Some distinction is made between the sucking shaman, who cures in the common manner, and the outfit shaman, whose ability is, rather, clairvoyant. This distinction is also made to the northwest but is by no means impressive. The outfit shaman is usually the heritor of the necessary paraphernalia from a parent or brother who instructs him in their use. His power clearly lies in the objects themselves. On the other hand, the sucking shaman obtains his by a visitation in a dream. Not only are central Californian shamans overshadowed by Kuksu impersonators, to whom has accrued all elaborate display, but the shamanistic complex proper is strongly infiltrated from the northwest.

There is in California at large some further specialization among shamans beyond those who cure. Weather-control shamans seem most clearly differentiated in south-central California, according to Kroeber. [789] The Klamath fall in with the majority of peoples beyond this focus in looking on weather control as only a somewhat specialized function of any shaman. Similarly with rattlesnake shamans, who are general in California save in the northwest. Bear shamans, found in all but peripheral California, are not known to the Klamath.

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[496] Handbook, 852.

[497] *Op. cit.*, 63.

171* 177 756 the people at large as well as the shamans. Inasmuch as both these features are northwestern and non-Californian, they must be looked on as influences from the north.

The following sections attempt to substantiate these generalizations. 796

Spirits

Those spirits of which the Klamath seek power are conceived as animals, birds, reptiles, fish, sometimes as natural phenomena, and in a few instances as supernaturals, anthropomorphic and akin to the characters of their mythology. Their number is indefinitely large. Each may be said to constitute a genus of spirits; e.g., "the Coyote spirit" is properly a group of coyote spirits. Members of the class are not singled out for individualization. 776

The spirits of other tribes of the northwestern sector are of the same type. All the interior tribes on into California and all others of Oregon for whom we have information hold to this conception: Thompson, Lillooet, Wishram, Nez Percé, Takelma, Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Maidu, and Wintun. There are undoubtedly differences among them in the type of spirit most frequently sought; thus, natural phenomena bulk larger in the Thompson mind. Further, objects, some as trivial as the nipple of a gun, figure as spirits among the Thompson, Lillooet, Snohomish, Nisqually, Nez Percé, Achomawi, and Atsugewi.[499] 171* 776

A concept of a different sort holds sway on the coast from Vancouver island to the Columbia river. There the principal spirits are supernaturals of mythological character. These are necessarily restricted in numbers since they are highly individualized, and correlatively the powers they bestow are particularized. Where information is available, these creatures are credited, as among the Klallam, with a social existence of human pattern: they live in houses, are provided with servants, and travel in canoes. This is the predominating spirit concept among the Kwakiutl, Klallam, Snohomish, Nisqually, and Quinault. The slight information on Chinook spirits suggests supernaturals of the same sort. This is not to deny that animals and birds figure among the Klallam and Puget Sound Salish, and that among the Quinault there are a few bird spirits that retain their

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[499] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 354; The Lillooet, 283; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247 f.; Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 35; Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130 (skins and feathers of spirits); Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218; Angulo, Religious Feeling, 356.

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*171 avian characteristics. The really unique group may be the Kwakiutl,
776 for there supernaturals alone appear.[429]

A second specialized concept is found in northern California among Shasta, Yuki, and Maidu, at least. Shasta guardians are described as human in form, but "rather shorter than the ordinary stature." The Yuki "personal spirits are small, like boys, with gray hair." One of the Klamath guardians, which every shaman apparently has, is probably related to these. It is Tcaḳia'ḳ, "little boy," which frequents the water, is no bigger than a baby, and has hair falling to its waist. A Maidu may have various animal spirits, but the truly important ones are in appearance like people. To the Pomo there appears "a being, human and speaking one's own language but a stranger." Similarly some among Achomawi and Atsugewi spirits are "disease persons" or spirits in human form.[430] These concepts fall in with the animal and bird spirits. For although these supernaturals are human, they are not particularized like those of the Northwest Coast and are not restricted in numbers: on the contrary, they constitute an apparently large, undifferentiated class.

The feeling cannot be avoided that these manikin spirits are related in some way to the beings that appear to others of northern California. The Yurok dreams of a dead person, usually, if not always, a shaman; the Sinkyone sometimes of a dead relative. Yokuts spirits have quite another phrasing, but we should not overlook that among them are dead relatives.[431] These cases are rather obviously related to the inheritance of power by a visitation from a dead relative, but there seems also a continuum from the Shasta manikin to the Sinkyone ghost.

[114] Kroeber has pointed out that there is a Yurok-Hupa substitute for the familiar spirit in the so-called "pains." This will be discussed below.

A note may be appended on certain Klamath spirits. Mention was made above of Tcaḳia'ḳ, a water dwarf. Dwarfs figure commonly enough among the mythological concepts of western Indians, but this
[114] one is specific: a dwarf living in or about the water. Gifford has

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[429] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl, 394 f.; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 291 f.; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notisen, 58 f.; Olson, Quinault field notes; Boas, Chinook Texts, 220, 230.

[430] Dixon, Shasta, 470, Northern Maidu, 265, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218; Kroeber, Handbook, 198; Freeland, Pomo Doctors and Poisoners, 63, 58. The spirits that help Quileute shamans restore souls are usually dwarfs (Frachtenberg, Eschatology, 335-7).

[431] Kroeber, Handbook, 63, 149, 514.

remarked their presence in the mythology of various Shoshonean groups (Western Mono, Northern Paiute of central Oregon, Northern Shoshoni, and Serrano), pointing out their absence in typical central Californian groups.[432]. But they are not confined to Shoshoneans: the Yurok believe in dwarf-like spirits that haunt overgrown spots in the creeks, the Hupa speak of little beings resembling men in the water in remote places, and the foothill group of Northern Maidu of one-legged dwarfs found in or about water.[433] So far as these data go, the concept is largely north Californian and Basin in distribution. 171 * 776 • [114]

Klamath Dwarf-Old-Woman, who figures in one form as a rock on Mount Pitt, may be identifiable with Takelma Rock Old Woman, associated with a rock north of Rogue river.[434]

Inheritance of Spirit Power

On the Northwest Coast proper there is a tendency to fixed inheritance of experiences with ancestral guardians. Among the Tlingit, e.g., there is some tendency for men to be blessed by spirits according to their clan affiliations; the spirits descending from uncle to nephew. Among the Kwakiutl, inheritance is rigidly fixed, for a youth expects to find only those spirits that gave powers to his clan.[435] 171 * 756 787

Something of this prevails southward but in dilute form. A Quinault seeks the spirit his ancestor acquired, and we are told that the guardians of the Chinook are hereditary, like the Kwakiutl. A Nootka may also inherit a spirit with whom an ancestor had an experience.[436] The southern Puget Sound Salish hold that human social organization is reflected among the spirits; that a powerful spirit would appear only to a man of high rank. While this does not define the system as one of strict inheritance, it must approximate this because both the number of persons of high rank and of powerful spirits is small.

Inheritance of a guardian and of the particular guardian thus prevails generally north of the Columbia river. Elsewhere inheritance is present but in less fixed form. There is for the Thompson seeker

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[432] Gifford, Western Mono Myths, 304; Marsden, 183; Lowie, Northern Shoshone, 234; Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 297.

[433] Kroeber, Handbook, 67; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 64; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 265.

[434] Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 45.

[435] Swanton, 465; Boas, Secret Societies and Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 393, 418.

[436] Boas, *op. cit.*, 393; Sapir, Vancouver Island Indians, 593.

THE SHAMANISTIC COMPLEX

However simple and consistent a picture the religious practices of the Klamath may appear, there can be no doubt that they represent an amalgam of historically diverse elements. It is not necessary to indicate the exact sequence in which they were accreted in order to prove this. We can show that these elements have different distributions among neighboring tribes and that they enter into combinations different from that of the Klamath. The Klamath complex is best interpreted as a function of their geographic position, without ignoring the fact that the peculiar form in which the Klamath have these ideas is duplicated nowhere else. 105

The characteristics of Klamath religious practices and beliefs may be briefly recapitulated. There are a host of weakly defined but sharply localized spirits from whom power is sought. These are chiefly birds and animals, some natural phenomena, and a few anthropomorphic supernaturals. The powers they bestow give success in all things difficult. Power is deliberately sought, it rarely comes involuntarily, and always according to a rigid formula. It is sought by almost every Klamath, perhaps by all, and the majority seem successful in their quest. Shamans are then set off from the laity only in the possession of a greater number of powers. It is better to make the distinction by their acts: those who cure or practice weather control or clairvoyance, no matter how few their powers or the nature of their familiar spirits, are shamans. The quest is undertaken at any time of life, although usually at puberty. The most propitious times in later life are at periods of stress, as in distress or on the death of an immediate relative. The formula prescribes fasting for a number of nights on the mountains, continually running about and piling up rocks, combined with diving into lonely pools, or following the latter plan alone by diving beneath whirlpools in the river or lakes which spirits are known to haunt. The suppliant loses consciousness and wakes to find himself on the shore bleeding profusely from the mouth and nose. He does not ordinarily have a vision, but success is manifested in a song heard in a dream on a night soon following. The dream experience is essential. So closely is the spirit identified with the song, that but a single word indicates both. The song is the embodiment of the spirit, which hardly exists apart from it. The spirit is not the suppliant's guardian and later quests are not necessarily for renewed 776 787 [756] [881] [765]

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
726	o2824. Held ... days before fight	–	–	2	–	–	–	2	2	1	2	6	–	–	–
535	o2825. Lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
	o2826. Lasts ... nights	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	5	–	–	–
	2827. Part of night only	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
	2828. At or near village	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	2829. Outside in open	+	+	–			–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
	2830. Inside in sweat house, around pole	–	–	+			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2831. Dancers abreast in row	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2832. Dancers in circle	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	2833. Each person runs around	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
	2834. Carry bow and arrows	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	–	–	–
	2835. Talk to arrows	–	.	+					+	+	+	.	–	–	–
	2836. Shoot at human effigy	–	–	–	–	°+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562]	2837. Men only dance	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2838. Men and women dance	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
	2839. Women carry feathers	–		–				+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
[533]	2840. Women sing for men	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Painting, Headdress

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
714	2841. Contestants paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	°.
	2842. Red	–	–	+	+	.	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.
	2843. Black	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
	2844. White	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	.
	2845. Face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
	2846. Arms	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	.
	2847. Body and legs	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	.
	2848. Stripes	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	.
● [776]	2849. Variable patterns	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	.
	2850. According to guardian spirit	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–
[301]	2851. Head net	–	–	–								+	+	–	–
	2852. Headband	–	–	–					+	+	+	+	+	°+	–
	2853. Bone hairpins	–	–	–					°+	°+	°+	–	–	–	–

Procedure

Declaration and Manner of Fighting

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
726	2854. Declaration of war	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
[721]	2855. Prearranged encounters	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
	2856. Surprise attacks	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2857. Early morning, before dawn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2858. Scouts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	°–	+
	2859. Use owl calls, etc.	°+	+	+	–	–	–	°+	+	+	+	+	.	–	.
	2860. Hand-to-hand fighting	°+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2861. Shaman sings											+	+	+	–
	2862. Men killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2863. Women killed	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2864. Children killed	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+

Captives

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727	2865. Prisoners taken	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2866. Women: young	+	+	°+	+	–	–	+	+	°+	°+	–	–	–	–
	2867. Children	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2868. Mainly	+	+	+	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2869. Women captives killed	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	+	°+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2870. Kept month or so before being killed	–	.	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2871. Abused, mistreated	–	.	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
4927. Private, indoors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		•+	- 755
4928. Doctor has ... assistants	1	2	1	2	•2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		-	-
4929. "Interpreter" for doctor while doctoring, or in trance	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
4930. "Outside speaker" to call doctor's spirit(s)	-	•+	+	•+	+	•-	•+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4931. Friend or relative of doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	-
4932. Must know esoteric language	-	+	+					+	+	+	-	+	-		-	- [776]
4933. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	•-		-	.
4934. Assistant calls doctor's spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	•-		-	- [787]
4935. Spirit takes possession of doctor	•-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	.		-	-
4936. Doctor diagnoses by singing	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		.	+ [533]
4937. Audience joins in songs	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+		-	+ [535]
4938. Doctor diagnoses by dancing	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		.	-
4939. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+ [276]
4940. When trance coming on			-					+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
o4941. Blows tobacco smoke over patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	±	-	+		-	-
4942. Assistant lights doctor's pipe	+	-	+	•-				+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
4943. Doctor drinks through bark tube	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	- [371]
4944. Has basket cup of water beside him	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
4945. Doctor uses feathers or stick	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		.	-
4946. Bunch of supernatural feathers	-	+	•+	+	•-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		.	-
4947. Eagle down	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	•-	-	-	-	-	-		.	-
4948. Eagle wing	-	-	+					-	-	-		-	-		.	-
4949. Stick	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		.	-
4950. Doctor uses fire	+	+	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		.	+ [372]
4951. For light only: usually small	+	+	+	•+	•-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		.	•-
4952. Doctor applies ashes, clay to patient	•+	•+	-	•-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		.	-
4953. Doctor uses charmstone (pestle)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4954. Brushes or fans away disease	-	+	+	•+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4955. With feathers	-		+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4956. Sprays liquid from mouth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+		.	•+
4957. Administers herb medicines	-	-	-					•+	•-	-	•+	•+	-		•+	•+ [278]
4958. Doctor, assistant, or singers use rattle	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
4959. Cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	+	•-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	•+ [534]
4960. Walking cane								+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4961. Beat on plank with board			-						+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4962. Whistle	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		.	-
4963. Doctor's spirit or "pain" tells location of disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	+
4964. Tells cause of sickness	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
4965. Doctor can see or feel disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+
4966. Disease object ("pain") sucked out	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+
4967. Directly into doctor's mouth	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4968. Vomited out of mouth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	-
o4969. Disease object removed with hand	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-			-	-
4970. Pus ("bad feelings") sucked out	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+
4971. Women doctors use same technique as men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+		-	- [562]
4972. Disease object tells doctor who sent it	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
4973. Disease object exhibited	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4974. Put in basket cup of water	-	+	+	+		+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-			-
4975. Invisible to all except shamans	-	-	-						+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4976. Disease object disappears	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+
4977. By sleight of hand	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	+	+	+	-		-	-
4978. Doctor bites it	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	•+
4979. Doctor swallows it	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4980. Sent back to owner, for revenge, sometimes			+	•-	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
4981. Buried	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+		-	+
4982. Blown away			-					+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
4983. Burned	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
5210. Shot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.		–	–	575
5211. Hooked	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	.		–	–	
5212. In seclusion	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	•+	
†5213. For ... months	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	•3		–	•4	
5214. Meat, salt taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+	
5215. Lie down, do not move	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+	
5216. In dance house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+	
5217. Instructed, taught	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+	
Impersonated Spirits																	
5218. Moki (wüta)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	+	575
5219. Wholly covered feather net												+	–		–	+	
5220. Big-head (yohyo, t'uya)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	R	•+	–	+	776 ●
5221. Woman (küla, dü, dadu)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	+	
5222. Sili (racer, in net)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
5223. Yat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.		–	+	
5224. Sobe	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
5225. Yabe	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
5226. Koto	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
5227. Grizzly	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
5228. Coyote	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
5229. Deer	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	•+	
5230. Kuksu	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
5231. Ghosts	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	(+)	
Officials																	
5232. Moki: head of whole ceremony	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+		–	+	575
5233. Kuksu: leader of dancers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–		–	•+	
5234. Limo (wulu)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.		–	+	
5235. Temegu, doorkeeper	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+		–	+	
5236. Fire tender, clown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+		–	+	
5237. Yomi (yomta) is curing doctor	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+	
Ceremonies																	
5238. Hesi	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	R	+	–	+	575
5239. Aki	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	+	776
5240. Waima	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•(+)	–		–	+	
5241. Grizzly bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–		–	+	
5242. Deer	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.		–	+	
Dances																	
5243. Coyote	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)		–	+	575
5244. Goose	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.		–	+	535
5245. Condor (Moloko)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–		–	–	
5246. Wololok (yellowhammer)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)		–	–	
5247. Eagle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
5248. Thunder	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.		–	–	
5249. Lole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+	
5250. With feather ropes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+	
5251. Hilewe (hiwe?)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.		–	–	
5252. K'eima	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				–	+	
5253. Toto	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•R		–	•R	
5254. Salalu	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+		–	+	
5255. Duck dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+	
5256. Kemu, kemi (sweat dance)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	
5257. Knee swinging from rafters	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	•+	

000 his doctoring pipe, feathers, and his pains up in mountains under rocks. "Lots of doctors stopped, especially the women doctors; they didn't like the smell of White people. They couldn't see anything any more; it [power] all left them." At: When extracted from patient, pain often pleads with curing shaman to be sent back to its owner, and not to be killed (chewed up, or burnt); curing shaman often makes pain tell him who sent it, and so on. AW: "Before pain [always referred to as "poison" among At, AW, AE] was a pain, it was some kind of a weed." Cf. note 4805. Shaman, in sending out pain, may smoke, blow smoke and pain toward victim; he tells his pain, "Now go," and pain goes and finds victim. Then pain listens to victim; "if he talks good, pain returns to doctor, tells him, 'I didn't hit him, he looks good.' Doctor may say, 'All right, if you want to save him.'" AE: Animal appears to person in dream or otherwise; gives that person song, and tells him what to use as his pain ("poison"); that pain can talk, and has a song, too.

4838. SE, SW: In head, heel, shoulder. WT, WM: In head. WS: In head or heart. "Doctor has to have a clean heart; his heart is the pain's home, and pain has to stay there as long as the man lives; he can't put pain away or get rid of it, if he wants to stop doctoring."

[756] [776] 4839. Kl, Mo, AE: Although shamans also acquire "pains" (see elements 4833 ff.), emphasis among these 3 groups is chiefly upon guardian-spirit helpers they acquire. SE, SW, At, AW: Emphasis shifts from guardian-spirit helpers to the "pains" themselves, which are always animate and can talk. AW: "If person acquires 10 kinds of powers [guardian-spirit helpers], he will be a doctor. [But must have "pain" to doctor.] Whenever doctor cries at funeral, he gets more power" (through dreams).

4846. SW: "Any animal people eat is nothing at all for giving one power for doctoring. Grizzly Bear, Timber Wolf help doctors; Coyote too; they all look like animals, but they call themselves after a mountain (Wolf) or a bush (Grizzly Bear) or some rocks (Coyote), when they announce themselves to doctors; they don't go by their ordinary names. Panther, deer, raccoon, badger, ground squirrel are nothing at all, because people eat them." WT: Power comes from small animals and flies, other insects.

4853. SW: "Rattlesnake can give power [but only in ancillary fashion]; but he doesn't talk to a doctor, or sing. You can see rattlesnake, though [during trance or faint], and get some power that way; but the only way a doctor uses rattlesnake is to use the skin for her pipe stem [decoration], or to wear the rattles. She never calls on rattlesnake to help her." MV: "Rattlesnake is main doctor."

4856. AE: "Frog--that's the boss of the doctors."

4870. Mo: Shaman has pole outside house, with bald eagle feathers, skunk skin and other skins

[241-B]

000 object; on second he finds it (can see it); on third he removes it. Some shamans "work on patient only up to midnight, some until daylight. The Paiute work until daylight, too; the Diggers [Maidu] only 2-3 hours." WS: 1-4 nights. If shaman cannot locate pain first night of doctoring, doctor's dance held next night beside patient and thereafter for 2-3 nights; must locate pain. MM: 1-5. NF: 3-4.

4927. NS: Shaman has to be alone with patient; "other people aren't supposed to watch him, when he is doctoring."

4928. At: Also "everyone comes to help a doctor when he's treating; everyone smokes, helps him out."

4929. Mo: "Interpreter" tells what doctor is saying during curing performance. Shaman uses same interpreter every time; may be either man or woman. SW: Interpreter or "regular assistant" interprets for shaman, who repeats what guardian animal has to say. Only assistant can answer guardian animal (shaman cannot; but only shaman can hear what guardian says). The guardian animal must come to shaman's post (see element, note 4870), which has 10 different objects on it, before it will speak to shaman. AW: Services of interpreter not always necessary (cf. note 5008).

4930. Mo: "Outside speaker" (man or woman) stands outside house, shouts to shaman's spirits, "Come on; your servant wants you to come, help him." Spirits say, "Listen, they're calling us." Same outside speaker or "caller" functions for shaman for life; must "obey the doctor's medicine, just as doctor does, or else the medicine will be angry, and hurt both of them." SW: Calls guardian animal for shaman, outside; "whoops loud." This only done if curing in summer; whoop wakes the guardian spirit (who sleeps all summer); he "reaches round and gets his pipe, dusts it, and smokes; then talks to doctor, finally puts on his moccasins and goes to the doctor to help cure patient. In winter doctors don't have to call their spirits by having an assistant go and shout for them; they're all outside anyway. It's handier for a doctor to cure in winter." AW: Informant scornfully characterized "speakers" for shamans as "half-breed [new] way"; said some of AE now use them. See notes 4929, 5008. AE: Shaman's interpreter also serves as outside speaker to call shaman's "power" for him.

4933. NF: See note 5079. Dreamer, not doctor, goes into trance.

4934. NF: Clown calls spirits for dreamer, however. See note 5079.

[755]
[776]
[787]

4935. Kl: Doctor's spirit talks to shaman from far off; no one else hears conversation. Shaman "interprets" what his spirit has told him to people present.

4936. SW: Shaman has to tell assistant every song he sings, and from which guardian spirit it comes.

4937. Mo: Many women sing for shaman; "the more the better." AW: See note 4925.

[243-B]

> *648 Make them better men and women." He was a Methodist
> *657 preacher and was a big man. He had a loud voice and was a
> 797 good singer. He was awfully strict. He didn't want the Indians to get into trouble. He said, "If you don't mind me, I will put you in jail or put a ball and chain on you." And he did. So the Indians behaved well, you know. I understood what he said, and it sounded good to me and after they interpreted his sermon in Klamath, the old Indians liked it too. Testimonies were then given. . . . The preacher read from the scriptures and made sermon. . . . He said, "I want people to come together and work together as one."*

*648 The emergence of native preachers provides another illustra-
*657 tion of the confrontation of native and American roles. From
793 the Indian viewpoint, the role of shaman did not coincide with
756 that of the American preacher, for in aboriginal times the sha-
177 man's duties had encompassed curative powers, and through
178 sorcery and counter-sorcery he had come to wield quasipolitical influence as well. Now healing lay within the duties of the Agency physician, while political sway had passed progressively, first to the raid-and-trade leaders and latterly to the Agency chiefs.

*648 On the other hand, points of resemblance existed between the
*657 traditional role of the chief and that of the preacher. The sermon,
793 the most distinctive and formal exercise of the minister, as the
622 Indian saw him, corresponded most closely with the exhortations
537 to a better life given by chiefs to followers and by elders to the
177 young. The correspondence of preaching with political authority
178 was furthered by the circumstance that a number of Agents had assumed the responsibility of preaching to the Indians. Among those realizing the linkage in their actions were Dave Hill and, to a lesser extent, Lileks, Allen David, and Henry Blow. Jesse Kirk, soon to become a preacher, later applied that office to political ends.

*648 In the Klamath view of the supernatural order, syncretism set
*657 in early, probably as the result of an Indian effort to reconcile
776 native and Christian belief. The trickster-transformer figure of
177 Gmukamps, known in myth by the epithets, "Earth-Maker" and
178 "The One Above," became identified by some with God, although his trickster exploits led others to reject this. Within the first decade of reservation life, Christian dualism, seizing upon the first correspondence, became responsible for the coining of

another figure, known only as "The One Below," to represent the 648*
Devil. This figure appears in a Klamath version of the Garden 657*
of Eden recorded by Gatschet[29]—a tale no longer recalled today. 776 •
The identification of Gmukamps with God is strengthened in 177
Indian eyes by his mythical foster-parentage of the hero, Aisis. 178
As one Modoc, a fundamentalist preacher, has put it:

> you know, Gmukamps and Aisis—that's nothing but God and Jesus. The Indians knew the story of the Bible, but they were ignorant in those days. They thought that the lakes they performed their miracles around were the Klamath lakes; they didn't know it was really the Sea of Galilee."

Looking back over the entire field of change from the last 657*
decades of the nineteenth century, the observer could discern 648*
major acculturative trends. The Klamath who entered upon the 177
treaty had already undergone pervasive, though largely un- 178
directed modification. Thereafter, they were subjected to a consistent policy of change which, despite defects in execution, outside interference, and an intervening war, was maintained for well over a generation. Within this frame, a reservation culture had taken shape, embodying a synthesis of white and Indian lifeways. By the middle of the next century, only a handful of tribesmen would be left who could report from direct knowledge events of pretreaty days; the remaining elders would be products of the synthesis.

Measured by the indexes which the Bureau employed to
register progress, the advance was evident. When that formula- [464]
tive period was ended, a large number of the Klamath were [511]
productively engaged in work of "civilized" character, and their
material wants had come to approximate those of their white
neighbors. Many were conversant, and a few literate, in English, [191]
and their numbers were increasing steadily. The extended family, [212]
at least among the progressive, had made way for the more [596]
mobile and assimilable conjugal family. In the schools, a new [594]
generation was being trained to embrace as natural and desirable [871]
a way of life which the Church, in turn, commended as good to old and young alike. Expectations seemed to lie within the grasp of those willing to work to achieve them.

Beneath the surface upon which these changes could be traced, [571]
however, lay cleavages and disconformities as yet unfathomed

[p.345A]

869 hear about these spots first in stories. Later
the parents point out the sacred sites as they
778 pass by them. Many of the places are referred
to as "doctor rocks." Children are warned never
to run or play near them lest they should fall
and become crippled.

869 Klamath religion is very closely associated
with shamanism[17] so that most of the religious
756 attitudes acquired are directed toward shamans.
Shamans are the most important, powerful, and
feared individuals in the tribe. Small children
are warned never to bother one, but to run and
hide whenever a shaman appears, or he may cause
sickness. Children are told, "There's a doctor;
don't run in front of him, or he'll trip you.
Don't ever look at him when he is smoking."
Even the shaman's own children fear him.

861 Obedience is achieved by parents in a number of ways. They frequently scold erring
children, small ones being perhaps most often
threatened with some supernatural punishment for
misbehavior. Whippings are not rare, but are
probably never severe. A child is switched
across his hands or the back of his legs with a
willow switch, or the child's hair or ears are
pulled. Corporal punishment is seldom resorted
to unless the child has made the same mistake
several times and has not heeded scoldings.

861 Obedience is also achieved by instilling in
the child a fear of ghosts, spirits, and other
776 supernatural beings who kidnap bad children.
Owl is the most potent supernatural threat,
775 feared by child and adult alike. When a child
cries at night or is naughty, his parents
threaten, "Owl will come to pluck out your eyes
[539] or carry you off to a cave." If the child fails
to heed the warning at first, the parents call,
"Owl, come listen to this child." The effectiveness of the threat is increased by the
child's knowledge of the story about a baby who
was carried off by an owl to a cave near Modoc
Point. The baby gradually sprouted feathers and
turned into an owl. Bear and Coyote are similarly used to silence a crying child.

In the same way children are warned about
ghosts who might snatch them away from the camp
unless they are good.[18] Ghosts hover about the
camp constantly and are especially dangerous to
little ones. For that reason children are never
allowed out after sundown unless accompanied by
an adult. The child is told to turn his left
side and raise his left arm to a ghost if he
ever sees one; only in this manner can sickness
be avoided.

784 Since ghosts constitute such a peril, children must never go near the cremation grounds
775 where they might contract a ghost sickness,
which can be cured only by a powerful shaman.
Children never attend funerals, nor are they allowed to cross the path over which a corpse has
been carried.

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[17] A thorough discussion of Klamath shamanism appears, ibid., pp. 93-138.

[18] Ghosts are described in Voegelin, elements 4655-4706.

773 As a result of their seclusion, all their geogonic and creation myths are
[776] acting around the headwaters of Klamath River and in Lost River Valley,
and the first man is said to have been created by their national deity,
K'mukámtchiksh, at the base of the lofty Cascade Range, upon the prairie
drained by Wood River. I have obtained no myth disclosing any knowledge
of the ocean, which is scarcely one hundred and fifty miles distant in
an air line from their seats. They have no flood or inundation myths that
[192] are not imported from abroad; and what is of special importance here, their
terms for *salt* (ā'dak, shō'lt) are *not their own*, but are derived from foreign
languages.

173 There is an animal story embodied in the Texts, page 131, forming
773 No. II of the "Spell of the Laughing Raven," containing the sentence:
"Hereupon the Klamath Lake people began fighting the Northerners." I
believed at first that this contained a historic reminiscence of some intertribal
war, but now am rather doubtful about it. The song 192; 1 was
supposed by some Indians to be a very old reminiscence, while others
referred it to the presence of the Warm Spring scouts in the Modoc war.

I conclude from the foregoing facts that historic traditions do not exist
among these mountaineer Indians. If there are any, I was unable to obtain
000 them. The racial qualities of the Modocs, and still more those of the
É-ukshikni, indicate a closer resemblance with Oregonians and Columbia
River tribes than with Shoshonians and Californians.

B. ARCHÆOLOGIC REMAINS.

211 The Klamath people have not evinced any more propensity for erecting
monuments of any kind than they have for perpetuating the memory
[346] of their ancestors in song or tradition. In fact, structures the probable
[226] age of which exceeds one hundred years are very few. Among these may
be particularized the three ceremonial sweat-lodges and perhaps some of
the river-barrages, intended to facilitate the catch of fish, if they should
turn out to be of artificial and not of natural origin. In the Lost River
172 Valley is a well, claimed by Modocs to be Aishish's gift—probably one of
312 the large natural springs or wélwash which are seen bubbling up in so
many places upon the reservation Stephen Powers reports that near the

THE ELEMENTARY DEITIES.

● 776 In the Klamath theology the deities of the elements have preserved almost intact their character as representatives of the powers of nature. Imperfectly anthropomorphized as they are, they appear rather as spirits than as gods; all of them, the Earth perhaps excepted, are of the male sex. [193] Like the animal genii they assume the adjectival suffix -ámtchiksh, abbr. -amtch *bygone, ancient, belonging to the past*,* though less among the Modocs than in the northern chieftaincy. The splendor, power, and awe-inspiring qualities of these superhuman beings is not diminished in the least by the grotesque exterior and acts ascribed to some of them. The sky gods were more plastically defined by popular imagination than the subterranean deities, and hence we begin our sketch with the former.

K'MÚKAMTCH.

Ille mihi par esse deo videtur,
Ille, si fas est, superare divos.

The chief deity of the Klamath people, the creator of the world and of mankind, is K'múkamtch, or the "Old Man of the Ancients," the "Pri- [192] meval Old Man." The full form of the name is K'muk'-ámtchiksh, and Modocs frequently use the shorter form Kĕmúsh, K'músh, an abbreviation of k'mútcha, *he has grown old, he is old*, or of its participle k'mutchátko, *old*. He is also named P'tísh-amtch nálam, *our old father*. He was also designated P'laitálkni, *the one on high*, though the term is now used for the God of the Christians. In every way he is analogous to the "old man above" or the "chief in the skies" of the Indians of Central California.

773 What the Indians say and think of their chief deity I have outlined
776 in the Dictionary, pages 138–140, and what follows here will substantiate
772 the data given there. Though K'múkamtch is reputed to have created the earth, what is really meant is only the small portion of the globe known to and inhabited by this mountaineer tribe, and not the immense terrestrial globe, with its seas and continents. Neither have these Indians an idea of what the universe really is when they call him the creator and

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* In Nahuatl we may compare the reverential suffix -tzin, and in Shoshoni dialects the parallel one of -pitch, -bits; e. g., múhu *owl* in Bannock is mú'mbits *owl* in the Shoshoni of Idaho.

773 maintainer of the universe. The Indians do not claim that he created
776 the world with all in it by one single and simultaneous act, but when he is
772 creating, metamorphosing, or destroying, his acts are always special, directed
[823] towards certain objects only. After making the earth, the lakes, islands, prairies, and mountains he gave a name to each locality (p. 142, 1 sqq.). Some of these names must be regarded as giving indications as to the earliest places inhabited by these Indians, especially when they designate fish-traps and ceremonial sudatories. Thus on Upper Klamath Lake we find Kû'mbat, Túkwa, Tulísh, Koháshti as fishing places, Ktá-i-Tupáksi and Yulalóna as fish-traps, the special gifts of the deity to the people. Other places of this kind are Shuyakē'kish and Ktá-i-Tupáksi. In the old Modoc country, on Lower Klamath Lake, there is a rock shaped like a crescent and called Shapashχē'ni, because "sun and moon once lived there." On Sprague River there is a hill called "at K'múkamtch's Lodge"—K'mútcham Látsashkshi. Other legendary residences of the deity were at Yámsi, "Northwind's residence," a high mountain east of Klamath Marsh; others on Tule Lake, at Nílakshi Mountain; and finally K'múkamtch was changed into the rock Ktá-iti, which stands in the Williamson River (q. v.). The old people of both chieftaincies remember many localities alleged to have been the theater of his miraculous deeds.

K'múkamtch creates the Indians from the purplish berry of the service-tree or shad-bush (*Amelanchier canadensis*, in Kl. tchák), and the color of both has evidently suggested this idea. He also provides for man's sustenance by supplying him with game and fish and the means to capture them;
[192] also with the necessary vegetal products. Objects noticeable through their peculiar shape are called after him, e. g., the *thistle*, the piercer of K'múkamtch, K'mukámtcham k̲ä'k̲. A peculiar haze sometimes perceptible in the west or northwest, shuúish, is regarded as his precursor or that of his son Aíshish.

Although but a passing mention is made of a wife or wives of his, K'múkamtch has a family. The myths speak[*] of a father, of a daughter, and of Aíshish, his son "by adoption," as members of it. The name of his

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[*] Cf. Texts, pg. 100, 2: sk̲äk̲l'sh p'tís-lûlsham. Mention is made of one-eyed wives of Skē'l and of Tcháshkai.

773 daughter is not given, but she represents the clouded or mottled evening
776 sky. When she leads him to the under-world they meet there a vast crowd
772 of spirits, who for five nights dance in a large circle around a fire, and on each of the intervening days are changed into dry bones. K'múkamtch takes with him some of these in a bag, and when reaching the horizon at daybreak throws the bones around the world *in pairs* and creates tribes from them, the Modoc tribe being the last of these. Then he travels in the path of the sun till he reaches the zenith, builds his lodge, and lives there now with his daughter.

776 K'múkamtch also figures as the culture-hero of his people; but since
773 he does so only in *one* of the myths which came to our knowledge, this myth may be borrowed from some neighboring tribe. In that myth the primitive arts and practices, as hunting and bow-and-arrow making, are taught by him to men, as was done also by Quetzalcoatl, by Botchika, and in Oregon by the Flint-Boy of the Kalapuyas, in whom the sun's rays were personified.

What the national myths relate of him is not of a nature to make him an object of divine veneration. He resembles men in every particular, is born and dies, acts like other Indians, travels about with companions, starts on gambling jaunts, is indigent and often in want, and experiences more misery throughout his eventful career than Zeus ever did on account of his illicit love-making. Like the chief gods of other Indian nations, he is the great deceiver and trickster for all those that have dealings with him, is attacked and drubbed repeatedly for his meanness and crimes; but after coming out "second best" or being killed over and over he recuperates and comes to life again just as if nothing had occurred to disturb him. Compared with other fictions representing powers of nature, he is fully the equal of such characters as Nanabozho and Gluskap, or of the Kayowē demiurge Sínti, "the Deceiver." Some of the most attractive fictions describe the various tricks and stratagems by which K'múkamtch allures his son Aíshish into perilous situations, from which rescue seems impossible. Prompted by him to climb a tall pine-tree, he would have perished on it by hunger had not his charitable wives, the butterflies, succored him in time. The general conflagration by which the earth and its inhabitants

772 were consumed through a rain of burning pitch was also brought about 773 by K'múkamtch's hatred for his son. Aíshish escapes from this inhuman persecution, and subsequently seeks to revenge himself upon his father. Aíshish's son jerks off the glowing tobacco-pipe from his grandfather's neck and throws it into the fire; Aíshish pushes it farther into the flames until burnt, and thereby K'múkamtch's death is brought about.

It is singular that when he and his son Aíshish are expected to join social or gambling parties the other participants always experience some difficulty in recognizing the one from the other. The camp-fire which K'múkamtch made on approaching the meeting-place was burning badly, the smoke seeming almost to stifle the flames; but that of his son, purple-blue in color, sent the smoke straight up, while the fire of Silver Fox, the companion of K'múkamtch, was yellow. When shooting at the mark, Aíshish's arrow hit it every time, but the arrow of K'múkamtch struck the ground short of the mark. While gambling, Aíshish became the winner of all his companion's stakes.

Assuming the mask of the Marten (Skĕ'l, Skē'lamtch), K'múkamtch sends out his younger brother, Weasel (Tcháshkai), to look out for one-eyed women and to bring them home as wives (Texts, pp. 107–118). Both try to stop the Northwind and the Southwind at the very orifice whence they are blowing. Weasel loses his life in the attempt, but Marten kills both winds. After Weasel has come to life again, both proceed to the lodge of the five brothers, the Thunders. When inside of the lodge Marten puts on the head-cover of the dead Northwind, and the Thunders feel his gigantic power. At night an internecine fight takes place between the brothers, and while their lodge is on fire their hearts explode in succession.

772 From the almost infinite wealth of Klamath folklore many more particulars about this chief deity could be adduced, but what stands above is amply sufficient to indicate the powers of nature which he represents. The facts that Wán or Wanáka, *the sun-halo*, is his constant companion[*] and that the seat in the sky which he constantly holds is that of the sun at

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[*] The sun-halo is an important factor in some Indian mythologies. The Zuñi Indians say that when a storm is brewing the sun retreats *into his house*, which he built for his safety, and after the storm he leaves it again. Among the Zuñis the sun is the principal deity also.

773 noontime, would alone suffice to show that he represents the *sun*, the most
776 potent, we may say unique factor in giving life, nourishment, and health
772 to living organisms, the most important of the sky-gods, and the great center of myth production among all nations of the world. In one of the Modoc myths it is stated that "at the call of the morning star K'músh sprang from the ashes (of the fiery sky or aurora) as hale and as bright as ever, and so will he continue to live as long as the (solar) disk and the morning star shall last, for the morning star is the 'medicine' (múluash?) of the disk." In other myths he appears in the form of the golden or bright *Disk*, inhabiting the higher mountain ridges and becoming the suitor of females afterwards deified. Thus, like Hor, Rā, and Atum, he appears sometimes as the morning sun, at other times as the noonday and evening sun, and in the myths referring to weather he is either the summer or the winter sun. The burning pipe which Aíshish's son takes from his grandfather and destroys in the camp-fire represents the sun setting in a glowing red evening-sky. As the summer sun with his gigantic power he brings on a conflagration of the world and as a cloud-gatherer he causes an inundation. In the warm season he appears wrapt up in haze and fogs, which the myth in its imagery represents as "a smoky camp-fire," almost impenetrable to the sun-rays: "his arrows fall to the ground before they reach the mark."* To typify his sagacity and omniscience, K'múkamtch appears under the symbolic mask of a quadruped, the *pine-marten* or Skē'l, in Modoc Tchkē'l, which changes its black winter fur to a brown coating in the hot months of the year, and thereby became a sort of portent to the Indian. Similar changes occur with all the fur animals, but with the marten the difference in the color appears to be greater than with others. Skē'l sends his brother Tcháshgai, or *Weasel*, to obtain one-eyed women for both, these being sun and moon, which the Eskimos also represent as one-eyed, deified persons.† The North wind, which is blowing in alternation with the South
821 wind, is attacked and killed by Skē'l. Here Skē'l represents the sun of the summer months, for the summer's heat defeats the cold blasts of the wintry

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113 * Texts, pp. 99, 4 (shláyaks ak), and 5.

† Cf. the Maidu myth of Kodo-Yampĕ in Stephen Powers's "California Tribes;" Contributions to North American Ethnology, III, 293.

773 776 772 and equinoctial seasons; when he places the North wind's hat upon his head he puts an end to the noise of the Thunder brothers and then represents the wintry sun.

[821] The attitude which K'múkamtch observes toward his son Aíshish will be spoken of under the next heading. It is necessary to add that the former's position is by no means restricted to that of a solar deity; several of his attributes make him also a god of the sky, or at least of the clouds, for clouds and the weather's changes are due to the sun's agency. When the sun is environed by lamb-clouds, or a mottled sky, this is figuratively expressed by: "K'múkamtch has taken the beaded garments of Aíshish and [821] dressed himself in them." A peculiar red smoke or haze appearing in the northwestern or western sky, shnúish, announces his arrival; he is also recognizable by his bulky posteriors, or, as the Modocs say of him: "K'múkamtch múnish kutúlish gítko." By this they evidently refer to the white and heavy, mountain-shaped summer clouds.

Greek mythology depicts the fecundation of the earth by rain showers and thunder storms as the illicit amours of the sky-god Zeus with the wives and daughters of mortal men. Exactly in the same manner K'múkamtch, as sky-god, seeks to approach illicitly the numerous wives of Aíshish, of whom the majority refuse him, though he has by some stratagem previously removed their husband from the scene.

776 773 In the aboriginal mind the creation of organisms, vegetal and animal, seems to be in connection with the fecundation of the earth, whereas the creation of the earth, world, or universe implies an act entirely different. All the names of Klamath localities are said to come from K'múkamtch. The manner in which he created plants and animals was, as we are told in one Modoc myth, by *thinking* and by *wishing*, this probably implying that after forming an idea of some creature he made that idea a reality by the strong energy of his will. Many creatures, especially birds and quadrupeds—even men—the myths tell us, were brought forth by him in this manner. The moral qualities ascribed to this deity are in keeping with what is known of his physical and intellectual powers. He provides for mankind, which he has created, but does not tolerate any contravention of his will; for he punishes bad characters by changing them into rocks or by

● 772 burning them. Our ideas of justice, equity, protection, or love towards men
773 do not and can not enter into the spiritual range of a god whose prototype
is constituted of physical powers only.

AÍSHISH.

Φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν.

Aíshish, or Aíshishamtch, the second in importance among the Klamath deities, and certainly the most popular of all, is the son of the world-creator, K'múkamtch, and also his companion and rival. He is beautiful in appearance, beloved and admired by men, and is the husband of many wives, selected by him among the birds, butterflies, and the smaller quadrupeds. His name signifies *the one secreted* or *concealed*, and was given him at the time of his birth; and since "The Birth of Aíshish" myth explains the nature and position of this deity better than any other myth, I translate it in full from the Indian text obtained from a Modoc woman at the Modoc Reservation, Indian Territory.* The name of Aíshish's mythic mother, as other natives informed me, is Le-tkakáwash. This is an Oregonian bird of the size of the tchō'kshash, or blackbird, with a brilliant red or yellow plumage, colors rarely found in birds of that western State. Ornithologists identify it with the Louisiana tanager: *Pyranga ludoviciana.* Thus the bird is an appropriate symbol of the bright sky at moonrise or sunrise, which phenomenon Aíshish's mother is representing. The myth runs as follows:

In order to cremate the body of an old sorceress, Le-tkakáwash gathered wood while carrying her baby son on the back, piled up the wood and set up the ceremonial mourning wail. Proposing to leap into the fire herself, she was uncertain what to do with her son. She fastened him tightly to her back, and when she had applied the fire K'múkamtch perceived that she was in tears and ready to leap into the burning pile. "What on earth is this pretty woman going to do?" said he to himself; and when he saw her retreat more than once before accomplishing the dangerous leap he approached, intending to reach her in time to restrain her; but she rushed

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* The myth of Aíshish's birth forms a portion of a long cyclus of related myths, with the title: Aíshisham shapkalä'-ash wiulamuúlashti. I obtained them from Lucy Faithful, wife of Stutílatko, or "Faithful William;" cf. Dictionary, p. 412.

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773
into the fire, and K'múkamtch, regretting to have arrived too late, managed, however, to withdraw from her back the baby, and to rescue it. He wept as he carried the child off in his arms. But where should he place it? If he placed it on his forehead it would look quite ugly, thought he; therefore he placed it on his knee and went home. He complained that he had an ulcer upon his knee, and asked his daughter to open it, for it pained him excruciatingly. She spread a sheet under the knee and another over it, to squeeze the ulcer open He exclaimed: "It hurts me terribly! Go easy! Be careful!" Then she replied: "What is the matter with you? Something like hair comes out in a bunch from the core. Why does it look like hair?" And when the baby appeared on the surface and began to cry she said: "What have you been doing? I have suspected you for quite a while before!" And the babe cried and cried, until the "father" proposed to give a name to him. None was found to answer, for the child cried on and on. Then he proposed to call it Aishíslam'nash ("the one secreted about the body"). This stopped its cries somewhat, but not entirely; so he proposed the name Aíshish, and then it became restful and quiet. So the child grew up with this name, then lived in the company of K'múkamtch, became an expert in making shirts, and when gambling won all the stakes, even from his father, who became jealous on account of his superiority.*

This is the extent of the myth so far as needed for our purpose. The jealousy of the grim and demoniac K'múkamtch against his more popular son forms the subject of a considerable number of Aíshish myths, which are highly imaginative and interesting. By various stratagems based on low cunning he brings his son into perilous positions, from which he is rescued only with the utmost difficulty by others, or is perishing in the attempt to save himself. Meantime he is robbed of his garments by his "father." These constant persecutions finally force Aíshish to revenge himself upon his father, who is killed by him repeatedly, but not by any means so often as he is killed himself.

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*The connection of the mythic *pyre* of self-sacrifice with the *dawn* is not only based on similarity of nature, but also on etymological grounds; for the verb ní'lka, *it dawns*, with slight vocalic change turns into nélk̲a, nélχa, *to be on fire*. Cf. the Latin *aurora*, which is a derivative of urere, *to burn*, and Appendix VI to Grammar, pp. 706. 707.

773 Aíshish's camp fire is of a clear, bright purplish-blue color (yámnash-
776 ptchi); he makes his shirts with his own hands and ornaments these and his leggings with all sorts of beads As a marksman he excels all his companions, whose arrows do not even strike the target (Texts, pag. 99, 4–6). According to the Modoc story his wives are Mole, Badger, Porcupine, Bitch, Crane, Mallard, two Maídiktak-birds, Wren, Tchektiti-bird, Yaulíliks or Snowbird, Butterfly, and a host of others; the Klamath Lake myth (Texts, p. 99, 9. 10) names five: Coot, Long-tailed Squirrel, Crane, Mallard, Chaffinch. Tcháshkai or Weasel, the younger brother of Skē'l, sometimes plays the part of Aíshish, but he is not found in this quality so constantly as his brother Skē'l is in that of K'múkamtch.

772 The various attributes ascribed to this deity by the myths show Aíshish
773 to be in many respects similar to Quetzalcoatl of Nahuatl mythology, who
776 has been made alternately the genius of the morning star, of the calendar and of the atmospheric changes. As to Aíshish and the personal beauty invariably ascribed to him, it may appear doubtful, in view of so many other complex attributes, which idea was the starting-point that created this mythic figure, and subsequently gathered other but less material attributes about this son of the sun. He could represent originally the morning star, or the rainbow or the moon, but after mature reflection upon his complex
821 attitudes I now believe him to be a lunar deity. The splendor of the full moon is of a yellow hue, like Aíshish's camp fire (käkä'kli) and the shadow of the famished Aíshish, as seen from below through the pine-trees of the forest, is the narrow crescent of the waxing moon following its disappearance at the new moon period. At the new or "dead" moon Aíshish is famished or dead, to revive again on the days following, and this, like other phases of the moon, which result from her changeable position in regard to the sun, are represented to be the result of the jealousy and enmity of K'múkamtch against Aíshish—and whenever Aíshish succeeds in killing his father, this implies the decrease of sun-heat during the winter season. No myth shows a more striking analogy to the "Birth of Aíshish" than that of the birth of Bacchus from the thigh of Zeus after the destruction of his mother Semele by a thunder-stroke caused by Zeus, the Sky-god.

821 The moon is the originator of the months, and the progress of the

772 months brings on the seasons with the new life seen sprouting up every-
773 where during spring and summer. So the quadrupeds and birds which are
• 776 the first to appear after the long winter months are considered as the wives
821 of Aíshish, and the flowers of summer vegetation are the beads of his garments. He enjoys more popularity than his father, for the moon's light is mild, not burning nor offensive, nor does it dry up vegetation and make men and beasts drowsy like the rays of the midday sun. Many nations also believe that the changes of weather are partly due to the phases of the moon. Although the "Birth of Aíshish" myth obtained by me represents Aíshish rather as the adopted than as the real son of K'múkamtch, other myths state him to be his son resulting from the union of the sun-disk to the red sky of the morning or evening, symbolized by the woman Le-ka-
[19] káwash. We must recall to mind that the term for *father*, p'tíshap, in Modoc t'shíshap, is really the *nourisher*, *feeder*, and not the progenitor, for it is a derivative from t'shín *to grow*.* Most other mythologies consider the relation of sun to moon as that of man to wife, or of wife to man (cf. Deus Lunus), but here the thing is different. There are no female characters of importance in Klamath mythology, nor does the language distinguish grammatically between the sexes.

821 The difficulty which we experience to distinguish solar and lunar dei-
171 ties from each other in some of the American religions is caused by the
197 circumstance that in many languages of this western hemisphere the term for *sun* and for *moon* is the same. In such languages both orbs are distinguished from each other by being called day-luminary, or night-sun, night-luminary, and with some tribes the belief has been found, that both are actually the same celestial body, one being merely the image or shadow of the other. In the Maskoki languages hási answers for both, but the moon is commonly called ní'li hási or "night sun." In the Tonica language táχtchiksh, abbrev. táχtchi stands for sun, moon, and star, but the moon is usually named lá-u táχtchi "night luminary," the stars táχtchi tipulá, while the sun is either áχshukun táχtchi, "day luminary" or simply táχtchi. Of the Tinné languages many have tsā, sā, of the Algonkin languages kísis or parallel forms for both celestial bodies, separate distinctions being

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* Cf. the Grammar, in Appendix VI, p. 710.

821 added for "day" and "night." In the Tsimsián and in some of the Selish
171 dialects the terms for both also agree, but in the Shoshonian and Pueblo
197 languages they differ entirely. In Utah and other Shoshonian dialects the term for moon shows the archaic or reverential suffix -pits, -püts previously noticed (ma-atáwa-pits in Utah), which closely corresponds to *παλαίφατος* as used in the Homeric poems.

While the sun divides time into days, seasons, and years, our sections of time called weeks (quarters of the moon) and months (lunations, moons) are due to the revolutions of the moon. This is what caused the Klamath Indians to call both orbs by the same name: shápash *the one who tells*, which signifies: "which tells the time," or "time measurer." For the moon a parallel form exists in the Timucua, once spoken in Florida: acu-hiba *star which tells*, viz: "star measuring the time" and in the name of the Egyptian moon-god Tehuti, called Thoth by the Greeks,* also in our Germanic *mân*, English: *moon*, Germ. *Mond*, "the measurer."

Here as elsewhere the moon appears under different names, for in Klamath she is also called uk̲aúχōsh "the one broken to pieces." This term never applies to the sun, but only to the moon in the four phases, as a
[192] changeable body.† Originally this was only an epithet of the moon, but in course of time it gave origin to a separate deity, for Uk̲aúχōsh distinctly appears as moon-god in a myth, which relates his marriage to Wekétash, a frog-woman living with ten beautiful sisters on the west side of Upper Klamath Lake. Uk̲aúχōsh now carries her, the frog, in his heart, and this is what we are wont to call "the man in the moon." Should only a little bit be left of him when in the bear's mouth (referring to eclipse), she would be able to bring him to life again.

LEMÉ-ISH OR THUNDER.

● 776 All elementary deities in the Klamath religion, except K'múkamtch and Aíshish, are mysterious, shadowy beings, not sufficiently anthropomor-

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* Various functions are assigned to Tehuti; his symbol is the *ibis-crane*, whose long, pacing steps evidently suggested to the myth-makers of Egypt the idea, that he was measuring the earth. The name Tehuti is derived from the Egyptian verb teχu *to be full*, for the measuring of liquids, grains, etc., is effected by *filling vases* possessed of certain cubic dimensions.

† Derived from uk̲á-uk̲ua *to knock to pieces.*

776 [821] phized and too dimly defined to deserve the name "gods." Those among them that are most frequently mentioned in myths and popular stories are the genii of the Thunder and of the Winds.

773 776 821 The genius of the Thunder, Lĕmé-ish, is sometimes mentioned as a single person, or abstract mythic being, but more frequently as a company of five brothers, the Thunders or Lĕmelĕmé-ish. At times they make themselves formidable, for their terrible weapon is the lightning or thunderbolt; they cleave the mountains, rocks, and trees, kill, roast, and devour human beings, in which character they are called mák̲laks-papísh. The interior of their lodge is dark, for a sky obscured by a thunderstorm is lacking the full daylight. K'múkamtch entering the lodge, disguised as the "strong man" under the mask of Skē'l or pine-marten, annihilates them, for the winter sky with its cold blasts is antagonistic to the display of celestial electricity. The eldest of the Thunders is married to Skúle, the meadow lark, who is the sister of pine-marten. After having made themselves thoroughly odious upon the earth, they were, as the myth tells us, relegated to the far-off skies, where they can frighten the people by their noise only and do no further harm.

The parents of the Thunders are supposed to live in a small hut or kayáta, and in their stead two dogs are often mentioned as accompanying the Thunders. Of these there are five, because the thunder rolling along the mountains is heard in *repeated* peals, and these peals are in the myths likened to repeated explosions of the Thunders' hearts. The shooting up of lightnings from the earth to the skies gave rise to the idea that their home is underground, and that the lightnings coming down from the skies are simply the Thunders returning to their homes. As the spirit of the Thunder Yayayá-ash is mentioned in a mythic tale.

The *Thunder-bird*, which plays so prominent a part in the myths of the Eastern and Northwestern tribes, does not appear here under this name, but is represented in some stories by the Raven or K̲ák̲.*

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* The belief in the Thunder-bird is found more frequently among Northern than among Southern Indians. Cf. "The Thunder-bird amongst the Algonkins," by A. F. Chamberlain, Amer. Anthropologist, Jan., 1890, pp. 51–54; and my "Migration Legend of the Creek Indians," vol. 2, 49.

YÁMASH AND MÚASH.

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821 North wind (Yámash) and South wind (Múash) are more important to the inhabitants of the Klamath highlands than any of the other winds, and therefore are mentioned more frequently. Winds always appear in connection with K'múkamtch or his representative among the animals, Skē'l. Thus when Skē'l visits his sister, Meadow Lark, who is married to the oldest of the Thunders, he is accompanied by K̲ák̲ (the Raven, or stormbird), Yámash, Tchákinksh, Yéwash, Múash, Tkálamash, and Gŭ'pashtish. The Thunder receives and feeds them with the blood of the people slain by him.

The conflict between Skē'l and Tcháshkai on one side and the Winds on the other is related on page 111 of the Texts and is purely meteorological. The South Wind obscures by clouds the face of the moon, and thus kills him temporarily; but when the summer sun appears in the form of Skē'l both winds disappear at once to make room to an unclouded sky. The hat of the dead Yámash afterwards serves to frighten the Thunders, as related on the same page. Which was the southern home of Múash is not pointed out in the myths, but that of Yámash was Yámsi Mountain, which is called after him. Yámash corresponds to some extent to the Kabibonokka or Northwind of the Ojibwē Indians, and is as much an object of folklore as he is. In other mythologies of America the winds are the blasts of monsters or big beasts; for the animism prevailing in all the ancient myths requires them to be the manifestation of some living being.

KĂÍLA OR THE EARTH.

823 The Earth is regarded by these Indians as a mysterious, shadowy power of incalculable energies and influences, rather mischievous and wicked than beneficial to mankind. The Indians ascribe anger and other passions to it, but never personify it in clearer outlines than the ancients did their *"Ερα* and *Tellus;* and it never appears as an active deity in the numerous mythic tales gathered by Mr. Curtin for the collection of the Bureau of Ethnology. I know of it only through the song-lines gathered by myself from individuals of both tribes.

Among all nations of the world we find the idea, which is real as well

823 the two latter alluding to rumblings below the earth's surface. In the song
539 192; 3 the term hämóla should be changed to t'hämóla, temóla, *was covered with haze* or *mist*, a phenomenon often producing malarial and other fevers, and therefore regarded by these Indians as of bad augury. Other passages mentioning the Earth, personified or not, are quoted in Dictionary, p. 123; in one of these, K'múkamtch is threatening to "whirl the earth around" in a dance, and probably this song forms part of some mythic story. (Texts, pg. 192; 9.)

MUNATÁLKNI.

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776 Besides the Earth there is another chthonic deity known to the Klamath people, Munatálkni or the Genius of the Underworld. I have met his name in one story only, which is that of the creation and first sojourn of the people around Wood River, between Fort Klamath and the Upper Klamath Lake. English-speaking Indians readily identify him with our *devil;* but no wicked or immoral qualities are ascribed to him, as morals enter into the religious ideas of the hunter tribes but sporadically. There is something of the aboriginal in him, and he is also called Lĕmunákni, the signification of both names being analogous.

He appears in the following tale: When K'múkamtch created this world, he made one man, and one woman intended to be the man's sister. The creator placed them in a garden (háshuash) studded with trees producing sweet fruits and built a house for them. The adjoining stable contained domestic animals for their use. All this was upon the prairie watered by Wood River. Man and woman were both blind, and had to remain so until the fruits would be ripe. K'múkamtch told them he would visit them on a Sunday and would knock at the top of their house. Should anybody knock at the door, the knocks would be those of Munatálkni and they must not open. Munatálkni came and knocked at the door, informing them that the fruits were ripe and that he brought them all kinds of berries. The woman said to the man: "Open the door, K'múkamtch is here!" but the man said: "Don't open; it is not K'múkamtch who stands at the door!" The woman opened; Munatálkni put one sweet berry in her mouth and she tasted it. He was wearing a long head-dress of feathers tied to the top of his hair, his emblem as conjurer, and this string of feathers was so long as

773 to touch the ground. He then stole all the fruits in the garden and went
776 with them to his underground abode.

Then K'múkamtch, who had observed all this from a distance, arrived and knocked at the top of the house. This time it was the man who opened. When asked what had become of the fruits he excused himself by stating that Munatálkni had taken all of them. This put K'múkamtch into such a rage that he threw the woman out of the house and whipped her to death. Then he cut open the eyelids of both, which previously had been fastened together, and the man said: "I can see the sun." K'múkamtch then instructed the man how to make his livelihood by using the bow and arrow, and how to manufacture sinew-strings and obsidian arrow-heads. Upon this he brought the man's sister into life again and both went into the mountains to hunt, for they had nothing to eat. Ever after this K'múkamtch remained angry with them.

This is but the commencement of a long tale designed to show the miraculous growth of the family which sprang from the first man and woman, and their progress in the life-sustaining arts and manufactures.
[177] There is no doubt that the above is a singular distortion of the Bible tale concerning Adam and Eve in paradise. The question which remains to be solved is this, whether or not Munatálkni himself is borrowed also from the Jewish story. If he is, then in connection with him we may recall Aíshish, who, according to some Modocs, is nobody else but Jesus Christ, who two thousand years ago passed through Lost River Valley and dug a deep well there which he presented to the Modocs—all this on account of a phonetic similarity between the names Aíshish and Jesus.

The remainder of the story is exactly like what other Oregonian myths relate concerning the origin of mankind and is incontestably of Indian origin. No further mention is made in it of Munatálkni.

SHŪ'KASH OR WHIRLWIND.

773 Another of the numerous elementary deities is the Whirlwind or
776 Shū'kash. An interesting mythic tale about it, which I have obtained
821 among the Modocs in the Indian Territory, makes of the Shū'kash an
engine brought into play from time to time with tremendous effect by the

773 genius presiding over it. This genius is called Tchitchatsχä'-ash or "Big
776 Belly;" he is represented to be an old man whose vigor of life is on the
821 decrease. When he leaves his lodge, his appearance embodies the rain-laden, dark-hued, thick nimbus clouds overhanging the earth. When his engine* comes into action, he attracts by it all the objects within reach, he oppresses the earth with his weight, and forces wayfarers to walk in other paths than they intended to travel lest they may incur danger to life. When he has spent his force by this wanton display, he is rent by a stroke of lightning or a strong gust of wind; he is dissolved into atoms, and the bones filling his big paunch, which had produced the rattling noise attending the course of whirlwinds, fall down to the ground. Tsáskai, the Weasel, the brother of Marten, wrestling with the old man and conquering him after a hard struggle, is the mythic agent who brings about his final discomfiture.

SPIRIT DEITIES.

'Εκτέταμαι φοβερὰν φρένα, δείματι πάλλων.

775 No people has ever been discovered that did not believe in the return
776 of human souls after death to their former homes in the form of ghosts. Ghosts or spirits hovering through space are invisible and may inflict damage to anybody without danger of being recognized; therefore they usually inspire awe and terror, and wherever the existence of these fanciful beings is recognized imagination fills the earth, the atmosphere, and the waters with such spooks. Not all of these are necessarily supposed to be the souls of the deceased, but they may also represent the souls of animals, the spirits of mountains, winds, the celestial bodies, and so forth, for animism has its widest sway in this sort of superstition. Very different qualities are ascribed to each of these hobgoblins or spooks. They are either gigantic or dwarfish in size, powerful or weak in body, attractive or repulsive, of
[787] beneficial or wicked influence. They chiefly appear at night or in stormy weather; some are seen single, others in crowds, and a few of their number

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[193] * Shū'kash is the substantive of sh'hū'ka *to whirl about*, this being the medial distributive form of húka *to run about:* sh'huhóka, sh'hú·oka, sh'hū'ka "to run about by itself in various directions."

775 can be perceived only by the trained eye of such as are initiated into the
776 conjurer's profession.

787 The classes of specters mentioned more frequently than others in mythology are the spirits of the dead, and giants, dwarfs, and fairies.

775 *The Skō'ks*, or spirits of the deceased, occupy an important place in the psychologic marvels of the Klamath Indian, and are objects of dread and abomination, feelings which are increased by a belief in their omnipresence and invisibility. The popular idea of a ghost is suggested in all climates and historic epochs by that of a *shadow* of somebody's former self, and in several Indian languages the same word is used for *shadow, soul*, and *ghost*.* The proper signification of skō'ks, shkū'ksh is "what comes out of;" like skó'hs, skó *spring of the year;* it is derived from skóa *to come out of, to emerge from, sprout up.*

In the mind of the Indian the appearance of a skō'ks comes pretty near the popular idea of a witch or spook as held by the uneducated classes of our population. The soul of a man becomes a skúks as soon as the corpse has been buried or consumed by fire. It hovers in the air around its former home or the wigwams of the neighbors and at night-time only. Its legs hang down and produce a rattling noise, and the whole appears in a white or a black shade of color. Usually nobody sees them, they do not harm anybody, nor do they produce any dreams; they appear to the senses and sight of the living only when they come to presage death to them. They undergo no metempsychosis into animals or plants; after hovering awhile around their former homes they retire to the spirit-land in the sky, "some-
787 where near K'múkamtch." Their arrival there is afterwards revealed by dreams to the surviving relatives, who express in songs what they have seen during their slumbers.

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* In the Tonika or Túniχka language of Louisiana télia or télia'htch signify *shadow, soul*, and *reflection in the water;* in the Cha'hta, State of Mississippi, shilómbish is *shadow* and *soul*, while a *ghost* is shilup. The Egyptian ka and the Greek *εἴδωλον*, the *soul* after death, really signify *image*, and to this we may compare the use made of the Latin *imago*. The Cherokees, as Mr. James Mooney informs me, distinguish between adántă *soul* in the living being, uⁿdalí' secondary soul of an animal killed once before, and asgína an ordinary *specter, ghost* of malevolent disposition, which last term served the missionaries for transcribing the word "devil."

775 821 The common belief of the Oregonians is that after death the soul travels the path traveled by the sun, which is the westward path; there it joins in the spirit-land (ē'ni) the innumerable souls which have gone the same way before.[*] If the deceased was a chief, commander, or man of note, his "heart" can be seen going west in the form of a shooting star. The Egyptian belief was that the soul of the dead was following Atum, the sinking sun, to the west; and since then innumerable nations and tribes have adhered to the same belief.

From the Texts obtained from Dave Hill, pp. 129, 130, we learn that other abodes of dead men's spirits are the bodies of living fish. Perhaps Hill learned of this belief among the maritime and river Indians with whom he lived on the Columbia River, where the idea of fish eating corpses could suggest itself more readily than upon the lakes of the Klamath highlands. The *Notes* which I added to these curious texts give all the explanations which it is at present possible to give. It appears from them that such spirits can enter the bodies of "spirit-fish," that one skúks can see another, and that Indians, not white men, sometimes see the skúks, but at the peril of their lives. A distinction is also made between good and bad skúks, the latter being probably those who render the Indian's sleep uncomfortable by unpleasant dreams.

776 821 Some natural phenomena often appear to these Indians in the form of specters or hobgoblins, as clouds, water-spouts, snow-storms, columns of dust, etc Noisily and rapidly they pursue their lonely path, and their gigantic, terrific frames reach up to the skies; whoever meets them unawares is knocked down senseless or killed outright, or must exchange his body for another. Some of these specters look dark on one side and light on the other.

177 775 821 In northern latitudes, where polar lights are frequently visible, they are supposed by the Indians to represent the dance of the dead, and whenever Christianity is introduced among them they identify this beautiful spectacle with the last judgment, when the spirits of the deceased move about in the expectation of the coming Christ.

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[*] Cf. Dictionary, sub voce ē'ni and Grammar, Appendix VI, p. 702. The Warm Spring Indians call the spirit-land: ayayúni. See also Texts, p. 174; 11.

776 From a Klamath myth we gather the information that there is a guardian over the spirits wafting through the sky, called Wásh k'músh, or the *gray fox*. This name is evidently borrowed from the coloring of the sky, as it appears before or during a polar light, and must be compared with another beast name, the wán or wanáka, the *red fox*, which is the symbol of the sun-halo.

756 776 Another class of spirits embodies the spirits of those animals which have to be consulted by the kíuks or conjurer when he is called to treat a case of disease. Such persons only who have been trained during five years for the profession of conjurers can see these spirits, but by them they are seen as clearly as we see the objects around us. To see them they have to go to the home of a deceased conjurer, and at night only. He is then led by a spirit called Yayayá-ash appearing in the form of a one-legged man towards the spot where the animal-spirits live; this specter presides over them; there the conjurer notices that each appears different from the other, and is at liberty to consult them about the patient's case. Yayayá-ash means "the frightener," and by the myth-tellers is regarded as the Thunder or its spirit.

776 *Giants.*—The imagination of every primitive people has been busy in producing monsters of all qualities and shapes, human and animal, even walking mountains and trees. What we call giants are generally personifications of irresistible powers of nature, which are supposed to perform feats impossible for man's utmost strength; by dwarfs are symbolized powers of nature which achieve great and wonderful things by steady and gradual work unnoticed by the generality of human beings.

773 823 Giants are often the originators of geological revolutions of the earth's crust. Thus the giant Léwa represents the circular, lofty island lying within the waters of Crater Lake or Gíwash. He went by an underground passage (fissure?) from his seat over to Yámsi Mountain to wrestle with Skē'l, the all-powerful pine-marten, whose home is at Yámsi. After conquering him, he carried him through the same passage again to Crater Lake for the purpose of feeding him to his children, and his daughter, Léwam pé-ip, struck him with a heavy flint-stone.

776 823 Like the walls of that lake and the whole Cascade range, the island in

776 question is of volcanic origin. The natives avoid going near the lake or
823 even ascending the surrounding heights.* Earthquakes are often ascribed by foreign nations to giants stretched out below, who are shifting their underground position. Giants often appear also as ravishers, ogres, and man-eaters, like the Scandinavian Yättur, and two giant-women of the Elip tilikum or "Primeval People," were changed into two columns of sandstone, near the Yákima country, on Middle Columbia River, for having preyed upon the human race.†

776 *Dwarfs.*—A miraculous dwarf is mentioned under the name of na'hnias, whose foot-prints, as small as those of a child, are sometimes seen upon the
[756] snow-clad slopes of the Cascade Range by the natives. But the dwarfish creatures who make them can be seen only by those initiated into the mysteries of witchcraft, who by such spirit-like beings are inspired with a
[192] superior kind of knowledge, especially in their treatment of disease. The name is derived either from néna *to swing the body from one to the other side*, or from nainȧ́ya *to shiver, tremble*

[823
825] Another dwarf genius, about four feet high, *Gwinwin*, lived on Williamson River, where he habitually sat on the top of his winter lodge and killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird.

The Klamaths appear to know about certain spirits having bodies of a diminutive size, but the characteristics of such are not distinct enough to permit identification with the *fairies*, Erdmännchen or Kabeiroi of European mythologies.

ANIMAL DEITIES.

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825 The deification of animals in the primitive forms of religion is highly instructive, and instances are so numerous that it would take a series of volumes to comprehend its details. Animal stories and shamanism are

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* Among the summits of the San Juan Mountains, New Mexico, there is to-day a lake bounded by precipitous walls, and there is a little island in the center of the lake with a hole in it, and something sticks out of the hole that looks like the top of a ladder, and "this is the place through which our ancestors emerged from the fourth into the fifth or present world." The Návajos never approach near to it, but they stand on high summits around, and view from afar their natal waters. (From Návajo Creation Myth, Am. Antiquarian, V, 1883, p. 213.)

† G. Gibbs in Pacific Railroad Reports, I, 411.

776 chapters of ethnology which afford us the deepest insight into the thoughts
825 which guide the untutored reasoning of the so-called savages.

Wherever we find deities in the stage of imperfect anthropomorphism we are likely to find also deified animals in the stage of zoodemonism and not in that of zootheism or zoolatry. Where gods and goddesses have reached a fully anthropomorphic shape, which occurred in a few American nations only, there we also find priests, temples, ceremonies, oracles, sacrifices, and prayers; but where deities remain in the undeveloped condition of spirits and demons, propitious or malevolent to mankind, we may expect to see the natives deifying quadrupeds, birds, or snakes, instead of giving their gods the human form, which is the most perfect form of this world's creatures. For in many physical qualities animals surpass the human being. This excites the admiration of man in his ruder stages; he wonders at their cunning and shrewdness, and thinks them his equals in more than one respect. Why should he not express such feelings as these by reverencing them and including them in his unpolished and naïve, but pictorial and candid folklore stories?

It would be a mistake to assume that the animals which the folklore of the Indian in the hunter stage chiefly celebrates are game animals or such as are of material advantage to him. Folklore selects for its purpose such beasts which the hunting and fishing Indian, with his great practical knowledge of animate creation, admires above others for such qualities as their surprising sagacity, their wonderful agility, the love for their offspring, the help afforded by them by discovering the hidden causes of disease, the beauty of their skin or other covering, and the change in the coloring of their fur-skins wrought by the alternation of the seasons—or such animals as he dreads on account of their ferocity, their nightly habits, their power of bringing about storms, thunder, or rain-fall, and last, but not least, for their demoniac power of presaging future events, especially war, disease, and death. The great *scarcity* of certain animals is also a sufficient cause for introducing them into the popular stories.

The animals which form the subject of mythic stories and beast tales are pretty much the same as those mentioned in the magic songs of the medical practitioners, of which I have brought together a considerable collection in Texts, pp. 153–181. The birds get an unusually large share in

776 these curious song lines; the loon (táplal) is noticed there for being the 825 best diving bird of these upland waters; the yellow-hammer, or tché-ush, a woodpecker, for its beautiful red plumage; the kilíwash, another woodpecker, for its precious scalp. The ducks are well remembered in these songs on account of their ubiquity, their numerous species, the elegance of their 821 exterior. Birds renowned for their influence upon the weather are the wíhuash and the tsiutsíwäsh, who can produce snow-fall; the kă'ls or ḵálχalsh, who possesses the power of making fogs (166; 22. 23).

The amphibians, insects and the organisms standing below these in the zoogenetic scale, are also reputed to possess magic powers; the songs of the 824 toad and of the spider are supposed to be especially effective. That the plants did not impress the mental capacity of these Indians to such a point as to make them objects of reverence can not be wondered at, as the mind of the Indian in cold climates is not turned in this direction Plants in which the Klamaths were interested are all mentioned, p. 180; 19, and the pond-lily, with its seeds, stands at the head of them. Even among the totem names of Eastern tribes only a few plant names are represented, *maize* being the most frequent among these; but in tropical countries, with their luxuriant vegetal growth, many trees, bushes, and stalks become objects of worship, like the copal and the ceĭba tree of Central America.

The deified animals of Klamath mythology are all capable of assuming the predicate ámtchiksh, abbr. -ámtch, -amts *primeval*, of which mention has been made previously, and many also appear collectively, as *five* (or *ten*) brothers or *five* sisters, sometimes with their old parents (titchka-ága). This is the case only with gregarious animals, and also applies to the Thunders. Many of the larger quadrupeds appear constantly with *two* young only.

825 773 The personified animals which receive the most frequent attention in Klamath Lake and Modoc myths are the marten, the weasel and the prairie-wolf or coyote.

Marten or Skĕ'l, Skĕ'lamtch always appears in connection with *Weasel* or Tcháshkai. Weasel is reputed to be the younger brother (tápiap) of Skĕ'l and acts as his servant and errand-boy. In the execution of the dangerous errands he is intrusted with, Weasel is often killed, and Skĕ'l

121 become in course of time. The working of animism can best be traced in
77 polytheism and polydemonism, in the shamanistic ideas as well as in the
religious. The principles traceable in the myth-making of the Klamath Indians, which differs in some points from those of other Indians, may be summed up as follows:

The sky-gods, as sun, moon, winds, thunder, etc., here as elsewhere surpass in importance and strength the other deified powers of nature, for "theology is meteorology." Some of these chief gods assume the mask of animate beings and inanimate things when they appear among men.

773 Creation myths do not generally mention the material from which or
776 the mode by which objects were created, but simply state that K'múkamtch
produced them by his thinking and will power.

The spirit, life, or heart of a deity is made distinct from the deity itself and can live at a distance from it. Cf. the pipe of K'múkamtch burnt in the fire, which in another myth figures as a small ~~ball (ké-iks)~~ and is his spirit or life.

The burlesque element, which the religions of Asia and Europe have banished almost entirely, appears here as an almost integral attribute of a god or genius. This appears to form an offset for the dire cruelties ascribed to the same demons, and is also characteristic of the religions studied east of Mississippi River.

The element of obscenity is only incidental to the burlesque element, but is sometimes very pronounced, especially in the beast stories. It was added to cause merriment only, and not for such immoral purposes as we see it applied to in the Decameron of Boccaccio and other products of a corrupt age.

[801] The deified beings of a lower order, as animals, etc., appear sometimes as *one* person, but just as often in the mystic number of *five*, if not of *ten*. Fire, waters, springs, and plants are not deified, but lakes are sometimes. Clouds do not appear here deified as witches, as they do among the Eastern Indians.

Certain miracles are here achieved by bodily contact and symbolic acts; so dead animals are brought to life again by jumping three or five

773 times over them or by blowing at them, an act which is supposed to impart
776 life.

CONCLUDING WORDS.

128 The limited space allowed for this ethnographic sketch forces me to
suppress the larger part of the matter for the present and to relegate it to a
future volume. A few points characteristic of the two tribes may, however,
be added on the last page of this Report.

614 The Klamath Indians are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan
171 system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of
582 North America. Matriarchate is also unknown among them; every one is
free to marry within or without the tribe, and the children inherit from the
595 father. Although polygamy is now abolished, the marriage tie is a rather
581 loose one. This tribe is the southernmost one of those that flatten their
304 infants' skulls, this practice continuing about one year only after birth.

764 Cremation of the dead has been abolished since 1868, though during
the Modoc war these Indians burned several of their dead. The custom of
suppressing the personal names of the dead is rigidly kept up at the present
178 time. Art never had any encouragement or votaries among the Klamaths,
769 and the only objects seen that could be regarded as art products were a
531 few rock paintings and a head-board on a grave near the Agency build-
532 ings, which was painted in the Haida style and represented a human face
flattened out to the right and left. Some baskets are artistically formed.
285 As there is no clay to be found on or near the reservation, pottery could
323 never become an art among these Indians. Their songs and poetry are also
artless, but nevertheless instructive, and several songs have beautiful tunes
533 that should be preserved. The musical and sonorous character of the lan-
538 guage fits it well for poetic composition; but a national poetry, to be of
success, would not have to adopt the rhyme as a metrical factor. Alliteration, assonance, or the prosody of the ancients would be more suitable to this upland language, with its arsis and thesis, than the artificial schemes which poets are devising for the modern European tongues. Who will be the first to teach the Muses the Klamath language?

NOTES.

*539 In preference to any other beast, the prairie-wolf, small wolf, or coyote (as he is
773 called in the West after an Aztec term meaning "digger, burrower") became con-
[825] nected in the mind of the Indian with the creation of the moon and the origin of the months or moons, because in moonlit nights he is heard howling from nightfall to dawn; sometimes alone, sometimes in packs of several dozen at a time. His querulous, whining howl is likened by the Indians with a "speaking to the moon". Our tale above is based upon the double sense of *moon* and *month*, in which the term shápash (the "indicator," from shápa to tell, indicate) is used. The idea of the creation of twice twelve moons originated in the delusion that in every period called *new* moon, moons were really made or manufactured *new* by the creator. The number twenty-four was perhaps suggested by the observation of lunar eclipses, or mock moons appearing in hazy weather. The coyote as the creator of the moons (and the creator of the universe among the Central Californians) naturally desired to have as many moons as possible; while K'múkamtch, as the wolf's antagonist, thought it better for the benefit of his own
*539 creation, the human beings, not to make the year too long. If the winter had to last
773 twelve months instead of six, how could they collect roots, bulbs, seed, fish, and game
192 enough to live through such a length of time?

105, 2. shipátχûkanka. Two moons being on the sky simultaneously would necessarily often cover and thereby eclipse or hurt each other.

105, 2. iggá-idshnank. The mother-coyote had hung up the twenty-four moons made by herself around the walls and ceiling of her winter-lodge, which in this myth signifies the sky. The suffix -ídshna points to her walking from one spot of the lodge to another while busy in suspending the moons.

[776] 105, 3. gú'hli'. A great deal of shrewdness is ascribed to the principal deity of the Klamath Lake people as well as to those of other *hunting* tribes. He manifests his astuteness in entering the coyote's lodge in her *absence* only, and to prepare a trick for her there.

105, 4. tát' né for táta nen.

[194] 105, 5. Hitá tchía! is pronounced as if it was *one* word only: hitátchia.

105, 6. shû'shamka, distributive form of sh'û'mka, to hum, grunt, to make hã hã. He grunted every time he planted another awl, sometimes in an interrogative tone of voice, and did it to disguise their secret planting into the ground.

105, 7. wákaitch composed of wák haitch; wásha-wéka composed of wásham wéaga; tχéwag or tχéwaga, diminutive of tχé-u first, first in order, eldest; cf. hû'ktag.

[193] 105, 7. tû'm haktch. This language has a term corresponding to our *too much* (tû'm tchátchui), but none which renders our *too* with accuracy. Adjectives or adverbs qualified by *too* are therefore pronounced with a higher pitch of voice and the quantity of their main vowel is increased when the Indian intends to express this adverb.

105, 10. wakaí, "why not," a combination of wák and ká-i.

105, 14. gatpanû'la gi'ta: he has come here and has left again.

[825] 105, 16. Kiti'ta. The coyote-wolf, while rolling forth and back on the ground, as these animals are in the habit of doing, ran her belly into the bone-awls insidiously planted there by K'múkamtch, so that the entrails shed their contents on the lodge-floor.

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[787]
K̲ák̲ tχû'tχatk̲ish; tsúi sa lúluk sa k̲ák̲am tχû'tχatkash, tsúi sa
A raven is a soothsayer; and they believing the raven's repeated prophecy, they
shenó:tanka; pits hû'nk pán k̲ák̲ mák̲laks.
fight each other; it also eats, the raven, (dead) men.

[787]
Tutíksh mák̲laks shuína tchû'χapkam m'nálam shashámoksham;
Dreams the natives sing about dead their relatives;
húmasht sháhunk gíug kíukayunk flags.
for this same reason they stick out flags.

[525]
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[825]
Tmélhak gítko shaklō'tkish tídsh tínχa; tû'm íχaga. Tmélhak tā'dsh
A tmélhak-squirrel having, the gambler well succeeds; much he wins. The tmélhak (is) certainly
sháyuaks; shakálshtat lak̲í, tíds sualaliámpkatko.
of much account; in the game (it is) chief, well managing (it).

Tcháshash mû'na lushántsnank ·mbáwa skí's; tsúi mák̲laks nánuk
The skunk deep down while scratching a hole emitted a blast; upon this people all
[825]
hushtsóga tsáshash-kíuks. Snáwedsh shanahóliuk spû'nshna p'laiwásham
killed the skunk-conjurer. A wife seeking he carried off the eagle's
tû'paks ktanápkash. Shléank tchawíka p'laíwash, wí-udsna ánkutka
sister when asleep. Seeing (this) became furious eagle, beat with a club
tchásēs, wí-udsish k̲'läká, tsúi k̲ó-i pílui. Ndopóg ktsō'l hämetsípka:
the skunk, the beaten one died, then badly stunk. Smelling (it) the stars said:
"pátkal!" at p'laíwash pátkalp'le, stópatchka, tsúi gémpēle túpakshash
"get up!" and eagle rose up again, washed the face, then went home sister
m'na énank.
his taking with him.

II.

*539
[525]
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[777]
Hä shaklō'tkish pí'sham shnû'lash ntággal, shaklō'tkish tídsh vumí',
If a gambler of humming-bird the nest finds, (and) the gambler well hides (it) away,
k̲aítoks kaní vuiní'χi. Hä kó-e shléa pahápkash, pē'tch ktákta sk̲ä'tish
not any one conquers (him). If a frog he finds dried-up, the leg he cuts off left
tapí'dshnish vumí'; húmashtak shû'ta shaklō'tkish, k̲aítoks kaní vuiní'χi.
hind (leg), hides away; (if) thus acts the gambler, (then) not any one beats (him).
Hä kaní tchatchlaíptcha shlä'-a (kinkáni tût wá), tídsh tí'nχa. Hä kaní
If any one a kind of fire-bug finds (scarce there they are), good luck it brings. If any one
mā'ntchnish mák̲läksām shtáp shuálka, pahápkash käíla-shushatí'shash
old-fashioned Indian arrow-head saves, dried-up a mole
tchí'sh, hû'kt humáshtak tídsh tí'nχa tchí'sh.
also, he in the same way well succeeds also.

[171]
[776]
[769]
É-ukshikni Mō'dokni lóla p'laikí'shash lák̲iash, shtínta tchish wengápkam shkō'kshash.
The Klamath Lakes (and) Modocs believe in the heavenly ruler, revere also of the deceased the spirits.

000
Mō'dokni shtûpuyúka túnäpni wäíta túnäpni pshín gshiúlak̲a káyak
The Modocs at first menstruation five days (and) five nights dance never
ktákt'nan; wewánuish ta-unä'pni wäíta k̲á-i tchû'lēks pán.
sleeping; the females for ten days no meat eat.

* 539 162; 4. Of the yaúχal, white-headed or bald eagle, Haliaetus leucocephalus, another
533 conjurer's song was obtained. Cf. 165; 5.
755 162; 5. The wording of this song could not be obtained with certainty.
192 162; 6. Stands for: atí tchelä'wash nû géna.
[825] 162; 7. té-i, té-i has no meaning, but simply serves to beat the measure when dancing with short steps.

163; 8. This song is said to be that of the quiver (tókanksh) and its purport the same as that of No. 7. Yáhiash is a kind of aquatic bird.

163; 9. A similarly worded song is in the Modoc collection, given by Toby Riddle.

163; 10. Sháwalsh is here lengthened into sháwallsh for metrical reasons.

163; 11. This is a favorite song of a kíuks on the Williamson River, called Skúkum Doctor (stout doctor). Given by Dave Hill, also 12 and 13.

[776] 163; 13. Foot-prints not larger than those of a baby are sometimes discovered in the higher mountains of the Cascade Range. The Indians refer them to a dwarf called na'hnías, whose body can be seen by the conjurers of the tribe only. The dwarf gives them his advice for curing the sicknesses of others and inspires them with a superior kind of knowledge.

163; 14–16 were dictated by an Indian whom I found at Linkville.

163; 15. The name of the animal, probably a bird, to which this conjurer's song refers was not obtained. Cf. shápsam ptchíwip in Dictionary.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSAM SHUÍ'SH.

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INCANTATIONS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE CONJURERS.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN.

1. *Song of the Lake:*

Ktsálui gé-u é-ush

My lake is glittering in azure colors.

2. *Song of the rain-storm:*

Gé-u a-i népaks népka,
gûlkásh gé-u hû shuísh.

The disease produced by me has arrived,
I am the storm and wind and this is my song.

3. *Song of the conjurer's arrow:*

Gé-u a hû't hänä'sish

This here is my long magic arrow.

4. *Song of the North wind:*

Yámsam gé-u gē'-ish kápa –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑

I am the North wind, and in my path I am irresistible.

*539 533 755 70. *Song of the little wipĕlí'wash forest-bird:*

Wipĕlí'wash nû shuí'sh gî,
wuipléwĕsh nû shuí'sh.

My own song I sing, I the wipĕlíwash-bird.
I the wuipléwash am singing about myself.

71. *Song of the witkatkish-hawk:*

Gé-u aí hû tû' sáwals, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
witkatkísam gé-u sáwals. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

My head-crest this is, it is that of the witkatkish-hawk.

NOTES.

[825] The incantations obtained from Morgan are mostly of the kind called shuinŏ'tkish, and a large number of them are attributed to birds. Some of them probably exist in a more explicit form, which was not remembered, and the rhythmic or musical form *539 533 755 192 was obtained of a part of them only. A literal translation of these song-lines is an impossibility in most instances, if their sense has to be rendered in full; I have therefore furnished only paraphrastic interpretations. The list is alphabetic, and was arranged after the names of the animals, or other personified objects, to which the incantations are attributed. Many of these songs are referred to in the "Subject List of Incantations" given by Morgan.

164; 1. Ktsálui, to be resplendent with colors, is mainly said of objects showing a blue or purple tinge: pû'ksam shláps ktsáluitko, the camass-plant has a bluish color. This verb is also used when speaking of the rainbow; of the lizard: 165; 14., also of the weasel's fur-skin: 169; 55.

[772] 164; 3. The use of these conjurer's arrows is mentioned 73, 5.

[193] 164; 4. Yámsam for Yámasham; cf. *Note* to 111, 4. Of the personified North wind the Indians say "he lives up in the mountains". On the north side the basin of the Williamson River is closed up by high mountains. Gé-ish and génuish, génhuish means the action of going and that of having gone, or the present and the past going; both were translated by "*gait*", "*tread*", a term which does not differ much from the real meaning. Both terms also occur in the songs obtained from "Doctor" John, and are mainly used of quadrupeds, amphibians, and reptiles.

164; 4. kápa probably for gátpa (nû), "I have come".

[136] 165; 6. The yĕ'n sucker-fish is quite abundant in the lakes of the Klamath highlands and has been identified by Prof. E. D. Cope as the Catostomus labiatus.

[821] 165; 7. yéwa. In Morgan's series of incantations there are song-lines on wind-gusts, tempests, rain-storms and on the winds blowing from each of the four cardinal points of the compass. These latter are not positively stated to be producers of disease, though they are dreaded on account of their force and violence. The East wind (yéwash) blowing over the alkaline or volcanic, arid lands of Southern Oregon sings: yéwa, yéwa (nû) which does not only signify "I blow from the East", but also "I am howling".

165; 11. Feigning to draw a rope or string from their own posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear.

NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

By Robert F. Spencer

773 177 178 IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among 776 other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer 182 can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations. A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal myth.

175 177 Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which 222 it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In 226 its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes 631 of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic 621 economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separatistic hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly 771 791 developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

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101 122 [1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949, on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund, 1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

113 [2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

771 To treat aboriginal Klamath religion under three headings of shamanism, [791] power quest, and cosmology is patent oversimplification. In nature and [551] content these features formed an integrated configuration reflecting a major cultural preoccupation. It is true that the shaman in each community played a dominant role and in his capacity as curer, magician, and entertainer com- [787] manded the utmost in social prestige. On the other hand, as was common in western North America, every individual, at puberty and thereafter, deliberately and repeatedly sought contact with a variably defined spirit world. Thus Klamath culture had a variation of the American Indian guardian- 773 spirit theme. Less specifically formalized, and so perhaps, less well integrated, • 776 were the elements of myth and tale, the rationalizations for the presence of various natural phenomena, for eschatology, and for the general conception of the universe. Like adjacent tribes, the Klamath interested themselves in animal spirits. These were of particular importance in providing shamanistic power. In the individual power quest, however, the sources from which spiritual forces emanated were less specifically defined. A rather wide range of supernatural powers was recognized, some being animals, some vaguely anthropomorphic, others relating to such natural features as mountains, streams, rocks, or even landmarks like Crater Lake. In respect to these forces an involved folklore has arisen which allows some classification of the Klamath [775] concepts of the supernatural. In this realm, for example, are views about the abode of the dead and the nature of ghosts and souls, these being carefully differentiated from nonhuman spirits.[3] Here too is a body of myth relating to superhuman dwarf men and women, to the forces in specific places or natural phenomena in the Klamath terrain, and, finally, the most important for this discussion, to the culture hero, the anthropomorphic Kemu'kemps.[4]

[171] Kemu'kemps, while not usually identified with an animal spirit, has many characteristics suggesting the folklore regarding Coyote in the Plateau-Basin. He is at once creator and trickster, angrily forbidding in some contexts, indifferent in others, and in still others a ludicrous buffoon.

[825] Essentially human in conceptualization (a myth complex relating to a [821] human hero also occurs in adjacent regions), Kemu'kemps is sometimes identified with the marten, whose younger brother is weasel, and with the winds.[5] In the myths assembled by Gatschet, he constantly rivals his magically born son 'Ayšiš, whose destruction he repeatedly plans, often with the result [821] of encompassing his own. Weather, such as rain or heat, was also attributed to him. Kemu'kemps is also the creator, and there are numerous folktales which tell how he brought various locations into being. At his instigation,

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[113] 1939), cf. 145-149; Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distributions: Northeastern California* (Anthropological Records, 7: 2, Berkeley, 1942).

[3] Spier, 1930, pp. 100 ff.

[113] [4] Cf. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (U. S. Geological Survey, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Washington, 1890), pt. 1, lxxix-lxxxv, and pt. 2, 138-140. A summary is also given by Spier, 1930, loc. cit.

[5] Gatschet, 1890, pt. 1, lxxxii-iii.

773 776 823 Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6] the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

177 175 721 To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifications in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroachment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon. 791 797 An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and 182 patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

175 668 Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

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825 [6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'ākemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

113 [7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

113 [9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

178 latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence
that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on
the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often
recur.

787 The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, ap-
881 parently regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was
usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power
785 obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts
existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating,
533 and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath
emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word
/ʃuw'i·s/ meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on
787 context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from
177 without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior
797 associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly in-
dividualized and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality,
it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers,
the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions.
One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with
the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The
examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older in-
formants. Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions as-
sociated with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

782 A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me,
"Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and
776 old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.'
823 I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I
774 say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over
787 there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains
and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I
dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it."
She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to
Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up,
up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man
standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I
773 don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The in-
formant refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of
whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena:
"When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They
said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never
did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it
was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a
797 real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those
things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

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[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

782 Other informants also give a hint of this attitude. Even where there is
776 sophistication by virtue of education or long-time residence away from the
823 group, one encounters statements like that of a woman, half-Klamath, half-
774 Caucasian: "Those old Indians had a lot of sense. They kind of felt at home
around here and they would get a lift just from talking to the mountains
787 and lakes. It was like praying and it made them feel at peace. When I get
up in the morning, I look first over there [at Mt. Pitt] and it makes me feel
good too. Not that I pray in the old Indian way; that's just idolatry. But
it's like the scenery kind of gets ahold of you even if I been seeing it all my
787 life."

776 A possible indication of this attitude appears in the repeated warnings to
855 children to avoid certain rocks and cliffs. "You might fall down and hurt
yourself" is of course quite true; on the other hand, places about which some
823 modern Klamath parents feel particularly uneasy were associated aboriginally
with power sources. A strong drive in the past was fear that a child might be
784 harmed through contact with "power." Every effort was made to keep the
child away from the shaman, the sweat lodge, the mourning place, and the
841 like. (It may be noted that menstrual blood was placed near the cradled
child to negate forces whose mere presence could harm the inexperienced.)
These attitudes toward nature and the surrounding natural phenomena, at
least as sources of uneasiness, still exist among younger Klamath of today.

773 Also obtainable is evidence on attitudes toward the culture hero. Some
776 offer a rational systematization of beliefs concerning him. Generally, this
177 involves some interpretation in the light of Christian reasoning. Kemu'kemps,
because of his essentially human characteristics, readily lends himself to
identification with the Christian God. The middle-aged woman quoted above,
struck by the linguistic parallels, notes: "Those old Indians were really
273 Christians. It's only the liquor around here that makes the unbelief and
trouble. Kemu'kemps means the 'Old One'; that's God. He revealed himself
to the Indians long before the Americans [sic] came. He had a son, too,
'Ayšiš, that's just like Jesus. He created the world, just like it says in the
Bible. If only those old Indians had been able to see it, they were close to
God all the time. They lived good upright lives under his guidance. Another
word for Kemu'kemps in our language is *Playtul'kni·;* that means the 'One
on High,' 'Somebody up there.' That's the name we give God in our language
now. It's all the same."

Not all informants are so definite in their syncretism. One elderly woman remarked: "Who is Kemu'kemps? I don't know. Sometimes I think he's God, but sometimes I think he must be Devil. Maybe he was just a story the old Indians made up. But they called him Playtul·kni· and that means God. My grandson asked me, 'Gramma, who's Kemu'kemps?' I say, 'I don't know. Maybe he's like God.' " In another connection she remarked: "I think that Kemu'kemps is Devil. He gets people into trouble; he leads them into temptation. When I was a little girl, they said to me, 'He's no good; don't believe that any more.' But I don't know. I see the icicles and I think of the wind and Kemu'kemps. He made the world and they call him Playtul'kni·. The Devil

773 is Mu·natul'kni· ("The One Below"). They say Kemu'kemps is everywhere
776 and that's like God. I think about that sometimes."

177 792 Undoubtedly, a confusion arises because of the adoption by missionaries, years ago, of terms for the Christian God which the Klamath had applied to the culture hero. The overlapping of Christian and native concepts is readily seen and provides a basis for debate and doubt.[15] It may be profitable to note some of the views and to determine how variable present attitudes are. There is scarcely any standardization except a very prevalent view that Kemu'kemps is somehow real.

The statements which follow were made by Klamath in response to the general question: What is Kemu'kemps? One man, aged about seventy-four, remarked to Hiroto Zakoji, University of Oregon: "Kemu'kemps disappears when he wants to. He tells what will happen and it happens exactly. He gives power to the Indian doctors [shamans] and sends them their songs. But I heard in stories that Kemu'kemps does bad things; he does tricks. I think he is mean, too. God in the Bible is mean sometimes, too. In the Bible it says that God is a jealous god. That's in the first Genesis [sic] and the Ten Commandments says that, too .... Sometimes I think Kemu'kemps is the Devil himself. There is a place near the dam over near Chiloquin on this side of the river. There is a big rock sticking out over there near a cave. Kemu'kemps tricks people to go there and dance when a girl reaches the age [puberty]. He misleads people. But God sometimes does bad things; he made Adam and Eve, but he also made the apple."

Two older male informants told separately versions of a myth about Kemu'kemps as a trickster. In the tale, the culture hero set what appeared to be venison up on poles. When the people present asked for some, he at once welcomed them to a feast. To their horror, they found that they were eating Kemu'kemps' feces. The hero laughed and disappeared. The remarks of a man, aged sixty-two, are of interest: "Can you imagine him doing a thing like that? I think that's just a disgusting old Indian story. God wouldn't do a thing like that, so Kemu'kemps must be Devil. But God made plagues in Egypt and maybe that's what this was like."

Although some informants conclude that the culture hero is an older revelation of the Christian God, others, as may be seen, are equally convinced that he is allied with or is the Christian Satan. But the ambivalent attitude appears to be most characteristic. H. Zakoji, of the University of Oregon, reports the following statement from a 74-year-old male informant: "I don't know what he is, God or Devil or what he is. According to the Bible, we worship one God. Nobody ever saw God and white people say that. That's what gets me. Kemu'kemps dealt with the Indians only. He must be before Christ came and he must have disappeared when Christ came." In another connection, he said to me: "If Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came, then Christ conquered him. They say when Christ died, he conquered sin and the Devil.

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113 [15] These statements suggest the views of Father Wilhelm Schmidt and their implications as given in his *High Gods of North America* (Oxford, 1933), especially chap. 8.

773 That's why Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came. But then I remember
776 them talking when I was young about how Kemu'kemps was coming back.
177 That was all lies so I guess Kemu'kemps must be the Devil. Still, they say he created all just like God. I don't know how to figure it."

Mention was made above that the culture hero had a son who was born miraculously. The possible relationship between 'Ayšiš and Jesus has caught the fancy of some. A man of seventy comments: "Yes, Kemu'kemps and God are one and the same. There's a story that says how Kemu'kemps saved a woman's baby when she jumped into the fire and that baby was raised as his own son. I don't believe it. God created all living things. He made the Devil, too. I think 'Ayšiš is the Devil because he's always trying to get the best of his father. We old Indians knew about God but we didn't know about our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

A 56-year-old woman remarked: "Yes, Kemu'kemps is God and he had a son, just like Jesus. 'Ayšiš even dies and comes alive again in the old Indian stories, and that's like the Christians teach. And that Holy Ghost business, that's the power that God gives. The Indians knew about that. That's why you say 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' "

But so concise a syncretism of aboriginal and Christian religious elements
[184] is rare. Younger people vary greatly in belief. One man, about thirty-eight, noted: "Kemu'kemps? They told us stories about him when we were kids. They said he's like God. It doesn't matter to me. Maybe he is; they always say how he made everything around here. Maybe he did; things get that way somehow." A 31-year-old woman remarked: "Kemu'kemps stuff is what they tell kids. That's old Indian devil-talk. I don't know nothing about it." And a 16-year-old girl stated: "I've heard my grandmother talk about Kemu'kemps. That's kind of scary stuff like the dead coming back to haunt
[823] you. There's a cave up on the Sprague River where they say Kemu'kemps used to live. Maybe he still lives there. Anyway, I wouldn't walk up that road in the dark."

A woman of about fifty-five, when questioned about the religious training
[869] she gave the grandchild entrusted to her care, answered: "Children learn about the Bible very fast. I tell my granddaughter the old Bible stories and she likes to hear them. But I steer off of that old Indian stuff. I think we ought to get away from those old Indian superstitions. I'll sure get mad if anybody scares her with stories about those old Indian things like Kemu'kemps."

Her statement sets the tone for the future. The old beliefs are being lost, and although still very general, they stand out most vividly only in the minds of those who were raised in the period of the second Ghost Dance and the analogous revivalistic movements which followed it. While they obtained, during their upbringing, a detailed background of native Klamath mythology, they succeed, according to their own inclinations, in passing on their point of view to their descendants, or they may fail to do so. The attitudes indicated above are individual; no debate about the nature of Kemu'kemps or related
[795] concepts has been noted. While the formally organized religious groups, including the Shakers (however dependent on the aboriginal patterns of

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

723 shamanism and curing), consistently oppose any such conceptual survival,
776 the point does not emerge as a significant controversy.

Thus, despite the decline of Klamath culture, something of the aboriginal
177 world-view persists. If the unformalized aspects of culture have a greater life-
[795] expectancy than the formalized and institutionalized ones, then the point of
view reflected in myth, a series of cultural premises, must in some form outlast the setting of the point of view into motion through actual behavior. This has apparently happened among the Klamath. The overt behavioral aspects are gone entirely, but some individuals uneasily attempt to bridge a gap. The mechanisms which produced a Ghost Dance and a Shaker Cult are now merely vestigial but still present.

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128 773 [776] the prehuman world, when everything spoke and had life (as Mrs. Ohles put it). The primordial human inhabitants of this world (the /psewdiwa·s/) are only casually mentioned, and the main figures are the mighty culture-transformers Gmok̓am̓č, čečte·sis, and Sqel̓am̓č. The last two may be alternate names for the same figure, and the informants translated both freely as "Old Marten" or "Old Mink." 128 776 These beings travel through the world, meeting monsters and inimical beings and destroying them, teaching the /psewdiwa·s/ how to live, and aiding those in trouble. Texts 19 and 20 contain incidents involving hostile, powerful beings and modern humans. Text 21 seems to involve modern humans also, but may refer to the /psewdiwa·s/.

128 The second part of the Texts contains material on food-gathering, historical occurrences, ethnographic descriptions, autobiographical incidents, etc. Text 38 consists of a free conversation between two informants and the author.

The translation of these texts presented considerable difficulties. To render the Klamath morpheme by morpheme—or even word by word—is, of course, impossible. This necessitated the addition of whole new phrases, at times, in order fully to cover the Klamath meaning. An attempt was made to keep the Klamath phrase junctures (/./, /./, etc.) intact, although this has sometimes produced sentences which are thoroughly un-English.

Some of the Klamath material has been translated with great freedom. This is particularly true of the series of particles (sentence-connectives, etc.). Such sequences as /čoy/, /čoy honk ʔat/, /čoy čik/, /čoy da·ts/, etc., have been rendered as "So," "And," "Then," "So then," "And then," "So now," etc. The full force of these elements cannot be rendered into English without making the English sentence unintelligible. Forms like /či honk/ (lit. "as it") and /naʔas gi/ (lit. "thus did, thus made") have been freely translated as "[he] said, says," since this is the nearest English parallel of their use in Klamath.

Material in the translations which did not seem entirely justified from the Klamath alone has been inserted into the English enclosed in [. . .].

Parentheses have been employed in the Klamath to enclose English interpolations, asides to the investigator, etc.

Quotation marks have been used with several distinct purposes: (1) to enclose direct speech—material quoted by the speaker as being the speech of another (there is nothing in the phonemics to indicate this, but it is done for clarity's sake); (2) to enclose words quoted from the other language (i.e., words from English used in the Klamath, and words from

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dak honk hasanwis, sa sqoldatq̇ńa sa honk, čoy sa honk g̣esga hasanwis, qwa·t honk sag̣wačdang̣atk hokt. (39) čoy sa honk sʔaywakta hoḿas, g̣aga·ńa hok hoḿas. (40) čoy honk ni domna naʔas ḱet.[67]

21. The Bear
(Mr. Robert David)

(1) nent ni be·n Na·s wiḱa·ńs sʔabwapk, kant ni sʔaywakta. (2) honk čik ni ho·skanga ḱečć̓a. (3) ga·ʔa·k ni nen domna naʔas, do·s honk ʔewksi do·s hak hi·t—čoy ḱičḱa·ńs honk loq̇a·k sńoga·. (4) čoy honk maqlaqs ksepgabli gina·dai̓, do·st ho·t mbosaksawa·s gida. (5) čoy goni· hi·t, lobaqaksi či sa hon ʔelg̣ank hi·t, g̣oge wiḱa·t. (6) hi·t hok domi··· maqlaqs či·ya·, wqepĺaqsdat, na·nok dwantdat. (7) hi·t maqlaqs či·ya· ga·ʔa·k, loldam gin. (8) čoy hok hi·tkni· hok maqlaqs. (9) ʔat honk hokt sʔaywakta, loq hok, gatbamblyok hadakt do· q̇e·gist mna ḱičḱa·ńs. (10) čoy honk g̣weys sam haYčipga ʔat.

(11) čoy honk sʔaba· q̇oye·ẃank q̇a···, hokt loq, sńewe·ts hok. (12) čoy honk naʔas, "kańs sitk nis sa gen," či honk, "kat no· čis swaq̇a·delwas pe·watk," naʔas honk.[68] (13) "no·č dak swaq̇a·delwas ni pe·watk," či honk, "spodo·tgiwk hon," naʔas honk. (14) naʔas honk sdalta, "spodo·tk ni hadakt, ʔambotdat do·st hok qwa·ĺatk ʔambo, q̇ay hadakt kani q̇a gatbant. (15) čoy honk hompči naʔas hok ʔelg̣ank, "swaq̇a·delwas ni pe·watk," či honk. (16) ʔat honk sʔawi·gok, naʔas gi.

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[67] Mr. David changed to English after finishing this text and related some further incidents about the Gaga·ńa. They were tiny people, he said, who dressed strangely and were sometimes naked. They lived out in the timber but were especially numerous around Summer Lake (/ʔiwwa/). They were seen not only by the Klamaths but by other tribes and by white men as well. He described one such occurrence in his youth, when a white man driving a team of horses on "the mountain" (Crater Lake?) was stopped by a tiny little man who clung to the wheel of the wagon. All the strength of the horses was insufficent to move him. Mr. David mentioned a further occurrence in which a Paiute saw a group of Gaga·ńa playing in a meadow and thought they were children. When he tried to pick one up, he could not lift it, and its body was hard and rock-like.

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[68] Mr. David did not know the exact location of /swaq̇a·delwas/. This word seems to contain {$d^{e}l$} 45-v "to look," {ew} 10av "into the water, flat place," and the noun ending {s}. The sequence /swaq̇a·/ is unanalyzable.

Concluding Remarks in English

"He said that whenever someone was killed in front of them they had to jump into their place. Oh, he said he sure was scared! He was with those white soldiers fighting the Modocs in the Lava Beds."

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Mrs. Butler adds: "He told how they had to go to the war, because they (the white people) told them that they'd take all the Klamath Indians away, if they didn't go. All those who went were related, since they didn't want them to take anybody away. Others, some of them, refused and took their canoes across to Pelican Bay. Some did not want to get into the war. One man, a good shot, said, 'I'm not going. I'm going to die! They can kill me right here. I don't want to go.' But they never took him."

29. Menstruation Practices

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) When a woman has her menstrual period, she does not come to eat because of menstruation. (2) [She] does not eat with us. (3) [She] does not bathe, does not get wet. (4) [She] will not get chilled. (5) [She] does not feel well, and does not put her hand in water.

30. The Second Coming

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) According to God's promise [lit. "rule"]. (2) All the earth will burn up. (3) And at that time God will return again.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]

765 The following myth brings out some of the mourning practices.[109]

539 Coyote's wife died. He set out to seek power. He burned up his house and all his belongings. He went along crying: he sang

hä'newa hä'newa bölükö'mhükdino'llt
(a cry) It ought be dusk quickly.

He wanted the sun to go down quickly so that he could swim for power. There was a woman sitting by the road. He said, "I do not want a woman. I am crying because my wife died." Again he went on singing hä'newa. . . . .

Next he saw some moccasins on the road. He said, "I am not looking for moccasins. I burned mine when my wife died." He went on singing again hä'newa. . . . .

Now he saw a heap of food on the road ahead. He said, "I am not looking for food. I burned all my food when my wife died." He went on, singing hä'newa. . . . .

Then he came on a pile of ripe plums which had fallen to the ground. There was water there so he washed out his mouth with a handful [as is always done before a meal]. He had his scratching stick at his wrist. He stuck it into the ground and spat into the hole. He said, "This is the way the pse'odiwas (humans) will do."

So he ate, ate, ate the plums until his belly got big. Then he got sick and could not swim. Thus he made the rule that mourning Indians must not eat plums, else they will get sick.

GAMES

525 787 Gamblers seek spirit power for success, men and women alike, by swimming in spirit haunts in the river or in mountain lakes. The first of his gains after receiving this power must be given away, just as he must give them away the first time he plays after the death of his child. This is of a piece with a lad or girl destroying or giving away the first results of their efforts at hunting or root gathering.

• 777 Luck is also acquired by finding large obsidian blades and certain dead animals; mole, weasel, mink, or frog.[110] Finding the mole is luckiest. "To find anything like this is lucky, so it gives you luck." These must be found dead; there is no use taking a trapped animal, or a recently manufactured blade. The premium put on the obsidian blades is reminiscent of their exaggerated value as symbols of wealth among the tribes of the lower Klamath river.[111] All such lucky objects are bundled in white sage twigs and hidden some distance from the house. This may also be true of the gambling bones; at least Pat Kane keeps his at the crematory several miles from home. I was not told that this had any connection with the possibility of contamination from women's presence in the house, but I did not enquire. 777 A gambler must fast if he wants success, and must begin the fast before 777 he goes to fetch his charm. The blade will disappear if not properly 525 cared for. The gambler carries the stuffed skin in his hand or places [785] the blade in water at his side as he plays, or wets it from time to time. The frog's foot, wrapped in an odoriferous leaf, or a mole's foot,[112] is placed under the blanket or mat on which they sit while playing. My informant had never heard of putting the blades under the mat, as Barrett noted.[113] Luck is called dite satwa'ya; ķ!ai dite satwa'ya is literally, indeed no good luck.

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[109] Told by Nancy Phillips.

[110] Gatschet lists as similar Modoc charms, a hummingbird's nest, the leg of a dead frog, a dead mole, a rare "fire-bug," and arrowheads (1:134).

[111] Kroeber, Handbook, 26, 54ff.

Gamblers paint their faces, put strings of beads around the wrist, and attach little feathers to their hair, when they play in all seriousness. They sing as they play. The stakes are piled beside them. The side that loses, bundles up its gaming sticks and articles, carries them off to bury at a crematory, and sets out to seek spirit power for luck.

The principal game is the four-stick game, called sö'kals, from 525 sö'kla, to gamble, hence the gambling game par excellence. Gatschet[114] 524 also calls it spe'lshna, to put the fingers forward (from speiluish, index finger) and shulshe'shla. It is played by men seated in two opposing rows. Two pairs of sticks are provided, with a circular mat or basket or a skin to hide them under. The sticks were described to me as nine inches long, two an inch in diameter, marked at the middle (these called cu'lsčs), and two only half as thick (aķo'tös). Culin describes a number of sets, of which the thicker sticks taper toward each end and are ornamented with parallel spiral lines at the middle, while the slender ones are closely wrapped with buckskin thongs for their whole length. From this they derive their name "wrapped up" according to Gatschet. The thicker sticks are made of mountain mahogany.[115] The hiding basket (p'a"la) is flexible and flat, hardly more than a circular mat; it is ornamented and has a bunch of deer dew claws attached to the center of the convex side. Blankets, mats, elk hides, or buffalo hides are sometimes used to hide the sticks; the last especially by rich men. Twelve short pointed sticks and two longer are provided for counters. These, contrary to the usual usage elsewhere, are not placed in a single group, but six of the shorter

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[112] The latter according to Gatschet (1:134).

[113] Material Culture, 253.

[114] *Op. cit.*, 1:79.

[115] Culin, Games, 328-332; Dorsey, Certain Gambling Games, 23.

"When the sun is environed by lamb-clouds, or a mottled sky, this is figuratively expressed by: 'K'múkamtch [Kᴇmū'kŭmps] has taken the beaded garments of Aíshish [his son] and dressed himself in them' A peculiar red smoke or haze appearing in the northwestern or western sky, shnúish, announces his arrival; he is also recognizable by his bulky posteriors, or as the Modocs say of him: 'K'múkamtch múnish kutúlish gítko.' By this they evidently refer to the white and heavy mountain-shaped summer clouds."[215] 821

Frogs come out before the rain, hence this is a sign that a storm is due. When the storm rises, old people cry to it, "You go back to the mountains. We do not want you here." The only precaution against lightning is a burden basket or sieve hung on a high pole outside the house.[216]

When a man sneezes or his ears ring, someone is talking about him, but not necessarily a woman, as elsewhere. If a door opens, someone is coming from a distance.[217] 787

To end the long winter months and hasten the coming of spring, the ring and pin game is played. A proper catch "breaks the month." Or little spears of the hard interior of the tule are thrown into the ground. On the contrary, playing cat's cradles in winter makes the months longer. These beliefs are not seriously held; they are more of the nature of manners of speech. 789

Gambler's luck comes not only through spirit power but by the possession of parts of dead moles, frogs, etc., or obsidian blades. These must have been found, and they are carried to the play, and are kept, like the gaming sticks, at crematories, or at least away from the house. 777

A series of beliefs surround birth and childhood. A storm always blows at a woman's first parturition. The child will cry if the umbilical cord is not tied with the mother's hair. If an animal eats the afterbirth the woman will become barren. She may not eat meat or fish after the birth, must use a head-scratcher and wear a bark belt. The baby is massaged so that it will grow well formed. A girl's cradle is wide so that she will grow broad. The navel cord is saved else the child will die. Sterility is cured by drinking a crushed shell. 844 [784]

A turtle head is hung about the neck to ward off rattlesnakes. It was said that this is the general custom but turtles are found only in 789

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[215] Gatschet, 1:lxxiv.

[216] Also recorded by Barrett, Material Culture, 257.

[217] This is said to be a pre-white belief, but the only doors of those days were mats over the earth-lodge hatchways and the flaps of the mat-lodges.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
767b. Earth covering partial	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	343
768. Earth covering all over	•+	+	–	•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
768a. Main entrance through roof	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
768b. Main entrance at ground level	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
768c. Flush	+	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
768d. In end of house	+	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
768e. Secondary entrance at ground level	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
769. Sliding wooden door	•–	•–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
769a. Stone paved "porch"	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
769b. Steam or hot-rock heat	•+	•(+)	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
770. Direct-fire heat	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
770a. Small, for 1-4 persons	•+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
770b. Large, for group	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
770c. Used throughout year	•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	
771. Used in winter only	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
772. Used by both sexes	+	+	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[562]
773. Used by men only	–	–	–	•+	(+)	–	–	+	•–	•–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
774. Used by mourners only	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
775. Communally owned	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–		
Plains-Type Sweat House																	
776. Plains-type sweat house	•+	•+	•+	•+	•R	•R	•+	(–)	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	
777. Dome shaped	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
778. Mat covered	+	+	•+	+	R	–	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
778a. Hide covered	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
779. Brush, bough covered	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	(–)	•+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	
780. Small, for 1-3 persons	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	
781. Steam heat	+	+	+	•+	R	R	+	(–)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	
782. Used throughout year	–	+	+	+	R	R	+	(–)		–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
783. Used in summer only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Sweating Customs																	
784. Individual sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	515
785. Sweating in groups of 2-4, or larger	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	
786. Women sometimes sweat with men	+	+	+	•+	•R	•+	•+	–	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	[562]
787. Women sometimes sweat separately	+	+	+	+	R	+	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
788. Sweating daily or every 2-3 days	+	–	–	•+	+	R	•–	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	
789. Sweaters sit or crouch	+	+	•+	+	+	R	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
790. Sweaters lie down	•+	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	
791. Sweaters "dance around"	–	–	•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
792. Formalized sweat dance	–	–				–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	(+)	[535]
793. Sweaters kneel	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
794. All men sleep in sweat house occasionally	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	[513]
795. Male mourners sleep in sweat house	•+	•+		–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
796. Unmarried old men sleep, eat in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	•+	•–	–	+	
797. Men gamble in sweat house	–	–	–	•–	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	•–	•–	
798. Men work (handicrafts) in sweat house	–	–	+	–	–	•+	•+	•–	–	+	+	+	•+	–	•–	•–	
799. Youths gather fuel for sweating	–	–		+		•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	•–	–	•–	
800. Office of fire maker	–	•–	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	•R	–	·	•+	+	•+	•+	[312]
801. Competitive sweat groups	–	–	–	•+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	[372]
802. All sweaters sing	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	[533]
803. 1 man sings for group	–	–				–	–	(+)	•+	•+	–	+	•+	–	–	–	
804. Sweat for success in hunting	+	•+	•+	•+	+	–	+	–	•+	•+	–	+	·	–	–	–	[224]
805. Sweat for success in gambling	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	·	–	–	–	[528]
806. Sweat for general good luck	+	+		+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	[777]
807. Sweat as cure for disease	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	•+	–	–	·	+	–	–	
808. Scarify selves, let blood drip on hot rocks	–	+	+	•+				–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[757]
809. Sweat to cleanse body	–	–	+	+		+	•+	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	[304]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	NV	
2138. Sinew-wrapped at mouthpiece	–	+	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	534
o2139. End stopped	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	R	R	+	±	+	.	+	+	+	
2140. Partially stopped inside at hole	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2141. Stop of pitch	–	.	+	+	–	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	
2142. Stop of salmon glue	–	.	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2143. Stop of wood	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	
2144. Single whistle	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	
2145. 2 whistles bound together	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2146. Whistle worn, suspended from string around neck	–	–	+								+	+	+	+	.	+	
2147. Taboo to whistle around elderberry bush		°+	°+								+	–	+	+	–	°+	[784]
2148. Snake will strike whistler.		+	+								+	–	+	+	–	°+	
2149. Flute	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2150. Bone	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	
2151. Elder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2152. Cane	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
‡2153. Number of holes	°3	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	–	6	
2154. Holes burnt in		+	+						R	R	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2155. Holes put in with awl									+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2156. Entire upper surface flattened			–						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2157. End blown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	.	–	–	+	
2158. Side blown	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	(–)	+	+	+	–	+	
2159. Mouth blown	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
2160. Nose blown	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2161. Used by shaman	–	°+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	[756]
2162. Used for courting	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	
2163. Used for self-amusement	°+	–	+	°+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	

Pictographs, Petroglyphs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	NV	
2164. Pictographs, petroglyphs present in area.	°+	°+	–	–	°+	–	°+	°+	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	532
2165. Nonhuman origin	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	.	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2166. Made by tiny people	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2167. Made by mythological characters	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2168. Bring bad luck; charm viewer	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[777]
2169. Impress of feet, etc., on rocks	–	°+	°+							°+	–	°+	°+	–	°+		[823]

RECREATION

Games

Shinny

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	NV	
2170. Shinny played	+	+	+	+	+	°R	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	–	+	526
2171. Men, youths play occasionally	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	[562]
2172. Women play	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2173. Each sex plays separately	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
2174. Both sexes play together	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2175. Children play	–	+	–	+	+	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[857]
2176. Single ball	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2177. Wood	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2178. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2179. Oak gall	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2180. Double ball	–	+	+	+	–	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	
2181. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2182. 2 blocks on ends of cord	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	°+	°+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2183. 2 grass balls on end of cord	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
°2184. Cord or hide strip only	–	–	–	–	+	°+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3361. Spirit of tattooed goes to good place	−	•+	−					+	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	·	304
3362. Cranial deformation	+	•+	+	•+	−	•+	+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3363. Male	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3364. Female	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[562]
3365. Pads bound to head	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3366. Back	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3367. Front	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3368. Mother attends to baby's head	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Disposal of Milk Teeth																	
3369. Thrown away, no particular place	+	−	−			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3370. Thrown away, toward sun	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	856
3371. Thrown in river	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	826
3372. Buried in gopher hole	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	
3373. Buried in excrement	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3374. Hidden in grass clump	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3375. Buried, no special place	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3376. Exchanged with gopher	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3377. Formula spoken	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	
Twins																	
3378. Twins feared	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•	+	+	•	845
3379. Considered unlucky	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	·	[777]
3380. Attempts made to prevent conception of twins	−	−	−						•+	−	+	•+	·	•+	•+	·	
3381. People "ashamed" for woman	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	·	+	−	·	
3382. No significance	+	+	+	+	−	(+)	−	+	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	·	
3383. Relative adopts 1	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	·	+	+	·	[597]
Adoption of Children																	
3384. Parents impoverished: relatives, only, adopt child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	597
3385. Orphan: adopted by paternal, maternal kin	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	
3386. Paternal relatives only	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
c3387. Childless couples given child by relatives	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	·	−	+	·	+	
3388. Anyone may adopt orphan	−	−	−					+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Infanticide, Illegitimate Children																	
3389. Illegitimate children killed, occasionally	+	+	+	−	+	•−	+	•−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	847
3390. Legitimate children killed occasionally	−	−	•+						•+	•+		−	−	•+	•+	•−	848
3391. To avert disaster	−	−	+						+	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	
3392. If mother dies in childbirth	−	−	+						+	•−	−	·	−	+	+	−	
3393. Infant buried alive with mother	−	−	+						•+	−	−	·	−	+	+	−	
3394. Infant put in badger hole	+	+	−	−	·	−	+	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	
3395. Infant smothered	−	−	•+						•+	•+	·	−	−	−	−	−	
3396. Mother keeps illegitimate child	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	·	−	·	+	+	+	
3397. Mother's mother takes illegitimate child	−	−	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	·	+	·	+	+	−	
3398. Father of illegitimate child provides for baby	−	−	+	+	·	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Impregnatives, Contraceptives, Abortion																	
3399. Measures taken to induce pregnancy	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	·	842
3400. Shell, vegetable decoction drunk	+	•+	•+	−	−	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	
3401. Doctor makes miniature baby cradle													−	−	•+	·	

000 3586. AW: See note 3584. AE: Girl may obtain vision while she is dancing after having ears, nose pierced.

[94 1] 3587. NF: Ca. 10 years of age.

[88 1] [78 3] 3589. Kl, Mo, SE: Sweat bath after first 5 or 3 menstrual periods. WM, WS: 1 month or 1 year after girl first menstruates. MV: 1 month after first menstruation.

3591. NS: Menstruant followed to stream by sister, girl relatives who sing for her, early morning 5th day.

3593. NF: Wormwood decoction.

3597a. Either at end of each menstrual period, or at end of entire puberty ceremony.

[94 1] [88 1] 3599. Kl: For 5 periods. Mo: For 3-5. SE, At, AW, AE: For 3.

3601. MV: To old woman attendant.

3603. MV: Exchanged with girl attendant.

3606. SE: Worn each subsequent menstruation.

[88 1] [53 5] 3609. Kl, Mo, SE, SW, At, AE, AW, WM, WS, MV: Emphasized jollity connected with girl's puberty dance. Lack of ritual obligations on any of participants except menstruant, made it (SW) "most popular and well attended of all the dances." NM: Puberty dance, yomuse. MV: Round dance held on final night of girl's 28-day seclusion. "This [night] dance was the main dance; each night (of the 28) the people came and gambled; the girl's family fed the visitors."

3610. NF: Name of day dance, wulu. Held after girl has come out of menstrual hut, and bathed; in daytime. Girl and women dance in circle, holding hands; no fire, pole. Dance a short while, then 2 women singers, with girl between them, sing, girl joining in singing. No deer-hoof rattle.

[88 1] [53 5] [77 7] [78 7] 3612. So girl will not dream bad dreams; will have good luck. Kl: "If girl sleeps little while, she dreams there's a noise in the sky; she dreams of thunder. That's a bad dream, so they keep her dancing all night, for 5 nights, so she won't dream." Mo: "If she sleeps at this time, the girl will dream about thunder, then it will sure strike her, and kill her." SW: Girl's puberty dance "just a common good-time dance, held to help the girl out of her trouble, to keep her from dreaming" (see also note 3721). At: Girl sleeps head toward east; "the west, they said, was a bad place, where bad dreams come from, Silver Fox said... They dance with her all night, to make her lively, so she won't sleep and dream ... [when girl is menstruating] she never touches water; that's no good; she'll dream bad." AW: Given "so the girl will get power in 'dreams' as she gets sleepier and sleepier, dancing. But she must not tell anyone what she dreams. They don't let her sleep in the daytime; if she sleeps she'll dream bad for herself and be sick." WT: Puberty observances held "so girl won't dream bad dreams." On first day of menstruation, girl's grandmother sits by her, sings, uses clapper to keep girl awake. WM: Girl "never dreamt bad, but her grandmother, who was staying with her, might; she might

787 ing for shamanistic power. WM: Refers to group of boys questing; see note 4724.

4749. Kl, Mo: After birth of child, death of relative, also quest. WT, WM, WS: "Doctor dance" Ooo or shaman's initiatory dance is, among Wintu, group performance, undertaken to obtain guardian spirits by would-be shamans; it is not, as among other groups, dance which is held after guardian spirits have been obtained by prospective shamans.

4750. AW: 2-3 days.

4751a. AE, WS: 2-3. NP: Eats sparingly all the time.

4753. At: When boy up in mountains, he takes little rock, rubs it over his lips, and throws it away, as his parents have instructed him to do; "then he doesn't need to drink for a long time."

4755. WM: Refers to single questers and to group questers.

4756. AE: See also note 3247. WM: Refers to single and group questers.

[787] 4759a. AW, AE, WS: 2-3 days.

[777] 4764. Kl, SE: For luck in gambling.

[525] 4767. SE: See note 4768. AE: In myth, ant bites "good" or favored man; will not bite "common" or ordinary man.

4768. That is, luck in gambling, hunting, and such. SW: "If acquire 'luck,' all the power one carries is in one's arms or shoulders. If one has no luck, one's shoulder and arm are nothing; no power in them. If menstruant or woman under taboos eats meat hunter has shot she ruins his luck; then he has to obtain more before he can do anything again. That's when he goes into the little [steam] sweat house and cuts himself on his shoulder, to get the bad blood out from the spot where he carries his luck, and so he can get more luck there. This he gets by cooking the blood off his shoulder, or rubbing ants into cuts made where he has pricked his shoulder."

4769. Mo: To those seekers who obtain luck only (hunting, gambling, and such); "somebody speaks to them in a dream." Also "little" or "common" doctors, who cure by laying hands on patient, not sucking, dream their "medicine."

4770. Mo: Only persons receiving shamanistic power, bleed at mouth (not at nose).

4779. Doctor dance as form of vision seeking has been disregarded in this section; see note, Vision Seeking. WT, WM: Main form. WS: Only form for young men, girls.

4781. WT, WM: 1-3 days. WS: 2-5.

4785. AE, WS: 2-3 days.

4788. SW: Informant's father, who had "luck" (not shamanistic power) from Sun, never ate before sun-up, also prayed to Sun, with special formula, and offered Sun paint. WT: Youth, on return home from quest for "luck," uses stick spatula for eating; either paternal or maternal great-grandmother or grandmother, only, wait on him.

[240-A]

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 K̲ák̲ tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lúluk sa k̲ák̲am tχû'tχatkash, tsúi sa
A raven is a soothsayer; and they believing the raven's repeated prophecy, they
825 shenótanka; pits hû'nk pán k̲ák̲ mák̲laks.
fight each other; it also eats, the raven, (dead) men.
787

787 Tutíksh mák̲laks shuína tchû'χapkam m'nálam shashámoksham;
dreams the natives sing about dead their relatives;
húmasht sháhunk gíug kíukayunk flags.
for this same reason they stick out flags.

525 Tmélhak gítko shaklō'tkish tídsh tínχa; tû'm íχaga. Tmélhak tä'dsh
A tmélhak-squirrel having, the gambler well succeeds; much he wins. The tmélhak (is) certainly
777
825 sháyuaks; shak̲álshtat lak̲í, tíds sualaliámpkatko.
of much account; in the game (it is) chief, well managing (it).

Tcháshash mû'na lushántsnank ·mbáwa skí's; tsúi mák̲laks nánuk
The skunk deep down while scratching a hole emitted a blast; upon this people all
825 hushtsóga tsáshash-kíuks. Snáwedsh shanahóliuk spû'nshna p'laiwásham
killed the skunk-conjurer. A wife seeking he carried off the eagle's
tû'paks ktanápkash. Shléank tchawíka p'laíwash, wí-udsna ánkutka
sister when asleep. Seeing (this) became furious eagle, beat with a club
tchásēs, wí-udsish k̲'läká, tsúi k̲ó-i pílui. Ndopóg ktsō'l hămetsípka:
the skunk, the beaten one died, then badly stunk. Smelling (it) the stars said:
"pátkal!" at p'laíwash pátkalp'le, stópatchka, tsúi gémpēle túpakshash
"get up!" and eagle rose up again, washed the face, then went home sister
m'na énank.
his taking with him.

II.

*539 Hä shaklō'tkish pí'sham shnû'lash ntággal, shaklō'tkish tídsh vumí',
If a gambler of humming-bird the nest finds, (and) the gambler well hides (it) away,
525 k̲aítoks kaní vuiní'χi. Hä kó-e shléa pahápkash, pē'tch ktákta sk̲ä'tish
not any one conquers (him). If a frog he finds dried-up, the leg he cuts off left
825 tapí'dshnish vumí'; húmashtak shû'ta shaklō'tkish, k̲aítoks kaní vuiní'χi.
hind (leg), hides away; (if) thus acts the gambler, (then) not any one beats (him).
777 Hä kaní tchatchlaíptcha shlä'-a (kinkáni tût wá), tídsh tí'nχa. Hä kaní
If any one a kind of fire-bug finds (scarce there they are), good luck it brings. If any one
mā'ntchnish mák̲läksäm shtáp shuálka, pahápkash käíla-shushatí'shash
old-fashioned Indian arrow-head saves, dried-up a mole
tchí'sh, hû'kt humáshtak tídsh tí'nχa tchí'sh.
also, he in the same way well succeeds also.

171 É-ukshikni Mō'dokni lóla p'laikí'shash lák̲iash, shtínta tchísh wengápkam shkō'kshash.
The Klamath Lakes (and) Modocs believe in the heavenly ruler, revere also of the deceased the spirits.
776
769

000 Mō'dokni shtûpuyúka túnäpni wäíta túnäpni pshín gshiúlak̲a káyak
The Modocs at first menstruation five days (and) five nights dance never
ktákt'nan; wewánuish ta-unä'pni wäíta k̲á-i tchû'lēks pán.
sleeping; the females for ten days no meat eat.

*539 171 is the elder sister, called so by or with reference to a younger brother. Two other terms exist for the relative age of sisters among themselves.

[601] 134, 11. pátkalp'le. The myth adds, that the eagle got up again at dinner-time and that after washing the face he took a nap before taking his sister home.

[525] [777] II. These items were all obtained in the Modoc dialect from J. C. D. Riddle. Many of the articles mentioned as gamblers' amulets are supposed to bring good luck to the gambler on account of their *scarcity*, which must have made them more interesting to the aboriginal mind than other objects of a brighter exterior.

[192] 134, 13. ntággal, ndákal: to find accidentally; shléa: to find, generally, after a search. vumi' is to hide away either on one's own person or in the ground.

134, 16. 18. tídsh tínχa is to succeed, to be lucky; without tídsh in: hútoks tínχantko gi, that man is lucky.

[411] 134, 17. shtáp is a black arrow-head made of obsidian, a volcanic rock found in several places in these highlands.

135, 1. hä'-atoks is formed from hä toks with intercalation of the declarative particle a.

[192] [193] [825] 135, 3. k'le-ugtki-uápkasht is a periphrastic conjugational form composed of giuápkasht, of the verb gi, and of k̲'lé-utka, the usitative of k̲'léwi, to cease, stop, terminate; -utka has turned into -ugt- by metathesis. Literally: "would habitually cease to be in the Pit River." mhû', the grouse, is called by the Klamath Lakes tmû'.

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*539 171 [115]

REFLECTIONS OF EVERY-DAY LIFE

MONOLOGUES IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY JOHNSON, CHIEF OF THE MODOCS

K̲á-i	mish	nû	ó-it	nû	tidsä'wa	nté-ish,	shliútuk	mä'makla	pá-uk	shlínk
Not	you	I	to let have	I	like	(my) bow,	for shooting	ducks	to eat	killing (them)

ndektí'shtka.	Tidsä'wa	k̲á-i	mish	úya,	tû	génuapka	úyamnank	nté-ish
with arrows.	I like	not	to you	to give (it),	over there	I will go	taking along	bow and arrows

gé-u,	hishlátsanuapka.	Yó-ishi!	tatála	k̲ä'gi,	k̲á-i	shláa	tatákni	yû'lχ;
my,	(and) will amuse myself by shooting.	Are lost!	right (ahead)	they are not,	not	I found (them)	where	they went down;

yó-ishin,	mā'ns	k̲á-ika.	Ûnds	mbúsant	pēn	k̲áyakuapk.
they are lost,	for a long time	I searched.	Some-time	to-morrow	again	I will look out (for them).

Shikútchipk	tchiká	kĕmutsátk;	undsē'ks	séwanuapk	pátki	giúga
Walks on stick	an old	decrepit (man);	some time	I will give (him)		to eat

méhiess;	yuyálks	tsi	pá-uk	hûn	tchē'k	tídsh	kí'-uapk.	Kí'shtchipk	huk
trout;	being poor	thus	through eating	of it	then	at ease	he will feel.	Comes to me	this

snéwedsh;	oní'sh	kíäm	shéwant i;	tû'm	nû'sh	shewantamnuápka	sáwalktko
woman;	to her	fish	you may give;	plenty	to me	she will continue to give	having received presents.

Kámp'kuk	k̲éliak	pásh	tiä'ma.	Undsē't	kátchkal	pa-uápk	gé-utala	steínash.
The indigent	without	food	is hungry.	By and by	tobacco	I will chew	to my heart's content.	

159 756 787 Her older sister (i.e., mother's sister's daughter) gave her medicine so that the spirits would no longer bother her. Two of Nancy's children became sick. A shaman, Alec Wilson, diagnosed their case as due to Nancy's refusal to answer the spirits, to begin the shamanistic performance. Another shaman was called in to relieve her of the spirits. He did it very quickly; he had three or four spirits to lead each of Nancy's "to their side." He used the songs of these spirits immediately, for they were now his. These two spirits were Thunder (lxme'is) and Falcon (xndo'gis). Had Nancy wanted to become a shaman she would have called the people together in order to demonstrate to them in a fire dance.

778 A partial list of spirit places (spŭ'tuks) in Klamath territory is gleaned from my notes. As I made little inquiry about the southern and eastern parts of their country, it happens that most of these lie in the north. They are about equally divided between localities in the Cascade mountains and deep eddies of Williamson river. Undoubtedly some of the rocks described as transformed people, animals, etc., are thought of as places where spirits reside, but as I was not told that power was sought there I have not included them in this list.

Ge'wŭs, Crater lake. People were stolen and taken down into Crater lake by beings there. Some say they have found no water in the lake. Instead there were rocks as big as trees and deep tunnels in the bottom. There are animals, snakes, and a sort of people who live at (or in) the ocean. Men swim in the lake at night to get spirit aid.

778 787 A second site is ma'kwalks, a point of rock projecting over Crater lake from the western cliff. The seeker clambers down and piles rocks on the point.

On the northwestern side of Ghost's Nest mountain, which lies southwest from Crater lake, is a saucer-shaped bed of rocks overlooking the whole countryside. Lads built their fires near-by and lie in this in order to see a spirit. On the eastern side of the mountain are piles of four or five large rocks, erected by seekers.

Ho'tkakōnks, Mare's Egg spring, is six miles north of Cherry creek on the western side of Agency Lake marsh. They swim here at night. Once men found no water in this pool but a big man, with hair covering his body, standing in it. When they returned he had disappeared and the pool again held water.

Pau'usnĕkŭs, Harriman (?) mountain southeast of Mount Pitt. The Klamath say this is higher than Mount Pitt; indeed, being nearer, it appears higher. Two accounts pertaining to this mountain may refer to the same incident.

Long ago a Klamath climbed it, but he never returned, for he died of the cold wind although it was summer.

A Pelican bay man, who died long ago, once went to a lake on this mountain at sundown to seek power by swimming. He saw men in it, the backs of some,

the heads of others. He was frightened and did not swim but went home. As soon as he started home the thunder began to roll; it pursued him all the way. He was afraid of it, so he jumped into Klamath lake. He sat in the water for a long time before the thunder left him. He became a shaman because of this; he had the thunder spirit in him and sang the thunder song. Finally people killed him because he became so powerful that they feared he would kill them with his spirit. 778 787

Stö'kmöte, the headland of Eagle Ridge, is on the west side of Klamath lake. Spirit horses live in the lake near the point, as instanced above. 778

North of Modoc point are two groups of rocks. The first, red rocks on the hillside a half-mile from the station, represents a bear's entrails. Two big rocks somewhat farther north and on the plain are Wolf and his wife. When people mourn for a dead child, men go to the Wolf rock to seek power, women to his wife. They seek to be strong and to run well. They wrestle with these rocks. 778 787

There is an eddy in which they swim a mile and a half above the mouth of Williamson river, opposite the cremation pile on the right bank. An otter (k!olt), bearing stripes, is seen in this. Many spirit otters of this sort are seen at ķ!o'ltamtels, north of Klamath Falls.

A channel cutting through a bend of this river several miles from its mouth is called ķoķa'ķ'ŭt. A man saw a water snake (called to'kĕ) in this place. It was as big as a tree and had two straight, pointed white horns. He told a shaman, who said that, the snake having caught him, he could not be cured. This man died in two days. While this story suggests it, I am not sure that they swim for power here. Another informant stated that at Tcoka'lwas, just above this, is a huge horned snake (wlsl̦k, snake generically). Possibly the same one is meant. In a tale the hero Wawiwŏ'ķ!os cuts the snake's head off. [539]

Wltă'mŭmpsi, black bear's place, is at a sharp bend in the lower Williamson river (a mile above the highway bridge) overlooked by a high bluff. Long ago when men came to this place to swim they found no water there. Standing on the bluff they saw several bears below. Another man came to swim at sunset. He saw a bear standing upright in the water. "That is what I like. I will swim there," he said. The bear disappeared. The man dived in but did not come up. He was found lying on the bank, blood flowing from his mouth. The bear had caught him and made him a shaman. So people try to get power there now.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

778 K'tai'di, lava, is a cliff of that rock two miles below Chiloquin on the left bank of Williamson river. Seekers slept on this.

787 Ska'mdi is an eddy in Williamson river above Chiloquin. This is a spirit place but it does not seem that they swim there.

Once I [Pat Kane] and my two brothers camped near there just before sunset. We were on our way to Klamath marsh to pick pond-lily seeds. My oldest brother started a fire while the younger fetched water. I went to tie the horses. When I returned, my brother who had been to the river said, "There are many beaver in there." We took our guns to the spot. Soon a beaver swam close to us, only a few yards away, but we could not hit it. Soon two more came swimming close by. We failed to kill these. Then five came and soon so many more that they completely filled the river. My brothers said, "We had better not stop here. Let us get away." We packed the horses and left at once. I saw the water shaking[180] and the sound of thunder. It took all night to get back. My oldest brother got sick; no shaman could cure him. He was sick all summer and in the winter he died. Neither my younger brother nor I were sick.

A man and boy were going to Klamath marsh afoot. The boy was six or seven. The man wanted to try swimming in Ska'mdi. He told the boy, "If those things bite and kill me, you go home." The man had lost his wife; the boy alone was left. "I do not want to stay here; I want to die," the man said. The boy cried to him not to swim there. He walked back from the river bank, ran and plunged in. Big animals reached up and bit him. They came up twice; then he appeared no more. The boy saw it and wept. He started home; it took all night for him to reach Bzūkse'was below Chiloquin. At this place the water boils and cannot move down the river. No one can swim there; something always bites and kills them.

SPIRITS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

776 There is hardly a mile of Klamath territory but has its mythical reference. Everywhere there are personages of the folk-tales, now transformed to rocks by Crow's laughter. Spirits are legion and in many cases are localized, so that one looking over the countryside finds it rich in religious connotation. But despite its comparative richness, Klamath religion is quite unsystematized. There are no deities and the spirits as such hardly figure in the tales. Most of the actors of the tales are not spirits and this is especially true of the principal ones. There is little suggestion of any fixed relation between such as do figure there. In other words, the Klamath lack all architectural feeling in conceiving their religious beings.

774 775 Spirits form a uniform class; no one of them can be said to be especially more important than any other. Souls and ghosts are separate entities, and again are sharply distinct from spirits. Spirits

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[180] It is conceivable that an earth tremor dislodged the beaver.

which their assistants hold or with which they dance. In fact, the use 171*
of special dance staffs is general among all Quinault who have spirits, 532
as it is among the southern Puget Sound Salish. It is strange that 756
neither Dr. Sapir nor I learned of either type of carving among the 535
Wishram, but our information is not full.[493] [114]

A tall painted pole is erected in front of the Klamath shaman's 171*
lodge from which dangles a cord bearing at intervals bunches of
feathers, a piece of wood, and a miniature gambling tray, all these 756
representative of spirits. There are analogues of this southward to the 778 ●
Maidu. Such a pole is also erected outside a Modoc shaman's dwelling; it is painted and bears the skins and feathers of various spirit animals. It is used earlier at the novice's dance. This is described as some three or four meters high and decorated with paint and a few feathers. Such a pole is set up when a Shasta shaman rids a locality of disease: it has baskets hung from it. Again when an Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman cures, a pole is sometimes set up near the house, to which is tied a bunch of feathers (*qaqu*). The *qaqu* has a significant function; it is obtained with difficulty on his spirit quest and has the power to tell him where the disease is located. The poles used for a Northeastern Maidu shaman novice are somewhat different. They are set up on the roof of the house in which the inaugural dance takes place, and inside above the spot where he stays; others are carried to the mountains where novices go on their quests. These are short wands, a meter to a meter and a half long, variously painted, with pendent strings of feathers and acorn shells, or bunches of feathers. These have some obscure but intimate relation to his spirits. Similar wands are set up at the dedication of a new dance house by the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento valley.[494]

Among the items of a Klamath shaman's costume are a forehead 171*
band or neckband of woodpecker scalps mounted on a buckskin founda- 756
tion and a bunch of yellowhammer feathers worn on hat or neck. 292
The feathers of both these birds have value and ceremonial usage in California but not to the north.

Woodpecker scalps attain the status of money among the Yurok 171*
and perhaps their neighbors. Not only have they value in themselves,
but they are worked into ceremonial headdresses over most of northern 292
California. The Yurok and Hupa use forehead headbands like those 435

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[493] Boas, Notes on Tillamook, 10, Doctrine of Souls, 40; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[494] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130, 136; Dixon, Shasta, 475-476, 487, Notes on Achomawi, 218, Some Shamans, 24, Northern Maidu, 275-278, 312.

K shamans, individually or in a group, give public performances to
756 invited audiences. It is at this time, too, that novices first demon-
796 strate their powers. The guests bring their own food, depositing
[221] it outside the shaman's house, and take their place by families
K along the wall. A ceremonial pole has been erected outside, bear-
M • [778] ing painted designs and hung with symbols of the shaman's
[531] tutelary spirits. Inside, the house posts are also painted, and
stuffed birds and animals, representing the shaman's powers,
hang from the beams: they transform a residence into a holy
place. The shaman wears sacred regalia, including a fillet of
woodpecker scalps, and spectators must be clad in traditional
K clothing. Children are excluded from all but the sleight-of-hand
M demonstrations at night, since at other times they might be
[858] imperiled. Modoc children are not allowed to attend any part
of the seances.

Each shaman has an interpreter—who habitually assists him in curing as well—and who summons the spirits from their distant places, lights the shaman's pipe, repeats his words, and provides other aid. For the performance a caller is also chosen and, together with one or more singers, he leads the audience in dancing and in singing the sacred songs of the shaman.

For five days and nights—only nights for the Modoc—the per-
formance continues. During this time the shaman, when he is
not dancing, sits or lies on his bed and observes a fast. The first
ceremony is a fire dance by the shaman and helpers while the
caller invokes the spirits; it is followed by the singing of the spirit
songs. Among the Modoc, successive nights are spent in singing
the spirit songs, and for those shamans who are richly endowed
with spirit associates, there is no repetition. In the longer Kla-
math ceremonies—which extend through the day as well—even-
ings are given over to shamanistic performances, restricted by the
K Modoc to the final evening. Each shaman must demonstrate his
M ability to swallow fire and arrowheads; and some swallow splints,
[789] sticks, or prodigious quantities of water. The powers of many
enable them to produce fish, pond-lily seeds, or blood in a basket
of water; and some animate the stuffed skins suspended from the
ceiling as well. During the entire five-day period the congrega-
tion follows ritual prescription. On no other occasion are this

measure of official sanction. "I have recently induced their chiefs 657*
and people," he reported, "to dispense with one half or more of 648*
their native doctors, each chief and his people selecting one to 756
retain. They came into this plan more readily than I had appre- 622
hended."[8] On a visit to the Agency, Lindsay Applegate came 178
upon the new system and, in a letter bristling with indignation, 177
wrote "[Nickerson] turned to me and remarked that they ware
his indian docters that he had invited the indians to furnish to
practice with his docter at the same time [.]"[9]

Meanwhile, the growing success of the medical program upon 657*
the reservation sapped the authority of the shamans in what was 648*
their last legitimate field. The personality of Dr. Royal, who had 756
doubled as chief of police, apparently did much to win over 164
some of the chiefs, as did his treatment of syphilitic cases among 177
the Indians. (Since, as Roork had remarked, the disease had been 178
contracted by Indians in the course of their annual trading trips
to Oregon City and other points,[10] it may have had a higher
incidence in chiefly families.) They desired to retain him and,
wrote Nickerson in advocating this, "Should he remain permanently the chiefs have agreed to do all they can to do away with
their Indian doctors. These Indian doctors have heretofore had
almost unbounded sway over the people."[11]

In outlawing shamanistic activities, the Agency in effect drove 657*
a wedge between the shaman and his ritual assistants: the inter- 648*
preter, caller, and singers. Since a curing seance was a public 756
demonstration, it involved too many participants to be concealed 177
easily; and the shamans, formerly among the most respected and 178
feared members of the tribe, were not given to skulking. More- [178] •
over, in native theory, supernatural power waxes with use; and
when performances were no longer given frequently, that power
declined.

Recalled H. N.:

> I always seen David Hill go among the people and interpret the agent's words. Sally [the shaman] said, "I didn't do it myself, but my medicine do it. It's up to my medicine. If I do it, it's the medicine's fault." But David Hill said, "It's better for you to quit than to have trouble for yourself, or your family. That's what the agent wants."
>
> . . .
>
> Nobody ever called her after the orders were given. They might help minor things. I watched Sally. I watched her doctor.

[p.344B]

538 purposes of telling the stories seems to be to keep the children quiet and put them to sleep.

867 Concepts of etiquette and what constitutes a well brought up individual are clearly defined among the Klamath. Standards for proper behavior toward one's own family and toward other members of the tribe are taught at an early age. As soon as the child can understand what is said to him, he receives ethical advice from parents and others. Not only relatives but also other [887] adults may give advice. Elderly people are especially apt to counsel children.

> Old people start giving advice right away whenever they meet you. They tell you to be kind to everyone, don't brag, don't put yourself before anyone, work hard and you'll live a long time and be respected by everybody.

593 867 Either parent may take the responsibility of advising the children, but the father is generally stricter. In the early morning and at night, and "whenever everyone is gathered around and it is quiet" the father exhorts his children to be good and kind and to help others, demanding and receiving the attention of his youngsters for these harangues.

867 858 Since a well mannered child brings some prestige to his family, even a very small one is taught how to conduct himself before visitors; and the highest respect is shown to large families whose children are polite and well behaved.[36]

858 574 Visiting is a favorite pastime, especially in the fall after the winter house has been prepared. When visitors arrive, they are offered something to eat. At this point, the children are sent out to play; for "food will stick in the visitors' gullets if children stay around." Exemplary children learn to disappear without being told whenever visitors arrive.

867 264 Eating involves a few rules of etiquette for the young. Meals are not regular, and all are free to take food when there is any available. Ordinarily the family eats at least two meals a day, in the morning and again in the evening. The whole family eats together, and children are told to wait until the father has said a grace, holding a bit of food or water out toward the mountains, lake, and earth as an offering. If this were not done, the children might become ill.

Immediately afterwards all start eating. There is no particular seating arrangement. Children are required to sit quietly during the meal. "They would choke if they ran around or talked." Children are also told never to walk in front of anyone who is eating--a rule doubly important if the person is a shaman.

869 778 An important part of training consists in developing respectful attitudes toward the many sacred places in Klamath territory. Children

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[36] See Spier, p. 91, for a few of the Klamath rules of etiquette.

869 hear about these spots first in stories. Later the parents point out the sacred sites as they
• 778 pass by them. Many of the places are referred to as "doctor rocks." Children are warned never to run or play near them lest they should fall and become crippled.

869 Klamath religion is very closely associated with shamanism[17] so that most of the religious
756 attitudes acquired are directed toward shamans. Shamans are the most important, powerful, and feared individuals in the tribe. Small children are warned never to bother one, but to run and hide whenever a shaman appears, or he may cause sickness. Children are told, "There's a doctor; don't run in front of him, or he'll trip you. Don't ever look at him when he is smoking." Even the shaman's own children fear him.

861 Obedience is achieved by parents in a number of ways. They frequently scold erring children, small ones being perhaps most often threatened with some supernatural punishment for misbehavior. Whippings are not rare, but are probably never severe. A child is switched across his hands or the back of his legs with a willow switch, or the child's hair or ears are pulled. Corporal punishment is seldom resorted to unless the child has made the same mistake several times and has not heeded scoldings.

861 Obedience is also achieved by instilling in the child a fear of ghosts, spirits, and other
776 supernatural beings who kidnap bad children. Owl is the most potent supernatural threat,
775 feared by child and adult alike. When a child cries at night or is naughty, his parents threaten, "Owl will come to pluck out your eyes
[539] or carry you off to a cave." If the child fails to heed the warning at first, the parents call, "Owl, come listen to this child." The effectiveness of the threat is increased by the child's knowledge of the story about a baby who was carried off by an owl to a cave near Modoc Point. The baby gradually sprouted feathers and turned into an owl. Bear and Coyote are similarly used to silence a crying child.

In the same way children are warned about ghosts who might snatch them away from the camp unless they are good.[18] Ghosts hover about the camp constantly and are especially dangerous to little ones. For that reason children are never allowed out after sundown unless accompanied by an adult. The child is told to turn his left side and raise his left arm to a ghost if he ever sees one; only in this manner can sickness be avoided.

784 Since ghosts constitute such a peril, children must never go near the cremation grounds
775 where they might contract a ghost sickness, which can be cured only by a powerful shaman. Children never attend funerals, nor are they allowed to cross the path over which a corpse has been carried.

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[17] A thorough discussion of Klamath shamanism appears, ibid., pp. 93-138.

[18] Ghosts are described in Voegelin, elements 4655-4706.

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755
192
[534]

165; 13. It is by no means certain whether the above is the full wording of this song or not.

165; 16. nen involves the idea: "you hear it yourselves." Cf. 167; 36. 170; 59.

166; 17. kódsinksh was in this connection explained by lílhanksam stĕ'ksh. Conjurers' rattles are made of deer's claws.

166; 18. This hawk is a kind of sparrow-hawk, Falco sparverius.

166; 20. Compare the song of the weíwash-goose: 170; 60.

166; 21. This song of a female conjurer or "doctress" is quite analogous to the song 166; 17.

166; 22. The ḳáls flies around in cold nights followed often by foggy mornings, hence the belief that it makes the fog.

166; 25. Compare the gray wolf's song, 165; 12., which forms alliteration to this.

166; 26. Refers very probably to the cremation of the dead.

[778] 167; 30. In line 2 the same object is alluded to as in line 3, kóltam sχí'l. This is a broad strip of dressed otter skin, ornamented in various ways with shells, feathers, bird-scalps, etc. To all these objects a magic power is attributed severally, and as they are now all united on one strip of skin, this strip must unite the magic powers of them all. The conjurer suspends the sχí'l on his neck and lets it dangle over his chest or back, according to the manipulations in which he is engaged at the time. It is considered as one of the most powerful of all the curing tools or múluash.

167; 32. Alludes to the grayish-white color of this bird, which burrows underground. This bird is also mentioned in 154; 12. and *Note;* cf. also 132, 7. 8.

[193] 168; 41. Sχí'pa is the abbreviated form of the possessive case in -am, as in wásha wéka 105, 9. and *Note* to 105, 7.; in: ní'l wéksa, 144, 1. cf. 165; 13.

168; 44. Interpreted by others: "I am scolding and threatening the earth".

169; 50. Another túktukuash-song is contained in 162; 3. cf. *Note.*

169; 52. Shaíkish is another name given to the tchákiuks.

169; 54. The kingfisher or Ceryle alcyon is called in Klamath Lake tchántchan, tsántsan, tchánshan after its cry: tchătchătchă, and chiefly feeds on salmon.

169; 56. The second line was referred by "Sergeant" Morgan to the otter. Cf. 177; 13.

170; 58. This alludes to the name of the bird, which imitates its twittering.

170; 62. This bird circles in the air to discover fish on the lake's surface and to pounce upon them. The tchuaísh is the red headed vulture or black buzzard: Cathartes aura. The Indian name is an imitation of the bird's cry.

170; 63. 64. The wákash-crane is identical with the tuákish, the name being derived from its cry. These birds creep along the edge of the water in search of small fish. Compare the tuákish-songs 154; 9. 156; 33. 34.

170; 65. This song is much better expressed in the series of Modoc incantations: 174; 13. Here as well as there alliteration is perceptible.

[193] 170; 67. After gé-u, the subject of the sentence, nä'paks or the disease, is omitted. In the name of the duck the final -s, -sh is geminated here in the possessive case, to stand for wa-u'htŭ'asam.

[194] 170; 68. In the onomatopoetic word wä'ks the dissimilation of the vowel into wă'-aks is frequently observed. Also pronounced wékash.

170; 69. The weíwash- or waíwash-goose is a long-necked white bird, commonly known as snow-goose: Anser hyperboreus.

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Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Hunting Observances																
224 o137. First kill taboo to youth	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
138. To youth's parents also	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+
139. Kill taboo until marriage	−	−	−	−	•−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
140. Youth switched after first kill	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
141. Before he goes to kill first deer	+	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
142. Taboo to voice intent to hunt deer	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
o143. Hunter fasts morning or day of hunt	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	±	±	−	+
[934] 144. Sexual continence before hunt	−	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[276] 145. Tobacco smoked ritually before hunt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	•+	−	•+
146. Root incense before hunt	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
[788] 147. Weapons smoked over fire	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
148. Hunter smokes self over fire	.	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	−	+	+	+	•−	+	−
149. Root chewed before hunt	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
[515] 150. Sweating before hunt	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
151. With scarification and bleeding	−	+	•+	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
152. Hunter prays while sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•−	−	•−	−	−	−
153. Shell bead burnt as offering	−										+	+	+	−	−	•−
[515] 154. Bathing before hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
155. Body swabbed with medicine	−	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	+	•+
156. Deer doctor charms game prior to hunt	−	+	+			•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
157. Antelope doctor charms game prior to hunt	−	+	.		o	o	+	−	o	o	o	−	o	−	o	−
158. Ceremony before group hunt	−	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
159. Singing	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Praying	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
161. Dancing	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
162. Hoof rattle	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	+	−
163. Cocoon rattle	−		−		−			−	−		+	+	+	+	−	−
163a. Split-stick rattle	−	−	•R	−	−	•R		+	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	•+
164. Headdress	−	−	+			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	−
165. Conducted by shaman	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
166. Acorn-soup dinner									•+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+
167. Ceremony after hunt	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	.	+	•+	−	+
[782] 168. Offerings made for success of hunt	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•.	•+
168a. Eagle down	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−
168b. Tobacco	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	.	−
[750] 169. Shaman goes on hunt to charm game	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•−	+	−
170. Bear spoken to in den or woods	•−	•+	•+	+	•+	•−	o	−	+	.	+	•+	o	.	(−)	•+
171. Addressed by kin term	−	.	+	−	+	−	o	−	−	.	+	−	o	.	(−)	+
172. Apologetic speech after killing	−	−	+	•−	+	−	o	−	+	.	+	+	o	.	−	+
173. Meat eaten in one house	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	+	(+)	o	.	+	−
174. All who eat must wash, be continent	−	+	+	•−							+	+	o	.	+	−
175. Remains in tree or hidden in woods	−	−	+	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	+	−	o	.	−	−
176. Remains burnt	−	−	−			+	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	.	−	+
177. Killing pregnant bear causes death, misfortune	−	.	−	+	−	−	o	−	−	−	.	+	o	.	−	−
[202] 178. Smoke or fire signals when 2 or more hunt together	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
179. Shouting as signal	−	−							+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
180. To obtain aid in packing kill	+	•+	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+
Butchering of Large Game																
181. Large game butchered in woods	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	•−	+	+
182. Lying	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
183. Eyes cut out	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
184. Given to child to eat raw	−	−	−	•−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
185. Nose cut or tied	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
186. Paunch cleaned, filled with blood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+
187. Carcass packed home whole	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	+	+	+	−	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	226
282. 1st salmon	•−	•o	•+	•+	•−	•−	•o	•+	•+	•−	•o	•+	•+	•o	•+	•+	
283. 1st sucker	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
284. 1st steelhead trout	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	
285. Taboo to catch salmon before rite	−	o	−	+	−	−	o	+	−	−	−	.	+	o	+	+	[784]
286. Steelhead	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	
287. Suckers	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
288. Taboo to eat salmon before rite	−	o	−	+	−	−	o	+	−	−	−	+	+	o	+	+	
289. Steelhead	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
290. Suckers	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
291. Spring of year	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	
292. Priest prepares for rite	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	
293. Neighboring tribe holds (salmon) rite	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
294. Old man catches 1st fish	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
295. Anyone may catch 1st fish for rite	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	
296. Anyone may eat 1st fish	−	+	−	•−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
297. First (2) suckers burned	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
298. All of 1st catch eaten immediately	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
299. Punishment for removal of portion	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
300. Taboo against leaving in basket overnight	−								•+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	[784]
Gathering																	
Gathering Techniques and Observances																	
300a. Poles, staves for gathering acorns, pine cones	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	222
300b. Shepherd's crook stave	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	•+	
301. Forked stick grapple	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	
302. Straight pole	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	
303. Straight pole with cross bar	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	
304. Also used for wood gathering	−	−	+								−	+	+	+	−	+	
305. Limbs shaken with hands, feet	−	−	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
306. Sapling as ladder for climbing trees	−	−	+	•+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	
307. Double-pole ladder, buckskin rungs	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
308. Digging stick	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
309. Plain, pointed at one end	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	
310. Plain, bipointed	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
311. Crutch handled	+	+	+	•R	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
312. Seed plants sometimes broken by hand		•+	+	−	+	−	−		+	−	−		−	−	−	−	
313. 1st-fruits rite	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
314. Observed for: acorns	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	
315. Pine nuts	−	−	−	−	−	−	−						+	−	+	−	
316. Wokus (water lily seeds)	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
317. Ipos bulbs (Calochortus sp.)		+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
318. Manzanita berries						o	o						−	+	+	•o	
319. Annual; observed in	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[221]
320. Springtime	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	
321. Midsummer	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
322. Fall of year	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
‡323. Number of days	10	−	−	−	†	−	−	−	−	−	1	1	1	1	1	1	[535]
324. Dancing	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	
325. Praying	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[782]
326. Singing	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	[538]
326a. Feasting on 1st fruit	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
327. 1st fruit gathered thrown away	−	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	•+	+	
Preagriculture (Other than Tobacco)																	
328. Burning for better wild-seed crops	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	•+	•+	•+	.	+	−	241

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
515 810. Pray or wish while sweating	•+	•+	•(+)	+	R	R	•+	+	•+	•+	+	(+)	–	–	–	–
782 811. Cold bath follows sweat	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	(–)	+	+	–	+

House Furnishings and Arrangement

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
281 812. Blankets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
513 813. Elk and deerskin	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
814. Painted hides for fine blankets	–	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
815. Woven rabbitskin blankets	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
816. Patchwork skin blankets	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
817. Deerskin	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
818. Coyote skin	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
819. Wildcat skin	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
820. Raccoon skin	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
821. Rabbitskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
822. Blue-fox skin	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–
[439] 823. Buffalo hides, imported for blankets	–		+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[237] 824. Feather blankets	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	•+
825. Loose tule, grass blanket covering	+	+	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
826. Pillows	+	+	+	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	.
827. Individual wooden pillow	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
828. Pole pillow	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.
829. Piece of wood or rock	+	–	–		–	–			+	+	+	.	–	–	+	.
830. Rolled skin	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.
831. Rolled tule mat	–	–	+	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
832. Leaf or grass pillow	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.
534 833. Pine needles heaped up for pillow	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	–	(–)	+	–	–	–	.
†834. Wooden foot drum	–	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	•R	•R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
†835. Hollow half log	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	.	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†836. In line with door	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†837. Over hole in ground	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	.	+
†838. Post before drum	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	.	–	–	–	+
361 †838a. Houses in rows	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
†838b. Houses in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	.	–	•+

Shelters

Brush Enclosures and Shades

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
417 839. Roofless circular brush enclosure	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
840. Large, used for ceremonies	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
[574] 841. As camping place for visitors	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–
[764] 842. At cemeteries only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	+	+
843. Fire in center	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
844. Opening(s) oriented	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	.	•+
845. Same, but smaller, for summer shelter	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
846. Partly roofed over	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
847. Roofed circular brush enclosure	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–		–
848. Shades	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	–	•+
849. Horizontal roof	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
850. Sloping roof	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
851. 4 supporting posts	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
852. 3 side walls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
853. Brush heaped around pit mortars, for shade	–	–	–		–	–	–		–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–
854. Conical bark grinding house, 2 families	–	–	–		+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Menstrual Huts

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
343 855. Menstrual hut	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
841 856. Similar to living house, but smaller	–	–	–	•+	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	–

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Preparation

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2049. Stalk hung up to dry	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	276
2050. Leaves dried, whole	+	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	
2051. Leaves rubbed and hung to dry in sack												+	+	−	−	+	
2052. Leaves only, used	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2053. Leaves rubbed fine in palm, with fingertips	+	+	−	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
2054. Dried leaves put in sack, pounded on slab		·	+								−	−	−	−	−	−	
o2055. Tobacco mixed for smoking	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	−	−	•±	−	−	−	−	−	−	
o2056. Kinnikinick, manzanita mixtures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2057. Grease added	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	

Tobacco Containers

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2058. Basket	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	[415]
2059. Buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
2060. Cased-fur pouch	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	

Tobacco Substitutes

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
2061. Plant substitutes used occasionally	−	−	+						•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2062. Manzanita	−	−	+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2063. Parched and ground	−	−	+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Uses

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2064. Smoking at social gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2065. Pipe passed	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2066. Smoking after sweating	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	
2067. Bedtime smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2068. No smoking in dwelling house	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	
2069. Men smoke, generally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[562]
2070. Smoking limited among women; shamans mainly	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	
2071. Tobacco chewed	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[756]
o2072. Tobacco as offering	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2073. Tossed or blown in air	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	[782]
2074. Burnt in fire	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	
2075. Smoked	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	

MUSIC AND DRAWING

Musical Instruments

Drums

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2076. Hide drum	•R	+	•+	•+	+	•R	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	534
2077. Cylindrical	R	+	+	+	+	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2078. 2-headed	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2079. 1-headed	R	+	−	−	+	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2080. Tambourine type	R	+	−	−	+	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2081. Drumstick wrapped at head	R	+	−	+	+	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2082. Plain drumstick, knot for head	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2083. Footdrum	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
2084. Basket drummed	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•−	•+	

Rattles

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
2085. Cocoon rattle	•−	−	−	•−	•+	•+	•+	•−	•−	•R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
2086. Stick handle	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	R	+	+	+	+	+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 2914. Dancing proceeds around fire and pole	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
535 2915. 2 circles, men and women separately	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
2916. 1 circle, men	−	−	+								−	−	+	−
2917. Dancers in row abreast	°−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2918. Each person dances separately	−	−			+						+	−	+	−
2919. Dancers stamp 1 foot	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2920. Dancers stamp both feet	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
2921. Scalp on center pole	+	°+	+	−	°+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	°+	−
2922. Heart on top of center pole	+	−	+	−					°R	−	−	−	−	−
2923. Scalp(s) on small hand pole(s)	+	°+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
[532] 2924. Human effigy	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2925. Each warrior pantomimes his war deeds	−	.	−			+	+	+	+	+	.	−	+	−
2926. Each warrior dances singly, once around, with scalp	−	.	−	−		+	+	−	+	+	.	−	−	−
2927. Old women dance with scalps	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2928. Wipe themselves with bloody scalp	+	+	−	−					+	−	.	−	−	−
2929. Chew and bite scalp, heart	.	+	+	−		+	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−
2930. Scalps dragged and rubbed in dirt	+	+	−	−				+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2931. 1-2 women walk back and forth in front of dancers	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2932. Warriors carry bow and arrows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
2933. Shoot at scalp or heart	.	.	+	−				+	+	+	−	−	+	−
2934. Women dancers carry brush or pole	−		−						+	−	+	−	+	−
[302] 2935. Participants painted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2936. Black	+	−	+				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2937. Red	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2938. White	+		−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
[292] 2939. Participants wear brush, feather headdresses	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2940. Warriors wear fighting gear	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−

Purification of Killers; Treatment of Wounded

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 2941. Swims	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	.	+	−
783 2942. Sweats	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.	−	−
2943. Steam type	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	.	−	−
2944. Direct-fire type	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−
[304] 2945. Scarification and bleeding	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−
2946. Aromatic plants rubbed on body	.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	.	+	−
2947. Women brush off men with plant	.	−	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−
2948. Must stay outside	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	−
2949. Stays awake mainly, or naps	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	−
[792] 2950. Prays for luck	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	.	+	−
[262] *2951. Meat taboo ... days	−	−	.	+	°2	−	−	−	°4	−	28	.	6	−
2952. Warm food taboo	−											.	+	−
2953. Scratching stick used	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+
2954. Bath at end of taboo period	−	−	−	+							+	.	+	+
2955. Meat taboo to wounded	°+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	.	+	+
2956. Hot food taboo to wounded	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+
[752] 2957. Wash wounded with special decoction			+								+	.	+	+

Peace Negotiations

Compensation for Slain

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
728 2958. Intertribal wars: compensation	+	−	−	°−	−	R	°−	−	−	−	°−	−	−	−
2959. Revenge only	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SS	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5171. Instruction	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5172. Supernatural experience	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5173. Sings	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5174. Goes into trance	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5175. Tells who hid or stole money	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5176. Tracks money, if hiding place changed	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5177. Talks to piece of money	-	-	-	-	-			-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
5178. Listens to hear money singing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5179. Functions when money is lost	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5180. Performs at any public ceremony	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5181. Money hidden, to test shaman	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-

Witchcraft

Black Magic

	Kl	Mo	SS	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
791 754 5182. Love medicine	+	.	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
832 5183. Roots	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-
5184. Hair treated with formula, blood								+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
5185. Songs				•+		+	•+	•+	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-
5186. "Diamond" (charmstone).						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
754 5187. Poisoners distinct from doctors	+	-	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	.	•+		+	-
791 5188. Men only	+	-	-	+	-			+	-	-	-	.	+		-	-
[562] 5189. Have power from various animals	-	-	.	-	-		-	-	-	+	-	.	-		-	-
5190. From evil spirit	-		-	-	-		-	-	-	+	-	.	-		-	-
5191. Have knowledge of herbs	(+)		•		-								+		-	-
754 5192. Shamans, poisoners practice contagious magic.	+		•+	+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•	•+	-
756 5193. Poisoner, curing shaman hired to revenge refusal of girl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		+	(-)
5194. Make girl crazy, or kill her outright	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	±	+	+	+	+	•+		•+	(-)
5195. Colored lights (transformed witches) cause illness	-	-	•+	•+				•+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5195a. Epidemics caused by spirit creatures	-	-	-	-				•+	•+	+	-	-	-		-	-

Prayer, Offerings

	Kl	Mo	SS	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
782 5196. Prayers frequent by all	+	+	-	•(-)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
264 5197. Offerings of food at meals	•+	+	•-	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	+		+	+

Eagle Ceremony

	Kl	Mo	SS	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
825 5198. Special observances connected with eagle.								•(-)					-	-	+	-
5199. Eaglets captured alive													-	-	•+	-
5200. People eat acorn soup on spot													-	-	•+	-
5201. Eaglets kept tied by leg													-	-	+	-
5202. Killed when grown													-	-	+	-
5203. Feathers plucked out													-	-	+	-
[766] 5204. Beads put on body													-	-	+	-
5205. Eagle buried in basket, like person													-	-	+	-
5206. Owners cry at funeral, as for person.													-	-	+	-
5206a. Chief only uses eagle feathers								•-	•-				-	-	+	-

Kuksu

Initiation (Boys)

	Kl	Mo	SS	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
575 5207. Tossed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	-
5208. Over fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	.		-	-
5209. Held over fire												(+)	.		-	-

000 798. AW, AE: In earth-covered sweat house-living house, not in Plains-type sudatory. WT: "Too dark in there." NF, NS, MV: See note 797.

799. Among various woods preferred as sweat-house firewood, Mo use red sage, dry willow only, because these "make good clean coals"; SW say chaparral "makes hottest fire; manzanita comes next." Among WT, WM, WS, MM, MF, NF, NS manzanita preferred wood. Manzanita absent from AW, AE, MV, areas; pitchless varieties of wood producing little or no smoke used. AW: Firewood gathered in morning; tell boys, youths, "Let the frost come down on you." NM: Old people gather firewood for assembly house. MV: Youths gather fuel for assembly-house fire however.

800. Mo: Informal office only; ask man who knows how to make good fire to attend to it. SE: In winter dwelling-sweat house. SW: Fire maker for semisubterranean assembly-house fire; no one person had such office for men's sweat house fire. WM: In assembly house. WS: In Dream dance house. NF, NS, MV: For assembly-house fire.

801. SW: In men's sweat house, informal competitive groups, of youths mainly. AW: Such competitive groups mentioned in mythology only. In myth, Buzzard wanted to be brave; in contest with Sun he stayed too close to fire and was burned. A shaman can make one side of house hot, the other cold; Sun did this to Buzzard.

803. WT, WM, WS: 1 man sings for group, during doctor-seeking dance. When sweating in men's house, all sweaters sing. NF: In large assembly house.

804. Mo, SE, WM: Entries 804-808 refer to use of Plains-type sweat house. SW: Entries 804-807 refer to use of men's earth-covered sweat house. WS: Entries 804-806 refer to sweating in assembly house.

807. WS: Entries 807-811 refer to Plains-type sudatory.

808. SW: In Plains-type sweat house.

809. AE: Women, when sweating in Plains-type sudatory. WM: Sweat for this purpose when using men's sweat house, chiefly.

[515] [782] 810. Kl, Mo: Pray to hot rocks when sprinkling water over them. SE: Informant had never heard of praying to rocks, but medicine decoction sprinkled over rocks when sweating. AW: "Pray, talk to sun, rock, ground, water, when using [Plains type] sweat house. Tell sun, 'What do you think? I feel sore all over. What do you think, Sun? You ought to help me.' In other kind of sweat house [earth-covered type], don't pray; just jump up and dance around, as though crazy." AE: In Plains-type sweat house, "pray to the hot rocks; man who knows something, or is like a preacher, talks as he sprinkles the rocks; all the other [male] sweaters keep quiet. At intervals, when he stops, everyone says 'e-e-eh.' Then he gives the basket of water to someone else, and calls upon that person to pray and sprinkle the water; another man may prepare a smoke in there, with the pipe. Before they go

000 Pleiades, morning star, especially observed. AE: Watch stars, each new moon, to see which star is going to appear; different stars appear during different months.

4440. NS: See element 4430.

4442. WM: For winter months only.

4443. MV: Old woman keeps record in following manner: "She keeps 1 variety of seed after another in finely netted bag, and eats different sort each month. When arguments become heated in assembly house, old men send for this old woman; variety of seeds she has in sack at that time often settles argument.

4445. MV: See note 4443.

4447. WM: 2 solstices determined in following manner: During solstices sun stays for 3 days, oscillating between points A and B, "before it starts north or south. Old man watches this in morning; the sun sits down each morning, first at [A], then at [B], then back to [A], not looking around. But on third morning it looks around and is ready to go N or S, depending on time of year." WS: Winter solstice only observed, because people "want spring to come; don't bother about summer solstice." Solstice explained as follows: Sun rises at point X for 3 days, then moves N to Y for 1 day; then rises again at X for 1 day; then at Y next day. After that it keeps rising farther and farther N each day; "when it starts moving N for good, people quit watching its position."

4448. AW: See note 4451. WS: See note 4447.

4449. AW: See note 4436.

4450. SE: Marks made on center pole of assembly house with chalk. SW: "In the assembly house (uk'kwamma) there are flat rocks, set around base of center post; the shadow from post, as made by rising or midday sun, is observed, and note taken of where it falls on rocks at base of post." AW: Watch where light strikes on center post of living house or sweat house, but no marks on pole.

4451. SW: Wherever there is assembly house, observations made indoors, as noted in 4450 above, "but for ordinary places, people watch where sun rises and sets between certain trees." (Informant now uses mark on board by his door in observing shadow cast by rising sun.) AW: Mainly watch shadow from Soldier Mt. ("it goes to Jim Hunt's place") for solstices.

4452. MV: From top of assembly house.

4454. WS: See note 4447.

4457. WM: Old men watch where sun rises over certain rocks or trees every morning throughout year; also observe where sun sets.

[823] [782] 4458. Kl: Informant gave 4 names (for N, S, E, W), but recognized Spier's 7 names (Spier, Klamath, 222); when food offered, it is thrown in each of 4 directions.

4461. SW: E and W designated as either up and downstream or light and dark (sunrise and sunset), N and S by place or tribal names, such as "over by Jacksonville" (N) and "over by Wintun" (S).

4462. SW: See preceding note. AW: N, ša·tit,

DOO 2-3 miles wide]. In summer the people camped in the hills around West Valley, to dig ipos roots, and such. By the end of September they returned to the winter living house; maybe later, if the weather was good. When they were going to move into the winter house, they put up a big dinner (lamedi'i). All the people gathered inside the house, to listen to 1 man (not chief, but more like a 'preacher') who wore a basket hopper (k'alua) on his head, and who circled the fire in the house, praying so the inmates would have a good winter in there. Then they'd have a big dinner, to which all people contributed, putting the food all in 1 pile; a man then distributed it. People from other villages came to this celebration; they weren't notified or invited, they just heard this was going to happen. They did this every year, at the time they moved into the winter house. After the dinner, some of the people gambled in the house until daylight; there was no dance. When they built a new winter house there was no ceremony though." Informant thought same sort of "house warming" given by AW at Fall River also. NS: In evening, informant's grandmother used always to raise arms and pray, "Be good to me, father"; prayed thus "for good luck for next day or next week."

[782] [264] 5197. Kl: Pray before eating and throw small portion of food about to be eaten on ground (not in fire) in each direction, thus "giving it to the ground." Will sicken if fail to do this. SE: Offerings of food made to frogs, when croaking. SW: Offerings made to Sun, however; the circles [perhelion] around the sun are his paint, that the Indians give him." MM: Small amount of food put in fire once a month or once a year; "give it to the night," either in winter or summer. "Do this yet."

5198. Questions concerning ownership of eagles, and such, were asked of informants for all groups; specific inquiry was not made concerning the eagle ceremony noted above, except among groups indicated, but I believe the distribution of this ceremony would be found lacking among all groups except NS. WT: Absence of eagle ceremony inferred from informant's statement that "didn't have much to do with eagles; one would die with worms if one did." Never use eagle feathers.

5199. NS: Man lowered over crag where eagles nest with vegetable-fiber-cord rope. In 1 instance, as man lowered thus, sharp rock cut rope; accident ascribed to fact man had not invited others to be present at capture of eagles from nest (see below).

5200. NS: Man going to capture eagles should have wife, daughters go to spot and make big basket of acorn mush, for invited guests to partake of on spot, after birds have been captured. Also should have young man to assist him in capturing eaglets.

5206a. WT: See note 5198. WM: "Afraid of eagle feathers; only doctors use, keep them."

[248-B]

[Klamath Reservation]

Families

K M
eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782] •

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [412]
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K M
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [867]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [354]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K M
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the chil-
dren sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up
the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel,
the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's
child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their
marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral
and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M
221
756
796

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

M
787 as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing
756 they are the shaman's "helpers."

K However differently they construe the degree of individual
M access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that
787 human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those
K who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer
M [782] in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtu-
[772] ous striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the
universe appears basically to be a moral order.

K In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The
M annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the
181 progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon
461 industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme
that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic
K exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this
M 461 virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to
556 maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a follow-
595 ing. Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the
K common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a
M contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent
622 men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In
556 war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his
[881] panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man
[701] of property is likely to be decked with many valuables con-
[764] tributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the
[538] man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowl-
[756] edge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send
out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power
in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to
K the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in
622 the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:
539

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee—to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

I.

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Nálam p'tíshap, kat p'laí tchía: Nánuk nā'd hû'nk mî shéshash kátak
Our father, which on high lives: All of us thy name truly

shtî'nta. Mî húshkanksh gû'ta nā'lsh. Î hû'nk vû'nhuapk génta käílatat,
worship. Thy mind come to us. Thou wilt achieve on this earth,

wákaktak p'laítalknî gî. Shéwan î nálsh gē'n waítash nálam pála-ash
equally as (thou) on high dost. Give thou us this day our bread

nánuk waítashtat. Hä nálsh tuá k̲ó-idshi gíntanuapk, k̲á-i hûn, p'laítalkni,
every on day. If on us anything wicked should stick on, not it, thou on high,

hû'shkank î! húmashtak nā'd k̲á-i hû'shkankuapk, hä kaní nálsh k̲ú-i
mind thou! just as we not would mind it, if somebody us wrong

gî'uapk. K̲á-i nálsh î tuá shutétki k̲ú-idsha, î inúhuashkpak hak nálsh
should do. Not to us thou anything let do wicked, (but) thou keep away only from us

tuá k̲ú-idsha. Húmasht giúg mî né-ulaks, nk̲î'llitk tchî'sh, ktchálshkash
anything wicked. For thine (is) the rule, force also, glory

tchîsh tchúshniak. Húmashtak an hûn gîtk gi!
also forever. Thus I it to be say!

II.

Nálam t'shî'shap, p'laí tchía: Mî shéshash nánuk stínta; mî k̲óχpash
Our father, on high (who) livest: Thy name all revere; thy mind

gáltchui nanukä'nash nā'l. Gitá tchî'sh käíla humashták gî, wákaktoksh
come to every one (of) us. Here too on earth in the same manner be done, just as

p'laí ki. Nálash gēn waítash shápēle shéwan î. K̲á-i nálash k̲ó-i shû'tä,
on high is done. To us this day bread give thou. Not us wicked render thou.

húmasht nálam mák̲laks-shítko stínta. I huáshgi nálamtant k̲ó-idsha
equally as our men-kindred (we) love. Thou keep off from our bad

steínashtat k̲óχpash; tídsh nálam steínash shútä. Mî tála litchlítchli, mî
(from) heart thoughts; good our heart make thou. Thine alone (is the) power, thy

steínash litchlítchli tchússak, mû'ni lák̲iam steínash. Húmasht toks tídsh.
heart strong (is) perpetually, great of the Lord the heart. Thus (it will be) well.

NOTES.

These versions of the Lord's Prayer are good instances of what can be attained, without using too many circumlocutions, in rendering religious, moral and other abstract ideas in a language deficient in many of them.

[192] For reign and kingdom no words exist, and they had to be rendered by hû'shkanksh, or in Modoc k̲óχpash, "mind", né-ulaks, "rule, law"; sin and forgive were

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[193]

rendered by "something wicked" and "not to mind"; for "thy will be done" stands "achieve thou". Power and glory become "force, impetuosity" and "radiance", and daily bread: "flour on every day". In the Modoc version, the wording of which is inferior to that of version I, the use of similar expedients will be observed.

I. In the Klamath Lake dialect; by Minnie Froben.

139, 6. inúhuashkpak, phonetic inversion for inuhuashkápk' î; see Dictionary.

139, 7. ktchálshkash, from the word ktchál*χ*a, to shine, to be radiant, resplendent.

139, 8. gitk, in an hûn gîtk gi, is the verbal intentional gítki.

II. In the Modoc dialect; by the Riddle family.

139, 10. Gitá käíla is equivalent to gĕ'nta käílatat; in humashták gi the verb gî has to be taken in the *passive* sense.

139, 11. k̲ó-i shû'tă: "do not render us wicked." For shútă compare 111, 15. and *Note.*

139, 12. húmasht nálam. Between these words and the preceding ones there is a lacune in the text. mák̲laks-shitko, "our kindred": those who look like ourselves.

139, 13. 14. In mî tála litchlítchli the adjective strong stands for "strength, power", while in mî steínash litchlítchli it is used in its adjective signification. In this language abstract ideas are sometimes rendered by adjectives and by verbal adjectives in -tko.

DIALOGUES

I.

*539 **Tsématk.** Tatá lîsh sha ksíulakuapk?
When they will dance?

Skă'lag. Pá-ak k̲á-i an sháyuakta! uná a sha ná-asht she-édshtat mat
Not I know! once they so (said), on Saturday
sha nánuk shûkû'lki-uapk kshí'ul*χ*ish.
they all will assemble for the dance.

Kápuak. Tátai tchî'k sha kshíulakuapk? Plĕ'nkamkshi á? tám hak
Where after all they are going to dance? At Frank's house? perhaps
haítch î hû'nk shläátk? k̲úi a sha nen hûnk máshish gîsh shúpa.
(did) you him see? seriously they him diseased to be say.

Skă'lag. Káyak an hátokt gátpantk, ná-asht tă'dsh toks nû tû'mĕna gén
Not I there was going, thus however I heard this
mbû'shant pîl, mat pá-ula: gät tóks nû wátch káyaktgûk, kúinag
morning only, (that) he was eating: out there I of my horses while returning from the search, away from any house
gépgapĕle.
I returned.

Kápuak. Tám haítch î nä'gsh shíwaksh shläá gúnî, gémpktch Kúy-
[illegible]) you absent from home the girl see over there, who went to
amtsχĕksh, Ellen Débidam mû'kag shétaltchapksh mă'shisht?
Kû am Skŭ'tkshi, of Allen David a baby to visit having fallen sick!

Skă'lag. K̲á-i an tû'sh shleá pûsh.
Not I anywhere saw her.

Kápuak. Î.
Is that so?

178 latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence
that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on
the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often
recur.

787 The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, ap-
[887] parently regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was
usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power
[785] obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts
existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating,
[533] and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath
emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word
/šuw'i·s/ meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on
787 context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from
177 without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior
[797] associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly in-
dividualized and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality,
it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers,
the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions.
One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with
the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The
examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older in-
formants. Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions as-
sociated with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

782 A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me,
776 "Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and
823 old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.'
774 I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I
787 say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over
there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains
and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I
dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it."
She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to
Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up,
up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man
standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I
773 don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The in-
formant refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of
whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena:
"When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They
said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never
did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it
was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a
[797] real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those
things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

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[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

782 Other informants also give a hint of this attitude. Even where there is
776 sophistication by virtue of education or long-time residence away from the
823 group, one encounters statements like that of a woman, half-Klamath, half-Caucasian:
774 "Those old Indians had a lot of sense. They kind of felt at home around here and they would get a lift just from talking to the mountains
787 and lakes. It was like praying and it made them feel at peace. When I get up in the morning, I look first over there [at Mt. Pitt] and it makes me feel good too. Not that I pray in the old Indian way; that's just idolatry. But it's like the scenery kind of gets ahold of you even if I been seeing it all my life."

787 776 A possible indication of this attitude appears in the repeated warnings to
855 children to avoid certain rocks and cliffs. "You might fall down and hurt
823 yourself" is of course quite true; on the other hand, places about which some modern Klamath parents feel particularly uneasy were associated aboriginally with power sources. A strong drive in the past was fear that a child might be
784 harmed through contact with "power." Every effort was made to keep the child away from the shaman, the sweat lodge, the mourning place, and the
841 like. (It may be noted that menstrual blood was placed near the cradled child to negate forces whose mere presence could harm the inexperienced.) These attitudes toward nature and the surrounding natural phenomena, at least as sources of uneasiness, still exist among younger Klamath of today.

773 Also obtainable is evidence on attitudes toward the culture hero. Some
776 offer a rational systematization of beliefs concerning him. Generally, this
177 involves some interpretation in the light of Christian reasoning. Kemu'kemps, because of his essentially human characteristics, readily lends himself to identification with the Christian God. The middle-aged woman quoted above, struck by the linguistic parallels, notes: "Those old Indians were really
273 Christians. It's only the liquor around here that makes the unbelief and trouble. Kemu'kemps means the 'Old One'; that's God. He revealed himself to the Indians long before the Americans [sic] came. He had a son, too, 'Ayšiš, that's just like Jesus. He created the world, just like it says in the Bible. If only those old Indians had been able to see it, they were close to God all the time. They lived good upright lives under his guidance. Another word for Kemu'kemps in our language is *Playtul'kni·;* that means the 'One on High,' 'Somebody up there.' That's the name we give God in our language now. It's all the same."

Not all informants are so definite in their syncretism. One elderly woman remarked: "Who is Kemu'kemps? I don't know. Sometimes I think he's God, but sometimes I think he must be Devil. Maybe he was just a story the old Indians made up. But they called him Playtul·kni· and that means God. My grandson asked me, 'Gramma, who's Kemu'kemps?' I say, 'I don't know. Maybe he's like God.' " In another connection she remarked: "I think that Kemu'kemps is Devil. He gets people into trouble; he leads them into temptation. When I was a little girl, they said to me, 'He's no good; don't believe that any more.' But I don't know. I see the icicles and I think of the wind and Kemu'kemps. He made the world and they call him Playtul'kni·. The Devil

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

881
[302] or red sage-brush bark. Buck-brush bands are worn around the head,
neck, wrists, ankles, below each knee, and wound perhaps twice around
[301] the waist. This waist band may be a woven belt (k'ai'lls) of sage-brush.

At the close of the ceremony the girl purifies herself by swimming;
[291] she does not use a sweat-bath. Other participants need no purification.
Her clothing and bark bands are burned. Sometimes the circlets
[783] are wrapped around the branches of trees near the sweat-lodge
where they are left to rot unless they are earlier gathered by someone
who wishes to use them for a cautery.

[302]
[531]

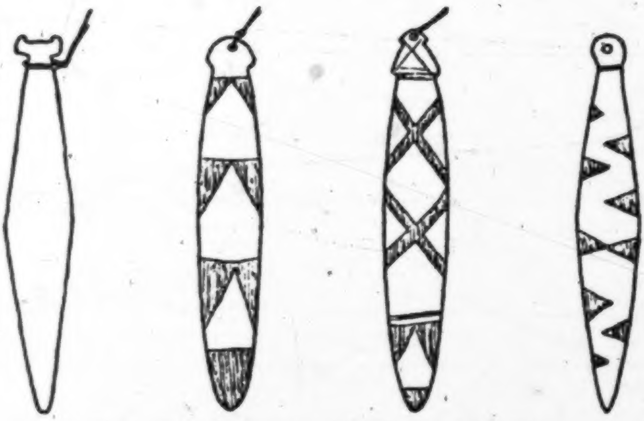

Fig. 6. Head scratchers, used by girls in puberty rites.

A girl for whom no dance is held stays within her home, dressed in this fashion and observing the taboos for the requisite period.

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[756] Menstruant women stay at home during their illness (ata sto'pwi)
unless they are members of a shaman's household. Shamans must
avoid them; seemingly other men are indifferent. Women of a
shaman's household occupy a little dome-shaped lodge near-by for
five days. Menstruants eat only lily seed, camas, etc.; they permit
themselves dried fish, but meat and fresh fish are taboo. Older women
do not use the scratcher, nor wear the bands, nor burn their clothing.[97]
So much from my feminine friend, but a male informant had it that
all women make use of a menstrual lodge, wear dirty clothing, neither
wash nor care for the hair, and use the scratcher. However, women

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[97] Nor do they keep knotted string records of these events as on Puget sound.

The rewrapping of a man is done by male friends, of a woman by 764
women, but men alone tend the fire. They cover the remains as quickly as possible, all those about crying loudly the while. Little children are kept at a distance. [783] By way of purification, those who tend the corpse leave their clothing out of doors for several days and swim, or bathe in the sweat-lodge.

The house in which the death took place, even that of a child, is burned with its contents.[101] The survivors live elsewhere until, on a remarriage, for instance, a new lodge is built. If the house of a shaman is burned with the regalia it contains, a violent storm springs up in the night, hence they wait for calm weather before setting it afire. It is only safe for an old woman to fire it. When a shaman dies and again when he is cremated, storms rage for two days.

Strict mourning is enjoined on the spouse of the deceased and his 765
parents. It is quite clear that a son or daughter need not mourn so deeply for a parent. Those who observe the fullest mourning cut their hair short immediately on the death; this is called sla'mltk. 765 After the cremation they sweat for five days, go out in quest of a vision, and observe the mourning restrictions throughout the following year. 783

The mourner fasts inside the sweat-lodge (spo'kliks) from early [787]
morning until sundown during these five days. There are only four sweat-lodges proper to the use of mourners, or rather three. This restriction is so inconvenient considering the scattering of Klamath settlements that I would doubt it, had I not definite assurance from all informants.[102] There are none in the territories of the Pelican bay and Williamson river-mouth people. [343] The three lodges are semi-subterranean, of timber and rock construction, and earth-covered. These are said to be the gift of Kɛmū'kūmps, the culture hero. A very small one stands a mile and a half north of Klamath Agency.[103] A second is on the south side of a point called waḳa'ḳsi, near Odessa on the western side of Klamath lake.[104] The third and largest is on the hillside at the angle of the marsh east of Algoma. The Klamath Falls group have no mourners' lodge but make use of a hot spring at hŏ'kewalks, a mile east of the present Klamath Falls railroad station.

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[101] I was not told of cairns of stones tossed on the spot by passers-by as described for the Modoc (Gatschet, 1:85).

[102] Gatschet also noted three alone (*op. cit.*, 1:xlii, 82, 142).

[103] This may be the one mentioned by Gatschet (*op. cit.*, 1:xxxi) although the name he gives resembles that recorded for site 64.

[104] This is referred to in a tale of Mink and Weasel.

765 783 343 There they place planks over the spring on which to lie. The common small sweat-lodges are not used in this connection.

The sweat-lodge near Algoma is now in ruins but it was always in need of repair, I was told (fig. 7). It is now a U-shaped wall of stones enclosing an area ten by twenty feet. The walls still stand five or six feet high, composed of thousands of small rocks. The roof was a rough gable covered with dirt. The lodge faces the east, uphill on a rather steep hillside. Stones were heated outside and carried just within the entrance. Air seeped in along the ground at the back or lower side of the lodge, so the mourner would retire there from the heat. A little spring is close by. There were no houses within several miles of this place. The little lodge north of Klamath Agency faces south.

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Fig. 7. Mourners' sweat-lodge near Algoma. The nearest man stands in the mouth of the U-shaped structure; the middle figure on the far wall; that to the right beyond it.

765 [783] [787] At the end of the five days of sweating the mourner swims in the spirit places in quest of power or seeks it in the mountains. The reason seems to be not alone that he has lost power through his sorrow, but that this is an especially propitious occasion when the spirits will pity him for his grief. One such place is a pair of rocks, Wolf and his wife, north of Modoc point. A man will wrestle with the Wolf rock, his wife with Wolf's wife, in order to become strong and run well.

[301] During mourning women wear bands of buck-brush or sage-brush around the head, neck, waist, wrists, knees, and ankles like those worn during the puberty dance. The bands are disposed of by wrapping them around trees near the sweat-lodge where they are sometimes collected by those who wish to make cauteries of them. Both parents (or men alone) wear service berry or sage-brush belts like [302] those of girls at puberty, so that the back will not become stooped. For a year or longer, pitch is smeared over the face and hair, and black-

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

Hunting Observances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
224 °137. First kill taboo to youth	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
138. To youth's parents also	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
139. Kill taboo until marriage	-	-	-	-	•-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
140. Youth switched after first kill	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
141. Before he goes to kill first deer	+	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
142. Taboo to voice intent to hunt deer	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
°143. Hunter fasts morning or day of hunt	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	±	-	+
[934] 144. Sexual continence before hunt	-	+	+	•+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[276] 145. Tobacco smoked ritually before hunt	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	•+	-	•+
146. Root incense before hunt	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
[788] 147. Weapons smoked over fire	-	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
148. Hunter smokes self over fire	.	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-	•+	-	+	+	+	•-	+	-
149. Root chewed before hunt	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
150. Sweating before hunt	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
[515] 151. With scarification and bleeding	-	+	•+	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
152. Hunter prays while sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	•-	-	•-	-	-	-
153. Shell bead burnt as offering	-										+	+	+	-	-	•-
[515] 154. Bathing before hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
155. Body swabbed with medicine	-	•+	+	+	+	+	-	-	•+	-	•+	-	+	-	+	•+
156. Deer doctor charms game prior to hunt	-	+	+			•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
157. Antelope doctor charms game prior to hunt	-	+	.		o	o	+	-	o	o	o	-	o	-	o	-
158. Ceremony before group hunt	-	+	+	+	•+	•-	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
159. Singing	-	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Praying	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
161. Dancing	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
162. Hoof rattle	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	+	-
163. Cocoon rattle	-		-		-			-	-		+	+	+	+	-	-
163a. Split-stick rattle	-	-	•R	-	-	•R		+	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	•+
164. Headdress	-	-	+			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	.	-
165. Conducted by shaman	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
166. Acorn-soup dinner									•+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+
167. Ceremony after hunt	-	-	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	.	+	•+	-	+
[782] 168. Offerings made for success of hunt	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•.	•+
168a. Eagle down	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-
168b. Tobacco	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	.	-
[754] 169. Shaman goes on hunt to charm game	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	•-	+	-
170. Bear spoken to in den or woods	•-	•+	•+	+	•+	•-	o	-	+	.	+	•+	o	.	(-)	•+
171. Addressed by kin term	-	.	+	-	+	-	o	-	-	.	+	+	o	.	(-)	+
172. Apologetic speech after killing	-	-	+	•-	+	-	o	-	+	.	+	+	o	.	-	+
173. Meat eaten in one house	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	+	(+)	o	.	+	-
174. All who eat must wash, be continent	-	+	+	•-							+	+	o	.	+	-
175. Remains in tree or hidden in woods	-	-	+	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	+	-	o	.	-	-
176. Remains burnt	-	-	-			+	o	-	-	-	-	-	o	.	-	+
177. Killing pregnant bear causes death, misfortune	-	.	-	+	-	-	o	-	-	-	.	+	o	.	-	-
[202] 178. Smoke or fire signals when 2 or more hunt together	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
179. Shouting as signal	-	-							+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+
180. To obtain aid in packing kill	+	•+	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+

Butchering of Large Game

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
181. Large game butchered in woods	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	•+	•-	+	+
182. Lying	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
183. Eyes cut out	-	-	-	+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
184. Given to child to eat raw	-	-	-	•-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
185. Nose cut or tied	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
186. Paunch cleaned, filled with blood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+
187. Carcass packed home whole	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	+	+	+	-	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
727 535 2914. Dancing proceeds around fire and pole	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
2915. 2 circles, men and women separately	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
2916. 1 circle, men	−	−	+								−	−	+	−
2917. Dancers in row abreast	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2918. Each person dances separately	−	−			+						+	−	+	−
2919. Dancers stamp 1 foot	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2920. Dancers stamp both feet	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
2921. Scalp on center pole	+	•+	+	−	•+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	−
2922. Heart on top of center pole	+	−	+	−					•R	−	−	−	−	−
2923. Scalp(s) on small hand pole(s)	+	•+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
[532] 2924. Human effigy	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2925. Each warrior pantomimes his war deeds	−	.	−			+	+	+	+	+	.	−	+	−
2926. Each warrior dances singly, once around, with scalp	−	.	−	−		+	+	−	+	+	.	−	−	−
2927. Old women dance with scalps	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2928. Wipe themselves with bloody scalp	+	+	−	−					+	−	.	−	−	−
2929. Chew and bite scalp, heart	.	+	+	−		+	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−
2930. Scalps dragged and rubbed in dirt	+	+	−	−				+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2931. 1-2 women walk back and forth in front of dancers	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2932. Warriors carry bow and arrows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
2933. Shoot at scalp or heart	.	.	+	−				+	+	+	−	−	+	−
2934. Women dancers carry brush or pole	−		−						+	−	+	−	+	−
[302] 2935. Participants painted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2936. Black	+	−	−				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2937. Red	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
2938. White	+		−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
[292] 2939. Participants wear brush, feather headdresses	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2940. Warriors wear fighting gear	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
Purification of Killers; Treatment of Wounded														
727 2941. Swims	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	.	+	−
783 2942. Sweats	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.	−	−
2943. Steam type	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	.	−	−
2944. Direct-fire type	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−
[304] 2945. Scarification and bleeding	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−
2946. Aromatic plants rubbed on body	.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	.	+	−
2947. Women brush off men with plant	.	−	−	−		•+	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−
2948. Must stay outside	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	−
2949. Stays awake mainly, or naps	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	−
[792] 2950. Prays for luck	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	.	+	−
[262] ‡2951. Meat taboo ... days	−	−	.	+	•2	−	−	−	•4	−	28	.	6	−
2952. Warm food taboo	−											.	+	−
2953. Scratching stick used	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+
2954. Bath at end of taboo period	−	−	+	+							+	.	+	+
2955. Meat taboo to wounded	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	.	+	+
2956. Hot food taboo to wounded	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+
[752] 2957. Wash wounded with special decoction			+								+	.	+	+
Peace Negotiations														
Compensation for Slain														
728 2958. Intertribal wars: compensation	+	−	−	•−	−	R	•−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−
2959. Revenge only	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3558. Wristlets	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	84
3559. Special belt	-	•+	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	-	•+	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	88
3560. Nose stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3561. Earrings, optional	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[301]
3562. Necklaces	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	
3563. All labor taboo during isolation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	
3564. Preparing food taboo	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3565. Basketmaking taboo	-	+	+	+	•+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3566. No labor taboo	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3567. Compulsory light labor	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	
3568. Compulsory heavy labor	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3569. Girl must carry firewood	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	•+	-	•+	
3570. Girl must carry water	+	-	+	-	•-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3571. Girl must pound roots	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3572. Girl must gather vegetable food	-	-	+	-	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	
3573. Girl gives roots she digs to old woman	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3574. Girl makes baskets	-	-	-	-	•-	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3575. Compulsory running, racing	+	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	•+	-	+	+	-	•+	-	-	
3576. Girl runs each morning	-	-	-	-	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3577. Girl runs in evening	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3578. Girl runs at end of rite only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	
3579. Girl races with 2 girls	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
3580. Carries deer-hoof rattle when running	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	[787]
3581. Vision seeking during running, dancing	-	-	-	-	•+	+	+	-	+	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	
3582. Instruction by attendant during seclusion	-	(+)	-	-	•-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[304]
3583. Ears pierced during puberty ceremony.	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
3584. Ears pierced shortly after puberty rites	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3585. Dance follows ear-piercing	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
3586. Vision seeking after ear-piercing	-	-	-	-	+	•+	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3587. Ears pierced prepuberty	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	•+	-	-	-	
3588. Ears pierced postpuberty	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	
3589. Ceremonial purification at end of puberty ceremony	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[783]
3590. Girl bathes to remove taboos	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3591. Mother, attendant wash girl	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	•-	+	
3591a. Girl bathes alone	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
3592. Sage decoction used for bath	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3593. Girl rubbed with pine needle, root medicine	-	-	+								-	+	•+	+	.	-	
3594. Girl rubbed with salt												+	-	-	.	-	
3595. Sweat bath to remove taboos	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3596. Girl jumps in stream after sweating	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3597. Girl changes clothes, end of rites.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3597a. Girl given new clothes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3598. Old clothes burnt	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
3599. Old clothes saved for limited no. menses	•+	•+	•-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3599a. Old clothes kept in hut; loaned, used by near relatives	-	-	+					+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3600. Old clothes washed	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3601. Old clothes given or thrown away	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	•+	
3602. Old clothes hung on tree			-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3603. Old clothes exchanged for new ones	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	
3604. Sagebrush band kept	+	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3605. Anklets, wristlets burned	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3606. Belt kept permanently	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	KM	NS	MV
768 4166. Relatives take some personal property	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
4167. New unused possessions only	+	−	+	−	−		+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
4168. Outsiders take some personal property	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
4169. Destruction of real property (living houses).																
4170. House burned	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
4171. Only if man owns sweat house-living house	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	•+		+	+	−	−	+	−	−
4172. House torn down or abandoned	•+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
4173. House torn down and rebuilt	•+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
4174. House deserted temporarily	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
4175. Only headman's house burned, deserted	−	−	−	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−
4176. House of man killed in war burned	(−)	+	·						+	+	·	·	·	·	+	−
4177. Preservation of real property	+	•+			+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
4178. House occupied constantly after death	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
4179. Purification of house	+	+	+	−	+	•+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	•+
4180. With aromatic plants	•+	•+	•+	−	•+	•+	•+	−	−	•+	−	•+	•+	−	•+	−
4181. Tobacco smoked inside house	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	·	−	+	+	·	−
4182. Deer hair burnt inside house.												+	−	−	+	•−
Taboos and Purification of Undertakers, etc.																
764 783 4183. Undertakers only contaminated, subject to taboos	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
†4184. Mourners and undertakers contaminated, subject to taboos	−	−	•+	•+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
†4185. Use head scratcher for ... days after funeral	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	5	−	−	•4	2	28	5	−	−
†4186. Eat alone for ... days after funeral	−	−	•10	•5	−	−	−	5	−	−	•4	2	28	5	4	−
†4187. Separate dishes	−	−	•4	•5	−	−	−	5	−	−	•4	2	28	5	4	−
†4188. Meat, meat products taboo ... days.	−	−	•4	•5	1	−	1	5	12	−	•4	2	28	5	4	−
†4189. Fresh fish taboo ... days	−	−	•5	−	1	−	1	5	•5	−	•4	2	28	5	4	−
†4190. Dried salmon taboo ... days	−	−	•5	−					−	−	•4	2	28	5	4	−
†4191. Hunting taboo ... days	−	−	•10	•5	−	−	1	5	−	−	•4	2	−	−	4	−
†4192. For ... months	−	−	−	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	1	−	•2
†4193. Gambling taboo ... days	−	−	•10	•5	−	−	•5	5	−	−	•4	2	−	−	4	−
†4194. For ... months	−	−	−	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	1	4	•2
†4195. Smoking taboo ... days	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	5	−	−	•4	2	28	5	4	−
†4196. Intercourse taboo ... days	−	−	•10	(−)	1	−	1	+	−	−	•4	2	28	5	4	−
4197. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4198. All persons who attend funeral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−
4199. By sweating	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4200. By swimming, washing hands, face	+	+	•+	•+	(+)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
4201. Immediately after funeral	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	−	·	−	−	+
4202. Everyday	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
o4203. After ... days	−	−	−	•5		−	−	5	•1	−	−	2	·	•5	4	•+
4204. Scarification and bleeding	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4205. Application of medicated water	−	−	•+	•+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
4206. Smoking body			+							+	−	−	+	+	−	−
4207. Plant rubbed on body	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	(−)	+
4208. Medicine drunk	−	−	+	•+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−
Taboos on Relatives																
764 765 4209. Widow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4210. Taboo to touch corpse	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
4211. Steps between legs as release from marriage tie	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	−
4212. Lies beside corpse	−	•+	•+	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+
4213. Outside, before corpse taken to grave	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
4214. At grave, pyre	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	765
4215. Hair cut, close crop, or burned off	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	(-)	•+	764
4216. Cuttings saved	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	[302]
4217. Cuttings kept in house	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
4218. Cuttings made into belt	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
4219. Cuttings burnt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4220. Cuttings thrown in river	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4221. Cuttings buried in grave	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4223. Mutilations	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[304]
4224. Arms cut soon after death	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4225. Beat breast	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4226. Beat head	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[302]
4227. Facial and head coatings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4228. Pitch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4229. Dirt, ashes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4230. Chalk, charcoal	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4231. Pounded shell									+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4232. White clay on bangs	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
4233. Pitch on arms or legs, chest	–	+	+					•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	
4234. Touching face with fingers taboo	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4235. Face left unwashed	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4236. "Washed" with wet grass	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	.	
4237. Space around eyes washed	+	–	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
4238. Scratching stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4239. For head	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4240. For body	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	
4241. Worn tied around neck	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	
4242. Special attire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	[297]
•4243. Mourning necklace	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	•+	•+	
•4244. Basket cap, coated with pitch	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4245. Head covered with blanket													–	+		+	
‡4246. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	[262]
†4247. Meat ... days	•15	6	•14	•28	1	–	–	5	•86	–	–	2	–	5	–	•5	
†4248. Grease ... days	•15	6	•14	•28	1	–	–	5	•86	–	–	2	–	5	–	•5	
†4249. Fresh fish ... days	•15	6	•14	–	1	–	–	5	•86	–	–	2	–	5	–	•5	
†4250. Dried fish ... days	•15	6	–	–	1	–	–	5	–	–	–	2	–	5	–	•5	
4251. Cold water ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	
†4252. Salt ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	
4253. Seclusion	+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
4254. In house	•+	•+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
†4255. For ... days	5	•–	–	–	•2	–	–	5	28	–	–	3	+	+	•+	+	
†4256. For ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	+	1	
4257. For variable period	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
4258. Prescribed activities during taboo period	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	
†4259. Sweats for ... days or nights	5	6	5	5	1	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4260. Gathers wood for sweating	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4261. Goes to grave or cremation spot and wails	•+	•+	•+	–	–	•+	+	–	•+	+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	
4262. Walks around, wailing	+	+									+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	
4263. May go to mountains to seek power	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
4264. Making baskets taboo	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	•–	•–	•–	–	•–	
4265. Gathering food taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	
4266. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	–	[783] ●
‡4267. Sweats to remove taboos, after ... months	•12	12	12	–	–	12	•2	–	•+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4268. Washes head, face to remove taboos	–	–	–	+	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	.	–	
4269. Drinks medicine	+	.	+									(+)	–	–	–	–	
4270. Takes pitch off head, face at remarriage only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[587]

727 535 2917. Kl: Men and women dancers in 2 separate single files; circle fire, men circling it clockwise, women counterclockwise. Women dance on inside, near fire, men on outside. Stamp left foot continually. As men come down to fire, hand women dancers scalps, each on small hand pole. Dancers sing; also have singers who stand by fire. No rattles used. Dance thus for 5 nights sometimes; each night dance stops about midnight.

000 2921. Mo: Center pole has several scalps on it. At: Pole 5 ft. tall. NF: Scalp at top of pole.

[648] 2922. WM: "Learned to tie heart on top of pole from Kl."

2923. Mo: Woman leader of dance carries single scalp on small hand pole.

2940. Such as elkhide tunic, rod armor; carry bow and arrows, and shield if such is used.

727 783 627 Purification of killers; wounded.--This section relates in the main to persons who have engaged in intratribal murders rather than to warriors returning from open combats. The distinction between the taboos imposed on killers in open warfare and individuals who have secretly killed in a feud should have been more specifically inquired about, and separate entries made for the purification practices followed in each instance. Unfortunately this was not done and the field data do not allow insertion of separate entries for more than 5 or 6 of the groups covered. As a general rule, warriors seemed to have engaged in few purificatory practices; whereas for SW, SE, and other groups feud-murderers observed many of the taboos listed in this section. NF taboos which follow relate to person who has taken scalp in intertribal war. Such person is deemed witai (crazy) after he has taken scalp; must be purified before he can rejoin family.

2941. Kl: No ceremonialism connected with observance, however. Klamath Marsh men swim in lake.

2951. At: 2-3. WM: 4-5 days.

2955. Kl: Fish also taboo.

Peace Negotiations

000 Compensation for slain; dance of settlement.--

2958. SW: No compensation for slain, but compensation for captives. See note 2873, SW. AE: No settlement for intertribal killings in war; "just keep on owing each other a war (AE owe Paiute a war now; the Paiute came over and killed a man, years ago)." It is modern custom to settle for intertribal wars; Mo did it, under Captain Jack. MM: For intertribal wars, as with Washo, neither side will take payment for those killed. "Just fight it out; when good and ready, MM chief may send messenger man over to Washo; then they'd make friends with them."

[212-A]

000 3586. AW: See note 3584. AE: Girl may obtain vision while she is dancing after having ears, nose pierced.

[84 1] 3587. NF: Ca. 10 years of age.

[88 1] 3589. Kl, Mo, SE: Sweat bath after first 5 or
[78 3] 3 menstrual periods. WM, WS: 1 month or 1 year after girl first menstruates. MV: 1 month after first menstruation.

3591. NS: Menstruant followed to stream by sister, girl relatives who sing for her, early morning 5th day.

3593. NF: Wormwood decoction.

3597a. Either at end of each menstrual period, or at end of entire puberty ceremony.

[84 1] 3599. Kl: For 5 periods. Mo: For 3-5. SE,
[88 1] At, AW, AE: For 3.

3601. MV: To old woman attendant.

3603. MV: Exchanged with girl attendant.

3606. SE: Worn each subsequent menstruation.

[88 1] 3609. Kl, Mo, SE, SW, At, AE, AW, WM, WS, MV:
[53 5] Emphasized jollity connected with girl's puberty dance. Lack of ritual obligations on any of participants except menstruant, made it (SW) "most popular and well attended of all the dances." NM: Puberty dance, yomuse. MV: Round dance held on final night of girl's 28-day seclusion. "This [night] dance was the main dance; each night (of the 28) the people came and gambled; the girl's family fed the visitors."

3610. NF: Name of day dance, wulu. Held after girl has come out of menstrual hut, and bathed; in daytime. Girl and women dance in circle, holding hands; no fire, pole. Dance a short while, then 2 women singers, with girl between them, sing, girl joining in singing. No deer-hoof rattle.

[88 1] 3612. So girl will not dream bad dreams; will
[53 5] have good luck. Kl: "If girl sleeps little
[77 7] while, she dreams there's a noise in the sky; she
[78 7] dreams of thunder. That's a bad dream, so they keep her dancing all night, for 5 nights, so she won't dream." Mo: "If she sleeps at this time, the girl will dream about thunder, then it will sure strike her, and kill her." SW: Girl's puberty dance "just a common good-time dance, held to help the girl out of her trouble, to keep her from dreaming" (see also note 3721). At: Girl sleeps head toward east; "the west, they said, was a bad place, where bad dreams come from, Silver Fox said... They dance with her all night, to make her lively, so she won't sleep and dream ... [when girl is menstruating] she never touches water; that's no good; she'll dream bad." AW: Given "so the girl will get power in 'dreams' as she gets sleepier and sleepier, dancing. But she must not tell anyone what she dreams. They don't let her sleep in the daytime; if she sleeps she'll dream bad for herself and be sick." WT: Puberty observances held "so girl won't dream bad dreams." On first day of menstruation, girl's grandmother sits by her, sings, uses clapper to keep girl awake. WM: Girl "never dreamt bad, but her grandmother, who was staying with her, might; she might

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[764]
[782]

4032. SE: Sprinkle water, medicine around house as body is removed through wall. Purification of house as corpse removed denied for Kl, Mo, all Maidu and Nisenan groups. SW: Through wall on E side of house (see note 4093). WT: Through hole torn in wall at back of house, opposite entrance.

4036. AW: But see note 4136.

Funerary procedure.--

4040. SE, SW: 1-2 nights.

4043. At: Wail throughout night while body is in house; continue wailing and dancing next day until body buried near sundown.

[764]

4045. Kl: Mourners wail throughout night as body lies on pyre, before being burnt early next morning; no dance.

4046. SW: "Whenever you go to a funeral always take some money with you. You get something back again for whatever you take there." WT: See note 4028. NF, NS, MV: Gifts buried or burned with corpse.

4047. AW: Mourners merely "jump around as they cry on viewing corpse."

4048. SE, SW, At: Mourners wail ritually as they dance around corpse. MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Mourners hold "fire dance" in assembly house; wail, dance, circling corpse 4 times. MV: Such dance held only when important man dies.

4049. SE, SW: Wear fir or willow boughs. SE: Mourners whip each other on legs with boughs they are carrying; therapeutic measure. SW: Women also bring ipos roots in their basket caps. At: Mourners bring cedar boughs into house of death; when through dancing boughs piled and burnt, to purify house if relatives of dead plan to continue using house.

4051. SW: Ipos roots women bring also laid beside corpse.

[764]

4052. Kl: Everyone in house collects ashes in basket from fireplace of dwelling, talks to dead person's spirit, then sprinkles ashes toward W. AW: As body is borne from house to grave, 1 old woman takes basket of ashes, another old woman basket of water, and they throw water and ashes behind line of people, for entire journey from house to grave. The 2 old women wail "too bad, too bad" as they perform this act to keep spirit of deceased away.

4053. Mo: Not old enough to realize what is happening; likely to laugh, play.

[764]
[537]
[887]

4056. Generally given by "old man, wise man," who is not undertaker. AW: "At grave old man may talk crossly; then people know he is going to hire a doctor to kill the poisoner [who caused death of person being buried]. Or else old man tells the people there not to mourn too much; only a few years. 'You can cry a little bit; some of you will dream good luck, with a little cry[ing]. Don't tell anyone, if you dream good, or else you'll lose it [the good luck].'" WM: At funeral old man talks to spirit of deceased, tells it where to go, upward to sky dance house

[229-A]

OOO WM: Remove 10-15 "good long boards" from house, and keep these for new house; burn remaining part of house. Or, tear down that part of house where man slept, burn entire house, and pile dirt over spot where dead person used to sleep, then pile rocks on top of dirt. "At Hayfork (WT) burn the side of house where man slept, but leave other side standing and build onto it." After family of deceased burn house, they move away, 10-15 miles or so, and live for year or so in the new place; then return to old location.

4175. SW, AE: Burned. NF: Assembly house deserted temporarily; closed for 2-3 years, then reopened, purified by having wormwood burnt inside it, cleaned, and used again.

4177. Mo: House temporarily abandoned in some instances; fumigated before being abandoned.

4178. AE: See note 4171.

4179. AW: Pitch put on inside walls of house. AE: See note 4171. MV: Pounded salt sprinkled inside house and on ceiling.

[768 824 783] 4180. Kl, SE, At, AW, AE: Juniper; use of juniper denied for all other groups. Mo, AE: Sage; use of sage denied for all other groups. Mo, SE, At, AW, WS: Cedar. AW, AE, NF, NS: Wormwood; use of wormwood denied for WT, WM, WS, MM, MF, NM. WS: Fir. MF, NF: Angelica; denied for NM, MV.

4182. MV: If burn hair of deer (or its bones, hide), hunter who shot deer will lose his hunting luck.

Taboos and purification of undertakers, etc.--

4183. WT: Taboos imposed so that undertakers will not "dream bad," that is, dream of death of close relative, or of being hurt. If do have these dreams, means dreamer will die shortly. NM: Includes 2 men who dig grave for ashes; 2 old women who carry ashes to grave; 3 men who carry corpse out of house.

4184. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers, not merely to scapegoat.

4185. MM: 4-5 days.

4186-4187. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners. MM: 4-5 days.

4188. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. MM: 4-5 days.

4189. SE: Refers to undertakers and mourners. WM: 6-7 days. MM: 4-5 days.

4190. SE: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. MM: 4-5 days.

4191. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. MM: 4-5 days.

4192. MV: 2-3 months.

4193. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. AE: 5-7 days. MM: 4-5 days.

4194. MV: 2-4 months.

4195. MM: 4-6 days.

4196. SE: Refers to all undertakers; not to mourners. MM: 4-6 days.

4199. SE, SW, WM: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners. At: All taboos imposed on undertakers, gravediggers, and others may bring them good luck. AW: After sweating, swimming follow-

764 and nights, sweating; at end of this 5-day peri-
765 od widow can eat fish; "she's cleaned good, then."
262 SE: Or more. SW: 1 lunar month. WM: 3 lunar months. MV: 6-7.

000 4251. MF: Drinks medicinal tea instead of water.

4253. Mo: Young widow stays in house "for few days" after husband's death. Older woman with children may have to go out to get wood. None of seclusion taboos enforced if it is necessary to get food for dependents. All widows however sweat twice daily for duration of food taboos. Final purification comes 1 year later.

[764]
[765] 4254. Kl, Mo: In mourners' sweat lodge (see note 4247). SE: Mourner cannot come into living house if deermeat there; gives hunter bad luck. MF: Partial seclusion only; does not talk to any man during this period. NS: Stays in seclusion until necklace she is wearing breaks. NM: Stays in seclusion until she attends another funeral, usually in about 1 year. MV: Widow sometimes stays with mother-in-law; usually with her own mother.

4255. Mo: See note 4253. At: 2-3. NS: See note 4254.

4258. MF, NF, NM, MV: Widow makes baskets during period of seclusion, for post-burial ceremony (see elements 4354-4415).

[764]
[765] 4261. Kl, Mo, SE, AW, WM, MF, NF, NS, MV: Shadowed by attendant.

4262. NF, NM, MV: Talks only in low voice. NM, MV: 2 women watch mourner, take her outside at night.

4264. MF, NF, NM, NS: See note 4258.

[765]
● [783] 4267. Kl: Or more. AE: 2-6 months. WM: Widow after death of husband sometimes builds and uses small steam-heated sweat house to remove contamination of disease from her arms, body.

4268. At: After 2-3 years. MF, NM: Ca. 1 year after funeral.

4270. WM: When woman about to remarry, takes pitch off 1 month before marriage.

4272. NF: Worn until burnt at group mourning ceremony, 2-3 years later. MV: Worn for ca. 1 year, then burnt at group mourning ceremony. At this burning young widows put small amount of pitch on face, also.

[764]
[765]
[587] 4273. Kl: 1-6 yrs. Mo: 2-3. SE: 6 mos. or longer. At: 2-3 yrs. AW: 1-2. WT: 2 mos. to 5 yrs. WS: 2-3 yrs. MM: 1-3. NF, NM, NS: 3 or more yrs. MV: 2-3.

4277. SE, SW, MV: Burn hair; all other groups cut hair. NM: Puts cuttings in gopher hole. At: "A man hardly does anything in mourning for his dead wife."

4281, 4283. AW: 3-4 months. MV: 4-5.

4286. Mo: 5-6 nights. MM: 1-2.

4295, 4296. SE: 1-2 days. AW, AE, WS: Immediately after funeral.

4296. MV: Bathes in medicated water, 4-5 months after funeral.

4299. MF: Put on pitch only. NF: Cut hair, put on pitch. NM: Cut hair only.

Families

eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food K M 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302] [412]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K M
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [354]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K M
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M 221 756 796

175 the exclusive right of taking fish and gathering edible roots, seeds, and
648 berries within the reservation. Provision is made by which the right of
657 way for public roads and railroads across said reservation is reserved to
citizens of the United States.

Article 2. As a payment for the ceded lands the Indians shall receive $8,000 per annum for a period of five years, $5,000 per annum for the next five years, and the sum of $3,000 per annum for the five years next succeeding.

Article 3 provides for the payment of $35,000 for removing the Indians to the reservation, subsisting them during the first year, and providing them with clothing, teams, tools, seeds, etc.

[313] Articles 4 and 5 provide for the establishment of a saw-mill, a flouring-
[256] mill, a manual-labor school, and hospital buildings, all to be maintained
[874] and supplied with working material at the expense of the United States for
[783] the period of twenty years. Employés for running these establishments
shall be paid and housed by the Government also.

[423] Article 6 reserves the right to the Government to provide each Indian family with lands in severalty to the extent of forty to one hundred and twenty acres, and to guarantee possession to them. Indians are not allowed to alienate these lands.

Article 9. The Indians acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and pledge themselves to be friendly with all citizens thereof, to commit no depredations upon the persons or property of said citizens, and to refrain from carrying on any war upon other Indian tribes.

[273] Article 10 prohibits the sale and use of liquors upon the Reservation, and Article 11 permits the Government to locate other Indian tribes thereon, the parties to this treaty not losing any rights thereby.

The treaty was proclaimed February 17, 1870.

Like most of the treaties concluded between the United States Government and the Indian tribes, this compact was made much more to the advantage of the white man than of his red brother. Not only were the stipulated annuities rather small for a body of Indians, which was then considered to number about two thousand people, but these annuities were

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Everyone is quiet during the singing, else the girl will die. My informant could not say what would be done to the one who broke this 533
rule. The singers are fed at midnight.

The choristers sing about one another, men about women, women about men.[38] The opening song is always:

> iwūne' sken djidja'lwis djalyo'djai'wa [539]
> toward sundown bachelors making a noise (?)
> The young men are having a jollification in the west.

Toward daylight they sing:

> pe'ĕt keskă'ni dji'ķla ho'llidovga
> Toward the dawn place a tiny brown bird came to meet us.

The girl herself is expected to dance with downcast eyes, although 881
there is no express prohibition against looking at the sky as among 535
the Shasta. Common girls, however, will laugh and look around as 576
they dance. There is no suggestion that the girl's glance is malignant. [171] *

She observes three precautions during these five days, as she will
at subsequent menstruations and during mourning. She must abstain
from meat and fish, eating only lily seed or roots. She may, however, 881
eat when she pleases and with the others. Should she eat the forbidden 784 •
flesh, she will get "consumption" and die.[39] She must not touch [302]
her hands to her face or head, using instead a scratcher (sadŏ'ktcuts).
This scratching stick or bone is tucked under the left wristband or
hung about the neck. Every morning she runs toward the dawn.

In the Field Museum collections are several bone scratchers used during the girl's rites (nos. 61633, 61692, 63632). These are of two types; lozenge-shaped and oval. They are decorated with incised lines, set close together and filled with black pigment. Each is provided with a thong (fig. 6). [531]

During the day the girl retires to sleep in the bushes or in a dome- 881
shaped mat-lodge a few hundred yards distant. [343]

She wears an old, dirty, fringed skirt, a blanket of skin (coyote,
wolf, raccoon, or deer), and buckskin moccasins. The long buckskin [291]
dress commonly worn at dances may be used, although one informant
stated otherwise. She does not wash nor comb her hair during this [302]
period. Her face is blackened with pitch and charcoal, but none is
put on her hair as it would be in mourning. Instead the hair, hanging as usual in two braids in front of the shoulders, is doubled on itself to form two clubs, which are bound with braided cords of buck-brush

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[38] Some of these songs are given by Gatschet, 1:182, 189.

[39] A bone drinking tube is not used.

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[302]

ened with charcoal. This is strictly enjoined for mourning women; older men follow the custom and perhaps even children, except the little ones, but young men may be exempt. This pitch is not that exuding from the logs of the pyre as among the Modoc[105] but is gathered from any tree. The hair cut off is later tied in little rolls all over the mourner's buckskin dress or shirt by way of decoration. [291] (Enemy scalps serve the same end.) These garments are burned with their owners.

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During the sweat-bath period and for perhaps a year longer, the mourner must abstain from fish for fear of sickness,[106] must not touch his hands to the face else it will wrinkle, nor may he touch his hair lest it turn gray. Instead, a bunch of grass is used when washing, and a scratching stick (wa'was), nine inches long, is suspended around the neck on a sage-brush band, or tucked under the wristband. The mourner spits into a hole dug with the scratcher. This may explain a song record by Gatschet: "This is my song [or spirit], that of the (sweatlodge) stick-hole."[107] These are the same taboos observed by a menstruating woman and by a boy at puberty.

After the loss of a wife or child, a man abandons the first fish or game that he takes, gives the second to another, and succeeding ones he keeps; a gambler gives away his gains. This is called sŭpu'tsa. A woman does similarly with the roots she digs after her husband or child dies. Something of the same attitude is shared by a gambler after receiving spirit aid, a novice hunter or root digger; all give away their first gains. Similarly no one who has recently lost a child may fish or even cross a river for fear the fish will go away. They must wait a year and then again use the mourner's sweat-house. These may all be viewed as rites of purification or attempts to reestablish oneself as a normal being.

[539]

Wolf lived opposite the cave at komă'čksi on Sprague river. When his wife died he brought his children to the river bank. The people shouted to him not to cross the river because fish were running. But Wolf said, "I did not come to catch fish. I brought my children because they wanted fish." They stopped there. Then Crow laughed at them and they turned into a row of rocks.[108]

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[105] Gatschet, 1:86.

[106] Gatschet (1:89) understood his informant to mean that after sweating for five days, a widow eats only fish and no meat.

[107] *Op. cit.*, 168.

[108] Told by Tom Lang.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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[302]

(?) buckskin shirt, and wrist and neckbands of weasel. Some shamans wear a necklace of grizzly bear claws. (Other men never wear bear claws.) His face is painted black. Then he is powerful to cure, sawi'gan gī'na. Gatschet describes a band of otter skin worn round the neck and bearing various shells, feathers, bird scalps, etc.; hence it "must unite the magic powers of them all."[161]

Some articles of shaman's regalia are in the collections of the Field Museum. A bear-skin cap (no. 61563?) consists of the head skin, decorated on two or three sides with circular disks of buckskin ornamented with quillwork. These are one and three-quarters inches in diameter, and bear three concentric equidistant rings of quillwork, the most central containing a cross of the same.

A shaman's wand "used in curing ceremonies" (no. 61676) is a three-foot shaft bearing bunches of feathers bound on at two points, with a bundle of dew claws tied to the butt. The feathers are gray; they are bound at points about one-third of the distance from each end of the shaft. The bindings and the shaft have been painted red. The dew claws are pendant on individual thongs, each of which is wrapped with quills at two points.

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The prescriptions affecting the dress of the laity at the shamanistic performances are illuminating. Everyday dress, at least for wealthier individuals, is of the Plains type; moccasins, skin shirt, long leggings, and breech clout for the men and long skin dress for women. Poorer people wear skirts of tule or buckskin and are barefoot. But the latter garb is obligatory at these dances. This is clearly another instance of conservatism in the field of religion, for the marginal position of the Klamath to the area in which Plains garments are worn, and the known recency of manifold contacts with the Plains-like tribes of the Columbia suggest that Plains dress is a recent acquisition. The hair hangs loosely down the back but is tied about close to the head. As usual basket hats are worn. Dancers, however, wear hats made of animals which are spirits. [177]

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Taboos and other restrictions on shamans are only feebly developed. A shaman must avoid a menstruant woman; in fact, women who live in a shaman's house must leave their homes at these periods, whereas otherwise this is not usual. Etiquette requires that anyone crossing the lodge must pass in back of a seated shaman, at least when he shows signs of communing with his spirits or is eating. This holds whether a performance is going on or not. Otherwise blood gushes from his mouth and he falls unconscious. One informant had seen this happen to the berdache shaman White Sindey while she was eating. The result is the same if anything falls in front of a shaman. There are

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[161] *Op. cit.*, 1:172.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

756 784 no food taboos; shamans and others can eat their spirit animals. The only taboo of conduct peculiar to any spirit known is the prohibition against wearing footgear by one who has a dog spirit. For example, a Molala-Klamath halfbreed, the wife of the chief Li'lu, who dreamed of this spirit, never wore any protection for her feet even in the winter snows.

756 The shaman is cremated and his house burned like other Klamath. Usually his regalia, feathers and skins, are destroyed with the house. This must wait for calm weather; then only an old woman dare burn them. Immediately a storm rises, with strong winds and thunder, but lasts only a night. When the shaman dies and again when his body is burned, storms rage for several days.

THE SHAMANISTIC PERFORMANCE

755 221 756 While curing of necessity takes place at any time, shamanistic performances are given at only one time during the year. This is a nameless period, the fourth month (December–January), in midwinter,[162] the coldest period when the lake is frozen and the timber cracks with the cold. By this time all the earth-lodges are reconstructed and the Klamath are settled in their winter quarters. This is a period of enforced inactivity, what with the intense cold, the deep snows, and their inability to hunt and fish. Furthermore, the seances cannot be held any later in the winter for then they begin to run short of provisions, I was told, which is undoubtedly true and yet may be a rationalization. This brings to mind the winter sacred period of the Northwest Coast tribes, with its quiet dictated by a fear of profanation. It is not sacred to the ordinary Klamath; spirits are sought at any time. It is significant only to shamans and others who have spirits.

Shamans make a point of giving their performances every winter. A number of them may join for the purpose. The novice waits for winter to prove the coming of his power and only after this does he attempt to cure. The advent of power is called dodi'ḳalgŏt. Nonshamans who have a little power, perhaps a single spirit, may sing their own songs at a shaman's performance if the spirit impels them.

756 The shaman informally[163] invites the participants to his home for

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[805] [162] There is a discrepancy here in that the Klamath reckon a year of ten months, and these lunar periods begin with the lunation of August. My informants made it quite clear, however, that, although they specified the fourth month, they meant the period about Christmas.

[163] Knotted invitation strings, for instance, are unknown.

821 "When the sun is environed by lamb-clouds, or a mottled sky, this is figuratively expressed by: 'K'múkamtch [Kᴇmū'kūmps] has taken the beaded garments of Aíshish [his son] and dressed himself in them' A peculiar red smoke or haze appearing in the northwestern or western sky, shnúish, announces his arrival; he is also recognizable by his bulky posteriors, or as the Modocs say of him: 'K'múkamtch múnish kutúlish gítko.' By this they evidently refer to the white and heavy mountain-shaped summer clouds."[215]

Frogs come out before the rain, hence this is a sign that a storm is due. When the storm rises, old people cry to it, "You go back to the mountains. We do not want you here." The only precaution against lightning is a burden basket or sieve hung on a high pole outside the house.[216]

787 When a man sneezes or his ears ring, someone is talking about him, but not necessarily a woman, as elsewhere. If a door opens, someone is coming from a distance.[217]

789 To end the long winter months and hasten the coming of spring, the ring and pin game is played. A proper catch "breaks the month." Or little spears of the hard interior of the tule are thrown into the ground. On the contrary, playing cat's cradles in winter makes the months longer. These beliefs are not seriously held; they are more of the nature of manners of speech.

777 Gambler's luck comes not only through spirit power but by the possession of parts of dead moles, frogs, etc., or obsidian blades. These must have been found, and they are carried to the play, and are kept, like the gaming sticks, at crematories, or at least away from the house.

844 A series of beliefs surround birth and childhood. A storm always blows at a woman's first parturition. The child will cry if the umbilical cord is not tied with the mother's hair. If an animal eats the afterbirth the woman will become barren. She may not eat meat or fish after the birth, must use a head-scratcher and wear a bark belt. [784] The baby is massaged so that it will grow well formed. A girl's cradle is wide so that she will grow broad. The navel cord is saved else the child will die. Sterility is cured by drinking a crushed shell.

789 A turtle head is hung about the neck to ward off rattlesnakes. It was said that this is the general custom but turtles are found only in

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[215] Gatschet, 1:lxxiv.

[216] Also recorded by Barrett, Material Culture, 257.

[217] This is said to be a pre-white belief, but the only doors of those days were mats over the earth-lodge hatchways and the flaps of the mat-lodges.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936)

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

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Angling

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AV	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
235. Acute-angled hook, 1 barb	•-	+	•+	-	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-
236. Acute-angled hook, 2 barbs, bilateral	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
237. Gorge	•+	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
238. Meat, grasshopper on line; no hook	-		+	•+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
239. Several hooks on line	•+	+	+	-	+	-	.	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+

Harpoons, Spears

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AV	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
240. Harpoon, detachable point(s)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
241. Single toggle	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
242. Two toggles	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	+
243. Toggle of bone	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	.	+
244. Barbed toggle, three-piece	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	.	+
245. Simple toggle, one-piece	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	-	-
246. Harpoon used infrequently				+	•+	•+	+	-	-	•-	-	-	•+	-	+	-
247. Fish spear, fixed point(s)	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	.	.	-	+	-
248. One point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
249. Two points	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	.	.	.	-	-	-
250. More than two points	+	+	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	.	.	.	-	-	-
251. Circular arrangement of points	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	.	.	-	-	-
252. Points spread by ring	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	.	-	-	-
253. Wooden point(s)	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	.	.	.	-	+	-
254. Bone point(s)	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	.	.	-	-	-
255. Flaked stone point(s)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
256. Fish "spear," 1 point fixed, 1 detachable	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
257. Landing gaff	R	R	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
258. Hooked at end	•R	R	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
259. Straight stick, pointed end	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Other Fishing Techniques

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AV	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
226 260. Fish shot with bow and arrow	-	-	.	•+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-
261. Infrequently	-	-	.	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
262. Fish poisoning with plant substance	-	-	+	-	+	+	•+	•+	•-	-	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+
263. Fish caught with bare hands	•+	•+	+	-	-	•-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
264. Flares at night for fish	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
265. Harpooning, dipping fish through ice	•+	+	-	-	+	-	•+	-	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	o
266. Fish killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	+
267. Manufactured club	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	•+	.	.	•+
268. Natural stone	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	-
269. Piece of stick	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	.	-
270. Biting neck of fish	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	-
271. Breaking neck or back	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	.	.	-
272. Striking head on ground, rock	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	.	.	-
273. Fish creel of basketry	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	•(+)	-	-	•+	•+	+	.	•+	-
274. Fish carried on forked stick through gills or jaw	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
275. On string or withe	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	.	-	-
276. Fish carried in fish net, over shoulder												+	+	+	.	+
277. Fish laid head to tail, tied and packed on back	-	-							+	+	-	-	-	.	-	-

Fishing Observances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AV	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
[234] 278. Continence before fishing	+	+	•+	•-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-
[78] 279. 1st salmon, other fish taboo to youth	-	•+	+	-	•+	•+	•o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+
280. 1st trout	+	+	+	-	+	+	o	-	-	-	•+	•-	•-	•+	•+	•+
281. 1st-fish rite or observance	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	226
282. 1st salmon	•-	•o	•+	•+	•-	•-	•o	•+	•+	•-	•o	•+	•+	•o	•+	•+	
283. 1st sucker	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
284. 1st steelhead trout	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	
285. Taboo to catch salmon before rite	-	o	-	+	-	-	o	+	-	-	-	·	+	o	+	+	[784]
286. Steelhead	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	
287. Suckers	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
288. Taboo to eat salmon before rite	-	o	-	+	-	-	o	+	-	-	-	+	+	o	+	+	
289. Steelhead	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
290. Suckers	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
291. Spring of year	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
292. Priest prepares for rite	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	
293. Neighboring tribe holds (salmon) rite	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
294. Old man catches 1st fish	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
295. Anyone may catch 1st fish for rite	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	
296. Anyone may eat 1st fish	-	+	-	•-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
297. First (2) suckers burned	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
298. All of 1st catch eaten immediately	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
299. Punishment for removal of portion	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
300. Taboo against leaving in basket overnight	-								•+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	[784]

Gathering

Gathering Techniques and Observances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
*300a. Poles, staves for gathering acorns, pine cones	-	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	222
*300b. Shepherd's crook stave	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	•+	
*301. Forked stick grapple	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	
*302. Straight pole	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
303. Straight pole with cross bar	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	
304. Also used for wood gathering	-	-	+								-	+	+	+	-	+	
305. Limbs shaken with hands, feet	-	-	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*306. Sapling as ladder for climbing trees	-	-	+	•+	+	•+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
307. Double-pole ladder, buckskin rungs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
308. Digging stick	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
309. Plain, pointed at one end	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	
310. Plain, bipointed	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
311. Crutch handled	+	+	+	•R	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
312. Seed plants sometimes broken by hand		•+	+	-	+	-	-		+	-	-		-	-	-	-	
313. 1st-fruits rite	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
314. Observed for: acorns	o	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	
315. Pine nuts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-						+	-	+	-	
316. Wokus (water lily seeds)	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
317. Ipos bulbs (Calochortus sp.)		+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
318. Manzanita berries						o	o						-	+	+	•o	
319. Annual; observed in	+	[illegible]	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	[221]
320. Springtime	-	[illegible]	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	
321. Midsummer	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
322. Fall of year	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
‡323. Number of days	10	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	
324. Dancing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	[535]
325. Praying	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	[782]
326. Singing	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	[538]
326a. Feasting on 1st fruit	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
327. 1st fruit gathered thrown away	-	•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	•+	•+	+	

Preagriculture (Other than Tobacco)

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
328. Burning for better wild-seed crops	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	•+	•+	•+	·	+	-	241

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
371. Wildcat	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	R	+	-	-	-	262
o372. Beaver	•+	+	+	+	o	•+	+	-	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	
o373. Skunk	-	+	+	-	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	-	+	-	-	-	
374. Raccoon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
375. Porcupine	-	•+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
376. Rabbit	•-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
377. Badger	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	o	-	o	-	o	o	o	-	
378. Ground hog	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	o	o	-	-	+	+	+	-	
379. Gopher	-	+	-			+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	o	+	+	
380. Mole	-	-	o	+	-	•-	o	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	
381. Eagle	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	
382. Owl	-	-	-	-	•+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	
383. Crow	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	.	+	-	-	-	o	-	
384. Raven	-	(+)	.	-	+	.	-	-	-	.	.	-	-	-	.	.	
385. Hawk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	
386. Swan and crane		+	-			+	+	-	-	-	o	-	o	-	-	+	
387. Pelican	-	•+	-	-	o	+	+	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	
388. Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
389. Crawfish	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	o	o	o	-	o	o	-	o	
390. Freshwater mussel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	-	-	o	-	-	
391. Lamprey	-	+	+	-	o	+	o	+	-	-	•+	-	-	o	o	-	
o392. Turtle or tortoise	•-	+	+	-	•-	•+	o	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
393. Snake	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
394. Lizard	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
395. Cricket and grasshopper	-	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	•+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	
396. Caterpillar	-	•+	-	-	.	+	-	+	-	o	+	+	-	-	.	o	
397. Angleworm	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	•-	
398. Ant												•+	-	•+	-	-	
399. Ant eggs	-	+	+			+	+	-	-	o	+	+	-	+	-	-	
400. Yellow-jacket larvae	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
Foods Taboo to Special Groups																	
401. Deer head or any part of	-	.	•+	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	262
402. Deer heart	-	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	•+	-	•+	•+	-	-	784
403. Heart-shaped meat in deer ham	-		-	•+	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	-		.	•+	-	•-	-	
404. Kneecap fat on deer	-		.	•+	-	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	
405. Deer fetus	•+	-	•+	•+	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	•+	(+)	•+	•+	•+	•+	
406. Fetuses in general	•+	•	•	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
407. Deer fawn	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
408. Deer liver	•-	•-	•-	•-	•+	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	
409. Wild-bird eggs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	
410. Bird eggs aid in human reproduction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	•+	•+	•+	•-	
411. Ducks' feet		•+	-	•-	•+		•+	•+	-	-	-			-	-		
412. Certain combinations of food taboo	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	.	-	-	.	•+	
Food Preparation																	
413. Bone ground for eating	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	252
414. Fish	+	•	+	•+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	•-	
415. Deer	•+	•+	-	•-	•+	-	-	+	-	+	•+	+	-	-	+	-	
416. Boiled	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
417. Eaten dry	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
418. Marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
419. Small mammals roasted whole	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
420. Pounded after cooking	-	-	-						+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	
421. Broiling on frame	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
421a. Broiling on single stick	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	
422. Broiling directly on coals	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
423. Blood, lights, etc., cooked in paunch	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

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2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2138. Sinew-wrapped at mouthpiece	–	+	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	534
o2139. End stopped	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	R	R	+	±	+	.	+	+	+	
2140. Partially stopped inside at hole	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2141. Stop of pitch	–	.	+	+	–	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	
2142. Stop of salmon glue	–	.	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2143. Stop of wood	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	
2144. Single whistle	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	
2145. 2 whistles bound together	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2146. Whistle worn, suspended from string around neck	–	–	+								+	+	+	+	.	+	
2147. Taboo to whistle around elderberry bush		•+	•+								+	–	+	+	–	•+	[784]
2148. Snake will strike whistler		+	+								+	–	+	+	–	•+	
2149. Flute	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2150. Bone	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	
2151. Elder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2152. Cane	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
‡2153. Number of holes	3	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	–	6	
2154. Holes burnt in		+	+						R	R	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2155. Holes put in with awl									+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2156. Entire upper surface flattened			–						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2157. End blown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	.	–	–	+	
2158. Side blown	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	(–)	+	+	+	–	+	
2159. Mouth blown	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
2160. Nose blown	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2161. Used by shaman	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		[756]
2162. Used for courting	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–		
2163. Used for self-amusement	•+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	

Pictographs, Petroglyphs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2164. Pictographs, petroglyphs present in area	•+	•+	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	532
2165. Nonhuman origin	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	.	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2166. Made by tiny people	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2167. Made by mythological characters	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2168. Bring bad luck; charm viewer	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[777]
2169. Impress of feet, etc., on rocks	–	•+	•+							•+	–	•+	•+	–	•+	–	[823]

RECREATION

Games

Shinny

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2170. Shinny played	+	+	+	+	+	•R	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	526
2171. Men, youths play occasionally	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	[562]
2172. Women play	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2173. Each sex plays separately	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
2174. Both sexes play together	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2175. Children play	–	+	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[857]
2176. Single ball	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2177. Wood	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2178. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2179. Oak gall	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2180. Double ball	–	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	
2181. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2182. 2 blocks on ends of cord	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2183. 2 grass balls on end of cord	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
•2184. Cord or hide strip only	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2490. Moving figures	•+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	·	+	−	+
2492. Done in winter only	+	•+	−	−						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2493. Done any time, for fun	−	−	+							+	−	+	+	+	−	+
[481] 2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	−	•+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2494a. Stilts	−	•+	−	−	•+	R	−	−	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−
Contests																
526 2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. To throw man down	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. No tripping allowed	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	·	−
2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	−	+	+	·
2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								−	+	+	+	+	+
2502. Dodging	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	(−)	−	+	−	+
2503. Stones	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	−
2504. Hard objects inside geese	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
2505. Sand bag	−	−	−					•+	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
2506. Tule, grass balls	−	+	−					−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	+
2507. Two sides	−	+	−			·	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
o2508. Number on each side	−	5	−			1	·	15	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	−
2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] [857] 2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	·	−
2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	·	+
2515. To mark and back	−	−	−			+	+	−	+	−	·	+	+	+	−	−
2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+			+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·	+
2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·	+
Storytelling																
528 2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2520. Myths told at night	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•		•+	•+
[516] 2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	·			+
2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	•+	+	−			+		+	−	+	−	−	·		[illegible]	−
[784] 2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·		+	+
2524. Rattlesnake will bite	−	+	·		+	+	+	+	−	·	+	−	·		·	−
2525. Winter will come quickly	+	−	·						+	·	+	−	·		·	−
[887] 2526. Narrated by old people only	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	·		+	+
[515] 2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	•−	+	+			+				+	−	+	·		+	+
2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	−	+	+			+				+	−	+	·		+	+
Social Dances																
Circle Dances																
535 2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	R	•+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	−	R	−		−	−
[417] 2530. Performed in brush corral	−	−	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
[224] 2532. At fall rabbit hunt	−	−	−	−		−	+	−		−	−	−	−		−	−
[221] 2533. In springtime	−	−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
[226] 2535. During communal fishing periods	+	+	+							+	−	−	−		−	−

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3159. Until cord drops off	–	–	–	–				–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	844
3160. Pit or trench dug	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	846
3161. Hot rocks, charcoal put in pit	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	
3162. Pit covered with grass, bark.	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	
3163. Fire direct on ground; lies beside it	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	
Treatment of Midwife																	
3164. Bathes, immediately after child born	+	+	+						+	+	–	+	+	+	·	+	844
3165. Cuts arms, later	–	–	+						+	+	–	(+)	–	–	·	–	759
Restrictions on Mother																	
‡3166. Restrictions last for ... days	5	5	–	28	–	8	–	28	28	28	–	3	6	5	28	28	846
3167. Until blood stops flowing	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	784
3168. Until navel cord drops off	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
o3169. Bathing taboo	+	+	•±	•±	+	+	•±	•+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	•±	[515]
3170. In stream	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3171. Sweat bath	+	+	–	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3172. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[262]
3173. Eats alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
3174. Fed by old woman	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3175. Uses separate receptacles	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	
3176. Eats sparingly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	
3176a. Fresh meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3177. Dried meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3178. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3179. Dried fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3181. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3182. Salt taboo	–	–	–	–	•–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3183. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	
3184. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	[302]
3185. Combing hair taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	·	
3186. Head, face scratcher used	•+	•+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	
3187. Especially for first child.	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	·	
3188. Tabooed activities	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
3189. Making baskets taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
3190. Preparing food taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
‡3191. Traveling taboo ... days	5	5	–	28	–	–	–	28	28	28	–	3	6	5	28	–	[484]
3192. Until blood stops flowing or cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	
o3193. Sees no men for ... days	5	•–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	[562]
‡3194. Intercourse taboo for ... months	•2	•2	•2						2	2	·	·	+	1	·	3	[834]
3195. Loud noise near child taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3196. Would make child deaf	–	+	+							–	+	+	+	+	·	+	
3197. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	
3198. Bathes	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	[515]
3199. Midwife or mother assists	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	·	+	[750]
3200. Medicated bath	–	–	+	+		•+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	·	–	
3201. Sweats	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[481]
3202. Swims after sweating	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Restrictions on Father																	
3203. Required for all offspring	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
3204. For first child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
3205. Retirement period	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3206. Stays with mother in hut	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3207. Must stay in own dwelling house	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
846	3208. Merely stays indoors	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
● 784	‡3209. For ... days	5	5	−	5	−	−	−	°4	−	°4	−	−	6	·	28	28
	3210. Until child's cord drops off	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
	3211. Sleeps little	−	+	+			+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	−	−	·	+
	3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535]	3212a. Dances	−	−	−	−	−	°+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[481]	3213. Runs	+	+	+	−	°+	°+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3214. First child only	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3215. Breaks up wood		−	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3216. Brings back firewood	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3217. Piles up rocks	°+	°+	°+										−	−	−	−
[787]	o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	°−	−	−	+	±	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3220. First 4-5 children only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
[481]	3221. Swims	·	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	·	−
[252]	3222. In spring in mountains	−	+	−			−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	·	−
	3223. Cooks for self and children	−	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
[515]	3224. Bathing taboo	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	·	−
	o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	−	−	°4	−	−	°4	−	°4	−	°4	+	3	−	−	·	−
	†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	−	5	°4	−	−	°4	−	+	°4	°4	+	−	−	−	·	−
	3227. Certain activities taboo.	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[224]	‡3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	−	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
	†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	−	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
	†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	−	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	°2	+	3	+	6	+	30
	3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
[525]	†3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	−	−	−	28	°2	+	3	+	+	·	+
	3233. Until cord drops off	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
[276]	3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	(+)	−	−	·	−
[484]	†3235. Traveling taboo ... days	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	°2	+	3	+	+	+	40
	3236. Until cord drops off	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
	†3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	−	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	°2	+	3	+	−	+	°28
[262]	†3238. Fresh fish taboo	−	5	−	−	+	+	+	28	+	−	+	3	+	−	+	35
[268]	†3239. Dried fish taboo	−	5	−	−	+	+	+	28	−	−	+	3	+	−	+	35
	†3240. Salt taboo	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	5	+	−	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312]	3241. Cold water taboo	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3242. Until cord drops off	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
	3243. Until child smiles first time													−	−	+	−
	3244. Eats with wife	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3245. Uses own receptacles	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
	3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
[292]	3247. Special belt worn	°(−)	+	−	−	+	−	°+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
	3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	°+	°+	+	−	−	−
	3249. Combing hair taboo	+	°+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3250. Until navel has healed	·	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
	3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3252. Bathes	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	°+	−	−	−	+	°+	+	+	−
	3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
	3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
	3255. Gives away old clothes	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
	3256. Burns old clothes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3257. Throws away old clothes	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
[526]	3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	+	+								+	−	−	−	−	−
[224]	3259a. Shoots at target	−	−	+	−	°+						−	·	−	−	−	−
	3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	−	+	+	−	°+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
[625]	3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	−	−	−		°+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	°+	−	·	−
	3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							°+	+	°+	+

000

3211. In order to avoid bad dreams. WS: First night after birth of child only.

3212a. AW: See note 3130.

3213. At: Runs to mountains, on quest (see note 3206). AW: Runs a little, when gathering wood (see note 3206), but only goes on quest after cord drops off.

[846]
[784]

3217. Kl, Mo, SE: Piles up rocks in shape of man.

3218. AW: Only after cord drops off child does father bathe and seek power in mountains. "Then it's done; before this he knows he can't get anything, even if he goes 100 times, before that cord drops off."

3225. SE, AW, WT, WS: 4-6 days. WS: "Sign of rain if he bathes."

3226. SE, AW, WM, WS: 4-6 days.

3228, 3229. WM: 4-6 days.

3230. WM: 4-6 days. WS: 2-3.

3232, 3235. WS: 2-3 days.

3237. Each of these 3 items inquired about separately. WS: 2-3 days. MV: 28-35 days. Rationale for taboos--to insure child's navel healing properly.

[292]
[846]

3247. Kl: Spier, Klamath, p. 55, notes that both parents wear bark belts for birth of first child only. AE: Young man, especially after birth of first child, wears braided sagebrush-bark belt, 3-4 in. wide, tied around waist rather tightly so he will have slim waist, "never be pot-bellied." Also wears this belt when chasing deer, "so stomach won't flop up and down," and also "so he won't be so hungry." Youth, being sent off on vision quest to seek power at medicine lake or springs, wears similar belt.

3248. MM, MF: Head will become sore if scratch with fingers.

3249. Mo: Hair will turn prematurely gray.

3252. WT: See note 3198. NF: Uses wormwood decoction.

3259a. At: After cord drops off, father sweats, changes clothes; 2 days later he goes to certain place, shoots at old log; then goes little farther, and is sure to see deer. He shoots 1 arrow and kills deer, which he gives away (see note 3260).

3260. At: See preceding note. After father kills first deer, he tells old woman to go and get it; does not eat any of it himself. Afterward, next deer he shoots he eats a little; "not too much. This makes him lucky, so that every time he goes out he kills deer, after that."

3261. At: Old people (nonrelatives) take what man wins, put winnings away and never bet with them. Then man is always lucky at gambling. NF: "Afterward has good luck, wins all the time."

3262. NF: Big dinner held 4 days after cord drops off. NS: Taboo period ends after ca. month; gauged by time when child first smiles; big dinner given, and child's parents can then eat meat.

[215-A]

000 3773. WT: Each month when period begins menstruant stands over nest of piss ants, allows ants to crawl up her legs and bite her, to induce menopause.

Marriage

Child betrothal.--

584 3774. Kl: Boy and girl know nothing of arrangement; boy's father asks girl's, "What do you think about it; you're going to let her get married when she grows up; what do you think?" Girl's father says, "Yes; I think it [will] be all right." Boy's father then gives girl's people food; "that's how they hold her. When girl grows up, perhaps another boy tries to get her [to marry him]; her father says, 'No; you already belong to that boy over there; we already gave you to those folks.' Boy's father then tells his boy to go get girl, and boy goes after her, and brings her back to his father's house for about 5 days. Even if girl doesn't like youth, she has to comply, and her parents have to give her to her betrothed." Before marriage, boy may take gifts to girl's parents--buckskin, and such. Child betrothal an old form [178] of marriage; informant had never seen it carried out in his lifetime. SW: Boy's father sends 000 buckskin load of money by friend to girl's father; latter "sits there and looks at money, and finally accepts it; or, if he doesn't, boy's father may hire shaman to bewitch girl, so she becomes loose woman. AW: Practiced by wealthy. After betrothal arranged, "don't allow any other man to touch that girl." Child betrothal characterized by informant as "real old-time trade." MM: Here, as among other groups, child betrothal highly approved form of marriage. Couples may be of about same age, or young girl may be paid for by old man, who marries her after she reaches puberty.

3775. AE: Usually boy's father goes to girl's family, taking hides, food with him; if girl's father does not wish to enter into agreement, he does not touch present. However, girl's father, if headman, can also start negotiations, if he wishes to. If girl and boy of 2 different local groups betrothed, boy's family "have somebody [who lives near girl] watch the girl until she is grown to see how good or how mean she is."

3776. SE: At time of actual marriage only. WT: See note 3781.

3777. Mo: Boy's side gives meat, girl's side, roots. But concept of "buying" girl recognized, although exchange of gifts also emphasized. SE: Exchange of gifts at time of actual marriage only. At: Boy's side gives meat, girl's side acorns and baskets, while children are young. AE: Exchange some presents, not many.

[584] 3777a. Kl, Mo: Denied any taboos; children
● [784] ignorant that they are betrothed until grown.
[858] SE: After boy and girl are betrothed, taboo for them to see each other's face. Boy wears buffalo

K
M
eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [412]
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K M
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [364]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784] •
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a M [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the chil-
dren sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up
the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel,
the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's
child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their
marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral
and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M
221
756
796

869 778 hear about these spots first in stories. Later the parents point out the sacred sites as they pass by them. Many of the places are referred to as "doctor rocks." Children are warned never to run or play near them lest they should fall and become crippled.

869 756 Klamath religion is very closely associated with shamanism[17] so that most of the religious attitudes acquired are directed toward shamans. Shamans are the most important, powerful, and feared individuals in the tribe. Small children are warned never to bother one, but to run and hide whenever a shaman appears, or he may cause sickness. Children are told, "There's a doctor; don't run in front of him, or he'll trip you. Don't ever look at him when he is smoking." Even the shaman's own children fear him.

861 Obedience is achieved by parents in a number of ways. They frequently scold erring children, small ones being perhaps most often threatened with some supernatural punishment for misbehavior. Whippings are not rare, but are probably never severe. A child is switched across his hands or the back of his legs with a willow switch, or the child's hair or ears are pulled. Corporal punishment is seldom resorted to unless the child has made the same mistake several times and has not heeded scoldings.

861 776 775 [539] Obedience is also achieved by instilling in the child a fear of ghosts, spirits, and other supernatural beings who kidnap bad children. Owl is the most potent supernatural threat, feared by child and adult alike. When a child cries at night or is naughty, his parents threaten, "Owl will come to pluck out your eyes or carry you off to a cave." If the child fails to heed the warning at first, the parents call, "Owl, come listen to this child." The effectiveness of the threat is increased by the child's knowledge of the story about a baby who was carried off by an owl to a cave near Modoc Point. The baby gradually sprouted feathers and turned into an owl. Bear and Coyote are similarly used to silence a crying child.

In the same way children are warned about ghosts who might snatch them away from the camp unless they are good.[18] Ghosts hover about the camp constantly and are especially dangerous to little ones. For that reason children are never allowed out after sundown unless accompanied by an adult. The child is told to turn his left side and raise his left arm to a ghost if he ever sees one; only in this manner can sickness be avoided.

784 775 Since ghosts constitute such a peril, children must never go near the cremation grounds where they might contract a ghost sickness, which can be cured only by a powerful shaman. Children never attend funerals, nor are they allowed to cross the path over which a corpse has been carried.

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[17] A thorough discussion of Klamath shamanism appears, ibid., pp. 93-138.

[18] Ghosts are described in Voegelin, elements 4655-4706.

000 they are rather a cloddish, indolent, ordinarily good-natured race, but treacherous at bottom, sullen when angered, notorious for keeping Punic faith. But their bravery nobody can deny."*

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD.

174 Before the middle of the nineteenth century the Mák̲laks people was unknown to mankind except to the nearest neighbors in Oregon and California. We are therefore justified in beginning its period of documentary history at that time, and in relegating to the domain of prehistorics all that is known of their previous condition. The information upon these points is furnished by three factors: tradition, archæologic remains, and language.

A. TRADITION BEARING UPON HISTORY.

121 Traditional folk-lore, when of the mythic order, generally dates from
773 an earlier epoch of fixation than historic traditions. The remote origin of *genuine* mythic folk-lore is sufficiently evidenced by the archaic terms embodied with it, by the repetition of the same phraseology for ages, and by the circumstance that all nations tend to preserve their religious ideas in an unchanged form. I am laying peculiar stress upon the term *genuine*, for Indians have often mixed recent ideas and fictions with archaic, original folk-lore and with ancient mythic ideas, the whole forming now one inextricable conglomerate which has the appearance of aboriginal poetic prose.

173 The Klamath people possess no historic traditions going further back
769 in time than a century, for the simple reason that there was a strict law
688 prohibiting the mention of the person or acts of a deceased individual by
171 *using his name.* This law was rigidly observed among the Californians no
784 less than among the Oregonians, and on its transgression the death penalty could be inflicted. This is certainly enough to suppress all historic knowledge within a people. How can history be written without names?

[126] Many times I attempted to obtain a list of the former head chiefs of the two chieftaincies. I succeeded only in learning the names of two chiefs recently deceased, and no biographic details were obtainable.

174 This people belongs to the autochthonic nations of America, called so because they have lost all remembrances of earlier habitats or of migrations.

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* Contributions to Amer. Ethnology, III, p. 253.

782 776 823 774 787 Other informants also give a hint of this attitude. Even where there is sophistication by virtue of education or long-time residence away from the group, one encounters statements like that of a woman, half-Klamath, half-Caucasian: "Those old Indians had a lot of sense. They kind of felt at home around here and they would get a lift just from talking to the mountains and lakes. It was like praying and it made them feel at peace. When I get up in the morning, I look first over there [at Mt. Pitt] and it makes me feel good too. Not that I pray in the old Indian way; that's just idolatry. But it's like the scenery kind of gets ahold of you even if I been seeing it all my life."

787 776 855 823 A possible indication of this attitude appears in the repeated warnings to children to avoid certain rocks and cliffs. "You might fall down and hurt yourself" is of course quite true; on the other hand, places about which some modern Klamath parents feel particularly uneasy were associated aboriginally with power sources. A strong drive in the past was fear that a child might be 784 harmed through contact with "power." Every effort was made to keep the child away from the shaman, the sweat lodge, the mourning place, and the 841 like. (It may be noted that menstrual blood was placed near the cradled child to negate forces whose mere presence could harm the inexperienced.) These attitudes toward nature and the surrounding natural phenomena, at least as sources of uneasiness, still exist among younger Klamath of today.

773 776 177 Also obtainable is evidence on attitudes toward the culture hero. Some offer a rational systematization of beliefs concerning him. Generally, this involves some interpretation in the light of Christian reasoning. Kemu'kemps, because of his essentially human characteristics, readily lends himself to identification with the Christian God. The middle-aged woman quoted above, struck by the linguistic parallels, notes: "Those old Indians were really 273 Christians. It's only the liquor around here that makes the unbelief and trouble. Kemu'kemps means the 'Old One'; that's God. He revealed himself to the Indians long before the Americans [sic] came. He had a son, too, 'Ayšiš, that's just like Jesus. He created the world, just like it says in the Bible. If only those old Indians had been able to see it, they were close to God all the time. They lived good upright lives under his guidance. Another word for Kemu'kemps in our language is *Playtul'kni·;* that means the 'One on High,' 'Somebody up there.' That's the name we give God in our language now. It's all the same."

Not all informants are so definite in their syncretism. One elderly woman remarked: "Who is Kemu'kemps? I don't know. Sometimes I think he's God, but sometimes I think he must be Devil. Maybe he was just a story the old Indians made up. But they called him Playtul·kni· and that means God. My grandson asked me, 'Gramma, who's Kemu'kemps?' I say, 'I don't know. Maybe he's like God.' " In another connection she remarked: "I think that Kemu'kemps is Devil. He gets people into trouble; he leads them into temptation. When I was a little girl, they said to me, 'He's no good; don't believe that any more.' But I don't know. I see the icicles and I think of the wind and Kemu'kemps. He made the world and they call him Playtul'kni·. The Devil

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

told that this had any connection with the possibility of contamina- 777
tion from women's presence in the house, but I did not enquire. A
gambler must fast if he wants success, and must begin the fast before 777
he goes to fetch his charm. The blade will disappear if not properly 525
cared for. The gambler carries the stuffed skin in his hand or places
the blade in water at his side as he plays, or wets it from time to time. [785]
The frog's foot, wrapped in an odoriferous leaf, or a mole's foot,[112] is
placed under the blanket or mat on which they sit while playing. My
informant had never heard of putting the blades under the mat, as
Barrett noted.[113] Luck is called dite satwa'ya; ķ!ai dite satwa'ya is
literally, indeed no good luck.

Gamblers paint their faces, put strings of beads around the wrist, and attach little feathers to their hair, when they play in all seriousness. They sing as they play. The stakes are piled beside them. The side that loses, bundles up its gaming sticks and articles, carries them off to bury at a crematory, and sets out to seek spirit power for luck.

The principal game is the four-stick game, called sŏ'kals, from 525
sŏ'kla, to gamble, hence the gambling game par excellence. Gatschet[114]
also calls it spe'lshna, to put the fingers forward (from speiluish, 524
index finger) and shulshe'shla. It is played by men seated in two opposing rows. Two pairs of sticks are provided, with a circular mat or basket or a skin to hide them under. The sticks were described to me as nine inches long, two an inch in diameter, marked at the middle (these called cu'lsĕs), and two only half as thick (sķo'tŏs). Culin describes a number of sets, of which the thicker sticks taper toward each end and are ornamented with parallel spiral lines at the middle, while the slender ones are closely wrapped with buckskin thongs for their whole length. From this they derive their name "wrapped up" according to Gatschet. The thicker sticks are made of mountain mahogany.[115] The hiding basket (p'a"la) is flexible and flat, hardly more than a circular mat; it is ornamented and has a bunch of deer dew claws attached to the center of the convex side. Blankets, mats, elk hides, or buffalo hides are sometimes used to hide the sticks; the last especially by rich men. Twelve short pointed sticks and two longer are provided for counters. These, contrary to the usual usage elsewhere, are not placed in a single group, but six of the shorter

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[112] The latter according to Gatschet (1:134).

[113] Material Culture, 253.

[114] *Op. cit.*, 1:79.

[115] Culin, Games, 328-332; Dorsey, Certain Gambling Games, 23.

178 latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence
that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on
the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often
recur.

787 The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, apparently
881 regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was
usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power
785 obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts
existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating,
533 and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath
emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word
/ɬuw'i·s/ meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on
787 context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from
177 without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior
792 associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly individualized
and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality,
it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers,
the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions.
One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with
the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The
examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older informants.
Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions associated
with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me,
782 "Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and
776 old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.'
823 I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I
774 say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over
787 there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains
and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I
dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it."
She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to
Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up,
up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man
standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I
723 don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The informant
refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of
whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena:
"When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They
said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never
did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it
was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a
797 real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those
things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

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[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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Shasta NS21

grown up among the Klamath, Klamath in speech and custom, were K 567
not tempted to begin life anew elsewhere. Some, at least, had considerable K
prestige. Pit River Charley, for instance, a freed slave, [786] •
returned from his people in 1873 with novel rites which were engrafted [177]
on the Ghost dance then newly come to the Klamath.[62]

Trade is probably of no great consequence within the tribe although K
it figures intertribally. Contacts were few and frequently unfriendly 439
until after the coming of the whites. The exception is the neighboring 221
Modoc groups; others are too distant. Winters are too severe for 361
travel and trade, but summers find the Warm Springs people in residence
with the Klamath. These similarly set out for Warm Springs
and the Dalles when the grass begins to grow, camping there in the
open during the summer, and building mat-covered structures of
earth-lodge shape (wakĕ'ploḳs) if they stay through the winter. K
Slaves, Pit River bows, and beads are taken there to trade for horses, 439
blankets, buffalo skins, parfleches, beads (probably dentalium shells), 436
dried salmon, and lampreys.[63] Two slave children are valued at five 567
horses, several buffalo skins, and some beads. This is not far from
the values recorded by Taylor in 1859; one woman was worth five or
six horses, a boy one horse.[64]

The Molala are also visitors and are met on the headwaters of the K
Rogue west of Crater lake. From them buckskins are obtained for 648
pond-lily seed and beads. Relations with the Shasta have not always [437]
been unfriendly; some of the Klamath Falls group and Modoc married S
with them, possibly only since the white advent. The nearest Shasta 131
settlements at Shovel and Jennie creeks can be reached afoot several K
days' journey down the Klamath. Laik'ĕlmi is a jointly occupied 648
fishing site somewhat upstream but below the Klamath canyon. Skins [226]
and skin blankets are traded for Shasta beads. Dixon states that [437]
Shasta trade with the Klamath is slight.[65]

In the period 1860-70 the few Shasta remaining in their territory congregated S
on the lower Shasta river and near the frontier town, Yreka. They were 131
reached by crossing the Black Mountain range. At that time this was a S
much mixed group, principally half-breeds. My informant Tom Lang, taken [302]
there as a youngster, remarked how he was afraid of their highly tattooed faces.

Intercourse and marriage went on freely with the Modoc. They K
were visited on Tule and Lower Klamath lakes, and joined for the 648
fishing on Lost River near Olene. 131
226

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[62] Spier, Ghost Dance of 1870, 45, 51.

[63] Cf. Gatschet, 1:93; 2:436.

[64] *Op. cit.*, 1:lx.

[65] The Shasta, 436.

This is the open flute, lacking tongue or reed, and played by blowing 534 across the open end while it is held vertically or horizontally. So I was told, but it is more probable that the vertical is the only position used. These are manufactured from branches of the ḳoḳo'dŏm bush or the elder (slo'lŭasm), from which the pith is easily removed, or from the long legs of cranes. The wooden flutes are three-quarters of an inch in diameter, one to two feet long, with three holes (or four or five ?) for finger stops burned at odd intervals.

The deer-hoof rattle (sŏ'ḳtsŏḳs) is probably the only one of the three Klamath rattles that is of any antiquity among them. It is used [881] exclusively in the girl's adolescence rites. The Klamath form is a slender pole four to seven feet long with a cord along the upper third to which bunches of deer dew claws (ḳ'o'djlŋks) are tied at intervals. The butt is pounded on the ground to jar the hooflets.

Of the other two types, the clap rattle is the familiar cleft stick, the split end of which is struck against the palm. This was used in the Ghost dance of 1870 and in no other connection. [786] It was derived from the Pit river peoples. The notched rattle (ulo'ks) is known to [177] have been played by one man who learned it from the Upland Takelma. It may have been used in the war and scalp dances. This is the familiar notched stick set on the ground and rasped with another stick; no resonator is used.[143]

The hand drum has no great antiquity among the Klamath but was in use before the coming of the whites. It was derived from some [177] northern tribe, probably those of Warm Springs. Its very name, bŏ'mbŏm, is the common word in eastern Oregon and Washington. It is used only in the social dances, which are themselves of no great consequence. The drum is the familiar shallow tambourine affair, with only one head. Thongs crossed on the open face furnish a hand grip. Drums are constructed of a flattened juniper bough bent into a ring of one to two feet in diameter. Heads of badger and antelope hide are best; they yield the loudest sound. The drum was not decorated until lately, when stars were painted on the head. [531] This is said to have been learned of the whites, but is more likely derived from the modern version of the Smoḥallah cult, [177] the so-called Pompom religion of eastern Washington and Oregon. The drum stick (wo'tanote) is a stick wrapped with mink hide to form a knob.

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[143] There is no association of the sound with the voice of the frog nor with the rain, nor is it used in social dances, as in the Great Basin area. [533] [171]*

II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be 771
permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices, [756]
the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of
supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the
shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance [881]
in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps, [721]
some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance
of 1870. [727]

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a
host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These [585]
are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, [786] •
and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however definitely
localized in many instances and partly identified with the 776
figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the
spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no
ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart 775
from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic
existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living.

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are 776
times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the
loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the 787
revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

*171
756 From this perspective the Klamath complex takes its place with
the relatively simple shamanism of the northwestern interior and the
Basin, overlaid with elements shared by tribes of the northwestern
coast and those of northern, or better, northwestern California.

Shamanism bulks large in the social scheme of the Klamath as it
does in the interior Plateau and the Basin, for the reason that competing
[881] rituals are lacking. Beyond the girls' rite, the war and scalp
dances, and for a brief time the Ghost dance, the Klamath have nothing
[535] but shamans' performances. The winter ritual of the Northwest
Coast extends only to central coastal Washington, the potlatch only
to the Columbia river. The wealth display dances of northwestern
[726] California do not penetrate even to the Shasta; those of the central
Californian Kuksu cult not beyond the head of the Sacramento. Elements
[784] of these ritual systems do indeed appear among the Klamath,
*171 but the dances as such are absent.

796 The Klamath hold the acquisition of supernatural power within
the reach of anyone. In this they accord with the generality of North
*171 Americans and differ emphatically from the Californians for whom
power descends only on the few. The Klamath form of quest fol-
787 lowed by a dream in which power comes links the common quest of
America with the dream experience of California. The Northwest
Coast, its interior, and the Basin are a unit with the Klamath in that
the quest is for power of a general sort, not for visions yielding specific
sanctions as in the Plains. The spirits whose benevolence is sought
are birds and animals as in the interior, the Plains and eastward, not
the mystic supernaturals of the Northwest Coast. The source of
power and disease among the northwest Californians, the "pain"
*171 objects, do not appear among them in any form. The Klamath concept
of disease is the very general North American one of intrusion;
753 the soul-loss concept of the Northwest Coast and tribes to the Columbia
is unknown here.

*171 The Klamath novitiate dance for shamans is shared by groups from
the Sacramento to the Columbia. It is the northern demonstration of
756 ability rather than the initiation and mastery of power of the northern
Californians. The repeated dance of the Yurok prevails through
Shasta and Modoc, but the single Klamath dance is of the interior
type.

*171 The Northwest Coast winter ritual makes its appearance here only
in its general aspects. Klamath shamanistic seances are held only in
756 midwinter and this is also the time for repossession by spirits among
796
177

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4014. Perform man's work only	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	838
4015. Perform labors both sexes	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
4016. Digs grave or helps at funerals	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	[764]
4017. Regarded disapprovingly		–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
4018. Regarded indifferently		–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	

Death

Treatment of corpse

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4019. Left in house until buried or burned	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	764
†4020. Left in house ... days or nights	–	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	–	–	–	
4021. Removed outside immediately after death	·+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
4022. Body prepared for burial, burning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4023. Washed, in house	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
4024. Washed, at grave	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4025. Painted	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	
4026. Dentalia, bone tubes in nose, ears.	–	+	+	+	–	+	+		+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
4027. Bead necklaces on wealthy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	
4028. Wrapped in hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	–	+	·+	
4028a. Flexed, to form round bundle.	–	–	–	–	–				–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	
4029. Wrapped in mat	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4030. Put in basket, occasionally	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	·+	–	+	–	
4031. Removed from house through regular entrance	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4032. Removed through wall of house	–	–	·+	·+	+	–	–	·+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
4033. Removed through draft hole			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
4034. Removed from house head first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	+	+	.	+	
4035. Body outstretched, carried by 2 persons	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+		(–)	+	
4036. On pole stretcher	–	–	+	+	–	·–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4037. On double robe	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4038. Body carried suspended from pole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	(+)	–	
4039. Body carried in arms, on back by 1 person	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Funerary Procedure

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
†4040. Body kept outside for ... nights	1	–	·1	·1	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	2	–	–	–	–	
4041. For few hours only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
4042. Large fire built beside corpse	+	–	+	+						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4043. Relatives, friends assemble, wail	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4044. Mourning begins before death	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	.	+	+	+	–	
4045. Wailing by mourners at prefuneral dance	·–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
4046. Mourners bring gifts to dead	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	·+	·+	
4047. Night dance by mourners	–	–	+	+	+	·–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
4048. Prior to burial, cremation	–	–	·+	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	
4049. Mourners wear or carry boughs	–	–	·+	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4050. 1 group of dancers follows another	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4051. Officiating woman piles boughs by corpse	–	–	+	·+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4052. Ashes, water sprinkled after corpse	·+	–	+			·+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	
4053. Children not allowed at burial, burning	+	·+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
4054. All avoid smoke from pyre											+	–	+	+	+	–	
4055. Widow attends husband's burial, burning		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4056. Speech at burial, burning	+	+	+	+	–	·+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	–	–	·+	
4057. Widow(s) try to jump on pyre, in grave	.	+	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	–	–	764
4058. Restrained	.	+	.		+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	·+	·+	–	–	786
4059. Mourners jump about as they wail			–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
4060. Throw dirt over themselves	.	+	–					+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	
4061. Roll in dirt	.	+	+					+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	

648 Most Klamath live in one or another of the several
towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere,
361 in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along
[167] the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40
percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because
[619] of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation,
by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has
[161] probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members"
[619] with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

648 Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have
144 been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically,
less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods."
[171] Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are
not easily distinguished in dress and language.

175 The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx
177 of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes
of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of
[361] allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within
the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought
[423] or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present
efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid
[657] growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities
were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick
[726] succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of
1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains
[786] area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land
in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal
[181] Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate
wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased
[556] opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective
[436] entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money"
had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares
of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber
that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

648 The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region
is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with
[313] many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers
[423] or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly,
local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members,
[434] as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners.
The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its
[632] revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited
[651] bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are
patronized largely by Klamath.

648 In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best
621 characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a
sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a
563 small assimilated minority.

[571] Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met
with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street.
However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the
main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

do keep up their ordinary occupation in part during this time. They dig roots for instance, but others must care for the products further, else the women will never find any more. 841

There is no comparable rite for boys at puberty. Nevertheless the time when a boy's voice deepens is recognized as propitious for seeking power. He is sent into the mountains for perhaps five days, to wander at night, running continually, piling up rocks, swimming in the mountain pools and eddies of the rivers, fasting the while until a song comes to him in a dream. He must use a head-scratcher. Preadolescent boys are tossed into the river or whipped while they sleep. If the boy whimpers he will be a weakling; he is expected to jump up and shout. I have cited above the case of Lɛle'ks who was so treated at puberty, it seems, and thus lost his transvestite habits. 881 [787] [866]

When I [Pat Kane] was a little boy of seven or ten, my father sometimes threw me into the river while I slept. I did not ask why. Finally he told me, "I do not want to kill you. I do it so that when you are grown you will not easily get sick, so that if you are shot you will recover quickly." I always bathed in the river as a boy and you see that I have never even had rheumatism until recently. 866 159

DEATH AND MOURNING

Klamath funereal observances are personal, non-ceremonial, and somewhat unique in that they provide occasions for the seeking of power. There are no mourning anniversaries. 764 [765]

Cremation is the universal practice, even for suicides, the newborn, and the stillborn. Only the bodies of secretly aborted infants are buried in the bush. The body of a man killed in war is brought home for cremation.[96] [727]

Some Klamath men were trapping in the mountains west of Crater lake about eighty years ago when they were met by some Upland Takelma who killed four or five. One boy alone escaped and made his way back to Klamath marsh at night. The Takelma took scalps, hands, and feet of the dead, and held a dance. Many Klamath went to fetch the bodies, which they brought to Klamath marsh for incineration.

Near each group of settlements is a spot where all cremations take place. It is somewhat apart from the settlements but not isolated.

Three of these serve the Klamath marsh people; on the eastern side of the marsh near the towns k'ɛtaiwas (2, see maps, figs. 1-3), gŭpgŭa'ḳsi (3), and l'wal (4). For others of this division of the tribe, there is one on Sprague

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[96] Cremation was given up forty or more years ago ("in about 1868," Gatschet, 1:86). The first burial was that of a Molala man, married to a Klamath woman, who was killed by a Klamath. [177] [178]

The rewrapping of a man is done by male friends, of a woman by women, but men alone tend the fire. They cover the remains as quickly as possible, all those about crying loudly the while. Little children are kept at a distance. By way of purification, those who tend the corpse leave their clothing out of doors for several days and swim, or bathe in the sweat-lodge. 764 [783]

The house in which the death took place, even that of a child, is burned with its contents.[101] The survivors live elsewhere until, on a remarriage, for instance, a new lodge is built. If the house of a shaman is burned with the regalia it contains, a violent storm springs up in the night, hence they wait for calm weather before setting it afire. It is only safe for an old woman to fire it. When a shaman dies and again when he is cremated, storms rage for two days.

Strict mourning is enjoined on the spouse of the deceased and his parents. It is quite clear that a son or daughter need not mourn so deeply for a parent. Those who observe the fullest mourning cut their hair short immediately on the death; this is called sla'mltk. After the cremation they sweat for five days, go out in quest of a vision, and observe the mourning restrictions throughout the following year. 765 765 783

The mourner fasts inside the sweat-lodge (spo'kliks) from early morning until sundown during these five days. There are only four sweat-lodges proper to the use of mourners, or rather three. This restriction is so inconvenient considering the scattering of Klamath settlements that I would doubt it, had I not definite assurance from all informants.[102] There are none in the territories of the Pelican bay and Williamson river-mouth people. The three lodges are semi-subterranean, of timber and rock construction, and earth-covered. These are said to be the gift of Kᴇmū'kūmps, the culture hero. A very small one stands a mile and a half north of Klamath Agency.[103] A second is on the south side of a point called waḳa'ḳsi, near Odessa on the western side of Klamath lake.[104] The third and largest is on the hillside at the angle of the marsh east of Algoma. The Klamath Falls group have no mourners' lodge but make use of a hot spring at bŏ'kewalks, a mile east of the present Klamath Falls railroad station. [787] [343]

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[101] I was not told of cairns of stones tossed on the spot by passers-by as described for the Modoc (Gatschet, 1:85).

[102] Gatschet also noted three alone (*op. cit.*, 1:xlii, 82, 142).

[103] This may be the one mentioned by Gatschet (*op. cit.*, 1:xxxi) although the name he gives resembles that recorded for site 64.

[104] This is referred to in a tale of Mink and Weasel.

765 783 343 There they place planks over the spring on which to lie. The common small sweat-lodges are not used in this connection.

The sweat-lodge near Algoma is now in ruins but it was always in need of repair, I was told (fig. 7). It is now a U-shaped wall of stones enclosing an area ten by twenty feet. The walls still stand five or six feet high, composed of thousands of small rocks. The roof was a rough gable covered with dirt. The lodge faces the east, uphill on a rather steep hillside. Stones were heated outside and carried just within the entrance. Air seeped in along the ground at the back or lower side of the lodge, so the mourner would retire there from the heat. A little spring is close by. There were no houses within several miles of this place. The little lodge north of Klamath Agency faces south.

765 343

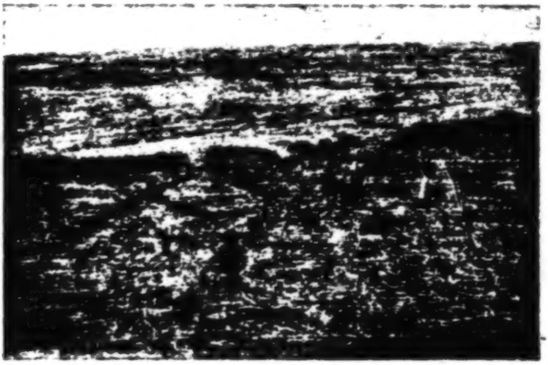

Fig. 7. Mourners' sweat-lodge near Algoma. The nearest man stands in the mouth of the U-shaped structure; the middle figure on the far wall; that to the right beyond it.

765 [783] [787] At the end of the five days of sweating the mourner swims in the spirit places in quest of power or seeks it in the mountains. The reason seems to be not alone that he has lost power through his sorrow, but that this is an especially propitious occasion when the spirits will pity him for his grief. One such place is a pair of rocks, Wolf and his wife, north of Modoc point. A man will wrestle with the Wolf rock, his wife with Wolf's wife, in order to become strong and run well.

[301] During mourning women wear bands of buck-brush or sage-brush around the head, neck, waist, wrists, knees, and ankles like those worn during the puberty dance. The bands are disposed of by wrapping them around trees near the sweat-lodge where they are sometimes collected by those who wish to make cauteries of them. Both parents (or men alone) wear service berry or sage-brush belts like [302] those of girls at puberty, so that the back will not become stooped. For a year or longer, pitch is smeared over the face and hair, and black-

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765 The following myth brings out some of the mourning practices.[109]

539 Coyote's wife died. He set out to seek power. He burned up his house and all his belongings. He went along crying: he sang

hă'newa hă'newa bölükö'mhŭkdino'lit
(a cry) It ought be dusk quickly.

He wanted the sun to go down quickly so that he could swim for power. There was a woman sitting by the road. He said, "I do not want a woman. I am crying because my wife died." Again he went on singing hă'newa. . . . .

Next he saw some moccasins on the road. He said, "I am not looking for moccasins. I burned mine when my wife died." He went on singing again hă'newa. . . . .

Now he saw a heap of food on the road ahead. He said, "I am not looking for food. I burned all my food when my wife died." He went on, singing hă'newa. . . . .

Then he came on a pile of ripe plums which had fallen to the ground. There was water there so he washed out his mouth with a handful [as is always done before a meal]. He had his scratching stick at his wrist. He stuck it into the ground and spat into the hole. He said, "This is the way the pse'odiwas (humans) will do."

So he ate, ate, ate the plums until his belly got big. Then he got sick and could not swim. Thus he made the rule that mourning Indians must not eat plums, else they will get sick.

GAMES

525 Gamblers seek spirit power for success, men and women alike, by swimming in spirit haunts in the river or in mountain lakes. The
• 787 first of his gains after receiving this power must be given away, just as he must give them away the first time he plays after the death of his child. This is of a piece with a lad or girl destroying or giving away the first results of their efforts at hunting or root gathering.

777 Luck is also acquired by finding large obsidian blades and certain dead animals; mole, weasel, mink, or frog.[110] Finding the mole is luckiest. "To find anything like this is lucky, so it gives you luck." These must be found dead; there is no use taking a trapped animal, or a recently manufactured blade. The premium put on the obsidian blades is reminiscent of their exaggerated value as symbols of wealth among the tribes of the lower Klamath river.[111] All such lucky objects are bundled in white sage twigs and hidden some distance from the house. This may also be true of the gambling bones; at least Pat Kane keeps his at the crematory several miles from home. I was not

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[109] Told by Nancy Phillips.

[110] Gatschet lists as similar Modoc charms, a hummingbird's nest, the leg of a dead frog, a dead mole, a rare "fire-bug," and arrowheads (1:134).

[111] Kroeber, Handbook, 26, 54ff.

II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION 771

Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices, [756] the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance [881] in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps, some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance [721] of 1870. [727]

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These [585] are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, [786] and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however definitely localized in many instances and partly identified with the 776 figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart 775 from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living.

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are 776 times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the 787 revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate.

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756

[622] [177] The shaman himself is, or was, the outstanding figure of Klamath society. He had no rival in the chiefs, the rich man, until the coming of the whites brought a redistribution of emphasis in Klamath life. Chiefs had previously been persons of little influence.

771 *171 All this is familiar enough among Indians; the Klamath differ only in particulars. In its several aspects, their religion, as well as its practice, is one with that of the Great Basin, Plateau, and Mackenzie tribes.

THE POWER QUEST

• 787 The quest for supernatural aid is open to everyone, men and women, boys and girls. It is a constantly recurring feature of their lives. Everyone, perhaps without exception, seeks the powers at least once during his lifetime and further experiences seem to be repeatedly sought.

[881] The first occasion is always puberty. I doubt that boys and girls are expected to be uniformly successful in securing aid at this time, because, it was said, at shamanistic performances those who had power might sing their songs. This may imply that the others either never [765] acquired power or had lost it. My informants' frequent emphasis on the period of mourning for a husband, wife, or child marks this, too, as a peculiarly pregnant period when power may be successfully sought. At least at such a time a man loses his power and must seek [844] again if he wishes to regain it. A man also seeks power at the birth of a first child. But it is not only the crises of life that provide [756] occasion; the quest may be undertaken at any time, and it is the practice of such as gamblers and shamans to renew and enhance their [525] powers by frequent attempts. The quest is called spŭ'tu.

The experience does not ordinarily include a vision, but is made manifest in a song heard in a dream. In some instances where a vision is had, a dream song follows, but it is clear that the latter is the essential experience. In the following case a man and a woman had identical visions but to the man alone fell the experience leading to power.

787 159 The grandfather of a Klamath Falls shaman went to stŏ'kmôte, the point of Eagle Ridge, in the evening. There is a spot in the lake where bubbles rise. Horses lived in this long ago (!). When this man reached the headland he saw two pinto horses, with long manes, rearing against each other from the water. He was not frightened but took off his clothes and plunged into the water in order to secure power. When he recovered consciousness he found himself again on land. From that time he was lucky; he began to get many pintos, large horses. Because of this experience his grandson, the shaman, also acquired, in his turn, spirit songs of all kinds.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

787

An old woman, gathering wood at this place, also saw two horses in the water. Turning to her husband she said, "There are horses standing over there," [159] but when they looked again, the horses had disappeared. Such a disappearance (tʁko'tḳa) is a sign that a relative will die; one of her relatives died after this.

Visions evidently follow one of two formulae. Either, as above, the spirit appears standing in the water and then disappears, or it drags the swimmer below the water for the purpose of devouring him, as instanced below.

One word swi'ls means song and spirit being. A certain dualism 787 is involved here. Spirits are definite beings that dwell in the mountains 776 and in the water. On the other hand all songs are called swi'ls, including those for amusement and non-shamanistic dancing, which 533 bear no reference to spirits. That is, spirits and songs are certainly recognized as separate entities. Nevertheless, when it is said that a man has a Coyote swi'ls, for example, it means that he has the appropriate song or songs and that this animal is his supernatural helper. The spirit never manifests itself but in the song; the singer is the vehicle, the voice of the spirit. Song and spirit are one and the same thing.

Power is sought in lonely spots on the mountains, in mountain 787 pools, in eddies in the rivers, in all places where spirits are known to dwell. A boy is sent into the mountains on a vigil of several days, 881 perhaps five, at puberty, that is, when his voice changes. He seeks power that he may acquire property, be a good hunter, become rich, a chief, and be able to do all the things that are difficult. (One does not need power to be a fisherman, for instance.) He must fast and must not touch his hands to his face, but must use a scratcher instead. He must sleep without covering and warm himself only occasionally by a little fire. He runs about constantly throughout the night, piling rocks into high piles[147] (called sᴇwa'l) and swimming in the mountain pools. He prays, calling loudly to the spirits, and finally gets an answer. At night he may see a spirit with blood flowing from his mouth; then he faints and when he wakes he too will have a hemorrhage (djăkglĕkgĕ'ḳa). He "nearly dies" before he secures the song.

It is possible that girls also seek power at puberty. Their dance at this time takes place at night; during the day they sleep in the brush or on the near-by hills. Then a song may be dreamed. One [562] informant had it that they spend the night piling rocks like boys, returning at daylight, but I consider it very unlikely that a girl

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[147] Clarke, Rock Piles, 40, refers to the many piles of four or five boulders placed on one another which occur in this country.

787 would be allowed to go unattended. Women well along in years, how-
881 ever, follow the regular practice, at least as to bathing in the spirit
562 places.

787 The same method is pursued by the mourner, gambler, or shaman
who seeks power, but swimming in the deep river eddies was more
756 frequently mentioned in this connection. These seekers are almost
525 always men, but older strong-willed women will attempt it. Power
may be sought at any time during the year, but they do not dive for
it until the first willow buds appear (in the seventh month, March or
April). I presume that deep snows and ice in the mountains preclude
earlier attempts.

787 During the day the seeker sweats and fasts, waiting in the brush
until nightfall. He then goes to the river and dives to the bottom in
search of the spirit. He must not be frightened even if he sees some-
[756] thing moving under the water. He prays before diving, "I want to be
a shaman. Give me power. Catch me. I need the power." Some-
times he comes up unconscious, blood streaming from his mouth and
nose. He must wait until the flow stops before going home.[148] This
night he hears nothing because he has been frightened by the spirit,
nor will he eat the following day for fear of falling ill. On the
following night or soon after, he hears the song of the spirit as it
sings beneath the water. He may dream of hunting deer, acquiring
horses, of success in gambling or with women, and of marriage. One
informant dreamed of being in an earth-lodge. When he wakes the
[539] seeker sings about the subject of his dream. One song dreamed by an
old woman is

e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha
(repeated four times)
noai'meso spu'ŋgötgöple' spŭ'ŋgötgöple'
I am the one pursuing you.

It seems that, like a boy at puberty, this seeker, after swimming, may go to the mountains to fast and pile rocks. He may remain there for some time, but one exceptionally rapid quest was cited. Nancy's father having lost a child, he went swimming in Crater lake; before evening he had become a shaman.

787 A power quest under unusual circumstances is that of Lɛle'ks.
This man, the most prominent and successful chief of the last century,
159 was a berdache in his youth. His people wanted him to give up
woman's garb. One day when he lay asleep they placed a woman's

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[148] Gatschet also describes this (op. cit., 1:82-84).

787 159

canoe pole and a bow and arrows beside him. Shouting suddenly, they woke him and as he leaped up he seized the bow, thus determining his future life. Running off to Mount Scott he spent the night there. As he was returning he smelled the sweaty odor of running horses. In later life he was lucky in everything; much wealth, especially horses, came to him.

Dreams of the same sort came to men or to old women without being deliberately sought. Should a man have several such visions, he may decide to become a shaman, whereupon he undertakes the customary fire dance of the novice. But if he chooses to ignore them, the power and the opportunity slip away. 787

> Last night I [Pat] dreamed a song: I am nearly a shaman. Yesterday I tried to catch fish but it rained too hard. I then went to town but I could not get what I wanted. So I returned home, ate, and lay down. I dreamed that my horses fell in the mire when I drove near the mountain. I wanted to save them but I could not raise them. I heard a woman's song behind me. [539]

dje'udjis	snalwäs
feathers all over	woman
Helen	sna'wäs
[his daughter's name]	woman

> The fish did not like me; they did not let me catch any. They made the bad dream. This is the same way as a shaman dreams.

Another dream, though not of this type, may be inserted here.

> Last night I (Coley) dreamed I was chased by a big, black man; not a Negro, just hard to distinguish. He had nearly caught me when I woke and heard the chickens squawking.

There is only a slight tendency to the inheritance of the shaman's art. The case cited above where a shaman received spirit songs because his grandfather had an experience is hardly to the point, since these experiences are so common that every shaman must have had a close relative who obtained power. But my informant's statement that when a powerful shaman dies his child may become a shaman is borne out by her own case. His spirits and his clairvoyant powers (dode'üks, dreaming) are released by his death and must go to someone else. If his relatives keep his pipe or other paraphernalia about, it is certain that his spirits will come to one of them. 756

> Nancy's father, who died before she was born, was a shaman. When she was quite small and could first understand, she began to dream of Frog, a big woman spirit. Sometimes she would jump up at night and run, afraid of the dream. The spirits persisted in trying to make her accept until she was grown; finally she heard their voices whispering close behind her. She was about twenty and had several children at the time. Her relatives did not want her to become a shaman. 159 756 787

159 756 • 787 Her older sister (i.e., mother's sister's daughter) gave her medicine so that the spirits would no longer bother her. Two of Nancy's children became sick. A shaman, Alec Wilson, diagnosed their case as due to Nancy's refusal to answer the spirits, to begin the shamanistic performance. Another shaman was called in to relieve her of the spirits. He did it very quickly; he had three or four spirits to lead each of Nancy's "to their side." He used the songs of these spirits immediately, for they were now his. These two spirits were Thunder (łxme'is) and Falcon (łndo'gis). Had Nancy wanted to become a shaman she would have called the people together in order to demonstrate to them in a fire dance.

778 A partial list of spirit places (spü'tuks) in Klamath territory is gleaned from my notes. As I made little inquiry about the southern and eastern parts of their country, it happens that most of these lie in the north. They are about equally divided between localities in the Cascade mountains and deep eddies of Williamson river. Undoubtedly some of the rocks described as transformed people, animals, etc., are thought of as places where spirits reside, but as I was not told that power was sought there I have not included them in this list.

Ge'wüs, Crater lake. People were stolen and taken down into Crater lake by beings there. Some say they have found no water in the lake. Instead there were rocks as big as trees and deep tunnels in the bottom. There are animals, snakes, and a sort of people who live at (or in) the ocean. Men swim in the lake at night to get spirit aid.

778 787 A second site is ma'kwalks, a point of rock projecting over Crater lake from the western cliff. The seeker clambers down and piles rocks on the point.

On the northwestern side of Ghost's Nest mountain, which lies southwest from Crater lake, is a saucer-shaped bed of rocks overlooking the whole countryside. Lads built their fires near-by and lie in this in order to see a spirit. On the eastern side of the mountain are piles of four or five large rocks, erected by seekers.

Ho'tkakönks, Mare's Egg spring, is six miles north of Cherry creek on the western side of Agency Lake marsh. They swim here at night. Once men found no water in this pool but a big man, with hair covering his body, standing in it. When they returned he had disappeared and the pool again held water.

Pau'usnēkās, Harriman (?) mountain southeast of Mount Pitt. The Klamath say this is higher than Mount Pitt; indeed, being nearer, it appears higher. Two accounts pertaining to this mountain may refer to the same incident.

Long ago a Klamath climbed it, but he never returned, for he died of the cold wind although it was summer.

A Pelican bay man, who died long ago, once went to a lake on this mountain at sundown to seek power by swimming. He saw men in it, the backs of some,

> the heads of others. He was frightened and did not swim but went home. As soon as he started home the thunder began to roll; it pursued him all the way. He was afraid of it, so he jumped into Klamath lake. He sat in the water for a long time before the thunder left him. He became a shaman because of this; he had the thunder spirit in him and sang the thunder song. Finally people killed him because he became so powerful that they feared he would kill them with his spirit. 778 787

Stŏ'kmŏtc, the headland of Eagle Ridge, is on the west side of Klamath lake. Spirit horses live in the lake near the point, as instanced above. 778

North of Modoc point are two groups of rocks. The first, red rocks on the hillside a half-mile from the station, represents a bear's entrails. Two big rocks somewhat farther north and on the plain are Wolf and his wife. When people mourn for a dead child, men go to the Wolf rock to seek power, women to his wife. They seek to be strong and to run well. They wrestle with these rocks. 778 787

There is an eddy in which they swim a mile and a half above the mouth of Williamson river, opposite the cremation pile on the right bank. An otter (k!olt), bearing stripes, is seen in this. Many spirit otters of this sort are seen at ķ!o'ltamtcis, north of Klamath Falls.

A channel cutting through a bend of this river several miles from its mouth is called ķoķa'ķ'ŭt. A man saw a water snake (called to'kĕ) in this place. It was as big as a tree and had two straight, pointed white horns. He told a shaman, who said that, the snake having caught him, he could not be cured. This man died in two days. While this story suggests it, I am not sure that they swim for power here. Another informant stated that at Tcoka'lwas, just above this, is a huge horned snake (wīslŋk, snake generically). Possibly the same one is meant. In a tale the hero Wawiwŏ'ķ!os cuts the snake's head off. [539]

Wītă'mūmpsi, black bear's place, is at a sharp bend in the lower Williamson river (a mile above the highway bridge) overlooked by a high bluff. Long ago when men came to this place to swim they found no water there. Standing on the bluff they saw several bears below. Another man came to swim at sunset. He saw a bear standing upright in the water. "That is what I like. I will swim there," he said. The bear disappeared. The man dived in but did not come up. He was found lying on the bank, blood flowing from his mouth. The bear had caught him and made him a shaman. So people try to get power there now.

778 K'tai'di, lava, is a cliff of that rock two miles below Chiloquin on
787 the left bank of Williamson river. Seekers slept on this.

Ska'mdi is an eddy in Williamson river above Chiloquin. This is a spirit place but it does not seem that they swim there.

Once I [Pat Kane] and my two brothers camped near there just before sunset. We were on our way to Klamath marsh to pick pond-lily seeds. My oldest brother started a fire while the younger fetched water. I went to tie the horses. When I returned, my brother who had been to the river said, "There are many beaver in there." We took our guns to the spot. Soon a beaver swam close to us, only a few yards away, but we could not hit it. Soon two more came swimming close by. We failed to kill these. Then five came and soon so many more that they completely filled the river. My brothers said, "We had better not stop here. Let us get away." We packed the horses and left at once. I saw the water shaking[180] and the sound of thunder. It took all night to get back. My oldest brother got sick; no shaman could cure him. He was sick all summer and in the winter he died. Neither my younger brother nor I were sick.

A man and boy were going to Klamath marsh afoot. The boy was six or seven. The man wanted to try swimming in Ska'mdi. He told the boy, "If those things bite and kill me, you go home." The man had lost his wife; the boy alone was left. "I do not want to stay here; I want to die," the man said. The boy cried to him not to swim there. He walked back from the river bank, ran and plunged in. Big animals reached up and bit him. They came up twice; then he appeared no more. The boy saw it and wept. He started home; it took all night for him to reach Bzūkse'was below Chiloquin. At this place the water boils and cannot move down the river. No one can swim there; something always bites and kills them.

SPIRITS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

776 There is hardly a mile of Klamath territory but has its mythical reference. Everywhere there are personages of the folk-tales, now transformed to rocks by Crow's laughter. Spirits are legion and in many cases are localized, so that one looking over the countryside finds it rich in religious connotation. But despite its comparative richness, Klamath religion is quite unsystematized. There are no deities and the spirits as such hardly figure in the tales. Most of the actors of the tales are not spirits and this is especially true of the principal ones. There is little suggestion of any fixed relation between such as do figure there. In other words, the Klamath lack all architectural feeling in conceiving their religious beings.

Spirits form a uniform class; no one of them can be said to be
774 especially more important than any other. Souls and ghosts are
775 separate entities, and again are sharply distinct from spirits. Spirits

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[180] It is conceivable that an earth tremor dislodged the beaver.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

775 763 Last month an old woman, who was very sick, was left alone. As she lay there she saw ghosts. They caught her; she died. When her children returned she was dead. Her daughter and grandson rubbed her chest to revive her. She was soon restored except that one ear, which the ghosts had touched, was "closed." Her daughter asked, "What is the matter?" She answered faintly, "The ghosts caught me." Today she can barely talk; her sight and hearing are gone.

775 787 A Klamath Falls man met a ghost on the trail. It was short and had long white nails on hands and feet. The ghost said, "Let us trade nails." The man said that he could not take his off. The ghost said, "I can pull them out," and exchanged nails with him. The man went home with the long nails and went to bed. When he woke, he looked at his hands and feet, but he had his own nails again.

The same man saw ghosts dancing at the cremation place on the hill east of Link river (Klamath falls). He watched them dance all night. They gave him a pipe to smoke. Then they threw firebrands at him and he ran away.

About ten years ago I [Pat Kane] had been swimming in the river. I was returning to my home with some horses when I heard crying. I saw an immense fire at the cremation place on lower Williamson river. Men, women, and children were wailing there. I held my hat over my face and did not listen. I did not tell my wife. For three or four days I was sick, so I went into the sweat-lodge. Later I went down there but found no signs of a recent fire.

516 The names of the dead are mentioned rather freely, but no one likes to name his own relatives or hear another do so. In fact, such a reference is insulting. But this is not due to any fear of the dead; it is rather a matter of taste.

775 The land of the dead, No'lîskän,[183] lies in the west, the sunset. Everyone goes there. It was created by the culture hero, Kᴇmū'kūmps, who made the humans that figure in the tales (called psaudi'was) and ordained that they should go to this land when they died. Nothing is said of the road thither but the characteristics of the land and its people are tolerably well conceptualized.

Everything in the land of the dead is inverted from this living world. The ghosts sleep by day and live at night. In the day there is nothing to be seen but their houses and skeletons. At sundown they are clothed with flesh again; they rise and build fires. They dance through the night to fall asleep when dawn breaks. They feed on swan's eggs and perhaps they do not eat them in the manner of humans, since a tale suggests that Kᴇmū'kūmps is fed in the manner of the ghosts; the eggs are thrown at him. Further, the eggs are unnatural in that they are hot.[184] So far as the Klamath are concerned, swan's eggs themselves are mythical, for while swans cross [825]

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[183] I suggest that the word means, literally, land of the departed; compare no'tsna, departed for ——; nutsnots, soul leaves; teō'kän, service berry land; 'stikän, country of the Shasta.

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[184] Perhaps the Klamath do not eat eggs at all. I neglected to inquire.

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787 Clairvoyance, at least the ability to see distant objects and events, lies within the power of any shaman. This is called dode'üks, to dream. My informant Nancy, who in her youth was on the way to becoming a shaman, had at least this power before she was deprived of her spirits (see above). The spirits talk to the clairvoyant; among her spirits was a bear.

Lost articles are found through the dog spirit. The people are lined up in two opposing rows—an excellent psychological expedient for discovering guilt—while the shaman passes along searching for the suspect. He sees the stolen object shine in the thief's upraised palm. This takes place in the open. My informant had seen this practiced once when some beads were stolen in a gambling group.

The shaman's prevision of what will happen in battle is decidedly more important. This ability is acquired through the eagle and weasel spirits, and perhaps others. During the war dance preparatory to setting out or at camp on the march, the shaman dances in front of the line of warriors, looking "through" them. He predicts who will be killed or wounded, and how the enemy will suffer. He sees them bleeding. One informant stated that those for whom disaster was predicted would not go to war, but others said this is not so and they are probably right. For example, while a mixed group of Klamath and Modoc were encamped on the way to Pit river, a Modoc shaman predicted, "If you are to be shot, then your bowstrings will snap," and the strings of two did snap.[173] Shamans accompany war parties, not only to fight, but to watch over them and cure the wounded.

CURING

755 Curing practice lacks the *mise en scène* of the winter performance held in the figure-decked shaman's lodge, for it always takes place in the patient's home. Nevertheless, it must be quite an impressive affair with its accumulating intensity as spirit after spirit is called to the assemblage, as one after the other they are charged with [753] responsibility for the illness. Sickness in the Klamath view is due to spirit activity, the presence in the patient of an intrusive object rather than possession, and a cure (hĕswŏ'mbli or tco'ta) is effected by removing and destroying it. There is no suggestion here of soul loss as a cause of illness.

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[173] Gatschet, 1:21.

"When the sun is environed by lamb-clouds, or a mottled sky, 821 this is figuratively expressed by: 'K'múkamtch [Kmū'kūmps] has taken the beaded garments of Aíshish [his son] and dressed himself in them' A peculiar red smoke or haze appearing in the northwestern or western sky, shnúish, announces his arrival; he is also recognizable by his bulky posteriors, or as the Modocs say of him: 'K'múkamtch múnish kutúlish gítko.' By this they evidently refer to the white and heavy mountain-shaped summer clouds."[215]

Frogs come out before the rain, hence this is a sign that a storm is due. When the storm rises, old people cry to it, "You go back to the mountains. We do not want you here." The only precaution against lightning is a burden basket or sieve hung on a high pole outside the house.[216]

When a man sneezes or his ears ring, someone is talking about 787 him, but not necessarily a woman, as elsewhere. If a door opens, someone is coming from a distance.[217]

To end the long winter months and hasten the coming of spring, 789 the ring and pin game is played. A proper catch "breaks the month." Or little spears of the hard interior of the tule are thrown into the ground. On the contrary, playing cat's cradles in winter makes the months longer. These beliefs are not seriously held; they are more of the nature of manners of speech.

Gambler's luck comes not only through spirit power but by the 777 possession of parts of dead moles, frogs, etc., or obsidian blades. These must have been found, and they are carried to the play, and are kept, like the gaming sticks, at crematories, or at least away from the house.

A series of beliefs surround birth and childhood. A storm always 844 blows at a woman's first parturition. The child will cry if the umbilical cord is not tied with the mother's hair. If an animal eats the afterbirth the woman will become barren. She may not eat meat or fish after the birth, must use a head-scratcher and wear a bark belt. [784] The baby is massaged so that it will grow well formed. A girl's cradle is wide so that she will grow broad. The navel cord is saved else the child will die. Sterility is cured by drinking a crushed shell.

A turtle head is hung about the neck to ward off rattlesnakes. It 789 was said that this is the general custom but turtles are found only in

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[215] Gatschet, 1:lxxiv.

[216] Also recorded by Barrett, Material Culture, 257.

[217] This is said to be a pre-white belief, but the only doors of those days were mats over the earth-lodge hatchways and the flaps of the mat-lodges.

THE SHAMANISTIC COMPLEX

However simple and consistent a picture the religious practices of 105
the Klamath may appear, there can be no doubt that they represent an amalgam of historically diverse elements. It is not necessary to indicate the exact sequence in which they were accreted in order to prove this. We can show that these elements have different distributions among neighboring tribes and that they enter into combinations different from that of the Klamath. The Klamath complex is best interpreted as a function of their geographic position, without ignoring the fact that the peculiar form in which the Klamath have these ideas is duplicated nowhere else.

The characteristics of Klamath religious practices and beliefs may 776
be briefly recapitulated. There are a host of weakly defined but sharply localized spirits from whom power is sought. These are chiefly birds and animals, some natural phenomena, and a few anthropomorphic supernaturals. The powers they bestow give success in all 787
things difficult. Power is deliberately sought, it rarely comes involuntarily, and always according to a rigid formula. It is sought by almost every Klamath, perhaps by all, and the majority seem successful in their quest. Shamans are then set off from the laity only in the [756]
possession of a greater number of powers. It is better to make the distinction by their acts: those who cure or practice weather control or clairvoyance, no matter how few their powers or the nature of their familiar spirits, are shamans. The quest is undertaken at any time of [881]
life, although usually at puberty. The most propitious times in later [765]
life are at periods of stress, as in distress or on the death of an immediate relative. The formula prescribes fasting for a number of nights on the mountains, continually running about and piling up rocks, combined with diving into lonely pools, or following the latter plan alone by diving beneath whirlpools in the river or lakes which spirits are known to haunt. The suppliant loses consciousness and wakes to find himself on the shore bleeding profusely from the mouth and nose. He does not ordinarily have a vision, but success is manifested in a song heard in a dream on a night soon following. The dream experience is essential. So closely is the spirit identified with the song, that but a single word indicates both. The song is the embodiment of the spirit, which hardly exists apart from it. The spirit is not the suppliant's guardian and later quests are not necessarily for renewed

787 experiences with it. Power may also come involuntarily, when a dreamer hears a spirit song. There is no obligation to accept, but resistance brings illness.

796 The midwinter month (December-January) has a curious place in the Klamath calendar. While a shaman must of necessity evoke his
756 spirit to cure or foretell at any time of the year, this is the period when every shaman feels called on to exhibit his powers. The novice shaman also waits for this time to give a public test of his possession, and only after this does he attempt to cure. These seances are solely for displaying power, manifested by the songs and a series of feats. During these performances, those among the audience who have spirits also sing their own songs if the spirit impels. In other words, the midwinter month is the period *par excellence* when spirits regularly resume contact with their communicants.

[535] The essential of the winter seance is a dance by the shaman as close as possible to a huge fire in order to call his spirits to assist him in
[372] the feats that follow. These are stereotyped tricks, of which two, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are the test of the novice. Other tricks are of the type of making things appear and disappear.

A few other details should be mentioned here. There is an assistant at this performance, a layman, who repeats the shaman's words. Food brought to the seance is thought first to be eaten by a frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one may touch it. The performance takes place in the shaman's own dwelling.

[789] Weather control, like the display of powers at the midwinter seances, offers an opportunity for shamanistic rivalry. Clairvoyance appears in connection with the war dance preparatory to an expedition, and, curiously, the shaman accompanies the party to continue his clairvoyant function, and, what is still more unique, to serve as surgeon.

753 Illness is the result of the intrusion of something foreign, usually a spirit and commonly the spirit of a malignant shaman. A cure con-
755 sists in extracting a tiny object which is either the disease itself or embodies it. The curing procedure is highly formalized: spirit after spirit is invoked to search the patient, beginning always with the Old Frog Woman, until the culpable spirit is found. The shaman's familiars are thought to stand beside him ready to assist. When he succeeds in sucking out the disease object he swallows it, while blood streams from his mouth.

*171 Very little of this is unique with the Klamath, as we may see by
756 comparison with the shamanistic complex of neighboring peoples.

What is unique, however, is the peculiar conjunction of the elements 171*
affected by them. Even the closely related Modoc differ, to judge by 756
what little we know of them.

By way of orientation it is desirable to survey the situation north
and south.[432] 171*

Among the Kwakiutl the guardian spirit is inextricably linked 756
with the hereditary caste system. Rights to a particular guardian are 776
fixed by inheritance, so that the spirits function essentially as badges
of clan rank and secret society affiliation. Hence they are few in 787 •
number. Apart from this, they have definite mythological character, unlike the bird and animal spirits and the few anthropomorphic supernaturals of the Klamath. Acquisition of a guardian is not the relatively random quest of the Klamath, but is definitely fixed with relation to the midwinter ceremonial. The novice, a lad, is sent at this period under the tutelage of an old woman in quest of the hereditary guardian. He returns to the village so strongly imbued with power as to be of danger to himself and others, hence the essential of the ensuing performance is to reduce his ecstasy to a normal state. A potlatch is offered on his behalf. Such individuals, men or women, may become shamans in this manner; only the dances they perform on their return apparently differ from the ancestral dance forms. In a Kwakiutl tale, a man wandering in the woods is initiated by the animals. On his return his overwhelming power is found dangerous and is dulled by contamination with menstruants.[433] During the midwinter sacred period, spirit repossession is general and at the ceremonies all are impelled to display their hereditary spirit songs and dances. The grouping at this time of those having the same spirits is of a piece with the grouping by clans during the remainder of the year. Both groupings rest essentially on names acquired in the one instance from spirits, in the other by clan inheritance, names throughout giving rank and privilege.[434]

The Kwakiutl form of quest, its relation to the midwinter ceremonies, and its social significance are peculiarities which do not prevail south of Vancouver island. Various elements of this complex, however, are found in the area to the south, such as the secret societies as far as the Quinault on the Washington coast, and the winter dance

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[432] See also the summaries of Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit, 10 f.

[433] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 732–740.

[434] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 393 f., 418 f., 501.

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period even to the Klamath. But this interrelation of spirit quest and secret society ritual, with the social grouping that rests on it, is lacking. The Kwakiutl must be looked on as a highly specialized form of the spirit quest-shamanistic complex, of which the more normal forms, in the sense that they are less differentiated and widely distributed, are found in western Washington and the interior.

As an example of the more common form, I will present that of the Thompson. The Thompson complex[438] is more nearly that of the Klamath but is even simpler. The vision quest, which takes place at puberty, is essentially the prerogative of boys; although girls may obtain some slight powers. Hence shamans are men and but few women. The vision is sought in the mountains where the boy remains praying, dancing, running about, and fasting. His training does not end with the vision, but continues after power has been acquired, the whole being directed toward magical training for adult life. In fact the powers bestowed by the spirits are specifically for particular professions and arts. The spirits are legion: natural phenomena, animals, birds, and a random collection of objects. The seeker sometimes receives power from the same spirit as his father and shamans sometimes directly inherit their powers. It does not appear that the shaman novice establishes himself by a performance of fixed kind, nor do the shamanistic seances, though they include feats like those of the Klamath, occur only in midwinter.

Shamanism in the area to the east of the Thompson must be of this type, and in the Basin southeast it is clearly so.

South of the Klamath the shamanistic complex takes quite another turn. In California power is not ordinarily sought, hence the blessing descends on the few, the shamans, and for the mass there is nothing. This is an about-face from the situation in Oregon and northward, or in the Plains. In other words, power is a thing that comes involuntarily. Further, the form of the complex has in the northern half of California two quite distinct phrasings.

In northwestern California the person destined to be a shaman is visited in a dream by a spirit or ancestor who inserts the power in his body. This power or "pain" is animate, has personality, and is conceptualized as a small spindle-shaped object. Such "pains" are disease objects, yet their possession by shamans gives the power to remove other malignant "pains" from a patient. Accordingly the shaman-to-be is made ill by the "pain" he has received, until he is

restored by an established shaman and learns to control the gift. 171* The dance in which this takes place is, as Kroeber remarks, essentially a 756 professional initiation.[486]

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[438] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 317 f.

For example, the Yurok novice dreams of a dead person putting a 787 • "pain" in her body. (In northwestern California, shamans are most 776 frequently women.) A dance is made for her, when under the direction of established shamans, she withdraws the "pain" and having thus shown control of it, swallows it again. After a brief dance in the mountains, this rite is repeated and followed by one around a hot fire to further gain control of her "pains."[487]

The northwest California complex has its ramifications as far north as the Wishram on the Columbia and southeastward to the Southern Maidu. The novice dance is found over this whole area, although in the north being rather a demonstration of power than an occasion for acquiring control of it. The concept of the "pains" as embodiments of power or agents of disease extends eastward across the state. Yet the general aspects of shamanism in northeastern California are appreciably like those of the Klamath and Thompson.

The second form of shamanistic complex is central Californian. Here individual shamanism is overshadowed by group activities of the Kuksu cult ceremonies which are shamanistic at bottom. Some distinction is made between the sucking shaman, who cures in the common manner, and the outfit shaman, whose ability is, rather, clairvoyant. This distinction is also made to the northwest but is by no means impressive. The outfit shaman is usually the heritor of the necessary paraphernalia from a parent or brother who instructs him in their use. His power clearly lies in the objects themselves. On the other hand, the sucking shaman obtains his by a visitation in a dream. Not only are central Californian shamans overshadowed by Kuksu impersonators, to whom has accrued all elaborate display, but the shamanistic complex proper is strongly infiltrated from the northwest.

There is in California at large some further specialization among shamans beyond those who cure. Weather-control shamans seem most clearly differentiated in south-central California, according to Kroeber. The Klamath fall in with the majority of peoples beyond this [789] focus in looking on weather control as only a somewhat specialized function of any shaman. Similarly with rattlesnake shamans, who are general in California save in the northwest. Bear shamans, found in all but peripheral California, are not known to the Klamath.

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[486] Handbook, 852.

[487] *Op. cit.*, 63.

*171 From this perspective the Klamath complex takes its place with
756 the relatively simple shamanism of the northwestern interior and the
Basin, overlaid with elements shared by tribes of the northwestern
coast and those of northern, or better, northwestern California.

Shamanism bulks large in the social scheme of the Klamath as it
does in the interior Plateau and the Basin, for the reason that competing
[881] rituals are lacking. Beyond the girls' rite, the war and scalp
dances, and for a brief time the Ghost dance, the Klamath have nothing
[535] but shamans' performances. The winter ritual of the Northwest
Coast extends only to central coastal Washington, the potlatch only
to the Columbia river. The wealth display dances of northwestern
[726] California do not penetrate even to the Shasta; those of the central
[786] Californian Kuksu cult not beyond the head of the Sacramento. Elements
of these ritual systems do indeed appear among the Klamath,
*171 but the dances as such are absent.

The Klamath hold the acquisition of supernatural power within
796 the reach of anyone. In this they accord with the generality of North
*171 Americans and differ emphatically from the Californians for whom
power descends only on the few. The Klamath form of quest fol-
● 787 lowed by a dream in which power comes links the common quest of
America with the dream experience of California. The Northwest
Coast, its interior, and the Basin are a unit with the Klamath in that
the quest is for power of a general sort, not for visions yielding specific
sanctions as in the Plains. The spirits whose benevolence is sought
are birds and animals as in the interior, the Plains and eastward, not
the mystic supernaturals of the Northwest Coast. The source of
power and disease among the northwest Californians, the "pain"
*171 objects, do not appear among them in any form. The Klamath concept
of disease is the very general North American one of intrusion;
753 the soul-loss concept of the Northwest Coast and tribes to the Columbia
is unknown here.

*171 The Klamath novitiate dance for shamans is shared by groups from
the Sacramento to the Columbia. It is the northern demonstration of
756 ability rather than the initiation and mastery of power of the northern
Californians. The repeated dance of the Yurok prevails through
Shasta and Modoc, but the single Klamath dance is of the interior
type.

*171 The Northwest Coast winter ritual makes its appearance here only
756 in its general aspects. Klamath shamanistic seances are held only in
midwinter and this is also the time for repossession by spirits among
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remarked their presence in the mythology of various Shoshonean groups (Western Mono, Northern Paiute of central Oregon, Northern Shoshoni, and Serrano), pointing out their absence in typical central Californian groups.[482] But they are not confined to Shoshoneans: the Yurok believe in dwarf-like spirits that haunt overgrown spots in the creeks, the Hupa speak of little beings resembling men in the water in remote places, and the foothill group of Northern Maidu of one-legged dwarfs found in or about water.[483] So far as these data go, the concept is largely north Californian and Basin in distribution.

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Klamath Dwarf-Old-Woman, who figures in one form as a rock on Mount Pitt, may be identifiable with Takelma Rock Old Woman, associated with a rock north of Rogue river.[484]

Inheritance of Spirit Power

On the Northwest Coast proper there is a tendency to fixed inheritance of experiences with ancestral guardians. Among the Tlingit, e.g., there is some tendency for men to be blessed by spirits according to their clan affiliations; the spirits descending from uncle to nephew. Among the Kwakiutl, inheritance is rigidly fixed, for a youth expects to find only those spirits that gave powers to his clan.[485]

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Something of this prevails southward but in dilute form. A Quinault seeks the spirit his ancestor acquired, and we are told that the guardians of the Chinook are hereditary, like the Kwakiutl. A Nootka may also inherit a spirit with whom an ancestor had an experience.[486] The southern Puget Sound Salish hold that human social organization is reflected among the spirits; that a powerful spirit would appear only to a man of high rank. While this does not define the system as one of strict inheritance, it must approximate this because both the number of persons of high rank and of powerful spirits is small.

Inheritance of a guardian and of the particular guardian thus prevails generally north of the Columbia river. Elsewhere inheritance is present but in less fixed form. There is for the Thompson seeker

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[482] Gifford, Western Mono Myths, 304; Marsden, 183; Lowie, Northern Shoshone, 234; Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 297.

[483] Kroeber, Handbook, 67; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 64; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 265.

[484] Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 45.

[485] Swanton, 465; Boas, Secret Societies and Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 393, 418.

[486] Boas, *op. cit.*, 393; Sapir, Vancouver Island Indians, 593.

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the possibility of being visited by the spirit his father had met. Inheritance is apparently common among the Nez Percé; at least shamans inherited their status and one could hardly become a shaman save through inheritance. As the number of spirits that give shamanistic powers is small, it seems probable that the particular spirit is frequently inherited, although it is not so stated. Comparable to this, anyone among the southern Puget Sound Salish might involuntarily receive a blessing from a spirit acquired earlier by an ancestor. For instance, if one's forebear had been a great shaman there was a predisposition to acquire a shamanistic spirit. Rather different from these cases is the case of the Klallam shaman who, dying, may will some of his spirits to a younger man, yet it reflects the tendency toward transmission in this area.[437]

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Inheritance occurs again in northern California, where children of shamans are rather automatically visited by their fathers' spirits. (It must be borne in mind that in this region acquisition of powers sets off shamans from the laity, who do not ordinarily acquire them.) It is intelligible why inheritance does not appear in northwestern California, where a shaman is made, not by the visitation of spirits, but by the insertion of "pains" by established members of the craft. The distribution of inheritance is in the interior: Klamath, Shasta, Chimariko, Pomo, Southwestern Wintun, Maidu, and Paviotso. Inheritance does not appear again, so far as present data show, in all of central and southern California until the Akwa'ala[438] are reached. Inheritance of position is by no means the only way one becomes a shaman even among these north Californian peoples, and the visitation by spirits of one's father is quite limited among them. In other words, there is here little of the rigidity of inheritance known in the northwestern sector.

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Shasta and Northeastern Maidu show the closest approximation to the northwest; if the parent is a shaman, the child becomes one, and the particular spirits are heriditary guardians of the family for generations. Among Northeastern Maidu the succession is inevitable, among Shasta there is some latitude. The Klamath situation resembles the Shasta: a shaman's child is the involuntary recipient of his father's spirits, which he may or may not accept. There is nothing to show that the same spirits continue with successive generations.[439]

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[437] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 56; Teit, The Thompson Indians, 320; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 297; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247, 256.

[438] Gifford-Lowie, Notes on the Akwa'ala, 345.

[439] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 274, 275; Shasta, 471, 477.

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The Sacramento Valley Maidu hold that inheritance is not neces- 171 *
sary, while the foothill group of the same people have a greater ten- 756
dency to inheritance. Among the Chimariko, shamans similarly may
or may not inherit their positions. The Paviotso shaman's powers are 787 •
sometimes inherited from father to son. In these cases heredity is
simply one way of achieving shaman's status.[440] NP

In this second group of cases it seems that susceptibility to experi- 787
ence with spirits is heritable, if not the inheritance of powers from 756
specific spirits, but in a third group the inheritance is that of position K
and paraphernalia alone. That is, the individual Pomo, or at least 171 *
the Northern and Eastern Pomo, and the Southeastern Wintun sha- 756
man instructs his son, brother, or some other relative and delivers 787
to him amulets and other objects necessary to him as successor. Among the Pomo this is the manner in which "outfit doctors," not "dreaming or sucking doctors," are made.[441] This affiliates with the general habit of instruction of shamans and secret society members in this quarter, where in general the hereditary element is absent.

It seems quite uncertain whether the northern Californian cases as a whole are linked historically with the northwest. Possibly they are, since the hereditary element is lacking in more southerly California. But as the data stand there is a hiatus of distribution in Oregon. On the other hand, there are few Oregonian data save for the nonhereditary Takelma. It seems significant, however, that the Wishram did not mention inheritance in this connection to either Dr. Sapir or myself.

The Power Quest

In a discussion of the vision in the Plains, Benedict points out that there is there a distinction between visions (quests in my terminology) from which sanctions are received, such as the success of a projected war party, and those by which a guardian is acquired. The former are of more frequent occurrence in the life of each individual.[442] Among the Klamath every quest that is successful brings power that abides, not a sanction for a particular project. Every quest corresponds to the specific guardian quest of the Plains, though a guardian in the sense of a familiar is not acquired. So far as

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[440] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 267, 269; Chimariko, 303; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 294.

[441] Freeland, Pomo Doctors, 50; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 320; Kroeber, Handbook, 261.

[442] The Vision in Plains Culture, 12 f.

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*171 guardians or familiars can be spoken of, they pertain to shamans 756 alone, since they alone conjure up their familiars to their aid. But theoretically, every Klamath who has had an experience could call on • 787 his spirit for aid.

The Klamath concept apparently holds for all tribes of the Pacific coast. There does not appear anywhere the Plains type of quest for particular sanctions. The spirits of the experiences are not guardians, they are not invoked for assistance (save by shamans), and they give continuing powers to perform the arts and professions or for success and wealth.

*171 Accordingly, shamans are differentiated as a class more by their acts and the posesssion of powers to perform the shamanistic arts, 756 than by the unique possession of helpers. This statement does not apply, however, to California, for there this is precisely the difference between shamans and laity.

787 The Klamath deliberately seek power by self-isolation and mortifying acts. Their attitude is that it is to be had by a voluntary quest, save in those rare instances which may be described as inheritance and in occasional involuntary dreams.

The terms quest, vision, and dream have commonly been used as though they were fully interchangeable. It is preferable to distinguish the voluntary quest and the involuntary acquisition of power; to confine the term vision to sensory experiences including seeing and hearing a spirit, and the dream to its everyday significance. These are, to be sure, by no means mutually exclusive.

*171 The quest and the involuntary dream as sources of power have 787 different distributions in western America. The quest is general over [114] eastern North America and in the Plains. But as Kroeber has pointed out for California and Benedict for the Southwest the deliberate quest is absent and its place is usually taken, so far as individual acquisition of power is concerned, by the dream.[443] I will attempt to define their respective areas of distribution somewhat more precisely.

From this point of view a distinction must be made between the eastern and western sections of the Southwestern area. Personal powers figure only in a minor way among the Pueblos, where priestly craft functions in place of shamanism. Yet at Laguna and Cochiti, at least, there is some occasional questing for powers in isolated spots.

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[443] Kroeber, Religion of Indians of California, 327 f.; Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit, 36 f.

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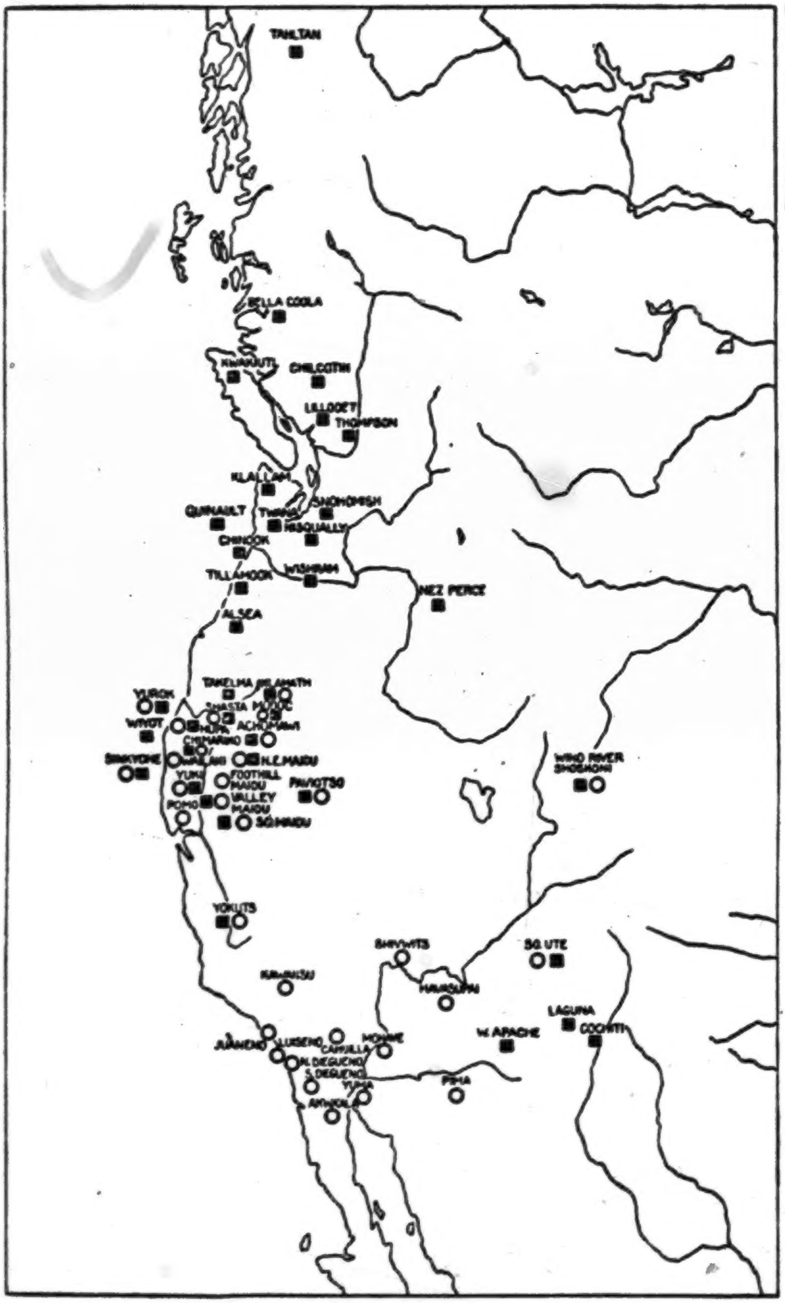
TAHLTAN
BELLA COOLA
KWAKIUTL
CHILCOTIN
LILLOOET
THOMPSON
KLALLAM
QUINAULT
TWANA
SNOHOMISH
NISQUALLY
CHINOOK
TILLAMOOK
WISHRAM
NEZ PERCE
ALSEA
TAKELMA
KLAMATH
YUROK
SHASTA
MODOC
WIYOT
HUPA
ACHOMAWI
CHIMARIKO
SINKYONE
WAILAKI
N.E. MAIDU
YUKI
FOOTHILL MAIDU
PAVIOTSO
POMO
VALLEY MAIDU
SO. MAIDU
WIND RIVER SHOSHONI
YOKUTS
SHIVWITS
SO. UTE
KAWAIISU
HAVASUPAI
LAGUNA
JUANEÑO
LUISEÑO
CAHUILLA
MOHAVE
W. APACHE
COCHITI
N. DIEGUEÑO
S. DIEGUEÑO
YUMA
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Fig. 22. Distribution of the quest and dream as sources of spirit power in western North America. Squares indicate the quest; circles, the dream.

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At the same time, among the western Apache, who have shamanism full-fledged, those who do not become shamans by the instruction of established practitioners, seek power in the same way.[444]

West of the Apache the dream is the source of power: this is known at least for Havasupai and Pima. Havasupai shamans alone have familiars, which they acquire involuntarily in dreams, and even when they inherit the power it seems necessary that they dream. Pima shamans become such generally by heredity, or by being bitten by a rattlesnake, but they may also have persistent dreams in which they acquire power. Russell makes it clear that this involves no deliberate quest.[445]

Dreaming appears with the same function among the Shivwits, hence may have been general among other Southern Paiute. Prior to the introduction of the Sun Dance among the Southern Ute about 1900, shamans got their powers in dreams without fasting; since then they deliberately seek power in the Sun Dance.[446]

Dreams are the source of supernatural sanctions on the lower Colorado and in southern California alike, despite the difference of setting in the two areas. Mohave, Yuma, Akwa'ala, and Desert Cahuilla shamans derive their powers by dreaming of the great mythological characters, sometimes under the stimulation of jimsonweed, but not as part of adolescence rites. The Cahuilla, indeed, hold the boys' rite but it is reasonably clear that jimsonweed drinking at this, or at other times, does not furnish the setting for acquisition of power. On the other hand the boys' rites provide the proper setting for a majority of southern Californian peoples: the narcotic of jimson weed causing sensory disturbances which are interpreted as dreams of spirit beings, prevailingly animal in character. This is known for both Southern and Northern Diegueño, Luiseño, Juaneño, Kawaiisu, and may be inferred for others. The Kawaiisu, unlike their neighbors, administer jimsonweed regularly to girls as well as boys and with the same end in view. Inasmuch as the candidates for these rites do not present themselves but are selected, we have here a common basis of involuntary dreaming for the region as a whole. This is not to deny that the phrasing of the experience itself is markedly

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[444] Benedict, *op. cit.*, 39; Goldfrank, Organization of Cochiti, 58; Bourke, Medicine Men, 453.

[445] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, 276 f.; Russell, 257.

[446] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 291.

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different among Mohave-Yuma, Akwa'ala-Cahuilla, and the westerly southern Californians.[447] K 171* 787 •

[756] The quest on the other hand is characteristic of the northwest. It is of course voluntary and the looked-for response probably always takes the form of a vision. The Klamath are a partial exception, which I will discuss later. The quest has been noted among all tribes for whom there is information: Klamath, Takelma, Alsea, Tillamook, Chinook, Wishram, Quinault, Twana, Nisqually, Snohomish, and Klallam. It is at the bottom of the initiation practices of the Kwakiutl and Bella Coola. In the interior, it is characteristic of Thompson, probably Lillooet, Nez Percé, Chilcotin, and Tahltan.[448]

As these data stand the areas of distribution are quite distinct. The voluntary quest is characteristic of the northwest and the Plateau, as well as the Plains; the dream, involuntary in its occurrence, of the western section of the Southwest, southern California, and the southern Basin. On the border common to the two areas they occur concurrently, namely in northern California, southern Oregon, and the northern Basin.

K 171* 787 756 In northern California the dream basis is clear for the Pomo and the Northern Maidu of the foothills, apart from Pomo shamans who are such by initiation alone.[449] There is a suggestion that the Wailaki are one with them.[450] All other groups have some kind of combination of dream and quest.

K 171* 787 Northeastern Maidu and Yokuts hold dream and quest equivalents; the Yokuts stressing the quest in contradistinction to the Maidu. Sinkyone, Yuki, and the Sacramento valley group of Northern Maidu differ from them only in that their alternative to the deliberate quest is an involuntary waking experience.[451]

NP 787 114 Of the Paviotso, Lowie remarks: "A shaman gets his song and regalia through a vision in a dream. Annie says in the Walker River District there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision."

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[447] Kroeber, Handbook, 604, 640, 775 f., 783, 793; Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave, 279; Gifford-Lowie, Akwa'ala, 344-5, 347, 348; Hooper, Cahuilla, 334-5, 340; Spier, Southern Diegueño, 312 f.; Waterman, Religious Practices, 296; Du Bois, Religion of Luiseño, 80.

[448] Farrand, Alsea, 245; Boas, Tillamook, 5, Third Report, 10, Chinook Texts, 214; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 674; Farrand, Chilcotin, 19; Emmons, Tahltan, 112.

[449] Freeland, Pomo Doctors, 58, 63, 64; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 269.

[450] "The Yuki state that the Wailaki shamans often dreamed of a spirit coyote" (Kroeber, Handbook, 154).

[451] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 267, 275, 278; Kroeber, Handbook, 149, 196-198, 514.

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This may mean only that the quest is undertaken and that the vision appears in a dream at that time, but I interpret it as meaning that both dreaming without a quest and the deliberate quest occurred among them. His description of the Wind River Shoshoni ideas, is, I think, more convincing as to the simultaneous existence of dreaming and the quest.[482]

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Shaman candidates among Yurok, Hupa, and Shasta experience in dreams, but for the laity there are opportunities to acquire power of the quest type. "There are, however, [among the Shasta] one or two very simple ceremonials, whose purpose is merely to acquire luck. For example, on very dark rainy or windy nights, men go out alone, and naked, and walk all night, praying for luck, singing, seeing strange things pass them, and having strange voices calling. Or on very cold nights in the middle of winter, a man will go out just before dawn, and after praying for luck, will plunge into the river, and swim." "The [Hupa] men used to swim a certain course in the icy water [of Trinity river] and then lie on the frozen shore as long as possible that they might win great good luck." "A Yurok man who wishes to be brave and fierce . . . . goes at night to a lonely mountain pond, swims, and is then swallowed or taken below the surface by a monster."[483]

The combination occurring among Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, and Chimariko is most interesting. The regular Klamath formula is that the seeker may have his quest rewarded by a vision, but the power is not obtained at this time. It comes some nights later, when in a dream he hears the spirit's song. I am impressed by the fact that the quest experience and the dream are separated. Indeed the seeker may not have a vision at all. Further, dreams of the same sort, conveying power, come to one unsought. The Klamath notions seem to me most intelligible when considered as the amalgamation of the two kinds of experience. Those of the Northeastern Maidu are explicitly the same: a man on his lonely quest experiences the presence of spirits and on his return they appear to him in dreams. The Achomawi-Atsugewi case seems to be the same: "While he is bathing during the night, he may find something in the water, or may dream of it later when he takes a little sleep." Again the Chimariko seeker is visited in a series of dreams, which were "often the result of solitary visits to remote mountain lakes." Modoc

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[482] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 294-296.

[483] Dixon, Shasta, 489; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 88; Kroeber, Handbook, 40, 68.

ideas are appreciably close to those of the Shasta in that the novice 171 *
has an involuntary seizure, apparently while at home, but following 787 •
his inaugural dance, he goes to the mountains in quest of power.[484] 756

Corresponding to the absence of sharp distinctions between shaman and layman in the northwest, the quest is open to everyone throughout that area. Yet there are some differences with respect to sex. This is measurable in part by the relative number of men and women shamans.

Men are more frequently successful in acquiring power than 171 *
women and are accordingly more often shamans among the Thompson, 787
Klallam, Quinault, Snohomish, Nisqually, Wishram, and Klamath.
The evidence is quite definite on this point. Among the Tillamook 756
and Nez Percé both sexes obtained powers: it is conceivable that men
predominated. 562

The statement that Takelma shamans are equally men and women is perhaps significant in view of the situation to the south. Shasta, Yurok, and Wiyot shamans are chiefly women, with but few men. Goddard merely mentions both men and women shamans among the Hupa, and Dixon among the Chimariko, but Kroeber implies that they were normally women.[485]

Elsewhere in California it seems that men predominated as shamans; specifically Achomawi, Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu and those of the foothills region, Yuki, and Salinan. In southern California, where the equivalent of the shaman is one who has had visions induced by jimsonweed, this situation holds even more stringently because the narcotic is rarely administered to girls. Yet in northeastern California the northwestern emphasis on feminine shamanism is reflected. Dixon observes of the Northeastern Maidu: "There were women shamans as well as men; the former being, however, more numerous in Big Meadows, where the Maidu come nearest in contact with the Achomawi, among whom women shamans were very numerous."[486] Angulo[487] states that their number was about equal among the Achomawi, which is not a contradiction of Dixon. This implies that the Achomawi-Atsugewi and Big Meadows Maidu were both influenced by Shasta custom. Elsewhere here (Yuki and Foothill Maidu) women were rarely shamans.

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[484] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 279; Notes on Achomawi and Atsugewi, 216; Chimariko, 303; Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 129-136.

[485] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 66; Dixon, Chimariko, 303; Kroeber, Handbook, 111, 137.

[486] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 274.

[487] Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 564.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

The Period of the Quest

*171 The Klamath deliberately seek power both in adolescence and in later life. In the discussion of the Plains vision referred to above, Benedict points out that it is there an affair of maturity and not of adolescence.[444] Everywhere in this area, on the other hand, the quest may take place in adolescence, at a time sometimes varying widely from actual puberty, and in the majority of tribes at any time in later life as well. This is consonant with the difference in the result accruing from the experience. This is as much characteristic of Klallam, Snohomish, Nisqually, and Modoc, for example, as it is of the Klamath. The absence of suitable specific data makes it difficult to judge how far this is true of others.

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At least among the Wishram and Achomawi-Atsugewi there is a difference; power is sought in youth alone and should the seeker fail then, he has no opportunity in later life. Descriptively the Kwakiutl align with the Wishram, for the novices who acquire spirits at the winter ceremonial of the secret societies are adolescents. Powers are also acquired later but the few references indicate that this is not common. The situation is different, however, for the Kwakiutl does not freely seek the spirit, but automatically acquires it at a time fixed by the round of a predetermined social system. There is a suggestion that the Thompson, Lillooet (who are described as identical with the former), and Nez Percé have their experiences only at adolescence. The Tillamook evidence is equivocal: from the very brief account we learn only that a boy of twenty is sent out.

The situation is different in northern California because of the dream source of power in place of the quest. Nevertheless, this might have been restricted to adolescence, but that seems not to be the case. On the whole, data fail for the region, but our accounts read as though the shaman novices were always adult. To take the Shasta as an instance: it seems unlikely that the novices' experiences would occur to adolescent girls. Such at least is the impression, but we cannot be sure. The quest, open to the laity among Shasta, Yurok, and Hupa, is not restricted to any period in life.

[756] In southern California, where a shaman's career is initiated in the jimsonweed rites, this is an affair of adolescence.

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[444] The Vision in Plains Culture, 2.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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The Conduct of the Quest

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Basically the manner of seeking power is the same throughout this area. This is necessarily so because it means simply fasting and praying in lonely spots in the mountains, beside pools, etc. There are more specific details having definite distributions.

For example, the Klamath youth isolated on his quest runs constantly about piling up rocks: so does the Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Wishram, and Nez Percé. This is a wholly arbitrary and pointless procedure, unless it be thought that any arduous task will heighten the seeker's immolation and thus hasten the benefaction. The Thompson have rationalized this type of activity (it does not include piling rocks specifically) as training for later life. The same point of view appears more widely in the comparable puberty rites for girls. Possibly related to these rock piles is the seat or little monument to which the Yurok retires to acquire luck in gambling or power to bewitch.[489]

More significant than this, the Klamath dives into the water, where he is drawn below by a spirit. He loses consciousness to wake on the shore with blood streaming from nose and mouth. Diving for a spirit is a practice widespread north and south. The Wishram sometimes dives to reach certain under-water caves where spirits dwell. A Kwakiutl shaman's song tells of being carried under the sea where he received power. In several Chinook tales the hero swims, is carried under by a supernatural to its house, and wakes on the shore. Precisely the same formula is recorded in an experience of a Klallam; here too, blood flowed from the man's mouth. The Snohomish and Nisqually youth regularly dives into whirlpools, carrying in his hands a rock on which he spat, to weigh himself down, and wakes on the shore. I recorded exactly this curious procedure in a tale of the Kalispel. Boas obtained a legend of the mainland Cowichan which suggests the same form: an orphan went swimming and diving every day in order to get strong. "One day he made a fire near a lake and accidentally spat into the water." He lost consciousness, visited the supernaturals below, and obtained power.[490] While I think

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[489] Dixon, Some Shamans, 24; Sapir, Wishram Texts, 187; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247; Kroeber, Handbook, 63, 64.

[490] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1294, Chinook Texts, 220, 230; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 294, 302; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 57–8; Boas, Lower Fraser River, 2.

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that it is hazardous to use incidents incorporated in tales as evidence of customs, it is at least suggestive in the absence of other information.

Southward of the Klamath the same practice of diving in mountain lakes, finding "something" in the water, and recovering on the shore is recorded for Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northeastern Maidu. The case of the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento valley differs only slightly in phrasing: the seeker is rescued by his friends. Again, the Yurok swims and is taken below by a monster.[461]

In view of this distribution it seems to me significant that the Shasta and Hupa seeker is described as swimming for luck; the Hupa man, at least, then lying as long as possible on the frozen shore. The Chimariko is briefly described as bathing at dusk in remote mountain lakes, and of the Wiyot we learn only that some people were pitied by powerful lake spirits.

The significance of all these cases lies in the recognition of a class of under-water spirits from whom power is to be had, and further that it is attained by diving to reach them. If we assume that Southern Maidu and Miwok shared the belief in under-water spirits (and our scant data do not deny it), the Yokuts case becomes intelligible as a southern outpost of the belief. These people sometimes derive their powers from animals or monsters inhabiting the water, and Kroeber, in fact, recorded the experience of one Yokuts who dreamed he was taken below the water by spirits.[462]

Not the least curious part of some of these experiences is the notion that the effect is so great as to cause hemorrhages at mouth and nose. This was referred to above among Klallam and Klamath as a result of diving. It is also the regular effect of other types of experience among the Klamath. The identical notion has been noted for a variety of other tribes of this area: Quinault, Modoc, Shasta, Sacramento Valley Maidu, Sinkyone, and Yuki.[463]

The Klamath are not at all reticent among themselves as to the nature of the experiences they have. Thus, one who has had a successful quest at once may sing what he hears in his dreams. On the other hand, a Wishram carefully guards his experience, betraying it only by songs at the spirit dances and by his personal taboos and

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[461] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 216, Northern Maidu, 267, 278; Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 157–158; Kroeber, Handbook, 40, 68.

[462] Dixon, Shasta, 489, Chimariko, 303; Goddard, Life and Culture of Hupa, 88; Kroeber, Handbook, 117, 514.

[463] Olson, Quinault field notes; Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 129; Dixon, Shasta, 473, Northern Maidu, 267–268; Kroeber, Handbook, 149, 197.

behavior, and finally revealing it only at the point of death. These 171 *
contrasting attitudes have different distributions. A number of Washington tribes align with the Wishram: the Puget Sound Salish does not reveal his experience until late in life, the Klallam and Nez Percé waits until the spirit dances are held, and there is a suggestion that the Chinook also maintains silence. Similar reticence crops up again in northeastern California: the Achomawi-Atsugewi never tells, the Sacramento Valley Maidu only as an old man.[484] Considering their geographic situation we might have expected similar reticence of the Klamath, but on the contrary they share the freedom of speech of the generality of Californians. 787 ●

The Novice's Performance

It is obvious that there must always be an initial performance by a shaman to demonstrate his ability, such as a first cure. It does not follow, however, that this need be a performance of a special type, as it is among the Klamath. 756

The Klamath novice waits for winter to prove his power and only after this does he attempt to cure. The dance he then performs is much like those he will use in subsequent demonstrations of his power, but includes the demonstration of two feats; eating fire, and swallowing and disgorging arrowheads. He sings his spirit songs as he dances close to a huge fire, while an assistant calls on his spirits to help him perform the feats. It will be observed that this has nothing to do with curing.

An initiatory performance is by no means confined to the Klamath. 171 *
Kroeber has previously pointed out that this is characteristic of northern California, centering in the northwest.[485] It has also a northward extension beyond the border of that state through western Oregon. Records are available for Wishram, Tillamook, Klamath, Modoc, Shasta, Tolowa, Yurok, Hupa, Chimariko, Sinkyone, Yuki, Northern Pomo, the northerly Wintun, the Sacramento valley branch of the Northern Maidu, the Northeastern Maidu, and the Southern Maidu. There is no reason for supposing that it was wholly lacking among other western Oregon and northwest Californian groups, for most of whom there is meager information. It is apparently absent among 756

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[484] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 66; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 290; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247 f.; Boas, Chinook Texts, 215; Dixon, Some Shamans, 24, Northern Maidu, 267.

[485] Handbook, 852.

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The Winter Performance

756 • 787 796 Shamanistic performances among the Klamath could take place only in midwinter (December–January). Every shaman made a point of exhibiting his power at this time, several of them sometimes joining for a performance. Midwinter was the most propitious moment to recall the spirits. In fact, it was at this time that laymen of the audience, who had some spirit power, would feel impelled by their own spirits to sing their songs.

*171 756 787 796 This is the essential element of the Kwakiutl secret society performances in midwinter. The society members are those who are repossessed by their spirits and the novices those who are newly possessed at this time. This is probably general among all adjacent groups having secret societies. Boas remarks that "among all the northwest coast tribes these ritualistic performances are confined to the winter months, and the season is set off from the rest of the year as the sacred season.[476]

Southward of here there are secret societies but they are not specifically connected with spirit repossession; such as those of the Quileute, whose performances take place in the winter months. The possession is general among all individuals. Again, among the Klallam the guardian spirits come to their owners once a year, generally in December or January. The person becomes "ill," calls on his friends to help him sing, and "when the guardian spirit is satisfied, it leaves the owner, who then becomes well again." Identically the same is recorded for the southern Puget Sound groups (Snohomish, Snoqualmi, Nisqually, etc.) as occurring from the middle of November to the beginning of January.[477] Both among the Klallam and on the Sound these dances take place at the winter potlatch, but they also occur at other potlatches through the year, merely as dance performances and without repossession. This renders Olson's observations on the Quinault intelligible: their potlatches are usually given about Christmas or New Year, and at these people sing their spirit songs. This suggests that here too repossession takes place at this time. On the other hand, his notes state specifically that spirit power is not stronger at this time. The spirit dances of the Wishram are very

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[476] Tribes of the North Pacific Coast, 244.

[477] Frachtenberg, Ceremonial Societies of Quileute, 322; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 290, 306; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 56, 59, 73.

similar to the Klallam-Sound Salish affairs. These likewise are held 171*
only or primarily in midwinter, that is, from December to March.
Potlatching on this occasion is represented by some trifling gifts made 756
by the singers. It is not clear that the man who rises to sing his spirit 787
song at this time is repossessed, but it is suggested by a statement I
recorded that when the auditors heard their songs sung, they "became 796
like fire inside, wild," offering bits of flesh to be cut off. The guardian
spirit dance of the Nez Percé closely parallels this performance. This
appears again among the Lillooet, and it may be that Teit's reference
to the "manitou dance" of the middle Columbia Salish refers to a
similar affair. (These people formerly occupied the territory between
the Wishram and Nez Percé.)[478] A Wasco analogue may be reflected
in a tale describing just such a singing and dancing festival among
the animals; each of the five nights they dance closer to the flames.[479]
This is similar to the Klamath practice of dancing as close as possible [535]
to the fire, which I know is also the custom among Puget Sound
groups, hence may have been universal in these performances.

There is a suggestive connection with these northern ideas in the Alsea custom of telling traditions in one month alone, January, and never again during the year.[480]

It is significant that the novice among Klamath and Shasta waits until winter for his inaugural dance. Among the latter this is the period in which the candidate is most likely to be possessed: "doctors generally begin their dreams and dancing early in the winter, as it is then that the Axeki [spirits] are always about the camp."[481]

If then the Klamath winter performance is construed as related to northern rites, by reason of its time, and the repossession of both shaman and layman, it is unique in one respect. I have been unable to find that elsewhere there are such regularly recurring opportunities for shamanistic display. To be sure, these occur elsewhere and quite widely, but not as regimented performances fixed as to time.

The Shaman's Assistant

The Klamath shaman regularly employs an assistant who serves as 756
interpreter of his rushing mumbled speech. Similarly, at both winter 796
performances and while curing, a second individual is selected to call
the spirits and prompt them to act. 755

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[478] Spinden, Nez Percé, 262–264; Teit, Lillooet, 286, The Middle Columbia Salish, 98, 128.

[479] Sapir, Wishram Texts, 311–312, cf. 95–99, 129–131.

[480] Farrand, Alsea, 245.

[481] Dixon, Some Shamans, 24.

Maidu of the Sacramento valley may kill merely by letting his shadow 171*
fall on his victim. A Klamath cannot pass in front of a shaman nor 756
drop something in front of him, else the shaman suffers a hemorrhage. Similarly a Kwakiutl apparently does not pass behind an eating shaman, else he too has a hemorrhage. The Wishram shaman, angry with one who endangers him by passing behind or startling him, may bewitch in revenge. A Cowichan of the mainland group will not let his shadow fall on a sick shaman, for the latter may seize the chance to replace his own lost soul. Similarly the Lillooet avoid letting their shadows fall on a shaman or standing in his, for fear of consequences. The Thompson, too, will not let his shadow fall on a shaman (the reverse is not harmful), and dares not startle him nor eat meat without inviting him to share it.[498]

Clairvoyance

Prediction is a widespread, if not universal, ability of shamans. 171*
A somewhat unique form among the Klamath is that at the dance pre- 756
ceding the departure of a war party. The shaman dances in front of
the warriors in order to discover those who will be wounded: he sees 787
them bleeding. He also accompanies the party to watch over them 726
and cure wounds. Something of the same sort is noted for the Modoc. [535]
This also seems to take place among the Chinook: "before the people
go to war they sing. If one of them sees blood, he will be killed in [755]
battle." Perhaps this is general in the northwest; at any rate Goddard observes of the Northwest Coast at large: "Every war party includes a shaman who by his supernatural knowledge warns of danger and points out favorable times and places for attacks. The shaman, by catching or destroying the souls of the enemy, makes the killing of their bodies an easy matter."[499]

As I have pointed out it is unusual that the Klamath shaman treats 171*
wounds and fractures by matter-of-fact methods. But this has also 755
been noted of the Achomawi. Angulo thinks this true only since the advent of the whites, but it is surely an old practice of the Klamath.[500]

The practice of freeing a locality or village of disease, dispatched there by a malevolent shaman, is probably more common than I have

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[498] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 269; Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 730; Lower Fraser River, 9; Teit, Lillooet, 288; Thompson Indians, 361.

[499] Gatschet, 1:21; Boas, Chinook Texts, 270; Goddard, Indians of the Northwest Coast, 119.

[500] Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 571.

*171 756 ing out only by their greater capacities. The voluntary quest in an isolated place and the formulation of spirits as birds, animals, and other things in nature are equally general North American.

There is, however, a local phrasing of shamanism in the interior, centering in southeastern Oregon and northeastern California, that is, from Klamath to Maidu. In part this is due to the presence of elements shared equally with the whole of northern California; in part to specific influences from two directions, northwestern California and the Northwest Coast. These have been caught up into complexes characteristic of this territory. Certain features are, further, peculiar to this locality alone.

*171 756 • 787 California and the western segment of the Southwest are characterized by the few individuals on whom supernatural grace descends and the dream as the means of its reception. Elsewhere east and north the voluntary quest is open to everyone and the vision its culmination. Northern California combines these variously; the Klamath by making the quest, permitting anyone to do so, and holding the quest a prelude to the dream.

Spirits are the source of power in northeastern California, as they are northward and eastward. The curious northwest Californian concept of "pains," alike sources of power and pathogenic in their action, infiltrates the beliefs of the northeastern quarter of the state but does not penetrate to the Klamath. Nor do the mythic supernaturals of the northwest coastal strip known as far south as the Columbia river make their appearance here. But the conceptualization of the shaman's spirits as dwarfs, localized in northern California, does appear among the Klamath.

There is also in the interior some inheritance of a predilection to acquire spirits: in this the Klamath share. But there is nothing of that rigid inheritance of particular spirits which focuses on the Northwest Coast, nor the inheritance of paraphernalia known to central California.

*171 787 The manner of conducting the quest has two local peculiarities. The curious practice of piling rocks in the mountains is known north and south of the Klamath from Nez Percé to Atsugewi. Diving for a spirit, swooning, and awakening with a hemorrhage has a far more widely extended range. In one form or another, it is found from the Kwakiutl through northern California. The emphasis on it links the Klamath definitely with the northern members of this group.

The time of life at which supernatural power may be gained is not 171*
limited among most western tribes. Those of eastern Washington 787 •
and the interior of British Columbia, however, tend to restrict the quest to adolescence, and with them seem to link the secret society initiations of the Northwest Coast. One gains the impression that in northwestern California, where the acquisition is involuntary, it descends only on adults. The Klamath, like others of northeastern California, follow the more widespread habit of seeking power at any time.

Feminine shamanism is characteristic of northwestern California. 171*
While this appears in the relatively large number of women practitioners as far east as Shasta and Achomawi, the Klamath are unaffected 756
by this influence. [562]

Specialization among shamans is not marked over most of western America. Such distinctions as are made between those who cure and mere clairvoyants, or the really powerful shaman and one with limited abilities, are very variable and never particularly impressive. Such distinctions do not appear among the Klamath at all. Neither do the common Californian specialists, the rattlesnake, bear, and weather shamans. Weather control is exercised by any Klamath shaman who has the requisite spirits.

Northern California and Oregon share an initial dance for the 171*
novice: a performance of initiation and mastery in the south, a demonstration of ability in Oregon. The Klamath affiliate with the latter. 756
Its local form on the Klamath river below the Klamath (Yurok, 535
Shasta, and Modoc), a dance made immediately on the acquisition of power with a second somewhat later, has no counterpart among the Klamath. The general form of the Klamath novice dance is identical with all their shamanistic seances. In one particular they affiliate with the down-river tribes, namely in dancing over a hot fire, but even this is known on the southern fringe of the Northwest Coast proper, if not elsewhere.

Northwest Coast influences appear at two points: the time of 171*
shamanistic seances and the woodcarvings representing spirits. Klamath seances are restricted to midwinter, the novice dance among 756
them. This is regularly the period at which all who have spirits are 796
repossessed and impelled to dance, shamans among them. The regimentation of the repossessed in the midwinter sacred period of the Northwest Coast is lacking, but a diminution of the idea and its forms is clearly traceable from that focus to Shasta and Klamath. Wooden 000

*171 567 southward of the Klamath there was no slavery; this is certain for Northern and Southern Maidu,[561] and very probably Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northern Paiute. This seems generally true of California with the exception of the northwest (Yurok and probably their neighbors), where there was debt slavery, but where slaves were not measurable articles of wealth.

Summary

101 105 174 The general position of the Klamath in relation to surrounding tribes was in earlier days the simple social structure of the Basin peoples. Since the opening of the last century they have borrowed from the Columbia tribes some sense of social stratification based on wealth, slave-holding, and trading, enhanced importance for their chiefs coincident with a change in the basis of selection from war to wealth, and quite recently judicial functions for the chiefs. There was thus a shift in social dominance from shaman to chief.

GIRLS' PUBERTY RITES AND WOMEN'S OBSERVANCES

*171 562 881 ● 787 It is characteristic of western America that adolescence ceremonies were held for girls rather than boys. This is not to ignore the wide extension of the guardian spirit quest, more regularly performed by boys than girls, nor the boys' initiation ceremonies of southern California and the Southwest, but the boys' activities were less commonly ritualized save in the southwestern sector. The boys' quest among the Klamath has been discussed in connection with shamanism.

*171 841 The girls' rites in the west can best be understood with reference to a background of women's observances throughout the continent. Certain features of women's behavior had a well-nigh universal distribution. The general conception was that woman during her periodical illnesses was a source of contamination to others or a peril to herself. A series of restrictions ensued; she was secluded or her movements restricted during the period. For her own well-being she must fast or at least refrain from fresh meat or fish, but the latter proscription was also rationalized as avoiding damage to the food supply, especially fishing. She must not touch hands to face or hair, using instead a scratching stick, must not wash nor arrange her hair, and must dispose of her garments before resuming her normal life.

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[560] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, esp. 128.

[561] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 206; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 44.

*171 533 sang about foodstuffs gathered by women, the Yuki about acorns, also a woman's food product. The Klamath sang about men and women; similar love songs have been noted for the Klallam and those of the Nootka were satirically sexual. This temptation to invoke the sexual implication of the occasion took another expression; a period of license during the dance among the Northeastern Maidu and the Yuki. It is highly probable that this attitude was widespread.

*171 787 How generally this crisis was made the occasion for a vision quest by the girl is not clear. This may have been a trait of Oregon and Washington alone. To be sure, the guardian spirit concept was but little developed in California, at least among more typical tribes. The girl was sent out at night by Nisqually, Tillamook, Coos, and perhaps the Klamath, to seek a spirit in the manner stereotyped for boys, wandering on the mountains and bathing in lonely pools.

*171 881 The whole performance was repeated at the following monthly periods in this area. The number of subsequent performances brought the total to five among the Klamath, conformable with their pattern number, to three among Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Karok, to two among Chinook, Northeastern Maidu, and Sinkyone, while it was repeated at monthly intervals throughout the winter among the Huchnom. While the number of performances was variable, the habit of their repetition was confined to a fairly consolidated area. The Mohave custom of imposing restrictions at successive periods for a reduced number of days at each period is not directly comparable. It is rather analogous to the continued restriction of a month's duration at first menstruation imposed by Shivwits, Luiseño, and Coast Central Pomo. There is no indication of such continuous restrictions in the Oregon-north Californian area, but this was characteristic again of the Northwest Coast tribes who imposed them for a period upward to a year (a year, Ten'a, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola; six months to a year, Tahltan; four to ten months, Nootka; six to eight months, Nisqually; five months, Quinault; fifty or one hundred days, Chinook).

*171 841 [756] The place of the Klamath in all this is fairly clear. They have very little concern with women's periodicity and its possible social or ceremonial significance. Women are not excluded from home at their periods save in the case of those living with shamans. The rigorous segregation that occurs on all sides of them, throughout the Pacific coast, the Plateau, and Basin, made practically no impression on the Klamath. It is surely not accidental that it is the near-by Wishram who also care nothing for such restriction. Such restrictions as do

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
534 2087. Feathers on stick handle	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2088. Number of cocoons	-	-	-	-	*3	*5	6	-	-	*4	*5	5	*4	5	*3	*5
[755] 2089. Used by shaman in curing	*-	-	-	-	*+	*+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2090. Used by Big Head singers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	+	-	-	-	-
2091. Used for any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
[787] 2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	-	-	-	*+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2094. Split-stick clapper	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2095. Single split	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2096. Multiple splits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2097. Painted	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	*R	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
[881] 2098. Burned decoration	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
[535] 2099. For girl's puberty dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[720] 2100. For war dance	-	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2101. For Ghost dance	.	-	R	-		R		*R	R	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
[796] 2102. For any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	+	R	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
2103. Snake rattles on stick	-	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	*+	*+	*-	*+	-	-	-	-
2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2106. On cord or thong, no handle	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2107. Worn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[881] 2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	*7	15	20	20	20	-	25	8	20	1	2	4	-	-
2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[524] 2111. Basket rattle	-	*+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2112. Child's toy	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	-	-

Rasp

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2114. Notched-wood rasp	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2115. Basket scraped	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

Bull-roarer, Musical Bow

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2116. Bull-roarer	*R	-	-	-	(R)	-	+	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
2117. Wood	R	-	-	-	(R)	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
[789] 2118. Bone or horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[753] 2119. Produces storm or wind	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2120. Produces sickness	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[756] 2121. Only shamans use	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562] 2122. Only boys, men use	-	-	-	-	R			+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2123. For amusement, boys	R	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2124. Musical bow	(R)	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Hunting bow	(R)	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Separate instrument	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2127. Played with finger	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2128. Played with stick	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562] 2129. Boys only						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Whistles and Flutes

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2130. Whistle	-	*+	+	*+	+	+	+	R	R	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2131. Single hole	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-			-	-	-	+	-	-
2133. Bone	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	*+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2134. Bird or rodent	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	*+	+	-	+	-	-	+
2135. Large mammal	-	.	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
2136. Elder	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	*R	-	-	-	+	+	-
2137. Cane	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
Participants															
Groups Involved															
2790. Autonomous group alone	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	721
2791. Autonomous group plus allies	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	–	.	726
Combatants															
2792. All able-bodied men of group	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	726
2793. Sometimes only limited number	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
2794. Some men stay to protect women	(+)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	701
2795. Neighboring groups, tribes asked to give aid	•+	–	+	.	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2796. Warriors or neighboring tribes "hired" for war	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Leaders															
o2797. Chief or headman may lead war party	±	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	±	•–	•+	+	+	+	
o2798. Chief goes to war, neutral in battle	–	+	–	–	•+	–	±	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
o2799. Chief stays home	±	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	±	+	+	–	–	–	
o2800. War leader distinct official, not chief	±	±	+	+	+	–	+	–	±	–	+	–	–	–	
2801. Selected by chief	–	+	.	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	
2802. Chosen at popular assembly	+	+	.	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2803. Chosen on basis of competency	•+	+	.	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	
2804. Holds office until physically disabled	–	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	
2805. Appointed for 1 expedition, usually	–	–	.		+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2806. Shaman goes to war	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	+	–	[756]
2807. Occasionally only	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
Preparation															
Prognostication															
2808. Prediction of deaths in war	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	726
2809. By war leader, through dreams	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	
2810. By shaman	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	–	–	.	–	–	[787]
2811. Dreams	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[756]
2812. Shaman tests contestants	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2813. If man falls during war dance, sign of death	–	–	+							+	+	.	–	–	
Shamanistic Activities Against Enemy															
2814. Shaman sings all night against enemy, prior to encounter	–	+	+	–	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	[756]
2815. "Charms" enemy	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	
2816. "Poisons" enemy	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2817. Formulas against enemy	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2818. Shaman sings during fighting					•			–	–	.	+	+	+	–	
2819. Shaman sometimes hired to kill enemy; no expedition	+	+	+	+		+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
Practice Fighting															
2820. Combatants practice dodging arrows	+	(+)	.					•+	+	+	+	–	+	–	
2821. Night before fight	+	(+)	.					+	+	+	+	–	–		
2822. In daytime	–	–						–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
War Dance															
2823. War dance of incitement	•–	•+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	[535]

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS	
2872. Body left unburied, unburned	−	·	−	−				+	+	−	−	−	−	−	727
2873. Women captives enslaved	•+	•(+)	+	•+	−	•−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2874. Violated	+	(+)	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[562]
c2875. Married	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	±	−	−	−	−	
2876. Child captives killed	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	[858]
2877. Kept for month or so	−	−	−	−				+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2878. Abused	−	−	−	−				+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2879. Body left unburied, unburned	−	−	−	−				+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
2880. Child captives enslaved	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2881. Adopted	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	[597]

Booty and Scalps

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS
2882. Booty taken	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−
2883. Bows of slain kept	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	(+)	•+	−
2884. Scalps taken	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	•+	•−
2885. Scalp dried on frame	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	•+	−
2886. Special custodian for scalp	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2887. Scalp kept permanently	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2888. Scalp thrown away	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	(+)	−	−	−
2889. Scalp burnt	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	(+)	+	(+)	−	+	−
2890. Whole head taken	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2891. Fingers taken	+	−	+	−							−	−	−	−
2892. Heart cut out, taken	+	−	+	−					+	·	−	−	−	−

Behavior of Noncombatants

Women's Dance

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS	
2893. Women dance while warriors away	−	+	+		•+	+	+	−	−	+	+	·	−	−	722
2894. Each day or night	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	−	+	·	−	−	
2895. Sing, pray to help men at war	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	·	−	−	535
2896. Each woman dances separately	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	+	·	−	−	562
2897. Round dance	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	·	−	·	−	−	
2898. Dance abreast	−	+	+		−		+	−	−	·	−	·	−	−	
2899. Outside	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	·	−	−	
2900. Woman singer	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	·	−	−	
2901. Male singer	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	·	−	−	
2902. Flint "rattle," on basket caps	−		+					−	−	−	−	·	−	−	
2903. Panther teeth, bear claws on stick rattle	−	−	+					−	−		−	·	−	−	
2904. No rattle used	−	(+)	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	+	·	−	−	
2905. Wear skirts of strung pine nuts	−	+	+		−		+	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	
2906. Hold bow and arrow, or flint knife, in hand	−	−	+		•−			−	−	+	+	·	−	−	

Prognostications

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS	
2907. If woman drops knife during dance, sign husband killed, hurt	−	−	·							+	+	·	−	−	[787]
2908. Shaman doctors to learn of warrior's progress	−	−	·						+	−	+	·	+	−	[550]

Return of War Party

Victory Dance

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NS	
2908a. Victory (scalp) dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	•+	−	727
2909. Held in or near village	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	535
2910. Held in brush corral	−	−	+								−	−	−	−	
2911. All men dance	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	[562]
2912. Warriors only, among men, dance	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2913. Women dance	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
846 3208. Merely stays indoors	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
784 ‡3209. For ... days	5	5	–	5	–	–	–	°4	–	°4	–	–	6	·	28	28
3210. Until child's cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
3211. Sleeps little	–	+	+			+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	–	–	·	+
3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535] 3212a. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481] 3213. Runs	+	+	+	–	°+	°+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3214. First child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3215. Breaks up wood		–	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3216. Brings back firewood	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3217. Piles up rocks	°+	°+	°+										–	–	–	–
[787] o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	°–	–	–	+	±	–	–	–	–	–	–
3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3220. First 4-5 children only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481] 3221. Swims	·	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	·	–
[252] 3222. In spring in mountains	–	+	–			–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	·	–
3223. Cooks for self and children	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3224. Bathing taboo	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	·	–
[515] o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	–	–	°4	–	–	°4	–	°4	–	°4	+	3	–	–	·	–
†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	–	5	°4	–	–	°4	–	+	°4	°4	+	–	–	–	·	–
3227. Certain activities taboo.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[224] ‡3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	°4	°2	+	3	+	6	+	30
3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[525] †3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	–	28	°2	+	3	+	+	·	+
3233. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
[276] 3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	·	–
[484] †3235. Traveling taboo ... days	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	°2	+	3	+	+	+	40
3236. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
†3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	–	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	°2	+	3	+	–	+	°28
[262] †3238. Fresh fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	+	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
[263] †3239. Dried fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	–	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
†3240. Salt taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	5	+	–	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312] 3241. Cold water taboo	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3242. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
3243. Until child smiles first time													–	–	+	–
3244. Eats with wife	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3245. Uses own receptacles	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
[292] 3247. Special belt worn	°(+)	+	–	–	+	–	°+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	°+	°+	+	–	–	–
3249. Combing hair taboo	+	°+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3250. Until navel has healed	·	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3252. Bathes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	°+	–	–	–	+	°+	+	+	–
3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
3255. Gives away old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3256. Burns old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3257. Throws away old clothes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[526] 3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	+	+								+	–	–	–	–	–
[224] 3259a. Shoots at target	–	–	+	–	°+						–	·	–	–	–	–
[625] 3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	–	+	+	–	°+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	–	–	–		°+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	·	–
3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							°+	+	°+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Naming																
553 3306. Child named at, soon after, birth	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	•	–
3307. Child named up to 6 months after birth	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
3308. Child named after 1 year plus	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
3309. Child named around puberty	+	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
3310. Named by father	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+
3311. Named by mother	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+
3312. Girl baby named by mother's mother	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	–
3313. Boy baby named by father's father	+	+	+	+			+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	–
3314. Child named by any near relative	+	+	–	•–				+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–
3315. Child named by relative or nonrelative	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
551 3316. Names meaningful	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	+
3317. Names meaningless	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	+
3318. Names duplicated during lifetime 2 people	–	–	+	–	–	(+)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	•+
3319. Name "given away"	–	–	•+							•+	–	–	–	–	.	–
[787] 3320. Names dreamt	–	+	–		+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
3321. Naming after grandparents, other relatives	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	.	+
3322. After death of relative only	–	–	–	+		–	–	+	+	+	–	+	(–)	+	.	–
Mutilations																
304 3323. Ears pierced	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+
3324. Soon after birth	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
3325. Prepuberty	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	+
3326. Around or after puberty	+	–	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
3327. Obligatory for all boys and girls	–	+	–	•–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3328. Girls only	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
3329. Virgins only	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3330. Done by older relative	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	•+
3331. Done by skilled person	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	–
3332. Done by good or "powerful" person	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+
3333. To make child good-tempered	–	+	+				+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
3334. For "fun" or style; to display wealth	+	–	+	+						+	–	–	–	+	+	.
3335. For good fortune	–	–	–								+	–	•+	–	–	.
3336. Dance follows	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
3337. Nasal septum pierced	R+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
3338. Soon after birth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
3339. Prepuberty	R+	+	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3340. At or around puberty	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–
3341. Any time	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3342. Men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
3343. Obligatory for all	–	+	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3344. All girls only	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3345. Done by relative	R+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
3346. Done by skilled person	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3347. Done by self	–	–	–					–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3348. Boy: sent on vision quest	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3349. Girl: dance follows								–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
3350. Tattooing	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	R	R	(+)	–	–	–	+
3351. Women: prepuberty	R	+	–	–	•+	–	+	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
3352. Women: postpuberty, any time	R	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	R	R	R	(+)	–	–	–	+
3353. Obligatory for woman	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3354. Rare among women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	R	+	–	–	–	+
3355. Men: when adult, any time	–	–	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3356. Done by skilled person, usually women	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•R	R	R	.	–	–	–	+
3357. Done by "good" person	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3358. For style only	R	–	+	•+	–	+	+	–	•R	R	R	.	–	–	–	.
[755] 3359. As therapeutic measure	–	–	–						•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3360. To insure longevity	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
†3451. Girl eats sparingly ... days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•8	•3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	28	84/
†3452. Girl eats sparingly ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	88/
3453. Meals limited to twice daily	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3454a. After sunrise, before sunset.	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3454b. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	+	–	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3455. Dried fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3456. Meat taboo	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3457. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3458. Salt taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3459. Berries taboo	+	+	–	+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	
3460. New crop acorns, seeds taboo	–		+						•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3461. Hot food taboo	•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3462. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
3463. River water taboo	–	+	–						•+		–	–	–	–	–		
‡3464. Food taboos extend over ... days	5	5	•8	10	3	•8	•3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	28	
†3465. Food taboos extend over ... yrs.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3466. Food taboos observed all subsequent periods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3467. Girl eats outside	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3468. Girl eats inside hut, dwelling	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
3469. Eats with woman attendant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	•+	
3470. Girl uses own baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3471. Baskets kept; left in hut			+		+						+	+	–	–	–	•–	
3472. Baskets destroyed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3473. Baskets hung on tree			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3474. Cane drinking tube used	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3475. Basket "cup" used for drinking.	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	
3476. Ceremonial feeding by attendant	–	+	+	+	(+)	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	•+	
3477. Mother feeds girl, cleans teeth	–	–	+			+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	
3478. Girl's mouth wiped by attendant	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	
3479. Girl chews plant substance	+	•+	•+		•+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	
3479a. Plant substance stuffed in nostrils	–	–	–		•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	
3480. Girl sleeps little, fitfully	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	
3481. No daytime sleeping, first day	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
3482. Charcoal in ears, to avoid bad dreams	+	–	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[788] ●
3483. Bark burned above hut, to frighten evil spirits	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3483a. Menstruant must tell her bad dreams		(+)	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	
3483b. If dreams, doctored by special doctor		+	+	–		+	+	+	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	
3484. Girl rises early	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•–	•+	
3485. No talking during seclusion	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3486. Little talking	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3487. Must talk softly	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3488. Cannot laugh aloud	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
3489. Girl avoids all men in daytime	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	
3490. Avoids all hunters	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
3491. Old women visit girl	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[887]
3492. Old women instruct girl	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•+	
3493. Gazing at any fire taboo	.	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	[821]
3494. Gazing at sun taboo	.	+	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3494a. Weak eyes, if gaze at sun	.	–	+	–	–	.	–	•–	–	+	.	–	.	+	.	–	
3495. Gazing at moon taboo	.	+	+	+	•+	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3496. Gazing at sky taboo	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3497. Looking around taboo	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	
3498. Looking at acorns taboo	○	○	–	–	–	–	○	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3499. Looking at any wild crops taboo	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	
3500. Gaze would "kill" crops	.	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	+	+	•+	+	
3500a. Crossing streams taboo	.	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	
3501. Menstruant bathes daily	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	[515]
3502. Menstruant bathes after flow ceases	–	+	+						+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	HF	NM	NS	MV	
3558. Wristlets	·+	·+	−	−	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	84
3559. Special belt	−	·+	·+	·+	−	·+	·+	−	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	−	−	−	88
3560. Nose stick	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
3561. Earrings, optional	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[301]
3562. Necklaces	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	
3563. All labor taboo during isolation	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	
3564. Preparing food taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3565. Basketmaking taboo	−	+	+	+	·+	·+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3566. No labor taboo	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
3567. Compulsory light labor	·+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	
3568. Compulsory heavy labor	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
3569. Girl must carry firewood	+	+	·+	·+	·+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	·+	−	·+	
3570. Girl must carry water	+	−	+	−	·−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3571. Girl must pound roots	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3572. Girl must gather vegetable food	−	−	+	−	·+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	
3573. Girl gives roots she digs to old woman	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3574. Girl makes baskets	−	−	−	−	·−	·−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3575. Compulsory running, racing	+	−	−	−	·+	·+	·+	−	·+	−	+	+	−	·+	−	−	
3576. Girl runs each morning	−	−	−	−	+	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3577. Girl runs in evening	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3578. Girl runs at end of rite only	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	
3579. Girl races with 2 girls	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
3580. Carries deer-hoof rattle when running	·	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	[787]
3581. Vision seeking during running, dancing	−	−	−	−	·+	+	+	−	+	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	
3582. Instruction by attendant during seclusion	−	(+)	−	−	·−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3583. Ears pierced during puberty ceremony.	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	[304]
3584. Ears pierced shortly after puberty rites	−	−	−	−	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3585. Dance follows ear-piercing	−	−	−	−	−	·+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	
3586. Vision seeking after ear-piercing	−	−	−	−	+	·+	·(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3587. Ears pierced prepuberty	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	·+	−	−	−	
3588. Ears pierced postpuberty	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	
3589. Ceremonial purification at end of puberty ceremony	·+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	[783]
3590. Girl bathes to remove taboos	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3591. Mother, attendant wash girl	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	·−	+	
3591a. Girl bathes alone	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
3592. Sage decoction used for bath	−	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3593. Girl rubbed with pine needle, root medicine	−	−	+								−	+	·+	+	·	−	
3594. Girl rubbed with salt												+	−	−	·	−	
3595. Sweat bath to remove taboos	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3596. Girl jumps in stream after sweating	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3597. Girl changes clothes, end of rites.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3597a. Girl given new clothes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3598. Old clothes burnt	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
3599. Old clothes saved for limited no. menses	·+	·+	·−	−	·+	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3599a. Old clothes kept in hut; loaned, used by near relatives	−	−	+					+	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3600. Old clothes washed	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3601. Old clothes given or thrown away	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	·+	
3602. Old clothes hung on tree			−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3603. Old clothes exchanged for new ones	−	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	·+	
3604. Sagebrush band kept	+	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3605. Anklets, wristlets burned	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3606. Belt kept permanently	−	−	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	

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		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 881	3606a. Belt given attendant	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3607. Belt hung on tree, end of last dance.	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3608. Public rites: major dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
841 881 535	3609. Night dance	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	−	•+	−	•+
	3609a. Begins 1st night of girl's menstruation	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
	3610. Day dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−
	3611. Given mainly for girls of rich families	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	(−)
[787]	3612. Given to avert disaster to participant(s)	•+	•+	+	•−	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	:	+	+	•+	+	−	•−
	3613. Given to have girl get power in dreams	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	.	.	−	−	−	−	−	−
	‡3614. Lasts ... nights or days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•3	•3	5	•5	5	4	5	•1	5	−	1
	‡3615. Repeated for ... subsequent menses.	5	5	•1	•1	•2	•1	2	2	1	1	−	1	−	5	−	±
	3616. Held in dwelling or cookhouse, winter	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3617. Held in sweat house, winter	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
	3618. Held outside, summer or winter	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
	3619. Held outside, summer only	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+
	3620. Rainy weather, no dance	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
	3621. Rainy weather, sing only, in girl's hut	−	−	−	−					+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
	3622. Girl's family in charge	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	+
	3623. Old man in charge	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	•−	−	+	−	+	−	−
	3623a. Singers in charge	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
[756]	3624. Shaman in charge	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3625. Youths, men participate	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
	3626. Girls, women participate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3626a. Girl's suitor may participate	−	−	−				+	−	+	+	.	−	−	−	−	−
	3627. Neighbors notified by girl's sister, friend	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3628. Girl dances by self, near group	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3629. 1-2 persons "support" menstruant	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3630. Girl dances with group	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
	o3631. Girl dances each night	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	±	•−	+	−	+	−	−
	3632. Youths dance	−	−	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
	3633. Men dance	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
	3634. Old men dance	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
	3635. Betrothed dances with menstruant	−	−	−				•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3636. Women, girls dance	−	−	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
	3637. Menstruant dances beside fire	+	+	•+	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3638. Menstruant dances back and forth	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
	3639. Menstruant dances east to west	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	3640. Menstruant faces E continually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
	3641. Menstruant rests at intervals	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	−	−
	3642. Men, women dance separately	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3643. Men, women dance together	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−
	3644. Men, women in 1 circle	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
	3645. Men, women in 2 circles	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3646. Men, women abreast, 1 line	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
	3647. Men, women abreast, 2 lines	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3648. Clockwise start	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	+	+	−	+
	3649. Counterclockwise start	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	−	−
	3650. Dance proceeds around pit	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	3651. Dance proceeds around fire	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
[533]	3652. Singers mainly women	+	•+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	•+	−	•+
[562]	3653. Singers mainly men	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3654. Volunteer singers, men and women	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3655. Professional singers	+	+	−					−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
	3656. 1 singer paid	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 3710. Menstruant's ears pierced	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
881 3711. Girl dances in front of dancers	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
535 3712. Girl stands on view in finery	-	-	-	-				+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+
[304] 3713. Betrothed stands on view with girl	-	-	-	-						+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3714. Poor girl may stand with rich celebrant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
[574] 3715. Visitors present food	-	-		+	+	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
3716. Visitors feasted after dance	-	-		+	•+	-	R	+	(-)	+	-	(-)	+	-	-	+
3717. Visitors given return gifts of food	-	-		+	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
3718. Girl runs at daybreak	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	(-)	-
3719. Spectators throw lighted sticks at girl	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3720. Girl's anklets, wristlets burnt	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3721. Girl passes through fire	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•-	-	-	-
3721a. Girls sing, escort menstruant to stream															+	-

Boys' Puberty Observances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
881 [578] 3722. Formal group rites	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
3723. Secret society initiation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
3724. Individual vision questing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
[787] 3725. Optional, for all boys of group	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-

General Menstrual Customs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 3726. Certain foods taboo to all menstruants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3727. Meat, fresh or dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
3728. Fresh fish	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3729. Dried fish	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3730. Grease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3731. Salt	-	-	-		-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
3732. Cold water	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3733. Menstruant eats alone	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3734. Daughter may eat with mother								+	+	+	.	+	+	+	-	+
3735. Uses separate receptacles	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3736. Menstruant stays in dwelling house	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
3737. Menstruant secluded	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
3738. In menstrual hut or cookhouse	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
c3739. For ... days and nights	5	5	5	5	5	-	-	5	•4	•4	•3	5	-	5	-	•3
3740. All women	•+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
3741. Shamans' wives only	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3742. Old women attend menstruant												+	-	+	-	-
3743. Certain activities taboo	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3744. Basketmaking	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3745. Wood gathering	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
3746. Preparing vegetable food	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
3747. Preparing vegetable food for family	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3747a. Cooking meat	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3747b. If cook meat, give hunters bad luck													+	+	+	+
3748. Intercourse taboo	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
3749. Cannot sleep with back to man	-		-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3750. Walking beside streams taboo			.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	-	+
3751. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3752. Hair left uncombed	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
c3753. Head scratcher used for ... periods after puberty	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5	-	-
3754. Head scratcher obligatory all periods	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
3755. No bathing during period	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3756. Purificatory bath, end of period; obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
764 765 587 4271. Pitch wears off naturally	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
4272. Mourning necklace worn until remarriage	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	•-	-	+	•-
°4273. Approximate no. yrs. before remarriage	•1	•2	•½	1	•2	•1	½	•½	1	•2	•1	-	•3	•3	•3	•2
4274. Indefinite period; shorter for younger women	-	-	-								+	+	+	+	+	+
4275. Older women often do not remarry	+	+	+								·	+	+	+	-	-
764 765 4276. Widower	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
4277. Cuts or burns hair, slightly	+	+	•+	•+	•+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	•+	-	•+
4278. Pitches hair or face, or both	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
†4279. Meat, fish, salt taboo ... days after funeral	56	10	10	5	1	-	1	5	28	-	-	1	-	5	-	-
†4280. Hunting taboo ... days	+	10	10	5	-	+	-	10	+	-	-	1	+	+	-	+
†4281. For ... months	12	-	-	-	-	•3	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	•4
†4282. Fishing taboo ... days	5	10	5	5	-	+	-	10	+	-	-	1	+	+	-	+
†4283. For ... months	-	-	-	-	-	•3	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	•4
4284. Gives away all or most of 1st kill.	-	-	+				+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
4285. Cannot "cry" before hunting	+	+	+								·	·	+	·	·	-
• [787] †4286. Spends ... nights in mountains	5	•5	10	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	•1	-	-	-	-	-
4287. To obtain vision	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
4288. Piles up rocks	+	+	+	-	-						-	-	-	-	-	-
4289. Gathers or breaks wood	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4290. Sleeps little or none	+	+									+	+	+	-	-	-
[787] 4291. Returns home wailing	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4292. Obtains dream at home, night of funeral		-	+			+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
†4293. Sweats alone daily for ... days after cremation	5	5	-			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4294. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
°4295. Sweats with other mourners ... days after funeral	-	-	•1	5	-	•+	•+	-	2	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
[304] †4296. Swims ... days after funeral.	-	-	•1	5	1	•+	•+	5	1	•+	-	3	2	5	-	•-
4297. Cuts shoulder	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4298. Children observe taboos for dead parent	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
4299. Son, daughter cut hair close; slight pitch	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	-	-
[787] 4300. Do not seek for power	+	+	-				+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
°4301. Parents observe taboos for child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4302. Cut hair slightly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
4303. Pitch on hair or face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
4304. Mother only	+	+	-		+					+	-	-	-	+	+	+
†4305. Meat taboo ... days	5	5	10	5	3	-	1	5	+	-	-	1	-	5	-	-
°4306. For ... months	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[787] 4307. Sweat or bathe	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
4308. Man goes to mountains to seek power	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
°4309. Loss of 1st child before cord drops off entails rigid taboos				•(+)					•(+)		•+	+	+	+	+	•-
4310. Couple give everything away, start anew											+	[illegible]	+	+	+	-
4311. Secluded for 1 month													+			-
Taboos on Community																
†4312. Foot travel stopped for ... days	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	4	•5	5	-	+
4313. Until burial of corpse	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	+	-	-	-	+
[551] 4314. Uttering name of dead taboo	+	•+	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4315. Indefinitely	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
4316. Until formally regiven	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	(+)	-	-
4317. Only in presence of kin	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
821 4539. Babies, children shown to moon	−	+	−	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
852 4540. Race, run, jump east	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
4541. "Spanked"	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4542. Tossed in air	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4543. Children raise arms to moon	−	+					+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
4544. Tell moon they are growing	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	(+)	−
4545. Face, body, arms rubbed	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−
4546. Address moon by kin term	−	+	−	−	−	•+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
4547. Done to make child grow fast	−	+	−			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
821 4548. Position of horns significant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
787 4549. Vertical; sign of death, sickness	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
4550. Vertical; sign of rain and snow	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4551. Vertical; sign of good weather, good fortune	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
4552. Horizontal; good weather, dry month	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
4553. Horizontal; full of water, rain or storm	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
4554. Horizontal; death, sickness	−	−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	.	−
821 4555. Taboos concerning moon	−	+	+	+					+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
4556. If point at new moon, finger crooks, drops off	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
4557. If sleep in moonlight, cross eyes, facial paralysis	−	.	+	+					+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Eclipses																
4558. Recognized	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4559. Sun, moon dying	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	−	.	−
4560. Bear, dog eating sun, moon	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−
4561. Lizard eating moon	−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
4562. Frog eating, passing over sun											+	−	−	−	.	+
4563. Frog doctoring, passing over moon	+	−	+								+	−	−	−	.	+
4564. Big snake giving birth to baby													−	+	.	−
4565. No explanation for eclipse of moon	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	−
4566. Special behavior during eclipses	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
4567. All shout, eclipse of sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	−
4568. All shout, eclipse of moon	+	•+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	−
4569. Pray and talk to sun, moon	−	−	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+
4570. Beat dogs	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	−
4571. Shoot arrows in air	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	−
4572. Sprinkle water	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	.	+	.	−
4573. Cover all food	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	.	−	−	−	.	−
4574. Hide children	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	.	−	−	•+	.	−
4575. Bring in wood, or make fire	−	−	•+											•+	•+	−
[787] 4576. Eclipse portent of death	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
4577. Red moon portent of disaster	−	−	•+			•+	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	.	−
Falling Stars																
787 4578. Evil sign	−	•+	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	−
821 4579. Sign man visiting woman, for intercourse	+	.	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−
4580. Presage good weather next day	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−
4581. No sign	−	−	−					+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
4582. Porcupine fallen star	−								+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4583. People clap hands, breathe loudly	−	−	+			+	.	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
4584. People pray for good luck	−	+	+					+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
Milky Way, Other Star Lore																
821 4585. Milky Way: creek or river	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	.	−	.	.	.

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4586. Milky Way: dead persons', ghosts' road, trail	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	.	.	821
4587. Taboo for young boys to look at evening star.	-	.	-							•+	-	-	•+	-	•+	.	
4588. Girls forbidden to count stars													•+	-	•+	.	
4589. Single star, close to moon, evil sign	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	-	•+	-	.	.	-	-	-	.	
4590. 5 small stars, close to moon, sign children will die	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	.	[787]
Rainbow																	
4591. Menstruation sign	-	•-	-	-	-	•-	•-	+	+	+	-	.	•+	•+	•+	.	
4592. Evil sign	-	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	•+	•+		.	•+	(-)	(-)	.	821
4593. Sign of rain	+	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	787
4594. Sign of good wild crops	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	
4595. Sign connected with doctoring	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	
4596. If point at, finger will be crooked, drop off	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	
4597. Children warned especially	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	.	
4598. If point at, makes child sick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	.	
4599. Dreaming of rainbow evil portent	-	•+	-						•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	.	
Thunder																	
4600. Old man	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	-	•+	+	•+	+	•+	+	821
4601. Has wife	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	+	
4602. Tree his wife	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4603. Boy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
4604. Thunder and lightning twin boys	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4605. Thunder takes form of bird, when striking	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4606. No explanation of noise	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
4607. Noise, man and woman talking	-	-	-			-	+	+	-	-	-	+	•+	•-	-	•+	
4608. Noise, man moving or kicking things	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4609. Noise, man shouting angrily	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	
4610. Noise, bird ripping tree with claws, moving wings	-	-	-			•+		•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4611. Noise, twin boys back on earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4612. Thunder feared	+	+	+	-	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	-	+	+	
4613. Raccoon skin held up on stick	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4614. Dogs made to squeal	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4615. Stick burned; old men walk in circle with it.								•			+	-	+	+	+	-	
4616. Thunder talked, prayed to; told to depart	-	+	+	•+	+	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	-	
Lightning																	
4617. Power, weapon of Thunder person	+	+	-	+	+	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	.	.	
4618. From mouth, hand of Thunder person	-	.	-		•+	•+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	
4619. From claws of Thunder or Lightning Bird	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	
4620. Takes shape of raccoon	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	
4621. Feared	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4622. Crawl under burnt trees or log	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	
4623. Run to open spot	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4624. Jump into water	+	.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4625. Cover head	•+										-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
4626. Talk to lightning	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	.	
4627. Hold up raccoon skin	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	
4628. Keep quiet											-	-	+	+	+	.	
Whirlwind																	
4629. Evil associated with whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4630. In fall especially												+	+	+	+	-	
4631. Is dead shaman's dust	-	+	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•(-)	-	-	-	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4675. Door keeper at land of dead	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	775
4676. One destination for all	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
4677. Good and bad different destinations	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	-	(+)	•-	-	-	-	
4678. All ghosts stay on earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
4679. Doctors, bad persons	-	.	-	.	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4680. Improperly buried, burned persons	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4681. Ghosts encountered around village	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	.	-	-	+	-	
4682. Ghosts encountered around cremation spot or burying place	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	
4683. In air	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	.	-	.	+	+	
4684. In whirlwind	-	+	-	-	.	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	
4685. Dead visit in dreams with living	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[787] ●
4686. Occasional dream may give person power	-	-	-	.	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	
4687. Constant dreaming of dead bad omen	-	+	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	

Precautions to Keep Away Ghosts

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4688. Ghosts feared	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	769
4689. Offerings of food, if dream of dead	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	(-)	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	+	775
•4690. Ghost feast	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	+	-	.	•+	
4691. Eat with dog.	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4692. Shaman hired to sing for dreamer.	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	-	
4693. Dreamer puts ashes, pitch on body							+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4694. Talk to ghost	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	
4695. Throw ashes toward ghost	+	•+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
4696. Throw water toward ghost or grave								+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4697. Bathe in plain or medicated water	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
4698. Herbs rubbed on body	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	
4699. Roots chewed and spit	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-	
4700. Tobacco smoked	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	.	-	
4701. Burn aromatic plant	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	
4702. After childbirth, to avoid bad dreams	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	.	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4703. Burn hair, skin	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	•+	-	•+	-	
4704. After childbirth, to avoid bad dreams	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4705. Hang small bow and arrow in door		.								+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
4706. Plant, feathers hung up	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	

Omens

Sneezing, etc.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4707. Sudden sneeze sign someone talking about sneezer	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	787
4708. Of opposite sex	-	-	+	-	.	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	827
4709. Relation	-	-	-	+				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4710. At a distance	-	+	+	+	+	+			-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4711. Sudden sneeze sign someone thinking of sneezer	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4712. Invite such to come visit	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4713. Ear buzzing sign someone deprecating person														+	-	-	

Bird, Animal Calls as Omens

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4714. Owl call before dawn omen death, war, rain.	+	+	+	•-	+	.	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
4715. Robin calling after dark bad omen	-	+	+	+	-	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	825
4716. Magpie calling after dark bad omen	-	+	-	-		.		+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
787 4717. Crow, quail calling, tells of enemy passing	–	+	+	–		.	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	*+
825 4718. Dog howling, sign of war	+	–	–	–	+	.		+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
4719. Coyote, fox howling sign of war	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+
4720. Any animal calling out of time evil sign	–	+	+	–	.	.	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
4721. May be shaman, sending out spirit								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

ASPECTS OF RELIGION

787

Vision Quest

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
4722. Vision questing to obtain guardian spirit(s).	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	*+	*+	*+		–	*–
4723. By individuals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–
4624. By group	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–		–	–
[562] 4725. Men, youths, boys	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+		–	–
4726. Women, girls	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	*–	*+	+	–	+		–	–
4726a. Optional, not obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4727. First quest, prepuberty	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+		–	–
4728. First quest at or around puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	–	+	+	(–)		–	–
4729. Questing during adult life	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	*+	+	+	–	–		–	–
4730. Quest once only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	+	+		–	–
4731. Quest repeated, to gain power, or for successive powers	+	+	.		+	+	+	–	*+	+	+	–	–		–	–
4732. Some candidates never obtain vision	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4733. Undertaken in winter, annually	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4734. Undertaken in spring, summer only	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	*+	–	–	–	+		–	–
4735. Undertaken any time, after birth child, death of near relative	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
4736. Vision quest general, may obtain any variety power	*+	*+	–	–	–	*+	+	*+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4736a. Vision quest may yield all powers except those for doctoring	–	–	+	*+	–	*–	–	*–	*+	*+	–	–	–		–	–
4737. Vision quest yields doctoring powers only	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
4738. Youths prepared for quest	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4739. Lectured by father, father's brother	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
[304] 4740. Whipped with bowstring, stick	–	–	–			+	+	–	*+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4741. Ears pierced	–	–	–	–	*+	+	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4742. Go out naked, or with breechclout only	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+				–		–	–
4743. Seeker quests at fixed localities in mountains	*+	*+	*(+)	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4744. Alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
4745. With older shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–
4746. Men or youths only	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
‡4747. For ... days, nights	5	5	*4	1	5	*1	*2	0	1	1	1	2	2		–	–
4748. Before doctor-making dance	*+	*+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	(+)	+		–	–
[262] 4749. After doctor-making dance	*+	*+	–	–	–	–	–	*+	*+	*+	–	–	–		–	–
‡4750. Complete food fast ... days	5	5	(+)	–	5	*2	–	–	–	–	1	–	2		–	–
[262] o4751a. Eats sparingly, or according to spirit's instructions ... days	–	+	28	5	2	–	*2	5	1	*2	–	2	*+		–	–
4752. Meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4753. Abstains from water	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
[834] 4754. Drinks water with acorn meal in it			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
4755. Sexual continence during quest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+		–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4756. Bathes to acquire power	+	+	+	−	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	−	+	+		−	−	787 ●
4756a. In lake or stream	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	−	
4757. Complete immersion	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	−	[515]
4758. Washes hands in spring	+	−	−					+		+	−	−	−		−	−	
4759. Bathes each day	+	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	+	(−)	.		−	−	
o4759a. Bathes after ... days	−	−	−	−		·2	·2	5	5	·2	−	.	.		−	−	
4760. Rebuilds stone altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	
4761. Breaks branches, piles up wood	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4762. Builds fire	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4763. Smokes self over fire	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		+	−	+	+		−	−	[372]
4764. Catches glowworms	·+	−	·+					−	.	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4765. Sleeps on mountain at night	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	(+)	−	−		−	−	
4766. Prays for vision	−	−	−					+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
4766a. Scarification and bleeding	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	[304]
4767. Ants allowed to bite wounds	−	−	+	·+	−	−	·−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
*4768. To obtain "luck" only	−	−	(−)	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4769. Power comes by dreaming	−	·+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4769a. Power comes in trance or faint	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4770. Nose or mouth bleeds	+	·+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	−	
4771. Instruction by shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
4772. Guardian spirit communicates with seeker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4773. Spirit seen	−	−	.	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4773a. Spirit heard	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4774. Spirit felt	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	
4775. Gives song	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4776. Gives paint		+	−	−	−	−		(+)	−	−	+	+	+		−	−	
4777. Gives dance		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
4778. Instructs as to paraphernalia, methods.	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	
*4779. Doctor dance main or only form vision seeking for youths, girls		−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	·+	·+	−	−	−		−	−	
4780. Successful seeker observes taboos on return	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
†4781. Is sick for ... days	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	·1	·1	·2	1	+	+		−	−	
†4782. Continent			−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4782a. For ... years			−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	1		−	−	[834]
4783. Swims	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4784. Sweats and swims	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
†4785. Stays outside house ... days.	1	1	−	−	2	1	·2	5	0	·2	−	−	−		−	−	
†4786. Confined ... days in sweat house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(5)	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4787. Uses head scratcher	−	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4788. Eats sparingly or according to spirit's instructions.	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	[262]
4788a. Meat taboo	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4789. Fish taboo	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−					−	−	
4790. Salt taboo	−		−					+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4790a. Drinks water with acorn meal in it.	−	−	−						+	(+)					−		[501]
4791. Smokes tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−		−		
4792. Gives first kill to old man			+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		−		[276]

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
4927. Private, indoors	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		•+	–	755
4928. Doctor has ... assistants	1	2	1	2	•2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		–	–	
4929. "Interpreter" for doctor while doctoring, or in trance	+	•+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4930. "Outside speaker" to call doctor's spirit(s)	–	•+	+	•+	+	•–	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4931. Friend or relative of doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	–	
4932. Must know esoteric language	–	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
4933. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	–	–	·	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	•–		–	–	[776]
4934. Assistant calls doctor's spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•–		–	–	[787] ●
4935. Spirit takes possession of doctor	•–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	·		–	–	
4936. Doctor diagnoses by singing	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		·	+	[533]
4937. Audience joins in songs	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4938. Doctor diagnoses by dancing	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		·	–	[535]
4939. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4940. When trance coming on			–					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	[276]
o4941. Blows tobacco smoke over patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	±	–	+		–	–	
4942. Assistant lights doctor's pipe	+	–	+	•–				+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
4943. Doctor drinks through bark tube	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[371]
4944. Has basket cup of water beside him	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4945. Doctor uses feathers or stick	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	–	
4946. Bunch of supernatural feathers	–	+	•+	+	•–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		·	–	
4947. Eagle down	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	–		·	–	
4948. Eagle wing	–	–	+					–	–	–		–	–		·	–	
4949. Stick	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	–	
4950. Doctor uses fire	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	+	[372]
4951. For light only: usually small	+	+	+	•+	•–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		·	•–	
4952. Doctor applies ashes, clay to patient	•+	•+	–	•–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		·	–	
4953. Doctor uses charmstone (pestle)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4954. Brushes or fans away disease	–	+	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4955. With feathers	–		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4956. Sprays liquid from mouth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		·	•+	
4957. Administers herb medicines	–	–	–					•+	•–	–	•+	•+	–		•+	•+	[278]
4958. Doctor, assistant, or singers use rattle	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+	
4959. Cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	+	•–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	•+	[534]
4960. Walking cane								+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4961. Beat on plank with board			–						+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4962. Whistle	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		·	–	
4963. Doctor's spirit or "pain" tells location of disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+	
4964. Tells cause of sickness	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4965. Doctor can see or feel disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4966. Disease object ("pain") sucked out	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	
4967. Directly into doctor's mouth	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4968. Vomited out of mouth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–	
o4969. Disease object removed with hand	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	±	–	–			–	–	
4970. Pus ("bad feelings") sucked out	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	•+	
4971. Women doctors use same technique as men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		–	–	[562]
4972. Disease object tells doctor who sent it	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4973. Disease object exhibited	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4974. Put in basket cup of water	–	+	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–			–	
4975. Invisible to all except shamans	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
4976. Disease object disappears	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4977. By sleight of hand	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4978. Doctor bites it	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	•+	
4979. Doctor swallows it	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4980. Sent back to owner, for revenge, sometimes			+	•–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–	
4981. Buried	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+		–	+	
4982. Blown away			–					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–	
4983. Burned	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
755 Sucking Doctors: Payment for Curing																
4983a. Shaman paid for curing	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4984. Negotiated fee	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4985. Patient, patients' relatives decide amount of fee	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4986. Fee paid to doctor before cure	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4987. Fee shown to doctor, who smells it			–			•+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4988. Fee paid after cure	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	•+	•+	+	+		+	+
4989. Fee set near patient during treatment	+	+	–	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
4990. Shaman's guardian spirit also "paid"	–	–	+	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4991. Demands skins, hides, baskets, etc.	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4992. Objects set up by patient during cure	–	–	•+	•+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4993. If treatment unsuccessful, doctor tries again	+					+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–		+	
o4994. Makes ... attempts only						3	3		3	–	–	2			.	
4995. If treatment unsuccessful, fee not offered or not taken	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–	–
4996. If treatment unsuccessful, fee returned	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		=	+
4997. Treatment deemed unsuccessful if patient dies	+	.	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	+
4998. Within 1 to 6 months.	–	.	+	+	.	.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–		–	–
†4999. Within ... days	10	.	–	–	.	.	10	10	10	–	–	–	20		20	•20
5000. Assistants paid same amount as doctor	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
5001. Assistants paid less than doctor	–	•(+)	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–		–	–
5002. Doctor pays assistant out of own fee.	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
[683] 5003. Doctor liable for refusing case	–	•–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
5004. May be accused of poisoning	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
5005. Liable to be killed	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
5006. Never decline case	–	–	–		+		+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
[681] 5007. Unsuccessful doctors killed	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–
Sucking Doctors: Beneficent Powers Other Than Curing																
756. 787 5008. Can capture "poison" sickening village			•+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
5009. Goes into trance			•+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
5010. 2 men support him, when poison captured			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	–
5011. Can locate lost, stolen objects	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	.	+	+		–	(+)
5012. Can see what is happening afar off	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–		–	–
5013. What will happen in future	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+		–	–
Sucking Doctors: Malevolent Practices																
756 754 5014. Shaman causes illness, death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		+	•–
5015. Talks to disease object (pain), sends it to victim			.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
5016. Disease object put in food	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+		+	–
5017. Disease object put under victim's doorstep			–		•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–		–	–
•5018. Disease object sent to sicken entire village			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
5019. Disease object applied to person's body	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		+	–
5020. Scorpion's tail applied to body, or person's urine													–		•+	–
5020a. Ashes, water, dirt thrown toward victim			+								+	+	+		+	–
5021. Disease object pointed at victim	–	–	–	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
5022. Thrown at victim	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
5023. Blown off hand at victim	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–

821 is fire from dove, fire for driving rabbits; is pinole or piñon road, frame or back bone of sky. Rainbow: is man's penis, coyote's penis, childbirth sign; sign of dry weather, bad luck for hunting or fishing; get weak eyes from staring at. Thunder: is female, woman and 2 sons, coyote; noise explained as 2 fawns hiding in intercourse, hummingbird, eagle playing shinny, dancing, sliding on snow, sticks being beaten together, tules being broken, basket being rolled; food or water thrown out, food or water covered. Lightning: from mouth, eyes of Thunder person; from waving of ribbon, drilling, rubbing sticks, striking stones together; is fire from burning tules, birds flying fast; food, water thrown out, covered; dogs made to squeal. Whirlwind: war associated with, snake in it, wind playing; caused by charmstone; spit at to stop, offer beads to, point at, strike or pierce it with weapon; formula and bathing.

Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts

775 Spirit goes to definite underworld; to island; crosses water with boatman; rich and poor different destinations; warriors go to special heaven. Hang hopper basket, grass snare, bay leaves in door to keep away ghost.

ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Vision Quest

787 Jimsonweed (Datura) root drunk to obtain
824 vision, by group or individuals. Ant-fortitude ordeal; group or individuals swallow ants, to obtain vision.

Shamanism

756 Sucking doctors: women only; women can sicken only. Doctor-making rite held in circular brush enclosure; patient brought in for novice to cure; novice enters sweat house via exit hole, enters head first down ladder. Curing: shaman uses beads on stick, quartz crystals; brushes or fans away disease with skin; rubs Datura (jimsonweed) on eyes, drinks Datura; doctor or assistant uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper, flute. Doctor cuts before sucking; disease object sucked out through pipe. Doctor paid by installments throughout night. Sucking doctors: in competition, "bullets" shot; assistants for each contestant, performers paid; contests held at mourning ceremony only. Singing shamans: outfit bundle inherited, bought; shaman uses quartz crystals, portable mortar, charmstone; shaman dies if he loses outfit. Soul-loss doctor: is also singing shaman; uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper; mostly women. Soul recovered by snaring in noose, by refrightening patient. Weather shamans: make rain with aid of black rock, crystal,

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000 trout); see note 284. At: Not many salmon in Hat Creek; occasionally a good run. AW: Salmon ascend Pit River as far as falls at site of Pit 1 power house, in Achomawi area (see Kniffen, Achomawi, map 1). Trout, suckers, catfish, bass also found within area. AE: No salmon; very few streams, creeks; fish scarce. WT: Salmon in area. When salmon begin running, if couple have pubescent daughter following rite held so couple can eat salmon. Young men catch salmon; take it to home of old man "who uses cane"; this old man may be adolescent girl's grandfather. Old man's wife cooks the first fish, then old man prays over it for short time, facing sun and leaning on his cane; after this everyone present, except girl(s) nearing puberty, eats this first fish. For other salmon caught after first run, no prayers of this sort. Rite restricted to parents of girls entering puberty, not general practice. WM: Salmon plentiful in area. If leave first salmon in basket overnight, will not catch any more. WS: Salmon in area. No rites over first salmon, but in middle of summer, during July, people start fishing at nodalŏchipom (Castle Crag depot, 5 mi. S of Dunsmuir) and fish up Sacramento River to Shasta Retreat across river from Dunsmuir. At every village on the way they dance; stay 3-5 days at each place; young people dance, "just for a good time at night as they make this trip; old people sleep. It takes them 2-3 weeks to make this trip; there may be 200-300 people on it. Camp at 3-5 different locations on way." MM: Few salmon in area; other varieties fish more abundant. MF: Salmon in area, more abundant. NF: No salmon nearer than Yuba River; sometimes go there to spear, net salmon. First salmon cooked, eaten at "dinner" by all. Salmon plentiful in Feather River, but NF group never went there to fish as this was in "another country." NM: No salmon or suckers in area; never go to Yuba River or Sacramento Valley to fish. Small fish, only, found in creeks in area; no large rivers in area; little emphasis on fishing, which is pursued in main with small flat gill net. NS: Salmon obtainable within area, in American River. No salmon caught until certain time in summer; first fish cooked, divided and eaten by all members of community, "for good luck." No comparable rite for any other variety of fish. MV: Salmon plentiful; first-salmon rite similar to first-acorn rite (see note 313).

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787
283. Kl: In spring old man (not shaman) catches first 2 suckers with nets at certain spot on Williamson River and throws them, alive, into fire which has been built on flat surface of deeply embedded rock near river. Fish burnt to foretell season's luck; "if they roll around when thrown in the fire, the people will have lots of fish; if they die quickly, quietly, there won't be many fish." Men, women, children gather at rock where rite held (only 1 place where this is done in whole of Kl area) and eat

226 787 first catch of suckers on spot. "If they don't eat it all up there, people won't catch any more suckers." After these observances, all suckers caught can be transported home to be eaten, dried.

284. SW: Wait until Karuk give White Deerskin dance at end of July before eating steelhead (rainbow trout); if any steelheads caught in salmon net before Karuk dance given, they must be thrown back into river. Fishermen who disregard this rule are in danger of being killed.

292. NF: "Dreamer" or singing shaman.

294. Kl: First 2 suckers.

296. SW: First run taboo to adolescent girls.

226 689 299. Kl: Old man in charge of rite tells youth, "Don't you pack those fish home on the first day; eat well; don't carry them around, or break their backbones." If youth disobeys, sticks bound from wrist to shoulder on boy's arms, and then bent upward and broken, thus breaking boy's arms at elbow; boy sometimes died. Any of old men present administer this punishment.

300. WM: See note 282.

Gathering

000 Gathering techniques and observances.--

300a. See note 357. AW: Pick up acorns from ground by hand; do not beat trees.

300b. Used to bend down limbs within hand's reach. MV: Obtained pine nuts at Lookout (in MF area); man intending to go for such, continent night before he starts. To obtain pine cones, he climbs tree, hooks branches with staff, cuts off cones.

301. Used to bend down limbs.

302. Used for whipping, knocking acorns and pine cones off limbs.

306. Branches left on pole, to serve as footholds. SW: Wrap grapevine around fir pole, or leave limbs on pole for footholds. AW: Native twine wrapped around sapling for foothold; limb left on sapling at upper end to serve as hook; pole hooked onto upper branches of tree, as climber progresses upward.

[222 824] 308. Kl, SW: Made of mountain mahogany.

311. SW: Iron bar across top end. AE: Use crutch-handled type mostly, but sometimes plain bipointed one as well.

312. Mo: Break or pull up entire plant of lamb's-quarters, pile plants on bare hard ground, and beat out seeds with long straight stick.

313. NS: Prepare meal for group, when first batch of any wild fruit gathered. Example, for manzanita berries, make large quantity of cider with first gathered berries, all drink. MV: Headman goes out and tests acorns for ripeness; tells people when they are ripe. His wife then goes out, secures 1 pack-basketful of acorns; dries them, and in about 6 days she is able to make 2 baskets of acorn mush from them. These she takes into assembly house; there members of secret society pray over mush and eat it; then everyone can go out and gather acorns.

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000 3586. AW: See note 3584. AE: Girl may obtain vision while she is dancing after having ears, nose pierced.

[94 1] 3587. NF: Ca. 10 years of age.

[88 1] [78 3] 3589. Kl, Mo, SE: Sweat bath after first 5 or 3 menstrual periods. WM, WS: 1 month or 1 year after girl first menstruates. MV: 1 month after first menstruation.

3591. NS: Menstruant followed to stream by sister, girl relatives who sing for her, early morning 5th day.

3593. NF: Wormwood decoction.

3597a. Either at end of each menstrual period, or at end of entire puberty ceremony.

[84 1] [88 1] 3599. Kl: For 5 periods. Mo: For 3-5. SE, At, AW, AE: For 3.

3601. MV: To old woman attendant.

3603. MV: Exchanged with girl attendant.

3606. SE: Worn each subsequent menstruation.

[88 1] [53 5] 3609. Kl, Mo, SE, SW, At, AE, AW, WM, WS, MV: Emphasized jollity connected with girl's puberty dance. Lack of ritual obligations on any of participants except menstruant, made it (SW) "most popular and well attended of all the dances." NM: Puberty dance, yomuse. MV: Round dance held on final night of girl's 28-day seclusion. "This [night] dance was the main dance; each night (of the 28) the people came and gambled; the girl's family fed the visitors."

3610. NF: Name of day dance, wulu. Held after girl has come out of menstrual hut, and bathed; in daytime. Girl and women dance in circle, holding hands; no fire, pole. Dance a short while, then 2 women singers, with girl between them, sing, girl joining in singing. No deer-hoof rattle.

[98 1] [53 5] [77 7] [78 7] 3612. So girl will not dream bad dreams; will have good luck. Kl: "If girl sleeps little while, she dreams there's a noise in the sky; she dreams of thunder. That's a bad dream, so they keep her dancing all night, for 5 nights, so she won't dream." Mo: "If she sleeps at this time, the girl will dream about thunder, then it will sure strike her, and kill her." SW: Girl's puberty dance "just a common good-time dance, held to help the girl out of her trouble, to keep her from dreaming" (see also note 3721). At: Girl sleeps head toward east; "the west, they said, was a bad place, where bad dreams come from, Silver Fox said... They dance with her all night, to make her lively, so she won't sleep and dream ... [when girl is menstruating] she never touches water; that's no good; she'll dream bad." AW: Given "so the girl will get power in 'dreams' as she gets sleepier and sleepier, dancing. But she must not tell anyone what she dreams. They don't let her sleep in the daytime; if she sleeps she'll dream bad for herself and be sick." WT: Puberty observances held "so girl won't dream bad dreams." On first day of menstruation, girl's grandmother sits by her, sings, uses clapper to keep girl awake. WM: Girl "never dreamt bad, but her grandmother, who was staying with her, might; she might

000 Eclipses; star lore.--

4558. SW: Solar eclipses only; "don't know anything about lunar eclipses."

4559. NF: New sun (woman) coming out.

4568. Mo: Tell Frog to doctor moon.

4569. AW: Old women only go out and chant to sun or moon during eclipse; "tell sun's, moon's own dog not to eat him."

4570. Bitches only.

4573. WM, WS: Cover food because sun is going to bleed.

4574. WS, NM: So they cannot see eclipse.

4575. SE: People afraid they are going to freeze to death. NM, NS: Build fire.

4577. SE, AW, MM: Sign of war. WS: Sign of bad weather.

4578. If large stars fall. Mo, SE, NF, NM, NS: Sign man living in direction star falls has died, or will die. AW: Sign of earthquake; denied for all other groups except SW, At. NF: Falling stars (sa·to) are "just like turkeys, coming down from sky to spring to drink, their head 1 way, tail the other. Come down into ground, just like sun; then they're gone. Sign of lots of sickness. If 2 large stars come down, sign of war starting."

● [787 821] 4579. If small stars fall.

4585. Kl, Mo: White river. Kl: Canes grow on both sides of river, which forks near one end. MM: Creek.

4587. WS, NF, NS: If boys 6-7 look at it during any time of year, will give them bad luck for hunting later.

4588. NF, NS: All girls; would give them bad luck; spirit would frighten them in night. Cf. Voegelin, Tübatulabal, p. 58, people forbidden to count stars.

[821 763] 4589. Kl, Mo, At, AW: Sign of death of adult. SE: "When catches up to moon, sign world will end." SW: "Moon is listening [to star]; therefore someone is saying evil things about person, or will make trouble for person." At: "If star to left of moon, someone near by will die; if to right, person far off. AW: If star very close to moon, death will occur soon. WM: Sign of cold weather.

Rainbow.--

4591. Mo, AW, AE: See note 4592. WM: Sign suckers (fish) calling clouds to make it rain, because girl just after she has had first menstruation is walking close to river or spring "where she ought not to go." After clouds leave, rainbow appears. NF, NM, NS: If end of rainbow falls near village, this is sign that girl there has recently menstruated for first time.

4592. Mo, AW, AE: If rainbow close to where girl dancing at puberty dance, unlucky for menstruant. Negatives for this trait obtained from all other groups except SW, At (not inquired into). Mo: If menstruant dreams of rainbow, sign evil spirit is trying to get her. Mo, AW, AE: If rainbow near by when baby is born, mother will be un-

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000 to sacred spot (sauɛl) to seek power. "But for young boys, there's nothing in it. Some boys, 8-15 years old, go into dance house and dance for doctoring power. That's all."

4726. WM: Du Bois, Wintu, p. 80, states Coyote sauɛl is "1 type of sacred place used by women"; informant said that Coyote sauɛl "is man's sauɛl, where men go for luck." WS: Girls may seek for power during puberty dance, but "never go to any kind of sauɛl" to obtain power.

4726a. WM: Optional for individuals; obligatory for group.

4728. WM: Applies to group of boys; not to individuals.

4729. WM: Refers to individual questing.

4730-4734. WM: Refers to group questing. Individuals repeat quests.

4735. See elements 3218-3220, 4263, 4287, 4308.

[787] 4736. Kl, Mo: Depends at which localized spot seeker quests. Some springs give power for doctoring, others for luck in gambling, hunting, fishing, or fast running. AW: See note for 4736a. WM: Only rarely get doctoring power. See note 4722.

4736a. Hence it cannot be too strongly emphasized, for groups affirming this element, that undergoing vision quest for "luck" in hunting, gambling, racing, wrestling, tree climbing, fishing and acquiring shamanistic power are viewed as two distinct phenomena. SW: Informant explicitly stated that "going up into mountains for luck" entailed none of the obligations upon seeker that obtaining shamanistic power entailed; obligations after receiving latter were many. AW: Vision questing chiefly concerns obtaining power from guardian spirits for luck in gambling, hunting, and such; but if one obtains 10 of these spirits one "is bound to be a doctor." Besides having guardian spirits, however, shamans also have "pains" which came to them voluntarily; possession of pain is chief prerequisite for being a doctor. See notes 4804-4806. WT: Power for doctoring only rarely obtained on quest, however. See note 4722. WM: Refers both to individual questers and group of questers. No one "goes out on the mountains looking for doctoring power. The puisus [Achomawi] do, though." WS: See note 4725.

4737. At: Man or woman obtaining "luck" for hunting, gambling, and such "just dreams; sometimes he hears animal singing, in dream." No vision questing save for doctoring power. Informant used to dream where deer could be killed, until 3 men hired shaman to take her dreams away from her; now her dreams never tell her where deer are to be found.

4740. WM: Refers to group of boys seeking power; see note 4724.

4741. At, AE: Nasal septum also.

[787] 4743. Kl, Mo: See note 4736. SE: On mountain, but not at fixed localities. WT: At fixed localities, but not on mountain.

[787] 4747. SE: 4-6 days, nights. AW: 1-2. AE: 2-3.

4748. Kl, Mo: That is, seekers who are quest-

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787 ing for shamanistic power. WM: Refers to group of boys questing; see note 4724.

4749. Kl, Mo: After birth of child, death of relative, also quest. WT, WM, WS: "Doctor dance"
000 or shaman's initiatory dance is, among Wintu, group performance, undertaken to obtain guardian spirits by would-be shamans; it is not, as among other groups, dance which is held after guardian spirits have been obtained by prospective shamans.

4750. AW: 2-3 days.

4751a. AE, WS: 2-3. NF: Eats sparingly all the time.

4753. At: When boy up in mountains, he takes little rock, rubs it over his lips, and throws it away, as his parents have instructed him to do; "then he doesn't need to drink for a long time."

4755. WM: Refers to single questers and to group questers.

4756. AE: See also note 3247. WM: Refers to single and group questers.

[787] 4759a. AW, AE, WS: 2-3 days.

[777] 4764. Kl, SE: For luck in gambling.

[525] 4767. SE: See note 4768. AE: In myth, ant bites "good" or favored man; will not bite "common" or ordinary man.

4768. That is, luck in gambling, hunting, and such. SW: "If acquire 'luck,' all the power one carries is in one's arms or shoulders. If one has no luck, one's shoulder and arm are nothing; no power in them. If menstruant or woman under taboos eats meat hunter has shot she ruins his luck; then he has to obtain more before he can do anything again. That's when he goes into the little [steam] sweat house and cuts himself on his shoulder, to get the bad blood out from the spot where he carries his luck, and so he can get more luck there. This he gets by cooking the blood off his shoulder, or rubbing ants into cuts made where he has pricked his shoulder."

4769. Mo: To those seekers who obtain luck only (hunting, gambling, and such); "somebody speaks to them in a dream." Also "little" or "common" doctors, who cure by laying hands on patient, not sucking, dream their "medicine."

4770. Mo: Only persons receiving shamanistic power, bleed at mouth (not at nose).

4779. Doctor dance as form of vision seeking has been disregarded in this section; see note, Vision Seeking. WT, WM: Main form. WS: Only form for young men, girls.

4781. WT, WM: 1-3 days. WS: 2-5.

4785. AE, WS: 2-3 days.

4788. SW: Informant's father, who had "luck" (not shamanistic power) from Sun, never ate before sun-up, also prayed to Sun, with special formula, and offered Sun paint. WT: Youth, on return home from quest for "luck," uses stick spatula for eating; either paternal or maternal great-grandmother or grandmother, only, wait on him.

000 object; on second he finds it (can see it); on third he removes it. Some shamans "work on patient only up to midnight, some until daylight. The Paiute work until daylight, too; the Diggers [Maidu] only 2-3 hours." WS: 1-4 nights. If shaman cannot locate pain first night of doctoring, doctor's dance held next night beside patient and thereafter for 2-3 nights; must locate pain. MM: 1-5. NF: 3-4.

4927. NS: Shaman has to be alone with patient; "other people aren't supposed to watch him, when he is doctoring."

4928. At: Also "everyone comes to help a doctor when he's treating; everyone smokes, helps him out."

4929. Mo: "Interpreter" tells what doctor is saying during curing performance. Shaman uses same interpreter every time; may be either man or woman. SW: Interpreter or "regular assistant" interprets for shaman, who repeats what guardian animal has to say. Only assistant can answer guardian animal (shaman cannot; but only shaman can hear what guardian says). The guardian animal must come to shaman's post (see element, note 4870), which has 10 different objects on it, before it will speak to shaman. AW: Services of interpreter not always necessary (cf. note 5008).

4930. Mo: "Outside speaker" (man or woman) stands outside house, shouts to shaman's spirits, "Come on; your servant wants you to come, help him." Spirits say, "Listen, they're calling us." Same outside speaker or "caller" functions for shaman for life; must "obey the doctor's medicine, just as doctor does, or else the medicine will be angry, and hurt both of them." SW: Calls guardian animal for shaman, outside; "whoops loud." This only done if curing in summer; whoop wakes the guardian spirit (who sleeps all summer); he "reaches round and gets his pipe, dusts it, and smokes; then talks to doctor, finally puts on his moccasins and goes to the doctor to help cure patient. In winter doctors don't have to call their spirits by having an assistant go and shout for them; they're all outside anyway. It's handier for a doctor to cure in winter." AW: Informant scornfully characterized "speakers" for shamans as "half-breed [new] way"; said some of AE now use them. See notes 4929, 5008. AE: Shaman's interpreter also serves as outside speaker to call shaman's "power" for him.

4933. NF: See note 5079. Dreamer, not doctor, goes into trance.

4934. NF: Clown calls spirits for dreamer, however. See note 5079.

[755] 4935. Kl: Doctor's spirit talks to shaman from
[776] far off; no one else hears conversation. Shaman
[787] "interprets" what his spirit has told him to
people present.

4936. SW: Shaman has to tell assistant every song he sings, and from which guardian spirit it comes.

4937. Mo: Many women sing for shaman; "the more the better." AW: See note 4925.

[243-B]

season however is now late, and frosts warn that winter is near. K M 222 517 By mid-October, they have begun the homeward journey to their settlements, there to rebuild the earth lodges, gather firewood, and prepare for the long siege of winter. K M 221 361

Throughout the cycles of the seasons, the tribesmen live under a sense of dependent involvement in a universe that was created in the mythic age by supernatural beings who, establishing the present order, also chose their present form within it. K M 82 Among the creatures of this world, man is less the exploiter than a fellow being, a relationship honored by returning to the water the gall of a fish that had been caught in order that the fish be requickened, as well as in the annual ceremonies of the first sucker and the ripened wokas. Each individual may draw close to the sources of power; and among the Klamath neither age nor sex is a barrier. K 881 787 The young boy at puberty may be sent on vigil to sacred place—in mountains and at certain rivers or lakes—there to fast, pile stones, run, and swim. In time, he may faint, awaken with blood gushing from his mouth, and hear the song that is his power. A girl during the time of her puberty dance goes off to sleep apart during the day; then she too may hear a song. K [765] Those mourning a deceased mate or child may "travel," seeking solace and power, for the spirit confers power through pity. K 787 Those who seek help desire a specific power, and they may pray for prowess in hunting, gambling, in attracting a mate, or in acquiring wealth. One who already has a spirit associate may seek for others; and some, either through inheritance or by the successive acquisition of tutelaries, may go on to become shamans. Some persons may reject the call. One middle-aged woman recounts a waking dream she had in her girlhood of a stag in full antlers rising out of the waters. Had she followed the opening thus offered she might have acquired great power, but she was afraid and let the chance slip by.

Among the Modoc, says Ray, powers come only to those who M 787 756 [885] seek to become shamans. The call, which comes in a dream, is legitimate only in mature men and women past menopause and may not be experienced in old age. The seeker, like his Klamath counterpart, undertakes a five-day quest; but the chief of the spirit abodes in which he spends his vigil are the house pits of deceased shamans. Those spirits that come to him choose him

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M
787 as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing
756 they are the shaman's "helpers."

K However differently they construe the degree of individual
M access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that
● 787 human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those
K who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer
M
[782] in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtu-
[772] ous striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the
universe appears basically to be a moral order.

K In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The
M annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the
181 progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon
461 industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme
that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic
K exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this
M
461 virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to
556 maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a follow-
595 ing. Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the
K common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a
M contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent
622 men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In
556 war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his
[881] panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man
[701] of property is likely to be decked with many valuables con-
[764] tributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the
[538] man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowl-
[756] edge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send
out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power
in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to
K the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in
622 the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:
539

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee—to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

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sect were permitted to make temporary use of the Shaker church building until their own structure could be erected. Tribal members were drawn into entrant fundamentalist sects as well as the Shaker faith, and on the occasion of revivals Shakers freely visited their services. 648* 657* 795 177 178

Together with some of those sects, the Shaker faith embodied many of the demonstrative acts, in dramatized testimonial, visions, and the inspired state known as "the shakes," which had been largely abandoned by other churches that had become more staid with the passage of time. Its cures were the most spectacular demonstration of its power, and many of its converts came to it in this way. At the same time, it drew no very large membership: in 1925, Spier found only twenty Klamath thus affiliated. Any claim to the exclusive allegiance of members—an aspect of the Christian heritage—made heavy way against the broad tolerance in things religious characteristic of the Klamath. [787]

The member of the Indian police who had found favorably for the Shakers was cured by them on another occasion, rang bells in the services, and even sparked a drive to improve the appearance of the church. With equal concern, he contributed heavily to the Four Square Gospel mission, which he felt was beneficial to the "coming generation." His formal affiliation continued with the Methodist Church, and he was often in attendance at the Williamson River Mission. Nor did commitment to Christianity dim his evident belief in the validity of aboriginal Klamath religion. In his mind, and the minds of many other elderly Klamath, there was no need to select narrowly and exclusively a single revelation of the divine order on earth.

The fundamentalist churches—the "emotional" churches, as they were disparagingly dubbed by some white Methodists in Chiloquin—appealed primarily to whites and ethnic minorities of lower social status, and indeed participation in their services was a factor weighed in status evaluation. Accordingly, these sects brought tribal communicants into intimate contact with those components of the community, providing the basis for a certain degree of acculturation as well as of intermarriage. A few of the Mexican Interethnic unions stemmed from these associations, and at least one white Interethnic couple was regularly affiliated with the Negro church. 648* 657* 795 563 177

The Shaker church, however, was an ethnic church of some

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000 Klamath (Jan. 8, 1871); J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Jan. 31, 1871), report for January.

4. J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (March 8, 1871), report [763] for February. See also Zakoji (1953), pp. 63–64. The fear of sub-chief Palmer, dying of consumption, that his body might be violated by a post-mortem autopsy, is expressive of the distrust with which the physician was sometimes regarded. O. C. Applegate to Captain D. J. Ferree (May 6, 1871); Ferree to Applegate (May 8, 1871). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

5. H. N. in Zakoji (1953), p. 199.

6. Dave Hill in Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 59, 62; his wife: Appendix • [787] below. It is an interesting commentary upon the relativity of viewpoint, that during Hill's disappearance from the lecture troupe, A. B. Meacham, brother of the Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, resorted to spiritualistic mediums in an effort to locate him. Meacham (1876), pp. 95 ff.

7. Henry Blow: "Tyee Blowe of Klamath on Doctors," Samuel A. Clarke ms.; Archives, University of Oregon Library, source as well for the quotation of n.5; Doctor John: Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 64–68. The identification of the Susie of Gatschet with H. N.'s Aunt Sally is made by Zakoji (1953), p. 62. The letter of Allen David to Dave Hill and the reply of Skookum Doctor, reproduced in the Appendix, provide a direct illustration of Indian views of that period.

8. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Jan. 1, 1881), report for preceding December.

9. Lindsay Applegate to [Judge James C.] Toleman (Feb. 1, 1883). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

10. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 45th Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1878–79), Vol. 9, Pt. 5, 611.

11. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Oct. 1, 1881), report for September.

12. H. N. in Zakoji (1953), pp. 200 ff.

13. Joseph Emery to W. W. Wilson, Supt. Yainax School (Feb. 5, 1897; March 13, 1897).

14. T. L. in Zakoji (1953), p. 258.

15. O. C. Applegate to Henry Jackson (Sept. 6, 1899); in *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 56th Cong., 1st sess., H. R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1899–1900), Vol. 18, 313. Nash (1937), p. 147, erroneously sets the event at about 1906.

16. Nash (1937), p. 431. The preceding material is summarized from pp. 412–35.

17. L. S. Dyar to T. B. Odeneal, Supt. (Nov. 6, 1872; June 7, 1873; June 16, 1873); in *Report* . . . , U.S. 43d Cong., 1st sess., H.R.

842 hopes to have many sons, but the inevitable is accepted philosophically.

843 The sex of the child is not entirely left to chance, for certain traditional precautions are taken. A man does not cut wood while his wife is pregnant lest she have a girl. He may also hang a tiny bow and arrow in his house to assure the birth of a boy. If a girl is born, the opposite sex may be assured for the next child by turning over the afterbirth.

844 The arrival of the first child is of special significance. It is said that at this time
[821] there will be strong winds and thunder.[2] This is also a propitious time for a man to seek
[787] supernatural power in the mountains. In spite of the great importance attached to the birth of
[593] the first child there is nothing to indicate that he will be shown any favoritism. On the contrary, he will probably learn adult activities at an earlier age than his younger siblings and will be expected to assume a certain amount of responsibility in caring for younger children in the family.

At delivery, a soft pad is arranged to receive the child.[3] The umbilical cord is tied with the mother's hair and cut with an obsidian knife. The cord is buried when it drops off, or sometimes kept and wrapped in a piece of buckskin to be worn around the child's neck for luck. The navel is anointed with squirrel grease to hasten healing. As a general rule the afterbirth is disposed of at once by burial. Occasionally a woman throws the afterbirth away carelessly because she wishes to prevent future pregnancies.

846 The newborn baby is sponged off immediately with water, and the face and body are massaged and molded for the first time to conform to Klamath standards of beauty. He is kept beside the mother in the birth lodge during the four or five days of her seclusion. Once each day during this period the child is held over the heated rocks on which the mother lies, to insure his future health.

The infant is put to the breast a few hours after birth. The mother's nipples are squeezed and a hair worked around in them to start the
853 flow of milk. Thereafter the child is nursed whenever he cries. If the mother is unable to nurse her child, a wet nurse is called--generally a relative, but apparently any neighbor woman will do.

852 In many families presents are brought to the newborn child. A boy receives a tiny bow and arrow or small quiver, a girl a small digging stick or basket. These gifts are later hung from the hood of the child's cradleboard. As the presents are brought, a prayer or blessing is said "to encourage the child." Over a

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[2] Spier (1930), p. 55. None of our informants mentioned this.

[114] [3] The practices surrounding pregnancy, birth, and the care of the mother are described in detail by Spier, pp. 55 ff., and Voegelin (1942), elements 3007-3268.

224 after ducks in the canoes. A few informants
868 said that boys give away for luck the first
duck or squirrel that they kill, just as they
[787] will later give away their first deer. The
hunting of deer and other large game is done
only by grown men, especially those who have
sought and received special supernatural power
[721] either at the time of puberty or later. The
art of warfare is another pursuit reserved for
the fully grown although much of the physical
training of boys is directed toward building
strong and fearless warriors.

CONCLUSION

861 The child learns much through the medium of imitative play in which he plays at being grown-up. A large part of the play is spontaneous, but much is inaugurated and encouraged by parents or older children who show the younger ones how to entertain themselves.

As the child grows older he gradually acquires the skills with which he must be familiar. The greatest part of this knowledge comes from accompanying parents or grandparents in their daily routine of work. Adults often explain how things are done, but they have no well formulated program of education. The youngster is often the one to ask to be allowed to perform certain tasks. He is praised if he starts to help at an early age and is given what instructions he needs to carry out the work in which he has evinced an interest.

There are a few aspects of the culture which the Klamath themselves consider important enough to warrant formalized instruction. These are primarily concerned with demeanor and conduct. Children receive daily lectures on subjects of this nature, and are scolded or whipped when they do not live up to the standards. Physical training, especially for older boys, is also emphasized.

In all aspects of child training, the most important unit is the immediate family. The father in particular exhorts his children to live correctly; but the mother, grandparents, and other relatives also talk to the children.

On the whole, it can be said that Klamath parents do not have a conscious program of instruction for children in the techniques of ordinary daily activity. They do, however, feel a great responsibility to bring up their children well in the fundamentals of Klamath comportment.

773 genius presiding over it. This genius is called Tchitchatsχä'-ash or "Big
776 Belly;" he is represented to be an old man whose vigor of life is on the
821 decrease. When he leaves his lodge, his appearance embodies the rain-laden, dark-hued, thick nimbus clouds overhanging the earth. When his engine* comes into action, he attracts by it all the objects within reach, he oppresses the earth with his weight, and forces wayfarers to walk in other paths than they intended to travel lest they may incur danger to life. When he has spent his force by this wanton display, he is rent by a stroke of lightning or a strong gust of wind; he is dissolved into atoms, and the bones filling his big paunch, which had produced the rattling noise attending the course of whirlwinds, fall down to the ground. Tsáskai, the Weasel, the brother of Marten, wrestling with the old man and conquering him after a hard struggle, is the mythic agent who brings about his final discomfiture.

SPIRIT DEITIES.

'Εκτέτραμαι φοβερὰν φρένα, δείματι πάλλων.

775 No people has ever been discovered that did not believe in the return
776 of human souls after death to their former homes in the form of ghosts. Ghosts or spirits hovering through space are invisible and may inflict damage to anybody without danger of being recognized; therefore they usually inspire awe and terror, and wherever the existence of these fanciful beings is recognized imagination fills the earth, the atmosphere, and the waters with such spooks. Not all of these are necessarily supposed to be the souls of the deceased, but they may also represent the souls of animals, the spirits of mountains, winds, the celestial bodies, and so forth, for animism has its widest sway in this sort of superstition. Very different qualities are ascribed to each of these hobgoblins or spooks. They are either gigantic or dwarfish in size, powerful or weak in body, attractive or repulsive, of
[787] beneficial or wicked influence. They chiefly appear at night or in stormy weather; some are seen single, others in crowds, and a few of their number

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[193] * Shū'kash is the substantive of sh'hū'ka *to whirl about*, this being the medial distributive form of húka *to run about:* sh'huhóka, sh'hú-oka, sh'hū'ka "to run about by itself in various directions."

775 can be perceived only by the trained eye of such as are initiated into the
776 conjurer's profession.

787 The classes of specters mentioned more frequently than others in mythology are the spirits of the dead, and giants, dwarfs, and fairies.

775 *The Skō'ks,* or spirits of the deceased, occupy an important place in the psychologic marvels of the Klamath Indian, and are objects of dread and abomination, feelings which are increased by a belief in their omnipresence and invisibility. The popular idea of a ghost is suggested in all climates and historic epochs by that of a *shadow* of somebody's former self, and in several Indian languages the same word is used for *shadow, soul,* and *ghost.** The proper signification of skō'ks, shkū'ksh is "what comes out of;" like skó'hs, skó *spring of the year;* it is derived from skóa *to come out of, to emerge from, sprout up.*

In the mind of the Indian the appearance of a skō'ks comes pretty near the popular idea of a witch or spook as held by the uneducated classes of our population. The soul of a man becomes a skúks as soon as the corpse has been buried or consumed by fire. It hovers in the air around its former home or the wigwams of the neighbors and at night-time only. Its legs hang down and produce a rattling noise, and the whole appears in a white or a black shade of color. Usually nobody sees them, they do not harm anybody, nor do they produce any dreams; they appear to the senses and sight of the living only when they come to presage death to them. They undergo no metempsychosis into animals or plants; after hovering awhile around their former homes they retire to the spirit-land in the sky, "somewhere near K'múkamtch." Their arrival there is afterwards revealed by 787 dreams to the surviving relatives, who express in songs what they have seen during their slumbers.

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* In the Tonika or Túniχka language of Louisiana télia or télia'htch signify *shadow, soul,* and *reflection in the water;* in the Cha'hta, State of Mississippi, shilámbish is *shadow* and *soul,* while a *ghost* is shílup. The Egyptian ka and the Greek *εἴδωλον*, the *soul* after death, really signify *image,* and to this we may compare the use made of the Latin *imago.* The Cherokees, as Mr. James Mooney informs me, distinguish between adántă *soul* in the living being, u^{n}dalí′ secondary soul of an animal killed once before, and asgína an ordinary *specter, ghost* of malevolent disposition, which last term served the missionaries for transcribing the word "devil."

*539 the ground, both ends being bent over. The process gone through while sweating is
343 the same in both kinds of lodges, with the only difference as to time. The ceremonies
515 mentioned 82, 4–13., all refer to sweating in the mourners' sweat-lodges. The suda-
765 tories of the Oregonians have no analogy with the *estufas* of the Pueblo Indians of
[193] New Mexico, as far as their construction is concerned. Cf. *Notes* to 70, 1. 75, 11.

[192] 82, 1. lápa spû'klish, two sweat-lodges, stands for two *kinds* of sweat-lodges.

82, 5. shashámoks-lólatko forms *one* compound word: one who, or: those who have lost relatives by death; cf. ptísh-lûlsh, pgísh-lûlsh; hishuákga ptísh-lúlatk, male orphan whose father has died. In the same manner, k̲ĕlekátko stands here as a participle referring simultaneously to híshuaksh and to snáwedsh wénuitk, and can be rendered by "*bereaved*". Shashámoks, distr. form of shá-amoks, is often pronounced sheshámaks. Túmi etc. means, that many others accompany to the sweat-lodge, into which about six persons can crowd themselves, bereaved husbands, wives or parents, because the deceased were related to them. Cf. lĕ'pk̲'leχa, lĕ'pk̲'lekatko.

82, 6. Shiúlakiank etc. For developing steam the natives collect only such stones for heating as are neither too large nor too small; a medium size seeming most appropriate for concentrating the largest amount of heat. The old sweat-lodges are surrounded with large accumulations of stones which, to judge from their blackened exterior, have served the purpose of generating steam; they weigh not over 3 to 5 pounds in the average, and in the vicinity travelers discover many small cairns, not over four feet high, and others lying in ruins. The shrubbery around the sudatory is in many localities tied up with willow wisps and ropes.

82, 10. Spukli-uápka mă'ntch means that the sweating-process is repeated many times during the five days of observance; they sweat at least twice a day.

LUÁTPÎSHLA SNÉWEDSH M'NA.

LAMENT OVER A WIFE'S LOSS.

OBTAINED FROM DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 Snáweds k̲'leká. Tsúi tsik shpótû hissuáksûk, pä'wa tsúi, pä'nĕ
A wife dies. Upon this strengthens himself (her) husband alone, plunges then, again

765 mákual, sta-ótank k̲aítua pát; tsúi tûtí'χ yaínatat tû'tshna. Tsúi shlaá
● 787 camps out, famished nothing eats; then (he) dreams, (and) on the mountains he dozes. Then he sees

mák̲laks, tûtí'χ hûnk ná-asht; tsúi gä'mpĕle ládsashtat, tsúi psín hûshtí'k-
people, dreams (he) thus; then he returns to (his) lodge, and at night he frequently

tamna, tsúi shlä'popk, tsúi at shlä'popk siunotí'sh tchkash. Tsúi at shuí'sh
dreams, and has visions, and then he has hallucinations of (female) choruses also. And magic songs

hû'k nä'sht ki: "tchä'kĕli gék̲anuapka, súmat tsúk at géka tchákĕle"! tsúi
these thus say: "blood will come up, to the throat in time comes up blood"! then

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*539 765 787 buk tchékēl' a gépka. Tsúi wéwan'sh gûlī' winō'tnish; shashuaki'sh tchí'sh,
the blood comes up. Then women enter who form chorus; people who call the conjurer too,

lutatki'sh tchish; shuashuáktchish matchatgí'sh tchish gulī' látchashtat
the song-repeater too, bewailers, listeners also enter lodge

3 m'na.
his

NOTES.

[178] The ascetic performances and ceremonies here described are going into disuse at the present time. When they were fully observed, the bereaved husband wandered alone through the woods and wilds (spótu) for five days, but to the widow these observances extended over a shorter time. For this purpose both sexes wore warm clothing, but took to worn-out blankets or old articles of raiment, and used wisps of the serviceberry-bush as belts.

[192] [526] 83, 1. shpótū: strong and unusual bodily exercise, running up hill, plunging etc. was and is still considered beneficial to the body, and is much in favor with the Indians. Cf. 82, 10. 11.

[192] [193] 83, 1. hissuáksûk for híshuaksh ak; the husband *alone*, not in company of others; pä'nē for pä'n a, pēn a, cf. átĕnen for át a nen; and sĕ for sha, they, 82, 4.

83, 2. ka-ítua pát or p'át: he eats nothing at the time while wandering; páuk, p'ánk might stand here instead of pát; tū'tshna: for dozing they did not lie down, but tried to catch a little sleep while walking and wandering.

83, 2. shlaá, and tchákēle 83, 5, forms sometimes used in conversation instead of shläá, shleá; tchä'kēle, tchékēli. Cf. yáka for yä'ka, yéka: *Note* to 16, 10.

83, 3. hûshti'ktamna; the suffix -tamna shows that pshin stands for nánuk pshî'n gí'sh: "nightly, every night."

83, 4. siunō'tish and shuí'sh are both tamánuash-songs, but of a different character. See Dictionary. Shlä'popka: he sees in his dreams what he has heard mentioned in the songs. To sing or repeat songs started by the conjurer devolves almost exclusively on the women present at the ceremony.

83, 5. sámat: into the mouth; their blood, disturbed by the constant excitement produced by the night rambles, ascends to the throat, and is sometimes spit out by them.

84, 2. shuashuáktchish. By their loud and noisy lamentations (shuáktcha, to cry, to weep) they expect to avert from the bereaved husband the effects of the tamánuash-spell (shuí'sh) which he has seen in his dreams.

84, 2. matchátgish: those listening to the words uttered by the conjurer and his repeater or expounder; they are of both sexes and also act as bewailers.

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000 Meacham has given several of these concretionary products of the uncultivated Modoc mind. In making a study of aboriginal mythology and folklore such fictions must be disregarded, though they may be of interest to psychologists.

IV. Races in an undeveloped, primitive state of mind are prone to regard living animals as the abodes of spirits, and most frequently the wild and carnivorous quadrupeds are believed to harbor wicked spirits. These are either elementary spirits, or the ghosts of deceased persons. To see a spirit means death, and in their terrified state they often behold, as here, the spirit in a half human, half beastly appearance, when coyote-wolves, gray wolves, bears, cougars etc. come in sight. Such a sight can cause the instant death of the hunter, or deprive him of his reason, or make him sick for months. In Greek and Roman mythology, Pan, the Satyrs and the Fauns retain something of these primitive notions (in the panic terror etc.), though these genii were largely idealized in the later periods of national development. In every nation a relatively large amount of superstitions refers to hunting and the chase of wild beasts.

128, 9. Tanktchi'kni is in fact an adjective, not an adverb; literally, it means "those who existed, or hunted since that time", and is composed of tánk, a while or time ago, tchêk, finally, and the suffix -ni. Cf. 13, 2. 128, 1.

SKŪ'KS-KIĀ'M.

HUMAN SOULS METEMPSYCHOSED INTO FISH.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY DAVE HILL.

I.

*539
775
● 787
825

K̲á-i hû'nk shlä' at kaní kiä'mat skû'kshash. Hû'k píl únk shlä't
Not can see anybody in a fish a dead man's spirit. Dead men only can see

shkū'ks; píl mák̲laks hû'k shlä't skū'ks. Hushtí'χak tsä'taks ní'sh, sí'uks
spirits; only dead Indians can see spirits. He makes dream only (about deceased) but if me, to kill (me)

tchē'k sanahō'li hûk, wakíanua shuishá́ltki tchä bants' gíug nûsh. Hä'toks
then he wants, or perhaps to keep the song-medicine because he wants me. If

ní' shläát k̲'läkátak ní; hä n' û'nk shläát skū'ks-kiäm, hä n' û'nk shläát
I should see (the dead), might die I; if I it should see, the spirit-fish, if I him should see

mák̲laks hû'nk skō'ks tchí'sh, k̲'lakát n' û'nk shlä-ók; wakiánua hissúnuk
the dead person the spirit also, may die I, him for having seen; or perhaps if song-medicine is applied,

tchätch ní'sh k̲á-i siû'gat. Hû'masht hû'nkash shlä-úkit nä'd mák̲laks,
then me not he may kill. Therefore him if should see we Indians,

hû'k tchísh kiä'm, kat gēk wá; k̲á-i hû'nk shläát hû'nkesh kiä'mat
the dead also (would appear as) a fish, which there lives; not I can see it in the fish

skókshash.
the dead man's spirit.

II.

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Kiä'm	k̲'leká	tchû'shni;	tsúyunk	hû'ksa	tsóχatk	pí'l	kiä'm,	nánuktua
Fish	remain dead	forever;	therefore	those	dead (people)	(exist) only	as fish,	as all kinds of

kiä'm,	nánuktua	mák̲laksni	tsók̲atk.	Hä'	n'	hû'nk	hû'nkiash	shlääʹt	skû'k-
fish,	all kinds	of Indians	dead.	If	I		(of a deceased)	should behold	the

shash,	k̲'läkát	ní	hû'nk	släók;	hä'toks	ní	shuíshaltk,	tchēk	gíug	k̲á-i
spirit,	would die	I	it	through seeing;	but if	I	recur to magic songs,	then		not

siúgat	nia.
he may kill	me.

NOTES.

[128] My efforts towards obtaining exhaustive texts from the natives' concerning their belief in the transmigration of human souls were not crowned with entire success. Of the two items obtained, No. II is intended as a commentary of No. I, both treating [262] of the presence of human souls in fish. The cause why so many Indian tribes shun the flesh of certain fish lies in the fact that these species were seen feeding upon the bodies of drowned men and swimming around them. This induced the belief that man's soul will pass into the organisms of these finny inhabitants of the wave, even *539 when death has resulted from other causes than from drowning. According to Hill, 775 the Mák̲laks believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of 787 living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore 192 cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances. But in *one* status only they become visible to them; when Indians are bewitched by the irresistible, magic spell of a conjurer or of a wicked genius. Then they enter into a tamánuash-dream, and when they see a dead person's spirit in such a dream, they are almost certain to [755] die from it. Only the intervention of the conjurer and of his song-medicine can save them from perishing; rigorous fasting and ascetic performances cannot be then dispensed with, and with all that no certitude of his final rescue is to be had.

[769] Here as elsewhere the pronouns hûk, húnkiash etc., are inserted instead of the unpronounceable name of the deceased, and mean: *dead person, spirit.*

129, 2. píl mák̲laks; only dead Indians, not dead white men, because during their life-time these did not believe in the skû'ks; this belief is a privilege of the Indians.

129, 2. Hushti'χak etc. This sentence runs as follows: Tchë'ktoks hushti'χa ak nish, hûk tchë'k nish síuksh shanahö'li, wakiánhua tchēk p'násh (or pû'sh) nû'sh shuíshaltki gíug shanahö'li: "if he (the bad genius) makes me only dream in that manner, then he intends either to kill me, or perhaps he wants me to keep the song-medicine [756] for myself." To keep the song-medicine, shuíshlü, is to undergo fasts and ascetic performances under the supervision of some conjurer for an almost unlimited time, five years at least.

129, 3. 4. Hä'toks ní' shlääʹt etc.: if I should see (the dead) while I am *awake.*

[193] 129, 4. Skû'ks-kiäm, a compound word, may be rendered by spirit-fish, letiferous fish.

130, 1. Kiä'm k̲'leka etc. The rather obscure sense of this statement may be made comprehensible by the following: "When fish are dead, they are dead forever; hence

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[192]

the souls of all dead Indians continue to exist in the living fish, in all kinds of *living* fish only."

130, 2. tsóχatk. This refers to Indians who have perished by a violent death, as well as to those who died in the natural way.

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[115]

THE SPELL OF THE LAUGHING RAVEN.

GIVEN BY "CAPTAIN JIM" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

I.

Shúyuχalkshi tchúyunk É-ukshikni máklaks hátokt shuyúχëla, túmi
At "dance-place" when the Klamath Lake people there pilpil-danced, many
hûk hátokt máklaks gî. K'múkamtch hátokt a géna. Tchúi Ká-akamtch
there people were. K'múkamtch there went. Then Old Raven
shash hátokt wétanta shúyûχalpksh, tchúi hû ktá-i k'lä'ka nánuk máklaks
at them there laughed when they danced, and rocks became all people
shúyukaltk hátokt.
dancing there.

II.

Yámakni hû'k Káyutchish gátpa Kî'uti kúitit; tchúyunk î'-uag
From the North Gray Wolf arrived Kluti above; then he stopped
shkû'lχa káyak tchí'sh gátpënunk, nánuk shûlû'tamantk hátkok yámnash
(and) lay down (to sleep), not yet home having reached, in full dress at that spot beads
wáwakshnatk tchish; túla tchish hû'k gákatpantk î'uag sha hû'nk tû'këlχa.
with moccasins on too; together with (him) those coming stopped they (and) rested.
Tchúi Sháshapamtch hû'nk gáldsha-uyank Ké-utchiamtchash skû'lpkank
Then Old Grizzly approached Old Gray Wolf lying (and)
ktámpsh. Tchúi Sháshapamtch pálla Ke-utchíshash wákshna yámnash
asleep. And Old Grizzly stole from Gray Wolf the moccasins beads
tchish shûlû'dshnank wû'kshχēn génuapkug. Tchúi Ke-utchíamtch
also, (and) put them on, to the fishing-place for going. Upon this Old Gray Wolf
sχishû'lank ktí'ukuela Sháshapamtchash; vud'hitakuéla ktáyat pállapksh
waking up threw down hill the Old Grizzly; he rolled (him) down over the rocks for having robbed
pásh wákshna yámnash tchish. Tchúi hû'nk shíuga pî Sháshapamtchash,
him of moccasins neckwear also. Then killed he the Old Grizzly.
tchúi É-ukshikni máklaks shellualtámpka Yámakishash, Sháshapamtchash
whereupon the Klamath Lake people commenced fighting the Northerners, (because) Old Grizzly
hûnk Kä'-utchishash shíugsht. Tchúi Ká-akamtch wétanta shash shél-
by Gray Wolf had been killed. Then Old Raven laughed at them when
lualpksh, ktá-i sha k'léka.
fighting, and rocks they became.

*539 text is far from being complete. It refers to a locality above the confluence of Sprague
773 and Williamson Rivers, called Ktaitini, or "Standing Rock". A high rock stands
825 there at the edge of a steep hill, and, according to the legend, the Indians who put
823 pitch on their head were changed into that rock. Near by, a lumber-dam looking
like a beaver-dam, across the Williamson River, partly resting on rocks projecting
from the bottom of the river. K'múkamtch longed for the destruction of this dam,
muddied the water to prevent the Indians from fishing and hired the loon to destroy
the objectionable structure. The loon dived into the waters and forced its way through
the dam by main strength. The Indians dwelling on the shore depended for their
living on the fisheries, and seeing their existence at stake tried to gig the loon, but
succeeded only in hitting its tail-feathers. When the loon had accomplished his task
K'múkamtch offered to reward him in any manner wished for. The loon then wished
to have white spots on its back, and K'múkamtch satisfied the request by spitting
chalk upon the downy surface of its body.

132, 3. lúeluak; formed by vocalic dissimilation; cf. *Note* to 114, 3.

BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

I.

*539 Wásh tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lû'la wásham tχû'tχash.
Prairie-wolf is soothsayer; and they believe in wolf's prophecy.

825 Mák̲laks hû'nk lû'la wásham pákluipkash k̲'lékuapkaht tchē'k; tχu'tχuk
787 Indians believe, prairie-wolf when howls, they will die after a while; presaging
763 pákluipka.
he howls.

Mák̲laks hû'nk lû'la púshish hä'masht î-unégshtka, tχû'tχuk héma;
Indians believe, the cat when cries just after sunset, for presaging death it mews;
tchîkî'n tchish hä'masht î-unégshtka gû'lu, tχû'tχuk tchēk hä'ma. Wátchag
the chicken also when crows just after sunset the female, for presaging death then it crows. The dog
tchî'sh wawá-a î-unégshtka, k̲ú-i tchämlûk.
also (when) whines right after sunset, the signs are bad.

*539 Watság tchî'shtat tχótχa î-unä'gshtka; tsúi gátpa mák̲laks, gû'lki ngéisha
[682] A dog at a lodge howls prophetically just after sunset; then comes an Indian, attacks, wounds
at hustsō'χa. Sa-ámoks hátokt tchía tû'sht hushtchō'χa, k̲á-i hûnk
and kills (the owner). A relative, (who) there lived right where the murder was, did not him
shiúga; tsúi tû'tûk spû'nshna lû'gshla vû'nsh sχéna witsû'ls éna tû'tuk
kill; then seizing (him) they arrest, enslave him, the canoe row away, fishing-net carry with them taking
ktsî'k, snáwedsh spû'nshna híssuaks shíukaluk. Kilû'sh at kétak a
ears, his wife they abduct, (her) husband being the murderer. Furious he quits and
tsā'wik.
is demented

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 825 787 K̲ák̲ tχû'tχatk̲ish; tsúi sa lúluk sa k̲ák̲am tχû'tχatkash, tsúi sa
A raven is a soothsayer; and they believing the raven's repeated prophecy, they
shenótanka; pits hû'nk pán k̲ák̲ mák̲laks.
fight each other; it also eats, the raven, (dead) men.

787 Tutiksh mák̲laks shuína tchû'χapkam m'nálam shashámoksham;
Dreams the natives sing about dead their relatives;
húmasht sháhunk gíug kíukayunk flags.
for this same reason they stick out flags.

525 777 825 Tmélhak gítko shaklō'tkish tídsh tínχa; tû'm íχaga. Tmélhak tā'dsh
A tmélhak-squirrel having, the gambler well succeeds; much he wins. The tmélhak (is) certainly
sháyuaks; shakálshtat lak̲í, tída sualaliámpkatko.
of much account; in the game (it is) chief, well managing (it).

Tcháshash mû'na lushántsnank mbáwa skí's; tsúi mák̲laks nánuk
The skunk deep down while scratching a hole emitted a blast; upon this people all
825 hushtsóga tsáshash-kíuks. Snáwedsh shanahóliuk spû'nshna p'laiwásham
killed the skunk-conjurer. A wife seeking he carried off the eagle's
tû'paks ktanápkash. Shléank tchawíka p'laíwash, wí-udsna ánkutka
sister when asleep. Seeing (this) became furious eagle, beat with a club
tchásēs, wí-udsish k̲'läká, tsúi k̲ó-i pílui. Ndopóg ktsō'l hämotsípka:
the skunk, the beaten one died, then badly stunk. Smelling (it) the stars said:
"pátkal!" at p'laíwash pátkalp'le, stópatchka, tsúi gémpēle túpakshash
"get up!" and eagle rose up again, washed the face, then went home sister
m'na énank.
his taking with him.

II.

*539 525 825 777 Hä shaklō'tkish pí'sham shnû'lash ntággal, shaklō'tkish tídsh vumí',
If a gambler of humming-bird the nest finds, (and) the gambler well hides (it) away,
k̲aítoks kaní vuiní'χi. Hä kó-e shléa pahápkash, pē'tch ktákta skä'tish
not any one conquers (him). If a frog he finds dried-up, the leg he cuts off left
tapí'dshnish vumí'; húmashtak shû'ta shaklō'tkish, k̲aítoks kaní vuiní'χi.
hind (leg), hides away; (if) thus acts the gambler, (then) not any one beats (him).
Hä kaní tchatchlaíptcha shlä'-a (kinkáni tût wá), tídsh tí'nχa. Hä kaní
If any one a kind of fire-bug finds (scarce there they are), good luck it brings. If any one
mā'ntchnish mák̲läksäm shtáp shuálka, pahápkash käíla-shushatí'shash
old-fashioned Indian arrow-head saves, dried-up a mole
tchí'sh, hû'kt humáshtak tídsh tí'nχa tchí'sh.
also, he in the same way well succeeds also.

171 776 769 É-ukshikni Mō'dokni lóla p'laikí'shash lák̲iash, shtínta tchísh wengápkam shkō'kshash.
The Klamath Lakes (and) Modocs believe in the heavenly ruler, revere also of the deceased the spirits.

000 Mō'dokni shtûpuyúka túnäpni wäíta túnäpni pshín gshiúlak̲a káyak
The Modocs at first menstruation five days (and) five nights dance never
ktákí'nan; wewánuish ta-unä'pni wäíta k̲á-i tchû'lēks pán.
sleeping; the females for ten days no meat eat.

*539 Hä' î shma-'htcháktak yaínatat, k̲á-i î ûn k̲ésh shlé-etak; hä'-atoks
If you let your shadow fall on the hill, not you ipo will find; but if

[787] î k̲á-i shma-'htcháktak, tû'm î ûn k̲ésh shlé-etak.
you not let your shadow fall, much you ipo will find.

000 Móatuash, k̲'le-ugtkinápkasht tchíalash Móatuashăm k̲ók̲etat, k̲á-i mhû' 3
The Pit River Indians, (lest) would cease to come the salmon up the Pit River, not grouse

lúela skó; Mō'dokni tchí'sh lóla shuátash kíăm tchûk̲á shátma, humásht-
they kill in spring time; the Modocs also assume, sage-hens the fish to swim up stream invite, there-

gisht k̲á-i lúela.
fore not they kill (them).

NOTES.

*539 171 I. What is contained in these short items refers equally to the Klamath Lake and to the Modoc people, although those contained under I. were obtained from various informants belonging to the former chieftaincy.

[192] 133, 2. páka to howl, bark; pák'la to howl repeatedly, to howl for a while; pák-huipka to howl for a while in the distance towards somebody.

[177 231] 133, 4. 5. The cat and the chicken being but recently introduced among these tribes, this superstition must have been transferred to them from other animals. By inversion, the words tchíkin gû'lu, *the hen*, appear here widely separated from each other.

[192] 133, 6. K̲ú-i tchămlûk has to be resolved into: k̲á-i tchē mál (for málash) hú'k: "bad then for you this is!" Cruel fights will follow.

133, 7–11. This story is not clearly worded, but we are taught by it how these Indians are conversing among each other with laconic breviloquence. An Indian living in the vicinity has heard the whining of the dog which means death to his owner. He goes there, shoots the man and takes to his heels. A relative of the murdered man comes up and is mistaken by others for the murderer. They deprive him of his wife, his property and his liberty; he becomes a madman on account of the injustice done to him.

[825] 134, 1. 3. The raven (k̲ák̲) is supposed to be a bird of fatal augury, because he was seen devouring the flesh of dead Indians. Compare: General *Note* on page 130.

[202] 134, 4. kínkayunk. They adjust a rag or piece of skin to a pole and stick out that improvised *flag* on the top of the lodge to notify neighbors that they had a dream last night and desire an interpreter for it.

[525 825] 134, 5. One of the legs of a dead black tmélhak-squirrel is cut off and laid under the gaming-disk or the pá'hla to insure luck to the player.

134, 7–12. Tcháshăsh etc. This is a fragmentary extract of a scurrilous skunk-myth, which I have not been able to obtain in full from my informant, the Modoc chief Johnson, who speaks the Klamath dialect. This myth is well known through the whole of Oregon, for parts of it are embodied in a popular and melodious song of the Mólale tribe, whose ancient home is the country east and southeast of Oregon City and Portland.

134, 7. 8. mák̲laks nánuk is the direct object of hushtsóga; the skunk killed them by his stench.

[601] 134, 9. tû'paks stands for tû'pakshash; túpakship, abbreviated túpaksh, is properly the younger sister, as called by or with reference to an elder brother, while pa-ánip

771 To treat aboriginal Klamath religion under three headings of shamanism,
[791] power quest, and cosmology is patent oversimplification. In nature and
[551] content these features formed an integrated configuration reflecting a major
cultural preoccupation. It is true that the shaman in each community played
a dominant role and in his capacity as curer, magician, and entertainer commanded
● [787] the utmost in social prestige. On the other hand, as was common in
western North America, every individual, at puberty and thereafter, deliberately
and repeatedly sought contact with a variably defined spirit world.
Thus Klamath culture had a variation of the American Indian guardian-spirit
773 theme. Less specifically formalized, and so perhaps, less well integrated,
776 were the elements of myth and tale, the rationalizations for the presence of
various natural phenomena, for eschatology, and for the general conception
of the universe. Like adjacent tribes, the Klamath interested themselves in
animal spirits. These were of particular importance in providing shamanistic
power. In the individual power quest, however, the sources from which spiritual
forces emanated were less specifically defined. A rather wide range of supernatural
powers was recognized, some being animals, some vaguely anthropomorphic,
others relating to such natural features as mountains, streams,
rocks, or even landmarks like Crater Lake. In respect to these forces an
involved folklore has arisen which allows some classification of the Klamath
[775] concepts of the supernatural. In this realm, for example, are views about
the abode of the dead and the nature of ghosts and souls, these being carefully
differentiated from nonhuman spirits.[3] Here too is a body of myth relating
to superhuman dwarf men and women, to the forces in specific places or
natural phenomena in the Klamath terrain, and finally, the most important
for this discussion, to the culture hero, the anthropomorphic Kemu'kemps.[4]

[171] Kemu'kemps, while not usually identified with an animal spirit, has many
characteristics suggesting the folklore regarding Coyote in the Plateau-Basin.
He is at once creator and trickster, angrily forbidding in some contexts,
indifferent in others, and in still others a ludicrous buffoon.

[825] Essentially human in conceptualization (a myth complex relating to a
[821] human hero also occurs in adjacent regions), Kemu'kemps is sometimes
identified with the marten, whose younger brother is weasel, and with the
winds.[5] In the myths assembled by Gatschet, he constantly rivals his magically
born son 'Ayšiš, whose destruction he repeatedly plans, often with the result
[821] of encompassing his own. Weather, such as rain or heat, was also attributed
to him. Kemu'kemps is also the creator, and there are numerous folktales
which tell how he brought various locations into being. At his instigation,

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[113] 1939), cf. 145-149; Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distributions: Northeastern California* (Anthropological Records, 7: 2, Berkeley, 1942).

[3] Spier, 1930, pp. 100 ff.

[113] [4] Cf. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (U. S. Geological Survey, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Washington, 1890), pt. 1, lxxix-lxxxv, and pt. 2, 138-140. A summary is also given by Spier, 1930, loc. cit.

[5] Gatschet, 1890, pt. 1, lxxxii-iii.

178 latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence
that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on
the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often
recur.

787 The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, ap-
[881] parently regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was
usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power
[785] obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts
existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating,
[533] and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath
emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word
/šuw'i·s/ meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on
787 context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from
177 without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior
[792] associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly in-
dividualized and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality,
it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers,
the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions.
One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with
the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The
examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older in-
formants. Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions as-
sociated with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me,
782 "Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and
776 old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.'
823 I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I
774 say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over
787 there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains
and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I
dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it."
She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to
Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up,
up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man
standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I
773 don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The in-
formant refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of
whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena:
"When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They
said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never
did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it
was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a
[797] real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those
things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

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[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

782 Other informants also give a hint of this attitude. Even where there is
776 sophistication by virtue of education or long-time residence away from the
823 group, one encounters statements like that of a woman, half-Klamath, half-
774 Caucasian: "Those old Indians had a lot of sense. They kind of felt at home
around here and they would get a lift just from talking to the mountains
787 and lakes. It was like praying and it made them feel at peace. When I get
up in the morning, I look first over there [at Mt. Pitt] and it makes me feel
good too. Not that I pray in the old Indian way; that's just idolatry. But
it's like the scenery kind of gets ahold of you even if I been seeing it all my
787 life."

776 A possible indication of this attitude appears in the repeated warnings to
855 children to avoid certain rocks and cliffs. "You might fall down and hurt
823 yourself" is of course quite true; on the other hand, places about which some
modern Klamath parents feel particularly uneasy were associated aboriginally
with power sources. A strong drive in the past was fear that a child might be
784 harmed through contact with "power." Every effort was made to keep the
child away from the shaman, the sweat lodge, the mourning place, and the
841 like. (It may be noted that menstrual blood was placed near the cradled
child to negate forces whose mere presence could harm the inexperienced.)
These attitudes toward nature and the surrounding natural phenomena, at
least as sources of uneasiness, still exist among younger Klamath of today.

773 Also obtainable is evidence on attitudes toward the culture hero. Some
776 offer a rational systematization of beliefs concerning him. Generally, this
177 involves some interpretation in the light of Christian reasoning. Kemu'kemps,
because of his essentially human characteristics, readily lends himself to
identification with the Christian God. The middle-aged woman quoted above,
struck by the linguistic parallels, notes: "Those old Indians were really
273 Christians. It's only the liquor around here that makes the unbelief and
trouble. Kemu'kemps means the 'Old One'; that's God. He revealed himself
to the Indians long before the Americans [sic] came. He had a son, too,
'Ayšiš, that's just like Jesus. He created the world, just like it says in the
Bible. If only those old Indians had been able to see it, they were close to
God all the time. They lived good upright lives under his guidance. Another
word for Kemu'kemps in our language is *Playtul'kni·;* that means the 'One
on High,' 'Somebody up there.' That's the name we give God in our language
now. It's all the same."

Not all informants are so definite in their syncretism. One elderly woman remarked: "Who is Kemu'kemps? I don't know. Sometimes I think he's God, but sometimes I think he must be Devil. Maybe he was just a story the old Indians made up. But they called him Playtul·kni· and that means God. My grandson asked me, 'Gramma, who's Kemu'kemps?' I say, 'I don't know. Maybe he's like God.' " In another connection she remarked: "I think that Kemu'kemps is Devil. He gets people into trouble; he leads them into temptation. When I was a little girl, they said to me, 'He's no good; don't believe that any more.' But I don't know. I see the icicles and I think of the wind and Kemu'kemps. He made the world and they call him Playtul'kni·. The Devil

Concluding Remarks in English

"He said that whenever someone was killed in front of them they had to jump into their place. Oh, he said he sure was scared! He was with those white soldiers fighting the Modocs in the Lava Beds." 539* 726 648 173

Mrs. Butler adds: "He told how they had to go to the war, because they (the white people) told them that they'd take all the Klamath Indians away, if they didn't go. All those who went were related, since they didn't want them to take anybody away. Others, some of them, refused and took their canoes across to Pelican Bay. Some did not want to get into the war. One man, a good shot, said, 'I'm not going. I'm going to die! They can kill me right here. I don't want to go.' But they never took him."

29. Menstruation Practices

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles) 539* 841

(1) When a woman has her menstrual period, she does not come to eat because of menstruation. (2) [She] does not eat with us. (3) [She] does not bathe, does not get wet. (4) [She] will not get chilled. (5) [She] does not feel well, and does not put her hand in water.

30. The Second Coming

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles) 539*

(1) According to God's promise [lit. "rule"]. (2) All the earth will burn up. (3) And at that time God will return again. 776 787

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]

756 He sang a song of the weasel spirit. The animal rose and danced, holding up his fore paws. That evening Pat's parents took him into the lodge again. The shaman sang the weasel song again. It danced as before; then it disappeared. No one moved. It was dark in the lodge; the shaman had two men standing on opposite sides with torches. He sang a weasel song, telling them to watch for the weasel's return. Suddenly its tail appeared from the ground, shaking. He sang a second weasel song for some time and its hind quarters appeared. A third song brought the trunk, and with the fourth the weasel lay there motionless. Everyone saw it. The shaman asked, "Did you find that the weasel came back?" "Yes." "Did everyone see it?" "Yes." After this they had spirit singing again, so Pat was sent out by his mother. There were bad spirits coming, which might catch and kill him for no one could cure him.[168]

WEATHER CONTROL AND CLAIRVOYANCE

The shaman's art is not confined to these winter performances, but is invoked during the year, not only for curing, but whenever his ability to manipulate conditions and to prophesy is needed. The weather is controlled, fish are made to run, lost articles and thefts discovered, the fate of a war party is foreseen, and the community protected against malignant spirits. It is easy to see why the shaman transcends the chief in the popular mind, for there is not only the recurring winter ceremony in which the shaman alone has a stellar part, but in every emergency they turn to him, not to the chief. Even in war, the one occasion for a layman to star, the shaman steps in to dim his prominence.

756 789 There are no special weather shamans and the practice is by both sexes. There is the limitation, however, that weather control is exercised only through certain spirits, which the novice does not have.

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[532] [168] There are three stone figurines in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California (catalogue nos. 1–14181, 1–14182, 1–14212) which were said to have been collected on the Klamath reservation and to have been used ceremonially. Two roughly resemble animals, one with a pack, and the third a human bust. Repeated inquiries brought only denials from my informants of any knowledge of their use. Nor have any figurines been found in their country. They may nevertheless have been the private medicine of some shaman. Somewhat similar stone figures from the Wasco are in the collection of the Field Museum of Natural History.

[292] In the Field Museum collection is also a pair of eye rings (no. 61533), resembling our spectacle frames, which were "worn by men with blackened faces to frighten children at certain ceremonies." I learned nothing of such articles. The rings and the cords to fasten them about the head are made of strands wrapped with bark.

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789 •

The songs of these spirits bring southerly winds and storm or the cold north wind to clear the sky. There is the suggestion here that weather control is a winter practice; hence it falls in the period most suitable for shamanistic performances. Rain is brought with the songs of the flicker, a black bird (nåo'lins), the horned owl, red shitepoke, and a big water snail (ḳ!awi's). Wile'aḳaḳ, Dwarf Old Woman, lying on Mount Pitt, controls the west wind; she can cause the heaviest downpour when the snow lies too deep. The prairie chicken makes the loudest thunder. Rattlesnake makes rain and thunder; the thunder is his rattling. To make it snow they use the songs of various white things, such as the pelican, which causes the greatest fall, and the white grizzly and brown bears. Clear weather is brought by a strong north wind; the songs for this are those of a hawk (tel'ktu), magpie, crow, and Gŏga'nᴇ, a dwarf, who is most potent. Crow is thought to have cross-eyes; when he rolls them, it stops snowing. The songs of the winds are also used; there are seven of these, one for each of the compass points except northeast. Winds raised by shamans cause sickness and death. There are other spirits which control the weather but these are the principal ones.

The shaman lies alone singing in his earth-lodge or sweat-lodge. If he does not succeed in a single night or if he is only partly successful, he calls the people to help him with the regular performance (wa'hia), dancing and singing to invoke the aid of more spirits. Nancy's father could make the weather change. He had two spirits, crow to stop the falling snow and the water snail to bring rain when it grew too cold. While other shamans could make the wind blow, the snow drift, and cause it to thunder, Nancy does not know that her [539]
father could. His crow song was

ḳaḳ kŏ'mᴇ ge'o
crow mine
bĕlis galo' holi'ta
cross-eyed sky cleared.

His second song made it rain immediately,

ḳ!awiḳ!a ya'nu'
water snail am I.

He sang these in his earth-lodge.

An exhibition of weather control of quite different character is described in the following incident. The shaman ḳis'kemag (Shaman Man) went to Ashland in the autumn to trade but he could not return because of deep snow on the Cascade range. He was challenged to make it rain. He melted a strip of lead in a frying pan and had some one pour it down his gullet. They could hear it hiss. In the middle of the night it rained so hard that the snow melted away.

756 789 226 The shaman is called on to exercise this art when the weather is unpropitious and the food supply in danger. If the ice stays late in the spring so that they cannot fish, they go to the shaman to get him to make it rain. If it rains but no fish come, they ask him again to bring the fish. The first catch is always divided so that everyone has something to relieve his hunger.

756 226 Should the fish disappear from the mouth of Williamson river, for example, an old man will ask a shaman to discover the cause. He invites them to assist in the singing-dancing performance in his lodge to call the spirits, which in this case is expedited to two nights instead of the usual five. It appears that a shaman above them on the river, growing jealous of their success in fishing, has sent a spirit mink under the water to drive the fish away or take them to some other people. The spirit that makes the fish run is a big sluggish snake. The shaman causes two female snakes to lie in the mouth of the river. Then he tells the fishermen to try their luck and to bring him a fish, male (ķŏ'ktsials) or female ('lŭ'ksāls), from each net. This performance is called kie'rmalo'ᴇ, to make fish.

756 Rivalry among the shamans is glaringly apparent. It not only appears in the shamanistic tricks where the results are tangible and visible but extends for obvious reasons to superior claims of weather control and to the detection and conquest of other shamans' sickness-bringing spirits, with the dispatch of malignant spirits in turn. Contests in manipulating the weather are not a special form of shamanistic activity among the Klamath, and I doubt that they are among other American tribes where the practice has been described.

A Modoc put a spirit on Mount Shasta to make it snow. The spirit caused sickness as well. A Klamath shaman performed the usual dance-song ceremony and discovered that the Modoc shaman was at the bottom of the mischief. He sent one of his own spirits to catch the spirit on the mountain and enslave it. When it was caught the Modoc died.

A very powerful Modoc shaman, Black Sage-brush Head, had a stone pipe. Whenever he wanted to smoke, the pipe lit itself, or rather a spirit did it. He visited Ctai'is, a Klamath shaman living at the mouth of Williamson river, and exchanged pipes with him. After his return home, Ctai'is found the pipe missing. Later they had word from the Modoc that the pipe had returned to him.[189]

There is no question that the rivalry cuts deeper at times. A shaman accused of causing sickness stands in danger of his life, and the matter may turn on the relative personalities of the rivals. It is patent then why foreign shamans are accused, Modoc and Paiute for

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[189] This appealed to the humor of my informants enormously.

"When the sun is environed by lamb-clouds, or a mottled sky, 821
this is figuratively expressed by: 'K'múkamtch [Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps] has taken the beaded garments of Aíshish [his son] and dressed himself in them' A peculiar red smoke or haze appearing in the northwestern or western sky, shnúish, announces his arrival; he is also recognizable by his bulky posteriors, or as the Modocs say of him: 'K'múkamtch múnish kutúlish gítko.' By this they evidently refer to the white and heavy mountain-shaped summer clouds."[315]

Frogs come out before the rain, hence this is a sign that a storm is due. When the storm rises, old people cry to it, "You go back to the mountains. We do not want you here." The only precaution against lightning is a burden basket or sieve hung on a high pole outside the house.[316]

When a man sneezes or his ears ring, someone is talking about 787
him, but not necessarily a woman, as elsewhere. If a door opens, someone is coming from a distance.[317]

To end the long winter months and hasten the coming of spring, 789
the ring and pin game is played. A proper catch "breaks the month." Or little spears of the hard interior of the tule are thrown into the ground. On the contrary, playing cat's cradles in winter makes the months longer. These beliefs are not seriously held; they are more of the nature of manners of speech.

Gambler's luck comes not only through spirit power but by the 777
possession of parts of dead moles, frogs, etc., or obsidian blades. These must have been found, and they are carried to the play, and are kept, like the gaming sticks, at crematories, or at least away from the house.

A series of beliefs surround birth and childhood. A storm always 844
blows at a woman's first parturition. The child will cry if the umbilical cord is not tied with the mother's hair. If an animal eats the afterbirth the woman will become barren. She may not eat meat or fish after the birth, must use a head-scratcher and wear a bark belt. [784]
The baby is massaged so that it will grow well formed. A girl's cradle is wide so that she will grow broad. The navel cord is saved else the child will die. Sterility is cured by drinking a crushed shell.

A turtle head is hung about the neck to ward off rattlesnakes. It 789
was said that this is the general custom but turtles are found only in

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[315] Gatschet, 1:lxxiv.

[316] Also recorded by Barrett, Material Culture, 257.

[317] This is said to be a pre-white belief, but the only doors of those days were mats over the earth-lodge hatchways and the flaps of the mat-lodges.

789 one part of Klamath territory, on the eastern shore of Klamath lake and southward. A bracelet made of the shed skin of a water snake (wi'sl̥ək) will make a little child swim well. Girl's hair is singed so that it will grow long.

881 Menstrual regulations prescribe that at first menstruation girls may not eat meat or fish else they will get sick. They must use a head-scratcher and run toward the dawn. Their clothing and bands must be burned. Older menstruants are permitted dried fish and 841 may do without the scratcher. Women must not care for the roots they gather while in this condition, else they will fail to find them in [756] the future. Shamans must avoid menstruants else they lose their power.

765 The same food restrictions are imposed on mourners, who also use the head-scratcher. If they touch hands to face it will wrinkle, to hair it will turn gray. They must spit into a hole. Mourners must use special sweat-lodges. A woman's bands are hung on the trees near-by. Men wear bark belts so that their backs will not grow stooped. The house in which a death takes place must be burned with its contents. Mourners must abandon their first kill or harvest, or their gains at gambling, and give the second away. Similarly novice hunters and root-gatherers give away their first fruits, a gambler his first gains after acquiring power. Mourners must not fish nor cross a river else the fish will disappear. These mourners' observances have largely a purificatory intent.

821 A storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned.

823 Klamath marsh, which is now almost wholly dry, is known to have been in that condition on earlier occasions, for instance, about 1840 and again about 1860. On the former occasion it was so dry that its southern arm could be crossed on horseback between the settlements Du'"Ilḳŭt and I'wal. They did not know what caused it. As a remedy a man would be dispatched to one of the spirit pools in the Cascade mountains (as Crater and Diamond lakes) to bring back water in a squirrel or chipmunk skin to pour into the marsh.

226 The first fish rite of these people is held at one place alone, Komå'ĕksi on Sprague river. Why at this point, is anything but obvious. The first sucker caught is burned to ashes, others must be roasted on the spot, otherwise no more will follow. The gall of fish caught with difficulty, as when speared through the ice, must be thrown back into the water else the fish will avoid the fisher.

Grace is said before eating; bits of food are cast toward the earth, 264 the mountains, old house pits, and cremation places so as to feed them first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula is a prayer. If this is neglected, the earth would harm the little children.

An earthquake (ke'la t!ilI'ŋgᴇ, earth shakes) is caused by the hero 823 Kᴇmü'kümps who moves the earth. It has no special significance. The only quake recalled by my informant occurred during the Ghost Dance of 1870; it was interpreted as a not unfavorable sign.

An eclipse is called loḳ slo'ki, grizzly bear eats. They say that 821 Grizzly Bear eats the sun or moon at this time. People gather to make a noise, crying ḳo, ḳo, Frog; they hire the Frog (ḳo'wĕ) in the moon to use her powers on the bear, because Frog is the moon's wife as the following tale explains. The frog can be seen in the moon. The sun is included in this explanation. Although sun and moon are called by the same word, sa'bas, they are known to be separate entities.

> Moon had two sisters. When Frog went to visit, she went into Moon's [539] house. Moon told his sisters, "You had better let her sleep with you." But they said, "No, you had better take her." Frog was angry at this and jumping on Moon, clung fast. Moon tried to cut Frog loose with a knife but he could not. So she is stuck fast, part of him, today. He said, "Well, I will keep her as my wife, so that whenever Bear eats me Frog can exercise her shamanistic power to drive him away." So they are living together today.

There are several magical ways of making the wind blow, but 789 they turn on the same notion. There is a rock in the water south of Bare island which is a mythical hero, and another on Eagle Ridge near-by is his dog. If the latter is struck the wind will blow a gale from the south.

> My father told me [Pat Kane], "Do not hit this else a very strong wind will blow. Do not throw stones in the lake there or play there." I wondered what would happen. I was a big boy. I took a club and struck the rock. Next day a strong wind blew, the strongest wind I have ever seen. It thundered, snowed, and hailed for two days. My father asked, "Why did you hit it?" I could not answer. He said, "I told you not to hit it."

Similarly, poking in an eddy (sü'laŭks) near the mouth of Williamson river with a pole, pumping it up and down, will cause a strong wind to blow. Both localities are connected by the same tale; the eddy is where the hero disappeared under the water, the rock his resting place. There is another spot where the wind can be made to blow, the rocks at Squaw point. Pounding in the holes on the south side, for instance, will bring a south wind.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

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301 length is "a little too much." The unit, according to one informant,
is the length of the extended left arm to the upper end of the humerus,
or across the chest in addition to the point of the right shoulder. The
other gave the unit as a doubled string from the extended left hand
K to the sternum; that is, a fathom. One thing is clear, that there is
[436] no great concern for dentalia as money, as among the lower Klamath
tribes. The strings are not standardized either as to length or size of
the individual shells. Long dentalia are more valuable than the short,
but my informants never knew anyone to argue over the precise length
of a shell. Both men agreed that the several kinds of beads, or at
least the best, are not worked by the Klamath, but come from the
K south. They are either found in raided Achomawi-Atsugewi camps
[721] or are traded from these people or possibly the Shasta. Both were
[439] certain that the shells are not obtained from the north. This is something of a puzzle, because the Columbia river people have dentalia and
[177] use them extensively in trade. Furthermore, the ultimate point of
origin of the shells is the coast of Washington and British Columbia.
[174] The discrepancy in the statement is further accentuated by the Yurok
statement that the shells came to them both along the coast and down
the Klamath river.[399]

K Finger rings are not made, nor bracelets, except for young chil-
[789] dren. The cast skin of a water snake is wrapped around their wrists
so that they will swim well.

K Face painting is general, a daily usage, not confined to gala events,
302 but more obvious at that time. The shaman's body is painted red
during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use,
[756] white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to
war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white. I have
[822] pointed out elsewhere[400] that red paint is associated with warfare by
the Basin tribes and their Californian and Arizonan neighbors. Here
it may be added that black is used by Plains warriors. At dances
white pigment, found along the creek banks, is smeared on the palms
K which are then pressed on the face or on a woman's smooth hair to
[317] form patterns. Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few
localities in the mountains near Crater lake. The Northern Paiute
NP are said to have quantities of it, however.

[317] In winter women smear their faces, hands, and arms with a mix-
K ture of charcoal and pitch, or deer grease, or of pitch and grease

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[399] Kroeber, Handbook, 22.

[400] Havasupai Ethnography, 207.

787 experiences with it. Power may also come involuntarily, when a dreamer hears a spirit song. There is no obligation to accept, but resistance brings illness.

796 756 The midwinter month (December-January) has a curious place in the Klamath calendar. While a shaman must of necessity evoke his spirit to cure or foretell at any time of the year, this is the period when every shaman feels called on to exhibit his powers. The novice shaman also waits for this time to give a public test of his possession, and only after this does he attempt to cure. These seances are solely for displaying power, manifested by the songs and a series of feats. During these performances, those among the audience who have spirits also sing their own songs if the spirit impels. In other words, the midwinter month is the period *par excellence* when spirits regularly resume contact with their communicants.

[535] [372] The essential of the winter seance is a dance by the shaman as close as possible to a huge fire in order to call his spirits to assist him in the feats that follow. These are stereotyped tricks, of which two, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are the test of the novice. Other tricks are of the type of making things appear and disappear.

A few other details should be mentioned here. There is an assistant at this performance, a layman, who repeats the shaman's words. Food brought to the seance is thought first to be eaten by a frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one may touch it. The performance takes place in the shaman's own dwelling.

[789] Weather control, like the display of powers at the midwinter seances, offers an opportunity for shamanistic rivalry. Clairvoyance appears in connection with the war dance preparatory to an expedition, and, curiously, the shaman accompanies the party to continue his clairvoyant function, and, what is still more unique, to serve as surgeon.

753 755 Illness is the result of the intrusion of something foreign, usually a spirit and commonly the spirit of a malignant shaman. A cure consists in extracting a tiny object which is either the disease itself or embodies it. The curing procedure is highly formalized: spirit after spirit is invoked to search the patient, beginning always with the Old Frog Woman, until the culpable spirit is found. The shaman's familiars are thought to stand beside him ready to assist. When he succeeds in sucking out the disease object he swallows it, while blood streams from his mouth.

*171 756 Very little of this is unique with the Klamath, as we may see by comparison with the shamanistic complex of neighboring peoples.

171* 756 restored by an established shaman and learns to control the gift. The dance in which this takes place is, as Kroeber remarks, essentially a professional initiation.[436]

787 776 For example, the Yurok novice dreams of a dead person putting a "pain" in her body. (In northwestern California, shamans are most frequently women.) A dance is made for her, when under the direction of established shamans, she withdraws the "pain" and having thus shown control of it, swallows it again. After a brief dance in the mountains, this rite is repeated and followed by one around a hot fire to further gain control of her "pains."[437]

The northwest California complex has its ramifications as far north as the Wishram on the Columbia and southeastward to the Southern Maidu. The novice dance is found over this whole area, although in the north being rather a demonstration of power than an occasion for acquiring control of it. The concept of the "pains" as embodiments of power or agents of disease extends eastward across the state. Yet the general aspects of shamanism in northeastern California are appreciably like those of the Klamath and Thompson.

The second form of shamanistic complex is central Californian. Here individual shamanism is overshadowed by group activities of the Kuksu cult ceremonies which are shamanistic at bottom. Some distinction is made between the sucking shaman, who cures in the common manner, and the outfit shaman, whose ability is, rather, clairvoyant. This distinction is also made to the northwest but is by no means impressive. The outfit shaman is usually the heritor of the necessary paraphernalia from a parent or brother who instructs him in their use. His power clearly lies in the objects themselves. On the other hand, the sucking shaman obtains his by a visitation in a dream. Not only are central Californian shamans overshadowed by Kuksu impersonators, to whom has accrued all elaborate display, but the shamanistic complex proper is strongly infiltrated from the northwest.

There is in California at large some further specialization among shamans beyond those who cure. Weather-control shamans seem most clearly differentiated in south-central California, according to Kroeber. The Klamath fall in with the majority of peoples beyond this focus in looking on weather control as only a somewhat specialized function of any shaman. [789] Similarly with rattlesnake shamans, who are general in California save in the northwest. Bear shamans, found in all but peripheral California, are not known to the Klamath.

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[436] Handbook, 852.

[437] *Op. cit.*, 63.

shared by other Upper Chinook (Wasco, Cascades, and Clackamas) 171*
and the Eastern Pomo. Similar to their belief in respect to death, the 821
Northern Maidu say it thunders when a woman has a miscarriage, and 844
the people of Cochiti say the same of a Navaho woman when the wind blows. Again, a sudden change of the weather accompanies a Thompson birth.[802]

An association of the moon and frog is common to several tribes 171*
of this quarter. The Klamath say that the Moon is saved by his wife, 821
Frog, during an eclipse, from being eaten by a grizzly. The frog can be seen in the moon. The Quinault hold an identical belief. An eclipse is caused by the "upper fisher" (a spirit animal) biting the moon. "There is a lady frog up there who helps the most and really saves the moon." A tale describes this frog as married to the moon. According to the Northern Maidu, the spots in the moon are thought to be a frog. A Northern Paiute tale describes Moon as swallowing Frog.[803]

One of the few acts of outright magic among the Klamath relates 171*
to causing the wind to blow. This is accomplished by poking in the 789
hollows of a certain rock, striking another, or poking in a particular eddy. The Wishram also maintain that stirring about in a hole in the rocks near their village will raise a wind; the Quinault that thrusting a stick into a spot where gas bubbles rise in the water will bring a storm; and the Twana (or Klallam?) that shaking a certain rock will cause rain.[804]

Comparable to the Klamath belief that the "cat" *Bassariscus* kills 171*
deer by wrapping his long tail around their necks, the Northern Maidu 825
state this of the mountain lion.[805]

Summary

The general basis of Klamath shamanism is like that of other 171*
interior Plateau and Basin peoples. Social importance attaches to 756
shamans above even that accorded chiefs. Rituals are meager and throughout are crisis ceremonials. As with the generality of North American tribes, acquisition of power is free for all, shamans stand-

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[802] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266–7; Teit, The Thompson Indians, 374; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 297; Goldfrank, Cochiti, 83; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 316.

[803] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1926; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266 (the tale relative to this is not available to me); Natches, Northern Paiute Verbs, 257.

[804] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 674.

[805] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1956. Down woven into	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	292
1957. For war, dances only	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	[535]
1957a. Worn habitually by some men	-	-	-	-	+	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[721]
CURRENCY, TREASURE																	
Currency																	
1959. Dentalia	R	+	+	+	•+	+		•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	436
1960. Standard of value	-	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	825
1961. Incised	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1962. Feathers on large end	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1963. Wrapped with sinew, painted like snake skin	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1964. Graded on finger creases	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1965. Counted	-	-	-							+							
1966. Measured in fathom and fractions of	+	+	•+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1967. Upper-arm tattoo for measuring whole string	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1968. Measured on arm, no tattoo	-	+	.	-	+	-		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1969. Cylindrical purse of horn	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[415]
1970. Purse of horn fork	-	-	-	-	+	-		•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1971. Buckskin purse	-	+	+					+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1972. Cased fur purse	-	-	.	-	+	•-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1973. Shells rolled in fur	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1974. Shells kept in basket	+	+	+	-	+	•+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1975. Long dentalia preferred	-	-	+					•-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1976. Clamshell disks	R	-	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1977. Standard of value	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1978. Manufactured	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1979. Smoothing slab	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
1980. Disks counted	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1981. Short strings only	-	-	-						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1982. Measured around neck												+	+	+	.	-	
1983. Measured on elbow	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1984. Measured in fathoms	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	+	-	
1985. Measured in half-fathoms	+	-	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	(+)	+	-	
1986. Cased-fur purse	-	-		•(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1987. Buckskin sack for purse	+	-	+			•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	[415]
1988. Basket for purse	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	
1989. Loans of shell currency without interest	-	•+	+		+	•-		+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	[426]
Treasure																	
1990. Olivella: whole shell	-	-	-	•+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	-	(+)	(+)	.	-	-	
1991. Shell cylinders or Columnella	-	-	+	-	+	•+	+	+	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	
1992. Sizes distinguished	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+	+	.	.	.	
1993. Bone cylinders		-	.		+	(-)	-	.	-	-	.	-	.	+	+	+	
1994. Magnesite cylinders	-	-	.	-	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1995. Imported	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[439]
1996. Haliotis-disk beads	-	-	+	+	-	+	.	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	
1997. Large obsidian blades, used for display	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1998. Manufactured, not used	-		-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1999. Charmstones	•-	-	-	+	(-)	•+	+	-	•+	+	-	+	+	+	-	•+	
2000. Natural shape	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	789
2001. Most effective if found by possessor.	-	-	-				+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	823
2002. Used in doctoring	-	-	-	+		+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2003. Animated; can travel of own accord.				+												+	
2004. Doughnut stones	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
2005. Natural shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

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		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	RM	NS	MV
534	2087. Feathers on stick handle	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2088. Number of cocoons	-	-	-	-	•3	•5	6	-	-	•4	•5	5	•4	5	•3	•5
[758]	2089. Used by shaman in curing	•-	-	-	-	•+	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
	2090. Used by Big Head singers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	+	-	-	-	-
	2091. Used for any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
[787]	2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										-	+	+	+	-	-	-
	2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	-	-	-	•+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2094. Split-stick clapper	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2095. Single split	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2096. Multiple splits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2097. Painted	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	•R	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
[881]	2098. Burned decoration	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
[535]	2099. For girl's puberty dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[721]	2100. For war dance	-	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[796]	2101. For Ghost dance	·	-	R	-		R		•R	R	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2102. For any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	+	R	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
	2103. Snake rattles on stick	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	•+	•+	•-	•+	-	-	-	-
	2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2106. On cord or thong, no handle	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2107. Worn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[881]	2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	•7	15	20	20	20	-	25	8	20	1	2	4	-	-
	2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[524]	2111. Basket rattle	-	•+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2112. Child's toy	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	-	-
	Rasp																
	2114. Notched-wood rasp	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	•2115. Basket scraped	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
	Bull-roarer, Musical Bow																
	2116. Bull-roarer	•R	-	-	-	R	-	+	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2117. Wood	R	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2118. Bone or horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[789]	2119. Produces storm or wind	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[753]	2120. Produces sickness	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[756]	2121. Only shamans use	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562]	2122. Only boys, men use	-	-	-	-	R			+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2123. For amusement, boys	R	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2124. Musical bow	R	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	·	+	+	+	+	+
	2125. Hunting bow	R	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	·	+	+	+	+	+
	2126. Separate instrument	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	2127. Played with finger	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
[562]	2128. Played with stick	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2129. Boys only						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Whistles and Flutes																
	2130. Whistle	-	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2131. Single hole	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-			-	-	-	+	-	-
	2133. Bone	-	·	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	2134. Bird or rodent	-	·	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	-	+	-	-	+
	2135. Large mammal	-	·	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
	2136. Elder	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	•R	-	-	-	+	+	-
	2137. Cane	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2536. Any time	−	−	−	+		−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	535
2537. Several bands assemble together	+	−	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	
2538. Young people dance, mainly	−	+									−	−	−		−	−	
2539. Purpose mainly pleasure	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−		−	−	[789]
2540. To make seeds grow	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2541. Dance around center post	−	+	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	(+)	−		−	−	
2542. Juniper tree	−	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2543. Dance around fire	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	
2544. All dancers sing	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	[533]
†2545. Special singers	−	−	−	−		−	2	−	4	−	−	1	−		−	−	
2546. Each local group sings own songs, in turn	+	−	+			+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2547. Split-stick rattle accompaniment	−	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2548. Clap hands as accompaniment	−	−	+			+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2549. Women choose partners	−	−	−	−		−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	[562]
2550. Men choose partners	−	−	−	−		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2551. Dance in 1 circle	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	
2552. Dance in 2 concentric circles	+	−	−	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	
2553. Dance in 2 circles next to each other	−	−	−			+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
2554. Sexes alternate	+	−	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
2555. Sexes dance opposite each other in 1 circle	+	−	−					+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2556. Quick shuffle step	+	(−)	+	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	
2557. Hopping step	−	.	−	+		+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2558. Stamp both feet, moving slightly									+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
2559. Start: counterclockwise	+	(+)	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−		−	−	
2560. Reverse: dance clockwise	−	.	−	+		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2561. When dance stops, all shout	+	+	+					+	+	+	−	+	−		−	−	
2562. Good singer dance leader	+	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2563. Band or district chief dance leader	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	[622]
2564. Clowns	−	−	−	−		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2565. Act of own accord; not appointed	−	−	−	−		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	[522]
o2566. Duration of dance, nights	1	+	1	1		1	1	3	1	2	−	2	−		−	−	
2567. Dance occasion for courting	+	+	+	−		−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
2568. Visitors camp in circular brush corral	−	−	+	−		+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	[574]
2569. Visitors feasted by hosts	−	−	+			+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	

Sweat "Dance"

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2570. Held inside sweat house											+	+	+		−	−	[515]
2571. At night											+	+	+		−	−	
2572. Any time of year												+	+		−	−	
2573. Both sexes participate											+	+	−		−	−	
2574. Hot fire in sweat house											+	+	+		−	−	
2575. 1 singer; hits center pole with stick											+	−	−		−	−	[533]
2576. Split-stick rattle used											−	+	−		−	−	
2577. Participants stand in 1 spot, dance until exhausted											+	+	+		−	−	[481]
2578. Swim after dancing											+	+	+		−	−	

Bear Dances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2579. Bear dance aboriginal	−	−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	+	[177]
2580. Given for good time	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
2581. Given to dress bearskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
2582. Held in spring	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
2583. Held in winter	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	+	
2584. Held any time, in good weather	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−		−	−	
2585. Danced in sweat house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	+	
2586. Danced in open	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−		−	−	
o2587. Whole gathering lasts ... days	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	2	−		−	2	

ODO 1975. WT: "Like smaller ones; they are whiter and smoother; larger ones are darker. Smaller ones cost more; they pick out these."

1976. SW: Imported from Wintu, who manufacture them. At: Obtained in considerable quantity from MM of Big Meadows by individuals who have relatives there; recent (?). "Trade horses with these"; also use them as necklaces.

1978. At: Small quantities only.

1980. AW: Counted in units of 20 each.

1984. Span of both arms, with string extending downward in middle as far as umbilicus.

1985. SE, At: 1 arm span, from fingers to nose.

1986. SW: Possibly used for clamshell disks; certainly for shaman's tobacco.

1987. AW: Used as receptacle for large quantities of beads.

1989. Mo: Somewhat longer strand of beads returned than borrowed, usually, but this not obligatory. AW: Do not loan currency; give it to poor man.

Treasure.--

1990. SW: Imported from coast; used for necklaces, also as currency, but not so expensive as dentalia. At: Used for decoration; also to pay shamans.

1991. AW: Used as ornaments on women's dance aprons of strung pine nuts.

1994. AW: Magnesite cylinders, Olivella shells obtained, strung together with the imported clamshell disks and dentalia.

1997. AE: Rarely if ever seen; only very wealthy man able to own such. WM: Hafted obsidian knives tied on buckskin band, worn around neck, down back. Such knives ornamental; not worn during dances, but only when visiting. WS: Large obsidian knives (olwanis) carried in dances, for display; also used for war.

1998. SW: Black and cloudy red variety; carried occasionally in War dance, but not kept for long; chiefly sent down-river to Karuk. "SE near Glass Mountain made those large blades used down-river." SW on Klamath River, usually acted as middlemen for SE and Karuk; SW received dentalia from down-river in exchange for goods. SW "packed all their goods down to trade with Karuk once a year, when Karuk held White Deerskin dance; that was the only Karuk dance they attended." Trading between SW and Karuk carried on at any other time of year through Kammatwa group (see notes for 282, 1902).

● [789 / 815] 1999. Kl: Keep dried bat or hummingbird in quiver, permanently, as charm. Bat occurs in mythology; is most successful hunter. AW: Of various sorts, all in natural state, not smoothed or polished. Shaman uses striated ("painted") rock; small smooth diamond-shaped pebbles, ca. 2 in. long, "lucky for gambling." Informant had drawerful of 20-30 smooth small rocks. Most prized charmstones are "diamonds"; at night these "shine in darkness, giving off bright light like fire, and smoke; rise out of ground and then sink

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K M shamans, individually or in a group, give public performances to 756 invited audiences. It is at this time, too, that novices first demon- 796 strate their powers. The guests bring their own food, depositing [221] it outside the shaman's house, and take their place by families K along the wall. A ceremonial pole has been erected outside, bear- M [778] ing painted designs and hung with symbols of the shaman's [531] tutelary spirits. Inside, the house posts are also painted, and stuffed birds and animals, representing the shaman's powers, hang from the beams: they transform a residence into a holy place. The shaman wears sacred regalia, including a fillet of woodpecker scalps, and spectators must be clad in traditional K clothing. Children are excluded from all but the sleight-of-hand M demonstrations at night, since at other times they might be [858] imperiled. Modoc children are not allowed to attend any part of the seances.

Each shaman has an interpreter—who habitually assists him in curing as well—and who summons the spirits from their distant places, lights the shaman's pipe, repeats his words, and provides other aid. For the performance a caller is also chosen and, together with one or more singers, he leads the audience in dancing and in singing the sacred songs of the shaman.

For five days and nights—only nights for the Modoc—the performance continues. During this time the shaman, when he is not dancing, sits or lies on his bed and observes a fast. The first ceremony is a fire dance by the shaman and helpers while the caller invokes the spirits; it is followed by the singing of the spirit songs. Among the Modoc, successive nights are spent in singing the spirit songs, and for those shamans who are richly endowed with spirit associates, there is no repetition. In the longer Klamath ceremonies—which extend through the day as well—evenings are given over to shamanistic performances, restricted by the K Modoc to the final evening. Each shaman must demonstrate his M ability to swallow fire and arrowheads; and some swallow splints, [789] sticks, or prodigious quantities of water. The powers of many enable them to produce fish, pond-lily seeds, or blood in a basket of water; and some animate the stuffed skins suspended from the ceiling as well. During the entire five-day period the congregation follows ritual prescription. On no other occasion are this

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit and compelling in its demands.

K M 756 796

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers.

K M 221 261 [356]

K M [574] [685] [756] [796] [789]

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

K M 261 22

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already, in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and Sprague.

K M 221 361

K M [501]

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers

K 226 823

K M 226 103 648

and Paiute, meet on the broad expanses of Klamath Marsh, K M where, as Coville observes, over ten thousand acres of ripening 221 plants promise in good years an abundance not to be exhausted 222 [648] by the demands of man. In later times Agents describe wokas as the most important single food of the Indians; and its specialized preparation is one of the most distinct features of their subsistence technology. Its importance is emphasized further by K the circumstance that the month of its harvest, August, marks [805] the beginning of the Klamath year. The wokas-gathering is preceded by shamanistic performances to ensure a plentiful crop. K M [756]

Daily, the dugout canoes, somewhat smaller than those used in [789] • fishing and ordinary transport, slip out from the camps upon the K M broad expanse of the waters. In the openwork bags twined from 50 tules, the pods accumulate until the canoe is full. One old woman 222 recalled how she and a girlhood chum learned how to collect the pond-lily seeds:

> We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were always lots of extra poles lying K M around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules [252] to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them."

While the women, old men, and children are occupied on the K M marshes some of the men fare forth to hunt. The favored grounds 224 are in the east, where Klamath and Modoc pursue antelope, mule

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5171. Instruction	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	[illegible]	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5172. Supernatural experience	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5173. Sings	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5174. Goes into trance	–	–	–	–	–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5175. Tells who hid or stole money	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5176. Tracks money, if hiding place changed	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5177. Talks to piece of money	–	–	–	–	–			–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
5178. Listens to hear money singing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5179. Functions when money is lost	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5180. Performs at any public ceremony	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5181. Money hidden, to test shaman	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	–

Witchcraft

Black Magic

791

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
754 5182. Love medicine	+	·	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
832 5183. Roots	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–
5184. Hair treated with formula, blood								+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
5185. Songs				•+		+	•+	•+	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–
5186. "Diamond" (charmstone)						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
754 5187. Poisoners distinct from doctors	+	–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	·	•+		+	–
791 5188. Men only	+	–	–	+	–			+	–	–	–	·	+		–	–
[562] 5189. Have power from various animals	–	–	·	–	–		–	–	–	+	–	·	–		–	–
5190. From evil spirit	–		–	–	–		–	–	–	+	–	·	–		–	–
5191. Have knowledge of herbs	(+)		•		–								+		–	–
754 5192. Shamans, poisoners practice contagious magic.	+		•+	+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•	•+	–
756 5193. Poisoner, curing shaman hired to revenge refusal of girl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	(+)
5194. Make girl crazy, or kill her outright	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	•+		•+	(+)
5195. Colored lights (transformed witches) cause illness	–	–	•+	•+				•+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
5195a. Epidemics caused by spirit creatures	–	–	–	–				•+	•+	+	–	–	–		–	–

Prayer, Offerings

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
782 5196. Prayers frequent by all	+	+	–	•(–)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
264 5197. Offerings of food at meals	•+	+	•–	•–	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+		+	+

Eagle Ceremony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
825 5198. Special observances connected with eagle.								•(–)					–	–	+	–
5199. Eaglets captured alive													–	–	•+	–
5200. People eat acorn soup on spot													–	–	•+	–
5201. Eaglets kept tied by leg													–	–	+	–
5202. Killed when grown													–	–	+	–
5203. Feathers plucked out													–	–	+	–
[766] 5204. Beads put on body													–	–	+	–
5205. Eagle buried in basket, like person													–	–	+	–
5206. Owners cry at funeral, as for person.													–	–	+	–
5206a. Chief only uses eagle feathers								•–	•–				–	–	+	–

Kuksu

Initiation (Boys)

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
575 5207. Tossed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·		–	–
5208. Over fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	·		–	–
5209. Held over fire												(+)	·		–	–

NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

By Robert F. Spencer

773 IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians
177 of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of
178 aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among
[776] other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in
the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of
interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of
their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way
and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching
Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer
[182] can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the
folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common
economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies
combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising
to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations.
A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to
find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal
myth.

175 Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation
177 from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal
to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its
culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which
[222] it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In
[226] its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent
gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes
[631] of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic
[621] economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separa-
[771] tistic hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly
[791] developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest
and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points
to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

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[101] [1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949,
[122] on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund,
1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by
research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

[113] [2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American
Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations
in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,

771 To treat aboriginal Klamath religion under three headings of shamanism, [791] power quest, and cosmology is patent oversimplification. In nature and [551] content these features formed an integrated configuration reflecting a major cultural preoccupation. It is true that the shaman in each community played a dominant role and in his capacity as curer, magician, and entertainer [787] commanded the utmost in social prestige. On the other hand, as was common in western North America, every individual, at puberty and thereafter, deliberately and repeatedly sought contact with a variably defined spirit world. Thus Klamath culture had a variation of the American Indian guardian-773 spirit theme. Less specifically formalized, and so perhaps, less well integrated, 776 were the elements of myth and tale, the rationalizations for the presence of various natural phenomena, for eschatology, and for the general conception of the universe. Like adjacent tribes, the Klamath interested themselves in animal spirits. These were of particular importance in providing shamanistic power. In the individual power quest, however, the sources from which spiritual forces emanated were less specifically defined. A rather wide range of supernatural powers was recognized, some being animals, some vaguely anthropomorphic, others relating to such natural features as mountains, streams, rocks, or even landmarks like Crater Lake. In respect to these forces an involved folklore has arisen which allows some classification of the Klamath [775] concepts of the supernatural. In this realm, for example, are views about the abode of the dead and the nature of ghosts and souls, these being carefully differentiated from nonhuman spirits.[3] Here too is a body of myth relating to superhuman dwarf men and women, to the forces in specific places or natural phenomena in the Klamath terrain, and finally, the most important for this discussion, to the culture hero, the anthropomorphic Kemu'kemps.[4]

[171] Kemu'kemps, while not usually identified with an animal spirit, has many characteristics suggesting the folklore regarding Coyote in the Plateau-Basin. He is at once creator and trickster, angrily forbidding in some contexts, indifferent in others, and in still others a ludicrous buffoon.

[825] Essentially human in conceptualization (a myth complex relating to a [821] human hero also occurs in adjacent regions), Kemu'kemps is sometimes identified with the marten, whose younger brother is weasel, and with the winds.[5] In the myths assembled by Gatschet, he constantly rivals his magically born son 'Ayšiš, whose destruction he repeatedly plans, often with the result [821] of encompassing his own. Weather, such as rain or heat, was also attributed to him. Kemu'kemps is also the creator, and there are numerous folktales which tell how he brought various locations into being. At his instigation,

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[113] 1939), cf. 145-149; Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distributions: Northeastern California* (Anthropological Records, 7: 2, Berkeley, 1942).

[3] Spier, 1930, pp. 100 ff.

[113] [4] Cf. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (U. S. Geological Survey, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Washington, 1890), pt. 1, lxxix-lxxxv, and pt. 2, 138-140. A summary is also given by Spier, 1930, loc. cit.

[5] Gatschet, 1890, pt. 1, lxxxii-iii.

773 Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6]
776 the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath
[823] Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting
177 of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifi-
175 cations in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroach-
[721] ment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon.
[791] An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result
[797] proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and
[182] patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

175 Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western
668 American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian-

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[825] [6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'akemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

[113] [7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

[113] [9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

Here Christian
175 elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath
668 traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The
177 acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost
[578] Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather
than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the
pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

175 By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had
177 burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with
[668] essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic
competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so
[797] lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values
[791] were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic
practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One infor-
[533] mant tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power)
have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in
that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important
771 movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the
175 Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with
177 longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused
slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orienta-
795 tion, the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology;
but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross
as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence
of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements
[755] also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are em-
ployed (for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's
body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers
vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil,
178 and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult,
771 too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some
795 years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services.
The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

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[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kemps was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

[113] [11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

[113] [12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

[113] [13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest,* ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.

> *648 *648 *657 797 Make them better men and women." He was a Methodist preacher and was a big man. He had a loud voice and was a good singer. He was awfully strict. He didn't want the Indians to get into trouble. He said, "If you don't mind me, I will put you in jail or put a ball and chain on you." And he did. So the Indians behaved well, you know. I understood what he said, and it sounded good to me and after they interpreted his sermon in Klamath, the old Indians liked it too. Testimonies were then given. . . . The preacher read from the scriptures and made sermon. . . . He said, "I want people to come together and work together as one."[18]

*648 *657 •793 756 177 178 The emergence of native preachers provides another illustration of the confrontation of native and American roles. From the Indian viewpoint, the role of shaman did not coincide with that of the American preacher, for in aboriginal times the shaman's duties had encompassed curative powers, and through sorcery and counter-sorcery he had come to wield quasipolitical influence as well. Now healing lay within the duties of the Agency physician, while political sway had passed progressively, first to the raid-and-trade leaders and latterly to the Agency chiefs.

*648 *657 793 622 537 177 178 On the other hand, points of resemblance existed between the traditional role of the chief and that of the preacher. The sermon, the most distinctive and formal exercise of the minister, as the Indian saw him, corresponded most closely with the exhortations to a better life given by chiefs to followers and by elders to the young. The correspondence of preaching with political authority was furthered by the circumstance that a number of Agents had assumed the responsibility of preaching to the Indians. Among those realizing the linkage in their actions were Dave Hill and, to a lesser extent, Lileks, Allen David, and Henry Blow. Jesse Kirk, soon to become a preacher, later applied that office to political ends.

*648 *657 776 177 178 In the Klamath view of the supernatural order, syncretism set in early, probably as the result of an Indian effort to reconcile native and Christian belief. The trickster-transformer figure of Gmukamps, known in myth by the epithets, "Earth-Maker" and "The One Above," became identified by some with God, although his trickster exploits led others to reject this. Within the first decade of reservation life, Christian dualism, seizing upon the first correspondence, became responsible for the coining of

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are exclusively 621
White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office outside [575]
the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [794]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are frequently
tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously, [651]
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chiloquin [674]
during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, [657]
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a reconstituted 648
"Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be administered 657
by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal supervision
has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Attendance 619
at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159
156 Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White segments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
184 hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but
871 in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
586 fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of
the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
842 has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of
597 numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has
spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
756 country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was
closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became
dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
874 wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She
took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
759 She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if
she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
857 a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child
nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she
had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them
her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
794 valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., persons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an ad-
608 visor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making
a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
273 dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my
glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
353 spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its
walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is associated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is
noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
571 husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites,
for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, because she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

157 Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

position of women was linked to participation in bodies overtly 648*
directed toward social benevolences, the standing for the entire 657*
family being summative for its members. 554

All of this will prove familiar, for the social system in Chiloquin [562]
had been derived from that in other American communities.
The formal, secondary associations, membership in which served
as counters in the social game, included church auxiliaries, service [571]
fraternities and lodges, and groups devoted to sports,
politics, the school, and to youth activities. The manner in which
the organizations were ranked had little to do with their functions
or their local historical priority. It related instead to the
prestige which they enjoyed generally in the western United
States and their identification with social status. Even within
such a small community as Chiloquin, social assessment had
become refined to a marked degree. It was maintained by indirection
and with considerable tact, yet gave structure to much of
the social interaction.

Since the social order in Chiloquin has been discussed at
length elsewhere,[1] only the major outlines need be drawn here.
Yet it is inadvisable to leave the impression that any single dimension
provided a clear means of ranking. It was evident, for [795]
example, that there was an ordering of the Protestant churches,
ranging from the Methodist church through intermediate bodies
down to the pentecostal Full Gospel body and two ethnic sects—
one Klamath and the other Negro—in major membership. Their
congregations and ministers, their location and material endowment,
together with the character of their worship, all afforded a
basis for this ranking. Two churches, nonetheless, stood somewhat
outside this range. One, the Williamson River Mission, was
the Klamath church founded in the early days of the reservation.
As such, it had historical venerability, a Methodist affiliation, but
an ethnic membership. The second was the Catholic church,
located in a less favored section of town, yet eminently endowed
and drawing members from the entire social span.

Status differences in Chiloquin, moreover, were variously 648*
assessed by its residents. Several of those who objectively occupied 657*
high status stressed the leveling qualities of primary relations 554
which they regarded as characterizing the town, and discounted 829
the reality of a hierarchical ordering. Others, of middle

the course of their employment by whites—to mention but one 648*
sphere—were even then associated in American society with 657*
inferior status, as involving largely manual labor. The course of 177
technological change tended to reduce those skills further in prestige. The Klamath remaining upon the reservation generally confined themselves to occupations of this level.

In these and similar contexts, tribal members entered into [464]
relationship with whites, both as coworkers and as employee or rarely—as with Henry Jackson's hired hands—as employer. Within this context, they had the opportunity to model behavior upon a wide range of examples, and were not restricted to whites of similar socioeconomic status. The Klamath girls who worked as domestics in Klamath Falls at the turn of the century had many opportunities to observe the life of middle-class families.

Yet individual change is only part of the picture, interwoven 648*
as it often is in the fabric of institutional change. In such a structure 657*
as the Indian Shaker movement on the reservation are to 795 •
be seen the summation of a number of individual commitments 177
to a new creed, and thus the emergence of an institutionalized 178
consensus. For each participant, the commitment must have had a highly individual significance, in the light of his condition and belief prior to entering the sect. A brief résumé of the history of that movement at Klamath will illustrate the complexity of the factors surrounding institutional change.

The Indian Shaker movement had its inception on Puget Sound in 1882, but expanded vigorously only after a favorable court ruling a decade later.[12] A messianic faith, it incorporated elements of native belief and practice along with many aspects drawn from Catholic and Protestant Christianity. As it spread, it vied with and was influenced by other syncretic faiths as well as Christian sects, from which its converts and opponents came.

The Klamath church traces its origin to the East End leader, Henry Jackson, who had been instrumental in bringing the Earthlodge cult from northern California. Now, in 1914, forty years later, stricken with what was to prove his last illness, he turned his eyes northward, inspired by what he had heard from the unorganized local converts about the Shakers and their cures. When they declined to treat him themselves—perhaps the fate of the shaman, Dr. George, was still etched in their minds—he

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[Klamath Reservation]

*648 sent a mission to the Yakima reservation in the state of Washing-
*657 ton. The leaders who came down worked over him for some
• 795 time, but concluded that his case was hopeless; and indeed he
177 soon died. Notwithstanding this initial failure, the Shakers be-
178 came firmly established. A tribal member, one Stanley Pedro, offered them his dance hall and, drawing a parallel with the better known movement of Europe and the eastern United States, urged that the movement be named the Annie Lee religion. The church, located on the outskirts of Chiloquin, became a focal point from which influences subsequently fanned out to the Siletz reservation on the Oregon coast and to Smith and Klamath Rivers to the southwest. By the circumstance of its location, it drew members primarily from the Klamath proper of the Lower End.

The church met with no official threat. Gone was the day when an Agent might freely move against a religion of which he disapproved. Wrote the Acting Superintendent mildly in 1917, "They are somewhat fanatical and they indulge in some ceremonies that savor very much of ancient Indian customs but their creed contains some very good things. . . ."[13] He or a successor is said to have sent a member of the Indian police to observe the ceremonies, and the latter recalls that he reported with warm favor on the practices he witnessed.[14]

Several features are significant in the establishment of the church at Klamath. It came from other Indian groups along the Columbia which had previously been cultural donors, although the earlier cults received had come rather from the south. As adopted, the Shaker religion was seen as an Indian faith, its syncretism not acknowledged. Proponents thereafter came to underscore the uniqueness of its development by denying that native shamanistic elements or specifically Christian features lay at its core. At the same time, the freedom for inspired expression led converts at Klamath further to modify the received doctrine.
[153] Illness brought on through the agency of ghosts and the receipt of power through songs are but two such reinterpretations. Klamath communicants likewise differed in not eschewing coffee, normally forbidden in other congregations.

The growth did not take place in a vacuum. Such Pentecostal faiths as the Four Square Gospel were on the move soon after the church had come into being. In 1926, missionaries of that

sect were permitted to make temporary use of the Shaker church 648*
building until their own structure could be erected. Tribal members 657*
were drawn into entrant fundamentalist sects as well as the 795 •
Shaker faith, and on the occasion of revivals Shakers freely 177
visited their services. 178

Together with some of those sects, the Shaker faith embodied [787]
many of the demonstrative acts, in dramatized testimonial, visions, and the inspired state known as "the shakes," which had been largely abandoned by other churches that had become more staid with the passage of time. Its cures were the most spectacular demonstration of its power, and many of its converts came to it in this way. At the same time, it drew no very large membership: in 1925, Spier found only twenty Klamath thus affiliated. Any claim to the exclusive allegiance of members—an aspect of the Christian heritage—made heavy way against the broad tolerance in things religious characteristic of the Klamath.

The member of the Indian police who had found favorably for the Shakers was cured by them on another occasion, rang bells in the services, and even sparked a drive to improve the appearance of the church. With equal concern, he contributed heavily to the Four Square Gospel mission, which he felt was beneficial to the "coming generation." His formal affiliation continued with the Methodist Church, and he was often in attendance at the Williamson River Mission. Nor did commitment to Christianity dim his evident belief in the validity of aboriginal Klamath religion. In his mind, and the minds of many other elderly Klamath, there was no need to select narrowly and exclusively a single revelation of the divine order on earth.

The fundamentalist churches—the "emotional" churches, as 648*
they were disparagingly dubbed by some white Methodists in 657*
Chiloquin—appealed primarily to whites and ethnic minorities of 795
lower social status, and indeed participation in their services 563
was a factor weighed in status evaluation. Accordingly, these 177
sects brought tribal communicants into intimate contact with those components of the community, providing the basis for a certain degree of acculturation as well as of intermarriage. A few of the Mexican Interethnic unions stemmed from these associations, and at least one white Interethnic couple was regularly affiliated with the Negro church.

The Shaker church, however, was an ethnic church of some

*648 rigidity, and while its members freely attended the services of
*657 other sects, they were selective in admitting non-Klamath to their
• 795 worship. It was finally upon the issue of its Indian character that
177 the church was riven. The immediate circumstance was the effort
[563] of the "Annie Lee" faction to introduce the Bible into the ritual.
*648 A stout minority of the members refused to allow this, observing,
*657 in the words of one member, "The Indian has his religion: God
795 speaks to him through the 'shakes.' The white man hasn't got
578 them; he has to use the Bible." The contest soon came to litiga-
177 tion, during which the conservatives held services in private dwellings, while their rivals occupied the church building. Some years later, while the issue dragged on, a fire destroyed the structure; but the "Annie Lee" faction possessed sufficient vigor to rebuild it. Increasingly, that group had been gravitating toward the Four Square Gospel; and when the church was rebuilt it came to be used jointly with another fundamentalist sect.

*648 Thus, even the maintenance of an "Indian" religion, objectively
*657 syncretic in form and content, is sought by a state charter of
795 incorporation and internal disputes are placed before the courts
177 for decision. Moreover, its growth parallels the revivalistic move-
[692] ment of fundamentalist sects upon the West Coast; it vies with them for members; and its destiny is finally interwoven with theirs. Any theory that sees in the growth of such a religion a reaction of the Klamath people to pressures of the time must consider that special history and account for the parallel growth of other sects among non-Klamath at about the same time. For the Klamath, those sects must be regarded alternant to the Shaker faith in providing opportunities for expression. In assessing the features that attracted converts, the appeal of familiar Christian practice, known from earlier Methodist services, must be reckoned, as well as those features which were strictly aboriginal. For some, indeed, the identity of the church as Indian may have been compelling, as fostering an image of independence from the almost overwhelming presence of American culture.

To evaluate the impact of the Shaker Church from the members involved is hazardous. Although only a handful of individuals became exclusively committed to the Shaker way, its impact extended far beyond their ranks. At the same time, the majority

648*
of tribal members held aloof, while some members were no more 657*
than "Sunday" or "holiday" Shakers, attending services only at 795 •
wide intervals. 177

That there was no single Klamath response to culture contact 648*
even upon the reservation, must now be abundantly clear. It is 657*
also true that tribal members are not to be found extended along 184
a single continuum of change. No typology satisfactorily pre- 177
serves the mosaiclike pattern of the accommodation they have 178
made. For the course, even of institutional change, is the product, not of the engagement of reified "cultures," but of the countless individual choices expressed before concrete alternatives and projected against past experience. In the successive role-relationships into which they have entered, the biographies of some elderly Klamath suggest that there may well have been for them an inner continuity, not unchanging, which provided in their life-way a reference and a means of self-identification.[15] For many younger tribal members, however, the range of possible identification has become greater, while coercive restraints have weakened; and their selection among behaviors may be so conditioned by factors in the immediate situation as to appear inconsistent from one time to the next. Cultural confusion may well have resulted in their failure to form a stable self-image.

A central characteristic of modern Klamath relationships has 648*
been termed, for want of a happier phrase, "permissive diver- 657*
sity."[16] By this is meant a condition offering the individual a wide 156
latitude of choice among multiple and optional alternatives, per- 177
mitted modes being not only broad in range but diffusely de- 178
limited. Analyses of Klamath myths[17] and of the ethnological record suggest that this state, which corresponds in large measure to the "loose structuring" of Embree,[18] was characteristic of aboriginal Klamath culture, but it may well have been enhanced in reservation times by the breakdown of native agencies of control and by those other developments fostering individualism. The roots of its continuity lie in conditions of child-rearing, already reviewed, as well as in the social transactions of adult life.

The corresponding qualities in the individual are equally clear. For many Klamath, the interpersonal distance is of considerable magnitude, and constitutes a wary, defensive response to the

Here Christian
175 elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath
668 traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The
177 acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost
578 Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather
than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the
pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive
against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt
at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete
with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting
pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream
Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

175 By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had
177 burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with
668 essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic
competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so
797 lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values
791 were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic
practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One informant
533 tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power)
have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in
that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important
771 movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the
175 Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with
177 longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused
slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orienta-
795 tion, the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology;
but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross
as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence
of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements
755 also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are employed
(for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's
body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers
vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil,
178 and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult,
771 too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some
795 years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services.
The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

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[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kemps was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

113 [11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

113 [12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

113 [13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.

795

771 reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors,
178 the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

182 The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are
allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some
771 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal
795 and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in
184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to
797 those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on
the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual
571 or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members
find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies
as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions to aboriginal concepts.

771 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The
177 Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation
184 is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals,
while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display
or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely. Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious
questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly
curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes
755 demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this considera-
757 tion, shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally
accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged
with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects
of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

183 The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there.
773 For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter
are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two,
183 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first
224 deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away,
he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation
today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too,
the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy
that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem
from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is
825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath
197 but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a har-
763 binger of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear
it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means
183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter,
the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed
among western tribes.

178 But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past
which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

773 That's why Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came. But then I remember
776 them talking when I was young about how Kemu'kemps was coming back.
777 That was all lies so I guess Kemu'kemps must be the Devil. Still, they say
he created all just like God. I don't know how to figure it."

Mention was made above that the culture hero had a son who was born miraculously. The possible relationship between 'Ayšiš and Jesus has caught the fancy of some. A man of seventy comments: "Yes, Kemu'kemps and God are one and the same. There's a story that says how Kemu'kemps saved a woman's baby when she jumped into the fire and that baby was raised as his own son. I don't believe it. God created all living things. He made the Devil, too. I think 'Ayšiš is the Devil because he's always trying to get the best of his father. We old Indians knew about God but we didn't know about our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

A 56-year-old woman remarked: "Yes, Kemu'kemps is God and he had a son, just like Jesus. 'Ayšiš even dies and comes alive again in the old Indian stories, and that's like the Christians teach. And that Holy Ghost business, that's the power that God gives. The Indians knew about that. That's why you say 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' "

But so concise a syncretism of aboriginal and Christian religious elements
[184] is rare. Younger people vary greatly in belief. One man, about thirty-eight,
noted: "Kemu'kemps? They told us stories about him when we were kids.
They said he's like God. It doesn't matter to me. Maybe he is; they always
say how he made everything around here. Maybe he did; things get that way
somehow." A 31-year-old woman remarked: "Kemu'kemps stuff is what
they tell kids. That's old Indian devil-talk. I don't know nothing about it."
And a 16-year-old girl stated: "I've heard my grandmother talk about
Kemu'kemps. That's kind of scary stuff like the dead coming back to haunt
[823] you. There's a cave up on the Sprague River where they say Kemu'kemps
used to live. Maybe he still lives there. Anyway, I wouldn't walk up that
road in the dark."

A woman of about fifty-five, when questioned about the religious training
[869] she gave the grandchild entrusted to her care, answered: "Children learn
about the Bible very fast. I tell my granddaughter the old Bible stories and
she likes to hear them. But I steer off of that old Indian stuff. I think we ought
to get away from those old Indian superstitions. I'll sure get mad if anybody
scares her with stories about those old Indian things like Kemu'kemps."

Her statement sets the tone for the future. The old beliefs are being lost,
and although still very general, they stand out most vividly only in the minds
of those who were raised in the period of the second Ghost Dance and the
analogous revivalistic movements which followed it. While they obtained,
during their upbringing, a detailed background of native Klamath mythology,
they succeed, according to their own inclinations, in passing on their point of
view to their descendants, or they may fail to do so. The attitudes indicated
above are individual; no debate about the nature of Kemu'kemps or related
[795] concepts has been noted. While the formally organized religious groups,
including the Shakers (however dependent on the aboriginal patterns of

723 shamanism and curing), consistently oppose any such conceptual survival,
776 the point does not emerge as a significant controversy.
Thus, despite the decline of Klamath culture, something of the aboriginal
177 world-view persists. If the unformalized aspects of culture have a greater life-
795 expectancy than the formalized and institutionalized ones, then the point of
view reflected in myth, a series of cultural premises, must in some form outlast the setting of the point of view into motion through actual behavior. This has apparently happened among the Klamath. The overt behavioral aspects are gone entirely, but some individuals uneasily attempt to bridge a gap. The mechanisms which produced a Ghost Dance and a Shaker Cult are now merely vestigial but still present.

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Another circling dance, called sko'tepŭs, may not be a social dance 535
but may be used in the scalp and war dances in a way that is not clear. Here those in the circle do not hold hands and their step consists in shuffling along by moving the toes and heels alternately.

The headdress for dancers consists of long eagle feathers, or a [292]
bunch of small eagle and gull feathers may be kept in place on top of the basket hat by means of cord passing under the chin. Downy feathers are hung pendant at the back of the head.

New Year's observances, or new fire ceremony, such as the Yurok 796
and Karok know, are not found among the Klamath.[144] 171*

ETIQUETTE

The Klamath are on the whole a hospitable and friendly lot. 574
Good breeding demands that visitors be invited to share one's meal. There is no studied effort at ostentatious feasting, however, nor is food forced on a visitor in the manner of our eastern Indians. If visitors, men or women, arrive at meal time, the children of the household are sent out on the pretext, as they tell the children, that the food will stick in the visitors' gullets. A kind of grace is said before eating. Bits of food are cast toward the spirit places to feed them first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula[145] is a prayer. Good form does not demand that the visitors clean up their portions,
nor does one hear the smacking of lips in appreciation. There is 264
among them no objection to noisy eating. Children are told not to talk while eating fish, for fear of their swallowing bones. It is usual
to rinse the mouth with water before and after eating. Soiled fingers [515]
are washed in a near-by stream after the meal. Children are definitely instructed in good behavior.

The common salutation to the visitor is i gŏtpi'iz, yes, have you 576
come?, followed by go'li, come in. On leaving, the guest announces i gă'mbIn, yes, I am going, which evokes the invariable response i gă'mbli, yes, go. One hears moI'nskăndItc, thank you, but rarely.

For a man to remove a woman's hat from her head is reprehensible; it is usually construed as a solicitation.

Certain behavior is not so much a matter of general good form as [481]
of sex difference. Egress from the earth-lodge is by a ladder projecting through the hatchway overhead. Men mount the rungs facing the ladder, but women place their feet sideways, mounting crab-wise.

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[144] Kroeber, Handbook, 53, 102.

[145] See p. 166.

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787 experiences with it. Power may also come involuntarily, when a dreamer hears a spirit song. There is no obligation to accept, but resistance brings illness.

• 796 756 The midwinter month (December-January) has a curious place in the Klamath calendar. While a shaman must of necessity evoke his spirit to cure or foretell at any time of the year, this is the period when every shaman feels called on to exhibit his powers. The novice shaman also waits for this time to give a public test of his possession, and only after this does he attempt to cure. These seances are solely for displaying power, manifested by the songs and a series of feats. During these performances, those among the audience who have spirits also sing their own songs if the spirit impels. In other words, the midwinter month is the period *par excellence* when spirits regularly resume contact with their communicants.

[535] [372] The essential of the winter seance is a dance by the shaman as close as possible to a huge fire in order to call his spirits to assist him in the feats that follow. These are stereotyped tricks, of which two, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are the test of the novice. Other tricks are of the type of making things appear and disappear.

A few other details should be mentioned here. There is an assistant at this performance, a layman, who repeats the shaman's words. Food brought to the seance is thought first to be eaten by a frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one may touch it. The performance takes place in the shaman's own dwelling.

[789] Weather control, like the display of powers at the midwinter seances, offers an opportunity for shamanistic rivalry. Clairvoyance appears in connection with the war dance preparatory to an expedition, and, curiously, the shaman accompanies the party to continue his clairvoyant function, and, what is still more unique, to serve as surgeon.

753 755 Illness is the result of the intrusion of something foreign, usually a spirit and commonly the spirit of a malignant shaman. A cure consists in extracting a tiny object which is either the disease itself or embodies it. The curing procedure is highly formalized: spirit after spirit is invoked to search the patient, beginning always with the Old Frog Woman, until the culpable spirit is found. The shaman's familiars are thought to stand beside him ready to assist. When he succeeds in sucking out the disease object he swallows it, while blood streams from his mouth.

*171 756 Very little of this is unique with the Klamath, as we may see by comparison with the shamanistic complex of neighboring peoples.

*171 756 From this perspective the Klamath complex takes its place with the relatively simple shamanism of the northwestern interior and the Basin, overlaid with elements shared by tribes of the northwestern coast and those of northern, or better, northwestern California.

Shamanism bulks large in the social scheme of the Klamath as it does in the interior Plateau and the Basin, for the reason that com-
[881] peting rituals are lacking. Beyond the girls' rite, the war and scalp dances, and for a brief time the Ghost dance, the Klamath have noth-
[535] ing but shamans' performances. The winter ritual of the Northwest Coast extends only to central coastal Washington, the potlatch only to the Columbia river. The wealth display dances of northwestern
[726] California do not penetrate even to the Shasta; those of the central
[786] Californian Kuksu cult not beyond the head of the Sacramento. Elements of these ritual systems do indeed appear among the Klamath,
*171 but the dances as such are absent.

•796 The Klamath hold the acquisition of supernatural power within the reach of anyone. In this they accord with the generality of North
*171 Americans and differ emphatically from the Californians for whom
787 power descends only on the few. The Klamath form of quest followed by a dream in which power comes links the common quest of America with the dream experience of California. The Northwest Coast, its interior, and the Basin are a unit with the Klamath in that the quest is for power of a general sort, not for visions yielding specific sanctions as in the Plains. The spirits whose benevolence is sought are birds and animals as in the interior, the Plains and eastward, not the mystic supernaturals of the Northwest Coast. The source of power and disease among the northwest Californians, the "pain"
*171 objects, do not appear among them in any form. The Klamath concept of disease is the very general North American one of intrusion;
753 the soul-loss concept of the Northwest Coast and tribes to the Columbia is unknown here.

*171 756 The Klamath novitiate dance for shamans is shared by groups from the Sacramento to the Columbia. It is the northern demonstration of ability rather than the initiation and mastery of power of the northern Californians. The repeated dance of the Yurok prevails through Shasta and Modoc, but the single Klamath dance is of the interior type.

*171 756 796 177 The Northwest Coast winter ritual makes its appearance here only in its general aspects. Klamath shamanistic seances are held only in midwinter and this is also the time for repossession by spirits among

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the people at large as well as the shamans. Inasmuch as both these features are northwestern and non-Californian, they must be looked on as influences from the north. 177 756

The following sections attempt to substantiate these generalizations. 796

Spirits

Those spirits of which the Klamath seek power are conceived as animals, birds, reptiles, fish, sometimes as natural phenomena, and in a few instances as supernaturals, anthropomorphic and akin to the characters of their mythology. Their number is indefinitely large. Each may be said to constitute a genus of spirits; e.g., "the Coyote spirit" is properly a group of coyote spirits. Members of the class are not singled out for individualization. 776

The spirits of other tribes of the northwestern sector are of the same type. All the interior tribes on into California and all others of Oregon for whom we have information hold to this conception: Thompson, Lillooet, Wishram, Nez Percé, Takelma, Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Maidu, and Wintun. There are undoubtedly differences among them in the type of spirit most frequently sought; thus, natural phenomena bulk larger in the Thompson mind. Further, objects, some as trivial as the nipple of a gun, figure as spirits among the Thompson, Lillooet, Snohomish, Nisqually, Nez Percé, Achomawi, and Atsugewi.[428] 171* 776

A concept of a different sort holds sway on the coast from Vancouver island to the Columbia river. There the principal spirits are supernaturals of mythological character. These are necessarily restricted in numbers since they are highly individualized, and correlatively the powers they bestow are particularized. Where information is available, these creatures are credited, as among the Klallam, with a social existence of human pattern: they live in houses, are provided with servants, and travel in canoes. This is the predominating spirit concept among the Kwakiutl, Klallam, Snohomish, Nisqually, and Quinault. The slight information on Chinook spirits suggests supernaturals of the same sort. This is not to deny that animals and birds figure among the Klallam and Puget Sound Salish, and that among the Quinault there are a few bird spirits that retain their

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[428] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 354; The Lillooet, 283; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247 f.; Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 35; Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130 (skins and feathers of spirits); Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218; Angulo, Religious Feeling, 356.

The Winter Performance

756 Shamanistic performances among the Klamath could take place
787 only in midwinter (December–January). Every shaman made a point
of exhibiting his power at this time, several of them sometimes joining
796 for a performance. Midwinter was the most propitious moment to recall the spirits. In fact, it was at this time that laymen of the audience, who had some spirit power, would feel impelled by their own spirits to sing their songs.

*171 This is the essential element of the Kwakiutl secret society performances in midwinter. The society members are those who are
756 repossessed by their spirits and the novices those who are newly pos-
787 sessed at this time. This is probably general among all adjacent groups having secret societies. Boas remarks that "among all the
796 northwest coast tribes these ritualistic performances are confined to the winter months, and the season is set off from the rest of the year as the sacred season.[476]

Southward of here there are secret societies but they are not specifically connected with spirit repossession; such as those of the Quileute, whose performances take place in the winter months. The possession is general among all individuals. Again, among the Klallam the guardian spirits come to their owners once a year, generally in December or January. The person becomes "ill," calls on his friends to help him sing, and "when the guardian spirit is satisfied, it leaves the owner, who then becomes well again." Identically the same is recorded for the southern Puget Sound groups (Snohomish, Snoqualmi, Nisqually, etc.) as occurring from the middle of November to the beginning of January.[477] Both among the Klallam and on the Sound these dances take place at the winter potlatch, but they also occur at other potlatches through the year, merely as dance performances and without repossession. This renders Olson's observations on the Quinault intelligible: their potlatches are usually given about Christmas or New Year, and at these people sing their spirit songs. This suggests that here too repossession takes place at this time. On the other hand, his notes state specifically that spirit power is not stronger at this time. The spirit dances of the Wishram are very

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[476] Tribes of the North Pacific Coast, 244.

[477] Frachtenberg, Ceremonial Societies of Quileute, 322; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 290, 306; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 56, 59, 73.

similar to the Klallam-Sound Salish affairs. These likewise are held 171*
only or primarily in midwinter, that is, from December to March.
Potlatching on this occasion is represented by some trifling gifts made 756
by the singers. It is not clear that the man who rises to sing his spirit 787
song at this time is repossessed, but it is suggested by a statement I
recorded that when the auditors heard their songs sung, they "became 796 •
like fire inside, wild," offering bits of flesh to be cut off. The guardian spirit dance of the Nez Percé closely parallels this performance. This appears again among the Lillooet, and it may be that Teit's reference to the "manitou dance" of the middle Columbia Salish refers to a similar affair. (These people formerly occupied the territory between the Wishram and Nez Percé.)[478] A Wasco analogue may be reflected in a tale describing just such a singing and dancing festival among the animals; each of the five nights they dance closer to the flames.[479]
This is similar to the Klamath practice of dancing as close as possible [535]
to the fire, which I know is also the custom among Puget Sound groups, hence may have been universal in these performances.

There is a suggestive connection with these northern ideas in the Alsea custom of telling traditions in one month alone, January, and never again during the year.[480]

It is significant that the novice among Klamath and Shasta waits until winter for his inaugural dance. Among the latter this is the period in which the candidate is most likely to be possessed: "doctors generally begin their dreams and dancing early in the winter, as it is then that the Axeki [spirits] are always about the camp."[481]

If then the Klamath winter performance is construed as related to northern rites, by reason of its time, and the repossession of both shaman and layman, it is unique in one respect. I have been unable to find that elsewhere there are such regularly recurring opportunities for shamanistic display. To be sure, these occur elsewhere and quite widely, but not as regimented performances fixed as to time.

The Shaman's Assistant

The Klamath shaman regularly employs an assistant who serves as 756
interpreter of his rushing mumbled speech. Similarly, at both winter 796
performances and while curing, a second individual is selected to call
the spirits and prompt them to act. 755

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[478] Spinden, Nez Percé, 262–264; Teit, Lillooet, 286, The Middle Columbia Salish, 98, 128.

[479] Sapir, Wishram Texts, 311–312, cf. 95–99, 129–131.

[480] Farrand, Alsea, 245.

[481] Dixon, Some Shamans, 24.

The time of life at which supernatural power may be gained is not 171*
limited among most western tribes. Those of eastern Washington 787
and the interior of British Columbia, however, tend to restrict the quest to adolescence, and with them seem to link the secret society initiations of the Northwest Coast. One gains the impression that in northwestern California, where the acquisition is involuntary, it descends only on adults. The Klamath, like others of northeastern California, follow the more widespread habit of seeking power at any time.

Feminine shamanism is characteristic of northwestern California. 171*
While this appears in the relatively large number of women practi-
tioners as far east as Shasta and Achomawi, the Klamath are unaffected 756
by this influence. [562]

Specialization among shamans is not marked over most of western America. Such distinctions as are made between those who cure and mere clairvoyants, or the really powerful shaman and one with limited abilities, are very variable and never particularly impressive. Such distinctions do not appear among the Klamath at all. Neither do the common Californian specialists, the rattlesnake, bear, and weather shamans. Weather control is exercised by any Klamath shaman who has the requisite spirits.

Northern California and Oregon share an initial dance for the 171*
novice: a performance of initiation and mastery in the south, a demon-
stration of ability in Oregon. The Klamath affiliate with the latter. 756
Its local form on the Klamath river below the Klamath (Yurok,
Shasta, and Modoc), a dance made immediately on the acquisition of 535
power with a second somewhat later, has no counterpart among the Klamath. The general form of the Klamath novice dance is identical with all their shamanistic seances. In one particular they affiliate with the down-river tribes, namely in dancing over a hot fire, but even this is known on the southern fringe of the Northwest Coast proper, if not elsewhere.

Northwest Coast influences appear at two points: the time of 171*
shamanistic seances and the woodcarvings representing spirits. Kla-
math seances are restricted to midwinter, the novice dance among 756
them. This is regularly the period at which all who have spirits are 796 •
repossessed and impelled to dance, shamans among them. The regimentation of the repossessed in the midwinter sacred period of the Northwest Coast is lacking, but a diminution of the idea and its forms
is clearly traceable from that focus to Shasta and Klamath. Wooden 000

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
534 2087. Feathers on stick handle	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2088. Number of cocoons	–	–	–	–	•3	•5	6	–	–	•4	•5	5	•4	5	•3	•5
[756] 2089. Used by shaman in curing	•–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2090. Used by Big Head singers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	–	–	–	–
2091. Used for any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
[787] 2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										–	+	+	+	–	–	–
2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	–	–	–	•+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2094. Split-stick clapper	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2095. Single split	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2096. Multiple splits	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2097. Painted	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	•R	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[881] 2098. Burned decoration	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
[535] 2099. For girl's puberty dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2100. For war dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[720] 2101. For Ghost dance	·	–	R	–		R		•R	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
[796] 2102. For any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
2103. Snake rattles on stick	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•–	•+	–	–	–	–
2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2106. On cord or thong, no handle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2107. Worn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[881] 2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	•7	15	20	20	20	–	25	8	20	1	2	4	–	–
2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2111. Basket rattle	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[524] 2112. Child's toy	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	–	–
Rasp																
2114. Notched-wood rasp	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2115. Basket scraped	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
Bull-roarer, Musical Bow																
2116. Bull-roarer	•R	–	–	–	(R)	–	+	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2117. Wood	R	–	–	–	(R)	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2118. Bone or horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[789] 2119. Produces storm or wind	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[753] 2120. Produces sickness	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[756] 2121. Only shamans use	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2122. Only boys, men use	–	–	–	–	R			+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2123. For amusement, boys	R	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2124. Musical bow	(R)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Hunting bow	(R)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Separate instrument	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2127. Played with finger	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2128. Played with stick	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2129. Boys only						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Whistles and Flutes																
2130. Whistle	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2131. Single hole	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–
2133. Bone	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2134. Bird or rodent	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	–	+	–	–	+
2135. Large mammal	–	·	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
2136. Elder	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	•R	–	–	–	+	+	–
2137. Cane	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
5210. Shot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.		–	–	575
5211. Hooked	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	.		–	–	
5212. In seclusion	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	•+	
†5213. For ... months	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	•3		–	•4	
5214. Meat, salt taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+	
5215. Lie down, do not move	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+	
5216. In dance house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+	
5217. Instructed, taught	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+	
Impersonated Spirits																	
5218. Moki (wūta)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	+	575
5219. Wholly covered feather net												+	–		–	+	776
5220. Big-head (yohyo, t'uya)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	R	•+	–	+	
5221. Woman (kūle, dū, dadu)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	+	
5222. Sili (racer, in net)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.		–	+	
5223. Yat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
5224. Sobe	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
5225. Yabe	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
5226. Koto	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
5227. Grizzly	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
5228. Coyote	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
5229. Deer	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	•+	
5230. Kuksu	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+	
5231. Ghosts	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	(+)	
Officials																	
5232. Moki: head of whole ceremony	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+		–	+	575
5233. Kuksu: leader of dancers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–		–	•+	
5234. Limo (wulu)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.		–	+	
5235. Temegu, doorkeeper	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+		–	+	
5236. Fire tender, clown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+		–	+	
5237. Yomi (yomta) is curing doctor	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+	
Ceremonies																	
5238. Hesi	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	R	+	–	+	575
5239. Aki	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	+	796
5240. Waima	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•(+)	–		–	+	
5241. Grizzly bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–		–	+	
5242. Deer	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.		–	+	
Dances																	
5243. Coyote	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)		–	+	575
5244. Goose	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.		–	+	535
5245. Condor (Moloko)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–		–	–	
5246. Wololok (yellowhammer)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)		–	–	
5247. Eagle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–	
5248. Thunder	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.		–	–	
5249. Lole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+	
5250. With feather ropes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	+	
5251. Hilewe (hiwe?)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.		–	–	
5252. K'aima	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				–	+	
5253. Toto	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•R		–	•R	
5254. Salalu	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+		–	+	
5255. Duck dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+	
5256. Kenu, keni (sweat dance)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	
5257. Knee swinging from rafters	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	•+	

[Klamath Reservation]

Families

K M 512
eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [412]
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K M
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [864]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a M [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up
the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel,
the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's
child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their
marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral
and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M
221
756
796

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

1

K M 756 • 796 [221] shamans, individually or in a group, give public performances to invited audiences. It is at this time, too, that novices first demonstrate their powers. The guests bring their own food, depositing it outside the shaman's house, and take their place by families along the wall. K M [778] [531] A ceremonial pole has been erected outside, bearing painted designs and hung with symbols of the shaman's tutelary spirits. Inside, the house posts are also painted, and stuffed birds and animals, representing the shaman's powers, hang from the beams: they transform a residence into a holy place. The shaman wears sacred regalia, including a fillet of woodpecker scalps, and spectators must be clad in traditional clothing. K M [858] Children are excluded from all but the sleight-of-hand demonstrations at night, since at other times they might be imperiled. Modoc children are not allowed to attend any part of the seances.

Each shaman has an interpreter—who habitually assists him in curing as well—and who summons the spirits from their distant places, lights the shaman's pipe, repeats his words, and provides other aid. For the performance a caller is also chosen and, together with one or more singers, he leads the audience in dancing and in singing the sacred songs of the shaman.

For five days and nights—only nights for the Modoc—the performance continues. During this time the shaman, when he is not dancing, sits or lies on his bed and observes a fast. The first ceremony is a fire dance by the shaman and helpers while the caller invokes the spirits; it is followed by the singing of the spirit songs. Among the Modoc, successive nights are spent in singing the spirit songs, and for those shamans who are richly endowed with spirit associates, there is no repetition. In the longer Klamath ceremonies—which extend through the day as well—evenings are given over to shamanistic performances, restricted by the Modoc to the final evening. K M [789] Each shaman must demonstrate his ability to swallow fire and arrowheads; and some swallow splints, sticks, or prodigious quantities of water. The powers of many enable them to produce fish, pond-lily seeds, or blood in a basket of water; and some animate the stuffed skins suspended from the ceiling as well. During the entire five-day period the congregation follows ritual prescription. On no other occasion are this

K
M
756
796

many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit and compelling in its demands.

K
M
221
261
[356]

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers.

K
M
[574]
[685]
[756]
[796]
[789]

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

K
M
261
22

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already, in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and Sprague.

K
M
221
361

K
M
[501]

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers

K
226
823

K
M
226
103
648

SHAMANIC DANCE-DIRECTIONS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539
755

“Wálok mat tû'nepni waitólat nát génuapka kshiulăktsuápkuk we-
“For sweating during five days we shall go to have a dance the
wală'ksh tchish. At géntak í'lksat pán a. Wû'sa ni lúskuapkug. Kílank
old women also. Ye (men) shall go on a feast to eat. I fear I may get too warm. Loud
ăt tsuínuapk; túnepni ăt nûtísh tsuí'nuapk. At tchish híhashuaksh ksíu-
ye must sing; at five ye fires ye have to sing. ◦ Ye too (women and) fellows begin
laktampka lítstakiank; untsă'g nă'tnag pá-uapk tû'm mbû'shant. “Sílalsh
to dance with exertion; by and by then ye shall eat plenty to-morrow. “Disease
mat nă'bakuapk” kíuks ná-asht shápa, yayayá-as mat ná-asht sápa; “kû't-
will come on” the shaman thus says, some tamánuash-medicine (to him) “it is so” says; “of small-
kaks mat síssalaluapk” yayayá-as mat ná-ast shápa. Suássuaktch mák-
pox it says will suffer (the people)” the tamánuash just so says. Are weeping peo-
laks nánuk wussóga kû'tχaks. Ná-ast kíuks wálok sápa: “Tánni ílksh
ple all afraid of smallpox. So the shaman before sweating speaks: “How many food-buckets
shă'tu ăt? tánkĕni at í'lksh? Lápni tá-unepanta pă'n túnep pé-ula;
do ye count? how many already buckets? Twice ten and five;
kánk a ni să'tû.”
so many I count.”

NOTES.

70, 1 etc. This is a fair specimen of the careless, jargon-like conversational style in vogue among the É-ukshikni, and without commentaries and glosses it would be impossible to get at the true meaning.

751

These directions are intended to gather the people at the communal dance-house for a dance lasting five nights. The dance is performed around the fires with almost superhuman exertions, in order to produce profuse perspiration and to prevent thereby any infection by disease. The conjurer or shaman is charged with the inauguration of all dances, most of which are of a religious character. This kind of sweating is called “wála”, while sweating in a temazcalli or sweat-house is “spúkli”. The kíuks is introduced as speaking all these words. The particle mat indicates that the words given are those of another than of the narrator.

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70, 1. waitólat; in common parlance: túnepni waítash gí'ulank, or: túnepui gíulank, or in Modoc túnepni waitólan.

● 792

70, 1. kshíulaktcha different from kaíulĕχa; see Grammar (List of suffixes). These dances take place in winter time and are held from two to four times every season.

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70, 2. wewală'ksh. This is one of the festivities from which old women are not excluded; they often take part in the dance themselves.

*539 Spéluishtka at héwi, iwí-idsha wókash. Nāt a génanuapk! nánuk
In the index-month they haul, take home the lily-seed. We will go there! all

221 222 nat éna! nátoks waítuapk, wewálha wátch, hû'masht nat gî waíta wéwalhasht wátch kä'mat.
of us carry it! but we will wait one day, are sore (our) horses, therefore we wait one day because are sore horses on back.

Nad gitá piénuapk pólōk̲uantch, ktälowalshuápka nād.
We there will scrape up moth-chrysalids, gather pine-nuts we.

Tchatchápēlu, hóllaksh, tûtánksham, hahashkemólsham, lolóloisam, tsinéχam, klá-ads, wáshlalam íwam nā'd stá-ila.
Sweet resin, winged pine-nuts, blackberry, black cherry, wild gooseberry, sort of wókash, prunes, squirrels' huckleberries we gather.

K̲ó-idse, shtéaltk ktä'lo.
Of bad taste, full of resin (are) pine-nuts.

231 Tχópowatka í-umämi wátch lalá-a; gépgapēle mák̲laks k̲ēlä'wiank,
In the thumb-month at berry-time mares foal; return the Indians having done (gathering),

222 251 at wéwanuish o-olalóna, at sa í'-umaltka.
the females dry berries by the fire, they return from berry-gathering.

Bû'nuapka tchä'kēle í'wam, tchilálat hûn í'wam.
They will drink red juice of huckleberries, boil the berries.

252 272 Ánshat ánika shash í'wam; wí'dsika nánka í'wam.
You may go and ask them for huckleberries; retentive some (are) of berries.

Túpeluish aní'k tēlû'ks, tchákēla n's skaí tak; tsákēlatka n's skaítki stá.
To next lodge I send tule-basket, willow-basket to me to give in; in the basket to me to give it filled.

Pahápk tchísh íwam lúitki n's léwitchta á. K̲á-i sheshätuí'shtka.
Dried too huckleberries to give to me they did not want. Not I intend to sell them.

796 Spéluishtka spû'klishtat kshíwalχa, papiä'na luldamalákstat.
In the index-month in the sweat-house they dance, inaugurate by feast the winter-house.

346 222 At hû'k kshū'n híwidshuapk, at hû't hí'wi; túnepni nā'd shópelakuapk.
Now such a man hay will haul home, and that man hauls (it) in; in five (stacks) we will stack (it) up.

"Tû'sh nû shópelakuapk"? "lápash í'lχat, atí'sh shuí'nshnank í'lχat; í' tchkash í nû'sh shatuáyuapk mbúsant. Únīpni waítash í n's shatuáyuapka."
"Where I shall stack it"? "in two stacks heap it ye, in a long-stretching (stack) stacking heap it ye! you also you me must help to-morrow. Four days you me must help."

Tátχēlam hehátχe tápak.
In the midfinger-month fall the leaves.

Gáptchēlam shináktishtka kä'na.
In the ring-finger month it is snowing.

Gáptsatka mû kä'na.
In the month of the small finger heavily it snows.

Tχópowatka wétko é-ush; kéna.
In the thumb-month is frozen the lake; it is snowing.

796 Spéluishtka ktō'tsa mû; wála kshiúlgishtat.
In the index-month it rains much; they dance in the dance-house.

Tátχēlam tsuám lúela Nílaksi Tsuyakē'ksni.
In the midfinger-month large suckers kill at Nílaks the Linkville Indians.

226 Gáptsēlam shináktishtka udsáksalsha K̲ók̲ētat, kä'shla sa.
In the ring-finger month they take large suckers in Lost River, (and) get ipos.

NOTES.

*539 221 This text intends to give a sketch of the various occupations of the northern tribe or Ė-ukshikni in every month of the year, and is partially worded in a form which may be called dramatic. These statements are not always arranged in logical order, but a profusion of ethnologic details gives intrinsic value to them.

[805] The months of the Má̱klaks year do not coincide with the months of our calendar, for they extend from one new moon to the next one, and therefore should be more properly called *moons* or *lunations*. Twelve and a half of them make up the year, and they are counted on the fingers of both hands. The first moon of their year begins on the first new moon after their return from the wókash-harvest at Klamath Marsh, which is the time when all the provisions and needful articles have been gathered in [796] [224] for the winter. Work is then stopped and the communal dances begin, the doctor-dances as well as those conducted by the chiefs, and everybody participates in them except those who are out hunting in the mountains during the latter part of the year. This mode of counting the moons on the digits was once popular, but on account of its imperfections it is now forgotten by the majority of the tribe. Instead of it they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as: udsakalä'mi, "in the big sucker time"; i-umä'mi, "in the berry season", or they use our calendar months.

The first moon mentioned in our text, gáptche, answers generally to our May. The two next moons are counted on the thumb and forefinger of the hand not used immediately before; with this last moon their year has come to an end. The next five moons are counted again on the digits of the first hand, and so forth. The half moon making up their full year is not accounted for in this text.

[823] [226] 74, 2. Ktaí-Túpakshi is a locality of renown in the folklore of the Klamath tribe. It lies near the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, on the property of an Indian named Tchéloχins. The otílks is the fish-dam (from utíla), where the Indians wade in the water with their dip-nets and catch the fish while it ascends the river in spring-time in enormous quantities. This fish-dam does not reach the water's surface.

[193] 74, 2. The direct object of lúela is kápto, its subject má̱klaks hŏ'ank.

74, 3. kámalsh pahá means: they dry the fish which they have just caught by exposing it to the sun on limbs of trees, and then make kámalsh by pounding it. Kámalsh is a derivative from gáma, to pound.

[192] 74, 3. kó-iχaga is identical with gúikaka; derived from kúi, "away, far off"; gui-χátchka is: to start out annually to the prairies where roots etc. are harvested.

[262] 74, 5. saká a pŏ'ks: they eat *sometimes* the camass raw, but only at the time when [222] digging it. Bulbs, roots, pods, chrysalids and berries are gathered by women only.

74, 6. pahá at p.; this is equivalent to pahátko pŏ'ks iwídshat. They bake the [251] camass and put it in their cachés at the place where they intend to stay next winter.

[796] 74, 8. shnikanua. During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process, [222] the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges [192] public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the [415] women, and they go to work again in their canoes.

74, 9. shiulína. From the preceding we should expect shiulínat, lulínat.

74, 10. wíllishik is the generic term for larger kinds of provision-sacks; it means here a sack of fifty pounds seed or grain, while the wáχoks holds hundred pounds. In pálasham-wáχoksh, however, the latter word is taken in its *generic* sense of sack, bag.

175 supplanted by immigrants from the wagon trains and ships.
648 Some of the newcomers were from areas in which echoes of the frontier still lingered.

From the first, the settlers were active rivals of the Indians for lands and resources. They brought wives who were often repelled by the Indian way of life, and who established for themselves an insular world in which the Indian could find little place. Where they did not directly displace the natives, their swine uprooted camas and cous and their sheep browsed on berries. After an area had been inhabited by settlers for a time, it could no longer support the Indians, save as degraded and drunken remnants. The newcomers, as a whole, found little to respect in Indian culture; and many Indians who tried to follow the missionary's road found that it did not lead to the easy acquisition of the material wealth and status of the Americans. To the disillusioned apostates, finally, can be added those enraged by the lawless deeds of small bands of renegades, both Indian and white.

These events and others of local character lay behind the Cayuse slayings at the Whitman mission in 1847. In that same year, Crooked Finger, the leader of the closely related Northern Molala, visited the Umpqua, Rogue River, Pit River, Modoc, and Klamath, seeking recruits for an uprising timed to take advantage of the absence of local settlers in the military campaign against the Cayuse. Even as preparations were under way, emissaries from the Cayuse are said to have visited his camp in Molala country; but the settlers, forewarned, struck first. In the ensuing fighting, approximately eighty Klamath were involved, comprising over half of Crooked Finger's supporters, and a Klamath chief, Red Blanket, was slain. The triumphant whites gave the survivors three days to leave, and they departed along the Klamath Trail, bearing their dead with them.[15]

During these troubled times, the experience of the Klamath beyond their homeland was consistent: the white man was too powerful to be withstood. Comparable power, said some, must be sought in the white man's way. Link-River Jo, a Klamath sub-
• [797] chief, recalled in later years his contact in the 1840's with missionaries at The Dalles who

> told him about the Holy Spirit that was to come to the whole 175
> world and visit its remotest parts. When he came back from the 648
> Dalles he told his people about it but found them groping in [797]
> perfect darkness. . . . They would not believe him and told him he lied. He had watched long for the coming of the Holy Spirit and had never doubted that he should see him. He had heard Mr. Meacham talk for many days. . [and] now he saw that he was not like other men and knew that he must be the Holy Spirit come at last to bring gracious gifts for all tribes. . . ."

Others—and they were to become more influential—lived for 175
some time with whites and became convinced that the best 177
policy for the Klamath was one of peace. They included Lileks, 648
who in the course of the trading excursions to the north dwelled 622
for several years at The Dalles and was exposed there, no doubt, to the examples of authority set by whites as well as by the Columbia River tribes themselves. Another was Dave Hill, who, starting about 1859, lived approximately five years in Oregon City. Allen David, later to succeed Lileks as head chief in reservation days, was "well versed in the ways of the white man, from travel among the Willamette settlement." Another was Charley Preston who, like Hill, had spent five years at Oregon City, working for white farmers and had become "quite civilized and learned many of the white man's ways. He returned to his tribe and became a headman. . . ."[17]

Men such as these became the leaders of a "peace party"
among the Klamath, and their views achieved dominance in the 175
growing centralization of power among the Klamath. Lileks may 159
have consolidated the ascendancy he presently achieved as head 622
of this group by marriages beyond his tribelet: to the four wives [595]
from his own, Klamath Marsh, division, he added one each from the Lower Williamson and Klamath Falls groups, as well as one
from the Modoc. From the Columbia he or a contemporary [177]
brought back new "laws," which included the institution of [681]
flogging as punishment for murder or for persistent quarreling. In one instance, ascribed by Spier, with some question, to pre-reservation days, when two men of the Lower Williamson River tribelet slew a Klamath Falls man, Lileks had them haled to Klamath Marsh, where each was beaten five times.[18]

When, in 1858, it was indicated that Klamath and Rogue 175 648

In the struggle to maintain personnel, Agents drew not only 648* on family relationships and appeals to congressmen. Dyar and 657* Nickerson were not beyond a "mistake" in interpreting regulations, if it was in good cause.[12] Similarly, when it became necessary to rid the administration of a troublemaker, a spate of damaging reports moved upward through channels.[13]

Another source of friction was that between church morality 648* and Agency administration. At one point this caused Agent E. L. 657* Applegate to cry—with a measure of histrionic license to be sure 797 —"Have the United Church in this State established the Inquisition over the Indian Service? Should it not interest Congress to know if our branch of the public service is to be rushed back in its methods to the 15th century?"[14]

The charges against David Matthews were brought through the annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to which the reservation had been entrusted under the Grant administration.[15] The same body was responsible for charges against Agent Marshall Petet that he had permitted the Indians to dance and hold horse races during Fourth of July celebrations.[16] Similarly, O. C. Applegate had to protest charges made by the then missionary; and Horace G. Wilson had to request the removal of two missionary families who had criticized him. The matter was further complicated for Wilson by the circumstance that the wife of one missionary, and the loudest voice against him, was his own field matron.[17]

This was the Agent's Scylla; his Charybdis were the settlers 648* who gradually percolated into the surrounding region. From 657* the time that Dyar inveighed against "a low class of white men living near the reservation who have been giving and selling liquor to the Indians,"[18] the isolation of the reservation was never more than relative. The recurrent need of the Indians to repair to the Lost River fishery each spring, their sales at Fort Klamath in the 1860's, and later their hand labor and freighting for adjacent settlers took them increasingly away from the Agency, though always under a pass system. Local discrimination against [464] "squaw men" and the stringent regulations governing Agency residents were in part responsible for the decision of those marrying Indian wives to live away from the reservation. Nonetheless,

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*657 first encountered Christianity at the school. There were studies,
872 though the most lasting impressions were made in references to
• [797] Indian wars in the histories.[21] Above all there was the heavy
[829] labor, for the development of the industrial program coincided
[464] with the period when able-bodied men were leaving the reservation on passes to work for whites; and the support not only of the schools but in some measure of other Agency programs devolved upon the scholars. As E. L. Applegate admitted, "the truth is, the labor is very heavy upon those old enough or intelligent enough to render any assistance; 1[illegible]0 people [in the school] constitute a large family."[22] Work on the school farm required the pupils to return in two-week shifts over the summer. A contest for control over this work force developed between Applegate and the Superintendent of the Agency school, who presumed to take his orders directly from the Superintendent of Indian Schools in Washington.[23]

*648 There was competition from off-reservation schools over the
*657 older students. In 1881, Nickerson, perhaps prodded from above,
871 had attempted to send twelve superior students to the Indian school at Forest Grove—later removed to Chemawa, Oregon—but funds were not available to send them the 450 miles distant.[24] In a letter from Acting Commissioner E. L. Stevens, the role of those schools and their competition with Agency schools are clearly acknowledged. Declared Stevens:

> It is not the policy of this office to remove pupils from reservation to distant boarding schools without the consent of their parents.
>
> It is always the case that the removal from agency schools of the older and more intelligent pupils is, temporarily at least, a detriment to the schools; but it is believed that the superior advantages which can be had away from the Indian country, and the reflex influence on the families who thus commit themselves to civilization, more than compensate to the tribe for the loss occasioned to the schools.[25]

*648 In 1885, accordingly, nineteen students were sent away to
*657 school, and by spring, five had died. Eventually eight were dead,
871 and Emery wrote, "This great mortality has caused much dis-
165 satisfaction among my Indians; and any effort to remove any more children to this School will meet with serious opposition on

NINE

Religion

THE FINAL FIELD OF PLANNED CHANGE TO BE COSIDERED IS THAT OF 657*
religion. The traditional American separation of church and 648*
state did not obtain in the early history of the reservation, which, 797 •
during the Grant administration, was entrusted to the Methodist Church. Several Agents, beginning with Dyar, and more than one employee, were ordained ministers. Although for some years the church did not send a missionary upon the reservation, religious services were held and the Word preached. The Annual Conference of the Methodist Church on several occasions served as a sounding board for intrigues on the part of white employees against the Agent.

Nor was religion divorced from political control on the native 657*
side. It will be recalled that shamans had been dominant figures 648*
before the rise of the centralizing chiefs, and that subsequently 756
their power often buttressed that of individual chiefs. The con- 178
tinued presence of that influence now challenged the rule of the Agent. Lindsay Applegate later, in his roughhewn spelling, characterized the "Indian doctor" as "the dangers imposter who was the grate Bareer aganst their siviliseation . . ." adding "I made him giv Back the property that he had taken from his people By his false pretences [.] when he got two Bissy I put him in the guard hose[.]"[1] Captain Knapp brought similar pressure to bear in an effort to remove interference with proposed medical innovations. John Meacham, who succeeded him, commented upon the futility of his drastic measures:

> This was well and the Captain deserves credit for it, but it had about as much effect in eradicating these superstitious notions from the minds of the Indians as would the execution of the Pope of Rome and the proscription of every priest in Christendom in abolishing from the earth the papal theory of religion.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

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177 shamans widened again as ordinary people ceased dreaming,
178 and shamans incorporated Dream Dance symbols and practices
756 into their rituals.[16]

*648 *657 • 797 While these nativistic movements were going on, the first steps were being taken to provide Christian training to replace the native faith which was being discredited. In 1872, Thomas Pearne, an educated Indian from the Yakima reservation, had been appointed interpreter. During that year, until his resignation to return to Washington Territory in the following spring, he carried on missionary work among the Klamath, bringing [622] thirty-six into the church. Among them was Lileks, who at his death three years later was numbered among the "Praying Indians."[17]

The following year, the Reverend James Harer was appointed Commissary at Yainax, where for a brief period he preached at religious meetings which were well attended.[18] By 1876, the Agent at the Lower End and the farmer at Yainax still were holding forth. Employees had volunteered to advance half the salary for a missionary if the Methodist Missionary Society would match the amount; but nothing came of it.[19] Roork, the following year, took a number of the principal men and women, along with some scholars from the Indian School, to the annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Salem, probably in another appeal for a missionary.[20]

The flavor of those early meetings is preserved in one of the letters to Dave Hill, dictated in 1875 by Allen David.

> After we had had our talk at the Agency I sent word for all the people to come to my house to talk about these things, and see who would agree to listen to what Dave, Tecumseh and I had said, and who would get our hearts and who would not. I told them to come on Sunday the Lord's day and we would all the same as mammook [make, hold] church, we would make good hearts and the Lord would mammook close nanish [take good care of] us on his day. So some Yainax Inds.—Brown Mosenkosket and some Modocs, some Lake Inds., some Chiloquin's people and some of all the Inds. came. Chikaskane first spoke and said that at first he had a bad heart. That the chiefs first listened to the Agents and got their hearts and then tried to get the other Inds. to get the same hearts; that they had put him in the guard house which was right, and Mr. Dyar was also right for he was in the wrong and all the same as said to the Chiefs

> & Mr. Dyar, "here, you mammook law on me." Their hearts were all right while I was wrong and deserved what I got. Now I throw away all that old bad heart."[21]

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In 1880 a church building capable of seating two hundred persons was framed with lumber brought in by the Indians, but two years passed before it was completed.[22] Meanwhile, the work with the congregation had gone on apace.

As Roork mentioned, since it was thought best in preaching to ignore Chinook jargon, "an interpreter is employed who expounds in Klamath the instructions designed especially for their enlightenment." After Sunday school, in the afternoon another service was held, "introduced by a brief sermon, followed by remarks by one or more of the most intelligent Christian Indians, who address their own people in Klamath."[23] The leaders in this practice were Henry Blow and Dave Hill. Both the exhortative character of the sermon and the circumstance that the Agent often led the services provided links with the corresponding admonitions of the chiefs of former days. Dave Hill, at this time employed as official interpreter,[24] doubtless served in this capacity for religious services.

When the church building had been completed the services were conducted in part by the Agent and employees, in part by Hill, now a preacher of the Methodist Church.[25] Both he and Henry Blow frequently visited the school, lecturing on the virtues of Christian living.[26] Three years later, young Jesse Kirk, also ordained, was participating in services. A camp meeting of that year, held by Reverend Driver, presiding elder of the district, resulted in 83 baptisms. The total membership of the church numbered 240 members.[27] At school, children were given Bibles and set to memorizing verses.

One man recalls such a meeting presided over by Joseph Emery:

> There was a full house, nothing but Indians. . . . They called us to the front bench—those who can sing sit there. One of the Indian interpreters told us to go there. We both went up front. . . . The service lasted about one hour. The preacher [Emery] prayed first. He prayed to God same thing over and over. "Let these Indians learn and learn to pray to Thee. More and more have them change from old ways to the English ways. Not help them only, but help their children to grow in grace.

> *648 Make them better men and women." He was a Methodist
> *657 preacher and was a big man. He had a loud voice and was a
> • 797 good singer. He was awfully strict. He didn't want the Indians to get into trouble. He said, "If you don't mind me, I will put you in jail or put a ball and chain on you." And he did. So the Indians behaved well, you know. I understood what he said, and it sounded good to me and after they interpreted his sermon in Klamath, the old Indians liked it too. Testimonies were then given. . . . The preacher read from the scriptures and made sermon. . . . He said, "I want people to come together and work together as one."[38]

*648 The emergence of native preachers provides another illustra-
*657 tion of the confrontation of native and American roles. From
793 the Indian viewpoint, the role of shaman did not coincide with
756 that of the American preacher, for in aboriginal times the sha-
177 man's duties had encompassed curative powers, and through
178 sorcery and counter-sorcery he had come to wield quasipolitical influence as well. Now healing lay within the duties of the Agency physician, while political sway had passed progressively, first to the raid-and-trade leaders and latterly to the Agency chiefs.

*648 On the other hand, points of resemblance existed between the
*657 traditional role of the chief and that of the preacher. The sermon,
793 the most distinctive and formal exercise of the minister, as the
622 Indian saw him, corresponded most closely with the exhortations
537 to a better life given by chiefs to followers and by elders to the
177 young. The correspondence of preaching with political authority
178 was furthered by the circumstance that a number of Agents had assumed the responsibility of preaching to the Indians. Among those realizing the linkage in their actions were Dave Hill and, to a lesser extent, Lileks, Allen David, and Henry Blow. Jesse Kirk, soon to become a preacher, later applied that office to political ends.

*648 In the Klamath view of the supernatural order, syncretism set
*657 in early, probably as the result of an Indian effort to reconcile
776 native and Christian belief. The trickster-transformer figure of
177 Gmukamps, known in myth by the epithets, "Earth-Maker" and
"The One Above," became identified by some with God, although
178 his trickster exploits led others to reject this. Within the first decade of reservation life, Christian dualism, seizing upon the first correspondence, became responsible for the coining of

*648 history. Beatty, in the upper valley of the Sprague, lies between
*657 the town of Sprague River, some fourteen miles below it, and
184 Bly, roughly the same distance away over the eastern boundary
361 of the reservation. It drew some of its population from Yainax,
when that subagency was closed, as well as from Paiute Camp
• [797] to the east. Beatty's nucleus had been the Methodist mission and
store, to which other establishments presently were added, and
houses began to be built about them. White ranchers have
[563] moved in to work the allotted land they bought or rented, usually
bringing their families with them. Others, white, Indian—using
that term for non-Klamath—and Negro, have married tribal
members.

[871] By 1959, however, when the community was studied,[8] it was
in a sharp decline: for in the 1940's the local school had been
[797] closed in a consolidation with the one at Bly; the Methodist
[313] mission had been reduced to an adjunct of the principal mission
on Williamson River, at the Lower End; and the lumber mill
at Sprague River had ceased operations. The community had
[162] survived, though on a greatly reduced scale, with a population
totaling 136 persons, 105 of them tribal members, prevailingly of
Modoc and Paiute derivation, 5 Indians from other reservations,
25 whites, and 1 Negro.

Chiloquin, located at the confluence of the Sprague and Williamson rivers, was the largest community on the reservation, with a population then almost seven times that of Beatty.[9] A mill and market town which burgeoned when tribal timber was opened by the advent of the railroad, Chiloquin was incorporated as a city in 1926 and soon afterward boasted a population, including adjacent woods camps, of approximately two thousand. In its heyday, when along with Modoc Point, Braymill, and Sprague River it pulsed with activity, Chiloquin was a lusty and sometimes rowdy city, enjoying the wicked sobriquet of "The Little Chicago of the West." Below the surface was a structure which provided an institutional extension of American civic life elsewhere. A bank, a newspaper, telephone company, hotels and rooming houses, schools and churches, a boxing association and occasional Chatauqua, moving picture house, taxi company, Ladies' Community Club, Commerce Club, Masons and V.F.W., lawyers, dentists, and doctors: all these shared space with dancehalls, card rooms, bootleggers, pimps, and prostitutes.

177 764 cemetery was inaugurated between the Williamson River and Modoc Point, one mile and a half south of the bridge.

175 648 657 797 President U. S. Grant's peace policy in regard to the Indians was inaugurated by act of Congress dated April 10, 1869. The supervision of the Indian agencies was placed in the hands of the authorities of religious denominations, a board of commissioners appointed,* and the spiritual interests of that reservation turned over to the Methodist Church.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCHES ON THESE INDIANS.

114 The study of the ethnography of a tribe usually precedes that of its language; sometimes both are pursued simultaneously, and this is undoubtedly the correct method. In the case of the Máklaks, Horatio Hale,† the linguist of Ch. Wilkes's United States Exploring Expedition (1838–1842), and still holding forth as a pioneer in his lines of research, took down a vocabulary from a Klamath Lake Indian whom he met on the Columbia River in 1841. No ethnographic remarks upon the tribe accompany this vocabulary, probably because information obtained from interpreters, who speak the Chinook jargon only, is notoriously unreliable.

Next in time follow the extensive explorations of John Charles Frémont‡ of the interior basin west of the Rocky Mountains and of the Pacific coast from 1843 to 1844, and again from 1845 to 1846, during which the Klamath Lakes and Klamath Marsh were visited and explored. His reports contain graphic sketches of all that was seen and observed by his parties; but scientific accuracy is often wanting, and many countries are described without giving the Indian local names, which are indispensable to identification.

The acquisition of the Pacific coast by the United States (California in 1846, Oregon in 1848) naturally suggested projects of connecting the two oceans by a transcontinental railroad, starting from the Mississippi River and reaching to the Bay of San Francisco. The Central Govern-

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* Cf. Revised Statutes of the United States, second edition, 1878, p. 350.

† Born in Newport, New Hampshire, in 1817.

‡ Born at Savannah, Georgia, January 21, 1813; candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1856; died in New York City, July 13, 1890.

648 1888 and 500 broken by them; 10,000 acres were inclosed by fences.
657 The crops of 1888 amounted to 8,000 bushels of wheat, 4,000 of oats and
241 barley, 1,000 bushels of vegetables, 3,000 tons of hay; and 500 pounds of
231 butter were manufactured. Of lumber 100,000 feet were sawed. The
313 Indians transported with their own teams 500 tons of freight, and thereby
434 earned $1,500. The two boarding-schools, one at the Klamath Agency
and the other at Yáneks, in the same year boarded 215 pupils at a cost to
the Government of $18,764—about $10.40 a month per capita.

311 The number of acres contained within the Klamath Reservation is 1,056,000, and of these only about 20,000 acres are considered to be tillable land. The rest is occupied by woods, marshes, rocks, and other hindrances to cultivation.

● 797 The school and church interests are in the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which also has a vote in the appointment of the United States agent.

657 The statistics of population have furnished reliable data only from the
161 time when annuities were first distributed among these Indians. This ne-
162 cessitated an annual count of each family, giving the number of the individuals belonging to each. One of these was made during my presence on the reserve on October 30, 1877, before the winter supplies were dealt out to the tribe. The summary is as follows:

David Hill, chief, at Agency and on Williamson River	225
P'lú, head chief, at the bridge, Williamson River	122
Long John, chief	103
Jack, chief	92
Lílo, chief	23
Total	565

The census taken in the Sprague River Valley, Yáneks subagency, furnished the following figures, Klamath Lake Indians and Modocs being indiscriminately included:

Littlejohn, chief	14
Skóntchish, chief	18
Modoc Johnson, head chief	71
Ben, chief	61
Brown, chief	30
Total	194

773 Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6]
776 the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath
[823] Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while
the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

177 To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting
175 of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifications in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroach-
[721] ment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into
hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon.
[791] An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result
[797] proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of
Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and
[182] patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental
administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

175 Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western
668 American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements,
the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

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[825] [6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'ăkemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

[113] [7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

[113] [9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

Here Christian
175 elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath
668 traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The
177 acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost
Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather
[578] than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the
pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive
against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt
at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete
with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting
pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream
Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

175 By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had
177 burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with
[668] essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic
competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so
[797] lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values
[791] were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic
practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One informant
[533] tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power)
have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in
that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important
771 movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the
175 Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with
177 longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused
slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orienta-
795 tion, the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology;
but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross
as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence
of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements
[755] also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are employed
(for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's
body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers
vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil,
178 and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult,
771 too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some
795 years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services.
The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

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[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kemps was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

[113] [11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

[113] [12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

[113] [13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.

795
771 reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors,
178 the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

[182] The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are
allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some
771 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal
795 and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in
184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to
[797] those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on
the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual
[571] or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members
find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies
as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions
to aboriginal concepts.

771 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The
177 Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation
is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals,
184 while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display
or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely.
Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious
questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly
curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes
[755] demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this consideration,
[757] shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally
accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged
with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects
of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

183 The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there.
[773] For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter
are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two,
183 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first
224 deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away,
he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation
today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too,
the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy
that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem
from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is
825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath
[191] but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a harbinger
[763] of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear
it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means
183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter,
the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed
among western tribes.

178 But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past
which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

178 latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence
that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on
the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often
recur.

787 The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, ap-
881 parently regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was
usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power
785 obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts
existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating,
533 and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath
emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word
/šuw'i·s/ meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on
787 context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from
177 without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior
797 associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly in-
● dividualized and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality,
it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers,
the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions.
One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with
the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The
examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older in-
formants. Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions as-
sociated with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me,
782 "Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and
776 old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.'
823 I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I
774 say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over
787 there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains
and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I
dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it."
She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to
Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up,
up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man
standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I
723 don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The in-
formant refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of
whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena:
"When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They
said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never
did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it
was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a
797 real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those
things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

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[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

773 is Mu·natul'kni· ("The One Below"). They say Kemu'kemps is everywhere
776 and that's like God. I think about that sometimes."

177 Undoubtedly, a confusion arises because of the adoption by missionaries,
797 years ago, of terms for the Christian God which the Klamath had applied to the culture hero. The overlapping of Christian and native concepts is readily seen and provides a basis for debate and doubt.[18] It may be profitable to note some of the views and to determine how variable present attitudes are. There is scarcely any standardization except a very prevalent view that Kemu'kemps is somehow real.

The statements which follow were made by Klamath in response to the general question: What is Kemu'kemps? One man, aged about seventy-four, remarked to Hiroto Zakoji, University of Oregon: "Kemu'kemps disappears when he wants to. He tells what will happen and it happens exactly. He gives power to the Indian doctors [shamans] and sends them their songs. But I heard in stories that Kemu'kemps does bad things; he does tricks. I think he is mean, too. God in the Bible is mean sometimes, too. In the Bible it says that God is a jealous god. That's in the first Genesis [sic] and the Ten Commandments says that, too . . . . Sometimes I think Kemu'kemps is the Devil himself. There is a place near the dam over near Chiloquin on this side of the river. There is a big rock sticking out over there near a cave. Kemu'kemps tricks people to go there and dance when a girl reaches the age [puberty]. He misleads people. But God sometimes does bad things; he made Adam and Eve, but he also made the apple."

Two older male informants told separately versions of a myth about Kemu'kemps as a trickster. In the tale, the culture hero set what appeared to be venison up on poles. When the people present asked for some, he at once welcomed them to a feast. To their horror, they found that they were eating Kemu'kemps' feces. The hero laughed and disappeared. The remarks of a man, aged sixty-two, are of interest: "Can you imagine him doing a thing like that? I think that's just a disgusting old Indian story. God wouldn't do a thing like that, so Kemu'kemps must be Devil. But God made plagues in Egypt and maybe that's what this was like."

Although some informants conclude that the culture hero is an older revelation of the Christian God, others, as may be seen, are equally convinced that he is allied with or is the Christian Satan. But the ambivalent attitude appears to be most characteristic. H. Zakoji, of the University of Oregon, reports the following statement from a 74-year-old male informant: "I don't know what he is, God or Devil or what he is. According to the Bible, we worship one God. Nobody ever saw God and white people say that. That's what gets me. Kemu'kemps dealt with the Indians only. He must be before Christ came and he must have disappeared when Christ came." In another connection, he said to me: "If Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came, then Christ conquered him. They say when Christ died, he conquered sin and the Devil.

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113 [18] These statements suggest the views of Father Wilhelm Schmidt and their implications as given in his *High Gods of North America* (Oxford, 1933), especially chap. 8.

846 [292] five days. This is the belt also worn in mourning for a child and by a girl at puberty. I was not told of restrictions on the father's conduct, but if he is seeking a vision at this time he fasts of necessity for some days.[78]

856 The attending women pinch up the baby's nose and smooth its features to make it handsome. They are especially careful with a boy to straighten and massage his legs so that he may become a good runner.[79] A tight belt of buckskin is put on a girl baby so that she 853 will not become stout. The baby is put to breast immediately. Expectant mothers massage the breasts and squeeze out the first milk.

846 The stump of cord falling off after five days, the navel is greased in order to help it heal. The stump, wrapped in buckskin, is put away by the parents with those of other children. Some precaution is taken to preserve it, at least during the early years, else the baby will die, but it is certain to disappear by the time he is grown. Should the baby die the cord is replaced to be burned with the body.

801 The several references to five-day periods, and we may add the five-day monthly seclusion of women, deserve a word of comment. To be sure there is some basis in fact for this; menstruation, post-natal placental flow and hemorrhage, and the sloughing of the cord do commonly occupy some such period. However, in consideration of individual variation, it is clear that the stated five is but another application of the Klamath pattern number.

852 [171] There is no formal celebration at the birth of a child, as among the Wishram.

856 Some other practices pertaining to childhood may also be noted here. Deciduous teeth are pulled out by the mother as they loosen so that the permanent teeth will erupt in their proper places. This has actually such an effect as well as stimulating the growth of the second dentition. There are no customs regarding these teeth; they are thrown away.

A little girl's hair is made to grow long and thick by singeing it with a lighted splinter of a lightning-struck tree. This is not done for boys.

845 [171] There is no special attitude toward twins (lᴇbă'als) so far as I could discover. This is noteworthy because of the fear of twins mani-

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[78] Modoc parents abstain from meat for ten days after the birth, eating only roots. They sweat for five days and then throw away their garments (Gatschet, 1:91).

[79] The Modoc method is described by Gatschet (*loc. cit.*).

343 is gable-shaped, the ridgepole being supported at each end on a pair of struts thrust obliquely into the margin of the pit. Sticks and bark resting on this form the roof; a layer of dry grass and dirt covers the whole. This stands three and a half feet above the ground. The entrance, which is quite small, is covered by a mat (fig. 20).

Stones, heated outside, are rolled into a hollow in the lodge. There does not seem to be any prescribed place for this, as among other peoples. The stones are said to be at the rear in the winter lodge, and anywhere in the summer affair, but in a winter lodge that I saw, the hollow was near the doorway to the right of one entering, and at the back in a summer lodge. For the use of five or ten men, I was [801] told, a large summer lodge has the stones at the center. Five is the Klamath pattern number, but it was said that there was no prescription of the number who may enter at one time, nor of the number of times they sweat. Water is thrown on the hot stones after they are somewhat cooled, otherwise the steam would scald the inmates. There is a certain amount of rivalry on the part of those who have the water to drive the others out by raising steam; sometimes four or five have it at one time.[376]

They talk to the stones when sprinkling them, asking to be cured, to live long, work well, to have luck in gambling, and to get spirits. This is the same as talking to the water when swimming on a vision quest. "The stones are 'doctor'; the water is 'doctor.'" They talk to the wind, the mountains, the water. Everyone outside is quiet. Men [562] and women go into these lodges together.

Coville observes that "the branches and twigs of the 'cedar,' (*Librocedrus decurrens* Torr.) are often used in administering a sweat bath to a sick person."[377]

343 The three sweat-lodges used solely by mourners closely resemble the "winter" lodge. In fact, the lodge just north of Klamath Agency does not differ in any respect. I have seen but one of the other two, that near Algoma. This is now a U-shaped wall of stones which once bore a rough gable roof covered with dirt. It is much larger than the [178] winter lodge, enclosing an area ten by twenty feet.[378] It may be suggested that conservatism has preserved the type for this use, while for secular uses it has been, or is being, supplanted by the dome-shaped lodge.

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[376] For a tale describing such rivalry, see p. 37.

[377] Notes, 88.

[378] For its description and use, see pp. 73 f.

171*

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Dentalium shells	Ornament	Ultimate source, coasts of Washington and British Columbia.	105 [301]
Cradles	Sitting	n.w. and n. central California.	
	Board	n. Basin, Plateau.	[854]
Games	Beaver teeth dice	Oregon, Washington, British Columbia.	[524]
	Four stick	n.e., central, and s. California (and elsewhere?).	
	Hand game	Some central Californians, Basin, s. Northwest Coast, Plateau, Plains.	
	Modified hoop-pole	Minor game of coast from Alaska to Oregon (not n.w. California).	
	Ring-and-pin; rush ball	Modoc?, Wishram.	
Pipes	Spherical; discoidal	s. Plateau (Nez Percé to Okanagon).	[276]
	Angular	Wasco, Wishram, Middle Columbia, Nez Percé (links with Plains calumet?).	
Musical instruments	Hand drum	Recent in Plateau; Basin, Plains, (Northwest Coast?).	[534]
	Deerhoof rattle in girls' rites	n. California.	
	Notched rasp	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.	
	Clap stick	n. and central California.	
	Open flute	California, Southwest; Takelma, Nez Percé (and probably general in the west).	
Numerals	Finger names	Takelma.	[802]
Ritual number	Five	s. Northwest Coast, Washington, Oregon, California s. to Sinkyone and Northern Maidu, Basin.	[801] •
Calendar	Numerical names	n.w. California, Fraser r., n. Northwest Coast.	[805]
Scalping	Whole scalp	California, w. Southwest, Wishram (no scalping in n.w. California e. to Shasta, and Northwest Coast).	[726]
Head trophy	Unusual	California, Northwest Coast.	
Scalp dance		General (except n.w. California) (over head trophies on Northwest Coast).	[727]
War dance	With notched rattle	Upland Takelma?, Wasco, Wishram, Nez Percé; without rattle, Chinook, n.w. California.	
Disposal of dead	Cremation	Modoc; some cremation in n.e. California; central California; formerly in e. Washington; n. Plateau.	[764]

*171 881 The place of seclusion shows an interesting cleavage between coastal and interior tribes. The former confined the girl to her home (Tillamook?, Coos?, Yurok, Hupa, Wiyot); the latter to a hut (Wishram, Shasta, Sacramento Valley and Northeastern Maidu). The exceptional case here is the Northern Maidu of the foothills who used the dwelling. The Klamath, Achomawi, and Atsugewi conformed to the interior practice of excluding the girl from her home, sending her into the brush, and at least the Klamath specified that a hut was erected for her if shelter was needed. It will be observed that the seclusion within the home in coastal Oregon and northwestern California looks like an extension of Northwest Coast practice.

The duration of the period was quite uniformly five days or its multiple ten (five days: Takelma, Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Foothill Maidu, Sacramento Valley Maidu [5 days or a week]; ten days: Coos, Shasta, Karok, Yurok, Hupa). The Wishram seclusion was five days, followed by a five-day dance period. The Wiyot period is stated as five or ten days. Here again an antithesis is suggested between interior and coast, but with the line drawn further inland.

The fixing of the number of days at five or ten seems to me clearly an application of the pattern number five common to this area. This view is emphasized by the fact that elsewhere the number was different, most commonly four days. On the Northwest Coast, e.g., the number was quite variable, most commonly four days, and those cases there where a five-day period was prescribed lay toward the southern end of the area (Chinook, most commonly five days; possibly Nisqually, where the duration was of the same order, five to nine days, Quinault, ten days). This was true again in more southerly California and the Southwest where the number was most commonly four, with the Eastern Pomo in the north holding to five. Finally we note that in the Basin the period *was* five days for Paviotso, ten for Northern Ute. Kroeber was puzzled by the scarcity of the number four in the girls' ceremonies within the boundaries of the present California.[388] The majority of his cases were from northern California. But the situation is at once clear if we extend comparisons beyond its borders; five (and ten) was common to Oregon, northern California, and the northern Basin, four to the remainder of California (with certain exceptions in the south) and the Southwest.

• 801 This is what it should be when we consider the distribution of pattern numbers in the west. Five was the pattern number of the

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[388] Handbook, 862.

southern Northwest Coast, Oregon, California as far south as the 171*
Sinkyone (and perhaps the Costanoan), and the Basin. The number 881
was variable in central and southern California, as Kroeber has
pointed out, but was as regularly four on the Colorado river as in the 801
Southwest.[399] The curious feature is that five as the pattern number
did not regularly make its appearance in the adolescence rites; it is
seemingly missing from them on the northern margin of its distribution
and again in the southern Basin. What we have to recognize is
that the pattern number does not operate automatically at every possible
opportunity; further, that there may be an appreciable lag before
a specified number of days, things, etc., is made to conform to the
standard number. Thus the Ghost dance of 1890 derived by the [668]
Walapai from the Southern Paiute, whose pattern number was five,
appeared among them as a five-day ceremony although their pattern
was four.

Characteristic of this local area was some device to hold the adoles- 171*
cent girl's gaze averted when she left her seclusion. It was a visor
of blue-jay feathers among the Takelma, Shasta, and Karok, an eye- 881
shade of skin among the Northern Pomo. Elsewhere her head must
be covered in some fashion; it was so prescribed by Hupa, Wiyot,
Sinkyone, Coast Central Pomo, Tübatulabal. The visor appeals to
me as the local analogue of the large hat or mat prescribed by Northwest
Coast tribes: Ten'a, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl,
Nisqually, and Tillamook. The Nootka and Achomawi-Atsugewi headbands
may also be analogues. In some instances the girl's head must
be covered with a basket even as she rests: Takelma, Shasta, Yuki,
Luiseño. This is, to be sure, only a specific form based on a more widespread
view that the adolescent's glance was malignant and must be
cast down. This notion prevailed as far south as the Colorado river
(Yurok, Eastern Pomo, and Mohave in addition to those just cited),
but was notably absent in the Basin and Southwest, and may not
have been nearly so strongly emphasized on the Northwest Coast. It
cropped up again in a far distant area, the southern Great Lakes
(Winnebago, Menomini, and probably Ojibway, Ottawa, Sauk-Fox,
and Kickapoo), where the menstruant might not look up or out of
the lodge. The otherwise unintelligible prescription that the Klamath
maiden must dance with downcast eyes—for I did not find that there
was any belief that her gaze was malignant—is thus explicable as a
bald imitation of neighboring types of behavior.

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[399] Handbook, 875.

802 The numeration system of a people is a relic of a remote age, and
171 therefore of importance for tracing the ancient connections of tribes. The quinary system is the most frequent counting method in America, and often combines with the vigesimal. The pure quinary system prevails in Ara, in the Chimaríko, Yuki, and in the Shasti-Pit River family, in Sahaptin and Wayíletpu, and it is also the system found in Klamath. Curiously enough, the Maidu Indians count by fifteens, and the decimal system forms the basis
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197 To sum up the result of the above linguistic inquiry, it may be stated that our present knowledge does not allow us to connect the Klamath language genealogically with any of the other languages compared, but *that it stands as a linguistic family for itself.* It has adopted elements from the tongues spoken in its neighborhood; and a common element, chiefly pronominal, underlies several of these and the American languages in general.

THE HISTORIC PERIOD.

'Εκ δὲ τοῦ καὶ κιστὰ πάντα κάκιελστα γίγνεται.

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175 historic lore which forms so attractive a feature in the unwritten literature of
127 the nations east of the Rocky Mountains and of Mexico is wanting entirely among the Mák̲laks, and we have to rely upon the meager reports of travelers and Government agents for accounts of the condition of the tribes in the earlier part of this century. Such notices of historic events are as follows:

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The earliest historic conflict which can be ascertained with some chronological accuracy is the massacre of eighteen immigrants to Oregon by individuals of the Modoc tribe, and Ben Wright's massacre, consequent upon that bloody deed. The massacre of the immigrants occurred at a place on Tule or Rhett Lake, since called Bloody Point. Undoubtedly this was only

121 77 become in course of time. The working of animism can best be traced in polytheism and polydemonism, in the shamanistic ideas as well as in the religious. The principles traceable in the myth-making of the Klamath Indians, which differs in some points from those of other Indians, may be summed up as follows:

The sky-gods, as sun, moon, winds, thunder, etc., here as elsewhere surpass in importance and strength the other deified powers of nature, for "theology is meteorology." Some of these chief gods assume the mask of animate beings and inanimate things when they appear among men.

773 776 Creation myths do not generally mention the material from which or the mode by which objects were created, but simply state that K'múkamtch produced them by his thinking and will power.

The spirit, life, or heart of a deity is made distinct from the deity itself and can live at a distance from it. Cf. the pipe of K'múkamtch burnt in the fire, which in another myth figures as a small ball (ké-iks) and is his spirit or life.

The burlesque element, which the religions of Asia and Europe have banished almost entirely, appears here as an almost integral attribute of a god or genius. This appears to form an offset for the dire cruelties ascribed to the same demons, and is also characteristic of the religions studied east of Mississippi River.

The element of obscenity is only incidental to the burlesque element, but is sometimes very pronounced, especially in the beast stories. It was added to cause merriment only, and not for such immoral purposes as we see it applied to in the Decameron of Boccaccio and other products of a corrupt age.

● [801] The deified beings of a lower order, as animals, etc., appear sometimes as *one* person, but just as often in the mystic number of *five*, if not of *ten*. Fire, waters, springs, and plants are not deified, but lakes are sometimes. Clouds do not appear here deified as witches, as they do among the Eastern Indians.

Certain miracles are here achieved by bodily contact and symbolic acts; so dead animals are brought to life again by jumping three or five

NOTES.

*539 764 [171] Cremating the dead is a practice which was abolished by the chiefs on the territory of the reservation in or about 1868. At the Indian graveyard north of the Williamson River a hill of 12 feet altitude, where the corpses of Indians of the Klamath Lake (not Modoc) chieftaincy were burnt, is still visible and untouched since then. With the exception of the sentence from Skentanápkash to ítpa, the first paragraph refers to the present as well as to the former mode of funeral, while the second describes the ancient mode of cremation. Cremation prevailed also among the Snake and Pai-Uta Indians, living in the vicinity of the Máklaks; cf. Dr. W. T. Hoffman, Pahute Cremation; Cremation among the Digger Indians, in Proceedings of the Am. Philosophical Soc., Philadelphia; vol. XIV, p. 297 sq., 414 sq., (1876). According to Stephen Powers, cremation prevailed among the Pomos of Northern California, west of the Sacramento River, and the Erío, a tribe living at the mouth of Russian River, believe that all deceased Indians will become grizzly bears if not disposed of in this manner. The Indians inhabiting the shores of Middle and Lower Columbia River placed their dead on platforms erected on hills, or into the canoes of which they had been the owners; the Kalapuyas on both sides of the Willamet River buried their dead by inhumation.

000 Our notice makes no mention of the mourning ceremony among the Modocs, by which widows had their long hair cut off at the funeral of their husbands, then dripped the resin from the pyre, liquefied by the heat, upon their bared heads, vowing not to marry again before this ghastly head-cover had worn off by length of time. The Modocs cremated their dead on any day *from the first* to the fifth day after decease, according to choice.

*539 764 85, 1. ţutenépni. Here we have again the sacred number five occurring so often in the traditions, myths and customs of the Oregonian tribes. Cf. 70, 1. 3. 82, 6. 88, 4.

● 801 171 85, 1. Instead of ídsha may be used Klamath Lake ílχa (*or* éna) lulukshúldshuk, to bring out for cremation. The northern dialect uses vumí only in the sense of putting dried provisions into the ground. A funeral is ílktcha in the Modoc dialect.

85, 2. shutédshna: they remove obstacles upon the road or trail, such as fallen trees or logs; they clear the passage. kăflatat means here the same as tchpinû'tat, 85, 4.

[192] 85, 2. wawaſha. Another form of the verb waſha is said to exist in the Modoc dialect: wawaſha; its distributive form: wawawaſha.

85, 3. itpanŏ'pkasht is the synizesis of itpanuápkasht.

85, 6. Tánkni; the term mă'ntchni is often used instead.

85, 7. ánko for ánkuam kedshlákstat.

85, 10. pítchash for Klamath Lake pítchkash, "until it has gone out".

85, 11. Modoc hibéna or ipéna for the Klamath Lake yépa, yépona: to dig a hole.

85, 11. néwisht. Of this term the original meaning seems to be "thrown by hand into the air", a manipulation resorted to by some Indians, though not here, with the burnt ashes of the deceased.

85, 12. lkáppa. These piles of stones evidently were, as well as the piles erected on the spot of the burnt lodge, intended as monuments of the deceased. These cairns are of considerable size, and can be seen in the old Modoc country at the present time.

85, 16. pĕn húnkĕlam etc. Pĕn introduces the verb vûmi', and k'léka is a verb coordinate to vûmi': "his children die, right there again they bury them."

821
823

The Klamath notion is that they name their directions from the winds. This seems unusual until we realize that this is the habit of the peoples to the north, e.g., the Wishram by my own information. It is also intelligible from the rôle played by personified winds throughout this area, Shasta to Puget sound. Seven of the eight compass points are named, omitting northeast, from which quarter there is probably no wind.

lopi'tal, east.
ye'watąl, southeast.
mo'atal, south.
ḳopa'stiskäni, southwest.
txka'lamdal, west.
tcöki'nkadal, northwest (cf. tcökäa, service berry region, lying to the southwest of Crater lake).
ya'mökeda, north.

This is the order in which my informant, Nancy Phillips, gave the directions. She did not offer zenith and nadir, and, on direct questioning, held that these were not directions.

The numerals are as follows:

802

1, naa.
2, lap.
3, xnda'n.
4, wuni'p.
5, tu'nip.
6, nö'taksöpt.
7, la'pksöpt.
8, da'nksöpt.
9, nötskä'čka.
10, te'čwünip.
11, na'sial'x.
12, la'pial'x.
13, xnda'nial'x.
14, wuni'pial'x.
15, tu'nipial'x.
16, nö'taksöptial'x.
17, la'pksötial'x.
18, da'nksöptial'x.
19, nötskä'čksial'x.
20, la'püni te'čwünip.
21, la'püni te'čwünip pe'čnaa.[410]
26, la'püni te'čwünip pe'čnötaksö'pt.
30, xndani' te'čwünip.
40, wünipni te'čwünip.
47, wünipni te'čwünip pe'čn lapksö'pt.
50, tunipni te'čwünip.

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[410] By analogy with twenty-six, forty-seven, etc., this looks as though the word for one should be suffixed, but the form given is consistent with one hundred and one.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

802 •

60, nŏtaksöpt dŏ'nkni te'ĕwŭnip.
70, la'pksöpt dŏ'nkni te'ĕwŭnip.
80, da'nksöpt dŏ'nkni te'ĕwŭnip.
90, nŏtakă'ĕka dŏ'nkni te'ĕwŭnip.
98, nŏtakă'ĕka dŏ'nkni te'ĕwŭnip pe'[illegible]a da'nksöpt.
100, te'ĕwŭnipai te'ĕwŭnip.
101, te'ĕwŭnipai te'ĕwŭnip pe'ĕnas.

The numbers eleven to nineteen are abbreviated forms, the full form for sixteen, for instance, is nŏ'taksŏptial'z ha te'ĕwŭnip ŏnt.

Even without extended etymological analysis, which I am not prepared to make, the basis of this numeration is transparent. One to six, nine, and ten are individual stems; seven is based on two, and eight on three. This suggests a quinary and decimal basis. From twenty up the basic count is by tens. Intermediate integers are so many tens plus the units, as in English. The exception is such an integer as twenty-one which looks like "two tens plus." Why the form for sixty and above differs from the lower round numbers, I do not know.

These numbers are used in counting all classes of objects. Gatschet remarks that classifiers "are appended to the numeral to indicate the shape or exterior of the objects counted."[411] The only other number I found was a score, the ten fingers and toes together, na'sat. There are no similar collective terms for the fingers of one hand or of both. Only a circumlocution can be used, like lugawa'wals, the fingers, or pĕtcŏ'mnzlugawa'wals, the toes all together (pĕtc is foot). Ordinarily the ordinal numbers are not used in counting the fingers; one does not usually say one finger, but specifies it by name. The toes are enumerated like the fingers.[412]

The following list of colors was recorded:

822

tŏktŏ'kli, red.
t!o'tlalwi, green.
mĕtemĕ'telí, blue.
spa'lptcli, yellow.
kŏp'kaulí' brown.
bŏ'ebŏeli, black.
ba'lbali, white.
ge'lŏpei, gray (English, gray ?), means dirty.

My informant said that the word for blue was in use before the coming of the whites; she denied that there was a single word for blue-green. This implies that the familiar blue-green confusion was lacking here. I did not test any of these people for their color sense with color-wools.

[177]

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[411] 1:523.

[412] For the finger names, see the list of months above.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

171 *

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Dentalium shells	Ornament	Ultimate source, coasts of Washington and British Columbia.	105
Cradles	Sitting	n.w. and n. central California.	[301]
	Board	n. Basin, Plateau.	[854]
Games	Beaver teeth dice	Oregon, Washington, British Columbia.	
	Four stick	n.e., central, and s. California (and elsewhere?).	[524]
	Hand game	Some central Californians, Basin, s. Northwest Coast, Plateau, Plains.	
	Modified hoop-pole	Minor game of coast from Alaska to Oregon (not n.w. California).	
	Ring-and-pin; rush ball	Modoc?, Wishram.	
Pipes	Spherical; discoidal	s. Plateau (Nez Percé to Okanagon).	[276]
	Angular	Wasco, Wishram, Middle Columbia, Nez Percé (links with Plains calumet?).	
Musical instruments	Hand drum	Recent in Plateau; Basin, Plains, (Northwest Coast?).	[534]
	Deerhoof rattle in girls' rites	n. California.	
	Notched rasp	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.	
	Clap stick	n. and central California.	
	Open flute	California, Southwest; Takelma, Nez Percé (and probably general in the west).	
Numerals	Finger names	Takelma.	[802] •
Ritual number	Five	s. Northwest Coast, Washington, Oregon, California s. to Sinkyone and Northern Maidu, Basin.	[801]
Calendar	Numerical names	n.w. California, Fraser r., n. Northwest Coast.	[805]
Scalping	Whole scalp	California, w. Southwest, Wishram (no scalping in n.w. California e. to Shasta, and Northwest Coast).	[726]
Head trophy	Unusual	California, Northwest Coast.	
Scalp dance		General (except n.w. California) (over head trophies on Northwest Coast).	[727]
War dance	With notched rattle	Upland Takelma?, Wasco, Wishram, Nez Percé; without rattle, Chinook, n.w. California.	
Disposal of dead	Cremation	Modoc; some cremation in n.e. California; central California; formerly in e. Washington; n. Plateau.	[764]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS

Counting, Calendar, Directions

Counting

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4416. Finger count for months	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	802
4417. Finger count for objects	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	805
4418. Begin counting on thumb	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	·	+	
4419. Begin count on 4th finger	–	+	+	·	+	–	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	·	–	
4420. End on 4th finger of other hand	–	+	+	·	+	–	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	·	–	
4421. Count on toes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
4422. Mnemonic devices	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4423. Knotted string for measuring time intervals	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[211]
4424. Knotted string for messages	–	–	–	•–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4425. Stick for 1, 5, 10, 100 objects	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
4426. Stick counters used in games	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4427. Rocks to count objects	–		·						+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	
4428. Marks on house to measure time intervals	+	–	+					+	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	·	–	
4429. Scratch on ground for 10 and 100	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	·	–	–	·	–	
4430. Stick poker burned to mark month's duration													+	–	•+	–	
4431. Sack with berries in it	–		–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Calendar

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
‡4432. Number of seasons	4	4	4	4	5	(3)	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	2	4	4	805
o4433. Number of names for moons	10	·	·	10	10	•12	•10	14	7	7	4	–	•12	·	·	·	
4434. Names descriptive	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	·	·	·	
4435. Finger names	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	–	–	
4436. Winter solstice observed	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4437. Calendar begins winter solstice	•+	+	·	•+	(+)	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	·	(+)	·	+	–	
4438. Summer month counted	+	·	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	–	–	·	+	·	·	+	
4439. Month begins on new moon	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
4439a. Stars as month markers	•+	–	·	•+	–	·	•+	+	+	–	+	·	·	·	–	–	
4440. Month record kept	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
4441. Sticks put away													·	+	–	–	
4442. Stones put in sack	–	·	·	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	
4442a. Knots tied in string		·	·			+	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	
4443. Old man keeps record	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	
4444. By memory only	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	(–)	(–)	–	–	–	
4445. Old people argue which month	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	·	+	•+	[578]
4446. Fisticuffs	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	·	·	+	+	
4447. Solstices observed by marks or shadow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4448. Summer solstice	+	+	–	+	·	•+			+	•–	+	+	+	·	·	+	
4449. Winter solstice	+	+	+	+	+	•+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4450. In sweat house	–	·	•+	•+	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	·	·	·	
4451. Trees or mountains	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4452. Sunrise and sunset	+	+	–			–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•+	
4453. Sunrise only	–	–	+			+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	
4454. Sun's monthly position observed	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	–	•–	+	+	·	·	·	+	
4455. Marks on shadows from trees, mountains	+	·	–	+	·	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	·	·	·	+	
4456. Marks in sweat house	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·	·	·	–	
4457. Daily sunrise, sunset observed	+		–	+					•+	+	–	+	·	·	–	+	

764 tings hidden in woods. Mutilations: scratching
soon after death; finger amputation. Sacrifice
of relatives. Widow pays parents-in-law before
eating. Mourner pays to waive taboos. Taboos
laid on community: boat travel stopped for ...
days; offender pays mourners. Name taboo for
... months; until mourning ceremony; change name
at death of namesake. Deerskin dance, Jump dance
taboo for ... days. Mourning ceremony.--Family
765 mourning ceremony: fixed number of days after
death; mourners washed; ceremony removes meat
taboo only. Group mourning ceremony: held for
prominent persons only; warriors only; spring
only; summer only. Other tribes invited; loans
by mourners; given under flat shade; fence and
flat shade. Dance inside structure, in open;
center pole. Formal seating allotments. Professional
performers. Images made by another
tribe; some burnt; given to individuals, to
visiting tribes only, given irrespective of
tribe, to performers only; images thrown to
crowd. Offerings put in hut, hole; single stationary
pole for all offerings. Sham battle.
Everyone in tribe washed; mourners only washed.
Post-washing activities: dancing; eagle sacrifice.

KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS

Counting, Calendar, Directions

802 Counting.--Count with twigs between fingers.
Beads over rod for messages; as calendar. Stick
805 mat for messages. Calendar.--Numeral names for
months; 2-solstice calendar. Months recorded on
sticks. Charcoal marks inside house for month
record.

Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs

75 Herb doctoring: knowledge purchased from older person; doctor sings or dances; doctor employs assistant.

Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena

821 Cosmography: world a person, tree, animal; multiple heavens. Sun and moon: sun an animal; moon an animal; figure in moon coyote, dog, river. New moon: children have hair cut, dance. Eclipses: any bird, condor, blue jay, bug, coyote, puma, raccoon, gopher, rattlesnake eating sun or moon; moon's husband lying on her; coyote's tail in front of; condor in front of sun, moon. At eclipse strike plank or canoe; hold raccoon skin on stick; men go to woods or mountains to make medicine; turn vessels over; throw out food, turn over canoe. Falling stars: explained as stars wanting to change place; stars dead man's eyes. Milky Way: is dust from running animals, birds, elk, deer, mountain sheep, bear, frog, prairie falcon, ducks, snakes;

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

802 171 The numeration system of a people is a relic of a remote age, and therefore of importance for tracing the ancient connections of tribes. The quinary system is the most frequent counting method in America, and often combines with the vigesimal. The pure quinary system prevails in Ara, in the Chimarïko, Yuki, and in the Shasti-Pit River family, in Sahaptin and Waylletpu, and it is also the system found in Klamath. Curiously enough, the Maidu Indians count by fifteens, and the decimal system forms the basis [801] of the Wintún, Mutsun, and Selish dialects. The mystic or "sacred" number occurring hundreds of times in mythologic stories is *five* among all the Oregonian tribes.

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THE HISTORIC PERIOD.

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ καὶ κιστὰ πάντα κάλλιστα γίγνεται.

174 175 127 On account of the superstition previously alluded to, the traditional historic lore which forms so attractive a feature in the unwritten literature of the nations east of the Rocky Mountains and of Mexico is wanting entirely among the Máklaks, and we have to rely upon the meager reports of travelers and Government agents for accounts of the condition of the tribes in the earlier part of this century. Such notices of historic events are as follows:

000 According to a tradition recorded by Stephen Powers, an epidemic of small-pox broke out among the Modoc Indians in 1847, by which one hundred and fifty individuals perished.

The earliest historic conflict which can be ascertained with some chronological accuracy is the massacre of eighteen immigrants to Oregon by individuals of the Modoc tribe, and Ben Wright's massacre, consequent upon that bloody deed. The massacre of the immigrants occurred at a place on Tule or Rhett Lake, since called Bloody Point. Undoubtedly this was only

756 no food taboos; shamans and others can eat their spirit animals. The
784 only taboo of conduct peculiar to any spirit known is the prohibition against wearing footgear by one who has a dog spirit. For example, a Molala-Klamath halfbreed, the wife of the chief Li'lu, who dreamed of this spirit, never wore any protection for her feet even in the winter snows.

756 The shaman is cremated and his house burned like other Klamath. Usually his regalia, feathers and skins, are destroyed with the house. This must wait for calm weather; then only an old woman dare burn them. Immediately a storm rises, with strong winds and thunder, but lasts only a night. When the shaman dies and again when his body is burned, storms rage for several days.

THE SHAMANISTIC PERFORMANCE

755 While curing of necessity takes place at any time, shamanistic per-
221 formances are given at only one time during the year. This is a name-
less period, the fourth month (December–January), in midwinter,[162]
756 the coldest period when the lake is frozen and the timber cracks with the cold. By this time all the earth-lodges are reconstructed and the Klamath are settled in their winter quarters. This is a period of enforced inactivity, what with the intense cold, the deep snows, and their inability to hunt and fish. Furthermore, the seances cannot be held any later in the winter for then they begin to run short of provisions, I was told, which is undoubtedly true and yet may be a rationalization. This brings to mind the winter sacred period of the Northwest Coast tribes, with its quiet dictated by a fear of profanation. It is not sacred to the ordinary Klamath; spirits are sought at any time. It is significant only to shamans and others who have spirits.

Shamans make a point of giving their performances every winter. A number of them may join for the purpose. The novice waits for winter to prove the coming of his power and only after this does he attempt to cure. The advent of power is called dodi'ḳalgŏt. Non-shamans who have a little power, perhaps a single spirit, may sing their own songs at a shaman's performance if the spirit impels them.

756 The shaman informally[163] invites the participants to his home for

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[805] [162] There is a discrepancy here in that the Klamath reckon a year of ten months, and these lunar periods begin with the lunation of August. My informants made it quite clear, however, that, although they specified the fourth month, they meant the period about Christmas.

[163] Knotted invitation strings, for instance, are unknown.

361 at the lake's edge, large and warm enough to prevent ice forming over
a large area. Winter is severe at this altitude (4000 feet), snowdrifts
[132] are deep, and Klamath lake freezes over to a depth of some ten inches
in late December. Such sheltered valleys as that of the Williamson
[133] river, while but a few miles from the open lake, are distinctly warmer.

221 The annual cycle of activities is dictated largely by the food
habits. It is customary to leave the winter villages in April or May,
when plant growth is well under way and the flat valleys have dried,
not to return until the snow falls again and houses need refurbishing.
When fish begin to run in the spring, the Klamath congregate at the
fishing places to stay for two months or more. For example, some
join the Modoc on Lost river for several weeks to catch and dry
fish. The spring and early summer are spent on the marshes and
prairies, gathering roots such as camas and ipos. When the camas
has been dried and stored, they move to the marshes, especially to
Klamath marsh, to harvest pond-lily seeds from mid-August to the
end of September. While the women are busy with this harvest, men
hunt mule deer, antelope, and other animals whose habitat is in eastern
Klamath territory. Late summer and autumn, seeds, berries, and
nuts are gathered, the Indians congregating where these are plentiful.
Many of those at Klamath marsh, for example, move directly to
Huckleberry mountain, southwest of Crater lake, to garner these
[484] berries. Summer and autumn are the seasons for journeying to visit
and trade, for raiding, and especially for laying up a store of fish
[726] against the coming winter. It must be understood that the winter
[251] locations are not completely abandoned during this season, for many
of them are favorably situated for these very activities. But it is
[361] customary for such a group as the ăukekni division, whose winter
residences cluster thickly along the middle Williamson river, to scatter
and meet again at Klamath marsh for the pond-lily harvest in
[805] August and September. (This is the beginning of the Klamath year.)
They begin to return to the winter sites in the latter month, to start
[342] rebuilding the earth-lodges for the coming winter, a task completed
in December, by which time full winter is at hand.[219]

501 The move to Klamath marsh of the people at the mouth of Williamson
river, the du'kwakni, can be made by canoe only as far as ya'ak
221 on the middle river, where they join the ăukekni in packing afoot the
rest of the distance. When the water is high, canoes can go upstream
as far as bɛzŭkse'was at the mouth of Sprague river (see the maps,

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[219] See also Gatschet, 1:74–77.

mixed, to prevent chapping and sunburn. Red paint mixed with this grease is similarly used. Putting on a pitch coating is called sutlu'mʀ. The pitch is roasted and later scraped with knives.[491] 751

Simple tattooing (sl'tcpale'as) is common to both sexes. It has no connection with puberty rites, although it is usually done in youth; nor any esoteric significance. Anyone may tattoo, even boys and girls tattoo their companions, but it is usually performed by women, who receive no payment. Charcoal is rubbed into incisions cut with fragments of stone. Women have the face tattooed, as well as breast and thighs. The face decoration is regularly a line down the center of the chin and one descending obliquely from each corner of the mouth. One Klamath woman has a line drawn horizontally from each corner to her cheeks. My female informant has a few random lines, including a poor cross, on the inside of her left forearm. A man's decoration is ordinarily confined to his arms. One man has a line running up the back of his hand and a T-figure on his wrist, each of its arms formed by several parallel lines. Another had short lines crossing the inside of his left arm just above the wrist. This is reminiscent of the lines on a Yurok's forearm to measure dentalia shells,[492] but has not that purpose here. A few men have a line across the nose ending in a circle beneath each eye, or the circles alone. This is the sum of face decoration; they lack the large black patches on chin and cheeks of the Shasta. Upland Takelma women, I was told, conform rather to the northwest California style. They tattoo the entire lower part of the face below a line drawn across the cheeks. 304 [171]*

TIME RECKONING, DIRECTIONS, AND NUMERATION

As with most Indians whose ceremonials do not depend on the exact recording of time, the Klamath have little development of time reckoning. The result is the confusion and conflict between native authorities familiar elsewhere. 805

Intervals of the day are of little importance. These are indicated by the position of the sun (sa"bas) for which a few names have been developed.

pā'ĕttkls, early dawn; "this is the time to attack."
ni'lḳa, sunrise.
ʀmbo'sant, early forenoon.

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[491] Gatschet, 1:150. He stated that pitch, "wákinsh grows on the pan-tree," by which I presume he meant the lodgepole pine.

[492] Kroeber, Handbook, 25.

805 dino'löpka, later forenoon.
sɛwö'tkɛ, midday.
gawilo'la, mid-afternoon.
di'ntkɛ sa''bas, sun nearly down.

The movement of the stars gives time at night. For instance, I was told that in winter, when they sit late telling stories, it is bedtime (lo'lalöks) when Orion's belt has risen two-thirds of the distance toward the zenith. This is about ten o'clock in mid-December. Midnight is literally (?) palndötklüm.

There is no year count, but these people have of course no difficulty in expressing spans of years. Similarly the seasons are of little significance. There are however four period names: sɛ'a'lüm, the beginning of fall, lo'ldöm, winter, when snow begins to fall in the mountains, sko'w'a, the beginning of spring, pö'tda, when roots, etc., begin to ripen. It was emphasized that these names refer properly to the opening of the seasons. There is no generic word for seasons; the year is called momo'wate or e'lo'la. Gatschet observes that as an alternative to the use of month names, they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as udsaksä'mi, "in the big sucker time," i-umä'mi, "in the berry season," etc.[603]

This seasonal count indicates that the year begins in early fall. It is marked by the end of the wild fruit season and the withering of the leaves. This corresponds to late August or early September.[604] The exact date is indefinite; it is marked by the appearance of a new moon, but bears no relation to the procession of the constellations.

Ten months are named which purport to pass for lunar months. That is, the Klamath month (sa''bas, month, moon, sun) is a period indefinitely fixed in the solar calendar, marked by the waxing and waning of the moon, and omitting the dark phases. These people are fully aware that ten named periods do not fit the twelve plus lunations of the year. No attempt is made to make them fit, to reckon an intercalary period. The ten months are merely ten roughly marked intervals of the year-round, whose beginning, duration, and end are left indefinite as of no particular concern, but which serve the convenient purpose of designating the several periods of the year. It is quite clear that while the Klamath are fully aware of the discrepancies of their calendar, they feel no need for correcting them. For instance, my most satisfactory informant, Nancy Phillips, named over the ten months when asked the number of lunations. When her attention was called to the true number, she agreed that there were more than ten, but exactly how many she did not know, for no one keeps track of them. She thought there were more than twelve, certainly she knows that there are more than ten.

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[603] Gatschet, 1:76.

[132] [133]

[604] It must be remembered that winter comes very early at this altitude (4000 feet). By mid-September ice forms on the ponds during the night. Gatschet's information confirms that of my best informants that August-September marks the opening of the year (1:74). This disposes of mid-winter and February-March as opening dates as mentioned by my other informants below.

The months are named for the fingers and counted in their order commencing with the right thumb, according to Nancy Phillips, and passing to the thumb on the left hand. This brings it about that the five names are repeated.

1. tḳ!o'po, thumb (approximately August-September and March; the ground thaws and the grass grows a little under the snow).
2. spĕ'lwis, forefinger (September-October, the leaves fall; April, geese and fish return).
3. dötklü'mĕni, middle finger (October-November; May-June).
4. ḳlö'ptc!alöm sinö'ketls, ring finger (lit., partner of the little finger; December-January, the coldest month, the lake freezes and timber cracks with frost; June, fruits are fully ripened).
5. ḳlö'ptc!a, little finger (February; July-August, midsummer).

The moon, which was full on September 21, 1926, was the second month according to this informant. On a previous occasion she had given the months beginning with the left thumb, and February–March as the opening of the year. This is at least consistent with her later naming of the months. Which hand one begins with is evidently immaterial. A check on Nancy's data is given by her statement that Orion's belt appears on the horizon at dawn in the first month; this would be about August. She also stated that the winter solstice came in the fourth month, which is correct by her reckonings. But she added that the summer solstice was in the thumb month, which would be incorrect unless she began counting on the left hand, from the little finger, which stood for February–March.

Pat Kane placed the beginning of the year shortly before Christmas, the lunation in which the winter solstice occurs. He began the count with the little finger of the left hand and continued with the right thumb. This agrees with the procedure recorded by Gatschet.

A year of twelve months was recorded by Gatschet.[333] His informant noted the beginning of the year about August. He named the months first on one hand, followed with the other, in each case beginning at the thumb, and gave as eleventh and twelfth months the thumb

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[333] 1:74–77.

805 and index finger of the first hand again. Naturally Gatschet's twelve months and my ten do not correspond; the following tabulation shows that there is close agreement only in the earlier part of the year.

Finger	*Gatschet's description*	*Identifiable as*	*Nancy's dating*
Thumb	Berry gathering; dry the fruit; mares foal	Late September	August–September
Index	Inaugurate winter house by feast: stack hay	October	September–October
Middle	Leaves fall	October–November	October–November
Ring	Snows	November	December–January
Small	Snows heavily	November–December	February
Thumb	Lake frozen; snows	December	March
Index	Much rain; dances in dance house	December–January	April
Middle	Kill large suckers	March–April	May–June
Ring	Take large suckers; dig ipos	April	June
Small	Dry suckers; leave home to dig camas and ipos	April–May; Gatschet says about May	July–August
Thumb	Store camas; gather wokas	Mid-August to end of September	
Index	Return from wokas harvest; gather berries	Late August and September	

The Indians quarrel a great deal over the month reckoning. One old man, who is so deaf that he cannot be argued with, so I was told, held that September, 1926, was ḳ!ö'ptc!alŭm sĭnŏ'kstĭs, ring finger month, that is, either fourth or ninth. He was counting too fast, according to Nancy. If he meant the ninth month, he was in substantial agreement with Pat Kane in putting the beginning of the year at the end of our calendar year.

[841] In this connection we note that women do not reckon the intervals between menstruations, nor recognize their recurrence with the lunations.[406]

A tale, in which the number of months is fixed by a council of animals, follows.[407]

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> The animals each tried to make so many sticks to represent the number of months they wanted. One made ten sticks for a ten-month winter. Another objected that this was much too long: "If you make a winter of ten months, people will freeze and starve to death before it ends." So he broke the ten sticks that stood for winter. If he had left them there would have been twenty months in a year.

The solstices are recognized but their exact dates not noted. They are unnamed but the apparent movement is called lo'ldŭm (or găpgŏ'-pli), going away, and sḳowha' (or toḳa'lḳa), returning.

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[406] Knotted string records, such as are used on Puget sound, are not kept.

[407] Told by Nancy Phillips, who knew it only imperfectly. Cf. Gatschet, 1:105.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

171 *

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Dentalium shells	Ornament	Ultimate source, coasts of Washington and British Columbia.	105
Cradles	Sitting	N.W. and N. central California.	[301]
	Board	N. Basin, Plateau.	[854]
Games	Beaver teeth dice	Oregon, Washington, British Columbia.	
	Four stick	N.E., central, and s. California (and elsewhere?).	[524]
	Hand game	Some central Californians, Basin, s. Northwest Coast, Plateau, Plains.	
	Modified hoop-pole	Minor game of coast from Alaska to Oregon (not N.W. California).	
	Ring-and-pin; rush ball	Modoc?, Wishram.	
Pipes	Spherical; discoidal	s. Plateau (Nez Percé to Okanagon).	[276]
	Angular	Wasco, Wishram, Middle Columbia, Nez Percé (links with Plains calumet?).	
Musical instruments	Hand drum	Recent in Plateau; Basin, Plains, (Northwest Coast?).	[534]
	Deerhoof rattle in girls' rites	N. California.	
	Notched rasp	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.	
	Clap stick	N. and central California.	
	Open flute	California, Southwest; Takelma, Nez Percé (and probably general in the west).	
Numerals	Finger names	Takelma.	[802]
Ritual number	Five	s. Northwest Coast, Washington, Oregon, California s. to Sinkyone and Northern Maidu, Basin.	[801]
Calendar	Numerical names	N.W. California, Fraser r., N. Northwest Coast.	[805] •
Scalping	Whole scalp	California, w. Southwest, Wishram (no scalping in N.W. California E. to Shasta, and Northwest Coast).	[726]
Head trophy	Unusual	California, Northwest Coast.	
Scalp dance		General (except N. W. California) (over head trophies on Northwest Coast).	[727]
War dance	With notched rattle	Upland Takelma?, Wasco, Wishram, Nez Percé; without rattle, Chinook, N.W. California.	
Disposal of dead	Cremation	Modoc; some cremation in N.E. California; central California; formerly in E. Washington; N. Plateau.	[764]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS

Counting, Calendar, Directions

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
Counting																	
4416. Finger count for months	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	802
4417. Finger count for objects	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	805
4418. Begin counting on thumb	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	+	
4419. Begin count on 4th finger	–	+	+	.	+	–	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	.	–	
4420. End on 4th finger of other hand	–	+	+	.	+	–	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	.	–	
4421. Count on toes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	
4422. Mnemonic devices	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4423. Knotted string for measuring time intervals	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4424. Knotted string for messages	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[211]
4425. Stick for 1, 5, 10, 100 objects	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
4426. Stick counters used in games	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4427. Rocks to count objects	–		.						+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	
4428. Marks on house to measure time intervals	+	–	+					+	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	.	–	
4429. Scratch on ground for 10 and 100	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	–	
4430. Stick poker burned to mark month's duration													+	–	+	–	
4431. Sack with berries in it	–		–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Calendar																	
‡4432. Number of seasons	4	4	4	4	5	(3)	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	2	4	4	805
o4433. Number of names for moons	10	.	.	10	10	12	10	14	7	7	4	–	12	.	.	.	
4434. Names descriptive	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	.	.	
4435. Finger names	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	
4436. Winter solstice observed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4437. Calendar begins winter solstice	+	+	.	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	.	(+)	.	+	–	
4438. Summer month counted	+	.	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	+	.	.	+	
4439. Month begins on new moon	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
4439a. Stars as month markers	+	–	.	+	–	.	+	+	+	–	+	.	.	.	–	–	
4440. Month record kept	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4441. Sticks put away													.	+	–	–	
4442. Stones put in sack	–	.	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	
4442a. Knots tied in string		.	.			+	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	
4443. Old man keeps record	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
4444. By memory only	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	(–)	(–)	–	–	–	
4445. Old people argue which month	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	+	+	[578]
4446. Fisticuffs	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	.	+	+	
4447. Solstices observed by marks or shadow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4448. Summer solstice	+	+	–	+	.	+			+	–	+	+	+	.	.	+	
4449. Winter solstice	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4450. In sweat house	–	.	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	.	.	
4451. Trees or mountains	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4452. Sunrise and sunset	+	+	–			–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	
4453. Sunrise only	–	–	+			+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	
4454. Sun's monthly position observed	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	.	.	.	+	
4455. Marks on shadows from trees, mountains	+	.	–	+	.	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	.	.	.	+	
4456. Marks in sweat house	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	.	.	–	
4457. Daily sunrise, sunset observed	+		–	+					+	+	–	+	.	.	–	+	

764 tings hidden in woods. Mutilations: scratching soon after death; finger amputation. Sacrifice of relatives. Widow pays parents-in-law before eating. Mourner pays to waive taboos. Taboos laid on community: boat travel stopped for .... days; offender pays mourners. Name taboo for ... months; until mourning ceremony; change name at death of namesake. Deerskin dance, Jump dance taboo for ... days. Mourning ceremony.--Family 765 mourning ceremony: fixed number of days after death; mourners washed; ceremony removes meat taboo only. Group mourning ceremony: held for prominent persons only; warriors only; spring only; summer only. Other tribes invited; loans by mourners; given under flat shade; fence and flat shade. Dance inside structure, in open; center pole. Formal seating allotments. Professional performers. Images made by another tribe; some burnt; given to individuals, to visiting tribes only, given irrespective of tribe, to performers only; images thrown to crowd. Offerings put in hut, hole; single stationary pole for all offerings. Sham battle. Everyone in tribe washed; mourners only washed. Post-washing activities: dancing; eagle sacrifice.

KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS

Counting, Calendar, Directions

802 Counting.--Count with twigs between fingers. Beads over rod for messages; as calendar. Stick 805 mat for messages. Calendar.--Numeral names for months; 2-solstice calendar. Months recorded on sticks. Charcoal marks inside house for month record.

Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs

75 Herb doctoring: knowledge purchased from older person; doctor sings or dances; doctor employs assistant.

Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena

821 Cosmography: world a person, tree, animal; multiple heavens. Sun and moon: sun an animal; moon an animal; figure in moon coyote, dog, river. New moon: children have hair cut, dance. Eclipses: any bird, condor, blue jay, bug, coyote, puma, raccoon, gopher, rattlesnake eating sun or moon; moon's husband lying on her; coypte's tail in front of; condor in front of sun, moon. At eclipse strike plank or canoe; hold raccoon skin on stick; men go to woods or mountains to make medicine; turn vessels over; throw out food, turn over canoe. Falling stars: explained as stars wanting to change place; stars dead man's eyes. Milky Way: is dust from running animals, birds, elk, deer, mountain sheep, bear, frog, prairie falcon, ducks, snakes;

000 by informants; information concerning them was volunteered (Beals, Nisenan, pp. 378-379, says images not used; mentions Powers reports they were among S Nisenan). Images (so·ta) of dead made in shape of man, out of board; decorated with yellowhammer bands, strings of shell beads. "Every woman mourner who had such an image danced with it all night; in the morning burned these so·ta." At Nevada City 2 specific instances of use of these images cited: (1) for grandfather of woman of about 35-40, who is still living; (2) for Mrs. Josie Carmen's husband. Dick Jaime, old Nevada City Nisenan man now dead, made image for Mrs. Carmen; Jaime related to Mrs. Carmen's husband. MV: Images made only for "captain" (yeponi, head of secret society), captain's child, or prominent woman official (utbi) who helps feed dancers.

4395. MV: Finely woven baskets traded prior to burning (see note 4354); coarse baskets burnt.

KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS

Counting, Calendar, Directions

4423. At: Cut off knot each day to measure number of days which have elapsed, in order to know when to attend celebration.

4424. SW: Messages sent by word of mouth; time of meeting designated according to phase of moon.

4430. NS: Use stick as poker for fire; at end of month stick is burned to certain length; this stump is then put in fire and said to be "dead."

4432. NM: Summer (yomen) and winter (semen).

4433. AW: "Coyote wanted 20 months, 10 months of winter, 10 of summer. Silver Fox said, 'That's too much; people would die. Six months of hard times [winter], six months of good times [is all right], but 10 months of hard times is too long.' So Silver Fox got his way; there were 12 months, 6 and 6." AE: Coyote wanted 20 months, but Fox made it 10. NF: Some doubt concerning entry.

4436. SW: Every village had marks for observation. AW: "Watch where sun rises for shortest day; know when shadow is at certain place sun is going to 'back up' and that it will snow." No shamanistic dances held at this season, but people return to live in large communal living houses (astui) during winter season when they "didn't gather anything."

805 4437. Kl: "New year begins on 4th moon. 3 or 4 doctors come together then, and all people have good time, singing. The doctors know which moon this is; they keep watch for the fourth month especially; when horn of new moon comes between 2 stars at sunrise, they say 'this is the fourth 000 moon.'" Cf. Spier, Klamath, 218 ff. SW: Year begins in winter solstice, "when for 2-3 days the sun rises and sets over the same marks" (in the large assembly house, uk'kwamma). Years counted from 1 winter solstice to next.

[805] 4439a. Kl: See note 4437. SW: Rising of

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

and Paiute, meet on the broad expanses of Klamath Marsh, K M where, as Coville observes, over ten thousand acres of ripening 221 plants promise in good years an abundance not to be exhausted 222 [648] by the demands of man. In later times Agents describe wokas as the most important single food of the Indians; and its specialized preparation is one of the most distinct features of their subsistence technology. Its importance is emphasized further by K the circumstance that the month of its harvest, August, marks [805] the beginning of the Klamath year. The wokas-gathering is preceded by shamanistic performances to ensure a plentiful crop. K M [756]

Daily, the dugout canoes, somewhat smaller than those used in [789] fishing and ordinary transport, slip out from the camps upon the K N broad expanse of the waters. In the openwork bags twined from 50 tules, the pods accumulate until the canoe is full. One old woman 222 recalled how she and a girlhood chum learned how to collect the pond-lily seeds:

> We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were always lots of extra poles lying K M around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules [252] to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them.[11]

While the women, old men, and children are occupied on the K M marshes some of the men fare forth to hunt. The favored grounds 224 are in the east, where Klamath and Modoc pursue antelope, mule

NOTES.

*539 This text intends to give a sketch of the various occupations of the northern tribe
221 or É-ukshikni in every month of the year, and is partially worded in a form which
may be called dramatic. These statements are not always arranged in logical order,
but a profusion of ethnologic details gives intrinsic value to them.

[805] The months of the Mák̲laks year do not coincide with the months of our calendar,
for they extend from one new moon to the next one, and therefore should be more
properly called *moons* or *lunations*. Twelve and a half of them make up the year, and
they are counted on the fingers of both hands. The first moon of their year begins
on the first new moon after their return from the wókash-harvest at Klamath Marsh,
which is the time when all the provisions and needful articles have been gathered in
[796] for the winter. Work is then stopped and the communal dances begin, the doctor-
[224] dances as well as those conducted by the chiefs, and everybody participates in them
except those who are out hunting in the mountains during the latter part of the year.
This mode of counting the moons on the digits was once popular, but on account of its
imperfections it is now forgotten by the majority of the tribe. Instead of it they reckon
time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as: udsaksä'mi, "in the
big sucker time"; i-umä'mi, "in the berry season", or they use our calendar months.

The first moon mentioned in our text, gáptche, answers generally to our May. The two next moons are counted on the thumb and forefinger of the hand not used immediately before; with this last moon their year has come to an end. The next five moons are counted again on the digits of the first hand, and so forth. The half moon making up their full year is not accounted for in this text.

[823] 74, 2. Ktai-Túpakshi is a locality of renown in the folklore of the Klamath tribe.
[226] It lies near the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, on the property of an
Indian named Tchéloχins. The otílks is the fish-dam (from utíla), where the Indians
wade in the water with their dip-nets and catch the fish while it ascends the river in
spring-time in enormous quantities. This fish-dam does not reach the water's surface.

[193] 74, 2. The direct object of lúela is kápto, its subject mák̲laks hŏ'ank.

74, 3. kámalsh pahá means: they dry the fish which they have just caught by exposing it to the sun on limbs of trees, and then make kámalsh by pounding it. Kámalsh is a derivative from gáma, to pound.

[192] 74, 3. kó-iχaga is identical with gúikaka; derived from kúi, "away, far off"; gui-
χátchka is: to start out annually to the prairies where roots etc. are harvested.

[262] 74, 5. saká a pŏ'ks: they eat *sometimes* the camass raw, but only at the time when
[222] digging it. Bulbs, roots, pods, chrysalids and berries are gathered by women only.

[251] 74, 6. pahá at p.; this is equivalent to pahátko pŏ'ks iwídshat. They bake the
camass and put it in their cachés at the place where they intend to stay next winter.

[796] 74, 8. shníkanua. During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process,
[222] the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges
[192] public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the
women, and they go to work again in their canoes.

[415] 74, 9. shiulína. From the preceding we should expect shiulínat, lulínat.

74, 10. wílishik is the generic term for larger kinds of provision-sacks; it means here a sack of fifty pounds seed or grain, while the wáχoks holds hundred pounds. In pálasham-wáχoksh, however, the latter word is taken in its *generic* sense of sack, bag.

season however is now late, and frosts warn that winter is near. K M 222
By mid-October, they have begun the homeward journey to their 517
settlements, there to rebuild the earth lodges, gather firewood, K M
and prepare for the long siege of winter. 221

Throughout the cycles of the seasons, the tribesmen live under 361
a sense of dependent involvement in a universe that was created K M
in the mythic age by supernatural beings who, establishing the 82
present order, also chose their present form within it. Among
the creatures of this world, man is less the exploiter than a
fellow being, a relationship honored by returning to the water
the gall of a fish that had been caught in order that the fish be
requickened, as well as in the annual ceremonies of the first
sucker and the ripened wokas. Each individual may draw close
to the sources of power; and among the Klamath neither age
nor sex is a barrier. The young boy at puberty may be sent on K
vigil to sacred place—in mountains and at certain rivers or lakes— 881
there to fast, pile stones, run, and swim. In time, he may faint, 787
awaken with blood gushing from his mouth, and hear the song
that is his power. A girl during the time of her puberty dance
goes off to sleep apart during the day; then she too may hear a K
song. Those mourning a deceased mate or child may "travel," [765]
seeking solace and power, for the spirit confers power through K
pity. Those who seek help desire a specific power, and they may 787
pray for prowess in hunting, gambling, in attracting a mate, or
in acquiring wealth. One who already has a spirit associate may
seek for others; and some, either through inheritance or by the
successive acquisition of tutelaries, may go on to become shamans.
Some persons may reject the call. One middle-aged woman
recounts a waking dream she had in her girlhood of a stag in full
antlers rising out of the waters. Had she followed the opening
thus offered she might have acquired great power, but she was
afraid and let the chance slip by.

Among the Modoc, says Ray, powers come only to those who M 787
seek to become shamans. The call, which comes in a dream, is 756
legitimate only in mature men and women past menopause and [885]
may not be experienced in old age. The seeker, like his Klamath
counterpart, undertakes a five-day quest; but the chief of the
spirit abodes in which he spends his vigil are the house pits of
deceased shamans. Those spirits that come to him choose him

BIRTH

The birth of a first child is an especially significant occasion. If 844
it is the mother's first it will bring strong winds and thunder.[77] The [821]
Klamath also hold that in at least one other crisis, on the death and
cremation of a shaman, the wind will rage. For the father the coming [756]
of the firstborn is one of those occasions on which to seek power in
the mountains.

Birth (wiă'sla) must always take place outside the dwelling in a [343]
dome-shaped lodge especially prepared by the mother of the expectant
woman, her mother's sister, or cousin. This is not the menstrual lodge,
for this is used only by women of a shaman's household. This pro- [171]*
scription of delivery within the dwelling is shared by other tribes of
this latitude (Shasta, Northwestern Maidu, Lemhi, and Wind River
Shoshoni) but is unknown to the south.

A woman's first delivery is attended by four or five old women
well-known for their skill as midwives and hence not of necessity her
relatives. They are sometimes paid a fathom of beads. Men are
excluded from the lodge. It may be that no man will chance con-
tamination. I do not know whether shamans are called in difficult [756]
cases. It would seem likely, since they have some genuine medical
practice, were it not for this restriction.

The procedures surrounding parturition are almost wholly prac-
tical and physiologically well founded. The attendants press on the
woman's abdomen and lift her repeatedly to hasten delivery. She
lies on her back on a bed of grass with a soft pad (coyote or raccoon
skin, or duck feathers) arranged to receive the baby. The umbilical
cord is cut with an obsidian knife and the stump tied with the
mother's hair. If anything else is used for the tie the child will con-
tinually cry. The afterbirth (yĕpĕno'ŋ ?) is deeply buried so that no
animal may devour it and make the woman barren. Immediately 846
after birth she is seated in the lodge on a bed of hot stones, covered
with leaves. On this she must remain blanket-covered for five days.
She drinks warm water freely; she may not eat meat nor fish, and must
use a scratching stick, just as during catamenia and mourning. At [292]
the birth of a first child both parents wear sage-brush bark belts for

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[77] It is also the view of the Wishram that the weather is stormy or hot at the birth of a child, according to my information. [171]*

776 539 but at once it jumped out and ran away. This happened after the whites arrived in this country. There are other "bad stories" about the gŏga'nE.

Two little men, gŏga'nE, made a big pit and chased a deer into it. They saw the deer standing in it. One of the gŏga'nE climbed down and held on with his arms around the deer's neck. The deer bounded out. The gŏga'nE had a bow and arrows on his back, but he lost them when the deer jumped. The deer started running. The other gŏga'nE followed. He found the first dwarf's hat, then his moccasins. He picked them up. The one who was following called, "The deer is carrying him." The one who was hanging on choked the deer to death.

Gatschet undoubtedly refers to Gŏga'nE in the first of the following paragraphs, despite the apparent difference in name. That which he gives, na'hnias, was evidently known to him only from a song and sounds much like a form adopted for euphony's sake. The second dwarf, Gwinwin, is unknown to me, unless it is Gŏga'nE; the manner of Gatschet's reference suggests that it was named in a myth.

"A miraculous dwarf is mentioned under the name of na'hnias, whose footprints, as small as those of a child, are sometimes seen upon the snow-clad slopes of the Cascade Range by the natives. But the dwarfish creatures who make them can be seen only by those initiated into the mysteries of witchcraft, who by such spirit-like beings are inspired with a superior kind of knowledge, especially in their treatment of disease. The name is derived either from néna, *to swing the body from one to the other side,* or from naináya, *to shiver, tremble.*

"Another dwarf genius, about four feet high, *Gwinwin,* lived on Williamson River, where he habitually sat on the top of his winter lodge and killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird."[187]

776 [821] [823] Various natural phenomena are spirits: clouds, thunder, lightning, the sun, moon, and stars, and each of the seven winds (one for each of the compass points except northeast). Rainbow is also a spirit, or rather it is Wile'ᴇkak̦'s spirit, and, to add to this confusion, it is said that she swallows it like a conjurer's sword. Earth and earth's child, the snake, are also spirits.

It is not quite clear how certain other things are spirits. A piece of wood which is fastened to the pole that stands before a shaman's lodge is a spirit called wŏk̦da'lIs. I could not discover that it is anything but the stick itself. Hă'nowas is a pestle-shaped stone which stands at Dūnŏ'kai village on Pelican bay. It is about eighteen inches high and five in diameter with protuberances called breasts.

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[187] Gatschet, 1:xcix, 163.

539 What is coming out of my mouth? Black substance is hanging down from my mouth (158, 56).
What do I suck [bite] out? The disease I am sucking out[213] (155, 17).

I have recorded several songs the use of which I do not know. A shaman's song is about a mythical hero, Wawiwŏ'ḳ!os, who is represented as singing.

ga'no wawi'awŏk
I am Wawiwŏ'ḳ!os.

Nancy dreamed a song about the pole and pendant (wa'"lasdŭ'pka) which stands before a shaman's earth-lodge.

wa'"li'sasa nos nos
shaman's pole I I
nisowa'lis tu'ntani
shaman's pole hanging on.
I am the pole and the cord hangs from me.

[821] The rainbow is the spirit of Wile'aḳaḳ, Dwarf Old Woman. In a song she says that she swallows it like a sword.

wile'aḳaḳni	wile'aḳaḳni	stö'ngi	wi'"tc!iöḳ
Dwarf Old Woman	something long	swallowed	rainbow

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

128 In addition to omens and miscellaneous beliefs that have no proper place elsewhere in this account I have resuméd below all cases of beliefs which have their setting in the social and economic life of these people. I have not repeated here beliefs touched on in other parts of this section on shamanism.

763 The omens of death or disaster are varied. The thrush tells of an approaching enemy: wi'mpis ᴇge'pkwa, they are coming. The horned owl also warns; mm, mm, mm, kŏkdᴇlŏ'n skiu'kĭu, who sent me? Or he predicts: ma'ḳlaḳs gᴇlĕḳ gᴇlĕḳ gᴇlĕḳ, someone will die. Gatschet recorded similar constructions of the call of a crow, the howling of coyote or dog, a cat's mewing, or a hen's clamor just after sunset.[214] One may suggest that these associations are derived from the association of the sunset with the land of the dead which lies in the west. On the other hand the call of the loon at early dawn is a sign that someone will kill another. Yet this may really be a case in point, for then the general association would be with any night cry, since night is the time when the dead arise and roam.

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[213] Chorus while the shaman bites and sucks the patient.
[214] 1:88, 123.

"When the sun is environed by lamb-clouds, or a mottled sky, 821 this is figuratively expressed by: 'K'múkamtch [Kɛmū'kūmps] has taken the beaded garments of Aíshish [his son] and dressed himself in them' A peculiar red smoke or haze appearing in the northwestern or western sky, shnúish, announces his arrival; he is also recognizable by his bulky posteriors, or as the Modocs say of him: 'K'múkamtch múnish kutúlish gítko.' By this they evidently refer to the white and heavy mountain-shaped summer clouds."[215]

Frogs come out before the rain, hence this is a sign that a storm is due. When the storm rises, old people cry to it, "You go back to the mountains. We do not want you here." The only precaution against lightning is a burden basket or sieve hung on a high pole outside the house.[216]

When a man sneezes or his ears ring, someone is talking about 787 him, but not necessarily a woman, as elsewhere. If a door opens, someone is coming from a distance.[217]

To end the long winter months and hasten the coming of spring, 789 the ring and pin game is played. A proper catch "breaks the month." Or little spears of the hard interior of the tule are thrown into the ground. On the contrary, playing cat's cradles in winter makes the months longer. These beliefs are not seriously held; they are more of the nature of manners of speech.

Gambler's luck comes not only through spirit power but by the 777 possession of parts of dead moles, frogs, etc., or obsidian blades. These must have been found, and they are carried to the play, and are kept, like the gaming sticks, at crematories, or at least away from the house.

A series of beliefs surround birth and childhood. A storm always 844 blows at a woman's first parturition. The child will cry if the umbilical cord is not tied with the mother's hair. If an animal eats the afterbirth the woman will become barren. She may not eat meat or fish after the birth, must use a head-scratcher and wear a bark belt. [784] The baby is massaged so that it will grow well formed. A girl's cradle is wide so that she will grow broad. The navel cord is saved else the child will die. Sterility is cured by drinking a crushed shell.

A turtle head is hung about the neck to ward off rattlesnakes. It 789 was said that this is the general custom but turtles are found only in

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[215] Gatschet, 1:lxxiv.

[216] Also recorded by Barrett, Material Culture, 257.

[217] This is said to be a pre-white belief, but the only doors of those days were mats over the earth-lodge hatchways and the flaps of the mat-lodges.

789 one part of Klamath territory, on the eastern shore of Klamath lake and southward. A bracelet made of the shed skin of a water snake (wī'sīŋk) will make a little child swim well. Girl's hair is singed so that it will grow long.

881 Menstrual regulations prescribe that at first menstruation girls may not eat meat or fish else they will get sick. They must use a head-scratcher and run toward the dawn. Their clothing and bands must be burned. Older menstruants are permitted dried fish and 841 may do without the scratcher. Women must not care for the roots they gather while in this condition, else they will fail to find them in [756] the future. Shamans must avoid menstruants else they lose their power.

765 The same food restrictions are imposed on mourners, who also use the head-scratcher. If they touch hands to face it will wrinkle, to hair it will turn gray. They must spit into a hole. Mourners must use special sweat-lodges. A woman's bands are hung on the trees near-by. Men wear bark belts so that their backs will not grow stooped. The house in which a death takes place must be burned with its contents. Mourners must abandon their first kill or harvest, or their gains at gambling, and give the second away. Similarly novice hunters and root-gatherers give away their first fruits, a gambler his first gains after acquiring power. Mourners must not fish nor cross a river else the fish will disappear. These mourners' observances have largely a purificatory intent.

821 A storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned.

823 Klamath marsh, which is now almost wholly dry, is known to have been in that condition on earlier occasions, for instance, about 1840 and again about 1860. On the former occasion it was so dry that its southern arm could be crossed on horseback between the settlements Du''Ilkūt and I'wal. They did not know what caused it. As a remedy a man would be dispatched to one of the spirit pools in the Cascade mountains (as Crater and Diamond lakes) to bring back water in a squirrel or chipmunk skin to pour into the marsh.

226 The first fish rite of these people is held at one place alone, Komă'ĕksi on Sprague river. Why at this point, is anything but obvious. The first sucker caught is burned to ashes, others must be roasted on the spot, otherwise no more will follow. The gall of fish caught with difficulty, as when speared through the ice, must be thrown back into the water else the fish will avoid the fisher.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

Grace is said before eating; bits of food are cast toward the earth, the mountains, old house pits, and cremation places so as to feed them first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula is a prayer. If this is neglected, the earth would harm the little children. 264

An earthquake (ke′la t!ill′ŋgᴇ, earth shakes) is caused by the hero Kᴇmŭ′kŭmps who moves the earth. It has no special significance. The only quake recalled by my informant occurred during the Ghost Dance of 1870; it was interpreted as a not unfavorable sign. 823

An eclipse is called loḳ slo′ki, grizzly bear eats. They say that Grizzly Bear eats the sun or moon at this time. People gather to make a noise, crying ḳo, ḳo, Frog; they hire the Frog (ḳo′wĕ) in the moon to use her powers on the bear, because Frog is the moon's wife as the following tale explains. The frog can be seen in the moon. The sun is included in this explanation. Although sun and moon are called by the same word, sa′bas, they are known to be separate entities. 821 •

Moon had two sisters. When Frog went to visit, she went into Moon's house. Moon told his sisters, "You had better let her sleep with you." But they said, "No, you had better take her." Frog was angry at this and jumping on Moon, clung fast. Moon tried to cut Frog loose with a knife but he could not. So she is stuck fast, part of him, today. He said, "Well, I will keep her as my wife, so that whenever Bear eats me Frog can exercise her shamanistic power to drive him away." So they are living together today. [539]

There are several magical ways of making the wind blow, but they turn on the same notion. There is a rock in the water south of Bare island which is a mythical hero, and another on Eagle Ridge near-by is his dog. If the latter is struck the wind will blow a gale from the south. 789

My father told me [Pat Kane], "Do not hit this else a very strong wind will blow. Do not throw stones in the lake there or play there." I wondered what would happen. I was a big boy. I took a club and struck the rock. Next day a strong wind blew, the strongest wind I have ever seen. It thundered, snowed, and hailed for two days. My father asked, "Why did you hit it?" I could not answer. He said, "I told you not to hit it."

Similarly, poking in an eddy (sŭ′lsŭks) near the mouth of Williamson river with a pole, pumping it up and down, will cause a strong wind to blow. Both localities are connected by the same tale; the eddy is where the hero disappeared under the water, the rock his resting place. There is another spot where the wind can be made to blow, the rocks at Squaw point. Pounding in the holes on the south side, for instance, will bring a south wind.

Both sun and moon are called sa'ʼbas, but they are clearly recognized as separate entities. There is a tale accounting for the confusion. 821

When Coyote was the sun at one time, daylight came so early that people did not get enough sleep. He shouted at them every morning, "It has been daylight a long time." The sunshine was too bright and hot. Coyote abused the people because he was sun. Finally they deposed him, putting the moon person in his place.[608] 821 539

The Klamath say that during an eclipse the Grizzly Bear devours the sun or moon, hence it is called lok̦ slo'k̦i, grizzly eats. They gather and shout, calling moon's wife, the Frog, to use her power on the bear. The Frog can be seen in the moon.[609] 821

The Klamath share the habit of most other Indians in distinguishing only the more obvious or isolated constellations. So far as I identify them these are Orion's belt, Gemini, Big Dipper, and Pleiades. It is notable that these are all winter constellations. Perhaps the Milky Way is named; I neglected to enquire. Polaris is known to be stationary; its name was unknown to my informant. The evening star is called pse'gĕknls; the morning star has no significance. But I judge that other stars (k'tc!ol) are not signaled for naming; Cassiopeia, for instance, is not recognized.

The constellation slŭks (Orion's belt) comprises six stars; the three of the belt and those pendant forming the sword. The Gemini are twins (wiwi'sak̦), boy and girl. When they barely appear on the eastern horizon in the evening, they look over the lake and it freezes (December). Later when they stand higher, it indicates that spring is coming. Their bow rises a considerable interval before them, a bent arc of six stars, with the string supposedly indicated. As nearly as I can discover this group includes the western part of the constellation Gemini, the stars Ξ, Γ, N, M, and another directly above them in Auriga. Rabbit (kai) is another star following these. He looks over the lake, making it freeze. Possibly this is Altair or Fomalhaut, although this does not well fit the time of its appearance: on the eastern horizon before dawn in dŏtklŭ'mĕni (May–June), somewhat south of east. The Pleiades, called mdandŏ'ksni, are a group of little children who announce the dawn when they first appear on the morning horizon. Ursa Major (k̦o'k̦iuk̦s, the divers, i.e., loons) is a group of people in a row diving into the water one after the other, gambling to see who can dive farthest.

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[608] Told by Nancy Phillips.

[609] For the appropriate tale see p. 141.

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The Klamath notion is that they name their directions from the winds. This seems unusual until we realize that this is the habit of the peoples to the north, e.g., the Wishram by my own information. It is also intelligible from the rôle played by personified winds throughout this area, Shasta to Puget sound. Seven of the eight compass points are named, omitting northeast, from which quarter there is probably no wind.

lopi'tal	east.
ye'watạl	southeast.
mo'atal	south.
ḳopa'stiskäni	southwest.
txka'lamdal	west.
tcöki'nkedal	northwest (cf. tcökän, service berry region, lying to the southwest of Crater lake).
ya'mökeda	north.

This is the order in which my informant, Nancy Phillips, gave the directions. She did not offer zenith and nadir, and, on direct questioning, held that these were not directions.

The numerals are as follows:

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1	naa.
2	lap.
3	xnda'n.
4	wuni'p.
5	tu'nip.
6	nö'tksöpt.
7	la'pksöpt.
8	da'nksöpt.
9	nötskä'ëka.
10	te'ëwünip.
11	na'sial'x.
12	la'pial'x.
13	xnda'nial'x.
14	wuni'pial'x.
15	tu'nipial'x.
16	nö'tksöptial'x.
17	la'pksötial'x.
18	da'nksöptial'x.
19	nötskä'ëksial'x.
20	la'püni te'ëwünip.
21	la'püni te'ëwünip pe'ënaa.[410]
26	la'püni te'ëwünip pe'ënötksö'pt.
30	xndani' te'ëwünip.
40	wünipni te'ëwünip.
47	wünipni te'ëwünip pe'ën lapksö'pt.
50	tunipni te'ëwünip.

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[410] By analogy with twenty-six, forty-seven, etc., this looks as though the word for one should be suffixed, but the form given is consistent with one hundred and one.

*171 been able to discover. At any rate, I note it for Achomawi-Atsugewi
756 and Shasta, as well as Klamath. Following the usual shamanistic seance the Klamath shaman searches the vicinity for the malevolent spirit. He rushes about until he falls, blood streaming from his mouth. Several men must support him by the arms and restrain him until he can destroy it in water. The Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman forces the disease out of the ground by his power and then seizes it. He staggers about in his effort to hold it until he can plunge it into water. He then swallows or burns it, or dispatches it to kill its sender. The Shasta erect a shaman's pole at the affected spot. The shaman dances, calling on her spirit to dislodge the disease "pains" from the ground. "If the shaman's guardian is successful, he succeeds in pushing the pains into the river, and drowns them." Certain features of a Chinook cure are like these. When their shaman has taken a disease from a sick man, he must be held by several men to overcome the strength of the disease spirit, until he can plunge it into water.[801] The destruction of an extracted disease by placing it in water is a common feature among Washington tribes. I have seen it, for example, as part of a cure by members of the pseudo-Christian sect of Shakers among the Skokomish and learned that it occurred among the Okanagon.

Various Beliefs

*171 I have a somewhat random series of analogues of Klamath beliefs.
763 The Klamath hold that a storm rages when a shaman dies, when he
is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned. The Northern
756 Maidu hold that it thunders at once when a great man dies, and
821 inasmuch as the most important individuals of the Maidu are shamans, it is clear that this is a comparable belief. The Thompson have it that the death or burial of a person causes an immediate change in the weather; that of a shaman, a sudden and extreme change. The death of a Wind River Shoshoni causes a whirlwind.

*171 These beliefs are apparently a single expression of a more general
821 belief that both births and deaths are signaled by a change in the
weather. For example, the Klamath also hold that it always blows
844 at a woman's first parturition. Analogous to this the Wishram say that extreme weather marks a birth. Further, a rainbow points to the spot where the birth takes place. The latter belief at least is

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[801] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 219, Shasta, 487; Boas, Chinook Texts, 208.

shared by other Upper Chinook (Wasco, Cascades, and Clackamas) 171*
and the Eastern Pomo. Similar to their belief in respect to death, the 821
Northern Maidu say it thunders when a woman has a miscarriage, and
the people of Cochiti say the same of a Navaho woman when the wind 844
blows. Again, a sudden change of the weather accompanies a
Thompson birth.[802]

An association of the moon and frog is common to several tribes 171*
of this quarter. The Klamath say that the Moon is saved by his wife, 821
Frog, during an eclipse, from being eaten by a grizzly. The frog can be seen in the moon. The Quinault hold an identical belief. An eclipse is caused by the "upper fisher" (a spirit animal) biting the moon. "There is a lady frog up there who helps the most and really saves the moon." A tale describes this frog as married to the moon. According to the Northern Maidu, the spots in the moon are thought to be a frog. A Northern Paiute tale describes Moon as swallowing Frog.[803]

One of the few acts of outright magic among the Klamath relates 171*
to causing the wind to blow. This is accomplished by poking in the 789
hollows of a certain rock, striking another, or poking in a particular eddy. The Wishram also maintain that stirring about in a hole in the rocks near their village will raise a wind; the Quinault that thrusting a stick into a spot where gas bubbles rise in the water will bring a storm; and the Twana (or Klallam?) that shaking a certain rock will cause rain.[804]

Comparable to the Klamath belief that the "cat" *Bassariscus* kills 171*
deer by wrapping his long tail around their necks, the Northern Maidu 825
state this of the mountain lion.[805]

Summary

The general basis of Klamath shamanism is like that of other 171*
interior Plateau and Basin peoples. Social importance attaches to 756
shamans above even that accorded chiefs. Rituals are meager and throughout are crisis ceremonials. As with the generality of North American tribes, acquisition of power is free for all, shamans stand-

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[802] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266–7; Teit, The Thompson Indians, 374; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 297; Goldfrank, Cochiti, 83; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 316.

[803] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1926; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266 (the tale relative to this is not available to me); Natches, Northern Paiute Verbs, 257.

[804] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 674.

[805] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266.

*171 Wooden images are unique in the non-woodworking culture of Klamath and
756 Modoc, yet this too is traceable southward from the same center.^ It is
532 far less certain that clairvoyance in connection with a war party is
derived from that source, yet the trait is shared by the northern
coastal people.

*171 Some elements are local in the Oregon-north California interior.
Such is the shaman's assistant, his mouthpiece and interlocutor. He
755 is present at cures from Wishram to Achomawi; present at seances
756 from Klamath to Southern Maidu. For some of the Maidu he is a
clown, which links him with the clown among the Kuksu impersonators of central California. There is reason to think that this functionary is historically connected with the chief's speaker known from the Northwest Coast through the interior to the Southwest. Other local elements are the pole having spirit reference (Klamath to Northern Maidu), the notion that food is first eaten by the spirits (Takelma, Shasta, Klamath), the ridding of a locality of disease (Klamath, Shasta, Achomawi-Atsugewi).

*171 Other elements, while local, are somewhat more widely distributed.
There is the circumspection with respect to the shaman's shadow and
756 to startling him; the notion that weather changes at birth and death:
[821] all these are common from southern British Columbia to the Maidu,
largely through the interior.

*171 The Klamath shamans' dress bears some imprint of northern and
756 central Californian influence in the use of woodpecker scalp head-
bands and of yellowhammer feathers. Both are characteristic dance
292 regalia in the south; on the Oregon border they have passed over to
237 the shamans.

*171 In broad perspective Klamath shamanism is of generalized,
undifferentiated North American type, sharing some features that are
756 local, and but moderately influenced from the Northwest Coast and
the central and northwestern foci of California. Its general nature is recognizable in the quest and the undifferentiated power it yields; the most marked local elements are the predisposition to inherit power, the novice dance, and the shaman's assistant. California at large appears in the dream as a vehicle of acquiring power; northern California in the dwarfs that figure among Klamath spirits; central California in the shaman's headdress. Northwest Coast influences are no stronger; repossession in midwinter and the use of carvings color Klamath shamanism only mildly.

^ [i.e., the Northwest Coast. -Analyst]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
†3451. Girl eats sparingly ... days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•5	•3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	28	84/
†3452. Girl eats sparingly ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	88/
3453. Meals limited to twice daily	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3454a. After sunrise, before sunset.	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3454b. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3455. Dried fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3456. Meat taboo	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3457. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3458. Salt taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3459. Berries taboo	+	+	–	+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	
3460. New crop acorns, seeds taboo	–		+						•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3461. Hot food taboo	•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3462. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
3463. River water taboo	–	+	–						•+		–	–	–	–	–		
‡3464. Food taboos extend over ... days	5	5	•8	10	3	•5	•3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	28	
†3465. Food taboos extend over ... yrs.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3466. Food taboos observed all subsequent periods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3467. Girl eats outside	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3468. Girl eats inside hut, dwelling	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
3469. Eats with woman attendant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	•+	
3470. Girl uses own baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3471. Baskets kept; left in hut			+		+						+	+	–	–	–	•–	
3472. Baskets destroyed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3473. Baskets hung on tree			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3474. Cane drinking tube used	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3475. Basket "cup" used for drinking.	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	
3476. Ceremonial feeding by attendant	–	+	+	+	(+)	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	•+	
3477. Mother feeds girl, cleans teeth	–	–	+			+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	
3478. Girl's mouth wiped by attendant	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	
3479. Girl chews plant substance	+	•+	•+		•+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	
3479a. Plant substance stuffed in nostrils	–	–	–		•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	
3480. Girl sleeps little, fitfully	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	
3481. No daytime sleeping, first day	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
3482. Charcoal in ears, to avoid bad dreams	+	–	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[782]
3483. Bark burned above hut, to frighten evil spirits	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3483a. Menstruant must tell her bad dreams		(+)	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	
3483b. If dreams, doctored by special doctor		+	+	–		+	+	+	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	
3484. Girl rises early	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•–	•+	
3485. No talking during seclusion	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3486. Little talking	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3487. Must talk softly	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3488. Cannot laugh aloud	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
3489. Girl avoids all men in daytime	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	
3490. Avoids all hunters	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
3491. Old women visit girl	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[887]
3492. Old women instruct girl	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•+	
3493. Gazing at any fire taboo	.	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	[821]
3494. Gazing at sun taboo	.	+	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3494a. Weak eyes, if gaze at sun	.	–	+	–	–	.	–	•–	–	+	.	–	.	+	.	–	
3495. Gazing at moon taboo	.	+	+	+	•+	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3496. Gazing at sky taboo	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3497. Looking around taboo	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	
3498. Looking at acorns taboo	o	o	–	–	–	–	o	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3499. Looking at any wild crops taboo	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	
3500. Gaze would "kill" crops	.	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	+	+	•+	+	
3500a. Crossing streams taboo	.	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	
3501. Menstruant bathes daily	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	[575]
3502. Menstruant bathes after flow ceases	–	+	+						+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4499. Formula recited, before taking medicine	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	•+	755 757
4500. Disease brushed off body	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	278
4501. Medicine administered internally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4502. Medicine administered externally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
4503. Medicine sprayed from mouth	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+		+		
4504. Herbalist can cure any disease													−		+	+	
4505. Can kill disease objects	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4506. Can cure rattlesnake bites	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		+	+	
4507. Can only weaken, check natural diseases	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+		−	−	
4508. Precautions to ward off disease; incense burnt	(+)	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+		+	+	751
4508a. Breach of taboo causes illness	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	753
4509. Eating meat in taboo period causes tuberculosis		+	+							+	+	+	+		−	−	
4510. Worms in tooth cause toothache	−	−	+	•+	+	−	.	•+	+	+	+	+	+		•−	(+)	
4511. Ants, spider-like bug in teeth causes toothache	+	+	−	−	−	•+	.	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena																	
Cosmogony																	
4512. World a disk, floating in water	.	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	+	.	.	.	773
4513. Supported by animal	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	.	−	.	.	.	
4514. Mythical age; animals persons	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4515. Chief for each species of animal	+	+	−				(+)	−	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	
4516. Flood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	(+)	.	.	.	+	
4517. Human beings created or appear	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	
Sun and Moon																	
4518. Sun male human	+	+	.	+	−	•+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	(+)	.	821 ●
4519. Sun female human	−	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	.	
4520. Moon male human	+	+	+	−	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	(+)	.	
4521. Moon female human	−	−	.	+	−	(+)	.	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	
4522. Sun and moon husband and wife	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	.	
4523. Frog mate of moon	•+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	•(+)	−	−	−	.	
4524. Figures in moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	.	+	−	−	.	
4525. Scar from bear's bite									+	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	
4526. Man	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	
4527. Tree	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	.	
4528. Frog	+	•+	+	−	•+	•+	+	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
New Moon																	
4529. Monthly birth-and-death theory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	+	•+	+	
4530. All view new moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•−	+	
4531. Each month	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	
4532. In winter, only											•+	−	−	−	−	−	
4533. In spring, chiefly	•+	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	
4534. Speak, pray to moon	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	
4535. Address by kin term	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
4536. Old persons shake selves, clothes, bedding	−	+	•+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
4537. Throw stones at moon	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
4538. Food prepared, guests invited								•	•	•	+	−	+	−	+	−	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
821	4539. Babies, children shown to moon	–	+	–	·–	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
852	4540. Race, run, jump east	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
	4541. "Spanked"	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	4542. Tossed in air	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	4543. Children raise arms to moon	–	+					+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
	4544. Tell moon they are growing	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	(+)	–
	4545. Face, body, arms rubbed	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–
	4546. Address moon by kin term	–	+	–	–	–	·+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
	4547. Done to make child grow fast	–	+	–			+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
821	4548. Position of horns significant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
787	4549. Vertical; sign of death, sickness	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	4550. Vertical; sign of rain and snow	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[illegible]
	4551. Vertical; sign of good weather, good fortune	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
	4552. Horizontal; good weather, dry month	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	4553. Horizontal; full of water, rain or storm	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
	4554. Horizontal; death, sickness	–	–	+	+	–	+	·+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	–
821	4555. Taboos concerning moon	–	+	+	+					+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
	4556. If point at new moon, finger crooks, drops off	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
	*4557. If sleep in moonlight, cross eyes, facial paralysis	–	.	+	+					+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
	Eclipses																
	4558. Recognized	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	4559. Sun, moon dying	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	·+	–	.	–
	4560. Bear, dog eating sun, moon	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
	4561. Lizard eating moon	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
	4562. Frog eating, passing over sun											+	–	–	–	.	+
	4563. Frog doctoring, passing over moon	+	–	+								+	–	–	–	.	+
	4564. Big snake giving birth to baby													–	+	.	–
	4565. No explanation for eclipse of moon	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	–
	4566. Special behavior during eclipses	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
	4567. All shout, eclipse of sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–
	4568. All shout, eclipse of moon	+	·+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–
	4569. Pray and talk to sun, moon	–	–	+	–	–	·+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+
	*4570. Beat dogs	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–
	4571. Shoot arrows in air	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–
	4572. Sprinkle water	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	.	+	.	–
	4573. Cover all food	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+	·+	.	–	–	–	.	–
	4574. Hide children	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+	.	–	–	·+	.	–
	4575. Bring in wood, or make fire	–	–	·+											·+	·+	–
[787]	4576. Eclipse portent of death	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
	4577. Red moon portent of disaster	–	–	·+			·+	–	–	–	·+	·+	–	–	–	.	–
	Falling Stars																
787	*4578. Evil sign	–	·+	·+	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+	·+	·+	–
821	*4579. Sign man visiting woman, for intercourse	+	.	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
	4580. Presage good weather next day	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
	4581. No sign	–	–	–					+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
	4582. Porcupine fallen star	–								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	4583. People clap hands, breathe loudly	–	–	+			+	.	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
	4584. People pray for good luck	–	+	+					+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
	Milky Way, Other Star Lore																
821	4585. Milky Way: creek or river	·+	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·+	.	–	.	.	.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4586. Milky Way: dead persons', ghosts' road, trail	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	.	.	821
4587. Taboo for young boys to look at evening star.	-	.	-							·+	-	-	·+	-	·+	.	
4588. Girls forbidden to count stars													·+	-	·+	.	
4589. Single star, close to moon, evil sign	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	-	-	·+	-	.	.	-	-	-	.	
4590. 5 small stars, close to moon, sign children will die	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	.	[782]
Rainbow																	
4591. Menstruation sign	-	·-	-	-	-	·-	·-	+	+	+	-	.	·+	·+	·+	.	821
4592. Evil sign	-	·+	-	-	-	·+	·+	-	·+	·+		.	·+	(-)	(-)	.	787
4593. Sign of rain	+	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	
4594. Sign of good wild crops	-	-	-	-	·+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	
4595. Sign connected with doctoring	-	·+	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	
4596. If point at, finger will be crooked, drop off	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	
4597. Children warned especially	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	•	
4598. If point at, makes child sick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	.	
4599. Dreaming of rainbow evil portent	-	·+	-						·+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	.	
Thunder																	
4600. Old man	+	+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	-	-	·+	+	·+	+	·+	+	821
4601. Has wife	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	·+	+	-	-	+	
4602. Tree his wife	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4603. Boy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
4604. Thunder and lightning twin boys	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4605. Thunder takes form of bird, when striking	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-	·+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4606. No explanation of noise	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
4607. Noise, man and woman talking	-	-	-			-	+	+	-	-	-	+	·+	·-	-	·+	
4608. Noise, man moving or kicking things	-	·+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4609. Noise, man shouting angrily	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	
4610. Noise, bird ripping tree with claws, moving wings	-	-	-			·+		·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4611. Noise, twin boys back on earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4612. Thunder feared	+	+	+	-	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	-	+	+	
4613. Raccoon skin held up on stick	-	-	-	·+	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4614. Dogs made to squeal	·+	-	·+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4615. Stick burned; old men walk in circle with it.											+	-	+	+	+	-	
4616. Thunder talked, prayed to; told to depart	-	+	+	·+	+	-	·+	·+	·+	·+	+	+	+	-	+	-	
Lightning																	
4617. Power, weapon of Thunder person	+	+	-	+	+	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	.	.	
4618. From mouth, hand of Thunder person	-	.	-		·+	·+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	
4619. From claws of Thunder or Lightning Bird	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	
4620. Takes shape of raccoon	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	.	
4621. Feared	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4622. Crawl under burnt trees or log	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	
4623. Run to open spot	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4624. Jump into water	+	.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4625. Cover head	·+										-	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	
4626. Talk to lightning	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	.	
4627. Hold up raccoon skin	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	
4628. Keep quiet											-	-	+	+	+	.	
Whirlwind																	
4629. Evil associated with whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	·-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4630. In fall especially												+	+	+	+	-	
4631. Is dead shaman's dust	-	+	+	·+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·(-)	-	-	-	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4632. Contains poison or doctor's pain inside it	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	.		−
4633. Contains spirit (or person?) inside it	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	•+	+	−	−	•+	.	+	•+
4634. Malignant activities of whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
4635. Sickens persons with bad dreams	+	•+	•+		+	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	.	+	+
4636. Puts "pain" in person	+	+	+	−							+	+	−	.	−	−
4637. Catches person's shadow or spirit	−	+	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	.	−	−
4638. Causes person to have accident, die	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−
4639. Gives power for doctoring, occasionally	−	+				•+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	.	.	−
4640. Precautions against whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4641. Try to hide from, dodge it	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+	+
4642. Throw dirt, water at it	−	+	+		•+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	•−	•+	•+	−
4643. Talk to it, informally	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	+
4644. Smoke when talking to it	−	+	+						+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
4645. Clap hands, stomp feet	−	+	+								−	−	−	.	.	−
4646. Smoke victim of whirlwind													+	+	+	−
4646a. Mourners who dream of whirlwind doctored	−	+	−				+	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	.	−

Rain and Storms

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4647. Nonshamanistic beliefs concerning rain	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	+
4648. Rolling rocks down hill causes rain				+	+	−	+	−	•−	−	−	−	−		−	−
4649. Shouting in mountains causes rain	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	(+)		−	−
*4650. Sprinkles a little after funeral naturally	+	+	.		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		+	+
4651. Nonshamanistic measures for stopping rain	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
4652. Pinch dog's ear	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4653. Old men wave lighted brands	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
4654. Flies and yellow jackets burnt	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−

Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts

Characteristics of Ghost or Spirit

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
775 4655. Visible to anyone	+	+	•−	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
4656. Resembles person	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+	−	+	+	+
4657. Resembles skeleton, shadow, fog, or cloud	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4658. Audible to anyone	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
[756] 4659. Shamans chiefly	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4660. Wails, whistles	−	−	−	−						+	−	+	+	+	−	+

Activities of Ghosts or Spirits

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4661. Leaves body shortly before death	−	−	•−	•−			+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
4662. Leaves body immediately after death	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
o4663. Leaves grave, pyre ... days after death	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	3	28	•5	−	−	•3	4	4	−
4664. Leaves pyre night of cremation	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4665. Turns back once after leaving body											+	.	−	+	−	−
4666. Retraces steps person has taken when alive												+	+	−	+	+
4667. Departs toward distant place	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4668. Toward west	•+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	.	−	+	.	−
4669. To assembly house in mountains, sky									•+					•+		•+
4670. Up to sky	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	+	+	+	−	+	−	.	−	+
4671. Along Milky Way	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	.	−	.
4672. Across water, river	+	+	−	−	+	−	.	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
4673. On bridge													+	+	+	−
4674. If get dizzy crossing, turn into coyote													+	+	+	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
o4836. Number	2	–	1	–	–				1	1	1	2	–		–	–	756
4836a. Indefinite; many	–	+	–	+	+				–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4837. Kept outside shaman's body	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–	
4838. Kept inside shaman's body	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–		–	–	
4839. Novice acquires guardian spirit helper from natural phenomena, fauna	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	[821] ●
4840. Sun	–	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	.	
4841. Moon	–	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	.	
4842. Wind		+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		–	.	
4843. Thunder	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	.	+	–		–	.	
4844. Lightning								+	+	+	.	+	–		–	.	
4845. Fire		+	.	+		+	+	–	+	+	.	+	–		–	.	
4846. Animals, all kinds	+	+	.	•–	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	–	–		–	–	[825]
4847. Coyote mainly	–	–	+	+							+	+	–		–	–	
4848. Wolf, only or mainly	–	–	–	+				+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4849. Birds	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	(+)	
4850. Eagle				+	+		+	–	–	+	+	+	–		–	.	
4851. Chicken hawk	+	+	.	+	+		+	–	–	+	+	+	–		–	.	
4852. Small birds								+	+	–	+	+	–		–	.	
4853. Reptiles	+	+	.	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–		–	•+	
4854. Fish	+	+	.	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	.	+	–		–	.	
4855. Frog	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–		–	.	
4856. Favorite, best power	–	+	.	+	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	.	
4857. Insects								+	–	+	+	–	–		–	.	
4858. Ghosts or spirits	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	.	[775]
4859. Doctor gets power from several guardian spirits, successively	+	+	.		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	(–)	–		–	.	775
4860. After power from "pain" acquired											+	(–)	–		–	.	756
4861. Guardian spirits communicate with novice	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4862. Are visible to novice	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4863. Are audible	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4864. Can be felt	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–	
4865. Give song	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4866. Novice, in training sings by himself	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–	
4867. Give paint		+	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	.	+	–		–	–	
4868. Give dance		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–		–	–	
4869. Instruct as to paraphernalia, curing methods	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+		–	+	
4870. Novice acquires feathers, feather flags	.	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	–		.	–	
4871. Must be kept outside house		+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–		.	–	
4872. Kept in hollow tree when not in use		–	+	+	•–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–		.	–	
4873. Novice keeps fact he has power secret	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	756

Sucking Doctors: Doctor-Making Rites

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4874. Doctor-making rites for sucking doctors	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	–	
o4874a. Rites last ... days and nights	(1)	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	2		4	–	
‡4875. For ... nights	+	5	3	5	–	–	–	+	1	1	1	1	+		+	–	
4876. Novices assisted by older shamans	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	–	
4877. Doctor dance	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	+	+	+	–	–	•+		(+)	–	756
4878. Held irregularly	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		(+)	–	535
4878a. Held immediately before, after vision attained	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–		–	–	
4879. After specified objects collected	–	–	•+	•+	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
+4880. Repeated yearly for ... yrs.	–	–	8	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
4881. Given in winter only	+	+	–	•+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5071. Burned at owner's death	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
533 5072. Diagnosis by singing, rubbing patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5073. Singing, rubbing to cure patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5074. Brushes patient	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5075. Sprinkles water from feather on patient	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-
5076. Sucks patient	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5077. Sprays water from mouth on patient.	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
5078. Can foretell future events											+	+	+		-	-
5079. Performs in round house, at night											+	+	•+	•+	-	-
[775] 5080. Spirit comes and sings in dark													+	+	-	-
774 755 **Soul-Loss Doctors**																
756 5081. Soul loss doctors recognized	-	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
[562] 5081a. Men	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5082. Women	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
5083. Is also sucking doctor	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5084. Inherit power	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5085. Power through vision, dream	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5086. Instructed by older shaman, or in dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5087. Shaman sucks on head, neck	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	(+)		-	-
5088. Shaman sends own soul after lost one	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)		-	-
5089. Shaman sends guardian spirit to catch soul	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	(+)		-	-
5090. Shaman goes outside to coax soul back	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	•+	•+	+	-	•+	.		-	-
5091. Sings	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5092. Dances	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5093. Has ... assistants	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	1	•1	-	1	-		-	-
5094. Outside speaker	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5095. Interpreter	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-		-	-
5096. Spectators sing in house	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5097. Beat time with 1-2 sticks	-	-	-	-			-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5098. Doctor uses cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5099. Doctor uses bone "bull-roarer"	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[826] 5100. Soul returns through fontanelle	-	-	-	-	-	-	.		-	+	-	+	(+)		-	-
Weather Shamans																
756 5100a. Weather shamans recognized	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
821 5101. Men mostly	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5102. Both sexes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[562] 5103. Specialized profession	-	-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5104. Weather shaman may also be curing shaman	+	+	-	•-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5105. Office inherited	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
5106. Knowledge acquired by instruction	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-
5107. Supernatural experience required	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5108. Make rain by formula, song	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5109. Sing with spectators	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5110. Smoke pipe				-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5111. Motion with hands, 4 directions											+	+	-		-	-
5112. Contortions or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-		-	-
5113. Can make fog, high winds	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5114. Make rain to remove snow	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-		-	-
5115. Can make rain stop	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5116. Performs whenever need arises	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-		-	-
5117. Paid for performance	-	-	-	•-	+	+	R	-		-	-	(+)	-		-	-
5118. Bets made on outcome of	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5119. Rain doctors, competing, test powers										•+	-	-	-		-	-
5120. When doctor cries, rain will ensue	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5121. At funeral	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[763] 5122. Thunders when doctor dies	•+	•+	.					+	+	+	±	+	+		-	-

764 tings hidden in woods. Mutilations: scratching
soon after death; finger amputation. Sacrifice
of relatives. Widow pays parents-in-law before
eating. Mourner pays to waive taboos. Taboos
laid on community: boat travel stopped for ...
days; offender pays mourners. Name taboo for
... months; until mourning ceremony; change name
at death of namesake. Deerskin dance, Jump dance
765 taboo for ... days. Mourning ceremony.--Family
mourning ceremony: fixed number of days after
death; mourners washed; ceremony removes meat
taboo only. Group mourning ceremony: held for
prominent persons only; warriors only; spring
only; summer only. Other tribes invited; loans
by mourners; given under flat shade; fence and
flat shade. Dance inside structure, in open;
center pole. Formal seating allotments. Professional
performers. Images made by another
tribe; some burnt; given to individuals, to
visiting tribes only, given irrespective of
tribe, to performers only; images thrown to
crowd. Offerings put in hut, hole; single stationary
pole for all offerings. Sham battle.
Everyone in tribe washed, mourners only washed.
Post-washing activities: dancing; eagle sacrifice.

KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS

Counting, Calendar, Directions

802 Counting.--Count with twigs between fingers.
Beads over rod for messages; as calendar. Stick
805 mat for messages. Calendar.--Numeral names for
months; 2-solstice calendar. Months recorded on
sticks. Charcoal marks inside house for month
record.

Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs

75 Herb doctoring: knowledge purchased from older person; doctor sings or dances; doctor employs assistant.

Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena

821 Cosmography: world a person, tree, animal; multiple heavens. Sun and moon: sun an animal; moon an animal; figure in moon coyote, dog, river. New moon: children have hair cut, dance. Eclipses: any bird, condor, blue jay, bug, coyote, puma, raccoon, gopher, rattlesnake eating sun or moon; moon's husband lying on her; coyote's tail in front of; condor in front of sun, moon. At eclipse strike plank or canoe; hold raccoon skin on stick; men go to woods or mountains to make medicine; turn vessels over; throw out food, turn over canoe. Falling stars: explained as stars wanting to change place; stars dead man's eyes. Milky Way: is dust from running animals, birds, elk, deer, mountain sheep, bear, frog, prairie falcon, ducks, snakes;

821 is fire from dove, fire for driving rabbits; is pinole or piñon road, frame or back bone of sky. Rainbow: is man's penis, coyote's penis, childbirth sign; sign of dry weather, bad luck for hunting or fishing; get weak eyes from staring at. Thunder: is female, woman and 2 sons, coyote; noise explained as 2 fawns hiding in intercourse, hummingbird, eagle playing shinny, dancing, sliding on snow, sticks being beaten together, tules being broken, basket being rolled; food or water thrown out, food or water covered. Lightning: from mouth, eyes of Thunder person; from waving of ribbon, drilling, rubbing sticks, striking stones together; is fire from burning tules, birds flying fast; food, water thrown out, covered; dogs made to squeal. Whirlwind: war associated with, snake in it, wind playing; caused by charmstone; spit at to stop, offer beads to, point at, strike or pierce it with weapon; formula and bathing.

Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts

775 Spirit goes to definite underworld; to island; crosses water with boatman; rich and poor different destinations; warriors go to special heaven. Hang hopper basket, grass snare, bay leaves in door to keep away ghost.

ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Vision Quest

787 Jimsonweed (Datura) root drunk to obtain vision, by group or individuals. 824 Ant-fortitude ordeal; group or individuals swallow ants, to obtain vision.

Shamanism

756 Sucking doctors: women only; women can sicken only. Doctor-making rite held in circular brush enclosure; patient brought in for novice to cure; novice enters sweat house via exit hole, enters head first down ladder. Curing: shaman uses beads on stick, quartz crystals; brushes or fans away disease with skin; rubs Datura (jimsonweed) on eyes, drinks Datura; doctor or assistant uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper, flute. Doctor cuts before sucking; disease object sucked out through pipe. Doctor paid by installments throughout night. Sucking doctors: in competition, "bullets" shot; assistants for each contestant, performers paid; contests held at mourning ceremony only. Singing shamans: outfit bundle inherited, bought; shaman uses quartz crystals, portable morter, charmstone; shaman dies if he loses outfit. Soul-loss doctor: is also singing shaman; uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper; mostly women. Soul recovered by snaring in noose, by refrightening patient. Weather shamans: make rain with aid of black rock, crystal,

000 given in dream, but informant did not see plant itself, and so she has not been able to locate any living specimens of it yet.

4496. NS: Informant's mother's mother's mother's father a shaman; he taught informant's mother's mother "many herb medicines. But my grandmother wouldn't tell anyone, not even her own grandchildren, about the herbs she used. We asked her to, and offered to pay her, but she wouldn't do it." (If taboo of any specific variety existed in regard to this, informant knew nothing of it.)

4497. MV: Older people only dig up medicinal plants; "they pray to the plant, and no woman who is menstruating can follow them when they were doing this."

4499. MV: Essential.

4510. SW: Shaman treats toothache; doctors patient and removes worm, which "lives in jaw all the time, sometimes eats tooth and thus causes toothache." WT: Small red worm eating tooth. "But hardly ever had toothache, because didn't eat sweets or hot food to rot their teeth." NS: "No toothache, because don't eat sweets or hot food."

4511. AW: Toothache caused by small spider-like bug, "just having fun in tooth; if it wanted to it could eat person's heart, and kill person." Special doctor for curing toothache.

Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena

Cosmogony; sun and moon; new moon.--

4514. SW: All animals, except deer, persons. In mythical age, as now, deer was hunted. SE, At dubious concerning whether deer person during mythical age; all other groups asserted deer was person at this time.

4516. WT: Previous to flood "there was a fire; everything burned, trees, even water... [Later] an old woman (big bullfrog) made a big basket, and put in it 2 of each tribe of Indians, also all [species of] plants and shrubs. People laughed at her, but it flooded; then she and her basket rose up and up. She laughed then and said, "ohohoho," as bullfrogs do today. It flooded for 3 years."

4518. AW: Sun (šol) once "a big chief, when he lived on earth; then a giant man helped Sun, and put him far up in sky when Sun was tired of people bothering him. Sun has wife, who lives in sweat house; she's bright [shines], but never seen."

4519. NF: Sun a woman, travels in daytime.

4520. AW: "People never said anything much about Moon (ničoli); just talked of Sun." See however notes 4528, 4546. NF: Moon a man, never afraid to travel in night time.

[821] 4523. Kl, Mo, SE: Wife of moon. MF: Husband of moon.

4527. NS: Large oak tree, from which dead obtain their food.

4528. Mo: Frog protects Sun, Moon (both of

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000 these latter are male beings), so that Bear will not be able to eat either of them. At: Frog fought Moon, swallowed Moon; next time Moon swallowed Frog, so Frog is now in center of Moon. When Moon and Frog fought, Moon was not round but always crescent shaped. AW: "Frog swallowed Moon first; his mouth was all busted; so Moon said, 'I'll show you how to swallow,' and then swallowed Frog." WS: Figure in moon that of Frog, weaving basket.

4529. NS: "Sun, Moon, Coyote, and Lizard ("grandfathers") were chiefs. Sun, Moon, and Lizard wanted people to die for 4 days and then return to life; Coyote wanted people to have a "big time," cry, and blacken their faces [for dead, who would die permanently]. Coyote had a beautiful daughter who never did anything; people waited on her. Somebody broke a twig off a tree and the twig turned into rattlesnake; Coyote's daughter went down to the spring to get water for someone, and rattlesnake bit her and she died. Then Sun and Moon told Coyote, "Now you can have your big time; we're leaving." So they went up to the sky. When the moon wanes, it does 4 days and then comes back; the Indians believe that if Coyote hadn't wished what he did, people too would have died for 4 days only, and then have been reborn again."

4530. NS: At each new moon, prepare small supper (kaipe) and if there is any other family living close by, invite them to come and eat with celebrants. Important, year-round observance.

4532. MM: All go outside to view moon, to see (from position of horns) whether or not storms can be expected.

[821] 4533. Kl: In fall also. SW: Once yearly, in spring, all go outside to view, address moon; say, "We're glad to see you; we'll see you again, the next time you come (year from that time)."

[821] 4534. Kl: Tell moon they are hungry. NF: People ask moon that they be like it, and never die. Break stick and throw it away, giving it to moon.

4536. SE: Men, women pull up clothes, bend over and expose anus, sing "Maggots come out." This practice denied for Kl, Mo, MV.

4538. WT, WM, WS: Du Bois, Wintu, p. 87, reports food offered to moon at every new moon by headman of village among WT only. This feast, to which near-by villages are sometimes invited, has to be entirely consumed. Du Bois notes that new-moon ceremony is lacking "among most of Wintu."

4539. SW: "Children can't look at moon; if person sees man across the moon, he will die." At: Also, young babies held up on cradle each new moon, and lighted torch waved near both sides of basket; these babies will never be "mean."

4546. AW: Children run out toward hills, hold up hands and say, "Grandmother, look at me, I'm growing," when they get up into mountains; then return home, running.

4554. AE: Sign headman will die.

4557. Face will become paralyzed, "crooked, like new moon."

000 Eclipses; star lore.--

4558. SW: Solar eclipses only; "don't know anything about lunar eclipses."

4559. NF: New sun (woman) coming out.

4568. Mo: Tell Frog to doctor moon.

4569. AW: Old women only go out and chant to sun or moon during eclipse; "tell sun's, moon's own dog not to eat him."

4570. Bitches only.

4573. WM, WS: Cover food because sun is going to bleed.

4574. WS, NM: So they cannot see eclipse.

4575. SE: People afraid they are going to freeze to death. NM, NS: Build fire.

4577. SE, AW, MM: Sign of war. WS: Sign of bad weather.

4578. If large stars fall. Mo, SE, NF, NM, NS: Sign man living in direction star falls has died, or will die. AW: Sign of earthquake; denied for all other groups except SW, At. NF: Falling stars (sa·to) are "just like turkeys, coming down from sky to spring to drink, their head 1 way, tail the other. Come down into ground, just like sun; then they're gone. Sign of lots of sickness. If 2 large stars come down, sign of war starting."

[78 7
82 1] 4579. If small stars fall.

4585. Kl, Mo: White river. Kl: Canes grow on both sides of river, which forks near one end. MM: Creek.

4587. WS, NF, NS: If boys 6-7 look at it during any time of year, will give them bad luck for hunting later.

4588. NF, NS: All girls; would give them bad luck; spirit would frighten them in night. Cf. Voegelin, Tübatulabal, p. 58, people forbidden to count stars.

[821
763] 4589. Kl, Mo, At, AW: Sign of death of adult. SE: "When catches up to moon, sign world will end." SW: "Moon is listening [to star]; therefore someone is saying evil things about person, or will make trouble for person." At: "If star to left of moon, someone near by will die; if to right, person far off. AW: If star very close to moon, death will occur soon. WM: Sign of cold weather.

Rainbow.--

4591. Mo, AW, AE: See note 4592. WM: Sign suckers (fish) calling clouds to make it rain, because girl just after she has had first menstruation is walking close to river or spring "where she ought not to go." After clouds leave, rainbow appears. NF, NM, NS: If end of rainbow falls near village, this is sign that girl there has recently menstruated for first time.

4592. Mo, AW, AE: If rainbow close to where girl dancing at puberty dance, unlucky for menstruant. Negatives for this trait obtained from all other groups except SW, At (not inquired into). Mo: If menstruant dreams of rainbow, sign evil spirit is trying to get her. Mo, AW, AE: If rainbow near by when baby is born, mother will be un-

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000 4610. AW: See note 4605. Formerly Thunder made noise all time, but in contest between Thunder and Raven, Raven finally told Thunder, "Don't make noise all the time; the only time you can make a noise is when somebody dreams about you, in spring." See note 4612. WT: See note 4600.

4611. WM: Twin boys returning "to see their own baby basket [cradle]; make noise when on earth." See note 4604.

4612. AW: During contest between Thunder and Raven, Thunder decreed that if any woman who is about to be delivered of a child in springtime dreams that she is struck by lightning, she will be killed. See notes 4600, 4610. Informant's wife had dreamt of lightning under these circumstances; her mouth became crooked, but "a doctor was called; he came and kicked the cloud back; he talked to it" and patient recovered. NF: See note 4600.

4613. SW: Hold up racoon skin and tell Thunder to go away, as there are too many rattlesnakes in vicinity; "go to some other place." At: Any sort of skin including racoon skin held on stick.

● [92 1] 4614. Kl, SE: Pinch bitch's ear.

[23 1] 4615. Serviceberry stick.

4616. SW, AE, WT: Thunder commanded to go away, especially when people camping out. AE: Tell Thunder couple, "Go that way [naming mountain]; that's where your grandfather and grandmother went." WM: Talk to twin boys, welcome their return. See note 4604. WS: Shaman talks to boys, to make them stop.

4618. At: Lightning issues from mouth of Thunder man, "like a snake." AW: Lightning issues from Thunder's hand, when he raises his arm (wing) to strike.

[92 1] 4625. Women, only, cover head. Kl, MF, NF,
[56 2] MV: Cover head with willow basket. NM, NS: Cover head with deerskin.

Whirlwind; rain and storms.--

4629. AW: "Don't bother much about whirlwind; they let children run into them for fun; there is no danger."

4631. SW: Does not contain poison, but dead shaman sends his dust, and later person struck will suffer some minor misfortune, such as turning ankle. NF: But see note 5040.

4632. SE: Also, whirlwind rising from ashes of house burnt after death is dangerous; ashes will make person sick.

4633. WM, NF, MV: Whirlwind is spirit of dead person.

4635. Mo, SE, AE, WT, WM, WS, NF: Bad for mourners to dream of, especially. Among Mo, SE, AE, WT, WM, WS if mourners dream thus, it means that whirlwind will take dreamer's spirit. See also element 4646a. SE: Also it is "bad for any man to dream of whirlwind or of butterfly; means he will be burnt up." NF: Also bad for menstruants, women in labor to dream of.

4639. AW: Also, whirlwind may give power to run fast.

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000 such shaman probably had power from clouds, or rain; could also cause rain.

5117. SW: "Down-river they [Karuk] pay a person for making rain; Shasta don't."

5119. WS: First doctor may make rain, second make it snow, in summertime.

[756] [821] [762] 5122. Kl, Mo: Also when shaman is cremated. Mo: Also, once in awhile, at spot where shaman has been cremated, person may see fire; whoever sees this will die.

Rattlesnake shamans; grizzly bear shamans; money finders.--

5123. SW: Recognized, but with qualifications (see note 4853). NF: "When snake sees a doctor (yomim maidü) it lies down and dies; it never chases him. Once in awhile snake bites common man."

5134. AE: "Have to have power from Buzzard to cure rattlesnake bites; Buzzard eats rattlesnake."

5135. SE: Ordinary person can protect self against snake bites by putting crushed haliotis inside moccasin. At: Ordinary persons wear turtle shell suspended from belt, to protect themselves against being bitten by snakes.

5146. SW: Woman goes about to houses in village, doctors small children's moccasins by singing these songs, so children will not be bitten by rattlesnakes. Denied for SE.

5149. WS: Large snake emerges first, when songs sung; "he's the boss snake"; after snakes are talked to, this large snake is first to return to hole. Shaman not paid to do this.

5151a. Among all groups, bear shamans always impersonate grizzly bear (Ursus horribilus), never black or brown bear (Ursus americanus).

5160. MM: If man bitten by grizzly, shaman summoned; latter takes patient short distance away from camp and builds small fire; then shaman sings and digs up acorns, roots, ant eggs and puts them in small piles--these disappear at once. Shaman then sucks out blood and bear teeth from patient.

5163. WT, NS: Belief strong that shaman really turns into bear, does not merely simulate bear.

5170. AW: Spirit from yellow jacket, fly, coyote. AE: Spirit from (Indian) dog.

Witchcraft

Black magic.--

5183. NS: Love medicine lacking, but have belief that, if person carries seeds of a certain plant which grows in old graveyard, this person will have good luck. Must be careful when carrying these seeds not to go in front of people, children especially; seeds will make child, or even adult, faint.

5184. WS: For revenge, jilted suitor gets piece of girl's hair, talks to it and puts it in an evil sacred spot (sauɛl); "if he doesn't know how to do this right, girl will die in 2 days.

[p.340A]

842 hopes to have many sons, but the inevitable is accepted philosophically.

843 The sex of the child is not entirely left to chance, for certain traditional precautions are taken. A man does not cut wood while his wife is pregnant lest she have a girl. He may also hang a tiny bow and arrow in his house to assure the birth of a boy. If a girl is born, the opposite sex may be assured for the next child by turning over the afterbirth.

844 [821] [787] [593] The arrival of the first child is of special significance. It is said that at this time there will be strong winds and thunder.[2] This is also a propitious time for a man to seek supernatural power in the mountains. In spite of the great importance attached to the birth of the first child there is nothing to indicate that he will be shown any favoritism. On the contrary, he will probably learn adult activities at an earlier age than his younger siblings and will be expected to assume a certain amount of responsibility in caring for younger children in the family.

At delivery, a soft pad is arranged to receive the child.[3] The umbilical cord is tied with the mother's hair and cut with an obsidian knife. The cord is buried when it drops off, or sometimes kept and wrapped in a piece of buckskin to be worn around the child's neck for luck. The navel is anointed with squirrel grease to hasten healing. As a general rule the afterbirth is disposed of at once by burial. Occasionally a woman throws the afterbirth away carelessly because she wishes to prevent future pregnancies.

846 The newborn baby is sponged off immediately with water, and the face and body are massaged and molded for the first time to conform to Klamath standards of beauty. He is kept beside the mother in the birth lodge during the four or five days of her seclusion. Once each day during this period the child is held over the heated rocks on which the mother lies, to insure his future health.

The infant is put to the breast a few hours after birth. The mother's nipples are squeezed and a hair worked around in them to start the

853 flow of milk. Thereafter the child is nursed whenever he cries. If the mother is unable to nurse her child, a wet nurse is called--generally a relative, but apparently any neighbor woman will do.

852 In many families presents are brought to the newborn child. A boy receives a tiny bow and arrow or small quiver, a girl a small digging stick or basket. These gifts are later hung from the hood of the child's cradleboard. As the presents are brought, a prayer or blessing is said "to encourage the child." Over a

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[2] Spier (1930), p. 55. None of our informants mentioned this.

[14] [3] The practices surrounding pregnancy, birth, and the care of the mother are described in detail by Spier, pp. 55 ff., and Voegelin (1942), elements 3007-3262.

858 765 Children have little knowledge of death, but they observe certain mourning taboos on the decease of a parent. The restrictions on children are not as many or as strict as those for adults.[39] Children have their hair cut and pitch put on their faces for a year in observance of mourning. The child is told to play alone for awhile and not laugh or sing. That these regulations are sometimes onerous is indicated by the statement of an informant whose father died when she was about seven.

> I had my hair cut short. I used to wear pretty beads and little rattles in my pigtails, but I couldn't when my hair was short. When it grew out a little, I got my girl friend to braid it for me and put a rattle in it. My mother caught me and was awfully angry. I knew I was doing something wrong, but I just wanted to have fun.

Children do not end the mourning period with a purificatory sweatbath such as adults take. In fact, children are not allowed near the three mourners' sweat-lodges which are surrounded with spirits that are dangerous to young people. A child who disobeys and plays near the lodges will lose his wife or first child when he grows up.

821 869 Through the period of early childhood the individual gradually acquires a knowledge of objects beyond his immediate home environment. There is an effort on the part of many parents and grandparents to instruct the children, who are sometimes taken out at night to see the moon, stars, and planets. They are told that the Milky Way is a river that divides the sky, the Pleiades are children, and the stars of the Big Dipper are brothers. There are names for, and stories about, many constellations. Mothers take their children out to talk to the moon at each new moon. The mother instructs the children to be quiet and listen as she repeats a prayer which varies in length and content according to individual desires and feelings.

Many natural phenomena are considered dangerous, and young children learn to fear such features as thunder, lightning, and the rainbow. They are warned to run home and hide during an electrical storm and never to point at the rainbow lest the finger drop off.

857 Toward the end of his early childhood the individual begins to assume real responsibilities within his family. Till the age of six or seven the child is free to run and play much as he pleases, so long as he obeys instructions not to fight and not to wander away from camp. He has taken no part in the work of his elders. But now he begins to help with a few simple chores.

The first tasks a child performs may be little more than occasionally bringing home a few pieces of firewood or getting a bucket of

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[39] Adult death and mourning customs are described in Spier, pp. 71-76, and Voegelin, elements 4019-4415.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

of the juniper (pl. 16, fig. 1). More or less globose or flatly cylindrical rigid baskets are used for general storage purposes. A seed-beater used in harvesting the seeds of grasses and flowering plants, and a fish trap of special form (pl. 19, fig. 1) are also made of rigid willow stems. Dilapidated willow burden baskets are used in warding off the effects of thunder. Such a basket is placed on top of a high pole set near a dwelling in order that no bad effects may come from the rumbling thunder overhead.

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FIRE-MAKING.

The fire-making apparatus used by the people of this region is the usual drill, the upright twirler being made of an ordinary stick with a piece of very dry willow root bound at its end instead of a single piece of wood as in most regions. This piece of willow root twirled in a base block of cedar soon creates sufficient heat to generate the fire. The twirler must always be carried so as to keep it very dry, but the cedar base block needs no special care. In fact the canoe paddle, which is always made of cedar, may be used as a base block. A cup for fire-making is cut at a point either near the end of the handle or near the junction of the blade and handle and just above the line where the paddle is dipped into the water. The paddler, therefore, always has the base block to his fire drill with him. Connected with fire is the torch made of tightly bound dry sage-brush bark (pl. 22, fig. 1), which is employed whenever a portable light is needed.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

The people of this region, particularly the older people, are noticeable for the deformation of their heads. The head is flattened usually from directly above the eyebrows, for some distance back, in some cases even to the very top of the head. The back of the head also is flattened and in extreme cases the front and back flattening meet to form a sharp peak at the top of the head. This flattening was done while the child was in the cradle. For a short time after birth the infant was lashed into a soft tule cradle. After some days the child was placed in a cradle such as that shown in pl. 14, fig. 3, made of more rigid materials. In order to keep the head from bobbing about as the mother

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773 noontime, would alone suffice to show that he represents the *sun*, the most
776 potent, we may say unique factor in giving life, nourishment, and health
772 to living organisms, the most important of the sky-gods, and the great
center of myth production among all nations of the world. In one of the Modoc myths it is stated that "at the call of the morning star K'músh sprang from the ashes (of the fiery sky or aurora) as hale and as bright as ever, and so will he continue to live as long as the (solar) disk and the morning star shall last, for the morning star is the 'medicine' (múluash?) of the disk." In other myths he appears in the form of the golden or bright *Disk*, inhabiting the higher mountain ridges and becoming the suitor of females afterwards deified. Thus, like Hor, Rā, and Atum, he appears sometimes as the morning sun, at other times as the noonday and evening sun, and in the myths referring to weather he is either the summer or the winter sun. The burning pipe which Aíshish's son takes from his grandfather and destroys in the camp-fire represents the sun setting in a glowing red evening-sky. As the summer sun with his gigantic power he brings on a conflagration of the world and as a clóud-gatherer he causes an inundation. In the warm season he appears wrapt up in haze and fogs, which the myth in its imagery represents as "a smoky camp-fire," almost impenetrable to the sun-rays: "his arrows fall to the ground before they reach the mark."* To typify his sagacity and omniscience, K'múkamtch appears under the symbolic mask of a quadruped, the *pine-marten* or Skē'l, in Modoc Tchkē'l, which changes its black winter fur to a brown coating in the hot months of the year, and thereby became a sort of portent to the Indian. Similar changes occur with all the fur animals, but with the marten the difference in the color appears to be greater than with others. Şkē'l sends his brother Tcháshgai, or *Weasel*, to obtain one-eyed women for both, these being sun and moon, which the Eskimos also represent as one-eyed, deified persons.† The North wind, which is blowing in alternation with the South
[821] wind, is attacked and killed by Skē'l. Here Skē'l represents the sun of the
summer months, for the summer's heat defeats the cold blasts of the wintry

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* Texts, pp. 99, 4 (shláyaks ak), and 5.

† Cf. the Maidu myth of Kodo-Yampē in Stephen Powers's "California Tribes;" Contributions to North American Ethnology, III, 293.

773 776 772 and equinoctial seasons; when he places the North wind's hat upon his head he puts an end to the noise of the Thunder brothers and then represents the wintry sun.

[821] The attitude which K'múkamtch observes toward his son Aíshish will be spoken of under the next heading. It is necessary to add that the former's position is by no means restricted to that of a solar deity; several of his attributes make him also a god of the sky, or at least of the clouds, for clouds and the weather's changes are due to the sun's agency. When the sun is environed by lamb-clouds, or a mottled sky, this is figuratively expressed by: "K'múkamtch has taken the beaded garments of Aíshish and [821] dressed himself in them." A peculiar red smoke or haze appearing in the northwestern or western sky, shnúish, announces his arrival; he is also recognizable by his bulky posteriors, or, as the Modocs say of him: "K'múkamtch múnish kutúlish gítko." By this they evidently refer to the white and heavy, mountain-shaped summer clouds.

Greek mythology depicts the fecundation of the earth by rain showers and thunder storms as the illicit amours of the sky-god Zeus with the wives and daughters of mortal men. Exactly in the same manner K'múkamtch, as sky-god, seeks to approach illicitly the numerous wives of Aíshish, of whom the majority refuse him, though he has by some stratagem previously removed their husband from the scene.

776 773 In the aboriginal mind the creation of organisms, vegetal and animal, seems to be in connection with the fecundation of the earth, whereas the creation of the earth, world, or universe implies an act entirely different. All the names of Klamath localities are said to come from K'múkamtch. The manner in which he created plants and animals was, as we are told in one Modoc myth, by *thinking* and by *wishing*, this probably implying that after forming an idea of some creature he made that idea a reality by the strong energy of his will. Many creatures, especially birds and quadrupeds—even men—the myths tell us, were brought forth by him in this manner. The moral qualities ascribed to this deity are in keeping with what is known of his physical and intellectual powers. He provides for mankind, which he has created, but does not tolerate any contravention of his will; for he punishes bad characters by changing them into rocks or by

773 776 Aíshish's camp fire is of a clear, bright purplish-blue color (yámnash-ptchi); he makes his shirts with his own hands and ornaments these and his leggings with all sorts of beads As a marksman he excels all his companions, whose arrows do not even strike the target (Texts, page 99, 4–6). According to the Modoc story his wives are Mole, Badger, Porcupine, Bitch, Crane, Mallard, two Maídiktak-birds, Wren, Tchektiti-bird, Yaulíliks or Snowbird, Butterfly, and a host of others; the Klamath Lake myth (Texts, p. 99, 9. 10) names five: Coot, Long-tailed Squirrel, Crane, Mallard, Chaffinch. Tcháshkai or Weasel, the younger brother of Skē'l, sometimes plays the part of Aíshish, but he is not found in this quality so constantly as his brother Skē'l is in that of K'múkamtch.

772 773 776 The various attributes ascribed to this deity by the myths show Aíshish to be in many respects similar to Quetzalcoatl of Nahuatl mythology, who has been made alternately the genius of the morning star, of the calendar and of the atmospheric changes. As to Aíshish and the personal beauty invariably ascribed to him, it may appear doubtful, in view of so many other complex attributes, which idea was the starting-point that created this mythic figure, and subsequently gathered other but less material attributes about this son of the sun. He could represent originally the morning star, or the rainbow or the moon, but after mature reflection upon his complex
[821] attitudes I now believe him to be a lunar deity. The splendor of the full moon is of a yellow hue, like Aíshish's camp fire (kăkă'kli) and the shadow of the famished Aíshish, as seen from below through the pine-trees of the forest, is the narrow crescent of the waxing moon following its disappearance at the new moon period. At the new or "dead" moon Aíshish is famished or dead, to revive again on the days following, and this, like other phases of the moon, which result from her changeable position in regard to the sun, are represented to be the result of the jealousy and enmity of K'múkamtch against Aíshish—and whenever Aíshish succeeds in killing his father, this implies the decrease of sun-heat during the winter season. No myth shows a more striking analogy to the "Birth of Aíshish" than that of the birth of Bacchus from the thigh of Zeus after the destruction of his mother Semele by a thunder-stroke caused by Zeus, the Sky-god.

[821] The moon is the originator of the months, and the progress of the

772 773 776 ● 821 months brings on the seasons with the new life seen sprouting up everywhere during spring and summer. So the quadrupeds and birds which are the first to appear after the long winter months are considered as the wives of Aíshish, and the flowers of summer vegetation are the beads of his garments. He enjoys more popularity than his father, for the moon's light is mild, not burning nor offensive, nor does it dry up vegetation and make men and beasts drowsy like the rays of the midday sun. Many nations also believe that the changes of weather are partly due to the phases of the moon. Although the "Birth of Aíshish" myth obtained by me represents Aíshish rather as the adopted than as the real son of K'múkamtch, other myths state him to be his son resulting from the union of the sun-disk to the red sky of the morning or evening, symbolized by the woman Le-tkakáwash. [19] We must recall to mind that the term for *father*, p'tíshap, in Modoc t'shíshap, is really the *nourisher, feeder*, and not the progenitor, for it is a derivative from t'shín *to grow*.* Most other mythologies consider the relation of sun to moon as that of man to wife, or of wife to man (cf. Deus Lunus), but here the thing is different. There are no female characters of importance in Klamath mythology, nor does the language distinguish grammatically between the sexes.

821 171 197 The difficulty which we experience to distinguish solar and lunar deities from each other in some of the American religions is caused by the circumstance that in many languages of this western hemisphere the term for *sun* and for *moon* is the same. In such languages both orbs are distinguished from each other by being called day-luminary, or night-sun, night-luminary, and with some tribes the belief has been found, that both are actually the same celestial body, one being merely the image or shadow of the other. In the Maskoki languages hási answers for both, but the moon is commonly called ní'li hási or "night sun." In the Tonica language táχtchiksh, abbrev. táχtchi stands for sun, moon, and star, but the moon is usually named lá-u táχtchi "night luminary," the stars táχtchi tipulá, while the sun is either áχshukun táχtchi, "day luminary" or simply táχtchi. Of the Tinné languages many have sã, sã, of the Algonkin languages kísis or parallel forms for both celestial bodies, separate distinctions being

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* Cf. the Grammar, in Appendix VI, p. 710.

821 added for "day" and "night." In the Tsimsián and in some of the Selish
171 dialects the terms for both also agree, but in the Shoshonian and Pueblo
197 languages they differ entirely. In Utah and other Shoshonian dialects the term for moon shows the archaic or reverential suffix -pits, -püts previously noticed (ma-atáwa-pits in Utah), which closely corresponds to *παλαίφατος* as used in the Homeric poems.

While the sun divides time into days, seasons, and years, our sections of time called weeks (quarters of the moon) and months (lunations, moons) are due to the revolutions of the moon. This is what caused the Klamath Indians to call both orbs by the same name: shápash *the one who tells*, which signifies: "which tells the time," or "time measurer." For the moon a parallel form exists in the Timucua, once spoken in Florida: acu-hiba *star which tells*, viz: "star measuring the time" and in the name of the Egyptian moon-god Tehuti, called Thoth by the Greeks,* also in our Germanic *mán*, English: *moon*, Germ. *Mond*, "the measurer."

Here as elsewhere the moon appears under different names, for in Klamath she is also called uk̲aúχōsh "the one broken to pieces." This term never applies to the sun, but only to the moon in the four phases, as a
[192] changeable body.† Originally this was only an epithet of the moon, but in course of time it gave origin to a separate deity, for Uk̲aúχōsh distinctly appears as moon-god in a myth, which relates his marriage to Wekétash, a frog-woman living with ten beautiful sisters on the west side of Upper Klamath Lake. Uk̲aúχōsh now carries her, the frog, in his heart, and this is what we are wont to call "the man in the moon." Should only a little bit be left of him when in the bear's mouth (referring to eclipse), she would be able to bring him to life again.

LEMÉ-ISH OR THUNDER.

776 All elementary deities in the Klamath religion, except K'múkamtch and Aíshish, are mysterious, shadowy beings, not sufficiently anthropomor-

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* Various functions are assigned to Tehuti; his symbol is the *ibis-crane*, whose long, pacing steps evidently suggested to the myth-makers of Egypt the idea, that he was measuring the earth. The name Tehuti is derived from the Egyptian verb teχu *to be full*, for the measuring of liquids, grains, etc., is effected by *filling vases* possessed of certain cubic dimensions.

† Derived from uk̲á-uk̲ua *to knock to pieces*.

776 phized and too dimly defined to deserve the name "gods." Those among
[821] them that are most frequently mentioned in myths and popular stories are
the genii of the Thunder and of the Winds.

773 The genius of the Thunder, Lĕmé-ish, is sometimes mentioned as a
776 single person, or abstract mythic being, but more frequently as a company
821 of five brothers, the Thunders or Lĕmelĕmé-ish. At times they make themselves formidable, for their terrible weapon is the lightning or thunderbolt; they cleave the mountains, rocks, and trees, kill, roast, and devour human beings, in which character they are called mák̲laks-papísh. The interior of their lodge is dark, for a sky obscured by a thunderstorm is lacking the full daylight. K'múkamtch entering the lodge, disguised as the "strong man" under the mask of Skē'l or pine-marten, annihilates them, for the winter sky with its cold blasts is antagonistic to the display of celestial electricity. The eldest of the Thunders is married to Skúle, the meadow lark, who is the sister of pine-marten. After having made themselves thoroughly odious upon the earth, they were, as the myth tells us, relegated to the far-off skies, where they can frighten the people by their noise only and do no further harm.

The parents of the Thunders are supposed to live in a small hut or kayáta, and in their stead two dogs are often mentioned as accompanying the Thunders. Of these there are five, because the thunder rolling along the mountains is heard in *repeated* peals, and these peals are in the myths likened to repeated explosions of the Thunders' hearts. The shooting up of lightnings from the earth to the skies gave rise to the idea that their home is underground, and that the lightnings coming down from the skies are simply the Thunders returning to their homes. As the spirit of the Thunder Yayayá-ash is mentioned in a mythic tale.

The *Thunder-bird*, which plays so prominent a part in the myths of the Eastern and Northwestern tribes, does not appear here under this name, but is represented in some stories by the Raven or K̲ák̲.*

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* The belief in the Thunder-bird is found more frequently among Northern than among Southern Indians. Cf. "The Thunder-bird amongst the Algonkins," by A. F. Chamberlain, Amer. Anthropologist, Jan., 1890, pp. 51–54; and my "Migration Legend of the Creek Indians," vol. 2, 49.

YÁMASH AND MÚASH.

776 821 North wind (Yámash) and South wind (Múash) are more important to the inhabitants of the Klamath highlands than any of the other winds, and therefore are mentioned more frequently. Winds always appear in connection with K'múkamtch or his representative among the animals, Skē'l. Thus when Skē'l visits his sister, Meadow Lark, who is married to the oldest of the Thunders, he is accompanied by K̲ák̲ (the Raven, or storm-bird), Yámash, Tchákinksh, Yéwash, Múash, Tkálamash, and Gû'pashtish. The Thunder receives and feeds them with the blood of the people slain by him.

The conflict between Skē'l and Tcháshkai on one side and the Winds on the other is related on page 111 of the Texts and is purely meteorological. The South Wind obscures by clouds the face of the moon, and thus kills him temporarily; but when the summer sun appears in the form of Skē'l both winds disappear at once to make room to an unclouded sky. The hat of the dead Yámash afterwards serves to frighten the Thunders, as related on the same page. Which was the southern home of Múash is not pointed out in the myths, but that of Yámash was Yámsi Mountain, which is called after him. Yámash corresponds to some extent to the Kabibonokka or Northwind of the Ojibwē Indians, and is as much an object of folklore as he is. In other mythologies of America the winds are the blasts of monsters or big beasts; for the animism prevailing in all the ancient myths requires them to be the manifestation of some living being.

KÁÍLA OR THE EARTH.

823 The Earth is regarded by these Indians as a mysterious, shadowy power of incalculable energies and influences, rather mischievous and wicked than beneficial to mankind. The Indians ascribe anger and other passions to it, but never personify it in clearer outlines than the ancients did their *Ἔρα* and *Tellus;* and it never appears as an active deity in the numerous mythic tales gathered by Mr. Curtin for the collection of the Bureau of Ethnology. I know of it only through the song-lines gathered by myself from individuals of both tribes.

Among all nations of the world we find the idea, which is real as well

823 as poetical, that the Earth is our common mother. "She is dealing out her bountiful gifts to her children, the human beings, without envy or restraint, in the shape of corn, fruits, and esculent roots. Her eyes are the lakes and ponds disseminated over the green surface of the plains, her breasts are the hills and hillocks; and the rivulets and brooks irrigating the valleys are the milk flowing from her breasts." This is the poetical imagery in use among the Eastern Indians when the Earth is mentioned to them.* The idea that earthquakes and unaccountable tremors or noises within the body of the earth, also the malarial fevers, are the utterances of threat or displeasure at the misdoings of mankind, is as general among Indians as among other nations, and a consequence of the animistic tendency of primitive nations. The Indian prophet Smúχale at Priest Rapids, on Middle Columbia River, and his numerous followers, called the "Dreamers," from the implicit faith these Sahaptin sectarians place in dreams, dissuade their adherents from tilling the ground, as the white man does; "for it is a sin to wound or cut, tear up or scratch our common mother by agricultural pursuits; she will revenge herself on the whites and on the Indians following their example by opening her bosom and engulfing such malefactors for their misdeeds." This advice was probably caused by the common observation that ground recently broken up exhales miasmas deleterious to all people dwelling near.

[193] That the Earth was regarded as an animate if not personified being is shown by the form käílash of the objective case (125, 1), this case being formed in -ash only in terms applied to man and quadrupeds. [821] Their myth of the earth's creation of course does not refer to the whole globe, but only to the small part of North America known to these Indians. The earth's interior is also the home of the Thunders, because lightnings are often observed to shoot up from the earth into the skies.

[539] Special songs referring to the Earth are contained in 175; 16: käíla nû shuinálla; 176; 3 käíla ai nû wálta; 158; 48 käílanti nû shílshila—

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* After Tecumseh had delivered a speech to Governor Harrison at Vincennes, in 1811, he was offered a chair by the interpreter, who said to him: "Your father requests you to take a chair." To this Tecumseh made, with great dignity of expression, an answer which has since become classical: "*The sun is my father, and the earth is my mother; and on her bosom will I repose,*" and immediately seated himself, in the Indian manner, upon the ground.

773 to touch the ground. He then stole all the fruits in the garden and went
776 with them to his underground abode.

Then K'múkamtch, who had observed all this from a distance, arrived and knocked at the top of the house. This time it was the man who opened. When asked what had become of the fruits he excused himself by stating that Munatálkni had taken all of them. This put K'múkamtch into such a rage that he threw the woman out of the house and whipped her to death. Then he cut open the eyelids of both, which previously had been fastened together, and the man said: "I can see the sun." K'múkamtch then instructed the man how to make his livelihood by using the bow and arrow, and how to manufacture sinew-strings and obsidian arrow-heads. Upon this he brought the man's sister into life again and both went into the mountains to hunt, for they had nothing to eat. Ever after this K'múkamtch remained angry with them.

This is but the commencement of a long tale designed to show the miraculous growth of the family which sprang from the first man and woman, and their progress in the life-sustaining arts and manufactures. [17] There is no doubt that the above is a singular distortion of the Bible tale concerning Adam and Eve in paradise. The question which remains to be solved is this, whether or not Munatálkni himself is borrowed also from the Jewish story. If he is, then in connection with him we may recall Aíshish, who, according to some Modocs, is nobody else but Jesus Christ, who two thousand years ago passed through Lost River Valley and dug a deep well there which he presented to the Modocs—all this on account of a phonetic similarity between the names Aíshish and Jesus.

The remainder of the story is exactly like what other Oregonian myths relate concerning the origin of mankind and is incontestably of Indian origin. No further mention is made in it of Munatálkni.

SHŪ'KASH OR WHIRLWIND.

773 Another of the numerous elementary deities is the Whirlwind or
776 Shū'kash. An interesting mythic tale about it, which I have obtained
● 821 among the Modocs in the Indian Territory, makes of the Shū'kash an
engine brought into play from time to time with tremendous effect by the

773 genius presiding over it. This genius is called Tchitchatsχä'-ash or "Big
776 Belly;" he is represented to be an old man whose vigor of life is on the
● 821 decrease. When he leaves his lodge, his appearance embodies the rain-laden, dark-hued, thick nimbus clouds overhanging the earth. When his engine* comes into action, he attracts by it all the objects within reach, he oppresses the earth with his weight, and forces wayfarers to walk in other paths than they intended to travel lest they may incur danger to life. When he has spent his force by this wanton display, he is rent by a stroke of lightning or a strong gust of wind; he is dissolved into atoms, and the bones filling his big paunch, which had produced the rattling noise attending the course of whirlwinds, fall down to the ground. Tsáskai, the Weasel, the brother of Marten, wrestling with the old man and conquering him after a hard struggle, is the mythic agent who brings about his final discomfiture.

SPIRIT DEITIES.

'Εκτέταμαι φοβερὰν φρένα, δείματι πάλλων.

775 No people has ever been discovered that did not believe in the return
776 of human souls after death to their former homes in the form of ghosts. Ghosts or spirits hovering through space are invisible and may inflict damage to anybody without danger of being recognized; therefore they usually inspire awe and terror, and wherever the existence of these fanciful beings is recognized imagination fills the earth, the atmosphere, and the waters with such spooks. Not all of these are necessarily supposed to be the souls of the deceased, but they may also represent the souls of animals, the spirits of mountains, winds, the celestial bodies, and so forth, for animism has its widest sway in this sort of superstition. Very different qualities are ascribed to each of these hobgoblins or spooks. They are either gigantic or dwarfish in size, powerful or weak in body, attractive or repulsive, of
[787] beneficial or wicked influence. They chiefly appear at night or in stormy
weather; some are seen single, others in crowds, and a few of their number

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[193] * Shū'kash is the substantive of sh'hū'ka *to whirl about*, this being the medial distributive form of húka *to run about:* sh'huhóka, sh'hú-oka, sh'hū'ka "to run about by itself in various directions."

775 The common belief of the Oregonians is that after death the soul travels the path traveled by the sun, which is the westward path; there it joins in the spirit-land (ē'ni) the innumerable souls which have gone the [821] same way before.* If the deceased was a chief, commander, or man of note, his "heart" can be seen going west in the form of a shooting star. The Egyptian belief was that the soul of the dead was following Atum, the sinking sun, to the west; and since then innumerable nations and tribes have adhered to the same belief.

From the Texts obtained from Dave Hill, pp. 129, 130, we learn that other abodes of dead men's spirits are the bodies of living fish. Perhaps Hill learned of this belief among the maritime and river Indians with whom he lived on the Columbia River, where the idea of fish eating corpses could suggest itself more readily than upon the lakes of the Klamath highlands. The *Notes* which I added to these curious texts give all the explanations which it is at present possible to give. It appears from them that such spirits can enter the bodies of "spirit-fish," that one skúks can see another, and that Indians, not white men, sometimes see the skúks, but at the peril of their lives. A distinction is also made between good and bad skúks, the latter being probably those who render the Indian's sleep uncomfortable by unpleasant dreams.

776 821 Some natural phenomena often appear to these Indians in the form of specters or hobgoblins, as clouds, water-spouts, snow-storms, columns of dust, etc Noisily and rapidly they pursue their lonely path, and their gigantic, terrific frames reach up to the skies; whoever meets them unawares is knocked down senseless or killed outright, or must exchange his body for another. Some of these specters look dark on one side and light on the other.

177 775 821 In northern latitudes, where polar lights are frequently visible, they are supposed by the Indians to represent the dance of the dead, and whenever Christianity is introduced among them they identify this beautiful spectacle with the last judgment, when the spirits of the deceased move about in the expectation of the coming Christ.

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* Cf. Dictionary, sub voce ē'ni and Grammar, Appendix VI, p. 702. The Warm Spring Indians call the spirit-land: ayayáni. See also Texts, p. 174; 11.

776 825 these curious song lines; the loon (táplal) is noticed there for being the best diving bird of these upland waters; the yellow-hammer, or tché-ush, a woodpecker, for its beautiful red plumage; the kilíwash, another woodpecker, for its precious scalp. The ducks are well remembered in these songs on account of their ubiquity, their numerous species, the elegance of their [821] exterior. Birds renowned for their influence upon the weather are the wíhuash and the tsiutsíwäsh, who can produce snow-fall; the kă'ls or k̲álχalsh, who possesses the power of making fogs (166; 22. 23).

The amphibians, insects and the organisms standing below these in the zoogenetic scale, are also reputed to possess magic powers; the songs of the [824] toad and of the spider are supposed to be especially effective. That the plants did not impress the mental capacity of these Indians to such a point as to make them objects of reverence can not be wondered at, as the mind of the Indian in cold climates is not turned in this direction Plants in which the Klamaths were interested are all mentioned, p. 180; 19, and the pond-lily, with its seeds, stands at the head of them. Even among the totem names of Eastern tribes only a few plant names are represented, *maize* being the most frequent among these; but in tropical countries, with their luxuriant vegetal growth, many trees, bushes, and stalks become objects of worship, like the copal and the ceĭba tree of Central America.

The deified animals of Klamath mythology are all capable of assuming the predicate ámtchiksh, abbr. -ámtch, -amts *primeval*, of which mention has been made previously, and many also appear collectively, as *five* (or *ten*) brothers or *five* sisters, sometimes with their old parents (titchka-ága). This is the case only with gregarious animals, and also applies to the Thunders. Many of the larger quadrupeds appear constantly with *two* young only.

825 773 The personified animals which receive the most frequent attention in Klamath Lake and Modoc myths are the marten, the weasel and the prairie-wolf or coyote.

Marten or Skē'l, Skē'lamtch always appears in connection with *Weasel* or Tcháshkai. Weasel is reputed to be the younger brother (tápiap) of Skē'l and acts as his servant and errand-boy. In the execution of the dangerous errands he is intrusted with, Weasel is often killed, and Skē'l

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773 825 sometimes also, but they manage to revive again and to revenge themselves on their enemies. What brought these two beasts into mutual connection in the popular mind has been already pointed out: both change their furs, more than other animals, from a darker hue in summer to a lighter one 823 in winter, when the weasel's fur becomes white. They are both supposed to live at Yámsi, "Northwind's Home," a high peak east of Klamath Marsh. To act like Skē'lamtch is to do something not meaning to do it apparently. Skē'l is a great wrestler, and like K'múkamtch has the faculty of changing 821 himself into a bird, beast, dog, old woman, etc., at will. To a certain extent he is the counterpart of K'múkamtch and performs the same deeds as he does, it appearing as if K'múkamtch acted under the mask of Marten and Tcháskai under that of Aíshish, in whom we recognize a lunar deity. But there are other acts by which the two pairs differ considerably, and where Marten and his brother appear to represent the wintry season only and the rough weather attending it.

Another deity of the same type, and far-famed over all the Pacific coast, is the *prairie-wolf,* little wolf, or coyote. This quadruped belongs rather to the genus *jackal* than to the wolves, looks as smart as a fox, carries a beautiful fur, and does not attack people unless united in packs of a dozen or more. His habit of living in earth holes, and his doleful, human-like, whining ululation, heard especially during moonlit nights were probably what set him up in the esteem of certain Indians, like the Eastern Selish and the Central Californians, so high as to make of him the creator of the world and of man. In Modoc stories he appears more frequently than in Klamath Lake folklore, and at present there are but few of these animals 821 left on the headwaters of Klamath River. Wásh, or Wáshamtch as the Klamaths call him, always appears in sun and moon stories, and is, like Skē'l and Tcháshgai, a substitute for the sun-and-moon deities. When he ran a race with the clouds he thought at first that there were two of him, for he always saw another person, his shadow, going by his side. When he stayed in the lodge of the Firedrill brothers he took the fire-sticks of these in his hands and they all blazed up. In the lodge of the ten Hot-Water Basket brothers he was burnt terribly by the inmates, and when repairing to the Ants' lodge the inmates punished him fearfully by their

*539 dispatched after a chipmunk, struck a log or tree, glanced off from it and came very
773 near killing Weasel's little son.

192 110, 11. 21. guháshktcha instead of guhuáshktcha, cf. Dictionary.

110, 17. wû'sho, breast, chest, is also pronounced wû'shu, û'shu; û'shutala, in the chest. k̲'lekl̲χátko is the distributive plural of k̲'lekátko; k̲'léka, to die.

[193] 110, 18. mä'nshaktch, so long; stands for mä'ntchak tchí. The terminal -ak has to be taken here and in 110, 14. in the sense of the diminutive suffix: "a little long".

110, 19. k̲ä'la to *do* or *act* in the sense of amusing oneself, playing, gesticulating, or acting in a loud, noisy, or grotesque manner.

111, 1. túnepanti. The partitive case in -ti, if it stands for túnepanta, is used here, because the bags of neckwear brought by Skélamtch were counted on the digits of one hand, while those of Weasel were counted on the fingers of the other.

111, 3. wewilína. Beads were left over to Old Marten, because he had brought more than five sacks full to the tchpínû or family burying ground, emptying only five sacks on the child's pyre. This was a fabulously extravagant expenditure, the beads standing high in price and the sacks or willishik being rated at more than one bushel each.

111, 4. Mû'sh and Yámsh, syncopated from Mû'ash and Yámash.

111, 9. eiχishtok Mû'shash. The South Wind had put his head out; that is, a south wind had been blowing when Little Weasel died and hence was supposed to be the real cause of his death.

[821] 111, 12. Lĕmé-ishash. From the following it appears, that the five Thunders represent more the flash of the lightning (lúepalsh) than the roll of the thunder. There are many of them, because the thunder, when rolling over mountains and valleys, often increases again in loudness after having almost died out, and five is the often recurring "sacred" number of the Oregonian and other Northwestern Indians. The radix
[193] of lĕmé-ish is *lam*, which indicates a circular, whirling motion. The five Thunders are
[342] brothers, living in a winter-lodge or earth-house: Lĕmé-isham tchî'sh, thought to be a dark cave; their parents, the two Old Thunders, live in a káyata or low, small hut covered with bulrush mats. The short episode 111, 12-17 does not refer to all the five Thunders, but only to one of their number.

[321] 111, 13. tû'tash is the long white marine shell, known as dentalium; it is one of
[301] the most common Indian body-ornaments. The white resin flowing out of pine-trees seems to be symbolized in this myth by the dentalium-shell.

111, 14. wák ish shû'tă, for wák shúta i nish: "somehow do (something) for me."

[193] 111, 20. In wä'shin are combined two locative particles: *i* and *n* (for na).

111, 22. mák̲laks tû'm (for tû'ma). The Thunders brought home as food many human beings struck by lightning.

112, 1. wanúnga, the distributive plural of û'nak; explained in the Dictionary.

112, 1. wenníni a tuá gátpa etc. Here and throughout this paragraph tuá means "some kind of."

112, 2. 3. shkaíni combines the meaning of strong with that of bad or mischievous, and answers to our *demoniac;* shkaíniak or shkaínihak stands for our comparative: stronger. The -tch, -s, -sh appended is an abbreviation of tcha, *now*, and shkáyent stands for shkaini at.

[342] 112, 3. Gékansha. Old Marten had entered the solid "earth-house" of the Thun-

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 533 755 70. *Song of the little wipēlī'wash forest-bird:*

Wipēli'wash nû shuí'sh gî,
wuipléwēsh nû shuí'sh.

My own song I sing, I the wipēlíwash-bird.
I the wuipléwash am singing about myself.

71. *Song of the witkatkish-hawk:*

Gé-u aí hû tû' sáwals, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
witkatkísam gé-u sáwals. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

My head-crest this is, it is that of the witkatkish-hawk.

NOTES.

[825] The incantations obtained from Morgan are mostly of the kind called shuinō'tkish,
and a large number of them are attributed to birds. Some of them probably exist in
a more explicit form, which was not remembered, and the rhythmic or musical form
*539 was obtained of a part of them only. A literal translation of these song-lines is an
533 impossibility in most instances, if their sense has to be rendered in full; I have there-
755 fore furnished only paraphrastic interpretations. The list is alphabetic, and was
192 arranged after the names of the animals, or other personified objects, to which the
incantations are attributed. Many of these songs are referred to in the "Subject List
of Incantations" given by Morgan.

164; 1. Ktsálui, to be resplendent with colors, is mainly said of objects showing a blue or purple tinge: pû'ksam shláps ktsáluitko, the camass-plant has a bluish color. This verb is also used when speaking of the rainbow; of the lizard: 165; 14., also of the weasel's fur-skin: 169; 55.

[779] 164; 3. The use of these conjurer's arrows is mentioned 73, 5.

164; 4. Yámsam for Yámasham; cf. *Note* to 111, 4. Of the personified North
wind the Indians say "he lives up in the mountains". On the north side the basin of
[193] the Williamson River is closed up by high mountains. Gé-ish and génuish, génhuish
means the action of going and that of having gone, or the present and the past going;
both were translated by "*gait*", "*tread*", a term which does not differ much from the
real meaning. Both terms also occur in the songs obtained from "Doctor" John, and
are mainly used of quadrupeds, amphibians, and reptiles.

164; 4. kápa probably for gútpa (nû), "I have come".

[136] 165; 6. The yē'n sucker-fish is quite abundant in the lakes of the Klamath highlands and has been identified by Prof. E. D. Cope as the Catostomus labiatus.

165; 7. yéwa. In Morgan's series of incantations there are song-lines on wind-
gusts, tempests, rain-storms and on the winds blowing from each of the four cardinal
points of the compass. These latter are not positively stated to be producers of dis-
[821] ease, though they are dreaded on account of their force and violence. The East wind
(yéwash) blowing over the alkaline or volcanic, arid lands of Southern Oregon sings:
yéwa, yéwa (nû) which does not only signify "I blow from the East", but also "I am
howling".

165; 11. Feigning to draw a rope or string from their own posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear.

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10. Aíshish kaí nû sha-ûlō'la, ⏑́⏑|⏑́⏑⏑⏑|⏑́⏑
yuhanéash kaí nû sha-ûlō'la. ⏑⏑|⏑́⏑|⏑́⏑⏑⏑|⏑́⏑

I Aíshish I shall brandish, I shall brandish my huge sword.

11. Aíshishash hûn gáldshui, ⏑́⏑⏑|⏑⏑́⏑
hû' mish hû' shnekshituápka. ⏑́⏑⏑|⏑⏑⏑⏑́|⏑

Go to meet Aíshish; he will save you.

12. Tídsh hûn liulek̲án tchiálash shakatchóāla!

Halloo! let us form a circle and screen the salmon against sun-heat!

13. Kilidshí'ga-shépolamna ⏑́⏑⏑⏑|⏑́⏑⏑⏑

They carry long-necked ducks on their backs.

14. Kaukátsi Yaína wō'n a shû-û'dshant i! ⏑́⏑⏑|⏑́⏑|⏑́⏑|⏑́⏑|⏑́⏑

Follow up the elk and chase him upon Kaukátsi Mountain!

NOTES.

The first eight songs are worded in the Klamath Lake dialect, the third is of a mythic character. Songs 7–12 are worded in Modoc; 8 and 9 are K'mukámtchiksh songs. A few songs or fragments of such, which would come nearest to what we call nursery or Mother Goose's songs, will be found in the Myth of the Bear and the Antelope: 120, 11. 12. 13. 121, 9. 17. 122, 12. 13.

192; 1. This song is sung by women only, and seems to point to an ancient invasion of the country by tribes from the North or from Columbia River.

825
821
192

192; 2. The owl's cry is of fatal augury.

192; 3. Girls' song. When at sunrise a haze or fog extends over the country, this is supposed to be a sign of the Earth's wrath against men.

192; 5. kí'pash is no word at all, but seems to stand for gitko-ptchi.

192; 7. The Indians were reticent about the meaning of this song, and hence I presumed that ō'k was intended to mean some deceased person, since these are spoken of as hû'k, *he*, *she*. Then the sense would be: "Be silent! that dead squaw is arising to sing a loud song." One Indian informed me that ō'ksta meant a squaw. and pronounced it ō'ksht (húnkisht?). Cf. *Note* to 35, 8 and page 130, second *Note*.

192
193

192; 8. These trochaic verses are called the K'mukámtchiksh-song, and a variant, tuálam, exists for kánam. The alliteration of the k's and n's is very conspicuous. The meaning was given as follows: "I the omnipotent and unseen ruler of the universe will chastise and turn it over for the manifold crimes committed in it by Indians and men of other races."

192; 9. This is another K'múkamtch-song, in which he menaces to destroy the world for its misdoings. I have put the first line in quotation marks, because it forms the words or text of the song. The first line is sung about a dozen times before the second is sung once.

193; 10. Christian song, referring to the day of last judgment. Aíshish, who is a deity representing the powers of nature with animal attributes, has been in the mind of some Modocs identified with Jesus.

771 To treat aboriginal Klamath religion under three headings of shamanism,
791 power quest, and cosmology is patent oversimplification. In nature and
551 content these features formed an integrated configuration reflecting a major cultural preoccupation. It is true that the shaman in each community played a dominant role and in his capacity as curer, magician, and entertainer
787 commanded the utmost in social prestige. On the other hand, as was common in western North America, every individual, at puberty and thereafter, deliberately and repeatedly sought contact with a variably defined spirit world. Thus Klamath culture had a variation of the American Indian guardian-
773 spirit theme. Less specifically formalized, and so perhaps, less well integrated,
776 were the elements of myth and tale, the rationalizations for the presence of various natural phenomena, for eschatology, and for the general conception of the universe. Like adjacent tribes, the Klamath interested themselves in animal spirits. These were of particular importance in providing shamanistic power. In the individual power quest, however, the sources from which spiritual forces emanated were less specifically defined. A rather wide range of supernatural powers was recognized, some being animals, some vaguely anthropomorphic, others relating to such natural features as mountains, streams, rocks, or even landmarks like Crater Lake. In respect to these forces an involved folklore has arisen which allows some classification of the Klamath
775 concepts of the supernatural. In this realm, for example, are views about the abode of the dead and the nature of ghosts and souls, these being carefully differentiated from nonhuman spirits.[3] Here too is a body of myth relating to superhuman dwarf men and women, to the forces in specific places or natural phenomena in the Klamath terrain, and finally, the most important for this discussion, to the culture hero, the anthropomorphic Kemu'kemps.[4]

171 Kemu'kemps, while not usually identified with an animal spirit, has many characteristics suggesting the folklore regarding Coyote in the Plateau-Basin. He is at once creator and trickster, angrily forbidding in some contexts, indifferent in others, and in still others a ludicrous buffoon.

825 Essentially human in conceptualization (a myth complex relating to a
821 human hero also occurs in adjacent regions), Kemu'kemps is sometimes identified with the marten, whose younger brother is weasel, and with the winds.[5] In the myths assembled by Gatschet, he constantly rivals his magically born son 'Ayšiš, whose destruction he repeatedly plans, often with the result
821 of encompassing his own. Weather, such as rain or heat, was also attributed to him. Kemu'kemps is also the creator, and there are numerous folktales which tell how he brought various locations into being. At his instigation,

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113 1939), cf. 145-149; Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distributions: Northeastern California* (Anthropological Records, 7: 2, Berkeley, 1942).

[3] Spier, 1930, pp. 100 ff.

[4] Cf. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (U. S. Geological
113 Survey, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Washington, 1890), pt. 1, lxxix-lxxxv, and pt. 2, 138-140. A summary is also given by Spier, 1930, loc. cit.

[5] Gatschet, 1890, pt. 1, lxxxii-iii.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963

NR10 Klamath NR10

31. A Meteor

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) The stars fell like rain. (2) And they covered me with a mat. (3) And on falling into the water [they made a sound] "čiW čiW"! (4) And I peeked out from under. (5) And I was very much afraid. 539* 821 •

32. A Funeral

(Miss Irene Skellock)

(1) When a person died, long ago they used to cremate him. (2) But recently they have not done thus, when I was small. (3) And there where we lived, nearby a woman died. (4) And they gave things to each other. (5) They gave to us—a dishpan, a washpan. (6) And one man said, "Whatever they will give you [pl.], you [pl.] must give back likewise." (7) And we—did nothing—[did] not have any use for it. (8) However, we brought it back for him, the very same kind, just as they had given to us. 539* 764 [178]

(9) Then we went there. (10) And we put flowers on for [the deceased?]. (11) And we went there—Sidaykdi. (12) And we slept on the ground, having arrived there. (13) Then those people sang all night. (14) But we did not understand anything of what they did. (15) We only heard them, they beat a drum. (16) And they [sang] thus, "ʔi···!" (17) Only that we heard there.

(18) Then early the next morning they took [the corpse] off to bury it. (19) And having arrived there, [at] the graveyard, then all the people took up a handful of earth. (20) And they having picked it up, they marched [past the grave], and threw it down into it. (21) And on finishing, then they now put all sorts of things on top [of the coffin]. (22) They put plates on, knives, spoons, forks. (23) And now having finished doing thus, then we went back down [the hill] to eat. (24) And now everyone went home. (25) The next morning everyone returned home, to Chiloquin.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 147]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10
Northern Paiute NR13

K
301 length is "a little too much." The unit, according to one informant,
is the length of the extended left arm to the upper end of the humerus,
or across the chest in addition to the point of the right shoulder. The
other gave the unit as a doubled string from the extended left hand
K to the sternum; that is, a fathom. One thing is clear, that there is
[436] no great concern for dentalia as money, as among the lower Klamath
tribes. The strings are not standardized either as to length or size of
the individual shells. Long dentalia are more valuable than the short,
but my informants never knew anyone to argue over the precise length
of a shell. Both men agreed that the several kinds of beads, or at
least the best, are not worked by the Klamath, but come from the
K south. They are either found in raided Achomawi-Atsugewi camps
[721] or are traded from these people or possibly the Shasta. Both were
[439] certain that the shells are not obtained from the north. This is something
of a puzzle, because the Columbia river people have dentalia and
[177] use them extensively in trade. Furthermore, the ultimate point of
origin of the shells is the coast of Washington and British Columbia.
[174] The discrepancy in the statement is further accentuated by the Yurok
statement that the shells came to them both along the coast and down
the Klamath river.[399]

K Finger rings are not made, nor bracelets, except for young children.
[789] The cast skin of a water snake is wrapped around their wrists
so that they will swim well.

K Face painting is general, a daily usage, not confined to gala events,
302 but more obvious at that time. The shaman's body is painted red
during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use,
[756] white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to
war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white. I have
[822] pointed out elsewhere[400] that red paint is associated with warfare by
the Basin tribes and their Californian and Arizonan neighbors. Here
it may be added that black is used by Plains warriors. At dances
white pigment, found along the creek banks, is smeared on the palms
K which are then pressed on the face or on a woman's smooth hair to
[317] form patterns. Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few
localities in the mountains near Crater lake. The Northern Paiute
NP are said to have quantities of it, however.

[317] In winter women smear their faces, hands, and arms with a mixture
K of charcoal and pitch, or deer grease, or of pitch and grease
751

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[399] Kroeber, Handbook, 22.

[400] Havasupai Ethnography, 207.

802

60, nŏtaksöpt dŏ'nkni te'ĕwŭnip.
70, la'pksöpt dŏ'nkni te'ĕwŭnip.
80, da'nksöpt dŏ'nkni te'ĕwŭnip.
90, nŏtsĕă'ĕks dŏ'nkni te'ĕwŭnip.
98, nŏtsĕă'ĕks dŏ'nkni te'ĕwŭnip pe'ĕn da'nksöpt.
100, te'ĕwŭnipni te'ĕwŭnip.
101, te'ĕwŭnipni te'ĕwŭnip pe'ĕnas.

The numbers eleven to nineteen are abbreviated forms, the full form for sixteen, for instance, is nŏ'taksöptial'ɪ ha te'ĕwŭnip ŏnt.

Even without extended etymological analysis, which I am not prepared to make, the basis of this numeration is transparent. One to six, nine, and ten are individual stems; seven is based on two, and eight on three. This suggests a quinary and decimal basis. From twenty up the basic count is by tens. Intermediate integers are so many tens plus the units, as in English. The exception is such an integer as twenty-one which looks like "two tens plus." Why the form for sixty and above differs from the lower round numbers, I do not know.

These numbers are used in counting all classes of objects. Gatschet remarks that classifiers "are appended to the numeral to indicate the shape or exterior of the objects counted."[411] The only other number I found was a score, the ten fingers and toes together, na'sat. There are no similar collective terms for the fingers of one hand or of both. Only a circumlocution can be used, like lugawa'wals, the fingers, or pĕtcŏ'mnɪlugawa'wals, the toes all together (pĕtc is foot). Ordinarily the ordinal numbers are not used in counting the fingers; one does not usually say one finger, but specifies it by name. The toes are enumerated like the fingers.[412]

The following list of colors was recorded:

822

tŏktŏ'kli,	red.
t!o'tlalwi,	green.
mĕtemĕ'teli,	blue.
spa'lptcli,	yellow.
kŏp'kauli'	brown.
bŏ'ebŏeli,	black.
ba'lbali,	white.
go'lŏpel,	gray (English, gray ?), means dirty.

My informant said that the word for blue was in use before the coming of the whites; she denied that there was a single word for blue-green. This implies that the familiar blue-green confusion was lacking here. I did not test any of these people for their color sense with color-wools.

[177]

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[411] 1:523.

[412] For the finger names, see the list of months above.

C

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

103
131
7, awa'lwaskän, at least five earth-lodges here. Houses scattered between this site and the last.

361
8, wa'ktale's, and 9, la'laks, slope steps,[21] two settlements on the higher ground where Williamson river leaves the marsh. The second had twenty houses on both sides of the stream.

[226]
[114]
10, lobŏ'kstsŏkai, on the bluff on the left bank of the Sprague river at the railroad bridge, with a few houses on the opposite side. There is a dam for salmon here. Gatschet gives the locality name as ktaí-tú-pakshi, standing rock.[22]

11, A site on the south side of Sprague river below the dam.

12, ḳ!ötewă'ēts is a large winter settlement about two miles above the dam on the south bank of this river.

[823]
[226]
13, komă'ēksi is a site on both sides of the river south of Braymill, four miles from Chiloquin. There is a cave here which was the home of Kᴇmŭ'kümps, the culture hero. Near-by is wo'kstat, the site of the only first-fish rites among the Klamath.

14, ḳa'umkăn is about six miles above this cave. Many people lived on both sides of the river there. A cremation pile is there, probably the only one on Sprague river. The place takes its name from a spring (ḳa'ŭm) on the western bank.

Whether there were permanent settlements above this on the river is difficult to say. At least there were settlements (15) of some sort on the river near Yainax before the coming of the whites.

16, hĭedĭcluĕ'luke, a settlement west of Gearhart mountain.

[226]
17, bᴇzŭkse'was (from bᴇzŭks, obsidian); there are many people in this town on the right bank which extends for a mile below the Sprague river mouth. On the opposite side, ha'potgŭs, is a dam in which spring fish are caught; near-by are a few summer houses.

[251]
[226]
18, tákalma'keda, a town half a mile long on the right bank. The houses are on the bottomland along the river with quite a number on the opposite flat (19), called k'tai'di, lava. A little south is a part of this settlement, called glă'tspak'is. Of the distinct pits at tákalma'keda, four are about twenty-five feet in diameter, one, fifteen feet. Northward from the town are a considerable number of storage pits and a fish dam.

20, djĭgiă's, houses on the river level on both banks and on a higher bench on the right. There is a ford here.

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[21] Gatschet, 1:74. Several other camping places in the vicinity on upper Williamson river are also mentioned.

[22] *Op. cit.*, 1:76.

21, ḳ!o'ltawas, a town of ten or fifteen earth-lodges on the left bank, with houses on the right bank extending to the next settlement downstream. There are otter (ḳ!olt) holes in the right bank, hence the name. A mythical otter that lived here is seen in a rock standing in the water; on his back are his children, smaller rocks. 103 131 361 [823]

22, at'awīkc, "to catch fish in still water," six to a dozen houses on the right bank; a few on the left. The water here is quiet; fish are caught with the trolling net. [226]

23, ya'ak (ya'ac, willows), two dozen or more houses on the right bank. This was the largest river site in early reservation days, the road from Link river (Klamath falls) fording the river here. Of three house pits together, with their margins nearly in contact, two are twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter, the other fully five feet more. A cremation pile stands on the hill above this town. It is now leveled by marauders, as are all the others in this country, but it apparently covered an area forty feet in diameter.

24, tsa'k'wi, houses on the right bank with a few on the left.

25, wītă'mŭmpsi, bear's place (wītă'm, black bear). This is a high bluff on the right bank above an eddy in the sharp bend in the river; the scene of vision questing. A large shaman's earth-lodge is located here. Fish are caught all year long above this town. [823] [756] [226]

26, goyᴇmske'ᴇgis, crawfish crawl out, or kizke'trŭs, small lizard, a town half a mile long beginning a quarter-mile above the highway bridge. The houses are on the abrupt slope right to the river's brink, and some on the little bluff above. There are pits of perhaps forty or more houses here, but at least half are dome-shaped cooking houses, for they are for the most part only six to ten feet in diameter, with few as much as fifteen feet. One of eighteen feet has its dome-shaped kitchen lodge clearly indicated on the north side. [343]

27, wᴇla'lksi, named for a big quaking-aspen (wᴇla'l) there, is on the eastern shore of Agency lake. A few ă'ukckni live here in winter, in five or six small houses.

28, loḳ'o'gŭt, warm, a little warm spring near which are two houses on the higher land near Agency lake. [133]

29, tcŏ'klaiŭmps, service berry, which grows here abundantly, is a town of one or two small houses overlooking the lake where the Chiloquin road meets the lake highway.

Other towns may have been at ya'mzi, on the western side of Yamsay mountain, and ḳokenă'okᴇ, Spring creek, a large northern affluent of Klamath marsh.

103 131 361 [222] [132] IV. *Pelican bay group (gu'mbötkni).*—This includes the Pelican bay district (gu'mböt) on the west side of the lake, the settlements along Four Mile creek, and those on the marsh north of the lake. Runs of fish are plentiful on Wood river in the spring when the snow melts on the mountains. People come up along the river in the summer digging camas. But above Fort Klamath there is too much snow to live during the winter.

35, sle'tsksi, a group of two or three earth-lodges on the west side of Seven Mile creek near its mouth. A little spring here keeps the water warm enough for fish even in winter.

36, wudö'kän is a settlement in the marsh a mile from the last, and east of Seven Mile creek.

37, iwünau'ts, two earth-lodges on the western side of a little creek emptying into the lake two miles east of Recreation P. O. Houses are scattered along the marsh shore to the northern side of Pelican bay.

38, dünö'ksi, an open space overlooking the northern end of Pelican bay and containing many earth-lodges. Others are on the lower level, [823] [756] lɛlä'ksti, close to the bay. This is immediately north of the mouth of Four Mile creek. A cremation pile stands a hundred yards north of this town on the slope above the bay, beyond an outcrop of rocks said to be transformed shamans. A big lodge of a shaman on the lower level has a pit twenty-eight feet in diameter; another earth-lodge pit is nearly twenty feet across.

39, e'o'ķai, four or five earth-lodges a few hundred yards up Four Mile creek on the left bank.

[756] 40, wa'lö'kdi, four to eight earth-lodges, one a shaman's, somewhat farther up the creek on the opposite side.

41, Waķ'a'k, a winter settlement south of the high ridge south of Odessa. North of the settlement is a sweat-lodge used by mourners.

42, gai'löks or gaila'lķs is on the point south of Odessa or more probably between Howard and Shoalwater bays. No winter settlements here but a camping place where du'kwakni and gu'mbötkni roasted camas in the spring.

[136] 43, stö'kmate, Eagle point, is a similar spring camp site. In the hot springs here are harmless black snakes (kamdila'k) which crawl over the swimmers. Curiously, in view of the Klamath tendency to localize their tales, there is no story concerning this locality.

Two other localities may belong to this group: 63, e'o'ķaķ, gulch, on Wood river toward the mountains, and 64, e'uķwa'lksi on the east

103
131 51, kōlwa'l, a point, is Rattlesnake point at Algoma. Only a few
live here during the winter but it is a favorite resort in the autumn
361 when chokecherries and wild plums ripen.

[222] 52, wuḳ!o'twas, wood knot, Buck island, is so called because the
island in the lake is likened to a knot in a piece of wood. In addition
to old house pits here not occupied by any group of the historic period,
there are a few winter houses on the southern end and summer camps
at the northern end where plums could be gathered. It was a favorite
sport to dive from the rocks (called sohowă'ēks, diving) on the
northern shore.

53, lama'tcksi, a place on top of the end of something, is on the
point east of Buck island, and 54, k!su'nk!ai, grassy place, is three-
fourths of a mile south on the shore. Many people are at both localities
during the winter. There may be old house sites here like those on
Buck island. Wa'toŋks is a hill a half-mile east where wild plums are
[823] picked. There is an outcrop of white rock high on the hillside above
iu'li (meaning deep in), the end of the marsh east of these settlements.
This is said to be the net of Kᴇmū'kūmps, the culture hero, spread
to dry.

55, iwau'wōnᴇ, meaning against the side hill, is a large settlement
[764] on both sides of Link river at the highway bridge. A crematory is on
[726] the hilltop on the east side a quarter-mile north. Shasta sometimes
swam the river south of the village or crossed by the islet below the
little lake Ewauna to attack the group on the east bank. This settle-
ment is at the lower end of the falls (Klamath falls) that constitute
[226] Link river in its brief passage through its gorge. This is one of the
principal fishing places of the region and advantage is taken of the
[823] ledges that form the falls for the construction of fish dams. But
these, like all others in Klamath territory, are attributed to the culture
hero, Kᴇmū'kūmps.[33]

56, iu''laloŋᴇ, meaning on the end, is the largest village of the southern lake people and gives its name to the whole group. There are earth-lodges on both sides of the falls but particularly on the western bank from the river mouth to within half a mile of the present power dam. There are many at the point at the river mouth (hence the name of the site) and thence extend westward about a little bay. A group of tall upstanding rocks at the point, called ḳ!taigī'ŋkīs, hole

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[114] [33] Gatschet's reference (1:94, 97) to the Indians scooping up fish from the dry bed of the stream when a strong south wind drives back the waters in the lake seems like a purely mythical reference, but is confirmed by Clarke (Rock Piles, 41).

through the rock, had only a narrow way between them to allow 103
passage along the shore. On a point of rocks on the hill above stands 131
a cremation pile. A hillock west of the bay is called lalau'ḳ!ŏt, flat, 361
for the many flat rocks on top. The opposite point of the river mouth
also has a settlement, called tc!a'tc!ŏmsi, for some unidentified bird.

57, wĕḳă'ēls, fallen tree, is a settlement of moderate size on the shore a mile west of the river mouth, now intersected by the road.

58, wut!ana'kŏḳs, a low gap, and 59, iup!a'tŏna, end place, are summer sites respectively at the ends of a little marsh (now drained) on the west side of the lake.

60, woḳsa'lks, lily seed (wokas) picking place, is a summer camp [222]
on the north shore of Wokas marsh. When leaving in the fall it is
customary to sink the canoes at the edge of the marsh, hide the grinding [501]
slabs in the juniper thicket, and pack by a regular trail to [415]
dĕ'ktcŏŋks, whence they return to the winter villages.

61, dĕ'ktcŏŋks, netting place, is a camp site on the west shore of [226]
Klamath lake opposite Buck island. Midway between this site and
the island is a favorite place for catching fish at night with a triangular scoop net. The point Skillet Handle is called iuwa''lɛ, end of a point, and a flat-topped mountain west of Woçus bay, seolŏpgīs.

62, sa'stītḳa'wals, Shasta stand on end, is Squaw point where a few [823]
Klamath falls people might be found in winter. There are holes in
the rocks here in which they pound to make the wind blow, pounding in those on the south side, for instance, to bring a south wind.

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS

The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or 101
possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct district, 619
and practically autonomous. This is separatism of the familiar Californian order. Nevertheless, the cohesion rising from a common dialect, common culture, and a uniform reaction against all nontribesmen, which on occasion leads to jointly taking the field against them, produces a tribal solidarity resembling that of the Plains people.

The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the modern name Klamath for the Klamath marsh—Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they

776 but at once it jumped out and ran away. This happened after the whites arrived 539 in this country. There are other "bad stories" about the gōga'nᴇ.

Two little men, gōga'nᴇ, made a big pit and chased a deer into it. They saw the deer standing in it. One of the gōga'nᴇ climbed down and held on with his arms around the deer's neck. The deer bounded out. The gōga'nᴇ had a bow and arrows on his back, but he lost them when the deer jumped. The deer started running. The other gōga'nᴇ followed. He found the first dwarf's hat, then his moccasins. He picked them up. The one who was following called, "The deer is carrying him." The one who was hanging on choked the deer to death.

Gatschet undoubtedly refers to Gōga'nᴇ in the first of the following paragraphs, despite the apparent difference in name. That which he gives, na'hnias, was evidently known to him only from a song and sounds much like a form adopted for euphony's sake. The second dwarf, Gwinwin, is unknown to me, unless it is Gōga'nᴇ; the manner of Gatschet's reference suggests that it was named in a myth.

"A miraculous dwarf is mentioned under the name of na'hnias, whose footprints, as small as those of a child, are sometimes seen upon the snow-clad slopes of the Cascade Range by the natives. But the dwarfish creatures who make them can be seen only by those initiated into the mysteries of witchcraft, who by such spirit-like beings are inspired with a superior kind of knowledge, especially in their treatment of disease. The name is derived either from néna, *to swing the body from one to the other side*, or from nainā́ya, *to shiver, tremble.*

"Another dwarf genius, about four feet high, *Gwinwin*, lived on Williamson River, where he habitually sat on the top of his winter lodge and killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird."[187]

776 Various natural phenomena are spirits: clouds, thunder, lightning, the sun, moon, and stars, and each of the seven winds (one for each [821] of the compass points except northeast). Rainbow is also a spirit, or rather it is Wile'ᴇḳaḳ's spirit, and, to add to this confusion, it is [823] said that she swallows it like a conjurer's sword. Earth and earth's child, the snake, are also spirits.

It is not quite clear how certain other things are spirits. A piece of wood which is fastened to the pole that stands before a shaman's lodge is a spirit called wōḳda'lls. I could not discover that it is anything but the stick itself. Hă'nowas is a pestle-shaped stone which stands at Dūnō'kai village on Pelican bay. It is about eighteen inches high and five in diameter with protuberances called breasts.

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[187] Gatschet, 1:xcix, 163.

789 one part of Klamath territory, on the eastern shore of Klamath lake and southward. A bracelet made of the shed skin of a water snake (wī'slŋk) will make a little child swim well. Girl's hair is singed so that it will grow long.

881 Menstrual regulations prescribe that at first menstruation girls may not eat meat or fish else they will get sick. They must use a head-scratcher and run toward the dawn. Their clothing and bands must be burned. Older menstruants are permitted dried fish and 841 may do without the scratcher. Women must not care for the roots they gather while in this condition, else they will fail to find them in [756] the future. Shamans must avoid menstruants else they lose their power.

765 The same food restrictions are imposed on mourners, who also use the head-scratcher. If they touch hands to face it will wrinkle, to hair it will turn gray. They must spit into a hole. Mourners must use special sweat-lodges. A woman's bands are hung on the trees near-by. Men wear bark belts so that their backs will not grow stooped. The house in which a death takes place must be burned with its contents. Mourners must abandon their first kill or harvest, or their gains at gambling, and give the second away. Similarly novice hunters and root-gatherers give away their first fruits, a gambler his first gains after acquiring power. Mourners must not fish nor cross a river else the fish will disappear. These mourners' observances have largely a purificatory intent.

821 A storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned.

823 Klamath marsh, which is now almost wholly dry, is known to have been in that condition on earlier occasions, for instance, about 1840 and again about 1860. On the former occasion it was so dry that its southern arm could be crossed on horseback between the settlements Du"ilkụ̄t and I'wal. They did not know what caused it. As a remedy a man would be dispatched to one of the spirit pools in the Cascade mountains (as Crater and Diamond lakes) to bring back water in a squirrel or chipmunk skin to pour into the marsh.

226 The first fish rite of these people is held at one place alone, Komā'ĕksi on Sprague river. Why at this point, is anything but obvious. The first sucker caught is burned to ashes, others must be roasted on the spot, otherwise no more will follow. The gall of fish caught with difficulty, as when speared through the ice, must be thrown back into the water else the fish will avoid the fisher.

Grace is said before eating; bits of food are cast toward the earth, 264 the mountains, old house pits, and cremation places so as to feed them first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula is a prayer. If this is neglected, the earth would harm the little children.

An earthquake (ke'la t!ill'ŋgᴇ, earth shakes) is caused by the hero 823 Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps who moves the earth. It has no special significance. The only quake recalled by my informant occurred during the Ghost Dance of 1870; it was interpreted as a not unfavorable sign.

An eclipse is called loķ slo'ki, grizzly bear eats. They say that 821 Grizzly Bear eats the sun or moon at this time. People gather to make a noise, crying ķo, ķo, Frog; they hire the Frog (ķo'wĕ) in the moon to use her powers on the bear, because Frog is the moon's wife as the following tale explains. The frog can be seen in the moon. The sun is included in this explanation. Although sun and moon are called by the same word, sa'bas, they are known to be separate entities.

Moon had two sisters. When Frog went to visit, she went into Moon's [539] house. Moon told his sisters, "You had better let her sleep with you." But they said, "No, you had better take her." Frog was angry at this and jumping on Moon, clung fast. Moon tried to cut Frog loose with a knife but he could not. So she is stuck fast, part of him, today. He said, "Well, I will keep her as my wife, so that whenever Bear eats me Frog can exercise her shamanistic power to drive him away." So they are living together today.

There are several magical ways of making the wind blow, but 789 they turn on the same notion. There is a rock in the water south of Bare island which is a mythical hero, and another on Eagle Ridge near-by is his dog. If the latter is struck the wind will blow a gale from the south.

My father told me [Pat Kane], "Do not hit this else a very strong wind will blow. Do not throw stones in the lake there or play there." I wondered what would happen. I was a big boy. I took a club and struck the rock. Next day a strong wind blew, the strongest wind I have ever seen. It thundered, snowed, and hailed for two days. My father asked, "Why did you hit it?" I could not answer. He said, "I told you not to hit it."

Similarly, poking in an eddy (sŭ'lsŭks) near the mouth of Williamson river with a pole, pumping it up and down, will cause a strong wind to blow. Both localities are connected by the same tale; the eddy is where the hero disappeared under the water, the rock his resting place. There is another spot where the wind can be made to blow, the rocks at Squaw point. Pounding in the holes on the south side, for instance, will bring a south wind.

Another set of graphs is on the rocks at the southern end of Buck island. A tale concerning one of these figures tells of a man shot in the eye with a straw so that the blood streamed down his face. This suggests the form of the figure, which I did not see. One informant said that the figure of a lizard was also sometimes drawn. 212

Klamath territory abounds in rocks conceived as petrified mythical beings. Where the tales provide no other explanation, it is held that the transformation was effected by Crow laughing at them. Back of the village Du"Ilķüt on the southern side of Klamath marsh is a group of small boulders, called nĕ'ķnüķ, "doctor" stones. Should a little child play among these he will become crazy. A similar group lies north of Dünŏ'ksi on Pelican bay. Another series of rocks is some twenty miles above Chiloquin on Sprague river. The westernmost is the house of Kᴇmü'kümps; to the north is a sharp mountain, blai'was, the golden eagle; the third is wīkwīks, magpie; the fourth, maiti'ķtŏķ, a person, the fifth ķ!adjī'tcwatcwe'ĕs, a person; sixth, gäo'djīs, wolf; and the last, djī'ktu, mouse hawk. A cave at Komă'ĕksi (13) on Sprague river is another house of Kᴇmü'kümps. It is a stī'nas, a dome-shaped lodge. As he covered it with second-grade mats (stĕholas) it now leaks. Inside is a pile of rocks said to be his tunic armor. Kᴇmü'kümps' net spread out to dry is an outcrop of white rocks on the hillside a few miles north of Klamath Falls. 823

821
● 823 The Klamath notion is that they name their directions from the winds. This seems unusual until we realize that this is the habit of the peoples to the north, e.g., the Wishram by my own information. It is also intelligible from the rôle played by personified winds throughout this area, Shasta to Puget sound. Seven of the eight compass points are named, omitting northeast, from which quarter there is probably no wind.

lepi'tal, east.
ye'watąl, southeast.
mo'atal, south.
ḳopa'stiskäni, southwest.
tᴇkᴇ'lamdal, west.
tcöki'nksdal, northwest (cf. tcökīa, service berry region, lying to the southwest of Crater lake).
ya'mökeda, north.

This is the order in which my informant, Nancy Phillips, gave the directions. She did not offer zenith and nadir, and, on direct questioning, held that these were not directions.

The numerals are as follows:

802
1, naa.
2, lap.
3, ᴇnda'n.
4, wuni'p.
5, tu'nip.
6, nö'tksöpt.
7, la'pksöpt.
8, da'nksöpt.
9, nötskä'ëka.
10, te'ëwünip.
11, na'sial' ᴇ.
12, la'pial' ᴇ.
13, ᴇnda'nial' ᴇ.
14, wuni'pial' ᴇ.
15, tu'nipial' ᴇ.
16, nö'tksöptial' ᴇ.
17, la'pksötial' ᴇ.
18, da'nksöptial' ᴇ.
19, nötskä'ëksial' ᴇ.
20, la'püni te'ëwünip.
21, la'püni te'ëwünip pe'ënaa.[416]
26, la'püni te'ëwünip pe'ënötksö'pt.
30, ᴇndani' te'ëwünip.
40, wünipni te'ëwünip.
47, wünipni te'ëwünip pe'ëa lapksö'pt.
50, tunipni te'ëwünip.

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[416] By analogy with twenty-six, forty-seven, etc., this looks as though the word for one should be suffixed, but the form given is consistent with one hundred and one.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1956. Down woven into	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	292
1957. For war, dances only	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	[535]
1957a. Worn habitually by some men	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[721]

CURRENCY, TREASURE

Currency

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1959. Dentalia	R	+	+	+	•+	+		•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	436
1960. Standard of value	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	825
1961. Incised	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1962. Feathers on large end	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1963. Wrapped with sinew, painted like snake skin	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1964. Graded on finger creases	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1965. Counted	–	–	–							+							
1966. Measured in fathom and fractions of	+	+	•+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1967. Upper-arm tattoo for measuring whole string	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1968. Measured on arm, no tattoo	–	+	.	–	+	–		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1969. Cylindrical purse of horn	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[415]
1970. Purse of horn fork	–	–	–	–	+	–		•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1971. Buckskin purse	–	+	+					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1972. Cased fur purse	–	–	.	–	+	•–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1973. Shells rolled in fur	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1974. Shells kept in basket	+	+	+	–	+	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1975. Long dentalia preferred	–	–	+					•–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1976. Clamshell disks	R	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1977. Standard of value	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1978. Manufactured	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1979. Smoothing slab	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1980. Disks counted	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1981. Short strings only	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1982. Measured around neck												+	+	+	.	–	
1983. Measured on elbow	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1984. Measured in fathoms	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	+	–	
1985. Measured in half-fathoms	+	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	(+)	+	–	
1986. Cased-fur purse	–	–		•(+)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	
1987. Buckskin sack for purse	+	–	+			•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	[415]
1988. Basket for purse	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	
1989. Loans of shell currency without interest	–	•+	+		+	•–		+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	[424]

Treasure

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1990. Olivella: whole shell	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	(+)	(+)	.	–	–	
1991. Shell cylinders or Columnella	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	
1992. Sizes distinguished	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	.	.	.	
1993. Bone cylinders		–	.		+	(–)	–	.	–	–	.	–	.	+	+	+	
1994. Magnesite cylinders	–	–	.	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[429]
1995. Imported	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1996. Haliotis-disk beads	–	–	+	+	–	+	.	–	+	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	
1997. Large obsidian blades, used for display	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1998. Manufactured, not used	–		–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1999. Charmstones	•–	–	–	+	(–)	•+	+	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•+	
2000. Natural shape	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	789
2001. Most effective if found by possessor.	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	823 ●
2002. Used in doctoring	–	–	–	+		+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2003. Animated; can travel of own accord.				+												+	
2004. Doughnut stones	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
2005. Natural shape	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2138. Sinew-wrapped at mouthpiece	–	+	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	534
o2139. End stopped	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	R	R	+	±	+	.	+	+	+	
2140. Partially stopped inside at hole	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2141. Stop of pitch	–	.	+	+	–	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	
2142. Stop of salmon glue	–	.	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2143. Stop of wood	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	
2144. Single whistle	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	
2145. 2 whistles bound together	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2146. Whistle worn, suspended from string around neck	–	–	+								+	+	+	+	.	+	
2147. Taboo to whistle around elderberry bush		•+	•+								+	–	+	+	–	•+	[784]
2148. Snake will strike whistler.		+	+								+	–	+	+	–	•+	
2149. Flute	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
2150. Bone	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	
2151. Elder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2152. Cane	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
‡2153. Number of holes	3	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	–	6	
2154. Holes burnt in		+	+						R	R	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2155. Holes put in with awl									+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2156. Entire upper surface flattened			–						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2157. End blown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	.	–	–	+	
2158. Side blown	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	(–)	+	+	+	–	+	
2159. Mouth blown	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
2160. Nose blown	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
2161. Used by shaman	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		[756]
2162. Used for courting	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–		
2163. Used for self-amusement	•+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	

Pictographs, Petroglyphs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2164. Pictographs, petroglyphs present in area.	•+	•+	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	532
2165. Nonhuman origin	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	.	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2166. Made by tiny people	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2167. Made by mythological characters	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2168. Bring bad luck; charm viewer	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[777]
2169. Impress of feet, etc., on rocks	–	•+	•+							•+	–	•+	•+	–	•+		[823]

RECREATION

Games

Shinny

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2170. Shinny played	+	+	+	+	+	•R	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	526
2171. Men, youths play occasionally	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	[562]
2172. Women play	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
2173. Each sex plays separately	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
2174. Both sexes play together	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2175. Children play	–	+	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[857]
2176. Single ball	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2177. Wood	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2178. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2179. Oak gall	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2180. Double ball	–	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	
2181. Stuffed buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2182. 2 blocks on ends of cord	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2183. 2 grass balls on end of cord	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
2184. Cord or hide strip only	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Directions																
823 4458. 4 cardinal directions	•(+)	+	+	+	.	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
4459. 6 cardinal directions	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
4460. 8 cardinal directions	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4461. Waterflow for directions	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4462. Directions indicated by place names	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4463. Sunrise, sunset terms for E, W	–		+	•+		+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
823 4464. Direction indicated by pursing lips	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
201 o4465. Plus twitching nose, glancing with eyes		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	±	–	–
4466. Plus hand against cheek, pointing	–	–				+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
4467. Used for privacy, mainly		+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	.	–	–
4468. Direction indicated by pointing hand, finger.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs																
Therapeutic Practices																
757 4469. Practices for curing illnesses	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	+	+
4470. Piss ants, for rheumatism, tuberculosis	+	–	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4471. Drink boiled decoction of	+	–	+						–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4472. Sit on nest of, let "water" remain on body	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[552] 4473. Cautery	•+	+	+		•+				+	•+	+	–	–		–	–
4474. If blister rises, cure will be effected	+	+	+						+	•–	+	–	–		–	–
[552] 4475. Blood letting			•+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	+		+	+
4476. Cut made with flint knife			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	+
4477. Vapor baths, patient covered with robe	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	•+	–	+	–		–	+
4478. Steaming in small steam house, mud and ashes													–		+	–
4479. Poultices	+	+							+						+	+
4480. Sucker skin, for snake bites.	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4481. Plant poultices with warm rock inside															+	+
4482. Smoking: wild parsnip, for headaches, colds	–		–						+	+	•+	•+	–		.	.
4483. Plant and root decoctions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4484. Datura (jimsonweed) root	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	•+
4485. Decoctions for wounds			•+								•+	.	•+		•+	.
Herb Doctoring; Beliefs Concerning Ailments																
4486. Herbalists	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
755 4487. Informal "doctoring" only	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+		–	–
757 4488. Informal and formal doctoring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–		+	+
278 4489. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	+
4490. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4491. Mostly women	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
4492. Herbalist may also be sucking shaman.	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•–		+	+
4493. Knowledge inherited	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4494. Dreamt	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4495. Taught free by older person	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+
4496. Taught free by doctor, to relation only													–		•+	–
4497. Formula spoken when gathering plants.	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		.	•+
4498. Treatment private, at patient's house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+

00D 222. By men, women wading, beating water with long poles.

226 223. Kl: At night men sit on top of weir, with circular nets (see element 205); net salmon as they try to jump through openings in weir. MV: Men stand on top of weir, and net or club fish.

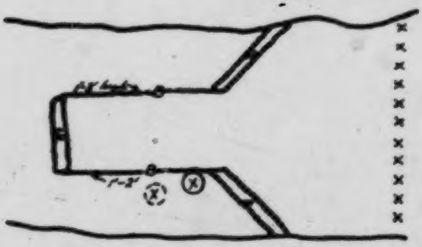

..., people frightening salmon downstream, spearing them; arrows point upstream; A, rock and brush dam; B, fir branches intertwined; C, brush piled up; Ⓧ, man clubbing fish; Ⓧ man to string up fish.

00D 226. WT, WS: Salmon house (buki) lacking. WM have salmon house. For description see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 123. WS: Set 2 poles, in form of dipod, in river; rest 1 end of log in fork of dipod, other end on river bank; man stands on this log near dipod end and spears salmon; informant remembered 1 man "who could spear 2 salmon at a time; other men couldn't spear any." This type of scaffold referred to as tokamas.

228. Chalk, generally.

226
823 229. Kl: Stone dams attributed to mythical being. Consist of semicircle of rocks, curving out from bank, then in again toward bank, with opening on downstream end. 2 such semicircles, on opposite sides of Williamson River, W of Chiloquin (not in Klamath Marsh area proper). Men stand inside enclosure, netting fish, which other men frighten into nets. See Spier, Klamath, p. 149. Mo, AW, WT: Made by human beings.

Traps.--

227 230. Kl: Weighted with stone at each end. AE: 6-7 ft. long.

231. AW: Narrow end untied, to take out fish. Catch otters and minnows with this trap, also.

233. See note 219.

234. Mo: Willow pack basket used. NS: Seed beater (patai) used.

Angling.--

235. Kl: Hooks made of sucker's tailbone or of bone shank and 2 bone points (see Spier, Klamath, fig. 10, p. 154) denied by informant. SE: Sing while angling, to make fish swallow hook and keep on line. AW: Before fishing, man swallows food without chewing it, in imitation of fish swallowing hook and line. MM: Quincy MM informant (Maria Hedricks) stated bilateral

[173-B]

000 Pleiades, morning star, especially observed. AE: Watch stars, each new moon, to see which star is going to appear; different stars appear during different months.

4440. NS: See element 4430.

4442. WM: For winter months only.

4443. MV: Old woman keeps record in following manner: "She keeps 1 variety of seed after another in finely netted bag, and eats different sort each month. When arguments become heated in assembly house, old men send for this old woman; variety of seeds she has in sack at that time often settles argument.

4445. MV: See note 4443.

4447. WM: 2 solstices determined in following manner: During solstices sun stays for 3 days, oscillating between points A and B, "before it starts north or south. Old man watches this in morning; the sun sits down each morning, first at [A], then at [B], then back to [A], not looking around. But on third morning it looks around and is ready to go N or S, depending on time of year." WS: Winter solstice only observed, because people "want spring to come; don't bother about summer solstice." Solstice explained as follows: Sun rises at point X for 3 days, then moves N to Y for 1 day; then rises again at X for 1 day; then at Y next day. After that it keeps rising farther and farther N each day; "when it starts moving N for good, people quit watching its position."

4448. AW: See note 4451. WS: See note 4447.

4449. AW: See note 4436.

4450. SE: Marks made on center pole of assembly house with chalk. SW: "In the assembly house (uk'kwamma) there are flat rocks, set around base of center post; the shadow from post, as made by rising or midday sun, is observed, and note taken of where it falls on rocks at base of post." AW: Watch where light strikes on center post of living house or sweat house, but no marks on pole.

4451. SW: Wherever there is assembly house, observations made indoors, as noted in 4450 above, "but for ordinary places, people watch where sun rises and sets between certain trees." (Informant now uses mark on board by his door in observing shadow cast by rising sun.) AW: Mainly watch shadow from Soldier Mt. ("it goes to Jim Hunt's place") for solstices.

4452. MV: From top of assembly house.

4454. WS: See note 4447.

4457. WM: Old men watch where sun rises over certain rocks or trees every morning throughout year; also observe where sun sets.

[823] [782] 4458. Kl: Informant gave 4 names (for N, S, E, W), but recognized Spier's 7 names (Spier, Klamath, 222); when food offered, it is thrown in each of 4 directions.

4461. SW: E and W designated as either up and downstream or light and dark (sunrise and sunset), N and S by place or tribal names, such as "over by Jacksonville" (N) and "over by Wintun" (S).

4462. SW: See preceding note. AW: N, ša·tit,

[Klamath Reservation]

K M

many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit 756 and compelling in its demands. 796

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and K M serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and 221 the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, 261 housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social [356] bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed K M [574] and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans [685] who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still [756] conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers. [796]

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating [789] hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will K M not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, 261 they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to 22 gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate K M odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. 221 Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied 361 through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. K M The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, [501] where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already, in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and Sprague.

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted K 226 the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, 823 which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, K M where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, 226 catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream 103 tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers 648

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

M
K situated about upper Klamath Lake and in the mountains to the
101 east; except for a part of the Modoc in Oklahoma. It is the
131 object of the present paper to discuss briefly the conditions of
M aboriginal life among these people, due consideration being given
K their natural environment and the influence of surrounding
128 peoples upon them.

TERRITORY.

M The territory occupied by the Klamath Lake and Modoc
K Indians lies chiefly in the drainage basins of Upper and Lower
101 Klamath lakes and Tule or Rhett lake. From a point near the
131 confluence of Keen creek with Klamath river the western boundary of their territory probably extended along the watershed separating the Klamath lake and Rogue river drainages, to the
K foothills of the mountain in which Crater lake is situated. It
823 should be noted, however, that the Klamath, while they feared Crater lake, did go upon certain occasions to the lake and seem not to have been molested there by other Indians. It would seem that the lake was looked upon as a sort of territory of mutual rights by the peoples in its vicinity. They visited it when they desired to acquire great merit in hunting or other pursuits in which supernatural power was necessary. To go and bathe in this wonderful lake was a brave thing to do, and made a man lucky for hunting or other similar pursuits and made him very
K strong for war. It would appear that the relations formerly
131 existing between the Klamath and the people of the Rogue river
648 drainage were not at all friendly, so that the Klamath seldom ventured as far west as the crest of the range. They did on occasion make up large parties and go up to the crest of the range for the purpose of hunting, but small parties rarely ventured so far. The region for some distance to the west and northwest of Crater lake was also visited by the Klamath for the purpose of gathering berries in season.

K
101 On the north the boundary extended as far as to the head-
131 waters of Deschutes river, thus including the whole drainage
133 basin of Klamath marsh.[1] On the east the boundary probably

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K
[101] [1] The Bureau of Ethnology's map in Bulletin 30 gives to the Lutuami
[114] territory as far north in the Deschutes drainage as latitude 44. See also volume I of this Bulletin, 779, 1907.

157 125 the characteristics of the blot been organized intellectually and to what extent is he unable to accomplish this analysis? If he cannot accomplish this, there is a disorder of thinking present. Also, his response to Card II: the whole looks like an island, and the red looks like fire, therefore it looks like "fire on an island." At best it is a fabulized combination; at worst it is a contamination. Only a blatant schizophrenic would have gone to the pathological extreme and said "Fire Island." In addition there are no movement responses, there are only three popular responses and the F plus percent is only 56. Where are the control factors? The sum of color responses is 6; the sum of dark shading responses is 5; and there are not the indications of sufficient controls for this amount of emotional energy.

157 153 On the other hand, there are a few responses which suggest that his intellectual ability has been greater than average. His knowledge of the word "obsidian," for example, bespeaks this ability,[1] as does the nature, although perhaps not the feasibility, of his "plans." This is not inconsistent with the statements made previously, but it does suggest a situation marked by increasingly greater interference with intellectual functioning.

157 159 The absence of any human responses in his Rorschach suggests his lack of concern with genuine interpersonal relationships; all his talk of future plans and business suggests that he is interested in using people for his own gain rather than in having meaningful and warm interpersonal relationships. His reaction times are quick, supporting the notion that he is likely to act in an impulsive manner. Two of his FM (R2, R7) are "flying," reflecting perhaps his tendency to try to escape from the present situation in an unrealistic manner. His other FM response (R1) may be an indication of his view of human relations: aggressive, cold-blooded, eat or be eaten.

158 In summary, then, the test reflects an elderly man, whose intellectual and emotional control appear inadequate. One wonders about the possibility of this man having been a chronic alcoholic and now suffering the effects of diffuse organic brain damage. He "talks big" but he probably doesn't "deliver the goods." There are indications that at one time in his life he may have had better than average intellectual ability and now is going downhill.

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114 823 [1] This is, perhaps, the one place in these ten cases where a lack of knowledge concerning Klamath culture led the analyst astray. The Klamath are astride the western volcanic belt and one of the most frequent kinds of materials used in their tool manufacture was obsidian. Hence Sparrow's use of the word reflects his interest in and awareness of an important local raw material.

773 maintainer of the universe. The Indians do not claim that he created
776 the world with all in it by one single and simultaneous act, but when he is
772 creating, metamorphosing, or destroying, his acts are always special, directed
[823] towards certain objects only. After making the earth, the lakes, islands, prairies, and mountains he gave a name to each locality (p. 142, 1 sqq.). Some of these names must be regarded as giving indications as to the earliest places inhabited by these Indians, especially when they designate fish-traps and ceremonial sudatories. Thus on Upper Klamath Lake we find Kû'mbat, Túkwa, Tulísh, Koháshti as fishing places, Ktá-i-Tupáksi and Yulalóna as fish-traps, the special gifts of the deity to the people. Other places of this kind are Shuyakē'kish and Ktá-i-Tupáksi. In the old Modoc country, on Lower Klamath Lake, there is a rock shaped like a crescent and called Shapashχē'ni, because "sun and moon once lived there." On Sprague River there is a hill called "at K'múkamtch's Lodge"—K'mútcham Látsashkshi. Other legendary residences of the deity were at Yámsi, "Northwind's residence," a high mountain east of Klamath Marsh; others on Tule Lake, at Nílakshi Mountain; and finally K'múkamtch was changed into the rock Ktá-iti, which stands in the Williamson River (q. v.). The old people of both chieftaincies remember many localities alleged to have been the theater of his miraculous deeds.

K'múkamtch creates the Indians from the purplish berry of the service-tree or shad-bush (*Amelanchier canadensis*, in Kl. tchák), and the color of both has evidently suggested this idea. He also provides for man's sustenance by supplying him with game and fish and the means to capture them;
[192] also with the necessary vegetal products. Objects noticeable through their peculiar shape are called after him, e. g., the *thistle*, the piercer of K'múkamtch, K'mukámtcham kä'k. A peculiar haze sometimes perceptible in the west or northwest, shnúish, is regarded as his precursor or that of his son Áishish.

Although but a passing mention is made of a wife or wives of his, K'múkamtch has a family. The myths speak* of a father, of a daughter, and of Áishish, his son "by adoption," as members of it. The name of his

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* Cf. Texts, pg. 100, 2: skăki'sh p'tís-lûlsham. Mention is made of one-eyed wives of Skē'l and of Tcháshkai.

YÁMASH AND MÚASH.

776 821 North wind (Yámash) and South wind (Múash) are more important to the inhabitants of the Klamath highlands than any of the other winds, and therefore are mentioned more frequently. Winds always appear in connection with K'múkamtch or his representative among the animals, Skē'l. Thus when Skē'l visits his sister, Meadow Lark, who is married to the oldest of the Thunders, he is accompanied by K̲á̲k̲ (the Raven, or stormbird), Yámash, Tchákinksh, Yéwash, Múash, Tkálamash, and Gû'pashtish. The Thunder receives and feeds them with the blood of the people slain by him.

The conflict between Skē'l and Tcháshkai on one side and the Winds on the other is related on page 111 of the Texts and is purely meteorological. The South Wind obscures by clouds the face of the moon, and thus kills him temporarily; but when the summer sun appears in the form of Skē'l both winds disappear at once to make room to an unclouded sky. The hat of the dead Yámash afterwards serves to frighten the Thunders, as related on the same page. Which was the southern home of Múash is not pointed out in the myths, but that of Yámash was Yámsi Mountain, which is called after him. Yámash corresponds to some extent to the Kabibonokka or Northwind of the Ojibwē Indians, and is as much an object of folklore as he is. In other mythologies of America the winds are the blasts of monsters or big beasts; for the animism prevailing in all the ancient myths requires them to be the manifestation of some living being.

KÁÍLA OR THE EARTH.

823 The Earth is regarded by these Indians as a mysterious, shadowy power of incalculable energies and influences, rather mischievous and wicked than beneficial to mankind. The Indians ascribe anger and other passions to it, but never personify it in clearer outlines than the ancients did their *Ἔρα* and *Tellus;* and it never appears as an active deity in the numerous mythic tales gathered by Mr. Curtin for the collection of the Bureau of Ethnology. I know of it only through the song-lines gathered by myself from individuals of both tribes.

Among all nations of the world we find the idea, which is real as well

823 as poetical, that the Earth is our common mother. "She is dealing out her bountiful gifts to her children, the human beings, without envy or restraint, in the shape of corn, fruits, and esculent roots. Her eyes are the lakes and ponds disseminated over the green surface of the plains, her breasts are the hills and hillocks; and the rivulets and brooks irrigating the valleys are the milk flowing from her breasts." This is the poetical imagery in use among the Eastern Indians when the Earth is mentioned to them.* The idea that earthquakes and unaccountable tremors or noises within the body of the earth, also the malarial fevers, are the utterances of threat or displeasure at the misdoings of mankind, is as general among Indians as among other nations, and a consequence of the animistic tendency of primitive nations. The Indian prophet Smúχale at Priest Rapids, on Middle Columbia River, and his numerous followers, called the "Dreamers," from the implicit faith these Sahaptin sectarians place in dreams, dissuade their adherents from tilling the ground, as the white man does; "for it is a sin to wound or cut, tear up or scratch our common mother by agricultural pursuits; she will revenge herself on the whites and on the Indians following their example by opening her bosom and engulfing such malefactors for their misdeeds." This advice was probably caused by the common observation that ground recently broken up exhales miasmas deleterious to all people dwelling near.

[193] That the Earth was regarded as an animate if not personified being is shown by the form käflash of the objective case (125, 1), this case being
[821] formed in -ash only in terms applied to man and quadrupeds. Their myth of the earth's creation of course does not refer to the whole globe, but only to the small part of North America known to these Indians. The earth's interior is also the home of the Thunders, because lightnings are often observed to shoot up from the earth into the skies.

[539] Special songs referring to the Earth are contained in 175; 16: käfla nû shuinálla; 176; 3 käfla ai nû wálta; 158; 48 käflanti nû shílshila—

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* After Tecumseh had delivered a speech to Governor Harrison at Vincennes, in 1811, he was offered a chair by the interpreter, who said to him: "Your father requests you to take a chair." To this Tecumseh made, with great dignity of expression, an answer which has since become classical: "*The sun is my father, and the earth is my mother; and on her bosom will I repose,*" and immediately seated himself, in the Indian manner, upon the ground.

823 the two latter alluding to rumblings below the earth's surface. In the song
539 192; 3 the term hämóla should be changed to t'hämóla, temóla, *was covered with haze* or *mist*, a phenomenon often producing malarial and other fevers, and therefore regarded by these Indians as of bad augury. Other passages mentioning the Earth, personified or not, are quoted in Dictionary, p. 123; in one of these, K'múkamtch is threatening to "whirl the earth around" in a dance, and probably this song forms part of some mythic story. (Texts, pg. 192; 9.)

MUNATÁLKNI.

773 Besides the Earth there is another chthonic deity known to the Kla-
776 math people, Munatálkni or the Genius of the Underworld. I have met his name in one story only, which is that of the creation and first sojourn of the people around Wood River, between Fort Klamath and the Upper Klamath Lake. English-speaking Indians readily identify him with our *devil;* but no wicked or immoral qualities are ascribed to him, as morals enter into the religious ideas of the hunter tribes but sporadically. There is something of the aboriginal in him, and he is also called Lémunákni, the signification of both names being analogous.

He appears in the following tale: When K'múkamtch created this world, he made one man, and one woman intended to be the man's sister. The creator placed them in a garden (háshuash) studded with trees producing sweet fruits and built a house for them. The adjoining stable contained domestic animals for their use. All this was upon the prairie watered by Wood River. Man and woman were both blind, and had to remain so until the fruits would be ripe. K'múkamtch told them he would visit them on a Sunday and would knock at the top of their house. Should anybody knock at the door, the knocks would be those of Munatálkni and they must not open. Munatálkni came and knocked at the door, informing them that the fruits were ripe and that he brought them all kinds of berries. The woman said to the man: "Open the door, K'múkamtch is here!" but the man said: "Don't open; it is not K'múkamtch who stands at the door!" The woman opened; Munatálkni put one sweet berry in her mouth and she tasted it. He was wearing a long head-dress of feathers tied to the top of his hair, his emblem as conjurer, and this string of feathers was so long as

776 From a Klamath myth we gather the information that there is a guardian over the spirits wafting through the sky, called Wásh k'músh, or the *gray fox*. This name is evidently borrowed from the coloring of the sky, as it appears before or during a polar light, and must be compared with another beast name, the wán or wanáka, the *red fox*, which is the symbol of the sun-halo.

756 Another class of spirits embodies the spirits of those animals which
776 have to be consulted by the kíuks or conjurer when he is called to treat a case of disease. Such persons only who have been trained during five years for the profession of conjurers can see these spirits, but by them they are seen as clearly as we see the objects around us. To see them they have to go to the home of a deceased conjurer, and at night only. He is then led by a spirit called Yayayá-ash appearing in the form of a one-legged man towards the spot where the animal-spirits live; this specter presides over them; there the conjurer notices that each appears different from the other, and is at liberty to consult them about the patient's case. Yayayá-ash means "the frightener," and by the myth-tellers is regarded as the Thunder or its spirit.

776 *Giants.*—The imagination of every primitive people has been busy in producing monsters of all qualities and shapes, human and animal, even walking mountains and trees. What we call giants are generally personifications of irresistible powers of nature, which are supposed to perform feats impossible for man's utmost strength; by dwarfs are symbolized powers of nature which achieve great and wonderful things by steady and gradual work unnoticed by the generality of human beings.

773 Giants are often the originators of geological revolutions of the earth's
823 crust. Thus the giant Léwa represents the circular, lofty island lying within the waters of Crater Lake or Gíwash. He went by an underground passage (fissure?) from his seat over to Yámsi Mountain to wrestle with Skē'l, the all-powerful pine-marten, whose home is at Yámsi. After conquering him, he carried him through the same passage again to Crater Lake for the purpose of feeding him to his children, and his daughter, Léwam pé-ip, struck him with a heavy flint-stone.

776 Like the walls of that lake and the whole Cascade range, the island in
823

776 question is of volcanic origin. The natives avoid going near the lake or
823 even ascending the surrounding heights.* Earthquakes are often ascribed
by foreign nations to giants stretched out below, who are shifting their
underground position. Giants often appear also as ravishers, ogres, and
man-eaters, like the Scandinavian Yättur, and two giant-women of the
Elip tilikum or "Primeval People," were changed into two columns of
sandstone, near the Yákima country, on Middle Columbia River, for having
preyed upon the human race.†

776 *Dwarfs.*—A miraculous dwarf is mentioned under the name of na'hnias,
whose foot-prints, as small as those of a child, are sometimes seen upon the
756 snow-clad slopes of the Cascade Range by the natives. But the dwarfish
creatures who make them can be seen only by those initiated into the mysteries of witchcraft, who by such spirit-like beings are inspired with a
192 superior kind of knowledge, especially in their treatment of disease. The
name is derived either from nēna *to swing the body from one to the other side*,
or from naináya *to shiver, tremble*

823 Another dwarf genius, about four feet high, *Gwinwin*, lived on Williamson River, where he habitually sat on the top of his winter lodge and
825 killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird.

The Klamaths appear to know about certain spirits having bodies of a diminutive size, but the characteristics of such are not distinct enough to permit identification with the *fairies*, Erdmännchen or Kabeiroi of European mythologies.

ANIMAL DEITIES.

776 The deification of animals in the primitive forms of religion is highly
825 instructive, and instances are so numerous that it would take a series of
volumes to comprehend its details. Animal stories and shamanism are

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* Among the summits of the San Juan Mountains, New Mexico, there is to-day a lake bounded by precipitous walls, and there is a little island in the center of the lake with a hole in it, and something sticks out of the hole that looks like the top of a ladder, and "this is the place through which our ancestors emerged from the fourth into the fifth or present world." The Návajos never approach near to it, but they stand on high summits around, and view from afar their natal waters. (From Návajo Creation Myth, Am. Antiquarian, V, 1883, p. 213.)

† G. Gibbs in Pacific Railroad Reports, I, 411.

773 sometimes also, but they manage to revive again and to revenge themselves
825 on their enemies. What brought these two beasts into mutual connection
in the popular mind has been already pointed out: both change their furs,
more than other animals, from a darker hue in summer to a lighter one
823 in winter, when the weasel's fur becomes white. They are both supposed
to live at Yámsi, "Northwind's Home," a high peak east of Klamath Marsh.
To act like Skē'lamtch is to do something not meaning to do it apparently.
Skē'l is a great wrestler, and like K'múkamtch has the faculty of changing
821 himself into a bird, beast, dog, old woman, etc., at will. To a certain
extent he is the counterpart of K'múkamtch and performs the same deeds
as he does, it appearing as if K'múkamtch acted under the mask of Marten
and Tcháskai under that of Aíshish, in whom we recognize a lunar deity.
But there are other acts by which the two pairs differ considerably, and
where Marten and his brother appear to represent the wintry season only
and the rough weather attending it.

Another deity of the same type, and far-famed over all the Pacific
coast, is the *prairie-wolf*, little wolf, or coyote. This quadruped belongs
rather to the genus *jackal* than to the wolves, looks as smart as a fox, carries
a beautiful fur, and does not attack people unless united in packs of a dozen
or more. His habit of living in earth holes, and his doleful, human-like,
whining ululation, heard especially during moonlit nights were probably
what set him up in the esteem of certain Indians, like the Eastern Selish
and the Central Californians, so high as to make of him the creator of the
world and of man. In Modoc stories he appears more frequently than in
Klamath Lake folklore, and at present there are but few of these animals
821 left on the headwaters of Klamath River. Wásh, or Wáshamtch as the
Klamaths call him, always appears in sun and moon stories, and is, like
Skē'l and Tcháshgai, a substitute for the sun-and-moon deities. When he
ran a race with the clouds he thought at first that there were two of him,
for he always saw another person, his shadow, going by his side. When
he stayed in the lodge of the Firedrill brothers he took the fire-sticks of
these in his hands and they all blazed up. In the lodge of the ten Hot-Water Basket brothers he was burnt terribly by the inmates, and when
repairing to the Ants' lodge the inmates punished him fearfully by their

NOTES.

*539 This text intends to give a sketch of the various occupations of the northern tribe
221 or É-ukshikni in every month of the year, and is partially worded in a form which
may be called dramatic. These statements are not always arranged in logical order,
but a profusion of ethnologic details gives intrinsic value to them.

[805] The months of the Máklaks year do not coincide with the months of our calendar,
for they extend from one new moon to the next one, and therefore should be more
properly called *moons* or *lunations*. Twelve and a half of them make up the year, and
they are counted on the fingers of both hands. The first moon of their year begins
on the first new moon after their return from the wókash-harvest at Klamath Marsh,
which is the time when all the provisions and needful articles have been gathered in
[796] for the winter. Work is then stopped and the communal dances begin, the doctor-
[224] dances as well as those conducted by the chiefs, and everybody participates in them
except those who are out hunting in the mountains during the latter part of the year.
This mode of counting the moons on the digits was once popular, but on account of its
imperfections it is now forgotten by the majority of the tribe. Instead of it they reckon
time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as: udsaksä'mi, "in the
big sucker time"; i-umä'mi, "in the berry season", or they use our calendar months.

The first moon mentioned in our text, gáptche, answers generally to our May. The two next moons are counted on the thumb and forefinger of the hand not used immediately before; with this last moon their year has come to an end. The next five moons are counted again on the digits of the first hand, and so forth. The half moon making up their full year is not accounted for in this text.

● [823] 74, 2. Ktaí-Túpakshi is a locality of renown in the folklore of the Klamath tribe.
[226] It lies near the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, on the property of an
Indian named Tchéloχins. The otílks is the fish-dam (from utíla), where the Indians
wade in the water with their dip-nets and catch the fish while it ascends the river in
spring-time in enormous quantities. This fish-dam does not reach the water's surface.

[193] 74, 2. The direct object of lúela is kápto, its subject máklaks hö'ank.

74, 3. kámalsh pahá means: they dry the fish which they have just caught by exposing it to the sun on limbs of trees, and then make kámalsh by pounding it. Kámalsh is a derivative from gáma, to pound.

[192] 74, 3. kó-iχaga is identical with gúikaka; derived from kúi, "away, far off"; gui-
χátchka is: to start out annually to the prairies where roots etc. are harvested.

[262] 74, 5. saká a pö'ks: they eat *sometimes* the camass raw, but only at the time when
[222] digging it. Bulbs, roots, pods, chrysalids and berries are gathered by women only.

74, 6. pahá at p.; this is equivalent to pahátko pö'ks iwídshat. They bake the
[251] camass and put it in their cachés at the place where they intend to stay next winter.

[796] 74, 8. shníkanua. During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process,
[222] the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges
[192] public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the
women, and they go to work again in their canoes.

[415] 74, 9. shiulína. From the preceding we should expect shiulínat, lulínat.

74, 10. wílishik is the generic term for larger kinds of provision-sacks; it means here a sack of fifty pounds seed or grain, while the wáχoks holds hundred pounds. In pálasham-wáχoksh, however, the latter word is taken in its *generic* sense of sack, bag.

III.

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K'múkamtch	hû'nk	nákosh	hû'nk	táplalash	né-ulχa	shno-uyalátki
K'múkamtch		a dam		the loon	ordered	to destroy

shash.	K'múkamtch	hû'nk	p̲í	tpä'wa	táplalash	shnewí'tki	gíug,	pí	k̲á-i
to them.	K'múkamtch		he	ordered	the loon	to destroy (it),		(but)	no

tuá	kiä'm	lúeluak.	Hû'ksha	hû'nk	nakushkshákshni	k̲ú-idsha	kiä'm
	fish	to kill.	Those		who dwelt at the dam	rotten	fish

nutuyakía	nákosh	gä'tant,	K'mukámtchish	shíuguk,	k̲ú-idsha	kiä'm	pátki
threw over	the dam	to the other side of,	(for) K'múkamtch	to kill,	rotten	fish	(he) go-

gíug.	Tchúi	K'múkamtch	sháwiguk	k̲ú-i	sham	nákûsh	shû'ta;	tchúi
ing to eat.	Then	K'múkamtch	in wrath		their	dam	spoiled;	upon this

nákushχēnkni	shlámiuk	shtí'ya	shishí'dsha	shû'ktaldshank	lák.	Tchúi
the dam-neighbors	in mourning	pitch	put on head,	cutting off (their)	hair.	Then

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K̲á-ag	wétanta	shash,	ktá-i	sha	k̲'léka.	Tchúyunk	K'mukámtch	lúpaksh
the Raven	laughed	at them,	rocks	they	became.	Hereupon	K'múkamtch	chalk

shna-ulámna	taplálash.
spit over	the loon.

NOTES.

823 I. This myth intends to explain the existence of the large number of rocks found at the locality called Shúyuχalkshi.

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193 131, 2. K̲á-ak̲amtch. The adjectives -amtch, -ámtchiksh appended to animal names designate mythologic characters. Adjectives of an equal meaning occur in all the western languages, as far as these have been studied. Cf. *Note* to 126, 11. 12.

825 II. In this myth, as well as in other grizzly bear stories recorded in this volume, this bear is always killed, conquered or cheated by his quicker and more cunning adversaries. Nevertheless his clumsy form and narrow, ferocious intellect are very popular among the tribes, who have invented and still invent numerous stories to illustrate his habits and disposition.

103 131, 5. K̲íuti is the name of an Indian camping-place situated a short distance north of Modoc Point, on eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake.

193 131, 6. hátkok qualifies shkû'lχa and yámnash is the indirect object of shûlû'tamantk. Shkû'lχa, nánuk yámnash shûlû'tamantko, wawakshnátko tchish: "he lay down to sleep, keeping all his neckwear on himself, and not taking off his moccasins." Shûlû'tamna can in other connections refer to the clothing, but here it has special reference to the beads.

131, 11. kti'ukuela. Tradition reports, that Old Grizzly was pushed over some of the high rocks at Modoc Point.

173 131, 13. Yámakishash etc. In these words may be recorded the reminiscence of an ancient fight between the Klamath people and some Northern tribe which had come South on a hunting expedition. A Klamath song-line given in this volume also recalls
*539 an ancient inroad made by the "Northerners". The grizzly bear represented the
773 Klamath tribe, the wolf the Northern Oregonians, perhaps as ancient totem signs; the
825 bear having been killed by an intruder, the Klamaths had to take revenge for the insult.

823 III. The object of this myth is to explain, among other things, the origin of the white spots on the head and back of the loon (táplal). But the myth as given in the

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text is far from being complete. It refers to a locality above the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, called Ktaítini, or "Standing Rock". A high rock stands there at the edge of a steep hill, and, according to the legend, the Indians who put pitch on their head were changed into that rock. Near by, a lumber-dam looking like a beaver-dam, across the Williamson River, partly resting on rocks projecting from the bottom of the river. K'múkamtch longed for the destruction of this dam, muddied the water to prevent the Indians from fishing and hired the loon to destroy the objectionable structure. The loon dived into the waters and forced its way through the dam by main strength. The Indians dwelling on the shore depended for their living on the fisheries, and seeing their existence at stake tried to gig the loon, but succeeded only in hitting its tail-feathers. When the loon had accomplished his task K'múkamtch offered to reward him in any manner wished for. The loon then wished to have white spots on its back, and K'múkamtch satisfied the request by spitting chalk upon the downy surface of its body.

132, 3. lúeluak; formed by vocalic dissimilation; cf. *Note* to 114, 3.

BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

I.

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Wásh tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lû'la wásham tχû'tχash.
Prairie-wolf is soothsayer; and they believe in wolf's prophecy.

Mák̲laks hû'nk lû'la wásham pákluipkash k̲'lékuapkaht tchō'k; tχu'-
Indians believe, prairie-wolf when howls, they will die after a while; pre-
tχuk pákluipka.
saging he howls.

Mák̲laks hû'nk lû'la púshish hä'masht î-unégshtka, tχû'tχuk héma;
Indians believe, the cat when cries just after sunset, for presaging death it mews;
tchíkí'n tchish hä'masht î-unégshtka gû'lu, tχû'tχuk tchēk hä'ma. Wátchag
the chicken also when crows just after sunset the female, for presaging death then it crows. The dog
tchí'sh wawá-a î-unégshtka, k̲ú-i tchämlûk.
also (when) whines right after sunset, the signs are bad.

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[682]

Watság tchí'shtat tχótχa î-unä'gshtka; tsúi gátpa mák̲laks, gû'lki ngé-
A dog at a lodge howls prophetically just after sunset; then comes an Indian, attacks, wounds
isha at hustsō'χa. Sa-ámoks hátokt tchía tû'sht hushtchō'χa, k̲á-i hûnk
and kills (the owner). A relative, (who) there lived right where the murder was, did not him
shiúga; tsúi tû'tûk spû'nshna lû'gshla vû'nsh sχéna witsû'ls éna tû'tuk
kill; then seizing (him) they arrest, enslave him, the canoe row away, fishing-net carry with them taking
ktsí'k, snáwedsh spû'nshna híssuaks shíukaluk. Kilû'sh at kétak a
ears, his wife they abduct, (her) husband being the murderer. Furious he quits and
tsä'wik.
is demented

*539 155; 22. l'éksh, léksh, distr. lélaksh crazy, maddened, intoxicated. This song is
533 sung also: lē-ē'ksh, lē-ē'ksh gená: ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ Cf. 154; 7.

755 155; 23. The weasel is squealing, because hunters have caught or trapped it.

192 156; 26. Probably refers to one of those birds to whom the power is attributed to bring about storms, fog, snow, or any change of the weather.

156; 27. Compare songs 2 and 3.

156; 28. This bug, perhaps a scarabee, bites the skin to suck out the disease from the wound.

156; 30. This is probably a song of the wind, not of the young silver-fox (as I was told), and I have translated it as such. The song No. 20 is analogous to it in every respect; the winds, which the Indians constantly compare with the spread of the disease, are frequently mentioned in these songs as blowing upon some animal or other object sent out by the conjurer to discover the whereabouts of the disease. Cf. No. 16. 20. 24. 25. 29. 39. 43. and 57.

156; 32. This song is said to allude to the circumstance that one fox's howl seems to sound like the cries of many foxes howling together. Lalálash are both sides of one and the same beast.

156; 33. With these monotonous sounds the tuákash or tuákish calls itself by its own cry: tuák, wák, tuák. Tuáuχi is: tuák ni gi "tuák I am crying." Cf. 154; 9. Two refrains to this line are formed by the two lines of No. 34.

156; 35. The *personified* disease spreads the germs of sickness through the atmosphere. This song is comparable to songs 3 and 45.

157; 37. The signification of h'lílantana could not be disclosed, but it seems to be similar to that of tilantana.

157; 39. This small bird is dark, and has a red or yellow neck.

157; 43. Speaks of a fog drifting away from the mountains and turning into a cloud, which is drifting also.

157; 44. The bones of a dead person's skeleton are supposed to rattle against each other, the spirit being here identified with the skeleton.

157; 46. Often sung wélwashi gi; epenthetic syllables are frequent in these songs, *e. g.* walχátchika in song 15.

157; 47. The wáměnigsh or wámn'aks, a species of Pityophis, has large black spots and frequently occurs in the Klamath country. Tunulúla means to hang down over something as over a rock.

158; 48. This is sung when water is poured over the patient. A more literal translation would be: "I am resounding within the ground."

[823] 158; 50. Yaínalam shulúyualsh means round, cylindric or globiform objects standing in a row on a mountain. The den of the grizzly bear is supposed to be in the mountains or on a mountain top. Cf. song 36. My informants did not know what the objects were which stood in a series, but if any religious notions were connected with them, we may compare the three sacred rocks standing on a mountain top in Peruvian mythology. These rocks were fetishes indicative of stone worship, representing a mother with two sons. Another myth mentions four of them, representing Catequil (the god of thunder), Viracocha, a sun god and a fire god. The song No. 50 is sung by the chorus while the kíuks is dancing.

773 776 823 Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6] the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

177 175 721 To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifications in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroachment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon. 791 797 An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and 182 patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

175 668 Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

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825 [6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'ākemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

113 [7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

113 [9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

178 latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence
that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on
the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often
recur.

787 The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, ap-
881 parently regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was
usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power
785 obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts
existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating,
533 and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath
emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word
/*ʃuw'i·s*/ meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on
787 context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from
177 without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior
797 associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly individualized and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality, it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers, the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions. One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older informants. Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions associated with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me,
782 "Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and
776 old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.'
823 I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I
774 say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over
787 there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains
and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I
dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it."
She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to
Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up,
up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man
standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I
773 don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The informant refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena:
"When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They
said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never
did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it
was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a
797 real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those
things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

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[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

782 776 823 774 787 Other informants also give a hint of this attitude. Even where there is sophistication by virtue of education or long-time residence away from the group, one encounters statements like that of a woman, half-Klamath, half-Caucasian: "Those old Indians had a lot of sense. They kind of felt at home around here and they would get a lift just from talking to the mountains and lakes. It was like praying and it made them feel at peace. When I get up in the morning, I look first over there [at Mt. Pitt] and it makes me feel good too. Not that I pray in the old Indian way; that's just idolatry. But it's like the scenery kind of gets ahold of you even if I been seeing it all my life."

787 776 855 823 784 841 A possible indication of this attitude appears in the repeated warnings to children to avoid certain rocks and cliffs. "You might fall down and hurt yourself" is of course quite true; on the other hand, places about which some modern Klamath parents feel particularly uneasy were associated aboriginally with power sources. A strong drive in the past was fear that a child might be harmed through contact with "power." Every effort was made to keep the child away from the shaman, the sweat lodge, the mourning place, and the like. (It may be noted that menstrual blood was placed near the cradled child to negate forces whose mere presence could harm the inexperienced.) These attitudes toward nature and the surrounding natural phenomena, at least as sources of uneasiness, still exist among younger Klamath of today.

773 776 177 273 Also obtainable is evidence on attitudes toward the culture hero. Some offer a rational systematization of beliefs concerning him. Generally, this involves some interpretation in the light of Christian reasoning. Kemu'kemps, because of his essentially human characteristics, readily lends himself to identification with the Christian God. The middle-aged woman quoted above, struck by the linguistic parallels, notes: "Those old Indians were really Christians. It's only the liquor around here that makes the unbelief and trouble. Kemu'kemps means the 'Old One'; that's God. He revealed himself to the Indians long before the Americans [sic] came. He had a son, too, 'Ayšiš, that's just like Jesus. He created the world, just like it says in the Bible. If only those old Indians had been able to see it, they were close to God all the time. They lived good upright lives under his guidance. Another word for Kemu'kemps in our language is *Playtul'kni·*; that means the 'One on High,' 'Somebody up there.' That's the name we give God in our language now. It's all the same."

Not all informants are so definite in their syncretism. One elderly woman remarked: "Who is Kemu'kemps? I don't know. Sometimes I think he's God, but sometimes I think he must be Devil. Maybe he was just a story the old Indians made up. But they called him Playtul·kni· and that means God. My grandson asked me, 'Gramma, who's Kemu'kemps?' I say, 'I don't know. Maybe he's like God.' " In another connection she remarked: "I think that Kemu'kemps is Devil. He gets people into trouble; he leads them into temptation. When I was a little girl, they said to me, 'He's no good; don't believe that any more.' But I don't know. I see the icicles and I think of the wind and Kemu'kemps. He made the world and they call him Playtul'kni·. The Devil

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

773 That's why Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came. But then I remember
776 them talking when I was young about how Kemu'kemps was coming back.
777 That was all lies so I guess Kemu'kemps must be the Devil. Still, they say
he created all just like God. I don't know how to figure it."

Mention was made above that the culture hero had a son who was born miraculously. The possible relationship between 'Ayšiš and Jesus has caught the fancy of some. A man of seventy comments: "Yes, Kemu'kemps and God are one and the same. There's a story that says how Kemu'kemps saved a woman's baby when she jumped into the fire and that baby was raised as his own son. I don't believe it. God created all living things. He made the Devil, too. I think 'Ayšiš is the Devil because he's always trying to get the best of his father. We old Indians knew about God but we didn't know about our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

A 56-year-old woman remarked: "Yes, Kemu'kemps is God and he had a son, just like Jesus. 'Ayšiš even dies and comes alive again in the old Indian stories, and that's like the Christians teach. And that Holy Ghost business, that's the power that God gives. The Indians knew about that. That's why you say 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' "

But so concise a syncretism of aboriginal and Christian religious elements
[184] is rare. Younger people vary greatly in belief. One man, about thirty-eight,
noted: "Kemu'kemps? They told us stories about him when we were kids. They said he's like God. It doesn't matter to me. Maybe he is; they always say how he made everything around here. Maybe he did; things get that way somehow." A 31-year-old woman remarked: "Kemu'kemps stuff is what they tell kids. That's old Indian devil-talk. I don't know nothing about it." And a 16-year-old girl stated: "I've heard my grandmother talk about Kemu'kemps. That's kind of scary stuff like the dead coming back to haunt
[823] you. There's a cave up on the Sprague River where they say Kemu'kemps
used to live. Maybe he still lives there. Anyway, I wouldn't walk up that road in the dark."

A woman of about fifty-five, when questioned about the religious training
[869] she gave the grandchild entrusted to her care, answered: "Children learn
about the Bible very fast. I tell my granddaughter the old Bible stories and she likes to hear them. But I steer off of that old Indian stuff. I think we ought to get away from those old Indian superstitions. I'll sure get mad if anybody scares her with stories about those old Indian things like Kemu'kemps."

Her statement sets the tone for the future. The old beliefs are being lost, and although still very general, they stand out most vividly only in the minds of those who were raised in the period of the second Ghost Dance and the analogous revivalistic movements which followed it. While they obtained, during their upbringing, a detailed background of native Klamath mythology, they succeed, according to their own inclinations, in passing on their point of view to their descendants, or they may fail to do so. The attitudes indicated above are individual; no debate about the nature of Kemu'kemps or related
[795] concepts has been noted. While the formally organized religious groups,
including the Shakers (however dependent on the aboriginal patterns of

825 Some beliefs concern the nature of wild animals. The "cat" (da'slats, *Bassariscus* sp.) kills deer by wrapping his long tail around their necks. The mountain lion is very dangerous; it is afraid only of fire. One cannot escape it by climbing into a small tree, because the lion will dig it up. When bears fight, the female is always victor. She always buries the male. The grizzly bear during his hibernation sleeps a month on each side alternately. "I do not know who watched them," my informant remarked. The grizzly is a notorious thief, breaking into the winter stores buried near the villages. But to call him that is dangerous, for he then pursues you. The chipmunk or ground squirrel (ts!īl'as) hibernates like a bear from November until the spring, they believe. When boys shoot at this animal it changes into a frog.

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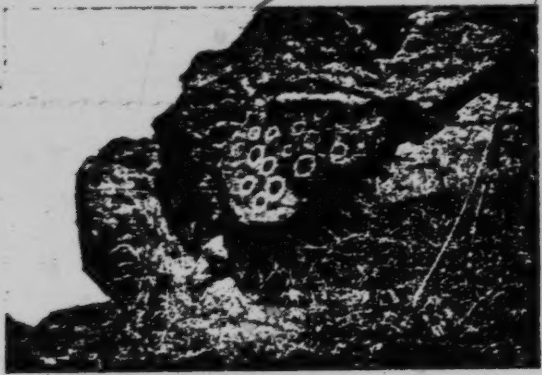

Fig. 9. Pictographs on the eastern side of Klamath lake.

824 Elder is supposed to grow on cremation piles; perhaps it does.

The Klamath do not make pictographs. There are however a few
212 in their country, said to have been made by Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, the culture
756 hero. They refer to them as shaman's mu'lwas, paraphernalia or,
773 better, objects pertaining to a shaman. They are repainted from time
to time by old men, "who work for a shaman," by which my inform-
ant may have meant shaman's interpreters. They are all of simple
212 form. My informants knew of only two pictographs (sŭ'malo'ta) in
the whole Klamath country. Those on a rock slide on the eastern
shore of Klamath lake south of Modoc point are shown in figure 9.
This is near the former fishing village Iulă'u (47). There are a dozen
circles in white paint, the largest four or five inches in diameter.

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262 practice. Gatschet notes the use of bone implements to peal off the bark.[287] In April the cambium layer of the lodgepole pine is similarly scraped off and eaten.

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824 A few additional food plants are mentioned by Gatschet, which seem not to be included in Coville's extensive list. Klápa is evidently a cylindric root; klû, a rounded root growing in the Modoc country. A large bulb of a low plant (tsuní'ka) is eaten. Wátksäm is presumably a root. Páwash is a plant said to resemble k!ol (*Valeriana*), hence it may be that the nutlets are used. It grows chiefly at Yainax. They are baked, pounded, and dried. Këla'teh is a small blue berry, gathered after the wokas season; it is dried and boiled. Another is wáshlalam íwam, squirrel's huckleberries. The white buds of ktû'ks, growing on a straight stalk, are eaten, as well as those of wí'wi, a similar plant. No description is given of the edible portions of other plants: kû'ktû, käs, ta'ksish, tók, tsi'kal (*Phragmites ?*), and tsuák.[288]

The native and scientific names of these plants follow, mainly as given in Coville's paper. These are listed in the order of mention above.

Seeds

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Goosefoot, ḳotea'nīks, *Chenopodium fremonti* Wats.
Rye-grass, glä'bi, *Elymus condensatus* Presl.
Lbä, *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt. and *B. deltoides* Nutt.
Käp'-i-önks, *Polygonum douglasii* Greene.
Marsh grass, käm'-chö-dä''-lis, *Panicularia fluitans* (L.) Kuntze.
Tarweed, gö'-ē-whä, *Madia glomerata* Hook.
Lö'-läs, *Mentzelia albicaulis* Dougl.
A low grass, nö'-täk, *Agrostis perennans* (Walt.) Tuckerm.
Slew grass, chäp'-tö, *Beckmannia erucaeformis* (L.) Host.
Sugar pine, ktä'-lö, *Pinus lambertiana* Dougl.
Common cane, *Phragmites phragmites* (L.) Karst.
Tule, mä'-i, *Scirpus lacustris occidentalis* Wats.
A small amaranth, *Amarantus blitoides* Wats.
Dock, gö'-klaks, *Rumex salicifolius* Weinm.
Western tansy mustard, te!i'pas, *Sisymbrium incisum* Engelm.
A rush-like perennial, gil-lën'-ä, *Triglochin maritima* L.

Herbage

Ken-ä'-wät, *Rumex geyeri* (Meisn.) Trelease.
Wild parsnip, pöd'-chö, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx.
Wä'-käm, *Sium cicutaefolium* Gmel.
Mint, mäch-äs'-säm, *Mentha canadensis* L.

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[287] Gatschet, 1:148. See also Barrett, Material Culture, pl. 22, fig. 5.

[288] Gatschet, 1:146–150, 75.

Roots

222
824

Wild potatoes or arrowhead, tcuwa', *Sagittaria arifolia* Nutt.
Camas, pŏ'ks, *Quamasia quamash* (Pursh) Coville.
Ipos, *Carum oregonum* Wats.
''Yampa,'' ndälk, *Carum gairdneri* (Hook. and Arn.) Gray.
Yantch, *Calochortus macrocarpus* Dougl (?).
An onion-like root, *Peucedanum canbyi.*
A tall sedge, wich'-pi, *Carex* sp.
Cat-tail, pŏ'päs, *Typha latifolia* L.
Bur-reed, pŏd'chăk, *Sparganium eurycarpum* Engelm.

Nuts and Fruits

K!ol, *Valeriana edulus* Nutt.
Chinquapin bush, *Castanopsis chrysophylla minor* (Hook.) A.DC.
Hazelnut, *Corylus californica* (DC.) Rose.
Huckleberry, lurum, *Vaccinium membranaceum* Dougl.
Low huckleberry, *Vaccinium scoparium* Leiberg.
Service berry, chăk'-ăm (telai'oŋks), *Amelanchier alnifolia* Pursh.
Chokecherry, de-wich'-kăsh, *Prunus demissa* (Nutt.) Walp.
Yellow-flowered currant, chŏms'-kăm, *Ribes aureum* Pursh.
Common currant, chmăr'-lăk, *Ribes cereum* Dougl.
Gooseberry, lhō-lŏ'-ēlŏ-ē-săm, *Ribes oxyacanthoides saxosum* (Hook.) Coville.
Raspberry, măs'-lă, *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.
Blackberry, tŏ-tănk'-săm, *Rubus vitifolius* Cham. and Schlect.
Manzanita, shle-shlăp-shăm, *Arctostaphylos patula* Greene.
Elder, slŏ'-lŏ-săm, *Sambucus glauca* Nutt.
Bush honeysuckle or ''cranberry,'' ŏ'-tăm, *Lonicera conjugialis* Kell.
Strawberry, jŏ'-i-jiks, *Fragaria virginiana* Duschene.
Wild plums, to-mŏ-lŏ, *Prunus subcordata* Benth.
Wild rose, tewi'dI, *Rosa fendleri* Crepin.

Lichens

Black moss, *Alectoria fremontii* Tuckerm.

Gum

Young yellow pine, kăp'-kă, *Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.
Lodgepole pine, wă'-kŏ, *Pinus murrayana* Balf.

Food is stored in the ground. The only exception is fish placed to 251 dry on scaffolds. The food is put into long tule sacks which are placed at the outer margin of the earth-lodge between the timbers, where they are buried in the earth covering of the roof. Large communal storage pits (pᴇnŏ'ŋks) are dug near the houses. Some of the Williamson river sites are surrounded by wide expanses of such pits. These are about fifteen feet in diameter, about three feet deep. A group of neighbors combine to dig and use such a pit. Tule mats are heaped over the sacks before the dirt covering. Caves are occa-

251 sionally used, the entrance blocked with stones. In all these cases,
824 an evil-smelling plant, called k̦!ol (*Valeriana edulis* Nutt.) is buried with food in order to keep animals from digging it up. Grizzly bears are particularly destructive of caches, but even they avoid this plant. Gatschet's information was that they would even flee from one who carried the plant about him.[209] Human thieves are also known to ransack these hoards. A family commonly buries its extra stores in this fashion when temporarily away from home. Such storage is called p'nana.

222
224 The first fruits of a young hunter or root gatherer are looked upon as something altogether special. They must be abandoned if future success is to be assured. While I received conflicting versions of the young deerslayer's procedure, they agree that he cannot eat his kill. One informant had it that the first deer is abandoned by the hunter and never eaten. If he has companions, he does not even show it to them and must present the second one slain to one of them. Another informant agreed that he cannot partake of the flesh of the first deer, but his parents make a feast of it, giving away articles in honor of the occasion. Similarly a young woman destroys by burning the first roots she gathers alone, and does not exhibit her success to anyone. The second basketful is distributed among her companions, and only after this may she keep what she gathers. Analogously a man leaves the first fish or game he takes after the loss of a close relative, and a gambler gives away his first gains after reacquiring power following the death of a relative. The practice of abandoning such fruits is called säpu'tsa. Unlike the comparable case of the novice deer hunter, no celebration is held for a little girl who gathers roots under her elders' tutelage.

264 Meals are not eaten at regular intervals, I was told, but that they eat all day long "like horses." Of this I am doubtful: what may have been implied was that food was available at any time during the day. I was also told that a meal was eaten in the morning and again in the evening. Travelers at least made no regular stops for meals and if necessary cooked in their canoes over little fires built on protecting layers of dirt.

A sort of grace is said before eating. Morsels of food are cast all about, to the land, the mountains, the old house pits, cremation piles, stones that are transformed people, etc., so as to feed them before one feeds himself. They say bū'pwi'amxni gĕnige'lx gĕnidelo'telpkx, to

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[209] Gatschet, 1:147.

285 The flat flexible tray (p'a''la) differs from the twine bowl only in that it is made quite flat. This is used indiscriminately as a basket under which to hide the gaming sticks, or as a parching or winnowing tray. Those which are decorated are used in gambling; as they grow shabby they are put to other purposes. Barrett observes that the gambling tray is made of white material, the others of brown.[336] This is doubtless true, but the Klamath do not look on these as baskets of different type.

Specimens in the Field Museum collections have the crossed warps at the center twined with nettle (?) cord wefts. The edge finish is identical with that of twined bowls and hats; in other words, this is the general edge finish.

Carrying baskets (ya''gi and sķōgūls) are made of rigid materials in open twine, with the warps at wide intervals. Possibly the name sķōtgūls indicates conical forms; certainly the somewhat globular type is ya''gi. One globose basket stands sixteen inches high, its flat base is twelve inches in diameter, its well-rounded sides curving inward to a mouth two feet in diameter. The general construction of this basket is similar to the flexible twined bowls described above; the difference lies in its rigid warps and wefts and in its open construction. [824] Both warp and weft are peeled willow twigs (yă'-yăk, *Salix* sp.);[337] on the sides of the basket the warps are comprised of two or three willows placed together; the wefts are always single rods. The base is begun by crossing three warps at right angles with four others. These are caught in a plain twine stitch for several rounds, changing to diagonal twine crossing two warps at a time for some distance, and completing the base with four-warp diagonal twine. The base is thus fairly solid compared to the sides. New warps are inserted in the base as needed; near the edge of the base extra warps are added so that all warps on the sides of the basket lie in pairs. The edge of the base, like that of the twined bowl, has a round or two of three-strand twine. In this case, this gives considerable rigidity to the base as these willow wefts are quite stiff. On the sides of the basket the warps, each consisting of willows in pairs or threes, are spaced a half inch apart; the weft rounds are three-quarters of an inch apart. The edge of the basket is identical with that of the twined bowl, save that here every warp is turned down and caught in the last row of twining. In this case the turned-down end is not caught in the next stitch beyond this [824] warp but in the second succeeding. To stiffen the rim, a hoop of service berry wood (switō'ka) is bound inside the mouth by a wrap-
ping of willow bark.

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[336] *Op. cit.*, 254, pl. 11, figs. 2, 3; O. T. Mason, *op. cit.*, pl. 48.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
38 1479. Plant bulb															•+	-
824 1480. Mountain balm and milkweed																+
1481. Pine pitch	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	.	.	.	•+
1482. Chokecherry tree pitch	+	+	.	+	-	-	+	+	.	•+	-	.	.	.	.	-

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

Haircut

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
302 1483. Long, past shoulders	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1484. Bobbed or shoulder length	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
1485. Men	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1486. Women	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
[765] 1487. Girls	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1488. After death of relative only	-	+	-	•+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1489. Close crop	+	+	+	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
1490. Men	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1491. Women	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
1492. Girls	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
1493. Boys	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
[765] 1494. Infants			+	+	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+
1495. After death of relative only	+	+	+	+	•+	-	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
1496. Bangs on forehead	-	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+
1497. Temple locks, forelock	•+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1498. Scalp lock	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1499. Hair cut with knife	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
1500. Hair singed	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+

Coiffure

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1501. Hair hangs loose	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1502. Men	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1503. Women	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
1504. Boys	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1505. Girls	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
1506. Hair rolled or bunched on head	-	-	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	-	-	•+
1507. Men	-	-	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
1508. Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1509. Hair combed up, 1 tie on top of head, ends up	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1510. 1 tie around hair, nape of neck	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
1511. Men	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	.	+	+
1512. Women	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	.	+	-
1513. Boys	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	+
1514. Girls	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1515. Hair parted in middle	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	-	-	•+	-
1516. Part painted red	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
[756] 1517. Commonly	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
1518. Doctors only	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1519. Hair braided, three strand	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
1520. 2 braids in front of shoulders, men	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1521. 2 braids in front of shoulders, women	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
1522. 1 braid down back, men	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1523. 1 braid down back; women, girls	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1524. 2 full-length rolls in front of shoulders	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1525. Men	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1526. Women	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1527. Young women	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1528. Girls	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

821 is fire from dove, fire for driving rabbits; is pinole or piñon road, frame or back bone of sky. Rainbow: is man's penis, coyote's penis, childbirth sign; sign of dry weather, bad luck for hunting or fishing; get weak eyes from staring at. Thunder: is female, woman and 2 sons, coyote; noise explained as 2 fawns hiding in intercourse, hummingbird, eagle playing shinny, dancing, sliding on snow, sticks being beaten together, tules being broken, basket being rolled; food or water thrown out, food or water covered. Lightning: from mouth, eyes of Thunder person; from waving of ribbon, drilling, rubbing sticks, striking stones together; is fire from burning tules, birds flying fast; food, water thrown out, covered; dogs made to squeal. Whirlwind: war associated with, snake in it, wind playing; caused by charmstone; spit at to stop, offer beads to, point at, strike or pierce it with weapon; formula and bathing.

Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts

775 Spirit goes to definite underworld; to island; crosses water with boatman; rich and poor different destinations; warriors go to special heaven. Hang hopper basket, grass snare, bay leaves in door to keep away ghost.

ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Vision Quest

787 Jimsonweed (Datura) root drunk to obtain vision, by group or individuals. Ant-fortitude
824 ordeal; group or individuals swallow ants, to obtain vision.

Shamanism

756 Sucking doctors: women only; women can sicken only. Doctor-making rite held in circular brush enclosure; patient brought in for novice to cure; novice enters sweat house via exit hole, enters head first down ladder. Curing: shaman uses beads on stick, quartz crystals; brushes or fans away disease with skin; rubs Datura (jimsonweed) on eyes, drinks Datura; doctor or assistant uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper, flute. Doctor cuts before sucking; disease object sucked out through pipe. Doctor paid by installments throughout night. Sucking doctors: in competition, "bullets" shot; assistants for each contestant, performers paid; contests held at mourning ceremony only. Singing shamans: outfit bundle inherited, bought; shaman uses quartz crystals, portable mortar, charmstone; shaman dies if he loses outfit. Soul-loss doctor: is also singing shaman; uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper; mostly women. Soul recovered by snaring in noose, by refrightening patient. Weather shamans: make rain with aid of black rock, crystal,

226 first catch of suckers on spot. "If they don't
787 eat it all up there, people won't catch any more suckers." After these observances, all suckers caught can be transported home to be eaten, dried.

284. SW: Wait until Karuk give White Deerskin dance at end of July before eating steelhead (rainbow trout); if any steelheads caught in salmon net before Karuk dance given, they must be thrown back into river. Fishermen who disregard this rule are in danger of being killed.

292. NF: "Dreamer" or singing shaman.

294. Kl: First 2 suckers.

296. SW: First run taboo to adolescent girls.

226 299. Kl: Old man in charge of rite tells youth,
689 "Don't you pack those fish home on the first day; eat well; don't carry them around, or break their backbones." If youth disobeys, sticks bound from wrist to shoulder on boy's arms, and then bent upward and broken, thus breaking boy's arms at elbow; boy sometimes died. Any of old men present administer this punishment.

300. WM: See note 282.

Gathering

000 Gathering techniques and observances.--

300a. See note 357. AW: Pick up acorns from ground by hand; do not beat trees.

300b. Used to bend down limbs within hand's reach. MV: Obtained pine nuts at Lookout (in MF area); man intending to go for such, continent night before he starts. To obtain pine cones, he climbs tree, hooks branches with staff, cuts off cones.

301. Used to bend down limbs.

302. Used for whipping, knocking acorns and pine cones off limbs.

306. Branches left on pole, to serve as footholds. SW: Wrap grapevine around fir pole, or leave limbs on pole for footholds. AW: Native twine wrapped around sapling for foothold; limb left on sapling at upper end to serve as hook; pole hooked onto upper branches of tree, as climber progresses upward.

[222] 308. Kl, SW: Made of mountain mahogany.

[824] 311. SW: Iron bar across top end. AE: Use crutch-handled type mostly, but sometimes plain bipointed one as well.

312. Mo: Break or pull up entire plant of lamb's-quarters, pile plants on bare hard ground, and beat out seeds with long straight stick.

313. NS: Prepare meal for group, when first batch of any wild fruit gathered. Example, for manzanita berries, make large quantity of cider with first gathered berries, all drink. MV: Headman goes out and tests acorns for ripeness; tells people when they are ripe. His wife then goes out, secures 1 pack-basketful of acorns; dries them, and in about 6 days she is able to make 2 baskets of acorn mush from them. These she takes into assembly house; there members of secret society pray over mush and eat it; then everyone can go out and gather acorns.

[175-B]

000 496. At: Cook red salmon, deermeat with salt; also use salt as medicine; not used to season acorn mush. AW: Salt used sparingly; causes sore eyes; "the Yana pound up rabbits and put a little salt on them; we don't."

497. "Salt grass" (Distichilis spicata) probably absent in most of area covered, but unfortunately no check was made on its distribution. MV: What is apparently hitherto unrecorded method of making salt among MV, explained by informant. Men and women gather salt grass (sp. ?) in large quantities, wash it; grass is then cut up, put into large hole lined with rocks. Fire has been kept burning in this hole for 2 days, in order to thoroughly heat hole and rocks. Layers of hot rocks and grass are put into hole; on top of topmost layer of grass is put a layer of elderberry leaves, then another layer of hot rocks, a layer of coals, and, lastly, dirt. Pit is left sealed up thus for day and night; next day is opened; "the grass is burned into hard, gray, salty sheets, like a rock, but full of holes." This "salt" serves as article of trade; "Colusa people make it good." Specimen size of hen egg seen, tasted; accords with informant's description. Often used medicinally, for colds.

262 824 499. Majority of informants familiar with this plant,λ even though it is lacking in various parts of area surveyed. AE informant only person interrogated who did not know about plant, which seems to be lacking in AE area. AW: "Soaproot grows at Round Mountain, in N Yana territory." WT: "Soaproot grows at Hyampom, and in Shasta country, but not here." WM, WS: Soaproot imported from Redding. WS informant's wife had imported some bulbs, tried to raise them at Dunsmuir, but could not; "too cold."

000 505. For washing baskets, buckskins, hair. Mo: Pumice stone used to clean buckskin.

506. SW: Juice mixed with deer fat for gum; "too bitter by itself." Milkweed gum "crumbles after awhile"; superior gum made from a root (sp. ?) which is broken open and set in sun to let juice run out and congeal. This makes "an everlasting chewing gum." Young people not allowed to chew gum; old people chew it; "they pop it--you can hear it crack for a long way."

261 507. Kl: From sugar pine. SW: Pitch from older yellow pines. Recommended for persons who when traveling become weak with hunger or thirst; "chew it, or pound it up fine and swallow it; it stirs up the heart, and one can go on."

000 508. WT: Used sparingly, never given to children because of its laxative qualities. WS, MM: Used as physic. NM, NS: Children eat it.

509. AE: Bitten off willow leaves; no flaying of leaves to obtain it in any quantity. "If eat too much of it, gums get sore." Made by "little black bug" (ṗes·tui). MV: "Sugar" from leaves of valley oak, which forms in "large glassy drops," gathered from ground and added to pinole made from small seeds.

λ[i.e., soaproot.-Analyst]

[179-B]

262 824 510. Kl: Inner bark of yellow pine secured in June; by July "too hard."

000 512. Eaten fresh, raw or cooked on coals; dried, for winter, strung on willow withe. MM, NF: Ground burned for better crop; denied by MV. MV: Cooked with fish.

Eating customs.--

515. WT, WM, WS: For acorn soup.

516. WM: For acorn soup. WS: For acorn soup and deermeat.

[264] 519. Kl: Eat any time during day; sometimes men eat alone, sometimes men, women, children eat together.

521. Fresh food cooked and served. WT: Fresh batch food not cooked; "they dish out whatever they have on hand and set it before the visitors."

524. NF, MV: With buckskin.

Storage of food.--

525. AW: Acorns stored chiefly in pits; "too cold here in winter for outdoor granaries; have to bury acorns."

527. Bark used as cover for top; dirt piled up around stump.

528. Mo: Poles occasionally laid across boughs of cedar tree; tule sacks containing food stored on this pole platform. AW: Food stored on platform in oak tree; "poison" (animate) set on top of food; if any person, animal appears to steal food, poison shoots thief.

530. For illustration of this type, see Kroeber, Handbook pl. 38. WT: Informant, shown picture of granary just referred to, stated WT use similar granary, but that it is thatched (?) to some extent on sides.

531. NM, NS, MV: 4 upright posts only, for frame. NM: Hole in bottom, to take acorns out. MV: Hole in side.

532. AE: Food, hides hung up in branches of junipers; popular method of storage.

[251 178] 533. Kl: Recent custom; "may have done it formerly also." NS: Used for temporary purposes only.

539. AW: If leaving village for a time, bury acorns in pit dug inside sweat house; cover hole with tule mats, etc.

Exchange of food.--

262 437 540. Kl: "Whoever has no food, Indians give him some; they help each other, just like 1 family." MV: Informant emphasized fact that between villages food given as gift, but also mentioned that mountain varieties of acorns are purchased from MF, MM groups.

542. AE: Food divided in time of famine.

224 000 545. Kl: If 2 men hunting, meat divided equally; if more than 2, killer gets slightly larger share. Mo: Killer keeps deer hide. SW: If 2 men, killer gets most; if meat cut up, cooked or dried and divided in camp, all receive equal share. If driving deer into river, driver gets head, hide, foreleg of deer. At: Killer

[180-A]

OOO other end made into loop, passed around person's wrist. Balsa also pushed across stream by swimmer.

877. Mo: Used rarely; "generally borrow a boat." SW: See note 858. AE: Used for hunting ducks.

878. SW: 6-10 feet.

[501] 885. Kl: Of cedar (light).

[924] 887. AW: This type "good to bail water with, but slips too easily."

888. AW: Type chiefly used.

889. AW: 5-6 feet: if sitting in canoe, use 5-ft. paddle; if standing or kneeling, 6-ft. paddle.

[501 415] 893. Kl: Tule basket, about size of basket cap; kept in canoe. Mo: Basket cap used. (Also use basket cap for drinking water.) AW: Broad side of paddle used to bail; denied by Kl, Mo, WM, WS.

894. Mo: Boat tied to water lily roots to "anchor" it. Large grooved stone anchors are found archaeologically at Tule Lake; specimens seen at Modoc Lava Beds National Monument museum.

895. Mo: Passenger sometimes gives boatman small gift; not obligatory.

904. Mo: As child, informant had seen logs cut down, put across Lost River. AW: "Have these across Pit River, at Burney Creek" (Ilmawi Achomawi area).

906. WM, WS: 2 ends anchored to trees (see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 126).

Swimming.--

908. WT: "Best way." NF: Used when swimming in deep water.

909. SE, SW: Women only. MF: "Only people who didn't know how to swim properly." NF: Used in shallow water.

910. SW: Men. WT: "Best stroke."

913. WT, WM, WS: When working. If swimming for pleasure, usually dive in head first (see element 914).

Land Transport

Carrying devices.--

[482] 916. Buckskin.

924. Similar to sack shown in Goddard, Hupa, pl. 6. Mo: "Knit" bag; used by men to carry home game. No carrying net used. SW: "The Kammatwa, at Hamburg [see note 282] have a knit bag to carry their fish in; Shasta don't use this." At: Use carrying net, bag type, with large meshes; men, women also use tule "bag," trapezoidal in shape, with buckskin handle, for packing goods. AW: Used by men; rather large mesh. AE: Used by men; imported only, recently (?).

926. At: See note 924. WM, WS: Round, with loop handle which is slung over 1 shoulder. "Made like a net, from twine."

927. AE: From small animals only.

[415] 928. Kl, Mo, At, AW, AE: Resembles parfleche.

[190-A]

000 2 arrows simultaneously from bow in war; informant's father authority for this.

1048. MM: For shooting game. For shooting in war, arrow is underneath bow.

1049. SE, SW, At, AW: Rich man uses skin of gray fox, otter; ordinary man uses skin of raccoon, wildcat, kit fox, fawn. WT: Spotted fawnskin. WM: Rich man uses otter, fisher skin; sign of wealth. Ordinary man uses fawn, wildcat skin.

1064. Mo: Purchased or traded for; wealthy persons only.

[411] [726] [178] 1067. Kl: Denied for pre-white days; "now people use spears." At: Ascribed to Kl; denied for At. AW: "Yana used obsidian knife on an 8-ft. stick."

Daggers, slings, bola; armor.--

1071. AW: Obsidian "butcher knife"; jabbed.

1073a. WT, WM, WS: See 2853 and note.

1078. Mo: Natural clay balls, or moist clay picked up, rolled between hands.

1080. NF, NM: Single rock, shaped, 1 end heavier than other, tied to 1 end of string. A NF relative of informant, who had never seen any specimens of this implement but had heard it described, voluntarily likened it to bola.

714 824 1081. Kl: Made of split serviceberry stalks, woven into form of tunic; tied together on right side, under armpit.

1082. Kl: 1-piece; no sleeves; 2 arm holes; tied together on 1 side and at top, over 1 shoulder. Arrow unable to penetrate such. AE: Ascribed to Kl; said to have been made "like an apron, lacking any back piece."

000 1084. AW: String in center, by which to hold shield. Used also against guns, in recent times, but "didn't work."

Household Implements

Mortars and pestles.--

[412] 1085. Among several groups bedrock mortar used chiefly for substances which require hard pounding, such as acorns. AW: Pit mortar in solid rock, used by shaman to pound his poison; regarded as "dangerous." AE: Informant stated pit mortars occur in vicinity of Fall River (AW area); used, according to him, to pound acorns in (see above). MV: No rocky outcrops suitable for this type mortar present in area.

1090. MV: "People did not want to have anything to do with objects which had been already made." See also note 1093.

1091. Mo: Small mortars used to keep paint in. SW: Not only mortar, but small stone pestle of "dangerous" variety (found, not manufactured) used by doctor. When treating patient, shaman sends this pestle upward; it travels by short cut to road which dead traverse, and blocks this road, so dead person cannot travel over it; "then there is a chance for the doctor to cure the person, since the road is blocked." Old

[192-A]

ooo 1177. At, AW, AE: Basket cap used for dipping up water, also to drink from. AW: "Sometimes put something pretty fine to eat in small basket cup."

1178. AW: Knife roughly triangular, with broad lower end (handle end) rounded; 1 side of knife dull, for half sawing, breaking bones; other side has rough, sharp edge. "Weak" (nonpoisonous) piece of obsidian used for knife (see note 1019).

1180. NS: Prismatic quartz (? "crystal") used for knife. Obtained from ledges in vicinity. Not used for arrowheads, which are made of "pink" obsidian, imported.

1183. SW, WT, WM, WS: Not hafted if used to cut meat. WM, WS: Hafted knives used in war only (see element 1073).

Manufacturing Implements

Awls; shuttles; drills; wedges; flakers.--

1193. WS: Bear ulna.

1202. WT: Twine rolled on flat stick, notched at 2 ends; loops for net wrapped around piece of plain round stick. Informant had never seen netting shuttle of type figured in Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 4a, p. 126.

1203. WM, WS: Pointed stick, but no slit through center, as shown in Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 4a, p. 126; informants had never seen this type shuttle.

1210. NF: Pump drill (recent ?) for drilling beads, pipes.

1220. See Dixon, Shasta, p. 395; reaffirmed by my SW informant. WT, WM, WS: Informants had never heard of this procedure but method used by some Wintu groups (see Du Bois, Wintu, p. 128). For wooden pipes WT, WM, WS use ash, poking out soft heart with stick.

1222. AW: Drill of black oak. Drill selected from several pieces of black oak (much as arrowmaker selects pieces of obsidian; see note 1019); piece chosen that "will make fire quickly." Hearth of red fir bark. MV: Denied drill; described fire making as follows: Good-sized dry elder stalk split, pith removed; this hollow section held in 1 hand and rubbed back and forth with end of other half of split stalk, until fire produced. Informant had seen her cousin produce fire thus. NF informant also referred to similar method of fire making.

1224. Mo: Serviceberry shaft, cedar point.

1225. SE: Also stated softened chaparral bark rubbed between both hands until "spark" produced.

[372] 1226. Kl: Sagebrush.

[924] 1227. WM: Set end of oak stick afire, and carry it in pack basket. NF: Used when going on long trip. NS: For short distances only.

[412] 1229. Kl: Elkhorn pick. MM: Deerhorn wedge.

[237] 1234. Mo: Imported. "Important people bought such things." SW: Imported, in recent times only.

[193-A]

000 1507. SE, SW: Old men only.

1509. WM: Men.

[302] 1515. Kl: Men, women, boys, girls. Mo, SE, At, AW, AE: Men, women. WT: Women, girls. WM: Women, boys, girls. SW, MF, NS: Men, women, young men, young women, boys, girls.

1540. Mo: Shamans, others who can afford such ribbons. SW: Men, women, youths, boys. At, AW: Men, women.

[302] 1548. Kl: Wild rye grass.

[824] 1549. Kl: Ascribed to Mo by informant. Spier, Klamath, p. 214, states Kl also use it. AE: "Best kind of comb."

1555. SE: Alder sap, boiled. WS: Elderberry juice. NF, MV: Pepperwood.

1558. SW: Deer, bear fat "no good for hair, as deer's, bear's hair comes out yearly."

[302] 1560. Absences noted for distribution of pepperwood may be only partial; no specimens shown to informants. SW: Pepperwood gourds lacking in SW area; imported from near-by Karuk down-river. Distribution of pepperwood extends only as far as Happy Camp.

1562. For distribution of this plant, see element 499.

1568. AW: Hunters only.

Face and body paints and powders.--

1574. SE: Grows on knot or burl of white fir. WS: On bark of white fir. MM: Specimen seen; orange-colored fistules on spruce burl.

1575. WT: Yellow pine.

1576. WS, NM: Elderberry. MV: Wild rose (haws?).

1578. SE: Burnt, for paint.

1582. Because scattered to keep away ghosts at funerals, etc., therefore "no good" as paint.

1584. SE, SW: From pines; also, SE: from oaks. WM: From tamarack.

1586. MM: Imported.

1589. Mainly from charcoal, finely powdered. NF, NM, NS: From burnt acorn.

1592. SE, SW: Charcoal mixed with marrow, chewed into waxy substance, stored in deer bladder; squeezed out and used as pencil when needed. This mixture of charcoal and marrow denied for all other groups. AW, MF: Red paint only; mixed with marrow or grease.

1593. Made into black paste.

1600. AE, MF, NF: Pitchy mixtures, especially, applied with stick. NS: Black, red paint applied with fingers.

1600a. Mo, SE: Water in basket, or in spring, stream used as mirror when applying paint.

1601. NS: Lumps of yellow acorn meal, which leaching water did not penetrate when meal being leached, made into small cake which is baked on hot stone; this cake is oily, and is rubbed over face "like cold cream."

[302] 1603. Kl: Men, women pitch body, legs, arms

[292] and stick on duck feathers, to keep warm.

1604. Used for babies, especially.

[854] 1611. Used for babies, especially. MV: Alder tea used to wash babies who are chafed.

000 3512. SE: 8-10 days. At: 3-6. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4.

3515. At: Worn attached to skirt or belt, in back. See note 3572. "If girl wears basket cap on head when menstruating, she will dream and get gray hair." WM: Old basket cap, worn chiefly when going outside hut.

3516. AE: Greasewood-bark woven "cape."

3518. Mo: Pack basket. SE, SW: Basket hopper.

3520. AW: Aberrant use of feather; old man or woman, if has power and "wants to get rid of it and give it to girl," puts 1 feather in girl's head when she is dancing at puberty dance.

[301 824 891] 3521. Kl, Mo, At, AW: Braided sagebrush. AE: Greasewood bark. At, AW, AE: Bark pendant from band extends down back. Mo: Lacks pendant down back.

3522. SE: Mink.

3523. SE, SW: Bluejay feathers. WS: Informant reported having seen girl's puberty dance among Scott Valley Shasta, 50 yrs. ago, in which girl wore visor of grouse feathers. Dance lasted 2-3 weeks, but at end visor not lifted off girl; latter wore visor throughout ensuing summer.

3525. SE, SW: Feather visor. WT: Girl's mother or grandmother takes girl outside; never allowed her to go alone. At night attendant carries torch. WM: Basket. MM: Basket cap. NF: Pack basket. NS: Girl does not leave hut 4 days and nights; hole dug inside hut to serve as latrine; covered with dirt afterward. MV: Deerskin blanket.

3527. Sagebrush-bark wrappings.

3536. WT: Burned. NF: Buried.

3538. MV: Burnt pepperwood gourds used.

3540. AE: 3 red stripes (1 each down nose and cheeks), if girl is dancing for 3 nights; 4th stripe, down chin, added if girl is dancing for 4 nights. (See left figure, below.) WM: Alternate red and black dots from eyes down cheeks. (See right figure, below.)

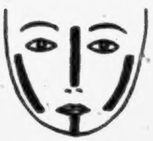

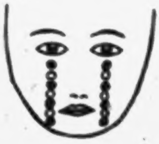

3546. MV: Girl painted by 2 female singers each morning.

3547. WM: Wears old deer-hide skirt, especially when going outside to run. Hide tanned with hair on; has been saved, hung up in top part of house in smoke, for ca. 10 years. Taboo for girl to touch newly tanned skirt; "an old skirt will help her; she won't be afraid of anything."

3550. WM: During menstrual periods, wears maple-bark double skirt, with breechclout underneath; bark skirt likely to become stained, so

DOO in evening when girl runs she wears buckskin skirt over bark one; removes buckskin skirt when she returns to her hut.

3552. Serves as menstrual pad. Mo: Shredded sagebrush. SE: Grass. SW, MF, NF: Buckskin. At: Sagebrush encased in bark. AW: Front skirt (of grass, tule, buckskin) tucked in between legs. WM: Soft maple bark; changed frequently, burned secretly.

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[824]
[881]

3557. Kl, Mo: Of sagebrush bark. AE: Of greasewood bark, braided. MM, MF: Of buckskin.

3558. Kl, Mo, AW: Of sagebrush bark. AE: Of greasewood bark, braided. MM: Of buckskin.

3559. Mo, AE: Of sage or greasewood. SE, SW, WM: Hair belt. SW: Hair belt purchased; decorated with triangular pieces of shell that rattle when girl dances. Kept, worn any time afterward. AW, AE: Pack strap for belt. MM, MF, NF: Buckskin belt.

3562. SE: Sweet-grass necklace. MM: Pine-nut necklace.

3565. At: Hand might be paralyzed. AW: "Some said a girl would ruin a basket she'd started, or the weeds [Xerophyllum], if she made baskets."

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[88]

3567. Kl: "If girl doesn't work outside, she'll be lazy."

3569. SE, SW, NM: For every household in village. At: Girl gets light loads of wood, every day; at noontime. NM: All women sing as girl goes to top of hill for wood. MV: Gathers wood final 2 days of seclusion only.

3570. At: Menstruating girl "never touches water. That's no good, you'll dream bad."

3571. For everyone asking her to do so.

3572. At: If girl menstruates in season when roots are dug, she digs them for old women during daytime. At noon, girl dances and old woman hits ("spanks") her on basket cap; girl then runs east as old woman shouts. Girl returns to an old woman who beckons to her; this old woman pinches girl's left forefinger hard, so that she will fill up the basket with roots quickly, and hits her on basket cap. The girl then goes off to gather roots, which she puts in the basket cap, and transfers to the old women's pack baskets. She is supposed to fill 3 pack baskets before sundown. The next day girl goes to another family, to dig roots. "The old women liked this help; they'd say, 'Oh, I wish she would do this every day, dig roots for me.'" This is done not only at first-puberty rites, but during every menstrual period before girl marries. If no roots, girl gathers fruit during day for her mother. MV: Final 2 days of seclusion menstruant, attendants, and women gather clover; return to village wearing wild-rose crowns. Give clover to "captains" (yeponi) to eat in sweat house.

3574. At, AW: See note 3565.

3575. At: So she will be a good runner. At, AW: To catch shadow. AW, AE: To fetch water for someone. WM, NM: Brings back sticks. This denied for WS, MM, MF, NF, NS, MV. At: Girl runs toward E.

[219-B]

Y

000 WM: Remove 10-15 "good long boards" from house, and keep these for new house; burn remaining part of house. Or, tear down that part of house where man slept, burn entire house, and pile dirt over spot where dead person used to sleep, then pile rocks on top of dirt. "At Hayfork (WT) burn the side of house where man slept, but leave other side standing and build onto it." After family of deceased burn house, they move away, 10-15 miles or so, and live for year or so in the new place; then return to old location.

4175. SW, AE: Burned. NF: Assembly house deserted temporarily; closed for 2-3 years, then reopened, purified by having wormwood burnt inside it, cleaned, and used again.

4177. Mo: House temporarily abandoned in some instances; fumigated before being abandoned.

4178. AE: See note 4171.

4179. AW: Pitch put on inside walls of house. AE: See note 4171. MV: Pounded salt sprinkled inside house and on ceiling.

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● 4180. Kl, SE, At, AW, AE: Juniper; use of juniper denied for all other groups. Mo, AE: Sage; use of sage denied for all other groups. Mo, SE, At, AW, WS: Cedar. AW, AE, NF, NS: Wormwood; use of wormwood denied for WT, WM, WS, MM, MF, NM. WS: Fir. MF, NF: Angelica; denied for NM, MV.

4182. MV: If burn hair of deer (or its bones, hide), hunter who shot deer will lose his hunting luck.

Taboos and purification of undertakers, etc.--

4183. WT: Taboos imposed so that undertakers will not "dream bad," that is, dream of death of close relative, or of being hurt. If do have these dreams, means dreamer will die shortly. NM: Includes 2 men who dig grave for ashes; 2 old women who carry ashes to grave; 3 men who carry corpse out of house.

4184. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers, not merely to scapegoat.

4185. MM: 4-5 days.

4186-4187. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners. MM: 4-5 days.

4188. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. MM: 4-5 days.

4189. SE: Refers to undertakers and mourners. WM: 6-7 days. MM: 4-5 days.

4190. SE: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. MM: 4-5 days.

4191. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. MM: 4-5 days.

4192. MV: 2-3 months.

4193. SE, SW: Refers to all undertakers and mourners. AE: 5-7 days. MM: 4-5 days.

4194. MV: 2-4 months.

4195. MM: 4-6 days.

4196. SE: Refers to all undertakers; not to mourners. MM: 4-6 days.

4199. SE, SW, WM: Refers to all undertakers, not to mourners. At: All taboos imposed on undertakers, gravediggers, and others may bring them good luck. AW: After sweating, swimming follow-

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137 the Cascade Range and its more humid atmosphere the less vegetation is developed. The lake shores and river banks, when not marshy, produce the cottonwood tree and several species of willows, and the hills are covered with the yellow or pitch pine and the less frequent western cedar. In the western parts of the Reservation large tracts are timbered with pitch pine, which seems to thrive exceedingly well upon the volcanic sands and detritus of the hilly region. These pines (kō'sh) are about one hundred feet in height, have a brownish-yellow, very coarse bark, and branch out into limbs at a considerable height above the ground. They stand at intervals of twenty to fifty feet from each other, and are free from manzanita bushes and other undergrowth except at the border of the forest, leaving plenty of space for the passage of wagons almost everywhere. A smaller pine species, *Pinus contorta* (kápka, in Modoc k̲úga), which forms denser thickets near the water, is peeled by the Indians to a height of twenty feet when the sap is ascending, in the spring of the year, to use the fiber-bark for food. Up high in the Cascade Range, in the midst of yellow pines, grows a conifera of taller dimensions, the sugar-pine (ktéleam kō'sh). The hemlock or white pine (wā'ko), the juniper (ktä'lo), and the mountain mahogany (yúkmalam) are found in and south of Sprague River Valley.

222 285 824 The lake shores and river banks produce more edible fruits and berries than the marshy tracts; and it is the shores of Klamath and Tule Lakes which mainly supply the Indian with the tule reed and scirpus, from which the women manufacture mats, lodge-roofs, and basketry. The largest tule species (má-i) grows in the water to a height of ten feet and over, and in the lower end of its cane furnishes a juicy and delicate bit of food. Woods, river sides, and such marshes as Klamath Marsh, are skirted by various 222 kinds of bushes, supplying berries in large quantities. The edible bulbs, as camass, k̲ō'l, l'bá, ipo, and others, are found in the prairies adjacent. Pond-lilies grow in profusion on lake shores and in the larger marshes, especially on the Wókash Marsh west of Linkville, and on Klamath Marsh, as previously mentioned. The Lost River Valley is more productive in many of these spontaneous growths than the tracts within the Reservation.

278 It is claimed by the Klamath Lake Indians that they employ no drugs of vegetal origin for the cure of diseases, because their country is too cold

776 825 these curious song lines; the loon (táplal) is noticed there for being the best diving bird of these upland waters; the yellow-hammer, or tché-ush, a woodpecker, for its beautiful red plumage; the kilíwash, another woodpecker, for its precious scalp. The ducks are well remembered in these songs on account of their ubiquity, their numerous species, the elegance of their
[821] exterior. Birds renowned for their influence upon the weather are the wíhuash and the tsiutsíwäsh, who can produce snow-fall; the kā'ls or k̲álχalsh, who possesses the power of making fogs (166; 22. 23).

The amphibians, insects and the organisms standing below these in the zoogenetic scale, are also reputed to possess magic powers; the songs of the
[824] toad and of the spider are supposed to be especially effective. That the plants did not impress the mental capacity of these Indians to such a point as to make them objects of reverence can not be wondered at, as the mind of the Indian in cold climates is not turned in this direction Plants in which the Klamaths were interested are all mentioned, p. 180; 19, and the pond-lily, with its seeds, stands at the head of them. Even among the totem names of Eastern tribes only a few plant names are represented, *maize* being the most frequent among these; but in tropical countries, with their luxuriant vegetal growth, many trees, bushes, and stalks become objects of worship, like the copal and the ceïba tree of Central America.

The deified animals of Klamath mythology are all capable of assuming the predicate ámtchiksh, abbr. -ámtch, -amts *primeval*, of which mention has been made previously, and many also appear collectively, as *five* (or *ten*) brothers or *five* sisters, sometimes with their old parents (titchka-ága). This is the case only with gregarious animals, and also applies to the Thunders. Many of the larger quadrupeds appear constantly with *two* young only.

825 773 The personified animals which receive the most frequent attention in Klamath Lake and Modoc myths are the marten, the weasel and the prairie-wolf or coyote.

Marten or Skē'l, Skē'lamtch always appears in connection with *Weasel* or Tcháshkai. Weasel is reputed to be the younger brother (tápiap) of Skē'l and acts as his servant and errand-boy. In the execution of the dangerous errands he is intrusted with, Weasel is often killed, and Skē'l

*539 221 192 All these different kinds of sacks or bags were originally made of bulrush-stalks (tule) and the táyash was made of straw.

415 74, 11. k̲aítua nû kä'ila. The sense is incomplete. Probably sháyuakta is left out: "I do not know of any in the whole country", käíla often standing for käílatat.

192 74, 14. áwalues. There are several islands in the shallow waters of the vast extent of Klamath Marsh, but only *one* is meant here.

103 74, 15. wŭ'ns ílktsat. They submerge their dug-outs at several places on the beach, where they are certain to find them in the next wókash-season.

501 103 74, 17. pí'la wí'hla (or píla wíllash) contains perhaps a proper name of a locality, or stands in connection with Tóilkat, "at the Rail-Pyramid"; wílhaslash means top, apex. The stations from the "Ford" to "Bird's Lookout" are passed by the tribe when they return home with the lily-seed harvest-crop. "They drop the rifle" is: they take a rest. All these localities are either on the open waters of Klamath Marsh or on Williamson River, which forms its outlet.

484 492 75, 1. iwí-idsha wókash. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Williamson River is from 20 to 25 miles, and horses carrying wókash can make it in one day. The next day they return to carry another load.

482 75, 2. nátoks waítuapk: we will lie over one day to let our horses rest, or recover from the swellings on their backs. Nátoks stands for nát toks.

● 824 75, 5. klá-ads is probably a kind of wild prunes. See Dictionary: kĕlátch.

192 75, 8. wídsika íwam. "Some are economical with their own berries, and prefer not to scatter them in the hands of others"; íwam, huckleberry, has become the generic term for all berries, and i-umä'mi is "*berry-season*".

316 75, 11. spû'klish here means the large communal sweat-house; it is used frequently for dances and kshiuwálχishtat, contr. kshiû'lχishtat might stand instead of spúklishtat.

75, 11. papiä'na, vocalic dissimilation for papa-éna; derived from pán, to eat.

193 75, 13. atí'sh etc. "Heap ye up that hay in two stacks, which must have a lengthy, long-stretching, and not a high, cone-shaped form!" For heaping up long stacks one verb is here used, and another for making the high, round ones.

PŬ'LAM SHUMSHE-ÉLSHTAT SHASHAPKĔLÉASH.

A SKETCH OF BALL'S MARRIED LIFE.

115 GIVEN BY DAVE HILL, SUBCHIEF, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 593 Póluk k̲ä'liak snáwäds t'shín. Tsúi snawä'dshla Pámpiam pä'-ia lupí';
Ball he without a wife grew up. Then he married, Pámpi's daughter at first;
tsúi wä'kala, tsúi tatá mántsak mbusä'lan gí. Tsúi kä'tsa, tsúi mbusä'-
and she had a babe, and then quite a while he lived with (her). Then he left (her), and lived with
alpĕli pän, tsúi pän kétsa sissû'kuk tsû'ssak. Násh wä'ka sham k̲läká, nā'sh
(her) again, and again left (her) quarreling continually. One babe to them died, another
tchía; at sa sipī'tχa, tsúi nā's shnawä'dshla pän Látsam pä'-ia; wáts säwána
lived, still they separated, then one (woman) he married after (this) Látchash's daughter; horses he gave

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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CLASSES OF ANIMALS AND PLANTS.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY DAVE HILL.

Quadrupeds: hohánkankatk lílhanks; nánuktua hohánkankatk; wunípa tsŏ'ks gi'tk käílatat tchía nánuktua lílhanks wíkts nákanti.
Birds: lásaltk nánuktua.
Forest birds of small size: tchíkass.
Forest birds of smallest size: tchíliliks, tchílilika.
Ducks and geese: mä'mäkli.
Night birds: psín húntchna.
Water birds: nánuktua huhánkankatk é-ushtat, ámbutat tchía.
Swimming animals: nánuktua udúdamkanksh sáyuaks; nánuktua udódamkankatk.
Fish: kiä'm.
Jumping amphibians, toads and frogs: skáskatkankatk.
Snakes: wíshink; wámĕnigsh.
Lizards; lit. "*walking straight out*"*:* uli-ulátchkankatk.
Reptiles and worms: skískankankatk.
Flying insects: mánk.
Creeping insects, snails, some mollusks etc.: mû'lk, mû'lkaga.
Grass, seed-grass: kshún.
Berries: íwam.
Edible roots, bulbs and seeds: mák̲laksam pásh; lutísh.
Trees: ánku; kŏ'sh.

NOTES.

These generic terms are quite characteristic, but by no means systematic. These Indians classify animals otherwise than we do, for they regard the mode of locomotion as a criterion for their subdivisions of the animal kingdom, thus sometimes placing in the same class animals which widely differ in their bodily structure. The Indian mind likes to specify and is averse to generalizations; there are a few Indian languages only that contain comprehensive generic terms for "animal," "carnivore,"

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"reptile," "amphibian" or "plant." Even the English language had to borrow these terms from Latin. The Klamath Lakes often use kŏ′sh (pine) generically for "tree," and wíshink, "garter snake" for "snake," the Modocs wáměnigsh (black snake) for the same order of reptiles, these species being the most frequent of their kind in their respective countries. Birds are hohánkankatk as well as quadrupeds, because they fly "in a straight line".

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ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES.

LIST OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN AND MINNIE FROBEN.

Yántch kálkali, tχópo-pátpan, pakí′sh; kak tán: 18″; käílatat lû′sha,
cylindric, thumb so large as, eatable; so long: 18″; on ground it lies,
ktaíyatat lushá. Shláps pushpúshli, lā′pi shlápsh.
on rocks it lies. The flowers (are) dark. two flowers (to it).

Kápiunksăm k̲édsha saígatat; lû′k pûpashpúsh-tkani, lúiχitk tchí′pshash.
grows in the prairie; the seeds (are) blackish, larger than tchípash.

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Wéwanuish hûnk shtä′ila wékank yákitka páta-gíulshēmi. Pék-
The women gather (it) by beating (it) into seed-baskets at summer's end. By
shank sha hû′nk gápiunks shúta; tchilála sha títatna. Wû′kash-
grinding they kápiunks prepare; boil (it) they sometimes. Wókash-
shitk máshetk kápiunks.
like tastes kápiunks.

Káshma k̲édsa walídsat, käílatat ushá; pálpal shlápsh, tsmō′k pí′luitk.
grows on rock cliffs, on the ground lies; white (is) flower, after fish smelling.

Kělátch k̲édsha wí-ukayant kěládshamat; kěládsh ntchekáni mämätch-
grows on the low keládsh-bushes; keládsh-berry small blue
mä′tchli lálkaya. Wéwanuish kěládshla wâkslólank; shpahá sha
grow on bushes. The females collect (it) after wókash-season; dry (it) they
tchúi ishkû′lank, í′lχa sha shpáhank í′lkshlûk lúldam, tchilálank
then after gathering, keep they (it) by drying to preserve (it) for winter, boiling (it)
tchēk sha pán.
then they eat (it).

Kěnáwat k̲édsha saígatat, tsélas ka tánni 1′, pakí′sh; p′lái shláps pushpúshli,
grows on prairie, stalk so long 1′, eatable; on top the flower is dark,
tídsh piluítko.
good smelling.

Klána pálpalish shlápshaltk p′laí, k̲édsha k̲ók̲etat, pákish, tíds másitk; má-
a white flower having on top, grows in rivers, is eatable, well tasting; the
k̲laks pán.
Indians eat (it).

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Klápa kálkali, pakí'sh; ka tánni 3"; taktákli pû'dshak, tápaχ kitchkáni.
is cylindric, eatable; so long: three inches: red (is) the púdshak-grass, (its) leaves small.

● 824 *Klá'* kálkali lutí'sh; kedshá Móatok; pakísh.
is a rounded root; grows in Modoc country; (it is) eatable.

Ktú'ks wókash-shítko, kédsha táletat; ktû'ksam shlápsh pû'pash, pálpali, pakí'sh.
nuphar-alike, grows on straight stalk; of the ktúks the bud (is) (its) top, is white, is eatable.

Kú'ktú û'sha käílatat, pakí'sh; gémtchi tsélas: O.
lies on the ground, eatable; so shaped (its) stalk:

Kä'ls kálkali, pakí'sh; mû'na lû'sha ámbutat; kitchkáni shlápsh wítch-payam.
globular, eatable; deep down it lies in the water; small is (the) flower of the witchpal.

Kä's wé-uχalks tsélash gí'tk, shlápsh gítk; pakí'sh.
a forked stem having, flower having; palatable.

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Kōl. Táktaklí tchélash gû'lam nû'kuk. Í-ukak máklaks hû'mtcha gû'l shtä'-ila túm, gítatoks ká-i tuá kōl. Ámtatka sha méya pû'kgu-ishamtat shiû'lagiank, tchúi sha pû'ka; í'kagank pä'n shtápka ktáyatka. Kó-i pí'luitk, tídshi tadsh pä'sh; hä kaní kō'l ē'nt, lû'k hû'nksh shtí'kok vû'shat.
Red (is) the stalk of the kol when ripe. Around Fort Klamath the Indians this kind of kol gather in quantity, but here (at agency) not there is any kol. With a stick they dig (it) to their roasting-place bringing it, then they roast (it); taking it out again they pound (it) with stones. Badly flavored, good however a food; if anybody kol carries on him, a grizzly bear him smelling will flee.

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L'bá. Lupí' sha'hlmalχō'tchtat shápashtat l'bá nóka; wéwanuish stä'-ila yákitka wékank tíatka. Tsúi sha ítpampalank shpáha, shutéshluk sha gáma; skátka gáma gä'mkishtat. Wíllishikat sha íkû'ga pä'sht, tchúi sa vûmí vumí'shtat wíllishikat íkúgank.
As the first autumn-commencement in (that) month l'bá ripens; the females gather (it) in baskets, beating (it) with a paddle. And they bringing it home dry (it) for cooking they pound (it); with a pestle (they) pound in a mortar. Into sacks they fill (it) in after drying, and they bury (it) in caches, in sacks after putting it.

Léhiash kedshá Móntok; gí'tatoks É-ukshi ká-i léyash kédshant. Tánapsh-shítko shlē'sh léyash; wí-uka lē'ntk léyash; tchélash toks lé-isham nä'sh pétch atí taktákli shlápsh gí'tk. Móatokni shnítchí'χa lépuinatk pálāsh shû'tank léhiash. Kú-i mä'shetk.
grows in Modoc land; but right here (at agency) in Lake country not léyash is growing. Turnip alike to look at (is) léyash; not very deep lies léyash; stalk of léyash (is) one foot tall, red flower having. The Modocs fry (it) in frying pans into bread making léyash. Badly tasting (it is).

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Má-i. E-ukshikni máyalshuk vū'nshatka sχéna shléank é-ushtat. Tché-
The Lake people for tule-gathering in canoes row out finding (it) in lakes. The
lash sha shnû'kank íshka, yánaush pil p'ánk púedsha. Yánakänin
stalks they seizing pull up, their lower ends only eating throw away (the rest). Each at the lower end
pálpali gi nép pánani. Stá-ila sha kshunē'mi, k̲á-i mā'nsh í'pka
white is hand-long. Gather (it) they at grass-time, not long (can) lie
má-i; pā'shtak sha púedsha k̲ú-i k̲léksht.
tule; as soon as dried they cast (it) away, bad having become.

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Nû'tak k̲édsha ntchékayant kshû'nat shaígatat; lû'k tchípashptchi gi.
grows on small grass-stalks in prairies; seeds tchipash-alike are.
Kápiunks-shítko stä'-ila nû'tak wéwanuish wékank yákitka.
Kápiunks just like gather nûtak the women, by beating (it) into baskets.

Páwash a k̲édsha aitχámēnash k̲ō'l, k̲á-i k̲ú-i pí'luitk k̲û'lam-shítk, lúiluyatk
grows smaller than kol, not stinking kôl-like, sweet
toks kpápshash. Yaínakshi pil sha túm shléa. Tchélash pá-usham
but to taste. At Yáneks only they much (of it) find. Stalk of páwash
wí-ukani, mû'kmukapsh pálpalsh shlápsh gí'tk. Pû'ka sha hû'nk
is low, feathered (and) white flowers having. Bake they
páwash, tchúi sha gáma, shpáhank sha í'lχa lû'ldam páshluk.
páwash, then they pound (it), after drying (it) they preserve for winter gathering in.

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Pû'ks nánukash-käíla k̲édsha tû'm, títatna k̲á-i tû'mi. Pû'ks k̲édsha
everywhere grows in quantities, sometimes not in profusion. Camass grows
Óregon saígatat, tchékēnish metsmétslish lelé-usam gí'tk tchélash;
on Oregonian prairies, minute blue flowers having (its) stalk;
pû'ks tchék'ni ónions-shítko shléash pálpali shánkitk gíug, pukátk
camass small onions-similarly looking, is whitish raw being, when baked

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tchēk luíluyatk mā'sha nóχuk. Pahátko mā'ntch gí'ntak í'pakt
then sweetly tastes when it is done. When dried, a long time afterwards it may remain,
túmēni illólash k̲á-i k̲ó-i k̲'lékant. Shláps tsmō'k píluitk.
for many years, not spoiled may become. The flower fish-stink smells after.

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Pû'lχuantch. Píena mák̲laks pû'lχuantchluk pienû'tkishtka; pû'ka a sha
Scrape up the ground the Indians for gathering the chrysalids with a paddle; roast (them) they
ktáyatat k̲élpokshtat kshū'n puetílank, wáldsha tchík sha kshún,
with stones heated, grass putting under, lay on top then they grass,
kné-udshi lokáptchχa, tchúi sha käíla k̲ä'lua pû'kûg púlχuantch.
rough bark pile up on top, then they with earth fill up for roasting the chrysalids.

Stópalsh. Mák̲laks kiamä'mi guiχakshä'migshta stópalsha pûkshämí' tch. K̲a-
The people in fishing-season, at home-leaving time peel trees, in camass-season also.
k̲owátka sha kiulō'la stópalsh; kápka sha stópēla. Lúiluyatk stóp-
With bones they peel off the inner bark; small pine-trees they peel. Of sweet taste (is)
alsh; shánks hak sha pán. Kánt i· hûn shläá shtopalhuí'sh kû'sh
the bark; just raw they eat it. So many you (of them) find peeled off pine-trees
í táměnug. K̲á-i kū'sh nánuk tchû'ka stópaluish; nánka tchúk̲a.
you when traveling. Not pine-trees all perish which were peeled; some dry up.

*539 262 824 *Táksish* kálk̲ali, pakí'sh: láwal ka tánian slápshtat; kä'ilatat lû'sha, k̲á-i
cylindric, palatable; is wide that much at the bud; on the ground it lies, not
pí'luitko.
has smell.

Tók pä'lpali kshū'n, k̲édsha é-ushtat.
is a whitish grass, grows in Lake.

Tsí'kal atíni kshū'n, k̲édsha é-ushtat.
(is a) high grass, grows in Lake.

222 462 252 264 *Tchí'psam* k̲édsha kshū'n-ptchi páta tchí'k nók̲a. Tchúi mák̲laks tchípash
grows grass-like (and) in summer-time ripens. Then Indians tchipash
shtä'ila, wéwanuish wéka ulä'χuga yákitat. Lúlukshtka tü'ksh a
gather, the women beat (it) into haul (it) in seed-baskets. In the hot coals in a fire
tchípash shnū'χa, tchúi tchí'k sha humashtgíulank péksha lem-
the tchipash they parch, and after they having thus done grind (it) on the
atchátka shilaklgí'shtka yí-ulalónank; a tchí'ksh hû'nk pekshólank
metate with the rubbing-stone rubbing; now then having done grinding
pän éwa pálatka ámbu kítuínank, tchúi sha hûmasht-gí'ulank
again they empty (it) upon a matted dish water pouring into (it), then they after thus doing
patámpka wawálχank népatka hlópa. Gí'ta tchípash k̲á-i tû'm
begin to eat (it) sitting around with hands sop it up. Right here tchipash not in quantities
k̲édshant, Móatok pí'la toksh tû'm wawáwish gi.
(is) growing, the Modoc country only however much (of it) productive is

222 252 *Tchuá* kálkali: tχopó-shítko, gét pi tchuá; k̲édsha ámbutat; ntchendshkáni
cylindric: thumb-like, so it (is) wápatu; grows in waters; rather small
tchuá, tchúyunk mák̲laks íshka tchúi tchilálank pán; kúkanka sha
(is) wápatu, and it the Indians pulling out and boiling eat; masticate they
tútatka. Taktä'kli tchuálam shlápsh; kinkáni tchuá.
with (their) teeth Purple (is) of wild-potato the flower; scarce (is) wápatu (here).

Tsuák käílatat lû'sha, pakí'sh; ka tánni tsélas: láp pē'tch; kakálkalish shláps
on ground extends, (is) eatable; so long is the stalk; two feet; round flowers
p'lái gí'tko.
on top having.

Tsuní'ka k̲édsha käílant, é-ushtat, walí'dshat; pakí'sh. Shlápsh 2" lawá-
grows on ground, on Lake, on cliffs; eatable. The flowers 2" are
latk, tídsh piluítko, mû lbû'ka gítk; kä'latat lû'sha.
wide, nicely smelling, a large bulb having; on ground it lies.

Wátksām mû'na û'sha kä'latat, pakí'sh; k̲édsa walídsat, pä'lpali shlápsh.
deep lies in ground, eatable; grows among cliffs, white (is) flower.

Wí'wi atíni, k̲édsha táletat; pakí'sh shlápsh; k̲étsa pálpali.
is tall, grows on straight stalks; eatable (is) the bud; grows white.

To THE ABOVE ARE ADDED A FEW NON-ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES:

226 *Ká'lχamsh* tû'sh a tû'pka käílatat, k̲á-i pakí'sh, ptchí'nk: kiä'm-luelō'tksh
upwards stands from ground, not eatable, thus looking: as a fish-killing-article
witsólslank vû'nsat tamádsank téwas; kitchkáni shláps.
while net-fishing, in the canoe they fasten (it) on bow the forked net; small (is) the flower.

*539 *Skáwanks* pushpû'shlish shlapshháltko, k̲lä'kots, k̲édsha táletat; k̲ú-idshi, k̲á-i
262 has a dark flower. (is) a poisoner, grows on straight stalk; (tastes) bad, not
824 pákish. Pû'shχam kápkălam sχáwanks k̲ó-idse k̲'lä'kotk'sh.
[278] eatable. The limbs of the young pine (and) wild parsnips (are) bad poisoners.

Slĕ'ds k̲á-i pakí'sh, múkmukli shláps, kiä'm-luelō'tksh; witsólslank é-ushtat
not eatable, downy flowers, a fish-killing article; while net-fishing in Lake
shti'lχa.
they put it into (the net).

Tĭ'líhash k'lûtsuō'tch-ánku vû'nshtat shtákla.
as a "swimming-sucker"-wood on canoe they stick up.

[222] [302] *Wákinsh* a k̲édsha pánût. Mák̲laks íshka pánût lultámpkash shutelomá-
grows on the pan-tree. The Indians pick it on pan-tree sticking to smear themselves
shluk, lúshnank sha shnē'lakshtat. Tchúi tchík sha núksht wá-
with. roast (it) they on fire-place. Then they after baking (it), with
titka vukútank shushatelóma télish, p'nā'sh ktchálχishtka shkuk-
knives scraping (it), smear it on faces, themselves from sun-burns to pre-
luápkasht; p'lû' tak sha iwínank shtéwa.
serve; grease they putting into mix up.

NOTES.

[193] [196] Several plants in this list appear, according to grammatic rule, in the possessive case -am, while their fruits or edible portion are introduced in the subjective case. To the former the substantive ánku or tsélash has to be supplied. Small grasses are alimentary plants on account of their seeds only, while the larger aquatic grasses contain nutritive matter in their stalks. Of these notices the shortest and most laconic were obtained from Morgan, who did not enter into particulars concerning the preparation of aliments. By this list the articles on which these Indians feed are by no means exhausted; they eat almost everything found in nature which is not positively obnoxious to health and which contains a particle of nutritive matter, and hence a full list of their kitchen *répertoire* would be at least three times as long as the one obtained.

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146, 1. kak tán for ká ak tánni "so long only"; the length being shown by gesture of hand. Also expressed by ka taniáni, 149, 1. and *Note*. The yántch-plant grows to a length of 18 to 20 inches, the height of the camass- or pû'ks-plant.

146, 3. Kápiunksăm. The kápiunks-seed grows on a prairie-*grass*, like the tchípash- and nû'tak-seed.

[193] 146, 7. 14. pálpal stands for pálpali (originally pálpal-li), having lost its terminal -i by apocope; pálpalish shlapsháltko incorporates the adjective *white* into the verbal adjective "having flowers". This phrase may be circumscribed by pálpalish shlápsh gitko. Cf. 123, 6. and *Note*, and 150, 1.

146, 8. wí-ukayant kĕládshamat. Here the adjective in its locative case, used attributively, is united with the partitive case of the substantive, the original form of both being wi-ukáyántat kĕládshamti; the subjective case: wi-ukáni kĕládsham.

146, 12. Kĕnáwat or horse sorrel is mentioned in an Aíshish-myth and does not

*539 262 824 grow so tall in the cold Klamath highlands as in the Californian and Oregonian valleys adjoining them to the southwest and west, where its height attains sometimes three feet. Cf. *Note* to **94**, 9.

192 [193] **146, 14. Kláua**, an aquatic or tule-grass, of which they eat a portion of the young stalk. The term "tule," from Aztec *tolin*, serves in the West to designate all kinds of rushes, stalks, and grass-like plants growing in the water and wet grounds. By k̲ók̲ĕtat are meant the Williamson and the Sprague Rivers.

147, 1. Klápa is the name of the eatable bulb or root growing on the púdshak-plant. The púdshak-grass becomes red in the autumn, when dry.

147, 3. Ktû'ks is the eatable root of a species of the cat-tail plant; táletat, locative case of tálish (or tálesh ?), straight stem, from táltali "forming a straight, unbroken line." The ktû'ks grows in the water, like the wild parsnip (skáwanks); the natives dry the tender roots of the ktû'ks and bake them into a sort of bread. The epithet: "like wókash" probably refers to the *taste* of this kind of food.

147, 5. Kû'ktu. This plant attains a length of about 6 inches.

147, 6. 7. K̲áls is the globular bulb of the witchpai water-plant.

147, 8. K̲ä's, k̲ä'sh. This plant produces a hard, whitish, farinaceous bulb, which is commonly spoken of as ípo, a Shasti term, and is one of the most important food-articles of the Oregonian Indians. To dig or collect k̲ä'sh: k̲ä'shala, k̲ä'shla.

[252] [825] **147, 9–13. K̲ó'l**, also pronounced k̲û'l, gû'l, gúl, is a kind of Aralia. The root is eaten only when roasted, and is then very nutritious, though spreading an abominable smell. This odor is so penetrating that, as alleged, the grizzly bear will attack nobody who smells after roasted k̲ōl; to this we may add the restriction: "if he is not very hungry." John D. Hunter mentions in his "Manners and Customs of Indians," etc. (Phila. 1823, page 370) that the Osages ascribe to the plant washoba-pesha the power of scaring away the black bear. This plant is an annual growth possessing sudorific and cathartic properties. Washobe is the black bear, mitchú the grizzly bear in that Southern Dakota dialect.

147. 9. hû'mtcha gû'l: "the k̲ōl in this condition," viz: in the ripe state. The k̲ōl-plant is ripe when the stalk becomes red or reddish.

[193] **147, 10. méya.** Speaking of *many* women digging bulbs or roots, stá-ila, stä'-ila is the regular form; its proper signification is: "to fill up" "to fill" (the conical root-basket worn on back, yáki).

147, 10. 11. pû'kguishamtat: "to their old roasting place"; púkuishamat might stand instead. The locative suffix -tat, -at is here appended to a verbal substantive of púka, to roast, standing in the possessive case -am, and -u- is the infix marking past tense. The guttural k has become distended into kg.

147, 12. ĕ'nt or ĕ'nd for énat, conditional of éna. Instead of ĕ'nt, ídshant (for ídshnat) may stand in the Klamath Lake dialect.

147, 14. Lupi' etc. The import of this sentence is: "L'bá ripens in the month when autumn begins."

[285] **148, 1. Má-i** is the common reed or tule-grass growing sometimes to the height of 8 to 10 feet. The shallow borders of the lakes in the headlands of Klamath River are full of this growth, which is one of the most important economical plants for the Indian. Women manufacture from it mats, dishes, baskets, lodge covers, nets, sacks, bags, and the young stalk yields in its lower part a palatable marrow.

* 539 222 **148, 2-4.** Yánakĭnin for yanakĭníni; cf. suffix -ni, -nini in Dictionary. mä'nsh for mä'ntch. pä'shtak for páhasht ak, cf. pä'sht, 147, 17. for páhasht.

824 192 **148, 5.** Nú'tak. This grass belongs to the genus Glycerium, as identified by Dr. E. Foreman, and produces a tiny, grayish bright seed of tchípash size. The flowers are of a light red color. The grass is found around the agency buildings and grows about one foot high.

148, 7. Páwash properly means *tongue*.

148, 11. Pû'ks or *camass*. Its bulb is one of the principal food-articles of all the northwestern Indians, but does not grow in profusion in the warmer portions of California. It is of the magnitude of the walnut, very saccharine and nutritious, ripens in May and June, and by the roasting or baking process described in the text becomes as hard as stone. The Máklaks call it after pû'ka *to roast*, the Shasti name is sók, the Pit River name āhualé, while the name kamas, "sweet," is of Nutka origin. The botanists call the plant Scilla or Camassia esculenta. Cf. *Note* to 146, 1.

148, 14. ípakt, metathesis of ípkat, tne conditional of ípka to lie there, to remain.

222 462 252 **148, 16.** púlχuantch. The gathering of this pupa or chrysalid and of its caterpillar, the aχeshí'sh, is chiefly done by the women of the tribes, who find them imbedded at no great depth in the sandy ground around pine trees. Another chrysalid, the kûlí'ga, is collected and roasted by them in the same way and tastes like eggs. kahû'n puetílank: putting grass under the chrysalids, not under the heated stones. The stones are replaced by other heated ones, as soon as they have cooled off; the larva assumes a black color after roasting and tastes like eggs. See púlχuantch in Dictionary.

221 222 193 **148, 19.** guiχakshä'migshta. The season of the year, when the exodus of the whole tribe to Klamath Marsh takes place, where pond-lily seed is collected for the winter, is about the middle of June. The ending -ta is an abbreviation of the case suffix -tat. Three seasons are stated in the text, when the peeling of the inner or fibre bark of small pine trees is performed; of these the camass-season precedes the exodus to Klamath Marsh by a few weeks only, and the fishing season lasts from February to the end of the summer. Of course, the peeling of the kápka-pine coincides with the season when the sap ascends through the young tree. The bark is removed from about five feet to fifteen or twenty feet above the ground, and most of the beautiful pines treated in this manner are doomed to premature decay, though many survive the operation. The aspect of a forest with some of the pine trees peeled is rather singular.

148, 21. shánks hak, contraction of shánkish hak or ak.

149, 1. ka tánian for ka taniáni "so much in width or extent." The bud of the táksish has a width of about half an inch. Cf. *Note* to 146, 1.

149, 3. 4. tók. This aquatic grass grows about two feet high; by ó-ushtat is meant, here and in tal'kal: Upper Klamath Lake.

194 **149, 3.** pä'lpali, vocalic dissimilation of pélpali or pä'lpäli; cf. taktä'kli 149, 14.

178 **149, 5.** Tchí'psam is a prairie grass on which the brown tchípash-seed grows. This seed is extremely small, and it takes a long time before a sufficient quantity of it is gathered to afford a meal for a family. Still smaller is the nútak-seed, and both are striking instances of the persistence of the Indians in keeping up their old mode of living, when by agriculture and stock-raising they could procure provisions with infinitely less trouble and in much shorter time.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 149, 6. tü'ksh is probably the adessive case of tóke (ŏ) fire-place, hearth: tók-kshi.

262 149, 12. Tchuá is the long, cylindric root of the Sagittaria sagittifolia, an aquatic 824 plant common in the West and East of the United States. In Oregon the term *potato* 192 or wápatu (Chinook jargon) is most commonly heard for it. The name of Chewaukan [193] Marsh, a sink and low ground situated east of Upper Klamath Lake, is a corruption of Tchnaχē'ni: "where the arrow-leaf is found." The flower of the wápatu varies between red, reddish and whitish.

149, 17. Tsuni'ka. The flower has a diameter from two to three inches.

149, 21. Kû'lχamsh is put on strings by the women and thus serves to attract the fish.

149, 21. ptchi'nk: after this word ought to be seen the picture of a tiny vegetal cylinder, about one inch long and slightly curved.

[386] 150, 1. Skáwanks or wild parsnip, a poisonous plant growing in wet places to the height of three feet.

150, 8. p'nā'sh, contracted from p'nálash, is the direct object (reflective) of shkukluápkasht: to guard themselves against becoming chapped by sun-burns. The wákinsh seems to be a kind of resin and furnishes a red paint, as does also the k̲'lépki.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSHAM SHUÍ'SH SHUINŌ'TKISH TCHÍSH.

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INCANTATION SONGS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

1. *Introductory song:*

Yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní *etc.* ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́
I sing, I sing, I sing (in chorus).

2. *Song, reference unknown:*

Wiwiwá! ní sháwalsh wítnank! ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑
Blown off! the plume-crest has disappeared from me!

3. *Song of the wind:*

Kanítala m'sh û shlewitaknû'la? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
népaksh a-i ní'sh shlewitaknû'la. ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
Who, I wonder, is blowing out of my mouth?
The disease is emanating from my mouth.

4. *The conjurer's song:*

Tuá kí nû shatashtaknû'la? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑
nä'paks nû shatashtaknû'la. –́ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑
tuá kí' nû shatashtatχí'sh? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́
nä'paks nû shatashtatχí'sh. –́ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́
What do I remove from my mouth?
The disease I extract from my mouth.
What is the thing I take out?
It is the disease I am taking out.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

PART TWO: ETHNOGRAPHIC TEXTS

Introductory Note to Text 22

"Wokas" is the generic term for the seed of the common pond lily (Nymphaea polysepala). In the old days much of the Klamath Marsh (estimated by some early writers at about 10,000 acres) was covered with these plants, and there were long, shallow bays filled with them on both sides of Klamath Lake. Much of Klamath economic life was concerned with the gathering, preparation, and cooking of this plant.

824
[133]
[433]

It is not proposed here to give a complete description of the various processes involved in "wokas"-manufacture. Good explanations of this economic complex will be found in Coville,[69] Gatschet,[70] and Spier.[71] The following text (and the two shorter ones by Mrs. Pompey which come after it) are intended only to illustrate Klamath narrative style and to indicate those features of "wokas"-making which were salient in the view of the informants.

252
[114]
[128]

22. Wokas Preparation

(Mrs. Aggie Butler)

539*
222
501

(1) Long ago the Indians used to gather wokas, with a canoe. (2) And standing up on it they gathered wokas. (3) They bent down to pull them off, that wokas. (4) And they pulled off only the good ones, and some were unripe. (5) And having punctured it [with a fingernail] they saw [whether it was ripe or not]. (6) And they picked the yellow ones. (7) On becoming ripe it looks good, big. (8) And having picked those only, they threw them on the canoe and went. (9) And some were termed "snonĺapĺaqs." (10) And one was called "sbokẃas." (11) It was ripe. (12) And they put them down [in the canoe] apart.

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[69] Coville, Frederick V., "Wokas, a Primitive Food of the Klamath Indians," Report of the United States National Museum for 1902, pp. 737-739, Washington, 1904. [113]

[70] Gatschet, op. cit.

[71] Spier, Leslie, "Klamath Ethnography," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 30, Berkeley, 1930. [113]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 129]

autobiographical incidents. The end of the tape arrived just as Mrs. Cowan was beginning to feel tired, and the conversation came to an abrupt end. 124

The tape has been considerably edited to remove false starts, English portions, fragmentary or unintelligible sections, and other such "noise." The author's questions were originally asked in broken Klamath, and this has been put into English in order not to give rise to mistaken statements about the language. As was done above, personal names have been omitted out of respect for the individuals involved. Utterances by different Klamath speakers are indicated by their initials, viz., AC, PO, and RC, and the author's utterances are marked by PB. 124 128

38. A Conversation (among several)

539*
124

(1) PO: Yes, little Coyote, on whom [Gmoƙaḿč] stuck those things—that we call cattails, which was the reason, his fur is bad. [824]

PB: Do you know any myths?

(2) PO: Could you tell a myth to me? (3) I wonder if you would tell a myth?

(4) AC: I don't know how. I don't know how to tell myths.

(5) PO: Do you remember when the white men first came? (6) Do you remember that?

(7) AC: The girls [i.e., nurses] asked me there in the "hospital" thus, "How long have you lived, how long?" (8) So I said, "There were no white people here at all, when I travelled around here." [173]

(9) PO: How big were you, when the white men came? (10) How big were you, when the white men came—when you recall the white men coming for the first time. (11) How big?

(12) AC: Yes, I was big [i.e., "grown up"], big. (13) I know a lot. (14) I was big when they fought the war [i.e., the Modoc War], over there, across there. (15) I being big, I know a lot. (16) But there were no white people anywhere around here, there were none—thus I told those white people [i.e., the nurses]. (17) There were none. (18) Only we Indians were many around here, Klamath Falls people. (19) Many Indians' land this was, [I?] said. (20) "ʔo···," they said, "Yes..." (21) So I have lived so long, I said. (22) "You have lived a very long time," they said, "It was long ago, when there were no white people, long ago," they said to me, the girls there, from the "hospital."

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 159]

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963

NR 10 Klamath NR 10

#539

(186) PO: hont hay ni sleʔa· honk loloqkaʔas ṗas dank–ḱal.

PB: What do they call a fern?

(187) PO: waq či se·satk "fern"? (188) kant sa mat leĺe·wsam sokĺa, leĺe·wsam sitk geča·, q̓elẏak da·ts leĺe·wsam. (189) "fern," kant nen basdin "fern" či ʔelga. (190) geaga ʔams ni dwa· heale·wapk.

(191) RC: kant sa nen do· ćosak "Smith River" ʔigatga.[103] (192) kat ho·t gitgo–tapaq bil.

(193) PO: kat ho·t mo·mni, ʔa···di· geča·.

(194) AC: čya·wisam, ʔakẏa?

(195) PO: waq mat?

(196) AC: čya·wisam lis. (197) ʔi·, hompča sĺaps wokas sitk ṗan. kat ho·t taktakĺi, sĺaps ho·t.

(198) PO: q̓ay.

(199) RC: kat ho·t ʔa·di·ni.

(200) PO: kampča na·t ʔiʔačq̓a–sokĺa leĺe·wsammat. (201) ĺapaq bil lis ho·t ʔa···di·ni. (202) ʔaMḱa mis na·t dat sĺogank heale·t, dada·.

(203) RC: maqlaqs ʔa ge·t ʔiʔačqge·ni lopẏa ʔigatga leĺe·wsam. čoy sa hompča sokĺank, kat ho·t ʔa·di·ni, ĺapaq.

(204) AC: kant ʔa·t naʔas ʔelga "sunflowers"?

(205) PO: q̓ay.

PB: Then what would you call sunflowers?

(206) PO: "sunflowers" lis, q̓ay ni sʔaywakta.

(207) AC: ʔi·, honkt ʔa nen ʔat sebamtgi. (208) waq dal ho·t se·satk –ho·t dak ʔoti·s, yawqs gi, magi·p.[104] (209) ʔoti·s, mona·ni. (210) ṁa·sis gaʔas gyank satĺa·ḱa gaʔas, magi·p.

PO: Those are the sunflower roots, but she can't remember the sunflowers.

PB: And did the Klamath eat the sunflower seeds?

(211) PO: dam ʔeč mat na·t hompča ṗan?

(212) AC: ʔi·, ṗaṗi·s dak ho·t gi, dičí·, hok lo·q. (213) čoy homas siwli·ns sitk ho·t gaʔas, lo·q. (214) lopi·li·nas ho·t gi. (215) sao·gank hokt, hohi·ye·ga nčets hok, bobasbostḱa·ni. (216) čoy hok lo·q bil hok gaʔas gist, siwli·ns sitk. (217) dič ma·sitk. (218) ʔi·, na·nok dwa· maqlaqs ṗan, na·nok. (219) na·nok dič pa·p gis, woksam ho·t hok, mayam

[824]
[764]
[196]
[824]

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[103] "Smith River" was a source of ferns for funerals.

[104] /ʔoti·s/ may possibly be |ʔoʔtqya| "long-object-attached-to," referring to its medicinal quality as a poultice. Mrs. Chiloe was not certain whether /magi·p/ was really the name of the sunflower root or whether this was another root.

775 763 Last month an old woman, who was very sick, was left alone. As she lay there she saw ghosts. They caught her; she died. When her children returned she was dead. Her daughter and grandson rubbed her chest to revive her. She was soon restored except that one ear, which the ghosts had touched, was "closed." Her daughter asked, "What is the matter?" She answered faintly, "The ghosts caught me." Today she can barely talk; her sight and hearing are gone.

775 787 A Klamath Falls man met a ghost on the trail. It was short and had long white nails on hands and feet. The ghost said, "Let us trade nails." The man said that he could not take his off. The ghost said, "I can pull them out," and exchanged nails with him. The man went home with the long nails and went to bed. When he woke, he looked at his hands and feet, but he had his own nails again.

The same man saw ghosts dancing at the cremation place on the hill east of Link river (Klamath falls). He watched them dance all night. They gave him a pipe to smoke. Then they threw firebrands at him and he ran away.

About ten years ago I [Pat Kane] had been swimming in the river. I was returning to my home with some horses when I heard crying. I saw an immense fire at the cremation place on lower Williamson river. Men, women, and children were wailing there. I held my hat over my face and did not listen. I did not tell my wife. For three or four days I was sick, so I went into the sweat-lodge. Later I went down there but found no signs of a recent fire.

576 The names of the dead are mentioned rather freely, but no one likes to name his own relatives or hear another do so. In fact, such a reference is insulting. But this is not due to any fear of the dead; it is rather a matter of taste.

775 The land of the dead, No'liskän,[188] lies in the west, the sunset. Everyone goes there. It was created by the culture hero, Kemü'kümps, who made the humans that figure in the tales (called psaudi'was) and ordained that they should go to this land when they died. Nothing is said of the road thither but the characteristics of the land and its people are tolerably well conceptualized.

Everything in the land of the dead is inverted from this living world. The ghosts sleep by day and live at night. In the day there is nothing to be seen but their houses and skeletons. At sundown they are clothed with flesh again; they rise and build fires. They dance through the night to fall asleep when dawn breaks. They feed on swan's eggs and perhaps they do not eat them in the manner of humans, since a tale suggests that Kemü'kümps is fed in the manner of the ghosts; the eggs are thrown at him. Further, the eggs are [825] unnatural in that they are hot.[189] So far as the Klamath are concerned, swan's eggs themselves are mythical, for while swans cross

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[188] I suggest that the word means, literally, land of the departed; compare no'tena, departed for ——; nutsnota, soul leaves; teö'kän, service berry land; ä'stikan, country of the Shasta.

[262] [189] Perhaps the Klamath do not eat eggs at all. I neglected to inquire.

the Klamath country in the winter, they never nest there. The eggs 775
can be gathered only in bottomless baskets. The ghost's elks are water- [825]
bugs to mortal eye, and the flesh that they take is in reality bone. All their possessions are things that were destroyed with the dead, houses, baskets, beads, etc. Their hospitality also provokes them to throw firebrands at their visitors. Perhaps the very fact that Kɛmŭ'kŭmps is called out of his name by them in a tale is an attempt at inversion.

There is a wide variety of spirits from whom power is sought, 776
animals, birds, reptiles, fish, natural phenomena, and a handful of anthropomorphic and purely mythical beings. The animals, etc., are not individuals of living species, but mythical beings, either immensely large or very small. Such anthropomorphic spirits as are definitely conceptualized are also tiny. Although they speak of all of these as individuals—they say for example that a man's spirit is Weasel or it is Wīle'ɛḳaḳ, dwarf old woman—nevertheless there remains the suspicion that they are rather genera, for the same named spirit is described as dwelling in several localities and belonging to several shamans at the same time.

The number of spirits is indefinitely large; the following partial 776
list is made up from various data given by my informants. The 825
animals include grizzly and black bears, wolf, coyote, dog, mink, weasel, and fisher (ṫwa'lḳŏtcka). The birds are the horned owl, bald eagle, golden eagle, fish hawk, a smaller hawk (tcī'ktu), a little hawk (wī'tgŏtgis), falcon, crow, magpie, buzzard, pelican, red and white shitepokes, butterball duck, a small sea gull (ḳ!ŏtya'was), flicker, prairie chicken, an unidentified black bird (năo'līns), a blue and brown one (gau'wi), and a tiny speckled bird (djīske'gɛ). In the fish and reptile class are the rattlesnake, a big speckled sluggish snake (wŭ'mɛnŭks), lizard, frog, a water snail (k!awi's), salmon, and trout. It is obviously the predatory animals that are chosen, with the omission of the cat tribe. The bird list also includes all the birds of prey and carrion eaters. Even though the list is incomplete, there are some significant omissions, such as deer, rodents, the song birds; and most fish are absent. The two fishes included are the largest representatives in Klamath waters.

There is little suggestion of differentiation of function and power [755]
among these spirits. To be sure, it is only through certain spirits that curing and the various shamanistic tricks can be performed, but my informants never once volunteered the statement that these were especially powerful. The exception is Frog, described by Nancy Phillips

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

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• 825
[755] as the most prominent and powerful of spirits, one on whom all shamans call, and whose presence is necessary before they can begin their curing ritual. This confirms Gatschet's information.[184] The Frog spirit is interesting on its own account. It is conceived as a big woman and so closely associated with pond-lily seed (wo'kas) as to lead to the suspicion that these are interchangeable concepts in the Klamath mind. It should be noted that the preparation of this staple is peculiarly woman's work among these people. In their mythology

*[171] too, Frog figures as a woman. The last association is so widespread, perhaps universal, in North America, that the only special Klamath elements in the triple association are with wo'kas. While I am not certain, it is probable that this is the spirit which was described by Pat Kane as djᴇdje'lIstcĭ, whereas the common word for frog is ko'wᴇ.

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114 Gatschet credits a similarly important rôle to another spirit.[185] "Another class of spirits embodies the spirits of those animals which have to be consulted by the ki'uks or conjurer when he is called to treat a case of disease. Such persons only who have been trained during five years for the profession of conjurers can see these spirits, but by them they are seen as clearly as we see the objects around us. To see them they have to go to the house of a deceased conjurer, and at night only. He is then led by a spirit called Yayayá-ash appearing in the form of a one-legged man toward the spot where the animal spirits live; this specter presides over them; there the conjurer notices that each appears different from the other, and is at liberty to consult them about the patient's case. Yayayá-ash means 'the frightener,' and by the myth-tellers is regarded as the Thunder or its spirit." I received no suggestion confirming any part of this.

776 The mythical beings are also probably genera rather than individuals; to'kĕ, a horned water snake, Wile'ᴇkaḳ, a dwarf old woman, Tcakia'ḳ, a little boy, and Gōga'nᴇ, a dwarf man. There is also a nameless wild man (the spirit for the trick in which blood is magically produced) and a woman spirit (for curing). Wawiwō'k!os, a monster-killing hero of a tale, figures in a shaman's song and hence may be a spirit.

Wile'ᴇkaḳ is a dwarf old woman whose name is derived from wilă'ĕḳa, old woman. She is about thirty inches high, and wears a basket hat and long buckskin dress. In one form she appears as a rock on the northeastern slope of Mount Pitt. She controls the west

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[184] Gatschet, 1:ci, 180.

[185] 1:xcviii.

825 Some beliefs concern the nature of wild animals. The "cat" (da'slats, *Bassariscus* sp.) kills deer by wrapping his long tail around their necks. The mountain lion is very dangerous; it is afraid only of fire. One cannot escape it by climbing into a small tree, because the lion will dig it up. When bears fight, the female is always victor. She always buries the male. The grizzly bear during his hibernation sleeps a month on each side alternately. "I do not know who watched them," my informant remarked. The grizzly is a notorious thief, breaking into the winter stores buried near the villages. But to call him that is dangerous, for he then pursues you. The chipmunk or ground squirrel (ts!Il'as) hibernates like a bear from November until the spring, they believe. When boys shoot at this animal it changes into a frog.

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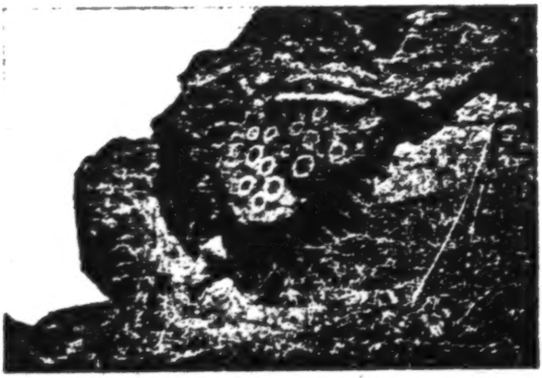

Fig. 9. Pictographs on the eastern side of Klamath lake.

824 Elder is supposed to grow on cremation piles; perhaps it does.

212 The Klamath do not make pictographs. There are however a few
756 in their country, said to have been made by Kɛmū'kūmps, the culture
773 hero. They refer to them as shaman's mu'lwas, paraphernalia or,
better, objects pertaining to a shaman. They are repainted from time
to time by old men, "who work for a shaman," by which my inform-
ant may have meant shaman's interpreters. They are all of simple
212 form. My informants knew of only two pictographs (sū'malo'ta) in
the whole Klamath country. Those on a rock slide on the eastern
shore of Klamath lake south of Modoc point are shown in figure 9.
This is near the former fishing village Iulă'u (47). There are a dozen
circles in white paint, the largest four or five inches in diameter.

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the east, which takes them to the border of hostile Northern Paiute country.

In their own territory, the larger game animals are abundant. Elk are everywhere, perhaps more numerous to the north in the Cascades. Deer and antelope are plentiful. Deer, as well as ducks and other game, abound in the open country south of Klamath Falls toward the Lost River hills. A small blacktail deer is found in the Cascade mountains. Wolves, coyotes, black and grizzly bears, and other predatory beasts are common. Game birds, especially waterfowl, are abundant about the marshy lakes.

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• 825

The following list shows their discriminations among the game.[341]

Eaten

Deer, generically, ll'lbūnks.
Blacktailed deer, mu'smūs.
Small red deer, swai'.[343] (The meat is very good and the tallow sweet.)
Mule deer, bargu'ls (lives in the east near the desert).
Elk, wūn (excellent meat).
Antelope, teā'u (taken in Klamath marsh).
Mountain sheep, wi'ēs.
Black bear, witā'm.
Grizzly bear, loķ (paws and flesh eaten).
Porcupine, tce'lis (perhaps eaten only recently).[350]
Beaver, pum.
Ground hog, mu'i.
Mink, kli'p'a.
Otter, ķ!ult (eaten by some).
Raccoon, wa'tcklax.

Not eaten

Wolf, ķaio'tela.[342]
Coyote, was.
Red fox, wan (found west of Klamath lake).
Black fox, he'hai.[344]
Marmot (fisher), wa'lķōteka.[345]
Bob-cat (or lynx?), slowa' (or slēt).[346]
Bassariscus (?), da'slata.[347].
Cougar, ķoi'yaķa'wās.[348]
Marten, pā'sp.[349]
Weasel, telōegal.
Skunk, tca'sls (eaten only as a cure for rheumatism).
Badger, kols.
Mountain beaver, pum (or gitckani pum, small beaver, or puma'k, beaver cub).[351]
Chipmunk, wa'sla.
Larger chipmunk, tall'l'as.

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[341] All identifications were made by my informants, except *Bassariscus*.

[342] The name suggests the English (< Aztec) word coyote, but repeated inquiry failed to reveal any other name for the animal.

[343] Having a black (or white?) tail; long straight horns with a slight hook at the tip, pointed forward; eats roots and leaves, not grass. Nancy Phillips says this has horns like other deer, and is identical with the black-tailed deer, save that the tail is slightly longer.

[344] My informant suggested that this is a Chinook jargon word.

[345] Black; larger than the last; can climb trees; whistles.

[346] Spotted; short tail; pendant cheeks; eighteen inches to two feet tall; seen but not often killed.

[347] Striped; long striped tail. This is not often killed, because they fear it.

[348] Larger than the last; screams like a woman and whistles; seen on the highest mountains, but not killed for fear of it.

[349] Red; like a mink but lives in the mountains.

[350] The Modoc eat porcupine and chipmunk, according to my Klamath information.

[351] Not killed.

*[171]

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262
825 ●

Eaten

Jack rabbit, kai.
Cottontail rabbit, k!oik!ois (or te!wö'ganx).
Ground squirrel, mxza's (occasionally eaten).
Tree squirrel, giu'waa.[282]
Larger tree squirrel, kä'nkön.[284]
Waterfowl, generically, mä'mükls.
Pelican, ku'mal.
Goose, los.
Swan, kos.
Brant, la'' lök.[287]
China brant, lökļök.[287, 288]
White brant, wai'was.
Sandhill crane, k!liti'a.[289]
Blue crane, so.o'ks.
Loon, döplal.
Small loon, ko'ķiuķs (not eaten by children for fear of sickness).
————, ěngu'k.[287, 290]
Gull, ku'l'a.[291]
Smallest gull, ķ!öt'la'waa.[287, 292]
Mudhen, toho's.
Teal, te!äks.[287]
Mallard duck, wä'ěka.[287]
Pintail (or Sprague) duck, golks.[293]
Canvas-back duck, go'ls.
Butterball duck, bömba'ktls.
Wood duck, djikdjiks.
Small duck, koķa'swa.[294]
Blackjack duck, sne'ls.
Fishduck, te!ö'kxnos.[295]
Blackbird, djü'ķs (occasionally eaten).
Redwing blackbird, kökö'klauüs.[287]

Not eaten

Wood rat, ķotca'.
Mouse, müķ!o'kx.
Small mouse, blai'nxhütenä's (or nönw'ö'küs).[283]
Shrew, cu'lsi.[285]
Small gull, ķ!ä'ěte.[286]

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[282] Calls giu, giu.

[283] Very small?; white; long tail; lives in the ground.

[284] A foot long, with long bushy tail; blue; lives in the mountains.

[285] Three inches long; long pointed black nose "like a grizzly bear's"; very scarce.

[286] Has swallow tail.

[287] Named in imitation of its call.

[288] Like a goose.

[289] Scarce.

[290] Black; long neck sticks out of water.

[291] Cf. English gull.

[292] Smaller than ķ!ä'ěte; white; forked tail.

[293] Long white neck.

[294] A little duck with big head and neck.

[295] Red head.

171* 821 844 shared by other Upper Chinook (Wasco, Cascades, and Clackamas) and the Eastern Pomo. Similar to their belief in respect to death, the Northern Maidu say it thunders when a woman has a miscarriage, and the people of Cochiti say the same of a Navaho woman when the wind blows. Again, a sudden change of the weather accompanies a Thompson birth.[802]

171* 821 An association of the moon and frog is common to several tribes of this quarter. The Klamath say that the Moon is saved by his wife, Frog, during an eclipse, from being eaten by a grizzly. The frog can be seen in the moon. The Quinault hold an identical belief. An eclipse is caused by the "upper fisher" (a spirit animal) biting the moon. "There is a lady frog up there who helps the most and really saves the moon." A tale describes this frog as married to the moon. According to the Northern Maidu, the spots in the moon are thought to be a frog. A Northern Paiute tale describes Moon as swallowing Frog.[803]

171* 789 One of the few acts of outright magic among the Klamath relates to causing the wind to blow. This is accomplished by poking in the hollows of a certain rock, striking another, or poking in a particular eddy. The Wishram also maintain that stirring about in a hole in the rocks near their village will raise a wind; the Quinault that thrusting a stick into a spot where gas bubbles rise in the water will bring a storm; and the Twana (or Klallam?) that shaking a certain rock will cause rain.[804]

171* 825 Comparable to the Klamath belief that the "cat" *Bassariscus* kills deer by wrapping his long tail around their necks, the Northern Maidu state this of the mountain lion.[805]

Summary

171* 756 The general basis of Klamath shamanism is like that of other interior Plateau and Basin peoples. Social importance attaches to shamans above even that accorded chiefs. Rituals are meager and throughout are crisis ceremonials. As with the generality of North American tribes, acquisition of power is free for all, shamans stand-

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[802] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266–7; Teit, The Thompson Indians, 374; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 297; Goldfrank, Cochiti, 83; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 316.

[803] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1926; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266 (the tale relative to this is not available to me); Natches, Northern Paiute Verbs, 257.

[804] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 674.

[805] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1956. Down woven into	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	292
1957. For war, dances only	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	[535]
1957a. Worn habitually by some men	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[721]

CURRENCY, TREASURE

Currency

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1959. Dentalia	R	+	+	+	•+	+		•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	436
1960. Standard of value	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	825 ●
1961. Incised	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1962. Feathers on large end	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1963. Wrapped with sinew, painted like snake skin	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1964. Graded on finger creases	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1965. Counted	–	–	–							+							
1966. Measured in fathom and fractions of	+	+	•+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1967. Upper-arm tattoo for measuring whole string	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1968. Measured on arm, no tattoo	–	+	.	–	+	–		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1969. Cylindrical purse of horn	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[415]
1970. Purse of horn fork	–	–	–	–	+	–		•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1971. Buckskin purse	–	+	+					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1972. Cased fur purse	–	–	.	–	+	•–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1973. Shells rolled in fur	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1974. Shells kept in basket	+	+	+	–	+	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1975. Long dentalia preferred	–	–	+					•–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1976. Clamshell disks	R	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1977. Standard of value	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1978. Manufactured	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1979. Smoothing slab	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1980. Disks counted	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1981. Short strings only	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1982. Measured around neck												+	+	+	.	–	
1983. Measured on elbow	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1984. Measured in fathoms	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	+	–	
1985. Measured in half-fathoms	+	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	(+)	+	–	
1986. Cased-fur purse	–	–		•(+)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	
1987. Buckskin sack for purse	+	–	+			•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	[415]
1988. Basket for purse	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	
1989. Loans of shell currency without interest	–	•+	+		+	•–		+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	[426]

Treasure

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1990. Olivella: whole shell	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	(+)	(+)	.	–	–	
1991. Shell cylinders or Columella	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	
1992. Sizes distinguished	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	.	.	.	
1993. Bone cylinders		–	.		+	(–)	–	.	–	–	.	–	.	+	+	+	
1994. Magnesite cylinders	–	–	.	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[439]
1995. Imported	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1996. Haliotis-disk beads	–	–	+	+	–	+	.	–	+	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	
1997. Large obsidian blades, used for display	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1998. Manufactured, not used	–		–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1999. Charmstones	•–	–	–	+	(–)	•+	+	–	•+	+	–	+	+	+	–	•+	
2000. Natural shape	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	789
2001. Most effective if found by possessor.	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	823
2002. Used in doctoring	–	–	–	+		+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2003. Animated; can travel of own accord.				+												+	
2004. Doughnut stones	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
2005. Natural shape	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
535 ‡2588. Lasts .... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	3	2	–		–	1
o2589. Actual dance lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–		–	1
o2590. Lasts ... nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	2	1	2	–		–	–
2591. Dance begins near sundown	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
2592. Dance begins in morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
o2593. Number of singers, musicians	–	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	–		•2	1	–		–	2
2594. Split-stick rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+
2595. Deer-hoof rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2596. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2597. Women, only, dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–
2598. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2599. Touch with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–
2600. Each person dances separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	+
2601. Dancers abreast	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
2602. Dancers in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2603. Stretch bear hide, as out to dry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[533] 2604. Male singer sits by hide and sings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2605. Women, or man, rub, hit bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2606. Man puts on bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	+
2607. In morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	(+)
2608. Dances, walks with bearskin on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
2609. Impersonates bear, claws tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
2610. Dog set onto him	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2611. Drops shell beads, which women pick up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2612. Killer of bear ultimately given bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[515] 2613. Impersonator, girl dancers wash at sacred spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2614. Performers from other groups	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–		–	+
(825] 2615. Feast follows performance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				+	–	–		–	+
2616. Held for black bear only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•–	•–	–		–	–

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political Units

Sovereign Bodies

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
621 2617. Each village is autonomous unit	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+
2618. Community of closely adjacent villages forms autonomous unit	–	–	+		–	•+		–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	•+	–
2619. Local group, embracing several communities is recognized, or is autonomous unit	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	+	–	–
619 2620. Tribe, embracing all local groups, is recognized unit	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Chiefs and Other Officials

Number of Male Chiefs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
622 2621. 1 per autonomous unit	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
[613] 2622. Multiple, of equal rank, per autonomous unit.	–	–	–	–	–	•4	–	–	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2623. Chiefly lineages	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2624. Tribal chief	R+	R+	–	(+)	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Basis for Selection

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
[611] 2625. Heredity, primary factor	–	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+
2626. Paternal only	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–

2: Voegelin E-S (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV	
4675. Door keeper at land of dead	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	775
4676. One destination for all	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
4677. Good and bad different destinations	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	+	–	(+)	*–	–	–	–	
4678. All ghosts stay on earth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
4679. Doctors, bad persons	–	.	–	.	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4680. Improperly buried, burned persons	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4681. Ghosts encountered around village	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	.	–	–	+	–	
4682. Ghosts encountered around cremation spot or burying place	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	
4683. In air	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	.	+	+	
4684. In whirlwind	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	
4685. Dead visit in dreams with living	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[787]
4686. Occasional dream may give person power	–	–	–	.	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	
4687. Constant dreaming of dead bad omen	–	+	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+	*+	

Precautions to Keep Away Ghosts

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV	
4688. Ghosts feared	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	769
4689. Offerings of food, if dream of dead	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	(–)	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	+	775
*4690. Ghost feast	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	*+	+	–	.	*+	
4691. Eat with dog	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4692. Shaman hired to sing for dreamer	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	
4693. Dreamer puts ashes, pitch on body							+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4694. Talk to ghost	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	
4695. Throw ashes toward ghost	+	*+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
4696. Throw water toward ghost or grave								+	*+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4697. Bathe in plain or medicated water	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	
4698. Herbs rubbed on body	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	
4699. Roots chewed and spit	–	–	–	–	*+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	
4700. Tobacco smoked	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	–	
4701. Burn aromatic plant	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	*+	*+	*+	*+	–	
4702. After childbirth, to avoid bad dreams	–	–	–	–	–	*+	*+	.	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4703. Burn hair, skin	–	–	–	*+	*+	*+	–	–	–	*+	–	*+	*+	–	*+	–	
4704. After childbirth, to avoid bad dreams	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4705. Hang small bow and arrow in door		.								+	–	–	+	–	–	–	
4706. Plant, feathers hung up	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	

Omens

Sneezing, etc.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV	
4707. Sudden sneeze sign someone talking about sneezer	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	787
4708. Of opposite sex	–	–	+	–	.	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	827
4709. Relation	–	–	–	+				–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4710. At a distance	–	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4711. Sudden sneeze sign someone thinking of sneezer	–	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4712. Invite such to come visit	–	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4713. Ear buzzing sign someone deprecating person														+	–	–	

Bird, Animal Calls as Omens

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV	
4714. Owl call before dawn omen death, war, rain	+	+	+	*–	+	.	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
4715. Robin calling after dark bad omen	–	+	+	+	–	.	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	825
4716. Magpie calling after dark bad omen	–	+	–	–		.		+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
787 4717. Crow, quail calling, tells of enemy passing	-	+	+	-		.	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+
825 4718. Dog howling, sign of war	+	-	-	-	+	.		+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
4719. Coyote, fox howling sign of war	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
4720. Any animal calling out of time evil sign	-	+	+	-	.	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
4721. May be shaman, sending out spirit								+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASPECTS OF RELIGION																
787 *Vision Quest*																
4722. Vision questing to obtain guardian spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	•+	•+		-	•-
4723. By individuals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		-	-
4624. By group	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-		-	-
[562] 4725. Men, youths, boys	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+		-	-
4726. Women, girls	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	•-	•+	+	-	+		-	-
4726a. Optional, not obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		-	-
4727. First quest, prepuberty	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+		-	-
4728. First quest at or around puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	-	+	+	(-)		-	-
4729. Questing during adult life	+	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	•+	+	+	-	-		-	-
4730. Quest once only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	+	+		-	-
4731. Quest repeated, to gain power, or for successive powers	+	+	.		+	+	+	-	•+	+	+	-	-		-	-
4732. Some candidates never obtain vision	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		-	-
4733. Undertaken in winter, annually	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4734. Undertaken in spring, summer only	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	-	-	+		-	-
•4735. Undertaken any time, after birth child, death of near relative	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
4736. Vision quest general, may obtain any variety power	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
•4736a. Vision quest may yield all powers except those for doctoring	-	-	+	•+	-	•-	-	•-	•+	•+	-	-	-		-	-
4737. Vision quest yields doctoring powers only	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-
4738. Youths prepared for quest	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
4739. Lectured by father, father's brother	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
[304] 4740. Whipped with bowstring, stick	-	-	-			+	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-		-	-
4741. Ears pierced	-	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4742. Go out naked, or with breechclout only	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+				-		-	-
4743. Seeker quests at fixed localities in mountains	•+	•+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-
4744. Alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
4745. With older shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-
4746. Men or youths only	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
‡4747. For ... days, nights	5	5	•4	1	5	•1	•2	0	1	1	1	2	2		-	-
4748. Before doctor-making dance	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	(+)	+		-	-
4749. After doctor-making dance	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-		-	-
[262] ‡4750. Complete food fast ... days	5	5	(+)	-	5	•2	-	-	-	-	1	-	2		-	-
[262] o4751a. Eats sparingly, or according to spirit's instructions ... days	-	+	28	5	2	-	•2	5	1	•2	-	2	•+		-	-
4752. Meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-
4753. Abstains from water	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[834] 4754. Drinks water with acorn meal in it			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-		-	-
4755. Sexual continence during quest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		-	-

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
o4836. Number	2	-	1	-	-				1	1	1	2	-		-	-	756
4836a. Indefinite; many	-	+	-	+	+				-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4837. Kept outside shaman's body	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	
4838. Kept inside shaman's body	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-		-	-	
4839. Novice acquires guardian spirit helper from natural phenomena, fauna	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	[821]
4840. Sun	-	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	.	
4841. Moon	-	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	.	
4842. Wind		+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	.	
4843. Thunder	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	+	-		-	.	
4844. Lightning								+	+	+	.	+	-		-	.	
4845. Fire		+	.	+		+	+	-	+	+	.	+	-		-	.	
4846. Animals, all kinds	+	+	.	•−	+	+	+	•−	-	+	+	-	-		-	-	[825]
4847. Coyote mainly	-	-	+	+							+	+	-		-	-	
4848. Wolf, only or mainly	-	-	-	+				+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4849. Birds	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	(+)	
4850. Eagle				+	+		+	-	-	+	+	+	-		-	.	
4851. Chicken hawk	+	+	.	+	+		+	-	-	+	+	+	-		-	.	
4852. Small birds								+	+	-	+	+	-		-	.	
4853. Reptiles	+	+	.	•+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	•+	
4854. Fish	+	+	.	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	.	+	-		-	.	
4855. Frog	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-		-	.	
4856. Favorite, best power	-	+	.	+	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	.	
4857. Insects								+	-	+	+	-	-		-	.	
4858. Ghosts or spirits	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	.	[775]
4859. Doctor gets power from several guardian spirits, successively	+	+	.		+	+	+	-	+	+	+	(-)	-		-	.	775
4860. After power from "pain" acquired											+	(-)	-		-	.	756
4861. Guardian spirits communicate with novice	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4862. Are visible to novice	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4863. Are audible	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4864. Can be felt	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	
4865. Give song	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4866. Novice, in training sings by himself	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-	
4867. Give paint		+	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	.	+	-		-	-	
4868. Give dance		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-		-	-	
4869. Instruct as to paraphernalia, curing methods	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+		-	+	
4870. Novice acquires feathers, feather flags	.	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	-		.	-	
4871. Must be kept outside house		+	+	+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		.	-	
4872. Kept in hollow tree when not in use		-	+	+	•−	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-		.	-	
4873. Novice keeps fact he has power secret	-	-	-	-	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	+	756

Sucking Doctors: Doctor-Making Rites

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
4874. Doctor-making rites for sucking doctors	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	
o4874a. Rites last ... days and nights	(1)	-	-	-	1	-	-	•1	-	-	-	-	2		4	-	
‡4875. For ... nights	+	5	•3	5	-	-	-	+	•1	1	1	1	+		+	-	
4876. Novices assisted by older shamans	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-	
4877. Doctor dance	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	+	+	-	-	•+		(+)	-	756
4878. Held irregularly	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		(+)	-	535
4878a. Held immediately before, after vision attained	-	-	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-		-	-	
4879. After specified objects collected	-	-	•+	•+	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
‡4880. Repeated yearly for ... yrs.	-	-	•3	•5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4881. Given in winter only	+	+	-	•+	-	•−	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Rattlesnake Shamans																	
5123. Rattlesnake shamans recognized	+	+	+	•+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	•–		–	+	756
5124. Men only	+	(+)		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	+	825
5125. Mostly men, some women	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
5126. Mostly women	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	[562]
5127. Berdache					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5128. May also be curing shaman	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–		–	+	[838]
5129. Hereditary	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–		–	–	
5130. Instruction given	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5131. Supernatural experience required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–		–	+	
5132. Power from thunder	.	.	.		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5133. Power from rattlesnake	.	.	.	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–		–	+	
5134. Dreams of buzzard	.	.	.	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
5135. Immune to snake bites	.	.	•	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–		–	+	
5136. Plays with snakes publicly	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
5137. Uses bone whistle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5138. Carries snake around neck	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
5139. Can skin snake alive								+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5140. Cures snake bites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	–	–		–	+	
5141. By sucking	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	+	+	–	–		–	–	
5142. Sucks out fangs, snakes	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	+	+	–	–		–	–	
5143. Rubs patient with buzzard wing	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5144. Rattlesnake ceremony	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5145. Songs sung to snakes	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
5146. In winter, by woman	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5147. Early in spring	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
5148. Privately	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	(+)	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
5149. Snakes emerge from holes	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–		–	–	
5150. Talked to, told not to molest villagers	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	–	
5151. Rattlesnake shamans from other tribes, not local	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
Bear Shamans																	
5151a. Bear shamans	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	
5152. Men only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	[562]
5153. Mostly men	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5154. Both sexes	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	
5155. Is regular curing shaman	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	
5156. Hereditary	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	
5157. Instruction given	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	–	
5158. Supernatural experience required	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
5159. Power obtained from bear	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	.	–	–	+	–	–		–	–	
5160. Cure wounds made by grizzly bear	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–		.	–	
5161. Simulates bear's guise	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	
5162. Rubs self with snake	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	–	
5163. Transformation into bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–		•+	–	
5164. Wears bearskin, bear hair	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	
5165. Wears bear claws	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	
5166. Impersonator invulnerable	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	
5167. Can travel rapidly	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		+	–	
5168. Maliciously inclined	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		+	–	
Money Finders																	
5168a. Money finders recognized	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	756
5169. Any doctor capable of	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	
5170. Only doctor with certain guardian spirits	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
756 5171. Instruction	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5172. Supernatural experience	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5173. Sings	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5174. Goes into trance	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	+	-	-	-		+	-
5175. Tells who hid or stole money	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5176. Tracks money, if hiding place changed	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5177. Talks to piece of money	-	-	-	-	-			-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
5178. Listens to hear money singing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5179. Functions when money is lost	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5180. Performs at any public ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5181. Money hidden, to test shaman	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-
Witchcraft																
Black Magic																
791 754 5182. Love medicine	+	.	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
832 5183. Roots	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-
5184. Hair treated with formula, blood								+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
5185. Songs				•+		+	•+	•+	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-
5186. "Diamond" (charmstone)						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
754 5187. Poisoners distinct from doctors	+	-	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	.	•+		+	-
791 5188. Men only	+	-	-	+	-			+	-	-	-	.	+		-	-
[562] 5189. Have power from various animals	-	-	.	-	-		-	-	-	+	-	.	-		-	-
5190. From evil spirit	-		-	-	-		-	-	-	+	-	.	-		-	-
5191. Have knowledge of herbs	(+)		•		-								+		-	-
754 5192. Shamans, poisoners practice contagious magic	+		•+	+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•	•+	-
756 5193. Poisoner, curing shaman hired to revenge refusal of girl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		+	(-)
5194. Make girl crazy, or kill her outright	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	•+		•+	(-)
5195. Colored lights (transformed witches) cause illness	-	-	•+	•+				•+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5195a. Epidemics caused by spirit creatures	-	-	-	-				•+	•+	+	-	-	-		-	-
Prayer, Offerings																
782 5196. Prayers frequent by all	+	+	-	•(-)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
264 5197. Offerings of food at meals	•+	+	•-	•-	+	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	+		+	+
Eagle Ceremony																
825 5198. Special observances connected with eagle								•(-)					-	-	+	-
5199. Eaglets captured alive													-	-	•+	-
5200. People eat acorn soup on spot													-	-	•+	-
5201. Eaglets kept tied by leg													-	-	+	-
5202. Killed when grown													-	-	+	-
5203. Feathers plucked out													-	-	+	-
5204. Beads put on body													-	-	+	-
[766] 5205. Eagle buried in basket, like person													-	-	+	-
5206. Owners cry at funeral, as for person													-	-	+	-
5206a. Chief only uses eagle feathers								•-	•-				-	-	+	-
Kuksu																
Initiation (Boys)																
575 5207. Tossed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.		-	-
5208. Over fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	.		-	-
5209. Held over fire												(+)	.		-	-

ELEMENTS DENIED

BASIC ECONOMY

Hunting

223 Snares, nets, traps, booths and blinds.--Bag net used for waterfowl. 224 Poles with stones as weights for deadfall. Pitfall with noose in bottom of pit. Arrow with string attached. Decoys, disguises; other hunting techniques.--Wooden head used as visual decoy. Live birds used as decoys (At: recently only). [178] Live mammals used as decoys (Kl: recently only). Hide fan, to smoke out rodents. Butchering of large game.--Deer's eyes eaten raw by hunter.

Fishing

226 Nets; weirs, scaffolds, pens; traps.--Tule-wrapped clay ball sinkers. Bag net dragged. Shell rattle on net. Stick pens, not associated with weirs. Basketry or pole trough. Angling; other techniques.--Feather "fly." Hair "fly." Hair string or ball. Knot or block on end of line. Shooting fish taboo. Lamprey gaff. Buckeye used for poisoning fish. Fishing observances.--Special disposal of salmon or other fishbones. First-fish rite: priest or chief catches first fish; only priest or chief eats first fish; similar rite for lampreys.

Gathering

222 Gathering techniques and observances; pre-agriculture.--Stone ring weighted digging stick. Digging stick with footrest. Bone or horn pointed digging stick. Stone pointed digging stick. Horn seed beater. Seed knife. Agriculture. Irrigation of wild-seed crops.

Domesticated Animals and Pets

231 Dogs, birds, bear, etc.--Domesticated animals, other than dog. Named after owner's totem. Separate dog house, conical, thatched. Own totem animal kept.

Food and Its Handling

- - 262 Animals eaten.--Road runner (informants from ● 825 all groups except MF, NF, MV ignorant as to any bird by this name, which indicates its probable absence. MF, NF do not eat it, MV regard it as poisonous.) Buzzard (WS, MM, NF, NM informants stated buzzard absent from area). Crabs. Slugs. 252 Frogs. Food preparation.--Small mammals pounded before eating. Dried meat or fish ground, berries added. Bone awl for lamprey splitting. Acorns leached in openwork basket. Acorn "coffee" (NS: modern). Stone boiling in stone bowls; in hide in ground; in paunch in ground.

[163-A]

000 to informant. See note 185, WM. At: Shaman assembles hunters in 1 spot when they return, and all sweat, to cleanse themselves under armpits; shaman sings. MM: "Do not eat meat, after big hunt, until some one prays, talks." NM: After hunt everyone dances; deer brought into assembly house whole; women make large basket acorn soup; feast, sing, dance.

168. SE, SW: Paint offered; denied for all other groups except NM and NS, where informants uncertain. At: See note 169. MM, MF, NF, MV: Shell bead offered (see element 153). NM, NS: Informants uncertain about shell bead as offering; not inquired for among other groups. SW: At certain spots in mountains paint and tobacco offered for luck; formula, "I will give you this, for you to smoke and paint," accompanies offering. NS: Before going hunting, men go to certain locality in mountains where there are 3 rocks, identical in appearance. "They gave thanks to these rocks, for good luck in hunting"; uncertain whether any offering made.

169. At: Shaman, during hunt, smokes and calls each mountain by name; speaks to each one, "Don't hide your children (deer); give my boys good luck; give them your children." Offerings of tobacco smoke and eagle down made; latter laid on ground, not put on sticks. NM: "Lucky" man (not a shaman: latter never hunts deer) walks ahead of hunters; able to sight deer quickly; other hunters follow behind him and shoot deer.

[825] 170. Kl, Mo, SE, MF, MV: If meet bear in woods, person must not run away, else bear will attack. Mo: Bear addressed when encountered outside (not in den); told "Don't harm us, we are not going to harm you." Bear stands up, right forearm raised, "wondering whether he should attack person; when latter speaks as above to him, bear stamps paw and goes away." SE: Song sung to bear outside den: "It comes spring now, grandfather, You want to come out, It comes spring now." At: 3-5 men go into den, "talk to bear, 'um um ughm,' meaning 'Look out,' and bear slowly emerges. Men tell him, 'You'd better come out here; I'd like to see you,' 'You'd better be careful,' etc. Bear looks around in every direction, then emerges further from den; men shoot him." After killing him, people pull his body entirely out of den, and smoke carcass with tobacco, talking to him at same time, telling bear he is going to follow his brother, that his sister is coming, etc. People then build large fire on spot and roast bear, unskinned, over it; scrape off skin after carcass is cooked, cut up latter and divide meat among group. AW: See note 114. MV: Bears killed only for revenge, if they have attacked, killed person. Relatives of slain person hire special man and his assistant to kill bear; this man uses bear paw for purpose; puts medicine on it, and lays it in certain direction, depending on wind; his assistant

ODD 1975. WT: "Like smaller ones; they are whiter and smoother; larger ones are darker. Smaller ones cost more; they pick out these."

1976. SW: Imported from Wintu, who manufacture them. At: Obtained in considerable quantity from MM of Big Meadows by individuals who have relatives there; recent (?). "Trade horses with these"; also use them as necklaces.

1978. At: Small quantities only.

1980. AW: Counted in units of 20 each.

1984. Span of both arms, with string extending downward in middle as far as umbilicus.

1985. SE, At: 1 arm span, from fingers to nose.

1986. SW: Possibly used for clamshell disks; certainly for shaman's tobacco.

1987. AW: Used as receptacle for large quantities of beads.

1989. Mo: Somewhat longer strand of beads returned than borrowed, usually, but this not obligatory. AW: Do not loan currency; give it to poor man.

Treasure.--

1990. SW: Imported from coast; used for necklaces, also as currency, but not so expensive as dentalia. At: Used for decoration; also to pay shamans.

1991. AW: Used as ornaments on women's dance aprons of strung pine nuts.

1994. AW: Magnesite cylinders, Olivella shells obtained, strung together with the imported clamshell disks and dentalia.

1997. AE: Rarely if ever seen; only very wealthy man able to own such. WM: Hafted obsidian knives tied on buckskin band, worn around neck, down back. Such knives ornamental; not worn during dances, but only when visiting. WS: Large obsidian knives (ɔlwanis) carried in dances, for display; also used for war.

1998. SW: Black and cloudy red variety; carried occasionally in War dance, but not kept for long; chiefly sent down-river to Karuk. "SE near Glass Mountain made those large blades used down-river." SW on Klamath River, usually acted as middlemen for SE and Karuk; SW received dentalia from down-river in exchange for goods. SW "packed all their goods down to trade with Karuk once a year, when Karuk held White Deerskin dance; that was the only Karuk dance they attended." Trading between SW and Karuk carried on at any other time of year through Kammatwa group (see notes for 282, 1902).

[789
815] 1999. Kl: Keep dried bat or hummingbird in quiver, permanently, as charm. Bat occurs in mythology; is most successful hunter. AW: Of various sorts, all in natural state, not smoothed or polished. Shaman uses striated ("painted") rock; small smooth diamond-shaped pebbles, ca. 2 in. long, "lucky for gambling." Informant had drawerful of 20-30 smooth small rocks. Most prized charmstones are "diamonds"; at night these "shine in darkness, giving off bright light like fire, and smoke; rise out of ground and then sink

[201-B]

776 823 question is of volcanic origin. The natives avoid going near the lake or even ascending the surrounding heights.* Earthquakes are often ascribed by foreign nations to giants stretched out below, who are shifting their underground position. Giants often appear also as ravishers, ogres, and man-eaters, like the Scandinavian Yättur, and two giant-women of the Elip tilikum or "Primeval People," were changed into two columns of sandstone, near the Yákima country, on Middle Columbia River, for having preyed upon the human race.†

776 *Dwarfs.*—A miraculous dwarf is mentioned under the name of na'hnias, whose foot-prints, as small as those of a child, are sometimes seen upon the [756] snow-clad slopes of the Cascade Range by the natives. But the dwarfish creatures who make them can be seen only by those initiated into the mysteries of witchcraft, who by such spirit-like beings are inspired with a [193] superior kind of knowledge, especially in their treatment of disease. The name is derived either from néna *to swing the body from one to the other side*, or from naináya *to shiver, tremble*

[823 825] Another dwarf genius, about four feet high, *Gwinwin*, lived on Williamson River, where he habitually sat on the top of his winter lodge and killed many people with his black flint hat. He is now a bird.

The Klamaths appear to know about certain spirits having bodies of a diminutive size, but the characteristics of such are not distinct enough to permit identification with the *fairies*, Erdmännchen or Kabeiroi of European mythologies.

ANIMAL DEITIES.

776 825 The deification of animals in the primitive forms of religion is highly instructive, and instances are so numerous that it would take a series of volumes to comprehend its details. Animal stories and shamanism are

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* Among the summits of the San Juan Mountains, New Mexico, there is to-day a lake bounded by precipitous walls, and there is a little island in the center of the lake with a hole in it, and something sticks out of the hole that looks like the top of a ladder, and "this is the place through which our ancestors emerged from the fourth into the fifth or present world." The Návajos never approach near to it, but they stand on high summits around, and view from afar their natal waters. (From Návajo Creation Myth, Am. Antiquarian, V, 1883, p. 213.)

† G. Gibbs in Pacific Railroad Reports, I, 411.

776 chapters of ethnology which afford us the deepest insight into the thoughts
825 which guide the untutored reasoning of the so-called savages.

Wherever we find deities in the stage of imperfect anthropomorphism we are likely to find also deified animals in the stage of zoodemonism and not in that of zootheism or zoolatry. Where gods and goddesses have reached a fully anthropomorphic shape, which occurred in a few American nations only, there we also find priests, temples, ceremonies, oracles, sacrifices, and prayers; but where deities remain in the undeveloped condition of spirits and demons, propitious or malevolent to mankind, we may expect to see the natives deifying quadrupeds, birds, or snakes, instead of giving their gods the human form, which is the most perfect form of this world's creatures. For in many physical qualities animals surpass the human being. This excites the admiration of man in his ruder stages; he wonders at their cunning and shrewdness, and thinks them his equals in more than one respect. Why should he not express such feelings as these by reverencing them and including them in his unpolished and naïve, but pictorial and candid folklore stories?

It would be a mistake to assume that the animals which the folklore of the Indian in the hunter stage chiefly celebrates are game animals or such as are of material advantage to him. Folklore selects for its purpose such beasts which the hunting and fishing Indian, with his great practical knowledge of animate creation, admires above others for such qualities as their surprising sagacity, their wonderful agility, the love for their offspring, the help afforded by them by discovering the hidden causes of disease, the beauty of their skin or other covering, and the change in the coloring of their fur-skins wrought by the alternation of the seasons—or such animals as he dreads on account of their ferocity, their nightly habits, their power of bringing about storms, thunder, or rain-fall, and last, but not least, for their demoniac power of presaging future events, especially war, disease, and death. The great *scarcity* of certain animals is also a sufficient cause for introducing them into the popular stories.

The animals which form the subject of mythic stories and beast tales are pretty much the same as those mentioned in the magic songs of the medical practitioners, of which I have brought together a considerable collection in Texts, pp. 153–181. The birds get an unusually large share in

776 these curious song lines; the loon (táplal) is noticed there for being the 825 best diving bird of these upland waters; the yellow-hammer, or tché-ush, a woodpecker, for its beautiful red plumage; the kilíwash, another woodpecker, for its precious scalp. The ducks are well remembered in these songs on account of their ubiquity, their numerous species, the elegance of their [821] exterior. Birds renowned for their influence upon the weather are the wíhuash and the tsiutsíwăsh, who can produce snow-fall; the kā'ls or k̲álχalsh, who possesses the power of making fogs (166; 22. 23).

The amphibians, insects and the organisms standing below these in the zoogenetic scale, are also reputed to possess magic powers; the songs of the [824] toad and of the spider are supposed to be especially effective. That the plants did not impress the mental capacity of these Indians to such a point as to make them objects of reverence can not be wondered at, as the mind of the Indian in cold climates is not turned in this direction Plants in which the Klamaths were interested are all mentioned, p. 180; 19, and the pond-lily, with its seeds, stands at the head of them. Even among the totem names of Eastern tribes only a few plant names are represented, *maize* being the most frequent among these; but in tropical countries, with their luxuriant vegetal growth, many trees, bushes, and stalks become objects of worship, like the copal and the ceïba tree of Central America.

The deified animals of Klamath mythology are all capable of assuming the predicate ámtchiksh, abbr. -ámtch, -amts *primeval,* of which mention has been made previously, and many also appear collectively, as *five* (or *ten*) brothers or *five* sisters, sometimes with their old parents (titchka-ága). This is the case only with gregarious animals, and also applies to the Thunders. Many of the larger quadrupeds appear constantly with *two* young only.

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773 The personified animals which receive the most frequent attention in Klamath Lake and Modoc myths are the marten, the weasel and the prairie-wolf or coyote.

Marten or Skē'l, Skē'lamtch always appears in connection with *Weasel* or Tcháshkai. Weasel is reputed to be the younger brother (tápiap) of Skē'l and acts as his servant and errand-boy. In the execution of the dangerous errands he is intrusted with, Weasel is often killed, and Skē'l

773 sometimes also, but they manage to revive again and to revenge themselves 825 on their enemies. What brought these two beasts into mutual connection in the popular mind has been already pointed out: both change their furs, more than other animals, from a darker hue in summer to a lighter one 823 in winter, when the weasel's fur becomes white. They are both supposed to live at Yámsi, "Northwind's Home," a high peak east of Klamath Marsh. To act like Skē'lamtch is to do something not meaning to do it apparently. Skē'l is a great wrestler, and like K'múkamtch has the faculty of changing 821 himself into a bird, beast, dog, old woman, etc., at will. To a certain extent he is the counterpart of K'múkamtch and performs the same deeds as he does, it appearing as if K'múkamtch acted under the mask of Marten and Tcháskai under that of Aíshish, in whom we recognize a lunar deity. But there are other acts by which the two pairs differ considerably, and where Marten and his brother appear to represent the wintry season only and the rough weather attending it.

Another deity of the same type, and far-famed over all the Pacific coast, is the *prairie-wolf*, little wolf, or coyote. This quadruped belongs rather to the genus *jackal* than to the wolves, looks as smart as a fox, carries a beautiful fur, and does not attack people unless united in packs of a dozen or more. His habit of living in earth holes, and his doleful, human-like, whining ululation, heard especially during moonlit nights were probably what set him up in the esteem of certain Indians, like the Eastern Selish and the Central Californians, so high as to make of him the creator of the world and of man. In Modoc stories he appears more frequently than in Klamath Lake folklore, and at present there are but few of these animals 821 left on the headwaters of Klamath River. Wásh, or Wáshamtch as the Klamaths call him, always appears in sun and moon stories, and is, like Skē'l and Tcháshgai, a substitute for the sun-and-moon deities. When he ran a race with the clouds he thought at first that there were two of him, for he always saw another person, his shadow, going by his side. When he stayed in the lodge of the Firedrill brothers he took the fire-sticks of these in his hands and they all blazed up. In the lodge of the ten Hot-Water Basket brothers he was burnt terribly by the inmates, and when repairing to the Ants' lodge the inmates punished him fearfully by their

773 savage bites. Once when caught in the act of "stealing" a woman, he was
925 captured by the two husbands of the same, who skinned him and hung up the skin to dry, after which the woman was abducted by the five Bear brothers. The female prairie-wolf also appears in folklore with her progeny, e. g., in the tale of the "Creation of the Moons," page 105, which exists in several variations. Such stories and others represent the coyote-wolf as a being which has many points of contact with K'múkamtch, but is distinct from him. Both are regarded simultaneously as sky-gods and as funny clowns. As traits distinguishing the one from the other, we notice that the wolf's body is believed to harbor wicked spirits (Texts, page 128, 4) and that his lugubrious voice is the presager of war, misfortune, and death (133, 1. 2). A distinction has to be made throughout between the coyote as an animal and the coyote as representing powers of nature in a deified, abstract form

Of the three varieties of the *bear* species, the *grizzly bear* is the most popular, but also more dreaded than the others on account of his enormous physical force. What makes him popular is a peculiar bonhomie which he exhibits in his behavior, and which forms a peculiar contrast to his bodily strength. In the myths he, or rather the female bear, is called Lúk̲, Lúk̲amtch, Shúshapamtch, Sháshapsh, and her two young Shasha̍pka, the latter name probably referring to the fact that this beast was at one time more than other quadrupeds made the subject of mythic and folk-lore tales (shapkéa, shapke-ía, shashapkaléa *to narrate a story*, shapkaléash, distr. shashapkĕléash *legend, tale*). The tale of the "Bear and the Antelope" is perhaps the most attractive of our collection of Texts. Generally the bear is the aggressive party in these stories, and he also gets generally worsted whenever a fight occurs or a stratagem is played on him. Sometimes there are five bear brothers acting in unison. In the "old yarn," narrated p. 131, this bear is killed by Gray Wolf near Modoc Point, and in his magic song (157; 46) he is made to say that he has five springs which are all dried up. He is often mentioned in the song-lines, but always under the name Lúk̲, not as Sháshapamtch.

Gray Wolf or Ké-utchish, Ké-utchiamtch is another of the carnivores which sometimes appear prominently in folklore stories. Gray Wolf is

773 reputed to be a relative (shá-amoksh) of Marten, and consequently of
925 K'múkamtch; he stayed at the lodge of the five Thunders at the time when it was burnt down, pp. 112. 113. One of his residences is at Mount Shasta.

Other quadrupeds frequently mentioned in these stories are the *skunk* (tcháshash), the three different kinds of *deer*, the *antelope* (tché-u), the *elk* (vû'n), the *mole* (mû'nk, Mod. mû-úe). Men or Indians appear but incidentally in beast stories, as pshe-utíwash, a plural noun, and are engaged only as a passive element in every occurrence where they are mentioned.

Among the *birds* the most prominent part is assigned to the *raven* (K̲ák̲, K̲ák̲amtch), for he is *Fate* personified, and his office is to punish by death all those who act antagonistically to his or his allies' interests. This is done by changing them into rocks. In all nations the croaking, doleful cries of the raven leave a deep impression on the human mind, and hence in mythology the raven fulfills the function of a soothsayer and messenger of woe. In British Columbia and farther to the northwest he is (as Yehl) considered the creator of all organisms, and almost all the folklore centers around him as the main figure.

The *golden eagle* or the one "floating in the skies" (P'laíwash) is in the Klamath lore mentioned as often as the raven, either alone or as a family of five brothers, but does not command so much respect as the raven does.

The *water birds*, as cranes, ducks, geese, coots, form the light infantry of the mythologic make-up, and mostly figure in crowds of five or ten, the coot representing the Ojibwē Shíngibis so well known through Longfellow's Hiawatha. Some of the *lower organisms* rise to an unexpected dignity, like the woodtick or shk̲ō'ks, which becomes the wife of the tricky Marten, and a caterpillar of beautiful colors, whose exterior makes him the rival or "master of the sun" (shápsam ptchíwip). Aíshish counts among his plural wives two butterflies of the gayest colors.

PRINCIPLES OF MYTHIFICATION.

121 The idea that every phenomenon and every change observed in nature
77 and mind is caused by some spirit, ghost, genius, god, or other mysterious, generally invisible agent, embodies what we call animism, and forms the foundation of all religions of the world, however abstract they may have

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násh túnshish. Nā'sh käflatoks nādsháshak tchpí'nualank, nánuk titads-
in one row. On one ground all together they are burying, every provided
χátko pil ílktch spûshpaktchámpka, shushtedshχátko wáshash wuwatuáp-
with boards grave they make mound-shaped, fenced in prairie-wolves to keep
kasht ké-utchishash tchí'sh. K̲á-i mā'ntch gítko sha hû'nk spû'klitcha
off grey wolves also. Not long after this they go to sweat
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túteräpni waítash. Wátch a lúluagsh tchí'sh k̲á-i tatá mā'ntch gínkanka
for five days. Horses slaves also no longer they bring there
luélkish, m'nátoks sha wátch shéshatui shkútashtat í'lχûtchlûk.
to kill, but his own they horses trade off for blankets to bury him in.

NOTES.

This short notice describes a funeral (ísha) of the Klamath Lake tribe in the mode as adopted from the Americans not long after the treaty of 1864, when cremation of bodies was abolished. Whatsoever of the ancient customs in disposing of the dead is still observed, the reader will easily gather from the present sketch.

87, 3. tálaka means to go forth and back with the hand; hence to rub with the palm of the hand, to rub paint on, to paint.

87, 5. Hä' nen wä'g'n. In this connection they can also say: hä' nem wä'g'n; and for wátchatka: wátchetka.

87, 11. tánktak, in this connection, is a compound of tánkt and ak, not of tánk and tak: "just at that time."

87, 17. láp kímbaks gasháktchna: they follow the corpse, which is placed on the wagon, in two files *on horseback*; kimbaks is apposition to shashámoks.

88, 1. Nā'sh etc. The appearance of their graveyard (tchpinû) near the Williamson River does not differ much from that of our cemeteries; it lies in the midst of the woods. For titadsχátko see Dictionary.

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FUNERAL OF WARRIORS.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY "SERGEANT" MORGAN, AN INDIAN FROM KOHÁSHTI.

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Ní'shta hä'ma mû'kash tχû'tχuk: "mák̲laks k̲'lä'k̲!" Tsúi gátpa
All night long screeches the big owl presaging: "people die!" Then came
mák̲laks ktaklí'sh, tsúi shneshnalχō'ta hushtsóχok. Nā's wípka hû ámbotat,
men parflesh-cuirassed, and while burning down lodges murder they. One (man) escaped into the water,
tsúi shtí'ldshna tû' sa-amoksámkshi m'na; gená shtí'ldshnuk. Tsúi gépka
and reported over there at relative's house his; he went (there) to announce. Then came
tumí' mák̲laks wa-u'htákiug; tsúi shenótank gē'kshta túnip hushtsóχ shenó-
many people to disperse (them); and while fighting on one side five were killed in
tankok. Gē'kshta tchkash hushtsóχa túm, nánka géna kä'ktsnuk vû'shuk;
battle. On other side also were killed many, some started to run away from fear;

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tsúi sha shiū'lgip'l tsóχapksh, tsúi sa ánkuala tū'm, tsúi sa kshū'iwal lū'-
Then they collected the fallen, and they cut limbs (of trees) many, and they laid on the pyre to

lukshaluapkug. Tsúi sa nutá hū'k, nánuktua núta; pualála sha hū'nkĕlam
cremate (him). Then they fired it, the whole they fired; cast into they his

tū'kanksh. Stútχishla sha yutátkug; k'lékaht shtútχishla. At hū'k nánuk
quiver. Sorrowfully wept they in mourning; at his death they wept. Now that whole

nátspka tchulä'ks, at sa nánuk gä'mbĕle lólokshaltkuk. Gátpampĕle
was burnt up body, then they all returned from cremating. They came back

tchī'shtat shishášhka sha lák hū'k snáwedsh hū'nkĕlam wenóya; hissuáksh
to homes (and) cut off they hair to wife his, who was widowed; husband

m'na k'lékaht wenóya. Shtíĕ shupĕlóka nū'ss wenóyuk, tsúi spúklitch.
her having died she became widow. Resin she laid on (her) head became widowed, then went sweating.

Túnipni spúkĕli, k'lä'wi at; at gä'mbĕle, kiä'm pán. At gä'tak.
Five (days) she sweated, stopped then; and returned home, (and) fish ate. That's the end.

NOTES.

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The style of this little piece is far from what we would call accomplished, and of incongruencies and unnecessary repetitions there are a score. The fight in which the five warriors were killed is imputed to the presaging, night-long cry of an ear-owl, and in ancient times Indians seem to have been justified by universal custom in attacking and killing their neighbors if an owl or raven was vociferating at night in close proximity to the lodge or lodges of these unfortunate people.

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88, 7. hushtsóχok for hushtsóχa hûk.

88, 9. 10. hushtsóχa is used here in an active sense, but is better translated by the passive form.

89, 1. kshúiwala has for direct object tsóχapksh, the dead body. For the same operation the verb ksháwala, ksháwal is also frequently used: 85, 6. From here the informant begins to speak of *one* body only, as if only one warrior, not many, had been killed in this battle. Cf. *Note* to 80, 5.

89, 2. húnkĕlam stands in this line for hunkĕlámsham or p'nálam: "their, theirs".

89, 5. lák. After their return they cut off the hair of the widow and then she put pitch or resin on the head. In most tribes they did it *at the time* of cremation, while they witnessed the action of the flames upon the body.

89, 5. hûk snáwedsh: one widowed wife only is mentioned here instead of many: "*pars pro toto*"-construction. This sentence, if built regularly, would run as follows: shishášhka sha lák hû'nkĕlam snawédshash, kát hûk wenóya; hissuákshash m'na k'lékaht wenóya.

89, 7. spû'kĕli, to sweat in the sweat-lodge, viz. in one of the three sweat-lodges given by K'múkamtch to the Klamath Lake people: spû'klitcha, spû'klidsha, to start out for sweating there. Cf. lumkóka and wála. To eat fish only, and no meat, means *to fast* on fish.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 773 192 193 96, 21. kínyäga. Aíshish held the tray over himself, his whole family, and his lodge. The same prefix ki- reappears in a nasalized form in nχí'-uliga: 97, 1. It is nasalized there on account of the preceding -k in hû'uk.

96, 23. kiiila. Where I have rendered this term by "world", as here and elsewhere in creation myths and myths of a similar character, it does not signify the whole surface of the earth as known to us, but only that section of country which is known to that tribe of Indians. Thus ancient creation myths only describe the creation of that part of country where these myths originated; the creation myths of coast tribes will include the ocean in their term for "world".

96, 23. Túbush talpatkóla. Mud Hen, one of Aíshish's five wives, looked out from under the roof of Aíshish's lodge or shed to see what was going on. This fiction explains the round dark spot visible on the mud-hen's head; its round form is indicated by the prefix la- in laliga. [825]

AÍSHISHAM SHASHAPKĒLÉASH.

*539 773 [115]

A MYTHIC TALE ABOUT AÍSHISH.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Shashapkēle-uápkan Aíshishash:
I am going to tell a story about Aíshish:

Aíshish mat sákla tû'ma mák̲laks íyamnatko; shuédshnuk mat sha
Aíshish, they say, gambled many people having with him; [illegible] gambling on their way, so they say, they

shuéna lû'loks. Yámnashptchi mat lû'loks Aíshisham, Wanákalam kükü'kli
built fires. Purple-Line (was), as reported, the fire of Aíshish, of Silver Fox yellow

lû'loks, K'múkamtcham shláyaksak. Tsúi sa slō'kla; Aíshish shlín túlaak,
the fire (was), of K'múkamtch (it was) smoke only. Then they shot at the mark; Aíshish hit (it) straight,

Wanáka yû'tlansna. K'mukámts tû' hak yû'l'ka, nánka toks tû' hak a-áti
Little Silver Fox missed the mark. K'múkamtch this side of mark struck, the others but far the side of the mark

hak yû'l'ka; tuí sa húmasht gíulank sákaliäga. Túm sa héshkû, tsúi sas
struck; right they then after so doing commenced gambling. Many things they bet on, then over them

Aíshish í'kak; séwatkashtka nánuk wátchpka, tsúi sa gä'mpēle. At tû'
Aíshish won; about noon all men had lost all they had, then they went home. Ever

tsússak í'χak nánuk sas.
since he won them all.

Tû'nipnish wéwan's gitk Aíshish: Tûhû'sh násh snáweds Aíshisham,
Five wives had Aíshish: Mud Hen (was) one wife of Aíshish,

Stókua násh snáwedsh, Klí'tish násh, Wä'ks násh, Tsí'ka násh snáwedsh.
Long-tail Squirrel one wife, Sand-hill Crane one, Mallard one, Chaffinch one wife.

NOTES.

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Portions of the same myth, though differently connected, will be found in the mythic tale: K'múkamtch attempts the destruction of his son Aishish. Both narratives are complementary to each other in some important details.

99, 3. shnéna. It is the custom of gamblers to build fires at every place where they stop on their road or trail. Any party of travelling Indians will do so when stopping on their way. Cf. 23, 15.

99, 3. Yámnashptchi. Several adjectives designating colors are taken from articles of dress in both dialects: tolulúptchi, green; tchχé-utchχe-ushptchi, a shade of blue; and spálptchi, light-yellow, is called after a face-paint made of a kind of clay.

825 99, 3. Wanákalam lú'loka. The fire of Young Silver Fox was yellow or yellowish, not only because the fur of this fox-species turns from silvery white into yellowish by the change of seasons, but also, because this animal represents in mythic stories the halo around the sun. Cf. shakatchálish in Dictionary. Wanáka always figures as the companion of the principal national deity, K'múkamtch.

99, 7. wátchpka: to stake everything in one's possession and then lose it all; wí-uka, to win all the stakes lost by the others.

99, 10. 100, 5. Stókua or Stúkuaga was, according to another of my informants, a fish of this name, and not a squirrel. The other wives of Aishish all have names of birds.

100, 3. luélks: K'múkamtch had inherited a locality where his father was in the habit of hunting and killing the giant-eagle (p'laíwash). Thinking of this place, K'mukámtch went there with his son Aishish, after scheming a stratagem to let him perish there. To kill the eagles, it was necessary to climb a pine-tree; this K'múkamtch was afraid of doing, and wanted to send up there his son instead.

100, 9. shnúlas toks etc. The lark had her young in the nest of an eagle.

100, 10. sûlû'tantsa. He dressed himself in Aishish's garments, as appears from the foregoing mythic tale.

100, 15. sas. Dave Hill often uses shash, sas in an almost reciprocal sense: while (or: for) going to gamble among themselves. This pronoun does not depend here on shnéna, as we might assume. Cf. *Note* to 58, 10. It refers to the playmates of Aishish, who set out with K'múkamtch, whom they thought to be their beloved Aishish on account of the dress he had abstracted from him. In 100, 14 shash was explained to me by "from them", viz. from the wives of Aishish, in whose lodge K'múkamtch had passed the night.

100, 18. gä'pkat for gépka at: did not come now, or: has not come yet.

101, 2. gä'tak. This adverb gives to understand, that they were loth or too tired to play any longer for stakes, because their beloved Aishish was not present. "To cease or stop gambling" simply, would be expressed by saklóla.

101, 4. shti'a etc. Cf. *Notes* to 89, 5; 96, 6; and general *Note*, on page 86.

193 101, 4. shi'dsho wenépi, rather unusual forms for shi'dsha hû vunépni. Hû, "up, above, on head," has coalesced with shi'dsha into one word.

101, 5. Kliti'sam. Aishish heard the cries of Klétish only, because of all the birds which are believed to be his wives, the long-necked sandhill crane is the loudest and noisiest.

825 101, 8. gatpampēlíssa for gatpámpēli sha, as tchíssa for tchí sa.

NOTES.

*539 In preference to any other beast, the prairie-wolf, small wolf, or coyote (as he is
773 called in the West after an Aztec term meaning "digger, burrower") became con-
● [825] nected in the mind of the Indian with the creation of the moon and the origin of the months or moons, because in moonlit nights he is heard howling from nightfall to dawn; sometimes alone, sometimes in packs of several dozen at a time. His querulous, whining howl is likened by the Indians with a "speaking to the moon". Our tale above is based upon the double sense of *moon* and *month*, in which the term shápash (the "indicator," from shápa to tell, indicate) is used. The idea of the creation of twice twelve moons originated in the delusion that in every period called *new* moon, moons were really made or manufactured *new* by the creator. The number twenty-four was perhaps suggested by the observation of lunar eclipses, or mock moons appearing in hazy weather. The coyote as the creator of the moons (and the creator of the universe among the Central Californians) naturally desired to have as many moons as possible; while K'múkamtch, as the wolf's antagonist, thought it better for the benefit of his own
*539 creation, the human beings, not to make the year too long. If the winter had to last
773 twelve months instead of six, how could they collect roots, bulbs, seed, fish, and game
192 enough to live through such a length of time?

105, 2. shipátχûkanka. Two moons being on the sky simultaneously would necessarily often cover and thereby eclipse or hurt each other.

105, 2. iggá-idshnank. The mother-coyote had hung up the twenty-four moons made by herself around the walls and ceiling of her winter-lodge, which in this myth signifies the sky. The suffix -ídshna points to her walking from one spot of the lodge to another while busy in suspending the moons.

[776] 105, 3. gû'hli'. A great deal of shrewdness is ascribed to the principal deity of the Klamath Lake people as well as to those of other *hunting* tribes. He manifests his astuteness in entering the coyote's lodge in her *absence* only, and to prepare a trick for her there.

105, 4. tát' né for táta nen.

[194] 105, 5. Hitá tchía! is pronounced as if it was *one* word only: hitátchia.

105, 6. shû'shamka, distributive form of sh'û'mka, to hum, grunt, to make hă hă. He grunted every time he planted another awl, sometimes in an interrogative tone of voice, and did it to disguise their secret planting into the ground.

105, 7. wákaitch composed of wák haitch; wásha-wéka composed of wásham wéaga; tχéwag or tχéwaga, diminutive of tχé-u first, first in order, eldest; cf. hû'ktag.

[193] 105, 7. tû'm haktch. This language has a term corresponding to our *too much* (tû'm tchátchui), but none which renders our *too* with accuracy. Adjectives or adverbs qualified by *too* are therefore pronounced with a higher pitch of voice and the quantity of their main vowel is increased when the Indian intends to express this adverb.

105, 10. wakaí, "why not," a combination of wák and ḳá-i.

105, 14. gatpanû'la gí'ta: he has come here and has left again.

[825] 105, 16. Kiti'ta. The coyote-wolf, while rolling forth and back on the ground, as these animals are in the habit of doing, ran her belly into the bone-awls insidiously planted there by K'múkamtch, so that the entrails shed their contents on the lodge-floor.

000 Meacham has given several of these concretionary products of the uncultivated Modoc mind. In making a study of aboriginal mythology and folklore such fictions must be disregarded, though they may be of interest to psychologists.

IV. Races in an undeveloped, primitive state of mind are prone to regard living animals as the abodes of spirits, and most frequently the wild and carnivorous quadrupeds are believed to harbor wicked spirits. These are either elementary spirits, or the ghosts of deceased persons. To see a spirit means death, and in their terrified state they often behold, as here, the spirit in a half human, half beastly appearance, when coyote-wolves, gray wolves, bears, cougars etc. come in sight. Such a sight can cause the instant death of the hunter, or deprive him of his reason, or make him sick for months. In Greek and Roman mythology, Pan, the Satyrs and the Fauns retain something of these primitive notions (in the panic terror etc.), though these genii were largely idealized in the later periods of national development. In every nation a relatively large amount of superstitions refers to hunting and the chase of wild beasts.

128, 9. Tanktchí'kni is in fact an adjective, not an adverb; literally, it means "those who existed, or hunted since that time", and is composed of tánk, a while or time ago, tchĕk, finally, and the suffix -ni. Cf. 13, 2. 128, 1.

SKŪ'KS-KIĂ'M.

HUMAN SOULS METEMPSYCHOSED INTO FISH.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY DAVE HILL.

I.

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K̲á-i hû'nk shlä' at kaní kiä'mat skû'kshash. Hû'k pî'l únk shlā't
Not can see anybody in a fish a dead man's spirit. Dead men only can see

shkū'ks; pî'l mák̲laks hû'k shlā't skū'ks. Hushti'χak tsä'taks ní'sh, sí'uks
spirits; only dead Indians can see spirits. He makes dream only (about deceased) but if me, to kill (me)

tchē'k sanahō'li hûk, wakíanua shuishháltki tchä bants' gíug nûsh. Hä'toks
then he wants, or perhaps to keep the song-medicine because he wants me. If

ní' shlääát k̲'läkátak ní; hä n' û'nk shlääát skū'ks-kiäm, hä n' û'nk shlääát
I should see (the dead), might die I; if I it should see, the spirit-fish, if I him should see

mák̲laks hû'nk skō'ks tchí'sh, k̲'lakát n' û'nk shlä-ók; wakiánua hissúnuk
the dead person the spirit also, may die I, him for having seen; or perhaps if song-medicine is applied,

tchätch ní'sh k̲á-i siû'gat. Hû'masht hû'nkash shlä-úkit nā'd mák̲laks,
then me not he may kill. Therefore him if should see we Indians,

hû'k tchish kiä'm, kat gēk wá; k̲á-i hû'nk shlääát hû'nkesh kiä'mat
the dead also (would appear as) a fish, which there lives; not I can see it in the fish

skókshash.
the dead man's spirit.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

II.

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Kiä'm	k̲'leká	tchû'shni;	tsúyunk	hû'ksa	tsóχatk	pi'l	kiä'm,	nánuktua
Fish	remain dead	forever;	therefore	these	dead (people)	(exist) only	as fish,	as all kinds of

kiä'm,	nánuktua	mák̲laksni	tsók̲atk.	Hä'	n'	hû'nk	hû'nkiash	shläát	skû'k-
fish,	all kinds	of Indians	dead.	If	I		(of a deceased)	should behold	the

shash,	k̲'läkát	ni	hû'nk	släók;	hä'toks	ni	shuíshaltk,	tchēk	gíug	k̲á-i
spirits,	would die	I	it	through seeing;	but if	I	recur to magic songs,	then		not

siúgat	nia.
he may kill	me.

NOTES.

[128] My efforts towards obtaining exhaustive texts from the natives concerning their belief in the transmigration of human souls were not crowned with entire success. Of the two items obtained, No. II is intended as a commentary of No. I, both treating [262] of the presence of human souls in fish. The cause why so many Indian tribes shun the flesh of certain fish lies in the fact that these species were seen feeding upon the bodies of drowned men and swimming around them. This induced the belief that man's soul will pass into the organisms of these finny inhabitants of the wave, even ×539 when death has resulted from other causes than from drowning. According to Hill, 775 the Mák̲laks believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of 787 living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore 192 cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances. But in *one* status only they become visible to them; when Indians are bewitched by the irresistible, magic spell of a conjurer or of a wicked genius. Then they enter into a tamánuash-dream, and when they see a dead person's spirit in such a dream, they are almost certain to [755] die from it. Only the intervention of the conjurer and of his song-medicine can save them from perishing; rigorous fasting and ascetic performances cannot be then dispensed with, and with all that no certitude of his final rescue is to be had.

[769] Here as elsewhere the pronouns húk, húnkiash etc., are inserted instead of the unpronounceable name of the deceased, and mean: *dead person, spirit.*

129, 2. pil mák̲laks; only dead Indians, not dead white men, because during their life-time these did not believe in the skû'ks; this belief is a privilege of the Indians.

129, 2. Hushti'χak etc. This sentence runs as follows: Tchē'ktoks hushti'χa ak nish, hûk tchē'k nish síuksh shanahō'li, wakiánhua tchēk p'násh (or pû'sh) nû'sh shuíshaltki gíug shanahō'li: "if he (the bad genius) makes me only dream in that manner, then he intends either to kill me, or perhaps he wants me to keep the song-medicine [756] for myself." To keep the song-medicine, shuíshli, is to undergo fasts and ascetic performances under the supervision of some conjurer for an almost unlimited time, five years at least.

129, 3. 4. Hä'toks ni' shläát etc.: if I should see (the dead) while I am *awake.*

[193] 129, 4. Skû'ks-kiäm, a compound word, may be rendered by spirit-fish, letiferous fish.

130, 1. Kiä'm k̲'leká etc. The rather obscure sense of this statement may be made comprehensible by the following: "When fish are dead, they are dead forever; hence

III.

*539 773 K'múkamtch hû'nk nákosh hû'nk táplalash né-ulχa shno-uyalátki
K'múkamtch a dam the loon ordered to destroy
shash. K'múkamtch hû'nk pí tpä'wa táplalash shnewí'tki gíug, pí k̲á-i
to them. K'múkamtch he ordered the loon to destroy (it), (but) no
tuá kiä'm lúeluak. Hû'ksha hû'nk nakushkshákshni k̲ú-idsha kiä'm
fish to kill. Those who dwelt at the dam rotten fish
nutuyakía nákosh gä'tant, K'mukámtchish shíuguk, k̲ú-idsha kiä'm pátki
threw over the dam to the other side of, (for) K'múkamtch to kill, rotten fish (he) go-
gíug. Tchúi K'múkamtch sháwiguk k̲ú-i sham nákûsh shû'ta; tchúi
ing to eat. Then K'múkamtch in wrath their dam spoiled; upon this
nákushχēnkni shlámiuk shtí'ya shishí'dsha shû'ktaldshank lák. Tchúi
the dam-neighbors in mourning pitch put on head, cutting off (their) hair. Then
*539 773 192 K̲á-ag wétanta shash, ktá-i sha k̲'léka. Tchúyunk K'mukámtch lúpaksh
the Raven laughed at them, rocks they became. Hereupon K'múkamtch chalk
shna-ulámna taplálash.
spit over the loon.

NOTES.

[823] I. This myth intends to explain the existence of the large number of rocks found at the locality called Shúyuχalkshi.

[196] [193] 131, 2. K̲á-ak̲amtch. The adjectives -amtch, -ámtchiksh appended to animal names designate mythologic characters. Adjectives of an equal meaning occur in all the western languages, as far as these have been studied. Cf. *Note* to 126, 11. 12.

● [825] II. In this myth, as well as in other grizzly bear stories recorded in this volume, this bear is always killed, conquered, or cheated by his quicker and more cunning adversaries. Nevertheless his clumsy form and narrow, ferocious intellect are very popular among the tribes, who have invented and still invent numerous stories to illustrate his habits and disposition.

[103] 131, 5. K̲íuti is the name of an Indian camping-place situated a short distance north of Modoc Point, on eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake.

[193] 131, 6. hátkok qualifies shkû'lχa and yámnash is the indirect object of shûlû'tamantk. Shkû'lχa, nánuk yámnash shûlû'tamantko, wawakshnátko tchish: "he lay down to sleep, keeping all his neckwear on himself, and not taking off his moccasins." Shûlû'tamna can in other connections refer to the clothing, but here it has special reference to the beads.

131, 11. ktí'ukuela. Tradition reports, that Old Grizzly was pushed over some of the high rocks at Modoc Point.

[173] 131, 13. Yámakishash etc. In these words may be recorded the reminiscence of an ancient fight between the Klamath people and some Northern tribe which had come South on a hunting expedition. A Klamath song-line given in this volume also recalls *539 773 825 an ancient inroad made by the "Northerners". The grizzly bear represented the Klamath tribe, the wolf the Northern Oregonians, perhaps as ancient totem signs; the bear having been killed by an intruder, the Klamaths had to take revenge for the insult.

823 III. The object of this myth is to explain, among other things, the origin of the white spots on the head and back of the loon (tápial). But the myth as given in the

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text is far from being complete. It refers to a locality above the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, called Ktaítini, or "Standing Rock". A high rock stands there at the edge of a steep hill, and, according to the legend, the Indians who put pitch on their head were changed into that rock. Near by, a lumber-dam looking like a beaver-dam, across the Williamson River, partly resting on rocks projecting from the bottom of the river. K'múkamtch longed for the destruction of this dam, muddied the water to prevent the Indians from fishing and hired the loon to destroy the objectionable structure. The loon dived into the waters and forced its way through the dam by main strength. The Indians dwelling on the shore depended for their living on the fisheries, and seeing their existence at stake tried to gig the loon, but succeeded only in hitting its tail-feathers. When the loon had accomplished his task K'múkamtch offered to reward him in any manner wished for. The loon then wished to have white spots on its back, and K'múkamtch satisfied the request by spitting chalk upon the downy surface of its body.

132, 3. lúeluak; formed by vocalic dissimilation; cf. *Note* to 114, 3.

BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

I.

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Wásh tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lû'la wásham tχû'tχash.
Prairie-wolf is soothsayer; and they believe in wolf's prophecy.

Máklaks hû'nk lû'la wásham pákluipkash k'lékuapkaht tchē'k; tχu'-
Indians believe, prairie-wolf when howls, they will die after a while; pre-
tχuk pákluipka.
saging he howls.

Máklaks hû'nk lû'la púshish hä'masht î-unégshtka, tχû'tχuk héma;
Indians believe, the cat when cries just after sunset, for presaging death it mews;
tchîkî'n tchish hä'masht î-unégshtka gû'lu, tχû'tχuk tchēk hä'ma. Wátchag
the chicken also when crows just after sunset the female, for presaging death then it crows. The dog
tchî'sh wawá-a î-unégshtka, kú-i tchämlûk.
also (when) whines right after sunset, the signs are bad.

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[682]

Watság tchî'shtat tχótχa î-unä'gshtka; tsúi gátpa máklaks, gû'lki ngé-
A dog at a lodge howls prophetically just after sunset; then comes an Indian, attacks, wounds
isha at hustsō'χa. Sa-ámoks hátokt tchía tû'sht hushtchō'χa, ká-i hûnk
and kills (the owner). A relative, (who) there lived right where the murder was, did not him
shiúga; tsúi tû'tûk spû'nshna lû'gshla vû'nsh sχéna witsû'ls éna tû'tuk
kill; then seizing (him) they arrest, enslave him, the canoe row away, fishing-net carry with them taking
ktsî'k, snáwedsh spû'nshna híssuaks shíukaluk. Kilû'sh at kétak a
oars, his wife they abduct, (her) husband being the murderer. Furious he quits and
tsä'wik.
is demented

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*539 825 787

K̲ák̲ tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lúluk sa k̲ák̲am tχû'tχatkash, tsúi sa
A raven is a soothsayer; and they believing the raven's repeated prophecy, they
shenótanka; pits hû'nk pán k̲ák̲ mák̲laks.
fight each other; it also eats, the raven, (dead) men.

787

Tutíksh mák̲laks shuína tchû'χapkam m'nálam shashámokshamn;
Dreams the natives sing about dead their relatives;
húmasht sháhunk gíug kíukayunk flags.
for this same reason they stick out flags.

525 777 825

Tmélhak gítko shaklō'tkish tídsh tínχa; tû'm íχaga. Tmélhak tā'dsh
A tmélhak-squirrel having, the gambler well succeeds; much he wins. The tmélhak (is) certainly
sháyuaks; shakálshtat lak̲í, tíds sualaliámpkatko.
of much account; in the game (it is) chief, well managing (it).

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Tcháshash mû'na lushántsnank mbáwa skí's; tsúi mák̲laks nánuk
The skunk deep down while scratching a hole emitted a blast; upon this people all
hushtsóga tsáshash-kíuks. Snáwedsh shanahóliuk spû'nshna p'laiwásham
killed the skunk-conjurer. A wife seeking he carried off the eagle's
tû'paks ktanápkash. Shléank tchawíka p'laíwash, wí-udsna ánkutka
sister when asleep. Seeing (this) became furious eagle, beat with a club
tchásēs, wí-udsish k̲'läká, tsúi k̲ó-i pílui. Ndopóg ktsō'l hämetsípka:
the skunk, the beaten one died, then badly stunk. Smelling (it) the stars said:
"pátkal!" at p'laíwash pátkalp'le, stópatchka, tsúi gémpēle túpakshash
"get up!" and eagle rose up again, washed the face, then went home sister
m'na énank.
his taking with him.

II.

*539 525 825 777

Hä shaklō'tkish pí'sham shnû'lash ntággal, shaklō'tkish tídsh vumí',
If a gambler of humming-bird the nest finds, (and) the gambler well hides (it) away,
k̲aítoks kaní vuiní'χi. Hä kó-e shléa pahápkash, pē'tch ktákta sk̲ä'tish
not any one conquers (him). If a frog he finds dried-up, the leg he cuts off left
tapí'dshnish vumí'; húmashtak shû'ta shaklō'tkish, k̲aítoks kaní vuiní'χi.
hind (leg), hides away; (if) thus acts the gambler, (then) not any one beats (him).
Hä kaní tchatchlaíptcha shlä'-a (kinkáni tût wá), tídsh tí'nχa. Hä kaní
If any one a kind of fire-bug finds (scarce there they are), good luck it brings. If any one
mā'ntchnish mák̲läksäm shtáp shuálka, pahápkash käíla-shushatí'shash
old-fashioned Indian arrow-head saves, dried-up a mole
tchí'sh, hû'kt humáshtak tídsh tí'nχa tchí'sh.
also, he in the same way well succeeds also.

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É-ukshikni Mō'dokni lóla p'laikí'shash lák̲iash, shtínta tchish wengápkam shkō'kshash.
The Klamath Lakes (and) Modocs believe in the heavenly ruler, revere also of the deceased the spirits.

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Mō'dokni shtûpuyúka túnäpni wäíta túnäpni pshín gshiúlak̲a káyak
The Modocs at first menstruation five days (and) five nights dance never
ktákí'nan; wewánuish ta-unä'pni wäíta k̲á-i tchû'lēks pán.
sleeping; the females for ten days no meat eat.

*539 Hä′ î shma-ʼhtcháktak yaínatat, k̲á-i î ûn k̲ésh shlé-etak; hä′-atoks
If you let your shadow fall on the hill, not you ipo will find; but if
[787] î k̲á-i shma-ʼhtcháktak, tû′m î ûn k̲ésh shlé-etak.
you not let your shadow fall, much you ipo will find.

000 Móatuash, k̲′le-ugtkiuápkasht tchíalash Móatuashăm k̲ók̲etat, k̲á-i mhû′
The Pit River Indians, (lest) would cease to come the salmon up the Pit River, not grouses
lúela skó; Mō′dokni tchí′sh lóla shuátash kíăm tchûk̲á shát̲ma, humásht-
they kill in spring time; the Modocs also assume, sage-hens the fish to swim up stream invite, there-
gisht k̲á-i lúela.
fore not they kill (them).

NOTES.

*539 171 I. What is contained in these short items refers equally to the Klamath Lake and to the Modoc people, although those contained under I. were obtained from various informants belonging to the former chieftaincy.

[192] 133, 2. páka to howl, bark; pák′la to howl repeatedly, to howl for a while; pák-luipka to howl for a while in the distance towards somebody.

[177] [231] 133, 4. 5. The cat and the chicken being but recently introduced among these tribes, this superstition must have been transferred to them from other animals. By inversion, the words tchíkin gû′lu, *the hen*, appear here widely separated from each other.

[192] 133, 6. K̲ú-i tchămlûk has to be resolved into: k̲ú-i tchē mál (for málash) hú′k: "bad then for you this is!" Cruel fights will follow.

133, 7–11. This story is not clearly worded, but we are taught by it how these Indians are conversing among each other with laconic breviloquence. An Indian living in the vicinity has heard the whining of the dog which means death to his owner. He goes there, shoots the man and takes to his heels. A relative of the murdered man comes up and is mistaken by others for the murderer. They deprive him of his wife, his property and his liberty; he becomes a madman on account of the injustice done to him.

[825] 134, 1. 2. The raven (k̲ák̲) is supposed to be a bird of fatal augury, because he was seen devouring the flesh of dead Indians. Compare: General *Note* on page 130.

[202] 134, 4. kíukayunk. They adjust a rag or piece of skin to a pole and stick out that improvised *flag* on the top of the lodge to notify neighbors that they had a dream last night and desire an interpreter for it.

[525] [825] 134, 5. One of the legs of a dead black tmélhak-squirrel is cut off and laid under the gaming-disk or the pá′hla to insure luck to the player.

134, 7–12. Tcháshăsh etc. This is a fragmentary extract of a scurrilous skunk-myth, which I have not been able to obtain in full from my informant, the Modoc chief Johnson, who speaks the Klamath dialect. This myth is well known through the whole of Oregon, for parts of it are embodied in a popular and melodious song of the Mólale tribe, whose ancient home is the country east and southeast of Oregon City and Portland.

134, 7. 8. mák̲laks nánuk is the direct object of hushtsóga; the skunk killed them by his stench.

[601] 134, 9. tû′paks stands for tû′pakshash; túpakship, abbreviated túpaksh, is properly the younger sister, as called by or with reference to an elder brother, while pa-ánip

*539 171 is the elder sister, called so by or with reference to a younger brother. Two other terms exist for the relative age of sisters among themselves.

[601] 134, 11. pátkalp'le. The myth adds, that the eagle got up again at dinner-time and that after washing the face he took a nap before taking his sister home.

[525] [777] II. These items were all obtained in the Modoc dialect from J. C. D. Riddle. Many of the articles mentioned as gamblers' amulets are supposed to bring good luck to the gambler on account of their *scarcity*, which must have made them more interesting to the aboriginal mind than other objects of a brighter exterior.

[192] 134, 13. ntággal, ndákal: to find accidentally; shléa: to find, generally, after a search. vumi' is to hide away either on one's own person or in the ground.

134, 16. 18. tídsh tínχa is to succeed, to be lucky; without tídsh in: hútoks tínχantko gi, that man is lucky.

[411] 134, 17. shtáp is a black arrow-head made of obsidian, a volcanic rock found in several places in these highlands.

135, 1. hä'-atoks is formed from hä toks with intercalation of the declarative particle a.

[192] [193] [825] 135, 3. k̲'le-ugtki-uápkasht is a periphrastic conjugational form composed of gi-uápkasht, of the verb gi, and of k̲'lé-utka, the usitative of k̲'léwi, to cease, stop, terminate; -utka has turned into -ugt- by metathesis. Literally: "would habitually cease to be in the Pit River." mhû', the grouse, is called by the Klamath Lakes tmû'.

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*539 171 [115]

REFLECTIONS OF EVERY-DAY LIFE

MONOLOGUES IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY JOHNSON, CHIEF OF THE MODOCS

K̲á-i	mish	nû	ó-it	nû	tidsä'wa	nté-ish,	shliútuk	mä'makla	pá-uk	shlínk
Not	you	I	to let have	I	like	(my) bow,	for shooting	ducks	to eat	killing (them)

ndektí'shtka.	Tidsä'wa	k̲á-i	mish	úya,	tû	génuapka	úyamnank	nté-ish
with arrows.	I like	not	to you	to give (it),	over there	I will go	taking along	bow and arrows

gé-u,	hishlátsanuapka.	Yó-ishi!	tatála	k̲ä'gi,	k̲á-i	shláa	tatákni	yû'lχ;
my,	(and) will amuse myself by shooting.	Are lost!	right (ahead)	they are not,	not	I found (them)	where	they went down;

yó-ishin,	mä'ns	k̲á-ika.	Ûnds	mbúsant	pēn	k̲áyakuapk.
they are lost,	for a long time	I searched.	Some-time	to-morrow	again	I will look out (for them).

Shikútchipk	tchiká	kĕmutsátk;	undsē'ks	séwanuapk	pátki	giúga
Walks on stick	an old	decrepit (man);	some time	I will give (him)		to eat

méhiess;	yuyálks	tsi	pá-uk	hûn	tchē'k	tídsh	kí'-uapk.	Kí'shtchipk	huk
trout;	being poor	thus	through eating	of it	then	at ease	he will feel.	Comes to me	this

snéwedsh;	oní'sh	kíäm	shéwant i;	tû'm	nû'sh	shewantamnuápka	sáwalktko
woman;	to her	fish	you may give;	plenty	to me	she will continue to give	having received presents.

Kámp'kuk	k̲éliak	pásh	tiä'ma.	Undsē't	kátchkal	pa-uápk	gé-utala	steínash.
The indigent	without	food	is hungry.	By and by	tobacco	I will chew	to my heart's content.	

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON ANIMALS.

GIVEN BY JOHNSON, CHIEF AT YÁNEKS, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

Nī'l	wéksa	pû'l'hka	mák̲laks	shû'lhashluk	sχō'lhok;	ktánuapkuk
The down	of mallard-duck	pull out	the Indians	to make pillows	to lie on;	for sleeping

sχō'lhank	nī'l	ikúgank	willishī'kat.
(and) resting	the down	they are putting into	pillow-cases.

Mbû'shant	nílaksht	wísχak	hä'ma.
In the morning	at dawn	the wisχak-bird	sings.

Wátsak	wáwa a	gulíndshisham;	le	génug	wáwa.
Dogs	howl	because left behind;	for not	going (with them)	they howl.

Yá-ukal	tchaggáya	ánkutat	ä'-unank;	untsä'g	ä-unólank	húndshan-
Bald eagle	sits	on tree	replete with food;	after a while	after depleting himself	he will

uapk,	tó-ugshtant	húndsanuapk	Ä'-ushtat.
fly off,	to the opposite shore	he will fly	of Upper Klamath Lake.

Tché-u	gankánkatchuapk;	tí'tmăk	mák̲iakuapk,	wakiánua	lápěni;
Antelopes	(people) are going to hunt;	once only	they will camp out,	or perhaps	twice;

shlíuk	gépgapluapka	pálak.	Úndsh	mbúshant	pä'-uapk	sχólăkok.
after shooting (antelopes)	*they will return*	*at once.*	*Some time*	*next day*	*they will take a cold bath*	*to induce sleep.*

K̲ó-i	shû'ta	wásh,	pálla	n'sh	wásh;	k̲ó-idshi	wásh.	Múatch	kpē'l
Wickedly	acts	prairie-wolf,	steals	from me	prairie-wolf;	mischievous (is)	prairie-wolf.	A long	tail

gī'tko,	tidsá	nē'l	gítko	wásh.	Kinkáni	wásh	É-ushtat.
(he) has,	delicate	fur	has	prairie-wolf.	Scarce (are)	prairie-wolves	at Upper Klamath Lake.

Kaí-udshish	nísh	k̲ópk̲a;	k̲ílōs	k̲é-udsis;	shlá-a	nísh	tslatskágantko
Gray wolf	me	bites;	impetuous	is gray wolf;	(when) sees	me,	jumps on my throat

k̲é-udshish.
gray wolf.

NOTES.

[192] 144, 1. nī'l wéksa stands for nī'l wéksam; pû'l'hka for púlχa or púlk̲a: -'h-, "by hand."

144, 9. 10. These characteristics of the prairie- or coyote-wolf, which is so highly reverenced by the California tribes, place him between the wolf and the fox. Nē'l stands for nī'l and múatch for múnish. Tidsá is tídsha a.

[192
193] 144, 11. tslatskágantko; the verbal adjective of tchlakága stands here in the distributive form: "each time when he sees me, he jumps on my throat." The *l* of the second syllable is suppressed.

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CLASSES OF ANIMALS AND PLANTS.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY DAVE HILL.

Quadrupeds: hohánkankatk lílhanks; nánuktua hohánkankatk; wunípa tsō'ks gí'tk käílatat tchía nánuktua lílhanks wíkts nákanti.

Birds: lásaltk nánuktua.

Forest birds of small size: tchíkass.

Forest birds of smallest size: tchíliliks, tchílilika.

Ducks and geese: mä'mäkli.

Night birds: psín húntchna.

Water birds: nánuktua huhánkankatk é-ushtat, ámbutat tchía.

Swimming animals: nánuktua udúdamkanksh sáyuaks; nánuktua udódamkankatk.

Fish: kiä'm.

Jumping amphibians, toads and frogs: skáskatkankatk.

Snakes: wíshink; wámĕnigsh.

Lizards; lit. "*walking straight out*": uli-ulátchkankatk.

Reptiles and worms: skískankankatk.

Flying insects: mánk.

Creeping insects, snails, some mollusks etc.: mû'lk, mû'lkaga.

Grass, seed-grass: kshún.

Berries: íwam.

Edible roots, bulbs and seeds: mák̲laksam pásh; lutísh.

Trees: ánku; kō'sh.

NOTES.

These generic terms are quite characteristic, but by no means systematic. These Indians classify animals otherwise than we do, for they regard the mode of locomotion as a criterion for their subdivisions of the animal kingdom, thus sometimes placing in the same class animals which widely differ in their bodily structure. The Indian mind likes to specify and is averse to generalizations; there are a few Indian languages only that contain comprehensive generic terms for "animal," "carnivore,"

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"reptile," "amphibian" or "plant." Even the English language had to borrow these terms from Latin. The Klamath Lakes often use kō'sh (pine) generically for "tree," and wishink, "garter snake" for "snake," the Modocs wáměnigsh (black snake) for the same order of reptiles, these species being the most frequent of their kind in their respective countries. Birds are hohánkankatk as well as quadrupeds, because they fly "in a straight line".

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ALIMENTARY SUBSTANCES.

LIST OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN AND MINNIE FROBEN.

Yántch kálkali, tχópo-pátpan, pakí'sh; kak tán: 18"; käíflatat lû'sha,
cylindric, thumb so large as, eatable; so long: 18"; on ground it lies,
ktaíyatat lushá. Shláps pushpúshli, lā'pi shlápsh.
on rocks it lies. The flowers (are) dark. two flowers (to it).

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Kápiunksăm kédsha saígatat; lû'k pûpashpúsh-tkani, lúiχitk tchí'pshash.
grows in the pra'rie; the seeds (are) blackish, larger than tchípsah.
Wéwanuish hûnk shtä'ila wékank yákitka páta-gíulshēmi. Pék-
The women gather (it) by beating (it) into seed-baskets at summer's end. By
shank sha hû'nk gápiunks shúta; tchiláła sha títatna. Wû'kash-
grinding they kápiunks prepare; boil (it) they sometimes. Wókash-
shitk máshetk kápiunks.
like tastes kápiunks.

Káshma kédsa walídsat, käíflatat ushá; pálpal shlápsh, tsmō'k pí'luitk.
grows on rock cliffs, on the ground lies; white (is) flower, after fish smelling.

Kelátch kédsha wí-ukayant kěládshamat; kělādsh ntchekáni mämätch-
grows on the low kělādsh-bushes; kelădsh-berry small blue
mä'tchli lálkaya. Wéwanuish kělādshla wâkslólank; shpahá sha
grow on bushes. The females collect (it) after wókash-season; dry (it) they
tchúi ishkû'lank, í'lχa sha shpáhank í'lkshlûk lúldam, tchilálank
then after gathering, keep they (it) by drying to preserve (it) for winter, boiling (it)
tchēk sha pán.
then they eat (it).

Kěnáwat kédsha saígatat, tsélas ka tánni 1', pakí'sh; p'lái shláps pushpúshli,
grows on prairie, stalk so long 1', eatable; on top the flower is dark.
tídsh piluítko.
good smelling.

Kláma pálpalish shlápshaltk p'laí, kédsha kóketat, pákish, tíds másitk; má-
a white flower having on top, grows in rivers, is eatable, well tasting; the
klaks pán.
Indians eat (it).

*539 262 824 192 [193] grow so tall in the cold Klamath highlands as in the Californian and Oregonian valleys adjoining them to the southwest and west, where its height attains sometimes three feet. Cf. *Note* to 94, 9.

146, 14. Klána, an aquatic or tule-grass, of which they eat a portion of the young stalk. The term "tule," from Aztec *tolin*, serves in the West to designate all kinds of rushes, stalks, and grass-like plants growing in the water and wet grounds. By k̲ók̲ĕtat are meant the Williamson and the Sprague Rivers.

147, 1. Klápa is the name of the eatable bulb or root growing on the púdshak-plant. The púdshak-grass becomes red in the autumn, when dry.

147, 3. Ktû'ks is the eatable root of a species of the cat-tail plant; táletat, locative case of tálish (or tálesh?), straight stem, from táltali "forming a straight, unbroken line." The ktû'ks grows in the water, like the wild parsnip (skáwanks); the natives dry the tender roots of the ktû'ks and bake them into a sort of bread. The epithet: "like wókash" probably refers to the *taste* of this kind of food.

147, 5. Kû'ktu. This plant attains a length of about 6 inches.

147, 6. 7. K̲áls is the globular bulb of the wítchpai water-plant.

147, 8. K̲ä'a, k̲ä'sh. This plant produces a hard, whitish, farinaceous bulb, which is commonly spoken of as ípo, a Shasti term, and is one of the most important food-articles of the Oregonian Indians. To dig or collect k̲ä'sh: k̲ä'shala, k̲ä'shla.

[252] [825] 147, 9–13. K̲ō'l, also pronounced k̲û'l, gû'l, gúl, is a kind of Aralia. The root is eaten only when roasted, and is then very nutritious, though spreading an abominable smell. This odor is so penetrating that, as alleged, the grizzly bear will attack nobody who smells after roasted k̲ōl; to this we may add the restriction: "if he is not very hungry." John D. Hunter mentions in his "Manners and Customs of Indians," etc. (Phila. 1823, page 370) that the Osages ascribe to the plant washoba-pesha the power of scaring away the black bear. This plant is an annual growth possessing sudorific and cathartic properties. Washobe is the black bear, mitchú the grizzly bear in that Southern Dakota dialect.

147, 9. hû'mtcha gû'l: "the k̲ōl in this condition," viz: in the ripe state. The k̲ōl-plant is ripe when the stalk becomes red or reddish.

[193] 147, 10. méya. Speaking of *many* women digging bulbs or roots, stá-ila, stä'-ila is the regular form; its proper signification is: "to fill up" "to fill" (the conical root-basket worn on back, yáki).

147, 10. 11. pû'kguishamtat: "to their old roasting place"; púkuishamat might stand instead. The locative suffix -tat, -at is here appended to a verbal substantive of púka, to roast, standing in the possessive case -am, and -u- is the infix marking past tense. The guttural k has become distended into kg.

147, 12. ĕ'nt or ĕ'nd for énat, conditional of éna. Instead of ĕ'nt, ídshant (for ídshnat) may stand in the Klamath Lake dialect.

147, 14. Lupí' etc. The import of this sentence is: "L'bá ripens in the month when autumn begins."

[285] 148, 1. Má-i is the common reed or tule-grass growing sometimes to the height of 8 to 10 feet. The shallow borders of the lakes in the headlands of Klamath River are full of this growth, which is one of the most important economical plants for the Indian. Women manufacture from it mats, dishes, baskets, lodge covers, nets, sacks, bags, and the young stalk yields in its lower part a palatable marrow.

*539 533 755 Many Indians do not understand all these songs, which contain many archaic forms and words, and the conjurers themselves are generally loth to give their meaning, even if they should understand them. Some songs are of a stereotypic application in the treatment of all or the majority of the maladies. A close familiarity with the habits of animals of the forest manifests itself throughout, as well as in the mythic tales.

*539 533 755 192 The translations added by me are not literal; they render the meaning of the songs in a free and paraphrastic manner. In the metrics the accentuated syllables designate a higher pitch of the singing voice.

153; 2. Literally: "I blew off the feather-crest."

153; 3. To read: shléwi witχuû'lank, seems preferable in this connection. Cf. 35.

[292] 154; 6. On grand occasions young women were in the habit of dressing in buckskin robes, fringed with porcupine quills (shmáyalsh). In a myth the bull-frog was reported to wear constantly this kind of dress, and hence originated a sort of proverbial locution: kó-e shmashmáyalti: "the bull-frog in the shmáyalsh-dress." Cf. shmáyam. Zoologists call this frog: Rana pipiens.

154; 7. This is called washpaláksam shui'sh, the medicine-song of the washpálaks-fox species, Vulpes velox. The exterior of this fox may be sketched by the words: ä'kelä'kēla wátchag hû'tchnuk, a long-bodied dog is running or trotting. Cf. song 22.

154; 9. This is called the tuákisham shuinŏ'tkish or incantation sung by the crane itself through the mouth of the conjurer. Nobody could hear the bird's voice if the conjurer did not sing its song. A song, which the conjurer sings for himself and by which he does not interpret any animal or other object of nature, is called kiúksam shui'sh and is endowed with magic powers. In the West of the United States the tuákish is popularly known as shitepoke, in the East as fly-up-the-creek.

[825] 154; 10. The feathers of the yellow hammer are worn on neck as an ornament.

[301] 154; 12. This refers to a certain large bird not specified, which contracts its body, so that the head seems to be its largest part. When walking, the bird seems to roll around on the prairie. Pílan for píla nû.

154; 14. The object to which song 14 refers is not known.

154; 15. Walχátchaga is very probably, though not certainly, a kind of marten. Mantles were made of its fur. This rimed incantation is called walχátchkalam shuinŏ'tkish.

155; 16. Called: tcháshisham shuinŏ'tkish; melody very pretty. The diphthong ui is pronounced here as *one* syllable. Skunks, while running around, are in the habit of holding straight up their bushy tails, which are almost as long as their bodies.

155; 17. This pretty song is chanted by the choristers while the kiuks feigns to suck out of the body the tiny object which is supposed to have caused the disease, and before he gets it out. ḳóga, ḳóḳa means originally *to bite;* bite first, then suck the disease out.

155; 18. Pápkash is pronounced almost like pávkash; 144, 11. ḳópḳa like ḳóvka.

155; 19. Alludes to a peculiar nodding observed in lizards when running out of their holes and stopping at the issue.

155; 20. The animal to which this song refers is not known. Compare No. 16. 24. The literal meaning is: "The north wind blows around me from the distance."

155; 21. This song, with a beautiful melody, is the shuinŏ'tkish of a mouse species with pig-like proboscis.

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192 — 162; 4. Of the yaúγal, white-headed or bald eagle, Haliaetus leucocephalus, another conjurer's song was obtained. Cf. 165; 5.

162; 5. The wording of this song could not be obtained with certainty.

162; 6. Stands for: atí tchelä'wash nû géna.

● [825] 162; 7. té-i, té-i has no meaning, but simply serves to beat the measure when dancing with short steps.

163; 8. This song is said to be that of the quiver (tókankah) and its purport the same as that of No. 7. Yáhiash is a kind of aquatic bird.

163; 9. A similarly worded song is in the Modoc collection, given by Toby Riddle.

163; 10. Sháwalsh is here lengthened into sháwallsh for metrical reasons.

163; 11. This is a favorite song of a kíuks on the Williamson River, called Skúkum Doctor (stout doctor). Given by Dave Hill, also 12 and 13.

[772] 163; 13. Foot-prints not larger than those of a baby are sometimes discovered in the higher mountains of the Cascade Range. The Indians refer them to a dwarf called na'hnias, whose body can be seen by the conjurers of the tribe only. The dwarf gives them his advice for curing the sicknesses of others and inspires them with a superior kind of knowledge.

163; 14–16 were dictated by an Indian whom I found at Linkville.

163; 15. The name of the animal, probably a bird, to which this conjurer's song refers was not obtained. Cf. shápsam ptchíwip in Dictionary.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSAM SHUÍ'SH.

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INCANTATIONS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE CONJURERS.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN.

1. *Song of the Lake:*

Ktsálui gé-u é-ush

My lake is glittering in azure colors.

2. *Song of the rain-storm:*

Gé-u a-i népaks népka,
gûlkásh gé-u hû shuísh.

The disease produced by me has arrived,
I am the storm and wind and this is my song.

3. *Song of the conjurer's arrow:*

Gé-u a hû't hänä'sish

This here is my long magic arrow.

4. *Song of the North wind:*

Yámsam gé-u gē'-ish kápa –́ ⏑́ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑

I am the North wind, and in my path I am irresistible.

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70. *Song of the little wipĕlí'wash forest-bird:*

Wipĕlí'wash nû shuí'sh gi,
wuipléwĕsh nû shuí'sh.

My own song I sing, I the wipĕlíwash-bird.
I the wuipléwash am singing about myself.

71. *Song of the witkatkish-hawk:*

Gé-u aí hû tû' sáwals, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
witkatkísam gé-u sáwals. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

My head-crest this is, it is that of the witkatkish-hawk.

NOTES.

● [825] The incantations obtained from Morgan are mostly of the kind called shuinǒ'tkish, and a large number of them are attributed to birds. Some of them probably exist in a more explicit form, which was not remembered, and the rhythmic or musical form was obtained of a part of them only. A literal translation of these song-lines is an impossibility in most instances, if their sense has to be rendered in full; I have therefore furnished only paraphrastic interpretations. The list is alphabetic, and was arranged after the names of the animals, or other personified objects, to which the incantations are attributed. Many of these songs are referred to in the "Subject List of Incantations" given by Morgan.

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164; 1. Ktsálui, to be resplendent with colors, is mainly said of objects showing a blue or purple tinge: pû'ksam shláps ktsáluitko, the camass-plant has a bluish color. This verb is also used when speaking of the rainbow; of the lizard: 165; 14., also of the weasel's fur-skin: 169; 55.

[779] 164; 3. The use of these conjurer's arrows is mentioned 73, 5.

164; 4. Yámsam for Yámasham; cf. *Note* to 111, 4. Of the personified North wind the Indians say "he lives up in the mountains". On the north side the basin of the Williamson River is closed up by high mountains. Gé-ish and génuish, génhuish means the action of going and that of having gone, or the present and the past going; both were translated by "*gait*", "*tread*", a term which does not differ much from the real meaning. Both terms also occur in the songs obtained from "Doctor" John, and are mainly used of quadrupeds, amphibians, and reptiles. [193]

164; 4. kápa probably for gútpa (nû), "I have come".

[136] 165; 6. The yĕ'n sucker-fish is quite abundant in the lakes of the Klamath highlands and has been identified by Prof. E. D. Cope as the Catostomus labiatus.

165; 7. yéwa. In Morgan's series of incantations there are song-lines on wind-gusts, tempests, rain-storms and on the winds blowing from each of the four cardinal points of the compass. These latter are not positively stated to be producers of disease, though they are dreaded on account of their force and violence. The East wind (yéwash) blowing over the alkaline or volcanic, arid lands of Southern Oregon sings: yéwa, yéwa (nû) which does not only signify "I blow from the East", but also "I am howling". [821]

165; 11. Feigning to draw a rope or string from their own posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear.

*539 10. Aíshish kaí nû sha-ûlō'la, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑
533 yuhanéash kaí nû sha-ûlō'la. ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑
171 I Aíshish I shall brandish, I shall brandish my huge sword.

11. Aíshishash hûn gáldshui, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
hû' mish hû' shnekshituápka. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑
Go to meet Aíshish; he will save you.

12. Tídsh hûn liulek̲án tchiálash shakatchóāla!
Halloo! let us form a circle and screen the salmon against sun-heat!

13. Kílidshi'ga shépolamna –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑
They carry long-necked ducks on their backs.

14. Kaukátsi Yaína wō'n a shû-û'dshant î! –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
Follow up the elk and chase him upon Kaukátsi Mountain!

NOTES.

The first eight songs are worded in the Klamath Lake dialect, the third is of a mythic character. Songs 7–12 are worded in Modoc; 8 and 9 are K'mukámtchiksh songs. A few songs or fragments of such, which would come nearest to what we call nursery or Mother Goose's songs, will be found in the Myth of the Bear and the Antelope: 120, 11. 12. 13. 121, 9. 17. 122, 12. 13.

192; 1. This song is sung by women only, and seems to point to an ancient invasion of the country by tribes from the North or from Columbia River.

825 192; 2. The owl's cry is of fatal augury.

821 192; 3. Girls' song. When at sunrise a haze or fog extends over the country, this
192 is supposed to be a sign of the Earth's wrath against men.

192; 5. kí'pash is no word at all, but seems to stand for gitko-ptchi.

192; 7. The Indians were reticent about the meaning of this song, and hence I presumed that ō'k was intended to mean some deceased person, since these are spoken of as hû'k, *he*, *she*. Then the sense would be: "Be silent! that dead squaw is arising to sing a loud song." One Indian informed me that ō'kata meant a squaw, and pronounced it ō'kaht (húnkisht?). Cf. *Note* to 35, 8 and page 130, second *Note*.

192 192; 8. These trochaic verses are called the K'mukámtchiksh-song, and a variant,
193 tuálam, exists for kánam. The alliteration of the k's and n's is very conspicuous. The meaning was given as follows: "I the omnipotent and unseen ruler of the universe will chastise and turn it over for the manifold crimes committed in it by Indians and men of other races."

192; 9. This is another K'múkamtch-song, in which he menaces to destroy the world for its misdoings. I have put the first line in quotation marks, because it forms the words or text of the song. The first line is sung about a dozen times before the second is sung once.

193; 10. Christian song, referring to the day of last judgment. Aíshish, who is a deity representing the powers of nature with animal attributes, has been in the mind of some Modocs identified with Jesus.

771 To treat aboriginal Klamath religion under three headings of shamanism,
[791] power quest, and cosmology is patent oversimplification. In nature and
[551] content these features formed an integrated configuration reflecting a major
cultural preoccupation. It is true that the shaman in each community played
a dominant role and in his capacity as curer, magician, and entertainer commanded
[787] the utmost in social prestige. On the other hand, as was common in
western North America, every individual, at puberty and thereafter, deliberately
and repeatedly sought contact with a variably defined spirit world.
Thus Klamath culture had a variation of the American Indian guardian-spirit
773 theme. Less specifically formalized, and so perhaps, less well integrated,
776 were the elements of myth and tale, the rationalizations for the presence of
various natural phenomena, for eschatology, and for the general conception
of the universe. Like adjacent tribes, the Klamath interested themselves in
animal spirits. These were of particular importance in providing shamanistic
power. In the individual power quest, however, the sources from which spiritual
forces emanated were less specifically defined. A rather wide range of supernatural
powers was recognized, some being animals, some vaguely anthropomorphic,
others relating to such natural features as mountains, streams,
rocks, or even landmarks like Crater Lake. In respect to these forces an
involved folklore has arisen which allows some classification of the Klamath
[775] concepts of the supernatural. In this realm, for example, are views about
the abode of the dead and the nature of ghosts and souls, these being carefully
differentiated from nonhuman spirits.[3] Here too is a body of myth relating
to superhuman dwarf men and women, to the forces in specific places or
natural phenomena in the Klamath terrain, and finally, the most important
for this discussion, to the culture hero, the anthropomorphic Kemu'kemps.[4]

[171] Kemu'kemps, while not usually identified with an animal spirit, has many
characteristics suggesting the folklore regarding Coyote in the Plateau-Basin.
He is at once creator and trickster, angrily forbidding in some contexts,
indifferent in others, and in still others a ludicrous buffoon.

[825] Essentially human in conceptualization (a myth complex relating to a
[821] human hero also occurs in adjacent regions), Kemu'kemps is sometimes
identified with the marten, whose younger brother is weasel, and with the
winds.[5] In the myths assembled by Gatschet, he constantly rivals his magically
born son 'Ayšiš, whose destruction he repeatedly plans, often with the result
[821] of encompassing his own. Weather, such as rain or heat, was also attributed
to him. Kemu'kemps is also the creator, and there are numerous folktales
which tell how he brought various locations into being. At his instigation,

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[113] 1939), cf. 145-149; Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distributions: Northeastern California* (Anthropological Records, 7: 2, Berkeley, 1942).

[3] Spier, 1930, pp. 100 ff.

[4] Cf. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (U. S. Geological
[113] Survey, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Washington, 1890), pt. 1, lxxix-lxxxv, and pt. 2, 138-140. A summary is also given by Spier, 1930, loc. cit.

[5] Gatschet, 1890, pt. 1, lxxxii-iii.

773 Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6]
776 the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath
[823] Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting
177 of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifi-
175 cations in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroach-
[121] ment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon.
[797] An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result
[797] proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and
[182] patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

175 Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western
668 American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

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[825] [6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'ăkemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

[113] [7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

[113] [9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

795
771 reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors,
178 the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

[182] The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are
allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some
771 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal
795 and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in
184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to
[797] those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on
the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual
[571] or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members
find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies
as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions to aboriginal concepts.

771 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The
177 Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation
is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals,
184 while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display
or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely. Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious
questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly
curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes
[755] demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this considera-
[757] tion, shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally
accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged
with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects
of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

183 The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there.
[773] For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter
are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two,
183 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first
224 deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away,
he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation
today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too,
the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy
that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem
from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is
825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath
[191] but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a har-
[763] binger of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear
it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means
183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter,
the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed
among western tribes.

178 But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past
which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3361. Spirit of tattooed goes to good place	–	•+	–					+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	304
3362. Cranial deformation	+	•+	+	•+	–	•+	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3363. Male	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3364. Female	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[562]
3365. Pads bound to head	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3366. Back	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3367. Front	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3368. Mother attends to baby's head	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Disposal of Milk Teeth

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3369. Thrown away, no particular place	+	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	836
3370. Thrown away, toward sun	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3371. Thrown in river	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	826
3372. Buried in gopher hole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	
3373. Buried in excrement	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3374. Hidden in grass clump	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3375. Buried, no special place	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3376. Exchanged with gopher	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3377. Formula spoken	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	

Twins

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3378. Twins feared	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	+	–	•+	+	+	+	•	+	+	•	845
3379. Considered unlucky	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	[777]
3380. Attempts made to prevent conception of twins	–	–	–						•+	–	+	•+	.	•+	•+	.	
3381. People "ashamed" for woman	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	.	
3382. No significance	+	+	+	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	
3383. Relative adopts 1	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	+	+	.	[597]

Adoption of Children

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3384. Parents impoverished: relatives, only, adopt child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	597
3385. Orphan: adopted by paternal, maternal kin	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3386. Paternal relatives only	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
c3387. Childless couples given child by relatives	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	–	+	.	+	
3388. Anyone may adopt orphan	–	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Infanticide, Illegitimate Children

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3389. Illegitimate children killed, occasionally	+	+	+	–	+	•–	+	•–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	847
3390. Legitimate children killed occasionally	–	–	•+						•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	•+	•–	848
3391. To avert disaster	–	–	+						+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	
3392. If mother dies in childbirth	–	–	+						+	•–	–	.	–	+	+	–	
3393. Infant buried alive with mother	–	–	+						•+	–	–	.	–	+	+	–	
3394. Infant put in badger hole	+	+	–	–	.	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	
3395. Infant smothered	–	–	•+						•+	•+	.	–	–	–	–	–	
3396. Mother keeps illegitimate child	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	–	.	+	+	+	
3397. Mother's mother takes illegitimate child	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	.	+	.	+	+	–	
3398. Father of illegitimate child provides for baby	–	–	+	+	.	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Impregnatives, Contraceptives, Abortion

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3399. Measures taken to induce pregnancy	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	842
3400. Shell, vegetable decoction drunk	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	
3401. Doctor makes miniature baby cradle													–	–	•+	.	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5071. Burned at owner's death	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
533 5072. Diagnosis by singing, rubbing patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5073. Singing, rubbing to cure patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5074. Brushes patient	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5075. Sprinkles water from feather on patient	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-
5076. Sucks patient	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5077. Sprays water from mouth on patient	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
5078. Can foretell future events											+	+	+		-	-
[775] 5079. Performs in round house, at night											+	+	•+	•+	-	-
5080. Spirit comes and sings in dark													+	+	-	-

774
755

Soul-Loss Doctors

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5081. Soul loss doctors recognized	-	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
[562] 5081a. Men	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5082. Women	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
5083. Is also sucking doctor	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5084. Inherit power	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5085. Power through vision, dream	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5086. Instructed by older shaman, or in dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5087. Shaman sucks on head, neck	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	(-)		-	-
5088. Shaman sends own soul after lost one	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		-	-
5089. Shaman sends guardian spirit to catch soul	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		-	-
5090. Shaman goes outside to coax soul back	-	-	-	-		+	+	•+	•+	+	-	+	.		-	-
5091. Sings	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5092. Dances	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5093. Has ... assistants	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	1	•1	-	1	-		-	-
5094. Outside speaker	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5095. Interpreter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-		-	-
5096. Spectators sing in house	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5097. Beat time with 1-2 sticks	-	-	-	-			-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5098. Doctor uses cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5099. Doctor uses bone "bull-roarer"	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[826] 5100. Soul returns through fontanelle	-	-	-	-	-	-	.		-	+	-	+	(-)		-	-

Weather Shamans

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
756 5100a. Weather shamans recognized	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	•-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
921 5101. Men mostly	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-		-	-
[562] 5102. Both sexes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5103. Specialized profession	-	-	-	•+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5104. Weather shaman may also be curing shaman	+	+	-	•-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5105. Office inherited	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
5106. Knowledge acquired by instruction	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-		-	-
5107. Supernatural experience required	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5108. Make rain by formula, song	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5109. Sing with spectators	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5110. Smoke pipe				-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5111. Motion with hands, 4 directions											+	+	-		-	-
5112. Contortions or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-		-	-
5113. Can make fog, high winds	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-		-	-
5114. Make rain to remove snow	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5115. Can make rain stop	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	•+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5116. Performs whenever need arises	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
5117. Paid for performance	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	•-	+	+	R	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	-
5118. Bets made on outcome of	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-		-	-
5119. Rain doctors, competing, test powers										•-	-	-	-		-	-
5120. When doctor cries, rain will ensue	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5121. At funeral	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	-	-		-	-
[763] 5122. Thunders when doctor dies	•+	•+	.					+	+	-	±	+	+		-	-

000 Ornaments.--

[301] 1649. Kl: See note 1614.

1652. SW: When hole healing, only.

1654. No specimens of these shells seen; described as "flat, thin, round shell with hole made near edge"; 2-3 pendent from buckskin thong.

[301] 1656. Kl: See note 1614. NM: Worn by women. NS, MV: By men and women.

1657. MV: Worn during dances only.

1662. MV: Small feather-decorated basketry-plaque pendant.

1665. MV: Milkweed gum, in black pattern.

1671. AW: Shaman only; yellowhammer tail feather. See note 1900.

1672. AE: Only when ear healing.

1677. AE: Possibly dentalia used, as informant described nose plug as sharp at both (?) ends, and slightly curved.

[301] 1678. Generally burned on end, and used only when hole healing.

1679. AW: Feather, or quill alone, only when hole healing. Use of quill denied for all other groups.

1684. SW: Worn by children only. AE: "Great style"; worn at dances only.

1691. SW: Strung with double string, so beads lie flat.

1692. SW: Obtained from Karuk.

1696. Mo: From seeds which squirrels, rats, have gnawed hole in. SW: See Dixon, Shasta, fig. 94. Buy these from Wintu in 2 colors, black (roasted) shells, brown (natural) ones. At: Widows in mourning also make pitch beads, wear them as necklace, bracelet.

1697. Distribution of sweet grass throughout entire area unverified; absence noted only when informants positive on point.

1698. SW: Girls, playing, put flowers in hair, ear, nose, around neck. "Often speak of wildflower patches; how pretty they look, how the flowers brighten up the scene." AW: "Don't pick wildflowers, but speak of them, say how pretty they look."

[301] [887] [826] 1699. Usually made from hair cut in mourning. Kl: 6-7 strings of human hair; worn as ornament by old women only; qai'hlis.

1701. From girl's puberty on.

1703. SW: See note 1698. WM: Dancers wear flowers; "they like the flowers; when they see them blooming they make strings of bunches of wild 'orange blossom' flowers tied together, and wear them on their head, or in their ears, or as a necklace. They want to be pretty. They take yellow button flowers and string these, piercing them with a bone awl, and tie them on their heads; women wore these when just sitting around making a basket. If a woman had part of the strand left, she put it in her ears." NF: Worn by women for Spring dance (weda); also by boys, girls playing.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
4675. Door keeper at land of dead	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	775
4676. One destination for all	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
4677. Good and bad different destinations	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	+	-	(+)	*-	-	-	-	
4678. All ghosts stay on earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
4679. Doctors, bad persons	-	.	-	.	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4680. Improperly buried, burned persons	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4681. Ghosts encountered around village	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	.	-	-	+	-	
4682. Ghosts encountered around cremation spot or burying place	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	
4683. In air	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	.	-	.	+	+	
4684. In whirlwind	-	+	-	-	.	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	
4685. Dead visit in dreams with living	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[787]
4686. Occasional dream may give person power	-	-	-	.	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	
4687. Constant dreaming of dead bad omen.	-	+	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+	*+	
Precautions to Keep Away Ghosts																	
4688. Ghosts feared	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	769
4689. Offerings of food, if dream of dead	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	(-)	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	+	775
4690. Ghost feast	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	*+	+	-	.	*+	
4691. Eat with dog.	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4692. Shaman hired to sing for dreamer.	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	-	
4693. Dreamer puts ashes, pitch on body							+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4694. Talk to ghost	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	
4695. Throw ashes toward ghost	+	*+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
4696. Throw water toward ghost or grave								+	*+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4697. Bathe in plain or medicated water	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
4698. Herbs rubbed on body	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+	
4699. Roots chewed and spit	-	-	-	-	*+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-	
4700. Tobacco smoked	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	.	-	
4701. Burn aromatic plant	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	*+	*+	*+	*+	-	
4702. After childbirth, to avoid bad dreams	-	-	-	-	-	*+	*+	.	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4703. Burn hair, skin	-	-	-	*+	*+	*+	-	-	-	*+	-	*+	*+	-	*+	-	
4704. After childbirth, to avoid bad dreams	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4705. Hang small bow and arrow in door		.								+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
4706. Plant, feathers hung up	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	
Omens																	
Sneezing, etc.																	
4707. Sudden sneeze sign someone talking about sneezer	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	787
4708. Of opposite sex	-	-	+	-	.	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	827
4709. Relation	-	-	-	+				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4710. At a distance	-	+	+	+	+	+		.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4711. Sudden sneeze sign someone thinking of sneezer	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4712. Invite such to come visit	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4713. Ear buzzing sign someone deprecating person														+	-	-	
Bird, Animal Calls as Omens																	
4714. Owl call before dawn omen death, war, rain.	+	+	+	*-	+	.	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
4715. Robin calling after dark bad omen	-	+	+	+	-	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	825
4716. Magpie calling after dark bad omen	-	+	-	-		.		+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	

The subdivisions or tribelets are:

I. ä'ukckni, the people of Klamath marsh and middle Williamson river, the Klamath proper. Evidently the Sprague river people are included here; there is some doubt, but I am even more doubtful whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague river as Yainax in pre-reservation times. 101 131 619

II. kowa'edikni, those of a village of that name on Agency lake. They may be ä'ukckni.

III. du'kwakni, on the delta of Williamson river. These are more closely affiliated with the Pelican bay people than with ä'ukckni.

IV. gu'mbŏtkni, those of Pelican bay and the marsh to the north.

V. iu''laloŋkni, the people of Klamath falls (Link river) and the eastern shore of Klamath lake.

The names are those of the districts they occupy with the suffix -kni, those of, people of: ä'ukci, Klamath marsh; du'kwa, the district about the mouth of Williamson river; gu'mbŏt, Pelican bay, possibly taking its name from Rocky point; iu''laloŋᴇ, on the end, the village at the outlet of the lake into Link river.

It is now difficult to get a true estimate of the size of these groups. 361 The ä'ukckni count twenty-nine or more settlements, half of the total; 162 of the others iu''laloŋkni have thirteen, gu'mbŏtkni seven or more, du'kwakni five, and kowa'edikni, one. The towns vary considerably in size, yet this mere count agrees closely with the populational proportions as my several informants phrased them. The ä'ukckni are by far the largest group, perhaps as large as all the others together. Nancy Phillips recalls the large number of children who played [115] together at gu'mbŏt, Pelican bay. At this place the settlements do form a large compact group. Next in order she places the du'kwa group, then those clustering about iu''laloŋᴇ at Klamath falls, and goyᴇmske'ᴇgls on Williamson river. The settlements on Williamson river are small and scattered, but she places their joint population above the gu'mbŏtkni. The iu''laloŋkni were comparatively few despite their large territory. Of the ä'ukckni more lived at Klamath marsh even in winter than on Williamson river. The huge size of a single site, du''lkŭt, bears this out.

Consonant with their unequal size is it that the principal chief, at 619 least in early reservation days, was the principal chief of the ä'ukckni; 622 all others were distinctly subordinate in prestige. According to one informant, himself a du'kwa man, the ä'ukckni are the highest people. [829] Kᴇmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero, made them first, best, and strongest; later he made the others.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K M
against a member of another band or tribe, but malevolence or
greed, it is thought, may sometimes lead a shaman to compound 754
the illness or death of a fellow bandsman; and sometimes his 571
spirits may act independently of him to bring the same end. 152
Klamath recall with horror the unnatural event which took place 682
in the present decade of the present century, when that suspicion caused a woman to slay her own mother for the fatal bewitchment of her child.

To end a description of the aboriginal life of Klamath and K
Modoc in this manner is to risk too somber a balance. Loosely M
structured in society, modest in scale, precariously balanced 181
against the winters, their cultures made possible a good life in
which dignity and worth had a place. That those were not, how- K
ever, the halcyon days sometimes depicted today is intimated by 181
the words spoken in 1873 by the Klamath leader, Henry Blow. 829 •
If they exaggerate as almost certainly they do, they still possess an essential truth:

> Before the Bostons came there was no law. The strongest man took what he wanted and the man who had the most property and the most friends was the chief. It was a bad country in those times. Some men were bad and took away the property of other men. If a man was poor and had no friends, and had a beautiful squaw, some stronger man would steal his squaw and kill him if he resisted.[21] Might was right in those days and there was much fighting and killing everywhere. If a man was jealous because another was getting rich and had many friends, he would steal into his lodge and kill him when he was asleep, or lay in ambush to kill him as he went by. Those were bad times as we see now, since the Bostons have come and made law to protect every man's rights and property.[22]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

> *657 10 acres of land. I am commanded, to go among the Indians
> *648 with my farmer and direct them in plowing, sowing, planting,
> 241 etc, and see that they have the necessary tools and know how to
> 177 use them.

Vegetables, he thought, could be sold at Fort Klamath and Linkville; grain would always find a market at some price.[16] In order to heighten the incentives, Emery reported,

> I have found it necessary. . .to make temporary divisions of lands suited to Agriculture.
>
> During the Spring and Summer months, I laid off, assisted by Indian boys, about 50 farms, chaining boundary lines; the Indians greatly desired the work to be continued, each Indian agreed to fence and cultivate a portion of the land assigned to him.
>
> The plots laid off ranging from 30 to 120 acres—according to treaty stipulations.[17]

[625] The next year, however, he had recourse to the Indian police. "During the present Spring," he reported, "they have assisted in enforcing the general order that all able-bodied Indians will be required to do some work in Agriculture. I owe much to the police for the marked advance made this year in the lines of agriculture."[18] By these methods he soon had three quarters of the available adults helping, nearly every family seeding from 2 to 20 acres.[19] The following year he reported that "nine tenths of the Indians have been induced to engage in the work of agriculture,"[20] but the year after, with a record 2,400 acres sown, he was complaining about the "unprecedented heat"—and was moving on to greener pastures.[21] When he returned for another tour in 1896-97, however, he resumed the same program.

[829] Lindsay Applegate had remarked, some thirty years earlier, that the Indians "look upon the whites as superior beings. . . ."[22] It must have been difficult, even with the best will, to maintain that estimate in the face of administrative obstinacy of this order.

STOCK RAISING

*657 Meanwhile, with the discovery that the upper valley of the
231 Sprague provided satisfactory condition for winter range, stock
177 raising had gradually come to the fore. In prereservation days, horses had constituted an important form of wealth, and cattle were now accepted into the pecuniary system. By 1879, Agent

*648

*657 first encountered Christianity at the school. There were studies,
872 though the most lasting impressions were made in references to
[797] Indian wars in the histories.[21] Above all there was the heavy
829 labor, for the development of the industrial program coincided
[464] with the period when able-bodied men were leaving the reservation on passes to work for whites; and the support not only of the schools but in some measure of other Agency programs devolved upon the scholars. As E. L. Applegate admitted, "the truth is, the labor is very heavy upon those old enough or intelligent enough to render any assistance; 110 people [in the school] constitute a large family."[22] Work on the school farm required the pupils to return in two-week shifts over the summer. A contest for control over this work force developed between Applegate and the Superintendent of the Agency school, who presumed to take his orders directly from the Superintendent of Indian Schools in Washington.[23]

*648 There was competition from off-reservation schools over the
*657 older students. In 1881, Nickerson, perhaps prodded from above,
871 had attempted to send twelve superior students to the Indian school at Forest Grove—later removed to Chemawa, Oregon—but funds were not available to send them the 450 miles distant.[24] In a letter from Acting Commissioner E. L. Stevens, the role of those schools and their competition with Agency schools are clearly acknowledged. Declared Stevens:

> It is not the policy of this office to remove pupils from reservation to distant boarding schools without the consent of their parents.
>
> It is always the case that the removal from agency schools of the older and more intelligent pupils is, temporarily at least, a detriment to the schools; but it is believed that the superior advantages which can be had away from the Indian country, and the reflex influence on the families who thus commit themselves to civilization, more than compensate to the tribe for the loss occasioned to the schools."[25]

*648 In 1885, accordingly, nineteen students were sent away to
*657 school, and by spring, five had died. Eventually eight were dead,
871 and Emery wrote, "This great mortality has caused much dis-
165 satisfaction among my Indians; and any effort to remove any more children to this School will meet with serious opposition on

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

TWELVE

[P.160]

"Disgruntled Ward-Citizens"

*648 KLAMATH DISILLUSIONMENT UNDER THE AGENCY WAS COMPOUNDED
*657 of many elements. In part it was a rejection by the Klamath of
• 829 the position in which they found themselves. "Disgruntled ward-citizens,"[1] confronted with the loss of cherished values, and discontented with their achievements, they created a self-image and an interpretation of history that absolved them from blame for their present lot. Drawing upon themes already manifest in Klamath thought, they summoned up a halcyon past, a golden age when all lived simply but well and, in the words of old chief Chiloquin, "The Klamaths never lost prisoners and they were always able to avenge all wrongs committed against them by other tribes, and they were all afraid of us."[2]

As a corollary, the Klamath fall from ancient grace found its evil agent in the white man, particularly in that faceless monster, the government. The oral record of the treaty and the unfulfilled promises then made have been a recurrent theme in the discontent. On several occasions, Seldon Kirk, long the venerable chairman of the tribal council and a man of great character, has insisted that on that eventful day at Council Grove soldiers from Fort Klamath under Captain Kelly fired at the feet of the Indians, who then signed under duress. Although none of the Indians or whites participant in the treaty furnishes any ground for this account,[3] it has taken on a sort of confirmation from other circumstantial statements about the unfulfilled promises made at that time.

In the emergence of this attitude, the claims against the government became crucial. Not only did they cast the United States in a role antagonistic to the Indians and thus faithless to its wardship, but they provided a rallying cry which the opportunistic among tribal leaders found was almost invariably

heeded. Surely, the government stands in some measure account- 648*
able here; and the Indian viewpoint bears a rough relationship to 657*
the events of their history. It errs, however, in oversimplification 829 •
and has the important consequence of deflecting all responsibility for the condition of the Indians upon the shoulders of others.

These developments, when related to the promise of citizen- 648*
ship for Indians, became critical. Originally the Allotment Act 657*
had designed that all Indians living apart from their tribes and 423
in assimilation to whites should be awarded citizenship; and that 641
any reservation Indian, upon receiving a patent in trust, would attain the same status. Subsequent amendments postponed citizenship until a patent in fee had been secured. For the Klamath reservation, the local timetable had the result that no trust patents were awarded until all allotments had been made, a condition that in turn had to await settlement of several of the claims suits. The assignment of lands thus took place in an atmosphere heavy with the anticipation of a swift change of status. The better-educated among the leaders, who in turn mingled with those whom allotment had brought back into the reservation polity, were eager to press for greater freedom and increased self-rule.

Signally, administrators believed the same act implied they 648*
had a heightened responsibility toward their charges. Schooling 657*
had become compulsory, and O. C. Applegate, then Agent, was 871
convinced that allottees should send their children by preference 423
to reservation school. Repeatedly, in his letters to those seeking allotments, he urged them to send their children to the boarding school "where they will be boarded and clothed without expense to you."[4] To a schoolboy who wished to remain away, he wrote, "Tell your father that I intend all the children to have land on the reservation, and that they must come into school according to the rules."[5] When one off-reservation member failed to send her children to school after having consented to do so, Applegate firmly reproved her and added, "Please write me at once what you propose to do about them, and if it is your wish to have them give up their allotments on the reservation."[6]

The relationship between schools on and off the reservation 648*
now took on a new dimension. Some of the more acculturated 657*
tribal members began to criticize the Agency-run schools as 871

position of women was linked to participation in bodies overtly 648*
directed toward social benevolences, the standing for the entire 657*
family being summative for its members. 554

All of this will prove familiar, for the social system in Chiloquin [562]
had been derived from that in other American communities.
The formal, secondary associations, membership in which served
as counters in the social game, included church auxiliaries, service [571]
fraternities and lodges, and groups devoted to sports, politics, the school, and to youth activities. The manner in which the organizations were ranked had little to do with their functions or their local historical priority. It related instead to the prestige which they enjoyed generally in the western United States and their identification with social status. Even within such a small community as Chiloquin, social assessment had become refined to a marked degree. It was maintained by indirection and with considerable tact, yet gave structure to much of the social interaction.

Since the social order in Chiloquin has been discussed at length elsewhere,[1] only the major outlines need be drawn here. Yet it is inadvisable to leave the impression that any single dimension provided a clear means of ranking. It was evident, for [795]
example, that there was an ordering of the Protestant churches,
ranging from the Methodist church through intermediate bodies down to the pentecostal Full Gospel body and two ethnic sects—one Klamath and the other Negro—in major membership. Their congregations and ministers, their location and material endowment, together with the character of their worship, all afforded a basis for this ranking. Two churches, nonetheless, stood somewhat outside this range. One, the Williamson River Mission, was the Klamath church founded in the early days of the reservation. As such, it had historical venerability, a Methodist affiliation, but an ethnic membership. The second was the Catholic church, located in a less favored section of town, yet eminently endowed and drawing members from the entire social span.

Status differences in Chiloquin, moreover, were variously 648*
assessed by its residents. Several of those who objectively occupied 657*
high status stressed the leveling qualities of primary relations 554
which they regarded as characterizing the town, and discounted 829
the reality of a hierarchical ordering. Others, of middle

*648 status, whose desires to move upward had been temporarily
*657 baffled, delineated the system in terms far more precise than
554 appeared justifiable, and as an instrument of calculated power.
• 829 Members of several church groups of intermediate or low ranking, each of which saw themselves as a body of the elect in a world of sinners, denied the validity of any other assessment. It was frequent in such instances to find individuals contrasting the superiority of their own ideals with the fallible conduct of members of other reference groups.

*648 Despite such demurrers, which have become a sociological
*657 commonplace, the evidence of informal association in parties,
571 bridge clubs, drinking cliques, and loafing groups, together with
554 participation in more formal associations, attests the existence of a status grid, with a multiplicity of positions ranked relatively, rather than in an order of fixed classes.[2] The results of a sociometric study indicate[3] that the primary criteria underlying evaluation in Chiloquin included income, occupation, landownership, and educational status. For the person with the proper qualifications, mobility was relatively easy; while the daily contact of everyday life made possible—particularly for long-time residents—an easy association, spiced with mutual esteem, across wide differences in status.

Klamath standing in such a system was relatively low. The majority of tribal members failed to qualify for most of the specific criteria valued; and in one area, the style of their life, they fell conspicuously short of the standards set. They did not enter readily into most of the associations within which the formal social life of the town was transacted. Some felt they would not be welcome, and often they were right. Even that handful who were acceptable only inched forward, anticipating rebuff at every step. As a group, tribal members suffered disesteem for their wardlike subjugation to the government and the legal disabilities that hedged them in. Within the community, their low productive status, their dependence upon a credit system, and their record before the law all provided grounds for being judged deficient.

*648 For the white citizens of Chiloquin, achievement was the token
*657 by which each person was ideally placed. Klamath, however, also
563 labored under their inclusion in a fixed category; for in the ethnic

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

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estranged themselves from Klamath society. Few, indeed, had 648*
attempted to cross the chasm; and fewer were able to straddle it. 657*
563

Klamath, on their part, entertained strong prejudices. Some 571
were matters of ancient history. Klamath and Modoc were dis- [86]
dainful of Paiute and Pit River, and the epithets, 'daughter of a Paiute!' or 'slave!' still stung. At the time of allotment, when many members had come back upon the reservation, while the numbers of those calling themselves Klamath had soared, the absolute number of Pit River had declined. Evidently, members of mixed parentage were passing into the more prestigious category. Toward other minority groups tribal members displayed various attitudes. Indians from nearby reservations were generally well received, but those from afar were resented, particularly if they held Agency jobs coveted by the Klamath.

Whites tended to lump all Indians together, and the accomplishments of some nonlocal Indians elevated the general Indian status in the popular view. Nonetheless, tribal members were wont to regard them as trespassers. Toward Mexicans, with whom they occasionally intermarried, they were on terms of approximate equality. Negroes were viewed with strong disdain and two tribal families of part-Negro ancestry often were the object of pointed remarks.

Among themselves, Klamath also sometimes reflected the biases 648*
of the major society. Younger men have been heard to express 657*
a preference for a wife of lighter pigmentation. The epithet, "You 829
big, black Indian!" was occasionally hurled between angry children; and one woman who reported this recalled how shocked she was, in her early teens, when she realized that it was true, that she was indeed an Indian. Against the valuation on light color there is, however, another view. Those of darker hue not infrequently voice their pride in this token of racial purity, and some speak disparagingly of the "half-breeds," alleging that they stem from lewd intercourse with the soldiery of old Fort Klamath. One young leader with a high degree of Indian ancestry, in considering the division of tribal property under termination, ingeniously proposed that each member receive a share proportional to his direct biological Klamath heritage. In the end, pigmentation offers no certain index of ethnic self-image: for

*648 *657 • 829 schoolboys with no discernible trace of Indian ancestry will often assert fiercely their Klamath character.

*648 *657 563 One expression of Klamath preference among their ethnic neighbors is to be found in the intermarriages into which tribal members enter. In Chiloquin in 1949-50, a census of Klamath households which omits those tribal members living alone showed 46 per cent of the remaining households to be headed by a Klamath couple. Interethnic households and those headed by the Klamath survivor in an Interethnic union were distributed as follows: with white partner, 25 per cent; with Indian, 14 per cent; with Mexican, 11 per cent; Indeterminate (white or Indian partner), 3 per cent; with Chinese, 1 per cent. In each class of Interethnic union, the prevailing form of marriage was that in which the wife was the tribal member.[8]

There is some evidence of trends in comparative figures, though these must be tentatively posed. Rural Beatty, with a much [369] smaller number of households, some ten years later included a somewhat larger proportion of units headed by Klamath partners, with somewhat more Indian and somewhat fewer white, Interethnic couples. This suggests that the rural areas of the reservation have tended to lag somewhat behind the larger towns in either producing or attracting white Interethnic families.[9] In turn, over time the Interethnic component of Chiloquin has proved more transient than that headed by Tribal partners: in a ten year period, almost two-thirds of the former moved away, as against somewhat less than one-third of the latter.[10] Although there was a corresponding replacement by new families moving in, the net result was a drop in the Interethnic population. The direction of their movement had been for the main part into Klamath Falls and other larger cities off the reservation.

It was in just those communities in which ethnic differences were most sharply weighted that Interethnic couples were most commonly found. There were several diverse reasons for this seeming paradox. In Chiloquin, a small but growing number of marriages had come to take place between schoolmates. Some of these involved the offspring of Interethnic farm couples, in which a white man had married a Klamath woman; and these families, with long-standing ties with leading families in Chiloquin, were at once esteemed and still regarded as Klamath. The small seg-

given the family by neighbors as well as by the impersonal agents 648*
of society, while making little mention of any kinsmen beyond 657*
the immediate, two-generation family. Members of this category, 177
who objectively were least Indian genetically and who manifested 178
the highest measure of intermarriage with whites, were 184
the only ones to introduce racial comments in their responses. 125
This may well be taken as evidence of their sensitivity to a [571]
marginal condition. In treating intrafamilial roles, they saw a [829]
strong paternal figure (lacking in the protocols of the other two [593]
segments), but they viewed his authority as one against which the son repeatedly rebelled. Moreover, contrary to their own superior record of family stability, members of the Conformant category envisaged the marital bond as frequently threatened by feminine interlopers. Here again is an indication that the Conformant families, like the most acculturated among Vogt's Navaho veterans,[28] had achieved their condition only at the cost of gnawing anxiety.

By contrast, both of the remaining TAT segments tended to [602]
stress kinship, for in their protocols a greater reliance is placed upon grandparents and more remote kinsmen, with correspondingly less dependence upon friends, neighbors, or impersonal agents. Indeed, the Inframodal subjects tended to view the
latter with suspicion and outright hostility. In neither segment [593]
was the paternal role seen as prominent; and the mother instead occupied a central position, not disciplining, but strongly supporting her children. Sibling relations, which in the Conformant category had been seen as continuing through life, stood on a lower level among the intermediate subjects, who viewed the bond as existing only in childhood; and were negligible among the Inframodal segment. Similarly, the marital bond appeared to be conceived by Intermediate members as weak, being marked by a succession of casual liaisons, while the Inframodal saw strife between the couple, rather than outside interference, as disrupting the union.

By contrast with Conformant subjects, members of the other
two categories exhibited a far less realistic view of the conditions [829]
making possible achievement, but they did so in different ways. Those of the Intermediate segment seemed to see conformance as a necessary factor for success, although their behavioral record

*648 showed them in fact to be deficient here, and they made complex,
*667 conditional statements about it. They seemed uncertain about
177 the manner in which a prosperous life was to be achieved. The
178 scofflaw members of the Inframodal category, by contrast, saw
184 accomplishment as the result of individual strengths, rather than
125 of surrogate support. In this, having regard for their family form,
• 829 they may be regarded as fairly realistic; but attainment for them often took fantastic forms. One might say that they were content to play with the idea but were unprepared to put it into practice. In their treatment of crime and violence they took a realistic view, as against the Conformant subjects, who also gave it prominence, or the Intermediate category, who seldom discussed it; and they often saw them from the perspective of the violator. Conformant concern with crime and violence, by contrast, was coupled with the view that punishment, often involving remorse as well, was both merited and certain.

*648 Several general comments may be offered. In the first place, the
*657 Conformant subjects stand somewhat apart from members of
177 the other two categories in adherence to standards dominant
178 among whites. A matter of some note is the size of the group.
184 While the size of segments was determined by the purposes of the study, the impression is strong that a larger proportion of tribal members would seem to be attuned already to values honored in American society than have been accepted by their white peers. Social acceptance, from this point of view, has lagged behind the formation of acceptable attitudes.

There are reasons for this. On the one hand, a number of tribal members approve these attitudes as merely reflecting those of the traditional Klamath. Some of them, despite Conformant behavior, decline to choose white associates if it means giving up ties with Klamath kin and friends. Then, too, among whites the formation of acceptable attitudes and behavior must be accompanied by other qualifications, discussed earlier. Major white stereotypes, as can be seen, have been formed about behavior and attitudes found principally among the minority of Klamath who fall into the Inframodal segment, and these have been extended to characterize tribal members as a whole.

Finally, behavior of Inframodal type is more complex than may appear at first. It was present, in somewhat different form, in

NOW TO DAVE AND TECUMSEH AGAIN

539 [829] Ninteen [sic] of the young men have determined to renounce their old Indian ways and do as you have advised them to do, and as I have wanted them to do, and as fast as others come to the same determination I will let you know. Now, whatever you learn about other Indians that you may see I want to you to let me know about it, whether [sic] it be anything good or bad, and you can tell others how we are getting along here. You can tell all the Inds., you see that the above no of Klamath Inds. have determined to throw away all bad things and live as white men should. If the Tyee at Washington tells you or Oliver what he know about us or any other Inds that he don't like—that he thinks is cultus—I want you to write me about it I want to know all about these things.

We are getting flour from the Mill, also Beef this winter and we [434] are very well satisfied about it. We have the Sawmill to help us get some money, and we are having help from the Flour Mill and some beef; and things are getting about straight. Now I feel strong to punish those that do wrong, because there are so many young men now to help Mr. Dyar Blow and myself. Now all we lack is some good sleighs that we may ride around like white men in winter, like we do in our wagons in summer. Now we are going to plow make rails &c this spring, and by and by I will let you know how we are getting along. A[l]so by and by I will let you know about the hay on the flat above the Agency. I understand that you are to tell the Hias Tyee how we used to live here and how we are doing now. After you have done this I want you to let me know all about it, Just what he thinks. Don't be afraid to tell us all his heart, for I'll not get afraid, nor run away. You know that bad men are trying to get our lands and are lying to the President. Now if I were there I would talk the whole truth to him and would not chaco tenas tumtum[†] at whatever he might say or do. I want you to do the same. Don't be afraid of him, but tell him all about these things. Tell him that we all, both Whites and Inds. have *one* Father in Heaven that we are made alike, we all have hands, feet and bodies alike, and we all have minds; In fact are brothers; and nowhere do I learn that any of us have any right to take wrongfully or by force from another any of the lands which our common Father has made for *all* his children.

I told Mr. Meacham when he was Supt. that if the Snakes or Modocs or any other Inds. were to become bad and fight the whites I would not help them. That I wanted to stay at home and keep everything straight on the reservation. We have hias heavy ictas[‡] here now, and I want to close nanich[§] these. When Capt. Jack commenced to fight I told all my people not to go there to help Jack. I was also opposed

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9. Stern (1961–62), p. 173.

10. Thus in *Your Key to Chiloquin*, Klamath Education Program, Oregon State Department of Education (1958), the Klamath artist, himself a frequent violator, illustrates the budget, p. 31, with a wine jug and city store proceeds on one side, and an Indian, fine in hand, on the other.

FIFTEEN. FAMILY AND SCHOOL

1. Livingstone (1959), pp. 8 ff.

2. Quoted in Stern and Swanson (1960).

3. Clifton (1960); Clifton and Levine (1961), pp. 76–78.

4. Quoted in Stern and Swanson (1960).

5. See Stern and Swanson (1960), pp. 159 ff. for provisos on these figures.

6. For the figures and discussion, see Stern and Swanson (1960), pp. 164 ff.

SIXTEEN. STATUS GRADIENT, ETHNIC HIERARCHY, AND ACCULTURATIVE RANGE

1. Detailed description will be found in Stern and Swanson (1960).

2. See Goldschmidt (1950); Williams (1958), pp. 90–135.

3. Ribbans (1951).

4. "Matilda Must Move" (March 7, 1907), p. 1. For her earlier career, see Meacham (1875), p. 423.

5. "Indians Becoming Civilized," Klamath Falls *Express* (May 23, 1907), p. 1.

6. "Boredom Entirely Lacking in Sprightly, Hospitable Chiloquin" (May 3, 1931), Sec. 4, pp. 4, 6.

7. Stern and Swanson (1960), p. 215.

8. The total number of households considered is 105.

9. The total number of households considered is 21. The respective percentages are: Klamath couple, 57 per cent; with Indian, 19 per cent, with white, 19 per cent, with Negro, 5 per cent. Figures compiled from Du Toit (1959).

For another expression, see chap. 13, n.10.

10. Stern and Swanson (1960), p. 45, Table II.

11. James (1961), pp. 826–33; cf. Lurie (1962).

12. Data are drawn from Barnett (1957), Spier (1935), and my own field notes.

13. *Annual Narrative Report* (1917), p. 6.

14. H. N. in Zakoji (1953), p. 220.

15. Zakoji (1953); Stern (1956), pp. 138–39. The latter compares

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000 12. In one story which made the rounds, it was said that Jackson had instructed the less acculturated among the Paiute, "When I stand up, you stand too!" When, in the course of a lengthy session, he rose suddenly to go to the lavatory, the upsurge among his constituents was remarkable.

13. As chairman, Seldon Kirk attempted to stem these delays. On one occasion, when Crawford was maintaining a boycott and the number present fell just short of the required number, Kirk waited until Crawford stepped in to take a head count—and had his quorum for business.

[829] 14. A number of tribal members took the position that the employment of a white man to collect outstanding debts was no more than a government plot to fill another position at tribal expense; and, ignoring the success with which he was operating, claimed that his salary was a useless extravagance. Characteristically, in this situation, their sympathies lay with their fellow-tribesmen and against the coercive whites.

15. Harrassed by an absentee gadfly, one speaker shifted his remarks into Klamath, and thus excluded him. Translators might be retained at any meeting upon request from the floor, but only for the purpose of rendering English into Klamath–Modoc or Paiute.

16. Klamath Management Specialists (1957), p. 6, Appendix B, Exhibit 11.

17. *Minutes*, General Council, Klamath Agency (Sept. 16, 1947).

18. *32d Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners.* U.S. 56th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1900–1901), Vol. 28, 641, 642.

19. As Ostrom has shown (see n.1 above), there were inconsistencies on the latter point in the legislation itself.

20. In the joint report referred to in n.1.

21. Ames and Fisher (1959), pp. 101–11. It is interesting to note, by way of contrast with the reliance upon commercial exploitation of the Klamath tribal timber, that the Menominee instead had established a tribal mill in which many members found employment.

22. Including the insertion of a provision for a $500 per capita payment to follow shortly the signing of the bill. As was anticipated, when this section became known on the reservation, it greatly increased pressures upon the tribal leaders to sign.

23. Mead (1932), pp. 67–69.

24. The Miss Indian America of 1962–63 was a Klamath.

25. Edgerton (1962).

26. Indeed, in a survey of the legal status of American Indian

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United 125
States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the 648
Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these 657
original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common
experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath 101
may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's 177
reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local 128
variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the 162
reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say 657
between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of 13
what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the
treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low
ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million
acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of
commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser
species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which
through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological [184]
aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy,
as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present [224]
population, White or Klamath. [226]

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of 101
their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly
White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties: 648
to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an ar- [829]
tificial construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local
towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups,
whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which [178]
now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost 648
their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet 178
in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would
have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market
towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber
industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency,
the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-resi-
dence with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities,
all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life,
so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors
of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White [181]
men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural
system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American
in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been trans- 648
ferred to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful
farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not 423
utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural [241]
slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber indus-
try has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have [511]
ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several [273]
[313]

882 155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
[462] of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits
include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers
are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience
with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
426 example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented,
and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation
population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

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156 vague identification and, since it is largely through identification that the
562 super-ego is established, weak super-egos.

593 It has been suggested that what we have called guarded restraint may be a "front"
121 maintained only when Klamath are interacting with whites. The point is that
156 guarded restraint may be another name for the extreme suspicion and reserve of
many enclaved or colonized minority groups vis-a-vis representatives of the
177 dominant culture (Underhill 1960). It cannot be denied that, in fact, reserve
(171) and suspicion do characterize much of the relationship between Klamath and Whites,
but the reserve and restraint which so characterize Klamath persons is not solely
a function of such situations. We agree that guarded restraint is one important
consequence of acculturative contacts, but the evidence of observation and life
histories clearly indicate that this is a personality attribute manifest in many
829 situations exclusive of the presence of outsiders. Life history subjects, for
example, speak of the "Indianness" of their parents, meaning precisely an aloof,
reserved style of interaction. Many other informants verbalize reactions to the
endemic if latent suspiciousness of Klamath life. Thus guarded restraint is not
purely an observer construct with a referent limited to the test situation. Certainly, a measure of reserve and suspicion may serve utilitarian functions when
interacting with strangers, but the same characteristic makes strangers out of
neighbors.

121 Underhill's suggestion does raise the issue of a broader connection between
156 guarded restraint and the impact of acculturation. If there is such an association then we should expect to find these attributes widely distributed among
177 other acculturated populations, especially those which have been exposed to the
171 imposition of external political and administrative controls, and deculturation
or detribalization. That there may be some validity to this hypothesis is sugges-
157 ted by the fact that attempts to communicate our findings to observers with experience among other acculturated populations frequently evoke memories of similarity in character. What we have called guarded restraint has been suggested as characteristic of the contemporary Southern Ute (Stewart 1961) and especially the Mountain or Towoac Ute (Canan 1961), and of the Cree, Northern Athabascan, and Eskimo (Heinrich 1961). In each instance there are differences, but differences which seem to play upon a common theme.

Personality attributes analogous to what we have called guarded restraint have repeatedly been discerned among other more or less acculturated North American Indian populations. Thus Barnouw describes the Wisconsin Chippewa as emotionally isolated, suspicious of outsiders, and fearful of expressing emotions overtly (Barnouw 1950: 22-23). Klopfer's analysis of Chippewa Rorschachs suggests that "...the individual is under pressure to become as emotionally independent of his environment as possible, and to expect very little from others." (Barnouw 1950: 27). The Ojibwa have been described as emotionally restrained, suspicious, and anxious (Hallowell 1955: 350). Hallowell's interpretation of these characteristics is that they constitute persistent aboriginal components of Ojibwa character structure. In a similar fashion, the Native-Oriented Menomini have been described by Spindler as a group characterized by a non-defensive reduction of emotional display, whose perception is narrowed to only a very selective portion of their environment, and who are further characterized by a non-manipulatory passivity. Outside of the presumed character structure of the Eastern Woodlands, the most widely distributed "aboriginal" characteristics of North American Indians, generally, are given by the Spindlers as non-demonstrative emotionality, great reserve, individual autonomy, and a generalized fear of the world as dangerous (Spindler and Spindler 1957: 148).

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

Ámpχänkni mák̲laks.

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AN OPINION ABOUT THE WASCO INDIANS.

Obtained in the Klamath Lake Dialect from Charles Preston.

Ámpχänkni	gátpa	mû	shanáholiuk	snáwedsh,	k̲á-i	spûní	vushúk;
One Wasco	came	very much	desiring	a wife,	(but) not	gave	from fear;

Ámpχänkni	shawígatk;	k̲íya	Ámpχänkni.	Génuapk	túmi	É-ukskni
the Wascoes	are irritable;	Liars are	the Wascoes.	Would go	many	Lake men

Ámpχäni	sheshatuíkuapk	lû'ksh	mä'ntch-gítko;	skútash	shanáholiuk
to the Dalles,	would trade off	slaves	formerly;	blankets	(they) wanted

pä'niak,	skútash	í'ktsa	Ámpχäni	yámnash	tchísh.	Nāsh	sápash	gépgapē-
being unclothed,	blankets	they fetched	at the Dalles	beads	also.	In one	month	they would

liuapk,	tsíalsh	épkuapk,	káwi	tchísh	épkuapk.	Tánni	sha	géna?	té-unipni
return,	salmon	they would bring,	lamprey-eels	too	bring.	How many	of them	did go?	ten men

a-i	sha	géna,	snáwedsh	tchísh	géna,	k̲á-i	sha	i-a	vû'sha	Ampχänkníshash.
	they	went,	(a) woman	also	went,	not	they	of course	feared	the Wascoes.

Ámpχänkni	ak	sas	hushtsóχuapk;	sasságank	î	gî!	K̲á-i	nû	shtínta
The Wascoes		them	might kill;	imperilled	ye	are!	Not	I	like

Ampχänkníshash,	k̲á-i	tídshi,	k̲á-i	tídsh	hû'shkank.	Hä'	tidshí	gítk
the Wasco people,	not	good (they are),	not	well	intentioned.	If	good-hearted	were

mák̲laks	Ámpχänkni,	tánkt	nî	gë'nt,	sasságuk	k̲á-i	géna.	Tídshi	hä'k
people	the Wascoes,	then	I	may go there,	being in peril	I will not go.		Good	if to be

túmēnank	génuapka	nû.
I hear (them)	shall go	I (there).

NOTES.

The Wasco Indians form a portion of the Upper Chinook Indians of Columbia River. Their ancient homes were around and at the Dalles, and a few of them still live there, while others now inhabit a section of the Warm Spring Indian reservation on Des Chutes River, Oregon. The Dalles formerly were, and are still to a certain extent, the locality, where all the tribes of the Columbia River Basin sold and bartered their products and commodities. The Warm Spring Indians call the Wascoes: Waskopam, "men of the grass region"; the Klákamas-Chinooks call them Guithlasko. The Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians also were among the frequenters of the intertribal market, exchanging there the slaves caught on their raids for ponies, provisions etc., when they went down to the Dalles on their annual trips. My Indian informant, Charles Preston, had lived long at the Dalles, and also gave me a list of Wasco words and sentences.

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93, 1. k̲á-i spûní vushúk: the subject of spûní, É-ukskni mák̲laks, is left out by inadvertence. Some Wascoes wanted to marry into another tribe; for "one Wasco man" stands here for "some men of the Wasco people."

93, 3. 4. Ampχä'ni, contraction of ambuχē'ni "thither, where the water is", where the waters rush down in a cataract, or in rapids. The rapids of the Columbia River at the Dalles impede navigation.

93, 7. sasságank l gí! ye are in peril, when going to the Dalles and being Indians, therefore take care of yourselves! l stands for ăt; cf. 64, 10 and *Note;* 90, 13. 14.

93, 7. 9. Instead of k̲á-i nû shtínta may be said also, in this connection, k̲á-i nû shanáhole; instead of tánkt ni gēnt: gē'ntĕni, gē'nt a ni; instead of Tídshi hä'k: tídshăk, tídshi hă gí.

K'MUKÁMTCHAM AÍSHISHAM TCHÍSH SHASHAPKĔLÉASH.

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K'MÚKAMTCH ATTEMPTS THE DESTRUCTION OF HIS SON AÍSHISH.

[115]

OBTAINED IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT FROM MINNIE FROBEN.

Lûpí nā'lsh hûnk K'múkamtch shutäyéga; ná-asht nā'lsh hûnk gá-ag
At first us K'múkamtch began to create; so to us long ago

kĕmûtchátk shashapk̲ĕlī-i'a génta käílatat. Tchía hû'k lā'pi shá-ûngaltk
an old man told the myth this world about. Lived the two related as son and father,

Aíshish K'mû'kamtchish; né-ulχa hûnk gē'n, nánuktua ká-akt hû'k gäg,
Aíshish (and) K'múkamtch; resolved this one, (that) all things, whichever (are) here, (and)

nánuktua kiä'm ámbutat wá, gítki gíug. Tchúyunk pä'n I-ulalónan
all kinds of fish, in the water (which) live, should come into existence. Then again at the outlet at Linkville

tchkash né-ulχa páplishash gí'tki gíug, mû' gint nk̲ī'llipsh tí'wish ndû'l-
also he caused a dam to come into existence, very there rapidly the rushing waters running

shampksh páltki, mû'ash shlé-uyuk, tchúyunk mák̲laksash kiä'm í'tklank
down to leave dry, the south wind when blows, and hereupon the Indians the fish scooping up

pálshtat pátki gí.
on the bottom left dry should feed upon.

Tchúi pän húmasht gíulank K'mukámtch únaka tchkash m'na Aíshi-
Hereupon having performed this K'múkamtch son then his Aíshish

shash shtílta p'laíwasham shnû'lash, shléank kĕnáwatat shkúlelam wewéka
sent after an eagle's eyrie, perceiving up on a kĕnáwat-stalk of a lark the young ones

hû'nk shû'kayank, shnepē'mpemuk vunaká m'na. Snáwedsh spû'ntχashtka
hanging (on it), in order to entrap son his. A wife to abduct (from him)

*539 773 mû'nkash túlak. Pi skí'shkish ná-asht: "k̲úi tádsh ak hû'k túmi pshe-
mole along with. It the fly-bag thus (said): "very cruelly many human
utíwash gíug kí'shtchkank hiétalt nûsh".
beings among, when stepping (on me) (will) crush me".

Tchí'hunk pä't háshtaltal né-ûlχûg. Tchúi sha pälpeliéga; mû'nk
Thus they mutually disputed for action. Then they began working; the mole
yaína shuteyéga; shtû'ya yaínaluk. At pí'pil húnta né-ulχa K'mukám-
mountains began to make; it made gang-ways to throw up mountains. Now alone thus (it) made after K'múkamtch
tchăm shutólash.
had finished creating.

NOTES.

*539 773 192 ● 829 103, 3. tchák. There is evidently a *jeu de mots* intended between tchák and tcháksh. Which northern tribe the Kăkakilsh were, my informant and other Indians were unable to say; it is a nickname, derived from k̲ă'k̲, of some Oregonian tribe held in contempt by the Mák̲laks, and any reference to it causes great merriment to the Klamath Lake Indians. Mák̲laks is in both places separated from the tribal name by inversion; tchák and tchágsh form apposition to these tribal names and to mák̲laks, and for tchágsh we would expect tcháshlsh, which is the usual form of the word.

103, 5. É-ush. The sea or ocean, which is meant here, is múni é-ush, while é-ush means a lake, lagoon or large pond.

103, 6. ne-ulakiéga. Three of the lower animals are here brought together to confer with K'múkamtch to determine the duration of man's life, and every one voted according to its own experience. Stephen Powers mentions a mythic story comparable to this, heard by him among the Pit River Indians (Contrib. to North Amer. Ethnology, vol. III, p. 273): "The coyote and the fox participated in the creation of men and animals, the first being an evil spirit, the other good. They quarreled as to *whether they should let men live always* or *not*. The coyote said: "if they want to die, let them die"; but the fox said: "if they want to come back, let them come back." But nobody ever came back, for the coyote prevailed."

103, 9. 10. After shkintchishχagóta supply heméχe, and after k̲'léktgi: gi.

[193] 103, 10. tí'dsok, or tit'shok, distributive form of t'shók, of the verb t'shín to grow. Cf. tit'sha, 107, 12.

103, 12. pshe-utiwash, abbreviated pshé-utuash, an archaic word used only in the *collective* sense of people, human beings. It occurs only in mythic stories. Cf. 105, 8.

104, 4. shtû'ya. This fiction was suggested by the manner in which moles throw up mole-hills and shows that the ancient myth-makers were not without a humoristic vein.

104, 4. pí'pil. Every mountain was thrown up by the mole alone, each one separately. The special creation of K'múkamtch was *man*, and whatsoever stands in direct connection with his existence, welfare and customs, as fishing-places, islands, funereal sweat-lodges etc.

104, 4. húnta, abbreviation of húntala: by proceeding in *this* manner, in the *same* manner.

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"Nakótk Wi'tlas kokétat hi tchi'sh luélks-kiäm gi'-uapk; na-ást shé-
"By (its) dam Witlash in Williamson River there also a fish-killing place shall be; thus
shash élχa ni: Ktá-i-Tupáksi. Mbû'saks nä'st shéshatk máklaks gi'-uapk;
name give I: Rocks-where-stand. "Obsidian" so called a people shall exist;
Smä'k nä'st sésatk gi'-uapk máklaks gi'ta. Kä'katils nä'st sésatk gí-uapk
"Hairy" so named shall exist a people there. "Armpit-hairy" so called shall exist
gi'ta máklaks."
there a people."

NOTES.

All Máklaks admit that K'múkamtch created their country, the earth and the universe, but as to the special process by which he created them they seem to have no definite idea, though they possess a multitude of myths for special creations.

Most of the places mentioned in this item are situated around Upper Klamath Lake. That they are localities inhabited for centuries past, and identified with the history of the tribe is proved by the fact that their naming is ascribed to K'múkamtch. The most noticeable of them are no doubt the three sweat-houses, all of which are of remote antiquity, and were put to use only when families were mourning the loss of one of their members. Two of them are quoted here: Wakáksi or Käilalkshíni spúklish on west side of Lake and É-ukalksi, a short distance south of Fort Klamath. The third lies about three miles south of Modoc Point; it is called Ká-ashkshi spúklish.

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142, 1. käíla. About the meaning of this term in creation myths, cf. *Note* 96, 23. In other connections, in the present text, käíla or kä'la means spot, locality.

142, 2. 3. Tulish. To enable the Indians to catch fish at that place, K'múkamtch built for them, as tradition has it, an obstruction resembling a beaver-dam. Cf. nakótk, 143, 1.; gíti for gíta hi.

142, 3. 5. Túkua and Koháshti are camping- and fishing-places on the eastern shore of the Lake. At Shuyakě'kish the Indians leap over rocks for amusement.

142, 5. ná-asui, ná'sni stands for ná-asht ni: "thus I".

142, 5. 11. Gúmbat is called Rocky Point by the white population, and lies on the western shore of Upper Klamath Lake. A-usmi is an island of the Lake.

142, 6. Wakáksi or Wáka is named after the tuákish-fowl whose cry is wáka wáka.

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142, 6–10. 12–16. These mourning customs are gradually disappearing at the present time. One reason for this is the progressive assimilation of the tribes to American customs, another is the circumstance, that all of the three ancient sweat-houses are situated outside of the reservation limits.

142, 15. ndâunántak is composed of ndáunanti or ndánnantat ak: "only for three (kinds of relatives)".

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143, 1. Nákotk is the instrumental case of nákōsh, lumber-dam: "on account of its dam Witlas will be a fish-killing locality." A loon destroyed that dam by forcing its way under it; one of our texts gives this myth. Cf. 132, 1–8 and *Note* to 74, 2.

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143, 2. 3. Mbû'saks, Smä'k and Kä'katils are names given in contempt or derision of the respective tribes; the latter to Indians living at the Dalles of Columbia River, Smä'k to a tribe living south of that locality. Cf. 103, 2. 3. Mbû'saks is a name for the Snake Indians.

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 87

Background Data

*159
156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, particularly
in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
[593] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma
William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
[733] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
[83] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by
three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
[587] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She
[871] completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and
she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri,
[178] California, and Mexico.

[657] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father
for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation
[464] and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous
bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal
penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her
sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five,
and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their
violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how
such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
[577] Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams
is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
[177] a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values,
and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of
either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and
has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[191] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her
English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that children
[871] today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I
can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
[593] no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her
children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this respect,
[603] Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
[867] spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, behaviors
in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of
place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations
with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at
riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them
coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
[657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was
carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
[871] and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who
[177] promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were rejected
from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate inter-
156 changes and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
756 5171. Instruction	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5172. Supernatural experience	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5173. Sings	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5174. Goes into trance	–	–	–	–	–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5175. Tells who hid or stole money	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5176. Tracks money, if hiding place changed	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5177. Talks to piece of money	–	–	–	–	–			–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
5178. Listens to hear money singing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5179. Functions when money is lost	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5180. Performs at any public ceremony	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
5181. Money hidden, to test shaman	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	–
Witchcraft																
Black Magic																
791 754 5182. Love medicine	+	·	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
832 5183. Roots	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–
5184. Hair treated with formula, blood								+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
5185. Songs				•+		+	•+	•+	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–
5186. "Diamond" (charmstone).						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
754 5187. Poisoners distinct from doctors	+	–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	·	•+		+	–
791 5188. Men only	+	–	–	+	–			+	–	–	–	·	+		–	–
[562] 5189. Have power from various animals	–	–	·	–	–		–	–	–	+	–	·	–		–	–
5190. From evil spirit	–		–	–	–		–	–	–	+	–	·	–		–	–
5191. Have knowledge of herbs	(–)		•		–								+		–	–
754 5192. Shamans, poisoners practice contagious magic.	+		•+	+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•	•+	–
756 5193. Poisoner, curing shaman hired to revenge refusal of girl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	(–)
5194. Make girl crazy, or kill her outright	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	•+		•+	(–)
5195. Colored lights (transformed witches) cause illness	–	–	•+	•+				•+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
5195a. Epidemics caused by spirit creatures	–	–	–	–				•+	•+	+	–	–	–		–	–
Prayer, Offerings																
782 5196. Prayers frequent by all	+	+	–	•(–)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
264 5197. Offerings of food at meals	•+	+	•–	•–	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+		+	+
Eagle Ceremony																
825 5198. Special observances connected with eagle.								(–)					–	–	+	–
5199. Eaglets captured alive													–	–	•+	–
5200. People eat acorn soup on spot													–	–	•+	–
5201. Eaglets kept tied by leg													–	–	+	–
5202. Killed when grown													–	–	+	–
5203. Feathers plucked out													–	–	+	–
[766] 5204. Beads put on body													–	–	+	–
5205. Eagle buried in basket, like person													–	–	+	–
5206. Owners cry at funeral, as for person.													–	–	+	–
5206a. Chief only uses eagle feathers								•–	•–				–	–	+	–
Kuksu																
Initiation (Boys)																
575 5207. Tossed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·		–	–
5208. Over fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	·		–	–
5209. Held over fire												(+)	·		–	–

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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COOING AND WOOING.

I.

1. Yuyulinnē, yuyulinnē, yuyulinnē
I have passed into womanhood.

2. I-unēksχē'ni a yulína ⏑́ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
After sunset I get unwell.

3. Gä' lish kaní hudshótchipka? ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑
Who comes there riding towards me?

4. Génu í gít', o-ólka, kinhiä'na! = ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
My little pigeon, fly right into the dovecot!

5. Ginála hólakank; átûtû pä'χtgí ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
This way follow me, before it is full daylight!

6. At mísh mbushä'aluapka lákiam wéashash gí'aht
⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ –
I want to wed you, for you are the chief's son.

7. Ká-a mísh nû ká-a ní mbushéaluapka, ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑
hûmámasht túma tuá gí'tkuapka. ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –
Very much I covet you for a husband,
For in times to come you will live in affluence.

8. *She:* Tatá í n'sh tuá woχówe, woχówe, woχówe?
He: É-ukík pí'la éwank, éwank, éwank!
⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
–́ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑ | –́ – | –́ – | –́ –
She: And when will you pay for me a wedding gift?
He: A canoe I'll give for you half filled with water.

9. Wéwanuish kahiéwuk tála kékekanka –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
He spends much money on women thinking to obtain them easily.

10. Múshmush shû'dshipka káwantk tchilloyága –́ – | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ – | ⏑ ⏑ –́ ⏑
The poor youngster, he is driving one cow only.

11. Géntala ká-i gaíkanka púshpushlish hishuákshash!
–́ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
It is not that black fellow that I am striving to secure!

*539 12. Í-u nénak yan'wán î, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
533 í-u nénak lólalχ' î. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
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They say, that you are abandoned,
They say, that you are homeless.

13. Nánuk kalí'napka wéwan'sh, nā'dshek 'mutchéwatk tut'hiéna

All women are dead; only an old man is tottering about.

14. Ká-a tídshi snawédshash ní'sh shû'-uashipk!
⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́

That is a pretty female that follows me up!

15. Wák î núsh gítk vulálat inotílă? ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑

Why do you send me to sleep under the shadow of the cottonwood-tree?

16. Nû'sh ak gí'ntak î wítchnoka –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
lúlula wítchnoka –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

That 's because you love me that you rattle around the lodge.

17. Tcháki mísh guní'ta, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
tcháki mísh guní'ta, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
huwaliéga lulú-uash skútatk, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
lulú-uash skútatk huwaliéga. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑

A youngster beyond your home, a young man beyond your lodge
Ran up the hill, wrapped in fogs, ran up the mount while robed in mists.

18. Kayáta hû'lhe, hû'lhekanka tcháki, (*bis*) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑
kayáta lû'li, lû'likanka tcháki. (*bis*) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑

Into many of the little houses ran the boy,
Roughly he touched many of the little houses, the boy.

19 Gé-u laki wayō'sham stû'tχantk hû't

My husband has the voice of the white goose.

20. Gé-u laki yókikam shkutántki

My husband is dressed in the feathers of the jay-bird.

21. Yúkikam stû'tχantk gé-u laki –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́

My husband has the voice of the mocking-bird.

22. Pálpali watsátka hushólalχa

He is bouncing around on a white horse.

23. Tatsā'lka wáts snukátkank ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑

He pets the horse before he grasps him.

24. Táplal wó-a hû'nûank mû stû'tχantko

Loudly cries the spotted loon while skimming the waters.

25. Wí-uka huli'lχank skû'le huntchípka –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

The lark flies towards me grazing the ground and stopping every little while.

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26. Wák i nûsh gíug wetû′, wetû′, ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –̇ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́
i-á-uka hû′lhiank wetû′, wetû′. ⏑ ⏑ –́ | – – ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́

Why did you become estranged, estranged.
By running in neighbors' houses estranged, estranged?

27. Wák wenníluta nûsh gí′tk?
wák i nûsh gí′tk wennílota?

Why have you become so estranged to me?

28. K̲ó-idsi mák̲laks hŏ′lalk̲ tchawí′k sanáholing

A wicked man approaches fast, desirous of a fight.

29. Shenúyatko ní wáti luyä′nitki

I flee before the man who tramps around in the lodge, knife in hand.

30. K̲ó-idshi wátsag shkanákapka k̲ók̲uapkug,
k̲á-i ní shanáhual nû k̲ók̲tkinshkiuk. ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ – | ⏑ –

That vicious dog assails me and will bite,
But I prefer not to scold him for it.

31. Kä′-udshísh topínkan wókanka, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
yámat téluitgank wókanka. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – | –́ ⏑ ⏑

The younger brother of the gray wolf is howling,
After having gone North he is howling.

32. Wásh a léka gí′tk gû′ n'sh húyaha –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | ⏑́

The prairie-wolf full of anger runs away from me.

33. Wásh leká gítk washólalχ tchíkĕlank wátsat
– ⏑ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑̇ –́ | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑

The maddened prairie-wolf gets away riding on his horse.

34. Wásh léggatχ ní′sh húyaha,
wásh í léggatk′ kú nísh húyaha! hu-í-yăhă!

Crazy-minded the prairie-wolf flees me;
Maddened in his senses he runs away to a far-off distance.

35. K̲ó-idshi wátch genuála, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
hai yóshinko, yó-osink! – –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑

A vicious steed has gone out; he is lost, he is strayed!

36. Tatá mísh kaní lápukni gĕnálla?

Who has touched you at both places?

37. Á nû toks shiwága shéwa, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
káyutch mísh pátchnam palaléant. –́ – | –́ – | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ –

I hold you to be an innocent girl, though I have not lived with you yet.

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38. Támûdsh pásh nû túmĕna, –́ – | –́ ⏑ | –́ – –
wátchagalam wéash shii'walsh túmĕna. –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ – –

Over and over they tell me,
That this scoundrel has insulted me.

39. Gétala stû' newálχa! –́ – – | –́ ⏑ | –́ –
tuátala tséyalalχ' i? ⏑ –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑

Right ahead I follow the uphill path!
Why then do you swing the body around?

40. Waíwash gandíla shiwákshash,
shíwamptchash waíwash gandíla.

White geese saw a woman hiding,
Saw an old maid hiding in the grass.

41. Túhush ō wíllaslīna, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑
wílhaslasna, wíllaslīna. –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ – –
túhush ō wíllaslā, –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ –
wílhaslasna, wíllaslā. –́ ⏑ – ⏑ | –́ ⏑ –

The mud-hen sprawls on the top;
On the top it rests, it slides from the top.

42. Wī-iltí nû shotelō'la, –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ –
púmam nû u-ásh goyéna. –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ –
I am rolling up the wī'l, and shall walk around in the beavers' den.

43. Kû'lsh kuleótank kí' nak ĕn gí', –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ –
múne kuleótank kí' nak ĕn gí'. –́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ –
The badger entering his den makes nak, nak, nak,
The fat (badger) entering makes nak, nak, nak.

44. K̲á-i welí'sht i mísh shmákalpsh gí'sh shápa; –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
wéwanuish gíntak shéwal, shéwal. –́ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –́ ⏑
Just now you affirmed that hairless you were,
But the women say, that hairy you are.

45. Nápal ai nā'd shuntówa-udsha ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –́ | –́ ⏑ ⏑
We are throwing eggs at each other.

46. E antléya máyas ā

II

000 47. Yuyulinē'pka, yuyulinē'pka –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑ ‖ –́ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ ⏑
48. Yunigshχē'ni yulína

NOTES.

*539 I. Erotic songs obtained from Chief Johnson, Minnie Froben, and others, in the
533 Klamath Lake dialect. The twelve songs obtained from Minnie Froben are among the
● 832 prettiest and most melodious, as for instance 9. 16. 17. 18. 25. 26., and the eighteen songs dictated by Johnson are of importance for the study of manners and customs, viz: 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. 19. 20. 28. 29. 41. 42. 43 etc.

With the Indians all of these and many other erotic songs pass under the name of *pilpil* or puberty songs. They include lines on signs of womanhood, courting, love sentiments, disappointments in love, marriage fees paid to parents, on marrying and on
*539 conjugal life. Some love songs have quite pretty melodies. A few songs of the present
533 interesting series of song-lines seem to treat of commonplace subjects only, as 22. to 24.;
832 28. to 31., while others apparently contain nothing but heartless mockeries and satiric
192 strictures, like 9. 28. 40. 44. But they all refer in fact to love-making and kindred sentiments, the satiric lines confirming the proverbial inclination of lovers to fight among themselves. I have deemed appropriate to gather all these songs under a heading which unmistakably expresses their real purport.

[194] 182; 1. The accent is laid sometimes on first, sometimes on second syllable. This word is abbreviated from yuyulinĕ′pka, as it occurs in the Modoc pilpil song. The event mentioned here is followed by a dance-feast; cf. shúyuχalsh, and 134, 21.

182; 4. ginhiéna "inside" means into a secluded spot, lodge or enclosure. O-ólka, ŏ′laka is the diminutive of ŏ′lsh, the grayish pigeon with the plaintive voice.

182; 7. gítkuapka, a contraction of gítko gi-uápka l.

[583] 182; 8. Pay a wedding gift is equivalent to purchasing a girl from her parents for a handsome consideration.

[193] 182; 11. Sung by women. The original as given to me does not contain the negative particle: Géntala nû haíkanka púshpushlish hishuákshash.

183; 12. yan'wán l stands for yanhuáni l.

183; 13. kali′napka: they are not only "dead but out of sight", as the suffix -apka indicates. This being an erotic song-line, kalínapka simply means that the females looked for are either asleep or absent, and not deceased, as kalína would seem to indicate. 'mutchéwatk for kĕmutchéwatko; cf. 136, 5.

183; 14. 15. These two songs follow a purely anapæstic metre, No. 15 adding two acatalectic syllables to its three anapæsts. Compare also the first line of 182; 7. with one supernumérary syllable. As for the contents of 183; 15. compare the analogous Modoc song 186; 51.

[194] 183; 17. Melody very engaging. In lúluash the second *u* is redoubled for metrical reasons. Dactylic rhythm prevails here, in 16, and in 182; 11.

183; 18. That is, while he was seeking young girls inside the kayátas. Melody very beautiful.

[193] 183; 19. wayósham, possessive case of waíwash, *q. v.*

183; 20. shkutántki stands for skútatko gí or shkutanátko gí: "he is wrapped in."

183; 21. The much more so, because he is in his festive garb, the pátash and lás stuck on his headdress.

184; 26. Melody very pretty. A young woman addresses these words to a lover.

184; 27. Sung by young women who have fallen out with their beaux.

*539 **184; 28.** Said to be an erotic song.

533 **184; 29.** luyä'nitki contracted from luyä'nitko gi. Cf. *Note* to 183; 20.

832 **184; 30.** ḳóḳtkinshkink. The proper meaning of this verb is "to set upon like a
192 dragon-fly". Shanáhual is an uncommon form for shanahō'li, the long ō being resolved
[193] into its component sounds. Cf. náwal, and 184; 35.: genuála for genō'la.

184; 31. Why did the wolf howl? The reason given is that he could not meet anybody. This wolf is a loving young man who was looking out for women.

184; 32. Sung by one woman and repeated by a female chorus. This song-line treats of the abandonment of a female by her husband or lover for some reason.

184; 33. Pretty melody. The song refers to a lover disappointed in his affections.

184; 33. tchíkla wátsatka is preferable to and more frequent than wátsat, wátchtat, cf. 183; 22. Alliteration is perceptible in this song-line.

184; 34. The wásh is the lover of the girl who sings this song; the lover is compared to a prairie-wolf on account of his importunity and lack of moderation. Comparisons of lovers with quadrupeds and birds are frequently met with.

184; 35. yóshinko for yó-ishiank ō, yó-ishink hû: he is running astray.

[193] **184; 37.** shiwága. In the objective case sometimes inflected like snáwedsh *woman* 80, 11. sometimes as a diminutive noun, as here, and 33, 10. In 185; 40. shiwákshash stands incorrectly for shiwágash, through phonetic analogy with shíwamptchash in the same song.

185; 39 to 44, perhaps including 45, have a literal and direct meaning, and besides this are intended to convey an indirect meaning, which is of an obscene character. The same may be said of songs 15 and 51.

185; 41. This melodious song alludes to the habit of mud-hens to rest and sprawl
on the top of the waves; wílhaslasna depicts their motions while on the wave-top,
willaslína the sprawling observed while they sail down from it. With slight phonetic
[194] variations, this same melody is also sung as follows: Tóhosh ō willaslín; willaslasna,
willaslina; willasli ín.

185; 42. wí'l seems connected with the diminutive word wíl'haga, *young deer.*

[193] **185; 43.** kí' nak ēn gí', stands for gí' nak, nen gí: "he cries nak, so he cries"; assuming that ēn is abbreviated from nen.

185; 45. This is a "dream" song.

185; 46. Pilpil song worded in another than the Máḳlaks language.

000 **II.** Erotic songs obtained from Toby Riddle and J. C. D. Riddle in the Modoc dialect. The Modoc pilpil songs obtained are all of a satiric character.

185; 47. See Klamath Lake pilpil songs 182; 1.

185; 48. See Klamath Lake collection of pilpil songs 182; 2.

186; 49. Pilpil tune sung by girls. Taína is equivalent to t'éna, teiniwá-ash etc.

186; 50. A song repeated for hours by young Modocs; it is of the true pilpil kind.

186; 51. Originally a pilpil song, but sung now by children playing hide and seek.

186; 52. This is a very popular and prettily tuned Modoc song.

186; 53. Sung by Modoc girls who feel themselves importuned by their lovers. Often the boys join them by singing it in chorus. This well-meant advice of sending the boys to the South, no doubt to the Pit River country, is to keep them at a distance, for the song refers to the appearance of the first signs of puberty. Watchágalam is full form of watchágam, for which wátcham is sometimes incorrectly substituted.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	NV
587 3975. New husband pays widow's parents-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
3976. New husband asks widow's parents-in-law consent	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	.	+	-	.	-
3977. New husband pays widow's sister-in-law	-	-	-	-		•+	+	+	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-
3978. New husband pays, gives gifts to widow's family	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	-	+
3979. Remarriage of widows rare, if husband good man	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3980. Divorcee's former husband paid by new husband	-	-	-	•-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562] 3981. Man sells wife to male bidder	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o3982. New husband pays divorcee's parents	-	-	+	+	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o3983. New husband asks divorcee's parents	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intercourse																
833 3984. Bride scratches at 1st intercourse	-	-	+	-	-	-		(+)	-	-	.	.	•+	.	.	.
3985. Natural position lying on side	.		+										•+			
3986. Kissing unknown	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
[152] [192] 3987. Exclamation of endearment for adults, children	+	+	-		+	•+	•+	+	+	+	.	-	+	+	-	-
3988. Virginity tests	.	.	•-				•+	•+	-	.	.	.	-	.	.	.
Promiscuity																
836 3989. Promiscuity any time	•-	-	+	+	-		+	+	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
3990. At dances chiefly	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	.	+	-	-	+	-
3991. Promiscuity denied by informant	•-	-	•-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
3992. Unchaste unmarried girl beaten, shaken, scolded	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
836 3993. Unmarried pregnant girl scolded, beaten		+	+			+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
848 3994. Father of bastard punished	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
3995. Killed by girl's relatives														+	+	-
3996. Obligated to marry girl	•+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
3997. Might marry girl, not obligated	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-
3998. Payment for girl	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transvestites																
Male																
838 3999. Male transvestites affirmed for group	+	•-	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•-	-	-	•-	.	•-
4000. Sweat with women	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	(-)	-	-	.	-
4001. Perform women's work	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4002. Wear women's clothes	+	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4003. Live with normal man	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
4004. Special functions at funerals	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
[756] 4005. Some are shamans	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	(-)	-	-	.	-
4006. Nursing in war		-	-			-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
4007. Regarded indifferently by community	+	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	-	.	-
4008. Turn berdache at puberty, prepuberty	-		+			(+)		+	+	+	-	.	-	-	.	-
4009. Turn berdache postpuberty, later in life	+	-	-		+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
[587] 4010. Act upon dream	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
Female																
4011. Female transvestites affirmed for group	+	-	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012. Live with woman	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012a. Live with man			-					+	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012b. Wear woman's clothes	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
[756] 4013. Some are shamans	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-

ä'ukckni were sisters from his own settlement on Williamson river above 582
bzzûksε'was, a third was from that town, and the fourth from glä'tepak'is, a 595
mile or so down river. His daughter by the Modoc wife was counted ä'ukckni;
while living at k'taidi she married an ä'ukckni of Yainax.

A gu'mböt man, Wokau'klalls, married two Molala sisters.

Girls usually marry within a year or so after puberty, which is 584
marked, at least among the well-to-do, by a big dance. Betrothals
may have been arranged while the couple were yet pre-adolescent,
presents having been exchanged by the families. They are expected
to carry out the agreement after the girl's dance, payments being
made again. Should one of them die another match may be arranged
with the same family, but not of necessity. Poor and rich alike
arrange such betrothals.

How far great disparity of age occurs I do not know, but it does [582]
happen that an older man marries a young girl. A shaman for
instance may be given a daughter by a man too poor to reward him [756]
otherwise.

But it must not be thought that there is no choice. On the contrary,
the majority of marriages follow the desire of the couples.
Elopements take place and although the levirate is the rule, much 583
depends on the widow's willingness. Yet a girl's consent is not necessary.
Despite her protests she may be carried to her husband's home. 587
If she runs home she is almost invariably taken back again. That she
would be driven to suicide is doubtful; one informant never heard of [762]
such a thing; another stated she would hang herself and in this event
her parents had to return the gifts of the groom.

An orphan girl of du'kwa lived with her mother's brother. She was married 583
against her will to a man of k'taidi. She clung to the ladder of the earth-
lodge but they pulled her away and dragged her up-river to k'taidi. Next 159
morning she ran home and never went back. Nothing had been paid for her
at the time but she was given in return for valuables contributed to the
cremation of a relative of hers some time before by her husband's relatives.
Immediately after this she married a man at Klamath marsh; whether payment
was then made is not remembered.

Elopements occur but payment is so much insisted on as a sign 583
of respectability that parents guard their daughters with great care.
This is at least true where the family wealth makes a suitable payment
imperative. It is unthinkable that a chief's daughter should be permitted
to enter an unceremonious, clandestine union. The poor and 834
forward have little to lose. Modest demeanor is expected of a girl.

834 836 [881] She dances with downcast eyes in her adolescent rite; she sits apart and does not talk with male visitors at home. A man seen prowling about the camp is shouted away. A girl who does not wish to be molested will go over to her mother to sleep. A father will whip a daughter who has clandestine visitors, and his son for misconduct. No obligations may be assumed for which no payment is made.

583 [836] Despite the fact that elopements are frowned on, clandestine visits and elopements are frequent. The girl's parents may follow a runaway couple and force her to return with them. It is usual however for the families to accept the fact and make gifts in proper form.

583 159 585 The most lavish marriage display ever known was that of Lzlo'ks' only daughter, Go'solülb. They were living at táka'lmakeda during the fishing season when Ski'lüls of Yainax eloped with her. They fled riding double; the horse fell with them while fording the river, but they escaped to Yainax. Soon after the girl returned alone. It took a month to get ready to conduct a proper marriage. Lzlo'ks made the trip across the mountains to Jacksonville to get store goods. A great many people went with them to Yainax, the majority taking gifts of horses, blankets, clothing, or anything they had. One man with nothing better stripped himself of his only shirt. It must be remembered that such Plains shirts were then newly fashionable and hence valuable. They gave the horses they rode there, hoping for reciprocal gifts on which to return. Horses to a total of ten were given the groom's people. They gave horses and other gifts in return. Payment having been made the affair was considered as honorably ended, and as though the groom had sent an emissary in proper order.

583 554 Marriage without payment brings a slur on the children to be cast in the teeth by quarreling women. "Your children are worth nothing; you were not bought." Children taunt each other in the same way. They are respected in proportion to the amount changing hands at their parents' marriage, but this does not mean that a man's life is assessed at this sum. Nor is there any suggestion here that husband and wife are financially accountable to each other for injuries to their children. Marriage payment is prescribed not alone because it fixes social status in a general way but because, as one informant phrased it, it is decidedly unlucky not to make payment. So it is, for the couple have made an unsuccessful start of their social career.

The amount is not prescribed but varies with the wealth of the individuals. A chief gives a slave and more; a poor man buys with food. A chief will not give his daughter for nothing; the groom must
583 continue to bring gifts even after marriage. The valuables customarily exchanged are slaves, horses, blankets, beads, food (pond-lily seed and roots), elk and other hides, and strings of beads. Pat Kane's father gave five fathoms of glass trade beads. It is important to

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Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
Hunting Observances																
224 o137. First kill taboo to youth	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
138. To youth's parents also	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+
139. Kill taboo until marriage	−	−	−	−	•−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
140. Youth switched after first kill	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
141. Before he goes to kill first deer	+	+	−	−	−	+	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
142. Taboo to voice intent to hunt deer	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
o143. Hunter fasts morning or day of hunt	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	±	−	+
[934] 144. Sexual continence before hunt	−	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[276] 145. Tobacco smoked ritually before hunt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	•+	−	•+
146. Root incense before hunt	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
[783] 147. Weapons smoked over fire	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
148. Hunter smokes self over fire	·	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	−	+	+	+	•−	+	−
149. Root chewed before hunt	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
150. Sweating before hunt	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
[515] 151. With scarification and bleeding	−	+	•+	•+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
152. Hunter prays while sweating	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•−	−	•−	−	−	−
153. Shell bead burnt as offering	−										+	+	+	−	−	•−
[515] 154. Bathing before hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
155. Body swabbed with medicine	−	•+	+	+	[illegible]	+	−	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	+	•+
156. Deer doctor charms game prior to hunt	−	+	+			•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
157. Antelope doctor charms game prior to hunt	−	+	·		o	o	+	−	o	o	o	−	o	−	o	−
158. Ceremony before group hunt	−	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
159. Singing	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Praying	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
161. Dancing	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
162. Hoof rattle	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	·	−	+	−
163. Cocoon rattle	−		−		−			−	−		+	+	+	+	−	−
163a. Split-stick rattle	−	−	•R	−	−	•R		+	−	−	−	−	·	−	·	•+
164. Headdress	−	−	+			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−	·	−
165. Conducted by shaman	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
166. Acorn-soup dinner									•+	•+			•+	•+	•+	•+
167. Ceremony after hunt	−	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	•+	·	+	•+	−	+
[782] 168. Offerings made for success of hunt	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	•+	•+	•+	•·	•+
168a. Eagle down	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	·	−
168b. Tobacco	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	·	−
[754] 169. Shaman goes on hunt to charm game	−	−	−	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•−	+	−
170. Bear spoken to in den or woods	•−	•+	•+	+	•+	•−	o	−	+	·	+	•+	o	·	(−)	•+
171. Addressed by kin term	−	·	+	−	+	−	o	−	−	·	+	+	o	·	(−)	+
172. Apologetic speech after killing	−	−	+	•−	+	−	o	−	+	·	+	+	o	·	−	+
173. Meat eaten in one house	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	+	(+)	o	·	+	−
174. All who eat must wash, be continent	−	+	+	•−							+	+	o	·	+	−
175. Remains in tree or hidden in woods	−	−	+	−	−	−	o	−	−	−	+	−	o	·	−	−
176. Remains burnt	−	−	−			+	o	−	−	−	−	−	o	·	−	+
177. Killing pregnant bear causes death, misfortune	−	·	−	+	−	−	o	−	−	−	·	+	o	·	−	−
[202] 178. Smoke or fire signals when 2 or more hunt together	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
179. Shouting as signal	−	−							+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+
180. To obtain aid in packing kill	+	•+	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+
Butchering of Large Game																
181. Large game butchered in woods	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	•−	+	+
182. Lying	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
183. Eyes cut out	−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
184. Given to child to eat raw	−	−	−	•−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
185. Nose cut or tied	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
186. Paunch cleaned, filled with blood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+
187. Carcass packed home whole	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	·	−	+	+	+	−	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
227 Angling																
235. Acute-angled hook, 1 barb	•–	+	•+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–
236. Acute-angled hook, 2 barbs, bilateral	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
237. Gorge	•+	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
238. Meat, grasshopper on line; no hook	–		+	•+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
239. Several hooks on line	•+	+	+	–	+	–	.	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
Harpoons, Spears																
240. Harpoon, detachable point(s)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
241. Single toggle	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
242. Two toggles	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	+
243. Toggle of bone	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	.	+
244. Barbed toggle, three-piece	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	.	+
245. Simple toggle, one-piece	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–
246. Harpoon used infrequently				+	•+	•+	+	–	–	•–	–	–	•+	–	+	–
247. Fish spear, fixed point(s)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	.	.	–	+	–
248. One point	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
249. Two points	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	.	.	.	–	–	–
250. More than two points	+	+	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	.	–	–	–
251. Circular arrangement of points	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	.	–	–	–
252. Points spread by ring	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	.	–	–	–
253. Wooden point(s)	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	.	.	.	–	+	–
254. Bone point(s)	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	.	–	–	–
255. Flaked stone point(s)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
256. Fish "spear," 1 point fixed, 1 detachable	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
257. Landing gaff	R	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
258. Hooked at end	•R	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
259. Straight stick, pointed end	–	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other Fishing Techniques																
226 260. Fish shot with bow and arrow	–	–	.	•+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–
261. Infrequently	–	–	.	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
262. Fish poisoning with plant substance	–	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	•–	–	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+
263. Fish caught with bare hands	•+	•+	+	–	–	•–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+
264. Flares at night for fish	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
265. Harpooning, dipping fish through ice	•+	+	–	–	+	–	•+	–	o	o	–	–	–	–	–	o
266. Fish killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	+
267. Manufactured club	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	•+	.	.	•+
268. Natural stone	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	–
269. Piece of stick	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	.	–
270. Biting neck of fish	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	–
271. Breaking neck or back	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	.	.	–
272. Striking head on ground, rock	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	.	.	–
273. Fish creel of basketry	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•(+)	–	–	•+	•+	+	.	•+	–
274. Fish carried on forked stick through gills or jaw	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
275. On string or withe	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	.	–	–
276. Fish carried in fish net, over shoulder												+	+	+	.	+
277. Fish laid head to tail, tied and packed on back	–	–							+	+	–	–	–	.	–	–
Fishing Observances																
[234] 278. Continence before fishing	+	+	•+	•–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–
[78] 279. 1st salmon, other fish taboo to youth	–	•+	+	–	•+	•+	•o	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•+
280. 1st trout	+	+	+	–	+	+	o	–	–	–	•+	•–	•–	•+	•+	•+
281. 1st-fish rite or observance	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	NY	
2437. Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	526
2438. Children	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	[562]
2439. Stick sharpened at both ends	-	-	-	-	°+	°+	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	°+	-	-	[857]
2440. Natural vestigial deer metapodial	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2441. 1 point when it lands erect in ground	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2442. Person who catches stick wins	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
2443. Thrower scores	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2444. Unsuccessful thrower transfers	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
†2445. Number of counters	-	-	-	-	10	°10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2446. Jacks	-	-	-	-	+	+	R	-	-	+	R	-	-	+	-	-	[562]
2447. Men play	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	
2448. Women play	-	-	-	-	+	+	R	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	[857]
2449. Children play	-	-	-	-	-	+	R	-	-	+	R	-	-	-	-	-	
2450. Stones	-	-	-	-	+	+	R	-	-	+	R	-	-	+	-	-	
†2451. Number of objects	-	-	-	-	10	10	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	3	-	-	
2452. Indefinite	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2453. Last object thrown up heaviest	-	-	-	-	-	°+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	
2454. For fun; no betting	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	
2455. Juggling	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	
2456. Rocks	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2457. Acorns	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
o2458. Number thrown up	-	-	-			°2	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	
2459. Thrown up in both hands, same time	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	[562]
2460. Women	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	
2461. Boys	-	-	-					-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	[857]
2462. For fun; no betting	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Gambling Taboos

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	NY	
2463. Intercourse taboo before gambling	+	+	+	+	-			+	+	.	.	-	-	-	-	.	525
2464. Only if man has washed in sacred spot, for luck	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	.	.	-	-	-	-	.	834
2465. Intercourse taboo after gambling													°+	-	-	.	

Amusements

Toys

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	NY	
2466. Tops	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	524
2467. Children play	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	[857]
2468. Adults play								+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	
2469. Acorn	-	-	-	°+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	
2470. Bark or wood disk, horizontal plane	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2471. Lump of pitch	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2472. Deer kneecap	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2473. Twirl with fingers	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	
2474. Twirl between palms	-	+	-				+		-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	
2475. Buzzer	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	-	-	R	.	°R	[857]
2476. Children play	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	R	
2477. Adults play			+					+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	R	
2478. Wood or bark disk	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	-	
2479. Deer carpal	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	-	
2480. Shell disk	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	-	
2481. Acorns	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	-	
2482. Shoe-leather disk						R	-	-	R	R	R	-	-	R	.	R	
2483. To make snow	+	-	°-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2484. String figures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	°-	+	-	R	R	+	-	+	
2485. Old men, women play	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	°-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	[857]
2486. Men play	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	
2487. Women play	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	[562]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3159. Until cord drops off	−	−	−	−				−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	844
3160. Pit or trench dug	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	846
3161. Hot rocks, charcoal put in pit	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	
3162. Pit covered with grass, bark.	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	
3163. Fire direct on ground; lies beside it	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	
Treatment of Midwife																	
3164. Bathes, immediately after child born	+	+	+						+	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	844
3165. Cuts arms, later	−	−	+						+	+	−	(+)	−	−	.	−	759
Restrictions on Mother																	
‡3166. Restrictions last for ... days	5	5	−	28	−	•5	−	28	28	28	−	3	6	5	28	28	846
3167. Until blood stops flowing	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	784
3168. Until navel cord drops off	−	−	•−	•+	+	−	•+	−	−	−	+	•−	−	−	−	−	
o3169. Bathing taboo	+	+	•±	•±	+	+	•±	•+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	•±	[515]
3170. In stream	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3171. Sweat bath	+	+	−	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3172. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3173. Eats alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[262]
3174. Fed by old woman	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3175. Uses separate receptacles	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176. Eats sparingly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176a. Fresh meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3177. Dried meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3178. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3179. Dried fish taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3181. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3182. Salt taboo	−	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3183. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	
3184. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	[302]
3185. Combing hair taboo	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	.	
3186. Head, face scratcher used	•+	•+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
3187. Especially for first child.	−	−	−				+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	
3188. Tabooed activities	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
3189. Making baskets taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3190. Preparing food taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
‡3191. Traveling taboo ... days	5	5	−	28	−	−	−	28	28	28	−	3	6	5	28	−	[484]
3192. Until blood stops flowing or cord drops off	−	−	+	−	+	•+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	
o3193. Sees no men for ... days	5	•−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	•2	−	−	−	−	−	−	[562]
†3194. Intercourse taboo for ... months	•2	•2	•2						2	2	.	.	1	1	.	3	[834]
3195. Loud noise near child taboo	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3196. Would make child deaf	−	+	+							−	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3197. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3198. Bathes	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	[515]
3199. Midwife or mother assists	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3200. Medicated bath	−	−	+	+		•+	•+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	.	−	[754]
3201. Sweats	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3202. Swims after sweating	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	[481]
Restrictions on Father																	
3203. Required for all offspring	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	
3204. For first child only	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	
3205. Retirement period	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3206. Stays with mother in hut	−	−	−	+	•+	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3207. Must stay in own dwelling house	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Cradles																	
3263. 2 cradles used successively	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	854
3264. Both same shape	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3265. First lacks hood	+	-	-			+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
3266. Different shapes	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
#3267. 1st cradle used for about ... days	.	28	28	5	+	+	+	28	28	28	+	.	28	28	+	-	
3268. Used until cord drops off	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	
3269. Made before baby born	-	-	-	+	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	+	+	
3270. Presented to mother after child born														.	+	+	
3271. Made after baby born	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	+	-	-	
3272. Bad luck if made before birth	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	+	-	-	
3273. Tied on tree when discarded	-	+	±	±	+	+	+	-	±	±	-	-	±	-	-	-	
o3274. 2d cradle used for ... years	1+	1+	1+	1+	1+	1+	1+	2	2	1	1+	1+	1+	1+	1	1+	
3275. Made by maternal, paternal grandmother	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3276. Made by mother	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3277. Made by woman specialist	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
3278. Made by paternal grandfather	-	-	+								-	-	-	-	-	+	
3279. Man makes cradleboard	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3280. Cradle must be finished same day begun	-	+	-				+	+	-	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
3281. Discarded cradle tied on tree	-	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3282. Discarded cradle kept in house	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3283. Used for several children	.	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	
3284. Vegetable diapering material	±	±	±	-	±	±	±	±	±	±	-	±	-	±	±	±	
3285. Skin diapering material	-	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	
3286. Infant wrapped in skin	-	+	+	+	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Nursing																	
o3287. Infant nurses after ... days	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	853
3288. Colostrum milked out	+	+	±	±	±	+	±	±	+	+	+	-	+	+	±	+	
3289. Milked onto hot rock or coals	±	±	+	+	±	+	±	-	±	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3290. Denied to baby	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
3291. Infant fed gruel, first 2-3 days	-	-	±	-	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3291a. Infant fed water, first 2-3 days	+	+	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	
3292. Nursed whenever cries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
o3293. No intercourse between parents for ... months	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	.	.	±	1	(1)	3	[834] ●
Weaning and Discipline of Children																	
3294. Weaning as soon as teeth appear, regularly	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	862
3295. Early weanings, occasionally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	
3296. Pregnancy cause of	+	+	+	+	+	±	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	
3297. Sickness of mother cause of	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	+	+	+	+	
3298. Infant taken to mother's relatives	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	-	+	.	.	
3299. Mother keeps out of baby's sight	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	+	.	.	
3300. Mother puts bitter substance on nipples	.	.	±	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	±	±	
3301. Mother frightens child	.	.	-						±	±	-	-	-	±	-	-	
3302. Child fed larger quantities solid food											+	+	+	-	+	+	
3303. Child usually nurses until he stops of own accord	+	+	+	-	+	±	+	+	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3304. Night "cry babies" bathed	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	
3305. Infant's ears pierced, if cries excessively	-	-	-		±		+	±	+	-	±	-	-	-	+	-	[304]

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
787 4717. Crow, quail calling, tells of enemy passing	-	+	+	-		.	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	*+
225 4718. Dog howling, sign of war	+	-	-	-	+	.		+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
4719. Coyote, fox howling sign of war	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
4720. Any animal calling out of time evil sign	-	+	+	-	.	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
4721. May be shaman, sending out spirit								+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Vision Quest

787

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
4722. Vision questing to obtain guardian spirit(s).	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	*+	*+	*+		-	*-
4723. By individuals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		-	-
4624. By group	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-		-	-
[562] 4725. Men, youths, boys	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+		-	-
4726. Women, girls	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	*-	*+	+	-	+		-	-
4726a. Optional, not obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+		-	-
4727. First quest, prepuberty	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+		-	-
4728. First quest at or around puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	-	+	+	(-)		-	-
4729. Questing during adult life	+	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	*+	+	+	-	-		-	-
4730. Quest once only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	+	+		-	-
4731. Quest repeated, to gain power, or for successive powers	+	+	.		+	+	+	-	*+	+	+	-	-		-	-
4732. Some candidates never obtain vision	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+		-	-
4733. Undertaken in winter, annually	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4734. Undertaken in spring, summer only	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	*+	-	-	-	+		-	-
*4735. Undertaken any time, after birth child, death of near relative	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-		-	-
4736. Vision quest general, may obtain any variety power	*+	*+	-	-	-	*+	+	*+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
*4736a. Vision quest may yield all powers except those for doctoring	-	-	+	*+	-	*-	-	*-	*+	*+	-	-	-		-	-
4737. Vision quest yields doctoring powers only	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-
4738. Youths prepared for quest	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
4739. Lectured by father, father's brother	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
[304] 4740. Whipped with bowstring, stick	-	-	-			+	+	-	*+	-	-	-	-		-	-
4741. Ears pierced	-	-	-	-	*+	+	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4742. Go out naked, or with breechclout only	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+				-		-	-
4743. Seeker quests at fixed localities in mountains	*+	*+	*(+)	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-
4744. Alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
4745. With older shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-
4746. Men or youths only	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
#4747. For ... days, nights	5	5	*8	1	5	*1	*2	0	1	1	1	2	2		-	-
4748. Before doctor-making dance	*+	*+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	(+)	+		-	-
4749. After doctor-making dance	*+	*+	-	-	-	-	-	*+	*+	*+	-	-	-		-	-
[262] #4750. Complete food fast ... days	5	5	(+)	-	5	*2	-	-	-	-	1	-	2		-	-
[262] o4751a. Eats sparingly, or according to spirit's instructions ... days	-	+	28	5	2	-	*2	5	1	*2	-	2	*+		-	-
4752. Meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-
4753. Abstains from water	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
[834] 4754. Drinks water with acorn meal in it			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-		-	-
4755. Sexual continence during quest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+		-	-

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4756. Bathes to acquire power . . .	+	+	+	−	+	+	*+	+	*+	+	−	+	+		−	−	787
4756a. In lake or stream . .	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	−	
4757. Complete immersion .	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	−	[515]
4758. Washes hands in spring	+	−	−					+		+	−	−	−		−	−	
4759. Bathes each day . . .	+	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	+	(−)	.		−	−	
o4759a. Bathes after ... days	−	−	−	−		*2	*2	5	5	*2	−	.	.		−	−	
4760. Rebuilds stone altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	
4761. Breaks branches, piles up wood	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4762. Builds fire	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	−	[372]
4763. Smokes self over fire	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		+	−	+	+		−	−	
4764. Catches glowworms	*+	−	*+					−	.	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4765. Sleeps on mountain at night .	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	(+)	−	−		−	−	
4766. Prays for vision	−	−	−					+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
4766a. Scarification and bleeding .	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	[304]
4767. Ants allowed to bite wounds	−	−	+	*+	−	−	*−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
*4768. To obtain "luck" only	−	−	(−)	*+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4769. Power comes by dreaming . . .	−	*+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4769a. Power comes in trance or faint	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4770. Nose or mouth bleeds	+	*+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	−	
4771. Instruction by shaman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	
4772. Guardian spirit communicates with seeker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4773. Spirit seen	−	−	.	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4773a. Spirit heard	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4774. Spirit felt	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	
4775. Gives song	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4776. Gives paint		+	−	−	−	−		(+)	−	−	+	+	+		−	−	
4777. Gives dance		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
4778. Instructs as to paraphernalia, methods.	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	
*4779. Doctor dance main or only form vision seeking for youths, girls		[illegible]	−	−	−	−	−	*+	*+	*+	−	−	−		−	−	
4780. Successful seeker observes taboos on return	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
†4781. Is sick for ... days	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	*1	*1	*2	1	+	+		−	−	
†4782. Continent			−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	[834]
4782a. For ... years			−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	1		−	−	
4783. Swims	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4784. Sweats and swims	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
†4785. Stays outside house ... days.	1	1	−	−	2	1	*2	5	0	*2	−	−	−		−	−	
†4786. Confined ... days in sweat house	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4787. Uses head scratcher	−	+	.	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4788. Eats sparingly or according to spirit's instructions. .	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	[262]
4788a. Meat taboo	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
4789. Fish taboo	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−					−	−	
4790. Salt taboo	−		−					+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	
4790a. Drinks water with acorn meal in it. .	−	−	−						+	(+)					−	−	[501]
4791. Smokes tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−		−	−	
4792. Gives first kill to old man .			+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	[276]

000 a few sticks." AE: Only healthy women leave hut immediately after birth, run 150-200 ft., and bathe; if weak, do not.

3141. AW: Only if she feels well.

3145. SW: Downstream from village. AE: Bathes only if day warm. WT: See note 3198. NF, NS: Informants shocked at idea of any bathing at this time; explained that "people were afraid of using water" on such occasions (see element 3169).

3151. SE: Mother drinks salmon-tail soup. Fish spawns, therefore soup efficacious in clearing out women. Such a medicine denied for Kl, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV groups. At, AW: Decoction of ashes drunk; denied for all other groups.

3155. MV: Small cake of warm ashes made into loaf with water; placed on woman's abdomen.

3156. AW: Use "hotbed" for 6-7 days, but when cord drops off child, after 3-4 days, change location of pit.

3157. Mo: 2-3 days.

3165. To "let bad blood out," after contamination during delivery of infant.

Restrictions on mother, father.--

3166. AW: 6-7 days.

3169. SE: Takes steam bath in birth hut. SW, AE: May bathe in river; must not take sweat bath. WT: See note 3198. MF, MV: Bathed in hut, by attendant.

3173. MV: Or, usually, with attendant.

3182. At: Can eat salt; "makes lots of milk."

3183. At: Makes lumps in blood.

[846] [412] 3186. Kl: Scratching "brush" made of small bundle of willow twigs, 4 in. long, 1 in. wide. Mo: Bone scratcher, made from deer bone. At: Bone scratcher, worn in hair, not suspended from cord at neck or around wrist. Have fleas if do not use scratcher.

3192. AW: First time women goes outside, with her baby, she throws piece of charcoal behind her; informant could give no reason for this, assigned it to "Coyote's law."

3193. Mo: Husband visits wife while she is outside in cook house; talks to her and sees baby. SW: Husband stays in birth hut with mother for 5 days after birth of child. WS: 2-3 days.

[834] [846] 3194. Kl, Mo, SE: 2-3 months.

3198. WT: When navel cord drops off, both mother and father of infant bathe; then 1 month after birth of baby both bathe again, and mother quits birth hut, returns to living house. The father must bathe where fish are (in streams, not springs).

3200. AW: Pine needles; AE: sagebrush bark; NF: wormwood used in bath.

3206. At: Father sleeps in birth hut with wife, but no intercourse; early each morning he leaves hut, goes out and walks or runs in mountains during day. AW: Stays with wife in birth hut until cord drops off child; gathers wood for fire, keeps fire going at night.

3209. WT, WS: 4-6 days.

[214-B]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10-Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Postnuptial Residence																
591 3880. First residence patrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	+	+	–
3881. Husband's parent's house	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–
3882. In own house, husband's village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		•+	–	–	+	–	–
3883. First residence matrilocal	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	+
3884. Wife's parent's house	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	+
3885. Only if widow selected man for daughter	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3886. Only if some form bride service	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3889. Own house, wife's village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)
*3890. Time in months	–	–	–	–	–	1	12	–	1	1	1	–	2	.	–	–
3891. First residence alternating	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
3892. First residence variable, no rule	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	–
3893. Final residence patrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
3894. Husband's parents' house	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
3895. Own house, husband's village	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
3896. Final residence matrilocal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
3897. Own house, wife's village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
3898. Final residence own house, another village	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3899. Final residence variable, no rule	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Kinship Avoidances																
602 3900. Parents-in-law taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
606 3901. Mother-in-law son-in-law	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
3902. Never speak together	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
3903. Speak little	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
3904. Plural address	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	.	+	–	–	–
3905. Convey messages through 3d person	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3906. If talk together, someone between them	–	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3907. Cannot touch each other					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3908. Cannot look at each other														+	+	+
3909. Woman covers head	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
3910. Both turn aside on trail	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3911. Eat separately	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
3912. Receive objects through 3d person	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3913. Laughing together taboo	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3914. Obscenity between taboo	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
[835] 3915. Intercourse between taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3916. Wash if any bodily contact	–	–	–					+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3917. For life	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3918. Obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3919. Penalty: bear might eat mother or son-in-law	–	–	–		•+			•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•–
3920. Father-in-law daughter-in-law	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
3921. Similar to mother-in-law taboos	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
593 3922. Brother-sister taboos	+	+	.	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
602 3923. Play apart, near puberty and afterward	+	+	.	+	–	•+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
3924. Joking between taboo	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
3925. Touching each other taboo	+	+							+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
3926. Eating together taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
602 3927. Brother-in-law, sister-in-law taboos	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
607 3928. Joking relationship	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3929. Respect each other	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–

834 •836 [881] She dances with downcast eyes in her adolescent rite; she sits apart and does not talk with male visitors at home. A man seen prowling about the camp is shouted away. A girl who does not wish to be molested will go over to her mother to sleep. A father will whip a daughter who has clandestine visitors, and his son for misconduct. No obligations may be assumed for which no payment is made.

583 [836] Despite the fact that elopements are frowned on, clandestine visits and elopements are frequent. The girl's parents may follow a runaway couple and force her to return with them. It is usual however for the families to accept the fact and make gifts in proper form.

583 159 585 The most lavish marriage display ever known was that of Lelo'ks' only daughter, Go'solülb. They were living at táka'lmakeda during the fishing season when Ski'lüls of Yainax eloped with her. They fled riding double; the horse fell with them while fording the river, but they escaped to Yainax. Soon after the girl returned alone. It took a month to get ready to conduct a proper marriage. Lelo'ks made the trip across the mountains to Jacksonville to get store goods. A great many people went with them to Yainax, the majority taking gifts of horses, blankets, clothing, or anything they had. One man with nothing better stripped himself of his only shirt. It must be remembered that such Plains shirts were then newly fashionable and hence valuable. They gave the horses they rode there, hoping for reciprocal gifts on which to return. Horses to a total of ten were given the groom's people. They gave horses and other gifts in return. Payment having been made the affair was considered as honorably ended, and as though the groom had sent an emissary in proper order.

583 554 Marriage without payment brings a slur on the children to be cast in the teeth by quarreling women. "Your children are worth nothing; you were not bought." Children taunt each other in the same way. They are respected in proportion to the amount changing hands at their parents' marriage, but this does not mean that a man's life is assessed at this sum. Nor is there any suggestion here that husband and wife are financially accountable to each other for injuries to their children. Marriage payment is prescribed not alone because it fixes social status in a general way but because, as one informant phrased it, it is decidedly unlucky not to make payment. So it is, for the couple have made an unsuccessful start of their social career.

The amount is not prescribed but varies with the wealth of the individuals. A chief gives a slave and more; a poor man buys with food. A chief will not give his daughter for nothing; the groom must 583 continue to bring gifts even after marriage. The valuables customarily exchanged are slaves, horses, blankets, beads, food (pond-lily seed and roots), elk and other hides, and strings of beads. Pat Kane's father gave five fathoms of glass trade beads. It is important to

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SK	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
587 3975. New husband pays widow's parents-in-law	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	°+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
3976. New husband asks widow's parents-in-law consent	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	.	+	–	.	–
3977. New husband pays widow's sister-in-law	–	–	–	–		°+	+	+	–	+	–	.	–	–	–	–
3978. New husband pays, gives gifts to widow's family	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	+
3979. Remarriage of widows rare, if husband good man	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3980. Divorcee's former husband paid by new husband	–	–	–	°–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 3981. Man sells wife to male bidder	°+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
o3982. New husband pays divorcee's parents	–	–	+	+	–	±	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
o3983. New husband asks divorcee's parents	–	–	–	–	–	±	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Intercourse

	Kl	Mo	SK	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
833 3984. Bride scratches at 1st intercourse	–	–	+	–	–	–		(+)	–	–	.	.	°+	.	.	.
3985. Natural position lying on side	.		+										°+			
3986. Kissing unknown	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
[152 192] 3987. Exclamation of endearment for adults, children	+	+	–		+	°+	°+	+	+	+	.	–	+	+	–	–
3988. Virginity tests	.	.	°–				°+	°+	–	.	.	.	–	.	.	.

Promiscuity

	Kl	Mo	SK	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
836 3989. Promiscuity any time	°–	–	+	+	–		+	+	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–
3990. At dances chiefly	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	°+	–	.	+	–	–	+	–
3991. Promiscuity denied by informant	°–	–	°–	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3992. Unchaste unmarried girl beaten, shaken, scolded	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
886 3993. Unmarried pregnant girl scolded, beaten		+	+			+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
848 3994. Father of bastard punished	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
3995. Killed by girl's relatives														+	+	–
3996. Obligated to marry girl	°+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3997. Might marry girl, not obligated	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	°+	–	+	–	–	–	–
3998. Payment for girl	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

Transvestites

Male

	Kl	Mo	SK	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
838 3999. Male transvestites affirmed for group	+	°–	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	–	–	°–	.	°–
4000. Sweat with women	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	(+)	–	–	.	–
4001. Perform women's work	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	(+)	–	–	.	–
4002. Wear women's clothes	+	–	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	(+)	–	–	.	–
4003. Live with normal man	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	.	–
4004. Special functions at funerals	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	–
[756] 4005. Some are shamans	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	(+)	–	–	.	–
4006. Nursing in war		–	–			–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	–
4007. Regarded indifferently by community	+	–	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	.	–
4008. Turn berdache at puberty, prepuberty	–		+			(+)		+	–	+	–	.	–	–	.	–
4009. Turn berdache postpuberty, later in life	+	–	–		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	–
[587] 4010. Act upon dream	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	–

Female

	Kl	Mo	SK	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4011. Female transvestites affirmed for group	+	–	+	–	°+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
4012. Live with woman	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
4012a. Live with man			–					+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
4012b. Wear woman's clothes	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
[756] 4013. Some are shamans	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–

000 that woman; he acts just like a boss toward her."

3975. WT: Also, in Upper Trinity subarea of Wintu, informant had heard of 1 instance of mother-in-law killing daughter-in-law after husband died. "The mother-in-law didn't want that woman to take another husband, so she killed her with a bone needle [dagger?]. She was sorry after she did it; but she didn't like the woman having another husband who would look just like her son; it would make her [mother-in-law] feel badly."

[587] 3976. In case there is no brother-in-law to ask.

3977. If there is no brother-in-law to receive the payment. AW: Sister-in-law may dispose of widow to more-distant male relative of dead husband also.

3980. SW: A divorce "puts a man and woman clear away from each other"; no payment rendered former husband.

562
587
593 3981. Kl: If man does not like his wife for some reason, he announces, "Anyone who wants my wife can take her, if they give me something. If you people don't want her, I'll kill her." The men discuss it; husband repeats the announcement, sets date when he will kill woman; some man finally takes her for wife, gives the husband something; "that's how they save a woman, sometimes." No one knows what trouble between husband and wife prompts man to do this, and man never tells; he doesn't beat his wife, he just sells her. Only done occasionally; when informant was boy such sales still taking place; informant had seen one couple separated this way. Woman not captive.

000 Intercourse; promiscuity.--

3984. NF: Girl cries, fights husband, so girl's mother sleeps beside girl first night latter sleeps with husband.

3985. NF: Do not allow people to sleep lying on back "like dead people"; lie on side and "put their heart in hiding" so no evil will befall sleepers.

[152]
[192] 3987. Purse lips and make sound, "čk, čk," repeatedly, close to baby's face. AW: Rub hands over baby's face or neck while making sound; same done between adults. AE: "Learned to make this sound from animals--badger, raccoon."

3988. SE: No virginity tests, but observe boy's actions around girls. AE: If girl's, boy's legs get "heavy" (tired) during girl's puberty dance, sign he or she is not virgin. Spectators watch to see whether this happens. WT: Can tell whether girl is virgin or not by shape of her abdomen, if firm, smooth, judge she is.

[548]
[178] 3989. Kl: Prostitution with payment recent custom only.

3990. WM: Especially at girl's puberty dance.

● 836 3991. Kl: Said to have been extremely rare; "girls never ran around; pretty hard to get a woman." Girl's parents wanted girl to marry man who could get her lots of fish, so she would eat

836 well after she married; advised her to take such
for husband. Youths never went round for women
[178] by themselves, formerly; both girls and youths
adhered to marriage rules. SE: Admitted, but said
000 to have been very rare, however. 2 women usually
accompanied girl whenever she went anywhere "in
order to see that men didn't bother her." At:
Mother kept girl beside her during night at fiestas (see also note 3960).

[836 848] 3996. Kl: Must marry girl; youth's parents tell him, "Get that baby back." Youth gets girl, without paying anything for her.

3997. WS: "Very few did marry the girl."

Transvestites

[838] 3999. Mo, MM, MV: Known by informants to exist among such tribes as "Pit River" (Achomawi) and Kl, but denied positively for informants' own groups. SW: Informant himself had many traits of transvestite, although he dressed in men's clothes; most of elements listed positively below for SW are entered from volunteered data and observation of facts rather than as result of direct questioning. At: Referred to as ya·wa·. NM: "In early days didn't have any [transvestites]"; informant knew of only 2 hermaphrodites (?), a Mexican at Auburn and a half-breed woman.

4008. "Because born that way."

4009. AW: Informant for At stated, "1 Pit River (Achomawi) woman, after she'd had children, dreamt to be like that."

[838] 4011. See note 3999. At: Referred to as brumaiwi. Wear false penis (?), made of pitch, suspended from belt.

Death

Treatment of corpse.--

[764] 4021. Kl: Body laid on pyre immediately, left lying there overnight; early next morning burned.

4025. Mo: Shamans only. WM: Painted red. Sun dogs considered sign of shaman's death, "because paint dead red." Red clouds presage death of someone.

4027. MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Yellowhammer-quill band also laid with body. MF, NS: Also basket cut, so it will lie flat like plaque on top of chest; this buried with body. Cut basket on body lacking among NM, MV; dubious for NF.

4028. WT: Elkhide article of great value; chief wrapped in such, and grave "almost filled with shell currency and other valuables. Many visitors come from distance and bring world of things to put in chief's grave." WM: "Other groups [of Wintu] wrap body in bearskin cloak"; WM do not, except in rare instances where head, claws cut off old bearskin, and latter put in grave. New skin never treated thus. MV: Wrap wealthy in bearskin.

4030. NF: Also children up to 2-3 years old buried on their cradle.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

587 a woman with young children is as likely as not to be a member of a joint house group with her husband's immediate kin. We may also wonder if she would not ordinarily continue to reside with them even though she does not remarry in the group. It might be illuminating to know how residence with or apart from this family affects the practice. In default of a husband's brother, the widow should marry a nephew, either fraternal or sororal, or another of his kinsmen. A payment is made but not so large an amount as at her first marriage. Since only close relatives are paid, a widow may not be paid for if she has none. Much depends on the woman's willingness; she may not care to be a plural wife. Nevertheless, it is in some degree compulsory, for if she should marry another, her deceased husband's brothers may kill the man. While their objection is voiced loudly enough, they do not announce their purpose but await a favorable opportunity to surprise him.

586 Quarrels and adultery lead to separation, which is frequent;
there seems no compulsion to endure an unbearable situation. Incom-
patibility and jealousy (suki'ksale'a) bring on quarrels as frequently
as they do in any other group of human beings. Typical causes
837 of domestic friction cited to me are adultery, as with a slave
woman of the household, a woman's continual anger with her hus-
band, or her demand for sole attention in a polygynous household.
It is always the wife who leaves. My informants could imagine no
situation short of adultery which would lead a man to send his wife
away. Nevertheless he can force her to act. A good, stout-hearted
woman stays, so they said, no matter how badly she is treated; only a
mean-spirited one flies home. Inevitably the situation is complicated
by children. A wife may take all her children with her or only the
little ones. This seems a question of who is at fault, for a woman
taken in adultery may choose to submit to beatings by her husband
rather than be separated from her children. If a wife leaves of her
own volition and for just cause, her husband must pay again to have
her return, must assuage the feelings of her family by gifts. If he
does not desire her, he may ask for the return of the marriage gifts
but they are not automatically forthcoming. If the wife is at fault
he may choose to demand the return of the bride price. Its return
586 is called sĕldŏnga. If a man is impotent his wife may leave him for
842 another. But he cannot cast his wife aside because she is barren; he
adds another to the household.

In the matter of adultery it is quite clear that a man has no recourse but to kill the lover; demanding payment for the wrong is unthinkable. He waits his opportunity to ambush the other. A man of no consequence may have to put up with the situation, but at least he would never think of turning to a chief for help.[74] The husband may send his guilty wife away, may beat or even kill her. Sometimes he will send someone to demand the return of the bride price, and her people return what still remains. The woman is then free to marry her lover who must pay for her in regular fashion. Nothing goes to the former husband. If a woman finds her husband unfaithful, she may beat (satŏ'mdoḳa) the other woman; her final recourse is to return home. 837 [586]

TRANSVESTITES

Transvestites or berdaches (tw!innä'ĕk) are found among the Klamath as in all probability among all other North American tribes. These are men and women who for reasons that remain obscure take on the dress and habits of the opposite sex. Their number is small. Five men who lived as women were cited by an informant, two women who lived as men, and others are known. One of the former was from the Dalles. This is a very minor fraction in a population numbering upward of two thousand. Kroeber has assumed that such individuals are invariably psychologically abnormal, homosexual;[75] I am not sure. The case of Lᴇle'ks below rather argues against it. At any rate their abnormality is socially canalized: they are permitted to live as they desire despite the distaste of the normal Klamath for the practice, and the scorn and taunting to which he subjects them. 838 [114]

It is to the point to note that the men who turned women adopted woman's dress, pursuits, personal habits, and speech, and in one case at least married. Neither of the two women affected male garb; one married and made some pretense of men's habits, the other is rather simply a case of an irregular sex life. The cases of two of the transformed men which follow seem to turn on adolescent experiences. While these are phrased with relation to esoteric situations, they are more adequately explained as states of psychological disturbance rationalized in these terms. A third of the men-women turned shaman, but I do not know that this followed directly from the transformation. [756]

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[74] Punishment of adultery and other torts by a chief, as described by Gatschet (1:58 *et seq.*), are post-reservation customs.

[75] Handbook, 46, and elsewhere.

If we look for elements peculiarly Klamath, they are difficult to 171*
find. At best there is only the regularity with which seances occur at 756
midwinter, and even here we do not know with certainty that this
does not occur elsewhere. Further, if we feel that this regularity is
due to recurrent possession, this merges with general Northwest Coast
practice, and its uniqueness disappears. The peculiarity of the Klamath complex, then, rests only in the specific combination of widely
distributed elements that they have effected, a combination known
nowhere else in exactly this form.

THE MARRIAGE COMPLEX

Social relations among the Klamath, even more than the shaman- 105
istic practices, are clearly explicable as a function of their geographic position. They are most clearly crystallized in the matters of chieftainship, slaveholding, concepts of wealth, and the relative social standing of shaman and chief, but especially in their marital relations. Household and village groupings, puberty rites and analogous customs, have much less definite or peculiar form among them. For this reason, the discussion which follows will be confined largely to the earlier group of topics. As the most complex situation is that surrounding marriage, I will analyze this first.

While marriage among the Klamath is contracted by purchase, it 583
is not a negotiated transaction. Payment is socially obligatory. It is
a seal of respectability and in a rough way the amount changing hands [554]
is a measure of the social pretensions of the families involved. Hence
clandestine matches are severely frowned on. No obligation may be
assumed for which payment is not forthcoming. Yet such payment
does not fix the status nor the value of an individual with any precision. For example, the purchase price of a murdered man's mother
or that of his bride never enters consciously in assessing his blood
price. Failure to pay for a bride is a blot not easily erased.

It must be remembered that the reciprocal gifts from the bride's 583
family frequently outweigh the purchase price. Further, the bride is 431
in no sense a chattel, but free to leave her husband at will, he having
but slight recourse to recover his gifts. Nor is a wife obligated to 581
bear children to her husband, nor does their birth cancel the marriage
debt. In adultery it is clear that a man has no eye to the monetary 837
value of his wife's affections. He kills the lover; to take payment is
unthinkable. It does not appear that a marriage brings about a con- 000

The latter reciprocated by visiting with gifts for the husband's father. 171* Here, too, indemnity was demanded for adultery or constructive adultery. Shasta data also indicate a contractual relation between the families; the levirate was compulsory and a sister must be furnished for a deceased wife or an adulteress. So firm is the contract conceived 171* that a man who carries off a widow without compensating her husband's family stands in danger of his life. 587 Parallel to the Yurok case, the husband who made no payment for his wife had no redress for adultery. Perhaps the contractual relation was as strong among the Puget sound people but the data are insufficient to support the view. A Nisqually widow was obliged to marry her husband's brother or cousin, and a widower married his wife's sister. But if the widow did not marry among his relatives, she usually returned to her own people with her children. Among Snohomish and Snuqualmi, if a [586] woman abandoned her husband or was divorced for good cause, her people had to return the bride price. Klallam expression is much the same; a widow was expected to marry her brother-in-law or a near relative, a woman's family to offer a sister or relative of hers on her death. Similarly a wife's parents were expected to offer repayment [586] of the bride price if she left her husband, but it was bad form for him to accept it.

The Klamath attitude is at some remove from this one of mutual obligations. The levirate was customary but not obligatory, and the sororate permissible but no fixed custom. The widow was under some obligation to her husband's brothers, who might object should she marry another, but this seems rather a matter of sentiment than right. The feeling was that she, a member of their family and even an inmate of their house, should remain one. The reaction to a wife's adultery [837] is the common one of revenge on the lover, but with no thought that the husband's rights to the wife had been damaged.

Throughout a wider area the levirate and sororate were both practiced, but nowhere do we find them of the obligatory nature described above. It will suffice to list these cases. The levirate was customary among the Tillamook. (Perhaps if we know more of this people this would transpire to be another obligatory case, considering their proximity to the Chinook.) Among the Achomawi it was perhaps regular;[344] the Sacramento Valley Maidu, usual; the Northwestern Maidu, general; occurred sometimes among Yuki and Pomo (northern, southeastern, and eastern divisions, although of the latter Gifford says

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[344] Kroeber, Handbook, 318.

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dle beyond this limit, with a notable recrudescence of the latter on the lower Klamath river. Part of the mechanism of its exchange in marriage was a series of reciprocal visits, of potlatch character southward to the Columbia, a mere formal practice beyond.

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[837] •

Among the concepts underlying the practice of bride purchase was the sense of mutual obligations of the contractants' families. This was avowed by the coastal tribes from British Columbia to northern California. It assumed the express forms of compulsory levirate and sororate and of the right to children. Further, the families were obligated to restore the marriage settlements if the marriage terminated unfortunately. The man's financial interest in the wife he had bought was evidenced by his ability to mulct damages from an adulterer or one even thought to be such.

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The exogamy which appears in this area was not the prohibition of marrying within the community, but an exogamy of practice. To maintain caste, marriage must of necessity have frequently been with persons of the same rank and wealth outside the village or tribe. This was undoubtedly more the circumstance in the upper strata of society. It is obvious then that the distribution of this practice coincides closely with that of sharp distinctions of caste and wealth. Beyond those tribes whose attitudes may be so characterized, there was a fringe of peoples who had taken over the custom without its antecedents. Such local exogamy has been noted as far southward as the Hupa, the Sacramento Valley Maidu, and as far eastward as the Nez Percé.

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The habits of postnuptial residence seem to correspond closely with the sense of purchase. It was patrilocal, the bride being taken at once to her husband, in the coastal area southward to northern California. Some variability does indeed appear but this seems no more than the common circumstance of residence according to preference. The Wishram instance of regular temporary matrilocal residence is an anomaly.

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The position of the Klamath with respect to this northwestern marriage complex was that of a distinctly marginal group. Purchase to maintain social standing was present but the values not fixed; the actual amount changing hands, relatively small. A series of formal gift-bearing visits was prescribed, in which the bride's family returned more than they received, but there was no intentional rivalry in giving. The first visit was that of conducting the bride to the groom as among all the southerly peoples. Residence was patrilocal

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3829. Polygyny prerogative of any man	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	595
3830. Polygyny rare in tribe	–	+	+			–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
3831. Sororal polygyny	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	
3832. During life of sisters	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	
‡3833. Maximum number paid for	1	2	.	1	1	1	1	–	–	1	1	.	–	–	–	2	
o3834. Maximum number in same house	2	2	.	2	2	2	2	–	3	2	2	2	–	2	2	2	
3835. Because first wife barren	–	•+	.	+	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
3836. Without barrenness of first wife	+	+	.	–	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3837. Post-mortem sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	.	587
3838. General	+	+	+	•–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	
3839. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	•+	–	–	+	•–	+	+	–	+	–	•–	+	.	
3840. Especially if children	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	.	
3841. Obligatory for widower	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	•–	+	–	
3842. Life endangered, if he does not comply	•+	•+	•+	–		•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	.	–	–	•+	.	
3843. Stepdaughter marriage	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	587
3844. Simultaneous	•+	+	•+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	595
3845. Successive	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3846. Additional payment for daughter	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3847. Rare	+	+	–					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3848. Disapproved	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	
3849. Polyandry, husbands unrelated	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	595
o3850. Maximum no. of husbands	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o3851. Maximum no. in same house	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3852. Polyandry, fraternal	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
o3853. Maximum no. of brothers in same house	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	
3854. Wife lending	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	837
3855. Between any 2 men	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	
3856. Levirate	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	587
3857. Obligatory for man	+	+	•–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
3858. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	–	+	–	
3859. Additional payment, gifts for woman	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	
3860. Brother-in-law can punish woman if she refuses	•+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	[686]
3861. Cut her hair, ear, nose	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	[607]
•3862. Can kill her	+	+	+			+	+	+	•+	+	.	–	–	–	•+	–	[304]
3863. Killing common	–	+	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	
3864. Man may marry son's son's wife	–	+	–	–				•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3865. Common	–	–	–	–				+	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	
Marriage of Blood Relatives																	
3866. Cousins; man to any cross-cousin's daughter	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	582
3867. Sister exchange	.	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3868. 2 men exchange sisters	.	–	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3869. Simultaneously or nearly so	.	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3870. Successively	.	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3871. No payment or gifts for brides	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	
3872. Payment for both brides	.	–	+	+	–	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	
3873. 2 brothers marry 2 sisters	–	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
Exogamy																	
•3874. Local group exogamy	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	•+	+	+	
3875. Preferred	+	+	.	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	•+	
3876. Obligatory	–	–	.	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	
3877. Endogamy, if not related	•+	+	.	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	+	+	+	
•3878. Tribal exogamy optional	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
•3879. Often practiced	•+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
Adultery																	
3930. Adultery rare	+	+	+	+	•+	+					+	–	•+	+	+	–	837
3931. Wife punished	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R+	+	R+	+	+	–	684
3932. Beaten	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R+	+	R+	+	+	–	
3933. Hair cut	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3934. Mouth burnt		–	•+								–	–	–	–	–	–	
3935. Sometimes killed	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	
3936. Wife's seducer punished	+	+	•+	+		+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	
3937. Killed	+	+	+	+		•+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	
3938. Fine paid by killer	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3939. No fine, if seducer instigated affair	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
3940. No fine if wife instigated affair	–	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
3941. Feud starts	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	
3942. Feud stopped by payment	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3943. Beaten, by husband	–	–	–					+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	
3944. Seducer pays fine	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3945. To husband	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3946. To woman's family	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3947. Wife sent home; let go; given to seducer	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	
3948. Husband punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	
3949. Beaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	+	(–)	–	
3950. Deserted	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	•+	•+	
3951. Killed	–		•+											•+	–	–	
3952. Husband's paramour punished	–		–						•+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3953. Constructive adultery punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	–	–	.	–	
3954. Husband pays man, if wife proposes such	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
3955. Woman beaten if she proposes such	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	–	–	.	–	
3956. Woman sent home, if she proposes such	–	+	+								–	–	–	–	.	+	
3957. Man fined for proposing adultery	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
3958. Man killed for proposing adultery	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	
Divorce																	
3959. Divorces rare, especially if children	+	+	+		+	•+					+	+	.	+	+	+	586
3960. Adultery by wife grounds for divorce.	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	–	+	+	+	
3960a. Adultery by husband grounds for divorce	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	+	
3961. Barrenness	–	•+	+	•–	+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	.	.	
3962. Jealousy	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
3963. Fighting	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3964. Laziness	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•–	•–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	
3965. Maltreatment by husband	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•–	+	•+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	
3966. Divorce involves repaying bride price to husband's family	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3967. Children go to husband's family	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	–	.	+	+	–	
3968. Children divided	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	+	–	–	+	.	–	.	–	.	–	
3969. Children stay with mother	–	–	–					+	+	+	.	+	.	–	–	–	
3970. Wife keeps nursing baby	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	+	+	+	
3971. Grandparents, either side, take children	–	–	–							+	.	–	.	+	+	+	
3972. Wife keeps own property	•–	–	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	.	–	.	+	+	+	
Nonaffinal Remarriage																	
3973. New husband pays widow's brother-in-law	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	+	–	.	+	–	.	–	587
3974. New husband asks widow's brother-in-law's consent	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	.	+	.	.	–	

000 "They do this if the father-in-law is rich, and if her parents tell her to. But if the father-in-law has some close [male] relatives, her parents will tell her to take a relative of her father-in-law's for a husband, instead." WT: Man may marry his son's son's wife, for same reason woman marries her brother-in-law (see note 3839); man may not marry his son's wife. WM: Man tells nephew to marry his son's son's wife; does not marry her himself.

3923. AW: Mother tells her daughter that if latter plays with brother, she (daughter) "will be ashamed."

Adultery; divorce; nonaffinal remarriage.--

3930. Virtually denied by many informants. At: Bear will chew up adulterous man. NF: "They didn't have that sort of trouble in those days; they stayed together good."

3934. SE: With glowing ember.

[684]
[837] 3935. Kl, Mo, At, AE, WT, WM, WS, MF, NM, NS: Killed by husband sometimes. SE: Adulterous wife returned to parents, and return of payment for wife demanded; parents sometimes kill such a daughter later. AE: Form of punishment which might end fatally sometimes meted out to adulterous wife; when she and husband come to flooded stream in springtime, husband lays pole across stream and crosses on it; tells woman to follow him. When she is halfway across on pole he pulls it up at his end; she falls into stream, and if she can, saves herself, or else is drowned.

3936. SE: Seducer poisoned by hired shaman.

3937. AW: Woman's husband may kill attacker, if latter does not have "a lot of powerful relations. But if he has a lot of relatives, the husband would be afraid of killing him; his relatives would take revenge."

[684]
[837] 3947. Kl: After wife severely beaten, husband tells her, "Better go home; I don't want you any more," and wife returns to her parents; "that's the last of her."

3949. MF: By wife.

[684]
[837] 3950. Kl, Mo, SE, SW, AW, AE, NS, MV: Husband may promise to behave better, and wife then sometimes returns to him, "if he makes a good promise." SE: In such instances, husband usually buys wife back. WS, MV: Woman may desert husband, marry another man.

3951. SE, NM: Wife's parents may hire shaman to poison erring husband, or (SE) man to shoot him.

3952. WM: Wife sometimes goes over to husband's paramour, fights with her, but not with husband.

3954. AE: That is, gives man some gifts.

3958. SE: Usually only if proposals are made to married woman, mother of children.

3959. AW: "Poor people divorce each other; they don't care about anybody, even if person had lots of relatives [to revenge affronts]. But rich people hardly ever divorce."

3960. At: Divorce and sexual license before marriage "used to be unknown; now men and women

[227-A]

*539 593 sas tánkak. Tsúi wiggátak tchía, tsúi wä'kala, tsúi hûk mukák k̲'läká.
to them not many. Then together they lived, and she became mother, and the babe died.

Tsúi hû'nk pän wutódsna, tsúi pän mbusé-alpĕle. K̲ú-idshi hû'k snawéds;
Then her again he gave up, and again lived with (her). Mischievous (is) that woman;

tsû'ssak sû'la sha, hiasuáks hû'k wû'lantana: "tám mí'sh setû'lχa kaní?
constantly haggled they, husband the used to ask (her): "(did) with you concert anybody?

sü'gs' ish, k̲á-i sa-i'shiank." Tsí sa hû'n kí nánuk spunä'ks; tsúi sí'ssûka
tell me, not concealing." So they said every night; then they fight

ná-asht gíug. Tsúi sa k̲ú-i sû'ta pipĕlángshtan staínas, tsúi sa k̲ú-i tchía.
for saying so. And they embittered mutually hearts, and they wretchedly lived.

Hû'masht-gíug tû'mĕni laláki nä'-ulχa, túmĕni huskiû'tankpĕle. Tína
On this subject often the chiefs ruled, many times made them live together again. Once

snáwäds hûk pálla hishuáks m'na shû'ldsisas shätō'lχ; vû'nsatka hûnk
woman that deceived husband her (and) with a soldier copulated; in canoe (she)

[684] sk̲ä'na pállank sas sûldsámkshi. Tsí hûk shû'ta titná huk snawä'ds; tsúi
rowed away abstracting (it) from them to the troops. Thus acted at a time that woman; and

laláki nä'-ulχa hû'nksht Pû'lam snawä'dsas; ktû'tsga sa hûk laláki sätó-
the chiefs tried that Ball's wife; cut hair off they the chiefs for hav-

lakst sû'ldsisas. Tchúi pän kédsa Paúl; Waitängí'shash tsí's setō'lχ tánkt.
ing slept with soldier. Then again left (her) Ball; with a Warm Spring man too he lodged then.

Tsúi pän mbusé-alpla, tsúi sas wáts sk̲ókta pän, tsúi sha pän ak sissō'ka;
And again he lived with (her), and to them horses he paid over once more, and they again quarreled;

at sa k̲ú-i hak tsía tsússak, tsúi laláki pänak hû'skiûtka. Tsúi pän
they wretchedly lived always, and the chiefs once more made them live together. And again

mbû'se-alp'l, tû'sh spungátgapĕle É-ustat tchí'pksht hûnk snawä'dsas. Pû'l
he lived with (her), over there he brought back on Lake shore home the wife. Ball

toks hí'wí hímboks tánkt, tchúi hí'-i lélktcha tchí'ktchik spû'nktchapaluk.
healed legs then, and there abandoned the wagon to bring (her) back.

Tsúi spû'ntpampĕle, tsúi nä'-ulχa sha pä'n, spû'lhi sa Pû'lash, tsúi sa
And he brought (her) back, and tried they again, imprisoned they Ball, and he and she

sχókta sas pä'n wátch, tsúi sa spunkámpĕle pän, tsúi sa pän hû'nk
paid them once more horses, and they set (him) free again, and they again

sumsä'-alank tsía.
marrying lived.

Wakák tsik sa tchía, k̲á-i ní tû'mĕnat.
How since they have lived, not I learnt.

NOTES.

[178] [837] Matrimonial reverses like the one given in this narrative are by no means uncommon among the Klamaths of the present day. They are one of the unavoidable consequences of the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers at Fort Klamath.

In the matter of adultery it is quite clear that a man has no recourse but to kill the lover; demanding payment for the wrong is unthinkable. He waits his opportunity to ambush the other. A man of no consequence may have to put up with the situation, but at least he would never think of turning to a chief for help.[74] The husband may send his guilty wife away, may beat or even kill her. Sometimes he will send someone to demand the return of the bride price, and her people return what still remains. The woman is then free to marry her lover who must pay for her in regular fashion. Nothing goes to the former husband. If a woman finds her husband unfaithful, she may beat (satŏ'mdoḳa) the other woman; her final recourse is to return home. 837 [586]

TRANSVESTITES

838 Transvestites or berdaches (tw!Innă'ĕk) are found among the Klamath as in all probability among all other North American tribes. These are men and women who for reasons that remain obscure take on the dress and habits of the opposite sex. Their number is small. Five men who lived as women were cited by an informant, two women who lived as men, and others are known. One of the former was from the Dalles. This is a very minor fraction in a population numbering upward of two thousand. Kroeber has assumed that such individuals are invariably psychologically abnormal, homosexual;[75] I am not sure. The case of Lʟle'ks below rather argues against it. At any rate their abnormality is socially canalized: they are permitted to live as they desire despite the distaste of the normal Klamath for the practice, and the scorn and taunting to which he subjects them. [114]

It is to the point to note that the men who turned women adopted woman's dress, pursuits, personal habits, and speech, and in one case at least married. Neither of the two women affected male garb; one married and made some pretense of men's habits, the other is rather simply a case of an irregular sex life. The cases of two of the transformed men which follow seem to turn on adolescent experiences. While these are phrased with relation to esoteric situations, they are more adequately explained as states of psychological disturbance rationalized in these terms. A third of the men-women turned shaman, but I do not know that this followed directly from the transformation. [756]

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[74] Punishment of adultery and other torts by a chief, as described by Gatschet (1:88 *et seq.*), are post-reservation customs.

[75] Handbook, 46, and elsewhere.

756 As both sexes are shamans there was no need for the transformation
838 had this been the goal.

Mŭksamse'lapli, also called White Sindey, was the berdache shaman. He tried to laugh like a woman. He was twice married, first to a Molala man named Tel'ptcl, later to a Klamath, Tc!o'mŏks. The latter is known to me as a normal old man who has since raised a family of his own. White Sindey made considerable pretense to shamanistic powers, but was rather scouted. He performed and reacted like an ordinary shaman. 159

838 One of my informants now in his sixties had been a berdache in his youth. I had observed his general unmasculine behavior but it was not until my visit of the second year that another informant gave the reason. He lives alone, takes pride in his cooking and the care of his house, weaves baskets for sale as women do, and still wears a basket hat, which no Klamath man now will. He is fleshy, slow, and distinctly feminine in gait and gestures, and speaks with the higher pitch of women's voices. Yet his transvestite state was given up nearly half a century ago. He is shrewd enough, though mild mannered, yet I confess that I suspected no abnormality. When about sixteen years old he was at the Dalles where an old woman shaman of the place took a fancy to him. He however was afraid that she would harm him so he put on woman's dress. He wore his hair long, prepared lily seeds, wove mats and baskets; all typical women's pursuits. He has never married. After learning his history I brought up the subject of marriage with him. He claimed that he had once been married, his wife having died twenty years ago, and in answer to the question why he had not remarried replied: "Some men like it that way."

838 159 622 The most striking case is that of the chief Lɛle'ks. As an adolescent he wore women's dress and performed the appropriate tasks. One day after returning from the lily seed harvest he lay down to sleep. They placed a bow and arrow and a punt pole by his side, the latter a symbol of women's work. They stood over him and shouted. As he jumped to his feet he grasped the bow, thus determining his future. He ran off to Mount Scott (t!u'msŭmɛni), staying through the night on the mountain in quest of a supernatural experience. As he was returning he smelled the sweaty odor of running horses. He left off women's dress and actions from that time. He became lucky in every way, acquired wealth, especially in horses, and prestige, and became the foremost chief the Klamath have known. His

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838 •
[622]

subsequent career seems quite normal unless exception be made of his seven wives!

A woman named Co'pak lived like a man although she retained women's dress. She married a woman who lived with her a long time and finally died. She observed the usual mourning, wearing a bark belt as a man does at this time to prevent the back from growing bowed. She tried to talk like a man and invariably referred to herself as one.

Another woman still living has had relations with both women and men. She never adopted men's garb but told them that she was a man. She is today a common prostitute, an abnormal, irascible person. Those she lived with were all older women, not young girls. This practice is known as sawa'linăa, to live as partners. They say of such: they have lots of partners, friends (snewă'ĕts doma' sawa'linăa'sgitkt). Other Klamath of any standing have always avoided her and her women partners. She was never married to a man.

HOUSE GROUPS

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It is now difficult to get evidence on household composition. Houses vary in size, to judge by the existing pits, from twelve feet in diameter to as much as thirty-five feet. The larger houses must have held a number of families and as many as ten or twelve persons. One described below had five families, numbering twenty.

The majority of the inmates of a house can usually trace some relationship. This is also true of most of the inhabitants of a settlement. For example, the village mo'giŋkŭnks had half a dozen earth-lodges, of which three held the families of two brothers and their father's male cousin. [591] Residence is normally patrilocal. In the cases which follow the connecting relatives are for the most part related in the first degree.

An earth-lodge on the lower Williamson river built about 1870, and measuring thirty feet in diameter, contained five men, their wives and children, whose respective portions of the house are shown in figure 4. This was known as the home of the shaman Boke's; the others were related to his wife.

1. Boke's, wife, and two children.
2. Lek!o'c, wife and two children.
3. Wokau'k!alls, a widower, whose two wives had been Molala sisters.[78]

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[78] Their Molala names were Slowa' and A'li'ak.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
587 3975. New husband pays widow's parents-in-law	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
•3976. New husband asks widow's parents-in-law consent	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	.	+	−	.	−
•3977. New husband pays widow's sister-in-law	−	−	−	−		•+	+	+	−	+	−	.	−	−	−	−
3978. New husband pays, gives gifts to widow's family	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	+	−	−	+
3979. Remarriage of widows rare, if husband good man	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3980. Divorcee's former husband paid by new husband	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[562] 3981. Man sells wife to male bidder	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
o3982. New husband pays divorcee's parents	−	−	+	+	−	±	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
o3983. New husband asks divorcee's parents	−	−	−	−	−	±	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Intercourse																
833 3984. Bride scratches at 1st intercourse	−	−	+	−	−	−		(+)	−	−	.	.	•+	.	.	.
3985. Natural position lying on side	.		+										•+			
3986. Kissing unknown	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
[152 192] 3987. Exclamation of endearment for adults, children	+	+	−		+	•+	•+	+	+	+	.	−	+	+	−	−
3988. Virginity tests	.	.	•−				•+	•+	−	.	.	.	−	.	.	.
Promiscuity																
836 3989. Promiscuity any time	•−	−	+	+	−		+	+	−	+	.	−	−	−	−	−
3990. At dances chiefly	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	.	+	−	−	+	−
3991. Promiscuity denied by informant	•−	−	•−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
3992. Unchaste unmarried girl beaten, shaken, scolded	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
886 3993. Unmarried pregnant girl scolded, beaten		+	+		.	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
848 3994. Father of bastard punished	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	+	+	+
3995. Killed by girl's relatives														+	+	−
3996. Obligated to marry girl	•+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
3997. Might marry girl, not obligated	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	•+	−	+	−	−	−	−
3998. Payment for girl	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Transvestites																
Male																
838 3999. Male transvestites affirmed for group	+	•−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	−	•−	.	•−
4000. Sweat with women	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	(+)	−	−	.	−
4001. Perform women's work	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	(+)	−	−	.	−
4002. Wear women's clothes	+	−	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	(+)	−	−	.	−
4003. Live with normal man	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	−	−	.	−
4004. Special functions at funerals	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	−
[758] 4005. Some are shamans	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	(+)	−	−	.	−
4006. Nursing in war		−	−			−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	−
4007. Regarded indifferently by community	+	−	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	−	.	−
•4008. Turn berdache at puberty, prepuberty	−		+			(+)		+	+	+	−	.	−	−	.	−
4009. Turn berdache postpuberty, later in life	+	−	−		+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	−
[587] 4010. Act upon dream	−	•	−			+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	−
Female																
•4011. Female transvestites affirmed for group	+	−	+	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−
4012. Live with woman	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−
4012a. Live with man			−					+	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
4012b. Wear woman's clothes	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−
[758] 4013. Some are shamans	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	EM	NS	MV	
4014. Perform man's work only	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	838 ●
4015. Perform labors both sexes	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	[764]
4016. Digs grave or helps at funerals	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
4017. Regarded disapprovingly		–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
4018. Regarded indifferently		–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	

Death

Treatment of corpse

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	EM	NS	MV	
4019. Left in house until buried or burned	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	764
†4020. Left in house ... days or nights	–	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	–	–	–	
4021. Removed outside immediately after death	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
4022. Body prepared for burial, burning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4023. Washed, in house	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
4024. Washed, at grave	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4025. Painted	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	
4026. Dentalia, bone tubes in nose, ears.	–	+	+	+	–	+	+		+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
4027. Bead necklaces on wealthy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
4028. Wrapped in hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	
4028a. Flexed, to form round bundle.	–	–	–	–	–				–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	
4029. Wrapped in mat	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4030. Put in basket, occasionally	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	•+	–	+	–	
4031. Removed from house through regular entrance	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
4032. Removed through wall of house	–	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
4033. Removed through draft hole			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
4034. Removed from house head first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	+	+	.	+	
4035. Body outstretched, carried by 2 persons	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+		(–)	+	
4036. On pole stretcher	–	–	+	+	–	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4037. On double robe	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
4038. Body carried suspended from pole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	(+)	–	
4039. Body carried in arms, on back by 1 person	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Funerary Procedure

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	EM	NS	MV	
†4040. Body kept outside for ... nights	1	–	•1	•1	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	2	–	–	–	–	
4041. For few hours only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
4042. Large fire built beside corpse	+	–	+	+						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4043. Relatives, friends assemble, wail	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
4044. Mourning begins before death	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	.	+	+	+	–	
4045. Wailing by mourners at prefuneral dance	•–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
4046. Mourners bring gifts to dead	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	
4047. Night dance by mourners	–	–	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
4048. Prior to burial, cremation	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	
4049. Mourners wear or carry boughs	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4050. 1 group of dancers follows another	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4051. Officiating women piles boughs by corpse	–	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
4052. Ashes, water sprinkled after corpse	•+	–	+			•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	
4053. Children not allowed at burial, burning	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
4054. All avoid smoke from pyre											+	–	+	+	+	–	
4055. Widow attends husband's burial, burning		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
•4056. Speech at burial, burning	+	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	
4057. Widow(s) try to jump on pyre, in grave	.	+	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	–	–	764
4058. Restrained	.	+	.		+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	•+	•+	–	–	786
4059. Mourners jump about as they wail			–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
4060. Throw dirt over themselves	.	+	–					+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	
4061. Roll in dirt	.	+	+					+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Rattlesnake Shamans																	
5123. Rattlesnake shamans recognized	+	+	+	•+	•	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	•−		−	+	756
5124. Men only	+	(+)		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	+	825
5125. Mostly men, some women	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	
5126. Mostly women	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	[562]
5127. Berdache					+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5128. May also be curing shaman	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−		−	+	[838]
5129. Hereditary	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−		−	−	
5130. Instruction given	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5131. Supernatural experience required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−		−	+	
5132. Power from thunder	·	·	·		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5133. Power from rattlesnake	·	·	·	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−		−	+	
5134. Dreams of buzzard	·	·	·	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
5135. Immune to snake bites	·	·	•	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−		−	+	
5136. Plays with snakes publicly	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	
5137. Uses bone whistle	−	−	−	[illegible]	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5138. Carries snake around neck	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	
5139. Can skin snake alive								+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5140. Cures snake bites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	−	−		−	+	
5141. By sucking	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	·	+	+	−	−		−	−	
5142. Sucks out fangs, snakes	+	(+)	+	+	+	−	−	+	·	+	+	−	−		−	−	
5143. Rubs patient with buzzard wing	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5144. Rattlesnake ceremony	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5145. Songs sung to snakes	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
5146. In winter, by woman	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5147. Early in spring	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	
5148. Privately	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	(+)	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	
5149. Snakes emerge from holes	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−		−	−	
5150. Talked to, told not to molest villagers	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	•	−	−	−		−	−	
5151. Rattlesnake shamans from other tribes, not local	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
Bear Shaman																	
5151a. Bear shamans	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−		+	−	
5152. Men only	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−		+	−	[562]
5153. Mostly men	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5154. Both sexes	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
5155. Is regular curing shaman	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		+	−	
5156. Hereditary	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		+	−	
5157. Instruction given	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		+	−	
5158. Supernatural experience required	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
5159. Power obtained from bear	−	−	−	+	+	·	−	·	−	−	+	−	−		−	−	
5160. Cure wounds made by grizzly bear	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−		·	−	
5161. Simulates bear's guise	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−		+	−	
5162. Rubs self with snake	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		+	−	
5163. Transformation into bear	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−		•+	−	
5164. Wears bearskin, bear hair	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−		+	−	
5165. Wears bear claws	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−		+	−	
5166. Impersonator invulnerable	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−		+	−	
5167. Can travel rapidly	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		+	−	
5168. Maliciously inclined	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		+	−	
Money Finders																	
5168a. Money finders recognized	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	756
5169. Any doctor capable of	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−	
5170. Only doctor with certain guardian spirits	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	

836 well after she married; advised her to take such for husband. Youths never went round for women [178] by themselves, formerly; both girls and youths adhered to marriage rules. SE: Admitted, but said 000 to have been very rare, however. 2 women usually accompanied girl whenever she went anywhere "in order to see that men didn't bother her." At: Mother kept girl beside her during night at fiestas (see also note 3960).

[836] [848] 3996. Kl: Must marry girl; youth's parents tell him, "Get that baby back." Youth gets girl, without paying anything for her.

3997. WS: "Very few did marry the girl."

Transvestites

[838] 3999. Mo, MM, MV: Known by informants to exist among such tribes as "Pit River" (Achomawi) and Kl, but denied positively for informants' own groups. SW: Informant himself had many traits of transvestite, although he dressed in men's clothes; most of elements listed positively below for SW are entered from volunteered data and observation of facts rather than as result of direct questioning. At: Referred to as ya'wa'. NM: "In early days didn't have any [transvestites]"; informant knew of only 2 hermaphrodites (?), a Mexican at Auburn and a half-breed woman.

4008. "Because born that way."

4009. AW: Informant for At stated, "1 Pit River (Achomawi) woman, after she'd had children, dreamt to be like that."

[838] 4011. See note 3999. At: Referred to as brumaiwi. Wear false penis (?), made of pitch, suspended from belt.

Death

Treatment of corpse.--

[764] 4021. Kl: Body laid on pyre immediately, left lying there overnight; early next morning burned.

4025. Mo: Shamans only. WM: Painted red. Sun dogs considered sign of shaman's death, "because paint dead red." Red clouds presage death of someone.

4027. MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Yellowhammer-quill band also laid with body. MF, NS: Also basket cut, so it will lie flat like plaque on top of chest; this buried with body. Cut basket on body lacking among NM, MV; dubious for NF.

4028. WT: Elkhide article of great value; chief wrapped in such, and grave "almost filled with shell currency and other valuables. Many visitors come from distance and bring world of things to put in chief's grave." WM: "Other groups [of Wintu] wrap body in bearskin cloak"; WM do not, except in rare instances where head, claws cut off old bearskin, and latter put in grave. New skin never treated thus. MV: Wrap wealthy in bearskin.

4030. NF: Also children up to 2-3 years old buried on their cradle.

[228-B]

K In such a sphere, and in relations with strangers beyond, the
M myths picture encounters fraught with possible danger. They
609 may be initiated by a trucial period which endures until, by
proper guest-host behavior, by a claim of kinship or on the other
hand by an act of aggression, the issue of "friend or foe" is
K precipitated. Hospitality dictates that one receive and feed the
M stranger, though a visiting kinsman brings a gift of food or
[574] otherwise repays the kindness. If, however, hostility is decided
upon, it rarely becomes open: instead, both sides proceed indirectly,
under the guise of amicability, and employ followers
or auxiliaries to encompass the destruction of the other. It is
here that the prescient qualities of the hero, his access to assistants
and to supernatural forces, are decisive.[19]

K In ethnographic reality, the outer limits of society are marked
648 by the boundaries of common speech. Beyond this, the Klamath
maintain amity with the Molala, intermittent friendship and
hostility toward the Warm Springs and other Columbia River
Sahaptin, who sometimes raid them, and toward the Paiute;
inveterate hostility toward the Takelma of the upper Rogue
and other peoples west of the Cascades; and a predatory aggressiveness
toward the Pit River and Shasta to the south, whom they
increasingly raid for slaves and loot.

K The horizons of such a society are not wide. With the exception
M of the shaman, a part-time specialist, each man and each
571 woman has much the same skills and knowledge as his fellows.
156 The aberrant individual can do no more than assume the dress
• [838] and behavior of the other sex, ascribing his action to supernatural
dictate. The transient forms of the community and the informal
constraint it imposes, the paucity of activities that demand concerted
action, go hand in hand with a permissiveness in the
individual. When this takes aggressive form, it may threaten
the very fabric of society.

K The covert expression of hostility is likely to invest relations
M beyond the natal family with fear and mistrust. Revenge can
754 take the form of murder from ambush, sorcery to engender the
571 illness or death of the enemy, or the stealthy destruction of his
152 property.[20] One frequent cause of open slayings, and of the feuds
682 that ensue, is suspicion that a shaman has brought about the
death of one's kinsman. Commonly, such charges are leveled

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K

M
175 1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-
178 scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes.
726 The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging
K M scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty,
175 brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of
726 which based their power upon eminence in war and possession
182 of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers,
622 and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times
565 to cement alliances with shamans.

556
756 Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean
[954] weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would die."[11]

K The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties.
M
175 A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-
178 bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader
622 increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers
619 from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country.
628 As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance ren-
726 dered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment
of worth.

K In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary
622 principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his
175 father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother
as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill, a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David, later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks,
K [838] of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite
in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

K A minor factor in these developments may have been the
195 interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in
643 order that they might deal more effectively with responsible
648 leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs
177 met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

K *657 *648 756 177 178

> She worked all night once, and I thought there must be something to it. But her power got small. You know what the Christians say, "Backslide," not working strong enough. She said, "My help is getting small."[12]

Alec Wilson was a shaman, one of perhaps three in the lower Williamson River area. After the Agency had outlawed shamanistic curing, he gave up his practice. Later, his child fell ill. His wife railed at him, "You call yourself an Indian doctor! Why don't you do something? Can't you see your own child is dying?" Helplessly, he explained, "My tricks [i.e. powers] are all gone, have left me; I can't do nothing without my tricks."

Though prohibited, shamanistic activities continued into recent times. In 1897, Emery dealt severely with two instances of curing at Paiute Camp, awarding a month at hard labor each to Doctor Sam and Tom Godowa for attempting a shamanistic cure of the latter's daughter and a week in jail to Tom Chocktoot, headman of the Paiute, for a similar effort on behalf of Pete Pauline's daughter. Chocktoot had also to return the sack of flour
K • [838] and blanket he had received as his fee.[13] A number of adults who were products of the boarding school recall the transvestite shaman, White Cindy. One man was cured by him in the early 1890's;[14] and a woman who fell ill through dreaming of him underwent the required shamanistic cure, although she was a Methodist. Henry Jackson is said to have retained shamans to perform cures at his house, and he is widely suspected to have hired the assassin of the Modoc shaman, Doctor George, in 1899,
K on the suspicion that he had encompassed the death of his sons.[15]

*648 *657 756 668 177 M 648 657 756 668 177

While the campaign against the shamans was proceeding, other events had taken place. In 1871, a Paiute had introduced upon the Upper End (Yainax) the nativistic Ghost Dance religion; and Doctor George, at that time not yet a shaman, had brought it to the Tule Lake Modoc. There it was taken up by the Modoc shaman, Curley-haired Doctor, and played an ideological role during the Modoc War. A Klamath commoner named O'Toole brought the religion to the Lower End, at the Lakes, where a dance was organized by Allen David (then head chief), Lobert, a headman and shaman, O'Toole, and Frank Chilks, another commoner. No Agency employees among the Indians participated.

881 [302] or red sage-brush bark. Buck-brush bands are worn around the head, neck, wrists, ankles, below each knee, and wound perhaps twice around
[301] the waist. This waist band may be a woven belt (k'ai'lis) of sage-brush.

At the close of the ceremony the girl purifies herself by swimming;
[291] she does not use a sweat-bath. Other participants need no purification. Her clothing and bark bands are burned. Sometimes the
[783] circlets are wrapped around the branches of trees near the sweat-lodge where they are left to rot unless they are earlier gathered by someone who wishes to use them for a cautery.

[302]
[531]

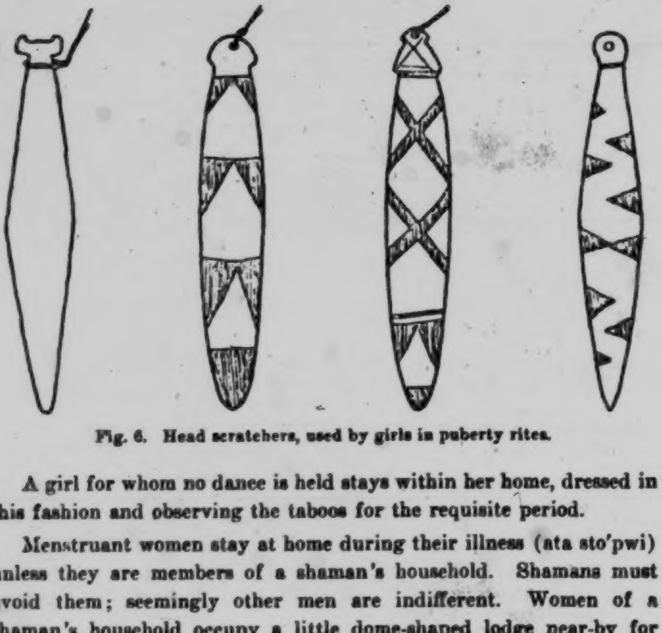

Fig. 6. Head scratchers, used by girls in puberty rites.

A girl for whom no dance is held stays within her home, dressed in this fashion and observing the taboos for the requisite period.

841 [756] Menstruant women stay at home during their illness (ata sto'pwi) unless they are members of a shaman's household. Shamans must avoid them; seemingly other men are indifferent. Women of a shaman's household occupy a little dome-shaped lodge near-by for five days. Menstruants eat only lily seed, camas, etc.; they permit themselves dried fish, but meat and fresh fish are taboo. Older women do not use the scratcher, nor wear the bands, nor burn their clothing.[97] So much from my feminine friend, but a male informant had it that all women make use of a menstrual lodge, wear dirty clothing, neither wash nor care for the hair, and use the scratcher. However, women

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[97] Nor do they keep knotted string records of these events as on Puget sound.

do keep up their ordinary occupation in part during this time. They 841 dig roots for instance, but others must care for the products further, else the women will never find any more.

There is no comparable rite for boys at puberty. Nevertheless the 881 time when a boy's voice deepens is recognized as propitious for seeking power. He is sent into the mountains for perhaps five days, to wander [787] at night, running continually, piling up rocks, swimming in the mountain pools and eddies of the rivers, fasting the while until a song comes to him in a dream. He must use a head-scratcher. Preadolescent boys [866] are tossed into the river or whipped while they sleep. If the boy whimpers he will be a weakling; he is expected to jump up and shout. I have cited above the case of Lɛle'ks who was so treated at puberty, it seems, and thus lost his transvestite habits.

When I [Pat Kane] was a little boy of seven or ten, my father sometimes 866 threw me into the river while I slept. I did not ask why. Finally he told me, 159 "I do not want to kill you. I do it so that when you are grown you will not easily get sick, so that if you are shot you will recover quickly." I always bathed in the river as a boy and you see that I have never even had rheumatism until recently.

DEATH AND MOURNING

Klamath funereal observances are personal, non-ceremonial, and 764 somewhat unique in that they provide occasions for the seeking of power. There are no mourning anniversaries. [765]

Cremation is the universal practice, even for suicides, the newborn, and the stillborn. Only the bodies of secretly aborted infants are buried in the bush. The body of a man killed in war is brought [727] home for cremation.[98]

Some Klamath men were trapping in the mountains west of Crater lake about eighty years ago when they were met by some Upland Takelma who killed four or five. One boy alone escaped and made his way back to Klamath marsh at night. The Takelma took scalps, hands, and feet of the dead, and held a dance. Many Klamath went to fetch the bodies, which they brought to Klamath marsh for incineration.

Near each group of settlements is a spot where all cremations take place. It is somewhat apart from the settlements but not isolated.

Three of these serve the Klamath marsh people; on the eastern side of the marsh near the towns k'ʙtaiwas (2, see maps, figs. 1–3), gū̆pgūa'ḳsi (3), and ī'wal (4). For others of this division of the tribe, there is one on Sprague

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[98] Cremation was given up forty or more years ago ("in about 1868," Gatschet, 1:86). The first burial was that of a Molala man, married to a Klamath woman, who was killed by a Klamath. [177] [178]

789 one part of Klamath territory, on the eastern shore of Klamath lake and southward. A bracelet made of the shed skin of a water snake (wi'siηk) will make a little child swim well. Girl's hair is singed so that it will grow long.

881 Menstrual regulations prescribe that at first menstruation girls
may not eat meat or fish else they will get sick. They must use a
head-scratcher and run toward the dawn. Their clothing and bands
must be burned. Older menstruants are permitted dried fish and
841 may do without the scratcher. Women must not care for the roots
they gather while in this condition, else they will fail to find them in
[756] the future. Shamans must avoid menstruants else they lose their
power.

765 The same food restrictions are imposed on mourners, who also use the head-scratcher. If they touch hands to face it will wrinkle, to hair it will turn gray. They must spit into a hole. Mourners must use special sweat-lodges. A woman's bands are hung on the trees near-by. Men wear bark belts so that their backs will not grow stooped. The house in which a death takes place must be burned with its contents. Mourners must abandon their first kill or harvest, or their gains at gambling, and give the second away. Similarly novice hunters and root-gatherers give away their first fruits, a gambler his first gains after acquiring power. Mourners must not fish nor cross a river else the fish will disappear. These mourners' observances have largely a purificatory intent.

821 A storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned.

823 Klamath marsh, which is now almost wholly dry, is known to have been in that condition on earlier occasions, for instance, about 1840 and again about 1860. On the former occasion it was so dry that its southern arm could be crossed on horseback between the settlements Du"ìlkŭt and I'wal. They did not know what caused it. As a remedy a man would be dispatched to one of the spirit pools in the Cascade mountains (as Crater and Diamond lakes) to bring back water in a squirrel or chipmunk skin to pour into the marsh.

226 The first fish rite of these people is held at one place alone, Komă'ĕksi on Sprague river. Why at this point, is anything but obvious. The first sucker caught is burned to ashes, others must be roasted on the spot, otherwise no more will follow. The gall of fish caught with difficulty, as when speared through the ice, must be thrown back into the water else the fish will avoid the fisher.

805 and index finger of the first hand again. Naturally Gatschet's twelve months and my ten do not correspond; the following tabulation shows that there is close agreement only in the earlier part of the year.

Finger	*Gatschet's description*	*Identifiable as*	*Nancy's dating*
Thumb	Berry gathering; dry the fruit; mares foal	Late September	August–September
Index	Inaugurate winter house by feast: stack hay	October	September–October
Middle	Leaves fall	October–November	October–November
Ring	Snows	November	December–January
Small	Snows heavily	November–December	February
Thumb	Lake frozen; snows	December	March
Index	Much rain; dances in dance house	December–January	April
Middle	Kill large suckers	March–April	May–June
Ring	Take large suckers; dig ipos	April	June
Small	Dry suckers; leave home to dig camas and ipos	April–May; Gatschet says about May	July–August
Thumb	Store camas; gather wokas	Mid-August to end of September	
Index	Return from wokas harvest; gather berries	Late August and September	

The Indians quarrel a great deal over the month reckoning. One old man, who is so deaf that he cannot be argued with, so I was told, held that September, 1926, was ķ!ō'ptc!alūm sīnō'kstis, ring finger month, that is, either fourth or ninth. He was counting too fast, according to Nancy. If he meant the ninth month, he was in substantial agreement with Pat Kane in putting the beginning of the year at the end of our calendar year.

[841] In this connection we note that women do not reckon the intervals between menstruations, nor recognize their recurrence with the lunations.[406]

A tale, in which the number of months is fixed by a council of animals, follows.[407]

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The animals each tried to make so many sticks to represent the number of months they wanted. One made ten sticks for a ten-month winter. Another objected that this was much too long: "If you make a winter of ten months, people will freeze and starve to death before it ends." So he broke the ten sticks that stood for winter. If he had left them there would have been twenty months in a year.

The solstices are recognized but their exact dates not noted. They are unnamed but the apparent movement is called lo'ldūm (or găpgō'pli), going away, and sķowha' (or toķa'lķa), returning.

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[406] Knotted string records, such as are used on Puget sound, are not kept.

[407] Told by Nancy Phillips, who knew it only imperfectly. Cf. Gatschet, 1:105.

*171 southward of the Klamath there was no slavery; this is certain for
567 Northern and Southern Maidu,[561] and very probably Achomawi,
Atsugewi, and Northern Paiute. This seems generally true of California with the exception of the northwest (Yurok and probably their neighbors), where there was debt slavery, but where slaves were not measurable articles of wealth.

Summary

101 The general position of the Klamath in relation to surrounding
105 tribes was in earlier days the simple social structure of the Basin
peoples. Since the opening of the last century they have borrowed
174 from the Columbia tribes some sense of social stratification based on wealth, slave-holding, and trading, enhanced importance for their chiefs coincident with a change in the basis of selection from war to wealth, and quite recently judicial functions for the chiefs. There was thus a shift in social dominance from shaman to chief.

GIRLS' PUBERTY RITES AND WOMEN'S OBSERVANCES

*171 It is characteristic of western America that adolescence ceremonies
562 were held for girls rather than boys. This is not to ignore the wide
881 extension of the guardian spirit quest, more regularly performed by
boys than girls, nor the boys' initiation ceremonies of southern Cali-
787 fornia and the Southwest, but the boys' activities were less commonly ritualized save in the southwestern sector. The boys' quest among the Klamath has been discussed in connection with shamanism.

The girls' rites in the west can best be understood with reference to a background of women's observances throughout the continent.
*171 Certain features of women's behavior had a well-nigh universal dis-
• 841 tribution. The general conception was that woman during her periodical illnesses was a source of contamination to others or a peril to herself. A series of restrictions ensued; she was secluded or her movements restricted during the period. For her own well-being she must fast or at least refrain from fresh meat or fish, but the latter proscription was also rationalized as avoiding damage to the food supply, especially fishing. She must not touch hands to face or hair, using instead a scratching stick, must not wash nor arrange her hair, and must dispose of her garments before resuming her normal life.

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[560] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, esp. 122.

[561] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 200; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 44.

Restrictions to women's behavior at this time have a very different implication from elsewhere in the world, for on the whole in North America the Indian woman's social position was on a plane of equality with that of the man. At least women were not excluded from social and ceremonial participation merely because they were women, although they were commonly excluded during their illnesses. On the contrary, in almost all parts of the continent women did participate in ceremonies with men and in analogous ceremonies of their own. 171* 562

Such restrictions held throughout the major part of the continent; California, Northwest Coast, Basin, among the non-Pueblo Southwestern tribes, in the greater part of the Plains, and Eastern Woodlands. On the other hand very meager restrictions or none at all have been noted in the northern Plains (Gros Ventre, Blackfoot, Crow, Arapaho), in the Arctic (Copper and Central Eskimo), possibly among the Pueblos generally (Zuñi), and again among the Wishram.[882] 171* 841

Quite uniformly seclusion was in a hut apart, a scratcher was used, and fresh meat tabooed. Lowie has discussed the distribution of these features in the Basin and southern California, Kroeber in California at large.[883] They are however not confined to these areas. I will give here the distribution of these features so far as literature is available; our authorities are remarkably reticent on the whole subject.

Hut and the period of seclusion: Tlingit (1 or 3 days), Snohomish, Nisqually (5), Middle Columbia Salish, Nez Percé, Kutenai ?, Chinook ? (5 or 4), sometimes Klamath (5), Achomawi-Atsugewi (3 or 4), Sacramento Valley Maidu (3 or 4), Northeastern Maidu (4 or 5), Pomo ?, Northern and Southern Ute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Pima (4), Assiniboin, Dakota, Cheyenne, Omaha and Ponca (4), Menomini, Winnebago, Chickasaw (3).[884] To these should be

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[882] Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre, 181; Wissler, Blackfoot Social Life, 29; Lowie, Crow Social Life, 220; Kroeber, The Arapaho, 15; Jenness, The Copper Eskimo, 158; Boas, Central Eskimo, 596; Parsons, in American Indian Life, 157 f.; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography.

[883] Lowie, Cultural Connection, 145; Kroeber, Handbook, 861 f.

[884] Krause, Die Tlinkit-Indianer, 218; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 45, 47; Teit, Middle Columbia Salish, 114; Spinden, Nez Percé, 198; Chamberlain, 186; Boas, Chinook Texts, 247; Dixon, Notes on Achomawi-Atsugewi, 217; Northern Maidu, 233, 238; Kroeber, Handbook, 254, but cf. Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 273 f.; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 272 f.; Northern Shoshone, 214; Russell, Pima Indians, 183; Lowie, The Assiniboine, 39; Kroeber, The Arapaho, 15; Grinnell, Cheyenne Indians, I, 130; J. O. Dorsey, Omaha Sociology, 267; Skinner, Menomini Social Life, 53; Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, 130; Speck, Notes on Chickasaw Ethnology, 56. Modoc women "abstained from the use of all kinds of meat for five days in each moon" (Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 127).

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added cases where the menstrual hut was prescribed during the adolescence rites but not later (or at least is not so recorded): Tahltan, Tsimshian (10 days), Wishram (5), sometimes Klamath (5), Shasta (10), Coast Central Pomo (4), Eastern Pomo (5), Paviotso ? (5), Northern Saulteaux, Plains Cree. Seclusion within the house was also insisted on throughout the Northwest Coast and northern California, in the northern sector in a screened-off corner: Ten'a (about a week), Klallam, Northern Maidu of the foothills, and Pomo (?).[illegible] The distribution of the menstrual hut and this substitute was so general (save in the northern Plains, Arctic, Pueblos, and Wishram) that I think we may infer its presence in the majority of cases where it has not been recorded.

Scratcher: Klamath, Northeastern Maidu, Pomo, Havasupai, Dakota, Plains Cree; to which we may add the cases of its use in the adolescence rites: Tahltan, Nootka, Klallam, Snohomish, Sacramento Valley Maidu, Shasta, Yurok, Hupa, Yuki, Luiseño, Pima, White Mountain Apache, Winnebago, Menomini, probably Ojibway, Ottawa, Sauk-Fox, and Kickapoo. This again is so general a distribution that its presence may be suspected wherever restrictions were imposed. It was however definitely absent among the Klallam.

Fresh meat or fish tabooed: Kutenai (food taboos), Snohomish, Chinook, Klamath, Modoc (no meat), Achomawi-Atsugewi, Maidu (no meat or fish), Huchnom (deer meat), Pomo, Paviotso, Northern and Southern Ute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Southern Paiute, Havasupai, Pima, Central Eskimo (raw meat). The girls' rites usually involved a general fast, which, while it might be relieved by taking some food, uniformly maintained the meat taboo. The additional cases noted in this connection are Tahltan, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Nootka, Klallam, Nisqually, Tillamook, Shasta, Yurok, Hupa, Wiyot, Sinkyone, Yuki, Luiseño, White Mountain Apache, Cheyenne (boiled meat), Winnebago, Northern Saulteaux. The Klallam woman also fasted on the first day of her periods. The meat taboo was perhaps the single universal restriction in the areas where taboos were at all observed, for it even occurred among the Eskimo.

The distributions outlined are not quite complete even when the absence of data is noted. Lowie has pointed out that in some areas childbirth must take place outside the home, the menstrual lodge being sometimes used, and the same precautions against eating meat and using the fingers to scratch being observed.

[illegible] Reed and Parsons, in American Indian Life, 340; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 241; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 235; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 273 f.

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It will be observed that the Klamath conformed to the general usage in that meat and fresh fish were avoided and the scratcher used, but a woman need not leave her home unless she was a member of a shaman's household.

There are certain other taboos which were by no means universal but occurred over considerable areas in the same form. For example, salt was taboo to menstruants in southern and central California (Mohave, Diegueño, Luiseño, and much to the north, Pomo and Yuki).

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It was in the nature of the case that those regulatory prescriptions that surround women throughout their lives held with equal force at the first period. It was not inevitable however that the conduct of the girl at her first period should be further regimented, or that restrictions be applied to the first period and none other (as among the Wishram). As I noted at the outset of this discussion, ritualization of the first period was characteristic of the extreme west alone.

The rites had everywhere a composite character as far as purpose went, although it was very much the same throughout their whole range, but differently weighted in the north and south. I think we can safely state that the general purposes of the rites were to announce the nubility of the girl and thus qualify her as a candidate for marriage, and to serve her well-being at this physiological crisis. In the north the inevitable wealth display served as well to fix her social status. In the central section the industry and modesty she was forced to display were intended to fix her habits for life. While this looks much like a magical procedure, it may well have been a more direct way of achieving that end. It is indeed probable that the acts of this period of emotional stress should retain a high degree of consciousness throughout her life or at least until her habits were stabilized. In the south her physiological well-being was accentuated to the extent that other ritualistic possibilities, such as dancing, were dwarfed.

Apart from those features described above that have a general distribution there were rites of a specific character which fall into a number of distinct geographic types:

1. In the Northwest the adolescent girl was secluded in a closed-off section of her home, squatting in a constrained position, her head covered by a hat or mat. At the expiration of this period of seclusion a potlatch, a feast with distribution of property, was given in her honor by her parents. A series of songs were sung, hereditary

*171 533 sang about foodstuffs gathered by women, the Yuki about acorns, also a woman's food product. The Klamath sang about men and women; similar love songs have been noted for the Klallam and those of the Nootka were satirically sexual. This temptation to invoke the sexual implication of the occasion took another expression; a period of license during the dance among the Northeastern Maidu and the Yuki. It is highly probable that this attitude was widespread.

*171 787 How generally this crisis was made the occasion for a vision quest by the girl is not clear. This may have been a trait of Oregon and Washington alone. To be sure, the guardian spirit concept was but little developed in California, at least among more typical tribes. The girl was sent out at night by Nisqually, Tillamook, Coos, and perhaps the Klamath, to seek a spirit in the manner stereotyped for boys, wandering on the mountains and bathing in lonely pools.

*171 881 The whole performance was repeated at the following monthly periods in this area. The number of subsequent performances brought the total to five among the Klamath, conformable with their pattern number, to three among Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Karok, to two among Chinook, Northeastern Maidu, and Sinkyone, while it was repeated at monthly intervals throughout the winter among the Huchnom. While the number of performances was variable, the habit of their repetition was confined to a fairly consolidated area. The Mohave custom of imposing restrictions at successive periods for a reduced number of days at each period is not directly comparable. It is rather analogous to the continued restriction of a month's duration at first menstruation imposed by Shivwits, Luiseño, and Coast Central Pomo. There is no indication of such continuous restrictions in the Oregon-north Californian area, but this was characteristic again of the Northwest Coast tribes who imposed them for a period upward to a year (a year, Ten'a, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola; six months to a year, Tahltan; four to ten months, Nootka; six to eight months, Nisqually; five months, Quinault; fifty or one hundred days, Chinook).

*171 841 [756] The place of the Klamath in all this is fairly clear. They have very little concern with women's periodicity and its possible social or ceremonial significance. Women are not excluded from home at their periods save in the case of those living with shamans. The rigorous segregation that occurs on all sides of them, throughout the Pacific coast, the Plateau, and Basin, made practically no impression on the Klamath. It is surely not accidental that it is the near-by Wishram who also care nothing for such restriction. Such restrictions as do

occur among the Klamath are the well-nigh universal taboo of fresh fish and meat, and the use of the scratcher. On the other hand, the Klamath share a rite at first menstruation with the Pacific coast peoples. Their rite is of the local type known throughout western Oregon and northern California, and is only slightly distinguished by peculiar detail. They follow the interior practice of sending the girl away from the dwelling and maintaining the dance for five days. They link with some of their neighbors and the northwest Californians in using the deer-hoof rattle only in this rite. Possibly they share with the tribes to the north some feeling that this is an appropriate time for the girl to secure spirit power. For the rest, the rite is generally like that of western Oregon and northern California, even to such specific details as having the girl recline at length during the day, running at dawn, and in the general practice of repeating the whole affair for some months subsequently. Other general features appear only in diminished or attenuated form: only one of the two dance forms, the line abreast, is known, and, while the gaze of girls of this area is averted by a visor, the Klamath demand only that she voluntarily keep her eyes cast down. 171* 841 • 171* 881

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	El	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
515 810. Pray or wish while sweating	•+	•+	•(+)	+	R	•R	•+	+	•+	•+	+	(+)	–	–	–	–
782 811. Cold bath follows sweat	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	(–)	+	+	–	+

House Furnishings and Arrangement

	El	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
281 812. Blankets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
813. Elk and deerskin	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
513 814. Painted hides for fine blankets	–	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
815. Woven rabbitskin blankets	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
816. Patchwork skin blankets	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
817. Deerskin	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
818. Coyote skin	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
819. Wildcat skin	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
820. Raccoon skin	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
821. Rabbitskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
822. Blue-fox skin	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–
[429] 823. Buffalo hides, imported for blankets	–		+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[237] 824. Feather blankets	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	•+
825. Loose tule, grass blanket covering	+	+	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
826. Pillows	+	+	+	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.
827. Individual wooden pillow	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
828. Pole pillow	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.
829. Piece of wood or rock	+	–	–		–	–			+	+	+	.	–	–	+	.
830. Rolled skin	–	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.
831. Rolled tule mat	–	–	+	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.
832. Leaf or grass pillow	–	+	–	–	(+)	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.
534 833. Pine needles heaped up for pillow	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	–	(–)	+	–	–	–	.
†834. Wooden foot drum	–	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	•R	•R	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
†835. Hollow half log	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	.	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†836. In line with door	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
†837. Over hole in ground	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	.	+
†838. Post before drum	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	R	R	+	.	–	–	–	+
361 †838a. Houses in rows	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
†838b. Houses in circle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	.	–	•+

Shelters

Brush Enclosures and Shades

	El	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
417 839. Roofless circular brush enclosure	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
840. Large, used for ceremonies	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
[574] 841. As camping place for visitors	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–
[764] 842. At cemeteries only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	+	+
843. Fire in center	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
844. Opening(s) oriented	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	–	.	•+
845. Same, but smaller, for summer shelter	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
846. Partly roofed over	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
847. Roofed circular brush enclosure	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–		–
848. Shades	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	–	•+
849. Horizontal roof	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
850. Sloping roof	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
851. 4 supporting posts	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
852. 3 side walls	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
853. Brush heaped around pit mortars, for shade	–	–	–		–	–	–		–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–
854. Conical bark grinding house, 2 families	–	–	–		+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Menstrual Huts

	El	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
343 855. Menstrual hut	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
841 856. Similar to living house, but smaller	–	–	–	•+	–	+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
857. Cook house used as menstrual hut	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	343 841
MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT																	
Water Transport																	
Boats and Ferriage																	
858. Dugout canoe	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•o	–	+	+	+	+	•o	•o	–	–	501
859. Sharp prow and stern	–	–	–	+	•+	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
860. Shovel prow and stern	+	+	+	–	–	+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
861. Carved gunwale, turned in	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	+	
862. Ends rounded	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
863. Carved in seat	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
864. Carved in footbraces.	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
865. Manufactured	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
866. Hollowed by burning	+	+	–	+	+	•+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
867. Commonly and frequently used	+	+	–	–	(+)	+	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
868. Log raft	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	o	+	+	
869. Used to transport goods only	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	+	o	–	–	
870. Tule balsa	–	–	+	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
871. Raised prow	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o872. Length in feet	–	–	15	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o873. Maximum number of passengers	–	–	2	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
874. Bundles lashed together	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
875. Towed by rope	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
876. Propelled with paddle	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
877. Tule raft.	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o878. Length in feet	–	10	–	•5	–	–	8	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
‡879. Maximum number of passengers	5	.	–	2	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
880. Bundles lashed together	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
881. Bundles pinned together	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
882. Towed by rope	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
883. Poled	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
884. Paddled with hands	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
885. Single-bladed paddle	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
886. Blade end convex	+	+	.	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
887. Blade end squared	–	–	.	–	+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
888. Blade end pointed	+	+	.	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
‡889. Length in feet	4	4	5	–	3	•5	–	–	5	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
890. Poling rod	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
891. Plain or pointed end	–	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
892. Split base	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
893. Basket bailer	•+	•+	–	+	+	•–	–	–	+	+	.	–	o	o	–	–	
894. Grooved stone anchor	–	•–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	o	o	–	–	[465]
895. Boatman must ferry traveler free of charge	+	•+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	.	o	o	–	–	
896. Ferriage in baskets	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	[855]
897. Children.	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	
898. Goods	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	
899. Ferriage by swimmers	+	+	+							+	+	+	+	o	+	+	481
900. Children ferried on swimmer's back	.	+	–							+	+	+	+	o	+	–	482
901. Swimmer lies on tule float; children cling to float	+	+	+								–	–	–	o	–	–	
902. Swimmer holds goods above water in 1 hand, swims with other	+	+	–					+		+	+	–	+	o	+	+	491
903. Bridges	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	o	o	+	+	
904. Single-log bridge	–	•+	+	–	+	•–	–	+	–	–	+	–	o	o	+	+	
905. 2 poles tied together	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
906. Several poles, spliced at end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	o	o	–	–	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
842 3402. Measures taken to insure sex wanted, of child	+	•+	−			•+	+	−	•+	−	.	.	−	−	+	.
3403. 2 varieties shell used in decoction employed	+	+	−			+	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	.
3404. Different parts of plant used in decoction	−	−	−			−	−	−	•+	−	.	.	−	−	+	.
3405. Bow and arrow or basket hung up	−	−	−		.				•+	−	.	.	.	.	−	−
3406. Measures taken to prevent pregnancy	.	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	+	−	−	R
3407. Decoction drunk	.	.	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	−	•+	−	−	•R
847 3408. Abortion	.	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	.	.	−	+	−	−
3409. Pregnant woman lies on warm trench	.	•+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
3410. Pregnant woman lies over log	.	−	+								.	.	−	−	−	−
3411. Exercise	.	−	+	−	−	−	.	+	+	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
3412. Blows or pressure	.	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
3413. Old woman helps	.	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
3414. Pregnant woman helps self, alone	.	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	.	.	−	+	−	−

Puberty and Menstrual Customs

Girls' Puberty Ceremony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 881 3415. Held for each girl separately	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3416. Private seclusion of menstruant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3417. In menstrual hut	−	−	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+
3418. In cook house	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3419. In dwelling, winter only	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
3420. In open	+	+	•−	•−	•+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3421. Daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3422. Night time	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
3423. Hut behind, near dwelling	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
[516] 3424. Girl not allowed in dwelling house	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
3425. Girl sits, lies on pine needles, mat bed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3426. Girl sits, lies on heated trench	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•−	−
3427. Girl sits, lies on warmed ground	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
3428. Bark pillow	−	−	−		•+	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3429. Stick, pine needle pillow	−	−	−			•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−
3430. Girl lies on back	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3431. Girl lies on side	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
3432. Girl lies in any position	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	(+)	−
3433. Faces east when lying down	.	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	•−	−	(+)	−	+	−	−
‡3434. Seclusion lasts ... months, rich girl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•2	12	1	−	−	−	−	−	1
o3435. Seclusion lasts ... months, poor girl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	12	1	−	−	−	−	−	−
‡3436. Seclusion lasts ... days, all girls	5	5	•8	10	•3	•5	•3	−	−	−	6	5	6	5	4	−
o3437. Seclusion lasts ... nights, all girls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	−	−	−	0	0	6	0	4	−
‡3438. Seclusion ... days subsequent periods	5	5	2	•1	•2	2	2	•1	11	1	−	1	−	5	−	1
3439. Attendants during seclusion	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3440. Father's mother or mother's mother attends girl	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
3441. Father's father or mother's father attends girl												+	+	−	−	−
3442. Mother's mother attends girl	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3443. Mother attends girl	−	−	+		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
3444. Female nonrelative attends girl	−	−	−				•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
[465] 3445. 2 or more attendants	−	−	−	−			−					+	+	+	−	•+
3446. All attendants paid	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
3447. Girl digs, pounds epos for attendant	−	−	+				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3448. Attendant paid in beads	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
3449. Girl's clothes given attendant(s)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
3450. Girl's basket given female attendant	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
†3451. Girl eats sparingly ... days	5	5	8	10	3	5	3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	28	84
†3452. Girl eats sparingly ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	88
3453. Meals limited to twice daily	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3454a. After sunrise, before sunset.	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3454b. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3455. Dried fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3456. Meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3457. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3458. Salt taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3459. Berries taboo	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	
3460. New crop acorns, seeds taboo	–		+						+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3461. Hot food taboo	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3462. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
3463. River water taboo	–	+	–						+		–	–	–	–	–		
‡3464. Food taboos extend over ... days	5	5	8	10	3	5	3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	28	
†3465. Food taboos extend over ... yrs.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3466. Food taboos observed all subsequent periods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3467. Girl eats outside	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3468. Girl eats inside hut, dwelling	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3469. Eats with woman attendant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	
3470. Girl uses own baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3471. Baskets kept; left in hut			+		+						+	+	–	–	–	–	
3472. Baskets destroyed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3473. Baskets hung on tree			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3474. Cane drinking tube used	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	✓	–	–	–	–	–	
3475. Basket "cup" used for drinking.	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	
3476. Ceremonial feeding by attendant	–	+	+	+	(+)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
3477. Mother feeds girl, cleans teeth	–	–	+			+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	
3478. Girl's mouth wiped by attendant	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	
3479. Girl chews plant substance	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	
3479a. Plant substance stuffed in nostrils	–	–	–		+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
3480. Girl sleeps little, fitfully	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	
3481. No daytime sleeping, first day	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
3482. Charcoal in ears, to avoid bad dreams	+	–	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[788]
3483. Bark burned above hut, to frighten evil spirits	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3483a. Menstruant must tell her bad dreams		(+)	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	
3483b. If dreams, doctored by special doctor		+	+	–		+	+	+	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	
3484. Girl rises early	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
3485. No talking during seclusion	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3486. Little talking	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3487. Must talk softly	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3488. Cannot laugh aloud	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
3489. Girl avoids all men in daytime	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	
3490. Avoids all hunters	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
3491. Old women visit girl	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[887]
3492. Old women instruct girl	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	
3493. Gazing at any fire taboo	.	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	[821]
3494. Gazing at sun taboo	.	+	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3494a. Weak eyes, if gaze at sun	.	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	+	.	–	.	+	.	–	
3495. Gazing at moon taboo	.	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3496. Gazing at sky taboo	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3497. Looking around taboo	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	
3498. Looking at acorns taboo	o	o	–	–	–	–	o	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3499. Looking at any wild crops taboo	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	
3500. Gaze would "kill" crops	.	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	
3500a. Crossing streams taboo	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	[575]
3501. Menstruant bathes daily	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
3502. Menstruant bathes after flow ceases	–	+	+						+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	

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		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
841	3503. Bathes last day of seclusion only	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
881	3504. Bathes outside, in stream	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
[515]	3505. Bathes inside, house	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
	3506. May wet, wash hair	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
	3507. Bathes alone	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3508. Mother, attendant helps girl bathe	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
[302]	3509. Girl uses head scratcher	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+
	3510. Bone head scratcher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3511. Stick head scratcher	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	†3512. Head scratcher used ... days	5	5	·8	10	·3	·6	·3	5	−	28	6	5	6	5	4	28
	†3513. Head scratcher used ... years	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3513a. Parents scratch girl's head	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
	3514. Delousing by attendant	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+
[292]	3515. Girl wears basket cap	+	+	+	+	·+	−	−	−	·+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
	3515a. Girl wears flower crown	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3516. Head covered with bark "cape"	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3517. Head covered with deerskin blanket	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3518. Head inside basket when sleeping	+	·+	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3519. Eagle down in hair	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3520. Feathers in hair	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[301]	3521. Braided bark forehead band	·+	·+	−	−	·+	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3522. Fur forehead band	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3523. Feather visor	−		·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	·−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3524. Head, face covered inside house	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3525. Head, face covered when going outside	−	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	·−	·+	−	·+	−	·+	−	·−	·+
	3526. Hair in 2 braids, over shoulders	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
	3526a. Hair in 1 braid, down back	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3527. Braid(s) wrapped with bark	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3528. Hair in 2 knobs, over shoulders, wrapped	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
	3529. Knobs wrapped with bark	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3530. Hair short, banged	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3531. Hair loose, tied at back	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
	3532. Mother combs, dresses girl's hair	+	+	·+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
	3533. Attendant dresses girl's hair	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+		−	+	+	−	−	+
	3534. Hair dressed once only, first day	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	3535. Hair dressed daily	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	(+)	+
	3536. Combings burned, buried	−	−	−	−		−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	·+	−	·	−
	3537. Combings saved for belt	−	−	+								+	−	−	−	−	−
	3538. Girl's face painted black	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+
	3539. Girl's face painted red	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
	3540. Special face pattern	−	−	−	+	−	−	·+	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3541. Daily varied face patterns	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
	3542. Charcoal around eyes								+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3543. Arms painted	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
	3544. Girl painted daily	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
	3545. Girl painted by mother	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
	3546. Girl painted by attendant	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·−
	3547. Girl wears old clothing	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	·+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
	3547a. Small skin over shoulders	(+)	(+)	+								·	−	−	−	−	−
	3548. Buckskin skirt or dress	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
	3549. Pine-nut string skirt			−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3550. Bark skirt	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	·+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
	3551. Short tule, grass skirt	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
	3552. Grass or skin breechclout	·	·+	·+	·+	·+	·	+		·+	·	−	·+	·+	−	−	−
	3553. Buckskin leggings	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	3554. Tule leggings	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3555. Tule, skin moccasins	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
	3556. Barefoot, preferred	+		−			+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
[301]	3557. Anklets	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3558. Wristlets	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	841
3559. Special belt	–	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	–	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	881
3560. Nose stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3561. Earrings, optional	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[301]
3562. Necklaces	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	
3563. All labor taboo during isolation	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	
3564. Preparing food taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3565. Basketmaking taboo	–	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3566. No labor taboo	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3567. Compulsory light labor	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	
3568. Compulsory heavy labor	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3569. Girl must carry firewood	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	–	•+	
3570. Girl must carry water	+	–	+	–	•–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3571. Girl must pound roots	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3572. Girl must gather vegetable food	–	–	+	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
3573. Girl gives roots she digs to old woman	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3574. Girl makes baskets	–	–	–	–	•–	•–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3575. Compulsory running, racing	+	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	–	+	+	–	•+	–	–	
3576. Girl runs each morning	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3577. Girl runs in evening	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3578. Girl runs at end of rite only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	
3579. Girl races with 2 girls	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
3580. Carries deer-hoof rattle when running	.	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	[787]
3581. Vision seeking during running, dancing	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	
3582. Instruction by attendant during seclusion	–	(+)	–	–	•–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3583. Ears pierced during puberty ceremony.	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	[304]
3584. Ears pierced shortly after puberty rites	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3585. Dance follows ear-piercing	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
3586. Vision seeking after ear-piercing	–	–	–	–	+	•+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3587. Ears pierced prepuberty	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	
3588. Ears pierced postpuberty	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	
3589. Ceremonial purification at end of puberty ceremony	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[783]
3590. Girl bathes to remove taboos	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3591. Mother, attendant wash girl	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	•–	+	
3591a. Girl bathes alone	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
3592. Sage decoction used for bath	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3593. Girl rubbed with pine needle, root medicine	–	–	+								–	+	•+	[illegible]	.	–	
3594. Girl rubbed with salt												+	–	–	.	–	
3595. Sweat bath to remove taboos	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3596. Girl jumps in stream after sweating	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3597. Girl changes clothes, end of rites.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3597a. Girl given new clothes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3598. Old clothes burnt	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
3599. Old clothes saved for limited no. seasons	•+	•+	•–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3599a. Old clothes kept in hut; loaned, used by near relatives	–	–	+					+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3600. Old clothes washed	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3601. Old clothes given or thrown away	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	•+	
3602. Old clothes hung on tree			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3603. Old clothes exchanged for new ones	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	•+	
3604. Sagebrush band kept	+	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3605. Anklets, wristlets burned	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3606. Belt kept permanently	–	–	•+	+	–	–	•–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 881	3606a. Belt given attendant	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3607. Belt hung on tree, end of last dance.	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3608. Public rites: major dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
841	3609. Night dance	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	–	•+	–	•+
881 535	3609a. Begins 1st night of girl's menstruation	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
	3610. Day dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–
	3611. Given mainly for girls of rich families	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)
[787]	•3612. Given to avert disaster to participant(s)	•+	•+	+	•–	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	.	+	+	•+	+	–	•–
	3613. Given to have girl get power in dreams	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	.	.	–	–	–	–	–	–
	‡3614. Lasts ... nights or days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•3	•3	5	•5	5	4	5	•1	5	–	1
	‡3615. Repeated for ... subsequent menses.	5	5	•1	•1	•2	•1	2	2	1	1	–	1	–	5	–	–
	3616. Held in dwelling or cookhouse, winter	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3617. Held in sweat house, winter	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	•3618. Held outside, summer or winter	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
	3619. Held outside, summer only	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
	3620. Rainy weather, no dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
	3621. Rainy weather, sing only, in girl's hut	–	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
	•3622. Girl's family in charge	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	[illegible]	–	+
	•3623. Old man in charge	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	+	–	+	–	–
[756]	3623a. Singers in charge	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	3624. Shaman in charge	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3625. Youths, men participate	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
	3626. Girls, women participate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	•3626a. Girl's suitor may participate	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	–
	3627. Neighbors notified by girl's sister, friend	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3628. Girl dances by self, near group	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3629. 1-2 persons "support" menstruant	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3630. Girl dances with group	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	o3631. Girl dances each night	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	±	•–	+	–	+	–	–
	3632. Youths dance	–	–	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
	3633. Men dance	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
	3634. Old men dance	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
	3635. Betrothed dances with menstruant	–	–	–				•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3636. Women, girls dance	–	–	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3637. Menstruant dances beside fire	+	+	•+	–	–	–	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3638. Menstruant dances back and forth	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3639. Menstruant dances east to west	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3640. Menstruant faces E continually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
	3641. Menstruant rests at intervals	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–
	3642. Men, women dance separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3643. Men, women dance together	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
	3644. Men, women in 1 circle	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
	3645. Men, women in 2 circles	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3646. Men, women abreast, 1 line	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3647. Men, women abreast, 2 lines	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3648. Clockwise start	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+	–	+
	3649. Counterclockwise start	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–
	3650. Dance proceeds around pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3651. Dance proceeds around fire	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
[533]	3652. Singers mainly women	+	•+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	•+
[562]	3653. Singers mainly men	–	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3654. Volunteer singers, men and women	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3655. Professional singers	+	+	–					–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
	3656. 1 singer paid	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3657. 4-5 (all) singers paid	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+	84/
3658. Reciprocal obligations only	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	88/
3659. Menstruant sings	−	−	−	−	•+	+	+	+	−	.	−	+	+	−	−	−	535
3660. Participants join in singing	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
3661. Night singing, minus dancing	−	−	.	•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	
3662. "Love" songs sung	•+	•+	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	
3663. Enemy songs sung, final dance	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3664. Women's songs sung	−	−	.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	
3665. Special song cycle sung	•+	•+	.	•+	(+)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	.	+	−	+	
3666. Joking by singers	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	−	−	+	[520]
3667. Multiple split-stick rattle used by menstruant, singers	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3668. Deer-hoof rattle used by singers	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	−	
3669. Deer-hoof rattle used by menstruant	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3670. Stick hit against board, as drum	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	
3671. Whistle used	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	[533]
3672. Singing, dancing continues throughout night	+	+	−		•+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	(+)	
3673. Singing, dancing ends middle of night	−	−	+		−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3674. Entire assembly fed, middle of night.	+	•−	+	+	•+	•+	R	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	
3675. Singers, dancers bathe daily	−	−	+					+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	[515]
3676. Girl's attendant(s) have eyebrows, face blackened	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	[292]
3677. Men wear eagle down plumes	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	•−	•−	+	+	−	+	−	−	[237]
3678. Men wear fur headband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	
3679. Men wear woodpecker scalp headband	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	[302]
3680. Men paint face red	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
3680a. Men paint face white	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	
3680b. Men paint face black	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3681. Men wear bead necklaces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
3682. Men wear head net	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	
3683. Men wear yellowhammer bands	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
3684. Menstruant wears braided grass fringed visor	−	−	−	−			•		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3685. Women wear basket cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
3686. Women wear yellowhammer bands													+	+	−	−	
3687. Women wear brush, flower crowns	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	
3688. Women paint faces red	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3689. Women paint faces black	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3690. Women carry branches in hands	−	−	−					+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3691. Boys, girls wear flower wreaths	−	−	−					•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3692. Dress, headgear changed nightly	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	
3693. Public rites: minor day dances	−	−	+	−	•+	•+	+	(+)	−	+	−	(+)	−	•+	−	−	
3694. Menstruant dances	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	(+)	−	+	−	−	
3695. Men dance	−	−	+	−	−	−		(+)	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3696. Women dance	−	−	+	−	•+	•+		(+)	−	+	−	(+)	−	+	−	−	
o3697. Lasts ... days	−	−	•8	−	•3	•3		.	−	.	−	(5)	−	5	−	−	
3698. Lasts part of each day only	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	(+)	−	+	−	(+)	−	+	−	−	
3699. Held in open	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	(+)	−	+	−	(+)	−	+	−	−	
3700. Rain in winter, no dance	−	−	(+)	−	−	•−			−		−		−	−	−	−	
3701. Circle dance	−	−	−	−	+	+			−		−		−	−	−	−	
3702. Dancers abreast, 1 line	−	−	+	−	−	−			−				−	−	−	−	
3703. Special songs, female singers	−	−		−	+	+			−		−		−	−	−	−	
3704. Public concluding rites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3705. Held in daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3706. "War" dance	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3707. Round dance	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
3708. Dancers abreast, in 1 line	−	−	−	+				•+									
3708a. Women grasp men's belts	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3709. Feather visor lifted off menstruant	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

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		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841	3710. Menstruant's ears pierced	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
881	3711. Girl dances in front of dancers	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
535	3712. Girl stands on view in finery	−	−	−	−				+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	+
[304]	3713. Betrothed stands on view with girl	−	−	−	−						+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3714. Poor girl may stand with rich celebrant	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
[574]	3715. Visitors present food	−	−		+	+	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3716. Visitors feasted after dance	−	−		+	•+	−	R	+	(−)	+	−	(−)	+	−	−	+
	3717. Visitors given return gifts of food	−	−		+	−	−	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3718. Girl runs at daybreak	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	(−)	−
	3719. Spectators throw lighted sticks at girl	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3720. Girl's anklets, wristlets burnt	•+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3721. Girl passes through fire	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−
	3721a. Girls sing, escort menstruant to stream															+	−
881	Boys' Puberty Observances																
[575]	3722. Formal group rites	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
	3723. Secret society initiation	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
[787]	3724. Individual vision questing	+'	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
	3725. Optional, for all boys of group	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
	General Menstrual Customs																
841	3726. Certain foods taboo to all menstruants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3727. Meat, fresh or dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3728. Fresh fish	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3729. Dried fish	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3730. Grease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3731. Salt	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3732. Cold water	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3733. Menstruant eats alone	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
	3734. Daughter may eat with mother								+	+	+	·	+	+	+	−	+
	3735. Uses separate receptacles	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
	3736. Menstruant stays in dwelling house	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
	3737. Menstruant secluded	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
	3738. In menstrual hut or cookhouse	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
	c3739. For ... days and nights	5	5	5	5	5	−	−	5	•4	•4	•3	5	−	5	−	•3
	3740. All women	•+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
	3741. Shamans' wives only	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3742. Old women attend menstruant												+	−	+	−	−
	3743. Certain activities taboo	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
	3744. Basketmaking	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
	3745. Wood gathering	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
	3746. Preparing vegetable food	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
	3747. Preparing vegetable food for family	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
	3747a. Cooking meat	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3747b. If cook meat, give hunters bad luck													+	+	+	+
	3748. Intercourse taboo	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+
	3749. Cannot sleep with back to man	−		−			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	−
	3750. Walking beside streams taboo			·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	·	·	+	−	+
	3751. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3752. Hair left uncombed	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
	c3753. Head scratcher used for ... periods after puberty	5	5	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	2	5	−	−
	3754. Head scratcher obligatory all periods	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
	3755. No bathing during period	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3756. Purificatory bath, end of period; obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3757. Bathes in stream	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	+	−	+	+	+	·+	841 ●
3758. Bathes in house												+	+	−	−	+	
3759. Sweat bath, optional	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3760. Sweat bath, obligatory	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3761. Avoids sick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
3762. Avoids hunters	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3763. Avoids attending dances	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3764. Some menstruants "lucky" for husbands	−	−	·				+	+	+	+	·	−	−	−	−	+	
3765. Restrictions extend to menstruant's husband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	
3766. Husband eats sparingly	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	841
3767. Meat, fish taboo											+	+	+	+	−	+	562
3768. Smoking taboo	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	593
3769. Fishing taboo	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	
3770. Hunting taboo	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	
3771. Gambling taboo	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
3772. Intercourse with wife taboo	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	
3773. Menopause: measures taken to induce	−	−	−					·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Marriage

Child Betrothal

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3774. Child betrothal	·+	+	+	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	−	+	+	+	584
3775. Boy's father starts negotiations	+	+	+		+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	
3776. Payment by boy's side	+	−	·−	+	−	+	+	·−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	
3777. Exchange of presents	−	·+	·−	−	·+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	
3777a. Taboo relationship between children	·−	·−	·+								−	−	−	−	−	−	
3778. Binding on children	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3779. Good-will pledge only, for parents	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	
3780. Common	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
3781. To pay debt	−	−	+	·+	+	+	+	·−	−	+	+	·	−	−	−		
3782. Usually chief's or prominent family	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	[622]
3783. Payment in beads at time of marriage	−	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	·+	
3784. Gifts given at time of marriage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	

Bride Purchase

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3785. Bride purchase, postpuberty	·+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	+	583
3786. Negotiated bride price	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	584
3787. Suitor's father makes offer; no negotiations	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3788. Intermediary acts	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
3789. Suitor's father acts	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	·	+	
3789a. Suitor himself acts	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	·+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3790. Money payment for bride	−	+	+	+	·+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	·+	
3791. Gifts by suitor's family in payment	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	·	+	
3792. Gifts by suitor	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	·	+	
3793. Additional presents from groom's family after marriage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		+	
3794. Bride's family gives groom's presents	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	
3795. Mature daughter given, to pay debt to groom's family	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3795a. Payment made to establish children's status	−	(+)	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Other Forms of Marriage

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3796. Simple marriage, established by couple living together	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	585
3797. Disapproved by community	+	·+	·+	·+	+	·+	·+	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	(+)	

881 head; pollen on head. Legs, torso painted; white paint blown on with mouth; pollen blown on. Painting done by self; from own paint box. Painting before eating only. Tattooing. Nose pierced. Tattooing so girl can touch fire. Thighs, arms, breasts cut. Shell skirt for eating. Sage leggings. Chest band. Labret. Nose feather. Girl ducked in water during ceremonial bath. Belt, anklets, wristlets buried. Girl given new name.

Public rites (major or night dance): Given for group of selected girls. Poor girls excluded. Several girls together, only 1 menstruating. Dancers mill around menstruant. Men hold to wall. Dancers file out of house after each dance. Given during fixed season. Coincides with boys' initiation. Given in ceremonial enclosure. Conducted by chief, priest, clan. Single split-stick rattle. Deer-hoof headband. Deer-hoof anklets. Deer hoofs on moccasins. Cocoon, gourd, tortoise shell, pottery rattles. Masks worn. Attendants wear woolen fringed headdress; woolen fringed rattles. Male participants wear haliotis-rim horns; blind. Women paint face white; all colors. Sand paintings. Tobacco eaten. Haliotis gazing.

841 General menstrual customs.--Woman confined in penthouse against dwelling. Head, face covered when going outside. Bathes daily. Bathing optional.

Marriage

58 Service for bride: children belong to mother's family. Sororate obviated if children, payment rendered. Polyandry: lovers in separate towns. Marriage of man to first cousins, cross or parallel; to mother's sister. Mother-in-law, son-in-law taboos temporary, for newlyweds only; temporary up to first child; optional. Father-in-law, son-in-law taboos. Mother-in-law, daughter-in-law taboos. Husband punished for adultery by being fined, before wife will return. Woman's family pays husband fine for constructive adultery by woman. Repayment of bride price in event of divorce depends on number of children. Intercourse taboo inside dwelling. Lie on side to
548 prevent twins. Prostitution with compensation
to woman. Unchaste girl killed. Unmarried preg-
684 nant girl killed. Man fined for seduction.

Death

764 Treatment of corpse; taboos.--Body removed from house prior to death. Removed from house through roof; feet first; throw-out of animal after corpse; body carried on plank. Undertakers of opposite moiety; priest; shaman; chosen by chief; paid; gifts; one a scapegoat. Corpse's nose, ears pierced. Body buried with head uphill, upstream, downstream. Cremation for shamans especially. Pyre over pit. Urn burial. Any form scaffold burial. Undertaker(s) visit grave nightly; build fire at grave; put food out for ghost; wear brush on head. Widow's hair cut-

000 1 smoke hole (?). Pine needles for floor covering. "At Happy Camp (Karuk) shaman sleeps in this kind of house, but not here." At: Menstrual hut, iwin kaiyu'di; rectangular, double lean-to type; single ridgepole, supported at both ends by dipods. Walls and ends of house bark-covered. Tule mat covers door in E end of house. Floor excavated 4-5 in., loose grass for covering. Fire in center of house in small pit, smoke hole above in roof. Dirt banked around sides of house; no dirt over roof. WM: Brush house unexcavated, made over conical foundation of poles tied together at top. Flat piece of oak bark set atop house, fire built on it, first 2 days of menstruation. Girl uses pine bark for fire and as pillow. No door covering. WS: Conical, 4-pole foundation; poles tied together at top. Unexcavated. Bark slabs for wall covering; horizontal binders lacking. Smoke hole at top center; fire in center.

856. SW: Menstrual hut on S ("dark side") of dwelling house; 8-10 ft. from latter, so women will not give men bad luck. Same form as dwelling house; rectangular, 1 post in center of each end; 4 corner posts; no center post; not excavated; fireplace in center; bark covered. AE: Similar to domed willow house; not excavated, however; fireplace at or near center, smoke hole above; covered with bark or, occasionally, tule mats. WT: Bark house; unexcavated. Occupied by 1 girl, occasionally by 2, for 1-2 years after first menstruation. NF: Unexcavated bark-covered hut. NM: manimhü.

[343]
[841] 857. Kl: Dome-shaped cook house. Mo: Winter cook house. AW: Conical house.

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

Boats and ferriage.--

858. SW: Dugout used as far up Klamath River as Gottville; tule raft used beyond this point, usually. AW: "Hat Creek (At), Pit River (Ilmawi), Achomawi, Kl, Mo all have canoe; Dixie Valley (Aporige) and Big Valley (Atwamsini) people don't have it." AE: No large streams in area. NF: No large streams in area, high water in creeks in spring only; sometimes go to Yuba River to catch salmon. NM: No large creeks, lakes, ponds in area; children, goods can be carried across small creeks in adults' arms.

859. At: Intermediate between Yurok and Klamath types (see Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 13 and pp. 329-330).

866. AW: Gouge out interior with elkhorn pick, then apply pitch to interior and burn it out deeper; smooth interior with pumice stone.

870: At: Used to ferry children across stream. AW: In myth, mention made of use of this sort of boat on lake; never used by AW, however.

875. At: Willow rope used; 1 end tied to boat,

[189-B]

000 3586. AW: See note 3584. AE: Girl may obtain vision while she is dancing after having ears, nose pierced.

[84 1] [88 1] [783] 3587. NF: Ca. 10 years of age.

3589. Kl, Mo, SE: Sweat bath after first 5 or 3 menstrual periods. WM, WS: 1 month or 1 year after girl first menstruates. MV: 1 month after first menstruation.

3591. MS: Menstruant followed to stream by sister, girl relatives who sing for her, early morning 5th day.

3593. NF: Wormwood decoction.

3597a. Either at end of each menstrual period, or at end of entire puberty ceremony.

[84 1] [88 1] 3599. Kl: For 5 periods. Mo: For 3-5. SE, At, AW, AE: For 3.

3601. MV: To old woman attendant.

3603. MV: Exchanged with girl attendant.

3606. SE: Worn each subsequent menstruation.

[88 1] [53 5] 3609. Kl, Mo, SE, SW, At, AE, AW, WM, WS, MV: Emphasized jollity connected with girl's puberty dance. Lack of ritual obligations on any of participants except menstruant, made it (SW) "most popular and well attended of all the dances." NM: Puberty dance, yomuse. MV: Round dance held on final night of girl's 28-day seclusion. "This [night] dance was the main dance; each night (of the 28) the people came and gambled; the girl's family fed the visitors."

3610. NF: Name of day dance, wulu. Held after girl has come out of menstrual hut, and bathed; in daytime. Girl and women dance in circle, holding hands; no fire, pole. Dance a short while, then 2 women singers, with girl between them, sing, girl joining in singing. No deer-hoof rattle.

[88 1] [53 5] [77 7] [78 7] 3612. So girl will not dream bad dreams; will have good luck. Kl: "If girl sleeps little while, she dreams there's a noise in the sky; she dreams of thunder. That's a bad dream, so they keep her dancing all night, for 5 nights, so she won't dream." Mo: "If she sleeps at this time, the girl will dream about thunder, then it will sure strike her, and kill her." SW: Girl's puberty dance "just a common good-time dance, held to help the girl out of her trouble, to keep her from dreaming" (see also note 3721). At: Girl sleeps head toward east; "the west, they said, was a bad place, where bad dreams come from, Silver Fox said... They dance with her all night, to make her lively, so she won't sleep and dream ... [when girl is menstruating] she never touches water; that's no good; she'll dream bad." AW: Given "so the girl will get power in 'dreams' as she gets sleepier and sleepier, dancing. But she must not tell anyone what she dreams. They don't let her sleep in the daytime; if she sleeps she'll dream bad for herself and be sick." WT: Puberty observances held "so girl won't dream bad dreams." On first day of menstruation, girl's grandmother sits by her, sings, uses clapper to keep girl awake. WM: Girl "never dreamt bad, but her grandmother, who was staying with her, might; she might

[220-B]

000 charge chooses partners (mock "wives") for male dancers; "they all joke and have fun. This is the windup."

3709. SE: Menstruant herself removes visor.

3712. WM: At final "big time" dance, girl wears braided-grass fringed "visor," clean clothes, bead necklaces, basket cap. "She's white [from staying in hut]; looks pretty." WS: Same as WM, except no grass visor.

3714. WM: If poor girl (for whom no final dance has been given) has good clothes to wear, she may stand with wealthy girl, "so everyone can look at them and admire them."

3716. At: When menstruant is bathed, and attended to, "then they all eat together, in 1 place. Everybody brings food." MF: Informant denied visitors are feasted. But MV informant reported that at Enterprise, among another MF group, on final morning of rite menstruant and girl attendant made to run and jump over wide bed (of burning pine needles? See note 3721). It is important that girl should clear the bed. Then 3 women bring acorn flour for soup; the 2 old women singers clown over the flour, saying "They never give us anything to eat," and other remarks. Clowns grunt and rub the flour over their faces before giving it back to be cooked. The 3 women then make a big batch of acorn bread from the flour and give the dough to everyone present.

[881-526] 3720. Kl: In open, where race ends. Mo: In sweat-house fire.

3721. SW: Pass girl through fire if she has dreamt bad dreams, so that the evil effects of such will be burnt off. Sometimes put a little shell money on her, before they pass her through fire, but no great display of wealth. (Dixon, Shasta, p. 458, says girl burnt alive.) MF: Girl passes through ring of lighted pine needles during puberty ceremonies. See Dixon (Maidu, p. 233) and Loeb (Eastern Kuksu, p. 150). NF: Loeb (ibid., p. 183) says Yuba River Maidu (= NF) made girl run through circle burning pine needles, but his Yuba River Maidu informants probably belonged to MF group. See section on informants, NF entry, this study.

Boys' puberty observances.--

3723. For details see elements 5207-5217.

3724. For details see elements 4722-4792.

General menstrual customs.--

3735. Baskets which have no grease on them.

3739. WM, WS: 4-5 days and nights. MM, MV: 3-4.

[841] 3740. Kl. Cp. Spier, Klamath, pp. 55, 70-71. My male informant stated definitely all women of Klamath Marsh group used menstrual hut.

3757. WM, WS: But cannot bathe in main rivers, such as McCloud or upper Sacramento rivers. MV: In summer only.

3764. Menstruating woman may give husband good luck in gambling, hunting, and the like.

[222-B]

[p.342-B]

553 coins it, and soon all are using it.

Personal names are freely used at all times, but within the family kinship terms are more commonly applied. There are also age status terms for direct address or in reference to an individual as "newborn baby," "infant," "child," "youth," and so forth.[10]

855 757 Throughout infancy the health of the child is a matter of considerable concern. Whenever he cries and cannot be pacified by feeding, the parents fear that he is ill. For certain obvious physical ailments there is a variety of simple home remedies known to most adults. For stomachaches, warm ashes are held over the abdomen, and sagebrush tea may be administered orally. For a fever, sagebrush bark is mashed, mixed with warm water, and rubbed on the child to produce sweating. Deer grease is applied to burns. Pine pitch is rubbed on chapped faces and is also used to heal sore eyes. These and similar remedies serve for both children and adults.[11]

75 Ailments not so readily diagnosed require the services of a shaman, who then demands a large fee. Shamans are believed to send diseases to individuals, particularly through the medium of bad dreams. A child's nightmares are, therefore, taken as an indication that some shaman is trying to sicken the child. A curing ceremony must then be held either by the suspected shaman or another of equal power. [841] Some women try to prevent children's nightmares by placing a cloth or piece of fur stained with menstrual discharge under the sleeping child. Shamans fear the contamination of a menstruating woman and are unable to use their powers in the presence of one.

EARLY CHILDHOOD

857 simple amusements for themselves. They erect piles of dirt, mark in the sand with sticks, or [865] make neat rows of sticks on the ground. Older children are punished if they try to bother the youngsters at play.

[864] Until the age of six or seven, boys and girls play together as much as they wish. When a bit older they will be warned not to be intimate with members of the opposite sex, but young children often play at "man and wife" in imitation of their elders, using the proper status terms for husband and wife and pretending to keep house. The boys go off to hunt, and the girls wait for them to bring meat home to cook. Such play is not discouraged, nor is it apparently encouraged.

Small children also enjoy pretending to be very old people. In this game they hobble around on canes. One old lady of eighty laughed as she recalled playing in this manner:

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[10] Spier, pp. 61-68.

[11] Therapeutic knowledge and beliefs of the Klamath are mentioned in Voegelin, elements 4469-4511.

782 Other informants also give a hint of this attitude. Even where there is
776 sophistication by virtue of education or long-time residence away from the
823 group, one encounters statements like that of a woman, half-Klamath,
774 half-Caucasian: "Those old Indians had a lot of sense. They kind of felt at home
787 around here and they would get a lift just from talking to the mountains
and lakes. It was like praying and it made them feel at peace. When I get up in the morning, I look first over there [at Mt. Pitt] and it makes me feel good too. Not that I pray in the old Indian way; that's just idolatry. But it's like the scenery kind of gets ahold of you even if I been seeing it all my
787 life."

776 A possible indication of this attitude appears in the repeated warnings to
855 children to avoid certain rocks and cliffs. "You might fall down and hurt
823 yourself" is of course quite true; on the other hand, places about which some
modern Klamath parents feel particularly uneasy were associated aboriginally with power sources. A strong drive in the past was fear that a child might be
784 harmed through contact with "power." Every effort was made to keep the
child away from the shaman, the sweat lodge, the mourning place, and the
841 like. (It may be noted that menstrual blood was placed near the cradled child to negate forces whose mere presence could harm the inexperienced.) These attitudes toward nature and the surrounding natural phenomena, at least as sources of uneasiness, still exist among younger Klamath of today.

773 Also obtainable is evidence on attitudes toward the culture hero. Some
776 offer a rational systematization of beliefs concerning him. Generally, this
177 involves some interpretation in the light of Christian reasoning. Kemu'kemps,
because of his essentially human characteristics, readily lends himself to identification with the Christian God. The middle-aged woman quoted above, struck by the linguistic parallels, notes: "Those old Indians were really
273 Christians. It's only the liquor around here that makes the unbelief and trouble. Kemu'kemps means the 'Old One'; that's God. He revealed himself to the Indians long before the Americans [sic] came. He had a son, too, 'Ayšiš, that's just like Jesus. He created the world, just like it says in the Bible. If only those old Indians had been able to see it, they were close to God all the time. They lived good upright lives under his guidance. Another word for Kemu'kemps in our language is *Playtul'kni·;* that means the 'One on High,' 'Somebody up there.' That's the name we give God in our language now. It's all the same."

Not all informants are so definite in their syncretism. One elderly woman remarked: "Who is Kemu'kemps? I don't know. Sometimes I think he's God, but sometimes I think he must be Devil. Maybe he was just a story the old Indians made up. But they called him Playtul·kni· and that means God. My grandson asked me, 'Gramma, who's Kemu'kemps?' I say, 'I don't know. Maybe he's like God.' " In another connection she remarked: "I think that Kemu'kemps is Devil. He gets people into trouble; he leads them into temptation. When I was a little girl, they said to me, 'He's no good; don't believe that any more.' But I don't know. I see the icicles and I think of the wind and Kemu'kemps. He made the world and they call him Playtul'kni·. The Devil

Concluding Remarks in English

"He said that whenever someone was killed in front of them they had 539*
to jump into their place. Oh, he said he sure was scared! He was with 726
those white soldiers fighting the Modocs in the Lava Beds." 648
Mrs. Butler adds: "He told how they had to go to the war, because 173
they (the white people) told them that they'd take all the Klamath Indians away, if they didn't go. All those who went were related, since they didn't want them to take anybody away. Others, some of them, refused and took their canoes across to Pelican Bay. Some did not want to get into the war. One man, a good shot, said, 'I'm not going. I'm going to die! They can kill me right here. I don't want to go.' But they never took him."

29. Menstruation Practices

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) When a woman has her menstrual period, she does not come to eat because of menstruation. (2) [She] does not eat with us. (3) [She] does not bathe, does not get wet. (4) [She] will not get chilled. (5) [She] does not feel well, and does not put her hand in water.

30. The Second Coming

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) According to God's promise [lit. "rule"]. (2) All the earth will burn up. (3) And at that time God will return again.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]

The number of plural wives depends on wealth; hence chiefs have 595 more than others. From my notes I glean two instances of two wives, [622] another of three. The wives in both bigamous cases were sisters. The greatest number known was the case of the chief Lᴇle'ks, who had at one time seven wives, two of them sisters.[72] I have described their derivations above. These women bore him many children. Whether the wives are sisters is a matter of complete indifference. To have two wives is called la'bwewa'nsgītkt (lit., two females), three ᴇnda'nwewa'nsgītkt, and so on. Collectively the wives may be referred to as sipkska'ltk; they call each other p'telki'p. Plural wives are paid for, but whether there is reciprocal visiting I do not know. Slaves [567] are also taken to wife. Polyandry is unthinkable to the Klamath; it would be adulterous.

Barrenness is as usual a reason for taking a second wife, but not 595 always. Pat's maternal uncle had a barren wife. He kept her 842 throughout his life and never took another. The case of three wives noted above was one in which there were no children; the children of this family always died in infancy, I was told. Whether this implied that two of the three were barren, I do not know. One word, ts'e'do, means a sterile man or woman.

The sororate is not obligatory on the death of a wife, nor is there 587 any notion that a girl must marry an older sister's husband when she comes of age.[73] It is thought better to marry a deceased wife's sister, and from her family's point of view it is evidence that they care for the husband when they provide another daughter. There is however no feeling that they are under compulsion to make good the loss he sustained because of his marriage payments. A bereaved person waits a year or more before remarrying. The second wife has to be paid for like the first, but the amount is less. Again this depends on the man's affluence. The sororate is called spīno'la, the sister, [601] spī'nuwīp, i.e., sibling-in-law when the spouse is dead (cf. spīnu', to cremate, spī'nuks, cremation place).

The levirate is customary but not obligatory. It is desirable to keep a woman in the family, especially one with children. This is perhaps nothing more than an expression of household solidarity, for

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[72] Gatschet states ten, but I am certain there were not more than seven, at least at one time (2:126).

[73] There is just a suggestion. When asked for the kinship term used by a woman for her sister's husband, my informant gave the term for husband, but [601] somewhat in confusion corrected herself with the woman's term for brother-in-law.

587 a woman with young children is as likely as not to be a member of a joint house group with her husband's immediate kin. We may also wonder if she would not ordinarily continue to reside with them even though she does not remarry in the group. It might be illuminating to know how residence with or apart from this family affects the practice. In default of a husband's brother, the widow should marry a nephew, either fraternal or sororal, or another of his kinsmen. A payment is made but not so large an amount as at her first marriage. Since only close relatives are paid, a widow may not be paid for if she has none. Much depends on the woman's willingness; she may not care to be a plural wife. Nevertheless, it is in some degree compulsory, for if she should marry another, her deceased husband's brothers may kill the man. While their objection is voiced loudly enough, they do not announce their purpose but await a favorable opportunity to surprise him.

586 Quarrels and adultery lead to separation, which is frequent; there seems no compulsion to endure an unbearable situation. Incompatibility and jealousy (suki'ksale'a) bring on quarrels as frequently as they do in any other group of human beings. Typical causes
837 of domestic friction cited to me are adultery, as with a slave woman of the household, a woman's continual anger with her husband, or her demand for sole attention in a polygynous household. It is always the wife who leaves. My informants could imagine no situation short of adultery which would lead a man to send his wife away. Nevertheless he can force her to act. A good, stout-hearted woman stays, so they said, no matter how badly she is treated; only a mean-spirited one flies home. Inevitably the situation is complicated by children. A wife may take all her children with her or only the little ones. This seems a question of who is at fault, for a woman taken in adultery may choose to submit to beatings by her husband rather than be separated from her children. If a wife leaves of her own volition and for just cause, her husband must pay again to have her return, must assuage the feelings of her family by gifts. If he does not desire her, he may ask for the return of the marriage gifts but they are not automatically forthcoming. If the wife is at fault he may choose to demand the return of the bride price. Its return
586 is called sëldõnga. If a man is impotent his wife may leave him for
842 another. But he cannot cast his wife aside because she is barren; he adds another to the household.

fested by several tribes of northern California and in view of their 845
association with the weather and salmon on the Northwest coast. [171]*
Neither of these attitudes appears among the Klamath. Nor is there any sympathetic bond between twins, nor is one of them destroyed at birth. Informants had never heard of triplets although they must occur in the usual biological proportions. Monsters are said always [766]
to be born dead—perhaps the midwives see to that. Like the stillborn, they are said to receive the universal cremation, but it is more likely that they are secretly disposed of, like abortions.

The child of an adulterous union, if not palmed off on the husband, 847
is aborted by pressing the abdomen heavily on a rock. Naturally this takes place in the seclusion of the brush. No medicines are in use for abortion. To abort is called hlso'ḳoga; infanticide, siu'ga.

How much of a disgrace barrenness is I do not know, but it does 842
not lead to separation. To aid conception women grind a white shell[90] (lŏ'ḳtăs) and drink it in water. Men do the same for impotence. A small dentalium shell (t'u'tas) is also used.

Klamath cradles show an interesting cultural amalgamation. The 854
cradle for the newborn is the northern California sitting type; the carrying board for later use is identical with the oval wooden forms of the northern Basin.[91] Through western Oregon and Washington, along the line of contact of the Basin board with the wooden trough cradle of the Northwest Coast, both forms are used or else a modification of one toward the form of the other.

The basketry cradle (ḳwăls) for the first month or two of the baby's life is a trough with one rounded end on which the child sits. It [593]
is made by the mother of the expectant woman; woven of willow twigs, it measures eighteen inches in length. Its purpose is said to be to prevent the infant scratching its navel, with consequent illness, and to support its weak back. Its usefulness ended, it is thrown away.

The carrying-board (swĕns) is made by the baby's father or a near kinsman. It is a flat board of oval outline, carved from a single piece of wood. The lower end is rather pointed so that it can be stuck into the ground while the mother is occupied. An unexpected feature is [562]
that the sex of the infant is distinguishable from the shape of the

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[90] This is flat, two inches long, and spotted. It may have been got from the whites.

[91] Barrett has it that the first cradle is of soft tules, followed by the sitting type of more rigid materials, with occasional use of the board (Material Culture, 257, pl. 14).

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3361. Spirit of tattooed goes to good place	-	+.	-					+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	304
3362. Cranial deformation	+	+.	+	+.	-	+.	+	-	-.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3363. Male	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3364. Female	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
3365. Pads bound to head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3366. Back	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3367. Front	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3368. Mother attends to baby's head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Disposal of Milk Teeth																	
3369. Thrown away, no particular place	+	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	856
3370. Thrown away, toward sun	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	-.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3371. Thrown in river	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	826
3372. Buried in gopher hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+.	-	+.	+.	+	+.	+.	+.	+	
3373. Buried in excrement	-	-	-	-	+.	+.	-	-	+.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3374. Hidden in grass clump	-	-	+	+.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3375. Buried, no special place	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3376. Exchanged with gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3377. Formula spoken	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+.	+	+.	+.	
Twins																	
3378. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	+	-	+.	+	+	+	+.	+	+	.	845
3379. Considered unlucky	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	[777]
3380. Attempts made to prevent conception of twins	-	-	-						+.	-	+	+.	.	+.	+.	.	
3381. People "ashamed" for woman	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	.	
3382. No significance	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	
3383. Relative adopts 1	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	+	+	.	[597]
Adoption of Children																	
3384. Parents impoverished: relatives, only, adopt child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	-	+	+	+	597
3385. Orphan: adopted by paternal, maternal kin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
3386. Paternal relatives only	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
o3387. Childless couples given child by relatives.	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	+	.	+	
3388. Anyone may adopt orphan	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Infanticide, Illegitimate Children																	
3389. Illegitimate children killed, occasionally.	+	+	+	-	+	-.	+	-.	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	847
3390. Legitimate children killed occasionally	-	-	+.						+.	+.	-	-	-	+.	+.	-.	848
3391. To avert disaster	-	-	+						+	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	
3392. If mother dies in childbirth	-	-	+						+	-.	-	.	-	+	+	-	
3393. Infant buried alive with mother	-	-	+						+.	-	-	.	-	+	+	-	
3394. Infant put in badger hole	+	+	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	
3395. Infant smothered	-	-	+.						+.	+.	.	-	-	-	-	-	
3396. Mother keeps illegitimate child	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	-	.	+	+	+	
3397. Mother's mother takes illegitimate child	-	-	-	+	-	+.	-	-	-	-	.	+	.	+	+	-	
3398. Father of illegitimate child provides for baby	-	-	+	+	.	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Impregnatives, Contraceptives, Abortion																	
3399. Measures taken to induce pregnancy	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	842
3400. Shell, vegetable decoction drunk	+	+.	+.	-	-	-	+	-	+.	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	
3401. Doctor makes miniature baby cradle.													-	-	+.	.	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
842 3402. Measures taken to insure sex wanted, of child	+	•+	−			•+	+	−	•+	−	.	.	−	−	+	.
3403. 2 varieties shell used in decoction employed	+	+	−			+	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	.
3404. Different parts of plant used in decoction	−	−	−			−	−	−	•+	−	.	.	−	−	+	.
3405. Bow and arrow or basket hung up	−	−	−						•+	−	.	.	.	.	−	−
3406. Measures taken to prevent pregnancy	.	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	+	−	−	R
3407. Decoction drunk	.	.	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	−	•+	−	−	R
847 3408. Abortion	.	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	.	.	−	+	−	−
3409. Pregnant woman lies on warm trench	.	•+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
3410. Pregnant woman lies over log	.	−	+								.		−	−	−	−
3411. Exercise	.	−	+	−	−	−	.	+	+	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
3412. Blows or pressure	.	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
3413. Old woman helps	.	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
3414. Pregnant woman helps self, alone	.	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	.	.	−	+	−	−

Puberty and Menstrual Customs

Girls' Puberty Ceremony

841

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
881 3415. Held for each girl separately	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3416. Private seclusion of menstruant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3417. In menstrual hut	−	−	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+
3418. In cook house	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3419. In dwelling, winter only	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
3420. In open	+	+	•−	•−	•+	•+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3421. Daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3422. Night time	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
3423. Hut behind, near dwelling	−	−	−	•+	+	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
[516] 3424. Girl not allowed in dwelling house	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
3425. Girl sits, lies on pine needles, mat bed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3426. Girl sits, lies on heated trench	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•−	−
3427. Girl sits, lies on warmed ground	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
3428. Bark pillow	−	−	−		•+	−	•+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3429. Stick, pine needle pillow	−	−	−			•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−
3430. Girl lies on back	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3431. Girl lies on side	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
3432. Girl lies in any position	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	(+)	−
3433. Faces east when lying down	.	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	•−	−	(+)	−	+	−	−
‡3434. Seclusion lasts ... months, rich girl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•2	12	1	−	−	−	−	−	1
o3435. Seclusion lasts ... months, poor girl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	12	1	−	−	−	−	−	−
‡3436. Seclusion lasts ... days, all girls	5	5	•8	10	•3	•5	•3	−	−	−	6	5	6	5	4	−
o3437. Seclusion lasts ... nights, all girls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	−	−	−	0	0	6	0	4	−
‡3438. Seclusion ... days subsequent periods	5	5	2	•1	•2	2	2	•1	11	1	−	1	−	5	−	1
3439. Attendants during seclusion	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3440. Father's mother or mother's mother attends girl	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
3441. Father's father or mother's father attends girl												+	+	−	−	−
3442. Mother's mother attends girl	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3443. Mother attends girl	−	−	+		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
3444. Female nonrelative attends girl	−	−	−				•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
[465] 3445. 2 or more attendants	−	−	−	−			−					+	+	+	−	•+
3446. All attendants paid	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
3447. Girl digs, pounds epos for attendant	−	−	+				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3448. Attendant paid in beads	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
3449. Girl's clothes given attendant(s)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
3450. Girl's basket given female attendant	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

4: Pearsall E-5 (1947) 1950 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
(ca. 1875)

[p. 339-A]

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION[1]

By

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

The communication of knowledge from one generation to another is a subtle process in any culture, and especially so among primitive groups with no clearly defined and well formulated educational system. Any study of primitive education is, therefore, difficult to demarcate. In its broadest sense, education might be defined as the formation of manners and habits by means of instruction, by both physical and moral discipline. The acquisition of all attitudes, knowledge, and skills can be included in education. A thorough investigation would have to answer the question of where, when, and how the individual acquires each item of his adult personality. 121

Obviously, no complete picture of education in any primitive group can be drawn after a single season in the field. The present study makes no pretense of being definitive. It is our intent to show the gradual development of the Klamath child from infancy to adulthood as he receives physical, religious, and moral training, as well as instruction in the food gathering techniques and skilled crafts of his culture. Undoubtedly many phases of the culture have been slighted, but we have tried to show in a general way the type of instruction and encouragement given the maturing child. 114 Klamath ethnography has been well known for years through the works of Gatschet (1890), Coville (1898, 1904), Dorsey (1901), Barrett (1910), Spier (1930), Voegelin (1942), and others. 128 For that reason, the details of language, material

[text continues on top of p. 339-B]

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Parenthood with its attendant responsibilities is not taken lightly by the average Klamath. 581 593 One gets married for the express purpose of raising a large family, and the couple with several strong sons and hardworking daughters is highly respected in the community. 842 A childless couple, on the other hand, is looked upon with contempt and pity. Barrenness is sometimes con-

[text continues on bottom of p. 339B]

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[1] The present study is based on data collected for the University of California during a two-month stay on the Klamath Indian reservation in southern Oregon in the summer of 1947. Much of the material presented in this paper was gathered by Mrs. Betty T. Dasey, and the research represents our joint efforts. [122]

[p. 339-B]

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION [1]

By

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

128 culture, social and political organization are
not described here except in their affect on
124 education. Wherever particular items are mentioned, we specifically asked our informants for
a description, even though they had been described in previous ethnographies. Such accounts may thus be taken as corroborating
earlier evidence unless otherwise specified in
the text.

131 The Klamath reside in their old territory
178 in southern Oregon, but the aboriginal way of
life has long since disappeared. Today they are
241 farmers and ranchers, but a considerable part of
the earlier culture remains alive in the memo-
233 ries of a few oldsters. Our seven informants
178 (4 men and 3 women) were all in their late
seventies or eighties and had participated in
the last phases of the aboriginal culture as
115 children. It is regrettable that it was necessary to reconstruct childhood training from the
reminiscences of elderly individuals. Doubtless
much of the material represents the ideal rather
than the actual pattern of education. The
ideals do, however, give a definite insight into
what was considered important in the upbringing
of children, whether these standards were always
maintained or not. Since there is little or
nothing in the early literature on this subject,
there is no way of comparing impressions received from old people who are admittedly looking back to "the good old days" with impressions
of objective eyewitnesses to the old ways as
they were really practiced.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Barrenness is sometimes con-
sidered cause for divorce. Since the blame
842 seems to fall most commonly on the woman, her
husband's parents may suggest that he send her
586 away and get a wife who can provide him with
children. Ordinarily, though, the parents-in-
606 law are more lenient with a barren woman.
Most Klamath express a preference for boys. A
842 variety of reasons are offered, the most common
being that boys are less bother than girls.
"Girls are always getting into trouble, and you
just raise them for someone else because they go
off to their husbands when they get married."
Once the child is born, however, there seems to
be no special favoritism shown to boys. One

842 hopes to have many sons, but the inevitable is accepted philosophically.

843 The sex of the child is not entirely left to chance, for certain traditional precautions are taken. A man does not cut wood while his wife is pregnant lest she have a girl. He may also hang a tiny bow and arrow in his house to assure the birth of a boy. If a girl is born, the opposite sex may be assured for the next child by turning over the afterbirth.

844 The arrival of the first child is of spe-
cial significance. It is said that at this time
[821] there will be strong winds and thunder.[2] This
is also a propitious time for a man to seek
[787] supernatural power in the mountains. In spite
of the great importance attached to the birth of
the first child there is nothing to indicate
[593] that he will be shown any favoritism. On the
contrary, he will probably learn adult activities at an earlier age than his younger siblings and will be expected to assume a certain amount of responsibility in caring for younger children in the family.

At delivery, a soft pad is arranged to receive the child.[3] The umbilical cord is tied with the mother's hair and cut with an obsidian knife. The cord is buried when it drops off, or sometimes kept and wrapped in a piece of buckskin to be worn around the child's neck for luck. The navel is anointed with squirrel grease to hasten healing. As a general rule the afterbirth is disposed of at once by burial. Occasionally a woman throws the afterbirth away carelessly because she wishes to prevent future pregnancies.

846 The newborn baby is sponged off immediately with water, and the face and body are massaged and molded for the first time to conform to Klamath standards of beauty. He is kept beside the mother in the birth lodge during the four or five days of her seclusion. Once each day during this period the child is held over the heated rocks on which the mother lies, to insure his future health.

The infant is put to the breast a few hours
after birth. The mother's nipples are squeezed
and a hair worked around in them to start the
853 flow of milk. Thereafter the child is nursed
whenever he cries. If the mother is unable to nurse her child, a wet nurse is called--generally a relative, but apparently any neighbor woman will do.

852 In many families presents are brought to the newborn child. A boy receives a tiny bow and arrow or small quiver, a girl a small digging stick or basket. These gifts are later hung from the hood of the child's cradleboard. As the presents are brought, a prayer or blessing is said "to encourage the child." Over a

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[2] Spier (1930), p. 55. None of our informants mentioned this.

[14] [3] The practices surrounding pregnancy, birth, and the care of the mother are described in detail by Spier, pp. 55 ff., and Voegelin (1942), elements 3007-3262.

[p.341-B]

854 856 he falls, no attempt is made to pick him up unless he cries for some time.

The first experimentation in crawling and walking is largely left to the child. But when he tries to stand, he is helped. One person steadies the toddler, while another stands a few feet away with outstretched hand, coaxing him to "Come to me." The child soon learns such commands as "Walk," "Go to auntie," and so forth. The parents are proud of the child's accomplishment and show off his ability to visitors.

862 A child continues to nurse until he is two or three years old. Some mothers allow him to nurse as long as he pleases, but ordinarily there is a conscious effort at weaning.[7] The mother rubs her breasts with pitch or charcoal, both to impart a bitter taste and to give a frightening appearance. Some mothers wean their children by staying out of sight for several days while an aunt or other relative takes care of the child. If the mother becomes pregnant [842] again, weaning is hastened. However, it is considered a disgrace to be pregnant while a child is still nursing. No one respects a couple who have children less than two or three years apart. The couple is expected to refrain from intercourse during the nursing period.

863 There is no set age at which toilet training begins. Some families hasten the process; others are extremely lax. Two years seems to be about the average age at which training is begun. The mother takes the child out to the bushes and shows him where to urinate and defecate. He is told to have some adult accompany him to the bushes when he wishes to relieve himself. Thereafter the child is scolded or whipped when he makes a mistake.

856 A child begins to say a few words when about a year old. He has probably acquired a few meaningless syllables even before that, such as the "aam" mentioned above. Children repeat these syllables as they rock back and forth. "It keeps them busy and out of trouble."

The first true word that the individual learns is "mother." At about the same time the child acquires an understanding of simple commands like "dirty" (spoken when he puts unclean objects in his mouth) and "don't" (repeated whenever he gets near the fireplace or other dangerous places).

867 The second word the child learns to articulate is "father." The terms for brother and sister are acquired somewhat later even though older siblings are often assigned to the task of tending the baby. The terms for the paternal grandparents are among the first to be learned, and thereafter the child is told the terms for other relatives with whom he lives. Because of patrilocal residence children normally learn the words for their paternal relatives first. But the teaching of kinship terms is not restricted to those for relatives in the same house group. There is an effort to teach the child the proper

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[7] Ibid., elements 3294-3303.

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159 [156] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White seg-
ments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but
in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
[871] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
[586] fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of
the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of
numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
[597] an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has
spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was
closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became
dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
[874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She
took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if
she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[857] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child
nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she
had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them
her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., per-
[608] sons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an ad-
visor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making
a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
[273] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my
glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its
walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is asso-
ciated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is
noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites,
for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, be-
cause she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and
biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a
person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

842 hopes to have many sons, but the inevitable is accepted philosophically.

843 The sex of the child is not entirely left to chance, for certain traditional precautions are taken. A man does not cut wood while his wife is pregnant lest she have a girl. He may also hang a tiny bow and arrow in his house to assure the birth of a boy. If a girl is born, the opposite sex may be assured for the next child by turning over the afterbirth.

844 [821] [787] [593] The arrival of the first child is of special significance. It is said that at this time there will be strong winds and thunder.[2] This is also a propitious time for a man to seek supernatural power in the mountains. In spite of the great importance attached to the birth of the first child there is nothing to indicate that he will be shown any favoritism. On the contrary, he will probably learn adult activities at an earlier age than his younger siblings and will be expected to assume a certain amount of responsibility in caring for younger children in the family.

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853 The infant is put to the breast a few hours after birth. The mother's nipples are squeezed and a hair worked around in them to start the flow of milk. Thereafter the child is nursed whenever he cries. If the mother is unable to nurse her child, a wet nurse is called--generally a relative, but apparently any neighbor woman will do.

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[114] [3] The practices surrounding pregnancy, birth, and the care of the mother are described in detail by Spier, pp. 55 ff., and Voegelin (1942), elements 3007-3062.

BIRTH

The birth of a first child is an especially significant occasion. If 844
it is the mother's first it will bring strong winds and thunder.[77] The [821]
Klamath also hold that in at least one other crisis, on the death and
cremation of a shaman, the wind will rage. For the father the coming [756]
of the firstborn is one of those occasions on which to seek power in
the mountains.

Birth (wiă'sla) must always take place outside the dwelling in a [343]
dome-shaped lodge especially prepared by the mother of the expectant
woman, her mother's sister, or cousin. This is not the menstrual lodge,
for this is used only by women of a shaman's household. This pro- [171]*
scription of delivery within the dwelling is shared by other tribes of
this latitude (Shasta, Northwestern Maidu, Lemhi, and Wind River
Shoshoni) but is unknown to the south.

A woman's first delivery is attended by four or five old women
well-known for their skill as midwives and hence not of necessity her
relatives. They are sometimes paid a fathom of beads. Men are
excluded from the lodge. It may be that no man will chance con-
tamination. I do not know whether shamans are called in difficult [756]
cases. It would seem likely, since they have some genuine medical
practice, were it not for this restriction.

The procedures surrounding parturition are almost wholly practical and physiologically well founded. The attendants press on the woman's abdomen and lift her repeatedly to hasten delivery. She lies on her back on a bed of grass with a soft pad (coyote or raccoon skin, or duck feathers) arranged to receive the baby. The umbilical cord is cut with an obsidian knife and the stump tied with the mother's hair. If anything else is used for the tie the child will continually cry. The afterbirth (yĕpĕno'ŋ ?) is deeply buried so that no
animal may devour it and make the woman barren. Immediately 846
after birth she is seated in the lodge on a bed of hot stones, covered
with leaves. On this she must remain blanket-covered for five days.
She drinks warm water freely; she may not eat meat nor fish, and must
use a scratching stick, just as during catamenia and mourning. At [292]
the birth of a first child both parents wear sage-brush bark belts for

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[77] It is also the view of the Wishram that the weather is stormy or hot at the birth of a child, according to my information. [171]*

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

756

[622] [177] The shaman himself is, or was, the outstanding figure of Klamath society. He had no rival in the chiefs, the rich man, until the coming of the whites brought a redistribution of emphasis in Klamath life. Chiefs had previously been persons of little influence.

771 *171 All this is familiar enough among Indians; the Klamath differ only in particulars. In its several aspects, their religion, as well as its practice, is one with that of the Great Basin, Plateau, and Mackenzie tribes.

THE POWER QUEST

787 The quest for supernatural aid is open to everyone, men and women, boys and girls. It is a constantly recurring feature of their lives. Everyone, perhaps without exception, seeks the powers at least once during his lifetime and further experiences seem to be repeatedly sought.

[881] [765] • [844] [756] [525] The first occasion is always puberty. I doubt that boys and girls are expected to be uniformly successful in securing aid at this time, because, it was said, at shamanistic performances those who had power might sing their songs. This may imply that the others either never acquired power or had lost it. My informants' frequent emphasis on the period of mourning for a husband, wife, or child marks this, too, as a peculiarly pregnant period when power may be successfully sought. At least at such a time a man loses his power and must seek again if he wishes to regain it. A man also seeks power at the birth of a first child. But it is not only the crises of life that provide occasion; the quest may be undertaken at any time, and it is the practice of such as gamblers and shamans to renew and enhance their powers by frequent attempts. The quest is called spū'tu.

The experience does not ordinarily include a vision, but is made manifest in a song heard in a dream. In some instances where a vision is had, a dream song follows, but it is clear that the latter is the essential experience. In the following case a man and a woman had identical visions but to the man alone fell the experience leading to power.

787 159 The grandfather of a Klamath Falls shaman went to stö'kmöte, the point of Eagle Ridge, in the evening. There is a spot in the lake where bubbles rise. Horses lived in this long ago (!). When this man reached the headland he saw two pinto horses, with long manes, rearing against each other from the water. He was not frightened but took off his clothes and plunged into the water in order to secure power. When he recovered consciousness he found himself again on land. From that time he was lucky; he began to get many pintos, large horses. Because of this experience his grandson, the shaman, also acquired, in his turn, spirit songs of all kinds.

"When the sun is environed by lamb-clouds, or a mottled sky, this is figuratively expressed by: 'K'múkamtch [Kᴇmŭ'kūmps] has taken the beaded garments of Aíshish [his son] and dressed himself in them' A peculiar red smoke or haze appearing in the northwestern or western sky, shnúish, announces his arrival; he is also recognizable by his bulky posteriors, or as the Modocs say of him: 'K'múkamtch múnish kutúlish gítko.' By this they evidently refer to the white and heavy mountain-shaped summer clouds."[215] 821

Frogs come out before the rain, hence this is a sign that a storm is due. When the storm rises, old people cry to it, "You go back to the mountains. We do not want you here." The only precaution against lightning is a burden basket or sieve hung on a high pole outside the house.[216]

When a man sneezes or his ears ring, someone is talking about him, but not necessarily a woman, as elsewhere. If a door opens, someone is coming from a distance.[217] 787

To end the long winter months and hasten the coming of spring, the ring and pin game is played. A proper catch "breaks the month." Or little spears of the hard interior of the tule are thrown into the ground. On the contrary, playing cat's cradles in winter makes the months longer. These beliefs are not seriously held; they are more of the nature of manners of speech. 789

Gambler's luck comes not only through spirit power but by the possession of parts of dead moles, frogs, etc., or obsidian blades. These must have been found, and they are carried to the play, and are kept, like the gaming sticks, at crematories, or at least away from the house. 777

A series of beliefs surround birth and childhood. A storm always blows at a woman's first parturition. The child will cry if the umbilical cord is not tied with the mother's hair. If an animal eats the afterbirth the woman will become barren. She may not eat meat or fish after the birth, must use a head-scratcher and wear a bark belt. The baby is massaged so that it will grow well formed. A girl's cradle is wide so that she will grow broad. The navel cord is saved else the child will die. Sterility is cured by drinking a crushed shell. 844 [784]

A turtle head is hung about the neck to ward off rattlesnakes. It was said that this is the general custom but turtles are found only in 789

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[215] Gatschet, 1:lxxiv.

[216] Also recorded by Barrett, Material Culture, 257.

[217] This is said to be a pre-white belief, but the only doors of those days were mats over the earth-lodge hatchways and the flaps of the mat-lodges.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR10 Klamath NR10
(ca. 1860-1900)

*171 755 been able to discover. At any rate, I note it for Achomawi-Atsugewi and Shasta, as well as Klamath. Following the usual shamanistic seance the Klamath shaman searches the vicinity for the malevolent spirit. He rushes about until he falls, blood streaming from his mouth. Several men must support him by the arms and restrain him until he can destroy it in water. The Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman forces the disease out of the ground by his power and then seizes it. He staggers about in his effort to hold it until he can plunge it into water. He then swallows or burns it, or dispatches it to kill its sender. The Shasta erect a shaman's pole at the affected spot. The shaman dances, calling on her spirit to dislodge the disease "pains" from the ground. "If the shaman's guardian is successful, he succeeds in pushing the pains into the river, and drowns them." Certain features of a Chinook cure are like these. When their shaman has taken a disease from a sick man, he must be held by several men to overcome the strength of the disease spirit, until he can plunge it into water.[501] The destruction of an extracted disease by placing it in water is a common feature among Washington tribes. I have seen it, for example, as part of a cure by members of the pseudo-Christian sect of Shakers among the Skokomish and learned that it occurred among the Okanagon.

Various Beliefs

*171 763 756 821 I have a somewhat random series of analogues of Klamath beliefs. The Klamath hold that a storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned. The Northern Maidu hold that it thunders at once when a great man dies, and inasmuch as the most important individuals of the Maidu are shamans, it is clear that this is a comparable belief. The Thompson have it that the death or burial of a person causes an immediate change in the weather; that of a shaman, a sudden and extreme change. The death of a Wind River Shoshoni causes a whirlwind.

*171 821 ● 844 These beliefs are apparently a single expression of a more general belief that both births and deaths are signaled by a change in the weather. For example, the Klamath also hold that it always blows at a woman's first parturition. Analogous to this the Wishram say that extreme weather marks a birth. Further, a rainbow points to the spot where the birth takes place. The latter belief at least is

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[501] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 219, Shasta, 487; Boas, Chinook Texts, 206.

shared by other Upper Chinook (Wasco, Cascades, and Clackamas) 171*
and the Eastern Pomo. Similar to their belief in respect to death, the 821
Northern Maidu say it thunders when a woman has a miscarriage, and 844
the people of Cochiti say the same of a Navaho woman when the wind blows. Again, a sudden change of the weather accompanies a Thompson birth.[802]

An association of the moon and frog is common to several tribes 171*
of this quarter. The Klamath say that the Moon is saved by his wife, 821
Frog, during an eclipse, from being eaten by a grizzly. The frog can be seen in the moon. The Quinault hold an identical belief. An eclipse is caused by the "upper fisher" (a spirit animal) biting the moon. "There is a lady frog up there who helps the most and really saves the moon." A tale describes this frog as married to the moon. According to the Northern Maidu, the spots in the moon are thought to be a frog. A Northern Paiute tale describes Moon as swallowing Frog.[803]

One of the few acts of outright magic among the Klamath relates 171*
to causing the wind to blow. This is accomplished by poking in the 789
hollows of a certain rock, striking another, or poking in a particular eddy. The Wishram also maintain that stirring about in a hole in the rocks near their village will raise a wind; the Quinault that thrusting a stick into a spot where gas bubbles rise in the water will bring a storm; and the Twana (or Klallam?) that shaking a certain rock will cause rain.[804]

Comparable to the Klamath belief that the "cat" *Bassariscus* kills 171*
deer by wrapping his long tail around their necks, the Northern Maidu 825
state this of the mountain lion.[805]

Summary

The general basis of Klamath shamanism is like that of other 171*
interior Plateau and Basin peoples. Social importance attaches to 756
shamans above even that accorded chiefs. Rituals are meager and throughout are crisis ceremonials. As with the generality of North American tribes, acquisition of power is free for all, shamans stand-

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[802] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266–7; Teit, The Thompson Indians, 374; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 297; Goldfrank, Cochiti, 83; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 316.

[803] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1926; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266 (the tale relative to this is not available to me); Natches, Northern Paiute Verbs, 257.

[804] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 674.

[805] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266.

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth Customs

844

Preparations for Delivery

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3007. Delivery in special hut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	•+	+
3008. Delivery in dwelling house	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
3009. Ground prepared for delivery	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3009a. Trench dug	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3010. Ground warmed	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
3011. Grass bed	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
3012. Pine needles, tules, leaves for bed	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Delivery

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3013. Parturient assisted during delivery	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[754] 3014. By professional midwife	+	•+	-	-	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
3015. Midwife paid	+	+	-			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
3016. By female relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
[756] 3017. By husband	+	+	-	-	-	-	•-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
3018. By shaman	-	-	-	•-	-	•+	-	•+	•-	•+	+	+	-	-	-	-
3019. By female herbalist	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	-
3020. Birth aided by medicine	-	•-	-	•+	+	•-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
[278] 3021. Vegetable decoction drunk, sometimes	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	+	-	•+	+
3022. Decoction of ashes drunk	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3023. Water blown on parturient's head	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-
[516] 3024. Parturient kneels	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
3025. Parturient squats	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
3026. Parturient sits down, leaning backward	-	-	-			•+		+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	•-	-
3027. Parturient lies on back	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
3028. Grasps stakes	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
3029. Grasps cord	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3030. Steadies self with hands	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
3031. Holding or handling of parturient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3032. Massaged	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
3033. Shaken	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
3034. Held by attendant, from behind	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3035. Abdomen pressed, if slow birth	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
3036. Held suspended, head down	.	•+	•+							•+	-	•+	•(+)		•-	-
3037. Attempts made to hasten birth	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
3038. Child "coaxed" by speech or songs	-	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	•+	+	•+	.	-	-	-	•+	-
3039. Child "frightened" by noise	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3040. Child squeezed out	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	•+	-	+	+	•+
3041. Child "shaken" out	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-

Afterbirth

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3042. Assistance in expelling afterbirth	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
3043. Husband aids; tries to shake it out	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
3044. Poor couples only	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3045. Parturient's abdomen pressed	-	-	-						•+	•+	-	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
3046. Afterbirth sometimes taken out with hands	-	-	+								.	+	.	-	-	-
3047. Womb pushed back with heel													-	+	+	-
3048. Afterbirth disposed of immediately after delivery	+	+	-				-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
3049. Afterbirth kept until navel cord drops off	-	-	+				•+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3050. Afterbirth wrapped	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3051. Skin	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	-	-	-

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

844

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
3052. Grass	.	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	+	–	+
3053. Bark	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	–
3054. Relatives or midwife dispose of afterbirth.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3055. Old women relatives	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
3056. Male relatives of parturient	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3057. Husband of parturient	+	+	–					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3058. Midwife	–	+	–						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3059. Afterbirth buried, customarily	+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3060. In ground	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	•+
3061. Underneath bark, but not in ground.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3062. Afterbirth burned, customarily	–	–	–	(+)	+	+	•–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–
3063. In fire, between 2 hot rocks	–	–	–	(+)	+	•+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–
3064. Roasted, between 2 hot rocks; no fire			–						•+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–
3065. Afterbirth burned, only if infant dies	+	+	–	.	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3066. Afterbirth mutilated, destroyed	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
3067. Turned inside out	+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
3068. Burned outside	–	–	+								–	–	–	–	–	–
3069. Buried	–	–	–				–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3070. Thrown outside	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3071. Thrown on ants' nest	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3072. Put in hole	.	•+	–			+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3073. Hole stopped with hot rock.	.	–	–			+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3074. To change sex of child	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3075. To prevent future offspring	.	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–

Navel Cord

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV
3076. Cord not cut until afterbirth expelled													+		+	+
3077. Cord twisted and cut below twist	–	–							+	.	+	+	+	+	.	+
3078. Cord cut with knife	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
3079. Obsidian or stone knife	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	–
3080. Shell knife	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	+
3081. Knife put away, or purified, after use	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	–	•+	.	+	–
3082. So infant will not sicken	+	+	–	–	–		+	+	+	.	.	–	+	.	+	+
3083. Knife thrown away, or destroyed	–	–	–							+	–	–	–	.	–	+
3084. Cut by attendant	–	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3085. Cord tied	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
3086. With mother's hair	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–
3087. With vegetable-fiber string	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	+	–	–	–	+
3088. With sinew	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3089. With buckskin string	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
3090. Tied on itself	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–	+	+
3091. Cord coiled: bound with rat or mouse gut	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3092. Dressings applied to umbilicus, before cord drops off	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3093. Pitch	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3094. Deer grease	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3095. Pulverized shells and ashes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+
3096. Plant dressings	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3097. Charcoal and fingernail scrapings	–	–	–		•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3098. Warm stone	–	–	–			+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
3099. Belly band used	+	.	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
3100. Navel cord preserved, after drops off	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	–	+
3101. For short time only	+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
3102. Until owner adult	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3103. Permanently	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3104. In small basket		–	–						–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3105. In bag	+	+	–	+	–		+	+	•+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
3106. On first cradle	+	–	–		–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
● 844 3107. On second cradle	–	–	–		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
3108. On person, after child walks	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3109. Shown to owner, when adult	–	•+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3110. Disposal of cord	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	+	+	+
3111. Buried	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
3112. Burnt	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	+
3113. Thrown away, or "lost"	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Treatment of Infant																
844 3114. Bathing	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
846 3115. Immediately after birth	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
3116. 1 day after birth	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3117. Steamed on lap, 2-3 days after birth	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
3118. Steamed after cord drops off	–	•+	•+	•+							–	–	–	–	–	–
3119. Wiped with grass, skin, etc.	•+	•+	•+				•+	–	–	.	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–
3120. Rubbed with oil, grease, powder	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–
[856] 3121. Massaging	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3122. Torso shaped	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3123. Legs, arms shaped	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3124. Face, nose shaped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3125. Massaging, shaping after cord drops off, only	+	+	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3126. By maternal grandmother	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	(+)	+	+	+	–
3127. By mother	+	+	+					+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3128. By attendant											+	+	+	+	+	+
3129. Blow in baby's ears	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3130. Ceremonial; singing, praying over baby	–	–	•+	–	•–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–
Treatment of Mother																
3131. Isolated indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3132. In hut, dwelling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
‡3133. For ... days and nights	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	3	6	5	4	+
†3134. For ... months	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
3135. Until blood stops flowing	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3136. Until cord drops off infant	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3137. Leaves hut immediately after birth of child	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3138. Breaks wood	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3139. Packs wood	–	+	+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3140. Runs	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3141. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3142. To keep healthy	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3143. To keep blood flowing	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[515] 3144. Bathing or care of body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3145. Bathes in river	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	•–	–
3146. Bathed in hut, by attendant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+
3147. Takes steam bath in hut	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3148. Massaging	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	+
3149. Belt around abdomen for period of isolation	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
3150. Hair belt	–	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
[278] 3151. Medicinal drinks	+	+	•+	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
3152. Ordinarily	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
3153. Only if ailing	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3154. External application of heat	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3155. Warm rock strapped on abdomen, with belt	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+
3156. Lies on warm "bed"	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
o3157. For ... days	2	•2	•+	–				10	–	–	–	3	6	5	4	–
3158. Until blood stops running	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3159. Until cord drops off	–	–	–	–				–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	844
3160. Pit or trench dug	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	846
3161. Hot rocks, charcoal put in pit	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	
3162. Pit covered with grass, bark.	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	
3163. Fire direct on ground; lies beside it	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	
Treatment of Midwife																	
3164. Bathes, immediately after child born	+	+	+						+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	844
3165. Cuts arms, later	–	–	+						+	+	–	(+)	–	–	.	–	759
Restrictions on Mother																	
‡3166. Restrictions last for ... days	5	5	–	28	–	•5	–	28	28	28	–	3	6	5	28	28	846
3167. Until blood stops flowing	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	784
3168. Until navel cord drops off	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
o3169. Bathing taboo	+	+	•±	•±	+	+	•±	•+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	•±	[515]
3170. In stream	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3171. Sweat bath	+	+	–	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3172. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3173. Eats alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[262]
3174. Fed by old woman	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3175. Uses separate receptacles	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176. Eats sparingly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176a. Fresh meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3177. Dried meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3178. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3179. Dried fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3181. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3182. Salt taboo	–	–	–	–	•–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3183. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	
3184. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	[302]
3185. Combing hair taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	.	
3186. Head, face scratcher used	•+	•+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
3187. Especially for first child.	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	
3188. Tabooed activities	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
3189. Making baskets taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3190. Preparing food taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
‡3191. Traveling taboo ... days	5	5	–	28	–	–	–	28	28	28	–	3	6	5	28	–	[484]
3192. Until blood stops flowing or cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	
o3193. Sees no men for ... days	5	•–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	[562]
†3194. Intercourse taboo for ... months	•2	•2	•2						2	2	.	.	•1	1	.	3	[834]
3195. Loud noise near child taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3196. Would make child deaf	–	+	+							–	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3197. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3198. Bathes	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3199. Midwife or mother assists	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	[515]
3200. Medicated bath	–	–	+	+		•+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	.	–	[754]
3201. Sweats	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3202. Swims after sweating	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[481]
Restrictions on Father																	
3203. Required for all offspring	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
3204. For first child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
3205. Retirement period	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
3206. Stays with mother in hut	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3207. Must stay in own dwelling house	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	

624 fire at ceremony; totem. Female dance managers.
Fire tender appointed by crier. Judge. Moieties
615 lacking; lineages lacking, except possibly among
613 AE.

WAR

72 Leader has totem animal, bird. Painting of contestants according to totem. Men taken prisoners in war; enslaved. Compensation for slain amounts to more than victim's or victim's mother's bride price. Compensation paid before dance of settlement; at end of dance.

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth

● 844 Pit, small hole dug in preparation for child-
birth. Animal medicine to aid childbirth. Navel
cord cut with bone, cane knife. Cord buried in
ashes. Cord thrown in bush, stream. Mother
baked in pit. Mother uses drinking tube.
Father lies down, after birth of child. Father
uses drinking tube. Milk teeth thrown toward
moon; backward; over pregnant woman; over house.
845 Twins liked; one killed, only if of opposite
847 sex, incest theory. Abortion accomplished by
taking animal, vegetable medicines, massaging
with hot stones. Infanticide practiced on all
illegitimate, deformed children, twins; infant
killed by sitting upon, drowning, abandoning.

Puberty and Menstrual Observances

881 Girls' puberty rites.--Private seclusion: held for group of related, unrelated girls. Held outside in ceremonial enclosure. Girl sits, lies on curtained couch, bed platform, heated pit. Girl sits, lies face down. Girl's blankets given attendant(s). Girl abstains from food completely. Meals limited to once a day; girl eats after others. All liquids taboo. 4-day increase in food taboos after first period. Food taboos enforced limited number of subsequent periods. Food taboos not enforced after first period. Girl chews deer-fat pellets. Girl fed in pit. Does own cooking. Uses bone drinking tube. No sleeping. Girl avoids all people. No visitors. Scratcher yew wedge, horn. Girl scratches head with fingers. Delousing by self. Mud plastered on hair. Girl makes flower garlands. All join girl in running. Girl travels at night. Girl uses blanket, rabbit-skin blanket, mat wool head covering. Girl wears woodpecker scalp, shell, brush, flower crown headband; brush visor. Hair hangs over face. Girl stands at wall covered. Hair worn done up; braided with goat's wool. Hair dressed by self. Bangs cut at end of ceremony. Face painted white; all colors; sun painted on fore-

[166-A]

000 3018.) NS: Women bring flowers to mother in labor and say to unborn baby, "Come on, I brought flowers; see my flowers," etc.

3039. Someone claps hands, or strikes 2 rocks together, around parturient's abdomen.

3040. MF, MV: Belt tied tightly around woman's abdomen, slipped down over abdomen slowly to force out child.

Afterbirth; navel cord.--

3044. AW: Rich man stays away from wife during childbirth; poor man helps his wife because "he can't hire anyone."

3045. WM, WS: Press with husband's moccasins, "to make it appear as though husband were trying to kick afterbirth out of woman." MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Afterbirth pressed out with hands.

3047. Occasionally only, if need be.

3049. AE: If infant all right after 1 week (or after cord has dropped off), bury afterbirth or throw it in stream. If infant dies before cord drops off, afterbirth burned together with birth hut, and baby buried.

3052. Mo: Wrapped in grass, laced onto board resembling cradleboard; put in fork of tree. Wrapped tightly; if crow, for example, tears it out and eats it, woman will not have any more children.

3055. SE: Mother of baby disposes of it.

3059. AE: See note 3049.

3060. MV: At night, so no one will see where it is buried.

3062. AE: See note 3049.

3063. AW: In fire at some distance from dwelling house, so that man in cloud (Thunder; see notes 4600, 4612) will not smell it burning. If burnt in house fire, Thunder will say the smoke smells good, and try to "get" [kill] mother.

3064. WM: Hot rocks are buried in hole in ground.

3066. Mo: Afterbirth destroyed if (1) wish to change sex of child, or (2) wish to prevent future offspring.

3067. Mo: To change sex of child.

3072. Mo: To prevent future offspring.

3081. NF: Purified by being put in basket of water. Among all other groups, put away, usually until baby is grown.

3082. Infant might "swell up."

3083. MV: Burnt.

3093. SW: Pitch put on soon after birth; in 5 days' time cord drops off. Fresh lump of pitch put on umbilicus and allowed to remain there until child is no longer kept in a cradle.

3095. WS: Charcoal and pulverized mussel shell. MV: Ashes from burnt shell knife used to cut cord.

3096. AW: "River moss" (algae?). WT: Powered oak gall. WM: Pulverized sunflower root.

3097. At: Fingernail scrapings and charcoal applied, so cord will drop off quickly. Round piece of rabbitskin put over dressings on umbilicus, and child put in cradle, immediately.

[844] 3099. Buckskin band, usually.

[213-B]

ODO 3101. At: Cord buried in ground after child begins to walk.

3105. WM: Bag made from deer's "chin."

3109. Mo: Shown to owner, so latter will live long. AW: Cord tied on first cradle, which is discarded and hung in tree after cord has dropped off child. When child is grown, he is sometimes shown remains of cord, still attached to half-broken tule cradle hanging in tree.

3111. Deeply, "so that nothing will get at it."

3112. SE: Mother of infant puts cord in fire, midnight of day it drops off.

Treatment of infant, of mother, of midwife.--

3117. WT: One way of bathing child. After white milk starts flowing, baby's eyes washed with this milk, also.

3118. Mo, SE, SW: To cleanse baby of any ill effect from mother's bad dreams (see also note 3130).

[844] [846] 3119. Kl, Mo, MF, NS: Grass. SE, NF: Wiped with soft fawnskin; AE: shredded sagebrush bark.

3120. NF, NM: Infant rubbed with acorn flour; in all other positive cases for this entry, with oil or grease.

3129. Mo: By doubling up basket cap and blowing along upper edge; done to sharpen infant's hearing. WM: Done to make child good person; informant emphasized importance of observance. Informants from groups responding negatively were usually shocked at custom, stated it would make child deaf.

3130. SE: After navel cord drops off, shaman sometimes blows medicated water on baby, to take off any bad dreams mother may have dreamt. At: No ceremony over child. However Madesi Achomawi "dance after they have their first child. The father dances alone at night for 1 night after child born; a young man sings for him. Then father dances again, for 5 nights, after child's cord drops off, or when child is weaned. All the women dance too, in daytime, if warm days, for 6 days, until cord drops off. They dance outside under a little shade; the mother of child dances with them. An old man sings for them. Sometimes, if they couldn't shoot (see element 3259a) they'd put up a dance and feed singers. Poor people didn't put up these dances. AW: "Make a dance after they have first baby." Distribution of this dance for first-born child was not ascertained; through oversight element not entered on list when At, AW informants volunteered data on dance. MF: Woman (relative) holds baby, sings over it.

3138. Mo: As long as blood is flowing, woman lies over warmed pit; when it stops, she quits cook house and immediately goes to break wood, pack it home.

3139. AW: See note below.

3140. AW: Young mother (but not older women) runs immediately after birth of her child, "if she is all right, not sick. She also picks up

[214-A]

842 hopes to have many sons, but the inevitable is accepted philosophically.

843 The sex of the child is not entirely left to chance, for certain traditional precautions are taken. A man does not cut wood while his wife is pregnant lest she have a girl. He may also hang a tiny bow and arrow in his house to assure the birth of a boy. If a girl is born, the opposite sex may be assured for the next child by turning over the afterbirth.

844 [821] [787] [593] The arrival of the first child is of special significance. It is said that at this time there will be strong winds and thunder.[2] This is also a propitious time for a man to seek supernatural power in the mountains. In spite of the great importance attached to the birth of the first child there is nothing to indicate that he will be shown any favoritism. On the contrary, he will probably learn adult activities at an earlier age than his younger siblings and will be expected to assume a certain amount of responsibility in caring for younger children in the family.

At delivery, a soft pad is arranged to receive the child.[3] The umbilical cord is tied with the mother's hair and cut with an obsidian knife. The cord is buried when it drops off, or sometimes kept and wrapped in a piece of buckskin to be worn around the child's neck for luck. The navel is anointed with squirrel grease to hasten healing. As a general rule the afterbirth is disposed of at once by burial. Occasionally a woman throws the afterbirth away carelessly because she wishes to prevent future pregnancies.

846 The newborn baby is sponged off immediately with water, and the face and body are massaged and molded for the first time to conform to Klamath standards of beauty. He is kept beside the mother in the birth lodge during the four or five days of her seclusion. Once each day during this period the child is held over the heated rocks on which the mother lies, to insure his future health.

853 The infant is put to the breast a few hours after birth. The mother's nipples are squeezed and a hair worked around in them to start the flow of milk. Thereafter the child is nursed whenever he cries. If the mother is unable to nurse her child, a wet nurse is called--generally a relative, but apparently any neighbor woman will do.

852 In many families presents are brought to the newborn child. A boy receives a tiny bow and arrow or small quiver, a girl a small digging stick or basket. These gifts are later hung from the hood of the child's cradleboard. As the presents are brought, a prayer or blessing is said "to encourage the child." Over a

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[2] Spier (1930), p. 55. None of our informants mentioned this.

[14] [3] The practices surrounding pregnancy, birth, and the care of the mother are described in detail by Spier, pp. 55 ff., and Voegelin (1942), elements 3007-3268.

846 [292] five days. This is the belt also worn in mourning for a child and by a girl at puberty. I was not told of restrictions on the father's conduct, but if he is seeking a vision at this time he fasts of necessity for some days.[78]

856 The attending women pinch up the baby's nose and smooth its features to make it handsome. They are especially careful with a boy to straighten and massage his legs so that he may become a good runner.[79] A tight belt of buckskin is put on a girl baby so that she will not become stout. 853 The baby is put to breast immediately. Expectant mothers massage the breasts and squeeze out the first milk.

846 The stump of cord falling off after five days, the navel is greased in order to help it heal. The stump, wrapped in buckskin, is put away by the parents with those of other children. Some precaution is taken to preserve it, at least during the early years, else the baby will die, but it is certain to disappear by the time he is grown. Should the baby die the cord is replaced to be burned with the body.

801 The several references to five-day periods, and we may add the five-day monthly seclusion of women, deserve a word of comment. To be sure there is some basis in fact for this; menstruation, post-natal placental flow and hemorrhage, and the sloughing of the cord do commonly occupy some such period. However, in consideration of individual variation, it is clear that the stated five is but another application of the Klamath pattern number.

852 *[171] There is no formal celebration at the birth of a child, as among the Wishram.

856 Some other practices pertaining to childhood may also be noted here. Deciduous teeth are pulled out by the mother as they loosen so that the permanent teeth will erupt in their proper places. This has actually such an effect as well as stimulating the growth of the second dentition. There are no customs regarding these teeth; they are thrown away.

A little girl's hair is made to grow long and thick by singeing it with a lighted splinter of a lightning-struck tree. This is not done for boys.

845 *[171] There is no special attitude toward twins (lᴇbă'als) so far as I could discover. This is noteworthy because of the fear of twins mani-

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[78] Modoc parents abstain from meat for ten days after the birth, eating only roots. They sweat for five days and then throw away their garments (Gatschet, 1:91).

[79] The Modoc method is described by Gatschet (*loc. cit.*).

845 [171]* fested by several tribes of northern California and in view of their association with the weather and salmon on the Northwest coast. Neither of these attitudes appears among the Klamath. Nor is there any sympathetic bond between twins, nor is one of them destroyed at birth. Informants had never heard of triplets although they must occur in the usual biological proportions. Monsters are said always [766] to be born dead—perhaps the midwives see to that. Like the stillborn, they are said to receive the universal cremation, but it is more likely that they are secretly disposed of, like abortions.

847 The child of an adulterous union, if not palmed off on the husband, is aborted by pressing the abdomen heavily on a rock. Naturally this takes place in the seclusion of the brush. No medicines are in use for abortion. To abort is called hlso'ḳoga; infanticide, siu'ga.

842 How much of a disgrace barrenness is I do not know, but it does not lead to separation. To aid conception women grind a white shell[80] (lŏ'ḳtäs) and drink it in water. Men do the same for impotence. A small dentalium shell (t'u'tas) is also used.

854 Klamath cradles show an interesting cultural amalgamation. The cradle for the newborn is the northern California sitting type; the carrying board for later use is identical with the oval wooden forms of the northern Basin.[81] Through western Oregon and Washington, along the line of contact of the Basin board with the wooden trough cradle of the Northwest Coast, both forms are used or else a modification of one toward the form of the other.

The basketry cradle (ḳwäls) for the first month or two of the baby's life is a trough with one rounded end on which the child sits. It [593] is made by the mother of the expectant woman; woven of willow twigs, it measures eighteen inches in length. Its purpose is said to be to prevent the infant scratching its navel, with consequent illness, and to support its weak back. Its usefulness ended, it is thrown away.

The carrying board (swĕns) is made by the baby's father or a near kinsman. It is a flat board of oval outline, carved from a single piece of wood. The lower end is rather pointed so that it can be stuck into the ground while the mother is occupied. An unexpected feature is [562] that the sex of the infant is distinguishable from the shape of the

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[80] This is flat, two inches long, and spotted. It may have been got from the whites.

[81] Barrett has it that the first cradle is of soft tules, followed by the sitting type of more rigid materials, with occasional use of the board (Material Culture, 257, pl. 14).

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3361. Spirit of tattooed goes to good place	−	·+	−					+	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	·	304
3362. Cranial deformation	+	·+	+	·+	−	·+	+	−	·−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3363. Male	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3364. Female	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[562]
3365. Pads bound to head	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3366. Back	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3367. Front	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3368. Mother attends to baby's head	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Disposal of Milk Teeth																	
3369. Thrown away, no particular place	+	−	−			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	856
3370. Thrown away, toward sun	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	·−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3371. Thrown in river	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	826
3372. Buried in gopher hole	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	·+	·+	+	·+	·+	·+	+	
3373. Buried in excrement	−	−	−	−	·+	·+	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3374. Hidden in grass clump	−	−	+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3375. Buried, no special place	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3376. Exchanged with gopher	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3377. Formula spoken	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	·+	+	·+	·+	
Twins																	
3378. Twins feared	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	+	−	·+	+	+	+	·	+	+	·	845
3379. Considered unlucky	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	·	[777]
3380. Attempts made to prevent conception of twins	−	−	−						·+	−	+	·+	·	·+	·+	·	
3381. People "ashamed" for woman	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	·	+	−	·	
3382. No significance	+	+	+	+	−	(+)	−	+	−	−	−	−	·	−	−	·	
3383. Relative adopts 1	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	·	+	+	·	[597]
Adoption of Children																	
3384. Parents impoverished: relatives, only, adopt child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	·	−	+	+	+	597
3385. Orphan: adopted by paternal, maternal kin	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	
3386. Paternal relatives only	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
o3387. Childless couples given child by relatives	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	·	−	+	·	+	
3388. Anyone may adopt orphan	−	−	−					+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Infanticide, Illegitimate Children																	
3389. Illegitimate children killed, occasionally	+	+	+	−	+	·−	+	·−	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	847
3390. Legitimate children killed occasionally	−	−	·+						·+	·+	−	−	−	·+	·+	·−	848
3391. To avert disaster	−	−	+						+	+	−	·	−	−	−	−	
3392. If mother dies in childbirth	−	−	+						+	·−	−	·	−	+	+	−	
3393. Infant buried alive with mother	−	−	+						·+	−	−	·	−	+	+	−	
3394. Infant put in badger hole	+	+	−	−	·	−	+	−	−	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	
3395. Infant smothered	−	−	·+						·+	·+	·	−	−	−	−	−	
3396. Mother keeps illegitimate child	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	·	−	·	+	+	+	
3397. Mother's mother takes illegitimate child	−	−	−	+	−	·+	−	−	−	−	·	+	·	+	+	−	
3398. Father of illegitimate child provides for baby	−	−	+	+	·	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Impregnatives, Contraceptives, Abortion																	
3399. Measures taken to induce pregnancy	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	·	842
3400. Shell, vegetable decoction drunk	+	·+	·+	−	−	−	+	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·	
3401. Doctor makes miniature baby cradle													−	−	·+	·	

624 fire at ceremony; totem. Female dance managers. Fire tender appointed by crier. Judge. Moieties
615 lacking; lineages lacking, except possibly among
613 AE.

WAR

72 Leader has totem animal, bird. Painting of contestants according to totem. Men taken prisoners in war; enslaved. Compensation for slain amounts to more than victim's or victim's mother's bride price. Compensation paid before dance of settlement; at end of dance.

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth

844 Pit, small hole dug in preparation for childbirth. Animal medicine to aid childbirth. Navel cord cut with bone, cane knife. Cord buried in ashes. Cord thrown in bush, stream. Mother baked in pit. Mother uses drinking tube. Father lies down, after birth of child. Father uses drinking tube. Milk teeth thrown toward moon; backward; over pregnant woman; over house.
845 Twins liked; one killed, only if of opposite
847 sex, incest theory. Abortion accomplished by taking animal, vegetable medicines, massaging with hot stones. Infanticide practiced on all illegitimate, deformed children, twins; infant killed by sitting upon, drowning, abandoning.

Puberty and Menstrual Observances

881 Girls' puberty rites.--Private seclusion: held for group of related, unrelated girls. Held outside in ceremonial enclosure. Girl sits, lies on curtained couch, bed platform, heated pit. Girl sits, lies face down. Girl's blankets given attendant(s). Girl abstains from food completely. Meals limited to once a day; girl eats after others. All liquids taboo. 4-day increase in food taboos after first period. Food taboos enforced limited number of subsequent periods. Food taboos not enforced after first period. Girl chews deer-fat pellets. Girl fed in pit. Does own cooking. Uses bone drinking tube. No sleeping. Girl avoids all people. No visitors. Scratcher yew wedge, horn. Girl scratches head with fingers. Delousing by self. Mud plastered on hair. Girl makes flower garlands. All join girl in running. Girl travels at night. Girl uses blanket, rabbitskin blanket, mat wool head covering. Girl wears woodpecker scalp, shell, brush, flower crown headband; brush visor. Hair hangs over face. Girl stands at wall covered. Hair worn done up; braided with goat's wool. Hair dressed by self. Bangs cut at end of ceremony. Face painted white; all colors; sun painted on fore-

000 3017. AE: Husband may, however, go into birth hut occasionally, "to ask wife how she is getting on."

3018. SW: "At childbirth, woman is 'dark' all over; the birth blood is dark, not natural like [blood] from a cut on the finger. [Same for girl at puberty.] Anything dark is 'against' a doctor, who has to keep away from it. A woman has to be clear of all that [before a shaman can approach her]; 5 days after the birth of the child, a 'big' [powerful] doctor could doctor a woman who had had a difficult labor case." AW: Female shaman sometimes called in, to help expel afterbirth especially; "a new doctor, Mrs. Jim Hunt [AW], is good for that, now." Also shaman called in shortly after birth of child if mother catches cold, or infant is ill. WT: Person who sees fawn being born, rubs afterbirth on his or her hand. Such person is sent for in cases of childbirth; moment he or she walks into birth hut, baby is born. WT, WM, WS: In cases of difficult labor, (any) man whose mother bore him easily is sent for, to sit close to parturient (with his back to her) so that latter's delivery will be hastened. Among WM, man rendering this service is paid; payment denied by WS. ● [845] Such a practice denied by Kl, Mo, SE, MM, FM, NF, NS, MV informants. WT: Before child born, shaman can talk to it; if baby says then that it does not want to nurse its mother, it means it doesn't want to be born, and will kill the mother. "A really tiny baby is smart, knows a lot; when it begins to creep, talk, it doesn't know so much then." WS: If labor difficult, shaman (either man or woman) with power from water snake doctors parturient in birth hut to aid delivery of child.

3019. SW: Only if labor difficult. See note 3020.

3020. Mo: No medicine taken at delivery, but some time during pregnancy period (first to third month) woman wears bird's nest tied around her abdomen, to ensure easy delivery, because birds lay eggs easily. SW: "A woman, employed for purpose, makes medicine, does nothing else, for childbirth cases; just a few knew how to." AW: No medicine given mother before birth of child; only afterward.

3021. MM, MF, NS: Sugar-pine sugar, either crystals or as decoction; acts as physic.

3023. MF: Blown twice.

3026. AW: Parturient sits on woman's lap; informant positive this an old custom. WM: Sits on rock or piece of wood, so feces will not come out. NS: Round smooth rock pressed against anus, so child will not emerge from anal aperture. Denied for NF, MV.

3036. Mo, SE, WS, MF, NF: Woman held suspended "upside down," if breech presentation suspected. Mo: 5 times. NS: Husband inserts penis, if breech presentation seems likely.

3038. At, AE, WT, WS: Shaman coaxes infant; sings, baby "answers" him or her. (See also note

[213-A]

BIRTH

The birth of a first child is an especially significant occasion. If 844
it is the mother's first it will bring strong winds and thunder.[77] The [821]
Klamath also hold that in at least one other crisis, on the death and
cremation of a shaman, the wind will rage. For the father the coming [756]
of the firstborn is one of those occasions on which to seek power in
the mountains.

Birth (wiă'sla) must always take place outside the dwelling in a [343]
dome-shaped lodge especially prepared by the mother of the expectant
woman, her mother's sister, or cousin. This is not the menstrual lodge,
for this is used only by women of a shaman's household. This pro-
scription of delivery within the dwelling is shared by other tribes of [171]*
this latitude (Shasta, Northwestern Maidu, Lemhi, and Wind River
Shoshoni) but is unknown to the south.

A woman's first delivery is attended by four or five old women well-known for their skill as midwives and hence not of necessity her relatives. They are sometimes paid a fathom of beads. Men are excluded from the lodge. It may be that no man will chance con-
tamination. I do not know whether shamans are called in difficult [756]
cases. It would seem likely, since they have some genuine medical
practice, were it not for this restriction.

The procedures surrounding parturition are almost wholly practical and physiologically well founded. The attendants press on the woman's abdomen and lift her repeatedly to hasten delivery. She lies on her back on a bed of grass with a soft pad (coyote or raccoon skin, or duck feathers) arranged to receive the baby. The umbilical cord is cut with an obsidian knife and the stump tied with the mother's hair. If anything else is used for the tie the child will continually cry. The afterbirth (yĕpĕno'ŋ ?) is deeply buried so that no
animal may devour it and make the woman barren. Immediately 846
after birth she is seated in the lodge on a bed of hot stones, covered
with leaves. On this she must remain blanket-covered for five days.
She drinks warm water freely; she may not eat meat nor fish, and must
use a scratching stick, just as during catamenia and mourning. At [292]
the birth of a first child both parents wear sage-brush bark belts for

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[77] It is also the view of the Wishram that the weather is stormy or hot at the birth of a child, according to my information. [171]*

846 [292] five days. This is the belt also worn in mourning for a child and by a girl at puberty. I was not told of restrictions on the father's conduct, but if he is seeking a vision at this time he fasts of necessity for some days.[78]

856 The attending women pinch up the baby's nose and smooth its features to make it handsome. They are especially careful with a boy to straighten and massage his legs so that he may become a good runner.[79] A tight belt of buckskin is put on a girl baby so that she 853 will not become stout. The baby is put to breast immediately. Expectant mothers massage the breasts and squeeze out the first milk.

846 The stump of cord falling off after five days, the navel is greased in order to help it heal. The stump, wrapped in buckskin, is put away by the parents with those of other children. Some precaution is taken to preserve it, at least during the early years, else the baby will die, but it is certain to disappear by the time he is grown. Should the baby die the cord is replaced to be burned with the body.

801 The several references to five-day periods, and we may add the five-day monthly seclusion of women, deserve a word of comment. To be sure there is some basis in fact for this; menstruation, post-natal placental flow and hemorrhage, and the sloughing of the cord do commonly occupy some such period. However, in consideration of individual variation, it is clear that the stated five is but another application of the Klamath pattern number.

852 [171] There is no formal celebration at the birth of a child, as among the Wishram.

856 Some other practices pertaining to childhood may also be noted here. Deciduous teeth are pulled out by the mother as they loosen so that the permanent teeth will erupt in their proper places. This has actually such an effect as well as stimulating the growth of the second dentition. There are no customs regarding these teeth; they are thrown away.

A little girl's hair is made to grow long and thick by singeing it with a lighted splinter of a lightning-struck tree. This is not done for boys.

845 There is no special attitude toward twins (lebă'als) so far as I could discover. This is noteworthy because of the fear of twins mani-

[171]

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[78] Modoc parents abstain from meat for ten days after the birth, eating only roots. They sweat for five days and then throw away their garments (Gatschet, 1:91).

[79] The Modoc method is described by Gatschet (*loc. cit.*).

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
844 3107. On second cradle	–	–	–		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
3108. On person, after child walks	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3109. Shown to owner, when adult	–	•+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3110. Disposal of cord	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	+	+	+
3111. Buried	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
3112. Burnt	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	+
3113. Thrown away, or "lost"	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Treatment of Infant																
844 3114. Bathing	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
846 3115. Immediately after birth	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
3116. 1 day after birth	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3117. Steamed on lap, 2-3 days after birth	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
3118. Steamed after cord drops off	–	•+	•+	•+							–	–	–	–	–	–
3119. Wiped with grass, skin, etc.	•+	•+	•+				•+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–
3120. Rubbed with oil, grease, powder	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–
[856] 3121. Massaging	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3122. Torso shaped	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3123. Legs, arms shaped	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3124. Face, nose shaped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3125. Massaging, shaping after cord drops off, only	+	+	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3126. By maternal grandmother	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
3127. By mother	+	+	+					+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3128. By attendant											+	+	+	+	+	+
3129. Blow in baby's ears	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3130. Ceremonial; singing, praying over baby	–	–	•+	–	•–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–
Treatment of Mother																
3131. Isolated indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3132. In hut, dwelling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
‡3133. For ... days and nights	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	3	6	5	4	+
†3134. For ... months	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
3135. Until blood stops flowing	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3136. Until cord drops off infant	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3137. Leaves hut immediately after birth of child	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3138. Breaks wood	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3139. Packs wood	–	+	+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3140. Runs	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3141. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3142. To keep healthy	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3143. To keep blood flowing	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[515] 3144. Bathing or care of body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3145. Bathes in river	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	•–	–
3146. Bathed in hut, by attendant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+
3147. Takes steam bath in hut	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3148. Massaging	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	+
3149. Belt around abdomen for period of isolation	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
3150. Hair belt	–	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[278] 3151. Medicinal drinks	+	+	•+	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
3152. Ordinarily	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
3153. Only if ailing	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3154. External application of heat	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3155. Warm rock strapped on abdomen, with belt	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+
3156. Lies on warm "bed"	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
o3157. For ... days	2	•2	½	–				10	–	–	–	3	6	5	4	–
3158. Until blood stops running	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3159. Until cord drops off	–	–	–	–				–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	844
3160. Pit or trench dug	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	846
3161. Hot rocks, charcoal put in pit	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	
3162. Pit covered with grass, bark.	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	
3163. Fire direct on ground; lies beside it	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	
Treatment of Midwife																	
3164. Bathes, immediately after child born	+	+	+						+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	844
3165. Cuts arms, later	–	–	+						+	+	–	(+)	–	–	.	–	759
Restrictions on Mother																	
‡3166. Restrictions last for ... days	5	5	–	28	–	•5	–	28	28	28	–	3	6	5	28	28	846
3167. Until blood stops flowing	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	784
3168. Until navel cord drops off	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
o3169. Bathing taboo	+	+	•±	•±	+	+	•±	•+	+	+	+	•±	+	+	+	•±	[515]
3170. In stream	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3171. Sweat bath	+	+	–	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3172. Food taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3173. Eats alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	[262]
3174. Fed by old woman	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3175. Uses separate receptacles	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176. Eats sparingly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3176a. Fresh meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3177. Dried meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3178. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3179. Dried fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3181. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3182. Salt taboo	–	–	–	–	•–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3183. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	
3184. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	[302]
3185. Combing hair taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	.	
3186. Head, face scratcher used	•+	•+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	
3187. Especially for first child.	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	
3188. Tabooed activities	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[285]
3189. Making baskets taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	[252]
3190. Preparing food taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
‡3191. Traveling taboo ... days	5	5	–	28	–	–	–	28	28	28	–	3	6	5	28	–	[484]
3192. Until blood stops flowing or cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	
o3193. Sees no men for ... days	5	•–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	[562]
†3194. Intercourse taboo for ... months	•2	•2	•2						2	2	.	.	½	1	.	3	[834]
3195. Loud noise near child taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3196. Would make child deaf	–	+	+							–	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3197. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3198. Bathes	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	[515]
3199. Midwife or mother assists	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	+	
3200. Medicated bath	–	–	+	+		•+	•+	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	.	–	[759]
3201. Sweats	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3202. Swims after sweating	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[481]
Restrictions on Father																	
3203. Required for all offspring	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
3204. For first child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	
3205. Retirement period	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3206. Stays with mother in hut	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3207. Must stay in own dwelling house	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

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		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
846	3208. Merely stays indoors	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
784	‡3209. For ... days	5	5	–	5	–	–	–	*4	–	*4	–	–	6	·	28	28
	3210. Until child's cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	*3211. Sleeps little	–	+	+			+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	–	–	·	+
	3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[535]	3212a. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481]	3213. Runs	+	+	+	–	*+	*+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3214. First child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3215. Breaks up wood		–	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3216. Brings back firewood	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3217. Piles up rocks	*+	*+	*+										–	–	–	–
[787]	o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	*–	–	–	+	±	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3220. First 4-5 children only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[481]	3221. Swims	·	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	·	–
[252]	3222. In spring in mountains	–	+	–			–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	·	–
	3223. Cooks for self and children	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3224. Bathing taboo	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	·	–
[515]	o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	–	–	*4	–	–	*4	–	*4	–	*4	+	3	–	–	·	–
	†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	–	5	*4	–	–	*4	–	+	*4	*4	+	–	–	–	·	–
	3227. Certain activities taboo.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[224]	‡3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	*4	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
	†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	*4	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
	†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	*4	*2	+	3	+	6	+	30
	3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[525]	†3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	–	28	*2	+	3	+	+	·	+
	3233. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
[276]	3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	·	–
[484]	†3235. Traveling taboo ... days	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	*2	+	3	+	+	+	40
	3236. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	†*3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	–	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	*2	+	3	+	–	+	*28
[262]	†3238. Fresh fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	+	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
[265]	†3239. Dried fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	–	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
	†3240. Salt taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	5	+	–	+	3	+	5	+	35
[312]	3241. Cold water taboo	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3242. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	3243. Until child smiles first time													–	–	+	–
	3244. Eats with wife	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3245. Uses own receptacles	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
	3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
[292]	3247. Special belt worn	*(–)	+	–	–	+	–	*+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
	3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	*+	*+	+	–	–	–
	3249. Combing hair taboo	+	*+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3250. Until navel has healed	·	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3252. Bathes	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	*+	–	–	–	+	*+	+	+	–
	3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
	3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3255. Gives away old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	3256. Burns old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3257. Throws away old clothes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[526]	3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	+	+								+	–	–	–	–	–
[224]	3259a. Shoots at target	–	–	+	–	*+						–	·	–	–	–	–
	3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	–	+	+	–	*+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
[525]	3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	–	–	–		*+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	·	–
	3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							*+	+	*+	+

9

000 3101. At: Cord buried in ground after child begins to walk.

3105. WM: Bag made from deer's "chin."

3109. Mo: Shown to owner, so latter will live long. AW: Cord tied on first cradle, which is discarded and hung in tree after cord has dropped off child. When child is grown, he is sometimes shown remains of cord, still attached to half-broken tule cradle hanging in tree.

3111. Deeply, "so that nothing will get at it."

3112. SE: Mother of infant puts cord in fire, midnight of day it drops off.

Treatment of infant, of mother, of midwife.--

3117. WT: One way of bathing child. After white milk starts flowing, baby's eyes washed with this milk, also.

3118. Mo, SE, SW: To cleanse baby of any ill effect from mother's bad dreams (see also note 3130).

[844] [846] 3119. Kl, Mo, MF, NS: Grass. SE, NF: Wiped with soft fawnskin; AE: shredded sagebrush bark.

3120. NF, NM: Infant rubbed with acorn flour; in all other positive cases for this entry, with oil or grease.

3129. Mo: By doubling up basket cap and blowing along upper edge; done to sharpen infant's hearing. WM: Done to make child good person; informant emphasized importance of observance. Informants from groups responding negatively were usually shocked at custom, stated it would make child deaf.

3130. SE: After navel cord drops off, shaman sometimes blows medicated water on baby, to take off any bad dreams mother may have dreamt. At: No ceremony over child. However Madesi Achomawi "dance after they have their first child. The father dances alone at night for 1 night after child born; a young man sings for him. Then father dances again, for 5 nights, after child's cord drops off, or when child is weaned. All the women dance too, in daytime, if warm days, for 6 days, until cord drops off. They dance outside under a little shade; the mother of child dances with them. An old man sings for them. Sometimes, if they couldn't shoot (see element 3259a) they'd put up a dance and feed singers. Poor people didn't put up these dances. AW: "Make a dance after they have first baby." Distribution of this dance for first-born child was not ascertained; through oversight element not entered on list when At, AW informants volunteered data on dance. MF: Woman (relative) holds baby, sings over it.

3138. Mo: As long as blood is flowing, woman lies over warmed pit; when it stops, she quits cook house and immediately goes to break wood, pack it home.

3139. AW: See note below.

3140. AW: Young mother (but not older women) runs immediately after birth of her child, "if she is all right, not sick. She also picks up

0010 a few sticks." AE: Only healthy women leave hut immediately after birth, run 150-200 ft., and bathe; if weak, do not.

3141. AW: Only if she feels well.

3145. SW: Downstream from village. AE: Bathes only if day warm. WT: See note 3198. NF, NS: Informants shocked at idea of any bathing at this time; explained that "people were afraid of using water" on such occasions (see element 3169).

3151. SE: Mother drinks salmon-tail soup. Fish spawns, therefore soup efficacious in clearing out woman. Such a medicine denied for Kl, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV groups. At, AW: Decoction of ashes drunk; denied for all other groups.

3155. MV: Small cake of warm ashes made into loaf with water; placed on woman's abdomen.

3156. AW: Use "hotbed" for 6-7 days, but when cord drops off child, after 3-4 days, change location of pit.

3157. Mo: 2-3 days.

3165. To "let bad blood out," after contamination during delivery of infant.

Restrictions on mother, father.--

3166. AW: 6-7 days.

3169. SE: Takes steam bath in birth hut. SW, AE: May bathe in river; must not take sweat bath. WT: See note 3198. MF, MV: Bathed in hut, by attendant.

3173. MV: Or, usually, with attendant.

3182. At: Can eat salt; "makes lots of milk."

3183. At: Makes lumps in blood.

● [846] [412] 3186. Kl: Scratching "brush" made of small bundle of willow twigs, 4 in. long, 1 in. wide. Mo: Bone scratcher, made from deer bone. At: Bone scratcher, worn in hair, not suspended from cord at neck or around wrist. Have fleas if do not use scratcher.

3192. AW: First time woman goes outside, with her baby, she throws piece of charcoal behind her; informant could give no reason for this, assigned it to "Coyote's law."

3193. Mo: Husband visits wife while she is outside in cook house; talks to her and sees baby. SW: Husband stays in birth hut with mother for 5 days after birth of child. WS: 2-3 days.

[834] 3194. Kl, Mo, SE: 2-3 months.

[846] 3198. WT: When navel cord drops off, both mother and father of infant bathe; then 1 month after birth of baby both bathe again, and mother quits birth hut, returns to living house. The father must bathe where fish are (in streams, not springs).

3200. AW: Pine needles; AE: sagebrush bark; NF: wormwood used in bath.

3206. At: Father sleeps in birth hut with wife, but no intercourse; early each morning he leaves hut, goes out and walks or runs in mountains during day. AW: Stays with wife in birth hut until cord drops off child; gathers wood for fire, keeps fire going at night.

3209. WT, WS: 4-6 days.

[214-B]

000 3211. In order to avoid bad dreams. WS: First night after birth of child only.

3212a. AW: See note 3130.

3213. At: Runs to mountains, on quest (see note 3206). AW: Runs a little, when gathering wood (see note 3206), but only goes on quest after cord drops off.

[846] [784] 3217. Kl, Mo, SE: Piles up rocks in shape of man.

3218. AW: Only after cord drops off child does father bathe and seek power in mountains. "Then it's done; before this he knows he can't get anything, even if he goes 100 times, before that cord drops off."

3225. SE, AW, WT, WS: 4-6 days. WS: "Sign of rain if he bathes."

3226. SE, AW, WM, WS: 4-6 days.

3228, 3229. WM: 4-6 days.

3230. WM: 4-6 days. WS: 2-3.

3232, 3235. WS: 2-3 days.

3237. Each of these 3 items inquired about separately. WS: 2-3 days. MV: 28-35 days. Rationale for taboos--to insure child's navel healing properly.

[292] [846] 3247. Kl: Spier, Klamath, p. 55, notes that both parents wear bark belts for birth of first child only. AE: Young man, especially after birth of first child, wears braided sagebrush-bark belt, 3-4 in. wide, tied around waist rather tightly so he will have slim waist, "never be pot-bellied." Also wears this belt when chasing deer, "so stomach won't flop up and down," and also "so he won't be so hungry." Youth, being sent off on vision quest to seek power at medicine lake or springs, wears similar belt.

3248. MM, MF: Head will become sore if scratch with fingers.

3249. Mo: Hair will turn prematurely gray.

3252. WT: See note 3198. NF: Uses wormwood decoction.

3259a. At: After cord drops off, father sweats, changes clothes; 2 days later he goes to certain place, shoots at old log; then goes little farther, and is sure to see deer. He shoots 1 arrow and kills deer, which he gives away (see note 3260).

3260. At: See preceding note. After father kills first deer, he tells old woman to go and get it; does not eat any of it himself. Afterward, next deer he shoots he eats a little; "not too much. This makes him lucky, so that every time he goes out he kills deer, after that."

3261. At: Old people (nonrelatives) take what man wins, put winnings away and never bet with them. Then man is always lucky at gambling. NF: "Afterward has good luck, wins all the time."

3262. NF: Big dinner held 4 days after cord drops off. MS: Taboo period ends after ca. month; gauged by time when child first smiles; big dinner given, and child's parents can then eat meat.

[215-A]

842 hopes to have many sons, but the inevitable is accepted philosophically.

843 The sex of the child is not entirely left to chance, for certain traditional precautions are taken. A man does not cut wood while his wife is pregnant lest she have a girl. He may also hang a tiny bow and arrow in his house to assure the birth of a boy. If a girl is born, the opposite sex may be assured for the next child by turning over the afterbirth.

844 [821] [787] [593] The arrival of the first child is of special significance. It is said that at this time there will be strong winds and thunder.[2] This is also a propitious time for a man to seek supernatural power in the mountains. In spite of the great importance attached to the birth of the first child there is nothing to indicate that he will be shown any favoritism. On the contrary, he will probably learn adult activities at an earlier age than his younger siblings and will be expected to assume a certain amount of responsibility in caring for younger children in the family.

At delivery, a soft pad is arranged to receive the child.[3] The umbilical cord is tied with the mother's hair and cut with an obsidian knife. The cord is buried when it drops off, or sometimes kept and wrapped in a piece of buckskin to be worn around the child's neck for luck. The navel is anointed with squirrel grease to hasten healing. As a general rule the afterbirth is disposed of at once by burial. Occasionally a woman throws the afterbirth away carelessly because she wishes to prevent future pregnancies.

846 The newborn baby is sponged off immediately with water, and the face and body are massaged and molded for the first time to conform to Klamath standards of beauty. He is kept beside the mother in the birth lodge during the four or five days of her seclusion. Once each day during this period the child is held over the heated rocks on which the mother lies, to insure his future health.

853 The infant is put to the breast a few hours after birth. The mother's nipples are squeezed and a hair worked around in them to start the flow of milk. Thereafter the child is nursed whenever he cries. If the mother is unable to nurse her child, a wet nurse is called--generally a relative, but apparently any neighbor woman will do.

852 In many families presents are brought to the newborn child. A boy receives a tiny bow and arrow or small quiver, a girl a small digging stick or basket. These gifts are later hung from the hood of the child's cradleboard. As the presents are brought, a prayer or blessing is said "to encourage the child." Over a

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[2] Spier (1930), p. 55. None of our informants mentioned this.

[114] [3] The practices surrounding pregnancy, birth, and the care of the mother are described in detail by Spier, pp. 55 ff., and Voegelin (1942), elements 3007-3262.

fested by several tribes of northern California and in view of their 845
association with the weather and salmon on the Northwest coast. [171]*
Neither of these attitudes appears among the Klamath. Nor is there any sympathetic bond between twins, nor is one of them destroyed at birth. Informants had never heard of triplets although they must occur in the usual biological proportions. Monsters are said always [766]
to be born dead—perhaps the midwives see to that. Like the stillborn, they are said to receive the universal cremation, but it is more likely that they are secretly disposed of, like abortions.

The child of an adulterous union, if not palmed off on the husband, 847
is aborted by pressing the abdomen heavily on a rock. Naturally this takes place in the seclusion of the brush. No medicines are in use for abortion. To abort is called hīso'ḳoga; infanticide, siu'ga.

How much of a disgrace barrenness is I do not know, but it does 842
not lead to separation. To aid conception women grind a white shell[60] (lŏ'ḳtās) and drink it in water. Men do the same for impotence. A small dentalium shell (t'u'tas) is also used.

Klamath cradles show an interesting cultural amalgamation. The 854
cradle for the newborn is the northern California sitting type; the carrying board for later use is identical with the oval wooden forms of the northern Basin.[61] Through western Oregon and Washington, along the line of contact of the Basin board with the wooden trough cradle of the Northwest Coast, both forms are used or else a modification of one toward the form of the other.

The basketry cradle (ḳwāls) for the first month or two of the baby's life is a trough with one rounded end on which the child sits. It [593]
is made by the mother of the expectant woman; woven of willow twigs, it measures eighteen inches in length. Its purpose is said to be to prevent the infant scratching its navel, with consequent illness, and to support its weak back. Its usefulness ended, it is thrown away.

The carrying board (swēns) is made by the baby's father or a near kinsman. It is a flat board of oval outline, carved from a single piece of wood. The lower end is rather pointed so that it can be stuck into the ground while the mother is occupied. An unexpected feature is [562]
that the sex of the infant is distinguishable from the shape of the

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[60] This is flat, two inches long, and spotted. It may have been got from the whites.

[61] Barrett has it that the first cradle is of soft tules, followed by the sitting type of more rigid materials, with occasional use of the board (Material Culture, 257, pl. 14).

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3361. Spirit of tattooed goes to good place	-	•+	-					+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	304
3362. Cranial deformation	+	•+	+	•+	-	•+	+	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3363. Male	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3364. Female	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
3365. Pads bound to head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3366. Back	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3367. Front	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3368. Mother attends to baby's head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Disposal of Milk Teeth																	
3369. Thrown away, no particular place	+	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3370. Thrown away, toward sun	-	-	-		+	•-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	856
3371. Thrown in river	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	826
3372. Buried in gopher hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	
3373. Buried in excrement	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3374. Hidden in grass clump	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3375. Buried, no special place	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3376. Exchanged with gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3377. Formula spoken	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	
Twins																	
3378. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	+	-	•+	+	+	+	•.	+	+	•.	845
3379. Considered unlucky	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	[777]
3380. Attempts made to prevent conception of twins	±	-	-						•+	-	+	•+	.	•+	•+	.	
3381. People "ashamed" for woman	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	.	
3382. No significance	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	
3383. Relative adopts 1	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	+	+	.	[597]
Adoption of Children																	
3384. Parents impoverished: relatives, only, adopt child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	-	+	+	+	597
3385. Orphan: adopted by paternal, maternal kin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
3386. Paternal relatives only	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
o3387. Childless couples given child by relatives.	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	+	.	+	
3388. Anyone may adopt orphan	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Infanticide, Illegitimate Children																	
3389. Illegitimate children killed, occasionally.	+	+	+	-	+	•-	+	•-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	847
3390. Legitimate children killed occasionally	-	-	•+						•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	•+	•-	848
3391. To avert disaster	-	-	+						+	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	
3392. If mother dies in childbirth	-	-	+						+	•-	-	.	-	+	+	-	
3393. Infant buried alive with mother	-	-	+						•+	-	-	.	-	+	+	-	
3394. Infant put in badger hole	+	+	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	
3395. Infant smothered	-	-	•+						•+	•+	.	-	-	-	-	-	
3396. Mother keeps illegitimate child	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	-	.	+	+	+	
3397. Mother's mother takes illegitimate child	-	-	-	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	.	+	.	+	+	-	
3398. Father of illegitimate child provides for baby	-	-	+	+	.	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Impregnatives, Contraceptives, Abortion																	
3399. Measures taken to induce pregnancy	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	842
3400. Shell, vegetable decoction drunk	+	•+	•+	-	-	-	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	
3401. Doctor makes miniature baby cradle.													-	-	•+	.	

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

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Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
842 3402. Measures taken to insure sex wanted, of child	+	·+	−			·+	+	−	·+	−	·	·	−	−	+	·
3403. 2 varieties shell used in decoction employed	+	+	−			+	+	−	−	−	:	−	−	−	−	·
3404. Different parts of plant used in decoction	−	−	−			−	−	−	·+	−	·	·	−	−	+	·
3405. Bow and arrow or basket hung up	−	−	−						·+	−	·	·	·	·	−	−
3406. Measures taken to prevent pregnancy	·	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	·	−	+	−	−	R
3407. Decoction drunk	·	·	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	·	−	·+	−	−	R
847 3408. Abortion	·	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	·	·	−	+	−	−
3409. Pregnant woman lies on warm trench	·	·+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	·	·	−	−	−	−
3410. Pregnant woman lies over log	·	−	+								·	·	−	−	−	−
3411. Exercise	·	−	+	−	−	−	·	+	+	−	·	·	−	−	−	−
3412. Blows or pressure	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	·	−	·	·	−	−	−	−
3413. Old woman helps	·	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	·	·	−	−	−	−
3414. Pregnant woman helps self, alone	·	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	·	·	−	+	−	−

Puberty and Menstrual Customs

Girls' Puberty Ceremony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 88 3415. Held for each girl separately	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3416. Private seclusion of menstruant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3417. In menstrual hut	−	−	+	+	·+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+
3418. In cook house	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3419. In dwelling, winter only	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
3420. In open	+	+	·−	·−	·+	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3421. Daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3422. Night time	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
3423. Hut behind, near dwelling	−	−	−	·+	+	−	−	−	·−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
[516] 3424. Girl not allowed in dwelling house	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
3425. Girl sits, lies on pine needles, mat bed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3426. Girl sits, lies on heated trench	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	·−	−
3427. Girl sits, lies on warmed ground	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
3428. Bark pillow	−	−	−		·+	−	·+	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3429. Stick, pine needle pillow	−	−	−			·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	·+	−
3430. Girl lies on back	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3431. Girl lies on side	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
3432. Girl lies in any position	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	(+)	−
3433. Faces east when lying down	·	+	+	+	·+	−	−	+	+	·−	−	(+)	−	+	−	−
‡3434. Seclusion lasts ... months, rich girl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	2	12	1	−	−	−	−	−	1
o3435. Seclusion lasts ... months, poor girl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	12	1	−	−	−	−	−	−
‡3436. Seclusion lasts ... days, all girls	5	5	8	10	3	5	3	−	−	−	6	5	6	5	4	−
o3437. Seclusion lasts ... nights, all girls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	−	−	−	0	0	6	0	4	−
‡3438. Seclusion ... days subsequent periods	5	5	2	1	2	2	2	1	11	1	−	1	−	5	−	1
3439. Attendants during seclusion	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3440. Father's mother or mother's mother attends girl	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
3441. Father's father or mother's father attends girl												+	+	−	−	−
3442. Mother's mother attends girl	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3443. Mother attends girl	−	−	+		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
3444. Female nonrelative attends girl	−	−	−				·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
[465] 3445. 2 or more attendants	−	−	−	−			−					+	+	+	−	·+
3446. All attendants paid	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
3447. Girl digs, pounds epos for attendant	−	−	+				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3448. Attendant paid in beads	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
3449. Girl's clothes given attendant(s)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
3450. Girl's basket given female attendant	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

624 fire at ceremony; totem. Female dance managers.
Fire tender appointed by crier. Judge. Moieties
615 lacking; lineages lacking, except possibly among
613 AE.

WAR

72 Leader has totem animal, bird. Painting of contestants according to totem. Men taken prisoners in war; enslaved. Compensation for slain amounts to more than victim's or victim's mother's bride price. Compensation paid before dance of settlement; at end of dance.

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth

844 Pit, small hole dug in preparation for child-
birth. Animal medicine to aid childbirth. Navel
cord cut with bone, cane knife. Cord buried in
ashes. Cord thrown in bush, stream. Mother
baked in pit. Mother uses drinking tube.
Father lies down, after birth of child. Father
uses drinking tube. Milk teeth thrown toward
moon; backward; over pregnant woman; over house.
845 Twins liked; one killed, only if of opposite
847 sex, incest theory. Abortion accomplished by
taking animal, vegetable medicines, massaging
with hot stones. Infanticide practiced on all
illegitimate, deformed children, twins; infant
killed by sitting upon, drowning, abandoning.

Puberty and Menstrual Observances

881 Girls' puberty rites.--Private seclusion: held for group of related, unrelated girls. Held outside in ceremonial enclosure. Girl sits, lies on curtained couch, bed platform, heated pit. Girl sits, lies face down. Girl's blankets given attendant(s). Girl abstains from food completely. Meals limited to once a day; girl eats after others. All liquids taboo. 4-day increase in food taboos after first period. Food taboos enforced limited number of subsequent periods. Food taboos not enforced after first period. Girl chews deer-fat pellets. Girl fed in pit. Does own cooking. Uses bone drinking tube. No sleeping. Girl avoids all people. No visitors. Scratcher yew wedge, horn. Girl scratches head with fingers. Delousing by self. Mud plastered on hair. Girl makes flower garlands. All join girl in running. Girl travels at night. Girl uses blanket, rabbit-skin blanket, mat wool head covering. Girl wears woodpecker scalp, shell, brush, flower crown headband; brush visor. Hair hangs over face. Girl stands at wall covered. Hair worn done up; braided with goat's wool. Hair dressed by self. Bangs cut at end of ceremony. Face painted white; all colors; sun painted on fore-

DOO 3372. WT: Teeth put in hole, child says to animal, "Let's trade teeth; I want good sharp ones like yours," and then jumps over hole. Or trades teeth with trout, and says same formula, but puts teeth in river. WS, MM: Child jumps over hole. NF, NM, NS: All first teeth disposed of thus.

3373. At, AW: Child's excrement; WM: Old person's.

3374. SW: So second or permanent teeth will grow steadily, like grass.

3377. NF, MV: Tell animal, "You give me all good teeth." NS: Bury tooth, and ask gopher for his old tooth, telling him they will give him a new one [the baby tooth] in exchange.

3378. WM: Twins (womas, pretty) feared; "they make a woman sick, pain her before she births them; she may die." NF, MV: Informants had never heard of any cases of twins occurring in groups.

3380. WM, MF, NM, NS: Never eat "twin" wild plums, double acorns, etc. WM: Tell young girls never to talk about twins. Also warn young girls against eating double, triple, etc., acorns "that are all bunched together on 1 stem. If a girl does eat 2 or 3 such acorns off 1 stem, she must point with each of the acorns in a different direction, and say, 'I'll have a child over there [pointing E for example]; next time I'll have a child over there [pointing W]; next time over there [pointing N], etc., so that she won't have 2, 3, 4 children all at 1 time, bunched up together."

Infanticide, illegitimate children; impregnatives, contraceptives, abortion.--

3389. AW: "Anything they raise [give birth to] they keep." WT: Bastard called a "road baby." They "worship that little thing more than an ordinary baby; everyone gives it things, because they all feel sorry for it."

3390. SE, WM, WS: Child killed occasionally, if mother had dreamt bad dreams while confined, and violent storm ensues at time of childbirth. Rare. Denied for all other groups. SE, WM, NM, NS: Infant buried alive with mother, if latter [847] dies in childbirth. Burial alive denied for Kl, [848] Mo, WS, MM, NF. Informant for NF remarked infant, deprived of mother, usually died after about 3 weeks. MV: Try to save child; hire nurse if possible.

3392. WS: If mother dies, but infant lives, "another woman, anyone who wants to keep that baby" [need not be relative] drinks 3-4 cupfuls of boiled wild grapevine roots, stem, leaves. In about 1 day after drinking this and massaging breasts, the milk begins to flow and woman can nurse baby she has taken. In winter dry vine and roots effective for this purpose. "An old woman, 60-70 years old, did this for her grandchild, and raised that boy. His mother had died when he was 1 month old."

3393. WM: "Charley Klutchie's father raised him; his mother died at childbirth and the people

[217-B]

*657
*648 tunities of the reservation. As they moved away, they extended
563 Indian experience into the midst of frontier society. During the
167 allotment period they in turn enlarged reservation perspectives.

*657 The majority of the interbreed children that appeared upon
*648 the early reservation, then, were the product of temporary or
563 unstable unions and appeared as fatherless children. The annual
162 reports are unrealistic as to their number. In 1885, for example,
it was claimed that there were only 12 interbreeds in the total population of 919,[9] although to judge from later censuses, the number must have been several times as great.

*657 One of the long-range results of this intercourse was to reduce
*648 somewhat the difference in physical appearance that separated
563 the Indians from the surrounding population. Another—and more
[144] immediate—consequence, however, was to raise the divisive issue
[848] of illegitimacy among the Indians themselves and to introduce
[602] into the tribal body individuals who could claim only maternal
kinsmen. Thus, one Klamath recalls his father, a stage driver in Klamath Falls, as a drunkard whom his mother finally left. The family returned to his maternal grandparents, in whose care the boy grew up. His mother subsequently married a man who ran a logging camp at Pelican Bay, a hard worker and good hunter who treated the boy well. Nonetheless, throughout his life he bore an animus against his father and in part against the heritage he represented.[10]

*657 Interracial unions were encouraged, not only by a dearth of
*648 white women but by an early preponderance of women among
563 the Klamath and by regulations which put an end to polygamy.
162 The early imbalance between the sexes was striking. The figures
[595] supplied by Captain Kelly for the adult Klamath in 1864 give a
sex ratio of no more than 0.47.[11] Those for the Link River band two years later areonly a little higher for the adults, 0.52, although the overall figure is 0.64, since boys and girls are in approximate balance.[12]

[164] Neither sex-linked disease nor the practice of selective infanti-
• [847] cide is known to have occurred among the Klamath, and the most
probable explanation must be sought among such factors as differential exposure to rigorous training, warfare, and vicissitudes of the food quest, as well as to possible emigration of single men. O. C. Applegate, the only Agent to comment upon the im-

tion to the Klallam situation and perhaps the payments made in such 171*
cases by Chinook. Marriage occurred in or out of the tribe, but with
no near relative, which includes fourth cousins.[814] Caste stratification 583
was as strong among the Quinault as among their northern neighbors, 171*
and marriages had to be contracted with persons of equivalent status.
This brought it about that tribal or at least village exogamy was 565
insisted on for chiefs. The sentiment was nearly as strong for commoners 582
as well, although in their case emphasis was on the fact that
all co-villagers, or nearly all, were related; marriage of relatives of
even remote degree being forbidden. Not only might a man normally
not marry in his own village, but for the same reason he could not
ordinarily marry in that from which his mother came. The upper [583]
class always purchased wives from other noble families; to marry
below one's rank was disgraceful in the highest degree. If a common
man wanted to marry a chief's daughter, the chief would pay someone
to kill him. In contrast to the Klallam desire in extra-tribal marriages,
the Quinault had no preference for northern tribes. All marriages,
of whatever rank, were made by purchase, that is by the
exchange of gifts of high value. Elopements were common, yet this 171*
was theft and therefore dangerous, for the girl's father might kill the
man, whose relatives could not retaliate. The bride who eloped must 583
be paid for, in fact the price then demanded was inclined to be
exorbitant. Legitimatizing of marriage was Quinault theory at least, [848]
yet illegitimate children were many and not looked on with contempt.[815]

Purchase of the same order appears among the Puget Sound tribes, 171*
at least for the wealthy, that is the upper classes. The interchange
of gifts was not compulsory, so that poor people married on agreement 565
alone or deferred payment until they were able. The general 583
impression obtained from the account of these people (Nisqually,
Snohomish, Snuqualmi, Skokomish, and Suquamish) is that class distinctions
did not cut so deep as on Vancouver island and coastal
Washington. Differences of wealth were not so great, hence, comparatively, 171*
wealth and its function in marriage were not emphasized
to the same degree. The exogamic habit is present however but
apparently confined rather to the upper class. Even fourth and fifth
cousins could not marry.[816] The Nisqually maintain that tribal
exogamy held for all; one who broke the rule was not only disgraced

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[814] Swan, Indians of Cape Flattery, 11 ff.

[815] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925, 1926.

[816] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 34–35; Spier, Nisqually field notes, 1922.

*171 583 Poorer men offer the bride price directly, or may serve their parents-in-law in lieu of payment.[329]

[582] [554] [114] Purchase appears again among the Sinkyone, and perhaps prevailed in the intervening region. By no means so wealthy as their northern neighbors, values were correspondingly less. Nevertheless we observe something of the Yurok attitude in a definite value attached to a man's life. A wife was seemingly paid for, although Kroeber suggests that this may have been in the nature of a gift to be reciprocated rather than a formal purchase price. If this is so, it suggests only the practice of the generality of more southerly Californians. [848] But inasmuch as illegitimate children were paid for, the suggestion is rather of an approximation to the northwestern norm. Something of the same regularity of purchase, with reciprocal giving, is implied by Yuki statements.[330]

*171 554 The Huchnom and Pomo attitude toward marriage did not differ appreciably from more southerly Californians. The exchange of marriage gifts can hardly be described as true purchase, but appears rather "an expression of good will and dignified but affectionate etiquette." Loeb observes, however, that the man's family gave more than it received in return. It would therefore not be possible to see in it certain affiliation with northwestern customs, were it not that both people prescribed a series of gift-bearing visits of the northwestern type to consummate the marriage. I shall subsequently trace such formal visiting from the Kwakiutl southward to this point. As to exogamy, there was none; marriages were contracted indifferently within the community, outside it, or with foreigners. In neither group were there serious rankings based on wealth which might prescribe a studied attitude toward maintaining it in marriage.[331]

The typical central Californians (Wintun, Miwok, Yokuts, and Costanoan) register negative to the characteristics of northwest marriage. Social stratification of any range and rigidity was absent, wealth unimportant, marriage gifts were presents of friendship however much formality demanded their bestowal, formal visiting seemingly unknown, and exogamy casual, certainly not for the express purpose of maintaining social position. In a word marriage does not function to uphold social stratification nor do the northwestern rites appear.[332]

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[329] Dixon, Shasta, 261 f.

[330] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 146, 179.

[331] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 210, 254; Gifford, Clear Lake Pomo Society, 310; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 277.

[332] Compare Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 357, 456, 469, 493.

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3361. Spirit of tattooed goes to good place	-	∔	-					+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	304
3362. Cranial deformation	+	∔	+	∔	-	∔	+	-	∸	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3363. Male	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3364. Female	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
3365. Pads bound to head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3366. Back	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3367. Front	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3368. Mother attends to baby's head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Disposal of Milk Teeth																	
3369. Thrown away, no particular place	+	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	836
3370. Thrown away, toward sun	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	∸	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3371. Thrown in river	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	826
3372. Buried in gopher hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	∔	-	∔	∔	+	∔	∔	∔	+	
3373. Buried in excrement	-	-	-	-	∔	∔	-	-	∔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3374. Hidden in grass clump	-	-	+	∔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3375. Buried, no special place	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3376. Exchanged with gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3377. Formula spoken	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	∔	+	∔	∔	
Twins																	
3378. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	+	-	∔	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	845
3379. Considered unlucky	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	[777]
3380. Attempts made to prevent conception of twins	-	-	-						∔	-	+	∔	.	∔	∔	.	
3381. People "ashamed" for woman	-	-	-		.		+	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	.	
3382. No significance	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	
3383. Relative adopts 1	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	+	+	.	[597]
Adoption of Children																	
3384. Parents impoverished: relatives, only, adopt child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	-	+	+	+	597
3385. Orphan: adopted by paternal, maternal kin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
3386. Paternal relatives only	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
c3387. Childless couples given child by relatives.	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	+	.	+	
3388. Anyone may adopt orphan	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Infanticide, Illegitimate Children																	
3389. Illegitimate children killed, occasionally.	+	+	+	-	+	∸	+	∸	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	847
3390. Legitimate children killed occasionally	-	-	∔						∔	∔	-	-	-	∔	∔	∸	848
3391. To avert disaster	-	-	+						+	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	
3392. If mother dies in childbirth	-	-	+						+	∸	-	.	-	+	+	-	
3393. Infant buried alive with mother	-	-	+						∔	-	-	.	-	+	+	-	
3394. Infant put in badger hole	+	+	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	
3395. Infant smothered	-	-	∔						∔	∔	.	-	-	-	-	-	
3396. Mother keeps illegitimate child	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	-	.	+	+	+	
3397. Mother's mother takes illegitimate child	-	-	-	+	-	∔	-	-	-	-	.	+	.	+	+	-	
3398. Father of illegitimate child provides for baby	-	-	+	+	.	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Impregnatives, Contraceptives, Abortion																	
3399. Measures taken to induce pregnancy	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	842
3400. Shell, vegetable decoction drunk	+	∔	∔	-	-	-	+	-	∔	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	
3401. Doctor makes miniature baby cradle.													-	-	∔	.	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
587 3975. New husband pays widow's parents-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
°3976. New husband asks widow's parents-in-law consent	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	.	+	-	.	-
°3977. New husband pays widow's sister-in-law	-	-	-	-		•+	+	+	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-
3978. New husband pays, gives gifts to widow's family	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	-	+
3979. Remarriage of widows rare, if husband good man	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3980. Divorcee's former husband paid by new husband	-	-	-	•-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562] 3981. Man sells wife to male bidder	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o3982. New husband pays divorcee's parents	-	-	+	+	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o3983. New husband asks divorcee's parents	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intercourse																
833 3984. Bride scratches at 1st intercourse	-	-	+	-	-	-		(+)	-	-	.	.	•+	.	.	.
3985. Natural position lying on side	.		+										•+			
3986. Kissing unknown	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
[152/192] 3987. Exclamation of endearment for adults, children	+	+	-		+	•+	•+	+	+	+	.	-	+	+	-	-
3988. Virginity tests	.	.	•-				•+	•+	-	.	.	.	-	.	.	.
Promiscuity																
836 3989. Promiscuity any time	•-	-	+	+	-		+	+	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
3990. At dances chiefly	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	.	+	-	-	+	-
3991. Promiscuity denied by informant	•-	-	•-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
3992. Unchaste unmarried girl beaten, shaken, scolded	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
836 3993. Unmarried pregnant girl scolded, beaten		+	+			+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
848 3994. Father of bastard punished	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
3995. Killed by girl's relatives														+	+	-
3996. Obligated to marry girl	•+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
3997. Might marry girl, not obligated	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-
3998. Payment for girl	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transvestites																
Male																
838 3999. Male transvestites affirmed for group	+	•-	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•-	-	-	•-	.	•-
4000. Sweat with women	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4001. Perform women's work	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4002. Wear women's clothes	+	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4003. Live with normal man	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
4004. Special functions at funerals	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
[756] 4005. Some are shamans	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4006. Nursing in war		-	-			-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
4007. Regarded indifferently by community	+	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	-	.	-
°4008. Turn berdache at puberty, prepuberty	-		+			(+)		+	+	+	-	.	-	-	.	-
[587] 4009. Turn berdache postpuberty, later in life	+	-	-		+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
4010. Act upon dream	-	+	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
Female																
°4011. Female transvestites affirmed for group	+	-	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012. Live with woman	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012a. Live with man			-					+	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012b. Wear woman's clothes	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
[756] 4013. Some are shamans	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-

DOD 3372. WT: Teeth put in hole, child says to animal, "Let's trade teeth; I want good sharp ones like yours," and then jumps over hole. Or trades teeth with trout, and says same formula, but puts teeth in river. WS, MM: Child jumps over hole. NF, NM, NS: All first teeth disposed of thus.

3373. At, AW: Child's excrement; WM: Old person's.

3374. SW: So second or permanent teeth will grow steadily, like grass.

3377. NF, MV: Tell animal, "You give me all good teeth." NS: Bury tooth, and ask gopher for his old tooth, telling him they will give him a new one [the baby tooth] in exchange.

3378. WM: Twins (woman, pretty) feared; "they make a woman sick, pain her before she births them; she may die." NF, MV: Informants had never heard of any cases of twins occurring in groups.

3380. WM, MF, NM, NS: Never eat "twin" wild plums, double acorns, etc. WM: Tell young girls never to talk about twins. Also warn young girls against eating double, triple, etc., acorns "that are all bunched together on 1 stem. If a girl does eat 2 or 3 such acorns off 1 stem, she must point with each of the acorns in a different direction, and say, 'I'll have a child over there [pointing E for example]; next time I'll have a child over there [pointing W]; next time over there [pointing N], etc., so that she won't have 2, 3, 4 children all at 1 time, bunched up together."

Infanticide, illegitimate children; impregnatives, contraceptives, abortion.--

3389. AW: "Anything they raise [give birth to] they keep." WT: Bastard called a "road baby." They "worship that little thing more than an ordinary baby; everyone gives it things, because they all feel sorry for it."

3390. SE, WM, WS: Child killed occasionally, if mother had dreamt bad dreams while confined, and violent storm ensues at time of childbirth. Rare. Denied for all other groups. SE, WM, NM, NS: Infant buried alive with mother, if latter
[847] dies in childbirth. Burial alive denied for Kl,
[849] Mo, WS, MM, NF. Informant for NF remarked infant, deprived of mother, usually died after about 3 weeks. MV: Try to save child; hire nurse if possible.

3392. WS: If mother dies, but infant lives, "another woman, anyone who wants to keep that baby" [need not be relative] drinks 3-4 cupfuls of boiled wild grapevine roots, stem, leaves. In about 1 day after drinking this and massaging breasts, the milk begins to flow and woman can nurse baby she has taken. In winter dry vine and roots effective for this purpose. "An old woman, 60-70 years old, did this for her grandchild, and raised that boy. His mother had died when he was 1 month old."

3393. WM: "Charley Klutchie's father raised him; his mother died at childbirth and the people

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836 well after she married; advised her to take such for husband. Youths never went round for women [178] by themselves, formerly; both girls and youths adhered to marriage rules. SE: Admitted, but said 000 to have been very rare, however. 2 women usually accompanied girl whenever she went anywhere "in order to see that men didn't bother her." At: Mother kept girl beside her during night at fiestas (see also note 3960).

[836] [848] 3996. Kl: Must marry girl; youth's parents tell him, "Get that baby back." Youth gets girl, without paying anything for her.

3997. WS: "Very few did marry the girl."

Transvestites

[838] 3999. Mo, MM, MV: Known by informants to exist among such tribes as "Pit River" (Achomawi) and Kl, but denied positively for informants' own groups. SW: Informant himself had many traits of transvestite, although he dressed in men's clothes; most of elements listed positively below for SW are entered from volunteered data and observation of facts rather than as result of direct questioning. At: Referred to as ya·wa·. NM: "In early days didn't have any [transvestites]"; informant knew of only 2 hermaphrodites (?), a Mexican at Auburn and a half-breed woman.

4008. "Because born that way."

4009. AW: Informant for At stated, "1 Pit River (Achomawi) woman, after she'd had children, dreamt to be like that."

[8[illegible]8] 4011. See note 3999. At: Referred to as brumaiwi. Wear false penis (?), made of pitch, [illegible]pended from belt.

Death

Treatment of corpse.--

[764] 4021. Kl: Body laid on pyre immediately, left lying there overnight; early next morning burned.

4025. Mo: Shamans only. WM: Painted red. Sun dogs considered sign of shaman's death, "because paint dead red." Red clouds presage death of someone.

4027. MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Yellowhammer-quill band also laid with body. MF, NS: Also basket cut, so it will lie flat like plaque on top of chest; this buried with body. Cut basket on body lacking among NM, MV; dubious for NF.

4028. WT: Elkhide article of great value; chief wrapped in such, and grave "almost filled with shell currency and other valuables. Many visitors come from distance and bring world of things to put in chief's grave." WM: "Other groups [of Wintu] wrap body in bearskin cloak"; WM do not, except in rare instances where head, claws cut off old bearskin, and latter put in grave. New skin never treated thus. MV: Wrap wealthy in bearskin.

4030. NF: Also children up to 2-3 years old buried on their cradle.

*657 tunities of the reservation. As they moved away, they extended
*648 Indian experience into the midst of frontier society. During the
563 allotment period they in turn enlarged reservation perspectives.
167

*657 The majority of the interbreed children that appeared upon
*648 the early reservation, then, were the product of temporary or
563 unstable unions and appeared as fatherless children. The annual
162 reports are unrealistic as to their number. In 1885, for example, it was claimed that there were only 12 interbreeds in the total population of 919,[9] although to judge from later censuses, the number must have been several times as great.

*657 One of the long-range results of this intercourse was to reduce
*648 somewhat the difference in physical appearance that separated
563 the Indians from the surrounding population. Another—and more
[144] immediate—consequence, however, was to raise the divisive issue
• [848] of illegitimacy among the Indians themselves and to introduce
[602] into the tribal body individuals who could claim only maternal kinsmen. Thus, one Klamath recalls his father, a stage driver in Klamath Falls, as a drunkard whom his mother finally left. The family returned to his maternal grandparents, in whose care the boy grew up. His mother subsequently married a man who ran a logging camp at Pelican Bay, a hard worker and good hunter who treated the boy well. Nonetheless, throughout his life he bore an animus against his father and in part against the heritage he represented.[10]

*657 Interracial unions were encouraged, not only by a dearth of
*648 white women but by an early preponderance of women among
563 the Klamath and by regulations which put an end to polygamy.
162 The early imbalance between the sexes was striking. The figures
[595] supplied by Captain Kelly for the adult Klamath in 1864 give a sex ratio of no more than 0.47.[11] Those for the Link River band two years later areonly a little higher for the adults, 0.52, although the overall figure is 0.64, since boys and girls are in approximate balance.[12]

[164] Neither sex-linked disease nor the practice of selective infanti-
[847] cide is known to have occurred among the Klamath, and the most probable explanation must be sought among such factors as differential exposure to rigorous training, warfare, and vicissitudes of the food quest, as well as to possible emigration of single men. O. C. Applegate, the only Agent to comment upon the im-

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867 terms for all his relatives, whether he has seen them yet or not. This is considered one of the most important things a child must learn.[8]

With the knowledge of kinship terms the child acquires certain attitudes toward his relatives, although patterns of behavior toward particular kin do not seem to be very clearly [593] defined among the Klamath. Parents are respected and obeyed, [603] as are grandparents though a certain amount of indulgence and teasing is to be expected from the latter. [604] Uncles and aunts are shown considerable respect. [605] Cousins call each other by sibling terms; those of opposite sex play together freely when small but are told that it is not proper to "play rough" with each other. Even small children learn that marriage between cousins is "a very bad thing," and that children from such an incestuous union will never live.

856 There is some effort to teach the child the names of objects by pointing to them and repeating the word, but he probably acquires more of his vocabulary simply by listening to adult conversation. There is no baby talk or any attempt to simplify words for the children. If the child mispronounces or misuses words, he is laughed at and corrected.

553 Children acquire their personal names in a casual manner at any time from birth to the age of five or six. There is no ceremony connected with naming, and some individuals receive two or three names which may all be in use at the same time. Names are, for the most part, of the nickname variety and refer to some personal mannerism or peculiarity.[9] In addition, some refer to spirits, birds, or animals. Names are given by the parents or other relatives. One person

[text continues on top of p. 342-B]

EARLY CHILDHOOD

857 By the time a child is three he begins to play with other children, parents encouraging group play. Children from all social strata play together. "After all, you can't keep kids apart." [848] Children of chiefs or shamans are no different from the rest. Illegitimate children are looked down upon by the community as a whole, but they are not segregated from their age-mates.

[865] At first the youngsters are apt to start fights with each other, but the parents are usually on hand to stop rough play. A child who fights all the time brings disgrace to his family and especially to himself. He must play by himself for awhile. "Everyone knows he has been bad; no one likes him." He is ashamed and experiences great remorse when he is told he cannot play with other children.

Three- and four-year-olds find a variety of

[text continues on bottom of p. 342-B]

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[8] See Spier, pp. 62-68, for a discussion of the Klamath kinship system.

[9] Naming customs and typical names are given by Spier, pp. 59-61, and Voegelin, elements 3306-3321.

581 Probably one-third of all Klamath women have borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable [848] out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous [563] tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians, and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally [588] hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-[177] style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

602 Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group, but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally 596 there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require [591] notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are [177] extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, de facto groupings rather than de jure. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient [626] status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social control.

602 Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organiza-[594] tion of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obliga-592 tory responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the 571 loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to their own clientele.

593 Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the 603 most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic 593 group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-592 father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household [422] group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly extreme cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual ownership of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father, that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with regard to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property. [181] Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

593 One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the 657 constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of 434 children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments, which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a serious source of strain in household groups.

Susan: Female, Age 24

Background Data

156 Unlike Slim, Susan is not so well liked or respected. The occasion for this is
*159 specific, an unsanctioned pregnancy during her last year in high school and a
[848] more recent marriage to an entirely disreputable Mexican from Utah. This community
evaluation is accentuated because of the very high respect in which her
[582] own family is held. Everyone expected better of Susan.

[626] Susan has worked as a dishwasher in several cafeterias, both on and off the
*159 reservation, and moved to Utah so as to take a practical nursing course. She
found this training uncongenial, met and married her husband, and they returned
[464] to the reservation when his small business failed. Susan is a high school graduate.

[874] Susan's mode of selecting a husband parallels that of her mother, who met her
husband while hospitalized in New Mexico. Her father by birth is an Apache
*159 Indian, and by cultural affiliation a southwestern United States Spanish-American.
593 Without doubt, he is the most autocratic, stern, demanding, rigid adult male on
the reservation. Although a married woman with children of her own, Susan must
ask her father's permission to use the telephone or to walk downtown. Her mother
was Klamath and very well respected for her stable family life and for her active
participation in many community activities. Susan was extremely close to her
mother until her unexpected death several years ago. They were known as an inseparable
pair and her mother never went out of the house without her. The
mother's death was, perhaps, the major cause of Susan's failure to complete her
nurse's training. Susan's illegitimate pregnancy in high school was a considerable
shock to her mother and is, with her marriage, a continuing source of strain
[155] with her father. Susan evidently feels that her behavior was a contributing
cause for her mother's death. She made a death-bed promise to her mother that
she would not be a loose girl and that she would marry and stay married to one
man. It was shortly thereafter that she married and returned to the reservation
to live with her father. There is much strain within this household, derived
from the relations between father and son-in-law, and from Susan's unsuccessful
efforts to serve two masters, for along with her marital relationship she evidently
[626] was trying to act as a replacement for her deceased mother's role. At the
same time her conduct has alienated her from the church, from family friends,
and from the community.

*159 The contact with Susan was made via her father, who told her that she should
[124] cooperate. Her father's motivation in this was not, as may be supposed, the conviction
that she needed testing because something was wrong with her, but involved
[123] a more general sentiment. He felt somewhat honored to have an "educated
man" visit his house and that such a contact was a good experience for his children.
[593] Susan accepted this like an obedient, dutiful daughter. She came readily,
with no indication of unwillingness, and relations with her were quite good,
perhaps because of the strains of her marginal position and her need to talk
with someone.

*159 Susan seemed an apathetic person whose feelings were dulled. If anything, her
reactions were those of an over-trained, too obedient child. She was not very
157 responsive or active, and would seldom talk except to answer a direct question.
Then she would, frequently with evident pain and anxiety, describe her feelings
and situations tersely and haltingly. Susan clearly wants more than her life
now gives her, but cannot define her present conflicts or see her way clear to

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159
156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from
his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never
[461] worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen.
Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five
[891] school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from
the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at
[592] home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger siblings
[434] may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal
income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly
[657] for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the
bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very
reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit
[582] Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging
[648] company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the
logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually
[221] away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when
drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father
does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household
[593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his
father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion
knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this person
•[848] is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity,
which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's
*159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards
156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or
593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting,
and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits
the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls,
and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt
and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common
[421] activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to
one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his belongings,
and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle
for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not
borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which
engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the
father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom
she spends much time.

159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks
156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the
law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time
[673] loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his
[512] buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom
awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away
from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which
may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

846 [292] five days. This is the belt also worn in mourning for a child and by a girl at puberty. I was not told of restrictions on the father's conduct, but if he is seeking a vision at this time he fasts of necessity for some days.[78]

856 The attending women pinch up the baby's nose and smooth its features to make it handsome. They are especially careful with a boy to straighten and massage his legs so that he may become a good runner.[79] A tight belt of buckskin is put on a girl baby so that she
853 will not become stout. The baby is put to breast immediately. Expectant mothers massage the breasts and squeeze out the first milk.

846 The stump of cord falling off after five days, the navel is greased in order to help it heal. The stump, wrapped in buckskin, is put away by the parents with those of other children. Some precaution is taken to preserve it, at least during the early years, else the baby will die, but it is certain to disappear by the time he is grown. Should the baby die the cord is replaced to be burned with the body.

801 The several references to five-day periods, and we may add the five-day monthly seclusion of women, deserve a word of comment. To be sure there is some basis in fact for this; menstruation, post-natal placental flow and hemorrhage, and the sloughing of the cord do commonly occupy some such period. However, in consideration of individual variation, it is clear that the stated five is but another application of the Klamath pattern number.

852 [171] There is no formal celebration at the birth of a child, as among the Wishram.

856 Some other practices pertaining to childhood may also be noted here. Deciduous teeth are pulled out by the mother as they loosen so that the permanent teeth will erupt in their proper places. This has actually such an effect as well as stimulating the growth of the second dentition. There are no customs regarding these teeth; they are thrown away.

A little girl's hair is made to grow long and thick by singeing it with a lighted splinter of a lightning-struck tree. This is not done for boys.

845 There is no special attitude toward twins (lᵊbă'als) so far as I could discover. This is noteworthy because of the fear of twins mani-

[171]

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[78] Modoc parents abstain *from* meat *for* ten days after the birth, eating only roots. They sweat for five days and then throw away their garments (Gatschet, 1:91).

[79] The Modoc method is described by Gatschet (*loc. cit.*).

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
821 4539. Babies, children shown to moon	−	+	−	*−	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
852 4540. Race, run, jump east	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
4541. "Spanked"	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4542. Tossed in air	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4543. Children raise arms to moon	−	+					+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
4544. Tell moon they are growing	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	(+)	−
4545. Face, body, arms rubbed	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−
4546. Address moon by kin term	−	+	−	−	−	*+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
4547. Done to make child grow fast	−	+	−			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
821 787 4548. Position of horns significant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4549. Vertical; sign of death, sickness	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
4550. Vertical; sign of rain and snow	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4551. Vertical; sign of good weather, good fortune	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
4552. Horizontal; good weather, dry month	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
4553. Horizontal; full of water, rain or storm	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
4554. Horizontal; death, sickness	−	−	+	+	−	+	*+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	.	−
821 4555. Taboos concerning moon	−	+	+	+					+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
4556. If point at new moon, finger crooks, drops off	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
*4557. If sleep in moonlight, cross eyes, facial paralysis	−	.	+	+					+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Eclipses																
4558. Recognized	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4559. Sun, moon dying	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	*+	−	.	−
4560. Bear, dog eating sun, moon	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−
4561. Lizard eating moon	−		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
4562. Frog eating, passing over sun											+	−	−	−	.	+
4563. Frog doctoring, passing over moon	+	−	+								+	−	−	−	.	+
4564. Big snake giving birth to baby													−	+	.	−
4565. No explanation for eclipse of moon	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	−
4566. Special behavior during eclipses	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
4567. All shout, eclipse of sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	−
4568. All shout, eclipse of moon	+	*+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	−
4569. Pray and talk to sun, moon	−	−	+	−	−	*+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	.	+
*4570. Beat dogs	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	−
4571. Shoot arrows in air	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	−
4572. Sprinkle water	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	.	+	.	−
4573. Cover all food	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*+	*+	.	−	−	−	.	−
4574. Hide children	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*+	.	−	−	*+	.	−
4575. Bring in wood, or make fire	−	−	*+											*+	*+	−
[787] 4576. Eclipse portent of death	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
4577. Red moon portent of disaster	−	−	*+			*+	−	−	−	*+	*+	−	−	−	.	−
Falling Stars																
787 *4578. Evil sign	−	*+	*+	−	−	*+	−	−	−	−	−	−	*+	*+	*+	−
821 *4579. Sign man visiting woman, for intercourse	+	.	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−
4580. Presage good weather next day	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−
4581. No sign	−	−	−					+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
4582. Porcupine fallen star	−								+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4583. People clap hands, breathe loudly	−	−	+			+	.	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
4584. People pray for good luck	−	+	+					+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
Milky Way, Other Star Lore																
821 4585. Milky Way: creek or river	*+	*+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*+	.	−	.	.	.

[p.340A]

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For the first few months of his life the child is cared for almost entirely by his mother with the occasional help of the grandmother. The father would be considered unmanly if he helped with the baby very much. The child is never left alone for more than a few minutes at a time, and then only if the mother knows he is sound asleep. At night the cradleboard lies beside the mother where she can reach out and nurse the child if he cries. During the day the board is propped up in the dwelling, or, if the mother is working elsewhere, she carries the cradle with her and sets it up near her work. While working in a canoe, the woman arranges the cradleboard in one end with a willow shade to protect the child from the sun. If she is busy digging roots or gathering berries or seeds, she sets the cradle against a near-by tree. At such times the child's hands may be unbound so that he is free to play with beads or other objects [853] suspended from the hood of the cradle. Often he is given a bit of camas root to chew on.

The infant seldom receives physical demonstrations of affection, nor does the mother carry him in her arms. However, he is watched continually; and the mother or other adults often pause in their work to talk to the child. They tell a boy to [illegible] strong and brave and grow

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[014] *Cradling practices are described by Barrett (1910), pp. 257 ff., Spier, pp. 57-59, and Voegelin, elements 3263-3286.

222 868 few times, but many girls are proud of their ability to dig a lot of roots, for which they receive praise at home.

> I liked to dig up camas where the dirt was soft. My mother had a long stick, and I had a little one. I had a basket on my back and a little basket in my hand. My, I thought it was smart to be able to dig up those roots. I was sorry when evening came, and we had to go home. We brought the camas home and dumped them on the ground to dry. 252 868 When I saw my mother fix a pit for baking the camas, I wanted to do the same. My girl friend and I had a hard time getting the bark to put in the pit, but we did it. We had to get grass and a lot of wood, too. You have to make the rocks hot just like for a sweatbath and put them in the pit with wet grass over so the camas will steam. Then the camas is put in with dirt over it and a fire on top. My mother watched me when I made the pit and told me when I got the wrong kind of grass; she said it would make the camas taste bitter. I kept asking my mother how to do it, and she told me.

222 852 Several informants stated that the first roots a girl digs are of special importance. They are given to her grandmother, who blesses the girl with a statement to the effect that henceforth the girl will be a good worker. 224 852 Not all families seem to follow this custom. The first fruits custom is more strictly followed for the first large game a boy kills.[37]

222 The wokas harvest from mid-August to late September is a time for general gatherings and activities, one of the most pleasantly anticipated times of the year.[38] Women go out in the canoes early in the morning and remain on the marsh all day. Apparently the mother does not really urge or coerce her daughter to start helping with the wokas. As with other products, it may be the girl herself who takes the initiative.

> 222 868 We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were

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[37] Compare Spier, p. 168, and Voegelin, element 137.

[38] The most complete account of wokas gathering is found in Coville (1904), pp. 725-739.

846 [292] five days. This is the belt also worn in mourning for a child and by a girl at puberty. I was not told of restrictions on the father's conduct, but if he is seeking a vision at this time he fasts of necessity for some days.[78]

856 The attending women pinch up the baby's nose and smooth its features to make it handsome. They are especially careful with a boy to straighten and massage his legs so that he may become a good runner.[79] A tight belt of buckskin is put on a girl baby so that she will not become stout. 853 The baby is put to breast immediately. Expectant mothers massage the breasts and squeeze out the first milk.

846 The stump of cord falling off after five days, the navel is greased in order to help it heal. The stump, wrapped in buckskin, is put away by the parents with those of other children. Some precaution is taken to preserve it, at least during the early years, else the baby will die, but it is certain to disappear by the time he is grown. Should the baby die the cord is replaced to be burned with the body.

801 The several references to five-day periods, and we may add the five-day monthly seclusion of women, deserve a word of comment. To be sure there is some basis in fact for this; menstruation, post-natal placental flow and hemorrhage, and the sloughing of the cord do commonly occupy some such period. However, in consideration of individual variation, it is clear that the stated five is but another application of the Klamath pattern number.

852 [171] There is no formal celebration at the birth of a child, as among the Wishram.

856 Some other practices pertaining to childhood may also be noted here. Deciduous teeth are pulled out by the mother as they loosen so that the permanent teeth will erupt in their proper places. This has actually such an effect as well as stimulating the growth of the second dentition. There are no customs regarding these teeth; they are thrown away.

A little girl's hair is made to grow long and thick by singeing it with a lighted splinter of a lightning-struck tree. This is not done for boys.

845 [171] There is no special attitude toward twins (ləbă'als) so far as I could discover. This is noteworthy because of the fear of twins mani-

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[78] Modoc parents abstain *from* meat *for* ten days after the birth, eating only roots. They sweat *for* five days and then throw away their garments (Gatschet, 1:91).

[79] The Modoc method is described by Gatschet (*loc. cit.*).

Cradles

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	HM	NS	MV	
3263. 2 cradles used successively	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	854
3264. Both same shape	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3265. First lacks hood	+	-	-			+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
3266. Different shapes	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
*3267. 1st cradle used for about ... days	.	28	28	5	+	+	+	28	28	28	+	.	˙28	28	+	-	
3268. Used until cord drops off	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	
3269. Made before baby born	-	-	-	+	-	˙+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	+	+	
3270. Presented to mother after child born														.	+	+	
3271. Made after baby born	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	+	-	-	
3272. Bad luck if made before birth	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	+	-	-	
3273. Tied on tree when discarded	-	+	˙+	˙+	+	+	+	-	˙+	˙+	-	-	˙-	-	-	-	
o3274. 2d cradle used for ... years	1+	1+	1+	˙1+	1+	˙1+	1+	˙2	˙2	˙1	1+	1+	1+	1+	˙1	1+	
3275. Made by maternal, paternal grandmother	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3276. Made by mother	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3277. Made by woman specialist	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
3278. Made by paternal grandfather	-	-	+								-	-	-	-	-	+	
3279. Man makes cradleboard	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3280. Cradle must be finished same day begun	-	+	-				+	+	-	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
3281. Discarded cradle tied on tree	-	-	-	˙+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3282. Discarded cradle kept in house	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3283. Used for several children	.	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	
3284. Vegetable diapering material	˙+	˙+	˙+	-	˙+	˙+	˙+	˙+	˙+	˙+	-	˙+	-	˙+	˙+	˙+	
3285. Skin diapering material	-	-	-	˙+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	
3286. Infant wrapped in skin	-	+	+	+	˙+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

Nursing

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	HM	NS	MV	
o3287. Infant nurses after ... days	˙2	2	1	2	2	˙1	˙1	˙1	1	˙1	˙1	0	˙1	˙1	1	0	853
3288. Colostrum milked out	+	+	˙+	˙+	˙+	+	˙+	˙+	+	+	+	-	+	+	˙+	+	
3289. Milked onto hot rock or coals	˙+	˙+	+	+	˙+	+	˙+	-	˙-	˙-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3290. Denied to baby	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
3291. Infant fed gruel, first 2-3 days	-	-	˙+	-	-	-	˙+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3291a. Infant fed water, first 2-3 days	+	+	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	
3292. Nursed whenever cries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
o3293. No intercourse between parents for ... months	-	˙2	˙2	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	.	.	˙1	1	0	3	[339]

Weaning and Discipline of Children

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	HM	NS	MV	
3294. Weaning as soon as teeth appear, regularly	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	862
3295. Early weanings, occasionally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	
3296. Pregnancy cause of	+	+	+	+	+	˙+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	
3297. Sickness of mother cause of	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	+	+	+	+	
3298. Infant taken to mother's relatives	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	-	+	.	.	
3299. Mother keeps out of baby's sight	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	+	.	.	
3300. Mother puts bitter substance on nipples	.	.	˙+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	˙+	-	˙+	˙+	
3301. Mother frightens child	.	.	-						˙+	˙+	-	-	-	˙+	-	-	
3302. Child fed larger quantities solid food											+	+	+	-	+	+	
3303. Child usually nurses until he stops of own accord	+	+	+	-	+	˙+	+	+	˙+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3304. Night "cry babies" bathed	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	
3305. Infant's ears pierced, if cries excessively	-	-	-		˙+		+	˙-	+	-	˙+	-	-	-	+	-	[304]

DDO Cradles.--

3263. For cradles, see also elements 1342-1387.

3267. NF: When child about 1 week old is put in first cradle.

3269. AW: Made "way ahead of time. Even if baby dies, they put him on it and bury him."

3273. SE: Hung facing E; WM, WS: facing N. SW: First and second cradles tied on tree when discarded, "so child will keep on growing." NF: First cradle given away.

3274. SW: Flint pendants tied to second cradle; these put on because "when child laughs, makes faces while asleep, it is because little lizards are saying to child 'I'll hit you to make you laugh.' So of course child must laugh. In order to frighten these little lizards away, tie pieces of flint on each side of cradle, near baby's face." AW: At night, however, child sleeps between parents, not on cradle; "sometimes one of parents rolls over and kills a baby, sleeping this way." WT: 2-3 years. Child of 2 1/2 - 3 years packed in second cradle on long trips (as, for example, to Hyampom, 27 miles). Child's feet dangle over bottom of cradle; "sometimes child walks for a way, with the cradle on his back, like a turtle!" WM: 2-3 years. WS: 1-2 years. NS: 1-2 years.

3281. SW: See note 3273.

[854] 3284. Kl, SE, At, AW, WT, WM, WS, MF, NM, NS: Dry grass, softened by mashing, put under child. Mo, AE: Sagebrush bark, softened by mashing, put under child. MV: Shredded willow bark, propared yearly by midwives (soaked over winter, dried, shredded), sold for purpose. SE: Older children try to secure infant's soiled diapers and bury them; gives them luck in finding bird-nests with eggs in them; eat eggs.

3285. SW: Also stuff bottom section of sitting cradle with buckskin.

3286. At: Wildcat skin.

Nursing; weaning and discipline.--

● [853] 3287. Kl: 2-3 days. AW, AE, WS, MM, NF: 1-2. WT, NM: 1-3.

[853] 3288. No specific term for colostrum; referred to in English as "water milk." SE: Breasts cut [sic] with sharp piece of flint, squeezed, to milk out colostrum. Cutting denied by Kl, Mo, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV. SW: Breasts massaged with basket cap, which is placed over them, in order to milk out colostrum; also massage them thus when they ache; if do not, breasts become feverish. At: Milk out colostrum by rubbing breasts with hands; put warm rock between breasts, then massage them again. After colostrum milked out, "then the white [milk] comes; that's the time. Pretty hard work, to make that white one [milk] come." Baby does not suck, usually, for 2 days. AE: "White milk takes 2 days to flow for older woman; for younger perhaps 1 day." WT: "Water" flows from breasts 1-3 days after birth, even if flow begins 2 days or so before

[215-8]

000 childbirth. They never feed this 'water' to a child; it's not real milk, but water, they claimed, that comes ahead of milk. It is milked out. A newborn baby can go for 3-4 days without anything to eat; it doesn't hurt it, as it would a child a month or so old." NS: After colostrum milked out, brush breasts with dry soaproot brush, "to make all the good [white] milk come together." Never feed baby colostrum; "wouldn't think of doing this"; usually child nurses after about 1 day. No milking of breasts before baby born to express colostrum.

● [853] 3289. Kl, Mo, At: So that white milk will flow more quickly. At, WS: Colostrum milked into small basket, contents of basket poured onto hot rock, to make milk flow quickly. Denied by all Maidu, Nisenan groups. AE: Milked onto hot rocks to burn it up, so flies will not bother mother or infant. WM: If woman loses baby, and milks out her breasts, she does not let her milk fall on hot rocks, but on grass; "because when women used to let it fall on hot rocks, they found they had only a little milk when they had their next baby."

3291. SE: Quail, rabbit gruel. AE: Shell, vegetable gruel.

3293. Mo, SE: 2-3 months.

3296. AW: If mother pregnant, child stops nursing of own accord.

3300. SE: Pitch and sour medicine; NF: Cascara (juice?); NS: pitch and charcoal; MV: burnt tarweed.

3301. WM, WS, NM: Mother warns child he, she is drinking worm; puts worm on breast, near nipple.

3303. AW: But "make fun of large child if he still nurses; say he's 'no good, no good; don't touch him.'" WM: If wean child quickly, will conceive again quickly; but if continue nursing child, will not conceive for several years.

3304. Child up to 2 years old or so bathed with warm or cold water if cries at night, to make it sleep. Sometimes have to bathe child thus twice nightly, each night, until break child of crying.

3305. At: Baby may cry because dreaming bad dream. WT: As regards disciplining of older children, informant stated that, "children were whipped in a group, never singly; after several children had done wrong at different times they were finally gathered together, and 1 special man in the village whipped each child. The largest boy in the group was the first to be whipped. A basket was put over a little girl's head (of 3 years or over) if she was to be whipped. They used a bowstring and whipped a boy on the back, or anywhere; girls they switched on the legs only. The person doing the whipping held the child; he left large welts on them, so they'd listen to him next time." Whippings were administered any time, whenever children became "mean" or got into mischief. A rich man (not chief, but next to chief in im-

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[764] It is generally the father who makes the cradleboard although, once it has been made, it may be handed down from one child to the next or even from one generation to the next. It is destroyed only in the event of the child's death, in which case the board and all other objects prepared for the child are burned with the body. After the father makes the cradleboard, the maternal grandmother fixes it for the child. She shows her daughter how to arrange the bedding on the board and place the infant on it with his legs straight and arms extended at his sides.

[856] The child remains on the cradleboard for at least the first year of his life. Even after he can walk he is placed there to sleep; for "if you don't use a cradleboard, the child gets humpbacked." When the child no longer requires a cradleboard, he may still be tightly wrapped in a blanket at night to make him lie straight.

For the first few months of his life the child is cared for almost entirely by his mother with the occasional help of the grandmother. The father would be considered unmanly if he helped with the baby very much. The child is never left alone for more than a few minutes at a time, and then only if the mother knows he is sound asleep. At night the cradleboard lies beside the mother where she can reach out and nurse the child if he cries. During the day the board is propped up in the dwelling, or, if the mother is working elsewhere, she carries the cradle with her and sets it up near her work. While working in a canoe, the woman arranges the cradleboard in one end with a willow shade to protect the child from the sun. If she is busy digging roots or gathering berries or seeds, she sets the cradle against a near-by tree. At such times the child's hands may be unbound so that he is free to play with beads or other objects [853] suspended from the hood of the cradle. Often he is given a bit of camas root to chew on.

The infant seldom receives physical demonstrations of affection, nor does the mother carry him in her arms. However, he is watched continually; and the mother or other adults often pause in their work to talk to the child. They tell a boy to be strong and brave and grow

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[114] *Cradling practices are described by Barrett (1910), pp. 257 ff., Spier, pp. 57-59, and Voegelin, elements 3263-3266.

fested by several tribes of northern California and in view of their 845
association with the weather and salmon on the Northwest coast. [171]*
Neither of these attitudes appears among the Klamath. Nor is there any sympathetic bond between twins, nor is one of them destroyed at birth. Informants had never heard of triplets although they must occur in the usual biological proportions. Monsters are said always [766]
to be born dead—perhaps the midwives see to that. Like the stillborn, they are said to receive the universal cremation, but it is more likely that they are secretly disposed of, like abortions.

The child of an adulterous union, if not palmed off on the husband, 847
is aborted by pressing the abdomen heavily on a rock. Naturally this takes place in the seclusion of the brush. No medicines are in use for abortion. To abort is called hlso'ḳoga; infanticide, siu'ga.

How much of a disgrace barrenness is I do not know, but it does 842
not lead to separation. To aid conception women grind a white shell[80] (lō'ḳtās) and drink it in water. Men do the same for impotence. A small dentalium shell (t'u'tas) is also used.

Klamath cradles show an interesting cultural amalgamation. The 854
cradle for the newborn is the northern California sitting type; the carrying board for later use is identical with the oval wooden forms of the northern Basin.[81] Through western Oregon and Washington, along the line of contact of the Basin board with the wooden trough cradle of the Northwest Coast, both forms are used or else a modification of one toward the form of the other.

The basketry cradle (ḳwāls) for the first month or two of the baby's life is a trough with one rounded end on which the child sits. It [593]
is made by the mother of the expectant woman; woven of willow twigs, it measures eighteen inches in length. Its purpose is said to be to prevent the infant scratching its navel, with consequent illness, and to support its weak back. Its usefulness ended, it is thrown away.

The carrying board (swēns) is made by the baby's father or a near kinsman. It is a flat board of oval outline, carved from a single piece of wood. The lower end is rather pointed so that it can be stuck into the ground while the mother is occupied. An unexpected feature is [562]
that the sex of the infant is distinguishable from the shape of the

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[80] This is flat, two inches long, and spotted. It may have been got from the whites.

[81] Barrett has it that the first cradle is of soft tules, followed by the sitting type of more rigid materials, with occasional use of the board (Material Culture, 257, pl. 14).

854 cradle (fig. 5). Those for boys are relatively narrow and pointed,
562 and with only one handle at the top, carved in one piece with the
board. The girl's cradle is very wide, so that she will grow up broad,
*[171] and is provided with two handles. Sex is distinguished in the cradles
of some eastern California, Nevada, and Arizona peoples (Yokuts,
Mono, Washo, Paviotso, Mohave, Maricopa) where it appears in the
decoration of the hood. The angular board cradle of the Wishram
and their neighbors is not used here.

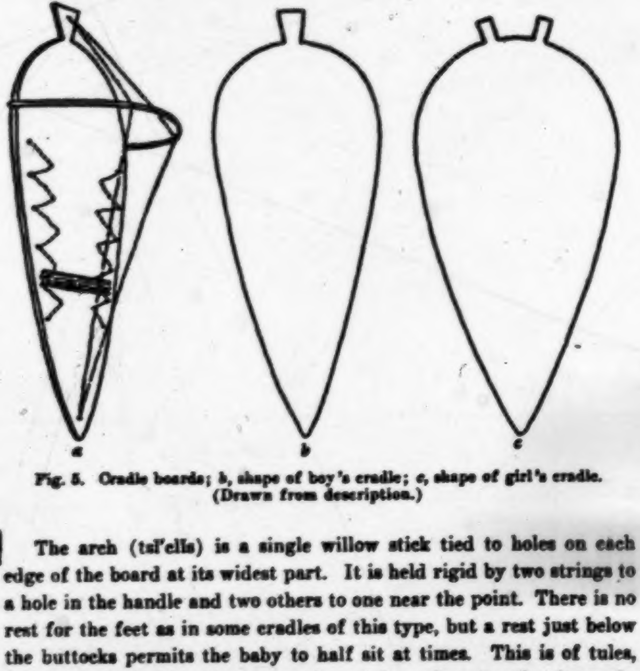

Fig. 5. Cradle boards; b, shape of boy's cradle; c, shape of girl's cradle. (Drawn from description.)

854 The arch (tsi'ells) is a single willow stick tied to holes on each
edge of the board at its widest part. It is held rigid by two strings to
a hole in the handle and two others to one near the point. There is no
rest for the feet as in some cradles of this type, but a rest just below
the buttocks permits the baby to half sit at times. This is of tules,
possibly twined, placed transversely and in such a way that it can be
turned down on the board and built over with padding so that the baby
*[171] will lie flat. It is called slotĕta's. There is no buckskin cover to the
board; this is credited by my informants to the Modoc, Northern
Paiute, and the Upland Takelma. Instead, soft tule bark rubbed up
fine is heaped over the infant, who is wrapped in a fur by the wealthy.
The single lacing string is drawn back and forth through the five or

six short loops on each side. A carrying band goes over the mother's forehead. 854 •

Frontal flattening is customary but not universal. No reason is given. 856 [114] Hrdlička was informed "that the Klamath regard a long head, i.e., a non-deformed head, with derision. They say it is slave-like, that their slaves had such, and that a man with such a head is not fit to be a great man in the tribe. Deformed heads are called 'good heads.' "[93] A buckskin sack, somewhat larger than the forehead, stuffed with dry cat-tail down, is tied to holes in the cradle. Hrdlička was told that this was filled with seeds, such as water-lily seeds. This lies across the forehead but is not tied so tightly that the child cannot turn his head. Pressure is begun at birth and continued as long as the child continues in the cradle. According to my informant's representation the Molala flatten foreheads, some Pit River Indians do, while the Upland Takelma do not practice deformation of any sort. [171]*

The cradle receives ornaments symbolic of the child's future, in the shape of a tiny digging stick for a girl and a bow and arrow for a boy, tied to the edge of the board. Possibly they have more than ornamental significance. These are no longer than the finger; the single arrow is as long as the bow. These are tied to the proper side of the board; the bow and arrow to the child's left, for a man holds his bow in that hand, the root digger to the right.

Use of the cradle continues until the child can walk well. It is not discarded but kept for the use of another baby, unless the child dies, when it is burned with his body. [766]

NAMES

The name is usually given in early infancy; always by the time the child talks. It is the choice of the parents, given without ceremony. Sometimes it is changed in later life, but there is no set occasion for this. Seemingly names change less frequently than their nickname character would give opportunity for. Perhaps these are always additional names, for I learned of several men known by more than one name; perhaps this holds as true for women as men. But it was said that the first name (hīcwa'ska) is the most important. 553

There is considerable reluctance to the use of names, kinship terms being substituted. This does not mean that there is a taboo; merely 551

same as that described above; several fundamental warps bent into elliptical form, a few additional warps turned back over the proximal edge of these, with the remaining warps doubled over the first few rows of twining. The wefting is done with continuous strands. The butt ends of the warps are merely held in place by the last rows of wefting. A willow rod is bound at intervals to the rim of the basket to stiffen it; the ends of the rod do not meet at the distal end. 285

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[93] Head Deformation Among the Klamath.

Triangular fans (wlliu'ks) used in conjunction with the parching trays are also described by Barrett as platters "used for serving food, particularly broiled or otherwise cooked fish and roasted meat."[345] As plates they may be called sa'plŭs. No details of their construction were obtained, but from Barrett's illustrations it appears that these are made by doubling a bundle of tules so that their free ends diverge, serving as warps. The bundle is roughly tied about at the joint to hold it together. The wefting is of tules in open simple twine. This is a continuous strand, apparently commencing at the joint or apex; where the wefts leave the web to enter for another row the weft elements are twisted around each other. The loose ends of the warps of one of the three baskets he figures protrude beyond the last twine row; in the other two the warps may have been turned back and caught in this row of stitches. [114]

Circular baskets made with coarse tule warps and wefts in close simple twine are more rarely found, according to this author. "Occasionally they are bound around the rim with a hoop." [114]

A vessel in the Field Museum (no. 61758), made in this fashion, is peculiar in that it is elliptical. It is about seven inches long, five wide, and three deep. A round of three-strand twine appears midway of the base, and again at the juncture of the base and side. Stiffening is also provided by a doubled strand of tule sewed lengthwise to the inside of the base.

Several other forms are found, among them a two-handled tray of tule. This is in open twine; a series of parallel warps bound together at each end, and wefted in simple twine stitch with a continuous strand. Similar to the last mentioned is a "large canoe-shaped basket of tule, in openwork plain twining, used as a receptacle in gathering wokas poda," which closely agrees in construction. A pouch of plain twined tule is of similar manufacture.[346]

A fish trap, with willow rod warps, and quivers of tule, are made in open twine, according to Barrett. The cradle for a newborn infant is also manufactured in open twine construction.[347] [227] [854]

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[345] *Op. cit.*, 256, pl. 13, figs. 1, 4, 6.

[346] Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 13, figs. 3, 5; pl. 19, fig. 3; pl. 14, fig. 1.

[347] *Op. cit.*, pl. 19, fig. 1; pl. 20, fig. 1; pl. 14, fig. 3.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

171 *

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Dentalium shells	Ornament	Ultimate source, coasts of Washington and British Columbia.	105
Cradles	Sitting	N.W. and N. central California.	[301]
	Board	N. Basin, Plateau.	[854]
Games	Beaver teeth dice	Oregon, Washington, British Columbia.	[524]
	Four stick	N.E., central, and S. California (and elsewhere?).	
	Hand game	Some central Californians, Basin, S. Northwest Coast, Plateau, Plains.	
	Modified hoop-pole	Minor game of coast from Alaska to Oregon (not N.W. California).	
	Ring-and-pin; rush ball	Modoc?, Wishram.	
Pipes	Spherical; discoidal	S. Plateau (Nez Percé to Okanagon).	[276]
	Angular	Wasco, Wishram, Middle Columbia, Nez Percé (links with Plains calumet?).	
Musical instruments	Hand drum	Recent in Plateau; Basin, Plains, (Northwest Coast?).	[534]
	Deerhoof rattle in girls' rites	N. California.	
	Notched rasp	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.	
	Clap stick	N. and central California.	
	Open flute	California, Southwest; Takelma, Nez Percé (and probably general in the west).	
Numerals	Finger names	Takelma.	[802]
Ritual number	Five	S. Northwest Coast, Washington, Oregon, California S. to Sinkyone and Northern Maidu, Basin.	[801]
Calendar	Numerical names	N.W. California, Fraser r., N. Northwest Coast.	[805]
Scalping	Whole scalp	California, w. Southwest, Wishram (no scalping in N.W. California E. to Shasta, and Northwest Coast).	[726]
Head trophy	Unusual	California, Northwest Coast.	
Scalp dance		General (except N.W. California) (over head trophies on Northwest Coast).	[727]
War dance	With notched rattle	Upland Takelma?, Wasco, Wishram, Nez Percé; without rattle, Chinook, N.W. California.	
Disposal of dead	Cremation	Modoc; some cremation in N.E. California; central California; formerly in E. Washington; N. Plateau.	[764]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1339. On sides of basket	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	285
1340. Patterns in 2 kinds of feathers	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	·+	531
1341. Patterns in 3 colors besides background	·−	·+	+	+	−	−	−	−	·+	·+		−	−	·−	·−	−	
Cradles																	
1342. Sitting type	·−	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	854
1343. "Toe" (Hupa) type	−	−	·−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1344. Shallow type	−	·+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1345. Basketry, oval outline	−	·+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1346. Vertical warps	−	·+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1347. Rod rim	−	−	−	+	+			−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	
1348. Board	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1349. Y frame	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1350. Y-kite frame	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1351. Head covering	−	·+	·+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1352. Bed or leg rest bar at bottom	−	·+	·+	−	·+	·+	−	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1353. Lying type	·+	·R	−	−	·R	−	·+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1354. Board	·+	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1355. Y-kite frame	−	−	−	−	R	·−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	
1356. Kite frame	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	
1357. Willows transverse across frame	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	
1358. Basketry	·+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1359. Oval outline	·+	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1360. Rectangular or triangular outline	+	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1361. Vertical warp	·+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1362. Rod rim	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1363. Soft tule bed attached	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1364. Soft tule, grass bed separate	·+	·R	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	
1364a. Crossbar rest for child's legs	·+	·R	−		·R												
1365. Cradle hood	·+	·+	·+	+	·+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
1366. Twined weave	·+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
1367. Parallel warp	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	·+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
1368. Radiating warp	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1369. Hoop or sticks, across top of cradle.	·R	·R	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1370. Buckskin draped over hoop	R	R	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1371. Pendants from top or hood	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	R	−	+	+	+	−	
1372. Cradle lashing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1373. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1374. Woven vegetable fiber	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1375. Cradle entirely buckskin covered	−	·R	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1376. Infant's sex indicated on cradle	+	·R	+	+	·R	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	·−	−	+	[858]
1377. By hood design	−		−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1378. Diagonal lines: boy	−		−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1379. Zigzag line	−		−	−	R	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1380. Boy	−		−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1381. Girl	−		−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1382. Diamond chain: girl	−		−	−	R	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1383. By lashing design	−	−	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1384. By position of rim rod	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	.	·+	
1385. By shape of cradle	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1386. Girl's cradle wider at bottom	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
1387. Girl's cradle wider at top.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Blankets																	
1388. Woven rabbitskin blankets, made locally	−	+	−	−	o	+	+	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	281 286

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
Cradles																	
3263. 2 cradles used successively	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	854
3264. Both same shape	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
3265. First lacks hood	+	−	−			+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
3266. Different shapes	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
*3267. 1st cradle used for about ... days	.	28	28	5	+	+	+	28	28	28	+	.	·28	28	+	−	
3268. Used until cord drops off	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	−	−	
3269. Made before baby born	−	−	−	+	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	+	+	
3270. Presented to mother after child born														.	+	+	
3271. Made after baby born	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	.	+	−	−	
3272. Bad luck if made before birth	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	+	−	−	
3273. Tied on tree when discarded	−	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	−	·+	·+	−	−	±	−	−	−	
o3274. 2d cradle used for ... years	1+	1+	1+	·1+	1+	·1+	1+	·2	·2	·1	1+	1+	1+	1+	·1	1+	
3275. Made by maternal, paternal grandmother	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
3276. Made by mother	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
3277. Made by woman specialist	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	.	−	.	−	−	
3278. Made by paternal grandfather	−	−	+								−	−	−	−	−	+	
3279. Man makes cradleboard	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3280. Cradle must be finished same day begun	−	+	−				+	+	−	−	−	.	−	.	−	−	
3281. Discarded cradle tied on tree	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3282. Discarded cradle kept in house	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3283. Used for several children	.	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	
3284. Vegetable diapering material	·+	·+	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	·+	−	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	
3285. Skin diapering material	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
3286. Infant wrapped in skin	−	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Nursing																	
o3287. Infant nurses after ... days	·2	2	1	2	2	·1	·1	·1	1	·1	·1	0	·1	·1	1	0	853
3288. Colostrum milked out	+	+	·+	·+	·+	+	·+	·+	+	+	+	−	+	+	·+	+	
3289. Milked onto hot rock or coals	·+	·+	+	+	·+	+	·+	−	·−	·−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3290. Denied to baby	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
3291. Infant fed gruel, first 2-3 days	−	−	·+	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3291a. Infant fed water, first 2-3 days	+	+	−	.	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	
3292. Nursed whenever cries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
o3293. No intercourse between parents for ... months	−	·2	·2	−	−	−	−	−	2	2	.	.	½	1	(1)	3	[834]
Weaning and Discipline of Children																	
3294. Weaning as soon as teeth appear, regularly	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	862
3295. Early weanings, occasionally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	
3296. Pregnancy cause of	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	
3297. Sickness of mother cause of	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	.	+	+	+	+	
3298. Infant taken to mother's relatives	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	−	+	.	.	
3299. Mother keeps out of baby's sight	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	+	.	.	
3300. Mother puts bitter substance on nipples	.	.	·+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	·+	·+	
3301. Mother frightens child	.	.	−						·+	·+	−	−	−	·+	−	−	
3302. Child fed larger quantities solid food											+	+	+	−	+	+	
3303. Child usually nurses until he stops of own accord	+	+	+	−	+	·+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3304. Night "cry babies" bathed	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
3305. Infant's ears pierced, if cries excessively	−	−	−		·+		+	·−	+	−	·+	−	−	−	+	−	[304]

411 single shaft, no head used for war. String at-
tached to arrow to retrieve. (AW: in myth But-
terfly shoots arrow with string attached; arrow-
chain motif.) Arrow poison made from blood.
[413] Arrow straighteners and smoothers.--1-piece
stone straightener with incised design, used
mainly for cane shafts; heated before using.
Shooting techniques.--Secondary arrow release.
Mongolian arrow release. Clubs and spears.--
Manufactured cylindrical stone club. Curved
rabbit club. Spear with wooden point. Spear
thrower. Daggers and armor.--Horn, wooden dag-
[714] gers. Bark armor. Rawhide shield, round or
rectangular.

Household Implements

412 Mortars and pestles.--Portable stone mortar,
outside natural. Coiled hopper basket; hopper
415 basket stuck fast to pounding slab with pitch.
Stone pestle with bulb end and slender body.
Metate used on both sides. Loop-handled muller.
Brushes.--Leaves glued to stick with pitch.
Porcupine tail, rodent tail for mealing. Stir-
rers, lifters, spoons, knives.--Looped-stick
stirrer. 2 sticks, bound at 1 end, for stone
tongs. Horn spoon used by men only. Tortoise-
shell dipper. Gourd dipper. Rodent foot as
spoon. Cane knife.

Manufacturing Implements

413 Net shuttle, drills, fire making, mauls.--
Flat round stick, bone or horn 1-piece shuttle.
Vise for drilling: split stick, hide. Stone
bowl to carry coals. Pear-shaped stone maul;
partly shaped stone maul. Adzes, axes.--Curved-
handle adz; D-shaped-handle adz; elbow-shaped-
handle adz. Stone, bone, horn, shell blades.

MANUFACTURES

Textiles

285 Baskets: weaves.--Coiling: rods vertical;
rod-and-splint foundation; grass-bundle foun-
dation. Coiling toward right of worker. Awl
enters inside of basket. Start a piece of hide.
415 Baskets: uses and shapes.--Seed beater of wicker
weave. Deep sifter or winnower, pointed bottom,
Hupa type. Boiling basket in diagonal twine.
Necked water bottle in plain twine. Necked
water bottle with earth smeared over pitch.
Bell-shaped, Pomo-type burden basket; cylindri-
cal or barrel-shaped burden basket. Elliptical
coiled storage basket, Pomo type. Tulare "bot-
tleneck" baskets. Cylindrical side-opening
415 dance basket, Hupa type. Baskets: decoration.--
531 Break in banded woven ornament, to let soul out.
Feather decoration on rim or shoulder. Entire
basket feather covered. Patterns painted on
854 baskets. Cradles.--Deep, Pomo-type sitting

854 cradle. Y-frame, U-frame, hooked-ladder frame
lying-type cradle. Horizontal (double) warp on
basketry lying cradle. Wicker weave in cradle
hood. Loose basket over head of sleeping child.
Buckskin covering on cradle partial. Sex of
child indicated by bed design. Woven skin blan-
285 kets; mats.--Checker. Weft of buckskin thongs.
Perforated stick to twist fur strips. Suspended
warp. Thumb guard of bone for shredding mat ma-
283 terial. Cordage.--Stick for twisting (1 ply at
a time). Spindle whorl.

Receptacles Other Than Baskets

415 Wood, etc.; chests, boxes; pottery.--Wooden
bowl. Wooden chest. Wooden box of bent and
sewed boards. Pottery vessels.

Leather Goods; Adhesives

281 Skin tanning; glue.--Fleshing or dehairing:
hide staked out with several stakes; with single
stake, other end held; with 1 end tied to tree,
other end held. Fleshed on plank. Fleshing or
dehairing tool: blunt posts; horn; shell. Tan-
ning agent: liver; wood ashes. Graining: with
381 horn. Glue from horns or hoofs; from milkweed
gum.

BODY AND DRESS

Care and Adornment of Person

302 Coiffure; comb; care of hair.--One tie around
head, forehead level. Wooden hairpins. Bone
head scratcher as comb. Hair dyed with eel blood.
White clay on head or to wash head. Mud plaster
against lice. Hair dye in mud plaster. Hair
greased with acorn oil. Nettle roots to wash
302 head. Paint; deformations and mutilations.--
304 Face, body paints according to totem. Paint ap-
plied with brush. Mud or pitch on body for
warmth. Nasal alae pierced; lip pierced. Tattoo-
ing with bone awl. Depilation of pubic hair.
Tweezers of split cane, wood, shell. Depilation:
pitch on fingers; bone knife opposed to finger-
nail. Beard burnt off if long. Ear, nose orna-
301 ments, necklaces, etc.--Wooden ear stick, feath-
ers on end. Bone ear tube, incised. Cane or
cane pipe in ear. Cane nose ornament. Sea-lion
teeth necklace.

Dress

291 Headgear; robes; loin covering; muff.--Basket
cap, for fishing with large dip net only. Feath-
ers on net foundation for robe. Inner bark mat
robe. Buffalo-fur robe. Breechclout of woven
bird skins; of woven rabbitskins; of grass stems;
of inner bark. Single small front apron, of
fringed buckskin; with braids on cord. Double
apron of woven rabbitskins. Bird-skin muff.

000 completed; reason unknown. MV: Small basketry disks, used as earrings, only variety feather-decorated basketry ware.

1340. NS: Woodpecker and quail crests used. MV: Woodpecker, quail, and mallard duck feathers used.

285 1341. Kl: Black, white, tan; porcupine quills
531 natural color formerly; now dyed yellow. Mo:
237 Yellow, black and white, plus tan background.
178 WM, WS: Red, black, white, yellow, plus tan.
NM, NS: Red, white or tan, black. No specimens of any 4-color baskets seen.

Cradles.--

854 1342-1352. Two types cradles entered under elements 1342-1352 for several groups. If entry refers to 1 of 2 types only, note records to which entry refers. Positive entry without note means entry applies to both types. For additional data on use of cradles see 3263-3286. Kl: Cradles of indeterminate type, between sitting and lying forms; have been somewhat arbitrarily entered as
000 lying form (see 1353-1363). Mo: Indeterminate type, like Kl, but apparently used more as sitting than lying cradles. Type (1) first cradle, for newborn babe; shallow tule basket cradle. Type (2) second cradle, for older infant; willow cradle with pointed bottom that can be stuck in ground. SE: (1) First cradle; board (see left figure). (2) Second cradle for older infant, Y-frame (see right figure). Informant emphatic infant sits in both types cradle, "with feet hanging down," although child could also lie down in both types. SW: Types (1), (2) for newborn infants, older infants differ only in size; both always used as sitting cradles. At: (1) soft tule cradle, used 2-3 months. (2) Same shape cradle, used for older infant. AW: (1) small cradle for newborn infant, twined, of wil-

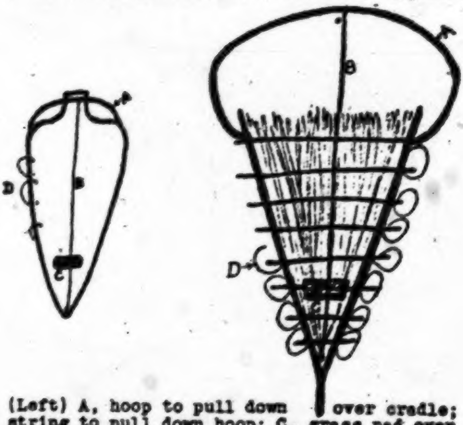

(Left) A, hoop to pull down over cradle; B, string to pull down hoop; C, grass pad over which child's legs dangle; D, lashings.

(Right) A, willow hoop; B, string to pull down hoop; C, rolled tule mat over which child's legs dangle; D, lashings.

000 lows, (2) larger cradle for older infant, same shape, material; with or without hood. WT, WM: (1) Cradle used for newborn infant. (2) Cradle for older infant. WT: Cradle slenderer than one sketched in Du Bois, Wintu, fig. 8j, p. 133. WS: Only 1 type sitting cradle used.

1343. SE: "Never have used basket toe-type cradle; that's Happy Camp (Karuk); in old days those Happy Camp people never came up around Yreka."

1344-1346. Mo: Refers to cradle for newborn infant (see note 1342-1352).

1348. Mo: Refers to cradle for newborn infant.

1349-1350. Mo: Refers to cradle for older infant (see note 1342-1352).

1351. Mo, SE: Refers to cradle for older infant.

1352. See note 1364a. Mo: Refers to cradle for older infant. SE: Cradles for newborn, older infants both have leg rest. Cradle for newborn infant has separate soft tule bed and leg rest of rolled grass. Cradle for older infant has piece of tule mat, rolled, as leg rest. "If you don't have that seat (roll) on, child will slip down and choke." At, AW, WM, WS: Bed on cushion at bottom for infant to sit on; no transverse-bar leg rest.

854 [17] 1353. Kl: Three types of lying cradle used: (1) Tule cradle for newborn infant. (2) Willow cradle for older infant. (3) Board cradle; said to be of comparatively recent (pre-white?) introduction among Kl, but informant did not know from what tribe it was borrowed. Type (2) cradle only used if type (3) not available. Kl 000 refer to all their cradles as of lying type, but infant can also half-sit in them. Mo: See left figure. "The board is new, after Whites' time." At: See right figure. Specimen seen; adopted

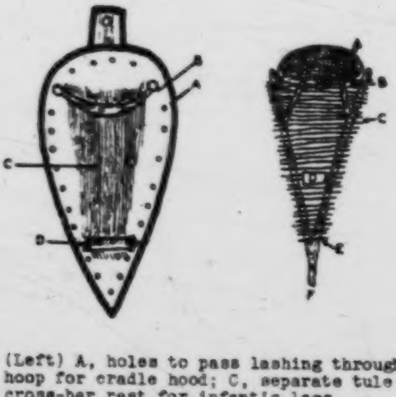

(Left) A, holes to pass lashing through; B, hoop for cradle hood; C, separate tule bed; D, cross-bar rest for infant's legs.

(Right) A, hood of basketry; B, basketry splints (?) to support hood; C, transverse rods, to form bed; lashed to frame with sinew; D, leg rest; E, forked stick frame; F, point to stick in ground.

[195-A]

000 by At during informant's lifetime. AE: Two types used: Type (1), for newborn infant, used for 2-3 weeks. Type (2) used for packing older baby on back.

● 854 1354. Kl: Refers to board cradle for older baby.

1355. AW: Attributed cradles this shape to Big Valley (Atwamsini Achomawi) group.

1358. Kl: Refers to types (1) and (2); see note 1353.

1359. Kl, AE: Refers to type (2); see note 1353.

1360. Kl, AE: Refers to type (1); see note 1353. AE: Approximately triangular; made from soft tules.

1361. Kl: Refers to types (1) and (2); see note 1353.

1362. AE: Refers to type (2); see note 1353.

1363. Kl, Mo: Refers to type (1) cradle; see notes 1353, 1342-1352. AE: Willow-stick bed.

1364. Kl: Refers to types (2), (3); see note 1353. Mo: Refers to board cradle; recent (see note 1353). At: Refers to Y-kite frame cradle, recent (see note 1353).

1364a. See Spier, Klamath, fig. 5a, p. 58. Kl: Refers to 3 types Kl cradles. Mo: Refers to board cradle, recent. At: Refers to Y-kite frame cradle, recent.

1365. Kl: Hood on both types cradle for older child (see note 1353). Mo: Hood on willow cradle for older child (see note 1342-1352) and on board cradle (see note 1353). SE: On cradles for newborn, older infants. At: Hood on sitting cradle for older infant, and on Y-kite lying cradle.

1366. Kl: For willow cradle for older child (see note 1353).

1367. WM: For hood on newborn baby's cradle (see note 1353).

1368. WM: For hood on cradle for older infant (see note 1353).

1369. Kl, Mo: Used on board cradles; recent. 000 SE: Used on first cradle (see note 1342-1352). SW: See figure. Used on cradle for older infant; see note 1342-1352. Frame made separate from cradle, not attached permanently to latter; buckskin draped over it.

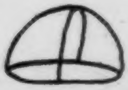

1375. Mo: "Rich people cover frame with buckskin. Poor people only make holes along edge, to thread lashing thongs through." Buckskin coverings used only on recent board-cradle type. AE: On lying-type cradle for older infant (see note 1353). Hole cut near bottom of buckskin covering, for girl baby to urinate. For boy, small woven willow apron put over lower end of cradle, to keep buckskin dry when infant urinates.

1376. Mo: Beads suspended from frame of cradle hood, on board cradle only, if infant a girl, and if family wealthy. Nothing suspended for male infant. Board cradle recent. At: Post-White. At, WM: Formerly boy baby's genitals

OOD left exposed, so he could urinate without wetting wrappings, girl baby's covered.

1383. SE, SW: Girl laced in cradle from waist upward, boy, from neck downward.

1384. MV: Transverse sticks lashed on top of rim rod for boy, underneath rim rod for girl, as latter's back is "bigger."

● [854] 1384. Kl: Refers to willow cradle for older infant (see note 1353).

Blankets; mats; cordage.--

See also elements 812-825.

1390. At: Imported from Atwamsini Achomawi, of Big Valley, where manufacture of rabbitskin blankets flourishes. WM, WS: Imported from Keswick Wintu living in vicinity of Redding.

1394. AW: Weft not tied to warp.

1402. AW: After blanket finished, 2 vertical posts slipped out from ends, and ends of warp tied.

1410. AW: See figure.

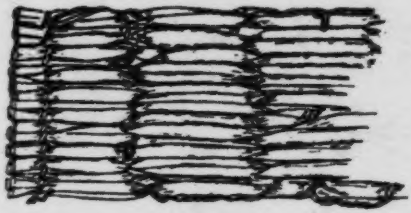

1413. WS: Maple-bark skirts, made with same technique AW use for tule mats (see element 1410 and AW note).

1424. AW: Also 3-ply, for heavier string; "roll 3 small strands together."

1429. AW: Informant's father rolled cord up thigh, then down, but "others went down, and then up, all the time." Fish lines dyed (see note 238).

1432. SE: Thongs stretched between 2 trees or stakes; drawn over oak limb to soften.

Receptacles (Other than Baskets); Leather Goods; Adhesives

1433. AW: Natural piece of smooth wood, not shaped; used for hot fish.

1443. NS: Soapstone bowl, ca. size large basket cap, used for bathing babies. Water put in bowl; soapstone ring, doughnut shape, which has been heated in fire, put into bowl to heat water; used in giving babies sponge bath if fretful. Informant's sons had found handleless soapstone "cup" in hills in vicinity; had capacity ca. 1 teacupful.

1451. Mo: Also bury hide in damp ground, to soften it, if stiff. WM, WS: For tanning of bear hide, see elements 1471-1472. MM: Bearskin soaked in water to which has been added pulver-

000 1507. SE, SW: Old men only.

1509. WM: Men.

[302] 1515. Kl: Men, women, boys, girls. Mo, SE, At, AW, AE: Men, women. WT: Women, girls. WM: Women, boys, girls. SW, MF, NS: Men, women, young men, young women, boys, girls.

1540. Mo: Shamans, others who can afford such ribbons: SW: Men, women, youths, boys. At, AW: Men, women.

[302] 1548. Kl: Wild rye grass.

[824] 1549. Kl: Ascribed to Mo by informant. Spier, Klamath, p. 214, states Kl also use it. AE: "Best kind of comb."

1555. SE: Alder sap, boiled. WS: Elderberry juice. NF, MV: Pepperwood.

1558. SW: Deer, bear fat "no good for hair, as deer's, bear's hair comes out yearly."

[302] 1560. Absences noted for distribution of pepperwood may be only partial; no specimens shown to informants. SW: Pepperwood gourds lacking in SW area; imported from near-by Karuk down-river. Distribution of pepperwood extends only as far as Happy Camp.

1562. For distribution of this plant, see element 499.

1568. AW: Hunters only.

Face and body paints and powders.--

1574. SE: Grows on knot or burl of white fir. WS: On bark of white fir. MM: Specimen seen; orange-colored fistules on spruce burl.

1575. WT: Yellow pine.

1576. WS, NM: Elderberry. MV: Wild rose (haws?).

1578. SE: Burnt, for paint.

1582. Because scattered to keep away ghosts at funerals, etc., therefore "no good" as paint.

1584. SE, SW: From pines; also, SE: from oaks. WM: From tamarack.

1586. MM: Imported.

1589. Mainly from charcoal, finely powdered. NF, NM, NS: From burnt acorn.

1592. SE, SW: Charcoal mixed with marrow, chewed into waxy substance, stored in deer bladder; squeezed out and used as pencil when needed. This mixture of charcoal and marrow denied for all other groups. AW, MF: Red paint only; mixed with marrow or grease.

1593. Made into black paste.

1600. AE, MF, NF: Pitchy mixtures, especially, applied with stick. NS: Black, red paint applied with fingers.

1600a. Mo, SE: Water in basket, or in spring, stream used as mirror when applying paint.

1601. NS: Lumps of yellow acorn meal, which leaching water did not penetrate when meal being leached, made into small cake which is baked on hot stone; this cake is oily, and is rubbed over face "like cold cream."

[302] [292] 1603. Kl: Men, women pitch body, legs, arms and stick on duck feathers, to keep warm.

1604. Used for babies, especially.

● [854] 1611. Used for babies, especially. MV: Alder tea used to wash babies who are chafed.

[197-A]

ooo Cradles.--

3263. For cradles, see also elements 1342-1387.

3267. NF: When child about 1 week old is put in first cradle.

3269. AW: Made "way ahead of time. Even if baby dies, they put him on it and bury him."

3273. SE: Hung facing E; WM, WS: facing N. SW: First and second cradles tied on tree when discarded, "so child will keep on growing." NF: First cradle given away.

3274. SW: Flint pendants tied to second cradle; these put on because "when child laughs, makes faces while asleep, it is because little lizards are saying to child 'I'll hit you to make you laugh.' So of course child must laugh. In order to frighten these little lizards away, tie pieces of flint on each side of cradle, near baby's face." AW: At night, however, child sleeps between parents, not on cradle; "sometimes one of parents rolls over and kills a baby, sleeping this way." WT: 2-3 years. Child of 2 1/2 - 3 years packed in second cradle on long trips (as, for example, to Hyampom, 27 miles). Child's feet dangle over bottom of cradle; "sometimes child walks for a way, with the cradle on his back, like a turtle!" WM: 2-3 years. WS: 1-2 years. NS: 1-2 years.

3281. SW: See note 3273.

● [854] 3284. Kl, SE, At, AW, WT, WM, WS, MF, NM, NS: Dry grass, softened by mashing, put under child. Mo, AE: Sagebrush bark, softened by mashing, put under child. MV: Shredded willow bark, prepared yearly by midwives (soaked over winter, dried, shredded), sold for purpose. SE: Older children try to secure infant's soiled diapers and bury them; gives them luck in finding bird-nests with eggs in them; eat eggs.

3285. SW: Also stuff bottom section of sitting cradle with buckskin.

3286. At: Wildcat skin.

Nursing; weaning and discipline.--

[853] 3287. Kl: 2-3 days. AW, AE, WS, MM, NF: 1-2. WT, NM: 1-3.

[853] 3288. No specific term for colostrum; referred to in English as "water milk." SE: Breasts cut [sic] with sharp piece of flint, squeezed, to milk out colostrum. Cutting denied by Kl, Mo, MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV. SW: Breasts massaged with basket cap, which is placed over them, in order to milk out colostrum; also massage them thus when they ache; if do not, breasts become feverish. At: Milk out colostrum by rubbing breasts with hands; put warm rock between breasts, then massage them again. After colostrum milked out, "then the white [milk] comes; that's the time. Pretty hard work, to make that white one [milk] come." Baby does not suck, usually, for 2 days. AE: "White milk takes 2 days to flow for older woman; for younger perhaps 1 day." WT: "Water" flows from breasts 1-3 days after birth, even if flow begins 2 days or so before

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

Families

eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food K M 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854] •
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [412]
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K M
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [354]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K M
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M
221
756
796

[p.340-B]

852 boy one says, "May this one be a good hunter." For a girl the hope is expressed that "this one will be a good worker and dig many ipos [a root used as food]." These statements are amplified in many ways, according to the sentiments of the individual donor.

854 The infant is first placed in a willow or tule cradle,[4] usually prepared by the maternal grandmother. Several informants asserted that it would be bad luck to prepare the cradle before the child's birth; others seemed not to share this belief. The child remains on the basketry cradle for a fortnight to a month and is thereafter placed on a rigid cradleboard.

It is generally the father who makes the cradleboard although, once it has been made, it may be handed down from one child to the next or [764] even from one generation to the next. It is destroyed only in the event of the child's death, in which case the board and all other objects prepared for the child are burned with the body. After the father makes the cradleboard, the maternal grandmother fixes it for the child. She shows her daughter how to arrange the bedding on the board and place the infant on it with his legs straight and arms extended at his sides.

[856] The child remains on the cradleboard for at least the first year of his life. Even after he can walk he is placed there to sleep; for "if you don't use a cradleboard, the child gets humpbacked." When the child no longer requires a cradleboard, he may still be tightly wrapped in a blanket at night to make him lie straight.

For the first few months of his life the child is cared for almost entirely by his mother with the occasional help of the grandmother. The father would be considered unmanly if he helped with the baby very much. The child is never left alone for more than a few minutes at a time, and then only if the mother knows he is sound asleep. At night the cradleboard lies beside the mother where she can reach out and nurse the child if he cries. During the day the board is propped up in the dwelling, or, if the mother is working elsewhere, she carries the cradle with her and sets it up near her work. While working in a canoe, the woman arranges the cradleboard in one end with a willow shade to protect the child from the sun. If she is busy digging roots or gathering berries or seeds, she sets the cradle against a near-by tree. At such times the child's hands may be unbound so that he is free to play with beads or other objects [853] suspended from the hood of the cradle. Often he is given a bit of camas root to chew on.

The infant seldom receives physical demonstrations of affection, nor does the mother carry him in her arms. However, he is watched continually; and the mother or other adults often pause in their work to talk to the child. They tell a boy to be strong and brave and grow

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[014] [4] Cradling practices are described by Barrett (1910), pp. 257 ff., Spier, pp. 57-59, and Voegelin, elements 3263-3286.

[p.341A]

854 up to be a good hunter, whereas a girl is admonished to be a good worker. Both are advised to do right, to help other people, and never to quarrel. Stereotyped phrases of advice are used, and it is felt that "the baby listens just as if he understood everything."

At least once a day the child is taken off the cradle to be bathed. When the child is first unbound, he is allowed to stretch as much as he wishes. For bathing, the mother holds the child on her knee and sponges him in cold water. The cold water is supposed to make the child [114] fearless and strong. Gatschet mentions the application of insects to the infant's arms for [856] the purpose of making him fearless and unmoved by sudden fright;[5] we found no confirmation of this practice.

After the bath the mother rubs the child with warm ashes and finally powders it with 854 finely ground chalk. Throughout the entire process she talks to the child and expresses her 856 desire that he may grow to be strong and good. At the same time she massages the child's limbs to make them straight and molds his ears, nose, lips, and brows to make him more beautiful. The daily massaging continues till the child is five or six months old. After that it is believed that the bones are too hard to be changed. Frontal flattening by means of a pad tied across the forehead continues as long as the child is on the cradleboard, but not all children undergo this process. According to some informants, the flattening is simply incidental to the manner of cradling. Others claim it is done for beauty. "After all," they say, "a basket hat would never fit a square head."

As the child gets older he is allowed to remain away from the cradleboard for longer and longer periods. He cries to be taken off the board at times, but also to be put back when tired. By the time he is a year old he remains off the board all day, though he may still be placed on it to sleep.

Teething is not considered a difficult process.[6] The gums are massaged if the child becomes fretful. Otherwise he is simply given something to chew on--the inside layer of certain barks or a bit of camas. Later, when the child begins to get his permanent teeth, no special significance is attached to the deciduous set. They are pulled out as they become loose and thrown away or buried.

When a child is five or six months old, he is encouraged to sit up. He is placed on a mat or blanket, and his arms are held on either side of his head as he is taught to rock back and forth while uttering the meaningless sound "aam aam." Parents are proud when the child is able to sit up by himself; and they tell visitors, "See, he can sit up now." The child is allowed to crawl around the dwelling as he pleases. If

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[5] Gatschet (1890), p. [illegible].

[6] Voegelin, elements 3369-3377.

[p.341-B]

854 856 he falls, no attempt is made to pick him up unless he cries for some time.

The first experimentation in crawling and walking is largely left to the child. But when he tries to stand, he is helped. One person steadies the toddler, while another stands a few feet away with outstretched hand, coaxing him to "Come to me." The child soon learns such commands as "Walk," "Go to auntie," and so forth. The parents are proud of the child's accomplishment and show off his ability to visitors.

862 A child continues to nurse until he is two or three years old. Some mothers allow him to nurse as long as he pleases, but ordinarily there is a conscious effort at weaning.[7] The mother rubs her breasts with pitch or charcoal, both to impart a bitter taste and to give a frightening appearance. Some mothers wean their children by staying out of sight for several days while an aunt or other relative takes care of the child. If the mother becomes pregnant [842] again, weaning is hastened. However, it is considered a disgrace to be pregnant while a child is still nursing. No one respects a couple who have children less than two or three years apart. The couple is expected to refrain from intercourse during the nursing period.

863 There is no set age at which toilet training begins. Some families hasten the process; others are extremely lax. Two years seems to be about the average age at which training is begun. The mother takes the child out to the bushes and shows him where to urinate and defecate. He is told to have some adult accompany him to the bushes when he wishes to relieve himself. Thereafter the child is scolded or whipped when he makes a mistake.

856 A child begins to say a few words when about a year old. He has probably acquired a few meaningless syllables even before that, such as the "aam" mentioned above. Children repeat these syllables as they rock back and forth. "It keeps them busy and out of trouble."

The first true word that the individual learns is "mother." At about the same time the child acquires an understanding of simple commands like "dirty" (spoken when he puts unclean objects in his mouth) and "don't" (repeated whenever he gets near the fireplace or other dangerous places).

867 The second word the child learns to articulate is "father." The terms for brother and sister are acquired somewhat later even though older siblings are often assigned to the task of tending the baby. The terms for the paternal grandparents are among the first to be learned, and thereafter the child is told the terms for other relatives with whom he lives. Because of patrilocal residence children normally learn the words for their paternal relatives first. But the teaching of kinship terms is not restricted to those for relatives in the same house group. There is an effort to teach the child the proper

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[7] Ibid., elements 3294-3303.

[p. 350A]

224 868 not all men are good hunters.[30] Hides are valuable, however, and a good hunter gains prestige. Part of the rigid physical training of the boys is directed toward preparing them for hunting. They are told, "Only smart ones who aren't lazy can be good hunters."

As previously mentioned, boys begin to learn the use of bow and arrow when very young. After learning to shoot at targets, groups of boys hunt birds and squirrels near camp. They kill these easily with their small bows and light arrows. Parents are very proud of boys who can get many animals. The boys also go

[text continues on top of p. 350-B]

CONCLUSION

124 Since the data presented here were collected from elderly individuals and not from direct observations on a living culture, one should perhaps be rather cautious in arriving at any conclusions about Klamath education. Most informants were bitter about the breakdown of culture which they have seen in the present generation of young Indians. They often reiterated their belief that children were much better reared in the old days. There are, however, certain generalizations which may be validly drawn.

861 There is really no formal education in the sense of organized, planned instruction of the young. Yet most families expect their children to conform to certain ideals, and the parents work for the achievement of these goals.

854 For the first two or three years of life, the child's every want is supplied by his mother. It is she who feeds him, attends to his needs, and watches him most closely, although the father or older siblings may tend the child for short periods. The infant receives little or no fondling, but he is often the center of attraction for the adults of his house group who pause and talk to him as they pass his cradle.

857 867 In about his third year, the child is thrust into active play with his age-mates. He learns that he is expected to be brave, strong, and fearless. He receives praise from parents and other relatives if he is fast and ambitious. If he is lazy or cowardly, he is teased and scolded. Girls as well as boys must learn to be active, energetic, and competitive.

[text continues on bottom of p. 360-B]

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[30] For hunting methods and customs, see Barrett, pp. 246 f., Spier, pp. 155-160, and Voegelin, elements 1-189.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

of the juniper (pl. 16, fig. 1). More or less globose or flatly cylindrical rigid baskets are used for general storage purposes. A seed-beater used in harvesting the seeds of grasses and flowering plants, and a fish trap of special form (pl. 19, fig. 1) are also made of rigid willow stems. Dilapidated willow burden baskets are used in warding off the effects of thunder. Such a basket is placed on top of a high pole set near a dwelling in order that no bad effects may come from the rumbling thunder overhead.

M K 285

M K [821]

FIRE-MAKING.

The fire-making apparatus used by the people of this region is the usual drill, the upright twirler being made of an ordinary stick with a piece of very dry willow root bound at its end instead of a single piece of wood as in most regions. This piece of willow root twirled in a base block of cedar soon creates sufficient heat to generate the fire. The twirler must always be carried so as to keep it very dry, but the cedar base block needs no special care. In fact the canoe paddle, which is always made of cedar, may be used as a base block. A cup for fire-making is cut at a point either near the end of the handle or near the junction of the blade and handle and just above the line where the paddle is dipped into the water. The paddler, therefore, always has the base block to his fire drill with him. Connected with fire is the torch made of tightly bound dry sage-brush bark (pl. 22, fig. 1), which is employed whenever a portable light is needed.

M K 372

MISCELLANEOUS.

The people of this region, particularly the older people, are noticeable for the deformation of their heads. The head is flattened usually from directly above the eyebrows, for some distance back, in some cases even to the very top of the head. The back of the head also is flattened and in extreme cases the front and back flattening meet to form a sharp peak at the top of the head. This flattening was done while the child was in the cradle. For a short time after birth the infant was lashed into a soft tule cradle. After some days the child was placed in a cradle such as that shown in pl. 14, fig. 3, made of more rigid materials. In order to keep the head from bobbing about as the mother

M K 304

M K 304 854

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

M
K walked with the cradle on her back, it was bound down with a
304 piece of buckskin, and there was in some cases a harder material
used in connection with the buckskin, such as a small piece of
• 854 board, or a piece of willow basketry. These headbands were, of
course, properly padded to prevent actual injury to the child's
head, but the pressure was sufficient and was so adjusted that it
caused a decided flattening of both the front and back of the
M head. The younger generation has not been subjected to this
K cradle treatment and does not show the flattening, but among the
[178] older Klamath and Modoc the flattening is very pronounced.
M K Probably due to the influence of the Shoshonean peoples to the
854 east, the cradle board finds some use among the Lutuami, but the
177 woven tule and willow cradles are typical of the region.

M In addition to the various articles of dress mentioned in speaking
K of the uses of tule, the Klamath and Modoc make a belt
291 either from the fiber of the inner bark of certain trees or from
human hair. These are worn by the women in every-day dress.
286 Plate 17, fig. 7, shows one of these belts of fiber.

287 As a brush for dressing the hair the tail of the porcupine is
M used (pl. 22, fig. 2). Usually the longer spines are removed and
K the skin of the tail is then stuffed either with shredded tule or
302 with shredded sage-brush bark. In dressing the hair the brush
237 is drawn through it directly against the points of the spines,
which, as may be seen from the illustration, lie almost flat.

K As before mentioned the Klamath have many vegetable foods
262 in addition to the wokas. Most of these are derived from small
plants, but the pine furnishes one. The inner bark of some of
the species of pine is much esteemed as a food and there is a
[237] special implement used in taking it. This knife-like bone implement
(pl. 22, fig. 5) is used in separating the inner from the
outer bark, and is usually made from a deer rib or from a rib
of one of the other large animals.

SUMMARY.

M The Klamath and Modoc people possess a specialized culture,
K due largely to the extensive use of tule in the making of houses,
285 basketry, and various utensils. The only baskets made of a
harder material are conical burden baskets, triangular sifters, a

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS 17

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 14.

M
K
285
415
[854]

Fig. 1.—Pouch of plain twined tule basketry. Museum number 1-14293. Length 27 cm.

Fig. 2.—Unfinished basket of soft tule materials, in plain twining, showing nature of warp and weft. Museum number 1-12230. Diameter 34 cm.

Fig. 3.—Cradle of tule. Museum number 1-12676. Length 58 cm.

Fig. 4.—Storage basket in three-strand braiding, warp and weft of tule. Carried also in the canoe as a receptacle for fish taken from the net. Museum number 1-14286. Diameter 35 cm.

5: **Barrett** E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10 ●
Modoc NS17

M
K
285
415

M
K
● [854]
←

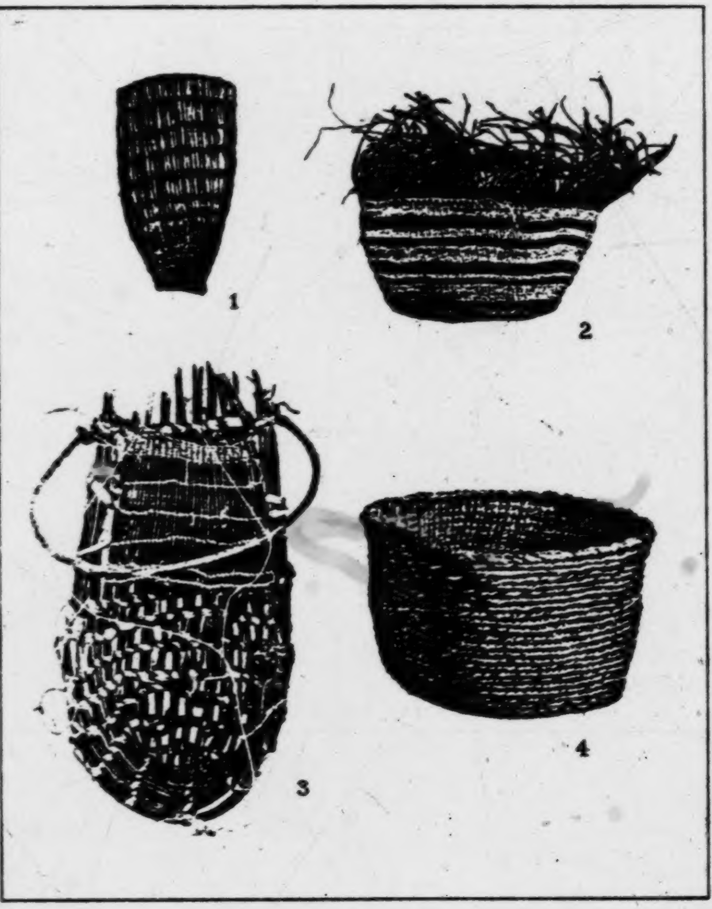

POUCH, CRADLE, AND BASKETS OF TULE.

[p. 271]

live together with that man of yours," they said. (24) "You will never 539*
leave him. (25) You will never deceive him. (26) You will give him
everything. (27) You will hide nothing [from him]." (28) Thus they told 585
them. (29) "Everything of yours [pl.] will be just one. (30) Now you 581
will tell each other [everything]. (31) Anything at all—if someone would
tell you, something, then you would tell your husband. (32) If [someone]
would tell you, the husband, also, then you will tell your wife. (33) Now
you [pl.] will be just one. (34) Then having become just one, then you
will tell your [pl.] children in the same way, to do just thus, just as we
live," said that old man, speaking, who was their father, his [hers?].

(35) "So now you [pl.] will become just one. (36) We are this many living. (37) And thus having begotten children, then you will advise [them], just as we are telling you today. (38) And you must never, never forget it!" they said. (39) "If you indeed would forget it, something evil will take hold of you forever. (40) And it will always be thus. (41) Now you will hide something from him next, even something big, which you did wrongly—perhaps [something you] did. (42) If you do thus," they said, "Then something you do not want, evil, to be thus, to fall between [you] thus, then it will catch you. (43) Where we live, so you will live, being happy. (44) And so far, when we are old now. (45) So you will live together until old age with that wife of yours." (46) Thus they told them. (47) Now that's as far [as it goes].

Introductory Note to Text 35

This is the Klamath version of "This Little Piggy Went to Market." 539*
Mrs. Chiles felt that it, or something very similar, had been used since 854
pre-White days, but she was not sure about the details. Several of the [124]
items are untranslatable in terms of this corpus, and one, No. (6), seems
to contain myth material. Mrs. Chiles thought that there definitely was a
myth connected with this but could not recall it in any detail and did not
wish to commit herself.

Method: The adult takes the baby's fingers one by one, starting at the little finger and ending with the thumb, reciting one of the first five words for each finger. Taking the baby's open palm, the adult taps it rhythmically and recites sentence (6). She then circles the baby's palm

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 151]

with a finger and recites sentence (7). She then walks up the child's arm with two fingers, saying sentence (8) as she goes. When the child's shoulder is reached, the adult tickles the child under the armpit and laughs. 539* 854 ●

35. Amusing A Baby

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) Camas root. (2) Ipos root. (3) Root [sp. *Lomantium canbyi* C. and R. or *Lomantium piperi* C. and R.]. (4) Root [sp. unidentified]. (5) Valeriana root.

(6) BambaWaq, bambaWaq, something to burn Marten's little brother with. (?)

(7) woj́a·, woj́a·, woj́a·.

(8) dip, dip, dip, . . .

36. Teasing the Old Men

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) Old men were sitting in the sunshine. (2) So I came walking along. (3) And my uncle [mother's brother] said to me, "This is Sitti·na coming." (4) And I said, "Do they taste good, bones are your [pl.] food? (5) Rusty ghost eater!" (6) And he went home laughing, [and] said to his daughter, "She has named me. (7) Really!" (8) "How did she name you?" (9) "Ghost eater!" (10) Then they laughed and laughed! 539* 522

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 153]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
252 476. Eaten dry	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	-	+
477. Buckeyes eaten	o	o	o	•+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
478. Leached	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	o
479. Boiled whole	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	o	+	-	-	+	o
480. Earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
481. For flesh food	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
482. For vegetable food	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	+	•+
483. Food sprinkled with water	-		+	+	-		-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
484. Food covered with leaves or grass	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
485. Water sprinkled into oven after closed up	-	•+	-	-	-		-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
486. Eggs cooked	+	+	+			•+	+	•	+		+			+	+	+
487. Baked in earth oven	•+	-	-		-	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
488. Baked in hot ashes	-	+	+			-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
489. Stone boiled in basket	-	+	+								+	-	-	+	+	+
272 490. Berry "cider"	•+	o	+	+	+	•o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
491. Sipped with deer tail	-	o	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-
263 492. Salt obtained in mineral form, dry	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
493. Salt from spring or marsh	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
494. Salt locally	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	•+	+
[439] 495. Salt imported	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	•+	-
496. Used little or not at all; disliked	+	+	+	-	•-	•+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
497. "Salt" from burning grass	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	•+
498. "Salt" clover eaten fresh	-	+	-					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262 499. Soaproot eaten	o	o	o	+	-	•o	•o	•o	•o	•o	o	+	-	+	+	-
500. Top eaten	o	o	o	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	+	+	-
501. Root eaten	o	o	o	+	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	-	+	R	-
502. Cooked in earth oven	o	o	o	+	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	-	-	-	-
[272] 503. Root concoction drunk as medicine	o	o	o	-	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	·	-	-
[439] 504. Imported if not obtainable locally	-	-	-	-	(-)	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
[515] 505. Soaproot for washing	o	•o	o	+	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	R	+
506. Milkweed chewing gum	-	-	+	•+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[26] 507. Pine pitch chewing gum	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	±	+	+	-	o	+	+	+
508. Pine "sugar"	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	•+	-	•+	•+	-	-	•+	•+	-
509. Honeydew from leaves eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+
510. Inner bark of trees eaten	•+	-	+	-	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
511. Mushrooms and fungi eaten											+	+	+			+
512. Fresh or dried											•+	+	•+			•+

Eating Customs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
264 513. Men served before women, if crowd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
[562] 514. All eat out of one basket	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
515. Men each have own basket	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+
516. Women also have separate baskets	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	+
517. Man and wife eat from same basket	+	+	+						+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
[865] 518. Children "piece" whenever hungry						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
519. Two main meals daily, usually	•-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
520. Three main meals daily	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-		-	-	-	-	-	+
[574] 521. Meal whenever visitor arrives	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Hands washed after eating deer, bear meat	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
[515] 523. Men's rule only	-	-	-			-	+	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	-	-	-
524. Wipe face, hands with grass, bark after eating	+	+	+						+	-	+	+	•+	+	+	•+

Storage of Food

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
251 525. Outdoor granaries	-	+	+	-	+	•+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
526. Against tree	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
527. In burnt tree stump	-		+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
528. On platform in tree; covered	-	•+	+			•+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
857. Cook house used as menstrual hut	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	343 841

MEANS AND METHODS OF TRANSPORT

Water Transport

Boats and Ferriage

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
858. Dugout canoe	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•o	–	+	+	+	+	•o	•o	–	–	501
859. Sharp prow and stern	–	–	–	+	•+	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
860. Shovel prow and stern	+	+	+	–	–	+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
861. Carved gunwale, turned in	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
862. Ends rounded	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
863. Carved in seat	–	–	–	+	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
864. Carved in footbraces.	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
865. Manufactured	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
866. Hollowed by burning	+	+	–	+	+	•+	o	–	+	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
867. Commonly and frequently used	+	+	–	–	(+)	+	o	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
868. Log raft	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	o	+	+	
869. Used to transport goods only	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	+	o	–	–	
870. Tule balsa	–	–	+	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
871. Raised prow	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o872. Length in feet	–	–	15	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o873. Maximum number of passengers	–	–	2	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
874. Bundles lashed together	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
875. Towed by rope	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
876. Propelled with paddle	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
877. Tule raft.	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
o878. Length in feet	–	10	–	•5	–	–	8	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
‡879. Maximum number of passengers	5	·	–	2	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
880. Bundles lashed together	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
881. Bundles pinned together	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
882. Towed by rope	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
883. Poled	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
884. Paddled with hands	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
885. Single-bladed paddle	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
886. Blade end convex	+	+	·	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
887. Blade end squared	–	–	·	–	+	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
888. Blade end pointed	+	+	·	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
‡889. Length in feet	4	4	5	–	3	•5	–	–	5	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
890. Poling rod	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
891. Plain or pointed end	–	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	o	o	–	–	
892. Split base	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
893. Basket bailer	•+	•+	–	+	+	•–	–	–	+	+	·	–	o	o	–	–	
894. Grooved stone anchor	–	•–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	·	o	o	–	–	[465]
895. Boatman must ferry traveler free of charge	+	•+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	·	o	o	–	–	
896. Ferriage in baskets	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	
897. Children.	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	[855]
898. Goods	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	o	+	–	
899. Ferriage by swimmers	+	+	+							+	+	+	+	o	+	+	481
900. Children ferried on swimmer's back	·	+	–							+	+	+	+	o	+	–	482
901. Swimmer lies on tule float; children cling to float	+	+	+								–	–	–	o	–	–	
902. Swimmer holds goods above water in 1 hand, swims with other	+	+	–					+		+	+	–	+	o	+	+	491
903. Bridges	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	o	o	+	+	
904. Single-log bridge	–	•+	+	–	+	•–	–	+	–	–	+	–	o	o	+	+	
905. 2 poles tied together	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	o	o	–	–	
906. Several poles, spliced at end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	o	o	–	–	

000 2475. MV: Shoe-leather disk, also top of tin can used for recent buzzers. Using buzzer "makes people sick; don't use it much."

2483. SE: Name for buzzer similar to that for bird that makes whirring noise at night; when playing with buzzer people say they "are making the deer fat."

2484. WM: "The puisus (Achomawi) play this, but WM never do."

2485. WT: Informant had never seen Indians play this; had seen Whites doing it.

2489. AW: Names of 2 figures: Sundown; Spider's House.

[524] 2490. Kl, Mo, SW, AW: Popular moving figure is that of "2 coyotes running from each other."

2492. Mo: If play in summer, ensuing winter will be severe.

2494. SW: Figures made during first quarter of moon, in spring especially, to make moon grow (by stretching string).

2494a. Mo: Both informants stated stilts aboriginal. At: "Danced on ice with stilts". Like Mo informant, At informant had used stilts as girl.

2505. WT: Willow-bark bag, sand inside.

2508. Mo: 5-6.

2520. Mo, MM, MF: Narrators presented with small amount of food by auditors; NS: uncertain about this; MV: denied. Not inquired into for other groups. NF: Myths told to youths, men only (during secret society initiation?); informant for this group a woman.

[538 855] 2522. Kl: Belief held more in jest than in earnest; told to small children who "would never go to sleep."

2523. SW: If myths told toward spring, look out for rattlesnake.

[481 883] 2527. Kl: Youths "made to swim in winter anyway"; no rule which applies to myth telling per se.

Social Dances

Circle dances.--

535 177 2529. Kl: See note 2076. Dance Kl brought back from N with drum was "a round dance; men and women danced, holding hands, men on 1 side, women on other of single circle, with fire inside in middle. It was held any time of year, but mostly in summer, just for fun. Given at night; people stopped dancing around midnight. [No leader who brought it back, or no data on such.] One man might say, 'Let's have fun'; people told each other; they came and danced. The drummer was the leader; he sang, and the men and women dancers sang too. The drummer stood by himself; just 1 man drummed. The [179] Kl no longer give this dance; the old people have mostly died." Mo: Dance relatively slight affair; 000 "a few young people assemble for 'evening joy' dance; join hands and go around fire in circle; old man watches them. When they become reckless, he stops dance." SW: Circle dance (k'aphek), an old summer dance, given for pleasure sometimes;

[206-B]

553 coins it, and soon all are using it.

Personal names are freely used at all times, but within the family kinship terms are more commonly applied. There are also age status terms for direct address or in reference to an individual as "newborn baby," "infant," "child," "youth," and so forth.[10]

855 757 Throughout infancy the health of the child is a matter of considerable concern. Whenever he cries and cannot be pacified by feeding, the parents fear that he is ill. For certain obvious physical ailments there is a variety of simple home remedies known to most adults. For stomachaches, warm ashes are held over the abdomen, and sagebrush tea may be administered orally. For a fever, sagebrush bark is mashed, mixed with warm water, and rubbed on the child to produce sweating. Deer grease is applied to burns. Pine pitch is rubbed on chapped faces and is also used to heal sore eyes. These and similar remedies serve for both children and adults.[11]

75 Ailments not so readily diagnosed require the services of a shaman, who then demands a large fee. Shamans are believed to send diseases to individuals, particularly through the medium of bad dreams. A child's nightmares are, therefore, taken as an indication that some shaman is trying to sicken the child. A curing ceremony must then be held either by the suspected shaman or another of equal power. [841] Some women try to prevent children's nightmares by placing a cloth or piece of fur stained with menstrual discharge under the sleeping child. Shamans fear the contamination of a menstruating woman and are unable to use their powers in the presence of one.

EARLY CHILDHOOD

857 [865] simple amusements for themselves. They erect piles of dirt, mark in the sand with sticks, or make neat rows of sticks on the ground. Older children are punished if they try to bother the youngsters at play.

[864] Until the age of six or seven, boys and girls play together as much as they wish. When a bit older they will be warned not to be intimate with members of the opposite sex, but young children often play at "man and wife" in imitation of their elders, using the proper status terms for husband and wife and pretending to keep house. The boys go off to hunt, and the girls wait for them to bring meat home to cook. Such play is not discouraged, nor is it apparently encouraged.

Small children also enjoy pretending to be very old people. In this game they hobble around on canes. One old lady of eighty laughed as she recalled playing in this manner:

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[10] Spier, pp. 61-68.

[114] [11] Therapeutic knowledge and beliefs of the Klamath are mentioned in Voegelin, elements 4469-4511.

Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have 593
other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are some- 855
times non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are [581]
frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time, [181]
or to an older relative, or to an elder sibling. If the party occurs in the
household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be
left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may [603]
find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence [155]
and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of
the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one)
or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually
faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloof-
ness. The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and
both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating
fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little ex- [155]
perience with consistency in role relationships.

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, [602]
amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other
kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting 872
the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax, 861
permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear-
cut, specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not [593]
accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet [181]
these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and [155]
attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu.
In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to
be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly [156]
characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts.
This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture,
but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society.

In many respects the values and skills learned within the household to not ade- 155
quately prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of 156
regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the house- [871]
hold may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may
throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get
him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time
the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted,
the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in in-
feriority is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, con-
tributing in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebellious-
ness, or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation
of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school [563]
years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the [582]
areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites
is not an easy one.

It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child 882
are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child 156
may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete 155
with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he
is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors
cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into
an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high [871]

782 776 823 774 787 Other informants also give a hint of this attitude. Even where there is sophistication by virtue of education or long-time residence away from the group, one encounters statements like that of a woman, half-Klamath, half-Caucasian: "Those old Indians had a lot of sense. They kind of felt at home around here and they would get a lift just from talking to the mountains and lakes. It was like praying and it made them feel at peace. When I get up in the morning, I look first over there [at Mt. Pitt] and it makes me feel good too. Not that I pray in the old Indian way; that's just idolatry. But it's like the scenery kind of gets ahold of you even if I been seeing it all my life."

787 776 855 823 A possible indication of this attitude appears in the repeated warnings to children to avoid certain rocks and cliffs. "You might fall down and hurt yourself" is of course quite true; on the other hand, places about which some modern Klamath parents feel particularly uneasy were associated aboriginally with power sources. A strong drive in the past was fear that a child might be 784 harmed through contact with "power." Every effort was made to keep the child away from the shaman, the sweat lodge, the mourning place, and the 841 like. (It may be noted that menstrual blood was placed near the cradled child to negate forces whose mere presence could harm the inexperienced.) These attitudes toward nature and the surrounding natural phenomena, at least as sources of uneasiness, still exist among younger Klamath of today.

773 776 177 Also obtainable is evidence on attitudes toward the culture hero. Some offer a rational systematization of beliefs concerning him. Generally, this involves some interpretation in the light of Christian reasoning. Kemu'kemps, because of his essentially human characteristics, readily lends himself to identification with the Christian God. The middle-aged woman quoted above, struck by the linguistic parallels, notes: "Those old Indians were really 273 Christians. It's only the liquor around here that makes the unbelief and trouble. Kemu'kemps means the 'Old One'; that's God. He revealed himself to the Indians long before the Americans [sic] came. He had a son, too, 'Ayšiš, that's just like Jesus. He created the world, just like it says in the Bible. If only those old Indians had been able to see it, they were close to God all the time. They lived good upright lives under his guidance. Another word for Kemu'kemps in our language is *Playtul'kni·;* that means the 'One on High,' 'Somebody up there.' That's the name we give God in our language now. It's all the same."

Not all informants are so definite in their syncretism. One elderly woman remarked: "Who is Kemu'kemps? I don't know. Sometimes I think he's God, but sometimes I think he must be Devil. Maybe he was just a story the old Indians made up. But they called him Playtul·kni· and that means God. My grandson asked me, 'Gramma, who's Kemu'kemps?' I say, 'I don't know. Maybe he's like God.' " In another connection she remarked: "I think that Kemu'kemps is Devil. He gets people into trouble; he leads them into temptation. When I was a little girl, they said to me, 'He's no good; don't believe that any more.' But I don't know. I see the icicles and I think of the wind and Kemu'kemps. He made the world and they call him Playtul'kni·. The Devil

846 [292] five days. This is the belt also worn in mourning for a child and by a girl at puberty. I was not told of restrictions on the father's conduct, but if he is seeking a vision at this time he fasts of necessity for some days.[78]

856 The attending women pinch up the baby's nose and smooth its features to make it handsome. They are especially careful with a boy to straighten and massage his legs so that he may become a good runner.[79] A tight belt of buckskin is put on a girl baby so that she 853 will not become stout. The baby is put to breast immediately. Expectant mothers massage the breasts and squeeze out the first milk.

846 The stump of cord falling off after five days, the navel is greased in order to help it heal. The stump, wrapped in buckskin, is put away by the parents with those of other children. Some precaution is taken to preserve it, at least during the early years, else the baby will die, but it is certain to disappear by the time he is grown. Should the baby die the cord is replaced to be burned with the body.

801 The several references to five-day periods, and we may add the five-day monthly seclusion of women, deserve a word of comment. To be sure there is some basis in fact for this; menstruation, post-natal placental flow and hemorrhage, and the sloughing of the cord do commonly occupy some such period. However, in consideration of individual variation, it is clear that the stated five is but another application of the Klamath pattern number.

852 [171] There is no formal celebration at the birth of a child, as among the Wishram.

856 Some other practices pertaining to childhood may also be noted here. Deciduous teeth are pulled out by the mother as they loosen so that the permanent teeth will erupt in their proper places. This has actually such an effect as well as stimulating the growth of the second dentition. There are no customs regarding these teeth; they are thrown away.

A little girl's hair is made to grow long and thick by singeing it with a lighted splinter of a lightning-struck tree. This is not done for boys.

845 There is no special attitude toward twins (lᴜbă'als) so far as I could discover. This is noteworthy because of the fear of twins mani-

[171]

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[78] Modoc parents abstain from meat for ten days after the birth, eating only roots. They sweat for five days and then throw away their garments (Gatschet, 1:91).

[79] The Modoc method is described by Gatschet (*loc. cit.*).

six short loops on each side. A carrying band goes over the mother's 854 forehead.

Frontal flattening is customary but not universal. No reason is 856 given. Hrdlička was informed "that the Klamath regard a long head, [114] i.e., a non-deformed head, with derision. They say it is slave-like, that their slaves had such, and that a man with such a head is not fit to be a great man in the tribe. Deformed heads are called 'good heads.' "[63] A buckskin sack, somewhat larger than the forehead, stuffed with dry cat-tail down, is tied to holes in the cradle. Hrdlička was told that this was filled with seeds, such as water-lily seeds. This lies across the forehead but is not tied so tightly that the child cannot turn his head. Pressure is begun at birth and continued as long as the child continues in the cradle. According to my informant's representation [171]* the Molala flatten foreheads, some Pit River Indians do, while the Upland Takelma do not practice deformation of any sort.

The cradle receives ornaments symbolic of the child's future, in the shape of a tiny digging stick for a girl and a bow and arrow for a boy, tied to the edge of the board. Possibly they have more than ornamental significance. These are no longer than the finger; the single arrow is as long as the bow. These are tied to the proper side of the board; the bow and arrow to the child's left, for a man holds his bow in that hand, the root digger to the right.

Use of the cradle continues until the child can walk well. It is not [766] discarded but kept for the use of another baby, unless the child dies, when it is burned with his body.

NAMES

The name is usually given in early infancy; always by the time the 553 child talks. It is the choice of the parents, given without ceremony. Sometimes it is changed in later life, but there is no set occasion for this. Seemingly names change less frequently than their nickname character would give opportunity for. Perhaps these are always additional names, for I learned of several men known by more than one name; perhaps this holds as true for women as men. But it was said that the first name (hlcwa'ska) is the most important.

There is considerable reluctance to the use of names, kinship terms 551 being substituted. This does not mean that there is a taboo; merely

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[63] Head Deformation Among the Klamath.

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	HS	MV
844 3107. On second cradle	–	–	–		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
3108. On person, after child walks	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3109. Shown to owner, when adult	–	•+	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3110. Disposal of cord	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	+	+	+
3111. Buried	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
3112. Burnt	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	+
3113. Thrown away, or "lost"	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Treatment of Infant																
844 3114. Bathing	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
846 3115. Immediately after birth	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	
3116. 1 day after birth	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	
3117. Steamed on lap, 2-3 days after birth	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	
3118. Steamed after cord drops off	–	•+	•+	•+							–	–	–	–	–	
3119. Wiped with grass, skin, etc.	•+	•+	•+				•+	–	–	.	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–
3120. Rubbed with oil, grease, powder	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	•+	•+	–	–
[852] 3121. Massaging	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3122. Torso shaped	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3123. Legs, arms shaped	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3124. Face, nose shaped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3125. Massaging, shaping after cord drops off, only	+	+	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3126. By maternal grandmother	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
3127. By mother	+	+	+					+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3128. By attendant											+	+	+	+	+	+
3129. Blow in baby's ears	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3130. Ceremonial; singing, praying over baby	–	–	•+	–	•–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–
Treatment of Mother																
3131. Isolated indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3132. In hut, dwelling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
‡3133. For ... days and nights	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	3	6	5	4	+
†3134. For ... months	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
3135. Until blood stops flowing	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3136. Until cord drops off infant	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3137. Leaves hut immediately after birth of child	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3138. Breaks wood	–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3139. Packs wood	–	+	+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3140. Runs	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3141. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3142. To keep healthy	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3143. To keep blood flowing	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[515] 3144. Bathing or care of body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3145. Bathes in river	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	•–	–
3146. Bathed in hut, by attendant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+
3147. Takes steam bath in hut	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3148. Massaging	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		+	(+)	+
3149. Belt around abdomen for period of isolation	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	[illegible]	+
3150. Hair belt	–	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
[278] 3151. Medicinal drinks	+	+	•+	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
3152. Ordinarily	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
3153. Only if ailing	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3154. External application of heat	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3155. Warm rock strapped on abdomen, with belt	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+
3156. Lies on warm "bed"	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
o3157. For ... days	2	2	1	–				10	–	–	–	3	6	5	4	–
3158. Until blood stops running	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	HM	NS	MV	
3361. Spirit of tattooed goes to good place	−	•+	−					+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	304
3362. Cranial deformation	+	•+	+	•+	−	•+	+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3363. Male	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3364. Female	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[562]
3365. Pads bound to head	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3366. Back	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3367. Front	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3368. Mother attends to baby's head	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	
Disposal of Milk Teeth																	
3369. Thrown away, no particular place	+	−	−			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3370. Thrown away, toward sun	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	856
3371. Thrown in river	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	8
3372. Buried in gopher hole	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	
3373. Buried in excrement	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3374. Hidden in grass clump	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3375. Buried, no special place	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
3376. Exchanged with gopher	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3377. Formula spoken	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+	
Twins																	
3378. Twins feared	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•.	+	+	•.	845
3379. Considered unlucky	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	[777]
3380. Attempts made to prevent conception of twins	−	−	−						•+	−	+	•+	.	•+	•+	.	
3381. People "ashamed" for woman	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	.	+	−	.	
3382. No significance	+	+	+	+	−	(+)	−	+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	.	
3383. Relative adopts 1	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	+	+	.	[597]
Adoption of Children																	
3384. Parents impoverished: relatives, only, adopt child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	.	−	+	+	+	597
3385. Orphan: adopted by paternal, maternal kin	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	
3386. Paternal relatives only	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	
c3387. Childless couples given child by relatives.	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	.	−	+	.	+	
3388. Anyone may adopt orphan	−	−	−					+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Infanticide, Illegitimate Children																	
3389. Illegitimate children killed, occasionally.	+	+	+	−	+	•−	+	•−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	847
3390. Legitimate children killed occasionally	−	−	•+						•+	•+	−	−	−	•+	•+	•−	848
3391. To avert disaster	−	−	+						+	+	−	.	−	−	−	−	
3392. If mother dies in childbirth	−	−	+						+	•−	−	.	−	+	+	−	
3393. Infant buried alive with mother	−	−	+						•+	−	−	.	−	+	+	−	
3394. Infant put in badger hole	+	+	−	−	.	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	−	
3395. Infant smothered	−	−	•+						•+	•+	.	−	−	−	−	−	
3396. Mother keeps illegitimate child	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	.	−	.	+	+	+	
3397. Mother's mother takes illegitimate child	−	−	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	.	+	.	+	+	−	
3398. Father of illegitimate child provides for baby	−	−	+	+	.	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Impregnatives, Contraceptives, Abortion																	
3399. Measures taken to induce pregnancy	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	842
3400. Shell, vegetable decoction drunk	+	•+	•+	−	−	−	+	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	
3401. Doctor makes miniature baby cradle.													−	−	•+	.	

[p.340-8]

852 boy one says, "May this one be a good hunter." For a girl the hope is expressed that "this one will be a good worker and dig many ipos [a root used as food]." These statements are amplified in many ways, according to the sentiments of the individual donor.

854 The infant is first placed in a willow or tule cradle,[a] usually prepared by the maternal grandmother. Several informants asserted that it would be bad luck to prepare the cradle before the child's birth; others seemed not to share this belief. The child remains on the basketry cradle for a fortnight to a month and is thereafter placed on a rigid cradleboard.

[764] It is generally the father who makes the cradleboard although, once it has been made, it may be handed down from one child to the next or even from one generation to the next. It is destroyed only in the event of the child's death, in which case the board and all other objects prepared for the child are burned with the body. After the father makes the cradleboard, the maternal grandmother fixes it for the child. She shows her daughter how to arrange the bedding on the board and place the infant on it with his legs straight and arms extended at his sides.

[856] The child remains on the cradleboard for at least the first year of his life. Even after he can walk he is placed there to sleep; for "if you don't use a cradleboard, the child gets humpbacked." When the child no longer requires a cradleboard, he may still be tightly wrapped in a blanket at night to make him lie straight.

For the first few months of his life the child is cared for almost entirely by his mother with the occasional help of the grandmother. The father would be considered unmanly if he helped with the baby very much. The child is never left alone for more than a few minutes at a time, and then only if the mother knows he is sound asleep. At night the cradleboard lies beside the mother where she can reach out and nurse the child if he cries. During the day the board is propped up in the dwelling, or, if the mother is working elsewhere, she carries the cradle with her and sets it up near her work. While working in a canoe, the woman arranges the cradleboard in one end with a willow shade to protect the child from the sun. If she is busy digging roots or gathering berries or seeds, she sets the cradle against a near-by tree. At such times the child's hands may be unbound so that he is free to play with beads or other objects

[853] suspended from the hood of the cradle. Often he is given a bit of camas root to chew on.

The infant seldom receives physical demonstrations of affection, nor does the mother carry him in her arms. However, he is watched continually; and the mother or other adults often pause in their work to talk to the child. They tell a boy to be strong and brave and grow

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[114] [a] Cradling practices are described by Barrett (1910), pp. 257 ff., Spier, pp. 57-59, and Voegelin, elements 3263-3286.

[p.341A]

854 up to be a good hunter, whereas a girl is admonished to be a good worker. Both are advised to do right, to help other people, and never to quarrel. Stereotyped phrases of advice are used, and it is felt that "the baby listens just as if he understood everything."

At least once a day the child is taken off the cradle to be bathed. When the child is first unbound, he is allowed to stretch as much as he wishes. For bathing, the mother holds the child on her knee and sponges him in cold water. The cold water is supposed to make the child [114] fearless and strong. Gatschet mentions the application of insects to the infant's arms for [856] the purpose of making him fearless and unmoved by sudden fright;[5] we found no confirmation of this practice.

After the bath the mother rubs the child with warm ashes and finally powders it with 854 finely ground chalk. Throughout the entire process she talks to the child and expresses her 856 desire that he may grow to be strong and good. At the same time she massages the child's limbs to make them straight and molds his ears, nose, lips, and brows to make him more beautiful. The daily massaging continues till the child is five or six months old. After that it is believed that the bones are too hard to be changed. Frontal flattening by means of a pad tied across the forehead continues as long as the child is on the cradleboard, but not all children undergo this process. According to some informants, the flattening is simply incidental to the manner of cradling. Others claim it is done for beauty. "After all," they say, "a basket hat would never fit a square head."

As the child gets older he is allowed to remain away from the cradleboard for longer and longer periods. He cries to be taken off the board at times, but also to be put back when tired. By the time he is a year old he remains off the board all day, though he may still be placed on it to sleep.

Teething is not considered a difficult process.[6] The gums are massaged if the child becomes fretful. Otherwise he is simply given something to chew on--the inside layer of certain barks or a bit of camas. Later, when the child begins to get his permanent teeth, no special significance is attached to the deciduous set. They are pulled out as they become loose and thrown away or buried.

When a child is five or six months old, he is encouraged to sit up. He is placed on a mat or blanket, and his arms are held on either side of his head as he is taught to rock back and forth while uttering the meaningless sound "aam aam." Parents are proud when the child is able to sit up by himself; and they tell visitors, "See, he can sit up now." The child is allowed to crawl around the dwelling as he pleases. If

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[5] Gatschet (1890), p. 92.

[6] Voegelin, elements 3369-3377.

[p. 341-B]

854 he falls, no attempt is made to pick him up un-
856 less he cries for some time.

The first experimentation in crawling and walking is largely left to the child. But when he tries to stand, he is helped. One person steadies the toddler, while another stands a few feet away with outstretched hand, coaxing him to "Come to me." The child soon learns such commands as "Walk," "Go to auntie," and so forth. The parents are proud of the child's accomplishment and show off his ability to visitors.

862 A child continues to nurse until he is two or three years old. Some mothers allow him to nurse as long as he pleases, but ordinarily there is a conscious effort at weaning.[7] The mother rubs her breasts with pitch or charcoal, both to impart a bitter taste and to give a frightening appearance. Some mothers wean their children by staying out of sight for several days while an aunt or other relative takes care of the child. If the mother becomes pregnant again, weaning is hastened. [842] However, it is considered a disgrace to be pregnant while a child is still nursing. No one respects a couple who have children less than two or three years apart. The couple is expected to refrain from intercourse during the nursing period.

863 There is no set age at which toilet training begins. Some families hasten the process; others are extremely lax. Two years seems to be about the average age at which training is begun. The mother takes the child out to the bushes and shows him where to urinate and defecate. He is told to have some adult accompany him to the bushes when he wishes to relieve himself. Thereafter the child is scolded or whipped when he makes a mistake.

856 A child begins to say a few words when about a year old. He has probably acquired a few meaningless syllables even before that, such as the "aam" mentioned above. Children repeat these syllables as they rock back and forth. "It keeps them busy and out of trouble."

The first true word that the individual learns is "mother." At about the same time the child acquires an understanding of simple commands like "dirty" (spoken when he puts unclean objects in his mouth) and "don't" (repeated whenever he gets near the fireplace or other dangerous places).

867 The second word the child learns to articulate is "father." The terms for brother and sister are acquired somewhat later even though older siblings are often assigned to the task of tending the baby. The terms for the paternal grandparents are among the first to be learned, and thereafter the child is told the terms for other relatives with whom he lives. Because of patrilocal residence children normally learn the words for their paternal relatives first. But the teaching of kinship terms is not restricted to those for relatives in the same house group. There is an effort to teach the child the proper

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[7] Ibid., elements 3294-3303.

867 terms for all his relatives, whether he has seen them yet or not. This is considered one of the most important things a child must learn.[8]

With the knowledge of kinship terms the
child acquires certain attitudes toward his
relatives, although patterns of behavior toward
particular kin do not seem to be very clearly
[593] defined among the Klamath. Parents are re-
spected and obeyed, as are grandparents though a
[603] certain amount of indulgence and teasing is to
be expected from the latter. Uncles and aunts
[604] are shown considerable respect. Cousins call
each other by sibling terms; those of opposite
[605] sex play together freely when small but are told
that it is not proper to "play rough" with each
other. Even small children learn that marriage
between cousins is "a very bad thing," and that
children from such an incestuous union will
never live.

856 There is some effort to teach the child the names of objects by pointing to them and repeating the word, but he probably acquires more of his vocabulary simply by listening to adult conversation. There is no baby talk or any attempt to simplify words for the children. If the child mispronounces or misuses words, he is laughed at and corrected.

553 Children acquire their personal names in a casual manner at any time from birth to the age of five or six. There is no ceremony connected with naming, and some individuals receive two or three names which may all be in use at the same time. Names are, for the most part, of the nickname variety and refer to some personal mannerism or peculiarity.[9] In addition, some refer to spirits, birds, or animals. Names are given by the parents or other relatives. One person

[text continues on top of p. 342-B]

857 By the time a child is three he begins to
play with other children, parents encouraging
group play. Children from all social strata
play together. "After all, you can't keep kids
apart." Children of chiefs or shamans are no
[848] different from the rest. Illegitimate children
are looked down upon by the community as a
whole, but they are not segregated from their
age-mates.

[865] At first the youngsters are apt to start fights with each other, but the parents are usually on hand to stop rough play. A child who fights all the time brings disgrace to his family and especially to himself. He must play by himself for awhile. "Everyone knows he has been bad; no one likes him." He is ashamed and experiences great remorse when he is told he cannot play with other children.

Three- and four-year-olds find a variety of

[text continues on bottom of p. 342-B]

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[8] See Spier, pp. 62-68, for a discussion of the Klamath kinship system.

[9] Naming customs and typical names are given by Spier, pp. 59-61, and Voegelin, elements 3306-3321.

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2138. Sinew-wrapped at mouthpiece	−	+	−	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	534
o2139. End stopped	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	R	R	+	±	+	·	+	+	+	
2140. Partially stopped inside at hole	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	
2141. Stop of pitch	−	·	+	+	−	+	+	R	R	+	−	−	+	+	·	+	
2142. Stop of salmon glue	−	·	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2143. Stop of wood	−	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	·	−	
2144. Single whistle	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	
2145. 2 whistles bound together	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	R	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	
2146. Whistle worn, suspended from string around neck	−	−	+								+	+	+	+	·	+	
2147. Taboo to whistle around elderberry bush		·+	·+								+	−	+	+	−	·+	[784]
2148. Snake will strike whistler		+	+								+	−	+	+	−	·+	
2149. Flute	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	
2150. Bone	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	·	−	
2151. Elder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	
2152. Cane	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
‡2153. Number of holes	3	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	−	6	
2154. Holes burnt in		+	+						R	R	+	+	−	+	−	+	
2155. Holes put in with awl									+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2156. Entire upper surface flattened			−						+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2157. End blown	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	·	−	−	+	
2158. Side blown	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	(−)	+	+	+	−	+	
2159. Mouth blown	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
2160. Nose blown	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2161. Used by shaman	−	·+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	[756]
2162. Used for courting	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	
2163. Used for self-amusement	·+	−	+	·+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	

Pictographs, Petroglyphs

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2164. Pictographs, petroglyphs present in area	·+	·+	−	−	·+	−	·+	·+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	532
2165. Nonhuman origin	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	·	·	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2166. Made by tiny people	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2167. Made by mythological characters	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2168. Bring bad luck; charm viewer	−	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[777]
2169. Impress of feet, etc., on rocks	−	·+	·+							·+	−	·+	·+	−	·+		[823]

RECREATION

Games

Shinny

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2170. Shinny played	+	+	+	+	+	·R	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	−	+	526
2171. Men, youths play occasionally	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	[562]
2172. Women play	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	
2173. Each sex plays separately	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	
2174. Both sexes play together	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2175. Children play	−	+	−	+	+	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[857]
2176. Single ball	−	−	−	−	−	·+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2177. Wood	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2178. Stuffed buckskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2179. Oak gall	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
2180. Double ball	−	+	+	+	−	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	
2181. Stuffed buckskin	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2182. 2 blocks on ends of cord	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	·+	·+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	
2183. 2 grass balls on end of cord	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
2184. Cord or hide strip only	−	−	−	−	+	·+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2237. Pole through hoop scores	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	526
2238. Pole over hoop or stick scores	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
o2239. Number of counters	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•10	–	–	–	–	
o2240. Number on a side	2	•2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•10	–	–	–	–	
†2241. Number of sides	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(2)	–	–	–	–	
2242. Sides local groups	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	
2243. Referee	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	
2244. Betting	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	
Quoits																	
2245. Quoits played	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2246. Quoit a ring, from limber rope or withe	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	?	+	–	–	–	–	
2247. Quoit a stone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2248. Target: single stake	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2249. Target, 2 stakes, at each end of the field	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
‡2250. No. of throws for each player	10	12	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	2	–	–	–	–	
2251. All players throw simultaneously	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o2252. No. of points for ringer or strike	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	1	.	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	
o2253. No. of points for closest throw	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	.	1	–	2	–	–	–	–	
2254. Distance from pole measured with stick	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	
‡2255. No. of points for game	10	12	–	–	–	–	–	1	.	1	–	4	–	–	–	–	
Spear or Dart Throwing																	
2256. Spear or dart-throwing games	+	+	•+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	•+	–	+	–	–	.	+	
2257. Men play	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	+	
2258. Spear thrown	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	+	
2259. Pole thrown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
2260. Arrow thrown	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	
2261. Stationary target	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	–	
2262. Tule or grass bundle	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	
2263. 1 stake	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
2264. 2 stakes, small	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	.	–	
2265. 2 targets; throw back and forth	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	
2266. Closest wins points	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2267. Stuck in target, or between, 2 points	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
2268. Players cast in turn	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	
o2269. Number on each side	2	•3	–	–	3	–	–	•2	–	2	–	5	–	–	.	–	
†2270. Number of sides	2	2	–	–	2	–	–	2	–	2	–	2	–	–	.	–	
Stick Bouncing (Snow Snake)																	
2271. Sticks bounced	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
2272. Men play	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[562]
2273. Children play	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[857]
2274. Plain stick bounced	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2275. Bounced off rise in ground	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2276. Bounced off pile of snow	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2277. Bounced for distance	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Archery																	
2278. Target games played; men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[562]
2279. Stationary target, above ground	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2280. Shoulder bone			+	–							–	–	–	+	–	–	
2281. Brush bundle	–	–	–	–					+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	
2282. Single stake or bush	–	–	+	–				+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
2283. Arrow, previously shot	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2284. Small tule, willow target	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2285. Double, shoot back and forth.	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	.	–
2286. Buried target	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
2287. Bundle of tules	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
2288. Buried in circle of dug ground	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
2289. Buried in ground	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
2290. All contestants shoot into circle simultaneously	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2291. Contestants shoot individually	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2292. Person hitting buried target wins	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2293. Target rolled	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2294. Downhill	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2295. On level	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2296. Hoop	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2297. Disk	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2298. Target thrown in air	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+
2299. Pine cone													–	–	+	+
2300. Bark disk	–	+	+								–	+	–	–	–	+
2301. Closest wins	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	.	–	+
2302. Hitting target scores only	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	.	+	+
2303. Shooting for distance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
2304. Gambling for arrows in archery games	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	–

Ring and Pin

524
[562]
[857]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2305. Ring-and-pin game played	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2306: Men	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2307. Women	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2308. Children	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
†2309. Number of rings	–	1	·	10	–	–	•1	10	•20	•7	–	–	–	–	–	–
2310. Fish vertebrae	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2311. Deer carpals	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2312. Tule bundle	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
†2313. Number of pins	–	1	1	1	–	–	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
2314. Outfit transferred at miss	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2315. Each player has 2 tries	–		+		–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2316. Each ring counts 1 point	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2317. Ring counts game	–		–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2318. All rings on for game	–		–		–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
†2319. Number of sides	–	2	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
o2320. Number on each side	–	•–	•–	–	–	–	•2	–	•4	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
†2321. No teamwork; number playing	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	15	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2322. Betting on game	–		–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2323. Winner raps opponent's knuckles, forehead	–	+	+		–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2324. Winner pulls out opponent's eyebrows	–	+	–		–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2325. Played to make moon wane	–	+	·	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Many-Stick Game, 1 Marked

[562]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2326. Many-stick game played	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	•R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2327. Men play	–	–	–	•–	+	+	–	+	•+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2328. Women play	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	•R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
o2329. Many small sticks	–	–	10	•15	20	20	–	20	20	30	–	–	–	–	–	–
2330. 1 marked	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
•2331. 1 specially made stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2332. "Marked" stick guessed for	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2437. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	526
2438. Children	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	[562]
2439. Stick sharpened at both ends	–	–	–	–	*+	*+	–	–	–	–	–	*(+)	–	*+	–	–	
2440. Natural vestigial deer metapodial	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[857]
2441. 1 point when it lands erect in ground	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2442. Person who catches stick wins	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2443. Thrower scores	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2444. Unsuccessful thrower transfers	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
†2445. Number of counters	–	–	–	–	10	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2446. Jacks	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	
2447. Men play	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	[562]
2448. Women play	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	[857]
2449. Children play	–	–	–	–	–	+	R	–	–	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	
2450. Stones	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	
†2451. Number of objects	–	–	–	–	10	10	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	3	–	–	
2452. Indefinite	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2453. Last object thrown up heaviest	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2454. For fun; no betting	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2455. Juggling	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2456. Rocks	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2457. Acorns	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
o2458. Number thrown up	–	–	–			2	3	–	–	2	–	–	–	2	–	–	
2459. Thrown up in both hands, same time	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2460. Women	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	[562]
2461. Boys	–	–	–					–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	[857]
2462. For fun; no betting	✓	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Gambling Taboos

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2463. Intercourse taboo before gambling	+	+	+	+	–			+	+	.	.	–	–	–	–	.	525
2464. Only if man has washed in sacred spot, for luck	–	–	–	–	–			+	+	.	.	–	–	–	–	.	834
2465. Intercourse taboo after gambling													*+	–	–	.	

Amusements

Toys

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2466. Tops	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	524
2467. Children play	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	[857]
2468. Adults play								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
2469. Acorn	–	–	–	*+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	
2470. Bark or wood disk, horizontal plane	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2471. Lump of pitch	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2472. Deer kneecap	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2473. Twirl with fingers	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	
2474. Twirl between palms	–	+	–				+		–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	
2475. Buzzer	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	R	.	*R	
2476. Children play	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	R	[857]
2477. Adults play			+					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	R	
2478. Wood or bark disk	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2479. Deer carpal	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2480. Shell disk	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2481. Acorns	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2482. Shoe-leather disk						R	–	–	R	R	R	–	–	R	.	R	
2483. To make snow	+	–	*–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2484. String figures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	*–	+	–	R	R	+	–	+	
2485. Old men, women play	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	*–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	
2486. Men play	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	[887]
2487. Women play	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	[562]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

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Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	RM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	·+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2490. Moving figures	·+	·+	+	·+	+	·+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	.	+	−	+
2492. Done in winter only	+	·+	−	−						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2493. Done any time, for fun	−	−	+							+	−	+	+	+	−	+
[481] 2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	−	·+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2494a. Stilts	−	·+	−	−	·+	R	−	−	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−
Contests																
526 2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. To throw man down	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. No tripping allowed	−	+	−			+	−	−	−		−	+	+	−	.	−
2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	−	+	+	.
2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								−	+	+	+	+	+
2502. Dodging	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	(−)	−	+	−	+
2503. Stones	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	−
2504. Hard objects inside geese	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2505. Sand bag	−	−	−					·+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2506. Tule, grass balls	−	+	−					−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	+
2507. Two sides	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
o2508. Number on each side	−	·5	−			1	.	15	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[857] 2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	.	+
2515. To mark and back	−	−	−			−	+	−	+	−	.	+	+	+	−	−
2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+			+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+
2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+
Storytelling																
518 2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2520. Myths told at night	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	·		·+	·+
[516] 2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	.		−	+
2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	·+	+	−			+		+	−	+	−	−	.		−	−
[784] 2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
2524. Rattlesnake will bite	−	+	.		+	+	+	+	−	.	+	−	.		.	−
2525. Winter will come quickly	+	−	.						+	.	+	−	.		.	−
[887] 2526. Narrated by old people only	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
[515] 2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	·−	+	+			+				+	−	+	.		+	+
2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	−	+	+			+				+	−	+	.		+	+
Social Dances																
Circle Dances																
535 2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	·R	·+	+	·+		+	+	+	+	+	−	R	−		−	−
[417] 2530. Performed in brush corral	−	−	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
[224] 2532. At fall rabbit hunt	−	−	−	−		−	+	−		−	−	−	−		−	−
[221] 2533. In springtime	−	−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
[226] 2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
2535. During communal fishing periods	+	+	+							+	−	−	−		−	−

K M 342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old
352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the
513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another
K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are
M [592] houses that hold more than two families and others that hold
only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no
K M longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content
342 888 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.

735 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women
K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered
M the visitor[11] are of powerful frame–though of no more than
142 average height–and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily
K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber
M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early
291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing
[177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the
trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down
the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside
add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a
K mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in
M 302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips
301 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads,
ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum
K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy
M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face,
304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by
[142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter prac-
[177] tice, says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit
River neighbors of the Modoc.

K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys.
M 512 Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grand-
[857] father and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black
waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the
sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to
stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its
K cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the
M [252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it
[415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they
[177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

Families K

eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food M 512
only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264]
places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M
Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887]
upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854]
grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302]
comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [412]
they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285]
with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets.
If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M
will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313]
the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223]
still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226]
bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon.
Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K
men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat- [343]
houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515]
followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783]
a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857]
the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264]
again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M
across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [364]
its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524]
pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a
porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is
said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M
played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784]
As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K M
about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538]
tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children
sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up
the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel,
the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's
child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their
marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral
and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M
221
756
796

An apprenticeship system had earlier been set up, with an 648*
Indian assigned to each artisan as assistant and understudy. 657*
Nickerson noted in 1882 that while "[the apprentices] are doing 872
as well as uneducated Indians can be expected to do, not one of them . . . has had any school training, and but one can write his name."[17] Presently schoolboys began to take over some of these positions.

Many factors bore upon the effectiveness of the teaching. Elderly individuals today can recall the first bewildered days at school—sometimes relieved by the kindness of such teachers as one nicknamed by the children "Hummingbird"—but at best it was a difficult experience. "Nine tenths of them," wrote Emery of the newcomers, "know nothing of [English]. At first, when called 648*
to recite, they will dart under the seats, and have to be coaxed 657*
and helped from their hiding places by the hand of the teacher."[18] 872
Not always was such tenderness displayed. Although one man, 876
now deceased, recalled a generally pleasant experience and the kindnesses of matrons and teachers,[19] a contemporary bitterly recollected:

> In school they didn't allow us to talk in Klamath. We were punished if they caught us talking in Klamath. They would make us hold up a stick with our hands high. Sometimes they would make an older boy hold a fence rail on his back and walk around a tree stump. Sometimes one whole hour at a time. I never had to do that. Sometimes I would see the teacher or principal whip a boy with a good-sized willow. Sometimes they would make the boy take off his shirt and then the boy would never get over it. I felt that sometimes we boys should get together and give the teacher a whipping to see how he liked it. In the old Klamath days, the parents would switch the child on the legs or sometimes on his butt, but never that way—hard like that. . . . [191]
>
> At school I had it pretty tough. I was cold and hungry. When we made noise at table, we had to be punished without any food. I had to take food from the table. Fish at night. The children had to steal apples.

Detailed as meatcutter, he recalls that the choicest cuts went to employees, the necks and ribs to the children. And he concludes, "I learned how to steal at school to keep from going hungry."[20]

There were games and ice skating, and the brass band. For the 648*
adolescents there were illicit sexual adventures. Some children 657*
872
[857]
[883]

a weak differentiation of parental roles and the extension of 648*
surrogacy to grandparents or other kinsmen. In many instances, 657*
the father was either absent or aloof, and the chief burden of 592
child rearing fell upon the mother, who might shift it for several 593
hours or longer upon the slender shoulders of an older child. Among such families, parents often proved unpredictable, their excesses of affection and indulgence alternating with fits of anger, depression, and withdrawal. Rather than being consistently directed toward a program of training, parental behavior tended to be a response to a mood or an isolated element in the immediate situation. Even the admonitions of the elders, the traditional set speeches enjoining ideal behavior, frequently were made without reference to the immediate conduct of the child.

In children, this experience tended to generate a defensive 648*
isolation, a dependent craving which anticipated rebuff, and a 657*
marked hypersensitivity toward others concealed beneath an 592
outward manner of stoic indifference. One probable outcome 593
of childhood exposure such as this was the "guarded restraint" 155
which Clifton discerns as a marked characteristic of Klamath personality, an attribute which, it appears, lessens in severity only in old age.[3]

If there were few fixed and dependable social relationships 648*
in many Klamath families, there likewise was little predictability 657*
in daily routine. As Pierce notes, meals were rarely served at 592
fixed times or attended by the entire family. Instead, individuals 593
ate when hungry. Children rarely had regular chores or bedtime.[4] [264]
[857]

It was in the training of children to become functioning 648*
members of society that the tribal families faced a central test of their 657*
effectiveness. Although it was not clear to what segment of that 592
society the children were to aspire, their elders were in agreement 593
in wishing well for them. Tribal orators, challenged upon 858
their personal aims, could disavow self-interest and strike a resonant chord by asserting that they were acting only for the good of their grandchildren. Adults, however dissatisfied they might be with their own achievement, might still hope to see a transcendent future for their sons and daughters. In the school, with its promise of equal opportunity to advance through merit, American society held out the means to implement that hope.

All too frequently, however, childhood experience in the 000

[p.342A]

867 terms for all his relatives, whether he has seen them yet or not. This is considered one of the most important things a child must learn.[8]

With the knowledge of kinship terms the
child acquires certain attitudes toward his
relatives, although patterns of behavior toward
particular kin do not seem to be very clearly
[593] defined among the Klamath. Parents are re-
spected and obeyed, as are grandparents though a
[603] certain amount of indulgence and teasing is to
be expected from the latter. Uncles and aunts
[604] are shown considerable respect. Cousins call
each other by sibling terms; those of opposite
[605] sex play together freely when small but are told
that it is not proper to "play rough" with each
other. Even small children learn that marriage
between cousins is "a very bad thing," and that
children from such an incestuous union will
never live.

856 There is some effort to teach the child the names of objects by pointing to them and repeating the word, but he probably acquires more of his vocabulary simply by listening to adult conversation. There is no baby talk or any attempt to simplify words for the children. If the child mispronounces or misuses words, he is laughed at and corrected.

553 Children acquire their personal names in a casual manner at any time from birth to the age of five or six. There is no ceremony connected with naming, and some individuals receive two or three names which may all be in use at the same time. Names are, for the most part, of the nickname variety and refer to some personal mannerism or peculiarity.[9] In addition, some refer to spirits, birds, or animals. Names are given by the parents or other relatives. One person

[text continues on top of p. 342-B]

857 By the time a child is three he begins to
play with other children, parents encouraging
group play. Children from all social strata
play together. "After all, you can't keep kids
apart." Children of chiefs or shamans are no
[848] different from the rest. Illegitimate children
are looked down upon by the community as a
whole, but they are not segregated from their
age-mates.

[865] At first the youngsters are apt to start fights with each other, but the parents are usually on hand to stop rough play. A child who fights all the time brings disgrace to his family and especially to himself. He must play by himself for awhile. "Everyone knows he has been bad; no one likes him." He is ashamed and experiences great remorse when he is told he cannot play with other children.

Three- and four-year-olds find a variety of

[text continues on bottom of p. 342-B]

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[8] See Spier, pp. 62-68, for a discussion of the Klamath kinship system.

[9] Naming customs and typical names are given by Spier, pp. 55-61, and Voegelin, elements 3306-3321.

[p. 342-B]

553 coins it, and soon all are using it.

Personal names are freely used at all times, but within the family kinship terms are more commonly applied. There are also age status terms for direct address or in reference to an individual as "newborn baby," "infant," "child," "youth," and so forth.[10]

855 757 Throughout infancy the health of the child is a matter of considerable concern. Whenever he cries and cannot be pacified by feeding, the parents fear that he is ill. For certain obvious physical ailments there is a variety of simple home remedies known to most adults. For stomachaches, warm ashes are held over the abdomen, and sagebrush tea may be administered orally. For a fever, sagebrush bark is mashed, mixed with warm water, and rubbed on the child to produce sweating. Deer grease is applied to burns. Pine pitch is rubbed on chapped faces and is also used to heal sore eyes. These and similar remedies serve for both children and adults.[11]

75 Ailments not so readily diagnosed require the services of a shaman, who then demands a large fee. Shamans are believed to send diseases to individuals, particularly through the medium of bad dreams. A child's nightmares are, therefore, taken as an indication that some shaman is trying to sicken the child. A curing ceremony must then be held either by the suspected shaman or another of equal power. [841] Some women try to prevent children's nightmares by placing a cloth or piece of fur stained with menstrual discharge under the sleeping child. Shamans fear the contamination of a menstruating woman and are unable to use their powers in the presence of one.

EARLY CHILDHOOD

857 [865] simple amusements for themselves. They erect piles of dirt, mark in the sand with sticks, or make neat rows of sticks on the ground. Older children are punished if they try to bother the youngsters at play.

[864] Until the age of six or seven, boys and girls play together as much as they wish. When a bit older they will be warned not to be intimate with members of the opposite sex, but young children often play at "man and wife" in imitation of their elders, using the proper status terms for husband and wife and pretending to keep house. The boys go off to hunt, and the girls wait for them to bring meat home to cook. Such play is not discouraged, nor is it apparently encouraged.

Small children also enjoy pretending to be very old people. In this game they hobble around on canes. One old lady of eighty laughed as she recalled playing in this manner:

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[10] Spier, pp. 61-68.

[11] Therapeutic knowledge and beliefs of the Klamath are mentioned in Voegelin, elements 4469-4511.

[p.343-A]

857 My friends all tease me because I always wanted to play I was an old woman. They ask me how I like it now. But we kids all thought it was great to be old. I used to get a cane and limp around. I wanted the others to pretend they were burning [cauterizing] my leg.[12]

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857 Even in early childhood there is great emphasis on competitive sports. Parents brag about a child who is better at any activity than his age-mates. Children soon acquire a keen desire to best their playmates in games and thus gain approval and prestige.

Small children from four to six years old have simple contests of endurance.[13] In one, each player holds his breath and runs as far as he can before having to take another breath. The one who runs the farthest wins. Another race is run on one leg, with the other leg held out in front; the contestants see who can hop the longest without having to put his leg down. Little girls have a contest in which they squat down with their arms wrapped under or around their knees to see who can jump up and down for the longest time. Both boys and girls have hair-pulling contests to see who can keep from crying with pain. All such contests are accompanied by shouting and shrill cries; apparently, the more noise the better. Adults watch the contests when they have time and encourage their favorites.

One of the most important activities in which young girls engage is playing with dolls.[14] Through their use the girl is encouraged in many of her future activities of housekeeping. A few boys like to play with dolls too, but they are teased about this girlish activity and soon cease. It is the girl's mother or grandmother who first shows her how to make dolls and play with them. They are fashioned from any available material; wood, bark, tules, and clay are all utilized. In lieu of anything better they may even be outlined in the sand. Once the technique has been learned, the girls manufacture their own dolls and play with them alone or in groups. They make little shelters of willow for the dolls, pretend to dig up roots for them, and in every way treat them as actual children. Often the dolls are placed on a piece of bark to represent the cradleboard. Apparently much of this play is spontaneous on the part of the girls, but there is also considerable suggestion and encouragement on the part of mother and grandmother.

While little girls are beginning to play in this way, boys of the same age become interested in the use of the bow and arrow. At first they

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[757] [12] Cautery with sagebrush pellets that are burned over the afflicted part is a common cure for rheumatism from which many elderly Klamath suffer.

[13] Several children's contests are mentioned in Spier, p. 86.

[14] Dolls are described briefly by Spier, ibid.

[p.343-B]

524 play with a tiny bow of willow, little more than
a toy, which they learn to make from an older
857 boy or from their father. But by the time a boy
is six or seven his father presents him with a
real bow made from juniper. It is smaller than
the large yew war and hunting bows of the men,
and the arrows are blunt. The boys practice
shooting at targets around the camp. They will
not begin to do any hunting for several years,
but groups of boys imitate the shooting contests
of their elders. These will be described in
more detail in a later section since it is older
boys who spend the most time in these pursuits.

Another favorite activity of all Klamath
868 children is swimming. Very young children are
not allowed near the water, but by five or six
857 years of age the child is paddling around in
shallow water under the watchful eye of parents
481 or of older children who help the younger ones
to learn. The teacher holds the child around
the waist and tells him to splash with his arms
and legs. In other instances the child learns
by himself or by verbal instructions. One informant related the following incident:

> I thought I was swimming when I had my feet on the bottom. Someone laughed at me and said that wasn't swimming. He told me to kick my feet, too.

524 Several games are played in the water. The
857 children race to see who will be the first to
get into the water. Then, teams of four or five
line up opposite each other and splash until one
side gives up. There are also diving contests
to see who can go the farthest underwater before
coming to the surface.

In addition to the active outdoor play of children, which is possible only in the summer months, there are games and amusements which can be played indoors at any time.[15] Many of these are enjoyed equally by adults and by children.

Individuals of both sexes and all ages enjoy top spinning. Adults show the children how to set the tops in motion by twirling the stem between their palms, but then the children play by themselves. The children also learn from adults or older children how to make their own tops of bark, wood, or pine pitch. The best ones, according to informants, are from hardened pitch.

> We used to go out and get pine gum and chew it all up. Then we made it flat and round with our hands and got some boys to fix the hole in the middle for the stick. You have to put the gum in cold water till it gets hard. They lasted pretty good unless we dropped them or left them out in the sun.

221 During the winter there is little economic activity, and families spend most of the time in

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[15] Klamath games and amusements are described in detail by Dorsey (1901), pp. 14-27, Spier, pp. 76-86, and Voegelin, elements 2170-2528.

221 the warmth of the winter dwelling. There are
usually two or three related families sharing a
[592] single winter house; and evenings are spent in
playing games, telling stories, or gossiping, as
[517] well as in making baskets and manufacturing fish
nets. Small children are not allowed outdoors
[857] in the cold, but older ones go out some days to
slide on the ice or downhill on pieces of bark.

Cat's cradle is a popular pastime engaged
[524] in by both adults and children in the winter.
The number of possible figures is great. Coyote, Skunk, Bear, Bullfrog's Tail, Owl's Eyes, Sunrise, Boy Running, and Man Chasing a Rabbit are but a few of the many that most individuals can make. Children learn how to make the figures from adults or from older children. However, if the children play at cat's cradle very often, the string is taken away with the comment, "You'll stretch the months if you do that so much." There is apparently no such restriction on adults.

In one version of string figures an adult fixes a loop in the string. A child is told to put his finger through the loop, which is then pulled tight around the finger; and he must tell his name before he can be released.

538 Every night throughout the winter months
myths are told. They are never told in the sum-
[221] mer or daytime lest the narrator age quickly.
Most myths serve for amusement, not being regarded as especially sacred. Stories about Creator are taken somewhat more seriously than others. "You have to keep quiet and listen to them." It is from the Creator myths that children first learn about sacred beings.

There are many stories explaining the origin of local geographic features. Most of the myths have personified animal characters. There are a few tales that offer advice to the children. After stories about hunting or gathering, the teller may turn to the children and say, "If you want to be a good man (or woman), do like that."

In contrast to many other tribes there is very little formality connected with the telling of myths among the Klamath. In the evening an old man or woman starts to tell stories, and others gather around. Young adults never tell them because a storyteller begins to age rapidly. The children lie down to listen; they may request their favorites and are free to complain that the narrator is not telling the story right, if they do not like his particular version. A few old people are recognized as the best raconteurs.

Adults also listen to the stories and make requests. Certain characters are especially liked; and children often ask for tales about Little Weasel, Chipmunk, Coyote, and Skunk. Skunk is funny because he thinks himself very clever, but all his undertakings are fiascos. After a Skunk story, children are warned, "Don't be like that." A few stories, such as those about Owl, are told to frighten children into behaving. As the evening wears on, the children fall asleep one by one. Indeed, one of the main

858 765 Children have little knowledge of death, but they observe certain mourning taboos on the decease of a parent. The restrictions on children are not as many or as strict as those for adults.[39] Children have their hair cut and pitch put on their faces for a year in observance of mourning. The child is told to play alone for awhile and not laugh or sing. That these regulations are sometimes onerous is indicated by the statement of an informant whose father died when she was about seven.

> I had my hair cut short. I used to wear pretty beads and little rattles in my pigtails, but I couldn't when my hair was short. When it grew out a little, I got my girl friend to braid it for me and put a rattle in it. My mother caught me and was awfully angry. I knew I was doing something wrong, but I just wanted to have fun.

Children do not end the mourning period with a purificatory sweatbath such as adults take. In fact, children are not allowed near the three mourners' sweat-lodges which are surrounded with spirits that are dangerous to young people. A child who disobeys and plays near the lodges will lose his wife or first child when he grows up.

821 869 Through the period of early childhood the individual gradually acquires a knowledge of objects beyond his immediate home environment. There is an effort on the part of many parents and grandparents to instruct the children, who are sometimes taken out at night to see the moon, stars, and planets. They are told that the Milky Way is a river that divides the sky, the Pleiades are children, and the stars of the Big Dipper are brothers. There are names for, and stories about, many constellations. Mothers take their children out to talk to the moon at each new moon. The mother instructs the children to be quiet and listen as she repeats a prayer which varies in length and content according to individual desires and feelings.

Many natural phenomena are considered dangerous, and young children learn to fear such features as thunder, lightning, and the rainbow. They are warned to run home and hide during an electrical storm and never to point at the rainbow lest the finger drop off.

857 Toward the end of his early childhood the individual begins to assume real responsibilities within his family. Till the age of six or seven the child is free to run and play much as he pleases, so long as he obeys instructions not to fight and not to wander away from camp. He has taken no part in the work of his elders. But now he begins to help with a few simple chores.

The first tasks a child performs may be little more than occasionally bringing home a few pieces of firewood or getting a bucket of

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[39] Adult death and mourning customs are described in Spier, pp. 71-76, and Voegelin, elements 4019-4415.

857 water. Such duties ordinarily devolve upon the women, but young boys as well as girls help their mothers.

Children accompany their mother as she collects large bundles of wood, which she carries on her back. The youngsters pick up smaller pieces to carry in their arms. The mother may be the one to ask the child to help. As often, however, help seems to be voluntary.

> I saw my mother getting a load of wood so I picked some up in my hands. She was proud of me because I was helping.

[text continues on top of p. 346B]

LATE CHILDHOOD

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562 The duties and responsibilities of a child increase greatly as he reaches the age of eight or nine. He still engages in many of the games and amusements of childhood, but he is expected to take on more and more adult activities. Training which has heretofore been largely casual and noncompulsory now takes on more serious aspects. Girls begin to take up feminine pursuits while boys learn masculine occupations.

857 If there are younger children in the family, the nine- and ten-year-olds may be called on to watch them and, if neglectful, the older ones are reprimanded. On the whole, however, the children accept the responsibility willingly, look after the youngsters around camp, teach them, and occasionally take them along on short jaunts away from the immediate campsite. Parents tell the youngsters to obey their older brothers and sisters.

861 Physical training is emphasized in late childhood. The strong, fearless warrior is one of the Klamath ideals of manhood. Women, too, are expected to be strong and brave. Training toward this goal actually begins when cold water is sprinkled on infants daily to inure them to hardships. Somewhat larger infants are held in the cold water of the lake or river to harden them to physical discomforts.

The father or grandfather forces older children to rise before sunrise each day, winter and summer, for a plunge into cold water and to run and exercise. The morning swim is more strictly enforced for boys; but girls also rise early, and many of them swim each morning. A few families start training a child in this manner at the age of five. Most start somewhat later, and some families are never strict in the matter, but such households have little standing in the community.

A boy of ten or twelve who whimpers when made to run to the lake in the morning is considered a weakling. If a child pretends to be asleep when called, he is whipped and thrown into the water by his father. The bravest boys never cry and are proud of being able to roll in the snow in the winter without calling out. Parents boast of a brave boy. But if he is lazy, they are ashamed and hope the neighbors will not hear of their disgrace. Only individuals who arise early throughout their lives to

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[p.346B]

857 Older children use a carrying strap when they go after wood. The strap is laid on the ground and sticks are piled on it. One boy sits down and fastens the strap across his forehead or chest. A companion then helps him get to his feet with the load.

Women carry water in baskets to the camp. The children sometimes race to see who can get the water first. When the child brings a basket of water to the house, his mother or father throws a few drops into the air, saying, "You'll grow as tall as that."

LATE CHILDHOOD

861 run and swim will be lucky and successful. Children are constantly exhorted to run and exercise in order to become "smart."

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526 The older boys have a variety of contests to show their strength; these are in imitation of the competitions in which grown men take part.[20] They lift heavy rocks to see who can carry them farthest. They try to bend large saplings to the ground. They wrestle from a starting position in which the opponents face each other with hands on each other's waists. The whole group gathers to watch the contests and cheer the favorites.

Foot races are popular among boys and girls as well as adults. The races are run principally on summer or fall afternoons when large groups are gathered on Klamath Marsh to gather wokas (water-lily seeds). Fast runners gain a great deal of prestige, so that all children aspire to be such. Children are spectators at the adult matches; then they organize their own. The adults are as eager to watch children's races as they are to observe their own. The best runners are cheered, and small bets are often placed.

In addition to contests of strength and foot races, there are fast shinny games which require good runners with endurance.[21] Both the men's game and the double-ball variety played by the women are occasions for much excitement. There is much rivalry between teams, and children are not permitted to participate in the most important contests. They do organize their own shinny games, however, and may play with adults in the more trivial contests.

At this same age boys begin to take part in organized shooting matches with bow and arrow or darts. The boy is taught by his father or grandfather to shoot with a small juniper bow. The boys' games are similar to those played by the men,[22] but boys are not required to shoot so

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[20] See Spier, pp. 82 ff., and Voegelin, elements 2309-2316.

[21] Shinny games are described by Dorsey, pp. 19 ff., Spier, pp. 80 ff., and Voegelin, elements 2170-2203.

[22] Arrow and dart games are described in Dorsey, pp. 17 f., Spier, pp. 81 f., and Voegelin, elements 2256-2270, 2273-2304.

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857 far. Some contests utilize a stationary target. 526 In others, arrows and darts are shot at a rolling ring. The rings used by boys are smaller than the men's.

868 Boys soon learn to make their own willow darts for the games, are proud of them, and often decorate them by wrapping green tules [531] around them in designs. The darts are then blackened in the fire and the tules unwrapped, leaving white markings where the tules had been. Such negative pyrographic patterns are common on canoe poles and paddles. Girls similarly decorate sticks "just for fun"; they do not enter into the dart contests. The boys do not learn to make their own bows and arrows until puberty or after.

Training in the techniques of fishing, gathering, hunting, and various manufactures be- [262] gins in late childhood. The principal food of the Klamath is fish, but vegetable products and 221 game are also used. The spring, summer, and fall months are spent in travel for the seasonal food supply. Early spring sees a move to fishing grounds along the river. In the summer, families move to the prairies for roots and berries. Some go to the mountains to hunt. In August and September families congregate to gather the wild water-lily seed along the marshes. In the fall there are hunts, and all return to the winter villages where they will remain through the coldest months of the year.[23]

226 The first sucker run in the spring is of 868 special significance and attended by ritual and taboo.[24] Small children are warned to stay away from the river, lest they get sick. The first catch is divided among all; the entrails are carefully gathered up and thrown back into the river to insure the continued abundance of fish. It is the children who are sent with the entrails to the proper spot on the river. While [251] the men continue fishing, the women clean and dry the fish for winter storage. Girls of eight or nine help their mothers by collecting willow branches and arranging the fish on them to dry.

After the first run, the restrictions are relaxed. Children are then allowed to gather along the banks and watch, so long as they do not bother the men. Boys help by dipping fish out of the water by hand and by scaring fish toward the nets; but they do not work with the nets, which take at least two full-grown men to handle.

868 Spears are also used for taking fish. Boys 226 of ten or older are taken out by their fathers into shallow water to learn how to watch for the air bubbles that indicate the presence of fish. The father shows the boy how to impale the victim on a many-pointed spear and finally lift it from the water with a single-pointed gaff. For

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[23] Spier, pp. 10 f.

[24] Varieties of fish caught, fishing techniques, and customs connected with fishing are treated in Barrett (1910), pp. 249-251, Spier, pp. 147-155, and Voegelin, elements 190-300.

[p.347-B]

226 868 large fish, there is a harpoon with two detachable heads; the boy learns its use after he has mastered the other spears. Fish are often speared at night by torchlight. Here again it is the father who instructs the boy.

[227] Fish are also taken in a triangular dip net used from the bow of a canoe. This net is large and cumbersome, so that only a strong adult is able to manipulate it when full of fish. Younger fellows of ten or so help by beating their canoe paddles against the side of the boat to scare the fish toward the net. If they are in shallow water near the shore, the paddles are slapped against the tules. Often, a boy paddles the canoe while his father handles the net in the bow.

Line fishing is not of great importance, but this method is sometimes used and is often the first method a boy learns (usually by himself or from older boys); it is also the only one at which women occasionally help. There are at least two varieties of bone hook which are attached to a nettle-fiber line. Boys catch crawfish in their hands to use as bait.

227 887 The manufacture of nets is an important winter occupation of the old men and a few old women. Both men and women twist the nettle fiber into twine. Children like to watch the net making because they enjoy listening to the old people gossip or argue about how many months remain before the spring fish run. However, the children never help with this process. A fully grown man learns to manufacture nets from the old men. The manufacture of fish spears and harpoons is also left to mature men.

501 868 Before taking part in certain types of fishing, boys must know how to handle the canoes. This same ability is required for girls before they can go after water-lily seeds. Most families have two or more dugout canoes of varying lengths, which can be propelled by either pole or paddle.[85]

[857] Riding in canoes is not a new experience to the child, for infants on cradleboards are taken out in them. Older children often go out with their mother or father and sit or stand in one end of the canoe. The boat is apt to be unstable, and the child is warned not to tip it by moving around.

Parents need not urge children to learn how to handle a canoe, for they are all eager to do so. As one man put it, "Nowadays every kid wants to have a car. It used to be like that with canoes." Indeed, children sometimes "borrowed" canoes when no adults were present.

> The women were all out getting wokas so another girl and I took my aunt's extra canoe. I didn't know how to work the pole. I held onto the end of it and kept pushing till I almost fell over the edge of the canoe. Some people came by in another canoe

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[85] See Coville (1897), p. 89; idem (1904), p. 728; Barrett, pp. 247 f.; Spier, pp. 169-171; and Voegelin, elements 858-893.

[p. 350A]

224 868 not all men are good hunters.[30] Hides are valuable, however, and a good hunter gains prestige. Part of the rigid physical training of the boys is directed toward preparing them for hunting. They are told, "Only smart ones who aren't lazy can be good hunters."

As previously mentioned, boys begin to learn the use of bow and arrow when very young. After learning to shoot at targets, groups of boys hunt birds and squirrels near camp. They kill these easily with their small bows and light arrows. Parents are very proud of boys who can get many animals. The boys also go

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CONCLUSION

124 Since the data presented here were collected from elderly individuals and not from direct observations on a living culture, one should perhaps be rather cautious in arriving at any conclusions about Klamath education. Most informants were bitter about the breakdown of culture which they have seen in the present generation of young Indians. They often reiterated their belief that children were much better reared in the old days. There are, however, certain generalizations which may be validly drawn.

861 There is really no formal education in the sense of organized, planned instruction of the young. Yet most families expect their children to conform to certain ideals, and the parents work for the achievement of these goals.

854 For the first two or three years of life, the child's every want is supplied by his mother. It is she who feeds him, attends to his needs, and watches him most closely, although the father or older siblings may tend the child for short periods. The infant receives little or no fondling, but he is often the center of attraction for the adults of his house group who pause and talk to him as they pass his cradle.

857 867 In about his third year, the child is thrust into active play with his age-mates. He learns that he is expected to be brave, strong, and fearless. He receives praise from parents and other relatives if he is fast and ambitious. If he is lazy or cowardly, he is teased and scolded. Girls as well as boys must learn to be active, energetic, and competitive.

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[30] For hunting methods and customs, see Barrett, pp. 246 f., Spier, pp. 155-160, and Voegelin, elements 1-189.

Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively 159*
sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of [156]
the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the
last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She [464]
is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except [874]
for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her husbands in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of
nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals
and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played
with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making
and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early
twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for
everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were [871]
sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from
home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, [857]
and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an
extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her
parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking" [593]
activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area,
with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruction [868]
from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother.
Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were [191]
disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in
boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote
her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother
was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be
due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before [864]
she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was
at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she [626]
is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. [156]
She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of
their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband,
who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and
divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five [586]
other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never [156]
more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occasionally one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts [588]
to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages,
and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house
(it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are technically illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this 159*
sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her. 156

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone,
particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first
advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request [124]
testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was
wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159
[156] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White segments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
[871] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
[586] fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of numerous children, four of whom she had fer at least for three years, and one,
[597] an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
[874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[857] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., persons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an ad-
[608] visor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
[273] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is associated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites, for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, because she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1339. On sides of basket	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	285
1340. Patterns in 2 kinds of feathers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	531
1341. Patterns in 3 colors besides background	•–	•+	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+		–	–	•–	•–	–	
Cradles																	
1342. Sitting type	•–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	854
1343. "Toe" (Hupa) type	–	–	•–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1344. Shallow type	–	•+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1345. Basketry, oval outline	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1346. Vertical warps	–	•+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1347. Rod rim	–	–	–	+	+			–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	
1348. Board	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1349. Y frame	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1350. Y-kite frame	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1351. Head covering	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1352. Bed or leg rest bar at bottom	–	•+	•+	–	•+	•+	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1353. Lying type	•+	•R	–	–	•R	–	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1354. Board	•+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1355. Y-kite frame	–	–	–	–	R	•–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
1356. Kite frame	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
1357. Willows transverse across frame	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
1358. Basketry	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1359. Oval outline	•+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1360. Rectangular or triangular outline	+	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1361. Vertical warp	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1362. Rod rim	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1363. Soft tule bed attached	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1364. Soft tule, grass bed separate	•+	•R	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
1364a. Crossbar rest for child's legs	•+	•R	–		•R												
1365. Cradle hood	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
1366. Twined weave	•+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
1367. Parallel warp	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
1368. Radiating warp	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1369. Hoop or sticks, across top of cradle.	•R	•R	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1370. Buckskin draped over hoop	R	R	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1371. Pendants from top or hood	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	+	+	–	
1372. Cradle lashing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1373. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1374. Woven vegetable fiber	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1375. Cradle entirely buckskin covered	–	•R	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1376. Infant's sex indicated on cradle	+	•R	+	+	•R	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	+	[858]
1377. By hood design	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1378. Diagonal lines: boy	–		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1379. Zigzag line	–		–	–	R	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1380. Boy	–		–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1381. Girl	–		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1382. Diamond chain: girl	–		–	–	R	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1383. By lashing design	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1384. By position of rim rod	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
1385. By shape of cradle	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1386. Girl's cradle wider at bottom	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1387. Girl's cradle wider at top.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Blankets																	
1388. Woven rabbitskin blankets, made locally	–	+	–	–	o	+	+	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	281 286

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2872. Body left unburied, unburned	−	.	−	−				+	+	−	−	−	−	−	727
2873. Women captives enslaved	•+	(−)	+	•+	−	•−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2874. Violated	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	[562]
o2875. Married	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	±	−	−	−	−	
2876. Child captives killed	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	[858]
2877. Kept for month or so	−	−	−	−				+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2878. Abused	−	−	−	−				+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2879. Body left unburied, unburned	−	−	−	−				+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
2880. Child captives enslaved	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	
2881. Adopted	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	[597]

Booty and Scalps

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
2882. Booty taken	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−
2883. Bows of slain kept	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	(+)	•+	−
2884. Scalps taken	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	•+	•−
2885. Scalp dried on frame	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	•+	−
2886. Special custodian for scalp	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2887. Scalp kept permanently	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2888. Scalp thrown away	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	(+)	−	−	−
2889. Scalp burnt	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	(+)	+	(+)	−	+	−
2890. Whole head taken	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
2891. Fingers taken	+	−	+	−							−	−	−	−
2892. Heart cut out, taken	+	−	+	−					+	.	−	−	−	−

Behavior of Noncombatants

Women's Dance

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2893. Women dance while warriors away	−	+	+		•+	+	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	722
2894. Each day or night	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	
2895. Sing, pray to help men at war	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	535
2896. Each woman dances separately	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	562
2897. Round dance	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	.	−	.	−	−	
2898. Dance abreast	−	+	+		−		+	−	−	.	−	.	−	−	
2899. Outside	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	
2900. Women singer	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	−	
2901. Male singer	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	
2902. Flint "rattle," on basket caps	−		+					−	−	−	−	.	−	−	
2903. Panther teeth, bear claws on stick rattle	−	−	+					−	−		−	.	−	−	
2904. No rattle used	−	(+)	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	+	.	−	−	
2905. Wear skirts of strung pine nuts	−	+	+		−		+	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	
2906. Hold bow and arrow, or flint knife, in hand	−	−	+		•−			−	−	+	+	.	−	−	

Prognostications

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2907. If woman drops knife during dance, sign husband killed, hurt	−	−	.							+	+	.	−	−	[787]
2908. Shaman doctors to learn of warrior's progress	−	−	.						+	−	+	.	+	−	[056]

Return of War Party

Victory Dance

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2908a. Victory (scalp) dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	•+	−	727
2909. Held in or near village	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	535
2910. Held in brush corral	−	−	+								−	−	−	−	
2911. All men dance	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	[562]
2912. Warriors only, among men, dance	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2913. Women dance	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	•	−	+	−	

000 3773. WT: Each month when period begins menstruant stands over nest of piss ants, allows ants to crawl up her legs and bite her, to induce menopause.

Marriage

Child betrothal.--

584 3774. Kl: Boy and girl know nothing of arrangement; boy's father asks girl's, "What do you think about it; you're going to let her get married when she grows up; what do you think?" Girl's father says, "Yes; I think it [will] be all right." Boy's father then gives girl's people food; "that's how they hold her. When girl grows up, perhaps another boy tries to get her [to marry him]; her father says, 'No; you already belong to that boy over there; we already gave you to those folks.' Boy's father then tells his boy to go get girl, and boy goes after her, and brings her back to his father's house for about 5 days. Even if girl doesn't like youth, she has to comply, and her parents have to give her to her betrothed." Before marriage, boy may take gifts to girl's parents--buckskin, and such. Child betrothal an old form
[178] of marriage; informant had never seen it carried out in his lifetime. SW: Boy's father sends
000 buckskin load of money by friend to girl's father; latter "sits there and looks at money, and finally accepts it; or, if he doesn't, boy's father may hire shaman to bewitch girl, so she becomes loose woman. AW: Practiced by wealthy. After betrothal arranged, "don't allow any other man to touch that girl." Child betrothal characterized by informant as "real old-time trade." MM: Here, as among other groups, child betrothal highly approved form of marriage. Couples may be of about same age, or young girl may be paid for by old men, who marries her after she reaches puberty.

3775. AE: Usually boy's father goes to girl's family, taking hides, food with him; if girl's father does not wish to enter into agreement, he does not touch present. However, girl's father, if headman, can also start negotiations, if he wishes to. If girl and boy of 2 different local groups betrothed, boy's family "have somebody [who lives near girl] watch the girl until she is grown to see how good or how mean she is."

3776. SE: At time of actual marriage only. WT: See note 3781.

3777. Mo: Boy's side gives meat, girl's side, roots. But concept of "buying" girl recognized, although exchange of gifts also emphasized. SE: Exchange of gifts at time of actual marriage only. At: Boy's side gives meat, girl's side acorns and baskets, while children are young. AE: Exchange some presents, not many.

[584] 3777a. Kl, Mo: Denied any taboos; children
[784] ignorant that they are betrothed until grown.
[858] SE: After boy and girl are betrothed, taboo for them to see each other's face. Boy wears buffalo

[223-A]

[Klamath Reservation]

K 756 796 [221] shamans, individually or in a group, give public performances to invited audiences. It is at this time, too, that novices first demonstrate their powers. The guests bring their own food, depositing it outside the shaman's house, and take their place by families K M [778] [531] along the wall. A ceremonial pole has been erected outside, bearing painted designs and hung with symbols of the shaman's tutelary spirits. Inside, the house posts are also painted, and stuffed birds and animals, representing the shaman's powers, hang from the beams: they transform a residence into a holy place. The shaman wears sacred regalia, including a fillet of woodpecker scalps, and spectators must be clad in traditional K M [858] clothing. Children are excluded from all but the sleight-of-hand demonstrations at night, since at other times they might be imperiled. Modoc children are not allowed to attend any part of the seances.

Each shaman has an interpreter—who habitually assists him in curing as well—and who summons the spirits from their distant places, lights the shaman's pipe, repeats his words, and provides other aid. For the performance a caller is also chosen and, together with one or more singers, he leads the audience in dancing and in singing the sacred songs of the shaman.

For five days and nights—only nights for the Modoc—the performance continues. During this time the shaman, when ~~he is~~ not dancing, sits or lies on his bed and observes a fast. The first ceremony is a fire dance by the shaman and helpers while the caller invokes the spirits; it is followed by the singing of the spirit songs. Among the Modoc, successive nights are spent in singing the spirit songs, and for those shamans who are richly endowed with spirit associates, there is no repetition. In the longer Klamath ceremonies—which extend through the day as well—evenings are given over to shamanistic performances, restricted by the K M [789] Modoc to the final evening. Each shaman must demonstrate his ability to swallow fire and arrowheads; and some swallow splints, sticks, or prodigious quantities of water. The powers of many enable them to produce fish, pond-lily seeds, or blood in a basket of water; and some animate the stuffed skins suspended from the ceiling as well. During the entire five-day period the congregation follows ritual prescription. On no other occasion are this

a weak differentiation of parental roles and the extension of 648*
surrogacy to grandparents or other kinsmen. In many instances, 657*
the father was either absent or aloof, and the chief burden of 592
child rearing fell upon the mother, who might shift it for several 593
hours or longer upon the slender shoulders of an older child. Among such families, parents often proved unpredictable, their excesses of affection and indulgence alternating with fits of anger, depression, and withdrawal. Rather than being consistently directed toward a program of training, parental behavior tended to be a response to a mood or an isolated element in the immediate situation. Even the admonitions of the elders, the traditional set speeches enjoining ideal behavior, frequently were made without reference to the immediate conduct of the child.

In children, this experience tended to generate a defensive 648*
isolation, a dependent craving which anticipated rebuff, and a 657*
marked hypersensitivity toward others concealed beneath an 592
outward manner of stoic indifference. One probable outcome 593
of childhood exposure such as this was the "guarded restraint" 155
which Clifton discerns as a marked characteristic of Klamath personality, an attribute which, it appears, lessens in severity only in old age.[3]

If there were few fixed and dependable social relationships 648*
in many Klamath families, there likewise was little predictability 657*
in daily routine. As Pierce notes, meals were rarely served at 592
fixed times or attended by the entire family. Instead, individuals 593
ate when hungry. Children rarely had regular chores or bedtime.[4] [264] [857]

It was in the training of children to become functioning mem- 648*
bers of society that the tribal families faced a central test of their 657*
effectiveness. Although it was not clear to what segment of that 592
society the children were to aspire, their elders were in agree- 593
ment in wishing well for them. Tribal orators, challenged upon 858 •
their personal aims, could disavow self-interest and strike a resonant chord by asserting that they were acting only for the good of their grandchildren. Adults, however dissatisfied they might be with their own achievement, might still hope to see a transcendent future for their sons and daughters. In the school, with its promise of equal opportunity to advance through merit, American society held out the means to implement that hope.

All too frequently, however, childhood experience in the 000

[p.344B]

538 purposes of telling the stories seems to be to keep the children quiet and put them to sleep.

867 Concepts of etiquette and what constitutes a well brought up individual are clearly defined among the Klamath. Standards for proper behavior toward one's own family and toward other members of the tribe are taught at an early age. As soon as the child can understand what is said to him, he receives ethical advice from parents and others. Not only relatives but also other [887] adults may give advice. Elderly people are especially apt to counsel children.

> Old people start giving advice right away whenever they meet you. They tell you to be kind to everyone, don't brag, don't put yourself before anyone, work hard and you'll live a long time and be respected by everybody.

593 867 Either parent may take the responsibility of advising the children, but the father is generally stricter. In the early morning and at night, and "whenever everyone is gathered around and it is quiet" the father exhorts his children to be good and kind and to help others, demanding and receiving the attention of his youngsters for these harangues.

867 858 Since a well mannered child brings some prestige to his family, even a very small one is taught how to conduct himself before visitors; and the highest respect is shown to large families whose children are polite and well behaved.[36]

858 574 Visiting is a favorite pastime, especially in the fall after the winter house has been prepared. When visitors arrive, they are offered something to eat. At this point, the children are sent out to play; for "food will stick in the visitors' gullets if children stay around." Exemplary children learn to disappear without being told whenever visitors arrive.

867 264 Eating involves a few rules of etiquette for the young. Meals are not regular, and all are free to take food when there is any available. Ordinarily the family eats at least two meals a day, in the morning and again in the evening. The whole family eats together, and children are told to wait until the father has said a grace, holding a bit of food or water out toward the mountains, lake, and earth as an offering. If this were not done, the children might become ill.

Immediately afterwards all start eating. There is no particular seating arrangement. Children are required to sit quietly during the meal. "They would choke if they ran around or talked." Children are also told never to walk in front of anyone who is eating--a rule doubly important if the person is a shaman.

869 778 An important part of training consists in developing respectful attitudes toward the many sacred places in Klamath territory. Children

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[36] See Spier, p. 91, for a few of the Klamath rules of etiquette.

858 765 Children have little knowledge of death, but they observe certain mourning taboos on the decease of a parent. The restrictions on children are not as many or as strict as those for adults.[19] Children have their hair cut and pitch put on their faces for a year in observance of mourning. The child is told to play alone for awhile and not laugh or sing. That these regulations are sometimes onerous is indicated by the statement of an informant whose father died when she was about seven.

> I had my hair cut short. I used to wear pretty beads and little rattles in my pigtails, but I couldn't when my hair was short. When it grew out a little, I got my girl friend to braid it for me and put a rattle in it. My mother caught me and was awfully angry. I knew I was doing something wrong, but I just wanted to have fun.

Children do not end the mourning period with a purificatory sweatbath such as adults take. In fact, children are not allowed near the three mourners' sweat-lodges which are surrounded with spirits that are dangerous to young people. A child who disobeys and plays near the lodges will lose his wife or first child when he grows up.

821 869 Through the period of early childhood the individual gradually acquires a knowledge of objects beyond his immediate home environment. There is an effort on the part of many parents and grandparents to instruct the children, who are sometimes taken out at night to see the moon, stars, and planets. They are told that the Milky Way is a river that divides the sky, the Pleiades are children, and the stars of the Big Dipper are brothers. There are names for, and stories about, many constellations. Mothers take their children out to talk to the moon at each new moon. The mother instructs the children to be quiet and listen as she repeats a prayer which varies in length and content according to individual desires and feelings.

Many natural phenomena are considered dangerous, and young children learn to fear such features as thunder, lightning, and the rainbow. They are warned to run home and hide during an electrical storm and never to point at the rainbow lest the finger drop off.

857 Toward the end of his early childhood the individual begins to assume real responsibilities within his family. Till the age of six or seven the child is free to run and play much as he pleases, so long as he obeys instructions not to fight and not to wander away from camp. He has taken no part in the work of his elders. But now he begins to help with a few simple chores.

The first tasks a child performs may be little more than occasionally bringing home a few pieces of firewood or getting a bucket of

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[19] Adult death and mourning customs are described in Spier, pp. 71-76, and Voegelin, elements 4019-4415.

869 hear about these spots first in stories. Later
the parents point out the sacred sites as they
778 pass by them. Many of the places are referred
to as "doctor rocks." Children are warned never
to run or play near them lest they should fall
and become crippled.

869 Klamath religion is very closely associated
with shamanism[17] so that most of the religious
756 attitudes acquired are directed toward shamans.
Shamans are the most important, powerful, and
feared individuals in the tribe. Small children
are warned never to bother one, but to run and
hide whenever a shaman appears, or he may cause
sickness. Children are told, "There's a doctor;
don't run in front of him, or he'll trip you.
Don't ever look at him when he is smoking."
Even the shaman's own children fear him.

Obedience is achieved by parents in a number
861 of ways. They frequently scold erring
children; small ones being perhaps most often
threatened with some supernatural punishment for
misbehavior. Whippings are not rare, but are
probably never severe. A child is switched
across his hands or the back of his legs with a
willow switch, or the child's hair or ears are
pulled. Corporal punishment is seldom resorted
to unless the child has made the same mistake
several times and has not heeded scoldings.

861 Obedience is also achieved by instilling in
the child a fear of ghosts, spirits, and other
776 supernatural beings who kidnap bad children.
Owl is the most potent supernatural threat,
775 feared by child and adult alike. When a child
cries at night or is naughty, his parents
threaten, "Owl will come to pluck out your eyes
[539] or carry you off to a cave." If the child fails
to heed the warning at first, the parents call,
"Owl, come listen to this child." The effectiveness
of the threat is increased by the
child's knowledge of the story about a baby who
was carried off by an owl to a cave near Modoc
Point. The baby gradually sprouted feathers and
turned into an owl. Bear and Coyote are similarly
used to silence a crying child.

In the same way children are warned about ghosts who might snatch them away from the camp unless they are good.[18] Ghosts hover about the camp constantly and are especially dangerous to little ones. For that reason children are never allowed out after sundown unless accompanied by an adult. The child is told to turn his left side and raise his left arm to a ghost if he ever sees one; only in this manner can sickness be avoided.

784 Since ghosts constitute such a peril, children
must never go near the cremation grounds
775 where they might contract a ghost sickness,
which can be cured only by a powerful shaman.
Children never attend funerals, nor are they allowed
to cross the path over which a corpse has
been carried.

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[17] A thorough discussion of Klamath shamanism appears, ibid., pp. 93-138.

[18] Ghosts are described in Voegelin, elements 4655-4706.

[p.346A]

857 water. Such duties ordinarily devolve upon the women, but young boys as well as girls help their mothers.

Children accompany their mother as she collects large bundles of wood, which she carries on her back. The youngsters pick up smaller pieces to carry in their arms. The mother may be the one to ask the child to help. As often, however, help seems to be voluntary.

> I saw my mother getting a load of wood so I picked some up in my hands. She was proud of me because I was helping.

[text continues on top of p. 346B]

LATE CHILDHOOD

857 562 The duties and responsibilities of a child increase greatly as he reaches the age of eight or nine. He still engages in many of the games and amusements of childhood, but he is expected to take on more and more adult activities. Training which has heretofore been largely casual and noncompulsory now takes on more serious aspects. Girls begin to take up feminine pursuits while boys learn masculine occupations.

857 If there are younger children in the family, the nine- and ten-year-olds may be called on to watch them and, if neglectful, the older ones are reprimanded. On the whole, however, the children accept the responsibility willingly, look after the youngsters around camp, teach them, and occasionally take them along on short jaunts away from the immediate campsite. Parents tell the youngsters to obey their older brothers and sisters.

• 861 Physical training is emphasized in late childhood. The strong, fearless warrior is one of the Klamath ideals of manhood. Women, too, are expected to be strong and brave. Training toward this goal actually begins when cold water is sprinkled on infants daily to inure them to hardships. Somewhat larger infants are held in the cold water of the lake or river to harden them to physical discomforts.

The father or grandfather forces older children to rise before sunrise each day, winter and summer, for a plunge into cold water and to run and exercise. The morning swim is more strictly enforced for boys; but girls also rise early, and many of them swim each morning. A few families start training a child in this manner at the age of five. Most start somewhat later, and some families are never strict in the matter, but such households have little standing in the community.

A boy of ten or twelve who whimpers when made to run to the lake in the morning is considered a weakling. If a child pretends to be asleep when called, he is whipped and thrown into the water by his father. The bravest boys never cry and are proud of being able to roll in the snow in the winter without calling out. Parents boast of a brave boy. But if he is lazy, they are ashamed and hope the neighbors will not hear of their disgrace. Only individuals who arise early throughout their lives to

[text continues on bottom of p. 346B]

[p.346B]

857 Older children use a carrying strap when they go after wood. The strap is laid on the ground and sticks are piled on it. One boy sits down and fastens the strap across his forehead or chest. A companion then helps him get to his feet with the load.

Women carry water in baskets to the camp. The children sometimes race to see who can get the water first. When the child brings a basket of water to the house, his mother or father throws a few drops into the air, saying, "You'll grow as tall as that."

LATE CHILDHOOD

861 run and swim will be lucky and successful. Children are constantly exhorted to run and exercise in order to become "smart."

857 526 The older boys have a variety of contests to show their strength; these are in imitation of the competitions in which grown men take part.[20] They lift heavy rocks to see who can carry them farthest. They try to bend large saplings to the ground. They wrestle from a starting position in which the opponents face each other with hands on each other's waists. The whole group gathers to watch the contests and cheer the favorites.

Foot races are popular among boys and girls as well as adults. The races are run principally on summer or fall afternoons when large groups are gathered on Klamath Marsh to gather wokas (water-lily seeds). Fast runners gain a great deal of prestige, so that all children aspire to be such. Children are spectators at the adult matches; then they organize their own. The adults are as eager to watch children's races as they are to observe their own. The best runners are cheered, and small bets are often placed.

In addition to contests of strength and foot races, there are fast shinny games which require good runners with endurance.[21] Both the men's game and the double-ball variety played by the women are occasions for much excitement. There is much rivalry between teams, and children are not permitted to participate in the most important contests. They do organize their own shinny games, however, and may play with adults in the more trivial contests.

At this same age boys begin to take part in organized shooting matches with bow and arrow or darts. The boy is taught by his father or grandfather to shoot with a small juniper bow. The boys' games are similar to those played by the men,[22] but boys are not required to shoot so

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[20] See Spier, pp. 82 ff., and Voegelin, elements 2509-2516.

[21] Shinny games are described by Dorsey, pp. 19 ff., Spier, pp. 80 ff., and Voegelin, elements 2170-2203.

[22] Arrow and dart games are described in Dorsey, pp. 17 f., Spier, pp. 81 f., and Voegelin, elements 2256-2270, 2278-2304.

224 868 not all men are good hunters.[30] Hides are valuable, however, and a good hunter gains prestige. Part of the rigid physical training of the boys is directed toward preparing them for hunting. They are told, "Only smart ones who aren't lazy can be good hunters."

As previously mentioned, boys begin to learn the use of bow and arrow when very young. After learning to shoot at targets, groups of boys hunt birds and squirrels near camp. They kill these easily with their small bows and light arrows. Parents are very proud of boys who can get many animals. The boys also go

[text continues on top of p. 350-B]

CONCLUSION

124 Since the data presented here were collected from elderly individuals and not from direct observations on a living culture, one should perhaps be rather cautious in arriving at any conclusions about Klamath education. Most informants were bitter about the breakdown of culture which they have seen in the present generation of young Indians. They often reiterated their belief that children were much better reared in the old days. There are, however, certain generalizations which may be validly drawn.

• 861 There is really no formal education in the sense of organized, planned instruction of the young. Yet most families expect their children to conform to certain ideals, and the parents work for the achievement of these goals.

854 For the first two or three years of life, the child's every want is supplied by his mother. It is she who feeds him, attends to his needs, and watches him most closely, although the father or older siblings may tend the child for short periods. The infant receives little or no fondling, but he is often the center of attraction for the adults of his house group who pause and talk to him as they pass his cradle.

857 867 In about his third year, the child is thrust into active play with his age-mates. He learns that he is expected to be brave, strong, and fearless. He receives praise from parents and other relatives if he is fast and ambitious. If he is lazy or cowardly, he is teased and scolded. Girls as well as boys must learn to be active, energetic, and competitive.

[text continues on bottom of p. 350-B]

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[30] For hunting methods and customs, see Barrett, pp. 246 f., Spier, pp. 155-160, and Voegelin, elements 1-189.

224 after ducks in the canoes. A few informants
said that boys give away for luck the first
868 duck or squirrel that they kill, just as they
will later give away their first deer. The
[787] hunting of deer and other large game is done
only by grown men, especially those who have
sought and received special supernatural power
[721] either at the time of puberty or later. The
art of warfare is another pursuit reserved for
the fully grown although much of the physical
training of boys is directed toward building
strong and fearless warriors.

CONCLUSION

861 The child learns much through the medium of imitative play in which he plays at being grown-up. A large part of the play is spontaneous, but much is inaugurated and encouraged by parents or older children who show the younger ones how to entertain themselves.

As the child grows older he gradually acquires the skills with which he must be familiar. The greatest part of this knowledge comes from accompanying parents or grandparents in their daily routine of work. Adults often explain how things are done, but they have no well formulated program of education. The youngster is often the one to ask to be allowed to perform certain tasks. He is praised if he starts to help at an early age and is given what instructions he needs to carry out the work in which he has evinced an interest.

There are a few aspects of the culture which the Klamath themselves consider important enough to warrant formalized instruction. These are primarily concerned with demeanor and conduct. Children receive daily lectures on subjects of this nature, and are scolded or whipped when they do not live up to the standards. Physical training, especially for older boys, is also emphasized.

In all aspects of child training, the most important unit is the immediate family. The father in particular exhorts his children to live correctly; but the mother, grandparents, and other relatives also talk to the children.

On the whole, it can be said that Klamath parents do not have a conscious program of instruction for children in the techniques of ordinary daily activity. They do, however, feel a great responsibility to bring up their children well in the fundamentals of Klamath comportment.

Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have 593
other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are some- 855
times non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are [581]
frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time, [181]
or to an older relative, or to an elder sibling. If the party occurs in the
household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be
left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may [603]
find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence [155]
and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of
the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one)
or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually
faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloof-
ness. The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and
both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating
fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little ex- [155]
perience with consistency in role relationships.

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, [602]
amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other
kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting 872
the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax, 861
permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear-
cut, specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not [593]
accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet [181]
these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and [155]
attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu.
In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to
be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly [156]
characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts.
This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture,
but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society.

In many respects the values and skills learned within the household to not ade- 155
quately prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of 156
regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the house- [871]
hold may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may
throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get
him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time
the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted,
the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in in-
feriority is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, con-
tributing in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebellious-
ness, or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation
of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school [563]
years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the [582]
areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites
is not an easy one.

It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child 882
are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child 156
may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete 155
with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he
is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors
cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into
an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high [871]

33. A Childhood Incident

(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

(1) When I was small, I always wanted to whirl around. (2) So I whirled around. (3) Then my mother said, "Don't do that! (4) You will get hurt!" (5) Then I whirled around, not minding. (6) So I then fell upon my stomach on a sharp place like this here. (7) Now I got hurt. (8) Then she spanked me with a piece of wood. 539* 861•

34. Marriage Customs

(Mr. Robert David)

(1) I do not know it awfully well. (2) It was such a long time ago. (3) However, I heard thus, [that] these people long ago, when they liked each other thus, then they told their mother and their father too thus, "I want that girl," that man said. (4) "I want that woman." (5) And they asked, "Does she, then, want you? (6) Does she then want you, that girl?" they asked that man about that woman, his parents. (7) And he said, "Yes, she wants me," he said. (8) "Yes," they said, "Let us get ready." (9) They said, "We will get ready, and on this day we will gather together. (10) Now [you] will get her," they said. 539* 584

(11) Now then they came [the groom and his parents are denoted by the verb]. (12) That man's people from this side will come—all the relatives. (13) And those from that side will do the same thing, her fathers [i.e., parents?], whatever they might be, the same sort of relatives of the girl. (14) And now they give [gifts] to each other the same way. (15) And those from that side give [gifts] to the groom. (16) All sorts of things that they have, even very valuable [things], they even did thus with horses long ago. (17) They used to give each other even many horses, if they had horses. (18) These horses have been here for a long time, among the Indians. (19) And they did thus, at that time. [431]

(20) Then when they had finished doing thus, now being pleased they did thus—now they made it tight [i.e., concluded the marriage agreement], having done thus. (21) On both sides they told [the couple], "Live as long as you will live, together. (22) You will be one now," they said. (23) Now they said, "Even however difficult [it might be], you will always 539* 585 581

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

37. Advice to the Young

(Mr. Robert David)

539*
861

(1) I will tell [something] thus, again. (2) Some time back they advised me too. (3) When I was little. (4) And I remember it always, that. (5) Though even at that I did not do right sometimes, perhaps. (6) And when I was big and had finished school, then at that time I used to go around any old way, going in with [bad company] just as they told me, "Do not go among those who will do you evil! (7) [They] will give you a bad name. (8) [They] will teach you evil, something." (9) Thus they told me, long ago.

(10) "And you try to walk like a man, just as some of us have done. (11) And we have lived so long, although life is short. (12) If you do evil, then something will catch you, [and] they will kill you somewhere. (13) And even that same person will tell about you, 'He did it first,' who did it to you first. (14) He dares you to do something which is not right." (15) So thus they told us long ago, and to walk away [from evil]. (16) "If [someone] does not speak nicely to you, then walk away," they said. Yes. (17) "'I do not want to listen,' thus you will say. (18) Let him call you something, sometimes those young men, thus call, 'He is a woman. (19) He is nothing. (20) He thinks like a woman.' (21) Because [you] do not do just as they themselves do. (22) And some want to outdo each other, doing something bad. (23) And he says, 'I am a man,' he says, calling himself [thus]."

(24) Thus they advised us long ago, to do that way. (25) "And, being cheerful, also, all will love you," they said. (26) "Anyone at all will love you, if you will be a good man," they said. (27) "And they will sympathize with [lit. "pity"] you, if something happens, if someone of yours dies—some friend, your close relatives. (28) So they will help you. (29) And anyone knows you [i.e., anyone will be your friend]," thus they [said] to us. "If you will meet anyone cheerfully. (30) You will not be ashamed, if you meet someone, who lives around you here, for so long."

(31) And they advised us thus, "Walk truly. (32) That is good. (33) It is the best [lit. "in a state of having outdone"] everything, if you will walk truly. (34) Do not tell anything falsely to anyone. (35) Do not imitate anyone doing something evil, which you see. (36) Love everyone thus—women, men, everything, elderly persons of that sort. (37) And you'll see that old man, who has now lived a long time. (38) Do not make fun of him either," they said. (39) "Do not make fun. (40) You

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 155]

539* 861

will be that way too, sometime. (41) All of us will be thus, we will grow old." (42) Thus my old man [father?] told us—often to us in the evening—even in the evening he spoke to [us] thus. (43) In the evening, [as] we were sitting around the fire, in our house.

(44) And he always advised me thus, "Living like that is good," he said. (45) "If you do anything [wrong] like that, then you will never be able to live here—if you would be a trouble-maker—no. (46) Everything would hem you in, evil. (47) And the law would also follow you. (48) They will always catch you," he said. (49) "[You] can never hide from the law today. [177] (50) The white men have brought us the law. (51) So we will do thus—now we follow it, we have with them—divided it recently—since we divided up the country with them—so we will do thus. (52) We will live as they have told us, having laid down the law on this reservation. (53) And they want us to live in this way, as long as we do not do thus, evil. (54) Then they would take us there, and they would put us inside, there where you do not come back out." (55) Thus they told us, long ago. (56) That's as far as [I will tell it].

Introductory Note to Text 38

The informants for this text were Mrs. Amanda Cowan, Mrs. Pansy Ohles, and Mrs. Cowan's son, Ransome. Mr. Andrew Ortiz, Jr., a young Klamath friend who does not speak the language but who has a great interest in the old ways, was also present.

Mrs. Cowan is reputed to be the oldest living member of the Klamath tribe, and her age was variously reported as 100, 102, and 104. She retains all her faculties, and the day the author's party visited her, she was spry and cheerful and delighted to help the author understand her language.

Mrs. Ohles began the conversation by describing one of Mr. David's myths (Text 13), which she had heard on the author's tape recorder, to Mrs. Cowan. The machine was turned on at this time, and the conversation [126] was left to run more or less freely thereafter. Later, the author asked about various Klamath forms whose meaning he was unsure of, and also about animals and plants, hoping to add to the corpus. Near the end of the session, Mrs. Ohles discussed kinship relationships and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
Cradles																	
3263. 2 cradles used successively	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	854
3264. Both same shape	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3265. First lacks hood	+	-	-			+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
3266. Different shapes	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
*3267. 1st cradle used for about ... days	·	28	28	5	+	+	+	28	28	28	+	·	28	28	+	-	
3268. Used until cord drops off	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	
3269. Made before baby born	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	·	·	+	+	
3270. Presented to mother after child born														·	+	+	
3271. Made after baby born	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	·	+	-	-	
3272. Bad luck if made before birth	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	·	+	-	-	
3273. Tied on tree when discarded	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
o3274. 2d cradle used for ... years	1+	1+	1+	1+	1+	1+	1+	2	2	1	1+	1+	1+	1+	1	1+	
3275. Made by maternal, paternal grandmother	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3276. Made by mother	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3277. Made by woman specialist	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	·	-	·	-	-	
3278. Made by paternal grandfather	-	-	+								-	-	-	-	-	+	
3279. Man makes cradleboard	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3280. Cradle must be finished same day begun	-	+	-				+	+	-	-	-	·	-	·	-	-	
3281. Discarded cradle tied on tree	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3282. Discarded cradle kept in house	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3283. Used for several children	·	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	
3284. Vegetable diapering material	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	
3285. Skin diapering material	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	
3286. Infant wrapped in skin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Nursing																	
o3287. Infant nurses after ... days	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	853
3288. Colostrum milked out	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
3289. Milked onto hot rock or coals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3290. Denied to baby	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
3291. Infant fed gruel, first 2-3 days	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3291a. Infant fed water, first 2-3 days	+	+	-	·	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	
3292. Nursed whenever cries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
o3293. No intercourse between parents for ... months	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	·	·	1	1	(1)	3	[837]
Weaning and Discipline of Children																	
3294. Weaning as soon as teeth appear, regularly	-	-	-	+	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	862 ●
3295. Early weanings, occasionally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	
3296. Pregnancy cause of	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	
3297. Sickness of mother cause of	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	·	+	+	+	+	
3298. Infant taken to mother's relatives	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	·	-	+	·	·	
3299. Mother keeps out of baby's sight	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	·	-	+	·	·	
3300. Mother puts bitter substance on nipples	·	·	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	
3301. Mother frightens child	·	·	-						+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3302. Child fed larger quantities solid food											+	+	+	-	+	+	
3303. Child usually nurses until he stops of own accord	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3304. Night "cry babies" bathed	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	&
3305. Infant's ears pierced, if cries excessively	-	-	-		+		+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	[304]

[p. 341-B]

854 he falls, no attempt is made to pick him up unless he cries for some time.

856 The first experimentation in crawling and walking is largely left to the child. But when he tries to stand, he is helped. One person steadies the toddler, while another stands a few feet away with outstretched hand, coaxing him to "Come to me." The child soon learns such commands as "Walk," "Go to auntie," and so forth. The parents are proud of the child's accomplishment and show off his ability to visitors.

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[p.341-B]

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EARLY CHILDHOOD

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Small children also enjoy pretending to be very old people. In this game they hobble around on canes. One old lady of eighty laughed as she recalled playing in this manner:

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Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

159*
In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively
sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of [156]
the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the
last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She [464]
is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except [874]
for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her husbands in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of
nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals
and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played
with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making
and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early
twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for
everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were [871]
sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from
home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, [857]
and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an
extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her [593]
parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking"
activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area,
with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruction [868]
from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother.
Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were [191]
disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in
boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote
her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother
was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be
due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before [864]*
she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was
at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she [626]
is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. [156]
She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of
their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband,
who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and [586]
divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five
other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never [156]
more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occasionally one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts [588]
to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages,
and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house
(it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are technically illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this 59*
sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her. 56

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone,
particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first
advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request [124]
testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was
wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

[p.342A]

867 terms for all his relatives, whether he has seen them yet or not. This is considered one of the most important things a child must learn.[8]

With the knowledge of kinship terms the
child acquires certain attitudes toward his
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particular kin do not seem to be very clearly
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[text continues on top of p. 342-B]

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Three- and four-year-olds find a variety of

[text continues on bottom of p. 342B]

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do keep up their ordinary occupation in part during this time. They 841
dig roots for instance, but others must care for the products further, else the women will never find any more.

There is no comparable rite for boys at puberty. Nevertheless the 881
time when a boy's voice deepens is recognized as propitious for seeking
power. He is sent into the mountains for perhaps five days, to wander [787]
at night, running continually, piling up rocks, swimming in the mountain pools and eddies of the rivers, fasting the while until a song comes
to him in a dream. He must use a head-scratcher. Preadolescent boys [866]
are tossed into the river or whipped while they sleep. If the boy whimpers he will be a weakling; he is expected to jump up and shout. I have cited above the case of Lɛle'ks who was so treated at puberty, it seems, and thus lost his transvestite habits.

When I [Pat Kane] was a little boy of seven or ten, my father sometimes 866
threw me into the river while I slept. I did not ask why. Finally he told me, 159
"I do not want to kill you. I do it so that when you are grown you will not easily get sick, so that if you are shot you will recover quickly." I always bathed in the river as a boy and you see that I have never even had rheumatism until recently.

DEATH AND MOURNING

Klamath funereal observances are personal, non-ceremonial, and 764
somewhat unique in that they provide occasions for the seeking of
power. There are no mourning anniversaries. [765]

Cremation is the universal practice, even for suicides, the newborn, and the stillborn. Only the bodies of secretly aborted infants
are buried in the bush. The body of a man killed in war is brought [727]
home for cremation.[88]

Some Klamath men were trapping in the mountains west of Crater lake about eighty years ago when they were met by some Upland Takelma who killed four or five. One boy alone escaped and made his way back to Klamath marsh at night. The Takelma took scalps, hands, and feet of the dead, and held a dance. Many Klamath went to fetch the bodies, which they brought to Klamath marsh for incineration.

Near each group of settlements is a spot where all cremations take place. It is somewhat apart from the settlements but not isolated.

Three of these serve the Klamath marsh people; on the eastern side of the marsh near the towns k'ɛtaiwas (2, see maps, figs. 1-3), gŭpgŭa'ksi (3), and l'wal (4). For others of this division of the tribe, there is one on Sprague

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[88] Cremation was given up forty or more years ago ("in about 1868," Gatschet, 1:86). The first burial was that of a Molala man, married to a Klamath woman, who was killed by a Klamath. [177] [178]

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (187[illegible]) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539
533
Lū'baks, klépki kiúksam shuí'sh, tsé-usam skū'tatk, tsé-usam tsúyätk,
White chalk. red paint are doctors' songs, tché-ush-dressed, tché-ush-head-covered.
tsé-usam lā'sh, witkakísham lā's.
tché-ush-feather, hawk's feather.

Kat'sitsutsuéas kiúksam shuísh, kat'hiáwash, lū'luks-skū'tchaltk,
Snow-flake witchcraft is a doctor's song, hair-tying, in fire-robed,
skū'ksam hä'kskish, hä'näsish.
spirit's walking-staff, conjurer's arrow.

NOTES.

[124] All these subjects of tamánuash songs were obtained pell-mell and jotted down in a confusion. A clear insight into the quality of the songs known to this Indian could be attained only by classifying them into categories, as those of natural agencies, *539 the winds, rocks, genera of animals, plants, tools and articles of native dress. Morgan 533 had heard all these songs sung in former years, but when I met him he could remember 192 the texts of those 71 songs only, which are to be found from page 164 to page 171. Many songs of this subject list are sung by the Modoc conjurers also.

Certain names of uncommon species of animals could not be rendered in English for want of information; to others the Dictionary will afford the best clue.

[193] [866] 179; 4. káwam or k̲áwam is a possessive case, requiring as its complement ámpû or k̲óke, kok̲eága. To bathe in eel-springs is deemed to be of great influence on character and personal courage, for the constant peril of being bitten by crabs, snakes and other reptiles must necessarily make the bathers scornful against sudden pains.

179; 6. tsû'χatχant, or in its full form: tsûχatχántko, has to be connected attributively with the foregoing word: taákiag tsû'χatχantko "a restless boy, a little boy unable to keep quiet on his seat."

[193] 180; 1. taaskáya wéash, kólta wéas show the apocopated form of the possessive before a vocalic sound. This is another example of the rule that Klamath seeks rather than avoids *hiatus*. Cf stsá-usa-wálks 168; 45; 180; 23, and *Note* to 168; 41.

180; 5. spû'm; said to be the female of the fat shkä'-bird. There exist conjurers' songs about both, which I have given in this volume, page 167; 36. 168; 44.

180; 10. póp=tchíkash seems to mean the "drinking *or* sipping bird" (cf. pópo-i).

180; 17. Lä=a-ámbotkish, "the one which refuses to drink" seems to be a newt, Amblystoma, according to the description given of it by the Indians.

180; 17. kóä. The toad or bull-frog tamánuash song is reputed to be the most efficient of all these incantations.

180; 18. Ámpuam lák is a film-like organism moving rapidly in spirals or meanders through the water, and supposed by rustics to originate from the long hair of horses. The primary signification of ámbutka, to be thirsty, is "to return to the water", and the distributive form a-ámbutka here indicates repetition.

180; 19. The list of *plants* is very small when compared to that of the animals, and embodies economical plants only.

180; 22. wásh means *place of residence* in general; but since all the objects in this category refer to the sweat-house, it may be referred to a removal of earth in the floor of this structure; lúloks is the fire burning in the centre of it.

181; 1. tsé-usam skû'tatk: "dressed with feathers of the yellow hammer or red shafted flicker."

[p.341-B]

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538 purposes of telling the stories seems to be to
keep the children quiet and put them to sleep.

Concepts of etiquette and what constitutes
867 a well brought up individual are clearly defined
among the Klamath. Standards for proper behavior
toward one's own family and toward other
members of the tribe are taught at an early age.
As soon as the child can understand what is said
to him, he receives ethical advice from parents
and others. Not only relatives but also other
[887] adults may give advice. Elderly people are especially
apt to counsel children.

> Old people start giving advice right
> away whenever they meet you. They tell you
> to be kind to everyone, don't brag, don't
> put yourself before anyone, work hard and
> you'll live a long time and be respected by
> everybody.

593 Either parent may take the responsibility
of advising the children, but the father is generally
867 stricter. In the early morning and at
night, and "whenever everyone is gathered around
and it is quiet" the father exhorts his children
to be good and kind and to help others, demanding
and receiving the attention of his youngsters
for these harangues.

867 Since a well mannered child brings some
prestige to his family, even a very small one is
858 taught how to conduct himself before visitors;
and the highest respect is shown to large families
whose children are polite and well behaved.[16]

Visiting is a favorite pastime, especially
858 in the fall after the winter house has been prepared.
574 When visitors arrive, they are offered
something to eat. At this point, the children
are sent out to play; for "food will stick in
the visitors' gullets if children stay around."
Exemplary children learn to disappear without
being told whenever visitors arrive.

867 Eating involves a few rules of etiquette
for the young. Meals are not regular, and all
264 are free to take food when there is any available.
Ordinarily the family eats at least two
meals a day, in the morning and again in the
evening. The whole family eats together, and
children are told to wait until the father has
said a grace, holding a bit of food or water out
toward the mountains, lake, and earth as an offering.
If this were not done, the children
might become ill.

Immediately afterwards all start eating.
There is no particular seating arrangement.
Children are required to sit quietly during the
meal. "They would choke if they ran around or
talked." Children are also told never to walk
in front of anyone who is eating--a rule doubly
important if the person is a shaman.

869 An important part of training consists in
developing respectful attitudes toward the many
779 sacred places in Klamath territory. Children

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[16] See Spier, p. 91, for a few of the Klamath rules of etiquette.

[p. 350A]

224
868 not all men are good hunters.[39] Hides are valuable, however, and a good hunter gains prestige. Part of the rigid physical training of the boys is directed toward preparing them for hunting. They are told, "Only smart ones who aren't lazy can be good hunters."

As previously mentioned, boys begin to learn the use of bow and arrow when very young. After learning to shoot at targets, groups of boys hunt birds and squirrels near camp. They kill these easily with their small bows and light arrows. Parents are very proud of boys who can get many animals. The boys also go

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CONCLUSION

124 Since the data presented here were collected from elderly individuals and not from direct observations on a living culture, one should perhaps be rather cautious in arriving at any conclusions about Klamath education. Most informants were bitter about the breakdown of culture which they have seen in the present generation of young Indians. They often reiterated their belief that children were much better reared in the old days. There are, however, certain generalizations which may be validly drawn.

861 There is really no formal education in the sense of organized, planned instruction of the young. Yet most families expect their children to conform to certain ideals, and the parents work for the achievement of these goals.

864 For the first two or three years of life, the child's every want is supplied by his mother. It is she who feeds him, attends to his needs, and watches him most closely, although the father or older siblings may tend the child for short periods. The infant receives little or no fondling, but he is often the center of attraction for the adults of his house group who pause and talk to him as they pass his cradle.

867
867 In about his third year, the child is thrust into active play with his age-mates. He learns that he is expected to be brave, strong, and fearless. He receives praise from parents and other relatives if he is fast and ambitious. If he is lazy or cowardly, he is teased and scolded. Girls as well as boys must learn to be active, energetic, and competitive.

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[39] For hunting methods and customs, see Barrett, pp. 246 f., Spier, pp. 155-160, and Voegelin, elements 1-189.

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 67

Background Data *159

156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, particularly
in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
[593] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma
William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
[733] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
[83] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by
three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
[587] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She
[871] completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and
she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri,
[178] California, and Mexico.

[651] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father
for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation
[464] and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous
bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal
penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her
sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five,
and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their
violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how
such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
[577] Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams
is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
[177] a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values,
and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of
either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and
has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[191] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her
English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that children
[871] today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I
can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
[593] no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her
children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this respect,
[603] Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, behaviors
[867] in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of
place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations
with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at
riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them
coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
[657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was
carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
[871] and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
[177] seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who
promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were rejected
from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate inter-
156 changes and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses

524 play with a tiny bow of willow, little more than
a toy, which they learn to make from an older
857 boy or from their father. But by the time a boy
is six or seven his father presents him with a
real bow made from juniper. It is smaller than
the large yew war and hunting bows of the men,
and the arrows are blunt. The boys practice
shooting at targets around the camp. They will
not begin to do any hunting for several years,
but groups of boys imitate the shooting contests
of their elders. These will be described in
more detail in a later section since it is older
boys who spend the most time in these pursuits.

Another favorite activity of all Klamath
868 children is swimming. Very young children are
not allowed near the water, but by five or six
857 years of age the child is paddling around in
shallow water under the watchful eye of parents
481 or of older children who help the younger ones
to learn. The teacher holds the child around
the waist and tells him to splash with his arms
and legs. In other instances the child learns
by himself or by verbal instructions. One informant related the following incident:

> I thought I was swimming when I had my feet on the bottom. Someone laughed at me and said that wasn't swimming. He told me to kick my feet, too.

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Several games are played in the water. The
857 children race to see who will be the first to
get into the water. Then, teams of four or five
line up opposite each other and splash until one
side gives up. There are also diving contests
to see who can go the farthest underwater before
coming to the surface.

In addition to the active outdoor play of children, which is possible only in the summer months, there are games and amusements which can be played indoors at any time.[35] Many of these are enjoyed equally by adults and by children.

Individuals of both sexes and all ages enjoy top spinning. Adults show the children how to set the tops in motion by twirling the stem between their palms, but then the children play by themselves. The children also learn from adults or older children how to make their own tops of bark, wood, or pine pitch. The best ones, according to informants, are from hardened pitch.

> We used to go out and get pine gum and chew it all up. Then we made it flat and round with our hands and got some boys to fix the hole in the middle for the stick. You have to put the gum in cold water till it gets hard. They lasted pretty good unless we dropped them or left them out in the sun.

221 During the winter there is little economic
activity, and families spend most of the time in

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[35] Klamath games and amusements are described in detail by Dorsey (1901), pp. 14-27, Spier, pp. 76-86, and Voegelin, elements 2170-2528.

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> 501 and saw us. They laughed and laughed and
> said, "Look, she doesn't know how to use the
> 868 pole." Then they told me how to push it a
> little way at a time and lift it up and push
> again.

Some children start to use paddles by themselves, too. Adults see them trying to do so and tell them how to kneel in the bottom and dip the paddle in and out of the water without splashing. Light cedar paddles are used, and small ones are made for children. Similarly, shorter poles are often made for the children.

222 The principal vegetable food of the Klamath
868 is the seed of the wild water-lily, known as
wokas. Many other seed, root, and berry prod-
462 ucts are also utilized in varying amounts.[26] It
is the women who do the gathering, and there is
[262] a strong feeling that a girl cannot learn too
soon to contribute to the family food supply by helping her mother gather these products, although youngsters are never forced into work.

Even very small girls receive a tiny digging stick as a toy. With the sticks the girls play around the camp, digging up clumps of grass to be used as "camas" and "ipos" for feeding their dolls. Children often accompany their mothers after berries, seeds, and roots. They are allowed to run about as they please and only help if they wish. When they get tired or hungry, they go back to camp. Both boys and girls help occasionally with berrying. Parents complain that the youngsters eat more than they save, but do not scold them.

251 Part of the activity during the berrying
season is, of course, the drying of the berries
868 for storage. One woman recalls seeing this as a
child and wanting to help.

> Up in the mountains I saw how they dried huckleberries. They dug a little ditch and put the berries in and made a fire alongside. You have to watch the fire for a day and a night. I remember seeing this when I was about ten. I wanted to dry some berries, too; but my mother didn't want me to use any of her berries. She said I might ruin them so I'd have to get my own. I went and picked some, and she showed me how to dry them.

222 When a girl is nine or ten, her mother
gives her a real digging stick of slightly
868 smaller dimensions than her own. The girl is
also given a small carrying basket to wear on her back and a basket to put the roots in before they are transferred to the carrying basket. The mother shows the girl where to go to get the best roots and how to insert the stick to loosen the earth all the way around the root before prying it out. Apparently there is little attempt to force the girl to work hard the first

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[26] Coville (1897), pp. 87-103, idem (1904), pp. 725-739, and Spier, pp. 166 f.

[p. 347A]

857 far. Some contests utilize a stationary target.
526 In others, arrows and darts are shot at a rolling ring. The rings used by boys are smaller than the men's.

• 868 Boys soon learn to make their own willow darts for the games, are proud of them, and often decorate them by wrapping green tules [531] around them in designs. The darts are then blackened in the fire and the tules unwrapped, leaving white markings where the tules had been. Such negative pyrographic patterns are common on canoe poles and paddles. Girls similarly decorate sticks "just for fun"; they do not enter into the dart contests. The boys do not learn to make their own bows and arrows until puberty or after.

Training in the techniques of fishing, gathering, hunting, and various manufactures begins in late childhood. [262] The principal food of the Klamath is fish, but vegetable products and 221 game are also used. The spring, summer, and fall months are spent in travel for the seasonal food supply. Early spring sees a move to fishing grounds along the river. In the summer, families move to the prairies for roots and berries. Some go to the mountains to hunt. In August and September families congregate to gather the wild water-lily seed along the marshes. In the fall there are hunts, and all return to the winter villages where they will remain through the coldest months of the year.[33]

226 The first sucker run in the spring is of special significance and attended by ritual and 868 taboo.[34] Small children are warned to stay away from the river, lest they get sick. The first catch is divided among all; the entrails are carefully gathered up and thrown back into the river to insure the continued abundance of fish. It is the children who are sent with the entrails to the proper spot on the river. [251] While the men continue fishing, the women clean and dry the fish for winter storage. Girls of eight or nine help their mothers by collecting willow branches and arranging the fish on them to dry.

After the first run, the restrictions are relaxed. Children are then allowed to gather along the banks and watch, so long as they do not bother the men. Boys help by dipping fish out of the water by hand and by scaring fish toward the nets; but they do not work with the nets, which take at least two full-grown men to handle.

868 Spears are also used for taking fish. Boys
226 of ten or older are taken out by their fathers into shallow water to learn how to watch for the air bubbles that indicate the presence of fish. The father shows the boy how to impale the victim on a many-pointed spear and finally lift it from the water with a single-pointed gaff. For

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[33] Spier, pp. 10 f.

[34] Varieties of fish caught, fishing techniques, and customs connected with fishing are treated in Barrett (1910), pp. 249-251, Spier, pp. 147-155, and Voegelin, elements 190-300.

226 868 large fish, there is a harpoon with two detachable heads; the boy learns its use after he has mastered the other spears. Fish are often speared at night by torchlight. Here again it is the father who instructs the boy.

[227] Fish are also taken in a triangular dip net used from the bow of a canoe. This net is large and cumbersome, so that only a strong adult is able to manipulate it when full of fish. Younger fellows of ten or so help by beating their canoe paddles against the side of the boat to scare the fish toward the net. If they are in shallow water near the shore, the paddles are slapped against the tules. Often, a boy paddles the canoe while his father handles the net in the bow.

Line fishing is not of great importance, but this method is sometimes used and is often the first method a boy learns (usually by himself or from older boys); it is also the only one at which women occasionally help. There are at least two varieties of bone hook which are attached to a nettle-fiber line. Boys catch crawfish in their hands to use as bait.

227 887 The manufacture of nets is an important winter occupation of the old men and a few old women. Both men and women twist the nettle fiber into twine. Children like to watch the net making because they enjoy listening to the old people gossip or argue about how many months remain before the spring fish run. However, the children never help with this process. A fully grown man learns to manufacture nets from the old men. The manufacture of fish spears and harpoons is also left to mature men.

501 868 Before taking part in certain types of fishing, boys must know how to handle the canoes. This same ability is required for girls before they can go after water-lily seeds. Most families have two or more dugout canoes of varying lengths, which can be propelled by either pole or paddle.[25]

[857] Riding in canoes is not a new experience to the child, for infants on cradleboards are taken out in them. Older children often go out with their mother or father and sit or stand in one end of the canoe. The boat is apt to be unstable, and the child is warned not to tip it by moving around.

Parents need not urge children to learn how to handle a canoe, for they are all eager to do so. As one man put it, "Nowadays every kid wants to have a car. It used to be like that with canoes." Indeed, children sometimes "borrowed" canoes when no adults were present.

> The women were all out getting wokas so another girl and I took my aunt's extra canoe. I didn't know how to work the pole. I held onto the end of it and kept pushing till I almost fell over the edge of the canoe. Some people came by in another canoe

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[25] See Coville (1897), p. 89; idem (1904), p. 738; Barrett, pp. 247 f.; Spier, pp. 169-171; and Voegelin, elements 858-893.

222 868 few times, but many girls are proud of their ability to dig a lot of roots, for which they receive praise at home.

> I liked to dig up camas where the dirt was soft. My mother had a long stick, and I had a little one. I had a basket on my back and a little basket in my hand. My, I thought it was smart to be able to dig up those roots. I was sorry when evening came, and we had to go home. We brought the camas home and dumped them on the ground to dry.
> 252 868 When I saw my mother fix a pit for baking the camas, I wanted to do the same. My girl friend and I had a hard time getting the bark to put in the pit, but we did it. We had to get grass and a lot of wood, too. You have to make the rocks hot just like for a sweatbath and put them in the pit with wet grass over so the camas will steam. Then the camas is put in with dirt over it and a fire on top. My mother watched me when I made the pit and told me when I got the wrong kind of grass; she said it would make the camas taste bitter. I kept asking my mother how to do it, and she told me.

222 852 Several informants stated that the first roots a girl digs are of special importance. They are given to her grandmother, who blesses the girl with a statement to the effect that henceforth the girl will be a good worker. Not
224 852 all families seem to follow this custom. The first fruits custom is more strictly followed for the first large game a boy kills.[27]

222 The wokas harvest from mid-August to late September is a time for general gatherings and activities, one of the most pleasantly anticipated times of the year.[28] Women go out in the canoes early in the morning and remain on the marsh all day. Apparently the mother does not really urge or coerce her daughter to start helping with the wokas. As with other products, it may be the girl herself who takes the initiative.

> 222 868 We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were

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[27] Compare Spier, p. 168, and Voegelin, element 137.

[28] The most complete account of wokas gathering is found in Coville (1904), pp. 725-739.

> 222 868 always lots of extra poles lying around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them.

A girl gradually learns to gather all of the wild products which are used, gaining most of the knowledge of where and when to gather the different crops simply by accompanying her mother. The mother tells the girl where to find the best seeds, berries, and roots. She tells her daughter to look for huckleberries near springs and moist places; she shows her how to follow the little trail left by squirrels in storing nuts; in short, she gives her the information that means the difference between being a good and a mediocre provider.

251 Enough food must be collected from spring to fall to last through the winter, and it is imperative to store it so as to prevent spoilage. Roots are put in caches in the ground. Seeds are stored in sacks between the timbers on the roof of the winter house in such a way that the sacks can be opened from inside the house. Young girls are not trusted with the preparation of the storage pits because an error might ruin the family's entire winter supply. Sometimes [868] girls fix small pits for the roots they have dug by themselves.

> I dug up the dirt and put away my sacks of ipos and camas. Then I covered them just the way I saw the old people do.

252 868 A girl begins to learn to cook when she is about ten. As with most other skills, some girls acquire this at an earlier age than others. A girl first learns to roast fish, her mother watching and telling her to be sure that it is cooked thoroughly. A woman also teaches her girl to roast ducks, showing her how to turn the bird so that it will not burn.

Preparation of seed and root foods is more difficult, since they must be ground or pounded before use. The mother shows the girl how to use a flat metate and two-horned muller for wokas. Many girls start to grind wokas first for their dolls.

> I was just playing the first time I helped another girl grind the wokas. We used a wokas leaf like the mat they put the

> 252 868 seeds on, and then ground them up. We were in a hurry to grind the seeds and run down to the water to wash them. My mother told us we'd just waste the wokas if we did it that way. It was hard to move the grinder right to get the seeds to roll off the stone. My mother told me the stone had to be a little rough to grind the wokas right.

285 868 In late childhood girls also begin to learn how to make mats, baskets, and clothing.[59] Of these, mat making is considered the easiest and is the first attempted. Even in early childhood most girls try to weave tule mats. They make small dome-shaped lodges for their dolls and cover them with mats. The mother or grandmother helps the child whenever there is time. When the girl begins to make larger, more utilitarian mats, her mother gives her the materials and shows her how to use them.

In the wintertime girls sit beside their mother or grandmother as the elders make baskets. The girl is given some of the tules to split with her thumbnail and twist on her thigh. If the girl's twists come unraveled, nothing is said because the materials can be used again. The girls usually soon tire of twisting tules, and they are allowed to do as many or as few as they wish.

Small baskets are made for girls, and often the first basket a girl makes by herself is a tiny one for her dolls. The mother or grandmother starts the basket and shows the girl how to weave it. If the girl's baskets keep coming unraveled, she is teased a little and watched till she gets it correctly. Later the girl makes larger baskets with designs in tule root or porcupine quills. Certain designs are known as "beginners' designs" because they are simple to make. Other designs are much more complex, in particular those which adorn the basket hats. Few girls learn to make the large decorated baskets before they reach maturity. A girl often learns basketry from her mother-in-law.

291 593 Clothing for the entire family is made by the mother. In pre-white times dress for the wealthy was of the Plains type. Poorer people wore skirts of tule or buckskin and went barefoot. Capes of tule or shredded sagebrush bark were also worn. Very young children went naked. The mother prepares the tules and other materials for skirts and capes, and she is the one to tan and sew hides for skin clothing.

294 868 The making of clothes is one of the last skills a girl acquires before marriage. In fact, some do not learn the art until after that time. Hides are so valuable that the mother does not want to risk having the girl spoil one.

224 868 Most boys in late childhood aspire to become good hunters. Game food is far less important in the Klamath diet than fish or wokas, and

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[59] For descriptions of these materials and techniques of manufacture, see Coville (1897), pp. 89-95, Barrett, pp. 253-257, Spier, pp. 173-193, 207-217, and Voegelin, elements 1285-1341, 1388-1416, 1451-1476, 1713-1957a.

224 868 not all men are good hunters.[39] Hides are valuable, however, and a good hunter gains prestige. Part of the rigid physical training of the boys is directed toward preparing them for hunting. They are told, "Only smart ones who aren't lazy can be good hunters."

As previously mentioned, boys begin to learn the use of bow and arrow when very young. After learning to shoot at targets, groups of boys hunt birds and squirrels near camp. They kill these easily with their small bows and light arrows. Parents are very proud of boys who can get many animals. The boys also go

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CONCLUSION

124 Since the data presented here were collected from elderly individuals and not from direct observations on a living culture, one should perhaps be rather cautious in arriving at any conclusions about Klamath education. Most informants were bitter about the breakdown of culture which they have seen in the present generation of young Indians. They often reiterated their belief that children were much better reared in the old days. There are, however, certain generalizations which may be validly drawn.

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224 after ducks in the canoes. A few informants
868 said that boys give away for luck the first
duck or squirrel that they kill, just as they
[787] will later give away their first deer. The
hunting of deer and other large game is done
only by grown men, especially those who have
sought and received special supernatural power
[721] either at the time of puberty or later. The
art of warfare is another pursuit reserved for
the fully grown although much of the physical
training of boys is directed toward building
strong and fearless warriors.

CONCLUSION

861 The child learns much through the medium of imitative play in which he plays at being grown-up. A large part of the play is spontaneous, but much is inaugurated and encouraged by parents or older children who show the younger ones how to entertain themselves.

As the child grows older he gradually acquires the skills with which he must be familiar. The greatest part of this knowledge comes from accompanying parents or grandparents in their daily routine of work. Adults often explain how things are done, but they have no well formulated program of education. The youngster is often the one to ask to be allowed to perform certain tasks. He is praised if he starts to help at an early age and is given what instructions he needs to carry out the work in which he has evinced an interest.

There are a few aspects of the culture which the Klamath themselves consider important enough to warrant formalized instruction. These are primarily concerned with demeanor and conduct. Children receive daily lectures on subjects of this nature, and are scolded or whipped when they do not live up to the standards. Physical training, especially for older boys, is also emphasized.

In all aspects of child training, the most important unit is the immediate family. The father in particular exhorts his children to live correctly; but the mother, grandparents, and other relatives also talk to the children.

On the whole, it can be said that Klamath parents do not have a conscious program of instruction for children in the techniques of ordinary daily activity. They do, however, feel a great responsibility to bring up their children well in the fundamentals of Klamath comportment.

Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively 159*
sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of [156]
the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the
last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She [464]
is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except [874]
for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her husbands
in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of
nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals
and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played
with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making
and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early
twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for
everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were [871]
sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from
home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, [857]
and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an
extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her [593]
parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking"
activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area,
with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruction [868]
from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother.
Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were [191]
disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in
boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote
her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother
was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be
due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before [864]
she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was
at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she [626]
is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. [156]
She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of
their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband,
who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and [586]
divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five
other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never [156]
more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occasionally
one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts [588]
to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages,
and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house
(it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are technically
illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this 159*
sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her. 156

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone,
particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first
advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request [124]
testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was
wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

[p.344B]

538 purposes of telling the stories seems to be to keep the children quiet and put them to sleep.

867 Concepts of etiquette and what constitutes a well brought up individual are clearly defined among the Klamath. Standards for proper behavior toward one's own family and toward other members of the tribe are taught at an early age. As soon as the child can understand what is said to him, he receives ethical advice from parents and others. [887] Not only relatives but also other adults may give advice. Elderly people are especially apt to counsel children.

> Old people start giving advice right away whenever they meet you. They tell you to be kind to everyone, don't brag, don't put yourself before anyone, work hard and you'll live a long time and be respected by everybody.

593 867 Either parent may take the responsibility of advising the children, but the father is generally stricter. In the early morning and at night, and "whenever everyone is gathered around and it is quiet" the father exhorts his children to be good and kind and to help others, demanding and receiving the attention of his youngsters for these harangues.

867 858 Since a well mannered child brings some prestige to his family, even a very small one is taught how to conduct himself before visitors; and the highest respect is shown to large families whose children are polite and well behaved.[36]

858 574 Visiting is a favorite pastime, especially in the fall after the winter house has been prepared. When visitors arrive, they are offered something to eat. At this point, the children are sent out to play; for "food will stick in the visitors' gullets if children stay around." Exemplary children learn to disappear without being told whenever visitors arrive.

867 264 Eating involves a few rules of etiquette for the young. Meals are not regular, and all are free to take food when there is any available. Ordinarily the family eats at least two meals a day, in the morning and again in the evening. The whole family eats together, and children are told to wait until the father has said a grace, holding a bit of food or water out toward the mountains, lake, and earth as an offering. If this were not done, the children might become ill.

Immediately afterwards all start eating. There is no particular seating arrangement. Children are required to sit quietly during the meal. "They would choke if they ran around or talked." Children are also told never to walk in front of anyone who is eating--a rule doubly important if the person is a shaman.

869 778 An important part of training consists in developing respectful attitudes toward the many sacred places in Klamath territory. Children

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[36] See Spier, p. 91, for a few of the Klamath rules of etiquette.

869 hear about these spots first in stories. Later
the parents point out the sacred sites as they
778 pass by them. Many of the places are referred
to as "doctor rocks." Children are warned never
to run or play near them lest they should fall
and become crippled.

869 Klamath religion is very closely associated
with shamanism[17] so that most of the religious
756 attitudes acquired are directed toward shamans.
Shamans are the most important, powerful, and
feared individuals in the tribe. Small children
are warned never to bother one, but to run and
hide whenever a shaman appears, or he may cause
sickness. Children are told, "There's a doctor;
don't run in front of him, or he'll trip you.
Don't ever look at him when he is smoking."
Even the shaman's own children fear him.

861 Obedience is achieved by parents in a number
of ways. They frequently scold erring
children, small ones being perhaps most often
threatened with some supernatural punishment for
misbehavior. Whippings are not rare, but are
probably never severe. A child is switched
across his hands or the back of his legs with a
willow switch, or the child's hair or ears are
pulled. Corporal punishment is seldom resorted
to unless the child has made the same mistake
several times and has not heeded scoldings.

861 Obedience is also achieved by instilling in
the child a fear of ghosts, spirits, and other
776 supernatural beings who kidnap bad children.
Owl is the most potent supernatural threat,
775 feared by child and adult alike. When a child
cries at night or is naughty, his parents
threaten, "Owl will come to pluck out your eyes
[539] or carry you off to a cave." If the child fails
to heed the warning at first, the parents call,
"Owl, come listen to this child." The effectiveness
of the threat is increased by the
child's knowledge of the story about a baby who
was carried off by an owl to a cave near Modoc
Point. The baby gradually sprouted feathers and
turned into an owl. Bear and Coyote are similarly
used to silence a crying child.

In the same way children are warned about
ghosts who might snatch them away from the camp
unless they are good.[18] Ghosts hover about the
camp constantly and are especially dangerous to
little ones. For that reason children are never
allowed out after sundown unless accompanied by
an adult. The child is told to turn his left
side and raise his left arm to a ghost if he
ever sees one; only in this manner can sickness
be avoided.

784 Since ghosts constitute such a peril, children
must never go near the cremation grounds
775 where they might contract a ghost sickness,
which can be cured only by a powerful shaman.
Children never attend funerals, nor are they allowed
to cross the path over which a corpse has
been carried.

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[17] A thorough discussion of Klamath shamanism appears, ibid., pp. 93-138.

[18] Ghosts are described in Voegelin, elements 4655-4706.

[p.345-B]

858 765 Children have little knowledge of death, but they observe certain mourning taboos on the decease of a parent. The restrictions on children are not as many or as strict as those for adults.[19] Children have their hair cut and pitch put on their faces for a year in observance of mourning. The child is told to play alone for awhile and not laugh or sing. That these regulations are sometimes onerous is indicated by the statement of an informant whose father died when she was about seven.

> I had my hair cut short. I used to wear pretty beads and little rattles in my pigtails, but I couldn't when my hair was short. When it grew out a little, I got my girl friend to braid it for me and put a rattle in it. My mother caught me and was awfully angry. I knew I was doing something wrong, but I just wanted to have fun.

Children do not end the mourning period with a purificatory sweatbath such as adults take. In fact, children are not allowed near the three mourners' sweat-lodges which are surrounded with spirits that are dangerous to young people. A child who disobeys and plays near the lodges will lose his wife or first child when he grows up.

821 • 869 Through the period of early childhood the individual gradually acquires a knowledge of objects beyond his immediate home environment. There is an effort on the part of many parents and grandparents to instruct the children, who are sometimes taken out at night to see the moon, stars, and planets. They are told that the Milky Way is a river that divides the sky, the Pleiades are children, and the stars of the Big Dipper are brothers. There are names for, and stories about, many constellations. Mothers take their children out to talk to the moon at each new moon. The mother instructs the children to be quiet and listen as she repeats a prayer which varies in length and content according to individual desires and feelings.

Many natural phenomena are considered dangerous, and young children learn to fear such features as thunder, lightning, and the rainbow. They are warned to run home and hide during an electrical storm and never to point at the rainbow lest the finger drop off.

857 Toward the end of his early childhood the individual begins to assume real responsibilities within his family. Till the age of six or seven the child is free to run and play much as he pleases, so long as he obeys instructions not to fight and not to wander away from camp. He has taken no part in the work of his elders. But now he begins to help with a few simple chores.

The first tasks a child performs may be little more than occasionally bringing home a few pieces of firewood or getting a bucket of

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[19] Adult death and mourning customs are described in Spier, pp. 71-76, and Voegelin, elements 4019-4415.

773 That's why Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came. But then I remember
776 them talking when I was young about how Kemu'kemps was coming back.
777 That was all lies so I guess Kemu'kemps must be the Devil. Still, they say
he created all just like God. I don't know how to figure it."

Mention was made above that the culture hero had a son who was born miraculously. The possible relationship between 'Ayšiš and Jesus has caught the fancy of some. A man of seventy comments: "Yes, Kemu'kemps and God are one and the same. There's a story that says how Kemu'kemps saved a woman's baby when she jumped into the fire and that baby was raised as his own son. I don't believe it. God created all living things. He made the Devil, too. I think 'Ayšiš is the Devil because he's always trying to get the best of his father. We old Indians knew about God but we didn't know about our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

A 56-year-old woman remarked: "Yes, Kemu'kemps is God and he had a son, just like Jesus. 'Ayšiš even dies and comes alive again in the old Indian stories, and that's like the Christians teach. And that Holy Ghost business, that's the power that God gives. The Indians knew about that. That's why you say 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' "

But so concise a syncretism of aboriginal and Christian religious elements
[184] is rare. Younger people vary greatly in belief. One man, about thirty-eight, noted: "Kemu'kemps? They told us stories about him when we were kids. They said he's like God. It doesn't matter to me. Maybe he is; they always say how he made everything around here. Maybe he did; things get that way somehow." A 31-year-old woman remarked: "Kemu'kemps stuff is what they tell kids. That's old Indian devil-talk. I don't know nothing about it." And a 16-year-old girl stated: "I've heard my grandmother talk about Kemu'kemps. That's kind of scary stuff like the dead coming back to haunt
[823] you. There's a cave up on the Sprague River where they say Kemu'kemps used to live. Maybe he still lives there. Anyway, I wouldn't walk up that road in the dark."

A woman of about fifty-five, when questioned about the religious training
• [869] she gave the grandchild entrusted to her care, answered: "Children learn about the Bible very fast. I tell my granddaughter the old Bible stories and she likes to hear them. But I steer off of that old Indian stuff. I think we ought to get away from those old Indian superstitions. I'll sure get mad if anybody scares her with stories about those old Indian things like Kemu'kemps."

Her statement sets the tone for the future. The old beliefs are being lost, and although still very general, they stand out most vividly only in the minds of those who were raised in the period of the second Ghost Dance and the analogous revivalistic movements which followed it. While they obtained, during their upbringing, a detailed background of native Klamath mythology, they succeed, according to their own inclinations, in passing on their point of view to their descendants, or they may fail to do so. The attitudes indicated above are individual; no debate about the nature of Kemu'kemps or related
[795] concepts has been noted. While the formally organized religious groups, including the Shakers (however dependent on the aboriginal patterns of

often seemed to take the school for granted as just another of the rights granted them in the treaty of 1864. 648* 657* 871 155

For their part, whites often ignored the contributions made either on behalf of the Klamath or directly by them toward school support. Tribal parents tended to see in the school bureaucracy another manifestation of white surrogacy. Even at the time when an Indian—a non-Klamath employed at the Agency—was elected to the presidency of the PTA, the large majority of tribal members declined to join that body. On other occasions, students elected a tribal member and an Indian president of the senior class. Notwithstanding, issues which arose from time to time convinced some Klamath parents that the schools were racially biased. Although restive, they confined themselves to individual action, in angry criticism, occasional arguments with teachers, and rarely in assaults upon a teacher or principal. 648* 657* 871 563

In the Chiloquin grade school, most of the teachers were the wives of local men, having a comparatively long residence in the area and a familiarity with local conditions. At that level, the curriculum was largely undifferentiated and a policy of social promotion was followed. Consequently, the grade school offered conditions for a smoother adjustment than did the secondary school. Even so, truancy was more substantial among tribal children than white, and the imposition of discipline, often interpreted by indignant Klamath mothers as an expression of prejudice, was hedged with difficulties. 648* 657* 87 563

It was in the junior high school that the frictions rapidly mounted. Here, and increasingly in the high school, the modest educational assets—the two schools in 1950-51 had a combined staff of nine teachers—were strained by contending demands for both vocational training and a college-preparatory curriculum. With subject specialization, a professionally oriented teaching staff, composed primarily of men who had been hired from outside the area, dominated the school. Individually, they tended to be less permissive toward their students than their fellow teachers in the grade school. Promotion in high school was upon merit. Meanwhile, as students attained puberty, they came to be increasingly aware of the significance attached by their elders to racial differences. Disciplinary problems now mounted, and so did dropouts. The truancy rate (1956-57) for white children

*648 in seventh and ninth grades—the beginning grades respectively
*657 for junior high and high school—was less than half the figure for
87 first grade in the same year. For tribal children, by contrast, the
563 figures for the advanced grades were each almost twice as large
as that for the first grade.

On an average, roughly one-half the small number of Klamath children entering high school could be expected to graduate. [125] That this record was not to be attributed to a difference in intellectual ability is intimated by the results of California mental maturity tests which, as administered to Klamath children as a whole at the fourth grade, yielded normal scores, averaging 96.9. When, however, the same children had reached the eighth grade, their average score had declined to 80.4.[6] A sharp drop in incentive had taken its toll.

The stresses within the school fell unequally upon Klamath boys and girls. Athletic prowess and artistic ability—both [illegible] conceived as racially innate and as masculine attributes [illegible] the boys legitimate avenues to social approval. At puberty, however, Klamath girls were often beginning to develop the physical [142] [562] massiveness that is so frequent in their racial constitution, but that at the same time is foreign to American ideals of beauty. Some bore their lot with dignity and poise. Others courted a fleeting favor through promiscuity or took out their resentments in direct assault upon rivals or upon substitute figures. Direct violence against whites occurred in the schools at about this age, and most frequently involved girls. Still others sought alternatives outside the school, dropping out entirely, going away to vocational schools, or entering into early marriages.

*648 Indeed, for many of the tribal youth—boys as well as girls—
*657 confronted by a school experience that grew increasingly irrele-
871 vant as they became older, it was merely a matter of "serving
563 time" until they gained release by attaining the age of eighteen.
582 Many Klamath tended to marry young, and there were incentives
peculiar to their position. For a girl striving to escape the pressures and dissatisfactions of home life, the regimen of caring for younger siblings, and the boredom and vexation of the school, the importance and security of being a newlywed possessed a [434] [429] fairyland appeal. For the boy, the trust fund accumulated by the Agency for each minor, amounting in some instances to

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*648 *657 to be released from service. As the Agent of that period, Linus M. Nickerson, summarized matters, his carpenter, wagon- and plowmaker, blacksmith, superintendent of farming, farmer, and sawyer lapsed, while the treaty provided for a five-year continuance of physician, miller, two teachers, and the materials for shops mills, and agency buildings.[8] The Bureau at this point assumed responsibility for continuance of some of the staff and thus resolved the crisis.[9]

*648 *657 • 871 Later exigencies led to further modifications of staff, until the superintendent of the Yainax boarding school became responsible, in effect, to the Agent for the entire administration of the upper end of the reservation; and the interpreter, doubling as blacksmith, oversaw the issuing of rations to Indian employees and the destitute, and supervised the working prisoners. As more men [166] [464] left the reservation in the eighties and nineties in search of employment, the labor force available for reservation maintenance dwindled, and the Agent had recourse to the older school boys as part of his work force. Since they were to spend half the day under the industrial teacher, a struggle for ascendancy over this functionary developed between Agent and school supervisor, a battle which more than once was marked by acerbity.

So complicated was the issue by the growing centralization of the management of reservation schools under a district superintendent of Indian schools in Washington, that Agent Joseph Emery had to be reassured: ". . . the Indian Agent is [the Office's] representative upon the Indian reservation . . . [and] it is my intention to properly support your authority in all legitimate cases."[10] Another circumstance was the location of the Klamath boarding school under the direct surveillance of the Agent. While his counterpart at Yainax controlled both school and subagency, the Superintendent of the Agency school chafed under the levies—and at times the direct interference—of the Agent. This was particularly true during the tenure of Emery, a former professor at the Agricultural College at Corvallis, who instituted a number of innovations in the school. That friction did not result solely from the play of exceptional personalities is shown by the circumstance that later Agents, E. L. Applegate and David W. Matthews, encountered similar trouble.[11]

*648 the neighboring settlers were in part made up of men with
*657 Indian wives, and in part, too, of former employees of the
[464] Agency.[19] They were not always respectful of the dignity of the
Agent and frequently challenged his authority. At times, as in
the strife of the 1880's with the stockmen on the eastern border of
the reservation, the clashes assumed an almost warlike character.

177 Despite these preoccupations and deterrents, work somehow
433 proceeded. Not all Indians wanted the progress, with all its cir-
*657 cumscriptions, that was gradually unfolded before them, and not
all who desired it were capable of achieving it. Nonetheless, the
lure of a farm and a herd of horses or cattle of one's own, to be
able to have a wagon and be a man of substance, to use the coffee,
sugar, salt, beef, flour, and baking soda that had become the new
necessities, to dress well: these opportunities, open only to a few
entrepreneurs in the old days of raid-and-trade, now became
available to any who would work hard and subject himself to
177 an alien discipline. It was just this regimen that whole genera-
*657 tions of children were subjected to in the schools. In the main,
• 871 the program in the early period was a success. The reasons why
its success was no more than qualified are set forth below.

*648 The tasks the government set itself were manifold. The Indians
*657 of independent tribes and bands were to be confined within a
177 reservation and there brought into a single polity. Within twenty
years they were to be transformed into self-sufficient farmers and
their feet set upon a road marked by the use of "citizens' dress,"
of modern homes, preferably situated on individual farms, by
ability to speak English and even to read and write in that me-
dium, and the abandonment of their own faith for Christianity.
Annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs carry a
statistical summary for all reservations of the state of "civiliza-
tion" of the Indians, couched in these and similar terms. Narra-
tive reports of the Agents dwell time and again upon the incul-
cation of proper aspirations, extending at times even to the
minutiae of observance. "During the last two or three years,"
states Linus M. Nickerson (1884) with satisfaction, "I have not
[764] known a burial when the coffin has not been covered with a good
quality of black cloth or velvet and where the trimmings have
not been equally good."[20]

*657 the surrounding white neighborhood, the men came to take up
*648 roles narrowly and specifically defined in American terms and
555 to rephrase them in terms of their closest native counterparts.[17]
177 Thus, in the political field, judges and Indian police enlarged
178 the formal duties of office with some of the powers traditionally exerted by chiefs. Assimilation of roles, however, progressed in both directions; and in the end even relationships within Indian society upon the reservation were modified toward the American system. This was only partially the consequence of conscious imitation on the part of the Indians or of change directly instituted by the whites. In some measure, it came as the undesigned byplay of a modification made for another purpose.

*657 This, for example, was one of the effects of the educational
*648 system and its particular instrument, the boarding school. Because
• 871 boarding school spanned the time of life upon which the
177 Klamath vision quest and the girls' puberty rite fell, those native
178 experiences were largely eliminated; and change of status was
[881] signaled instead by the final return from school. Education was designed for an altered future, but it increased intergenerational
[561] strife, as elders, their accumulated wisdom rendered obsolete in a changed setting, confronted youths skeptical in the superiority of their book-won knowledge. From the vantage of program, this was unfortunate—if inevitable—for the Agent depended for cooperation upon those same vexed adults.

To be sure, much of the change instituted might be regarded as supplementing and enlarging—rather than replacing—native content, for many a Klamath who was a schoolboy in those days today combines the learning of his elders with the lessons taught him in the schools. Participation in two orders juxtaposed for them made manifest the relativity of each one. For those youths, the new order was not to be taken on simple assertion; it had to demonstrate its superiority in a manner not required by those born into it.

*657 With all the changes that tended to distort the social order,
*648 women were less directly affected than were their husbands and
562 children. Their roles were still principally internal to the family,
177 as wife and mother; and though opportunities for employment
178 were beginning to open for them in the schools, their contacts with the ambient American culture were more fleeting and more

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EIGHT

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School

WHILE THE RE-EDUCATION OF THEIR ELDERS WAS BEING CARRIED OUT, 657*
it was the youth of the reservation on whom the Agents placed 648*
their ultimate hopes. The American faith in the transforming 871 •
powers of education is nowhere clearer than in the words of
Dyar:

> Being fully convinced that a radical change in the Indian character can only be wrought in childhood and early youth, I would most respectfully urge the co-operation of the Government in the prosecution of this work of taking the children from their native haunts of degradation, and clothing, feeding, and teaching them the habits and arts of civilization.[1]

It had been a slow start. Lindsay Applegate had employed a 648*
teacher, but as that functionary observed, he had been "instructed 657*
to labor on the farms and to give instructions to certain Indians 872
in manual labor"—evidently not his metier.[2] The "sickly effort" [875]
as A. B. Meacham termed it, was abandoned,[3] and not until 1873 did Dyar's plan for a manual training boarding school bear fruit.[4] It met initial opposition. John Meacham had advocated the hiring of a "good reliable educated Indian" as teacher who "would himself be a living example of the result to be achieved by study. . . ."[5] Such a person might also have been able to reduce the initial aversion of parents to sending their children to school. Dyar noted, "I shall be obliged to commence with a very few—perhaps with orphans who have no friends to oppose." However,
he wisely declined to use force.[6] In his efforts he was to have the [643]
steadfast support of Henry Blow, who became head chief in 1874. "Mr. Dyar . . . says," wrote Nickerson, "that he never could have established the school on this reservation, had it not been for him. He was its friend when all others were against it."[7]

Soon Dyar had over twenty scholars,[8] only to have to close

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*657 first encountered Christianity at the school. There were studies,
872 though the most lasting impressions were made in references to
[197] Indian wars in the histories.[21] Above all there was the heavy
[829] labor, for the development of the industrial program coincided
[464] with the period when able-bodied men were leaving the reservation on passes to work for whites; and the support not only of the schools but in some measure of other Agency programs devolved upon the scholars. As E. L. Applegate admitted, "the truth is, the labor is very heavy upon those old enough or intelligent enough to render any assistance; 110 people [in the school] constitute a large family."[22] Work on the school farm required the pupils to return in two-week shifts over the summer. A contest for control over this work force developed between Applegate and the Superintendent of the Agency school, who presumed to take his orders directly from the Superintendent of Indian Schools in Washington.[23]

*648 There was competition from off-reservation schools over the
*657 older students. In 1881, Nickerson, perhaps prodded from above,
• 871 had attempted to send twelve superior students to the Indian school at Forest Grove—later removed to Chemawa, Oregon—but funds were not available to send them the 450 miles distant.[24] In a letter from Acting Commissioner E. L. Stevens, the role of those schools and their competition with Agency schools are clearly acknowledged. Declared Stevens:

> It is not the policy of this office to remove pupils from reservation to distant boarding schools without the consent of their parents.
>
> It is always the case that the removal from agency schools of the older and more intelligent pupils is, temporarily at least, a detriment to the schools; but it is believed that the superior advantages which can be had away from the Indian country, and the reflex influence on the families who thus commit themselves to civilization, more than compensate to the tribe for the loss occasioned to the schools.[25]

*648 In 1885, accordingly, nineteen students were sent away to
*657 school, and by spring, five had died. Eventually eight were dead,
871 and Emery wrote, "This great mortality has caused much dis-
165 satisfaction among my Indians; and any effort to remove any more children to this School will meet with serious opposition on

648*
the part of the Indians."[26] The issue was not successfully re- 657*
opened until the administration of O. C. Applegate. 821•
165

In the education for a new life which the schools essayed to
impart—and this, against all diversions, was its chief task—the 648*
caliber of the teaching staff was crucial. It is difficult to evaluate 657*
the accomplishments of the teachers, for some were relatives or 875
longtime friends of the Agent; and the adverse criticisms of such 876
men as Emery sometimes cloak differences in educational outlook. Scattered through the records are remarks on the lack of prior school or Indian service experience. In one staff evaluation appears a notation on Thomas Davis, industrial teacher, "recommended by Governor Penoyer as his nephew. He is learning and is prepared to do better in the future."[27] Of another, J. W. Brandenberg, superintendent and principal teacher at the Yainax school, it was observed, "He has maintained good discipline in this School, though his methods of punishment may have been considered a little severely by the Department; he having resorted to the shackles in extreme cases. . . ."[28] These are commendatory remarks. Brandenberg was later removed by order of the Commissioner.

An extreme instance was detailed by E. L. Applegate in charges against Col. H. B. Compson, the Superintendent of the Agency School. After describing the squalor of his residence, Applegate proceeds:

> As an example of the civilized White men, he could and did knock down his wife in the presence of the school girls while, at the same time, their daughter, the assistant matron, belabored him over the head with a wagon whip. The matron herself was an invalid, but of sufficient spite and vim; as to inflict scars on different parts of the bodies of school girls, and even upon their faces and heads.[29]

In the light of conflicts over educational and disciplinary practices and the frequent partisanship, it is not surprising that there should have been a high turnover of staff. The Superintendent of the Agency boarding school noted in 1892 that over the previous seven years there had been on the average a change in Superintendent every six months, and that there was marked insubordination among the scholars.[30] Eight years later, the

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*648 Superintendent of the school at Yainax was more explicit. Ac-
*657 knowledging that it may occasionally have been necessary to resort
875 to forbidden disciplinary measures, he added:

> 876 When the Indians find that they cannot tantalize a careworn employee into doing something rash and thus secure his discharge, it will be easier to get along with a minimum of severity. . . . This is entirely impossible without occasional resort to force. Interest, where no object is visible, must sometimes be bolstered up by respect for physical force.

And he observed tersely, "I find some lack of training in employees and a good deal of smiling and obedient inertia."[31]

*648 It had been the very purpose of the school to break with the
*657 past and thus shape the future. When the school prevented girls
• 871 from participating in the puberty ritual and the boys from going on the vision quest, the break was sharp. When it exalted the virtues of hard work, it provided a reassuring continuity, albeit fortuitous, with the native exhortations. Many practices prohibited in the schools were merely suspended, to be resumed upon graduation.

To the old skills, however, new abilities were added. Nickerson had long ago suggested that apprentices such as young Jesse Kirk, "one of our oldest and most advanced school boys," be issued tools, after working out their value in the Agency shops, and thus be prepared at once to earn their living and to provide for their people services hitherto available only from the Agency.[32] Others had been trained to farm or ranch and to keep house; and all had learned in some measure to speak English, to read, to do simple arithmetic, and had at least an acquaintance with history and geography.

Beyond those competencies lay a precipitate of experience—for most children the first intimate experience—with the Agency. They had been subjected to a detailed and vigilant regimen which left few things private; and the chief lesson of the encounter for some was that there are ways to circumvent authority. To many, the governing white was symbolized for years in the face of a Miss "Hummingbird" or in the formidable visage of a Colonel Compson.

another figure, known only as "The One Below," to represent the 648*
Devil. This figure appears in a Klamath version of the Garden 657*
of Eden recorded by Gatschet[29]—a tale no longer recalled today. 776
The identification of Gmukamps with God is strengthened in 177
Indian eyes by his mythical foster-parentage of the hero, Aisis. 178
As one Modoc, a fundamentalist preacher, has put it:

> you know, Gmukamps and Aisis—that's nothing but God and Jesus. The Indians knew the story of the Bible, but they were ignorant in those days. They thought that the lakes they performed their miracles around were the Klamath lakes; they didn't know it was really the Sea of Galilee.[30]

Looking back over the entire field of change from the last 657*
decades of the nineteenth century, the observer could discern 648*
major acculturative trends. The Klamath who entered upon the 177
treaty had already undergone pervasive, though largely un- 178
directed modification. Thereafter, they were subjected to a consistent policy of change which, despite defects in execution, outside interference, and an intervening war, was maintained for well over a generation. Within this frame, a reservation culture had taken shape, embodying a synthesis of white and Indian lifeways. By the middle of the next century, only a handful of tribesmen would be left who could report from direct knowledge events of pretreaty days; the remaining elders would be products of the synthesis.

Measured by the indexes which the Bureau employed to
register progress, the advance was evident. When that formula- [464]
tive period was ended, a large number of the Klamath were [511]
productively engaged in work of "civilized" character, and their
material wants had come to approximate those of their white
neighbors. Many were conversant, and a few literate, in English, [191]
and their numbers were increasing steadily. The extended family, [212]
at least among the progressive, had made way for the more [596]
mobile and assimilable conjugal family. In the schools, a new [594]
generation was being trained to embrace as natural and desirable [871] •
a way of life which the Church, in turn, commended as good to
old and young alike. Expectations seemed to lie within the grasp
of those willing to work to achieve them.

Beneath the surface upon which these changes could be traced, [571]
however, lay cleavages and disconformities as yet unfathomed

heeded. Surely, the government stands in some measure account- 648*
able here; and the Indian viewpoint bears a rough relationship to 657*
the events of their history. It errs, however, in oversimplification 829
and has the important consequence of deflecting all responsibility for the condition of the Indians upon the shoulders of others.

These developments, when related to the promise of citizen- 648*
ship for Indians, became critical. Originally the Allotment Act 657*
had designed that all Indians living apart from their tribes and 423
in assimilation to whites should be awarded citizenship; and that 641
any reservation Indian, upon receiving a patent in trust, would attain the same status. Subsequent amendments postponed citizenship until a patent in fee had been secured. For the Klamath reservation, the local timetable had the result that no trust patents were awarded until all allotments had been made, a condition that in turn had to await settlement of several of the claims suits. The assignment of lands thus took place in an atmosphere heavy with the anticipation of a swift change of status. The better-educated among the leaders, who in turn mingled with those whom allotment had brought back into the reservation polity, were eager to press for greater freedom and increased self-rule.

Signally, administrators believed the same act implied they 648*
had a heightened responsibility toward their charges. Schooling 657*
had become compulsory, and O. C. Applegate, then Agent, was 871 •
convinced that allottees should send their children by preference 423
to reservation school. Repeatedly, in his letters to those seeking allotments, he urged them to send their children to the boarding school "where they will be boarded and clothed without expense to you."[4] To a schoolboy who wished to remain away, he wrote, "Tell your father that I intend all the children to have land on the reservation, and that they must come into school according to the rules."[5] When one off-reservation member failed to send her children to school after having consented to do so, Applegate firmly reproved her and added, "Please write me at once what you propose to do about them, and if it is your wish to have them give up their allotments on the reservation."[6]

The relationship between schools on and off the reservation 648*
now took on a new dimension. Some of the more acculturated 657*
tribal members began to criticize the Agency-run schools as 871

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*648 *657 •871 inferior to those off the reservation. While administrators did not commonly seek to suppress criticism, neither did they court it; and they failed in the difficult but essential task of encouraging responsible parental comment as a means of gaining Indian participation. Matthews had rejected the plan of appointing Indian visitors to inspect the schools, on the grounds that "they might possibly become dictatorial."[7] In fact, parents tacitly expressed dissatisfaction with the school by keeping a child home on the grounds that he was ill—a maneuver that was clear to the officials. When they made open comment they criticized the discipline as being either too lax or too strict, and they enlarged upon occasional breaches of morals. A topic of official comment were the aggravated acts of insubordination on the part of full-grown boys who had been kept in school to swell the student totals.[8]

Dissatisfaction with these conditions provided the immediate circumstance—but by no means the sole reason—for the movement that now began, as parents sought to place children in schools beyond the jurisdiction of the reservation. Some members, [563] such as Mrs. Minnie Corbell, interbreed wife of a white man, enrolled their children in the public schools;[9] while others, such as Mrs. Celia DuFault, also an interbreed, and her half-sisters, Mrs. Coburn and Mrs. William Crawford, entered theirs at the Indian Training School at Chemawa.[10] When an influential man like Judge Jeff C. Riddle of Yainax, son of Frank Riddle and Winema, first kept his children out of class and then talked of sending them to a nonreservation school, matters had become serious.[11]

In 1898, while aversion to the Chemawa School was still high in the wake of the student mortality there, Applegate took up the suggestion of Inspector W. J. McConnell that he seek to send a body of students to Carlisle Training School in Pennsylvania.[12] After considerable effort, extending over two years, he succeeded in forming a party in 1900 that included two sons of the Rev. Jesse Kirk, one of whom had just been caught in an escapade at the Klamath boarding school.[13] It was the Agent's idea, since Kirk was bound as a delegate to Washington, perhaps in the company of Judge Henry Wilson, to have them visit the school en route in order to "get the assistance of these prominent men in making up a good class for Carlisle."[14]

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No sooner had the party of nine pupils finally gotten under 648*.
way than Applegate received a letter from the Commissioner 657*
calling attention to a letter sent him, apparently by Jesse Kirk 871 •
himself. In it, the writer accused Police Captain Joseph Kirk, a
part-Modoc, and Judge Jack Palmer, a Lower End Klamath, of
using their influence against sending children to nonreservation
schools. "There are two parties here," wrote Applegate, "who [865]
oppose each other on nearly all propositions, the two leaders of
which are Captain Joseph Kirk and Rev. Jesse Kirk, half brothers,
and who are among our most advanced and able men." He promised to refer the matter to Gen. A. C. Hawley, a Special Agent
then visiting Klamath.[15]

Ironically, Jesse Kirk's stand was soon reversed. Soon after he had deposited his sons at Carlisle, the elder boy, Clayton, in company with another pupil, Joseph Ball, ran away and was only recaptured in Pittsburgh. In Applegate's view, Joe Ball, an interbreed and a product of the public school in Klamath Falls, was the ringleader of the escapade and had led his more impressionable companion astray.[16] The senior Kirk thereupon sought to have both sons returned, and Applegate tried to put him off.[17] To Major Pratt at Carlisle he wrote ruefully:

> . . . I have been reconsidering the idea of sending you a class and even regret that I did send the class of nine, as things have turned out. It is hard to get pure bloods to go, and the pressure to get away from the reservation to our non-reservation schools is almost invariably from the mixed element. The Klamaths and Modocs are a determined lot and Rev. Jesse Kirk, son of a resolute old warchief, is no exception to the rule. A short time ago the principal champion of Carlisle he is now ready to move Heaven and Earth to secure the return of his boys since Clayton's escapade, and I wish they were all back.[18]

This action brought into confrontation an embattled Agent 648*
and the defiant leaders of the reservation. In Jesse Kirk the 657*
Indians has as leader a product of those very "civilizing" forces 622
upon which the government had rested sanguine hopes. The son 159
and namesake of one of the treaty signatories, we have encountered him previously as schoolboy and carpenter's apprentice, as interpreter and as ordained Methodist preacher. In 1886 a representative of the Indian Rights Association characterized him as "a superior man, in poor health and great poverty, . . .

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*648
*657 of them, George and Fred, while employees of the Agency, had
665 purchased lumber, posts, and similar items from Indians to build
668 upon their 10,000-acre ranch.

578 The most serious malfeasance he charged, however was "the
[423] matter of leasing under the special permit system of unallotted
[427] tribal lands during the past three or four years." The usual system was for the Superintendent and George Loosley (who was also Agency stockman) to lease a district to an Indian, for example Abraham Charley or Harrison Brown, who in turn leased to whites at one dollar per head of cattle. "It is only those who have engaged in leasing the lands," Mills went on, "that have threatened violence if the petition was sent on to Washington. . . ." He suspected "a large discrepancy between the books of account and the amounts paid in for grazing upon the various districts of unallotted tribel [sic] lands as well as trespasses." During the past four years, less than $4,000 (and probably only $2,667) had been paid in, as against estimated returns of $10,000 from grazing alone.

The Indians therefore demanded the removal of Applegate and George Loosley, the election of officials, and an end to cattle trespass. They demanded more effective voice for the council in leasing and in disbursing Indian money. Finally, they noted other
• [871] grievances in the treatment of sick school children and demanded that they be permitted to send their children to outside schools.[16]

The accuracy of these charges is secondary to the images of the truth they generated. It is of principal importance that Jesse Kirk was able to convince a large following that the charges were indeed correct. From the standpoint of his faction he then became a man deeply concerned with administrative abuses and striving to remove them by free elections. In that view, Applegate's obduracy drove Kirk reluctantly to more explicit detail until in the end he was forced openly to seek the Superintendent's removal.

In Washington, a new administration was in the saddle, and the new Commissioner was the reformer, F. E. Leupp. Even if Applegate were innocent, the embroilments under his administration would not have recommended his retention. In May, he vacated his office for Horace G. Wilson. Applegate had already received a temporary appointment as clerk at the Grande Ronde

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*648 history. Beatty, in the upper valley of the Sprague, lies between
*657 the town of Sprague River, some fourteen miles below it, and
184 Bly, roughly the same distance away over the eastern boundary
361 of the reservation. It drew some of its population from Yainax,
when that subagency was closed, as well as from Paiute Camp
[797] to the east. Beatty's nucleus had been the Methodist mission and
store, to which other establishments presently were added, and
houses began to be built about them. White ranchers have
[563] moved in to work the allotted land they bought or rented, usually
bringing their families with them. Others, white, Indian—using
that term for non-Klamath—and Negro, have married tribal
members.

By 1959, however, when the community was studied,[8] it was
• (871) in a sharp decline: for in the 1940's the local school had been
[797] closed in a consolidation with the one at Bly; the Methodist
[313] mission had been reduced to an adjunct of the principal mission
on Williamson River, at the Lower End; and the lumber mill
at Sprague River had ceased operations. The community had
[162] survived, though on a greatly reduced scale, with a population
totaling 136 persons, 105 of them tribal members, prevailingly of
Modoc and Paiute derivation, 5 Indians from other reservations,
25 whites, and 1 Negro.

Chiloquin, located at the confluence of the Sprague and Williamson rivers, was the largest community on the reservation, with a population then almost seven times that of Beatty.[9] A mill and market town which burgeoned when tribal timber was opened by the advent of the railroad, Chiloquin was incorporated as a city in 1926 and soon afterward boasted a population, including adjacent woods camps, of approximately two thousand. In its heyday, when along with Modoc Point, Braymill, and Sprague River it pulsed with activity, Chiloquin was a lusty and sometimes rowdy city, enjoying the wicked sobriquet of "The Little Chicago of the West." Below the surface was a structure which provided an institutional extension of American civic life elsewhere. A bank, a newspaper, telephone company, hotels and rooming houses, schools and churches, a boxing association and occasional Chatauqua, moving picture house, taxi company, Ladies' Community Club, Commerce Club, Masons and V.F.W., lawyers, dentists, and doctors: all these shared space with dancehalls, card rooms, bootleggers, pimps, and prostitutes.

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All too frequently, however, childhood experience in the
*648 event-centered activities of Klamath households, with their
*657 diffusely focused social expectations, clashed with school routine.
•871 For many young Klamath, coming from such a background,
563 exposure to a clear-cut, hierarchial system which they entered
[155] from the bottom and to a sustained discipline proved stressful.
[592] The conflict between family subculture and that represented by
the middle-class teachers, felt as well by white children, was
experienced more sharply by the Klamath, not alone because the
disparity was often objectively greater in their case, but because
it came to be invested with ethnic judgments.

That tribal parents differed from white parents in educational background and intellectual interests is evident; and the differences upon the reservation have tended to persist despite the fact that the Klamath have long been subjected, like whites, to compulsory education and that since 1926 they have attended county schools. A comparison of a small sample of tribal members in Chiloquin with other segments of the population revealed that no fewer than fifty-two per cent of Tribal house heads and thirty-nine per cent of Interethnic house heads had stopped their education at grade school. For white house heads, the corresponding figure was only twenty-two per cent.[5] In the use of the public library, a branch of the county system lodged in Chiloquin's city hall, the figures for adults show white, Interethnic, and Indian users far outstripping the Tribal; and while among the children Interethnic users fell close to the Tribal figure, the latter still lagged behind all others. With a few individual exceptions, data on the periodicals taken in the home and attendance at concerts in Klamath Falls showed a corresponding gap.

*648 Thus the school experience marked a grave discontinuity in
*657 the life of many tribal families, and particularly among those
871 in which both parents were Klamath. The stresses mounted,
155 however, in the transitional years of junior high school, during
the seventh and eighth grades. The reasons are not far to seek. The schools, viewed by whites, Indians, and a minority of tribal members as an objective preparation for a life in which the demands for training were ever mounting, offered little incentive to children who were convinced that a ceaseless flow of per capita dividends gave them an assured income for life. Klamath parents

often seemed to take the school for granted as just another of the rights granted them in the treaty of 1864.
648* 657* 871* 155

For their part, whites often ignored the contributions made either on behalf of the Klamath or directly by them toward school support. Tribal parents tended to see in the school bureaucracy another manifestation of white surrogacy. Even at the time when an Indian—a non-Klamath employed at the Agency—was elected to the presidency of the PTA, the large majority of tribal members declined to join that body. On other occasions, students elected a tribal member and an Indian president of the senior class. Notwithstanding, issues which arose from time to time convinced some Klamath parents that the schools were racially biased. Although restive, they confined themselves to individual action, in angry criticism, occasional arguments with teachers, and rarely in assaults upon a teacher or principal.
648* 657* 871 563

In the Chiloquin grade school, most of the teachers were the wives of local men, having a comparatively long residence in the area and a familiarity with local conditions. At that level, the curriculum was largely undifferentiated and a policy of social promotion was followed. Consequently, the grade school offered conditions for a smoother adjustment than did the secondary school. Even so, truancy was more substantial among tribal children than white, and the imposition of discipline, often interpreted by indignant Klamath mothers as an expression of prejudice, was hedged with difficulties.
648* 657* 87 563

It was in the junior high school that the frictions rapidly mounted. Here, and increasingly in the high school, the modest educational assets—the two schools in 1950-51 had a combined staff of nine teachers—were strained by contending demands for both vocational training and a college-preparatory curriculum. With subject specialization, a professionally oriented teaching staff, composed primarily of men who had been hired from outside the area, dominated the school. Individually, they tended to be less permissive toward their students than their fellow teachers in the grade school. Promotion in high school was upon merit. Meanwhile, as students attained puberty, they came to be increasingly aware of the significance attached by their elders to racial differences. Disciplinary problems now mounted, and so did dropouts. The truancy rate (1956-57) for white children

*648 in seventh and ninth grades—the beginning grades respectively
*657 for junior high and high school—was less than half the figure for
87 first grade in the same year. For tribal children, by contrast, the
563 figures for the advanced grades were each almost twice as large
as that for the first grade.

On an average, roughly one-half the small number of Klamath children entering high school could be expected to graduate.
[125] That this record was not to be attributed to a difference in intellectual ability is intimated by the results of California mental maturity tests which, as administered to Klamath children as a whole at the fourth grade, yielded normal scores, averaging 96.9. When, however, the same children had reached the eighth grade, their average score had declined to 80.4.[8] A sharp drop in incentive had taken its toll.

The stresses within the school fell unequally upon Klamath boys and girls. Athletic prowess and artistic ability—both often conceived as racially innate and as masculine attributes—gave the boys legitimate avenues to social approval. At puberty, however, Klamath girls were often beginning to develop the physical
[142] massiveness that is so frequent in their racial constitution, but
[562] that at the same time is foreign to American ideals of beauty. Some bore their lot with dignity and poise. Others courted a fleeting favor through promiscuity or took out their resentments in direct assault upon rivals or upon substitute figures. Direct violence against whites occurred in the schools at about this age, and most frequently involved girls. Still others sought alternatives outside the school, dropping out entirely, going away to vocational schools, or entering into early marriages.

*648 Indeed, for many of the tribal youth—boys as well as girls—
*657 confronted by a school experience that grew increasingly irrele-
• 871 vant as they became older, it was merely a matter of "serving
563 time" until they gained release by attaining the age of eighteen.
582 Many Klamath tended to marry young, and there were incentives peculiar to their position. For a girl striving to escape the pressures and dissatisfactions of home life, the regimen of caring for younger siblings, and the boredom and vexation of the school, the importance and security of being a newlywed possessed a
[434] fairyland appeal. For the boy, the trust fund accumulated by
[429] the Agency for each minor, amounting in some instances to

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$10,000, constituted an inexhaustible treasure. Ordinarily, this 648*
was placed in his hands only when he had come of age, but with 657*
marriage he attained seniority at once, and it became his. 871 •

Many a young couple, then, sought a new life in the last few 563
years of high school in an elopement to Reno or Las Vegas. In 582
a week or so they returned to take up adult life; and thus to [434]
reconcile their hopes with the social realities of the reservation. [429]
Although they would continue to maintain a degree of camara- [583]
derie with a few of their schoolmates, such intimacy as they had known across ethnic boundaries was at an end. For the majority of tribal members, their course and that of their white schoolmates increasingly diverged.

593 855 [581] [181] [603] [155] [155] Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are sometimes non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time, or to an older relative, or to an elder sibling. If the party occurs in the household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one, or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloofness. The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little experience with consistency in role relationships.

[602] 872 861 [593] [181] [155] [156] Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax, permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear-cut, specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu. In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts. This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture, but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society.

155 156 [871] [563] [582] In many respects the values and skills learned within the household to not adequately prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the household may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted, the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in inferiority is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, contributing in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebelliousness, or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites is not an easy one.

882 156 155 [871] It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high

882
155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
[462] in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits
include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers
are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience
with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
426 for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented,
and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation
population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

Slim: Male, Age 30

Background Data

Slim's case was selected so as to illustrate the situation of a regularly em- 159*
ployed, well liked and respected young male. He is currently employed as a [464]
laborer in a lumber mill, and in the past has worked as a carpenter, and in
heavy industries in the mid-west. He has ten years of formal schooling, obtained [463]
his 12th grade certificate by examination while in military service, and for [871] ●
one month studied commercial art in Portland. [901]

Slim was born into a large, influential kin group, one which for several genera- [619]
tions has provided much of the tribe's leadership. While his own father has
not been so influential in tribal politics, preferring to work his ranch in-
stead, Slim grew up in association with male relatives noted for their forth-
right independence and leadership, and within a family tradition of progressive-
ness and self-improvement. Slim's early life was spent in alternating periods
of residence with his own father and mother on their ranch, and with his father's [591]
mother in her cabin on the Sycan marsh. This association with "Grandma" was [603]
partly in response to the gradual disintegration of relations between his father
and mother, and partly the result of his father's desire to have "Grandma" teach [593]
him some of the old lore. His mother became increasingly erratic, unpredic-
table, and violent, finally leaving his father. Slim felt badly rejected by [153]
her and was never able to understnad why she would not accept his efforts to be
helpful. On the other hand, he was very close to his father and his grand-
mother. Today he recalls with satisfaction the many things these two persons
taught him, and dreams recurrently of being in the army, defending the reserva-
tion from attack, and checking in on the old lady to see if she is all right.
This dream is interesting because it expresses succinctly his style of relations
with superiors, for in the dream Slim asks permission of his squad leader to
leave, explains his reasons, then checks in on "Grandma," and returns to his duty.

After the 10th grade was completed, Slim quit school and worked on various ranches.
Early in the Korean war he consciously followed the model of an uncle, who was
a career soldier, and enlisted in the army. His service record was good, marred
only by what Slim feels were two justifiable periods of unauthorized absence,
and he voluntarily served with a combat unit in Korea. This army experience
considerably broadened Slim's horizons, and after his discharge he lived and
worked with an army buddy in the east for a year. Then Slim traveled and worked
in several places in the east and midwest. On two occasions his regular habits [961]
and good capacity for steady work were responsible for a promotion. Characteris-
tically, Slim enjoys this kind of reward, but he does not specifically strive
for advancement.

Slim has many skills, hobbies, and social graces. When young his father taught him to dig ditches, with the advice that this skill would always provide him with a job. He is an expert horseman and stock-keeper, and is a skilled hunter and woodsman who frequently guides his friends on hunting trips. He has learned carpentry, house-painting, and the operation of various industrial machines. More recently, he has turned to archery, sketching, and photography for hobbies to occupy his spare time. Then too, he is an amiable, jolly person who makes good company and who is well regarded as a friend. He is not married, and has never seriously considered marrying. He has had occasional sexual liaisons of a transitory nature, which he finds quite satisfying, and has been "going steady" for several years with an older woman, a person who is a grandmother in her own right.

Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data 159*

In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively
sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of [156]
the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the
last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She [464]
is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except [874]
for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her husbands
in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of
nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals
and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played
with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making
and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early
twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for
everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were [871]
sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from
home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, [857]
and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an
extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her [593]
parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking"
activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area,
with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruction [868]
from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother.
Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were [191]
disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in
boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote
her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother
was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be
due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before [864]
she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was
at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she [626]
is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. [156]
She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of
their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband,
who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and [586]
divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five
other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never [156]
more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occasionally
one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts [588]
to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages,
and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house
(it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are technically
illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this 59*
sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her. 56

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone,
particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first
advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request [124]
testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was
wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159
[156] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White segments
of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but
in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
*[871] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
[586] fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of
the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of
numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
[597] an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has
spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was
closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became
dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
[874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She
took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if
she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[857] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child
nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she
had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies [illegible] associate, and with them
her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., persons
she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an ad-
[608] visor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making
a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
[273] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my
glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its
walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is associated
with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is
noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites,
for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, because
she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and
biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a
person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps,
like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social
role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she
will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and
quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

Weasel: Male, Age 29

Background Data

In contrast to all other subjects Weasel's role in the reservation community 159*
is a totally negative, destructive one, largely that of a supposedly vicious [156]
criminal. He was born and raised on an economically un-productive ranch, which
for twenty years or more has been the location of continuous drinking parties.
Weasel was raised within a circle of a pack of older brothers, half-brothers, [593]
and step brothers, all of whom were bigger, stronger, and more capable than he. [733]
His father has been an alcoholic for thirty years and has rarely worked or con-
tributed much to the organization of the family, which as a co-residential [592]
household usually included more than a dozen persons. In all, Weasel had 17
full and part siblings, half of whom are now deceased, three directly as a re- [165]
sult of drinking, three from acts of violence or car accidents.

Weasel's formal education ceased when he was 15, in the ninth grade, at which [871]
time he was arrested on a burglary charge. Since then he has spent six years [674]
in reformatories or penal institutions. He was tested while in jail on an
assault charge. Shortly thereafter he was found not-guilty, then re-arrested [697]
and sentenced on a different assault with a deadly weapon charge to three years
in the state penitentiary.

Weasel has repeatedly moved out of the circle of the family group, only to
fail "outside" and return to its sheltering arms. For a time Weasel was a [542]
professional boxer, but one without much skill or stamina. He never won a fight
and his face shows the evidence of the capabilities of his opponents. His
membership in this profession did not last long, and Weasel states, rather
proudly, that the Boxing Commission expelled him "For conduct unbecoming a
professional boxer." Weasel was once married (a common-law marriage, which [588]
for Weasel's primary reference groups is well sanctioned) but this lasted just [581]
16 weeks. During this period Weasel stayed sober, the longest time he has spent
without a drink since the age of 12. Weasel was consciously trying to reform [733]
himself, but now feels that he was a fool to ever try. Additionally, Weasel
has repeatedly made a circuit of nearby towns and cities either singly or in [156]
the company of a brother or friend. These visitations have more of the charac- [579]
ter of raids than anything else, and Weasel is usually arrested in one or a-
nother place and either charged or shipped out of town. [697]

In addition to being a minor criminal Weasel is frequently also the scapegoat 159*
for the aggressions of stronger men than he. He constantly asks for trouble, 156
but has never given any evidence that he can back of his threats with appro-
priate force. His successful acts of aggression have always been sneak attacks, [186]
or attacks on feeble old men or young boys. He seldom attempts to avoid the
consequences of these actions, and, indeed, is frequently not able to do so,
because of his extreme drunken condition. He seems to obtain some gratification from the minor prestige afforded his performances in these roles, but this gratification is highly personalized and is not recognized as appropriate by others. It may be that he has been attempting to build up his standing and reputation within his own circle by acting out the role of a "dangerous Indian," but it would seem that he has been singularly unsuccessful in this. One aspect of this behavior is his reputed skill with a knife. On two occasions he wanted to obtain vocational training, once as a barber, the other time as a butcher, both times implying that this would be a simple extension of his native talent.

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 67

*159

Background Data

156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, particularly
in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few
[593] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma
William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family
[733] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity.
[83] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by
three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband
[587] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She
[871] completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and
she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri,
[178] California, and Mexico.

[657] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father
for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation
[464] and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous
bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal
penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her
sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five,
and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their
violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how
such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children."
[577] Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams
is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising
[177] a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values,
and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of
either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and
has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[191] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her
English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that children
[871] today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I
can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by
[593] no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her
children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this respect,
[603] Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert,
spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, behaviors
[867] in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of
place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations
with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at
riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them
coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal.
[657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was
carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors
[871] and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would
seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who
[177] promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were rejected
from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit
157 (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate interchanges
156 and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses

Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159
156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from
his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never
[461] worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen.
Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five
[891] school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from
the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at
[592] home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger siblings
may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal
[434] income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly
[657] for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the
bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very
reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit
582 Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging
company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the
[618] logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually
[221] away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when
drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father
does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household
[593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his
father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion
knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this person
[848] is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity,
which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's
*159 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards
156 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or
593 "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting,
and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits
the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls,
and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt
and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common
[421] activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to
one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his belongings,
and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle
for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not
borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which
engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the
father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom
she spends much time.

*159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks
156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the
law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time
[673] loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his
buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom
[512] awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away
from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which
may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

Fidel quit school because of what he defines as "family trouble," and this failure is probably equally due to his lack of support and training at home, as well as from the mildly hostile, indifferent posture he maintains. He expresses bitter contempt for his family, for the filthy house, for the lack of regular hours, and for the frequent squabbles. His isolation from this group is adequately measured by his lack of knowledge of the interests and affiliations of family members. His contempt for them is balanced by his father's derogatory, competitive attitude towards his son and his mother's indifference. Fidel stands thus, mildly hostile, ambivalent, and infinitely bored, at the brink of independent adulthood.

159*
156
593
[871]
159*
157

Rorschach Record

159*
125

No. of Resp. | Score | Time | Response

I

(1) WS FM ad 2" Well I dunno...could be some kind of animal. (AE?) Just LL a dog or smth looking at you...its ears hanging over. (Rotates card) How are you supposed to look at it, anyway? () (Rotates card and looks at it briefly, but not attentively, looks at E. and waits for him to finish writing.)

(1) Whole, space. () Well—the ears hanging over the side and the two eyes (S) and the mouth (S). LL its head. () LL it's looking at you.

II

(2) D FMc' ad P 27" (Much rotation) (Laughs) LL a couple of dogs w/their noses together—how come they put different colored ink in them? That's the way it looks—both ways,
(3) D FMc' ad upside down and the other way.

(2) All grey. () Just the black part. () Well—it LL a dog's head w/ears sticking out and the nose up against the other one. () Just the...it LL the shadows of two dogs w/their noses together. () Just the outline—the silhouette.

III

(4) W M h P 17" This one LL two guys dancing. (AE?) I can't make anth else out on there.

(4) All grey. () Just the black part. (Men?) Well, I dunno. Could be a cpl of kids cause that's the way they dance. (Boys/girls?) Could be either a boy or a girl or two boys or two girls...just LL people dancing.

IV

(5) W FM a 33" I don't know what the heck this is...some kind of bug with wings or (rotating card)
(6) D F ad some kind of horse head or something...everybody sees these different, huh? () Nothing else but a big black ink spot.

(5) Whole, down. () I dunno what kind...just like it's reaching for you or smth. (Frightening?) Could be. (6) Headlike bottom center, D23, down. looking at it from above.

V

(7) W FM a P 17" That LL a bat with its wings out—down. Turn him
(8) W FM a upside down and it LL you got him spread out.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

EIGHT

[P.105]

School

WHILE THE RE-EDUCATION OF THEIR ELDERS WAS BEING CARRIED OUT, 657*
it was the youth of the reservation on whom the Agents placed 648*
their ultimate hopes. The American faith in the transforming 871
powers of education is nowhere clearer than in the words of
Dyar:

> Being fully convinced that a radical change in the Indian character can only be wrought in childhood and early youth, I would most respectfully urge the co-operation of the Government in the prosecution of this work of taking the children from their native haunts of degradation, and clothing, feeding, and teaching them the habits and arts of civilization.[1]

It had been a slow start. Lindsay Applegate had employed a 648*
teacher, but as that functionary observed, he had been "instructed 657*
to labor on the farms and to give instructions to certain Indians 872•
in manual labor"—evidently not his metier.[2] The "sickly effort" [875]
as A. B. Meacham termed it, was abandoned,[3] and not until 1873
did Dyar's plan for a manual training boarding school bear fruit.[4]
It met initial opposition. John Meacham had advocated the hiring
of a "good reliable educated Indian" as teacher who "would
himself be a living example of the result to be achieved by
study. . . ."[5] Such a person might also have been able to reduce
the initial aversion of parents to sending their children to school.
Dyar noted, "I shall be obliged to commence with a very few—
perhaps with orphans who have no friends to oppose." However,
he wisely declined to use force.[6] In his efforts he was to have the [643]
steadfast support of Henry Blow, who became head chief in 1874.
"Mr. Dyar . . . says," wrote Nickerson, "that he never could have
established the school on this reservation, had it not been for
him. He was its friend when all others were against it."[7]

Soon Dyar had over twenty scholars,[8] only to have to close

*657 down for lack of appropriated funds. Thereupon he set the
*648 teacher to giving general instruction to the Indian women in such
• 872 subjects as housekeeping and sewing.[9]

After writing to Senator John H. Mitchell, Dyar was pleased to see the school reopen and soon had it running as a boarding school,[10] and was hoping for a similar school at Yainax. He still drew primarily upon the children of Agency employees: in a letter to Oliver Applegate, traveling with Meacham's lyceum tour in 1875, he reported: ". . . commenced school with Dave [Hill]'s and Tecumseh's children and a few others in attendence [sic]. . . ."[11] Elsewhere, he encountered considerable opposition, but stoutly maintained, "when they come in from the wokus grounds and settle down again in their winter homes I shall gather in more scholars."[12] Absenteeism plagued him. "[It] requires constant vigilance," he wrote "and sometimes the exercise of authority to prevent the children from leaving, or the parents from drawing them away as the time comes when they are in the habit of roving around after roots, etc."[13]

The erratic attendance made for disappointingly slow progress. Reported Roork:

> Many have gained a knowledge of the beginning of reading, while very few are found who read fluently in the third reader. This comes from their naturally unsettled character; they cannot be forced to stay in school, and many only just get ready to learn when they leave, thus making progress difficult though the numbers of scholars in attendance is about on an average.[14]

Nickerson, even while reporting the expansion of the school to two departments and fifty students, found himself forced to add, "the teaching of about one half of them in attendance is confined to the primer and first reader and primary speller."[15]

Nonetheless, there was a waiting list of would-be scholars, and by 1883 a second boarding school had been opened at Yainax. Students at both the Agency and Yainax schools devoted the mornings to studies and the afternoons to work under an industrial teacher. Boys were taught farming, cultivating the school garden, stock raising and dairying; they worked in the sawmill, and helped the carpenter, blacksmith, and wagon- and plowmaker. They also cut cordwood for the school. Girls learned clothes-making and housekeeping.[16]

An apprenticeship system had earlier been set up, with an 648* Indian assigned to each artisan as assistant and understudy. 657* Nickerson noted in 1882 that while "[the apprentices] are doing 872 • as well as uneducated Indians can be expected to do, not one of them . . . has had any school training, and but one can write his name."[17] Presently schoolboys began to take over some of these positions.

Many factors bore upon the effectiveness of the teaching. Elderly individuals today can recall the first bewildered days at school—sometimes relieved by the kindness of such teachers as one nicknamed by the children "Hummingbird"—but at best it was a difficult experience. "Nine tenths of them," wrote Emery of the newcomers, "know nothing of [English]. At first, when called 648* to recite, they will dart under the seats, and have to be coaxed 657* and helped from their hiding places by the hand of the teacher."[18] 872 Not always was such tenderness displayed. Although one man, 876 now deceased, recalled a generally pleasant experience and the kindnesses of matrons and teachers,[19] a contemporary bitterly recollected:

> In school they didn't allow us to talk in Klamath. We were punished if they caught us talking in Klamath. They would make us hold up a stick with our hands high. Sometimes they would make an older boy hold a fence rail on his back and walk around a tree stump. Sometimes one whole hour at a time. I never had to do that. Sometimes I would see the teacher or principal whip a boy with a good-sized willow. Sometimes they would make the boy take off his shirt and then the boy would never get over it. I felt that sometimes we boys should get together and give the teacher a whipping to see how he liked it. In the old Klamath days, the parents would switch the child on the legs or sometimes on his butt, but never that way—hard like that. . . . [191]
>
> At school I had it pretty tough. I was cold and hungry. When we made noise at table, we had to be punished without any food. I had to take food from the table. Fish at night. The children had to steal apples.

Detailed as meatcutter, he recalls that the choicest cuts went to employees, the necks and ribs to the children. And he concludes, "I learned how to steal at school to keep from going hungry."[20]

There were games and ice skating, and the brass band. For the 648* adolescents there were illicit sexual adventures. Some children 657*

872
[857]
[883]

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[Klamath Reservation]

*648

*657 first encountered Christianity at the school. There were studies, • 872 though the most lasting impressions were made in references to [799] Indian wars in the histories.[21] Above all there was the heavy [829] labor, for the development of the industrial program coincided [464] with the period when able-bodied men were leaving the reservation on passes to work for whites; and the support not only of the schools but in some measure of other Agency programs devolved upon the scholars. As E. L. Applegate admitted, "the truth is, the labor is very heavy upon those old enough or intelligent enough to render any assistance; 110 people [in the school] constitute a large family."[22] Work on the school farm required the pupils to return in two-week shifts over the summer. A contest for control over this work force developed between Applegate and the Superintendent of the Agency school, who presumed to take his orders directly from the Superintendent of Indian Schools in Washington.[23]

*648 There was competition from off-reservation schools over the *657 older students. In 1881, Nickerson, perhaps prodded from above, 871 had attempted to send twelve superior students to the Indian school at Forest Grove—later removed to Chemawa, Oregon—but funds were not available to send them the 450 miles distant.[24] In a letter from Acting Commissioner E. L. Stevens, the role of those schools and their competition with Agency schools are clearly acknowledged. Declared Stevens:

> It is not the policy of this office to remove pupils from reservation to distant boarding schools without the consent of their parents.
>
> It is always the case that the removal from agency schools of the older and more intelligent pupils is, temporarily at least, a detriment to the schools; but it is believed that the superior advantages which can be had away from the Indian country, and the reflex influence on the families who thus commit themselves to civilization, more than compensate to the tribe for the loss occasioned to the schools.[25]

*648 In 1885, accordingly, nineteen students were sent away to *657 school, and by spring, five had died. Eventually eight were dead, 871 and Emery wrote, "This great mortality has caused much dis-165 satisfaction among my Indians; and any effort to remove any more children to this School will meet with serious opposition on

Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have 593
other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are sometimes 855
non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are [581]
frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time,
or to an older relative, or to an elder sibling. If the party occurs in the [181]
household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be
left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may [603]
find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence
and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of [155]
the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one)
or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually
faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloofness.
The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and
both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating
fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little experience [155]
with consistency in role relationships.

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, [602]
amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other
kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting 872
the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax, 861
permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear-cut,
specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not [593]
accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet [181]
these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and [155]
attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu.
In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to
be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly [156]
characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts.
This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture,
but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society.

In many respects the values and skills learned within the household to not adequately 155
prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of 156
regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the household [871]
may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may
throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get
him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time
the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted,
the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in inferiority
is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, contributing
in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebelliousness,
or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation
of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school [563]
years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the
areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites [582]
is not an easy one.

It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child 882
are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child 156
may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete 155
with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he
is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors
cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into
an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high [871]

Sparrow: Male, Age 63

Background Data

*159
156 Sparrow's case is cited because of his position on the lowest rung of the local status hierarchy. He is known as a happy-go-lucky, worthless old drunk and is generally considered as "lacking a few of his marbles." However, Sparrow is
*812 seldom publicly disparaged, for local citizens simply pay little attention to
401 him. He has a sixth grade education, gained at the Agency school. He has apparently never worked consistently at any job, and most of his work experience
434 has been as a farm or ranch laborer. He is and has for years been totally dependent upon per capita income and the income from ranch lands owned by his mother, with whom he lives. Their affairs are managed by a local businessman who some years ago was appointed their guardian. He is the second eldest of four siblings. After his father's death forty years ago, his mother remarried and bore two other
586 children. He was married once when a young man, and after four years divorced his wife because of "her shiftless ways." He is a semi-invalid, the result of
164 an accident years ago when a drunken brother drove over him with a truck, crushing
191 his pelvis. He speaks fluent Klamath, the result of constant association with his aged mother who represents a direct link with the aboriginal Klamath past, as well as adequate English, learned in school.

733 Much of Sparrow's time is spent in jail for drunkenness, in the local tavern, with one of the drinking cliques, or passed out in a doorway. When he is not totally drunk he spends much of his time with his mother, for whom he cares in his fashion. Occasionally he goes fishing in a nearby river. For at least twenty five years, this has been the pattern of his activities.

*159 Sparrow has many skills, among the most striking of which is the ability to "fly from here to the Agency without once touching the ground." There are
154 several dimensions to this delusion, one of which is an association, in Sparrow's thinking, with the acquisition of power. When a young man he dreamed of acquiring the power to "rise up off the ground, like Jesus Christ." While such a belief may have aboriginal correlates, there are no Klamath today who would accept it as valid. Sparrow keeps this secret to himself, and relates it only to strangers and transients from whom he intends to borrow money. His other skills include the following: the ability to keep house and cook, harness making, leather working, painting, canning food (the notion involves laying in stores for the winter), tanning buckskin, wood carving, carpentry, poetry composition (in Klamath), arrowhead making, making traditional basketry, stock raising, restaurant management, and finally, the ability to bewitch rich old white ladies, who are captivated by him and who drive him about in their white Cadillacs. The latter may be associated with a recurrent dream of meeting with a white buffalo, also a symbol of power, but it is difficult to say, for there were never any buffalo near the Klamath, and it is more likely that he has got this idea from reading western stories. Needless to say, most of these skills are quite delusional also. There is no evidence for any of them being more than this. Relating one or more of these is Sparrow's single style of interacting with others, for in reaction to a question or another's anecdote he will sift about in his memory until he comes up with one of his capacities which seems relevant. Very frequently, the writer could not see where or how they were appropriate, but for Sparrow there seemed to be some connection. He relates these matter of factly, with only the most slight suggestion that they were self-enhancing, and no indication that he meant to justify himself, and will then coyly watch his listener to see if he is properly impressed. This behavior tends to merge with Sparrow's

Carrie: Male, Age 36

Background Data

156 Carrie is the model of a self-made, upwardly mobile, brash and back-slapping
*159 young American male. He is a tribal leader whose power is rooted in an amalgamation of various dissident elements, rather than in a large kin group, and a
[622] business man with numerous interests. He says, of himself, that "I have no occupation, as occupations go. I guess you might say I am a confidence man."

*159 Like the other subjects, Carrie was raised on a ranch by his parents. He is a high school graduate and a graduate of a junior college course in accounting.
[873] His work record suggests his ambition and his upward progression, for he started as a farm laborer, went to truck driving, then worked during World War II as
[464] a production machinist, completed his education, then worked for the Agency and, finally, was able to settle down to living off his several sources of income. He has never been out of the state except for short business trips. He spends most of his time on the reservation attending to tribal and his own business,
156 and participating in various voluntary and formal associations. More recently
*159 he has become active in politics on a local level and by some has been ear-marked as a "comer." His intellectual horizons are very wide, extending to a keen
[666] awareness of the difficulties faced by Dag Hammarskjold. His reputation is excellent and he is particularly esteemed by many Whites, although this esteem is
[626] not shared by all Klamath, which reflects only the factionalism of Klamath politics and, perhaps, the efforts of some to control a man who is too successful.

[184] Carrie has been married once and this marriage has lasted 15 years. He has six children and his family life, again, is precisely what might be expected of a successful young American. Carrie's entire style of life is entirely different from that of most other young Klamath men.

*159 Very little is known of Carrie's early life except that his background is rural Klamath and that his mother was a housewife and his father an indifferently and intermittantly employed laborer.

156 The writer never made much headway with understanding Carrie until the day he was brow-beaten into taking the Rorschach. Before this time he had been seen
124 only as an aggressive, back-slapping, competitive, and somewhat empty character. He had agreed to testing, but had managed to slip out of several appointments until one day when the entire complement of field workers descended on him during a visit, arguing and insisting that he had to set the example. Carrie was thus hung on his own petard, and when we walked into the testing room there was some question as to who was the most fearful of the consequences of this episode, Carrie or the examiner. Carrie was manifestly tense and fearful, but in a very short period of time relaxed and accepted the test situation. Rapport was excellent, and Carrie clearly defined the situation as one where he should discuss
156 his private concerns, motives, and sentiments. From sessions like this it became evident that Carrie's brash front consisted of a set of behaviors he saw as appropriate to his position. That is, the social Carrie was a well defined role. Behind this persona lay a genuine concern with the welfare of tribal members and their future, as well as strong personal aspirations, deep committments to family and community, and fears associated with his private feeling that he was not an adequate or relaxed "mixer." He stated, for example, that "I guess I just don't have the courage to get out, even among my own people. I'm not much of a talker and I guess you'd say I'm kind of backward. I really prefer to be alone by myself." Some of this apprehensiveness is associated

Lily: Female, Age 15

Background Data 159*

Lily is an attractive young high school freshman. She is now repeating her 156
freshman year, due to various difficulties the year before. One of these involved
her cursing the principal, for which she was temporarily expelled, to [873]•
be returned by her mother the next day. She spent the rest of the year in
silent rebellion. This incident is not too serious, for more than anything [561]
else it indicates the strength of her attachment to a close-knit girls peer-group
which is slightly wild and which makes it a matter of honor to oppose
adults. There is little additional evidence of any serious hostility or rebelliousness.
Lily is the eldest of two children; she has an elder half-sister,
her mother's illegitimate daughter; and she has lived all of her life on the
reservation.

Lily's major activities and concerns are those of a typical, small town teenage [883]
girl. She attends school, "hangs around" a local teen age center, flirts
with the boys — White and Indian, dances — at her home or the home of a friend,
and listens to records. She comes from one of the most stable families on the
reservation. Her mother is Klamath, a grade school graduate who worked her way [874]
through two years of business school, evenings, in a nearby city. Her mother in
recent years has begun to assume a position of leadership in certain community [571]
activities, particularly recreation and education. Additionally, she has for
long been the advisor for numerous relatives. Her mother verbalizes great fear
and anxiety associated with this "getting out" and has done so only under considerable
external pressure. Her father is a California Indian who is the model [177]
of local White conceptions of masculinity. That is, he is vigorous and physically
powerful, a hard, reliable, steady worker in a logging company, a hard [464]
"Saturday Night" style drinker, absolutely fearless, and a masterful fighter
in brawls. His fights are the focus of several local folk anecdotes, and suggest [157]
his excellent reputation, for he protects the underdog, takes on the bully (by
the half-dozen, if necessary), neatly dispatches all and never bears a grudge.

Lily is a more flexible and less submissive person that she would seem on first 159*
acquaintance. The difficulty with knowing her is that she wears a completely 157
impassive, rigid, unexpressive mask before all. One morning after knowing her
for a year the writer walked by her and then stopped, mildly startled, for Lily
had smiled (slightly) and mumbled "Good Morning" under her breath. She is also [123]
less inhibited than this mask of impassivity would suggest, as is evident from
her behavior with her peers and parents, but in all instances she prefers to
communicate with slight gestures and to make do with very few words. She is,
in fact, a remarkably self-possessed, poised, and reserved adolescent girl, a
consequence of which is that she is far more graceful than many other local girls
her own age. But, generally, her responses only minimally involve her with 159*
others. She is always among people, but not always with them. Her reserve does 156
not dissipate much with continued acquaintance, but is a constant feature of her
mode of adjusting to others. She never talks freely and her terse responses to
the blots and TAT cards are paralleled by an equal economy in all personal relationships.
There is no evidence to suggest that she is suspicious or distrustful
of others, although she can be quite persistent in avoiding people she does
not like.

Susan: Female, Age 24

Background Data

156 Unlike Slim, Susan is not so well liked or respected. The occasion for this is
*159 specific, an unsanctioned pregnancy during her last year in high school and a
[848] more recent marriage to an entirely disreputable Mexican from Utah. This community evaluation is accentuated because of the very high respect in which her
[582] own family is held. Everyone expected better of Susan.

[626] Susan has worked as a dishwasher in several cafeterias, both on and off the reservation, and moved to Utah so as to take a practical nursing course. She
*159 found this training uncongenial, met and married her husband, and they returned
[464] to the reservation when his small business failed. Susan is a high school graduate.

[874] Susan's mode of selecting a husband parallels that of her mother, who met her husband while hospitalized in New Mexico. Her father by birth is an Apache
*159 Indian, and by cultural affiliation a southwestern United States Spanish-American.
593 Without doubt, he is the most autocratic, stern, demanding, rigid adult male on the reservation. Although a married woman with children of her own, Susan must ask her father's permission to use the telephone or to walk downtown. Her mother was Klamath and very well respected for her stable family life and for her active participation in many community activities. Susan was extremely close to her mother until her unexpected death several years ago. They were known as an inseparable pair and her mother never went out of the house without her. The mother's death was, perhaps, the major cause of Susan's failure to complete her nurse's training. Susan's illegitimate pregnancy in high school was a considerable shock to her mother and is, with her marriage, a continuing source of strain
[155] with her father. Susan evidently feels that her behavior was a contributing cause for her mother's death. She made a death-bed promise to her mother that she would not be a loose girl and that she would marry and stay married to one man. It was shortly thereafter that she married and returned to the reservation to live with her father. There is much strain within this household, derived from the relations between father and son-in-law, and from Susan's unsuccessful efforts to serve two masters, for along with her marital relationship she evi-
[626] dently was trying to act as a replacement for her deceased mother's role. At the same time her conduct has alienated her from the church, from family friends, and from the community.

*159 The contact with Susan was made via her father, who told her that she should
[124] cooperate. Her father's motivation in this was not, as may be supposed, the conviction that she needed testing because something was wrong with her, but in-
[123] volved a more general sentiment. He felt somewhat honored to have an "educated man" visit his house and that such a contact was a good experience for his chil-
[593] dren. Susan accepted this like an obedient, dutiful daughter. She came readily, with no indication of unwillingness, and relations with her were quite good, perhaps because of the strains of her marginal position and her need to talk with someone.

*159 Susan seemed an apathetic person whose feelings were dulled. If anything, her reactions were those of an over-trained, too obedient child. She was not very
157 responsive or active, and would seldom talk except to answer a direct question. Then she would, frequently with evident pain and anxiety, describe her feelings and situations tersely and haltingly. Susan clearly wants more than her life now gives her, but cannot define her present conflicts or see her way clear to

Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively 159*
sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of [156]
the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the
last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She [464]
is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except [874]
for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her husbands
in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of
nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals
and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played
with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making
and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early
twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for
everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were [871]
sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from
home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, [857]
and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an
extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her [593]
parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking"
activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area,
with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruction [868]
from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother.
Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were [191]
disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in
boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote
her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother
was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be
due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before [864]
she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was
at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she [626]
is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. [156]
She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of
their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband,
who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and [586]
divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five
other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never [156]
more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occasionally
one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts [588]
to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages,
and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house
(it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are technically
illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this 59*
sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her. 56

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone,
particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first
advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request [124]
testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was
wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159
[156] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White segments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although
[184] hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times.
[871] Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the
[586] fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she
[842] has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one,
[597] an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the
[756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and
•[874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress.
[759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with
[857] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years
*159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted
156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity
177 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the
184 few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly
[794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., per-
[608] sons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an adviser, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns
*159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered
156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to
[278] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income,
[353] spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is associated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her
[571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites, for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, because she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

Lily: Female, Age 15

Background Data

159*

Lily is an attractive young high school freshman. She is now repeating her 156
freshman year, due to various difficulties the year before. One of these in-
volved her cursing the principal, for which she was temporarily expelled, to [873]
be returned by her mother the next day. She spent the rest of the year in
silent rebellion. This incident is not too serious, for more than anything [561]
else it indicates the strength of her attachment to a close-knit girls peer-
group which is slightly wild and which makes it a matter of honor to oppose
adults. There is little additional evidence of any serious hostility or re-
belliousness. Lily is the eldest of two children; she has an elder half-sister,
her mother's illegitimate daughter; and she has lived all of her life on the
reservation.

Lily's major activities and concerns are those of a typical, small town teen- [883]
age girl. She attends school, "hangs around" a local teen age center, flirts
with the boys — White and Indian, dances — at her home or the home of a friend,
and listens to records. She comes from one of the most stable families on the
reservation. Her mother is Klamath, a grade school graduate who worked her way [874]
through two years of business school, evenings, in a nearby city. Her mother in
recent years has begun to assume a position of leadership in certain community [571]
activities, particularly recreation and education. Additionally, she has for
long been the advisor for numerous relatives. Her mother verbalizes great fear
and anxiety associated with this "getting out" and has done so only under con-
siderable external pressure. Her father is a California Indian who is the model [177]
of local White conceptions of masculinity. That is, he is vigorous and physi-
cally powerful, a hard, reliable, steady worker in a logging company, a hard [464]
"Saturday Night" style drinker, absolutely fearless, and a masterful fighter
in brawls. His fights are the focus of several local folk anecdotes, and suggest [157]
his excellent reputation, for he protects the underdog, takes on the bully (by
the half-dozen, if necessary), neatly dispatches all and never bears a grudge.

Lily is a more flexible and less submissive person that she would seem on first 159*
acquaintance. The difficulty with knowing her is that she wears a completely
impassive, rigid, unexpressive mask before all. One morning after knowing her 157
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had smiled (slightly) and mumbled "Good Morning" under her breath. She is also [123]
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her behavior with her peers and parents, but in all instances she prefers to
communicate with slight gestures and to make do with very few words. She is,
in fact, a remarkably self-possessed, poised, and reserved adolescent girl, a
consequence of which is that she is far more graceful than many other local girls
her own age. But, generally, her responses only minimally involve her with 159*
others. She is always among people, but not always with them. Her reserve does 156
not dissipate much with continued acquaintance, but is a constant feature of her
mode of adjusting to others. She never talks freely and her terse responses to
the blots and TAT cards are paralleled by an equal economy in all personal re-
lationships. There is no evidence to suggest that she is suspicious or distrust-
ful of others, although she can be quite persistent in avoiding people she does
not like.

175 the exclusive right of taking fish and gathering edible roots, seeds, and
648 berries within the reservation. Provision is made by which the right of
657 way for public roads and railroads across said reservation is reserved to
citizens of the United States.

Article 2. As a payment for the ceded lands the Indians shall receive $8,000 per annum for a period of five years, $5,000 per annum for the next five years, and the sum of $3,000 per annum for the five years next succeeding.

Article 3 provides for the payment of $35,000 for removing the Indians to the reservation, subsisting them during the first year, and providing them with clothing, teams, tools, seeds, etc.

313 Articles 4 and 5 provide for the establishment of a saw-mill, a flouring-
256 mill, a manual-labor school, and hospital buildings, all to be maintained
874 and supplied with working material at the expense of the United States for
783 the period of twenty years. Employés for running these establishments
shall be paid and housed by the Government also.

423 Article 6 reserves the right to the Government to provide each Indian family with lands in severalty to the extent of forty to one hundred and twenty acres, and to guarantee possession to them. Indians are not allowed to alienate these lands.

Article 9. The Indians acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and pledge themselves to be friendly with all citizens thereof, to commit no depredations upon the persons or property of said citizens, and to refrain from carrying on any war upon other Indian tribes.

273 Article 10 prohibits the sale and use of liquors upon the Reservation, and Article 11 permits the Government to locate other Indian tribes thereon, the parties to this treaty not losing any rights thereby.

The treaty was proclaimed February 17, 1870.

Like most of the treaties concluded between the United States Government and the Indian tribes, this compact was made much more to the advantage of the white man than of his red brother. Not only were the stipulated annuities rather small for a body of Indians, which was then considered to number about two thousand people, but these annuities were

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

EIGHT

[P. 105]

School

WHILE THE RE-EDUCATION OF THEIR ELDERS WAS BEING CARRIED OUT, 657* it was the youth of the reservation on whom the Agents placed 648* their ultimate hopes. The American faith in the transforming 871 powers of education is nowhere clearer than in the words of Dyar:

> Being fully convinced that a radical change in the Indian character can only be wrought in childhood and early youth, I would most respectfully urge the co-operation of the Government in the prosecution of this work of taking the children from their native haunts of degradation, and clothing, feeding, and teaching them the habits and arts of civilization.[1]

It had been a slow start. Lindsay Applegate had employed a 648* teacher, but as that functionary observed, he had been "instructed 657* to labor on the farms and to give instructions to certain Indians 872 in manual labor"—evidently not his metier.[2] The "sickly effort" [875] • as A. B. Meacham termed it, was abandoned,[3] and not until 1873 did Dyar's plan for a manual training boarding school bear fruit.[4] It met initial opposition. John Meacham had advocated the hiring of a "good reliable educated Indian" as teacher who "would himself be a living example of the result to be achieved by study. . . ."[5] Such a person might also have been able to reduce the initial aversion of parents to sending their children to school. Dyar noted, "I shall be obliged to commence with a very few—perhaps with orphans who have no friends to oppose." However, he wisely declined to use force.[6] In his efforts he was to have the [643] steadfast support of Henry Blow, who became head chief in 1874. "Mr. Dyar . . . says," wrote Nickerson, "that he never could have established the school on this reservation, had it not been for him. He was its friend when all others were against it."[7]

Soon Dyar had over twenty scholars,[8] only to have to close

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

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the part of the Indians."[26] The issue was not successfully reopened until the administration of O. C. Applegate.

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In the education for a new life which the schools essayed to impart—and this, against all diversions, was its chief task—the caliber of the teaching staff was crucial. It is difficult to evaluate the accomplishments of the teachers, for some were relatives or longtime friends of the Agent; and the adverse criticisms of such men as Emery sometimes cloak differences in educational outlook. Scattered through the records are remarks on the lack of prior school or Indian service experience. In one staff evaluation appears a notation on Thomas Davis, industrial teacher, "recommended by Governor Penoyer as his nephew. He is learning and is prepared to do better in the future."[27] Of another, J. W. Brandenberg, superintendent and principal teacher at the Yainax school, it was observed, "He has maintained good discipline in this School, though his methods of punishment may have been considered a little severely by the Department; he having resorted to the shackles in extreme cases. . . ."[28] These are commendatory remarks. Brandenberg was later removed by order of the Commissioner.

An extreme instance was detailed by E. L. Applegate in charges against Col. H. B. Compson, the Superintendent of the Agency School. After describing the squalor of his residence, Applegate proceeds:

> As an example of the civilized White men, he could and did knock down his wife in the presence of the school girls while, at the same time, their daughter, the assistant matron, belabored him over the head with a wagon whip. The matron herself was an invalid, but of sufficient spite and vim; as to inflict scars on different parts of the bodies of school girls, and even upon their faces and heads.[29]

In the light of conflicts over educational and disciplinary practices and the frequent partisanship, it is not surprising that there should have been a high turnover of staff. The Superintendent of the Agency boarding school noted in 1892 that over the previous seven years there had been on the average a change in Superintendent every six months, and that there was marked insubordination among the scholars.[30] Eight years later, the

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

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Superintendent of the school at Yainax was more explicit. Acknowledging that it may occasionally have been necessary to resort to forbidden disciplinary measures, he added:

> When the Indians find that they cannot tantalize a careworn employee into doing something rash and thus secure his discharge, it will be easier to get along with a minimum of severity. . . . This is entirely impossible without occasional resort to force. Interest, where no object is visible, must sometimes be bolstered up by respect for physical force.

And he observed tersely, "I find some lack of training in employees and a good deal of smiling and obedient inertia."[31]

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It had been the very purpose of the school to break with the past and thus shape the future. When the school prevented girls from participating in the puberty ritual and the boys from going on the vision quest, the break was sharp. When it exalted the virtues of hard work, it provided a reassuring continuity, albeit fortuitous, with the native exhortations. Many practices prohibited in the schools were merely suspended, to be resumed upon graduation.

To the old skills, however, new abilities were added. Nickerson had long ago suggested that apprentices such as young Jesse Kirk, "one of our oldest and most advanced school boys," be issued tools, after working out their value in the Agency shops, and thus be prepared at once to earn their living and to provide for their people services hitherto available only from the Agency.[32] Others had been trained to farm or ranch and to keep house; and all had learned in some measure to speak English, to read, to do simple arithmetic, and had at least an acquaintance with history and geography.

Beyond those competencies lay a precipitate of experience—for most children the first intimate experience—with the Agency. They had been subjected to a detailed and vigilant regimen which left few things private; and the chief lesson of the encounter for some was that there are ways to circumvent authority. To many, the governing white was symbolized for years in the face of a Miss "Hummingbird" or in the formidable visage of a Colonel Compson.

An apprenticeship system had earlier been set up, with an 648*
Indian assigned to each artisan as assistant and understudy. 657*
Nickerson noted in 1882 that while "[the apprentices] are doing 872
as well as uneducated Indians can be expected to do, not one of them . . . has had any school training, and but one can write his name."[17] Presently schoolboys began to take over some of these positions.

Many factors bore upon the effectiveness of the teaching. Elderly individuals today can recall the first bewildered days at school—sometimes relieved by the kindness of such teachers as one nicknamed by the children "Hummingbird"—but at best it was a difficult experience. "Nine tenths of them," wrote Emery of the newcomers, "know nothing of [English]. At first, when called 648*
to recite, they will dart under the seats, and have to be coaxed 657*
and helped from their hiding places by the hand of the teacher."[18] 872
Not always was such tenderness displayed. Although one man, 876 •
now deceased, recalled a generally pleasant experience and the kindnesses of matrons and teachers,[19] a contemporary bitterly recollected:

> In school they didn't allow us to talk in Klamath. We were punished if they caught us talking in Klamath. They would make us hold up a stick with our hands high. Sometimes they would make an older boy hold a fence rail on his back and walk around a tree stump. Sometimes one whole hour at a time. I never had to do that. Sometimes I would see the teacher or principal whip a boy with a good-sized willow. Sometimes they would make the boy take off his shirt and then the boy would never get over it. I felt that sometimes we boys should get together and give the teacher a whipping to see how he liked it. In the old Klamath days, the parents would switch the child on the legs or sometimes on his butt, but never that way—hard like that. . . . [191]
>
> At school I had it pretty tough. I was cold and hungry. When we made noise at table, we had to be punished without any food. I had to take food from the table. Fish at night. The children had to steal apples.

Detailed as meatcutter, he recalls that the choicest cuts went to employees, the necks and ribs to the children. And he concludes, "I learned how to steal at school to keep from going hungry."[20]

There were games and ice skating, and the brass band. For the 648*
adolescents there were illicit sexual adventures. Some children 657*

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[857]
[883]

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the part of the Indians."[26] The issue was not successfully reopened until the administration of O. C. Applegate.

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In the education for a new life which the schools essayed to impart—and this, against all diversions, was its chief task—the caliber of the teaching staff was crucial. It is difficult to evaluate the accomplishments of the teachers, for some were relatives or longtime friends of the Agent; and the adverse criticisms of such men as Emery sometimes cloak differences in educational outlook. Scattered through the records are remarks on the lack of prior school or Indian service experience. In one staff evaluation appears a notation on Thomas Davis, industrial teacher, "recommended by Governor Penoyer as his nephew. He is learning and is prepared to do better in the future."[27] Of another, J. W. Brandenberg, superintendent and principal teacher at the Yainax school, it was observed, "He has maintained good discipline in this School, though his methods of punishment may have been considered a little severely by the Department; he having resorted to the shackles in extreme cases. . . ."[28] These are commendatory remarks. Brandenberg was later removed by order of the Commissioner.

An extreme instance was detailed by E. L. Applegate in charges against Col. H. B. Compson, the Superintendent of the Agency School. After describing the squalor of his residence, Applegate proceeds:

> As an example of the civilized White men, he could and did knock down his wife in the presence of the school girls while, at the same time, their daughter, the assistant matron, belabored him over the head with a wagon whip. The matron herself was an invalid, but of sufficient spite and vim; as to inflict scars on different parts of the bodies of school girls, and even upon their faces and heads.[29]

In the light of conflicts over educational and disciplinary practices and the frequent partisanship, it is not surprising that there should have been a high turnover of staff. The Superintendent of the Agency boarding school noted in 1892 that over the previous seven years there had been on the average a change in Superintendent every six months, and that there was marked insubordination among the scholars.[30] Eight years later, the

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

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*657 875 Superintendent of the school at Yainax was more explicit. Acknowledging that it may occasionally have been necessary to resort to forbidden disciplinary measures, he added:

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> When the Indians find that they cannot tantalize a careworn employee into doing something rash and thus secure his discharge, it will be easier to get along with a minimum of severity. . . . This is entirely impossible without occasional resort to force. Interest, where no object is visible, must sometimes be bolstered up by respect for physical force.

And he observed tersely, "I find some lack of training in employees and a good deal of smiling and obedient inertia."[31]

*648 *657 871 It had been the very purpose of the school to break with the past and thus shape the future. When the school prevented girls from participating in the puberty ritual and the boys from going on the vision quest, the break was sharp. When it exalted the virtues of hard work, it provided a reassuring continuity, albeit fortuitous, with the native exhortations. Many practices prohibited in the schools were merely suspended, to be resumed upon graduation.

To the old skills, however, new abilities were added. Nickerson had long ago suggested that apprentices such as young Jesse Kirk, "one of our oldest and most advanced school boys," be issued tools, after working out their value in the Agency shops, and thus be prepared at once to earn their living and to provide for their people services hitherto available only from the Agency.[32] Others had been trained to farm or ranch and to keep house; and all had learned in some measure to speak English, to read, to do simple arithmetic, and had at least an acquaintance with history and geography.

Beyond those competencies lay a precipitate of experience—for most children the first intimate experience—with the Agency. They had been subjected to a detailed and vigilant regimen which left few things private; and the chief lesson of the encounter for some was that there are ways to circumvent authority. To many, the governing white was symbolized for years in the face of a Miss "Hummingbird" or in the formidable visage of a Colonel Compson.

834 836 [881] She dances with downcast eyes in her adolescent rite; she sits apart and does not talk with male visitors at home. A man seen prowling about the camp is shouted away. A girl who does not wish to be molested will go over to her mother to sleep. A father will whip a daughter who has clandestine visitors, and his son for misconduct. No obligations may be assumed for which no payment is made.

583 [836] Despite the fact that elopements are frowned on, clandestine visits and elopements are frequent. The girl's parents may follow a runaway couple and force her to return with them. It is usual however for the families to accept the fact and make gifts in proper form.

583 159 585 The most lavish marriage display ever known was that of Lalo'ks' only daughter, Go'solülh. They were living at táka'lmakeds during the fishing season when Ski'lüls of Yainax eloped with her. They fled riding double; the horse fell with them while fording the river, but they escaped to Yainax. Soon after the girl returned alone. It took a month to get ready to conduct a proper marriage. Lalo'ks made the trip across the mountains to Jacksonville to get store goods. A great many people went with them to Yainax, the majority taking gifts of horses, blankets, clothing, or anything they had. One man with nothing better stripped himself of his only shirt. It must be remembered that such Plains shirts were then newly fashionable and hence valuable. They gave the horses they rode there, hoping for reciprocal gifts on which to return. Horses to a total of ten were given the groom's people. They gave horses and other gifts in return. Payment having been made the affair was considered as honorably ended, and as though the groom had sent an emissary in proper order.

583 554 Marriage without payment brings a slur on the children to be cast in the teeth by quarreling women. "Your children are worth nothing; you were not bought." Children taunt each other in the same way. They are respected in proportion to the amount changing hands at their parents' marriage, but this does not mean that a man's life is assessed at this sum. Nor is there any suggestion here that husband and wife are financially accountable to each other for injuries to their children. Marriage payment is prescribed not alone because it fixes social status in a general way but because, as one informant phrased it, it is decidedly unlucky not to make payment. So it is, for the couple have made an unsuccessful start of their social career.

The amount is not prescribed but varies with the wealth of the individuals. A chief gives a slave and more; a poor man buys with food. A chief will not give his daughter for nothing; the groom must
583 continue to bring gifts even after marriage. The valuables customarily exchanged are slaves, horses, blankets, beads, food (pond-lily seed and roots), elk and other hides, and strings of beads. Pat Kane's father gave five fathoms of glass trade beads. It is important to

601 I have few data on kinship usages. A child's spouse is treated like an own child and freely called son or daughter. Reciprocally, parents-in-law are often addressed by parent terms. The spouses of grandchildren and of nephews and nieces are not related, nor are step-brothers and sisters. There is no joking relation.

593 The close bond between siblings and their families is attested by the opening of a tale:

> [539] Wiwi'aak had five fathers, who were the five sons of Wile'akaḳ. That is, one was his father, but the others were fathers because they were father's brothers. . . . .

PUBERTY AND MENSTRUAL CUSTOMS

881 [554] The puberty dance is held only for the daughters of chiefs and others of wealth. For a poor man's daughter the rites are curtailed to the most necessary observances. The celebration serves as an announcement of nubility: girls marry within a year or so of their dance.

881 535 The dance (yo'ḳ'ɛla) occupies five nights at the first menstruation and is repeated at the four subsequent periods. It seems doubtful that any but the socially pretentious carry out full five celebrations. During the day the girl goes alone to sleep in the brush at some distance, returning for the dance just before sundown. I am not certain that she then seeks supernatural power. At least the girl does not run about piling up rocks in lonely places as boys do.

The dancing may take place in the lodge or outside, perhaps according to the season. It is simple enough; the girl trots forward and backward in the same course facing the east all the while. She is supported on each side by a man or woman whose arms are linked in hers. As they tire others take their places but the girl must keep on throughout the night. These others are young or old, relatives or otherwise, as convenience dictates.

881 533 The singing is provided by a group of men and women who alone know the appropriate songs. These singers are in demand for every dance. They are paid by the girl's relatives, a horse apiece, a blanket for each man, a half-fathom of beads for the women, or an equivalent. Some are provided with rattles, poles to the upper ends of which bunches of dew claws are fastened, the butts of which they pound on the ground. At least the song leader has one; other informants spoke of two or three, of five men and five women, or of rattles for all.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

Everyone is quiet during the singing, else the girl will die. My informant could not say what would be done to the one who broke this rule. The singers are fed at midnight. 881 533 *

The choristers sing about one another, men about women, women about men.[88] The opening song is always:

iwŭne′ skĕn djĭdja′lwis djalye′djai′wa [539]
toward sundown bachelors making a noise (?)
The young men are having a jollification in the west.

Toward daylight they sing:

pe′ĕt k̇eskă′ni djĭ′k̇!a ho′llidoŋga
Toward the dawn place a tiny brown bird came to meet us.

The girl herself is expected to dance with downcast eyes, although there is no express prohibition against looking at the sky as among the Shasta. Common girls, however, will laugh and look around as they dance. There is no suggestion that the girl's glance is malignant. 881 535 576 [171] *

She observes three precautions during these five days, as she will at subsequent menstruations and during mourning. She must abstain from meat and fish, eating only lily seed or roots. She may, however, eat when she pleases and with the others. Should she eat the forbidden flesh, she will get "consumption" and die.[89] She must not touch her hands to her face or head, using instead a scratcher (sadŏ′ktcuts). This scratching stick or bone is tucked under the left wristband or hung about the neck. Every morning she runs toward the dawn. 881 784 [302]

In the Field Museum collections are several bone scratchers used during the girl's rites (nos. 61633, 61692, 63632). These are of two types; lozenge-shaped and oval. They are decorated with incised lines, set close together and filled with black pigment. Each is provided with a thong (fig. 6). [531]

During the day the girl retires to sleep in the bushes or in a dome-shaped mat-lodge a few hundred yards distant. 881 [343]

She wears an old, dirty, fringed skirt, a blanket of skin (coyote, wolf, raccoon, or deer), and buckskin moccasins. The long buckskin dress commonly worn at dances may be used, although one informant stated otherwise. She does not wash nor comb her hair during this period. Her face is blackened with pitch and charcoal, but none is put on her hair as it would be in mourning. Instead the hair, hanging as usual in two braids in front of the shoulders, is doubled on itself to form two clubs, which are bound with braided cords of buck-brush [291] [302]

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[88] Some of these songs are given by Gatschet, 1:182, 189.

[89] A bone drinking tube is not used.

881 [302] [301] or red sage-brush bark. Buck-brush bands are worn around the head, neck, wrists, ankles, below each knee, and wound perhaps twice around the waist. This waist band may be a woven belt (k'ai'lls) of sage-brush.

[291] [783] At the close of the ceremony the girl purifies herself by swimming; she does not use a sweat-bath. Other participants need no purification. Her clothing and bark bands are burned. Sometimes the circlets are wrapped around the branches of trees near the sweat-lodge where they are left to rot unless they are earlier gathered by someone who wishes to use them for a cautery.

[302]
[531]

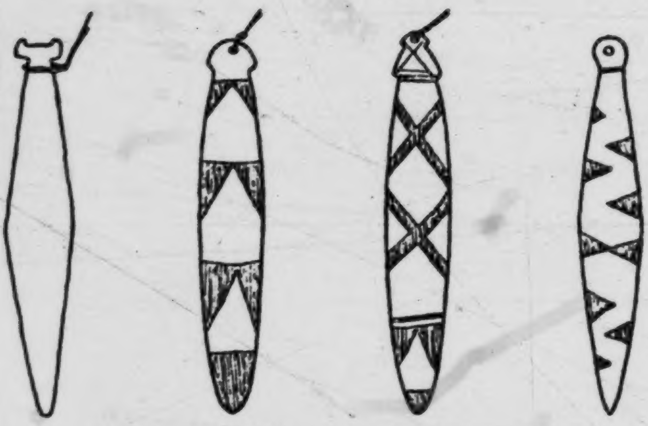

Fig. 6. Head scratchers, used by girls in puberty rites.

A girl for whom no dance is held stays within her home, dressed in this fashion and observing the taboos for the requisite period.

841 [756] Menstruant women stay at home during their illness (ata sto'pwi) unless they are members of a shaman's household. Shamans must avoid them; seemingly other men are indifferent. Women of a shaman's household occupy a little dome-shaped lodge near-by for five days. Menstruants eat only lily seed, camas, etc.; they permit themselves dried fish, but meat and fresh fish are taboo. Older women do not use the scratcher, nor wear the bands, nor burn their clothing.[97] So much from my feminine friend, but a male informant had it that all women make use of a menstrual lodge, wear dirty clothing, neither wash nor care for the hair, and use the scratcher. However, women

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[97] Nor do they keep knotted string records of these events as on Puget sound.

do keep up their ordinary occupation in part during this time. They dig roots for instance, but others must care for the products further, else the women will never find any more. 841

There is no comparable rite for boys at puberty. Nevertheless the time when a boy's voice deepens is recognized as propitious for seeking power. He is sent into the mountains for perhaps five days, to wander at night, running continually, piling up rocks, swimming in the mountain pools and eddies of the rivers, fasting the while until a song comes to him in a dream. He must use a head-scratcher. Preadolescent boys are tossed into the river or whipped while they sleep. If the boy whimpers he will be a weakling; he is expected to jump up and shout. I have cited above the case of Lᴇlc'ks who was so treated at puberty, it seems, and thus lost his transvestite habits. 881 [787] [866]

When I [Pat Kane] was a little boy of seven or ten, my father sometimes threw me into the river while I slept. I did not ask why. Finally he told me, "I do not want to kill you. I do it so that when you are grown you will not easily get sick, so that if you are shot you will recover quickly." I always bathed in the river as a boy and you see that I have never even had rheumatism until recently. 866 159

DEATH AND MOURNING

Klamath funereal observances are personal, non-ceremonial, and somewhat unique in that they provide occasions for the seeking of power. There are no mourning anniversaries. 764 [765]

Cremation is the universal practice, even for suicides, the newborn, and the stillborn. Only the bodies of secretly aborted infants are buried in the bush. The body of a man killed in war is brought home for cremation.[88] [727]

Some Klamath men were trapping in the mountains west of Crater lake about eighty years ago when they were met by some Upland Takelma who killed four or five. One boy alone escaped and made his way back to Klamath marsh at night. The Takelma took scalps, hands, and feet of the dead, and held a dance. Many Klamath went to fetch the bodies, which they brought to Klamath marsh for incineration.

Near each group of settlements is a spot where all cremations take place. It is somewhat apart from the settlements but not isolated.

Three of these serve the Klamath marsh people; on the eastern side of the marsh near the towns k'ᴇtaiwas (2, see maps, figs. 1–3), gōpgūa'ḳsi (3), and l'wal (4). For others of this division of the tribe, there is one on Sprague

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[88] Cremation was given up forty or more years ago ("in about 1868," Gatschet, 1:86). The first burial was that of a Molala man, married to a Klamath woman, who was killed by a Klamath. [177] [178]

This is the open flute, lacking tongue or reed, and played by blowing across the open end while it is held vertically or horizontally. So I was told, but it is more probable that the vertical is the only position used. These are manufactured from branches of the ḳoḳo'dŏm bush or the elder (slo'lŭsæm), from which the pith is easily removed, or from the long legs of cranes. The wooden flutes are three-quarters of an inch in diameter, one to two feet long, with three holes (or four or five ?) for finger stops burned at odd intervals. 534

The deer-hoof rattle (sŏ'ḳtsŏḳs) is probably the only one of the three Klamath rattles that is of any antiquity among them. It is used exclusively in the girl's adolescence rites. The Klamath form is a slender pole four to seven feet long with a cord along the upper third to which bunches of deer dew claws (ḳ'o'djlŋks) are tied at intervals. The butt is pounded on the ground to jar the hooflets. [881] •

Of the other two types, the clap rattle is the familiar cleft stick, the split end of which is struck against the palm. This was used in the Ghost dance of 1870 and in no other connection. It was derived from the Pit river peoples. The notched rattle (ulo'ks) is known to have been played by one man who learned it from the Upland Takelma. It may have been used in the war and scalp dances. This is the familiar notched stick set on the ground and rasped with another stick; no resonator is used.[143] [786] [177]

The hand drum has no great antiquity among the Klamath but was in use before the coming of the whites. It was derived from some northern tribe, probably those of Warm Springs. Its very name, bŏ'mbŏm, is the common word in eastern Oregon and Washington. It is used only in the social dances, which are themselves of no great consequence. The drum is the familiar shallow tambourine affair, with only one head. Thongs crossed on the open face furnish a hand grip. Drums are constructed of a flattened juniper bough bent into a ring of one to two feet in diameter. Heads of badger and antelope hide are best; they yield the loudest sound. The drum was not decorated until lately, when stars were painted on the head. This is said to have been learned of the whites, but is more likely derived from the modern version of the Smohallah cult, the so-called Pompom religion of eastern Washington and Oregon. The drum stick (wo'tanotc) is a stick wrapped with mink hide to form a knob. [177] [531] [177]

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[143] There is no association of the sound with the voice of the frog nor with the rain, nor is it used in social dances, as in the Great Basin area.

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[171]*

II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be 771
permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices, [756]
the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of
supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the
shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance [881]
in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps, [721]
some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance
of 1870. [727]

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a
host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These [585]
are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, [786]
and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however defi-
nitely localized in many instances and partly identified with the 776
figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the
spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no
ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart 775
from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic
existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living.

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are 776
times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the
loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the 787
revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate.

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[622] [177] The shaman himself is, or was, the outstanding figure of Klamath society. He had no rival in the chiefs, the rich man, until the coming of the whites brought a redistribution of emphasis in Klamath life. Chiefs had previously been persons of little influence.

771 *171 All this is familiar enough among Indians; the Klamath differ only in particulars. In its several aspects, their religion, as well as its practice, is one with that of the Great Basin, Plateau, and Mackenzie tribes.

THE POWER QUEST

787 The quest for supernatural aid is open to everyone, men and women, boys and girls. It is a constantly recurring feature of their lives. Everyone, perhaps without exception, seeks the powers at least once during his lifetime and further experiences seem to be repeatedly sought.

[881] The first occasion is always puberty. I doubt that boys and girls are expected to be uniformly successful in securing aid at this time, because, it was said, at shamanistic performances those who had power might sing their songs. This may imply that the others either never [765] acquired power or had lost it. My informants' frequent emphasis on the period of mourning for a husband, wife, or child marks this, too, as a peculiarly pregnant period when power may be successfully sought. At least at such a time a man loses his power and must seek [844] again if he wishes to regain it. A man also seeks power at the birth of a first child. But it is not only the crises of life that provide [756] occasion; the quest may be undertaken at any time, and it is the practice of such as gamblers and shamans to renew and enhance their [525] powers by frequent attempts. The quest is called spŭ'tu.

The experience does not ordinarily include a vision, but is made manifest in a song heard in a dream. In some instances where a vision is had, a dream song follows, but it is clear that the latter is the essential experience. In the following case a man and a woman had identical visions but to the man alone fell the experience leading to power.

> 787 159 The grandfather of a Klamath Falls shaman went to stö'kmöte, the point of Eagle Ridge, in the evening. There is a spot in the lake where bubbles rise. Horses lived in this long ago (!). When this man reached the headland he saw two pinto horses, with long manes, rearing against each other from the water. He was not frightened but took off his clothes and plunged into the water in order to secure power. When he recovered consciousness he found himself again on land. From that time he was lucky; he began to get many pintos, large horses. Because of this experience his grandson, the shaman, also acquired, in his turn, spirit songs of all kinds.

787 [159] An old woman, gathering wood at this place, also saw two horses in the water. Turning to her husband she said, "There are horses standing over there," but when they looked again, the horses had disappeared. Such a disappearance (tako'tk̦a) is a sign that a relative will die; one of her relatives died after this.

Visions evidently follow one of two formulae. Either, as above, the spirit appears standing in the water and then disappears, or it drags the swimmer below the water for the purpose of devouring him, as instanced below.

787 776 533 One word swi'ls means song and spirit being. A certain dualism is involved here. Spirits are definite beings that dwell in the mountains and in the water. On the other hand all songs are called swi'ls, including those for amusement and non-shamanistic dancing, which bear no reference to spirits. That is, spirits and songs are certainly recognized as separate entities. Nevertheless, when it is said that a man has a Coyote swi'ls, for example, it means that he has the appropriate song or songs and that this animal is his supernatural helper. The spirit never manifests itself but in the song; the singer is the vehicle, the voice of the spirit. Song and spirit are one and the same thing.

787 881 Power is sought in lonely spots on the mountains, in mountain pools, in eddies in the rivers, in all places where spirits are known to dwell. A boy is sent into the mountains on a vigil of several days, perhaps five, at puberty, that is, when his voice changes. He seeks power that he may acquire property, be a good hunter, become rich, a chief, and be able to do all the things that are difficult. (One does not need power to be a fisherman, for instance.) He must fast and must not touch his hands to his face, but must use a scratcher instead. He must sleep without covering and warm himself only occasionally by a little fire. He runs about constantly throughout the night, piling rocks into high piles[147] (called sᴇwa'l) and swimming in the mountain pools. He prays, calling loudly to the spirits, and finally gets an answer. At night he may see a spirit with blood flowing from his mouth; then he faints and when he wakes he too will have a hemorrhage (djăkglĕkgĕ'k̦a). He "nearly dies" before he secures the song.

[562] It is possible that girls also seek power at puberty. Their dance at this time takes place at night; during the day they sleep in the brush or on the near-by hills. Then a song may be dreamed. One informant had it that they spend the night piling rocks like boys, returning at daylight, but I consider it very unlikely that a girl

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[147] Clarke, Rock Piles, 40, refers to the many piles of four or five boulders placed on one another which occur in this country.

787 would be allowed to go unattended. Women well along in years, how-
881 ever, follow the regular practice, at least as to bathing in the spirit
562 places.

787 The same method is pursued by the mourner, gambler, or shaman
who seeks power, but swimming in the deep river eddies was more
756 frequently mentioned in this connection. These seekers are almost
525 always men, but older strong-willed women will attempt it. Power
may be sought at any time during the year, but they do not dive for
it until the first willow buds appear (in the seventh month, March or
April). I presume that deep snows and ice in the mountains preclude
earlier attempts.

787 During the day the seeker sweats and fasts, waiting in the brush
until nightfall. He then goes to the river and dives to the bottom in
search of the spirit. He must not be frightened even if he sees some-
[756] thing moving under the water. He prays before diving, "I want to be
a shaman. Give me power. Catch me. I need the power." Some-
times he comes up unconscious, blood streaming from his mouth and
nose. He must wait until the flow stops before going home.[148] This
night he hears nothing because he has been frightened by the spirit,
nor will he eat the following day for fear of falling ill. On the
following night or soon after, he hears the song of the spirit as it
sings beneath the water. He may dream of hunting deer, acquiring
horses, of success in gambling or with women, and of marriage. One
informant dreamed of being in an earth-lodge. When he wakes the
[539] seeker sings about the subject of his dream. One song dreamed by an
old woman is

e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha
(repeated four times)
noai'meso spu'ŋgötgöple' spŭ'ŋgötgöple'
I am the one pursuing you.

It seems that, like a boy at puberty, this seeker, after swimming,
may go to the mountains to fast and pile rocks. He may remain there
for some time, but one exceptionally rapid quest was cited. Nancy's
father having lost a child, he went swimming in Crater lake; before
evening he had become a shaman.

787 A power quest under unusual circumstances is that of Lɛle'ks.
This man, the most prominent and successful chief of the last century,
159 was a berdache in his youth. His people wanted him to give up
woman's garb. One day when he lay asleep they placed a woman's

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[148] Gatschet also describes this (*op. cit.*, 1:82–84).

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

789 one part of Klamath territory, on the eastern shore of Klamath lake and southward. A bracelet made of the shed skin of a water snake (wī'siŋk) will make a little child swim well. Girl's hair is singed so that it will grow long.

• 881 Menstrual regulations prescribe that at first menstruation girls
may not eat meat or fish else they will get sick. They must use a
head-scratcher and run toward the dawn. Their clothing and bands
must be burned. Older menstruants are permitted dried fish and
841 may do without the scratcher. Women must not care for the roots
they gather while in this condition, else they will fail to find them in
[756] the future. Shamans must avoid menstruants else they lose their
power.

765 The same food restrictions are imposed on mourners, who also use the head-scratcher. If they touch hands to face it will wrinkle, to hair it will turn gray. They must spit into a hole. Mourners must use special sweat-lodges. A woman's bands are hung on the trees near-by. Men wear bark belts so that their backs will not grow stooped. The house in which a death takes place must be burned with its contents. Mourners must abandon their first kill or harvest, or their gains at gambling, and give the second away. Similarly novice hunters and root-gatherers give away their first fruits, a gambler his first gains after acquiring power. Mourners must not fish nor cross a river else the fish will disappear. These mourners' observances have largely a purificatory intent.

821 A storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned.

823 Klamath marsh, which is now almost wholly dry, is known to have been in that condition on earlier occasions, for instance, about 1840 and again about 1860. On the former occasion it was so dry that its southern arm could be crossed on horseback between the settlements Du"ilkŭt and I'wal. They did not know what caused it. As a remedy a man would be dispatched to one of the spirit pools in the Cascade mountains (as Crater and Diamond lakes) to bring back water in a squirrel or chipmunk skin to pour into the marsh.

226 The first fish rite of these people is held at one place alone, Komā'ĕksi on Sprague river. Why at this point, is anything but obvious. The first sucker caught is burned to ashes, others must be roasted on the spot, otherwise no more will follow. The gall of fish caught with difficulty, as when speared through the ice, must be thrown back into the water else the fish will avoid the fisher.

*171 on the other, were entirely absent among the Klamath. Nevertheless
556 the mechanism of the Northwest Coast for the exchange of presents,
the potlatch, does appear here in the form of prescribed reciprocal
584 visits between the families of bride and groom. It has not been clearly
recognized that these features of Northwest Coast social life have
spread even farther from that focus into the northern Plains and to
north central California.

*171 Of the slender stock of Klamath ceremonials, the scalp dance is
widely known, the war or incitement dance is common to northwestern
535 California and perhaps all of Oregon. Kroeber has pointed out that
726 so far as California is concerned scalp and war dances are mutually
exclusive in their distributions.[418] But the Klamath, like all others
*171 of eastern Oregon, carry out both dances. The girls' adolescence rite
of the Klamath is one with those of western Oregon and northern
• 881 California. This is a local phrasing of similar rites known from
Alaska to the Southwest, but lacking east of the Sierra-Cascades.
Specific details of the Klamath affair are closer to northern Cali-
*171 fornian forms than to those of Oregon. The Ghost dance of 1870 was
evanescent among them. Its first form was that characteristic of the
original dance of Nevada; later it was overlaid by features char-
acteristic of central California.[419]

177 Some historical relief emerges in this survey. It is definitely
traceable in some details and can be established inferentially for more
basic elements. The most recent stratum of adopted traits is post-
[285] reservation, i.e., later than 1865. This includes two types of basketry
derived from the Northern Paiute settled on the reservation, a sifting
[668] basket and a coiled water bucket, and the Ghost dance. The earlier
form of the Ghost dance was instituted by the same group of Paiute
in 1870 or '71. This was the familiar circle of dancers, whose leaders
[343] dreamed new regulations; its ideology the return of the dead. In
1873 a Pit River introduced central Californian elements; a dance
[534] lodge, probably the clap-stick rattle, new songs, etc. To the same
[533] stratum belongs the imitation of the Warm Springs-Yakima one-piece
moccasin.

[291] Other elements are recognized as pertaining to pre-reservation
177 days, but probably not earlier than the middle of the last century:
the hand drum derived from the north, and perhaps the social dances
534 in which it is used; the hand game brought by a Spokane (?) man.
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[418] Kroeber, Handbook, 144, 844.

[419] Spier, Ghost Dance.

THE SHAMANISTIC COMPLEX

However simple and consistent a picture the religious practices of 105 the Klamath may appear, there can be no doubt that they represent an amalgam of historically diverse elements. It is not necessary to indicate the exact sequence in which they were accreted in order to prove this. We can show that these elements have different distributions among neighboring tribes and that they enter into combinations different from that of the Klamath. The Klamath complex is best interpreted as a function of their geographic position, without ignoring the fact that the peculiar form in which the Klamath have these ideas is duplicated nowhere else.

The characteristics of Klamath religious practices and beliefs may 776 be briefly recapitulated. There are a host of weakly defined but sharply localized spirits from whom power is sought. These are chiefly birds and animals, some natural phenomena, and a few anthropomorphic supernaturals. The powers they bestow give success in all 787 things difficult. Power is deliberately sought, it rarely comes involuntarily, and always according to a rigid formula. It is sought by almost every Klamath, perhaps by all, and the majority seem successful in their quest. Shamans are then set off from the laity only in the [756] possession of a greater number of powers. It is better to make the distinction by their acts: those who cure or practice weather control or clairvoyance, no matter how few their powers or the nature of their familiar spirits, are shamans. The quest is undertaken at any time of [881] life, although usually at puberty. The most propitious times in later [765] life are at periods of stress, as in distress or on the death of an immediate relative. The formula prescribes fasting for a number of nights on the mountains, continually running about and piling up rocks, combined with diving into lonely pools, or following the latter plan alone by diving beneath whirlpools in the river or lakes which spirits are known to haunt. The suppliant loses consciousness and wakes to find himself on the shore bleeding profusely from the mouth and nose. He does not ordinarily have a vision, but success is manifested in a song heard in a dream on a night soon following. The dream experience is essential. So closely is the spirit identified with the song, that but a single word indicates both. The song is the embodiment of the spirit, which hardly exists apart from it. The spirit is not the suppliant's guardian and later quests are not necessarily for renewed

*171 From this perspective the Klamath complex takes its place with
756 the relatively simple shamanism of the northwestern interior and the Basin, overlaid with elements shared by tribes of the northwestern coast and those of northern, or better, northwestern California.

Shamanism bulks large in the social scheme of the Klamath as it does in the interior Plateau and the Basin, for the reason that com-
• [881] peting rituals are lacking. Beyond the girls' rite, the war and scalp dances, and for a brief time the Ghost dance, the Klamath have noth-
[535] ing but shamans' performances. The winter ritual of the Northwest Coast extends only to central coastal Washington, the potlatch only to the Columbia river. The wealth display dances of northwestern
[726] California do not penetrate even to the Shasta; those of the central
[786] Californian Kuksu cult not beyond the head of the Sacramento. Elements of these ritual systems do indeed appear among the Klamath,
*171 but the dances as such are absent.

796 The Klamath hold the acquisition of supernatural power within the reach of anyone. In this they accord with the generality of North
*171 Americans and differ emphatically from the Californians for whom power descends only on the few. The Klamath form of quest fol-
787 lowed by a dream in which power comes links the common quest of America with the dream experience of California. The Northwest Coast, its interior, and the Basin are a unit with the Klamath in that the quest is for power of a general sort, not for visions yielding specific sanctions as in the Plains. The spirits whose benevolence is sought are birds and animals as in the interior, the Plains and eastward, not the mystic supernaturals of the Northwest Coast. The source of power and disease among the northwest Californians, the "pain"
*171 objects, do not appear among them in any form. The Klamath concept of disease is the very general North American one of intrusion;
753 the soul-loss concept of the Northwest Coast and tribes to the Columbia is unknown here.

*171 The Klamath novitiate dance for shamans is shared by groups from the Sacramento to the Columbia. It is the northern demonstration of
756 ability rather than the initiation and mastery of power of the northern Californians. The repeated dance of the Yurok prevails through Shasta and Modoc, but the single Klamath dance is of the interior type.

*171 The Northwest Coast winter ritual makes its appearance here only
756 in its general aspects. Klamath shamanistic seances are held only in midwinter and this is also the time for repossession by spirits among
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*171 567 southward of the Klamath there was no slavery; this is certain for Northern and Southern Maidu,[541] and very probably Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northern Paiute. This seems generally true of California with the exception of the northwest (Yurok and probably their neighbors), where there was debt slavery, but where slaves were not measurable articles of wealth.

Summary

101 105 174 The general position of the Klamath in relation to surrounding tribes was in earlier days the simple social structure of the Basin peoples. Since the opening of the last century they have borrowed from the Columbia tribes some sense of social stratification based on wealth, slave-holding, and trading, enhanced importance for their chiefs coincident with a change in the basis of selection from war to wealth, and quite recently judicial functions for the chiefs. There was thus a shift in social dominance from shaman to chief.

GIRLS' PUBERTY RITES AND WOMEN'S OBSERVANCES

*171 562 881 787 It is characteristic of western America that adolescence ceremonies were held for girls rather than boys. This is not to ignore the wide extension of the guardian spirit quest, more regularly performed by boys than girls, nor the boys' initiation ceremonies of southern California and the Southwest, but the boys' activities were less commonly ritualized save in the southwestern sector. The boys' quest among the Klamath has been discussed in connection with shamanism.

*171 841 The girls' rites in the west can best be understood with reference to a background of women's observances throughout the continent. Certain features of women's behavior had a well-nigh universal distribution. The general conception was that woman during her periodical illnesses was a source of contamination to others or a peril to herself. A series of restrictions ensued; she was secluded or her movements restricted during the period. For her own well-being she must fast or at least refrain from fresh meat or fish, but the latter proscription was also rationalized as avoiding damage to the food supply, especially fishing. She must not touch hands to face or hair, using instead a scratching stick, must not wash nor arrange her hair, and must dispose of her garments before resuming her normal life.

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[540] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, esp. 122.

[541] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 206; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 44.

It will be observed that the Klamath conformed to the general usage in that meat and fresh fish were avoided and the scratcher used, but a woman need not leave her home unless she was a member of a shaman's household. 171* 841 [756]

There are certain other taboos which were by no means universal but occurred over considerable areas in the same form. For example, salt was taboo to menstruants in southern and central California (Mohave, Diegueño, Luiseño, and much to the north, Pomo and Yuki).

It was in the nature of the case that those regulatory prescriptions that surround women throughout their lives held with equal force at the first period. It was not inevitable however that the conduct of the girl at her first period should be further regimented, or that restrictions be applied to the first period and none other (as among the Wishram). As I noted at the outset of this discussion, ritualization of the first period was characteristic of the extreme west alone. 171* 881

The rites had everywhere a composite character as far as purpose went, although it was very much the same throughout their whole range, but differently weighted in the north and south. I think we can safely state that the general purposes of the rites were to announce the nubility of the girl and thus qualify her as a candidate for marriage, and to serve her well-being at this physiological crisis. In the north the inevitable wealth display served as well to fix her social status. In the central section the industry and modesty she was forced to display were intended to fix her habits for life. While this looks much like a magical procedure, it may well have been a more direct way of achieving that end. It is indeed probable that the acts of this period of emotional stress should retain a high degree of consciousness throughout her life or at least until her habits were stabilized. In the south her physiological well-being was accentuated to the extent that other ritualistic possibilities, such as dancing, were dwarfed.

Apart from those features described above that have a general distribution there were rites of a specific character which fall into a number of distinct geographic types:

1. In the Northwest the adolescent girl was secluded in a closed-off section of her home, squatting in a constrained position, her head covered by a hat or mat. At the expiration of this period of seclusion a potlatch, a feast with distribution of property, was given in her honor by her parents. A series of songs were sung, hereditary

*171 in her family and satirical in nature or relating to love affairs. The personal restrictions continued for a period upward to a year.

881 Observances of this type have been noted from Alaska to the strait of Juan de Fuca: Malemut and Unalit Eskimo, Ten'a, Tahltan, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Nootka, Klallam, Snohomish, Nisqually, and Quinault. Variations will be discussed later.[666]

2. In Oregon and northern California there was a dance in which the girl participated each night of her period of seclusion. During the day she lay quietly at home or in a hut, alternating this with periods of strenuous activity, gathering firewood or uselessly piling logs. At dawn she ran toward the east. She wore a feather visor or her head was covered to hold her gaze averted whenever she emerged. Two dance forms occurred together; a circling ring and a line abreast trotting to and fro. Their accompaniment was a deer-hoof rattle; the songs related to men and women or to food products. The duration of the rite was quite consistently five or ten days. In Oregon at least this was the occasion for a vision quest. Throughout the region the performance was repeated at one or more subsequent illnesses.

The Klamath observances belong here.

Wishram, Tillamook, Coos, Takelma, Klamath, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Northern Maidu, Shasta, Karok, Tolowa (?), Hupa, Wiyot, Sinkyone, Yuki, Huchnom.[667]

3. In central and southern California and in adjacent Arizona the rite was simple: the girl was placed on a heated bed, sometimes danced over or sung to. The period was somewhat variable but most commonly four days. Again her eyes were covered or averted. Added to her personal restrictions was the proscription of salt. These restrictions continued in force as in the north, but not for so long, a month or more.

Pomo, Miwok, Tübatulabal, Juaneño, Luiseño, Northern Diegueño, Cahuilla, Mohave, Havasupai.[668]

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[666] Nelson, Eskimo about Bering Strait, 291; Emmons, Tahltan, 104; Krause, Die Tlinkit-Indianer, 217; Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, 450, 531, Third Report, 12; Ethnology of Kwakiutl, 699 f.; Sapir, Girl's Puberty Ceremony; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 239; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 46; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1926.

[667] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Boas, Notes on Tillamook, 6; St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 26; Sapir, Notes on Takelma, 273; Dixon, Notes on Achomawi and Atsugewi, 216; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 232 f.; Kroeber, Handbook, 106, 119, 127, 148, 196, 205, 299; Goddard, Life and Culture of Hupa, 53.

[668] Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 271 f.; Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 452, 609, 641, 673, 707, 716, 748; Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, 325.

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4. Some of the non-Pueblo Southwestern tribes had a dance at this time, occupying four nights. "The essential features of this ceremony are numerous songs and prayers uttered by the priest hired for the occasion, dancing by the girl or girls for whom it is held, a foot race by the girl, and the painting of the girl and of the spectators, who expect good fortune as a result."[589]

White Mountain Apache, Navaho, Jicarilla, and perhaps Pima should be included here.[590]

In contrast to this definite ceremonializing of the first crisis in western America, all of the groups east of the Rockies and those in the Great Basin were one in ignoring this opportunity for ritualization. They confined themselves to prescribing only such restrictions as applied to women throughout their span of life. Some indeed lacked restrictions of any sort. At this writing I have access only to a scattering of accounts but they may be taken as random and representative.

In the Great Basin these included Paviotso (Northern Paiute), Shivwits, Northern and Southern Ute, and northward the Kutenai; in the Plains, Plains Cree, Assiniboin, Dakota, Cheyenne; in the Eastern Woodlands area, Winnebago, Menomini, Ojibway, Ottawa, Sauk-Fox, Kickapoo, Northern Saulteaux; in the Southeast, Chickasaw.[591] I have pointed out above that there are areas where restrictions to women in their periods were absent or almost nil; the Northern Plains, Arctic, and Pueblos. There were there no first rites, of course.

In pointing out these four types of ceremony it is not implied that there was no difference among the tribes holding to any one of them. It will be sufficient for my present purpose, the analysis of Klamath customs, to discuss the variations of the second type.

Wherever information is available it appears that the dance was held each night of the girl's seclusion. The exception is the Wishram, whose dance followed that period. In this the Wishram conform to the habit of the Northwest Coast tribes.

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[589] Goddard, Indians of the Southwest, 173.

[590] Goddard, White Mountain Apache Myths, 133; Goddard, in American Indian Life, 147 f.; Reichard, Navajo, 135-9; Goddard, Jicarilla Apache Texts, 266; Russell, Pima Indians, 182; Parsons, Notes on the Pima, 404.

[591] Lowie, Shoshonean Ethnography, 273 f.; Chamberlain, 186; Skinner, Plains Cree, 60; Lowie, Assiniboine, 79; Radin, Winnebago Tribe, 136; Skinner, Menomini Social Life, 53; Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux, 162; Speck, Chickasaw Ethnology, 57.

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The place of seclusion shows an interesting cleavage between coastal and interior tribes. The former confined the girl to her home (Tillamook?, Coos?, Yurok, Hupa, Wiyot); the latter to a hut (Wishram, Shasta, Sacramento Valley and Northeastern Maidu). The exceptional case here is the Northern Maidu of the foothills who used the dwelling. The Klamath, Achomawi, and Atsugewi conformed to the interior practice of excluding the girl from her home, sending her into the brush, and at least the Klamath specified that a hut was erected for her if shelter was needed. It will be observed that the seclusion within the home in coastal Oregon and northwestern California looks like an extension of Northwest Coast practice.

The duration of the period was quite uniformly five days or its multiple ten (five days: Takelma, Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Foothill Maidu, Sacramento Valley Maidu [5 days or a week]; ten days: Coos, Shasta, Karok, Yurok, Hupa). The Wishram seclusion was five days, followed by a five-day dance period. The Wiyot period is stated as five or ten days. Here again an antithesis is suggested between interior and coast, but with the line drawn further inland.

The fixing of the number of days at five or ten seems to me clearly an application of the pattern number five common to this area. This view is emphasized by the fact that elsewhere the number was different, most commonly four days. On the Northwest Coast, e.g., the number was quite variable, most commonly four days, and those cases there where a five-day period was prescribed lay toward the southern end of the area (Chinook, most commonly five days; possibly Nisqually, where the duration was of the same order, five to nine days, Quinault, ten days). This was true again in more southerly California and the Southwest where the number was most commonly four, with the Eastern Pomo in the north holding to five. Finally we note that in the Basin the period was five days for Paviotso, ten for Northern Ute. Kroeber was puzzled by the scarcity of the number four in the girls' ceremonies within the boundaries of the present California.[322] The majority of his cases were from northern California. But the situation is at once clear if we extend comparisons beyond its borders; five (and ten) was common to Oregon, northern California, and the northern Basin, four to the remainder of California (with certain exceptions in the south) and the Southwest.

[801] This is what it should be when we consider the distribution of pattern numbers in the west. Five was the pattern number of the

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[322] Handbook, 863.

southern Northwest Coast, Oregon, California as far south as the 171*
Sinkyone (and perhaps the Costanoan), and the Basin. The number 881
was variable in central and southern California, as Kroeber has 801
pointed out, but was as regularly four on the Colorado river as in the
Southwest.[illegible] The curious feature is that five as the pattern number
did not regularly make its appearance in the adolescence rites; it is
seemingly missing from them on the northern margin of its distribution
and again in the southern Basin. What we have to recognize is
that the pattern number does not operate automatically at every possible
opportunity; further, that there may be an appreciable lag before
a specified number of days, things, etc., is made to conform to the
standard number. Thus the Ghost dance of 1890 derived by the [668]
Walapai from the Southern Paiute, whose pattern number was five,
appeared among them as a five-day ceremony although their pattern
was four.

Characteristic of this local area was some device to hold the adolescent 171*
girl's gaze averted when she left her seclusion. It was a visor
of blue-jay feathers among the Takelma, Shasta, and Karok, an eyeshade 881
of skin among the Northern Pomo. Elsewhere her head must be covered in some fashion; it was so prescribed by Hupa, Wiyot, Sinkyone, Coast Central Pomo, Tübatulabal. The visor appeals to me as the local analogue of the large hat or mat prescribed by Northwest Coast tribes: Ten'a, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Nisqually, and Tillamook. The Nootka and Achomawi-Atsugewi headbands may also be analogues. In some instances the girl's head must be covered with a basket even as she rests: Takelma, Shasta, Yuki, Luiseño. This is, to be sure, only a specific form based on a more widespread view that the adolescent's glance was malignant and must be cast down. This notion prevailed as far south as the Colorado river (Yurok, Eastern Pomo, and Mohave in addition to those just cited), but was notably absent in the Basin and Southwest, and may not have been nearly so strongly emphasized on the Northwest Coast. It cropped up again in a far distant area, the southern Great Lakes (Winnebago, Menomini, and probably Ojibway, Ottawa, Sauk-Fox, and Kickapoo), where the menstruant might not look up or out of the lodge. The otherwise unintelligible prescription that the Klamath maiden must dance with downcast eyes—for I did not find that there was any belief that her gaze was malignant—is thus explicable as a bald imitation of neighboring types of behavior.

[illegible] Handbook, 875.

*171 881 It was equally characteristic of this group of rites that the rest during the day, which was dictated as proper, was interrupted by strenuous activity, which took two forms, gathering firewood and racing at dawn. Gathering wood was the Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, Karok, and Yurok custom; the Northeastern Maidu girl went off piling up logs. This was not the Klamath habit, unless I misunderstood my informants, yet it is analogous to the activities of their adolescent boys. It does appear again among the adjacent Paviotso. There was an analogue among the Mohave, the equally useless picking of leaves. The race at dawn, or where it is specified in the accounts, toward the dawn, was common to the Hupa, Karok, Northeastern Maidu, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Klamath, and Takelma (at midday?). This particular form of enforced activity was apparently absent both on the Northwest Coast and in central to southern California, but appeared again in the Southwest (Havasupai, White Mountain and Jicarilla Apache, Navaho).

One feature of the Klamath rite, the bands worn about the joints by the girl, appeared again in almost precisely the same form among the Chinook and somewhat differently perhaps among the Nisqually and Kwakiutl. Further, these were disposed of in the same specific fashion, by placing them in trees. This suggests that their use was more general than these data indicate.

As to the girl's posture during her rest this is not always explicitly described, but the implication is that she lay rather than sat. We observe however that the Tillamook posture was like that uniform in the north, namely sitting. This is noted again for Sacramento Valley Maidu and Wiyot, although in these cases the statements may be only a fashion of speech rather than a precise statement. The Klamath conformed to the general practice of the area of having the girl lie.

171 881 535 The dance itself was held at night, each night of the period, throughout this whole area from the Wishram to the Huchnom. The notable exception was the Yurok who held no dance. The precise sequence of events was somewhat variable, but the dance form was not, and the dance rattle was uniform. Likewise, unlike in the regions north and south, the girl herself danced. Two dance forms occurred together, a ring of dancers and a line trotting to and fro. Their distributions were as follows: ring, Takelma, Shasta, Karok, Foothill and Northeastern Maidu, with perhaps the Hupa ring of stationary men as a doubtful analogue; to and fro, Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, Karok, the Shasta form being a line of men moving sideways. It was only in connection with the latter form of dance that the girl performed; to be specific it is known that she danced among Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, Shasta, Karok, and, though we do not know the dance form, Sinkyone and Yuki. Inasmuch as it is specified in the case of the last two that the girl was supported as she danced, we may well suspect that they had the same dance form. 171 881 535

It should not be assumed that dancing during the puberty rite was confined to this area. Dancing may have occurred on the Northwest Coast in connection with the potlatch more commonly than recorded (Nootka and Ten'a?). There is nothing to suggest that it was the same form of performance, however. In southern California the dancing was about the girl as she lay on a hot bed (Luiseño, Juaneño, Miwok) and was apparently quite different in character and intent. Dancing was again characteristic of the Southwestern ceremonies (White Mountain and Jicarilla Apache, Pima), and again the White Mountain and Pima forms were lines moving to and fro, with the girl engaged with them in the case of the former. Even the Jicarilla girl herself danced. These specific features are suspiciously like those of northern California and Oregon. Perhaps we do not yet know all that can be learned of this rite in the Basin.

To revert to the dance rattle; it was prevailingly the deer-hoof jingler type, although handled somewhat varyingly. This has been noted for Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, Shasta, Karok, and Tolowa, while the Hupa, Sinkyone, and again the Northeastern Maidu used the clapper rattle. This type of deer-hoof rattle was distinctively Californian and generally distributed in the state. So far as I know it does not occur north of the Klamath. The clapper rattle was on the other hand a central Californian type, as Kroeber has pointed out.[394] As he further remarks, rattles were used in northwestern California only in connection with adolescence ceremonies, but this was also true of the sector to the north and east apparently (Shasta, Achomawi-Atsugewi, certainly Klamath,[395] and perhaps Takelma and Coos). 171* 534

There is little information on the songs, but the little existing suggests that these were of two types only; songs about foodstuffs and about love affairs. Thus it is noted that the Sacramento Valley Maidu 171* 533

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[394] Handbook, 823, 862.

[395] The Klamath acquired the use of the clapper rattle as well only with the Ghost dance of 1870.

*171 533 sang about foodstuffs gathered by women, the Yuki about acorns, also a woman's food product. The Klamath sang about men and women; similar love songs have been noted for the Klallam and those of the Nootka were satirically sexual. This temptation to invoke the sexual implication of the occasion took another expression; a period of license during the dance among the Northeastern Maidu and the Yuki. It is highly probable that this attitude was widespread.

*171 787 How generally this crisis was made the occasion for a vision quest by the girl is not clear. This may have been a trait of Oregon and Washington alone. To be sure, the guardian spirit concept was but little developed in California, at least among more typical tribes. The girl was sent out at night by Nisqually, Tillamook, Coos, and perhaps the Klamath, to seek a spirit in the manner stereotyped for boys, wandering on the mountains and bathing in lonely pools.

*171 ● 881 The whole performance was repeated at the following monthly periods in this area. The number of subsequent performances brought the total to five among the Klamath, conformable with their pattern number, to three among Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Karok, to two among Chinook, Northeastern Maidu, and Sinkyone, while it was repeated at monthly intervals throughout the winter among the Huchnom. While the number of performances was variable, the habit of their repetition was confined to a fairly consolidated area. The Mohave custom of imposing restrictions at successive periods for a reduced number of days at each period is not directly comparable. It is rather analogous to the continued restriction of a month's duration at first menstruation imposed by Shivwits, Luiseño, and Coast Central Pomo. There is no indication of such continuous restrictions in the Oregon-north Californian area, but this was characteristic again of the Northwest Coast tribes who imposed them for a period upward to a year (a year, Ten'a, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola; six months to a year, Tahltan; four to ten months, Nootka; six to eight months, Nisqually; five months, Quinault; fifty or one hundred days, Chinook).

*171 841 [756] The place of the Klamath in all this is fairly clear. They have very little concern with women's periodicity and its possible social or ceremonial significance. Women are not excluded from home at their periods save in the case of those living with shamans. The rigorous segregation that occurs on all sides of them, throughout the Pacific coast, the Plateau, and Basin, made practically no impression on the Klamath. It is surely not accidental that it is the near-by Wishram who also care nothing for such restriction. Such restrictions as do

occur among the Klamath are the well-nigh universal taboo of fresh fish and meat, and the use of the scratcher. On the other hand, the Klamath share a rite at first menstruation with the Pacific coast peoples. Their rite is of the local type known throughout western Oregon and northern California, and is only slightly distinguished by peculiar detail. They follow the interior practice of sending the girl away from the dwelling and maintaining the dance for five days. They link with some of their neighbors and the northwest Californians in using the deer-hoof rattle only in this rite. Possibly they share with the tribes to the north some feeling that this is an appropriate time for the girl to secure spirit power. For the rest, the rite is generally like that of western Oregon and northern California, even to such specific details as having the girl recline at length during the day, running at dawn, and in the general practice of repeating the whole affair for some months subsequently. Other general features appear only in diminished or attenuated form: only one of the two dance forms, the line abreast, is known, and, while the gaze of girls of this area is averted by a visor, the Klamath demand only that she voluntarily keep her eyes cast down.

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2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
301 1689. Dentalia	R	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1690. Olivella whole shells	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	·	·	+	·
1691. Clamshell disk beads	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1692. Haliotis pieces	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1693. Banjo-shaped haliotis pendant	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1694. Bone tubes	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1695. Deer, coyote, wildcat carpals	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1696. Pine nuts or shells	(+)	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
•1697. Braided sweet grass		o					+	o	+	+	−	−	o	−	−	−
1698. Wildflowers	R	−	−	•+		•−				+	−	+	+	+	+	−
•1699. Belts of hair	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1700. Worn by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
•1701. Worn continually	−	−	−	−					+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1702. Worn on special occasions only	+	+	+	+					−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
1703. Flower wreaths on head	·	−	−	•+		−		+	•+	+	−	−	•+	+	+	−
1704. Boys and girls, playing	·	−	−	+		−		+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
[79] 1705. Girls, at girl's puberty dance	R	−	−	−		−			+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
Cane or Staff																
48 1706. Straight stick	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1707. Sharpened at lower end	−	−	+					+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
1708. Used by old people	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1709. Old men																
1710. Old women	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[768] 1711. Single cane	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1712. 2 canes, if crippled		+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dress																
Headgear																
29/ 1713. Basketry cap	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•R	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1714. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
•1715. 3-strand diagonal twine	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	R	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1716. Coiled	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
1717. Worn habitually, by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1718. Worn habitually, by men	+	−	−	−	−	•−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1719. Worn for packing, not worn habitually	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1720. Worn for dances, not worn habitually.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	R	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1721. Designs on cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	R	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1722. Men's undecorated	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
•1723. Fur cap	+	+	•+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1724. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1725. Women	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1726. Buckskin cap	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1727. Solid buckskin	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1728. Buckskin pierced with holes	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1729. Worn habitually	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1730. Band around head	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	•+
1731. Buckskin	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1732. Fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
[756] 1733. Men only	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
1734. Doctors only	+	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1735. Eyeshade	•+	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[75] 1736. Charcoal around eyes for snow-blindness	+	•+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
Robes																
1737. Woven rabbitskin blanket	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	•+

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		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
534	2087. Feathers on stick handle	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2088. Number of cocoons	–	–	–	–	•3	•5	6	–	–	•4	•5	5	•4	5	•3	•5
[755]	2089. Used by shaman in curing	•–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
	2090. Used by Big Head singers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	–	–	–	–
	2091. Used for any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
[787]	2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										–	+	+	+	–	–	–
	2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	–	–	–	•+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2094. Split-stick clapper	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2095. Single split	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2096. Multiple splits	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2097. Painted	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	•R	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[881]	2098. Burned decoration	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
[535]	2099. For girl's puberty dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[720]	2100. For war dance	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[796]	2101. For Ghost dance	·	–	R	–		R		•R	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2102. For any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
	2103. Snake rattles on stick	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	•+	•+	•–	•+	–	–	–	–
	2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2106. On cord or thong, no handle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2107. Worn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[881]	2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	•7	15	20	20	20	–	25	8	20	1	2	4	–	–
	2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[524]	2111. Basket rattle	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2112. Child's toy	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	–	–
	Rasp																
	2114. Notched-wood rasp	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2115. Basket scraped	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	Bull-roarer, Musical Bow																
	2116. Bull-roarer	•R	–	–	–	(R)	–	+	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2117. Wood	R	–	–	–	(R)	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
[789]	2118. Bone or horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[753]	2119. Produces storm or wind	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[756]	2120. Produces sickness	–	–	–	–	•+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562]	2121. Only shamans use	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2122. Only boys, men use	–	–	–	–	R			+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2123. For amusement, boys	R	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2124. Musical bow	(R)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+
	2125. Hunting bow	(R)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+
	2126. Separate instrument	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
	2127. Played with finger	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
[562]	2128. Played with stick	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2129. Boys only						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Whistles and Flutes																
	2130. Whistle	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2131. Single hole	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–
	2133. Bone	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2134. Bird or rodent	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•+	+	–	+	–	–	+
	2135. Large mammal	–	·	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
	2136. Elder	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	•R	–	–	–	+	+	–
	2137. Cane	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
842 3402. Measures taken to insure sex wanted, of child	+	+	−			+	+	−	+	−	.	.	−	−	+	.
3403. 2 varieties shell used in decoction employed	+	+	−			+	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	−	.
3404. Different parts of plant used in decoction	−	−	−			−	−	−	+	−	.	.	−	−	+	.
3405. Bow and arrow or basket hung up	−	−	−						+	−	.	.	.	.	−	−
*3406. Measures taken to prevent pregnancy	.	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	.	−	+	−	−	R
3407. Decoction drunk	.	.	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	.	−	+	−	−	R
847 3408. Abortion	.	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	.	.	−	+	−	−
3409. Pregnant women lies on warm trench	.	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
3410. Pregnant woman lies over log	.	−	+								.	.	−	−	−	−
3411. Exercise	.	−	+	−	−	−	.	+	+	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
3412. Blows or pressure	.	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	.	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
3413. Old woman helps	.	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	.	−	−	−	−
3414. Pregnant woman helps self, alone	.	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	.	.	−	+	−	−

Puberty and Menstrual Customs

Girls' Puberty Ceremony

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 3415. Held for each girl separately	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
88 3416. Private seclusion of menstruant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3417. In menstrual hut	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+
3418. In cook house	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3419. In dwelling, winter only	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
3420. In open	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3421. Daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3422. Night time	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
3423. Hut behind, near dwelling	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
[516] 3424. Girl not allowed in dwelling house	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
3425. Girl sits, lies on pine needles, mat bed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3426. Girl sits, lies on heated trench	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
3427. Girl sits, lies on warmed ground	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
3428. Bark pillow	−	−	−		+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3429. Stick, pine needle pillow	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
3430. Girl lies on back	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3431. Girl lies on side	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
3432. Girl lies in any position	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	(+)	−
3433. Faces east when lying down	.	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	(+)	−	+	−	−
‡3434. Seclusion lasts ... months, rich girl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	2	12	1	−	−	−	−	−	1
o3435. Seclusion lasts ... months, poor girl	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	12	1	−	−	−	−	−	−
‡3436. Seclusion lasts ... days, all girls	5	5	5	10	3	5	3	−	−	−	6	5	6	5	4	−
o3437. Seclusion lasts ... nights, all girls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	−	−	−	0	0	6	0	4	−
‡3438. Seclusion ... days subsequent periods	5	5	2	1	2	2	2	1	11	1	−	1	−	5	−	1
3439. Attendants during seclusion	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3440. Father's mother or mother's mother attends girl	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	[illegible]	+	+	+	+	+
3441. Father's father or mother's father attends girl												+	+	−	−	−
3442. Mother's mother attends girl	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3443. Mother attends girl	−	−	+		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
3444. Female nonrelative attends girl	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
[465] 3445. 2 or more attendants	−	−	−	−			−					+	+	+	−	+
3446. All attendants paid	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
3447. Girl digs, pounds epos for attendant	−	−	+				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3448. Attendant paid in beads	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
3449. Girl's clothes given attendant(s)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
3450. Girl's basket given female attendant	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

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NR10 Klamath NR10
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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	MP	RM	NS	MV	
†3451. Girl eats sparingly ... days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•6	•3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	28	84
†3452. Girl eats sparingly ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	88
3453. Meals limited to twice daily	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3454a. After sunrise, before sunset.	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3454b. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3455. Dried fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3456. Meat taboo	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3457. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3458. Salt taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3459. Berries taboo	+	+	–	+	•+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	
3460. New crop acorns, seeds taboo	–		+						•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3461. Hot food taboo	•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3462. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
3463. River water taboo	–	+	–						•+		–	–	–	–	–		
‡3464. Food taboos extend over ... days	5	5	•8	10	3	•6	•3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	28	
†3465. Food taboos extend over ... yrs.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3466. Food taboos observed all subsequent periods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3467. Girl eats outside	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3468. Girl eats inside hut, dwelling	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
3469. Eats with woman attendant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	•+	
3470. Girl uses own baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3471. Baskets kept; left in hut			+		+						+	+	–	–	–	•–	
3472. Baskets destroyed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3473. Baskets hung on tree			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3474. Cane drinking tube used	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3475. Basket "cup" used for drinking.	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	
3476. Ceremonial feeding by attendant	–	+	+	+	(+)	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	•+	
3477. Mother feeds girl, cleans teeth	–	–	+			+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	
3478. Girl's mouth wiped by attendant	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	•+	
3479. Girl chews plant substance	+	•+	•+		•+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	–	
3479a. Plant substance stuffed in nostrils	–	–	–		•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	
3480. Girl sleeps little, fitfully	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	
3481. No daytime sleeping, first day	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	
3482. Charcoal in ears, to avoid bad dreams	+	–	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[787]
3483. Bark burned above hut, to frighten evil spirits	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3483a. Menstruant must tell her bad dreams		(+)	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	
3483b. If dreams, doctored by special doctor		+	+	–		+	+	+	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	
3484. Girl rises early	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•–	•+	
3485. No talking during seclusion	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3486. Little talking	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3487. Must talk softly	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3488. Cannot laugh aloud	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
3489. Girl avoids all men in daytime	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	
3490. Avoids all hunters	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
3491. Old women visit girl	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3492. Old women instruct girl	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•+	[887]
3493. Gazing at any fire taboo	.	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3494. Gazing at sun taboo	.	.	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	[821]
3494a. Weak eyes, if gaze at sun	.	–	+	–	–	.	–	•–	–	+	.	–	.	+	.	–	
3495. Gazing at moon taboo	.	+	+	+	•+	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3496. Gazing at sky taboo	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3497. Looking around taboo	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	
3498. Looking at acorns taboo	o	o	–	–	–	–	o	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3499. Looking at any wild crops taboo	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	
3500. Gaze would "kill" crops	.	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	+	+	•+	+	
3500a. Crossing streams taboo	.	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	
3501. Menstruant bathes daily	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	[515]
3502. Menstruant bathes after flow ceases	–	+	+						+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	MV
841	3503. Bathes last day of seclusion only	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
881	3504. Bathes outside, in stream	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
[513]	3505. Bathes inside, house	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
	3506. May wet, wash hair	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
	3507. Bathes alone	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3508. Mother, attendant helps girl bathe	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
[302]	3509. Girl uses head scratcher	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+
	3510. Bone head scratcher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3511. Stick head scratcher	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	‡3512. Head scratcher used ... days	5	5	°5	10	°3	°6	°3	5	−	28	6	5	6	5	4	28
	†3513. Head scratcher used ... years	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3513a. Parents scratch girl's head	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
	3514. Delousing by attendant	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
[292]	3515. Girl wears basket cap	+	+	+	+	°+	−	−	−	°+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
	3515a. Girl wears flower crown	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3516. Head covered with bark "cape"	−	−	−	−	−	−	°+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3517. Head covered with deerskin blanket	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3518. Head inside basket when sleeping	+	°+	°+	°+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3519. Eagle down in hair	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3520. Feathers in hair	−	−	−	−	−	°+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
[301]	3521. Braided bark forehead band	°+	°+	−	−	°+	°+	°+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3522. Fur forehead band	−	−	°+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3523. Feather visor	−	−	°+	°+	−	−	−	−	−	°−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3524. Head, face covered inside house	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3525. Head, face covered when going outside	−	−	°+	°+	−	−	−	°−	°+	−	°+	−	°+	−	°−	°+
	3526. Hair in 2 braids, over shoulders	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
	3526a. Hair in 1 braid, down back	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3527. Braid(s) wrapped with bark	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3528. Hair in 2 knobs, over shoulders, wrapped	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
	3529. Knobs wrapped with bark	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3530. Hair short, banged	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3531. Hair loose, tied at back	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
	3532. Mother combs, dresses girl's hair	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−
	3533. Attendant dresses girl's hair	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+		−	+	+	−	−	+
	3534. Hair dressed once only, first day	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	3535. Hair dressed daily	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	(+)	+
	3536. Combings burned, buried	−	−	−	−		−	−	°+	−	−	−	−	°+	−	.	−
	3537. Combings saved for belt	−	−	+								+	−	−	−	−	−
	3538. Girl's face painted black	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	°+
	3539. Girl's face painted red	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
	3540. Special face pattern	−	−	−	+	−	−	°+	−	°+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
	3541. Daily varied face patterns	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
	3542. Charcoal around eyes								+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3543. Arms painted	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
	3544. Girl painted daily	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
	3545. Girl painted by mother	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
	3546. Girl painted by attendant	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	°−
	3547. Girl wears old clothing	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	°+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
	3547a. Small skin over shoulders	(−)	(−)	+								.	−	−	−	−	−
	3548. Buckskin skirt or dress	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
	3549. Pine-nut string skirt			−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3550. Bark skirt	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	°+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
	3551. Short tule, grass skirt	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
	3552. Grass or skin breechclout	.	°+	°+	°+	°+	°.	+		°+	.	−	°+	°+	−	−	−
	3553. Buckskin leggings	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
	3554. Tule leggings	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
	3555. Tule, skin moccasins	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
	3556. Barefoot, preferred	+		−			+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
[301]	3557. Anklets	°+	°+	−	−	−	−	°+	−	−	−	°+	°+	−	−	−	−

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3558. Wristlets	*+	*+	-	-	-	*+	*+	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-	-	84
3559. Special belt	-	*+	*+	*+	-	*+	*+	-	*+	-	*+	*+	*+	-	-	-	88
3560. Nose stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3561. Earrings, optional	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[301]
3562. Necklaces	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-	-	
3563. All labor taboo during isolation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	
3564. Preparing food taboo	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3565. Basketmaking taboo	-	+	+	+	*+	*+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3566. No labor taboo	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3567. Compulsory light labor	*+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	
3568. Compulsory heavy labor	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
3569. Girl must carry firewood	+	+	*+	*+	*+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	*+	-	*+	
3570. Girl must carry water	+	-	+	-	*-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
*3571. Girl must pound roots	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3572. Girl must gather vegetable food	-	-	+	-	*+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	
3573. Girl gives roots she digs to old woman	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3574. Girl makes baskets	-	-	-	-	*-	*-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3575. Compulsory running, racing	+	-	-	-	*+	*+	*+	-	*+	-	+	+	-	*+	-	-	
3576. Girl runs each morning	-	-	-	-	+	*+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3577. Girl runs in evening	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3578. Girl runs at end of rite only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	
3579. Girl races with 2 girls	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
3580. Carries deer-hoof rattle when running	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	[787]
3581. Vision seeking during running, dancing	-	-	-	-	*+	+	+	-	+	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	
*3582. Instruction by attendant during seclusion	-	(+)	-	-	*-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3583. Ears pierced during puberty ceremony	-	-	-	-	*+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	[304]
3584. Ears pierced shortly after puberty rites	-	-	-	-	-	*+	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3585. Dance follows ear-piercing	-	-	-	-	-	*+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
3586. Vision seeking after ear-piercing	-	-	-	-	+	*+	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3587. Ears pierced prepuberty	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	*+	-	-	-	
3588. Ears pierced postpuberty	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	
3589. Ceremonial purification at end of puberty ceremony	*+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	[783]
3590. Girl bathes to remove taboos	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3591. Mother, attendant wash girl	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	*-	+	
3591a. Girl bathes alone	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
3592. Sage decoction used for bath	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3593. Girl rubbed with pine needle, root medicine	-	-	+								-	+	*+	+	.	-	
3594. Girl rubbed with salt												+	-	-	.	-	
3595. Sweat bath to remove taboos	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3596. Girl jumps in stream after sweating	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3597. Girl changes clothes, end of rites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*3597a. Girl given new clothes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3598. Old clothes burnt	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
3599. Old clothes saved for limited no. menses	*+	*+	*-	-	*+	*+	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3599a. Old clothes kept in hut; loaned, used by near relatives	-	-	+					+	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3600. Old clothes washed	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3601. Old clothes given or thrown away	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	*+	
3602. Old clothes hung on tree			-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3603. Old clothes exchanged for new ones	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	*+	
3604. Sagebrush band kept	+	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3605. Anklets, wristlets burned	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3606. Belt kept permanently	-	-	*+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	

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NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
841 881	3606a. Belt given attendant	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3607. Belt hung on tree, end of last dance.	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3608. Public rites: major dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
841	3609. Night dance	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	-	•+	-	•+
881	3609a. Begins 1st night of girl's menstruation	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
535	3610. Day dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-
	3611. Given mainly for girls of rich families	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)
[787]	°3612. Given to avert disaster to participant(s)	•+	•+	+	•-	•+	•+	+	•+	•+	.	+	+	•+	+	-	•-
	3613. Given to have girl get power in dreams	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	.	.	-	-	-	-	-	-
	‡3614. Lasts ... nights or days	5	5	•8	10	•3	•3	•3	5	•5	5	4	5	•1	5	-	•1
	‡3615. Repeated for ... subsequent menses.	5	5	•1	•1	•2	•1	2	2	1	1	-	1	-	5	-	-
	3616. Held in dwelling or cookhouse, winter	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	3617. Held in sweat house, winter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	°3618. Held outside, summer or winter	-	-	•+	•+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
	3619. Held outside, summer only	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+
	3620. Rainy weather, no dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
	3621. Rainy weather, sing only, in girl's hut	-	-	-	-					+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
	°3622. Girl's family in charge	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	•+	-	-	-	-	+
	°3623. Old man in charge	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•-	-	+	-	+	-	-
[756]	3623a. Singers in charge	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
	3624. Shaman in charge	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3625. Youths, men participate	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
	3626. Girls, women participate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	°3626a. Girl's suitor may participate	-	-	-				+	-	+	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
	3627. Neighbors notified by girl's sister, friend	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3628. Girl dances by self, near group	+	+	+	-	+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3629. 1-2 persons "support" menstruant	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3630. Girl dances with group	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	o3631. Girl dances each night	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	±	•-	+	-	+	-	-
	3632. Youths dance	-	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
	3633. Men dance	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
	3634. Old men dance	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
	3635. Betrothed dances with menstruant	-	-	-				•+	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3636. Women, girls dance	-	-	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	3637. Menstruant dances beside fire	+	+	•+	-	-	-	•-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3638. Menstruant dances back and forth	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
	3639. Menstruant dances east to west	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	3640. Menstruant faces E continually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
	3641. Menstruant rests at intervals	+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	+	+	+	•+	+	-	-	-	-
	3642. Men, women dance separately	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	3643. Men, women dance together	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
	3644. Men, women in 1 circle	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
	3645. Men, women in 2 circles	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3646. Men, women abreast, 1 line	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	3647. Men, women abreast, 2 lines	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3648. Clockwise start	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	+	+	-	+
	3649. Counterclockwise start	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	-	-	-
	3650. Dance proceeds around pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	3651. Dance proceeds around fire	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
[533]	3652. Singers mainly women	+	•+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	•+	•+	-	.
[562]	3653. Singers mainly men	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3654. Volunteer singers, men and women	•+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3655. Professional singers	+	+	-					-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
	3656. 1 singer paid	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-

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NR10 Klamath NR10
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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At.	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3657. 4-5 (all) singers paid	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	+	841
3658. Reciprocal obligations only	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	881
3659. Menstruant sings	–	–	–	–	•+	+	+	+	–	.	–	+	+	–	–	–	585
3660. Participants join in singing	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
3661. Night singing, minus dancing	–	–	.	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	
3662. "Love" songs sung	•+	•+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
3663. Enemy songs sung, final dance	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3664. Women's songs sung	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	
3665. Special song cycle sung	•+	•+	.	•+	•(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	.	+	–	+	
3666. Joking by singers	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	–	+	[522]
3667. Multiple split-stick rattle used by menstruant, singers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3668. Deer-hoof rattle used by singers	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	•+	–	–	
3669. Deer-hoof rattle used by menstruant	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3670. Stick hit against board, as drum	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
3671. Whistle used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	[533]
3672. Singing, dancing continues throughout night	+	+	–		•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	(+)	
3673. Singing, dancing ends middle of night	–	–	+		–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3674. Entire assembly fed, middle of night.	+	•–	+	+	•+	•+	R	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	
3675. Singers, dancers bathe daily	–	–	+					+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	[515]
3676. Girl's attendant(s) have eyebrows, face blackened	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	[292]
3677. Men wear eagle down plumes	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	•–	•–	+	+	–	+	–	–	[237]
3678. Men wear fur headband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	
3679. Men wear woodpecker scalp headband	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	[302]
3680. Men paint face red	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
3680a. Men paint face white	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	
3680b. Men paint face black	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3681. Men wear bead necklaces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	
3682. Men wear bead net	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	
3683. Men wear yellowhammer bands	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3684. Menstruant wears braided grass fringed visor	–	–	–	–			•		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3685. Women wear basket cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
3686. Women wear yellowhammer bands													+	+	–	–	
3687. Women wear brush, flower crowns	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	
3688. Women paint faces red	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3689. Women paint faces black	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3690. Women carry branches in hands	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3691. Boys, girls wear flower wreaths	–	–	–					•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3692. Dress, headgear changed nightly	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	
3693. Public rites: minor day dances.	–	–	+	–	•+	•+	+	(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	•+	–	–	
3694. Menstruant dances	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–	
3695. Men dance	–	–	+	–	–	–		(+)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3696. Women dance	–	–	+	–	•+	•+		(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–	
o3697. Lasts ... days	–	–	•8	–	•3	•3		.	–	.	–	8	–	5	–	–	
3698. Lasts part of each day only	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–	
3699. Held in open	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–	
3700. Rain in winter, no dance	–	–	(+)	–	–	•–			–		–		–	–	–	–	
3701. Circle dance	–	–	–	–	+	+			–		–		–	–	–	–	
3702. Dancers abreast, 1 line	–	–	+	–	–	–			–				–	–	–	–	
3703. Special songs, female singers	–	–		–	+	+			–		–		–	–	–	–	
3704. Public concluding rites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3705. Held in daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3706. "War" dance	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3707. Round dance	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
3708. Dancers abreast, in 1 line	–	–	–	+				•+									
3708a. Women grasp men's belts	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3709. Feather visor lifted off menstruant	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

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		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	HF	HM	HS	MV
841	3710. Menstruant's ears pierced	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
881	3711. Girl dances in front of dancers	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
535	3712. Girl stands on view in finery	–	–	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
[304]	3713. Betrothed stands on view with girl	–	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3714. Poor girl may stand with rich celebrant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[574]	3715. Visitors present food	–	–		+	+	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3716. Visitors feasted after dance	–	–		+	+	–	R	+	(+)	+	–	(+)	+	–	–	+
	3717. Visitors given return gifts of food	–	–		+	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3718. Girl runs at daybreak	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	(+)	–
	3719. Spectators throw lighted sticks at girl	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3720. Girl's anklets, wristlets burnt	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3721. Girl passes through fire	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
	3721a. Girls sing, escort menstruant to stream															+	–
881	Boys' Puberty Observances																
[575]	3722. Formal group rites	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
	3723. Secret society initiation	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
[787]	3724. Individual vision questing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
	3725. Optional, for all boys of group	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
	General Menstrual Customs																
841	3726. Certain foods taboo to all menstruants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3727. Meat, fresh or dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3728. Fresh fish	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3729. Dried fish	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3730. Grease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3731. Salt	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3732. Cold water	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3733. Menstruant eats alone	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3734. Daughter may eat with mother								+	+	+	·	+	+	+	–	+
	3735. Uses separate receptacles	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3736. Menstruant stays in dwelling house	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
	3737. Menstruant secluded	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
	3738. In menstrual hut or cookhouse	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
	c3739. For ... days and nights	5	5	5	5	5	–	–	5	4,	4	3	5	–	5	–	3
	3740. All women	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
	3741. Shamans' wives only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3742. Old women attend menstruant												+	–	+	–	–
	3743. Certain activities taboo	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3744. Basketmaking	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3745. Wood gathering	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
	3746. Preparing vegetable food	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
	3747. Preparing vegetable food for family	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3747a. Cooking meat	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3747b. If cook meat, give hunters bad luck													+	+	+	+
	3748. Intercourse taboo	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+
	3749. Cannot sleep with back to man	–		+			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	–
	3750. Walking beside streams taboo			·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	·	·	+	–	+
	3751. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3752. Hair left uncombed	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
	c3753. Head scratcher used for ... periods after puberty	5	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	5	–	–
	3754. Head scratcher obligatory all periods	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3755. No bathing during period	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3756. Purificatory bath, end of period; obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

624 fire at ceremony; totem. Female dance managers.
Fire tender appointed by crier. Judge. Moieties
615 lacking; lineages lacking, except possibly among
613 AE.

WAR

72 Leader has totem animal, bird. Painting of contestants according to totem. Men taken prisoners in war; enslaved. Compensation for slain amounts to more than victim's or victim's mother's bride price. Compensation paid before dance of settlement; at end of dance.

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth

844 Pit, small hole dug in preparation for childbirth.
Animal medicine to aid childbirth. Navel
cord cut with bone, cane knife. Cord buried in
ashes. Cord thrown in bush, stream. Mother
baked in pit. Mother uses drinking tube.
Father lies down, after birth of child. Father
uses drinking tube. Milk teeth thrown toward
moon; backward; over pregnant woman; over house.
845 Twins liked; one killed, only if of opposite
847 sex, incest theory. Abortion accomplished by
taking animal, vegetable medicines, massaging
with hot stones. Infanticide practiced on all
illegitimate, deformed children, twins; infant
killed by sitting upon, drowning, abandoning.

Puberty and Menstrual Observances

● 881 Girls' puberty rites.--Private seclusion: held for group of related, unrelated girls. Held outside in ceremonial enclosure. Girl sits, lies on curtained couch, bed platform, heated pit. Girl sits, lies face down. Girl's blankets given attendant(s). Girl abstains from food completely. Meals limited to once a day; girl eats after others. All liquids taboo. 4-day increase in food taboos after first period. Food taboos enforced limited number of subsequent periods. Food taboos not enforced after first period. Girl chews deer-fat pellets. Girl fed in pit. Does own cooking. Uses bone drinking tube. No sleeping. Girl avoids all people. No visitors. Scratcher yew wedge, horn. Girl scratches head with fingers. Delousing by self. Mud plastered on hair. Girl makes flower garlands. All join girl in running. Girl travels at night. Girl uses blanket, rabbit-skin blanket, mat wool head covering. Girl wears woodpecker scalp, shell, brush, flower crown headband; brush visor. Hair hangs over face. Girl stands at wall covered. Hair worn done up; braided with goat's wool. Hair dressed by self. Bangs cut at end of ceremony. Face painted white; all colors; sun painted on fore-

881 head; pollen on head. Legs, torso painted; white paint blown on with mouth; pollen blown on. Painting done by self; from own paint box. Painting before eating only. Tattooing. Nose pierced. Tattooing so girl can touch fire. Thighs, arms, breasts cut. Shell skirt for eating. Sage leggings. Chest band. Labret. Nose feather. Girl ducked in water during ceremonial bath. Belt, anklets, wristlets buried. Girl given new name.

Public rites (major or night dance): Given for group of selected girls. Poor girls excluded. Several girls together, only 1 menstruating. Dancers mill around menstruant. Men hold to wall. Dancers file out of house after each dance. Given during fixed season. Coincides with boys' initiation. Given in ceremonial enclosure. Conducted by chief, priest, clan. Single split-stick rattle. Deer-hoof headband. Deer-hoof anklets. Deer hoofs on moccasins. Cocoon, gourd, tortoise shell, pottery rattles. Masks worn. Attendants wear woolen fringed headdress; woolen fringed rattles. Male participants wear haliotis-rim horns; blind. Women paint face white; all colors. Sand paintings. Tobacco eaten. Haliotis gazing.

841 General menstrual customs.--Woman confined in penthouse against dwelling. Head, face covered when going outside. Bathes daily. Bathing optional.

Marriage

58 Service for bride: children belong to mother's family. Sororate obviated if children, payment rendered. Polyandry: lovers in separate towns. Marriage of man to first cousins, cross or parallel; to mother's sister. Mother-in-law, son-in-law taboos temporary, for newlyweds only; temporary up to first child; optional. Father-in-law, son-in-law taboos. Mother-in-law, daughter-in-law taboos. Husband punished for adultery by being fined, before wife will return. Woman's family pays husband fine for constructive adultery by woman. Repayment of bride price in event of divorce depends on number of children. Intercourse taboo inside dwelling. Lie on side to
548 prevent twins. Prostitution with compensation
684 to woman. Unchaste girl killed. Unmarried pregnant girl killed. Man fined for seduction.

Death

764 Treatment of corpse; taboos.--Body removed from house prior to death. Removed from house through roof; feet first; throw-out of animal after corpse; body carried on plank. Undertakers of opposite moiety; priest; shaman; chosen by chief; paid; gifts; one a scapegoat. Corpse's nose, ears pierced. Body buried with head uphill, upstream, downstream. Cremation for shamans especially. Pyre over pit. Urn burial. Any form scaffold burial. Undertaker(s) visit grave nightly; build fire at grave; put food out for ghost; wear brush on head. Widow's hair cut-

[166-B]

000 3445. MV: Old woman and young girl helper.

3451. SE: 8-10 days. At: Eats acorn soup, sparingly. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4 days.

3456. SW: If eat meat, ruin luck of hunter who has shot game; hunter must obtain more luck before he can kill anything afterward. At: If menstruant eats meat will lose her teeth. AW: Fresh deermeat makes menstruant ill, because deer hair grows inside woman if she eats meat at this time. Also, if menstruant eats meat, fish she will make hunter, fisherman sick; weaken his bow and arrow; spoil fishing grounds, etc.

3459. At: All berries except manzanita berries taboo.

3460. WM: New crop acorns taboo. Crop would be spoiled, and next year's crop would fail.

881 3461. Kl: "Afraid girl would lose her teeth."

267 3463. WM: Girl drinks creek water only; "salmon in the river; girl would spoil them."

3464. SE: 8-10 days. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4.

3468. MV: Winter only.

3469. MV: 2 female singers eat with girl, also.

3471. MV: See element 3450.

3476. AW: Someone has to give girl water; "if she gets it herself, she will have bad teeth." NF, MV: Girl fed acorn mush on end of forked stick. NF: Attendant holds basket of water to girl's lips.

3477. Twig used to clean teeth.

3478. Mo, SE, NF: Grass, buckskin, etc. AE, MF, NM, MV: Shredded bark used to wipe mouth.

3479. Mo, SE, AW: Chew kinnikinick leaves, berries, or sunflower roots. At, AW, MF, NM: Pine needles or pine gum.

3479a. At, MM: Juniper. AW, MM: Pine tassel (?). AE: Peppermint. At, MM, AW, AE: Done so "girl can't smell meat cooking." At: "So girl won't smell tobacco smoke, or odor of sweat under armpits."

3480. WS: Girl may sleep all day.

3484. NS: Girl made to lie down for entire period. MV: Rises early and bathes.

3486. Mo: If talks too much, will become a "chatterbox."

3488. WM: Cannot laugh because taboo to show teeth; reason unknown.

3492. Instruction concerns conduct, housekeeping, and other things. MV: Old women visitors fed by girl's attendant.

3494a. WT: Would see evil spirit.

3495. At: If looks at moon, it will rain.

3500. NS: Acorns will drop off trees.

3500a. At, AW: If girl steps in water, it will rain. See note 3612, At. NM: If menstruant woodgathering, another woman carries her across "any little creek."

3502. See 3589-3596.

302 3509. Kl: If girl uses fingers, hair will turn
515 white when still young. "They don't want this to
happen." Also, if girl washes face with hands,
881 it will soon become wrinkled and she will quickly
look old. NM: Girl's hands tied together sometimes, to prevent her scratching self with fingers.

[218-B]

000 3512. SE: 8-10 days. At: 3-6. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4.

3515. At: Worn attached to skirt or belt, in back. See note 3572. "If girl wears basket cap on head when menstruating, she will dream and get gray hair." WM: Old basket cap, worn chiefly when going outside hut.

3516. AE: Greasewood-bark woven "cape."

3518. Mo: Pack basket. SE, SW: Basket hopper.

3520. AW: Aberrant use of feather; old man or woman, if has power and "wants to get rid of it and give it to girl," puts 1 feather in girl's head when she is dancing at puberty dance.

[301] [824] [881] 3521. Kl, Mo, At, AW: Braided sagebrush. AE: Greasewood bark. At, AW, AE; Bark pendant from band extends down back. Mo: Lacks pendant down back.

3522. SE: Mink.

3523. SE, SW: Bluejay feathers. WS: Informant reported having seen girl's puberty dance among Scott Valley Shasta, 50 yrs. ago, in which girl wore visor of grouse feathers. Dance lasted 2-3 weeks, but at end visor not lifted off girl; latter wore visor throughout ensuing summer.

3525. SE, SW: Feather visor. WT: Girl's mother or grandmother takes girl outside; never allowed her to go alone. At night attendant carries torch. WM: Basket. MM: Basket cap. NF: Pack basket. NS: Girl does not leave hut 4 days and nights; hole dug inside hut to serve as latrine; covered with dirt afterward. MV: Deerskin blanket.

3527. Sagebrush-bark wrappings.

3536. WT: Burned. NF: Buried.

3538. MV: Burnt pepperwood gourds used.

3540. AE: 3 red stripes (1 each down nose and cheeks), if girl is dancing for 3 nights; 4th stripe, down chin, added if girl is dancing for 4 nights. (See left figure, below.) WM: Alternate red and black dots from eyes down cheeks. (See right figure, below.)

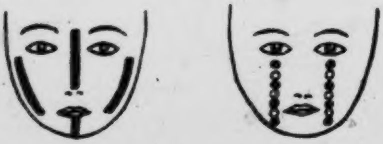

3546. MV: Girl painted by 2 female singers each morning.

3547. WM: Wears old deer-hide skirt, especially when going outside to run. Hide tanned with hair on; has been saved, hung up in top part of house in smoke, for ca. 10 years. Taboo for girl to touch newly tanned skirt; "an old skirt will help her; she won't be afraid of anything."

3550. WM: During menstrual periods, wears maple-bark double skirt, with breechclout underneath; bark skirt likely to become stained, so

[219-A]

DOO, in evening when girl runs she wears buckskin skirt over bark one; removes buckskin skirt when she returns to her hut.

3552. Serves as menstrual pad. Mo: Shredded sagebrush. SE: Grass. SW, MF, NF: Buckskin. At: Sagebrush encased in bark. AW: Front skirt (of grass, tule, buckskin) tucked in between legs. WM: Soft maple bark; changed frequently, burned secretly.

[301] [824] [881] 3557. Kl, Mo: Of sagebrush bark. AE: Of greasewood bark, braided. MM, MF: Of buckskin.

3558. Kl, Mo, AW: Of sagebrush bark. AE: Of greasewood bark, braided. MM: Of buckskin.

3559. Mo, AE: Of sage or greasewood. SE, SW, WM: Hair belt. SW: Hair belt purchased; decorated with triangular pieces of shell that rattle when girl dances. Kept, worn any time afterward. AW, AE: Pack strap for belt. MM, MF, NF: Buckskin belt.

3562. SE: Sweet-grass necklace. MM: Pine-nut necklace.

3565. At: Hand might be paralyzed. AW: "Some said a girl would ruin a basket she'd started, or the weeds [Xerophyllum], if she made baskets."

[46] [88] 3567. Kl: "If girl doesn't work outside, she'll be lazy."

3569. SE, SW, NM: For every household in village. At: Girl gets light loads of wood, every day, at noontime. NM: All women sing as girl goes to top of hill for wood. MV: Gathers wood final 2 days of seclusion only.

3570. At: Menstruating girl "never touches water. That's no good, you'll dream bad."

3571. For everyone asking her to do so.

3572. At: If girl menstruates in season when roots are dug, she digs them for old women during daytime. At noon, girl dances and old woman hits ("spanks") her on basket cap; girl then runs east as old woman shouts. Girl returns to an old woman who beckons to her; this old woman pinches girl's left forefinger hard, so that she will fill up the basket with roots quickly, and hits her on basket cap. The girl then goes off to gather roots, which she puts in the basket cap, and transfers to the old women's pack baskets. She is supposed to fill 3 pack baskets before sundown. The next day girl goes to another family, to dig roots. "The old women liked this help; they'd say, 'Oh, I wish she would do this every day, dig roots for me.'" This is done not only at first-puberty rites, but during every menstrual period before girl marries. If no roots, girl gathers fruit during day for her mother. MV: Final 2 days of seclusion menstruant, attendants, and women gather clover; return to village wearing wild-rose crowns. Give clover to "captains" (yeponi) to eat in sweat house.

3574. At, AW: See note 3565.

3575. At: So she will be a good runner. At, AW: To catch shadow. AW, AE: To fetch water for someone. WM, NM: Brings back sticks. This denied for WS, MM, MF, NF, NS, MV. At: Girl runs toward E.

[219-B]

000 3586. AW: See note 3584. AE: Girl may obtain vision while she is dancing after having ears, nose pierced.

[84 1] 3587. NF: Ca. 10 years of age.

● [88 1] [78 3] 3589. Kl, Mo, SE: Sweat bath after first 5 or 3 menstrual periods. WM, WS: 1 month or 1 year after girl first menstruates. MV: 1 month after first menstruation.

3591. NS: Menstruant followed to stream by sister, girl relatives who sing for her, early morning 5th day.

3593. NF: Wormwood decoction.

3597a. Either at end of each menstrual period, or at end of entire puberty ceremony.

[84 1] [88 1] 3599. Kl: For 5 periods. Mo: For 3-5. SE, At, AW, AE: For 3.

3601. MV: To old woman attendant.

3603. MV: Exchanged with girl attendant.

3606. SE: Worn each subsequent menstruation.

[88 1] [53 5] 3609. Kl, Mo, SE, SW, At, AE, AW, WM, WS, MV: Emphasized jollity connected with girl's puberty dance. Lack of ritual obligations on any of participants except menstruant, made it (SW) "most popular and well attended of all the dances." NM: Puberty dance, yomuse. MV: Round dance held on final night of girl's 28-day seclusion. "This [night] dance was the main dance; each night (of the 28) the people came and gambled; the girl's family fed the visitors."

3610. NF: Name of day dance, wulu. Held after girl has come out of menstrual hut, and bathed; in daytime. Girl and women dance in circle, holding hands; no fire, pole. Dance a short while, then 2 women singers, with girl between them, sing, girl joining in singing. No deerhoof rattle.

[88 1] [53 5] [77 7] [78 7] 3612. So girl will not dream bad dreams; will have good luck. Kl: "If girl sleeps little while, she dreams there's a noise in the sky; she dreams of thunder. That's a bad dream, so they keep her dancing all night, for 5 nights, so she won't dream." Mo: "If she sleeps at this time, the girl will dream about thunder, then it will sure strike her, and kill her." SW: Girl's puberty dance "just a common good-time dance, held to help the girl out of her trouble, to keep her from dreaming" (see also note 3721). At: Girl sleeps head toward east; "the west, they said, was a bad place, where bad dreams come from, Silver Fox said... They dance with her all night, to make her lively, so she won't sleep and dream ... [when girl is menstruating] she never touches water; that's no good; she'll dream bad." AW: Given "so the girl will get power in 'dreams' as she gets sleepier and sleepier, dancing. But she must not tell anyone what she dreams. They don't let her sleep in the daytime; if she sleeps she'll dream bad for herself and be sick." WT: Puberty observances held "so girl won't dream bad dreams." On first day of menstruation, girl's grandmother sits by her, sings, uses clapper to keep girl awake. WM: Girl "never dreamt bad, but her grandmother, who was staying with her, might; she might

000 dream that some animal came and packed her away. NF: Girl stays in menstrual hut because "a big buzzard [Thunder?] would come if she went outside, and take her up to the sky. They come to get the girl; coming down they sound like thunder; that's why people are careful of girls." The day dance is given to celebrate girl's maturity, as well as to avert disaster to girl. MV: Given so girl will be lucky in being able to gather abundance of wild seeds.

3614. SE: 8-10 nights. At: 3-10 nights. 1st period, girl dances 3 nights; 2d period, girl dances 5 nights; 3d period, girl dances 6 nights; 4th period, girl dances 7-5 nights; 5th period, girl dances 5 nights; 6th period, girl dances 10 nights. Some girls dance for only 3 menstrual periods, not 6. AW: 3-12 nights. If only few singers come, dance lasts only 3-4 nights; if many singers come, dance 6-12 nights. AE: 3-4 nights. WM: Ca. 5 nights. NF: Dance lasts 1 day.

3615. SE, SW, AW: 1-2 subsequent menses. At: 2-5.

3618. Near dwellings. SW, SE hold dance outside; under tree if rainy weather.

3622. In general, girl's father. MM: Girl's mother.

3623. Usually, girl's father's father. WS: "No one in charge."

3625. Mo: 1-2 men only, to sing.

3626a. See note 3635, AE, WS.

3628. AE: See figure.

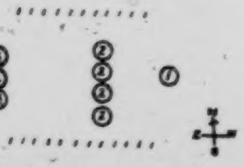

''''''''', men, women dancing; 1, fire; 2 singers; 3, dancers supporting menstruant; 4, menstruant.

[88/535] 3629. Kl, Mo: Girls support menstruant. SW, SE: Men or women support menstruant. At, AW, AE: Boys or girls support menstruant. AE: Menstruant's betrothed and girl may support menstruant.

3631. MM: Girl dances 4 nights, rests 1 night, dances and has ears pierced on 6th (final) night.

3635. AE: Girl's betrothed dances with girl, for each of the 3 successive monthly periods of 5 days each that girl dances. During these periods his conduct parallels that of girl's; he eats no meat, grease, fish; he eats sparingly, runs alone each morning, takes bath by self, uses scratching stick, is employed on errands in daytime. He wears braided greasewood headband, capelike head covering, greasewood wristlets and anklets. On morning of final rite he washes himself, changes clothes. WS: Girl's be-

[221-A]

trothed not subject to any of above regulations, but dances with girl for 3 periods and is dressed well when on view with menstruant year after girl first menstruates. Morning following this large final puberty dance parents of girl and betrothed line up in row, singing; girl and youth dance, hand in hand, in front of line 1 hour; boy then takes girl to his father's house, all guests depart, couple considered married. This done only by virgins, chaste boys; marriage has been arranged previously by parents of principals; common form of marriage, "done often." Betrothal dance, doharilpurik. All other groups explicitly denied any such puberty marriage customs as described herein for AE, WS.

3637. SE: With back toward fire, however. AE: Singers between girl and fire (see fig., note 3628).

3641. SW: Between dances men and women sit in line or group, with menstruant in front of them; women, mainly, sing, although men may help. Sing special women's songs that are used only for this purpose; also sing songs of more exoteric nature. MM: Girl rests at intervals during night's dancing; also dances 4 nights, rests on fifth, on sixth has ears pierced, dances and runs in morning.

3652. Mo: Men sing for few hours, then go home; women stay and sing all night. NF, NM, MV: 2 female singers figure prominently in accounts of ceremony.

3653. AW: Men sing for girl, passing rattle as each sings in turn. Any woman takes rattle, sings, if she is good singer.

[53 2]
[56 2]
[88 1]

3654. Kl: "Have 1 singer they hire, a woman; they pay her. Then lots of people help her sing, men and women."

3659. At: Occasionally only, if mother thinks girl is tired. Mother also rubs ashes on girl's legs, if girl tired.

3661. SW: See note 3641.

[53 3]
[56 2]
[88 1]

3662. Kl, Mo: Men and women sing about each other (see Spier, Klamath, p. 69).

3665. Kl, Mo: Begin with an evening song, and end in morning at daylight with a morning song (see Spier, Klamath, p. 69). During night sing "love" songs (see note 3662). SW: See note 3641. Brush dance is 1 of dances given during puberty dance; men carry bows and arrows. At: In winter sing of snow melting; other songs in regular (?) order.

[52 2]
[53 3]
[88 1]

3666. Kl: Singers and others, joke with menstruant as she dances. MF, NF: Joking by clown.

3668. At: Use 2 deer-hoof rattles during night dance; 1 for singers, 1 to keep passing to persons who are sleepy. At end of night dancing, menstruant given rattle and told to go and run; she rattles and sings throughout day by herself. NM: Deer-hoof rattle, kɔsiltil.

3669. At: See note 3668. WM: Deer-hoofs used for this rattle have been saved, hung up in top part of house in smoke, for several years (cf. note 3547).

ODD charge chooses partners (mock "wives") for male dancers; "they all joke and have fun. This is the windup."

3709. SE: Menstruant herself removes visor.

3712. WM: At final "big time" dance, girl wears braided-grass fringed "visor," clean clothes, bead necklaces, basket cap. "She's white [from staying in hut]; looks pretty." WS: Same as WM, except no grass visor.

3714. WM: If poor girl (for whom no final dance has been given) has good clothes to wear, she may stand with wealthy girl, "so everyone can look at them and admire them."

3716. At: When menstruant is bathed, and attended to, "then they all eat together, in 1 place. Everybody brings food." MF: Informant denied visitors are feasted. But MV informant reported that at Enterprise, among another MF group, on final morning of rite menstruant and girl attendant made to run and jump over wide bed (of burning pine needles? See note 3721). It is important that girl should clear the bed. Then 3 women bring acorn flour for soup; the 2 old women singers clown over the flour, saying "They never give us anything to eat," and other remarks. Clowns grunt and rub the flour over their faces before giving it back to be cooked. The 3 women then make a big batch of acorn bread from the flour and give the dough to everyone present.

[881-526] 3720. Kl: In open, where race ends. Mo: In sweat-house fire.

3721. SW: Pass girl through fire if she has dreamt bad dreams, so that the evil effects of such will be burnt off. Sometimes put a little shell money on her, before they pass her through fire, but no great display of wealth. (Dixon, Shasta, p. 458, says girl burnt alive.) MF: Girl passes through ring of lighted pine needles during puberty ceremonies. See Dixon (Maidu, p. 233) and Loeb (Eastern Kuksu, p. 150). MF: Loeb (ibid., p. 183) says Yuba River Maidu (= NF) made girl run through circle burning pine needles, but his Yuba River Maidu informants probably belonged to MF group. See section on informants, NF entry, this study.

Boys' puberty observances.--

3723. For details see elements 5207-5217.

3724. For details see elements 4722-4792.

General menstrual customs.--

3735. Baskets which have no grease on them.

3739. WM, WS: 4-5 days and nights. MM, MV: 3-4.

[841] 3740. Kl. Cp. Spier, Klamath, pp. 55, 70-71. My male informant stated definitely all women of Klamath Marsh group used menstrual hut.

3757. WM, WS: But cannot bathe in main rivers, such as McCloud or upper Sacramento rivers. MV: In summer only.

3764. Menstruating woman may give husband good luck in gambling, hunting, and the like.

[222-B]

/

K
season however is now late, and frosts warn that winter is near. M 222
By mid-October, they have begun the homeward journey to their 517
settlements, there to rebuild the earth lodges, gather firewood, K
and prepare for the long siege of winter. M 221

Throughout the cycles of the seasons, the tribesmen live under 361
a sense of dependent involvement in a universe that was created K
in the mythic age by supernatural beings who, establishing the M 82
present order, also chose their present form within it. Among
the creatures of this world, man is less the exploiter than a
fellow being, a relationship honored by returning to the water
the gall of a fish that had been caught in order that the fish be
requickened, as well as in the annual ceremonies of the first
sucker and the ripened wokas. Each individual may draw close
to the sources of power; and among the Klamath neither age
nor sex is a barrier. The young boy at puberty may be sent on K
vigil to sacred place—in mountains and at certain rivers or lakes— 881 •
there to fast, pile stones, run, and swim. In time, he may faint, 787
awaken with blood gushing from his mouth, and hear the song
that is his power. A girl during the time of her puberty dance
goes off to sleep apart during the day; then she too may hear a K
song. Those mourning a deceased mate or child may "travel," [765]
seeking solace and power, for the spirit confers power through
pity. Those who seek help desire a specific power, and they may K
pray for prowess in hunting, gambling, in attracting a mate, or 787
in acquiring wealth. One who already has a spirit associate may
seek for others; and some, either through inheritance or by the
successive acquisition of tutelaries, may go on to become shamans.
Some persons may reject the call. One middle-aged woman
recounts a waking dream she had in her girlhood of a stag in full
antlers rising out of the waters. Had she followed the opening
thus offered she might have acquired great power; but she was
afraid and let the chance slip by.

M
Among the Modoc, says Ray, powers come only to those who 787
seek to become shamans. The call, which comes in a dream, is 756
legitimate only in mature men and women past menopause and [885]
may not be experienced in old age. The seeker, like his Klamath
counterpart, undertakes a five-day quest; but the chief of the
spirit abodes in which he spends his vigil are the house pits of
deceased shamans. Those spirits that come to him choose him

M 787 as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing
756 they are the shaman's "helpers."

K However differently they construe the degree of individual
M access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that
787 human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those
K who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer
M [782] in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtu-
[772] ous striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the
universe appears basically to be a moral order.

K In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The
M annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the
181 progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon
461 industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme
that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic
K exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this
M 461 virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to
556 maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a follow-
595 ing. Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the
K common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a
M contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent
622 men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In
556 war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his
[881] panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man
[701] of property is likely to be decked with many valuables con-
[764] tributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the
[538] man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowl-
[756] edge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send
out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power
in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to
K the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in
622 the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:
539

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee—to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

*657 the surrounding white neighborhood, the men came to take up
*648 roles narrowly and specifically defined in American terms and
555 to rephrase them in terms of their closest native counterparts.[17]
177 Thus, in the political field, judges and Indian police enlarged
178 the formal duties of office with some of the powers traditionally
exerted by chiefs. Assimilation of roles, however, progressed in both directions; and in the end even relationships within Indian society upon the reservation were modified toward the American system. This was only partially the consequence of conscious imitation on the part of the Indians or of change directly instituted by the whites. In some measure, it came as the undesigned byplay of a modification made for another purpose.

*657 This, for example, was one of the effects of the educational
*648 system and its particular instrument, the boarding school. Be-
871 cause boarding school spanned the time of life upon which the
177 Klamath vision quest and the girls' puberty rite fell, those native
178 experiences were largely eliminated; and change of status was
signaled instead by the final return from school. Education was
● [881] designed for an altered future, but it increased intergenerational
[561] strife, as elders, their accumulated wisdom rendered obsolete in
a changed setting, confronted youths skeptical in the superiority of their book-won knowledge. From the vantage of program, this was unfortunate—if inevitable—for the Agent depended for cooperation upon those same vexed adults.

To be sure, much of the change instituted might be regarded as supplementing and enlarging—rather than replacing—native content, for many a Klamath who was a schoolboy in those days today combines the learning of his elders with the lessons taught him in the schools. Participation in two orders juxtaposed for them made manifest the relativity of each one. For those youths, the new order was not to be taken on simple assertion; it had to demonstrate its superiority in a manner not required by those born into it.

*657 With all the changes that tended to distort the social order,
*648 women were less directly affected than were their husbands and
562 children. Their roles were still principally internal to the family,
177 as wife and mother; and though opportunities for employment
178 were beginning to open for them in the schools, their contacts
with the ambient American culture were more fleeting and more

*539 tā̆'-inánnăn nä'-innánnăn, tā̆'-innánnăn nä'-innánnăn
533 tá naniánai nániana, tá naniánai nániāna
[177] walwiléga palpiléga, walwiléga palpiléga
pálpilēga pálpilēga, pálpilēga etc.

DANCING TUNES.

A. *Tunes heard during Puberty-Dances.*

[535] hō'-wina wĕ'na tchálam tchálam wéna
[881] úha u-ai hai hai hévĕlält,
háhai u-ai hehai hévĕlält.
witcha kenná, wítcha kéna kenō', wítcha kenna kenó
nû kĕno kĕno kéno, n'ō kĕno u'o kĕno kénō

B. *Tunes adopted from Shasti Indians.*

*539
533 huí'no hō hotino hû-û huino hû'tnino kû'ino hō-o
177 wínna hádina háwina, há-ina ā-ā, háwina ná-ina
tóyo wínno hoyo wínna nó, weyawinna nó, heyowinná
ho owínno heyä'nlia kina ho-owínna heyä'nlia kena
he-ännowinná, innatá lowinna, he-eänno wínna
hewä' iwinnaná ō wí'nna óhō häna wínna óhō
hännanáwiya ná-uya náyua hännaná-uya ō-uya
héwa enna hé-au wennéā hé-aunné heyawenné
ha wennō hahiyó wennó wennó ha wenna, awenó hewō
hó ninu henú henó înû' ho-înú hóninō-u henû'

C. *Dance and war tunes adopted from Snake Indians.*

háwinna haú-inna nō', í'nna hawínna háwinna nō'
hé-a wennē, a héa, heahē, héa wennē
haweā' wennā, hau-á, hawenná ĕ'nna, hawá

D. *Dancing tune heard from Warm Spring Indians.*

kaní luya . . . . . uya tasí wene nāsi

178 latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence
that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on
the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often
recur.

787 The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, ap-
881 parently regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was
usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power
785 obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts
existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating,
533 and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath
emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word
/šuw'i·s/ meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on
787 context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from
177 without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior
792 associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly in-
dividualized and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality,
it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers,
the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions.
One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with
the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The
examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older in-
formants. Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions as-
sociated with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

782 A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me,
"Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and
776 old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.'
823 I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I
774 say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over
787 there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains
and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I
dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it."
She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to
Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up,
up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man
standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I
773 don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The in-
formant refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of
whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena:
"When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They
said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never
did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it
was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a
797 real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those
things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

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[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have 593
other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are some- 855
times non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are [581]
frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time,
or to an older relative, or to an elder sibling. If the party occurs in the [181]
household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be
left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may [603]
find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence
and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of [155]
the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one)
or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually
faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloof-
ness. The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and
both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating
fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little ex- [155]
perience with consistency in role relationships.

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, [602]
amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other
kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting 872
the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax,
permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear- 861
cut, specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not [593]
accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet
these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and [181]
attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu. [155]
In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to
be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly [156]
characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts.
This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture,
but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society.

In many respects the values and skills learned within the household to not ade- 155
quately prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of 156
regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the house-
hold may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may [871]
throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get
him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time
the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted,
the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in in-
feriority is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, con-
tributing in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebellious-
ness, or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation
of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school [563]
years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the
areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites [582]
is not an easy one.

It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child 882
are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child 156
may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete
with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he 155
is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors
cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into
an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high [871]

882
155 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
156 in test performance and grades.

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
[462] of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
426 for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented, and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

000 2475. MV: Shoe-leather disk, also top of tin can used for recent buzzers. Using buzzer "makes people sick; don't use it much."

2483. SE: Name for buzzer similar to that for bird that makes whirring noise at night; when playing with buzzer people say they "are making the deer fat."

2484. WM: "The puisus (Achomawi) play this, but WM never do."

2485. WT: Informant had never seen Indians play this; had seen Whites doing it.

2489. AW: Names of 2 figures: Sundown; Spider's House.

[524] 2490. Kl, Mo, SW, AW: Popular moving figure is that of "2 coyotes running from each other."

2492. Mo: If play in summer, ensuing winter will be severe.

2494. SW: Figures made during first quarter of moon, in spring especially, to make moon grow (by stretching string).

2494a. Mo: Both informants stated stilts aboriginal. At: "Danced on ice with stilts". Like Mo informant, At informant had used stilts as girl.

2505. WT: Willow-bark bag, sand inside.

2508. Mo: 5-6.

2520. Mo, MM, MF: Narrators presented with small amount of food by auditors; MS: uncertain about this; MV: denied. Not inquired into for other groups. NF: Myths told to youths, men only (during secret society initiation?); informant for this group a woman.

[538] [855] 2522. Kl: Belief held more in jest than in earnest; told to small children who "would never go to sleep."

2523. SW: If myths told toward spring, look out for rattlesnake.

[481] [863] 2527. Kl: Youths "made to swim in winter anyway"; no rule which applies to myth telling per se.

Social Dances

Circle dances.--

535 177 2529. Kl: See note 2076. Dance Kl brought back from N with drum was "a round dance; men and women danced, holding hands, men on 1 side, women on other of single circle, with fire inside in middle. It was held any time of year, but mostly in summer, just for fun. Given at night; people stopped dancing around midnight. [No leader who brought it back, or no data on such.] One man might say, 'Let's have fun'; people told each other; they came and danced. The drummer was the leader; he sang, and the men and women dancers sang too. The drummer stood by himself; just 1 man drummed. The [179] Kl no longer give this dance; the old people have mostly died." Mo: Dance relatively slight affair; 000 "a few young people assemble for 'evening joy' dance; join hands and go around fire in circle; old man watches them. When they become reckless, he stops dance." SW: Circle dance (k'aphek), an old summer dance, given for pleasure sometimes;

[206-B]

An apprenticeship system had earlier been set up, with an 648*
Indian assigned to each artisan as assistant and understudy. 657*
Nickerson noted in 1882 that while "[the apprentices] are doing 872
as well as uneducated Indians can be expected to do, not one of them . . . has had any school training, and but one can write his name."[17] Presently schoolboys began to take over some of these positions.

Many factors bore upon the effectiveness of the teaching. Elderly individuals today can recall the first bewildered days at school—sometimes relieved by the kindness of such teachers as one nicknamed by the children "Hummingbird"—but at best it was a difficult experience. "Nine tenths of them," wrote Emery of the
newcomers, "know nothing of [English]. At first, when called 648*
to recite, they will dart under the seats, and have to be coaxed 657*
and helped from their hiding places by the hand of the teacher."[18] 872
Not always was such tenderness displayed. Although one man, 876
now deceased, recalled a generally pleasant experience and the kindnesses of matrons and teachers,[19] a contemporary bitterly recollected:

> In school they didn't allow us to talk in Klamath. We were punished if they caught us talking in Klamath. They would make us hold up a stick with our hands high. Sometimes they would make an older boy hold a fence rail on his back and walk around a tree stump. Sometimes one whole hour at a time. I never had to do that. Sometimes I would see the teacher or principal whip a boy with a good-sized willow. Sometimes they would make the boy take off his shirt and then the boy would never get over it. I felt that sometimes we boys should get together and give the teacher a whipping to see how he liked it. In the old Klamath days, the parents would switch the child on the legs or sometimes on his butt, but never that way—hard like that. . . . [191]
>
> At school I had it pretty tough. I was cold and hungry. When we made noise at table, we had to be punished without any food. I had to take food from the table. Fish at night. The children had to steal apples.

Detailed as meatcutter, he recalls that the choicest cuts went to employees, the necks and ribs to the children. And he concludes, "I learned how to steal at school to keep from going hungry."[20]

There were games and ice skating, and the brass band. For the 648*
adolescents there were illicit sexual adventures. Some children 657*
872
[857]
[883]

that seem bizarre. In evading prohibition, as already noted, tribal 648*
members learned successively to operate stills, to patronize and 657*
to serve as bootleggers, and to drink alcoholic extracts. For local 177
roughs, the pug and the cowboy provided glamorous models; 178
and several youths ventured upon the hard trail of the profes- 184
sional boxer. [883] Although cowboy hats and boots were still worn in the latter days of the reservation, they were giving way among this set to the ducktail haircut and the leather jacket. Drag racing and drinking were pursuits as common among tribal adolescents in Chiloquin as among their peers elsewhere. The intermittent use of marijuana cigarettes and an occasional Pachuco tattoo were evidence of the selective adoption of Inframodal practices.

As a category, the inframodal Klamath were often the immediate descendants of some of the elderly individuals already mentioned, dependent upon them for money once they had squandered their own funds, sometimes residing with them, sometimes "shacking up" in a separate household in a common-law union. They formed but one range of the main body of tribal members, among whom they found associates perhaps as often
as they did among their own sort. They did not habitually asso- [571]
ciate with Inframodal peers among other racial groups, but [573]
characteristically remained in small tribal cliques, of which the [273]
drinking groups were the chief stable expression.[22]

Those tribal members still on the reservation comprised a main body, upon which three lobes might be distinguished: the elders, the Inframodal, and those conformant to American standards. The latter alone had tended to become almost completely cut off from the major body of their fellow tribesmen, save for a few leaders, who had been able to keep the respect of both whites and Klamath. The remainder constituted a single society of strong egalitarian persuasions.

While recognizing that a single criterion must fail as a device 648*
for sorting out categories which are the product of such com- 657*
plexity, a first approximation was attempted in an analysis of the 177
records of a random sample of tribal members in Chiloquin.[23] As 178
sorting criteria, the subjects were first scaled against five some- 184
what overlapping entries involving behavior before the law. Then, 125
working symmetrically from the extremes of the scale, they were

Lily: Female, Age 15

Background Data 159*

Lily is an attractive young high school freshman. She is now repeating her 156
freshman year, due to various difficulties the year before. One of these
involved her cursing the principal, for which she was temporarily expelled, to [873]
be returned by her mother the next day. She spent the rest of the year in
silent rebellion. This incident is not too serious, for more than anything [561]
else it indicates the strength of her attachment to a close-knit girls peer-group
which is slightly wild and which makes it a matter of honor to oppose
adults. There is little additional evidence of any serious hostility or
rebelliousness. Lily is the eldest of two children; she has an elder half-sister,
her mother's illegitimate daughter; and she has lived all of her life on the
reservation.

Lily's major activities and concerns are those of a typical, small town teen- [883]●
age girl. She attends school, "hangs around" a local teen age center, flirts
with the boys — White and Indian, dances — at her home or the home of a friend,
and listens to records. She comes from one of the most stable families on the
reservation. Her mother is Klamath, a grade school graduate who worked her way [874]
through two years of business school, evenings, in a nearby city. Her mother in
recent years has begun to assume a position of leadership in certain community [571]
activities, particularly recreation and education. Additionally, she has for
long been the advisor for numerous relatives. Her mother verbalizes great fear
and anxiety associated with this "getting out" and has done so only under
considerable external pressure. Her father is a California Indian who is the model [177]
of local White conceptions of masculinity. That is, he is vigorous and
physically powerful, a hard, reliable, steady worker in a logging company, a hard [464]
"Saturday Night" style drinker, absolutely fearless, and a masterful fighter
in brawls. His fights are the focus of several local folk anecdotes, and suggest [157]
his excellent reputation, for he protects the underdog, takes on the bully (by
the half-dozen, if necessary), neatly dispatches all and never bears a grudge.

Lily is a more flexible and less submissive person that she would seem on first 159*
acquaintance. The difficulty with knowing her is that she wears a completely 157
impassive, rigid, unexpressive mask before all. One morning after knowing her
for a year the writer walked by her and then stopped, mildly startled, for Lily
had smiled (slightly) and mumbled "Good Morning" under her breath. She is also [123]
less inhibited than this mask of impassivity would suggest, as is evident from
her behavior with her peers and parents, but in all instances she prefers to
communicate with slight gestures and to make do with very few words. She is,
in fact, a remarkably self-possessed, poised, and reserved adolescent girl, a
consequence of which is that she is far more graceful than many other local girls
her own age. But, generally, her responses only minimally involve her with 159*
others. She is always among people, but not always with them. Her reserve does
not dissipate much with continued acquaintance, but is a constant feature of her 156
mode of adjusting to others. She never talks freely and her terse responses to
the blots and TAT cards are paralleled by an equal economy in all personal
relationships. There is no evidence to suggest that she is suspicious or distrustful
of others, although she can be quite persistent in avoiding people she does
not like.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

513 It is customary to rise (bŏ'tgal) before the sun has risen, at least in winter. At that season when they sit late telling stories, they retire (k'ta'ndja) when Orion's belt has risen two-thirds of the distance to the zenith (lo'lalŏks, bedtime).

[887] Old people sun themselves on the roof tops. Those who are decrepit and cannot climb into the earth-lodge are housed in mat-houses near-by.

SWEAT-LODGES

343 The earth-lodge is so warm, at least at night, that it might well have taken the place of the smaller sweat-lodges. These however are regularly made, preferably beside a body of water into which the bathers can jump after sweating. The lodges (spo'kliks) are of two types, differentiated, it was suggested, for summer and winter use. There are now more of the former type in use than the latter, which suggests a case of substitution.

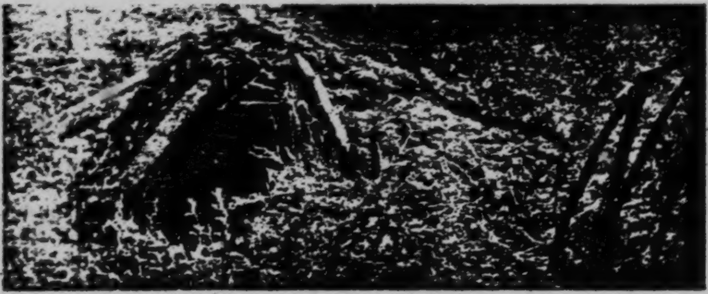

Fig. 20. Winter sweat-lodge. A portion of a summer sweat-lodge appears at the right.

The "summer" lodge is dome-shaped and mat-covered, hence sometimes called sti'na'c like the dome-shaped dwelling. Willows are set in the ground about a circle four to six feet in diameter, arched, and bound together at a height of three and a half feet. There are no horizontal ribs. Tule mats form the covering, with layers of green grass between to prevent the escape of the steam. When the summer lodge is kept for winter use, dirt is banked against the sides. The carpeting is of grass or leaves, green or dry according to season.

The "winter" lodge (ke'lowac, a descriptive term?) is built over an elliptical pit, eighteen inches or less in depth. It is smaller than the summer lodge, and up to five feet in length. The roof over this

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2437. Women	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	526
2438. Children	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	[562]
2439. Stick sharpened at both ends	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	+	−	−	[857]
2440. Natural vestigial deer metapodial	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2441. 1 point when it lands erect in ground	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2442. Person who catches stick wins	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2443. Thrower scores	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2444. Unsuccessful thrower transfers	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
†2445. Number of counters	−	−	−	−	10	10	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2446. Jacks	−	−	−	−	+	+	R	−	−	+	R	−	−	+	−	−	
2447. Men play	−	−	−	−	−	−	R	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	[562]
2448. Women play	−	−	−	−	+	+	R	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	[857]
2449. Children play	−	−	−	−	−	+	R	−	−	+	R	−	−	−	−	−	
2450. Stones	−	−	−	−	+	+	R	−	−	+	R	−	−	+	−	−	
†2451. Number of objects	−	−	−	−	10	10	−	−	−	−	5	−	−	3	−	−	
2452. Indefinite	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2453. Last object thrown up heaviest	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2454. For fun; no betting	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2455. Juggling	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2456. Rocks	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2457. Acorns	−	−	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
o2458. Number thrown up	−	−	−			2	3	−	−	2	−	−	−	2	−	−	
2459. Thrown up in both hands, same time	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	
2460. Women	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	[562]
2461. Boys	−	−	−					−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	[857]
2462. For fun; no betting	−	−	−			+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	

Gambling Taboos

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2463. Intercourse taboo before gambling	+	+	+	+	−			+	+	.	.	−	−	−	−	.	525
2464. Only if man has washed in sacred spot, for luck	−	−	−	−	−			+	+	.	.	−	−	−	−	.	834
2465. Intercourse taboo after gambling													+	−	−	.	

Amusements

Toys

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
2466. Tops	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	524
2467. Children play	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	[857]
2468. Adults play								+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	
2469. Acorn	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	.	−	
2470. Bark or wood disk, horizontal plane	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2471. Lump of pitch	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2472. Deer kneecap	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2473. Twirl with fingers	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	
2474. Twirl between palms	−	+	−				+		−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	
2475. Buzzer	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	−	−	R	−	R	[857]
2476. Children play	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	.	R	
2477. Adults play			+					+	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	R	
2478. Wood or bark disk	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	−	
2479. Deer carpal	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	−	
2480. Shell disk	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	−	
2481. Acorns	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	.	−	
2482. Shoe-leather disk						R	−	−	R	R	R	−	−	R	−	R	
2483. To make snow	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
2484. String figures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	R	R	+	−	+	
2485. Old men, women play	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	[857]
2486. Men play	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	
2487. Women play	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	[562]

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	NV
524 2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2490. Moving figures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	.	+	−	+
2492. Done in winter only	+	+	−	−						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2493. Done any time, for fun	−	−	+							+	−	+	+	+	−	+
[48] 2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	−	+						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2494a. Stilts	−	+	−	−	+	R	−	−	−	−	R	−	−	−	−	−

Contests

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	NV
526 2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. To throw man down	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. No tripping allowed	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	.	−
2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	−	+	+	.
2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								−	+	+	+	+	+
2502. Dodging	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	(−)	−	+	−	+
2503. Stones	−	+	−			+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	−
2504. Hard objects inside geese	−	−	−				+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2505. Sand bag	−	−	−					+	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2506. Tule, grass balls	−	+	−					−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	+
2507. Two sides	−	+	−			+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
o2508. Number on each side	−	5	−			1	.	15	−	−	−	−	−	.	−	−
2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[857] 2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	.	−
2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	.	+
2515. To mark and back	−/	−	−			+	+	−	+	−	.	+	+	+	−	−
2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+			+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+
2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	.	+

Storytelling

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	NV
528 2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2520. Myths told at night	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
[516] 2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	.		−	+
2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	+	+	−			+		+	−	+	−	−	.		−	−
[784] 2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
2524. Rattlesnake will bite	−	+	.		+	+	+	+	−	.	+	−	.		.	−
2525. Winter will come quickly	+	−	.						+	.	+	−	.		.	−
[587] 2526. Narrated by old people only	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	.		+	+
[515] 2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	−	+	+			+				+	−	+	.		+	+
2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	−	+	+			+				+	−	+	.		+	+

Social Dances

Circle Dances

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NF	NM	NS	NV
535 2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	R	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	R	−		−	−
[417] 2530. Performed in brush corral	−	r	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−		−	−
[224] 2532. At fall rabbit hunt	−	−	−	−		−	+	−		−	−	−	−		−	−
[221] 2533. In springtime	−	−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−		−	−
[226] 2535. During communal fishing periods	+	+	+							+	−	−	−		−	−

2: Voegelin E-5 (1936) 1942

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NP	NM	NS	MV	
‡3451. Girl eats sparingly ... days	5	5	8	10	3	6	3	-	-	-	6	5	6	5	4	28	84/
†3452. Girl eats sparingly ... years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	88/
3453. Meals limited to twice daily	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3454a. After sunrise, before sunset.	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3454b. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3455. Dried fish taboo	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3456. Meat taboo	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3457. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3458. Salt taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	
3459. Berries taboo	+	+	-	+	•+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	.	-	
3460. New crop acorns, seeds taboo	-		+						•+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
3461. Hot food taboo	•+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	
3462. Cold water taboo	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
3463. River water taboo	-	+	-						•+		-	-	-	-	-		
‡3464. Food taboos extend over ... days	5	5	8	10	3	6	3	-	-	-	6	5	6	5	4	28	
†3465. Food taboos extend over ... yrs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3466. Food taboos observed all subsequent periods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3467. Girl eats outside	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	∠	-	-	
3468. Girl eats inside hut, dwelling	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	
3469. Eats with woman attendant	[illegible]	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	•+	
3470. Girl uses own baskets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3471. Baskets kept; left in hut			+		+						+	+	-	-	-	•-	
3472. Baskets destroyed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3473. Baskets hung on tree			-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3474. Cane drinking tube used	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3475. Basket "cup" used for drinking.	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	
3476. Ceremonial feeding by attendant	-	+	+	+	(+)	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	+	-	•+	
3477. Mother feeds girl, cleans teeth	-	-	+			+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	
3478. Girl's mouth wiped by attendant	-	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	-	-	-	-	•+	•+	•+	-	•+	
3479. Girl chews plant substance	+	•+	•+		•+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	•+	-	-	
3479a. Plant substance stuffed in nostrils	-	-	-		•+	•+	•+	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	
3480. Girl sleeps little, fitfully	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	(-)	+	
3481. No daytime sleeping, first day	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
3482. Charcoal in ears, to avoid bad dreams	+	-	+		+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[787]
3483. Bark burned above hut, to frighten evil spirits	-	-	-						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3483a. Menstruant must tell her bad dreams		(-)	+	+		+	-	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	-	-	
3483b. If dreams, doctored by special doctor		+	+	-		+	+	+	-	+	+	.	-	-	-	-	
3484. Girl rises early	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	•-	•+	
3485. No talking during seclusion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3486. Little talking	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3487. Must talk softly	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3488. Cannot laugh aloud	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	
3489. Girl avoids all men in daytime	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	
3490. Avoids all hunters	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	
3491. Old women visit girl	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[887]
3492. Old women instruct girl	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	7	•+	
3493. Gazing at any fire taboo	.	+	+	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	[821]
3494. Gazing at sun taboo	.	+	+	+	-	.	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3494a. Weak eyes, if gaze at sun	.	-	+	-	-	.	-	•-	-	+	.	-	.	+	.	-	
3495. Gazing at moon taboo	.	+	+	+	•+	.	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3496. Gazing at sky taboo	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
3497. Looking around taboo	+	-	+	+	-	.	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	
3498. Looking at acorns taboo	o	o	-	-	-	-	o	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
3499. Looking at any wild crops taboo	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	
3500. Gaze would "kill" crops	.	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	+	+	•+	+	
3500a. Crossing streams taboo	.	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	•+	+	+	
3501. Menstruant bathes daily	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	[515]
3502. Menstruant bathes after flow ceases	-	+	+						+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	

DOO 398. MF, NM: Roasted.

399. Eggs of red ant.

Foods taboo to special groups.--(M, men; W, women; Y, youths; y, young women; b, boys; g, girls.)

401. SE: Brains only taboo to Y, y, b, g. At: Head to M, Y, b. AE: Head to M, Y, y, b, g. AW: Head to Y, y, b, g. WT, WM: Head to Y, y, b, g. WS: Head to y. NM, MV: Head to Y, y, b, g.

402. Mo, AW: Taboo to all except old men, old women. At: To M, Y, b. AE, WT: To b, g. WM, MM, MF, NM: To Y, y, b, g. AE: If b, g eat deer heart, own heart will pound too fast.

403. SW: Taboo to Y, y. AW, AE: To b, g. WT: To y. WM, NF: To Y, y, b, g. NS: Eaten chiefly by b. NM, MV: Denied eaten chiefly by b.

404. SW: Taboo to b, g. AW, WM, NM, MV: To Y, y, b, g. AW: If eaten by member of tabooed group, his or her knee joint will slip out when trying to run.

[262] 405. Kl, WT, MV: Taboo to all. SE, SW, At: To all except old men, old women; boiled, soup drunk. AW, AE, WM, MM, NM, NS: Taboo to Y, y, b, g. SW: Young boy made to shoot at fawn fetus, before latter eaten, to give boy luck.

[262] 406. Kl, AW, WT, NF, MV: Taboo to all. SW, AE, WM, MM, NM, NS: To Y, y, b, g. Kl, Mo: Afterbirth taboo to all. SE: Informant uncertain. WM: To Y, y, b, g. At: Bear fetus skinned, given to old women to eat, because meat tender.

407. At: To all except old men and old women. WT: To y. MM, MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: To Y, y, b, g.

[262] [887] 408. Kl: Anyone may eat liver, but principally old people do, because it is easy to chew. Mo: "Old people eat it." SE, SW: Eaten raw by hunter, on spot. At: To Y, b. AW, NF, NM, NS, MV: To Y, y, b, g. WT: To b, g.

409. WM, NF, NM, NS: To Y, y, b, g.

410. NM, NS: Twin plums also taboo to y; would have twins. Denied for NF, where no wild plums in area, and for MV.

411. Mo, At: To Y, y, b, g. AE: To b, g. WT: To all. SW: Small children cannot eat grouse; if do, have yellow mark in eye, on neck. At: If eat duck's feet, cold weather will ensue.

412. SW: Grouse and fish. If eat these together, will not be able to catch either afterward. At: Fish and deermeat. WM: Salt and deermeat. MM: Salt and bear meat. MV: Venison and bear meat.

Food preparation.--

414. Mo, MV: Often burn fishbones, but "no rule about this; don't want children to step on the bones." SW: Fishbones saved, dried, pounded; ground salmon bones cased in salmon bladders or "floats" for storage.

[262] [252] 415. Kl, Mo, At, MM: Backbone of deer only and then only when it has dried meat on it. SW: Ground deer bone regarded as poisonous; persons eating marrow always careful not to swallow small flakes of bone, as this would cause death; no medicine known for such an accident.

000 Ornaments.--

[301] 1649. Kl: See note 1614.

1652. SW: When hole healing, only.

1654. No specimens of these shells seen; described as "flat, thin, round shell with hole made near edge"; 2-3 pendent from buckskin thong.

[301] 1656. Kl: See note 1614. NM: Worn by women. NS, MV: By men and women.

1657. MV: Worn during dances only.

1662. MV: Small feather-decorated basketry-plaque pendant.

1665. MV: Milkweed gum, in black pattern.

1671. AW: Shaman only; yellowhammer tail feather. See note 1900.

1672. AE: Only when ear healing.

1677. AE: Possibly dentalia used, as informant described nose plug as sharp at both (?) ends, and slightly curved.

[301] 1678. Generally burned on end, and used only when hole healing.

1679. AW: Feather, or quill alone, only when hole healing. Use of quill denied for all other groups.

1684. SW: Worn by children only. AE: "Great style"; worn at dances only.

1691. SW: Strung with double string, so beads lie flat.

1692. SW: Obtained from Karuk.

1696. Mo: From seeds which squirrels, rats, have gnawed hole in. SW: See Dixon, Shasta, fig. 94. Buy these from Wintu in 2 colors, black (roasted) shells, brown (natural) ones. At: Widows in mourning also make pitch beads, wear them as necklace, bracelet.

1697. Distribution of sweet grass throughout entire area unverified; absence noted only when informants positive on point.

1698. SW: Girls, playing, put flowers in hair, ear, nose, around neck. "Often speak of wildflower patches; how pretty they look, how the flowers brighten up the scene." AW: "Don't pick wildflowers, but speak of them, say how pretty they look."

[301 887 826] 1699. Usually made from hair cut in mourning. Kl: 6-7 strings of human hair; worn as ornament by old women only; qai'hlis.

1701. From girl's puberty on.

1703. SW: See note 1698. WM: Dancers wear flowers; "they like the flowers; when they see them blooming they make strings of bunches of wild 'orange blossom' flowers tied together, and wear them on their head, or in their ears, or as a necklace. They want to be pretty. They take yellow button flowers and string these, piercing them with a bone awl, and tie them on their heads; women wore these when just sitting around making a basket. If a woman had part of the strand left, she put it in her ears." NF: Worn by women for Spring dance (weda); also by boys, girls playing.

[198-A]

500 4032. SE: Sprinkle water, medicine around house as body is removed through wall. [764] [783] Purification of house as corpse removed denied for Kl, Mo, all Maidu and Nisenan groups. SW: Through wall on E side of house (see note 4093). WT: Through hole torn in wall at back of house, opposite entrance.

4036. AW: But see note 4136.

Funerary procedure.--

4040. SE, SW: 1-2 nights.

4043. At: Wail throughout night while body is in house; continue wailing and dancing next day until body buried near sundown.

[764] 4045. Kl: Mourners wail throughout night as body lies on pyre, before being burnt early next morning; no dance.

4046. SW: "Whenever you go to a funeral always take some money with you. You get something back again for whatever you take there." WT: See note 4028. NF, NS, MV: Gifts buried or burned with corpse.

4047. AW: Mourners merely "jump around as they cry on viewing corpse."

4048. SE, SW, At: Mourners wail ritually as they dance around corpse. MF, NF, NM, NS, MV: Mourners hold "fire dance" in assembly house; wail, dance, circling corpse 4 times. MV: Such dance held only when important man dies.

4049. SE, SW: Wear fir or willow boughs. SE: Mourners whip each other on legs with boughs they are carrying; therapeutic measure. SW: Women also bring ipos roots in their basket caps. At: Mourners bring cedar boughs into house of death; when through dancing boughs piled and burnt, to purify house if relatives of dead plan to continue using house.

4051. SW: Ipos roots women bring also laid beside corpse.

[764] 4052. Kl: Everyone in house collects ashes in basket from fireplace of dwelling, talks to dead person's spirit, then sprinkles ashes toward W. AW: As body is borne from house to grave, 1 old woman takes basket of ashes, another old woman basket of water, and they throw water and ashes behind line of people, for entire journey from house to grave. The 2 old women wail "too bad, too bad" as they perform this act to keep spirit of deceased away.

4053. Mo: Not old enough to realize what is happening; likely to laugh, play.

[764] [537] [887] 4056. Generally given by "old man, wise man," who is not undertaker. AW: "At grave old man may talk crossly; then people know he is going to hire a doctor to kill the poisoner [who caused death of person being buried]. Or else old man tells the people there not to mourn too much; only a few years. 'You can cry a little bit; some of you will dream good luck, with a little cry[ing]. Don't tell anyone, if you dream good, or else you'll lose it [the good luck].'" WM: At funeral old man talks to spirit of deceased, tells it where to go, upward to sky dance house

[229-A]

Families

eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food K M 512 only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred [264] places. [782]

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. K M Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats [887] upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, [854] grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail [302] comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where [412] they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work [285] with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets. If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, K M will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of [313] the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are [223] still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with [226] bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon. Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several K men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweathouses [343] to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual [515] followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, [783] a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into [857] the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together [264] again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn K M across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In [354] its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and [524] pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be K M played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. [784] As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn K M about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a [538] tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample, K M 221 756 796

[p.347-B]

226 868 large fish, there is a harpoon with two detachable heads; the boy learns its use after he has mastered the other spears. Fish are often speared at night by torchlight. Here again it is the father who instructs the boy.

[227] Fish are also taken in a triangular dip net used from the bow of a canoe. This net is large and cumbersome, so that only a strong adult is able to manipulate it when full of fish. Younger fellows of ten or so help by beating their canoe paddles against the side of the boat to scare the fish toward the net. If they are in shallow water near the shore, the paddles are slapped against the tules. Often, a boy paddles the canoe while his father handles the net in the bow.

Line fishing is not of great importance, but this method is sometimes used and is often the first method a boy learns (usually by himself or from older boys); it is also the only one at which women occasionally help. There are at least two varieties of bone hook which are attached to a nettle-fiber line. Boys catch crawfish in their hands to use as bait.

227 887 The manufacture of nets is an important winter occupation of the old men and a few old women. Both men and women twist the nettle fiber into twine. Children like to watch the net making because they enjoy listening to the old people gossip or argue about how many months remain before the spring fish run. However, the children never help with this process. A fully grown man learns to manufacture nets from the old men. The manufacture of fish spears and harpoons is also left to mature men.

501 868 Before taking part in certain types of fishing, boys must know how to handle the canoes. This same ability is required for girls before they can go after water-lily seeds. Most families have two or more dugout canoes of varying lengths, which can be propelled by either pole or paddle.[35]

[857] Riding in canoes is not a new experience to the child, for infants on cradleboards are taken out in them. Older children often go out with their mother or father and sit or stand in one end of the canoe. The boat is apt to be unstable, and the child is warned not to tip it by moving around.

Parents need not urge children to learn how to handle a canoe, for they are all eager to do so. As one man put it, "Nowadays every kid wants to have a car. It used to be like that with canoes." Indeed, children sometimes "borrowed" canoes when no adults were present.

> The women were all out getting wokas so another girl and I took my aunt's extra canoe. I didn't know how to work the pole. I held onto the end of it and kept pushing till I almost fell over the edge of the canoe. Some people came by in another canoe

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[35] See Coville (1897), p. 89; idem (1904), p. 728; Barrett, pp. 247 f.; Spier, pp. 169-171; and Voegelin, elements 858-893.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K M 342 of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old
352 lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the
513 back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another
K family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are
M [592] houses that hold more than two families and others that hold
K only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no
M 342 longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content
888 to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.

735 Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women
K now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered
M 142 the visitor[11] are of powerful frame—though of no more than
average height—and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily
K clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber
M skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early
291 nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing
[177] and footwear of the style then being communicated down the
trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down
the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside
add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a
K mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in
M 302 braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips
301 of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads,
ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum
K of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy
M upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face,
304 limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by
[142] rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter prac-
[177] tice, says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit
River neighbors of the Modoc.

K Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys.
M 512 Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grand-
[857] father and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black
waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the
sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to
stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its
K M cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the
[252] stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it
[415] to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they
[177] have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

*648 theless, analysis showed that they aggregated two extended
*657 families together with one other nuclear family unrelated to
602 either. The earlier arrivals had attracted relatives, but they had
178 been selective, encouraging some and in at least one instance giving the cold shoulder to a kinsman deemed undesirable, when he paid them an exploratory visit. For their part, they were scrupulous in choosing compatible relatives to visit on their occasional brief returns to the reservation.

[736] That kinship bonds, selectively utilized, were still in force is shown not only by such action as the bidding for tribal tracts, but in the assumption of responsibility for the care of children from a broken home. Although choice was exercised among relatives, and the uncongenial among close kindred might be passed over in favor of more distant, but more compatible, relations, the principle first evoked was that of consanguinity. In the majority of instances, primary reliance was placed upon parents and children, upon siblings, grandparents, and grandchildren.

*648 Among kinsmen, there was an enlargement of the sphere of
*657 individual, at the expense of common, property. At times it took
602 bizarre extremes. In one adult household, for example, each
421 member's foodstuffs were separately stored and even individually
177 cooked; and each independently purchased his supply of the
178 wood to be burned in a common stove. There was evident in family interdependence what might be termed a pecuniarization of relationships, a conversion of traditional reciprocal obligations into the common denominator of coin. Already evident in the early days of allotment, it had grown with time, taking on as it did a onesidedness that was increasingly dysfunctional. Money could be extracted by the importunate from kinsmen still sensi-
• [888] tive to the charge of stinginess. The aged, dependent upon their children for tenderness, were often likely to be besieged by their requests for "loans" from lease and per capita checks, and once those funds were dissipated, might then be left without enough to maintain themselves. Some families, like the ranchers previously described, were beginning to resist such demands, but for those still immersed in tribal society, refusal was difficult.

*648 The weakening of kin bonds entailed the disappearance of
*657 feud groups, entities that formerly had drawn principally upon
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578
177
178

the person's being;" there are overly emotional reactions to blots: "it's terrifying if some kind of disease attacks you." And finally all the color comment indicates she is affected by the color but cannot integrate it appropriately. Thus, she responds emotionally but cannot bring these feelings under control. A statement of her feelings of impotence or "intellectual passivity" (Piotrowski 1950) is her comment on Card III: "But why the grasshoppers should be playing, I don't know." 159* 158

Are there any personality strengths to balance this pathological picture? Just the six popular responses. These are liberally sprinkled throughout the record. We would have to conclude then that she is generally able to respond in a socially acceptable and conventional manner. However, the somatic preoccupations and poor emotional control are evident throughout. She seems to make an effort to maintain satisfactory relations with others. She is ready to accept responsibility for difficulties ("You know my trouble is I don't read very much"); although distanciated, her second M response is the pleasant "grasshoppers playing;" she does respond positively to the "lovely coloring." However, these are all based on content, rather than determinants, and as such are probably much more superficial indicators. 159* 157

This personality description would not be complete without at least some comment concerning the possible influence of the age of the subject and the role expectations of this age group among the Klamath. Since this analysis has been done without the benefit of this latter information, it can only be remarked that, to the extent that elderly people are allowed greater latitude in their behavior, to that extent this woman's adjustment will be considered acceptable, rather than pathological. In any case, however, she is probably terrified by disease and death. One wonders if the change in cultural attitudes toward disease and death may have left her bereft of a set of beliefs which might have helped her at this point in her life. 121 888● 157

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

SHAMANIC DANCE-DIRECTIONS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 755 "Wálok mat tû'nepni waitólat nát génuapka kshiulăktsuápkuk we-
"For sweating during five days we shall go to have a dance the
wală'ksh tchísh. At géntak í'lksat pán a. Wû'sa ni lúskuapkug. Kílank
old women also. Ye (men) shall go on a feast to eat. I fear I may get too warm. Loud
ăt tsuínuapk; túnepni ăt nûtísh tsuí'nuapk. At tchísh híbashuaksh ksíu-
ye must sing; at five ye fires ye have to sing. Ye too (women and) fellows begin
laktampka lítstakiank; untsă'g nă'tnag pá-uapk tû'm mbû'shant. "Sílalsh
to dance with exertion; by and by then ye shall eat plenty to-morrow. "Disease
mat nă'bakuapk" kíuks ná-asht shápa, yayayá-as mat ná-asht sápa; "kû't-
will come on" the shaman thus says, some tamánnash-medicine (to him) "it is so" says; "of small-
kaks mat síssalaluapk" yayayá-as mat ná-ast shápa. Suássuaktch mák-
pox it says will suffer (the people)" the tamánnash just so says. Are weeping peo-
laks nánuk wussóga kû'tχaks. Ná-ast kíuks wálok sápa: "Tánni ílksh
ple all afraid of smallpox. So the shaman before sweating speaks: "How many food-buckets
shă'tu ăt? tánkĕni at í'lksh? Lápni tá-unepanta pă'n túnep pé-ula;
do ye count? how many already buckets? Twice ten and five;
kánk a ni să'tû."
so many I count."

NOTES.

70, 1 etc. This is a fair specimen of the careless, jargon-like conversational style in vogue among the Ê-ukshikni, and without commentaries and glosses it would be impossible to get at the true meaning.

751 These directions are intended to gather the people at the communal dance-house for a dance lasting five nights. The dance is performed around the fires with almost superhuman exertions, in order to produce profuse perspiration and to prevent thereby any infection by disease. 192 The conjurer or shaman is charged with the inauguration of all dances, most of which are of a religious character. This kind of sweating is called "wála", while sweating in a temazcalli or sweat-house is "spúkli". The kíuks is introduced as speaking all these words. The particle mat indicates that the words given are those of another than of the narrator.

192 70, 1. waitólat; in common parlance: túnepni waítash gí'ulank, or: túnepni gíulank, or in Modoc túnepni waitólan.

796 70, 1. kshíulaktcha different from ksíulĕχa; see Grammar (List of suffixes). These dances take place in winter time and are held from two to four times every season.

562 70, 2. wewală'ksh. This is one of the festivities from which old women are not excluded; they often take part in the dance themselves.

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